Kojiki
Donald Philippi (transl.)

Preface[1]

1 I, YASUMARŌ,[2] do say:

2 When the primeval matter had congealed but breath and form had not yet appeared, there were no names and no action.[3] Who can know its form?

3 However, when heaven and earth were first divided, the three deities became the first of all creation.[4] The Male and Female[5] here began, and the two spirits[6] were the ancestors of all creation.

4 Whereupon after the going in and coming out from the seen and unseen worlds,[7] the sun and moon were revealed in the washing of the eyes.[8]

5 After the floating and sinking in the sea-waters, the deities were revealed in the washing of the body.[9]

6 Thus, though the primeval beginnings be distant and dim, yet by

[1] The so-called Preface is actually a document presenting the *Kojiki* to the Empress Gemmei. It is entirely Chinese in style and diction, containing many phrases modeled after Chinese writings.

[2] Opo nō Yasumarō; cf. verse 70 of the Preface. The word translated 'I' is 臣, meaning 'subject' or 'vassal.'

[3] 'Primeval matter' might also be translated 'chaos.' This matter congeals or hardens. Breath and form are two of the three attributes of life, the third being substance. In the primeval state these attributes had not yet emerged. The idea of such a primeval nameless state of inactivity seems to be borrowed from Taoist thought. The whole paragraph is thoroughly Chinese in conception.

[4] Verses 3–18 contain references to many of the accounts in the *Kojiki* text. The 'three deities' are those mentioned in 1:1 of the text.

[5] Literally, the Yin and Yang.

[6] The two deities Izanagi and Izanami (2:2).

[7] I.e., Izanagi's visit to Yōmi in Chapter 9.

[8] Cf. 11:22–23.

[9] Cf. 11:13–18.

the ancient teachings do we know the time when the lands were
7 conceived and the islands born; though the origins be vague and indistinct, yet by relying upon the sages of antiquity do we perceive the age when the deities were born and men were made to stand.[10]

8 Truly, after the hanging up of the mirror[11] and the spitting out
9 of the jewels,[12] the hundred kings followed in succession; after the chewing of the sword and the slaughtering of the serpent,[13] the myriad deities flourished.

10 Conferring by the YASU river, they pacified the kingdom;[14] disputing by the beach, they purified the land.[15]

11 At this, PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ first descended to TAKA-TI-PO peak,[16] and the emperor KAMU-YAMATÖ passed through [the island of] AKI-DU-SIMA.[17]

12 The ghostly bear came forth from the river,[18] and the heavenly sword was obtained from TAKA-KURA.[19]

13 Men with tails blocked the road,[20] and a large crow led the way to YESINO.[21]

14 Dancing in rows, they swept aside the bandits; hearing the song, they vanquished the foe.[22]

[10] Kurano Kenji equates the 'deities' with the 'myriad deities' and the 'men' with the 'hundred kings' of verse 9. The parallelism of verses 6 and 7 is a common feature of the style of Chinese writing used as a model by Yasumarö. See Kurano in *Kojiki taisei*, ed. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi et al. (Heibonsha, 1956–58), VI, 6.

[11] A reference to the ceremonies before the Heavenly Rock-cave (cf. 17:11).

[12] A reference to the contest between Susa-nö-wo and Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami (see Chapter 15). The 'chewing of the sword' also refers to that contest (see 15:2ff).

[13] Susa-nö-wo's slaying of the eight-tailed dragon (see Chapter 19).

[14] The divine convocation of 32:5ff.

[15] The confrontation of 35:8ff.

[16] Cf. 39:13.

[17] The expedition of Emperor Jimmu, recounted in Chapters 47–52.

[18] The bear is, of course, the bear mentioned in 49:1. In no document, however, is this bear said to come from a river. Most manuscripts have 'put forth his claws,' which is believed to be an error for 'came forth from the river.' See *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 7.

[19] A shortened form for Taka-kurazi, the person who brought the sword to Emperor Jimmu (cf. 49:3).

[20] An allusion to 50:8ff. Perhaps the road was 'blocked' in the sense of being thronged with greeters.

[21] An allusion to 50:2–3.

[22] The sentences in verses 14–16 contain no grammatical subjects; personal pronouns

15 Then, warned by a dream, he reverenced the gods,[23] and therefore was lauded as the wise emperor.[24]

16 He looked at the smoke and treated the people with benevolence, and to this day is reputed a saintly ruler.[25]

17 The borders were determined and the lands were developed
18 during the reign at TIKA-TU-APUMI,[26] and the titles were corrected and the clan-names selected during the rule at TÖPO-TU-ASUKA.[27]

19 Although each reign differed in the degree of swiftness or slow-
20 ness, and each was not the same in refinement and simplicity; yet there was not one [ruler] who did not by meditating upon antiquity straighten manners which had collapsed, and who did not by comparing the present with antiquity strengthen morals and teachings verging on extinction.[28]

21 Coming now to the reign of the emperor who ruled OPO-YA-SIMA in the great palace of KIYOMIPARA in ASUKA:[29]

22 Already as latent dragon he embodied the royal qualities, and the repeated thunder-peals responded to the times.[30]

23 Hearing the song in a dream, he thought to inherit the Throne;

have been supplied by the translator. Each paragraph refers to a different person or persons. Verse 14 refers to the warriors who killed the Tuti-gumo, the 'men with tails,' in Chapter 52.

[23] Emperor Sujin in 65:2ff.

[24] Cf. 68:7.

[25] This paragraph refers to Emperor Nintoku (cf. 110:2–7).

[26] The reign of Emperor Seimu (cf. 90:4).

[27] The reign of Emperor Ingyō (cf. 121:11).

[28] Although Motoori attached little importance to this section, the nationalistic Yamada Yoshio regarded verses 15–20 as a summary of the highest principles of Japanese politics. Reverence to the gods, benevolent rule, the designation of local borders, and the correction of names and titles are, he says, the four basic principles of good rule as laid forth by Yasumarö. *Kojiki jobun kōgi* (Shiogama [Miyagi Prefecture]: Shibahiko Shrine & Shiogama Shrine, 1935), pp. 67–68.

[29] Emperor Temmu (reigned 673–686). Verses 21–38 are an elaborate encomium of this emperor, dwelling especially upon the circumstances which led to his ascent to the throne after the Jinshin rebellion of 672, in which he was the victor against the pretender Prince Opo-tömö (the so-called Emperor Kōbun).

[30] 'Latent dragon' is a Chinese expression for 'crown prince,' or the destined emperor who has not yet come to the throne. The 'repeated thunder-peals' are signals calling him to the throne.

arriving at the water by night, he knew that he was to receive the Dignity.[31]

24 But the time of Heaven had not yet come, and cicada-like he shed his wrappings in the southern mountains.[32]

25 As popular support grew for his cause, he walked tiger-like in the eastern lands.[33]

26 The imperial chariot proceeded with quick willingness, crossing over the mountains and rivers.

27 The six regiments shook like thunder, and the three armies moved like lightning.

28 The spears and javelins revealed their might, and the fierce warriors rose up like smoke.

29 The crimson banners gleamed upon the weapons, and the treacherous band collapsed like tiles.

30 Before a fortnight[34] had elapsed, the foul vapors had been purified.

31 Thus they released the cattle and rested the steeds, and returned peacefully[35] to the capital.

32 Furling the banners and putting away the halberds, they remained singing and dancing in the city.

33 As the star rested in the region of the Cock,[36] in the second month, in the great palace of KIYOMIPARA he ascended [the throne] and assumed the Heavenly Dignity.

34 In the Way he excelled the Yellow Emperor; in Virtue he surpassed the king of Chou.[37]

[31] The passage does not identify the song; perhaps it was the popular *waza-uta* to which prophetic meanings were attached (cf. Aston, II, 299). The 'water at night' refers to the Yökö-gapa river at Nabari, where a divination indicated that Temmu would become Emperor. *Ibid.*, 306.

[32] The future Emperor Temmu, shortly before the death of the preceding Emperor Tenchi, renounced the world (i.e., shed cicada-like his worldly adornments) and retired to Mount Yösino (or Yesino), for purely tactical reasons. See Aston, II, 297.

[33] Emperor Temmu went to the eastern part of the kingdom and rebelled against Prince Opo-tömö in 672.

[34] Actually, a period of 12 days. The word is used loosely.

[35] Or 'in triumph.'

[36] I.e., in the year of the Cock, 673.

[37] The Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti) was a legendary Chinese ruler. The king of Chou is evidently Emperor Wên (Wên Wang), a ruler of the Chou dynasty.

35 Grasping the regalia, he ruled the six directions; gaining the Heavenly Lineage, he embraced the eight corners.

36 Adhering to the Two Essences,[38] he put the five elements in right order.[39]

37 He set forth profound principles to implant good practices, and he proposed noble manners to issue throughout the land.[40]

38 Not only this, his wisdom was vast as the sea, searching out antiquity; his mind was bright as a mirror, clearly beholding former ages.

39 Whereupon, the Emperor said:

"I hear that the *Teiki*[41] and *Honji*[42] handed down by the various houses have come to differ from the truth and that many falsehoods have been added to them.

40 "If these errors are not remedied at this time, their meaning will be lost before many years have passed.

41 "This is the framework of the state, the great foundation of the imperial influence.

42 "Therefore, recording the *Teiki* and examining the *Kuji*,[43] discarding the mistaken and establishing the true, I desire to hand them on to later generations."

43 At that time there was a court attendant[44] whose surname was
44 PIYEDA and his given name ARE. He was twenty-eight years old.
45 He possessed such great native intelligence that he could repeat

[38] The Yin and Yang.

[39] The five elements are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Kurano regards this as a reference to Emperor Temmu's repeated homage to the wind god of Tatuta and the god of Pirose. *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 24.

[40] Kurano regards these as definite accomplishments of Emperor Temmu's reign. *Ibid.*, 24–25.

[41] 'Imperial Chronicles.' A document or documents recording genealogical and other basic data concerning the Imperial House. It is regarded as identical with the *Senki* of verse 54 and the *Sumera-mikötö nö pi-tugi* of verse 46. See Introduction.

[42] 'Fundamental Dicta.' These were evidently documents recording ancient myths, legends, and songs and are believed to be the same as the *Kuji* of verses 42, 54, and 55 and as the *Saki-nö-yö nö puru-götö* of verse 46. See Introduction.

[43] 'Ancient Dicta.' Used interchangeably with *Honji*.

[44] *Toneri*. A male attendant of low rank who served the person of the emperor or a prince of the blood. See GLOSSARY.

orally whatever met his eye, and whatever struck his ears was indelibly impressed in his heart.

46 Then an imperial command was given to ARE to learn[45] the *Sumera-mikötö nö pi-tugi*[46] and the *Saki-nö-yö nö puru-götö*.[47]

47 However, the times went on and the reign changed before this project[48] was accomplished.

48 Prostrate, I consider how Her Imperial Majesty,[49] gaining the One,[50] illumines the Universe; being in communion with the Three,[51] nurtures the populace.

49 Ruling in the Purple Pavilion, her virtue extends to the limit of the horses' hoof-prints; dwelling in the Concealed Palace, her influence illumines the furthest extent of the prows of the boats.[52]

50 The sun rises with doubled radiance; the clouds are scattered and there are no mists.

51 Auspicious signs — connected stalks and double rice-ears — are
52 ceaselessly recorded by the scribes; tribute from across countless border beacon-fires and through numberless translations does not leave the treasury empty for a single month.[53]

[45] The Chinese expression used here means both to familiarize oneself with the contents of a written document and to memorize it so that one can recite it without the text. Are was commissioned to familiarize himself with the difficult old texts, to repeat them over and over again by rote, and thus to learn or memorize them. *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 32.

[46] 'The Imperial Sun-Lineage.' This was probably the same document as the *Teiki* or *Senki*.

[47] This may also be read *Sendai-kuji* and may be translated 'Ancient Dicta of Former Ages.' It was probably the same document as the *Kuji* or *Honji*.

[48] The project of editing the old traditions as outlined in verse 42.

[49] Empress Gemmei (reigned 707–715). After a short encomium (verses 48–53), Yasumarö records the empress' command in regard to the compilation of the *Kojiki* (verses 54–55).

[50] I.e., the throne.

[51] I.e., heaven, earth, and man.

[52] The expressions "to the limit of the horses' hoof-prints" and "the furthest extent of the prows of the boats" are reminiscent of Japanese phrases found in the *norito* for the Grain-petitioning Festival in the *Engi-shiki*.

[53] The phraseology is intentionally continental. The sense of "across countless border beacon-fires and through numberless translations" is that the tribute comes from such distant states—as well as from the nearer countries—that it must cross many borders and be explained in many languages before it reaches the imperial treasury. Cf. *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 36–37.

53 It must be said that her fame is greater than that of Emperor Yü,[54] and her virtue surpasses that of Emperor T'ang.[55]

54 Hereupon, appalled at the mistakes in the *Kuji*, she determined to correct the corruptions in the *Senki*.

55 On the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wadō,[56] an imperial command was given to me, YASUMARÖ, to record and present the *Kuji* learned by imperial command by PIYEDA NÖ ARE.

56 Reverently, in accordance with the imperial will, I chose and took them up in great detail.

57 However, during the times of antiquity, both words and meanings were unsophisticated, and it was difficult to reduce the sentences and phrases to writing.[57]

58 If expressed completely in ideographic writing, the words will
59 not correspond exactly with the meaning, and if written entirely phonetically, the account will be much longer.[58]

60 For this reason, at times ideographic and phonetic writing have been used in combination in the same phrase, and at times the whole matter has been recorded ideographically.

61 Thus, when the purport is difficult to gather, a note has been added to make it clear; but when the meaning is easy to understand, no note is given.

62 Again, in the case of surnames such as Kusaka, which is written 日下, and given names such as Tarasi, which is written 帶, the traditional way of writing has been followed without change.[59]

[54] The legendary emperor who founded the Hsia dynasty, 2205 B.C.

[55] The founder of the Yin or Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C.

[56] 711 A.D.

[57] I.e., Chinese writing. In verses 57–62 Yasumarö dilates upon the principles he adopted in editing the texts making up the *Kojiki*.

[58] If translated entirely into literary Chinese, there will be discrepancies between the ideographic text and the original traditions; if written entirely phonetically, a much greater number of ideographs will be required to express the same meaning. Yasumarö gives a good statement of the dilemma of the scribe in the Japan of that period.

[59] Yasumarö follows the traditional transcriptions of various proper names, even when there seems to be no logical reason for perpetuating them.

63 In general, the account begins with the beginning of heaven and earth and ends with the reign of WOPARIDA.[60]

64 Thus everything from AMË-NÖ-MI-NAKA-NUSI-NÖ-KAMÏ through PIKO-NAGISA-TAKE-U-GAYA-PUKI-APËZU-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is included in the first volume.[61]

65 Everything from Emperor KAMU-YAMATÖ-IPARE-BIKO through the reign of POMUDA is included in the second volume.[62]

66 Everything from Emperor OPO-SAZAKI through the reign at the Great Palace of WOPARIDA is included in the third volume.[63]

67 These three volumes are recorded together and are reverently presented.

68 Thus do I, YASUMARÖ, full of awe, full of fear, reverently bow my head again and again.

69 The twenty-eighth day of the first month of the fifth year of Wadō.[64]

70 The ASÖMI OPO NÖ YASUMARÖ, upper fifth rank and fifth order of merit.

[60] Empress Suiko.
[61] Cf. 1:1; 46:1
[62] Cf. 47:1; 99:1
[63] Cf. 109:1; 149:1
[64] 712 A.D.

Kojiki
Book One

CHAPTER 1

THE FIVE SEPARATE HEAVENLY DEITIES COME INTO EXISTENCE.

1 At the time of the beginning of heaven and earth,[1] there came ing into existence in TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA a deity named AMË-NÖ-MI-NAKA-NUSI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KAMÏ-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMÏ. These three deities all came into existence as single deities,[2] and their forms were not visible.[3]

2 Next, when the land was young, resembling floating oil and drift-like a jellyfish, there sprouted forth something like reed-shoots.[4] From[5] these came into existence the deity UMASI-ASI-KABÏ-PIKO-DI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMÏ.[6] These two deities also came into existence as single deities,[6] and their forms were not visible.[3]

3 The five deities in the above section are the Separate Heavenly Deities.[7]

[1] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 1 for a discussion of the cosmogony of this chapter. For discussions of proper names see GLOSSARY.

[2] *Pitöri-gami;* unlike the pairs of male and female deities who came into existence later, these deities came into being one by one and had no counterparts. However, it later becomes apparent that both Kamï-musubi-no-kamï and Taka-mi-musubi-nö-kamï had children (cf. 30:4; 38:5).

[3] Or 'they hid their bodies.'

[4] *Asi-kabï;* the word forms part of the name of the next deity.

[5] Or 'by, by means of.'

[6] The first two sentences of this verse are written phonetically, for the most part, and must have originated in oral tradition. Kanda Hideo surmises that the section from 1:2 through 2:2 was originally a poem depicting the birth of all things from reed-shoots springing up in the muddy water of some primeval period. *Kojiki no kōzō* (Meiji Shoin, 1959), pp. 246–47.

[7] *Kötö-ama-tu-kami.* For some reason which is unclear to us today, these five deities were distinguished from the other heavenly deities and were set apart in a special category.

CHAPTER 2

THE SEVEN GENERATIONS OF THE AGE OF THE GODS COME INTO EXISTENCE.

1 Next there came into existence the deity KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TÖYÖ-KUMO-NO-NÖ-KAMÏ. These two deities also came into existence as single deities,[1] and their forms were not visible.[2]

2 Next there came into existence the deity named U-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse[3] SU-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, TUNO-GUPI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse IKU-GUPI-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, OPO-TO-NÖ-DI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse OPO-TO-NÖ-BE-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, OMÖ-DARU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse AYA-KASIKO-NE-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, IZANAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

3 The deities in the above section, from KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMÏ through IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ, are called collectively the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods.[4]

4 The first two single deities[5] are each called one generation.[5] The next pairs of ten deities are arranged in couples, each couple being called one generation.[5]

[1] *Pitöri-gami.*
[2] Or 'they hid their bodies.'
[3] *Imo.* Literally, 'younger sister.'
[4] *Kami-yö nana-yö.*
[5] *Yö.* The two single deities in verse 1 are each counted as one *yö;* the ten deities which follow are in couples, each couple being reckened as one *yö.* Thus there are altogether seven *yö.* Verse 4 is a redactoral gloss, written in small characters in the original, no doubt by Yasumarö. For the cosmogony of this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

CHAPTER 3

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI ARE COMMANDED TO SOLIDIFY THE LAND. THEY CREATE ONÖGÖRÖ ISLAND.

1 At this time the heavenly deities,[1] all with one command,[2] said to the two deities IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

"Complete and solidify this drifting land!"[3]

2 Giving them the Heavenly Jeweled Spear,[4] they entrusted the mission to them.

3 Thereupon, the two deities stood on the Heavenly Floating Bridge[5] and, lowering the jeweled spear, stirred with it. They stirred the brine with a churning-churning sound;[6] and when they lifted up [the spear] again, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This was the island ONÖGÖRÖ.[7]

[1] Evidently the Separate Heavenly Deities of Chapter 1.
[2] Some manuscripts have 'giving a command.' A heavenly mandate is not an essential element in the story of Izanagi and Izanami (its omission in most of the versions in the *Nihon shoki* reveals that it was something of an afterthought). Matsumura Takeo contends that it was included in the *Kojiki* version to conform with a traditional idea that any deities descending from the heavens to perform any activities should be acting under a mandate from the heavenly deities. *Nihon shinwa no kenkyü,* II, 71–83.
[3] The land mentioned above (1:2) as 'drifting like a jellyfish.' A similar command is given later to Opo-kuni-nusi (cf. 30:5).
[4] *Amë nö nu-bokö.* The words *amë nö* ('heavenly') are a stylized epithet praising an object by connecting it with the heavenly abode of the gods. *Nu* is an element which seems to mean 'jewel'; thus, *nu-bokö* would mean a spear made of, or decorated with, precious stones.
[5] *Amë nö uki-pasi;* cf. 32:3; 39:13. A bridge over which divine beings traveled between heaven and earth. Commentators have interpreted it as a boat or raft, a high ladder, a bridge of rainbows, or the Milky Way.
[6] *Köworö köworö ni.* This onomatopoeia, which appears again in the song in 133:57–58, has also the sense of 'curdling' or 'congealing.' This section of the narrative is perhaps reminiscent of the ancient Inland Sea custom of manufacturing salt by boiling down sea water.
[7] Onögörö island, which may literally mean 'self-curdling' island (see GLOSSARY),

CHAPTER 4

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI MARRY AND BEAR THEIR FIRST OFFSPRING.

1 Descending from the heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar[1] and a spacious palace.[2]

2 At this time [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] asked his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, saying:

"How is your body formed?"

3 She replied, saying:

"My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed insufficiently."

4 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed to excess. Therefore, I would like to take that place in my body which is formed to excess and insert it into that place in your body which is formed insufficiently, and [thus] give birth to the land. How would this be?"

5 IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied, saying:

"That will be good."

6 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"Then let us, you and me, walk in a circle around this heavenly pillar and meet and have conjugal intercourse."

7 After thus agreeing, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] then said:

was evidently thought to be near what is now Ösaka Bay (see III:22). The dripping brine congealed or crystallized to form this island, which became the base of operations of Izanagi and Izanami when they descended from the heavens to begin their procreative work.

[1] For a discussion of the significance of this pillar (*amë nö mi-pasira*), see ADDITIONAL NOTE 3.

[2] *Ya-pirö-dönö*. The wedding palace of Izanagi and Izanami. According to Kurano, *pirö* is a unit of length equivalent to the distance from fingertip to fingertip when a person has both arms extended.

"You walk around from the right, and I will walk around from the left and meet you."

8 After having agreed to this, they circled around; then IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:

"*Ana-ni-yasi*,[3] how good a lad!"

9 Afterwards, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"*Ana-ni-yasi*, how good a maiden!"

10 After each had finished speaking, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] said to his spouse:

"It is not proper[4] that the woman speak first."

11 Nevertheless, they commenced procreation and gave birth to a leech-child.[5] They placed this child into a boat made of reeds and floated it away.

12 Next, they gave birth to the island of APA. This also is not reckoned as one of their children.

[3] An exclamation of wonder and delight.

[4] Or 'it bodes no good.'

[5] *Piru-go*; for a discussion of the leech-child, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 4. The leech-child and the island of Apa were considered failures and were not counted among Izanami and Izanagi's rightful progeny (cf. 7:25).

CHAPTER 5

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI, LEARNING THE REASON FOR THEIR FAILURE, REPEAT THE MARRIAGE RITUAL.

1 Then the two deities consulted together and said:
"The child which we have just borne is not good. It is best to report [this matter] before the heavenly deities."

2 Then they ascended together and sought the will of the heavenly deities. The heavenly deities thereupon performed a grand divination[1] and said:

3 "Because the woman spoke first, [the child] was not good.[2] Descend once more and say it again."

4 Then they descended again and walked once more in a circle around the heavenly pillar as [they had done] before.

5 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:
"*Ana-ni-yasi*, how good a maiden!"

6 Afterwards, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"*Ana-ni-yasi*, how good a lad!"

[1] *Puto-mani;* mentioned also in 73:10. According to the description in 17:10, *puto-mani* was an ancient method of divination, in which the shoulder blade of a deer was heated (using bark from the *papaka* tree) and the cracks observed. This system was evidently practiced in Japan from antiquity and was later replaced by the tortoise-shell system of divination imported from China. Archeological evidence reveals that scapulamancy was performed at least as early as the Yayoi period: remains of such bones have been discovered in late Yayoi period strata in Miura, Kanagawa-ken, as well as in the Yayoi-period Chigusa remains on Sado island, Niigata-ken. The *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (*Wei Chih*), written about 297 A.D., attests to the prevalence of scapular divination among the early Japanese (Tsunoda Ryusaku et al., comp. *Sources of Japanese Tradition* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1958], p. 7). For information about the archeological finds see Saitō Tadashi, *Nihon zenshi* I: *Genshi* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1958), pp. 241–43.

[2] This statement was anticipated by Izanagi in 4:10. The condemnation of the woman for speaking before the man was probably influenced by Chinese ideas; it is doubtful that the ancient Japanese had any such clear-cut ideas of male supremacy. Tsuda, *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 353.

CHAPTER 6

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO NUMEROUS ISLANDS.

1 After they had finished saying this, they were united and bore as a child [the island] APADI-NÖ-PO-NÖ-SA-WAKË-NÖ-SIMA.[1]

2 Next they bore the double island[2] of IYÖ. This island has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:

3 Thus, the land of IYÖ is named EPIME; the land of SANUKI is named IPI-YÖRI-PIKO; the land of APA is named OPO-GË-TU-PIME; and the land of TOSA is named TAKE-YÖRI-WAKË.

4 Next they bore the triple island of OKI, also named AMË-NÖ-OSI-KÖRÖ-WAKË.

5 Next they bore the island of TUKUSI. This island also has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:

6 Thus, the land of TUKUSI is named SIRA-PI-WAKË; [the land of] TÖYÖ-KUNI is named TÖYÖ-PI-WAKË; [the land of] PĪ is named

[1] All of the islands which Izanagi and Izanami bore have alternative personal names, and some of them clearly have gender. The island of Apadi plays a central rôle in all of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* accounts of island-bearing; in one version in the *Nihon shoki*, Izanagi is said to dwell enshrined upon this island (see note on 13:9).

As Tsuda says, the accounts of island-bearing are not a cosmogony, but are merely accounts of the origin of Japan in a political sense. It is strange that there is no account of the creation of man or animals in these origin myths. To Tsuda, Izanagi and Izanami are national deities in a narrow sense, who give birth first to the islands of Japan, then to the deities who dwell in them, and finally to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, the emperor-symbol; at no time do they leave Japan. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 343, 350, 358.

Kanda (pp. 251–54) argues that the Izanagi-Izanami myth was originally a myth-complex from the Inland Sea area and could be dated from the end of the Jōmon Period, or approximately the third century B.C.

At any rate, it is clear that the *Kojiki* account reflects the geographical knowledge of a fairly late period, when sea communications along the Inland Sea to Kyūshū were well developed and when the nation was unified under the Yamatō court.

[2] Literally, 'double-named island.' Both Iyö (Shikoku) and Tukusi (Kyūshū) have four divisions.

TAKE-PI-MUKAPI-TÖYÖ-KUZI-PI-NE-WAKË;[3] [4]and the land of KUMA-SÖ is named TAKE-PI-WAKË.[5]

7 Next they bore the island of IKI, also named AMË-PITÖTU-BASIRA.

8 Next they bore [the island of] TU-SIMA, also named AMË-NÖ-SADE-YÖRI-PIME.

9 Next they bore [6]the island of SADO.

10 Next they bore[7] [the island] OPO-YAMATÖ-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-SIMA, also named AMA-TU-MI-SORA-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-NE-WAKË.

11 Thus, because the eight islands[8] were born first, they are called OPO-YASIMA-GUNI.[9]

12 After this, when they returned,[10] they bore [the island] KIBÏ-NÖ-KOZIMA, also named TAKE-PI-KATA-WAKË.

13 Next they bore [the island of] ADUKÏ-SIMA, also named OPO-NO-DE-PIME.

14 Next they bore [the island of] OPO-SIMA, also named OPO-TAMARU-WAKË.

15 Next they bore [the island of] PIME-ZIMA,[11] also named AMË-PITÖTU-NE.

16 Next they bore [the island of] TIKA-NÖ-SIMA, also named AMË-NÖ-OSI-WO.

17 Next they bore [the island of] PUTA-GO-NÖ-SIMA, also named AMË-PUTA-YA.

18 From KIBÏ-NÖ-KOZIMA through AMË-PUTA-YA are altogether six islands.

[3] There are textual difficulties in regard to this name; see GLOSSARY.

[4-5] Tanaka proposes to emend the text to read: "Next they bore the island of Sado, also named Take-pi-wakë." *Kojiki taisei*, VII, 15, head-note 14.

[6-7] Tanaka suppresses the words: ". . . the island of Sado. Next they bore . . ." *Ibid.*, VII, 16, head-note 2.

[8] *Ya-sima.* 'Eight,' *ya*, was a sacred number to the Japanese, and may often be translated as 'myriad.'

[9] 'Great Eight-Island Land; Great Land of Yasima.' A poetical name for Japan.

[10] Evidently to Onögörö.

[11] Cf. 116:1.

CHAPTER 7

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO NUMEROUS DEITIES. IZANAMI DIES AFTER BEARING THE FIRE-DEITY.

1 After they had finished bearing the land, they went on to bear deities.[1]

2 The name of the deity they bore was OPO-KÖTÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore IPA-TUTI-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ;[2] next they bore IPA-SU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore OPO-TO-PI-WAKË-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore AMË-NÖ-PUKI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore OPO-YA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore KAZA-MÖTU-WAKË-NÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore the sea-deity, whose name is OPO-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ;[3] next they bore the deity of the sea-straits,[4] whose name is PAYA-AKI-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

3 From OPO-KÖTÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ through PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether ten deities.

4 These two deities PAYA-AKI-TU-PIKO and PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME rule, respectively, the rivers and the seas.

5 They[5] bore the deity AWA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AWA-NAMI-

[1] At this point Izanami gives birth to the deities who are to inhabit the islands. The deities represent various natural phenomena and physical features of the land.

Tsuda, reasoning from the fact that many of the deities in this section do not seem to have any gender and that their functions and rôles are not mentioned, concludes that they were gods having names but no distinctive characteristics; even their names were given to them in the absence of any real basis in folk belief. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 365.

Matsumura (II, 345–50) draws attention to the similarities between the deities mentioned here and those which are listed in Chapter 2. Both accounts supply lists of names of deities without giving any information about their characters or functions.

[2] Tsugita (pp. 41–42) suggests that the six deities from Ipa-tuti-biko-nö-kamï through Kaza-mötu-wakë-nö-osi-wo-nö-kamï were deities of buildings.

[3] Other sea deities, whose names contain the element *wata-tu-mi* ('sea spirit'), are born of Izanagi's purification (cf. Chapter 11).

[4] *Minato;* also 'river-mouth,' [later] 'harbor.' Cf. 37:6.

[5] I.e., Paya-aki-tu-piko and Paya-aki-tu-pime.

NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TURA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TURA-NAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-MI-KUMARI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-MI-KUMARI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-KUPIZA-MÖTI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-KUPIZA-MÖTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

6 From AWA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ through KUNI-NÖ-KUPIZA-MÖTI-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

7 Next they[6] bore the wind-deity, whose name is SINA-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ.

8 Next they bore the tree-deity, whose name is KUKU-NÖ-TI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

9 Next they bore the mountain-deity, whose name is OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

10 Next they bore the deity of the plains, whose name is KAYA-NO-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named NO-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

11 From SINA-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ through NO-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether four deities.

12 These two deities OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ and NO-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ rule, respectively, the mountains and plains.

13 They[7] bore the deity AMË-NÖ-SA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-SA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-SA-GÏRI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-SA-GÏRI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-KURA-DO-NÖ-KAMÏ; [8]next, KUNI-NÖ-KURA-DO-NÖ-KAMÏ;[9] next, OPO-TO-MATO-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OPO-TO-MATO-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

14 From AMË-NÖ-SA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ through OPO-TO-MATO-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

15 Next they[10] bore the deity TÖRI-NÖ-IPA-KUSU-PUNE-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named AMË-NÖ-TÖRI-PUNE-NÖ-KAMÏ.[11]

16 Next they bore OPO-GË-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

17 Next they bore PÏ-NÖ-YAGI-PAYA-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named PÏ-NÖ-KAGA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ, and also named PÏ-NÖ-KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

[6] I.e., Izanagi and Izanami. The deities born in verses 7–10 are the children of Izanagi and Izanami.

[7] I.e., Opo-yama-tu-mi-nö-kamï and Kaya-no-pime-nö-kamï.

[8-9] Lacking in the Shimpuku-ji manuscript.

[10] I.e., Izanagi and Izanami.

[11] The element *-nö-kamï*, missing in the text, has been supplied here on the authority of 35:7, 11.

18 Because [Izanami-nö-mikötö] bore this child, her genitals were burned, and she lay down sick.[12]

19 In her vomit there came into existence[13] the deity KANA-YAMA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KANA-YAMA-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

20 Next, in her faeces there came into existence the deity PANI-YASU-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PANI-YASU-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.[14]

21 Next, in her urine there came into existence the deity MITU-PA-NÖ-ME-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, WAKU-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMÏ. The child of this deity is TÖYÖ-UKË-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

22 Thus at last, IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ, because she had borne the fire-deity, divinely passed away.[15]

23 From AMË-NÖ-TÖRI-PUNE through TÖYÖ-UKË-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

24 All of the islands borne by the two deities IZANAGI and IZANAMI were fourteen; the deities [borne by them were] thirty-five.

25 These were born before IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ divinely passed away. However, the island ONÖGÖRÖ was not born.[16] Also the leech-child and the island of APA are not reckoned as their children.[17]

[12] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 5.

[13] Most manuscripts have 'were born'; the verse has been emended to agree with verses 20ff.

[14] The deities who came into existence in Izanami's faeces were deities of clay or earth, and Mitu-pa-nö-me-nö-kamï, who came into existence in her urine, was a deity connected with water or water-greens. Matsumura (II, 370–72) says that he knows of no other people who have deities born from excreta, and alludes to their importance as fertilizer in Yayoi period agriculture.

[15] From Izanami's death, Motoori concludes that even the gods are subject to death and must then descend to the detestable land of Yömï. In his *Tama-kushige*, he goes on to write:

> "Everything is an exotic, alien falsehood and deception which esteems the ideas of not rejoicing at what should rejoice us, not sorrowing at what should sorrow us, not being surprised at what should surprise us, and in general not feeling emotion when we should. This is against human nature and a most bothersome matter. Death, in particular, is one thing about which we cannot help but feel sorrow. Even the great god Izanagi, who formed the land and all things in it and who initiated the Way of this world—did he not, at the death of the goddess, weep and sorrow with all his heart like a little child, and out of his yearning follow after her to the land of Yömï? This is the true, the real human nature, and the people of the world must of necessity be this way."

Motoori Norinaga zenshū [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1926–28], VI, 11.

[16] Cf. 3:3.

[17] Cf. 4:11.

26 At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"Alas, I have given my beloved spouse in exchange for a mere child!"

27 Then he crawled around her head and around her feet, weeping.

28 At this time in his tears there came into existence the deity who dwells at the foot of the trees in the foothills of Mount KAGU, named NAKI-SAPA-ME-NÖ-KAMÎ.[18]

29 Then he buried the departed IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÎ on Mount PIBA, the border between the land of IDUMO and the land of PAPAKI.[19]

[18] 'Weeping-Marsh-Woman Deity' (see GLOSSARY). This account undoubtedly reflects the practice of using female lamenters or professional mourners (*naki-me*, 'weeping woman,' cf. 33:7, 34:3) at funerals.

[19] One important variant in the *Nihon shoki* relates that Izanami was buried in the village of Arima in Kumano in the land of KI (Minami-muro-gun, Wakayama-ken). "The local people pay worship to the spirit of this deity with flowers during flower-time and also with singing and dancing, using drums, flutes, and banners." [*Kōtei*] *Nihon shoki*, ed. Takeda Yūkichi (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1953–57), hereafter cited Asahi ed., I, 72. Both are probably late glosses and do not form an essential part of the original Izanagi-Izanami myth.

CHAPTER 8

IZANAGI KILLS THE FIRE-DEITY. VARIOUS DEITIES COME INTO EXISTENCE.

1 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ unsheathed the sword ten hands long which he was wearing at his side and cut off the head of his child KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMÎ.[1]

2 Hereupon the blood adhering to the tip of the sword gushed forth onto the massed rocks; the deity who came into existence therefrom was IPA-SAKU-NÖ-KAMÎ; next, NE-SAKU-NÖ-KAMÎ; next, IPA-TUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMÎ. (Three deities)

3 Next, the blood adhering to the sword-guard of the sword also gushed forth onto the massed rocks; the deity who came into existence therefrom was MIKA-PAYA-PI-NÖ-KAMÎ; next, PÎ-PAYA-PI-NÖ-KAMÎ; next, TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMÎ, also named TAKE-PUTU-NÖ-KAMÎ, and also named TÖYÖ-PUTU-NÖ-KAMÎ. (Three deities)

4 Next, the blood collected at the hilt of the sword dripped through his fingers; the deity who came into existence therefrom was KURA-OKAMI-NÖ-KAMÎ; next, KURA-MITU-PA-NÖ-KAMÎ.

5 The deities in the above section, altogether eight in number from IPA-SAKU-NÖ-KAMÎ through KURA-MITU-PA-NÖ-KAMÎ, are deities born by the sword.[2]

[1] The god whose birth, in 7:17, was the cause of Izanami's sickness and death.

[2] Or 'from, by means of' the sword. Tsugita (p. 54) regards this section as a reference to the tempering of a sword.

"The three gods Ipa-saku, Ne-saku, and Ipa-tutu-nö-wo represent rock; the two gods Mika-paya-pi and Pî-paya-pi represent fire; and the two gods Kura-okami and Kura-mitu-pa represent water. Thus, the necessary steps in making a sword—firing it, shaping it on a rock, and soaking it in water—are the meaning behind this myth. The blood flowing over the surrounding rocks is reminiscent of the sparks which fly out when a sword is being tempered. Also, at the appearance of the dragon-god [Kura-okami-nö-kamî] one imagines the smith seeking out sacred waters in the mountain valleys and soaking the blade in them."

Nakajima Etsuji says with regard to this section:

6 The deity who came into existence in the head of the slain KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ was named MA-SAKA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.[3]

7 Next, the deity who came into existence in his chest was named ODÖ-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

8 Next, the deity who came into existence in his belly was named OKU-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

9 Next, the deity who came into existence in his genitals was named KURA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

10 Next, the deity who came into existence in his left hand was named SIGI-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

11 Next, the deity who came into existence in his right hand was named PA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

12 Next, the deity who came into existence in his left foot was named PARA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

13 Next, the deity who came into existence in his right foot was named TO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

14 From MA-SAKA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ through TO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

15 The name of the sword with which [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] killed [the fire-deity] was AMË-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI;[4] another name is ITU-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI.

"When the heavenly god Izanagi kills with a sword the fire-god (probably a volcanic fire-god), gods connected with rocks, gods connected with fire, thunder-gods, and water-gods are born from his blood. Is this not because volcanic explosions were regarded as the fearsome manifestation of a god tempering a sword?" *Kojiki hyōshaku* (Sankaidō, 1930), p. 55.

Matsumura (II, 380–81) writes that the violent explosion of Izanagi's emotions, accompanied by sword flashes, blood spurting forth, and the slashing into pieces of the body of the fire-god, points to volcanic eruption, which includes not only the destruction of the mountain and the bursting forth of molten rocks but also, frequently, thunder and lightning, rainstorms, and floods.

[3] The type of metamorphosis seen in verses 6–13 has already been seen in the account of the dying Izanami (7:19–21) and appears again in 9:7–14 and in 18:4.

[4] Cf. 35:3f.

CHAPTER 9

IZANAGI VISITS IZANAMI IN THE LAND OF YÖMÏ. BREAKING THE TABOO, HE LOOKS UPON HER CORPSE.

1 At this time, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö], wishing to meet again his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, went after her to the land of YÖMÏ.[1]

2 When she came forth out of the door[2] of the hall to greet him, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"O, my beloved spouse, the lands which you and I were making have not yet been completed; you must come back!"[3]

3 Then IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied, saying:

"How I regret that you did not come sooner. I have eaten at the hearth of YÖMÏ.[4] But, O my beloved husband, how awesome

[1] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 6 for a discussion of the evidence in this chapter regarding the ancient Japanese ideas of death and the afterlife.

It has frequently been suggested that the accounts of the visit to Yömï were influenced by the ancient practice of burial in subterranean stone chambers with stone passageways. (For a description of these tombs, similar to the tumuli of ancient Europe, see Kidder's *Japan before Buddhism*, pp. 145–92.) That some such recollection was at work can be argued from the fact that Izanami's corpse was found in an inner chamber (a 'hall,' cf. 9:4–5), and that the entrance to Yömï was a 'pass' closed by a large boulder (10:11). The archeologist Gotō Shuichi argues that the *Kojiki* account of the visit to Yömï clearly reflected the burial customs of the late Tomb Period—i.e., the sixth, seven, and first half of the eighth centuries. *Nihon kodaishi no kōkogakuteki kentō* (Yamaoka Shoten, 1947), pp. 11–21. (See also Tsugita, pp. 57, 65–66, for an eloquent statement of the tumulus theory; and Matsumura, II, 393–407, for a dispassionate evaluation of this theory.)

Matsumura (*Ibid.*) concludes that it is patent that a separate land of the dead was intended here; arguing that the ancient Japanese fundamentally regarded the abode of the dead as being not a subterranean land but a place deep inside caves or far in the mountains, he believes that the suggestions derived from tomb construction were merely secondary elaborations.

[2] One ideograph (腰) in this passage is corrupt and cannot be given a suitable translation.

[3] It is interesting that the appeal to return rests on the necessity of resuming the work of land-creating.

[4] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 7 for a discussion of this passage.

it is that you have entered here! Therefore I will go and discuss for a while with the gods of Yōmī[5] my desire to return. Pray do not look upon me!"[6]

4 Thus saying, she went back into the hall, but her absence was so long that [Izanagi-nō-mikōtō] could no longer wait.

5 Thereupon he broke off one of the large end-teeth of the comb he was wearing in his left hair-bunch,[7] lit [it as] one fire,[8] and entered in to see.

6 At this time, maggots were squirming and roaring[9] [in the corpse of Izanami-nō-mikōtō].

[5] The *Kojiki* is apparently inconsistent about the nature of the rulers of Yōmī. Here it seems to say that there are some unnamed 'gods [or god] of Yōmī'—the word may be singular or plural—to whom Izanami is subordinate, while in 10:16 Izanami herself is called the 'great deity of Yōmī' (Yōmō-tu-opo-kamī). Tsuda writes that this reflects a state of mental confusion about the nature of Yōmī on the part of the ancient Japanese. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 400–403.

In the *Nihon shoki* and *norito*, Izanami is depicted as the ruler of the underworld while Izanagi figures as the ruler of the world of men; this idea is also present in the *Kojiki* in 10:13–14.

[6] A similar taboo is found in 45:6. Some scholars have regarded both of these myths as variants of a single 'forbidden chamber' story, and some have connected the taboo related here with taboos against witnessing parturition (Izanami's downfall being connected with her giving birth to the fire-god—see also the variant mythological narrative in the *norito* for the fire-pacifying festival). Some scholars have thought this a reflection of an actual taboo against looking at a corpse. Matsumura (II, 439–48), on the other hand, supposes that there may have been a practice of going at stated intervals to look at a corpse in order to see whether it had come back to life, and that this myth is a reflection of such a custom.

[7] *Mi-midura*. The *midura* [from *mimi-dura*, 'ear bunch'?] was a man's hair style: the hair was parted in the middle, then tied in bunches on both sides of the head; combs were inserted at the top of each bunch, and the bunches were secured with strings called *kadura*, often made of vines. The word *midura* was later corrupted to *bizura* or *binzura*, which was in later periods a boy's hair style.

[8] Motoori says that, because the ancient custom must have been to kindle two or more fires, here special attention is drawn to the fact that only one fire is kindled. *Kojiki-den*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, Vols. I–IV, hereafter cited as *Kojiki-den*, I, 282.

The *Nihon shoki* has the following interesting gloss on this passage: "This is the origin of the taboo among the people of the present day against [lighting] a single light at night and against casting down a comb at night." (Asahi ed., 1:74; Aston, I, 24)

Motoori (*loc. cit.*) mentions a taboo, in the region of Iwami (modern Shimane-ken), against presenting only one light to a god and against throwing down a comb. According to B. H. Chamberlain, the superstition still existed in Tokyo (*Kojiki*, Supp. to TASJ, X [1882], [rep. ed.; Tokyo, 1906], 42).

[9] Some manuscripts have 'oozing.'

7 In her head was Great-Thunder;[10]

8 In her breast was Fire-Thunder;[11]

9 In her belly was Black-Thunder;[12]

10 In her genitals was Crack-Thunder;[13]

11 In her left hand was Young-Thunder;[14]

12 In her right hand was Earth-Thunder;[15]

13 In her left foot was Sounding-Thunder;[16]

14 In her right foot was Reclining-Thunder.[17]

15 Altogether there were eight thunder-deities.[18]

[10] Opo-ikaduti.

[11] Po-nō-ikaduti.

[12] Kuro-ikaduti.

[13] Saku-ikaduti [*saku* meaning 'to be cracked,' 'to have a crevice'].

[14] Waka-ikaduti.

[15] Tuti-ikaduti.

[16] Nari-ikaduti.

[17] Pusi-ikaduti.

[18] *Ikaduti-gamī*; cf. 10:6. *Ikaduti* is written with the ideograph meaning 'thunder' and is so translated. Some scholars, however, have questioned whether *ikaduti* originally meant 'thunder.' In folk belief thunder is and was closely connected with snakes, which dwell in damp, dark places like those used for burying the dead. Tsuda argues, for instance, that snakes were regarded as the spirits of the dead or as evil spirits residing inside corpses, and interprets *ikaduti* as 'fearsome spirit' (*ika-tu-ti*) and as having been originally applied to snakes. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 247, 397. For a criticism of this view, see Matsumura, II, 411–14.

According to Shiratori Kurakichi, the maggots, which the ancient Japanese equated with the spirits of the dead, were here transformed into snakes. *Jindaishi no shinkenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1955), pp. 210, 218–20.

CHAPTER 10

IZANAGI FLEES AND ELUDES HIS PURSUERS. IZANAGI AND IZANAMI BREAK THEIR TROTH.

1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, seeing this, was afraid, and he turned and fled.[1]

2 At this time his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"He has shamed me!"

3 Thereupon she dispatched the hags of YÖMÏ[2] to pursue him.

4 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ undid the black vine securing his hair[3] and flung it down; immediately it bore grapes. While [the hags] were picking and eating [the grapes], he fled.[4]

5 When again they pursued him, he next pulled out the comb he was wearing in his right hair-bunch and flung it down; immediately bamboo shoots sprouted forth. While [the hags] were pulling up and eating [the bamboo shoots], he fled.

6 Later, [Izanami-nö-mikötö dispatched] the eight thunder-deities[5] and a horde of warriors of YÖMÏ[6] to pursue him.

7 Then [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] unsheathed the sword ten hands long

[1] Cf. 45:7.

[2] *Yömö-tu-sikö-me.* The word is written phonetically. *Sikö-me* is literally 'ugly woman' or 'ugly women.' The word *sikö* appears again as an adjective *sikömëki* (translated as 'unpleasant, horrible') in 11:1, and also as an element in the name Asi-para-sikö-wo-nö-kamï (Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains Deity), another name for Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-kamï (20:19, 23:5, etc.).

[3] *Kadura;* cf. 9:5 and footnote. Much later the word came to mean 'head-band' and 'wig' (Modern Japanese *katsura*).

[4] Similar stories, involving throwing at one's pursuers various objects which change into other things and stop their pursuit, are found in folk tales throughout the world and in later Japanese folk tales. Such tales are called 'magic flight' or 'transformation flight' tales. Matsumura, II, 450.

Matsumura (II, 452–58) connects this myth with folk practices designed to prevent the spirits of the dead from coming back to disturb the living.

[5] The *ikaduti-gamï* mentioned in 9:15.

[6] Literally, 'the thousand five-hundred Yömï army.'

which he was wearing at his side and fled while waving it behind him.

8 The pursuit continued, and when [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] had arrived at the foot of [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA,[7] he took three peaches[8] which were there and, waiting for [his pursuers], attacked [them with the peaches]. They all turned and fled.

9 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to the peaches:
"Just as you[9] have saved me, when, in the Central Land of the Reed Plains,[10] any of the race of mortal men[11] fall into painful straits and suffer in anguish, then do you save them also."

10 He bestowed [upon the peaches] the name OPO-KAMU-DU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

11 Finally, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ herself came in pursuit of him. Then he pulled a tremendous boulder[12] and closed [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA with it.

12 They stood facing each other, one on each side of the boulder, and broke their troth.[13]

[7] Cf. verse 18 below; also 24:12.

[8] Using peaches to dispel demons or evil spirits was a common practice in China from antiquity; this myth is regarded by commentators as the product of an age when Chinese influence was strong.

[9] A singular pronoun is used.

[10] *Asi-para-nö-naka-tu-kuni;* a mythical expression referring to the islands of Japan. 'Central' may be used to locate the land between the heavenly land of Takama-nö-para and the subterranean land of Yömï.

[11] *Utusiki awo-pitö-gusa;* literally, 'mortal-green-human grass' (cf. 107:16). The human race, thriving in profusion like the countless blades of grass.

[12] *Ti-biki nö ipa;* literally, 'thousand-pulling boulder' (i.e., one requiring a thousand persons to pull it); cf. 24:8, 36:3. One interpretation is that this boulder is the rock used to seal the entrance to an underground burial mound. Matsumura (II, 466–73) doubts whether the long flight described in the chapter could have been thought to have taken place in the relatively short entrance corridor of a tomb.

Some scholars, including Matsumura, see in this boulder a type of the *Sai-no-kami,* a rock-deity worshipped at the outskirts of a village in order to keep evil spirits away. It seems more probable that the rock was used to block *physically* the passage of Izanami, rather than magically, as the *Sai-no-kami* is used; the latter is a small road-side idol and does not coincide with the description here.

[13] The Japanese words present some difficulties: they are read either (a) *kötö-do* [*wo*] *watasu,* or (b) *kötö-do wataru.* Their literal translations would be (a) 'to hand over a thing-door,' or (b) 'to cross a thing-door.' Both of these are, of course, quite meaningless, and some other interpretation independent of the literal meanings of the ideographs must be attempted.

13 At this time IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"O my beloved husband, if you do thus, I will each day strangle to death one thousand of the populace[14] of your country."

14 To this IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"O my beloved spouse, if you do thus, I will each day build one thousand five hundred parturition huts."[15]

15 This is the reason why one thousand people inevitably die and one thousand five hundred people are inevitably born every day.[16]

16 IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÎ[17] is also called YÖMÖ-TU-OPO-KAMÎ.[18] Also, because she joined in the pursuit,[15] she is called TI-SIKI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÎ.

The *Nihon shoki* has for this passage ideographs meaning 'made an oath of divorce.' The pronunciation *kötö-do* is indicated in a gloss.

The word *kötö* may be a word meaning 'separate' or 'different.' It may also mean 'thing,' 'word,' or the musical instrument *kötö*.

The word *do*, written with the ideograph for 'door,' is unclear, but may mean 'place'; more probably it is a term for any sort of solemn rite or magic ceremony. In this case it is the same as the *to* in the word *norito*. See Kaneko Takeo, *Engi-shiki norito kō* (Musashino Shoin, 1951), pp. 439–45.

Although *kötö-do* may have come to mean 'an oath of divorce,' it may earlier have meant some sort of magico-religious ceremony of rejection. Cf. Kaneko, *ibid.*; Matsumura, II, 473–81.

[14] Literally, 'human grass.'

[15] *Ubu-ya* (childbearing-houses). A parturition hut is mentioned also in 45:3 and referred to in 41:16. In ancient Japan childbirth, as well as menstruation, was regarded as pollution, and the pregnant or menstruant woman was required to live in a building apart from the main dwelling and to eat food prepared separately. In many localities, until the Meiji period, pregnant and menstruant women were segregated in separate buildings as a matter of course, and some of these houses may still be seen today. For photographs see Minzokugaku Kenkyūjo, comp., *Nihon minzoku zuroku* (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1955), pp. 32, 114–15.

[16] The account in verses 13–15 is a mythical explanation for the statistical fact of population increase. Watanabe Yoshimichi sees in this passage the writer's awareness of the rapid population increase accompanying the development of agricultural production after the third and fourth centuries. *Kojiki kōwa* (Hakuyōsha, 1936), p. 52.

Matsumura (II, 485–90) says that this account reflects also the ancient custom of deciding disputes by verbal battles. However, in such cases the engagements usually took place by means of songs or long harangues, not by brief statements as here.

[17] Most manuscripts have Izanami-nö-kamî-nö-mikötö.

[18] 'Great Deity of Yömî.' The metamorphosis of the goddess Izanami from a land-creating goddess to a goddess of death and the underworld is paralleled in other mythologies, where the Earth-mother (Freya, Persephone, Nerthus, Frigg) becomes a goddess presiding over the abode of the dead. See also Matsumura, II, 161–66, 388–93.

[19] *Opi-sikisi.*

17 The boulder which closed [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA is called TI-GAPESI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÎ; it is also called SAYARI-MASU-YÖMÎ-DO-NÖ-OPO-KAMÎ.

18 The so-called YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA is now called the pass[20] IPUYA-ZAKA in the land of IDUMO.[21]

[20] Or 'is now said to be the pass.'

[21] Why is the entrance to the land of Yömî located in the land of Idumo? Tsugita (p. 66) writes that Ipuya-zaka was the main route between Idumo and Yamatö, and the mythical account of its being closed was a reflection of a historical rupture between the two regions.

This viewpoint is unconvincing, and it is now obvious that the passage was a late gloss which did not exist in the original version of the myth.

CHAPTER 11

IZANAGI PURIFIES HIMSELF, GIVING BIRTH TO MANY DEITIES INCLUDING AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI AND SUSA-NÖ-WO.

1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ said:

"I have been to a most unpleasant land, a horrible, unclean land. Therefore I shall purify myself."[1]

2 Arriving at [the plain] APAKI-PARA by the river-mouth of TATI-BANA in PIMUKA in TUKUSI, he purified and exorcised himself.[2]

3 When he flung down his stick, there came into existence a deity named TUKI-TATU-PUNA-TO-NÖ-KAMÏ.

4 Next, when he flung down his sash, there came into existence a deity named MITI-NÖ-NAGA-TI-PA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

5 Next, when he flung down his bag,[3] there came into existence a deity named TÖKI-PAKASI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

[1] Literally, 'therefore I shall work my body's purification.' The word used implies purification by ablution. Motoori, rejecting a spiritualizing interpretation, insists that pollution of the body, not of the soul, was meant:

"Exorcism and purification are for the purpose of cleansing the pollutions of the body. To say that they are for exorcising and cleansing the spirit is a concept completely alien to Japanese antiquity." *Kojiki-den*, I, 317.

It is questionable whether the ancient Japanese distinguished between physical and mental pollution. Matsumura, II, 504–506.

[2] The practice of purification by ablution had a very early origin in Japan. The account of Japan in the *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (*Wei Chih*) says this of Japanese funeral customs:

"When there is a death, they mourn for ten days, during which period they do not eat meat. The chief mourners wail and weep, and the others sing, dance, and drink liquor. After the burial, the whole family goes into the water to bathe, like the Chinese sackcloth-ablutions." Wada Sei and Ishihara Michihiro, eds., *Gishi wajinden* (Iwanami Shoten, 1951), p. 45; see also Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, pp. 6–7.

Even today, purification by washing is a common element in Japanese folk religion. The propensity for bathing of the ancient Japanese probably reflected, not an inordinate wish for bodily cleanliness, but a desire to rid themselves by magical practices of evils and ritual impurity originating in contact with death.

[3] Some manuscripts have 'skirt.'

6 Next, when he flung down his cloak, there came into existence a deity named WADURAPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

7 Next, when he flung down his trousers, there came into existence a deity named TI-MATA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

8 Next, when he flung down his headgear, there came into existence a deity named AKI-GUPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

9 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his left arm, there came into existence a deity named OKI-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OKI-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OKI-TU-KAPÏ-BERA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

10 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his right arm, there came into existence a deity named PE-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PE-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PE-TU-KAPÏ-BERA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

11 The twelve deities in the above section, from PUNA-DO-NÖ-KAMÏ through PE-TU-KAPÏ-BERA-NÖ-KAMÏ, all were born from his taking off the articles worn on his body.

12 Then he said:

"The current of the upper stream is [4]a current[5] too swift; the current of the lower stream is [4]a current[5] too weak."

13 Then, when he went down and dived into the middle stream and bathed, there came into existence a deity named YASO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OPO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

14 These two deities came into existence from the pollution which he took on when he went to that unclean land.

15 Next, in order to rectify[6] these evils,[7] there came into existence the deity KAMU-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OPO-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, IDU-NÖ-ME-NÖ-KAMÏ. (Altogether three deities)

16 Next, when he bathed at the bottom[8] of the water, there came into existence the deity named SÖKÖ-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

17 When he bathed in the middle[9] [of the water], there came into

[4-5] Omitted in certain manuscripts.

[6] *Naposu.*

[7] *Maga.*

[8] *Sökö.*

[9] *Naka.*

existence the deity named NAKA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

18 When he bathed on the surface[10] of the water, there came into existence the deity named UPA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; next, UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[11]

19 These three WATA-TU-MI deities are the deities worshipped by
20 the MURAZI of the ADUMI as their ancestral deities.[12] The MURAZI of the ADUMI are the descendants of UTUSI-PI-GANA-SAKU-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, the child of these WATA-TU-MI deities.

21 The three deities SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, and UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ are the three great deities of SUMI-NÖ-YE.

22 Then when he washed his left eye, there came into existence a deity named AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ.

23 Next, when he washed his right eye, there came into existence a deity named TUKU-YÖMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[13]

24 Next, when he washed his nose, there came into existence a deity named TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[14]

25 The fourteen[15] deities in the above section, from YA-SO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ through PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, are deities born[16] from bathing his body.

[10] *Upë.*

[11] Compare the account in verses 16–18 with the performance of Saruta-biko-nö-kamī in 40:4. Matsumura (II, 511–12) is of the opinion that both these accounts reflect an ancient practice of the Ama people involving ablution in three steps.

[12] *Oya-gamī.* This verse is the first of the *Kojiki*'s many ancestral glosses, in which the ancestors claimed by various powerful families are fitted into the official national mythology. The formulation of a "correct" genealogy relating all the aristocratic families to the Yamatö ruling family was one of the primary objects of ancient Japanese historical compilation.

[13] Tsuda connects these accounts with the Chinese legend of P'an Ku, who in dying gave birth to the universe, and with another legend linking the sun with the left eye and the moon with the right eye. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 380–81.

[14] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 8 for a discussion of the nature and manner of birth of Susa-nö-wo.

[15] All manuscripts read 'ten'; emended.

[16] One manuscript has 'who came into existence.'

CHAPTER 12

IZANAGI ENTRUSTS THEIR MISSIONS TO THE THREE NOBLE CHILDREN.

1 At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, rejoicing greatly, said:

"I have borne child after child, and finally in the last bearing I have obtained three noble children."

2 Then he removed his necklace, shaking the beads on the string so that they jingled,[1] and, giving it to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, he entrusted her with her mission, saying:

"You shall rule[2] TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA."

3 The name of this necklace is MI-KURA-TANA-NÖ-KAMĪ.

4 Next he said to TUKU-YÖMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, entrusting him with his mission:

"You shall rule the realms of the night."

5 Next he said to TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, entrusting him with his mission:

"You shall rule the ocean."[3]

[1] Cf. 15:3, 5. Hirata says that Izanagi ceded all of his spiritual power to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamī, and as a symbol of this, and in order to pray for her longevity, gave her the necklace. He connects the shaking of the beads with the ancient ceremonies of *chinkon*, or spirit-pacification, which included waving or agitating fetishes. It must be remembered that the word for 'bead,' 'jewel' and the word for 'soul,' 'spirit' were both pronounced *tama*. *Hirata Atsutane zenshū* (Itchidō Shoten, 1911), I, 365.

At any rate, the necklace was, like the Three Divine Treasures of 39:2, a symbol of delegated power.

[2] In ancient Japanese, the word for 'to rule' was *siru*, *sirasu* [later *sirosimesu*], meaning 'to know.' The ideograph here is the one meaning 'to know.'

[3] Perhaps because Susa-nö-wo, as a windstorm-deity, was connected mentally with the ocean. In some of the *Nihon shoki* versions, his assignment is to rule Ne-nö-kuni, the underworld realm to which he is later banished in the *Kojiki*.

CHAPTER 13

SUSA-NÖ-WO DISOBEYS HIS DIVINE TRUST AND IS EXPELLED BY IZANAGI.

1 While [the other deities] ruled [their realms] in obedience to the commands entrusted to them, PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ did
2 not rule the land entrusted to him. [Instead], he wept and howled [even] until his beard eight hands long extended down over his chest.[1]

3 His weeping was such that it caused the verdant mountains to
4 wither and all the rivers and seas to dry up. At this, the cries of malevolent deities were everywhere abundant like summer flies; and all sorts of calamities arose in all things.[2]

5 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMÏ said to PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

"Why is it you do not rule the land entrusted to you, but [instead] weep and howl?"

6 Then [Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö] replied:

[1] Susa-nö-wo's conduct has been interpreted in various ways. Similar conduct is recorded in the *Kojiki* (73:2), and twice in the *Izumo fudoki*, which reads:

"Adi-suki-taka-piko-nö-mikötö, the son of the great deity who created the lands under the heavens [Opo-namöti-nö-mikötö], cried exceedingly day and night. A high building was made for him . . . and they constructed a ladder on which they went up and down as they raised him." *Fudoki*, ed. Takeda Yükichi (Iwanami Shoten, 1939), p. 144.

"Adi-suki-taka-piko-nö-mikötö, the son of the great god Opo-namöti-nö-mikötö, cried day and night until his beard grew eight hands long, and his words were not comprehensible." *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Matsumura (II, 611–16) supposes that there was an ancient magico-religious rite to summon down the deities by crying and howling. This rite, which had by then been forgotten, was reflected in these accounts.

In verse 3, the actions seem to be those of a ravaging nature-deity such as Susa-nö-wo was often supposed to be. For further notes on the aggressive behavior of Susa-nö-wo see Chapter 16.

[2] Cf. 17:3.

"I wish to go to the land of my mother, NE-NÖ-KATA-SU-KUNI. That is why I weep."[3]

7 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, greatly enraged, said:

"In that case, you may not live in this land!"

8 Thus [saying], he expelled him with a divine expulsion.[4]

9 This IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ is enshrined in TAGA of APUMI.[5]

[3] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 9 for a discussion of this verse.

[4] Cf. 17:25.

[5] This verse is a gloss, inserted here at the end of Izanagi's career. Instead of the words 'Taga in Apumi,' the Ise manuscript has 'Taga in Apadi.'

Apadi also figures in the *Nihon shoki* account, which says:

"After this, Izanagi-nö-mikötö, his divine mission being completed, passed on in the spirit. Then he provided himself with a hidden shrine on the island of Apádi, and abode there eternally in peaceful seclusion. Also, it is said: Izanagi-nö-mikötö, his merit reaching its supreme limits and his virtue also being at its greatest, at this point ascended to Heaven and reported the accomplishment of his mission. Thus he remained abiding in the Younger Palace of the Sun." Asahi ed., I, 89; see also Aston, I, 33–34.

In any case, the verse is a gloss of late origin, and there is no need to attach great importance to it. Tsuda argues that Taga in Apumi is a place which has no connection with the god Izanagi, and that the passage is a fabrication of a period when various shrines sought to enhance their importance by creating mythical sanctions. *Nihon koten no kenkyü*, I, 351.

CHAPTER 14

SUSA-NÖ-WO ASCENDS TO TAKE HIS LEAVE OF AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ.

1 At this time, PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"In that case, before I go I will take my leave of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ."

2 When he ascended to the heavens, the mountains and rivers all roared,[1] and the lands all shook.

3 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ heard this and was startled, saying:
"It is certainly not with any good intentions that my brother is coming up. He must wish to usurp my lands."

4 Then, undoing her hair, she wrapped it in hair-bunches.[2] In the hair-bunches on the left and right [sides of her head], on the vine securing her hair, as well as on her left and right arms, she wrapped long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.

5 On her back she bore a thousand-arrow quiver; [3]on the side of her chest[4] she attached a five-hundred-arrow quiver.

6 Also she put on an awesome high arm-guard;[5] and, shaking the

[1] Literally, 'moved.'

[2] *Midura;* cf. 9:5. That is, she assumed the masculine hair-dress. The preparations of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï in verse 4–6 are described in singularly masculine terms. This has led some scholars, notably Tsuda, to question whether Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï was not, after all, a male deity. Tsuda regards Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï as a masculine emperor-figure and finds the reaction to Susa-nö-wo's ascent (for instance, verse 3) essentially political. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 615–26.

Other scholars see in her actions a reflection of the shamanistic performance of a priestess of the sun. The female priestess would be possessed by the spirit of the deity and would naturally behave in the manner of the deity. The sun-deity was, according to these scholars, originally a male deity served by female shamans; but, as so often happens, the deity came to be confused with his servants and was eventually regarded as a female deity. See Saigō Nobutsuna, *Kojiki* (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1947), pp. 31–32.

At any rate, the description in verses 4–6 obviously derives from oral tradition and is an excellent example of archaic heroic diction.

[3-4] Omitted by Motoori.

upper tip of her bow, stamping her legs up to her very thighs into the hard earth, and kicking [the earth] about as if it were light snow, she shouted with an awesome fury, she shouted stamping her feet.

7 Thus waiting for him, she asked him:
"Why have you come?"

8 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied:
"I have no evil intentions. It is merely that the Great Deity[6] divinely inquired about my weeping and howling. I said that I was weeping because I wished to go to the land of my mother. Then the Great Deity said: 'You may not live in this land,' and expelled me with a divine expulsion. Whereupon I came up intending to take leave upon my departure. I have no other[7] intentions."

9 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ said:
"If that is so, how am I to know that your intentions are pure and bright?"

10 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied:
"Let us swear oaths[8] and bear children."

[5] *Itu nö taka-tömö. Tömö* were small lump-shaped leather arm-guards strapped onto the left arm when shooting a bow and arrow. They protected the arm when the bowstring snapped back, and were much prized for their resounding snap. See Takeda Yūkichi, *Manyōshū zenchūshaku* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1956–57), III, 289–90.

[6] Izanagi; cf. 13:5ff.

[7] Or 'strange.'

[8] *Ukëpi.* That is, "let us judge who is in the right by producing offspring. The issue will be decided by the nature of the resulting children."

Ukëpi, translated by the word 'oath,' is, in principle, a ceremony for learning the divine will and is thus like divination (*uranapi*). Divination, however, is a technique for discovering some unknown, whereas *ukëpi* is a rite in which one 'swears' in the divine presence that one is just and asks for a divine judgment to that effect. It is performed before a deity or a large group of people, and one is judged correct if the expected sign results. Tsugita, p. 94.

This explanation may be somewhat over-simplified—since it would seemingly not apply to the *ukëpi* of Opo-yama-tu-mi-nö-kamï in 41:10. Other examples of *ukëpi* and similar practices in the *Kojiki* are 41:15–17, 73:14–18, and 96:3–5. I would also regard 33:16 and 41:15 as *ukëpi.*

Tsuda defines *ukëpi* as "pronouncing in some set formula magic words having blessing or cursing power" (*Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 437). However, the ideographs used to write *ukëpi* are in almost every case those meaning 'to swear an oath.'

It is a necessary part of the procedure to specify in advance what sign will decide the outcome of the contest. The omission of this detail in this passage is one of the flaws in the *Kojiki* account; we do not learn until afterwards (in 16:1) that the production of female offspring was the prerequisite for victory.

CHAPTER 15

AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ AND SUSA-NÖ-WO BEAR OFFSPRING TO TEST THE SINCERITY OF THE LATTER'S MOTIVES. HE IS VICTORIOUS.

1 Whereupon they each stood on opposite sides of [the river] AMË-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA and swore their oaths.[1]

2 At this time, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ first asked for the sword ten hands long which TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ wore

3 at his side. Breaking the sword in three pieces, she rinsed them, [2]the jewels making a jingling sound,[3] in [the heavenly well] AMË-NÖ-MANA-WI, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

4 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named TAKÏRI-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, also named OKI-TU-SIMA-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; next, IKITI-SIMA-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, also named SA-YÖRI-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; and next, TAKITU-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ. (Three deities)[4]

5 PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, asking for the long string of

[1] *Ukëpu*. During the Edo period Confucianist scholars apparently attacked Shintoism on the basis of this episode, saying that Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï and Susa-nö-wo committed incest by bearing children. The Shintoists of the period replied, according to Andō Masatsugu, that the text clearly stated that the two deities stood on opposite sides of the river and were therefore above reproach. See Katō, pp. 116–20.

[2-3] These words do not seem appropriate in this context and may be an anticipation of the same words in verse 5; cf. also 12:2. On the other hand, Matsumura (III, 28–29) says that three steps were necessary in the magic process of bearing children: (1) shaking the articles 'making a jingling sound,' (2) rinsing them in the well Amë-nö-mana-wi, and (3) blowing a misty spray.

Shaking the articles with a jingling sound was, he says, to induce the latent spiritual forces in them to awake and go into action. Rinsing them in a sacred well was to impart to them the generative powers latent in the waters, and blowing a misty spray reflected a belief in the life-giving powers of breath.

[4] These three deities (the three goddesses of Munakata—cf. verses 17–20) were born from the possessions of Susa-nö-wo and were considered to be his children (cf. verse 15). Because he bore these three female children, he was judged victorious in the contest (cf. 16:1). Takïri-bime-nö-mikötö later married Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-kamï (cf. 29:1).

myriad MAGA-TAMA beads wrapped on the left hair-bunch of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, rinsed them, the jewels making a jingling sound, in [the heavenly well] AMË-NÖ-MANA-WI, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

6 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named MASA-KATU-A-KATU-KATI-PAYA-PI-AMË-NÖ-OSI-PO-MIMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[5]

7 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her right hair-bunch, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

8 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named AMË-NÖ-PO-PI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[6]

9 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on the vine securing her hair, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

10 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named AMA-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

11 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her left arm, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

12 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named IKU-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

13 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her right arm, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

[5] The five male deities born in verses 6–14 were born from the possessions of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï and were considered to be her offspring (cf. verse 15). The deity in verse 6 is the 'heir apparent' of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï and the ancestor of the imperial line (cf. 32:1, 38:1). Tsuda argues convincingly that in the original form of this myth the male children were borne by Susa-nö-wo, and that the birth of male children must have been the original criterion for victory; thus the name of the child in verse 6, the first part of which probably means 'Verily Winning I Have-won Victorious Vigorous-Force' (cf. GLOSSARY), must have had some relation to Susa-nö-wo's victory and his subsequent turbulent ragings. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 441. This deity's close affinity with Susa-nö-wo is clear when we recall that the other male deities—Amë-nö-po-pi-nö-mikötö, Kumano-kusubi-nö-mikötö, etc.—were Idumo deities, like Susa-nö-wo himself.

Perhaps the substitution of female children for male children as the sign of victory came as the result of a desire to make the deity in verse 6, already known to be the "heir apparent" of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, her offspring. If he were the offspring of the Idumo god Susa-nö-wo, serious theological difficulties would arise; the *Kojiki* has therefore resorted to alterations of this section which inevitably make the narrative confused.

[6] The ancestor of the rulers of Idumo (cf. verse 21). His later failure is recounted in 32:9–10.

14 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named KUMANO-KUSUBI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

15 At this time AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ said to PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

"The latter-born five male children came into existence from my possessions and are therefore naturally my children. The first-born three female children came into existence from your possessions, and are therefore your children."

16 Thus saying, she distinguished[7] [the offspring].

17 The first-born deity, TAKĪRI-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, is enshrined in the OKI-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

18 Next, ITIKI-SIMA-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is enshrined in the NAKA-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

19 Next, TAKITU-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is enshrined in the PE-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

20 These three deities are the three great deities worshipped by the KIMI of MUNAKATA.

21 Among the latter-born five deities, the child of AMË-NÖ-PO-PI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, TAKE-PIRA-TÖRI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IDUMO, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of MUZASI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KAMI-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SIMO-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IZIMU, of the AGATA-NÖ-ATAPË of TU-SIMA, and of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of TÖPO-TU-APUMI.

22 Next, AMA-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of OPUSI-KAPUTI, of the MURAZI of the NUKATA-BE-NÖ-YUWE, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UBARAKĪ, of the ATAPË of TANAKA in YAMATÖ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of YAMASIRÖ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UMAKUDA, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KIPË in MITI-NÖ-SIRĪ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SUPAU, of the MIYATUKO of AMUTI in YAMATÖ, of the AGATA-NUSI of TAKËTI, of the INAKI of KAMAPU, and of the MIYATUKO of the SAKIKUSA-BE.[8]

[7] Or 'divided.'

[8] Verses 21–22 include some of the many genealogical glosses which occur in the *Kojiki*. The intention is clear: by relating the ancestors of all of these powerful families directly to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamī, the *Kojiki* hoped to secure their loyalty to the Yamatö ruling family, which claimed descent from the elder brother of Amë-nö-po-pi-nö-mikötö and Ama-tu-pikone-nö-mikötö.

CHAPTER 16

SUSA-NÖ-WO RAGES WITH VICTORY.

1 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ:

"It was because my intentions were pure and bright that in the children I begot I obtained graceful maidens. By this it is obvious that I have won."[1]

2 Thus saying, he raged with victory,[2] breaking down the ridges between the rice paddies of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ and covering up the ditches.

3 Also he defecated and strewed the faeces about in the hall where the first fruits were tasted.[3]

4 Even though he did this, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ did not reprove him, but said:

5 "That which appears to be faeces must be what my brother has vomited and strewn about while drunk. Also his breaking down the ridges of the paddies and covering up their ditches—my brother must have done this because he thought it was wasteful to use the land thus."

[1] In the *Kojiki* Susa-nö-wo's victory is due to his production of female children, whereas in the *Nihon shoki* it is because his offspring are males.

Takeda suggests that this show of respect for women might indicate that the *Kojiki* was transmitted by women and may be adduced as an argument that Piyeda nö Are was a woman. *Kojiki* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1956), pp. 25–26.

Although it is not impossible to regard the *Kojiki* account as a reminiscence of an earlier matrilinear social system, it is generally agreed that, of the two, the *Nihon shoki* accounts are the older.

Tsuda argues persuasively that Susa-nö-wo's children were originally male, and that the statement that female children were a proof of innocence of heart is a later alteration. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 441–42. Cf. note on 15:6.

[2] For a discussion of Susa-nö-wo's destructive behavior in this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 10.

[3] Or 'where she tasted the first fruits.' The Hall of the First Fruits was the palace where the harvest festival was celebrated; cf. also 133:31.

6 Even though she thus spoke with good intention,[4] his misdeeds did not cease, but became even more flagrant.

7 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ was inside the sacred weaving hall[5] seeing to the weaving of the divine garments,[6] he opened a hole in the roof of the sacred weaving hall and dropped down into it the heavenly dappled pony[7] which he had skinned with a backwards skinning.[8]

8 The heavenly weaving maiden,[9] seeing this, was alarmed and struck her genitals against the shuttle and died.

[4] *Nōri-naposi;* to speak good words correctively in an optimistic attempt to improve the situation. Perhaps this is evidence of an ancient belief that one could turn evil into good by speaking well of it. Japanese scholars love to dwell on the *kōtō-dama,* or 'word-spirit,' the magic power dwelling in words or in certain verbal formulae, which were believed to have the power to bring about the announced results.

[5] *Imi-pata-ya.* Matsumura (II, 560–63) suggests that this section is reminiscent of the sun-priestesses whose duty it must have been to weave ceremonial garments to be used in the worship of the sun-deity. This sacred duty is projected into the mythical rôle of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, who is confused with these priestesses in the *Kojiki.* The deity, in other words, has assumed the characteristics of the priestesses, and become a glorified sun priestess.

Tsuda, on the other hand, sees a political significance in Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï's rôles: the goddess is an emperor-symbol against whom Susa-nö-wo rebels in a manner symbolizing the unsuccessful revolts of the enemies of the Yamatö Court. *Nihon koten no kenkyū,* I, 432.

[6] *Kamu-mi-so;* garments to be presented to a deity, or 'sacred garments.'

[7] *Amë nö puti-koma;* or 'heavenly piebald colt.' Aston says: "Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars." *Nihongi,* I, 40.

[8] *Saka-pagi.* "Backwards skinning," evidently flaying a live animal from the tail up, is mentioned together with "skinning alive" in the *norito* as one of the heavenly sins (*ama-tu-tumi*). Perhaps skinning a live animal was some sort of black magic practice.

[9] The heavenly weaving maiden is evidently a subordinate priestess belonging to the entourage of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï. The *Nihon shoki* has accounts in which it is Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï herself who is alarmed and injured. Matsumura (III, 43–45) is of the opinion that the latter is the original version, and that the *Kojiki*'s account is a later revision making a subordinate suffer the direct effects of the indignity.

CHAPTER 17

AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ CONCEALS HERSELF. THE OTHER DEITIES LURE HER OUT. SUSA-NÖ-WO IS EXPELLED.

1 At this time, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, seeing this, was afraid, and opening the heavenly rock-cave door,[1] went in and shut herself inside.

2 Then TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA was completely dark, and the Central Land of the Reed Plains[2] was entirely dark.

3 Because of this, constant night reigned,[3] and the cries of the myriad deities were everywhere abundant, like summer flies; and all manner of calamities arose.[4]

[1] *Amë nö ipa-ya-to.* Motoori says that *ipa-ya* (lit., 'rock-house') does not necessarily mean 'cave,' since *ipa* is often used attributively to impart the sense of 'firm,' 'solid' to the noun following; thus, the writer could be referring to an ordinary building. *Kojiki-den,* II, 407–408. There is also a theory that the concealment of the sun-goddess was a symbolic death; the *ipa-ya* is the stone tomb into which she enters, and the ensuing rites are performed to summon her back to life. In various poems in the *Manyōshū* the words 'to shut oneself inside the rock-door' mean 'to die and be concealed within the rocky tomb.'

[2] *Asi-para-nö-naka-tu-kuni;* cf. note on 10:9.

[3] Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, who had figured largely as the ruler of Takama-nö-para, now appears to assume more clearly the attributes of the sun-deity. When she conceals herself, constant darkness and night reign everywhere. A similar myth exists among the Ainu: the sun-goddess was taken captive, and all the deities and human beings died from excessive sleep. Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu seiten* (Sekai Bunko Kankōkai, 1923), p. 113.

The concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï has been explained as representing an eclipse, the death of the sun-goddess, her anger, etc. The ensuing rites are regarded as magico-religious rites to bring the sun back to life, to bring it out of eclipse, or to propitiate the anger of the sun-goddess. Matsumura (III, 46ff.) states that the myth had its origin in a magico-religious rite performed every winter, when the sun's rays are weakest, in order to renew the sun's power; the rite had elements of *chinkon* (or *tama-furi* —spirit pacification) and of ritual laughter.

Matsumura (III, 67) also insists, incidentally, that the rages of Susa-nö-wo, the concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, and the expulsion of Susa-nö-wo were originally independent myths, welded together later into a connected story.

[4] Cf. 13:4.

4 Then the eight-hundred myriad deities[5] assembled in a divine assembly in the river-bed of the AMË-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA.[6]

5 They caused the child of TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMÏ, OMÖPI-KANE-NÖ-KAMÏ, to ponder.[7]

6 They gathered together the long-crying birds of TÖKÖ-YÖ and caused them to cry.[8]

7 They took the heavenly hard rock[9] from the upper stream of the river AMË-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA; they took iron from [the moun-
8 tain] AMË-NÖ-KANA-YAMA. They sought the smith AMA-TU-MARA and commissioned ISI-KÖRI-DOME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ to make a mirror.

9 They commissioned TAMA-NÖ-YA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ to make long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.

10 They summoned AMË-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ to remove the whole shoulder-bone of a male deer of the mountain AMË-NÖ-KAGU-YAMA, and take heavenly

[5] *Ya-po-yörödu nö kamï;* the ideographs, translated into Modern Japanese, mean 'eight million gods.' The word *ya,* written 'eight,' is a sacred number often meaning 'many'; and *yörödu,* written 'ten-thousand,' is an indefinite term best translated by the word 'myriad.'

[6] Another divine assembly is described in identical terms in 32:5. The ethnologist Torii Ryūzō compares these meetings of the gods with the Mongolian meeting of clans called *Kuriltai. Jinruigaku-jō yori mitaru waga jōdai no bunka* (Sōbunkaku, 1925), pp. 57–65. Tsuda says that the assembly of the gods reflects an ancient custom of holding *Kuriltai*-like meetings of powerful clans to confer and cooperate in deciding important questions on behalf of the ruling family. *Nihon koten no kenkyū,* I, 433. Most authorities agree that this convocation reflects not a primitive democratic town-meeting but a confabulation among the powerful ruling families connected with the Yamatö court.

[7] *Omöpu;* or 'to think,' 'to devise,' 'to lay a wise plan.' This deity, evidently a god of wisdom or counsel (see GLOSSARY), is always called upon to devise a plan whenever there is a convocation of the gods; cf. Chapters 32, 33.

[8] The 'long-crying birds' (*naga-naki-dori*) are cocks. *Tökö-yö* (see GLOSSARY) is clearly the land of Tökö-yö, the mythical 'eternal world.' The word was formerly mistakenly translated as 'eternal night,' on the understanding that 'eternal night' (*tökö-yo*) was phonemically equivalent to *Tökö-yö.* Actually, the final elements of the two words are phonemically distinct. Evidently, cocks were made to crow in order to summon the sun at dawn; the crowing of cocks is a feature of funerals among various peoples because of its association with dawn, early morning, resurrection of the dead, and banishment of evil spirits. There is a myth among the Miao tribes of southern China in which the sun concealed itself but came out again on hearing the cock's crowing. Matsumura, III, 71–73.

[9] Evidently, the hard rock was used as a rock anvil on which to temper the iron.

PAPAKA wood from the mountain AMË-NÖ-KAGU-YAMA, and [with these] perform a divination.[10]

11 They uprooted by the very roots the flourishing MA-SAKAKÏ[11] trees of the mountain AMË-NÖ-KAGU-YAMA; to the upper branches they affixed long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads; in the middle branches they hung a large-dimensioned mirror;[12] in the lower branches they suspended white NIKITE cloth and blue NIKITE cloth.[13]

12 These various objects were held in his hands by PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ as solemn offerings,[14] and AMË-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ intoned a solemn liturgy.[15]

[10] *Uranapi;* cf. the notes on 5:2 in regard to divination by firing the shoulder-bones of deer, called *puto-mani.*

The deities playing important rôles in this chapter—Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö, Amë-nö-ko-yane-nö-mikötö, Puto-tama-nö-mikötö, Isi-köri-dome-nö-mikötö, Tama-nö-ya-nö-mikötö, Omöpi-kane-nö-kamï, and Ta-dikara-wo-nö-kamï—appear again in the myth of the descent from the heavens (Chapter 39). There was evidently a close connection between the two myths; Matsumura (III, 31) even calls the retirement of the sun-goddess a "prelude" to the descent from the heavens.

The rites in this chapter seem to be based on accounts emanating from the Nakatömi (descendants of Amë-nö-ko-yane-nö-mikötö), the Imube (descendants of Puto-tama-nö-mikötö), and the Sarume (descendants of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö) clans, all priestly families connected with the Yamatö court. In this composite version, the Sarume influence seems to be the strongest, since the actions of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö form the central part of the ceremonies. In some versions in the *Nihon shoki* the coming forth of the sun-goddess is the direct result of the practices of the ancestors of the Imube or of the Nakatömi; such accounts do not mention the dance of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö, which is central in the *Kojiki.*

[11] *Ipo-tu-ma-sakakï;* cf. *yutu-ma-tubaki* in 112:21.

[12] *Ya-ata kagami;* the use of this mirror, which is evidently the one made in verse 8 by Isi-köri-dome-nö-mikötö, is described in verse 20. The myriad *maga-tama* beads and "the mirror which had been used to lure" are later (39:2) given, together with the sword Kusa-nagi (first mentioned in 19:22), as the three items of the sacred regalia to Piko-po-nö-ninigi-nö-mikötö on his descent from the heavens.

[13] Hanging mirrors and cloth offerings on branches of uprooted trees was a common practice in ancient Japanese worship; undoubtedly, the tree thus decked became the temporary abode of the spirit of the deity.

[14] *Puto-mi-te-gura.* These were probably not offerings in the strict sense, but implements held in the hands of the shaman in order to induce possession by the spirit of the deity.

[15] *Puto-nörito-götö;* any solemn words having magic power. The preliminary ceremonies in verses 7–12 were probably ritual preparations common to all religious ceremonies; the central part of the rite recorded in the *Kojiki* is the performance recorded in verses 14–16. According to Matsumura (III, 66), the fundamental magic power which was able to soften the heart of the deity and summon her forth was in Amë-nö-uzume's comic dance.

13 AMË-NÖ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ stood concealed beside the
14 door,[16] while AMË-NÖ-UZUME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ bound up her sleeves with a cord of heavenly PI-KAGË vine, tied around her head a head-band of the heavenly MA-SAKI vine, bound together bundles of SASA leaves to hold in her hands, and overturning a bucket before the heavenly rock-cave door, stamped resoundingly upon it.[17] Then she became divinely possessed,[18] exposed her breasts, and pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals.[19]

16 Then TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA shook as the eight-hundred myriad deities laughed at once.[20]

[16] In order to pull the sun-goddess out, as he does in verse 22.

[17] Note the various preparations of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö for shamanistic possession. A parallel to the stamping of the overturned bucket is found in the ceremonies of the *chinkon-sai* (spirit-pacification ceremony) of the imperial court, in which a wooden bucket (or some sort of tub or wooden container) is pounded with the staff of a long spear while the emperor's garments are shaken or waved in a magic rite to increase his longevity. Matsumura, III, 75–76.

Some scholars have held that all the rites in this chapter were the same as those of the *chinkon-sai* ceremony, in which indeed the women of the Sarume clan played an important rôle. The *chinkon* (or *tama-furi*) rite was a ceremony attempting to prevent the spirit from leaving the body, or to summon it back into a dead body—or, according to one interpretation, to attach additional spiritual forces to a person's soul, and thus to increase his vitality and longevity. Matsumura (III, 76–91) claims that *chinkon* rites must have been performed for the sun when it lost its force during the winter.

[18] *Kamu-gakari;* god-possession. The widespread popularity of shamanistic spirit-possession among the ancient Japanese is amply attested to in documentary sources; it was widely practiced until the Meiji period and is still practiced in the Ryūkyū islands and among the Ainu, Koreans, and other continental peoples. Torii asserts that shamanism was the native religion of the Japanese, that the sun-goddess and the deities surrounding her in Takama-nö-para were shamans, and that the whole setting for the concealment myth is shamanistic. *Jinruigaku-jō*, pp. 50–53.

[19] Motoori attributes Uzume's exhibitionism to derangement, i.e., to a state of possession. The same actions are performed in her encounter with Saruta-biko, as recorded in the *Nihon shoki* (see note on 38:11).

Exposure of the genitals is believed among many peoples to have magic power to drive away evil spirits. Chiri Mashiho records such a custom, called *hoparata*, among the Ainu. *Bunrui Ainu-go jiten* (Nihon Jōminbunka Kenkyūjo, 1954), III, 66–67.

Matsumura (III, 91–107) gives a number of accounts from various peoples which reveal that this type of exhibitionism was used in religious rites, not only to drive away undesirable influences, but also to amuse, entertain, and impart vitality to the deities. He likens Amë-nö-uzume's dance to the one performed by Iambe before Demeter in the Homeric hymns and to that performed by Baubō before Demeter in the Protrepticus of Clement of Alexandria.

[20] Matsumura (III, 91–98) says that ritual laughter was used magically to propitiate the anger of the gods or to increase their vitality. The *Kojiki* narrative, of course, records the laughter merely as a device to arouse the curiosity of the sun-goddess.

17 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, thinking this strange, opened a crack in the heavenly rock-cave door, and said from within:

18 "Because I have shut myself in, I thought that TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA would be dark, and that the Central Land of the Reed Plains would be completely dark. But why is it that AMË-NÖ-UZUME sings and dances,[21] and all the eight-hundred myriad deities laugh?"

19 Then AMË-NÖ-UZUME said:

"We rejoice and dance because there is here a deity superior to you."

20 While she was saying this, AMË-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ brought out the mirror and showed it to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ.

21 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, thinking this more and more strange,[22] gradually came out of the door and approached [the mirror.]

22 Then the hidden AMË-NÖ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ took her
23 hand and pulled her out. Immediately PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ extended a SIRI-KUMË rope behind her, and said:

"You may go back no further than this!"[23]

24 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ came forth, TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA and the Central Land of the Reed Plains of themselves[24] became light.

25 At this time the eight-hundred myriad deities deliberated together, imposed upon PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ a fine of a thousand tables of restitutive gifts, and also, cutting off his beard and the nails of his hands and feet,[25] [26]had him exorcised[27] and expelled him with a divine expulsion.[28]

[21] *Asobi*. The word is written with the ideograph meaning 'pleasure' or 'music.' In Archaic Japanese it was read *asobi* ('singing and dancing') or *uta-mapi* ('song and dance').

[22] Either she saw her reflection in the mirror and thought that the reflected image was another deity; or seeing the mirror, a symbol of the sun-deity, she thought that there was another sun-deity besides herself.

[23] Evidently the two elements—extending the rope behind her back and reciting a magic formula—made it impossible for the sun-goddess to re-enter the cave.

[24] I.e., by themselves, naturally, as a matter of course. The magic rites had been successful in restoring light to the universe.

The Great Purification chant　(O-HARAE-NO-KOTOBA)

By the command of KAMUROGI and KAMUROMI (the ancestral male and female deities of the Imperial Family) who divinely remain in the TAKAMANOHARA (High Heavenly Plain), YAOYOROZU-NO-KAMITACHI　(*8,000,000 deities) were convoked in divine convocations and consulted in divine consultations, and the following heavenly words were mandated, “Our Imperial Grandchild (NINIGI-NO-MIKOTO) is to peacefully govern the Land of Abundant Reed Plains and Rice Fields.”　*【8 million deities is not necessary the count of gods, but eight is used to describe as "countless" or "infinite" in the Japanese language】

But not all deities complied with the mandate. NINIGI-NO-MIKOTO has fiercely defeated and dispelled those deities that did not obey. Consequently, not only the unruly deities, but the rock, grass, and trees that spoke words became silent. The Land has become peaceful. NINIGI-NO-MIKOTO has stood up from his throne in TAKAMANOHARA, pushed his way through the heavenly clouds, and descended to the Land he is to rule, the Great Yamato.

Great Yamato became the capital and center of governance. The Imperial Grandchild constructed a Noble Palace in the central area of the capital. He dug a hole deep into the ground, placed thick pillars, and created CHIGI (ornamental crossbeams on the roof) which soared high towards TAKAMANOHARA. NINIGI-NO-MIKOTO then entered the palace with the divine protection of AMATERASU.

Soon he will witness people committing various sins in the peaceful land. To cleanse those who have sinned, they will conduct the AMATSUKAMI ritual in the same way used by AMATERASU in TAKAMANOHARA. The ritual consists of using essential elements in the purification ceremony. Firstly, cut the roots and tips of trees, then trim them to appropriate lengths, and place them on many tables. In addition, the roots and the tips of the purified hemp are trimmed to proper length, and teared into strips. Finally, recite the sacred and heavenly prayers.

If the heavenly prayers are recited, the heavenly deities would push open the heavenly gate, push very strongly through the overlapping layers of heavenly clouds, and listen. The earthly deities would climb up to the summits of high mountains and the mists of low mountains and listen.

If they thus listen, each and every sin will be gone. It will look like as if the strong wind blows apart the overlapping layers of heavenly clouds, as if the morning wind and evening wind blow away the morning fog and evening fog, as if one pushes out a large ship anchored in a large port into the sea, untying at the prow and untying at the stern, and as if one cuts away the thick trees with a sharp sickle, he will be cleansed from all sins.

There will be no sins left. The exorcised sins will be taken into the sea by a female deity called SEORITSUHIME who dwells in the river which fall steeply from the summits of high mountains and to that of the low mountains.

The sins are then taken and swallowed by a female deity called HAYAAKITSUHIME, who dwells in the tide of many briny currents where no man can approach.

If she thus swallows the sins, a male deity called IBUKIDONUSHI, who dwells at the gate of breeze called IBUKIDO, will blow them away with his breath to the land of the underworld.

If he thus blows them away, a female deity called HAYASASURAHIME, who dwells in the land of the underworld, will take it and seal them in an unknown place.

People will perform the ritual in this way, where all sins will be eliminated and purified from this world. I humbly ask our heavenly deities, earthly deities, and eight million deities to kindly listen and give us divine support for the purification ritual.

translated by Rev. Yoshihisa HOSONO

2.

UNDERSTANDING THE HIDDEN MOTIVES OF KOJIKI AND NIHONGI

As Paekche was completely destroyed by the Silla-Tang allied forces in A.D. 663 and annexed by Silla shortly thereafter, the Yamato rulers had to redefine their identity. They officially changed the name of their country from *Wa* 倭 to *Nippon* 日本 in A.D. 670.[1] They began rewriting their history around A.D. 682, eventually producing Kojiki in A.D. 712 and Nihongi in A.D. 720. The imperial clan began to insist upon its sovereignty over Japan since ancient times.

Kojiki (KC: 3) writes that Temmu 天武 [A.D. 673-686] lamented, saying: "I hear that the chronicles 帝紀及本辭 of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. If at the present these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis of the country 邦家之經緯, the grand foundation of the monarchy 王化之鴻基焉, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded 撰錄帝紀, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth determined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after ages."<1> Thus had the work started: the so-called *errors in the old words* and *the misstatements in the former chronicles* were corrected and in due course the Court Noble Ō no Asomi Yasumaro 太朝臣安萬侶 [who died on August 30th, A.D. 723] presented Kojiki and then Nihongi to Gemmei 元明 and Genshō 元正.

What Egami (1964) calls "the conquest of the autochthonous people, the gods of the land, by the alien race called the gods of heaven" was skillfully concealed in Kojiki and Nihongi. The primary purpose of these chronicles was to give the Ōjin 應神 line of the imperial clan a native Japanese ancestry in the form of "one unbroken line for ages eternal 萬世一系." Furthermore, in

[1]Aston (NI: 1n) writes that "I have little doubt that Nihon [Nippon], as a name for Japan, was first used by the Corean [Korean] scholars who came over in numbers during the early part of the seventh century . . . . In 670 it was formally proclaimed to one of the Corean Kingdoms [Silla] that this would be the name of the country in the future, and from about the same time the Chinese also began to use it officially."

order to give the illusion of great antiquity to the dynasty, the authors of these two chronicles first split Homuda-wake 譽田別 [from Paekche] into two emperors, manufacturing Jimmu 神武 [660-585 B.C.] out of the early experiences of Homuda-wake and constructing Ōjin [A.D. 390-430] out of his later experiences.[2] Then they had to advance the reign of Ōjin by two cycles [A.D. 270-390] in order to connect him to Jingū 神功 [A.D. 193- 269], a fictitious creature inspired by Queen Himiko 卑彌呼 as portrayed in Wei-zhi. They filled up the periods between Jimmu and Ōjin with various imaginery figures, as well as with some actual Kyūshū chieftains such as Mimaki-iri-biko [Sujin] and Okinaga-Tarashi-hime 息長帶日賣命 [Jingū 氣長足姫尊] who came to Kyūshū from the Kaya area in the Yayoi period.[3]

Some of the stories recorded in these chronicles are probably attempts to record actual happenings, although they appear in garbled form. Even more important, however, is that this reconstructed history has been used to indoctrinate the Japanese people ever since its appearance. It was taught and believed by the ruling classes and was accepted by the people as true.[4] As a result, for over a thousand years, politicians, scholars and ordinary Japanese people have sought political and spiritual guidance in Kojiki and Nihongi, which has cultivated extreme religious and patriotic prejudices in Japan.

The Japanese court historians in the Kammu period [A.D. 782-806] applied the letter *jin* 神 [God] in manufacturing the titles of *emperors* 天皇 only in three cases: Jimmu 神武 [written Jin-mu but pronounced as Jimmu], Su-jin 崇神, and Ō-jin 應神. Another important figure that was dignified with the letter jin was the Empress *Jin-gū* 神功. Historians also converted Jimmu-

[2]Reischauer and Fairbank (1958: 464) note that "[i]nfluenced by eighth-century concepts, the authors of these works obviously reshaped Japanese mythology and historical traditions to enhance the prestige and power of the ruling family and to create a false picture of long centralized rule and a respectable antiquity comparable to that of China. Although reasonably reliable on the later period, their accounts of the early centuries are almost worthless as history . . . . [N]onetheless . . . their accounts of the beginning of Japan were accepted as sober facts throughout most of Japanese history."

[3]The practice of creating fictitious emperors and stretching the life span of actual or imaginery figures continued even in post- Ōjin records.

[4]History contains very frequent mention of Nihongi being publicly read and expounded to the Mikado's 御門 Court, beginning the very year after its completion. It superseded the recitations of the Katari be 語部 and other similar customs. A series of affirmative commentaries began to be written upon it immediately after its appearance (see the Introduction to Aston's Nihongi).

Ōjin, Sujin and Jingū into native Japanese, obligingly tracing both Sosa no wo 須佐之男 who was from Silla in the pre-historic period, and *Ōjin*, who was from Paekche in the proto-historic period, back to the Sun-Goddess 天照大神. According to Egami (1964), "[t]hese special posthumous names, [which] contained the character [jin] are therefore to be understood as distinguished personalities who played an especially important role in the activities of the race descended from the Children of Heaven 天孫, in particular the founders and conquerors." Indeed Egami should have simply stated that the alien people referred to as the gods of heaven were the Paekche people, who were related to the people of Puyeo 夫餘 and Koguryeo, as is evident from the social structure, myths, and traditions that they brought to Japan with them.

According to the King Kwanggaet'o's stele 廣開土王碑, the founder of Koguryeo, Chumo 鄒牟 [Chumong], called himself "the son of the Emperor of Heaven 皇天 [Whang-Cheon or Huang-Tian], the King Chumo," and King Kwanggaet'o's grace and benevolent influence were comparable to those of the Emperor of Heaven. The Yamato Court historians seem to have adopted this unique Koguryeo expression for their kings, simply reversing the order of those two Chinese letters [i.e., Cheon-Whang 天皇 or Tian- Huang].[5<2>]

Varley (1974: 24) notes that "Japanese scholars of the twentieth century have proved conclusively that this central narrative of myths [in Kojiki and Nihongi], which tells of the descent of the imperial family from the omnipotent Sun Goddess and of its assumption of eternal rule on earth, was entirely contrived sometime during the reform period of the late sixth and seventh centuries to justify the claim to sovereignty of the reigning imperial dynasty." Historians of the Yamato Court manufactured a history for the imperial family dating back to B.C. 660, eradicated from all records its ancestral relationship to Paekche (which had then been annexed by Silla), and claimed a divine ancestry for the ruling house. The migration of the imperial family from "Paekche" was transformed into the mythological descent of this clan from the "Heaven."[6]

[5]Aoki (1974: 135-136) notes that "when Prince Shō toku 聖德太子 designed the fortification of the Japanese sovereign [in the 28th year of Suiko 推古, A.D. 593-628 皇太子 . . . 錄天皇記], he devised to express the latter's office with . . . *sumera mikoto*, while expressing the term in the Chinese graphs *t'ien huang* . . . *sumera mikoto* connoting *one who controls prayers (soothsaying)*." According to Twitchett and Fairbank (1979: 259), Gao-zong of Tang took the grandiose title heavenly emperor 天皇 in A. D. 674, for the first time in Chinese history [高宗天皇大聖大弘孝皇帝].

[6]According to Egami (1964), "what is called the *descent of the Children of Heaven* was in fact a progress from *the place to the north of the sea* (south Korea) to Tsukushi.

One may now understand why Nihongi and Kojiki do not offer any straightforward statement on the true relationship between Paekche and Yamato Wa. One might, however, have difficulty understanding why Samguk-sagi 三國史記 fails to give any definitive records on their relationship. First of all, we can see that the record of Paekche in Kim Pu-sik's 金富軾 Samguk-sagi is rather cursory, amounting to a bare minimum for a chronicle. Kim Pu-sik apparently compiled the history of Paekche with a basic lack of sympathy and systematically excluded all the stories that might glorify Paekche beyond the limit of his tolerence, which could not have been very high. He furthermore seems to have thoroughly downgraded the important aspects of the relationship between Paekche and Yamato Wa to eliminate any hint of Paekche's role in the formation of the latter.

In his analysis of Koguryeo's foundation myth, Gardiner(1988) notes that: "To understand Kim Pu-sik's attitude it is necessary to remember that his family claimed descent from the old Silla 新羅 ruling clan . . . For a man of this background, Koryeo's right to rule rested upon his role as legitimate heir to Silla, and the history of Korea before Koryeo 高麗 was basically the history of Silla. This view is reflected in the Samguk-sagi, where Silla is alloted more space than either Koguryeo 高句麗 or Paekche 百濟, although source material for early Silla was scanty or non-existent. Kim Pu-sik established the date 57 B.C. for the foundation of Silla . . . The real significance of 57 B.C. was that it was . . . exactly twelve cycles earlier than the final elimination of Silla's traditional rival, Paekche, in A.D. 663."

From these traditions in Kojiki and Nihon Shoki it may be inferred that the Children of Heaven 天孫, who are considered to be the ancestors of the Emperors of the Yamato court, crossed from south Korea to north Kyū shū and established their first settlement at Tsukushi, and after the lapse of some generations migrated in the direction of the Kinki region."

_. The Complete Guide to Shinto, Kami, and the Yokai

Written by Lord Abe No Seimei and WizardofTruth

"The heart of the person before you is a mirror. See there
your own form."
- *Traditional Shinto Maxim.*

Introduction

Shinto is the religion culturally and geographically tied to Japan. Its practice of acknowledging Kami (spirits) dates to at least 100 BCE, which coincides with Japan's founding as a state.

Shinto practices are animistic, meaning they recognize that Kami reside in living and non-living things, and they are shamanistic, meaning that Shinto adherents are able to utilize the Kami nature of things in controllable and useful ways. Typically, Shinto is used to purify people, places, and things of spiritual pollution. Shinto ceremonies themselves are often exceedingly formal by the standards of many religions; however, this formality is an entirely pleasurable experience within the context of Japanese culture.

Customs and Beliefs

Kami are typically petitioned for worldly favors such as reward for good performance in school or work, protection on trips, or for success toward a building's purpose at it's dedication. Before Kami are consulted, the associated people, objects, and places are ritualistically made clean through a process called *O Harae. O Harae* is performed with the help of a Shinto Priest, who directs various ritauls involving washing with water, the sprinkling of salt, or the shaking of *Onusa*, wooden wands with paper streamers attached.

Kami are seperated from the human world symbolically by a *torii* (gate), which traditionally is made form two horizontal supports born by two verticall supports, all painted red. *Torii* can be large works of architecture or small enough to sit on a desktop; all sizes are religiously significant. They usaully mark the entrance to Shinto Shrines, but the use of natural enviroment to complement the human nature of proper protocol characterizes the shrine experience as a whole.

Shinto puts emphasis on successful living, and has little to say about an afterlife. *Yomi*,the land of the dead, is taught as the likely destination of all deceased. It is described as a gloomy, boring, resting place for spirits.

Cosmology

Shinto acknowleges a pantheon of specific personailites in addition to other, less differentiated kami. Amaterasu, the sun goddess, has a tie to the lineage of the Imperial Household of Japan, as well as a connection to the Imperial Regalia of Japan. These The Sacred Treasures; a sword, a jewel, and a mirror, have recorded history dating them as over one- thousand years old and are material objects representative of Japan's status as a spiritual protectorate under Kami.

General Outlook

Nobody founded Shintoism. All gods and goddesses in Shinto are known as “kami.” They are sacred beings who represent important things in life such as wind, rain, mountains, trees, rivers, and fertility. Humans also become kami when they die and are revered as ancestral kami. Important people are sometimes enshrined at Shinto Shrines such as Shintoisms most important kami, Amaterasu, the sun goddess.

In Shintoism there are no absolute gods or goddesses. Also there is no ultimate right or wrong. Nobody is perfect. In Shintoism to be good or evil is caused by ancenstral kami. If the kami is good, they will influence your actions. However, if the kami is evil, they will influence you to do evil and subsequently make a good person, turn evil. If evil is present, Shinto Priests are to perform Rituals of Purification to keep evil kami or yokai out. Prayers and offerings to the kami for assistance can also influence the situation.

Shinto Shrines are places of worship and homes of the kami. Most shrines celebrate festivals in order to show the outside world the kami. Only Shinto Priests can perform Shinto Rituals. Ten Shinto Priests live in one shrine. They are often aided by younger women known as Miko. They assist during rituals and perform small tasks for the priests. Miko must be unmarried and are most often a daughter of one of the ten priests. (From Shinto Basics, written by Cloud_tricker)

Kami

AMATERASU- *The kami of the sun and sister to Susanoo*

BENTEN- *Kami of music and the arts*

EBISU*- Kami who brings prosperity*

HACHIMAN*-Kami of archery and war*

IZANAMI IZANAGI- *Twin kami who started Japan*

KONPIRA- *Kami of the sea*

SUSANOO- *Kami of wind and storms*

TENJIN- *Kami of education. Originally known as the Japanese Scholar Sugawara no Michizane.*

Yokai

ONI-TRANSLATION: ogre, demon
HABITAT: Hell; remote mountains, caves, islands, abandoned fortresses
DIET: omnivorous; especially livestock, humans, and alcohol

APPEARANCE: Oni are one the greatest icons of Japanese folklore. They are large and scary, standing taller than the tallest man, and sometimes many times that. They come in many varieties, but are most commonly depicted with red or blue skin, wild hair, two or more horns, and fang-like tusks. Other variations exist in different colors and with different numbers of horns, eyes, or fingers and toes. They wear loincloths made of the pelts of great beasts. All oni possess extreme strength and constitution, and many of them are also accomplished sorcerers. They are ferocious demons, bringers of disaster, spreaders of disease, and punishers of the damned in Hell.

BEHAVIOR: Oni are born when truly wicked humans die and end up in one of the many Buddhist Hells, transformed into Oni. They become the ogreish and brutal servants of Great Lord Enma, ruler of Hell, wielding iron clubs with which they crush and destroy humans solely for enjoyment. An oni's job is to mete out horrible punishments such as peeling off skin, crushing bones, and other torments too horrible to describe to those who were wicked (but not quite wicked enough to be reborn as demons themselves). Hell is full of oni, and they make up the armies of the great generals of the underworld.

Occasionally, when a human is so utterly wicked that his soul is beyond any redemption, he transforms into an oni during life, and remains on Earth to terrorize the living. These transformed oni are the ones most legends tell about, and the ones who pose the most danger to humankind.

INTERACTIONS: These oni are the stuff of legends and fairy tails, countless stories of lords and ladies, warriors and rogues that make up Japanese mythology. No two stories about oni are exactly alike except for one thing: oni are always the villains of mankind.

ORIGIN: Originally, all spirits, ghosts, and monsters were known as oni. The root of their name is a word meaning "hidden" or "concealed," and it was written with the Chinese character for "ghost." In the old days of Japan, before the spirits were as well-cataloged as they are today, oni could be used to refer to almost any supernatural creature – ghosts, obscure gods, large or scary yokai, even particularly vicious and brutal humans. As the centuries shaped the Japanese language, the definitions we know today for the various kinds of monsters gradually came into being. Today, the word oni generally only refers to this specific category of male demons. Female demons are known by another name: kijo.

Okiku- TRANSLATION: a girls' name meaning "chrysanthemum"

APPEARANCE: Okiku was the name of a servant girl who lost a precious plate, died a terrible death, and returned as a vengeful ghost. Along with Oiwa and Otsuyu, Okiku's tale is one of the *Nihon san dai kaidan*—Japan's Big Three Ghost Stories. Her story has been retold countless times in folk tales, puppet theater, kabuki, film, and manga. Though the general outline of her story remains the same, the names, locations, and surrounding details vary quite a bit from telling to telling. The most famous version of her story is called *Banchō sarayashiki*—"The Dish Manor at Banchō." It takes place in Himeji, present-day Hyōgo Prefecture.

LEGENDS: Long ago, there was a woman named Okiku who worked as a dishwashing servant at Himeji Castle. Okiku was very beautiful, and it was not long before she caught the eye of one of her master's retainers, a samurai named Aoyama. Aoyama tried many times to seduce Okiku, but each time she rejected his advances.

Eventually, Aoyama grew impatient with Okiku and decided to trick her into becoming his lover. In the castle there was a set of ten very expensive dishes. Aoyama hid one of the them, and then called for Okiku. He told her one of his master's fine dishes was missing, and demanded to know where it was. Okiku became frightened. Losing one of her lord's prized dishes was a crime punishable by death. She counted the dishes, "One… two… three… four… five… six… seven… eight… nine…" She recounted them against and again. Each time she came up one short. Okiku was distraught.

Aoyama told Okiku that he would overlook her mistake, and tell his master that it wasn't Okiku who lost the dish—but only if she would become his mistress. Though Okiku wanted to live, she once again refused Aoyama. This time the samurai became furious. He ordered his servants to beat Okiku with a wooden sword. Afterwards, he had her tied up and suspended over the castle well. He tortured Okiku, repeatedly dunking her into the well, only to pull her back out of the water and beat her himself. Aoyama demanded one last time that Okiku become his mistress. She refused. So Aoyama struck her violently with his sword and dropped her body down into the well.

Not long after, Okiku's ghost was seen wandering the castle grounds. Night after night, she would rise from the well and enter her master's house, searching for the missing dish. She would count the plates: "One… two… three…

four… five… six… seven… eight… nine…" After counting the ninth plate, she would let out a blood curdling scream that could be heard throughout the castle. She tormented Aoyama in this way, every night, robbing him of his rest. Those who heard part of Okiku's counting became very sick. Those unlucky enough to hear her count all the way to nine died shortly after.

Finally, the lord of the castle decided that something had to be done about Okiku's ghost. He called a priest, and asked him to pray for her and exercise her spirit. The priest waited in the garden all night, chanting suttras. One again, Okiku's ghost rose out of the well. She began to count the dishes: "One… two… three… four… five… six… seven… eight… nine…" As soon as Okiku counted the ninth dish, and before she could scream, the priest shouted out: "TEN!" Okiku's ghost appeared relieved that someone had found the missing dish. From then on, she never haunted the castle again.

Kappa-

TRANSLATION: river child
ALTERNATE NAMES: kawatarō, kawako
HABITAT: rivers, lakes, ponds, waterways, cisterns, wells; found throughout Japan
DIET: omnivorous; prefers cucumbers and human entrails

APPEARANCE: Kappa are aquatic reptilian humanoids who inhabit the rivers and streams found all over Japan. Clumsy on land, they are at home in the water, where they thrive during the warm months. Kappa are generally the size and shape of a human child, with scaly skin ranging in earthy hues from deep green to bright red, even blue. Their bodies are built for swimming, with webbed, thumbless hands and feet, and a turtle-like beak and shell. Their elastic, waterproof skin reeks of fish, and is said to be removable. They possess three anuses, allowing them to pass three times as much gas as a human. Kappa forearms are attached to one another inside of their shells, and pulling on one arm will cause it to lengthen while the other one contracts. They are excellent swimmers, and despite their small size they are physically stronger than a grown man. A dish-like depression lies on top of their skulls. This dish is the source of a kappa's power and must be kept wet at all times; should the water be spilled and the dish dry up, the kappa will be unable to move and may even die.

BEHAVIOR: Adult kappa often live solitary lives, although it is common for them to befriend other yokai and even humans. Younger kappa are frequently found in family groups. They will eat almost anything, but they are particularly fond of raw innards –particularly human anuses – and cucumbers. They love mischief, martial arts like sumo wrestling, and games of skill like shogi. Kappa are proud and stubborn, but also fiercely honorable; they never break any promises that they make. Kappa possess keen intelligence and they are one of the few yokai able to learn human languages. They are also highly knowledgeable about medicine and the art of setting bones; according to legend, these skills were first taught to humans by friendly kappa.

INTERACTIONS: Kappa are revered in Shinto as a kind of water god. It is not uncommon to see offerings of cucumbers made at riverbanks by devout humans; in return, kappa are known to help people by irrigating fields, befriending lonely children, competing with adults in sports and games, and so on.

Kappa can also be crass and violent. Mischievous by nature, they love to peek up women's kimonos and loudly pass gas in public. Lakes and rivers where kappa live are often marked with warning signs. Their preferred method of attack is to drown or bite their opponent to death under water. They particularly despise cows and horses, and will attack the animals for no reason at all. They have been known to kidnap or rape swimming women, and to devour humans alive. Usually they go for the anus – in particular a mythical ball of flesh located just inside the anus, called the shirikodama. In the water, there is no escape for anyone who crosses a Kappa. On land, however, it is possible to outwit one: the

honorable kappa will feel obliged to return a bow, and if it can be tricked into bowing so low that the water in its dish spills out, it can be easily overcome. Once bested, many kappa have been made to swear loyalty and friendship to their victor for the rest of their lives.

Kurozuka- TRANSLATION: the black mounds; named for the area she haunted

LEGENDS: Kurozuka is the most well-known demon woman in Japanese folklore, and a very popular subject in the arts, starring in everything from paintings to ukiyoe prints to noh plays. She has gone by many names. Kurozuka, or the witch of "the black mounds," is the most famous one, but she is also known as the Demon of Adachigahara, or even just simply Onibaba, "the demon hag."

Her story has changed over the years and through various adaptations. A popular version of the story goes like this:

Long ago, a wealthy noble couple had a daughter whom they loved very much. However, their daughter was sickly, and by the age of five she had still never spoken a single word. The worried couple consulted with priests and doctors, until finally one doctor told them that the only way to cure their daughter was to feed her a fresh liver from an unborn fetus.

The couple summoned their daughter's nanny and put the task of retrieving the liver to her. Expecting that it would take some time to find someone willing to give up their baby's liver, the nanny prepared for a long journey. She gave the daughter a protection charm and promised not to return without the liver, then left.

The nanny traveled for days, months, and eventually years without finding any family willing to give up their baby's life. Eventually, her travels brought her to the moors of Adachigahara, in Fukushima. Despondent, she decided that if nobody would give her a liver, she would have to take one. She made camp in a cave off of the toad and decided to wait for a pregnant woman to pass by.

Many more years passed, and finally a lone pregnant woman came walking by on the road. The nanny leaped out of the cave and slew the traveler with her knife, carving her belly open, killing the fetus, and taking its fresh liver. Only after the deed was done, the nanny looked down at her victim, and noticed the young woman was wearing a very old but very familiar protection charm: the very same one that she had given the daughter so many years ago! The knowledge of what she had done weighed so heavily on her that the nanny went insane, and transformed into a yokai.

The demon of Adachigahara developed fearsome magical powers. She learned to lure travelers into her shelter and invite them to spend the night, after which she would murder them in their sleep. She remained there on the moors of Adachigahara for many many years, murdering any lone travelers who passed by her cave and eating their remains.

In the noh version of her story, the demon woman is eventually visited by traveling Buddhist priests, whom she plans to kill. While she is out gathering firewood, the priests find a room full of dead bodies and bones, and they recognize her as the Demon of Adachigahara. She chases after them, but they are able to hold her back with their Buddhist prayers, and drive the evil spirit from her, banishing it forever. When the demon spirit is driven from her body, she becomes an old woman and dies. The monks bury her remains and build a grave among the black mounds where she haunted.

Kasane- TRANSLATION: a girls' name meaning "to pile up; to overlap; to add on;" an alternate reading of the kanji for her original name: Rui

APPEARANCE: Kasane is the ghost from *Kasane ga fuchi*—The Pool of Kasane. It is based on true events which happened in the 17th century in what is now Ibaraki Prefecture, although the story has changed quite a bit from the original incident. Her tale is one of the most famous Edo period ghost stories, and she is often held up with Oiwa and Okiku as a prime example of the grudge-bearing Japanese woman ghost. Her story was later adapted into rakugo and kabuki theater, as well as numerous films.

LEGENDS: Long ago in the village of Hanyū in Shimosa Provence lived a farmer named Yoemon and his wife Osugi. Osugi had a child from a previous relationship. The child's name was Suke, and he was terribly ugly. His face was disfigured and his leg was malformed. Yoemon hated Suke. One day, Yoemon decided to dispose of Suke. While crossing a bridge over a deep pool, Yoemon knocked Suki into the pool. Suke was unable to swim, and drowned.

The following year, Yoemon and Osugi had a baby girl. They named her Rui. Rui looked so much like her half-brother Suke did that the villagers all believed she was haunted by his spirit. Instead of Rui, they referred to her as Kasane—an alternate reading of her name which implied that the ugly Suke had been born once again in her.

Both of Kasane's parents died while she was young, and so she lived alone. She became very sick, when a wandering stranger named Yagorō came to her house and nursed her back to health. Out of gratitude, Kasane offered to marry Yagorō and make him the inheritor of her father's property. Although Yagorō found Kasane repulsive, he wanted her land and inheritance, and so he agreed to marry her.

Not long after they were married, Yagorō had had enough of Kasane's ugliness. He took her out to their fields to collect beans. On the way home made Kasane carry all of the beans herself, so that she could barely walk. Just as they were crossing the pool, Yagorō pushed the overburdened Kasane into the water. Yagorō jumped in after her. He stepped on her chest, pinning her to the riverbed. He crushed and squeezed the air out of her lungs. He shoved rocks and river sand into her mouth. He stabbed her eyes with his thumbs. Then he wrung her neck until she could struggle no longer. Several townspeople witnessed Yagorō murder Kasane, but nobody moved to help her. After all, she was so ugly—there seemed to be an unspoken agreement to just leave it be.

Yagorō continued on as if nothing was different, living in Kasane's home and maintaining her family's lands. He remarried very quickly, and for a while was happy. However, Yagorō's new wife died suddenly, not long after they were married. Yagorō remarried again, and again his wife died suddenly. This happened over and over again. When Yagorō had remarried six times, his wife managed to survive long enough to bear him a daughter. They named their daughter Kiku, and for a while they were happy.

When Kiku was thirteen, Yagorō's sixth wife died. Yagorō married Kiku to a man named Kingorō and named him the successor to the Yoemon family. All of a sudden Kiku became extremely sick and collapsed to the floor. Foaming and frothing at the mouth, tears streaming from her eyes, Kiku cried that she couldn't bear the pain. She begged for someone to help her. Suddenly, a different voice came forth from her body:

"I am not Kiku! I am your wife! The wife you murdered! You overburdened me, you threw me into the pool, you crushed me and made me drown! Don't tell me you don't remember me! I cursed you and all six of your wives! I am the one who killed them! I am Kasane!"

Kingorō fled the village, never to return. Kiku's body stood up and lunged at Yagorō, but he managed to escape to the village temple. Yagorō told everyone that he had no idea what Kiku was saying; that he would never murder his own wife. The villagers, wanting to save poor Kiku, dragged Yagorō out from

the temple to confront Kasane. Even as Kasane's spirit threatened and cursed Yagorō, he defiantly proclaimed his innocence. Kasane's spirit began naming and cursing the villagers who witnessed her murder and yet did nothing. Finally Yagorō and the others confessed their crime. Rui was such an unattractive and unpleasant person that the whole village had neglected her. Though Yagorō had performed the deed, the whole village was guilty of her murder. The villagers who didn't witness the murder, but never bothered to ask about Rui were partially responsible too. It was their fault that Rui's rage had created this ghost, and it was their fault that poor Kiku was suffering.

Kasane continued: "All of your ancestors are here with me in Hell!" She then proceeded to name each of their ancestors, and list their crimes. Then Kasane listed all of the crimes of the living villagers. The entire village's pride was shattered as their sins were made public. Kasane demanded that the villagers hold a lavish memorial service and erect a beautiful stone buddha in her honor to end her suffering. However, the villagers balked at the cost to cover such a funeral. Kasane told them, "My father owned many farms around here. Sell them, and use the money to perform the services!" The villagers confessed to Kasane that her family's lands had already been sold and distributed. Kasane's wrath exploded. Kiku's body twisted and floated high up into the air, and the poor girl lost consciousness.

Word of Kiku's possession and Kasane's curse spread far and wide. It caught the ear of a traveling priest, Saint Yūten. Yūten visited the Yoemon household to offer his prayers and try to save Kiku. He chanted the sutras and prayed and prayed with all his effort, but it had no effect. Kasane's grudge was too powerful. Kasane's voice taunted Yūten from Kiku's mouth. Yūten then tried to have Kiku recite the prayers, but Kasane's spirit interrupted and Kiku was unable to speak. Finally, Yūten grabbed Kiku's hair with all his strength, forcing her face down onto the floor. He make Kiku bow, and demanded that she pray. Kiku was finally able to recite the sutra, and suddenly the spirit of Kasane left from her body. She was saved.

As Saint Yūten was preparing to leave Hanyū, Yagorō suddenly came to him with dire news: Kiku's possession had returned. Yūten once again traveled to the Yoemon household, this time determined to subdue the curse no matter what the cost. When he encountered Kiku, he grabbed her hair and with all of his strength, forced her down onto the floor. As he held her down, demanding she pray, Kiku's voice could be heard faintly mumbling. Yūten bent down close to her mouth and and listened. Then he turned to Yagorō: "Does the name Suke mean anything to you?"

Yagorō had never heard of Suke, nor had anybody else present. Saint Yūten asked the villagers, and finally an elderly man came forward. "Some sixty years ago there was a rumor that the first Yoemon's wife had a son who was murdered and thrown into the pool. I think his name was Suke."

"Are you Suke?" Saint Yūten asked Kiku. Kiku's voice replied, "Yes. When you saved Rui you left me behind, and now I possess her." Yūten wasted no item. He immediately gave Suke a *kaimyō*—a posthumous Buddhist name—and wrote it down on the family altar. Suke's spirit left Kiku's body and entered the altar. Everyone present dropped to the floor and prayed. Kiku eventually remarried, and lived a happy and prosperous life. The spirits of Kasane and Suke were never heard from again.

Rituals and Practices

Shintō does not have a weekly religious service. People visit shrines at their convenience. Some

may go to the shrines on the 1st and 15th of each month and on the occasions of rites or festivals (matsuri), which take place several times a year. Devotees, however, may pay respect to the shrine every morning.

Strips of paper with prayers written on them outside a Shintō shrine in Japan.© *Les Pickett—Papilio/Corbis*

Rites of passage

Various Shintō rites of passage are observed in Japan. The first visit of a newborn baby to the tutelary *kami*, which occurs 30 to 100 days after birth, is to initiate the baby as a new adherent. The Shichi-go-san (Seven-Five-Three) festival on November 15 is the occasion for boys of five years and girls of three and seven years of age to visit the shrine to give thanks for *kami*'s protection and to pray for their healthy growth. January 15 is Adults' Day. Youth in the village used to join the local young men's association on this day. At present it is the commemoration day for those Japanese who have attained their 20th year. The Japanese usually have their wedding ceremonies in Shintō style and pronounce their wedding vows to *kami.* Shintō funeral ceremonies, however, are not popular. The majority of the Japanese are Buddhist and Shintōist at the same time and have their funerals in Buddhist style. A traditional Japanese house has two family altars: one, Shintō, for their tutelary *kami* and the goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami, and another, Buddhist, for the family ancestors. Pure Shintō families, however, will have all ceremonies and services in Shintō style. There are other Shintō *matsuri* concerning occupations or daily life, such as a ceremony of purifying a building site or for setting up the framework for a new building, a firing or purifying ceremony for the boilers in a new factory, a completion ceremony for a construction works, or a launching ceremony for a new ship.

Varieties of festival, worship, and prayer

Each Shintō shrine has several major festivals each year, including the Spring Festival (Haru Matsuri, or Toshigoi-no-Matsuri; Prayer for Good Harvest Festival), Autumn Festival (Aki Matsuri, or Niiname-sai; Harvest Festival), an Annual Festival (Rei-sai), and the Divine Procession (Shinkō-sai). The Divine Procession usually takes place on the day of the Annual Festival, and miniature shrines (*mikoshi*) carried on the shoulders are transported through the parish. The order of rituals at a grand festival is usually as follows:

1. Purification rites (*harae*)—commonly held at a corner of the shrine precincts before participants come into the shrine but sometimes held within the shrine before beginning a ceremony.

2. Adoration—the chief priest and all the congregation bow to the altar.

3. Opening of the door of the inner sanctuary (by the chief priest).

4. Presentation of food offerings—rice, sake wine, rice cakes, fish, seaweed, vegetables, salt, water, etc., are offered but animal meat is not, because of the taboo on shedding blood in the sacred area. In the past cooked food was usually offered to *kami*, but nowadays uncooked food is more often used. In accordance with this change, the idea of entertaining *kami* changed to that of thanksgiving.

5. Prayer—the chief priest recites prayers (*norito*) modeled on ancient Shintō prayers. These prayers were compiled in the early 10th century and were based on the old belief that spoken words had spiritual potency.

6. Sacred music and dance.

7. General offering—participants in the festival make symbolic offerings using little branches of the evergreen sacred tree to which strips of white paper are tied.

8. Taking offerings away.

9. Shutting the door of the inner sanctuary.

10. Final adoration.

11. Feast (naorai).

In the olden days *naorai*, a symbolic action in which participants held communion with *kami* by having the same food offered to the deity, came in the middle of the festival ceremony. The custom is still observed sometimes at the Imperial Household and at some old shrines, but it is more common to have communion with *kami* by drinking the offered sake after the festival. Since World War II it has become popular to have a brief sermon or speech before the feast.

Most Shintō festivals are observed generally in accordance with the above-mentioned order. On such occasions as the Annual Festival, various special rites may be held—for example, special water purification (*misogi*) and confinement in shrines for devotional purposes (*o-komori*), the procession of a sacred palanquin (*o-miyuki*) or of boats (*funa matsuri*), a ceremonial feast (*tōya matsuri*), sumo wrestling, horseback riding (*kurabe-uma*), archery (*matoi*), a lion dance (*shishi mai*), and a rice-planting festival (*o-taue matsuri*).

Types of shrines

A simple torii (gateway) stands at the entrance of the shrine precincts. After proceeding on the main approach, a visitor will come to an ablution basin where the hands are washed and the mouth is rinsed. Usually he will make a small offering at the oratory (*haiden*) and pray. Sometimes a visitor may ask the priest to conduct rites of passage or to offer special prayers. The most important shrine building is the main, or inner, sanctuary (honden), in which a sacred symbol called shintai (“ *kami* body”) or *mitama-shiro* (“divine spirit’s symbol”) is enshrined. The usual symbol is a mirror, but sometimes it is a wooden image, a sword, or some other object. In any case, it is carefully wrapped and placed in a container. It is forbidden to see it: only the chief priest is allowed to enter inside the inner sanctuary.

In the beginning Shintō had no shrine buildings. At each festival people placed a tree symbol at a sacred site, or they built a temporary shrine to invite *kami*. Later they began to construct permanent shrines where *kami* were said to stay permanently. The *honden* of the Inner Shrine at Ise and of Izumo-taisha (Grand Shrine of Izumo, in Shimane prefecture) illustrate two representative archetypes of shrine construction. The style of the former probably developed from that of a storehouse for crops, especially for rice, and the style of the latter from ancient house construction. In the course of time, variations of shrine architecture were adopted and

additional buildings were attached in front of the *honden*. The *honden* and *haiden* are in many cases connected by a hall of offering (*heiden*) where prayers are usually recited. Large shrines also have a hall for liturgical dancing (*kaguraden*).

Grand Shrine of Izumo Entrance to the Grand Shrine of Izumo, one of the main religious centres of Shintō; near Izumo, Shimane prefecture, Japan.*Kozo Osa/Bon*

Other practices and institutions

Ujigami belief is the most popular form of Shintō in Japan. Originally referring to the *kami* of an ancient clan, after the 13th century *ujigami* was used in the sense of the tutelary *kami* of a local community, and all the members in the community were that *kami*'s adherents (*ujiko*). Even today a *ujiko* group consists of the majority of the residents in a given community. A Shintōist, however, can believe at the same time in shrines other than his own local shrine. It was only after World War II that some large shrines also started to organize believers' groups (*sūkeisha*). The Believers' Association of the Meiji Shrine, for instance, has about 240,000 members living in and around Tokyo.

Kokugakuin University in Tokyo and Kōgakkan University at Ise are the primary training centres for Shintō priests. Though any Shintōists who go through certain training processes may be a priest (or a priestess), many priests are, in fact, from the families of hereditary Shintō priests.

Major Kamis

Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, commonly called Amaterasu, she is the goddess of the sun as well as the purported ancestress of the Imperial Household of Japan. Her full name means "Great Goddess" or "Great Spirit Who Shines in the Heavens"; she may also be referred to as Ohiru-menomuchi-no-kami. Due to her ties to the Imperial family, she is often considered (though not official) to be the "primary god" of Shinto. Relics: The Sword, The Jewel, the mirror.

Ame-no-Uzume, commonly called Uzume, she is the goddess of dawn and revelry, instrumental to the "missing sun motif" in Shinto. She is also known as The Great Persuader and The Heavenly Alarming Female. **Fujin**, also known as Kami-no-Kaze, he is the Japanese god of the wind and one of the eldest Shinto gods, said to be present at the creation of the world. He is often depicted as an oni with a bag slung over his back.

Hachiman, also known as Hachiman-shin or Yawata no Kami, he is the god of war and the divine protector of Japan and its people. Originally an agricultural deity, he later became the guardian of the Minamoto clan. His symbolic animal and messenger is the dove. **Inari Okami**, the god or goddess of rice and fertility. Their messengers and symbolic animal are foxes. They are often identified with the Ukanomitama and Buddhist deity Dakiniten. **Izanagi**, the forefather of the gods, he is the first male as well as the god of creation and life. He and his wife, Izanami, were responsible for the birth of the islands of Japan and many kami, though she died in childbirth. Later, after his failed attempt to retrieve her from the underworld, he sired Amaterasu, Susanoo and Tsukuyomi. **Izanami**, Izanagi's wife and sister, she is the first female as well as the goddess of creation and death. She died shortly after the birth of Kagu-tsuchi, and Izanagi followed her to the underworld, but failed to bring her back to the living world. A marital spat between the pair caused the cycle of life and death for all living beings.

Omoikane, the deity of wisdom and intelligence, who is always called upon to "ponder" and give good counsel in the deliberations of the heavenly deities. **Raijin**, commonly called Raiden, he is the god of thunder and lightning, and is often paired with Fujin. As with the latter, Raijin is usually depicted as an oni.

Ryujin, also known as Owatatsumi, he is a dragon, as well as god of the sea. He resides in Ryugu-jo, his palace under the sea built out of red and white coral, from where he controlled the tides with magical tide jewels. His great-grandson would become Emperor Jimmu. **Suijin**, the God of Water.

Susanoo-no-Mikoto, alternately romanized as Susano-o, Susa-no-o, and Susanowo. Reportedly called "Futsushi". He is the god of storms as well as in some cases the god of the sea. He is also somewhat of a trickster god, as Japanese mythology extensively documents the "sibling rivalry" between him and Amaterasu. Susanoo also was responsible for the slaying of the monster Yamata no Orochi and the subsequent discovery of the sacred sword Kusanagi. He was kicked out of the heavens, because he got jealous of people worshipping amatarasu and burned her lands, he was angry and made him act out, and got banished.

Tenjin, the god of scholarship, he is the deified Sugawara no Michizane, who was elevated to his position after dying in exile and subsequent disasters in Heiankyo were attributed to his angered spirit.

Toyotama-hime, also known as Otohime, she was the daughter of Ryujin and the grandmother of Jimmu. It is said that after she gave birth to her son, she turned into a dragon and disappeared.

Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto, also known as Tsukiyomi, Tsuki no Kami, Tsukiyomino Mikoto, and Tsukiyumi no Mikoto, he is the god of the moon. He killed the goddess of food, Uke Mochi, out of disgust and anger in the way she had prepared a meal. This caused Amaterasu to never face him again, causing the sun and moon to be in different parts of the sky.
these are the main ones we focus on
in byakuren apparently

1:Kasagi 2:Kusabi 3: Gakuzuka 4: Nuki 5: Shimaki 6: Hashira 7: Daiishi or Kamebara 8 :Sansho

What is Shinto's involvment with Death and Marriage?

A large number of wedding ceremonies are held in Shinto style. Death hoever, is considered a source of impurity, and is left to Buddhism to deal with. Consequently, there are no shinto cemeteries or graveyards, and most funerals are held in buddhist style.

_. The Complete Guide to Shinto, Kami, and the Yokai

Written by Lord Abe No Seimei and WizardofTruth

"The heart of the person before you is a mirror. See there
your own form."
- *Traditional Shinto Maxim.*

Introduction

Shinto is the religion culturally and geographically tied to Japan. Its practice of acknowledging Kami (spirits) dates to at least 100 BCE, which coincides with Japan's founding as a state.

Shinto practices are animistic, meaning they recognize that Kami reside in living and non-living things, and they are shamanistic, meaning that Shinto adherents are able to utilize the Kami nature of things in controllable and useful ways. Typically, Shinto is used to purify people, places, and things of spiritual pollution. Shinto ceremonies themselves are often exceedingly formal by the standards of many religions; however, this formality is an entirely pleasurable experience within the context of Japanese culture.

Customs and Beliefs

Kami are typically petitioned for worldly favors such as reward for good performance in school or work, protection on trips, or for success toward a building's purpose at it's dedication. Before Kami are consulted, the associated people, objects, and places are ritualistically made clean through a process called *O Harae. O Harae* is performed with the help of a Shinto Priest, who directs various ritauls involving washing with water, the sprinkling of salt, or the shaking of *Onusa*, wooden wands with paper streamers attached.

Kami are seperated from the human world symbolically by a *torii* (gate), which traditionally is made form two horizontal supports born by two verticall supports, all painted red. *Torii* can be large works of architecture or small enough to sit on a desktop; all sizes are religiously significant. They usaully mark the entrance to Shinto Shrines, but the use of natural enviroment to complement the human nature of proper protocol characterizes the shrine experience as a whole.

Shinto puts emphasis on successful living, and has little to say about an afterlife. *Yomi*,the land of the dead, is taught as the likely destination of all deceased. It is described as a gloomy, boring, resting place for spirits.

Cosmology

Shinto acknowleges a pantheon of specific personailites in addition to other, less differentiated kami. Amaterasu, the sun goddess, has a tie to the lineage of the Imperial Household of Japan, as well as a connection to the Imperial Regalia of Japan. These The Sacred Treasures; a sword, a jewel, and a mirror, have recorded history dating them as over one- thousand years old and are material objects representative of Japan's status as a spiritual protectorate under Kami.

General Outlook

Nobody founded Shintoism. All gods and goddesses in Shinto are known as “kami.” They are sacred beings who represent important things in life such as wind, rain, mountains, trees, rivers, and fertility. Humans also become kami when they die and are revered as ancestral kami. Important people are sometimes enshrined at Shinto Shrines such as Shintoisms most important kami, Amaterasu, the sun goddess.

In Shintoism there are no absolute gods or goddesses. Also there is no ultimate right or wrong. Nobody is perfect. In Shintoism to be good or evil is caused by ancenstral kami. If the kami is good, they will influence your actions. However, if the kami is evil, they will influence you to do evil and subsequently make a good person, turn evil. If evil is present, Shinto Priests are to perform Rituals of Purification to keep evil kami or yokai out. Prayers and offerings to the kami for assistance can also influence the situation.

Shinto Shrines are places of worship and homes of the kami. Most shrines celebrate festivals in order to show the outside world the kami. Only Shinto Priests can perform Shinto Rituals. Ten Shinto Priests live in one shrine. They are often aided by younger women known as Miko. They assist during rituals and perform small tasks for the priests. Miko must be unmarried and are most often a daughter of one of the ten priests. (From Shinto Basics, written by Cloud_tricker)

Kami

AMATERASU- *The kami of the sun and sister to Susanoo*

BENTEN- *Kami of music and the arts*

EBISU*- Kami who brings prosperity*

HACHIMAN*-Kami of archery and war*

IZANAMI IZANAGI- *Twin kami who started Japan*

KONPIRA- *Kami of the sea*

SUSANOO- *Kami of wind and storms*

TENJIN- *Kami of education. Originally known as the Japanese Scholar Sugawara no Michizane.*

Yokai

ONI-TRANSLATION: ogre, demon
HABITAT: Hell; remote mountains, caves, islands, abandoned fortresses
DIET: omnivorous; especially livestock, humans, and alcohol

APPEARANCE: Oni are one the greatest icons of Japanese folklore. They are large and scary, standing taller than the tallest man, and sometimes many times that. They come in many varieties, but are most commonly depicted with red or blue skin, wild hair, two or more horns, and fang-like tusks. Other variations exist in different colors and with different numbers of horns, eyes, or fingers and toes. They wear loincloths made of the pelts of great beasts. All oni possess extreme strength and constitution, and many of them are also accomplished sorcerers. They are ferocious demons, bringers of disaster, spreaders of disease, and punishers of the damned in Hell.

BEHAVIOR: Oni are born when truly wicked humans die and end up in one of the many Buddhist Hells, transformed into Oni. They become the ogreish and brutal servants of Great Lord Enma, ruler of Hell, wielding iron clubs with which they crush and destroy humans solely for enjoyment. An oni's job is to mete out horrible punishments such as peeling off skin, crushing bones, and other torments too horrible to describe to those who were wicked (but not quite wicked enough to be reborn as demons themselves). Hell is full of oni, and they make up the armies of the great generals of the underworld.

Occasionally, when a human is so utterly wicked that his soul is beyond any redemption, he transforms into an oni during life, and remains on Earth to terrorize the living. These transformed oni are the ones most legends tell about, and the ones who pose the most danger to humankind.

INTERACTIONS: These oni are the stuff of legends and fairy tails, countless stories of lords and ladies, warriors and rogues that make up Japanese mythology. No two stories about oni are exactly alike except for one thing: oni are always the villains of mankind.

ORIGIN: Originally, all spirits, ghosts, and monsters were known as oni. The root of their name is a word meaning "hidden" or "concealed," and it was written with the Chinese character for "ghost." In the old days of Japan, before the spirits were as well-cataloged as they are today, oni could be used to refer to almost any supernatural creature – ghosts, obscure gods, large or scary yokai, even particularly vicious and brutal humans. As the centuries shaped the Japanese language, the definitions we know today for the various kinds of monsters gradually came into being. Today, the word oni generally only refers to this specific category of male demons. Female demons are known by another name: kijo.

Okiku- TRANSLATION: a girls' name meaning "chrysanthemum"

APPEARANCE: Okiku was the name of a servant girl who lost a precious plate, died a terrible death, and returned as a vengeful ghost. Along with Oiwa and Otsuyu, Okiku's tale is one of the *Nihon san dai kaidan*—Japan's Big Three Ghost Stories. Her story has been retold countless times in folk tales, puppet theater, kabuki, film, and manga. Though the general outline of her story remains the same, the names, locations, and surrounding details vary quite a bit from telling to telling. The most famous version of her story is called *Banchō sarayashiki*—"The Dish Manor at Banchō." It takes place in Himeji, present-day Hyōgo Prefecture.

LEGENDS: Long ago, there was a woman named Okiku who worked as a dishwashing servant at Himeji Castle. Okiku was very beautiful, and it was not long before she caught the eye of one of her master's retainers, a samurai named Aoyama. Aoyama tried many times to seduce Okiku, but each time she rejected his advances.

Eventually, Aoyama grew impatient with Okiku and decided to trick her into becoming his lover. In the castle there was a set of ten very expensive dishes. Aoyama hid one of the them, and then called for Okiku. He told her one of his master's fine dishes was missing, and demanded to know where it was. Okiku became frightened. Losing one of her lord's prized dishes was a crime punishable by death. She counted the dishes, "One… two… three… four… five… six… seven… eight… nine…" She recounted them against and again. Each time she came up one short. Okiku was distraught.

Aoyama told Okiku that he would overlook her mistake, and tell his master that it wasn't Okiku who lost the dish—but only if she would become his mistress. Though Okiku wanted to live, she once again refused Aoyama. This time the samurai became furious. He ordered his servants to beat Okiku with a wooden sword. Afterwards, he had her tied up and suspended over the castle well. He tortured Okiku, repeatedly dunking her into the well, only to pull her back out of the water and beat her himself. Aoyama demanded one last time that Okiku become his mistress. She refused. So Aoyama struck her violently with his sword and dropped her body down into the well.

Not long after, Okiku's ghost was seen wandering the castle grounds. Night after night, she would rise from the well and enter her master's house, searching for the missing dish. She would count the plates: "One… two… three…

four… five… six… seven… eight… nine…" After counting the ninth plate, she would let out a blood curdling scream that could be heard throughout the castle. She tormented Aoyama in this way, every night, robbing him of his rest. Those who heard part of Okiku's counting became very sick. Those unlucky enough to hear her count all the way to nine died shortly after.

Finally, the lord of the castle decided that something had to be done about Okiku's ghost. He called a priest, and asked him to pray for her and exercise her spirit. The priest waited in the garden all night, chanting suttras. One again, Okiku's ghost rose out of the well. She began to count the dishes: "One… two… three… four… five… six… seven… eight… nine…" As soon as Okiku counted the ninth dish, and before she could scream, the priest shouted out: "TEN!" Okiku's ghost appeared relieved that someone had found the missing dish. From then on, she never haunted the castle again.

Kappa-

TRANSLATION: river child
ALTERNATE NAMES: kawatarō, kawako
HABITAT: rivers, lakes, ponds, waterways, cisterns, wells; found throughout Japan
DIET: omnivorous; prefers cucumbers and human entrails

APPEARANCE: Kappa are aquatic reptilian humanoids who inhabit the rivers and streams found all over Japan. Clumsy on land, they are at home in the water, where they thrive during the warm months. Kappa are generally the size and shape of a human child, with scaly skin ranging in earthy hues from deep green to bright red, even blue. Their bodies are built for swimming, with webbed, thumbless hands and feet, and a turtle-like beak and shell. Their elastic, waterproof skin reeks of fish, and is said to be removable. They possess three anuses, allowing them to pass three times as much gas as a human. Kappa forearms are attached to one another inside of their shells, and pulling on one arm will cause it to lengthen while the other one contracts. They are excellent swimmers, and despite their small size they are physically stronger than a grown man. A dish-like depression lies on top of their skulls. This dish is the source of a kappa's power and must be kept wet at all times; should the water be spilled and the dish dry up, the kappa will be unable to move and may even die.

BEHAVIOR: Adult kappa often live solitary lives, although it is common for them to befriend other yokai and even humans. Younger kappa are frequently found in family groups. They will eat almost anything, but they are particularly fond of raw innards –particularly human anuses – and cucumbers. They love mischief, martial arts like sumo wrestling, and games of skill like shogi. Kappa are proud and stubborn, but also fiercely honorable; they never break any promises that they make. Kappa possess keen intelligence and they are one of the few yokai able to learn human languages. They are also highly knowledgeable about medicine and the art of setting bones; according to legend, these skills were first taught to humans by friendly kappa.

INTERACTIONS: Kappa are revered in Shinto as a kind of water god. It is not uncommon to see offerings of cucumbers made at riverbanks by devout humans; in return, kappa are known to help people by irrigating fields, befriending lonely children, competing with adults in sports and games, and so on.

Kappa can also be crass and violent. Mischievous by nature, they love to peek up women's kimonos and loudly pass gas in public. Lakes and rivers where kappa live are often marked with warning signs. Their preferred method of attack is to drown or bite their opponent to death under water. They particularly despise cows and horses, and will attack the animals for no reason at all. They have been known to kidnap or rape swimming women, and to devour humans alive. Usually they go for the anus – in particular a mythical ball of flesh located just inside the anus, called the shirikodama. In the water, there is no escape for anyone who crosses a Kappa. On land, however, it is possible to outwit one: the

honorable kappa will feel obliged to return a bow, and if it can be tricked into bowing so low that the water in its dish spills out, it can be easily overcome. Once bested, many kappa have been made to swear loyalty and friendship to their victor for the rest of their lives.

Kurozuka- TRANSLATION: the black mounds; named for the area she haunted

LEGENDS: Kurozuka is the most well-known demon woman in Japanese folklore, and a very popular subject in the arts, starring in everything from paintings to ukiyoe prints to noh plays. She has gone by many names. Kurozuka, or the witch of "the black mounds," is the most famous one, but she is also known as the Demon of Adachigahara, or even just simply Onibaba, "the demon hag."

Her story has changed over the years and through various adaptations. A popular version of the story goes like this:

Long ago, a wealthy noble couple had a daughter whom they loved very much. However, their daughter was sickly, and by the age of five she had still never spoken a single word. The worried couple consulted with priests and doctors, until finally one doctor told them that the only way to cure their daughter was to feed her a fresh liver from an unborn fetus.

The couple summoned their daughter's nanny and put the task of retrieving the liver to her. Expecting that it would take some time to find someone willing to give up their baby's liver, the nanny prepared for a long journey. She gave the daughter a protection charm and promised not to return without the liver, then left.

The nanny traveled for days, months, and eventually years without finding any family willing to give up their baby's life. Eventually, her travels brought her to the moors of Adachigahara, in Fukushima. Despondent, she decided that if nobody would give her a liver, she would have to take one. She made camp in a cave off of the toad and decided to wait for a pregnant woman to pass by.

Many more years passed, and finally a lone pregnant woman came walking by on the road. The nanny leaped out of the cave and slew the traveler with her knife, carving her belly open, killing the fetus, and taking its fresh liver. Only after the deed was done, the nanny looked down at her victim, and noticed the young woman was wearing a very old but very familiar protection charm: the very same one that she had given the daughter so many years ago! The knowledge of what she had done weighed so heavily on her that the nanny went insane, and transformed into a yokai.

The demon of Adachigahara developed fearsome magical powers. She learned to lure travelers into her shelter and invite them to spend the night, after which she would murder them in their sleep. She remained there on the moors of Adachigahara for many many years, murdering any lone travelers who passed by her cave and eating their remains.

In the noh version of her story, the demon woman is eventually visited by traveling Buddhist priests, whom she plans to kill. While she is out gathering firewood, the priests find a room full of dead bodies and bones, and they recognize her as the Demon of Adachigahara. She chases after them, but they are able to hold her back with their Buddhist prayers, and drive the evil spirit from her, banishing it forever. When the demon spirit is driven from her body, she becomes an old woman and dies. The monks bury her remains and build a grave among the black mounds where she haunted.

Kasane- TRANSLATION: a girls' name meaning "to pile up; to overlap; to add on;" an alternate reading of the kanji for her original name: Rui

APPEARANCE: Kasane is the ghost from *Kasane ga fuchi*—The Pool of Kasane. It is based on true events which happened in the 17th century in what is now Ibaraki Prefecture, although the story has changed quite a bit from the original incident. Her tale is one of the most famous Edo period ghost stories, and she is often held up with Oiwa and Okiku as a prime example of the grudge-bearing Japanese woman ghost. Her story was later adapted into rakugo and kabuki theater, as well as numerous films.

LEGENDS: Long ago in the village of Hanyū in Shimosa Provence lived a farmer named Yoemon and his wife Osugi. Osugi had a child from a previous relationship. The child's name was Suke, and he was terribly ugly. His face was disfigured and his leg was malformed. Yoemon hated Suke. One day, Yoemon decided to dispose of Suke. While crossing a bridge over a deep pool, Yoemon knocked Suki into the pool. Suke was unable to swim, and drowned.

The following year, Yoemon and Osugi had a baby girl. They named her Rui. Rui looked so much like her half-brother Suke did that the villagers all believed she was haunted by his spirit. Instead of Rui, they referred to her as Kasane—an alternate reading of her name which implied that the ugly Suke had been born once again in her.

Both of Kasane's parents died while she was young, and so she lived alone. She became very sick, when a wandering stranger named Yagorō came to her house and nursed her back to health. Out of gratitude, Kasane offered to marry Yagorō and make him the inheritor of her father's property. Although Yagorō found Kasane repulsive, he wanted her land and inheritance, and so he agreed to marry her.

Not long after they were married, Yagorō had had enough of Kasane's ugliness. He took her out to their fields to collect beans. On the way home made Kasane carry all of the beans herself, so that she could barely walk. Just as they were crossing the pool, Yagorō pushed the overburdened Kasane into the water. Yagorō jumped in after her. He stepped on her chest, pinning her to the riverbed. He crushed and squeezed the air out of her lungs. He shoved rocks and river sand into her mouth. He stabbed her eyes with his thumbs. Then he wrung her neck until she could struggle no longer. Several townspeople witnessed Yagorō murder Kasane, but nobody moved to help her. After all, she was so ugly—there seemed to be an unspoken agreement to just leave it be.

Yagorō continued on as if nothing was different, living in Kasane's home and maintaining her family's lands. He remarried very quickly, and for a while was happy. However, Yagorō's new wife died suddenly, not long after they were married. Yagorō remarried again, and again his wife died suddenly. This happened over and over again. When Yagorō had remarried six times, his wife managed to survive long enough to bear him a daughter. They named their daughter Kiku, and for a while they were happy.

When Kiku was thirteen, Yagorō's sixth wife died. Yagorō married Kiku to a man named Kingorō and named him the successor to the Yoemon family. All of a sudden Kiku became extremely sick and collapsed to the floor. Foaming and frothing at the mouth, tears streaming from her eyes, Kiku cried that she couldn't bear the pain. She begged for someone to help her. Suddenly, a different voice came forth from her body:

"I am not Kiku! I am your wife! The wife you murdered! You overburdened me, you threw me into the pool, you crushed me and made me drown! Don't tell me you don't remember me! I cursed you and all six of your wives! I am the one who killed them! I am Kasane!"

Kingorō fled the village, never to return. Kiku's body stood up and lunged at Yagorō, but he managed to escape to the village temple. Yagorō told everyone that he had no idea what Kiku was saying; that he would never murder his own wife. The villagers, wanting to save poor Kiku, dragged Yagorō out from

the temple to confront Kasane. Even as Kasane's spirit threatened and cursed Yagorō, he defiantly proclaimed his innocence. Kasane's spirit began naming and cursing the villagers who witnessed her murder and yet did nothing. Finally Yagorō and the others confessed their crime. Rui was such an unattractive and unpleasant person that the whole village had neglected her. Though Yagorō had performed the deed, the whole village was guilty of her murder. The villagers who didn't witness the murder, but never bothered to ask about Rui were partially responsible too. It was their fault that Rui's rage had created this ghost, and it was their fault that poor Kiku was suffering.

Kasane continued: "All of your ancestors are here with me in Hell!" She then proceeded to name each of their ancestors, and list their crimes. Then Kasane listed all of the crimes of the living villagers. The entire village's pride was shattered as their sins were made public. Kasane demanded that the villagers hold a lavish memorial service and erect a beautiful stone buddha in her honor to end her suffering. However, the villagers balked at the cost to cover such a funeral. Kasane told them, "My father owned many farms around here. Sell them, and use the money to perform the services!" The villagers confessed to Kasane that her family's lands had already been sold and distributed. Kasane's wrath exploded. Kiku's body twisted and floated high up into the air, and the poor girl lost consciousness.

Word of Kiku's possession and Kasane's curse spread far and wide. It caught the ear of a traveling priest, Saint Yūten. Yūten visited the Yoemon household to offer his prayers and try to save Kiku. He chanted the sutras and prayed and prayed with all his effort, but it had no effect. Kasane's grudge was too powerful. Kasane's voice taunted Yūten from Kiku's mouth. Yūten then tried to have Kiku recite the prayers, but Kasane's spirit interrupted and Kiku was unable to speak. Finally, Yūten grabbed Kiku's hair with all his strength, forcing her face down onto the floor. He make Kiku bow, and demanded that she pray. Kiku was finally able to recite the sutra, and suddenly the spirit of Kasane left from her body. She was saved.

As Saint Yūten was preparing to leave Hanyū, Yagorō suddenly came to him with dire news: Kiku's possession had returned. Yūten once again traveled to the Yoemon household, this time determined to subdue the curse no matter what the cost. When he encountered Kiku, he grabbed her hair and with all of his strength, forced her down onto the floor. As he held her down, demanding she pray, Kiku's voice could be heard faintly mumbling. Yūten bent down close to her mouth and and listened. Then he turned to Yagorō: "Does the name Suke mean anything to you?"

Yagorō had never heard of Suke, nor had anybody else present. Saint Yūten asked the villagers, and finally an elderly man came forward. "Some sixty years ago there was a rumor that the first Yoemon's wife had a son who was murdered and thrown into the pool. I think his name was Suke."

"Are you Suke?" Saint Yūten asked Kiku. Kiku's voice replied, "Yes. When you saved Rui you left me behind, and now I possess her." Yūten wasted no item. He immediately gave Suke a *kaimyō*—a posthumous Buddhist name—and wrote it down on the family altar. Suke's spirit left Kiku's body and entered the altar. Everyone present dropped to the floor and prayed. Kiku eventually remarried, and lived a happy and prosperous life. The spirits of Kasane and Suke were never heard from again.

Rituals and Practices

Shintō does not have a weekly religious service. People visit shrines at their convenience. Some

may go to the shrines on the 1st and 15th of each month and on the occasions of rites or festivals (matsuri), which take place several times a year. Devotees, however, may pay respect to the shrine every morning.

Strips of paper with prayers written on them outside a Shintō shrine in Japan.© *Les Pickett—Papilio/Corbis*

Rites of passage

Various Shintō rites of passage are observed in Japan. The first visit of a newborn baby to the tutelary *kami*, which occurs 30 to 100 days after birth, is to initiate the baby as a new adherent. The Shichi-go-san (Seven-Five-Three) festival on November 15 is the occasion for boys of five years and girls of three and seven years of age to visit the shrine to give thanks for *kami*'s protection and to pray for their healthy growth. January 15 is Adults' Day. Youth in the village used to join the local young men's association on this day. At present it is the commemoration day for those Japanese who have attained their 20th year. The Japanese usually have their wedding ceremonies in Shintō style and pronounce their wedding vows to *kami.* Shintō funeral ceremonies, however, are not popular. The majority of the Japanese are Buddhist and Shintōist at the same time and have their funerals in Buddhist style. A traditional Japanese house has two family altars: one, Shintō, for their tutelary *kami* and the goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami, and another, Buddhist, for the family ancestors. Pure Shintō families, however, will have all ceremonies and services in Shintō style. There are other Shintō *matsuri* concerning occupations or daily life, such as a ceremony of purifying a building site or for setting up the framework for a new building, a firing or purifying ceremony for the boilers in a new factory, a completion ceremony for a construction works, or a launching ceremony for a new ship.

Varieties of festival, worship, and prayer

Each Shintō shrine has several major festivals each year, including the Spring Festival (Haru Matsuri, or Toshigoi-no-Matsuri; Prayer for Good Harvest Festival), Autumn Festival (Aki Matsuri, or Niiname-sai; Harvest Festival), an Annual Festival (Rei-sai), and the Divine Procession (Shinkō-sai). The Divine Procession usually takes place on the day of the Annual Festival, and miniature shrines (*mikoshi*) carried on the shoulders are transported through the parish. The order of rituals at a grand festival is usually as follows:

1. Purification rites (*harae*)—commonly held at a corner of the shrine precincts before participants come into the shrine but sometimes held within the shrine before beginning a ceremony.

2. Adoration—the chief priest and all the congregation bow to the altar.

3. Opening of the door of the inner sanctuary (by the chief priest).

4. Presentation of food offerings—rice, sake wine, rice cakes, fish, seaweed, vegetables, salt, water, etc., are offered but animal meat is not, because of the taboo on shedding blood in the sacred area. In the past cooked food was usually offered to *kami*, but nowadays uncooked food is more often used. In accordance with this change, the idea of entertaining *kami* changed to that of thanksgiving.

5. Prayer—the chief priest recites prayers (*norito*) modeled on ancient Shintō prayers. These prayers were compiled in the early 10th century and were based on the old belief that spoken words had spiritual potency.

6. Sacred music and dance.

7. General offering—participants in the festival make symbolic offerings using little branches of the evergreen sacred tree to which strips of white paper are tied.

8. Taking offerings away.

9. Shutting the door of the inner sanctuary.

10. Final adoration.

11. Feast (naorai).

In the olden days *naorai*, a symbolic action in which participants held communion with *kami* by having the same food offered to the deity, came in the middle of the festival ceremony. The custom is still observed sometimes at the Imperial Household and at some old shrines, but it is more common to have communion with *kami* by drinking the offered sake after the festival. Since World War II it has become popular to have a brief sermon or speech before the feast.

Most Shintō festivals are observed generally in accordance with the above-mentioned order. On such occasions as the Annual Festival, various special rites may be held—for example, special water purification (*misogi*) and confinement in shrines for devotional purposes (*o-komori*), the procession of a sacred palanquin (*o-miyuki*) or of boats (*funa matsuri*), a ceremonial feast (*tōya matsuri*), sumo wrestling, horseback riding (*kurabe-uma*), archery (*matoi*), a lion dance (*shishi mai*), and a rice-planting festival (*o-taue matsuri*).

Types of shrines

A simple torii (gateway) stands at the entrance of the shrine precincts. After proceeding on the main approach, a visitor will come to an ablution basin where the hands are washed and the mouth is rinsed. Usually he will make a small offering at the oratory (*haiden*) and pray. Sometimes a visitor may ask the priest to conduct rites of passage or to offer special prayers. The most important shrine building is the main, or inner, sanctuary (honden), in which a sacred symbol called shintai (“ *kami* body”) or *mitama-shiro* (“divine spirit’s symbol”) is enshrined. The usual symbol is a mirror, but sometimes it is a wooden image, a sword, or some other object. In any case, it is carefully wrapped and placed in a container. It is forbidden to see it: only the chief priest is allowed to enter inside the inner sanctuary.

In the beginning Shintō had no shrine buildings. At each festival people placed a tree symbol at a sacred site, or they built a temporary shrine to invite *kami*. Later they began to construct permanent shrines where *kami* were said to stay permanently. The *honden* of the Inner Shrine at Ise and of Izumo-taisha (Grand Shrine of Izumo, in Shimane prefecture) illustrate two representative archetypes of shrine construction. The style of the former probably developed from that of a storehouse for crops, especially for rice, and the style of the latter from ancient house construction. In the course of time, variations of shrine architecture were adopted and

additional buildings were attached in front of the *honden*. The *honden* and *haiden* are in many cases connected by a hall of offering (*heiden*) where prayers are usually recited. Large shrines also have a hall for liturgical dancing (*kaguraden*).

Grand Shrine of Izumo Entrance to the Grand Shrine of Izumo, one of the main religious centres of Shintō; near Izumo, Shimane prefecture, Japan.*Kozo Osa/Bon*

Other practices and institutions

Ujigami belief is the most popular form of Shintō in Japan. Originally referring to the *kami* of an ancient clan, after the 13th century *ujigami* was used in the sense of the tutelary *kami* of a local community, and all the members in the community were that *kami*'s adherents (*ujiko*). Even today a *ujiko* group consists of the majority of the residents in a given community. A Shintōist, however, can believe at the same time in shrines other than his own local shrine. It was only after World War II that some large shrines also started to organize believers' groups (*sūkeisha*). The Believers' Association of the Meiji Shrine, for instance, has about 240,000 members living in and around Tokyo.

Kokugakuin University in Tokyo and Kōgakkan University at Ise are the primary training centres for Shintō priests. Though any Shintōists who go through certain training processes may be a priest (or a priestess), many priests are, in fact, from the families of hereditary Shintō priests.

Major Kamis

Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, commonly called Amaterasu, she is the goddess of the sun as well as the purported ancestress of the Imperial Household of Japan. Her full name means "Great Goddess" or "Great Spirit Who Shines in the Heavens"; she may also be referred to as Ohiru-menomuchi-no-kami. Due to her ties to the Imperial family, she is often considered (though not official) to be the "primary god" of Shinto. Relics: The Sword, The Jewel, the mirror.

Ame-no-Uzume, commonly called Uzume, she is the goddess of dawn and revelry, instrumental to the "missing sun motif" in Shinto. She is also known as The Great Persuader and The Heavenly Alarming Female. **Fujin**, also known as Kami-no-Kaze, he is the Japanese god of the wind and one of the eldest Shinto gods, said to be present at the creation of the world. He is often depicted as an oni with a bag slung over his back.

Hachiman, also known as Hachiman-shin or Yawata no Kami, he is the god of war and the divine protector of Japan and its people. Originally an agricultural deity, he later became the guardian of the Minamoto clan. His symbolic animal and messenger is the dove. **Inari Okami**, the god or goddess of rice and fertility. Their messengers and symbolic animal are foxes. They are often identified with the Ukanomitama and Buddhist deity Dakiniten. **Izanagi**, the forefather of the gods, he is the first male as well as the god of creation and life. He and his wife, Izanami, were responsible for the birth of the islands of Japan and many kami, though she died in childbirth. Later, after his failed attempt to retrieve her from the underworld, he sired Amaterasu, Susanoo and Tsukuyomi. **Izanami**, Izanagi's wife and sister, she is the first female as well as the goddess of creation and death. She died shortly after the birth of Kagu-tsuchi, and Izanagi followed her to the underworld, but failed to bring her back to the living world. A marital spat between the pair caused the cycle of life and death for all living beings.

Omoikane, the deity of wisdom and intelligence, who is always called upon to "ponder" and give good counsel in the deliberations of the heavenly deities. **Raijin**, commonly called Raiden, he is the god of thunder and lightning, and is often paired with Fujin. As with the latter, Raijin is usually depicted as an oni.

Ryujin, also known as Owatatsumi, he is a dragon, as well as god of the sea. He resides in Ryugu-jo, his palace under the sea built out of red and white coral, from where he controlled the tides with magical tide jewels. His great-grandson would become Emperor Jimmu. **Suijin**, the God of Water.

Susanoo-no-Mikoto, alternately romanized as Susano-o, Susa-no-o, and Susanowo. Reportedly called "Futsushi". He is the god of storms as well as in some cases the god of the sea. He is also somewhat of a trickster god, as Japanese mythology extensively documents the "sibling rivalry" between him and Amaterasu. Susanoo also was responsible for the slaying of the monster Yamata no Orochi and the subsequent discovery of the sacred sword Kusanagi. He was kicked out of the heavens, because he got jealous of people worshipping amatarasu and burned her lands, he was angry and made him act out, and got banished.

Tenjin, the god of scholarship, he is the deified Sugawara no Michizane, who was elevated to his position after dying in exile and subsequent disasters in Heiankyo were attributed to his angered spirit.

Toyotama-hime, also known as Otohime, she was the daughter of Ryujin and the grandmother of Jimmu. It is said that after she gave birth to her son, she turned into a dragon and disappeared.

Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto, also known as Tsukiyomi, Tsuki no Kami, Tsukiyomino Mikoto, and Tsukiyumi no Mikoto, he is the god of the moon. He killed the goddess of food, Uke Mochi, out of disgust and anger in the way she had prepared a meal. This caused Amaterasu to never face him again, causing the sun and moon to be in different parts of the sky.
these are the main ones we focus on
in byakuren apparently

1:Kasagi 2:Kusabi 3: Gakuzuka 4: Nuki 5: Shimaki 6: Hashira 7: Daiishi or Kamebara 8 :Sansho

What is Shinto's involvment with Death and Marriage?

A large number of wedding ceremonies are held in Shinto style. Death hoever, is considered a source of impurity, and is left to Buddhism to deal with. Consequently, there are no shinto cemeteries or graveyards, and most funerals are held in buddhist style.

HARAE NO KOTOBA

Kakemakumo kashikoki

Humbly, I approach the kami in prayer.

Izanagi no O Kami Tsukushi no Himuka no Tachibana no Odo no Ahagihara ni
Misogi harahi tamaishi toki ni nari maseru

The great ancestral kami Izanagi no O Kami Performed misogi at Ahagihara of Odo, Tachibana of Himuka, in Tsukushi of the Ancient Land

Haraedo no O Kamitachi

Where his very being was cleansed by many Great Kami of Purification.

Moromoro no magagoto tsumi kegare aramu o ba
Harae tamai kiyome tamae to

I humbly beseech the kami to cleanse me of all impurities
Within myself, in my relationships with others,
and Between myself and the way of Great Nature

Maosu koto Kikoshi meseto
Kashikomi kashikomi mo maosu

Hear these modest words.
Humbly, reverently, I speak this prayer.

Onusa purification rite

KAMIDANA HAISHI

ENGLISH

Kore no kamudoko ni masu Kakemakumo kashikoki

On this shelf dwell esteemed kami.
Humbly, I approach in prayer.

Ubusuna no O Kami
Yawoyorozu no kamitachi no omae o orogami matsurite

To my own Guardian Kami, and to the countless myriad of kami.
I speak to all the kami with a reverent heart, and to these kami I humbly offer my prayers.

Kashikomi kashikomi mo maosaku
O kamitachi no hiroki atsuki mi megumi o Katajikenami matsuri

I come in humility and with great respect.
I beseech all the kami to accept these offerings that I present with heart-felt gratitude for the blessings that have been bestowed on me.
Takaki totoki mioshie no mani mani Naoki tadashiki magokoro o mochite
To all the divine kami, I pray that you bestow blessings; I will be reverently grateful for your favors.

Grant me perseverance and that my heart by genuine, childlike, and true.
Makoto no michi ni tago kotonaku
Grant that I stay on the path of sincerity and truth.

Oimotsu waza ni hage mashime tamai
Grant that I be strong and diligent at my deeds.
Ie kado takaku mi sukoyaka ni
Grant good health to my family;
Give them strength in spirit, mind, and body.

Yo no tame hito no tame ni tsuku sashime tamae to
Grant that I may benefit and serve all mankind.
Kashikomi kashikomi mo maosu
Humbly, reverently, I speak these words.

KEI SHIN SEIKATSU NO KŌRYŌ

Kami no megumi to sosen no on to ni kanshashi
Akaki kiyoki makoto o motte saishi ni isoshimu koto.

I am grateful for the blessings of the kami and my ancestors
And will practice my faith with brightness, purity, and sincerity.

Yo no tame hito no tame ni houshishi
Kami no mikoto mochi toshite yo o tsukuri katame nasu koto.

I will dedicate myself to serve and benefit the world and all peoples.
I will fulfill my life mission as guided by the kami, dedicating myself with sincerity to achieve peace for the world and for my nation.

Oumikokoro o itadakite mutsubi yawaragi
Kuni no ryuushou to sekai no kyouson kyouei to o inoru koto.

From my heart, I will humbly follow and respect the kami,
Praying for harmony, prosperity, and peace for all nations of the world.

GOSHU NO SHINKA

Miyagawa ya kiyoki nagare no misogi nite
Inoran koto no kanawanu wa nashi

The sacred waters of misogi flow pure,
Bringing fulfillment to sincere prayer.

Ima mo kiyomuru waga mi narikeri
Now my body, heart, and spirit will again be made pure

Tsumi toga ya onbe no kawa ni haroran
Seoritsu Hime no Kami no miitsu ni

In the river impurities are swept from me as if purified by gohei
Amidst the shining light of Seoritsu Hime no Kami.

Kakenagasu omoto miya no Suzuka Gawa
Chiyo yorozuyo ni tsumi wa nokosazu

The shining light flows from this kami's original palace, the River Suzuka.
The tsumi, the impurities, will be removed for a thousand— even a myriad— of generations.

Furi narasu suzu no hibiki ni tama michite
Mitama no fuyu o iya kikoshimese

My spirit overflows with resounding and shaking of suzu bells ringing;
The beautiful sound and vibration invigorate my soul.
In awe I speak; hear these reverent words.

Hi fu mi yo i mu na ya ko to
Mo chi ro ra ne shi ki
Ru yu i tsu wa nu so
O ta ha ku me ka u o e ni
Sa ri he te no ma su a se e ho re ke

TOKUSA NO KANDAKARANO O MINA

Okitsu kagami
Hetsu kagami

Distant mirror
Close, nearby mirror

Yatsuka no tsurugi

Sword to cut through negativity

Iku tama
Taru tama

Jewel of growth and life
Jewel of fulfillment

Makaru gaeshi no tama
Chi gaeshi no tama

Jewel to return from death
Jewel to remain on the the true path

Orochi no hire
Hachi no hire

Gift to correct Earthly disaster
Gift to correct disaster from the air

Kusagusa no mono no hire
Countless gifts of purification and protection

Furube yura yura to furube

Give energy to my spirit with these gifts

Rokkon Shoujo no Oharae the teaching from Amaterasu Oo Mikami sama.

Humanity is a Kami under the Heavens
And the calm soul was given by Kami
Therefore, we must not hurt our own spirit

For it, even we hear various impurities with our ear, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we smell various impurities with our nose, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we say various impurities with our mouth, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we touch various impurities with our body, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we think various impurities in our mind, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
And we can reject Impurity.
All Beautiful flowers blossom from seeds.
Thus, our body uses our pure six senses.

Our six senses are pure, therefore Kami in our heart moves our internal workings to keep us alive.
Kami in our heart is inherently peaceful, in essence one with Kami of Heaven and Earth.
Kami of Heaven and Earth is peaceful, therefore our Kami is one with all of spirits in the universe.
Our Kami is one with all of spirits in the universe, therefore there are no wishes that can't come true.

RO KKON SHO U JYO U NO O O HA RA E

A MA TE RA SHI MA SU SU ME O O GA MI NO NO TA MA WA KU

HI TO WA SU NA WA CHI A ME GA SHI TA NO MI TA MA MO NO NA RI

SU BE KA RA KU SHI ZU MA RU KO TO O TSU KA SA DO RU KO KO RO WA

SU NA WA CHI KA MI TO KA MI TO NO MO TO NO A RU JI TA RI

WA GA TA MA SHI I O I TA MA SHI MU RU KO TO NA KA RE

KO NO YU E NI

ME NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O MI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O MI ZU

MI MI NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KI KI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KI KA ZU

HA NA NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KA GI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KA GA ZU

KU CHI NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O I I TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O I WA ZU

MI NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O FU RE TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O FU RE ZU

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O O MO HI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O O MO WA ZU

KO NO TO KI NI KI YO KU I SA GI YO KI KO TO A RI

MO RO MO RO NO NO RI WA KA GE TO KA TA CHI NO GO TO SHI

KI YO KU KI YO KE RE BA KA RI NI MO KE GA RU RU KO TO NA SHI

KO TO O TO RA BA U BE KA RA ZU

MI NA HA NA YO RI ZO KO NO MI TO WA NA RU

WA GA MI WA SU NA WA CHI RO KKO N SHO U JI YO U NA RI

RO KKO N SHO U JI YO U NA RU GA YU E NI GO ZO U NO SHI N KU N A N NE I NA RI

GO ZO U NO SHI N KU N A N NE I NA RU GA YU E NI TE N CHI NO KA MI TO DO U KO N I NA RI

TEN CHI NO KA MI TO DO U KO N NA RU GA YU E NI BA N BU TSU NO RE I TO DO U TA I NA RI

BAN BU TSU NO RE I TO DO U TA I NA RU GA YU E NI NA SU TO KO RO NO NE GA I TO

SHI TE JYO U JYU SE ZU TO YU U KO TO NA SHI

MU JYOU REI HOU SHIN DOU KA JI

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O kamitachi no hiroki atsuki mi megumi o Katajikenami matsuri

I come in humility and with great respect.
I beseech all the kami to accept these offerings that I present with heart-felt gratitude for the blessings that have been bestowed on me.
Takaki totoki mioshie no mani mani Naoki tadashiki magokoro o mochite
To all the divine kami, I pray that you bestow blessings; I will be reverently grateful for your favors.

Grant me perseverance and that my heart by genuine, childlike, and true.
Makoto no michi ni tago kotonaku
Grant that I stay on the path of sincerity and truth.

Oimotsu waza ni hage mashime tamai
Grant that I be strong and diligent at my deeds.
Ie kado takaku mi sukoyaka ni
Grant good health to my family;
Give them strength in spirit, mind, and body.

Yo no tame hito no tame ni tsuku sashime tamae to
Grant that I may benefit and serve all mankind.
Kashikomi kashikomi mo maosu
Humbly, reverently, I speak these words.

KEI SHIN SEIKATSU NO KŌRYŌ

Kami no megumi to sosen no on to ni kanshashi
Akaki kiyoki makoto o motte saishi ni isoshimu koto.

I am grateful for the blessings of the kami and my ancestors
And will practice my faith with brightness, purity, and sincerity.

Yo no tame hito no tame ni houshishi
Kami no mikoto mochi toshite yo o tsukuri katame nasu koto.

I will dedicate myself to serve and benefit the world and all peoples.
I will fulfill my life mission as guided by the kami, dedicating myself with sincerity to achieve peace for the world and for my nation.

Oumikokoro o itadakite mutsubi yawaragi
Kuni no ryuushou to sekai no kyouson kyouei to o inoru koto.

From my heart, I will humbly follow and respect the kami,
Praying for harmony, prosperity, and peace for all nations of the world.

GOSHU NO SHINKA

Miyagawa ya kiyoki nagare no misogi nite
Inoran koto no kanawanu wa nashi

The sacred waters of misogi flow pure,
Bringing fulfillment to sincere prayer.

Ima mo kiyomuru waga mi narikeri
Now my body, heart, and spirit will again be made pure

Tsumi toga ya onbe no kawa ni haroran
Seoritsu Hime no Kami no miitsu ni

In the river impurities are swept from me as if purified by gohei
Amidst the shining light of Seoritsu Hime no Kami.

Kakenagasu omoto miya no Suzuka Gawa
Chiyo yorozuyo ni tsumi wa nokosazu

The shining light flows from this kami's original palace, the River Suzuka.
The tsumi, the impurities, will be removed for a thousand— even a myriad— of generations.

Furi narasu suzu no hibiki ni tama michite
Mitama no fuyu o iya kikoshimese

My spirit overflows with resounding and shaking of suzu bells ringing;
The beautiful sound and vibration invigorate my soul.
In awe I speak; hear these reverent words.

Hi fu mi yo i mu na ya ko to
Mo chi ro ra ne shi ki
Ru yu i tsu wa nu so
O ta ha ku me ka u o e ni
Sa ri he te no ma su a se e ho re ke

TOKUSA NO KANDAKARANO O MINA

Okitsu kagami
Hetsu kagami

Distant mirror
Close, nearby mirror

Yatsuka no tsurugi

Sword to cut through negativity

Iku tama
Taru tama

Jewel of growth and life
Jewel of fulfillment

Makaru gaeshi no tama
Chi gaeshi no tama

Jewel to return from death
Jewel to remain on the the true path

Orochi no hire
Hachi no hire

Gift to correct Earthly disaster
Gift to correct disaster from the air

Kusagusa no mono no hire
Countless gifts of purification and protection

Furube yura yura to furube

Give energy to my spirit with these gifts

Rokkon Shoujo no Oharae the teaching from Amaterasu Oo Mikami sama.

Humanity is a Kami under the Heavens
And the calm soul was given by Kami
Therefore, we must not hurt our own spirit

For it, even we hear various impurities with our ear, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we smell various impurities with our nose, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we say various impurities with our mouth, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we touch various impurities with our body, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
Even we think various impurities in our mind, we must not bring it nor keep it into our spirit
And we can reject Impurity.
All Beautiful flowers blossom from seeds.
Thus, our body uses our pure six senses.

Our six senses are pure, therefore Kami in our heart moves our internal workings to keep us alive.
Kami in our heart is inherently peaceful, in essence one with Kami of Heaven and Earth.
Kami of Heaven and Earth is peaceful, therefore our Kami is one with all of spirits in the universe.
Our Kami is one with all of spirits in the universe, therefore there are no wishes that can't come true.

RO KKON SHO U JYO U NO O O HA RA E

A MA TE RA SHI MA SU SU ME O O GA MI NO NO TA MA WA KU

HI TO WA SU NA WA CHI A ME GA SHI TA NO MI TA MA MO NO NA RI

SU BE KA RA KU SHI ZU MA RU KO TO O TSU KA SA DO RU KO KO RO WA

SU NA WA CHI KA MI TO KA MI TO NO MO TO NO A RU JI TA RI

WA GA TA MA SHI I O I TA MA SHI MU RU KO TO NA KA RE

KO NO YU E NI

ME NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O MI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O MI ZU

MI MI NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KI KI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KI KA ZU

HA NA NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KA GI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O KA GA ZU

KU CHI NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O I I TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O I WA ZU

MI NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O FU RE TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O FU RE ZU

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O O MO HI TE

KO KO RO NI MO RO MO RO NO FU JYO U O O MO WA ZU

KO NO TO KI NI KI YO KU I SA GI YO KI KO TO A RI

MO RO MO RO NO NO RI WA KA GE TO KA TA CHI NO GO TO SHI

KI YO KU KI YO KE RE BA KA RI NI MO KE GA RU RU KO TO NA SHI

KO TO O TO RA BA U BE KA RA ZU

MI NA HA NA YO RI ZO KO NO MI TO WA NA RU

WA GA MI WA SU NA WA CHI RO KKO N SHO U JI YO U NA RI

RO KKO N SHO U JI YO U NA RU GA YU E NI GO ZO U NO SHI N KU N A N NE I NA RI

GO ZO U NO SHI N KU N A N NE I NA RU GA YU E NI TE N CHI NO KA MI TO DO U KO N I NA RI

TEN CHI NO KA MI TO DO U KO N NA RU GA YU E NI BA N BU TSU NO RE I TO DO U TA I NA RI

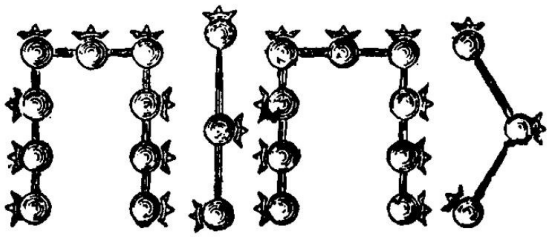
BAN BU TSU NO RE I TO DO U TA I NA RU GA YU E NI NA SU TO KO RO NO NE GA I TO

SHI TE JYO U JYU SE ZU TO YU U KO TO NA SHI

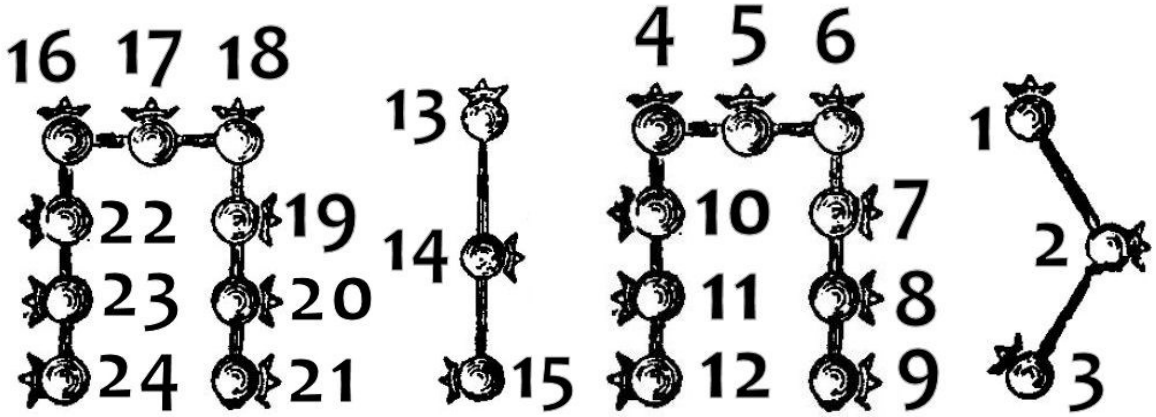
MU JYOU REI HOU SHIN DOU KA JI

The 72 Shem Angels and Their Tarot Correspondences & the Tetragram of the Zohar

There are 72 Shemhamphoras (Shem) angels inhabiting the ten sephiroth and for the Aces through Nines (9) of the four Minor suits (9 x 4 = 36), each card is associated with an angel upright (an angelic dignity), and a different angelic dignity when the card appears in reverse (36 x 2 = 72).



Recall the illustration of the tetragram pictured earlier in this chapter. The Holy Name YHVH is rendered with 24 orbs, or thrones, and each of these 24 thrones features a crown of three points, or rays. Levi called the above diagram the Tetragram of the Zohar. The Zohar is a foundational treatise on Jewish mystical thought and the Kabbalah.



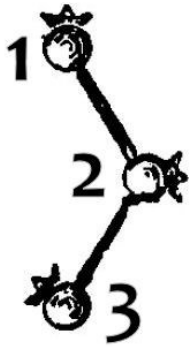
In Israel Regardie's *Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic*, Volume III, he explains the Tetragram of the Zohar. The 24 orbs you see pictured on the letters YHVH are 24 thrones, and multiplied by 3 rays per throne, you get 72 rays to signify the Seventy-Two Names of the Expounded Name YHVH, the Shem HaMephorash per the *Sefer Raziel*. The *Sefer Raziel HaMalakh*, or *The Book of the Angel Raziel*, is a grimoire dated between the 5th and 15th century, which covers angelology, gematria, protection spells, healing amulets, and planetary magic.

Within Throne 1 of the Yod are the first three Angels of the Shem Hamephorash. Within Throne 2 are the next three angels, or 4, 5, 6, and then in Throne 3, they are numbered 7, 8, 9. Throne 4 in the first He of the Holy Name house the angels numbered 10, 11, 12, and then in Throne 5, numbered 13, 14, 15, and so on until you get to Throne 24 in the second He, angels numbered 70, 71, and 72. These 72 names also represent the Ladder of Jacob.

The subsequent reference table gives the names of the 72 angels that represent the 72 rays resident in the 24 thrones of the Tetragrammaton. Each ray or emanation features specific powers and a magus can invoke these angels to be endowed with the corresponding powers or for divine assistance in specific worldly matters.

Ruling Angel references over the 72 Shem angels are from *The Complete Magician's Tables* (2006) by Stephen Skinner and *Jésus ou le mortel secret des Templiers* (1970) by Robert Ambelain; Book 3 of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1533) by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa.

Thrones 1 – 3: Ace of Wands – Five of Wands (Upright)



THRONE	RAY	ANGEL NAME	MEANING AND ANGELIC POWERS
1	1	VAHAVIAH (Vehuiah) [VHU]	**God the Exalter.** Supports the undertaking of the Great Work; consult for advice, as Vehuaiah is known for wisdom; patron for the liberal arts and sciences. Elevates your ranking and status.
	2	YELAYEL (Jelial) [YLY]	**Strength.** Invoke to embody artful diplomacy and political acumen; facilitates victory; champion of social justice; a sprightly, outgoing, optimistic, energetic, and friendly angel.
	3	SAITEL (Sitael) [SIT]	**Refuge, Fortress and Confidence.** A protector. Defends against attacks. Reveals truths. Merciful and compassionate, so goes to the aid of those in need of protection.
2	4	OLMIAH (Elemiah) [OLM]	**Concealed, Strong.** Calms anxiety, stress, depression, and worry. Travel protection, especially by sea or over long distances. Guardian during strenuous or difficult voyages. A hard-working, diligent, productive, and conscientious angel.

	5	MAHASHIAH (Mahasiah) [MHSh]	**Seeking Safety from Trouble.** Patron of the high sciences and of occult philosophy. Facilitates learning in theology, alchemy, physics. An educator. Embraces those who embrace the quest for knowledge. Seeks peace, always. Tries to diffuse conflicts.
	6	LELAHEL [LLH]	**Praiseworthy, Declaring His Works.** A healing angel. Patron of medical knowledge and science; seeks to cure illness and disease. Those who Lelahel guards are also on a path cleared for greater public recognition and material prosperity.
3	7	AKAIAH (Achaiah) [AKA]	**Long Suffering.** Guardian and ally to those who seek to undertake and accomplish the greatest challenges; guardian and ally to those on the hero's journey. Can reveal the secrets of nature to those who seek such answers.
	8	KEHETHEl (Cahetel) [KHTh]	**Adorable.** Drives away evil spirits and demons, infectious diseases, and that which cause rot; thus, protects agriculture, productivity, and harvests. An angel of deep reverence and faith.
	9	HAZAYEL (Haziel, Aziel) [HZI]	**Merciful.** Facilitates mercy. Favors those who are mentally and emotionally resilient. Extends pardons those who have otherwise done wrong, but are penitent. Loves and protects outcasts, vagrants, and vagabonds.

	Upright	***Reversed***
Ace of Wands	Vehuaiah (VHU)	Jeliel (YLY)
	Sephira: Keter	*Sephira*: Keter
	Fire	Fire
	Aries 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Mars	Aries 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Mars
Ruling Angel: Metatron		

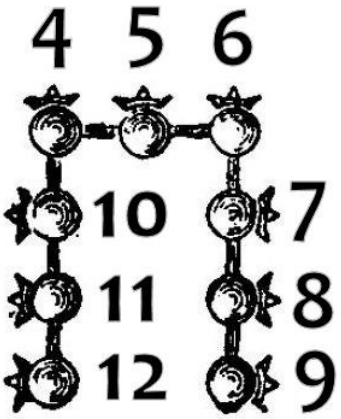
	Upright	***Reversed***
Two of Wands	Sitael (SIT)	Elemiah (OLM)
	Sephira: Chokhmah	*Sephira*: Chokhmah
	Mars in Aries	Mars in Aries
	Aries 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Sun	Aries 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Sun
Ruling Angel: Metatron		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Three of Wands	Mahasiah (MHSh)	Lelahel (LLH)
	Sephira: Binah	*Sephira*: Binah
	Sun in Aries	Sun in Aries
	Aries 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter	Aries 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter
Ruling Angel: Metatron		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Four of Wands	Haziel (HZI)	Aladiah (ALD)
	Sephira: Chesad	*Sephira*: Chesad
	Venus in Aries	Venus in Aries
	Leo 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter	Leo 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter
Ruling Angel: Jophiel		

Five of Wands	***Upright***	
	Lauviah (LAV)	
	Sephira: Gevurah	
	Saturn in Leo	
	Leo 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Mars	
Ruling Angel: Jophiel		

Thrones 4 – 12: Five of Wands (Reversed) – Eight of Cups



THRONE	RAY	ANGEL NAME	MEANING AND ANGELIC POWERS
4	12	HIHAAYAH (Hahaiah) [HHO]	**Refuge.** Safeguards against adversity. Governs the dream world and can protect during dream work, lucid dreaming, or astral travel. Guardian of the astral realm. Has a witty sense of humor, enjoys riddles, but when called upon, will protect mortals in the astral realm.
5	13	YEZAHEL (Iezalel) [IZL]	**Rejoicing Over All Things.** Sociable and charismatic; teaches adaptability; endows you with social charisma and greater magnetism. Endows you with that star quality. Can also help facilitate successful marriages or improve conjugal relations.

	14	MEBAHEL (Mehahel) [MBH]	**Guardian, Preserver.** Protects you against those who might otherwise try to exploit or take advantage of you. Champion of truth, liberty, and justice. Guardian angel over prisoners and the oppressed. Lover of legal studies and jurisprudence; has an affinity for the courts, judges, attorneys, and those working in the legal field.
	15	HARAYEL (Hariel) [HRI]	**Aid.** A pious angel of moral purity who governs the arts and sciences; helps you to discover truths for yourself; endows you with creativity and inspiration; seeks to promote human knowledge of the sciences.
6	16	HOQMIAH (Hakamiah) [HQM]	**Raise Up, Praying Day and Night.** Protector of leaders and pioneers. Those who must lead others look to Hakamiah for guidance, strength, courage, and to ensure victory. Angel with a sensitive, loyal nature.
	17	LAVIAH (Lauviah) [LAV]	**Wonderful.** Angel of discipline, strong will, and determination. Helps with regulation and temperance. Reveals prophecies through dreams. Lover of music, poetry, and fine literature. Ally to innovators.
	18	KELIAL (Caliel) [KLI]	**Worthy to be Invoked.** Rushes to those in immediate need of help. Ally during exigent or emergency situations. Reveals truths in lawsuits or to help the innocent and wrongly accused. Champion of justice. Always seeks justice and helps those who are working to bring justice.
7	19	LIVOYAH (Leuviah) [LVV]	**Hastening to Hear.** Angel of memory and intelligence. However, this angel is modest and demure. Brings the Grace of God. Most supportive of those going through great adversity and hardship—there to help you weather those challenges with grace.
	20	PHEHILYAH (Pahaliah) [PHL]	**Redeemer, Liberator.** Angel of ethics, morality, and religion. Angel to the clergy. Facilitates theological learning and knowledge. Call upon for guidance in matters pertaining to ethics, morality, or religious dilemmas. When facing a crisis of faith, call upon Pahaliah.

	21	NELOKHIEL (Nelchael) [NLK]	**Thou Alone.** Protects and defends those who have been slandered or defamed. Champion during war time and battles when such conflicts are with just cause. *Jus ad bellum*: the right to war. Also a patron of astronomy, mathematics, geography, and abstract sciences (such as quantum physics).
8	22	YEYAYIEL (Ieiaiel) [YYY]	**Thy Right Hand.** Patron of fame and fortune in commerce. Angel for helping attain profit and prosperity in business, though advocates strongly for philanthropy as well. Ieiael is sympathetic to the hard-working small business and the honest entrepreneur of good faith.
	23	MELOHEL (Melahel) [MLH]	**Turning Away Evil.** Angel of herbalism and medicine. Also a powerful ally in defensive magic if and when you have been targeted for attack.
	24	CHAHAVIAH (Haheuiah) [ChHV]	**Goodness in Himself.** Sympathetic to exiles, fugitives, and thieves. Gives mercy and grace to those who have otherwise defaulted on debts, who are sincerely remorseful of crimes or past transgressions, and safeguards the life and limb of those on the run.
9	25	NITHAHIAH (Nilaihah) [NThH]	**Wide in Extent, The Enlarger, Wonderful.** Angel of victory. Protects and helps those in search of the truth. Influential in politics and social situations.
	26	HAAYOH (Haaiah) [HAA]	**Heaven in Secret.** Angel of the occult sciences and hidden mysteries. Patron to those who are worthy of attaining divine wisdom and who are prepared for the discovery of great truths. Gives revelations and prophecies through dreams. Sympathetic to beneficent magical operations.
	27	YIRTHIEL (Ierathel, Yeratel) [YRTh]	**Deliverer.** Helps those who are seeking justice after having been wronged. Delivers you safely from your enemies and out of harm's reach. Invoke Jerathel to keep you safe.
10	28	SAHYOH (Seehiah, Seheiah) [ShAH]	**Taker Away of Evils.** Gives protection through natural disasters and protects against illness or infirmity. Invoke to help protect and safeguard buildings. Angel that governs health and endows you with good sense and prudent judgment.

	29	REYAYEL (Reiiel, Reiyel) [RYY]	**Expectation.** Protects you against your enemies, especially concealed enemies you aren't aware of. Reiiel is a truth revealer. Will always deliver the truth to those who actively seek it.
	30	EVAMEL (Omael) [AUM]	**Patient.** Angel over surgery and surgeons; endows with knowledge of anatomy and medicine. Also alleviates despair, grief, and helps through times of sorrow. Endows you with patience. Also an angel who governs the animal kingdom and a fierce protector of animals.
11	31	LEKABEL (Lecahel) [LKB]	**Teacher.** Guides and endows with answers the sincere student, scholar, or academic. Patron of knowledge and education, especially the sciences, technology, and mathematics. Has the power to help with vegetation and agriculture.
	32	VESHIRIAH (Yasariah) [VShR]	**Upright.** Angel of memory and remembrance. Invoke to remember. Champion of justice and truth. Invoke for the strength and eloquence to speak your truth. Angel of persuasion.
	33	YECHAVAH (Ieuiah, Yehuiah) [YChV]	**Knower of All Things.** Angel that will reveal the imposter. Shows what is false and what is true. Brings clarity of mind, discernment, sound judgment, and acumen.
12	34	LEHACHIAH (Lehahaiah) [LHCh]	**Clement, Merciful.** An angel of many talents, admired by the other angels; confident and possesses great poise. Endows you with the same traits when invoked.
	35	KEVEQIAH (Chavakiah) [KVQ]	**To Be Rejoiced In.** Angel of atonement. Also, an angel of private contracts. Helps protect your interests when entering in to contracts. Invoke for legal protection.
	36	MENDIAL (Menadel) [MND]	**Honourable.** Angel who ensures success, security, and stability in your professional work. Safeguards your employment and security of livelihood. Protects against financial instabilities.

Five of Wands		***Reversed***
		Hahaiah (HHO)
		Sephira: Gevurah
		Saturn in Leo
		Leo 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Mars
Ruling Angel: Jophiel		

Six of Wands	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Achaiah (AKA)	Cahetel (KHTh)
	Sephira: Tiferet	*Sephira*: Tiferet
	Jupiter in Leo	Jupiter in Leo
	Leo 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Sun	Leo 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Sun
Ruling Angel: Metatron		

Seven of Wands	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Hariel (HRI)	Hakamiah (HQM)
	Sephira: Netzach	*Sephira*: Netzach
	Mars in Leo	Mars in Leo
	Sagittarius 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Mars	Sagittarius 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Mars
Ruling Angel: Jophiel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Eight of Wands	Laviah (LAV)	Caliel (KLI)
	Sephira: Hod	*Sephira*: Hod
	Mercury in Sagittarius	Mercury in Sagittarius
	Sagittarius 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Sun	Sagittarius 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Sun
Ruling Angel: Zaphkiel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Nine of Wands	Yezalel (IZL)	Mebahel (MBH)
	Sephira: Yesod	*Sephira*: Yesod
	Moon in Sagittarius	Moon in Sagittarius
	Sagittarius 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter	Sagittarius 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter
Ruling Angel: Jophiel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Ace of Cups	Leuviah (LVV)	Pahaliah (PHL)
	Sephira: Keter	*Sephira*: Keter
	Water	Water
	Cancer 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Moon	Cancer 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Moon
Ruling Angel: Zaphkiel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Two of Cups	Nelchael (NLK)	Yeiayel (YYY)
	Sephira: Chokhmah	*Sephira*: Chokhmah
	Venus in Cancer	Venus in Cancer
	Cancer 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Mars	Cancer 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Mars
Ruling Angel: Zaphkiel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Three of Cups	Melahel (MLH)	Haheuiah (ChHV)
	Sephira: Binah	*Sephira*: Binah
	Mercury in Cancer	Mercury in Cancer
	Cancer 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter	Cancer 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter
Ruling Angel: Zaphkiel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Four of Cups	Yeratel (YRTh)	Seheiah (ShAH)
	Sephira: Chesad	*Sephira*: Chesad
	Moon in Cancer	Moon in Cancer
	Scorpio 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter	Scorpio 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Jupiter
Ruling Angel: Zadkiel		

Five of Cups	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Reiyel (RYY)	Omael (AUM)
	Sephira: Gevurah	*Sephira*: Gevurah
	Mars in Scorpio	Mars in Scorpio
	Scorpio 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Moon	Scorpio 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Moon
Ruling Angel: Zadkiel		

Six of Cups	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Mith-haiah (NThH)	Haaiah (HAA)
	Sephira: Tiferet	*Sephira*: Tiferet
	Sun in Scorpio	Sun in Scorpio
	Scorpio 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Mars	Scorpio 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Mars
Ruling Angel: Zadkiel		

Seven of Cups	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Yehuiah (YChV)	Lehahiah (LHCh)
	Sephira: Netzach	*Sephira*: Netzach
	Venus in Scorpio	Venus in Scorpio
	Pisces 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Moon	Pisces 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Moon
Ruling Angel: Zadkiel		

Eight of Cups	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Chavakiah (KVQ)	Menadel (MND)
	Sephira: Hod	*Sephira*: Hod
	Saturn in Pisces	Saturn in Pisces
	Pisces 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Mars	Pisces 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Mars
Ruling Angel: Kamael		

Thrones 13 – 15: Ace of Swords – Four of Swords (Upright)

THRONE	RAY	ANGEL NAME	MEANING AND ANGELIC POWERS
13	37	ANIEL [ANI]	**Lord of Virtues.** Defends against sieges on the city or a community. Patron of the arts and sciences. Reveals the secrets of nature to help humanity advance technology and innovation. Reveals philosophical truths and inspires scholars and sages. Aniel is a learned scholar of many subjects; one of the most knowledgeable of angels. Patron to polymaths.
	38	CHAAMIAH (Haamiah) [ChOM]	**The Hope of All the Ends of the Earth.** Invoke Haamiah to help discover or find treasures. Protects and safeguards against demonic attacks. Haamiah is a Preserver of Hope. Invoke to endow you with optimism and to reaffirm your faith.

	39	REHAAIEI (Rehael) [RHO]	**Swift to Condone.** Healing angel. Helps bring longevity and cures illness. Also invoke Rehael to strengthen familial bonds.
14	40	YEYEZIEL (Ieiazel, Yeiazel) [YYZ]	**Making Joyful.** Angel who is merciful and sympathetic to prisoners. Invoke Ieiazel for deliverance from suffering. Patron of scribes and artists. Oversees the printing of books and the publication of news.
	41	HEHIHEL (Hahael) [HHH]	**Triune.** Angel who saves souls. Invoke to clear a path to salvation. Revealer of the Holy Trinity to those who seek knowledge of it. Brings the full force, power, and strength of the Holy Triads.
	42	MICHAEL (Mikael) [MIK]	**Who is Like Unto Him.** Helps those to uncover conspiracies or plots against them; angel presiding over political affairs; helps bring political success and prestige to those who invoke Mikael; angel of diplomacy and endows you with the art and skill of successful negotiation.
15	43	VAVALIAH (Veualiah, Veuliah) [VVL]	**King and Ruler.** Delivers from bondage and oppression. Helps you to defeat oppressors. Angel of glory and patron of the military. A warrior angel who shows great courage, bravery, and strength.
	44	YELAHIAH (Ielahiah) [YLH]	**Abiding Forever.** Invoke to facilitate success in trials and quests. Angel of victory. When you seek success in a specific undertaking, call upon Ielahiah.
	45	SAILIAH (Sealiah) [SAL]	**Mover of All Things.** Angel of vegetation and flora. Deeply sympathetic to those who have fallen or who feel they have been unjustly humiliated. Defender of the weak and downtrodden. A highly-skilled angel endowed with knowledge and mastery over many arts.

	Upright	***Reversed***
Ace of Swords	Aniel (ANI)	Haamiah (ChOM)
	Sephira: Keter	*Sephira*: Keter
	Air	Air
	Libra 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Venus	Libra 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Venus
Ruling Angel: Kamael		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Two of Swords	Rahael (RHO)	Yeiazel (YYZ)
	Sephira: Chokhmah	*Sephira*: Chokhmah
	Moon in Libra	Moon in Libra
	Libra 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn	Libra 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn
Ruling Angel: Kamael		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Three of Swords	Hahahel (HHH)	Mikael (MIK)
	Sephira: Binah	*Sephira*: Binah
	Saturn in Libra	Saturn in Libra
	Libra 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury	Libra 25-30° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury
Ruling Angel: Raphael		

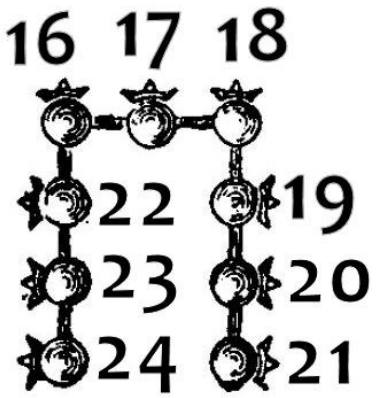
[NOTE SKIP of Four to Six]

Six of Swords	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Veuliah (VVL)	Yelahiah (YLH)
	Sephira: Tiferet	*Sephira*: Tiferet
	Mercury in Aquarius	Mercury in Aquarius
	Aquarius 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn	Aquarius 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn
Ruling Angel: Raphael		

[NOTE RETURN to Four, Upright]

Four of Swords	***Upright***	
	Sehaliah (SAL)	
	Sephira: Chesad	
	Jupiter in Libra	
	Aquarius 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury	
Ruling Angel: Raphael		

Thrones 16 – 21: Four of Swords (Reversed) – Eight/Nine of Pentacles



THRONE	RAY	ANGEL NAME	MEANING AND ANGELIC POWERS
16	46	AARIEL (Ariel) [ORI]	**Revealer.** Angel of prophecy and revelations. For those who demonstrate sincere gratitude for life, Ariel brings hidden treasures and reveals important secrets.
	47	AASLAYOH (Asaliah) [OShL]	**Just Judge.** Invoke for guardianship and support toward enlightenment and transcendence. Seeks to endow humans with esoteric knowledge and wisdom. Has an agreeable character, curious, inquisitive nature, and a profound interest for learning. Defender of justice.
	48	MIHAL (Mihael) [MIH]	**Sending Forth as Father.** Brings harmony in conjugal and romantic relations; brings peace and prosperity to the domestic front. Governs ancestry and stays to protect a family line for many generations. Invoke on behalf of the family.
17	49	VEHOOEL (Vehuel) [VHV]	**Great and Lofty.** An angel with a sensitive, generous spirit; lover of literature, philosophy, and jurisprudence. Invoke to be exalted. Supports ambitious undertakings for glory. Helps and safeguards those who are trying to overcome sorrow or tragedy.

	50	DENEYEL (Daniel) [DNY]	**Merciful Judge.** Angel of justice; patron to solicitors and attorneys. Leads and guides to the answers and truths you seek. Industrious, protects and safeguards businesses, and can endow you with eloquence and the art of persuasive rhetoric.
	51	HECHASHYAH (Hahasiah) [HChSh]	**Secret and Impenetrable.** Angel to the alchemists and mystics. Assists in the revelation of mysteries and wisdom. Aids in the discovery of the philosopher's stone to those who are worthy of such knowledge. An angel who loves deeply plant life, animals, and minerals.
18	52	AAMAMIAH (Imamiah) [OMM]	**Covered in Darkness.** Helps you to defeat your enemies. Helps you to endure adversity. Amplifies the productivity of your work and diligence. As an angel, Imamiah has a more forceful, intense temperament.
	53	NANAEL [NNA]	**Caster Down of the Proud.** Nanael has a sardonic sense of humor. Can help in meditation and spiritual healing. Highly knowledgeable in the sciences and is partial to scholars and erudites. Patron of contrarians and skeptics.
	54	NITHAEL (Nilhael) [NITh]	**Celestial King.** Angel of longevity; angel to the emperors, kings, and leaders of nations. Patron to public figures. Eloquent and learned. Nithael helps you safeguard and raise your public reputation.
19	55	MIBAHAIAH (Mehaiah) [MBH]	**Eternal.** Call upon Mabaiah to help you secure the compensation that you deserve. Angel who brings consolation. Cares deeply for justices and supports just causes.
	56	POOYAEL (Poiel, Poyel) [PVI]	**Supporting All Things.** A highly-esteemed angel with the power to bring you fame and fortune. Has an agreeable personality and fulfills the requests of those who have demonstrated merit and who are well-deserving.

	57	NEMAMIAH [NMM]	**Lovable.** Angel of prosperity to nations; brings military success when called upon. Seeks to forge goodwill among all of humanity, mend emotional wounds, and facilitate peace.
20	58	YEYEELEL (Ieialel, Yeialel) [YYL]	**Hearer of Cries.** Protects the weak and defends the defenseless; helps to cure afflictions; angel of mercy.
	59	HEROCHIEL (Harael, Harahel) [HRCh]	**Permeating All Things.** Protects women and children. A scholarly angel and one with strong business and commercial acumen, and therefore when invoked, will endow you with such traits.
	60	MITZRAEL [MTzR]	**Raising Up the Oppressed.** Brings relief to those suffering from mental illness or who are being persecuted. A fierce protector and nurturer.
21	61	VEMIBAEL (Umahel, Umabel) [VMB]	**The Name Which is Over All.** A sociable, amiable angel who is sensitive and seeks to bring joy. Optimistic, loving, and blithesome; oversees festivities and goodwill.
	62	YAHOHEL (Iahhel) [IHH]	**The Supreme Ends or Essence.** Patron of philosophers and those with illuminated minds. Virtuous, solitary, and modest, seeks a path of peace, harmony, and wisdom.
	63	AANEVAL (Ananel) [ONV]	**Rejoicing.** Angel of banking and commerce; brings financial security. An industrious, active angel with a love for productivity.
22	64	MACHAYEL (Mehriel) [MChl]	**Vivifying.** Angel of scholarship, rhetoric, oration, and literature. Patron to professors and polymaths. Advances knowledge and learning.
	65	DAMABAYAH (Damabiah) [DMB]	**Fountain of Wisdom.** Defends against baneful magic; call upon Damabiah to protect you from curses and hexes. An angel who rules over the element Water.

	66	MENQEL (Manakel) [MNQ]	**Nourishing All.** A gentle-natured angel with a deep love for animals and the plant life. Brings you revelations through dreams. Guides you on your path to healing and recovery from illness.
23	67	AAYOEL (Eiael, Eyael) [AIO]	**Delights of the Sons of Men.** Invoke to overcome adversity. Partial to those who are more solitary and introverted in nature. Teaches the skilled sciences and brings you to mastery of such arts. Revealer of difficult truths, but always toward your highest good.
	68	CHABOOYAH (Habuhiah) [ChBV]	**Most Liberal Giver.** Angel of fertility, virility, and creativity. Safeguards harvests and brings plenitude.
	69	RAHAEL (Rochel) [RAH]	**Beholding All.** Helps retrieve lost or stolen items. Sees far and wide; endows you with such sight when invoked. Nothing can be concealed from Rahael.
24	70	YABOMAYAH (Jabamiah) [IBM]	**Producing by His Word.** Angel of genius. Brings divine inspiration and epiphanies. Protects and safeguards your spiritual path. Follows and care after the same soul through multiple incarnations and lifetimes.
	71	HAHAYEL (Haiaiel) [HYY]	**Lord of the Universe.** Governs the element fire; brave and courageous angel who rushes to protect and defend those who cry out to Hahayel for help. Will defeat the wicked and ill-intentioned.
	72	MEVAMAYAH (Mumiah) [MVM]	**End of the Universe.** Angel of medicine, physics, and chemistry. Seeks to bring good health and longevity. An angel eager to assist to ensure success in all manners of spell-crafting and magical operations.

Four of Swords		***Reversed***
		Ariel (ORI)
		Sephira: Chesad
		Jupiter in Libra
		Aquarius 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury
Ruling Angel: Raphael		

Five of Swords	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Asaliah (OShL)	Mihael (MIH)
	Sephira: Gevurah	*Sephira*: Gevurah
	Venus in Aquarius	Venus in Aquarius
	Aquarius 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Venus	Aquarius 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Venus
Ruling Angel: Raphael		

[NOTE SKIP to Nine; Six Appeared in Throne 15]

Nine of Swords	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Vehuel (VHV)	Daniel (DNY)
	Sephira: Yesod	*Sephira*: Yesod
	Mars in Gemini	Mars in Gemini
	Gemini 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury	Gemini 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury
Ruling Angel: Haniel		

[NOTE RETURN to Seven; Still No Six]

	Upright	***Reversed***
Seven of Swords	Hahasiah (HChSh)	Imamiah (OMM)
	Sephira: Netzach	*Sephira*: Netzach
	Moon in Aquarius	Moon in Aquarius
	Gemini 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Venus	Gemini 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Venus
Ruling Angel: Haniel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Eight of Swords	Nanael (NNA)	Nithael (NITh)
	Sephira: Hod	*Sephira*: Hod
	Jupiter in Gemini	Jupiter in Gemini
	Gemini 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn	Gemini 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn
Ruling Angel: Haniel		

[NOTE SKIP of Nine]

	Upright	***Reversed***
Ace of Pentacles	Mebahiah (MBH)	Poyel (PVI)
	Sephira: Keter	*Sephira*: Keter
	Earth	Earth
	Capricorn 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn	Capricorn 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn
Ruling Angel: Haniel		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Two of Pentacles	Nemamiah (NMM)	Yeialel (YYL)
	Jupiter in Capricorn	Jupiter in Capricorn
	Capricorn 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Venus *Sephira*: Chokhmah	Capricorn 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Venus *Sephira*: Chokhmah
Ruling Angel: Michael		

	Upright	***Reversed***
Three of Pentacles	Harahel (HRCh)	Mitzrael (MTzR)
	Sephira: Binah	*Sephira*: Binah
	Mars in Capricorn	Mars in Capricorn
	Capricorn 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury	Capricorn 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury
Ruling Angel: Michael		

[NOTE SKIP of Four to Six]

	Upright	***Reversed***
Six of Pentacles	Umabel (VMB)	Iah-hel (IHH)
	Sephira: Tiferet	*Sephira*: Tiferet
	Moon in Taurus	Moon in Taurus
	Taurus 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Venus	Taurus 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Venus
Ruling Angel: Michael		

[NOTE RETURN to Four]

Four of Pentacles	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Anauel (ONV)	Mehiel (MChl)
	Sephira: Chesad	*Sephira*: Chesad
	Sun in Capricorn	Sun in Capricorn
	Taurus 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury	Taurus 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury
Ruling Angel: Michael		

Five of Pentacles	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Damabiah (DMB)	Manakel (MNQ)
	Sephira: Gevurah	*Sephira*: Gevurah
	Mercury in Taurus	Mercury in Taurus
	Taurus 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn	Taurus 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn
Ruling Angel: Gabriel		

[NOTE SKIP of Six to Nine]

Nine of Pentacles	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Eyael (AIO)	Habuhiah (ChBV)
	Sephira: Yesod	*Sephira*: Yesod
	Venus in Virgo	Venus in Virgo
	Virgo 1-5° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury	Virgo 6-10° *Decan Rulership*: Mercury
Ruling Angel: Gabriel		

[NOTE RETURN to Seven]

Seven of Pentacles	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Rochel (RAH)	Jabamiah (IBM)
	Sephira: Netzach	*Sephira*: Netzach
	Saturn in Taurus	Saturn in Taurus
	Virgo 11-15° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn	Virgo 16-20° *Decan Rulership*: Saturn
Ruling Angel: Gabriel		

Eight of Pentacles	***Upright***	***Reversed***
	Haiyael (HYY)	Mumiah (MVM)
	Sephira: Hod	*Sephira*: Hod
	Sun in Virgo	Sun in Virgo
	Virgo 21-25° *Decan Rulership*: Venus	Virgo 26-30° *Decan Rulership*: Venus
Ruling Angel: Gabriel		

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

JAPANESE LITERATURE

EDITED BY

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2

Myth and history in the *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*, and related works

DAVID LURIE

The earliest extant works of the Japanese tradition date to the early eighth century, during the first decade of the Nara capital. The *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) and *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720) are important for their content – a mix of myth, legend, and history, interspersed with poetry – and for the very different styles in which they were written. Their influence and significance is apparent in the variety of other narratives written about Japanese incidents and institutions in the remainder of the Nara and the early Heian periods, and also in the long tradition of scholarship and commentary they generated (devoted almost exclusively to the *Nihon shoki* until the early modern period). Despite their overlaps, these works differ profoundly in content, editorial stance, and written style. Especially in their earlier sections they have often been treated as facets of a unified corpus of Japanese myths that awaits reconstruction by scholars able to strip away later accretions. Regardless of whether one endorses this project of reading *through* them (and contemporary scholars are critical of such general notions as "myths of Japan" [*Nihon shinwa*] or "[common] myths of the records and chronicles" [*kiki shinwa*]), the first step in approaching the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* must be analysis of the meaning of given narrative sequences within each particular text.

It is true that similar stories about identical or related gods appear in these works; and, conversely, that they weave together (sometimes quite loosely) materials that must have originated in different contexts. Moreover, there are connections with actual cults and rituals, from periods before and after the eighth century as well as contemporaneously with the compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. But oft-excerpted stories and scenes are deeply embedded within the texts that contain them. More importantly, the essential qualities of these works lie in the distinctive tone and structure that they impose on their sometimes shared materials, characteristics that are downplayed or ignored when they are simply treated as parts of a larger whole.

The *Kojiki*

The *Kojiki* is generally dated by its preface to 712 (Wadō 5), but independent internal evidence confirms the likelihood of its composition around that time. It is a collection of mythical, legendary, and quasi-historical material stretching from the appearance of the first gods in the High Heavenly Plain (*takaama no hara*) to the reign of the female sovereign later known as Suiko (trad. r. 592–628 CE).[1] It is divided into three books, the first of which describes an early age of the gods, beginning with heaven and earth coming into existence, narrating the creation of the earthly realm that would come to be ruled by the sovereigns, and ending with accounts of the descent of Ninigi, the grandson of the sun-goddess, to this "land amid reed planes," and of the exploits of his children and grandchildren. The second book portrays the origins of rule by legendary sovereigns, starting with Ninigi's great-grandson (later known as Jinmu), and describes the expansion of their realm, following reign-by-reign until that of the fifteenth legendary ruler, Ōjin. The third book continues from the famously virtuous sixteenth ruler, Nintoku, to Suiko, whose reign, implicitly here and explicitly in the *Nihon shoki*, represented the beginning of a new era for eighth-century historians.

For contemporary students of Japanese literature, the *Kojiki* is the source of familiar narratives describing trips to other realms like the world of the dead or an undersea palace, journeys of conquest by early sovereigns and their relatives, and vivid tales of love and jealousy involving both gods and humans. Its three books contain 112 vernacular poems (*uta*) and numerous genealogical notes about the descent of the sovereigns and the backgrounds of prominent lineage groups and organizations. The genealogies tie the work to the political and social circumstances of the early eighth century, but they also animate much of the narrative material. As in other early prose works, narratives often serve to justify or explain a particular genealogical notation, and in many cases a given narrative cannot be understood without reference to the lineages that are involved.

The first of the three books is devoted to the origins of the realm of Japan and of the sovereigns who rule it: it links various localities, and the gods and influential lineages associated with them, to an overall narrative of creation in stages. Beginning with the first appearance of heaven and earth and the

[1] The familiar Sino-Japanese names of the sovereigns (Jinmu, Yūryaku, Suiko, etc.) were created in the mid eighth century, and originally appeared in neither the *Kojiki* nor the *Nihon shoki*, where rulers are identified either by vernacular names (e.g. Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko) or by the location of their palace.

spontaneous generation of a number of deities, single and in male/female pairs, it turns to the exploits of the last of these gods to appear: Izanaki (probably, "man who invites") and Izanami ("woman who invites").[2] As ordered by the elder heavenly deities, these two gods descend to earth and procreate, giving birth to the islands of the Japanese archipelago and to a series of deities associated with geographic features and natural phenomena. Izanami dies from burns incurred while delivering a fire deity, who is then killed by Izanaki, while other gods are born from her bodily fluids and from the spattered blood and corpse of the fire deity.

Izanaki travels to the land of Yomi (an afterworld) in search of his dead wife, but flees in horror after witnessing her rotting corpse; she angrily pursues him to the border of Yomi, where they sever their relations. Purifying himself after his return, Izanaki generates another slew of deities, the last three of which are Amaterasu ("shining in heaven"), Tsukuyomi ("moon-counter"), and Susano'o ("raging male"). They are ordered by their progenitor to rule, respectively, the heavens, the night, and the sea, but Susano'o is expelled by Izanaki after refusing to obey. When a farewell visit to his sister Amaterasu is met with suspicion, he attempts to prove his sincerity through a test in which they each generate offspring from articles obtained from the other. This results in another series of new deities, and after claiming victory Susano'o rages through heaven, driving Amaterasu to cast both heaven and earth into darkness by withdrawing into a rock chamber, from which she is induced to emerge by a committee of gods who arrange a spectacle including lewd dancing and laughter.

Punished and cast out of heaven, Susano'o alights in the land of Izumo, saves the daughter of a local deity by killing an enormous serpent with eight heads and tails, and settles down in a palace. His sixth-generation descendant, Ōkuninushi ("great lord of the land"), is twice killed by rivalrous brother deities and revived, and then travels to Susano'o's realm, where he undergoes trials while wooing his daughter. Stealing magical articles from Susano'o, and ultimately gaining his blessing, he subdues his brothers and continues the creation of the land with other deities.

Amaterasu determines that the land is to be ruled by one of the gods that she produced during her contest with Susano'o, but the land is too chaotic for

[2] Deity names in the *Kojiki* and other early works seem to have originally been semantically transparent, but many of them have been obscured by linguistic change, by interference from the meanings of characters used phonographically, or simply by the passage of time. For many there is consensus about their significance, but others are subject to dispute, and some lack even a convincing proposed interpretation.

him to descend from heaven. After two failed attempts, an emissary deity travels to Izumo and convinces Ōkuninushi and his sons to yield the land to Amaterasu's offspring. Her grandson Ninigi ("fertile abundance") then descends to Hyūga (in eastern Kyushu), where he marries the daughter of a mountain god, and where his son and grandson marry daughters of the sea god. Ninigi's great-grandson Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko ("fine lad of Iware in divine Yamato"), later known as Jinmu, is the first of the human rulers followed by the rest of the work, and the beginning of a royal genealogy leading down to the present day of the *Kojiki*.

Jinmu is the starting point for the second and third books, which follow sovereigns chronologically from reign to reign, with occasional interpolations of (usually mythic) material that provides genealogical background. These accounts of the age of human rulers are loosely organized into sections for successive sovereigns, tied together by a generally consistent format: statements of parentage, consorts, and offspring at the outset, and of tomb location at the conclusion of the account of each reign. (Such statements are the sole content of the final portion of the third book.)

Book Two presents the expansion and solidification of the realm of the sovereigns through conquest and religious authority. It begins with an account of Jinmu's journey eastward from Kyushu, alternately fighting with and relying on local gods and various human and non-human creatures, until he successfully establishes his palace at Kashiwara (in the southern Nara basin). After a mysterious series of eight "sovereigns" with only genealogical information, Jinmu's descendant Sujin and Sujin's son Suinin are portrayed as expanding the religious role of the sovereigns, ending an epidemic through worship of the deity of Mount Miwa (Ōmononushi) and averting a curse by refurbishing the Izumo shrine. The Suinin section contains a particularly interesting cluster of narratives, including the tragedy of the consort Saobime and her incestuous relationship with her rebellious brother, the tale of a cursed prince who grows to manhood without speaking, and a journey to the world of eternal life in search of the mythic *tachibana* fruit. Perhaps the centerpiece of this entire book is the extended narrative of Yamato Takeru, a prince who journeys to Kyushu, Izumo, and northeastern Honshū on missions of conquest for his father. This vivid cycle of stories, which includes some of the best-known "songs" of the *Kojiki*, ends with the dead prince changed into a white bird that flies away, fruitlessly pursued by his bereaved wives and children. The second book concludes with the famous story of Jingū, consort to a sovereign destroyed by gods for ignoring their oracle, who in her husband's stead leads a mission of conquest to Korea, followed by the

reign of her son Ōjin, marked by the arrival of immigrant experts in such technologies as weaving, writing, and brewing. This complements Yamato Takeru's journeys of conquest by showing (fictitiously, of course) the expansion of royal authority to the Korean peninsula (the *Kojiki* makes only passing reference to Korea thereafter, and never mentions China at all).

Book Three contains considerably less narrative material. For the concluding nine sovereigns (who correspond roughly to the period from the end of the fifth through the beginning of the seventh century), only a skeletal account of genealogy, palaces, and tombs is provided, and the bulk of this book is devoted to accounts of only two sovereigns. Nintoku (Ōjin's son) is portrayed as a benevolent sage-king (in the most clearly Confucian portion of the work), but also as a romantic hero who struggles with his jealous consort Iwanohime, producing a vivid sequence of "songs." Yūryaku (Nintoku's grandson) is portrayed as brutally violent, but primarily through his actions before his enthronement; his reign is a series of largely auspicious episodes, several of which show him as a lover in pursuit of his female subjects. Between Nintoku and Yūryaku is a bloody interval of succession disputes, in which several occupants of and contenders for the throne are brutally murdered; after Yūryaku's reign is a final narrative sequence involving the accession of two royal princes, Ninken and Kenzō, who had fled the earlier violence.

The written style of the *Kojiki* has often been described, incorrectly, as a blend of Chinese and Japanese, a formulation that confuses orthographic variety with linguistic difference. Portions of the work are written in phonographs, or in a mixture of phonographs and logographs, or entirely in logographs (sometimes arranged consistently with literary Chinese usage) but the *kundoku* reading process ensures a degree of linguistic homogeneity inconsistent with the idea of a mixture of languages. In many respects this prose style is close to the everyday logographic writing used in paper and wooden documents from the late seventh and eighth centuries, but great pains have been taken to systematize its orthography to make it as clear as possible. In this process, orally transmitted myths functioned only as raw material, and cannot be recovered in an "original" form. The language of the *Kojiki* also is surely related to what was spoken before the advent of writing, but the work provides no direct access to that "original" language, even though its preface claims that it does.

Because the *Kojiki* makes no appearance in the official historical record of the *Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan Continued, 797), some scholars have doubted the authenticity of that preface, which is signed by a middle-ranking

courtier named Ō no Yasumaro (?–723). A small minority have even argued that the entire text is a later forgery, but the language reflected by its phonograph orthography establishes it as an early eighth-century work, and the weight of the evidence suggests that the preface is also genuine. In style and worldview, though, it departs radically from the main text of the *Kojiki*. Yasumaro tells an elaborate tale of multigenerational sponsorship by Tenmu and his niece (Tenji's daughter) Genmei (r. 707–15), linked by a much-debated claim that a mysterious court attendant named Hieda no Are somehow underwrote the linguistic authenticity of the work through "reciting and learning" earlier historical records. Once this connection to ancient narratives has been made, the preface turns to a description of the style engineered for the prose of the main text:

> In high antiquity words and meanings were both forthright; it is very hard to put them in writing by unfolding sentences and constructing phrases. If one compiles them completely in accordance with the readings of the characters, the words do not extend to the meaning; if one strings them together totally relying on the sounds of the characters, the impression of the passage becomes very long. Herewith, at present, I sometimes used both sounds and readings within a single phrase; I sometimes recorded only with readings inside a single passage. Thus, when the logic of the words was hard to see, I clarified it with notes; when the form of the meaning was easy to understand, I did not annotate at all.

A common interpretation of this passage, grounded in a misreading of its links between language and writing, is that Yasumaro had to avoid "writing in Chinese" to preserve the "native" Japanese language. But the kundoku reading process meant that Chinese-style texts were not necessarily "in" that language, and careful analysis of the wording here shows that the salient contrast is not between the Chinese and Japanese *languages*, but rather between the orthodox transregional mode of formal Chinese-style writing (employed in works like the *Nihon shoki*) and the vernacular style of the *Kojiki* with its purported connection to "ancient language."

It is possible that the distinctive style of the main text was motivated not simply because recording "old language" necessitated avoiding the Chinese style, but also because, conversely, avoiding the associations of that style necessitated a new method of writing, which Yasumaro justifies by claiming it was both based on "recitations" and necessary to be faithful to them. The preface itself is evidence of the influences he wanted to avoid: written in elaborate Chinese-style parallel prose, with phrases of four and six characters, it is also packed with borrowings from and references to a range of classical

Chinese texts. Although it is contradicted by the preface, the main text envisions a form of rulership whose authority is presented in oral terms. This corresponds stylistically with the creation of a vernacular text minimally dependent on Chinese rhetoric and related visions of statecraft. Just as the actual relation of the early Japanese state and its ideology to Sinitic models is a separate matter from its self-presentation, so with the style of the *Kojiki* the important point is that it attempts to engineer a new vernacular mode of expression that does not *visibly* derive from the transregional formal standard. On the surface, the result is a lucid and effective style that is clearly not literary Chinese, but in actuality it is still dependent on the Chinese commentarial and lexicographical tradition to distinguish fine shades of meaning, and throughout it relies on Chinese grammatical markers to connect and separate phrases and clauses.

Contemporary readers – there do not seem to have been that many, at least as compared to the *Nihon shoki* – must have experienced the work that resulted from these strenuous efforts as a remarkably creative and entertaining *tour de force*. The *Kojiki* pulls together disparate traditional stories and a welter of genealogies, human and divine, melding them into a single unified narrative that runs, with considerable energy, from the origins of heaven and earth through to the final episodes of the enthronement of the refugee princes. The preface suggests the seriousness of this endeavor, claiming royal sponsorship and trumpeting an ambition to correct and preserve corrupted and vanishing traditions. The main body of the work can be seen as conforming to such a project, but it is also a highly entertaining collection of stories and songs that are made all the more meaningful by the care with which they have been incorporated into the larger narrative whole.

The *Nihon shoki*

Completed in 720, only eight years after the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon shoki* both overlaps with and departs from the earlier work (not least because it is clearly the product of a decades-long process involving multiple compilers, and probably multiple *teams* of compilers). It is about four times longer, and more forthright in its treatment of its sources, citing a number of them directly. It also covers a longer period, becoming more detailed just as the *Kojiki* peters out into a skeletal list of reigns, and devoting the largest proportion of its historical narrative to the decades following the end of that list (essentially, the seventh century). Most prominently, where the style of the *Kojiki* rejects overt Sinitic norms, the *Nihon shoki* explicitly adheres to

them: excepting the phonographic "songs," it is written in a logographic style consistent with literary Chinese usage and orthography, and some passages are even cribbed directly from Chinese classics. The result is not as distinctive as the *Kojiki*, and there is no denying the dryness of many of the annals, especially in its latter half, but much of the *Nihon shoki* is of considerable literary interest. Many of the songs it contains do not overlap with those of the *Kojiki*, and those that do are sometimes given different meanings by their prose settings; there are set pieces of soaring Sinitic rhetoric, often put into the mouths of sovereigns, princes, and their courtiers; and independent narrative episodes from the court, the countryside, and abroad are frequently incorporated into the annals. Even passages in the more "historical" sections are often written with flair, such as the depiction of the assassination of Soga no Iruka in 645, which is a small masterpiece of suspense.

The *Nihon shoki* still provides historians, even today, with a fundamental chronology of events in early Japan, especially for the seventh century. Its authority over the nearly thirteen centuries since its composition stemmed in part from its use of the rhetorical devices and narrative structures of the Chinese official dynastic histories whose tradition began with the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian, *c*. 100 BCE) and solidified with the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han, 111) and *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han, *c*. fifth century). The title itself announces this affiliation, while simultaneously implying a departure from the Chinese model. Where the *Kojiki* is a comparatively neutral "Record of Ancient Matters," the *Nihon shoki* is explicitly linked to the new state name "Japan" (*Nihon*) – less than half a century old in 720 – and also to the traditional format of the Chinese dynastic histories. By analogy, the title can be interpreted as "annals 紀 of the history 書 of Japan 日本." This implies continuity with Chinese models of statecraft and official historiography, but also contrast with the rhythm of dynastic rise and fall that drove the compilation of Chinese histories and provided their moral and temporal armature, because the object here is not a particular dynasty but "Japan" itself, from the beginning of the cosmos to the abdication of Jitō in the eleventh year of her reign (697).

Whether *Nihon shoki* is the original title or a very early alternate is not clear: all manuscripts use that title, which appears in some eighth-century sources, but other early references (such as the entry on the work's completion in the *Shoku Nihongi*) use the abbreviated title *Nihongi*. Regardless, the emulation of and departure from Chinese models embedded in these titles is replicated on multiple levels, so that, for example, legendary and quasi-legendary sovereigns are evaluated in Confucian terms even as the overall

chronology of reigns denies the interruptions of succession guaranteed by the notion of a "mandate of heaven." (Nonetheless, historians reading between the lines argue for a number of such interruptions.)

The first two volumes of the *Nihon shoki*, commonly referred to as the "God Age Volumes" (*jindaikan* or *jindai no maki*), tell of the beginning of the cosmos, the appearance of gods, the creation of the islands of Japan, and the descent to them of Ninigi, who is here the grandson of the god Takamimusuhi ("Lofty Divine Creative Power") as well as Amaterasu. This narrative is interrupted by fifty-eight variant accounts introduced by the formula "a certain book says" (一書曰), clustered so as to divide the main narrative into eleven sections. These variant accounts range from brief notations of alternate deity names to extended stories quite unlike those of the main narrative. The contradictions among these variants have provided a rich lode of material, not only for modern scholars, but for premodern commentators and authors. One of the keys to the continued development of Japanese mythology is the permeability of this portion of the *Nihon shoki*, which in its open structure seems amenable to endless expansion and transformation. Nonetheless, it is essential to note that the variants are clearly subordinated to the main narrative, which continues unbroken across the interruptions.

In addition to such clear differences of format, the first book of the *Kojiki* and the first two books of the *Nihon shoki* also diverge fundamentally in their content and cosmology. This is immediately apparent from their respective openings: where the *Kojiki* begins with the first appearance of heaven and earth, with no explanation of their origins, the *Nihon shoki* cribs from a series of Chinese sources to present an elaborate *yin-yang*-based origin narrative for the universe. (Similarly, the subsequent appearance of early gods in the *Kojiki* is presented as a kind of spontaneous generation, where the *Nihon shoki* continues to explain their emergence in terms of the interaction of specific cosmic forces.) In the subsequent myths, perhaps the most striking difference is that the long *Kojiki* sequence devoted to the Ōkuninushi saga (and strongly associated with Izumo) is entirely absent from the *Nihon shoki*, where he appears only to yield the land before Ninigi's descent. Another prominent divergence is that in the main narrative of the *Nihon shoki* Izanami does not die and Izanaki does not journey to Yomi (although there is a variant version of this story). Unlike the *Kojiki* portrayal of Izanaki generating gods on his own after returning from Yomi, in the *Nihon shoki* he and Izanami give birth to Susano'o and Amaterasu together, in keeping with the governing *yin-yang* cosmology. A catalog of such differences could continue at length, but here it

will suffice to note, finally, how the fundamental divide between the mythology of these two works is symbolized by the fact that the *Kojiki* does not use the term "Japan" (*Nihon*) anywhere, whereas the main narrative of the *Nihon shoki* omits the *Kojiki*'s fundamental term for the heavenly realm (*taka-ama no hara*).

From its third volume, which concerns the reign of the sovereign later known as Jinmu, the format of the *Nihon shoki* changes into temporally ordered annals organized by year of reign (keyed to the Chinese sixty-year cycle of stems and branches, and thus tied down to an absolute, trans-regional chronology), and including entries for given months and days. Brief variant accounts still appear occasionally, but not with the frequency and amplitude that are hallmarks of the God Age volumes. Each sovereign between Jinmu and Jitō (the fortieth by the *Nihon shoki*'s count) has his or her own annal, with a standard format beginning with a description of the sovereign's character and genealogy, a narrative of circumstances preceding enthronement, and a list of consorts and offspring. After the subsequent year-, month-, and day-ordered annal of the sovereign's reign, there is a concluding notation of the location of the royal tomb.

Here as well the contrast with the *Kojiki* is striking. Although the two share the same fundamental royal genealogy, they emphasize different aspects of the reigns of these human rulers. As its annals enter the sixth century, the *Nihon shoki* becomes progressively more concerned with relations between the Yamato court (anachronistically portrayed) and Korean and Chinese rulers. Increasingly detailed entries narrate exchanges with Silla, Paekche, and Koguryŏ (including a description of what the compilers portray as a Japanese sphere of influence, "Mimana," in the south of the peninsula), the arrival of Buddhism, embassies to the Sui court, the rise of the powerful Soga lineage group, the enlightened reign of Suiko and her nephew Prince Shōtoku (trad. 574–622), and so on. This culminates in the dynamic and immensely detailed depiction of the rise of the ruler later known as Tenji and the late seventh-century reign of his brother Tenmu (succeeded by Tenmu's consort Jitō). All of this material needs to be evaluated critically, as even the seventh-century portions contain much elaboration and exaggeration. Nonetheless, the eighth-century reader of the *Nihon shoki* would have sensed its annals reaching almost to the present day as it concluded with Jitō's abdication in 697, a mere generation before the work's completion.

The *Kojiki*, on the other hand, concludes its narrative portion with the story of the rulers later known as Ninken and Kenzō (traditionally taken to have reigned in the late fifth century). It does continue on to Suiko (whose

reign clearly marked an epoch for Yasumaro and other eighth-century historians), but these sections are skeletal royal genealogies without narrative content. Where the *Nihon shoki* presents "Japan" as historically unfolding in a continual process implicitly extending from the age of the gods up to the present, the *Kojiki* portrays antiquity as discontinuous with the time of the work's composition (in its main text; the worldview of the preface is in many respects closer to that of the *Nihon shoki*).

Where the *Kojiki* has a preface but lacks any references in the official history, the *Nihon shoki* lacks a preface but has a clear, though not unproblematic, description of its completion in the *Shoku Nihongi*, the later eighth-century work that covers the years 697–791. The annal for 720 (Yōrō 4/5/21) includes the following entry:

> Earlier, Prince Toneri (first royal rank) had received a royal order to compile the *Nihongi* [Annals of Japan]. Now, he had achieved success, and submitted it to the throne. There were thirty volumes of annals and one volume of genealogical tables.[3]

This entry refers to the final stage of what must have been a long compilation process, involving several groups of scholars (some of Chinese or Korean origin) and originating with history-editing initiatives ordered by Tenmu that are referred to in the *Kojiki* preface and the *Nihon shoki* itself. In the absence of a preface, it provides the most immediate framework for situating the *Nihon shoki* – a framework that is part of the continued state enterprise of compiling the *Shoku Nihongi* and the four other works that, along with the *Nihon shoki*, are collectively termed the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi*).[4] These works, the promulgation of which spans the nearly two centuries between 720 and the beginning of the tenth century, implicitly endorse the *Nihon shoki*'s project to link antiquity to the present realm by continuing its annalistic record, unbroken all the way back to Jinmu.

Until the eighteenth century, the *Nihon shoki* overshadowed the *Kojiki* almost completely. Along with other texts, the *Kojiki* was simply an adjunct to the work of reading and interpreting the *Nihon shoki*, especially the initial "God Age" volumes, as it quickly became the object of veneration and intense scholarly interest. Official lectures on it were held at the Heian court on multiple occasions from the early ninth through the mid tenth

[3] Prince Toneri, an elder statesman who was almost certainly a figurehead rather than an active compiler, was one of the most influential sons of Tenmu and a prominent figure in early Nara period politics.

[4] The four histories that follow the 797 *Shoku Nihongi* are the 840 *Nihon kōki*, the 866 *Shoku Nihon kōki*, the 879 *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, and the 901 *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*.

centuries, and there is some evidence of scholarly discussion already in the eighth century. (There are several extant "personal records" [*shiki*] of these lectures, which include notes on readings of key terms and dialogues on questions of interpretation.) The most important resource for the study of the Heian engagement with the *Nihon shoki* is the *Shaku Nihongi*, compiled by Urabe Kanekata (fl. late thirteenth century). Based on lectures given in 1274 and 1275 by his father Kanefumi (fl. mid thirteenth century), this is a giant compilation of earlier scholarship and commentary. At the center of this enterprise was the establishment of correct kundoku readings for the entire work, a continuation of the basic approach sketched out by reading notes in the text of the *Nihon shoki* itself.

Simultaneous with this official scholarly engagement was the emergence of a ramifying discourse that has in recent years come to be known as the "medieval Chronicles of Japan" (*chūsei Nihongi*). From the late Heian period onward, Buddhist and Indian deities and abstract concepts merged with new political and religious institutions and local and popular cults to create a complex network of narrative material associated with, but not included in, the *Nihon shoki*, and incorporated into commentaries, story collections, treatises, and origin narratives for shrines and temples. This is perhaps the most important component of the reception of early Japanese prose works before the nativist philology (*Kokugaku*) of the early modern period.

Literature of report and proclamation

Two corpuses of material from the late eighth and early tenth century form the core of what some mid twentieth-century scholars termed a "literature of report and proclamation" (*sōsen no bungaku*).[5] This refers primarily to the vernacular proclamations (*senmyō*) of the 797 *Shoku Nihongi* and the prayers or liturgies (*norito*) collected in the 927 *Engi shiki* (a collection of official protocols for governance and ritual), although other texts contain additional examples of these genres. Despite the long interval between these two works, there are remarkable similarities in the language and rhetoric of the senmyō and norito – and, notably, in their orthography: both are inscribed in a mix of logographs and phonographs, similar in principle to modern Japanese inscription, that modern scholars often call "proclamation style" (*senmyō-gaki*).

[5] The term was coined by Andō Masatsugu (1878–1952) and adopted by Kurano Kenji (1902–91).

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

JAPANESE LITERATURE

EDITED BY

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2

Myth and history in the *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*, and related works

DAVID LURIE

The earliest extant works of the Japanese tradition date to the early eighth century, during the first decade of the Nara capital. The *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) and *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720) are important for their content – a mix of myth, legend, and history, interspersed with poetry – and for the very different styles in which they were written. Their influence and significance is apparent in the variety of other narratives written about Japanese incidents and institutions in the remainder of the Nara and the early Heian periods, and also in the long tradition of scholarship and commentary they generated (devoted almost exclusively to the *Nihon shoki* until the early modern period). Despite their overlaps, these works differ profoundly in content, editorial stance, and written style. Especially in their earlier sections they have often been treated as facets of a unified corpus of Japanese myths that awaits reconstruction by scholars able to strip away later accretions. Regardless of whether one endorses this project of reading *through* them (and contemporary scholars are critical of such general notions as "myths of Japan" [*Nihon shinwa*] or "[common] myths of the records and chronicles" [*kiki shinwa*]), the first step in approaching the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* must be analysis of the meaning of given narrative sequences within each particular text.

It is true that similar stories about identical or related gods appear in these works; and, conversely, that they weave together (sometimes quite loosely) materials that must have originated in different contexts. Moreover, there are connections with actual cults and rituals, from periods before and after the eighth century as well as contemporaneously with the compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. But oft-excerpted stories and scenes are deeply embedded within the texts that contain them. More importantly, the essential qualities of these works lie in the distinctive tone and structure that they impose on their sometimes shared materials, characteristics that are downplayed or ignored when they are simply treated as parts of a larger whole.

The *Kojiki*

The *Kojiki* is generally dated by its preface to 712 (Wadō 5), but independent internal evidence confirms the likelihood of its composition around that time. It is a collection of mythical, legendary, and quasi-historical material stretching from the appearance of the first gods in the High Heavenly Plain (*takaama no hara*) to the reign of the female sovereign later known as Suiko (trad. r. 592–628 CE).[1] It is divided into three books, the first of which describes an early age of the gods, beginning with heaven and earth coming into existence, narrating the creation of the earthly realm that would come to be ruled by the sovereigns, and ending with accounts of the descent of Ninigi, the grandson of the sun-goddess, to this "land amid reed planes," and of the exploits of his children and grandchildren. The second book portrays the origins of rule by legendary sovereigns, starting with Ninigi's great-grandson (later known as Jinmu), and describes the expansion of their realm, following reign-by-reign until that of the fifteenth legendary ruler, Ōjin. The third book continues from the famously virtuous sixteenth ruler, Nintoku, to Suiko, whose reign, implicitly here and explicitly in the *Nihon shoki*, represented the beginning of a new era for eighth-century historians.

For contemporary students of Japanese literature, the *Kojiki* is the source of familiar narratives describing trips to other realms like the world of the dead or an undersea palace, journeys of conquest by early sovereigns and their relatives, and vivid tales of love and jealousy involving both gods and humans. Its three books contain 112 vernacular poems (*uta*) and numerous genealogical notes about the descent of the sovereigns and the backgrounds of prominent lineage groups and organizations. The genealogies tie the work to the political and social circumstances of the early eighth century, but they also animate much of the narrative material. As in other early prose works, narratives often serve to justify or explain a particular genealogical notation, and in many cases a given narrative cannot be understood without reference to the lineages that are involved.

The first of the three books is devoted to the origins of the realm of Japan and of the sovereigns who rule it: it links various localities, and the gods and influential lineages associated with them, to an overall narrative of creation in stages. Beginning with the first appearance of heaven and earth and the

[1] The familiar Sino-Japanese names of the sovereigns (Jinmu, Yūryaku, Suiko, etc.) were created in the mid eighth century, and originally appeared in neither the *Kojiki* nor the *Nihon shoki*, where rulers are identified either by vernacular names (e.g. Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko) or by the location of their palace.

spontaneous generation of a number of deities, single and in male/female pairs, it turns to the exploits of the last of these gods to appear: Izanaki (probably, "man who invites") and Izanami ("woman who invites").[2] As ordered by the elder heavenly deities, these two gods descend to earth and procreate, giving birth to the islands of the Japanese archipelago and to a series of deities associated with geographic features and natural phenomena. Izanami dies from burns incurred while delivering a fire deity, who is then killed by Izanaki, while other gods are born from her bodily fluids and from the spattered blood and corpse of the fire deity.

Izanaki travels to the land of Yomi (an afterworld) in search of his dead wife, but flees in horror after witnessing her rotting corpse; she angrily pursues him to the border of Yomi, where they sever their relations. Purifying himself after his return, Izanaki generates another slew of deities, the last three of which are Amaterasu ("shining in heaven"), Tsukuyomi ("moon-counter"), and Susano'o ("raging male"). They are ordered by their progenitor to rule, respectively, the heavens, the night, and the sea, but Susano'o is expelled by Izanaki after refusing to obey. When a farewell visit to his sister Amaterasu is met with suspicion, he attempts to prove his sincerity through a test in which they each generate offspring from articles obtained from the other. This results in another series of new deities, and after claiming victory Susano'o rages through heaven, driving Amaterasu to cast both heaven and earth into darkness by withdrawing into a rock chamber, from which she is induced to emerge by a committee of gods who arrange a spectacle including lewd dancing and laughter.

Punished and cast out of heaven, Susano'o alights in the land of Izumo, saves the daughter of a local deity by killing an enormous serpent with eight heads and tails, and settles down in a palace. His sixth-generation descendant, Ōkuninushi ("great lord of the land"), is twice killed by rivalrous brother deities and revived, and then travels to Susano'o's realm, where he undergoes trials while wooing his daughter. Stealing magical articles from Susano'o, and ultimately gaining his blessing, he subdues his brothers and continues the creation of the land with other deities.

Amaterasu determines that the land is to be ruled by one of the gods that she produced during her contest with Susano'o, but the land is too chaotic for

[2] Deity names in the *Kojiki* and other early works seem to have originally been semantically transparent, but many of them have been obscured by linguistic change, by interference from the meanings of characters used phonographically, or simply by the passage of time. For many there is consensus about their significance, but others are subject to dispute, and some lack even a convincing proposed interpretation.

him to descend from heaven. After two failed attempts, an emissary deity travels to Izumo and convinces Ōkuninushi and his sons to yield the land to Amaterasu's offspring. Her grandson Ninigi ("fertile abundance") then descends to Hyūga (in eastern Kyushu), where he marries the daughter of a mountain god, and where his son and grandson marry daughters of the sea god. Ninigi's great-grandson Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko ("fine lad of Iware in divine Yamato"), later known as Jinmu, is the first of the human rulers followed by the rest of the work, and the beginning of a royal genealogy leading down to the present day of the *Kojiki*.

Jinmu is the starting point for the second and third books, which follow sovereigns chronologically from reign to reign, with occasional interpolations of (usually mythic) material that provides genealogical background. These accounts of the age of human rulers are loosely organized into sections for successive sovereigns, tied together by a generally consistent format: statements of parentage, consorts, and offspring at the outset, and of tomb location at the conclusion of the account of each reign. (Such statements are the sole content of the final portion of the third book.)

Book Two presents the expansion and solidification of the realm of the sovereigns through conquest and religious authority. It begins with an account of Jinmu's journey eastward from Kyushu, alternately fighting with and relying on local gods and various human and non-human creatures, until he successfully establishes his palace at Kashiwara (in the southern Nara basin). After a mysterious series of eight "sovereigns" with only genealogical information, Jinmu's descendant Sujin and Sujin's son Suinin are portrayed as expanding the religious role of the sovereigns, ending an epidemic through worship of the deity of Mount Miwa (Ōmononushi) and averting a curse by refurbishing the Izumo shrine. The Suinin section contains a particularly interesting cluster of narratives, including the tragedy of the consort Saobime and her incestuous relationship with her rebellious brother, the tale of a cursed prince who grows to manhood without speaking, and a journey to the world of eternal life in search of the mythic *tachibana* fruit. Perhaps the centerpiece of this entire book is the extended narrative of Yamato Takeru, a prince who journeys to Kyushu, Izumo, and northeastern Honshū on missions of conquest for his father. This vivid cycle of stories, which includes some of the best-known "songs" of the *Kojiki*, ends with the dead prince changed into a white bird that flies away, fruitlessly pursued by his bereaved wives and children. The second book concludes with the famous story of Jingū, consort to a sovereign destroyed by gods for ignoring their oracle, who in her husband's stead leads a mission of conquest to Korea, followed by the

reign of her son Ōjin, marked by the arrival of immigrant experts in such technologies as weaving, writing, and brewing. This complements Yamato Takeru's journeys of conquest by showing (fictitiously, of course) the expansion of royal authority to the Korean peninsula (the *Kojiki* makes only passing reference to Korea thereafter, and never mentions China at all).

Book Three contains considerably less narrative material. For the concluding nine sovereigns (who correspond roughly to the period from the end of the fifth through the beginning of the seventh century), only a skeletal account of genealogy, palaces, and tombs is provided, and the bulk of this book is devoted to accounts of only two sovereigns. Nintoku (Ōjin's son) is portrayed as a benevolent sage-king (in the most clearly Confucian portion of the work), but also as a romantic hero who struggles with his jealous consort Iwanohime, producing a vivid sequence of "songs." Yūryaku (Nintoku's grandson) is portrayed as brutally violent, but primarily through his actions before his enthronement; his reign is a series of largely auspicious episodes, several of which show him as a lover in pursuit of his female subjects. Between Nintoku and Yūryaku is a bloody interval of succession disputes, in which several occupants of and contenders for the throne are brutally murdered; after Yūryaku's reign is a final narrative sequence involving the accession of two royal princes, Ninken and Kenzō, who had fled the earlier violence.

The written style of the *Kojiki* has often been described, incorrectly, as a blend of Chinese and Japanese, a formulation that confuses orthographic variety with linguistic difference. Portions of the work are written in phonographs, or in a mixture of phonographs and logographs, or entirely in logographs (sometimes arranged consistently with literary Chinese usage) but the *kundoku* reading process ensures a degree of linguistic homogeneity inconsistent with the idea of a mixture of languages. In many respects this prose style is close to the everyday logographic writing used in paper and wooden documents from the late seventh and eighth centuries, but great pains have been taken to systematize its orthography to make it as clear as possible. In this process, orally transmitted myths functioned only as raw material, and cannot be recovered in an "original" form. The language of the *Kojiki* also is surely related to what was spoken before the advent of writing, but the work provides no direct access to that "original" language, even though its preface claims that it does.

Because the *Kojiki* makes no appearance in the official historical record of the *Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan Continued, 797), some scholars have doubted the authenticity of that preface, which is signed by a middle-ranking

courtier named Ō no Yasumaro (?–723). A small minority have even argued that the entire text is a later forgery, but the language reflected by its phonograph orthography establishes it as an early eighth-century work, and the weight of the evidence suggests that the preface is also genuine. In style and worldview, though, it departs radically from the main text of the *Kojiki*. Yasumaro tells an elaborate tale of multigenerational sponsorship by Tenmu and his niece (Tenji's daughter) Genmei (r. 707–15), linked by a much-debated claim that a mysterious court attendant named Hieda no Are somehow underwrote the linguistic authenticity of the work through "reciting and learning" earlier historical records. Once this connection to ancient narratives has been made, the preface turns to a description of the style engineered for the prose of the main text:

> In high antiquity words and meanings were both forthright; it is very hard to put them in writing by unfolding sentences and constructing phrases. If one compiles them completely in accordance with the readings of the characters, the words do not extend to the meaning; if one strings them together totally relying on the sounds of the characters, the impression of the passage becomes very long. Herewith, at present, I sometimes used both sounds and readings within a single phrase; I sometimes recorded only with readings inside a single passage. Thus, when the logic of the words was hard to see, I clarified it with notes; when the form of the meaning was easy to understand, I did not annotate at all.

A common interpretation of this passage, grounded in a misreading of its links between language and writing, is that Yasumaro had to avoid "writing in Chinese" to preserve the "native" Japanese language. But the kundoku reading process meant that Chinese-style texts were not necessarily "in" that language, and careful analysis of the wording here shows that the salient contrast is not between the Chinese and Japanese *languages*, but rather between the orthodox transregional mode of formal Chinese-style writing (employed in works like the *Nihon shoki*) and the vernacular style of the *Kojiki* with its purported connection to "ancient language."

It is possible that the distinctive style of the main text was motivated not simply because recording "old language" necessitated avoiding the Chinese style, but also because, conversely, avoiding the associations of that style necessitated a new method of writing, which Yasumaro justifies by claiming it was both based on "recitations" and necessary to be faithful to them. The preface itself is evidence of the influences he wanted to avoid: written in elaborate Chinese-style parallel prose, with phrases of four and six characters, it is also packed with borrowings from and references to a range of classical

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Contemporary readers – there do not seem to have been that many, at least as compared to the *Nihon shoki* – must have experienced the work that resulted from these strenuous efforts as a remarkably creative and entertaining *tour de force*. The *Kojiki* pulls together disparate traditional stories and a welter of genealogies, human and divine, melding them into a single unified narrative that runs, with considerable energy, from the origins of heaven and earth through to the final episodes of the enthronement of the refugee princes. The preface suggests the seriousness of this endeavor, claiming royal sponsorship and trumpeting an ambition to correct and preserve corrupted and vanishing traditions. The main body of the work can be seen as conforming to such a project, but it is also a highly entertaining collection of stories and songs that are made all the more meaningful by the care with which they have been incorporated into the larger narrative whole.

The *Nihon shoki*

Completed in 720, only eight years after the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon shoki* both overlaps with and departs from the earlier work (not least because it is clearly the product of a decades-long process involving multiple compilers, and probably multiple *teams* of compilers). It is about four times longer, and more forthright in its treatment of its sources, citing a number of them directly. It also covers a longer period, becoming more detailed just as the *Kojiki* peters out into a skeletal list of reigns, and devoting the largest proportion of its historical narrative to the decades following the end of that list (essentially, the seventh century). Most prominently, where the style of the *Kojiki* rejects overt Sinitic norms, the *Nihon shoki* explicitly adheres to

them: excepting the phonographic "songs," it is written in a logographic style consistent with literary Chinese usage and orthography, and some passages are even cribbed directly from Chinese classics. The result is not as distinctive as the *Kojiki*, and there is no denying the dryness of many of the annals, especially in its latter half, but much of the *Nihon shoki* is of considerable literary interest. Many of the songs it contains do not overlap with those of the *Kojiki*, and those that do are sometimes given different meanings by their prose settings; there are set pieces of soaring Sinitic rhetoric, often put into the mouths of sovereigns, princes, and their courtiers; and independent narrative episodes from the court, the countryside, and abroad are frequently incorporated into the annals. Even passages in the more "historical" sections are often written with flair, such as the depiction of the assassination of Soga no Iruka in 645, which is a small masterpiece of suspense.

The *Nihon shoki* still provides historians, even today, with a fundamental chronology of events in early Japan, especially for the seventh century. Its authority over the nearly thirteen centuries since its composition stemmed in part from its use of the rhetorical devices and narrative structures of the Chinese official dynastic histories whose tradition began with the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian, *c*. 100 BCE) and solidified with the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han, 111) and *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han, *c*. fifth century). The title itself announces this affiliation, while simultaneously implying a departure from the Chinese model. Where the *Kojiki* is a comparatively neutral "Record of Ancient Matters," the *Nihon shoki* is explicitly linked to the new state name "Japan" (*Nihon*) – less than half a century old in 720 – and also to the traditional format of the Chinese dynastic histories. By analogy, the title can be interpreted as "annals 紀 of the history 書 of Japan 日本." This implies continuity with Chinese models of statecraft and official historiography, but also contrast with the rhythm of dynastic rise and fall that drove the compilation of Chinese histories and provided their moral and temporal armature, because the object here is not a particular dynasty but "Japan" itself, from the beginning of the cosmos to the abdication of Jitō in the eleventh year of her reign (697).

Whether *Nihon shoki* is the original title or a very early alternate is not clear: all manuscripts use that title, which appears in some eighth-century sources, but other early references (such as the entry on the work's completion in the *Shoku Nihongi*) use the abbreviated title *Nihongi*. Regardless, the emulation of and departure from Chinese models embedded in these titles is replicated on multiple levels, so that, for example, legendary and quasi-legendary sovereigns are evaluated in Confucian terms even as the overall

chronology of reigns denies the interruptions of succession guaranteed by the notion of a "mandate of heaven." (Nonetheless, historians reading between the lines argue for a number of such interruptions.)

The first two volumes of the *Nihon shoki*, commonly referred to as the "God Age Volumes" (*jindaikan* or *jindai no maki*), tell of the beginning of the cosmos, the appearance of gods, the creation of the islands of Japan, and the descent to them of Ninigi, who is here the grandson of the god Takamimusuhi ("Lofty Divine Creative Power") as well as Amaterasu. This narrative is interrupted by fifty-eight variant accounts introduced by the formula "a certain book says" (一書曰), clustered so as to divide the main narrative into eleven sections. These variant accounts range from brief notations of alternate deity names to extended stories quite unlike those of the main narrative. The contradictions among these variants have provided a rich lode of material, not only for modern scholars, but for premodern commentators and authors. One of the keys to the continued development of Japanese mythology is the permeability of this portion of the *Nihon shoki*, which in its open structure seems amenable to endless expansion and transformation. Nonetheless, it is essential to note that the variants are clearly subordinated to the main narrative, which continues unbroken across the interruptions.

In addition to such clear differences of format, the first book of the *Kojiki* and the first two books of the *Nihon shoki* also diverge fundamentally in their content and cosmology. This is immediately apparent from their respective openings: where the *Kojiki* begins with the first appearance of heaven and earth, with no explanation of their origins, the *Nihon shoki* cribs from a series of Chinese sources to present an elaborate *yin-yang*-based origin narrative for the universe. (Similarly, the subsequent appearance of early gods in the *Kojiki* is presented as a kind of spontaneous generation, where the *Nihon shoki* continues to explain their emergence in terms of the interaction of specific cosmic forces.) In the subsequent myths, perhaps the most striking difference is that the long *Kojiki* sequence devoted to the Ōkuninushi saga (and strongly associated with Izumo) is entirely absent from the *Nihon shoki*, where he appears only to yield the land before Ninigi's descent. Another prominent divergence is that in the main narrative of the *Nihon shoki* Izanami does not die and Izanaki does not journey to Yomi (although there is a variant version of this story). Unlike the *Kojiki* portrayal of Izanaki generating gods on his own after returning from Yomi, in the *Nihon shoki* he and Izanami give birth to Susano'o and Amaterasu together, in keeping with the governing *yin-yang* cosmology. A catalog of such differences could continue at length, but here it

will suffice to note, finally, how the fundamental divide between the mythology of these two works is symbolized by the fact that the *Kojiki* does not use the term "Japan" (*Nihon*) anywhere, whereas the main narrative of the *Nihon shoki* omits the *Kojiki*'s fundamental term for the heavenly realm (*taka-ama no hara*).

From its third volume, which concerns the reign of the sovereign later known as Jinmu, the format of the *Nihon shoki* changes into temporally ordered annals organized by year of reign (keyed to the Chinese sixty-year cycle of stems and branches, and thus tied down to an absolute, trans-regional chronology), and including entries for given months and days. Brief variant accounts still appear occasionally, but not with the frequency and amplitude that are hallmarks of the God Age volumes. Each sovereign between Jinmu and Jitō (the fortieth by the *Nihon shoki*'s count) has his or her own annal, with a standard format beginning with a description of the sovereign's character and genealogy, a narrative of circumstances preceding enthronement, and a list of consorts and offspring. After the subsequent year-, month-, and day-ordered annal of the sovereign's reign, there is a concluding notation of the location of the royal tomb.

Here as well the contrast with the *Kojiki* is striking. Although the two share the same fundamental royal genealogy, they emphasize different aspects of the reigns of these human rulers. As its annals enter the sixth century, the *Nihon shoki* becomes progressively more concerned with relations between the Yamato court (anachronistically portrayed) and Korean and Chinese rulers. Increasingly detailed entries narrate exchanges with Silla, Paekche, and Koguryŏ (including a description of what the compilers portray as a Japanese sphere of influence, "Mimana," in the south of the peninsula), the arrival of Buddhism, embassies to the Sui court, the rise of the powerful Soga lineage group, the enlightened reign of Suiko and her nephew Prince Shōtoku (trad. 574–622), and so on. This culminates in the dynamic and immensely detailed depiction of the rise of the ruler later known as Tenji and the late seventh-century reign of his brother Tenmu (succeeded by Tenmu's consort Jitō). All of this material needs to be evaluated critically, as even the seventh-century portions contain much elaboration and exaggeration. Nonetheless, the eighth-century reader of the *Nihon shoki* would have sensed its annals reaching almost to the present day as it concluded with Jitō's abdication in 697, a mere generation before the work's completion.

The *Kojiki*, on the other hand, concludes its narrative portion with the story of the rulers later known as Ninken and Kenzō (traditionally taken to have reigned in the late fifth century). It does continue on to Suiko (whose

reign clearly marked an epoch for Yasumaro and other eighth-century historians), but these sections are skeletal royal genealogies without narrative content. Where the *Nihon shoki* presents "Japan" as historically unfolding in a continual process implicitly extending from the age of the gods up to the present, the *Kojiki* portrays antiquity as discontinuous with the time of the work's composition (in its main text; the worldview of the preface is in many respects closer to that of the *Nihon shoki*).

Where the *Kojiki* has a preface but lacks any references in the official history, the *Nihon shoki* lacks a preface but has a clear, though not unproblematic, description of its completion in the *Shoku Nihongi*, the later eighth-century work that covers the years 697–791. The annal for 720 (Yōrō 4/5/21) includes the following entry:

> Earlier, Prince Toneri (first royal rank) had received a royal order to compile the *Nihongi* [Annals of Japan]. Now, he had achieved success, and submitted it to the throne. There were thirty volumes of annals and one volume of genealogical tables.[3]

This entry refers to the final stage of what must have been a long compilation process, involving several groups of scholars (some of Chinese or Korean origin) and originating with history-editing initiatives ordered by Tenmu that are referred to in the *Kojiki* preface and the *Nihon shoki* itself. In the absence of a preface, it provides the most immediate framework for situating the *Nihon shoki* – a framework that is part of the continued state enterprise of compiling the *Shoku Nihongi* and the four other works that, along with the *Nihon shoki*, are collectively termed the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi*).[4] These works, the promulgation of which spans the nearly two centuries between 720 and the beginning of the tenth century, implicitly endorse the *Nihon shoki*'s project to link antiquity to the present realm by continuing its annalistic record, unbroken all the way back to Jinmu.

Until the eighteenth century, the *Nihon shoki* overshadowed the *Kojiki* almost completely. Along with other texts, the *Kojiki* was simply an adjunct to the work of reading and interpreting the *Nihon shoki*, especially the initial "God Age" volumes, as it quickly became the object of veneration and intense scholarly interest. Official lectures on it were held at the Heian court on multiple occasions from the early ninth through the mid tenth

[3] Prince Toneri, an elder statesman who was almost certainly a figurehead rather than an active compiler, was one of the most influential sons of Tenmu and a prominent figure in early Nara period politics.

[4] The four histories that follow the 797 *Shoku Nihongi* are the 840 *Nihon kōki*, the 866 *Shoku Nihon kōki*, the 879 *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, and the 901 *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*.

centuries, and there is some evidence of scholarly discussion already in the eighth century. (There are several extant "personal records" [*shiki*] of these lectures, which include notes on readings of key terms and dialogues on questions of interpretation.) The most important resource for the study of the Heian engagement with the *Nihon shoki* is the *Shaku Nihongi*, compiled by Urabe Kanekata (fl. late thirteenth century). Based on lectures given in 1274 and 1275 by his father Kanefumi (fl. mid thirteenth century), this is a giant compilation of earlier scholarship and commentary. At the center of this enterprise was the establishment of correct kundoku readings for the entire work, a continuation of the basic approach sketched out by reading notes in the text of the *Nihon shoki* itself.

Simultaneous with this official scholarly engagement was the emergence of a ramifying discourse that has in recent years come to be known as the "medieval Chronicles of Japan" (*chūsei Nihongi*). From the late Heian period onward, Buddhist and Indian deities and abstract concepts merged with new political and religious institutions and local and popular cults to create a complex network of narrative material associated with, but not included in, the *Nihon shoki*, and incorporated into commentaries, story collections, treatises, and origin narratives for shrines and temples. This is perhaps the most important component of the reception of early Japanese prose works before the nativist philology (*Kokugaku*) of the early modern period.

Literature of report and proclamation

Two corpuses of material from the late eighth and early tenth century form the core of what some mid twentieth-century scholars termed a "literature of report and proclamation" (*sōsen no bungaku*).[5] This refers primarily to the vernacular proclamations (*senmyō*) of the 797 *Shoku Nihongi* and the prayers or liturgies (*norito*) collected in the 927 *Engi shiki* (a collection of official protocols for governance and ritual), although other texts contain additional examples of these genres. Despite the long interval between these two works, there are remarkable similarities in the language and rhetoric of the senmyō and norito – and, notably, in their orthography: both are inscribed in a mix of logographs and phonographs, similar in principle to modern Japanese inscription, that modern scholars often call "proclamation style" (*senmyō-gaki*).

[5] The term was coined by Andō Masatsugu (1878–1952) and adopted by Kurano Kenji (1902–91).

あめのみなかぬしおおがみ

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天御中主大神＝あめのみなかぬしおおがみ

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Amenominakanushi

Amenominakanushi (□□□□ "All-Father of the Originating Hub", or □□□□□□□ "Heavenly Ancestral God of the Originating Heart of the Universe") is, according to the *Kojiki*,[1] the first *kami*, and the source of the universe according to Shintoism.[2] In mythology he is described as a "god who came into being alone" (*hitorigami*), the first of the *zōka sanshin* ("three *kami* of creation"), and one of the five *kotoamatsukami* ("distinguished heavenly gods").[2]

Amenominakanushi had been considered a concept developed under the influence of Chinese thought,[2] but now most scholars believe otherwise.[3] With the flourishing of *kokugaku* the concept was studied by scholars.[2] The theologian Hirata Atsutane identified Amenominakanushi as the spirit of the North Star, master of the seven stars of the Big Dipper.[2] The god was emphasised by the *Daikyōin* in the Meiji period, and worshiped by some Shinto sects.[2]

The god manifests in a duality, a male and a female function, respectively *Takamimusubi* and *Kamimusubi*.[4] In other mythical accounts the originating *kami* is called *Umashiashikabihikoji* ("God of the *Ashi* [Reed]") or *Kuninotokotachi* (the "God Founder of the Nation"), the latter used in the *Nihon Shoki*.[5]

With the shinbutsu bunri the deity of Buddhist origin Myoken, the "North Star", which was worshiped at many shrines, was changed to Amenominakanushi.[2]

1 See also

- Taiji
- Tian
- Yin and yang
- Ometeotl

2 Sources

- Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa. *On Understanding Japanese Religion*. Princeton University Press, 1987. ISBN 0691102295

3 References

[1] Kitagawa, 1987. p. 29, note 92

[2] Amenominakanushi. Encyclopedia of Shinto.

[3] □□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□No.121, pp.94-101, □□□□, 2009□

[4] Kitagawa, 1987. p. 29

[5] Kitagawa, 1987. pp. 28-29

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Thursday, 22 June 2017
Shinto – Norito prayers

On Tuesday the 20th of June Jenny Raper presented an introductory paper for the Spiritual Reading Group on the ancient Japanese religion of Shinto. This included a reading and discussion of Norito prayers, reprinted below.

Norito – Words or prayers addressed by worshippers to a deity. The efficacy of the prayer is founded on the concept of koto-dama, the spiritual power of words. Words that are beautiful and correct bring about good. Words that are coarse or ugly bring about evil. So, the words used are profoundly important. Words that were classical and elegant were always used.

Here are some prayers from the Engi-shiki (927 CE) written from the Heian court. They are highly 'formulaic, ritualized and repetitive. They consist of an invocation of a god or gods, a recollection of the founding of the shrine.....an identification of the recitant and his status; a list of offerings, a petition for certain benefits or blessings, a promise of recompense to be made in return; and a final salutation.' (Sources of Japanese Tradition, edited by Theodore de Bary, page 31)

Here are excerpts from The Great Exorcism of the last days of the sixth months.

First, the heavenly sins:
Breaking down the ridges.
Covering up the ditches,
Releasing the irrigation sluices,
Double planting,
Setting up stakes,

Skinning alive, skinning backwards,
Defecation –
…...are called the heavenly sins.

The earthly sins:
Cutting living flesh, cutting death flesh,
White leprosy, skin excrescences,
The sin of violating one's own mother,
The sin of violating one's own child,
The of violating a mother and her child,
The sin of violating a child and her mother.
The sin of transgression with animals,
Woes from creeping insects,
Woes from the deities on high,
Woes from the birds on high,
Killing animals, the sin of witchcraft -
Many sins (such as these) shall appear.

When they thus appear,
By the Heavenly Shrine usage,
Pronounce the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words.
When he thus pronounces them.....the Heavenly deities
Will hear and receive these words.

When they thus hear and receive,
Then, beginning with the court of the Sovereign Grandchild,
In the lands of the four quarters under the Heavens,
Each and every sin will be gone.
As the gusty winds blows apart the myriad layers of Heavenly clouds,
As the morning mist, the evening mist is blown away by the
morning winds, the evening wind....
As a result of the exorcism and the purification,
There will be no sins left.

They will be taken into the great ocean
By the goddess called Se-ori-tsu-hime,
Who dwells in the rapids of the rapid-running rivers
Which fall surging perpendicular
From the summits of the high mountains and the summits of the low mountains.
When she thus takes them,
They will be swallowed with a gulp
By the goddess called Haya-aki-tsu-hime...
When she thus swallows them with a gulp,
The deity called Ibuli-do-nushi,
Who dwells in the Ibuki-do (breath blowing entrance)
Will blow them away with his breath into the land of Hades,
The underworld.
When she finally loses them,
Beginning with the many officials serving in the Emperor's court,
In the four quarters under the heavens,
Beginning from today,
Each and every sin will be gone.

After the great exorcism come the propitiatory offerings.

With this prayer I present offerings,
Providing garments of coloured cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth and coarse cloth,
A mirror as something to see clearly with,
A jewel as something to play with,
A bow and arrow as something to shoot with,
A sword as something to cut with,
A horse as something to ride on;
Wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
In rice and in stalks;
That with lives in the mountains -
The soft-furred and the coarse furred animals -
That with grows win the vast fields and plains -

The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs -
As well as that which dwells in the blue ocean -
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore-
I place these noble offerings in abundance upon tables
Like a long mountain range and present them
Praying that the Sovereign Deities
Will with a pure heart receive them tranquilly
As offerings of ease,
As offerings of abundance,
And will not seek vengeance and not ravage,
But will move to a place of wide and lovely mountains and rivers,
And will as deities dwell there pacified.
With this prayer, I fulfill your praises. Thus I humbly speak.

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Abbreviations (1)
Adriaan Staring (1)
Adrian Jones (1)
Al-Qarawiyyan Library (Fez Morocco) (1)
Alberto Manguel (2)
Albrecht Dürer (1)
Alister McGrath (1)
Altered books (2)
Alvar Aalto (1)
Amanda Witt (3)
Amarasimha (1)
American Theological Library Association (ATLA) (4)
Amit Singhal (1)
Andrea Tornielli (1)
Andrei Tarkovsky (1)
Andrew Bullen (1)
Andrew Davison (1)
Andy Warhol (1)
Angela Ellwood (1)
Angela G. Morris (1)
Angela Gallipoli (2)
Angels (1)
Anglicanism (2)
Ann Rochford (3)
Anna Więcek (1)
Anne Elvey (2)

Anne Hunt (1)
Annie Dillard (1)
Annotation (The Word) (1)
Anthony Kelly (2)
Antilibrary (The Word) (1)
Antoni Gaudí (1)
Approximately (The Word) (1)
Archetype (1)
Archives (2)
Art and religion (3)
Art and spirituality (3)
Art Gallery of Ballarat (1)
Arthur Waley (1)
Artificial Intelligence (AI) (1)
Atheism (1)
Attribution (1)
Austin Cooper (1)
Australasian Religion Index (ARI) (1)
Australia - Church history (1)
Australia - Religion (2)
Australian Aborigines - Religion (2)
Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association (ANZTLA) (8)
Australian poetry (3)
Authorship (2)
Averil Cameron (1)
Awe (1)
Bata Bardak (7)
Beatitudes (1)
Bede Griffiths (1)
Beinecke Library (1)
Ben Myers (2)
Benedict XVI Pope (1)
Benedict Zimmerman (1)
Benedictine Rule (2)
Bernadette Micallef (3)
Bernard McGinn (1)

Bexar County Public Library (Texas) (1)
Bible (18)
Bibliographia Internationalis Spiritualitatis (BIS) (1)
Bibliographical Heritage of Religious Institutes (BHRI) (1)
Bibliography (5)
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (2)
Biblioteca Carmelitana (Rome) (2)
Biblioteca Palafoxiana (Puebla Mexico) (3)
Biblioteka Restaurant (London) (1)
Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) (9)
Bibliotherapy (1)
Bill Gates (1)
Bill Henson (2)
Blessed Angelo Paoli (1)
Blessed Baptist Spagnoli ('Mantuan') (3)
Blessed Virgin Mary (1)
Blessed Virgin Mary in art (1)
Blessings (3)
Blogs (1)
Bob Dylan (1)
Bob Maguire (3)
Boethius (2)
Bohumil Hrabal (1)
Book collecting (1)
Book in art (5)
Book in history (13)
Book in poetry (21)
Book of Common Prayer (1)
Book of Kells (2)
Book reviews (28)
Book sales (2)
Book signatures (1)
Book theft (1)
Book titles (1)
Bookmarks (1)
Books of Hours (1)

Books-on-demand (3)
Bookshops (2)
Bookwheel (1)
Botanical artists (1)
Brain (1)
Brian Harold (1)
Brigitte Simon (1)
Brother Francis of Good Hope (1)
Brother Lawrence of the Resurrection (1)
Bruno Secondin (1)
Bryan Deschamps (1)
Buddhism (2)
Bunyip Lectures (1)
Byzantium (4)
C.S. Lewis (1)
Calligraphy (3)
Calligraphy Society of Victoria (CSV) (6)
Canon (1)
Canonisation (2)
Capitalisation (1)
Carlos Drummond de Andrade (1)
Carmelite Centre (7)
Carmelite General Library (BiGOC) (1)
Carmelite Hall (4)
Carmelite Librarians' Association (3)
Carmelite Library (23)
Carmelite Library - History (6)
Carmelite Library Lectures (4)
Carmelite literature (5)
Carmelite Spiritual Learning Circle (3)
Carmelite spirituality (7)
Carmelites - Bibliography (3)
Carmelites - Biography (1)
Carmelites -- History (12)
Carmelites – Bibliography (1)
Carol O'Connor (13)

Cataloguing (21)
Catholicism (1)
Cats (2)
Cecily Clark (4)
Celtic Church (1)
Celtic spirituality (1)
Centrum Informationis Totius Ordinis Carmelitarum (CITOC) (12)
Change (5)
Chants (1)
Charles Brasch (1)
Charles Dickens (1)
Charles Simic (1)
Charles Wesley (1)
Ched Myers (1)
China (1)
Chinese spirituality (2)
Christianity (5)
Christine Valters Paintner (2)
Chuang Tzu (1)
Church history (2)
Circa (The Word) (1)
Circulation (1)
Clare McArdle (3)
Classification (5)
Clive Hamilton (1)
Clive James (1)
Collage (1)
Collection development (1)
Compassion (1)
Compound surnames (1)
Computerate (The Word) (1)
Computers (2)
Constantine Cavafy (1)
Contemplation (3)
Copyright (2)
Cosmas de Villiers (1)

Cosmos (1)
Craig Raine (1)
Creation spirituality (5)
Creatvity (3)
Creeds (2)
Crime fiction (1)
Cross (1)
Czeslaw Milosz (1)
Dag Hammarskjöld (2)
Dame Julian of Norwich (1)
Damien Peile (2)
Daniel Mannix (2)
Dante Alighieri (8)
David Adam (1)
David Jones (1)
David Meltzer (1)
David Pearson (7)
David Tacey (1)
Davis McCaughey (1)
Deaccessioning (1)
Death (1)
Decio Azzolino (1)
Delft University (1)
Denise Levertov (1)
Desert Fathers (2)
Diane Keaton (1)
Diarmaid MacCulloch (2)
Dictionaries (2)
Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique (DSAM) (1)
Document (The Word) (1)
Dominicans (3)
Donations (6)
Donna Ward (2)
Drawing (1)
Dreams (2)
E-books (4)

Eamon Duffy (2)
EarthSong (1)
Ecospirituality (1)
Editing (2)
Elegy (1)
Elijah (Biblical prophet) (1)
Elizabeth Edwards (1)
Ellen Marie Quinn (1)
Ely Cathedral (1)
Email (1)
Emanuele Boaga (1)
Emily Dickinson (2)
Emily Frazer (2)
Emotions (1)
Empathy (1)
End of the World (1)
English language (2)
English literature (2)
Englishness (1)
Ephemera (1)
Eratosthenes of Cyrene (1)
Errata (1)
Etty Hillesum (4)
Ewa Chmielewska-Tomczak (1)
Facebook (2)
Fairy tales (2)
Faith (2)
Fear (1)
Felicity (The Word) (1)
Fenton Johnson (1)
Fifteenth century (1)
Folly (2)
Footpath Library (1)
Four elements (1)
Francis Pope (2)
Franciscans (2)

Frank D. Gilliard (1)
Frank O'Connor (1)
Frank Shortis (1)
Friendship (1)
Fritsch Holzer bricks (1)
Fyodor Dostoevsky (1)
Gary Snyder (1)
Geoff Lacey (1)
Geoffrey Blainey (1)
George Crabbe (1)
Geraldine Barry (1)
Germaine Greer (1)
Gianni Gennari (1)
Giuseppe Arcimboldo (3)
Giuseppe Caspar Mezzofanti (1)
Gladys Wade (1)
Glenn Loughrey (1)
Gnosticism (1)
God (8)
Google (3)
Gospels (2)
Gothic art (1)
Graeme Garrett (3)
Graeme Rutherford (1)
Graham Dudley (1)
Greek language (Biblical) (2)
Hagia Sophia (Istanbul Turkey) (1)
Haiku (2)
Handwriting (1)
Hans Küng (1)
Heaven (1)
Helen Greenwood (1)
Herbert Haag (1)
Hesychasm (2)
Hinduism (2)
Hulne Abbey (Alnwick (1)

Humanism (1)
Hymns (4)
Icon School of St. Peter (Melbourne) (1)
Icons (10)
Inayat Khan (2)
Incarnation (2)
Information (3)
International Edible Book Festival (1)
Internet (9)
Ireland (2)
Irene Hayes (1)
Irina Kuzminsky (2)
Isaac Watts (1)
Isabel Moreira (1)
Istanbul (2)
Italy (1)
Jackie Tidey (1)
Jacques Villon (1)
James Joyce (1)
James Waller (3)
Jamie Miller (2)
Jan Morgan (3)
Japan (3)
Jean-Dominique Mellot (1)
Jean-Louis Chrétien (1)
Jeanette Winterson (1)
Jennifer Langenstrass (1)
Jenny Raper (9)
Jérôme-Hermès Bolsec (1)
Jessica Powers (3)
Jesus Christ (1)
Jesus Prayer (1)
Jim Pakala (1)
Jina Mulligan (2)
John Ashbery (2)
John Baconthorpe (1)

John Calvin (1)
John Donne (1)
John Frederick Nims (1)
John Gill (1)
John Haught (1)
John O'Donohue (3)
John Soreth (1)
John Thompson (1)
John Tidey (1)
John Welch (1)
Jonathan Rutherford (1)
Jorge Luis Borges (2)
Journal (The Word) (1)
Journalism (2)
Judith Wright (1)
Julia Pettee (1)
Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1)
Jungian psychology (1)
Kairos (Journal) (1)
Karen Armstrong (4)
Kari Ferguson (1)
Katharine Massam (1)
Katherine Firth (1)
Ken Bartsch (1)
Ken Krabbenhoft (1)
Ken Wilber (1)
Kenneth Clark (1)
Kevin Compton (1)
Kevin Hart (1)
Kevin L. Smith (1)
Keyword searches (1)
Kim Robinson (1)
Kingdom of God (1)
Knowledge (1)
Lambeth Palace Library (1)
Language (2)

Lao-Tzu (2)
Latin poetry (1)
Lectio divina (2)
Leicester (1)
Leif Sjöberg (1)
Les Murray (9)
Lewis Carroll (2)
Libba Bray (1)
Liberation theology (1)
Librarians (3)
Librarianship (9)
Libraries (31)
Library (The Word) (1)
Library card (1)
Library cats (3)
Library of Alexandria (2)
Library of Celsus (Ephesus Turkey) (1)
Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon (LSJ) (1)
Lisa Occhipinti (1)
Loans (2)
Lord's prayer (2)
Love (1)
Lynne Muir (1)
Lynne Reeder (2)
Malcolm Guite (2)
Marc Chagall (1)
Marcel Dupré (1)
Marginalia (2)
Marian de Souza (1)
Marie Kondo (1)
Mark Attard (1)
Mark Musa (1)
Mark Patrick Hederman (1)
Marshall McLuhan (1)
Martin Luther (2)
Martyrs of Compiègne (1794) (2)

Max Jacob (1)
Mechtild of Magdeburg (1)
Meditations (2)
Melbourne (1)
Memory (5)
Metz Cathedral (1)
Miceal O'Neill (1)
Michael Casey (4)
Michael Leunig (1)
Microcard (The Word) (1)
Middle (The Word) (1)
Middle Ages (3)
Middle Park (10)
Miguel de Jesus Maria y Hualde (1)
Miracles (1)
Modern (The Word) (1)
Monasticism (2)
Mother Maria Skobtsova (1)
Mould (1)
Mount Athos (2)
Muriel Porter (1)
Museums (1)
Music (4)
Mysticism (3)
Nakajima Library (Akita Japan) (1)
Name authorities (2)
Nassim Nicholas Taleb (1)
Natasha Marsh (1)
Nathan Hobby (1)
National Library of Australia (NLA) (1)
New Norcia (1)
New Testament (2)
Northumberland) (1)
Objects (1)
Odilon Redon (2)
Old English poetry (1)

Old Testament (1)
Online acquisition (1)
Online dictionaries (1)
Optical Character Recognition (OCR) (1)
Ordering (2)
Orhan Pamuk (1)
Orihon (1)
Orthodoxy (5)
Overdue books (1)
Palmyra (1)
Pam Cox (1)
Pamela Carswell (3)
PAN Biblioteka Gdańska (Gdańsk Poland) (1)
Pangur Bán (Old Irish poem) (1)
Patricia Lovett (2)
Paul Cahill (1)
Paul Chandler (5)
Paul Muldoon (1)
Paul Shaner Dunkin (1)
Paula Moroney (4)
Persian language (1)
Peter Gebhardt (2)
Peter Sills (1)
Peter Steele (1)
Peter Thomas (3)
Philip Freier (1)
Philip Larkin (1)
Philokalia (2)
Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (3)
Poetry (9)
Popes (3)
Prague (6)
Prayer (10)
Preaching (1)
Probabilism (1)
Proverbs (Bible) (2)

Publication dates (3)
Purgatory (2)
R.S. Thomas (4)
Radical discipleship (1)
Raimon Panikkar (1)
Rainer Maria Rilke (1)
Rare (The Word) (1)
Rare books (32)
Ravenna (1)
Raza Library (Rampur India) (1)
Reading (12)
Recycling (1)
Reference (6)
Reformation (4)
Religion (7)
Renaissance (1)
Reprints (1)
Research (3)
Research Institute of the Carmelite Province of Germany (1)
Resource Description and Access (RDA) (10)
Retreats (1)
Reveries (45)
Rheims Cathedral (1)
Richard Chenevix Trench (1)
Richard III King of England (1)
Richard Rohr (2)
Rob Gallacher (1)
Robert Ellsberg (1)
Robert Gribben (1)
Robert Lax (1)
Roger Lipsey (1)
Rogier van der Weyden (2)
Roland Murphy (2)
Roman Empire (2)
Rome (2)
Ronald Blythe (1)

Ronald Knox (1)
Rosemary Hocking (1)
Rowan Williams (14)
Rubem Alves (1)
Rumi (1)
Rumpelstiltskin (4)
Ruth Burrows (10)
Sacred (2)
Saint Ambrose of Milan (1)
Saint Andrei Rublev (1)
Saint Augustine of Hippo (1)
Saint Benedict Abbot of Monte Cassino (2)
Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1)
Saint Catherine of Genoa (1)
Saint Catherine of Siena (1)
Saint Edith Stein (Teresa Benedicta of the Cross) (6)
Saint Elizabeth of the Trinity (3)
Saint Ephraim the Syrian (2)
Saint Francis of Assisi (3)
Saint John Chrysostom (1)
Saint John Henry Newman (1)
Saint John of the Cross (12)
Saint Kassiani the Hymnographer (2)
Saint Macarius of Egypt (1)
Saint Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (1)
Saint Mary Magdalene (2)
Saint Mary Magdalene in art (2)
Saint Raphael Kalinowski (1)
Saint Sergius of Radonezh (1)
Saint Simeon Stylites (1)
Saint Simon Stock (1)
Saint Teresa of Avila (15)
Saint Thérèse of Lisieux (2)
Saint Thomas à Becket (1)
Saint Thomas Aquinas (1)
Saint Titus Brandsma (2)

Sally Diserio (1)
Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1)
Sanskrit language (1)
Sarah Ruden (2)
Scripture (1)
Sea (1)
Seamus Heaney (4)
Second-hand books (1)
Secularism (1)
Self (2)
Seraphim Icon Group (5)
Sergey Averintsev (1)
Serials (1)
Shelving (1)
Shinto (2)
Silence (5)
Simon Carey Holt (1)
Simone Weil (4)
Sixteenth century (1)
Solitude (1)
Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1)
Søren Kierkegaard (1)
Spanish poetry (1)
Spiritual direction (1)
Spiritual life (4)
Spirituality (14)
Sprachendienst Dr Herrlinger (Kirchentellinsfurt Germany) (1)
St Catherine's Monastery (Mount Sinai) (1)
St Peter's Anglican Church (Eastern Hill Melbourne) (3)
Stained glass windows (1)
Stéphane Mallarmé (1)
Stephen Morton (1)
Steve Martin (1)
Stevie Smith (1)
Study (1)
Style guides (1)

Subject headings (1)
Sufism (2)
Superlatives (12)
Susan Frykberg (2)
Susan Southall (24)
Susan Thurman (1)
Susanah Hanson (1)
Sven Birkerts (1)
Sydney (1)
Talitha Fraser (5)
Tao (5)
Teresa Jerome (1)
The Cloud of Unknowing (2)
The Guardian (Newspaper) (2)
The Melbourne Age (Newspaper) (2)
The Melbourne Anglican (Newspaper) (3)
The New York Times (Newspaper) (2)
The Seattle Times (Newspaper) (1)
The Tablet (Journal) - History (1)
Theft (1)
Theological libraries (1)
Theology (4)
Theopoetics (1)
Thesis writing (1)
Thomas Merton (12)
Thomas Traherne (5)
Tianyi Ge (Ningbo China) (1)
Tim Adams (1)
Time (2)
Timothy Radcliffe (3)
Titles (1)
Titus Brandsma (3)
Tradition (1)
Translation (8)
Translation Memory (TM) (1)
Trinity College Dublin (1)

Trinity Sergius Monastery (Sergiev Posad Russia) (1)
Trust (1)
Tsundoku (4)
Typewriters (2)
Umberto Eco (1)
Urban Seed (1)
Ursulines (1)
Val Noone (2)
Venice (1)
Verlyn Klinkenborg (1)
Victoria Beaumont (1)
Vitezslav Nezval (1)
Voynich Manuscript (1)
W.H. Auden (3)
Wallace Stevens (1)
Walt Whitman (2)
Wendy Beckett (2)
Wendy Doniger (1)
Wikipedia (5)
Will Day (3)
William Badke (1)
William Johnston (Melbourne and Vienna) (2)
William Johnston (Montrose) (1)
William Shakespeare (4)
Wisdom (5)
Wonder (1)
Writing (1)
Yarra River (2)
Yüan Mei (1)
Zen (4)

Blog Archive

- 2023 (29)
- 2022 (25)
- 2021 (49)

- 2020 (80)
- 2019 (47)
- 2018 (52)
- 2017 (32)
- December (6)
- November (1)
- October (7)
- September (1)
- August (5)
- June (4)

SHINTO – the way of the Kami

Shinto – Norito prayers

FOUND Warning against Pierre Teilhard de Chardin

Synopsis to the new impression of the ANZTLA Fests...

- May (3)
- April (1)
- February (3)
- January (1)
- 2016 (27)
- 2015 (25)
- 2014 (44)
- 2013 (68)
- 2012 (32)

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Nihon Shoki

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Commentary by Dr. Delmer Brown, Professor Emeritus of History, University of California Berkeley

The Nihon Shoki□□□□ is Japan's second oldest extant chronicle, and the first of its Six National Histories □□□, which contain most of what is known about Japan down before 887 CE.

The Nihon Shoki was submitted to the Imperial court in 720 CE, only eight years after the Kojiki. Both ancient chronicles were written in compliance with commands handed down by reigning Empresses and were intended, above all, to sanctify and strengthen Japan's Imperial rule. The first chapters of both were focused on myths about the birth and descendants of The Great Goddess Amaterasu, the ancestress of

Japan's long line of Emperors and Empresses. The last books of both were limited largely to what was done and said by human descendants of the Great Goddess. Thus the two chronicles are commonly bracketed together.

But when modern Japanese scholars selected texts for inclusion in Iwanami's famous compendia, the Kojiki was made Volume 1 in the series entitled Nihon Shiso Taikei (□□□□□□) and the Nihon Shoki became Volumes 67 and 68 of the Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei (□□□□□□□□). The Kojiki was thereby classified as "Japanese thought", along with the writings of such distinguished religious figures as Shōtoku Taishi (574-622), Kūkai (774-835), and Nichiren (1222-82). The Nihon Shoki, on the other hand, was designated a "Japanese classic" and published in a series that includes nearly all historical texts inserted in this Japanese Historical Text Initiative. So the first of Japan's two oldest chronicles has become classified as religious and the second as historical.

This classification should not blind us, however, to the commonality of the two. Both were compiled by officials at the Imperial court in compliance with commands handed down by current occupants of the throne. And as deduced from orders issued by Emperor Temmu in the year 682, and discussed in the Introduction to the Kojiki, the compilers of both chronicles were required to use the same kinds of sources: Imperial Records (Teiki □□) and Ancient Myths (Kuji □□)the latter were also referred to as Myths of Origin (Honji □□). The compilers of both chronicles were apparently told that Imperial wish was for chronicles that would sanctify and strengthen Imperial rule.1

Over 60 years before Emperor Temmu handed down his command, Prince Shōtoku also ordered that Japan's oral traditions (□) be recorded. We know this because of an entry in the Nihon Shoki for the year 620. After studying the Japanese original and the Aston translation, I come up with this tentative re-translation:

During this year [620] Prince Shōtoku, in concert with Shima no Omi, had the following oral traditions (□) recorded: Imperial Traditions (□□□) and State Traditions (□□), as well as Traditions of Origin (□□) for Omi (□) and Muraji (□), Tomo no Miyakko (□□), Kuni no Miyakko (□□), the 180 Be (□), commoners (□□□), et al.2

Here we find that Prince Shōtoku was having a written record made of “oral tradition” about the Kami-origins of Japan's major group-heads, beginning with the Empress herself and moving down the political ladder to [the heads of] commoner groups (□□□) at the bottom. By adding the word □ (et al), the Prince was saying that other group-heads might be added. At this early time in the building of a Chinese-like empire in Japan, the most powerful person at the Imperial Court was making sure that the “oral traditions” (Kami-myths) of all major group-heads (political figures) would be recorded.

Prince Shōtoku's reasons for having these records made were not spelled out by him in the Temmu manner. But from what we know about the political situation at the time, and in the light of what was later commanded and done, one dares to hypothesize that Prince Shōtoku, like later Emperors and Empresses, had two interrelated objectives: first, to direct the power of belief in Kami-myths (ancestor worship) to the sanctification of Empress Suiko's sovereignty; and second, to increase the likelihood that Empress Suiko would be succeeded by a Prince-Shōtoku son. Since Suiko was not succeeded by a Shōtoku son, clan chieftains that supported the candidacy of the prince who was enthroned as Emperor Jomei in 629 undoubtedly objected to Shōtoku's Kami-myth chronicle, and had it destroyed.

What Emperor Temmu and Prince Shōtoku did and said about recording ancient myths suggest that both the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki were produced for similar reasons. But they were also quite different. The scholarly editors of the Iwanami compendia were right to include the Kojiki in a collection of works written by religious leaders, and the Nihon Shoki in a collection of historical texts.

The Kojiki's greater religiosity is clearly revealed in its first book on the origin and Heavenly development of Japan's Imperial descent line. Even its last two books are focused almost exclusively on Imperial ancestors, Imperial descendants, and Imperial relatives. The long and important reign of Empress Suiko (592-628), for example, is covered in two short paragraphs, and not one word is written about later reigns of the seventh century. By contrast the Nihon Shoki, covering almost the same span of time and beginning with chapters on the origin of the Imperial descent-line in the Kami Age, starts off by inserting different versions of Kami-myths about The Great Goddess. We are not told which is true and which is false, leaving the impression that all were true. Moving on to the reigns of living Emperors and Empress, the Nihon Shoki supplies considerable historical detail about non-Kami affairs--Aston's translation of the Suiko chapter is, for example, 35 pages long. The later chronicle contains very valuable information about the later reigns of Emperor Temmu (672-686) and Empress Jitō (686-697), during which most of the Great Reforms were vigorously initiated.

The Nihon Shoki's dating of events in sometimes wrong, especially for Japan's earliest reigns. But archaeological evidence, as well as comparisons with contemporary records of Korea and China, shows this ancient chronicle to be a remarkably authentic record of long stretches of Japan's ancient past.

But the Chinese character of the Nihon Shoki should not be overlooked. This chronicle's non-Japanese proclivities were noticed and deplored by Japan's National Learning (Kokugaku □□) scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), leading figures in the movement, found the strongest and most convincing evidence of pure Japanese culture in the Kojiki, not in the Nihon Shoki. Why did this later chronicle, written only eight years later, have such a strong non-Japanese (Chinese) flavor?

The first point to make is that the author of the Nihon Shoki, undoubtedly an official at the Imperial court, was obviously more deeply immersed in Chinese learning than Yasumaro, the Kojiki author. For whatever reason, the Nihon Shoki provides more details about Japan's China-oriented Great Reforms.

Each of these two ancient chronicles was therefore linked with a different but mutually-supportive thrust of the Great Reforms. While the Kojiki is the sacred text of a new religious movement called Imperial Shinto □□□, the Nihon Shoki is a remarkably reliable historical record of the rise of Japan's new Ritsuryō □□ order. Each of these reform thrusts was administered by a different branch of the new Imperial government. To the right and directly under the reigning Emperor or Empress stood the Council of Kami Affairs (Jingikan □□□) which created, funded, administered, and controlled Imperial Shinto. To the left and also directly under the reigning Emperor or Empress was the Council of State (Dajōkan □□□) which headed the new bureaucratic system. So the Kojiki is more like a sacred text of Imperial Shinto, and the Nihon Shoki more like an official record of the emerging Ritsuryō order.

Although deeply colored by Chinese ideas and tastes, the Nihon Shoki was still firmly grounded in Shinto (Kami belief and worship). Like the Kojiki it affirmed the sanctity of the Imperial line of descent from the Great Goddess Amaterasu. And like the Kojiki it actively supported Japan's two-pronged Great Reforms for increasing the authority and power of Japanese sovereignty. Significantly, the amazing results of these Great Reforms (including the Imperial Shinto movement) came at a time of constant fear, at the Imperial court, of rebellion at home and invasion from China.

But while the Kojiki was aimed primarily at sanctifying Imperial authority (a religious function), the Nihon Shoki was aimed primarily at increasing the power of Imperial control (a political goal). Together they were underscoring an old and overriding policy that was articulated in recent times as The Unity of Religion and Politics (Saisei icchi □□□□).

August 22, 2006

1.To see this Temmu command, search the Preface of the Kojiki for a keyword in his command.
2.To see the Japanese original or the Aston translation, search the Nihon Shoki for a keyword in this command.

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Izanagi-no-Mikoto

Primordial god of creation and life

Searching the Seas with the Tenkei (□□□□□□□□□□□□□, Tenkei o motte sōkai o saguru no zu). Painting by Kobayashi Eitaku, 1880-90 (MFA, Boston). Izanagi with the spear Ame-no-Nuboko (Tenkei) to the right, Izanami to the left.

Other names Izanagi-no-Kami (□□□□□)

Izanagi-no-Ōkami (□□□□□□)

Kumano-Hayatama-no-Ōkami (□□□□□□)

Japanese □□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□

Major cult center Taga Taisha, Izanagi Shrine, Eda Shrine, Kumano Hayatama Taisha, Onokorojima Shrine, Mitsumine Shrine and others

Texts Kojiki, Nihon Shoki, Sendai Kuji Hongi

Region Japan

Genealogy

Parents None (Kojiki, Nihon Shoki)

Aokashikine-no-Mikoto (Shoki)

Awanagi-no-Mikoto (Shoki)

Omodaru and Ayakashikone[1]

Siblings Izanami

Consort Izanami

Children Amaterasu

Tsukuyomi

Susanoo

Hiruko

Kagu-tsuchi

(and others)

Izanagi (□□□□/□□□□/□□□) or Izanaki (□□□□), formally referred to with a divine honorific as Izanagi-no-Mikoto (□□□□□/□□□□; meaning "He-who-invites" or the "Male-who-invites"), is the creator deity (kami) of both creation and life in Japanese mythology. He and his sister-wife Izanami are the last of the seven generations of primordial deities that manifested after the formation of heaven and earth. Izanagi and Izanami are held to be the creators of the Japanese archipelago and the progenitors of many deities, which include the sun goddess Amaterasu, the moon deity Tsukuyomi, and the storm god Susanoo. He is a god that can be said to be the beginning of the current Japanese imperial family.

Name

His name is given in the Kojiki (c. 712 AD) both as Izanagi-no-Kami (□□□□□) and Izanagi-no-Mikoto (□□□□□), while the Nihon Shoki (720 AD) refers to him as Izanagi-no-Mikoto, with the name written in different characters (□□□□).

The names Izanagi (Izanaki) and Izanami are often interpreted as being derived from the verb izanau (historical orthography izanafu) or i□zanap- from Western Old Japanese 'to invite', with -ki / -gi and -mi being taken as masculine and feminine suffixes, respectively.[2][3][4] The literal translation of I□zanaŋgî and I□zanamî are 'Male-who-invites' and 'Female-who-invites'.[5][6] Shiratori Kurakichi proposed an alternative theory which instead sees the root iza- (or rather isa-) to be derived from isao (historical orthography: isawo) meaning 'achievement' or 'merit'.[7] The etymological origin of the verb is suggested to be a precursor to the Middle Korean lemma yènc- meaning 'to place/put on [the top of]' reconstructed as *yenc-a (place-INF) in Old Korean.[8]

Mythology

Part of a series on

Shinto

Shinto

Beliefs

Major kami

Important literature

Shinto shrines

Practices

See also

icon Religion portal

vte

The first group of primordial deities, the kotoamatsukami, and the seven generations of kami (kamiyonanayo) that emerged after them

In the Kojiki

The birth of the land

See also: Izanami, Kuniumi, and Kamiumi

The Kojiki portrays Izanagi and his younger twin sister Izanami as the seventh and final generation of deities that manifested after the emergence of the first group of gods, the Kotoamatsukami, when heaven and Earth came into existence.[9]

Receiving a command from the other gods to solidify and shape the Earth (which then "[resembled] floating oil and [drifted] like a jellyfish"), the couple use a jewelled spear to churn the watery chaos. The brine that dripped from the tip of the spear congealed and turned into an island named Onogoro (□□□□□).[10] The two descended to the island and, setting up their dwelling, erected a 'heavenly pillar' (ama no mihashira) on it. Izanagi and Izanami, realizing that they were meant to procreate and have children, then devised a marriage ceremony whereby they would walk in opposite directions around the pillar, greet each other and initiate intercourse. After Izanami greeted Izanagi first, Izanagi objected that he, the man, should have been the first to speak. True enough, the first offspring that resulted from their union, the 'leech-child' Hiruko, was considered imperfect and set adrift on a boat of reeds. Izanagi and Izanami then also begat the island of Awa (□□ Awashima), but this too was not counted among their rightful progeny.[11]

The 'Eight Great Islands' (□□□ Ōyashima) of Japan begotten by Izanami and Izanagi

Izanagi and Izanami then decided to repeat the ritual, with Izanagi greeting Izanami first. This time, their union was a success, with Izanami giving birth to some of the various islands that comprise the Japanese archipelago (with the notable exceptions of Shikoku and Hokkaido), which include the following eight islands (in the following order):

Awaji-no-Ho-no-Sawake (□□□□□□□□)
The double-named island of Iyo (□□□□□□ Iyo-no-Futana-no-Shima, modern Shikoku)
The triple islands of Oki (□□□□□□ Oki-no-Mitsugo-no-Shima)
Tsukushi (□□□, modern Kyushu)
Iki (□□□)
Tsushima (□□)
Sado (□□□)
Ōyamato-Toyoakitsushima (□□□□□□, modern Honshu)[12]

The two then proceeded to beget the various deities who are to inhabit these lands.[13] Izanami, however, was badly injured and eventually died after giving birth to the fire god Kagutsuchi.[14] In an act of grief and rage, Izanagi killed Kagutsuchi with his 'ten-grasp sword'. More gods manifest into existence out of

Izanami's excreta, Kagutsuchi's blood and mutilated remains, and Izanagi's tears.[15][16]

Descent into Yomi

Izanagi, wishing to see Izanami again, went down to Yomi, the land of the dead, in the hopes of retrieving her. Izanami reveals that she had already partaken of food cooked in the furnace of the underworld, rendering her return impossible. Izanagi, losing his patience, betrayed his promise not to look at her and lit up a fire, only to find that Izanami is now a rotting corpse, causing him to run away in terror. To avenge her shame, Izanami dispatched the gods of thunder (known as the Yakusanoikazuchi), the "hags of Yomi" (□□□□□ Yomotsu-shikome), and a horde of warriors to chase after him. To distract them, Izanagi threw the vine securing his hair and the comb on his right hair-knot, which turned into grapes and bamboo shoots that the hags devoured. Upon reaching the pass of Yomotsu Hirasaka (□□□□□, the 'Flat Slope of Yomi'), Izanagi took three peaches from a nearby tree and repelled his pursuers using them. He then declared the peach fruit to be divine and bade it to grow in the land of the living to help people in need. When Izanami herself came in pursuit of him, Izanagi sealed the entrance to Yomi using a huge boulder. Izanami then pronounced a curse, vowing to kill a thousand people each day, to which Izanagi replies that he would then beget a thousand and five hundred people everyday to thwart her.[17][18][19]

Purification (Misogi)

Izanagi purifying himself (misogi) by immersing in a river (Natori Shunsen)

Further information: Kamiumi § Purification of Izanagi

Izanagi, feeling contaminated by his visit to Yomi, went to "[the plain of] Awagihara (i.e. a plain covered with awagi) by the river-mouth of Tachibana in Himuka in [the island of] Tsukushi" and purified himself by bathing in the river; various deities came into existence as he stripped off his clothes and accouterments and immersed himself in the water. The three most important kami, the "Three Precious Children" (□□□ mihashira no uzu no miko or sankishi) – the sun goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami, the moon deity Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto, and the storm god Susanoo-no-Mikoto – were born when Izanagi washed his left eye, his right eye, and his nose, respectively.[20][21]

Izanagi and Susanoo

See also: Susanoo and Amaterasu

Izanagi divides the world among his three children: Amaterasu was allotted Takamagahara (□□□, the "Plain of High Heaven"), Tsukuyomi the night, and Susanoo the seas.[22] Susanoo did not perform his appointed

task and instead kept crying and howling "until his beard eight hands long extended down over his chest," causing the mountains to wither and the rivers to dry up. After he told his father that he wished to go to his mother's land, Ne-no-Katasu-Kuni (□□□□, the 'Land of Roots'), a furious Izanagi expelled Susanoo "with a divine expulsion," after which he disappears from the narrative.[23][24]

In the Nihon Shoki

While the first generations of kami including Izanagi and Izanami are implied in the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki's main narrative to have manifested independent of each other, one variant cited in the Shoki instead describes them as the offspring of Aokashikine-no-Mikoto (□□□□□), another name for the goddess Ayakashikone-no-Mikoto, of the sixth of the first seven generations of gods. Another variant meanwhile portrays Izanagi as the offspring of a deity named Awanagi-no-Mikoto (□□□) and the fifth-generation descendant of the primordial deity Kuninotokotachi-no-Mikoto.[25]

In the Shoki's main narrative, the couple first begets the following eight islands after performing the marriage ceremony (in the following order):

Awaji (□□□), which "was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it"
Ōyamato-Toyoakitsushima (□□□□□□□)
The double-named island of Iyo (□□□□□)
Tsukushi (□□□)
Oki (□□□) and Sado (□□□), born as twins
Koshi (□□), what is now known as the Hokuriku region
Ōshima (□□), identified with the island of Suō-Ōshima in Yamaguchi Prefecture
Kibi-no-Kojima (□□□□), identified with the Kojima Peninsula in southern Okayama Prefecture (formerly the province of Kibi)

Both Ōshima and Kibi-no-Kojima are not reckoned among the eight great islands in the Kojiki, instead being identified as being born after them. The other remaining islands, such as Tsushima (□□□) and Iki (□□□), are said to have been produced by the coagulation of the foam in sea water (or freshwater).[26]

In Tenrikyo

In Tenrikyo, Izanagi-no-Mikoto is one of the Ten Aspects of God's Providence (□□□□□, jūzen no shugo).[27]

Genealogy

Kuni-no-Tokotachi

Toyokumo [ja]

Uhibi [ja] Suhiji [ja]

Tsunugi [ja] Ikugu [ja]

Ihodonoji [ja] Otonobe [ja]

Omodaru [ja] Ayakashikone [ja]

Izanagi Izanami

See also

Ame-no-ohabari

God in Tenrikyo (with Izanagi-no-Mikoto being one of the 10 aspects of God's providence)

Ishana

Izanagi Plate

Pangu – Chinese creator god, who also created the sun and the moon from his eyes.

Shinto in popular culture

Twins in mythology

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Chamberlain (1882). Section VI.—Birth of the Various Deities.

Chamberlain (1882). Section VII.—Retirement of Her Augustness The Princess-Who-Invites.

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"...any being whatsoever which possesses some eminent quality out of the ordinary, and is awe-inspiring, is called Kami.”

□□□

□

□

□

□

□

Ame-no-Minaka-nushi

□□□□□

"Master of the August Centre of Heaven"

□□

□

□□

Main Shrines

Tōkyō Daijingu □□□□□

Fujimi 2-4-1, Chiyoda-ku, Tōkyō

□□□□□□□□□□2-4-2

Chichibu Jinja □□□□

Banba-machi 1-3, Chichibu-shi, Saitama-ken

□□□□□□□□□1-3

Yohashira Jinja □□□□

Ōte 3-3-20, Matsumoto-shi, Nagano-ken

□□□□□□□□3-3-20

Kushiro Jinja □□□□

Tōya 52, Kushiro-chō, Kushiro-gun, Hokkaidō

□□□□□□□□□□□□52

The first kami, appearing at the very beginning of the Kojiki. In Chamberlain's translation “The names of the Deities that were born in the Plains of High Heaven when the Heaven and the Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven...” (p17). He makes no further appearance in the Kojiki and is also mentioned just once in a note in the Nihon Shoki. The Plains of High Heaven (Takama-ga-hara) is the dwelling place of the gods and is said to be connected to the earth by the Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ama-no-uki-hashi). Ame-no-minaka-nushi and the two kami who appeared after him in Takama-ga-hara, Takami-Musubi-kami (the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity) and Kami-Musubi-kami (the Divine-Producing-Wondrous Deity), are commonly referred as the Three Gods of Creation, Zōka-no-Sanjin.

Shrines bearing the name Ame-no-minaka-nushi

Arranged by Prefecture

Chiba-ken, Chōsei-gun, Chōnan-machi Chōnan 1257

□□□□□□□□□□□1257□□

Chiba-ken, Isumi-shi, Nittano 109

□□□□□□□□□□109

Chiba-ken, Katsuura-shi, Nakajima 374

□□□□□□□□374-

Chiba-ken, Sakura-shi, Kamishizu 962

□□□□□□□□□962

Chiba-ken, Sanmu-shi, Toda 1000

□□□□□□□□1000□□

Chiba-ken, Yotsukaidō-shi, Yamanashi 823

□□□□□□□□□823□□

Ehime-ken, Kitauwa-gun, Kihoku-chō Nakanokawa 187

□□□□□□□□□□□□□187□

Fukushima-ken, Yama-gun, Nishiizu-machi, Okugawa Ōtsunagi

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3363-

Hyōgo-ken, Sumoto-shi, Ikenouchi 410

□□□□□□□□410

Kagoshima-ken, Kirishima-shi, Kokubunkiyomizu 3-4-17-17

□□□□□□□□□□□3-4-17-17

Kagoshima-ken, Makurazaki-shi, Kotobuki-chō 259

□□□□□□□□□259□

Kagoshima-ken, Minamikyushu-shi, Kawanabe-chō Furuton 2417

□□□□□□□□□□□□□2417

Kagoshima-ken, Minamisatsuma-shi, Kaseda Tsunuki 12072

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12072□

Kagoshima-ken, Satsumasendai-shi, Nakamura-chō 7330

□□□□□□□□□□□□7330□

Okayama-ken, Kurashiki-shi, Hashima 899

□□□□□□□□899

Shiga-ken, Ōmihachiman-shi□□□□612

□□□□□□□□□□□□612-

Wakayama-ken, Shingū-shi, Sano 1065

□□□□□□□□□1065-

Yamaguchi-ken, Hōfu-shi, Kurumazuka-chō 5-28

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

The early parts of the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki were for centuries considered to be imitations of Chinese models and it is not until the appearance of the brother/sister duo Izanagi and Izanami in the 12th generation of kami that they take on a fully Japanese persona. During the Edo period, however, Nativist scholars re-examined this interpretation and Hirata Atsutane propounded a theory contending that Ame-no-minaka-nushi was the primary kami of the seven major stars making up the Ursa Major constellation. Like Motoori, Hirata has been kamified and is enshrined at the Hirata-jinja in Tōkyō's Shibuya-ku. His theory was taken up by the government during the early years of the Meiji Restoration as part of a

nationalist drive to clearly separate Shintō and Buddhism and promote the former at the expense of the latter Shin-butsu bunri. Prior to this many shrines and Buddhist temples shared the same space and many Buddhist gods were also Shintō deities. One of these, Myōken, a bodhisattva considered to be the personification of the North Star, was replaced by Ame-no-minaka-nushi in shrines. I have identified 45 Myōken Jinja, 33 of them in the west of the country. It would seem a safe assumption that at least some of them were previously temples but at the moment I don’t have time to look into this. An interesting byway to meander along later.

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Major kami

Important literature

Shinto shrines

Practices

See also

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The Engishiki (□□□; "Procedures of the Engi Era") is a Japanese book of laws and customs. The major part of the writing was completed in 927.[1]

History

Emperor Daigo ordered the compilation of the Engishiki in 905. Although previous attempts at codification are known to have taken place, neither the Konin nor the Jogan Gishiki[2] survive, making the Engishiki important for early Japanese historical and religious studies.[3]

Fujiwara no Tokihira began the task, but work stalled when he died four years later in 909. His brother Fujiwara no Tadahira continued the work in 912 eventually completing it in 927.[1]

While the Engishiki was presented to the throne in 927, it was not used as a basis for enacting policy until 967. Possible reasons for this delay in application include a need for it to be revised, the fact that it was simply a record of already existing systems, and also that some of those systems functioned in name only.[4]

Contents

The text is 50 volumes in lengths and is organized by department:

volumes 1–10: Department of Worship: In addition to regulating ceremonials including Daijōsai (the first Niiname-sai following the accession of a new emperor) and worship at Ise Grand Shrine and Saikū, this section of the Engishiki recorded liturgical texts and 2,861 officially recognized Shinto shrines as well as 3,131 officially-recognized kami.[5]
volumes 11–40: Department of State and Eight Ministries
volumes 41–49: Other departments
volume 50: Miscellaneous laws
Engishiki Jinmyōchō
The Engishiki Jinmyōchō is the part of the Engishiki where the main shrines and kami of Japan are listed. Shrines listed in the Engishiki are referred to collectively as shikinaisha (□□□; "in Engishiki shrines") while shrines that existed at the time but were not included are called shikigesha (□□□; "out of Engishiki shrines").[6]

There are 2,861 shrines and 3,132 kami listed in the Engishiki, divided into four categories based on whether they were imperially or nationally run, and major or minor:[7]

Major imperial shrine (□□□□, kanpei taisha) - 198 shrines and 304 kami
Minor imperial shrine (□□□□, kanpei shōsha) - 375 in total and 433 kami
Major national shrine (□□□□, kokuhei taisha) - 155 in total and 188 kami
Minor national shrine (□□□□, kokuhei shōsha) - 2,133 in total and 2,207 kami
In addition to listing officially recognized shrines and kami, the Jinmyōchō notes 285 kami of those officially recognized as having the title of myōjin (□□) due to their particularly noteworthy power.[8]

Shrine lists
These are non-exhaustive lists of shrines of the given categories defined by the Engishiki

List of Myojin Taisha
Aso Shrine
Atsuta Shrine
Awa Shrine
Awaga Shrine
Chōkaisan Ōmonoimi Shrine
Dewa Shrine

Fujisan Hongū Sengen Taisha

Fushimi Inari-taisha

Futarasan shrine

Gassan Shrine

Hakozaki Shrine

Hikawa Shrine (Saitama)

Hinokuma Shrine

Hirano Shrine

Hiraoka Shrine

Hirose Taisha

Hirota Shrine

Hiyoshi Taisha

Hotaka Shrine

Ichinomiya Asama Shrine (Fuefuki)

Ichinomiya Sengen Shrine

Ichinomiya Shrine (Tokushima)

Ikonohime no Mikoto Shrine [simple; ja]

Ikukunitama Shrine

Ikushimatarushima Shrine

Ikuta Shrine

Imizu Shrine

Inbe Shrine

Isasumi Shrine

Isono Shrine

Isonokami Shrine

Itakiso shrine

Itsukushima Shrine

Iwa Shrine

Izanagi Shrine

Izumo-daijingū

Izumo-taisha

Izushi Shrine

Iyozu Hikomei Shrine [simple; ja]

Kaijin Shrine

Kamado Shrine

Kamigamo Shrine

Kanasana Shrine

Kashima Shrine

Kasuga-taisha

Katori Shrine

Kehi Shrine

Keta Jinja

Keta Taisha

Kibitsu Shrine (Bitchū)

Kibitsuhiko Shrine

Kifune Shrine

Kinpu Shrine (Yoshino)

Kono Shrine

Kōra taisha

Kumano Hongū Taisha

Kumano Taisha

Masumida Shrine

Matsunoo Taisha

Mikami Shrine

Mishima Taisha

Munakata Taisha

Nagata Shrine

Nakayama Shrine

Nangū Taisha

Niukawakami Shrine

Niutsuhime Shrine

Nukisaki Shrine

Ōasahiko Shrine

Oarai Shrine

Oarai Isosaki Shrine

Ōmiwa Shrine

Ōmiwa Shrine, Ichinomiya

Onji Shrine [ja]

Ōtori taisha

Ōyamato Shrine

Ōyamazumi Shrine

Sakatsura Isosaki Shrine

Samukawa Shrine

Shikaumi Shrine

Shimogamo Shrine

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Fukuoka)

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Shimonoseki)

Sumiyoshi-taisha

Suwa-taisha

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Iki City)

Takemizuwake Shrine [simple; ja]

Tagata Shrine

Take Shrine

Tashima Shrine

Tado Taisha

Takebe taisha

Tamasaki Shrine

Tamura Shrine

Tatsuta Taisha

Three Mountains of Dewa

Tsukiyomi Shrine (Kyoto)

Tsukubasan Shrine

Tsutsukowake Shrine

Ube Shrine

Umenomiya Taisha

Usa Jingū

Utsunomiya Futarayama Shrine

Wakasahiko Shrine

Watatsumi Shrine

Yahiko Shrine

Yamato Okunitama Shrine [simple]

List of Shikinai Taisha

Aekuni Shrine

Ikasuri Shrine

Ikoma Shrine

Isonozatakumushitama Shrine [ja]

Izawa-jinja

Izawa-no-miya

Kagoshima Shrine

Kumano Hayatama Taisha

Sasamuta Shrine

Shikiagatanushi Shrine [ja]

Susaki Shrine

Tosa Shrine

Uda Mikumari Shrine

Yoshino Mikumari Shrine

List of Shikinai Shosha

Atago Shrine

Chichibu Shrine

Chiryu Shrine [ja]

Dewa Shrine

Fuji Rokusho Sengen Shrine [ja]

Hirasaki Shrine

Iminomiya Shrine

Itatehyōzu Shrine

Izusan Shrine

Kamayama Shrine

Komagata Shrine

Miho Shrine

Minashi Shrine

Mononobe Shrine

Nunakuma Shrine

Ōgamiyama Shrine

Oguni shrine

Onominato Shrine [ja]

Owari Ōkunitama Shrine

Oyama Aburi Shrine [ja]

Oyama Shrine

Sada Shrine

Shirayama Hime Shrine

Shitori Shrine

Shizuoka Sengen Shrine

Sugo Ishibe Shrine [ja]

Susa Shrine

Taga-taisha

Takase Shrine

Tamanooya Shrine

Toga Shrine

Tsukubasan Shrine

Tsurugi Shrine [ja]

Tsuno Shrine

Watatsu Shrine

Yaegaki Shrine

See also

Japanese Historical Text Initiative

Ruijū Kokushi, a categorized and chronological history text of the Six National Histories

Historiography of Japan

Beppyo shrine

Ichinomiya

Kanpei-taisha

Taisha

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Izumo Taisha (Shimane), Matsu no Sando central path for the kami gods and the Emperor

Religion and spirituality in Japan

The Main Shinto Gods

Kami Japanese Deities

 11 minutes

The Shinto gods are named kami in Japanese and are part of the Shinto cult and of the Japan's mythical foundation, its territory, and its civilization. Related to natural elements or to important realms of the daily life, these countless god-spirits are worshipped in shrines.

Contents

An infinity of gods

The main Japanese kami

 Izanagi and Izanami (□□□□ / □□□□)

 Amaterasu (□□)

 Susanoo (□□□)

 Okuninushi (□□□)

 Inari (□□)

 Hachiman (□□□)

 Kaminari and Fujin (□□ / □□)

 Tenjin (□□)

The Emperor of Japan as direct descendant

The official birth of the Shinto cult in Japan is hard to date exactly. It is usually considered that its development was intimately intertwined with the birth of the Japanese civilization, during the prehistorical Jomon period between 13,000 and 400 B.C. approximately.

Shintoism is an animist and polytheistic religion and has no official founder or sacred text. Two major writings do exist however, regarded as the oldest known texts on the subject:

□□□ Kojiki dated in 712, named in English "Records of Ancient Matters"; and,

□□□□ Nihon Shoki compiled in 720, whose title is translated as "The Chronicles of Japan".

These collections tell the history of Japan and its majors founding myths, as well as the chronology of the

Shinto gods called kami. They also put into writing practices that are still performed today, the rituals and ceremonies associated to the cult of these divine spirits.

Read more:
Shinto worship - Diverse Shintoist pratices of daily life
An infinity of gods
The word "Shinto", in Japanese, means the "way of the gods" and defines the existence of a myriad of gods. The quasi-infinite number of Shinto deities in Japan is sometimes estimated to 8 million. This number includes natural phenomenon, such as waterfalls or rocks with a specific shape, as well as primary elements such as the sun, the wind, and the earth.

Actually, the concept of kami is broader than that of a simple god. A famous Japanese scholar, Motoori Norinaga (1730 - 1801), gave the following definition:

"[…] any being whatsoever which possesses some eminent quality out of the ordinary, and is awe-inspiring, is called kami."

From: Robert S. Gall, "Kami and Daimōn: A Cross-Cultural Reflection on What Is Divine", Philosophy East and West, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Jan. 1999), p. 63, University of Hawai'i Press

Outside Japan, acquaintance with kami is often made through Studio Ghibli and Hayao Miyazaki's animated movies where they are introduced with great poetry.

These spiritual entities, like humans, have moods and can make good deeds as much as bad ones. The good and the evil are not opposed, and a deity can be both throughout its existence. A mortal who has accomplished great deeds, such as war generals or influential thinkers can be deified and worshiped.

The Shinto shrines are usually called jinja and are places of worship for the Japanese and a residence to rest for the divine spirits. They can be found anywhere, nestled at a corner of a street in a city or sheltered under a whole forest. Most of the sites are home to several kami and there is a sanctuary hierarchy in

Japan, with the 2 most important and sacred being Ise and Izumo.

Read more:
Ise Jingu - Japan's Holiest Shinto Shrine

Read more:
Izumo Taisha - Shimane's Grand Shrine
Every year, shrines stage festive celebrations called matsuri. One of the highlights of these festivals is the parade of kami in their mikoshi portable shrines in the surrounding streets, to bless the neighborhood and its inhabitants.

Meoto Iwa (Ise), The Wedded Rocks symbol of the couple Izanagi-Izanami

The main Japanese kami
To show their respect for the gods and their actions, the Japanese use the following honorific suffixes:

□ or□□ "-sama";
□ or □ "-no Mikoto";
□□ for "Okami" which means "great god" and is only used for the most important kami.
Note that each Shinto deity's names can often be written with different kanji. We made a non-exhaustive short list of the main Japanese kami, that are frequently encountered when visiting shrines in Japan or through the pop culture, especially video games and manga.

□ Izanagi and Izanami (□□□□ / □□□□)
Respectively the primal god and goddess, Izanagi and Izanami represent the couple founder of Japan and are also twins.

They stirred the ocean with a celestial spear from the floating bridge in the sky. The drops of salt that stuck to the spear formed the archipelago's first piece of land and is located nowadays in Awaji Island in the Kansai area. They settled on the island and decided to marry, giving birth to the other islands of Japan

as well as to countless kami.

When Izanami gave birth to the fire god named Kagutsuchi, she suffered lethal burns. Izanagi thus endeavored to bring her back from the realm of the dead, but he was unsuccessful and had to flee with a horde of demons chasing after him.

After escaping Hell, he closed its access and went to purify himself at a spring , where his daughter Amaterasu, among others, was born. The place is said to be the Isuzu-gawa river, that crosses Ise Jingu Grand Shrine's grounds in Mie prefecture. The purification gestures of cleaning hands and mouth with water thus became a custom and mandatory for anyone visiting a shrine.

Ise Jingu, View on Isuzu-gawa River from Ujibashi bridge in connection with the couple Izanagi-Izanami

Amaterasu ()
The sun goddess Amaterasu was born from her father's left eye when he was purifying in the river in Ise. One of her brothers is Tsukuyomi (or Tsukiyomi) born from Inazagi's right eye and deemed god of the moon and the night. Amaterasu is the most venerated deity in the Shinto cult, and the Japanese flag Hinomaru, symbolizing the sun in a red circle, is a direct reference to her.

Read more:
The Japanese Flag
A famous mythical story tells that infuriated by Susanoo, another of her brothers, she retreated in a cave, consequently depriving Earth of sunlight for several years. To convince her of going out, the other gods imagined a trick with a mirror to make her think another sun was born. When she peaked outside the cave, her own beams were reflected, and she decided to leave her hideout.

Later after this episode, Amaterasu sent one of her grandsons named Ninigi on Earth to rule the country. He descended from the sky with 3 relics his grandmother offered him:

The mirror Yata no Kagami, the one used to make her leave her concealment;

The sword Kusanagi no Tsurugi; and,
The beads necklace Yasakani no Magatama.
These 3 objects, the most sacred of Shintoism, are respectively preserved at Ise Grand Shrine, Atsuta-jingu shrine in Nagoya and in Tokyo Imperial Palace.

 Susanoo (□□□)
Amaterasu's younger brother, Susanoo was born from his father Izanagi's nose when he purified himself in the river in Ise. The god of storms and destructive nature, he is characterized by being easily angered while being sometimes able of positive acts.

Susanoo first ruled the world along his sister. However, he angered her so many times that she retired in a cave.

Following this vexatious episode Susanoo was driven away from the celestial gods' world and came on Earth where he arrived in Izumo area. He saved the young princess Kushinada-hime from the 8-headed dragon named Yamata no Orochi and married her. He retrieved the famous sword Kusanagi no Tsurugi from the dragon's tail and offered it afterward to Amaterasu as a reconciliation gift.

Izumo Taisha (Shimane), Statue of Okuninushi

 Okuninushi (□□□)
A descendant of Susanoo, Okuninushi is the tutelary kami of Izumo Taisha Grand Shrine. A benevolent and generous spirit, whose name means "ruler of the great land", he is notably worshiped as the god of agriculture and medicine. A specific deity of the Izumo area, Okuninushi was later incorporated into the national mythology and to the pantheon of the most important Shinto gods.

According to the Kojiki, he went through many ordeals before being able to rule over the Izumo region. He was in line with his 80 brothers to wed princess Yagami-hime and won her hand by helping Inaba the rabbit-god. Extremely jealous, his brothers tried to kill him twice, but his mother resuscitated him and sent him seek refuge in the hells of Ne no Kuni where Susanoo reigned.

There, he fell in love with Suseri-hime, Susanoo’s daughter and had to overcome the many hurdles imagined by the god of storms. He eventually came back to Earth with his ancestor’s blessing, vanquished his brothers and could reign in peace over Izumo. Later he granted his power to Ninigi, sent by Amaterasu.

In syncretic Buddhism, Okuninushi is sometimes associated to Daikokuten, also a god of agriculture and one of the 7 Lucky Gods of Japan.

 Inari (□□)
Initially the god of good harvests in a country where rice cultivation is ubiquitous, today Inari is worshipped as the god of successful business. He is one of the most popular and most represented kami of Japan.

In most of the religious grounds, one can see statues of the kitsune fox, the sacred animal messenger of Inari. It is often holding a key in its mouth, that is said to open the doors of a giant cereal granary storing all the harvests of the universe. It is often dressed with a red bib, in the same way as the Jizo Bosatsu statues of Japanese Buddhism.

His cult dates to the early 8th century and is said to have been introduced by the Hata clan, a family of Korean immigrants, who made of a countryside kami its tutelary god and settled in Fushimi in the south of Kyoto. The name "Inari" is said to derived from the word "Inanari" that means "rice growth". Its main shrine is the famous and majestic Fushimi Inari Taisha.

Read more:
Fushimi Inari Taisha - The 10,000 Torii Gates Sanctuary in Kyoto
In the syncretistic concept, Inari is also associated with female deities and protectors of Buddhism named Dakini or Mahakala, or in other words Daikokuten.

Fushimi Inari Taisha (Kyoto), Statue of Kitsune fox, Inari's messenger

 Hachiman (□□□)

A respected god of war since the feudal period, Hachiman is mainly worshiped by the warrior class encompassing the samurai and their lords. More than 40,000 Hachiman-gu shrines are dedicated to his cult and built throughout the country. The kami is also merged with the historical emperor Ojin (200 - 310).

Born in the Buzen province (today's Fukuoka prefecture on Kyushu Island), this deity was first associated with the activity of bronze mining. The spiritual site of Usa-jingu in Oita prefecture, founded during the Nara period (710 - 794), is thus the main of Japan's Hachiman-gu shrines.

Read more:
Usa-jingu - The First Hachiman-gu Shrine
In 859, the Iwashimizu enclosure, set between the cities of Kyoto and Osaka, became a Hachiman-gu shrine, very influential within the imperial household that was then established in Heian-kyo (later Kyoto). Nowadays, it is still considered as the second place of worship linked to the imperial ancestors and the most important after Ise.

Read more:
Iwashimizu Hachiman-gu - The Wonderful Shrine in the South of Kyoto
Hachiman is also known as the Minamoto clan's protective kami. The skillful warrior Minamoto no Yoshiie (1039 - 1106) is said to have had his coming-of-age ceremony in Iwashimizu Hachiman-gu shrine, which definitely connected the god to the art of war. Later, Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147 - 1199) who ascended to power as the first shogun of the Kamakura period (1185 - 1333) ordered the enlargement of Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu shrine to thank the god for his help in the war against the Taira clan.

Read more:
Tsurugaoka Hachimangu - Kamakura's Main Shrine
 Kaminari and Fujin (□□ / □□)
Syncretistic deities both existing in the Shinto cult and Buddhism, Kaminari and Fujin are respectively god of thunder and god of wind.

Kaminari is mainly known under his Buddhist name: Raijin or sometimes Raiden. He is pictured surrounded by a halo of 8 drums that symbolize the sound of thunder and can ward off evil spirits. Usually drawn with an aggressive look, he then resembles a warrior figure and is a guardian deity protecting the entrance of temples and shrines.

The god of wind, also named Futen, originates from the Hinduist deity Vāyu and is holding on his shoulder a large bag or piece of fabric containing the wind. Fujin is rarely worshipped alone, and most of the times he is pictured along with Raijin, especially under the great Kaminari-mon of Senso-ji temple in Asakusa in Tokyo.

Read more:
Senso-ji - Asakusa's Colorful Temple
Senso-ji (Asakusa), Statues of the gods Raijin and Fujin under the Kaminari-mon gate

 Tenjin (□□)
The sky deity and kami of calligraphy and literature, Tenjin is the deified name of the intellectual and statesman Sugawara no Michizane (845 - 903).

Historian, poet and professor of Chinese literature, this scholar was appointed Minister of the Right in 899 by the Emperor of Japan. Thus began the rivalry with the powerful Fujiwara clan, who were holding the position of Minister of the Left and refused to share the power with a scholar born in a lower class.

Wrongfully accused of plotting against the imperial power, he was exiled on Kyushu Island and became governor of Dazaifu. After his death, several incidents, such as the premature death of the Fujiwara minister, as well as a fire at the palace induced people to think of the vengeance of Michizane's spirit. In order to rehabilitate him officially, he was posthumously appointed Chancellor of the Realm and deified as kami Tenjin. Dazaifu Tenmangu shrine was therefore built in his honor so his soul can eternally rest in peace.

Read more:
Dazaifu Tenmangu - The Shinto Pilgrimage in Fukuoka
The god of studies for the younger ones, Tenjin is now prayed by many pupils and students for their academic success and before important exams. Its sacred messenger animal is the ox and worshippers pet the animal's statue for good luck.

The Emperor of Japan as direct descendant
The emperors of Japan – or Tenno – have long been considered as living incarnations of Shinto gods. The legendary first emperor Jinmu is, according to the official mythology, a direct descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu. The reigning members afterwards were all born from the same lineage of exceptional blood, including the present days emperor Naruhito.

This divinization of the emperor and broadly of the Japanese people has led the country to some excesses, justifications, and invasions throughout its history, and especially during the World War II. Nowadays, the Emperor has lost his status of divinity but remains an important figure, symbol of the nation united and guarantor of the ancestral Shinto rituals.

Shinto also includes in its pantheon many other legendary creatures such as tengu or yokai appearing in the Japanese folklore, tales, and legends.

By Kanpai
Updated on November 28, 2022
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Sumida Hokusai Museum (Tokyo), Replica of the painting "Susano no Mikoto Yakujin Taiji no Zu"

Izumo Taisha (Shimane), Haiden ceremonial pavilion and Shimenawa cord for the cult of Susanoo

Izumo Taisha (Shimane), Statue of Okuninushi

Fushimi Inari Taisha (Kyoto), Statue of Kitsune fox, Inari's messenger

Toyokawa Inari (Aichi), Statue of Kitsune fox, Inari's messenger

Usa-jingu (Oita), Main hall of the shrine dedicated to Hachiman

Senso-ji (Asakusa), Statues of the gods Raijin and Fujin under the Kaminari-mon gate

Kennin-ji (Kyoto), Thunder god Raijin painted screen by Sotatsu

Dazaifu Tenman-gu (Fukuoka), Statue of the Shingyu ox, messenger of Tenjin

Dazaifu Tenman-gu (Fukuoka), Main hall of the shrine dedicated to Tenjin

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Amaterasu, one of the central kami in the Shinto faith

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vte

Kami (Japanese: □; [ka□mi]) are the deities, divinities, spirits, mythological, spiritual, or natural phenomena that are venerated in the traditional Shinto religion of Japan. Kami can be elements of the landscape, forces of nature, beings and the qualities that these beings express, and/or the spirits of venerated dead people. Many kami are considered the ancient ancestors of entire clans (some ancestors became kami upon their death if they were able to embody the values and virtues of kami in life). Traditionally, great leaders like the Emperor could be or became kami.[1]

In Shinto, kami are not separate from nature, but are of nature, possessing positive and negative, and good and evil characteristics. They are manifestations of musubi (□□),[2] the interconnecting energy of the universe, and are considered exemplary of what humanity should strive towards. Kami are believed to be "hidden" from this world, and inhabit a complementary existence that mirrors our own: shinkai (□□; "the world of the kami").[3]:22 To be in harmony with the awe-inspiring aspects of nature is to be conscious of kannagara no michi (□□□□ or □□□□; "the way of the kami").[2]

Meaning

Kami is the Japanese word for a deity, divinity, or spirit.[4] It has been used to describe mind, God, Supreme Being, one of the Shinto deities, an effigy, a principle, and anything that is worshipped.[5][6]

Although deity is the common interpretation of kami, some Shinto scholars argue that such a translation can cause a misunderstanding of the term.[7][page needed]

Some etymological suggestions are:

Kami may, at its root, simply mean spirit, or an aspect of spirituality. It is written with the kanji □, Sino-Japanese reading shin or jin. In Chinese, the character means deity or spirit.[8]

In the Ainu language, the word kamuy refers to an animistic concept very similar to Japanese kami. The matter of the words' origins is still a subject of debate; John Batchelor derives the word from Ainu roots,[9] but Japanese sources indicate a Japonic origin.[10]

In terms of meaning, in his Kojiki-den, Motoori Norinaga gave a definition of kami as: "any being whatsoever which possesses some eminent quality out of the ordinary, and is awe-inspiring, is called kami."[11]

Because Japanese does not normally distinguish grammatical number in nouns (most do not have singular and plural forms), it is sometimes unclear whether kami refers to a single or multiple entities. When a singular concept is needed, -kami (□) is used as a suffix. The reduplicated term generally used to refer to multiple kami is kamigami.[3]: 210–211

History

See also: Mitama

While Shinto has no founder, no overarching doctrine, and no religious texts, the Kojiki (Records of Ancient Matters), written in 712 CE, and the Nihon Shoki (Chronicles of Japan), written in 720 CE, contain the earliest record of Japanese creation myths. The Kojiki also includes descriptions of various kami.[3]: 39

In the ancient traditions there were five defining characteristics of kami:[12]

Kami are of two minds. They can nurture and love when respected, or they can cause destruction and disharmony when disregarded. Kami must be appeased in order to gain their favor and avoid their wrath. Traditionally, kami possess two souls, one gentle (nigi-mitama) and the other assertive (ara-mitama); additionally, in Yamakage Shinto (see Ko-Shintō), kami have two additional souls that are hidden: one happy (saki-mitama) and one mysterious (kushi-mitama).[3]: 130

Kami are not visible to the human realm. Instead, they inhabit sacred places, natural phenomena, or people during rituals that ask for their blessing.

They are mobile, visiting their places of worship, of which there can be several, but never staying forever.

There are many different varieties of kami. There are 300 different classifications of kami listed in the Kojiki, and they all have different functions, such as the kami of wind, kami of entryways, and kami of roads.

Lastly, all kami have a different guardianship or duty to the people around them. Just as the people have an obligation to keep the kami happy, the kami have to perform the specific function of the object, place, or idea they inhabit.

Kami are an ever-changing concept, but their presence in Japanese life has remained constant. The kami's earliest roles were as earth-based spirits, assisting the early hunter-gatherer groups in their daily lives. They were worshipped as gods of the earth (mountains) and sea. As the cultivation of rice became increasingly important and predominant in Japan, the kami's identity shifted to more sustaining roles that were directly involved in the growth of crops; roles such as rain, earth, and rice.[12] This relationship between early

Japanese people and the kami was manifested in rituals and ceremonies meant to entreat the kami to grow and protect the harvest. These rituals also became a symbol of power and strength for the early Emperors.[13]

There is a strong tradition of myth-histories in the Shinto faith; one such myth details the appearance of the first emperor, grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. In this myth, when Amaterasu sent her grandson to earth to rule, she gave him five rice grains, which had been grown in the fields of heaven (Takamagahara). This rice made it possible for him to transform the "wilderness".[13]

Social and political strife have played a key role in the development of new sorts of kami, specifically the goryō-shin (the sacred spirit kami). Goryō are the vengeful spirits of the dead whose lives were cut short, but they were calmed by the devotion of Shinto followers and are now believed to punish those who do not honor the kami.[13]

The pantheon of kami, like the kami themselves, is forever changing in definition and scope. As the needs of the people have shifted, so too have the domains and roles of the various kami. Some examples of this are related to health, such as the kami of smallpox whose role was expanded to include all contagious diseases, or the kami of boils and growths who has also come to preside over cancers and cancer treatments.[13]

In ancient animistic Japanese belief, kami were understood as simply the divine forces of nature. Worshippers in ancient Japan revered kami of nature which exhibited a particular beauty and power such as ghosts,[14] the ocean,[14] the sun,[14] waterfalls, mountains,[14] boulders, animals,[14] trees,[14] grasses, rice paddies, thunder,[15] echoes,[15] foxes and fox spirits,[15] and Asian dragons.[15] They strongly believed the spirits or resident kami deserved respect.

In 927 CE, the Engi-shiki (□□□; literally, Procedures of the Engi Era) was promulgated in fifty volumes. This, the first formal codification of Shinto rites and norito (liturgies and prayers) to survive, became the basis for all subsequent Shinto liturgical practice and efforts. It listed all of the 2,861 Shinto shrines existing at the time, and the 3,131 official-recognized and enshrined kami.[16] The number of kami has grown and far exceeded this figure through the following generations as there are over 2,446,000 individual kami enshrined in Tokyo's Yasukuni Shrine alone.[17]

Shinto belief

Kami are the central objects of worship in Shinto. The best English translation of kami is 'spirits', but this is an over-simplification of a complex concept—kami can be elements of the landscape or forces of nature.[18] Kami are believed to have influence over the forces of nature and over the affairs of humans. The ancient animistic spirituality of Japan was the beginning of modern Shinto, which became a formal spiritual institution later, in an effort to preserve the traditional beliefs from the encroachment of imported religious ideas. As a result, the nature of what can be called kami is very general and encompasses many different concepts and phenomena.

Some of the objects or phenomena designated as kami are qualities of growth, fertility, and production; natural phenomena like wind and thunder; natural objects like the sun, mountains, rivers, trees, and rocks; some animals; and ancestral spirits. Included within the designation of ancestral spirits are spirits of the ancestors of the Imperial House of Japan, but also ancestors of noble families, as well as the spirits of the ancestors of all people, which, when they died, were believed to be the guardians of their descendants.[3]: 150

There are other spirits designated as kami as well. For example, the guardian spirits of the land, occupations, and skills; spirits of Japanese heroes; those of outstanding deeds or virtues; those who have contributed to civilization, culture, and human welfare; those who have died for the state or the community; and the pitiable deceased.[19] Not only spirits superior to humans can be considered kami: spirits that are considered pitiable or weak have also been considered kami in Shinto.

The concept of kami has been changed and refined since ancient times, although anything considered to be kami by ancient people will still be considered kami in modern Shinto. Even within modern Shinto, no clearly defined criteria exist for what should or should not be worshipped as kami. The difference between modern Shinto and the ancient animistic religions is mainly a refinement of the concept, rather than a difference in definitions.[20]

Although the ancient designations are still adhered to, in modern Shinto, many priests also consider kami to be anthropomorphic spirits with nobility and authority. One such example is the mythological figure Amaterasu-ōmikami, the sun goddess of the Shinto pantheon. Although kami can be considered deities, they are not necessarily considered omnipotent or omniscient; like the ancient Greek gods, kami have

flawed personalities and are incapable of ignoble acts. In the myths of Amaterasu, for example, she could see the events of the human world, but had to use divination rituals to see the future.[citation needed]

There are considered to be three main variations of kami: Amatsukami (□□□; the heavenly deities), Kunitsukami (□□□; the gods of the earthly realm), and ya-o-yorozu no kami (□□□□□; countless kami). "□□□" literally means eight million, but idiomatically it expresses "uncountably many" and "all-around"—like many East Asian cultures, the Japanese often use the number 8, representing the cardinal and ordinal directions, to symbolize ubiquity. These classifications of kami are not considered strictly divided, due to the fluid and shifting nature of kami, but are instead held as guidelines for grouping them.[3]: 56

The ancestors of one's family can also be worshipped as kami. In this sense, these kami are worshipped not because of their godly powers, but because of a distinctive quality or virtue. An example of this is Tenjin, who was Sugawara no Michizane (845–903 CE) in life. These kami are celebrated regionally, and miniature shrines[example needed] (hokora) have been built in their honor.

Within Shinto, it is believed that the nature of life is sacred because the kami began human life. Yet humans cannot perceive the sacredness the kami created without assistance. Therefore, magokoro (□□), or purification, is necessary to see the divine nature.[21][unreliable source] This purification can only be granted by the kami. To please the kami and earn magokoro, Shinto followers are taught to uphold the four affirmations of Shinto.

The first affirmation is to hold fast to tradition and one's family line. Family is seen as the main mechanism by which traditions are preserved. For instance, a given tradition may be observed and passed on to future generations at marriage or birth. The second affirmation is to have a love of nature. Nature objects are worshipped as sacred because the kami inhabit them. Therefore, to be in contact with nature means to be in contact with the gods. The third affirmation is to maintain physical cleanliness. Followers of Shinto take baths, wash their hands, and rinse out their mouths often. The last affirmation is to practice matsuri, which is the worship and honor given to the kami and ancestral spirits.[21][better source needed]

Shinto followers also believe that the kami are the ones who can either grant blessings or curses to a person. Shinto believers desire to appease the evil kami to "stay on their good side" and please the good kami. In addition to practicing the four affirmations daily, Shinto believers also wear omamori to aid them

in remaining pure and protected. Mamori are charms that keep the evil kami from striking a human with sickness or causing disaster to befall them.[21][better source needed]

The kami are both worshipped and respected within the religion of Shinto. The goal of life to Shinto believers is to obtain magokoro, a pure sincere heart, which can only be granted by the kami.[22] As a result, Shinto followers are taught that humankind should venerate both the living and the nonliving, because both possess a divine superior spirit within: the kami.[23][page needed]

Amatsukami and Kunitsukami

Main articles: Amatsukami and Kunitsukami

Amatsukami and Kunitsukami are categories of kami in Japanese mythology.[24]

"Amatsukami" is a generic term for the gods in Takamagahara, or those who descended from Tenson kōrin, while "Kunitsukami" is a generic term for the gods who appeared on the earth (Ashihara no Nakatsukuni).[25]

In Japanese mythology, the acceptance of the transfer of the land (Ashihara no Nakatsukuni) by the Kunitsukami to the Amatsu deities led by Ninigi-no-Mikoto is described as kuni-yuzuri. It is thought that the deity worshipped by the people of the region pacified[when?] by the Yamato Kingship (i.e., the Emishi, Hayato, etc.) became the Kunitsukami; the deities worshipped by the imperial family and powerful clans of the Yamato Kingship became the Amatsukami.[24] Many of the original traditions of the Kunitsukami were altered when they were incorporated into the Nihon Shoki (The Chronicles of Japan); many did not survive.[26] The Chronicles of Japan give some references to earlier traditions (e.g., "Ichi Sho Saying" and "Aru Hon Yun" in most volumes of the Nihon Shoki), but the original recorded documents have been lost.[26]

Tsu is a case particle in Old Japanese, meaning "god of heaven" or "god of the country" in modern Japanese.[27] Sometimes written "Amatsugami" or "Kunitsugami.[28][further explanation needed]

Amatsukami are also called Tenjin, and Kunitsukami are called Chigi (□□).[29] Some people believe that the names "Tenjin Chigi (□□□□)" and "Jingi (□□)" are derived from the Chinese classics. A different theory

that the concept is completely different and different from the Japanese one has been presented.[24]

Another similar concept is Tenchi Shinmei (□□□□).[30]

□□□□ (Tenchi-Shinmei) is a Japanese four-character idiom that refers to the gods of heaven and earth. It is used in expressions such as "I swear by the gods of heaven and earth" and conveys a sense of reverence and commitment.[30] The origins of the term can be traced back to ancient Chinese classical texts, where the expression "□□" (Tenchi) and "□□" (Shinmei) were often used together to refer to the gods of heaven and earth, or to the gods and the universe as a whole. However, there are also instances where the expression was used to refer specifically to the gods of heaven and earth.[30] In Japan, the term □□□□ has been in use for centuries and is often associated with the image of the numerous gods and deities that have been worshipped in Japanese folklore and mythology.[30]

Susanoo-no-Mikoto, who was cast out of Takamagahara, and his descendants, such as Ōkuninushi, are considered to be Kunitsukami.

Ogasawara Shozo [ja] proposed a system justifying Japanese Imperialism wherein Japanese people in the colonies were seen as Amatsukami and natives were seen as Kunitsukami.[31] However, he was later censored, as his position was considered too supportive of the rights of colonized peoples.[31]

Ceremonies and festivals

One of the first recorded rituals is Niiname-sai (□□□),[13] the ceremony in which the emperor of Japan offers newly harvested rice to the kami to secure their blessing for a bountiful harvest. A yearly festival, Niiname-sai, is also performed when a new emperor comes to power, in which case it is called Daijō-sai (□□□). In the ceremony, the emperor offers crops from the new harvest to the kami, including rice, fish, fruits, soup, and stew. The emperor first feasts with the deities, then the guests. The feast could go on for some time; for example, Emperor Shōwa's feast spanned two days.[13]

Itsukushima Shinto Shrine, Miyajima Island, Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan. This shrine is believed to be where the kami dwell, and hosts many ceremonies and festivals.

Visitors to a Shinto shrine follow a purification ritual before presenting themselves to the kami. This ritual begins with hand washing and swallowing and later spitting a small amount of water in front of the shrine to purify the body, heart, and mind. Once this is complete, they focus on gaining the kami's attention. The traditional method of doing this is to bow twice, clap twice, and bow again, alerting the kami to their presence and desire to commune with them. During the last bow, the supplicant offers words of gratitude and praise to the kami; if they are offering a prayer for aid, they will also state their name and address. After the prayer and/or worship, they repeat the two bows, two claps, and a final bow in conclusion.[3]: 197

Shinto practitioners also worship at home. This is done at a kamidana (household shrine), on which an ofuda with the name of their protector or ancestral kami is positioned. Their protector kami is determined by their or their ancestors' relationship to the kami.[3]: 28, 84

Ascetic practices, shrine rituals and ceremonies, and Japanese festivals are the most public ways Shinto devotees celebrate and offer adoration for the kami. Kami are celebrated during their distinct festivals that usually take place at the shrines dedicated to their worship. Many festivals involve believers, who are oftentimes intoxicated, parading, sometimes running, toward the shrine while carrying mikoshi (portable shrines) as the community gathers for the festival ceremony. Yamamoto Guji, the high priest at the Tsubaki Grand Shrine, explains that this practice honors the kami because "it is in the festival, the matsuri, the greatest celebration of life can be seen in the world of Shinto and it is the people of the community who attend festivals as groups, as a whole village who are seeking to unlock the human potential as children of kami".[2] During the New Year Festival, families purify and clean their houses in preparation for the upcoming year. Offerings are also made to the ancestors so that they will bless the family in the future year. [citation needed]

Shinto ceremonies are so long and complex that in some shrines, it can take ten years for the priests to learn them.[32] The priesthood was traditionally hereditary. Some shrines have drawn their priests from the same families for over a hundred generations.[33] It is not uncommon for the clergy to be female priestesses.[33] The priests (kannushi) may be assisted by miko, young unmarried women acting as shrine maidens.[34] Neither priests nor priestesses live as ascetics; in fact, it is common for them to be married,[33] and they are not traditionally expected to meditate. Rather, they are considered specialists in the art of maintaining the connection between the kami and the people.[33]

In addition to these festivals, ceremonies marking rites of passage are also performed within the shrines. Two such ceremonies are the birth of a child and the Shichi-Go-San. When a child is born, they are brought to a shrine so that they can be initiated as a new believer and the kami can bless them and their future life. The Shichi-Go-San (the Seven-Five-Three) is a rite of passage for five-year-old boys and three- or seven-year-old girls. It is a time for these young children to personally offer thanks for the kami's protection and to pray for continued health.[35][unreliable source]

Shinto believers practice many other rites of passage, and there are also many other festivals. The main reason for these ceremonies is so that Shinto followers can appease the kami in order to reach magokoro.[22]: 205 Magokoro can only be received through the kami. Ceremonies and festivals are long and complex because they need to be perfect to satisfy the kami. If the kami are not pleased with these ceremonies, they will not grant a Shinto believer magokoro.

Notable kami

Main article: List of Japanese deities

Amaterasu Ōmikami, the sun goddess and chief deity of Shinto

Ebisu, one of seven gods of fortune

Fūjin, the god of wind

Hachiman, the tutelary god of war

Inari Ōkami, the god of rice and agriculture

Izanagi-no-Mikoto, the first man

Izanami-no-Mikoto, the first woman

Kotoamatsukami, the primary kami trinity

Meiji Tennō

Omoikane, the deity of wisdom

Raijin, the god of lightning, thunder and storms

Ryūjin, the Japanese dragon god of sea and storms

Sarutahiko Ōkami, the kami of earth

Susanoo-no-Mikoto, the god of the sea and storms

Tenjin, the poetry god

Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto, the moon god

Yamato Iware-biko no Mikoto, Japanese emperors

In popular culture

Main article: Shinto in popular culture

Kami appear as a creature group in the trading card game Magic: The Gathering, specifically within the Kamigawa extensions.[36]

See also

Ainu religion

Chinese folk religion

Elemental

Glossary of Shinto

Kadomatsu – Traditional Japanese decoration as yorishiro of the New Year

Ko-Shintō – Animistic religion of Jōmon-period Japan

Kotodama – Japanese belief that mystical powers dwell in words and names

List of divinities in Japanese mythology § Shinto

Ryukyuan religion – Indigenous Ryukyuan belief system

Shen – God or spirit in Chinese religion

Shintai – Objects worshipped at or near Shinto shrines

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External links

Look up kami, megami, or ogami in Wiktionary, the free dictionary.
Introduction: Kami Archived 23 November 2020 at the Wayback Machine, Encyclopedia of Shinto
Kami, Gods of Japan
Evolution of the Concept of Kami Archived 26 January 2021 at the Wayback Machine, Itō Mikiharu

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Japanese mythology

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Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-Kami

Kotoamatsukami

Other names Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-Mikoto (□□□□□)

Japanese □□□□□□, □□□□□

Major cult center Chiba Shrine, Kurume Suitengū, and others

Texts Kojiki, Nihon Shoki, Kogo Shūi, Sendai Kuji Hongi

Genealogy

Parents None; self-generated

Siblings None

Consort None

Children None

Ame-no-Minakanushi (□□□□□, lit. "Heavenly Ancestral God of the Originating Heart of the Universe"[1][2][3][4]) is a deity (kami) in Japanese mythology, portrayed in the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki as the first or one of the first deities who manifested when heaven and Earth came into existence.

Name

The kami is given the name 'Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-Kami' (□□□□□□; Old Japanese: Ame2-no2-Mi1nakanusi[5]) in the Kojiki (ca. 712 CE). The same deity is referred to as 'Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-Mikoto' (□□□□□) in a variant account cited in the Nihon Shoki (720 CE).

Mythology

The Kojiki portrays Ame-no-Minakanushi as the first god to appear in the heavenly realm of Takamagahara after the emergence of heaven and Earth from the primeval chaos:

At the time of the beginning of heaven and earth, there came into existence in Takamanohara a deity named Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-Kami; next, Takamimusubi-no-Kami; next, Kamimusubi-no-Kami. These three deities all came into existence as single deities (hitorigami), and their forms were not visible (or 'they hid their bodies').[6]

Unlike later generations of kami, the first seven gods were "single" or "solitary" in that they came into being one by one, without any counterparts, and are described as hiding their presence upon coming into existence. Ame-no-Minakanushi is reckoned as the first of the "three deities of creation" (□□□□, zōka sanshin) and one of the five "distinguished heavenly gods" (□□□□, kotoamatsukami).[7]

In the Nihon Shoki's main narrative and many of the variant accounts cited in it, the first kami is identified instead as Kuni-no-Tokotachi; Ame-no-Minakanushi only appears in passing in one of these variants:

In one writing it is said:—"When Heaven and Earth began, there were Deities produced together, whose names were, first, Kuni-no-toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto." It is further stated:—"The names of the Gods which were produced in the Plain of High Heaven were Ama no mi-naka-nushi no Mikoto, next Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, next Kami-mi-musubi no Mikoto."

— translation by William George Aston[8]

In the Sendai Kuji Hongi, the first deity to appear is named 'Ame-Yuzuruhi-Ame-no-Sagiri-Kuni-Yuzurutsuki-Kuni-no-Sagiri-no-Mikoto' (□□□□□□□□□□□□□□). Here, Ame-no-Minakanushi - given the alias 'Ame-no-Tokotachi-no-Mikoto' (□□□□; the name of a distinct kami in the Kojiki) - along with the deity Umashi-Ashikabi-Hikoji [ja] (□□□□□□□□□□□□) is instead counted as the first generation that emerged after this god.[9]

[10][11]

No further mention is made of Ame-no-Minakanushi in these texts.

Kojiki Nihon Shoki
(main text) Nihon Shoki
(variant 2) Nihon Shoki
(variant 4) Nihon Shoki
(variant 6) Sendai Kuji Hongi[10][11]
Descendants
An imperially commissioned genealogical record known as the Shinsen Shōjiroku (815 CE) identifies two clans as the progeny of deities descended from Ame-no-Minakanushi:[12]

The Hattori no Muraji (□□□) clan, descended from Ame-no-Mihoko (□□□□), the 11th generation descendant of Ame-no-Minakanushi
The Miteshiro no Obito (□□□□) clan, descended from Ame-no-Minakanushi's 10th generation descendant Ame-no-Morokami (□□□□)
Analysis
See also: Tian, Shangdi, Sky deity, and Myōken

Myōken, the Buddhist deification of the North Star and/or the Big Dipper
There is no extant undisputed record of Ame-no-Minakanushi being worshiped at any known ancient shrines (the Engishiki, compiled in the early 10th century, never mentions any shrines to this deity); this, combined with the lack of information concerning the god outside of documents associated with the imperial court such as Kojiki and the Shoki (as seen above, even in these texts, barely any mention is made of this god), has led some scholars to consider Ame-no-Minakanushi to be an abstract deity (i.e. a god that only exists on paper, with no actual worshipers or cult dedicated to him) created under the influence of Chinese thought.[7][13] Other scholars, however, argue that the paucity of evidence for the worship of Ame-no-Minakanushi in antiquity does not necessarily mean that the god is purely a literary invention.[14][15][16]

Konishi Jin'ichi (1984) saw the creation narratives of the Kojiki and the Shoki as a combination of three

different traditions: one which traces the origin of the gods to Ame-no-Minakanushi, another that began with Umashi-Ashikabi-Hikoji, and a third one starting with Kuni-no-Tokotachi. He saw similarities between Ame-no-Minakanushi and the sky deities Tangaloa (Polynesian mythology) and Tengri (Turkic and Mongol mythology), suggesting that these myths may ultimately share a common origin.[17]

Kawai Hayao compared Ame-no-Minakanushi with the moon deity Tsukuyomi and Hosuseri (one of Konohanasakuyahime's three children), in that all three are portrayed as belonging to a triad of important deities and yet are not recorded as doing anything of significance. He considered these three 'inactive' deities to serve a mythic function as the 'hollow center' acting as a buffer zone between two opposite or conflicting forces (Kamimusubi and Takamimusubi, Amaterasu and Susanoo, Hoderi and Hoori).[18][19]

During the medieval and early modern periods

Until the medieval era, the Nihon Shoki, owing to its status as one of the six national histories, was more widely read and commented upon than the Kojiki, which was regarded as an ancillary work. In a similar vein, the Sendai Kuji Hongi, due to its preface claiming it to be compiled by Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako, was seen as being earlier and more reliable. (Modern consensus holds the Kuji Hongi to actually have been compiled during the Heian period, although certain portions of it may indeed preserve genuine early traditions.)[20][21] References to Ame-no-Minakanushi were thus solely in terms of his role as one of the primeval kami.[7]

Yoshida Kanetomo, the founder of the Yoshida Shintō sect, identified Kuninotokotachi with Amenominakanushi and regarded him as the primordial god of the Universe.

During the Kamakura period, the school of thought developed by the Watarai priestly house of the Outer Shrine of Ise (Gekū) known as Ise Shinto (also known as Watarai Shinto), identified the shrine's deity, Toyouke (Toyoukehime), with Ame-no-Minakanushi and Kuni-no-Tokotachi. By doing so, the Outer Shrine asserted superiority over the Inner Shrine (Naikū) and its goddess, Amaterasu.[22]

It was upon the flourishing of nativist studies (kokugaku) and the rediscovery and reappraisal of the Kojiki in the Edo period that Ame-no-Minakanushi's significance was reevaluated,[7] with different authors expressing their own opinions on the god's role and importance.

Motoori Norinaga (self-portrait)

Motoori Norinaga, in his commentary on the Kojiki, criticized the Watarai priesthood for laying emphasis on the importance of Ame-no-Minakanushi, arguing that the deities' order of appearance in time has no bearing on their rank or status. In his view, while Ame-no-Minakanushi is indeed the first among the gods to manifest, he is neither the ruler of heaven nor the "first ancestor" of the imperial line (that being Amaterasu), as some in his time believed. Motoori instead characterized Takamimusubi and Kamimusubi as the "first ancestors of heaven and earth, of the kami, and of all existence."[23]

Tsurumine Shigenobu (1788-1859), who attempted to make a rational interpretation of the creation myths of the Kojiki and Shoki based on a synthesis with his understanding of European science and astronomy, associated Ame-no-Minakanushi with gravity:

These three kami are first, Amanominakanushi, secondly Takamimusubi, and thirdly, Kamimusubi. These three great kami are described in the body of the Kojiki with the words, "These three kami were produced alone, and hid themselves." The meaning of "hid themselves" is that they could not be perceived by human eyes. The fact that there are particles [bunshi] in all things is probably a result of the action of the [kami] of productive power (Mimusubi), while the fact there is gravity is a result of the action of [the kami] Minakanushi. This gravity cannot be seen with eyes or taken up in the hand, and like the attraction between magnets and iron, is something that mutually pulls and attracts things together. It is because of the existence of this gravity that particles coalesce and thus the Sun, Moon, planets and Earth spontaneously take their proper form. As a result, when someone speaks of the "land illumined with heavenly crimson shining," it was due to the actions of these three kami that [that land] came into being. Thus, while these three kami are said to have become in the Plain of High Heaven, it does not mean literally there was originally a place called the Plain of High Heaven, and that the kami then came into being within that place, but rather that the Plain of High Heaven itself emerged into existence by virtue of the fact that these three kami came into being. Now, when one speaks of Amenominakanushi no kami, the amenominaka means around the core of the Sun, while nushi means the lord of that place, with result that the name means the one who makes its domain in heaven and Earth.[23]

By linking gravity to Ame-no-Minakanushi, Tsurumine identifies the deity as the "lord" who oversees the process whereby the activity of the two gods of "coalescing" (musubi) results in the creation of all things out of the basic elements represented by "particles." Using language apparently borrowed from Christian

conceptions of God, Tsurumine then went on to describe the three deities of creation as "the ancient ancestral kami of heaven and great kami sovereign over first origins ... who have made all things, from sun and moon, the planets, and earth to every other thing."[23]

Motoori's admirer and self-proclaimed disciple Hirata Atsutane, in contrast to Motoori, described Ame-no-Minakanushi as a supreme deity with no beginning and no end who holds sovereignty over all existence, residing in the pole star at the very center of heaven.[7]

All things in heaven and earth have an original, great ancestral kami. Its name is Amenominakanushi no kami. It has no beginning and no end. It abides in the heavens above. It is furnished with the quality of producing all things within heaven and earth, but it acts not and is quiescent (it dwells in the so-called Plain of High Heaven from the original beginning), and it is sovereign over all existence. Next are Takamimusubi no kami and Kamimusubi no kami. They are apportioned with the qualities of Amenominakanushi no kami, producing all things in heaven and Earth, and exerting sovereignty over all things in heaven and Earth. They are equipped with the immeasurably marvelous quality called the spirit of generation (musubi). They are the ultimate natural ancestral kami of human beings. These two ancestral deities then forged heaven and Earth, giving birth to Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto, and making them firm the land and give birth to the people. These are our great natural parent deities.

A number of Hirata's disciples, meanwhile, came to formulate different understandings of Ame-no-Minakanushi from their mentor. One such disciple, Mutobe Yoshika (1798-1864), for instance argued that all the stars in the sky have their own planetary system similar to the Sun; the Kojiki's description of the generation of heaven and Earth thus does not refer to the entire cosmos as Hirata interpreted it, but the Solar System (which Mutobe equates with the mythical Takamagahara) alone. According to Mutobe, all the stars with their respective planetary system were formed by the three deities of creation, who then came down to dwell in the Solar System. Unlike Hirata, Mutobe relegated Ame-no-Minakanushi and the other two deities of creation to a minor role and instead accorded high status to the earthly deity Ōkuninushi, who he argued was given jurisdiction by the gods Takamimusubi and Amaterasu not only over the lives and fates of human beings but also over grains and other foods. He thus took the evaluation Hirata had given to the three kami of creation and reapplied it to Ōkuninushi, essentially elevating him to a kind of supreme deity.[23]

Worship

The Buddhist deity Myōken, who was worshiped in Japan since at least the 7th century, became conflated with Ame-no-Minakanushi during the early modern period due to Myōken's association with the Big Dipper and the northern pole star. When the Meiji government mandated the separation of Buddhism and Shinto, many shrines dedicated to Myōken became shrines to Ame-no-Minakanushi.[7] Ame-no-Minakanushi was also one of the patron deities of the Taikyo Institute (□□□, Taikyoin), a short-lived government organization that promoted a state-sponsored fusion of Buddhism and Shinto after the earlier separation policy was deemed as being too divisive.

In the Oomoto religious text Michi no Shiori, written by Onisaburo Deguchi in 1904, the Supreme God of the universe is identified as Ame-no-Minakanushi.[24]

See also

Kuni-no-Tokotachi

Myōken

Sky father

Suitengū

Taiji

Toyouke-Ōmikami

Yin and yang

Counterparts of Ame-no-Minakanushi in other cultures

Adi Buddha, the Buddhist counterpart.

Haneullim, the Korean counterpart.

Hiranyagarbha, the Hindu counterpart.

Jade Emperor, the Chinese counterpart.

Ông Tr□i, the Vietnamese counterpart.

Yuanshi Tianzun, the Taoist counterpart.

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This page was last edited on 23 September 2025, at 10:48 (UTC).

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Mythic texts

FudokiKogo ShūiKojikiKonjaku MonogatarishūKujikiNihon RyōikiNihon Shoki

Divinities

AmaterasuAme-no-UzumeInari IzanagiIzanamiKamiMyōjinSeven Lucky GodsSusanooTsukuyomi

Legendary creatures and urban legends

KitsuneOniOnryōTenguYōkaiYūrei

Mythical and sacred locations

IzumoJigokuMount FujiMount HieiRyūgū-jōTakamagaharaYomi

Sacred objects

Ame-no-NubokoKusanagiTonbokiri

Three Sacred Treasures

Shintō and Buddhism

Bon FestivalEmaSetsubunTorii

Buddhist templesShinto shrines

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Part of a series on

Shinto

Shinto

Beliefs

Major kami

Important literature

Shinto shrines

Practices

See also

icon Religion portal

vte

This is a list of divinities native to Japanese beliefs and religious traditions. Many of these are from Shinto, while others were imported via Buddhism and were "integrated" into Japanese mythology and folklore.

Kotoamatsukami

Further information: Kotoamatsukami

Amenominakanushi (□□□□□□) – Central Master

Takamimusubi (□□□□□□) – High Creator

Kamimusubi (□□□□□) – Divine Creator

Umashi'ashikabihikoji (□□□□□□□□□□□□) – Energy/Chaos

Amenotokotachi (□□□□□) – Heaven

Kamiyonanayo

Main article: Kamiyonanayo

Izanagi and Izanami on the Floating Bridge of Heaven (by William George Aston)

Izanagi: (□□□□□) was a creation deity; he makes up the seventh generation of the Kamiyonanayo, along with his wife and sister, Izanami.[1]

Izanami: (□□□□□) was a creation deity; she makes up the seventh generation of the Kamiyonanayo, along with her husband and brother, Izanagi.[1]

Kuninotokotachi (□□□□□) was a deity classified as a hitorigami. He was, by himself, the first generation of the Kamiyonanayo. He was considered one of the first two gods, according to the Kojiki, or one of the first three gods, according to the Nihongi.[2]

Omodaru and Ayakashikone: (□□□□□ and □□□□□□□) Sixth generation of the Kamiyonanayo.[3]

Otonoji and Otonobe: (□□□□□□ and □□□□□) Fifth generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Toyokumono: (□□□□) was a hitorigami, and constituted the second generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Tsunuguhi and Ikuguhi: (□□□ and □□□) Fourth generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Uhijini and Suhijini: (□□□□ and □□□□□) Third generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Major kami

The Amaterasu-Ōmikami emerges from the Heavenly Rock Cave Shunsai Toshimasa [ja] (□□□□)

Amaterasu-Ōmikami (□□□□), she is the goddess of the sun as well as the purported ancestress of the Imperial Household of Japan. Her name means "Shines from Heaven" or "the great kami who shine Heaven". For many reasons, one among them being her ties to the Imperial family, she is often considered (though not officially) to be the "primary god" of Shinto.[4][5]

Ame-no-Uzume (□□□□□ or □□□□) Commonly called Uzume, she is the goddess of dawn and revelry in Shinto.[6]

Fūjin (□□) Also known as Kaze-no-kami, he is the Japanese god of the wind and one of the eldest Shinto gods, said to have been present at the creation of the world. He is often depicted as an oni with a bag slung over his back.

Hachiman (□□□) is the god of war and the divine protector of Japan and its people. Originally an agricultural deity, he later became the guardian of the Minamoto clan. His symbolic animal and messenger is the dove.

Inari Ōkami (□□□□) The god or goddess of rice and fertility. Their messengers and symbolic animal are foxes. They are often identified with Ukanomitama and Buddhist deity Dakiniten.[7]

Ninigi-no-Mikoto (□□□□) Commonly called Ninigi, he was the grandson of Amaterasu. His great-grandson was Kan'yamato Iwarebiko, later known as Emperor Jimmu, the first emperor of Japan.

Ōkuninushi (□□□) A god of nation-building, farming, business, and medicine.

Omoikane (□□) The deity of wisdom and intelligence, who is always called upon to "ponder" and give good counsel in the deliberations of the heavenly deities.

Ōmononushi (□□□□) in the Nihongi, Ōmononushi was considered an alternate name for Ōkuninushi. But, it appears that the two were separate kami.[8]

Raijin (□□) is the god of thunder and lightning and is often paired with Fūjin. As with the latter, Raijin is usually depicted as an oni.

Ryūjin (□□) Some traditions consider him and Ōwatatsumi as the same god. He is a dragon, as well as god of the sea.[9]

Suijin (□□) The god of water.

Susanoo-no-Mikoto (□□□□□ or □□□□) is a god of storms, as well as the ruler of the sea in some cases. He is also somewhat of a trickster god, as Japanese mythology extensively documents the "sibling rivalry" between him and Amaterasu. Susanoo was also responsible for the slaying of the monster Yamata no Orochi and the subsequent discovery of the sacred sword Kusanagi.[10]

Takemikazuchi, (□□□/□□□) known as a god of thunder and the god of swords.

Takeminakata, (□□□□) god of wind, water and agriculture, as well as a patron of hunting and warfare.

Toyotama-hime (□□□) was the daughter of Ryūjin and the grandmother of Emperor Jimmu. It is said that after she gave birth to her son, she turned into a dragon and disappeared.

Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto (□□□ or □□□□) is the god of the moon. He killed Ukemochi, out of disgust and anger in the way she had prepared a meal. This caused Amaterasu never to face him again, causing the sun and moon to be in different parts of the sky.

Yatagarasu (□□□) is an incarnation of the sun and the guide of Emperor Jimmu.

Minor kami

Ajisukitakahikone (□□□□□□□□) is a kami of agriculture and thunder.

Amanozako (□□□)

Amatsuhikone, considered the third son of Amaterasu.[11]

Amatsumara (□□□□), the kami of iron-working.[12]

Amatsu-Mikaboshi (□□□□), the kami of stars who existed before the Kotoamatsukami.

Amenohoakari, (□□□□) a sun and agriculture god.

Ame-no-hohi (□□□□, □□□□) considered the second son of Amaterasu.[13]

Ame-no-Koyane (□□□□ or □□□□□) A male deity, he is considered the "First in Charge of Divine Affairs," as well as the aide to the first Emperor of Japan.[14] He is also considered to be the ancestor of the Fujiwara family.

Ame-no-Naemasu (□□□□), said to be son of Futsunushi.

Ame-no-oshihomimi (□□□□□)

Ame-no-Tajikarao (□□□□□□□□), in some traditions, is the kami that pulls Amaterasu out of Ama-no-Iwato.[15]

Ame-no-wakahiko (□□□□, □□□) God of grains.

Atago Gongen (□□□□)

Azumi-no-isora (□□□□) is a kami of the seashore. He is considered to be the ancestor of the Azumi people.

Dojin (□□), is a Japanese god of earth, land, and/or soil.[citation needed]

Futodama (□□□□) is a kami who performed a divination when Amaterasu hid in a cave.[16]

Futsunushi (□□□□) Main deity at Katori Shrine.

Haniyasu no kami, two deities born from Izanami's feces.[17]

Hoderi (□□□) was a deity of the bounty of the sea and enchanted fisherman.

Hoori (□□□)

Isetsuhiko (□□□□□), a god of the wind.

Ishikori-dome no Mikoto (□□□□), the god of metalworking.

Kagu-tsuchi (□□□□), the kami of fire.[18]

Kajin (□□), is a god of fire.[citation needed]

Kanayago-kami/Kanayako-kami (□□□□), a Kami of metal and metalworking, who, as believed by blacksmiths, lives mainly in the Chūgoku Region. Similar to Inari, Kanayago can be either male or female.

Kawaya no Kami, kami of the toilet.[19]

Kawa-no-Kami, a god of rivers.[20]

Kaya-no-hime, the goddess of vegetation, grass and fields.

Kisshōten (□□□), goddess of good fortune;[21] also known as Kichijōten, Kisshoutennyo (□□□□), and as Kudokuten (□□□), Kisshōten is the Shinto adaption, via Buddhism, from the Hindu goddess, Lakshmi.

Kōjin (□□□□), is the god of fire, the hearth, and the kitchen.

Konjin (□□)

Kotoshironushi (□□□□)

Kuebiko (□□□□), the god of knowledge and agriculture, represented in Japanese mythology as a scarecrow who cannot walk but has comprehensive awareness.

Kukunochi, believed to be the ancestor of trees.[22]

Kukurihime no Kami (□□□□), a goddess enshrined at Shirayama Hime Shrine.

Kuraokami (□□) is a legendary Japanese dragon and Shinto deity of rain and snow.

Kushinadahime

Kuzuryū, minor water deity.[21]

Mizuhanome, water kami.[23]

Moreya (□□□)

Nakisawame, kami born from Izanagi's tears after his wife's death.[24]

Nesaku, a star god.[21]

Oshirasama (□□□□)

Sarutahiko Ōkami (□□□□□), a kami of the Earth that guided Ninigi to the Japanese islands.

Seidai Myōjin, god of sports, enshrined at Shiramine Jingū in Kyoto, especially worshipped for kemari and football.

Shinatsuhiko, a kami of wind.[25]

Sukuna-Biko-Na (□□□□□) A small deity of medicine and rain, who created and solidified the land with Ōkuninushi.

Sumiyoshi sanjin, the gods of the sea and sailing.

Tajimamori (□□□□), god who obtained the tokijiku no kagu no mi in Tokoyo-no-kuni, and hailed as "god of wagashi" (sweets, confections).

Tamanoya-no-Mikoto, a kami believed to be the creator of Yasakani no Magatama.[26]

Takitsuhiko a kami believed to bring forth rain.[27]

Tamayori-hime, mother of Emperor Jimmu.[28]

Ta-no-Kami (□□□), is a kami who is believed to observe the harvest of rice plants or to bring a good harvest, by Japanese farmers.

Tatsuta-hime and Tatsuta-hiko, pair of wind kami who bring forth autumn.[29]

Nigihayahi-no-mikoto (□□□□)

Toyouke-Ōmikami, goddess of food. She is also the daughter of Wakumusubi.[30]

Tsugenoinagi, a kami of ice.

Ugajin, a harvest and fertility kami represented with the body of a snake and head of a man or woman. They may be derived from Ukanomitama.

Ugayafukiaezu, the father of Japan's first emperor.[31]

Ukanomitama, a kami associated with food and agriculture.[32]

Ukemochi (□□□), is considered a goddess of food. After she vomited out various types of food, she was killed by a disgusted Tsukuyomi or Susanoo.[33]

Wakahiru-me, a kami of the rising sun,[34] considered the daughter or younger sister of Amaterasu.[35]

Wakumusubi, a kami of agriculture.

Watatsumi is considered by some traditions to be the same god as Ryujin.[9]

Yama-no-Kami

Main article: Yama-no-Kami

Konohanasakuya-hime (□□□□□□), the wife of Ninigi and daughter of Ōyamatsumi, and great-grandmother of Jimmu. She is also known as the goddess of Mount Fuji.[36]

Omonoimi no Kami (□□□□), god of Mount Chōkai, worshipped at Chōkaisan Ōmonoimi Shrine, identified with Toyouke-hime

Ōyamatsumi (□□□□), an elder brother of Amaterasu, and an important god of mountains. Also the father of Konohanasakuya-hime.

People worshipped as kami

Main article: List of people who have been considered deities

This section includes historical people worshipped as kami.

Emperor Jimmu (□□□□) the first emperor. Enshrined at Kashihara Shrine.

Emperor Meiji (□□□□), and Empress Shōken (□□□□□). Enshrined at Meiji Shrine.

Oda Nobunaga (□□□□) enshrined at Kenkun-jinja.

Shōtoku Taishi was sometimes worshipped by Shintoists in Prince's Hall (□□□ Taishido) as the Kami of building trade and easy birth, like in the Hokai-ji of Kamakura.

Tenjin (□□) The god of scholarship, he is the deified Sugawara no Michizane. Subsequent disasters in Heiankyo were attributed to his angered spirit.[37]

Tokugawa Ieyasu (□□□□) enshrined at Nikkō Tōshō-gū and similar shrines.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (□□□□) enshrined at Toyokuni-jinja.

All Emperors and Empresses of Japan are technically worshipped because of their descent from Amaterasu Ōmikami, but there are many esteemed and highly revered ones who are not enshrined.

Buddhism

Further information: Japanese Buddhist pantheon

Aizen Myō-ō (□□□□), a Wisdom King known to transform earthly desires (love/lust) into spiritual awakening.

Amida Nyorai (□□□□ or □□□□), commonly referred to as Amida-butsu (□□□□□), he is the primary Buddha of the Pure Land school of Buddhism. He is believed to possess infinite meritorious qualities and is known as

the "Lord of the Beyond and the Afterlife." He is one of the Five Dhyani Buddhas.

Daruma (□□), traditionally held in Buddhist mythology to be the founder of Zen Buddhism, as well as the founder of Shaolin Kung Fu. One legend reports that after years of facing a wall in meditation, Bodhidharma's legs and arms fall off due to atrophy. Daruma dolls were created in honor of this legend.

Fudō Myōō (□□□□), a fierce and wrathful Wisdom King who protects all by burning away impediments and defilements, and aiding them towards enlightenment.

Idaten (□□□), guardian of Buddhist monasteries and monks.

Jizō (□□), a Bodhisattva known as the protector of the vulnerable, especially children, travelers, and expectant mothers. He is also regarded as the patron deity of deceased children and aborted fetuses and the savior of hell-beings. His statues are a common sight, especially by roadsides and in graveyards.

Kangiten, god (deva) of bliss.

Kannon (□□), a Bodhisattva associated with compassion. Commonly known in English as the "Goddess of Mercy."

Yakushi Nyorai (□□□□), a Buddha known for healing and medicine.

Seven Lucky Gods

Main article: Seven Lucky Gods

The Seven Lucky Gods (by Yoshitoshi)

The Seven Lucky Gods (□□□, Shichi Fukujin) are:

Benzaiten (□□□ or □□□) Also known as Benten or Benzaitennyo, she is the goddess of everything that flows: words (and knowledge, by extension), speech, eloquence, and music. Said to be the third daughter of the

dragon-king of Munetsuchi, over the course of years, she has gone from being a protective deity of Japan to one who bestows good fortune upon the state and its people. She was derived from Saraswati, the equivalent Hindu goddess.[38]

Bishamonten (□□□□) Also called Bishamon or Tamonten, he is the god of fortunate warriors and guards, as well as the punisher of criminals. Said to live halfway down the side of Mount Sumeru, the small pagoda he carries symbolizes the divine treasure house that he both guards and gives away its contents. Bishamonten is the Japanese equivalent of the Indian Kubera and the Buddhist Vaishravana.[39][40]

Daikokuten (□□□) Often shortened to simply Daikoku, he is variously considered to be the god of wealth (more specifically, the harvest), or of the household (particularly the kitchen). He is recognized by his wide face, smile, and flat black hat. He is often portrayed holding a golden mallet, seated on bales of rice, with mice nearby (which signify plentiful food). He was derived from Mahākāla, the buddhist version of the Hindu deity Shiva.

Ebisu (□□□, □□□, □ or □) The sole member of the gods believed to have originated in Japan, he was originally known as Hiruko (□□), the first child of Izanagi and Izanami. Said to be born without bones, he eventually overcame his handicaps to become the mirthful and auspicious Ebisu (hence one of his titles, "The Laughing God"). He is often depicted holding a rod and a large red sea bream or sea bass. Jellyfish are also associated with this god, and the fugu restaurants of Japan will often incorporate Yebisu in their motif.

Fukurokuju (□□□) Often confused with Jurōjin, he is the god of wisdom and longevity and said to be an incarnation of the Southern Polestar. He is a star god accompanied by a crane and a turtle, which are considered to be symbols of longevity, and also sometimes accompanied by a black deer. The sacred book tied to his staff is said to contain the lifespan of every person on Earth.

Hotei (□□) Best known in the Western world as the Laughing Buddha, Hotei is likely the most popular of the gods. His image graces many temples, restaurants and amulets. Originally based on a Chinese Chan monk, Hotei has become a deity of contentment and abundance.

Jurōjin (□□□) Also known as Gama, he represents longevity. He is often seen with a fan and a staff and accompanied by a black deer.

The goddess Kichijōten (□□□), also known as Kisshoutennyo, is sometimes considered to be one of the seven gods,[41] replacing either Jurōjin or Fukurokuju.[42] She embodies happiness, fertility and beauty. Daikoku sometimes manifests as a female known as Daikokunyo (□□□) or Daikokutennyo (□□□□).[43]

When Kisshoutennyo is counted among the seven Fukujin[42] and Daikoku is regarded in feminine form, [43] all three of the Hindu Tridevi goddesses are represented in the Fukujin.

See also

Binbōgami

Family tree of Japanese deities

Glossary of Shinto

Hitorigami

Kamiumi

Kunado-no-Kami

List of legendary creatures from Japan

Mishaguji

Munakata Taisha

Shinigami

Yakusanoikazuchi: Thunder deities born from Izanami's body

Zhong Kui

Zuijin

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Mythic texts

FudokiKogo ShūiKojikiKonjaku MonogatarishūKujikiNihon RyōikiNihon Shoki

Divinities

AmaterasuAme-no-UzumeInari IzanagiIzanamiKamiMyōjinSeven Lucky GodsSusanooTsukuyomi

Legendary creatures and urban legends

KitsuneOniOnryōTenguYōkaiYūrei

Mythical and sacred locations

IzumoJigokuMount FujiMount HieiRyūgū-jōTakamagaharaYomi

Sacred objects

Ame-no-NubokoKusanagiTonbokiri

Three Sacred Treasures

Shintō and Buddhism

Bon FestivalEmaSetsubunTorii

Buddhist templesShinto shrines

vte

Part of a series on

Shinto

Shinto

Beliefs

Major kami

Important literature

Shinto shrines

Practices

See also

icon Religion portal

vte

This is a list of divinities native to Japanese beliefs and religious traditions. Many of these are from Shinto, while others were imported via Buddhism and were "integrated" into Japanese mythology and folklore.

Kotoamatsukami

Further information: Kotoamatsukami

Amenominakanushi (□□□□□□) – Central Master

Takamimusubi (□□□□□□) – High Creator

Kamimusubi (□□□□□) – Divine Creator

Umashi'ashikabihikoji (□□□□□□□□□□□) – Energy/Chaos

Amenotokotachi (□□□□□) – Heaven

Kamiyonanayo

Main article: Kamiyonanayo

Izanagi and Izanami on the Floating Bridge of Heaven (by William George Aston)

Izanagi: (□□□□□) was a creation deity; he makes up the seventh generation of the Kamiyonanayo, along with his wife and sister, Izanami.[1]

Izanami: (□□□□□) was a creation deity; she makes up the seventh generation of the Kamiyonanayo, along with her husband and brother, Izanagi.[1]

Kuninotokotachi (□□□□□) was a deity classified as a hitorigami. He was, by himself, the first generation of the Kamiyonanayo. He was considered one of the first two gods, according to the Kojiki, or one of the first three gods, according to the Nihongi.[2]

Omodaru and Ayakashikone: (□□□□□ and □□□□□□□) Sixth generation of the Kamiyonanayo.[3]

Otonoji and Otonobe: (□□□□□□ and □□□□□) Fifth generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Toyokumono: (□□□□) was a hitorigami, and constituted the second generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Tsunuguhi and Ikuguhi: (□□□ and □□□) Fourth generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Uhijini and Suhijini: (□□□□ and □□□□□) Third generation of the Kamiyonanayo.

Major kami

The Amaterasu-Ōmikami emerges from the Heavenly Rock Cave Shunsai Toshimasa [ja] (□□□□)

Amaterasu-Ōmikami (□□□□), she is the goddess of the sun as well as the purported ancestress of the Imperial Household of Japan. Her name means "Shines from Heaven" or "the great kami who shine Heaven". For many reasons, one among them being her ties to the Imperial family, she is often considered (though not officially) to be the "primary god" of Shinto.[4][5]

Ame-no-Uzume (□□□□□ or □□□□) Commonly called Uzume, she is the goddess of dawn and revelry in Shinto.[6]

Fūjin (□□) Also known as Kaze-no-kami, he is the Japanese god of the wind and one of the eldest Shinto gods, said to have been present at the creation of the world. He is often depicted as an oni with a bag slung over his back.

Hachiman (□□□) is the god of war and the divine protector of Japan and its people. Originally an agricultural deity, he later became the guardian of the Minamoto clan. His symbolic animal and messenger is the dove.

Inari Ōkami (□□□□) The god or goddess of rice and fertility. Their messengers and symbolic animal are foxes. They are often identified with Ukanomitama and Buddhist deity Dakiniten.[7]

Ninigi-no-Mikoto (□□□□) Commonly called Ninigi, he was the grandson of Amaterasu. His great-grandson was Kan'yamato Iwarebiko, later known as Emperor Jimmu, the first emperor of Japan.

Ōkuninushi (□□□) A god of nation-building, farming, business, and medicine.

Omoikane (□□) The deity of wisdom and intelligence, who is always called upon to "ponder" and give good counsel in the deliberations of the heavenly deities.

Ōmononushi (□□□□) in the Nihongi, Ōmononushi was considered an alternate name for Ōkuninushi. But, it appears that the two were separate kami.[8]

Raijin (□□) is the god of thunder and lightning and is often paired with Fūjin. As with the latter, Raijin is usually depicted as an oni.

Ryūjin (□□) Some traditions consider him and Ōwatatsumi as the same god. He is a dragon, as well as god of the sea.[9]

Suijin (□□) The god of water.

Susanoo-no-Mikoto (□□□□□ or □□□□) is a god of storms, as well as the ruler of the sea in some cases. He is also somewhat of a trickster god, as Japanese mythology extensively documents the "sibling rivalry" between him and Amaterasu. Susanoo was also responsible for the slaying of the monster Yamata no Orochi and the subsequent discovery of the sacred sword Kusanagi.[10]

Takemikazuchi, (□□□/□□□) known as a god of thunder and the god of swords.

Takeminakata, (□□□□) god of wind, water and agriculture, as well as a patron of hunting and warfare.

Toyotama-hime (□□□) was the daughter of Ryūjin and the grandmother of Emperor Jimmu. It is said that after she gave birth to her son, she turned into a dragon and disappeared.

Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto (□□□ or □□□□) is the god of the moon. He killed Ukemochi, out of disgust and anger in the way she had prepared a meal. This caused Amaterasu never to face him again, causing the sun and moon to be in different parts of the sky.

Yatagarasu (□□□) is an incarnation of the sun and the guide of Emperor Jimmu.

Minor kami

Ajisukitakahikone (□□□□□□□□) is a kami of agriculture and thunder.

Amanozako (□□□)

Amatsuhikone, considered the third son of Amaterasu.[11]

Amatsumara (□□□□), the kami of iron-working.[12]

Amatsu-Mikaboshi (□□□□), the kami of stars who existed before the Kotoamatsukami.

Amenohoakari, (□□□□) a sun and agriculture god.

Ame-no-hohi (□□□□, □□□□) considered the second son of Amaterasu.[13]

Ame-no-Koyane (□□□□ or □□□□□) A male deity, he is considered the "First in Charge of Divine Affairs," as well as the aide to the first Emperor of Japan.[14] He is also considered to be the ancestor of the Fujiwara family.

Ame-no-Naemasu (□□□□), said to be son of Futsunushi.

Ame-no-oshihomimi (□□□□□)

Ame-no-Tajikarao (□□□□□□□□), in some traditions, is the kami that pulls Amaterasu out of Ama-no-Iwato.[15]

Ame-no-wakahiko (□□□□, □□□) God of grains.

Atago Gongen (□□□□)

Azumi-no-isora (□□□□) is a kami of the seashore. He is considered to be the ancestor of the Azumi people.

Dojin (□□), is a Japanese god of earth, land, and/or soil.[citation needed]

Futodama (□□□□) is a kami who performed a divination when Amaterasu hid in a cave.[16]

Futsunushi (□□□□) Main deity at Katori Shrine.

Haniyasu no kami, two deities born from Izanami's feces.[17]

Hoderi (□□□) was a deity of the bounty of the sea and enchanted fisherman.

Hoori (□□□)

Isetsuhiko (□□□□□), a god of the wind.

Ishikori-dome no Mikoto (□□□□), the god of metalworking.

Kagu-tsuchi (□□□□), the kami of fire.[18]

Kajin (□□), is a god of fire.[citation needed]

Kanayago-kami/Kanayako-kami (□□□□), a Kami of metal and metalworking, who, as believed by blacksmiths, lives mainly in the Chūgoku Region. Similar to Inari, Kanayago can be either male or female.

Kawaya no Kami, kami of the toilet.[19]

Kawa-no-Kami, a god of rivers.[20]

Kaya-no-hime, the goddess of vegetation, grass and fields.

Kisshōten (□□□), goddess of good fortune;[21] also known as Kichijōten, Kisshoutennyo (□□□□), and as Kudokuten (□□□), Kisshōten is the Shinto adaption, via Buddhism, from the Hindu goddess, Lakshmi.

Kōjin (□□□□), is the god of fire, the hearth, and the kitchen.

Konjin (□□)

Kotoshironushi (□□□□)

Kuebiko (□□□□), the god of knowledge and agriculture, represented in Japanese mythology as a scarecrow who cannot walk but has comprehensive awareness.

Kukunochi, believed to be the ancestor of trees.[22]

Kukurihime no Kami (□□□□), a goddess enshrined at Shirayama Hime Shrine.

Kuraokami (□□) is a legendary Japanese dragon and Shinto deity of rain and snow.

Kushinadahime

Kuzuryū, minor water deity.[21]

Mizuhanome, water kami.[23]

Moreya (□□□)

Nakisawame, kami born from Izanagi's tears after his wife's death.[24]

Nesaku, a star god.[21]

Oshirasama (□□□□)

Sarutahiko Ōkami (□□□□□), a kami of the Earth that guided Ninigi to the Japanese islands.

Seidai Myōjin, god of sports, enshrined at Shiramine Jingū in Kyoto, especially worshipped for kemari and football.

Shinatsuhiko, a kami of wind.[25]

Sukuna-Biko-Na (□□□□□) A small deity of medicine and rain, who created and solidified the land with Ōkuninushi.

Sumiyoshi sanjin, the gods of the sea and sailing.

Tajimamori (□□□□), god who obtained the tokijiku no kagu no mi in Tokoyo-no-kuni, and hailed as "god of wagashi" (sweets, confections).

Tamanoya-no-Mikoto, a kami believed to be the creator of Yasakani no Magatama.[26]

Takitsuhiko a kami believed to bring forth rain.[27]

Tamayori-hime, mother of Emperor Jimmu.[28]

Ta-no-Kami (□□□), is a kami who is believed to observe the harvest of rice plants or to bring a good harvest, by Japanese farmers.

Tatsuta-hime and Tatsuta-hiko, pair of wind kami who bring forth autumn.[29]

Nigihayahi-no-mikoto (□□□□)

Toyouke-Ōmikami, goddess of food. She is also the daughter of Wakumusubi.[30]

Tsugenoinagi, a kami of ice.

Ugajin, a harvest and fertility kami represented with the body of a snake and head of a man or woman. They may be derived from Ukanomitama.

Ugayafukiaezu, the father of Japan's first emperor.[31]

Ukanomitama, a kami associated with food and agriculture.[32]

Ukemochi (□□□), is considered a goddess of food. After she vomited out various types of food, she was killed by a disgusted Tsukuyomi or Susanoo.[33]

Wakahiru-me, a kami of the rising sun,[34] considered the daughter or younger sister of Amaterasu.[35]

Wakumusubi, a kami of agriculture.

Watatsumi is considered by some traditions to be the same god as Ryujin.[9]

Yama-no-Kami

Main article: Yama-no-Kami

Konohanasakuya-hime (□□□□□□), the wife of Ninigi and daughter of Ōyamatsumi, and great-grandmother of Jimmu. She is also known as the goddess of Mount Fuji.[36]

Omonoimi no Kami (□□□□), god of Mount Chōkai, worshipped at Chōkaisan Ōmonoimi Shrine, identified with Toyouke-hime

Ōyamatsumi (□□□□), an elder brother of Amaterasu, and an important god of mountains. Also the father of Konohanasakuya-hime.

People worshipped as kami

Main article: List of people who have been considered deities

This section includes historical people worshipped as kami.

Emperor Jimmu (□□□□) the first emperor. Enshrined at Kashihara Shrine.

Emperor Meiji (□□□□), and Empress Shōken (□□□□□). Enshrined at Meiji Shrine.

Oda Nobunaga (□□□□) enshrined at Kenkun-jinja.

Shōtoku Taishi was sometimes worshipped by Shintoists in Prince's Hall (□□□ Taishido) as the Kami of building trade and easy birth, like in the Hokai-ji of Kamakura.

Tenjin (□□) The god of scholarship, he is the deified Sugawara no Michizane. Subsequent disasters in Heiankyo were attributed to his angered spirit.[37]

Tokugawa Ieyasu (□□□□) enshrined at Nikkō Tōshō-gū and similar shrines.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (□□□□) enshrined at Toyokuni-jinja.

All Emperors and Empresses of Japan are technically worshipped because of their descent from Amaterasu Ōmikami, but there are many esteemed and highly revered ones who are not enshrined.

Buddhism

Further information: Japanese Buddhist pantheon

Aizen Myō-ō (□□□□), a Wisdom King known to transform earthly desires (love/lust) into spiritual awakening.

Amida Nyorai (□□□□ or □□□□), commonly referred to as Amida-butsu (□□□□□), he is the primary Buddha of the Pure Land school of Buddhism. He is believed to possess infinite meritorious qualities and is known as the "Lord of the Beyond and the Afterlife." He is one of the Five Dhyani Buddhas.

Daruma (□□), traditionally held in Buddhist mythology to be the founder of Zen Buddhism, as well as the founder of Shaolin Kung Fu. One legend reports that after years of facing a wall in meditation, Bodhidharma's legs and arms fall off due to atrophy. Daruma dolls were created in honor of this legend.

Fudō Myōō (□□□□), a fierce and wrathful Wisdom King who protects all by burning away impediments and defilements, and aiding them towards enlightenment.

Idaten (□□□), guardian of Buddhist monasteries and monks.

Jizō (□□), a Bodhisattva known as the protector of the vulnerable, especially children, travelers, and expectant mothers. He is also regarded as the patron deity of deceased children and aborted fetuses and the savior of hell-beings. His statues are a common sight, especially by roadsides and in graveyards.

Kangiten, god (deva) of bliss.

Kannon (□□), a Bodhisattva associated with compassion. Commonly known in English as the "Goddess of Mercy."

Yakushi Nyorai (□□□□), a Buddha known for healing and medicine.

Seven Lucky Gods

Main article: Seven Lucky Gods

The Seven Lucky Gods (by Yoshitoshi)

The Seven Lucky Gods (□□□, Shichi Fukujin) are:

Benzaiten (□□□ or □□□) Also known as Benten or Benzaitennyo, she is the goddess of everything that flows: words (and knowledge, by extension), speech, eloquence, and music. Said to be the third daughter of the dragon-king of Munetsuchi, over the course of years, she has gone from being a protective deity of Japan to one who bestows good fortune upon the state and its people. She was derived from Saraswati, the equivalent Hindu goddess.[38]

Bishamonten (□□□□) Also called Bishamon or Tamonten, he is the god of fortunate warriors and guards, as well as the punisher of criminals. Said to live halfway down the side of Mount Sumeru, the small pagoda he carries symbolizes the divine treasure house that he both guards and gives away its contents. Bishamonten is the Japanese equivalent of the Indian Kubera and the Buddhist Vaishravana.[39][40]

Daikokuten (□□□) Often shortened to simply Daikoku, he is variously considered to be the god of wealth (more specifically, the harvest), or of the household (particularly the kitchen). He is recognized by his wide face, smile, and flat black hat. He is often portrayed holding a golden mallet, seated on bales of rice, with mice nearby (which signify plentiful food). He was derived from Mahākāla, the buddhist version of the Hindu deity Shiva.

Ebisu (□□□, □□□, □ or □) The sole member of the gods believed to have originated in Japan, he was originally known as Hiruko (□□), the first child of Izanagi and Izanami. Said to be born without bones, he eventually overcame his handicaps to become the mirthful and auspicious Ebisu (hence one of his titles, "The Laughing God"). He is often depicted holding a rod and a large red sea bream or sea bass. Jellyfish are also associated with this god, and the fugu restaurants of Japan will often incorporate Yebisu in their motif.

Fukurokuju (□□□) Often confused with Jurōjin, he is the god of wisdom and longevity and said to be an incarnation of the Southern Polestar. He is a star god accompanied by a crane and a turtle, which are considered to be symbols of longevity, and also sometimes accompanied by a black deer. The sacred book tied to his staff is said to contain the lifespan of every person on Earth.

Hotei (□□) Best known in the Western world as the Laughing Buddha, Hotei is likely the most popular of the gods. His image graces many temples, restaurants and amulets. Originally based on a Chinese Chan monk, Hotei has become a deity of contentment and abundance.

Jurōjin (□□□) Also known as Gama, he represents longevity. He is often seen with a fan and a staff and accompanied by a black deer.

The goddess Kichijōten (□□□), also known as Kisshoutennyo, is sometimes considered to be one of the seven gods,[41] replacing either Jurōjin or Fukurokuju.[42] She embodies happiness, fertility and beauty. Daikoku sometimes manifests as a female known as Daikokunyo (□□□) or Daikokutennyo (□□□□).[43] When Kisshoutennyo is counted among the seven Fukujin[42] and Daikoku is regarded in feminine form,[43] all three of the Hindu Tridevi goddesses are represented in the Fukujin.

See also

Binbōgami

Family tree of Japanese deities

Glossary of Shinto

Hitorigami

Kamiumi

Kunado-no-Kami

List of legendary creatures from Japan

Mishaguji

Munakata Taisha

Shinigami

Yakusanoikazuchi: Thunder deities born from Izanami's body

Zhong Kui

Zuijin

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Glossary: "kana" – Encyclopedia of Shinto

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Lists of mythological figures

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Major kami

Important literature

Shinto shrines

Practices

See also

icon Religion portal

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The Engishiki (□□□; "Procedures of the Engi Era") is a Japanese book of laws and customs. The major part of the writing was completed in 927.[1]

History

Emperor Daigo ordered the compilation of the Engishiki in 905. Although previous attempts at codification are known to have taken place, neither the Konin nor the Jogan Gishiki[2] survive, making the Engishiki important for early Japanese historical and religious studies.[3]

Fujiwara no Tokihira began the task, but work stalled when he died four years later in 909. His brother Fujiwara no Tadahira continued the work in 912 eventually completing it in 927.[1]

While the Engishiki was presented to the throne in 927, it was not used as a basis for enacting policy until 967. Possible reasons for this delay in application include a need for it to be revised, the fact that it was

simply a record of already existing systems, and also that some of those systems functioned in name only.[4]

Contents

The text is 50 volumes in lengths and is organized by department:

volumes 1–10: Department of Worship: In addition to regulating ceremonials including Daijōsai (the first Niiname-sai following the accession of a new emperor) and worship at Ise Grand Shrine and Saikū, this section of the Engishiki recorded liturgical texts and 2,861 officially recognized Shinto shrines as well as 3,131 officially-recognized kami.[5]

volumes 11–40: Department of State and Eight Ministries

volumes 41–49: Other departments

volume 50: Miscellaneous laws

Engishiki Jinmyōchō

The Engishiki Jinmyōchō is the part of the Engishiki where the main shrines and kami of Japan are listed. Shrines listed in the Engishiki are referred to collectively as shikinaisha (□□□; "in Engishiki shrines") while shrines that existed at the time but were not included are called shikigesha (□□□; "out of Engishiki shrines").[6]

There are 2,861 shrines and 3,132 kami listed in the Engishiki, divided into four categories based on whether they were imperially or nationally run, and major or minor:[7]

Major imperial shrine (□□□□, kanpei taisha) - 198 shrines and 304 kami

Minor imperial shrine (□□□□, kanpei shōsha) - 375 in total and 433 kami

Major national shrine (□□□□, kokuhei taisha) - 155 in total and 188 kami

Minor national shrine (□□□□, kokuhei shōsha) - 2,133 in total and 2,207 kami

In addition to listing officially recognized shrines and kami, the Jinmyōchō notes 285 kami of those officially recognized as having the title of myōjin (□□) due to their particularly noteworthy power.[8]

Shrine lists

These are non-exhaustive lists of shrines of the given categories defined by the Engishiki

List of Myojin Taisha

Aso Shrine

Atsuta Shrine

Awa Shrine

Awaga Shrine

Chōkaisan Ōmonoimi Shrine

Dewa Shrine

Fujisan Hongū Sengen Taisha

Fushimi Inari-taisha

Futarasan shrine

Gassan Shrine

Hakozaki Shrine

Hikawa Shrine (Saitama)

Hinokuma Shrine

Hirano Shrine

Hiraoka Shrine

Hirose Taisha

Hirota Shrine

Hiyoshi Taisha

Hotaka Shrine

Ichinomiya Asama Shrine (Fuefuki)

Ichinomiya Sengen Shrine

Ichinomiya Shrine (Tokushima)

Ikonohime no Mikoto Shrine [simple; ja]

Ikukunitama Shrine

Ikushimatarushima Shrine

Ikuta Shrine

Imizu Shrine

Inbe Shrine

Isasumi Shrine

Isono Shrine

Isonokami Shrine

Itakiso shrine

Itsukushima Shrine

Iwa Shrine

Izanagi Shrine

Izumo-daijingū

Izumo-taisha

Izushi Shrine

Iyozu Hikomei Shrine [simple; ja]

Kaijin Shrine

Kamado Shrine

Kamigamo Shrine

Kanasana Shrine

Kashima Shrine

Kasuga-taisha

Katori Shrine

Kehi Shrine

Keta Jinja

Keta Taisha

Kibitsu Shrine (Bitchū)

Kibitsuhiko Shrine

Kifune Shrine

Kinpu Shrine (Yoshino)

Kono Shrine

Kōra taisha

Kumano Hongū Taisha

Kumano Taisha

Masumida Shrine

Matsunoo Taisha

Mikami Shrine

Mishima Taisha

Munakata Taisha

Nagata Shrine

Nakayama Shrine

Nangū Taisha

Niukawakami Shrine

Niutsuhime Shrine

Nukisaki Shrine

Ōasahiko Shrine

Oarai Shrine

Oarai Isosaki Shrine

Ōmiwa Shrine

Ōmiwa Shrine, Ichinomiya

Onji Shrine [ja]

Ōtori taisha

Ōyamato Shrine

Ōyamazumi Shrine

Sakatsura Isosaki Shrine

Samukawa Shrine

Shikaumi Shrine

Shimogamo Shrine

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Fukuoka)

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Shimonoseki)

Sumiyoshi-taisha

Suwa-taisha

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Iki City)

Takemizuwake Shrine [simple; ja]

Tagata Shrine

Take Shrine

Tashima Shrine

Tado Taisha

Takebe taisha

Tamasaki Shrine

Tamura Shrine

Tatsuta Taisha

Three Mountains of Dewa

Tsukiyomi Shrine (Kyoto)

Tsukubasan Shrine

Tsutsukowake Shrine

Ube Shrine

Umenomiya Taisha

Usa Jingū

Utsunomiya Futarayama Shrine

Wakasahiko Shrine

Watatsumi Shrine

Yahiko Shrine

Yamato Okunitama Shrine [simple]

List of Shikinai Taisha

Aekuni Shrine

Ikasuri Shrine

Ikoma Shrine

Isonozatakumushitama Shrine [ja]

Izawa-jinja

Izawa-no-miya

Kagoshima Shrine

Kumano Hayatama Taisha

Sasamuta Shrine

Shikiagatanushi Shrine [ja]

Susaki Shrine

Tosa Shrine

Uda Mikumari Shrine

Yoshino Mikumari Shrine

List of Shikinai Shosha

Atago Shrine

Chichibu Shrine

Chiryu Shrine [ja]

Dewa Shrine

Fuji Rokusho Sengen Shrine [ja]

Hirasaki Shrine

Iminomiya Shrine

Itatehyōzu Shrine

Izusan Shrine

Kamayama Shrine

Komagata Shrine

Miho Shrine

Minashi Shrine

Mononobe Shrine

Nunakuma Shrine

Ōgamiyama Shrine

Oguni shrine

Onominato Shrine [ja]

Owari Ōkunitama Shrine

Oyama Aburi Shrine [ja]

Oyama Shrine

Sada Shrine

Shirayama Hime Shrine

Shitori Shrine

Shizuoka Sengen Shrine

Sugo Ishibe Shrine [ja]

Susa Shrine

Taga-taisha

Takase Shrine

Tamanooya Shrine

Toga Shrine

Tsukubasan Shrine

Tsurugi Shrine [ja]

Tsuno Shrine

Watatsu Shrine

Yaegaki Shrine

See also

Japanese Historical Text Initiative

Ruijū Kokushi, a categorized and chronological history text of the Six National Histories

Historiography of Japan

Beppyo shrine

Ichinomiya

Kanpei-taisha

Taisha

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Contents hide

Beginning

History

Contents

Engishiki Jinmyōchō

Myōjin Taisha

Shikinai Taisha

Shikinai Shosha

Shikigeisha

Kokushi genzaisha

Shrine lists

List of Myōjin Taisha

List of Shikinai Taisha

List of Shikinai Shosha

List of Shikigeisha

List of Kokushi Gensaizha

See also

References

Further reading

External links

Engishiki

Page

Discussion

Read

Edit

Edit source

View history

Tools

Appearance hide

Text

Small

Standard

Large

Width

Standard

Wide

Japanese book about laws and customs

min:Engishiki

The Engishiki (□□□; "Procedures of the Engi Era") is a Japanese book about laws and customs. The major part of the writing was completed in 927.[1]

History

In 905, Emperor Daigo ordered the compilation of the Engishiki. Although previous attempts at codification are known to have taken place, neither the Konin nor the Jogan Gishiki[2] survive, making the Engishiki important for early Japanese historical and religious studies.[3] Fujiwara no Tokihira began the task, but work stalled when he died four years later in 909. His brother Fujiwara no Tadahira continued the work in 912 eventually completing it in 927.[1] After a number of revisions, the work was used as a basis for reform starting in 967.

Contents

The text is 50 volumes in lengths and is organized by department:

volumes 1–10: Department of Worship: In addition to regulating ceremonials including Daijyō-sai (the first Niiname-sai following the accession of a new emperor) and worship at Ise Grand Shrine and Saikū, this

section of the Engishiki recorded liturgical texts, listed all 2,861 Shinto shrines existing at the time, except for Shikigeisha and Kokushi genzaisha,[4] and listed the 3,131 officially-recognized and enshrined Kami.[5] Felicia Gressitt Bock published a two-volume annotated English language translation with an introduction entitled Engi-shiki; procedures of the Engi Era in 1970.

volumes 11–40: Department of State and Eight Ministries

volumes 41–49: Other departments

volume 50: Miscellaneous laws

Engishiki Jinmyōchō

Engishiki Jinmyōchō is a part of the Engishiki where the main shrines and gods of Japan are listed.[6] It is from it that many categorizations of Shinto shrines are found

Myōjin Taisha (□□□□) ones listed as especially significant.[7][8][9][10][11][12][13]

Shikinai Taisha (□□□□) another class

Shikinai Shosha (□□□□) minor shrines listed

Shikigeisha (□□□) ones that were ignored by both the Engishiki Jinmyōchō and the Rikkokushi

Kokushi genzaisha (□□□□□) ones in the Rikkokushi but not the Engishiki.[4][14][15][16]

Myōjin Taisha

Myōjin Taisha is a high Rank of a Shinto shrine.[7][8][9][10][11][12][13] These shrines are considered "great shrines" or "taisha" under the ancient system of shrine Rankings. Myōjin Taisha shrines are found throughout Japan, particularly in the Kyoto-Osaka region, including Yamashiro, Yamato, Ōmi, Mutsu, Tajima, and Kii provinces. There are 224 shrines that enshrine 310 kami listed as Myōjin Taisha in the Engishiki Jinmyōchō. Additionally, there are 203 shrines with 285 kami listed for Myojinsai or "festivals for famed deities" in book 3 of Engishiki. While most of the shrines in these two listings overlap, there are

some differences in names and numbers. There are several theories about these differences, but it is unclear why the lists differ.[7] Myōjin Taisha is one of the highest Ranks of Shinto shrines.[17] A related list is the Kokushi genzaisha (□□□□□) which refers to shrines which appear in the Rikkokushi (□□□) but not in the Engishiki[18]

Shikinai Taisha

Shikinai Taisha (□□□□) are shrines that are listed in volumes 9 and 10 of the "Engishiki" as Shinto shrines, also known as Shikinaisha, that are Ranked as major shrines. There are 492 of these shrines listed. This Category includes both the historical shrines and their modern equivalents. However, shrines that are designated as "Myōjin Taisha" are not included in this Category.

Shikinai Shosha

Shikinai Shosha (□□□□) are shrines listed in the Engishiki Jinmyōchō as minor shrines.

Shikigeisha

Shikigeisha (□□□) refers to Shinto shrines that were known to have existed in the early 10th century when the Engishiki Jinmyōchō was being written, but were not included in it. Shikigeisha, therefore, were considered "off-register" or "unofficial" shrines that were not recognized by the government as official state shrines. Shikigeisha can be further classified into various categories, including shrines outside the control of the imperial court, those with their own power and influence, shrines that integrated Buddhism into their practices, and shrines managed by Buddhist monks. Additionally, some Shikigeisha lacked proper formal shrine buildings. Shikigeisha contrast with Shikinaisha which are shrines that were recorded in the Engishiki. Kokushi genzaisha are a type of Shikigeisha which appear in the Rikkokushi.[4][14][15][16]

Kokushi genzaisha

Kokushi genzaisha (□□□□□) are a type of Shinto shrine. It means a shrine that appears in the Rikkokushi (□□□) but not in the Engishiki Jinmyōchō[4][14][15][16] The Rikkokushi or the Six Official Histories, includes Nihon shoki, Shoku nihongi, Nihon kōki, Shoku nihon kōki, Montoku jitsuroku, and Sandai jitsuroku. They chronicle the mythology and history of Japan from the earliest times to 887.[19] The six histories were written at the imperial court during the 8th and 9th centuries, under order of the Emperors.[20] Kokushi gensaisha are also called kokushi shozaisha or "shrines that appear in the Official Histories". This gives them a high level of historical significance. Some of the shrines listed in the Engishiki Jinmyōchō as Myōjin Taisha also overlap with the kokushi genzaisha, but the term usually refers to shrines that are only mentioned in the Official Histories.[4] □□ (Kokushi) means official history, □□ gensai means appearing and □ sha means shrine

Shrine lists

These are non-exhaustive lists of shrines of the given categories defined by the Engishiki

List of Myōjin Taisha

Aso Shrine

Atsuta Jingu

Awa Shrine

Awaga Shrine

Chōkaisan Ōmonoimi Shrine

Dewa Shrine

Fujisan Hongū Sengen Taisha

Fushimi Inari-taisha

Futarasan shrine

Gassan Shrine

Hakozaki Shrine

Hikawa Shrine (Saitama)

Hinokuma Shrine

Hirano Shrine

Hiraoka Shrine

Hirose Taisha

Hirota Shrine

Hiyoshi Taisha

Hotaka Shrine

Ichinomiya Asama Shrine (Fuefuki)

Ichinomiya Sengen Shrine

Ichinomiya Shrine (Tokushima)

Iyozuhiko-no-Mikoto Shrine

Ikukunitama Shrine

Ikushimatarushima Shrine

Ikuta Shrine

Imizu Shrine

Inbe Shrine

Isasumi Shrine

Isono Shrine

Isonokami Shrine

Itakiso shrine

Itsukushima Shrine

Iwa Shrine

Izanagi Shrine

Izumo-daijingū

Izumo-taisha

Izushi Shrine

Iyozuhiko-no-Mikoto Shrine

Kaijin Shrine

Kamado Shrine

Kamigamo Shrine

Kanasana Shrine

Kashima Shrine

Kasuga-taisha

Katori Shrine

Kehi Shrine

Keta Jinja

Keta Taisha

Kibitsu Shrine (Bitchū)

Kibitsuhiko Shrine

Kifune Shrine

Kinpu Shrine (Yoshino)

Kono Shrine

Kōra taisha

Kumano Hongū Taisha

Kumano Taisha

Masumida Shrine

Matsunoo Taisha

Mikami Shrine

Mishima Taisha

Munakata Taisha

Nagata Shrine

Nakayama Shrine

Nangū Taisha

Niukawakami Shrine

Niutsuhime Shrine

Nukisaki Shrine

Ōasahiko Shrine

Oarai Shrine

Oarai Isosaki Shrine

Ōmiwa Shrine

Ōmiwa Shrine, Ichinomiya

Onji Shrine

Ōtori taisha

Ōyamato Shrine

Ōyamazumi Shrine

Sakatsura Isosaki Shrine

Samukawa Shrine

Shikaumi Shrine

Shimogamo Shrine

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Fukuoka)

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Shimonoseki)

Sumiyoshi-taisha

Suwa-taisha

Sumiyoshi Shrine (Iki City)

Takemizuwake Shrine

Tagata Shrine

Take Shrine

Tashima Shrine

Tado Taisha

Takebe taisha

Tamasaki Shrine

Tamura Shrine

Tatsuta Taisha

Three Mountains of Dewa

Tsukiyomi Shrine (Kyoto)

Tsukubasan Shrine

Tsutsukowake Shrine

Ube Shrine

Umenomiya Taisha

Usa Jingū

Utsunomiya Futarayama Shrine

Wakasahiko Shrine

Watatsumi Shrine

Yahiko Shrine

Yamato Okunitama Shrine

List of Shikinai Taisha

Aekuni Shrine

Ikasuri Shrine

Ikoma Shrine

Iwazononiimasu Takumushitama Shrine

Izawa-jinja

Izawa-no-miya

Kagoshima Shrine

Kumano Hayatama Taisha

Sasamuta Shrine

Shikiagatanushi Shrine

Susaki Shrine

Tosa Shrine

Uda Mikumari Shrine

Yoshino Mikumari Shrine

List of Shikinai Shosha

Atago Shrine

Chichibu Shrine

Chiryu Shrine

Dewa Shrine

Fuji Rokusho Sengen Shrine

Hirasaki Shrine

Iminomiya Shrine

Itatehyōzu Shrine

Izusan Shrine

Kamayama Shrine

Komagata Shrine

Miho Shrine

Minashi Shrine

Mononobe Shrine

Nunakuma Shrine

Ōgamiyama Shrine

Oguni shrine

Onominato Shrine

Owari Ōkunitama Shrine

Ōyama Afuri Shrine

Oyama Shrine

Sada Shrine

Shirayama Hime Shrine

Shitori Shrine

Shizuoka Sengen Shrine

Sugo Ishibe Shrine

Susa Shrine

Taga-taisha

Takase Shrine

Tamanooya Shrine

Toga Shrine

Tsukubasan Shrine

Tsurugi Shrine

Tsuno Shrine

Watatsu Shrine

Yaegaki Shrine

List of Shikigeisha

Homori Shrine [Wikidata]

Iina Shrine

Kamoshimo Shrine

Karasu Shrine

Shiogama shrine

Takimatsurinokami [Wikidata]

Wakiko-hachimangū [Wikidata]

Yoshida Shrine

List of Kokushi Gensaizha

Akihasan Hongū Akiha Shrine

Hiromine Shrine

Inaba Shrine

Iwashimizu Hachimangū

Kaneda Castle

Kashii-gū

Keta Wakamiya Shrine

Kinowa Shrine

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Kushifuru Shrine

Ōharano Shrine

Oi Shrine

Omura Shrine

Shirahige Shrine

Takachiho Shrine

Tamukeyama Hachimangū

Tenson Shrine

Yasaka Shrine

See also

Japanese Historical Text Initiative

Ruijū Kokushi, a categorized and chronological history text of the Six National Histories

Historiography of Japan

Beppyo Shrine

Ichinomiya

Kanpei-taisha

Taisha

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3. Institutions and Administrative Practices

Ancient

Engishiki

Procedures of the Engi Era. Engishiki is a compendium of rules and procedures for implementing ritsu (penal codes), ryō (administrative codes), and kyaku (supplementary laws). It comprised fifty scrolls, and approximately three thousand and some hundreds of articles. Engishiki, the simultaneously compiled

Engikyaku, the previously issued Kōnin kyakushiki (820, hereafter Kōninshiki) and Jōgan kyakushiki (869-871, hereafter Jōganshiki) are collectively called the "kyakushiki of the three reigns" (sandai kyakushiki). Among these, only Engishiki is extant in nearly complete form. Because of its extremely detailed provisions, Engishiki is an excellent source concerning all matters related to aristocratic government in the Heian period. Following the order of Emperor Daigo (r. 897-930), compilation of Engishiki began in the eighth month of 905. It was completed and submitted to the sovereign twenty-two years later, in the twelfth month of 927. However, revisions were still being made, and Engishiki only went into effect forty years later, in the tenth month of 967. This delay was probably also due to the fact that since so much of the content of Engishiki was already mentioned in Kōninshiki and Jōganshiki, there was no need to hurry promulgation.

The chapters of Engishiki are arranged and distributed to correlate with the agencies of the ritsuryō bureaucracy (two councils and eight ministries): Chapters One through Ten deal with the Jingikan (Department of Divinities); Chapters Eleven through Forty, the Dajōkan (Council of State) and its eight ministries; Chapters Forty-one through Forty-nine, other offices, such as the Bureau of Royal Police and the Bureau of Military Storehouses; and Chapter Fifty, miscellaneous procedures. Rules concerning the Jingikan are voluminous and make up nearly one-third of Engishiki. Other ministries to which many rules and regulations pertain are the Ministry of Inner Palace Affairs (Nakatsukasashō), the Ministry of Popular Affairs (Mimbushō), and the Imperial Household Ministry (Kunaishō).

The contents of the first ten chapters on kami worship are as follows: Chapters One and Two, Rites of the Four Seasons; Chapter Three, Extraordinary Rites; Chapter Four, The Grand Shrines of Ise (Ise Jingū); Chapter Five, The Bureau of the Consecrated Princess (saigū); Chapter Six, The Office of the Consecrated Princess of the Kamo Shrines (saiin); Chapter Seven, The Succession and Great Rite of Tasting New Fruits (Daijōsai); Chapter Eight, Prayers to the kami (norito); and Chapters Nine and Ten, The Register of Deities (Jinmyōchō). The chapters on the Rites of the Four Seasons provide protocols for various annual festivals, especially rules on the variety and quantity of offerings. The chapter on Extraordinary Rites lists rules on offerings for unscheduled and occasionally performed rites such as those for the Thunder Deity Festival (kantoki no kami matsuri), focusing particularly on regulations pertaining to ritual materials. The chapter on the Grand Shrines of Ise lists regulations related to the Inner and Outer Shrines of Ise. The chapter on the saigū compiles procedures to be followed by the princess who served the deity of Ise, her consecrated palace, and the bureau that administered her office. The saiin chapter likewise deals with the princess who served the deities of the Kamo Shrines. The chapter on the Daijōsai provides a detailed set of protocols for this important rite, which was performed only once in an emperor's reign following his accession. The norito chapter lists twenty-seven prayers used for liturgical purposes. Finally, chapters nine and ten (the Jinmyōchō) list the names of "official shrines" (kansha) across the realm which received offerings from the

court at the annual spring festival, the Ki'nensai. There were two thousand eight hundred sixty-one such shrines, while the "heavenly and earthly deities" (tenjin chigi) enshrined in them numbered three thousand one hundred thirty-two. These shrines were enumerated by province and district. Shrines included in Engishiki prided themselves on their status as shikinaisha ("shrines listed in Engishiki ")。 The kokugaku (National Learning) scholars of the early modern period (Edo period, 1600-1868) focused their studies on Engishiki chapters concerning the norito, the Register of Deities, and royal mausoleums (in Chapter Twenty-one). Their commentaries on these chapters include Kamo no Mabuchi's Norito kō (On Norito), Suzuki Shigetane's Engishiki norito kōgi (Lectures on Engishiki Norito), and Ban Nobutomo's Jinmyōchō kōshō, (Studies on Jinmyōchō). Prior to these, aristocrats in the classical and the medieval periods honored and transmitted Engishiki because they saw it as their primary source for court protocols and annual rites.

— Takashio Hiroshi

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Aston, W. G.; Japan Society of London.

Published for the Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübrer & Co., Limited, London, 1896

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SHINTO SYMBOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

A symbol is an object, gesture, word, or anything which through relationship, association, convention, or accidental (not intentional) resemblance has acquired a special significance which causes it to suggest to the mind a certain person or persons, object, idea, etc. A symbol suggests or stands for something, usually, something quite different from the symbol itself. Its meaning depends entirely upon the knowledge and experience of the individual or group concerned. Where there has been no previous association in the mind between the symbol and the thing it suggests to the initiate, it is not symbolic. Thus, while to the initiate a symbol may have deep significance, to the novitiate or outsider it may have none at all.

To a person unfamiliar with Western history or Christianity, a cross probably has no special religious meaning. It is simply two beams of unequal length fastened together and set up in a special manner; but to a Saint Paul or a devout Christian believer it is fraught with meaning. The finger positions of the Great Buddha in Kamakura are merely interesting to the Westerner until he learns that finger positions have esoteric meanings in Buddhism, and those of the Kamakura Buddha mean "entered into meditation." People often interpret the same symbol differently. The Japanese flag with the flaming beams spreading from the center to the edge meant one thing to Japanese soldiers, and quite another to the Americans.

Furthermore the same flag today presumably means something quite different from what it formerly meant. Thus objects, which to a Westerner are symbolic, may not be so regarded by the Japanese, and conversely, things which are symbolic to the Japanese may have no meaning at all for Westerners unfamiliar with Japan and its customs.

In considering Shinto symbols a distinction must be made between objects which are symbolic of Shinto and objects that are only used symbolically. The garb of a Shinto priest, for example, identifies the individual as a priest. If one knows enough about Shinto it may also indicate the priest's rank, but within Shinto the garb itself has no symbolic or mystic meaning. Thus the costume of a priest identifies him as belonging to Shinto, but it is not used symbolically. Distinguishing characteristics useful for identification may, or may not, be symbolic of Shinto itself.

Shinto symbols in general are of two kinds : symbols of the kami and symbols of the faith ; but a clear distinction is not always possible. The first group considered in this study includes man, animals, objects of nature, crests, sacred vessels, tablets, charms, etc. ; the second includes Shinto structures and equipment, ceremonial practices, sacred music, dances, costumes, oblations and offerings, sacred vessels, and festivals ; the third group consists of crests which are called secondary symbols of Shinto. A thorough treatment of the subject, of course, would involve a complete analysis of Shinto itself. Only the barest outline of the subject is attempted here.

This study is intended primarily as an exposition of objects which have a symbolic value to the Japanese people as a whole.

It will not attempt to examine symbols from the Westerner's point of view, nor to discuss symbols of an extremely mystic or esoteric nature. Typical examples of each type of symbol will be examined and the origin, nature, use, and present significance will be explained.

II. MAN AS A SYMBOL OF THE KAMI

The symbols of the kami include man, animals, objects of nature, crests, sacred vessels, Shinto structures and equipment, amulets, and charms. The original symbolic use of these has been either lost or greatly altered ; only the form remains today. This is especially true of man as a symbol of the kami.

MIKO

Modern scholarship appears to support Aston in believing that the most primitive form of society in Japan was matriarchic. Astons says, " Women played a very important part in the real world of ancient Japan as in that of imagination. Women rulers were at this time a familiar phenomenon. Chinese and Japanese history both give us glimpses of a female Mikado who lived about 200 A. D. and whose commanding ability and strong character have not been wholly absorbed by the mist of legend. Women chieftains are frequently mentioned. Indeed, the Chinese seem to have thought that feminine government was the rule in Japan, for their histories frequently

Chigo

referred to it as the queen country."[1]

This superior position of women in society is evident in the position they held in Shinto. Certain women relatives of village chieftains occupied a central position in the worship of the kami. They were called *miko*, a shortened form of *Kamu-no-ko* (child of the kami) which literally interpreted implies that the *miko* were descendants of the chief. In practice they were relatives and not necessarily direct descendants. Sometimes the chieftain himself was a *miko*.[2]

Those who were considered the most pure, and thus qualified to serve the kami in the rites of worship, became *miko*. At times they partook of the sacred offerings with the kami, or even in place of the kami. To partake of the sacred food offering was to take on the nature of the kami and was considered as the most sacred act in all Shinto rites.[3] Some *miko* were regarded as kami. They were called *hime-gami* i. e. female kami, and although individual names are unknown, it appears that they were enshrined as *himegami*.[4] *Miko* were also known as *yorimashi*, i. e. one who possessed the attributes of the kami, and as *kamu-nushi*, literally kami-master, were believed to both represent and interpret the will of the kami. An example of this is a famous story in the *Kojiki* concerning the Empress Jingu at the time of the invasion of Korea. The story relates how prior to the invasion, acting as a *yorimashi*, she received an oracle to invade and conquer Kudara.[6]

In later centuries, as man came to occupy a more significant role than women in society, the place of woman in religion was lowered until today she usually serves only in minor matters such as the pantomimic dances and the preparation of

food offerings.[7] There are a few exceptions, however, which reveal the earlier position of women as *miko*. The *naiji* or *naishoten*, i. e. one who is privileged to enter into the holy of holies of the Imperial Sanctuary (Kashikodokoro), and the *saishu-no-miya*, i. e. the high priestes of the Grand Shrine of Ise, all unmarried women, continued to occupy a significant position in ritual practices.[8]

The young unmarried girls in vermillion skirts and white blouses seen at the larger shrines are now merely assistants to the priests; but their position and garb are relics of the primitive *miko*. These girls may be found selling post cards and charms at booths, serving tea to guests, or performing the sacred dances, and are in no way the symbols of kami they once were. The little girls in the same type of garment and with whitened faces are called *chigo*.[9] An offshoot of the *miko* tradition, they are usually daughters of prominent parishioners, and although their dress identifies them a belonging to Shinto, *chigo* have no special religious significance today.

Modern Miko

KANNUSHI

With the passing of the matriarchic period men assumed a leading position in Shinto.[10] They replaced women as *kannushi* or *kamu-nushi* and the term came to be applied exclusively to men. Other terms used for *kannushi* were *gūji* (shrine care-

taker), *kokuzō* (creator of the country), *hafuri* (exact meaning uncertain), *saishu* (ceremonial chief), and *negi* (one who offers prayers). According to the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* the priesthood should be hereditary.[11]

As the literal meaning of *kannushi* suggests, the priest was regarded as the possessor of special powers over the spiritual world. In certain cases apparently he was regarded as a substitute or representative of the kami. For example, according to folklore, the kami of Suwa Shrine once appeared, saying, "I have no visible body. You shall consider the *hafuri* at the object of worship."[12] In the Mishima Shrine of Iyo until the Sengoku period (1467–1568), the *ohafuri* was called *han-myōjin*, i. e. a half kami.[13]

Kannushi

At the time of the founding of the state, the clan system was becoming consolidated with men as clan chieftains who usually conducted the ceremonial rites before the clan deity (*ujigami*). By the Kamakura period (1192–1333) village chieftains of a given clan were conducting rituals (*kami-matsuri*) in turn at the clan shrine.[14] In time a professional priesthood developed which replaced the village heads but there is little information regarding its development.[15] However, records indicate that in general, both *miko* and *kannushi* functioned side by side in shrine ceremonial practices, although in some

shrines there were only *miko* and in others only *kannushi*.[16]

Basically a priest (*kannushi*) was one who had a special blood relationship with the clan deity, i. e. the *uji-kami*. He had to be an *uji-ko*, a child of the clan.[17] Thus at Ise only those of the Yamato clan became priests or priestesses of the Sun Goddess. The same applied fundamentally to all clan deities. Outsiders were not permitted to serve at the clan shrines.

As the priesthood became a profession, blood relationship was not required. Priests for a time were apparently accepted by the common consent of the community. Then as other standards were introduced the priests of larger shrines became versed in the esoteric practices which had become a part of Shirakawa and Yoshida Shinto.[18] By the Edo period novitiates were expected to master these practices before they could qualify as priests.[19]

With the beginning of the attempt of the Meiji government to create a state cult, the professional priest became a government official and his professional status became compromised by his political obligations. He was, therefore, a representative of the State as well as of Shinto.[20] In the decades following the Restoration, political influence prevailed and the priesthood, in general, fell into the hands of men without qualifications.[21] Although Shinto has been freed from state control for two years and there have been some internal changes, the general situation remains the same ; ninety-five percent of shrine priests are without professional training.[22] Because of the special situation created by the war, widows of priests may now take over shrines as replacements for their late husbands and are con-

sidered *kannushi*. Only in rare cases do they have the professional or spiritual background for religious leadership.[23]

Thus *kannushi*, who originally were men of the clan and regarded as related in a peculiar way to the kami, have become lay ritualists. They are the leaders of the parishioners in worship. Custom and tradition invest them with the right to perform ceremonies. But, except in a most intangible way, they are not thought of as possessing any special spiritual prerogatives outside the ceremonies and even then, there are no longer any binding rules governing them. In general it is tradition which enables them to maintain their position.[24]

The Shinto priest on the street wears no special mark of identification. Within the shrine precincts, and in his robes, he represents Shinto and its faith but, in himself, he has no symbolic quality ; but before the enshrined kami he is a connecting link expressing the feelings of the people to the kami. Thus the priest by his costume is identified as belonging to Shinto, but he has no other symbolic significance.

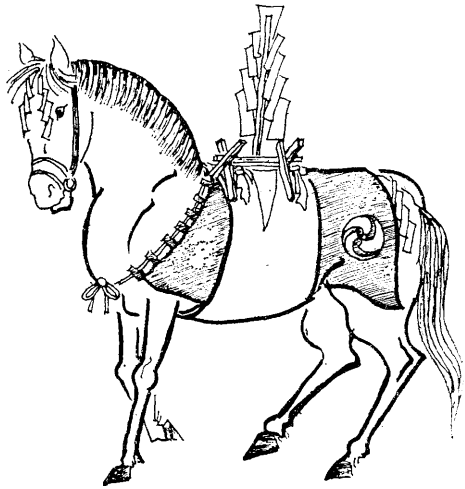
HITOTSU MONO

Another instance of man as a symbol of kami is the child who rides on a horse ahead of the procession of such shrines as Kotohiki Hachiman (Kagawa prefecture), Wakamiya of Kasuga Shrine, and Mibu Shrine (Wakayama prefecture). The child is called *hitotsu mono*,[25] literally, one-thing, which indicates that he is unique and has no substitute. At the Kotohiki Hachiman, a boy chosen for this position purifies himself for seven days prior to the festival. Then on the day of the festival a priest repeats magic formulas and puts make-up on

him. Suddenly the child falls into ecstacy, in which state he remains until the festival is over and the make-up washed off. At the time of the procession he rides in front of the *mikoshi* (sacred palanquin) wearing a straw hat adorned with the tail of a copper pheasant and the character *hachi* (八) on both his forehead and hat.

The *hitotsu mono,* which antidates the *mikoshi,* has been replaced by it. The divine spirit (*shinrei*), which was believed to dwell in the child, now rides in the *mikoshi.* It is strange, therefore, that the custom of having a *hitotsu mono* persists at all and is observed alongside of the *mikoshi.* In primitive times the child under the influence of the trance was believed to deliver oracles but at present there is no such expectation.

There were evidently several parallel developments of the *hitotsu mono.* In some instances a doll and in others a *gohei*[26] replaced the child on the saddle. The *hitotsu mono* is symbolic of the kami possessing and dwelling in human beings. It is doubtful, however, whether this is known and understood by people other than the priests who specialize in such matters.



Gohei Riding Horse[27]

III. ANIMALS AS MESSENGERS OF THE KAMI

The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* contain many tales of animals as messengers of kami. *Nakime*, a pheasant, was sent from the Plain of High Heaven (Takamagahara) by Omoikane-no-Kami to Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto in the lower world.[1] Hikohohodemi-no-Mikoto was able to ride back home on a crocodile from the bottom of the ocean through the kindness of the sea kami.[2] Yamato-takeru-no-Mikoto (the second son of the Emperor Keikō, 71–130) summoned a serpent as a messenger of the Rough (*ara*) Kami. This serpent is the first animal specifically referred to as a messenger.[3]

Additional animals appearing most prominently in early Shinto as messengers of kami are: doves, cranes, kites, snow herons, hens, pheasants, eagles, deer, monkeys, rats, foxes, boars, bees, tortoises, eels, carps, etc.[4]

Usually each kami has only one kind of messenger, but some have two or more. For example, the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine use monkeys as their primary messengers and deer as secondary. On the other hand the kami of Itsukushima, Sumiyoshi, and Kumano shrines use only crows as messengers.[5]

THE HACHIMAN DOVE

There are several explanations offered regarding the origin of the dove as the messenger of the kami of the Hachiman shrines. According to one tradition the Hachiman kami descended at Usa in the form of a dove. Another states that the name comes from the fact that Iwashimizu Hachiman is located on

Hato-mine (Dove Peak) which is noted for its doves. A third explanation calls attention to the similarity between the word for eight-doves, *ya-hato*, and an alternate reading of Hachiman, *ya-hato*.[6]

The *Okagami* (a book of Japanese history from 850-1026) contains a story of Masanobu Minamoto (920-978), a court noble and worshipper of Iwashimizu Hachiman, who was pleased to see doves appear whenever he offered a sacred horse to the kami of Hachiman and who thought that the kami appeared in the form of doves to accept his prayers.[7] The *Heike Monogatari* (a book on the rise and the fall of the Taira clan, about 1185) contains a story of Kiso-yoshinaka of the Minamoto family who dismounted from his horse, took off his helmet and bowed respectfully before the doves at the battle field on Kurigara Tōge where he encountered the Taira forces.[8] The author of *Azuma-kagami* (a book on the rise and fall of the Kamakura shogunate, 1180—1266) relates the assassination of Sanetomo Minamoto at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine to the death of two doves in the shrine compounds two days before the event. The historicity of these tales aside, the fact remains that the dove has always been associated in literature and art with Hachiman shrines. Apparently it has no present significance except as a messenger of the enshrined kami. Obviously its symbolic meaning will depend largely upon whether Hachiman is considered to be a war kami or an agricultural kami.[10] In actual practice the dove seems to play no part in the rites or festivals of the shrines.

THE KASUGA DEER

The deer is the messenger or symbol of the kami of Kasuga Shrine (Nara). According to legend, after the capital had been moved to Nara, the Fujiwara family urgently requested the kami of the Kashima, Katori, and Hiraoka shrines to come to Kasugano and found a shrine.[11] Deer were honored as symbols and messengers of Kasuga because the kami of Kasuga allegedly went to Kasugano riding on a deer.[12] They were at times held so sacred that an imperial edict was issued in the reign of Emperor Nimmei (841) prohibiting deer hunting in the Kasuga precincts.[13] Records reveal that members of the Fujiwara family always dismounted from their horses whenever they saw deer.[14] The Kasuga Mandala which appeared at the end of the Kamakura Period (14th century) pictures a deer on the back of which a sakaki tree is set. A large mirror hangs from the tree.[15] Killers of deer in the Kasuga precincts were sentenced to death in the Meiō and Bunmei eras (end of the 15th century).[16] However, later in the 11th year of the Kambun era (1670), an order was issued by the governor of Nara to cut the horns of the deer in the shrine compounds in the middle of October each year so they would not injure innocent people.[17] The ritual for cutting the horns of deer continues today.

THE KUMANO CROW

The Kumano Jinja and crows are inseparable. The popular belief in crows as messengers of the shrine appears to have originated in the story of the crow that served as guide to

Emperor Jimmu at Kumano on his eastern compaign. Kumano shrines may be found in all parts of the country.

Over forty crows are printed on the Goō-hōin, the famous charm of the Kumano Gongen.[18] This charm was believed to possess miraculous power during the rise of the shrine and the people also used the charm as a written oath which was some times burned and the embers eaten. It was said that a violator of the oath vomitted blood and died.[19] The shrine still offers this charm today.

THE INARI FOX

Foxes are considered to be messengers of Inari shrines and, at times are worshipped as kami. The chief deity of the Inari shrines is the kami of food, especially grain, called Ukanomitama-no-Kami or Miketsu Kami. Miketsu-Kami may be written with characters which sound similar to those for the kami of the fox.[20] Dakiniten, an Indian Buddhist goddess, was fused with Inari belief in the Heian period (794—1191). She was called Hakushin-Koō Bosatsu, Fox Boddhisattva. The fox of Inari, therefore, was worshipped as kami as well as regarded as a messenger of the Inari kami. In the 17th century popular worship of the fox as the kami of good luck was widespread and still is very prevalent among the

The Inari Fox

common people.[21]

COMMON NON-SYMBOLIC ANIMAL IMAGES

The phoenix on the top of the *mikoshi*, the dolphins on the curved eaves of some shrines, and the grotesque stone dogs known as *koma inu*, which are usually found guarding the approaches to shrines, are decorative and are not symbolic in Shinto.[22] The horses frequently found in shrines, are sacred but not symbolic.[23]

Koma Inu

Thus it can be seen that certain animals are still considered somewhat as symbols of kami, but the worship of them as kami or as messengers, although it still occupies a significant place in popular belief, has become weaker.

IV. NATURAL OBJECTS AS SYMBOLS OF KAMI

The Japanese of ancient times regarded the mysterious forces of nature and objects of unusual appearance as manifestations of kami. Certain objects and forces have stood out as peculiarly effective expressions of the spiritual in nature. Mountains, for example, have usually been looked upon with reverence and awe, and often have been objects of worship. A small shrine may be found at the summit of almost every peak or even some high hills. Likewise, unusually formed trees, rocks, etc., are worshipped.

MOUNTAINS

In the earliest records Mount Fuji itself was regarded as a kami and worshipped as such.[1] In the *Mannyōshū*, one poem reads : " The lofty peak of Mount Fuji is the kami mysterious who dwells there . . . the guardian kami of Yamato Province."[2] The author of *Sandai Jitsuroku*,[3] a collection of historical tales of the period from 858 to 887, has a story of the eruption of Mount Fuji in 865 and the establishment of a shrine on the peak in order to control earthquakes, wind, and rain. In the same document we read that in 853 Mount Fuji was honored as Sengenjin,[4] a name indicating the divinity of the mountain, and the shrine was ranked as a *myōjin taisha*,[5] the highest rank of shrines listed in the *Engi Shiki* (901–923). It is still regarded by some as the dwelling place of kami who control human destiny.[6]

Next to Mount Fuji, Mount Ontake[7] is the largest center of mountain worship but the essential nature of the worship is the same.

A mountain which is an object of worship does not have to be in the immediate precincts of the shrine at which it is worshipped. There are many Sengen Jinja all over the country which worship Mount Fuji. In Utsunomiya city there is a Futara Jinja which worships Mount Nantai. It is not a branch shrine. The numerous Mitake shrines also illustrate the same point.

Mountains that are generally regarded as sacred are not necessarily viewed in the same manner. To some a mountain itself is a kami, to others it is the dwelling-place of a kami,

to still others it is a manifestation of kami. To most people it is probably not clear how they regard them.

Because of its unusual grandeur Mount Fuji stands out as a symbol, not only of the divine, i. e. of the kami, but as a symbol of the nation itself. During the period of ultra-nationalism, the sight of it stirred up ultra-nationalistic pride. Religious fanatics, who were also ultra-nationalists, went to Mount Fuji to purify their spirits and pledge their devotion to the nation; but there is no reason to believe that Mount Fuji or any other mountain necessarily has any nationalistic or militaristic implications. To see Mount Fuji in pictures or to mention it in speech or song is to suggest Japan itself. It is a symbol of the nation, not of nationalism.

As religious implications vary with the religious faith of the individual, a mountain peak in itself is not a symbol of Shinto, Buddhism, or any other sect except those specially devoted to its worship. Likewise, all mountains which are objects of worship are symbols of the divine, but they are only symbolic to the people of the vicinity who regard them with special veneration. Some additional identifying object, such as a cross, shrine, or image is necessary before a mountain itself becomes symbolic of any religion or sect.

TREES

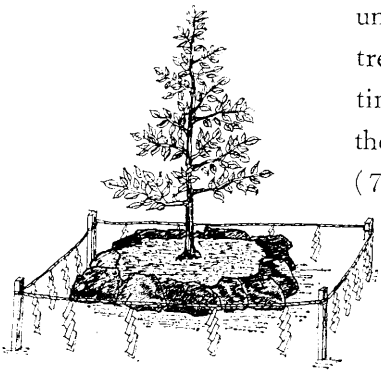
Trees and woods were also objects of worship in primitive Japan. The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* name Kayano-hime as the parent kami of grasses (Kusano-oya), and Kayano-hime-no-Kami as kami of grasses (Kusa-no-Kami), and Kukumuchi-no-Kami as the kami of trees.[8] The *Engi Shiki* records a *kinomi-*

tama-no-maturi (ritual for the spirit of trees) conducted on the occasion of felling trees to be used in building ships for emissaries to China.[9]

Trees of great age and size or deep forests were looked upon as sacred and possessed by kami.[10] People selected specific spots or specific trees in woods or forests as *himorogi*, i. e. seats of the kami, and specially honored them as places of worship.[11]

From the belief that trees were the abode of spirits developed the idea of sacred trees (*shinboku*) as symbols of the kami. For example, the *sakaki* (*eurya orchanacea*) is the sacred tree of Kasuga shrines, the cedar of Inari shrines, and the laurel of Hiyoshi shrines, etc.[12]

The *sakaki* is unquestionably the best known and most common tree symbol in Shinto. Its history is unique. From times unknown it has been the sacred tree of Kasuga and at the same time the divine body (*shintai*) of the kami. In the Heian period (794–1190) the priests of the Kōfukuji (temple), the family temple of the Fujiwaras,[13] carried a branch of a *sakaki* tree with a mirror on it to Kyoto in order to demonstrate the authority of the shrine to the imperial court.[14] People called this journey of the *sakaki* to Kyoto, *shimboku juraku* that is a visit of the sacred tree to Kyoto, or *shimboku-doza*, that is, the moving of the sacred tree. The records say that the im-



Sakaki

perial court was striken with awe and sent messengers with oblations to the Kasuga Shrine to quiet the wrath of the kami. Such visits (*shimboku juraku*) were repeated over seventy times between the years 908 and the beginning of the 16th century.[16]

The *sakaki* of the Kasuga Shrine was transplanted to the branch shrines of Kasuga and the branch temples of Kōfukuji and were objects of worships in these shrines and temples during the middle ages and performed a significant symbolic role for the Kasuga Shrine.[16] Today the *sakaki* has lost this unique position and has become symbolic of the kami in general. It receives special homage not only by reason of its association with the kami of Kasuga[17] but in other shrines as well.[18] Its symbolic value, however, is dependent upon its association with other Shinto objects. In a forest or by itself it has no intrinsic divinity.

Sacred trees (*shimboku*) as symbols of the kami were used for the design of the crests and charms by worshippers. Nagi (a kind of evergreen tree), the *shimboku* of the Kumano Shrine, was adopted as the crest of the Suzuki family, the *shake*, that is, the priest-family of the shrine, and cedar, the sacred tree of the Ōmiwa Shrine, became the family crest of its priest-family.[19]

In primitive Shinto, specific evergreen trees, such as pine, oak, and cedar appear to have been used both for *himorogi* and decoration at rituals for the kami. These trees were also sometimes called *sakaki*.[20] The *Kojiki* relates that the kami used *sakaki* from Ameno Kaguyama (mountain of celestial fragrance) for rites at Amano-Iwato, a celestial cave. Later

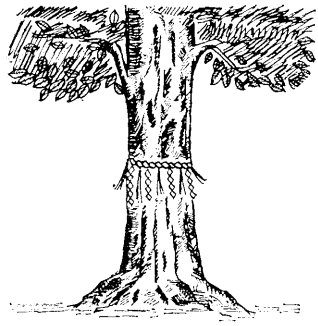
only *eurya orchanacea* was called *sakaki* and it is this which is generally used today in Shinto rituals. In the *Kokin-waka-shū*[21] a poet sings:

> *Sakaki, sacred tree of the kami ever will grow*
> *Gloriously, never withering in the heaviest snow.*

The *Shin-kokin-waka-shū*[24] contains a poem:

> *In the wake of the fragrant sakaki I tread*
> *To a place where the clansmen in ritual are met.*[23]

Thus the *sakaki*, which is in general used as *haraigushi*, *tamagushi* and *himorogi*, (see VI), was commonly used as a symbol in Shinto rituals in the Heian Period.[24] Today branches of *sakaki* are set up to purify a ritual site. When the Hodaka Shrine (Nagano) constructs a new building it conducts a ritual of *sakaidate* (to draw boundary lines), setting up *sakaki* branches around the shrine compound.[25] The Usa Hachiman Shrine in Kyūshū performs the ritual of *shibasashi-no-shinji*, in which seven days prior to the spring festival forty-five branches of *sakaki* are set up in the shrine precincts. These branches are called *imishiba* (purification branches). The ritual signifies the beginning of purification.[26] Thus, the primitive belief in the virtues of the *sakaki* has continued through the centuries.


Sacred tree

Individual trees of great age and size are everywhere worshipped in Japan. At present sacred trees are often to be seen girt with *shimenawa* (consecrated rope of rice-

straw) and with tiny shrines close by. The novelist, Bakin (early 19th century), tells of a fir tree near Uraga which was believed to possess the power of healing all diseases[27] and of bringing luck to fishermen. Two *sakaki* trees in the compound of the Kamo Shrine (Kyoto) are joined together by a branch which has grown from one trunk into that of the other. They are considered to possess the intrinsic virtue of unity. A small *torii* stands in front and women visit the tree to pray for a harmonious married life.[25]

Shrine precincts with deep forests and tall trees are not mere acessories of a shrine. They have an inherent significance. The forests and trees are tokens of the kami's presence and symbolize the kami themselves.

STONES

The worship of stones is also prominent in Shinto. There is a story in the *Kojiki* of Izanagi-no-Mikoto blocking the road with a huge stone when he was being chased by a host of kami from the underworld, Yomi-no-kuni. In the *Kojiki* this stone is called Sayari-masu-yomido-no-Ōkami (the kami-who-closed-up-the-road-to-*yomi-no*-kuni.)[29]

The *Hizen Fudoki* (*The Topography of the Hizen Province*) compiled in the Heian Period (794–1191) records that in the reign of the Emperor Keikō (71–130) there was a stone which, at the time of a long draught, granted rain whenever men prayed for it.[30] Stones were personified in ancient Shinto and the primitive Japanese even believed that stones gave birth to stones. The *Izumo Fudoki* (*The Topography of the Izumo province*), compiled about 733, contains a story of *ishigami*

(stone kami) which had over 200 *koishgami* (child-stone-kami) around it.[31] The *Nippon Ryo-Iki* (*Annals of Strange Tales*), compiled in the Heian period, contains the story of a virgin who gave birth to two stones. The stones were honored as the children of the kami and were enshrined in a *himorogi* at her house.[32] The *Engi Shiki* lists several stone kami. They are Sukuna-hikona-no-kami-no-kataishi-kami-no-yashiro (Ishikawa pref.), Onamuchi-no-kataishi-kami-no-yashiro (Ishikawa pref.),[33] and Ishigaki-no-yashiro in Ise province (Mie pref.).

Belief in *ishigami* (stone-kami) and worship of the virtues of personified stones was quite prevalent in the Nara and Heian periods, and stones served as sanctuaries or symbols of the kami.

With the introduction of Buddhism and Onyōdō, worship of stones developed into the popular belief in Dōso-shin, Saino-kami, or Jizō, — all kami of the roadside —, guardian kami of children, kami of birth and marriage, and phallic kami. The original significance of the worship of stones was forgotten after their association with Chinese beliefs and today these kami are simply stones set up at road-sides in villages and in the country-side and are worshipped as the kami of popular belief. They may or may not have a name engraved on them.[34]

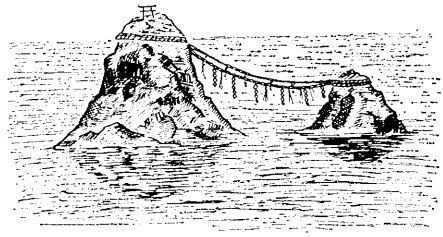
Another phase of the ancient belief in stones was the primitive Japanese belief that stones grew larger with age. The Japanese national anthem which was originally written by a poet in the *Kokinshū* (a collection of poems compiled in 905) reveals this belief.

> *Thousands of years of happy reign be thine;*
> *Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now,*

By age united to mighty rocks shall grow
Whose venerable sides the moss doth line.[35]

There are many other examples in which stones were thought of as vehicles or vessels for the kami. In certain cases stones have not remained motionless but have come from other places. Belief that spirits (*tama*) enter into stones may perhaps be divided into two types: spirits coming from other places to enter into stones, and stones already containing spirits coming from other places. The latter are often found near seashores. The ancient faith in *kataishi* is famous. It is believed to be a kami which suddenly emerged from the sea in one night.[36]

The most famous sacred rocks in the country are probably the two off the shore near Ise known as the Wedded Rocks (Meoto-iwa) at Futami-ura, Mie prefecture. These are unquestionably symbols of Sun worship, and to the common people worship of Amaterasu also, but worship at these rocks is a rather late development. It is believed that they were not symbolic until sometime in the middle ages when the populer worship of Ise was developing.[38]



Wedded Rocks

Thus it appears that in ancient Shinto, stones were originally regarded as tokens of the kami or as kami themselves and were worshipped for their supposed values. In some cases, stones were regarded as sharing divinity by virtue of mystic associations with the kami which they represented. These stone kami have largely been forgotten today except for those which

are considered helpers of humanity in the form of popular belief, such as Jizō, Dōsoshin or Sai-no-kami.

THE SUN AND MOON AS SYMBOLS OF KAMI

Sun worship comes naturally to the Japanese. Almost all the activities of the peasants depend on, or are regulated by, the sun. Without question the ancient Japanese believed that the divinity of the universe was expressed in the sun. The mystical narratives of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* give the following names to the sun: Niwatakatsu-no-Kami, Takahi-no-Kami, Natsutakatsu-no-Kami and Shitateru-hime-no-Kami as well as Amaterasu Ōmikami.[38] In the mythology the actual sun is referred to in accounts of the radiance of Amaerasu Ōmikami illuminating the world and of the world being left to darkness when she entered the rock cave.[41] Again in another place, the author of the narrative on the "Eastern Expedition" of Emperor Jimmu interprets[40] the loss of his battle in Yamato as follows: "He lost his battle because he fought facing the sun." Such references to the sun would appear to indicate that primitive sun worship existed long before the sun was personified as Amaterasu Ōmikami.[43]

The later stories of the *Nihongi* made Amaterasu Ōmikami the ancestress of the emperors and the source of their authority. As Amaterasu Ōmikami became more closely identified with the origin of the Imperial Family, she was worshipped as its central kami but retained the attributes of the sun, i. e. the noble existence of sustaining all living beings and illuminating the whole world. As prominance was given to the anthropomorphic side her solar characteristics were less emphasized.[42]

Thus the solar character of Amaterasu Ōmikami has been obscured in Shrine Shinto; but in populer belief the people personified the sun afresh under the names of Otento-sama (August-heaven-path-person) and Ohisama (August-sun-person). To the common people of Japan at present, Otento-sama is the sun, "sexless, mythless, and unencumbered by any formal cult, but believed to be a moral being who rewards the good, punishes the evil and sometimes enforces oaths made in his name.[43] There has been a recrudescense of Sun worship in Japan since the end of the war. A number of the newer sects give it prominence. Among the older Sectarian Shinto sects, Kurozumi-kyō is the only one that definitely identifies Amaterasu Ōmikami with the sun and honors the sun as the symbol of the kami and as an object of worship.

Worship of the moon is not prominent in Shinto. In the legends of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the moon kami, *Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto*[45] (literally, moon darkness) is described as the kami commanding the darkness i. e. night.[46] Although worshipped at Ise and Kadono (Kyōto) the moon is not one of the great kami of Japan. Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto is represented at Ise as a man riding on a horse clad in purple and girt with a golden sword. The *Kyūjiki*[47] mentions a moon kami among the attendants of Ninigi when he descended to Takachiho and states that he was the ancestor of the *agatanushi*, the local chief of Iki.[48] This was probably a local moon kami. The phases of the moon are not recognized in Shinto mythology, but on the 17th or 23rd of the lunar month, the people sometimes assemble to greet the rising moon and observe a ritual of *tsukimachi* (moon waiting). "This custom illustrates the

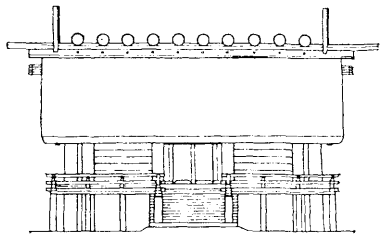
tendency to revert to the direct worship of nature when the myths have become obscured by time and no longer fulfil the original purpose.[49] Belief in the moon as the symbol of the kami, or the object of worship is very rare at present in Shinto.[50]

SYMBOLS RELATED TO RITUALS AND WORSHIP

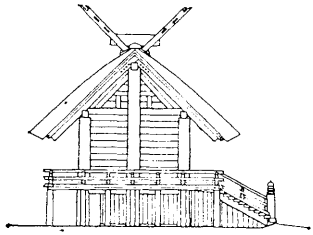
V. SHRINE BUILDINGS, TORII, FENCES and ABLUTION BASINS

The Shrine Structure

The shrine structure is a development of the prinitive buildings of the Japanese people but when it is ornate, both in design and color, the resemblance is almost completely lost. The modifications of the primitive building were due primarily to Buddhist and continental influences. Because of this, it is impossible to set down any hard and fast statements regarding the structure of shrines as distinct from the structures of Shinto, Buddhist and Christian sects. About the



Simmei Type

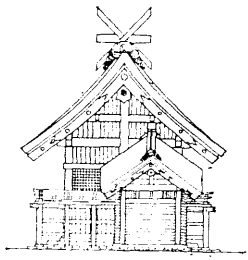


only positive identification is a *torii*. If there is a *torii* it may be assumed that kami are worshipped somewhere beyond it.[1]

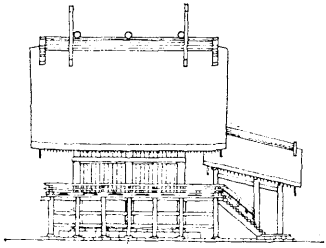
There are a number of distinct architectural types, the most common being *Shimmei*, *Taisha*, *Gongen*, *Nagare*, *Hiei*, *Kasuga*, *Hachiman*. The *Shimmei* and *Taisha* arose about the same time and are nearest to primitive Shinto. The main sanctuary at Ise, and to a less extent that of Yasukuni, represent the *Shimmei*. The Grand Shrine of Izumo is the original *Taisha*.[2] In the simple straight lines and unpainted timbers these styles are believed to retain the pristine charm of nature in the midst of which the worship of kami arose.[3]

Chigi and Katsuogi

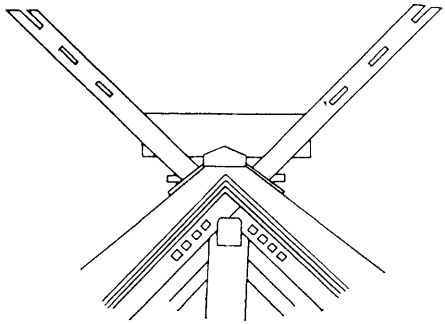
There are only two features of the shrine which are now definitely symbolic of shrines and therefore of Shinto: the *chigi* and *katsuogi* of the *Shimmei* and *Taisha* types.[4] Both were originally structural necessarities. *Chigi* are extensions of the beams which held up the ridgepole at both ends of the ridge of the roof. The beams and ridgepole were tied together at the point of intersection. Today, this is not done but the extensions remain because of their symbolic or ornamental value. *Katsuogi*, i. e. the cigar-shaped beams across the roof ridge at regular intervals, were weights to keep the roof from



Taisha Type



being blown away in storms.[5] At first they were used by nobles and people alike. Later only nobles were parmitted to have them on their homes.[6] Today, it is rare to find them at all except on shrines.[7] That they wcre early regarded as a significant part of the architectural pattern is indicated by the fact, that in the *Ruiji Jingi Hongen* (771) the number and length of *chigi* in major, intermediate, and minor grade shrines was specified.[8]

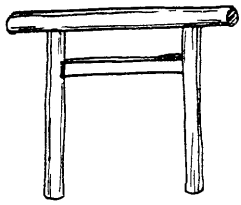


Today, both *Katsuogi* and *chigi* are symbolic of Shinto shrines, but only the *chigi* seems to have meaning. In present day *norito*, as in the *norito* of the *Engi Shiki*, the following expression is a common one: "Kami who is enshrined in a shrine whose pillars are sunk deep into the earth and whose *chigi* are pointing high to the heavens."[9]

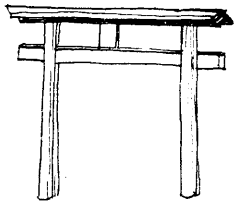
Aside from these there is apparently no generally accepted symbolic inrerpretation of the shrine structure.[10]

Torii

While the *torii*[11] is regarded as one of the most typical of Shinto structures, it is evidently not peculiar to Japan. Gates similar to *torii* are frequently seen in Manchuria. Nevertheless the *torii* is generally accepted as perhaps the clearest mark of Shinto and it is symbol of deep



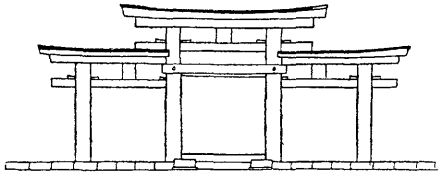
Shimmei Torii



Myojin Torii

religious significance.[12]

All correctly constructed shrines were surrounded by a sacred fence (*kamigami*). Originally, the *torii* was a gate set into this fence, but at present the majority of small shrines and many large ones have no fences.

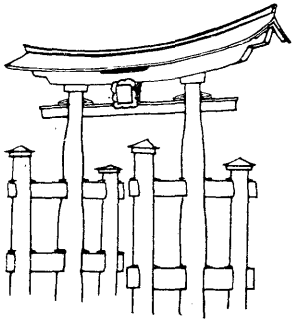


Miwa Torii

There is great variety in the structure of *torii*. It varies all the way from the shimple *Shimmei* to the *Myōjin*, *Itsukushima* and *Miwa*.

The most ancient *torii* was the simple, *Shimmei* type with straight, unpainted timbers. Like the shrine, the color and complexity of the *torii* is due to Buddhist and continental influences.

The *torii* is a barrier, separating the sacred precincts of the kami from the outer secular world. As a general principle the larger the number of fences, the greater the solemnity of the shrine. Within the gate and sacred fence, real or imaginary, lies divine ground (*shin-iki*) which apparently increases in sanctity until the main sanctuary is reached. In the outer secular would is pollution and distress; within where the kami dwell is purity and brightness, symbolized by the *torii*.[13]



Itsukushima Torii

The *torii* is a kind of taboo. It is improper to go under the *torii* with any impurity, spiritual or physical, and there must be no stains, sores or cuts, und no disease. When bodies are unwell they are impure. Death pollutes. Persons in mourning do not go to shrines.

The *torii* is also a spiritual gateway. A shrine must not be approached except through the *torii* which cleanses the worshipper of his pollution. Passing beneath the *torii* pollution is removed ; the body and soul are purified. The long approach to the shrines with its rough gravel surface is not accidental or a necessity, but is intentional. The pious worshipper as he trudges along, passing through one *torii* after another, feels that with the crunching of the pebbles beneath his feet he is being purified and prepared to meet the kami.[14] The less devout and outsiders in general pass beneath the *torii* with little or no idea of what its meaning may be.

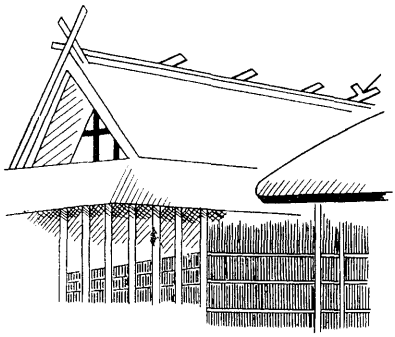
Kamigaki[15]

Generally the sanctuary of a shrine is surrounded by one or more fences which are known as *kamigaki* (sacred fence). There are several well known sacred fences which identify certain shrines. These have no religious significance. In a few cases, such as the Yasukuni Shrine, for example, the outside-wall is marked with the five lines used by imperial paloces, etc. This indicates a close relationship with the Imperial Family.

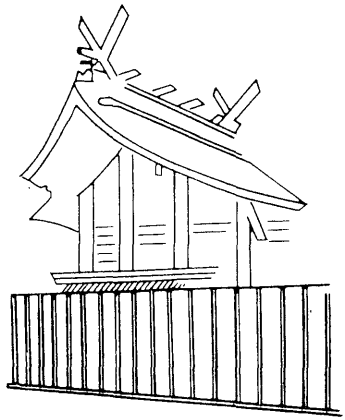
When there are several fences each has a name. The cuter one is called *tamagaki* or *aragaki*. The innermost one *mizugaki*.[16] At the Outer Shrine of Ise there are four fences in the

following order as the shrine is approached : *ita* (*board*) *gaki*, *soto* (*outer*) *tamagaki*, *uchi* (*inner*) *tamagaki*, and *mizu* (*august*) *gaki*.

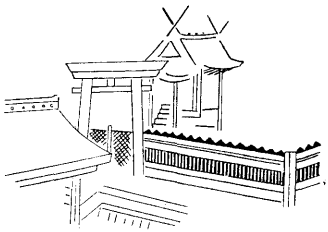
Types of Shrine Fences



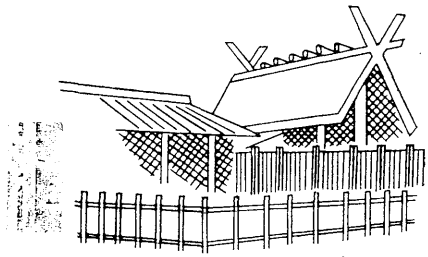
Daijō-gū of Kyoto
(Straw Fence)



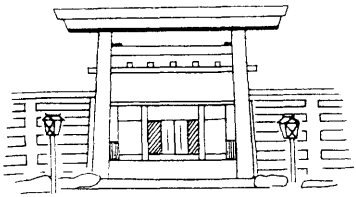
Kamakura Shrine
(Wooden Fence)



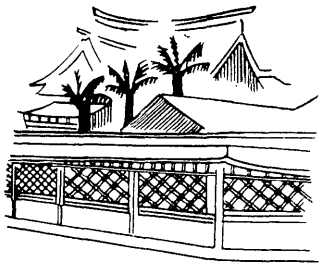
Kasuga Shrine



Izōnomiya of Grand Shrine
of Ise
(Wooden Fence)



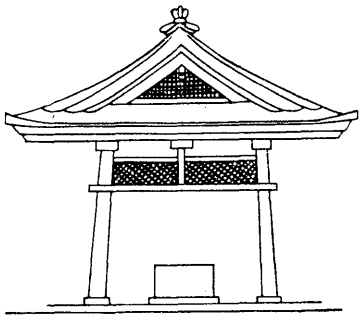
Outer Shrine of Ise
(Wooden Fence)



Kashii-gū

The Ablution Basin[17]

At every shrine some provision is made for the ceremonial purification of the mouth and hands. Where there is a spring or stream, that is preferred. The best examples of thess are the Isuzu-gawa of Ise and the Kamo-gawa of the Kamo Shrine.[18] At other places there are stone or concrete basins.[19] Some of these are very imposing. There are provisions for purifications in some Buddhist temples, but the ablution basin, especially the type shown in the illustration, is symbolic of Shinto. However, aside from being the place for purification, these have no special significance.



Temizuya

Note : The avobe study of Shinto Symbols was prepared during the Occupation by the staff of the Religious Research Branch of Religious and Cultural Resouces Division, CIE. The compiler was Mrs. Taka Yamada.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

1. Aston, W. G., *Shinto, The Way of the Gods*, p. 133.
2. Kiyohara, Sadao, *Shinto Shi* (*History of Shinto*), pp. 33, 34.
   Origuchi, Shinobu, *Kodai Kenkyū* (*Research on Ancient Times*), *Minzoku-gakuhen* (Section concerning the People), pp. 190ff.
3. Yanagida, Kunio, *Nippon no Matsuri* (*Festivals of Japan*), pp. 192-193.
4. *Hi-me*, literally, Sun-female, i. e. sun daughter.
5. Origuchi, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
6. *Shinten : Kojiki* (*Sacred Documents : Chronicles of Ancient Events*). Okura Seishin Bunka Kenkyū Jo (Okura Spiritual Culture Research Institute) Edition, p. 107.
7. Since World War II a few women have become priest.
8. *Shinto Dai Jiten* (*Great Shinto Encyclopedia*), vol. 2, pp. 72-75. There was a *saiin* of Kamo Shrine between 810 and 1212. The *saishu-no-miya* of the Grand Shrine of Ise was first appointed in 93 B.C. With the exception of the few years between 1933 and this spring (1947) when Princess Fusako Kitashirakawa was appinted Princess Abbess, this position has existed in unbroken tradition.
9. Literally, little child.
10. Since there has been no thorough study into the origin and development of the priesthood, either *miko* or *kannushi*, it is impossible to state definitely when or how the transition occurred and when the *kannushi* definitely took percedence over the *miko* in rituals.
11. Kato, Genchi, *A Study of Shinto, the Religion of the Japanese* Nation, p. 183.
    Miyaji, Naokazu, *Jinja Yoko* (*Important Elements of the Shrine*), pp. 59,60.
12. *Koji Ruien* (Encyclopedia of Ancient Affairs) " Jingi-bu " (Shrine Section), p. 248.
13. These references presumably applied to both priests and priestesses.
14. Conference: Dr. Naoichi Miyaji, former professor of Shinto, Tokyo Imperial University, 12 September 1947.
15. Miyaji, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60.
16. Conference: Miyaji, *op. cit.*, " *Kannushi* is often used interchangeably with *miko* in the records. There is a great deal of confusion in any discussion of either."
17. The prerogatives were jealously guarded. No outsider was allowed.

18. Shirakawa Shinto was a very old school of Shinto that grew out of the Haku Family of priests of the *Jingi Kan* in the Heian period. —Chiba, Sakae Religions Research staff. Later it came to be dominated by Yoshida Shinto (Urabe Family Shinto), a school of Pure Shinto which grew up in opposition to Ryobu Shinto and flourished in the 15th century. It was in reality a mixture of not only Buddhism and Shinto but Confucianism and Taoism.
    Holton, D. C., *The National Faith of Japan*, pp. 39-41.
19. Sadao Sakamoto and Sakae Chiba Religions Research staff:
    Apart from the ideologies of these schools, their practices in connection with Shinto rites, became competitive models of form ; e. g. the methods of cutting *gohei* according to Shirakawa school and Yoshida school were exactly opposite.
20. Miyaji, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60.
21. Sakamoto, Religions Research staff (hereinafter RR).
22. Interview with Hideo Takeshima, Chief of Shrine Section, Jinja Honcho.
23. Chiba (RR).
24. Conference: Miyaji, *op. cit.*, Dr. Miyaji agrees that this statement is not fair to the minority of well-educated, well-qualified priests who have the best interests of Shinto at heart. The situation is largely due to the attitude of the government in divorcing the shrines from religion as distinct from ritual, and in making political appointments irrespective of qualifications. Under such circumstances the appointees were primarily officials and secondarilly religious leaders. The break-up of the shrine system has left each shrine free to do as it pleases. The Shrine Association is attempting to establish standards for member-shrines.
25. Nakayama, Taro, *Nippon Minzoku Jiten*, (*Encyclopedia of the Japanese race*), " Hitotsumono ".
26. See Vol. VII, No. 2.
27. This illustration is taken from a block stamped with the name of the Utsunomiya Futara Jinja. It is not known whether the *gohei* in this case represents *hitotu mono.*

Chapter III

1. *Shinten : Kojiki* (*Sacred Documents : Chronicles of Japan*)
    Okura Seishin Bunka Kenkyū Jo (Okura Spiritual Culture Research Institute) Edition ; p. 45.
    Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 250.
2. *Shinten : Nihon Shoki*, p. 247.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
4. *Koji Ruien, op. cit.*, p. 250.
5. *Shinto Daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 250. These animals and their behavior were considered as symbols of *kami*, or as good or bad omens.
6. *Hachiman Shinkō to Hato* (*Hachiman Belief and the Sacred Dove*), Saida, Moriji, *Religions Research Document No. 1280*, pp. 9, 10.
7. *Koji Ruien, op. cit.*, p. 1812.
   Ibid., p. 1813.
8. Descendants of the Fujiwara Family.
9. Religions Research Documents No. 1280, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
10. Saida, Moriujl, *Hachiman-Gu no Honshitsu* (*The substance of Hachiman Shrines*).
11. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 2, p. 321.
12. *Koji Ruien, op. cit.*, p. 1815.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1828.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
    Religions Research Document No. 1280, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
15. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 1, p. 329.
    See p. 18 for sketch.
16. *Koji Ruien, op. cit.*, p. 1828.
17. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 1, p. 329.
18. *Gongen* is a Japanese avatar of a Buddhist deity. Kumano Gongen is just another name for Kumano Shrine.
19. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 1, pp. 477—479.
    Kokushi Jiten (*Encyclopedia of Japanese History*), vol. 3, pp. 468-469.
20. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 1, p. 172.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
    See also Buchanan, D. C., *Inari: Its Origin, Development and Nature*. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.
22. *Koma Inu* are importations.
23. See pages .

Chapter IV

1. Holtom, D. C., *The National Faith of Japan*, pp. 180-181.
   The greatest of the *kami* of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* originated in nature worship. Among these are the general mountain god, *Oyama-tsu-mi-no-kami* and the goddess of Mt. Fuji, *Ko-no-Hana-sakuya-Hime-no-Mikoto*.

2. Kiyohara, Sadao, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
3. *Annals of Three Eras*, i. e. the reigns of Emperors Seiwa, Yōzei, and Koko.
4. Mountain god (*Asama-no-Kami*).
5. Myōjin taisha were outstanding shrines among contemporary *kampei* and *kokuhei taisha* of Imperial and provincial rank.
6. Katō, Genji, *A study of Shinto, the Religion of the Japanese Nation*, p. 155. The source of the whole paragraph except where otherwise indicated.
7. Mt. Ontake is the object of worship of Mitake Kyō, Shinto sect. Mountain worship is by no means confined to Shinto. Buddhism, also, as is witnessed by Tendai Buddhism, which takes its name from a sacred mountain in China, is noted for mountain worship.
8. Shinten: Nihon Shoki, vol. 1, p. 182.
9. *Shinten: Engi Shiki* (*Sacred Documents: Laws of the Engi Era*), Okura Seishin Bunka Kenkyū Jo (Okura Spiritual Culture Research Institute) Edition, p. 1294.
10. Yanagida, Kunio, *Nippon no Matsuri*, pp. 67-76.
11. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 3, p. 204.
12. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 299.
13. During the whole of the Heian period, this family held the reins of government which was headed nominally by the Emperor.
14. The doctrinal assimilation of Shinto to Buddhism was well under way and the Kasuga Shrine and Kōfukuji temple associated intimately as they were both attached to the Fujiwaras.
15. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 2, p. 298.
    Kokushi Jiten, vol. 2, pp. 511, 512.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Certain authoriries say the Kasuga Shrine in ancient days used *nagi* (an evergreen) for its *shimboku*.
18. At the Kompira Shrine at Toranomon, Tokyo, two *sakaki* are planted at each side of the shrine steps. At festivals these are decorated with the five colored streamers. Interview with Chief Priest.
19. Numata, Yorisuke, *Monsho no Kenkyū* (*Research on Crests*), p. 186. See also Chapter VIII.
20. *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (*Great Encyclopedia*), Heibonsha, vol. 10, p. 392.
21. Collection of poems compiled at the beginning of the 10th century.
22. Collection of poems compiled at the 10th century.

23. *Kokushi Jiten*, vol. 4, p. 334.
Koji Ruien, op. cit,, p. 1759.
Shinto Dai Jiten, vol. 2, p. 91.
24. See Chapter VII.
25. Yanagida, Kunio, *Nippon no Matsuri*, d. 78.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Aston, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.
28. Aston, *op. ci.*, pp. 164, 165.
29. *Shinten : Kojiki*, p. 21.
30. Kako, Genchi, *Shinto no Shūkyō Gakka Teki Kenkyū*, (*The Study of Shinto in terms of Religious Science*), p. 162.
31. Yanagida, Kunio : *Seikishin Mondo* (*Dialogue with the Kami of Stones*), p. 139.
32. *Koji Ruien, op. cit.*, p. 194.
33. Shinten : Eugishiki, pp. 1354, 1418, 1419.
34. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 1, p. 94 and vol. 3, p. 304.
35. Translated by B. H. Chamberlain, author of *Things Japanese*.
36. Yoshida, Tōgo, *Dai Nippon Chimei Jisho* (*Geographical Dictionary of Japan*), " Futami-ga-ura ".
37. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon Shinwa no Shin Kenkyū* (*A New Study of Japanese Mythology*), pp. 138, 139.
38. *Shinten : Kojiki*, pp. 28-30.
39. Through the mouth of *Itsuse-no mikoto*, a brother of the Emperor Jimmu.
40. *Shinten : Nihon Shoki*, p. 258.
41. There are practically no shrines today which enshrine the sun only as the object of worship or as the symbol of *kami*.
42. Aston, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
43. Two new sects centering in sun-worship are the Hinomoto Kyōdan and Hinomoto-kyō Hombu.
44. *Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto*, accorping to Dr. Miyaji was probably *kami* of the lunar calendar in primitive Japan.
45. *Shinten : Kojiki*, p. 23.
46. Literally, *Old Annals*, supposedly compiled in 620. The book now known by that title has been condemned as a forgery.
47. Aston, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Higo, Kazuo, *Nippon Shinwa* (*Japanese Myths*), p. 90.

Chapter V

1. While *torii* are distinctive marks of Shinto, there are some sects which use the *torii*. Hence the *torii* does not designate a shrine but the worship of Shinto *kami*. There are a few rare shrines that do not have *torii*.
2. Sato, Suke, *Nihon Jinja Kenchiku Shi* (*The History of Japanese Shrine Architecture*), pp. 13-41.
3. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 2, p. 262.
4. Sakamoto, and Chiba, Religions Research staff.
5. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 2, p. 468 and vol. 1. 337.
6. *Shinten Kojiki*, p. 146.
7. There is a building next to the Fuji View Hotel which has both *chigi* and *katsuogi*. It is now occupied by the army. What it was formerly is not known, but it is much longer and narrower than a shrine and there are no indication in the vicinity that it ever was a shrine, WPW.
8. *Koji Ruien, op., cit.*, p. 555.
9. *Shinten : Engi Shiki*, p. 1288.
10. The *chigi* was also used as a family crest, either alone, or in combination with the *katuogi*. See p. 98.
11. Except where otherwise indicated the sources are Religions Research Report "From Native Worship to Ancstor Worship and the Torii", by Mr. Okada, and the Religions Research staff.
12. See footnote 1.
13. This does not apply to the Inari with their innunerable *torii* lining the approaches. Sakamoto, Religions Research staff.
14. Religions Research staff.
15. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 2, p. 354.
16. *Tama* and *mizu* are honorifics. *Ara* means rough.
17. *Shinto Dai Jiten*, vol. 2, p. 505.
18. These are called *Mitarashi-gawa*, a corruption of *mi-te-arai*, august hand washing.
19. Called *Temizu-ya* (hand-water-building) or *mitarashi*.

Encyclopedia of Shinto

Chronological Supplement

『神道事典』巻末年表、英語版

Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics
Kokugakuin University
2016

國學院大學

Preface

This book is a translation of the chronology that appended *Shinto jiten*, which was compiled and edited by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University. That volume was first published in 1994, with a revised compact edition published in 1999. The main text of *Shinto jiten* is translated into English and publicly available in its entirety at the Kokugakuin University website as "The Encyclopedia of Shinto" (EOS). This English edition of the chronology is based on the one that appeared in the revised version of the *Jiten*. It is already available online, but it is also being published in book form in hopes of facilitating its use.

The original Japanese-language chronology was produced by Inoue Nobutaka and Namiki Kazuko. The English translation was prepared by Carl Freire, with assistance from Kobori Keiko.

Translation and publication of the chronology was carried out as part of the "Digital Museum Operation and Development for Educational Purposes" project of the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Organization for the Advancement of Research and Development, Kokugakuin University. I hope it helps to advance the pursuit of Shinto research throughout the world.

Inoue Nobutaka
Project Director
January 2016

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Translated from the Japanese original *Shinto jiten, shukusatsuban*.
(General Editor: Inoue Nobutaka; Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1999)
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Published by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 4-10-28 Higashi, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
Printed in Japan by Mizuki Shobō

Guide

1. Entries are divided into four categories: "Institutions/Laws," "Shrines/Organizations," "Personalities/Texts," and "Society." The content corresponding to each category is mainly as follows:

[A] Institutions/Laws: Laws and ordinances concerning Shinto, along with statutes, proclamations, and other materials of a similar nature.

[B] Shrines/Organizations: Matters related to shrines, religious groups, sects, and similar entities.

[C] Personalities/Texts: Important items including dates of death related to personalities who appear in the main text of "The Encyclopedia," as well as publication and other information regarding major texts.

[D] Major developments in Japanese society, as well major developments and incidents involving Shinto.

2. The source texts for the entries are cited at the end of the entry in parentheses. However, it was decided not to cite a source for those entries recounting information that has already become widely accepted as established theory.

3. For Personalities, all ages of death are presented using the traditional Japanese *kazoedoshi* system (one year old at birth, with one year added at each New Year).

4. Hyphens are used in dates to indicate some part of the information is unknown, e.g. "-.-" indicates neither month nor date are known, while "2.-" shows only the month (2nd) is known.

5. Dates through the end of 1872 are given using the old lunisolar calendar (*kyūreki*). The dates from January 1, 1873, forward are presented using the Gregorian system (*seireki*).

6. The corresponding Gregorian calendar equivalents for many traditional Japanese calendar dates until around the mid-sixth century C.E. are difficult to establish precisely. For convenience's sake, the Gregorian equivalents provided for those years are based on the hypothesis that Jinmu's installation as emperor occurred in 660 B.C.

7. An asterisk is used to indicate the title of corresponding entry from the EOS.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
663 BCE	*Tsuchinoe-uma* ("elder year of the horse"; see also **Ehō*)		9.-: Emperor Jimmu worships the "*kami* of heaven and earth" (**Tenjinchigi*) at Nyuu River before his conquest of Yamato. (*Nihon shoki*)
660 BCE	Jimmu 1	1.1: Enthronement of Emperor Jimmu. (*Nihon shoki*)	
657 BCE	Jimmu 4		2.23: Emperor Jimmu worships the imperial ancestral *kami* at Mt. Torimi in Yamato after completing his conquest of that province. (*Nihon shoki*)
92 BCE	Sujin 6		-.-. Princess Toyosukirihime no mikoto enshrines *Amaterasu Ōmikami at Kasanui village in Yamato. (*Nihon shoki*)
91 BCE	Sujin 7	11.13: "Shrines of heaven" (*tensha*) and "shrines of the earth" (*kokusha*, literally, "shrines of the state") are established (see **Kansha*). Lands are also set aside for serving the *kami* (*shinchi*), and *kami* ritualists (**Kanbe*) are appointed. (*Nihon shoki*)	-.-: The shrine to Takefutsu no Ōmikami is transferred to Yamanobe in Yamato and renamed Isonokami Ōmikami (origins of Isonokami Shrine) (see also **Futsunomitama*). (*Sendai kuji honki*)
			11.13: Ichishi no Nagaochi charged with worshipping *Yamato no Ōkunitama as a replacement for Nunakiirihime no Mikoto, who the previous year had been entrusted with worshipping the deity at a location outside the imperial palace (origin of Ōyamato Shrine). (*Nihon shoki*)
			11.13: Epidemics rampant around this time. In accordance with an oracle, the emperor asks *kami* Ōtataneko to worship *Ōmononushi no kami (origins of Ōmiwa Shrine). (*Nihon shoki*)
23 BCE	Suinin 7		
5 BCE	Suinin 25		3.-: Yamatohime no mikoto transfers *Amaterasu Ōmikami to be enshrined at Ise (another account relates this occurs the 10th month of the following

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.7: Nomi no sukune and Taima no Kuehaya hold wrestling match (first mention of **Sumō*). (*Nihon shoki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Year). (*Nihon shoki*)
4 BCE	Suinin 26		8.3: Emperor appoints Mononobe Tochine no Ōmuraji manager (**Kengyō*) of the treasury for Izumo Shrine. (*Nihon shoki*)
3 BCE	Suinin 27	8.7: Lands are set aside for serving the *kami* (*shinchi*) and *kami* ritualists (**Kanbe*) are appointed. (*Nihon shoki*)	
		8.7: Weapons presented to shrines as an offering (*shinpei*; see **Heihaku*) (first mention of weapons being given as offerings). (*Nihon shoki*)	
10 CE	Suinin 39		10.-: Inishiki no mikoto ordered to offer a thousand swords to Isonokami Shrine and to manage its treasury. (*Nihon shoki*)
57			
90	Keikō 20		2.4: Iono no himemiko ordered to worship *Amaterasu Ōmikami. (*Nihon shoki*)
110	Keikō 40		10.7: *Yamatotakeru no mikoto visits Ise Shrine prior to his eastern campaign of conquest. Yamatohime no mikoto endows him with the sacred sword *Kusanagi no tsurugi* (see also **Sanshu no shinki*). (*Nihon shoki*)
135	Seimu 5	9.-: Each province ordered to appoint a provincial governor-ritualist (**Kuni no miyatsuko*) to provinces and districts and local administrators (*inagi*) to villages. Province and district borders established at mountains and rivers, and village boundaries established.	
200	Chūai 9	4.-: Empress Jingū receives oracles upon the conquest of Silla. (*Nihon shoki*)	
201	Empress Jingū 1		2.-: Empress Jingū, following an oracle, performs several

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: The king of Na (Na-no-kuni) from the land of Wa (i.e., Japan) sends envoys to the later Han Dynasty and receives in return from Emperor Guangwu an imperial seal. (*Houhanshu, Guangwu di ji* [History of the later Han dynasty, the annals of Emperor Guangwu])

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			enshrinement ceremonies: the "violent spirit" (**Aramitama*) of Amaterasu Ōmikami at Hirota Province; Wakahirume no mikoto at Ikuta Province; Kotoshironushi no mikoto at Nagata Province; and, at Nunakura in Ōtsu, the "peaceful spirits" (**Nigimitama*) of Uwazututno'o, Nakazutsuno'o, and Sokozutsuno'o (the three Sumiyoshi *kami*; see **Sumiyoshi shinkō*) (the origins of Hirota, Nagata, and Sumiyoshi shrines). (*Nihon shoki*)
239			
285	Ōjin 16		
300	Ōjin 31		
310	Ōjin 41		2.-: Achino Omi, an ancestor of the Yamatoaya clan, arrived in Tsukushi from Wu. The services of weaver Ehime are offered to the three Munakata goddesses (see **Munakata shinkō*) at their request. (*Nihon shoki*)
372	Nintoku 60		
404	Richū 5		10.11: The imperial court makes a gift of the cart keepers

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.-: Queen Himiko of *Wa*, who was said to have "dealt with spirits" (*kidō*; see also **Ancient Shintō*), sends envoys to the Wei Dynasty.
	12.-: Emperor Ming of Wei confers upon her the title "Queen of Wa Friendly to Wei," together with a gold seal with purple ribbon decoration. (*Wei Zhi Wo ren chuan* [Records of *Wei,* account of the Wa people])
	-.-: Wani of Baekje, Korea, offers ten volumes of the *Analects of Confucius* and one volume of the *Thousand Character Classic*. (*Kojiki*; *Nihon shoki*)
	-.-: Keyhole-shaped burial mounds (*zenpō-kōen fun*) including the Sakurai Chausu Yama, Hashihaka, Shikin Zan, and Tsubai Ōtsuka Yama *kofun* built from the end of 3CE to 4CE.
	-.-: Korean kingdom of Baekje makes presents of the **shichishitō* (also *nanatsusaya no tachi*) and *nanatsuko* ("seven-little-one") mirror. (The *shichishitō* is housed in Isonokami Shrine. The sword was made in 369 according to its inscription. *Nihon shoki* records this event as taking place in the 52th year of Empress Jingū's reign, or 252.)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			professional group (*kurumamochi-be*) to Munakata Shrine in response to a divine oracle and a calamity believed to have been cause by an evil spirit (**Tatari*). (*Nihon shoki*)
415	Ingyō 4		
478	Yūryaku 22		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine built. (*Toyukegūgishikichō*; *Houkihonki*)
507	Keitai 1	1.-: Emperor Buretsu dies without a successor. Consequently, Ōdono kimi, a fifth-generation grandson of Emperor Ōjin, comes from Echizen and ascends the throne to become Emperor Keitai. (*Nihon shoki*)	
527	Keitai 27		
538	Senka 3		
552	Kinmei 13		
554	Kinmei 15		
593	Suiko 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	9.28: A divination by ordeal ceremony (**Kukatachi*) is performed at Umakashino no Oka to sort out confusion over lineages (*Nihon shoki*).
	5.-: Bu, the king of Wa, sends tribute to the Liu Song Dynasty and petitions to be officially confirmed in his title by the Chinese court. (*Songshu, Woguoyun zhuan* [History of the Liu Song dynasty, account on the Wa people])
	6.3: Expeditionary force dispatched to Mimana (Inna, on the Korean Peninsula). While they are en route, Governor Iwai of Tsukushi Province launches a revolt. His rebellion ends the 11th month of the following year (the Iwai Rebellion). (*Nihon shoki*)
	-.-: King Seong of Baekje sends presents of an image of Shakyamuni and several sutras (transmission of Buddhism to Japan) (see also **Shintō and Buddhism*). (*Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu*)
	10.-: King Seong of Baekje presents an image of Shakyamuni to the Emperor. (transmission of Buddhism to Japan) Mononobe no Ōmuraji Okoshi and Nakatomi no Muraji Kamako contend with Soga no Iname over the reception of Buddhism. (*Nihon shoki*)
	2.-: Kingdom of Baekje sends to Japan scholars (*hakase*) of Confucianism, divination, calendars, and medicine, as well as herbalists and musicians. (*Nihon shoki*)
	4.10: Prince Shōtoku appointed regent. (*Nihon shoki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
594	Suiko 2		
603	Suiko 11	12.5: Twelve-level cap- rank system established. (*Nihon shoki*)	
604	Suiko 12	4.3: Prince Shōtoku promulgates the Seventeen-Article Constitution. (*Nihon shoki*)	
		9.-: Court rituals are revised. (*Nihon shoki*)	
607	Suiko 15	2.9: Decree ordering that deities be worshipped (**Jingiryō*) are issued. (*Nihon shoki*)	
620	Suiko 28		
624	Suiko 32		
630	Jomei 2		
639	Jomei 11	1.11: Emperor eats from the year's first harvest (first mention of the **Niiname sai*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
642	Kōgyoku 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.1: Emperor orders Prince Shōtoku to promote the prosperity of Buddhism. (*Nihon shoki*)
	1.1: The Chinese calendar adopted on this day. (*Seiji yoryaku*)
	7.3: Ono no Imoko sent to China as an emissary. Sui Emperor Yangdi is displeased at passage in official correspondence that reads "From the Son of Heaven in the Land of the Rising Sun . . ." (the salutation implies the Japanese and Chinese monarchs are equal, hence the Sui Emperor's displeasure). (*Suishu*, *Woguo zhuan* [History of the Sui, account on the Wa people])
-.-: Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako produce three, no-longer extant works (or possibly one single work in three parts) titled *Tennōki*, *Kokki*, and *Omi no muraji tomo no miyatsuko kuni no miyatsuko momoyaso tomo narabini kōminara no hongi* (see also **Kojiki and Nihon shoki*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
	-.-: Organizational structure for monks and nuns formulated. (7.17: Administrative positions such as *sōjō* (high priest) and *sōzu* (senior priest) created, and monks and nuns put under their control. 9.3: Survey of monks and nuns conducted; information recorded includes temple foundation dates, reasons why individuals entered vocations, and the dates they entered such. Survey shows there are 46 temples, 816 monks, and 569 nuns). (*Nihon shoki*)
	8.5: Inugami no mitasuki is sent as emissary to Tang China (first of the Japanese missions to Tang-dynasty China [*kentōshi*]). (*Nihon shoki*)
	8.1: Major drought around this time. Prayers for rainfall (**Kiu*) are offered using various

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
644	Kōgyoku 3		
645	Taika 1	6.19: Era name (*gengō*) system is instituted. First name chosen is Taika. (*Nihon shoki*)	
646	Taika 2	3.22: Regulations are instituted regarding ill-considered funeral rituals, bond servants, marriages, and purification rites. (*Nihon shoki*)	
649	Taika 5		-.-: Shrine manors start to be referred to as *mikuriya* (see **Shinryō*). First chief priest for Ise Shrine appointed. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
650	Hakuchi 1		
659	Saimei 5		-.-: This year, the Izumo provincial governor-ritualist (**Izumo kokusō*) is ordered to build a shrine for a *kami* (Kumano Shrine, built in the Iu district; , other accounts say it was Kitsuki Shrine). (*Nihon shoki*)
662	Tenji 1		-.-: Title for the chief administrator of the Grand Shrines of Ise changed to "master of religious rites" (**saishu*). Nakatomi no Ōshima first person appointed to position. (*Jingū nenpyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	methods (entreating river deities, sacrificing animals at shrines, and relocating markets) and sutras are read, but none have the desired effect. Consequently, the emperor goes to Kawakami at Nabuchi to pray for rain. It then rains heavily. (*Nihon shoki*)
	7.-: Oofube no Oo from the Fuji River area in Suruga invites his neighbors to worship an insect he calls Tokoyo-no-kami. The belief becomes very popular. Hata no kawakatsu suppresses it (see **Hayarigami Shinkō*). (*Nihon shoki*)
	6.12: Prince Naka-no-ōe assassinates Soga no Iruka. His father Soga-no-emishi commits suicide (Isshi Incident [Isshi no hen]). Emishi tries to burn the *Tennōki* and *Kokki* (early chronicles of Japan; see also **Kojiki and Nihon shoki*) at the moment of his suicide; however, Fune-no-fubito-esaka rescues *Kokki* from the fire. (*Nihon shoki*)
	1.1: Reform edicts (the so-called Taika Reforms) promulgated. (*Nihon shoki*)
	2.15: Era name changed to Hakuchi ("white pheasant") due to a good omen (governor of Nagato Province gives a white pheasant to the imperial court as a gift). (*Nihon shoki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
670	Tenji 9	3.9: Close to Mii ("sacred well," present-day site of Mii Temple just outside Kyoto in Shiga Prefecture), places are set out for worshipping the *kami* with ritual offerings (**Heihaku*) spread before them (some argue this is the first appearance of the **Kinensai*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
671	Tenji 10		-.-: , Miwa no kami of Yamato is enshrined at Mt. Hiei in Ōmi during the reign of this emperor (Emperor Tenji). (*Yōtenki*)
672	Tenmu 1		
673	Tenmu 2	4.14: Ōku-no-himemiko undertakes a purification rite (**Kessai*) at Hatsuse Shrine so she can serve at Ise Shrine. The following year on 10.19 she goes to Ise (first mention of the "consecrated princess" [**Saigū*] supported by historical documentation). (*Nihon shoki*)	
		12.5 The Nakatomi and Inbe clans; priests (*shinkan*); and the heads of the Harima and Tanba districts receive emoluments for having performed the **Daijōsai* ("the Great Thanksgiving festival," held to accompany a new emperor's accession to the throne) (this suggests that the *daijōsai* for Emperor Tenmu had already taken place). (*Nihon shoki*)	
675	Tenmu 4	1.23: Ritual wands (*hei* or *nusa*; see **Onusa*) offered to shrines (said to be the beginning of public **Kinensai*. Other sources say this took place in the 2nd month that year, or else in Tenji 9). (*Nihon shoki*)	4.10: The wind *kami* of Tatsuta and the Ōimi-no-*kami* of Hirose are worshipped. (First mention of Hirose-Tatsuta festivals [see also **Ōimi no matsuri*]. This is event is also said to mark the founding of the Hirose and Tatsuta shrines). (*Nihon shoki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.-: The Jinshin War breaks out this month. It ends the following month. (*Nihon shoki*)
	1.1: Officials from various bureaus including the Bureau of Divination present medicine to the emperor (first mentions of a medicine ceremony [here involving *o-toso*, or medicinal sake] and of the Bureau of Divination; see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*). (*Nihon shoki*)
	4.17: An imperial proclamation is sent to every province restricting methods for fishing and hunting, and the times when those activities are allowed. It also prohibits the consumption of beef, horse, monkey, and

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
676	Tenmu 5	10.3: Ritual offerings (**Heihaku*) presented to all deities (**Jingi*) (first mention of **Ainame sai*). (*Nihon shoki*).	
678	Tenmu 7		1.-: Emperor Tenmu performs a purification ceremony (**Ōharae*) to worship the "*kami* of heaven and earth" (**Tenjinchigi*), and builds a palace (**Saigū*) for the consecrated princess at Kurahashi Kawakami. An imperial procession and festival were to have taken place in the 4th month; however, plans are suspended due to the death of Princess Tōchi no himemiko. (*Nihon shoki*)
681	Tenmu 10	1.19: Provinces in the Kinai region (the area around Nara and Kyoto) and elsewhere are ordered to repair shrine buildings. (*Nihon shoki*)	
683	Tenmu 12		
684	Tenmu 13	10.1: Eight hereditary clan titles [*yakusa no kabane*] instituted. (*Nihon shoki*)	
685	Tenmu 14	11.24: Ceremony to "invite the spirits" performed for the emperor (origins of the "festival for the pacification of the spirit" [**Chinkon-sai*]). (*Nihon shoki*)	9.10: System instituted for rebuilding and reconsecrating the Grand Shrines of Ise, which entails transferring the enshrined deity from an old shrine building to a newly constructed one (see **Shikinensengū*). (*Dai jingū sho zōjiki*)
686	Shuchō 1		6.10: Emperor becomes ill. A divination reveals it to be a curse from the sword Kusanagi (Kusanagi no tsurugi; see also **Sanshu no shinki*), so the emperor sends the sword back to Atsuta Shrine. (*Nihon shoki*)
687	Jitō 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	poultry. (*Nihon shoki*)
	3.2: "High priests" (*sōjō*), "senior priests" (*sōzu*), and "Vinaya masters" (*risshi*) are appointed to oversee monks and nuns (marks the establishment of a hierarchical structure for Buddhist officials [*sōgō*]). (*Nihon shoki*)
	7.20: Era name changed to Shuchō ("vermilion bird") due to a vermilion pheasant appearing, which was seen as a good omen. (*Nihon shoki*)
	9.9: National mourning (*kokki*) ceremonies held at temples in the capital for Emperor Tenmu first mention of a Buddhist style

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
689	Jitō 3	8.2: All government officials gather at the **Jingikan* for talks on matters involving the *kami* of heaven and earth (**Tenjinchigi*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
690	Jitō 4		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and deity transferred (**Shikinensengū*) (some argue that this is the first time that the *shikinensengū* for Ise Inner Shrine was ever mentioned). (*Dai jingū sho zōjiki*)
691	Jitō 5	11.1 **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Jitō. (*Nihon shoki*)	
692	Jitō 6		12.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and deity transferred (**Shikinensengū*) (said to be first mention of a *shikinensengū* performed for the Ise Outer Shrine). (*Dai jingū sho zōjiki*)
698	Monmu 2	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Monmu. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	12.29: Ta'ke Shrine transferred to Watarai District in Ise Province. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
699	Monmu 3		
700	Monmu 4		
701	Taihō 1		-.-: Hata no Tori builds Matsu-no-o Shrine in Yamashiro Province this year. (*Honcho getsurei*)
702	Taihō 2	7.8: The shrine to Honoikazuchi-no-kami of Yamashiro-otokuni District is added to the shrines where both ritual purification wands (**Ōnusa*) and monthly imperial tributes (*tsukinami no nusa*) are officially offered (first mention	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	memorial day mourning ceremony [*kokki*] for an emperor). (*Nihon shoki*)
	5.24: *En no Ozunu of Mt. Katsuragi is exiled to Izu on a charge of making misleading prophecies. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	3.10: The monk Dōshō cremated in accordance with his written will (first mention of cremation in Japan) (see **Shinsōsai* [*Shinto Funeral Rites*]). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	3.21: Era name changed to Taihō due to good omens (gold offerings from Tsushima, completion of the Taihō legal code). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	8.3: Completed Taihō legal code presented as offering to the emperor. (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		of additions being made to ranks of official shrines [*Kansha*] supported by historical evidence). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
704	Keiun 1		
706	Keiun 3	2.26: Nineteen shrines in Kai, Shinano, Etchū, Tajima, and Tosa provinces are recipients of the ritual offerings (**Hanpei*) from the **Kinensai*. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
707	Keiun 4		
708	Wadō 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Genmei. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	10.2: Royal court reports on construction of Heijō-kyō (present-day Nara) to Ise Inner Shrine. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
709	Wadō 2		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
710	Wadō 3		
711	Wadō 4	4.20: Governor of Yamashiro Province ordered to inspect the Kamo festival (festival had been growing too boisterous). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	2.-: Hata no Kimi Irogu enshrines the *kami* Inari (see **Inari shinkō*) at Mitsumine in Kii District, Yamashiro Province (the first Inari shrine to be built). (*Nenchūgyōji hishō*, *Shosha kongen-ki*)
			-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
712	Wadō 5		
715	Reiki 1	6.-: First mention of the ritual meal eaten by the emperor to celebrate the imperial ancestors (*jinkonjiki*; see **Chōtei saishi*), according to one tradition. Another tradition claims the *jinkonjiki* was first held in 716 (Reiki 2). (*Kuji kongen*)	-.-: Following an oracle, Fujiwara no Muchimaro this year constructs the "shrine temple" (**Jingūji*) Kehi in Echizen Province (the first mention of a shrine temple in historical accounts). (*Tō-shi kaden*)
716	Reiki 2	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	5.10: Era name changed to Keiun due to a good omen (an auspicious cloud appeared in the imperial court). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	-.-: Epidemic rages throughout the country, killing many people. For this reason, a demon-exorcism rite (*taina*) is performed using a clay cow (first mention of *taina*; also known as *tsuina*; see **Oni*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	2.6: Provinces ordered to perform purification rite (**Ōharae*) due to widespread epidemic. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	1.11: Era name changed to Wadō (lit. "Japanese copper") due to good omens (copper offerings received from Musashi Province). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	3.10: Capital relocated to Heijō-kyō (present-day Nara).
1.28: Ōno Yasumaro presents *Kojiki* (see **Kojiki and Nihon shoki*) to the imperial court. (*Kojiki*, "Introduction")	
-.-: *Harima fudoki* written by this year (see **Fudoki*).	9.2: Era name changed to Reiki due to good omen (the offering of a "supernatural turtle" [*reiki*] from Sakyō).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Emperor Genshō	
717	Yōrō 1	4.23: Begging by both monks and laypersons is banned, as are all forms of shamanism and divination other than healing through incantations (*shinju*) or infusions (*tōyaku*). The itinerant activities of Buddhist monk Gyōki (see **Ryōbu Shintō*) also prohibited at this time. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	2.1: Ambassador to Tang China Ohono Garuhi worships the "kami of heaven and earth" (**Tenjinchigi*) south of Mt. Mikasa. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
718	Yōrō 2		
719	Yōrō 3	6.19: Officials at the Department of Divinities (**Ritsuryō Jingikan*) including those who oversee ceremonies in the imperial court (*miyaji*, see **Jinjashishoku*) ordered for the first time to hold scepters while performing their duties. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
720	Yōrō 4		-.-: This year, following an oracle a ceremonial release of captive animals (*hōjō-e*; see also **Chōtei saishi*) takes place at Usa Shrine (one tradition claims this was the first *hōjō-e* held in the country; another claims it is the first to be held at Usa Grand Shrine). (*Usa takusen-shū*)
721	Yōrō 5	9.11: Emperor Genshō sends an envoy to Ise to make offerings (**Heihaku*) (first appearance of "regular official offerings" [*reihei*, see also **Reiheishi*] done at **Kannamesai*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
724	Shinki 1	1.27: Izumo governor-ritualist (**Izumo kokusō*) Izumo no omi Hiroshima delivers the *kamuyogoto* incantation (see also **Norito*).	
		11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōmu.	
725	Shinki 2		-.-: Following an oracle from the deity Usa Ōkami, a "shrine temple" (**Jingūji*) is constructed

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.17: Era name changed to Yōrō due to a favorable auspice (*sake* is said to have come out of a fountain in Mino Province).
5.-: First draft of *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* prepared (see **Fudoki*).	
5.21: Prince Toneri and his collaborators finish and present to the emperor *Nihongi* (*Nihon shoki*) in 30 volumes, plus a genealogy (see * *Kojiki and Nihon shoki*).	
	2.4: Era name changed to Shinki to mark start of new era and due to a favorable omen (offering of a white turtle from Sakyō [the characters for "*Shinki*" mean "divine turtle"]).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			at Usa. (*Usatakusenshū*)
729	Tenpyō 1		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
730	Tenpyō 2	10.29: Offerings from the Chinese kingdom of Bohai made to shrines to "eminent deities" (**Myōjin*) in each province (first mention of *myōjin*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
732	Tenpyō 4		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
733	Tenpyō 5		
737	Tenpyō 9	8.13: Order issued for shrines without official status throughout the country that are to *kami* seen as efficacious to be promoted to status of official shrines (**Kansha*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
740	Tenpyō 12		
741	Tenpyō 13		
743	Tenpyō 15	5.27: Law promulgated allowing newly opened, arable fields to be owned in perpetuity across the generations.	
746	Tenpyō 18		8.-: An oracle from Usa Hachiman Shrine ordering

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.12: Prince Nagaya commits suicide after being falsely accused of studying the "Left Way" (*sadō*; i.e., a heresy or black magic) and plotting treason against the emperor. (*Nagaya-ō no hen*, or "the Prince Nagaya incident"). Subsequently, during the years when the Chinese-styled administrative system (i.e., the *ritsuryō* state) was still in effect, the government adopted a repressive stance toward Daoist magic. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	8.5: Era name changed to Tenpyō due to a favorable omen (an "auspicious turtle"[*zuiki*] was offered from Sakyō).
	9.29: Someone from Suō Province recklessly preaches about good and bad fortune and worships the spirits of the dead. Another brings together large masses of people around capital and spreads groundless rumors (some traditions say this was the itinerant Buddhist preacher Gyōki). Both are banned. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
2.30: *Izumo no kuni fudoki* produced (see **Fudoki*). (Introduction to *Izumo no kuni fudoki*)	
-.-: *Hizen no kuni fudoki* and *Bungo no kuni fudoki* produced this year (see **Fudoki*).	8.12: Smallpox rampant. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	9.-: The revolt of Fujiwara no Hirotsugu.
	3.24: Promulgation issued ordering the construction of official temples and nunneries in each province (the *kokubunji*, or provincial temple, system) (date recorded in *Ruiju-sandai-kyaku* as 2.14). (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			construction of the Great Buddha for Tōdai Temple. Mutsu Province gives the shrine an offering of 120 gold *ryō* (approx. 4.5 kg of gold). (*Tōdaiji yōroku*)
747	Tenpyō 19		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
749	Tenpyō-shōhō 1	11.25: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōken. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	12.18: Divine spirit of Usa Hachiman Shrine comes to the capital (Heijō-kyō, today's Nara). Spirit is welcomed with the construction of shrine buildings in Nashihara Palace. (The spirit is said to have come to the capital to support the construction of the Great Buddha in Heijō-kyō.) (*Shoku-nihongi*)
			-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
752	Tenpyō-shōhō 4		
754	Tenpyō-shōhō 6	11.27: Chief ritualist (*miyaji*, see **Jinjashishoku*) of Usa Hachiman Shrine Ōga no Tamaro and others for witchcraft. The governor of Dazai (*Dazai-fu*) takes control of shrine's estates. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
757	Tenpyō-hōji 1	5.20: The Yōrō Code goes into effect.	
		6.19: The decision is made that the imperial envoy (*heihakushi*, see **Hōbeishi*) to the Grand Shrines of Ise will be selected from among members of the high-ranking Nakatomi clan. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
758	Tenpyō-hōji 2	11.23 **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Junnin.	9.-: Two hundred and eighteen shrine menials (*kamiyatsuko*) at Kashima in Hitachi Province are designated shrine households

Personalities/Texts	Society
	4.14: Era name changed to Tenpyō-kanpō due to favorable auspice (offering of gold from Mutsu Province).
	8.17: Seventeen shamans from the capital exiled to Izu, Tosa, and Oki. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	4.4: All households ordered to keep a copy of *Xiao jing* (The classic of filial piety). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	5.20: Fujiwara no Nakamaro installs himself as head of the empress-consort's household agency (*shibi-naishō*). He pursues policies strongly colored by Tang and Confucian models, such as changing the titles of government officials to match Tang styles.
	8.18: Era name changed to Tenpyō-hōji due to good omen (appearance of mystical writing at the imperial court and in Suruga). (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*Kanbe*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
			10.2: Mishima Shrine in Izu is granted 9 shrine households (*Kanbe*). Another 4 are granted in the 12th month. (*Shinshōkyakuchokufushō*)
759	Tenpyō-hōji 3		
765	Tenpyō-jingo 1	11.16: (22) **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōtoku.	
766	Tenpyō-jingo 2		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
767	Jingo-keiun 1		
768	Jingo-keiun 2		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
769	Jingo-keiun 3		
770	Hōki 1		
771	Hōki 2	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōnin.	-.-: The offices of chief priest (*daigūji*) and vice-chief priest (*shōgūji*) created at Usa Shrine (see **Gūji*).
772	Hōki 3		8.6: The shrine temple (**jingūji*) at Ise is transferred from Watarai District to Ītaka District because of a curse by the *kami* *Tsukuyomi of the Grand Shrines of Ise (*Shoku-nihongi*). (The curse did not abate, so the temple would be transferred to another location in 780 on 2.1).
775	Hōki 6	10.13: Feast held to celebrate the emperor's birthday (first mention of the **Tenchō-setsu*).	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.22: Unordained monks (*shidosō*) are banned. (*Ruiju-sandai-kyaku*)
	8.16: Era name changed to Jingo-keiun due to good omen (clouds seen as omens of good luck [*keiun*] appeared at the imperial court and Ise).
	9.25: Prior to this date, the head priest of Dazai-fu had reported to the emperor that an oracle from Usa Hachiman (see **Hachiman shinkō*) called for Dōkyō, a monk, to be made emperor. The emperor sent Wake no Kiyomaro to Usa to inquire as to the will of Hachiman. Kiyomaro reported back that the previous oracle (**Takusen*) was false and for that reason he was exiled. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	10.1: Era name changed to Hōki due to start of new era and a good omen (offering of a white turtle from Higo). (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Shoku-nihongi*)	
780	Hōki 11	12.14: Activities of shamans and "worship of heretical deities" (*inshi*) banned in the capital. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
781	Ten'ō 1	11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kanmu.	
784	Enryaku 3		
785	Enryaku 4	11.10: Emperor Kanmu worships the heavenly deities (*tenjin*, see **Tenjinchigi*) with a Chinese-style ceremony (Ch. *jiaosi*, usually "suburban sacrifice") at Kashiwara in Kawachi-katano District. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
787	Enryaku 6		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
788	Enryaku 7		5.2: Envoys sent to the Grand Shrines of Ise and shrines to eminent deities (**Myōjin*) around the country to pray for rain. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
789	Enryaku 8		
791	Enryaku 10		10.27: Crown Prince visits Ise Grand Shrine. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
792	Enryaku 11	7.27: Holding large-scale funerals is banned. (*Ruiju-sandai-kyaku*)	3.24: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) on a provisional basis due to fire.
794	Enryaku 13		12.-: Hirano Shrine is built. (*Ichidai-yōki*)
798	Enryaku 17	1.24: Terms of office for chief priests and priestly officials decided. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
		9.7: System for "provincial offering shrines" (*kokuheisha*, see **Shikinaisha*) finalized, for purposes of distributing ritual offerings (**Hanpei*) in such	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	1.1: Era name changed to Ten'ō due to a good omen (appearance of a beautiful cloud at the palace to the consecrated princess [**Saigū*] at Ise). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	11.11: Capital transferred to Nagaoka-kyō.
-.-: First appearance of the word **saimon*, meaning a written proclamation read aloud to the deities. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
	4.16: The emperor himself prays for rain (**Kiu*) due to a nationwide drought. (according to archival materials, an emperor had not prayed for rain since 642; such prayers were hardly ever offered again after this date). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	12.-: Enryaku Temple constructed on Mt. Hiei.
8.-: **Sumiyoshitaishajindaiki* presented to the Settsu Office (*Settsu-shiki*, a special office that administered Settsu Province).	
	9.16: Killing cows in worship of Chinese deities (*karagami*) in the provinces of Echizen, Ōmi, Ise, Mino, Owari, and Kii is banned. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	10.24: Capital transferred to Heian-kyō (present-day Kyoto).
	10.4: Music and dancing at night time festivals in the capital and neighboring provinces forbidden. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		festivals as the **Kinensai*. Previously, priests (**Hafuribe*) from all official shrines (**Kansha*) would be brought to the Department of Divinities (**Ritsuryō Jingikan*) to be given the distributed ritual offerings. After this change, in the case of the more distant official shrines the governor (*kokushi*) of the province in which the shrine was located would distribute offerings themselves. (*Ruijū-kokushi*).	
		10.12: In Izumo and Chikuzen provinces, provincial governor-ritualists (**Kuni no miyatsuko*; see also **Izumo kokusō*) prohibited from concurrently holding post of district governor (*gunryō*). Additionally, provincial governors in those provinces also serving as shrine ritualists (**Kannushi*) prohibited from referring to farm girls taken as concubines as "shrine attendants" (*jingū uneme*) and having them conduct rituals. (*Ruijū-kokushi*; *Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
800	Enryaku 19	12.4: Chief magistrate of Munakata, Chikuzen Province, prohibits shrine ritualists (**Kannushi*) from also serving as district officials (see **Shingun*). (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
801	Enryaku 20		Intercalary 1.17: The position of *jingūji* ("chief administrator priest"; not to be confused with **Jingūji*) in Izumo Province is abolished. (*Ruijū-kokushi*)
804	Enryaku 23		6.-: Method for appointing the chief priests (**Gūji*) at the Hitachi, Kashima, Kehi, Keta, and Buzen Hachiman shrines

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.23: It has been decided that the ongoing misfortunes Emperor Kanmu has been experiencing around this time are due to a curse from Crown Prince Sawara, who had become the sacrificial victim in a fight for succession (he had been banished and then he starved to death in custody). Consequently, on this day the late prince is granted the posthumous title of Emperor Sudō.
3.14: Presentation of *Toyuke-gū gishiki chō* (see **Enryakugishikichō*).	
8.28: *Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō* (see **Enryakugishikichō*) produced. (Afterword to *Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			established (*Nihon-kōki*).
805	Enryaku 24		-.-: One tradition holds that around this time, during the reign of Emperor Kanmu, the Kasuga *kami* (see **Kasuga shinkō*) was transferred (**Kanjō*) to Ōharano (the foundation of Ōharano Shrine). (*Ōkagami uragaki*)
806	Daidō 1		
807	Daidō 2	9.28: Shamans and "worship of heretical deities" (*inshi*) in the capital are banned. (*Nihon-kiryaku*)	
808	Daidō 3	11.14: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Heizei.	
810	Kōnin 1	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Saga.	-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
		12.-: Princess Uchiko is appointed the consecrated princess of Kamo Shrine (**Saiin*). (This marks the creation of the position of Kamo princess)	
812	Kōnin 3	9.26: All the provinces were ordered to investigate oracles (*shintaku*; see also **Kamigakari, takusen*). Orders are also issued that prohibit reckless preaching about good and bad fortune (*kafuku*) and that provincial governors (*kokushi*) are to report oracles remarkably good in nature to the court. (*Nihonkōki*)	6.5: The frequency for doing rebuilding work at shrines in Sumiyoshi, Katori, and Kashima is set at 20 years for the main building (*seiden*, see **Honden*) alone. (*Nihonkōki*)
			-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
814	Kōnin 5		
815	Kōnin 6	11.21: Issuing decisions on	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.8: Buddhist monk Saichō (also known as Dengyō Daishi) returns from China to found the Tendai Buddhist sect.
	10.22: Buddhist monk Kūkai (also known as Kōbō Daishi) returns from China to found the Shingon Buddhist sect.
2.13: Inbe no Hironari presents to the court **Kogoshūi*. (*Kogoshūi* dedication). (Divergent opinions exist).	2.24: The emperor offers prayers to eminent deities (**Myōjin*) at the imperial palace audience hall (*Daigokuden*) in response to the spread of an epidemic (offering invocations [**Kitō*] to eminent deities starts to become popular from around this time). (*Nihongiryaku*)
	9.12: The Kusuko Incident (*Kusuko no hen*, a failed coup attempt meant to restore the now-retired Emperor Heizei to the throne). (*Nihonkōki*)
6.1: Prince Manda presents **Shinsen shōjiroku* to the imperial court. (Some argue it was completed in the 7th month.)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		death sentences during festivals prohibited. (*Nihonkōki*)	
816	Kōnin 7	6.22: Chief priest (**Gūji*) at the Grand Shrines of Ise is removed from his position for causing pollution (**Kegare*) by performing Buddhist rites. (*Ruijū-kokushi*)	
817	Kōnin 8	12.25: The chief priest (**Gūji*) of the Grand Shrines of Ise is granted authority over the special districts providing services to Ise (**Shingun*). (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
818	Kōnin 9	-.-: An administrative office for the Kamo consecrated princess (*saiinshi*, see **Saiin*) is established.	
819	Kōnin 10	3.16: The Kamo Shrine festival [*kamosai*] is grouped with other medium-scale shrine rites (*chūshi*, see **Chūsai*) placing it on par with the **Kinensai,* **Niinamesai,* and others below the **Daijōsai* among imperial court rituals. (This may indicate the first time that the Kamo festival was officially acknowledged as a court festival).	5.17: Imperial tributes (**Hōbei*) offered to the *kami* of Kibune as a prayer for rain (**Kiu*). (Kyoto's Kibune Shrine became the main shrine for prayers seeking the start or end of rainfall around this time, lasting until the medieval period). (*Nihongiryaku*)
820	Kōnin 11		
822	Kōnin 13		
823	Kōnin 14	11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Junna.	
827	Tenchō 4		1.19: Emperor Junna becomes ill. The source of his illness is attributed to a curse from Inari

Personalities/Texts	Society
4.21: *Kōnin kyakushiki* (see **Policies and Institutions of the Classical Period*) presented to the imperial court. (The document—a compilation of protocols and procedures—would be presented again in 830 before going into force in 840).	
1.30: *Dairishiki* (a compilation of protocols for the imperial palace) presented to the imperial court.	
-.-: Keikai (also known as Kyōkai) produces *Nihon ryōiki* [A record of miraculous events in Japan] around this time (see, for example, **Fugeki*).	
	7.12: A major earthquake occurs. Frequent earthquakes follow. (*Nihongiryaku*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Shrine, so the deity of that shrine is granted the rank (**Shin'i, shinkai*) of junior fifth lower grade (*jugoi'ge*). (*Nihongiryaku*)
829	Tenchō 6		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
830	Tenchō 7		
831	Tenchō 8		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
833	Tenchō 10	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Ninmei.	
839	Jōwa 6	Intercalary 1.23: Villages are ordered to worship *kami* associated with disasters and misfortune (*ekijin* or *yakujin*; see **Shintō and Buddhism*) every season to prevent epidemics from spreading.	11.5: Fire at the palace of the consecrated princess of Ise (**Saigū*) burns down more than 100 official residences.
		2.26: Jurisdiction over Kehi Shrine in Echizen is transferred from the provincial governor (*kokushi*) to the Department of Divinities (*Jingikan*, see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*). (*Shoku-nihonkōki*)	
840	Jōwa 7		
848	Kashō 1		
849	Kashō 2		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
850	Kashō 3	5.9: Seventy monks (*dosha*) assigned to the shrines of eminent deities (**Myōjin*); the monks are given names that include the character for *kami* (神). (*Montoku jitsuroku*)	
851	Ninju 1	1.27: All *kami* ranked or not are given ranks of senior sixth or higher (see also **Shin'i,*	-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.11: Urabe Tohotsugu presents to the imperial court **Shinsen kisōki*. (*Shinsen kisōki no kenkyū: honkoku no bu*)	
2.15: Kiyohara no Natsuno finishes compiling **Ryōnogige*.	
12.9: Fujiwara no Otsugu and his collaborators finish compiling the chronicle *Nihonkōki*. (Introduction to the *Nihonkōki*)	
	6.13: Era name changed to Kashō due to favorable auspice (the offering of a white turtle from Dazaifu).
	4.28: Era name changed to Ninju due to start of new imperial reign and favorable auspices (reports to the court of a white turtle and

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		shinkai). (*Montoku jitsuroku*)	
		2.12: System for festivals at Ōharano Shrine established, modeled on those of Umemiya Shrine. (Hereafter, the Ōharano festival would be held as court rites). (*Montoku-jitsuroku*)	
		11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Montoku.	
854	Saikō 1		
857	Ten'an 1		
859	Jōgan 1	1.27: Ranks assigned to 267 shrines around the country en masse. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	8.-: Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine founded. (Another version of its founding holds that this year the monk Gyōkyō asked to found the shrine and the deity was transferred [**kanjō*] there the following year. In either case, the shrine subsequently became the focal point for the Hachiman cult [see **Hachiman shinkō*]). (*Chōyagunsai*)
		11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Seiwa.	
863	Jōgan 5		-.-: This year, Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine following on Usa Hachiman Shrine begins to hold its *Hōjō-e* festival (a Buddhist-derived ceremony entailing the release of captive animals; see also **Hachiman shinkō* and **Chōtei saishi*). Iwashimizu Temple is renamed Gokoku Temple and is made the "shrine temple" (**Jingūji*) of Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine..
864	Jōgan 6	8.5: The imperial court orders Kai Province to apologize to the *kami*, saying the great	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	rainfalls of sweet waters [*kanro*, associated in Chinese political thought with benevolent rule and peaceful lands]).
	11.30: Era name changed to Saikō due to favorable auspice (a report from Iwami of a spring that produces sweet-tasting waters [*reisen*]).
	2.21: Era name changed to Ten'an due to favorable auspices (reports from Mimasaka and Hitachi of white deer and of conjoined trees [*renri*; considered to be lucky]).
8.-: The word *suijaku* ("temporary manifestation;" see **Honjisuijakusetsu*) is used with reference to the *kami* in a document submitted to the imperial court (*jōhyōbun*) by the monk Eryō of Enryaku Temple, who was requesting that annual ordinands (*nendosha* or *nenbundosha*) from the Tendai sect be sent to the Kamo and Kasuga shrines (see also **Shintō and Buddhism*). (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
	5.20: Ritual to placate the spirits that cause calamities (g*oryō-e*, see **Goryō* and **Goryō shinkō*) held at the garden Shinsen'en in Kyoto to appease the vengeful spirits of Emperor Sudō, Prince Iyo, Fujiwara no Yoshiko, Fujiwa no Nakanari, Tachibana no Hayanari, and Fun'ya no Miyatamaro. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		eruption of Mt. Fuji that occurred in the 5th month did so because the priests (**Negi* and **Hafuri*) of Sengen Myōjin Shrine were insincere when it came to rites. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
865	Jōgan 7	6.14: People banned from gathering on the pretense of holding rituals to placate the spirits that cause calamities (*goryō-e*, see **Goryō* and **Goryō shinkō*) in order to actually hold horseback races and archery contests. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
866	Jōgan 8		
868	Jōgan 10	6.28: Government officials banned from concurrently being the head of a shrine (**Kannushi*). *Kannushi* subsequently placed under the jurisdiction of provincial governors (*kokushi*). Also women officially allowed to be appointed as "suppliant priests" (**Negi*). (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
			Intercalary 12.25: Unmarried shrine priestesses (*itsukime*, or *saijo*) are assigned to Kasuga and Ōharano shrines (the practice soon ceases). (*Sandai jitsuroku*)
			-.-: Sekisan Myōjin Shrine founded at the foot of Mt. Hiei. (*Sekisan-myōjin engi*)
869	Jōgan 11		-.-: Great epidemic. Believing it due to a curse from *Gozu Tennō ("ox-headed king of heaven"), 66 halberds are erected in a rite to appease the deity. (One tradition holds this is the origin of the Gion festival; however, Yasaka Gion Shrine is generally regarded as having been founded in 876. See also **Gion matsuri* and

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Intercalary 3.1: The emperor observes peasants at work. The people working the field performed dances and music of the common folk (*zatsugaku*, in contrast with **Gagaku*) (One tradition holds this is the first mention of **Dengaku*). (*Sandai jitsuroku*)
-.-: Around this time, Koremune no Naomoto produces **Ryōnoshūge*.	
4.-: *Jōgankyaku* (a collection of laws) compiled. 9.-: The laws go into force.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			**Gion/Tsushima shinkō*)
870	Jōgan 12		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
871	Jōgan 13		
873	Jōgan 15		
876	Jōgan 18	4.8: Celebrations for the Buddha's birthday in the imperial palace are suspended because of *shinsai* (imperial household festivals whose rites the emperor himself conducts; see also **Chokusai*) (an early example of separation of Shinto and Buddhism in the imperial palace) (see **Shinto and Buddhism*).	-.-: Sometime during the Jōgan era, Fujiwara no Yamakage founds Yoshida Shrine on Mt. Yoshida in Yamashiro Province. (*Ōkagami* [The great mirror])
877	Gangyō 1	11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Yōzei.	
879	Gangyō 3		7.22: Sumiyoshi Shrine is ordered to keep a register listing the shrine's treasures (*shinzaichō*, see also **Shinpō*) and to make three copies of it for each new provincial governor (*kokushi*) when they take office. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)
881	Gangyō 5	3.26: All shrines in the country are ordered to present to the imperial court a genealogical register of **Hafuribe* (an ancient priestly rank) every three years. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
884	Gangyō 8	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōkō.	
886	Ninna 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
888	Ninna 4	10.19: The emperor worships "all the deities of heaven and earth (**Tenjinchigi*) of the four directions" (this marks the inauguration of the daily morning worship rite [*gohai*; see **Chōtei saishi*]). (*Nenchūgyōjihishō*)	
		11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held	

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.25: *Jōganshiki* compiled. (see **Policies and Institutions of the Classical Period*)	
-.-: First mention of subshrines (**Wakamiya*), in the *Sandai jitsuroku*.	
	4.16: Era name changed to Gangyō due to a favorable auspice (offerings of white pheasant and white deer received).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to accompany accession of Emperor Uda.	
889	Kanpyō 1	11. 21: Kamo Rinjisai ("Kamo special annual festival") held for the first time. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Fusōryakuki*)	3.13: The Īno District in Ise Province is granted to the Ise Grand Shrines as a shrine estate (**Shinryō*). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)
			10.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nihongiryaku*)
890	Kanpyō 2	1.1: Emperor Uda performs the ritual of worshipping in the four directions (*shihōhai*, see **Chōga*) (first performance of the *shihōhai* on New Year's Day). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Gōkeshidaishō*; *Nenchūgyōjihishō*)	
892	Kanpyō 4		
893	Kanpyō 5	3.2: Provincial governors (*kokushi*) are ordered to oversee shrine priests (*shashi* and **Kannushi*; see also **Shinshoku*) and have them conduct ceremonies such as the **Kinensai*, **Tsukinamisai*, and **Niinamesai*. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	11.27: People prohibited from taking up residence in the vicinity of Ise Outer Shrine. (*Jingū zatsurei shū*)
894	Kanpyō 6		
897	Kanpyō 9	11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Daigo.	12.22: The imperial court assigns a provincial military-police force (*kebiishi*) to the territory of the Grand Shrines of Ise and gives them the authority to conduct police investigations on those lands. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)
		12.3: Three hundred and forty shrines throughout the country granted promotions of one rank. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Entairyaku*)	
898	Shōtai 1	5.8: Offerings are made to 16 shrines including Ise for them to carry out rainfall rituals (**Kiu*) (the 16-shrine system, later to become the 22-shrine system [**Nijūnisha*] established	

Personalities/Texts	Society
5.10: Sugawara no Michizane finishes compiling *Ruiju kokushi* (see also **Tenjin shinkō*).	
	9.-: Dispatch of envoys to T'ang China suspended. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Kankebunsō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		around this time). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
901	Engi 1		
903	Engi 3		
904	Engi 4		12.19: The Imperial court enshrines *Raijin, "thunder *kami*," at Kitano as a prayer for a good harvest (*Raikōsai*) (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*). (*Seikyūki*)
905	Engi 5		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
907	Engi 7	10.2: Cloistered emperor Uda goes on official procession (*gokō*, "imperial progress") to the mountains of Kumano (first mention of an imperial progress by an emperor or former emperor; see also **Kumano shinkō*). (*Nihongiryaku*)	-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
910	Engi 10		
914	Engi 14		
916	Engi 16		2.10: Fujiwara no Tadahira, head of the Fujiwara clan, presents a race horse (*sōme*) and a special

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.15: Era name changed to Engi based on a submission from Miyoshi Kiyotsura (Miyoshi argued that era names should be changed when the year in the Chinese zodiac is *shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," [the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle] which is associated with political and social instability [see also **Ehō*])
2.25: Sugawara no Michizane dies (age 59); see also **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
9.17: Arakida Motosada, a suppliant priest (**Negi*) of Ise Inner Shrine, and others present *Daijingū negifuzuchō.* (**Kōnojisatabumi*).	
11.15: Fujiwara no Tokihira and others present *Engikyaku* to the imperial court. A compendium of rules and procedures, it goes into force the 12th month of the following year (see **Engishiki*).	
	7.10: Nationwide drought around this time. The imperial court presents standard offerings (**Hōbei*) and the offerings of living animals (**Ikenie*), to shrines, famous mountains, and famous rivers around the country. Orders are also given for abandoned corpses in various places to be buried and for fishing and hunting to be banned. (*Nihongiryaku*)
	-.-: Miyoshi Kiyotsura makes note in *Iken fūji*—a memorial he sent to the emperor—of "disorder" in the regularly performed rites such as the **Kinensai*. (*Honchōmonzui*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			horse intended as a votive offering (**Shinme*) to Kasuga Shrine (first mention of a *shinme* envoy from the house of the imperial regent). (*Nenchūgyōjishō*)
919	Engi 19	6.24: Examples are set down on the rituals to be performed should some defilement arise before performing a three-day, total abstinence rite (*chisai*, see **Jingiryō*). (*Kujō nenchūgyōji*)	
921	Engi 21	2.7: Cloistered emperor Uda Hōō makes a pilgrimage (**Sankei*) to Kasuga Shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to Kasuga Shrine). (*Mitsune-shū*)	
922	Engi 22		
923	Enchō 1		
924	Enchō 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
926	Enchō 4	5.27: Provincial governors (*kokushi*) are ordered to handle offerings used in the rituals for **kinensai* and similar observance] with the strictest of care. Also, the Imperial Household Ministry (**Kunaishō*) within the Department of Divinities (*Jingikan*, see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) is ordered carry out repairs to damage at shrines throughout the country. (*Saigūki*)	4.11: The boundaries for the land in which Ise Outer Shrine sits are defined. (*Jingū-zōreishū*)
			9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
927	Enchō 5		
932	Shōhei 2	11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Suzaku.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Mention is made of "field entertainment" (**Dengaku*) in *Izumi no kuni Ōtori daimyōjin gosharyūkichō* (first definite appearance of *dengaku* in the historical record).
	Intercalary 4.11: Era name changed to Enchō due to calamities (flooding and the death of the crown prince).
	11.25: Scholar of laws and codes (*myōhō hakase*) Koremune no Kinkata is ordered to investigate whether it was acceptable for individuals under age 7 who were in mourning to be involved in rituals. (*Gengohiketsu*)
12.26: Fujiwara no Tadahira and others present the 50-volume **Engishiki*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
934	Shōhei 4		6.26: A practitioner monk (*shugyōsō*) builds the Tenjindō ("hall to the *kami* of heaven"; formally called Gion-Kanjin'in and also known as Gion-sha; present-day Yasaka Shrine) at Gion Temple (other traditions hold it was built either in 926 or in 935). (*Ichidai-yōki*; *Nihongiryaku*)
935	Shōhei 5		
938	Tengyō 1		8.12: Worshippers from Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine attack and destroy a new shrine built in Yamashina to which the divided spirit of Iwashmizu Hachiman had been transferred (**Kanjō*) because the new one prospered more than the original. (*Honchō-seiki*)
940	Tengyō 3	1.6: All of the eminent deities (**Myōjin*) in the country are promoted one rank (see **Shin'i, shinkai*) as a prayer for the suppression of the Shōhei-Tengyō revolt. Estates were granted to the shrines of those *kami* that were already at the highest rank. (*Entairyaku*)	
942	Tengyō 5	4.29: The emperor visits Kamo Shrine to give thanks for the suppression of the revolts of Taira no Masakado and Fujiwara no Sumitomo (the first mention of an imperial progress to Kamo Shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*)	6.21: An *azuma-asobi* dance (see **Bugaku*) and a ritual horse race (*sōme*; see also **Kurabe-uma*) are performed at the Gion-Kanjin'in (Gion Shrine) as thanksgiving for the suppression of Shōhei-Tengyō revolt. (*Nihongiryaku*)
			7.12: Tajihi Ayako enshrines Sugawara no Michizane at Shichijō in Kyoto inspired by a divine message (*shintaku*; see

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.-: Taira no Masakado wars with his uncle Taira no Kunika in Hitachi Province (beginning of the revolt of Masakado [*Masakado no ran*], aka the Shōhei-Tengyō revolt [*Shōhei-Tengyō no ran*]).
	5.22: Era name changed to Tengyō due to calamities (the revolt of Masakado that had begun two years prior, earthquake in the 4th month of this year).
	-.-: In autumn, worshipping a pair of male and female statues called Funado no Kami and Goryō in the streets Kyoto becomes popular. (*Honchō-seiki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			also **Kamigakari, takusen*) (see **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Teiō-hennenki*)
943	Tengyō 6		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
945	Tengyō 8		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
946	Tengyō 9	11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Murakami.	-.-: Around this time (during the reign of Emperor Suzaku), Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen is granted the rank of bodhisattva (*bosatsu*) and establishes the post of chief shrine priest (**Gūji*). (*Munakata daigūji-shidai*)
947	Tenryaku 1		6.9: Saichin, a monk of Asahi Temple, and others build a shrine to Sugawara no Michizane at Kitano (the founding of Kitano Shrine) (see **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Nenchūgyōji-hishō*)
			-.-: The biannual reading of the complete *Lotus Sūtra* (*niki-hakkō*) is held at Kasuga Shrine (first mention of the *niki-hakkō* at this shrine). (*Kasuga-daimyōjin-shōshaki*)
948	Tenryaku 2		10.1: The ritual custom of reciting the *Lotus Sūtra* in its entirety (*Hokke-hakkō*) is established at Tōnomine. (*Tōnomine ryakuki*)
949	Tenryaku 3		
957	Tentoku 1		
960	Tentoku 4		
961	Ōwa 1	-.-: Ise Shrine chief priest (*daigūji*, see **Gūji*) Ōnakatomi no Nakasuke prohibited from	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.3: Portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) from Shidaragami are brought from Settsu to Kyoto and installed at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. Many people accompany the procession. (*Honchō-seiki*)
5.23: *Jingikan kanmon* (a collection of responses [*kanmon*] to questions posed by the emperor; see also **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) published.	
	10.27: Era name changed to Tentoku due to calamity (severe drought in the previous year).
6.10: *Sōken engi* (formally, *Kitano Tenman Jizai Tenjingu sōken Yamashiro no kuni no kado no Kamutsuhayashi no gō engi*; also known as *Kitano Tenmangū konpon-engi*), a chronicle of the founding of Kitano Shrine, produced (see also **Tenjin Shinkō*).	9.23: Fire at the imperial palace (First time for imperial palace to burn down since the move from Nara 167 years before. Palace burns down repeatedly after this.).
	2.16: Era name changed to Ōwa due to calamities and associations of year with political and social instability according to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		privately donating divine rice fields (*shinden*) to the shrine (confirms that the imperial court had a policy of not allowing private contributions to Ise Shrine). (*Jingūzōreishū*)	
962	Ōwa 2	2.27: The Mie District in Ise is granted to the Grand Shrines of Ise as a special district serving the shrine (**Shingun*) in gratitude for the building of the new inner palace having been completed the previous year without incident. (*Nihongi-ryaku*)	9.17: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Jin'nōzōyōsenkiroku*)
964	Kōhō 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
967	Kōhō 4		
968	Anna 1	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Reizei.	
969	Anna 2		
970	Tenroku 1	6.14: One tradition holds that the Gion *Goryōe* (**Gion matsuri*) begins to be included as an official festival (*kōsai*) starting this year (see also **Goryō shinkō*). (*Nijūnisha-chūshiki*)	
		11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Enyū.	
971	Tenroku 2	3.8: The Iwashimizu *Rinjisai* ("special festival") becomes a regular event. (*Nihongiryaku*)	
973	Ten'en 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Chinese zodiac (fire at the imperial residential compound [*dairi*] at the palace the previous year; current year is *shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) (see also **Ehō*).
	7.10: Era name changed to Kōhō due to calamity and associations of year with political and social instability according to Chinese zodiac(devastating storm two years before; current year is *kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) (see also **Ehō*).
7.9: **Engishiki* is promulgated and goes into force. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Engishiki*; *Fusenshō*)	
	3.26: Minamoto no Takaakira exiled on charge of treason (the Anna Incident, *Anna no hen*). Following this, the Fujiwara clan's monopoly on politics strengthens. (*Fusōryakuki*; *Hyakurenshō*).
	12.20: Era name changed to Ten'en due to calamity (buildings at the imperial court devastated by heavy winds and rains on 5.17).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
974	Ten'en 2		5.7: Gion Kanjin'in (Gion Shrine) becomes a branch temple (*betsuin*) of Enryaku Temple. (*Nihongiryaku*)
975	Ten'en 3	6.15: Horse races (*sōme,* see **Kurabeuma*), court-ordered music (*chokugaku*), *azuma asobi* dances (see also **Bugaku*) and ritual wands (**Gohei*) are given as offerings to Gion Shrine (one tradition holds this is the first instance of the Gion Rinjisai). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
976	Jōgen 1		
977	Jōgen 2		
978	Tengen 1		
979	Tengen 2	3.27: The emperor visits Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Hyakurenshō*)	
981	Tengen 4	2.20: The emperor visits Hirano Shrine. Semui Temple is made a shrine-temple (**Jingūji*) of the shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*)	9.17: Ise Inner Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
983	Eikan 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
984	Eikan 2		3.21: In response to the pleas of the monk Shōkū and others, Mishima Shrine in Iyo stops sacrificing deer as offerings (see also **Ikenie*). (*Iyo-Mishima-sha engi*)
985	Kanna 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kazan.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.13: Era name changed to Jōgen due to calamities (fire at the imperial residential compound [*dairi*] on 5.11, massive earthquake on 6.18).
2.22: Kamo no Yasunori (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*) dies (age 60). (*Kamo no Yasunori no musume shū*)	
	11.29: Era name changed to Tengen due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena; following year held to be one of misfortune [*Tai yi yang*] for emperor based on zodiacal principles).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
986	Kanna 2	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Ichijō.	
987	Eien 1	8.5: One tradition holds that Kitano Shrine festival began this year. (*Nijūnisha-chūshiki*)	
		11.25: Yoshida Shrine festival is counted among the official court festivals (*kōsai*) starting this year. (*Nijūnisha-chūshiki*)	
988	Eien 2		
989	Eiso 1	3.22: An imperial progress is made to Kasuga Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
989	Eiso 1		
990	Shōryaku 1		
993	Shōryaku 4	11.27: An imperial progress is made to Ōharano Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Honchōseiki*)	
994	Shōryaku 5		
995	Chōtoku 1		
998	Chōtoku 4		
999	Chōhō 1	7.27 (25): A decree of the Great Council of State (*Daijōkanpu*) is handed down consisting of eleven articles including one	6.14: Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Michinaga attempts to arrest a performer of miscellaneous arts (*zatsugeisha*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Nenjū gyōji go shōjimon* ("popular edition") produced around this time (see **Nenjū gyōji*).	
	8.8: Era name changed to Eiso due to calamites (unusual atmospheric phenomena including the appearance of a comet).
	11.7: Era name changed to Shōryaku due to calamity (heavy winds and rains on 8.13 the previous year).
	6.27: Epidemic rampant around this time. From May to June, groundless rumors freqently went around and peopled believed them to stay indoors or to seek the water of a well at Aburakōji. On this day, therefore, the Royal court had a ceremony for the *ekishin*, the kami of pestilence, at Funaoka-yama and held a *Goryō'e*. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Honchōseiki*)
	2.22: Era name changed to Chōtoku due to calamity (great epidemic persisted from the previous year; epidemic continues unabated after the change).
	4.10: Brawl breaks out during the **dengaku* in the **Matsu-no-o matsuri* resulting in multiple deaths (first mention of *dengaku* in the *Matsu-no-o matsuri*). (*Nihongiryaku*)
	1.13: Era name changed to Chōhō due to calamities (epidemic and drought persisting from the previous year).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		ordering that unprecedented shrine and temple rituals be avoided and another ordering that damage to shrines be repaired. (*Seijiyōryaku*)	attired as a monk at Gion Tenjin'e on the grounds of lèse-majesté for pulling an object resembling the cart (*hyō* [*no yama*]) used in the *Daijōsai* (first mention of a festival float [**Dashi*] at the Gion festival). (*Honchōseiki*)
1000	Chōhō 2		8.12: The Empress' Household Office (*Chūgūshiki*) procures a portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) from Iwashimizu Shrine. (*Sakakiba-shū*)
			9.16: Ise Inner Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1002	Chōhō 4	12.29: The ritual dance of the Inner Sanctum (*Naishidokoro no mikagura*, see **Kagura*) is performed (first mention of the *naishidokoro no mikagura*. Hereafter, it would be performed every other year). (*Kinpishō*; *Ichidaiyōki*)	9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1003	Chōhō 5		11.27: Priests from Usa Hachimangū Shrine go to Kyoto to accuse senior assistant governor of Dazai-fu Taira no Korenaka of despotism. The 12th month of the following year, he is dismissed. (*Hyakurenshō*)
1004	Kankō 1	10.14: An imperial progress is made to Matsuo Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Gonki*)	
		10.21: An imperial progress is made to Kitano Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Gonki*)	
1005	Kankō 2		
1012	Chōwa 1	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Sanjō.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Epidemic rampant. *Goryō-e* (see **Goryō shinkō*) held at Murasakino (*Kujikongen*) (*goryō-e* were frequently held at Murasakino thereafter whenever an epidemic broke out).
	7.20: Era name changed to Kankō due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena and natural disaster).
9.-: Abe no Seimei dies (age uncertain, possibly 85)	11.15: Fire at the imperial palace. The sacred mirror (*yatanokagami*, see **Sanshu no shinki*) damaged. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Midō kanpaku-ki*; *Shōyūki*)
	2.8: Shidaragami (a group of wandering deities) are believed to have come to Kyoto from Cinzei, modern Kyūshū. They are

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1015	Chōwa 4		
1016	Chōwa 5	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Goichijō.	
1019	Kannin 3		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1020	Kannin 4		11.12: Kamo Shrine and Enryaku Temple contend with one another over the borders of their estates (see also **Shinryō*). (*Shōyūki*)
1021	Jian 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1024	Manju 1		11.2: Priests from Kehi Shrine in Echizen demonstrate against Kaga governor (*Kaga-no-kami*) Tanba Kimichika. (*Shōyūki*)
1025	Manju 2		3.12: "Worship lecture" (*reihai-kō*) held at Hiyoshi Shrine (first mention of such an event at the shrine; see also **Kō*). (*Yōtenki*)
1028	Chōgen 1		
1029	Chōgen 2		7.18: The imperial court holds deliberations regarding Iga governor (*Iga no kami*) Minamoto no Mitsukiyo, who was the object of protests from the priests of Ise Shrine. (Others in Iga Province also protest against Mitsukiyo, who eventually is exiled to Izu.)
1031	Chōgen 4		6.17: An oracle (**Takusen*) comes down Aramatsuri Shrine at Ise to warn that the acting head of

Personalities/Texts	Society
	worshipped at Murasakino (see **Hayarigami Shinkō*). (*Hyakurenshō*)
	6.-: A massive epidemic rages. People build a shrine sanctuary on the west bank of the Kamiya River around Hanazono in western Kyoto in response to an oracle (**Takusen*) from a disease-causing deity (*ekishin* or *yakujin*) and visit it to worship and present offerings. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Shōyūki*)
	2.2: Era name changed to Jian as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.13: Era name changed to Manju as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.25: Era name changed to Chōgen due to calamities (rampant epidemic, drought).
	8.-: Around this time, Emperor Goichijō secretly visited the *Naishidokoro* (part of the Inner Sanctum; see **Kyūchū sanden*) every

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			the Bureau of the Consecrated Princess (*saigūryō*; see **Saigū*) Fujiwara no Sukemichi and his wife have been deluding people by building Ise Shrine treasury houses inside their own residence. It also claims that several recent emperors have been disrespectful to Ise Shrine while also relating the "one hundred kings" theory (*hyakuōsetsu*), an idea imported from China that held the imperial line would end after 100 successive reigns. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Shōyūki*)
1036	Chōgen 9	11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Gosuzaku.	
1038	Chōryaku 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1039	Chōryaku 3	3.13: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) of Ise Shrine prohibited from entering Kyoto on their own initiative. (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)	2.15: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) from Ise Shrine bring shrine personnel to Kyoto to make a petition regarding 13 "miscellaneous taxes" (*zatsuji*). Suppliant priests from Ise Shrine would subsequently go on to repeatedly carry out protest demonstrations (*gōso*) until the middle of 11th century. (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1040	Chōkyū 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū Reibun*)
1044	Kantoku 1		
1046	Eishō 1	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Goreizei.	
1050	Eishō 5		1.20: Suppliant priests (**Negi*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	night to offer invocations (**Kitō*) (some records suggest he was troubled by the oracle of Ise Aramaturi Shrine proclaimed this year on 6:17). (*Shōyūki*)
	9.9: Fire destroys the emperor's residential compound (*dairi*) at the palace. The divine mirror (*yata no kagami*, see **Sanshu no shinki*) is also damaged. (*Shun-ki*; *Hyakurenshō*)
	11.10: Era name changed to Chōkyū due to calamities (massive earthquakes in the 9th and 10th months, fire at the imperial residential compound).
	11.24: Era name changed to Kantoku due to calamities (epidemic the previous year, drought).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			from Ise Shrine come to Kyoto leading more than seven hundred lower-ranking priests (**Hafuribe*) and shrine personnel to protest against the master of Ise rites (**Saishu*) (similar incidents frequently occur after this.). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
			6.-: Nakayama Shrine is founded. The shrine is dedicated to the stone deity (*iwagami*) on the grounds of Reizei-in, a property on palace grounds for the retired emperor (starting three years later in 1053, the Nakayama Matsuri is added to the list of public festivals). (*Hyakurenshō*)
1052	Eishō 7		9.19: Buddhist high priest Myōson holds the first *Shinra Myōjin festival. (*Jimon denki horoku*)
1053	Tengi 1		1.6: The residence of Ise Shrine Head Priest Ōnakatomi no Noritō catches fire. Fire destroys all then-existing documents concerning tenants (**Kanbe*) of lands owned by the shrine. (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1054	Tengi 2		-.-: Buddhist high priest Myōson founds Shin-Hiyoshi Shrine (Nagara Shrine). (*Onjōji-denki*).
1057	Tengi 5		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*; *Hyakurenshō*)
1058	Kōhei 1		
1059	Kōhei 2		9.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*; *Ōnakatomi-uji keizu*)
1060	Kōhei 3		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: The idea spreads among the populace that this year the world entered the Buddhist end-times (*mappō*, "the Latter Days of the Law"), a degenerate age when Buddhist teachings would not be practiced (ideas about *mappō* and Buddhist Pure Lands [*jōdo*] flourish).
	1.11: Era name changed to Tengi due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, belief that the age of Buddhist end times [*mappō*, "the Latter Days of the Law"] had begun the previous year).
	8.29: Era name changed to Kōhei due to calamity (fire on 2.26 at the Daigokuden [Palace Audience Hall]).
	5.11: The imperial court deliberates over the matter of Ise governor (*Ise no kami*) Fujiwara no Yoshitaka having set fire to estates belonging to the Grand Shrines Ise and the matter of Ōnakatomi no Yoritsune, deputy

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1063	Kōhei 6		8.-: Minamoto no Yoriyoshi builds a Hachiman shrine at Yui Town in Sagami Province (the origins of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine) (see also **Hachiman Shinkō*).
1065	Jiryaku 1		
1066	Jiryaku 2		
1068	Jiryaku 4	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Gosanjō.	
1069	Enkyū 1		
1070	Enkyū 2	8.15: Imperial envoy (**Chokushi*) sent to the Hōjō-e festival held at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period*).	
1071	Enkyū 3	10.29: The emperor visits Hiyoshi Shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to the shrine). (*Fusō ryakuki*)	7.24: A divination (*boku*, see **Bokusen*) is performed at the imperial court regarding Gion Shrine having erected a statue of Dadokuke-no-kami (this deity was not on the list of officially recognized deities and was said to be the personification of *Yamatanoorochi). (*Koasakumasha shinkyō satabumi*)
1072	Enkyū 4	3.26: The emperor visits Inari and Gion shrines (first mention of an imperial progress to these two shrines). (*Fusō ryakuki*)	
1074	Jōho 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shirakawa.	
1076	Jōho 3	4.23: The imperial progress to Kamo Shrine is made into an annual event. (*Fusō ryakuki*)	-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	for the consecrated princess (**Saishu*) having murdered an oracle (*takusensha*, see **Kamigakari, takusen*). Yoshitaka would be exiled in the 8th month. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	8.2: Era name changed to Jiryaku due to calamities (drought, year deemed unlucky according to Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["the alignment of three planets"]).
	1.7: A "divine tree" (**Shinboku*) from Kasuga Shrine is brought to Kyoto. (*Kōfukuji bettōki*)
	Intercalary 10.11: Office for the certification of estate documents (*Kiroku shōen kenkeisho*) established (see also **Shinryō*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1077	Jōryaku 1		
1078	Jōryaku 2		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
1081	Eihō 1		11.-: The imperial court makes offerings to the Twenty-Two Shrines (**Nijūnisha*). (One tradition holds that this is when Hiyoshi Shrine was added to that grouping, while another holds it happened in 1039.) (*Suisa-ki*; *Sotsu-ki*; *Hyakurenshō*)
1082	Eihō 2		
1083	Eihō 3		
1084	Ōtoku 1		
1085	Ōtoku 2		
1086	Ōtoku 3	-,-: Around this time, visiting Kumano Shrine becomes popular. Retired emperors Shirakawa, Toba, Go-Shirakawa and Go-Toba between them make around 100 trips all told to Kumano Shrine over the course of the century during which the system of rule by retired emperors (*insei*) prevailed.	
1087	Kanji 1	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.17: Era name changed to Jōryaku due to calamities (drought, plague).
9.21: Fujiwara no Tamefusa asks a man named Kanzō to act as his guide (**Sendatsu*) on his visit to Kumano Shrine (first mention of *sendatsu*).	2.10: Era name changed to Eihō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.15: Monks from Onjō Temple disrupt the Hie (Hiyoshi) festival. 4.28: Monks from Enryaku Temple attack Onjō Temple in response. (*Fusō ryakuki*; *Tamefusa-kyō-ki*)
	10.17: Monks from Kumano bring portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) to Kyoto to stage a demonstration (*gōso*) (rowdy demonstrations by monks and shrine priests of this sort occur frequently from this point forward to the Kamakura Period). (*Fusō ryakuki*)
	9.-: The Later Three Years' War (*Gosannen no eki*) breaks out. (*Azuma-kagami*)
	2.7: Era name changed to Ōtoku as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.-: The practice of building shrines to worship certain deities known as Fukutoku-no-kami, Chōfuku-no-kami, and Hakushu-sha with the accompaniment of group drinking becomes popular in Kyoto. The imperial court prohibits the practice as superstitious and destroys the shrines.
	11.26: Emperor Shirakawa abdicates the throne in favor of his son Prince Taruhito (later Emperor Horikawa). (The start of the system of rule by retired emperors [*insei*].)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to accompany accession of Emperor Horikawa.	
1088	Kanji 2		11.-: Senior Assistant Governor General of Dazaifu (*Dazai daini*) Fujiwara no Sanemasa is sentenced to exile after protests by priests from Usa Hachiman Shrine. The previous year, he had quarreled with the priests and shot arrows at their portable shrine (**Shin'yo*).
1089	Kanji 3		
1090	Kanji 4	3.26: The practice of preparing food offerings (**Shinsen*) every day begins at Kamo Shrine. Accordingly, imperial envoys (**Hōbeishi*) are dispatched. (*Chūyūki*)	
1093	Kanji 7		
1094	Kahō 1		
1095	Kahō 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. Rice tax for rebuilding the Ise Shrines (Zō-Daijingū yakubuku mai) levied

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.19: The imperial court begins deliberations on a conflict between the priests (*shashi*, see **Shinshoku*) of Iwashimizu and Matsuo shrines that resulted in the destruction of the main building (*shaden*) at Matsuo. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	3.18: **Sendatsu* from Kumano raid the imperial palace. (*Chūyūki*)
	8.26: Monks from Kōfuku Temple bring a sacred tree (**Shinboku*) to Kyoto to protest Ōmi governor Takashinano Tameie. (First mention of a sacred tree being brought to Kyoto. Other accounts say this event occurred in either An'na 1 [968] or Jiryaku 2 [1066]). (*Go-nijō moromichi-ki*, *Honchō seiki*)
	10.29: Special envoys (**Hōbeishi*) are sent to 22 shrines to report of savage fighting between monks from the Nara Buddhist sects and those of the Tendai sect. (*Go-nijō moromichi-ki*, *Chūyūki*)
	3.6: The imperial court enters deliberations over a conflict in Kyoto between priests from Kurama Temple and Kamo Shrine. (*Chūyūki*, *Hyakurenshō*)
	12.15: Era name changed to Kahō due to calamities (epidemic that began the previous year).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			throughout the country (*Shikinensengū*). (*Chūyūki*)
1096	Eichō 1		
1097	Shōtoku 1		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (*Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibumi*)
1099	Kōwa 1	3.27: Regent (*kanpaku*) Fujiwara no Moromichi orders the head shrine monk (*Bettō*) of Kōfuku Temple to ban people from going to Kasuga Shrine with the intention of entreating the *kami* with prayer (*Kisei*). (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*)	-.-: First written mention of "combined shrine" (*Sōja*), in *Tokinoriki*.
1103	Kōwa 5		
1104	Chōji 1		6.17: Priests from Kehi Shrine in Echizen protest injustice on the part of provincial governor Takashina Tameie. (*Chūyūki*)
1105	Chōji 2		10.30: Priests from Hie Shrine and Enryaku Temple launch protests against Dazai Vice-Governor Fujiwara no Suenaka (Suenaka's men had skirmished with Enryaku monks sent to protest at a shrine in Kyushu as part of the broader power struggle among shrines, temples, and retired emperor Shirakawa). Suenaka is exiled. (*Denryaku*)
1106	Kajō 1		9.29: Priests from Gion Shrine launch protests against the governor of Tanba. (*Denryaku*)
			10.2: Chief administrative monk (*zasu*) Eihan is dismissed after

Personalities/Texts	Society
	12.17: Era name changed to Eichō due to calamities (great earthquake on 11.24).
	-.-: *Dengaku* (see **Sarugaku*, *Dengaku*) dances popular (the phenomenon is collectively known as the "great *dengaku* of Eichō" [*Eichō no ō-dengaku*]).
	11.21: Era name changed to Shōtoku due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake, typhoon, flooding).
	8.28: Era name changed to Kōwa due to calamities (great fire in Kyoto 2nd month of previous year, earthquake, epidemic).
	3.3: Prophecies about demon *kami* (*kishin*) are rife. The prophecies become prevalent again in Kyoto in the 7th month. Believing them, many people shut themselves indoors and refrain from going out. (*Chūyūki*)
	2.10: Era name changed to Chōji due to calamity (Kyoto fires the 11th month the previous year).
	-.-: Fujiwara no Munetada records in his diary, "Shrine priests and temple monks are acting in overbearing ways, worrying everyone both high and low." (*Chūyūki*)
	4.9: Era name changed to Kajō due to calamity (the appearance of a comet).
	6.-: Epidemic spreads this month resulting in many deaths. Craze for **dengaku* dances in

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			priests from Gion Shrine make appeals to "Inner Minister" (*naidaijin*) Minamoto no Masazane. (*Denryaku*, *Eishōki*)
1108	Tennin 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Toba.	
1110	Ten'ei 1		11.1: Central pillar of Ise Shrine topples.
1113	Eikyū 1		
1114	Eikyū 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Denryaku*)
			-.-: Kasuga Shrine presents evening offerings at lucky and unlucky times every day (see **Daily Aspects* [higara] *and Directional Taboos* [*hōi*]) (first mention of such practices in the written record). (*Kasugasha-ki*)
1115	Eikyū 3		4.21: First portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) for "mountain king" worship (see **Sannō shinkō* and **Sannō Shintō*) is made at Hiyoshi Shrine for Sannomiya, one of its auxiliary shrines (**Sessha*) (this marks the final stage in the creation of the seven *sannō* shrines; see also **Hie matsuri*). (*Yōtenki*)
1116	Eikyū 4		9.16: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Sengū jiryaku*, *Nisho Dainjingū reibumi*)
1118	Gen'ei 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Kyoto. Thousands take part and the streets bustle with noise. (*Chūyūki*)
	12.7: An old woman is arrested for attracting "lecherous believers" (*kōshoku na shinja*) to worship snakes and foxes. (*Chūyūki*)
	7.13: Era name changed to Ten'ei due to calamities (comet, epidemic that started previous year).
	Intercalary 3.20: Seeking to have Buddhist statue maker Ensei appointed head shrine monk (**Bettō*) for Kiyomizu Temple, 5,000 monks from Kōfuku Temple protest with sacred trees (**Shinboku*) from Kasuga. (*Denryaku*, *Chōshūki*)
	7.13: Era name changed to Eikyū due to calamities (warfare, epidemic).
	11.9: Fighting between priests from Iwashimizu Hachiman and Gion shrines. (*Chūyūki*)
	4.3: Era name changed to Gen'ei due to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1119	Gen'ei 2		
1120	Hōan 1		
1122	Hōan 3		3.14: **Kagura* performances begin at Kasuga Shrine. (*Kōfukuji ryakunendai-ki*)
1123	Hōan 4	11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Sutoku.	
1124	Tenji 1	6.15: The Gion "special annual festival" (*rinjisai*) is held for the first time. (*Eishōki*, *Hyakurenshō*)	
1125	Tenji 2	11.9: Retired emperors Shirakawa and Toba, along with Toba's wife Taiken, visit Kumano Shrine (they visit Hie Shrine the next year). (*Chūyūki mokuroku*)	
1126	Daiji 1	7.11: Imperial court deliberates over issue of purification wands (**Ōnusa*) being offered to shrines in recent years being too extravagant. (*Chūyūki*)	
1128	Daiji 3		9.28: A poetry contest (*uta awase*) is held at Sumiyoshi Shrine (see **Sumiyoshi shinkō*). (*Sumiyoshi uta awase*)
1131	Tenshō 1		
1132	Chōshō 1	12.5: Deliberations over restoration of the sacred meal (*jinkonjiki*) at *shinsai*, i.e., festivals where the emperor leads the rites (*shinsai* had been halted prior to this for 25 years)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, epidemic).
	-.-: Custom of provincial governors (*kokushi*) making formal visits (*shinpai*) to main shrine in province begins to fade around this time.
	4.10: Era name changed to Hōan due to calamity (bad fortune for emperor).
	7.18: Monks from Enryaku temple chase chief administrator monk (*zasu*) Kankei off Mt. Hiei and try to enter Kyoto bearing the Hie portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) (Kankei had handed over temple workers to the imperial police [*kebiishi*] in response to a complaint from Taira no Tadamori). They are warded off from doing so by the imperial court, Taira no Tadamori, and Minamoto no Tameyoshi. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	12.27: Great fire in Kyoto. The "spine-tingling festival" for driving out evil spirits (*Kikisai*; see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*) is held at each entrance to the imperial palace.
	1.22: Era name changed to Daiji due to calamity (epidemic that started the previous year).
	1.29: Era name changed to Tenshō due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, epidemic).
	8.11: Era name changed to Chōshō due to calamities (epidemic, retired emperor's palace burns down 7.23).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(see also *Chokusai*). (*Chūyūki*)	
1133	Chōshō 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Chūyūki*)
1135	Hōen 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibumi*)
1136	Hōen 2	9.17: Kasuga Wakamiya Festival created (one story holds that **dengaku* and *sangaku* [see **Sarugaku*] performances were added the following year; see also **Kasuga shinkō*). (*Chūyūki*)	
1138	Hōen 4		
1140	Hōen 6		
1141	Eiji 1		
1142	Kōji 1	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Konoe.	
1143	Kōji 2		
1144	Ten'yō 1		
1145	Kyūan 1	6.11: Orders given to go back to using old ceremonies for offerings used in the sacred meal (*jinkonjiki*) at the *Tsukinamisai. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1146	Kyūan 2		4.7: Hakusan Shrine in Kaga is made into a branch temple of Enryaku Temple.
1147	Kyūan 3		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	4.27: Era name changed to Hōen due to calamities (epidemic, flooding, famine).
	4.29: Monks from Enryaku Temple bearing portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) enter Kyoto to lodge protests regarding Kamo Shrine lands and mounted participants in the Hie festival (**Hie matsuri*). (*Hyakurenshō*)
	Intercalary 5.5: Shintō priests and Buddhist monks from Chikuzen Ōyama, Kashii, and Hakozaki in Kyūshū set fire to buildings in Dazaifu (Fukuoka). (*Hyakurenshō*)
	7.10: Era name changed to Eiji as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*); emperor also concerned over prophecy of bad fortune.
	2.23: Era name changed to Ten'yō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.22: Era name changed to Kyūan due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena [comet]).
	6.28: Monks from Enryaku Temple bring the

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1148	Kyūan 4	2.20: The cloistered emperor holds a *Hokke hakkō* (eight readings of the Lotus Sutra) festival at Gion Kanjin'in (present-day Yasaka Shrine) to apologize for a brawl in the 6th month the previous year between Gion priests and the Taira. Such readings thereafter become a regular annual event. (*Honchō seiki*)	3.15: Gion *issai-kyō e*, a festival in which all the sūtra of the Buddhist canon are offered up, first mentioned in writing. (*Ranshōshō*)
1150	Kyūan 6		
1151	Ninpei 1		
1152	Ninpei 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Sengū jiryaku*)
1153	Ninpei 3	9.-: Building shrine sanctuaries (*shadan*) in "various places" is forbidden, as is conducting "Chinese rites" (*kanrei*) at home. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1154	Kyūju 1	4.-: The *yasurai* festival (a festival of Kyoto's Imamiya Shrine that entails worshippers making their visit to the accompaniment of flutes and drums; see also **Gechinsai*) is banned. (*Hyakurenshō*)	9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho daijingū reibumi*)
			12.16: A *fudangyō* ritual in which the *Lotus Sūtra* is read through without interruption is held at the Wakamiya subshrine at Iwashimizau Hachiman Shrine (first mention). (*Taiki*)
1155	Kyūju 2	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Shirakawa.	
1156	Hōgen 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Hie portable shrine (*mikoshi*, see **Shin'yo*), to Kyoto to protest to both Taira no Kiyomori and his father Tadamori over a fight that Kiyomori's retinue had with priests from Gion on 6.15. (*Taiki*)
	8.5: One thousand monks from Kōfuku Temple and more than 200 priests from Kasuga Shrine enter Kyoto bearing "divine trees" (**Shinboku*) to press claims. (*Taiki*; *Honchō seiki*)
	1.26: Era name changed to Ninpei due to calamities (violent rainstorms and flooding on 8.4 the previous year).
	10.28: Era name changed to Kyūju due to calamities (typhoon the previous year on 6.20, bad fortune for emperor in present year)
	7.11: The Hōgen Rebellion.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1158	Hōgen 3	12.-: Emperor Go-Shirakawa abdicates. He subsequently goes on more than 30 visits to Hie and Kumano shrines. (*Shosha daiji*)	
1159	Heiji 1	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Nijō. (*Gyokuyō*).	
1160	Eiryaku 1		10.16: The Hie deity and the three Kumano avatars (*Kumano sansho gongen*) are transferred to Higashiyama in Kyoto and installed in the Imahie and Imakumano shrines (see also **Gongen Shinkō*). (*Hyakurenshō*)
1161	Ōhō 1		
1163	Chōkan 1	4.7: In connection with the fighting over levies from Kumano Shrine lands that occurred in Kai Province, deliberations are made over whether the Ise and Kumano Gongen shrines are two parts of the same whole. (It will eventually be concluded that they are separate.) (*Chōkan kanmon*)	
1164	Chōkan 2		
1165	Eiman 1		
1166	Nin'an 1	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Rokujō.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.-: Resumption of the *sumō* banquet (*sumō no sechi*, or *sumai no sechie*; see **Sumō*).
	12.-: The Heiji Rebellion.
	1.10: Era name changed to Eiryaku due to calamities (Heiji Rebellion the previous year, bad fortune predicted for emperor in present year).
	4.19 (4.29): The *karabitsu* (a type of chest) for the "divine mirror" (*shinkyō*, see **Sanshu no shinki*) at the Naijidokoro (see **Kyūchū sanden*) is rebuilt and a three-day long **Kagura* is performed due to the disturbances of the Heiji era. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	9.4: Era name changed to Ōhō due to calamities (epidemic, famine).
	3.29: Era name changed to Chōkan due to calamity (epidemic).
8.26: Emperor Sutoku, who had been exiled to Sanuki in the Hōgen Rebellion, dies. Afterward, it is said that he haunts Kyoto (see also **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Medieval* [*Jisha bugyō*]).	
1.21: Minamoto Akihiro (*Prince Akihiro) assumes the position of Superintendent of the Jingikan (**Jingihaku*). (The position thereafter becomes one inherited by descendents of the Shirakawa house.) (*Hakuke kiroku*)	6.5: Era name changed to Eiman due to calamities (emperor's illness, unusual atmospheric phenomena, unnatural phenomena [*ke'i*]).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1168	Nin'an 3	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Takakura.	
1169	Kaō 1	2.10: The retired emperor orders shrines to be on guard for fires. (Ise Inner Shrine had suffered a fire the 12th month the previous year.) (*Heihanki*)	6.17: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) on extraordinary basis. (*Hyakurenshō*)
1171	Jōan 1		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho daijingū reibumi*)
1173	Jōan 3		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1174	Jōan 4	3.16: Cloistered ex-emperor Go-Shirakawa goes on imperial progress to Itsukushima (see also **Itsukushima shinkō*). (*Gyokuyō*)	
1175	Angen		
1177	Jishō 1	4.28: Great fire in Kyoto. The Great Audience Hall (*Daigokuden*) at the Imperial Palace burns down and is not rebuilt. (*Gyokuyō*)	
1179	Jishō 3	2.29: Decision made to hold an official (government) festival (*kōsai*) at Itsukushima Shrine. (*Gyokuyō*)	
1180	Jishō 4	11.14: Minamoto Yoritomo, who in the 8th month had raised an army in nearby Izu Province (in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture), bans rioting over shrines and temples in Musashi Province (part of present-day Tokyo). Later, bans repeatedly issued over trespassing on	10.-: Minamoto Yoritomo transfers the shrine Yui Wakamiya to Kitayama in Kamakura (inscribed on cornerstone at present-day Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.-: Taira no Nobunori, a high-ranking (*kuraudonotō*) extralegal office (*ryogenokan*) official, reports to the throne that due to the increase in private estates (*shōen*) granted by imperial command (and hence exempt from levies), it has become difficult to collect goods for use at the *yuki* ("auspicious east") ritual lands required for the **Daijōsai*. (*Nobunori ki*)
	12.23: Monks from Enryaku Temple carry a portable shrine (**shin'yo*) to the Imperial Palace and demonstrate against acting counselor (*gon-chūnagon*) Fujiwara no Narichika. Narichika is exiled the next day. (*Gyokuyō*)
	4.21: Era name changed to Jōan due to calamities (disasters, divination predicts bad fortune, and belief that the world was in a period during which the Onmyōdō deity Ten'ichijin was visiting the earth [*Ten'ichi gomyōgo*]) (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*).
	7.28: Era name changed to Angen due to calamities (long rainy spell, epidemic, populace uneasy).
2.20: Superintendent of Divinities (**Jingihaku*) *Prince Akihiro becomes a Buddhist priest. (*Akihiro-ō ki*)	8.4: Era name changed to Jishō due to calamities (great fire in Kyoto, fire at the Great Audience Hall [*Daigokuden*] in the imperial palace).
-.-: *Prince Akihiro dies (possibly age 85).	6.2: Capital transferred to Fukuhara-kyō (by Taira no Kiyomori). 11.-: Kyoto restored as capital.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		shrine and temple lands by warriors. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1181	Yōwa 1		
1182	Juei 1	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Antoku.	
1183	Juei 2		4.9: Officials from the *Jingikan are sequestered at 16 shrines under the Ise Shrine to make invocations (**Kitō*) meant to pacify the warfare. (*Gyokuyō*)
			7.8: Taira no Munemori tries to make the deity of Hie Shrine the clan **kami* (**Ujigami*) of the Taira family. The monks of Mt. Hiei reject the move. (*Kikki*)
1184	Genryaku 1	2.19: The imperial court bans warriors from trespassing on shrine and temple lands and directs Yoritomo to execute the order. (*Gyokuyō*)	4.15: Due to the ongoing warfare, retired emperor Go-Shirakawa (now tonsured) builds a shrine to Emperor Sutoku and Fujiwara no Yorinaga at the site of the Hōgen Rebellion in Kasuga-kawahara and transfers their spirits there (this later becomes Awata Shrine). (*Gyokuyō*)
		11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Toba.	
1185	Bunji 1	10.15: Retired emperor Go-Shirakawa orders Yoritomo to ban the levying of goods meant for the use of the **saigū* and attacks by warriors to seize lands belonging to the Ise Shrine. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1187	Bunji 3		8.15: Minamoto Yoritomo inaugurates the release of captive

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: Around now *Nenjū gyōji emaki* created (see also **Nenjū gyōji*).	
	1.4: Monks from Kumano attack Shima in Ise. They destroy Izawanomiya Shrine, a branch (**Massha*) of Ise Shrine, and spread fires around the towns of Yamada and Uji where the Grand Shrines of Ise are located. (*Azuma kagami*)
	5.27: Era name changed to Juei due to calamities (warfare continuing from previous year, epidemic, present year unlucky due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"] according to Onmyōdō theory).
	7.25: The Taira clan and Emperor Antoku flee Kyoto, taking the three imperial treasures (**Sanshu no shinki*) with them. Minamoto (*aka* Kiso) no Yoshinaka enters Kyoto on the 28th. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	3.24: Downfall of the Taira. Emperor Antoku plunged into the seas; the sacred sword, one of the three divine imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*), is lost with him under the waves. (*Gyokuyō*)
	8.14: Era name changed to Bunji due to calamities (fire, earthquake, downfall of the Taira)
	7.20: Senior assistant director of divinities (*jingi taifu*) Urabe Kanehira is dispatched to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			animals ritual (*hōjōe*) at Rokujō Wakamiya and Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. Also inaugurates horseback archery rites (**Yabusame*) to accompany the *hōjōe* (see also **Medieval Shintō*). (*Azuma kagami*)
1188	Bunji 4		2.28: Yoritomo inaugurates the Tsurugaoka "special festival" (*rinjisai*). (*Azuma kagami*)
1190	Kenkyū 1		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Gyokuyō*)
1192	Kenkyū 3		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
			11.16: The Awata mausoleum (Awatabyō) of Emperor Sutoku is redesignated as the shrine Awata-miya and a festival is held to mark the event. (*Hyakurenshō*)
1193	Kenkyū 4		7.-: Rice tax for rebuilding the Grand Shrines of Ise (*Zō-Daijingū yakubukumai*) goes into effect throughout the country. (*Kōya-san monjo*)
1194	Kenkyū 5	5.4: The bakufu orders general Nakahara no Suetoki to handle suits by temples and shrines. (First mention of the Kamakura bakufu's Magistrate of Temples and Shrine [**Jisha bugyō*].) (*Azuma kagami*)	
		12.2: The bakufu appoints a magistrate for a temple in Kamakura built at the emperor's behest (*goganji*) (first appearance of a magistrate other than the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines [**Jisha bugyō*]). (*Azuma kagami*)	
1195	Kenkyū 6	9.29: The bakufu bans falconry. However, an exception is made for falcons used as offerings to the *kami*. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1198	Kenkyū 9	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Nagato to search for the sacred sword of state thrown into the sea (lost with the child emperor Antoku, the culminating incident of the Genpei War; see also **Sanshu no shinki*). He is unable to find it. (*Azuma kagami*, *Hyakurenshō*)
	4.11: Era name changed to Kenkyū due to calamities (earthquake, coming year deemed unlucky in accordance with Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"]).
6.-: Arakida Tadanaka completes **Kōtaijingū nenjūgyōji* (it is revised and expanded by Fujieda [Arakida] Ujitsune in 1464). (*Daijingū sōsho*)	7.12: Minamoto Yoritomo becomes shōgun.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Emperor Tsuchimikado. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1201	Ken'nin 1		8.18: The first "head of instruction" (*gakutōshoku*) is appointed for Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine (the first *gakutōshoku* appointed for this particular shrine). (*Tōsha gakutōshoku shidai*)
1204	Genkyū 1		
1206	Ken'ei 1		
1207	Jōgen 1		12.28: The overseer (*kengyō*) of the Kumano Sanzan shrines (see also **Kumano Shinkō*) and the **Sendatsu* for imperial progresses (*rinkō* or *gyōkō*) are placed under the authority of Onjō Temple (aka Miidera). (*Tō'un rokuji*)
1208	Jōgen 2		4.-: The bakufu builds a shrine temple (**Jingūji*) at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. Services held there in the 12th month. (*Meigetsuki*)
1209	Jōgen 3		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Inokuma kanpaku ki*)
1210	Jōgen 4	8.9: The bakufu investigates conditions surrounding the restoration of temple and shrine lands (see also **Shinryō*). (*Azuma kagami*)	
		12.5: Retired emperor Go-Toba designates the divine sword of Ise to be the sacred sword of the emperor (see also **Sanshu no shinki*). (*Gosokui yoshino hōhei burui ki*)	
1211	Kenryaku 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.20: Era name changed to Genkyū as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.27: Era name changed to Ken'ei due to calamities (epidemic, sudden death of the regent).
	4.29: Tenjiku Kaja of Iyo is imprisoned, having been accused of erecting shrines to false gods and leading people astray. (*Meigetsuki*)
	10.25: Era name changed to Jōgen due to calamities (epidemic, floods, year deemed unlucky in accordance with Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"]).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1212	Kenryaku 2	3.22: The "new protocols" (*shinsei*; see also **Polices and Institutions of the Classical Period*) comprising 21 articles are promulgated. They include calls to revere the *kami* and perform rituals. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
		9.-: Princess Reishi, **saiin* of Kamo Shrine, retires from position due to illness. The post is left unfilled (*saiin* system discontinued).	
		11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Juntoku. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1213	Kenpō 1		
1219	Jōkyū 1		
1222	Jō'ō 1	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Horikawa. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1223	Jō'ō 2		10.-: The Iwashimizu shrine monk (**Bettō*) Sōsei establishes offices to oversee shrine lands and the shrine's temple, as well as system for construction of temple buildings. (*Tanaka Sōsei ganmon'an*)
1224	Gen'nin 1		
1225	Karoku 1		5.22: The bakufu has 1,200 monks perform services at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine to pray for end to drought and

Personalities/Texts	Society
	12.6: Era name changed to Kenpō due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake, great fire in Kyoto on 10.15).
-.-: **Kitanotenjin'engi emaki* ("Illustrated legends of the Kitano Shrine") completed around this time.	1.27: Shōgun Minamoto Sanetomo is assassinated while on a visit to Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. In the aftermath, the Hōjō family assumes the authority of the bakufu while acting as regents (*shikken*).
	4.12: Era name changed to Jōkyū due to calamities (year deemed unlucky in accordance with Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"], unusual atmospheric phenomena, drought).
11.-: **Yōtenki* completed. (*Zoku Gunsho ruijū*)	
	11.20: Era name changed to Gen'nin due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomenon, drought).
	4.20: Era name changed to Karoku due to calamities (epidemic, "unrest in the land").

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			epidemic. Copies of the "Humane King sūtra" (*Niōkyō*) and other sūtras are also presented to the highest ranked (**Ichi no miya*) shrine in each province. (*Azuma kagami*)
1227	Antei 1		
1228	Antei 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*)
1229	Kangi 1		
1230	Kangi 2		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*)
1231	Kangi 3	6.9: The imperial court bans "rowdyism" by "monks of the mountain" (i.e., from Mt. Hiei) and shrine priests. (*Shinpen tsuika*)	
		11.3: More "new protocols" (*shinsei*; see also **Polices and Institutions of the Classical Period*) are promulgated, adding another 42 articles. They include orders to carry out festivals and rites at all shrines. (*Minkeiki*)	
1232	Jōei 1	8.10: Regent Hōjō Yasutoki promulgates the 51-article *Goseibai shikimoku* (see also **Medieval Shintō*).	
1234	Bunryaku 1		
1235	Katei 1	11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shijō.	
1238	Ryakunin 1		
1239	En'ō 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	12.10: Era name changed to Antei due to calamities (fire the previous 8.26 at the documents office [*fudono*] at the Council of State [*Dajōkan*], epidemic during the current year).
	3.5: Era name changed to Kangi due to calamity (great storm the previous autumn).
	11.5: Era name changed to Bunryaku due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake).
	9.19: Era name changed to Katei due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake, epidemic in Kyoto).
	11.23: Era name changed to Ryakunin due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena) (the new name is unfavorably received among the populace as it is a homophone for characters that mean "abbreviate/omit the people").
2.22: Retired Emperor Go-Toba dies (age 60) (see also **Mitamaya*). (*Hyakurenshō*)	2.7: Era name changed to En'ō due to calamities (disaster).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1240	Ninji 1		
1241	Ninji 2	5.29: The bakufu orders shrines and temples to determine who exactly is on their staffs owing to troubles caused by commoners claiming to be priests (**Shinshoku*). (*Azuma kagami*)	
1242	Ninji 3	11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Saga. (*Heikoki*)	
1246	Kangen 4	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Fukakusa. (*Yōkōki*)	
1247	Hōji 1		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Dainjingū reibumi*)
1249	Kenchō 1		9.26: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1250	Kenchō 2	7.22: The bakufu investigates restoring shrines that have been destroyed. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1252	Kenchō 4	4.5: Munetaka Shinnō, first shōgun from imperial family, makes **heihaku* offerings (**Hōbei*)—a first for a shōgun—at 18 shrines in the general Kyoto region as well as Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, Mishima Shrine, Hakone Washinomiya Shrine, and the "first shrine" (*sōja*, see **Ichi no miya/Sōja*) of each province. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1254	Kenchō 6		
1256	Kōgen 1		
1257	Shōka 1		
1259	Shōgen 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.16: Era name changed to Ninji due to calamities (drought, unusual atmospheric phenomena [comet]).
	3.18: Era name changed to Kenchō due to calamities (fire in the imperial palace).
	1.10: Great fire in Kamakura, with many deaths. The shōgun calls off his pilgrimage to Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine as a consequence. (*Azuma kagami*)
	10.5: Era name changed to Kōgen due to calamities (plagues and epidemics).
	3.14: Era name changed to Shōka due to calamity (2.10: buildings of the Great Council of State [*Dajōkan*] burn down).
	3.26: Era name changed to Shōgen due to calamities (famine and epidemics)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1260	Bun'ō 1	11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kameyama.	
1261	Kōchō 1	2.29: The bakufu orders temples and shrines in Kantō-area domains directly held by the shōgun (*Kantō gobunkoku*) to make it a point to carry out Buddhist and Shintō rites and to repair temples and shrines.	
1263	Kōchō 3	8.13: The *Kuge shinsei* ("New protocols for the aristocracy"; see also **Polices and Institutions of the Classical Period*) are promulgated, with 41 articles. Sets down stipulations regarding such items as making **heihaku* offerings (**Hōbei*) at shrines. (*Kuge shinsei*)	
1264	Bun'ei 1	11.12: Laws created regarding the holding of regular annual events throughout the country such as shrine festivals. (*Geki nikki*)	
1265	Bun'ei 2		
1266	Bun'ei 3	3.28: The bakufu bans falconry for everything other than offertory and religious rites.	9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1268	Bun'ei 5	-.-: An envoy from the Mongols arrives in 1st month. In the aftermath, concern over a Mongol invasion stirs many to offer prayers to the *kami* and buddhas , as exemplified by an edict signed by the emperor himself in the 4th month ordering that **heihaku* be offered at the Ise Shrines.	9.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1274	Bun'ei 11	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.20: Era name changed to Kōchō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	5.12: The bakufu banishes the Buddhist priest Nichiren to Itō in Izu Province (see also **Hokke Shintō*). (*Nichiren shōnin chūgasan*)
	2.28: Era name changed to Bun'ei as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	Intercalary 4.2: An order from the emperor stops priests from Hakozaki Shrine from following through with plans to carry portable shrines into Kyoto (**Shin'yo*). (The developments follow a report made on 2.11 to the emperor about Hakozaki Shrine having gone up in flames.) (*Geki nikki*)
	10.5: The first attempted Mongol invasion

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Uda.	
1275	Kenji 1		3.-: The priest Tsūkai builds the Hōrakusha hall at Ise Shrine (**Daijingūsankeiki*).
1277	Kenji 3		1.12: The *sōjō* ("monk superior") Dōhō from the temple Tō-ji sequesters himself at the Grand Shrines of Ise to pray that Japan be relieved from its foreign troubles. (*Tōji chōja bunin*)
1278	Kōan 1		
1279	Kōan 2		
1281	Kōan 4		7.21: The Hall of Eight Divinities (**Hasshinden*) built at the Department of Divinities (*Jingikan*, see **Jingikandai*). (*Moromoriki*)
1284	Kōan 7	5.20: The bakufu promulgates a new, 38-article legal code that includes instructions related to shrine and temple lands. (*Shin-goshikimoku*)	
		11.1: The bakufu orders shrines and temples throughout the country to pray for the defeat of the Mongols. (*Kanchūki*)	
1285	Kōan 8		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1286	Kōan 9		
1287	Kōan 10		9.18: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1288	Shō'ō 1	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Fushimi.	
1290	Shō'ō 3		2.9: "Extra festival" (*rinjisai*) held at Kasuga. (One source holds that this festival was carried out as an official state event.) (*Sanemikyō-ki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	(*Bun'ei no eki*). The practice of offering invocations (**Kitō*) seeking to expel the Mongol's ships from territorial waters becomes widespread around this time.
	2.29: Era name changed to Kōan due to calamities (ongoing epidemics that began the year before).
	-.-: This year, itinerant Buddhist preacher Ippen begins his "dancing *nenbutsu*" (*odori nenbutsu*) practice.
	Intercalary 7.1: Warships from the Mongol-installed Yuan and Goryeo regimes on the Korean Peninsula attacking Kyūshū are sunk by typhoon rains (see also **Shinkokushisō*) (the second Mongol invasion, *Kōan no eki*).
-.-: *Watarai Yukitada writes *Ise nisho daijingū shinmei hisho* (Secret book of the names of the deities of the two Great Shrines of Ise). (*Daijingū sōsho*)	
8.-: Around this time the Buddhist priest Tsūkai completes **Daijingūsankeiki*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1293	Einin 1		3.20: The imperial court commends Kaze-no-miya, an Ise Shrine branch shrine (**Massha*) whose name had been changed from Kazenoyashiro by proclamation the previous year, by upgrading it to the status of a detached shrine (**Betsugū*) for its prayers in defense against the Mongolian Invasions. (*Ruiju jingi hongen*)
1296	Einin 4		
1298	Einin 6	11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Fushimi.	
1300	Shōan 2		
1301	Shōan 3	7.22: Office of the retired emperor issues a declaration ordering that Jingikanchō (a Kyoto neighborhood, in what is now Ukyō Ward) be assigned to the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*) (see also **Jingikandai*). (*Hakke-burui*)	
		11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Nijō.	
1303	Kagen 1		
1304	Kagen 2		12.22: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibumi*)
			-.-: The number of suppliant priests (**Negi*) at each Ise Shrine is set 10 apiece.
1305	Kagen 3		
1306	Tokuji 1		12.20: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt

Personalities/Texts	Society
	4.13: Major earthquake in Kamakura that leaves more than 20,000 dead. (*Daigoji nikki*)
	8.5: Era name changed to Einin due to calamities (Kantō earthquake and drought).
	-.-: Dispute begins between Ise Inner and Outer Shrines over adding the character *kō* ("emperor") to the names of shrines at the latter complex (the affair is known as the *Kō-no-ji ronsō*). (*Kō-no-ji sata-bumi*)
6.-: *Watarai Yukitada writes *Korō kujitsu den* (Oral transmissions of the ancient and the old)	
	8.5: Era name changed to Kagen due to calamities (Great fire in Kamakura the previous 12.11; drought; unusual atmospheric phenomenon [comet]).
Intercalary 12.27: *Watarai Yukitada dies (age 70).	
	12.14: Era name changed to Tokuji due to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Binran*)
1307	Tokuji 2		1.12: The esoteric "pouring water from the peak" (*kechien kanjō*) Buddhist rite is performed at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. (May mark the start of this long-running ceremony.) (*Ninnaji goden*)
1309	Enkyō 2	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Hanazono.	-.-: Kanda Shrine restores shrine buildings and adds (Taira) Masakado to the **kami* worshipped there.
1311	Ōchō 1		
1312	Shōwa 1		
1313	Shōwa 2		
1317	Bunpō 1		
1318	Bunpō 2	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Daigo.	2.17: *Daijingū sankei shōjin-hō*, a law banning Buddhism and Buddhist clergy from visiting the Grand Shrines of Ise, is passed by order (*chōsen*) of the office of the retired emperor. (*Bunpōki*)
1320	Gen'ō 2		
1321	Genkō 1	4.17: The imperial court issues a 6-article official message (*kansenji*) to shrines of all ranks from the Grand Shrines of Ise on down that gives orders on how to observe Shintō rituals and directions regarding such matters as clerical work related to lawsuits. (*Gionsha ki*)	
1323	Genkō 3		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1324	Shōchū 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena).
12.-: Takashina Takakane completes *Kasuga myōjin genki* (aka **Kasugagongenki*, "Record of the appearances of the Kasuga deity").	
	4.28: Era name changed to Ōchō (widespread epidemics).
	3.20: Era name changed to Shōwa due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake).
-.-: Jin'un completes **Hachiman 'usagū gotakusenshū*.	
	2.3: Era name changed to Bunpō due to calamities (epidemic the previous year, great Kyoto earthquake on 1.3).
	4.-: The bakufu proposes that the Daikakuji and Jimyōin imperial lines hold talks over the matter of imperial succession.
1.-: *Watarai Ieyuki completes *Ruiju jingi hongen* (Rubricated sources on the origins of the kami, 15 fascicles). (Preface of the same)	
	2.23: Era name changed to Genkō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	12.5: Major fire in Kyōto that destroys around 50 *chō* (neighborhoods). (*Hanazono tennō shinki*)
	10.30: The practice of venerating Kasuga

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1325	Shōchū 2		9.16: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1326	Karyaku 1		
1329	Gentoku 1		
1331	Genkō 1, Gentoku 3	8.24: Emperor Go-Daigo flees from Kyoto with a set of the imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*). (*Taiheiki*)	
1332	Genkō 2, Shōkei 1	11.13: Northern Court, **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōgon.	
1333	Genkō 3, Shōkei 2	3.14: Emperor Go-Daigo acquires the sacred sword (**Sanshu no shinki*) from Kizuki Shrine at Izumo Shrine. (*Senge documents*)	
1334	Kenmu 1		7.-: Izumo no Noritoki directed to build Kizuki Grand Shrine. (*Senge documents*)
1336	Engen 1, Kenmu 3	12.21: Retired emperor (honorific used by Takauji side) Go-Daigo takes the imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*) and slips away to Yoshino (event marks the split into Northern and Southern imperial courts). (*Kōdai ryakuki*; *Jinnō shōtōki*)	
		-.-: The consecrated princess (**Saigū*) withdraws from the *Nonomiya due to social unrest. Thereafter, the practice of dispatching consecrated princesses to Ise Shrine is	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	mandala becomes widespread (see **Kasuga Shinkō*) around this time. There are stories that this was due to an oracle from Kasuga. (*Hanazono tennō shinki*)
	12.9: Era name changed to Shōchū due to calamity (a *feng shui* theory predicted a year of "instability on earth").
	4.26: Era name changed to Kareki due to calamities (a severe thunderstorm that Kyoto experienced the previous 6.26, floods, and epidemics).
	8.29: Era name changed to Gentoku due to calamity (large numbers of deaths due to epidemic ["the coughing illness"]).
	8.9: Southern Court, era name changed to Genkō owing to calamity (epidemic).
-.-: *Jihen completes *Kuji hongi gengi* [Deep significances in the *Kuji hongi*]. (*Shintō taikei*)	
4.-: *Jihen completes *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki* [Primary record of the investigation of the manifest deities of the world]. (*Shintō taikei*)	5.21 (22): The army of Nitta Yoshisada attacks Kamakura, leading to the fall of the Kamakura bakufu.
	5.-: Kenmu Restoration
	1.29: Era name changed to Kenmu to mark reconsolidation after upheaval (bakufu collapse the previous year, restoration of court authority the current year).
	2.29: Southern Court, era name changed to Engen due to calamities (war begun the previous year).
	11.7: The Muromachi bakufu (shogunate) is established.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		discontinued (cessation of the consecrated princess system).	
1338	Engen 3, Rekiō 1	Intercalary 7.29: The bakufu gives strict orders to the military governors (*shugo*) in each province to restore any shrine and temple lands they have confiscated. (*Kenmu irai tsuika*)	
		11.19: Northern Court, **daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōmyō. (*Chūin ippon ki*)	
1339	Engen 4, Rekiō 2		
1340	Kōkoku 1, Rekio 3	4.15: The bakufu forbids the vassal samurai (*hikan*) of provincial governors (*shugo*) from confiscating shrine and temple lands. (*Kenmu irai tsuika*)	3.18: The vengeful spirit of cloistered emperor Sutoku on his mind, Ashikaga Takauji is said to entreat the imperial court to venerate the spirit of the late Emperor Go-Daigo. (*Gyokuei kishō*)
1342	Kōkoku 3, Kōei 1		
1343	Kōkoku 4, Kōei 2		12.28: Northern Court, the Grand Shrines of Ise and Kasuga Shrine are rebuilt and reconsecrated (*shōsengū* , see **Shikinensengū*). (*Gukanki*)
1344	Kōkoku 5, Kōei 3		1.28: Ashikaga Takauji and Ashikaga Tadayoshi make a pilgrimage to Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (may have been the first visit to the shrine by an Ashikaga shōgun). (*Entairyaku*)
1345	Kōkoku 6, Jōwa 1		12.27: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1346	Shōhei 1, Jōwa 2		
1348	Shōhei 3, Jōwa 4		

Personalities/Texts	Society
7.27: *Watarai Tsuenyoshi dies (age 77).	
-.-: *Kitabatake Chikafusa completes *Jinnō shōtōki* [Chronicle of the direct descent of divine emperors] (revised 1343).	
9.6: *Jihen writes *Toyoashihara jinpūwaki* [Record of the natural deities of Japan, the land of abundant reed plains and rice fields]. (*Shintō taikei*)	
	4.27: Northern Court changes era name to Kōei due to calamities (natural disaster, unusual phenomena, epidemics).
	10.21: Northern Court changes era name to Jōwa due to calamities (natural disasters, flooding, epidemic).
	12.8: Southern Court changes era name to Shōhei due to calamity (warfare).
7.24: Northern Court oversees completion of *Jingi shakkyō* [Shintō and Buddhism] in three volumes. (*Entairyaku mokuroku*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1351	Shōhei 6, Kannō 2	12.23: Southern Court seizes the sacred treasures from the Northern Court. (*Entairyaku*)	12.18: Southern Court designates Atsuta Shrine to be an official shrine (**Kansha*). (*Entairyaku*)
1352	Shōhei 7, Bunna 1		
1354	Shōhei 9, Bunna 3	11.16: Northern Court: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Kōgon.	
1356	Shōhei 11, Enbun 1		
1361	Shōhei 16, Kōan 1		
1362	Shōhei 17, Jōji 1		
1364	Shōhei 19, Jōji 3		2.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Ni-sho kōtai jingū sengū shidai ki*)
1367	Shōhei 22, Jōji 6	6.27: The bakufu issues special decree ordering warriors to restore lands in Yamashiro (southern Kyoto) they had enfeoffed from shrines and temples. (*Moromoriki*)	
1368	Shōhei 23, Ōan 1		
1369	Shōhei 24, Ōan 2		8.16: Prince Kanenaga (Shinnō) stores at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine the copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* received at memorial service for Emperor Go-Daigo. (*Kanenaga Shinnō gyohitsu Hokekyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.28: Watarai Ieyuki dies (age 96).	
-.-: **Shintōshū* completed (some point between 1352 and 1360).	
4.17: *Kitabatake Chikafusa dies (age 62).	
	3.28: Northern Court changes era name to Enbun due to calamity (warfare).
	3.29: Northern Court changes era name to Kōan due to calamities (warfare, mysterious phenomena, epidemic).
	9.23: Northern Court changes era name to Jōji due to calamities (warfare, earthquake, epidemic).
12.-: **Kitanotenjin engi* (Iwamatsu Shrine version) painted, perhaps this year . (inscription on first scroll)	
-.-: *Inbe no Masamichi completes *Jindai no maki kuketsu.*	
	2.18: Northern Court changes era name to Ōan due to calamities (warfare, natural disaster).
	2.27: The bakufu forbids lay persons from dressing in the garb of Buddhist priests. (*Kenmu irai tsuika*)
	4.20: Warrior monks from Enryaku Temple bearing portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) engage in protests (over a sectarian conflict with Zen monks, who their Shingon sect rivals feared were being favored by the bakufu over other sects). 7.28: The bakufu responds by destroying the main gate (*rōmon*) at Kyoto's Rinzai Zen-affiliated Nanzen Temple. 8.7: All of the senior monks at every Zen temple

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1372	Bunchū 1, Ōan 5	3.12: The bakufu appoints a *Magistrate of Shrines and Temples (*Jisha bugyō*). (*Kaei sandai ki*)	10.25: Cloistered emperor Go-Kōgon settles dispute over borders of lands held by Kamigamo and Kibune shrines in the former's favor (see also **Shinryō*).
		11.18: The bakufu forbids "false suits" (*ranso*) by shrine priests. (*Kaei sandai-ki*)	
1374	Bunchū 3, Ōan 7		-.-: First mention of *Kamo tensō* ("Kamo messenger;" see **Jingū tensō*) position appears, in *Daigeki Moroshige ki*.
1375	Tenju 1, Eiwa 1	1.29: The bakufu issues a 3-clause law decreeing the *kami* should be revered. (*Kaei sandai ki*)	
		11.23: Northern Court, **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Enyū. (*Gukanki*)	
1379	Tenju 5, Kōryaku 1		
1380	Tenju 6, Kōryaku 2		9.8: Northern Court: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1381	Kōwa 1, Eitoku 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	in Kyoto resign.
	4.-: Southern Court changes era name to Bunchū due to calamity (warfare).
2.24: Northern Court grants noble status (the title of *ason*) to Yoshida Kanehiro, then-Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*Jingiken taifu*; see **Jingikandai*). (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])	5.27: Southern Court changes era name to Tenju due to calamity (landslides).
	3.22: Northern Court changes era name to Kōryaku due to calamities (warfare, epidemic).
	9.20: To express their discontent over delays in the regular transfer of the shrine's deity to newly consecrated shrine (**Shikinensengū*), Ise Outer Shrine suppliant priest (**Negi*) Watarai Tomoteru and others try to bring the object of worship (**Shintai*) from subshrine Kaze-no-miya to Kyoto. The Northern Court orders Ise's master of rites Ōnakatomi Motonao to pacify Watarai, and shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu sends an envoy to halt the protest. (*Gekū sengū ki*)
	2.10: Southern Court changes era name to Kōwa as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger-wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	2.24: Northern Court changes era name to Eitoku due to Chinese zodiac associations of

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1382	Kōwa 2, Eitoku 2		
1383	Kōwa 3, Eitoku 3	11.16: Northern Court: **Daijōsai* ceremony held with accession of Emperor Go-Komatsu.	
1384	Genchū 1, Shitoku 1		
1387	Genchū 4, Kakyō 1		
1388	Genchū 5, Kakyō 2	3.3: The bakufu bans monopolization of perilla oil (a lamp oil taken from the beefsteak plant, Jp. *egoma*) sold under the name of *Sumiyoshisha shinjin* ("demigod of Sumiyoshi Shrine") by residents of Sesshu, Izuminokuni (see also **Sumiyoshi shinkō*). (*Rikyū Hachimangū documents*)	
1389	Genchū 6, Kō'ō 1		
1390	Genchū 7, Meitoku 1		
1391	Genchū 8, Meitoku 2		12.20: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1392	Genchū 9, Meitoku 3		
1393	Meitoku 4		9.18: Shōgun Ashikaga

Personalities/Texts	Society
	the year in the sexagenary cycle, as above (see also **Ehō*).
	9.3: Southern army based at Kitayama in the Kii district attacks priest and supporters at Shingū in the Kumano area.
	2.27: Northern Court changes era name to Shitoku due to start of new regime (imperial succession two years prior) and because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.28: Southern Court changes era name to Genchū due to Chinese zodiac associations of the year in the sexagenary cycle, as above.
	8.23: Northern Court changes era name to Kakyō due to calamities (epidemic).
	2.9: Northern Court changes era name to Kō'ō due to calamity (epidemic).
	3.26: Northern Court, era name changed to Meitoku due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, warfare).
	Intercalary 10.5: Southern Emperor Go-Kameyama hands the three sacred treasures (**Sanshu no shinki*) over to Northern Emperor Go-Komatsu, uniting the two courts. **Kagura* performed for three nights at the Naijidokoro (see **Kyūchū sanden*) of the imperial palace.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Yoshimitsu makes pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise. (*Kugyō bunin*)
1394	Ōei 1		
1400	Ōei 7		2.28: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1402	Ōei 9		3.16: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu makes pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise. (*Yoshida hinamiki*)
1411	Ōei 18		12.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1413	Ōei 20		3.6: Kantō Administrator (*Kantō kubō*) Ashikaga Mochiuji builds a great **torii* at Yuigahama, Kamakura. (*Kamakura ōzōshi*)
1415	Ōei 22	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōkō.	
1419	Ōei 26	7.18: *Kinenkoku hōhei* (a ceremony held at 22 shrines including Ise to pray for bountiful harvest) revived (unobserved since 1350). (*Kanmon nikki*)	12.21: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1420	Ōei 27	4.22: **Hie matsuri* (Hiyoshi festival) and visits to it by imperial envoy revived (*Yasutomi ki*) (the festival had gone unobserved since 1380).	
1430	Eikyō 2	11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Hanazono.	
1431	Eikyō 3		12.20: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1434	Eikyō 6		9.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1441	Kakitsu 1		
1443	Kakitsu 3		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.5: Era name changed to Ōei due to calamities (epidemic, drought).
5.3: Yoshida Kanehiro dies (age 55). (*Yoshida hinamiki*)	1.16: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu holds book fair for "non-Buddhist literature" (*getensai*; i.e., writings from other traditions such as Daoism, Confucianism, etc.) at his villa Kitayama-dai (present-day Kinkaku Temple). (*Yoshida hinamiki*)
2.1 onward: Buddhist priest Ryōhen completes *Nihon shoki daiichi monsho* [Lectures on **Nihon shoki*] (see **Reikiki*).	
	2.17: Era name changed to Kakitsu as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	9.23: Takahide-ō and other family members

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1444	Bun'an 1		
1449	Hōtoku 1		
1452	Kyōtoku 1		-.-: Ryūkyū king Shō Kinpuku builds a shrine to Amaterasu in Naha. (*Nanbei kikō*; *Okinawa-shi*)
1455	Kōshō 1		
1456	Kōshō 2		
1457	Chōroku 1		
1459	Chōroku 3	8.21: The bakufu razes the old gates at the seven entrances to Kyoto and replaces them with new ones. Tolls collected at the gates go to construction costs at major shrines. (*Hekizan nichiroku*)	
1460	Kanshō 1		
1462	Kanshō 3		12.27: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) (will not take place again for 124 years).
1465	Kanshō 6	12.8: The bakufu orders Settsu military governor (*shugo*) Hosokawa Katsumoto to return the land of Nishinomiya Shrine to Superintendent of the	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	from the Southern Court steal two of the imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*)—the jewel and the sword—from the imperial court and flee to Enryaku Temple. The ringleader is subsequently arrested, but the jewel's whereabouts are unknown. (The jewel would be recovered in 1458 and brought back to the imperial court.)
	2.5: Era name changed to Bun'an as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.28: Era name changed to Hōtoku due to calamities (major earthquake in Yamashiro [southern Kyoto] on 4.12, epidemic).
	7.25: Era name changed to Kyōtoku due to calamities (unlucky year [due to *sangō* = "alignment of three stars"] in Onmyōdō theory, epidemics) (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*).
	7.25: Era name changed to Kōshō due to calamities (warriors had requested a new era name due to ongoing warfare since previous year).
-.-: Around this time, *Ichijō Kaneyoshi completes *Nihon shoki sanso*.	
	9.28: Era name changed to Chōroku due to calamities (epidemic, drought, unusual atmospheric phenomenon [comet]).
	12.21: Era name changed to Kanshō due to calamities (famines, drought, warfare).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Jingikan (*jingihaku*) Sukemasu-ō.	
1466	Bunshō 1	12.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado.	
1467	Ōnin 1		5.-: Many shrines damaged during the course of the Ōnin War that begins this year, with buildings burned down and so forth.
1469	Bunmei 1		
1475	Bunmei 7	1.1: Revival of the "obeisance to the four directions" (*shihōhai*; see **Chōga*) rite (stopped since 1468). (*Sanetaka kōki*)	
1476	Bunmei 8	1.28: Revival of the Kamo *sōjihajime* rite (an imperial rite). (*Chikanaga kyōki*)	
1477	Bunmei 9		
1478	Bunmei 10	7.27: Jingikan Superintendent Sukemasu-ō and other *Jingikan officials petition for reconstruction of the Hall of Eight Deities (**Hasshinden*). (*Kaneaki kyōki bekki*)	
1479	Bunmei 11		4.22: The Hiyoshi Festival (**Hie matsuri*) is said to have been revived on this date.
1480	Bunmei 12	2.28: The bakufu bans common people from attending festivals, viewing **sarugaku* and **sumō*, and participating in temple and shrine fairs. (*Ninagawa documents*)	
1481	Bunmei 13		
1484	Bunmei 16		11.24: Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*jingiken taifu*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	3.5: Era name changed to Ōnin due to calamities (ongoing warfare since previous year).
	5.-: Start of the Ōnin War. (Marks the onset of Japan's Sengoku, or "Warring States," Period.)
	4.28: Era name changed to Bunmei due to calamities (warfare since the previous year, unusual atmospheric phenomena).
8.13: First mention of *Yoshida Kanetomo as "Head of Divinities" (*Jingi chōjō*). (*Chikanaga kyōki*)	
-.-: This year, *Yoshida Kanetomo argues in a lecture on **Nihon shoki* that the origins of Buddhism and Confucianism lie in Shintō.	11.-:End of the Ōnin War
12.-: *Yoshida Kanetomo completes **Daijōe no koto*.	
2.11: *Yoshida Kanetomo delivers lecture in emperor's presence on *Nakatomi harae* ("the Nakatomi purification formula"; see also **Harae*). (*Sanetaka kōki*)	
4.2: *Ichijō Kaneyoshi dies (age 80).	
-.-: Around this time, *Yoshida Kanetomo writes **Yuiitsushintō myōhōyōshū* [Essentials	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Yoshida Kanetomo builds a ritual space at Kaguragaoka in Yamashiro and transfers deity (*senza*; see **Taisai*) to site. (*Sanetaka kōki*)
			-.-: Shimazu Tadamasa orders the priest Kaneyoshi to rebuild Kirishima Shrine and grants it 100-*koku* worth of land. (*Dazai kannai-shi*)
1485	Bunmei 17		
1486	Bunmei 18		12.22: Ise provincial governor Kitabatake Kichika aids Ise clan (*uji*; see **Ujiko*) shrine workers (**jinin*) by attacking their counterparts from Ise Yamada; Ise Outer Shrine set on fire. (*Naikū chūshin-ki*)
1487	Chōkyō 1		4.19: The emperor orders Senior Assistant Director of Divinities *Yoshida Kanetomo to visually confirm the status of the Ise Outer Shrine's object of worship (**Shintai*) after the shrine burned down in fire and summons the Imperial Jingū Messenger (**Jingū tensō*) for consultations. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])
1488	Chōkyō 2		4.-: *Matsuosai* ("Matsuo festival," see *Imperial Court Rituals) revived, portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) abandoned on the road amid fighting. (*Go-hōkōin ki*)
1489	Entoku 1		6.22: Shrine workers (**Jinin*) from Ise Yamada attack counterparts from Uji; Ise Inner Shrine burned, but the main building is spared. (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
on the name and the law of the one and only Shintō].	
	8.-: Uprisings (*ikki*) in Yamashiro (southern Kyoto).
-.-: Writing of **Shintō tai'i* [Outline of Shintō]. (*Yoshida sōsho*)	
	7.20: Era name changed to Chōkyō due to calamities (fires the previous year at the Kyoto temple Tōji and at Ise Outer Shrine).
	6.9: *Ikkō ikki* ("leagues of the single-minded") Buddhist uprising in Kaga; the 200,000-strong force attacks Takao Castle, the base of military governor (*shugo*) Togashi Masachika; Togashi commits suicide. (*Inryōken nichiroku* [Daily record of the Inryōken])
11:19: *Yoshida Kanetomo reports to emperor that the divine treasures (**Shinki*) of Ise Shrine have descended to the Yoshida Saijōsho (the ceremonial site and shrine on Mt. Yoshida in Kyoto). Imperial Court goes to the *gijōsho* ("decision-making place"), orders their enshrinement at Taigen Shrine ("shrine of the great origin"). (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	8:21: Era name changed to Entoku due to calamities (celestial omen of two planets in alignment, major fire in Kyoto on 5.8, and burning down of Ise Inner Shrine on 6.22).
11.29: *Yoshida Kanetomo gives the	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1490	Entoku 2	1.1: Two imperial palace ceremonies (*kochōhai* and *sechie*) revived (both had gone unobserved since 1468).	3.21: The bakufu attacks peasant protestors holed up in Kitano Shrine, with all shrine buildings burnt down as a result. (*Inryōken nichiroku*)
		Intercalary 8.25: Court orders restoration of Jingikan (see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) territories to the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*). (*Nobuhide kyōki*)	
		11.28: The bakufu grants permission to rebuild Jingikan at request of the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*). (*Ukagaigoto kiroku*)	
1491	Entoku 3		12:30: Emperor orders *Yoshida Kanetomo to make object of worship (**Shintai*) for Kamo Shrine. (*Chikanaga kyōki*)
1492	Meiō 1		
1493	Meiō 2		12.23: Imperial court bestows divine rank (**Shin'i, shinkai*) on the Yoshida Saijōsho. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])
1496	Meiō 5	Intercalary 2.13: The bakufu grants Gion Shrine permission to solicit funds in the provinces for repairs to buildings and to revive the Gion Festival (*Gion'e*, see **Gion matsuri*; the festival resumed from 1500). (*Gionsha ki*)	
1497	Meiō 6		
1500	Meiō 9		6.7: Gion Festival (**Gion matsuri*) resumes. (*Tadatomiō ki*)
1501	Bunki 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
emperor instruction on Shintō. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
	7.19: Era name changed to Meiō due to calamities (epidemic).
2.6: Yoshida Kanetomo raises issue of the "30 tutelary deities" (**Sanjūbanshin*) of the Nichiren sect with Nichiren temples Myōhonji (or Myōkenji), Myōrenji, and Honkokuji (see also **Hokke Shintō*). (*Myōkenji documents*)	
	7.28: Major fire in Kyoto, 20,000 households burned down. (*Go-hōkōin ki*)
3.11: Jingikan Superintendent (*Jingihaku*) Shirakawa Tadatomiō delivers lecture before the emperor titled "*Shintō hiketsu*" ("The	2.29: Era name changed to Bunki to mark start of new reign and because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger-

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1504	Eishō 1		
1505	Eishō 2		
1507	Eishō 4		8.-: This month, the Daijingūchō (Agency of the Grand Shrines) grants permission to assistant senior supervisor (*Gondaisōzu*) Shinkei to solicit funds for rebuilding the temples at the shrine. (*Kōtaijingū hikitsuke*)
1511	Eishō 8		
1512	Eishō 9	4.21: The bakufu establishes time limit for lawsuits regarding Shintō rituals. (*Kenmu irai tsuika* [Supplement to the *Kenmu shikimoku*])	
1513	Eishō 10		10.22: The bakufu resolves feud between Ise Inner and Outer Shrines over which should undertake its rebuilding and reconsecration (**Shikinensengū*) ceremony first by deciding both should build temporary shrines simultaneously, with Inner Shrine then holding ceremonies first. (*Naigū hikitsuke*)
1517	Eishō 14		
1521	Daiei 1		
1522	Daiei 2		9.-: Hōjō Ujitsuna rebuilds Samukawa Shrine in Sagami. (*Samukawa jinja munafuda*)
1527	Daiei 7	5.6: Emperor Go-Nara is	

Personalities/Texts	Society
mysteries of Shintō") (see also **Ritsuryō Jingikan*). (*Tadatomiō ki*)	wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability. (see also **Ehō*)
	2.30: Era name changed to Eishō because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder-wood rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.18: *Obon* dancing (*bon-odori*; see also **Senzo saishi*) popular in Kyoto; the bakufu issues a ban. (*Sanetaka kōki*)
2.19: *Yoshida Kanetomo dies (age 77). (*Sanetaka kōki*)	
2.9: Arakida Moritoki, a priest (*negi*) at Ise Inner Shrine, completes *Eishōki.*	
12.22: The bakufu rebukes Yoshida Kanemitsu to resolve dispute pitting Kanemitsu against his uncle Yoshida Kanenaga, a caretaker of Hirano Shrine, over leadership of Yoshida house (see also **Yoshida Kanemigi*). (*Nobutane kyōki*)	
	8.23: Era name changed to Daiei due to calamities (warfare, unusual atmospheric phenomena).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		instructed in the *gohai* rite by Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*) and performs it for the first time since his accession to the throne (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
1528	Kyōroku 1	6.12: *Jingū Densō Kikutei Kinhiko petitions the emperor to restore the Ise Shrine's territories (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
1532	Tenbun 1		
1533	Tenbun 2	12.30: Following precedent, the Imperial court approves Jingikan Junior Vice- Director (*Jingi shōfuku*, see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) *Yoshida Kanemigi, the adopted son of Yoshida Kanemitsu (who died in 1528), to be head of the "only-one original Shintō" (*yuiitsu sōgen Shintō*, see **Yoshida Shintō*). (Documents in the Higashiyama collection)	
1534	Tenbun 3		
1535	Tenbun 4		4.28: Kamo Shrine resumes liturgical **kagura*. (*Go-Nara tennō shinki*)
1543	Tenbun 12		6.30: Priests (**Kannushi*) from Ise Inner and Outer Shrines fight with one another. (*Kawasakishi nendaiki*)
1545	Tenbun 14	8.-: Prayers of apology are offering at Ise Shrine for not having performed the **daijōsai*	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.29: Era name changed to Tenbun due to calamity (shōgun requested the change due to long years of warfare).
8.-: Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*jingi taifu*) Yoshida Kanenaga petitions the imperial court to halt *Yoshida Kanemigi from being the head of the "only-one original Shintō" (*yuiitsu sōgen Shintō*, see **Yoshida Shintō*). Kanemigi countersues, and court resolves the dispute 11.19 by dismissing Kanenaga's suit. (Kyoto University documents; *Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
	8.25: Portuguese trading ship lands at Tanegashima, delivers firearms. (*Nanpo bunshū*)
8.3: *Yoshida Kanemigi delivers lecture before the emperor on the *Nihon shoki* and on 8.13 gives him instruction on Shintō. (*Tenbun*	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(for Emperor Go-Nara Tennō). (*Higashiyama bunko kiroku*)	
1549	Tenbun 18		
1550	Tenbun 19		
1555	Kōji 1		
1557	Kōji 3		11.27: Oda Nobunaga grants Atsuta Shrine in Owari the right to refuse tax collectors and constabulary (*shugo fu'nyū*) from entering its lands. (*Tajima documents*)
1560	Eiroku 3	12.-: With no prospect of performing the **Daijōsai* in sight, Emperor Ōgimachi, who had ascended to the throne in 1557, calls off holding other regular rites as well.	
1563	Eiroku 6		9.23: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1566	Eiroku 9		
1568	Eiroku 11		
1570	Genki 1		
1571	Genki 2		
1572	Genki 3		2.21: *Keikōin Shūyō, a nun in Ise, goes on fund-raising trip (*kanjin*) through the provinces and works to get the "provisional hall" (**Karidono*) at Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt. (*Keikōin documents*)
1573	Tenshō 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
14-nen nikki; *Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
8.8: *Arakida Moritake dies (age 77). (*Arakida-shi keizu*)	7.3: Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier arrives in Kagoshima (introduction of Christianity to Japan). (*Iezusu-kaishi Nihon tsūshin*)
7.12: *Kiyohara Nobukata dies (age 76). (*Tamon'in nikki*)	
	10.23: Era name changed to Kōji due to calamity (warfare).
-.-: The word "Shintō" (Xintǒ) makes its first appearance in a Christian document, coming in the correspondence of Japanese Christian Lourenço.	
4.3: *Keikōin Seijun dies.	
	-.-: Daimyō Ōmura Sumitada builds hall for the Jesuits in Nagasaki. (*Nihon Yasokai nenpō*)
	2.28: Era name changed to Genki due to calamity (warfare).
	9.12: Oda Nobunaga burns down Enryaku Temple and Hiyoshi Shrine as a reproach for each having sided with the Asakura clan in its conflict with Oda. (*Tōdai-ki*)
1.10: *Yoshida Kanemigi dies (age 58). (*Kugyō bunin*)	7.18: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiaki is deposed by Oda Nobunaga, marking the end of Muromachi bakufu (shogunate).
	7.28: Era name changed to Tenshō due to calamities (warfare, banishment on 7.19 of the Ashikaga shōgun).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1574	Tenshō 2		
1579	Tenshō 7		
1580	Tenshō 8		
1582	Tenshō 10	1.25: Responding to requests from the priests (**Kannushi*) of Ise Shrine, Oda Nobunaga donates rebuilding costs and appoints magistrate (*bugyō*). (*Gekū hikitsuke*)	
1583	Tenshō 11		10.-: Suppliant priests (**negi*) from Ise Inner Shrine give Toyotomi Hideyoshi gift of an invocation amulet (*kitō taima*, see **Jingū taima*). They also request that chief nun *Keikōin Shūyō be assigned to oversee the shrine's rebuilding and reconsecration (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū hikitsuke*)
			12.-: Kikkawa Motoharu (a general and eventual ally of Toyotomi Hideyoshi) rebuilds numerous shrines in Hōki Province (present-day western Tottori Prefecture).
1585	Tenshō 13		10.13: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued]). 10.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Sengū shidai-ki*)
1586	Tenshō 14		-.-: Konda Hachiman Shrine buildings burned in battle. (*Ōsaka shiseki hōkoku*)
			-.-: Grand hall (Nishihongū at Hiyoshi Shrine) built for the Ōmi Sannō avatar.
1587	Tenshō 15	5.-: Toyotomi Hideyoshi confiscates most domains belonging to shrines in Kyūshū.	10.1: Toyotomi Hideyoshi holds a great tea party at Kyoto's Kitano Shrine, donates small

Personalities/Texts	Society
	1.-: *Ikkō ikki* ("leagues of the single-minded") Buddhist uprising in Echizen. (*Esshū gunki*; *Shinchō kōki* [Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga])
-.-: *Yoshida Kanemi first earns court rank as a result of report to emperor from Nobunaga. (*Bonshun nikki* [Diary of *Bonshun])	—
	Intercalary 3.5: Hongan Temple priest Ken'nyo and Oda Nobunaga reach peace agreement. Battle of Ishiyama ends.
	6.2: Oda Nobunaga slain (*Honnō-ji no hen*, "the incident at Honnō Temple").
	7.-: Toyotomi Hideyoshi begins conducting cadastral surveys.
	6.19: Toyotomi Hideyoshi bans forced conversions to Christianity and buying and selling of Japanese slaves, orders that

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Chikuzen zoku-fudoki*)	*bunrin*-style tea caddies and 1,000 *koku* of rice. (*Kitanosha ki*)
1590	Tenshō 18	4.18: Hall of Eight Deities (**Hasshinden*) at Department of Divinities (**Jingikan*) relocated to Yoshida Shrine precincts. (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])	
1591	Tenshō 19		11.28: Tokugawa Ieyasu grants an estate (**Shinryō*) to Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine.
			-.-: Kobayakawa Takakage rebuilds Chikuzen Dazaifu Shrine.
1592	Bunroku 1		-.-: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) from Grand Shrines of Ise petition for estates to be donated to the shrines (see **Shinryō*) because shrine holdings had declined due to cadastral surveys in the provinces, resulting in income declines and inability to do shrine business. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1593	Bunroku 3		9.21: Hideyoshi donates land to Grand Shrines of Ise. (Ise Shrine library documents)
1596	Keichō 1		8.-: Shirayama Hime Shrine in Kaga Province rebuilt by Maeda Toshie and reconsecrated (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Shirayama hime jinja ryaku-ki*)
1597	Keichō 2		
1598	Keichō 3		2.-: *Kami* from the Grand Shrines of Ise called upon (**Kanjō*) to impart part of their presence (**Bunrei*) at the Yoshida Shrine's Daigengū building in Yamashiro. (*Bonshun nikki* [Diary of *Bonshun])
			4.16: Completion of temporary mausoleum in Kyoto where Toyotomi Hideyoshi laid to rest. 4.17: Hideyoshi given posthumous Shintō name of Hōkoku Daimyōjin. 4.18:

Personalities/Texts	Society
	missionaries be expelled from the country. (*Bateren tsuihōrei*)
5.18: Buddhist priest Nichikō writes *Shintō dōitsu kanmi shō* [Selections on Shintō of the universal salty taste] (see also **Hokke Shintō*).	7.13: Toyotomi Hideyoshi takes Odawara Castle after a three-month siege. He subsequently grants the eight provinces of the Kantō region (present-day Tokyo and neighboring prefectures) to Tokugawa Ieyasu (development marks the completion of Hideyoshi's conquest of all Japan).
	3.-: First dispatch of expeditionary forces to Korea (*Bunroku no eki*) begins.
	10.27: Era name changed to Keichō due to calamity (natural disasters).
	12.19: 26 Christian missionaries executed in Nagasaki ("Martyrdom of the 26 Saints").
	1.-: Second dispatch of expeditionary forces to Korea (*Keichō no eki*) begins.
	8.18: Toyotomi Hideyoshi dies (age 63).
Intercalary 3.3: Imperial court-ordered copy of the "Age of the Gods" (*Jindai*) scrolls of *Nihon shoki* produced, followed on 3.8 by a copy of *Daigaku* (Great learning) and on 3.17 of *Chūyō* (Doctrine of the mean). The "Age of the Gods" scrolls are presented to Ise and	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Mausoleum reconsecrated (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Toyotomi kafu*)
1600	Keichō 5		5.25: Tokugawa Ieyasu donates estate (see **Shinryō*) to Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, family succession granted and endorsed by vermilion seal (*shuin*, see also **Shuinchi*). (*Tanaka family documents*)
			-.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu has the *Ichinomiya Hikawa Shrine built in Musashi Ōmiya. (*Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō*)
			-.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu has Atsuta Shrine built in Owari Province (present-day western Aichi Prefecture). (*Chōshū fushi*)
1603	Keichō 8	9.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu issues Ise Ordinance (*Ise hatto*), granting two villages of Kōdai Shrine right to refuse entry of tax collectors and constabulary into territory (*shugo fu'nyū*) and right of pilgrims to work as shrine guides in their desired locations. (*Jingū nenpyō*; *Tokugawa kinreikō*)	9.-: The bakufu transfers the spirit (**Kanjō*) of Atago avatar (see **Atago shinkō*) to Shiba (part of present-day Saitama Prefecture). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
		11.-: The bakufu establishes the Yamada magistrate (*Yamada bugyō*, see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Pre-modern*). (Some sources say the event occurred in 1600.) (*Jingū nenpyō*)	9.-: Following precedent, Ieyasu decides to assign responsibility for rebuilding and reconsecration (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) of Ise Shrine buildings to chief nun *Keikōin Shūyō. (*Keikōin yuishosho*)
1604	Keichō 9	2.-: The bakufu builds various shrines and temples in Kantō (area centered around present-day Tokyo) region. (*Tōdai-ki*)	
1605	Keichō 10		12.-: Ieyasu builds Utsunomiya Futarasan Shrine. (Records of shrine construction bills)
1607	Keichō 12		
1608	Keichō 13		
1609	Keichō 14	5.1: The bakufu hands down the Ordinance for Shugendō	2.-: Ieyasu donates 60,000 bales of rice to Ise Shrine for rebuilding

Personalities/Texts	Society
Kasuga Shrines. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	
	9.15: The Battle of Sekigahara (decisive victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu's forces, bringing the Sengoku ["Warring States"] Period to a close).
	2.12: Tokugwa Ieyasu received the title of shōgun and establishes his bakufu (i.e., shogunate) in Edo.
	4.-: Izumo no Okuni (reputedly a priestess from Izumo Shrine) holds her first performance of *kabuki* (see also **Shibai*) in Kyoto. (*Tōdai-ki*)
-.-: Japanese Christian apostate Fabian Fucan completes *Myōtei mondo* [The *myōtei* dialogue].	
	-.-: The dispatch of ambassadorial envoys from Korea (*Chōsen tsūshinshi*) begins this year (some believe it began in 1605).
-.-: Buddhist priest Taichū completes **Ryūkyū shintōki*	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Shugendō hatto*, see **Shinto and Shugendō*) to Shogoin Monzeki Temple.	and reconsecration (**Shikinensengū*) expenses. (*Tōdai-ki*)
			9.21: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*); 9.27: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
			9.-: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) of Ise's Inner and Outer shrines argue over which shrine to be rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) first; Imperial court decides on Inner Shrine. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath]; *Jingū nenpyō*)
1610	Keichō 15	9.25: The bakufu sets down regulations covering Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. (*Shrine documents*)	
1611	Keichō 16		9.-: The bakufu donates territory to shrines throughout Echigo. (*Yabiko shrine documents*)
1612	Keichō 17	5.1: The bakufu donates and endorses assignment of shrine domain to Shinano Togakushi Shrine, and sets down Togakushi-yama Ordinance (*Togakushiyama hatto*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1613	Keichō 18	5.21: Ordinance of Shugendō (*Shugendō hatto*, see **Shinto and Shugendō*) and "new obligations (i.e., taxes and levies) for the Kantō region" (*Kantō shingi*) proclaimed (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		6.16: Tokugawa Ieyasu promulgates ordinances for noble families (*Kuge shohatto*) and regulations on Buddhism. (*Chokkyo shie hōki*).	
1614	Keichō 19		1.-: .Tokugawa Ieyasu receives new year's greetings from shrines throughout the land. (*Honkō-kokushi nikki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
9.2: *Yoshida Kanemi dies (age 76)	
4.16: *Keikōin Shūyō dies (age unknown)	
-.-: Two-volume *Omorosōshi* completed (see **Ryūkyū mythology*).	3.21: The bakufu bans Christianity and orders destruction of cathedral in Kyoto. (*Kinkyōrei*)
12.-: Emperor Goyōzei sends for Yoshida Kaneharu and Shinryūin *Bonshun to ask about Shintō, receives instruction in methods of "original Shintō" (*sōgen Shintō*, see **Yoshida Shintō*) and the Shintō *daigoma* rite. (*Bonshun nikki* [Diary of Bonshun])	12.19: The bakufu bans Christianity throughout the country.
-.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu appoints Tenkai the shrine monk (**Bettō*) of the Nikkō shrine complex (see also **Nikkōsan shinkō*)..	
	9.24: Ecstatic religious dancing known as *Ise odori* (Ise Dance, see also **Okagemairi*) suddenly spreads around Japan, occasioned by false rumors that the Grand Shrines will be moved. On this day, it even occurs in the imperial household (*Kinchū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*; *Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1615	Gen'na 1	7.27: Tokugawa Ieyasu secures shrine and temple lands throughout the Kinai district (area centered on Kyoto). (*Goshuinchō* [Red stamp book for pilgrims])	5.7: Siege of Osaka, death of the Toyotomi family. Fires related to the fighting destroy numerous shrines, including Ikukunitama Shrine. (*Zoku-shi-gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])
		7.-: The bakufu issues ordinances for warrior families on 7.7, for imperial court and aristocratic families on 7.17, and for the head temples of all Buddhist sects on 7.24	6.15: **Sannōsai* (Sannō Festival) held (festival floats [**Dashi* and *nerimono*] permitted to enter grounds of Edo Castle for the first time). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
			7.9: Hōkoku Shrine, built to enshrine Toyotomi Hideyoshi, disestablished. The shrine buildings are moved to Hōkō Temple and Hideyoshi is given posthumous Buddhist name of Kokutai Yūshōin. Memorial services for Hideyoshi held according to Buddhist rites. (*Bonshun kyūki* [Ancient diary of *Bonshun])
1616	Gen'na 2		4.17: Tokugawa Ieyasu dies (age 75), asking in his will that a Shintō-style funeral be held for him at Mt. Kunō (in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture). The bakufu establishes a temporary shrine on Mt. Kunō (this marks the origins of Kunōzan Tōshō Shrine) and memorializes him in a *Yoshida Shintō-based Shintō funeral rite. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
			10.-: The bakufu dispatches *Tenkai to Nikkō to begin construction on a mausoleum for Tokugawa Ieyasu. Work is completed in the 3rd month of the following year, with the reconsecration of the shrine (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) taking place in the 4th month (the origin of Nikkō Tōshō Shrine). (*Tōbu jitsuroku*)
			10.-: The shrines Hizen Kawakamisha and Chikuriyamasha bring a fight over which has top status (**ichi*

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.13: Era name changed to Gen'na due to start of new reign and secular events (5.8: fall of Osaka Castle)
5.3: Conflict over posthumous divine name for Ieyasu, pitting *Bonshun from the Yoshida Shintō faction advocating Daimyōjin and *Tenkai from the Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō faction calling for Daigongen. Tenkai prevails, and Ieyasu receives the name Daigongen the following 2.21. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Tokugawa kinreikō*)	8.8: Christianity is banned, and foreign ships are restricted to Hirado in Nagasaki as their port of call.
	-.-: The Okayama domain consolidates temples and shrines, and begins suppression of the Fuju Fuse sect of Nichiren Buddhism.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			no miya) in Hizen province to the imperial court. Shrine officials from Hizen Kawakami Shrine arrive in Kyoto in response to an order from Emperor Goyōzei to present evidence. (*Bonshun kyūki*)
			-.-: Kanda Myōjin Shrine is moved from its location on the Edo castle side of the Kanda bridge to Yushima (an area on the other side of the Kanda bridge). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1617	Gen'na 3	6.-: The bakufu issues the *Buke shohatto* (Laws for warrior houses) and issues notice that shrine and temples in all provinces should remain undivided. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		7.-: The bakufu grants private lands to shrines and temples in the Kantō region. (*Goshuinchō* see **Shuinchi*)	
1618	Gen'na 4		4.17: Transfer of the divided spirit (**kanjō*) of Tōshō Daigongen (Tokugawa Ieyasu's posthumous name) to Edo Castle. (*Momijiyama Tōshōgū*)
1619	Gen'na 5		5.-: Yoshinao of the Owari Tokugawa clan constructs Owari Tōshō Shrine. (*Chōshūfu shi*)
			6.-: Maeda Toshimitsu (Toshitsune), lord of Kanazawa Castle in Kaga province, constructs Kaga Hakusan Shrine. (*Maeda documents*)
			12.-: Tokugawa Hidetada constructs the *shingū* ("new sanctuary") at Nikkō's Futarasan Shrine. (*Nikkōsan dōsha konryū ki*)
1620	Gen'na 6		
1622	Gen'na 8		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	1.-: The bakufu issues ban forbidding fund-raising drives through the province by individuals pretending to be shrine officials from Ise and apprentices from Atago. (*Tōbu jitsuroku*)
9.12: Fujiwara Seika dies (age 59) (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (2)*).	8.29: More than 60 Christians are burned at the stake in Kyoto at Shichijō-kawara.
	-.-: A strange illness known in Edo as *tsukitaoshi* spreads. *Hasegawa Kakugyō, practitioner of *Fuji Shinkō, allegedly heals victims with a practice known as *ofusegi*. The bakufu holds him for thorough questioning, but he is soon released. (*Gotaigyō no maki*)
	8.5: 55 Christians are executed in Nagasaki (the "Great Martyrdom" of Nagasaki).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1623	Gen'na 9		-.-: Tendai abbot *Tenkai constructs Tōshō Shrine on the grounds of Hiyoshi Shrine in Ōmi Province.
1624	Kan'ei 1		
1625	Kan'ei 2		11.-: Daimyō Tōdō Takatora builds Ueno Tōshō Shrine, *Tenkai builds Sanjūban and Sannō shrines with his own money. (*Jigen daishi den*)
1626	Kan'ei 3	5.27: On shōgun's arrival in Kyoto the bakufu issues orders governing retinue's behavior while in Kyoto, forbidding members from going on pilgrimages to temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	-.-: Kameido Tenman Shrine in Edo is dedicated (*chinza*). It will be moved to its present-day location during the Kanbun era (1661-1673). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1627	Kan'ei 4		
1628	Kan'ei 5		1.-: Shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu makes pilgrimage to Momijiyama Tōshō Shrine. Makes regular visits from the 2nd month onward.
1629	Kan'ei 6		9.21: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.23: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
1630	Kan'ei 7		8.-: Work completed on Edo's Sannō Shrine. (*Tōbu jitsuroku*)
			-.-: Work completed on Izumo Shrine. The bakufu spends 500,000 *ryō* (taels) and appoints provincial governor Matsudaira Tadamasa as overseer. (*Gahō bunshū*)
1631	Kan'ei 8		-.-: The practice of rebuilding and reconsecrating (**shikinensengū*) shrines resumes at the Ise Inner Shrine subshrines of Aramatsurinomiya, Tsukuyominomiya (月読宮), and

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Omorosōshi* written (volume 3 onward) (see **Ryūkyū mythology*).	10.13: The bakufu executes numerous Christians at Shiba in Edo (similar punishments are meted out in other domains).
	2.30: Era name changed to Kan'ei as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	2.-: Ise dances (*Ise-odori*, see **Okagemairi*) popular; the bakufu issues a ban. (*Kan'ei jiseki roku*)
	11.-: Mt. Fuji erupts.
	-.-: The use of *fumie* (a Christian image that a person is made to step on to prove they are not a Christian) begins in Nagasaki around this time.
	-.-: This year, importation of 32 kinds of Chinese texts and books related to Christianity is banned.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Kazahinominomiya, and at the Ise Outer Shrine subshrines of Takanomiya, Tsuchinomiya, Tsukuyominomiya (月夜見宮), and Kazenomiya. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1632	Kan'ei 9	4.17: The bakufu orders that the mourning codes (*bukkiryō*) used henceforth at the Nikkō mountains will be changed from the Sannō codes to the Jingitō codes (see also **Nikkōsan shinkō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1633	Kan'ei 10	5.19: The bakufu grants permission for a fund-raising trip to raise money for construction at Fukagawa Hachiman Shrine in Edo. (*Kan'ei nikki*)	6.-: The bakufu grants the Ise shrines a 2,000-*koku* domain (see also **Shinryō*).
		7.19: The bakufu establishes a system of laws for government courts; under it, suits that involve temple and shrine lands will be taken up first with local magistrates. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	12.17: *Tenkai supervises the transfer of the divided spirit (**Kanjō*) from Tōshōsha to the Ninomaru keep at Edo Castle. Imperial messengers and envoys (**chokushi*, **hōbeishi*, and *inshi*) attend. (*Zoku shi gushō*. [Ignorant selections on history, continued])
1634	Kan'ei 11	3.3: The bakufu establishes positions of "elder" (*rōjū*) and "junior elder" (*wakadoshiyori*). (Provisions include references to shrine building and shrines and temples more generally.) (*Tokugawa jikki*)	5.2: The bakufu sets down the provisions for formalities on Nikkōsan and rules for Nikkō Tōshō Shrine, also granting Nikkō Tōshō Shrine lands valued at 7,000 *koku*. (*Nikkō zatsuwa*)
			-.-: The *Sannōsai becomes a "great festival" (*daisairei*) this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1635	Kan'ei 12	6.21: The bakufu revises the *Buke shohatto* (they now include an article that prohibits seizing shrine lands). (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	7.26: The bakufu issues a mandate (*gejijō*) ordering that existing rules be maintained when it comes to lawsuits involving the Ise Inner Shrine. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
		11.9: The bakufu appoints a *magistrate for temples and shrines (*jisha bugyō*). (*Richō betsuroku*)	
1636	Kan'ei 13	11.9: "Vermillion seal" licenses	1.-: Envoys from the Grand

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.18: *Bonshun dies (age 80).	
	2.28: The bakufu forbids any ships other than those granted special permission (the so-called *hōshobune*, meaning a ship with official orders) from going overseas, and forbids anyone who has lived more than 5 years abroad from returning to Japan (first of the "closed country" [*sakoku*] laws)
	-.-: Shintō brought to the Ryūkyū Islands. (*Okinawashi*)
	-.-: The temple registration system (*terauke seido*) instituted nationwide for commoners (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*) around this time.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		issued granting lands to shrines and temples in all provinces (**Shuinchi, Kokuinchi*).	Shrines of Ise fight over which one should offer New Year's greetings to the bakufu first. The bakufu and imperial court are divided, and in the end greetings to the Inner Shrine come first. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1637	Kan'ei 14		
1638	Kan'ei 15		-.-: Suppliant priests (**negi*) and lower-ranking provisional suppliant priests (*gonnegi*) are exempted from the Christian inquisition (*Kirishitan aratame*) this year, a practice that thereafter becomes customary. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1639	Kan'ei 16		
1640	Kan'ei 17	6.-: Position of *shūmon aratameyaku* (official who handles punishment of Christians) created (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).	
1641	Kan'ei 18		-.-: The Haguro *Shugendō lineage affiliates its temples with Tōeizan Kan'ei Temple, associating itself with the Tendai Buddhist sect. A conflict develops when it attempts to put Mt. Yudono (see **Dewasanzan Shinkō*) under its control, but the connection of Mt. Yudono with the Shingon Buddhist sect is maintained.
1642	Kan'ei 19	5.-: The bakufu issues the *Gōson shohatto* (laws for villages). Orders farmers to be frugal when it comes to clothing, festivals, and Buddhist rites. Forbids making and selling liquor, as well as making *manjū* (bean jam-filled buns) and tōfu, in farm villages.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	10.25: Shimabara Rebellion takes place (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).
-.-: *Hayashi Razan completes sometime after this year *Honchō jinjakō* (A study of shrines in our land).	-.-: **Okagemairi* (pilgrimages to the Grand Shrines of Ise) prevalent from summer to the following spring
-.-: *Tenkai completes *Tōshō Daigongen engi*.	7.4: Portuguese are expelled from Nagasaki and their ships are forbidden to come to Japan (final element to create *sakoku*, or "closed country," conditions in place)
-.-: *Yamazaki Ansai completes *Sankyō itchi-ron* [On the harmony of the three doctrines].	
-.-: *Nihongi jindaishō* published.	
8.-: *Hayashi Razan completes *Jindai keizu*	8.-: **Furyū* dances popular.
	-.-: The Great Kan'ei Famine.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Also forbids charity missions from entering villages to solicit funds for shrines or temples. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	
1643	Kan'ei 20		7.-: The Korean ambassador makes a pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshō Shrine. He reads a paean written by the king and offers a mirror. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
1644	Shōhō 1	4.5: Shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu orders chief nun Keikōin Shūchō to carry out the rebuilding and reconsecration (**Shikinensengū*) at Ise Shrine (it would take place in 1647) based on precedents. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	-.-: The bakufu builds "places for distant worship" (*yōhaijo*) for each branch shrine on the grounds of the Ise Inner and Outer Shrines. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		12.23: The bakufu establishes regulations and provisions regarding annual rites and the allotment of increases or decreases in shrine lands for the three Tōshō shrines of Nikkōzan, Tōeizan, and Kawagoe Senba. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1645	Shōhō 2		11.11: Imperial court grants an official name (*gūgō*) to Nikkō Tōshō Shrine. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
1646	Shōhō 3	3.10: Imperial court dispatches an envoy bearing offerings (**hōbeishi*) to Nikkō at the request of shōgun Iemitsu. (First mention of the Nikkō *hōbeishi*. Other stories put the appearance in 1645.)	-.-: Residents of Nagasaki in Hizen Province ask to relocate Shinmei Shrine. The "suppliant priests" (**negi*) of both Ise shrines reject the request. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		-.-: Retired emperor holds ceremony in imperial palace to summon the Ise, Hachiman, and Kasuga deities. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	
1647	Shōhō 4		9.-: System of dispatching imperial envoys to Ise (**reiheishi*) reinstituted. (*Jingū nenpyō*) (Had been halted since the Bunsei era in the 1460s. Other sources say the system was reinstated in 1645 or 1646.)
1648	Keian 1	3.-: Shōgun Iemitsu gives	3.-: Interim "offering-bearing

Personalities/Texts	Society
10.-: *Tenkai dies (age 108).	
-.-: *Hayashi Razan completes **Shintō denju*.	
6.3: *Hasegawa Kakugyō believed to have died on Mt. Fuji (age 106).	
-.-: *Tokugawa Yoshinao compiles *Jingi hōten*. (*Jingi zensho*)	
8.25: *Nakae Tōju dies (age 41).	2.15: Era name changed to Keian due to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		official vermilion seal (*shuin*) of approval to temple and shrine lands that had not been so approved by his predecessors—issuing approvals for 182 in all. In the 10th month, he so confirms land rights for another 1,036 shrine and temples throughout the country. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	envoy" (**Hōbeishi*) is dispatched on the occasion of a festival marking the 33rd anniversary of Tōshō Shrine. (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])
			9.-: Ōtahime Inari Shrine in Edo built. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1649	Keian 2	6.-: The bakufu issues ordinances for artisans and merchants (*machibure*) that include instructions on the route pilgrims to the Sannō Festival (**San'nōsai*) are to take and how they should behave when attending. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	9.25: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.27: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and deity transferred. (*Jingū binran*)
			-.-: The suppliant priests (**Negi*) of both Ise shrines forbid "crossing the forbidden river" (i.e., forbid the priests from leaving the shrine grounds as demarcated by the Miya River) and going outside. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1650	Keian 3		
1651	Keian 4		
1652	Jōō 1	1.-: *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) sets down rules regarding regular Edo visits by priests (**shinshoku*). (*Keian-nendo gohatto-gaki*)	
1653	Jōō 2		10.-: Ambassador from the Ryūkyū kingdom makes a pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshōgū.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	rumors (rumors were going around Kyoto that there would be many fire deaths during the Shōhō era ["Shōhō" being a near homophone to the word for "death by fire," or *shōbō*])
12.28: *Deguchi Nobuyoshi founds the library Toyomiyazaki Bunko.	
-.-: Buddhist priest Taichū publishes **Ryūkyū shintōki*.	2.26: Promulgation of *Keian no ofuregaki* ["Ordinances of the Keian era," a set of mandates dictating how peasants were to live their lives] and cadastral survey ordinances.
5.7: Tokugawa Yoshinao dies (age 51).	
-.-: Mythology of the Ryūkyū court, *Chūzan seikan*, published (see **Ryūkyū mythology*).	
	3.-: Making pilgrimages to Ise (*Isemairi*, see **Okagemairi*) becomes popular. Many pilgrims come from Edo in particular; the Hakone check point records nearly 1,500 people as having passed through between the 20th and 25th of that month. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
	7.23: Rogue samurai Marubashi Chūya and cohorts captured (the Keian Uprising or Rebellion; also known as the Yui Shōsetsu Incident, named for its organizer)
	9.18: Era name changed to Jōō due to the death of former shōgun Iemitsu (an event known as the *Kantō kyōji*, "the Kantō calamity")

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*Tokugawa jikki*)
1654	Jōō 3		
1655	Meireki 1		
1656	Meireki 2		
1657	Meireki 3		
1658	Manji 1		
1659	Manji 2		5.3: The bakufu promulgates the *Edo Sannō gojōmoku*, a set of legal codes covering priests at Sannō Shrine (the code and similar regulations individual to specific major shrines would later be subsumed by the **Shosha negi kannushi hatto* in 1665). (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
			11.25: Emergency rebuilding and transfer of deity at Ise Inner Shrine following fire in the sanctuary (*seiden*, see **Honden*). (*Jingū binran*)
1660	Manji 3		
1661	Kanbun 1		
1662	Kanbun 2	6.7: Shogunate establishes the manner by which the four **sarugaku* Nō guilds will hold performances (*takigi nō*, "torchlight Nō") at the two Kasuga festivals. It also provides 500 *koku* of rice to cover costs at both festivals.	10.17: The bakufu gives 2,000 *ryō* in gold and 100 *kanme* in silver to Miwa Shrine in Yamato province and Hirota Shrine in Settsu province to repair shrine front courtyards (*shatō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.2: Official notices posted banning Christianity and increasing the reward for informants on Christians.
-.-: *Yamazaki Ansai begins lecturing in Kyoto.	
3.-: *Yoshikawa Koretari initiated into *Yoshida Shintō by *Hagiwara Kaneyori. (*Aremidō-sensei gyōjō*)	
1.23: *Hayashi Razan dies (age 75). (*Kōgi nikki*)	1.18: Nearly 300 Edo shrines and temples including Sannō Shrine burn down in the Great Fire of Meireki (also known as the Furisode Fire). The main keep (*honmaru*) of Edo Castle also burns down. (*Ochiboshū tsuika*)
2.27: Daimyō *Tokugawa Mitsukuni begins compiling *Dai Nihonshi*.	
	7.23: Era name changed to Manji due to calamity (the great fire in Edo of the previous year).
11.10: *Hagiwara Kaneyori dies (age 73)	
12.-: *Yoshikawa Koretari lectures daimyō *Hoshina Masayuki on Shintō writings. (*Kasei jikki*)	2.-: Pilgrimages to Ise (*Isemairi*, see **okagemairi*) popular. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
	4.25: Era name changed to Kanbun due to calamities (imperial palace catches fire on 1.15)
11.-: *Tōnomine engi* in two scrolls (manuscript and illustrated scroll of the origins of the Tōnomine) completed.	-.-: Fund-raising sumō (*kanjin sumō*) events for shrines and temples performed annually starting this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		10.13: *Go* and *shōgi* players are put under the jurisdiction of the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	-.-: This year, Ise Izawanomiya Shrine files a suit at the imperial court in a fight with Ise Inner Shrine over abstinences performed by *uchibito* (a priestly rank; see **shinshoku*) at Ise Izawanomiya and over shrine construction issues, arguing it has superior status over the two Ise shrines. The court rules that Izawanomiya, in accordance with precedent, is regarded as an auxiliary (**Betsugū*) shrine of Ise Inner Shrine, and the two parties should work together to carry out the work of rebuilding and reconsecration (*zōtai sengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		10.-: The bakufu orders that a survey be made of Buddhist priests and *Shugendō practitioners living in towns. In the 11th month, these Shugendō practitioners are orders to submit requests to the town administrators (*toshiyori*) to receive permits for holding their monthly rites. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1663	Kanbun 3		-.-: Iwazanomiya Shrine protests directly to shōgun Tokugawa Ietsuna claiming its superior status over the two Ise shrines. Forty shrine workers (**Jinin*) are punished. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
			-.-: Ise shrine senior chief priest (*daigūji*, see **Gūji*) Ōnakatomi Kiyonaga encourages tenants on shrine lands to make contributions as he rebuilds 40 auxiliary shrines (**Sessha*) of both Ise institutions that had been dismantled since around Heian times. (*Kanbun sessha saikōki*)
1664	Kanbun 4		12.-: Daimyō Tokugawa Mitsutomo rebuilds Wakamiya Hachiman Shrine in Owari domain, abolishes Buddhist

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Tachibana Mitsuyoshi publishes *Nakatomi no *harae shūsetsu*.	
	11.-: Law banning Christianity promulgated once again.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			priests who perform Buddhist rites at shrines (**Shasō*), and appoints a shrine priest (**Shinshoku*). (*Nihon shaji taikan*)
			-.-: The antler-trimming rite for the deer at Kasuga Shrine begins this year.
1665	Kanbun 5	7.-: The bakufu issues the **Shosha negi kannushi hatto*. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	
		10.14: Buddhist priests, mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*, see also **Introduction: Belief and Practice*), mendicant monk-performers (*gannin*), and ascetics (*gyōnin*) are forbidden from erecting large Buddhist home altars in the houses of townsmen. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*; (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1666	Kanbun 6	3.-: The Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (**Jisha bugyō*) issues a memorandum ordering the houses of hereditary shrine priests (**Shake*) and Shugendō practitioners to not encroach on one another's jurisdictions. (*Nabeki documents*)	
1667	Kanbun 7	10.28: The bakufu hands down an ordinance forbidding the borrowing of land from temples and shrines for constructing buildings. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	Intercalary 2.15: Izumo Shrine completed. (The bakufu provides 500,000 *ryō* [taels] in silver for restoration work.) 3.-: Deity transfer completed (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*).
1668	Kanbun 8	3.-: The bakufu issues a sumptuary edict (*kenyakurei*) that, among other things, forbids extravagance in festival rites. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.22: The bakufu hands down a decision in response to a suit that had been filed by the **Oshi* (a specific type of functionary) at Ise Shrine over their lay patrons (*dan'otsu*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)
			-.-: The Grand Shrines of Ise forbid anyone other than the Ise shrines themselves from publishing books about the *kami*

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.-: The bakufu bans Pure Land confraternities (*nenbutsukō*, see **Kō*) and Lotus confraternities (*daimokukō*), in towns. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
	12.-: Tokugawa Mitsukuni appoints a *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) for his domain, codifies regulations for such institutions, and destroys some 3,000 locations established to be shrines dedicated to evil gods (*inshi*). (*Tōgen iji*)
	5.-: Ikeda Mitsumasa, daimyō of Bizen Province, razes more than 10,000 of the shrines in his territory said to be dedicated to evil gods, and designates more than 70 others as orthodox. (*Bizen ryakushi*)
	7.-: Tokugawa Mitsukuni demolishes 997 new temples while also restoring old and dilapidated ones.
	7.29: Use of pine decorations at New Year's banned. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
12.-: *Yamazaki Ansai goes to Ise and hears *Deguchi Nobuyoshi's theories about Shintō. (*Sōjōshū*)	10.-: Building of new temples and shrines is banned once again (a similar ban had been issued 38 years before). (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*shinsho*) of the two shrines. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1669	Kanbun 9		9.26: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.28: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1670	Kanbun 10	8.13: The bakufu imposes restrictions on the lifestyles of peasants (*nōmin*) and townsmen (*chōnin*). These include orders for shrine and temple rites to not go beyond levels appropriate to a person's social class.	11.24: Major fire in Ise destroys 5,000 homes. The Tsukiyominomiya, one of the detached shrines (**Betsugū*) of Ise Outer Shrine, goes up in flames. (*Zoku-shigushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued]; *Jingū nenpyō*)
1671	Kanbun 11		5.1: The bakufu issues provisions on the regular rebuilding and reconsecration rites (**Shikinensengū*) at the Grand Shrines of Ise. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1672	Kanbun 12	2.-: The bakufu bans renting lodging for fund-raising (*kanjin*) street entertainments (*daikagura*, a distant offshoot of **Kagura*) performances. (*Bukkō nenpyō*)	
1673	Enpō 1		
1674	Enpō 2	8.17: The bakufu rules the Yoshida family does not have an exclusive right to intercede (*shissō*) at the imperial court on behalf of shrine priests (*shanin*), even if those priests are not connected to one of the special court families known as "messenger families" (*tensōke*). However, the Yoshida family retains the right (as set down in regulations issued in 1665) to determine the attire of priests without court rank (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1677	Enpō 5	2.1: Shrine visits by court envoys (*chōshi* under the *Benkan*, Board of Controllers)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Yoshida Kanetomo's work, *Nihon shoki jindai no maki shō* (Comments on the divine age chapter of *Nihon shoki*), is published.	4.3: The bakufu orders that temples associated with the Nichiren Fuju Fuse sect that have not submitted registration documents to the authorities be excluded from the temple registration (*terauke*) system, (this in effect bans the sect). (*Tokugawa jikki*)
-.-: Shirai Sōin produces **Jinja keimō* in 7 scrolls. (*Jinja keimō*)	
-.-: This year, *Yamazaki Ansai receives the "spirit-shrine name" (*reisha-gō*) of Suika Reisha from *Yoshikawa Koretari and founds *Suika Shintō. (*Suika bunshū*, *Yamazaki-kafu*)	10.-: Creation of the *Shūshi ninbetsu-chō* (a registry of people's religious affiliations; also known as *Shūshi ninbetsu aratamechō*) is ordered (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period*).
12.18: *Hoshina Masayuki passes away (age 62).	
	9.21: Era name changed to Enpō due to calamities (major Kyoto fire on 5.8 burns the imperial palace).
	2.-: Official notice boards (*kōsatsu*) posted announcing the ban on Christianity and people encouraged to be informants on those who defy the ban.
	-.-: Cult of Kishimojin (Skt. Hariti; goddess of childbirth and children) becomes popular in Edo.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to the Kasuga Festival are resumed. (*Zoku-shigushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])	
1679	Enpō 7		8.15: The "releasing of life" ritual (*hōjō-e*, a ceremony in which captive birds and fish are released) resumes at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (see also **Shinto and Buddhism*). (*Kugyō bunin*)
1680	Enpō 8		
1681	Tenna 1		
1682	Tenna 2	1.-: The court revives the *sōjihajime* (an imperial rite) at both Kamo shrines in Kyoto. (*Motokazu kyōki*)	12.-: Kanda *Myōjin Shrine in Edo is relocated from Surugadai (a locale within the Kanda district) to Kanda. (*Nihon shaji taikan*)
1683	Tenna 3	6.-: The bakufu forbids the people riding on festival floats (*nerimono*) and bringing offerings (*gokū*) from wearing showy attire, and onlookers	3.10: Ise Inner Shrine is temporarily relocated (*rinji sengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) owing to a fire at the main sanctuary (*seiden*, see **Honden*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
10.-: The main, 38-volume portion of the 72-volume **Sendaikujihongitaiseikyō* (aka *Kuji taisekyō*) is published.	
6.-: Masataka Ō compiles *Kasetsu ryakki* (see **Hakke Shintō*). (**Hakkeburui*)	
10.-: *Ōgimachi Kinmichi becomes disciple of *Suika Shintō. (*Nenpu*)	
	9.29: Era name changed to Tenna as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	-.-: This year, the bakufu declares *Kuji taisekyō* to be a forgery (i.e., makes it a forbidden work), destroys the printing blocks for it, and punishes Chō'on Dōkai and others involved in its production (see **Sendaikujihongitaiseikyō*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
5.22: *Ikeda Mitsumasa passes away (age 74).	5.-: The bakufu posts notice boards (*kōsatsu*) in all provinces promoting loyalty and filial piety (*chūkō*) and announcing bans on extravagance and Christianity.
9.16: *Yamazaki Ansai passes away (age 65). (*Shinzanshū*)	12.28: Major fire in Edo. (The Great Fire of Tenna. Blaze starts from Daien Temple in the Komagome neighborhood. Known for its tragic impact on a young woman named Yaoya Oshichi ["the greengrocer's daughter Oshichi"], whose story later becomes the subject of plays and stories. Famed poet Matsuo Bashō's hut in Fukagawa is among the homes that burn.)
12.25: *Yoshikawa Koretari becomes "Shintō councilor" (*Shintō kata*) for the bakufu. (*Yoshikawa aremidō-ki*)	
12.-: *Deguchi Nobuyoshi compiles *Deguchi Nobuyoshi Shintō-sho*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		from wearing their finery. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	(*Jingū binran*)
		7.25: The bakufu revises its *Buke shohatto* (Laws for warrior houses). Among other things, the laws ban warriors from seizing shrine and temple lands, and from building shrines and temples on newly opened lands. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		9.25: The Tsuchimikado clan—which in the 4th month had received a personal note from the imperial court saying they should be put in charge of Onmyōdō specialists in all provinces—receives from the bakufu as additional confirmation of such a vermilion seal-stamped license (*shuinjō*) (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*).	
1684	Jōkyō 1	2.30: The bakufu issues regulations regarding the period of mourning following the death of an emperor (*bukkiryō*).	4.-: The Grand Shrines of Ise ban people from wearing "peculiar clothing" (*iyō na funsō*) when making a pilgrimage to either of the shrines (the reference specifically mentions people on their "*nana-tabi-mairi*" or "[one of their] seven pilgrimages," it being an article of faith at the time that people should visit Ise seven times in their lives). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		7.-: The bakufu bans itinerant merchants, monks and priests soliciting funds for temple and shrine building (*kanjin*), and people on pilgrimages from entering the three inner compounds (*kaku*) at Edo Castle. Also, Buddhist priests (*shukke*), mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*, see **Shintō and Shugendō*), and supplicants (*gannin*) seeking donations are forbidden from loitering around while chanting the Buddha's	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.21: Era name changed to Jōkyō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.-: The bakufu imprisons people who publish without permission regulations regarding the period of mourning following the death of an emperor (*bukkiryō*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		name (*nenbutsu*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1685	Jōkyō 2	6.-: The bakufu grants shrine lands to shrines in the Kinai and Yamashiro districts (combined, the two roughly comprise present-day Kyoto and the surrounding region). (*Kyoto oyakushomuki taigai oboegaki*)	
		11.-: The bakufu bans people traveling in large numbers to other provinces in the name of the Akiha festival (see **Akiha Shinkō*). It also bans the creation of new festivals (*sairei*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1687	Jōkyō 4	11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Higashiyama (marks the revival of the *daijōsai* rite, which had not been held since 1466). (*Motokazu kyōki*)	-.-: As a gift marking the accession of the new emperor (*daihajime-shō*), all of the suppliant priests (**Negi*) at the Grand Shrines of Ise are promoted to 1st rank (first mention in historical record of existence of two upper classes of *negi*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		-.-: This year, Shintō priests (**Shinshoku*) are exempted from the temple registration system (*terauke seido*) and switched to a system exclusive to shrine priests (*shinshoku-uke*) (see **Shinto in the Early Modern Period (1)*).	
		-.-: The *sōjihajime* ceremony (an imperial rite) at the Grand Shrines of Ise is again revived (it previously had been revived in the Genna era, 1615–24).	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.-: The **Jisha bugyō* (*Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Early Modern) banishes 7 members of the shrine priest family at Hiyoshi Shrine in Ōmi Province (present-day Shiga Prefecture) to a remote island.
	10.29: Use of the Chinese calendar ends and a new Japanese calendar (known as the *Jōkyō-reki*, or Jōkyō calendar) goes into effect.
9.26: *Yamaga Sokō passes away (age 64).	
	1.28: The bakufu issues edict protecting all living things (focuses especially on dogs; the bakufu will continue to frequently reissue such laws).
	10.-: The bakufu settles a lawsuit between two classes of Mt. Kōya religionists, the scholarly monks (*gakuryokata*) and the temple administrative staff (*gyōninkata*). They are ordered to follow precedents set down during the Genna era (1615–24). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Jingū nenpyō*)	
1688	during Jōkyō		
1688	Genroku 1		9.-: Kanda *Myōjin festival (first time that portable shrines [**Shin'yo*] and festival floats [*nerimono*] are allowed inside Edo Castle). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1689	Genroku 2		9.10: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.13: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū nenpyō*) (This occasion marks the start of the practice of carrying out this ritual rebuilding for the Outer Shrine three days after that at the Inner Shrine.)
1690	Genroku 3		-.-: Priests at the Grand Shrines of Ise who have been granted a peerage (*joshakunin*) are forbidden from taking the tonsure (i.e., becoming a Buddhist priest). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1691	Genroku 4	6.-: The imperial court begins holding a *kiyoharai* purification rite to replace the *tsugomori-no-ōharae* purification rite that had been on held 6.12 until it fell out of practice in medieval times (see also **Ōharae*). The new rite is performed regularly hereafter. (*Motokazu kyōki*)	
1692	Genroku 5		12.-: The imperial court resumes the monthly presentation of offerings (*jingu*) and daily rotating appointment (*ketsuban*) of priests (*shashi*, see **Shinshoku*) at Kamo Shrine.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Fund-raising *sumō (*kanjin-zumō*) are allowed to resume around this time in response to petitions from sumō elder (*toshiyori*) Ikazuchi Gondayū and others. The matches had been banned in the early years of the Edo period because fights were prone to break out on site.
8.29: *Kawabe Kiyonaga passes away (age 88).	
1.16: *Deguchi Nobuyoshi passes away (age 76). (*Zoku shoka jinbutsushi*)	
-.-: Asari Futokata publishes *Nakatomi no harae taizen* (see **Nakatominoharae*).	
8.17: *Kumazawa Banzan passes away (age 73).	4.28: The bakufu bans the Hiden school of Nichiren Buddhism.
	10.24: As a part of its animal protection regulations, the bakufu bans exhibitions (*misemono*) of snakes, dogs, cats, rats, and other animals.
	5.-: Designating those temples and shrines that had heretofore been regarded as newly-laid out to be historical sites, the bakufu bans new temple and shrine construction. (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*Motohiro kyō ki*)
1693	Genroku 6		
1694	Genroku 7	10.-: In Edo, the exhibition of shrine and temple treasures (*kaichō*) and soliciting donations for shrines and temples (*kanjin*) at meetings of Pure Land confraternities (*nenbutsukō*, see **Kō*), Lotus confraternities (*daimokukō*), and in merchant households (*chōka* or *machiya*) is forbidden. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.18: The shōgun contributes *saiden* (rice paddies that generate income to be used specifically to cover the costs of holding a festival; not to be confused with **Saiden*) to Kamo Shrine in Kyoto so that the Aoi (hollyhock) Festival (*Aoi matsuri*, aka *Kamo matsuri*) can be resumed (festival was last held in 1467). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)
1695	Genroku 8		
1696	Genroku 9		
1697	Genroku 10		9.-: The bakufu decides on a lawsuit between a priest (*shikan*, see **Shinkan*) from Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine and a priest (*shanin*, see **Shinshoku*) from its predecessor Ōyamazaki Hachiman Shrine. Ōyamazaki is banned from naming its Iwashimizu and instead renamed Rikyū Hachiman Shrine. (*Motohiro kyōki*)
			9.-: The Imperial Court orders that rites at Kamedo Tenman Shrine be carried out based on examples from Dazaifu rather than those of the Shirakawa or Yoshida houses. (See also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)* and **Tenjin shinkō*) (*Bukō nenpyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	9.-: The bakufu banishes 627 of the temple administrative staffers (*gyōninkata*) on Mt. Kōya. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
	6.-: Census conducted of Edo's population (size of townsmen [*chōnin*] population put at 353,588).
11.16: *Yoshikawa Koretari passes away (age 79). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	
	2.8: Major fire in Edo (begins at Denmachō in the Yotsuya neighborhood). Many temples and shrines burn down.
	-.-: The Mito domain razes 73 Hachiman shrines (see **Hachiman shinkō*), replaces the Buddhist statuary used as the objects of worship (**Shintai*) with ritual purification wands (*nusa*, see **Ōnusa*), and establishes 555 tutelaries (*chinju*, see **Chinjugami*) throughout its territory (much of present-day Ibaraki Prefecture).
	10.12: Major earthquake in the Kantō region (the greater Tokyo area). The great gate (**Torii*) at Tsuruoka Hachiman Shrine (in Kamakura) collapses.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1698	Genroku 11		
1699	Genroku 12		-.-: This year, the Grand Shrines of Ise revive the **Kinensai* rites and, for the first time in over 300 years, the **Kanmisosai* rite. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1700	Genroku 13		
1701	Genroku 14		
1702	Genroku 15	2.-: The Imperial Court revives the position of Ise *zōgūshi* (an official who monitors construction work in the rebuilding of the Grand Shrines of Ise). (*Kuge bunin*)	
1703	Genroku 16		
1704	Hōei 1	2.13: The bakufu orders the *Jisha bugyō* (**Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Medieval*) to ensure that festivals, rites, and services at temples and shrines be conducted in a plain fashion. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.11: The bakufu grants the funds to cover reconstruction costs for shrines and temples destroyed by fire the previous year (Nishikubo Hachiman Shrine and Kanda Shrine each receive 1,000 *ryō* [a currency unit], while Yushima Tenjin Shrine receives 500 *ryō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	9.6: Major fire in Edo. The conflagration is known as the Great Chokugaku Fire (*Chokugaku kaji*) because it broke out right after a framed (*gaku*) specimen of calligraphy done by Emperor Reigen arrived at Kan'ei Temple to which he had bestowed (*choku*) it for display in its central hall (*chūdō*).
1.17: *Nakanishi Nobuyoshi dies (age 69).	
12.6: *Tokugawa Mitsukuni dies (age 72).	
-.-: *Keichū dies (age 61).	
	-.-: A miracle (*reigen*) occurs at Takadamizu Inari Shrine (in Edo), attracting large numbers of people.
3.7: *Tachibana Mitsuyoshi dies (age 69).	11.29: Major fire in Edo (preceded a week earlier by the Genroku Earthquake). The fire starts at the Mito mansion in Koishikawa, and so is also known as the Mito-sama Fire (*Mitosama kaji*). Numerous buildings and sites are destroyed include Yushima Tenjin Shrine, Shōheizaka Gakumonjo (an official Confucian academy run by the shogunate; also known as Shōheikō), Taiseiden (a Confucian temple in Tokyo's Yushima district), and Kanda Myōjin Shrine.
3.20: *Izumoji Nobunao of Kyoto's Shimo Goryō Shrine dies (age 53).	
12.7: Shinto scholar Matsushita Kenrin dies (age 67) (see also **Kaibara Ekiken*).	
-.-: *Tanigawa Kotosuga completes **Nihon shoki tsūshō*. (*Suikabunshū*)	1.1: Eruptions at Mt. Fuji (Mt. Asama) that had begun the previous year continue into the new one, lasting until the 3rd month.
	3.13: Era name changed to Hōei due to calamities (Kantō-area earthquake on 11.22 the previous year).
	7.-: Women-only shrine pilgrimages and Pure Land (*nenbutsu*) confraternities (**Kō*) are

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1705	Hōei 2		
1706	Hōei 3		
1707			
1708	Hōei 5	5.10: The bakufu exiles (*onru*) Sasa Iori of the *kobushin* (a lower government office originally responsible for furnishing manual labor for minor repairs) over the possibility that he made a secret pilgrimage to Ise Shrine. His brother-in-law and relatives are also censured. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1709	Hōei 6		9.2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (see **Shikinensengū*). 9.5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
			11.-: The Grand Shrines of Ise make a request to conduct invocations (**Kitō*) for the bakufu.
1710	Hōei 7	4.-: The bakufu revises the Laws for Military Households (*Buke shohatto*). Among other	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	banned in Edo.
	-.-: Mass pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (**Okagemairi*) are popular this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
4.7: Kuriyama Senpō (sometimes rendered Senbō) dies (age 36) (see **Mitogaku*).	9.15: Major earthquake in Edo.
-.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu becomes a follower of *Ōgimachi Shintō. (*Kinmichi-monjin shingaku seijō*)	12.19: The Mishima school of the Nichiren Buddhist sect is banned and 43 of its priests are executed.
	2.22: The bakufu bans "loose talk" (*zassetsu*), rumor-mongering (*ryūgen*), graffiti (*rakugaki*), and anonymous handbills and letters of grievance (*sutebumi*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)
	10.-: Major earthquake strikes the Nankai and Tōkai regions (stretching along the Pacific Coast from modern-day Shizuoka to Osaka). Around 10,000 homes are destroyed and 3,000 people killed in Osaka. A tsunami hits Tosa Province (along the Pacific Coast side of Shikoku), causing massive damage; many shrines are washed away there, including Kamo Shrine in the province's Hata District. 11.23: Major eruption of Mt. Fuji, resulting in the emergence of a second peak on its eastern flank that is given the name Mt. Hōei.
	3.8: Great fire in Kyoto. Among the 13,370 residences and 69 shrines and temples destroyed are the imperial residential wing (*dairi*) and the mansion of the retired emperor (*sentō*) at the imperial palace.
11.13: *Nakanishi Naokata dies (age 76).	1.20: Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's law prohibiting the eating of animals is rescinded.
	1.-: Tokugawa Ienobu becomes shogun, upon which *Arai Hakuseki is appointed to the post of shogunal tutor (marks the start of what are known as the *Shōtoku no chi* ["rule of the just and benevolent"] reforms).
	-.-: Epidemics rampant throughout the Hōei era. This year, a man named Kihachi in Edo's Komagome district makes stylized snakes

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		changes, it bans daimyō from confiscating the lands held by shrines and temples in their provinces. Also, even though the construction of new shrines and temples is prohibited, if it is desired permission is granted to pass such requests on to the shōgun for consideration.	
1711	Shōtoku 1		
1712	Shōtoku 2	9.12: The bakufu decides that, from this year forward on the day of the Kanda Myōjin festival, the shōgun's retainers (*kashin*) will no longer pay their respects to the shōgun on the occasion of the **tsukinamisai*. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	9.-: The officer in charge of miscellaneous affairs (*zasshō*) for the house of the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*jingihaku*, see **Hakke Shintō*) issues a mandate to Kyoto's Fushimi Inari Shrine to revive the practice of daily offerings (*nichigu*). (*Kada Azumamaro nichigu saikō ki*)
1713	Shōtoku 3	7.-: The bakufu orders that, excepting special circumstances, reconstruction work on shrines and temples that had been suspended will again be halted. (*Shokuji sodekagami*)	5.5: The bakufu decides that the respective festivals celebrating the San'nō avatar (*San'nō gongen*, see **San'nōsai*), the Nezu avatar (*Nezu gongen*), and the Kanda **myōjin* will rotate among one another in three-year cycles, starting with the upcoming three-year Chinese zodiacal sequence of the years of the snake, horse, and sheep. (*Manabe nikki*)
1714	Shōtoku 4	3.16: The bakufu reinstates prohibitions on **sarugaku*, *sekkyō* (Buddhist storytelling, done to musical accompaniment), and *zatsugeki* ("miscellaneous drama," usually Chinese in origin). They had been banned during the Genroku era, but the ban was relaxed. 3.19: The bakufu bans the construction of brothels near the front gates of temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	-.-: This year only, the festival of the Nezu avatar is not accompanied by its customary parade of festival floats throughout the streets of Edo (see also **San'nōsai*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	from barley straw and offers them at the marketplace by the Fuji (*Fujizuka*, see **Fuji shinkō*) in Komagome. They come to be regarded as a memento of Mt. Fuji itself, with the people who have purchased them protected from illness. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
12. 1: *Asami Keisai dies (age 60).	
3.17: Ōyama Tameoki of Kyoto's Fushimi Inari Shrine dies (age 63).	5.-: Rumors spread that the object of worship (**Shintai*) at a minor shrine (**Wakamiya*) at Kasuga Shrine is being projected on a bamboo blind at the shrine. Many go on pilgrimages to the shrine.
8.21: *Deguchi Nobutsune dies (age 58).	
8.25: *Kaibara Ekiken dies (age 85).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1715	Shōtoku 5	12.-: The practice of the emperor offering daily prayers is revived. The superintendent of the Jingikan (*jingihaku*; see **Jingikandai*) attends the emperor. (*Terumitsu kyōki*)	
1716	Kyōhō 1		11.12: The bakufu orders that construction of a temporary altar for the Nezu avatar in Edo's Yokkaichō neighborhood be halted, and that festivals be conducted in a plain fashion. It also imposes a ban on festival processions leaving the vicinity of whatever shrine is celebrating the festival. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
1717	Kyōhō 2		
1718	Kyōhō 3		6.-: The bakufu decides that the Sannō festival (**San'nōsai*) and Kanda **myōjin* festival should be alternate with one another year to year as had previously been customary. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1719	Kyōhō 4		
1720	Kyōhō 5		
1721	Kyōhō 6	4.29: The bakufu imposes restrictions on festival floats (*nerimono*), decorative festival displays (*tsukurimono*), participant numbers, and the like for the San'nō (see **San'nō shinkō*) and other festivals. 5.28: Further restrictions imposed on performances involving festival floats. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Masuho Zankō begins publication of **Endōtsugan*.	
10.6: Harumi Shibukawa dies (age 77). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	
9.18: *Ōgimachi Kinmichi transmits the secret teachings of *Suika Shintō to *Atobe Yoshiakira and *Tomobe Yasutaka.	6.22: Era name changed to Kyōhō due to "misfortune in Kantō" (*Kantō kyōji*, which here refers to the death of shōgun Tokugawa Ietsugu on 4.30).
	-.-: The first set of the policies known collectively as the Kyōhō Reforms are implemented this year.
6.17: *Tsuchimikado Yasutomi dies (age 63).	
11.6: *Mano Tokitsuna dies (age 70).	
6.30: *Tani Shigetō dies (age 56).	-.-: Mass pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (**Okagemairi*) are popular this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
8.15: Satō Naokata, disciple of *Yamazaki Ansai, dies (age 70).	
9.-: The five-volume *Nikkōzan engi* is completed (see **Shintō and Literature*).	
10.29: The Mito family presents to the bakufu the completed version of *Dainihonshi* (The history of great Japan, see **Mitogaku*), a 250-scroll work whose compilation had originally been ordered by *Tokugawa Mitsukuni.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Intercalary 7.23: The bakufu again imposes a ban on building small shrine buildings (*shinshi*; see, for example, **Teinaishi* and **Yashikigami*) outfitted with Buddhist statues in villages, as well as on building new shrines or temples. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		-.-: Regulations imposed for lawsuits involving temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	
1722	Kyōhō 7		4.-: The bakufu grants permission to solicit donations from "daimyō with incomes of 10,000 *koku* (one *koku* = approx. 180 liters) of rice per year or greater" (n.b., the language is somewhat redundant as "an estate holder with an income of 10,000 *koku*" met the basic definition of daimyō) as assistance for building shrines to the avatars of the "three mountains of Kumano" (*Kumano sanzan*, see **Kumano Shinkō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1723	Kyōhō 8		
1724	Kyōhō 9		3.-: Priests (*shanin*) from Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine get into a conflict regarding the manager of the shrine's fields (*ryōgoku*). The Kyoto magistrate (*Kyōto machi bugyō*) holds a hearing on the complaints. (Tanaka family documents)
1725	Kyōhō 10		9.-: The retired emperor Reigen goes on a visit to the Yoshida Shrine's Saijōsho (ceremonial hall). (*Reigen-in shinki*)
			11.-: Because the year is one regarded as unlucky for him (**Yakudoshi*), Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune sends an envoy to the Grand Shrines of Ise to conduct

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.29: *Nashiki Sukeyuki of Shimogamo Shrine dies (age 65).	
11.22: *Kokugaku is placed under the jurisdiction of the then-magistrate of documents (*shomotsu bugyō*), Shimoda Morohisa.	
-.-: *Atobe Yoshiakira compiles *Sanshu no shinki hiden* (Secrets of the three kinds of treasures; see also **Sanshu no Shinki*).	3.21: Major fire in Osaka. More than 2,060 people die and Tenman Tenjin Shrine burns down.
5.19: *Arai Hakuseki dies (age 69).	
5.-: Regulations are set down regarding initiation into *Suika Shintō and being instructed in its secrets (four levels). (*Suika Shintō no kenkyū*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			magico-religious incantations (**Kitō*).
			12.-: The bakufu gives its permission for contributions to be solicited out around the country to pay for construction at Izumo Shrine. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)
1726	Kyōhō 11		
1727	Kyōhō 12	3.-: The bakufu tells the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines that temples and shrines with few parishioners (**Ujiko*) on their lands should be helped with doing repairs and upkeep as much as possible, while those with a great capacity for such assistance should do so own their own. (*Jisha bugyō tomegaki*)	-.-: The Yamada magistrate (see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Pre-modern*) bans priests (*shishoku*) from distributing calendars (*koyomi*, see **Jingūreki*) to anyone not a member of their patron families (*danka*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		11.26: The bakufu issues a ban in all provinces on performing new rites and festivals. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1728	Kyōhō 13		4.13: Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune sets off on a pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshōgū (the first shogunal visit to the shrine in 65 years).
1729	Kyōhō 14		9.3: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.6: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
1730	Kyōhō 15		6.20: Major fire in Kyoto (the Great Nishijin Fire). Fires catch and burn down 67 temples and shrines, including Iwagami, Oimatsu, and Ōmichi shrines.
			10.-: The imperial court makes a donation toward repairs at Konda Hachiman Shrine in Kawachi (on the outskirts of present-day Osaka). The bakufu grants the shrine permission to solicit donations for the effort in Edo

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Worship of Ōsugi *Myōjin becomes popular in the provinces of Hitachi (most of present-day Ibaraki Prefecture) and Shimousa (northern Chiba and southwestern Ibaraki prefectures).
	6.-: People go in droves to the Katori Shrine in Edo's Honjo district following stories that Awa Ōsugi *Daimyōjin had come flying in. In the 9th month, the bakufu bans people from worshipping the deity. (*Bukō nenpyō*, *Sen'yō eikyū-roku*)
1.27: *Atobe Yoshiakira dies (age 72).	
-.-: Watarai Tomohiko (*Matsuki Tomohiko) produces **Toyukekōtaijingūnenjūgyōji-konshiki*. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			and around the "Five Central Provinces," i.e., Kyoto and its neighbors. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1731	Kyōhō 16	11.10: The bakufu establishes and simplifies rules for the mandatory visits to Edo (*sanpu*) by senior Buddhist clergy, Shintō priests, and Shugendō practitioners. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	
1732	Kyōhō 17		10.28: Plague of locusts causes major crop damage. Orders are issued for magico-religious invocations (**Kitō*) to be offered up at Nikkō Tōshōgū, the Grand Shrines of Ise, Usa, Katori, Kashima, and other shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
			11.-: The late Emperor Reigen is included for joint veneration (*sōden*) as a kami at Kyoto's Shimo-Goryō Shrine. (*Getsudō kenmonshū*)
1733	Kyōhō 18		
1736	Genbun 1		
1738	Genbun 3	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Sakuramachi (though	

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.20: *Wakabayashi Kyōsai dies (age 54). (*Suika bunshū*)	-.-: The great Kyōhō famine occurs around this time.
7.11: *Ōgimachi Kinmichi dies (age 81). (*Kugyō bunin*) (some sources suggest the date was the 12th)	1.25: The Edo home of rice wholesaler Takama Denbei is attacked. (The first of the so-called *uchikowashi* ["home destroying"] popular uprisings to occur in the Edo period.)
7.13: *Jikigyō Miroku dies (age 63). (Some sources suggest he died on the 17th or the 18th)	7.-: Epidemics rage in many provinces. People frequently perform a ritual exorcism of the pestilence deity (*ekishin*) in which an effigy of the deity is made out of straw and sent off to sea from the shore while banging on bells and drums. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
9.8: *Amano Sadakage dies (age 71).	
11.-:*Kamo no Mabuchi at age 37 becomes a disciple of *Kada no Azumamaro.	
7.2: *Kada no Azumamaro dies (age 68).	4.-: The bakufu orders all temples, shrines, and peasants first in Suruga Province then in all provinces who have any documents related to the Imagawa and Hojo clans to send copies to the bakufu. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
7.8: *Tamaki Masahide (sometimes read Tamaki Sei'ei) dies (age 67).	-.-: Exhibitions of temple and shrine treasures (*kaichō*) start to be held frequently from around this time.
-.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu produces *Gobusho setsuben* (Discourse on the five books).	
11.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu compiles *Sōbyō shashoku tōmon* (see also **Ise Shintō*).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		the ceremony was revived in 1687, it was foregone for the preceding emperor, Nakamikado [r. 1709–35]; production also resumes of special folding screens from Yuki [a term that means "all of Japan from Kyoto to the east"] and Suki ["all of Japan from Kyoto to the west"] provinces created as part of the *daijōsai* festival). (*Kugyō bunin*)	
1739	Genbun 4		
1740	Genbun 5	3.5: The sending of senior-noble messengers (*kugyō chokushi*, see **Chokushi*) to Ise resumes.	
		11.24: Holding of the Harvest Festival (*Niinamesai*, see **Chōtei saishi*) resumes. (*Kugyō bunin*)	
1741	Kanpō 1	4.26: The bakufu bans gambling, raffles, and similar activities styled as "builder confraternities" (*konryū-kō*; see also **Kō*) for temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1742	Kanpō 2	4.-: The *Osadamegaki hyakka-jō* is finalized (the second volume of *Kujigata osadamegaki*, this legal text includes regulations related to dealing with plaintiffs from temples and shrines, newly established rites, and executions for "outrageous heresies" [*kikai no isetsu*]) (see **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*).	
		5.-: The bakufu sets down regulations concerning fund-raising drives (*kange*) for temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
12.-: The bakufu halts publication of *Kada no Arimaro's *Daijōe benmō* (Illuminating the accession ceremony) and puts him under house arrest.	
-.-: *Ishida Baigan publishes *Tohi mondō*.	
7.14: *Tomobe Yasutaka dies (age 74).	
1.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu produces *Ise ryōgū ben*.	2.27: Era name changed to Kanpō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
9.26: *Masuho Zankō dies (age 88).	9.-: The magistrate of towns (*machi-bugyō*) forbids having sick people drink water said to be holy water (*kajisui*) from Mt. Fuji (see also **Fuji Shinkō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		-.-: The bakufu sets down ordinances related to punishments for creating new Shintō and Buddhist rites. (*Kajō ruiten*)	
1743	Kanpō 3	4.28: The bakufu orders that permission to come and go in and out of villages around the Kantō (present-day Tokyo and surroundings) area be granted to Shugendō practitioners and shrine clergy (*fushuku*) who are carrying pilgrimage placards (*shugyō-fuda*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		9.-: The bakufu bans making spectacles on lands held by the Grand Shrines of Ise of the remains of people who have been crucified, immolated, or gibbeted. (*Harigamichō*)	
1744	Enkyō 1	5.-: Because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*), imperial envoys bearing offerings (**Hōbeishi*) are sent to "the seven shrines" (*shichisha*, i.e., the top seven in rank among the **Nijūnisha* [*The 22 Shrines*]) (this marks the first-time that *kinoene* prayers have been offered and *hōbeishi* have been sent to the seven shrines since the Katei era [1235–37])...	-.-: The main worship hall (*honden*, presently a designated National Treasure) of Izumo Shrine is built this year.
		9.25: The practice of sending imperial envoys with offerings (**Hōbeishi*) to Usa and Kashii shrines is resumed (had been in abeyance since 1300). (*Kugyō bunin*)	
1745	Enkyō 2	3.29: The bakufu orders shrines, temples, and anyone else who possesses old documentary materials to submit an inventory of their	

Personalities/Texts	Society
9.24: *Ishida Baigan dies (age 60).	2.21: Era name changed to Enkyō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	9.-: Worship of Shūzan Jiun Reijin, known as the deity of hemorrhoids, begins to spread. (Worship—the practice of which focused mostly at Nichiren sect temples—was said to cure the malady in one's next life.)
-.-: Merchant-class thinker and Shintō critic Tominaga Nakamoto publishes *Shutsujō gogo*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		holdings. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1746	Enkyō 2	3.21: The Laws for Warrior Houses (*Buke shohatto*) are revised. The revision includes bans on building temples and shrines on newly opened lands, and on confiscating the lands of temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1747	Enkyō 4		
1748	Kan'en 1	11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Momozono (performance of **Kagura* songs during ceremony revived).	
1749	Kan'en 2		9.1: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.4: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1750	Kan'en 3	4.-: The bakufu prohibits applying to the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) for permission to solicit donations (*kange*; see also **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*) to repair shrines and temples "heedless of orders" (*meijimidari ni*).	
1751	Hōreki 1		
1752	Hōreki 2		
1757	Hōreki 7		

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.28: Tominaga Nakamoto dies (age 32).	-.-: Around this time, worship of the *kami* Masaki Inari (see **Inari Shinkō*) begins to spread. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu produces *Kokugaku bengi*.	
5.30: Confucian scholar Dazai Shundai (see **Theological Research*) dies (age 68).	
	-.-: This year, Benzai Shrine in Enoshima opens its doors to display its treasures (**Kaichō*). Large numbers of visitors from Edo made pilgrimages to the shrine (*Bukō nenpyō*).
9.13: *Tada Yoshitoshi dies (age 53).	-.-: Starting around this time, the practice of raising flags to signal when a temple or shrine is displaying its treasures (**Kaichō*) begins (instances of such displays being held on an annual basis also begin from around this time). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Kada no Arimaro dies (age 46).	10.27: Era name changed to Hōreki due to "misfortunes" (*kyōji*) (death of Emperor Sakuramachi on 4.23 the previous year; death of former shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune on 6.20 of the current year).
-.-: *Tanigawa Kotosuga finishes writing the 35-volume **Nihonshoki tsūshō*. (*Nihonshoki tsūshō*)	
3.-: *Motoori Norinaga goes to study with Hori Keizan at his academy in Kyoto.	
12.10: *Matsuki Tomohiko dies (age 74).	
	8.-: Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*Jingiken taifu*) Yoshida Kaneo makes an appeal to an imperial messenger (*tensō*) over an attempt by Jingikan (see **Jingikandai*) Superintendent (*Jingihaku*) Shirakawa

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1758	Hōreki 8		
1759	Hōreki 9	5.-: Extravagance at religious festivals in Edo is banned.	
		6.-: The *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) orders that force not be used in campaigns to solicit donations for religious purposes (*kange*; see also **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*).	
		8.30: The bakufu has shrines in every province surveyed at the behest of the imperial court (survey connected with Yoshida house certification of priests, with registers compiled that record who the functionaries are at each shrine; see also **Shinto in the Early Modern Period*).	
1760	Hōreki 10		
1761	Hōreki 11	2.21: The bakufu issues revisions to the *Buke shohatto* (Laws for warrior houses). As before, the document bans seizing long-held lands from temples and shrines as well as building temples and shrines on newly opened lands. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1763	Hōreki 13	8.-: The bakufu bans long stays in Edo by visitors who want to seek funds (*kange*) for repairing and rebuilding temples and shrines in distant provinces (only the seal of the	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Masatomiō to make all shrine families (**Shake*) throughout Japan subject to the Shirakawa house (see also **Shinto in the Early Modern Period* and **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*).
	7.23: The bakufu arrests Takenōchi Shikibu and his fellows. The following day, twenty aristocrats are formally punished ostensibly by the emperor (the Hōreki Incident [*Hōreki jiken*]).
-.-: *Kamo no Mabuchi completes **Kokuikō* [A study of the idea of the nation].	
4.26: *Yoshimi Yukikazu dies (age 89).	
5.25: *Kamo no Mabuchi grants a personal interview with *Motoori Norinaga at Matsuzaka in Ise (an event known as "the night in Matsuzaka"). Kamo accepts Motoori as a disciple in the 12th month.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		*Magistrate of Temples and Shrines [*Jisha bugyō*] would appear on the permits for *aitai kange*, as opposed to *gomen kange* [see also the entry for the 8th month of 1766]).	
		10.18: The bakufu renews the vermilion seal registrations (*shuinjō*, i.e., official permits) for various temples and shrines (see also **Shuinchi, Kokuinchi*).	
1764	Meiwa 1	11.8: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi.	
1766	Meiwa 3	8.-: The bakufu orders that *gomen kange* be distinguished from *aitai kange* carried out in support of the repair and rebuilding temples and shrines (*gomen kange* were fund-raising drives for which the bakufu added its vermilion seal of approval to that of the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines [*Jisha bugyō*] to the permit, which enabled permit holders to obtain various special amenities such as free transportation; the permit for *aitai kange*, meanwhile, carried only the seal of the Magistrate). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1767	Meiwa 4	-.-: The bakufu forbids monks, *shugen* practitioners (see **Shinto and Shugendō*), and shrine priests (*shake*, see **Shinshoku*) lodging in provinces other than their home province from building large-scale shrine (*shaden*) and temple (*butsudan*) structures and the like at their lodgings on the pretense of private use and	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.-: Large numbers of people make pilgrimages from now until late in the 8th month to the *inari* shrine (see **Inari shinkō*) located at the villa of Ōkubo Hōshū, a senior clerk at the pottery warehouse (*wangura*) in Edo's Fukagawa district, to make offerings of buckwheat noodles (*soba*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
	3.29: Ban imposed on adherents of the Okura sect of Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) Buddhism (the sect engaged in shamanistic practices and was considered heretical by the bakufu).
12.5: *Takenouchi Shikibu dies (age 56).	8.22: The bakufu puts Confucian scholar Yamagata Daini and one of his disciples, Fujii Umon (a member of the Ōgimachi house [see **Ōgimachi Shintō*]), to death on charges of lese majesty. 12.-: In a related incident, *Takenouchi Shikibu is banished to Hachijō Island (he dies en route), while Oda Nobukuni, the daimyō of the Ueno Obata domain, is put under house arrest. (Meiwa Incident)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		then holding gatherings. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1768	Meiwa 5	6.7: The bakufu bans the unauthorized donation of personal effects marked with the hollyhock crest (*aoimon*, see **Shinmon*), and the use of the hollyhock crest during the holding of special exhibitions of shrine and temple treasures (**Kaichō*), shrine rites (*shinji*), and Buddhist services (*butsue*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1769	Meiwa 6		9.3: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.6: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1770	Meiwa 7		8.-: The bakufu orders Kunōzan Tōshō (see **Nikkōsan shinkō*) Shrine to be frugal given its scarcity of funds for doing repairs. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1771	Meiwa 8	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Momozono. Rites led by the emperor (*shinsai*, see **Chokusai*) also take place. (*Zoku shigushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued]).	
1772	An'ei 1		
1773	An'ei 2		-.-: The bakufu grants permission to carry out a fund-raising drive (*kange*) throughout the country and to hold lotteries for 10 years in Osaka in order to raise funds to help rebuild Taga Shrine in Ōmi Province. (Taga Shrine records)
1774	An'ei 3	3.-: Working through the *Magistrate of Shrines and	4.-: The court resumes sending an imperial messenger (**Chokushi*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.-: Heterodox "Hiding *nenbutsu*" (*kakure nenbutsu*) groups, offshoots of Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) Buddhism, in Edo are exposed.
-.-: *Kamo no Mabuchi completes **Noritokō*. (*Kamo no Mabuchi zenshū*)	4.-: Great fire centered in Edo's Yoshiwara district. Fire survivors make pilgrimages to the district's Kurōsuke Inari Shrine.
10.30: *Kamo no Mabuchi dies (age 73). (*Okabe-ke fu*)	
10.9: *Motoori Norinaga completes *Naobi no mitama*.	-.-: Going on pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (see **Okagemairi*) becomes popular this year. The trend starts from around Kyoto and neighboring regions (i.e., the Kinai area) and spreads throughout the country. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
	11.16: Era name changed to An'ei due to calamities (major fire and windstorms in Edo) as well as the accession of Emperor Go-Momozono.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Temples (*Jisha bugyō*), the bakufu sets limits on the locations that can be the objects of drives to raise funds for repairing and rebuilding shrines and temples to those structures with historical lineages or of special natures. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	to festivals at Inari Shrine (practice had been suspended since the Ōnin period [1467-78]). (Shrine records)
1775	An'ei 4		
1776	An'ei 5		
1777	An'ei 6	5.-: The bakufu sets limits on how much can be spent each year when giving permits for the repair and rebuilding of shrines and temples in distant provinces. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.8: Around this time, it is said that festival rites at the Fushimi Inari Shrine have "exhausted their splendor."
		6.18: The bakufu forbids people from petitioning to have shrines and temples mint coins. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	
1779	An'ei 8	2.-: The bakufu inquires into the jurisdictions, duties, and social statuses of the individuals whose family business was that of *daikagura* (see **Kagura*). The head of *kagura* responds that they are under the jurisdiction of either Ise or Atsuta shrine, that their duties were set by the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*), and that their social status was that of townsmen. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	1.-: Having rejected a request from Kumano Hongū (see **Kumano Shinkō*) to rebuild its Jūnimiya subshrine after it burned down, the bakufu now provides Kumano with 1,000 *ryō* (taels) to assist with reconstruction and grants permission for it to hold a fund-raising drive throughout the country. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
			9.-: Festival floats (*nerimono*) come out for the Ushi-gozen festival in Edo. They are suspended from participation thereafter. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1781	Tenmei 1		3.18: The Asakusa Sanja Gongen (i.e., Asakusa Shrine) festival is revived. However, after this it is suspended once again.
1782	Tenmei 2	2.-: The bakufu obliges priests (*shanin*, see **Shinshoku*) filing	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Tanigawa Kotosuga finishes compiling all 93 volumes of *Wakun no shiori*.	
10.10: *Tanigawa Kotosuga dies (age 68). (*Kokugaku*)	
-.-: *Fujitani Nariakira dies (age 42).	-.-: Pilgrimages to "Shibamata no Taishakuten" (i.e., the Nichiren temple Kyōeizan Daikyō) in Edo's Katsuhika district (present-day Katsushika Ward) become popular this year.
	-.-: The Zen ascetic (*gyōja*) Kakumei breaks with precedent by bringing ordinary lay

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		lawsuits to have the documents accompanied by a supplementary filing (*soekan keitai*) from their local magistrate (*daikan*), lord (*ryōshu*), or estate steward (*jitō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		10.11: Strong proclamations are issued declaring that shrine rites are the exclusive province of priests (**Kannnushi*) attached to shrines, that shrine personnel (**Shanin*) must obtain permission for the clothing they wear from the Yoshida clan (see **Shinto in the Early Modern Period (1)*), that the buying and selling of shrine lands (**Shinryō*) is banned, and that forbid the rites (*sairei*) at small village shrines (*hokora*) from being performed extravagantly.	
1783	Tenmei 3		
1784	Tenmei 4	4.-: The bakufu declares that *Shintōkata under the jurisdiction of the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) are to be treated when coming to Edo (*sanpu*) as having a rank equivalent to that of a keeper of the castle (*jōdai*) for one of the Tokugawa's three successional families (*sanke*).	
1785	Tenmei 5		
1786	Tenmei 6	6.29: The bakufu drafts a plan to levy money from temples, shrines, wealthy farmers (*gōnō*), and well-to-do merchants (*gōshō*) and loan it to daimyō in the form of gold and silver. The plan is never implemented and in the 8th month is abandoned altogether. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	-.-: The Shingon monk *Jiun, residing at Kōki Temple on Mt. Katsuragi in Kawachi Province, begins to preach his doctrine of *Unden Shintō.
		11.21: The **Niiname sai* is revived.	
1787	Tenmei 7	2.-: The bakufu announces that	10.-: Shōgun Tokugawa Ienari

Personalities/Texts	Society
	persons along to climb Mt. Ontake (see *Ontake Shinkō*).
	-.-: From the previous year, famine rages (the Great Tenmei Famine).
11.3: *Matsuoka Yūen dies (age 83).	
1.-: Ise Sadatake produces **Sanshatakusenkō*.	
-.-: This year, *Motoori Norinaga and Ueda Akinari engage in a fierce debate over Japan's world-historical primacy (the debate [*ronsō*] is the subject of Norinaga's work, *Kagaika*, or "Scolding the man from Osaka").	
-.-: Publication begins of *Hanawa Hokiichi's *Gunsho ruijū*.	
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga completes *Hihon*	6.19: Matsudaira Sadanobu becomes the

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		it will grant its vermillion seal of approval (*shuin*) without regard to the amount of land a shrine or temple holds (see **Shuinchi*; Ienari becomes shōgun this year). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	dispatches envoys to the Grand Shrines of Ise, to the Tōshō shrines at Nikkō and at Momijiyama (in Edo Castle)., and to Sannō Shrine to report to the kami that the emperor has formally named Ienari the new shōgun. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
		11.27: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōkaku.	
		-.-: The bakufu grants estate proprietors (*ryōshu*) permission to carry out punishments of shrine personnel (*shanin*, see **Shinshoku*) on their estates at their own discretion in instances of misbehavior regardless of whether the individuals hold a license from the Yoshida clan (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).	
1788	Tenmei 8	6.-: Villages in the provinces of Kai (present-day Yamanashi Prefecture) and Suruga (central and eastern Shizuoka) banned from hindering the travel of female ritualists (**Miko*) and ascetic practitioners (*shugen*, see **Shugendō*) in possession of placards indicating they are partaking in ascetic practice (*shugyō fuda*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		7.-: The bakufu again bans **Shugendō* practitioners from shrine families (**Shake*) from "misleadingly and extravagantly" (*magirawashiku gyōgyōshiku*) erecting shrine sanctuaries (*shaden*) at historic sites in other provinces and holding religious services. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1789	Kansei 1		9.1: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.4: Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.

Personalities/Texts	Society
tama kushige.	bakufu's chief senior councilor (*rōjū*). Start of the Kansei Reforms.
	-.-: Many provinces are struck by severe famine over the spring and summer (the Great Tenmei Famine).
	1.30: Large areas of Kyoto hit by fire (the Great Fire of Tenmei), destroying the imperial palace and Nijō Castle, leveling the city's Nishijin district, and damaging 220 shrines. (*Chigyoroku*)
	1.25: Era name changed to Kansei due to calamities (burning of the imperial palace and fires throughout Kyoto the previous 1.30).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1790	Kansei 2	12.-: The bakufu bans building houses for rent on the grounds (*keidai*, see **Keidaichi*) of temples and shrines. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	12.-: The Yoshida clan, now functioning as the "masters of the Jingikan" (*Jingikanryō*, see **Jingikandai*), establishes an office in Kantō (the Edo region).
		12.-: The bakufu issues a proclamation ordering shrines and temples to repair any light damage to their facilities themselves and not to "recklessly" (*midari ni*) request permission to solicit funds (*kange*) from the general public for repairs. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1791	Kansei 3	4.-: The bakufu issues a proclamation ordering that yin-yang (*onmyō*, see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*) diviners must be licensed by the Tsuchimikado family (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*) on the grounds that there had recently been large numbers of individuals practicing Onmyōdō without permission. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	11.-: An inspector for the Kantō council of the Shirakawa Shintō clan named Sasaki Kenmotsu files a report with the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) on funeral rites that Shintō priests hold for themselves (*Shintō sōsai*; see **Shinsōsai* and also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).
		-.-: The *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) issues its opinion on the matter of Shintō funeral rites (**Shinsōsai*) for Shintō priests, saying that only priests who have received a funerary license from the Yoshida family and the sons of those priests can be exempted from the temple registration system to arrange and conduct such rites (see also **Yoshida Shintō*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1792	Kansei 4		
1793	Kansei 5	5.-: In response to an inquiry from an individual named	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga begins publishing **Kojikiden* (Exegesis on the *Kojiki*).	5.24: The bakufu bans research on "*igaku*" (heterodox learning) at Confucian academies (the policy is known as "the Kansei prohibition on heterodox studies," *Kansei igaku no kin*).
	7.22: Acting on an anonymous tip, the Nagasaki city magistrate's office arrests 19 Christians in the village of Urakami (first crackdown on Christians in Urakami).
6.26: *Kawamura Hidene dies (age 70).	
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga begins to write **Tamakatsuma*. (*Motoori Norinaga zenshū*)	
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga completes *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko kamu yogoto goshaku* (alternately read as *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko kan'yogoto goshaku*, the volume is printed in 1796).	
7.23: The bakufu grants *Hanawa Hokiichi permission to establish his academy, Wagaku	3.-: Prior to this time, the bakufu and the imperial court had been at loggerheads over

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Matsudaira Kyūgorō, Itakura Katsumasa (later Itakura Katsuaki)—the bakufu's military governor for Suō Province (present-day southeastern Yamaguchi Prefecture)—elaborates on the differences between **miyaza* and shrine personnel (**Shinshoku*), and offers his opinion that peasants (*hyakushō*) are free to be licensed by the Yoshida family so long as they have the permission of their estate proprietor (*ryōshu*) (see also **Yoshida Shintō*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1794	Kansei 6		
1795	Kansei 7		
1796	Kansei 8		
1798	Kansei 10	1.-: The bakufu, in an Edo "town proclamation" (*machibure*), prohibits the use of gaudy new decorations for festivals.	
1799	Kansei 11	2.24: The bakufu bans the holding of plays and entertainment spectacles under the rubric of planting, "insect-repelling" (*mushi okuri*), and "wind-calming" (**Kaza-matsuri*) festivals , a practice that had been occurring "in various places in many	

Personalities/Texts	Society
kōdansho, and gives him land on which to build it.	awarding the honorific title of *daijō tennō* ("abdicated emperor," sometimes read *dajō tennō*) to Kaninnomiya Sukehitoshinnō, the biological father of then-sitting emperor Kōkaku. This month, the bakufu punishes *gisō* (an official who advises the emperor and transmits his orders to the imperial court and the bakufu) Nakayama Naruchika and *buke tensō* (liaison between the imperial court and the bakufu) Ōgimachi Kin'aki over the matter (the pair, among other aristocrats, had favored granting the title in opposition to the bakufu's stance) (*Songō jiken*, "Songō Incident").
6.-: *Arakida Suehogi completes *Naikū Gekū no ben*. (*Naikū Gekū no ben*)	1.10: Major fire in Edo (starts in its Kojimachi neighborhood), results in destruction of Sannō Shrine. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga begins publishing **Tamakatsuma.*	1.-: Commoners in Edo are banned from forming Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*, see **Fuji shinkō* and also **Kō*).
	8.-: The bakufu once again bans the Nichiren Buddhist Fuju Fuse movement from Kazusa and Shimōsa provinces (covering parts of present-day Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures).
	8.8: Sixty-nine monks from various Buddhist sects punished for violating their precepts..
	8.14: Englishman William Robert Broughton travels by boat to Muroran, Hokkaidō, in order to make sea charts. Over the following year, he takes measurements along Japan's coastline.
6.13: *Motoori Norinaga completes **Kojikiden.*	
1.25: The 1,100th anniversary of *En no Ozunu's death. Ozunu is granted the posthumous title of Shinpen bosatsu ("the deity-transformed bodhisattva"). (*Shunkuki*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		provinces." (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
		6.-: The bakufu bans the practice of making shrine gates (**Torii*), stone lanterns, and Buddhist statuary out of bronze (*karakane*, "Chinese metal") and taking such objects out on the road to solicit donations. 7.20: The bakufu bans going around shrines and temples in Edo to posting the placards of confraternities (*kōjūfuda*, see **Kō*) on "thousand-shrine pilgrimages" (*senja-mairi*, see **Senjafuda*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1800	Kansei 12		
1801	Kyōwa 1		
1802	Kyōwa 2		2.-: Kitano Tenman Shrine in Kyoto celebrates its 900th anniversary with an imperially sanctioned memorial service (*chokue*) in the courtyard before the shrine (for Sugawara Michizane, see **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Kugyō bunin*)
1803	Kyōwa 3	10.-: The bakufu issues its opinion that the ranks granted to kami (**Shin'i*) are a matter done by imperial decree alone and not one in which the Yoshida family may involve itself (see also **Yoshida Shintō*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1804	Bunka 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Because the year corresponds to the 57th in the sexagenary cycle (*Kanoenosaru* or *Kōshin*, "metal-monkey;" see **Kōshin shinkō*), the prohibition on women climbing Mt. Fuji is relaxed. Many women make the climb. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
9.29: *Motoori Norinaga dies (age72).	2.5: Era name changed to Kyōwa as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū*, "younger wood cock," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	-.-: Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*, see **Fuji Shinkō* and also **Kō*) banned. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
	2.-: Fad develops for the *tarō inari* (see **Inari shinkō*) enshrined at the villa of the Tachibana clan in the rice fields of Asakusa on the outskirts of Edo. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
	-.-: Fad in Osaka to go on circuit pilgrimages focused on the seven deities of good fortune (**Shichifukujin*). (*Settsu nenpyō*)
8.14: *Arakida Hisaoyu dies (age 59).	2.5: The bakufu bans "disturbances" (*sōjō*) at *Hatsuuma festivals. (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1805	Bunka 2		
1807	Bunka 4		
1808	Bunka 5		
1809	Bunka 6		10.16: The Grand Shrines of Ise rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) (some disagreement exists on date).
1810	Bunka 7	4.-: The bakufu grants permission to the chief representative (**Sōdai*) of the parishioners of Fuji Hongū Sengen Shrine in Suruga Province (present-day central and northeastern Shizuoka Prefecture) to solicit funds in three provinces to help with rebuilding the shrine (see also **Fuji/Sengen Shinkō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	1.-: Akiha Shrine in Tōtoumi Province (present-day western Shizuoka Prefecture) destroyed by fire (rebuilt in 1819) (see also **Akiha Shinkō*). (*Nihon shaji taikan*)
			4.5: Deity of Sumiyoshi Shrine in Settsu Province (present-day western Osaka and eastern Hyōgo prefectures) transferred to a new shrine building (*sengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) (main sanctuary now a National Treasure). That autumn, the Sumiyoshi dance (*Sumiyoshi odori*) is revived (see also **Sumiyoshi Shinkō*). (*Settsu nenpyō*)
1811	Bunka 8		
1812	Bunka 9		

Personalities/Texts	Society
12.22: *Jiun dies (age 87).	2.11: Era name changed to Bunka as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	9.7: Russian envoy Nikolai Rezanov arrives at Nagasaki seeking to open trade relations.
3.-: *Arakida Tsunetada dies (age 64). (*Kugyō bunin*)	
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa becomes a student of *Hirata Atsutane.	8.15: Britain's HMS *Phaeton* hoists a Dutch flag to slip into Nagasaki harbor, then takes Dutch hostages to force the Dutch traders there to provide supplies (the "Nagasaki Harbor Incident").
9.2: *Katō Chikage dies (age 74) (some believe he was 72). (*Jijitsu bunpen*)	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane compiles *Amatsu norito kō*.	
8.-: Itō Jikigyō, founder of the Miroku (Skt. Maitreya) faction (**Jikigyō Miroku*) of the Fuji confraternity (*Fujikō*), dies (age 64). (See also **Fuji Shinkō* and **Kō*)	2.25: Official interpreters in Nagasaki are ordered to also study Russian and English.
2.13: *Murata Harumi dies (age 66).	
7.8: *Kurita Hijimaro dies (age 75).	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane starts writing *Koshi-den*. (*Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1813	Bunka 11		3.15: The special annual festival (*rinjisai*) at Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine is revived (last held more than 380 years before, in 1432). (*Kugyō bunin*; *Tokugawa kinreikō*)
			3.-: **Shintōkata* Yoshikawa Genjūrō asks for permission to give protective amulets (**Mamorifuda*) from tutelary shrines (*chinjusha*, see **Chinjugami*) on the grounds of homes and estates (see **Yashikigami*). The bakufu grants him permission. (*Yoshikawa Shintō no kenkyū*)
1814	Bunka 12		12.22: The Kamo special annual festival (*rinjisai*) is revived (*Kugyō bunin*) (one theory holds it happened in the 11th month) (see also **Medieval Shinto*).
			-.-: In their battle with one another to control priest (**Shinshoku*) shrine assignments, the Yoshida and Shirakawa clans make appeals directly to the imperial court (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).
1816	Bunka 13		
1818	Bunsei 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Ninkō.	
1819	Bunsei 2		
1821	Bunsei 4		
1822	Bunsei 5		
1823	Bunsei 6		

Personalities/Texts	Society
6.20: *Uematsu Arinobu dies (age 56).	
Intercalary 11.-: *Ban Nobutomo publishes *Engishiki Jinmyōchō*.	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane publishes *Kodō taii* (True meaning of the ancient way).	
11.11: Kurozumi Munetada, aged 35, of Bizen Province (present-day Okayama Prefecture) has a conversion experience that will be described as the "direct receipt of the heavenly mission" (*tenmei jikiju*). Begins proselytizing the following year through story-telling (*kōshaku*) and faith healing (*majinai*) (see **Kurozumikyō*).	3.-: Warriors are prohibited from participation in ascetic practices related to Mt. Fuji (*Fujigyō*). The following month, in a "town proclamation" (*machibure*) for a third time the *bakufu* banned Fuji confraternities (see **Fuji shinkō* and also **Kō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
-.-: The Hakuō Shintō house composes their doctrinal compendium, *Jingi Hakke gakusoku* (see **Hakke Shintō*).	
-.-: *Oka Kumaomi opens his academy, Ōinkan.	
-.-: Sometime between this year and the next, *Hirata Atsutane publishes both *Koshi seibun* and *Koshi-chō*.	
	-.-: Cholera epidemic this year.
9.12: *Hanawa Hokiichi dies (age 76). (*Onkodō Hanawa sensei den*)	
	-.-: Cholera epidemic in western Japan in autumn of this year.
12.16: *Fujitani Mitsue dies (age 56). (*Zoku shoka jinbutsu den*)	
-.-: The Yoshida Shintō lineage appoints	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1824	Bunsei 7		
1825	Bunsei 8		
1826	Bunsei 9		
1827	Bunsei 10		
1828	Bunsei 11		
1829	Bunsei 12		9.2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1830	Tenpō 1		2.-: Aramatsuri Shrine, along with the other detached shrines (**Betsugū*) at Kōtai Shrine, i.e., Ise Inner Shrine, destroyed by fire. (*Jingū Nenpyō*)
1831	Tenpō 2	1.-: The bakufu conducts investigation of shrines, temples, and **Shugendō* and Onmyōdō (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*) practitioners on lands or in residences borrowed from the bakufu to determine how many years they have been in residence, their names, and the nature of Shintō and Buddhist decorations used in transferring the divided spirit of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
*Hirata Atsutane as an instructor of "the ancient ways" (*kodō*) for priests (**Shinshoku*) under its jurisdiction. (*Tamadasuki nenpu*)	
3.14: Hattori Nakatsune dies (age 68) (some argue he died the month before).	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane publishes *Kodō taii* ("True meaning of the ancient way").	
-.-: *Aizawa Seishisai completes *Shinron*.	2.15: The *bakufu* issues an edict that any foreign vessels that appear in Japanese waters are to be driven off (the order comes in the wake of an increasing number of random landings by European and American whaling vessels in particular).
12.1: *Fujita Yūkoku dies (age 53).	
Intercalary 6.-: Kodera Kiyosaki dies (age 80) (see **Fujii Takanao*).	
8.16: *Arakida Suehogi dies (age 65).	-.-: Japan's population this year estimated at 27.2 million people (excluding nobles and samurai).
11.7: *Motoori Haruniwa dies (age 66).	
-.-: Tendai monk Jihon completes *Ichijitsu Shintōki* (see **Sannō Shintō*).	
	Intercalary 3.-: Going on pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (*Ise-mairi*, see **Okagemairi*) becomes popular around western Japan and Awa (present-day Shikoku) from spring through autumn. More than 4.6 million people have taken part by August. (*Bunsei zakki*)
	12.10: Era name changed to Tenpō due to calamities (great fire in Edo on 3.21 of the previous year; major earthquake in Kyoto on 7.2 of the present year).
5.7: *Senge Toshizane dies (age 68).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		a kami (see **Kanjō* and also **Teinaisha*) in their dwellings. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1833	Tenpō 4		
1834	Tenpō 5		
1835	Tenpō 6		
1836	Tenpō 7		
1837	Tenpō 8		
1838	Tenpō 9		10.26: Nakayama Miki has a possession experience (the establishment of **Tenrikyō*). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)
1839	Tenpō 10	1.-: The bakufu admonishes Yushima Tenjin Shrine and its affiliates for holding overly elaborate festivals and rites during the previous year. In the 8th month, the bakufu again bans extravagance in the clothing and dancers at the same shrines' festivals and rites (*Tenpō zakki*).	
		12.30: The bakufu imposes restraints on participation in rites involving transferring the divided spirit of *kami* (see **Kanjō*) to household shrines	

Personalities/Texts	Society
9.11: *Motoori Ōhira dies (age 78).	
-.-: Following on a vision in his dreams the year before, *Inoue Masakane enters the Shirakawa clan of Shintō ritualists and receives a certificate to perform Shintō ceremonies. (*Misogikyō no kenkyū*)	
12.6: *Aoyagi Tanenobu dies (age 70).	
-.-: *Ban Nobutomo compiles **Shirushi no sugi* (The signpost cedar). (*Ban Nobutomo zenshū*)	
	-.-: Nationwide famine this year, the most extreme impact being felt in the Ōu region (present-day Tohoku, i.e., northeastern Japan) where as many as 100,000 die (the Tenpō Famine).
	2.19: Ōshio Heihachirō, formerly a city police captain (*machi yoriki*) in the Osaka city magistrate's office, launches a rebellion in that city (the revolt of Ōshio Heihachirō [*Ōshio Heihachirō no ran*]).
	6.1: *Ikuta Yorozu, a scholar of **Kokugaku* ("national learning"), commits suicide at age 37 after his attack—probably inspired by Oshio Heichachirō's revolt—on Tokugawa forces stationed at Kashiwazaki fails (the revolt of Ikuta Yorozu [*Ikuta Yorozu no ran*]).
	5.-: Dutch studies (*Rangaku*) scholars Watanabe Kazan, Takano Chōei, and their peers arrested on charges of insurrection (the *Bansha no goku* ["imprisonment of the 'barbarian studies society'"] incident).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*shinshi*; see **Teinaisha*) at warrior residences. It also bans the establishment of new and restoration of old private household shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1840	Tenpō 11	8.22: The bakufu enacts regulations for merchants to go out on the days of shrine and temple festivals within the precincts of Edo. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1841	Tenpō 12	3.27: The bakufu prohibits *okama* (transvestite) and *inari* (see **Inari shinkō*) dances, as well as meetings of the Taishi confraternity (*Taishikō*, see **Daikunokami* and also **Kō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		11.6: Following the precedents established during the Kansei era (1789-1801), the bakufu again prohibits any theatrical entertainment (**Shibai*) being offered as part of *kami* rites (*shinji*) or festivals (*sairei*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1842	Tenpō 13	5.1: The bakufu bans lay people from engaging in *shugen* and *yamabushi* (see **Shintō and Shugendō*) practices. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		6.-: The bakufu orders reforms and crackdowns on *shanin* (see **Shinshoku*), *shinshoku* (shrine priests), *yamabushi* and *shugen* (see **Shintō and Shugendō*), divination masters (*onmyōshi*, see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*), shrine rite dance troupe leaders	

Personalities/Texts	Society
6.18: *Sonoda Moriyoshi dies (age 56).	
8.15: *Fujii Takanao dies (age 77). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	
12.30: *Hirata Atsutane is forbidden to write and exiled from Edo.	
Intercalary 1.18: *Yashiro Hirokata dies (age 84).	5.-: *Bakufu* senior councilor (*rōjū*) Mizuno Tadakuni issues orders for political reform, seeking a complete overhaul of the government (the Tenpō Reforms).
9.-: *Fujidō leader Kotani Rokugyō (Sanshi) dies (age 77).	
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa opens an academy named the True Learning School (Hōhongakusha) in Kyoto.	
	2.21: The bakufu bans various Shintō and Buddhist confraternities, including Mokugyokō and Fujikō (see **Fuji shinkō* and **Kō*.).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*shinjimai tayū*), and others. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1843	Tenpō 14		
1844	Kōka 1		
1845	Kōka 2		
1846	Kōka 3		-.-: *Kamo no Norikiyo establishes his private academy Zuiuen in Edo.
			-.-: The rules (*osadamegaki*) of *Kurozumikyō are drafted, de facto establishing the group as a formal organization.
1847	Kōka 4		4.-: Invocations (**Kitō*) are made at the Iwashimizu special annual festival (*rinjisai*) to drive away foreign threats. (*Nonomiya Sadanaga nikki*)
1848	Kaei 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōmei. (*Kugyōbunin*)	
1849	Kaei 2		9.2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1850	Kaei 3		
1851	Kaei 4		
1853	Kaei 6		8.-: Due to the arrival of foreign vessels in Japanese waters, prayers are offered up through the ceremonial release of captive animals (*hōjō-e*, see **Chōtei saishi*) at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine to ward off foreign threats and ask for domestic tranquility. The following month, many similar invocations were performed for the same reason at other shrines throughout the country. (*Kugyōbunin*)
1854	Ansei 1		3.-: Shrines are ordered to perform special invocations (**kitō*) regarding the "barbarian"

Personalities/Texts	Society
Intercalary 9.11: *Hirata Atsutane dies (age 68).	6.-: *Inoue Masakane exiled to Miyake Island.
	12.2: Era name changed to Kōka due to calamities (fire at Edo Castle on 5.10).
9.21: Kido Chitate dies (age 68) (see **Fujii Takanao*).	5.-: Major fire in Kyoto burns down many shrines and temples. (*Nihon sai'i-ki*)
10.14: *Ban Nobutomo dies (age 74). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	4.-: *Kamo no Norikiyo exiled to Hachijo Island because his Shintō lecture meetings (*kōshaku*) are seen as a challenge to the bakufu. (*Umetsuji ikken no mōshiwatashi*)
-.-: *Oka Kumaomi receives official sanction to revive Shintō funeral ceremonies.	
2.18: *Inoue Masakane dies (age 60). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	9.-: The bakufu once again bans Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*, see **Fuji shinkō* and **Kō*), which had previously been banned in 1814. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
5.24: *Tachibana Moribe dies (age 69).	
1.6: *Satō Nobuhiro dies (age 82).	
2.25: *Kurozumi Munetada dies (age 71).	
8.6: *Oka Kumaomi dies (age 69).	
	6.3: Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the U.S. Navy lands at Uraga, Kanagawa.
	3.3: The Treaty of Kanagawa (also known as the Convention of Kanagawa) concluded between Japan and the U.S.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			vessels moored in Japanese waters.
1855	Ansei 2		
1856	Ansei 3		
1857	Ansei 4		
1858	Ansei 5		2.-: The bakufu dispatches Jushin'in, a *shittō* (see **Shasō*) from Kan'ei Temple (a Tokugawa clan temple in Edo), to Nikkō tōshōgū Shrine to divine the views (*shinryo*) of the kami (i.e., the enshrined spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu) on whether or not a treaty should be concluded with the Americans. (*Matsudaira Tadakata nikki*)
			6 -: An imperial envoy (**Chokushi*) with offerings (**Hōbei*) is dispatched by special request of the emperor to offer prayers at Iwashimizu Hachiman and Kamo shrines to ward off foreign threats and ask for domestic tranquility.
1859	Ansei 6		6.29: Permission granted for Sannō Festival and Kanda Festival parade floats to enter

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.-: Inari worship (**Inari Shinkō*) of various types including *gisuke-inari*, *hōju-inari*, and *koyasu-inari* centered on the Ōkubo family of Edo's Sotokanda neighborhood becomes popular.
	11.4: Major earthquake and tsunami hit the Tōkai region, resulting in 10,000 deaths.
	11.27: Era name changed to Ansei due to calamities (fire at the Imperial Palace on 4.6, earthquake of the 6th month, visits by foreign vessels in recent years).
10.2: Fujita Tōko dies (age 50) (see **Mitogaku*).	10.2: The Great Ansei Earthquake occurs, doing severe damage to Edo resulting in collapse of 14,000 buildings and 7,000 deaths. (Fujita Tōko [see **Mitogaku*] is among the dead).
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa's book *Hongakukyoyō* compiled. (*Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*)	
10.20: *Ninomiya Sontoku dies (age 70).	
11.5: *Ajiro Hironori dies (age 73).	
-.-: *Mutobe Yoshika publishes *Ubusunasha kodenshō*. (*Kokugaku undō no shisō*)	
-.-: *Nonoguchi (Ōkuni) Takamasa publishes *Gakutō benron*.	
	6.19: Treaty of Amity and Commerce between US and Japan signed by shogunate without imperial ratification.
	9.7: The "Ansei Purge" begins.
	-.-: Cholera epidemic sweeps Japan this year.
8.24: *Tsurumine Shigenobu dies (age 72).	8.27: *Bakufu* punishes Tokugawa Yoshinobu, Tokugawa Nariaki, and others in course of the Ansei Purge. In addition, many *shishi*

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Edo Castle to promote the economy of inner Edo. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
1860	Man'en 1		
1861	Bunkyū 1		
1862	Bunkyū 2		2.24: Akagi Tadaharu and company establish *Kurozumikyō's Munetada Shrine in Kyoto.
1864	Genji 1	11.-: Various practices in the imperial Harvest Festival (*Niinamesai*, see **Chōtei saishi*) that had fallen into disuse are restored. (*Hikurōdo nikki*)	-.-: Around this time, *Tenrikyō proselytization begins in earnest.
1865	Keiō 1		
1867	Keiō 3	10.14: The bakufu announces its decision to return rule to the emperor (*taisei hōkan*) (see **Imperial Restoration*).	2.22: The Shirakawa Shinto lineage grants Konkō Daijin, founder of *Konkōkyō, permission to proselytize (see also **Shinto in the Early Modern Period*).
		11.17: Hearings (*sakumon*) held on the "reestablishment of ancient ways" (*kyūgi saikō*),	7.23: The *Yoshida Shintō lineage grants Nakayama Shūji of *Tenrikyō permission to

Personalities/Texts	Society
	("men of high purpose," i.e., anti-bakufu activists seeking to restore imperial power) executed.
	3.18: Era name changed to Man'en due to calamities (fire at Edo Castle on 10.17 the previous year, assassination of shogunal counselor Ii Naosuke earlier in the month on 3.3).
7.21: *Kamo no Norikiyo dies on Hachijō Island (age 64). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	2.19: Era name changed to Bunkyū as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū*, "younger wood cock," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*)
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa produces *Kyūjyō ichiran* (Survey of the world).	3.9: Sakata Kaneyasu and Sakata Masayasu, leaders of the banned Tohokami Shintō (**Misogikyō*), are interrogated by the magistrate of temples and shrines (**Jisha bugyō*) and banished from their residences.
8.15: *Suzuki Shigetane dies (age 52).	7.2: British Fleet enters Satsuma Bay (Anglo-Satsuma War begins).
11.28: *Mutobe Yoshika dies (age 58).	
7.21: *Maki Yasuomi dies (age 52).	2.20: Era name changed to Genji as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	8.5: Combined British, U.S., French, and Dutch fleet attacks Chōshū domain shore batteries at Hagi near the Shimonoseki Straits.
-.-: Akagi Tadaharu of *Kurozumikyō dies (age 50).	4.7: Era name is changed to Keiō due to calamities (Hamaguri Rebellion of 7.7 the previous year, social unrest).
-.-: *Nishida Naokai dies (age 73) (alternate dates are also offered).	9.17: Yano Mototaka becomes first Japanese to be baptized as a Protestant.
	8.-: Amulets (*fuda*) from Ise Shrine and of many local *kami fall from the skies mainly along the Tōkaidō circuit road near lodging facilities around Tōtoumi, Mikawa, and Owari. Occasioned by the phenomenon, boisterous *"Ee ja nai ka*" ("Isn't it grand?") dancing among commoners breaks out mainly in the capital district around Kyoto starting that autumn and extending into winter (see **Okagemairi*).
	12.9: Order on the Restoration of Imperial Rule (*Ōsei fukkō*) issued (see **Imperial Restoration* and also **Modern and*

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		including reestablishment of the Jingikan (Department of Divinities, see **The Meiji Jingikan*). (*Tatsu-setsuroku*)	proselytize.
			-.-: Imperial court prohibits Buddhist rituals from being held at the palace; imperial princes who have taken the tonsure are returned to secular life.
1868	Meiji 1	1.17: The "Three Offices of State" (*sanshoku*) system for dividing up administrative tasks of the central government is established.	4.24: Use of the name "Hachiman Daibosatsu" (Hachiman bodhisattva) at shrines in the Iwashimizu Hachiman lineage is stopped and the deity is renamed Hachiman Daijin (see **Shinbutsu Bunri* and also **Hachiman Shinkō*).
		2.3: Government administration is revamped, changing its existing seven departments (*shichika*) into eight bureaus, including bureaus for the presidential office (*sōsai*), kami rites (*jingi*), internal affairs, foreign affairs, and national defense. (*Cabinet notice*)	5.10: Japan's first "spirit-inviting shrine" (**Shōkonsha*) is built, enshrining the "martyrs" (loyalist soldiers) of the Meiji Restoration (in 1939, becomes Kyōto Ryōzen Gokoku Shrine) (*Dajōkan notice*).
		3.13: Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*) revived. Political system aimed at the unification of rites and rule (*saisei icchi*) revived (see **Fukko Shintō*). Shintō house lineages no longer allowed to license priests, and all shrines and priests (**Kannushi*) placed under the authority of the Department of Divinities (see **Modern and Contemporary Shinto*). (*Cabinet notice*)	
		3.14: Five-Article Charter Oath (*Gokajō no goseimon*) promulgated.	
		3.17: Individuals who perform shrine duties as Buddhist priests are forced to grow out their tonsure (*chikuhatsu saseru*) and renounce their status as Buddhist clerics (separation of the Buddhist [*sōryo*] and Shintō	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Contemporary Shinto).
	1.10: Shōgoin-no-miya is officially designated the head temple (*kanryō-no-miya*) for *Shugendō.
	Intercalary 4.17: Hidden Christians (*Kakure kirishitan*) discovered at Urakami Village near Nagasaki are removed and dispersed to domains around the country (see also **Shintō and Christianity*).
	6.22: Another five imperial family members become the head priests (*monzeki*) at Buddhist temples following the returns to lay life of those who had been at Ninnaji , Kajii, Shōgoin, Kachō, and other temples .(see also **Haibutsukishaku*).
	7.17: Edo renamed Tokyo.
	9.8: Era name changed to Meiji; decision made that from now on only one era name will be used per reign of a given emperor. (*Cabinet notice*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		priesthoods [**shinshoku*]) (see also **Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Jingi jimukyoku*)	
		3.18: The "imperial certificates of transmission" for shrines (*jinja shissō*, see **Shinto in the Early Modern Period*) system is halted and the Bureau of Divinities (Jingi Jimukyoku, see **The Meiji Jingikan*) takes over the issuing of licenses. However, the posts of **Jingū tensō* and *Kamō tensō* are unaffected by the decision. (*Cabinet administrative ruling*)	
		3.28: The separation of Shintō from Buddhism is ordered; mixing of the two is banned (**Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Cabinet notice*)	
		4.10: Order issued to carry out the separation of Shinto and Buddhism (**Shinbutsu bunri*) with caution and remove Buddhist statuary and paraphernalia at shrines without resorting to violent acts. (*Dajōkan ōse'ide*, *Cabinet notice*)	
		Intercalary 4.4: Shrine monks (**Bettō*) and Buddhist priests attached to shrines (**Shasō*) forced to renounce their status as Buddhist clerics and given the titles of **kannushi* and *shanin* ("shrine person," see **Shinshoku*) (see also **Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Cabinet notice*; *Cabinet administrative ruling*)	
		Intercalary 4.21: The positions of "Ise Shrine noble" (*jingū jōkei; ben*), "Kamo messenger" (*Kamo tensō*; see **Jingū tensō*), and prayer magistrate (*oinori bugyō*, see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines*) are discontinued.	
		Intercalary 4.21: The Bureau of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: This year, the ban on climbing Mt. Fuji to worship during non-leap years is lifted (see also **Fuji shinkō*). (*Kindai minshū shūkyōshi no kenkū*)
	-.-: An anti-Buddhism movement (*haibutsu kishaku*) emerges in the wake of formal efforts to separate Buddhism and Shintō (**Shinbutsu bunri*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Divinities (Jingi Jimukyoku) is revamped as the Department of Divinities (Jingikan, see **The Meiji Jingikan*) and given authority over matters concerning **hafuribe*, rituals (*saishi*), and the people involved in kami rites (**Kanbe*). (*Cabinet notice*)	
		Intercalary 4.21: The "three offices and eight departments of state" (*sanshoku hachika*) system of government administration is discontinued..	
		7.20: The Yamada magistrate (*Yamada bugyō*, see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines*) is abolished.	
		10.18: The new Japanese government bans the Nichiren Buddhist sect from worshipping **Amaterasu* and Hachiman (see **Hachiman shinkō*) among its thirty tutelaries (**Sanjūbanshin*) and as part of the sect's chief object of worship (*gohonzon*), the "mandala of ten worlds" (*Jikkai mandara*) (see also **Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Gosata*)	
1869	Meiji 2	2.20: Command issued ordering that the New Year's festivals (**Kinensai*) be revived (festivals resume at Ise Shrine this year, at all other shrines the following year).	3.12: The emperor makes a pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise (the start of imperial pilgrimages to Ise). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
		2.24: Dajōkan (Grand Council of State) relocated to Tokyo. All requests and submissions from shrines and temples located in domains west of the Mino-Hida region (in present-day Gifu Prefecture) including those in the Kinai, Sanyō, San'in, Nankai, and Saikai regions are to be sent to Kyoto.	6.29: Tokyo *Shōkonsha built in the city's Kudan neighborhood, enshrining the soldiers killed in the Boshin War of 1868 (later becomes Yasukuni Shrine).
		4.8: Department of Civil Affairs (Minbukan) created, establishing six lower status	9.4: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. 9.7: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.-: *Nakayama Miki begins to write *Ofudesaki* (completed in 1882). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)	2.19: Tokyo Prefecture issues proclamation on "the correction of public morals" (*fūzoku kyōsei*) (prohibition on mixed bathing, etc.).
6.21: *Kusakado Nobutaka dies (age 52).	2.28: Shrines and temples prohibited from contributing objects bearing chrysanthemum emblems (i.e., the symbol of the imperial family) to prayer halls. Also prohibited from establishing new places of worship. In the 8th month, shrines and temples are forbidden from using the chrysanthemum emblem without permission.
	3.20: Buddhist and Shintō sects unite to petition that Christianity be prohibited. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		departments under the Department of Divinities (see *The Meiji Jingikan*).	reconsecrated.
		7.8: Government administrative system revamped, reducing the number of departments to just the *Jingikan and Dajōkan. System of official missionaries (*senkyōshi*; see **Taikyō Senpu* and **Shinto Edification*) established.	12.17: Imperial edict issued ordering the Shirakawa and Yoshida families to welcome the "Eight Deities" (*hasshin*) to a temporary shrine at *Jingikan (Department of Divinities) and enshrine the spirits of dead emperors in the same halls as "the deities of heaven and earth" (*tenshin chigi*) (see **Hasshinden*). (*Jingishō-kiroku; Dajōkan-nisshi*)
		7.8: All existing government positions (*hyakkan*) and official courtesy titles (*juryō*, titles granted to outstanding artisans and other figures not actually in government employ) revoked. However, Shintō priests retain any official aliases (*shokugō*) they have been granted, and Buddhist priests retain any official posts (*sōkan*) they hold.	
		9.17: Bureau of Mausolea (*Shoryōryō*) assigned to the Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*; see also **Ryōbo*).	
		10.9: *Senkyōshi* (missionaries), who on 9.29 had formally been made government officials, are assigned this day to the Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*; see also **Taikyō Senpu* and **Shinto Edification*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1870	Meiji 3	1.3: Imperial decree on the Great Promulgation Campaign (**Taikyō Senpu no mikotonori*) issued.	
		5.30: All shrines throughout Japan that use *shinmeigū* (indicating they are a branch shrine [*bunsha*] of Ise Shrine) as part of their name change that part to *daijingū* (see also	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.17: Ownership of daimyō domains is reassigned to the emperor (*hanseki hōkan*) and government appoints 274 domain governors.
Intercalary 10.12: *Hayashi Ōen dies (age 74)/	7.28: Ritual exchange (known as *hassaku*) of gifts between daimyō and their men abolished.
Intercalary 10.-: *Itō Rokurobei begins ascetic practices aimed at "achieving unity and peace with the *kami of the Earth" (*tenchi no kami to dōkon dōtai*). He claims the kami has granted him the title of "*Chi no kami isshin gyōja*" ("practitioner united in	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Shamei Bunpu). (*Jingikan e shirei*)	
		7.17: Shrines and Temples Office (*Shaji-kakari*) is created in the Ministry of Civil Affairs. (*Minbushō e tatsu*)	
		Intercalary 10.17: The Tsuchimikado family, who were hereditary court diviners (see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*), banned from proselytizing Tensha Shintō (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		Intercalary 10.20: Shrines and Temples Office (*Shaji-kakari*) in the Ministry of Civil Affairs reorganized into the Bureau of Temples (*Ji'in-ryō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		Intercalary 10.28: Regulations for large and small shrines standardized; municipal (*fu*), domainal (*han*), and prefectural governments ordered to draw up detailed lists of shrines in their jurisdictions (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		11.2: With the disbanding of the Shrines and Temples Office (*Shaji-kakari*), shrine-related matters are made the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Civil Affairs while temple-related matters are entrusted to the Bureau of Temples. (*Minbushō e shirei*)	
1871	Meiji 4	1.5: Order issued on expropriation of shrine and temple lands (*Shaji-ryō jōchi rei*, alternatively *Shaji-ryō agechi rei*; see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō* and **Jōchi rei*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		5.14: With shrines now charged with performing state rites, heredity priesthood abolished	

Personalities/Texts	Society
mind with the kami of the Earth"), and from this point forward he asserts that his body is a tool of the kami.	
11.20: *Suzuka Tsuratane dies (age 76).	
-.-: *Suzuka Tsuratane publishes *Jinja kakuroku*.	
8.17: *Ōkuni Takamasa dies (age 80).	4.4: Household Registration Law enacted. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)
	6.17: Imperial courtesy titles such as *goshogō*, *monsekigō*, *inke*, and *inshitsu* granted to Ninna Temple, Daikaku Temple,

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		and priests subsequently to receive their posts by appointment. (See **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*.) The same day, regulations are also issued that set the number of official shrines (*kansha*), establish the organizational structure for priests (*shinkan*), and affirm that the costs for reconstructing and rededicating (*shikinen*, see **Shikinensengū*) imperial shrines (*kanpeisha*) will be covered using public funds (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		7.4: Shrines are forced to hand over to the state all lands (**Keidachi*) other than those used by main shrine buildings (see **Jōchi rei*). Shrines also ordered to report on their expenses, breaking them down based on festival costs, shrine use, stipends paid to hereditary shrine priest families (**Shake*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		8.8: Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*) reduced in status to become the Ministry of Divinities (*Jingishō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		9.-: Family registers created for shrine priests (**Shinkan*) placing those at shrines ranked as municipal (*fu*), domainal (*han*), and prefectural (*ken*) level on par with former samurai and those at rural-district shrines (**Gōsha*) as commoners (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Ōkurashō-tatsu*)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	and temples under them due to their connections to the imperial family (i.e., overseen by priests from family sublineages, hosting retired emperors, and so forth) are revoked and the temples placed under the jurisdiction of local governments. The title and position of *bōkan kōnin* (a retainer in residence at such temples who handles the administrative affairs for the imperial personage) is revoked, those individuals are returned to secular life, and they are granted the status of samurai foot soldiers attached to local government. The families of assistants who have been in service for three generations or more (*sandai sō'on*) at *monseki* and those *goshogō* temples with female monks (*ama* or *bikuni*; Skt. *bhikṣuṇī*) are also granted the same type of samurai status. All temples are placed under the jurisdiction of local governments and temple families no longer make reports to the imperial throne.
	10.3: *Shūmon ninbetsu-chō*, or "sectarian registers" (i.e., the temple registration system [*terauke seido*]) abolished (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period* and **Shintō and Buddhism*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Meiji.	
1872	Meiji 5	2.-: **Kinensai* ceremony established for imperial and national shrines (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*).	5.24: Minatogawa Shrine becomes the first shrine to be granted the status of "extraordinary imperial shrine" (*bekkaku kanpeisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*).
		3.14: Ministry of Divinities disbanded and its functions shifted to the Ministry of Religious Education (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	7.-: *Urata Nagatami applies for approval to found a Shintō association called Jingūkyōkai. (**Jingūkyō*)
		3.23: Office of Ritual (*Shikiburyō*) placed in charge of all festival rites (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*).	
		3.27: Prohibitions on females entering shrines and temples relaxed; women are now allowed to freely visit them for worship. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1873	Meiji 6	Jan 4: The "five seasonal celebrations" (*gosekku*) are eliminated, and holidays celebrating the ascension (**Sokui*) of Japan's mythical first emperor Jinmu (see **Kigensetsu*) and the current emperor's birthday (**Tenchō setsu*) are established. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	Aug 31: *Nitta Kuniteru founds Shūsei Kōsha (becomes *Shintō Shūseiha in 1876). (*Shintō Shūseiha no shinkō*)

NOTE: In 1873 Japan switched from the lunar calendar (*inreki*, or more properly a lunisolar calendar, *taiin-taiyōreki*; subsequently also referred to as the *kyūreki*, "old calendar") to the Gregorian calendar (*seireki*, "Western calendar"; subsequently also referred to as the *shinreki*, "new calendar"). Though Japanese will continue to refer to months by ordinal numbers, the dates now correspond directly to their named equivalent in the Gregorian calendar (i.e., 1st month = January, 2nd = February, and so forth). Accordingly, the dates from January 1, 1873, forward are presented in this chronology using their conventional English equivalents.

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.17: *Tamamatsu Misao dies (age 63).	11.9: Lunar calendar abolished, solar calendar adopted (the 3rd day of the 12th month of 1872 is slated to become January 1, 1873) (see explanatory note).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1873 (cont.)	Meiji 6 (cont.)	Jan 15: Ban imposed on various divination and shamanistic spirit-invocation practices such as *azusa-miko*, *ichiko*, *yori-kitō*, and *kitsune-sage* that are performed mostly by female ritualists. (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	Oct. -: Religious confraternities (*kōsha*) throughout Japan associated with Ise Shrine unified under the name Divine Wind Religious Association (*Shinpū Kōsha*) (see **Jingūkyō*).
		Jan 30: Order issued eliminating *higashi* ("east") and *nishi* ("west") as the names of the two units grouping moral preceptors (*kyōdōshoku*, see **Shinto Edification* and **Taikyō Senpu*). However, use of the word *myōgō*—which usually refers to the Buddha's name as used, for example, in prayers—for "name" in the order's title in the context of the government's anti-Buddhism campaign (*haibutsu kishaku*, see **Shinbutsu bunri*) of the time produces a negative reaction among the populace as it led to the popular misconception that the government was banning chanting the Buddha's name (the central practice of Shin ["True Pure Land"] Buddhism) and that all Japanese were to be forced into Shintō practice (see also **Shintō and Buddhism*). (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	-.-: Shimoyama Ōsuke establishes Ontake Kyōkai (becomes *Ontakekyō in 1882). (*Ontakekyō no rekishi*)
		Feb. 22: Order issued revoking the conventional practice of drawing wages for priests (*shikan* and the lower-ranked *shishō*; see **Shinkan*) at rural district shrines (**Gōsha*) from local taxes. The payment of any "appropriate wages" (*tekigi kyūyo*) left up to the "piety" (*shinkōshin*) of the people (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		July 31: Monthly wages for priests (**Shinkan*) at municipal	

Personalities/Texts	Society

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		and prefectural shrines (*fusha* and *kensha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) revoked (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		Oct 14: *Genshisai* ("Festival of Origins") and other holidays established as days of rest (see **Meiji Kokka Saishi*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1874	Meiji 7	June 7: Directive ordering that offering prayers and incantations to ward away illness (*kinen kitō*, see **Kitō*) should not interfere with taking medicine and providing other medical care. (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	Dec 23: *Tenrikyō founder *Nakayama Miki and others called to the offices of the Nara prefectural government and interrogated by officials overseeing temples and shrines. She would be arrested and investigated more than 10 times through 1886. (*Tenrikyo jiten*)
1875	Meiji 8		March -: *Shintō Jimukyoku (Shintō Office) established. (*Tokyo Daijingū enkakushi*)
1876	Meiji 9	Dec 15: In connection with the compilation of the Meiji period *Jinmyōchō* (Register of Deities, see **Jinja kakuroku* and **Shikinaisha*), a directive is issued ordering estimates regarding those shrines not yet ranked (see also **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	
1877	Meiji 10	Jan 11: Ministry of Religious Education disbanded. Administrative duties taken over by the Ministry of Home Affairs. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1878	Meiji 11		-.-: *Shibata Hanamori founds Jikkōsha (becomes *Jikkōkyō in 1882).
1879	Meiji 12	Nov 11: The various ranks for **shinkan* (priests) at shrines ranked as of municipal or prefectural level (*fusha* or *kensha*) or below are abolished (see also **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Dajōkan*	June 4: Tokyo *Shōkonsha renamed Yasukuni Shrine, made an "extraordinary imperial shrine" (*bekkaku kanpeisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) (*Dajōkan-tatsu*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: *Shishino Nakaba leads the movement to do away with Buddhist elements (*haibutsu kishaku*) from Mt. Fuji (see also **Shinbutsu Bunri* and **Shintō and Buddhism*).
	April 30: Honganji and its affiliated True Pure Land temples depart from the Taikyōin (eventually leading to demise of the Great Promulgation Campaign, see **Taikyō senpu*).
July 11: *Inō Hidenori dies (age 73).	
June 13: *Godaiin Mahashira dies (age 75).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		fukoku)	
			Sept -: *Hirayama Seisai creates Taisei Kyōkai and becomes its leader (becomes independent sect in 1882 with the name of Taiseikyō; see **Shintō Taiseikyō*). (*Seisai nenpu sōan*)
1880	Meiji 13	July 6: Regulations on preserving ancient shrines and temples set down.	July -: *Sano Tsunehiko establishes Shinri Kyōkai (**Shinrikyō*; the group becomes independent sect in 1894). (*Shinrikyōso onisshi*)
1881	Meiji 14	October 3: Bans imposed on conducting funerals and other rites at institutes of religious instruction (*kyōin*), religious meeting places (*kyōkaisho*), and mission halls (*sekkyōsho*), as well as on the act of people visiting such places for worship on a regular basis (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	February 23: Imperial command issued ordering that the **kami* to be venerated (see **Saijin*) at the main shrine buildings (*shaden*) of the *Shintō Jimukyoku be those venerated at the imperial palace's shrines, bringing a close to the so-called "pantheon dispute" (*saijin ronsō*).
			-.-: Yoshimura Masamochi founds Shintō Shinshū Kyōkai (see **Shinshūkyō*; the group becomes an independent Shintō sect in 1882).
1882	Meiji 15	Jan 23: Conditions settled on the possibility of constructing the buildings to be used for the major *kami* pacification rites (*shinchinsai*) of Shintō moral preceptors (*kyōdōshoku*, see **Taikyō Senpu*) as well as for performing funeral services for lay believers. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	April 30: Jingū Kōgakkan (**Kōgakkan University*) founded (*Jingū Kōgakkan 50-nen shi*).
		Jan 24: Priests from national and imperial shrines (**Shinkan*) prohibited from working concurrently as moral preceptors (*kyōdōshoku*, see **Taikyō Senpu*) (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	April -: The Department for the Study of Classical Culture (*Kōten kōkyūka*) breaks off from the *Shintō Jimukyoku (see **Kokugakuin University*). (*Kōten kōkyūjo 50-nen shi*)
			May 15: Shintō Jingūha (a

Personalities/Texts	Society
Oct 25: *Hirata Atsutane dies (age 82).	
June 1: *Hatano Takao dies (age 85).	April 26: Decision that, starting in 1883 (Meiji 16), the "official calendar" (*honreki*) and "abbreviated official calendar" (*ryakuhonreki*) will be distributed by the Grand Shrines of Ise (see **Jingūreki*). (*Dajōkan futatsu* [publicly posted administrative ruling])
-.-: Basil Hall Chamberlain's translation of **Kojiki* published as *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			precursor to *Jingūkyō), Shintō Taishaha (*Izumo Ōyashirokyō), Shintō Fusōha (*Fusōkyō), Shintō Jikkyōha (*Jikkōkyō), Shintō Taiseiha (*Shintō Taiseikyō), and Shintō Shinshūha (*Shinshūkyō) established as independent Shintō sects (see **Shintō-Derived Religions* and the entry in this chronology for Nov. 6, 1882). (*Tadasama kyōkai*, *Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			Aug 23: Center for the Study of Classical Culture (*Kōten kōkyūjo*) established (see **Kokugakuin University*). On Aug 30, decision made that licensing of priests (**Shinkan*) at prefectural and lower-ranked shrines will be limited to those individuals who can supply a graduation diploma from the Center, or documents certifying they have completed their graduation exams. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			Sept 28: Shintō *Ontakekyō breaks away from *Shintō Taiseikyō. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			Nov 6: Eight Shintō schools (excluding Shūseiha; see the entry here for May 15, 1882) submit applications to change the "*ha*" (school) in their names to "*kyō*" (sect). Applications approved the same day (see **Shinto-Derived Religions*). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			-.-: Kitajima Naganori establishes Izumo Kitajima Kyōkai as an entity separate from Izumo Taishakyō (see **Izumokyō*). (*Group documents*)
1883	Meiji 16	March 15: Conditions imposed on establishing churches, religious confraternities and	-.-: Kamigamo, Shimogamo, and Iwashimizu Hachiman shrines added to the list of shrines to

Personalities/Texts	Society
Jan 2: *Mozume Takayo dies (age 67).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		assemblies, and mission halls eased (individuals concerned now need only submit a report to the local government). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	which imperial envoys come to perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Daijōkan mugō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
1884	Meiji 17	July 7: Peerage System Ordinance set down.	May 19: Organization of offices at Ise Shrine established. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling] *bangai*)
		Aug 11: Moral preceptor (*kyōdōshoku*) system, which was open only to Buddhist and Shintō priests, abolished (see **Taikyō Senpu*). Decisions on the appointment and dismissal of temple and shrine chief priests and on promotions and the like for ordinary priests entrusted to the chief administrators (*kanchō*) of sects. Sects also made to set down their respective internal rules and regulations. (*Daijōkan futatsu* [publicly posted administrative ruling])	-.-: *Inaba Masakuni becomes the chief administrator (*kanchō*) of *Shintō Jimukyoku.
1885	Meiji 18		May 23: Shintō Konkō Kyōkai (**Konkōkyō*) founded. (*Group documents*)
			May 23: *Tenrikyō becomes a Class 6 religious organization affiliated with Shintō Honkyoku (**Shintō Taikyō*), thus finally achieving legal status. (*Tenrikyō jiten*)
			-.-: Kasuga Shrine becomes a shrine to which imperial envoys come to perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Daijōkan mugō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
1886	Meiji 19	March 18: Dealing with the expenses for routine shrine	Jan 11: *Shintō Jimukyoku reorganized as Shintō Honkyoku.

Personalities/Texts	Society
May6: *Furukawa Mitsura dies (age 74).	
July 20: *Iwakura Tomomi dies (age 59).	
Oct 10: *Konkōkyō founder Konkō Daijin dies (age 70).	
May 13: Shishino Nakaba, head of *Fusōkyō, dies (age 41).	March 15: Land Tax Law (*Chiso jōrei*). Grounds of prefectural shrines, grounds of village shrines, and grounds of **shōkonsha* (shines for memorializing the war dead) exempted from taxes (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*).
Aug 8: *Sawatari Hiromori dies (age 73).	-.-: This year, a "world-renewal" (*yonaoshi*) movement led by the Mi division of *Maruyamakyō emerges centered in Shizuoka Prefecture.
March 23: *Kamei Koremi dies (age 61).	Dec 22: The *Daijōkan*-based system of government is discontinued, replaced by a Cabinet-type system.
Jan 24: Prince *Arisugawa no Miya Takahito Shinnō dies (age 75).	July -: A divination game known as "Kokkuri-sama" becomes popular in Kyoto.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		business placed under jurisdiction of local governments. (*Ōkurashō-rei*)	After receiving "Shintō" as part of its sect name, it was treated as one of the independent sects of sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*; see also **Shintō-Derived Religions*).
1887	Meiji 20	Oct 13: Permission given to use the names of avatars (*gongen-gō*) at temples and at shrines ranked as imperial or national (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) and below. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	March 17: Title of **shinkan* for priests at national or imperial shrines (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) abolished. Title of **shinshoku* revived with various grades established. (*Kakurei*)
			March 30: Yasukuni Shrine removed from jurisdiction of Ministry of Home Affairs and placed under jurisdiction of the Army and Navy Ministries.
1888	Meiji 21	April 17: The use of shrine names in the names of devotional associations affiliated with Sect Shinto denominations (*kyōkai kōsha*) is prohibited (done to distinguish between such associations and those attached to specific shrines [*jinja kōsha*]) (*Shajikyoku tsūchō*).	April 10: Governor of Tokyo Prefecture grants recognition to the establishment of Shintō Tenri Kyōkai (**Tenrikyō*).
		April 25: City, Town and Village Regulations promulgated (shrines and temples exempted from municipal taxes; regulations also set down making Shintō priests (**shinkan*) ineligible to run for office). (*Hōritsu dai-1-gō*)	
1889	Meiji 22	Feb 11: Japanese Imperial Constitution promulgated. Imperial Household Law set down. House of Representatives Election Law promulgated (shrine priests	Oct 2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	(*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
Feb 16: *Yamaguchi Okinari dies (age 56).	-.-: Ministry of Home Affairs issues "secret orders" to police forces nationwide regarding *Tenrikyō.
March 5: *Kubo Sueshige dies (age 57).	
Feb 18: *Tenrikyō founder *Nakayama Miki dies (age 90).	
May 19: *Yano Harumichi dies (age 65).	
June 8: *Gonda Naosuke dies (age 79).	
Oct 3: *Hori Hidenari dies (age 69).	
June 12: *Nakayama Tadayasu dies (age 80).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		[*shinkan*], Buddhist priests and monks, and Christian priests deemed ineligible for office). (*Hōritsu dai-3-gō*)	
1890	Meiji 23	March 13: Specific priests assigned to shrines for the war dead (**shōkonsha*) and custodians (*kanshu*) posted to the graves. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	Nov 10: *Kokugakuin University founded out of its parent organization, the Center for the Study of Classical Culture (Kōten Kōkyūjo). (*Kōten Kōkyūjo 50-nenshi*; *Kokugakuin Daigaku 70-nenshi*)
		May 17: Prefectural Code (*Fukensei*) promulgated. Shintō and Buddhists priests deemed ineligible to run for prefectural assembly offices. (*Hōritsu 35-gō*)	
1891	Meiji 24		Nov 5: Army Ministry enshrines 1,277 individuals as martyrs of "Restoration-related matters of state" (*Ishin kokuji*) at Yasukuni Shrine (see also **Shōkonsha*). (*Daijōkan fukoku*)
1892	Meiji 25	March 17: Standards required for serving as a priest (**Shinkan*) at shrines of prefectural rank or lower produced (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Naimushō kunrei*)	Sept 27: Yoshino Shrine constructed. The deity venerated (**Saijin*) is Emperor Go-Daigo. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
1893	Meiji 26	Aug 12: Ministry of Education selects music and lyrics to be used at ceremonies on holidays and at school festivals, and announces it in official gazette (eight songs, including "Kimigayo," which at the time of writing is still Japan's national anthem).	
1894	Meiji 27	Feb 6: Warning issued that	Oct 20: *Shinrikyō declares its

Personalities/Texts	Society
March 18: Sakata Kaneyasu of Shintō *Misogikyō (related to, but distinct from, the present-day **Shintō Misogikyō*) dies (age 69).	Oct 30: Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo*) promulgated.
May 9: Watanabe Shigeharu dies (age 60) (see **Watanabe Ikarimaru*).	
May 22: Taiseikyō (see **Shintō Taiseikyō*) founder *Hirayama Seisai dies (age 76).	
July 11: Shintō *Jikkōkyō founder *Shibata Hanamori dies (age 81). (*Group documents*)	
Jan 22: *Motoda Nagazane dies (age 74).	
Oct 25: Prince *Kuni no Miya Tomoyoshi Shinnō dies (age 68).	
Dec 11: *Aoyama Kagemichi dies (age 73).	
Nov 14: *Yamada Akiyoshi dies (age 45).	March 4: Tokyo Imperial University Professor *Kume Kunitake is criticized by Shintō priests and others and loses his job for publishing his essay *Shintō wa saiten no kozoku* ("Shintō: The Outdated Custom of Worshipping the Heavens"). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
March 7: *Izumokyō founder Kitajima Naganori dies. (*Group documents*)	
Aug 6: *Matsuno Isao dies (age 42).	
Oct 26: *Urata Nagatami dies (age 54).	
March 30: *Maruyamakyō founder Itō	Aug 1: Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		priests and monks should not take advantage of religious beliefs to involve themselves in Lower House elections. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	independence from *Ontakekyō. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
		Feb 27: Government appoints priests (**Shinshoku*) to shrines ranked prefectural level and below. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	Oct 20: *Misogikyō declared independent from *Shintō Honkyoku. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
		Sept 28: Sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*, see **Shintō-Derived Religions*) priests are forbidden from conducting festivals at shrines at the request of representatives (**Sōdai*) of a shrine's parishioners (**Ujiko*) or others. (*Shajikyoku tsūchō*)	
1895	Meiji 28	May 30: Orders issued to the effect that standards for approving priests should be included in the regulations and systems of Shintō and Buddhist sects. Order accompanied by model standards. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	March 15: Heian Shrine built to commemorate the 1,100th anniversary of 'Japan's capital being relocated to Heian-kyō (Kyōto). Enshrinement ceremony held the same day, with Emperor Kammu as the enshrined deity (**Saijin*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*). *Jidai-matsuri* ("festival of the ages") created and first held that October.
1896	Meiji 29	April 29: Volumes 1, 2, and 3 of the Meiji Civil Code promulgated. Volume 2 includes regulations for religion-related juridical persons.	Nov 4: Major imperial shrine (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) Niukawakami Shrine separated into mountain-side or upper (*kamisha*) and townside or lower shrine (*shimosha*) complexes. (*Naimushōkoku*)
		June 23: Notification issued limiting each household of shrine parishioners (**Ujiko*) to a single shrine. (*Shajikyokuchō kaitō*)	Nov 28: Ise Shrine Office (*Jingū shichō*) system established. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])
1897	Meiji 30		
1898	Meiji 31	Feb 22: Ministry of Home	-.-: Hilo Shrine established in

Personalities/Texts	Society
Rokurobei dies (age 66). (*Shinshūkyō kenkyū chōsa handobukku*)	begins.
July 3: *Mikannagi Kiyonao dies (age 83).	-.-: Anti-*Renmonkyō campaign begun by *Yorozu chōhō*, Japan's largest newspaper at the time. (*Renmonkyō suibōshi*)
March 17: *Inoue Kowashi dies (age 53).	April 17: Treaty of Shimonoseki (Sino-Japanese peace treaty) signed (China forced to cede the Liaodong Peninsula and pay a 200-million gold *tael* indemnity).
Sept 1: *Shintō Shinshinkyō founder Adachi Tajūrō dies (*Omichi no shiori*).	
Nov 8: Grand Shrine Administration Office (*Jingū shichō*) begins publishing *Koji ruien* [Encyclopedia of ancient matters].	
-.-: *Shin Kokugaku* published (see **Shinkokugaku*).	
-.-: W. G. Aston publishes English translation of **Nihon shoki* as *The Chronicles of Japan*.	
April 10: *Tanaka Yoritsune dies (age 62).	
July 15: *Inaba Masakuni dies (age 65).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Affairs issues notice banning proselytization at shrines by religionists associated with sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*, see **Shintō-Derived Religions*) and Buddhism. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)	Hawaii (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Hawaii nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genjō*)
		July 16: Meiji Civil Code goes into effect.	
1899	Meiji 32	July 27: Ministry of Home Affairs sets down regulations on the dissemination efforts of non-Buddhist and non-Shintō religions, as well as on the construction, relocation, and razing of their temples and halls of worship. (*Naimushō rei*)	Aug 1: *Deguchi Onisaburō and *Deguchi Nao found Kinmei Reigakukai as the affiliate of an Inari confraternity (*Inari kōsha*) (see also **Inari Shinkō*). (*Ōmoto 70-nenshi*)
		Aug 3: Ban on conducting ceremonies or offering education of a religious nature in government-sanctioned schools on grounds that general education is defined as separate from religion. (*Monbushō kunrei*)	Sept 5: *Jingūkyō dissolved and reorganized to become Jingū Hōsaikai, changing its legal status from service organization to foundation. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
1900	Meiji 33	March 10: Public Order and Police Law promulgated. Shintō and Buddhist priests prohibited from joining political associations. (*Hōritsu 36-gō*)	June 16: *Konkōkyō severs its affiliation with Shintō Honkyoku to become an independent sect (see also **Shintō Jimukyoku*). (*Konkōkyō nenpyō*)
		March 29: Revised House of Representatives election law promulgated. Shintō ritualists, Buddhist and Shintō priests, and religionists from other faiths not eligible for election to office. (*Hōritsu 73-gō*)	Sep 18: Taiwan Shrine built and added to list of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system* and also **Modern and contemporary Shintō*). (*Naimushō kokuji*)
		April 26: Home Affairs Ministry reorganized. Bureau of Shrines and Temples becomes Religious Affairs Bureau and Bureau of Shrines created. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	-.-: Takeuchi Kiyomaro founds an *Ontakekyō center in Amatsu (origins of a group that in 1952 will become the new religion *Kōso Kōtai Jingū Amatsukyō. (*Kokka shintō ni appaku sareta shinshūkyō*)
		Aug 1: Regulations set down on the creation of juridical persons whose purpose is to disseminate religion or conduct rites of a	

Personalities/Texts	Society
(*Meiji Hyakunen nen to Shintō taikyō*)	
Jan 26: *Kurita Hiroshi dies (age 65).	
Aug 19: *Maruyama Sakura dies (age 60).	
Aug 26: *Iida Takesato dies (age 74).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		religious nature. (*Naimushō rei*)	
1901	Meiji 34		March 3: The "Section for the Correct Practice of National Rituals" of the Jingū Service Foundation (*Jingū hōsankai kokurei shugyōbu*) conducts a simulated **shinzenkekkon* ("marriage in the presence of the gods") ceremony at the Tokyo Grand Shrine (*Tōkyō Daijingū*).
1902	Meiji 35		
1904	Meiji 37	Sept 28: Religionists from all "sectarian Shintō" (*kyōha Shintō*, see **Shintō-derived religions*) organizations prohibited from conducting rites at shrines (see also **State Shintō*). (*Shūkyōkyoku tsūchō*)	April 1: Kokugakuin (**Kokugakuin University*) elevated to status of *senmon gakkō* (defined in the Meiji educational system as a specialized higher education institution providing at least three years of schooling; Kokugakuin's name and organizational status will be changed in 1906 to *Shiritsu Kokugakuin daigaku* [Kokugakuin private university]).
		-.-: Jingū Kogakkan (**Kōgakkan University*) becomes a *kanritsu senmon gakkō* (defined in the Meiji educational system as a government-operated, specialized higher education institution providing at least three years of schooling) under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Afairs.	-.-: Jingū Service Foundation (*Jingū hōsankai*) opens a "supporters office" (*sanseiin jimusho*) in Hawaii (eventually becomes Hawaii Grand Shrine). (*Hawai nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genjō*)
1905	Meiji 38	April 7: Funding for national shrines (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*) set. (*Hōritsu 24-gō*)	
		April 30: Statute on giving food (*shinsen*) and other offerings (**Heihaku*) at shrines ranked prefectural shrine and lower. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
1906	Meiji 39	Aug 14: Notice concerning shrine and temple mergers and	-.-: *Kawatsura Bonji founds Dainippon Sekaikyō Miitsukai.

Personalities/Texts	Society
Oct 10: *Kashima Noribumi dies (age 63).	
Jan 30: *Shikida Toshiharu dies (age 86).	Jan 30: Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed.
Nov 25: *Shintō Shūseiha founder Nitta Kuniteru dies (age 74).	
Feb 13: *Renmonkyō founder Shimamura Mitsu dies (age 63). (*Renmonkyō suibōshi*)	Feb 10: Russo-Japanese War breaks out.
March 2: *Miyaji Shinsendō founder Miyaji Kakiwa (religious name Suii Taireiju Shinjin) dies (age 53).	Aug 22: First Japan-Korea Protocol signed.
June 18: *Ōtori Sessō dies (age 91).	
Dec 17: *Matsuoka Mitsugi dies (age 75).	
-.-: W. G. Aston produces his work, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods*.	Sept 5: Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty signed.
	Nov 17: Second Japan-Korea Protocol signed (Japan takes control of Korea's foreign relations and a resident-general is posted to Keijō [colonial-era name for Seoul] as representative of the Japanese government).
Feb 21: Aoyama Naomichi (see **Aoyama Kagemichi*) dies (age 61).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		the transfer of land from consolidated shrines (with this the merger and elimination of shrines begins in earnest). (*Jinja shūkyō kyoku kyokuchō tsūchō*)	
			-.-: Miyaō Katsuyoshi founds a provisional mission for Izumo Taishaden (see **Izumo Ōyashirokyō*) in Hawaii. (*Hawai nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genjō*)
1907	Meiji 40	April 24: Meiji Criminal Code promulgated (carries over from old criminal code provisions for lese majesty offenses with respect to the imperial family and Ise Shrine).	12.-: Mizuno Fusa founds Konshō Kyōkai (see **Kannagarakyō*).
		June 29: Code of conduct for performing shrine festivals promulgated. (*Naimushō kokuji*)	
1908	Meiji 41	Sept 19: Ordinance on Imperial Household Ceremonies promulgated.	Nov 28: Shintō Tenri Kyōkai separates from *Shintō Honkyoku to become independent sect, and changes name to *Tenrikyō. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
1909	Meiji 42		Oct 2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1910	Meiji 43		July 29: The Karafuto Agency (Karafuto-chō, Japan's local colonial administration entity) grants permission for the first Shintō shrine to be built in the territory. Karafuto Shrine is built in Yuzhno Sakhalinsk (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). Aug -: Shrine added to list of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*). (*Shintō jiten*; *Karafutochō shisei sanjū-nen shi*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
Oct 16: *Shinrikyō founder *Sano Tsunehiko dies (age 73). (*Shinri*)	
June 9: Iburi Izō of *Tenrikyō, regarded as the "*honzeki*" ("true mediator") of the group's founder Nakayama Miki, dies (age 73). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)	July 24: Third Japan-Korea Protocol signed (effects include the internal administration of Korea being placed under control of resident-general and civil service positions being filled with Japanese).
Aug 14: *Fukuba Yoshishizu dies (age 77).	
-.-: Kokugakuin (**Kokugakuin University*) alumni association magazine *Dōsō* begins publishing under its new name, **Shinkokugaku*.	
	Feb 11: Regulations Governing the Accession to the Throne (*Tōkyokurei*) promulgated. (*Kōshitsurei*)
	June 11: Edict on Imperial Household Mourning (*Kōshitsu fukumo-rei*) promulgated. (*Kōshitsurei*)
	May -: The High Treason Incident (*Taigyaku jiken*, an attempt by anarchists on the Meiji Emperor's life) takes place.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1911	Meiji 44		July -: Tanaka Morihei founds Tokyo Reirigakkai (see **Taireidō*).
			-.-: *Kurozumikyō begins proselytization activities in Manchuria. (*Minami Manshū ni okeru shūkyō gaikan*)
			-.-: *Tenrikyō creates churches in Dalian and Andong. (*Minami Manshū ni okeru shūkyō gaikan*)
1912	Taishō 1		Feb 25: Home Minister Hara Takashi invites representatives of Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian denominations to conference aimed at aligning religions with state objectives (the so-called *Sankyō kaidō*, or "Meeting of the Three Religions").
1913	Taishō 2	April 21: Notice promulgated regarding the venerated deities (**Saijin*), shrine names, shrine ranks, account ledgers (*meisaichō*), shrine compounds (**Keidaichi*), founding, relocation, consolidation, pilgrimages (*sanpai*), visits (*haikan*), donations, confraternities, and talismans at all shrines from national rank (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*) on done (the notice serves to annul 75 previously issued regulations). (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
		June 13: Ministry of Home Affairs' Religious Affairs Section transferred to the Ministry of Education (complete separation of religious administrative matters from Shintō shrine administrative matters). (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
1914	Taishō 3	Jan 26: Promulgation of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Aug 22: Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty signed.
	Sept 14: Mifune Chizuko creates a sensation with her alleged ability of clairvoyance. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
Nov 16: *Tanimori Yoshiomi dies (age 95).	Aug 21: Special Higher Police unit established in Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department.
	July 30: The Meiji Emperor (Emperor Mutsuhito) dies (age 61). Era name changed to Taishō.
April 11: *Ōishigori Masumi dies (age 82).	
	Aug 23: Japan declares war on Germany

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Ordinance on religious functions relating to the Grand Shrine (*Jingū saishi rei*) and of Ordinance on religious functions relating to shrines ranked national shrine and below (*Kankoku heisha ika jinja saishi rei*). (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
		March 27: Promulgation of rites at shrines ranked national shrine and below (*Kankoku heisha ika jinja saishiki*). (*Naimushō rei*)	
1915	Taishō 4	June 11: Notice promulgated regarding oversight of movements to promote the rank of Shintō shrines (*Jinja shōkaku undō torishimari ni kansuru ken*). (*Hatsu sha dai-49-gō*)	April -: "Bureau for the construction of Meiji Shrine" (*Meiji jingū zōeikyoku*) created.
		Aug 16: Promulgation of regulations on proselytizing in Korea. (*Chōsen sōtokufu rei*)	
		Aug 20: Promulgation of regulations on Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples in Korea. (*Chōsen sōtokufu rei*)	
		Nov 14: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Taishō.	
1916	Taishō 5		June -: Taireidō Hon'in ("main temple of *Taireidō") built. (*Reijutsuka no kyōen*)
1917	Taishō 6	March 22: Provisions established concerning the establishment of shrines (*shashi*) in Korea. (*Chōsen sōtoku rei*)	-.-: Atsuta Shrine, Izumo Shrine, and Kashihara Shrine designated shrines where an imperial envoy will perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Kunai-daijin kanbō bunsho-ka ku-hatsu*)
1918	Taishō 7	March -: Kwantung Agency(Kantō-chō, Japan's local colonial administration entity) drafts regulations for shrines and temples as a government ordinance to consolidate the administration of shrines and temples in Manchuria and to clarify jurisdiction. (*Minami-Manshū*	Jan 23: Otokoyama Hachiman Shrine, ranked as a major imperial shrine (*kanpeisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*), renamed Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	(enters the First World War).
Jan 21: *Shinshūkyō founder *Yoshimura Masamochi dies (age 76).	
July 4: *Inoue Yorikuni dies (age 76).	
-.-: *Watanabe Ikarimaru dies (age 79).	
June 24: *Kawai Kiyomaru dies (age 70).	
Jan 3: *Izumo Ōyashirokyō founder Senge Takatomi dies (age 74).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		ni okeru shūkyō gaikan).	
1919	Taishō 8		July 16: Fukada Chiyoko launches *Ennōkyō in Osaka. (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)
			Aug 7: Matsushita Matsuzō founds *Soshindō. (*Hito no michi*)
1920	Taishō 9	July 31: Income tax law promulgated (no income tax to be imposed on those juridical persons established under the provisions of Civil Law 34 on Shrines, Temples, and Related Structures [*Jinja, jiin, shi'u, butsudō-nado minpō dai-34-gō*]).	Feb 7: Tomokiyo Yoshisane founds Kakushinkai (later renamed *Shindō Tenkōkyo). (Group documents)
		Oct 29: Meiji Shrine selected as shrine where an imperial envoy will perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*) and its annual festival established. (*Naimushōrei*)	April 15: Status of Kokugakuin (**Kokugakuin University*) raised under the University Ordinance (*Daigakurei*) to university.
		Dec -: Karafuto Agency (Karafuto-chō, Japan's local colonial administration entity) sets down laws regulating shrines in Sakhalin government ordinance 48 (*chōrei 48-gō*) as well as regulations for temples and on proselytizing in .Sakhalin government ordinances 49 (*chōrei 49-gō*) and 50 (*chōrei 50-gō*). (*Karafuto-chō shisetsu 30-nen shi*)	
1921	Taishō 10		
1922	Taishō 11	March -: Regulations promulgated in Okinawa regarding surveillance at houses of worship (known in Okinawa as *uganju*) and regarding Shintō shrines, Buddhist temples, and Christian churches. (*Bukkyōshi*	Oct 13: Aritōshi Shrine in Nara Prefecture designated major imperial shrine (*kanpeisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*) and renamed Niukawakami Shrine (known today also as Nakasha, or Naka Shrine).

Personalities/Texts	Society
June 16: *Miyaji Izuo dies (age 72).	
Nov 6: *Deguchi Nao dies (age 83).	
Dec 15: *Tsunoda Tadayuki dies (age 85).	
-.-: Society for Promotion of Shintō (*Shintō sen'yō-kai*) begins publishing *Shintō* magazine.	
	Feb 12: First *Ōmoto Incident (*Ōmoto jiken*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		nenpyō)	
1923	Taishō 12	Nov 10: Imperial Rescript to Promote the National Spirit (*Kokumin seishin sakkō ni kansuru shōsho*) issued.	-.-: Osaka Kokugakuin opens Naniwa Middle School (see also **Shrine priest training institutes*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryōshū*)
1924	Taishō 13		Feb 11: Miki Tokuharu establishes Tokumitsukyō Great Church Headquarters of Ontakekyō (*Ontakekyō Tokumitsukyō Daikyōkai Honbu*) (see **Perfect Liberty Kyōdan* and also **Ontakekyō*). (*Pāfekuto Ribati kyōdan ryakunenpyō*)
1925	Taishō 14	-.-: Usa Shrine and Kashii Shrine are designated shrines where an imperial envoy will perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Shikibusō dai-263-gō Kunai-daijin tsūchō*).	Oct 15: Chōsen Shrine in Seoul (then named Keijō by Japan's colonial government) elevated to status of imperial shrine (signified by name change from Chōsen Jinja to Chōsen Jingū) and enshrinement festival (*chinzasai*) held (see "Shintō:s Overseas Advance" in **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
1926	Shōwa 1	May 13: Regulations promulgated to create the Religion Policy Investigation Committee (*Shūkyō seido chōsa kai*) (opposition intensifies among religious groups, who oppose committee's formation on the grounds that it constitutes state interference with religious freedom) (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō* and **State Shintō*). (*Chokurei*)	
1927	Shōwa 2	March 4: With the change to the Shōwa era, the national holiday schedule is altered to add other imperial festival days (*saijitsu shukujitsu*, events that include **Kannamesai* and **Niiname sai*) to go with *Kigensetsu and the other major imperial holidays (see	-.-: Tomokiyo Yoshizane founds *Shindō Tenkōkyo.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Sept 1: Great Kantō Earthquake occurs.
Feb 13: *Sugiura Jūgō dies (age 70).	June 25: In response to an appeal from the Shintō Promotion Society (*Shintō senyokai*),Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian representatives join together to found the Japan Inter-Religious Cooperation Society (*Nihon shukyō konwa kai*).
Jan 6: *Ennōkyō founder Fukada Chiyoko dies (age 37). (*Ennōkyō rikkyō 50-shūnen kinenshi*)	March 2: House of Representatives amends and passes General Election Law (the change gives all males right to vote).
	March 7: House of Representatives amends and passes Peace Preservation Law. April 22: Law goes into force. (*Hōritsu dai-46-gō*)
-.-: *Tanaka Yoshitō founds the Shintō Studies Association (*Shintō gakkai*) and begins publishing *Journal of Shintō Studies* (*Shintōgaku zasshi*).	Dec 25: Emperor Yoshihito (the Taishō emperor) dies (age 48). Era name changed to Shōwa.
Feb 6: *Haga Yaichi dies (age 61).	March 15: Financial crisis of 1927 begins.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		also **Shidaisetsu* and the following chronology entry). (*Chokurei*)	
		-.-: Emperor Meiji's birthday is made a national holiday (**Meiji setsu*; see also the previous chronology entry).	
1928	Shōwa 3	Nov 14: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito).	-.-: Hayashi Shikō founds *Kikueikai Kyōdan. (*Shinshūkyō yōran*)
1929	Shōwa 4	Sept 10: Ministry of Education begins a campaign to mobilize indoctrination (*kyōka dōin*) and issues directive to all schools on same aimed at clarifying how the concept of **kokutai* is taught (*Kokutai kannen meichō*) and .promoting the national spirit (*Kokumin seishin sakkō*) (see also **History (Modern) research*).	Jan 5: Tazawa Seishirō founds Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama-kai (see **Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama*). (*Yamatoyama*)
			Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (see **Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
1930	Shōwa 5		March 1: Taniguchi Masaharu founds *Seichō no Ie. (*Shin-shūkyō jiten*)
1931	Shōwa 6		-.-: Kumazaki Ken'ō founds Chūshindō (see **Chūshinkai*).
1932	Shōwa 7	Dec 2: Memorandum on the interpretation of the (Meiji-era) directive establishing general education as being, independent of religion ("*Ippan no kyōiku o shūkyō igai ni tokuritu seshimuru-saku" kaishaku ni kansuru ken*) (On the new	

Personalities/Texts	Society
June 23: *Mozume Takami dies (age 82).	March 15: Mass arrest of communist party members nationwide (March 15 Incident). More mass arrests take place in1930.
Dec 17: *Taireidō founder Tanaka Morihei dies (age 44). (*Reijutsuka no kyōen*)	
Feb 23: *Kawatsura Bonji dies (age 68).	
July -: *Orikuchi Shinobu, *Kindaichi Kyōsuke, and others found the Minzoku gakkai (Folklore Society) and begin publishing *Minzokugaku* (Folklore studies).	
Dec 10: *Aoto Namie dies (age 73).	
-.-: Prince *Kuni no Miya Kuniyoshi Ō dies (age 57).	
	Feb 26: Mass arrest of communist party members nationwide.
	-.-: Great Depression extends to Japan this year ("Shōwa Panic").
February 24: *Kume Kunitake dies (age 93).	Sept 18: Mukden Incident occurs. The following March 1, Japan proclaims the founding of a new country, Manchukuo.
-.-: *Tanaka Yoshitō begins publishing *Shintō seinen*.	
Oct 21: *Honaga Mosuke dies (age 52).	Aug 23: Research Institute for National Spirit and Culture (*Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyūjo*) established. (*Chokurei*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		interpretation on "acknowledging the importance of religious sentiment in education"). (*Shūkyōkyoku fūtsū gakumukyoku tsūchō Hatsu shū102 gō*)	
1933	Shōwa 8		
1935	Shōwa 10	Nov 28: Education Ministry issues "Points of concern related to the cultivation of religious sensibility" (*Shūkyōteki jōsō no kan'yō ni kansuru ryū'i jikō*; document stresses the importance of cultivating religious sentiment in education). (*Monbushō jikan fūtsū tsūchō hatsu*)	Jan 1: Okada Mokichi founds Dainihon Kannonkai (the group known at present as **Sekai Kyūseikyō*). (Group documents)
1936	Shōwa 11	June 6: Foreign Ministry issues regulations on shrines in Manchukuo and occupied China (*Zai-Manshūkoku oyobi Chūkaminkoku jinja kisoku*). (*Gaimushōrei*)	July -: Onikura Taruhiko establishes Kōdō Saishūkai ("Association for venerating the imperial way") (registered as a religious corporation in 1946 under the name **Sumerakyō*, written in Chinese characters; group changes name in 1947, now rendering it in phonetic Japanese characters). (*Group documents*)
1937	Shōwa 12	July 15: Ministry of Education requests that the leaders of religious and moral suasion (*kyōka*) organizations launch a national unity movement (*kyokoku itchi undō*).	
		July 21: Ministry of Education's Thought Control Bureau (*Shisōkyoku*) expanded, reestablished as the Education	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	March 27: Japan withdraws from the League of Nations.
	Feb 18: At House of Peers, Kikuchi Takeo attacks Minobe Tatsukichi 's "Organ Theory" of the constitution, which posited the emperor to be an organ of the state.
	March 23: House of Representatives approves a resolution regarding "clarification of the **kokutai*."
	Dec 8: Second *Ōmoto Incident occurrs.
	Feb 26: The February 26 Incident—an attempted coup d'état—takes place in Japan.
	March 12: Ministry of Home Affairs orders the dissolution of *Ōmoto-kyō.
	Sept 28: Osaka Special Higher Police arrest Miki Tokuharu, founder of Hitonomichi Kyōdan (later to become **Perfect Liberty Kyōdan*), on criminal charges.
May 24: Ōmiwakyō founder Sako Kan dies (age 59). (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)	July 7: Japanese and Chinese forces clash at Marco Polo Bridge in the middle of the night (Sino-Japanese War begins).
-.-: Ministry of Education publishes **Kokutai no hongi* (Essentials of the national polity) (see **History (Modern) research*).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Bureau (*Kyōgakukyoku*).	
1938	Shōwa 13		May 1: Emperor Kōmei (father of the Meiji Emperor) enshrined at Heian Shrine.
			May 1: Ōmi Shrine (with Emperor Tenji as its enshrined deity [**Saijin*]) is founded and included among the ranks of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*).
			June 1: Kwangtung Shrine (with the Meiji Emperor and *Amaterasu ōmikami as its enshrined deities [**Saijin*]) built in Lüshun, Kwangtung Province, and added to the ranks of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system* and also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*).
1939	Shōwa 14	March 15: Shrines for appeasing the spirits of the war dead (**Shōkonsha*) renamed "shrines for protecting the nation" (**Gokoku jinja*). (*Naimushōrei*)	Aug 23: Kuramoto Ito founds *Tenjōkyō Hon'in. (*Shinshūren sōran*)
		April 8: Religious Organizations Law promulgated.	
1940	Shōwa 15	March 30: Internal structure of Ministry of Education reformed (posts of "religious affairs official" [*shūmukan*] and "religious affairs deputy" [*shūmukanho*] created in Ministry of Education, charged with conducting investigations and research on religious doctrine and rites as well as providing guidance to organizations related to religion). (*Chokurei*)	Feb 11: Nan'yō ("south seas") Shrine established in Palau (see *Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). Assigned rank of imperial shrine (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*).
		Nov 9: Promulgation of regulations creating the *Jingiin (**Jinjakyoku* abolished). (*Chokurei*)	March 28: Shintō Honkyoku changes name to *Shintō Taikyō.

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: Ueda Kazutoshi dies (age 71).	
July 6: Hitonomichi Kyōdan founder Miki Tokuharu dies (age 67) (*Pāfekuto ribati kyōdan ryakunenpyō*) (see **Perfect Liberty Kyōdan*).	April 1: National Mobilization Law promulgated.
	Nov 21: Ōnishi Aijirō and associates arrested (second Tenri *Honmichi lèse majesté incident). (*Shinshūkyō kenkyūchōsa handobukku*)
	Dec 26: Governor-General of Korea issues notice regarding the names of Koreans (forces Koreans to adopt Japanese style names).
Feb 10: Publication of Tsuda Sōkichi's *Kojiiki to Nihon shoki no kenkyō* banned. Prohibition extended on Feb 12 to three of his works (see **History (Modern) Research*).	Oct 21: Ceremony held to launch the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Nov 16: Memorandum regarding how to handle the social status of the leaders of Shintō and Buddhist sects and administrators of other religious groups (*Kanchō oyobi kyōdan tōrisha mibun toriatsukaikata no ken*) issued. (*Kunai daijin tsūchō kuhatsu*)	April 24: Status of Jingū Kōgakkan raised to that of university (see **Kōgakkan University*). (*Chokurei*)
1941	Shōwa 16	-.-: This year, Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian religious groups respectively are consolidated into 13 sectarian Shinto (*kyōha Shintō*) groups, 28 Buddhist sects, and 2 Christian organizations.	
1942	Shōwa 17	Nov 1: Organizational structure of Ministry of Education revamped (Religious Affairs Bureau abolished; Bureau of Moral Suasion ([*Kyōkakyoku*) created, incorporating a Religious Affairs Section). (*Chokurei*)	Jan 4: Katori and Kashima shrines—located in Ibaraki Prefecture, both belong to the category of shrines ranked to receive imperial offerings (*kanpei taisha*)—designated shrines for the holding of "emperor-mandated rites" (**Chokusai*; see also **Modern shrine ranking system*).
			April 2: Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian, and Muslim groups form Religious Federation for Asian Prosperity (*Kō-A Shūkyō Dōmei*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
1943	Shōwa 18	Nov 1: Organizational structure of Ministry of Education revamped (Bureau of Moral Suasion [*Kyōkakyoku*] abolished; Indoctrination Bureau [*Kyōgakukyoku*] created, incorporating a Religious Affairs Section). (*Chokurei*)	
1944	Shōwa 19	Jan 27: Committee on Religious Moral Suasion Policy (*Shūkyō kyōka hōsaku iinkai*) created. (*Chokurei*).	Jan 17: Aida Hide founds Sekai Shindōkai (see **Sekai Shindōkyō*). (Group documents)

Personalities/Texts	Society
Nov 8: *Ōkanmichi founder Yamada Umejirō dies (age 66). (*Shūkyō rinri to nengen hyō*)	March 10: Peace Preservation Law revised.
	Dec 8: Imperial proclamation issued declaring war on the U.S and the U.K. Japan attacks Pearl Harbor. U.S. and U.K. declare war following the attack.
	June 20: Sōka Gakkai suppressed (Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, Toda Jōsei, and other leaders arrested). (*Nihon Kindai sōgō nenpyō*)
March 7: *Makoto no Michikyō founder Matsumoto Jōtarō dies (age 62). (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)	June 26: Seventh Day Adventist Church dissolved.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Aug 28: Home Minister Ōdachi Shigeo issues directive for all Shinto priests to pray for the destruction of the enemy (the *Dai-Nihon Jingikai* [see **Modern and Contemporary Shinto*] instructs priests to pray throughout the night to daybreak). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)	
1945	Shōwa 20	May 12: Imperial rescript issued calling for festivals to be held at shrines of all ranks including imperial and national shrines (*kanpeisha* and *kokuheisha*; see **Modern shrine ranking system*) so that prayers may be offered for victory in the war. (*Chokurei*)	Aug 12: Kitamura Sayo founds *Tenshō Kōtaijinkyō in Tabuse Town, Yamaguchi Prefecture. (*Seisho dai-1 kan)*
		Oct 4: The General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) issues directive removing restrictions on political, civil, and religious liberties.	Sep 19: Heads of Shintō and Buddhist sects and administrators of other religious groups convene to approve the "Outline for the Practice of Religious Edification for the Reconstruction of Japan" (*Nihon saiken shūkyō kyōka jissen yōkō*). (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)
		Oct 8: John Carter Vincent—director of the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs and chairman of State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee—declares in a Washington radio broadcast that *State Shintō would be abolished. (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)	Nov 22: Foreign Ministry proclamation abolishes imperial-ranked Kwantung (in Dalian, China) and Nan'yō (in Palau) shrines. Home Affairs Ministry proclamation abolishes 16 shrines, including imperial-ranked Karafuto Shrine in Sakhalin (see also **Modern and contemporary Shintō*). (*Gaimushō kokuji dai 11 gō; Naimushō kokuji 264 gō*)
		Oct 15: Peace Presevation Law and other ordinances repealed by imperial rescript. (*Chokurei*)	
		Oct 15: Ministry of Education abolishes Indoctrination Bureau (*Kyōgakukyoku*), and creates Religious Affairs Section (*Shūkyōka*) created in the Social	

Personalities/Texts	Society
Sept 11: *Imaizumi Sadasuke dies (age 82).	Sept 30: The Great Japan Wartime Religious Patriotic Association (*Dainippon senji shūkyō hōkokukai*) founded by approximately 300,000 Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian clergy. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Yamamoto Nobuki dies (age 72).	
Sep 25: *Saeki Ariyoshi dies (age 79).	Aug 6: Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Another is dropped Aug. 9 on Nagasaki.
	Aug 15: Emperor's speech broadcast at noon that brings the Pacific War to an end (*Gyokuon hōsō*, literally, "the broadcast of the jewel voice").

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Education Bureau (*Shakai kyōiku kyoku*). (*Chokurei*)	
		Nov 17: Institute of Divinities (**Jingiin*) representative declares at final meeting of the Shrine System Investigation Committee (*Jinja seido chōsa kai*) the intent to treat "shrines as religion" (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō* and **Problems of religion and government*). (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)	
		Nov 28: SCAP creates Religions Division in its Civil Information and Education Section. (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)	
		Dec 25: SCAP issues its Shinto Directive (**Shintō shirei*).	
		Dec 28: An imperial rescript revokes the *Religious Organizations Law, the enforcement order for said law, the law on registering religious organizations, and an imperial rescript (*Chokurei 460-gō*) of July 1940 exempting shrines from land taxes. (*Chokurei*) Same date: *Religious Corporations Ordinance (*Shūkyō hōjin rei*) promulgated and implementing regulations enacted. (*Chokurei*; *Shihō Monbushō rei*)	
1946	Shōwa 21	Jan 31: Imperial rescript issued on restructuring Ministry of Home Affairs, abolishing Institute of Divinities (**Jingiin*) and the Shrine System Investigation Committee (*Jinja seido chōsa kai*; see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Chokurei*)	Jan 23: Institute for the Study of the Imperial Classics (*Kōten Kōkyūsho*) and two other organizations dissolved (*Shūmu jihō*). (See **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*, **Jinja Honchō*, and also **Kokugakuin University*)
		Feb 2: Amendment to the *Religious Corporations Ordinance promulgated; shrines to now be treated the same as other religious corporations.	Feb 3: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) founded as religious corporation. (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
March 4: *Tanaka Yoshitō dies (age 75).	Jan 1: The emperor delivers his "Declaration of Humanity" (*Ningen sengen*) and renounces his divinity in his New Year's address.
-.-: *Yanagita Kunio publishes *Shin-kokugaku dan* and *Saijitsu kō*.	Jan 4: SCAP issues decree barring militarists from the civil service and dissolving 27 ultranationalist groups.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Feb 2: Institute of Divinities (*Jingiin*) abolished.	Feb 7: *Ōmoto revived as Aizen‘en (Garden of Righteous Love). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
		March 11: Religious Affairs Section created in the Ministry of Education’s Social Education Bureau. (*Kanpō*)	March -: Sakuma Nikkō establishes *Hi no Oshie (registered as religious organization in 1952).
		March 30: Religious Affairs Section removed from Social Education Bureau, placed in Ministry of Education’s Secretariat. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])	May 3: Fujita Nobuhiko leaves *Shinrikyō to found *Seikōkyō.
			June 2: Shintō Kyōha Rengōkai (Federation of Shintō Sects) inaugurated (see **Kyōha Shintō Rengōkai*). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			Aug 27: Miki Tokuharu establishes *Perfect Liberty Kyōdan.
			Nov 6: SCAP again prohibits the practice of assessing people for the cost of conducting shrine festivals (see also **Problems of religion and government*). (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)
			Nov 30: *Tenchikyō becomes an independent group registered under the *Religious Corporations Ordinance.
			Nov -: *Jinja Honchō (Association of Shinto Shrines) establishes a "Department of Doctrine" (*Kyōkaka*).
			-.-: Hashimoto Satomi persuades Tokumitsu Daikyōkai to break away from *Shintō Taikyō, thus establishing Shintō Tokumitsu Kyōkai (see **Tokumitsukyō*). (*Shūkyō nenkan*)
			-.-: Hozumi Kenkō breaks away from *Jikkōkyō and establishes

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Jan 23: Declaration issued on the establishment of *Jinja Honchō (Association of Shinto Shrines).
	May 3: International Military Tribunal for the Far East (the Tokyo Trials) holds first sessions. Final verdicts issued November 12, 1948.
	Oct 8: Ministry of Education issues notification halting the ceremonial reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education in schools (rescript itself rescinded on October 12, 1948).
	Oct 21: Law for the Special Establishment of Independent Cultivators promulgated (so-called second agrarian land reform). (*Hōritsu 43-gō*)
	Nov 16: Prohibition of soliciting sponsorship and support of Shintō by town assemblies and neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai, tonarigumi*, etc.). (*Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers,* "Memorandum to the Imperial Japanese Government"; *Hatsu shū 58-gō, Naimu-Monbu jikan tsūchō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			*Yamatokyō.
			-.-: Fujita Motonari establishes Jinrui Fukushikyō (renamed **Seishin Myōjōkai* in 1956).
1947	Shōwa 22	June 3: Ministry of Education issues notice banning bowing to the imperial palace, shouting "*Tennō heika banzai!*" ("Ten thousand years for the emperor!"), and other forms of expression deifying the emperor at schools.	Jan 11: Kitamura Sayo registers *Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō as a religious corporation. (*Seisho dai-1-kan*)
		Oct 26: Revised penal code promulgated (repeal of lèse-majesté offense).	July 20: Rikihisa Tatsusai founds Tenchi Kōdō Zenrinkai (see **Zenrinkyō*). (*Itsukushimi*)
		Nov 26: Agriculture Ministry issues notice to prefectural governors regarding the purchase of farmland owned by shrines, temples, churches, and other religious institutions. (*Nōsei 2470-gō Chiji-ate nōrin jikan tsūtatsu*)	-.-: Okamoto Tenmei founds *Hikari Kyōkai.
		Dec 1: Notice sent to prefectural governors ordering them to be thorough in implementing the Shinto Directive.	
		Dec 31: Ministry of Home Affairs (*Naimushō*) abolished.	
		-.-: Ordinance on Imperial Household Rites and Ceremonies (*Kōshitsu saishi rei*) repealed.	
1948	Shōwa 23	Feb 14: Notification sent to prefectural governors regarding violations of the Shinto Directive (*Chishū 15-gō Shūmukachō tsūchō*).	July -: Keishin Fujinkai (renamed Zenkoku Keishin Fujin Rengōkai, National Shinto Women's Association, in 1949) founded.
		July 20: Public Holiday Law (*Kokumin no shukujitsu ni kansuru hōritsu*) promulgated, eliminating holidays SCAP views as having their origin and significance in State Shintō (see also **Meiji Kokka Saishi: State Rites of the Meiji Period*).	-.-: Kokugakuin High School opens (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryō shū*) (see **Kokugakuin University*).
			-.-: Education system reforms result in the merger of Tenri

Personalities/Texts	Society
Nov 12: *Soshindō founder Matsushita Matsuzō dies (age 69). (*Hito no michi*)	May 3: Constitution of Japan goes into force.
	Dec 22: Revised Civil Code goes into force.
Jan 19: *Deguchi Onisaburō dies (age 78).	
Sept 8: Kitamura Sayo of *Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō and her followers perform the "dance of no-self" (*muga no mai*) at Sukiyabashi in central Tokyo. (*Seisho dai-1-kan*)	
-.-: Ishikawa Sen founds *Hachidai Ryūō Daishizen Aishinkyōdan.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Middle School and Tenri Girls High School to create Tenri High School (see also **Tenrikyō*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryō-shū*)
			-.-: Konkō Middle School becomes Konkō High School owing to the introduction of the new school system (see also **Konkōkyō*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryō shū*)
1949	Shōwa 24		June -: National Shintō Youth Council (*Shintō seinen zenkoku kyōgikai*) established.
			July 14: Orimo Nami establishes *Daihizenkyō.
			July 16: Nagata Fuku breaks away from *Ontakekyō to found *Mitamakyō.
			-.-: Demura Ryūsei establishes Hakkōkai (see **Hachidai Ryūōjin Hakkō Seidan*). (Group documents)
			-.-: Masai Yoshimitsu establishes Shintō Senpōkyō (see **Koshintō Senpōkyō*).
			-.-: Nakano Yonosuke establishes *Ananaikyō.
			-.-: Tenri University opens (see also **Tenrikyō*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryōshū*)
			-.-: Keishin Fujinkai changes its name to Zenkoku Keishin Fujin Rengōkai (National Federation of Women's Godliness).
1950	Shōwa 25	Oct 17: Education Minister Amano issues notice recommending that school students hoist national flag and sing "Kimigayo," Japan's national anthem, in unison at national holiday events. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])	Jan 2: Kurata Chikyū establishes *Shinsei Tengan Manaita no Kai. (Group documents)
			Feb 4: Nippon Kannon Kyōdan and Nippon Miroku Kyōkai reorganized to form Church of World Messianity (**Sekai Kyūseikyō*). (*Kyūsei no hikari*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
May -: *Miyaji Naokazu dies (age 64).	
	Aug. 26: Shoup Report (report of mission led by Prof. Carl Shoup recommending tax reforms aimed at stabilizing the Japanese economy).
Dec -: Education Ministry's Religious Affairs Section publishes first *Religious Yearbook*. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])	May 29: Church of World Messianity (**Sekai Kyūseikyō*) founder Mokichi Okada charged on suspicion of bribery and tax evasion. He is apprehended after search.
	June 4: Many candidates affiliated with religious groups stand for Lower House election . Two *Tenrikyō members are elected. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1951	Shōwa 26	April 3: *Religious Corporations Law promulgated (**Religious Corporations Ordinance* abolished). Law passed March 30, promulgated April 3, goes into force April 4. (*Hōritsu 126-gō*)	Oct 17: Miki Tokuharu of the Church of Perfect Liberty (**Perfect Liberty Kyōdan*) is appointed first superintendent of the Federation of New Religious Organizations of Japan (*Shinshūren*, see **Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai*). (*Shūkyōkan no kyōchō to kattō*)
			Nov 1: Goi Sensei Sangōkai founded (becomes a religious corporation named **Byakkō Shinkōkai* in 1955).
1952	Shōwa 27	Jan 28: Religious Corporations Council (15 members) appointed (1st meeting). (*Monshū 6-gō*)	April 16: Izumo Kitajima Kyōkai secedes from *Shintō Taikyō and becomes a religious corportation named *Izumokyō. (*Group documents*)
		Aug 1: Ministry of Education's Religious Affairs Section transferred to Research Bureau.	July 31: Emperor and empress make first postwar visit to Meiji Shrine.
		Aug 30: Ministry of Education Organization Ordinance promulgated (establishes a Religious Affairs Section in the Culture Department).	Oct 16: Emperor and empress make first postwar visit to Yasukuni Shrine.
1953	Shōwa 28		March -: Tenshō Kyōkai, founded by Senba Hideo and wife Kimiko, is certified as religious corporation (renamed *Tenshōkyō in 1971).
			Sept. -: Inai Sadao establishes *Ōyamanezu no Mikoto Shinji Kyōkai.
			Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1954	Shōwa 29	June -: Religious Affairs Section conducts survey of	Feb 11: Number of shrines that celebrate Empire Day (see

Personalities/Texts	Society
	July 24: The "Red Purge" begins (anti-communist movement gains traction).
	Aug 10: National Police Reserve Ordinance promulgated. (*Potsdam Ordinances*)
	-.-: Korean War begins; Japanese economy booms due to wartime demand.
	-.-: Corporate tax revised (religious organizations now taxed on earnings generated from profit-earning businesses).
Aug 19: *Shūkyō Hōjin Shikō Gakuen founder Kawakami Seizan dies (age 43). (*Kami no nikutai taru Shikō Gakuen Kentaikyō no kyogi*)	Aug -: Federation of New Religious Organizations of Japan (*Shinshūren*, see **Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai*) inaugurated (member organizations include *PL Kyōdan, Risshō Kōsei-kai, *Seichō no Ie, and Ishin-kai).
	Sep 8: Treaty of Peace with Japan and Japan-U.S. Security Treaty signed (both issued April 28, 1952).
Feb 15: *Shindō Tenkōkyo founder Tomokiyo Yoshisane dies (age 65). (*Group documents*)	
Sept 3: *Orikuchi Shinobu dies (age 67).	Dec 24: Japan-U.S. sign agreement on reversion of Amami Islands.
March 18: *Hi no Oshie founder Sakuma Nikkō dies (age 70). (*Nikkō sensei*)	Jan 2: Approx. 380,000 people visit Imperial Palace to offer New Year's congratulations.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		conditions at shrine buildings and grounds (**Keidaichi*).	**Kigensetsu*)—including Kashihara Shrine, Ise Shrine, and Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine—increased following directive from Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
			July 16: Shinto shrine located on grounds of Self-Defense Force base in Shibata City demolished due to unconstitutionality (see **Problems of Religion and Government*). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
1955	Shōwa 30		April 9: Opening ceremony for Jingū Kōgakkan University (later becomes **Jingū kenshūsho*).
			June.-: Fuji Sengen Shrine expresses opposition to bill that would nationalize the peak of Mt. Fuji, claiming it is under the shrine's jurisdiction. Petitions the Ministry of Finance, and the work on the bill resumes from scratch. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			-.-: Kokugakuin University's Institute of Japanese Culture and Classics established.
1956	Shōwa 31		Feb -: Hase Yoshio founds Reiha no Hikari Sangyōkai (see **Reiha no Hikari Kyōkai*). (*Miyo*)
			July.-: Maki Kinosuke founds *Kyūseishukyō. (*Kyūsei*)
			-.-: The Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) releases "Keishin seikatsu no kōryō" (Principles of a life of reverence for the *kami*) as a 10th year anniversary proclamation. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1957	Shōwa 32		Jan 17: Chief priest (**Gūji*) of Gokoku Shrine in Saga Prefecture

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Sixteen die due to havoc on Nijūbashi Bridge.
	June 9: Defense Agency Establishment Law and Self-Defense Forces Law promulgated. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
Feb 10: Church of World Messianity (**Sekai Kyūseikyō*) founder Okada Mokichi dies (age 72). (*Kyūsei no hikari*)	-.-: The "Jinmu" economic boom in full swing this year (first postwar economic upturn, lasts through approx. 1957).
	Jan 1: Crowds stampede during rice cake preparations for people on their New Year's visit (*hatsumairi*, see **Hatsumōde*) to Yahiko Shrine in Niigata Prefecture. Havoc leaves 124 dead, 8 seriously injured, and 86 with light injuries. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
	Dec 18: United Nations General Assembly approves Japan joining the U.N.
Sept 25: *Shinri Jikkō no Oshie founder Honjō Chiyoko dies (age 55). (*Shinshūkyō*	Jan 8: General assembly held by Buddhist and Shintō priests to establish the "Temple

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Yonemitsu Haruichi departs as the first Shintō envoy to Brazil. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
1958	Shōwa 33		
1959	Shōwa 34	Jan 30: Liberal Democratic Party creates a special committee on religious issues to study Ise Shrine becoming a non-religious organization and state guardianship of Yasukuni Shrine. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])	
1960	Shōwa 35	-.-: Religious Affairs Section carries out survey on the overseas proselytization activities of religious groups.	Oct 22: Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato states that the imperial household owns Ise Shrine's object of worship (**Shintai*), the Yata no kagami ("eight-span mirror," see **Sanshu no shinki*) (Nov 11: protests held on grounds that Ikeda's statement seen as acknowledging a national role for Ise Shrine, prompted by the secular status of the postwar imperial institution and the role of the mirror in imperial accession rites) (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
jiten)	and Shrine Credit Union" (*Shaji shin'yō kumiai*), the first such organization in the country. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
	-.-: Lingering deflation this year (from the latter half of this year through the first half of 1958).
Feb 7: *Shinreikai Kyōdan founder Ishii Reizan dies (age 73).	May 16: Television reception contracts pass the 1 million mark. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
Nov 20: *Yamada Yoshio dies (age 85).	
Nov 29: *Honmichi founder Aijirō Ōnishi dies (age 77). (*Shinshūren yōran*)	
-.-: Donald L. Philippi produces *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers* (see also **Norito*).	April 10: Wedding parade of the crown prince is carried live on television. Viewership estimated at 15 million.
	Aug 1: Nissan Motor releases the Datsun Blue Bird; beginning the age of private car ownership.
	-.-: The "Iwato" economic boom begins this year, lasting 42 months.
July 25: *Nikkōkyō founder Teraguchi Kōjirō dies (age 79). (*Shinshūkyō shinbun*)	Jan 19: Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (new security treaty) and other accords are signed in Washington, D.C.
	March 24: The National Council of Churches 13th general assembly passes a resolution opposing Yasukuni Shrine's coming under state guardianship and submits petition to the Diet on the matter.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1961	Shōwa 36	-.-: Religious Affairs Section carries out a study on religion-related associations and research centers.	
1962	Shōwa 37		March 27: Nagoya District Court rules against recognizing the peak of Mt. Fuji as nationalized property. Decision issued making Fuji Sengen Shrine its owner (dissatisfied with the ruling, the government files an appeal on April 5). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			-.-: The private *Kogakkan University is founded.
1963	Shōwa 38		June 5-6: National Hachiman Shrine Association's 10th anniversary general assembly is held at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (see also **Hachiman shinkō*). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			June 15: The Gion Festival Yamaboko Federation of Kyoto decides to revive the procession of decorated floats (**Yamaboko*) in the Gion Festival. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			-.-: National Council of **Ujiko* Youth (*Zenkoku ujiko seinen kyōgikai*) founded.
			-.-: *Kōgakkan High School opens. (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiriyōshū*)
1964	Shōwa 39		April 2: Announcement made that the 60th rebuilding and reconsecration of Ise Shrine

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Dec 27: Cabinet approves the National Income Doubling Plan (beginning of the high-speed economic growth policy).
Feb 27: *Kakei Katsuhiko dies (age 88).	March 10: The Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) launches petitition drive to recriminalize lèse-majesté offenses. Seichō no Ie and other groups participate. (*Shinshūkyō kenkyūchōsa handobukku*)
April 3: Founder of *Hachidai Ryūō Daishizen Aishinkyōdan, Ishikawa Sen dies (age 75). (*Group documents*)	
Oct 6: *Kyūseishukyō founder Maki Kinosuke dies (age 67). (*Kyūsei no hikari*)	
Jan -: Publication begins of *Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū* [Collected works of *Yanagita Kunio] (publication of all 36 volumes completed in June 1971).	March 1: Television signal reception liceneses pass the 10 million mark (household penetration rate of 48.5%). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
Aug 8: *Yanagita Kunio dies (age 88).	
Aug 17: *Ten'onkyo founder Hachiro Fukuji dies (age 63). (*Shinshūkyō shinbun*)	
Jan 8: *Kōno Seizō dies (age 82).	May 31: Diet Lower House Committee on Education asks the Ministry of Education to explain its stance on the use of Meiji Jingū Stadium for professional baseball games (start of "the Jingu Stadium baseball issue"). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
April 7: *Hikari Kyōkai founder Okamoto Tenmei dies (age 65). (*Shishi tsūshin*)	
Nov 3: *Ishinkyō founder Hashiguchi Reizui dies (age 84). (*Kannagara*)	
Nov -: *Kokusho sōmoku roku* published (8 volumes and appendix; completed Dec 1976) (see also **An Overview of Shintō Texts and of Trends in Research*).	
	Oct 1: Japan National Railway begins operation of new Tōkaidō bullet train line (*shinkansen*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(**Shikinensengu*) slated for 1973 will be held independent of government agencies. (*Jinja shinpō*)
1965	Shōwa 40		Feb 9: The research office of the *Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai holds emergency plenary session due to issue of the government's proposed revision of national holidays (adding of National Foundation Day to the holiday calendar). (*Shūmu jihō*)
			March 1: Number of households to receive Ise Shrine amulets (**Jingū taima*) reaches 6,699,964, the largest figure up to that time in the history of the practice. The number has since grown larger. (*Jinja shinpō*)
			Sept 2: On the occasion of a special festival held to mark the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II, the emperor makes an offering of hemp and paper streamers (**Hōbei*) at Gokoku Shrine (see also **Gokoku jinja*). (*Jinja shinpō*)
			Oct 19: The emperor and empress attend Yasukuni Shrine's special festival commemorating the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II. Oct. 20: The Nippon Izokukai (Japan war-bereaved families association) holds at the same shrine the first memorial service for soldiers who died in battle. (*Jinja shinpō*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Oct 10-24: 18th Olympic Games are held in Tokyo.
	-.-: Tochigi Prefecture decides it will cut down a massive old cedar tree known as "Tarō-sugi" on the outskirts of Nikkō Tōshōgū to facilitate a national highway expansion project. The shrine appeals the decision in Utsunomi District Court (see also *Nikkōsan shinkō). (*Jinja shinpō*)
Apr 23: *Tenshūkyō founder Unagami Haruho dies (age 78). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])	Feb 1: Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (*Gensuibaku kinshi Nihon kokumin kaigi*, commonly known as *Gensuikin*) founded.
May 8: *Katō Genchi dies (age 92).	Feb 3: Prime Minister Eisaku Satō declares conviction at a National Governors' Association meeting that National Foundation Day is suitable for Feb 11. He also says he will submit an amendment to the National Holidays Law in government legislation to the Diet (see also the entry for Dec. 8, 1966). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Kōso Kōtai Jingū Amatsukyō founder Takeuchi Kiyomaro dies.	March 4: The Japan Association of Religious Organizations (*Nihon shūkyō renmei*) issues statement that a study by the Lower House Special Committee on Promoting Physical Education on the use of the Meiji Shrine's Jingū Stadium for professional baseball would violate the principle of the separation of church and state (known as the *Jingū kyūjo mondai*, or "the Jingū Stadium problem"). (*Chugai nippō*)
	Sep 12-15: International Conference on Shintō held in the U.S. at the Claremont Colleges. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1966	Shōwa 41	May 1: The Religious Affairs Section is moved to the Ministry of Education's Arts and Culture Division after the ministry's Research Bureau is disbanded, (Revision of Ministry of Education Establishment Law, Revision of Ministry of Education Organization Order).	Oct 17: Another 19,000 "spirits of the war dead" (*mitama*) are enshrined at Yasukuni Shrine's annual autumn festival. (*Shūmu jihō*)
		Dec 8: National Foundation Day Advisory Council declares in a report that National Foundation Day will be on Feb 11. Dec. 9: Report officially released (see also the entry for Feb. 3, 1965).	Nov 27: *Tenrikyō declares it is " not a Shintō sect." (*Shūmu jihō*)
			Dec 10: Ōmiwa Shrine, previously unaffiliated with any umbrella organization, joins the Association of Shintō Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
1967	Shōwa 42		Oct 31: Two thousand Maritime Self-Defense Force personnel visit Ise Shrine as a group. Develops into problem as a violation of the Constitution (see **Problems of religion and government*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
1968	Shōwa 43	June 15: The Ministry of Education's Cultural Bureau is disbanded, and a Religious Affairs Division Section is established in the Arts and Culture Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs. (*Monbushō setchihō kaisei*, *Monbushō soshikirei kaisei*).	-.-: Hosoya Seiko starts spreading *Izumo Shin'yū Kyōkai. (*Group documents*)
1969	Shōwa 44		Oct 19-22: Centennial anniversary celebration of Yasukuni Shrine's founding. On Oct. 20, the emperor and empress visit the shrine. (*Shūmu jihō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
Jan 6: *Tenkōkyō founder Fujita Shinshō dies (age 58). (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)	-.-: The "Izanagi" economic boom (a 69-month period of financial prosperity) begins this year.
Aug 7: *Daihizenkyō founder Orimo Nami dies (age 72). (*Group documents*)	-.-: Birth rate declines for the year because it is a Hinoeuma year (43rd year of the sexagenary cycle, in which undesirable "fiery horse [*hinoeuma*] women" are born).
Nov 18: *Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama founder Tazawa Seishirō dies (age 82).	
Oct 14: Second leader of *Tenrikyō [the second *shinbashira*] Nakayama Shōzen dies (age 62). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)	
Dec 28: Kitamura Sayo (see **Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō*) dies (age 67).	
Dec 11: *Tenshindō Kyōdan founder Tamura Reishō dies (age 78). (*Group documents*)	Nov 16-18: Colloquium on the teaching of mythology held at Shinto Studies Conference to Mark the Centennial Anniversary of the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji ishin 100-nen kinen Shintō gakujutsu taikai*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
-.-: Donald L. Philippi translates **Kojiki* [Record of ancient matters] into English.	-.-: This year, university strife intensifies across Japan.
Jan. 9: *Honbushin founder Ōnishi Tama dies (age 51). (*Group documents*)	June 30: The Liberal Democratic Party submits the Yasukuni Shrine Bill in the 61st regular Diet session following a proposal from party Diet members. The bill is left undeliberated.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Nov 8: The Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) launches the Shinto Political League (*Shintō seiji renmei*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
1970	Shōwa 45	Apr 14: Yasukuni Shrine Bill submitted by Liberal Democratic Party representatives to special session of the 63rd Diet. May 13: Bill rejected after going undeliberated. (*Shūmu jihō*)	-.-: Koyama Mihoko leaves Church of World Messianity (*Sekai Kyūseikyō*) to found *Shinji Shūmeikai.
1971	Shōwa 46	May 22: In the name of the Chief Cabinet Secretary, the Ministry of Construction notifies regional construction bureaus under its jurisdiction that they are to no longer conduct Shintō-style ground purification ceremonies (*Jichinsai*). (*Shūmu jihō*)	Feb 15: Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) orders subsidiary offices in each prefecture to conduct survey regarding the preservation of shrine forests. (*Shūmu jihō*)
		May 24: Yasuki Shrine Bill rejected. (*Shūmu jihō*)	Aug 4: First national Shintō research conference (*Shintō kōen kenkyū zenkoku taikai*) held at Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
1972	Shōwa 47		Jul 29: Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) creates "one-day *Jinja Honchō*" (*ichi-nichi Jinja Honchō*) at five locations throughout Japan, beginning with Imizu Shrine in Takaoka City, Toyama Prefecture. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1973	Shōwa 48		Jan 22: The Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) sends notice to all subsidiary offices

Personalities/Texts	Society
Jan 9: *Koshintō Senpōkyō founder Masai Yoshimitsu dies (age 62). (*Jingi daidō*)	May 20: Decision made to restore content regarding Japanese myths to new primary school social studies textbooks beginning in the 1971-72 school year.
July 24: *Kannagarakyō founder Mizuno Fusa dies (age 87). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	June 23: Japan-U.S. Security Treaty automatically extended (the treaty [*Anpō jōyaku*] and opposition to its renewal had been a primary focus of university campus unrest in preceding years).
	May 14: Nagoya High Court rules it unconstitutional for the Tsu City gymnasium to expend public funds for a Shintō-style ground purification ceremony. (**Jichinsai*)
	June 17: Okinawa Reversion Treaty signed (U.S. returns Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty).
May 18: *Shinreikyō founder Ōtsuka Kan'ichi dies (age 81). (Group documents)	Sep 29: Japan and People's Republic of China normalize diplomatic relations.
	July -: First Tanaka Kakuei Cabinet formed. Real estate boom occurs thanks to Tanaka's book, *Nihon rettō kaizō ron* (Plan for remodeling the Japanese archipalago). As a result, land prices will have jumped 30.9% on average by the following April compared to the year before.
May 24: *Sekai Shindōkyō founder Aida Hide dies (age 74). (*Group documents*)	Oct 23: First oil crisis begins (the Arab Oil Embargo).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			encouraging the planting of trees at shrines throughout the country in conjunction with the national tree-planting festival (*shokujusai*; held every spring). (*Shūmu jihō*)
			May 19: The Association of Shintō Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) sends notice to all subsidiary offices restricting corporations from the for-profit use of shrines, amulets, and the like. (*Shūmu jihō*)
			Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
			-.-: *Kōgakkan University establishes a Shintō Institute.
1974	Shōwa 49		Jan-: Iwasaki Shōō founds Nihon Seidō Kyōdan. (*Group documents*)
			-.-: Yamato Shōfū Juku reorganized to become Yamato Shōfū Juku Senior High School (see also **Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiriyoshū*)
1975	Shōwa 50		
1976	Shōwa 51		Nov 10: Tokyo residents gather to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's accession. Many religious organizations also attend the ceremonies, and other festivities also take place. (*Shūmu jihō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
April 25: *Tamamitsu Jinja founder Motoyama Kinue dies (age 65). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	May 25: House of Representatives plenary session independently passes Yasukuni Shrine Bill thanks to Liberal Democratic Party support. Bill subsequently rejected in the House of Councilors.
June 23: World Divine Light Organization (**Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyōdan*) founder Okada Kōtama dies (age 73). (*Group documents*)	-.-: This year Uri Geller's spoon bending and the film "The Exorcist" arouse public interest. Goto Ben 's book *Nosutoradamusu no daiyogen* (Prophecies of Nostradamus) becomes a bestseller. Fad for natural health foods.
June 24: *Ananaikyō founder Nakano Yonosuke dies (age 86). (*Group documents*)	-.-: Japan’s economy contracts by 0.5% this year, entering its first recession of the postwar period. Index of wholesale prices rises to 31.3%. Consumer price index at 4.5%, putting it into a vicious inflationary wage-price spiral.
	March 10: Bullet train route opens between Okayama and Hakata.
	Aug 15: Prime Minister Miki Takeo, on the anniversary of the end of World War II, makes first visit by an incumbent premier to Yasukuni Shrine since the war's cessation (Miki made his visit as a private citizen).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1977	Shōwa 52		Oct 27: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) offices damaged by bomb set by New Left radicals. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1978	Shōwa 53		June -: Okada Keishu founds *Sūkyō Mahikari (also builds sect's world headquarters). (*Gendai no kokoro: Sūkyō Mahikari*)
			Oct 17: Fourteen Class A war criminals are enshrined together at Yasukuni Shrine, including Tōjō Hideki (wartime prime minister) and Hirota Kōki (prewar prime minister).
1979	Shōwa 54	Jun 12: Era Name Act promulgated. (*Hōritsu 43-gō*)	
1980	Shōwa 55		Dec 26: Kuroda Minoru founds Kōlin (literally "halo", the name is changed to **Subikari Kōha Sekai Shindan* in 1984). (*Group documents*)
1981	Shōwa 56		April 22: A group of parliamentarians called *Minna de Yasukuni jinja ni sanpai suru Kokkai giin no kai* ("The society of Diet members who visit Yasukuni Shrine together") visits Yasukuni Shrine (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*). (*Kirisuto-kyō nenkan* [Christian yearbook])
			-.-: *Kōgakkan University

Personalities/Texts	Society
Sep 29: *Zenrinkyō's founder Rikihisa Tatsusai dies (age 70). (*Group documents*)	July 13: Supreme Court rules on the Tsu ground-purification rites (**Jichinsai*) lawsuit, judging it constitutional.
	Sep 5: Japan Buddhist Federation President Machida Sōyū states at the third American World Conference of Religions for Peace that "there is no discrimination against *burakumin* in Japan." His statement causes problems as *burakumin* are descendants of feudal-era outcast class still experiencing discrimination, and in the aftermath the issue causes turmoil throughout the Buddhist community.
	-.-: The concept of *tenchūsatsu* (a period of time in a person's life based on the Chinese zodiac [*eto*] when, according to folk divination beliefs, the heavens are unfriendly to that person) becomes popular due in part to the publication of an introductory book on the topic by Izumi Sōshō called *Tenchūsatsu nyūmon*.
Aug 18: *Byakkō Shinkōkai founder Goi Masahisa dies (age 63). (*Group documents*)	July -: The number of prefectures to pass resolutions favoring official state visits to Yasukuni Shrine by prime minister and emperor reaches 22 (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*).
July 21: *Shidaidō founder Nagahashi Yasuhiko dies (age 86). (*Group documents*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			establishes postgraduate course on Shintō studies.
1982	Shōwa 57		Jan 11: The Church of World Messianity (**Sekai kyūsekyō*) opens the MOA Museum of Art. (*Sekai kyūsekyō*)
1983	Shōwa 58		Feb 4: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) submits a request titled "Request concerning preservation of shrine-owned lands on the grounds of Shinto shrines" (*Jinja *keidaichi nado shayūchi no hozen ni tsuite no onegai no ken*) to Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Home Affairs.
			Nov 21: Komatsu Shinyō founds *Shinmei Aishinkai. (*Group documents*)
			-.-: The Political Association of *Seichō no Ie (*Seichō no ie seiji rengō*) suspends its activities.
1984	Shōwa 59		
1985	Shōwa 60		May 4: Tōshōgū Shrine in Nikkō notifies the Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) that it will end its "bound comprehensive religious juridical person" (*hihōkatsu shūkyō hōjin*) relationship with the association, making it a fully independent institution.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	March 24: Osaka District Court rules in the Minoo Memorial lawsuit over Minoo City's desire to use public funds to relocate a memorial monument to fallen soldiers,declaring it unconstitutional. Minoo City appeals the ruling (see also **Problems of religion and government*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
Aug 23: *Shūyōdan Hōseikai founder Seitarō Idei dies (age 83). (*Group documents*)	March 1: Osaka District Court rules in the Minoo Memorial Service lawsuit over the participation of local public officials in memorial services to commemorate the war dead, declaring it unconstitutional. Plaintiff victory (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
	-.-: Use of computers and electronic word processors starts to become commonplace.
March 19: *Reiha no Hikari Kyōkai founder Hase Yoshio dies (age 68). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	
July 17: *Shizensha founder Hashimoto Satomi dies (age 84). (*Group documents*)	
Nov 25: *Tengenkyō founder Naniwa Hisakazu dies (age 81). (*Usunorukugyō*)	
May 12: *Tenjōkyō Hon'in founder Kuramoto Ito dies (age 90). (*Group documents*)	Aug 15: Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro makes first official visit of a prime minister to Yasukuni Shrine since the end of World War II.
May -: *Tenshin Seikyō founder Shimada Seiichi dies (age 89). (*Group documents*)	
June 17: *Seichō no Ie founder Taniguchi Masaharu dies (age 91). (*Shūmu jihō*)	
Nov 30: *Seishin Myōjōkai founder Fujita Motonari dies (age 82). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1986	Shōwa 61		June -: Sakata Yasuhiro forms the Misogikyō shinpa ("true faction of Misogikyō"), a splinter group from *Misogikyō. (*Group documents*)
1987	Shōwa 62		
1988	Shōwa 63		March 27: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) sends tree-planting recommendation to all shrines and local *Jinja Honchō* offices throughout the country. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1989	Heisei 1	Feb 17: The birthday of the Shōwa emperor (Emperor Hirohito), previously a national holiday, becomes a new holiday called Greenery Day (see also **Shuku-sai-jitsu*).	April 14: Tenri Oyasato Senior High School opened (see **Tenrikyō*).
1990	Heisei 2	Oct 11: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor.Akihito (the Heisei emperor).	Nov -: *Kurozumikyō holds Shintō International Workshop on Global Survival and Peace at its Shintōzan headquarters.
1991	Heisei 3		
1992	Heisei 4		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Dec -: Japan's economy starts to expand (start of the so-called "bubble economy"; the bubble's collapse comes in 1991).
Nov 7: *Soshindō Kyōdan founder Yoshioka Tajūrō dies (age 82). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	
September 7: *Kikueikai Kyōdan founder Hayashi Shikō dies (age 88). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	June 1: Supreme Court rules in the Self Defense Forces Enshrinement lawsuit (*Yamaguchi junshoku jieikan gōshi soshō*) that it was constitutional for the SDF to have applied to have the soul of a deceased soldier jointly enshrined at Shintō shrine with those of other soldiers over objections of the deceased soldier's Christian wife (Jan. 1973: suit filed; March 1979: Yamaguchi District Court rules enshrinement unconstitutional; July 1982: Hiroshima High Court also rules it unconstitutional) (see also **Shintō and Christianity*).
Oct 4: *Nihon Jingū Honchō founder Nakajima Shūkō dies (age 87). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	June 18: Kawasaki City Deputy Mayor Komatsu Hideki is revealed to have acquired shares in the information industry and real estate company Recruit before the company went public, earning a one billion-yen profit on their sale (start of the Recruit insider-trading scandal).
Oct 29: *Oyamanezu no Mikoto Shinji Kyōkai founder Inai Sadao dies (age 82).	
Oct 29: *Kuzuryū Taisha founder Ōnishi Masajirō dies (age 75). (Group documents)	
March 8: *Hizuki no Miya founder Fujimoto Toshinari dies (age 59). (Group documents)	Jan 7: Emperor Shōwa dies (age 89). Era name changed to Heisei.
	Oct. -: Stocks nosedive, marking the start of the end of the "bubble economy."
May 5: *Shinsei Tengan Manaita no Kai founder Kurata Chikyū dies (age 85).	Jan 17: Multinational coalition begins war with Iraq. Feb. 28: Fighting ends.
-.-: Federation of Shinto Sects' youth association (*Kyōha Shintō rengō seinenkai*) begins publishing newsletter *Musubi*.	
	May 12: In the *Ehime tamagushiryō* (see **Tamagushi*) lawsuit, Takamatsu High Court rules constutionally acceptable for Ehime

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1993	Heisei 5		Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. Oct. 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	governor to have used public funds to pay for offerings given to Yasukuni Shrine in name of prefecture's war dead (July 1982: suit filed; 1989: Matsuyama District Court rules the act unconstitutional) (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*).
	Oct 13: A 376-member Ground Self-Defense Forces (SDF) battalion is dispatched to Cambodia to take part in a United Nations peace-keeping operation (the first overseas dispatch of the SDF).
	March 18: Supreme Court rules in the Minoo war memorial lawsuit (*Minō chūkon-hi soshō*), declaring the payment of public funds to a local association of war-bereaved families for the holding of a Shintō-style memorial service to be constitutional (Oct 1977: case brought before Osaka District Court. March 1982: District Court rules it unconstitutional. March 1983: Osaka High Court rules it constitutional) (see **Problems of Religion and Government*).
	August 7: Hosokawa Morihiro of the Japan New Party named the 79th prime minister. Ends thirty years of single-party rule by the Liberal Democratic Party.

Encyclopedia of Shinto

Chronological Supplement

『神道事典』巻末年表、英語版

Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics
Kokugakuin University
2016

國學院大學

Preface

This book is a translation of the chronology that appended *Shinto jiten*, which was compiled and edited by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University. That volume was first published in 1994, with a revised compact edition published in 1999. The main text of *Shinto jiten* is translated into English and publicly available in its entirety at the Kokugakuin University website as "The Encyclopedia of Shinto" (EOS). This English edition of the chronology is based on the one that appeared in the revised version of the *Jiten*. It is already available online, but it is also being published in book form in hopes of facilitating its use.

The original Japanese-language chronology was produced by Inoue Nobutaka and Namiki Kazuko. The English translation was prepared by Carl Freire, with assistance from Kobori Keiko.

Translation and publication of the chronology was carried out as part of the "Digital Museum Operation and Development for Educational Purposes" project of the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Organization for the Advancement of Research and Development, Kokugakuin University. I hope it helps to advance the pursuit of Shinto research throughout the world.

Inoue Nobutaka
Project Director
January 2016

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Translated from the Japanese original *Shinto jiten, shukusatsuban*.
(General Editor: Inoue Nobutaka; Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1999)
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Published by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 4-10-28 Higashi, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
Printed in Japan by Mizuki Shobō

Guide

1. Entries are divided into four categories: "Institutions/Laws," "Shrines/Organizations," "Personalities/Texts," and "Society." The content corresponding to each category is mainly as follows:

[A] Institutions/Laws: Laws and ordinances concerning Shinto, along with statutes, proclamations, and other materials of a similar nature.

[B] Shrines/Organizations: Matters related to shrines, religious groups, sects, and similar entities.

[C] Personalities/Texts: Important items including dates of death related to personalities who appear in the main text of "The Encyclopedia," as well as publication and other information regarding major texts.

[D] Major developments in Japanese society, as well major developments and incidents involving Shinto.

2. The source texts for the entries are cited at the end of the entry in parentheses. However, it was decided not to cite a source for those entries recounting information that has already become widely accepted as established theory.

3. For Personalities, all ages of death are presented using the traditional Japanese *kazoedoshi* system (one year old at birth, with one year added at each New Year).

4. Hyphens are used in dates to indicate some part of the information is unknown, e.g. "-.-" indicates neither month nor date are known, while "2.-" shows only the month (2nd) is known.

5. Dates through the end of 1872 are given using the old lunisolar calendar (*kyūreki*). The dates from January 1, 1873, forward are presented using the Gregorian system (*seireki*).

6. The corresponding Gregorian calendar equivalents for many traditional Japanese calendar dates until around the mid-sixth century C.E. are difficult to establish precisely. For convenience's sake, the Gregorian equivalents provided for those years are based on the hypothesis that Jinmu's installation as emperor occurred in 660 B.C.

7. An asterisk is used to indicate the title of corresponding entry from the EOS.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
663 BCE	*Tsuchinoe-uma* ("elder year of the horse"; see also **Ehō*)		9.-: Emperor Jimmu worships the "*kami* of heaven and earth" (**Tenjinchigi*) at Nyuu River before his conquest of Yamato. (*Nihon shoki*)
660 BCE	Jimmu 1	1.1: Enthronement of Emperor Jimmu. (*Nihon shoki*)	
657 BCE	Jimmu 4		2.23: Emperor Jimmu worships the imperial ancestral *kami* at Mt. Torimi in Yamato after completing his conquest of that province. (*Nihon shoki*)
92 BCE	Sujin 6		-.-. Princess Toyosukirihime no mikoto enshrines *Amaterasu Ōmikami at Kasanui village in Yamato. (*Nihon shoki*)
91 BCE	Sujin 7	11.13: "Shrines of heaven" (*tensha*) and "shrines of the earth" (*kokusha*, literally, "shrines of the state") are established (see **Kansha*). Lands are also set aside for serving the *kami* (*shinchi*), and *kami* ritualists (**Kanbe*) are appointed. (*Nihon shoki*)	-.-: The shrine to Takefutsu no Ōmikami is transferred to Yamanobe in Yamato and renamed Isonokami Ōmikami (origins of Isonokami Shrine) (see also **Futsunomitama*). (*Sendai kuji honki*)
			11.13: Ichishi no Nagaochi charged with worshipping *Yamato no Ōkunitama as a replacement for Nunakiirihime no Mikoto, who the previous year had been entrusted with worshipping the deity at a location outside the imperial palace (origin of Ōyamato Shrine). (*Nihon shoki*)
			11.13: Epidemics rampant around this time. In accordance with an oracle, the emperor asks *kami* Ōtataneko to worship *Ōmononushi no kami (origins of Ōmiwa Shrine). (*Nihon shoki*)
23 BCE	Suinin 7		
5 BCE	Suinin 25		3.-: Yamatohime no mikoto transfers *Amaterasu Ōmikami to be enshrined at Ise (another account relates this occurs the 10th month of the following

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.7: Nomi no sukune and Taima no Kuehaya hold wrestling match (first mention of **Sumō*). (*Nihon shoki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Year). (*Nihon shoki*)
4 BCE	Suinin 26		8.3: Emperor appoints Mononobe Tochine no Ōmuraji manager (**Kengyō*) of the treasury for Izumo Shrine. (*Nihon shoki*)
3 BCE	Suinin 27	8.7: Lands are set aside for serving the *kami* (*shinchi*) and *kami* ritualists (**Kanbe*) are appointed. (*Nihon shoki*)	
		8.7: Weapons presented to shrines as an offering (*shinpei*; see **Heihaku*) (first mention of weapons being given as offerings). (*Nihon shoki*)	
10 CE	Suinin 39		10.-: Inishiki no mikoto ordered to offer a thousand swords to Isonokami Shrine and to manage its treasury. (*Nihon shoki*)
57			
90	Keikō 20		2.4: Iono no himemiko ordered to worship *Amaterasu Ōmikami. (*Nihon shoki*)
110	Keikō 40		10.7: *Yamatotakeru no mikoto visits Ise Shrine prior to his eastern campaign of conquest. Yamatohime no mikoto endows him with the sacred sword *Kusanagi no tsurugi* (see also **Sanshu no shinki*). (*Nihon shoki*)
135	Seimu 5	9.-: Each province ordered to appoint a provincial governor-ritualist (**Kuni no miyatsuko*) to provinces and districts and local administrators (*inagi*) to villages. Province and district borders established at mountains and rivers, and village boundaries established.	
200	Chūai 9	4.-: Empress Jingū receives oracles upon the conquest of Silla. (*Nihon shoki*)	
201	Empress Jingū 1		2.-: Empress Jingū, following an oracle, performs several

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: The king of Na (Na-no-kuni) from the land of Wa (i.e., Japan) sends envoys to the later Han Dynasty and receives in return from Emperor Guangwu an imperial seal. (*Houhanshu, Guangwu di ji* [History of the later Han dynasty, the annals of Emperor Guangwu])

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			enshrinement ceremonies: the "violent spirit" (**Aramitama*) of Amaterasu Ōmikami at Hirota Province; Wakahirume no mikoto at Ikuta Province; Kotoshironushi no mikoto at Nagata Province; and, at Nunakura in Ōtsu, the "peaceful spirits" (**Nigimitama*) of Uwazututno'o, Nakazutsuno'o, and Sokozutsuno'o (the three Sumiyoshi *kami*; see **Sumiyoshi shinkō*) (the origins of Hirota, Nagata, and Sumiyoshi shrines). (*Nihon shoki*)
239			
285	Ōjin 16		
300	Ōjin 31		
310	Ōjin 41		2.-: Achino Omi, an ancestor of the Yamatoaya clan, arrived in Tsukushi from Wu. The services of weaver Ehime are offered to the three Munakata goddesses (see **Munakata shinkō*) at their request. (*Nihon shoki*)
372	Nintoku 60		
404	Richū 5		10.11: The imperial court makes a gift of the cart keepers

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.-: Queen Himiko of *Wa*, who was said to have "dealt with spirits" (*kidō*; see also **Ancient Shintō*), sends envoys to the Wei Dynasty.
	12.-: Emperor Ming of Wei confers upon her the title "Queen of Wa Friendly to Wei," together with a gold seal with purple ribbon decoration. (*Wei Zhi Wo ren chuan* [Records of *Wei,* account of the Wa people])
	-.-: Wani of Baekje, Korea, offers ten volumes of the *Analects of Confucius* and one volume of the *Thousand Character Classic*. (*Kojiki*; *Nihon shoki*)
	-.-: Keyhole-shaped burial mounds (*zenpō-kōen fun*) including the Sakurai Chausu Yama, Hashihaka, Shikin Zan, and Tsubai Ōtsuka Yama *kofun* built from the end of 3CE to 4CE.
	-.-: Korean kingdom of Baekje makes presents of the **shichishitō* (also *nanatsusaya no tachi*) and *nanatsuko* ("seven-little-one") mirror. (The *shichishitō* is housed in Isonokami Shrine. The sword was made in 369 according to its inscription. *Nihon shoki* records this event as taking place in the 52th year of Empress Jingū's reign, or 252.)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			professional group (*kurumamochi-be*) to Munakata Shrine in response to a divine oracle and a calamity believed to have been cause by an evil spirit (**Tatari*). (*Nihon shoki*)
415	Ingyō 4		
478	Yūryaku 22		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine built. (*Toyukegūgishikichō*; *Houkihonki*)
507	Keitai 1	1.-: Emperor Buretsu dies without a successor. Consequently, Ōdono kimi, a fifth-generation grandson of Emperor Ōjin, comes from Echizen and ascends the throne to become Emperor Keitai. (*Nihon shoki*)	
527	Keitai 27		
538	Senka 3		
552	Kinmei 13		
554	Kinmei 15		
593	Suiko 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	9.28: A divination by ordeal ceremony (**Kukatachi*) is performed at Umakashino no Oka to sort out confusion over lineages (*Nihon shoki*).
	5.-: Bu, the king of Wa, sends tribute to the Liu Song Dynasty and petitions to be officially confirmed in his title by the Chinese court. (*Songshu, Woguoyun zhuan* [History of the Liu Song dynasty, account on the Wa people])
	6.3: Expeditionary force dispatched to Mimana (Inna, on the Korean Peninsula). While they are en route, Governor Iwai of Tsukushi Province launches a revolt. His rebellion ends the 11th month of the following year (the Iwai Rebellion). (*Nihon shoki*)
	-.-: King Seong of Baekje sends presents of an image of Shakyamuni and several sutras (transmission of Buddhism to Japan) (see also **Shintō and Buddhism*). (*Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu*)
	10.-: King Seong of Baekje presents an image of Shakyamuni to the Emperor. (transmission of Buddhism to Japan) Mononobe no Ōmuraji Okoshi and Nakatomi no Muraji Kamako contend with Soga no Iname over the reception of Buddhism. (*Nihon shoki*)
	2.-: Kingdom of Baekje sends to Japan scholars (*hakase*) of Confucianism, divination, calendars, and medicine, as well as herbalists and musicians. (*Nihon shoki*)
	4.10: Prince Shōtoku appointed regent. (*Nihon shoki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
594	Suiko 2		
603	Suiko 11	12.5: Twelve-level cap- rank system established. (*Nihon shoki*)	
604	Suiko 12	4.3: Prince Shōtoku promulgates the Seventeen-Article Constitution. (*Nihon shoki*)	
		9.-: Court rituals are revised. (*Nihon shoki*)	
607	Suiko 15	2.9: Decree ordering that deities be worshipped (**Jingiryō*) are issued. (*Nihon shoki*)	
620	Suiko 28		
624	Suiko 32		
630	Jomei 2		
639	Jomei 11	1.11: Emperor eats from the year's first harvest (first mention of the **Niiname sai*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
642	Kōgyoku 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.1: Emperor orders Prince Shōtoku to promote the prosperity of Buddhism. (*Nihon shoki*)
	1.1: The Chinese calendar adopted on this day. (*Seiji yoryaku*)
	7.3: Ono no Imoko sent to China as an emissary. Sui Emperor Yangdi is displeased at passage in official correspondence that reads "From the Son of Heaven in the Land of the Rising Sun . . ." (the salutation implies the Japanese and Chinese monarchs are equal, hence the Sui Emperor's displeasure). (*Suishu*, *Woguo zhuan* [History of the Sui, account on the Wa people])
-.-: Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Umako produce three, no-longer extant works (or possibly one single work in three parts) titled *Tennōki*, *Kokki*, and *Omi no muraji tomo no miyatsuko kuni no miyatsuko momoyaso tomo narabini kōminara no hongi* (see also **Kojiki and Nihon shoki*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
	-.-: Organizational structure for monks and nuns formulated. (7.17: Administrative positions such as *sōjō* (high priest) and *sōzu* (senior priest) created, and monks and nuns put under their control. 9.3: Survey of monks and nuns conducted; information recorded includes temple foundation dates, reasons why individuals entered vocations, and the dates they entered such. Survey shows there are 46 temples, 816 monks, and 569 nuns). (*Nihon shoki*)
	8.5: Inugami no mitasuki is sent as emissary to Tang China (first of the Japanese missions to Tang-dynasty China [*kentōshi*]). (*Nihon shoki*)
	8.1: Major drought around this time. Prayers for rainfall (**Kiu*) are offered using various

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
644	Kōgyoku 3		
645	Taika 1	6.19: Era name (*gengō*) system is instituted. First name chosen is Taika. (*Nihon shoki*)	
646	Taika 2	3.22: Regulations are instituted regarding ill-considered funeral rituals, bond servants, marriages, and purification rites. (*Nihon shoki*)	
649	Taika 5		-.-: Shrine manors start to be referred to as *mikuriya* (see **Shinryō*). First chief priest for Ise Shrine appointed. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
650	Hakuchi 1		
659	Saimei 5		-.-: This year, the Izumo provincial governor-ritualist (**Izumo kokusō*) is ordered to build a shrine for a *kami* (Kumano Shrine, built in the Iu district; , other accounts say it was Kitsuki Shrine). (*Nihon shoki*)
662	Tenji 1		-.-: Title for the chief administrator of the Grand Shrines of Ise changed to "master of religious rites" (**saishu*). Nakatomi no Ōshima first person appointed to position. (*Jingū nenpyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	methods (entreating river deities, sacrificing animals at shrines, and relocating markets) and sutras are read, but none have the desired effect. Consequently, the emperor goes to Kawakami at Nabuchi to pray for rain. It then rains heavily. (*Nihon shoki*)
	7.-: Oofube no Oo from the Fuji River area in Suruga invites his neighbors to worship an insect he calls Tokoyo-no-kami. The belief becomes very popular. Hata no kawakatsu suppresses it (see **Hayarigami Shinkō*). (*Nihon shoki*)
	6.12: Prince Naka-no-ōe assassinates Soga no Iruka. His father Soga-no-emishi commits suicide (Isshi Incident [Isshi no hen]). Emishi tries to burn the *Tennōki* and *Kokki* (early chronicles of Japan; see also **Kojiki and Nihon shoki*) at the moment of his suicide; however, Fune-no-fubito-esaka rescues *Kokki* from the fire. (*Nihon shoki*)
	1.1: Reform edicts (the so-called Taika Reforms) promulgated. (*Nihon shoki*)
	2.15: Era name changed to Hakuchi ("white pheasant") due to a good omen (governor of Nagato Province gives a white pheasant to the imperial court as a gift). (*Nihon shoki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
670	Tenji 9	3.9: Close to Mii ("sacred well," present-day site of Mii Temple just outside Kyoto in Shiga Prefecture), places are set out for worshipping the *kami* with ritual offerings (**Heihaku*) spread before them (some argue this is the first appearance of the **Kinensai*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
671	Tenji 10		-.-: , Miwa no kami of Yamato is enshrined at Mt. Hiei in Ōmi during the reign of this emperor (Emperor Tenji). (*Yōtenki*)
672	Tenmu 1		
673	Tenmu 2	4.14: Ōku-no-himemiko undertakes a purification rite (**Kessai*) at Hatsuse Shrine so she can serve at Ise Shrine. The following year on 10.19 she goes to Ise (first mention of the "consecrated princess" [**Saigū*] supported by historical documentation). (*Nihon shoki*)	
		12.5 The Nakatomi and Inbe clans; priests (*shinkan*); and the heads of the Harima and Tanba districts receive emoluments for having performed the **Daijōsai* ("the Great Thanksgiving festival," held to accompany a new emperor's accession to the throne) (this suggests that the *daijōsai* for Emperor Tenmu had already taken place). (*Nihon shoki*)	
675	Tenmu 4	1.23: Ritual wands (*hei* or *nusa*; see **Onusa*) offered to shrines (said to be the beginning of public **Kinensai*. Other sources say this took place in the 2nd month that year, or else in Tenji 9). (*Nihon shoki*)	4.10: The wind *kami* of Tatsuta and the Ōimi-no-*kami* of Hirose are worshipped. (First mention of Hirose-Tatsuta festivals [see also **Ōimi no matsuri*]. This is event is also said to mark the founding of the Hirose and Tatsuta shrines). (*Nihon shoki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.-: The Jinshin War breaks out this month. It ends the following month. (*Nihon shoki*)
	1.1: Officials from various bureaus including the Bureau of Divination present medicine to the emperor (first mentions of a medicine ceremony [here involving *o-toso*, or medicinal sake] and of the Bureau of Divination; see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*). (*Nihon shoki*)
	4.17: An imperial proclamation is sent to every province restricting methods for fishing and hunting, and the times when those activities are allowed. It also prohibits the consumption of beef, horse, monkey, and

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
676	Tenmu 5	10.3: Ritual offerings (**Heihaku*) presented to all deities (**Jingi*) (first mention of **Ainame sai*). (*Nihon shoki*).	
678	Tenmu 7		1.-: Emperor Tenmu performs a purification ceremony (**Ōharae*) to worship the "*kami* of heaven and earth" (**Tenjinchigi*), and builds a palace (**Saigū*) for the consecrated princess at Kurahashi Kawakami. An imperial procession and festival were to have taken place in the 4th month; however, plans are suspended due to the death of Princess Tōchi no himemiko. (*Nihon shoki*)
681	Tenmu 10	1.19: Provinces in the Kinai region (the area around Nara and Kyoto) and elsewhere are ordered to repair shrine buildings. (*Nihon shoki*)	
683	Tenmu 12		
684	Tenmu 13	10.1: Eight hereditary clan titles [*yakusa no kabane*] instituted. (*Nihon shoki*)	
685	Tenmu 14	11.24: Ceremony to "invite the spirits" performed for the emperor (origins of the "festival for the pacification of the spirit" [**Chinkon-sai*]). (*Nihon shoki*)	9.10: System instituted for rebuilding and reconsecrating the Grand Shrines of Ise, which entails transferring the enshrined deity from an old shrine building to a newly constructed one (see **Shikinensengū*). (*Dai jingū sho zōjiki*)
686	Shuchō 1		6.10: Emperor becomes ill. A divination reveals it to be a curse from the sword Kusanagi (Kusanagi no tsurugi; see also **Sanshu no shinki*), so the emperor sends the sword back to Atsuta Shrine. (*Nihon shoki*)
687	Jitō 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	poultry. (*Nihon shoki*)
	3.2: "High priests" (*sōjō*), "senior priests" (*sōzu*), and "Vinaya masters" (*risshi*) are appointed to oversee monks and nuns (marks the establishment of a hierarchical structure for Buddhist officials [*sōgō*]). (*Nihon shoki*)
	7.20: Era name changed to Shuchō ("vermilion bird") due to a vermilion pheasant appearing, which was seen as a good omen. (*Nihon shoki*)
	9.9: National mourning (*kokki*) ceremonies held at temples in the capital for Emperor Tenmu first mention of a Buddhist style

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
689	Jitō 3	8.2: All government officials gather at the **Jingikan* for talks on matters involving the *kami* of heaven and earth (**Tenjinchigi*). (*Nihon shoki*)	
690	Jitō 4		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and deity transferred (**Shikinensengū*) (some argue that this is the first time that the *shikinensengū* for Ise Inner Shrine was ever mentioned). (*Dai jingū sho zōjiki*)
691	Jitō 5	11.1 **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Jitō. (*Nihon shoki*)	
692	Jitō 6		12.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and deity transferred (**Shikinensengū*) (said to be first mention of a *shikinensengū* performed for the Ise Outer Shrine). (*Dai jingū sho zōjiki*)
698	Monmu 2	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Monmu. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	12.29: Ta'ke Shrine transferred to Watarai District in Ise Province. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
699	Monmu 3		
700	Monmu 4		
701	Taihō 1		-.-: Hata no Tori builds Matsu-no-o Shrine in Yamashiro Province this year. (*Honcho getsurei*)
702	Taihō 2	7.8: The shrine to Honoikazuchi-no-kami of Yamashiro-otokuni District is added to the shrines where both ritual purification wands (**Ōnusa*) and monthly imperial tributes (*tsukinami no nusa*) are officially offered (first mention	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	memorial day mourning ceremony [*kokki*] for an emperor). (*Nihon shoki*)
	5.24: *En no Ozunu of Mt. Katsuragi is exiled to Izu on a charge of making misleading prophecies. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	3.10: The monk Dōshō cremated in accordance with his written will (first mention of cremation in Japan) (see **Shinsōsai* [*Shinto Funeral Rites*]). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	3.21: Era name changed to Taihō due to good omens (gold offerings from Tsushima, completion of the Taihō legal code). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	8.3: Completed Taihō legal code presented as offering to the emperor. (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		of additions being made to ranks of official shrines [*Kansha*] supported by historical evidence). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
704	Keiun 1		
706	Keiun 3	2.26: Nineteen shrines in Kai, Shinano, Etchū, Tajima, and Tosa provinces are recipients of the ritual offerings (**Hanpei*) from the **Kinensai*. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
707	Keiun 4		
708	Wadō 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Genmei. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	10.2: Royal court reports on construction of Heijō-kyō (present-day Nara) to Ise Inner Shrine. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
709	Wadō 2		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
710	Wadō 3		
711	Wadō 4	4.20: Governor of Yamashiro Province ordered to inspect the Kamo festival (festival had been growing too boisterous). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	2.-: Hata no Kimi Irogu enshrines the *kami* Inari (see **Inari shinkō*) at Mitsumine in Kii District, Yamashiro Province (the first Inari shrine to be built). (*Nenchūgyōji hishō*, *Shosha kongen-ki*)
			-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
712	Wadō 5		
715	Reiki 1	6.-: First mention of the ritual meal eaten by the emperor to celebrate the imperial ancestors (*jinkonjiki*; see **Chōtei saishi*), according to one tradition. Another tradition claims the *jinkonjiki* was first held in 716 (Reiki 2). (*Kuji kongen*)	-.-: Following an oracle, Fujiwara no Muchimaro this year constructs the "shrine temple" (**Jingūji*) Kehi in Echizen Province (the first mention of a shrine temple in historical accounts). (*Tō-shi kaden*)
716	Reiki 2	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	5.10: Era name changed to Keiun due to a good omen (an auspicious cloud appeared in the imperial court). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	-.-: Epidemic rages throughout the country, killing many people. For this reason, a demon-exorcism rite (*taina*) is performed using a clay cow (first mention of *taina*; also known as *tsuina*; see **Oni*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	2.6: Provinces ordered to perform purification rite (**Ōharae*) due to widespread epidemic. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	1.11: Era name changed to Wadō (lit. "Japanese copper") due to good omens (copper offerings received from Musashi Province). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	3.10: Capital relocated to Heijō-kyō (present-day Nara).
1.28: Ōno Yasumaro presents *Kojiki* (see **Kojiki and Nihon shoki*) to the imperial court. (*Kojiki*, "Introduction")	
-.-: *Harima fudoki* written by this year (see **Fudoki*).	9.2: Era name changed to Reiki due to good omen (the offering of a "supernatural turtle" [*reiki*] from Sakyō).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Emperor Genshō	
717	Yōrō 1	4.23: Begging by both monks and laypersons is banned, as are all forms of shamanism and divination other than healing through incantations (*shinju*) or infusions (*tōyaku*). The itinerant activities of Buddhist monk Gyōki (see **Ryōbu Shintō*) also prohibited at this time. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	2.1: Ambassador to Tang China Ohono Garuhi worships the "kami of heaven and earth" (**Tenjinchigi*) south of Mt. Mikasa. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
718	Yōrō 2		
719	Yōrō 3	6.19: Officials at the Department of Divinities (**Ritsuryō Jingikan*) including those who oversee ceremonies in the imperial court (*miyaji*, see **Jinjashishoku*) ordered for the first time to hold scepters while performing their duties. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
720	Yōrō 4		-.-: This year, following an oracle a ceremonial release of captive animals (*hōjō-e*; see also **Chōtei saishi*) takes place at Usa Shrine (one tradition claims this was the first *hōjō-e* held in the country; another claims it is the first to be held at Usa Grand Shrine). (*Usa takusen-shū*)
721	Yōrō 5	9.11: Emperor Genshō sends an envoy to Ise to make offerings (**Heihaku*) (first appearance of "regular official offerings" [*reihei*, see also **Reiheishi*] done at **Kannamesai*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
724	Shinki 1	1.27: Izumo governor-ritualist (**Izumo kokusō*) Izumo no omi Hiroshima delivers the *kamuyogoto* incantation (see also **Norito*).	
		11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōmu.	
725	Shinki 2		-.-: Following an oracle from the deity Usa Ōkami, a "shrine temple" (**Jingūji*) is constructed

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.17: Era name changed to Yōrō due to a favorable auspice (*sake* is said to have come out of a fountain in Mino Province).
5.-: First draft of *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* prepared (see **Fudoki*).	
5.21: Prince Toneri and his collaborators finish and present to the emperor *Nihongi* (*Nihon shoki*) in 30 volumes, plus a genealogy (see * *Kojiki and Nihon shoki*).	
	2.4: Era name changed to Shinki to mark start of new era and due to a favorable omen (offering of a white turtle from Sakyō [the characters for "*Shinki*" mean "divine turtle"]).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			at Usa. (*Usatakusenshū*)
729	Tenpyō 1		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
730	Tenpyō 2	10.29: Offerings from the Chinese kingdom of Bohai made to shrines to "eminent deities" (**Myōjin*) in each province (first mention of *myōjin*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
732	Tenpyō 4		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
733	Tenpyō 5		
737	Tenpyō 9	8.13: Order issued for shrines without official status throughout the country that are to *kami* seen as efficacious to be promoted to status of official shrines (**Kansha*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
740	Tenpyō 12		
741	Tenpyō 13		
743	Tenpyō 15	5.27: Law promulgated allowing newly opened, arable fields to be owned in perpetuity across the generations.	
746	Tenpyō 18		8.-: An oracle from Usa Hachiman Shrine ordering

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.12: Prince Nagaya commits suicide after being falsely accused of studying the "Left Way" (*sadō*; i.e., a heresy or black magic) and plotting treason against the emperor. (*Nagaya-ō no hen*, or "the Prince Nagaya incident"). Subsequently, during the years when the Chinese-styled administrative system (i.e., the *ritsuryō* state) was still in effect, the government adopted a repressive stance toward Daoist magic. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	8.5: Era name changed to Tenpyō due to a favorable omen (an "auspicious turtle"[*zuiki*] was offered from Sakyō).
	9.29: Someone from Suō Province recklessly preaches about good and bad fortune and worships the spirits of the dead. Another brings together large masses of people around capital and spreads groundless rumors (some traditions say this was the itinerant Buddhist preacher Gyōki). Both are banned. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
2.30: *Izumo no kuni fudoki* produced (see **Fudoki*). (Introduction to *Izumo no kuni fudoki*)	
-.-: *Hizen no kuni fudoki* and *Bungo no kuni fudoki* produced this year (see **Fudoki*).	8.12: Smallpox rampant. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	9.-: The revolt of Fujiwara no Hirotsugu.
	3.24: Promulgation issued ordering the construction of official temples and nunneries in each province (the *kokubunji*, or provincial temple, system) (date recorded in *Ruiju-sandai-kyaku* as 2.14). (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			construction of the Great Buddha for Tōdai Temple. Mutsu Province gives the shrine an offering of 120 gold *ryō* (approx. 4.5 kg of gold). (*Tōdaiji yōroku*)
747	Tenpyō 19		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
749	Tenpyō-shōhō 1	11.25: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōken. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	12.18: Divine spirit of Usa Hachiman Shrine comes to the capital (Heijō-kyō, today's Nara). Spirit is welcomed with the construction of shrine buildings in Nashihara Palace. (The spirit is said to have come to the capital to support the construction of the Great Buddha in Heijō-kyō.) (*Shoku-nihongi*)
			-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
752	Tenpyō-shōhō 4		
754	Tenpyō-shōhō 6	11.27: Chief ritualist (*miyaji*, see **Jinjashishoku*) of Usa Hachiman Shrine Ōga no Tamaro and others for witchcraft. The governor of Dazai (*Dazai-fu*) takes control of shrine's estates. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
757	Tenpyō-hōji 1	5.20: The Yōrō Code goes into effect.	
		6.19: The decision is made that the imperial envoy (*heihakushi*, see **Hōbeishi*) to the Grand Shrines of Ise will be selected from among members of the high-ranking Nakatomi clan. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
758	Tenpyō-hōji 2	11.23 **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Junnin.	9.-: Two hundred and eighteen shrine menials (*kamiyatsuko*) at Kashima in Hitachi Province are designated shrine households

Personalities/Texts	Society
	4.14: Era name changed to Tenpyō-kanpō due to favorable auspice (offering of gold from Mutsu Province).
	8.17: Seventeen shamans from the capital exiled to Izu, Tosa, and Oki. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	4.4: All households ordered to keep a copy of *Xiao jing* (The classic of filial piety). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	5.20: Fujiwara no Nakamaro installs himself as head of the empress-consort's household agency (*shibi-naishō*). He pursues policies strongly colored by Tang and Confucian models, such as changing the titles of government officials to match Tang styles.
	8.18: Era name changed to Tenpyō-hōji due to good omen (appearance of mystical writing at the imperial court and in Suruga). (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*Kanbe*). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
			10.2: Mishima Shrine in Izu is granted 9 shrine households (*Kanbe*). Another 4 are granted in the 12th month. (*Shinshōkyakuchokufushō*)
759	Tenpyō-hōji 3		
765	Tenpyō-jingo 1	11.16: (22) **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōtoku.	
766	Tenpyō-jingo 2		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
767	Jingo-keiun 1		
768	Jingo-keiun 2		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
769	Jingo-keiun 3		
770	Hōki 1		
771	Hōki 2	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōnin.	-.-: The offices of chief priest (*daigūji*) and vice-chief priest (*shōgūji*) created at Usa Shrine (see **Gūji*).
772	Hōki 3		8.6: The shrine temple (**jingūji*) at Ise is transferred from Watarai District to Ītaka District because of a curse by the *kami* *Tsukuyomi of the Grand Shrines of Ise (*Shoku-nihongi*). (The curse did not abate, so the temple would be transferred to another location in 780 on 2.1).
775	Hōki 6	10.13: Feast held to celebrate the emperor's birthday (first mention of the **Tenchō-setsu*).	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.22: Unordained monks (*shidosō*) are banned. (*Ruiju-sandai-kyaku*)
	8.16: Era name changed to Jingo-keiun due to good omen (clouds seen as omens of good luck [*keiun*] appeared at the imperial court and Ise).
	9.25: Prior to this date, the head priest of Dazai-fu had reported to the emperor that an oracle from Usa Hachiman (see **Hachiman shinkō*) called for Dōkyō, a monk, to be made emperor. The emperor sent Wake no Kiyomaro to Usa to inquire as to the will of Hachiman. Kiyomaro reported back that the previous oracle (**Takusen*) was false and for that reason he was exiled. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	10.1: Era name changed to Hōki due to start of new era and a good omen (offering of a white turtle from Higo). (*Shoku-nihongi*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Shoku-nihongi*)	
780	Hōki 11	12.14: Activities of shamans and "worship of heretical deities" (*inshi*) banned in the capital. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
781	Ten'ō 1	11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kanmu.	
784	Enryaku 3		
785	Enryaku 4	11.10: Emperor Kanmu worships the heavenly deities (*tenjin*, see **Tenjinchigi*) with a Chinese-style ceremony (Ch. *jiaosi*, usually "suburban sacrifice") at Kashiwara in Kawachi-katano District. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
787	Enryaku 6		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
788	Enryaku 7		5.2: Envoys sent to the Grand Shrines of Ise and shrines to eminent deities (**Myōjin*) around the country to pray for rain. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
789	Enryaku 8		
791	Enryaku 10		10.27: Crown Prince visits Ise Grand Shrine. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
792	Enryaku 11	7.27: Holding large-scale funerals is banned. (*Ruiju-sandai-kyaku*)	3.24: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) on a provisional basis due to fire.
794	Enryaku 13		12.-: Hirano Shrine is built. (*Ichidai-yōki*)
798	Enryaku 17	1.24: Terms of office for chief priests and priestly officials decided. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
		9.7: System for "provincial offering shrines" (*kokuheisha*, see **Shikinaisha*) finalized, for purposes of distributing ritual offerings (**Hanpei*) in such	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	1.1: Era name changed to Ten'ō due to a good omen (appearance of a beautiful cloud at the palace to the consecrated princess [**Saigū*] at Ise). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	11.11: Capital transferred to Nagaoka-kyō.
-.-: First appearance of the word **saimon*, meaning a written proclamation read aloud to the deities. (*Shoku-nihongi*)	
	4.16: The emperor himself prays for rain (**Kiu*) due to a nationwide drought. (according to archival materials, an emperor had not prayed for rain since 642; such prayers were hardly ever offered again after this date). (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	12.-: Enryaku Temple constructed on Mt. Hiei.
8.-: **Sumiyoshitaishajindaiki* presented to the Settsu Office (*Settsu-shiki*, a special office that administered Settsu Province).	
	9.16: Killing cows in worship of Chinese deities (*karagami*) in the provinces of Echizen, Ōmi, Ise, Mino, Owari, and Kii is banned. (*Shoku-nihongi*)
	10.24: Capital transferred to Heian-kyō (present-day Kyoto).
	10.4: Music and dancing at night time festivals in the capital and neighboring provinces forbidden. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		festivals as the **Kinensai*. Previously, priests (**Hafuribe*) from all official shrines (**Kansha*) would be brought to the Department of Divinities (**Ritsuryō Jingikan*) to be given the distributed ritual offerings. After this change, in the case of the more distant official shrines the governor (*kokushi*) of the province in which the shrine was located would distribute offerings themselves. (*Ruijū-kokushi*).	
		10.12: In Izumo and Chikuzen provinces, provincial governor-ritualists (**Kuni no miyatsuko*; see also **Izumo kokusō*) prohibited from concurrently holding post of district governor (*gunryō*). Additionally, provincial governors in those provinces also serving as shrine ritualists (**Kannushi*) prohibited from referring to farm girls taken as concubines as "shrine attendants" (*jingū uneme*) and having them conduct rituals. (*Ruijū-kokushi*; *Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
800	Enryaku 19	12.4: Chief magistrate of Munakata, Chikuzen Province, prohibits shrine ritualists (**Kannushi*) from also serving as district officials (see **Shingun*). (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
801	Enryaku 20		Intercalary 1.17: The position of *jingūji* ("chief administrator priest"; not to be confused with **Jingūji*) in Izumo Province is abolished. (*Ruijū-kokushi*)
804	Enryaku 23		6.-: Method for appointing the chief priests (**Gūji*) at the Hitachi, Kashima, Kehi, Keta, and Buzen Hachiman shrines

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.23: It has been decided that the ongoing misfortunes Emperor Kanmu has been experiencing around this time are due to a curse from Crown Prince Sawara, who had become the sacrificial victim in a fight for succession (he had been banished and then he starved to death in custody). Consequently, on this day the late prince is granted the posthumous title of Emperor Sudō.
3.14: Presentation of *Toyuke-gū gishiki chō* (see **Enryakugishikichō*).	
8.28: *Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō* (see **Enryakugishikichō*) produced. (Afterword to *Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			established (*Nihon-kōki*).
805	Enryaku 24		-.-: One tradition holds that around this time, during the reign of Emperor Kanmu, the Kasuga *kami* (see **Kasuga shinkō*) was transferred (**Kanjō*) to Ōharano (the foundation of Ōharano Shrine). (*Ōkagami uragaki*)
806	Daidō 1		
807	Daidō 2	9.28: Shamans and "worship of heretical deities" (*inshi*) in the capital are banned. (*Nihon-kiryaku*)	
808	Daidō 3	11.14: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Heizei.	
810	Kōnin 1	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Saga.	-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
		12.-: Princess Uchiko is appointed the consecrated princess of Kamo Shrine (**Saiin*). (This marks the creation of the position of Kamo princess)	
812	Kōnin 3	9.26: All the provinces were ordered to investigate oracles (*shintaku*; see also **Kamigakari, takusen*). Orders are also issued that prohibit reckless preaching about good and bad fortune (*kafuku*) and that provincial governors (*kokushi*) are to report oracles remarkably good in nature to the court. (*Nihonkōki*)	6.5: The frequency for doing rebuilding work at shrines in Sumiyoshi, Katori, and Kashima is set at 20 years for the main building (*seiden*, see **Honden*) alone. (*Nihonkōki*)
			-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
814	Kōnin 5		
815	Kōnin 6	11.21: Issuing decisions on	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.8: Buddhist monk Saichō (also known as Dengyō Daishi) returns from China to found the Tendai Buddhist sect.
	10.22: Buddhist monk Kūkai (also known as Kōbō Daishi) returns from China to found the Shingon Buddhist sect.
2.13: Inbe no Hironari presents to the court **Kogoshūi*. (*Kogoshūi* dedication). (Divergent opinions exist).	2.24: The emperor offers prayers to eminent deities (**Myōjin*) at the imperial palace audience hall (*Daigokuden*) in response to the spread of an epidemic (offering invocations [**Kitō*] to eminent deities starts to become popular from around this time). (*Nihongiryaku*)
	9.12: The Kusuko Incident (*Kusuko no hen*, a failed coup attempt meant to restore the now-retired Emperor Heizei to the throne). (*Nihonkōki*)
6.1: Prince Manda presents **Shinsen shōjiroku* to the imperial court. (Some argue it was completed in the 7th month.)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		death sentences during festivals prohibited. (*Nihonkōki*)	
816	Kōnin 7	6.22: Chief priest (**Gūji*) at the Grand Shrines of Ise is removed from his position for causing pollution (**Kegare*) by performing Buddhist rites. (*Ruijū-kokushi*)	
817	Kōnin 8	12.25: The chief priest (**Gūji*) of the Grand Shrines of Ise is granted authority over the special districts providing services to Ise (**Shingun*). (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	
818	Kōnin 9	-.-: An administrative office for the Kamo consecrated princess (*saiinshi*, see **Saiin*) is established.	
819	Kōnin 10	3.16: The Kamo Shrine festival [*kamosai*] is grouped with other medium-scale shrine rites (*chūshi*, see **Chūsai*) placing it on par with the **Kinensai,* **Niinamesai,* and others below the **Daijōsai* among imperial court rituals. (This may indicate the first time that the Kamo festival was officially acknowledged as a court festival).	5.17: Imperial tributes (**Hōbei*) offered to the *kami* of Kibune as a prayer for rain (**Kiu*). (Kyoto's Kibune Shrine became the main shrine for prayers seeking the start or end of rainfall around this time, lasting until the medieval period). (*Nihongiryaku*)
820	Kōnin 11		
822	Kōnin 13		
823	Kōnin 14	11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Junna.	
827	Tenchō 4		1.19: Emperor Junna becomes ill. The source of his illness is attributed to a curse from Inari

Personalities/Texts	Society
4.21: *Kōnin kyakushiki* (see **Policies and Institutions of the Classical Period*) presented to the imperial court. (The document—a compilation of protocols and procedures—would be presented again in 830 before going into force in 840).	
1.30: *Dairishiki* (a compilation of protocols for the imperial palace) presented to the imperial court.	
-.-: Keikai (also known as Kyōkai) produces *Nihon ryōiki* [A record of miraculous events in Japan] around this time (see, for example, **Fugeki*).	
	7.12: A major earthquake occurs. Frequent earthquakes follow. (*Nihongiryaku*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Shrine, so the deity of that shrine is granted the rank (**Shin'i, shinkai*) of junior fifth lower grade (*jugoi'ge*). (*Nihongiryaku*)
829	Tenchō 6		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
830	Tenchō 7		
831	Tenchō 8		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
833	Tenchō 10	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Ninmei.	
839	Jōwa 6	Intercalary 1.23: Villages are ordered to worship *kami* associated with disasters and misfortune (*ekijin* or *yakujin*; see **Shintō and Buddhism*) every season to prevent epidemics from spreading.	11.5: Fire at the palace of the consecrated princess of Ise (**Saigū*) burns down more than 100 official residences.
		2.26: Jurisdiction over Kehi Shrine in Echizen is transferred from the provincial governor (*kokushi*) to the Department of Divinities (*Jingikan*, see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*). (*Shoku-nihonkōki*)	
840	Jōwa 7		
848	Kashō 1		
849	Kashō 2		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
850	Kashō 3	5.9: Seventy monks (*dosha*) assigned to the shrines of eminent deities (**Myōjin*); the monks are given names that include the character for *kami* (神). (*Montoku jitsuroku*)	
851	Ninju 1	1.27: All *kami* ranked or not are given ranks of senior sixth or higher (see also **Shin'i,*	-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.11: Urabe Tohotsugu presents to the imperial court **Shinsen kisōki*. (*Shinsen kisōki no kenkyū: honkoku no bu*)	
2.15: Kiyohara no Natsuno finishes compiling **Ryōnogige*.	
12.9: Fujiwara no Otsugu and his collaborators finish compiling the chronicle *Nihonkōki*. (Introduction to the *Nihonkōki*)	
	6.13: Era name changed to Kashō due to favorable auspice (the offering of a white turtle from Dazaifu).
	4.28: Era name changed to Ninju due to start of new imperial reign and favorable auspices (reports to the court of a white turtle and

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		shinkai). (*Montoku jitsuroku*)	
		2.12: System for festivals at Ōharano Shrine established, modeled on those of Umemiya Shrine. (Hereafter, the Ōharano festival would be held as court rites). (*Montoku-jitsuroku*)	
		11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Montoku.	
854	Saikō 1		
857	Ten'an 1		
859	Jōgan 1	1.27: Ranks assigned to 267 shrines around the country en masse. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	8.-: Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine founded. (Another version of its founding holds that this year the monk Gyōkyō asked to found the shrine and the deity was transferred [**kanjō*] there the following year. In either case, the shrine subsequently became the focal point for the Hachiman cult [see **Hachiman shinkō*]). (*Chōyagunsai*)
		11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Seiwa.	
863	Jōgan 5		-.-: This year, Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine following on Usa Hachiman Shrine begins to hold its *Hōjō-e* festival (a Buddhist-derived ceremony entailing the release of captive animals; see also **Hachiman shinkō* and **Chōtei saishi*). Iwashimizu Temple is renamed Gokoku Temple and is made the "shrine temple" (**Jingūji*) of Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine..
864	Jōgan 6	8.5: The imperial court orders Kai Province to apologize to the *kami*, saying the great	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	rainfalls of sweet waters [*kanro*, associated in Chinese political thought with benevolent rule and peaceful lands]).
	11.30: Era name changed to Saikō due to favorable auspice (a report from Iwami of a spring that produces sweet-tasting waters [*reisen*]).
	2.21: Era name changed to Ten'an due to favorable auspices (reports from Mimasaka and Hitachi of white deer and of conjoined trees [*renri*; considered to be lucky]).
8.-: The word *suijaku* ("temporary manifestation;" see **Honjisuijakusetsu*) is used with reference to the *kami* in a document submitted to the imperial court (*jōhyōbun*) by the monk Eryō of Enryaku Temple, who was requesting that annual ordinands (*nendosha* or *nenbundosha*) from the Tendai sect be sent to the Kamo and Kasuga shrines (see also **Shintō and Buddhism*). (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
	5.20: Ritual to placate the spirits that cause calamities (g*oryō-e*, see **Goryō* and **Goryō shinkō*) held at the garden Shinsen'en in Kyoto to appease the vengeful spirits of Emperor Sudō, Prince Iyo, Fujiwara no Yoshiko, Fujiwa no Nakanari, Tachibana no Hayanari, and Fun'ya no Miyatamaro. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		eruption of Mt. Fuji that occurred in the 5th month did so because the priests (**Negi* and **Hafuri*) of Sengen Myōjin Shrine were insincere when it came to rites. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
865	Jōgan 7	6.14: People banned from gathering on the pretense of holding rituals to placate the spirits that cause calamities (*goryō-e*, see **Goryō* and **Goryō shinkō*) in order to actually hold horseback races and archery contests. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
866	Jōgan 8		
868	Jōgan 10	6.28: Government officials banned from concurrently being the head of a shrine (**Kannushi*). *Kannushi* subsequently placed under the jurisdiction of provincial governors (*kokushi*). Also women officially allowed to be appointed as "suppliant priests" (**Negi*). (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
			Intercalary 12.25: Unmarried shrine priestesses (*itsukime*, or *saijo*) are assigned to Kasuga and Ōharano shrines (the practice soon ceases). (*Sandai jitsuroku*)
			-.-: Sekisan Myōjin Shrine founded at the foot of Mt. Hiei. (*Sekisan-myōjin engi*)
869	Jōgan 11		-.-: Great epidemic. Believing it due to a curse from *Gozu Tennō ("ox-headed king of heaven"), 66 halberds are erected in a rite to appease the deity. (One tradition holds this is the origin of the Gion festival; however, Yasaka Gion Shrine is generally regarded as having been founded in 876. See also **Gion matsuri* and

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Intercalary 3.1: The emperor observes peasants at work. The people working the field performed dances and music of the common folk (*zatsugaku*, in contrast with **Gagaku*) (One tradition holds this is the first mention of **Dengaku*). (*Sandai jitsuroku*)
-.-: Around this time, Koremune no Naomoto produces **Ryōnoshūge*.	
4.-: *Jōgankyaku* (a collection of laws) compiled. 9.-: The laws go into force.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			**Gion/Tsushima shinkō*)
870	Jōgan 12		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
871	Jōgan 13		
873	Jōgan 15		
876	Jōgan 18	4.8: Celebrations for the Buddha's birthday in the imperial palace are suspended because of *shinsai* (imperial household festivals whose rites the emperor himself conducts; see also **Chokusai*) (an early example of separation of Shinto and Buddhism in the imperial palace) (see **Shinto and Buddhism*).	-.-: Sometime during the Jōgan era, Fujiwara no Yamakage founds Yoshida Shrine on Mt. Yoshida in Yamashiro Province. (*Ōkagami* [The great mirror])
877	Gangyō 1	11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Yōzei.	
879	Gangyō 3		7.22: Sumiyoshi Shrine is ordered to keep a register listing the shrine's treasures (*shinzaichō*, see also **Shinpō*) and to make three copies of it for each new provincial governor (*kokushi*) when they take office. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)
881	Gangyō 5	3.26: All shrines in the country are ordered to present to the imperial court a genealogical register of **Hafuribe* (an ancient priestly rank) every three years. (*Sandai jitsuroku*)	
884	Gangyō 8	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōkō.	
886	Ninna 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
888	Ninna 4	10.19: The emperor worships "all the deities of heaven and earth (**Tenjinchigi*) of the four directions" (this marks the inauguration of the daily morning worship rite [*gohai*; see **Chōtei saishi*]). (*Nenchūgyōjihishō*)	
		11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held	

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.25: *Jōganshiki* compiled. (see **Policies and Institutions of the Classical Period*)	
-.-: First mention of subshrines (**Wakamiya*), in the *Sandai jitsuroku*.	
	4.16: Era name changed to Gangyō due to a favorable auspice (offerings of white pheasant and white deer received).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to accompany accession of Emperor Uda.	
889	Kanpyō 1	11. 21: Kamo Rinjisai ("Kamo special annual festival") held for the first time. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Fusōryakuki*)	3.13: The Īno District in Ise Province is granted to the Ise Grand Shrines as a shrine estate (**Shinryō*). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)
			10.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nihongiryaku*)
890	Kanpyō 2	1.1: Emperor Uda performs the ritual of worshipping in the four directions (*shihōhai*, see **Chōga*) (first performance of the *shihōhai* on New Year's Day). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Gōkeshidaishō*; *Nenchūgyōjihishō*)	
892	Kanpyō 4		
893	Kanpyō 5	3.2: Provincial governors (*kokushi*) are ordered to oversee shrine priests (*shashi* and **Kannushi*; see also **Shinshoku*) and have them conduct ceremonies such as the **Kinensai*, **Tsukinamisai*, and **Niinamesai*. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)	11.27: People prohibited from taking up residence in the vicinity of Ise Outer Shrine. (*Jingū zatsurei shū*)
894	Kanpyō 6		
897	Kanpyō 9	11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Daigo.	12.22: The imperial court assigns a provincial military-police force (*kebiishi*) to the territory of the Grand Shrines of Ise and gives them the authority to conduct police investigations on those lands. (*Ruijū-sandai-kyaku*)
		12.3: Three hundred and forty shrines throughout the country granted promotions of one rank. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Entairyaku*)	
898	Shōtai 1	5.8: Offerings are made to 16 shrines including Ise for them to carry out rainfall rituals (**Kiu*) (the 16-shrine system, later to become the 22-shrine system [**Nijūnisha*] established	

Personalities/Texts	Society
5.10: Sugawara no Michizane finishes compiling *Ruiju kokushi* (see also **Tenjin shinkō*).	
	9.-: Dispatch of envoys to T'ang China suspended. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Kankebunsō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		around this time). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
901	Engi 1		
903	Engi 3		
904	Engi 4		12.19: The Imperial court enshrines *Raijin, "thunder *kami*," at Kitano as a prayer for a good harvest (*Raikōsai*) (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*). (*Seikyūki*)
905	Engi 5		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
907	Engi 7	10.2: Cloistered emperor Uda goes on official procession (*gokō*, "imperial progress") to the mountains of Kumano (first mention of an imperial progress by an emperor or former emperor; see also **Kumano shinkō*). (*Nihongiryaku*)	-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun)*
910	Engi 10		
914	Engi 14		
916	Engi 16		2.10: Fujiwara no Tadahira, head of the Fujiwara clan, presents a race horse (*sōme*) and a special

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.15: Era name changed to Engi based on a submission from Miyoshi Kiyotsura (Miyoshi argued that era names should be changed when the year in the Chinese zodiac is *shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," [the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle] which is associated with political and social instability [see also **Ehō*])
2.25: Sugawara no Michizane dies (age 59); see also **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
9.17: Arakida Motosada, a suppliant priest (**Negi*) of Ise Inner Shrine, and others present *Daijingū negifuzuchō.* (**Kōnojisatabumi*).	
11.15: Fujiwara no Tokihira and others present *Engikyaku* to the imperial court. A compendium of rules and procedures, it goes into force the 12th month of the following year (see **Engishiki*).	
	7.10: Nationwide drought around this time. The imperial court presents standard offerings (**Hōbei*) and the offerings of living animals (**Ikenie*), to shrines, famous mountains, and famous rivers around the country. Orders are also given for abandoned corpses in various places to be buried and for fishing and hunting to be banned. (*Nihongiryaku*)
	-.-: Miyoshi Kiyotsura makes note in *Iken fūji*—a memorial he sent to the emperor—of "disorder" in the regularly performed rites such as the **Kinensai*. (*Honchōmonzui*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			horse intended as a votive offering (**Shinme*) to Kasuga Shrine (first mention of a *shinme* envoy from the house of the imperial regent). (*Nenchūgyōjishō*)
919	Engi 19	6.24: Examples are set down on the rituals to be performed should some defilement arise before performing a three-day, total abstinence rite (*chisai*, see **Jingiryō*). (*Kujō nenchūgyōji*)	
921	Engi 21	2.7: Cloistered emperor Uda Hōō makes a pilgrimage (**Sankei*) to Kasuga Shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to Kasuga Shrine). (*Mitsune-shū*)	
922	Engi 22		
923	Enchō 1		
924	Enchō 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
926	Enchō 4	5.27: Provincial governors (*kokushi*) are ordered to handle offerings used in the rituals for **kinensai* and similar observance] with the strictest of care. Also, the Imperial Household Ministry (**Kunaishō*) within the Department of Divinities (*Jingikan*, see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) is ordered carry out repairs to damage at shrines throughout the country. (*Saigūki*)	4.11: The boundaries for the land in which Ise Outer Shrine sits are defined. (*Jingū-zōreishū*)
			9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
927	Enchō 5		
932	Shōhei 2	11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Suzaku.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Mention is made of "field entertainment" (**Dengaku*) in *Izumi no kuni Ōtori daimyōjin gosharyūkichō* (first definite appearance of *dengaku* in the historical record).
	Intercalary 4.11: Era name changed to Enchō due to calamities (flooding and the death of the crown prince).
	11.25: Scholar of laws and codes (*myōhō hakase*) Koremune no Kinkata is ordered to investigate whether it was acceptable for individuals under age 7 who were in mourning to be involved in rituals. (*Gengohiketsu*)
12.26: Fujiwara no Tadahira and others present the 50-volume **Engishiki*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
934	Shōhei 4		6.26: A practitioner monk (*shugyōsō*) builds the Tenjindō ("hall to the *kami* of heaven"; formally called Gion-Kanjin'in and also known as Gion-sha; present-day Yasaka Shrine) at Gion Temple (other traditions hold it was built either in 926 or in 935). (*Ichidai-yōki*; *Nihongiryaku*)
935	Shōhei 5		
938	Tengyō 1		8.12: Worshippers from Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine attack and destroy a new shrine built in Yamashina to which the divided spirit of Iwashmizu Hachiman had been transferred (**Kanjō*) because the new one prospered more than the original. (*Honchō-seiki*)
940	Tengyō 3	1.6: All of the eminent deities (**Myōjin*) in the country are promoted one rank (see **Shin'i, shinkai*) as a prayer for the suppression of the Shōhei-Tengyō revolt. Estates were granted to the shrines of those *kami* that were already at the highest rank. (*Entairyaku*)	
942	Tengyō 5	4.29: The emperor visits Kamo Shrine to give thanks for the suppression of the revolts of Taira no Masakado and Fujiwara no Sumitomo (the first mention of an imperial progress to Kamo Shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*)	6.21: An *azuma-asobi* dance (see **Bugaku*) and a ritual horse race (*sōme*; see also **Kurabe-uma*) are performed at the Gion-Kanjin'in (Gion Shrine) as thanksgiving for the suppression of Shōhei-Tengyō revolt. (*Nihongiryaku*)
			7.12: Tajihi Ayako enshrines Sugawara no Michizane at Shichijō in Kyoto inspired by a divine message (*shintaku*; see

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.-: Taira no Masakado wars with his uncle Taira no Kunika in Hitachi Province (beginning of the revolt of Masakado [*Masakado no ran*], aka the Shōhei-Tengyō revolt [*Shōhei-Tengyō no ran*]).
	5.22: Era name changed to Tengyō due to calamities (the revolt of Masakado that had begun two years prior, earthquake in the 4th month of this year).
	-.-: In autumn, worshipping a pair of male and female statues called Funado no Kami and Goryō in the streets Kyoto becomes popular. (*Honchō-seiki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			also **Kamigakari, takusen*) (see **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Teiō-hennenki*)
943	Tengyō 6		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
945	Tengyō 8		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
946	Tengyō 9	11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Murakami.	-.-: Around this time (during the reign of Emperor Suzaku), Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen is granted the rank of bodhisattva (*bosatsu*) and establishes the post of chief shrine priest (**Gūji*). (*Munakata daigūji-shidai*)
947	Tenryaku 1		6.9: Saichin, a monk of Asahi Temple, and others build a shrine to Sugawara no Michizane at Kitano (the founding of Kitano Shrine) (see **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Nenchūgyōji-hishō*)
			-.-: The biannual reading of the complete *Lotus Sūtra* (*niki-hakkō*) is held at Kasuga Shrine (first mention of the *niki-hakkō* at this shrine). (*Kasuga-daimyōjin-shōshaki*)
948	Tenryaku 2		10.1: The ritual custom of reciting the *Lotus Sūtra* in its entirety (*Hokke-hakkō*) is established at Tōnomine. (*Tōnomine ryakuki*)
949	Tenryaku 3		
957	Tentoku 1		
960	Tentoku 4		
961	Ōwa 1	-.-: Ise Shrine chief priest (*daigūji*, see **Gūji*) Ōnakatomi no Nakasuke prohibited from	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.3: Portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) from Shidaragami are brought from Settsu to Kyoto and installed at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. Many people accompany the procession. (*Honchō-seiki*)
5.23: *Jingikan kanmon* (a collection of responses [*kanmon*] to questions posed by the emperor; see also **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) published.	
	10.27: Era name changed to Tentoku due to calamity (severe drought in the previous year).
6.10: *Sōken engi* (formally, *Kitano Tenman Jizai Tenjingu sōken Yamashiro no kuni no kado no Kamutsuhayashi no gō engi*; also known as *Kitano Tenmangū konpon-engi*), a chronicle of the founding of Kitano Shrine, produced (see also **Tenjin Shinkō*).	9.23: Fire at the imperial palace (First time for imperial palace to burn down since the move from Nara 167 years before. Palace burns down repeatedly after this.).
	2.16: Era name changed to Ōwa due to calamities and associations of year with political and social instability according to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		privately donating divine rice fields (*shinden*) to the shrine (confirms that the imperial court had a policy of not allowing private contributions to Ise Shrine). (*Jingūzōreishū*)	
962	Ōwa 2	2.27: The Mie District in Ise is granted to the Grand Shrines of Ise as a special district serving the shrine (**Shingun*) in gratitude for the building of the new inner palace having been completed the previous year without incident. (*Nihongi-ryaku*)	9.17: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Jin'nōzōyōsenkiroku*)
964	Kōhō 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
967	Kōhō 4		
968	Anna 1	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Reizei.	
969	Anna 2		
970	Tenroku 1	6.14: One tradition holds that the Gion *Goryōe* (**Gion matsuri*) begins to be included as an official festival (*kōsai*) starting this year (see also **Goryō shinkō*). (*Nijūnisha-chūshiki*)	
		11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Enyū.	
971	Tenroku 2	3.8: The Iwashimizu *Rinjisai* ("special festival") becomes a regular event. (*Nihongiryaku*)	
973	Ten'en 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Chinese zodiac (fire at the imperial residential compound [*dairi*] at the palace the previous year; current year is *shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) (see also **Ehō*).
	7.10: Era name changed to Kōhō due to calamity and associations of year with political and social instability according to Chinese zodiac(devastating storm two years before; current year is *kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) (see also **Ehō*).
7.9: **Engishiki* is promulgated and goes into force. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Engishiki*; *Fusenshō*)	
	3.26: Minamoto no Takaakira exiled on charge of treason (the Anna Incident, *Anna no hen*). Following this, the Fujiwara clan's monopoly on politics strengthens. (*Fusōryakuki*; *Hyakurenshō*).
	12.20: Era name changed to Ten'en due to calamity (buildings at the imperial court devastated by heavy winds and rains on 5.17).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
974	Ten'en 2		5.7: Gion Kanjin'in (Gion Shrine) becomes a branch temple (*betsuin*) of Enryaku Temple. (*Nihongiryaku*)
975	Ten'en 3	6.15: Horse races (*sōme,* see **Kurabeuma*), court-ordered music (*chokugaku*), *azuma asobi* dances (see also **Bugaku*) and ritual wands (**Gohei*) are given as offerings to Gion Shrine (one tradition holds this is the first instance of the Gion Rinjisai). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
976	Jōgen 1		
977	Jōgen 2		
978	Tengen 1		
979	Tengen 2	3.27: The emperor visits Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Hyakurenshō*)	
981	Tengen 4	2.20: The emperor visits Hirano Shrine. Semui Temple is made a shrine-temple (**Jingūji*) of the shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*)	9.17: Ise Inner Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
983	Eikan 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
984	Eikan 2		3.21: In response to the pleas of the monk Shōkū and others, Mishima Shrine in Iyo stops sacrificing deer as offerings (see also **Ikenie*). (*Iyo-Mishima-sha engi*)
985	Kanna 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kazan.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.13: Era name changed to Jōgen due to calamities (fire at the imperial residential compound [*dairi*] on 5.11, massive earthquake on 6.18).
2.22: Kamo no Yasunori (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*) dies (age 60). (*Kamo no Yasunori no musume shū*)	
	11.29: Era name changed to Tengen due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena; following year held to be one of misfortune [*Tai yi yang*] for emperor based on zodiacal principles).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
986	Kanna 2	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Ichijō.	
987	Eien 1	8.5: One tradition holds that Kitano Shrine festival began this year. (*Nijūnisha-chūshiki*)	
		11.25: Yoshida Shrine festival is counted among the official court festivals (*kōsai*) starting this year. (*Nijūnisha-chūshiki*)	
988	Eien 2		
989	Eiso 1	3.22: An imperial progress is made to Kasuga Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*)	
989	Eiso 1		
990	Shōryaku 1		
993	Shōryaku 4	11.27: An imperial progress is made to Ōharano Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Honchōseiki*)	
994	Shōryaku 5		
995	Chōtoku 1		
998	Chōtoku 4		
999	Chōhō 1	7.27 (25): A decree of the Great Council of State (*Daijōkanpu*) is handed down consisting of eleven articles including one	6.14: Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Michinaga attempts to arrest a performer of miscellaneous arts (*zatsugeisha*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Nenjū gyōji go shōjimon* ("popular edition") produced around this time (see **Nenjū gyōji*).	
	8.8: Era name changed to Eiso due to calamites (unusual atmospheric phenomena including the appearance of a comet).
	11.7: Era name changed to Shōryaku due to calamity (heavy winds and rains on 8.13 the previous year).
	6.27: Epidemic rampant around this time. From May to June, groundless rumors freqently went around and peopled believed them to stay indoors or to seek the water of a well at Aburakōji. On this day, therefore, the Royal court had a ceremony for the *ekishin*, the kami of pestilence, at Funaoka-yama and held a *Goryō'e*. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Honchōseiki*)
	2.22: Era name changed to Chōtoku due to calamity (great epidemic persisted from the previous year; epidemic continues unabated after the change).
	4.10: Brawl breaks out during the **dengaku* in the **Matsu-no-o matsuri* resulting in multiple deaths (first mention of *dengaku* in the *Matsu-no-o matsuri*). (*Nihongiryaku*)
	1.13: Era name changed to Chōhō due to calamities (epidemic and drought persisting from the previous year).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		ordering that unprecedented shrine and temple rituals be avoided and another ordering that damage to shrines be repaired. (*Seijiyōryaku*)	attired as a monk at Gion Tenjin'e on the grounds of lèse-majesté for pulling an object resembling the cart (*hyō* [*no yama*]) used in the *Daijōsai* (first mention of a festival float [**Dashi*] at the Gion festival). (*Honchōseiki*)
1000	Chōhō 2		8.12: The Empress' Household Office (*Chūgūshiki*) procures a portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) from Iwashimizu Shrine. (*Sakakiba-shū*)
			9.16: Ise Inner Shrine shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1002	Chōhō 4	12.29: The ritual dance of the Inner Sanctum (*Naishidokoro no mikagura*, see **Kagura*) is performed (first mention of the *naishidokoro no mikagura*. Hereafter, it would be performed every other year). (*Kinpishō*; *Ichidaiyōki*)	9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1003	Chōhō 5		11.27: Priests from Usa Hachimangū Shrine go to Kyoto to accuse senior assistant governor of Dazai-fu Taira no Korenaka of despotism. The 12th month of the following year, he is dismissed. (*Hyakurenshō*)
1004	Kankō 1	10.14: An imperial progress is made to Matsuo Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Gonki*)	
		10.21: An imperial progress is made to Kitano Shrine (first mention of an imperial visit to the shrine). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Gonki*)	
1005	Kankō 2		
1012	Chōwa 1	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Sanjō.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Epidemic rampant. *Goryō-e* (see **Goryō shinkō*) held at Murasakino (*Kujikongen*) (*goryō-e* were frequently held at Murasakino thereafter whenever an epidemic broke out).
	7.20: Era name changed to Kankō due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena and natural disaster).
9.-: Abe no Seimei dies (age uncertain, possibly 85)	11.15: Fire at the imperial palace. The sacred mirror (*yatanokagami*, see **Sanshu no shinki*) damaged. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Midō kanpaku-ki*; *Shōyūki*)
	2.8: Shidaragami (a group of wandering deities) are believed to have come to Kyoto from Cinzei, modern Kyūshū. They are

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1015	Chōwa 4		
1016	Chōwa 5	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Goichijō.	
1019	Kannin 3		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nihongiryaku*; *Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1020	Kannin 4		11.12: Kamo Shrine and Enryaku Temple contend with one another over the borders of their estates (see also **Shinryō*). (*Shōyūki*)
1021	Jian 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1024	Manju 1		11.2: Priests from Kehi Shrine in Echizen demonstrate against Kaga governor (*Kaga-no-kami*) Tanba Kimichika. (*Shōyūki*)
1025	Manju 2		3.12: "Worship lecture" (*reihai-kō*) held at Hiyoshi Shrine (first mention of such an event at the shrine; see also **Kō*). (*Yōtenki*)
1028	Chōgen 1		
1029	Chōgen 2		7.18: The imperial court holds deliberations regarding Iga governor (*Iga no kami*) Minamoto no Mitsukiyo, who was the object of protests from the priests of Ise Shrine. (Others in Iga Province also protest against Mitsukiyo, who eventually is exiled to Izu.)
1031	Chōgen 4		6.17: An oracle (**Takusen*) comes down Aramatsuri Shrine at Ise to warn that the acting head of

Personalities/Texts	Society
	worshipped at Murasakino (see **Hayarigami Shinkō*). (*Hyakurenshō*)
	6.-: A massive epidemic rages. People build a shrine sanctuary on the west bank of the Kamiya River around Hanazono in western Kyoto in response to an oracle (**Takusen*) from a disease-causing deity (*ekishin* or *yakujin*) and visit it to worship and present offerings. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Shōyūki*)
	2.2: Era name changed to Jian as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.13: Era name changed to Manju as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.25: Era name changed to Chōgen due to calamities (rampant epidemic, drought).
	8.-: Around this time, Emperor Goichijō secretly visited the *Naishidokoro* (part of the Inner Sanctum; see **Kyūchū sanden*) every

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			the Bureau of the Consecrated Princess (*saigūryō*; see **Saigū*) Fujiwara no Sukemichi and his wife have been deluding people by building Ise Shrine treasury houses inside their own residence. It also claims that several recent emperors have been disrespectful to Ise Shrine while also relating the "one hundred kings" theory (*hyakuōsetsu*), an idea imported from China that held the imperial line would end after 100 successive reigns. (*Nihongiryaku*; *Shōyūki*)
1036	Chōgen 9	11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Gosuzaku.	
1038	Chōryaku 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1039	Chōryaku 3	3.13: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) of Ise Shrine prohibited from entering Kyoto on their own initiative. (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)	2.15: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) from Ise Shrine bring shrine personnel to Kyoto to make a petition regarding 13 "miscellaneous taxes" (*zatsuji*). Suppliant priests from Ise Shrine would subsequently go on to repeatedly carry out protest demonstrations (*gōso*) until the middle of 11th century. (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1040	Chōkyū 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū Reibun*)
1044	Kantoku 1		
1046	Eishō 1	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Goreizei.	
1050	Eishō 5		1.20: Suppliant priests (**Negi*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	night to offer invocations (**Kitō*) (some records suggest he was troubled by the oracle of Ise Aramaturi Shrine proclaimed this year on 6:17). (*Shōyūki*)
	9.9: Fire destroys the emperor's residential compound (*dairi*) at the palace. The divine mirror (*yata no kagami*, see **Sanshu no shinki*) is also damaged. (*Shun-ki*; *Hyakurenshō*)
	11.10: Era name changed to Chōkyū due to calamities (massive earthquakes in the 9th and 10th months, fire at the imperial residential compound).
	11.24: Era name changed to Kantoku due to calamities (epidemic the previous year, drought).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			from Ise Shrine come to Kyoto leading more than seven hundred lower-ranking priests (**Hafuribe*) and shrine personnel to protest against the master of Ise rites (**Saishu*) (similar incidents frequently occur after this.). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
			6.-: Nakayama Shrine is founded. The shrine is dedicated to the stone deity (*iwagami*) on the grounds of Reizei-in, a property on palace grounds for the retired emperor (starting three years later in 1053, the Nakayama Matsuri is added to the list of public festivals). (*Hyakurenshō*)
1052	Eishō 7		9.19: Buddhist high priest Myōson holds the first *Shinra Myōjin festival. (*Jimon denki horoku*)
1053	Tengi 1		1.6: The residence of Ise Shrine Head Priest Ōnakatomi no Noritō catches fire. Fire destroys all then-existing documents concerning tenants (**Kanbe*) of lands owned by the shrine. (*Daijingū shozōjiki*)
1054	Tengi 2		-.-: Buddhist high priest Myōson founds Shin-Hiyoshi Shrine (Nagara Shrine). (*Onjōji-denki*).
1057	Tengi 5		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*; *Hyakurenshō*)
1058	Kōhei 1		
1059	Kōhei 2		9.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Daijingū shozōjiki*; *Ōnakatomi-uji keizu*)
1060	Kōhei 3		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: The idea spreads among the populace that this year the world entered the Buddhist end-times (*mappō*, "the Latter Days of the Law"), a degenerate age when Buddhist teachings would not be practiced (ideas about *mappō* and Buddhist Pure Lands [*jōdo*] flourish).
	1.11: Era name changed to Tengi due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, belief that the age of Buddhist end times [*mappō*, "the Latter Days of the Law"] had begun the previous year).
	8.29: Era name changed to Kōhei due to calamity (fire on 2.26 at the Daigokuden [Palace Audience Hall]).
	5.11: The imperial court deliberates over the matter of Ise governor (*Ise no kami*) Fujiwara no Yoshitaka having set fire to estates belonging to the Grand Shrines Ise and the matter of Ōnakatomi no Yoritsune, deputy

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1063	Kōhei 6		8.-: Minamoto no Yoriyoshi builds a Hachiman shrine at Yui Town in Sagami Province (the origins of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine) (see also **Hachiman Shinkō*).
1065	Jiryaku 1		
1066	Jiryaku 2		
1068	Jiryaku 4	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Gosanjō.	
1069	Enkyū 1		
1070	Enkyū 2	8.15: Imperial envoy (**Chokushi*) sent to the Hōjō-e festival held at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period*).	
1071	Enkyū 3	10.29: The emperor visits Hiyoshi Shrine (first mention of an imperial progress to the shrine). (*Fusō ryakuki*)	7.24: A divination (*boku*, see **Bokusen*) is performed at the imperial court regarding Gion Shrine having erected a statue of Dadokuke-no-kami (this deity was not on the list of officially recognized deities and was said to be the personification of *Yamatanoorochi). (*Koasakumasha shinkyō satabumi*)
1072	Enkyū 4	3.26: The emperor visits Inari and Gion shrines (first mention of an imperial progress to these two shrines). (*Fusō ryakuki*)	
1074	Jōho 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shirakawa.	
1076	Jōho 3	4.23: The imperial progress to Kamo Shrine is made into an annual event. (*Fusō ryakuki*)	-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	for the consecrated princess (**Saishu*) having murdered an oracle (*takusensha*, see **Kamigakari, takusen*). Yoshitaka would be exiled in the 8th month. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	8.2: Era name changed to Jiryaku due to calamities (drought, year deemed unlucky according to Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["the alignment of three planets"]).
	1.7: A "divine tree" (**Shinboku*) from Kasuga Shrine is brought to Kyoto. (*Kōfukuji bettōki*)
	Intercalary 10.11: Office for the certification of estate documents (*Kiroku shōen kenkeisho*) established (see also **Shinryō*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1077	Jōryaku 1		
1078	Jōryaku 2		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibun*)
1081	Eihō 1		11.-: The imperial court makes offerings to the Twenty-Two Shrines (**Nijūnisha*). (One tradition holds that this is when Hiyoshi Shrine was added to that grouping, while another holds it happened in 1039.) (*Suisa-ki*; *Sotsu-ki*; *Hyakurenshō*)
1082	Eihō 2		
1083	Eihō 3		
1084	Ōtoku 1		
1085	Ōtoku 2		
1086	Ōtoku 3	-,-: Around this time, visiting Kumano Shrine becomes popular. Retired emperors Shirakawa, Toba, Go-Shirakawa and Go-Toba between them make around 100 trips all told to Kumano Shrine over the course of the century during which the system of rule by retired emperors (*insei*) prevailed.	
1087	Kanji 1	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.17: Era name changed to Jōryaku due to calamities (drought, plague).
9.21: Fujiwara no Tamefusa asks a man named Kanzō to act as his guide (**Sendatsu*) on his visit to Kumano Shrine (first mention of *sendatsu*).	2.10: Era name changed to Eihō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.15: Monks from Onjō Temple disrupt the Hie (Hiyoshi) festival. 4.28: Monks from Enryaku Temple attack Onjō Temple in response. (*Fusō ryakuki*; *Tamefusa-kyō-ki*)
	10.17: Monks from Kumano bring portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) to Kyoto to stage a demonstration (*gōso*) (rowdy demonstrations by monks and shrine priests of this sort occur frequently from this point forward to the Kamakura Period). (*Fusō ryakuki*)
	9.-: The Later Three Years' War (*Gosannen no eki*) breaks out. (*Azuma-kagami*)
	2.7: Era name changed to Ōtoku as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.-: The practice of building shrines to worship certain deities known as Fukutoku-no-kami, Chōfuku-no-kami, and Hakushu-sha with the accompaniment of group drinking becomes popular in Kyoto. The imperial court prohibits the practice as superstitious and destroys the shrines.
	11.26: Emperor Shirakawa abdicates the throne in favor of his son Prince Taruhito (later Emperor Horikawa). (The start of the system of rule by retired emperors [*insei*].)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to accompany accession of Emperor Horikawa.	
1088	Kanji 2		11.-: Senior Assistant Governor General of Dazaifu (*Dazai daini*) Fujiwara no Sanemasa is sentenced to exile after protests by priests from Usa Hachiman Shrine. The previous year, he had quarreled with the priests and shot arrows at their portable shrine (**Shin'yo*).
1089	Kanji 3		
1090	Kanji 4	3.26: The practice of preparing food offerings (**Shinsen*) every day begins at Kamo Shrine. Accordingly, imperial envoys (**Hōbeishi*) are dispatched. (*Chūyūki*)	
1093	Kanji 7		
1094	Kahō 1		
1095	Kahō 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. Rice tax for rebuilding the Ise Shrines (Zō-Daijingū yakubuku mai) levied

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.19: The imperial court begins deliberations on a conflict between the priests (*shashi*, see **Shinshoku*) of Iwashimizu and Matsuo shrines that resulted in the destruction of the main building (*shaden*) at Matsuo. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	3.18: **Sendatsu* from Kumano raid the imperial palace. (*Chūyūki*)
	8.26: Monks from Kōfuku Temple bring a sacred tree (**Shinboku*) to Kyoto to protest Ōmi governor Takashinano Tameie. (First mention of a sacred tree being brought to Kyoto. Other accounts say this event occurred in either An'na 1 [968] or Jiryaku 2 [1066]). (*Go-nijō moromichi-ki*, *Honchō seiki*)
	10.29: Special envoys (**Hōbeishi*) are sent to 22 shrines to report of savage fighting between monks from the Nara Buddhist sects and those of the Tendai sect. (*Go-nijō moromichi-ki*, *Chūyūki*)
	3.6: The imperial court enters deliberations over a conflict in Kyoto between priests from Kurama Temple and Kamo Shrine. (*Chūyūki*, *Hyakurenshō*)
	12.15: Era name changed to Kahō due to calamities (epidemic that began the previous year).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			throughout the country (*Shikinensengū*). (*Chūyūki*)
1096	Eichō 1		
1097	Shōtoku 1		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (*Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibumi*)
1099	Kōwa 1	3.27: Regent (*kanpaku*) Fujiwara no Moromichi orders the head shrine monk (*Bettō*) of Kōfuku Temple to ban people from going to Kasuga Shrine with the intention of entreating the *kami* with prayer (*Kisei*). (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*)	-.-: First written mention of "combined shrine" (*Sōja*), in *Tokinoriki*.
1103	Kōwa 5		
1104	Chōji 1		6.17: Priests from Kehi Shrine in Echizen protest injustice on the part of provincial governor Takashina Tameie. (*Chūyūki*)
1105	Chōji 2		10.30: Priests from Hie Shrine and Enryaku Temple launch protests against Dazai Vice-Governor Fujiwara no Suenaka (Suenaka's men had skirmished with Enryaku monks sent to protest at a shrine in Kyushu as part of the broader power struggle among shrines, temples, and retired emperor Shirakawa). Suenaka is exiled. (*Denryaku*)
1106	Kajō 1		9.29: Priests from Gion Shrine launch protests against the governor of Tanba. (*Denryaku*)
			10.2: Chief administrative monk (*zasu*) Eihan is dismissed after

Personalities/Texts	Society
	12.17: Era name changed to Eichō due to calamities (great earthquake on 11.24).
	-.-: *Dengaku* (see **Sarugaku*, *Dengaku*) dances popular (the phenomenon is collectively known as the "great *dengaku* of Eichō" [*Eichō no ō-dengaku*]).
	11.21: Era name changed to Shōtoku due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake, typhoon, flooding).
	8.28: Era name changed to Kōwa due to calamities (great fire in Kyoto 2nd month of previous year, earthquake, epidemic).
	3.3: Prophecies about demon *kami* (*kishin*) are rife. The prophecies become prevalent again in Kyoto in the 7th month. Believing them, many people shut themselves indoors and refrain from going out. (*Chūyūki*)
	2.10: Era name changed to Chōji due to calamity (Kyoto fires the 11th month the previous year).
	-.-: Fujiwara no Munetada records in his diary, "Shrine priests and temple monks are acting in overbearing ways, worrying everyone both high and low." (*Chūyūki*)
	4.9: Era name changed to Kajō due to calamity (the appearance of a comet).
	6.-: Epidemic spreads this month resulting in many deaths. Craze for **dengaku* dances in

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			priests from Gion Shrine make appeals to "Inner Minister" (*naidaijin*) Minamoto no Masazane. (*Denryaku*, *Eishōki*)
1108	Tennin 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Toba.	
1110	Ten'ei 1		11.1: Central pillar of Ise Shrine topples.
1113	Eikyū 1		
1114	Eikyū 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Denryaku*)
			-.-: Kasuga Shrine presents evening offerings at lucky and unlucky times every day (see **Daily Aspects* [higara] *and Directional Taboos* [*hōi*]) (first mention of such practices in the written record). (*Kasugasha-ki*)
1115	Eikyū 3		4.21: First portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) for "mountain king" worship (see **Sannō shinkō* and **Sannō Shintō*) is made at Hiyoshi Shrine for Sannomiya, one of its auxiliary shrines (**Sessha*) (this marks the final stage in the creation of the seven *sannō* shrines; see also **Hie matsuri*). (*Yōtenki*)
1116	Eikyū 4		9.16: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Sengū jiryaku*, *Nisho Dainjingū reibumi*)
1118	Gen'ei 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Kyoto. Thousands take part and the streets bustle with noise. (*Chūyūki*)
	12.7: An old woman is arrested for attracting "lecherous believers" (*kōshoku na shinja*) to worship snakes and foxes. (*Chūyūki*)
	7.13: Era name changed to Ten'ei due to calamities (comet, epidemic that started previous year).
	Intercalary 3.20: Seeking to have Buddhist statue maker Ensei appointed head shrine monk (**Bettō*) for Kiyomizu Temple, 5,000 monks from Kōfuku Temple protest with sacred trees (**Shinboku*) from Kasuga. (*Denryaku*, *Chōshūki*)
	7.13: Era name changed to Eikyū due to calamities (warfare, epidemic).
	11.9: Fighting between priests from Iwashimizu Hachiman and Gion shrines. (*Chūyūki*)
	4.3: Era name changed to Gen'ei due to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1119	Gen'ei 2		
1120	Hōan 1		
1122	Hōan 3		3.14: **Kagura* performances begin at Kasuga Shrine. (*Kōfukuji ryakunendai-ki*)
1123	Hōan 4	11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Sutoku.	
1124	Tenji 1	6.15: The Gion "special annual festival" (*rinjisai*) is held for the first time. (*Eishōki*, *Hyakurenshō*)	
1125	Tenji 2	11.9: Retired emperors Shirakawa and Toba, along with Toba's wife Taiken, visit Kumano Shrine (they visit Hie Shrine the next year). (*Chūyūki mokuroku*)	
1126	Daiji 1	7.11: Imperial court deliberates over issue of purification wands (**Ōnusa*) being offered to shrines in recent years being too extravagant. (*Chūyūki*)	
1128	Daiji 3		9.28: A poetry contest (*uta awase*) is held at Sumiyoshi Shrine (see **Sumiyoshi shinkō*). (*Sumiyoshi uta awase*)
1131	Tenshō 1		
1132	Chōshō 1	12.5: Deliberations over restoration of the sacred meal (*jinkonjiki*) at *shinsai*, i.e., festivals where the emperor leads the rites (*shinsai* had been halted prior to this for 25 years)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, epidemic).
	-.-: Custom of provincial governors (*kokushi*) making formal visits (*shinpai*) to main shrine in province begins to fade around this time.
	4.10: Era name changed to Hōan due to calamity (bad fortune for emperor).
	7.18: Monks from Enryaku temple chase chief administrator monk (*zasu*) Kankei off Mt. Hiei and try to enter Kyoto bearing the Hie portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) (Kankei had handed over temple workers to the imperial police [*kebiishi*] in response to a complaint from Taira no Tadamori). They are warded off from doing so by the imperial court, Taira no Tadamori, and Minamoto no Tameyoshi. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	12.27: Great fire in Kyoto. The "spine-tingling festival" for driving out evil spirits (*Kikisai*; see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*) is held at each entrance to the imperial palace.
	1.22: Era name changed to Daiji due to calamity (epidemic that started the previous year).
	1.29: Era name changed to Tenshō due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, epidemic).
	8.11: Era name changed to Chōshō due to calamities (epidemic, retired emperor's palace burns down 7.23).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(see also *Chokusai*). (*Chūyūki*)	
1133	Chōshō 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Chūyūki*)
1135	Hōen 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibumi*)
1136	Hōen 2	9.17: Kasuga Wakamiya Festival created (one story holds that **dengaku* and *sangaku* [see **Sarugaku*] performances were added the following year; see also **Kasuga shinkō*). (*Chūyūki*)	
1138	Hōen 4		
1140	Hōen 6		
1141	Eiji 1		
1142	Kōji 1	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Konoe.	
1143	Kōji 2		
1144	Ten'yō 1		
1145	Kyūan 1	6.11: Orders given to go back to using old ceremonies for offerings used in the sacred meal (*jinkonjiki*) at the *Tsukinamisai. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1146	Kyūan 2		4.7: Hakusan Shrine in Kaga is made into a branch temple of Enryaku Temple.
1147	Kyūan 3		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	4.27: Era name changed to Hōen due to calamities (epidemic, flooding, famine).
	4.29: Monks from Enryaku Temple bearing portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) enter Kyoto to lodge protests regarding Kamo Shrine lands and mounted participants in the Hie festival (**Hie matsuri*). (*Hyakurenshō*)
	Intercalary 5.5: Shintō priests and Buddhist monks from Chikuzen Ōyama, Kashii, and Hakozaki in Kyūshū set fire to buildings in Dazaifu (Fukuoka). (*Hyakurenshō*)
	7.10: Era name changed to Eiji as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*); emperor also concerned over prophecy of bad fortune.
	2.23: Era name changed to Ten'yō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.22: Era name changed to Kyūan due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena [comet]).
	6.28: Monks from Enryaku Temple bring the

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1148	Kyūan 4	2.20: The cloistered emperor holds a *Hokke hakkō* (eight readings of the Lotus Sutra) festival at Gion Kanjin'in (present-day Yasaka Shrine) to apologize for a brawl in the 6th month the previous year between Gion priests and the Taira. Such readings thereafter become a regular annual event. (*Honchō seiki*)	3.15: Gion *issai-kyō e*, a festival in which all the sūtra of the Buddhist canon are offered up, first mentioned in writing. (*Ranshōshō*)
1150	Kyūan 6		
1151	Ninpei 1		
1152	Ninpei 2		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Sengū jiryaku*)
1153	Ninpei 3	9.-: Building shrine sanctuaries (*shadan*) in "various places" is forbidden, as is conducting "Chinese rites" (*kanrei*) at home. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1154	Kyūju 1	4.-: The *yasurai* festival (a festival of Kyoto's Imamiya Shrine that entails worshippers making their visit to the accompaniment of flutes and drums; see also **Gechinsai*) is banned. (*Hyakurenshō*)	9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho daijingū reibumi*)
			12.16: A *fudangyō* ritual in which the *Lotus Sūtra* is read through without interruption is held at the Wakamiya subshrine at Iwashimizau Hachiman Shrine (first mention). (*Taiki*)
1155	Kyūju 2	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Shirakawa.	
1156	Hōgen 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Hie portable shrine (*mikoshi*, see **Shin'yo*), to Kyoto to protest to both Taira no Kiyomori and his father Tadamori over a fight that Kiyomori's retinue had with priests from Gion on 6.15. (*Taiki*)
	8.5: One thousand monks from Kōfuku Temple and more than 200 priests from Kasuga Shrine enter Kyoto bearing "divine trees" (**Shinboku*) to press claims. (*Taiki*; *Honchō seiki*)
	1.26: Era name changed to Ninpei due to calamities (violent rainstorms and flooding on 8.4 the previous year).
	10.28: Era name changed to Kyūju due to calamities (typhoon the previous year on 6.20, bad fortune for emperor in present year)
	7.11: The Hōgen Rebellion.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1158	Hōgen 3	12.-: Emperor Go-Shirakawa abdicates. He subsequently goes on more than 30 visits to Hie and Kumano shrines. (*Shosha daiji*)	
1159	Heiji 1	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Nijō. (*Gyokuyō*).	
1160	Eiryaku 1		10.16: The Hie deity and the three Kumano avatars (*Kumano sansho gongen*) are transferred to Higashiyama in Kyoto and installed in the Imahie and Imakumano shrines (see also **Gongen Shinkō*). (*Hyakurenshō*)
1161	Ōhō 1		
1163	Chōkan 1	4.7: In connection with the fighting over levies from Kumano Shrine lands that occurred in Kai Province, deliberations are made over whether the Ise and Kumano Gongen shrines are two parts of the same whole. (It will eventually be concluded that they are separate.) (*Chōkan kanmon*)	
1164	Chōkan 2		
1165	Eiman 1		
1166	Nin'an 1	11.15: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Rokujō.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.-: Resumption of the *sumō* banquet (*sumō no sechi*, or *sumai no sechie*; see **Sumō*).
	12.-: The Heiji Rebellion.
	1.10: Era name changed to Eiryaku due to calamities (Heiji Rebellion the previous year, bad fortune predicted for emperor in present year).
	4.19 (4.29): The *karabitsu* (a type of chest) for the "divine mirror" (*shinkyō*, see **Sanshu no shinki*) at the Naijidokoro (see **Kyūchū sanden*) is rebuilt and a three-day long **Kagura* is performed due to the disturbances of the Heiji era. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	9.4: Era name changed to Ōhō due to calamities (epidemic, famine).
	3.29: Era name changed to Chōkan due to calamity (epidemic).
8.26: Emperor Sutoku, who had been exiled to Sanuki in the Hōgen Rebellion, dies. Afterward, it is said that he haunts Kyoto (see also **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Medieval* [*Jisha bugyō*]).	
1.21: Minamoto Akihiro (*Prince Akihiro) assumes the position of Superintendent of the Jingikan (**Jingihaku*). (The position thereafter becomes one inherited by descendents of the Shirakawa house.) (*Hakuke kiroku*)	6.5: Era name changed to Eiman due to calamities (emperor's illness, unusual atmospheric phenomena, unnatural phenomena [*ke'i*]).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1168	Nin'an 3	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Takakura.	
1169	Kaō 1	2.10: The retired emperor orders shrines to be on guard for fires. (Ise Inner Shrine had suffered a fire the 12th month the previous year.) (*Heihanki*)	6.17: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) on extraordinary basis. (*Hyakurenshō*)
1171	Jōan 1		-.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho daijingū reibumi*)
1173	Jōan 3		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1174	Jōan 4	3.16: Cloistered ex-emperor Go-Shirakawa goes on imperial progress to Itsukushima (see also **Itsukushima shinkō*). (*Gyokuyō*)	
1175	Angen		
1177	Jishō 1	4.28: Great fire in Kyoto. The Great Audience Hall (*Daigokuden*) at the Imperial Palace burns down and is not rebuilt. (*Gyokuyō*)	
1179	Jishō 3	2.29: Decision made to hold an official (government) festival (*kōsai*) at Itsukushima Shrine. (*Gyokuyō*)	
1180	Jishō 4	11.14: Minamoto Yoritomo, who in the 8th month had raised an army in nearby Izu Province (in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture), bans rioting over shrines and temples in Musashi Province (part of present-day Tokyo). Later, bans repeatedly issued over trespassing on	10.-: Minamoto Yoritomo transfers the shrine Yui Wakamiya to Kitayama in Kamakura (inscribed on cornerstone at present-day Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.-: Taira no Nobunori, a high-ranking (*kuraudonotō*) extralegal office (*ryogenokan*) official, reports to the throne that due to the increase in private estates (*shōen*) granted by imperial command (and hence exempt from levies), it has become difficult to collect goods for use at the *yuki* ("auspicious east") ritual lands required for the **Daijōsai*. (*Nobunori ki*)
	12.23: Monks from Enryaku Temple carry a portable shrine (**shin'yo*) to the Imperial Palace and demonstrate against acting counselor (*gon-chūnagon*) Fujiwara no Narichika. Narichika is exiled the next day. (*Gyokuyō*)
	4.21: Era name changed to Jōan due to calamities (disasters, divination predicts bad fortune, and belief that the world was in a period during which the Onmyōdō deity Ten'ichijin was visiting the earth [*Ten'ichi gomyōgo*]) (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*).
	7.28: Era name changed to Angen due to calamities (long rainy spell, epidemic, populace uneasy).
2.20: Superintendent of Divinities (**Jingihaku*) *Prince Akihiro becomes a Buddhist priest. (*Akihiro-ō ki*)	8.4: Era name changed to Jishō due to calamities (great fire in Kyoto, fire at the Great Audience Hall [*Daigokuden*] in the imperial palace).
-.-: *Prince Akihiro dies (possibly age 85).	6.2: Capital transferred to Fukuhara-kyō (by Taira no Kiyomori). 11.-: Kyoto restored as capital.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		shrine and temple lands by warriors. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1181	Yōwa 1		
1182	Juei 1	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Antoku.	
1183	Juei 2		4.9: Officials from the *Jingikan are sequestered at 16 shrines under the Ise Shrine to make invocations (**Kitō*) meant to pacify the warfare. (*Gyokuyō*)
			7.8: Taira no Munemori tries to make the deity of Hie Shrine the clan **kami* (**Ujigami*) of the Taira family. The monks of Mt. Hiei reject the move. (*Kikki*)
1184	Genryaku 1	2.19: The imperial court bans warriors from trespassing on shrine and temple lands and directs Yoritomo to execute the order. (*Gyokuyō*)	4.15: Due to the ongoing warfare, retired emperor Go-Shirakawa (now tonsured) builds a shrine to Emperor Sutoku and Fujiwara no Yorinaga at the site of the Hōgen Rebellion in Kasuga-kawahara and transfers their spirits there (this later becomes Awata Shrine). (*Gyokuyō*)
		11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Toba.	
1185	Bunji 1	10.15: Retired emperor Go-Shirakawa orders Yoritomo to ban the levying of goods meant for the use of the **saigū* and attacks by warriors to seize lands belonging to the Ise Shrine. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1187	Bunji 3		8.15: Minamoto Yoritomo inaugurates the release of captive

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: Around now *Nenjū gyōji emaki* created (see also **Nenjū gyōji*).	
	1.4: Monks from Kumano attack Shima in Ise. They destroy Izawanomiya Shrine, a branch (**Massha*) of Ise Shrine, and spread fires around the towns of Yamada and Uji where the Grand Shrines of Ise are located. (*Azuma kagami*)
	5.27: Era name changed to Juei due to calamities (warfare continuing from previous year, epidemic, present year unlucky due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"] according to Onmyōdō theory).
	7.25: The Taira clan and Emperor Antoku flee Kyoto, taking the three imperial treasures (**Sanshu no shinki*) with them. Minamoto (*aka* Kiso) no Yoshinaka enters Kyoto on the 28th. (*Hyakurenshō*)
	3.24: Downfall of the Taira. Emperor Antoku plunged into the seas; the sacred sword, one of the three divine imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*), is lost with him under the waves. (*Gyokuyō*)
	8.14: Era name changed to Bunji due to calamities (fire, earthquake, downfall of the Taira)
	7.20: Senior assistant director of divinities (*jingi taifu*) Urabe Kanehira is dispatched to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			animals ritual (*hōjōe*) at Rokujō Wakamiya and Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. Also inaugurates horseback archery rites (**Yabusame*) to accompany the *hōjōe* (see also **Medieval Shintō*). (*Azuma kagami*)
1188	Bunji 4		2.28: Yoritomo inaugurates the Tsurugaoka "special festival" (*rinjisai*). (*Azuma kagami*)
1190	Kenkyū 1		9.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Gyokuyō*)
1192	Kenkyū 3		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
			11.16: The Awata mausoleum (Awatabyō) of Emperor Sutoku is redesignated as the shrine Awata-miya and a festival is held to mark the event. (*Hyakurenshō*)
1193	Kenkyū 4		7.-: Rice tax for rebuilding the Grand Shrines of Ise (*Zō-Daijingū yakubukumai*) goes into effect throughout the country. (*Kōya-san monjo*)
1194	Kenkyū 5	5.4: The bakufu orders general Nakahara no Suetoki to handle suits by temples and shrines. (First mention of the Kamakura bakufu's Magistrate of Temples and Shrine [**Jisha bugyō*].) (*Azuma kagami*)	
		12.2: The bakufu appoints a magistrate for a temple in Kamakura built at the emperor's behest (*goganji*) (first appearance of a magistrate other than the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines [**Jisha bugyō*]). (*Azuma kagami*)	
1195	Kenkyū 6	9.29: The bakufu bans falconry. However, an exception is made for falcons used as offerings to the *kami*. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1198	Kenkyū 9	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Nagato to search for the sacred sword of state thrown into the sea (lost with the child emperor Antoku, the culminating incident of the Genpei War; see also **Sanshu no shinki*). He is unable to find it. (*Azuma kagami*, *Hyakurenshō*)
	4.11: Era name changed to Kenkyū due to calamities (earthquake, coming year deemed unlucky in accordance with Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"]).
6.-: Arakida Tadanaka completes **Kōtaijingū nenjūgyōji* (it is revised and expanded by Fujieda [Arakida] Ujitsune in 1464). (*Daijingū sōsho*)	7.12: Minamoto Yoritomo becomes shōgun.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Emperor Tsuchimikado. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1201	Ken'nin 1		8.18: The first "head of instruction" (*gakutōshoku*) is appointed for Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine (the first *gakutōshoku* appointed for this particular shrine). (*Tōsha gakutōshoku shidai*)
1204	Genkyū 1		
1206	Ken'ei 1		
1207	Jōgen 1		12.28: The overseer (*kengyō*) of the Kumano Sanzan shrines (see also **Kumano Shinkō*) and the **Sendatsu* for imperial progresses (*rinkō* or *gyōkō*) are placed under the authority of Onjō Temple (aka Miidera). (*Tō'un rokuji*)
1208	Jōgen 2		4.-: The bakufu builds a shrine temple (**Jingūji*) at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. Services held there in the 12th month. (*Meigetsuki*)
1209	Jōgen 3		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Inokuma kanpaku ki*)
1210	Jōgen 4	8.9: The bakufu investigates conditions surrounding the restoration of temple and shrine lands (see also **Shinryō*). (*Azuma kagami*)	
		12.5: Retired emperor Go-Toba designates the divine sword of Ise to be the sacred sword of the emperor (see also **Sanshu no shinki*). (*Gosokui yoshino hōhei burui ki*)	
1211	Kenryaku 1		9.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.20: Era name changed to Genkyū as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.27: Era name changed to Ken'ei due to calamities (epidemic, sudden death of the regent).
	4.29: Tenjiku Kaja of Iyo is imprisoned, having been accused of erecting shrines to false gods and leading people astray. (*Meigetsuki*)
	10.25: Era name changed to Jōgen due to calamities (epidemic, floods, year deemed unlucky in accordance with Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"]).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1212	Kenryaku 2	3.22: The "new protocols" (*shinsei*; see also **Polices and Institutions of the Classical Period*) comprising 21 articles are promulgated. They include calls to revere the *kami* and perform rituals. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
		9.-: Princess Reishi, **saiin* of Kamo Shrine, retires from position due to illness. The post is left unfilled (*saiin* system discontinued).	
		11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Juntoku. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1213	Kenpō 1		
1219	Jōkyū 1		
1222	Jō'ō 1	11.23: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Horikawa. (*Hyakurenshō*)	
1223	Jō'ō 2		10.-: The Iwashimizu shrine monk (**Bettō*) Sōsei establishes offices to oversee shrine lands and the shrine's temple, as well as system for construction of temple buildings. (*Tanaka Sōsei ganmon'an*)
1224	Gen'nin 1		
1225	Karoku 1		5.22: The bakufu has 1,200 monks perform services at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine to pray for end to drought and

Personalities/Texts	Society
	12.6: Era name changed to Kenpō due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake, great fire in Kyoto on 10.15).
-.-: **Kitanotenjin'engi emaki* ("Illustrated legends of the Kitano Shrine") completed around this time.	1.27: Shōgun Minamoto Sanetomo is assassinated while on a visit to Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. In the aftermath, the Hōjō family assumes the authority of the bakufu while acting as regents (*shikken*).
	4.12: Era name changed to Jōkyū due to calamities (year deemed unlucky in accordance with Onmyōdō theory due to *sangō* ["alignment of three planets"], unusual atmospheric phenomena, drought).
11.-: **Yōtenki* completed. (*Zoku Gunsho ruijū*)	
	11.20: Era name changed to Gen'nin due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomenon, drought).
	4.20: Era name changed to Karoku due to calamities (epidemic, "unrest in the land").

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			epidemic. Copies of the "Humane King sūtra" (*Niōkyō*) and other sūtras are also presented to the highest ranked (**Ichi no miya*) shrine in each province. (*Azuma kagami*)
1227	Antei 1		
1228	Antei 2		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*)
1229	Kangi 1		
1230	Kangi 2		-.-: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*)
1231	Kangi 3	6.9: The imperial court bans "rowdyism" by "monks of the mountain" (i.e., from Mt. Hiei) and shrine priests. (*Shinpen tsuika*)	
		11.3: More "new protocols" (*shinsei*; see also **Polices and Institutions of the Classical Period*) are promulgated, adding another 42 articles. They include orders to carry out festivals and rites at all shrines. (*Minkeiki*)	
1232	Jōei 1	8.10: Regent Hōjō Yasutoki promulgates the 51-article *Goseibai shikimoku* (see also **Medieval Shintō*).	
1234	Bunryaku 1		
1235	Katei 1	11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shijō.	
1238	Ryakunin 1		
1239	En'ō 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	12.10: Era name changed to Antei due to calamities (fire the previous 8.26 at the documents office [*fudono*] at the Council of State [*Dajōkan*], epidemic during the current year).
	3.5: Era name changed to Kangi due to calamity (great storm the previous autumn).
	11.5: Era name changed to Bunryaku due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake).
	9.19: Era name changed to Katei due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake, epidemic in Kyoto).
	11.23: Era name changed to Ryakunin due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena) (the new name is unfavorably received among the populace as it is a homophone for characters that mean "abbreviate/omit the people").
2.22: Retired Emperor Go-Toba dies (age 60) (see also **Mitamaya*). (*Hyakurenshō*)	2.7: Era name changed to En'ō due to calamities (disaster).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1240	Ninji 1		
1241	Ninji 2	5.29: The bakufu orders shrines and temples to determine who exactly is on their staffs owing to troubles caused by commoners claiming to be priests (**Shinshoku*). (*Azuma kagami*)	
1242	Ninji 3	11.13: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Saga. (*Heikoki*)	
1246	Kangen 4	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Fukakusa. (*Yōkōki*)	
1247	Hōji 1		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Dainjingū reibumi*)
1249	Kenchō 1		9.26: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1250	Kenchō 2	7.22: The bakufu investigates restoring shrines that have been destroyed. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1252	Kenchō 4	4.5: Munetaka Shinnō, first shōgun from imperial family, makes **heihaku* offerings (**Hōbei*)—a first for a shōgun—at 18 shrines in the general Kyoto region as well as Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, Mishima Shrine, Hakone Washinomiya Shrine, and the "first shrine" (*sōja*, see **Ichi no miya/Sōja*) of each province. (*Azuma kagami*)	
1254	Kenchō 6		
1256	Kōgen 1		
1257	Shōka 1		
1259	Shōgen 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.16: Era name changed to Ninji due to calamities (drought, unusual atmospheric phenomena [comet]).
	3.18: Era name changed to Kenchō due to calamities (fire in the imperial palace).
	1.10: Great fire in Kamakura, with many deaths. The shōgun calls off his pilgrimage to Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine as a consequence. (*Azuma kagami*)
	10.5: Era name changed to Kōgen due to calamities (plagues and epidemics).
	3.14: Era name changed to Shōka due to calamity (2.10: buildings of the Great Council of State [*Dajōkan*] burn down).
	3.26: Era name changed to Shōgen due to calamities (famine and epidemics)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1260	Bun'ō 1	11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kameyama.	
1261	Kōchō 1	2.29: The bakufu orders temples and shrines in Kantō-area domains directly held by the shōgun (*Kantō gobunkoku*) to make it a point to carry out Buddhist and Shintō rites and to repair temples and shrines.	
1263	Kōchō 3	8.13: The *Kuge shinsei* ("New protocols for the aristocracy"; see also **Polices and Institutions of the Classical Period*) are promulgated, with 41 articles. Sets down stipulations regarding such items as making **heihaku* offerings (**Hōbei*) at shrines. (*Kuge shinsei*)	
1264	Bun'ei 1	11.12: Laws created regarding the holding of regular annual events throughout the country such as shrine festivals. (*Geki nikki*)	
1265	Bun'ei 2		
1266	Bun'ei 3	3.28: The bakufu bans falconry for everything other than offertory and religious rites.	9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1268	Bun'ei 5	-.-: An envoy from the Mongols arrives in 1st month. In the aftermath, concern over a Mongol invasion stirs many to offer prayers to the *kami* and buddhas , as exemplified by an edict signed by the emperor himself in the 4th month ordering that **heihaku* be offered at the Ise Shrines.	9.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1274	Bun'ei 11	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.20: Era name changed to Kōchō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	5.12: The bakufu banishes the Buddhist priest Nichiren to Itō in Izu Province (see also **Hokke Shintō*). (*Nichiren shōnin chūgasan*)
	2.28: Era name changed to Bun'ei as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	Intercalary 4.2: An order from the emperor stops priests from Hakozaki Shrine from following through with plans to carry portable shrines into Kyoto (**Shin'yo*). (The developments follow a report made on 2.11 to the emperor about Hakozaki Shrine having gone up in flames.) (*Geki nikki*)
	10.5: The first attempted Mongol invasion

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Uda.	
1275	Kenji 1		3.-: The priest Tsūkai builds the Hōrakusha hall at Ise Shrine (**Daijingūsankeiki*).
1277	Kenji 3		1.12: The *sōjō* ("monk superior") Dōhō from the temple Tō-ji sequesters himself at the Grand Shrines of Ise to pray that Japan be relieved from its foreign troubles. (*Tōji chōja bunin*)
1278	Kōan 1		
1279	Kōan 2		
1281	Kōan 4		7.21: The Hall of Eight Divinities (**Hasshinden*) built at the Department of Divinities (*Jingikan*, see **Jingikandai*). (*Moromoriki*)
1284	Kōan 7	5.20: The bakufu promulgates a new, 38-article legal code that includes instructions related to shrine and temple lands. (*Shin-goshikimoku*)	
		11.1: The bakufu orders shrines and temples throughout the country to pray for the defeat of the Mongols. (*Kanchūki*)	
1285	Kōan 8		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1286	Kōan 9		
1287	Kōan 10		9.18: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1288	Shō'ō 1	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Fushimi.	
1290	Shō'ō 3		2.9: "Extra festival" (*rinjisai*) held at Kasuga. (One source holds that this festival was carried out as an official state event.) (*Sanemikyō-ki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	(*Bun'ei no eki*). The practice of offering invocations (**Kitō*) seeking to expel the Mongol's ships from territorial waters becomes widespread around this time.
	2.29: Era name changed to Kōan due to calamities (ongoing epidemics that began the year before).
	-.-: This year, itinerant Buddhist preacher Ippen begins his "dancing *nenbutsu*" (*odori nenbutsu*) practice.
	Intercalary 7.1: Warships from the Mongol-installed Yuan and Goryeo regimes on the Korean Peninsula attacking Kyūshū are sunk by typhoon rains (see also **Shinkokushisō*) (the second Mongol invasion, *Kōan no eki*).
-.-: *Watarai Yukitada writes *Ise nisho daijingū shinmei hisho* (Secret book of the names of the deities of the two Great Shrines of Ise). (*Daijingū sōsho*)	
8.-: Around this time the Buddhist priest Tsūkai completes **Daijingūsankeiki*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1293	Einin 1		3.20: The imperial court commends Kaze-no-miya, an Ise Shrine branch shrine (**Massha*) whose name had been changed from Kazenoyashiro by proclamation the previous year, by upgrading it to the status of a detached shrine (**Betsugū*) for its prayers in defense against the Mongolian Invasions. (*Ruiju jingi hongen*)
1296	Einin 4		
1298	Einin 6	11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Fushimi.	
1300	Shōan 2		
1301	Shōan 3	7.22: Office of the retired emperor issues a declaration ordering that Jingikanchō (a Kyoto neighborhood, in what is now Ukyō Ward) be assigned to the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*) (see also **Jingikandai*). (*Hakke-burui*)	
		11.20: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Nijō.	
1303	Kagen 1		
1304	Kagen 2		12.22: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Nisho Daijingū reibumi*)
			-.-: The number of suppliant priests (**Negi*) at each Ise Shrine is set 10 apiece.
1305	Kagen 3		
1306	Tokuji 1		12.20: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt

Personalities/Texts	Society
	4.13: Major earthquake in Kamakura that leaves more than 20,000 dead. (*Daigoji nikki*)
	8.5: Era name changed to Einin due to calamities (Kantō earthquake and drought).
	-.-: Dispute begins between Ise Inner and Outer Shrines over adding the character *kō* ("emperor") to the names of shrines at the latter complex (the affair is known as the *Kō-no-ji ronsō*). (*Kō-no-ji sata-bumi*)
6.-: *Watarai Yukitada writes *Korō kujitsu den* (Oral transmissions of the ancient and the old)	
	8.5: Era name changed to Kagen due to calamities (Great fire in Kamakura the previous 12.11; drought; unusual atmospheric phenomenon [comet]).
Intercalary 12.27: *Watarai Yukitada dies (age 70).	
	12.14: Era name changed to Tokuji due to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Binran*)
1307	Tokuji 2		1.12: The esoteric "pouring water from the peak" (*kechien kanjō*) Buddhist rite is performed at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. (May mark the start of this long-running ceremony.) (*Ninnaji goden*)
1309	Enkyō 2	11.24: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Hanazono.	-.-: Kanda Shrine restores shrine buildings and adds (Taira) Masakado to the **kami* worshipped there.
1311	Ōchō 1		
1312	Shōwa 1		
1313	Shōwa 2		
1317	Bunpō 1		
1318	Bunpō 2	11.22: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Daigo.	2.17: *Daijingū sankei shōjin-hō*, a law banning Buddhism and Buddhist clergy from visiting the Grand Shrines of Ise, is passed by order (*chōsen*) of the office of the retired emperor. (*Bunpōki*)
1320	Gen'ō 2		
1321	Genkō 1	4.17: The imperial court issues a 6-article official message (*kansenji*) to shrines of all ranks from the Grand Shrines of Ise on down that gives orders on how to observe Shintō rituals and directions regarding such matters as clerical work related to lawsuits. (*Gionsha ki*)	
1323	Genkō 3		9.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1324	Shōchū 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena).
12.-: Takashina Takakane completes *Kasuga myōjin genki* (aka **Kasugagongenki*, "Record of the appearances of the Kasuga deity").	
	4.28: Era name changed to Ōchō (widespread epidemics).
	3.20: Era name changed to Shōwa due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, earthquake).
-.-: Jin'un completes **Hachiman 'usagū gotakusenshū*.	
	2.3: Era name changed to Bunpō due to calamities (epidemic the previous year, great Kyoto earthquake on 1.3).
	4.-: The bakufu proposes that the Daikakuji and Jimyōin imperial lines hold talks over the matter of imperial succession.
1.-: *Watarai Ieyuki completes *Ruiju jingi hongen* (Rubricated sources on the origins of the kami, 15 fascicles). (Preface of the same)	
	2.23: Era name changed to Genkō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	12.5: Major fire in Kyōto that destroys around 50 *chō* (neighborhoods). (*Hanazono tennō shinki*)
	10.30: The practice of venerating Kasuga

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1325	Shōchū 2		9.16: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1326	Karyaku 1		
1329	Gentoku 1		
1331	Genkō 1, Gentoku 3	8.24: Emperor Go-Daigo flees from Kyoto with a set of the imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*). (*Taiheiki*)	
1332	Genkō 2, Shōkei 1	11.13: Northern Court, **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōgon.	
1333	Genkō 3, Shōkei 2	3.14: Emperor Go-Daigo acquires the sacred sword (**Sanshu no shinki*) from Kizuki Shrine at Izumo Shrine. (*Senge documents*)	
1334	Kenmu 1		7.-: Izumo no Noritoki directed to build Kizuki Grand Shrine. (*Senge documents*)
1336	Engen 1, Kenmu 3	12.21: Retired emperor (honorific used by Takauji side) Go-Daigo takes the imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*) and slips away to Yoshino (event marks the split into Northern and Southern imperial courts). (*Kōdai ryakuki*; *Jinnō shōtōki*)	
		-.-: The consecrated princess (**Saigū*) withdraws from the *Nonomiya due to social unrest. Thereafter, the practice of dispatching consecrated princesses to Ise Shrine is	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	mandala becomes widespread (see **Kasuga Shinkō*) around this time. There are stories that this was due to an oracle from Kasuga. (*Hanazono tennō shinki*)
	12.9: Era name changed to Shōchū due to calamity (a *feng shui* theory predicted a year of "instability on earth").
	4.26: Era name changed to Kareki due to calamities (a severe thunderstorm that Kyoto experienced the previous 6.26, floods, and epidemics).
	8.29: Era name changed to Gentoku due to calamity (large numbers of deaths due to epidemic ["the coughing illness"]).
	8.9: Southern Court, era name changed to Genkō owing to calamity (epidemic).
-.-: *Jihen completes *Kuji hongi gengi* [Deep significances in the *Kuji hongi*]. (*Shintō taikei*)	
4.-: *Jihen completes *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki* [Primary record of the investigation of the manifest deities of the world]. (*Shintō taikei*)	5.21 (22): The army of Nitta Yoshisada attacks Kamakura, leading to the fall of the Kamakura bakufu.
	5.-: Kenmu Restoration
	1.29: Era name changed to Kenmu to mark reconsolidation after upheaval (bakufu collapse the previous year, restoration of court authority the current year).
	2.29: Southern Court, era name changed to Engen due to calamities (war begun the previous year).
	11.7: The Muromachi bakufu (shogunate) is established.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		discontinued (cessation of the consecrated princess system).	
1338	Engen 3, Rekiō 1	Intercalary 7.29: The bakufu gives strict orders to the military governors (*shugo*) in each province to restore any shrine and temple lands they have confiscated. (*Kenmu irai tsuika*)	
		11.19: Northern Court, **daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōmyō. (*Chūin ippon ki*)	
1339	Engen 4, Rekiō 2		
1340	Kōkoku 1, Rekio 3	4.15: The bakufu forbids the vassal samurai (*hikan*) of provincial governors (*shugo*) from confiscating shrine and temple lands. (*Kenmu irai tsuika*)	3.18: The vengeful spirit of cloistered emperor Sutoku on his mind, Ashikaga Takauji is said to entreat the imperial court to venerate the spirit of the late Emperor Go-Daigo. (*Gyokuei kishō*)
1342	Kōkoku 3, Kōei 1		
1343	Kōkoku 4, Kōei 2		12.28: Northern Court, the Grand Shrines of Ise and Kasuga Shrine are rebuilt and reconsecrated (*shōsengū* , see **Shikinensengū*). (*Gukanki*)
1344	Kōkoku 5, Kōei 3		1.28: Ashikaga Takauji and Ashikaga Tadayoshi make a pilgrimage to Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (may have been the first visit to the shrine by an Ashikaga shōgun). (*Entairyaku*)
1345	Kōkoku 6, Jōwa 1		12.27: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1346	Shōhei 1, Jōwa 2		
1348	Shōhei 3, Jōwa 4		

Personalities/Texts	Society
7.27: *Watarai Tsuenyoshi dies (age 77).	
-.-: *Kitabatake Chikafusa completes *Jinnō shōtōki* [Chronicle of the direct descent of divine emperors] (revised 1343).	
9.6: *Jihen writes *Toyoashihara jinpūwaki* [Record of the natural deities of Japan, the land of abundant reed plains and rice fields]. (*Shintō taikei*)	
	4.27: Northern Court changes era name to Kōei due to calamities (natural disaster, unusual phenomena, epidemics).
	10.21: Northern Court changes era name to Jōwa due to calamities (natural disasters, flooding, epidemic).
	12.8: Southern Court changes era name to Shōhei due to calamity (warfare).
7.24: Northern Court oversees completion of *Jingi shakkyō* [Shintō and Buddhism] in three volumes. (*Entairyaku mokuroku*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1351	Shōhei 6, Kannō 2	12.23: Southern Court seizes the sacred treasures from the Northern Court. (*Entairyaku*)	12.18: Southern Court designates Atsuta Shrine to be an official shrine (**Kansha*). (*Entairyaku*)
1352	Shōhei 7, Bunna 1		
1354	Shōhei 9, Bunna 3	11.16: Northern Court: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Kōgon.	
1356	Shōhei 11, Enbun 1		
1361	Shōhei 16, Kōan 1		
1362	Shōhei 17, Jōji 1		
1364	Shōhei 19, Jōji 3		2.16: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Ni-sho kōtai jingū sengū shidai ki*)
1367	Shōhei 22, Jōji 6	6.27: The bakufu issues special decree ordering warriors to restore lands in Yamashiro (southern Kyoto) they had enfeoffed from shrines and temples. (*Moromoriki*)	
1368	Shōhei 23, Ōan 1		
1369	Shōhei 24, Ōan 2		8.16: Prince Kanenaga (Shinnō) stores at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine the copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* received at memorial service for Emperor Go-Daigo. (*Kanenaga Shinnō gyohitsu Hokekyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.28: Watarai Ieyuki dies (age 96).	
-.-: **Shintōshū* completed (some point between 1352 and 1360).	
4.17: *Kitabatake Chikafusa dies (age 62).	
	3.28: Northern Court changes era name to Enbun due to calamity (warfare).
	3.29: Northern Court changes era name to Kōan due to calamities (warfare, mysterious phenomena, epidemic).
	9.23: Northern Court changes era name to Jōji due to calamities (warfare, earthquake, epidemic).
12.-: **Kitanotenjin engi* (Iwamatsu Shrine version) painted, perhaps this year . (inscription on first scroll)	
-.-: *Inbe no Masamichi completes *Jindai no maki kuketsu.*	
	2.18: Northern Court changes era name to Ōan due to calamities (warfare, natural disaster).
	2.27: The bakufu forbids lay persons from dressing in the garb of Buddhist priests. (*Kenmu irai tsuika*)
	4.20: Warrior monks from Enryaku Temple bearing portable shrines (**Shin'yo*) engage in protests (over a sectarian conflict with Zen monks, who their Shingon sect rivals feared were being favored by the bakufu over other sects). 7.28: The bakufu responds by destroying the main gate (*rōmon*) at Kyoto's Rinzai Zen-affiliated Nanzen Temple. 8.7: All of the senior monks at every Zen temple

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1372	Bunchū 1, Ōan 5	3.12: The bakufu appoints a *Magistrate of Shrines and Temples (*Jisha bugyō*). (*Kaei sandai ki*)	10.25: Cloistered emperor Go-Kōgon settles dispute over borders of lands held by Kamigamo and Kibune shrines in the former's favor (see also **Shinryō*).
		11.18: The bakufu forbids "false suits" (*ranso*) by shrine priests. (*Kaei sandai-ki*)	
1374	Bunchū 3, Ōan 7		-.-: First mention of *Kamo tensō* ("Kamo messenger;" see **Jingū tensō*) position appears, in *Daigeki Moroshige ki*.
1375	Tenju 1, Eiwa 1	1.29: The bakufu issues a 3-clause law decreeing the *kami* should be revered. (*Kaei sandai ki*)	
		11.23: Northern Court, **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Enyū. (*Gukanki*)	
1379	Tenju 5, Kōryaku 1		
1380	Tenju 6, Kōryaku 2		9.8: Northern Court: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1381	Kōwa 1, Eitoku 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	in Kyoto resign.
	4.-: Southern Court changes era name to Bunchū due to calamity (warfare).
2.24: Northern Court grants noble status (the title of *ason*) to Yoshida Kanehiro, then-Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*Jingiken taifu*; see **Jingikandai*). (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])	5.27: Southern Court changes era name to Tenju due to calamity (landslides).
	3.22: Northern Court changes era name to Kōryaku due to calamities (warfare, epidemic).
	9.20: To express their discontent over delays in the regular transfer of the shrine's deity to newly consecrated shrine (**Shikinensengū*), Ise Outer Shrine suppliant priest (**Negi*) Watarai Tomoteru and others try to bring the object of worship (**Shintai*) from subshrine Kaze-no-miya to Kyoto. The Northern Court orders Ise's master of rites Ōnakatomi Motonao to pacify Watarai, and shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu sends an envoy to halt the protest. (*Gekū sengū ki*)
	2.10: Southern Court changes era name to Kōwa as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger-wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	2.24: Northern Court changes era name to Eitoku due to Chinese zodiac associations of

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1382	Kōwa 2, Eitoku 2		
1383	Kōwa 3, Eitoku 3	11.16: Northern Court: **Daijōsai* ceremony held with accession of Emperor Go-Komatsu.	
1384	Genchū 1, Shitoku 1		
1387	Genchū 4, Kakyō 1		
1388	Genchū 5, Kakyō 2	3.3: The bakufu bans monopolization of perilla oil (a lamp oil taken from the beefsteak plant, Jp. *egoma*) sold under the name of *Sumiyoshisha shinjin* ("demigod of Sumiyoshi Shrine") by residents of Sesshu, Izuminokuni (see also **Sumiyoshi shinkō*). (*Rikyū Hachimangū documents*)	
1389	Genchū 6, Kō'ō 1		
1390	Genchū 7, Meitoku 1		
1391	Genchū 8, Meitoku 2		12.20: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1392	Genchū 9, Meitoku 3		
1393	Meitoku 4		9.18: Shōgun Ashikaga

Personalities/Texts	Society
	the year in the sexagenary cycle, as above (see also **Ehō*).
	9.3: Southern army based at Kitayama in the Kii district attacks priest and supporters at Shingū in the Kumano area.
	2.27: Northern Court changes era name to Shitoku due to start of new regime (imperial succession two years prior) and because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.28: Southern Court changes era name to Genchū due to Chinese zodiac associations of the year in the sexagenary cycle, as above.
	8.23: Northern Court changes era name to Kakyō due to calamities (epidemic).
	2.9: Northern Court changes era name to Kō'ō due to calamity (epidemic).
	3.26: Northern Court, era name changed to Meitoku due to calamities (unusual atmospheric phenomena, warfare).
	Intercalary 10.5: Southern Emperor Go-Kameyama hands the three sacred treasures (**Sanshu no shinki*) over to Northern Emperor Go-Komatsu, uniting the two courts. **Kagura* performed for three nights at the Naijidokoro (see **Kyūchū sanden*) of the imperial palace.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Yoshimitsu makes pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise. (*Kugyō bunin*)
1394	Ōei 1		
1400	Ōei 7		2.28: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1402	Ōei 9		3.16: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu makes pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise. (*Yoshida hinamiki*)
1411	Ōei 18		12.-: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1413	Ōei 20		3.6: Kantō Administrator (*Kantō kubō*) Ashikaga Mochiuji builds a great **torii* at Yuigahama, Kamakura. (*Kamakura ōzōshi*)
1415	Ōei 22	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōkō.	
1419	Ōei 26	7.18: *Kinenkoku hōhei* (a ceremony held at 22 shrines including Ise to pray for bountiful harvest) revived (unobserved since 1350). (*Kanmon nikki*)	12.21: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1420	Ōei 27	4.22: **Hie matsuri* (Hiyoshi festival) and visits to it by imperial envoy revived (*Yasutomi ki*) (the festival had gone unobserved since 1380).	
1430	Eikyō 2	11.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Hanazono.	
1431	Eikyō 3		12.20: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1434	Eikyō 6		9.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1441	Kakitsu 1		
1443	Kakitsu 3		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.5: Era name changed to Ōei due to calamities (epidemic, drought).
5.3: Yoshida Kanehiro dies (age 55). (*Yoshida hinamiki*)	1.16: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu holds book fair for "non-Buddhist literature" (*getensai*; i.e., writings from other traditions such as Daoism, Confucianism, etc.) at his villa Kitayama-dai (present-day Kinkaku Temple). (*Yoshida hinamiki*)
2.1 onward: Buddhist priest Ryōhen completes *Nihon shoki daiichi monsho* [Lectures on **Nihon shoki*] (see **Reikiki*).	
	2.17: Era name changed to Kakitsu as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	9.23: Takahide-ō and other family members

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1444	Bun'an 1		
1449	Hōtoku 1		
1452	Kyōtoku 1		-.-: Ryūkyū king Shō Kinpuku builds a shrine to Amaterasu in Naha. (*Nanbei kikō*; *Okinawa-shi*)
1455	Kōshō 1		
1456	Kōshō 2		
1457	Chōroku 1		
1459	Chōroku 3	8.21: The bakufu razes the old gates at the seven entrances to Kyoto and replaces them with new ones. Tolls collected at the gates go to construction costs at major shrines. (*Hekizan nichiroku*)	
1460	Kanshō 1		
1462	Kanshō 3		12.27: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) (will not take place again for 124 years).
1465	Kanshō 6	12.8: The bakufu orders Settsu military governor (*shugo*) Hosokawa Katsumoto to return the land of Nishinomiya Shrine to Superintendent of the	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	from the Southern Court steal two of the imperial regalia (**Sanshu no shinki*)—the jewel and the sword—from the imperial court and flee to Enryaku Temple. The ringleader is subsequently arrested, but the jewel's whereabouts are unknown. (The jewel would be recovered in 1458 and brought back to the imperial court.)
	2.5: Era name changed to Bun'an as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.28: Era name changed to Hōtoku due to calamities (major earthquake in Yamashiro [southern Kyoto] on 4.12, epidemic).
	7.25: Era name changed to Kyōtoku due to calamities (unlucky year [due to *sangō* = "alignment of three stars"] in Onmyōdō theory, epidemics) (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*).
	7.25: Era name changed to Kōshō due to calamities (warriors had requested a new era name due to ongoing warfare since previous year).
-.-: Around this time, *Ichijō Kaneyoshi completes *Nihon shoki sanso*.	
	9.28: Era name changed to Chōroku due to calamities (epidemic, drought, unusual atmospheric phenomenon [comet]).
	12.21: Era name changed to Kanshō due to calamities (famines, drought, warfare).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Jingikan (*jingihaku*) Sukemasu-ō.	
1466	Bunshō 1	12.18: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado.	
1467	Ōnin 1		5.-: Many shrines damaged during the course of the Ōnin War that begins this year, with buildings burned down and so forth.
1469	Bunmei 1		
1475	Bunmei 7	1.1: Revival of the "obeisance to the four directions" (*shihōhai*; see **Chōga*) rite (stopped since 1468). (*Sanetaka kōki*)	
1476	Bunmei 8	1.28: Revival of the Kamo *sōjihajime* rite (an imperial rite). (*Chikanaga kyōki*)	
1477	Bunmei 9		
1478	Bunmei 10	7.27: Jingikan Superintendent Sukemasu-ō and other *Jingikan officials petition for reconstruction of the Hall of Eight Deities (**Hasshinden*). (*Kaneaki kyōki bekki*)	
1479	Bunmei 11		4.22: The Hiyoshi Festival (**Hie matsuri*) is said to have been revived on this date.
1480	Bunmei 12	2.28: The bakufu bans common people from attending festivals, viewing **sarugaku* and **sumō*, and participating in temple and shrine fairs. (*Ninagawa documents*)	
1481	Bunmei 13		
1484	Bunmei 16		11.24: Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*jingiken taifu*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	3.5: Era name changed to Ōnin due to calamities (ongoing warfare since previous year).
	5.-: Start of the Ōnin War. (Marks the onset of Japan's Sengoku, or "Warring States," Period.)
	4.28: Era name changed to Bunmei due to calamities (warfare since the previous year, unusual atmospheric phenomena).
8.13: First mention of *Yoshida Kanetomo as "Head of Divinities" (*Jingi chōjō*). (*Chikanaga kyōki*)	
-.-: This year, *Yoshida Kanetomo argues in a lecture on **Nihon shoki* that the origins of Buddhism and Confucianism lie in Shintō.	11.-:End of the Ōnin War
12.-: *Yoshida Kanetomo completes **Daijōe no koto*.	
2.11: *Yoshida Kanetomo delivers lecture in emperor's presence on *Nakatomi harae* ("the Nakatomi purification formula"; see also **Harae*). (*Sanetaka kōki*)	
4.2: *Ichijō Kaneyoshi dies (age 80).	
-.-: Around this time, *Yoshida Kanetomo writes **Yuiitsushintō myōhōyōshū* [Essentials	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Yoshida Kanetomo builds a ritual space at Kaguragaoka in Yamashiro and transfers deity (*senza*; see **Taisai*) to site. (*Sanetaka kōki*)
			-.-: Shimazu Tadamasa orders the priest Kaneyoshi to rebuild Kirishima Shrine and grants it 100-*koku* worth of land. (*Dazai kannai-shi*)
1485	Bunmei 17		
1486	Bunmei 18		12.22: Ise provincial governor Kitabatake Kichika aids Ise clan (*uji*; see **Ujiko*) shrine workers (**jinin*) by attacking their counterparts from Ise Yamada; Ise Outer Shrine set on fire. (*Naikū chūshin-ki*)
1487	Chōkyō 1		4.19: The emperor orders Senior Assistant Director of Divinities *Yoshida Kanetomo to visually confirm the status of the Ise Outer Shrine's object of worship (**Shintai*) after the shrine burned down in fire and summons the Imperial Jingū Messenger (**Jingū tensō*) for consultations. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])
1488	Chōkyō 2		4.-: *Matsuosai* ("Matsuo festival," see *Imperial Court Rituals) revived, portable shrine (**Shin'yo*) abandoned on the road amid fighting. (*Go-hōkōin ki*)
1489	Entoku 1		6.22: Shrine workers (**Jinin*) from Ise Yamada attack counterparts from Uji; Ise Inner Shrine burned, but the main building is spared. (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
on the name and the law of the one and only Shintō].	
	8.-: Uprisings (*ikki*) in Yamashiro (southern Kyoto).
-.-: Writing of **Shintō tai'i* [Outline of Shintō]. (*Yoshida sōsho*)	
	7.20: Era name changed to Chōkyō due to calamities (fires the previous year at the Kyoto temple Tōji and at Ise Outer Shrine).
	6.9: *Ikkō ikki* ("leagues of the single-minded") Buddhist uprising in Kaga; the 200,000-strong force attacks Takao Castle, the base of military governor (*shugo*) Togashi Masachika; Togashi commits suicide. (*Inryōken nichiroku* [Daily record of the Inryōken])
11:19: *Yoshida Kanetomo reports to emperor that the divine treasures (**Shinki*) of Ise Shrine have descended to the Yoshida Saijōsho (the ceremonial site and shrine on Mt. Yoshida in Kyoto). Imperial Court goes to the *gijōsho* ("decision-making place"), orders their enshrinement at Taigen Shrine ("shrine of the great origin"). (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	8:21: Era name changed to Entoku due to calamities (celestial omen of two planets in alignment, major fire in Kyoto on 5.8, and burning down of Ise Inner Shrine on 6.22).
11.29: *Yoshida Kanetomo gives the	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1490	Entoku 2	1.1: Two imperial palace ceremonies (*kochōhai* and *sechie*) revived (both had gone unobserved since 1468).	3.21: The bakufu attacks peasant protestors holed up in Kitano Shrine, with all shrine buildings burnt down as a result. (*Inryōken nichiroku*)
		Intercalary 8.25: Court orders restoration of Jingikan (see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) territories to the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*). (*Nobuhide kyōki*)	
		11.28: The bakufu grants permission to rebuild Jingikan at request of the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*). (*Ukagaigoto kiroku*)	
1491	Entoku 3		12:30: Emperor orders *Yoshida Kanetomo to make object of worship (**Shintai*) for Kamo Shrine. (*Chikanaga kyōki*)
1492	Meiō 1		
1493	Meiō 2		12.23: Imperial court bestows divine rank (**Shin'i, shinkai*) on the Yoshida Saijōsho. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])
1496	Meiō 5	Intercalary 2.13: The bakufu grants Gion Shrine permission to solicit funds in the provinces for repairs to buildings and to revive the Gion Festival (*Gion'e*, see **Gion matsuri*; the festival resumed from 1500). (*Gionsha ki*)	
1497	Meiō 6		
1500	Meiō 9		6.7: Gion Festival (**Gion matsuri*) resumes. (*Tadatomiō ki*)
1501	Bunki 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
emperor instruction on Shintō. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
	7.19: Era name changed to Meiō due to calamities (epidemic).
2.6: Yoshida Kanetomo raises issue of the "30 tutelary deities" (**Sanjūbanshin*) of the Nichiren sect with Nichiren temples Myōhonji (or Myōkenji), Myōrenji, and Honkokuji (see also **Hokke Shintō*). (*Myōkenji documents*)	
	7.28: Major fire in Kyoto, 20,000 households burned down. (*Go-hōkōin ki*)
3.11: Jingikan Superintendent (*Jingihaku*) Shirakawa Tadatomiō delivers lecture before the emperor titled "*Shintō hiketsu*" ("The	2.29: Era name changed to Bunki to mark start of new reign and because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger-

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1504	Eishō 1		
1505	Eishō 2		
1507	Eishō 4		8.-: This month, the Daijingūchō (Agency of the Grand Shrines) grants permission to assistant senior supervisor (*Gondaisōzu*) Shinkei to solicit funds for rebuilding the temples at the shrine. (*Kōtaijingū hikitsuke*)
1511	Eishō 8		
1512	Eishō 9	4.21: The bakufu establishes time limit for lawsuits regarding Shintō rituals. (*Kenmu irai tsuika* [Supplement to the *Kenmu shikimoku*])	
1513	Eishō 10		10.22: The bakufu resolves feud between Ise Inner and Outer Shrines over which should undertake its rebuilding and reconsecration (**Shikinensengū*) ceremony first by deciding both should build temporary shrines simultaneously, with Inner Shrine then holding ceremonies first. (*Naigū hikitsuke*)
1517	Eishō 14		
1521	Daiei 1		
1522	Daiei 2		9.-: Hōjō Ujitsuna rebuilds Samukawa Shrine in Sagami. (*Samukawa jinja munafuda*)
1527	Daiei 7	5.6: Emperor Go-Nara is	

Personalities/Texts	Society
mysteries of Shintō") (see also **Ritsuryō Jingikan*). (*Tadatomiō ki*)	wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability. (see also **Ehō*)
	2.30: Era name changed to Eishō because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder-wood rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	7.18: *Obon* dancing (*bon-odori*; see also **Senzo saishi*) popular in Kyoto; the bakufu issues a ban. (*Sanetaka kōki*)
2.19: *Yoshida Kanetomo dies (age 77). (*Sanetaka kōki*)	
2.9: Arakida Moritoki, a priest (*negi*) at Ise Inner Shrine, completes *Eishōki.*	
12.22: The bakufu rebukes Yoshida Kanemitsu to resolve dispute pitting Kanemitsu against his uncle Yoshida Kanenaga, a caretaker of Hirano Shrine, over leadership of Yoshida house (see also **Yoshida Kanemigi*). (*Nobutane kyōki*)	
	8.23: Era name changed to Daiei due to calamities (warfare, unusual atmospheric phenomena).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		instructed in the *gohai* rite by Superintendent of the Jingikan (*Jingihaku*) and performs it for the first time since his accession to the throne (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
1528	Kyōroku 1	6.12: *Jingū Densō Kikutei Kinhiko petitions the emperor to restore the Ise Shrine's territories (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
1532	Tenbun 1		
1533	Tenbun 2	12.30: Following precedent, the Imperial court approves Jingikan Junior Vice- Director (*Jingi shōfuku*, see **Ritsuryō Jingikan*) *Yoshida Kanemigi, the adopted son of Yoshida Kanemitsu (who died in 1528), to be head of the "only-one original Shintō" (*yuiitsu sōgen Shintō*, see **Yoshida Shintō*). (Documents in the Higashiyama collection)	
1534	Tenbun 3		
1535	Tenbun 4		4.28: Kamo Shrine resumes liturgical **kagura*. (*Go-Nara tennō shinki*)
1543	Tenbun 12		6.30: Priests (**Kannushi*) from Ise Inner and Outer Shrines fight with one another. (*Kawasakishi nendaiki*)
1545	Tenbun 14	8.-: Prayers of apology are offering at Ise Shrine for not having performed the **daijōsai*	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.29: Era name changed to Tenbun due to calamity (shōgun requested the change due to long years of warfare).
8.-: Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*jingi taifu*) Yoshida Kanenaga petitions the imperial court to halt *Yoshida Kanemigi from being the head of the "only-one original Shintō" (*yuiitsu sōgen Shintō*, see **Yoshida Shintō*). Kanemigi countersues, and court resolves the dispute 11.19 by dismissing Kanenaga's suit. (Kyoto University documents; *Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
	8.25: Portuguese trading ship lands at Tanegashima, delivers firearms. (*Nanpo bunshū*)
8.3: *Yoshida Kanemigi delivers lecture before the emperor on the *Nihon shoki* and on 8.13 gives him instruction on Shintō. (*Tenbun*	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(for Emperor Go-Nara Tennō). (*Higashiyama bunko kiroku*)	
1549	Tenbun 18		
1550	Tenbun 19		
1555	Kōji 1		
1557	Kōji 3		11.27: Oda Nobunaga grants Atsuta Shrine in Owari the right to refuse tax collectors and constabulary (*shugo fu'nyū*) from entering its lands. (*Tajima documents*)
1560	Eiroku 3	12.-: With no prospect of performing the **Daijōsai* in sight, Emperor Ōgimachi, who had ascended to the throne in 1557, calls off holding other regular rites as well.	
1563	Eiroku 6		9.23: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).
1566	Eiroku 9		
1568	Eiroku 11		
1570	Genki 1		
1571	Genki 2		
1572	Genki 3		2.21: *Keikōin Shūyō, a nun in Ise, goes on fund-raising trip (*kanjin*) through the provinces and works to get the "provisional hall" (**Karidono*) at Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt. (*Keikōin documents*)
1573	Tenshō 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
14-nen nikki; *Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath])	
8.8: *Arakida Moritake dies (age 77). (*Arakida-shi keizu*)	7.3: Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier arrives in Kagoshima (introduction of Christianity to Japan). (*Iezusu-kaishi Nihon tsūshin*)
7.12: *Kiyohara Nobukata dies (age 76). (*Tamon'in nikki*)	
	10.23: Era name changed to Kōji due to calamity (warfare).
-.-: The word "Shintō" (Xintǒ) makes its first appearance in a Christian document, coming in the correspondence of Japanese Christian Lourenço.	
4.3: *Keikōin Seijun dies.	
	-.-: Daimyō Ōmura Sumitada builds hall for the Jesuits in Nagasaki. (*Nihon Yasokai nenpō*)
	2.28: Era name changed to Genki due to calamity (warfare).
	9.12: Oda Nobunaga burns down Enryaku Temple and Hiyoshi Shrine as a reproach for each having sided with the Asakura clan in its conflict with Oda. (*Tōdai-ki*)
1.10: *Yoshida Kanemigi dies (age 58). (*Kugyō bunin*)	7.18: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiaki is deposed by Oda Nobunaga, marking the end of Muromachi bakufu (shogunate).
	7.28: Era name changed to Tenshō due to calamities (warfare, banishment on 7.19 of the Ashikaga shōgun).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1574	Tenshō 2		
1579	Tenshō 7		
1580	Tenshō 8		
1582	Tenshō 10	1.25: Responding to requests from the priests (**Kannushi*) of Ise Shrine, Oda Nobunaga donates rebuilding costs and appoints magistrate (*bugyō*). (*Gekū hikitsuke*)	
1583	Tenshō 11		10.-: Suppliant priests (**negi*) from Ise Inner Shrine give Toyotomi Hideyoshi gift of an invocation amulet (*kitō taima*, see **Jingū taima*). They also request that chief nun *Keikōin Shūyō be assigned to oversee the shrine's rebuilding and reconsecration (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū hikitsuke*)
			12.-: Kikkawa Motoharu (a general and eventual ally of Toyotomi Hideyoshi) rebuilds numerous shrines in Hōki Province (present-day western Tottori Prefecture).
1585	Tenshō 13		10.13: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued]). 10.15: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Sengū shidai-ki*)
1586	Tenshō 14		-.-: Konda Hachiman Shrine buildings burned in battle. (*Ōsaka shiseki hōkoku*)
			-.-: Grand hall (Nishihongū at Hiyoshi Shrine) built for the Ōmi Sannō avatar.
1587	Tenshō 15	5.-: Toyotomi Hideyoshi confiscates most domains belonging to shrines in Kyūshū.	10.1: Toyotomi Hideyoshi holds a great tea party at Kyoto's Kitano Shrine, donates small

Personalities/Texts	Society
	1.-: *Ikkō ikki* ("leagues of the single-minded") Buddhist uprising in Echizen. (*Esshū gunki*; *Shinchō kōki* [Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga])
-.-: *Yoshida Kanemi first earns court rank as a result of report to emperor from Nobunaga. (*Bonshun nikki* [Diary of *Bonshun])	—
	Intercalary 3.5: Hongan Temple priest Ken'nyo and Oda Nobunaga reach peace agreement. Battle of Ishiyama ends.
	6.2: Oda Nobunaga slain (*Honnō-ji no hen*, "the incident at Honnō Temple").
	7.-: Toyotomi Hideyoshi begins conducting cadastral surveys.
	6.19: Toyotomi Hideyoshi bans forced conversions to Christianity and buying and selling of Japanese slaves, orders that

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Chikuzen zoku-fudoki*)	*bunrin*-style tea caddies and 1,000 *koku* of rice. (*Kitanosha ki*)
1590	Tenshō 18	4.18: Hall of Eight Deities (**Hasshinden*) at Department of Divinities (**Jingikan*) relocated to Yoshida Shrine precincts. (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])	
1591	Tenshō 19		11.28: Tokugawa Ieyasu grants an estate (**Shinryō*) to Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine.
			-.-: Kobayakawa Takakage rebuilds Chikuzen Dazaifu Shrine.
1592	Bunroku 1		-.-: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) from Grand Shrines of Ise petition for estates to be donated to the shrines (see **Shinryō*) because shrine holdings had declined due to cadastral surveys in the provinces, resulting in income declines and inability to do shrine business. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1593	Bunroku 3		9.21: Hideyoshi donates land to Grand Shrines of Ise. (Ise Shrine library documents)
1596	Keichō 1		8.-: Shirayama Hime Shrine in Kaga Province rebuilt by Maeda Toshie and reconsecrated (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Shirayama hime jinja ryaku-ki*)
1597	Keichō 2		
1598	Keichō 3		2.-: *Kami* from the Grand Shrines of Ise called upon (**Kanjō*) to impart part of their presence (**Bunrei*) at the Yoshida Shrine's Daigengū building in Yamashiro. (*Bonshun nikki* [Diary of *Bonshun])
			4.16: Completion of temporary mausoleum in Kyoto where Toyotomi Hideyoshi laid to rest. 4.17: Hideyoshi given posthumous Shintō name of Hōkoku Daimyōjin. 4.18:

Personalities/Texts	Society
	missionaries be expelled from the country. (*Bateren tsuihōrei*)
5.18: Buddhist priest Nichikō writes *Shintō dōitsu kanmi shō* [Selections on Shintō of the universal salty taste] (see also **Hokke Shintō*).	7.13: Toyotomi Hideyoshi takes Odawara Castle after a three-month siege. He subsequently grants the eight provinces of the Kantō region (present-day Tokyo and neighboring prefectures) to Tokugawa Ieyasu (development marks the completion of Hideyoshi's conquest of all Japan).
	3.-: First dispatch of expeditionary forces to Korea (*Bunroku no eki*) begins.
	10.27: Era name changed to Keichō due to calamity (natural disasters).
	12.19: 26 Christian missionaries executed in Nagasaki ("Martyrdom of the 26 Saints").
	1.-: Second dispatch of expeditionary forces to Korea (*Keichō no eki*) begins.
	8.18: Toyotomi Hideyoshi dies (age 63).
Intercalary 3.3: Imperial court-ordered copy of the "Age of the Gods" (*Jindai*) scrolls of *Nihon shoki* produced, followed on 3.8 by a copy of *Daigaku* (Great learning) and on 3.17 of *Chūyō* (Doctrine of the mean). The "Age of the Gods" scrolls are presented to Ise and	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Mausoleum reconsecrated (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Toyotomi kafu*)
1600	Keichō 5		5.25: Tokugawa Ieyasu donates estate (see **Shinryō*) to Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, family succession granted and endorsed by vermilion seal (*shuin*, see also **Shuinchi*). (*Tanaka family documents*)
			-.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu has the *Ichinomiya Hikawa Shrine built in Musashi Ōmiya. (*Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō*)
			-.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu has Atsuta Shrine built in Owari Province (present-day western Aichi Prefecture). (*Chōshū fushi*)
1603	Keichō 8	9.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu issues Ise Ordinance (*Ise hatto*), granting two villages of Kōdai Shrine right to refuse entry of tax collectors and constabulary into territory (*shugo fu'nyū*) and right of pilgrims to work as shrine guides in their desired locations. (*Jingū nenpyō*; *Tokugawa kinreikō*)	9.-: The bakufu transfers the spirit (**Kanjō*) of Atago avatar (see **Atago shinkō*) to Shiba (part of present-day Saitama Prefecture). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
		11.-: The bakufu establishes the Yamada magistrate (*Yamada bugyō*, see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Pre-modern*). (Some sources say the event occurred in 1600.) (*Jingū nenpyō*)	9.-: Following precedent, Ieyasu decides to assign responsibility for rebuilding and reconsecration (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) of Ise Shrine buildings to chief nun *Keikōin Shūyō. (*Keikōin yuishosho*)
1604	Keichō 9	2.-: The bakufu builds various shrines and temples in Kantō (area centered around present-day Tokyo) region. (*Tōdai-ki*)	
1605	Keichō 10		12.-: Ieyasu builds Utsunomiya Futarasan Shrine. (Records of shrine construction bills)
1607	Keichō 12		
1608	Keichō 13		
1609	Keichō 14	5.1: The bakufu hands down the Ordinance for Shugendō	2.-: Ieyasu donates 60,000 bales of rice to Ise Shrine for rebuilding

Personalities/Texts	Society
Kasuga Shrines. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	
	9.15: The Battle of Sekigahara (decisive victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu's forces, bringing the Sengoku ["Warring States"] Period to a close).
	2.12: Tokugwa Ieyasu received the title of shōgun and establishes his bakufu (i.e., shogunate) in Edo.
	4.-: Izumo no Okuni (reputedly a priestess from Izumo Shrine) holds her first performance of *kabuki* (see also **Shibai*) in Kyoto. (*Tōdai-ki*)
-.-: Japanese Christian apostate Fabian Fucan completes *Myōtei mondo* [The *myōtei* dialogue].	
	-.-: The dispatch of ambassadorial envoys from Korea (*Chōsen tsūshinshi*) begins this year (some believe it began in 1605).
-.-: Buddhist priest Taichū completes **Ryūkyū shintōki*	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Shugendō hatto*, see **Shinto and Shugendō*) to Shogoin Monzeki Temple.	and reconsecration (**Shikinensengū*) expenses. (*Tōdai-ki*)
			9.21: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*); 9.27: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
			9.-: Suppliant priests (**Negi*) of Ise's Inner and Outer shrines argue over which shrine to be rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) first; Imperial court decides on Inner Shrine. (*Oyudono no ue no nikki* [Diary of the ladies from the imperial bath]; *Jingū nenpyō*)
1610	Keichō 15	9.25: The bakufu sets down regulations covering Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. (*Shrine documents*)	
1611	Keichō 16		9.-: The bakufu donates territory to shrines throughout Echigo. (*Yabiko shrine documents*)
1612	Keichō 17	5.1: The bakufu donates and endorses assignment of shrine domain to Shinano Togakushi Shrine, and sets down Togakushi-yama Ordinance (*Togakushiyama hatto*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1613	Keichō 18	5.21: Ordinance of Shugendō (*Shugendō hatto*, see **Shinto and Shugendō*) and "new obligations (i.e., taxes and levies) for the Kantō region" (*Kantō shingi*) proclaimed (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		6.16: Tokugawa Ieyasu promulgates ordinances for noble families (*Kuge shohatto*) and regulations on Buddhism. (*Chokkyo shie hōki*).	
1614	Keichō 19		1.-: .Tokugawa Ieyasu receives new year's greetings from shrines throughout the land. (*Honkō-kokushi nikki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
9.2: *Yoshida Kanemi dies (age 76)	
4.16: *Keikōin Shūyō dies (age unknown)	
-.-: Two-volume *Omorosōshi* completed (see **Ryūkyū mythology*).	3.21: The bakufu bans Christianity and orders destruction of cathedral in Kyoto. (*Kinkyōrei*)
12.-: Emperor Goyōzei sends for Yoshida Kaneharu and Shinryūin *Bonshun to ask about Shintō, receives instruction in methods of "original Shintō" (*sōgen Shintō*, see **Yoshida Shintō*) and the Shintō *daigoma* rite. (*Bonshun nikki* [Diary of Bonshun])	12.19: The bakufu bans Christianity throughout the country.
-.-: Tokugawa Ieyasu appoints Tenkai the shrine monk (**Bettō*) of the Nikkō shrine complex (see also **Nikkōsan shinkō*)..	
	9.24: Ecstatic religious dancing known as *Ise odori* (Ise Dance, see also **Okagemairi*) suddenly spreads around Japan, occasioned by false rumors that the Grand Shrines will be moved. On this day, it even occurs in the imperial household (*Kinchū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*; *Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1615	Gen'na 1	7.27: Tokugawa Ieyasu secures shrine and temple lands throughout the Kinai district (area centered on Kyoto). (*Goshuinchō* [Red stamp book for pilgrims])	5.7: Siege of Osaka, death of the Toyotomi family. Fires related to the fighting destroy numerous shrines, including Ikukunitama Shrine. (*Zoku-shi-gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])
		7.-: The bakufu issues ordinances for warrior families on 7.7, for imperial court and aristocratic families on 7.17, and for the head temples of all Buddhist sects on 7.24	6.15: **Sannōsai* (Sannō Festival) held (festival floats [**Dashi* and *nerimono*] permitted to enter grounds of Edo Castle for the first time). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
			7.9: Hōkoku Shrine, built to enshrine Toyotomi Hideyoshi, disestablished. The shrine buildings are moved to Hōkō Temple and Hideyoshi is given posthumous Buddhist name of Kokutai Yūshōin. Memorial services for Hideyoshi held according to Buddhist rites. (*Bonshun kyūki* [Ancient diary of *Bonshun])
1616	Gen'na 2		4.17: Tokugawa Ieyasu dies (age 75), asking in his will that a Shintō-style funeral be held for him at Mt. Kunō (in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture). The bakufu establishes a temporary shrine on Mt. Kunō (this marks the origins of Kunōzan Tōshō Shrine) and memorializes him in a *Yoshida Shintō-based Shintō funeral rite. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
			10.-: The bakufu dispatches *Tenkai to Nikkō to begin construction on a mausoleum for Tokugawa Ieyasu. Work is completed in the 3rd month of the following year, with the reconsecration of the shrine (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) taking place in the 4th month (the origin of Nikkō Tōshō Shrine). (*Tōbu jitsuroku*)
			10.-: The shrines Hizen Kawakamisha and Chikuriyamasha bring a fight over which has top status (**ichi*

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.13: Era name changed to Gen'na due to start of new reign and secular events (5.8: fall of Osaka Castle)
5.3: Conflict over posthumous divine name for Ieyasu, pitting *Bonshun from the Yoshida Shintō faction advocating Daimyōjin and *Tenkai from the Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō faction calling for Daigongen. Tenkai prevails, and Ieyasu receives the name Daigongen the following 2.21. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Tokugawa kinreikō*)	8.8: Christianity is banned, and foreign ships are restricted to Hirado in Nagasaki as their port of call.
	-.-: The Okayama domain consolidates temples and shrines, and begins suppression of the Fuju Fuse sect of Nichiren Buddhism.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			no miya) in Hizen province to the imperial court. Shrine officials from Hizen Kawakami Shrine arrive in Kyoto in response to an order from Emperor Goyōzei to present evidence. (*Bonshun kyūki*)
			-.-: Kanda Myōjin Shrine is moved from its location on the Edo castle side of the Kanda bridge to Yushima (an area on the other side of the Kanda bridge). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1617	Gen'na 3	6.-: The bakufu issues the *Buke shohatto* (Laws for warrior houses) and issues notice that shrine and temples in all provinces should remain undivided. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		7.-: The bakufu grants private lands to shrines and temples in the Kantō region. (*Goshuinchō* see **Shuinchi*)	
1618	Gen'na 4		4.17: Transfer of the divided spirit (**kanjō*) of Tōshō Daigongen (Tokugawa Ieyasu's posthumous name) to Edo Castle. (*Momijiyama Tōshōgū*)
1619	Gen'na 5		5.-: Yoshinao of the Owari Tokugawa clan constructs Owari Tōshō Shrine. (*Chōshūfu shi*)
			6.-: Maeda Toshimitsu (Toshitsune), lord of Kanazawa Castle in Kaga province, constructs Kaga Hakusan Shrine. (*Maeda documents*)
			12.-: Tokugawa Hidetada constructs the *shingū* ("new sanctuary") at Nikkō's Futarasan Shrine. (*Nikkōsan dōsha konryū ki*)
1620	Gen'na 6		
1622	Gen'na 8		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	1.-: The bakufu issues ban forbidding fund-raising drives through the province by individuals pretending to be shrine officials from Ise and apprentices from Atago. (*Tōbu jitsuroku*)
9.12: Fujiwara Seika dies (age 59) (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (2)*).	8.29: More than 60 Christians are burned at the stake in Kyoto at Shichijō-kawara.
	-.-: A strange illness known in Edo as *tsukitaoshi* spreads. *Hasegawa Kakugyō, practitioner of *Fuji Shinkō, allegedly heals victims with a practice known as *ofusegi*. The bakufu holds him for thorough questioning, but he is soon released. (*Gotaigyō no maki*)
	8.5: 55 Christians are executed in Nagasaki (the "Great Martyrdom" of Nagasaki).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1623	Gen'na 9		-.-: Tendai abbot *Tenkai constructs Tōshō Shrine on the grounds of Hiyoshi Shrine in Ōmi Province.
1624	Kan'ei 1		
1625	Kan'ei 2		11.-: Daimyō Tōdō Takatora builds Ueno Tōshō Shrine, *Tenkai builds Sanjūban and Sannō shrines with his own money. (*Jigen daishi den*)
1626	Kan'ei 3	5.27: On shōgun's arrival in Kyoto the bakufu issues orders governing retinue's behavior while in Kyoto, forbidding members from going on pilgrimages to temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	-.-: Kameido Tenman Shrine in Edo is dedicated (*chinza*). It will be moved to its present-day location during the Kanbun era (1661-1673). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1627	Kan'ei 4		
1628	Kan'ei 5		1.-: Shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu makes pilgrimage to Momijiyama Tōshō Shrine. Makes regular visits from the 2nd month onward.
1629	Kan'ei 6		9.21: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.23: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
1630	Kan'ei 7		8.-: Work completed on Edo's Sannō Shrine. (*Tōbu jitsuroku*)
			-.-: Work completed on Izumo Shrine. The bakufu spends 500,000 *ryō* (taels) and appoints provincial governor Matsudaira Tadamasa as overseer. (*Gahō bunshū*)
1631	Kan'ei 8		-.-: The practice of rebuilding and reconsecrating (**shikinensengū*) shrines resumes at the Ise Inner Shrine subshrines of Aramatsurinomiya, Tsukuyominomiya (月読宮), and

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Omorosōshi* written (volume 3 onward) (see **Ryūkyū mythology*).	10.13: The bakufu executes numerous Christians at Shiba in Edo (similar punishments are meted out in other domains).
	2.30: Era name changed to Kan'ei as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	2.-: Ise dances (*Ise-odori*, see **Okagemairi*) popular; the bakufu issues a ban. (*Kan'ei jiseki roku*)
	11.-: Mt. Fuji erupts.
	-.-: The use of *fumie* (a Christian image that a person is made to step on to prove they are not a Christian) begins in Nagasaki around this time.
	-.-: This year, importation of 32 kinds of Chinese texts and books related to Christianity is banned.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Kazahinominomiya, and at the Ise Outer Shrine subshrines of Takanomiya, Tsuchinomiya, Tsukuyominomiya (月夜見宮), and Kazenomiya. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1632	Kan'ei 9	4.17: The bakufu orders that the mourning codes (*bukkiryō*) used henceforth at the Nikkō mountains will be changed from the Sannō codes to the Jingitō codes (see also **Nikkōsan shinkō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1633	Kan'ei 10	5.19: The bakufu grants permission for a fund-raising trip to raise money for construction at Fukagawa Hachiman Shrine in Edo. (*Kan'ei nikki*)	6.-: The bakufu grants the Ise shrines a 2,000-*koku* domain (see also **Shinryō*).
		7.19: The bakufu establishes a system of laws for government courts; under it, suits that involve temple and shrine lands will be taken up first with local magistrates. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	12.17: *Tenkai supervises the transfer of the divided spirit (**Kanjō*) from Tōshōsha to the Ninomaru keep at Edo Castle. Imperial messengers and envoys (**chokushi*, **hōbeishi*, and *inshi*) attend. (*Zoku shi gushō*. [Ignorant selections on history, continued])
1634	Kan'ei 11	3.3: The bakufu establishes positions of "elder" (*rōjū*) and "junior elder" (*wakadoshiyori*). (Provisions include references to shrine building and shrines and temples more generally.) (*Tokugawa jikki*)	5.2: The bakufu sets down the provisions for formalities on Nikkōsan and rules for Nikkō Tōshō Shrine, also granting Nikkō Tōshō Shrine lands valued at 7,000 *koku*. (*Nikkō zatsuwa*)
			-.-: The *Sannōsai becomes a "great festival" (*daisairei*) this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1635	Kan'ei 12	6.21: The bakufu revises the *Buke shohatto* (they now include an article that prohibits seizing shrine lands). (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	7.26: The bakufu issues a mandate (*gejijō*) ordering that existing rules be maintained when it comes to lawsuits involving the Ise Inner Shrine. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
		11.9: The bakufu appoints a *magistrate for temples and shrines (*jisha bugyō*). (*Richō betsuroku*)	
1636	Kan'ei 13	11.9: "Vermillion seal" licenses	1.-: Envoys from the Grand

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.18: *Bonshun dies (age 80).	
	2.28: The bakufu forbids any ships other than those granted special permission (the so-called *hōshobune*, meaning a ship with official orders) from going overseas, and forbids anyone who has lived more than 5 years abroad from returning to Japan (first of the "closed country" [*sakoku*] laws)
	-.-: Shintō brought to the Ryūkyū Islands. (*Okinawashi*)
	-.-: The temple registration system (*terauke seido*) instituted nationwide for commoners (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*) around this time.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		issued granting lands to shrines and temples in all provinces (**Shuinchi, Kokuinchi*).	Shrines of Ise fight over which one should offer New Year's greetings to the bakufu first. The bakufu and imperial court are divided, and in the end greetings to the Inner Shrine come first. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1637	Kan'ei 14		
1638	Kan'ei 15		-.-: Suppliant priests (**negi*) and lower-ranking provisional suppliant priests (*gonnegi*) are exempted from the Christian inquisition (*Kirishitan aratame*) this year, a practice that thereafter becomes customary. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1639	Kan'ei 16		
1640	Kan'ei 17	6.-: Position of *shūmon aratameyaku* (official who handles punishment of Christians) created (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).	
1641	Kan'ei 18		-.-: The Haguro *Shugendō lineage affiliates its temples with Tōeizan Kan'ei Temple, associating itself with the Tendai Buddhist sect. A conflict develops when it attempts to put Mt. Yudono (see **Dewasanzan Shinkō*) under its control, but the connection of Mt. Yudono with the Shingon Buddhist sect is maintained.
1642	Kan'ei 19	5.-: The bakufu issues the *Gōson shohatto* (laws for villages). Orders farmers to be frugal when it comes to clothing, festivals, and Buddhist rites. Forbids making and selling liquor, as well as making *manjū* (bean jam-filled buns) and tōfu, in farm villages.	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	10.25: Shimabara Rebellion takes place (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).
-.-: *Hayashi Razan completes sometime after this year *Honchō jinjakō* (A study of shrines in our land).	-.-: **Okagemairi* (pilgrimages to the Grand Shrines of Ise) prevalent from summer to the following spring
-.-: *Tenkai completes *Tōshō Daigongen engi*.	7.4: Portuguese are expelled from Nagasaki and their ships are forbidden to come to Japan (final element to create *sakoku*, or "closed country," conditions in place)
-.-: *Yamazaki Ansai completes *Sankyō itchi-ron* [On the harmony of the three doctrines].	
-.-: *Nihongi jindaishō* published.	
8.-: *Hayashi Razan completes *Jindai keizu*	8.-: **Furyū* dances popular.
	-.-: The Great Kan'ei Famine.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Also forbids charity missions from entering villages to solicit funds for shrines or temples. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	
1643	Kan'ei 20		7.-: The Korean ambassador makes a pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshō Shrine. He reads a paean written by the king and offers a mirror. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
1644	Shōhō 1	4.5: Shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu orders chief nun Keikōin Shūchō to carry out the rebuilding and reconsecration (**Shikinensengū*) at Ise Shrine (it would take place in 1647) based on precedents. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	-.-: The bakufu builds "places for distant worship" (*yōhaijo*) for each branch shrine on the grounds of the Ise Inner and Outer Shrines. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		12.23: The bakufu establishes regulations and provisions regarding annual rites and the allotment of increases or decreases in shrine lands for the three Tōshō shrines of Nikkōzan, Tōeizan, and Kawagoe Senba. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1645	Shōhō 2		11.11: Imperial court grants an official name (*gūgō*) to Nikkō Tōshō Shrine. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
1646	Shōhō 3	3.10: Imperial court dispatches an envoy bearing offerings (**hōbeishi*) to Nikkō at the request of shōgun Iemitsu. (First mention of the Nikkō *hōbeishi*. Other stories put the appearance in 1645.)	-.-: Residents of Nagasaki in Hizen Province ask to relocate Shinmei Shrine. The "suppliant priests" (**negi*) of both Ise shrines reject the request. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		-.-: Retired emperor holds ceremony in imperial palace to summon the Ise, Hachiman, and Kasuga deities. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	
1647	Shōhō 4		9.-: System of dispatching imperial envoys to Ise (**reiheishi*) reinstituted. (*Jingū nenpyō*) (Had been halted since the Bunsei era in the 1460s. Other sources say the system was reinstated in 1645 or 1646.)
1648	Keian 1	3.-: Shōgun Iemitsu gives	3.-: Interim "offering-bearing

Personalities/Texts	Society
10.-: *Tenkai dies (age 108).	
-.-: *Hayashi Razan completes **Shintō denju*.	
6.3: *Hasegawa Kakugyō believed to have died on Mt. Fuji (age 106).	
-.-: *Tokugawa Yoshinao compiles *Jingi hōten*. (*Jingi zensho*)	
8.25: *Nakae Tōju dies (age 41).	2.15: Era name changed to Keian due to

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		official vermilion seal (*shuin*) of approval to temple and shrine lands that had not been so approved by his predecessors—issuing approvals for 182 in all. In the 10th month, he so confirms land rights for another 1,036 shrine and temples throughout the country. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	envoy" (**Hōbeishi*) is dispatched on the occasion of a festival marking the 33rd anniversary of Tōshō Shrine. (*Zoku shi gushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])
			9.-: Ōtahime Inari Shrine in Edo built. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1649	Keian 2	6.-: The bakufu issues ordinances for artisans and merchants (*machibure*) that include instructions on the route pilgrims to the Sannō Festival (**San'nōsai*) are to take and how they should behave when attending. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	9.25: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.27: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and deity transferred. (*Jingū binran*)
			-.-: The suppliant priests (**Negi*) of both Ise shrines forbid "crossing the forbidden river" (i.e., forbid the priests from leaving the shrine grounds as demarcated by the Miya River) and going outside. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1650	Keian 3		
1651	Keian 4		
1652	Jōō 1	1.-: *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) sets down rules regarding regular Edo visits by priests (**shinshoku*). (*Keian-nendo gohatto-gaki*)	
1653	Jōō 2		10.-: Ambassador from the Ryūkyū kingdom makes a pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshōgū.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	rumors (rumors were going around Kyoto that there would be many fire deaths during the Shōhō era ["Shōhō" being a near homophone to the word for "death by fire," or *shōbō*])
12.28: *Deguchi Nobuyoshi founds the library Toyomiyazaki Bunko.	
-.-: Buddhist priest Taichū publishes **Ryūkyū shintōki*.	2.26: Promulgation of *Keian no ofuregaki* ["Ordinances of the Keian era," a set of mandates dictating how peasants were to live their lives] and cadastral survey ordinances.
5.7: Tokugawa Yoshinao dies (age 51).	
-.-: Mythology of the Ryūkyū court, *Chūzan seikan*, published (see **Ryūkyū mythology*).	
	3.-: Making pilgrimages to Ise (*Isemairi*, see **Okagemairi*) becomes popular. Many pilgrims come from Edo in particular; the Hakone check point records nearly 1,500 people as having passed through between the 20th and 25th of that month. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
	7.23: Rogue samurai Marubashi Chūya and cohorts captured (the Keian Uprising or Rebellion; also known as the Yui Shōsetsu Incident, named for its organizer)
	9.18: Era name changed to Jōō due to the death of former shōgun Iemitsu (an event known as the *Kantō kyōji*, "the Kantō calamity")

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*Tokugawa jikki*)
1654	Jōō 3		
1655	Meireki 1		
1656	Meireki 2		
1657	Meireki 3		
1658	Manji 1		
1659	Manji 2		5.3: The bakufu promulgates the *Edo Sannō gojōmoku*, a set of legal codes covering priests at Sannō Shrine (the code and similar regulations individual to specific major shrines would later be subsumed by the **Shosha negi kannushi hatto* in 1665). (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
			11.25: Emergency rebuilding and transfer of deity at Ise Inner Shrine following fire in the sanctuary (*seiden*, see **Honden*). (*Jingū binran*)
1660	Manji 3		
1661	Kanbun 1		
1662	Kanbun 2	6.7: Shogunate establishes the manner by which the four **sarugaku* Nō guilds will hold performances (*takigi nō*, "torchlight Nō") at the two Kasuga festivals. It also provides 500 *koku* of rice to cover costs at both festivals.	10.17: The bakufu gives 2,000 *ryō* in gold and 100 *kanme* in silver to Miwa Shrine in Yamato province and Hirota Shrine in Settsu province to repair shrine front courtyards (*shatō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.2: Official notices posted banning Christianity and increasing the reward for informants on Christians.
-.-: *Yamazaki Ansai begins lecturing in Kyoto.	
3.-: *Yoshikawa Koretari initiated into *Yoshida Shintō by *Hagiwara Kaneyori. (*Aremidō-sensei gyōjō*)	
1.23: *Hayashi Razan dies (age 75). (*Kōgi nikki*)	1.18: Nearly 300 Edo shrines and temples including Sannō Shrine burn down in the Great Fire of Meireki (also known as the Furisode Fire). The main keep (*honmaru*) of Edo Castle also burns down. (*Ochiboshū tsuika*)
2.27: Daimyō *Tokugawa Mitsukuni begins compiling *Dai Nihonshi*.	
	7.23: Era name changed to Manji due to calamity (the great fire in Edo of the previous year).
11.10: *Hagiwara Kaneyori dies (age 73)	
12.-: *Yoshikawa Koretari lectures daimyō *Hoshina Masayuki on Shintō writings. (*Kasei jikki*)	2.-: Pilgrimages to Ise (*Isemairi*, see **okagemairi*) popular. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
	4.25: Era name changed to Kanbun due to calamities (imperial palace catches fire on 1.15)
11.-: *Tōnomine engi* in two scrolls (manuscript and illustrated scroll of the origins of the Tōnomine) completed.	-.-: Fund-raising sumō (*kanjin sumō*) events for shrines and temples performed annually starting this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		10.13: *Go* and *shōgi* players are put under the jurisdiction of the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	-.-: This year, Ise Izawanomiya Shrine files a suit at the imperial court in a fight with Ise Inner Shrine over abstinences performed by *uchibito* (a priestly rank; see **shinshoku*) at Ise Izawanomiya and over shrine construction issues, arguing it has superior status over the two Ise shrines. The court rules that Izawanomiya, in accordance with precedent, is regarded as an auxiliary (**Betsugū*) shrine of Ise Inner Shrine, and the two parties should work together to carry out the work of rebuilding and reconsecration (*zōtai sengū*, see **Shikinensengū*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		10.-: The bakufu orders that a survey be made of Buddhist priests and *Shugendō practitioners living in towns. In the 11th month, these Shugendō practitioners are orders to submit requests to the town administrators (*toshiyori*) to receive permits for holding their monthly rites. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1663	Kanbun 3		-.-: Iwazanomiya Shrine protests directly to shōgun Tokugawa Ietsuna claiming its superior status over the two Ise shrines. Forty shrine workers (**Jinin*) are punished. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
			-.-: Ise shrine senior chief priest (*daigūji*, see **Gūji*) Ōnakatomi Kiyonaga encourages tenants on shrine lands to make contributions as he rebuilds 40 auxiliary shrines (**Sessha*) of both Ise institutions that had been dismantled since around Heian times. (*Kanbun sessha saikōki*)
1664	Kanbun 4		12.-: Daimyō Tokugawa Mitsutomo rebuilds Wakamiya Hachiman Shrine in Owari domain, abolishes Buddhist

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Tachibana Mitsuyoshi publishes *Nakatomi no *harae shūsetsu*.	
	11.-: Law banning Christianity promulgated once again.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			priests who perform Buddhist rites at shrines (**Shasō*), and appoints a shrine priest (**Shinshoku*). (*Nihon shaji taikan*)
			-.-: The antler-trimming rite for the deer at Kasuga Shrine begins this year.
1665	Kanbun 5	7.-: The bakufu issues the **Shosha negi kannushi hatto*. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	
		10.14: Buddhist priests, mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*, see also **Introduction: Belief and Practice*), mendicant monk-performers (*gannin*), and ascetics (*gyōnin*) are forbidden from erecting large Buddhist home altars in the houses of townsmen. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*; (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1666	Kanbun 6	3.-: The Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (**Jisha bugyō*) issues a memorandum ordering the houses of hereditary shrine priests (**Shake*) and Shugendō practitioners to not encroach on one another's jurisdictions. (*Nabeki documents*)	
1667	Kanbun 7	10.28: The bakufu hands down an ordinance forbidding the borrowing of land from temples and shrines for constructing buildings. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	Intercalary 2.15: Izumo Shrine completed. (The bakufu provides 500,000 *ryō* [taels] in silver for restoration work.) 3.-: Deity transfer completed (*shōsengū*, see **Shikinensengū*).
1668	Kanbun 8	3.-: The bakufu issues a sumptuary edict (*kenyakurei*) that, among other things, forbids extravagance in festival rites. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.22: The bakufu hands down a decision in response to a suit that had been filed by the **Oshi* (a specific type of functionary) at Ise Shrine over their lay patrons (*dan'otsu*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)
			-.-: The Grand Shrines of Ise forbid anyone other than the Ise shrines themselves from publishing books about the *kami*

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.-: The bakufu bans Pure Land confraternities (*nenbutsukō*, see **Kō*) and Lotus confraternities (*daimokukō*), in towns. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)
	12.-: Tokugawa Mitsukuni appoints a *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) for his domain, codifies regulations for such institutions, and destroys some 3,000 locations established to be shrines dedicated to evil gods (*inshi*). (*Tōgen iji*)
	5.-: Ikeda Mitsumasa, daimyō of Bizen Province, razes more than 10,000 of the shrines in his territory said to be dedicated to evil gods, and designates more than 70 others as orthodox. (*Bizen ryakushi*)
	7.-: Tokugawa Mitsukuni demolishes 997 new temples while also restoring old and dilapidated ones.
	7.29: Use of pine decorations at New Year's banned. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
12.-: *Yamazaki Ansai goes to Ise and hears *Deguchi Nobuyoshi's theories about Shintō. (*Sōjōshū*)	10.-: Building of new temples and shrines is banned once again (a similar ban had been issued 38 years before). (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*shinsho*) of the two shrines. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1669	Kanbun 9		9.26: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.28: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1670	Kanbun 10	8.13: The bakufu imposes restrictions on the lifestyles of peasants (*nōmin*) and townsmen (*chōnin*). These include orders for shrine and temple rites to not go beyond levels appropriate to a person's social class.	11.24: Major fire in Ise destroys 5,000 homes. The Tsukiyominomiya, one of the detached shrines (**Betsugū*) of Ise Outer Shrine, goes up in flames. (*Zoku-shigushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued]; *Jingū nenpyō*)
1671	Kanbun 11		5.1: The bakufu issues provisions on the regular rebuilding and reconsecration rites (**Shikinensengū*) at the Grand Shrines of Ise. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1672	Kanbun 12	2.-: The bakufu bans renting lodging for fund-raising (*kanjin*) street entertainments (*daikagura*, a distant offshoot of **Kagura*) performances. (*Bukkō nenpyō*)	
1673	Enpō 1		
1674	Enpō 2	8.17: The bakufu rules the Yoshida family does not have an exclusive right to intercede (*shissō*) at the imperial court on behalf of shrine priests (*shanin*), even if those priests are not connected to one of the special court families known as "messenger families" (*tensōke*). However, the Yoshida family retains the right (as set down in regulations issued in 1665) to determine the attire of priests without court rank (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1677	Enpō 5	2.1: Shrine visits by court envoys (*chōshi* under the *Benkan*, Board of Controllers)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Yoshida Kanetomo's work, *Nihon shoki jindai no maki shō* (Comments on the divine age chapter of *Nihon shoki*), is published.	4.3: The bakufu orders that temples associated with the Nichiren Fuju Fuse sect that have not submitted registration documents to the authorities be excluded from the temple registration (*terauke*) system, (this in effect bans the sect). (*Tokugawa jikki*)
-.-: Shirai Sōin produces **Jinja keimō* in 7 scrolls. (*Jinja keimō*)	
-.-: This year, *Yamazaki Ansai receives the "spirit-shrine name" (*reisha-gō*) of Suika Reisha from *Yoshikawa Koretari and founds *Suika Shintō. (*Suika bunshū*, *Yamazaki-kafu*)	10.-: Creation of the *Shūshi ninbetsu-chō* (a registry of people's religious affiliations; also known as *Shūshi ninbetsu aratamechō*) is ordered (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period*).
12.18: *Hoshina Masayuki passes away (age 62).	
	9.21: Era name changed to Enpō due to calamities (major Kyoto fire on 5.8 burns the imperial palace).
	2.-: Official notice boards (*kōsatsu*) posted announcing the ban on Christianity and people encouraged to be informants on those who defy the ban.
	-.-: Cult of Kishimojin (Skt. Hariti; goddess of childbirth and children) becomes popular in Edo.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		to the Kasuga Festival are resumed. (*Zoku-shigushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued])	
1679	Enpō 7		8.15: The "releasing of life" ritual (*hōjō-e*, a ceremony in which captive birds and fish are released) resumes at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (see also **Shinto and Buddhism*). (*Kugyō bunin*)
1680	Enpō 8		
1681	Tenna 1		
1682	Tenna 2	1.-: The court revives the *sōjihajime* (an imperial rite) at both Kamo shrines in Kyoto. (*Motokazu kyōki*)	12.-: Kanda *Myōjin Shrine in Edo is relocated from Surugadai (a locale within the Kanda district) to Kanda. (*Nihon shaji taikan*)
1683	Tenna 3	6.-: The bakufu forbids the people riding on festival floats (*nerimono*) and bringing offerings (*gokū*) from wearing showy attire, and onlookers	3.10: Ise Inner Shrine is temporarily relocated (*rinji sengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) owing to a fire at the main sanctuary (*seiden*, see **Honden*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
10.-: The main, 38-volume portion of the 72-volume **Sendaikujihongitaiseikyō* (aka *Kuji taisekyō*) is published.	
6.-: Masataka Ō compiles *Kasetsu ryakki* (see **Hakke Shintō*). (**Hakkeburui*)	
10.-: *Ōgimachi Kinmichi becomes disciple of *Suika Shintō. (*Nenpu*)	
	9.29: Era name changed to Tenna as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	-.-: This year, the bakufu declares *Kuji taisekyō* to be a forgery (i.e., makes it a forbidden work), destroys the printing blocks for it, and punishes Chō'on Dōkai and others involved in its production (see **Sendaikujihongitaiseikyō*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
5.22: *Ikeda Mitsumasa passes away (age 74).	5.-: The bakufu posts notice boards (*kōsatsu*) in all provinces promoting loyalty and filial piety (*chūkō*) and announcing bans on extravagance and Christianity.
9.16: *Yamazaki Ansai passes away (age 65). (*Shinzanshū*)	12.28: Major fire in Edo. (The Great Fire of Tenna. Blaze starts from Daien Temple in the Komagome neighborhood. Known for its tragic impact on a young woman named Yaoya Oshichi ["the greengrocer's daughter Oshichi"], whose story later becomes the subject of plays and stories. Famed poet Matsuo Bashō's hut in Fukagawa is among the homes that burn.)
12.25: *Yoshikawa Koretari becomes "Shintō councilor" (*Shintō kata*) for the bakufu. (*Yoshikawa aremidō-ki*)	
12.-: *Deguchi Nobuyoshi compiles *Deguchi Nobuyoshi Shintō-sho*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		from wearing their finery. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	(*Jingū binran*)
		7.25: The bakufu revises its *Buke shohatto* (Laws for warrior houses). Among other things, the laws ban warriors from seizing shrine and temple lands, and from building shrines and temples on newly opened lands. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		9.25: The Tsuchimikado clan—which in the 4th month had received a personal note from the imperial court saying they should be put in charge of Onmyōdō specialists in all provinces—receives from the bakufu as additional confirmation of such a vermilion seal-stamped license (*shuinjō*) (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*).	
1684	Jōkyō 1	2.30: The bakufu issues regulations regarding the period of mourning following the death of an emperor (*bukkiryō*).	4.-: The Grand Shrines of Ise ban people from wearing "peculiar clothing" (*iyō na funsō*) when making a pilgrimage to either of the shrines (the reference specifically mentions people on their "*nana-tabi-mairi*" or "[one of their] seven pilgrimages," it being an article of faith at the time that people should visit Ise seven times in their lives). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		7.-: The bakufu bans itinerant merchants, monks and priests soliciting funds for temple and shrine building (*kanjin*), and people on pilgrimages from entering the three inner compounds (*kaku*) at Edo Castle. Also, Buddhist priests (*shukke*), mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*, see **Shintō and Shugendō*), and supplicants (*gannin*) seeking donations are forbidden from loitering around while chanting the Buddha's	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	2.21: Era name changed to Jōkyō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	4.-: The bakufu imprisons people who publish without permission regulations regarding the period of mourning following the death of an emperor (*bukkiryō*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		name (*nenbutsu*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1685	Jōkyō 2	6.-: The bakufu grants shrine lands to shrines in the Kinai and Yamashiro districts (combined, the two roughly comprise present-day Kyoto and the surrounding region). (*Kyoto oyakushomuki taigai oboegaki*)	
		11.-: The bakufu bans people traveling in large numbers to other provinces in the name of the Akiha festival (see **Akiha Shinkō*). It also bans the creation of new festivals (*sairei*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1687	Jōkyō 4	11.16: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Higashiyama (marks the revival of the *daijōsai* rite, which had not been held since 1466). (*Motokazu kyōki*)	-.-: As a gift marking the accession of the new emperor (*daihajime-shō*), all of the suppliant priests (**Negi*) at the Grand Shrines of Ise are promoted to 1st rank (first mention in historical record of existence of two upper classes of *negi*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		-.-: This year, Shintō priests (**Shinshoku*) are exempted from the temple registration system (*terauke seido*) and switched to a system exclusive to shrine priests (*shinshoku-uke*) (see **Shinto in the Early Modern Period (1)*).	
		-.-: The *sōjihajime* ceremony (an imperial rite) at the Grand Shrines of Ise is again revived (it previously had been revived in the Genna era, 1615–24).	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	7.-: The **Jisha bugyō* (*Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Early Modern) banishes 7 members of the shrine priest family at Hiyoshi Shrine in Ōmi Province (present-day Shiga Prefecture) to a remote island.
	10.29: Use of the Chinese calendar ends and a new Japanese calendar (known as the *Jōkyō-reki*, or Jōkyō calendar) goes into effect.
9.26: *Yamaga Sokō passes away (age 64).	
	1.28: The bakufu issues edict protecting all living things (focuses especially on dogs; the bakufu will continue to frequently reissue such laws).
	10.-: The bakufu settles a lawsuit between two classes of Mt. Kōya religionists, the scholarly monks (*gakuryokata*) and the temple administrative staff (*gyōninkata*). They are ordered to follow precedents set down during the Genna era (1615–24). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*Jingū nenpyō*)	
1688	during Jōkyō		
1688	Genroku 1		9.-: Kanda *Myōjin festival (first time that portable shrines [**Shin'yo*] and festival floats [*nerimono*] are allowed inside Edo Castle). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1689	Genroku 2		9.10: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.13: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū nenpyō*) (This occasion marks the start of the practice of carrying out this ritual rebuilding for the Outer Shrine three days after that at the Inner Shrine.)
1690	Genroku 3		-.-: Priests at the Grand Shrines of Ise who have been granted a peerage (*joshakunin*) are forbidden from taking the tonsure (i.e., becoming a Buddhist priest). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1691	Genroku 4	6.-: The imperial court begins holding a *kiyoharai* purification rite to replace the *tsugomori-no-ōharae* purification rite that had been on held 6.12 until it fell out of practice in medieval times (see also **Ōharae*). The new rite is performed regularly hereafter. (*Motokazu kyōki*)	
1692	Genroku 5		12.-: The imperial court resumes the monthly presentation of offerings (*jingu*) and daily rotating appointment (*ketsuban*) of priests (*shashi*, see **Shinshoku*) at Kamo Shrine.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Fund-raising *sumō (*kanjin-zumō*) are allowed to resume around this time in response to petitions from sumō elder (*toshiyori*) Ikazuchi Gondayū and others. The matches had been banned in the early years of the Edo period because fights were prone to break out on site.
8.29: *Kawabe Kiyonaga passes away (age 88).	
1.16: *Deguchi Nobuyoshi passes away (age 76). (*Zoku shoka jinbutsushi*)	
-.-: Asari Futokata publishes *Nakatomi no harae taizen* (see **Nakatominoharae*).	
8.17: *Kumazawa Banzan passes away (age 73).	4.28: The bakufu bans the Hiden school of Nichiren Buddhism.
	10.24: As a part of its animal protection regulations, the bakufu bans exhibitions (*misemono*) of snakes, dogs, cats, rats, and other animals.
	5.-: Designating those temples and shrines that had heretofore been regarded as newly-laid out to be historical sites, the bakufu bans new temple and shrine construction. (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(*Motohiro kyō ki*)
1693	Genroku 6		
1694	Genroku 7	10.-: In Edo, the exhibition of shrine and temple treasures (*kaichō*) and soliciting donations for shrines and temples (*kanjin*) at meetings of Pure Land confraternities (*nenbutsukō*, see **Kō*), Lotus confraternities (*daimokukō*), and in merchant households (*chōka* or *machiya*) is forbidden. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.18: The shōgun contributes *saiden* (rice paddies that generate income to be used specifically to cover the costs of holding a festival; not to be confused with **Saiden*) to Kamo Shrine in Kyoto so that the Aoi (hollyhock) Festival (*Aoi matsuri*, aka *Kamo matsuri*) can be resumed (festival was last held in 1467). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)
1695	Genroku 8		
1696	Genroku 9		
1697	Genroku 10		9.-: The bakufu decides on a lawsuit between a priest (*shikan*, see **Shinkan*) from Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine and a priest (*shanin*, see **Shinshoku*) from its predecessor Ōyamazaki Hachiman Shrine. Ōyamazaki is banned from naming its Iwashimizu and instead renamed Rikyū Hachiman Shrine. (*Motohiro kyōki*)
			9.-: The Imperial Court orders that rites at Kamedo Tenman Shrine be carried out based on examples from Dazaifu rather than those of the Shirakawa or Yoshida houses. (See also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)* and **Tenjin shinkō*) (*Bukō nenpyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	9.-: The bakufu banishes 627 of the temple administrative staffers (*gyōninkata*) on Mt. Kōya. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
	6.-: Census conducted of Edo's population (size of townsmen [*chōnin*] population put at 353,588).
11.16: *Yoshikawa Koretari passes away (age 79). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	
	2.8: Major fire in Edo (begins at Denmachō in the Yotsuya neighborhood). Many temples and shrines burn down.
	-.-: The Mito domain razes 73 Hachiman shrines (see **Hachiman shinkō*), replaces the Buddhist statuary used as the objects of worship (**Shintai*) with ritual purification wands (*nusa*, see **Ōnusa*), and establishes 555 tutelaries (*chinju*, see **Chinjugami*) throughout its territory (much of present-day Ibaraki Prefecture).
	10.12: Major earthquake in the Kantō region (the greater Tokyo area). The great gate (**Torii*) at Tsuruoka Hachiman Shrine (in Kamakura) collapses.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1698	Genroku 11		
1699	Genroku 12		-.-: This year, the Grand Shrines of Ise revive the **Kinensai* rites and, for the first time in over 300 years, the **Kanmisosai* rite. (*Jingū nenpyō*)
1700	Genroku 13		
1701	Genroku 14		
1702	Genroku 15	2.-: The Imperial Court revives the position of Ise *zōgūshi* (an official who monitors construction work in the rebuilding of the Grand Shrines of Ise). (*Kuge bunin*)	
1703	Genroku 16		
1704	Hōei 1	2.13: The bakufu orders the *Jisha bugyō* (**Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Medieval*) to ensure that festivals, rites, and services at temples and shrines be conducted in a plain fashion. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.11: The bakufu grants the funds to cover reconstruction costs for shrines and temples destroyed by fire the previous year (Nishikubo Hachiman Shrine and Kanda Shrine each receive 1,000 *ryō* [a currency unit], while Yushima Tenjin Shrine receives 500 *ryō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	9.6: Major fire in Edo. The conflagration is known as the Great Chokugaku Fire (*Chokugaku kaji*) because it broke out right after a framed (*gaku*) specimen of calligraphy done by Emperor Reigen arrived at Kan'ei Temple to which he had bestowed (*choku*) it for display in its central hall (*chūdō*).
1.17: *Nakanishi Nobuyoshi dies (age 69).	
12.6: *Tokugawa Mitsukuni dies (age 72).	
-.-: *Keichū dies (age 61).	
	-.-: A miracle (*reigen*) occurs at Takadamizu Inari Shrine (in Edo), attracting large numbers of people.
3.7: *Tachibana Mitsuyoshi dies (age 69).	11.29: Major fire in Edo (preceded a week earlier by the Genroku Earthquake). The fire starts at the Mito mansion in Koishikawa, and so is also known as the Mito-sama Fire (*Mitosama kaji*). Numerous buildings and sites are destroyed include Yushima Tenjin Shrine, Shōheizaka Gakumonjo (an official Confucian academy run by the shogunate; also known as Shōheikō), Taiseiden (a Confucian temple in Tokyo's Yushima district), and Kanda Myōjin Shrine.
3.20: *Izumoji Nobunao of Kyoto's Shimo Goryō Shrine dies (age 53).	
12.7: Shinto scholar Matsushita Kenrin dies (age 67) (see also **Kaibara Ekiken*).	
-.-: *Tanigawa Kotosuga completes **Nihon shoki tsūshō*. (*Suikabunshū*)	1.1: Eruptions at Mt. Fuji (Mt. Asama) that had begun the previous year continue into the new one, lasting until the 3rd month.
	3.13: Era name changed to Hōei due to calamities (Kantō-area earthquake on 11.22 the previous year).
	7.-: Women-only shrine pilgrimages and Pure Land (*nenbutsu*) confraternities (**Kō*) are

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1705	Hōei 2		
1706	Hōei 3		
1707			
1708	Hōei 5	5.10: The bakufu exiles (*onru*) Sasa Iori of the *kobushin* (a lower government office originally responsible for furnishing manual labor for minor repairs) over the possibility that he made a secret pilgrimage to Ise Shrine. His brother-in-law and relatives are also censured. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1709	Hōei 6		9.2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (see **Shikinensengū*). 9.5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
			11.-: The Grand Shrines of Ise make a request to conduct invocations (**Kitō*) for the bakufu.
1710	Hōei 7	4.-: The bakufu revises the Laws for Military Households (*Buke shohatto*). Among other	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	banned in Edo.
	-.-: Mass pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (**Okagemairi*) are popular this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
4.7: Kuriyama Senpō (sometimes rendered Senbō) dies (age 36) (see **Mitogaku*).	9.15: Major earthquake in Edo.
-.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu becomes a follower of *Ōgimachi Shintō. (*Kinmichi-monjin shingaku seijō*)	12.19: The Mishima school of the Nichiren Buddhist sect is banned and 43 of its priests are executed.
	2.22: The bakufu bans "loose talk" (*zassetsu*), rumor-mongering (*ryūgen*), graffiti (*rakugaki*), and anonymous handbills and letters of grievance (*sutebumi*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)
	10.-: Major earthquake strikes the Nankai and Tōkai regions (stretching along the Pacific Coast from modern-day Shizuoka to Osaka). Around 10,000 homes are destroyed and 3,000 people killed in Osaka. A tsunami hits Tosa Province (along the Pacific Coast side of Shikoku), causing massive damage; many shrines are washed away there, including Kamo Shrine in the province's Hata District. 11.23: Major eruption of Mt. Fuji, resulting in the emergence of a second peak on its eastern flank that is given the name Mt. Hōei.
	3.8: Great fire in Kyoto. Among the 13,370 residences and 69 shrines and temples destroyed are the imperial residential wing (*dairi*) and the mansion of the retired emperor (*sentō*) at the imperial palace.
11.13: *Nakanishi Naokata dies (age 76).	1.20: Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's law prohibiting the eating of animals is rescinded.
	1.-: Tokugawa Ienobu becomes shogun, upon which *Arai Hakuseki is appointed to the post of shogunal tutor (marks the start of what are known as the *Shōtoku no chi* ["rule of the just and benevolent"] reforms).
	-.-: Epidemics rampant throughout the Hōei era. This year, a man named Kihachi in Edo's Komagome district makes stylized snakes

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		changes, it bans daimyō from confiscating the lands held by shrines and temples in their provinces. Also, even though the construction of new shrines and temples is prohibited, if it is desired permission is granted to pass such requests on to the shōgun for consideration.	
1711	Shōtoku 1		
1712	Shōtoku 2	9.12: The bakufu decides that, from this year forward on the day of the Kanda Myōjin festival, the shōgun's retainers (*kashin*) will no longer pay their respects to the shōgun on the occasion of the **tsukinamisai*. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	9.-: The officer in charge of miscellaneous affairs (*zasshō*) for the house of the Superintendent of the Jingikan (*jingihaku*, see **Hakke Shintō*) issues a mandate to Kyoto's Fushimi Inari Shrine to revive the practice of daily offerings (*nichigu*). (*Kada Azumamaro nichigu saikō ki*)
1713	Shōtoku 3	7.-: The bakufu orders that, excepting special circumstances, reconstruction work on shrines and temples that had been suspended will again be halted. (*Shokuji sodekagami*)	5.5: The bakufu decides that the respective festivals celebrating the San'nō avatar (*San'nō gongen*, see **San'nōsai*), the Nezu avatar (*Nezu gongen*), and the Kanda **myōjin* will rotate among one another in three-year cycles, starting with the upcoming three-year Chinese zodiacal sequence of the years of the snake, horse, and sheep. (*Manabe nikki*)
1714	Shōtoku 4	3.16: The bakufu reinstates prohibitions on **sarugaku*, *sekkyō* (Buddhist storytelling, done to musical accompaniment), and *zatsugeki* ("miscellaneous drama," usually Chinese in origin). They had been banned during the Genroku era, but the ban was relaxed. 3.19: The bakufu bans the construction of brothels near the front gates of temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	-.-: This year only, the festival of the Nezu avatar is not accompanied by its customary parade of festival floats throughout the streets of Edo (see also **San'nōsai*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	from barley straw and offers them at the marketplace by the Fuji (*Fujizuka*, see **Fuji shinkō*) in Komagome. They come to be regarded as a memento of Mt. Fuji itself, with the people who have purchased them protected from illness. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
12. 1: *Asami Keisai dies (age 60).	
3.17: Ōyama Tameoki of Kyoto's Fushimi Inari Shrine dies (age 63).	5.-: Rumors spread that the object of worship (**Shintai*) at a minor shrine (**Wakamiya*) at Kasuga Shrine is being projected on a bamboo blind at the shrine. Many go on pilgrimages to the shrine.
8.21: *Deguchi Nobutsune dies (age 58).	
8.25: *Kaibara Ekiken dies (age 85).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1715	Shōtoku 5	12.-: The practice of the emperor offering daily prayers is revived. The superintendent of the Jingikan (*jingihaku*; see **Jingikandai*) attends the emperor. (*Terumitsu kyōki*)	
1716	Kyōhō 1		11.12: The bakufu orders that construction of a temporary altar for the Nezu avatar in Edo's Yokkaichō neighborhood be halted, and that festivals be conducted in a plain fashion. It also imposes a ban on festival processions leaving the vicinity of whatever shrine is celebrating the festival. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
1717	Kyōhō 2		
1718	Kyōhō 3		6.-: The bakufu decides that the Sannō festival (**San'nōsai*) and Kanda **myōjin* festival should be alternate with one another year to year as had previously been customary. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1719	Kyōhō 4		
1720	Kyōhō 5		
1721	Kyōhō 6	4.29: The bakufu imposes restrictions on festival floats (*nerimono*), decorative festival displays (*tsukurimono*), participant numbers, and the like for the San'nō (see **San'nō shinkō*) and other festivals. 5.28: Further restrictions imposed on performances involving festival floats. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Masuho Zankō begins publication of **Endōtsugan*.	
10.6: Harumi Shibukawa dies (age 77). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	
9.18: *Ōgimachi Kinmichi transmits the secret teachings of *Suika Shintō to *Atobe Yoshiakira and *Tomobe Yasutaka.	6.22: Era name changed to Kyōhō due to "misfortune in Kantō" (*Kantō kyōji*, which here refers to the death of shōgun Tokugawa Ietsugu on 4.30).
	-.-: The first set of the policies known collectively as the Kyōhō Reforms are implemented this year.
6.17: *Tsuchimikado Yasutomi dies (age 63).	
11.6: *Mano Tokitsuna dies (age 70).	
6.30: *Tani Shigetō dies (age 56).	-.-: Mass pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (**Okagemairi*) are popular this year. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
8.15: Satō Naokata, disciple of *Yamazaki Ansai, dies (age 70).	
9.-: The five-volume *Nikkōzan engi* is completed (see **Shintō and Literature*).	
10.29: The Mito family presents to the bakufu the completed version of *Dainihonshi* (The history of great Japan, see **Mitogaku*), a 250-scroll work whose compilation had originally been ordered by *Tokugawa Mitsukuni.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Intercalary 7.23: The bakufu again imposes a ban on building small shrine buildings (*shinshi*; see, for example, **Teinaishi* and **Yashikigami*) outfitted with Buddhist statues in villages, as well as on building new shrines or temples. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		-.-: Regulations imposed for lawsuits involving temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa kinrei kō*)	
1722	Kyōhō 7		4.-: The bakufu grants permission to solicit donations from "daimyō with incomes of 10,000 *koku* (one *koku* = approx. 180 liters) of rice per year or greater" (n.b., the language is somewhat redundant as "an estate holder with an income of 10,000 *koku*" met the basic definition of daimyō) as assistance for building shrines to the avatars of the "three mountains of Kumano" (*Kumano sanzan*, see **Kumano Shinkō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1723	Kyōhō 8		
1724	Kyōhō 9		3.-: Priests (*shanin*) from Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine get into a conflict regarding the manager of the shrine's fields (*ryōgoku*). The Kyoto magistrate (*Kyōto machi bugyō*) holds a hearing on the complaints. (Tanaka family documents)
1725	Kyōhō 10		9.-: The retired emperor Reigen goes on a visit to the Yoshida Shrine's Saijōsho (ceremonial hall). (*Reigen-in shinki*)
			11.-: Because the year is one regarded as unlucky for him (**Yakudoshi*), Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune sends an envoy to the Grand Shrines of Ise to conduct

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.29: *Nashiki Sukeyuki of Shimogamo Shrine dies (age 65).	
11.22: *Kokugaku is placed under the jurisdiction of the then-magistrate of documents (*shomotsu bugyō*), Shimoda Morohisa.	
-.-: *Atobe Yoshiakira compiles *Sanshu no shinki hiden* (Secrets of the three kinds of treasures; see also **Sanshu no Shinki*).	3.21: Major fire in Osaka. More than 2,060 people die and Tenman Tenjin Shrine burns down.
5.19: *Arai Hakuseki dies (age 69).	
5.-: Regulations are set down regarding initiation into *Suika Shintō and being instructed in its secrets (four levels). (*Suika Shintō no kenkyū*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			magico-religious incantations (**Kitō*).
			12.-: The bakufu gives its permission for contributions to be solicited out around the country to pay for construction at Izumo Shrine. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)
1726	Kyōhō 11		
1727	Kyōhō 12	3.-: The bakufu tells the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines that temples and shrines with few parishioners (**Ujiko*) on their lands should be helped with doing repairs and upkeep as much as possible, while those with a great capacity for such assistance should do so own their own. (*Jisha bugyō tomegaki*)	-.-: The Yamada magistrate (see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines: Pre-modern*) bans priests (*shishoku*) from distributing calendars (*koyomi*, see **Jingūreki*) to anyone not a member of their patron families (*danka*). (*Jingū nenpyō*)
		11.26: The bakufu issues a ban in all provinces on performing new rites and festivals. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1728	Kyōhō 13		4.13: Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune sets off on a pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshōgū (the first shogunal visit to the shrine in 65 years).
1729	Kyōhō 14		9.3: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.6: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
1730	Kyōhō 15		6.20: Major fire in Kyoto (the Great Nishijin Fire). Fires catch and burn down 67 temples and shrines, including Iwagami, Oimatsu, and Ōmichi shrines.
			10.-: The imperial court makes a donation toward repairs at Konda Hachiman Shrine in Kawachi (on the outskirts of present-day Osaka). The bakufu grants the shrine permission to solicit donations for the effort in Edo

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Worship of Ōsugi *Myōjin becomes popular in the provinces of Hitachi (most of present-day Ibaraki Prefecture) and Shimousa (northern Chiba and southwestern Ibaraki prefectures).
	6.-: People go in droves to the Katori Shrine in Edo's Honjo district following stories that Awa Ōsugi *Daimyōjin had come flying in. In the 9th month, the bakufu bans people from worshipping the deity. (*Bukō nenpyō*, *Sen'yō eikyū-roku*)
1.27: *Atobe Yoshiakira dies (age 72).	
-.-: Watarai Tomohiko (*Matsuki Tomohiko) produces **Toyukekōtaijingūnenjūgyōji-konshiki*. (*Jingū nenpyō*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			and around the "Five Central Provinces," i.e., Kyoto and its neighbors. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1731	Kyōhō 16	11.10: The bakufu establishes and simplifies rules for the mandatory visits to Edo (*sanpu*) by senior Buddhist clergy, Shintō priests, and Shugendō practitioners. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	
1732	Kyōhō 17		10.28: Plague of locusts causes major crop damage. Orders are issued for magico-religious invocations (**Kitō*) to be offered up at Nikkō Tōshōgū, the Grand Shrines of Ise, Usa, Katori, Kashima, and other shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
			11.-: The late Emperor Reigen is included for joint veneration (*sōden*) as a kami at Kyoto's Shimo-Goryō Shrine. (*Getsudō kenmonshū*)
1733	Kyōhō 18		
1736	Genbun 1		
1738	Genbun 3	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Sakuramachi (though	

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.20: *Wakabayashi Kyōsai dies (age 54). (*Suika bunshū*)	-.-: The great Kyōhō famine occurs around this time.
7.11: *Ōgimachi Kinmichi dies (age 81). (*Kugyō bunin*) (some sources suggest the date was the 12th)	1.25: The Edo home of rice wholesaler Takama Denbei is attacked. (The first of the so-called *uchikowashi* ["home destroying"] popular uprisings to occur in the Edo period.)
7.13: *Jikigyō Miroku dies (age 63). (Some sources suggest he died on the 17th or the 18th)	7.-: Epidemics rage in many provinces. People frequently perform a ritual exorcism of the pestilence deity (*ekishin*) in which an effigy of the deity is made out of straw and sent off to sea from the shore while banging on bells and drums. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
9.8: *Amano Sadakage dies (age 71).	
11.-:*Kamo no Mabuchi at age 37 becomes a disciple of *Kada no Azumamaro.	
7.2: *Kada no Azumamaro dies (age 68).	4.-: The bakufu orders all temples, shrines, and peasants first in Suruga Province then in all provinces who have any documents related to the Imagawa and Hojo clans to send copies to the bakufu. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
7.8: *Tamaki Masahide (sometimes read Tamaki Sei'ei) dies (age 67).	-.-: Exhibitions of temple and shrine treasures (*kaichō*) start to be held frequently from around this time.
-.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu produces *Gobusho setsuben* (Discourse on the five books).	
11.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu compiles *Sōbyō shashoku tōmon* (see also **Ise Shintō*).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		the ceremony was revived in 1687, it was foregone for the preceding emperor, Nakamikado [r. 1709–35]; production also resumes of special folding screens from Yuki [a term that means "all of Japan from Kyoto to the east"] and Suki ["all of Japan from Kyoto to the west"] provinces created as part of the *daijōsai* festival). (*Kugyō bunin*)	
1739	Genbun 4		
1740	Genbun 5	3.5: The sending of senior-noble messengers (*kugyō chokushi*, see **Chokushi*) to Ise resumes.	
		11.24: Holding of the Harvest Festival (*Niinamesai*, see **Chōtei saishi*) resumes. (*Kugyō bunin*)	
1741	Kanpō 1	4.26: The bakufu bans gambling, raffles, and similar activities styled as "builder confraternities" (*konryū-kō*; see also **Kō*) for temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1742	Kanpō 2	4.-: The *Osadamegaki hyakka-jō* is finalized (the second volume of *Kujigata osadamegaki*, this legal text includes regulations related to dealing with plaintiffs from temples and shrines, newly established rites, and executions for "outrageous heresies" [*kikai no isetsu*]) (see **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*).	
		5.-: The bakufu sets down regulations concerning fund-raising drives (*kange*) for temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
12.-: The bakufu halts publication of *Kada no Arimaro's *Daijōe benmō* (Illuminating the accession ceremony) and puts him under house arrest.	
-.-: *Ishida Baigan publishes *Tohi mondō*.	
7.14: *Tomobe Yasutaka dies (age 74).	
1.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu produces *Ise ryōgū ben*.	2.27: Era name changed to Kanpō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū kakumei*, "younger wood cock revolution," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
9.26: *Masuho Zankō dies (age 88).	9.-: The magistrate of towns (*machi-bugyō*) forbids having sick people drink water said to be holy water (*kajisui*) from Mt. Fuji (see also **Fuji Shinkō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		-.-: The bakufu sets down ordinances related to punishments for creating new Shintō and Buddhist rites. (*Kajō ruiten*)	
1743	Kanpō 3	4.28: The bakufu orders that permission to come and go in and out of villages around the Kantō (present-day Tokyo and surroundings) area be granted to Shugendō practitioners and shrine clergy (*fushuku*) who are carrying pilgrimage placards (*shugyō-fuda*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		9.-: The bakufu bans making spectacles on lands held by the Grand Shrines of Ise of the remains of people who have been crucified, immolated, or gibbeted. (*Harigamichō*)	
1744	Enkyō 1	5.-: Because the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*), imperial envoys bearing offerings (**Hōbeishi*) are sent to "the seven shrines" (*shichisha*, i.e., the top seven in rank among the **Nijūnisha* [*The 22 Shrines*]) (this marks the first-time that *kinoene* prayers have been offered and *hōbeishi* have been sent to the seven shrines since the Katei era [1235–37])...	-.-: The main worship hall (*honden*, presently a designated National Treasure) of Izumo Shrine is built this year.
		9.25: The practice of sending imperial envoys with offerings (**Hōbeishi*) to Usa and Kashii shrines is resumed (had been in abeyance since 1300). (*Kugyō bunin*)	
1745	Enkyō 2	3.29: The bakufu orders shrines, temples, and anyone else who possesses old documentary materials to submit an inventory of their	

Personalities/Texts	Society
9.24: *Ishida Baigan dies (age 60).	2.21: Era name changed to Enkyō as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakurei*, "elder rat revolution," the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	9.-: Worship of Shūzan Jiun Reijin, known as the deity of hemorrhoids, begins to spread. (Worship—the practice of which focused mostly at Nichiren sect temples—was said to cure the malady in one's next life.)
-.-: Merchant-class thinker and Shintō critic Tominaga Nakamoto publishes *Shutsujō gogo*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		holdings. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1746	Enkyō 2	3.21: The Laws for Warrior Houses (*Buke shohatto*) are revised. The revision includes bans on building temples and shrines on newly opened lands, and on confiscating the lands of temples and shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1747	Enkyō 4		
1748	Kan'en 1	11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Momozono (performance of **Kagura* songs during ceremony revived).	
1749	Kan'en 2		9.1: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.4: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1750	Kan'en 3	4.-: The bakufu prohibits applying to the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) for permission to solicit donations (*kange*; see also **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*) to repair shrines and temples "heedless of orders" (*meijimidari ni*).	
1751	Hōreki 1		
1752	Hōreki 2		
1757	Hōreki 7		

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.28: Tominaga Nakamoto dies (age 32).	-.-: Around this time, worship of the *kami* Masaki Inari (see **Inari Shinkō*) begins to spread. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Yoshimi Yoshikazu produces *Kokugaku bengi*.	
5.30: Confucian scholar Dazai Shundai (see **Theological Research*) dies (age 68).	
	-.-: This year, Benzai Shrine in Enoshima opens its doors to display its treasures (**Kaichō*). Large numbers of visitors from Edo made pilgrimages to the shrine (*Bukō nenpyō*).
9.13: *Tada Yoshitoshi dies (age 53).	-.-: Starting around this time, the practice of raising flags to signal when a temple or shrine is displaying its treasures (**Kaichō*) begins (instances of such displays being held on an annual basis also begin from around this time). (*Bukō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Kada no Arimaro dies (age 46).	10.27: Era name changed to Hōreki due to "misfortunes" (*kyōji*) (death of Emperor Sakuramachi on 4.23 the previous year; death of former shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune on 6.20 of the current year).
-.-: *Tanigawa Kotosuga finishes writing the 35-volume **Nihonshoki tsūshō*. (*Nihonshoki tsūshō*)	
3.-: *Motoori Norinaga goes to study with Hori Keizan at his academy in Kyoto.	
12.10: *Matsuki Tomohiko dies (age 74).	
	8.-: Senior Assistant Director of Divinities (*Jingiken taifu*) Yoshida Kaneo makes an appeal to an imperial messenger (*tensō*) over an attempt by Jingikan (see **Jingikandai*) Superintendent (*Jingihaku*) Shirakawa

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1758	Hōreki 8		
1759	Hōreki 9	5.-: Extravagance at religious festivals in Edo is banned.	
		6.-: The *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) orders that force not be used in campaigns to solicit donations for religious purposes (*kange*; see also **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*).	
		8.30: The bakufu has shrines in every province surveyed at the behest of the imperial court (survey connected with Yoshida house certification of priests, with registers compiled that record who the functionaries are at each shrine; see also **Shinto in the Early Modern Period*).	
1760	Hōreki 10		
1761	Hōreki 11	2.21: The bakufu issues revisions to the *Buke shohatto* (Laws for warrior houses). As before, the document bans seizing long-held lands from temples and shrines as well as building temples and shrines on newly opened lands. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1763	Hōreki 13	8.-: The bakufu bans long stays in Edo by visitors who want to seek funds (*kange*) for repairing and rebuilding temples and shrines in distant provinces (only the seal of the	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Masatomiō to make all shrine families (**Shake*) throughout Japan subject to the Shirakawa house (see also **Shinto in the Early Modern Period* and **Outline of institutions and systems of medieval and early modern period*).
	7.23: The bakufu arrests Takenōchi Shikibu and his fellows. The following day, twenty aristocrats are formally punished ostensibly by the emperor (the Hōreki Incident [*Hōreki jiken*]).
-.-: *Kamo no Mabuchi completes **Kokuikō* [A study of the idea of the nation].	
4.26: *Yoshimi Yukikazu dies (age 89).	
5.25: *Kamo no Mabuchi grants a personal interview with *Motoori Norinaga at Matsuzaka in Ise (an event known as "the night in Matsuzaka"). Kamo accepts Motoori as a disciple in the 12th month.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		*Magistrate of Temples and Shrines [*Jisha bugyō*] would appear on the permits for *aitai kange*, as opposed to *gomen kange* [see also the entry for the 8th month of 1766]).	
		10.18: The bakufu renews the vermilion seal registrations (*shuinjō*, i.e., official permits) for various temples and shrines (see also **Shuinchi, Kokuinchi*).	
1764	Meiwa 1	11.8: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Sakuramachi.	
1766	Meiwa 3	8.-: The bakufu orders that *gomen kange* be distinguished from *aitai kange* carried out in support of the repair and rebuilding temples and shrines (*gomen kange* were fund-raising drives for which the bakufu added its vermilion seal of approval to that of the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines [*Jisha bugyō*] to the permit, which enabled permit holders to obtain various special amenities such as free transportation; the permit for *aitai kange*, meanwhile, carried only the seal of the Magistrate). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1767	Meiwa 4	-.-: The bakufu forbids monks, *shugen* practitioners (see **Shinto and Shugendō*), and shrine priests (*shake*, see **Shinshoku*) lodging in provinces other than their home province from building large-scale shrine (*shaden*) and temple (*butsudan*) structures and the like at their lodgings on the pretense of private use and	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.-: Large numbers of people make pilgrimages from now until late in the 8th month to the *inari* shrine (see **Inari shinkō*) located at the villa of Ōkubo Hōshū, a senior clerk at the pottery warehouse (*wangura*) in Edo's Fukagawa district, to make offerings of buckwheat noodles (*soba*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
	3.29: Ban imposed on adherents of the Okura sect of Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) Buddhism (the sect engaged in shamanistic practices and was considered heretical by the bakufu).
12.5: *Takenouchi Shikibu dies (age 56).	8.22: The bakufu puts Confucian scholar Yamagata Daini and one of his disciples, Fujii Umon (a member of the Ōgimachi house [see **Ōgimachi Shintō*]), to death on charges of lese majesty. 12.-: In a related incident, *Takenouchi Shikibu is banished to Hachijō Island (he dies en route), while Oda Nobukuni, the daimyō of the Ueno Obata domain, is put under house arrest. (Meiwa Incident)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		then holding gatherings. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1768	Meiwa 5	6.7: The bakufu bans the unauthorized donation of personal effects marked with the hollyhock crest (*aoimon*, see **Shinmon*), and the use of the hollyhock crest during the holding of special exhibitions of shrine and temple treasures (**Kaichō*), shrine rites (*shinji*), and Buddhist services (*butsue*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1769	Meiwa 6		9.3: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.6: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1770	Meiwa 7		8.-: The bakufu orders Kunōzan Tōshō (see **Nikkōsan shinkō*) Shrine to be frugal given its scarcity of funds for doing repairs. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
1771	Meiwa 8	11.19: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Go-Momozono. Rites led by the emperor (*shinsai*, see **Chokusai*) also take place. (*Zoku shigushō* [Ignorant selections on history, continued]).	
1772	An'ei 1		
1773	An'ei 2		-.-: The bakufu grants permission to carry out a fund-raising drive (*kange*) throughout the country and to hold lotteries for 10 years in Osaka in order to raise funds to help rebuild Taga Shrine in Ōmi Province. (Taga Shrine records)
1774	An'ei 3	3.-: Working through the *Magistrate of Shrines and	4.-: The court resumes sending an imperial messenger (**Chokushi*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
	11.-: Heterodox "Hiding *nenbutsu*" (*kakure nenbutsu*) groups, offshoots of Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) Buddhism, in Edo are exposed.
-.-: *Kamo no Mabuchi completes **Noritokō*. (*Kamo no Mabuchi zenshū*)	4.-: Great fire centered in Edo's Yoshiwara district. Fire survivors make pilgrimages to the district's Kurōsuke Inari Shrine.
10.30: *Kamo no Mabuchi dies (age 73). (*Okabe-ke fu*)	
10.9: *Motoori Norinaga completes *Naobi no mitama*.	-.-: Going on pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (see **Okagemairi*) becomes popular this year. The trend starts from around Kyoto and neighboring regions (i.e., the Kinai area) and spreads throughout the country. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
	11.16: Era name changed to An'ei due to calamities (major fire and windstorms in Edo) as well as the accession of Emperor Go-Momozono.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Temples (*Jisha bugyō*), the bakufu sets limits on the locations that can be the objects of drives to raise funds for repairing and rebuilding shrines and temples to those structures with historical lineages or of special natures. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	to festivals at Inari Shrine (practice had been suspended since the Ōnin period [1467-78]). (Shrine records)
1775	An'ei 4		
1776	An'ei 5		
1777	An'ei 6	5.-: The bakufu sets limits on how much can be spent each year when giving permits for the repair and rebuilding of shrines and temples in distant provinces. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	4.8: Around this time, it is said that festival rites at the Fushimi Inari Shrine have "exhausted their splendor."
		6.18: The bakufu forbids people from petitioning to have shrines and temples mint coins. (*Tokugawa jikki*; *Tokugawa kinrei-kō*)	
1779	An'ei 8	2.-: The bakufu inquires into the jurisdictions, duties, and social statuses of the individuals whose family business was that of *daikagura* (see **Kagura*). The head of *kagura* responds that they are under the jurisdiction of either Ise or Atsuta shrine, that their duties were set by the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*), and that their social status was that of townsmen. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	1.-: Having rejected a request from Kumano Hongū (see **Kumano Shinkō*) to rebuild its Jūnimiya subshrine after it burned down, the bakufu now provides Kumano with 1,000 *ryō* (taels) to assist with reconstruction and grants permission for it to hold a fund-raising drive throughout the country. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
			9.-: Festival floats (*nerimono*) come out for the Ushi-gozen festival in Edo. They are suspended from participation thereafter. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
1781	Tenmei 1		3.18: The Asakusa Sanja Gongen (i.e., Asakusa Shrine) festival is revived. However, after this it is suspended once again.
1782	Tenmei 2	2.-: The bakufu obliges priests (*shanin*, see **Shinshoku*) filing	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Tanigawa Kotosuga finishes compiling all 93 volumes of *Wakun no shiori*.	
10.10: *Tanigawa Kotosuga dies (age 68). (*Kokugaku*)	
-.-: *Fujitani Nariakira dies (age 42).	-.-: Pilgrimages to "Shibamata no Taishakuten" (i.e., the Nichiren temple Kyōeizan Daikyō) in Edo's Katsuhika district (present-day Katsushika Ward) become popular this year.
	-.-: The Zen ascetic (*gyōja*) Kakumei breaks with precedent by bringing ordinary lay

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		lawsuits to have the documents accompanied by a supplementary filing (*soekan keitai*) from their local magistrate (*daikan*), lord (*ryōshu*), or estate steward (*jitō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		10.11: Strong proclamations are issued declaring that shrine rites are the exclusive province of priests (**Kannnushi*) attached to shrines, that shrine personnel (**Shanin*) must obtain permission for the clothing they wear from the Yoshida clan (see **Shinto in the Early Modern Period (1)*), that the buying and selling of shrine lands (**Shinryō*) is banned, and that forbid the rites (*sairei*) at small village shrines (*hokora*) from being performed extravagantly.	
1783	Tenmei 3		
1784	Tenmei 4	4.-: The bakufu declares that *Shintōkata under the jurisdiction of the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) are to be treated when coming to Edo (*sanpu*) as having a rank equivalent to that of a keeper of the castle (*jōdai*) for one of the Tokugawa's three successional families (*sanke*).	
1785	Tenmei 5		
1786	Tenmei 6	6.29: The bakufu drafts a plan to levy money from temples, shrines, wealthy farmers (*gōnō*), and well-to-do merchants (*gōshō*) and loan it to daimyō in the form of gold and silver. The plan is never implemented and in the 8th month is abandoned altogether. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	-.-: The Shingon monk *Jiun, residing at Kōki Temple on Mt. Katsuragi in Kawachi Province, begins to preach his doctrine of *Unden Shintō.
		11.21: The **Niiname sai* is revived.	
1787	Tenmei 7	2.-: The bakufu announces that	10.-: Shōgun Tokugawa Ienari

Personalities/Texts	Society
	persons along to climb Mt. Ontake (see *Ontake Shinkō*).
	-.-: From the previous year, famine rages (the Great Tenmei Famine).
11.3: *Matsuoka Yūen dies (age 83).	
1.-: Ise Sadatake produces **Sanshatakusenkō*.	
-.-: This year, *Motoori Norinaga and Ueda Akinari engage in a fierce debate over Japan's world-historical primacy (the debate [*ronsō*] is the subject of Norinaga's work, *Kagaika*, or "Scolding the man from Osaka").	
-.-: Publication begins of *Hanawa Hokiichi's *Gunsho ruijū*.	
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga completes *Hihon*	6.19: Matsudaira Sadanobu becomes the

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		it will grant its vermillion seal of approval (*shuin*) without regard to the amount of land a shrine or temple holds (see **Shuinchi*; Ienari becomes shōgun this year). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	dispatches envoys to the Grand Shrines of Ise, to the Tōshō shrines at Nikkō and at Momijiyama (in Edo Castle)., and to Sannō Shrine to report to the kami that the emperor has formally named Ienari the new shōgun. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
		11.27: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōkaku.	
		-.-: The bakufu grants estate proprietors (*ryōshu*) permission to carry out punishments of shrine personnel (*shanin*, see **Shinshoku*) on their estates at their own discretion in instances of misbehavior regardless of whether the individuals hold a license from the Yoshida clan (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).	
1788	Tenmei 8	6.-: Villages in the provinces of Kai (present-day Yamanashi Prefecture) and Suruga (central and eastern Shizuoka) banned from hindering the travel of female ritualists (**Miko*) and ascetic practitioners (*shugen*, see **Shugendō*) in possession of placards indicating they are partaking in ascetic practice (*shugyō fuda*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
		7.-: The bakufu again bans **Shugendō* practitioners from shrine families (**Shake*) from "misleadingly and extravagantly" (*magirawashiku gyōgyōshiku*) erecting shrine sanctuaries (*shaden*) at historic sites in other provinces and holding religious services. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1789	Kansei 1		9.1: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.4: Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.

Personalities/Texts	Society
tama kushige.	bakufu's chief senior councilor (*rōjū*). Start of the Kansei Reforms.
	-.-: Many provinces are struck by severe famine over the spring and summer (the Great Tenmei Famine).
	1.30: Large areas of Kyoto hit by fire (the Great Fire of Tenmei), destroying the imperial palace and Nijō Castle, leveling the city's Nishijin district, and damaging 220 shrines. (*Chigyoroku*)
	1.25: Era name changed to Kansei due to calamities (burning of the imperial palace and fires throughout Kyoto the previous 1.30).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1790	Kansei 2	12.-: The bakufu bans building houses for rent on the grounds (*keidai*, see **Keidaichi*) of temples and shrines. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	12.-: The Yoshida clan, now functioning as the "masters of the Jingikan" (*Jingikanryō*, see **Jingikandai*), establishes an office in Kantō (the Edo region).
		12.-: The bakufu issues a proclamation ordering shrines and temples to repair any light damage to their facilities themselves and not to "recklessly" (*midari ni*) request permission to solicit funds (*kange*) from the general public for repairs. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1791	Kansei 3	4.-: The bakufu issues a proclamation ordering that yin-yang (*onmyō*, see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*) diviners must be licensed by the Tsuchimikado family (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*) on the grounds that there had recently been large numbers of individuals practicing Onmyōdō without permission. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	11.-: An inspector for the Kantō council of the Shirakawa Shintō clan named Sasaki Kenmotsu files a report with the *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) on funeral rites that Shintō priests hold for themselves (*Shintō sōsai*; see **Shinsōsai* and also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).
		-.-: The *Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) issues its opinion on the matter of Shintō funeral rites (**Shinsōsai*) for Shintō priests, saying that only priests who have received a funerary license from the Yoshida family and the sons of those priests can be exempted from the temple registration system to arrange and conduct such rites (see also **Yoshida Shintō*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1792	Kansei 4		
1793	Kansei 5	5.-: In response to an inquiry from an individual named	

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga begins publishing **Kojikiden* (Exegesis on the *Kojiki*).	5.24: The bakufu bans research on "*igaku*" (heterodox learning) at Confucian academies (the policy is known as "the Kansei prohibition on heterodox studies," *Kansei igaku no kin*).
	7.22: Acting on an anonymous tip, the Nagasaki city magistrate's office arrests 19 Christians in the village of Urakami (first crackdown on Christians in Urakami).
6.26: *Kawamura Hidene dies (age 70).	
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga begins to write **Tamakatsuma*. (*Motoori Norinaga zenshū*)	
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga completes *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko kamu yogoto goshaku* (alternately read as *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko kan'yogoto goshaku*, the volume is printed in 1796).	
7.23: The bakufu grants *Hanawa Hokiichi permission to establish his academy, Wagaku	3.-: Prior to this time, the bakufu and the imperial court had been at loggerheads over

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Matsudaira Kyūgorō, Itakura Katsumasa (later Itakura Katsuaki)—the bakufu's military governor for Suō Province (present-day southeastern Yamaguchi Prefecture)—elaborates on the differences between **miyaza* and shrine personnel (**Shinshoku*), and offers his opinion that peasants (*hyakushō*) are free to be licensed by the Yoshida family so long as they have the permission of their estate proprietor (*ryōshu*) (see also **Yoshida Shintō*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1794	Kansei 6		
1795	Kansei 7		
1796	Kansei 8		
1798	Kansei 10	1.-: The bakufu, in an Edo "town proclamation" (*machibure*), prohibits the use of gaudy new decorations for festivals.	
1799	Kansei 11	2.24: The bakufu bans the holding of plays and entertainment spectacles under the rubric of planting, "insect-repelling" (*mushi okuri*), and "wind-calming" (**Kaza-matsuri*) festivals , a practice that had been occurring "in various places in many	

Personalities/Texts	Society
kōdansho, and gives him land on which to build it.	awarding the honorific title of *daijō tennō* ("abdicated emperor," sometimes read *dajō tennō*) to Kaninnomiya Sukehitoshinnō, the biological father of then-sitting emperor Kōkaku. This month, the bakufu punishes *gisō* (an official who advises the emperor and transmits his orders to the imperial court and the bakufu) Nakayama Naruchika and *buke tensō* (liaison between the imperial court and the bakufu) Ōgimachi Kin'aki over the matter (the pair, among other aristocrats, had favored granting the title in opposition to the bakufu's stance) (*Songō jiken*, "Songō Incident").
6.-: *Arakida Suehogi completes *Naikū Gekū no ben*. (*Naikū Gekū no ben*)	1.10: Major fire in Edo (starts in its Kojimachi neighborhood), results in destruction of Sannō Shrine. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Motoori Norinaga begins publishing **Tamakatsuma.*	1.-: Commoners in Edo are banned from forming Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*, see **Fuji shinkō* and also **Kō*).
	8.-: The bakufu once again bans the Nichiren Buddhist Fuju Fuse movement from Kazusa and Shimōsa provinces (covering parts of present-day Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures).
	8.8: Sixty-nine monks from various Buddhist sects punished for violating their precepts..
	8.14: Englishman William Robert Broughton travels by boat to Muroran, Hokkaidō, in order to make sea charts. Over the following year, he takes measurements along Japan's coastline.
6.13: *Motoori Norinaga completes **Kojikiden.*	
1.25: The 1,100th anniversary of *En no Ozunu's death. Ozunu is granted the posthumous title of Shinpen bosatsu ("the deity-transformed bodhisattva"). (*Shunkuki*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		provinces." (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
		6.-: The bakufu bans the practice of making shrine gates (**Torii*), stone lanterns, and Buddhist statuary out of bronze (*karakane*, "Chinese metal") and taking such objects out on the road to solicit donations. 7.20: The bakufu bans going around shrines and temples in Edo to posting the placards of confraternities (*kōjūfuda*, see **Kō*) on "thousand-shrine pilgrimages" (*senja-mairi*, see **Senjafuda*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1800	Kansei 12		
1801	Kyōwa 1		
1802	Kyōwa 2		2.-: Kitano Tenman Shrine in Kyoto celebrates its 900th anniversary with an imperially sanctioned memorial service (*chokue*) in the courtyard before the shrine (for Sugawara Michizane, see **Tenjin shinkō*). (*Kugyō bunin*)
1803	Kyōwa 3	10.-: The bakufu issues its opinion that the ranks granted to kami (**Shin'i*) are a matter done by imperial decree alone and not one in which the Yoshida family may involve itself (see also **Yoshida Shintō*). (*Tokugawa kinreikō*)	
1804	Bunka 1		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: Because the year corresponds to the 57th in the sexagenary cycle (*Kanoenosaru* or *Kōshin*, "metal-monkey;" see **Kōshin shinkō*), the prohibition on women climbing Mt. Fuji is relaxed. Many women make the climb. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
9.29: *Motoori Norinaga dies (age72).	2.5: Era name changed to Kyōwa as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū*, "younger wood cock," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	-.-: Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*, see **Fuji Shinkō* and also **Kō*) banned. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
	2.-: Fad develops for the *tarō inari* (see **Inari shinkō*) enshrined at the villa of the Tachibana clan in the rice fields of Asakusa on the outskirts of Edo. (*Bukō nenpyō*)
	-.-: Fad in Osaka to go on circuit pilgrimages focused on the seven deities of good fortune (**Shichifukujin*). (*Settsu nenpyō*)
8.14: *Arakida Hisaoyu dies (age 59).	2.5: The bakufu bans "disturbances" (*sōjō*) at *Hatsuuma festivals. (*Tokugawa jikki*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1805	Bunka 2		
1807	Bunka 4		
1808	Bunka 5		
1809	Bunka 6		10.16: The Grand Shrines of Ise rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*) (some disagreement exists on date).
1810	Bunka 7	4.-: The bakufu grants permission to the chief representative (**Sōdai*) of the parishioners of Fuji Hongū Sengen Shrine in Suruga Province (present-day central and northeastern Shizuoka Prefecture) to solicit funds in three provinces to help with rebuilding the shrine (see also **Fuji/Sengen Shinkō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	1.-: Akiha Shrine in Tōtoumi Province (present-day western Shizuoka Prefecture) destroyed by fire (rebuilt in 1819) (see also **Akiha Shinkō*). (*Nihon shaji taikan*)
			4.5: Deity of Sumiyoshi Shrine in Settsu Province (present-day western Osaka and eastern Hyōgo prefectures) transferred to a new shrine building (*sengū*, see **Shikinensengū*) (main sanctuary now a National Treasure). That autumn, the Sumiyoshi dance (*Sumiyoshi odori*) is revived (see also **Sumiyoshi Shinkō*). (*Settsu nenpyō*)
1811	Bunka 8		
1812	Bunka 9		

Personalities/Texts	Society
12.22: *Jiun dies (age 87).	2.11: Era name changed to Bunka as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	9.7: Russian envoy Nikolai Rezanov arrives at Nagasaki seeking to open trade relations.
3.-: *Arakida Tsunetada dies (age 64). (*Kugyō bunin*)	
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa becomes a student of *Hirata Atsutane.	8.15: Britain's HMS *Phaeton* hoists a Dutch flag to slip into Nagasaki harbor, then takes Dutch hostages to force the Dutch traders there to provide supplies (the "Nagasaki Harbor Incident").
9.2: *Katō Chikage dies (age 74) (some believe he was 72). (*Jijitsu bunpen*)	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane compiles *Amatsu norito kō*.	
8.-: Itō Jikigyō, founder of the Miroku (Skt. Maitreya) faction (**Jikigyō Miroku*) of the Fuji confraternity (*Fujikō*), dies (age 64). (See also **Fuji Shinkō* and **Kō*)	2.25: Official interpreters in Nagasaki are ordered to also study Russian and English.
2.13: *Murata Harumi dies (age 66).	
7.8: *Kurita Hijimaro dies (age 75).	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane starts writing *Koshi-den*. (*Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1813	Bunka 11		3.15: The special annual festival (*rinjisai*) at Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine is revived (last held more than 380 years before, in 1432). (*Kugyō bunin*; *Tokugawa kinreikō*)
			3.-: **Shintōkata* Yoshikawa Genjūrō asks for permission to give protective amulets (**Mamorifuda*) from tutelary shrines (*chinjusha*, see **Chinjugami*) on the grounds of homes and estates (see **Yashikigami*). The bakufu grants him permission. (*Yoshikawa Shintō no kenkyū*)
1814	Bunka 12		12.22: The Kamo special annual festival (*rinjisai*) is revived (*Kugyō bunin*) (one theory holds it happened in the 11th month) (see also **Medieval Shinto*).
			-.-: In their battle with one another to control priest (**Shinshoku*) shrine assignments, the Yoshida and Shirakawa clans make appeals directly to the imperial court (see **Shintō in the Early Modern Period (1)*).
1816	Bunka 13		
1818	Bunsei 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Ninkō.	
1819	Bunsei 2		
1821	Bunsei 4		
1822	Bunsei 5		
1823	Bunsei 6		

Personalities/Texts	Society
6.20: *Uematsu Arinobu dies (age 56).	
Intercalary 11.-: *Ban Nobutomo publishes *Engishiki Jinmyōchō*.	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane publishes *Kodō taii* (True meaning of the ancient way).	
11.11: Kurozumi Munetada, aged 35, of Bizen Province (present-day Okayama Prefecture) has a conversion experience that will be described as the "direct receipt of the heavenly mission" (*tenmei jikiju*). Begins proselytizing the following year through story-telling (*kōshaku*) and faith healing (*majinai*) (see **Kurozumikyō*).	3.-: Warriors are prohibited from participation in ascetic practices related to Mt. Fuji (*Fujigyō*). The following month, in a "town proclamation" (*machibure*) for a third time the *bakufu* banned Fuji confraternities (see **Fuji shinkō* and also **Kō*). (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)
-.-: The Hakuō Shintō house composes their doctrinal compendium, *Jingi Hakke gakusoku* (see **Hakke Shintō*).	
-.-: *Oka Kumaomi opens his academy, Ōinkan.	
-.-: Sometime between this year and the next, *Hirata Atsutane publishes both *Koshi seibun* and *Koshi-chō*.	
	-.-: Cholera epidemic this year.
9.12: *Hanawa Hokiichi dies (age 76). (*Onkodō Hanawa sensei den*)	
	-.-: Cholera epidemic in western Japan in autumn of this year.
12.16: *Fujitani Mitsue dies (age 56). (*Zoku shoka jinbutsu den*)	
-.-: The Yoshida Shintō lineage appoints	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1824	Bunsei 7		
1825	Bunsei 8		
1826	Bunsei 9		
1827	Bunsei 10		
1828	Bunsei 11		
1829	Bunsei 12		9.2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1830	Tenpō 1		2.-: Aramatsuri Shrine, along with the other detached shrines (**Betsugū*) at Kōtai Shrine, i.e., Ise Inner Shrine, destroyed by fire. (*Jingū Nenpyō*)
1831	Tenpō 2	1.-: The bakufu conducts investigation of shrines, temples, and **Shugendō* and Onmyōdō (see also **Shintō and Onmyōdō*) practitioners on lands or in residences borrowed from the bakufu to determine how many years they have been in residence, their names, and the nature of Shintō and Buddhist decorations used in transferring the divided spirit of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
*Hirata Atsutane as an instructor of "the ancient ways" (*kodō*) for priests (**Shinshoku*) under its jurisdiction. (*Tamadasuki nenpu*)	
3.14: Hattori Nakatsune dies (age 68) (some argue he died the month before).	
-.-: *Hirata Atsutane publishes *Kodō taii* ("True meaning of the ancient way").	
-.-: *Aizawa Seishisai completes *Shinron*.	2.15: The *bakufu* issues an edict that any foreign vessels that appear in Japanese waters are to be driven off (the order comes in the wake of an increasing number of random landings by European and American whaling vessels in particular).
12.1: *Fujita Yūkoku dies (age 53).	
Intercalary 6.-: Kodera Kiyosaki dies (age 80) (see **Fujii Takanao*).	
8.16: *Arakida Suehogi dies (age 65).	-.-: Japan's population this year estimated at 27.2 million people (excluding nobles and samurai).
11.7: *Motoori Haruniwa dies (age 66).	
-.-: Tendai monk Jihon completes *Ichijitsu Shintōki* (see **Sannō Shintō*).	
	Intercalary 3.-: Going on pilgrimages to Ise Shrine (*Ise-mairi*, see **Okagemairi*) becomes popular around western Japan and Awa (present-day Shikoku) from spring through autumn. More than 4.6 million people have taken part by August. (*Bunsei zakki*)
	12.10: Era name changed to Tenpō due to calamities (great fire in Edo on 3.21 of the previous year; major earthquake in Kyoto on 7.2 of the present year).
5.7: *Senge Toshizane dies (age 68).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		a kami (see **Kanjō* and also **Teinaisha*) in their dwellings. (*Ofuregaki shūsei*)	
1833	Tenpō 4		
1834	Tenpō 5		
1835	Tenpō 6		
1836	Tenpō 7		
1837	Tenpō 8		
1838	Tenpō 9		10.26: Nakayama Miki has a possession experience (the establishment of **Tenrikyō*). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)
1839	Tenpō 10	1.-: The bakufu admonishes Yushima Tenjin Shrine and its affiliates for holding overly elaborate festivals and rites during the previous year. In the 8th month, the bakufu again bans extravagance in the clothing and dancers at the same shrines' festivals and rites (*Tenpō zakki*).	
		12.30: The bakufu imposes restraints on participation in rites involving transferring the divided spirit of *kami* (see **Kanjō*) to household shrines	

Personalities/Texts	Society
9.11: *Motoori Ōhira dies (age 78).	
-.-: Following on a vision in his dreams the year before, *Inoue Masakane enters the Shirakawa clan of Shintō ritualists and receives a certificate to perform Shintō ceremonies. (*Misogikyō no kenkyū*)	
12.6: *Aoyagi Tanenobu dies (age 70).	
-.-: *Ban Nobutomo compiles **Shirushi no sugi* (The signpost cedar). (*Ban Nobutomo zenshū*)	
	-.-: Nationwide famine this year, the most extreme impact being felt in the Ōu region (present-day Tohoku, i.e., northeastern Japan) where as many as 100,000 die (the Tenpō Famine).
	2.19: Ōshio Heihachirō, formerly a city police captain (*machi yoriki*) in the Osaka city magistrate's office, launches a rebellion in that city (the revolt of Ōshio Heihachirō [*Ōshio Heihachirō no ran*]).
	6.1: *Ikuta Yorozu, a scholar of **Kokugaku* ("national learning"), commits suicide at age 37 after his attack—probably inspired by Oshio Heichachirō's revolt—on Tokugawa forces stationed at Kashiwazaki fails (the revolt of Ikuta Yorozu [*Ikuta Yorozu no ran*]).
	5.-: Dutch studies (*Rangaku*) scholars Watanabe Kazan, Takano Chōei, and their peers arrested on charges of insurrection (the *Bansha no goku* ["imprisonment of the 'barbarian studies society'"] incident).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*shinshi*; see **Teinaisha*) at warrior residences. It also bans the establishment of new and restoration of old private household shrines. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1840	Tenpō 11	8.22: The bakufu enacts regulations for merchants to go out on the days of shrine and temple festivals within the precincts of Edo. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1841	Tenpō 12	3.27: The bakufu prohibits *okama* (transvestite) and *inari* (see **Inari shinkō*) dances, as well as meetings of the Taishi confraternity (*Taishikō*, see **Daikunokami* and also **Kō*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		11.6: Following the precedents established during the Kansei era (1789-1801), the bakufu again prohibits any theatrical entertainment (**Shibai*) being offered as part of *kami* rites (*shinji*) or festivals (*sairei*). (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1842	Tenpō 13	5.1: The bakufu bans lay people from engaging in *shugen* and *yamabushi* (see **Shintō and Shugendō*) practices. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
		6.-: The bakufu orders reforms and crackdowns on *shanin* (see **Shinshoku*), *shinshoku* (shrine priests), *yamabushi* and *shugen* (see **Shintō and Shugendō*), divination masters (*onmyōshi*, see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*), shrine rite dance troupe leaders	

Personalities/Texts	Society
6.18: *Sonoda Moriyoshi dies (age 56).	
8.15: *Fujii Takanao dies (age 77). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	
12.30: *Hirata Atsutane is forbidden to write and exiled from Edo.	
Intercalary 1.18: *Yashiro Hirokata dies (age 84).	5.-: *Bakufu* senior councilor (*rōjū*) Mizuno Tadakuni issues orders for political reform, seeking a complete overhaul of the government (the Tenpō Reforms).
9.-: *Fujidō leader Kotani Rokugyō (Sanshi) dies (age 77).	
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa opens an academy named the True Learning School (Hōhongakusha) in Kyoto.	
	2.21: The bakufu bans various Shintō and Buddhist confraternities, including Mokugyokō and Fujikō (see **Fuji shinkō* and **Kō*.).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		(*shinjimai tayū*), and others. (*Tokugawa jikki*)	
1843	Tenpō 14		
1844	Kōka 1		
1845	Kōka 2		
1846	Kōka 3		-.-: *Kamo no Norikiyo establishes his private academy Zuiuen in Edo.
			-.-: The rules (*osadamegaki*) of *Kurozumikyō are drafted, de facto establishing the group as a formal organization.
1847	Kōka 4		4.-: Invocations (**Kitō*) are made at the Iwashimizu special annual festival (*rinjisai*) to drive away foreign threats. (*Nonomiya Sadanaga nikki*)
1848	Kaei 1	11.21: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Kōmei. (*Kugyōbunin*)	
1849	Kaei 2		9.2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). 9.5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1850	Kaei 3		
1851	Kaei 4		
1853	Kaei 6		8.-: Due to the arrival of foreign vessels in Japanese waters, prayers are offered up through the ceremonial release of captive animals (*hōjō-e*, see **Chōtei saishi*) at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine to ward off foreign threats and ask for domestic tranquility. The following month, many similar invocations were performed for the same reason at other shrines throughout the country. (*Kugyōbunin*)
1854	Ansei 1		3.-: Shrines are ordered to perform special invocations (**kitō*) regarding the "barbarian"

Personalities/Texts	Society
Intercalary 9.11: *Hirata Atsutane dies (age 68).	6.-: *Inoue Masakane exiled to Miyake Island.
	12.2: Era name changed to Kōka due to calamities (fire at Edo Castle on 5.10).
9.21: Kido Chitate dies (age 68) (see **Fujii Takanao*).	5.-: Major fire in Kyoto burns down many shrines and temples. (*Nihon sai'i-ki*)
10.14: *Ban Nobutomo dies (age 74). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	4.-: *Kamo no Norikiyo exiled to Hachijo Island because his Shintō lecture meetings (*kōshaku*) are seen as a challenge to the bakufu. (*Umetsuji ikken no mōshiwatashi*)
-.-: *Oka Kumaomi receives official sanction to revive Shintō funeral ceremonies.	
2.18: *Inoue Masakane dies (age 60). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	9.-: The bakufu once again bans Fuji confraternities (*Fujikō*, see **Fuji shinkō* and **Kō*), which had previously been banned in 1814. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
5.24: *Tachibana Moribe dies (age 69).	
1.6: *Satō Nobuhiro dies (age 82).	
2.25: *Kurozumi Munetada dies (age 71).	
8.6: *Oka Kumaomi dies (age 69).	
	6.3: Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the U.S. Navy lands at Uraga, Kanagawa.
	3.3: The Treaty of Kanagawa (also known as the Convention of Kanagawa) concluded between Japan and the U.S.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			vessels moored in Japanese waters.
1855	Ansei 2		
1856	Ansei 3		
1857	Ansei 4		
1858	Ansei 5		2.-: The bakufu dispatches Jushin'in, a *shittō* (see **Shasō*) from Kan'ei Temple (a Tokugawa clan temple in Edo), to Nikkō tōshōgū Shrine to divine the views (*shinryo*) of the kami (i.e., the enshrined spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu) on whether or not a treaty should be concluded with the Americans. (*Matsudaira Tadakata nikki*)
			6 -: An imperial envoy (**Chokushi*) with offerings (**Hōbei*) is dispatched by special request of the emperor to offer prayers at Iwashimizu Hachiman and Kamo shrines to ward off foreign threats and ask for domestic tranquility.
1859	Ansei 6		6.29: Permission granted for Sannō Festival and Kanda Festival parade floats to enter

Personalities/Texts	Society
	8.-: Inari worship (**Inari Shinkō*) of various types including *gisuke-inari*, *hōju-inari*, and *koyasu-inari* centered on the Ōkubo family of Edo's Sotokanda neighborhood becomes popular.
	11.4: Major earthquake and tsunami hit the Tōkai region, resulting in 10,000 deaths.
	11.27: Era name changed to Ansei due to calamities (fire at the Imperial Palace on 4.6, earthquake of the 6th month, visits by foreign vessels in recent years).
10.2: Fujita Tōko dies (age 50) (see **Mitogaku*).	10.2: The Great Ansei Earthquake occurs, doing severe damage to Edo resulting in collapse of 14,000 buildings and 7,000 deaths. (Fujita Tōko [see **Mitogaku*] is among the dead).
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa's book *Hongakukyoyō* compiled. (*Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*)	
10.20: *Ninomiya Sontoku dies (age 70).	
11.5: *Ajiro Hironori dies (age 73).	
-.-: *Mutobe Yoshika publishes *Ubusunasha kodenshō*. (*Kokugaku undō no shisō*)	
-.-: *Nonoguchi (Ōkuni) Takamasa publishes *Gakutō benron*.	
	6.19: Treaty of Amity and Commerce between US and Japan signed by shogunate without imperial ratification.
	9.7: The "Ansei Purge" begins.
	-.-: Cholera epidemic sweeps Japan this year.
8.24: *Tsurumine Shigenobu dies (age 72).	8.27: *Bakufu* punishes Tokugawa Yoshinobu, Tokugawa Nariaki, and others in course of the Ansei Purge. In addition, many *shishi*

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Edo Castle to promote the economy of inner Edo. (*Tokugawa jikki*)
1860	Man'en 1		
1861	Bunkyū 1		
1862	Bunkyū 2		2.24: Akagi Tadaharu and company establish *Kurozumikyō's Munetada Shrine in Kyoto.
1864	Genji 1	11.-: Various practices in the imperial Harvest Festival (*Niinamesai*, see **Chōtei saishi*) that had fallen into disuse are restored. (*Hikurōdo nikki*)	-.-: Around this time, *Tenrikyō proselytization begins in earnest.
1865	Keiō 1		
1867	Keiō 3	10.14: The bakufu announces its decision to return rule to the emperor (*taisei hōkan*) (see **Imperial Restoration*).	2.22: The Shirakawa Shinto lineage grants Konkō Daijin, founder of *Konkōkyō, permission to proselytize (see also **Shinto in the Early Modern Period*).
		11.17: Hearings (*sakumon*) held on the "reestablishment of ancient ways" (*kyūgi saikō*),	7.23: The *Yoshida Shintō lineage grants Nakayama Shūji of *Tenrikyō permission to

Personalities/Texts	Society
	("men of high purpose," i.e., anti-bakufu activists seeking to restore imperial power) executed.
	3.18: Era name changed to Man'en due to calamities (fire at Edo Castle on 10.17 the previous year, assassination of shogunal counselor Ii Naosuke earlier in the month on 3.3).
7.21: *Kamo no Norikiyo dies on Hachijō Island (age 64). (*Kokugakusha denki shūsei*)	2.19: Era name changed to Bunkyū as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*shinyū*, "younger wood cock," the 58th year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*)
-.-: *Ōkuni Takamasa produces *Kyūjyō ichiran* (Survey of the world).	3.9: Sakata Kaneyasu and Sakata Masayasu, leaders of the banned Tohokami Shintō (**Misogikyō*), are interrogated by the magistrate of temples and shrines (**Jisha bugyō*) and banished from their residences.
8.15: *Suzuki Shigetane dies (age 52).	7.2: British Fleet enters Satsuma Bay (Anglo-Satsuma War begins).
11.28: *Mutobe Yoshika dies (age 58).	
7.21: *Maki Yasuomi dies (age 52).	2.20: Era name changed to Genji as the year in the Chinese zodiac (*kinoene kakumei*, "elder rat revolution"; the 1st year in the sexagenary cycle) is associated with political and social instability (see also **Ehō*).
	8.5: Combined British, U.S., French, and Dutch fleet attacks Chōshū domain shore batteries at Hagi near the Shimonoseki Straits.
-.-: Akagi Tadaharu of *Kurozumikyō dies (age 50).	4.7: Era name is changed to Keiō due to calamities (Hamaguri Rebellion of 7.7 the previous year, social unrest).
-.-: *Nishida Naokai dies (age 73) (alternate dates are also offered).	9.17: Yano Mototaka becomes first Japanese to be baptized as a Protestant.
	8.-: Amulets (*fuda*) from Ise Shrine and of many local *kami fall from the skies mainly along the Tōkaidō circuit road near lodging facilities around Tōtoumi, Mikawa, and Owari. Occasioned by the phenomenon, boisterous *"Ee ja nai ka*" ("Isn't it grand?") dancing among commoners breaks out mainly in the capital district around Kyoto starting that autumn and extending into winter (see **Okagemairi*).
	12.9: Order on the Restoration of Imperial Rule (*Ōsei fukkō*) issued (see **Imperial Restoration* and also **Modern and*

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		including reestablishment of the Jingikan (Department of Divinities, see **The Meiji Jingikan*). (*Tatsu-setsuroku*)	proselytize.
			-.-: Imperial court prohibits Buddhist rituals from being held at the palace; imperial princes who have taken the tonsure are returned to secular life.
1868	Meiji 1	1.17: The "Three Offices of State" (*sanshoku*) system for dividing up administrative tasks of the central government is established.	4.24: Use of the name "Hachiman Daibosatsu" (Hachiman bodhisattva) at shrines in the Iwashimizu Hachiman lineage is stopped and the deity is renamed Hachiman Daijin (see **Shinbutsu Bunri* and also **Hachiman Shinkō*).
		2.3: Government administration is revamped, changing its existing seven departments (*shichika*) into eight bureaus, including bureaus for the presidential office (*sōsai*), kami rites (*jingi*), internal affairs, foreign affairs, and national defense. (*Cabinet notice*)	5.10: Japan's first "spirit-inviting shrine" (**Shōkonsha*) is built, enshrining the "martyrs" (loyalist soldiers) of the Meiji Restoration (in 1939, becomes Kyōto Ryōzen Gokoku Shrine) (*Dajōkan notice*).
		3.13: Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*) revived. Political system aimed at the unification of rites and rule (*saisei icchi*) revived (see **Fukko Shintō*). Shintō house lineages no longer allowed to license priests, and all shrines and priests (**Kannushi*) placed under the authority of the Department of Divinities (see **Modern and Contemporary Shinto*). (*Cabinet notice*)	
		3.14: Five-Article Charter Oath (*Gokajō no goseimon*) promulgated.	
		3.17: Individuals who perform shrine duties as Buddhist priests are forced to grow out their tonsure (*chikuhatsu saseru*) and renounce their status as Buddhist clerics (separation of the Buddhist [*sōryo*] and Shintō	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Contemporary Shinto).
	1.10: Shōgoin-no-miya is officially designated the head temple (*kanryō-no-miya*) for *Shugendō.
	Intercalary 4.17: Hidden Christians (*Kakure kirishitan*) discovered at Urakami Village near Nagasaki are removed and dispersed to domains around the country (see also **Shintō and Christianity*).
	6.22: Another five imperial family members become the head priests (*monzeki*) at Buddhist temples following the returns to lay life of those who had been at Ninnaji , Kajii, Shōgoin, Kachō, and other temples .(see also **Haibutsukishaku*).
	7.17: Edo renamed Tokyo.
	9.8: Era name changed to Meiji; decision made that from now on only one era name will be used per reign of a given emperor. (*Cabinet notice*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		priesthoods [**shinshoku*]) (see also **Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Jingi jimukyoku*)	
		3.18: The "imperial certificates of transmission" for shrines (*jinja shissō*, see **Shinto in the Early Modern Period*) system is halted and the Bureau of Divinities (Jingi Jimukyoku, see **The Meiji Jingikan*) takes over the issuing of licenses. However, the posts of **Jingū tensō* and *Kamō tensō* are unaffected by the decision. (*Cabinet administrative ruling*)	
		3.28: The separation of Shintō from Buddhism is ordered; mixing of the two is banned (**Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Cabinet notice*)	
		4.10: Order issued to carry out the separation of Shinto and Buddhism (**Shinbutsu bunri*) with caution and remove Buddhist statuary and paraphernalia at shrines without resorting to violent acts. (*Dajōkan ōse'ide*, *Cabinet notice*)	
		Intercalary 4.4: Shrine monks (**Bettō*) and Buddhist priests attached to shrines (**Shasō*) forced to renounce their status as Buddhist clerics and given the titles of **kannushi* and *shanin* ("shrine person," see **Shinshoku*) (see also **Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Cabinet notice*; *Cabinet administrative ruling*)	
		Intercalary 4.21: The positions of "Ise Shrine noble" (*jingū jōkei; ben*), "Kamo messenger" (*Kamo tensō*; see **Jingū tensō*), and prayer magistrate (*oinori bugyō*, see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines*) are discontinued.	
		Intercalary 4.21: The Bureau of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: This year, the ban on climbing Mt. Fuji to worship during non-leap years is lifted (see also **Fuji shinkō*). (*Kindai minshū shūkyōshi no kenkū*)
	-.-: An anti-Buddhism movement (*haibutsu kishaku*) emerges in the wake of formal efforts to separate Buddhism and Shintō (**Shinbutsu bunri*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Divinities (Jingi Jimukyoku) is revamped as the Department of Divinities (Jingikan, see **The Meiji Jingikan*) and given authority over matters concerning **hafuribe*, rituals (*saishi*), and the people involved in kami rites (**Kanbe*). (*Cabinet notice*)	
		Intercalary 4.21: The "three offices and eight departments of state" (*sanshoku hachika*) system of government administration is discontinued..	
		7.20: The Yamada magistrate (*Yamada bugyō*, see **Magistrate of Temples and Shrines*) is abolished.	
		10.18: The new Japanese government bans the Nichiren Buddhist sect from worshipping **Amaterasu* and Hachiman (see **Hachiman shinkō*) among its thirty tutelaries (**Sanjūbanshin*) and as part of the sect's chief object of worship (*gohonzon*), the "mandala of ten worlds" (*Jikkai mandara*) (see also **Shinbutsu bunri*). (*Gosata*)	
1869	Meiji 2	2.20: Command issued ordering that the New Year's festivals (**Kinensai*) be revived (festivals resume at Ise Shrine this year, at all other shrines the following year).	3.12: The emperor makes a pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise (the start of imperial pilgrimages to Ise). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
		2.24: Dajōkan (Grand Council of State) relocated to Tokyo. All requests and submissions from shrines and temples located in domains west of the Mino-Hida region (in present-day Gifu Prefecture) including those in the Kinai, Sanyō, San'in, Nankai, and Saikai regions are to be sent to Kyoto.	6.29: Tokyo *Shōkonsha built in the city's Kudan neighborhood, enshrining the soldiers killed in the Boshin War of 1868 (later becomes Yasukuni Shrine).
		4.8: Department of Civil Affairs (Minbukan) created, establishing six lower status	9.4: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. 9.7: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and

Personalities/Texts	Society
1.-: *Nakayama Miki begins to write *Ofudesaki* (completed in 1882). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)	2.19: Tokyo Prefecture issues proclamation on "the correction of public morals" (*fūzoku kyōsei*) (prohibition on mixed bathing, etc.).
6.21: *Kusakado Nobutaka dies (age 52).	2.28: Shrines and temples prohibited from contributing objects bearing chrysanthemum emblems (i.e., the symbol of the imperial family) to prayer halls. Also prohibited from establishing new places of worship. In the 8th month, shrines and temples are forbidden from using the chrysanthemum emblem without permission.
	3.20: Buddhist and Shintō sects unite to petition that Christianity be prohibited. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		departments under the Department of Divinities (see *The Meiji Jingikan*).	reconsecrated.
		7.8: Government administrative system revamped, reducing the number of departments to just the *Jingikan and Dajōkan. System of official missionaries (*senkyōshi*; see **Taikyō Senpu* and **Shinto Edification*) established.	12.17: Imperial edict issued ordering the Shirakawa and Yoshida families to welcome the "Eight Deities" (*hasshin*) to a temporary shrine at *Jingikan (Department of Divinities) and enshrine the spirits of dead emperors in the same halls as "the deities of heaven and earth" (*tenshin chigi*) (see **Hasshinden*). (*Jingishō-kiroku; Dajōkan-nisshi*)
		7.8: All existing government positions (*hyakkan*) and official courtesy titles (*juryō*, titles granted to outstanding artisans and other figures not actually in government employ) revoked. However, Shintō priests retain any official aliases (*shokugō*) they have been granted, and Buddhist priests retain any official posts (*sōkan*) they hold.	
		9.17: Bureau of Mausolea (*Shoryōryō*) assigned to the Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*; see also **Ryōbo*).	
		10.9: *Senkyōshi* (missionaries), who on 9.29 had formally been made government officials, are assigned this day to the Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*; see also **Taikyō Senpu* and **Shinto Edification*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1870	Meiji 3	1.3: Imperial decree on the Great Promulgation Campaign (**Taikyō Senpu no mikotonori*) issued.	
		5.30: All shrines throughout Japan that use *shinmeigū* (indicating they are a branch shrine [*bunsha*] of Ise Shrine) as part of their name change that part to *daijingū* (see also	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	6.17: Ownership of daimyō domains is reassigned to the emperor (*hanseki hōkan*) and government appoints 274 domain governors.
Intercalary 10.12: *Hayashi Ōen dies (age 74)/	7.28: Ritual exchange (known as *hassaku*) of gifts between daimyō and their men abolished.
Intercalary 10.-: *Itō Rokurobei begins ascetic practices aimed at "achieving unity and peace with the *kami of the Earth" (*tenchi no kami to dōkon dōtai*). He claims the kami has granted him the title of "*Chi no kami isshin gyōja*" ("practitioner united in	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Shamei Bunpu). (*Jingikan e shirei*)	
		7.17: Shrines and Temples Office (*Shaji-kakari*) is created in the Ministry of Civil Affairs. (*Minbushō e tatsu*)	
		Intercalary 10.17: The Tsuchimikado family, who were hereditary court diviners (see **Shintō and Onmyōdō*), banned from proselytizing Tensha Shintō (see **Tsuchimikado Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		Intercalary 10.20: Shrines and Temples Office (*Shaji-kakari*) in the Ministry of Civil Affairs reorganized into the Bureau of Temples (*Ji'in-ryō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		Intercalary 10.28: Regulations for large and small shrines standardized; municipal (*fu*), domainal (*han*), and prefectural governments ordered to draw up detailed lists of shrines in their jurisdictions (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		11.2: With the disbanding of the Shrines and Temples Office (*Shaji-kakari*), shrine-related matters are made the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Civil Affairs while temple-related matters are entrusted to the Bureau of Temples. (*Minbushō e shirei*)	
1871	Meiji 4	1.5: Order issued on expropriation of shrine and temple lands (*Shaji-ryō jōchi rei*, alternatively *Shaji-ryō agechi rei*; see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō* and **Jōchi rei*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		5.14: With shrines now charged with performing state rites, heredity priesthood abolished	

Personalities/Texts	Society
mind with the kami of the Earth"), and from this point forward he asserts that his body is a tool of the kami.	
11.20: *Suzuka Tsuratane dies (age 76).	
-.-: *Suzuka Tsuratane publishes *Jinja kakuroku*.	
8.17: *Ōkuni Takamasa dies (age 80).	4.4: Household Registration Law enacted. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)
	6.17: Imperial courtesy titles such as *goshogō*, *monsekigō*, *inke*, and *inshitsu* granted to Ninna Temple, Daikaku Temple,

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		and priests subsequently to receive their posts by appointment. (See **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*.) The same day, regulations are also issued that set the number of official shrines (*kansha*), establish the organizational structure for priests (*shinkan*), and affirm that the costs for reconstructing and rededicating (*shikinen*, see **Shikinensengū*) imperial shrines (*kanpeisha*) will be covered using public funds (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		7.4: Shrines are forced to hand over to the state all lands (**Keidachi*) other than those used by main shrine buildings (see **Jōchi rei*). Shrines also ordered to report on their expenses, breaking them down based on festival costs, shrine use, stipends paid to hereditary shrine priest families (**Shake*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		8.8: Department of Divinities (**The Meiji Jingikan*) reduced in status to become the Ministry of Divinities (*Jingishō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		9.-: Family registers created for shrine priests (**Shinkan*) placing those at shrines ranked as municipal (*fu*), domainal (*han*), and prefectural (*ken*) level on par with former samurai and those at rural-district shrines (**Gōsha*) as commoners (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Ōkurashō-tatsu*)	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	and temples under them due to their connections to the imperial family (i.e., overseen by priests from family sublineages, hosting retired emperors, and so forth) are revoked and the temples placed under the jurisdiction of local governments. The title and position of *bōkan kōnin* (a retainer in residence at such temples who handles the administrative affairs for the imperial personage) is revoked, those individuals are returned to secular life, and they are granted the status of samurai foot soldiers attached to local government. The families of assistants who have been in service for three generations or more (*sandai sō'on*) at *monseki* and those *goshogō* temples with female monks (*ama* or *bikuni*; Skt. *bhikṣuṇī*) are also granted the same type of samurai status. All temples are placed under the jurisdiction of local governments and temple families no longer make reports to the imperial throne.
	10.3: *Shūmon ninbetsu-chō*, or "sectarian registers" (i.e., the temple registration system [*terauke seido*]) abolished (see also **Shintō in the Early Modern Period* and **Shintō and Buddhism*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		11.17: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Meiji.	
1872	Meiji 5	2.-: **Kinensai* ceremony established for imperial and national shrines (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*).	5.24: Minatogawa Shrine becomes the first shrine to be granted the status of "extraordinary imperial shrine" (*bekkaku kanpeisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*).
		3.14: Ministry of Divinities disbanded and its functions shifted to the Ministry of Religious Education (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	7.-: *Urata Nagatami applies for approval to found a Shintō association called Jingūkyōkai. (**Jingūkyō*)
		3.23: Office of Ritual (*Shikiburyō*) placed in charge of all festival rites (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*).	
		3.27: Prohibitions on females entering shrines and temples relaxed; women are now allowed to freely visit them for worship. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1873	Meiji 6	Jan 4: The "five seasonal celebrations" (*gosekku*) are eliminated, and holidays celebrating the ascension (**Sokui*) of Japan's mythical first emperor Jinmu (see **Kigensetsu*) and the current emperor's birthday (**Tenchō setsu*) are established. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	Aug 31: *Nitta Kuniteru founds Shūsei Kōsha (becomes *Shintō Shūseiha in 1876). (*Shintō Shūseiha no shinkō*)

NOTE: In 1873 Japan switched from the lunar calendar (*inreki*, or more properly a lunisolar calendar, *taiin-taiyōreki*; subsequently also referred to as the *kyūreki*, "old calendar") to the Gregorian calendar (*seireki*, "Western calendar"; subsequently also referred to as the *shinreki*, "new calendar"). Though Japanese will continue to refer to months by ordinal numbers, the dates now correspond directly to their named equivalent in the Gregorian calendar (i.e., 1st month = January, 2nd = February, and so forth). Accordingly, the dates from January 1, 1873, forward are presented in this chronology using their conventional English equivalents.

Personalities/Texts	Society
8.17: *Tamamatsu Misao dies (age 63).	11.9: Lunar calendar abolished, solar calendar adopted (the 3rd day of the 12th month of 1872 is slated to become January 1, 1873) (see explanatory note).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1873 (cont.)	Meiji 6 (cont.)	Jan 15: Ban imposed on various divination and shamanistic spirit-invocation practices such as *azusa-miko*, *ichiko*, *yori-kitō*, and *kitsune-sage* that are performed mostly by female ritualists. (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	Oct. -: Religious confraternities (*kōsha*) throughout Japan associated with Ise Shrine unified under the name Divine Wind Religious Association (*Shinpū Kōsha*) (see **Jingūkyō*).
		Jan 30: Order issued eliminating *higashi* ("east") and *nishi* ("west") as the names of the two units grouping moral preceptors (*kyōdōshoku*, see **Shinto Edification* and **Taikyō Senpu*). However, use of the word *myōgō*—which usually refers to the Buddha's name as used, for example, in prayers—for "name" in the order's title in the context of the government's anti-Buddhism campaign (*haibutsu kishaku*, see **Shinbutsu bunri*) of the time produces a negative reaction among the populace as it led to the popular misconception that the government was banning chanting the Buddha's name (the central practice of Shin ["True Pure Land"] Buddhism) and that all Japanese were to be forced into Shintō practice (see also **Shintō and Buddhism*). (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	-.-: Shimoyama Ōsuke establishes Ontake Kyōkai (becomes *Ontakekyō in 1882). (*Ontakekyō no rekishi*)
		Feb. 22: Order issued revoking the conventional practice of drawing wages for priests (*shikan* and the lower-ranked *shishō*; see **Shinkan*) at rural district shrines (**Gōsha*) from local taxes. The payment of any "appropriate wages" (*tekigi kyūyo*) left up to the "piety" (*shinkōshin*) of the people (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		July 31: Monthly wages for priests (**Shinkan*) at municipal	

Personalities/Texts	Society

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		and prefectural shrines (*fusha* and *kensha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) revoked (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
		Oct 14: *Genshisai* ("Festival of Origins") and other holidays established as days of rest (see **Meiji Kokka Saishi*). (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1874	Meiji 7	June 7: Directive ordering that offering prayers and incantations to ward away illness (*kinen kitō*, see **Kitō*) should not interfere with taking medicine and providing other medical care. (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	Dec 23: *Tenrikyō founder *Nakayama Miki and others called to the offices of the Nara prefectural government and interrogated by officials overseeing temples and shrines. She would be arrested and investigated more than 10 times through 1886. (*Tenrikyo jiten*)
1875	Meiji 8		March -: *Shintō Jimukyoku (Shintō Office) established. (*Tokyo Daijingū enkakushi*)
1876	Meiji 9	Dec 15: In connection with the compilation of the Meiji period *Jinmyōchō* (Register of Deities, see **Jinja kakuroku* and **Shikinaisha*), a directive is issued ordering estimates regarding those shrines not yet ranked (see also **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Kyōbushō-tatsu*)	
1877	Meiji 10	Jan 11: Ministry of Religious Education disbanded. Administrative duties taken over by the Ministry of Home Affairs. (*Dajōkan fukoku*)	
1878	Meiji 11		-.-: *Shibata Hanamori founds Jikkōsha (becomes *Jikkōkyō in 1882).
1879	Meiji 12	Nov 11: The various ranks for **shinkan* (priests) at shrines ranked as of municipal or prefectural level (*fusha* or *kensha*) or below are abolished (see also **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Dajōkan*	June 4: Tokyo *Shōkonsha renamed Yasukuni Shrine, made an "extraordinary imperial shrine" (*bekkaku kanpeisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) (*Dajōkan-tatsu*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	-.-: *Shishino Nakaba leads the movement to do away with Buddhist elements (*haibutsu kishaku*) from Mt. Fuji (see also **Shinbutsu Bunri* and **Shintō and Buddhism*).
	April 30: Honganji and its affiliated True Pure Land temples depart from the Taikyōin (eventually leading to demise of the Great Promulgation Campaign, see **Taikyō senpu*).
July 11: *Inō Hidenori dies (age 73).	
June 13: *Godaiin Mahashira dies (age 75).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		fukoku)	
			Sept -: *Hirayama Seisai creates Taisei Kyōkai and becomes its leader (becomes independent sect in 1882 with the name of Taiseikyō; see **Shintō Taiseikyō*). (*Seisai nenpu sōan*)
1880	Meiji 13	July 6: Regulations on preserving ancient shrines and temples set down.	July -: *Sano Tsunehiko establishes Shinri Kyōkai (**Shinrikyō*; the group becomes independent sect in 1894). (*Shinrikyōso onisshi*)
1881	Meiji 14	October 3: Bans imposed on conducting funerals and other rites at institutes of religious instruction (*kyōin*), religious meeting places (*kyōkaisho*), and mission halls (*sekkyōsho*), as well as on the act of people visiting such places for worship on a regular basis (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	February 23: Imperial command issued ordering that the **kami* to be venerated (see **Saijin*) at the main shrine buildings (*shaden*) of the *Shintō Jimukyoku be those venerated at the imperial palace's shrines, bringing a close to the so-called "pantheon dispute" (*saijin ronsō*).
			-.-: Yoshimura Masamochi founds Shintō Shinshū Kyōkai (see **Shinshūkyō*; the group becomes an independent Shintō sect in 1882).
1882	Meiji 15	Jan 23: Conditions settled on the possibility of constructing the buildings to be used for the major *kami* pacification rites (*shinchinsai*) of Shintō moral preceptors (*kyōdōshoku*, see **Taikyō Senpu*) as well as for performing funeral services for lay believers. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	April 30: Jingū Kōgakkan (**Kōgakkan University*) founded (*Jingū Kōgakkan 50-nen shi*).
		Jan 24: Priests from national and imperial shrines (**Shinkan*) prohibited from working concurrently as moral preceptors (*kyōdōshoku*, see **Taikyō Senpu*) (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	April -: The Department for the Study of Classical Culture (*Kōten kōkyūka*) breaks off from the *Shintō Jimukyoku (see **Kokugakuin University*). (*Kōten kōkyūjo 50-nen shi*)
			May 15: Shintō Jingūha (a

Personalities/Texts	Society
Oct 25: *Hirata Atsutane dies (age 82).	
June 1: *Hatano Takao dies (age 85).	April 26: Decision that, starting in 1883 (Meiji 16), the "official calendar" (*honreki*) and "abbreviated official calendar" (*ryakuhonreki*) will be distributed by the Grand Shrines of Ise (see **Jingūreki*). (*Dajōkan futatsu* [publicly posted administrative ruling])
-.-: Basil Hall Chamberlain's translation of **Kojiki* published as *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			precursor to *Jingūkyō), Shintō Taishaha (*Izumo Ōyashirokyō), Shintō Fusōha (*Fusōkyō), Shintō Jikkyōha (*Jikkōkyō), Shintō Taiseiha (*Shintō Taiseikyō), and Shintō Shinshūha (*Shinshūkyō) established as independent Shintō sects (see **Shintō-Derived Religions* and the entry in this chronology for Nov. 6, 1882). (*Tadasama kyōkai*, *Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			Aug 23: Center for the Study of Classical Culture (*Kōten kōkyūjo*) established (see **Kokugakuin University*). On Aug 30, decision made that licensing of priests (**Shinkan*) at prefectural and lower-ranked shrines will be limited to those individuals who can supply a graduation diploma from the Center, or documents certifying they have completed their graduation exams. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			Sept 28: Shintō *Ontakekyō breaks away from *Shintō Taiseikyō. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			Nov 6: Eight Shintō schools (excluding Shūseiha; see the entry here for May 15, 1882) submit applications to change the "*ha*" (school) in their names to "*kyō*" (sect). Applications approved the same day (see **Shinto-Derived Religions*). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
			-.-: Kitajima Naganori establishes Izumo Kitajima Kyōkai as an entity separate from Izumo Taishakyō (see **Izumokyō*). (*Group documents*)
1883	Meiji 16	March 15: Conditions imposed on establishing churches, religious confraternities and	-.-: Kamigamo, Shimogamo, and Iwashimizu Hachiman shrines added to the list of shrines to

Personalities/Texts	Society
Jan 2: *Mozume Takayo dies (age 67).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		assemblies, and mission halls eased (individuals concerned now need only submit a report to the local government). (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])	which imperial envoys come to perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Daijōkan mugō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
1884	Meiji 17	July 7: Peerage System Ordinance set down.	May 19: Organization of offices at Ise Shrine established. (*Naimushō-tatsu* [administrative ruling] *bangai*)
		Aug 11: Moral preceptor (*kyōdōshoku*) system, which was open only to Buddhist and Shintō priests, abolished (see **Taikyō Senpu*). Decisions on the appointment and dismissal of temple and shrine chief priests and on promotions and the like for ordinary priests entrusted to the chief administrators (*kanchō*) of sects. Sects also made to set down their respective internal rules and regulations. (*Daijōkan futatsu* [publicly posted administrative ruling])	-.-: *Inaba Masakuni becomes the chief administrator (*kanchō*) of *Shintō Jimukyoku.
1885	Meiji 18		May 23: Shintō Konkō Kyōkai (**Konkōkyō*) founded. (*Group documents*)
			May 23: *Tenrikyō becomes a Class 6 religious organization affiliated with Shintō Honkyoku (**Shintō Taikyō*), thus finally achieving legal status. (*Tenrikyō jiten*)
			-.-: Kasuga Shrine becomes a shrine to which imperial envoys come to perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Daijōkan mugō-tatsu* [administrative ruling])
1886	Meiji 19	March 18: Dealing with the expenses for routine shrine	Jan 11: *Shintō Jimukyoku reorganized as Shintō Honkyoku.

Personalities/Texts	Society
May6: *Furukawa Mitsura dies (age 74).	
July 20: *Iwakura Tomomi dies (age 59).	
Oct 10: *Konkōkyō founder Konkō Daijin dies (age 70).	
May 13: Shishino Nakaba, head of *Fusōkyō, dies (age 41).	March 15: Land Tax Law (*Chiso jōrei*). Grounds of prefectural shrines, grounds of village shrines, and grounds of **shōkonsha* (shines for memorializing the war dead) exempted from taxes (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*).
Aug 8: *Sawatari Hiromori dies (age 73).	-.-: This year, a "world-renewal" (*yonaoshi*) movement led by the Mi division of *Maruyamakyō emerges centered in Shizuoka Prefecture.
March 23: *Kamei Koremi dies (age 61).	Dec 22: The *Daijōkan*-based system of government is discontinued, replaced by a Cabinet-type system.
Jan 24: Prince *Arisugawa no Miya Takahito Shinnō dies (age 75).	July -: A divination game known as "Kokkuri-sama" becomes popular in Kyoto.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		business placed under jurisdiction of local governments. (*Ōkurashō-rei*)	After receiving "Shintō" as part of its sect name, it was treated as one of the independent sects of sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*; see also **Shintō-Derived Religions*).
1887	Meiji 20	Oct 13: Permission given to use the names of avatars (*gongen-gō*) at temples and at shrines ranked as imperial or national (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) and below. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	March 17: Title of **shinkan* for priests at national or imperial shrines (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) abolished. Title of **shinshoku* revived with various grades established. (*Kakurei*)
			March 30: Yasukuni Shrine removed from jurisdiction of Ministry of Home Affairs and placed under jurisdiction of the Army and Navy Ministries.
1888	Meiji 21	April 17: The use of shrine names in the names of devotional associations affiliated with Sect Shinto denominations (*kyōkai kōsha*) is prohibited (done to distinguish between such associations and those attached to specific shrines [*jinja kōsha*]) (*Shajikyoku tsūchō*).	April 10: Governor of Tokyo Prefecture grants recognition to the establishment of Shintō Tenri Kyōkai (**Tenrikyō*).
		April 25: City, Town and Village Regulations promulgated (shrines and temples exempted from municipal taxes; regulations also set down making Shintō priests (**shinkan*) ineligible to run for office). (*Hōritsu dai-1-gō*)	
1889	Meiji 22	Feb 11: Japanese Imperial Constitution promulgated. Imperial Household Law set down. House of Representatives Election Law promulgated (shrine priests	Oct 2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	(*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
Feb 16: *Yamaguchi Okinari dies (age 56).	-.-: Ministry of Home Affairs issues "secret orders" to police forces nationwide regarding *Tenrikyō.
March 5: *Kubo Sueshige dies (age 57).	
Feb 18: *Tenrikyō founder *Nakayama Miki dies (age 90).	
May 19: *Yano Harumichi dies (age 65).	
June 8: *Gonda Naosuke dies (age 79).	
Oct 3: *Hori Hidenari dies (age 69).	
June 12: *Nakayama Tadayasu dies (age 80).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		[*shinkan*], Buddhist priests and monks, and Christian priests deemed ineligible for office). (*Hōritsu dai-3-gō*)	
1890	Meiji 23	March 13: Specific priests assigned to shrines for the war dead (**shōkonsha*) and custodians (*kanshu*) posted to the graves. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	Nov 10: *Kokugakuin University founded out of its parent organization, the Center for the Study of Classical Culture (Kōten Kōkyūjo). (*Kōten Kōkyūjo 50-nenshi*; *Kokugakuin Daigaku 70-nenshi*)
		May 17: Prefectural Code (*Fukensei*) promulgated. Shintō and Buddhists priests deemed ineligible to run for prefectural assembly offices. (*Hōritsu 35-gō*)	
1891	Meiji 24		Nov 5: Army Ministry enshrines 1,277 individuals as martyrs of "Restoration-related matters of state" (*Ishin kokuji*) at Yasukuni Shrine (see also **Shōkonsha*). (*Daijōkan fukoku*)
1892	Meiji 25	March 17: Standards required for serving as a priest (**Shinkan*) at shrines of prefectural rank or lower produced (see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*). (*Naimushō kunrei*)	Sept 27: Yoshino Shrine constructed. The deity venerated (**Saijin*) is Emperor Go-Daigo. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
1893	Meiji 26	Aug 12: Ministry of Education selects music and lyrics to be used at ceremonies on holidays and at school festivals, and announces it in official gazette (eight songs, including "Kimigayo," which at the time of writing is still Japan's national anthem).	
1894	Meiji 27	Feb 6: Warning issued that	Oct 20: *Shinrikyō declares its

Personalities/Texts	Society
March 18: Sakata Kaneyasu of Shintō *Misogikyō (related to, but distinct from, the present-day **Shintō Misogikyō*) dies (age 69).	Oct 30: Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo*) promulgated.
May 9: Watanabe Shigeharu dies (age 60) (see **Watanabe Ikarimaru*).	
May 22: Taiseikyō (see **Shintō Taiseikyō*) founder *Hirayama Seisai dies (age 76).	
July 11: Shintō *Jikkōkyō founder *Shibata Hanamori dies (age 81). (*Group documents*)	
Jan 22: *Motoda Nagazane dies (age 74).	
Oct 25: Prince *Kuni no Miya Tomoyoshi Shinnō dies (age 68).	
Dec 11: *Aoyama Kagemichi dies (age 73).	
Nov 14: *Yamada Akiyoshi dies (age 45).	March 4: Tokyo Imperial University Professor *Kume Kunitake is criticized by Shintō priests and others and loses his job for publishing his essay *Shintō wa saiten no kozoku* ("Shintō: The Outdated Custom of Worshipping the Heavens"). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
March 7: *Izumokyō founder Kitajima Naganori dies. (*Group documents*)	
Aug 6: *Matsuno Isao dies (age 42).	
Oct 26: *Urata Nagatami dies (age 54).	
March 30: *Maruyamakyō founder Itō	Aug 1: Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		priests and monks should not take advantage of religious beliefs to involve themselves in Lower House elections. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	independence from *Ontakekyō. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
		Feb 27: Government appoints priests (**Shinshoku*) to shrines ranked prefectural level and below. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	Oct 20: *Misogikyō declared independent from *Shintō Honkyoku. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
		Sept 28: Sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*, see **Shintō-Derived Religions*) priests are forbidden from conducting festivals at shrines at the request of representatives (**Sōdai*) of a shrine's parishioners (**Ujiko*) or others. (*Shajikyoku tsūchō*)	
1895	Meiji 28	May 30: Orders issued to the effect that standards for approving priests should be included in the regulations and systems of Shintō and Buddhist sects. Order accompanied by model standards. (*Naimushō kunrei*)	March 15: Heian Shrine built to commemorate the 1,100th anniversary of 'Japan's capital being relocated to Heian-kyō (Kyōto). Enshrinement ceremony held the same day, with Emperor Kammu as the enshrined deity (**Saijin*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*). *Jidai-matsuri* ("festival of the ages") created and first held that October.
1896	Meiji 29	April 29: Volumes 1, 2, and 3 of the Meiji Civil Code promulgated. Volume 2 includes regulations for religion-related juridical persons.	Nov 4: Major imperial shrine (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern Shrine Ranking System*) Niukawakami Shrine separated into mountain-side or upper (*kamisha*) and townside or lower shrine (*shimosha*) complexes. (*Naimushōkoku*)
		June 23: Notification issued limiting each household of shrine parishioners (**Ujiko*) to a single shrine. (*Shajikyokuchō kaitō*)	Nov 28: Ise Shrine Office (*Jingū shichō*) system established. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])
1897	Meiji 30		
1898	Meiji 31	Feb 22: Ministry of Home	-.-: Hilo Shrine established in

Personalities/Texts	Society
Rokurobei dies (age 66). (*Shinshūkyō kenkyū chōsa handobukku*)	begins.
July 3: *Mikannagi Kiyonao dies (age 83).	-.-: Anti-*Renmonkyō campaign begun by *Yorozu chōhō*, Japan's largest newspaper at the time. (*Renmonkyō suibōshi*)
March 17: *Inoue Kowashi dies (age 53).	April 17: Treaty of Shimonoseki (Sino-Japanese peace treaty) signed (China forced to cede the Liaodong Peninsula and pay a 200-million gold *tael* indemnity).
Sept 1: *Shintō Shinshinkyō founder Adachi Tajūrō dies (*Omichi no shiori*).	
Nov 8: Grand Shrine Administration Office (*Jingū shichō*) begins publishing *Koji ruien* [Encyclopedia of ancient matters].	
-.-: *Shin Kokugaku* published (see **Shinkokugaku*).	
-.-: W. G. Aston publishes English translation of **Nihon shoki* as *The Chronicles of Japan*.	
April 10: *Tanaka Yoritsune dies (age 62).	
July 15: *Inaba Masakuni dies (age 65).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Affairs issues notice banning proselytization at shrines by religionists associated with sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*, see **Shintō-Derived Religions*) and Buddhism. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)	Hawaii (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Hawaii nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genjō*)
		July 16: Meiji Civil Code goes into effect.	
1899	Meiji 32	July 27: Ministry of Home Affairs sets down regulations on the dissemination efforts of non-Buddhist and non-Shintō religions, as well as on the construction, relocation, and razing of their temples and halls of worship. (*Naimushō rei*)	Aug 1: *Deguchi Onisaburō and *Deguchi Nao found Kinmei Reigakukai as the affiliate of an Inari confraternity (*Inari kōsha*) (see also **Inari Shinkō*). (*Ōmoto 70-nenshi*)
		Aug 3: Ban on conducting ceremonies or offering education of a religious nature in government-sanctioned schools on grounds that general education is defined as separate from religion. (*Monbushō kunrei*)	Sept 5: *Jingūkyō dissolved and reorganized to become Jingū Hōsaikai, changing its legal status from service organization to foundation. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
1900	Meiji 33	March 10: Public Order and Police Law promulgated. Shintō and Buddhist priests prohibited from joining political associations. (*Hōritsu 36-gō*)	June 16: *Konkōkyō severs its affiliation with Shintō Honkyoku to become an independent sect (see also **Shintō Jimukyoku*). (*Konkōkyō nenpyō*)
		March 29: Revised House of Representatives election law promulgated. Shintō ritualists, Buddhist and Shintō priests, and religionists from other faiths not eligible for election to office. (*Hōritsu 73-gō*)	Sep 18: Taiwan Shrine built and added to list of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system* and also **Modern and contemporary Shintō*). (*Naimushō kokuji*)
		April 26: Home Affairs Ministry reorganized. Bureau of Shrines and Temples becomes Religious Affairs Bureau and Bureau of Shrines created. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	-.-: Takeuchi Kiyomaro founds an *Ontakekyō center in Amatsu (origins of a group that in 1952 will become the new religion *Kōso Kōtai Jingū Amatsukyō. (*Kokka shintō ni appaku sareta shinshūkyō*)
		Aug 1: Regulations set down on the creation of juridical persons whose purpose is to disseminate religion or conduct rites of a	

Personalities/Texts	Society
(*Meiji Hyakunen nen to Shintō taikyō*)	
Jan 26: *Kurita Hiroshi dies (age 65).	
Aug 19: *Maruyama Sakura dies (age 60).	
Aug 26: *Iida Takesato dies (age 74).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		religious nature. (*Naimushō rei*)	
1901	Meiji 34		March 3: The "Section for the Correct Practice of National Rituals" of the Jingū Service Foundation (*Jingū hōsankai kokurei shugyōbu*) conducts a simulated **shinzenkekkon* ("marriage in the presence of the gods") ceremony at the Tokyo Grand Shrine (*Tōkyō Daijingū*).
1902	Meiji 35		
1904	Meiji 37	Sept 28: Religionists from all "sectarian Shintō" (*kyōha Shintō*, see **Shintō-derived religions*) organizations prohibited from conducting rites at shrines (see also **State Shintō*). (*Shūkyōkyoku tsūchō*)	April 1: Kokugakuin (**Kokugakuin University*) elevated to status of *senmon gakkō* (defined in the Meiji educational system as a specialized higher education institution providing at least three years of schooling; Kokugakuin's name and organizational status will be changed in 1906 to *Shiritsu Kokugakuin daigaku* [Kokugakuin private university]).
		-.-: Jingū Kogakkan (**Kōgakkan University*) becomes a *kanritsu senmon gakkō* (defined in the Meiji educational system as a government-operated, specialized higher education institution providing at least three years of schooling) under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Afairs.	-.-: Jingū Service Foundation (*Jingū hōsankai*) opens a "supporters office" (*sanseiin jimusho*) in Hawaii (eventually becomes Hawaii Grand Shrine). (*Hawai nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genjō*)
1905	Meiji 38	April 7: Funding for national shrines (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*) set. (*Hōritsu 24-gō*)	
		April 30: Statute on giving food (*shinsen*) and other offerings (**Heihaku*) at shrines ranked prefectural shrine and lower. (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
1906	Meiji 39	Aug 14: Notice concerning shrine and temple mergers and	-.-: *Kawatsura Bonji founds Dainippon Sekaikyō Miitsukai.

Personalities/Texts	Society
Oct 10: *Kashima Noribumi dies (age 63).	
Jan 30: *Shikida Toshiharu dies (age 86).	Jan 30: Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed.
Nov 25: *Shintō Shūseiha founder Nitta Kuniteru dies (age 74).	
Feb 13: *Renmonkyō founder Shimamura Mitsu dies (age 63). (*Renmonkyō suibōshi*)	Feb 10: Russo-Japanese War breaks out.
March 2: *Miyaji Shinsendō founder Miyaji Kakiwa (religious name Suii Taireiju Shinjin) dies (age 53).	Aug 22: First Japan-Korea Protocol signed.
June 18: *Ōtori Sessō dies (age 91).	
Dec 17: *Matsuoka Mitsugi dies (age 75).	
-.-: W. G. Aston produces his work, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods*.	Sept 5: Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty signed.
	Nov 17: Second Japan-Korea Protocol signed (Japan takes control of Korea's foreign relations and a resident-general is posted to Keijō [colonial-era name for Seoul] as representative of the Japanese government).
Feb 21: Aoyama Naomichi (see **Aoyama Kagemichi*) dies (age 61).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		the transfer of land from consolidated shrines (with this the merger and elimination of shrines begins in earnest). (*Jinja shūkyō kyoku kyokuchō tsūchō*)	
			-.-: Miyaō Katsuyoshi founds a provisional mission for Izumo Taishaden (see **Izumo Ōyashirokyō*) in Hawaii. (*Hawai nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genjō*)
1907	Meiji 40	April 24: Meiji Criminal Code promulgated (carries over from old criminal code provisions for lese majesty offenses with respect to the imperial family and Ise Shrine).	12.-: Mizuno Fusa founds Konshō Kyōkai (see **Kannagarakyō*).
		June 29: Code of conduct for performing shrine festivals promulgated. (*Naimushō kokuji*)	
1908	Meiji 41	Sept 19: Ordinance on Imperial Household Ceremonies promulgated.	Nov 28: Shintō Tenri Kyōkai separates from *Shintō Honkyoku to become independent sect, and changes name to *Tenrikyō. (*Naimushō kokuji*)
1909	Meiji 42		Oct 2: Ise Inner Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Outer Grand Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1910	Meiji 43		July 29: The Karafuto Agency (Karafuto-chō, Japan's local colonial administration entity) grants permission for the first Shintō shrine to be built in the territory. Karafuto Shrine is built in Yuzhno Sakhalinsk (see **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). Aug -: Shrine added to list of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*). (*Shintō jiten*; *Karafutochō shisei sanjū-nen shi*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
Oct 16: *Shinrikyō founder *Sano Tsunehiko dies (age 73). (*Shinri*)	
June 9: Iburi Izō of *Tenrikyō, regarded as the "*honzeki*" ("true mediator") of the group's founder Nakayama Miki, dies (age 73). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)	July 24: Third Japan-Korea Protocol signed (effects include the internal administration of Korea being placed under control of resident-general and civil service positions being filled with Japanese).
Aug 14: *Fukuba Yoshishizu dies (age 77).	
-.-: Kokugakuin (**Kokugakuin University*) alumni association magazine *Dōsō* begins publishing under its new name, **Shinkokugaku*.	
	Feb 11: Regulations Governing the Accession to the Throne (*Tōkyokurei*) promulgated. (*Kōshitsurei*)
	June 11: Edict on Imperial Household Mourning (*Kōshitsu fukumo-rei*) promulgated. (*Kōshitsurei*)
	May -: The High Treason Incident (*Taigyaku jiken*, an attempt by anarchists on the Meiji Emperor's life) takes place.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1911	Meiji 44		July -: Tanaka Morihei founds Tokyo Reirigakkai (see **Taireidō*).
			-.-: *Kurozumikyō begins proselytization activities in Manchuria. (*Minami Manshū ni okeru shūkyō gaikan*)
			-.-: *Tenrikyō creates churches in Dalian and Andong. (*Minami Manshū ni okeru shūkyō gaikan*)
1912	Taishō 1		Feb 25: Home Minister Hara Takashi invites representatives of Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian denominations to conference aimed at aligning religions with state objectives (the so-called *Sankyō kaidō*, or "Meeting of the Three Religions").
1913	Taishō 2	April 21: Notice promulgated regarding the venerated deities (**Saijin*), shrine names, shrine ranks, account ledgers (*meisaichō*), shrine compounds (**Keidaichi*), founding, relocation, consolidation, pilgrimages (*sanpai*), visits (*haikan*), donations, confraternities, and talismans at all shrines from national rank (*kankoku heisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*) on done (the notice serves to annul 75 previously issued regulations). (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
		June 13: Ministry of Home Affairs' Religious Affairs Section transferred to the Ministry of Education (complete separation of religious administrative matters from Shintō shrine administrative matters). (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
1914	Taishō 3	Jan 26: Promulgation of	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Aug 22: Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty signed.
	Sept 14: Mifune Chizuko creates a sensation with her alleged ability of clairvoyance. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
Nov 16: *Tanimori Yoshiomi dies (age 95).	Aug 21: Special Higher Police unit established in Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department.
	July 30: The Meiji Emperor (Emperor Mutsuhito) dies (age 61). Era name changed to Taishō.
April 11: *Ōishigori Masumi dies (age 82).	
	Aug 23: Japan declares war on Germany

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Ordinance on religious functions relating to the Grand Shrine (*Jingū saishi rei*) and of Ordinance on religious functions relating to shrines ranked national shrine and below (*Kankoku heisha ika jinja saishi rei*). (*Chokurei* [Imperial ordinance])	
		March 27: Promulgation of rites at shrines ranked national shrine and below (*Kankoku heisha ika jinja saishiki*). (*Naimushō rei*)	
1915	Taishō 4	June 11: Notice promulgated regarding oversight of movements to promote the rank of Shintō shrines (*Jinja shōkaku undō torishimari ni kansuru ken*). (*Hatsu sha dai-49-gō*)	April -: "Bureau for the construction of Meiji Shrine" (*Meiji jingū zōeikyoku*) created.
		Aug 16: Promulgation of regulations on proselytizing in Korea. (*Chōsen sōtokufu rei*)	
		Aug 20: Promulgation of regulations on Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples in Korea. (*Chōsen sōtokufu rei*)	
		Nov 14: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Taishō.	
1916	Taishō 5		June -: Taireidō Hon'in ("main temple of *Taireidō") built. (*Reijutsuka no kyōen*)
1917	Taishō 6	March 22: Provisions established concerning the establishment of shrines (*shashi*) in Korea. (*Chōsen sōtoku rei*)	-.-: Atsuta Shrine, Izumo Shrine, and Kashihara Shrine designated shrines where an imperial envoy will perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Kunai-daijin kanbō bunsho-ka ku-hatsu*)
1918	Taishō 7	March -: Kwantung Agency(Kantō-chō, Japan's local colonial administration entity) drafts regulations for shrines and temples as a government ordinance to consolidate the administration of shrines and temples in Manchuria and to clarify jurisdiction. (*Minami-Manshū*	Jan 23: Otokoyama Hachiman Shrine, ranked as a major imperial shrine (*kanpeisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*), renamed Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	(enters the First World War).
Jan 21: *Shinshūkyō founder *Yoshimura Masamochi dies (age 76).	
July 4: *Inoue Yorikuni dies (age 76).	
-.-: *Watanabe Ikarimaru dies (age 79).	
June 24: *Kawai Kiyomaru dies (age 70).	
Jan 3: *Izumo Ōyashirokyō founder Senge Takatomi dies (age 74).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		ni okeru shūkyō gaikan).	
1919	Taishō 8		July 16: Fukada Chiyoko launches *Ennōkyō in Osaka. (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)
			Aug 7: Matsushita Matsuzō founds *Soshindō. (*Hito no michi*)
1920	Taishō 9	July 31: Income tax law promulgated (no income tax to be imposed on those juridical persons established under the provisions of Civil Law 34 on Shrines, Temples, and Related Structures [*Jinja, jiin, shi'u, butsudō-nado minpō dai-34-gō*]).	Feb 7: Tomokiyo Yoshisane founds Kakushinkai (later renamed *Shindō Tenkōkyo). (Group documents)
		Oct 29: Meiji Shrine selected as shrine where an imperial envoy will perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*) and its annual festival established. (*Naimushōrei*)	April 15: Status of Kokugakuin (**Kokugakuin University*) raised under the University Ordinance (*Daigakurei*) to university.
		Dec -: Karafuto Agency (Karafuto-chō, Japan's local colonial administration entity) sets down laws regulating shrines in Sakhalin government ordinance 48 (*chōrei 48-gō*) as well as regulations for temples and on proselytizing in .Sakhalin government ordinances 49 (*chōrei 49-gō*) and 50 (*chōrei 50-gō*). (*Karafuto-chō shisetsu 30-nen shi*)	
1921	Taishō 10		
1922	Taishō 11	March -: Regulations promulgated in Okinawa regarding surveillance at houses of worship (known in Okinawa as *uganju*) and regarding Shintō shrines, Buddhist temples, and Christian churches. (*Bukkyōshi*	Oct 13: Aritōshi Shrine in Nara Prefecture designated major imperial shrine (*kanpeisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*) and renamed Niukawakami Shrine (known today also as Nakasha, or Naka Shrine).

Personalities/Texts	Society
June 16: *Miyaji Izuo dies (age 72).	
Nov 6: *Deguchi Nao dies (age 83).	
Dec 15: *Tsunoda Tadayuki dies (age 85).	
-.-: Society for Promotion of Shintō (*Shintō sen'yō-kai*) begins publishing *Shintō* magazine.	
	Feb 12: First *Ōmoto Incident (*Ōmoto jiken*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		nenpyō)	
1923	Taishō 12	Nov 10: Imperial Rescript to Promote the National Spirit (*Kokumin seishin sakkō ni kansuru shōsho*) issued.	-.-: Osaka Kokugakuin opens Naniwa Middle School (see also **Shrine priest training institutes*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryōshū*)
1924	Taishō 13		Feb 11: Miki Tokuharu establishes Tokumitsukyō Great Church Headquarters of Ontakekyō (*Ontakekyō Tokumitsukyō Daikyōkai Honbu*) (see **Perfect Liberty Kyōdan* and also **Ontakekyō*). (*Pāfekuto Ribati kyōdan ryakunenpyō*)
1925	Taishō 14	-.-: Usa Shrine and Kashii Shrine are designated shrines where an imperial envoy will perform rituals (**Chokusaisha*). (*Shikibusō dai-263-gō Kunai-daijin tsūchō*).	Oct 15: Chōsen Shrine in Seoul (then named Keijō by Japan's colonial government) elevated to status of imperial shrine (signified by name change from Chōsen Jinja to Chōsen Jingū) and enshrinement festival (*chinzasai*) held (see "Shintō:s Overseas Advance" in **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
1926	Shōwa 1	May 13: Regulations promulgated to create the Religion Policy Investigation Committee (*Shūkyō seido chōsa kai*) (opposition intensifies among religious groups, who oppose committee's formation on the grounds that it constitutes state interference with religious freedom) (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō* and **State Shintō*). (*Chokurei*)	
1927	Shōwa 2	March 4: With the change to the Shōwa era, the national holiday schedule is altered to add other imperial festival days (*saijitsu shukujitsu*, events that include **Kannamesai* and **Niiname sai*) to go with *Kigensetsu and the other major imperial holidays (see	-.-: Tomokiyo Yoshizane founds *Shindō Tenkōkyo.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Sept 1: Great Kantō Earthquake occurs.
Feb 13: *Sugiura Jūgō dies (age 70).	June 25: In response to an appeal from the Shintō Promotion Society (*Shintō senyokai*),Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian representatives join together to found the Japan Inter-Religious Cooperation Society (*Nihon shukyō konwa kai*).
Jan 6: *Ennōkyō founder Fukada Chiyoko dies (age 37). (*Ennōkyō rikkyō 50-shūnen kinenshi*)	March 2: House of Representatives amends and passes General Election Law (the change gives all males right to vote).
	March 7: House of Representatives amends and passes Peace Preservation Law. April 22: Law goes into force. (*Hōritsu dai-46-gō*)
-.-: *Tanaka Yoshitō founds the Shintō Studies Association (*Shintō gakkai*) and begins publishing *Journal of Shintō Studies* (*Shintōgaku zasshi*).	Dec 25: Emperor Yoshihito (the Taishō emperor) dies (age 48). Era name changed to Shōwa.
Feb 6: *Haga Yaichi dies (age 61).	March 15: Financial crisis of 1927 begins.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		also **Shidaisetsu* and the following chronology entry). (*Chokurei*)	
		-.-: Emperor Meiji's birthday is made a national holiday (**Meiji setsu*; see also the previous chronology entry).	
1928	Shōwa 3	Nov 14: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito).	-.-: Hayashi Shikō founds *Kikueikai Kyōdan. (*Shinshūkyō yōran*)
1929	Shōwa 4	Sept 10: Ministry of Education begins a campaign to mobilize indoctrination (*kyōka dōin*) and issues directive to all schools on same aimed at clarifying how the concept of **kokutai* is taught (*Kokutai kannen meichō*) and .promoting the national spirit (*Kokumin seishin sakkō*) (see also **History (Modern) research*).	Jan 5: Tazawa Seishirō founds Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama-kai (see **Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama*). (*Yamatoyama*)
			Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (see **Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. (*Jingū binran*)
1930	Shōwa 5		March 1: Taniguchi Masaharu founds *Seichō no Ie. (*Shin-shūkyō jiten*)
1931	Shōwa 6		-.-: Kumazaki Ken'ō founds Chūshindō (see **Chūshinkai*).
1932	Shōwa 7	Dec 2: Memorandum on the interpretation of the (Meiji-era) directive establishing general education as being, independent of religion ("*Ippan no kyōiku o shūkyō igai ni tokuritu seshimuru-saku" kaishaku ni kansuru ken*) (On the new	

Personalities/Texts	Society
June 23: *Mozume Takami dies (age 82).	March 15: Mass arrest of communist party members nationwide (March 15 Incident). More mass arrests take place in1930.
Dec 17: *Taireidō founder Tanaka Morihei dies (age 44). (*Reijutsuka no kyōen*)	
Feb 23: *Kawatsura Bonji dies (age 68).	
July -: *Orikuchi Shinobu, *Kindaichi Kyōsuke, and others found the Minzoku gakkai (Folklore Society) and begin publishing *Minzokugaku* (Folklore studies).	
Dec 10: *Aoto Namie dies (age 73).	
-.-: Prince *Kuni no Miya Kuniyoshi Ō dies (age 57).	
	Feb 26: Mass arrest of communist party members nationwide.
	-.-: Great Depression extends to Japan this year ("Shōwa Panic").
February 24: *Kume Kunitake dies (age 93).	Sept 18: Mukden Incident occurs. The following March 1, Japan proclaims the founding of a new country, Manchukuo.
-.-: *Tanaka Yoshitō begins publishing *Shintō seinen*.	
Oct 21: *Honaga Mosuke dies (age 52).	Aug 23: Research Institute for National Spirit and Culture (*Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyūjo*) established. (*Chokurei*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		interpretation on "acknowledging the importance of religious sentiment in education"). (*Shūkyōkyoku fūtsū gakumukyoku tsūchō Hatsu shū102 gō*)	
1933	Shōwa 8		
1935	Shōwa 10	Nov 28: Education Ministry issues "Points of concern related to the cultivation of religious sensibility" (*Shūkyōteki jōsō no kan'yō ni kansuru ryū'i jikō*; document stresses the importance of cultivating religious sentiment in education). (*Monbushō jikan fūtsū tsūchō hatsu*)	Jan 1: Okada Mokichi founds Dainihon Kannonkai (the group known at present as **Sekai Kyūseikyō*). (Group documents)
1936	Shōwa 11	June 6: Foreign Ministry issues regulations on shrines in Manchukuo and occupied China (*Zai-Manshūkoku oyobi Chūkaminkoku jinja kisoku*). (*Gaimushōrei*)	July -: Onikura Taruhiko establishes Kōdō Saishūkai ("Association for venerating the imperial way") (registered as a religious corporation in 1946 under the name **Sumerakyō*, written in Chinese characters; group changes name in 1947, now rendering it in phonetic Japanese characters). (*Group documents*)
1937	Shōwa 12	July 15: Ministry of Education requests that the leaders of religious and moral suasion (*kyōka*) organizations launch a national unity movement (*kyokoku itchi undō*).	
		July 21: Ministry of Education's Thought Control Bureau (*Shisōkyoku*) expanded, reestablished as the Education	

Personalities/Texts	Society
	March 27: Japan withdraws from the League of Nations.
	Feb 18: At House of Peers, Kikuchi Takeo attacks Minobe Tatsukichi 's "Organ Theory" of the constitution, which posited the emperor to be an organ of the state.
	March 23: House of Representatives approves a resolution regarding "clarification of the **kokutai*."
	Dec 8: Second *Ōmoto Incident occurrs.
	Feb 26: The February 26 Incident—an attempted coup d'état—takes place in Japan.
	March 12: Ministry of Home Affairs orders the dissolution of *Ōmoto-kyō.
	Sept 28: Osaka Special Higher Police arrest Miki Tokuharu, founder of Hitonomichi Kyōdan (later to become **Perfect Liberty Kyōdan*), on criminal charges.
May 24: Ōmiwakyō founder Sako Kan dies (age 59). (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)	July 7: Japanese and Chinese forces clash at Marco Polo Bridge in the middle of the night (Sino-Japanese War begins).
-.-: Ministry of Education publishes **Kokutai no hongi* (Essentials of the national polity) (see **History (Modern) research*).	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Bureau (*Kyōgakukyoku*).	
1938	Shōwa 13		May 1: Emperor Kōmei (father of the Meiji Emperor) enshrined at Heian Shrine.
			May 1: Ōmi Shrine (with Emperor Tenji as its enshrined deity [**Saijin*]) is founded and included among the ranks of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*).
			June 1: Kwangtung Shrine (with the Meiji Emperor and *Amaterasu ōmikami as its enshrined deities [**Saijin*]) built in Lüshun, Kwangtung Province, and added to the ranks of major imperial shrines (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system* and also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*).
1939	Shōwa 14	March 15: Shrines for appeasing the spirits of the war dead (**Shōkonsha*) renamed "shrines for protecting the nation" (**Gokoku jinja*). (*Naimushōrei*)	Aug 23: Kuramoto Ito founds *Tenjōkyō Hon'in. (*Shinshūren sōran*)
		April 8: Religious Organizations Law promulgated.	
1940	Shōwa 15	March 30: Internal structure of Ministry of Education reformed (posts of "religious affairs official" [*shūmukan*] and "religious affairs deputy" [*shūmukanho*] created in Ministry of Education, charged with conducting investigations and research on religious doctrine and rites as well as providing guidance to organizations related to religion). (*Chokurei*)	Feb 11: Nan'yō ("south seas") Shrine established in Palau (see *Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). Assigned rank of imperial shrine (*kanpei taisha*, see **Modern shrine ranking system*).
		Nov 9: Promulgation of regulations creating the *Jingiin (**Jinjakyoku* abolished). (*Chokurei*)	March 28: Shintō Honkyoku changes name to *Shintō Taikyō.

Personalities/Texts	Society
-.-: Ueda Kazutoshi dies (age 71).	
July 6: Hitonomichi Kyōdan founder Miki Tokuharu dies (age 67) (*Pāfekuto ribati kyōdan ryakunenpyō*) (see **Perfect Liberty Kyōdan*).	April 1: National Mobilization Law promulgated.
	Nov 21: Ōnishi Aijirō and associates arrested (second Tenri *Honmichi lèse majesté incident). (*Shinshūkyō kenkyūchōsa handobukku*)
	Dec 26: Governor-General of Korea issues notice regarding the names of Koreans (forces Koreans to adopt Japanese style names).
Feb 10: Publication of Tsuda Sōkichi's *Kojiiki to Nihon shoki no kenkyō* banned. Prohibition extended on Feb 12 to three of his works (see **History (Modern) Research*).	Oct 21: Ceremony held to launch the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Nov 16: Memorandum regarding how to handle the social status of the leaders of Shintō and Buddhist sects and administrators of other religious groups (*Kanchō oyobi kyōdan tōrisha mibun toriatsukaikata no ken*) issued. (*Kunai daijin tsūchō kuhatsu*)	April 24: Status of Jingū Kōgakkan raised to that of university (see **Kōgakkan University*). (*Chokurei*)
1941	Shōwa 16	-.-: This year, Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian religious groups respectively are consolidated into 13 sectarian Shinto (*kyōha Shintō*) groups, 28 Buddhist sects, and 2 Christian organizations.	
1942	Shōwa 17	Nov 1: Organizational structure of Ministry of Education revamped (Religious Affairs Bureau abolished; Bureau of Moral Suasion ([*Kyōkakyoku*) created, incorporating a Religious Affairs Section). (*Chokurei*)	Jan 4: Katori and Kashima shrines—located in Ibaraki Prefecture, both belong to the category of shrines ranked to receive imperial offerings (*kanpei taisha*)—designated shrines for the holding of "emperor-mandated rites" (**Chokusai*; see also **Modern shrine ranking system*).
			April 2: Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian, and Muslim groups form Religious Federation for Asian Prosperity (*Kō-A Shūkyō Dōmei*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
1943	Shōwa 18	Nov 1: Organizational structure of Ministry of Education revamped (Bureau of Moral Suasion [*Kyōkakyoku*] abolished; Indoctrination Bureau [*Kyōgakukyoku*] created, incorporating a Religious Affairs Section). (*Chokurei*)	
1944	Shōwa 19	Jan 27: Committee on Religious Moral Suasion Policy (*Shūkyō kyōka hōsaku iinkai*) created. (*Chokurei*).	Jan 17: Aida Hide founds Sekai Shindōkai (see **Sekai Shindōkyō*). (Group documents)

Personalities/Texts	Society
Nov 8: *Ōkanmichi founder Yamada Umejirō dies (age 66). (*Shūkyō rinri to nengen hyō*)	March 10: Peace Preservation Law revised.
	Dec 8: Imperial proclamation issued declaring war on the U.S and the U.K. Japan attacks Pearl Harbor. U.S. and U.K. declare war following the attack.
	June 20: Sōka Gakkai suppressed (Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, Toda Jōsei, and other leaders arrested). (*Nihon Kindai sōgō nenpyō*)
March 7: *Makoto no Michikyō founder Matsumoto Jōtarō dies (age 62). (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)	June 26: Seventh Day Adventist Church dissolved.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Aug 28: Home Minister Ōdachi Shigeo issues directive for all Shinto priests to pray for the destruction of the enemy (the *Dai-Nihon Jingikai* [see **Modern and Contemporary Shinto*] instructs priests to pray throughout the night to daybreak). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)	
1945	Shōwa 20	May 12: Imperial rescript issued calling for festivals to be held at shrines of all ranks including imperial and national shrines (*kanpeisha* and *kokuheisha*; see **Modern shrine ranking system*) so that prayers may be offered for victory in the war. (*Chokurei*)	Aug 12: Kitamura Sayo founds *Tenshō Kōtaijinkyō in Tabuse Town, Yamaguchi Prefecture. (*Seisho dai-1 kan)*
		Oct 4: The General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) issues directive removing restrictions on political, civil, and religious liberties.	Sep 19: Heads of Shintō and Buddhist sects and administrators of other religious groups convene to approve the "Outline for the Practice of Religious Edification for the Reconstruction of Japan" (*Nihon saiken shūkyō kyōka jissen yōkō*). (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)
		Oct 8: John Carter Vincent—director of the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs and chairman of State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee—declares in a Washington radio broadcast that *State Shintō would be abolished. (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)	Nov 22: Foreign Ministry proclamation abolishes imperial-ranked Kwantung (in Dalian, China) and Nan'yō (in Palau) shrines. Home Affairs Ministry proclamation abolishes 16 shrines, including imperial-ranked Karafuto Shrine in Sakhalin (see also **Modern and contemporary Shintō*). (*Gaimushō kokuji dai 11 gō; Naimushō kokuji 264 gō*)
		Oct 15: Peace Presevation Law and other ordinances repealed by imperial rescript. (*Chokurei*)	
		Oct 15: Ministry of Education abolishes Indoctrination Bureau (*Kyōgakukyoku*), and creates Religious Affairs Section (*Shūkyōka*) created in the Social	

Personalities/Texts	Society
Sept 11: *Imaizumi Sadasuke dies (age 82).	Sept 30: The Great Japan Wartime Religious Patriotic Association (*Dainippon senji shūkyō hōkokukai*) founded by approximately 300,000 Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian clergy. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Yamamoto Nobuki dies (age 72).	
Sep 25: *Saeki Ariyoshi dies (age 79).	Aug 6: Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Another is dropped Aug. 9 on Nagasaki.
	Aug 15: Emperor's speech broadcast at noon that brings the Pacific War to an end (*Gyokuon hōsō*, literally, "the broadcast of the jewel voice").

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Education Bureau (*Shakai kyōiku kyoku*). (*Chokurei*)	
		Nov 17: Institute of Divinities (**Jingiin*) representative declares at final meeting of the Shrine System Investigation Committee (*Jinja seido chōsa kai*) the intent to treat "shrines as religion" (see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō* and **Problems of religion and government*). (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)	
		Nov 28: SCAP creates Religions Division in its Civil Information and Education Section. (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)	
		Dec 25: SCAP issues its Shinto Directive (**Shintō shirei*).	
		Dec 28: An imperial rescript revokes the *Religious Organizations Law, the enforcement order for said law, the law on registering religious organizations, and an imperial rescript (*Chokurei 460-gō*) of July 1940 exempting shrines from land taxes. (*Chokurei*) Same date: *Religious Corporations Ordinance (*Shūkyō hōjin rei*) promulgated and implementing regulations enacted. (*Chokurei*; *Shihō Monbushō rei*)	
1946	Shōwa 21	Jan 31: Imperial rescript issued on restructuring Ministry of Home Affairs, abolishing Institute of Divinities (**Jingiin*) and the Shrine System Investigation Committee (*Jinja seido chōsa kai*; see also **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*). (*Chokurei*)	Jan 23: Institute for the Study of the Imperial Classics (*Kōten Kōkyūsho*) and two other organizations dissolved (*Shūmu jihō*). (See **Modern and Contemporary Shintō*, **Jinja Honchō*, and also **Kokugakuin University*)
		Feb 2: Amendment to the *Religious Corporations Ordinance promulgated; shrines to now be treated the same as other religious corporations.	Feb 3: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) founded as religious corporation. (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
March 4: *Tanaka Yoshitō dies (age 75).	Jan 1: The emperor delivers his "Declaration of Humanity" (*Ningen sengen*) and renounces his divinity in his New Year's address.
-.-: *Yanagita Kunio publishes *Shin-kokugaku dan* and *Saijitsu kō*.	Jan 4: SCAP issues decree barring militarists from the civil service and dissolving 27 ultranationalist groups.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		Feb 2: Institute of Divinities (*Jingiin*) abolished.	Feb 7: *Ōmoto revived as Aizen‘en (Garden of Righteous Love). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
		March 11: Religious Affairs Section created in the Ministry of Education’s Social Education Bureau. (*Kanpō*)	March -: Sakuma Nikkō establishes *Hi no Oshie (registered as religious organization in 1952).
		March 30: Religious Affairs Section removed from Social Education Bureau, placed in Ministry of Education’s Secretariat. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])	May 3: Fujita Nobuhiko leaves *Shinrikyō to found *Seikōkyō.
			June 2: Shintō Kyōha Rengōkai (Federation of Shintō Sects) inaugurated (see **Kyōha Shintō Rengōkai*). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			Aug 27: Miki Tokuharu establishes *Perfect Liberty Kyōdan.
			Nov 6: SCAP again prohibits the practice of assessing people for the cost of conducting shrine festivals (see also **Problems of religion and government*). (*Shūsenchokugo shūkyō kankei nenpyō*)
			Nov 30: *Tenchikyō becomes an independent group registered under the *Religious Corporations Ordinance.
			Nov -: *Jinja Honchō (Association of Shinto Shrines) establishes a "Department of Doctrine" (*Kyōkaka*).
			-.-: Hashimoto Satomi persuades Tokumitsu Daikyōkai to break away from *Shintō Taikyō, thus establishing Shintō Tokumitsu Kyōkai (see **Tokumitsukyō*). (*Shūkyō nenkan*)
			-.-: Hozumi Kenkō breaks away from *Jikkōkyō and establishes

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Jan 23: Declaration issued on the establishment of *Jinja Honchō (Association of Shinto Shrines).
	May 3: International Military Tribunal for the Far East (the Tokyo Trials) holds first sessions. Final verdicts issued November 12, 1948.
	Oct 8: Ministry of Education issues notification halting the ceremonial reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education in schools (rescript itself rescinded on October 12, 1948).
	Oct 21: Law for the Special Establishment of Independent Cultivators promulgated (so-called second agrarian land reform). (*Hōritsu 43-gō*)
	Nov 16: Prohibition of soliciting sponsorship and support of Shintō by town assemblies and neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai, tonarigumi*, etc.). (*Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers,* "Memorandum to the Imperial Japanese Government"; *Hatsu shū 58-gō, Naimu-Monbu jikan tsūchō*)

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			*Yamatokyō.
			-.-: Fujita Motonari establishes Jinrui Fukushikyō (renamed **Seishin Myōjōkai* in 1956).
1947	Shōwa 22	June 3: Ministry of Education issues notice banning bowing to the imperial palace, shouting "*Tennō heika banzai!*" ("Ten thousand years for the emperor!"), and other forms of expression deifying the emperor at schools.	Jan 11: Kitamura Sayo registers *Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō as a religious corporation. (*Seisho dai-1-kan*)
		Oct 26: Revised penal code promulgated (repeal of lèse-majesté offense).	July 20: Rikihisa Tatsusai founds Tenchi Kōdō Zenrinkai (see **Zenrinkyō*). (*Itsukushimi*)
		Nov 26: Agriculture Ministry issues notice to prefectural governors regarding the purchase of farmland owned by shrines, temples, churches, and other religious institutions. (*Nōsei 2470-gō Chiji-ate nōrin jikan tsūtatsu*)	-.-: Okamoto Tenmei founds *Hikari Kyōkai.
		Dec 1: Notice sent to prefectural governors ordering them to be thorough in implementing the Shinto Directive.	
		Dec 31: Ministry of Home Affairs (*Naimushō*) abolished.	
		-.-: Ordinance on Imperial Household Rites and Ceremonies (*Kōshitsu saishi rei*) repealed.	
1948	Shōwa 23	Feb 14: Notification sent to prefectural governors regarding violations of the Shinto Directive (*Chishū 15-gō Shūmukachō tsūchō*).	July -: Keishin Fujinkai (renamed Zenkoku Keishin Fujin Rengōkai, National Shinto Women's Association, in 1949) founded.
		July 20: Public Holiday Law (*Kokumin no shukujitsu ni kansuru hōritsu*) promulgated, eliminating holidays SCAP views as having their origin and significance in State Shintō (see also **Meiji Kokka Saishi: State Rites of the Meiji Period*).	-.-: Kokugakuin High School opens (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryō shū*) (see **Kokugakuin University*).
			-.-: Education system reforms result in the merger of Tenri

Personalities/Texts	Society
Nov 12: *Soshindō founder Matsushita Matsuzō dies (age 69). (*Hito no michi*)	May 3: Constitution of Japan goes into force.
	Dec 22: Revised Civil Code goes into force.
Jan 19: *Deguchi Onisaburō dies (age 78).	
Sept 8: Kitamura Sayo of *Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō and her followers perform the "dance of no-self" (*muga no mai*) at Sukiyabashi in central Tokyo. (*Seisho dai-1-kan*)	
-.-: Ishikawa Sen founds *Hachidai Ryūō Daishizen Aishinkyōdan.	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Middle School and Tenri Girls High School to create Tenri High School (see also **Tenrikyō*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryō-shū*)
			-.-: Konkō Middle School becomes Konkō High School owing to the introduction of the new school system (see also **Konkōkyō*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryō shū*)
1949	Shōwa 24		June -: National Shintō Youth Council (*Shintō seinen zenkoku kyōgikai*) established.
			July 14: Orimo Nami establishes *Daihizenkyō.
			July 16: Nagata Fuku breaks away from *Ontakekyō to found *Mitamakyō.
			-.-: Demura Ryūsei establishes Hakkōkai (see **Hachidai Ryūōjin Hakkō Seidan*). (Group documents)
			-.-: Masai Yoshimitsu establishes Shintō Senpōkyō (see **Koshintō Senpōkyō*).
			-.-: Nakano Yonosuke establishes *Ananaikyō.
			-.-: Tenri University opens (see also **Tenrikyō*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiryōshū*)
			-.-: Keishin Fujinkai changes its name to Zenkoku Keishin Fujin Rengōkai (National Federation of Women's Godliness).
1950	Shōwa 25	Oct 17: Education Minister Amano issues notice recommending that school students hoist national flag and sing "Kimigayo," Japan's national anthem, in unison at national holiday events. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])	Jan 2: Kurata Chikyū establishes *Shinsei Tengan Manaita no Kai. (Group documents)
			Feb 4: Nippon Kannon Kyōdan and Nippon Miroku Kyōkai reorganized to form Church of World Messianity (**Sekai Kyūseikyō*). (*Kyūsei no hikari*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
May -: *Miyaji Naokazu dies (age 64).	
	Aug. 26: Shoup Report (report of mission led by Prof. Carl Shoup recommending tax reforms aimed at stabilizing the Japanese economy).
Dec -: Education Ministry's Religious Affairs Section publishes first *Religious Yearbook*. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])	May 29: Church of World Messianity (**Sekai Kyūseikyō*) founder Mokichi Okada charged on suspicion of bribery and tax evasion. He is apprehended after search.
	June 4: Many candidates affiliated with religious groups stand for Lower House election . Two *Tenrikyō members are elected. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1951	Shōwa 26	April 3: *Religious Corporations Law promulgated (**Religious Corporations Ordinance* abolished). Law passed March 30, promulgated April 3, goes into force April 4. (*Hōritsu 126-gō*)	Oct 17: Miki Tokuharu of the Church of Perfect Liberty (**Perfect Liberty Kyōdan*) is appointed first superintendent of the Federation of New Religious Organizations of Japan (*Shinshūren*, see **Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai*). (*Shūkyōkan no kyōchō to kattō*)
			Nov 1: Goi Sensei Sangōkai founded (becomes a religious corporation named **Byakkō Shinkōkai* in 1955).
1952	Shōwa 27	Jan 28: Religious Corporations Council (15 members) appointed (1st meeting). (*Monshū 6-gō*)	April 16: Izumo Kitajima Kyōkai secedes from *Shintō Taikyō and becomes a religious corportation named *Izumokyō. (*Group documents*)
		Aug 1: Ministry of Education's Religious Affairs Section transferred to Research Bureau.	July 31: Emperor and empress make first postwar visit to Meiji Shrine.
		Aug 30: Ministry of Education Organization Ordinance promulgated (establishes a Religious Affairs Section in the Culture Department).	Oct 16: Emperor and empress make first postwar visit to Yasukuni Shrine.
1953	Shōwa 28		March -: Tenshō Kyōkai, founded by Senba Hideo and wife Kimiko, is certified as religious corporation (renamed *Tenshōkyō in 1971).
			Sept. -: Inai Sadao establishes *Ōyamanezu no Mikoto Shinji Kyōkai.
			Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
1954	Shōwa 29	June -: Religious Affairs Section conducts survey of	Feb 11: Number of shrines that celebrate Empire Day (see

Personalities/Texts	Society
	July 24: The "Red Purge" begins (anti-communist movement gains traction).
	Aug 10: National Police Reserve Ordinance promulgated. (*Potsdam Ordinances*)
	-.-: Korean War begins; Japanese economy booms due to wartime demand.
	-.-: Corporate tax revised (religious organizations now taxed on earnings generated from profit-earning businesses).
Aug 19: *Shūkyō Hōjin Shikō Gakuen founder Kawakami Seizan dies (age 43). (*Kami no nikutai taru Shikō Gakuen Kentaikyō no kyogi*)	Aug -: Federation of New Religious Organizations of Japan (*Shinshūren*, see **Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai*) inaugurated (member organizations include *PL Kyōdan, Risshō Kōsei-kai, *Seichō no Ie, and Ishin-kai).
	Sep 8: Treaty of Peace with Japan and Japan-U.S. Security Treaty signed (both issued April 28, 1952).
Feb 15: *Shindō Tenkōkyo founder Tomokiyo Yoshisane dies (age 65). (*Group documents*)	
Sept 3: *Orikuchi Shinobu dies (age 67).	Dec 24: Japan-U.S. sign agreement on reversion of Amami Islands.
March 18: *Hi no Oshie founder Sakuma Nikkō dies (age 70). (*Nikkō sensei*)	Jan 2: Approx. 380,000 people visit Imperial Palace to offer New Year's congratulations.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
		conditions at shrine buildings and grounds (**Keidaichi*).	**Kigensetsu*)—including Kashihara Shrine, Ise Shrine, and Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine—increased following directive from Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
			July 16: Shinto shrine located on grounds of Self-Defense Force base in Shibata City demolished due to unconstitutionality (see **Problems of Religion and Government*). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
1955	Shōwa 30		April 9: Opening ceremony for Jingū Kōgakkan University (later becomes **Jingū kenshūsho*).
			June.-: Fuji Sengen Shrine expresses opposition to bill that would nationalize the peak of Mt. Fuji, claiming it is under the shrine's jurisdiction. Petitions the Ministry of Finance, and the work on the bill resumes from scratch. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			-.-: Kokugakuin University's Institute of Japanese Culture and Classics established.
1956	Shōwa 31		Feb -: Hase Yoshio founds Reiha no Hikari Sangyōkai (see **Reiha no Hikari Kyōkai*). (*Miyo*)
			July.-: Maki Kinosuke founds *Kyūseishukyō. (*Kyūsei*)
			-.-: The Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) releases "Keishin seikatsu no kōryō" (Principles of a life of reverence for the *kami*) as a 10th year anniversary proclamation. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1957	Shōwa 32		Jan 17: Chief priest (**Gūji*) of Gokoku Shrine in Saga Prefecture

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Sixteen die due to havoc on Nijūbashi Bridge.
	June 9: Defense Agency Establishment Law and Self-Defense Forces Law promulgated. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
Feb 10: Church of World Messianity (**Sekai Kyūseikyō*) founder Okada Mokichi dies (age 72). (*Kyūsei no hikari*)	-.-: The "Jinmu" economic boom in full swing this year (first postwar economic upturn, lasts through approx. 1957).
	Jan 1: Crowds stampede during rice cake preparations for people on their New Year's visit (*hatsumairi*, see **Hatsumōde*) to Yahiko Shrine in Niigata Prefecture. Havoc leaves 124 dead, 8 seriously injured, and 86 with light injuries. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
	Dec 18: United Nations General Assembly approves Japan joining the U.N.
Sept 25: *Shinri Jikkō no Oshie founder Honjō Chiyoko dies (age 55). (*Shinshūkyō*	Jan 8: General assembly held by Buddhist and Shintō priests to establish the "Temple

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Yonemitsu Haruichi departs as the first Shintō envoy to Brazil. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
1958	Shōwa 33		
1959	Shōwa 34	Jan 30: Liberal Democratic Party creates a special committee on religious issues to study Ise Shrine becoming a non-religious organization and state guardianship of Yasukuni Shrine. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])	
1960	Shōwa 35	-.-: Religious Affairs Section carries out survey on the overseas proselytization activities of religious groups.	Oct 22: Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato states that the imperial household owns Ise Shrine's object of worship (**Shintai*), the Yata no kagami ("eight-span mirror," see **Sanshu no shinki*) (Nov 11: protests held on grounds that Ikeda's statement seen as acknowledging a national role for Ise Shrine, prompted by the secular status of the postwar imperial institution and the role of the mirror in imperial accession rites) (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
jiten)	and Shrine Credit Union" (*Shaji shin'yō kumiai*), the first such organization in the country. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
	-.-: Lingering deflation this year (from the latter half of this year through the first half of 1958).
Feb 7: *Shinreikai Kyōdan founder Ishii Reizan dies (age 73).	May 16: Television reception contracts pass the 1 million mark. (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
Nov 20: *Yamada Yoshio dies (age 85).	
Nov 29: *Honmichi founder Aijirō Ōnishi dies (age 77). (*Shinshūren yōran*)	
-.-: Donald L. Philippi produces *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers* (see also **Norito*).	April 10: Wedding parade of the crown prince is carried live on television. Viewership estimated at 15 million.
	Aug 1: Nissan Motor releases the Datsun Blue Bird; beginning the age of private car ownership.
	-.-: The "Iwato" economic boom begins this year, lasting 42 months.
July 25: *Nikkōkyō founder Teraguchi Kōjirō dies (age 79). (*Shinshūkyō shinbun*)	Jan 19: Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (new security treaty) and other accords are signed in Washington, D.C.
	March 24: The National Council of Churches 13th general assembly passes a resolution opposing Yasukuni Shrine's coming under state guardianship and submits petition to the Diet on the matter.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1961	Shōwa 36	-.-: Religious Affairs Section carries out a study on religion-related associations and research centers.	
1962	Shōwa 37		March 27: Nagoya District Court rules against recognizing the peak of Mt. Fuji as nationalized property. Decision issued making Fuji Sengen Shrine its owner (dissatisfied with the ruling, the government files an appeal on April 5). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			-.-: The private *Kogakkan University is founded.
1963	Shōwa 38		June 5-6: National Hachiman Shrine Association's 10th anniversary general assembly is held at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine (see also **Hachiman shinkō*). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			June 15: The Gion Festival Yamaboko Federation of Kyoto decides to revive the procession of decorated floats (**Yamaboko*) in the Gion Festival. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
			-.-: National Council of **Ujiko* Youth (*Zenkoku ujiko seinen kyōgikai*) founded.
			-.-: *Kōgakkan High School opens. (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiriyōshū*)
1964	Shōwa 39		April 2: Announcement made that the 60th rebuilding and reconsecration of Ise Shrine

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Dec 27: Cabinet approves the National Income Doubling Plan (beginning of the high-speed economic growth policy).
Feb 27: *Kakei Katsuhiko dies (age 88).	March 10: The Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) launches petitition drive to recriminalize lèse-majesté offenses. Seichō no Ie and other groups participate. (*Shinshūkyō kenkyūchōsa handobukku*)
April 3: Founder of *Hachidai Ryūō Daishizen Aishinkyōdan, Ishikawa Sen dies (age 75). (*Group documents*)	
Oct 6: *Kyūseishukyō founder Maki Kinosuke dies (age 67). (*Kyūsei no hikari*)	
Jan -: Publication begins of *Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū* [Collected works of *Yanagita Kunio] (publication of all 36 volumes completed in June 1971).	March 1: Television signal reception liceneses pass the 10 million mark (household penetration rate of 48.5%). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
Aug 8: *Yanagita Kunio dies (age 88).	
Aug 17: *Ten'onkyo founder Hachiro Fukuji dies (age 63). (*Shinshūkyō shinbun*)	
Jan 8: *Kōno Seizō dies (age 82).	May 31: Diet Lower House Committee on Education asks the Ministry of Education to explain its stance on the use of Meiji Jingū Stadium for professional baseball games (start of "the Jingu Stadium baseball issue"). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])
April 7: *Hikari Kyōkai founder Okamoto Tenmei dies (age 65). (*Shishi tsūshin*)	
Nov 3: *Ishinkyō founder Hashiguchi Reizui dies (age 84). (*Kannagara*)	
Nov -: *Kokusho sōmoku roku* published (8 volumes and appendix; completed Dec 1976) (see also **An Overview of Shintō Texts and of Trends in Research*).	
	Oct 1: Japan National Railway begins operation of new Tōkaidō bullet train line (*shinkansen*).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			(**Shikinensengu*) slated for 1973 will be held independent of government agencies. (*Jinja shinpō*)
1965	Shōwa 40		Feb 9: The research office of the *Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai holds emergency plenary session due to issue of the government's proposed revision of national holidays (adding of National Foundation Day to the holiday calendar). (*Shūmu jihō*)
			March 1: Number of households to receive Ise Shrine amulets (**Jingū taima*) reaches 6,699,964, the largest figure up to that time in the history of the practice. The number has since grown larger. (*Jinja shinpō*)
			Sept 2: On the occasion of a special festival held to mark the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II, the emperor makes an offering of hemp and paper streamers (**Hōbei*) at Gokoku Shrine (see also **Gokoku jinja*). (*Jinja shinpō*)
			Oct 19: The emperor and empress attend Yasukuni Shrine's special festival commemorating the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II. Oct. 20: The Nippon Izokukai (Japan war-bereaved families association) holds at the same shrine the first memorial service for soldiers who died in battle. (*Jinja shinpō*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Oct 10-24: 18th Olympic Games are held in Tokyo.
	-.-: Tochigi Prefecture decides it will cut down a massive old cedar tree known as "Tarō-sugi" on the outskirts of Nikkō Tōshōgū to facilitate a national highway expansion project. The shrine appeals the decision in Utsunomi District Court (see also *Nikkōsan shinkō). (*Jinja shinpō*)
Apr 23: *Tenshūkyō founder Unagami Haruho dies (age 78). (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])	Feb 1: Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (*Gensuibaku kinshi Nihon kokumin kaigi*, commonly known as *Gensuikin*) founded.
May 8: *Katō Genchi dies (age 92).	Feb 3: Prime Minister Eisaku Satō declares conviction at a National Governors' Association meeting that National Foundation Day is suitable for Feb 11. He also says he will submit an amendment to the National Holidays Law in government legislation to the Diet (see also the entry for Dec. 8, 1966). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō*)
-.-: *Kōso Kōtai Jingū Amatsukyō founder Takeuchi Kiyomaro dies.	March 4: The Japan Association of Religious Organizations (*Nihon shūkyō renmei*) issues statement that a study by the Lower House Special Committee on Promoting Physical Education on the use of the Meiji Shrine's Jingū Stadium for professional baseball would violate the principle of the separation of church and state (known as the *Jingū kyūjo mondai*, or "the Jingū Stadium problem"). (*Chugai nippō*)
	Sep 12-15: International Conference on Shintō held in the U.S. at the Claremont Colleges. (*Shūkyō nenkan* [Religious yearbook])

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1966	Shōwa 41	May 1: The Religious Affairs Section is moved to the Ministry of Education's Arts and Culture Division after the ministry's Research Bureau is disbanded, (Revision of Ministry of Education Establishment Law, Revision of Ministry of Education Organization Order).	Oct 17: Another 19,000 "spirits of the war dead" (*mitama*) are enshrined at Yasukuni Shrine's annual autumn festival. (*Shūmu jihō*)
		Dec 8: National Foundation Day Advisory Council declares in a report that National Foundation Day will be on Feb 11. Dec. 9: Report officially released (see also the entry for Feb. 3, 1965).	Nov 27: *Tenrikyō declares it is " not a Shintō sect." (*Shūmu jihō*)
			Dec 10: Ōmiwa Shrine, previously unaffiliated with any umbrella organization, joins the Association of Shintō Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
1967	Shōwa 42		Oct 31: Two thousand Maritime Self-Defense Force personnel visit Ise Shrine as a group. Develops into problem as a violation of the Constitution (see **Problems of religion and government*). (*Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* [Comprehensive chronology of modern Japan])
1968	Shōwa 43	June 15: The Ministry of Education's Cultural Bureau is disbanded, and a Religious Affairs Division Section is established in the Arts and Culture Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs. (*Monbushō setchihō kaisei*, *Monbushō soshikirei kaisei*).	-.-: Hosoya Seiko starts spreading *Izumo Shin'yū Kyōkai. (*Group documents*)
1969	Shōwa 44		Oct 19-22: Centennial anniversary celebration of Yasukuni Shrine's founding. On Oct. 20, the emperor and empress visit the shrine. (*Shūmu jihō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
Jan 6: *Tenkōkyō founder Fujita Shinshō dies (age 58). (*Shinshūkyō jiten*)	-.-: The "Izanagi" economic boom (a 69-month period of financial prosperity) begins this year.
Aug 7: *Daihizenkyō founder Orimo Nami dies (age 72). (*Group documents*)	-.-: Birth rate declines for the year because it is a Hinoeuma year (43rd year of the sexagenary cycle, in which undesirable "fiery horse [*hinoeuma*] women" are born).
Nov 18: *Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama founder Tazawa Seishirō dies (age 82).	
Oct 14: Second leader of *Tenrikyō [the second *shinbashira*] Nakayama Shōzen dies (age 62). (*Tenrikyō jiten*)	
Dec 28: Kitamura Sayo (see **Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō*) dies (age 67).	
Dec 11: *Tenshindō Kyōdan founder Tamura Reishō dies (age 78). (*Group documents*)	Nov 16-18: Colloquium on the teaching of mythology held at Shinto Studies Conference to Mark the Centennial Anniversary of the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji ishin 100-nen kinen Shintō gakujutsu taikai*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
-.-: Donald L. Philippi translates **Kojiki* [Record of ancient matters] into English.	-.-: This year, university strife intensifies across Japan.
Jan. 9: *Honbushin founder Ōnishi Tama dies (age 51). (*Group documents*)	June 30: The Liberal Democratic Party submits the Yasukuni Shrine Bill in the 61st regular Diet session following a proposal from party Diet members. The bill is left undeliberated.

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			Nov 8: The Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) launches the Shinto Political League (*Shintō seiji renmei*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
1970	Shōwa 45	Apr 14: Yasukuni Shrine Bill submitted by Liberal Democratic Party representatives to special session of the 63rd Diet. May 13: Bill rejected after going undeliberated. (*Shūmu jihō*)	-.-: Koyama Mihoko leaves Church of World Messianity (*Sekai Kyūseikyō*) to found *Shinji Shūmeikai.
1971	Shōwa 46	May 22: In the name of the Chief Cabinet Secretary, the Ministry of Construction notifies regional construction bureaus under its jurisdiction that they are to no longer conduct Shintō-style ground purification ceremonies (*Jichinsai*). (*Shūmu jihō*)	Feb 15: Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) orders subsidiary offices in each prefecture to conduct survey regarding the preservation of shrine forests. (*Shūmu jihō*)
		May 24: Yasuki Shrine Bill rejected. (*Shūmu jihō*)	Aug 4: First national Shintō research conference (*Shintō kōen kenkyū zenkoku taikai*) held at Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
1972	Shōwa 47		Jul 29: Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) creates "one-day *Jinja Honchō*" (*ichi-nichi Jinja Honchō*) at five locations throughout Japan, beginning with Imizu Shrine in Takaoka City, Toyama Prefecture. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1973	Shōwa 48		Jan 22: The Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō*) sends notice to all subsidiary offices

Personalities/Texts	Society
Jan 9: *Koshintō Senpōkyō founder Masai Yoshimitsu dies (age 62). (*Jingi daidō*)	May 20: Decision made to restore content regarding Japanese myths to new primary school social studies textbooks beginning in the 1971-72 school year.
July 24: *Kannagarakyō founder Mizuno Fusa dies (age 87). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	June 23: Japan-U.S. Security Treaty automatically extended (the treaty [*Anpō jōyaku*] and opposition to its renewal had been a primary focus of university campus unrest in preceding years).
	May 14: Nagoya High Court rules it unconstitutional for the Tsu City gymnasium to expend public funds for a Shintō-style ground purification ceremony. (**Jichinsai*)
	June 17: Okinawa Reversion Treaty signed (U.S. returns Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty).
May 18: *Shinreikyō founder Ōtsuka Kan'ichi dies (age 81). (Group documents)	Sep 29: Japan and People's Republic of China normalize diplomatic relations.
	July -: First Tanaka Kakuei Cabinet formed. Real estate boom occurs thanks to Tanaka's book, *Nihon rettō kaizō ron* (Plan for remodeling the Japanese archipalago). As a result, land prices will have jumped 30.9% on average by the following April compared to the year before.
May 24: *Sekai Shindōkyō founder Aida Hide dies (age 74). (*Group documents*)	Oct 23: First oil crisis begins (the Arab Oil Embargo).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			encouraging the planting of trees at shrines throughout the country in conjunction with the national tree-planting festival (*shokujusai*; held every spring). (*Shūmu jihō*)
			May 19: The Association of Shintō Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) sends notice to all subsidiary offices restricting corporations from the for-profit use of shrines, amulets, and the like. (*Shūmu jihō*)
			Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*). Oct 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated.
			-.-: *Kōgakkan University establishes a Shintō Institute.
1974	Shōwa 49		Jan-: Iwasaki Shōō founds Nihon Seidō Kyōdan. (*Group documents*)
			-.-: Yamato Shōfū Juku reorganized to become Yamato Shōfū Juku Senior High School (see also **Shōroku Shintō Yamatoyama*). (*Shūkyō kyōiku shiriyoshū*)
1975	Shōwa 50		
1976	Shōwa 51		Nov 10: Tokyo residents gather to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's accession. Many religious organizations also attend the ceremonies, and other festivities also take place. (*Shūmu jihō*)

Personalities/Texts	Society
April 25: *Tamamitsu Jinja founder Motoyama Kinue dies (age 65). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	May 25: House of Representatives plenary session independently passes Yasukuni Shrine Bill thanks to Liberal Democratic Party support. Bill subsequently rejected in the House of Councilors.
June 23: World Divine Light Organization (**Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyōdan*) founder Okada Kōtama dies (age 73). (*Group documents*)	-.-: This year Uri Geller's spoon bending and the film "The Exorcist" arouse public interest. Goto Ben 's book *Nosutoradamusu no daiyogen* (Prophecies of Nostradamus) becomes a bestseller. Fad for natural health foods.
June 24: *Ananaikyō founder Nakano Yonosuke dies (age 86). (*Group documents*)	-.-: Japan’s economy contracts by 0.5% this year, entering its first recession of the postwar period. Index of wholesale prices rises to 31.3%. Consumer price index at 4.5%, putting it into a vicious inflationary wage-price spiral.
	March 10: Bullet train route opens between Okayama and Hakata.
	Aug 15: Prime Minister Miki Takeo, on the anniversary of the end of World War II, makes first visit by an incumbent premier to Yasukuni Shrine since the war's cessation (Miki made his visit as a private citizen).

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1977	Shōwa 52		Oct 27: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) offices damaged by bomb set by New Left radicals. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1978	Shōwa 53		June -: Okada Keishu founds *Sūkyō Mahikari (also builds sect's world headquarters). (*Gendai no kokoro: Sūkyō Mahikari*)
			Oct 17: Fourteen Class A war criminals are enshrined together at Yasukuni Shrine, including Tōjō Hideki (wartime prime minister) and Hirota Kōki (prewar prime minister).
1979	Shōwa 54	Jun 12: Era Name Act promulgated. (*Hōritsu 43-gō*)	
1980	Shōwa 55		Dec 26: Kuroda Minoru founds Kōlin (literally "halo", the name is changed to **Subikari Kōha Sekai Shindan* in 1984). (*Group documents*)
1981	Shōwa 56		April 22: A group of parliamentarians called *Minna de Yasukuni jinja ni sanpai suru Kokkai giin no kai* ("The society of Diet members who visit Yasukuni Shrine together") visits Yasukuni Shrine (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*). (*Kirisuto-kyō nenkan* [Christian yearbook])
			-.-: *Kōgakkan University

Personalities/Texts	Society
Sep 29: *Zenrinkyō's founder Rikihisa Tatsusai dies (age 70). (*Group documents*)	July 13: Supreme Court rules on the Tsu ground-purification rites (**Jichinsai*) lawsuit, judging it constitutional.
	Sep 5: Japan Buddhist Federation President Machida Sōyū states at the third American World Conference of Religions for Peace that "there is no discrimination against *burakumin* in Japan." His statement causes problems as *burakumin* are descendants of feudal-era outcast class still experiencing discrimination, and in the aftermath the issue causes turmoil throughout the Buddhist community.
	-.-: The concept of *tenchūsatsu* (a period of time in a person's life based on the Chinese zodiac [*eto*] when, according to folk divination beliefs, the heavens are unfriendly to that person) becomes popular due in part to the publication of an introductory book on the topic by Izumi Sōshō called *Tenchūsatsu nyūmon*.
Aug 18: *Byakkō Shinkōkai founder Goi Masahisa dies (age 63). (*Group documents*)	July -: The number of prefectures to pass resolutions favoring official state visits to Yasukuni Shrine by prime minister and emperor reaches 22 (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*).
July 21: *Shidaidō founder Nagahashi Yasuhiko dies (age 86). (*Group documents*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
			establishes postgraduate course on Shintō studies.
1982	Shōwa 57		Jan 11: The Church of World Messianity (**Sekai kyūsekyō*) opens the MOA Museum of Art. (*Sekai kyūsekyō*)
1983	Shōwa 58		Feb 4: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) submits a request titled "Request concerning preservation of shrine-owned lands on the grounds of Shinto shrines" (*Jinja *keidaichi nado shayūchi no hozen ni tsuite no onegai no ken*) to Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Home Affairs.
			Nov 21: Komatsu Shinyō founds *Shinmei Aishinkai. (*Group documents*)
			-.-: The Political Association of *Seichō no Ie (*Seichō no ie seiji rengō*) suspends its activities.
1984	Shōwa 59		
1985	Shōwa 60		May 4: Tōshōgū Shrine in Nikkō notifies the Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) that it will end its "bound comprehensive religious juridical person" (*hihōkatsu shūkyō hōjin*) relationship with the association, making it a fully independent institution.

Personalities/Texts	Society
	March 24: Osaka District Court rules in the Minoo Memorial lawsuit over Minoo City's desire to use public funds to relocate a memorial monument to fallen soldiers,declaring it unconstitutional. Minoo City appeals the ruling (see also **Problems of religion and government*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
Aug 23: *Shūyōdan Hōseikai founder Seitarō Idei dies (age 83). (*Group documents*)	March 1: Osaka District Court rules in the Minoo Memorial Service lawsuit over the participation of local public officials in memorial services to commemorate the war dead, declaring it unconstitutional. Plaintiff victory (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*). (*Shūmu jihō*)
	-.-: Use of computers and electronic word processors starts to become commonplace.
March 19: *Reiha no Hikari Kyōkai founder Hase Yoshio dies (age 68). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	
July 17: *Shizensha founder Hashimoto Satomi dies (age 84). (*Group documents*)	
Nov 25: *Tengenkyō founder Naniwa Hisakazu dies (age 81). (*Usunorukugyō*)	
May 12: *Tenjōkyō Hon'in founder Kuramoto Ito dies (age 90). (*Group documents*)	Aug 15: Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro makes first official visit of a prime minister to Yasukuni Shrine since the end of World War II.
May -: *Tenshin Seikyō founder Shimada Seiichi dies (age 89). (*Group documents*)	
June 17: *Seichō no Ie founder Taniguchi Masaharu dies (age 91). (*Shūmu jihō*)	
Nov 30: *Seishin Myōjōkai founder Fujita Motonari dies (age 82). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1986	Shōwa 61		June -: Sakata Yasuhiro forms the Misogikyō shinpa ("true faction of Misogikyō"), a splinter group from *Misogikyō. (*Group documents*)
1987	Shōwa 62		
1988	Shōwa 63		March 27: Association of Shinto Shrines (**Jinja Honchō*) sends tree-planting recommendation to all shrines and local *Jinja Honchō* offices throughout the country. (*Shūmu jihō*)
1989	Heisei 1	Feb 17: The birthday of the Shōwa emperor (Emperor Hirohito), previously a national holiday, becomes a new holiday called Greenery Day (see also **Shuku-sai-jitsu*).	April 14: Tenri Oyasato Senior High School opened (see **Tenrikyō*).
1990	Heisei 2	Oct 11: **Daijōsai* ceremony held to accompany accession of Emperor.Akihito (the Heisei emperor).	Nov -: *Kurozumikyō holds Shintō International Workshop on Global Survival and Peace at its Shintōzan headquarters.
1991	Heisei 3		
1992	Heisei 4		

Personalities/Texts	Society
	Dec -: Japan's economy starts to expand (start of the so-called "bubble economy"; the bubble's collapse comes in 1991).
Nov 7: *Soshindō Kyōdan founder Yoshioka Tajūrō dies (age 82). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	
September 7: *Kikueikai Kyōdan founder Hayashi Shikō dies (age 88). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	June 1: Supreme Court rules in the Self Defense Forces Enshrinement lawsuit (*Yamaguchi junshoku jieikan gōshi soshō*) that it was constitutional for the SDF to have applied to have the soul of a deceased soldier jointly enshrined at Shintō shrine with those of other soldiers over objections of the deceased soldier's Christian wife (Jan. 1973: suit filed; March 1979: Yamaguchi District Court rules enshrinement unconstitutional; July 1982: Hiroshima High Court also rules it unconstitutional) (see also **Shintō and Christianity*).
Oct 4: *Nihon Jingū Honchō founder Nakajima Shūkō dies (age 87). (*Shinshukyō shinbun*)	June 18: Kawasaki City Deputy Mayor Komatsu Hideki is revealed to have acquired shares in the information industry and real estate company Recruit before the company went public, earning a one billion-yen profit on their sale (start of the Recruit insider-trading scandal).
Oct 29: *Oyamanezu no Mikoto Shinji Kyōkai founder Inai Sadao dies (age 82).	
Oct 29: *Kuzuryū Taisha founder Ōnishi Masajirō dies (age 75). (Group documents)	
March 8: *Hizuki no Miya founder Fujimoto Toshinari dies (age 59). (Group documents)	Jan 7: Emperor Shōwa dies (age 89). Era name changed to Heisei.
	Oct. -: Stocks nosedive, marking the start of the end of the "bubble economy."
May 5: *Shinsei Tengan Manaita no Kai founder Kurata Chikyū dies (age 85).	Jan 17: Multinational coalition begins war with Iraq. Feb. 28: Fighting ends.
-.-: Federation of Shinto Sects' youth association (*Kyōha Shintō rengō seinenkai*) begins publishing newsletter *Musubi*.	
	May 12: In the *Ehime tamagushiryō* (see **Tamagushi*) lawsuit, Takamatsu High Court rules constutionally acceptable for Ehime

Year	Era	Institutions/Laws	Shrines/Organizations
1993	Heisei 5		Oct 2: Ise Inner Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated. Oct. 5: Ise Outer Shrine rebuilt and reconsecrated (**Shikinensengū*).

Personalities/Texts	Society
	governor to have used public funds to pay for offerings given to Yasukuni Shrine in name of prefecture's war dead (July 1982: suit filed; 1989: Matsuyama District Court rules the act unconstitutional) (see also **Problems of Religion and Government*).
	Oct 13: A 376-member Ground Self-Defense Forces (SDF) battalion is dispatched to Cambodia to take part in a United Nations peace-keeping operation (the first overseas dispatch of the SDF).
	March 18: Supreme Court rules in the Minoo war memorial lawsuit (*Minō chūkon-hi soshō*), declaring the payment of public funds to a local association of war-bereaved families for the holding of a Shintō-style memorial service to be constitutional (Oct 1977: case brought before Osaka District Court. March 1982: District Court rules it unconstitutional. March 1983: Osaka High Court rules it constitutional) (see **Problems of Religion and Government*).
	August 7: Hosokawa Morihiro of the Japan New Party named the 79th prime minister. Ends thirty years of single-party rule by the Liberal Democratic Party.

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PROCEDURES OF THE ENGI ERA

BOOKS VI–X

A *Monumenta Nipponica*
Monograph

The Heir Apparent and Princess Michiko in Court Dress of the Heian Period: for their Wedding, 1959.
(Courtesy of Mainichi Graph)

Engi-Shiki

PROCEDURES OF THE ENGI ERA

BOOKS VI–X

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTIONS

AND NOTES BY

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PUBLISHED BY

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PUBLISHED BY
SOPHIA UNIVERSITY
7 KIOI-CHŌ, CHIYODA-KU
TOKYO, 102

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Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 68-58914

PRINTED IN JAPAN
THE KAWATA PRESS, TOKYO

178212
WHEATON COLLEGE LIBRARY
NORTON, MASS. 02766

The research for this volume
was made possible in part by a grant from
The American Council of Learned Societies

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ix

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction to Book Six 1

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK SIX: Procedures for the *Saiin-shi* 9

CHAPTER TWO: Introduction to Book Seven 27

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK SEVEN: *Senso Daijō-sai* 31

CHAPTER THREE: Introduction to Book Eight 57

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK EIGHT: The *Norito,* or Rituals 65

(1) *Toshigoi Festival* 66

(2) *Kasuga Festival* 71

(3) *Hirose no Oomi Festival* 72

(4) *Tatsuta Wind Gods Festival* 73

(5) *Festival of Hirano* 76

(6) *The Deities Kudo and Furuseki* 77

(7) *Tsukinami Festival* 78

(8) *Ootono-hogai* 80

(9) *Mikado-matsuri* 83

(10) *Ritual of Great Purification* 84

(11) *Charm of Yamato no Fumi no Imike-be* 88

(12) *The Pacification of Fire* 89

(13) *The Banquet of the Roads* 90

(14) *The Great New Food Festival* 92

(15) *Festival for Pacification of Imperial Spirits* 93

(16–24) *Rituals for Use at Grand Shrines of Ise* 94

(25) *Ritual to Dispel a Malevolent Kami* 99

(26) *For Presenting Offerings when Envoy Dispatched to China* 101

(27) *Laudatory Ritual of Local Chieftain of Izumo* 102

CHAPTER FOUR: Introduction to Books Nine and Ten 107

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK NINE: Register of Deities (A) 113

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK TEN: Register of Deities (B) 141

MAP OF THE PROVINCES 172

TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS 173

DIAGRAM OF INTERVALS OF DAY AND NIGHT 174

APPENDIX I: The List of Princesses who Served at Kamo Shrine *(Saiin-ki)* 175

APPENDIX II: Numerical Summary of Shrines Listed in Books IX and X 177

BIBLIOGRAPHY 181

KEY 185

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Heir Apparent and Princess Michiko in Court Dress of the Heian Period *Frontispiece*

Jōgan-gishiki diagram of Daijō-gū *facing page* 48

Sketch illustrating *Daijō* celebration of 1687 *facing page* 49

Present-day *negi* reciting *norito* *facing page* 64

Map of provinces and circuits in time of *Engi-shiki* *page* 172

Diagram of intervals of day and night *page* 174

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK SIX

THE PRINCESS CONSECRATED TO THE KAMO SHRINES

THE institution which consisted of having a daughter of the sovereign in attendance at religious ceremonies to deities of the Imperial House at shrines located away from the Imperial Palace developed as a part of the movement to strengthen and solidify the role of the Imperial House and the sovereign during the seventh to tenth centuries in Japan. The first example that comes to mind is that of the Saigū, or Itsuki-no-miya. She was the Imperial Princess appointed to participate on behalf of the sovereign at ceremonies to the Sun Goddess at the Grand Shrine of Ise. The second example is the Sai-in, or Itsuki-no-miko, an Imperial Princess similarly appointed to participate in ceremonies at the Kamo Shrines near the capital. We also see fleeting mention of a princess assigned to the Kasuga Shrine in the capital, but that institution did not really take hold or endure. We may at this point dismiss the Kasuga Princess as an unsuccessful attempt of the Fujiwara Uji[1] to enhance the importance and influence of their own shrine in relation to the state cult.

The most important shrine connected with the Imperial House was that which enshrined Amaterasu-ō-mikami, the Sun Goddess, at Watarai in Ise Province. The worship of the Sun Goddess at that location ante-dated the Nara period. But the elevating of this shrine to national status and the rise of the official cult surrounding the divine ancestress and *ujigami*[2] of the Imperial House came about

[abbreviation *E-S* = *Engi-shiki*]

[1] The *uji* 氏 is the lineage group possessing the same surname, translated as 'clan' or as 'family'. *Uji* of the highest nobility were granted a title called *kabane* 姓, of which there were a great many in the pre-Nara age. During the reign of Temmu Tennō (673–86) the ranking system was revised and a total of only eight *kabane* decreed. However, archaic *kabane* titles continued in use even into the Heian period. Thus in this text we find these hereditary *kabane* attached to the surnames of prominent *uji* on whom they had been conferred—*omi, muraji, asomi* (or *ason*), *atae* (or *atai*), *sukune,* and so on. Thus Tomo no *sukune* refers to a member of the Tomo Uji who had been granted *sukune* rank. At the end of Book VI appear the signatures of five compilers of the *E-S*, chief of whom was Fujiwara Tadahira; he signs with his titles thus: *omi* (meaning 'chief' or noble') Fujiwara *ason* Tadahira.

[2] A particular *uji* worshiped its own clan deities, or *ujigami*, originally in the locality where the family had settled and had its base. During the Nara period some leading families built new shrines to their *ujigami* in and around the capital. Simultaneously, the Imperial House increased the importance and reverence paid to the Shrine of the Great Deity in Ise, who was the principal deity of that House and the Sun Goddess from which it claimed its descent. After the capital was moved to the Heian-kyō new shrines were erected there, festivals increased, and new cults replaced the old ones of Yamato Province. See N. Miyaji, *Jingi-shi taikei*, p. 45.

toward the end of the seventh century. After that time the adjective 'great' or 'grand' came to be used for the Ise Shrines and the number of districts and households designated to support these shrines was vastly increased. The institution of Imperial Princess to serve at the Ise Shrines may have had its origin in the type of gynecocracy that prevailed in parts of Japan prior to the formation of a centralized Yamato state. The rule of women among certain tribes, or their function as high priestess or shaman for the tribe, may have been the remote precedents of the custom of having an imperial virgin presiding over ceremonies to the clan deities of the ruling house. The appointment of a princess to represent the throne at the Ise Shrines was a prominent and long-enduring institution, though no provision for it is written into the law codes that were drawn up in the Taihō and Yōrō eras,[3] since these law codes were based very much upon Chinese models not containing annual requirements for ceremonies to the gods. The actual practices connected with the Ise Shrines were not set down until the Enryaku era, in the *Kōtaijingū-gishiki-chō*, and later in the procedures of the Engi era, the *Engi-shiki*, completed in A.D. 927. Out of the fifty books (*kan*) therein, the longest is devoted to procedures for the Bureau of the Consecrated Princess, the Itsuki-no-miya of Ise, and the third longest to procedures and specifications for the Ise Shrines. The book containing procedures for the Office of Consecrated Princess, the Sai-in, of the Kamo Shrines, is one of the shorter books.

The consecrating of an imperial princess for service to the deities of Kamo appears to have come about in an entirely different manner from that of the one to the Great Deity of Ise. The Consecrated Princess of Kamo is perhaps unique in Japanese history because it is an institution whose beginning and end are fairly accurately known, as well as the names of the individuals who held the office. There are of course superficial resemblances between the Kamo Princess and the Ise Princess. First, both are extra-legal institutions[4] not treated in the Yōrō civil code. Secondly, the method of selection by divination after the accession of a new sovereign, the appointment, the special offerings, the three-year period of preparation, the royal progress when she assumed office, the duration of her term and reasons for termination of office—all are parallel.

However, the custom of appointing a princess to the deities of Kamo did not commence until the beginning of the Heian period. The deities of Kamo are not mentioned in the *Nihongi*, nor is their festival. The first references to the *Kamo* Festival occur in *Shoku-nihongi* in the 2nd year of Mommu Tennō (A.D. 698) and

[3] The Taihō codes of law completed A.D. 701–2 were the culmination of a long process of drawing up a framework of law based on Chinese models of Sui and T'ang. Soon afterward these were supplanted by the Yōrō codes of 718, the only complete codes extant. While these were the basis of administration, they did not adapt fully to existing Japanese custom. The codes needed interpretation and extension. For these purposes the *shiki*, or procedures, were spelled out for the use of officialdom. The lengthy process of drafting and compiling these procedures resulted in the *Engi-shiki* of 927.

[4] Known as *ryōgai* 令外 'outside the codes', the *shiki* for the princess sent to Kamo as well as those for the princess sent to Ise Shrines, and procedures for the shrines themselves, are all supplementary to the *ryō*, or civil code.

the 4th year of Wadō (711), while the deities of Kamo are mentioned in connection with receiving offerings in entries under Taihō, Jinki, Tempyō, Ten'ō, and Enryaku. In the *Nihon-kōki* they came to be referred to as the Great Deities of Kamo, and, in the *Shoku-nihon-kōki* and *Montoku-jitsuroku*, offerings to these deities are specified (in some entries) as being made at the *Amagoi-matsuri* (Festival of Praying for Rain) and also the *Haregoi* (Festival of Praying for Clear Weather). Later entries include records of the reading of important Buddhist sutras at the Kamo Shrines.[5]

The first sovereign to appoint an imperial princess to represent the Imperial House at the Kamo Shrines was Saga Tennō in either the 1st or the 14th year of the Kōnin era (810 or 823). The records say she was Princess Uchiko, either the second or the eighth daughter of Saga Tennō, and that her mother was Queen Kōno.[6] This was the beginning of a succession of 34 imperial princesses who were selected and appointed to serve the deities of the Kamo Shrines, the very last one having been selected in Genkyū 1 (A.D. 1204); this means that the institution lasted nearly four centuries, and it shows the perpetuation of the practice by many a sovereign upon his accession to the throne. The complete record of the princesses who served in this role and the sovereigns whom they represented is found in the *Kamo Saiin-ki*, reproduced below in Appendix I.

The significance of the appointing of a princess to the Kamo Shrines and the regulations surrounding her assignment, her term of office and the participation of the Court and nobility in the *Kamo* Festival, all relate to the high position of the Kamo Shrines and their connection with important clans, notably the Imperial House. Let us look at the historical evidence that is available. The two shrines, Lower Kamo and Upper Kamo, were dedicated to tutelary divinities of the capital. But they were located in Yamashiro Province, into which the capital was removed only in 790, and ascent to the shrines after that time meant crossing the boundary from the capital into the province. They seem to have had little prominence while the capital was still at Nara. However, they trace their history as far back as the 6th year of Temmu Tennō (677), when the worship of the divinities in question was moved from the base of Mt Hiei (where the proto-shrine Mikage Jinja, an auxiliary of Kamo Shrines, still exists) to the base of Mt Kamo. This mountain was situated in the northern part of Yamashiro, an area which was the seat of power of two influential families—the Kamo Uji and the Hata Uji—who were in charge of the worship of these ancestral deities. Other seats of worship for these families in the seventh and eighth centuries were at Matsuno-o in the western part of the province and Inari Shrine in the southeast. After the capital was moved to the Heian-kyō (Kyoto), the Kamo Shrines came under direct influence of the Court. In Enryaku 3 (784) the Court Rank of these ancestral deities had been raised to Junior 2nd Rank, and (after the new capital was established) in 807 they

[5] References are cited in *Shoku-nihongi sakuin* and *Rikkokushi sakuin*, vol. 3.

[6] According to the old shrine records, *Kamo Kōtaijingū-ki*, the selection by divination of the first princess to serve the deities of Kamo was in Kōnin 1 (810). See *Kamo chūshin zakki*, p. 40.

were elevated to Senior First Rank. Correspondingly, the lands supporting the shrines were increased. In the Tempyō era (729–69) lands supporting the Upper Kamo Shrine had been greatly augmented: from one *chō* up to 24 sustenance households[7]—14 in Yamashiro and 10 in Tamba Province. An imperial visit to the Upper Shrine was recorded in Enryaku 13 (794) and in Kashō 3 (850) special offerings were made at that shrine upon the accession of the new sovereign, Montoku Tennō. As for Saga Tennō (r. 809–23), R. K. Reischauer says it was his purpose to have his daughter pray to the deities of Kamo to invoke their aid in settling his dispute with Heijō Tennō, the preceding sovereign, who was trying to gain the throne.[8] Whatever the reason, he provided for the capital a close-at-hand cult of ancestral *kami* which flourished thereafter.

Who were these deities of Kamo? The traditions of both Lower and Upper Kamo Shrines hark back to the mythical age. The Lower, or Mioya (august ancestors), Shrine is said to enshrine Tamayori-hime and Taketsunumi-no-mikoto, divine forbears of the legendary first emperor, Jimmu Tennō. Taketsunumi is described as the deity who took the form of a huge crow (the *yatagarasu*) which guided Jimmu Tennō on his eastward path of conquest to Yamato. The Upper Shrine is that of Kamo no Wake-ikazuchi-no-mikoto, divine offspring of Tamayori-hime, who was said to have come to the sacred spot (*miare-sho*) at the foot of the mountain of Kamo to found a holy site there. Both shrines are said to have had buildings erected at their present sites during the reign of Temmu Tennō in the seventh century, and after that time to have enjoyed special reverence from the Imperial House. Although the Hata (an *uji* of Korean origin) and the Kamo families had charge of administering the shrines all along, the Imperial House felt the need to reverence these three deities as ancestral *kami* of its own, and hence gave increasing support to the shrines and to the holding of the festival of these shrines.[9]

Celebration of the *Kamo* Festival is alleged to have been instituted in the reign of Kimmei Tennō in the sixth century! But actually we do not find any mention of it in historical works until the very end of the seventh century in the reign of Mommu Tennō. After the capital was moved to Heian-kyō we find it mentioned as an imperially decreed festival in the reign of Kammu Tennō, in 806; and in the reign of Saga Tennō, in Kōnin 10 (819), it is classified as a 'middle festival'—as it appears in the *Engi-shiki*, Book I.

In the Heian period the festival was celebrated in two different parts: the first was the esoteric festival of *miare*, the second was the colorful public celebration through the streets of the capital. These two elements have been preserved to the

[7] Sustenance households, *fuko* or *fugo* 封戸, were those assigned to supply rice and other produce to the Imperial Household, and to high nobility. Those providing sustenance to shrines were *kami fuko* 神封戸, or simply *shinko* 神戸 (also pronounced *kambe*).

[8] R. K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, A, p. 234. This puts the appointment of the princess in Daidō 4 (809), though the *Kamo Saiin-ki* places the event in 823.

[9] See *Shintō daijiten*, II, 280. The legends concerning the origins of the shrines are found in the *Shaku-nihongi*, quoted from the *Yamashiro fudoki*, the gazetteer of Yamashiro Province written in the Nara period of which only fragments survive. H. Kurita, *Ko-fudoki*, pp. 3–5.

present day. In the secret celebration, the youthful deity Kamo no Wake-ikazuchi-no-mikoto was believed to make his annual return to the sacred spot, the *miare-sho*. *Miare* has been interpreted as 'resurrection'. But in truth it means either 'august birth' or 'august appearance'. This rite is the reappearance or return to earth of a deity from on high. Belief in the return of a *kami* was prevalent, and the evidence for it was the practice in ancient times of having a young maiden await the return of a deity to a spot designated as sacred. She might sit on the shore of the sea or the bank of a river and in the dead of night be waiting to receive the *kami* who came from over the sea, or down from heaven, or from his divine abode on a mountain. The *kami* returns to earth and is greeted by the beautiful maiden, who becomes his bride for a night.

In the case of the Upper Kamo Shrine, the secret *miare-matsuri* is the celebration of the descent of Wake-ikazuchi from heaven to alight on a great rock that is situated on the top of the sacred mountain Kōyama (Kamiyama), the mountain of Kamo at whose base the Upper Shrine is located. Tradition says that priests of the Kamo Uji from time immemorial have sung the following hymn to hail the return of the *kami*:

Hisakata no	Plying the oars of the
ame no iwabune	worthy rock-boat
kogi yosete	from far-away heaven
kamiyo no ura ya	from the haven of *kami*
ima no miare-sho.	comes he to the spot of divine revelation.

To prepare for the divine reappearance, the participating priests were wont to cut two trees (called *miare-gi*), tying cords to them by which to pull the trees after the *kami* had alighted on them. Thus in the dark of night he was to be borne away to the river of Kamo and there the trees were thrown into the water. Hereupon, the Consecrated Princess (Itsuki-no-miko) was to plunge into the river and rescue the *kami*. The priests floated offerings from upstream and the maiden princess became the bride of a night to the god.[10]

The specifications for the Lower Shrine state that there are two *honden* or main sanctuaries: the one on the east for Tamayori-hime-no-mikoto, the one to the west for Taketsunumi-no-mikoto. Likewise, at the Upper Shrine there are two small sanctuaries side by side. Nowadays it is interpreted to mean that there is a spare shrine in reserve. But we see by the *Engi-shiki* text that there were two *shinza* (deity seats), without any explanation given for them, since but a single god, Wake-ikazuchi-no-mikoto, was enshrined there.

Before Saga Tennō set the precedent of sending an imperial princess to be the one to receive the god at Upper Kamo Shrine, what was the essence of the secret ceremony? A possible clue lies in an old term (which survives even today) used for the Sai-in or Consecrated Princess, namely, *miare-otome*, or 'maiden of the

[10] N. Tsukushi, *Amaterasu no tanjō*, pp. 31–2. Text of the song, and other songs of praise to the *kami*, are given in *Kamo chūshin zakki*, pp. 8–10. See also, S. Origuchi, *Kodai kenkyū* (II), pp. 100 ff.

divine reappearance'. The likelihood is that in the local family festival held by the Kamo Uji a member of the Hata or the Kamo was chosen to be the bride of the *kami* and await his mysterious return to earth. Later on, after the capital was moved and the relation of the Court to the shrines was strengthened, it was the sovereign who sent his daughter. This replaced the former custom of having the daughter of one of the local magnates lead the ceremonies of *miare* for Kamo no Wake-ikazuchi-no-mikoto.

The *Kamo* Festival which followed the rite of *miare* was for the participation of the Court and the host of officials who constituted the high nobility. It grew rapidly into a great pageant which displayed the wealth and splendor of the Imperial House for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the capital city. The growth in importance of the Kamo Shrines and their festival may at the same time have been part of the revitalizing of native worship in response to the lavish attention paid to Buddhism by the Court of Nara—against which the very removal of the capital to a new location had been a reaction. The extravagant outlay made by the Imperial Household for the Kamo Princess and the *Kamo* Festival made this festival the greatest public celebration of the year in the new capital.

When the Princess made her progress to the Shrines the procession was a grand parade with mounted ladies in the vanguard and the Princess in a gilded carriage, attended by noble men and women attired in finest silks followed by countless ladies-in-waiting, pages, bearers, and servants—all elaborately costumed for the event. The functionaries of the *Jingi-kan* and priests of the shrines were dressed in ceremonial robes and donned the fresh green leaves of the wild hollyhock (*aoi*) or of the *katsura* tree (the shape of whose leaves resembles the former) at their temples. Eventually, because the leaves of *aoi* became the symbol of this celebration, it came to be called the *Aoi* Festival. The celebration has undergone its vicissitudes since the Heian period, but in the course of a revival of ancient practices, in the 5th year of Meiji (1872), both the secret festival of *miare* and the *Aoi-matsuri* were reinstated. One can attend the *Aoi*, or *Kamo*, Festival on 15 May in the city of Kyoto, while the secret ceremonies of *miare* are conducted on the night of 12 May by the priests of the Upper Kamo Shrine. One priest is charged with the role of receiving the returning god, Wake-ikazuchi, at the sacred site where a *himorogi*[11] is constructed at the base of the sacred mountain above the Upper Shrine. Nowadays a young maiden of a good family is selected to be the Saiō, or consecrated maiden, to re-enact the former role of the imperial princess.

It might be thought that, because this festival occurred in spring in the 4th month and its origin appears to be rooted in the tradition of the return of the youthful god Wake-ikazuchi, it was a spring fertility rite. However, the time of year coincides neither with the planting of the rice nor with its transplanting. The idea of renewal and rebirth is very strong, and the *aoi* and *katsura* leaves used as fillets symbolize new life and rededication. But it is a festival of late spring. The

[11] The *himorogi* is a sacred enclosure or area marked off around a sacred object or abode of *kami*. The present-day enclosure is quite large and was photographed by Mr Numabe Harutomo of Kokugakuin Daigaku on a visit to Upper Kamo Shrine at the time of the secret *miare* festival.

connection with agriculture appears to be that the god Wake-ikazuchi is associated with thunder, and it is the proper time of year to pray for deliverance from thunderstorms or rains that would be disastrous to crops. The sporadic references in the national histories to offerings presented to the deities of Kamo at the extraordinary *Amagoi* (Praying for Rain) Festival and *Haregoi* (Praying for Clear Weather) Festival lend weight to the idea that the Kamo was a festival to ensure the safe growth of the crops in the environs of the capital, as well as to propitiate the patron deities of the capital and the Imperial House.

After an imperial princess was selected by divination to serve the deities of Kamo, she dwelt with her retinue in a taboo apartment called Shosai-in somewhere within the Imperial Palace. Here she dwelt until after the middle of the following year, when she moved to a separate palace near the Kamo Shrines and made her first ascent to the shrines. This No-no-miya, or 'Palace-in-the-fields', was her sanctified abode for the rest of her term of office. Her term lasted as long as the sovereign who appointed her was on the throne. Like the princess consecrated to Ise Shrines, she must withdraw from office if the reigning sovereign should become ill, die, or abdicate, or if either of her parents (the sovereign might be her grandfather) became ill, or if she herself was ill or committed an indiscretion. Any of these conditions would constitute a pollution and make her unfit to serve the *kami*.

The government office set up to take charge of all matters relating to this princess was the *Saiin-shi (Itsuki-no-miko no tsukasa)*. The officials of this office were: chief (*kami*), assistant chief (*suke*), third officer (*jō*), and fourth officer (*sōkan*). Besides this hierarchy common to most offices and bureaus under the government ministries, this office also had the *in-no-bettō*—male and female commissioners of her residence, and the retinue of Court nobility who were customarily attendants to a member of the Imperial Family, namely: ladies-in-waiting (*naishi*), ladies who were confidential transmitters of the sovereign's commands (*senji*), and ladies who personally attended the sovereign and members of his family (the *uneme*), not to mention young girl attendants who were daughters of high-ranking nobility.

The duties of the Kamo Princess were strict religious observance of fasting periods, festivals, and special offerings, culminating in the festival for the Kamo deities held in the 4th month of the lunar calendar. Her first participation in the festival was in the third year after her appointment. The procedures for her period of preparation, abstinence, purification, ritual cleansing in the river, and the exorcising of the buildings in which she and her staff were to reside, are all contained in the sixth book of the *Engi-shiki*, the principal items being as follows:

1. Item on the selection of the Saiō (*Itsuki-no-miko wo sadamaru*)
2. Taboo words (*imikotoba*)
3. Purification and lustration at the river (*kawa no hotori no oharae*)
4. Item on three years' abstinence (*sannen itsuki*)
5. The *Kamo* Festival (*Kamo-matsuri*), including:
   a. Blessing the Princess's Residence (*Ootono-hogai*)
   b. Festival of the Sacred Fire and Deity of the Stove

c. Lustration in the 4th month and 6th month
d. Purification on the last day of each month
e. First day of the year.

It is apparent that this collection of procedures does not follow a chronological sequence throughout, and that it does not cover some events of her tenure at all. Comparing it to the lengthy detailed procedures for the Princess to Ise Shrines in Book V, we find that many things—such as the building of the No-no-miya, for example—are not mentioned. This may indicate that officials simply referred to another source, as the *Jōgan-gishiki*, or the procedures already laid down for the Ise Princess, so it was not considered necessary to give details of procedures which were common to both institutions, the Saigū and the Saiō (Sai-in).

More than half of the book is given over to procedures for the *Kamo* Festival, which grew to be the grandest celebration in the capital, at least in the year when the princess participated. Here we reach the ultimate in a national extravaganza for the enjoyment of the Kamo deities, the Court, and the population of the capital. Very little is written concerning the more sacred and intimate portions of the festival, the secret *miare* festival, or the sacred communion with the deities of Kamo and the frequency of offerings made to them. We do have details on the amounts of offerings to the *kami*, on the ceremonial vessels, foodstuffs, decorations, furnishings, and costumes of all participants, and on the emoluments to be given them. The countless bolts of silk to be hand woven and hand dyed attest to the wealth of the Court and the highly developed textile arts. The treasures of the Kamo shrines and the utensils and paraphernalia listed show the technical advancement of the early Heian period.

Besides the detailed procedures of Book VI, we find that the Kamo Princess and the *Kamo* Festival appear in other books of the *Engi-shiki*. The Kamo Princess is referred to in procedures for the *Dajō-kan*, Bk XI; the *Kamo* Festival is mentioned in Bk I, in Bk XIII in procedures for the Consort's Palace (*Chūgū-shiki*), and in Bk XV under the Bureau of Palace Storehouses (*uchino-kura-ryō*). In Bk XVII under the Bureau of Skilled Artisans, procedures for making furnishings for the No-no-miya are given, and elsewhere there are references to the Office of the Princess under bureaus that are mentioned in Bk VI.

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK SIX

Procedures for the Saiin-shi

OFFICE OF THE PRINCESS CONSECRATED TO THE KAMO SHRINES

Translation

AT ALL times, when a Sovereign accedes[12] to the throne he appoints a Consecrated Princess to the Great Deities of Kamo.[13] That is to say, an unmarried Imperial Princess[14] is chosen by means of divination.[15] (If an Imperial Princess is not available, another princess, in order of succession, is chosen by divination.) When the divination is completed an Imperial Messenger is dispatched to her dwelling and announces the fact of her appointment. One official, not lower than a secretary of the *Jingi-kan*,[16] leading the bureaucrats,[17] follows the Imperial Messenger, and together they make the visit. The

[12] The event of succeeding to the throne upon the death or abdication of the preceding sovereign is *sokui* 卽位, 'accession'. This is discussed in the introduction to Bk VII, below.

[13] The divine parents, *mi-oya*, enshrined in the Lower Kamo (Shimogamo) Shrine were believed to be Tamayori-hime and Taketsunumi-no-mikoto. This is the main shrine, *honsha*. Tamayori-hime appears in the myths as aunt, then later consort, of Hikonagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, and mother of the 'first emperor', Jimmu. Taketsunumi is identified with the crow sent down by Amaterasu-ō-mikami to guide Jimmu Tennō through the land. Cf. Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 104, 108, 115–16. The upper shrine (Kamigamo) is erected to Wakeikazuchi-no-mikoto (or -kami). However, the presence of the *kami* is not indicated in the shrine. Rather, on looking within, the worshiper sees through the shrine to the sacred mountain behind, so that he worships the place to which the *kami* will descend when he does reappear on earth. Tsukushi, op. cit. p. 31. The text of Bk VI tells us that two august seats for *kami* (*go-shinza*) were to be set up in the Wakeikazuchi Shrine, as well as in the Lower Kamo Shrine. Even today there are duplicate shrines at the upper site. See n. 68 below.

[14] Imperial Princess is *naishinnō* ('inner princess'); she is one not yet given in marriage: '*imada totsugazaru mono* . . . ' No age requirement is stated, and often a princess was very young when selected and appointed.

[15] Selection is determined by divination. Here *uranau* (or *boku-su*) is performed by the occupational diviners, *urabe* 卜部, of the *Jingi-kan*. According to the Taihō civil code, the make-up of the *Jingi-kan* included 28 *urabe* diviners, as well as chief diviners, *miyaju* (*miyaji*), and masters of tortoise divination, *urabe chōjō*.

[16] Text says, 'one person, secretary of the *Jingi-kan*, or higher'. The chief of the *Jingi-kan* was the *jingi-haku* or *jingi-no-kami* 神祇伯 (the first officer or *chōkan* 長官), who according to the code must be of 4th Court Rank, Junior Grade. Second official was the senior assistant chief, *taiyū* 大副, who must be of 5th Court Rank. Next came junior assistant, *shōyū* 少副, and the secretaries, *taijō* 大祐 and *shōjō* 少祐 —therefore providing a choice from among five possible officials to lead this procession.

[17] That is, *ryōka* 僚下.

diviners perform exorcism; members of the *kambe*[18] hang bark-cloth[19] upon *sakaki* branches[20] which they set around the four sides of her sleeping-hall as well as inside and outside the gates. (The officials in charge prepare the bark-cloth and *sakaki*; the household prepares the articles for the exorcism.) When these affairs are finished, emoluments are bestowed. Nakatomi, Imbe, and below are differentiated.) After this an Imperial Adviser, or higher, is dispatched to both the Upper and Lower Kamo Shrines. He presents symbolic offerings[21] and announces the selection of the Consecrated Princess. (The Bureau of Palace Storehouses[22] prepares the offerings. One diviner follows this messenger, goes to the riverside, faces the shrines, and performs exorcism.)

At all times, there are taboo words:[23] death is called 'getting well', illness is called 'slumber', weeping is 'shedding salt', blood is called 'sweat', meat is called 'vegetables',[24] to strike is 'to caress', and a tomb is called 'clod of earth'.

At all times, when the selection of the Consecrated Princess has been made, a suitable place within the Palace precinct is determined by divination for the Shosai-in.[25] First she goes to the riverside and performs purification and lustration,[26] after that she enters in.

Articles for the Purification

4 *shaku* each of 5 colors of pongee,[27] 2 *shō* of salt, 1 *to* each of rice and sake,

[18] In the composition of the *Jingi-kan*, according to the *Taihō-ryō*, there were 30 members of the religious group known as *kambe* or *kamutomo* 神部. Most of them were members of the Nakatomi Uji.

[19] Bark-cloth and hemp were the primeval fibres used for clothing and for offerings to the *kami*. Bark-cloth, called *yū* 木綿, was made from the paper-mulberry by stripping, soaking, and pounding the inner bark. Two varieties used were (and are): *kaji* 楮 (*Broussonetia kazinoki*), and *kōzo* 楮 (*Broussonetia payrifera*). The hemp used were *asa* 麻 and *kemushi* 枲 (male nettle hemp), which were woven into common cloth, *nuno* or *fu* 布. Other types of fibres commonly used for clothing included ramie, kudzu, wisteria, and tree bark.

[20] *Sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*) is a tree with shiny dark-green leaves, sacred to the *kami*.

[21] The *mitegura* or *mi-nusa* 幣 were symbolic offerings, usually of cloth, as opposed to food offerings, expiatory offerings, and presentations of tools, weapons, animals, etc. They usually were in the form of strips of cloth, or hangings of bark-cloth and hemp fibres (later silk), or else a branch of the sacred *sakaki* tree (plain, or decorated with streamers of cloth or paper). See n. 438 below.

[22] The *uchinokura-ryō* under the Ministry of Central Affairs, *nakatsukasa-shō*.

[23] A comparatively short list of seven taboo words, *imikotoba* 忌詞, is given here. For the Princess consecrated to Ise Shrines a total of 16 words were tabooed; besides the seven listed here, nine words having to do with Buddhism (hence offensive to the *kami*). See the list given in Bk VII of words likewise tabooed in the presence of the sovereign during the month of abstinence preceding the New Food Festival.

[24] *Shishi* 宍: animal meat, usually deer; *kusabira* 菌: greens or vegetables. T. Torao, *Engi-shiki*, p. 100.

[25] The Shosai-in 初齋院 is the first residence of the princess.

[26] *Harae* or *harai* 祓, lit. 'driving out', is the exorcizing of pollution and defilement. The ritual washing in the river, for the purpose of washing away defilement, is *misogi* 潔 (in the case of the sovereign, *gokei*): lustration.

[27] Pongee, or rough silk, was *ashiginu* 絁. *Goshiki* 五色 may mean 'five kinds' or 'five colors'; it is probably the latter here. The colors were blue, derived from the wild indigo plant (*ai* 藍); red, from fine red-yellow earth; yellow, from seeds of gardenia; white, from bleaching; and black, from dye made of the acorn-like nut of the *tsurubami* 橡 (*Corylus heterophylla*). For values of measurements, see Table of Measurements, p. 173.

3 *kin* each of abalone,[28] bonito, and *wakame*,[29] 1 gourd,[30] 1 palanquin (and carrying-poles for it), 2 *tan* of tax cloth,[31] 2 food-mats, 5 *kin* of yellow-bark,[32] 3 *ryō* of Aki bark-cloth,[33] 1 *kin* each of ordinary bark-cloth and hemp, 2 mattocks,[34] 2 *soku* of rice-in-ear, two porters.

The above, as listed in foregoing item, must be requested from the *Jingi-kan* and used. Two days before the lustration, Controllers of the *Dajō-kan*[35] lead the Commissioner of the Residence[36] and those under them, as well as the Bureau of Divination[37] and the various officials who are to present offerings. They go to the riverbank to determine the exact spot, and they announce it. When the season and day have arrived, the Consecrated Princess rides in a carriage to the spot. [For this] 10 pages on foot,[38] 14 carriage attendants, 10 followers, 10 carriers; one each: Kara chests[39] of adornments and of toilet articles (for porters use servants of the residence),[40] 3 Kara chests of foodstuffs, 2 of various utensils, 2 of clothing, 6 Kara chests of emoluments (for porters and Palace guards); 6 chefs, 2 *toneri*,[41] 10 bearers, 6 escorts from the Sovereign's Private Office,[42] the Lady

[28] The *awabi* 鰒 is sea-ear, or abalone, of which some ten varieties are gathered along the coasts of Japan. Its importance for food and for ceremonial offerings is not outdone by any other item save rice and sake. It was eaten raw, made into broth, or dried and salted. For the varieties, see S. Koyama, 'Kodai awabi sangyō no hattatsu', *Kokushigaku*, No. 81, March 1970, pp. 18–39. Bonito, *katsuo* 堅魚, either fresh or dried, almost always follows abalone in order of presentation.

[29] *Wakame*, or *me*, 海藻, is a common edible seaweed; varieties are *Undaria pinnatifida Sur.* and *Alaria pinnatifida*.

[30] Different sorts of gourds were used as dippers. The character given here is *narihisago* 匏, which Thunberg reports Kaempfer identified as *Cucurbita lagenaria*. Cf. Thunberg, *Miscellaneous papers*. A 'dipper' held 1/10th of a *gō*.

[31] *Yōfu* 庸布 (*chikarashiro-nuno*) signified cloth made of hemp paid in lieu of labor, sometimes translated '*corvée* cloth'. By the time of the *E-S* forced labor had long been outlawed, so we can simply think of it as 'tax cloth'. Cloth unspecified means hempen cloth. See also nn. 71 and 93 below, on tribute stuffs.

[32] Yellow-bark, *kihada* 黄蘗, refers to the inner bark of a kind of oak, *Pterocarpus flavus*, which was used both as medicine and as a dyestuff. The dye is described as 'chrome lemon' (*kihada-iro*). Cf. *Shikimei daijiten*.

[33] Aki Province on the Inland Sea was between Bingo and Suō Provinces, roughly present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture.

[34] The character 鍬 or 鍬 may be read either *kuwa*, mattock or hoe, or *suki*, spade. In either case, these are ceremonial tools related to the cultivation of rice and used as votive offerings to the *kami*.

[35] The *ben* or *benkan* 辨官, of which there were three grades (two each): 'great, middle, and lesser', in the *Dajō-kan* (Great Council of State). See n. 59 below. *Benkan* were assigned, one each, to the various ministries as observers or inspectors.

[36] The *in-no-bettō* 院別當 were commissioners of the princess's residence.

[37] The Bureau of Yin-yang Divination, *on'yō-ryō* (*ommyō-ryō*) 陰陽寮, under the Ministry of Central Affairs (*nakatsukasa-shō*).

[38] *Hashiri-warawa* 走孺: children on foot, probably girls. The carriage attendants are *hito-tamae* or *kuruma-soe* 車副.

[39] The name *kara* 韓 meant either Korean or Chinese in style, in other words, continental or exotic. The *karabitsu* 韓櫃 were large, six-legged wooden chests of Chinese style which were carried hung from a pole by two porters.

[40] *Imaryō* 今良 were menials, sweepers, caretakers—but not slaves.

[41] The *toneri* 舍人 were part of a system made up of youths of the nobility who automatically attained Court Rank at age 21. They were selected from some 100 noble families of the 4th and 5th Rank. They served as personal palace attendants to guard and accompany members of the sovereign's family. Besides *toneri*, the system included 'great toneri' (*ōdoneri*), 'inner toneri' (*utoneri*), and others. The Bureau of Toneri was under the *nakatsukasa-shō*.

[42] That is, *kurōdo-dokoro no baijū* 藏人所陪從. The *kurōdo-dokoro* (not provided for in the codes) was established in Kōnin 1 (810) in order to maintain the strictest confidence with affairs relating to the sovereign. The office continued thenceforth to grow in political importance and influence.

Commissioners of the Residence and those under them, all follow behind her carriage. (Lady Commissioners on down to escorts from the Sovereign's Private Office ride in their own carriages; *uneme*,[43] girl attendants, and below, ride in carriages provided by the Mount Bureau.)[44] One Imperial Messenger who is an Imperial Adviser,[45] one Commissioner of the Residence, four persons of 5th Rank, four of 6th Rank, as well as outriders, two each of Left and Right Inner Palace Guards, Left and Right Military Guards, and Left and Right Gate Guards; ten each of Left and Right Fire Chiefs, all follow. Officials of the Left and Right Offices of the Capital lead the soldiers and officers, who draw up and wait. The governor of Yamashiro Province leads the prefects of the districts and they wait at the road which borders the capital.[46] One controller, one chief ritualist,[47] two scribes, and one office-keeper[48] lead the participating officials to the place of lustration, and the ceremony takes place. The Consecrated Princess reaches the curtain, goes down to the stream, and performs lustration. The Nakatomi of the *Jingi-kan* present the symbolic offerings and the chief diviner[49] recites the ritual of purification.[50] That finished, the food and emoluments are bestowed on all, from Imperial Messenger on down. (The controllers record those in attendance and report this to the commissioners.) The Princess now has returned and has re-entered the Shosai-in. A well for her menage is determined by divination and *sakaki* branches placed around it.

Requirements for Festival of the Well

4 *shaku* each of 5 colors of pongee, 1 *hiki* of stiff silk,[51] 1 skein of silk thread, 4 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth,[52] 1 *ton* of floss silk,[53] 1 *tan* of ordinary cloth, 2 *tan* of tax cloth, 2 mattocks, 2 *kin* of hemp, 1 *kin* of bark-cloth, 4 *kin* each of

[43] The *uneme* 采女 were young women chosen for their beauty from various parts of the country to reside in the Palace and wait upon the sovereign personally. Because they served his food, the derivation of the name is thought to be from *yoneme*, 'rice ladies', but this is not certain. The Office of Uneme was under the Ministry of the Imperial Household (*kunai-shō*).

[44] The *meryō*, or Bureau of the Mount, was divided into Right and Left divisions: *sayū meryō* 左右馬寮.

[45] i.e. an Imperial Adviser, *sangi* 參議, who is chosen to represent the Throne as Imperial Messenger, *chokushi* 勅使, for the occasion.

[46] The Kamo shrines were then in Yamashiro Province, right outside the capital. The governor and the prefects of the districts through which the princess's procession passes come to greet her and her retinue at the point where she crosses the boundary leaving the capital and entering Yamashiro Province.

[47] The term *sōkan* (*sakan*) 主典 (also written 史, as here) means a fourth-class official; in this case, of the Princess's Office, *Saiin-shi*. The first official of an office or bureau was the *kami* or *chōkan*, the second the *suke*, the third the *jō*. These were the highest four officials, or the four 'classes' of officials.

[48] The scribe is *shishō* 史生; the office-keeper, *kajō* 官掌.

[49] The *miyaju* (*miyaji*) 宮主 of the *Saiin-shi*.

[50] The *harae no kotoba* 祓詞, a ritual of exorcism for this purification ceremony. Presumably this is a shorter and less elaborate ritual than that for the Great Purification, *Ooharae no kotoba*, given in Bk VIII in the collection of *norito*.

[51] This is *katori* or *ken* 絹, a thick silk with nap, used for outer garments. To distinguish it from *hakunokinu* 帛, which is flat and without nap (like modern *habutae*), it is translated 'stiff silk'.

[52] This is *shizu* or *shidori* 倭文, a textile in which the woof was of threads dyed blue, red, and other colors, resulting in a mottled pattern. Usually hemp fibre was used for this, but bark-cloth and ramie might also be woven in this manner.

[53] Floss silk, *men* 綿 or 緜, was used for the wadding or padding of winter garments and quilts. Because of its consistency it was weighed, and the unit of weight was *ton*, or *mochi* 屯, equivalent to 13 ounces or again, according to the *Wamyōshō*, equivalent to 7.8 ounces.

bonito and abalone, 4 *kin* of dried meat,[54] 4 *kin* of *wakame*, 5 *shō* of salt, 1 *to* each of rice and sake, 1 waterbucket, 8 saucers, one gourd, 5 bundles of oak.

The above are requested from the [*Dajō*-]*kan* by the *Jingi-kan*; the chief ritualist is caused to conduct the festival.

At all times, the Consecrated Princess spends three years in abstinence in the Shosai-in. When it is completed, that year in the 4th month she ascends for the first time to the [Kamo] Shrines. Beforehand an auspicious day is chosen and she goes down to the stream for purification and lustration. (Requirements for presentations to the deities are the same as at the first lustration.) The ceremony is that the Princess rides in a palanquin (an official of the Palace Caretakers[55] leading the scribes sets up said palanquin two days before the day of lustration). There are 10 chiefs of the palanquin (wearing yellow tunics); 40 bearers of the palanquin (dressed in dark blue), 12 Outer Palace Guards (two each of Left and Right Inner Palace Guards, Middle Palace Guards, Gate Guards, all wearing blue-printed white tunics of the Guard Headquarters; except that for Gate Guards, if convenient, guards of the Shosai-in may be used); 10 each of Left and Right Fire Chiefs, officials of the capital and the official greeters[56] of Yamashiro Province. And similarly to the time of the first lustration, 16 ladies riding horseback, (2 wet-nurses,[57] 6 members of the Sovereign's Private Office, 4 girl attendants, and 2 young girls), 10 pages on foot; one each: Kara chests for adornments and for toilet articles; 3 Kara chests for foodstuffs and 2 for the utensils, 2 Kara chests of clothing and 6 Kara chests of emoluments; 46 porters (2 servants of the Shosai-in plus 44 Left and Right Guard troops), 6 chefs (in light-purple robes), 2 *toneri* engaged to present food offerings, 10 bearers (all in light-pink robes),[58] 6 escorts from the Sovereign's Private Office (in front of the august carriage), Lady Commissioners and below all riding in carriages (for this see item on the first lustration); as Imperial Messengers, 1 each: Great Counselor and Middle Counselor; 2 Imperial Advisers, 4 each of officials of 4th and 5th Rank, 1 lady-in-waiting, 1 secretary; 1 each: outer secretary and fourth-class official; 1 scribe of the *Dajō-kan*,[59] 2 controllers' scribes, 1 office-keeper, and the participating officials of the *Jingi-kan*, Bureaus of Palace Storehouses, Needlework, and Yin-yang Divination, the Ministries of Treasury and Imperial Household, the Offices of Palace Tables, Carpentry, Palace Kitchens, Palace Caretakers, Housekeeping, Imperial Sake, Water Supply, Left and Right Mount Bureau. When the lustration is finished, the food is bestowed

[54] *Kitai* 腊, jerky, or the dried meat of deer or other animals and birds.

[55] The *tonomori* 主殿, an occupational group (*be*) in charge of the care and maintenance of all the palace buildings; they belonged to the *tonomo-ryō*, a bureau under the Ministry of the Imperial Household.

[56] The *shizō* 祇承 were officials in the districts who were in charge of meeting the Imperial Messenger, entertaining him, and making arrangements relating to his travel.

[57] *Menoto* 乳母; nominally engaged to nourish the royal infants, these women had become over the years bureaucrats of considerable influence in the Court.

[58] Purple is from *ebizome* 葡萄染, a dye yielding a lavender or very light purple. Pink is from *taikozome* (or *tonkō*) 退紅, a pale-pink dyestuff.

[59] The *Dajō-kan* is the Great Council of State, the seat of civil administration, under which were the Eight Ministries of the government. The participation of the highest civil officials as well as those of the *Jingi-kan* was required in this festival.

and emoluments given. (All from Imperial Messenger on down to those of 5th Rank are banqueted by the Bureau of Palace Storehouses; those of 6th Rank and below by the Office of Palace Tables.) When that is done, they all return home. When they stop at the No-no-miya emoluments are again bestowed.[60]

The *Ootono-hogai* (Requirements the same as for the *Ootono-hogai* in the *jingi-shiki*)[61]

This is to be done when she moves to the No-no-miya; the requirements are requested by the *Jingi-kan* and the festival is held beforehand.

At all times, the Consecrated Princess in the 4th month of each year on the middle day of the cock ascends to both the Upper and Lower Shrines. (She goes first to the Lower Shrine and remains a while in the building outside the shrine, where she changes her clothing and dons the pure garments; then she rides in her palanquin; the bearers follow and the chiefs of the palanquin accompany her to the left hall in front of the shrine; when the affair is over she proceeds outside the shrine precinct. She then mounts into an ox-drawn carriage[62] and rides to the Upper Shrine; first stopping beneath the hanging curtain, then proceeding to the right hall in front of the shrine.) The Imperial Messenger and one official of 5th Rank or higher of the Bureau of Palace Storehouses, one of 5th Rank or higher of Inner Palace Guards and the same of the Mount Bureau, all attend her on Left and Right; then 12 running horses (Left and Right Inner Guards take turns leading them); one messenger of 5th Rank or higher from each: the Middle Palace and East Palace; one each: Lady-in-waiting, Palace noblewoman, Sovereign's private secretary, Palace Keeper of the Keys;[63] and one each: noblewoman and private secretary of the Middle Palace. All the rest correspond to the ceremony of the first lustration in 4th month. However, 1 sedan-chair is added, and 4 bearers of the chair (for this see the *Gishiki*).[64]

[60] The No-no-miya 野宮 or 'Palace-in-the-Fields' is similar to that occupied by the princess consecrated to Ise Shrines. After the years of practicing abstinence in the temporary Shosai-in (First Residence), the princess moved to a No-no-miya built for her in a secluded place in Yamashiro Province. This is the first mention of the No-no-miya, with no instructions for its location and construction. Perhaps the officials concerned simply consulted Bk V of *E-S*, in which procedures for the No-no-miya for the princess to Ise specify selection of site in the 7th month of the year after she entered the Shosai-in. The No-no-miya was to be completed in the 8th month; the princess then moved in and dwelt there for a year.

[61] The festival of *Ootono-hogai* 大殿祭, the blessing or luck-wishing of a palace, is treated in Bk I of *E-S*, where the requirements are given for conducting this ceremony of exorcising evil and bringing good fortune and blessing to all parts of the Imperial Palace, the Consort's Palace, and the palace of the Heir Apparent. In the present case, this ceremony is used for the same purpose for the Princess's temporary palace.

[62] A golden carriage, according to the specifications in *E-S*, Bk XVII, which contains procedures for the Bureau of Skilled Artisans (*takumi-ryō*).

[63] An official of the *mikado no tsukasa* 闈司 (one of the 12 offices in the Rear Palace, or Women's Palace: *gogū* 後宮) who was in charge of the keys to all the gates within the Palace precinct.

[64] *Gishiki* 儀式 are procedures for ceremonial. In the *E-S* this term refers to ceremonial procedures given in the *Jōgan-gishiki* 貞觀儀式, 'Ceremonial Procedures of the Jōgan era'. The *gishiki*, like *shiki* (procedures), resulted from a long process of formalizing and setting down in writing the precedents and customary rites for civil, religious, and court ceremonial.

Requirements for Symbolic Offerings at the Upper and Lower Shrines

4 *jō* each of five colors of pongee (1 *jō* 3 *shaku* 3 *sun* 3 *bu* for each of the three deities).

For the above the office of the residence makes the request to the Bureau of Palace Storehouses.

Requirements for Festivals of the Sacred Fire and Deity of the Stove[65]

5 *shaku* each of five colors of pongee, 1 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 1 *tan* of tax cloth, 2 mattocks, 2 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 *kin* each of Azuma[66] abalone, bonito, and *wakame*, 1 *shō* of salt, 2 *shō* each of sake and rice, 2 saucers, 1 water-bucket, 2 bundles of oak, 1 gourd.

For the foregoing, the *Jingi-kan* turns the articles directly over to the officials in charge and causes the chief diviner to conduct the festivals.

The Regular Lustration in the Fourth Month

For this the requirements for offerings to the deities and the ceremony are all the same as for the lustration ceremony when she enters the Shosai-in, except that there is no Imperial Messenger.

Lustration in the Sixth Month

For this the chief diviner goes to the Shosai-in to initiate the august lustration, after which men and women officials go down to the riverside and are purified. However, the articles for lustration and provisions for the feast are all prepared by the office of the Princess's residence.

Ainame Festival[67] (if the Princess is selected by the 7th month this is celebrated in that year; if in the 8th month or later, it is celebrated the following year)

Seats for two deities (required at both Upper and Lower Shrines; facing south, they ascend to the east);[68]

4 *shaku* each of five colors of thin silk, 2 *to* of sake (to be offered to the deities; requested from officials in charge).

[65] Sacred or taboo fire, *imibi* 忌火, is fire kindled within the menage of the princess—for lighting and for cooking in the stoves whose indwelling *kami* are worshiped in this festival.

[66] Azuma, 'the East', a name for the maritime provinces of eastern Honshū.

[67] The *Ainame matsuri* 相嘗祭 was the mutual tasting, or 'together tasting', of newly harvested rice, an annual festival celebrated in the 11th month. The sovereign made a ceremonial meal together with the ancestral deities in the Palace, and it was celebrated for 71 deities in shrines around the capital, as outlined in *E-S*, Bk II. As far back as Temmu Tennō's 4th year (A.D. 675), it is recorded that the Court sent offerings to be presented to the deities at these shrines for the *Aimube* (*Ainame*) Festival. Cf. Aida, *Chūkai yōrō-ryō*, p. 348.

[68] As will be seen, seats are set out for two deities at each of the shrines for the 'together tasting'. The deities on their seats face south (royalty kept such a custom) and sat according to their rank, with higher rank on the east. This would indicate differing ranks for the two deities ('divine parents') enshrined in the Lower Kamo Shrine. As to the Upper Shrine, since Kamo no Wakeikazuchi-no-mikoto is said to be the only *kami* at this shrine—for whom is the other seat?

Requirements for Ceremonial Dress

For one *senji* abstainer[69] and one *uneme*: 1 *hiki* of stiff silk, 3 *mochi* of floss silk and 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* of *sayomi* cloth[70] apiece; for 7 alternates for *uneme*: 3 *jō* of stiff silk, 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* of *sayomi* cloth (all to be used for the divining) and 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* of *sayomi* cloth for three persons of the Princess's office. For one messenger of the Princess's office (for divining): 1 *hiki* of stiff silk, 3 *mochi* of tribute floss silk,[71] 1 *tan* of ordinary cloth; for the chief diviner: 1 *hiki* of stiff silk and 1 *mochi* of floss silk; for one *toneri*: 1 *tan* of ordinary cloth; and for one manservant: 1 *tan* of tax cloth.

For this, at cockcrow on the first hare day of the 11th month each year the Consecrated Princess performs lustration and abstinence. She makes distant obeisance[72] and sends up symbolic offerings to the shrines. In the evening, the deity seats in the above item are set up in the abstinence hall.[73] For each deity seat there is a seat from which the Princess is to make the offerings [of food] and the festival takes place. After the Messenger presenting offerings has made his rounds, officials of the Princess's office and the chief diviner are each given a robe. On the following day in the evening, to the men and women serving the Princess's office are given sake and food; emoluments are bestowed upon each according to their differences. After the Imperial Messenger has presented offerings at the shrines he bestows emoluments on the *negi*, *hafuri*, and *imiko*[74] of both shrines in front of the shrines. This is the same as is done at the festival in the 4th month. Requirements for articles for this are: 20 *hiki* of stiff silk, 200 *mochi* of tribute floss silk, 30 *tan* of ordinary cloth. Already beforehand the [*Jingi-*]*kan* should be asked to request these from the Treasury.

Requirements for Festival to the Deity of the Stove[75]

2 *shaku* each of five colors of plain silk, 2 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 1 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 *kin* each of abalone, bonito, dried meat, *wakame*, and assorted seaweeds; 2 *shō* each of salt, rice, and sake; 4 saucers, one jar, 1 water-bucket, 4 bundles of oak, 1 gourd.

Requirements for the Purification on the Last day of the Month

1 *jō* 4 *shaku* of tax cloth, 2 mattocks, 10 *ryō* of Aki bark-cloth, 8 *ryō* of hemp, 2 *shō* each of rice and sake, 1 *kin* each of abalone, bonito, and *wakame*, 2 *soku* of rice-in-ear.

[69] *Senji* 宣旨 were the ladies personally responsible to the sovereign who transmitted his messages or commands to the outside.

[70] *Sayomi no nuno* 貲布, a coarse textile woven from fibres of bark of the *shina no ki*, a species like linden, *Tilia cordata*. The cloth was used to pay taxes in kind.

[71] That is, *chōmen* 調綿.

[72] *Yōhai* 遙拜 is obeisance from a distance; in this case, the princess bows in the direction of the shrines and claps her hands in reverence to the *kami*.

[73] The *saiden* 齋殿.

[74] The *negi* 祢(禰)宜 are high-ranking priests of the shrine, while *hafuri* 祝 are lesser priests of a shrine, although the term *hafuri* is also used as generic for all sacerdotal personnel. The *imiko* 忌子, lit. 'taboo child', were young girls attached to the shrine. They correspond to the *mono-imi* or child abstainers at the Ise and Kashima Shrines, and like them practiced abstinences and served as helpers to the priests in presenting offerings to the *kami* at those shrines.

[75] *Kamado-no-kami*, the *kami* who resides in the cook-stove which is used for preparation of food for the Princess, is here feted.

The above are required for the festival and for the purification. The *Jingi-kan* each month sends these directly to the officials in charge, requesting that they take them, and the chief diviner is made to conduct the festival and the purification. However, on the last day of the 6th and 12th months[76] a Nakatomi presents the symbolic offerings. After it is over emoluments are bestowed (the Nakatomi is given one quilt; the chief diviner a silk garment).

Requirements for the Annual Festival of Lustration

For the Consecrated Princess: 1 *hiki* of damask of Wu,[77] 1 *hiki* of medium-green pongee, 2 *hiki* of lined material (to carpet her route), 2 *hiki* of silk gauze, 1 *hiki* of light-green stiff silk, 5 *hiki* of white thick silk,[78] 10 *hiki* of white stiff silk, 10 *hiki* of stiff silk and 10 *hiki* of plain silk, 4 *hiki* of thin white silk,[79] 4 *kin* of violet silk thread; 2 each: violet-leather skin and scarlet-leather skin, 3 great *kin* of sapanwood,[80] 20 great *kin* of madder-root,[81] 20 great *kin* of safflower, 100 *kin* of gromwell,[82] 10 willow boxes,[83] 2 top-layer *tatami* with brocade borders (each 9 *shaku* long, 5 *shaku* wide), 12 *tatami* bound on both sides (8 to spread on the ground for daytime sitting at the hall, and 4 for seats at the two shrines), 10 *tatami* with green borders (to be spread on the floor of the sleeping quarters), 2 mattresses with brocade borders (for seats in the shrines), 4 Izumo straw-mats (2 for the shrines, 2 for summer seats), 2 *hiki* 9 *shaku* 8 *sun* of stiff silk (for the curtains for 5 *kichō*).[84]

Required for decorating the clothes and the robes for lady escorts for the day of the festival: 4 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu* of gold paint, 4 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu* of silver paint, 4 great *kin* of sapanwood, 5 *kin* 3 *ryō* 3 *bu* of Chinese white,[85] 3 *kin* 13 *ryō* of verdigris, 1 *kin* 12 *ryō* 2 *bu* of white-green,[86] 2 *kin* 3 *ryō* 2 *bu* of azurite, 2 *kin* 2 *ryō* of red lead, 5 *ryō* 1 *bu* of realgar, and 4 *ryō* 4 *shu* of same yellow[87] (on the 13th day of the 3rd month the ladies-in-waiting are assigned to request these).

[76] The Great Purification, *ōharae*, was a national festival held twice yearly on the last day of the 6th and 12th months, whereas a regular monthly *oharae* or purification was held on the last day of each month in the Princess's Office (*Saiin-shi*) as long as she served.

[77] *Kure no aya* 呉綾, silk damask, or figured silk, a weave imported originally from China and bearing the name of the State of Wu (Kure).

[78] Although the reading is *katori*, a different character from the usual is used here: 縑. See n. 51 above.

[79] A very thin, gauze-like silk is meant here: *usuginu* 紗 or *usumono*.

[80] *Suō* 蘇芳 is sapanwood (or Judas-tree?), the yellow flowers of which yielded a violet dye.

[81] *Akane* 茜草, or madder-root, which yielded a red dye.

[82] Safflower is *benibana* 紅花, a source of yellow dye. 'Gromwell' is used for the *murasaki* plant, 紫草, which yielded a violet dye.

[83] *Yanagibako* or *yanaibako* 楊筥, 'willow box': a ceremonial box made of split willow-wood bound together with vines to contain sacred articles.

[84] *Kichō* 几帳, a curtained frame put up to screen royal personages or noble ladies from direct view of those around them. 'Screens of state' Waley calls them.

[85] *Gofun* 胡粉 is a mixture of calcium carbonate prepared from seashells and glue and used as white pigment; used for priming or mixing with colors. Tokyo National Museum, *Textiles and Lacquer*, p. 174.

[86] White-green, written 白緑, a mineral pigment.

[87] *Dō-ō* 同黄, 'similar yellow'; presumably it means realgar also, but a separate amount for a different purpose from the immediately preceding item.

Required for personal supplies: 178 *hiki* 3 *shaku* of stiff silk (40 *hiki* for 3 quilts to be used for emoluments, 30 *hiki* for 80 under-robes, 86 *hiki* 3 *shaku* for Court dress on the festival day for *senji* down to pages on foot,[88] 2 *hiki* for Court dress for officials of the Princess's office and 20 *hiki* for emoluments to guards of the marching horses and for musicians); 14 *hiki* of plain silk (for six private secretaries, 4 girls on horseback, and one *uneme* and three alternates), 7 *hiki* 4 *jō* of white damask (6 *hiki* 4 *jō* for divided skirts[89] for 4 young girls, 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* apiece), 4 *hiki* of red-violet stiff silk (2 *hiki* 3 *jō* for garments for 10 girl attendants, 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* apiece; 1 *hiki* 3 *jō* are for long cloaks for the same, 9 *shaku* apiece), 5 *hiki* 5 *jō* 5 *shaku* of scarlet stiff silk (4 *jō* 4 *shaku* for robes of prescribed color for the chief, 5 *hiki* for skirts of 10 pages on foot, 3 *jō* apiece; 1 *jō* for sashes for the same, 1 *shaku* apiece), 3 *hiki* of stencil-dyed[90] blue silk (for one *senji* and two wet-nurses, 1 *hiki* apiece), 4 *hiki* 1 *jō* of white thin silk (3 *hiki* for scarves for 20 ladies from *senji* down to girl-attendants, 9 *shaku* apiece; 1 *hiki* 1 *jō* for scarves for 10 pages on foot, 7 *shaku* apiece); 40 *kin* of silk thread (20 *kin* each of white and red for various uses for the festivals), 480 *mochi* 5 *ryō* 3 *shu* of tribute floss silk (180 *mochi* for 30 quilts for emoluments, 6 *mochi* each; 15 *ryō* 3 *shu* to go with 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of stiff silk stencil-dyed on light-blue background, 1 *ryō* to each *hiki*; 200 *mochi* are for emoluments on the day of lustration; 100 *mochi* for emoluments to the guards who lead the marching horses and to the musicians); 8 *tan* 3 *jō* 7 *shaku* of linen[91] (6 *tan* 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* for divided skirts for 36 persons from chiefs of the palanquin down to burden bearers, 7 *shaku* apiece; 3 *jō* 5 *shaku* for stockings for the pages on foot, 3 *shaku* 5 *sun* apiece; 1 *tan* 3 *jō* for divided skirts for 10 carriers on the day of lustration, 7 *shaku* apiece), 4 *tan* 8 *shaku* of dark-blue linen (for divided skirts for 14 carriage assistants and 10 followers[92] on the day of lustration, 7 *shaku* apiece), 18 *tan* of dark-blue tribute cloth[93] (4 *tan* for two wet-nurses, 2 *tan* apiece; 14 *tan* for the 14 mounted ladies, 1 *tan* apiece), 94 *tan* 2 *jō* 5 *shaku* 2 *sun* of ordinary cloth (5 *tan* for one *senji*; 4 *tan* for two wet-nurses, 2 each; 50 *tan* for 25 persons from mounted ladies down, 2 *tan* apiece; 17 *tan* 6 *shaku* for divided skirts for 44 palanquin bearers, 2 servants, 44 burden bearers—total of 90 persons, 8 *shaku* apiece; 2 *tan* 4 *shaku* for leggings for 44 palanquin bearers, 2 *shaku* apiece; 1 *tan* 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* 2 *sun* for waist-ties[94] for 44 palanquin bearers, 1 *shaku* 2 *sun* apiece; 15 *tan* for miscellaneous uses); 700 *tan*

[88] These pages are young girls, as can be concluded from the description of their costumes that follows later.

[89] That is, the long, loose trousers called *hakama* 袴.

[90] Stencil-dyeing, *kyōkechi* 夾纈, was a highly skilled textile art of the Nara period; the details of the process are no longer known. The fabric to be dyed was evidently pressed between boards through which the design had been cut. Examples are found in the Shōsōin repository.

[91] *Hosonuno* 細布 was very finely woven hemp-cloth that had the appearance of linen.

[92] For carriage attendants see n. 38, above. The 'followers' are *teburi* 手振, lit. 'hand-shakers' or 'hand-wavers'.

[93] Tribute cloth is used to translate *chōfu* (*tsukinuno*) 調布.

[94] The *ayui* 脚結 was a plaited string hung from the top of the trousers or divided skirt down to the knees; sometimes bells were attached to it. *Kogo jiten.*

of tax cloth (200 *tan* for emoluments on the day of the festival for officials in charge from watchmen on down; 500 *tan* for various uses at the festival of lustration); 1 great *kin* 14 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu* of sapanwood (for preparation of 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk stencil-dyed with light-blue ground), 16 great *kin* 7 *ryō* 3 *bu* of yellow-bark (12 *kin* 7 *ryō* 3 *bu* to stencil-dye 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk with light-blue ground and 4 *kin* for stencil-dyeing 4 *hiki* of silk with ground of Kara safflower),[95] 16 great *kin* of safflower (for stencil–dyeing 4 *hiki* of silk with ground of Kara safflower, 4 *kin* per *hiki*), 7 great *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu* of madder-root (for stencil-dyeing 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk with light-blue ground, 8 *ryō* per *hiki*), 7 great *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 3 *shu* of *haji*[96] (to do the same for 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk, 8 *ryō* per *hiki*), 15 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu* of alum (for the same for 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk, 1 *ryō* per *hiki*), 2 *to* of *fu*[97] (5 *shō* each for 4 *hiki* of Kara-safflower colored stencil-dyed silk), 3 *to* 5 *shō* of wheat (2 *to* 3 *shō* for stencil-dyeing 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk with light-blue ground, 1 *shō* 5 *go* each); 1 *to* 2 *shō* for stencil-dyeing 4 *hiki* of silk colored with Kara safflower, 3 *shō* each), 100 *kin* of gromwell (plant of Tsukushi to be used for dyeing various things); 89 *kan* 72 *mon* in coin[98] (1 *kan* 200 *mon* for Court dress for the *senji*; 6 *kan-mon* for six private secretaries, 1 each; 2 *kan* 400 *mon* for two wet-nurses, 1 *kan* 200 *mon* each; 4 *kan-mon* for the four mounted girl attendants, 1 *kan-mon* each; 2 *kan-mon* for the four young girls, 500 *mon* each; 6 *kan-mon* for 6 ladies riding in carriages, 1 *kan-mon* each; 4 *kan-mon* for one *uneme* and three alternates, 1 *kan-mon* each; 16 *kan* 100 *mon* for 46 persons from chiefs of the palanquin down to burden bearers for price of caps, 350 *mon* apiece; 15 *kan* 200 *mon* for price of caps for 44 palanquin bearers, 300 *mon* apiece; 5 *kan* 800 *mon* for stencil-dyeing 19 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk dark blue at 300 *mon* per *hiki*; 64 *mon* for stencil-dyeing 4 *hiki* of silk with Kara safflower at 8 *mon* each for 8 armloads of straw; 690 *mon* for cost of 23 armloads of firewood for doing the stencil-dyeing, at 30 *mon* a load; 4 *kan-mon* for cost of 20 *koku* of ashes at 200 *mon* a *koku*; 2 *kan* 360 *mon* for rations for 39 dyeworkers of the 19 *hiki* 2 *jō* of silk to be stencil-dyed, at 60 *mon* apiece; 1 *kan* 258 *mon* for rations for 39 helpers for the above at 32 *mon* apiece; 20 *kan-mon* for miscellaneous purposes); 5 *koku* 7 *to* 8 *shō* 6 *gō* of white rice (50 *koku* to be laid aside for the lustration festival; 7 *to* 8 *shō* 6 *gō* for half rations for the 39 workers in stencil-dyeing), 50 *koku* 7 *to* 8 *shō* 6 *gō* of dark rice[99] (50 *koku* to be laid aside for lustration festival, 7 *to* 8 *shō* 6 *gō* for 39 helpers in the stencil-dyeing), 5 *to* of oil (for various uses in the lustration festival, etc.); 4 *koku* 1 *shō* 5 *gō* 7 *shaku*

[95] Or, Chinese safflower. Here the character 辛 is used, the sound being the same as that of 韓.

[96] *Hiji* or *haji* 黄櫨 (also *haze-no-ki*) is mentioned in the *Man'yōshū* (no. 4465). It is a plant of the *Rhus* family, the berries of which yield a red dye.

[97] *Fu* 麩, a kind of bread made with wheat flour.

[98] The use of money as a medium of exchange did develop in the Heian period, but was mainly limited to the capital and its environs. Rice and cloth were the chief commodities and media of exchange. A *kan* 貫 was a string of 1,000 copper coins known as *mon* 文. In the 'four-figure' numbers, *kan* equals one thousand, or *kan-mon*—'a thousand *mon*'.

[99] Dark rice or black rice meant unpolished rice (*gemmai*).

of salt (4 *koku* to be laid aside for the lustration festival uses, 1 *shō* 5 *gō* 7 *shaku* for the master of stencil-dyeing and 78 workers, large ration, 2 *shaku* each), 6 *shō* of vinegar (for 4 *hiki* of silk to be stencil-dyed in Kara safflower, 1 *shō* 5 *gō* per *hiki*), 1 *koku* 5 *to* 3 *shō* 6 *gō* of sake (1 *koku* 3 *to* for use on day of festival: 2 *to* 3 *shō* 6 *gō* for master of stencil-dyeing and total of 78 workers, 3 *gō* apiece), 100 *kin* each of abalone, bonito, and dried salmon (for the lustration festival), 3 *koku* 1 *to* 5 *shō* 7 *gō* of assorted fish (3 *koku* for the festival of lustration; 1 *to* 5 *shō* 7 *gō* for the master of stencil-dyeing and total of 78 workers, at 2 *gō* apiece), 9 *kin* 13 *ryō* 3 *shu* of *wakame* (for master of stencil-dyeing and total of 78 workers, 2 *ryō* apiece), 159 complete meals (4 tables, 21 each of 1st and 2nd class bent-wood food-boxes, 25 large containers, 88 wrappers).

The officials in charge sort and prepare the above and present them on the day of the festival.

Requirements for Presentation

50 *hiki* of stiff silk, 30 *kan-mon* in coin, 10 *koku* of white rice, 20 *koku* of dark rice.

The above is for when the Princess is first selected; the items to be accordingly requested and received.

The various things to be requested after the selection of the Princess:

Utensils: 1 silver rice bowl, 3 pairs of silver chopsticks, 1 silver sake cup, 2 silver spoons, 1 silver chopstick holder, 1 silver water-bowl, 1 silver pitcher, 2 silver dishes, 1 white-bronze[100] sake jar, 1 white-bronze dipper (add white-bronze stand), 1 white-bronze bathtub, 1 white-bronze brazier, 3 white-wood Kara chests (add bench and carrying poles), 3 3-*shaku* vermilion-lacquer tray-tables (add stands), two casks.

Travel articles: One palanquin, 1 sedan-chair (add a footstool for dismounting), 2 large sunshades[101] (placed in a *hyōmon* lacquered box;[102] with rain covers), 1 small sunshade (placed in lacquered box; with rain cover), 2 large sedge umbrellas (add lacquered handles and cord-ties), 6 portable screens[103] (4 large, 2 small), 2 lacquered silver boxes, one gilded carriage, 2 curtains, 2 frames for light curtains, 2 silk awnings (each 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* square made of 5 *jō* 6 *shaku* each of dark-violet, lavender, and yellow plain silk and 1 *hiki* 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* of scarlet plain silk; and for the linings, 4 *hiki* of scarlet plain silk; for 56 strands of braid trim, 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* 6 *sun* of scarlet plain silk; 1 *hiki* of scarlet plain silk for three large cords; for the central banners, 1 *tan* 2 *jō* of

[100] Lit. 'white copper'. *Hakudō* 白銅 (now an alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel) was used extensively in pre-Nara times for making mirrors. Holtom says *hakudō* was an amalgam of copper and tin with a small portion of lead in those times. *Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies* (1928), p. 12 (7). [2nd number refers to Sophia U. ed.]

[101] The *sashiba* 翳 was a round or floral-shaped screen with a very long handle, used to screen the princess from view when in procession.

[102] This refers to *hyōmon* 平文 ('flat design'), in which a design was done in silver or gold on the box and then lacquered over several times. Afterward the lacquer was polished to bring out the design. Cf. Tokyo National Museum, *Textiles and Lacquer*, p. 36.

[103] Or, movable screens, *kōshō* 行障, to be used during the movement of the procession.

plain cloth; for one bag, 5 *shaku* 4 *sun* of faced material; and for the lining 5 *shaku* 4 *sun* of stiff silk; 8 curtains (4 of them 10-widths wide and 4 8-widths)[104] made from 12 *hiki* of red-violet plain silk; for their linings: 12 *hiki* of plain silk; for 36 braided cords: 4 *jō* 4 *shaku* of violet plain silk; for their linings: 4 *jō* 4 *shaku* of plain silk; for sewing these: 1 skein scarlet silk thread, 4 *ryō* silk thread; nine mottled curtains (2 of them 5 *shaku* long, 7 of them 8 *shaku*) made from 15 *hiki* 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* of scarlet plain silk, 15 *hiki* 2 *jō* 4 *shaku* of yellow plain silk, 11 *hiki* 3 *jō* 7 *shaku* 5 *sun* 5 *bu* of pale-blue plain silk; to sew these: 1 skein 8 *ryō* of pale-blue silk thread, 1 skein 4 *ryō* of yellow silk thread, and 6 *ryō* of [undyed] silk thread; for 8 bags: 3 *tan* 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* of dark-blue plain cloth, 3 *tan* of cloth for linings (all these are requested from the *Jingi-kan* by the officials in charge; then they are given to the ladies-in-waiting to sew and prepare under the Ministry of Treasury); 7 awnings of dark-blue pongee (with scarlet linings), 5 curtains of above color (with pale-blue linings), 4 crossbeam poles (wood to be requested from the Bureau of Carpentry), 10 red-lacquered Kara chests to contain her wardrobe (to be requested from the Ministry of the Treasury), 10 *kichō* (six of them 3 *shaku* long, four 1 *shaku* 5 *sun*), 1 comb table, 6 folding screens (two 5 *shaku* long, four 4 *shaku*), 1 tub for washing the hair, 1 tub for bathing.

Requirements for Personal Supplies

5 metal tripods[105] (one of 5-*to*, one of 4-*to*, and three of 3-*to* capacity), 3 large sake jars (each of 2-*to* capacity); 10 service plates, 7 tray-tables (one 8 *shaku* long, six 4 *shaku* long), 4 pairs of white-bronze chopsticks; 8 [white-bronze][106] spoons; 2 white-bronze dippers; 30 covered jars for brewing the sake; 34 medicine bags.

As in the preceding item, when the foregoing articles are worn out, replacements are to be requested from the [*Jingi-*] *kan*. Articles in item below which are requested once in three years are at the same time also requested and supplied. But at the time the Princess changes office, they are all collected and stored at the house of the Princess.

Seasonal Clothing Requirements

40 *hiki* of stiff silk (20 for summer, 20 for winter), 40 *tan* of tribute cloth (20 *tan* for summer, 20 for winter), 200 *ton* of tribute floss silk (100 *ton* for summer, 100 for winter).

The above are announced to the *Jingi-kan* according to the season and are requested from the Ministry of the Treasury.

For the First Day of the Year

20 *koku* of white rice, 4 *koku* of glutenous rice, 2 *koku* each of soybeans and red beans, 1 *koku* each of sesamum and millet (all to be requested by the

[104] The width of material varied, but was usually about 2½ feet or 2 *shaku*.

[105] Perhaps a cauldron with three feet, *kanae* 釜; here thought to be equivalent to the Chinese cauldron or tripod of bronze, a *ting* 鼎.

[106] 'White-bronze' is supplied from the list in Bk XVII of *E-S*, Procedures for the Bureau of Skilled Artisans, *takumi-ryō*.

Bureau of Palace Kitchens), 6 *to* of oil (requested by the Bureau of Palace Caretakers), 2 *koku* of salt (requested by the Office of Palace Tables).

The foregoing are announced beforehand to the *Jingi-kan* and requested and received.

To be Installed for Winter Use (in the summer, articles for the festival in the 4th month are used throughout)

2 *tatami* bound in brocade (each 8 *shaku* long and 5 *shaku* wide), 8 *tatami* bound on both sides, 10 *tatami* bound in green, 2 Izumo straw-mats (for middle of the mattresses).

The foregoing are for the seats of the Consecrated Princess; every year they announce to the *Jingi-kan* and request and receive these.

10 *tatami* bound in green; 10 *tatami* bound in yellow.

The foregoing are to be supplied for personnel, and are used at the same time the seats are set up for the Princess.

The Various Articles to be Requested Once in Three Years

4 *shaku* 4 *sun* of *ungen* brocade[107] (for top of one cover for the comb table), 6 *hiki* of double-face material (5 *jō* 1 *shaku* for covers hung from 3 red-lacquered tray-tables for her meals, 1 *jō* 7 *shaku* apiece; 4 *jō* 2 *shaku* for covers for 3 red-lacquered Kara chests, 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* each; 4 *hiki* 2 *jō* 7 *shaku* are for 10 each of deep and shallow covers for the 10 Kara chests for her wardrobe), 3 *hiki* 4 *jō* 5 *shaku* 5 *sun* of green pongee (2 *jō* 5 *shaku* 5 *sun* for top of covering for one floor, 3 *hiki* 2 *jō* for making 20 cords for the 10 Kara chests for the wardrobe), 6 *hiki* 8 *shaku* of scarlet pongee (5 *hiki* 5 *jō* for overgarments for 10 carriers, 3 *jō* 5 *shaku* apiece; 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* for the linings of two large sedge umbrellas), 3 *hiki* 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* of red-violet plain silk (2 *hiki* for short curtains and for cover of trim for 2 summer short curtains; 1 *hiki* 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* for the same for 2 winter short curtains), 4 *hiki* 3 *shaku* 5 *sun* of deep-blue plain silk (4 *jō* 4 *shaku* for top and trim of summer wall curtain;[108] 1 *hiki* 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* for the same for winter wall curtain; 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* 5 *sun* for top and trim of 5 summer short curtains; 3 *jō* 5 *shaku* for same for winter short curtains), 7 *hiki* of yellow plain silk (5 *hiki* for garments for 10 chiefs of the palanquin, 3 *jō* apiece; 2 *hiki* for garments for maidservants, 3 *jō* apiece), 5 *hiki* of plain silk (for linings of garments of 10 chiefs of the palanquin), 238 *hiki* 1 *jō* 7 *shaku* 9 *sun* of stiff silk (5 *jō* 1 *shaku* for linings of covers for 3 tray-tables for food presentations, 1 *jō* 7 *shaku* each; 4 *jō* 2 *shaku* for same for 3 red-lacquered Kara chests, 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* each; 5 *jō* 1 *shaku* for linings of rain covers for 3 tray-tables for food presentations, 1 *jō* 7 *shaku* each; 4 *jō* 2 *shaku* for linings of rain covers for above Kara chests, 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* each; 2 *jō* for linings of bags for two boxes for carriers; 4 *hiki* 2 *jō* 7 *shaku* for 10 each of deep and shallow covers for 10 Kara chests for the wardrobe; 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* for middle panels for covers of two large sedge umbrellas, 2 *jō* for

[107] *Ungen* 暈繝 is a polychrome silk woven with colors in gradation.

[108] The *kabeshiro* 壁代 is a curtain or drape used as a wall or a partition in the residence.

linings of rain covers for two leather boxes for carriers; 2 *jō* 4 *shaku* 5 *sun* for lining of rain cover for one platform; 4 *jō* 5 *shaku* 5 *sun* for linings of 3 rain covers for one palanquin; 4 *shaku* 4 *sun* for lining of cover of 1 comb table; 3 *hiki* 3 *jō* for overgarments for six chefs; 18 *hiki* for undergarments[109] for 36 persons—10 chiefs of the palanquin, 10 carriers, 6 chefs, and 10 bearers: 3 *jō* each; 12 *hiki* for undercoats[110] for the same, 2 *jō* apiece; 12 *hiki* for undergarments for 14 carriage attendants and 10 followers on the day of lustration, 3 *jō* apiece; 8 *hiki* for undercoats for the same, 2 *jō* apiece; 36 *hiki* 4 *jō* 8 *shaku* for summer hangings for two short curtains; 2 *hiki* for facing and 2 *hiki* for edging of the same; 38 *hiki* 3 *jō* 4 *shaku* for winter hangings, 2 *hiki* for the facing and 1 *hiki* 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* for summer hangings for the wall covering; 4 *jō* 4 *shaku* for lining of the trimming; 51 *hiki* 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* for winter hangings for wall covering, 1 *hiki* 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* for lining the trimmings; 9 *hiki* 2 *jō* for 5 summer hangings for curtains; 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* 5 *sun* for lining of bands; 8 *hiki* for winter hangings, 3 *jō* 5 *shaku* for lining of bands); 323 *ton* of tribute floss silk (128 *ton* for 2 winter hangings for the curtains, 160 *ton* for 18 winter wall coverings, 35 *ton* for 5 winter curtains); 2 skeins of silk thread (to sew drapes, curtains, and short curtains), 3 *hiki* 5 *jō* 2 *shaku* of oiled pongee (5 *jō* 1 *shaku* for rain covers for 3 tray-tables for food presentations, 1 *jō* 7 *shaku* apiece; 4 *jō* 2 *shaku* for rain covers for 3 Kara chests for same purpose, 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* each; 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* for covers for 2 large sedge umbrellas; 3 *jō* for rain covers for two large sunshades; 2 *jō* for rain covers for 2 boxes for carriers; 2 *jō* 5 *shaku* 5 *sun* for rain cover for one floor; 4 *jō* 5 *shaku* 5 *sun* for 3 rain covers for one palanquin); 34 *tan* 2 *jō* of dark-blue linen (22 *tan* for overgarments for 44 palanquin bearers, 2 *jō* each; 12 *tan* for garments for 14 carriage attendants and 10 followers on the day of lustration, 2 *jō* apiece); 23 *tan* 2 *jō* 4 *shaku* of linen (5 *tan* for overgarments for 10 burden bearers, 2 *jō* apiece; 8 *tan* 2 *jō* for cloth sashes on the day of lustration for 14 carriage attendants, 10 followers, and 10 carriers, 1 *jō* apiece; 5 *tan* for overgarments for 10 carriers, 2 *jō* 4 *shaku* apiece; 4 *shaku* to make 4 bags to soak safflower in; 5 *tan* for cloth sashes for 10 chiefs of the palanquin and 10 burden bearers, 1 *jō* apiece); 4 *jō* of dark-blue tribute cloth for overgarments for two servants, 2 *jō* apiece; 28 *tan* 2 *jō* 3 *shaku* of ordinary cloth (5 *tan* 1 *jō* for cloth sashes for 44 palanquin bearers, 1 *jō* for every 2 persons; 2 *tan* 1 *jō* 6 *shaku* for middle layer of 20 cords for Kara chests for the wardrobe; 20 *tan* for garments for 44 porters, 2 *jō* apiece); 15 *tan* 2 *jō* 4 *shaku* of 6-*jō* *sayomi* cloth[111] (for undergarments for 44 palanquin bearers, 2 *jō* 1 *shaku* apiece); price of 40 loads of firewood (17 loads for dyeing short

[109] The *kazami* 汗衫 was a long undergarment with sleeves and a narrow sash worn by both women and men in the Heian period. Ema, *Shinshū yūsoku kojitsu* p. 110–11.

[110] The *hampi* 半臂 was a sleeveless tunic-length garment worn by men under their Court dress (*gohō* 御袍). Ema, op. cit. pp. 75–6.

[111] Here, the length of a bolt (6 *jō*) of *sayomi* cloth (see n. 70) is given since it differs from the usual bolt of cloth measuring from 2 *jō* 8 *shaku* up to 4 *jō* in length.

curtains and wall coverings yellow, white, and grey, 3 loads for dyeing one hanging for the curtain with Kara safflower; 20 loads for dyeing of the garments for the various functionaries and servants), price of 14 *koku* 2 *to* of ashes (10 *koku* 2 *to* for dyeing short curtains and wall coverings, 3 *koku* for dyeing the garments of various functionaries and 44 porters), 82½ armloads of miscanthus[112] (31½ for dyeing 20 *hiki* 4 *jō* of stiff silk for 18 wall coverings; 27 armloads for dyeing 5 *hiki* 4 *jō* of stiff silk for 7 short curtains; 10 armloads for dyeing the hanging of the short curtain; 12 armloads for dyeing the garments of various functionaries; to be requested from the Bureau of Palace Storehouses); price of 37 armloads of straw (for heat treating and dyeing the silk with safflower), 69 large *kin* of safflower (61 *kin* for dyeing the short curtains, wall curtains, and garments of functionaries, 8 *kin* for dyeing overgarments for 10 carriers for the day of lustration; to be requested from Ministry of the Treasury), 30 large *kin* of yellow-bark (for dyeing stiff silk for the short curtains and wall coverings; to be requested from Ministry of Treasury); 17 *kan* 730 *mon* of coin (9 *kan* 816 *mon* for cost of dyeing short curtains, 18 wall coverings, surface of 7 short curtains—to dye 32 *hiki* 4 *jō* 2 *shaku* of stiff silk with indigo, 300 *mon* per *hiki*; 7 *kan* 720 *mon* for dyeing the linings for the same—for 25 *hiki* 4 *jō* 4 *shaku* of light-blue silk, at 300 *mon* per *hiki*; 120 *mon* for work of 4 hired-men, at 30 *mon* each; 80 *mon* for work of 4 hired-women, at 20 *mon* each); 6 *to* 1 *shō* of vinegar (5 *to* 6 *shō* for dyeing silk with safflower for the short curtains; 5 *shō* for dyeing Court robes for various functionaries); 6 *koku* 4 *to* 2 *shō* 8 *gō* of white rice (2 *to* for starching the facings of the hangings for the short curtains; 1 *to* for starching the garments of the various functionaries, 6 *koku* for food for a total of 500 persons in the palaces who do the sewing, 1 *shō* 2 *gō* apiece; 8 *shō* for food for 4 hired-men, 2 *shō* each; 4 *shō* 8 *gō* for food for 4 hired-women, 1 *shō* 2 *gō* each); 2 *koku* 4 *shō* of sake (2 *koku* for a total of 500 persons, 4 *gō* each; 2 *shō* 4 *gō* for 4 hired-men, 6 *gō* apiece; 1 *shō* 6 *gō* for 4 hired-women, 4 *gō* apiece); 1 *koku* 2 *shō* of fish (1 *koku* for total of 500 palace personnel who do the sewing, 2 *gō* apiece: 1 *shō* 2 *gō* for the 4 hired-men, 3 *gō* apiece; 8 *gō* for the 4 hired-women, 2 *gō* apiece); 5 *to* 2 *shō* of soybean dregs (5 *to* for the 500 persons who sew, 1 *gō* apiece; 1 *shō* 2 *gō* for the 4 hired-men, 3 *gō* apiece; 8 *gō* for the 4 hired-women, 2 *gō* apiece); 80 *tatami* for the use of all those from Imperial Messenger down to girl attendants (10 with green borders, 10 with yellow borders, 30 of Azuma straw matting, 30 of Suō straw matting;[113] all with binding on the back side); 12 mattresses (2 with violet binding, 5 with green binding, 5 with yellow); 1 5-*shaku* bed (for use at both Upper and Lower Shrines), 4 casks (each of 2-*to* capacity; add dippers); 20 shelf-tables; 3

[112] The gray dye is obtained from the *tsurubami* (see n. 27 above) and the pale yellow dye is from the *kariyasu* 刈安 (*Miscanthus tinctorius*), a wild grass; 14 *koku* 2 *to* should read 13 *koku* 2 *to* and is so emended in some mss. It will be noted that the armloads of miscanthus total only 80½.

[113] Straw matting from Suō Province, west of Aki Province, at southwest tip of Honshū. See map.

lamps of white wood, 10 boards for august food; 10 lampstands, 6 single beds, 10 raised beds, 2 large sedge umbrellas, 6 willow boxes, 4 mats, 104 straw raincoats, 98 thick straw-hats (16 straw-coats for the horses of the mounted ladies, 98 *kera* raincoats[114] and 98 thick straw-hats for chiefs of the palanquin and below; all these to be requested from the Bureau of Palace Storehouses).

At all times, the Consecrated Princess ascends to the festival at both Upper and Lower [Kamo] Shrines. On the day [of the festival] she makes her entrance in the evening and pine-knot torches are lit in Yamashiro Province. An official of the 3rd or 4th class does the official greeting. His name[115] is forwarded to the *Jingi-kan* a day in advance.

At all times, [to be provided:] 192 *hiki* 3 *jō* of stiff silk for clothing for 40 men and 41 women functionaries (71 *hiki* for summer and 121 *hiki* 3 *jō* for winter), 283 *ton* of tribute floss silk (for winter), 23 *tan* 5 *jō* 5 *shaku* of 6-*jō sayomi* cloth (for 41 women in summer), 82 *tan* of ordinary cloth (for 41 women in winter), all these to be requested from the Ministry of Treasury.

At all times, to be provided for clothing for 8 artisans: 32 *ton* of tribute floss silk (for winter), 56 *tan* of ordinary cloth (24 *tan* for summer and 32 for winter), 6 *tan* of tax cloth for clothing for 2 restituees[116] (2 *tan* for summer; 4 *tan* for winter), 8 *ton* of tax floss silk (for winter), all these to be requested from the Ministry of Treasury. For their food: 6 *to* of dark rice (to be requested from Ministry of People's Affairs), 6 *shō* of salt (requested from Office of Palace Tables).

At all times, the headquarters of the Gate Guards builds an encampment; the Bureau of Carpentry builds the fire-kindling shelter.

At all times, on days when the official buildings of the Princess's Residence are repaired by the Bureau of Carpentry, officials of her Office go and inspect them. If in less than 10 years any of them suffer damage, officials of 5th Rank and above are deprived of rank stipends, while those of 6th Rank and below are deprived of seasonal emoluments.

* * * * * *

End of Book Six of the *Engi-shiki*

Enchō 5th Year [A.D. 927], 12th Month, 26th Day

Outer Rank[117] Junior 5th Rank Lower Grade, Left Great Secretary *omi*[118] Ato no

[114] *Kera* 螻 is the mole cricket (*Gryllotalpa africana*) common in Japan. As it frequently lives in harvested rice-straw, that may account for the raincoat name; or it may be because the plaiting and shape of the raincoat resembles the shape of the insect: its forewings are short; its hindwings are broad but capable of folding up narrowly like a Japanese fan, and pointed at the end.

[115] i.e. his 'card', *myōbu* 名簿, a piece of wood with his name inscribed on it.

[116] *Tsukunoi-bito* 客作兒 means persons who have been recompensed for service or paid restitution for some accommodation made to the Office of the Princess.

[117] 'Outer officials', *gekan* 外官, were those holding provincial appointment, as opposed to inner officials, *naikan*, who held appointment in the capital.

[118] *Shin*, or *omi* 臣, was a *kabane* 姓, or clan-rank title. After Temmu's restructuring of the *kabane* titles it was 6th in a list of eight.

Sukune[119] Tadayuki; Junior 5th Rank Upper Grade Assistant Provisional Examiner and Senior Private Secretary, Provisional Governor of Kii, *omi* Tomo no Sukune Hisanaga; Junior 4th Rank Upper Grade, Chief of the *Jingi-kan*, *omi* Oonakatomi no Ason[120] Yasunori; The Great Counselor, Senior 3rd Rank, Chief of People's Affairs, *omi* Fujiwara no Ason Kiyotsura; Great Minister of the Left, Senior 2nd Rank, Major Captain of the Left Palace Guards and Protector of the Heir Apparent, *omi* Fujiwara no Ason Tadahira.

[119] *Sukune* 宿祢(禰) was also a former *kabane* title and was third in Temmu's list.

[120] *Ason*, or *asomi* 朝臣, was the second *kabane* in the list of eight. Although the system of Court ranks by numbers and grade superseded the old *kabane* system, nevertheless nobles whose families had held the *kabane* titles persisted in using both the old and new titles with their names.

Chapter Two

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK SEVEN

THE GREAT NEW FOOD FESTIVAL OF THE ENTHRONEMENT

THERE ARE three elements in the Japanese enthronement ceremonies of the Nara and Heian periods which are distinguished by name. The first is the accession, or succession to the throne, called *sokui*. It literally means 'attaining rank', although the Heir Apparent in truth rises above all ranks to the high level of emperor upon the demise or the abdication of the previous sovereign.[121] The second element is the *senso* or 'treading the throne' ceremony, as Dr Holtom has called it.[122] The actual characters (*kanji*) of *senso* have almost the same meaning as *sokui*, for they signify ascending to honor or happiness or rank. It is just as well, for as we study the procedures in Book VII of the *Engi-shiki* we do not find that the sovereign treads or even sits upon a throne, nor does he become crowned with any crown. The third element is the great feast of the enthronement. This commences with the *Daijō* (Great New Food), a feast of communion by the sovereign with the *kami* of the imperial line. It is followed by the partaking of sacred food by the princes, princesses, Court nobles, and all officialdom, as well as by the representatives of the selected provinces and taboo districts which have produced the sacred rice and other foods for the communion feast. The pageantry and conferring of ranks and the singing and dancing to celebrate the great event of a new reign follow the sacred feasting. The 'throne treading', if we wish to call it that, is part and parcel of the *Daijō* ceremonies, and hence the name, *Senso Daijō-sai*, for this greatest of festivals.

The festival of the sovereign's tasting the first-fruits of the rice harvest in the presence of the ancestral *kami* was an annual event of the Yamato Court. When that same festival was held for the first time after the accession of a new sovereign it was called the Great New Food Festival of the Enthronement, *Oonie no matsuri* or *Oomube no matsuri* (*Daijō-sai* in Sino-Japanese pronunciation). On the other

[121] According to the law, the sovereign is above the ranks. The Taihō civil code set up four upper-echelon ranks called *hon* 品. The first *hon* included imperial princes (sons or brothers of the sovereign). Others related to him in less degree came in the 2nd and 3rd *hon*. No rank is assigned to the sovereign. See Kubomi, *Taihō-ryō shinkai*, p. 2.

[122] D. C. Holtom, *Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies* (1928), p. 57 (47).

hand, the annual festival was called the *Niiname no matsuri* (*Niiname-sai*). In both names the element *nie, mube, nahe*, or *name* is represented by the same character, which meant food offered to the *kami*. The festival of first-fruits had its beginnings in the earliest days of the agricultural society of Yamato. Did not the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-ō-mikami, celebrate the harvest festival in her 'Hall of First Fruits', as told in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*? Again, did not Jimmu Tennō, the first earthly sovereign, celebrate in the fourth year of his reign the tasting of the first-fruits of the harvest together with the *kami*? According to the *Nihongi* the tradition was that for 38 reigns, from the legendary Suisei to Temmu, each sovereign held at the commencement of his reign a banquet of the first-fruits of the rice harvest dedicated to the *kami*.[123] In the record of the Takahashi Uji, a noble family, descriptions of the 'first' celebration of the festivals of 'Divine Tasting' and 'Great New Food' (*Kamunie* and *Oonie* respectively) by Keiko Tennō are given in the first year of his reign.[124] There is no question that the offering of the first-fruits of the harvest to the ancestral *kami* and the *kami* of food was intricately bound up in the life of the sovereign and of the people in this agricultural society of pre-Nara.

When we come to the time after the codes of law were drawn up—the *ritsu-ryō* period starting in the latter seventh and continuing into the eighth century—we find that the *Taihō-ryō* (Taihō codes) of A.D. 701–2 were quite vague about any distinction between the accession and the celebration of the Great New Food Festival. The *Yōrō-ryō* (Yōrō civil code) of 718 stated only that the *Daijō-sai* must be held at the commencement of a new reign. This is stated in the section on *jingi-ryō* (laws concerning *kami* affairs) and also in the *shokuin-ryō* (laws for administrative personnel).

But by the time the *Gishiki* were compiled in the Jōgan era (859–77) the two separate terms, *Niiname-sai* and *Daijō-sai*, had come into use. Therefore the distinction between these two forms of the festival was established some time between the completion of the Yōrō Codes in 718 and the Jōgan era in the Heian period. This points to a growth and development in the celebration of harvest festivals, and incidentally coincides with the growth and development of celebrations at the Ise Shrines, where an additional festival, the *Kanname-sai*, or *Kamunie no matsuri*, festival of first-fruits to the deities, was celebrated (only at the Ise Shrines) annually in the 9th month.

The particular procedures that characterize the *Daijō-sai* are testimony to the sacredness of rice and to the reverence for the *kami* shown in the ceremonies in which the sovereign offers a feast of the new rice, sake, and other products of the field and ocean to the *kami* in a kind of sacred communion. The preparation for this feast must begin in the early spring, when the rice paddies which are to produce the sacred grain to be used in these particular ceremonies must be selected.

[123] Amaterasu-ō-mikami had a 'new palace' in which to celebrate the first-fruits festival. Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 40–1. See note on *Shinjō-sai*, p. 86; for the celebration attributed to Jimmu Tennō, p. 122; for that of Nintoku Tennō, p. 292, etc.

[124] D. E. Mills, *Takahasi uzibumi*, p. 132. Keiko was the 12th sovereign.

Purified paddies were selected in different parts of the country for two respective crops of rice—the *yuki* and *suki*, respectively. In the early stages of the celebration of the *Daijō-sai* the *yuki* paddies were variously located in Tamba, Inaba, Mino, Mikawa, Ise, and Echizen, showing a scattering to east and west of the capital. Similarly, the *suki* fields were selected in the provinces of Harima, Owari, Echizen, Misaka, Hizen, Bitchū, Tamba, and Inaba, the distribution being both east and west of the capital. But after the reign of Daigo Tennō, it became regularized to a pattern of choosing *yuki* paddies in districts (or provinces) east and south of the capital, while *suki* were selected to the north and west of the capital.[125]

One of the values of the seventh book of the *Engi-shiki* is that it gives some information about the functions of the sovereign. In all the other books based on the *jingi-ryō* we find almost no mention of the participation of the sovereign in religious ceremonies. For instance, the function of the Court in the worship of the ancestral Great Deity at the Ise Shrines is delegated to the Consecrated Princess, who spent only a part of her career in residence at the Shrines. The national festivals whose procedures appear in Books I–III mention only 'officialdom' and occasionally include mention of the imperial princes who participate in festivals. In Book VII we find the special vocabulary used only for an emperor and we find a description of his movements during the elaborate ceremonies which span several days. The *yuki* and *suki* rites took place on two successive nights; for it is during the dead of night that the *kami* descend to receive offerings of food and drink in sacred communion with the incarnate *kami*, the sovereign. The sacredness and solemnity of the entire proceedings are evident from the language and the rigidity of procedures.

Comparison of the procedures written in the *Engi-shiki* to those used for enthronement ceremonies of modern times will reveal great differences. Performance of ceremonies declined in the late Heian and Kamakura periods and dwindled into oblivion during the Oonin Wars of the fifteenth century. Later, under Tsunayoshi, the fifth Tokugawa shogun, there was a partial revival of imperial ceremonies. The full revival did not come about until the Meiji Restoration. By that time, however, both nomenclature and the form of the ceremonies, buildings, and procedures were markedly altered. The enthronement ceremonies of the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa emperors are not exact replicas of what took place in the Nara and Heian periods. The imperial visits to the Grand Shrine of Ise and to imperial mausolea are among the additions of recent times.

To facilitate understanding of the succession of events for the Great New Food Festival of the Enthronement, an outline is given below of the items of Book VII which are analyzed by Miyagi Eishō as having historical precedent at the time of compilation of the *Engi-shiki*.

[125] *Kokugakuin zasshi*, vol. 34, 1935, p. 2.

The Items of Book VII

1 Matter of selecting the month [for the festival]
2 Messengers for the Great Purification
3 Presentation of offerings
4 August Lustration (*gokei*)
5 *Kami* along the way
6 Abstinences
7 Rice-in-ear for various purposes
8 Plucking the grain
9 Deities to be worshiped in the Sacred Districts
10 Details of plucking the grain
11 The *tametsu* rice
12 Protection of moors
13 The cooking enclosure
14 The sacred areas
15 Kanhatori [weavers of sacred raiment]
16–21 Various utensils to be made and furnished by the provinces of Kawachi, Izumi, Owari, Mikawa, and Bizen
22 Ceremonial vessels to be made
23 Tribute goods from Kii Province
24 Articles to be made by Awaji Province
25 Tribute goods from Awa Province
26 Messengers to procure ceremonial articles
27 Sake and rice
28 Ashes (to be prepared)
29 The Daijō-gū (temporary palace for the Great Food Festival)
30 The Kairyū-den (Sovereign's Ablution Hall)
31 Shields and spears for the *kami*
32 Sacred raiment (*miso*)
33 August *tatami* mats
34 Cooking procedures
35 Narrators (*kataribe*)
36 Ceremonial clothing (*saifuku*)
37 Distribution of symbolic offerings (procedures on the day of the hare)
38 Offerings of coarse-cloth raiment (*aratae no miso*)
39 Procedures on the day of the dragon
40 Procedures on the day of the snake
41 Procedures on the day of the horse
42 Depuration (*gesai*)
43 Great Purification (*ōharae*)
44 *Ootono-hogai* (Luck-wishing for the Palace)[126]

[126] E. Miyagi, *Engi-shiki no kenkyū*, 1, pp. 129–57.

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK SEVEN

Senso Daijō-sai[127]

THE GREAT FOOD FESTIVAL OF THE ENTHRONEMENT

Translation

WHENEVER the accession to the throne takes place by the 7th month of a given year the *Senso Daijō-sai* is held in that year; if in the 8th month or later, then the festival is held in the following year. (This refers to accession after abdication and does not mean enthronement after national mourning for the death of a Sovereign.)[128] In the given year, the officials in charge determine by divination beforehand the provinces and districts for the *yuki* and *suki*.[129] When the announcement has been made the orders are handed down according to precedent, and then they determine who shall supervise and who shall conduct the ceremonies.

At all times, there are Imperial Messengers for the Great Purification. In the first decade of the 8th month these are selected by divination and then dispatched: one to Left and Right Capital Offices, one to the five inner provinces, one for each of the seven circuits.[130] In the second decade once more Imperial Messengers are selected by divination and again dispatched: one to Left and Right Capital, one to the five inner provinces, one each to the provinces of Oomi and Ise. On the last day of the month the civil officials residing in the capital assemble and perform purification as they do for the ceremony for the two seasons.[131]

[127] The native reading for *Senso Daijō-sai* is *Senso-ōmube-no-matsuri*, or, according to *Nihon kigen* 日本記諺, 'Amanohitsugi wo fumu ōnae no matsuri'. Translation is 'Great food for the treading of the succession of heavenly light'. The element *jō* 嘗 may be read *nahe, name, nie*, or *mube*, any one of which is an archaic word for food. Since *ahe* alone meant 'food', the *n-* may mean 'new'; in any case, the connotation is of food offered to the *kami*: sacred food.

[128] National mourning after the death of a sovereign lasted one year.

[129] The etymology of *yuki* and *suki* is not altogether certain, and the terms are written with different characters in different texts. The *E-S* uses 悠紀 and 主紀, respectively, in this book. In Bk VIII 由貴 is used for *yuki*. According to D. C. Holtom, *yuki* most probably meant 'consecrated-purified' [from *yufu*, to taboo, and *ki*, pure], while *suki* appears to be related to *tsugi*, meaning 'following' or 'next'. Thus the first food-offerings are *yuki* and the second are the *suki no yuki* (*tsugi no yuki*). (*Suki* is written 次 in the *Nihongi*.) See *Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies* (1928), pp. 117–18 (90, 93-4).

[130] The five inner provinces (*kinai*) were Yamashiro, in which the capital was situated, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu. The seven circuits (*shichidō*) were the groupings of provinces into regions: Tōkaidō, Tōsandō, Hokurikudō, San'indō, Nankaidō, San'yōdō, and Saikaidō.

[131] Meaning the twice-yearly Great Purification, *ōharae* 大祓, performed for the Court and the nation on the last day of the 6th month and the last day of the 12th month. In Bk VIII the ritual for this ceremony appears: the *ōharae no kotoba*.

At all times, after the Imperial Messengers for the Great Purification have left, the messengers are dispatched with offerings to the Deities of Heaven and Earth.[132] To the Shrine of the Great Deity[133] are sent: one Prince of 5th Rank or higher, one Nakatomi, one Imbe, one *urabe* diviner; and to the five inner provinces and the seven circuits, one person each. (Members of Nakatomi and Imbe Uji serve for these latter.) The procedure for these symbolic offerings at each of the major places[134] is: 5 *shaku* of stiff silk, 1 *shaku* each of five colors of thin pongee, 1 skein of silk thread, 1 *ton* of floss silk, 2 *ryō* of bark-cloth, 5 *ryō* of hemp; and for each of the minor places: 3 *shaku* of stiff silk, 1 skein of silk thread, 1 *ton* of floss silk, 2 *ryō* of bark-cloth, 5 *ryō* of hemp, and, altogether, 90 leaf-mats for wrapping. For all these Treasury goods are to be used.[135] (Major places and minor places refer to the various shrines which celebrate the *Toshigoi* Festival.)[136] Also 70 *ryō*[137] of rope, 52 porters, 52 carrying-poles.

At all times, when the Sovereign[138] goes down to the streamside to perform lustration in the last decade of the 10th month, the requirements are: 8 *shaku* each of five colors of thin pongee, 8 *shaku* each of five colors of stiff silk, 4 *tan* of tax cloth for august garments, 2 *tan* of tax cloth for kneeling-cushions for [reciting] the ritual,[139] 8 *kin* of Aki bark-cloth, 2 great *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 19 sheets of yellow-bark, 4 mattocks, 6 *kin* each of abalone and bonito, 2 *to* of dried salmon, 8 *shō* of salt, 8 *kin* of assorted seaweeds, 4 *to* each of sake and rice, 4 *soku* of rice-in-ear, 4 food-mats, 20 bundles of oak, 8 saucers, 8 jars, 2 gourds, two palanquins, 6 porters.

At all times, when the Sovereign progresses to perform lustration symbolic offerings are to be presented to the *kami* along the way; for each: 1 *shaku* each of 5 colors of thin pongee (5 *shaku* for major and 3 *shaku* for minor presentations); 1 skein of silk thread, 1 *ton* of floss silk, 2 *ryō* of bark-cloth, 5 *ryō* of hemp; porters to wrap [articles] in leaf-mats (these last two are in proportion to the number of offerings).

At all times, when the Sovereign progresses, the Sacred Maidens and diviner's assistants[140] who serve as escorts are provided with riding horses.

[132] This is the double binomial *tenshin chigi*, or *amatsu-kami kunitsu-kami* 天神地祇, the *kami* that dwell in heaven and the *kami* that dwell on earth, or heavenly *kami* and earthly *kami*.

[133] Meaning the shrine of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-ō-mikami, in the Province of Ise.

[134] 'Places' means shrines, but the categories of 'major' (*dai* 大) and 'minor' (*shō* 小) actually refer to the *kami* that are enshrined therein. These distinctions are made in the list of shrines comprising Bks IX and X of the *E-S*, below. (See Introduction to Bks IX and X.)

[135] That is, tax goods which are stored in the Treasury (*ōkura-shō*) are used to supply these symbolic offerings. This paragraph makes clear the method of distributing official symbolic offerings from the *Jingi-kan* to government-supported shrines throughout the country.

[136] The *Toshigoi* Festival is the first festival of the agricultural year, celebrated on the 4th day of the second month, with offerings made to 3,132 *kami*, of which 492 were major deities and 2,640 were minor. Again, this information is given in the list of shrines in Bks IX and X.

[137] This *ryō* 了 is a unit of length, not weight, believed to have been 7 *shaku* (approx. 8½ ft). Headnote in *Kokushi taikei* ed. of *E-S*, p. 143.

[138] Here the title 'sumeramikoto' 天皇, also read *tennō*, is used for the sovereign.

[139] The kneeling-mat is used when the Nakatomi recites (i.e. reads aloud) the *norito* (ritual) for the *Daijō-sai*, text of which is given below in Bk VIII, ritual no. 14, The Great New Food Festival.

[140] *Heza* 戸座 were young boys who assisted the *urabe* diviners with making fires and doing other tasks connected with the heating of tortoise-shells for divination.

At all times, there is to be one month of partial abstinence[141] (starting the first day of the 11th month and lasting through the last day); total abstinence is for three days (starting on the ox day and ending on the hare day). This month of abstinence is announced in advance to the officials in charge, and when the order[142] is handed down to the inner provinces no one may participate in Buddhist fasts or maigre feasts. The language to be used is: 'death' is called 'getting well', illness is called 'slumber', to weep is 'to shed salt', to strike is 'to caress', blood is called 'sweat'; meat is called 'vegetables', and a tomb is called 'clod of earth'.[143]

At all times, the rice-in-ear required for the *Daijō* celebration is furnished to the extent of 10,000 *soku* from each province as regular taxes,[144] as well as tribute and taxes and crops produced by the males[145] in the district where divination is done; if there are sustenance villages[146] in that district then villages of other districts combine some of their rice with the former. But if both provinces are asked for more rice-in-ear, they deal with it on a temporary basis, supplying in accordance with what is asked for. (To substitute therefor the regular taxes are raised; the increase is then used to make up the need.)

At all times, the paddies for grain to be plucked number 6 *tan* in each province. (Paddies worked by the farmers are to be used; to substitute, let it be made up out of regular taxes.) In the first decade of the 8th month the [*Jingi-*] *kan* is asked to send one chief diviner and three *urabe* diviners, who are to be dispatched two to each of the two provinces. One of them is named the diviner of the rice-ears[147] and one is named priest diviner.[148] Upon reaching the respective provinces they each go to the sacred district,[149] where they perform purification rites. (For this are required: 1 horse, 1 sword, 1 bow, 1 deerhide, 1 *tan* of tax cloth, 1 *kin* of bark-cloth, 4 *kin* each of bonito and abalone, 4 *kin* each of *wakame* and *arame*,[150]

[141] Partial abstinence, *ara-imi* 散齋, was practiced for a whole month prior to this 'great' festival. Total abstinence, *ma-imi* 致齋, was practiced for the three days prior to the festival day. The *Daijō-sai* is the only festival of the 'great' category, according to *E-S* Bk I. In contrast, for festivals of 'middle' category (*Toshigoi, Tsukinami, Kanname, Niiname,* and *Kamo*), the requirement was three days of partial abstinence and one day of total abstinence preceding the festival day.

[142] The order is a *fu* 符, an official government directive. Most such orders were handed down from the *Dajō-kan* and were called *dajō-kampu*, though occasionally the *Jingi-kan* issued a *jingi-kampu*.

[143] It will be noted that this list is the same as the one given in Bk VI as words tabooed in the presence of the Princess of Kamo. See n. 23 above.

[144] *Shōzei* or *ōchikara* 正稅 is the regular tax on the land, paid in rice to government collectors. Rice so collected was stored in government granaries in the capital and used for general expenses. R. K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, A, p. 222. Sansom calls it 'tax proper'; *TASJ*, ser. I, XI, p. 127.

[145] Namely, *chūnan* 中男 (same meaning as *shōchō* 少丁)—who, according to the Taihō code, were the young workers—males of ages 17 through 20. In the 9th year of Tempyō-shōhō (757) it was changed to 18 through 21. *Nihonshi-jiten.*

[146] The *fugō* 封郷 were villages (*sato*) designated to furnish sustenance rice (or goods) to support the Imperial House.

[147] *Ina-no-mi-no-urabe* 稲實卜部, a diviner appointed to determine the ripening of the rice-ears.

[148] That is, a *negi-no-urabe*. For *negi*, see n. 74 above.

[149] *Saigun* 齋郡, 'taboo' district, set aside for the cultivation of sacred rice for the *yuki* and *suki* feasts.

[150] *Arame* 滑海藻 or 麁布, an edible seaweed, *Ecklonia bicyclis* or *Eisenia bicyclis*; modern-day *manakashi*.

4 *to* each of rice and sake, 4 *shō* of salt, which the respective districts prepare; moreover, for each village: 1 knife, 1 quiver, 1 mattock, 1 *kin* of hemp, 1 *soku* of rice-in-ear.) That completed, they select by divination the rice paddies and the various functionaries for the sacred area. (Men and women singers are not determined by divination.) One *sakatsuko*[151] (an unmarried daughter of the prefect or assistant prefect of that district is selected by divination for this). One honorable *sakanami*,[152] one sifter of flour, 2 helpers, one *tametsu*[153] *sakanami* (the foregoing all women); one lord of the rice-ears,[154] one ash-burner, four firewood-cutters, 20 singers, 20 women singers. When these are ready, the sacred area is propitiated.[155] For this the symbolic offerings are: 5 *shaku* each of five colors of thin pongee, 3 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 5 *shaku* of colored hempen cloth, 2 mattocks, 2 each of axes, hatchets, and sickles, 2 *hiki* of pongee for lustrous robes[156] for two diviners, 2 *tan* of tribute cloth, 8 *ton* of floss silk; and for the *sakatsuko* and *sakanami*: 3 *tan* 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* of tribute cloth, 1 ½ *ton* of floss silk, 1 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu* of sewing thread. For all these Treasury goods are to be used. (But the sake and food for the propitiation festivals are furnished by the respective provinces.) A Hall of Eight Deities[157] is to be built (4 *jō* long, 1 *jō* wide), and one sacred shelter for the rice[158] (2 *jō* long, 8 *shaku* wide), one administrative building (4 *jō* long, 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* wide), one shelter for the lord of the rice-ears, one shelter for the *sakatsuko* and others (each 2 *jō* long and 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* wide), all to be made of unpeeled wood and thatched with grasses; the side walls to be made of grasses. One well is to be dug (a roof built over it). There are to be 16 square *jō* within the compound; brushwood is to be used for the fences, and wood to make the doors. Within this sacred compound eight *kami* are to be worshiped (Mitoshiro-no-kami, Takami-

[151] The *sakatsuko* 造酒兒, lit. 'brewer', was the young girl entrusted with the sacred duties of initiating the plucking ceremony, in which the ripened rice plants are plucked whole (not cut off) out of the paddies; of initiating the preparation of a sacred site for storing the rice; and of initiating the cutting of wood used for the buildings erected for the ceremonies, and the cutting of grass to thatch them.

[152] The *on-sakanami* 御酒波, 'honorable sake women', were those who serve the sovereign by brewing sacred sake under the direction of the *sakatsuko*.

[153] *Tametsu* (多明) means 'having delicious flavor'. *Tametsu-mono* are delicacies. The term appears in the *Kojiki* for the viands which came forth from the head and body of the Food Goddess, after she was slain. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 87.

[154] *Ina-no-mi-no-kimi* 稲實公 may be the 'lady' or the 'lord' of rice-ears.

[155] *Shizumu* 鎮む is to pacify or to calm the spirits of the area in order to prevent any evil influences, natural disaster, or pollution from endangering the cultivation of the pure rice.

[156] Lustrous robes, *akawa* or *myōe* 明衣, were a type of sacred dress (*saifuku*) worn to maintain ritual purity during festivals. They were white robes of lustrous raw silk, worn over the customary clothing. *Kōgaku sōsho* ed. of *E-S*, III, p. 62; *Shintō daijiten*, III, p. 325.

[157] Hasshin-den 八神殿, a building within the sacred compound of buildings in which the *kami* connected with food and the growing of rice are enshrined. The list is given in the text and includes Mitoshiro (Mitoshi-no-kami), a god of rice cultivation; Takami-musubi, an ancestral spirit worshiped by the Imperial House; Niwatakatsuhi, offspring of Ootoshi-no-kami, an agricultural and land-protecting deity; Oomiketsu, the Food Goddess; Oomiya-no-me, another ancestral deity of the Imperial House, worshiped within the Imperial Sake Office; Kotoshironushi, offspring of Ookuninushi-no-kami, and associated with Izumo myths; Asuha, also offspring of Ootoshi-no-kami, and a protector of land and gardens; and Haigi, protector of houses and buildings. See also nn. 170 and 309.

[158] *Imiya* 齋屋 is a 'taboo dwelling' or hut. I use 'shelter' to translate *ya* in this passage, as they are small and temporary buildings.

musubi-no-kami, Niwatakatsuhi-no-kami, Oomiketsu-no-kami, Oomiya-no-me-no-kami, Kotoshironushi-no-kami, Asuha-no-kami, and Haigi-no-kami). The symbolic offerings for each presentation: 4 *shaku* of stiff silk, 1 *shaku* of each of five colors of thin pongee, 1 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 1 *ryō* of bark-cloth, 1 skein of silk thread, 1 *ton* of floss silk, 1 *tan* of ordinary cloth, 1 mattock, 1 *soku* of rice-in-ear, 4 *shō* each of rice and sake, 2 *kin* each of abalone, bonito, and *wakame*, 2 *shō* each of dried meat and salt. For all of these the products of the province are to be used.

At all times, eight *kami* are to be worshiped in the sacred compounds of the sacred districts (the two provinces provide lustrous robes and quilts to each).

At all times, for plucking the rice plants the diviners lead the governor of the province, the prefects of the districts and on down to lower functionaries to the rice paddies to pluck the grain. First the *sakatsuko*, then the lord of the rice-ears, then the *sakanami*, then the lower functionaries, then commoners, in succession pluck the grain. Then it goes to the sacred compound where it is dried and stored. Then they begin to divide it up, taking the first 4 *soku* which were plucked (4 bundles making a *soku*).[159] They measure the amount for the august cooked-rice offerings, the rest they measure for the two kinds of sake, both dark and light. Then it is all heaped into baskets, 1 *soku* in each basket. Two baskets make a load; supports are put under each load. Covers are made from woven reeds,[160] and on them *sakaki* branches are inserted and bark-cloth festooned. When that is done workers on foot take up the loads; for every 10 loads there is one junior attendant to urge them on. Diviners, governors, and prefects lead the lower functionaries and others. Forward and backward they supervise the transportation. In the procession the rice-in-ear for the august cooked rice is carried first, the remainder follows this. The lord of the rice-ears wears a bark-cloth headdress[161] and shows the way. They reach the capital in the last decade of the 9th month. Divination is done outside the limits of the sacred area. A temporary shelter is built beforehand and the august rice is stored therein for a while.

At all times, in the *yuki* and *suki* provinces the districts selected by divination must apportion and furnish 30 *koku* of *tametsu* rice (for *tametsu* sake), 40 short *tatami* mats, 70 seat-mats, 70 long mats, 50 split-bamboo mats, and 300 workers on foot who are sent to transport this rice and are to be urged on in the same way as those for the plucked rice plants.

At all times, the mountains where materials for the *Daijō* buildings[162] and oak leaves for sacred food offerings are to be gotten, as well as the moors where reeds for thatching are to be cut, and ground to be used for the sacred areas, are all to be

[159] Usually one *soku* 束 equals 10 *wa* 把, or bundles. Here *soku* of only 4 *wa* are specified, probably because they were uncut sheaves, roots and all.

[160] *Kaya* 茅, an arundo, *Miscanthus sinensis*.

[161] *Yuukazura* 木綿鬘 are sacred fillets of bark-cloth (not a 'wig'). The use of them attests to the great sanctity of this festival. They had the form of a narrow band of bark-cloth around the head tied in a double bow at the back.

[162] This means the lumber for constructing the buildings—Yuki-den and Suki-den—within the *Daijō* enclosure set up for this festival in the capital.

selected by divination by the members of the *Jingi-kan* and the governors of the provinces together in the first decade of the 8th month. (In divining the sacred area, first it is exorcized; required articles for this are forwarded by the respective provinces.) When that is done, the fact is announced to the *Jingi-kan*. And the prefect in whose district the mountains and moors are situated is made to keep them under taboo and prevent any defiled person[163] from entering them. The mountain from which materials for the august *koto* for the Pacification of August Spirits[164] are gathered is subject to the foregoing procedure; there are to be four kite-tail *koto*[165] which the *Jingi-kan* orders the Bureau of Skilled Artisans to construct and send up.

At all times, the compound where the august foods are to be cooked and the food for the officials under particular taboo[166] is to be prepared must be selected by divination at a place conveniently near the Palace. When that is done the festival of propitiation takes place. Symbolic offerings for this are: 1 *shaku* each of 5 colors of thin pongee, 1 *shaku* colored hemp-cloth, 1 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 2 *ton* of floss silk, 4 *tan* of commercial cloth,[167] 5 mattocks, 4 *shō* of rice, 1 *to* of sake, 1 *kin* each of abalone and *wakame*, 2 *tan* of tribute cloth for emoluments to *hafuri*; for all these, products of the province are to be used. (For the other festivals the kinds and amounts of offerings are not stated, as all duplicate these.) To be built: 1 shelter for food offerings, 1 sake shelter, 1 shelter for offerings to the *kami*, 1 for utensils, 1 for Palace cooks, 1 for serving the august foods, 1 for cooking the different kinds of fish, and 1 for preparation of foods (for the foregoing shelters: the number and dimensions of them may vary according to the demands of the affair). All are to be built of boards and thatched. One well is to be dug. The compound is to have a gate opening on each of the four sides. When the building of these is done, the diviners of the rice-ears enter the compound and perform exorcism. Articles required for this are sent up by the respective provinces.

At all times, the sacred area in the capital is set up in advance and divided in two: the *yuki* is to the left and the *suki* to the right. The two provinces are to send the plucked grain. When it has reached the capital, first the ground is hallowed. When that is done the *sakatsuko* first takes the sacred spade;[168] then they begin

[163] *Kegare-bito* or *enin* 穢人 is a person who is unclean, having suffered a defilement. Ceremonial defilement occurred if one came into contact with pollution from birth, death, illness, blood, burial service, etc., as outlined in Bk III of *E-S*.

[164] The *Chinkon-sai* or *Mitama-shizume-no-matsuri*, or *Oomitama-furi-no-matsuri*, was the festival for pacifying or calming the spirits of the sovereign and the ancestral *kami*, held in the 11th month. See Bk VIII, no. 15.

[165] The *shibi-no-ongoto* or *tobi-no-o-goto* was in ancient times a kind of zither with six strings, the narrow end in the form of a large bird's tail. A latter-day one with 13 strings may be seen in the Chōkokan Museum of the Grand Shrine of Ise.

[166] *Omibito* 小齋人 ('lesser avoidance persons') are the participating officials who are under the strictest abstinence because they serve in the intimate presence of the *kami* and the sovereign during the *Niiname-sai* and *Daijō-sai* festivals. They wear purified clothing, *omigoromo*; are selected to serve by divination; refrain from use of any of the taboo words (*imikotoba*); abstain from eating meat. The *omibito* are contrasted with *ōmibito*, persons under general taboo or general avoidance.

[167] *Tan'i*, or *shōfu* 商布, was hemp-cloth used as a medium of exchange. (See tax cloth, n. 31, and tribute cloth, n. 71.)

[168] The 'taboo spade' or 'taboo mattock' is *imi-suki* 齋鍬. Similarly, below we find the *imi-ono* 齋斧 'taboo axe' or cult axe.

to sweep the ground; then holes for the posts at the four corners of the enclosure are dug. The diviners lead the provincial governors and prefects of the districts and all those down to laborers. They go into the mountain selected by divination and cut the wood; then they worship the *kami* of the mountain, and that done, the *sakatsuko* first takes a sacred axe and commences to chop a tree. After this the different laborers lay hands to the work. (Cutting the timber for the Daijō-gū duplicates this.) Again, the diviners lead the prefects and lower functionaries to the moors selected by divination to cut the reeds.[169] Then they worship the *kami* of the moors. That done, the *sakatsuko* first cuts the grass, then the various others lay a hand to it. (Cutting the grasses for the Daijō-gū duplicates this.) The sacred enclosure is divided into inner and outer compounds, for which brushwood is used to make the fences and wood to make the gates. In the inner compound the Hall of Eight Deities[170] is to be built, 1 shelter for the rice-ears, 1 shelter each for dark sake and light sake, and 1 storehouse, 1 shelter for sacred food offerings, 1 for mortars, 1 for Palace cooks, and 1 fermenting room. In the outer compound a shelter is to be built for *tametsu* sake, 1 storehouse, 1 shelter for cooking august offerings, 3 shelters for *tametsu* cooking, and 1 fermenting room (dimensions of the foregoing buildings are according to need). For all of them unpeeled wood is to be used, and reeds for thatching. The screening is done with reeds (but, for the fermenting rooms, walls must be painted). For the interiors, lengths of straw matting are to be used; for the sake shelters and fermentation rooms, straw matting is used for the ceilings[171] and bleached cloth for the interior. For the two wells: when the divining has been completed the *sakatsuko* commences to dig the august well and the diviners of rice-ears commence to dig the well which is for the *sakatsuko*. When the building of the two compounds is completed the august rice-ears are gathered into the rice-ear shelter, but the grain for the august cooked rice is separately stored on shelves built for it. The Eight Deities of August Food are to be worshiped inside the inner compound. (The symbolic offerings for this are the same as those preceding.)[172]

At all times, for the weaving of deity raiment,[173] the *Jingi-kan* dispatches one shrine chief[174] of the shrine of the Kanhatori in the first decade of the 9th month, and giving him a post-station bell,[175] sends him to Mikawa Province, where he

[169] The character 草 is interpreted to mean *kaya* (see n. 160) as in *fuki-kaya* 菅草, thatching grass or thatching reeds.

[170] Hasshin-den here enshrined the same eight *kami* for whom the hall in the fields was erected (n. 157 above). They differ from the eight gods of the *Jingi-kan* in respect to five, while Takami-musubi, Oomiketsu, and Kotoshironushi are common to both sets of eight. See the celebration of *Mitama-shizume* Festival, *E-S*, Bk II.

[171] A *nageshi* or *shōjin* 承塵, which is straw matting stretched overhead in place of a ceiling.

[172] The list of offerings appears above in the ninth paragraph after the list of names of the eight *kami*.

[173] The reading is *kammiso* (*wo oru*) 神服 (織) but the same characters are used for the Kanhatori (also written 神服部) Uji who were the hereditary group of weavers of divine raiment for presentation to the *kami*.

[174] *Kannushi* or *kamunushi* 神主, 'deity chief', or the chief priest of a shrine; in this case the family shrine of the Kanhatori Uji. See n. 297.

[175] The post-station bell, *ekirei* 驛鈴, was received by public messengers when riding from one province into another to permit them the use of post-station horses.

gathers together members of the deity households.[176] Then two chief weavers of deity raiment and six weaving women and two artisans are selected by divination. When that is done, the shrine chief leads the ten persons, from chiefs downward, and carrying 10 skeins of tribute silk-thread that the Kanhatori of said province have forwarded, he returns to the sacred area in the capital. First a worship service is held at the weaving house; after that they commence to weave. For building they need: 4 axes, 4 chisels, 4 knives, 4 planes, 3 gimlets,[177] and 3 fire-kindling sets (required for the foregoing: 3 *tei* of iron), 2 deerhides, 3 *kin* 4 *ryō* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 quiver, 4 mats, and 4 *tan* 8 *shaku* of tribute cloth for lustrous robes for the 10 men and women, all to be supplied from official goods. As for the halls for Kanhatori, there is 1 for each province, and 1 resthouse each for the men and the women Kanhatori, 1 resthouse for *hafuri* (dimensions of these are according to need), all to be built of unpeeled wood and thatched with reeds.

At all times, as to utensils which are required for the presentation of sacred offerings (in sacred language: *yukamono*):[178] the officials in charge must take careful note of the number of utensils needed and notify the [*Jingi-*] *kan* beforehand. In the first decade of the 8th month they depute scribes of the Imperial Household Ministry[179] and send them to oversee manufacture in five provinces: one scribe to Kawachi and Izumi, one to Owari and Mikawa, and one to Bizen. When they reach the province they first perform purification, then the manufacture commences. Symbolic offerings in each province are:

> 1 *jō* each of five colors of plain silk, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 4 mattocks, 2 bearskins, all to be supplied from Treasury goods.
>
> *Kawachi Province* is to make 20 rush boxes, 18 clay hand-basins, 18 large jars, 9 small hand-basins, 16 short-stemmed dishes, 16 jars for hot water, 16 small dishes, 20 coverless dishes, 120 tray-tables, 16 salt saucers, 8 rice-gruel dishes, 56 large dishes with front lip, 8 sake cups, 20 cups, 80 tray-tables, 80 stands for them, and 30 clay bowls.
> *Izumi Province* is caused to make 9 rush boxes, 1 Ike large jar, 10 great jars, 1 kettle, 6 oil dishes, 6 oil-dish stands, 2 oil jars, 6 chopping bowls.
> *Owari Province* is caused to make 8 jars, 50 jugs, 40 box-stands, 8 shallow earthenware vessels, 10 bowls, 32 short-stemmed dishes, 8 sake jars, 16 spouted vessels, 40 coverless saucers, 8 ceramic mortars, 8 decorated earthenware jars, 40 pedestalled dishes, 12 ritual clay urns,[180] 12 sake cups, and 8 sake pourers.

[176] *Shinko* 神戸, also pronounced *kambe*, were the households engaged in working or raising produce for a shrine; here, the households of Kanhatori. See n. 7 above.

[177] Some texts say: 'two gimlets'. These tools appear to be for the construction of their looms, and the other articles for ceremonial dress and for offerings.

[178] Sacred language, *shingo* 神語, is another way of saying archaic language. *Yukamono* breaks down into *yu*, meaning 'sacred' or 'taboo'; *ka*, ceremonial clay utensil; and *mono* 'things'. It is written here 雜器 (various utensils), or 由加物.

[179] *Kunai-shō no fubito* (*fumbito*) 宮內省史生.

[180] Translation for *tsubaha* 都婆波.

Mikawa Province is caused to make 40 *torosuki*,[181] 32 ritual clay urns (16 large and 16 medium sized), 8 ritual water-pitchers,[182] 60 each of *yamatsuki* and small saucers, 60 each of *itsuki* and spouted vessels.[183]

Bizen Province is caused to make 30 shallow earthenware vessels, 30 water-jugs and 60 ritual clay urns (30 large and 30 small), 30 earthenware jugs, 30 standing jugs, 30 sake pourers, 30 spouted vessels, 30 waste jars, 30 short-stemmed dishes, 30 *yamatsuki*, 30 coverless dishes, 30 sake cups, 30 small wine jars, 30 ceramic mortars, and 30 *itsuki*.

At all times, materials for the ceremonial utensils required for offerings to the *kami* are to be requested for the *Jingi-kan* in the first decade of the 9th month. Three diviners are deputed and dispatched to the three provinces.[184] They first perform great purification, then the affair takes place. Requirements: 1 horse, 1 sword, 1 bow, 20 arrows, 1 mattock, 1 deerskin, 1 *tan* of tax cloth, 8 *ryō* of bark-cloth, 1 *kin* of hemp, 2 *kin* each of abalone, bonito, *wakame*, and *arame*, 2 *shō* of salt, 2 *to* each of rice and sake (the foregoing are to be sent by the respective districts),[185] 1 horse, 1 sword, 1 bow, 20 arrows, 1 mattock, 1 deerskin, 1 *tan* of tax cloth, 1 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 4 *kin* each of bonito and abalone, 4 *kin* each of *wakame* and *arame*, 4 *to* each of sake and rice, 4 *shō* of salt (foregoing are to be sent by the two districts of Oe and Naka in Awa Province). For symbolic offerings and articles to be made for presentation to the *kami*, as well as requirements for the robes for the girl divers[186] (1 *jō* 4 *shaku* of ordinary cloth apiece), Treasury goods are to be used. But the provisions are to be supplied from regular taxes of those provinces, at 2 *shō* of rice per person per day. (Kii to provide for 7 days, Awa for 10 days.) When they have finished making the articles, the diviners forward these to the sacred area, dividing them between the two [*yuki* and *suki*] provinces; but the *arame* and bark-cloth presented by Awa Province are to be sent to the *Jingi-kan*.

As for the items to be presented by *Kii Province*, the 4 strings of thin-sliced abalone, 6 baskets each of fresh abalone and fresh periwinkle, 6 baskets each of *tsujimo* and *komo*,[187] 10 *ka* of salt-broiled periwinkle, are all to be gathered, weighed, and prepared by 10 girl divers of Kata [District]. Symbolic offerings for this require: 1 *shaku* each of 5 colors of thin pongee, 1 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 5 *ryō* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 leaf-mat, 10 chisels, and 2 knives to be used by the girl divers.

Awaji Province is to make 20 jars (each holding 1 *to* 5 *shō*), 100 shallow vessels (each holding 1 *to*), and 200 jars (1-*to* capacity). The symbolic offerings for

[181] *Torosuki* 等呂須伎, ceremonial clay dish.

[182] Translation for *tashiraka*, 多志良加.

[183] *Yamatsuki* and *itsuki* are varieties of pedestalled dishes; a spouted vessel is *hazō* (*hanzō*) 匜.

[184] The three provinces are Awa 阿波 on Shikoku, Kii (part of present Wakayama Pref.), and Awaji, the island in the Inland Sea.

[185] The districts (*kōri* 郡) in which the ceremonial articles are made, as Oe and Naka, which are mentioned.

[186] The *katsukime* 潜女, who dive for shellfish.

[187] These are two kinds of freshwater plant.

this are: 3 *shaku* each of 5 colors of thin pongee, 3 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 1 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 leaf-mat. Tools for making articles: 2 each of large mattocks, axes, hatchets, and sickles. When manufacture is finished, one member of the Ooshi of *atae* rank[188] of that province dons the bark-cloth headdress, carries the *sakaki* branch, and shows the way. *Awa Province* is to present 1 *tan* of *arame*, 6 *kin* of bark-cloth, 15 vessels of trout, 15 jars of pickled blossom and root of garlic, 15 baskets each of dried *shikukusa*,[189] sweet potatoes,[190] and citrus fruits[191] (Imbe prepare the foregoing); 45 nets of abalone, 15 jars of abalone sushi,[192] and 20 jars of small shellfish, sea-urchins, and oysters combined[193] (the foregoing gathered by 10 girl divers of Naka). Symbolic offerings for this are: 6 *shaku* each of 5 colors of thin pongee, 6 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 2 *kin* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 leaf-mat. Tools for preparing these: 4 each of large mattocks, axes, hatchets, and sickles, 12 chisels, 4 knives, 2 planes, and 3 fire-making sets, all of which the Imbe and diving girls measure out, make up, and prepare.

At all times, messengers from the three provinces of Kii, Awaji, and Awa take the ceremonial utensils. On the day they go up to the capital, the streets in the provinces on the way are swept and a welcome is given.

At all times, the rice for dark and light sake is to be pounded. The *sakatsuko* commences this and then the other women join in the pounding. When it is done the *kami* of the wells are worshiped, then the *kami* of the stoves. On the day they begin the brewing of the sake the *kami* of sake are again worshiped. Each province must have 4 great jars and 4 shallow clay vessels (2 each for dark sake and 2 for light sake; all to be furnished by the Office of Palace Tables), 4 large containers, 4 mortars, 4 pestles, 8 winnowing baskets, 3 rice-steamers, 8 large carrying-baskets, 8 flat boxes, 3 sake vats, 4 white-wood boxes, 2 split cypress-wood boxes, 2 large tables, 2 Kara chests, 1 large white-wood chest, 6 small boxes, 7 gourds, 4 dippers, 2 sieves for ashes, 2 sieves for flour; the great jars and shallow clay vessels are to be covered with bleached hemp-cloth. When brewing the *tametsu* sake 30 *koku* of rice prepared in the province are to be used.

At all times, one master brewer[194] of august sake in the Imperial Sake Office leads ash-burner and 5 underlings[195] and they go to the mountain for divining. First they worship the *kami* of the mountain, then they do the burning and get 1 *koku* of lye. They are to carry with them 1 each: hatchet, adze, and sickle, 2 white-wood boxes, and 2 rush-mats.

[188] One person of the Ooshi Uji of *atae* rank. These were formerly the local chieftains, *kuni-no-miyatsuko*, of Awaji and Sanuki provinces. A. Oota, *Nihon jōdai shakai soshiki*, pp. 569–70.

[189] *Shikukusa*, or *shiuno* 乾羊蹄.

[190] *Ie-no-imo* 蹲鴟.

[191] Small, thin-skinned sour oranges: *tachibana* 橘子.

[192] Sushi is fish or meat pickled and eaten with rice.

[193] Shellfish are here *shitatami* 細螺; the sea-urchins, *uni* 棘甲贏; and oysters, *kaki* 石花.

[194] *Miki no miyatsuko* 酒部: older name for brewers of august sake for the sovereign's use. (Later pronunciation: *sakabe*.)

[195] The *hasetsukai* 駈使 are those who work under shrine attendants or staff as brewers and assistants.

At all times, seven days before the festival, those who build the Daijō-gū, two officials, a Nakatomi and an Imbe of the *Jingi-kan*, in order of rank, lead the governor of the *yuki* province and the various functionaries, forming a single line. Again, the Nakatomi and Imbe separate from them and lead the governor of the *suki* province and those under him in manner similar to the others, all in a single file. These lines start from the east- and west-side gates of the Chōdō-in[196] and arrive at the palace ground (in the south garden of the Ryūbi-dō),[197] then the lines divide to left and right (*yuki* to the east and *suki* to the west). That ground is ceremonially pacified.[198] The respective provinces are made to prepare these symbolic offerings: 4 *tan* of tax cloth, 1 *kin* of Aki bark-cloth, 2 *kin* of Oshi bark-cloth, 2 *kin* of hemp, 8 mattocks, 1 *to* of rice, 2 *to* of clear sake, 8 *shō* of dark sake, 4 *kin* of abalone, 10 *kin* of bonito, 10 *kin* of *wakame*, 1 *to* 6 *shō* of dried meat, 4 *shō* of salt, 10 jars, 10 saucers. The *sakatsuko* from both provinces take *sakaki* branches, deck them with bark-cloth, and set them up in the four corners of the enclosure and at the gates. When that is done they take the consecrated spades (4 for each province, wrapped in cloth bags and tied with bark-cloth). They commence to dig the holes for the posts at the four corners of the hall, 8 spades to each hole; afterwards the various workers take over the digging at one time. That palace measures 21 *jō* 4 *shaku* from east to west, and 15 *jō* south to north. In the middle on the east side is the *yuki-in*, and on the west side is the *suki-in*. In the palace fence due south there is a gate. Within it there is a brushwood fence. On the east there is a gate; outside it a brushwood fence is to be built. (The *yuki* province builds this.) Again, there is a gate due north, inside it a brushwood fence; and there is a gate to the west, outside it a brushwood fence (the *suki* province builds this). The middle fence between the two structures is built by the two provinces. On the south end of the central fence 1 *jō* from the brushwood fence is a small gate (built by the two provinces). For the fences brushwood is used. Spears are planted in the eight fence-ends. Into them the branches of oak (*shii*) are inserted. (In ancient language they are called *shii no wae*.)[199] The various gates are 9 *shaku* in height, 8 in width (small gate less). *Shimoto*[200] is woven to make the doors. The Yuki Hall is to be built with one main hall (4 *jō* long, 1 *jō* 6 *shaku* wide), ridge going south to north. The 3 *ken* to the north form one room and the 2 to the south a chamber. On the south is a door. Screen matting forms the door. Across the roof-ridge are placed 8 crossbeams[201] and the gable-boards[202] are extended. For construction unpeeled wood is to be used, and for thatching, green miscanthus.

[196] The Chōdō-in, also called Hasshō-in, was the first building directly in front as one entered the Palace precinct (*dai-dairi*) at the Suzaku Gate.

[197] Lit. 'dragon's tail walk,' a route in an ornamental garden of the palace.

[198] *Shizume-matsuru*—the spirits of the ground are appeased and quietened so that no evil force or pollution may enter.

[199] *Shii no wae* 志比乃和惠

[200] *Shimoto* 楮, a native tree, also called *sarugaki* 猿柿 (*Diospyrus lotus*), wild persimmon; also equated with *beni-ringo* 紅林檎.

[201] *Katsuogi*, the ornamental crossbeams set on top of the ridgepole.

[202] *Chigi* or *higi* are the crossed barge-boards or gable-boards so prominent in the architecture of the Ise Shrines. This feature of shrine architecture occurs and reoccurs in the *norito* of Bk VIII.

Beams of cypress are used for the ceiling, horizontal trabeation is of straw matting, and the partitions are of miscanthus. Straw matting is used over the exterior and interior. On the ground tufted grasses[203] are spread. Added to the foregoing are coverings of split bamboo, and in the chamber straw matting is spread over the covering of split bamboo. On top of the straw matting are laid white-edged august *tatami*. On the *tatami* are placed triangular pillows.[204] (*Tatami* and pillows are installed by the Bureau of Housekeeping; the making of them is in the procedures for that Bureau.)[205] Curtains of ordinary cloth are hung before the doorways (to be hung by the Bureau of Palace Storehouses). On the east, south, and west sides of the building hang reed blinds on the outside, and on the inside are sliding doors of straw matting. But for 2 *ken* on the west side the blinds are furled up, leaving an open interval. In the northeast corner of the enclosure the house for the kitchen is built. (Length and width thereof are the same as for the main sanctuary.) The eaves run east to west. The eastern eaves are screened with oak brushwood. Under the east wall shelves are constructed. Along 3 *ken* of the west eaves foods are stored. On the north of the kitchen house the mortar house is built (1 *jō* 4 *shaku* long and 8 *shaku* wide). It is screened with oak brushwood and has a door on the west side. On the south and west sides of the two structures brushwood fences are to be built, making this a separate enclosure. To the southeast of the main sanctuary an august privy is to be constructed (1 *jō* long and 8 *shaku* wide). Its walls are like those of the main sanctuary. On its west side is a door.

The hall of the *suki-in* is made to conform to the foregoing. The construction of it is to be completed within five days. The Nakatomi and the Imbe lead the Sacred Maidens and others in consecrating the buildings and the gates. The symbolic offerings for this are: 3 *shaku* of each of 5 colors of thin pongee, 2 *ryō* of silk thread, 1 *kin* of Aki bark-cloth, 2 round boxes, 2 tables, 2 *shō* of rice, 2 *shō* of sake, 2 jars, and 2 saucers, all of these to be requested from the *Jingi-kan*. (Same for requirements for the propitiation ceremony later on.)

At all times, the Bureau of Carpentry builds the main sanctuary of the Kairyū-den[206] to the north of the Daijō-gū (4 *jō* long, 1 *jō* 6 *shaku* wide, the ridge running east to west; 3 *ken* of its west side are straw matting; doors are on the east and south.) It is built of unpeeled timbers and thatched with rushes. The horizontal timbers are covered with straw matting. (The various august items are all offered according to precedent by the officials in charge.)

At all times, 4 august shields are put up at the south and north gates of the Daijō-gū (each 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* long, upper width 3 *shaku* 9 *sun*, middle width 4 *shaku* 7 *sun*, bottom width 4 *shaku* 4 *sun* 5 *bu*; thickness 2 *sun*) and 8 spears likewise (each 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* long).[207] The Left and Right Outer Palace Guards request

[203] The particular type of grass is *atsuka* grass.

[204] This is the *sakamakura* 坂枕, a sloping pillow or bolster used by the sovereign when reclining on the august couch of thick mats.

[205] Procedures (*shiki*) for the Bureau of Housekeeping, *kamon-ryō* (under the Ministry of the Imperial Household), are given in Bk XXXVIII of the *E-S*.

[206] The *shōden* of the Kairyū-gū 廻立宮正殿.

[207] These cult shields and spears are of colossal size, as they are intended for the use of the *kami*.

these from the *Jingi-kan* in the first decade of the 9th month. The Bureau of Military Storehouses is caused to fashion and prepare them according to precedent. (Shields are made by the shield-makers' *uji* of Tamba Province; the spears by the Imbe Uji of Kii Province. After the celebration is over they are gathered up by the Outer Palace Guards.) Again, 6 great shields are set up at the Suzaku, Ooten, and Kaishō Gates,[208] as well as 12 spears, and the same Bureau is caused to prepare those.

At all times, 2 august garments are to be worn at the time of entering the Daijō-den; and also 3 quilts, 3 quilts to sleep on, 2 triangular pillows, 3 silken coronets,[209] 2 unlined garments of Mōda cloth,[210] 2 curtains, and 3 boxes, all to be cut, sewn, and made ready beforehand by the Bureau of Needlework (all put into chests). Further, the 8 quilts and 4 unlined garments to be presented to the *kami* in the same hall are to be sewn and prepared by the same Bureau.

At all times, there are required for the Daijō-den 12 long *tatami*, 6 short *tatami*, and 16 blinds, which are to be fashioned and made ready beforehand by the Bureau of Housekeeping.

At all times, august articles to be offered to the *kami* are to be prepared by the Office of Palace Tables: 80 pedestalled dishes (5 *sun* 5 *bu* in height, 7 *sun* in diameter, without covers and having 4 folding legs, each piled with 14 *ryō* each of Oki abalone and squid, 15 *ryō* of dried *bêche-de-mer*, 1 *shō* of dried fish, 10 *ryō* of seaweeds, and 5 *shaku* of salt). All these are placed on leaf-dishes which are covered with peaked leaf-mat covers, decoratively tied with strings of bark-cloth. And 80 flat dishes (height, diameter, and decoration same as the pedestalled dishes, but no folding legs; on each to be piled 5 *gō* of each of the various items to be offered), 40 *yamatsuki* (on each one, 1 *shō* each of mussel sushi and abalone sushi, decoration same as for flat dishes); 300 white boxes for coarse foods (1 *shaku* 5 *sun* long, 1 *shaku* 2 *sun* wide, 3 *sun* deep); 5 boxes to hold Azuma abalone (10 *kin* in each); 16 boxes to hold dried *bêche-de-mer* (12 *kin* each), 12 boxes to hold squid (6 *kin* in each); 4 boxes to hold Sado abalone (10 *kin* each); 15 boxes to hold boiled bonito, 1 unopened basket in each; 24 boxes to hold bonito (12 *kin* each), 55 boxes for dried meats, an unopened basket in each; 11 boxes for *yorito*[211] fish (1 *to* 5 *shō* in each); 2 boxes for salmon (10 in each box), 4 boxes for kelp (15 *kin* in each), 6 boxes for tangle (6 *kin* in each), 4 boxes for laver[212] (1 unopened basket each), 6 boxes for *wakame* (6 *kin* in each), 10 boxes for citrus fruits (10 *kage* in each), 5 boxes of pounded chestnuts (1 *shō* each), 5 boxes of flat chestnuts (20 baskets in each), 2 boxes dried persimmons (50 strings to a box), 5 boxes *nashi*[213] (1 *to* in each), 6 boxes boiled chestnuts (1 *to* in each), 2 boxes peeled chestnuts (2

[208] Three of the twelve main gates of the Imperial Palace.

[209] Hats of stiff silk, *katori no kōburi* 絹幞頭, which have a small crown and a large loop of fabric erect in the back, and are wrapped around with a fillet of white silk. T. Ema, *Shinshū yūsoku kojitsu*, p. 61.

[210] Mōda 望陀 cloth, from the district of that name in Kazusa (Kamitsufusa) Province.

[211] A small fish, perhaps whitebait.

[212] These three kinds of marine algae are kelp, *hirome* (or *kombu*) 昆布; tangle, *miru* 海松; and laver, *nori* 紫菜.

[213] *Nashi* are the round Japanese pears.

to in each), 3 boxes of ripe persimmons (1 *to* in each), 2 boxes of limes (3 *ka* each), 5 boxes of twisted *mochi*,[214] 5 boxes of *mametsuki*,[215] 10 boxes of soybean *mochi*, 10 boxes of redbean *mochi*, 5 boxes of *mukikata*,[216] and 5 boxes of rice-gruel (of the foregoing 6 items, in each box 6 portions). When the festival is over, all items up to and including the *yamatsuki* are placed in pure places in mountains or moors. The remainder are distributed among the officials in charge. The Imperial Sake Office is made to prepare 16 *torosuki* (each holding 5 *shō*), 32 ritual clay urns (16 to hold 1 *to* of sake each and 16 to hold 5 *shō*; 8 to be placed on each table), 8 shallow clay vessels (each holding 1 *koku* 5 *to*, and set on a table), 60 spouted vessels, 60 small sake cups (each to be placed in a box on top of the table), and 1 box of oak leaves[217] (placed on table). When the festival is finished, all items up to and including ritual clay urns again are placed in pure places in mountains or moors. The rest are distributed as above.

At all times, there must be 170 knives for use in cooking (88 long ones, 2 medium, and 80 small, all contained in boxes) which are to be made ready by the officials in charge, as well as 18 *kin* of bark-cloth and 3 *tan* 2 *jō* 4 *shaku* of tribute cloth for handcloths from official goods to be divided among [the personnel of] the two provinces.

At all times, the Mononobe,[218] Gate Guards,[219] and Narrators[220] who serve as Left and Right Outer Palace Guards, report to the *Jingi-kan* in the first decade of the 9th month. They are to count up the number and gather them together. The Mononobe [are assigned] 20 each to the Left and Right Offices of the Capital; the Gate Guards 2 each to Right and Left Offices of the Capital and 8 to Yamato Province, 3 to Yamashiro, 2 to Ise, 1 to Kii; and the Narrators are 8 to Mino, 2 to Tango, 7 to Tajima, 3 to Inaba, 4 to Izumo, and 2 to Awaji.

At all times, sacred robes are bestowed on the middle tiger day of the 11th month. Thirteen persons, from the chief of the *Jingi-kan* down to and including players of august *koto* (1 chief, 2 assistant chiefs, two secretaries, 2 recorders, 1 chief diviner, 2 masters of divination, 1 Sacred Maiden, 2 players of august *koto*), each receive a wadded silk tunic with design printed in blue[221] and one white divided skirt; 137 persons from scribes down to Kanhatori (4 scribes, 24 *kambe*,

[214] *Magari-mochi* 勾餅, a cake made of glutenous rice flour rolled in thin strips and twisted back and forth.

[215] *Sora-mame* ('horse beans', *Vicia faba*) cooked, peeled, and sweetened.

[216] Lit. 'twisted head' 捻頭, a confection.

[217] *Nagame-kashiwa* 長女柏, a variety of *kashiwa* oak (*Quercus dentata*).

[218] The Mononobe were hereditary 'armorers' attached to the Imperial Court. They were in charge of military matters and administering justice. As a family, the Mononobe Uji was of *muraji* rank (*kabane*) and were classed as *tomo-no-miyatsuko*, 'Court Chieftains'.

[219] The Gate Guards are Kadobe 門部, who guarded the gates of the Imperial Palace. This appeared to be either an hereditary or a temporary appointment, as seen by their role in Bk VI.

[220] The *kataribe* 語部 were narrators or reciters, an occupational group which had long functioned to transmit by word of mouth the myths, legends, and traditions of the Yamato Court and of local ruling families.

[221] These tunics, worn over the Court dress, were a form of sacred or ceremonial garb (*saifuku*). Instead of being pure white, these garments have a design rubbed on with blue dye, *aozuri* 青摺, the process being something like a silk-screen rubbing, though for convenience it is translated 'blue-printed'.

16 diviners, 12 official attendants,[222] 5 Imbe from Awa Province, and 76 Kanhatori) receive one blue-printed and unlined hempen garment each. For the Sacred Maidens and Sarume Maidens[223] clothing is as for the *Niiname* [Festival]. From princes who are under particular taboo downward, all have blue-printed tunics, while those of 5th Rank and above wear the red hanging sash (combining both light and dark color), and the rest all wear tied sashes. Princesses and palace women down to girl attendants also wear blue-printed tunics and red hanging sashes (5th Rank and above combine both light and dark colors). The rest all wear tied sashes. (Princes and down to girl attendants all wear *hikage* vines on their heads.[224] When the divining is completed these are all bestowed. On the night of the hare day 50 each of white-silk quilts and plain-cloth quilts are put in the place where those under particular taboo are on duty. (When the affair is over these are returned.) The Gate Guards, Narrators, and players of the Nara flute all receive blue-printed, plain-cloth, unlined tunics. The Mononobe receive dark-blue, plain-cloth, unlined tunics. The Ministry of Central Affairs requests in advance and receives the materials from the *Jingi-kan*. Sacred robes for *Jingi-kan* personnel are sewn and made ready by the Bureau of Needlework; the other articles to be sewn are sent to this bureau and then distributed. The two diviners of the rice-ears and the two *negi* diviners are each given Court robes of color prescribed for their rank.[225]

At all times, before the middle tiger day of the 11th month (if the hare day falls on the 1st of the month use the first tiger day), when the entire array of things, inside and out, is properly set in order (similarly to the usual arrangement at the beginning of the Pacification of August Spirits), at dawn on the day of the hare the *Jingi-kan* officials distribute the symbolic offerings for the various *kami* (that is, those to whom offerings are placed on top of the tables at the *Toshigoi* Festival); for each: 5 *shaku* of pongee, 1 *shaku* each of 5 colors of thin pongee, 1 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 2 *ryō* of bark-cloth, 5 *ryō* of hemp, 1 *yokura-oki*

[222] *Shibu* or *tsukaibe* 使部 were petty officials attached to the *Dajō-kan* and various ministries to perform clerical and other tasks. R. K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, B, p. 421.

[223] It says in the *Kogoshūi* that the Sarume-no-kimi are descendants of Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto (also known as Sarume-no-mikoto) and Saruda-hiko, both of whom are worshiped as phallic deities. Katō and Hoshino, op. cit. pp. 29–30. It also says the sacred symbolic dance or pantomime was the hereditary duty of the Sarume Family (ibid. p. 36). Their dancing may have added rhythmic and religious ecstasy to this solemn occasion. The dance of Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto in the myth of the Sun Goddess hiding in the cave was indeed a dance of deity possession.

[224] The *hikage no kazura* 日蔭鬘 was a garland of *hikage* vine, a low-growing, bright-green plant with heart-shaped leaves. Makino gives *Lycopodium clavatum*. It is mentioned several places in *Man'yōshū* poems, for example, 19: 4278 . . . . '*hikage no kazura keru, uhe ni ya sara ni ume wo shino-hamu*'—showing that on top of the garland of *hikage* vine were added plum blossoms. Komura, *Man'yō shokubutsu zukan*, p. 386.

[225] *Tōjiki* 當色, 'appropriate color', refers to the system of prescribed and prohibited colors, *tōjiki kinjiki no sei*, which was set up at the time of the Taika Reforms to prescribe the wearing of certain colors to denote certain Court ranks. Regulations were later modified when more ranks were added.

and 1 *yakura-oki*,[226] 1 shield, 1 spear, 6 *shaku* of leaf matting for wrapping, 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* of tax cloth (cloth omitted for the first *kami*). On the appointed day the Nakatomi officials lead the diviners to the Ministry of the Imperial Household to determine by divination who from the various departments shall be under particular taboo. That done, they return to their respective quarters. They perform ablutions and don their sacred robes and gather together. Besides them, one Nakatomi and one Imbe official are sent to lead officials of the Needlework Bureau and the Ministry of Treasury in placing the quilts and unlined garments in the Yuki-den of the Daijō-gū and to lead Palace Storehouse officials in placing the divine raiment and silken coronets in the Kairyū-den. Members of the Bureau of Palace Caretakers offer the august hot water three times. One time is for personages under general taboo at the usual place in the Palace; then hot water is offered twice to those under particular taboo (both times in the Kairyū-den). The various guards stand up their staves and the various officials line up the articles for solemn presentation in the same way as for New Year's Day ceremonies. Two persons each from the Isonokami and Enoi Uji, wearing Court dress, lead 40 of the Inner Mononobe (dressed in unlined tunics of dark-blue cloth). They set up shields and spears for the *kami* at the north and south gates of the Daijō-gū (2 shields and 4 spears at each gate; the Bureau of Carpentry prepares frames for them in advance at left and right of both gates; when the celebrations are finished, the Left and Right Outer Palace Guards gather them up). When that is done they divide and go to left and right to the frames under the shields. (At each gate are 20 Inner Mononobe, 10 on each side, in lines of five at intervals of 6 *shaku*.) Two each of the Tomo and Saeki Uji separate and go to the frames at left and right of the south gate and wait until the time of opening the gates. The Left and Right Captains of the Inner Palace Guards and below each lead a squad and, dividing right and left, guard their respective sides. The Chiefs of the Left and Right Military Guards and below each lead a squad, and dividing, guard that side. The Chiefs of the Outer Palace Guard and below each lead a group, they divide and guard that side and the gates. Gate Guards control[227] those going in and out of the various gates. The officials of the Hayato[228] lead the Hayato; they divide and stand in front of the Left and Right Chōshū-dō.[229] They wait until the opening of the gates and then give a shout. The Assistant Chief and the Secretary[230] of the Ministry of Central Affairs lead the Bureau of Oodoneri and the *toneri* nobles. The Assistant Chief and Secretary of the Imperial House-

[226] *Yokura-oki* and *yakura-oki* were types of offering tables made up of four and eight pieces of wood, respectively. *Yokura-oki* stood 1 *shaku* 2 *sun* high (about 1½ ft) and *yakura-oki* stood 2 *shaku* 4 *sun* high. They were used for expiatory offerings at the time of exorcism and purification rites. For 'offerings placed on top' see n. 483.

[227] Lit. 'disciplinary investigation', *kyūsatsu* 糾察, carried out by the Gate Guards (Kadobe).

[228] The Hayato 隼人, originally a tribe from south Kyushu, were brought under the rule of the Yamato people late in the 5th century A.D. and were then organized into a corporation of guards for the Palace. They also were engaged to perform their own traditional songs and dances for the Court, and made their own folk crafts. The Hayato were under the Office of Hayato in the Ministry of War (*hyōbu-shō*).

[229] The Chōshū-dō 朝集堂.

[230] The second (*suke*) and third (*jō*) officials of that Ministry. See n. 47 above.

hold lead the caretakers and housekeepers of the Bureaus of Palace Caretakers and Housekeeping, all dressed in ceremonial attire and carrying the solemn offerings;[231] they separate to left and right and arrange them in order. The Ministry of Ceremonial puts up the posting-board of ranks[232] for Heir Apparent and on downward in the outer garden by the south gate of the Daijō-gū. (For the distance from the gate see the *Gishiki.*) At the hour of the snake the Bureau of Palace Caretakers presents the august hot water for the persons under general taboo. At the same time, offering goods from the two provinces are moved from the sacred area to the Daijō-gū; *yuki* in the left column and *suki* in the right. Four *kambe* form the vanguard of this procession. (They wear blue-printed robes and carry *sakaki* branches.) One official of the *Jingi-kan* is at the mid-point of the column (wearing Court dress of color prescribed for rank and bark-cloth headdress). Next come two chiefs of the Kanhatori separated to left and right (wearing blue-printed robes and carrying *sakaki*), and one *sukune* of the Kanhatori is at the mid-point (wearing Court dress of color prescribed for rank, bark-cloth sleeve-ties,[233] and *hikage* vines). Next, tables for the raiment of soft cloth[234] (the which are wrapped in linen and placed on top of the offering table; 2 Kanhatori carry them on their shoulders, and wear blue-printed robes). Next come 72 Kanhatori men divided in left and right columns (wearing blue-printed robes and *hikage* vines); next 50 Kanhatori women divided in left and right columns (wearing blue-printed robes and *hikage* vines; both men and women carry sake oak leaves[235] and 4 fronds of *yuzuruha*[236] fastened onto each of 4 white staves); next come the 4 persons forming the vanguard from *yuki* province, dividing to left and right (and wearing blue-printed robes and carrying *sakaki* branches); next the diviner of the rice-ears in the middle (wearing robes of color prescribed for rank, bark-cloth headdress, and *hikage* vines, and carrying green bamboo fronds). Next comes the *sakatsuko* (wearing lustrous robes of linen and *hikage* vines, and riding in a white palanquin borne by 4 bearers); next comes the august rice palanquin (the rice is packed in hempen bags; 2 porters for the palanquin). Then the lord of the rice-ears (wearing blue-printed robe, bark-cloth headdress, and *hikage* vines); next come 8 women who carry on their heads the tables for the august food offerings (wearing linen garments, bark-cloth sleeve-ties, and *hikage* vines on their flowing tresses). Then comes 1 table for sacred sake (4 bearers), then 2 shallow earthenware vessels of dark sake (8 porters for each), next 2 shallow earthenware

[231] The *igibutsu* 威儀物.

[232] The posting-board is *hen'i* 版位 (also pron. *han'i* or *henni*), on which the order of Court ranks and the promotions in rank were posted at times of great convocations, such as festivals, at which the host of officials participated.

[233] *Tasuki* are back straps or sleeve-ties. Here it is *yūdasuki*, the ceremonial sleeve-ties of bark-cloth fibre which are donned by those persons preparing or presenting offerings to the *kami*, or preparing and serving sacred food to the sovereign. They are mentioned in the myths, as in the above-mentioned (n. 223) episode: Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto, before performing the deity-possession dance, bound up her sleeves with a cord of heavenly *hikage* vine and tied around her head a head-band of the heavenly *ma-saki* vine, and so forth. Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 84.

[234] The *nigitae no miso*, sacred raiment of either soft bark-cloth or of silk.

[235] *Sakakashiwa* are decorative leaves of *kashiwa* oak served with ceremonial sake.

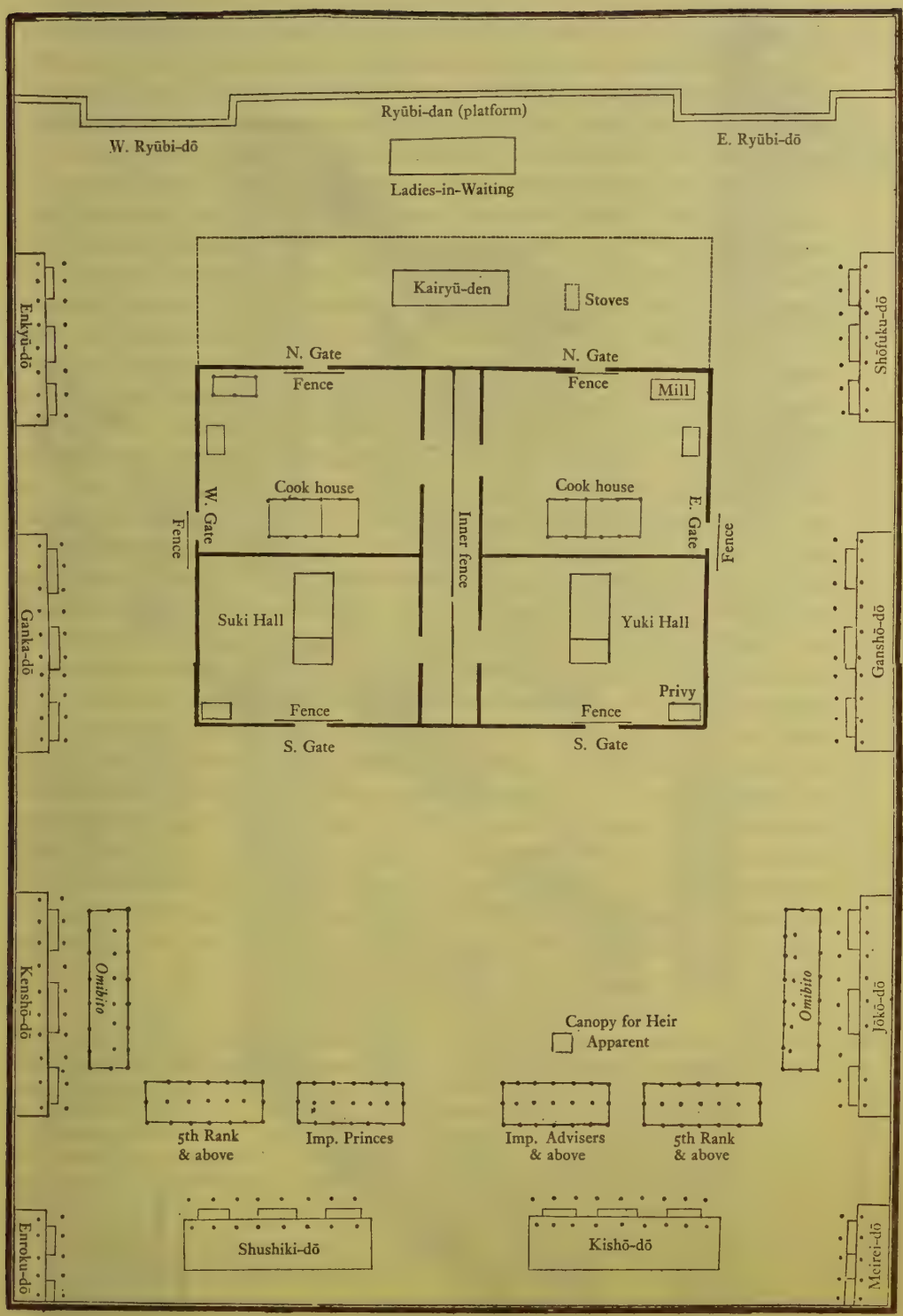
[236] 弓綱葉, *Daphniphyllum macropodum*, according to Brinkley.

vessels of clear sake (8 porters for each); these four vessels are each borne in an unpeeled wood palanquin decorated with *hikage* vines. Next come 8 palanquins filled with large ceremonial jars (4 porters for each palanquin; jars in white-wood boxes placed upon large tables), next 4 short tables and 2 split-wood boxes to hold knives (bleached cloth for wrapping, 1 table to a load, 2 porters to a load), next 1 fire-kindling set (packed in 2 boxes with legs of Kure bamboo, covered with green tie-dyed silk; one bearer). Next comes the mortar (put into a cloth bag tied at the top with cloth band, and with a cover of white wood; wrapped with fine straw matting; one porter); next 4 pestles (packed in cloth bags; stands of Kure bamboo; one porter); next 2 dust baskets (wrapped in bleached cloth; stands of Kure bamboo; one porter); next, 10 loads of firewood (both ends covered with fine straw matting; 10 porters); next, 4 platforms for fire (whitewashed,[237] and covered with fine straw matting; 2 porters for each platform); next 4 pineknot torches (each end wrapped with fine straw matting; 4 porters); next, 4 clay braziers (whitewashed, with camellia-wood frames; covered with fine straw matting, 4 porters for each); next, 2 bundles of oak leaves (wrapped in fine straw matting; 2 porters); next, 1 load of food-mats and bamboo mats (wrapped in bleached cloth, packed in white-wood boxes, placed on large table; 2 porters); next one Kara stove (packed in a white-wood box, placed on a large table, covered with oiled silk; 6 porters); next, 6 shallow clay vessels for water (each covered with lid of white wood; carried on a palanquin of unpeeled wood and decorated with leaves of plants and trees; 4 porters for each); all the foregoing are for offering to the *kami* and are decked with *sakaki*). Next come the *negi* and diviners marching in the middle (in Court dress of color prescribed for rank, bark-cloth sleeve-ties, *hikage* vines; all these to be provided by the *Jingi-kan*). Next the provincial governors and district prefects, dividing in left and right columns (all wearing Court dress of color prescribed for rank, and *hikage* vines; those who assist the kinsmen of the governors each inspect the articles for presentation, and separate into left and right columns, wearing green cloaks, blue-printed robes; these garments and silk for the porters all to be supplied by the province). Next comes 1 table for sake cups (4 porters); next 10 jugs of dark sake (20 porters); then 10 jugs of light sake (20 porters); next 10 shallow clay vessels of decorated august sake[238] (8 porters for each); next 40 portable storehouses[239] (8 porters each; items from dark sake on use palanquins of unpeeled wood that are decorated with delicate plants). Next 100 jars with varieties of fish sushi (200 bearers for these, and stands of cypress wood; the jars to be covered with bleached cloth); next 10 loads of fish, vegetables, and fruit (4 bearers per load); next 100 boxes of cooked rice (200 bearers); next 100 jugs of sake (200 bearers); next 100 jars of fish and green vegetables (200 bearers; the burden bearers for the foregoing all to be dressed in blue-printed robes; the foregoing all are *tametsu* foodstuffs). The procedure for the *suki* province which follows is the same as this.

[237] Text says 'white earth' (白土)—perhaps lime or chalk to cover the platforms.

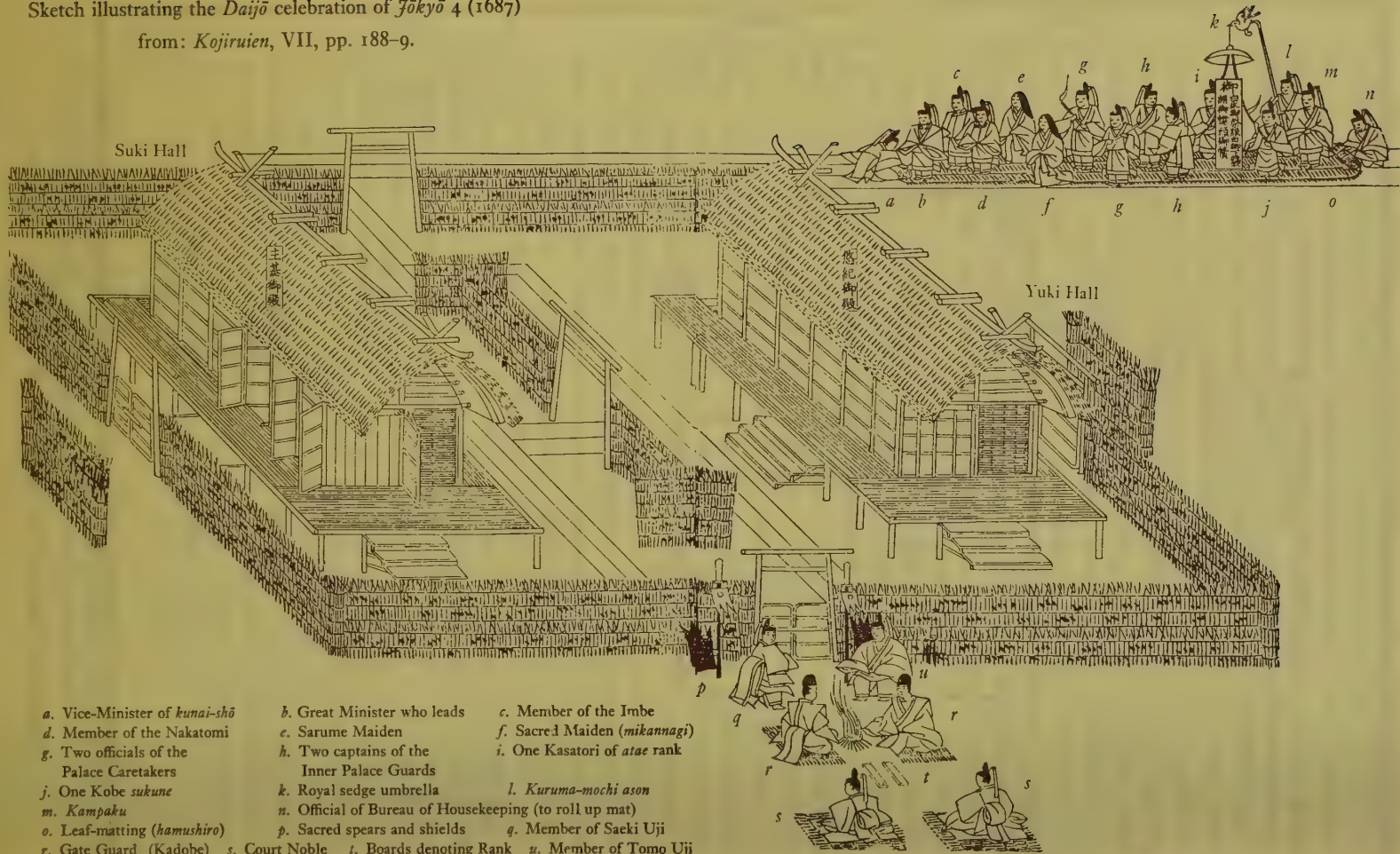
[238] *Kazari no miki* 飾酒, sake decorated with leaves. See n. 235.

[239] *Kurashiro-mono*, 'substitute for storehouse', may mean a miniature one.



Jōgan-gishiki Diagram of the Daijō-gū from *Kojiruien*, VII., pp. 16–17.

Sketch illustrating the *Daijō* celebration of *Jōkyō* 4 (1687)
from: *Kojiruien*, VII, pp. 188–9.



a. Vice-Minister of *kunai-shō*
b. Great Minister who leads
c. Member of the Imbe
d. Member of the Nakatomi
e. Sarume Maiden
f. Sacred Maiden (*mikannagi*)
g. Two officials of the Palace Caretakers
h. Two captains of the Inner Palace Guards
i. One Kasatori of *atae* rank
j. One Kobe *sukune*
k. Royal sedge umbrella
l. *Kuruma-mochi ason*
m. *Kampaku*
n. Official of Bureau of Housekeeping (to roll up mat)
o. Leaf-matting (*hamushiro*)
p. Sacred spears and shields
q. Member of Saeki Uji
r. Gate Guard (Kadobe)
s. Court Noble
t. Boards denoting Rank
u. Member of Tomo Uji

The Imbe of Awa Province[240] are caused to weave coarse garments[241] (in sacred language these are called *aratae*). These are made up ahead of time at the *Jingi-kan*. They are packed in finely woven baskets and placed on top of the offering-tables. At the four corners they set up *sakaki* branches and deck them with bark-cloth. One Imbe bearing a *sakaki* branch decked with bark-cloth leads the way; four of them raise up the offering-table; all wear bark-cloth headdresses. Before the hour of the sheep the articles to be offered reach the Suzaku Gate.[242] The Kanhatori are in front as they were in the beginning. The Imbe of Awa Province take the table with offerings of coarse cloth, go out from the *Jingi-kan*, and go to the back of the table with raiment of soft cloth. They stand in order and wait until the Inner Controllers[243] have finished. The Outer Palace Guards open the three south gates just as at the ceremony of New Year's Day.[244] One offcial of the *Jingi-kan* leads the men and women of the Kanhatori to the kitchen-house of the Daijō-gū. They place the sake oak leaves and then go out. Again, the *Jingi-kan* officials separate to the left and right and lead the presentations from both provinces as they approach. (Except for articles to be offered to the *kami*, all are kept in the garden of the Chōshū-dō, where they are separated and placed in offering in the east and west buildings.) When they reach the outside of the south gate of the Daijō-gū the *yuki* come around from the left and the *suki* come around from the right, reaching the north gate together. The *Jingi* official leads the Kanhatori of *sukune* rank. They enter in and offer up the table with the offerings of soft cloth at the deity seat[245] in the *yuki* hall. Then an official of the Imbe enters and offers up the table with offerings of coarse cloth at the same deity seat. That done, both withdraw. Thus the offerings from both provinces are respectively assembled in the hall of offerings. That completed, the Outer Palace Guards close the gates. The *Jingi-kan* officials attend inside the north gate on the left. The *sakatsuko* begins to pound the rice for the august cooked rice; next the *sakanami* women together finish the pounding without changing hands. The Court chieftains kindle the fire. Members of the Office of the Sovereign's Table[246] lead the Court chieftains of various *uji*, who respectively assist the members of the Office in cooking the august foods. Officials of the Imperial Household Ministry divide into left and right columns and lead the members of the Office

[240] Again, Awa Prov. in Shikoku; this shows that a branch of the Imbe 忌部 Uji came from there, and they were not necessarily attached to the *Jingi-kan*.

[241] *Aratae no miso* is coarse raiment, of hemp or other fibre, as contrasted to the soft raiment mentioned in n. 234. The soft and coarse symbolism, as well as dark and light symbolism, is seen throughout.

[242] The Suzaku (or Sujaku) Gate, one of the twelve main gates of the Palace. The hour of the sheep corresponded to 2 p.m.

[243] Inner Controllers, *naiben* 内辨. See n. 35, above.

[244] The procedures for the Outer Palace Guards (Left and Right), the *sayū emon-fu*, are contained in *E-S*, Bk XLVII. As to who served in this capacity on this occasion, see nn. 218, 219, and 229, above.

[245] The *shinza* 神座 is the sacred couch which is made up of layers of thick *tatami* mats and occupies the center of the chamber of the Yuki-den. It is reserved for the ancestral *kami*, and the sovereign does not use it. See D. C. Holtom, op. cit. p. 122 (94-8).

[246] The *naizenshi* under the Imperial Household Ministry (*kunai-shō*).

of the Palace Tables and Imperial Sake Office,[247] who each line up in that place and make ready the articles to be offered to the *kami*. One Takahashi *ason* and one Azumi *sukune* each raise up a tray-table; the chefs and brewers again stand in order of rank. They all enter the Daijō-gū. Together they ascend into the hall and stand beside the offering-tables. Their positions arranged, those in front begin to place the offerings on the tables, after which the others in turn assist in presenting the offerings. This completed, exchanging bows, they withdraw. (The next day the procedure for ending the feast is the same.)

At the hour of the cock the Bureau of Palace Caretakers, using fire from the Bureau, lights the lamps and courtyard fires in each of the *yuki* and *suki* courtyards; for each: 2 lamps and 2 courtyard fires. One Tomo of *sukune* rank, one Saeki of *sukune* rank, each respectively lead eight Gate Guards (who wear blue-printed silk tunics) outside the south gate to keep the courtyard fires through the night. The *yuki* and *suki* provinces each send 2 *to* of oil to the august hall (5 *shō* each for each night). Required: 8 each of lamp-oil cups and trays, 8 *shaku* of ordinary cloth for wicks (2 *shaku* for each night), 8 *koku* of charcoal ash (2 *koku* for each day), 320 torches (8 *shaku* long; 80 for each night), 1,200 *kin* of kindling wood (300 *kin* for each day).

At the hour of the dog the way is cleared[248] and the first warning given of the Imperial approach to the Kairyū-den. The Bureau of Palace Caretakers proffers the august hot water. Then the ceremonial garments are assumed [by His Majesty] and he enters the Daijō-gū. As for the route thither, the Ministry of Treasury beforehand lays a double width of unlined ordinary cloth on the route. The Bureau of Housekeeping prepares leaf-matting, and also lays it on top of the cloth runner where the august footfall will tread—rolling it out before and rolling it up after. (Two persons, Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household or above, spread it, and two persons, Secretaries of the Bureau of Housekeeping or above, roll it up.) No one shall dare to step on it. On the return the same procedure is followed. As for the route in the Palace and through the garden, 8 layers of ordinary cloth 8 widths wide are laid. One Great Minister or Great or Middle Counselor and one Nakatomi and one Imbe (Nakatomi on the left and Imbe on right), then Sacred Maidens and Sarume on left and right proceed in line. (The Great Minister stands in the center, the Nakatomi and Imbe lead the lines to left and right on the street outside the gates.) The Sovereign[249] deigns to come forth; two of the Caretakers carry the lights and worshipfully approach, one Court noble who is carriage attendant carries the royal sedge umbrella;[250] one Kobe of *sukune* rank[251] and one Kasatori of *atae* rank[252] together carry the cords of the umbrella and push

[247] The *daizen-shiki* and the *mikizukasa*, respectively; both under the Imperial Household Ministry.

[248] *Tenhitsu* 天蹕 is 'clearing the way'. There were four intervals between nightfall and midnight, the first being the 'hour of the cock' (above). The next interval was 'hour of the dog', at the beginning of which the progress of the sovereign commenced. See Diagram of Intervals of Day and Night.

[249] Here the expression '*shingi*' 宸儀, for the august person of the sovereign, is used.

[250] The umbrella is the *sugegasa*, a sunshade made of sedge grass, suspended from the end of a long pole.

[251] The Kobe Uji 子部氏.

[252] Kasatori is the name of an *uji* which likewise was an hereditary group of umbrella-bearers, as the name shows: 笠取.

themselves forward on their knees as they perform their duty (the same is done on the return). As the progress is made to the august *yuki* communion hall, the group of officials under particular taboo each take their seats therein (the group of officials under general taboo may not enter the Kairyū-den enclosure or into the Daijō-gū). When that is done two persons each of the Tomo and Saeki Uji open the south gates of the Daijō-gū. The Outer Palace Guards open the south gate of the Chōdō-in. Officials of the Imperial Household Ministry lead 12 persons of the Kuzu of Yoshino Province and 12 Nara flute players[253] (all wearing tunics of blue-printed cloth). They enter from the east side gate of the Chōdō-in, and on reaching their places they play an ancient air. The governor of the *yuki* province leads the singers and enters through the same gate; on reaching their places they sing an ancient air. One Tomo of *sukune* rank and one Saeki of *sukune* rank each lead 15 Narrators (wearing blue-printed tunics). They enter from the east and west side gates, and on reaching their places they recite ancient legends. The Heir Apparent enters from the southeast side gate. The Imperial Princes enter through the west gate; Great Ministers and down to 5th Rank courtiers enter through the south gate. All take seats under the awning. Those of 6th Rank and below remain behind the Kishō and Shushiki buildings.[254] They stand in line in order of rank. When the host of officials first make their entrance the Hayato raise their voices. When everyone is standing in place they cease. They proceed to a point in front of the shields. They clap their hands; they sing and they dance.[255] Those of 5th Rank and above rise together and go to the posting-board in the middle courtyard. They kneel and clap their hands four times. Each time there are eight claps (in sacred language this is known as *yahirade*). The Heir Apparent first claps hands and then steps back, then those of 5th Rank and above clap their hands. Those 6th Rank and below clap hands in concert and repeat it in the same way (but those under particular taboos do not enter this procession). That completed, they all withdraw, but those of 5th Rank and above retire to their places under the awning and, their seats determined, two persons of 5th Rank of the Abe Uji and six persons of 6th Rank, dividing to left and right, advance simultaneously to the posting-board. The civil and military officials keeping the night watch announce the register of nobles down to the level of guards on duty.[256] (The chief ritualist and above use their *kabane* title and name; the guards on duty are announced only by number; at all times, those who report the matters to the Throne all kneel; except that in case it is rainy or wet they may stand.) When this is completed, the *yuki* feast is presented (it is presented at the beginning of the hour of the boar and retired at the fourth). The order of succession (in presenta-

[253] The Kuzu 國栖 were called upon for their tribute of local products and their performance of singing and flute music at the annual festival of first-fruits and at the feast of the *Daijō-e*. In the *Kojiki* are recorded two songs of the Kuzu of Yoshino which show their association with trees and with the brewing of sake for festal purposes. These are recorded in the reign of Oojin Tennō. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 282–3. The Nara flute (*narabue* 楢笛) is distinct from other flutes of bamboo.

[254] Kishō 暉章 and Shushiki 修式 halls (堂).

[255] The succession of entertainment includes various folk songs and dances and the traditional songs and dances of the Hayato. See n. 228 above.

[256] *Bumban* 分番 refers to those palace nobles who are doing sentry duty.

tion) is that in the very front are the chefs of the Office of the Sovereign's Table, 1 Court chieftain[257] (who carries the fire-kindling set) and 2 *uneme* of *ason* rank from the Office of *Uneme* (forming left and right vanguards), next a chief diviner (wearing the bark-cloth headdress and sleeve-ties and carrying a bamboo rod), next 1 water-carrier of *muraji* rank from the Office of Water (who carries the ritual elongated basin),[258] then 1 water-carrier (who carries the ritual water-pitcher), then 10 *uneme* (1 carries the box of brushes, 1 the box of towels, 1 the food-mats for the *kami*, another the food-mats for the Sovereign, 1 the box of august leaf-dishes,[259] 1 the box of cooked rice, 1 the fresh seafood, 1 the dried foods, 1 the chopstick box, and another the box of fruit). Next comes a Takahashi of *ason* rank of the Sovereign's Table Office (who carries the abalone sauce pickle), 1 Azumi of *sukune* rank (who carries the seaweed sauce pickle), 5 chefs (1 carries the vessel of hot abalone soup, 1 the vessel of hot seaweed soup; 2 carry the offering-table with pots of soup; but the one who guards the shelves does not enter the procession), 4 sake brewers (2 carry on their shoulders the offering-table for sake and 2 carry the tables for dark and for light sake). All are in prescribed order and stand for the presentation. As soon as it is over everything is taken away in like manner. At the hour of the rat, *Jingi-kan* officials lead the chefs of the Sovereign's Table Office and move to the *suki* Food Hall[260] to cook the sacred food-offerings for the *kami*.[261] The Sovereign returns to the Kairyū-den. (This ceremony is the same as the first one.) The august hot water is proffered. That done, the august garments are changed and [the Sovereign] progresses to the *suki* Food Hall. The ceremonial for this is the same as for the *yuki*. Again, the Kuzu perform an ancient air, and the clapping of hands by Heir Apparent and those below and the other procedures are all the same as in the *yuki* ceremonies. At the first moment of the tiger hour the *suki* august feast is presented. The procession and recession are as before. (For the affair see the *Gishiki*.)

On the dragon day in the first quarter of the hare hour[262] the return to the Kairyū-den is made. (This ceremony is the same as the first one.) The august garments are changed and [the Sovereign] returns to the Palace. The warning to clear the road and the military guard are the same as for ordinary ceremonies. When the festival affairs are finished the host of officials severally withdraw. The members of Tomo and Saeki Uji close the gates. At the second quarter hour the Nakatomi and Imbe of the *Jingi-kan* lead the Sacred Maidens in the festival of propitiation of the buildings of the Daijō-gū. Symbolic offerings for this are the same as at the first ceremony. This completed, the people of the two provinces are ordered to break the

[257] *Tomo no miyatsuko* 伴造, a chieftain over a group of people, as opposed to a chieftain over the land (*kuni no miyatsuko*). They were hereditary officials in charge of *be* (occupational groups) who were owned by the Imperial House. After the Taika Reforms they still continued to have influential roles in Court.

[258] The *ebi-no-hatafune* (lit. 'shrimp-fin boat') was an oval-shaped basin used only by the sovereign or a member of his family for ceremonial hand-washing.

[259] Leaf dishes, *hirade* 枚手, were made of oak leaves and used to serve ceremonial foods.

[260] *Suki no kashiwadono* 主基膳殿.

[261] Foods prepared for offering to the *kami* are called *kami no o-mono* 神御饌.

[262] The intervals of day and night were divided into quarters, known as *ten* 點, which varied in duration according to the season of the year. See Diagram of Intervals of Day and Night.

ground and then retire; after which the area of the propitiation ceremony is leveled; then they ceremonially pacify that ground. Requirements for this are: 4 *tan* of tax cloth, 2 *kin* of bark-cloth, 2 *kin* 10 *ryō* of hemp, 8 mattocks, 8 *shō* of rice, 8 *shō* of turbid sake, 4 *kin* 10 *ryō* of abalone, 10 *kin* 6 *ryō* of bonito, 10 *kin* 6 *ryō* of *wakame*, 1 *to* 6 *shō* of dried meats, 4 *shō* of salt, 8 each of jars and saucers. The august garments, quilts, tunics, narrow *tatami*, seats, and the things for offerings at the Kairyū-den and august hot water are bestowed on the Imbe and various articles which have had contact with fire are bestowed on the chief diviners. The remainder of multiple articles and the various buildings are all bestowed on the Nakatomi. At the 4th quarter-hour the officials of the *Jingi-kan* according to precedent worship in the Jijū-den. Again, the various articles of the portable storehouses of *yuki* and *suki* provinces are lined up in the garden of the Buraku-in.[263] The officials in charge will have already cleansed the Buraku-in before this. Both *yuki* and *suki* provinces provide and hang august curtains in the palaces[264] (the *yuki* on the east and the *suki* on the west). The arrangement for the host of officials inner and outer is the same as for ordinary ceremonial. The Ministry of Ceremonial[265] sets up the posting-board of ranks beforehand. In the 2nd quarter-hour of the dragon, the Imperial carriage approaches the Buraku-in and the Sovereign progresses to the *yuki* curtain. The disposition of the various guards is as for ordinary ceremonies. The Heir Apparent enters from the gate on the northeast side. (From Imperial Princes on down, their highnesses wait until ranks have been conferred and then enter.) Those of 5th Rank and above enter through the south gate and each goes to the posting-board. Those of 6th Rank and below make their entrance in double file. They stand in their places and the *Jingi-kan* Nakatomi bear the *sakaki* branches and carry batons. They enter through the south gate and go to the posting-board. They kneel and recite the congratulatory words to the deities of heaven.[266] The Imbe now enter and present the items of divine regalia:[267] the sacred mirror[268] and the sacred sword.[269] When that is done they withdraw. (If rainy or wet, they may present them while standing.) Next, one Controller of 5th Rank or higher again goes to the posting-

[263] The Jijū-den 仁壽殿, located behind the Shishin-den or 'Throne Hall' of the Imperial Palace, was for the use of the sovereign when watching performances. The Buraku-in 豊樂院 was also a pavilion for watching performances and entertainment.

[264] In this text *denjō* 殿上, 'palaces', means the buildings of the Daijō-gū.

[265] The Ministry of Ceremonial (*shikibu-shō*) supervised matters of protocol and procedures for Court ceremonies.

[266] *Amatsu kami no yogoto wo mawosu*: 奏天神之壽詞; this is the *norito* or ritual recited by the Nakatomi. See no. 14 of the rituals, Bk VIII. First historical mention of its recitation is in the *Nihongi*, 4th year of Empress Jitō, at her accession ceremony.

[267] Only two of the imperial regalia are mentioned. The first of the three, the sacred curved jewels (*magatama*), do not appear here or in the text of the ritual for the *Daijō-sai* or in the Nakatomi *yogoto*. They are mentioned in the *Kojiki* in the story of Ninigi-no-mikoto, when Amaterasu-ō-mikami bestowed the three sacred regalia upon him before his descent to earth. Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 139.

[268] Here it is simply *mi-kagami*, 'august mirror'. But in the expression '*yata-kagami*' of mythology, *ya* means 'eight' or 'many', *ta* is 'hand' or 'span', and *kagami* is 'mirror'.

[269] The sword is *mi-tsurugi*, 'august sword', but in the myths is called *kusa-nagi* 'herb-queller'. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 90, 139.

board, he kneels and announces to the Throne the gifts presented by both provinces and the list of *tametsu* offerings. The Heir Apparent first claps his hands, then withdraws. Then those of 5th Rank and higher all clap their hands. Those of 6th Rank and below clap their hands in concert. The whole is like the previous ceremony. Then they withdraw and go out. (Officers of Ceremonial take the posting board and go out.) Officers of the Imperial Household lead the staffs of Offices of Palace Tables and of Imperial Sake to go and inspect tray-tables and flat dishes which were made ready in the garden. That done, they are led away. At this hour the Great Ministers[270] who are attending the palace summon those of 5th Rank and above (first they call the *toneri*, then the Lesser Counselors,[271] as in the case of ordinary ceremonies). Then together with them they enter and take places in the two halls—Ken'yō and Jōkan.[272] Those of 6th Rank and below make their entrance. They arrive and enter the Kantoku and Meigi halls.[273] That completed, the separate tribute goods from the *yuki* province are brought in. In the first quarter-hour of the snake, persons of the *yuki* province offer the august meal and serve the banquet to those of 5th Rank and above. (*Yuki* province personnel serve it to nobles under particular taboo and the Office of Palace Tables serves those under general taboo.) This is done in the same way as ceremonial for palace banquets. The *tametsu* foodstuffs from the two provinces are distributed by the Controllers to the host of officials. The *yuki* province persons offer at the proper time the delicacies of fresh seafood. Then the governor of the province leads out the singers, who render a provincial air. When they finish, the morning food offering is presented. In the 2nd quarter-hour of the goat, His Majesty removes to the august *suki* curtain. The Heir Apparent and those under him go to their *suki* seats. The separate tribute offerings are brought in. At the appropriate time the delicacies of fresh seafood are offered. The august feast is offered. The performing of provincial airs and so forth is all the same as for the previous ceremony. When it is finished, emoluments are bestowed on the *yuki* province personnel.

On the day of the snake, in the 2nd quarter-hour of the dragon, the Imperial Progress is made to the *yuki* curtain. In the 3rd quarter-hour the august feast is offered. Next, the *Yamato-mai*[274] is performed. All those of 5th Rank and above are invited, and a banquet is bestowed. Then those of 6th Rank and below make their entrance. Popular music and dance is performed. All is the same as on the dragon day. In the 2nd quarter-hour of the goat, the Imperial Progress is made to the *suki* curtain. August food is offered and after that *Ta-mai*[275] is danced. The various details are the same as in the previous ceremony. When it is finished, emoluments are bestowed on the *suki* province personnel.

[270] 'Great Ministers', *ō-omi* 大臣, includes the Great Minister of State (*dajō-daijin*), Ministers of Left and Right (*sadaijin* and *udaijin*), etc.

[271] *Shōnagon* 少納言.

[272] 顯陽 and 承觀 (堂)

[273] 觀德 and 明義 (堂)

[274] The *Yamato-mai* 和舞 was a traditional dance performed after important festivals. It was performed for the *Daijō-sai* and for festivals at the Grand Shrine of Ise (*E-S*, Bk IV). The performers consisted of two dancers, two singers, and one each of musicians playing the wooden clappers (*shakubyōshi*), bamboo flute (*fue*), fife (*hichiriki*), and the horizontal harp or zither (*wagon*).

[275] The *Ta-mai* 田舞, or *dembu*, was a traditional dance of rice-transplanting, performed now to celebrate the harvest of new rice.

On the day of the horse in the first quarter-hour of the hare, the curtains of each province are taken away. The officials in charge set up the usual august curtains. At the 2nd quarter-hour of the dragon the Imperial Progress is made to these curtains. Nobles of 5th Rank and above as well as those of 6th Rank and below are invited. They all make their entrance as on the preceding day. In the 4th quarter-hour Court Rank is conferred on the governors of the two provinces and titled families.[276] (The number of persons for rank conferral is according to disposition of Imperial Command.) At the 2nd quarter-hour of the snake, the officials in charge present the august food offering. (As utensils for this and the various sacred articles, utilize as convenient those provided by both provinces for august food offerings on the preceding day.) The *Kume-mai*[277] and *Kishi-mai*[278] are performed. At the first quarter-hour of the monkey, the grand chorus sings, and the *Gosechi* dances[279] are performed. In the 3rd quarter-hour the depuration dance[280] is presented. Kanhatori women perform first (number limited to four persons). Next the Nakatomi and Imbe of the *Jingi-kan* as well as chamberlains under particular taboo, and down to guards, enter divided into left and right columns. They bestow oak leaves on each of the members of the Imperial Sake Office. Thereupon they receive sake and drink it. When that is done, they don headdresses and perform the dances. In the 2nd quarter-hour of the cock, the Heir Apparent and all nobles down through the 5th Rank are given emoluments, each being different. Moreover, on the host of officials of 6th Rank and below, and on the personnel from both provinces down to the outrunners,[281] are bestowed emoluments (the chief and assistant chief of the *Jingi-kan* and on down to vice-chieftains[282] of sacred districts each receive one horse also). The 4th-class officials of the *yuki* and *suki* provinces and on down to the prefects and 4th-class officials of the districts all carry batons and are recipients of Court Rank by Imperial Command, by extraordinary disposition. (The host of officials from 6th Rank down receive emoluments; on 4th-class officials and below of both provinces rank is conferred; it may be done on the day of the goat. See the *Gishiki* for the affair.) On this day the chamberlains and below under particular taboo advance to the Imperial Household Ministry and carry out depuration. The singing and dancing

[276] Governors: *kuni-no-tsukasa*; title families: *ujibito*. One infers that the governors and the leading families of the two (*yuki* and *suki*) provinces are promoted in Court rank as a reward for their contributions of rice, personnel materials, and tribute products.

[277] 久米舞, a dance relating to the rice harvest originally performed by members of the Kume Uji. After the disappearance of that clan, it was danced for the Court by members of the Ootomo (changed in 821 to Tomo) Uji and Saeki Uji. This dance was performed for such special Court occasions as the *Daijō* and *Kigen-setsu* festivals up to World War II.

[278] A dance done by members of the Kishi (吉志 or 吉士) Uji, and subsequently by members of the Abe Uji.

[279] The *Gosechi-mai* 五節舞 were part of the repertoire of Court dances (*bugaku* 舞樂) and were performed by five young dancing girls on the ox, tiger, hare, and dragon days of the 11th month to celebrate the festival of first-fruits (*Niiname-sai*), and the *Daijō-sai* when it took place.

[280] The *gesai-no-mai* 解齋舞 to celebrate release from the restrictions of abstinence (*imi*); abstinence was to have been observed by all participants until this point.

[281] The *hasetsukai no yohoro* 瓮使丁.

[282] The text says *saigun no shōryō* 齋郡少領.

is as usual. To chefs, cooks, and brewers, and to personnel of both provinces, sake and food are given. When that is done, they doff their ceremonial robes and return to the usual.

At all times, when the celebration is finished the various structures in the sacred area of the north moor[283] are destroyed.

At all times, when the *Daijō* Festival is over, two persons, *negi* and diviner, are dispatched to the two sacred provinces to worship the eight *kami* of august food. Then they carry out depuration. The following day they burn the sacred area. Offerings to the *kami* are to be supplied by the two provinces respectively. [At all times,] on the last day of the month the host of officials in the capital gather for the purification ceremony. This is done the same as purification at the two times of year.

At all times, requirements for the *Ootono-hogai*[284] include: 16 sheets of Aki bark-cloth, 2 [rice] boxes, 4 *shō* of rice, 2 *shō* of sake, 1 jug, 2 small dishes, 1 table. Again, the festival to the august stoves of the *Daijō* Festival and the propitiation of the kitchens, and so on, are carried out in the same way as for the regular New Food celebration.[285]

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End of Book Seven of the *Engi-shiki*
Enchō 5th Year, 12th Month, 26th Day
[Same signatures as at end of Book Six]

[283] The *kitano no saijō* 北野齋場 is the sacred area, just north of the palace, in which the *Daijō* ceremonies have taken place.

[284] The *Ootono-hogai* is the blessing or luck-wishing festival for a palace. See n. 352 below, and no. 8 of the rituals in Bk VIII, below.

[285] Here text says *Shinjō-e* 新嘗會, referring to the feast of the First-Fruits Festival, *Niinamematsuri* 新嘗祭 (or *Shinjō-sai*).

Chapter Three

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK EIGHT

THE *Norito*, OR RITUALS

THE eighth book of the *Engi-shiki* begins with a short introductory paragraph to explain who is to recite the various *norito*; this is followed by the texts of 27 *norito*, or rituals, for recitation at certain of the religious festivals. The development and the composition of the *norito* have been the object of research and speculation by Japanese scholars from the national learning scholars (*kokugaku-ha*) of Tokugawa times up to the present. It has been commonly held that the *norito* were the oldest portion of the *Engi-shiki*, but this broad statement must be carefully examined. The language of the *norito* differs from the Chinese style (*kambun*) of the other books of the *Engi-shiki*, showing that *norito* had entirely different sources—some of which are earlier than the time of the Taika Reforms (mid-7th century) and some of which are later. Even though the procedures for some of the national festivals, notably the *Toshigoi* and *Tsukinami* and the Great Purification, were extremely old, the regularizing of these festivals into a national cult and the writing down of the texts of rituals appear to belong to the post-Taika age. They belong to an age when the political scheme of things demanded the formalization of a national cult centered around the Court and the *Jingi-kan*, or department of *kami* affairs.

Certain outstanding characteristics of this collection of *norito* will be noted by the reader of these texts. First, the various *norito* are not uniform in language, but differ in style and phraseology, combining elements from different periods or different sources. Second, the various *norito*, and the passages within a given *norito*, are not of uniform antiquity. Third, the collection is not all-inclusive, but is a representative selection. In this regard, the opening paragraph of Book VIII acknowledges that *norito* for some of the national festivals are omitted from the collection. This perhaps was written for a preliminary collection and not revised later, for it makes the distinction between the *norito* to be recited by the Imbe (the Mikado and Ootono) and those to be recited by the Nakatomi, but fails to mention the incantation to be recited by the *fubito* (recorders) of Yamato and Kawachi, respectively, when presenting offerings of swords (no. 11). Nor does it mention the Chieftain of Izumo, who was to recite a very lengthy Laudatory Ritual to the Deities upon his visit to the capital to receive honors and congratulatory gifts (no. 27). Also not mentioned is an incantation, the *Na-no-matsuri*

no kotoba, recited by masters of the Bureau of Yin-yang Divination *(on'yō-ryō)*, the text of which is given in Book XVI of the *Engi-shiki*.

The first known compiling of *norito* was in the procedures of the Kōnin era, *Kōnin-shiki*, in the ninth century, and subsequently some were included in the *Jōgan-shiki*.[286] Later on, the compilers of the *Engi-shiki* assembled a larger and more developed collection of *norito*. But before any *norito* were written into the *shiki* portion of the law they had long existed in the shrine liturgy of individual shrines. References to prayers, rituals, and spells or incantations appear in the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, official chronicles which appeared early in the 8th century, as well as in the *Kogoshūi* and *Takahashi ujibumi*, house chronicles composed during the century following. For example, in the Sun Goddess myth, it is related that one of the means used to lure Amaterasu-ō-mikami out of the cave where she was hiding was the intoning of 'a solemn liturgy', i.e. *futo-norito-goto*, by the deity Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto, revered as ancestor of the Nakatomi Uji.[287] Again, in the Izumo myth of Ookuninushi, there is mention of the deity Kushi-yatama, who 'pronounced words of blessing' (*negi-mawoshite* . . .) as he presented the offering of food to the *kami*, following it with the recitation of a poem of some 15 lines of dedication of various food offerings from the sea. Since this story appears to be an account of the founding of the Great Shrine of Izumo, the verses may represent a *norito* used for presentation of offerings at that shrine.[288] In the *Takahashi ujibumi*, a retainer to the Emperor Keikō named Ihaka Mutsukari cast a spell (*noroi*) upon some birds, turning them into fish, which he called bonito (*katsuo*) and later used as part of the divine food offerings prepared for the emperor. This incidentally caused Mutsukari to be credited with the first performance of the divine feasts of *Kamunie* and *Oonie*, which became the annual Deity New Food Festival and the Great New Food Festival, respectively.[289]

In the proto-historic agricultural society of Yamato the principal celebrations of farm villagers and fishermen had to do with petitioning the *kami* for successful planting, the protection of crops from natural disasters, and a bountiful harvest from the land and the sea. Elements of prayers concerning products of the fields, moors, mountains, and ocean, and the presentation of offerings of these products, are the core of most of the *norito* texts. These are thought to be the oldest passages of the *norito*. Invocations to the *kami*, prayers of presentation and dedication, and praises of the *kami* were certainly uttered long before the composition of the chronicles, much more so of the *shiki*. In the post-Taika period when the

[286] N. Aoki, 'Norito-shiki no seikaku', *Geirin*, III, 4 (1952), p. 30. In the *Norito jiten* of T. Uda are reproduced the texts of seven *norito* from the *Kōnin-shiki*, namely those of *Hirano matsuri*, *Kudo* and *Furuseki*, *Hirose no Oomi*, *Tatsuta Kaze-no-kami*, *Minazuki Tsukinami*, *Minazuki no tsugomori no ōharae*, and the Spell of the Fumi no Imiki of Kawachi.

The Kōnin era was the reign of Saga Tennō, 810–24, and the Jōgan era was the reign of Seiwa Tennō, 859–74.

[287] Katō and Hoshino, *Kogoshūi*, p. 22. D. Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 85. The accounts in the *Nihongi* declare that both Ame-no-koyane and Futotama-no-mikoto recited the liturgy. Aston, op. cit. pp. 44, 49.

[288] D. Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 135–6.

[289] D. E. Mills, 'Takahasi uzibumi', pp. 131–2. There is a short version of the story in Aston, *Nihongi*, p. 213. The *Kamunie* (*Kanname*) Festival was held exclusively at Ise Shrines.

centralized government began issuing legislation and controls to strengthen its authority, the village agricultural festivals and other local cults of particular *kami* gradually came to be incorporated into the national worship for the people as a whole. The formulae for invoking the local *kami* beneficial to crops and harvest had to be repeated regularly and annually at the right season, and they had to be repeated without error. Hence, they came to be written down so that all shrines in the national system under the *Jingi-kan* could recite the formula that would bring blessing and bounty to the sovereign and the nobles, and even to the commoners. As the language used in some of these prayers or invocations was already archaic in the latter seventh century, the task of setting down the rituals was not easy. At that time the method used for writing was 'one symbol for one sound', the symbols being a limited selection of Chinese characters. In general, the writing was done in the manner used for setting down a decree of the sovereign which was uttered in Japanese (as opposed to those in Chinese), and hence the style was called 'imperial decree writing' (*semmyō-gaki*). In practice the stems and undeclined words were in large characters (mostly phonetically used) and the terminations and particles in small-size characters. The style of the *norito* for religious festivals closely resembled the language of the Court. The content of the *norito*, moreover, was developed to include the praises of the sovereign, the Imperial Court, and the ancestral *kami* of the Imperial Family and of the families of the highest nobility, who were associated with the Court and its religious festivals. The primary purpose was to invoke the *kami* and supplicate them for prosperity and protection from all types of ills, disasters, and defilements. But more than this, the archaic and majestic-sounding verbiage was to be intoned with solemn and sonorous syllables designed to please the *kami* and also to be awe-inspiring and magic-provoking within the minds of the celebrants and audience.

Some scholars believe that, because of the references to charms, spells, magic, and divine possession (*kamu-gakari*) in the anecdotes of the chronicles, the prevalence of shamanism in the religion is proven. It is difficult to determine how great a role shamanistic possession and communication with spirits played in the Yamato religion. From the literary evidence available it is nevertheless certain that the Yamato people believed in the magical power of words. The belief in this word-power (*kotodama*) is an outstanding trait of the *kami* worship and is borne out in the language of the *norito*. The proper recitation of the correct words in correct formulae had to be carried out in order to bring desired results. The uttering of auspicious words and laudatory phrases addressed to the *kami* was designed to bring beneficial results. The uttering of imprecations, evil spells, or curses would bring rout and destruction upon evil creatures or harmful *kami*. One finds in the chronicle references to 'divine words' (*shingo*) supposedly uttered by persons under divine possession.

But the accounts of divine possession and inspiration are rather rare in the chronicles.[290] The term *shingo* is used in the *Engi-shiki* text in interlinear glosses

[290] N. Aoki, op. cit. p. 31.

which give pronunciations in alternate characters for archaic religious terms, attesting to the kind of editing which the process of setting down old oral traditions necessitated.

Spells and magical formulae are incorporated in the texts of *norito*. The striking examples of magic-producing incantations in which the sound of the syllables uttered was to have magical effect are the spell intoned by the *fubito* of Yamato and Kawachi and the aforementioned *yin-yang* incantation to drive out devils (not included in this study, as it appears in Book XVI). The special vocabulary of the *norito* often employs words to induce calm, to bring good luck, to produce long life, and to drive out bad influences. The verb *hogu* and its substantive, *hogai*, were especially potent in casting a spell of good fortune upon the object in question. The adjectives *kushi* and *kusushi* meant more than 'marvelous'; rather, 'miraculous', or 'miracle-working'. Also, *iwau* or *iwai* in those rituals meant 'to cast a good spell' or 'to consecrate'. This may explain the frequent use of the word *iwa* ('rock' or 'firm') in auspicious formulae because of the similarity of sound to the lucky word *iwau*. Punning on words of magic import and use of alliteration was effective. In no. 9, the gods of the gates are besought to 'expel with words' any evil influences—evidence of the belief in word-power (*kotodama*).

One can see a combination of style elements in the various *norito* and even within a single *norito* text. Many phrases occur which have a curiously Chinese sound and a regular one-two one-two rhythm. This is obvious, for example, in the incantation, no. 11. In the Prayer for Harvest ritual for the *Toshigoi* Festival there comes the oft-repeated formula at the end of each section, '*tatae-goto-oematsuru to mawosu* . . .', illustrating the sound value of the strong vowels *a* and *o* in a refrain designed to engage the ears of benevolent *kami*. Other recurring phraseology comes forth in poetic stereotypes and flowing metaphors, such as: offerings of 'sweet herbs and bitter herbs' of the moors and mountains, and of 'creatures wide of fin and narrow of fin from the blue sea-plain'. Other figures and parallelisms give the recitation a psalm-like quality. In return for the protection or the bountiful gifts of the *kami*, the reciter promises a hyperbole of offerings: '. . . the first ears of the grain—a thousand, yea ten thousand, ears shall be offered.' Some of the phrases addressed to the *kami* are metrical, lyrical, and lofty; thereupon the subject matter, the object of address, and the style may suddenly change. For instance, in the ritual for the *Hirose no Oomi* Festival, after extolling the *kami* (here the goddess of food and related *kami*) the reciter turns at the close to call by name upon certain participants who will make the presentations of offerings. The object of address likewise changes at the end of those *norito* in which the members of the Imbe Uji are called upon to consecrate the offerings.

Many phrases and figures occurring in the *norito* are found in nearly identical form in poems of the *Man'yōshū*. The age of compilation of those poems appears to coincide roughly with the writing down of the *norito*. If there are some poems composed (or recited) as far back as the fifth century, there are also portions of some of the *norito* which go back as far. No doubt there were oral traditions which were common to both the *norito* and the poetry or songs that were handed down before the compilations which appeared in the eighth century. In the Ritual for

the Great Purification (*Ooharae no kotoba*), no. 10, there are lists of what offenses (*tsumi*) against the *kami* and what defilements (*kegare*) must be driven out in this great exorcism. The *tsumi* were listed in almost the identical words in the *Kojiki*. These are the evidences of old tribal taboos of the Yamato people, and the setting down of these lists in writing may have occurred for both the chronicles and the texts of the *norito* in about the same period—the compilation having been commenced in the early seventh century and finally completed in the early eighth.

Not of such ancient origin, however, are passages which extol the reigning sovereign and the imperial line as descendants of the Heavenly Grandson (Ninigi-no-mikoto), the legendary descendant of the Sun Goddess whose progeny, Jimmu Tennō, was the first earthly sovereign. The political motivation back of all the eulogies of the imperial line and its divine forebears in use for national religious festivals ties directly into the development of the *Jingi-kan* as department of *kami* affairs for the Court and the nation, and with it the strengthening of the major shrines connected with the Imperial House and the noble families close to the Court. These developments worked together to enhance the Court and the ruling family and build up the influence of the central government—of Nara and later of Heian—over the people of the whole nation.

For this study of the *norito* the modern scholarship of Tsugita Jun (Uruu) in his *Norito shinkō*, and of Kaneko Takeo, in his *Engi-shiki norito-kō*, has been relied upon heavily. Their analyses and explanations of the vocabulary and content of *norito* are based on their own researches plus a comparative study of Kamo no Mabuchi's *Norito-kō* and *Norito-kai*, Motoori Norinaga's *Ooharae no kotoba kōshaku* and his voluminous *Kojiki-den*, and especially the work of Suzuki Shigetane (1812–63): *Engi-shiki norito kōgi*, with its supplement, *Nakatomi yogoto kōgi*. As Motoori Norinaga leaned greatly on his own intuition and conjecture, the works of Shigetane are more reliable in respect to linguistic analysis. Mabuchi's interpretations are useful because they treat the *Engi-shiki* as a whole and make more extensive contributions, while Norinaga's detailed study is limited to the Great Purification Ritual. Other very useful modern studies include the *Norito jiten* of Uda Toshihiko, and *Norito no kenkyū* by Shiraishi Mitsukuni.

As to the etymology of the term *norito*, the characters used for it have a tendency to mislead us. But confusion may be dispelled by reading the compound 祝詞 *norito-koto*, or 'words of norito'. This leaves the single character 祝 to be read as *norito*. We find the term *norito* written 詔刀 in the *Kojiki*, 法刀 in the *Ryō no shūge*; again 法刀言 for *norito-koto* is found in the *Ryō no shūge* and 能理等 appears in the *Man'yōshū*; all of which illustrate the fact that *norito* is separate from *koto* and that *norito* is itself a compound word. The first part, *nori*, is the conjunctive stem of the verb *noru*—to tell, recite, command (superior to an inferior), reveal (as the divine will), decree—and the second part is *to*, a noun. *To* has been taken by some scholars of the past to stand for *koto*, but that would be redundant in this case. The theory of modern scholars, as Uda and Shiraishi, is that *to* means a spell or magical device. Thus the compound *norito* would mean the chanting or reciting of the spell. The combined form *norito-koto* then is 'words for reciting a spell'. The translation 'ritual' is commonly accepted and is used to include all types of

norito in the collection. Some of these, however, are called by names other than *norito*. For example, the ritual for the Great Purification is the *Ooharae-no-kotoba,* 'Words for the Great Purification'; the ritual for the *Ootono-hogai* is the 'luck wishing' (Satow) or 'Blessing the Palace'; the *kamuyogoto* of the Chieftain of Izumo are 'divine laudatory words', while the incantation recited by the Fubito of Yamato and Kawachi is called *zu* or *majinai*, a magical spell.[291]

The longer *norito* in the collection include the initial one, for the *Toshigoi* Festival, the Great Purification Ritual, and the Laudatory Ritual to the Deities recited by the Chieftain of Izumo. These long recitations are composed of a number of parts, and were punctuated by pauses on the part of the reciter with an antiphonal shout from the audience of participating priests and divine chiefs. A look at the subjects of these component parts will reveal the vast scope of invocation and supplication in a single *norito*. The following is the list of twelve parts of the *Toshigoi no matsuri no norito* (no. 1):

1. Introductory
2. Invocation of all the many *kami* of heaven and earth
3. Words addressed to Mitoshi-no-kami (Deity of Crops)
4. Words addressed to *kami* worshiped by the Great Sacred Maidens of the Imperial Palace
5. Words addressed to *kami* worshiped by the Igasuri Maidens
6. Words addressed to *kami* worshiped by the Mikado Maidens
7. Words addressed to *kami* worshiped by the Ikushima Maidens
8. Offerings to Amaterasu-ō-mikami
9. Words addressed to *kami* of the Imperial Districts
10. Words addressed to *kami* at the Openings of the Mountains (*yamanokuchi*)
11. Words addressed to water-dividing *kami* (*mikumari*)
12. Dedication by *kannushi* and *hafuri*

By addressing all *kami* of whatever locality in heaven and earth, the ritual takes in every worshiper in the nation. The address to Mitoshi-no-kami, who was a local god of the rice crops, elevates him to a national *kami*. The next four sections are addressed to the various *kami* worshiped in the Imperial Palace, and the address to Amaterasu-ō-mikami, the Sun Goddess, plainly places the divine ancestress of the imperial line in a position to be worshiped by all the people. The 9th section prays for crops in the districts which purvey to the Imperial House, and the succeeding two sections address the *kami* of the mountains and of water-supply and irrigation.

Finally, the Nakatomi who are reciting the ritual address the Imbe, who are official 'abstainers', to bless and purify the offerings before they are distributed and carried by the priests to their various shrines.

[291] Cognates of *noru* are: *inoru*, to pray; *nori*, law, rule; *norou*, to curse, to imprecate; *noroi*, a curse, a malediction; *noberu* or *noburu*, to tell, express, relate, narrate, state; *notama(f)u*, to speak, to tell (superior to inferior), and so forth. Cognates of the archaic word *to*, a spell, are: *tona(f)u*, to make sounds, and the verb *tonaeru*, to name or call.

This twelve-part ritual is used for the second most important annual festival, the *Tsukinami no matsuri*, as well. There is only one slight difference, in that the address to Mitoshi-no-kami, the god of crops and harvest, is not included in the *Tsukinami* ritual. See no. 7 of the rituals. This makes it apparent that the *Tsukinami* or 'monthly' festival was held to invoke the care of the *kami* upon the progress of the crops up until the time of harvest. It may have been held every month in prehistoric times, but our information in available sources shows that it was celebrated twice during the agricultural year—on the eleventh day of the sixth and twelfth months of the lunar calendar.

Present-day *negi* reciting the *norito* (ritual)

ENGI-SHIKI, BOOK EIGHT

Norito

THE RITUALS

At all times, regarding *norito* for religious festivals: the Imbe Uji recite the *norito* for the festivals of *Ootono* and *Mikado*. For the various other festivals the Nakatomi Uji recite the *norito*.[292]

At all times, at annual festivals for which *norito* are not included here, the *kambe*, according to established precedent, recite.[293] As for *norito* for the extraordinary festivals,[294] the officials in charge make a selection in advance of the festival to suit the occasion and present this to the *kan*[295] for a decision, which is subsequently carried out.

[292] According to the tradition of the Nakatomi family, they were the descendants of Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto, the deity who offered the prayer to induce the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-ō-mikami, to come out from the cave where she had hid herself, and that they therefore were entitled to conduct the prayers or ritual dressed to the *kami*. On the other hand, the Imbe (Imube) family, who traced their descent from Futotama-no-mikoto, through Ame-no-tomi-no-mikoto, who built the palace for the first earthly emperor, Jimmu Tennō, claimed their right to recite *norito* at the festivals connected with the palaces of the sovereign. Hence, the Imbe recited the ritual for the *Ootono-hogai* (Luck-wishing for the Palace) and for the *Mikado-hogai* (Luck-wishing for the August Gates), rituals nos. 8 and 9. For the story of Ame-no-tomi-no-mikoto's building, together with all branches of the Imbe Uji, the 'august abode' (*mi-araka*) of the sovereign and making mirrors, jewels, spears, shields, and offerings of cloth for presentation, see Katō and Hoshino, *Kogoshūi*, pp. 31–2.

[293] Festivals which according to the *E-S* did not require the recitation of *norito* were: *Hana-shizume, Saigusa* (or *Saegusa*), Sono and Kara Deities, *Ainame, Kammiso, Kamo*, and Inari festivals. There were occasions when the *kambe* (*kamutomo*) officials of the *Jingi-kan* had to prepare prayers according to the need. For example, when the *Amagoi* (Prayers for Rain) Festival had to be held, special prayers were made for rain; when the *Amadome* (Rain-stopping) Festival was held, or the gods of thunder had to be appeased, supplications were made for the occasion. J. Tsugita, *Norito shinkō*, pp. 48–9.

[294] The extraordinary, or occasional, festivals (*rinjisai*) are covered in *E-S* Bk III. They include those for thunder gods and deities of water, wells, stoves; festivals for propitiating the ground for a new palace or a new dwelling; presentations when the Sacred Maidens change office; festivals of deities of boundaries, the deities of Yasoshima in the Palace, the gods of Sumiyoshi, and those of Ooyosami, Watatsumi, and Sumuchi; festivals to deities of epidemic, of rain, of travel routes, for despatching envoys to foreign countries; and, finally, the celebration when the local Chieftain of Izumo came to the capital.

[295] Here is meant the *Dajō-kan*, the Great Council of State.

[1]

Toshigoi Festival[296]

[1] Oh ye assembled shrine chiefs[297] and all ye priests,[298] hearken unto what we say. (Shrine chiefs and all priests are to respond 'Ooh!' to this and to all succeeding pronouncements.)[299]

[2] Before the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses[300] who augustly reside in the Plain of High Heaven, before the many *kami* enshrined in heaven and earth,[301] we raise our words of praise; and to the mighty *kami* we make bold to say: In this second month of this year,[302] at the beginning of the sowing of seed, with choice offerings from the divine descendant[303] at this moment of the majestic and brilliant dawning of the morning light, we humbly raise our words of praise.

[3] Before the presence of the *kami* who govern the crops we do humbly speak, praying that the mighty *kami* may vouchsafe to us the late-ripening harvest of grain[304]—with foam on the water up to the elbows and muddy water up to the

[296] The *Toshigoi no matsuri* (or *Kinen-sai*) 祈年祭 was held on the 4th day of the 2nd month, the first festival of the agricultural year. The officials of the *Jingi-kan* led the officialdom of the capital and the provinces in petitioning the *kami* for successful planting and the ripening and harvesting of the rice. In the old Yamato language *toshi* meant the crops, especially the rice crop (Mitoshi-no-kami and Ootoshi-no-kami were deities of the rice crop); and the secondary meaning of *toshi* is the (agricultural) year. *Toshi* is used in both senses in this *norito*. In the *Kogoshūi*, Imbe no Hironari tells the story of worshiping Mitoshi-no-kami in order to secure a good harvest of rice—a tale which is probably the prototype or precedent for the *Toshigoi* Festival. Katō and Hoshino, op. cit. pp. 51–2.

[297] *Kannushi* or *kamunushi* in the early phase meant the chiefs (*nushi*) among all those nobles, from the sovereign on down, to whom was entrusted the conduct of *kami* affairs (*kamu-goto*). Later, it came to mean the chief priests of individual shrines.

[298] 'All priests' is *hafuri-be* in the generic sense; see n. 74 above. *Ugonaharu* is an archaic word meaning 'gather together' or 'come together'; it is related to modern *ugoku*, to move, and *ugomeku*, to wriggle.

[299] The participating priests were to chorus in unison: 'Ooh!', equivalent to English 'Aye!', at each interval of the *norito*, as indicated by the cadence phrase: '. . . we humbly raise our words of praise'. (. . . *koto-oe-matsuru*).

[300] This translates the phrase: '*Sumemutsu* [or *sumeragamutsu*] *kamurogi no mikoto, kamuromi no mikoto*. . . .' *Kami* alone has no gender, but this archaic term *kamurogi* has the masculine ending *gi*, and *kamuromi* has the feminine ending *mi*. *Sume*, the stem of *sumeru* (or *suberu*), to rule or have supremacy over, is translated 'mighty'. *Mutsu* had the meaning of 'familiar', 'intimate', or 'beloved' (*mutsumajii*, in modern language).

[301] Here are used the expressions *amatsu-yashiro* and *kunitsu-yashiro*, metaphors for the oft-used *amatsu-kami, kunitsu-kami*, a literary device to include all *kami*, known and unknown, wherever they may abide in the heavens or on earth.

[302] Text says: '*ko (no) toshi no kisaragi ni mitoshi no hajime*', in which the first *toshi* means '(this) year' and the second, *mitoshi*, the august crop.

[303] The oft-recurring expression '*Sume-mima-no-mikoto*' (lit. the Prince, the mighty, divine Grandson) is an eponym for the whole line of sovereigns or for the ruling sovereign; even though the title is that of the 'Heavenly Grandson' of Amaterasu-ō-mikami, the Ninigi-no-mikoto of the myths, who sired the line of earthly sovereigns. Therefore, a translation like 'divine descendant' can be used whether Ninigi-no-mikoto is meant or any of the line of sovereigns, though usually the reigning sovereign is thus addressed or referred to in the *norito*.

[304] *Okitsu* (or *okutsu*) *mitoshi*, meaning 'august late-ripening crop', alludes to rice, which takes longer to mature than other grains.

thighs as the rice is cultivated—may it grow into countless bundles of long-eared grain, of vigorous grain. If the mighty *kami* grant that it ripen, the first-fruits of the grain, a thousand, yea, ten thousand ears shall be offered up to them. Let the offering jars be filled to the brims, yea, let the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows; the liquid and the grain shall we offer up with our words of praise.[305] Of things that grow in the broad meadows and moors—sweet herbs and bitter herbs; of things that live in the blue sea-plain—those wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and seaweeds of the shore;[306] and for divine raiment —bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth—all these we humbly offer up with our words of praise.

Before the presence of the mighty *kami* of the crops we prepare to offer a white horse, a white boar, a white cock, and all manner and variety of things.[307] These we offer as choice offerings from the divine descendant, with the words of praise which we humbly speak.

[4] Before the mighty *kami* to whom the great Sacred Maidens[308] offer words of praise, we humbly speak. We utter the hallowed names of Kami-musubi, Takami-musubi, Iku-musubi, Taru-musubi, Tamatsume-musubi, Oomiya-no-me, Oomiketsu-no-kami and Kotoshironushi,[309] to all of whom we now offer our praises. May this age of the divine descendant of heaven be an everlasting age, as firm as solid rock, as unchanging as enduring rock. That it may flourish and be a happy reign, we present the choice offerings from the divine descendant to these mighty ancestral gods and goddesses as we offer up our words of praise.

[5] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom the Igasuri Sacred Maidens raise their words of praise, we make bold to utter the hallowed names of Ikui,

[305] The two main uses of the rice crop are for eating and for making sake. Here, the offering-jars, *mika*, refer to the great jars in which the sake is fermented and stored. The brim is *he* 閉. See J. Tsugita, op. cit. p. 75.

[306] The list of offerings to be made at the *Toshigoi* Festival is given in *E-S*, Bk I, and reads in part: 'At 198 shrines: for each presentation: 5 *shaku* of pongee, 1 *shaku* each of five colors of thin pongee, 1 *shaku* of colored hemp-cloth, 2 *ryō* of bark cloth, 5 *ryō* of hemp, 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* of tax cloth. . . . [sword cases, shield, spearhead, bow, quiver, deer antlers, mattock, sake, abalone, bonito, jerky, seaweeds, salt, etc.]' The symbolic offerings include the streamers of bark-cloth, hemp, and cloth in five colors—though *goshiki* 五色 may mean 'five kinds'. In the case of '*goshiki no usuashiginu*' it probably means five colors of thin pongee: blue, red, yellow, white, and black.

[307] In addition to the foregoing list of offerings made to the *kami* worshiped in the *Toshigoi* Festival, Bk I stipulates that at the shrine to Mitoshi-no-kami in Takechi District, Yamato Province, there must be added a white horse, a white boar, and a white cock. At the Shrine of the Great Deity (Amaterasu-ō-mikami) in Ise and also at the Watarai Shrine, additional offering of a horse is required; so also to certain small shrines and to Takami-musubi-no-kami and Oomiya-no-me-no-kami, who are worshiped in the Imperial Palace.

[308] The character 巫 by itself is read *kamuko* (or *miko*), but an honorific precedes when it is used for the maidens which serve in the *Jingi-kan* and the Imperial Palace. They are called *mikamunagi* or *mikamuko*. Here the addition of 'great' (大) sets apart these Sacred Maidens who serve the eight *kami* worshiped by the Imperial House.

[309] These eight *kami* were worshiped as protectors of the Imperial Palace and were enshrined in the *Jingi-kan* (in the Palace precinct). Satow has translated their names thus: 'Divine Producer, Lofty Producer, Vivifying Producer, Fulfilling Producer, Soul-lodging Producer, Woman of the Great House, Great Goddess of Food, and Events-symbol-lord.' *TASJ*, ser. I, VII, pp. 109–10.

Sakui, Tsunagai, Asuha, and Haigi, and offer unto them our praises.[310] By the command of the mighty *kami*, the columns of the divine palace are firmly set upon the bedrock beneath the land, and the crossed gable-boards reach up toward the Plain of High Heaven, as we humbly serve and worship at the sacred dwelling of the divine descendant.[311] May it be sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun.[312] Vouchsafe that from it the land in all directions may be governed and made a peaceful land, a tranquil land by the grace of the mighty *kami*. So we offer up the choice offerings from the divine descendant together with our words of praise.

[6] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom the Mikado Sacred Maidens raise their words of praise, we make bold to utter the hallowed names of Kushi-iwamado-no-mikoto and Toyo-iwamado-no-mikoto[313] and offer up to them our words of praise. May they defend with strength like a magic-working mound of rock[314] the august gates of the four directions; may they open the gates in the morning and close the gates in the evening. If things to be shunned come from below, let the *kami* protect below; if things to be shunned come from above, let the *kami* protect above. May they watch by night and watch by day we humbly pray, as with choice offerings of the divine descendant we offer up our words of praise.

[310] These deities are listed in the *E-S*, Bk IX, the *Jimmyō-chō*, among the 36 *kami* worshiped in the Imperial Palace. In their names the element *i* means drinking-water; some of them are deities of wells, the others are related to water-supply. The Igasuri (or Igazuri) Maidens conduct the worship of these *kami*. The name Igasuri was a place name in Settsu Province where Nintoku Tennō had his palace; a *kami* of that name, connected with a well, was worshiped in Nintoku's palace, and that worship later moved to Yamato and Yamashiro provinces. J. Tsugita, pp. 90–1. Satow translates their names: 'Vivifying Well, Blessing Well, Long-rope Well, Foot-place, and Entrance Limit'. *TASJ*, ser. I, VII, p. 110. Imbe no Hironari refers to 'The Gods of Ikasuri—the Guardian Spirits of the Imperial Court Grounds'. Katō and Hoshino, op. cit. p. 34.

[311] The Imperial Palace of the present reigning sovereign is meant. The almost identical passage is found in the *Kogoshūi* where it is describing the Palace. See Katō and Hoshino, op. cit. p. 31. And in the *Man'yōshū*, Bk I, 136, beginning 'Akitsu minobe ni', comes the passage: 'miyaba-shira futoshiki maseba, momoshiki no ōmiyabito wa fune namete. . . .'The latter is translated: 'Here she builds herself a mighty pillared palace, and imperial courtiers row their barges.'

[312] *Ame no mikage, hi no mikage*, 'in the shade of heaven, the shade of the sun', appears to mean that the august dwelling of the sovereign is built to protect him or cover him from the sky and from the direct rays of the sun. If the sun was the supreme object of worship, its emanations must have been the most awesome thing in nature, from which one must be shielded. Is this perhaps the purpose of the royal umbrella for an imperial progress?

[313] The *Mikado-matsuri* is held to fete the gods who dwell in the Palace gates and oversee the coming and going into the sacred area. The name Kushi-iwamado is made up of *kushi*, wondrous; *iwa*, firm or auspicious; and *mado*, true door (or perhaps eye-door). The other deity is Toyo-iwamado, with *toyo* meaning abundant or provident. These two gods are worshiped by the *mikado-no-kamunagi*, Sacred Maidens of the August Gates. In the myth of the descent of the Heavenly Grandson (Ninigi-no-mikoto) to earth, Amaterasu-ō-mikami sent along Ame-no-iwatowake-no-kami, the Deity of the Gates. Alternate names for this *kami* were given as: Kushi-iwamado and Toyo-iwamado-no-kami. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 139–40.

[314] Another adjective with magical potency was *yuzu* or *yutsu*. It is applied to something which has superior or miraculous power. Here it says: '*yutsu-iwamura no gotoku*' (like a magic-working mass of rock).

[7] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom the Ikushima Sacred Maidens raise their words of praise, we make bold to utter the hallowed names of Ikukuni and Tarukuni and offer up to them our words of praise.[315] In all the many lands far and wide over which the mighty *kami* hold sway, to the uttermost corners whither creeping creatures may crawl, and as far as the salt foam of the flood tides reaches, may the narrow places be made wide and the steep places be made level, and may there be no escaping of waters in the lands far and wide. Let the mighty *kami* vouchsafe this to us, as with the choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven we now raise our words of praise.

[8] And we turn now to the mighty presence of Amaterasu-ō-mikami who resides in Ise,[316] making bold to say: In all the lands through which this mighty *kami* clearly sees, as far as the heavens stretch above and as far as the ground stretches beneath, to the uttermost heights of clouds in the blue, to the limits reached by the white clouds a-massing, to the uttermost reaches of the plain of the blue sea, on which with pole and helm never dry the prows of ships do ply, yea, on the great ocean[317] where sail heavy-laden ships and on the land routes where ropes are pulled taut over the loads of tribute cargo, may the mighty goddess vouchsafe to the divine descendant that treading over rough rocks and roots of trees, as far as horses' hooves can travel, the narrow places may be made wide and the steep places made level, and may the distant countries send tribute pulled by dozens of hawsers.[318] If the great ancestral goddess grant us this, before the presence of the great ancestral goddess we shall heap up our tribute of first-fruits like unto a range of hills,[319] and if any be left over, may the divine descendant partake thereof. Moreover, may the reign of the divine descendant be an everlasting reign and may it be firm as hard rock, and enduring as solid rock, we pray. That it may flourish and be a happy reign, we humbly bow our necks way down like the cormorant in obeisance to the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses, and offer up the choice offerings from the divine descendant as we raise our words of praise.

[9] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* who dwell in the august districts[320] we humbly speak. We make bold to utter the hallowed names of Takechi,

[315] The deities Ikukuni and Tarukuni are among the 23 *kami* worshiped in the *Jingi-kan*, which was within the Imperial Palace precinct. *Kuni* refers to the land of imperial domain; thus their names: 'Living Land' (or, after Satow, 'Vivifying Land') and 'Fulfilling Land'. They are also called Ikushima-no-kami.

[316] The particular invocation of Amaterasu-ō-mikami, who is also the ancestral deity and the *ujigami* of the Imperial House, illustrates the importance put upon nation-wide reverence for this deity in the celebration of the *Toshigoi* Festival.

[317] In this passage the character 艫 (which in modern language is read *tomo*, 'stern') was, according to the *Wamyōshō*, used for *hesaki*, 'prow'; 'ocean' is for the term *ō-umi*.

[318] How suggestive this passage is of Isaiah 40:4 'Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain.'

[319] In this paragraph the first 'tribute' is *ni* 荷, which Tsugita interprets to mean *kōbutsu* 貢物, tribute goods. The subsequent uses of tribute are supplied from the context and *nosaki* 荷前 means first fruits. Elsewhere in the *E-S* the expression *mitsugi nosaki*, 'first-fruits as tribute', is found.

[320] The six 'august districts', *mi-agata* 御縣, were the ones which raised rice and produce for the Imperial Table. The names given are the names of the local *kami* from which the districts get their names. T. Kaneko, p. 54.

Katsuragi, To-ochi, Shiki, Yamanobe, and Sou. As we come humbly bearing the sweet herbs and the bitter herbs that grow in these six districts, may the *kami* vouchsafe that they provide food eternally for the divine descendants for with choice offerings from the divine descendant we raise our words of praise.

[10] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* that dwell in the openings of the mountains[321] we humbly speak. Making bold to utter the sacred names of Asuka, Iware, Osaka, Hatsuse, Unebi, and Miminashi, we dare to cut the trunks and branches of great trees and small trees that sprout and grow in the farther mountains and the nearer mountains. And we come up bearing the wood therefrom that we may undertake to build a new and splendid august dwelling for the divine descendant, in which he may rest sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun. May the *kami* vouchsafe that the land in all directions be calmed to a peaceful land. With choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven we raise our words of praise.

[11] Before the presence of the water-dividing *kami* we humbly speak. We make bold to utter the sacred names of Yoshino, Uda, Tsuge, Katsuragi,[322] as we humbly raise our words of praise. Let the mighty *kami* vouchsafe to us a crop of long-eared grain, of vigorous grain, in the late-ripening harvest of rice, and we shall offer up to the mighty *kami* the first-fruits in countless myriads of grains, the grain and the liquid made from it, filling the offering jars to the brims, and setting up the rows of full-bellied jars, we shall offer up our words of praise. If there be any left over, may it grace the table of the divine descendant for the august morning food and the august evening food, that he may partake of it for eternity. As in partaking his august cheeks become ruddy,[323] so shall we bring the choice offerings from the divine descendant as we raise our words of praise, and let all those present hearken hereunto.

[12] We turn now and ask the Imbe, their frail shoulders bound with potent sleeve-ties,[324] to consecrate the offerings that are here prepared, and ask the divine chiefs and all priests to humbly receive these offerings, and making no error, to bear them up and present them [to the *kami*].

[321] *Yamanokuchi* (*yamaguchi*) 山口 are the mouths or entrances of the mountains whence pour forth the waters to bless the land and irrigate the rice paddies. These are also the names of local *kami* dwelling in those mountains. Offerings to the *yamanokuchi* deities are prescribed in the *E-S*, Bk I, under *Toshigoi* Festival.

[322] *Mikumari* (*mikomari*) 水分 deities were those who controlled the streams used for irrigation, the most vital part of rice culture. These are also contained in the regulations for *Toshigoi* offerings, *E-S*, Bk I.

[323] Although *akani-no-ho* has been interpreted to mean 'grain the color of red earth'. But both Kaneko and Uda take *ho* to mean 'cheek'. *Aka-ni* is red clay, used for coloring as well as for pottery.

[324] Here, with the expression *koto-waite* 辭別 the address shifts from *kami* to the participants themselves. The *futo-dasuki* 太多須支 has been translated 'potent sleeve-ties' to get the force of the adjective *futo*, which is one of those words of magical import. Sleeve-ties (*tasuki* or *yūdasuki*, see n. 233) are used to tie back the sleeves when preparing sacred food or offerings. *Futo* is a word which is used to induce magical effect—here, to increase the potency and effect of offerings presented to the *kami*.

[2]

Kasuga Festival[325]

By the august decree of the Sovereign, in great awe, we humbly speak in the awesome presence of the four mighty *kami*, Take-mikazuchi-no-mikoto who resides in Kashima, Iwainushi-no-mikoto who resides in Katori, Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto and Himegami, who reside in Hiraoka,[326] thus: In the manner in which the mighty *kami* have ordained, we have planted firmly the pillars of the shrine in the rocks deep under Mt Mikasa of Kasuga. The crossed beams thereof reach toward the heavens, offering a shelter from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun. And in it we have prepared[327] and offered these treasures for the *kami*: august mirror, august sword, august bow, august spear, and august horse; and for sacred raiment, we offer up bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth. And we place in rows the first-fruits sent in tribute from the provinces in all directions as offerings: the products of the blue sea, things wide of fin and narrow of fin, seaweeds from the deep and seaweeds of the shore, and even unto the sweet herbs and the bitter herbs from mountain and moor. Let the offering jars be filled with sake to their brims, yea, let the bellies of the rows of jars be full, and let all manner of goods be heaped up like a range of hills.

Let the surname, clan-rank-title, Court Rank, and position of those who are divine chiefs be made known.[328] May the choice great offerings which we present be pleasing offerings, be abundant offerings, and may they be received in tranquillity and pleasure. So we pray as we raise our words of praise to the four mighty *kami*. Since we serve thus by our worship, we pray that now and in the future our Sovereign may reign in his palace in peace and tranquillity and be blessed with a prosperous reign. May it be firm as solid rock, eternal as enduring rock, and be caused to flourish. May all the princes and court nobles of all the families from each locality who have participated and served here be at peace. May the August Sovereign flourish in his palace more than the trees and plants which grow, for

[325] The *Kasuga* Festival, according to the first book of *E-S*, was of the 'small' category. It was celebrated at Kasuga Jinja in Sounokami District, Yamato Prov., on the first monkey day (上申) of the 2nd and 11th months each year. The Kasuga Jinja was built to enshrine the ancestral and *uji* deities of the Fujiwara Uji.

[326] After the founding of the Kasuga Jinja, purportedly in the reign of Empress Gemmyō (708–14), the ancestral *kami* of the Nakatomi Family—of which the Fujiwara were a branch—were moved to Kasuga. These were Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto and his consort Himegami. Also, the *ujigami* of the Fujiwara were moved to Kasuga: namely, Take-mikazuchi-no-kami from Kashima Jingū in Hitachi Province, and Iwainushi-no-mikoto (who is identified with Futsunushi-no-kami of the myths) from Katori Jingū in Shimōsa (Shimotsufusa) Province.

[327] 'Prepared', or fitted, means that the mirror has its container, the sword its scabbard, the bow its arrows, the spear a shield, and the horse its saddle.

[328] The surname is *na* 名, the clan-rank title is *kabane* 姓, the Court Rank is *kurai* 位, and the government position or office is *tsukasa* 官.

a reign that prospers, thus we pray as we humbly raise our words of praise. (This is used likewise for the *norito* at Ooharano and Hiraoka Shrines.)[329]

[3]

Hirose no Oomi Festival[330]

AT THE confluence of the streams of Hirose we raise our words of praise. We make bold to utter the sacred name of Waka-uka-no-me-no-mikoto,[331] who grants to us august food. Before this mighty *kami* we humbly raise our words of praise, bearing the choice offerings from the divine descendant. With imperial princes and court nobles as bearers of the offerings, we raise our words of praise that all ye chiefs of shrines and priests may hear, so say we.

The choice offerings we present are for divine raiment: bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth and coarse, five kinds of goods, shields, spears, and horses. Let the sake fill the offering jars to the brim, yea, let the full-bellied offering jars be arrayed in rows. We bring fine hulled rice and coarse unhulled rice, and, of things dwelling in the mountains, those with soft fur and those with coarse fur;[332] of things that grow in the meadows of the great moors, sweet herbs and bitter herbs; of things that live in the blue sea-plain, things wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and seaweeds of the shore. We heap these up high and offer them as we speak our words humbly before the presence of the mighty *kami*. The offerings which we thus present, may they be pleasing offerings, bountiful offerings; may the *kami* receive them with peaceful and tranquil heart, we pray. May the food be eternally partaken of by the divine descendant who rules us, and his cheeks become ruddy as he partakes. Starting with the sacred fields of the mighty *kami*, the people under heaven[333] till the sacred late-ripening rice for the imperial princes, princesses, and the court nobles; up to their elbows in the churning water of the rice paddies, and up to their thighs, they work the

[329] The statement shows that the same *norito* was to be recited at the festival of Ooharano Shrine, where were enshrined the same four deities as at Kasuga (the four venerated as *ujigami* by the Fujiwara), and where it was held on the 'first hare day of the 2nd month, and on the middle rat day of the 11th month' (*E-S*, Bk I). It was also to be used for the festival to the four *kami* enshrined at Hiraoka in Kawachi Province celebrated on the first monkey day of the 2nd and 11th months (*E-S*, Bk I).

[330] The festival is *Hirose no Oomi (Ooimi) no matsuri*, celebrated at the Hirose Shrine located in former Hirose District (now Kita-Katsuragi-gun), at the confluence of the Saho, Hatsuse, and Asuka rivers, which unite to water the Yamato plain. In the *Nihongi*, the reign of Temmu Tennō, it says that the sovereign sent messengers 'to worship the Oho-imi Deity at Kawawa in Hirose'.

[331] Aston calls the Waka-uka-hime deity 'the young-food-lady' (*Nihongi*, II, 328). In the myths, Uka-no-mitama (the Spirit of Food) was created from the breath of Izanagi, the male of the creator-gods (ibid. I, p. 22). The *waka* in her name means 'young' or 'fresh'; *uka* (or *uga*, *uke*, etc.) means 'food'; *me* is 'female'. This goddess is also known as Uketsu-hime or Miketsu-hime, and at Ise Watarai Shrine as Toyouke-no-kami.

[332] The expression 'of soft fur and coarse fur' has led some scholars to think it means birds and beasts, and others to think it means different kinds of beasts. Mabuchi in the *Norito-kō* takes it to mean the feathers of birds and the coarse hair of beasts; Tsugita interprets soft fur as that of little animals and coarse fur as that of large animals.

[333] 'The people' is the expression '*ame-no shita no ōmutakara*' 天下公民, lit. 'the great treasure beneath heaven'; or *ta-kara* may mean 'workers in the rice paddies' 田族 (Kaneko, p. 85).

late-ripening harvest of rice. Let the mighty *kami* vouchsafe to us long ears of grain, and we shall heap up the first-fruits of the crop in liquid and in grain, like a range of hills, as offerings in the autumn festival; thus do we humbly speak before the presence of the mighty *kami*.

Before the presence of the mighty *kami* who dwell in the openings of the mountains in the six august districts in Yamato,[334] we bring the choice offerings from the divine descendant who rules us: offerings of bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and five kinds of goods, even unto shields and spears. As we present these offerings, so may we receive the waters which ye send down the hills and valleys from the openings of the many mountains governed by these mighty *kami*, and may it be sweet water. May the people under heaven who till the paddies of late-ripening rice not be smitten by fierce winds or angry waters.[335] May ye divinities vouchsafe this to us and we shall offer up the first-fruits in liquid and in grain, and filling the offering jars to the brim and lining up the full-bellied jars in rows, we shall heap up the offerings like a range of hills. Now let all imperial princes, princesses, nobles of the court, the host of officials, and chiefs and men and women of the six august districts[336] who are gathered here in this year, in this——month and——day[373] come humbly, and bowing their necks low like the cormorant in obeisance before the presence of the mighty *kami*, at this moment of the majestic and brilliant dawning of the morning light humbly raise the words of praise; oh, hearken, all ye chiefs of shrines and all ye priests, to what we utter.

[4]

Tatsuta Wind Gods Festival[338]

Ritual

BEFORE the presence of the mighty *kami* of Tatsuta we humbly raise our words of

[334] At this point the address shifts from the goddess Waka-uka-no-me-no-mikoto of the Hirose Shrine to the *kami* of the six imperial (or august) districts and the *yamanokuchi* deities of water supply.

[335] Or, evil winds and rough waters—*ashiki kaze, araki mizu*—such as strike in the typhoon season, often destroying the rice which ripens in the late summer.

[336] *Tone* were chiefs of households, but here they are officers attached to the districts producing food for the Imperial Table. They are local officials as opposed to Court officials, and appear to be supervisors of the men and women who work the paddies and fields of the six imperial districts.

[337] When the festival is held in spring, the words 'Fourth month, fourth day' are supplied; when held in summer, 'seventh month, fourth day' are supplied.

[338] According to the Register of Deities (*Jimmyō-chō*) of Bks IX and X, below, there are two deities enshrined in the main shrine at Tatsuta. Both are 'principal deities' (*myōjin* 名神) and are 'major' (*dai* 大). They are titled Ame-no-mihashira and Kuni-no-mihashira, lit. 'Divine Pillar of Heaven' and 'Divine Pillar of Earth', between which the winds are supported. In a second shrine at the same site are dwelling Tatsuta-hiko and Tatsuta-hime, male and female divinities of the locality. According to H. Aida, these two are identifiable with Shinatsu-hiko and Shinatobe-no-mikoto of mythology. See *Chūkai yōrō-ryō*, p. 344. They are found in the *Nihongi*, where *shinaga*, from which their names derive, is interpreted to mean 'long of breath'. Worship of these gods of the winds is mentioned in the *Nihongi* in the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 10th years of Temmu Tennō's reign; also in Empress Jitō's reign, especially in times of drought. See Aston, *Nihongi*, II, pp. 328, 331. The birth of the wind god is described in the creation myth of Izanagi and Izanami, and the wind god is also referred to in the Jingū Kōgō legend (Aston, op. cit. I, pp. 22, 230).

praise. Once the divine descendant who ruled the great land of Yamato, the great country of many islands,[339] did partake of the august eternal food, and his cheeks grew ruddy as he partook of the five grains[340] and the fruit of the crops tilled by the people under heaven. But when these did not grow unto the least blade, when they failed to ripen for not just one year or two, but for many years, the divine descendant decreed that the will of the *kami* must be made known from divination by many wise men and women as to which *kami* had ordered the harm to befall. But the divination by the wise ones did not reveal which of the *kami* had willed it. And the divine descendant declared: 'We have not forgotten any of the *kami* of heaven and earth and have omitted none in raising to them our words of praise. If the crops which the people under heaven are tilling do not grow, let the *kami* who bring harm to them reveal that it was their will and make an oath to us.[342] And thereupon the divine descendant envisioned a great dream: 'When the crops which are tilled by the people under heaven encounter fierce winds and angry waters, when they are harmed and grow not, it is because of Ame-no-mihashira and Kuni-no-mihashira.' Thus their august names were made known. 'If you present here before us offerings of divine raiment: bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, five kinds of goods, shields, spears, august horse and saddle and all manner of offerings, and if you set up our august abode situated where the light of the morning sun shines and the light of the evening sun casts its shadows,[343] in the little moor of Tatsuno in Tatsuta, here is our august abode located. If ye raise up words of praise in our presence, the crops which the people under heaven till and work, from the five grains to the very least blade of grass, ye shall know that they all will grow and be made to prosper.'

[339] The expression *shiki-shima* in the *norito* is a fixed epithet for the land of Japan. *Ooyashima kuni* is another poetic epithet, meaning 'Great Eight-Island Country' (or, 'Great Many-Island Country'). In the Izanagi and Izanami creation story, the latter gives birth to eight different islands, which stand for the principal islands of the archipelago. See Aston, I, 16.

[340] The *itsukusa no tanatsu-mono*, or *itsutsu no tanatsu-mono*, may mean five kinds of things from seeds (*tane no mono*). The traditional 'five cereals' of China were (according to the *Chou li*, and other sources): Glutenous millet, panicled millet, hemp, wheat, and beans, or, according to Mencius, rice, both millets, wheat and pulse, and so forth. The traditional Japanese five grains were: rice, wheat, millet, soybeans (*daizu*), and red beans (*azuki*). See Tsugita, p. 174.

[341] *Monoshiri-bito*, lit. 'knowers of things' in this context, may, since they are credited with performing divination (*uragoto* or *uranai*), be the *urabe* diviners whose role in preparations for festivals is essential. The origin of the root *ura* is obscure, but one theory (advanced by Nishimura Shinji 西村眞次) is that it derives from the Tungusic *ula*, the word for deer. Since the favored method of determining the divine will of the *kami* was by examining the cracks and delineations in the heated scapula of deer, this is a possible explanation of *ura-goto, uranai, uramu, ura-hame* and other terms related to the functions of the *urabe*. See J. Tsugita, p. 175.

[342] *Ukehi* is *renyōkei* (conjunctive) of *uke(f)u*, to swear an oath—a means of soliciting divine approval or a divine judgment. In the *Kojiki* the Storm God Susano-o-no-mikoto says, 'Let us swear oaths and bear children', which Philippi interprets to mean, 'Let us judge who is in the right by producing offspring' (Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 75).

[343] The *honsha*, or main shrine building, faces the east to receive the light of the morning sun. A parallel passage is found in the *Kojiki* in the story of the Heavenly Grandson, Ninigi-no-mikoto, descending from heaven to the land of Himuka (Hyūga) in Kyushu: 'a land where the morning sun shines directly, a land where the rays of the evening sun are brilliant' (Philippi, op. cit. p. 141).

In this place in which the mighty *kami* make known their words of instruction, here where the pillars of their august abode are fixed, here in the presence of the mighty *kami* we raise our words of praise as we humbly present the choice offerings from the divine descendant. The princes and the ministers who act as messengers raise their words of praise. In the presence of the mighty *kami* let the chiefs of shrines and all the priests hearken unto the words which are handed down to them.

The choice offerings which we present here[344] are of divine raiment for the male god: of bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and five kinds of things: shields, spears, august horse fitted with august saddle, and all manner of offerings. And to the goddess we present: for her divine raiment, a thread holder, a golden spindle, a golden reel, bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, coarse cloth, five kinds of things; an august horse fitted with august saddle, and all manner of offerings. Let the sacred sake fill the offering jars to the brim, let the full-bellied jars be lined up, let polished rice and whole-grain rice, let the creatures who live in the mountains soft of fur and coarse of fur, and of the things which grow in the plains of the great moors, the sweet herbs, the bitter herbs, and the things that live in the blue sea-plain, those wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and the seaweeds of the shore—let them be heaped up like a range of hills. Yea, these choice offerings which we present, may they be pleasing offerings, plentiful offerings, and may they make glad and peaceful the divine hearts of the mighty *kami*. May the crops which the people under heaven till and work not encounter fierce winds or angry waters; if the mighty *kami* vouchsafe to let them grow and be caused to prosper, we shall fill the offering jars to the brim with the first-fruits of the grain, and the full-bellied jars shall be arrayed in rows. As liquid and as grain we shall offer up hundreds, yea, thousands of ears of rice placed here for the autumn festival. Thus all of the princes, princesses, the nobles, and the host of officials, and even unto the chiefs and the men and women of the six august districts of Yamato, in the fourth (or the 7th) month of this year gather together to worship. Bending our necks low like the cormorants, at this the brilliant and majestic dawning of the morning light, we raise the words of praise as we offer the choice offerings from the divine descendant; and receiving them the chiefs of shrines and priests shall not be remiss in presenting them, according to divine command. Hearken all ye unto what we say.

[344] It does appear that this second set of offerings is being presented at the auxiliary shrine (*sessha*) in which the pair, Tatsuta-hiko and Tatsuta-hime, are enshrined.

[5]

Festival of Hirano[345]

By the divine decree of the divine descendants of heaven, we humbly speak before the awesome presence of the great and mighty *kami* whom we have humbly worshiped ever since he resided in the place of Imaki,[346] saying, As thou, great and mighty *kami*, hast commanded us, we have raised upon the foundation rocks the potent pillars of thy shrine. The crossed gable-boards reach toward the Plain of High Heaven, for this is the dwelling place of the great and mighty *kami*, sheltered from the gaze of heaven and the blazing sun.

Let the council of *kami* affairs determine the office, Court Rank, clan-title, and name of the chief of the shrine.[347] The treasures which we offer to thee are arrayed here: the august bow, august sword, august mirror, bells, silk umbrella, and august horse;[348] and for divine raiment, bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth we have prepared and do present. And from the provinces all around tribute of first-fruits are brought and arrayed here. Let the august sake fill the offering jars and the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows. We humbly offer up the things from mountains and moors: sweet herbs and bitter herbs; and from the blue sea-plain: creatures wide of fin, creatures narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and seaweeds of the shore; all manner of things we heap up high like a range of hills. May the choice, great offerings which we pres-

[345] The Hirano Shrine, located in Kadono District, Yamashiro Province, enshrined four deities: Imaki-no-kami, Kudo-no-kami, Furuseki-no-kami, and Himegami, all principal deities (*myōjin*) and major (*dai*). (See Bk IX, below.) Himegami is an *aidono kami*, meaning one who is worshiped in the same shrine building with another *kami*. Why the invocation to Imaki-no-kami is separated from the next *norito*, which is addressed to Kudo-no-kami and Furuseki-no-kami, is not explained. Evidently separate worship services were held for the different kami, at the occasions of the celebrating of the *Tsukinami* and *Niiname* festivals. The transcription Furuaki apparently arose from the use of 開 instead of 關 as a short form of *seki* 關. Furuseki 古關 appears in the Kujō-ke MS of *E-S*, and in the *Montoku jitsuroku* and other texts. Tsugita, pp. 202–3. Three entirely different theories have grown up concerning the identities of these four deities. One is that they are hearth gods related to the fires and stoves in the Imperial Palace. Another is that they are the *ujigami* of certain noble families: the Imaki-no-kami an *ujigami* of the Minamoto Family, Kudo the *ujigami* of the Taira Family, Furuseki an *ujigami* of the Takashina Uji, and Himegami that of the Ooe Uji. A third theory is that all four of these *kami* were ancestral *kami* of the mother of Kammu Tennō, who was descended from Shumō (Tobo), the first King of Paekche! See *Shoku-nihongi*, Enryaku 4th year, vol. XL. The signs point to this shrine having been founded in the Heian period. In the first Bk of *E-S*, in the description of the Hirano Festival, participation of the Yamato Uji and Ooe Uji is mentioned.

[346] Imaki was the name of the place where the mother of Kammu Tennō had her palace, in Tamura, Yamato Province. The name is thought to mean 'now come' (今來), alluding to the presence of immigrants or naturalized persons from Paekche (Kudara). See Tsugita, p. 199. In this particular passage the use of 'awesome', . . . *no hiro-mae* (rather than the usual *on-mae*), may be an indication of a higher rank of *kami*, because this *kami* was the ancestral *kami* of the emperor's in-laws.

[347] The chief of this shrine was a member of the Nakatomi clan. See *E-S*, Bk I: '. . . the Nakatomi who is chief of the shrine comes forward and recites the ritual.' Bock, *E-S*, (I), p. 77.

[348] As in other passages in the *norito*, the mention of bows implies also arrows; the horse is also presumed to be saddled.

ent be peacefully received, may the reign of our Sovereign be firm as solid rock, eternal as enduring rock, we pray, and may it be a prosperous and happy reign, may it last through countless ages; thus we pray as we raise our words of praise.

Moreover we humbly speak in behalf of the Imperial Princes, Princesses,[349] Court Chieftains, and the host of officials who are gathered here to worship; safeguard us with protection at night and protection by day, we pray. May the court of our Sovereign flourish like magnificent trees that grow ever taller, ever broader, we humbly pray as we raise our words of praise.

[6]

[*Festival to*] *The Deities Kudo and Furuseki*[350]

By the divine decree of the divine descendants of heaven, we have come to humbly worship before the shrines of Kudo and Furuseki. We make bold to speak in the awesome presence of these mighty *kami* whom we serve. As the great and mighty *kami* have commanded us, we have raised upon the foundation rocks the potent columns of these shrines. Their crossed gable-boards reach toward the Plain of High Heaven and they are sheltered from the gaze of heaven and the blazing sun. Let the office, Court Rank, clan-title, and name of the chief of the shrine be told. The treasures which we offer to the *kami* are arrayed here: the august bows, august swords, august mirror, bells, silk umbrella, and august horse. And for divine raiment, bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth we have prepared and do present. From provinces all around initial tribute goods are brought and arrayed here. Let the august sake fill the offering jars to the brim and let the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows. We humbly offer up things from the mountains and moors: sweet herbs and bitter herbs; and from the blue sea-plain: creatures wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and the seaweeds of the shore; all manner of things we heap high like a range of hills. May the choice, great offerings which we present be peacefully received. May the reign of our Sovereign be firm as solid rock, eternal as enduring rock, we pray, and may it be a prosperous and happy reign; may it last through countless ages, thus we pray as we raise our words of praise.

Moreover, we humbly speak in behalf of the imperial princes, princesses, court chieftains, and the host of officials gathered here to worship; safeguard us with protection at night and protection by day, we pray. May the court of our Sovereign flourish like magnificent trees which grow ever taller and ever broader, we humbly pray as we raise our words of praise.

[349] As elsewhere when this phrase is used, the text says 'Imperial Princes and other princes' but implicit in this are 'Imperial Princesses and other princesses'.

[350] This is connected with Hirano Shrine. See n. 345 above.

[7]

Tsukinami Festival[351]
(in the 6th month and the 12th month)

[1] All ye shrine chiefs and all ye priests assembled here, hearken unto the words which we speak.

[2] We humbly speak in the presence of all the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses who augustly abide in the Plain of High Heaven, before the many *kami* enshrined in heaven and earth, we raise our words of praise. We humbly present as offerings for the monthly festival of the sixth month [or the 12th month] bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth. At this moment of the majestic and brilliant dawning of the morning light, we humbly raise our words of praise.

[3] Before the mighty *kami* to whom the great Sacred Maidens offer words of praise, we utter the hallowed names of Kami-musubi, Takami-musubi, Iku-musubi, Taru-musubi, Tamatsume-musubi, Oomiya-no-me, Miketsu-no-kami and Kotoshironushi, to whom we offer our words of praise. May this age of the divine descendant be an everlasting age, as firm as solid rock, eternal as enduring rock; that it may flourish and be a happy reign, we present the choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven together with our words of praise for our mighty ancestral gods and goddesses.

[4] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom the Igasuri Sacred Maidens offer their words of praise, we make bold to utter the hallowed names of Ikui, Sakui, Tsunagai, Asuha, and Haigi, and offer to them our words of praise. On the bed of rock beneath the ground the pillars of the shrines to these mighty *kami* are rooted. Toward the Plain of High Heaven the crossed gable-boards reach up, as we humbly serve and worship at the sacred dwelling of the divine descendant of heaven. May it be sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun. That ye grant from it the lands in all directions may be governed and made peaceful lands, tranquil lands, we offer up the choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven together with our words of praise.

[5] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom the Mikado Sacred Maidens raise their words of praise, we make bold to utter the hallowed names of Kushi-iwamado-no-mikoto and Toyo-iwamado-no-mikoto and offer to them our words of praise. May they defend with strength like a mass of ponderous rock the gates of the four directions, and open the gates in the morning and close the gates in the evening. If things to be shunned come from below, let them protect

[351] The exact title is *Minazuki no Tsukinami* 六月月次 (Monthly Festival in the Waterless Month). Perhaps this festival at one time was celebrated every month, but in the period of the *E-S* it was celebrated once in six months: on the 11th day of the 6th month and the 11th day of the 12th month. The purpose of this festival is almost identical with that of the *Toshigoi*: to pray for security for the nation, for the success of the rice crop, and for abundant harvest. The text of this *norito* is also identical with that of the *Toshigoi* except for the third section of the *Toshigoi*, which is addressed to Mitoshi-no-kami. According to *E-S*, Bk I, this festival was held to worship 304 *kami*, who were all 'major' and were presented with offerings from the *Jingi-kan* (i.e. the government) placed on top of the offering tables. Presentations were made at 198 shrines.

below. If things to be shunned come from above, let them protect above. May they watch by night and watch by day, we pray, as with choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven we offer up our words of praise.

[6] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom the Ikushima Sacred Maidens offer words of praise, we make bold to utter the hallowed names of Ikukuni and Tarukuni and offer to them our words of praise. In all the many lands far and wide over which the mighty *kami* hold sway, to the uttermost corners whither creeping creatures may crawl, and as far as the salt foam of flood tides reaches, may the narrow places be made wide and the steep places be made level, and may there be no escaping of water in the lands far and wide. Let the mighty *kami* vouchsafe this to us, as with the choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven we now raise our words of praise.

[7] And turning now, before the mighty presence of Amaterasu-ō-mikami who abides in Ise we make bold to say: In all the lands through which this mighty *kami* clearly sees, as far as the heavens stretch above, and as far as the ground stretches beneath, to the uttermost heights of clouds in the blue, to the limits reached by the white clouds a-massing, to the uttermost reaches of the plain of the blue sea, on which with pole and helm never dry the prows of ships do ply; yea, on the great ocean where sail heavy-laden ships, and on the land routes where ropes are pulled taut over loads of tribute cargo, may the mighty goddess vouchsafe to the divine descendant that treading over rough rocks and roots of trees as far as horses can travel, the narrow places may be made wide and the steep places level, and may the distant countries send tribute pulled by dozens of hawsers. If the great ancestral goddess grant us this, before the presence of the great ancestral goddess we shall heap up our tribute of first-fruits like unto a range of hills, and if any be left over, may the divine descendant partake thereof. Moreover, may the reign of the divine descendant be an everlasting reign and may it be firm as solid rock, eternal as enduring rock, we pray, and that it may flourish and be a happy reign, we present the choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven together with our words of praise to our mighty ancestral gods and goddesses.

[8] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* who dwell in the august districts we humbly speak. We make bold to utter the hallowed names of Takechi, Katsuragi, To-ochi, Shiki, Yamanobe, and Sou. As we come humbly bearing the sweet herbs and bitter herbs that grow in these six districts, may the *kami* vouchsafe that they provide food eternally for the divine descendants of heaven; for with choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven we offer up our words of praise.

[9] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* who dwell in the openings of the mountains we humbly speak. We make bold to utter the hallowed names of Asuka, Iware, Osaka, Hatsuse, Unebi, and Miminashi. We dare to cut the trunks and branches of the great trees and small trees that sprout and grow in the farther mountains and the nearer mountains. We come up bearing the wood thereform that we may undertake to build a new and splendid august dwelling for the divine descendant of heaven, in which he may rest sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun. May the *kami* vouchsafe that the land in all directions

be a peaceful land, a tranquil land. With choice offerings from the divine descendant of heaven we raise our words of praise.

[10] Before the presence of the mighty *kami* residing in the water divides we humbly speak. We make bold to utter the hallowed names of Yoshino, Uda, Tsuge, and Katsuragi, as we humbly raise our words of praise. Let the mighty *kami* vouchsafe to us a crop of long-eared grain, of vigorous grain, in the late-ripening harvest of rice, and we shall offer up to the mighty *kami* the first-fruits of the myriad grains. The grain and liquid made from it filling the offering jars to the brims, the full-bellied jars arrayed in rows shall we offer up together with our words of praise. If there be any left over, may it grace the table of the divine descendant for the august morning food and the august evening food, that he may partake thereof for eternity. As in partaking of it his august cheeks become ruddy, so shall we bring the choice offerings of the divine descendant as we raise our words of praise. Let all those present hearken thereunto.

[11] We turn now and request the Imbe, their frail shoulders bound with potent sleeve-ties, to consecrate and purify the offerings that are here prepared, and we ask the chiefs of shrines and all priests humbly to take these offerings, and making no error, bear them up and present them unto the *kami*.

[8]

[The *Ootono-hogai*, or Luck-wishing of the Palace, was both a regular festival and an occasional one. Procedures for this appear in the Annual Festivals of Book II of the *Engi-shiki*, for it was performed before and after the festivals of *Jinkonjiki* (Sacred Food Ritual) and *Niiname* (First-Fruits). It also preceded the *Daijō-sai* (Great Food Festival of the Enthronement). In the third book of *Engi-shiki* it appears as an extraordinary festival celebrated when the Imperial Palace was moved to a new building, or whenever the selection of a princess to be consecrated to the Ise Shrines, or the Kamo Shrines, was completed. In the latter cases the palace to serve as residence for the princess each time had to be consecrated. The *Ootono-hogai* consisted of exorcizing all defilements and impurities from the Imperial Palace, likewise the consort's palace, the Heir Apparent's Palace and, on occasion, the princesses' palaces. It addresses itself to the deities who are worshiped within the Palace and who were its special protectors: Yabune Kukunochi-no-mikoto, Yabune Toyouke-no-mikoto, and Oomiya-no-me-no-mikoto. The text which follows was recited by a member of the Imbe.]

Ootono-hogai[352]

AFTER the divine command of the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses who abide

[352] The *Ootono-hogai*, lit. 'Blessing of the Great Hall', was performed to purify and consecrate the palace of the sovereign or of his consort, the Heir Apparent, the Princess to Ise, the Princess to Kamo, and so forth. The verb *hogu*, to bless or bring good fortune to, is related to *hoga(f)u*, to bring luck, and *kotohogu*, to bless with words, to flourish, and is similar in meaning. Tsugita, p. 214.

in the Plain of High Heaven and who caused the Heavenly Grandson to sit exalted upon the throne of heaven, we raise aloft the divine imperial emblems, the mirror and sword,[353] as we pronounce these words of blessing.[354] Ye have decreed that our August Sovereign, the supernal divine descendant, seated on the throne of heaven, maintain the heavenly light succession[355] for endless autumns, yea, for a thousand times ten thousand autumns, and that he rule the country of rich rice-ears growing from the abundant reedy plains of the land of many islands[356] in peace and tranquillity.[357] Relying on the heavenly command which was given after the divine discussion, which was spoken by the rocks,[358] the trees, and even unto the least blade of grass, he descended to the earth to rule the land under heaven.[359] And for the august dwelling of the divine descendant who carries on the heavenly succession, the sacred axes of the Imbe are being taken to cut the trees growing in the great and the narrow gorges of the mountain recesses, leaving the stumps and branches for the worship of the mountain gods to take the trunks themselves, and, using the sacred spades,[360] they will raise up sacred pillars of a splendid dwelling for the divine descendant, sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun. O, ye Yabune deities,[361] using the miraculous auspicious words, we pray that ye may bring good fortune and pacify this house.

To the limits of the bedrock beneath the ground of this great palace, let not the coupling ropes[362] nor any crawling creatures below cause harm. And above, as far as clouds amass in the blue, let no harm come from defilement by flying

[353] Here the heavenly emblems are called '*amatsu-shirushi*'. These refer to the *yata-kagami* and the *kusanagi* sword, regalia of the imperial succession. As was the case in Bk VII, the third of the three sacred emblems, the divine curved jewels, are not included here. The *Kojiki*, however, mentions all three in the story of Ninigi-no-mikoto. Philippi, p. 139. See nn. 267, 268, and 269 above.

[354] *Kotohogi*, 'words of blessing,' is the ritual or formula for bringing good fortune; it is equivalent to *sakahogai*, according to the gloss here. *Kotohogi* is the archaic form of the *kotobuki* of present-day Japanese.

[355] Some believe that the expression '*amatsu-hitsugi*' ('heavenly sun lineage', 'heavenly light succession', or possibly 'heavenly fire succession') may refer to an actual function of the sovereign in keeping perpetually burning a sacred fire for the worship of those *kami* who were ancestors of the Imperial House. Hence the sovereign became 'prince of the fire-succession' (*hitsugi no miko*), and the imperial dignity, *amatsu-hitsugi*.

[356] These are euphonious epithets for the land of Yamato. See n. 339 above. *Toyo-ashiwara* ('abundant reedy plains') is thought to describe the natural condition of the country before it was developed for rice culture. The *ashi* is a common plant with jointed stalk that grows in moist places. The rich rice-ears are *mizu-ho: mizu*, splendid, good, beautiful; and *ho*, grain (of rice).

[357] Gloss says that in the ancient language *shiroshimesu* means 'deign to rule', etc.

[358] *Iwa-ne* is said to mean the rocks below; for *ne* in this use parallels are: *ya-ne*, 'roof', and '*ha-ne*', wings. On the other hand, *iwao* means 'rocks above', or 'rocks rising up'. This passage appears again in the *Ooharae-no-kotoba* (no. 10), and *Tataru-kami* (no. 25), below. The ancient belief was that the rocks, trees, and plants had the power of speech.

[359] The subject of this phrase is the Heavenly Grandson, Ninigi-no-mikoto, who was sent by the *kami* in heaven to rule the land of Yamato.

[360] The Imbe Uji by their own tradition were responsible for the building of the Palace and hence were charged with overseeing the ceremonial cutting of wood from the forest with the taboo axe, *imi-ono*, and the ceremony of digging for the foundations with the taboo spade, *imi-suki*. See n. 168. As for the house tradition, see n. 292, above.

[361] The two Yabune deities are revered as indwelling *kami* of the Palace. See n. 367, below.

[362] As the gloss explains, the *tsuna-ne* are the joining ropes which tie the crossbeams to the uprights in this building, built without nails.

birds.[363] May there be no moving or creaking of the firmly fastened pillars, cross-beams, rafters, doors, or windows; may there be no loosening of the knots in ropes that bind together, let not thatching reeds come loose,[364] nor floor-boards squeak.[365] Let not the night attendants make disturbance nor fail in their duty.[366] We make bold to utter the august names of the *kami* who in peace and tranquillity protect this thine abode—Yabune Kukunochi-no-mikoto (the spirit of the wood) and Yabune Toyouke-hime-no-mikoto (the spirit of the rice, otherwise called Uka-no-mitama)[367] and raise to them our praises. That they may make the reign of our divine descendant as firm as hard rock, enduring as the solid rock, that it may be a prosperous reign, a reign of plenty, a lengthy reign, and that it may flourish, let the sacred jewel-makers[368] consecrate and make pure for presentation the splendid myriad long strands of curved jewels.[369] And placing them on bright soft cloth and shining soft cloth, the Imbe of *sukune* rank,[370] his frail shoulders bound with the potent sleeve-ties, shall offer them up. In uttering the propitiatory words of congratulation, if there should be any carelessness, we pray that the divinities Kamu-naobi-no-mikoto and Oo-naobi-no-mikoto may vouchsafe to make our prayers sound rightly and our offerings correct,[371] we humbly say.

[363] What appears to mean 'blood dropping from heaven', *ame no chidari*, has been given various interpretations. One comes from the Chinese belief that such birds as goatsuckers dripped blood while in flight. Motoori in this connection cites a song of Oojin Tennō where the phrase '*momo chidari*' occurs, which Philippi translates 'of the myriad leaves'. Other interpretations are that noxious droppings from birds are apt to fall into a chimney opening or smoke window of a dwelling and contaminate the stove inside.

[364] The reading here for 草 is *kaya*, miscanthus, although actually it is generic for any thatching material, which could also be *susuki* 薄, pampas, *karukaya* 萱, *Anthistiria arguens*, *chigaya* 茅, *Imperata arundinacea*, or *ashi* 葦, reeds.

[365] *Mi-yuka-tsuhi* describes the joining or dovetailing of boards in this construction in which no nails were used.

[366] *Ya-me* or *yo-me* means either 'night-eye' (night watch) or 'night-female'; if the latter, it could mean ladies-in-waiting who attend the Imperial Family. The word *isusuki* is believed to mean 'wake up and be agitated'; *itsutsushiki* seems to mean 'without harm', or else 'without fear of apparitions'.

[367] The glosses explain the roles of these two *kami*: the tree-spirit, *ko-no-mitama*, and the rice-spirit, *ine-no-mitama*. The etymology of Yabune may be: *ya*, a dwelling; and *fune*, a receptacle. The element *kuku*, according to Tsugita, means 'stem' or 'trunk' (*kuki*), while *chi* in the names of *kami* refers to divine power or divine virtue. In the Izanagi creation myth the creator gods give birth to the 'tree deity', Kukunochi-no-kami. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, 7: 8, p. 56. The food goddess (Ooketsu-hime, Waka-uka-mitama, or Ukemochi-no-kami, Toyouke-no-kami, etc.) in this role is protector of life within the Palace. Not only is she goddess of food and of cereals, but even of the rice-straw used to thatch the Palace roof. See J. Tsugita, op. cit. pp. 233–4.

[368] *Imi-tamazukuri*, for their name suggests that these jewel-makers are a branch of the Imbe Uji. See n. 292, above.

[369] *Yasaka-ni* means to be of 'great length'; the *mifuki-tama* are probably equivalent to *mihogi* (*tama*), meaning jewels of august felicitation. The *mifuki-tama* are mentioned in the description of the festival held when the Local Chieftain of Izumo came up to Court, in *E-S*, Bk III, extraordinary festivals.

[370] The name of the member of the Imbe Uji of *sukune* rank who recites this ritual is inserted here.

[371] The two *kami* referred to appear in the *Kojiki* account of the god Izanagi returning from the nether world and having to cleanse himself from the pollution he had suffered: 'in order to rectify these evils, there came into existence the deity Kamu-napobi-no-kami; next, Opo-napobi-no-kami . . .' Philippi, *Kojiki* (11:15), p. 69; *naobi* (*napobi*) means 'corrective working' (ibid. p. 546).

Turning now we speak and make bold to utter the august name of Oomiya-no-me-no-mikoto, who defends the dwelling of our divine descendant, judging the merit of persons who enter and exit thence, and deigns to remonstrate with and mollify those *kami* who are agitated and unruly. Let those who serve the august morning food and the august evening food to the divine descendant, the scarf-wearing[372] palace ladies and sleeve-tied palace chefs, make no slip of the hand or slip of the foot. Let all imperial princes and princesses and all other princes, ministers, and the host of officials, without asserting their own wills, and with no evil purpose or sullied mind, proceed unto this palace and serve in this palace. If there be any misdeed or accident, let it be rectified to the eye and the ear. That they may serve in peace and tranquillity, we humbly raise our words of praise uttering thine august name, Oomiya-no-me-no-mikoto.

[9]

[The Festival of the August Gates, *Mikado-matsuri* (or *Mikado-hogai*) was the luck-wishing for the gates of the palace and was held immediately after the service of luck-wishing for the palace, the *Ootono-hogai*. Like the latter, it was held as a regular twice-yearly festival, according to Book I of the *Engi-shiki*, and then was held on special occasions when a new palace was to be dedicated. This luck-wishing for the gates was also the prerogative of the Imbe Uji, and a member of that clan recited this ritual addressed to the indwelling *kami* of the gates which are the entrances to the palace compound. These *kami*, Kushi-iwamado and Toyo-iwamado, were also invoked in the *Toshigoi* Festival as the deities whose worship was conducted by the Mikado Sacred Maidens of the palace. There is no introductory invocation, since this followed the celebration of the luck-wishing for the palace as a whole.]

Mikado-matsuri[373]

WE MAKE bold to utter the hallowed names of Kushi-iwamado and Toyo-iwamado, who as they reside in the august gates, inner and outer, on all sides, defend the palace like a magic-working mound of rock. Vouchsafe, we pray, that no hateful or disturbing things enter on the four sides or at the four corners; and that there be no sinister encounter nor speaking together with those known as heavenly, evil-working *kami*. If such things should come from above, protect above, we pray; if such things should come from below, protect below, we pray. Waylay and ward them off; exorcise and drive them out; expel them with words. Open the gates in the morning, and in the evening close the august gates. Inquire the names of those persons who come up and enter the palace, and of those who withdraw and go

[372] 'Scarf-wearing' probably refers to the *uneme* ladies who waited upon the sovereign. Quiver bearers and sword wearers were his personal bodyguards, whose formal name was *konoe* (Inner Palace Guards).

[373] In the first book of *E-S* the Festival of the Gates is prescribed to be held regularly in the 4th and 12th months. For the names of the Gate Gods, see n. 313, above.

out from it.[374] If there be any misdeed or accident, let it be rectified to the eye and to the ear by the deities Kamunaobi and Oonaobi. Let them who serve the divine descendant do so peacefully and tranquilly as we humbly raise our words of praise to the hallowed names of Toyo-iwamado-no-mikoto and Kushi-iwamado-no-mikoto. Thus humbly we speak.

[10]

[Twice a year the Court, the ministers, and the host of officials assembled at the Suzaku Gate of the Imperial Palace to participate in the ceremonial of driving out all impurities and defilements. This was the *ōharae* of the last day of the sixth and the twelfth months, respectively. In the *jingi-ryō* (of the Yōrō Code) was stated: 'At all times, at the Great Purification on the last day of the 6th and 12th months, the Nakatomi offer up the purificatory offerings (*harae-nusa*), the *fubitobe* of Yamato and Kawachi offer up swords. The *harae-kotoba* is recited. That done, the host of officials, men and women, gather together at the purification place and the diviners (*urabe*) perform the exorcism. . . .' In the *Shoku-nihongi* history however, the entry for Taihō 2, 12th month, says the *ōharae* was omitted but the *fubitobe* of Yamato and Kawachi performed exorcism as usual.[375]

In the *Engi-shiki*, Book I, the requirements for offerings for the Great Purification[376] are listed, followed by the statement: 'For the above, before the monkey hour on the last day, the host of officials from Princes-of-the-Blood and on down assemble at the Suzaku Gate, and the Diviners recite the ritual. (See the *Gishiki* for this matter.)'[377] But the *jōgan-gishiki* says: 'That done, the Nakatomi go to their kneeling-place and recite the *norito*.' An added gloss says 'beforehand the imperial decree (*semmyō*) is read'—so possibly the *urabe* recited this *semmyō* and the Oonakatomi the main ritual, the *ōharae-kotoba*.[378] The *urabe* were charged with the performance of imitative magic which would bring about the expulsion of all forms of defilement and pollution from all persons present, and from the nation's people as a whole.]

[374] This function of examining those who come and go through the palace gates was actually the responsibility of the *emon-fu*, Outer Palace Guards (n. 244 above). See the function of Oomiya-no-me-no-mikoto in the preceding ritual.

[375] *Shoku-nihongi*, Taihō 2 (A.D. 702), 12th month.

[376] *Minazuki no tsugomori no ōharae* 六月之晦大祓, the great driving out on the last day of the waterless month (repeated in the 12th month). The derivation of *tsugomori* is *tsuki-komori*, the darkening, or ending, of the month. This semi-annual grand exorcism had its precedent in ancient China, for it says in the *Chou li*, in *ch'un-kuan* 春官 sec.: 'The female shamans have charge of the yearly seasonal driving-out and ceremonial bathing' (a medicinal bath into which fragrant herbs had been put). Tsugita, p. 260. And again: 'female priests have charge of the seasonal prayers and sacrifices to ward off calamity' (loc. cit.).

[377] The list of offerings to be prepared includes items some of which are mentioned in the ritual: the gold ornamented swords, the gilt and silvered effigies onto which defilements were symbolically removed from the persons being cleansed of impurities; other swords and ceremonial weapons, bows, arrows, mattocks, symbolic foodstuffs, salt, water, ceremonial cloth and hemp, and, finally, six horses. *E-S*, Bk I.

[378] Kaneko, pp. 431–2.

Ritual of Great Purification

O, ALL ye assembled imperial princes and princesses, ye other princes, ministers, and all the host of officials, hearken unto the words which we pronounce. Commencing with His Sovereign Majesty's scarf-decked attendants, quiver-bearing attendants, and sword-wearing attendants, yea, all the multitude of attendants,[379] from all of these and from the many persons of all the different offices, let the varieties of offenses unwittingly or wilfully committed[380] be driven out, in this great driving-out of the last day of the sixth month [or twelfth month] of this year; let them all be driven out and washed away, hearken ye all unto these words.

At the command of the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses divinely abiding in the Plain of High Heaven, the many myriad *kami* were divinely gathered together to discuss and plan, and by their words entrusted to the divine descendant[381] the country of rich rice-ears growing in the abundant reedy plains as a pleasant land to rule in peace.

Lest there be any unruly *kami*[382] in the midst of the land entrusted to him, the *kami* asked and inquired why they were thus, and caused them to be divinely cleansed and purged. The words of questioning from rocks and trees, and even the least blade of grass, were ended. Leaving the worthy throne of heaven, parting asunder the many-layered heavenly clouds, with awesome parting, he descended from heaven to the land entrusted to him.

In the land in the center of all lands which was entrusted to him, the land of Yamato where the sun shines high, a pleasant land, the columns of his palace are auspiciously planted, the crossed gable-boards reaching up toward heaven. Here is built the splendid, august dwelling-place of the divine descendant, sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun. In the pleasant land which he rules in tranquillity, from the many people who by divine grace are born into it, may the countless offenses unwittingly or wilfully committed be purged; beginning with the heavenly offenses (breaking down the paddy dikes, filling in irrigation ditches, opening the sluice-gates, double planting, setting up stakes, flaying alive, flaying backwards, cursing with excrement, and many such, these are designated as heavenly offenses)[383] and then earthly offenses—defilement due

[379] See n. 372 above concerning the personal attendants of the sovereign.

[380] *Ayamachi okashikemu* is equivalent to modern *ayamattari okashitari*. *Ayamu* is to incur offense by inadvertence, while *okasu* is to commit a crime, or incur defilement by deliberate acts.

[381] Again in this passage the title Sume-mima-no-mikoto refers to the Heavenly Grandson of the myths. See n. 303, above.

[382] Unruly *kami* are *araburu kamitachi*. Starting with Ookuninushi-no-mikoto, *kami* were sent down by command of Amaterasu-ō-mikami to wrest the land from unruly terrestrial *kami*. Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 129 ff.

[383] The seven so-called 'heavenly' transgressions (*tsumi*) were enumerated in the myth of Susano-o-no-mikoto (the Storm God), who broke down the ridges in the rice paddies, filled in irrigation ditches, opened sluice gates, put stakes between the rows of rice. See *Kojiki*, pp. 79–80. The setting up of stakes, *kushisashi*, has been explained as either (1) changing boundaries to steal a neighbor's rice, (2) planting sharp bamboos which are hidden and will cut the farmer's feet, or, (3) by putting in prohibited articles, bringing an evil curse upon the paddies. The skinning of a live animal was taboo because of bloodshed offensive to the *kami*; the skinning from head to tail (rather than tail to head) was a reversal and was taboo, the defiling with excrement was also a form of evil magic (*kuso-to*, 'dung curse').

to cutting live flesh, cutting dead flesh; due to vitiligo, due to excrescences; defilement due to intercourse with one's own mother, or one's own daughter, due to cohabiting with a woman and then her daughter by previous marriage, or from cohabiting with a girl and then her mother; defilement due to copulation with an animal, due to attack from creeping things, due to calamity from the *kami* on high, or from birds overhead, due to having caused death to livestock or other evil magic—let all these defilements be purged.[384]

And when these are purged, by the divine ceremonial, let the Oonakatomi[385] take the sacred branches[386] and, cutting off the thick ends, cutting away the leaf ends, lay them upon the many offering-tables in ample numbers.[387] Let them gather and cut the stalks of thatching reeds and, cutting off the thick ends, clipping the leaf ends, divide them finely, needle-like, and recite the solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic formula.[388] When he has thus recited, may the heavenly *kami* push open the worthy doors of heaven, and part with an awesome parting the many-layered heavenly clouds. May the terrestrial *kami* ascend to the summits of the high mountains and summits of the hills and may they clear away the mists from the high mountains and the mists from the hills.

If they vouchsafe to do this, commencing with the august palace of the divine descendant, throughout all the lands, let every last offense—just as the winds of the boundless skies blow away the many-layered clouds of heaven, just as the morning wind blows to dispel the mists of the morning and the evening wind blows to dispel the winds of the evening; just as at the harbor's edge[389] by letting loose its prow and letting loose its stern a big ship is put afloat on the broad plain of the sea; and just as the long, young branches are cut from the tree trunk with

[384] Ceremonial defilement resulted from cutting live flesh (blood caused defilement) or dead flesh (death caused pollution). Skin diseases were thought to result from witchcraft. The taboos on sexual relations prohibited a man from having relations with his mother, his daughter, the daughter of his wife, or the mother of his wife, as stated. Nothing is said here about relations between siblings, though intercourse between children of the same mother was prohibited. The Great Exorcism performed after the death of Chūai Tennō makes collective mention of 'upper and lower incestuous marriages'. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 259–60. Afflictions from *kami* above may include accidents from thunder and lightning, misfortunes believed caused by heavenly bodies or *tengu* monsters. See Aston, *Nihongi*, I, pp. 307–8, where the sudden death of a concubine of Richū Tennō is attributed to a 'divine curse'. Defilement might be caused by droppings from birds, or ill luck from predatory birds or flying goblins. The 'bringing down of beasts', *chiku-taoshi*, meant the killing of domestic animals by a person bearing a grudge who invoked an evil *kami* or evil magic upon them for purposes of revenge. Evil magic or a curse is *majimono*.

[385] The adjective 'great' added to the surname Nakatomi was an honorary addition in the beginning, but eventually was the surname of the branch of that *uji* associated with performing the highest religious ceremonies, particularly those to Amaterasu-ō-mikami, ancestral *kami* of the Imperial House. The Nakatomi claimed Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto as their divine ancestor.

[386] The sacred branches, *amatsu kanagi*, are a kind of wand used for exorcising defilement. It is not known exactly what tree is meant, but commentaries say it is the branch of a small tree, cut to a certain size.

[387] The expression is: *chikura no oikikura ni oki-tarawashite*—'placing them plenteously upon the thousand-fold offering-tables' (i.e. the tables or stands upon which expiatory offerings for the *kami* are placed).

[388] *Amatsu norito no futo-noritogoto*, lit., 'the potent words for casting the spell of the heavenly formula'.

[389] *Minato-be*, 'at the edge of the river mouth', or 'at the sea-straits', or 'at the harbor'.

the tempered blade of a sharp sickle—so let the offenses be driven out and be purged so that none remain. From the tops of the high mountains, from the tops of the hills, in the waters which tumble into churning rivers, may the *kami* called Seoritsu-hime,[390] who dwells in the mainstream of swift rivers, carry them out to the broad sea-plain. When they are carried away thus, over the myriad routes of the tides, may the *kami* called Haya-akitsu-hime,[391] who dwells in the currents of the wild tides, swirl them about and swallow them up.[392] When they are thus swallowed up may the *kami* called Ibukido-nushi,[393] who dwells in the place of blowing air, blow them out and away from the country beneath, from the nether regions.[394] When they are thus blown away from the country beneath and from the nether regions, may the *kami* called Haya-sasura-hime carry them and as she wanders about dissipate them.[395] When they are thus dissipated, commencing with all the people of the various offices serving the Court of the Sovereign, from this day forth in all regions under heaven, may the offenses and defilements disappear. Let the creatures in heaven lend their ears, as the horses are led forward.[396] On this the last day of the sixth [or the twelfth] month of this year, at the great driving out, at the setting of the sun, we humbly pray that Ye cause the driving out and cleansing of all, so say we. And let the *urabe* of the four provinces carry these and withdraw to the stream of the great river[397] and cast them all out, so we pray.[398]

[11]

[In the *jingi-ryō* of the Yōrō Code, it says: 'At all times, on the last day of the 6th month and the 12th month, at the Great Purification, the *fubitobe* of Yamato and

[390] The name of the goddess is composed of: *se*, shallows or rapids; *ori* from *oru*, to drop or descend; *tsu* the possessive particle; and *hime*, princess.

[391] According to the *Kojiki*, the deities of the sea-straits or harbors were Haya-akitsu-hiko and Haya-akitsu-hime, a pair whose names contain the elements: *haya*, swift, and *aki*, bright or clear, which have the propitious effect of being cleansing agents. The two deities were offspring of Izanagi and Izanami. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 55.

[392] Here *kaka-nomu* is an onomatopoeia for the sound of swallowing, gulping, or drinking up.

[393] The name of the deity is composed of: *i*, breath or air; *fuki* (*buki*) from *fuku*, to blow; *to*, a door or portal; and *nushi*, lord. Thus he is 'Lord of the Portal of Blowing Air', the portal being that through which defilements and impurities were blown down into the nether regions.

[394] The *ne-no-kuni* and *soko-no-kuni* are thought to mean the same thing: the land underneath, and are also synonymous with *shitatsu-kuni*, a term which appeared in the ritual for the *Hoshi-zume* Festival.

[395] The name is made up of: *haya*, swift; *sasura(f)u*, to wander about; and *hime*, princess or goddess. Thus 'wandering about' is a play on her name. Motoori has identified her with Suseri-bime of the myths.

[396] The requirements for presentation at this festival include six expiatory horses, *harae-uma*, which are to carry away all defilements. The horse, because of its pointed, erect ears, was thought to be alert to every sound around it. This is why mention of the horse is associated with petitioning the *kami* to lend their august ears closely to the invocations and prayers.

[397] That is, great river of the capital—either the Kamo or the Katsura is intended.

[398] As the *urabe* diviners perform exorcism, the defilements and impurities are driven out of the persons present, by means of the metaphors, formulas, and imitative magic, into the effigies. Then the *urabe* depart the Palace precinct and throw the dolls into the river.

Kawachi[399] offer up the sword of exorcism and recite the words of exorcism.' In procedures for annual festivals in Book I of the *Engi-shiki* the list of requirements for the Great Purification (*ōharae*) include, among other things: '2 swords ornamented with gold, 2 each of gilded and silvered effigies (the foregoing are kept by the recorders of Yamato and Kawachi)'. There are also six black-lacquered swords, bows, arrows, mattocks, deerskins, antlers and other items, and, finally, six horses. The instructions say that . . . 'before the monkey hour on the last day [of the month], the host of officials from Prince-of-the-Blood and on down assemble at the Suzaku Gate, and the Diviners recite the ritual.' The recorders (*fubitobe*) themselves gather in the forbidden courtyard of the palace. They present the swords and the effigies successively to the Sovereign. He in turn breathes his honorable breath upon these objects in order to transfer to them any defilement, pollution, or misfortune, and thus to symbolically cleanse himself and the Court of any offenses to the *kami*. This ceremony takes place before the recitation of the *ōharae no kotoba*, the ritual of exorcism for the Great Purification, no. 10 above. Why the *fubitobe* used this Taoist charm, which they recited in Chinese pronunciation, may be explained by their personal history as scholars in Chinese at the Court. The language of this ritual is altogether a contrast to the archaic Yamato language of the other *norito*.]

The Charm Recited by the Yamato no Fumi no Imike-be When Presenting Swords (Duplicated by the Fubitobe of Kawachi)[400]

We humbly beseech the Supreme Ruler of Heaven,[401] the (Six) Great Lords of the Three Terraces,[402] the sun, the moon, the stars, and planets, the hosts of gods

[399] Also written *fumi-be*, *fumibito*, or *fumibito-be*, these were the official scholars or recorders. In the beginning they were scribes who wrote in Chinese, and eventually, since their occupation was hereditary, it became the name of their *uji* or clan. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, a genealogy of important clans in the Nara period, they were descended from immigrants. The *gakuryō* (law concerning learning) of the Yōrō Civil Code says: 'At all times, scholars [*dai-gakusei*] are children of 5th Court Rank and above, as well as the Scholars of East and West. . . .' The *Ryō-no-gige* explains that the latter live to the left and to the right of the imperial precinct, and hence are called 'east' and 'west'. Those who lived in Yamato Prov. were the '*Yamato no fumi no atae*' 倭文値, and those who lived in Kafuchi (Kawachi) were '*Kafuchi no fumi no obito*' 河内文首, thus including also their *kabane*, or clan-rank title (*atae*, *obito*). When Temmu Tennō revised the *kabane* system to reduce the number to eight *kabane*, these *uji* received the *imiki* rank, thus becoming '*Yamato no fumi no imiki-be*' and '*Kawachi no fumi no imiki-be*', respectively.

[400] The title of this incantation reads: *Yamato no fumi no imiki-be no tachi wo tatematsuru no toki no zu (Kafuchi no fumi-be kore wo junzuru)*, in which *zu* is the name for the actual charm which appears at the end. We can imagine the symbolic gestures of the recorders as they cast out evil influences into the 'silver effigies', thus removing them from the Court. The use of effigies in exorcism was practiced in pre-historic times. Such tiny figures made of stone, wood, iron, and clay, have been unearthed all over Japan at sacred sites. See S. Koyama, 'Shintō ni okeru ikon hassei no genryū', *Jimbun kagaku kenkyū*, 1971: 6.

[401] By this conventional Chinese expression is understood the supreme ancestral *kami* of the line of sovereigns.

[402] The 'three terraces' were the three pairs of bright stars in Ursa Major, which to the Chinese symbolized in the heavens the three chief Ministers of State, the *san kung* 三公.

in eight directions,[403] the arbiters of human destiny and the keepers of records,[404] the Father King of the East on the left, the Mother Queen of the West on the right,[405] the five rulers of the five directions,[406] the four climates of the four seasons, as we humbly present these silver effigies, we beseech ye, free us from calamities. As we humbly present the golden sword, we beseech ye, prolong the reign of our Sovereign. We pronounce the charm: To the East as far as Fusō,[407] to the West as far as Yu-yen,[408] to the south as far as the burning tropics, to the north as far as the arctic,[409] to a thousand cities, a hundred countries, let the eternal reign extend! Banzai! Banzai!

[12]

The Pacification of Fire[410]

Ritual

By the divine command of the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses abiding in the Plain of High Heaven, the divine descendant rules in peace and tranquillity the land of rich rice-ears growing in the abundant reedy plains. Ever since the time he was entrusted with the land under heaven, the solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic formula has been repeated. When the two deities Izanagi-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto were united as husband and wife[411] they propagated the many lands and the many islands that make up the Country of Many Islands, they propagated the myriads of deities, and when she gave birth to her last child, it was Homusubi-no-kami, the Fire God, in doing which her parts were burned

[403] This expression includes the Taoist deities of the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate directions, and could be interpreted to mean the *kami* residing in all parts of heaven and earth.

[404] This is the Taoist belief in stars which oversee human behavior and control the fate and happiness of humans according to their good or bad actions. The keeper of registers keeps the names and records of human beings.

[405] The reference to left and right is to positions when facing south (as does the sovereign). The East King Father controls *yang* 陽 and the West Queen Mother controls *yin* 陰, the opposing forces in the universe. See Kaneko, p. 165.

[406] This could refer to the five legendary emperors of China, but more likely it alludes to the five ethereal gods of Taoism who control the seasons.

[407] Fusō 扶桑 was an old Chinese name for Japan.

[408] Yu-yen 虞淵 in Chinese lore was the place where the sun set.

[409] The name used is 'weak waters' 弱水, for the body of water believed to surround the northern regions—like the *ōkeanos* of the Greeks, the great river supposed to encompass the earth.

[410] The *Hoshizume*, or *Hishizume*, Festival was the propitiation or subduing of fire; also called *Chinka-sai* (鎮火祭). The *Ryō-no-shuge* states that it was held at the four outside corners of the Palace precinct, where the *urabe* diviners and others conduct ceremonies to pacify or subdue—that is, prevent—fires. The festival took place after the conclusion of the Great Purification (*ōharae*) ceremonies on the last night of the 6th and 12th months, or else on a propitious day during each of those months. In the house tradition of the Urabe Uji, the secret magic for the controlling of fire was handed down. Part of the ceremonies included the kindling of fires out of doors and the extinguishing of the fires by means of salt and water. See Tsugita, p. 334.

[411] *Imose* 妹妹 may mean either 'husband and wife', or 'brother and sister'. The myth of the births of the myriad deities, culminating in the birth of the fire god, duplicates the tale told in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* (see Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 55 ff. and Aston, *Nihongi* I, pp. 21 ff). This gives the impression that this particular *norito* was of later composition than that of the chronicles.

and she withdrew to the rock-tomb.[412] She spake, saying: 'For seven nights and seven days you must not look upon me, O my spouse!' Before the time ran out, he perceived that she was in hiding and looked upon her who had become burned in giving birth to the Fire God. When this occurred, the goddess declared: 'Though I told him not to look upon me, my spouse did so and caused me shame'; and further spake she, 'O my spouse, thou shalt rule the upper regions, and I shall rule the nether regions.' And she concealed herself in the rock; she went as far as the flat slope to Hades,[413] while thinking: 'I have given birth to a child of evil heart in the upper regions which my spouse is ruling.' So she returned and gave birth to four more kinds of children. She gave birth to the Water Spirit, to the gourd, to the water lily, and to the Earth Goddess, Haniyama-hime.[414] And then she spake, saying: 'When the offspring of evil heart becomes unruly let the Water God by means of the gourd, and let the Earth Goddess by means of the water lily, subdue him!'

Therefore, if we raise our words of praise may [that god] not cause destruction in the palace of the divine descendant. To this end we prepare offerings of bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and five kinds of goods, and of things that live in the blue sea-plain, creatures wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and the seaweeds of the shore. Let the sacred sake fill the offering jars to the brims, let the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows; even unto rice in whole grain and polished grain, we heap up our offerings like unto a range of hills, and using these words of the solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic formula, we offer up our words of praise.

[13]

The Banquet of the Roads[415]

[According to *Engi-shiki* Book I, the *Michiae* festival was held annually in the sixth

[412] The phrase *iwa-kakurimashite*, 'concealing herself in the rock', seems to suggest her being entombed in a rock-chamber type of tomb such as we know were used for nobility in the tumulus mound period. It is a way of saying that she died. The story also implies that she was resurrected from this death.

[413] *Yomi no hirasaka* is the broad pass to the nether world. Aston, *Nihongi*, I, p. 25, translates as 'Even Pass of Yomi'.

[414] The text says *mizu-no-kami* (*kami* of water), *hisago* (gourd), *kawana* (a kind of water lily growing in rivers; according to Brinkley, *Nupher japonicum*), and Haniyama-hime (Clay-hill Princess). According to this *norito*, as atonement for having created the destructive fire god, Izanami has produced four means of quelling or subduing fire. Whether the water plant was an apotropaic device for exorcising fire, or whether because it was laden with much moisture it was useful in extinguishing fire, is not clear. The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* give slightly different versions of this part of the creation myth, but both include a water goddess (Mizuna-no-me, or Mizuha-no-me) and a goddess of clay or earth. Philippi, *Kojiki* (Ch. 7), p. 58; Aston, *Nihongi*, I, p. 21.

[415] The *Michia(h)e* Festival, or Banquet of the Road, was held annually for the purpose of warding off evils, disease, and misfortune by preventing their entrance into the capital. It was held after the fire-subduing, but held at the perimeter of the capital as a regular occurrence to offer a feast (*mi-ahe*) to the protector-gods, in order to prevent misfortune and pestilence from coming in. It is closely related to the extraordinary festivals for protection in advance of the entry of foreign visitors to the capital, and for the festivals of Sae-no-kami 障神, a deity who blocks evil spirits at the boundary and who is identical with Kunado. Another was the *yosumi no sakai no matsuri*, the festival of the boundaries.

month (and twelfth month) at the four corners of the capital. Its purpose was to waylay evil spirits or evil-working *kami*, and prevent them from entering the capital by any of its roads. The three *kami* who were feted and feasted in order to invoke their protection against those evil *kami* of epidemic and disease, were Yachimata-hiko, Yachimata-hime, and Kunado, who were deities of roads and boundaries.[416] The festival was closely related to the Festival to Deities of Epidemic at the four corners of the Palace precinct and at ten places on the boundaries of the Inner Provinces, as well as festivals to deities enroute when foreign guests arrive at the capital, all of which are treated in Book III of the *Engi-shiki*, in the 'Extraordinary Festivals'. The purpose of all these was to prevent evils, misfortunes, diseases, or epidemics from abroad from coming into the capital. Another festival, the *Goryō-e*, which is celebrated to ward off epidemic, is said to have arisen in the Jōgan period when great numbers of people, from princes and princesses on down to farmers, were stricken with an epidemic disease—perhaps diphtheria or influenza—and a special shrine was built to appease the *kami*. The development of the *Goryō-e* may account for the eventual decline and abandonment of the *Michiae no matsuri*.]

Ritual

HAVING commenced in the Plain of High Heaven by the command of the divine descendant, we raise these words of praise before the mighty *kami*, who as if by means of a powerful mass of rock, blocked off the great crossroads. Thus we humbly speak. Making bold to utter the hallowed names of Yachimata-hiko and Yachimata-hime and Kunado, we raise our words of praise to them. We beseech that if things of evil intent that are hateful arise from the country beneath, from the nether regions, let there be no contact with them, let there be no speaking with them. If they should pass below, protect us below, if they should pass above, protect us above; protect us by night, protect us by day, we humbly beseech ye. For we bring as offerings to be consecrated unto ye: bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth. Let the sake fill the offering jars to the brims, and let the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows as we offer the rice in liquid and in grain, and offer creatures that live in mountain and moor, those soft of fur and those coarse of fur; of things that live in the blue sea-plain, those broad of fin and

[416] Yachimata-hime and Yachimata-hiko were a pair of deities who guarded the crossroads, or, as their names say, 'road fork'. *Ya* is a decorative or euphonious prefix; *chi* is road; *mata*, a fork or crotch. They are undoubtedly a pair of phallic deities who protect travelers from the harms and perils of the trip. Kunado is a deity who obstructs evil spirits. The name is made up of *ku*, from the verb to come; *na*, the negative; and *to* (*do*), place. According to mythology, a deity named Yachimata was born when Izanagi came back from the nether world and had to perform purification; in the process of his casting off his trousers this *kami* came into existence. Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 69. The myths mention Funado (or Kunado) in the episode when Izanagi threw down his stick and said: 'Come no further.' This is an etiological explanation of the name. See Aston, *Nihongi*, I, p. 25. In the *Kojiki* this deity was called Tsukitatsu-funado-no-kami. See Philippi, op. cit. p. 68. Yachimata-hiko, Yachimata-hime, and Kunado were collectively called Sae-no-kami, meaning the *kami* who ward off disaster and disease. Tsugita, *Norito shinkō*, p. 354.

those narrow of fin, even unto the seaweeds of the deep and the seaweeds of the shore; these choice offerings we heap up like a range of hills, praying that ye may be pleased to receive them. May we close off the many crossroads as with a magic mound of rocks, may the divine descendant be blessed with a reign as firm as hard rock, as enduring as everlasting rock, and may his reign be a prosperous and happy one, we pray. Moreover, we pray that the imperial princes and princesses, the princes, ministers, the host of officials, and even all the people under heaven may be blessed in peace, as the members of the *Jingi-kan*,[417] reciting this solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic formula, raise to ye their words of praise.

[14]

The Great New Food Festival[418]

O ALL ye assembled divine chiefs and priests hearken unto us as we say: By the divine command of the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses abiding in the Plain of High Heaven, we humbly speak before the presence of the mighty *kami* who dwell in heaven and earth. On this day of the hare in the eleventh month of this year, of the heavenly food, the food partaken eternally over the ages, the divine food partaken of by the divine descendant, may the mighty *kami* consent to partake thereof with him.[419] May his reign be a prosperous and happy one, lasting five hundred, yea, a thousand autumns in peace and tranquillity. With resplendent brightness may he glow as he partakes,[420] the divine descendant, whose choice offerings we prepare for presentation: the bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth; at this moment of the majestic and resplendent rising of the morning sun, we raise our words of praise.

Turning now, we ask the Imbe whose frail shoulders are bound with the potent sleeve-ties to consecrate the offerings that are here prepared; and let the divine chiefs and priests humbly receive them and, making no error, raise them up in presentation to the *kami*.[421]

[417] Specifically, for this *norito*, members of the Nakatomi.

[418] In Bk VII this ritual was referred to as the *Amatsu kami no yogoto* (Blessing of the Heavenly Kami); see n. 266. It is believed this ritual was used both for the annual New Food Festival (*Niiname* or *Shinjō-sai*) and the Great Food Festival of the Enthronement (*Senso Daijō-sai*). More than two centuries after the completion of the *E-S*, a greatly expanded version was in use. Known as the *Nakatomi no yogoto*, the text was recorded in the journal of the Great Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Yorinaga, as having been recited at the enthronement ceremonies of Konoe Tennō in 1142 (Kōji 1, 11th month), by the Asst. Chief of the *Jingi-kan*, Oonakatomi *ason* Kiyochika. See Kaneko, op. cit. p. 288.

[419] The honorific expression, *ahi-uzunohi matsurite*, signifies the intimate agreement on the part of the *kami* to deign to participate in this sacramental feast.

[420] This unique poetic figure, '*toyono akari ni akari*' is a kind of hyperbole thought to be equivalent to that passage in the *norito* for the *Toshigoi* and *Tsukinami* festivals which says: *akani no ho nimo* 'with cheeks becoming ruddy . . .' (as he drinks the sacred sake at the divine repast).

[421] This phrase, which also appears at the end of the ritual for the *Toshigoi*, clearly shows that the Nakatomi recites the ritual, that the Imbe have charge of the making of offerings, and that assistance is given by the deity chiefs (*kannushi*) and by the priests who take the offerings to be presented at their respective local shrines.

[15]

Festival for the Pacification of August Imperial Spirits[422]

[The following is the *norito* recited by the Nakatomi in the sacred courtyard (Sai-in) of the *Jingi-kan* in the 12th month when worshipping the collective august spirits of the sovereign, which in the 11th-month ceremonies of the *Mitama-shizume no matsuri* (*Chinkon-sai*) were pacified and subdued.[423] These ceremonies grew out of what the ancients believed concerning the separation of the spirits from the material body, from which they from time to time emigrated. The collective august spirits—the turbulent spirit (*ara-mitama*), the benign spirit (*nigi-mitama*), the joyous spirit (*saki-mitama*), and the wondrous or miraculous spirit (*kashi-mitama*)—were all to be invited to refrain from wandering and come to harmonious rest within the august person of the sovereign.[424]

In the *Mitama-shizume* ceremonies in the 11th month the sovereign and his consort (on the middle tiger day) and the heir apparent (on the serpent day) participated in the spirit-quieting festival. They gathered with *Jingi-kan* officials and members of the Court in the Ministry of the Imperial Household to worship the eight *kami* who protect the Imperial Household. The continuation of this calming and integrating of august spirits on a lucky day in the following month moved to the Sai-in of the *Jingi-kan*, where the Nakatomi officials conduct the service. This comprised the ceremony of consecrating the three articles of divine raiment (*miso*) which represented the august spirits of the three personages

[422] The full title is '*Mitama iwaito ni shizume matsuri*'—'Festival to Pacify the August Spirits in (or with) *iwaito*'. There are differing interpretations of *iwaito* (or *iwaido*). One is that it is a place within the *Jingi-kan* were the ceremony of calming the divine spirits is held. Tsugita supports this view, basing it on a passage in the *Sandai jitsuroku*, vol. 4, for Jōgan 2 (A.D. 860) which speaks of it taking place 'within the *Jingi-kan*, in the Sai-in', as though it were a building in the sacred courtyard. Tsugita, p. 387. The other interpretation is that *iwai*, from *iwa(f)u*, means 'consecrating' or 'tabooing', and *to* is a magical spell (as in *norito*, *kusoto*, etc.). See T. Uda, *Norito jiten*.

[423] Detailed requirements for the *Mitama-shizume* and for the *Iwaido* Festival and the procedures for both are given under the 11th and 12th months, respectively, in the Annual Festivals, *E-S*, Bk II.

[424] Tsugita gives the following interpretations of the four kinds of divine spirits. The turbulent spirit, *ara-mitama*, relates to the active side of life, imbuing one with valor, enterprise, and action. (A reference to this spirit comes in the legend of Empress Jingū, when she led the campaigns against Korea. Aston, *Nihongi*, 1, p. 229: 'A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life; a rough spirit will form the vanguard and be a guide to the squadron.') The benign, gentle spirit, *nigi-mitama*, represents the passive side of life and the continuance of life. The *saki-mitama*, the process or agent which brings happiness or contentment, is responsible for preserving a man's life. And the *kushi-mitama* is the source of intellectual activity. The latter two are sometimes used in place of *nigi-mitama*, as they are regarded as two facets of the benign spirit.

In the myth concerning Ohonamochi-no-kami (offspring of Susano-o-no-mikoto), the *Nihongi* relates that 'a Divine radiance illuminated the sea and ... something ... floated towards him and said: "Were I not here, how couldst thou subdue this land?"' and the god asked, '"Then who art thou?" It replied ... "I am thy guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit" [*kushi-mitama*].' Aston, 1, 61. This is an example of a deity meeting his own spirit as it wandered. See also R. Ponsonby-Fane, *Divine Spirits of Shintō and the Hirota Jinja*.

(sovereign, consort, and heir apparent), as well as the sacred thong of bark-cloth which had been tied during the *tamashizume* ceremonies by the Nakatomi priests to symbolize the binding together of the august spirits of the sovereign. The divine raiment is dedicated in the *norito*, but the tying of the bark-cloth is not mentioned herein.]

Ritual

By the divine command of the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses abiding in the Plain of High Heaven, the divine descendant made the land of rich rice-ears growing in the abundant reedy plains a peaceful country. The columns of his palace are auspiciously set in the bedrock beneath, its crossed gable-boards reaching up toward the Plain of High Heaven; as it is sheltered from the gaze of heaven and from the blazing sun, we offer up our words of praise. We have prepared to offer here divine raiment in upper and lower garments, and present him choice offerings of bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and five kinds of goods. Let the sacred sake fill the offering jars to the brim and let the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows. Of things from the mountains and moors, we offer sweet herbs and bitter herbs; of things from the blue sea-plain, creatures wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto seaweeds of the deep and seaweeds of the shore, placing them heaped up like a range of hills. These choice offerings we pray ye to accept as pleasant offerings and bountiful, and grant that our Sovereign may be blessed with an enduring reign, an everlasting reign; grant him a prosperous and happy reign, we pray. Commencing with the 12th month of this year, and continuing till the 12th month of the next year, may (these spirits) tranquilly dwell in their dwelling-place,[425] thus we pray on the (such and such) day of the 12th month of this year.

Rituals for Use at the Grand Shrines of Ise

[The nine *norito* which follow were composed to be recited by the master-of-ceremonies (whether the messenger from the Court or the superintendent of the Shrines) at festivals held respectively at the Inner Shrine (*naikū*) of Amaterasu-ō-mikami, the Sun Goddess, and the Outer Shrine (*gekū*) of Toyouke-no-kami, the Food Goddess. The procedures for festivals held at the Grand Shrines are contained in Book IV of the *Engi-shiki*, and those at which the Consecrated Imperial Princess specifically took part are contained in Book V.]

[16]

Ritual for Use at Toshigoi Festival in 2nd Month and Tsukinami Festival in the 6th Month and 12th Month

According to the august command of the Sovereign, on the upper reaches of the

[425] The *mimashi-dokoro* 御座所 refers to the residing place of the august spirits in the Hall of Eight Deities, Hasshin-den, in the *Jingi-kan*. See n. 309 above.

Isuzu at Uji in Watarai, we raise our words of praise (at the shrine)[426] set firmly on the bedrock beneath, and before the lofty presence of the Great Goddess[427] humbly do we speak. To present the customary great offerings for this *Toshigoi* in the second month (or, at the *Tsukinami* festival, 'for this *Tsukinami* festival in the sixth month') as Imperial Messenger I, (of such-and such name, rank, and position), do humbly raise up and present these offerings in accordance with the august command and purpose. Thus humbly I speak.

[17]

Ritual for the Same Festivals at the Toyouke Shrine

ACCORDING to the august command of the Sovereign, we humbly speak before the presence of the mighty Toyouke-no-kami,[428] to whom we raise words of praise (at the shrine) set upon the bedrock neath the plain of Yamada in Watarai. To present the customary great offerings for the *Toshigoi* in this second month (or, 'for the *Tsukinami* in this sixth month'), as Imperial Messenger I, (of such-and-such name, rank, and position), do humbly raise up and present these offerings in accordance with the august command and purpose. Thus humbly I speak.

[18]

Ritual for Festival of Deity Raiment in the 4th Month[429]

AT Uji in Watarai on the upper reaches of the Isuzu, where the columns of the great shrine are auspiciously set and its crossed gable-boards reach up toward the Plain of High Heaven, we raise our words of praise and speak before the mighty presence of Amaterasu-ō-mikami. Members of the Hatori and Omi perform their customary presentation of the august raiment woven out of soft fibers and coarse fibers. And we announce that the same are offered at the Shrine of Aramatsuri.[430] (*Negi* and *uchindo* respond: 'Ooh!')[431]

[426] 'At the shrine' . . . is supplied here because of the implication of what follows. In the next passage the phrase 'at the shrine' is included in the text.

[427] This is addressed to the 'Great Goddess', Amaterasu-ō-mikami, and the adjective *great* is used in respect to her presence: '. . . *no oho-mae*'. Other *kami* are not so addressed. See the rituals for *Toshigoi* and *Tsukinami* above, as regards Amaterasu-ō-mikami.

[428] She is called Toyouke-no-sumegami here, but in *E-S*, Bk IV, she is called Toyouke-no-ōkami.

[429] The *Kammiso* 神衣 Festival was held at the Ise Shrines in the 4th (*uzuki*, 'rainy month') and the 9th (*nagatsuki*, 'long month'), and the procedures for this festival are given in Bk IV of *E-S*. The Superintendent of the Grand Shrines (*dajingūji*) conducts the ceremonies and reads the ritual.

[430] The Aramatsuri-no-miya is one of the separate shrines (*bekkū*) of the Shrine of the Great Deity (Amaterasu-ō-mikami) and enshrined the turbulent spirit, *ara-mitama*, of the Great Deity.

[431] For *negi*, see n. 74, above. The *uchindo* (*uchibito*), 'penetrants', were shrine officials serving under the *negi* whose special duties were to prepare offerings and foods to be presented to the *kami*. They were divided into classifications of *ko-uchindo* and *ō-uchindo* (lesser and greater penetrants).

[19]

Tsukinami Festival of the Sixth Month[432] *(Repeated in the Twelfth Month)*

At Uji in Watarai on the upper reaches of the Isuzu, the columns of the great shrine are auspiciously set and the crossed gable-boards reach up toward the Plain of High Heaven. Before the mighty presence of Amaterasu-ō-mikami raising our words of praise, we make bold to pronounce the solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic formula, and we enjoin all shrine chiefs and *mono-imi* and others to hearken unto it.[433] (*Negi, uchindo*, and all respond: 'Ooh!')

According to the divine command of the Sovereign, we pray thee to grant that his august life be a long-lasting life; that his reign, like a great magical heap of rocks, be everlasting, yea, that it be as firm as the solid rock; may his reign be a prosperous and happy reign. Bring blessing upon the imperial children who are born.[434] May the host of officials of all the offices of government and all people even unto the common people of the land in all directions under heaven be caused to grow and furnish the five cereals in flourishing abundance; may thou protect, bless, and make them prosper, we pray.

From the members of deity households[435] of the three districts[436] and of many places in many provinces[437] who purvey tribute goods of silk thread, as well as the consecrated august sake and august foods, these offerings are heaped up in plenty like unto a range of hills. Let the Oonakatomi, bearing before him the potent ornamented *sakaki* branch,[438] lead (the procession) on this 17th day of the sixth month of this year, at the moment of the majestic and brilliant dawning of the morning light, and all ye shrine chiefs, *mono-imi*, and other participants hearken unto the praises which we offer up. (Shrine chiefs together respond 'Ooh!') At

[432] The reason the *Tsukinami* Festival appears with two different *norito* is that two sets of rituals were recited at this festival—the first was the imperial message recited by the Nakatomi official who was the envoy from the Court (no. 16, above); and the second is this one, which followed and was recited by the Superintendent of the Grand Shrines.

[433] Even though *kannushi* and *mono-imi* are the only ones mentioned here by name, undoubtedly all the sacerdotal groups are being addressed. The *negi* and *uchindo* are required to make the responses. The *mono-imi* are child abstainers attached to the Great Shrine. They assisted the *uchindo* in the tasks of preparing offerings, of brewing light and dark sake, burning salt, etc. They were attended by their fathers. According to *E-S*, Bk V, there were at least nine *mono-imi* (in the text a gloss says 8 girls and one boy) plus their fathers. Also, at the Kasuga Shrine, at least one *mono-imi* is mentioned among the staff. *E-S*, Bk I.

[434] *Aremasu miko-tashi. Aru* has two meanings: 'to appear' (*arawareru*) and 'to be born' (*umaru*). Tsugita, p. 401.

[435] Members of *kambe* 神戸 (*shinko*), the deity households that furnished sustenance to the shrines. (To be distinguished from the *kamutomo*, also pronounced *kambe*, who were officials of the *Jingi-kan*). See n. 7 above.

[436] These were the three deity districts (*shingun* 神郡), Take, Watarai, and Iino, whose deity households supported the Grand Shrine of Ise.

[437] Other localities which purveyed to the Grand Shrines were in the provinces of Ise, Iga, Owari, Oomi and Tōtoumi, and Mikawa, as designated in *E-S*, Bk IV.

[438] This is the *futo-tamagushi*. The term is made up of *futo*, potent, auspicious; *tama*, jeweled, or ornate; *kushi*, a stick. It is a branch of the sacred *sakaki* hung with streamers of bark-cloth.

the Aramatsuri Shrine and at the Tsukiyomi Shrine we present offerings and speak the same words.[439] (Shrine chiefs again respond: 'Ooh!')

[20]

Festival of First-Fruits to the Deities in the Ninth Month[440]

ACCORDING to the august command of the divine descendant, on the upper reaches of the Isuzu in Watarai in Ise, humbly raising our words of praise before the mighty presence of Amaterasu-ō-mikami, we present the customary great offerings for the Deity First-Fruits in the ninth month, the Prince (of such-and-such rank and position) and the Nakatomi (of such-and-such name, rank, and position) serving as (imperial) messengers. While the Imbe, their frail shoulders bound with the potent sleeve-ties, consecrate and raise aloft and present them, we make these offerings in accordance with the august command and purpose. Thus humbly we speak.

[21]

For the Same Festival at the Toyouke Shrine

ACCORDING to the august command of the divine descendant, before the presence of the mighty *kami* to whom we raise our words of praise on the plain of Yamada in Watarai, we humbly speak. To present the customary great offerings for the Deity First-Fruits, the Prince (of such-and-such rank and position) and the Nakatomi (of such-and-such name, rank, and position) serve as (imperial) messengers, while the Imbe, their frail shoulders bound with the potent sleeve-ties, consecrate and raise aloft and present them. We make these offerings in accordance with the august command and purpose. Thus humbly we speak.

[22]

For the Same Festival of First-Fruits to the Deities[441]

ON THE upper reaches of the Isuzu at Uji in Watarai, where the columns of the

[439] For Aramatsuri-no-miya, see n. 430, above. The Tsukiyomi-no-miya is the shrine to the Moon Deity. According to the *E-S*, Bk IV, both the Moon Deity and his turbulent spirit (*ara-mitama*) were enshrined in the Tsukiyomi Shrine.

[440] According to the *Ryō-no-gige*, 'on the day of the *Kammiso* Festival the Imperial Messenger conducts this . . .' i.e. the *Kanname* or Deity First-Fruits Festival. Thus it appears both the Deity Raiment and the Deity First-Fruits were held on the same day of the 9th month, but on consecutive days at the two Grand Shrines. In the *E-S*, Bk IV, the *Kanname* Festival is held at the Watarai (i.e. Toyouke) Shrine on the 16th day of the 9th month, and at the Shrine of the Great Deity (Amaterasu-ō-mikami) on the 17th day.

[441] A *norito* to be recited at the same festival as the two foregoing. The first one for the *Kanname* Festival was recited by the Nakatomi official who was Imperial Messenger for the occasion, but this one by the Superintendent of the Grand Shrines, the *daijingūji*. Similarly to the ritual for the *Tsukinami* Festival in the 6th and 12th months, this one is recited by the Superintendent to the *kannushi* (shrine or deity chiefs) and the *mono-imi* and other shrine functionaries. It was likely paraphrased for use at the Toyouke Shrine.

great shrine are auspiciously set and the crossed gable-boards reach up toward the Plain of High Heaven, we raise our words of praise before the mighty presence of Amaterasu-ō-mikami, and humbly recite the solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic ritual. Hearken ye unto it all ye shrine chiefs, *mono-imi*, and others, we humbly say. (*Negi, uchindo*, etc. respond 'Ooh!')

According to the command of the divine descendant, we pray that his august life may be a long life, and like unto a magical heap of rocks may his reign be like enduring rock, like everlasting rock; may his reign be a prosperous and happy reign, and bring blessing upon the imperial children who are born. Let all the host of officials and even down to the common people of the land under heaven long and peacefully be protected, be blessed, and made happy. And may the various people of the deity households of the three districts and the many localities in the many provinces, who customarily offer the consecrated august sake and august foods and the first-fruits of the rice to the *kami*[442] in a thousand and five-hundred fold, let them heap up these offerings like a range of hills. As the Oonakatomi raises before him the potent ornamented *sakaki* branch, at the brilliant and majestic dawning of the morning light, let all the shrine chiefs, *mono-imi*, and all, hearken as we pronounce the solemn liturgy of the heavenly magic ritual. Thus humbly we speak. (*Negi*, *uchindo*, etc. respond: 'Ooh!')

At the Aramatsuri-no-miya and the Tsukiyomi-no-miya the same words are pronounced and offerings made. (Shrine chiefs make the response: 'Ooh!')

[23]

At the Time the Consecrated Imperial Princess First Participates[443]

WHEN THE offerings of first-fruits to the *kami* have been made and the ritual has been recited, the following words are spoken:

And turning now, we humbly speak, saying, according to established custom, the Consecrated Imperial Princess, after three years of abstinence and purification, has been appointed to serve as sacred handmaiden [to the Great Goddess].[444] O, do thou grant that the divine descendant, together with heaven and earth, sun and moon, may have a reign as firm as solid rock, eternal as enduring rock, and may he rule in peace and tranquillity. And may she serve as divine handmaiden

[442] *Kakejikara*, 'hung up tax', was the first rice-ears harvested and placed upon the shrine fence.

[443] *Itsuki-no-hime-miko wo irematsuru no toki.* Itsuki-no-hime-miko (or Itsuki-no-miya) is the Imperial Princess consecrated to serve the Great Deity (Amaterasu-ō-mikami) at the Grand Shrine. This institution of Princess to the Ise Shrines is the subject of *E-S*, Bk V. This *norito* is recited by the Nakatomi official at the Festival of First-Fruits in the year when the Princess entered her sacred residence in proximity to the Great Shrine and participated for the first time in festivals at the shrines. This is recited at the time offerings of deity food are presented to the *kami*.

[444] *Mitsueshiro* is an epithet for the Imperial Princess, coming from: *mi* (honorific); *tsue*, a cane or staff; and *shiro*, a likeness or substitute for something.

with the Oonakatomi to carry out the command as he mediates with the wondrous spear the divine relation.[445] Most reverently and respectfully do we pronounce these words.

[24]

Ritual for the Removal of the Shrine of the Great Deity (Duplicated for the Toyouke Shrine)[446]

ACCORDING to the august command of the divine descendant in the mighty presence of the mighty Ancestral Goddess, we humbly speak. Since by established ancient custom the Great Shrine is to be removed once in twenty years, the 54 different kinds of august ceremonial articles, and the 21 deity treasures are to be prepared, to be cleansed, purified, and consecrated, I the Controller[447] (name, clan-title rank, Court Rank, and position), having been sent as Imperial Messenger to take charge of these matters, humbly do now pronounce these words of dedication and worship.

[25]

Ritual to Dispel a Malevolent Kami[448]

ACCORDING to the divine command of the *kami* who abide in the Plain of High Heaven, the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses who commenced the world caused the many myriad *kami* to gather together in the Meeting Place of High Heaven, and after the divine discussion and debate, they caused the divine descendant to make the land of rich rice-ears growing in the abundant reedy plains a pleasant land and peaceful. Leaving the worthy throne of heaven, he parted with a majestic

[445] The spear is used as part of the ceremony. The sentence is: *Ikashi hoko no nakatori mochite,* in which *ikashi* means awesome, auspicious; *hoko*, spear; *nakatori*, taking in the middle; *mochite*, holding or grasping. A similar passage occurs in the *Nihongi*: 'Ye, the Ministers sent to me by the Oho-omi [Soga no emishi], are men who have always addressed the sovereign as it were holding the sacred spear by the middle.' Aston, *Nihongi*, II, p. 161. (In the record of Jomei Tennō, but spoken by Suiko Tennō).

[446] *Oo-mikami-no-miya utsushi-matsuru no norito.* The removal of the Great Shrines took place every twentieth year (after the reign of Empress Jitō) in a ceremony called the *sengū.* New buildings were erected and the sacred treasures and paraphernalia put into the new buildings during nocturnal ceremonies. This is treated in *E-S*, Bk IV. The *hatatase*, twenty-years unit, may be a survival of a use in prehistoric times of a base of twenty in calculations. This *norito* was recited by the Nakatomi official from the *Jingi-kan* who presided at the Shrine removal ceremonies.

[447] *Benkan*, a controller who was of 5th Rank or higher, a chief ritualist (*sakan*) of the *Jingi-kan*, other officials of the *Dajō-kan* and *Jingi-kan*, girl attendants, maidservants, messengers, and 63 workmen or artisans are listed as conducting the making of sacred treasures and articles to furnish the new shrines.

[448] *Tataru-kami wo utsushi-yaru.* There is no mention in the *E-S* of a festival (*matsuri*) for driving away malevolent *kami.* According to Suzuki Shigetane, this ceremony and its ritual would have been used in connection with festivals to the Kantoki-no-kami (gods of thunder), the Yachimata road-fork deities, and the deities of epidemics, as are found in the procedures for extraordinary festivals in the *E-S*, Bk III. *Tatari* (from the verb *tataru*, to malign, to put a curse on) is the substantive meaning 'curse' or 'evil spell'.

parting the many-layered clouds of the heavens, and at the time he was delegated to descend from heaven, the *kami* debated which one should be despatched the first, to overcome and divinely purge the unruly *kami* from the land of rich rice-ears. All the many *kami*, as they weighed the matter, said they would despatch Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto to overcome them.[449] As it was, he did not report back. Secondly, they despatched Take-mikuma-no-mikoto.[450] In obedience to his father, he made no report back. Next they despatched Ame-no-waka-hiko, and he made no report. Owing to calamity from birds which fly overhead, he lost his life in the place where he lay.[451] Whereupon the *kami* in heaven again discussed and debated and then sent down from heaven two *kami*: Futsunushi-no-mikoto and Take-mikazuchi-no-mikoto, who divinely expelled and forced all the unruly *kami* into submission.[452] Then the words of questioning from rocks and trees and even unto the least blade of grass were brought to an end, and they sent down from heaven the divine descendant and entrusted the land unto him.

Thus it was he was sent down from heaven to the land in the center of all lands, and he made the land of Yamato where the sun shines on high a pleasant land. Beneath it the columns of the palace were auspiciously set in the bedrock and its crossed gable-boards reached up toward the Plain of High Heaven, sheltered from heaven's gaze and from the blazing sun, in the land which the divine descendant was to rule as a pleasant and peaceful land. May the mighty *kami* who abide in heavenly abodes have no discord nor be angry, may they be aware of the heavenly appearance of *kami* as it was in the beginning in the Plain of High Heaven. May they be rectified by the grace of Kamu-naobi and Oo-naobi[453] and from this place may they go out and away to pure places of the mountains and rivers where they may clearly see in all directions; may they make those their own dwelling-places, and to this end we offer up offerings of bright cloth, shining cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and also for the purpose of revealing their brightness (we

[449] According to the *Kojiki*, Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto was the ancestor of the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* (local chieftain) of Izumo. See Philippi, *Kojiki* (Ch. 15), pp. 77–8; also see n. 458 below.

[450] Take-mikuma-no-mikoto appears in the following passage in the *Nihongi*: 'Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto . . . made Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto to go and subdue them. This Deity, however, curried favour with Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, and three years passed without his making any report. Therefore his son Oho-se-ihi no Mikuma no ushi (also called Take-mikuma no ushi) was sent.' Aston, I, p. 64.

[451] Ame-no-waka-hiko ('Heavenly young prince') was killed when the arrow he shot into a pheasant (or a person) sent to spy on him, turned back on him. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 123 ff. Also, Aston, *Nihongi* I, pp. 65–6.

[452] Futsunushi-no-kami is revered as ancestor of the Fujiwara Uji and worshiped in the Kasuga Shrine. The story of his creation is found in the Izanagi myth. Aston, *Nihongi*, I, p. 23. Take-mikazuchi was also ancestral *kami* of the Fujiwara, and the story of his creation is in the same myth. The story of these two *kami* descending from heaven and arriving at Inasa in Izumo is related in the *Nihongi* (Aston, I, p. 68). According to the *Kojiki* account, the two *kami* who descended to rule the Central Land of Reed Plains were Ame-no-toribune-no-kami and Take-mikazuchi, the former being the name to represent the sacred boat which Take-mikazuchi-no-kami sailed in to reach Inasa Beach in Izumo. Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 129–30.

[453] Kamu-naobi and Oo-naobi are the 'rectifying *kami*'. See n. 371, above.

offer) mirrors; for their amusement (we offer) jewels; for hitting the mark (we offer) bow and arrows; for cutting down (we offer) swords; and for riding forth, august horses. Let the sacred sake fill the offering-jars to the brims, let the full-bellied jars be arrayed in rows; (we offer) polished rice and unpolished grain;[454] of things that dwell in the mountains, creatures soft of fur, creatures coarse of fur; of things that grow in the great moors and plains, sweet herbs and bitter herbs; of things that live in the blue plain of the sea, creatures wide of fin and narrow of fin, even unto seaweeds of the deep and seaweeds of the shore; we heap up all these offerings in abundance on offering tables like unto a range of hills. Let the august hearts of the mighty *kami*, in their serenity, peacefully receive the pleasant offerings, the plentiful offerings which we present; and may there be nothing malevolent, nothing violent; may they withdraw to the broad, pure places in mountains and rivers, and may they in divine manner be calmed, thus we raise our words of praise, humbly speaking.[455]

[26]

For Presenting Offerings at the Time of Despatching an Envoy to China[456]

ACCORDING to the august decree of the divine descendant, before the presence of the mighty *kami* of Suminoe[457] to whom we raise our words of praise, humbly I speak: For the despatch of envoys unto the Great T'ang, on account of having no mooring, embarkation was to be from Harima Province. While (His Majesty) pondered sending abroad these envoys, relying upon the words of command of the mighty *kami*, he learned from them the wisdom of how to construct the ship's mooring, and after its having been constructed, he rejoiced and was glad. In thanksgiving for this event, I, (so-and-so, of such-and-such clan-rank-title, Court Rank, and position), do bear and present these offerings; so humbly do I speak.

[454] *Yone ni mo kahi ni mo*—'in rice and in grain'—is taken to mean light and dark rice: polished and unpolished grains of rice.

[455] Although malevolent and evil-working, these *kami* are appeased in the most respectful manner in order to soothe their wrath, and are implored to betake themselves away from the populated areas.

[456] The title for this is: *Morokoshi ni tsukai wo tsukawasu toki mitegura wo tatematsuru.* During the Asuka period (reign of Empress Suiko) embassies began to be sent to T'ang China at the beginning of that empire. During the Nara and Heian periods many embassies were sent, and priests, scholars, and students went in considerable numbers to travel and study in China. The characters are 'Great T'ang', but the reading is *Morokoshi*—an archaic name for China.

[457] Suminoe is the name for the great shrine which later is called Sumiyoshi. The Suminoe-no-ōkami was a trinity of *kami*, known as Uwa-tsutsu-no-o, Naka-tsutsu-no-o and Soko-tsutsu-no-o, who are believed to be gods of war, associated with the expansion of the Yamato people. Suminoe is believed to mean 'pure stream'. The fourth *kami* reverenced at this shrine is said to be the deification of the legendary Empress Jingū, who conducted a great campaign against Korea. See Yamane, *The Naniwa Courts and the Sumiyoshi Shrine*, pp. 12, 22, 23.

[27]

Laudatory Ritual to the Kami Offered by the Local Chieftain of Izumo[458]

THOUGH many days have passed by, on this fortunate and auspicious day I, (name and rank), the Local Chieftain of Izumo Province, most reverently do address myself (to those present). Fearing to put into words the name of the incarnate *kami*, we pray that the august reign of the mighty Sovereign who rules the Great Country of Many Islands may be a fortunate and everlasting reign.[459]

In the green-mantled mountains of Izumo, the pillars of the august dwelling[460] are auspiciously set upon the bedrock beneath, the crossed gable-boards reach upward toward the Plain of High Heaven. It is here we worship first of all the two *kami* who were beloved offspring of Izanagi, our ancestral *kami*: Kushimikeno-no-mikoto, the great god of Kumano, and Oonamochi-no-mikoto, who built the land, and all the other mighty *kami* who abide in the 186 shrines of Izumo.[461]

I, (so-and-so), binding the potent sleeve-ties around my frail shoulders and tying the sacred bark-cloth into a sacred chaplet worn on my head,[462] in my purified hut I cut and spread out the virgin wild grasses to sit on;[463] with the sacred jars

[458] The title is: *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko no kamu-yogoto*, in which *kuni-no-miyatsuko* is an archaic *kabane* for the local magnate who administered an entire *kuni*, or province, of the pre-Taika divisions. Later this title became the name of the position of 'local chieftain'. Strictly speaking, after the Taika Reform (A.D. 645–6) this local position was superseded by the *kuni-no-tsukasa*, or governor of the province under the new administrative divisions. When a new local chieftain took office, it was the custom for him to come up to the capital and participate in ceremonies at which this *norito* was recited. From the description of this ceremony in *E-S*, Bk III, it is plain to see that the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* still had the hereditary title and function, even though the governor of Izumo Province also participated. A ceremony of investiture of the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* of Izumo, and probably also the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* of Kii Province, was held in the *Dajō-kan* at the capital, as is recounted in the *Jōgan-gishiki*. It appears from the *E-S* procedures for this event that the function of the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* of Izumo was primarily religious (at least after the time of Kōtoku Tennō in the Taika era. He performed abstinence and religious austerity for the period of a year between visits to the Yamato Court. When he came up to the Court it was to receive sacred emblems from the sovereign and to present offerings to the *kami* and to recite this laudatory ritual.

[459] A gloss adds that for subsequent good wishes to the sovereign, the incarnate *kami*, these words may be added: 'Tenaga no ō-miyo to iwai nochi to nasete'—('may His long and mighty reign have blessing succeeding to blessing').

[460] The Great Shrine of Izumo (Izumo-no-ōyashiro) enshrining Oonamochi-no-kami. Kizuki was the earlier name for the area which after Taika became Izumo District of Izumo Province. Kushimikeno, great god of Kumano, was revered as ancestral deity of the grandees of Izumo (Izumo no *omi*) in Ou District, Izumo Prov.

[461] In Book X of *E-S* (below) a list of 187 shrines in Izumo Province appears, while the *Izumo fudoki* gave a total of 399 shrines, of which 184 were *kansha* and 215 were not under the authority of the *Jingi-kan*. See M. Y. Aoki, *Izumo fudoki*, p. 80.

[462] The sentence, '*Itsu nusa no wo musubi, ame no mikage kagafurite*', would seem to mean that purified bark-cloth strands were tied into a head-covering in order to protect the worshiper from the concentration of divinity or from the 'gaze of heaven'. In the translation of the *Nihongi* there is a passage that says: 'An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. This was called Mikage'. Aston, II, p. 385. This is no doubt the same thing as the *yū-kazura* of other ceremonies. *Yū*, which means 'bark-cloth', has the same sound as *yū*, 'tabooed' or 'purified'.

[463] The word *itsu*, meaning 'taboo' or 'sacred', is used for the *mushiro* seat-mat of woven grass; and the hut is called *itsu no maya*, 'the taboo dwelling'.

blackened on the bottom, and heavenly brewing jars at hand,[464] I served in the sacred shrine in abstinence and purification; so that now, at the moment of the majestic and brilliant dawning of the morning light I offer up the favorable report in the form of auspicious words of this laudatory ritual to the *kami*; so humbly do I speak.

When those ancestral *kami* of High Heaven, Takami-musubi and Kamu-musubi-no-mikoto, yielded the Great Country of Many Islands to the divine descendant, the distant ancestor of the nobles of Izumo, Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto,[465] was sent to inquire the condition of the land. He pushed asunder the many-layered clouds of heaven, and, flying through the heaven and over the land, he viewed all the lands under heaven and brought back an answer, saying: 'The land of rich rice-ears growing in the reedy plains in the daytime buzzes with flies as in early summer, and in the nighttime there are *kami* who shine like fire-pots. Everywhere sounds from the rocks, the tree-stumps and the bubbles of foam on blue waters are heard as they talk in this restless land.[466] Nevertheless, I shall calm and pacify it, and I shall cause the divine descendant to rule it as a pleasant and peaceful country.' So spake he.

His divine offspring, Ame-no-hina-dori-no-mikoto, together with Futsunushi-no-mikoto, was despatched and sent down from heaven. These two drove out and pacified the unruly *kami*, and calmed with flattery the Great Kami who made the land, and caused him to give up the visible and material things of the Great Country of Many Islands. Whereupon, Oonamochi-no-mikoto spake, saying: 'Let the divine descendant dwell in the pacified country of Yamato.' And he instilled his own benign spirit into a many-spanned mirror[467] to which he gave the august name Yamato no Oomononushi-kushi-mikatama-no-mikoto, which he caused to dwell in the divine woods of Mt Miwa in Yamato.[468] His august off-

[464] The sacred jars for cooking (*itsu-he*) become blackened (*kuromashi*) over the fire. The sacredness of the brewing of sacramental sake is apparent in this passage, and the strict taboo of a life in an 'abstinence hut' marks the chieftain of Izumo as a religious figure of prime importance. A parallel has been seen in the establishment of an abstinence hut by Yamato-hime in the legend concerning the worship of Amaterasu at Ise.

[465] According to the 15th chapter of the *Kojiki*, Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto begat Take-hira-tori-no-mikoto, who was the ancestor of the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* of Izumo and the *miyatsuko* of other provinces as well. See Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 78. The Ame-no-hina-dori-no-mikoto may be an alternate name for Take-hira-tori-no-mikoto.

[466] See Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 64: 'But in that Land there were numerous Deities which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which buzzed like flies. There were also trees and herbs all of which could speak.'

[467] *Ya-ata kagami* means a mirror of eight, or of many, spans in perimeter. The belief was prevalent in ancient times that a *kami* dwelt in the mirror.

[468] In this passage, the deity Oonamochi of Izumo accounts for the transfer of his worship to Yamato-no-kuni, where he is revered as Oomononushi-kushi-mikatama enshrined as Oo-miwa-no-kami in the sacred hill of Oomiwa. At Mt Miwa the hill itself is the *kami* and object of worship. Although it is listed in Bk IX as a *jinja* (in Shikinokami District, Yamato), it had no shrine building. Other localities which have 'shrines' but no building are the Takimatsuri Jinja, an auxiliary of the Shrine of the Great Deity in Ise, the Kanasana Jinja in Kotama District, Musashi Province, and the forbidden enclosure of the Kami Suwa Shrine of Shinano. See M. Nishitsunoi, *Kodai saishi to bungaku*, p. 282.

spring, Ajisuki-taka-hikone-no-mikoto, was made to dwell in the divine woods of Kamo in Katsuragi,[469] and the august spirit of Kotoshironushi-no-mikoto was made to dwell in Unade,[470] the august spirit of Kayanarumi-no-mikoto to dwell in the divine woods of Asuka[471]—all of them worshipped as protector *kami* and placed nigh to the divine descendant, while he himself dwells peacefully in the shrine of Kizuki, rich in cinnabar.[472]

Hereupon the mighty ancestral gods and goddesses announced by august decree: 'May thou, Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto, grant the Sovereign a long, august reign; may it be blest as solid rock, may it be as everlasting rock, may it flourish and be a prosperous reign.' Thus their divine command has been handed successively down until now at this moment of the brilliant and majestic dawning of the morning light, I offer up the divine treasures to praise the *kami* as tokens of reverence to the *kami* and tokens of reverence from the nobles, thus humbly I speak.

Like the white beads[473] may your august locks grow white with longevity; like the red beads, may your august countenance grow ruddy; like the clear blue beads, may your image be blest, may they ensure you long-continuing rule over the Great Country of Many Isles as an incarnate *kami*. May the august sword with broadly tempered blade[474] ensure the mighty and enduring reign of the great sovereign. May the hooves of the forefeet of the august white horse[475] and the hooves of his hindfeet tamp down the upper stones for the posts of the inner and outer palace gates, and may they pack down the posts into the bedrock below. May thy reign be exalted as the ears of the august horse prick up when he is alerted. Like the live tribute of white swans[476] for your enjoyment and like the colored hempen cloth, may your august heart remain steadfast. Like the rejuvenating springs which bubble up on that bank of an ancient river, and on this bank, may you abide ever wise and youthful. As the water of ponds may be turned back to

[469] In *E-S* Bk IX it says: 'four principal deities worshiped in Takakamo, Ajisuki-taka-hikone-no mikoto Shrine' located in Takakamo, Katsuragi-mura, Katsuraginokami District, Yamato Province.

[470] Bk IX lists 'Takechi-miagata ni masu Kamo no Kotoshironushi', a major deity.

[471] This deity and shrine are not mentioned elsewhere, and evidently are not among those registered with the central government.

[472] *Yaoni* (八百丹) is a fixed epithet (*makura-kotoba*) of the Kizuki Shrine. It appears to mean 'abundant red-earth', as *ni* 丹 usually referred to the red clay which yielded cinnabar, a valuable natural pigment.

[473] The passage in *E-S*, Bk III, describing this ceremony speaks of *mifuki-dama* to be presented by the Izumo chieftain at Court. *Mifuki* is analogous to *mi-hogi,* meaning 'august fortune-bringing'. Here the expression is *mihogi no kamu-takara*—'august fortune-bringing deity treasures', therewith described as talismanic beads in three symbolic colors (perhaps *magatama*, the sacred 'curved jewels' of prehistoric times).

[474] The ceremonial sword presented here by the Izumo *kuni-no-miyatsuko* to the Yamato sovereign could be interpreted as symbolic of the acknowledgement of the supremacy of Yamato over the local magnate of Izumo in a time before recorded history. The Court also bestows a sword upon the *kuni-no-miyatsuko* among the 'congratulatory gifts' (*oisachi-mono*) upon his investiture, perhaps commemorating the concluding of a treaty between the two great chieftains.

[475] The description in *E-S*, Bk III, mentions a roan horse with white eyeballs (*samitsukige uma*).

[476] Among the 'congratulatory gifts' were also 'two white swans perched on the eaves' (*E-S*, Bk III). As to migrating swans frequenting Izumo, see M. Y. Aoki, *Izumo fudoki*, p. 64.

flow uphill, may your youth return and be renewed. As a clear mirror is made clearer by polishing,[477] so may your majesty view the entire land under heaven, and as an incarnate *kami* together with heaven, earth, sun, and moon, may you rule the Great Country of Many Isles in peace and tranquillity. To this end we offer up divine treasures of good auspices which are tokens of reverence for the *kami* and tokens of reverence from the nobles. Most reverently and respectfully I offer these words of blessing for the laudation of the *kami* who are our ancestral *kami*; thus humbly I speak.

* * * * *

End of Book Eight of the *Engi-shiki*
Enchō 5th Year, 12th Month, 26th Day
[Same signatures as at end of Book Six]

[477] The mirror is called '*masohi no ō-mikagami*' ('great, august mirror of purity')—*masohi* being equivalent to the adjectives *maso* and *masumi*, used for mirrors in the *Man'yōshū*; and again, *masumi no kagami* in the *Nihongi*. Tsugita, op. cit. p. 514.

Chapter Four

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS NINE AND TEN

If the *Jimmyō-cho* (or *Shimmei-chō*) were in truth what its title says—a register of names of deities—we would be fortunate indeed, for our knowledge of the officially endorsed pantheon of Nara and early Heian would be vastly enriched. The fact is, however, that this is a register of the official shrines throughout the country by province (*kuni*) and district (*kōri*), and the shrine name often gives us no clue either to the *kami* enshrined therein or to the origin or affiliation of the shrine.

The shrines of today are known to proclaim their antiquity by asserting that they are '*shikinai-sha*', or 'shrines within the *shiki*' (i.e. shrines listed in the *Engi-shiki*). But the claim does not authenticate their continued existence as a shrine at the particular site ever since the Heian period. Over the thousand years since the completion of the *Engi-shiki*, the ravages of war and other forces have caused many a small shrine to disappear, and others to be destroyed and rebuilt at another site; local boundaries have been altered; new cults have arisen to replace old. Then in the Meiji period the worship at many small shrines was forcibly merged with that of larger shrines in order to reduce the total number in the government-supported system.

The Meiji period attempts to restore the ancient government system of shrines resulted in the compilation of a work called *Tokusen jimmyō-chō*, a reconstruction of the old system, based not only upon the *Engi-shiki* list but also upon post-Heian sources. It is arranged according to the old provincial and district divisions rather than the new prefectural divisions introduced during Meiji. While it is tempting to annotate the *Engi-shiki* list of shrines with information from *Tokusen jimmyō-chō* and from other recent publications concerning shrines, we must scrupulously avoid reading into the *Engi-shiki* text any interpretations or traditions which belong to later ages. To corroborate or interpret the text, sources from Nara and early Heian must be used, and these yield only sporadic references to shrines and festivals. The available evidence from these sources has scarcely been compiled, and profound studies of the shrine system and of individual shrines up to the time of completion of the *Engi-shiki* have not yet been carried out. As indicated by Prof. K. Shiga, who has begun research on *shikinai-sha*, no comprehensive study of the relation of the system of shrines to the ancient society has as yet been undertaken.[478]

[478] *Shikinai-sha no kenkyū*, pp. 1–3. Shiga's in-depth study of individual shrines of the ancient system commenced with this volume on the Saikaidō (including present Kyushu and Iki and Tsushima Islands) and Nankaidō, but much remains to be uncovered concerning the nature of shrines and shrine worship up to the Heian period, especially as regards smaller shrines.

Hence we must regard the lists in the *Jimmyō-chō* of the *Engi-shiki* as indicative of the shrine system supported by the central government and provincial government during the Nara and Heian periods (eighth, ninth, and early tenth centuries), and probably neither earlier nor later than that span. Some additional information about the shrines is found here and there in the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi*), the *Kōtaijingū-gishikichō,* the *Izumo fudoki*, the *Kogoshūi,* the *Ruijū-kokushi* and *Ruijū-sandaikyaku,* and lesser works of the ninth century, but very little is said about shrines outside the Inner Provinces, Ise, and Izumo.

It is possible to view this long list of 2,861 shrines throughout the country by groups or types. The list begins with the 36 deities worshiped within the Imperial Palace. These *kami* are mentioned elsewhere in the first eight books of the *Engi-shiki* and all of them are directly connected to the Imperial Household. Secondly, there are the shrines related to prominent families (*uji*) in close association with the Imperial Court. Outside of the Palace, the Ise and Watarai Shrines belonged to the Imperial House, while the shrines of the family next in importance to the Imperial Family, the Fujiwara Uji, had its deities enshrined at Kasuga Jinja and also at the Hiraoka, Ooharano, Katori, and Kashima Shrines. The Kamo Uji had founded the Kamo Shrines, the Hata Uji the Matsuno-o Shrine. The Nakatomi Uji, of which the Fujiwara were an offshoot, shared the latter's identity with their shrines, but were also the Court ritualists supervising all Court-related ceremonies. The Imbe Uji claimed to be the official builders of the Palace and of shrines, and their family shrines are found in various provinces.[479]

Another type are shrines to *kami* of natural phenomena; these are ubiquitous. We find that most *kami* are local and not only dwell in a certain locality but are also the possessors of that locality. They not only influence the destinies of the human beings in the locality but also are owners of its soil, its air, its flora, and its waters. Although the deities of sun, moon, wind, storm, and lightning were looked up to and worshiped in their celestial habitat, they were nevertheless given an earthly dwelling where their spirit could reside and be worshiped in a shrine.

The most numerous category of shrines relates to various *kami* of water: of bubbling springs (*yu*), of drinking water (*i*), of rivers, lakes, harbors, rain, irrigation, and the ocean. Of shrines to *kami* of drinking-water wells—besides those which were in the Imperial Palace—we find Ooi and Iwai in Yamashiro Province; Hata-mikai, Mii, and Itsui in Yamato; four *i* in Izumi Province; Ite, Izumi, Ishiri, and Ooi in Ise; Sakai, Asai (2), and Ite in Owari, and countless others. There are enshrinements of the deity of water: Oomizukami, as well as Minushi in Yamashiro and Sanuki; in Oomi there are shrines to Mio and Oomizuwake; and elsewhere there are Shimizu ('clear-water') and Imizu shrines. Those to bubbling water include Amayu-kawata in Kawachi, Yu Shrine in Settsu, Yuta in Watarai in Ise, two Yu and a Yu-no-ishi in Mutsu. Among the *kami* of rivers is the one worshiped at Kawa-ai Jinja in Shinano. As for deities of the sea and seafarers—popularly, the great gods of Sumiyoshi are thought to be sea gods (although

[479] See Katō and Hoshino, *Kogoshūi*, pp. 31, 47.

there is another interpretation), as are those of Sumiyoshi shrine of Tsushima, the Watatsumi Shrines on the same island, and the Ooyosami deities.

Of thunder and lightning deities, the most prominent is Wake-ikazuchi-no-mikoto of the Upper Kamo Shrine, Hono-ikazuchi (believed to be the same deity as the foregoing) and Naru-ikazuchi in Yamato; Hono-ikazuchi in Nawa District, Kōzuke Province; Hyakuraku deities in Iwami; and other Ikazuchi shrines in Echizen, Tajima, and Tsushima, not to mention Narukami Shrine in Kii and Inahikari in Izumi. There is also a thunder god, Narukami, worshiped in the Imperial Palace Water Office.

We have already seen that Izumo Province had its regional deity—Oonamochi (also called Ookuninushi, or Ookunitama of Izumo), who created that land. So also other regions had their regional patron deity, and we find in almost every province a shrine to the Ookunitama or Great Spirit of the Land of that province.

We find the frequent occurrence of shrines called Niu (丹生), which literally seems to mean 'cinnabar-producing'; here probably was venerated a goddess of earth which yielded the red soil (see n. 472 above). *Hani* in a name refers to a deity of clay or earth. In another category are shrines named for an occupational group; significantly, there are Mononobe Shrines in all parts of the country founded by the *be* (occupational group) of armorers, or by the families of that name wherever they were settled (see n. 218). We find a total of 14 Shidori (Shitsuori) Shrines in 12 different provinces, which indicates that the occupational groups engaged in weaving this kind of hempen cloth were scattered throughout the land.[480] There are quite a number of shrines titled Hyōsu (兵主); this is believed to be a military deity and is sometimes identified with Susano-o-no-mikoto, the storm god of the myths.

Shrines with mythological deities in their names are found everywhere. There are ten shrines to Amaterasu (or the variant Amateru), the Sun Goddess, in addition to the Shrine of the Great Deity in Ise. There are Izanagi-Izanami shrines in Awa, Awaji, and Ise. Besides the Oonamochi Shrine in Izumo there are shrines to that deity in Yamato, Noto, and Harima provinces. The so-called Great Gods of Kumano, originally enshrined in the location in Ou District of Izumo, were also enshrined in Oomi, Tamba, and Shinano, as well as in the present great shrines in Kii (Wakayama Pref.).

Very few shrines at the time of compilation of the *Engi-shiki* reflect the syncretic movement which already had progressed. Shinto deities identified with Buddhist *bodhisattva* became more numerous as time went on, but in this list we find only the Hachiman Daibosatsu Usa-no-miya in Usa District, Buzen Province; the Hachiman Daibosatsu Hakosaki-no-miya in Naka District, Chikuzen; a Yakushi Bosatsu in Kashima District, Hitachi; and a Kokubunji Hyakuraku in Iwami Province. There doubtless were many other enshrinements of *suijaku* deities, even though not recorded in the *Engi-shiki*.

[480] A detailed study of these shrines appears in S. Koyama, 'Shitsuori-be no kōkogakuteki kōsatsu', in *Jōdai bunka*, no. 38, Oct. 1969, pp. 14–25.

At the beginning of Book IX we learn that the whole system embraces 3,132 *kami* (celestial and terrestrial) enshrined in 2,861 shrines. They extend from the Shigarewake Jinja in Suwa District, Mutsu Province, in the north (near the present city of Morioka) to the Yaku Jinja in Oosumi Province, Kyushu, in the south; they vary in size from the huge complex of the Grand Shrines of Ise to the minutest local shrine in a humble hamlet. Of the total, there were 492 major (*dai*) and 2,640 minor (*shō*) shrines (strictly speaking, it is the *kami* which are accorded the designation 'major' or 'minor'). To all the *kami* of these shrines, presentations were made at the annual *Toshigoi* Festival in the 2nd month marking the commencement of the agricultural year. Of the 'major' shrines, 304 received offerings from the central government known as *kampei* ('official offerings') which were to be placed on top of offering-tables in the shrines. In addition, 433 'minor' shrines received government offerings which were to be placed *below* the offering-tables (because of lesser rank). The other included 188 'major' shrines which received offerings from the provincial government (*kokuhei*) to be placed on top of offering-tables, and a total of 2,207 'minor' shrines which received provincial official offerings presented below the offering-tables.

Besides the 'major' and 'minor' designation, *kami* of primary importance are labeled *myōjin* (also pronounced *meishin*). These prominent *kami* appear to have emerged from primeval folk worship and acquired pre-eminence because they were believed to be efficacious in answering prayers of the people. As the shrines became systematized into a government-sponsored scheme, some of these local cults received national recognition and classification. There are a total of 285 *myōjin* in the list. The name of a shrine in which more than one deity is worshiped is followed by a number which signifies the number of deities. Thus, in the Inner Shrine of Ise (the Shrine of the Great Deity) three *kami* are enshrined; in the Minushi Shrine in Kuze District, Yamato, ten deities are enshrined. Such additional *kami* are called *aidono no kami* (jointly residing *kami*) and are auxiliary to the main *kami*.

It is difficult to determine what led to a shrine's becoming a registered shrine in the government system, while many other shrines were left out (the so-called *shikigai-sha*). Certainly some shrines rose in importance as seats of flourishing popular cults, others on account of their geographical situation or the physical features of the land. But the chief criterion for selection of important shrines and 'major' deities seems to have been their connection with the Court. How and when the list came into being is not clear. But the *Shoku-nihongi* and the *Kogoshūi* do make mention of a list of government shrines in the Taihō era (701–10). The first compilation of government-registered shrines throughout the land is reported to have been made in the Tempyō era (reign of Shōmu Tennō, 724–49). In this connection, Imbe no Hironari complains in the *Kogoshūi* that the compilation was done under supervision of the Nakatomi Uji and that all the shrines associated with that family (and hence the Fujiwara Uji) were included in the list, while shrines not related to that family were excluded.[481]

[481] *Shoku-nihongi*, III. Katō and Hoshino, op. cit. pp. 44–5.

The text of the *Engi-shiki* which was preserved in the keeping of the Urabe Family through the centuries enjoyed considerable care regarding interpretation of the list of shrines. In his epigraph to this ms., dated Kambun 7 (1667), Matsushita Kenrin (1637–1703) comments on his long labors in analyzing and correcting the erroneous readings of shrine names. His diligent research and careful emendations are very significant for modern scholars in regard to transcription of the list of shrines. (Nevertheless many alternate readings for these old names still exist.) Also, in the late Tokugawa period Ban Nobutomo (1775–1846) did an encyclopedic study of the Heian shrine system, including all references to the shrines contained in works of the Nara and Heian periods as well as in the text of the *Engi-shiki*. This work, *Jimmyō-chō kōshō*, and his studies on shrines, *Jinja shikō*, are indispensable for study of the shrine system and the pantheon of *kami* of that bygone age.

The plan of Books IX and X and an index to the list, by circuit and province, is found in Appendix II, below.

BOOK NINE

REGISTER OF DEITIES (A)

THE PALACE, THE CAPITAL, THE INNER PROVINCES, THE TŌKAIDŌ

3,132 *kami* of Heaven and Earth [enshrined in]
- 2,861 shrines, in which 271 *kami* are worshiped jointly[482]
- 492 are major *kami* [including]:
  - 304 (for whom *Toshigoi, Tsukinami*, and *Niiname* Festivals are celebrated with government offerings presented on top of the tables;[483] of these, 71 *kami* are also worshiped at the *Ainame* Festival)
  - 188 (for whom *Toshigoi* is celebrated with provincial offerings)[484]
- 2,640 are minor *kami*
  - 433 (for whom *Toshigoi* is celebrated with government offerings presented below the tables)
  - 2,207 (for whom *Toshigoi* is celebrated with provincial offerings)

36 *kami* worshiped in the Imperial Palace[485]
- 23 are worshiped in the Sai-in of the *Jingi-kan* by Sacred Maidens (all are major; *Tsukinami* and *Niiname*)
  - 8 *kami* worshiped by Sacred Maidens (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*; these are likewise worshiped in palaces of the Consort and Heir Apparent)

Kami-musubi-no-kami	Takami-musubi-no-kami
Tamaru-musubi-no-kami	Iku-musubi-no-kami
Taru-musubi-no-kami	Oomiya-no-me-no-kami
Miketsu-no-kami	Kotoshironushi-no-kami[486]

[482] *Kami* are enumerated by the auxiliary *za* 座, and additional *kami* worshiped in the same shrine as the main deity are enumerated by *zen* 前.

[483] *Kampei* 官幣 means 'official offerings', and a shrine so designated received offerings for the *kami* sent out from the *Jingi-kan* in the capital. If *Tsukinami* or *Niiname* or *Ainame* festivals were celebrated for a *kami* in addition to the *Toshigoi*, it is so indicated each time.

[484] These shrines are called *kokuhei* 國幣 and are those which receive offerings distributed by the provincial (*kuni*) governments.

[485] Within the Imperial Palace precinct (*kyūchū* 宮中) are included the *kami* who were worshiped in the Sai-in, or sacred courtyard of the *Jingi-kan*, and another thirteen under the supervision of the Ministry of the Imperial Household.

[486] These are the so-called '*musubi* deities', the eight *kami* of the *Jingi-kan*. See n. 309 above.

5 *kami* worshiped by the Igasuri Sacred Maidens (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Ikui-no-kami — Sakui-no-kami
Tsunagai-no-kami — Haigi-no-kami
Asuha-no-kami[487]

8 *kami* worshiped by the Mikado Sacred Maidens (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Kushi-iwamado-no-kami (1 in each of the four gates)
Toyo-iwamado-no-kami (1 in each of the four gates)[488]

2 *kami* worshiped by the Ikushima Sacred Maidens (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Ikushima-no-kami — Tarushima-no-kami[489]

3 *kami* worshiped in the Imperial Household Ministry (principal deities;[490] all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

[1 in] Sono Shrine — 2 in Kara Shrine

3 *kami* of the Palace Table Office (all minor)

Miketsu Shrine — Hono-ikazuchi Shrine
Takabe Shrine

6 *kami* of the Imperial Sake Office[491] (4 major, 2 minor)

Oomiya-no-me Shrine—4 (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sakadono Shrine—2 (both minor)
Sakamitsu-o-no-kami — Sakamitsu-me-no-kami

1 *kami* of the Water Office (minor)

Narukami (Naru-ikazuchi) Shrine

3 *kami* of the Capital (all major)

2 in shrines in Nijō, Left Capital (both: *Tsukinami, Niiname, Ainame*)

Futonoto-no-mikoto-no-kami (main shrines: Futonoto Shrines in Souno-kami Dist., Yamato Prov., and Shimo(tsu)agata Dist., Tsushima Prov.)

[487] This set of *kami* of the water-supply and grounds of the Palace are directly invoked in the ritual for the *Toshigoi* Festival. See n. 310 above.

[488] The ritual for the Festival of the August Gates (*Mikado-matsuri*) is no. 9 in Bk VIII of *E-S*, translated above. See n. 313.

[489] In the ritual for the *Toshigoi* and *Tsukinami* festivals, the *kami* whose worship is conducted by the Ikushima Sacred Maidens are invoked as: 'Ikukuni and Tarukuni'. The names given here are equivalent to those, since *shima* meant 'land', just as *kuni* did. The *Kogoshūi* says that the Ikushima-no-kami are the Spirits of the entire land. See Katō and Hoshino, op. cit. p. 34, and p. 70, n. 61.

[490] The principal deities, or *myōjin* (名神 or 明神), were the outstanding *kami* who had demonstrated extraordinary powers. They were feted in the *Myōjin-matsuri*, a festival held on special occasions. The list comprising 285 *myōjin* shrines is given in *E-S*, Bk III, on the Extraordinary Festivals (*rinji-sai*).

[491] The importance of sake and the sacredness of its brewing and its use, were second only to that of rice, from which it was made. The deities of sake brewing were worshiped whenever and wherever the facilities for fermentation were set up within the Palace, or for festivals away from the Palace, as in the case of the *Daijō-sai*, when a special building for the purpose was erected.

Kushimachi-no-mikoto-no-kami (main shrine: Ama-no-kaguyama ni masu Kushima-no-mikoto, To-ochi Dist., Yamato Prov.)[492]

1 *kami* dwelling in Shijō in the Left Capital (*Tsukinami, Niiname*): Hayafusa-no-kami

658 *kami* in the Five Inner Provinces *(Kinai)* 231 major; 427 minor

YAMASHIRO Province—122

53 Major (all *Tsukinami, Niiname*; 11 of them also *Ainame*)

69 Minor (all receive government offerings)

Otokuni District—19 (5 major; 14 minor)

Hatsukashi ni masu Takami-musubi-no-kami (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Ooi Shrine — Yodo Shrine

Ishitsukuri Shrine

Otokuni no Hono-ikazuchi Shrine[493]

Mitani Shrine — Hashirita Shrine

Mukae Shrine — Kuninaka Shrine

Mamuta Shrine — Ootoshi Shrine

Kamukawa Shrine — Iwai Shrine

Suhara Shrine — Kuga Shrine

Irino Shrine — Okura Shrine

Yoritamate-matsurikitaru-sakatoke Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*; former name: Yamasaki Shrine)

Kamutari Shrine

Kadono District—20 (14 major; 6 minor)

Tsukiyomi Shrine of Kadono (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Konoshima ni masu Amateru-mimusubi (principal deity; major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)

Ochikawa Shrine — Ato Shrine

Matsuno-o Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)[494]

Fukagawa Shrine — Ochikawa-mikami Shrine

Ichii-tani Shrine

Four *kami* of Hirano (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)[495]

Mume-no-miya—4 (all principal deities; major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Amatsu-iwato-wakewaka-hime Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

[492] These entries regarding the two *kami* of the Left Capital are virtually the only ones which relate for us certain shrines to their original or parent shrine. If more such relations were recorded, we would be able to determine the relative antiquity of shrines, as well as the movement of the worship of certain *kami* from one locality to another.

[493] Although written Oo-ikazuchi 大雷 here, editors have emended this to correlate with Hono-ikazuchi (火雷) listed in Uchi District, Yamato Province.

[494] Matsuno-o Shrine, founded in the eighth century, was the *ujigami* shrine of the Hata Uji. Procedures for its annual festival are given in *E-S*, Bk I. Another Matsuno-o Shrine appears in Kawada District, Tamba Province.

[495] For the deities of Hirano, see n. 345 above.

Tomo-uji Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Oosake 大酒 (formerly written 大辟)
Otagi District—21 (8 major; 13 minor)
Kamo-no-wakeikazuchi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*) (the Upper Shrine)
Izumo-no-inoe Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Kamo-no-mioya Shrine—2 (both principal deities; major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*) (the Lower Shrine)
Izumo-no-takano Shrine
Kamo-no-yamanokuchi Shrine[496]
Kamo-no-hani Shrine
Ono Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)[497]
Kuga Shrine
Mato Shrine
Suwa Shrine
Itata Shrine
Kifune Shrine
Kamo-no-kawa-ai ni masu Kosoyake Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Kamo-no-okamoto Shrine
Oota Shrine
Mii Shrine
Ooshiba Shrine
Takahashi Shrine
Katayama-no-miko Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Kii District—8 (3 major; 5 minor)
Mimoro Shrine
Inari Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Oomukura Shrine
Asukata Shrine (also called Kaki-no-moto)
Mahataki Shrine—2
Uji District—10 (5 major; 5 minor)
Uji Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Himukai Shrine
Kowata Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ama-no-hohi-no-mikoto Shrine
Uji-no-ochikata Shrine (mattocks, quivers)
Yamashina Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kuze District—24 (11 major; 13 minor)
Iwata Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Minushi Shrine—10 (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname; Ainame* celebrated for Minushi no Amateru-mitama-no-kami and Minushi no Yamashiro no Ookunitama)

[496] Concerning the *yamanokuchi* shrines, see n. 321 above.

[497] One must consult the first book of the *E-S* for the precise lists of items to be presented to the *kami* at the *Toshigoi, Tsukinami, Ainame,* and *Niiname* festivals. For reasons not explained, additional offerings of quivers (*yanagui*) and mattocks (*kuwa*) have been added to the names of certain shrines in this list. Votive offerings usually included farm implements and ceremonial weapons.

Arami Shrine
Sakuri (Sakuha) Shrine—3
Mito Shrine—3
Asakura (Asamuku) Shrine
Iseta Shrine—3 (mattocks, quivers)
Ookura Shrine
Muroki Shrine

Tsutsuki District—14 (3 major; 11 minor)
Kabai-no-tsuki Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Suchi Shrine
Tsukiyomi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kuioka Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Taka Shrine (mattocks, quivers)
Uchi Shrine—2
Awa Shrine
Tanakurahiko Shrine
Sakakono Shrine
Sakaya Shrine
Kamunabi Shrine
Amatsukami Shrine
Kunitsukami Shrine

Sakaraka District—6 (4 major; 2 minor)
Hafusono Shrine
Waki ni masu Amenofukime Shrine
Kamuhara no Takeinada-hime Shrine
Sakaraka Shrine
Okada-no-kamo Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Okada-no-kunitsukami Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

YAMATO Province—286
128 Major (all: *Tsukinami, Niiname*; 38 of them also *Ainame*)
158 Minor (all receive *kampei*)

Sounokami District—37 (9 major; 28 minor)
Naru-ikazuchi Shrine
Izakawa-no-ōkami-no-miko—3
Saoka Shrine—8
Izakawa-no-awa
Unatari no Takami-musubi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Wani no Akasaka-hiko Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Anafuki Shrine
Wani-no-shimo Shrine—2
Nara-no-tsuhiko Shrine (mattocks and quivers)
Kamuhata Shrine
Takahashi Shrine
Futonoto Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Iefuse Shrine
Ooyamato-himukai Shrine
Yagyū-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kasuga Shrine
Himeta Shrine
The four *kami* worshiped at Kasuga (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)[498]
Akaho Shrine
Shimada Shrine
Misaki-no-morihara-iwatachi-no-mikoto Shrine

[498] Kasuga Jinja, founded by the Fujiwara Uji in the 8th century to enshrine its *ujigami* in the Nara capital, was of great importance. Its festival Procedures are given in *E-S*, Bk I, and the ritual for the festival is the second one in Bk VIII.

Amenoiwasui Shrine
Iotachi Shrine
Amenoiwatachi Shrine

Sounoshimo District—10 (4 major; 6 minor)

Yata no Kushitamahiko Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sou no Miagata (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sugatahime Shrine—2 (mattocks; quivers)
Saki Shrine
Sugawara Shrine
Tomi Shrine
Sugata Shrine
Izanagi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Heguri District—20 (12 major; 8 minor)

Tatsuta ni masu Ame-no-mihashira-kuni-no-mihashira Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tatsutahiko and Tatsutahime Shrine—2
Ikoma ni masu Ikomatsuhiko Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Heguri no Iwatoko Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ikoma-no-yamanokuchi Shrine
Five *kami* of Heguri Shrine (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kudo Shrine
Heguri ni masu Ki-no-uji Shrine (principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Inoe (Ikami) Shrine
Funayama Shrine
Mikushi Shrine
Kamuoka Shrine
Unkanji ni masu Naramoto Shrine

Hirose District—5 (one major; 4 minor)

Hirose ni masu Waka-ukanome-no-mikoto Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sanuki Shrine
Kushitamahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Hono-ikazuchi-no-mikoto Shrine
Ue Shrine

Katsuraginokami District—17 (12 major; 5 minor)

Shimotsukamo-yaekotoshironushi-no-mikoto Shrine—2 (principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Katsuragi no Mitoshi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Katsuragi ni masu Hitokotonushi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Tata Shrine (mattocks, quivers)
Nagara Shrine (mattocks, quivers)
Kose-no-yamanokuchi Shrine
Katsuragi-no-mikumari Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)[499]

[499] *Mikumari* ('water-dividing') deities are listed in Bks I, III, and VIII (in the *norito* for the *Toshigoi* and *Tsukinami* festivals), and here in Yamato Province. There are but four shrines: at Yoshino, Uda, Katsuragi, and Tsuge (also pron. Tsuke or Chikkei). See n. 322 above.

Kamo-no-yamanokuchi Shrine
Takamahiko Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Katsuragi no Ooe Shrine
Ooanamochi Shrine
Ookura-no-hime Shrine
Takakamo no Ajisuki-taka-hikone-no-mikoto Shrine—4 (all principal deities; major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)

Katsuraginoshimo District—18 (13 major; 5 minor)
Katsuragi no Shidori ni masu Ame-no-hazuchi-no-mikoto Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kataoka Shrine (principal deity; major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Nagao Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Iwazono ni masu Takutsutama Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tsukita ni masu Hitokotoneko Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kanamura Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Katsuragi no Miagata (Miyagata) Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Fukamizo Shrine
Hohata Shrine (principal deity; major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Shitsumi Shrine
Izanagi Shrine
Taimatsuhiko Shrine—2
Taima-no-yamanokuchi Shrine
Oosaka-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Katsuragi no Futakami Shrine—2 (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Oshinomi District—3 (2 major, one minor)
Ishi Shrine
Katsuragi ni masu Hono-ikazuchi Shrine—2 (both principal; major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)

Uchi District—11 (all minor)
Uchi Shrine
Atahime Shrine
Araki Shrine
Niukawa Shrine
Futami Shrine
Miyasaki no Narukami Shrine
Hono-ikazuchi Shrine
Takama-no-kishino Shrine
Ochisoma Shrine
Takama-no-yamasatao Shrine
Hito-ose Shrine

Yoshino District—10 (5 major, 5 minor)
Yoshino-no-mikumari Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Yoshino-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Oonamochi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Niu-no-kawakami Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kane-no-mitake Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Takahoko Shrine
Kawakami-no-kashio Shrine (mattocks)
Iwata Shrine
Haho (Namiho) Shrine (mattocks)
Hahime (Namihime) Shrine

Uda District—17 (one major, 16 minor)

Uda-no-mikumari Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Aki Shrine (mattocks and quivers)
Kadomori Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Niu Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Mitsue Shrine
Mukumoto Shrine
Takatsuno Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Yatakarasu Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Misosakahime-no-mikoto Shrine (or Umasakahime-no-mikoto)
Mii Shrine
Okada-no-ohata-no-mikoto Shrine
Miwa-no-miko-mimusubime-no-mikoto Shrine
Sakurami Shrine
Tsuruginushi Shrine
Murō-no-ryūketsu Shrine
Tsukanaki Shrine

Shikinokami District—35 (15 major, 20 minor)

Oomiwa no Oomononushi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Miwa ni masu Himukai Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Anashi ni masu Hyōsu Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Makimuku ni masu Wakamitama Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Osata ni masu Amateru-mitama Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Shiki no Miyagata Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sai ni masu Ookami-no-aramitama Shrine—5 (mattocks, quivers)
Osaka-no-ikune Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ha(tsu)se-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Osaka-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tomi Shrine
Eguri Shrine
Minakuchi Shrine
Kuwauchi Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Hikita Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Uda-no-yorita Shrine
Tamatsura Shrine
Izanagi Shrine
Tsunakoshi Shrine
Toshishiro Shrine
Anashi no Oohyōsu Shrine
Wakasakura Shrine
Nabekura Shrine
Takaya-abe Shrine—3 (principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Munakata Shrine—3 (principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)[500]

Shikinoshimo District—17 (3 major, 14 minor)

Muraya ni masu Mifutsuhime Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Ike no Asakiriyokokihatahime Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Kagamitsukuri ni masu Amateru-mitama Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Chishiro Shrine

[500] See also the 'major' Munakata Shrine in Munakata District, Chikuzen Province, and 'minor' Munakata Shrines in other localities.

Kitashita Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Yamato-onchi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Himekuha Shrine
Hatori Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Futsu Shrine (mattock, quiver) Itoi Shrine (quiver)
Muraya Shrine—2 Kagamitsukuri-ita Shrine
Kagamitsukuri-make Shrine Kususumi Shrine

Takechi District—54 (33 major, 21 minor)

Takechi-miagata ni masu Kamo no Kotoshironushi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Four *kami* of Asuka Shrine (all principal *kami*, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Soga no Sogatsuhiko Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Asuka-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Four *kami* of Amagashi (all major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Inashiro (Toshishiro) Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Musa Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Unebi-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Takechi no Miagata Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kose-no-yama ni masu Iwakurahiko Shrine
Sagi-no-su Shrine (quiver)
Karokomura Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ame-no-takechi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Haruta Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Futotama-no-mikoto Shrine—4 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kushitama-no-mikoto Shrine—4 (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kayanarumi-no-mikoto Shrine
Asuka-no-kawakami no Usatakihime-no-mikoto Shrine
Higashi-ōtanihime-no-mikoto Shrine
Kuretsuhiko Shrine
Kawamata Shrine—3 (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ketsuwaki Shrine Ootoshi Shrine—2
Hata Shrine (mattock, quiver) Mitoshi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Omiashi Shrine
Torisaka Shrine—2 (mattock, quiver)
Taki-no-moto Shrine Kosetsuhiko-no-mikoto Shrine
Amatsu-iwatowake Shrine
Hatamikai Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kume no Miagata Shrine—3
Ibukuikazuchi-naruikazuchi-yoshino Ookuzumitama Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

To-ochi District—19 (11 major, 8 minor)

Oo-no-mishiritsuhiko Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)

To-ochi no Miagata Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Mehara no Takami-musubi Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Iware-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Unebi-no-takehaniyasu Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Miminashi-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major)
Taketa Shrine
Sakato Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Kobe Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Unebi-tsutamoto Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Ama-no-kaguyama ni masu Kushima-no-mikoto Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*; formerly named Oomatonochi-no-kami)
Miko-no-kami-no-mikoto Shrine Himemiko-no-mikoto Shrine
Omori-no-kami-no-mikoto Shrine Yatsuki-no-kami-no-mikoto Shrine
(the four preceding are the *ōyashiro-no-miko-no-kami*)
Shitai (Orii) Shrine

Yamanobe District—13 (7 major, 6 minor)
Ooyamato no Ookunitama Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Isonokami-no-furu-no-mitama Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Tsuge-no-mikumari Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Yama-no-be no Miagata Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Shirotsutsumi Shrine Yatsuki Shrine
Tsuge-no-yamanokuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Hafurita Shrine Isonokami-ichi Shrine
Shimobe Shrine Izumo-takeo Shrine

KAWACHI Province—113
23 Major (all *Tsukinami, Niiname*; of these *Ainame* is held for eight)
90 Minor (all *kampei*)

Ishikawa District—9 (all minor)
Kanko Shrine (mattock, quiver) Shinaga Shrine
Take-mikumari Shrine Ooge-no-okami Shrine
Mikukuru-no-mitama Shrine Sabi Shrine
Kanko-sabi Shrine Isuka Shrine
Kamonarahita Shrine

Furuchi District—2 (both minor)
Tokari Shrine Takaya Shrine

Asukabe District—5 (3 major, 2 minor)
Morimoto Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Asukabe Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Hakutahiko Shrine (mattock) Hakutahime Shrine (mattock)

Oogata District—11 (all minor)
Amayukawata Shrine Sukunakawata Shrine
Kanayamahiko Shrine Kanayamahime Shrine
Takuhiko Shrine Takuhime Shrine

Ookoma Shrine
Wakayamatohiko-no-mikoto Shrine
Wakayamatohime-no-mikoto Shrine (mattock)
Iwagami (Ishigami) Shrine
Tokoyokihime Shrine

Takayasu District—10 (4 major, 6 minor)

Omuchi Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Tsufukumi Shrine
Amaterasu-ō-mikami-takakura Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*; formerly called Kasugabe-no-kami)
Tama-no-oya Shrine
Mioya Shrine
Kamo Shrine
Samatado Shrine
Kasugabe no yashiro ni masu Miko Shrine

Kawachi District—10 (4 major, 6 minor)

Hiraoka Shrine—4 (principal deities; major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Tsuhara Shrine
Kajinashi Shrine (mattock)
Ootsu Shrine
Kurihara Shrine (mattock)
Iwakiri-no-tsurugiya-no-mikoto Shrine—2

Sarara District—6 (one major, 5 minor)

Suhama Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Mitsukue Shrine
Takamiya Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tsuhoko Shrine
Takamiya-no-ōmori-no-mioya Shrine
Kunaka Shrine

Mamuta District—5 (all minor)

Tsutsumine Shrine
Tsushimabe Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Hosoya Shrine
Takase Shrine
Okami Shrine

Katano District—2 (both minor)

Katano Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Kususumi Shrine (mattock)

Wakae District—22 (2 major; 20 minor)

Sakai Shrine—2
Yatsukuri (Yahagi) Shrine
Wakae-no-kagami Shrine
Mino-no-agatanushi Shrine—2 (mattocks, quivers)
Iwata Shrine—3
Kawamata Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Yuge Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Tsurumishima Shrine (mattock)
Nagara Shrine (mattock)
Okibe Shrine
Mito (Iyato) Shrine
Uba Shrine
Shibukawa Shrine—2
Kurusu Shrine
Katsura Shrine
Nakamura Shrine

Shibukawa District—6 (all minor)

Kamo-takata Shrine
Yokono Shrine
Hamukoso Shrine
Michibe Shrine

Koma Shrine
Tsurumi Shrine

Shiki District—14 (6 major, 8 minor)

Shikiagatanushi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Nagano Shrine
Shiki Shrine
Kuroda Shrine
Makimoto (Kusumoto) Shrine—3 (mattocks, quivers)
Shiki-no-nagayoshi Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tomohayashi-no-uji Shrine
(Shiki-no-)Karakuni Shrine
Masamune Shrine—3 (all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Tajihi District—11 (3 major, 8 minor)

Tajihi Shrine
Amamikoso Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Sayamatsutsumi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ootsu Shrine—3 (mattocks, quivers)
Sayama Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sugau Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Sakaya Shrine
Ichimoto Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Tai Shrine

IZUMI Province—62

1 Major (*Tsukinami, Niiname*)
61 Minor (all *kampei*)

Ootori District—24 (1 major, 23 minor)

Ootori Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Yamai Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Ootori Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Mitami Shrine
Oshiwake Shrine
Ikukuni Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Inahikari Shrine
Iwatsuta Shrine
Tonoki Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Hachita Shrine (mattock)
Sue-no-arata Shrine—2 [mattocks]
Kuni Shrine
Kamo[-ta] Shrine
Takashi (Takaiwa) Shrine
Ootori-miwahi Shrine
Tachihayahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ootori-ise Shrine
Ootori-hama Shrine (mattock)
Saka-no-ue Shrine
Akikuchi Shrine
Sakurai Shrine
Ootoshi Shrine (mattock)
Hibe (Kusakabe) Shrine

Izumi District—28 (all minor)

Onouto Shrine—2
Hakata Shrine
Yagi Shrine
Izumi-anashi Shrine—2
Hyōsu Shrine
Awa Shrine
Sone Shrine
Izumi-inoe Shrine
Arima (Arimo) Shrine
Yamanao Shrine
Yashiro(-no-mura) Shrine—2
Hokura Shrine
Izumi Shrine
Kusumoto Shrine
Awaji Shrine
Okami Shrine

Hata Shrine
Tsugawa (Tsumikawa) Shrine—5 (mattocks)
Marukasa Shrine Furufu Shrine
Hijiri Shrine
Hine District—10 (all minor)
O (Okami) Shrine—2 Kamusaki Shrine
Hihashiri Shrine Hine Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Kakita Shrine (mattock, quiver) Hata Shrine
Kutama (Kunitama) Shrine Okami Shrine
Hime Shrine (mattock)
SETTSU Province—75
26 Major (all *Tsukinami, Niiname*; of these 5 also *Ainame*)
49 Minor (all *kampei*)
Sumiyoshi District—22 (10 major, 12 minor)
Sumiyoshi Shrine—4 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)[501]
Ooyosami Shrine—4 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Kusatsu-Ootoshi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Nakatomu-sumuchi Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Kamu-sumuchi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Tatehara Shrine
Sumuchi-sone Shrine Todorokihime-no-mikoto Shrine
Akaruhime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ame-no-mikumari-toyoura-no-mikoto Shrine
Nunotahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Oowatatsumi Shrine—2 (formerly Tsumori-no-ujibito-no-kami)[502]
Tame Shrine Funatama Shrine
Ikune Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Higashinari District—4 (3 major, 1 minor)

[501] In *E-S*, Bk II, the Yasoshima Festival is held to venerate the four Sumiyoshi (earlier name: Suminoe) gods, the four Ooyosami deities, two sea gods, two Tarumi, and two Sumuchi deities. The Sumiyoshi Shrine is the seat of the oldest recorded worship in Settsu Province. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* the Palace of Oojin Tennō is called Oosumi-no-miya: and Nintoku Tennō had his palace at Suminoe on the shore of Naniwa. The *Kojiki* states that the three great gods of Suminoe were: Soko-tsutsu-no-o-no-mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-no-o-no-mikoto and Uwa-tsutsu-no-o-no-mikoto. These three may have been war gods associated with the eastward conquest of the Yamato tribe. In the story of Empress Jingū's conquest of Korea the sea-gods rise to importance, but it is also said these Suminoe deities were taken and transplanted in Silla. Thus the fourth deity at Sumiyoshi is believed to be an enshrinement of the Empress Jingū. See T. Yamane, *The Naniwa Courts and the Sumiyoshi Shrine*, pp. 11 ff.

[502] In the *Kojiki*, Chap. 11, three Watatsumi deities are named: Soko-tsu-watatsumi, Naka-tsu-watatsumi and Uwa-tsu-watatsumi. These deities may also be connected with eastward migration from the Continent in proto-historic times, as we find a Watatsumi Jinja enshrining a *myōjin*, and a Watatsumi-no-mikoto Jinja in Kanzuagata District on Tsushima Island, and a Watatsumi Jinja and Watatsumi *myōjin* shrine both in Shimoagata District in the same province.

Naniwa ni masu Ikukuni(-Sakikuni)-tama Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Himekoso Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Achihayao Shrine

Nishinari District—1 (major)
Igasuri Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)[503]

Shimanokami District—3 (all minor)
Akuta (Akuto) Shrine
Nomi Shrine
Kamuhatori Shrine

Shimanoshimo District—17 (5 major, 12 minor)
Niiya ni masu Amateru-mitama Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*; of these, for Amateru-mitama only, the *Ainame* is held)
Ama-no-iwatowake Shrine
Sukuku Shrine—2 (mattock, quiver)
Ai Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Inoe Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Hashiriochi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Sawaragi Shrine
Mitegura Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Mure Shrine
Mishimakamo Shrine
Izanagi Shrine—2 (both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Mizokui Shrine
Oota Shrine

Teshima District—5 (2 major, 3 minor)
Inatsuhiko Shrine—2
Hosokawa Shrine
Tarumi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Aida Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Kawanobe District—7 (all minor)
Isagu Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Takahime-no-fu (Takamefu) Shrine
Kamo Shrine
Ikota Shrine
Tada Shrine
Obe Shrine
Himefu Shrine

Muko District—4 (2 major, 2 minor)
Hirota Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Natsugi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Iwashitsu Shrine
Okata Shrine

Muhara (Uhara) District—3 (all minor)
Kawachi-no-kunitama Shrine [mattock, quiver][504]
Ookuninushi-no-nishi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Hokura Shrine (mattock, quiver)

Yatabe District—3 (2 major, 1 minor)
Ikuta Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)

[503] Igasuri: see n. 310 above.
[504] Material in brackets has been supplied, though not appearing in all mss. of *E-S*.

Nagata Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Minume Shrine
Arima District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)
Arima Shrine
Kuchi Shrine (mattock, quiver)
Yu Shrine (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Nose District—3 [all minor]
Kini (Kine) Shrine
Kusasa Shrine
Noma Shrine

731 *kami* in the Tōkaidō
52 Major (for 19 of these the *Tsukinami* and *Niiname* festivals are held)
679 Minor
IGA Province—25 (1 major, 24 minor)
Ahe District—9 (1 major, 8 minor)
Yafuta Shrine
Utsuka Shrine
Hataki Shrine
Suchiaraki Shrine
Ahekuni Shrine (major)
Sasa Shrine
Anaishi (Anashi) Shrine
Makiyama Shrine
Omiya Shrine
Yamada District—3 (all minor)
Tosaka (Torisaka) Shrine
Awa Shrine
Ashi Shrine
Iga District—11 (all minor)
Kine (Konone) Shrine
Tamori Shrine
Hichi (Hine) Shrine
Oomura Shrine
Hihiki Shrine
Hishiki Shrine
Enako Shrine
Ita Shrine
Omine Shrine
Takase Shrine
Sakato Shrine
Nahari District—2 (both minor)
Nai Shrine
Unane-no-fushimi Shrine
ISE Province—253
18 Major (for 14 of whom *Tsukinami* and *Niiname* festivals are held)
235 Minor
Watarai District—58 (14 major, 44 minor)[505]
Oomikami-no-miya [Shrine of the Great Deity]—3 (2 *aidono* deities; all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Aramatsuri-no-miya (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Takihara-no-miya (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Izanagi-no-miya—2 (1 is Izanami-no-mikoto; both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

[505] In this district and other districts of Ise Province, inconsistencies will be found between this list and the ones in *E-S*, Bk IV.

Tsukiyomi-no-miya—2 (1 is Aramitama-no-mikoto; both major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Watarai-no-miya—4 (3 are *aidono* deities; all major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Taka-no-miya (major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Asakuma Shrine
Kano Shrine
Satakuninari Shrine
Kusanagi Shrine
Iso Shrine
Tsukiyomi Shrine
Narahara Shrine
Tsunaga-no-ōmizu Shrine
Mike Shrine
Tanoe-no-ōmizu Shrine
Sakate-no-kuninari Shrine
Kugutsuhime Shrine
Ooma-no-kuninari Shrine
Kamusaki Shrine
Emura Shrine
Kamo Shrine
Tanoe Shrine
Sonō (Sonau) Shrine
Takihara Shrine
Yuta Shrine
Oomizu Shrine
Ookunitamahime Shrine
Ootsuchi-no-mioya Shrine
Kunitsumioya Shrine
Awa-ōji (Awa-no-miko) Shrine
Kawara-no-kuninari Shrine
E (E-no-kami) Shrine
Kuchira Shrine
Watarai-no-kuni-no-mikami Shrine
Watarai-no-ōkunitamahime Shrine
Kiyonoiwa Shrine
Kawara Shrine
Ookawachi Shrine
Kawara-no-ōyashiro
Omata Shrine
Ookaminomifune Shrine
(Oihara) (Ogiwara) Shrine
Shitomi Shrine
Yamasue Shrine
Oihara Shrine
Usunono Shrine
Kawara-no-fuchi Shrine
Ikazuchi (Raiten) Shrine
Miyake Shrine
Take District—52 (all minor)
Sumarome (Sumarohime) Shrine
Kushida Shrine
Take Shrine
Omi Shrine
Ookamuyama Shrine—2
Iomi (Ioumi) Shrine—2
Ooka-no-ue Shrine
Unisakura Shrine
Hatori-no-matoma Shrine—2
Ookakota-no-mikami Shrine
Urufutsu Shrine
Amekakoyama (Ama-no-kagoyama) Shrine
Anashi Shrine
Hataketa Shrine—3
Iwata Shrine
Sakikurusu Shrine—2
Take-no-sasafue Shrine
Sana Shrine—2
Kasuya Shrine
Naka Shrine
Hatori-no-itoma Shrine
Nanami Shrine
Hayashi Shrine
Moriyama Shrine
Uni Shrine
Ama-no-tamizushiro-ōtoji Shrine
Kishi Shrine
Nagareta Shrine
Nagareta-no-ue Shrine
Hichi Shrine
Takeōyohi Shrine
Oikura (Okikura) Shrine

Izawa Shrine
Uni (Arifuta) Shrine
Ookutama (Ookunitama) Shrine
Kuninomikami Shrine
Isonokami Shrine
Kushita-no-tsukimoto Shrine
Ookushi Shrine
Mure Shrine
Kunari (Kuninari) Shrine
Oowake Shrine
Hitsukura Shrine
Iro-no-ue Shrine
Ushiniwa Shrine

Iino District—4 (all minor)
Oita (Iita) Shrine
Iwasaki (Isosaki) Shrine
Kamuyama Shrine
Kamukaki Shrine

Iitaka District—9 (all minor)
Tachino Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Ii (Oi) Shrine
Niu-no-naka Shrine
Kunitsu Shrine
Oowa Shrine
Kasechi Shrine
Niu Shrine
Horisaka Shrine

Ichishi District—13 (3 major, 10 minor)
Hata Shrine
Inaba Shrine—2
Asaka Shrine—3 (all principal deities; major)
Hate Shrine
Okawa Shrine
Kawa-ai Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Suka Shrine
Sayama (Iyama) Shrine
Toshita Shrine

Ano District—10 (all minor)
Okisome Shrine
Shifumi Shrine
Minoya Shrine
Okawachi Shrine
Karaino Shrine
Ooichi Shrine
Oni Shrine
Ayuta Shrine
Hisatsuchi Shrine
Funayama Shrine

Amuki District—13 (all minor)
Inafu Shrine
Tai Shrine
Kotoimi Shrine
Osaki Shrine
Iwatsumi Shrine
Hatori Shrine
Kuruma Shrine
Kawara Shrine
Oonokoso Shrine
Sakai Shrine
Hisatsuchi Shrine
Minefuri Shrine
Yokomichi-no-shimo Shrine

Suzuka District—19 (all minor)
Nakushiri Shrine
Kawamata Shrine
Shihakaki Shrine
Ame-no-hitotsukuwata Shrine
Okishi-no-ōkami Shrine
Miyake Shrine
Fuke Shrine
Shidori (Shizuri) Shrine
Makio Shrine
Agatanushi Shrine
Tsubaki-no-ōkami Shrine
Ooi Shrine—2
E Shrine
Iwa Shrine

Nagase Shrine
Katayama Shrine
Oshiyama (Imiyama) Shrine
Mimuko Shrine

Kawawa District—20 (all minor)

Takaichi (Takechi) Shrine
Kishi (Takashi) Shrine
Kawa Shrine
Okata Shrine
Okawa Shrine
Iino Shrine
Takaoka Shrine
Ashika Shrine
Suki Shrine
Hashi Shrine
Mitsukaki Shrine
Onita (Kita) Shrine
Yayori Shrine
Nakato Shrine
Tsubaki Shrine
Kukushimi Shrine
Ooki Shrine
Yafuta Shrine
Fukata Shrine
Ooka-no-miyake Shrine

Mie District—6 (all minor)

Eta (Fukata) Shrine
Kamusaki Shrine
Ashimita Shrine
Kafu Shrine
Okoso Shrine
Tsubakikishi (Tsubakishi) Shrine

Asake District—24 (all minor)

Ikaruga Shrine
Kiruta Shrine
Usagikami Shrine
Tahika Shrine
Yasotsumikura Shrine
Mimitoshi Shrine
Utsushita Shrine
Ite Shrine
Fushi Shrine
Sakura Shrine
Nagakura Shrine
Hase Shrine
Nohara Shrine
Isobe Shrine—2
Oowa (Oo-no-kami) Shrine
Toriichi (Toriide) Shrine
Shite Shrine
Mimitsune Shrine
Kushita Shrine
Uekuri Shrine
Hotsumi Shrine
Ishiri Shrine
Nawashiro Shrine

Inabe District—10 (all minor)

Kamo 鴨 Shrine
Heguri Shrine
Inabe Shrine
Totori Shrine
Kamo 賀毛 Shrine
Ishi (Iwa) Shrine
Tanabe Shrine
Totori-no-yamada Shrine
Ootani Shrine
Hoshikawa Shrine

Kuwana District—15 (1 major, 14 minor)

Kuwana Shrine—2
Otsu Shrine—2
Noshiri Shrine
Ono Shrine
Nukata Shrine
Nakatomi Shrine
Tachisaka Shrine
Sanofu Shrine
Oyama Shrine
Tato Shrine (principal deity, major)
Fukae Shrine
Uka Shrine
Hase Shrine

SHIMA Province—3 (2 major, 1 minor)
Tōshi District—3 (2 major, 1 minor)
Awashima no Isawa Shrine—2 (both major)
Awashima no Kamiotanomiko Shrine
OWARI Province—121 (8 major, 113 minor)
Amabe District—8 (all minor)
Urushibe Shrine
Kunitama Shrine
Utashi Shrine
Ikuha Shrine
Morokuwa Shrine
Fujishima Shrine
Yunoki Shrine
Okamu Shrine
Nakashima District—30 (3 major, 27 minor)
Sakate Shrine
Minu (Mino) Shrine
Oomiwa Shrine (principal deity, major)
Hasoki Shrine
Harikuma Shrine
Asai Shrine
Nomi Shrine
Mokuhi Shrine
Oo(-no-kami) Shrine (principal deity, major)
Chichihaya Shrine
Iwato Shrine
Takata-hasoki Shrine
Himefu Shrine
Kawawa Shrine
Asai Shrine
Tsutsumihari Shrine
Chino Shrine
Fuchi Shrine
Owari no Ookunitama Shrine
Tomoe Shrine
Oseki Shrine
Murohara Shrine
Ookuchi Shrine
Masumita Shrine
Sakami Shrine
Kuta Shrine
Ishitsukuri Shrine
Shioe Shrine
Munakata Shrine
Oomitama Shrine
Hakuri District—10 (all minor)
Anaobe Shrine
Wakakuri Shrine
Oono Shrine
Ubusuna Shrine
Ifuribe Shrine
Ajika Shrine
Kurota Shrine
Ishitsukuri Shrine
Kawashima Shrine
Ooke Shrine
Niwa District—22 (1 major, 21 minor)
Azura Shrine
Inaki Shrine
Ikakawara Shrine
Niwa Shrine
Morokuwa Shrine
Haritsuna Shrine
Takumi Shrine
Kezuriguri Shrine
Mushika Shrine
Ide Shrine
Tagata Shrine
Ishitsukuri Shrine
Yamana Shrine
Sakito Shrine
Akuma Shrine
Ikuta Shrine
Narumi-no-tekashi Shrine
Takumi Shrine
Tachino (Tateno) Shrine
Oguchi Shrine

Shiomichi Shrine
Ooagata Shrine (principal deity, major)

Kasukabe District—12 (all minor)

Hita Shrine
Oe Shrine
Toyama Shrine
Katayama Shrine
Kunihara Shrine
Mutsushi (Mutoshi) Shrine
Mimari (Misomari) Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Itahato Shrine
Takamu Shrine
Uchiuchi (Uchitsu) Shrine
Take Shrine

Yamada District—19 (all minor)

Katayama Shrine
Oome Shrine
Hitsuji Shrine
Fukawa Shrine
Kawashima Shrine
Okuchi Shrine
Inu Shrine
Kane Shrine
Wanira Shrine
Tanahata Shrine
Wata Shrine
Shibukawa Shrine
Oonoki Shrine
Owari Shrine
Wakeoe Shrine
Ooi Shrine
Sakaniwa Shrine
Owaribe Shrine
Ishitsukuri Shrine

Aichi District—17 (4 major, 13 minor)

Hioki Shrine
Kamutsuchikama Shrine
Shimotsuchikama Shrine
Atsuta Shrine (principal deity, major)
Mita Shrine
Takamu Shrine
Kawara Shrine
Harina Shrine
Ifu Shrine
Narumi Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Hisaki-no-miko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Hikowakamiko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Takakura-no-musubi-miko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Yatsurugi Shrine
Ho-no-kami-aneko Shrine
Aofusuma Shrine

Chita District—3 (all minor)

Irumi (Irimi) Shrine
Akuhi Shrine
Hazu Shrine

MIKAWA Province—26 (all minor)

Kamo District—7 (all minor)

Nomi Shrine
No Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Iho Shrine
Sanage Shrine
Hirosawa Shrine
Haiho Shrine

Nukata District—2 (both minor)

Inasaki Shrine
Achiha (Yuhata) Shrine

Aomi District—6 (all minor)

Washitori Shrine
Sakahito (Sakamuto) Shrine
Hinaga Shrine
Chiryū Shrine

Hiso Shrine
Kasume Shrine

Hazu District—3 (all minor)

Kumaku Shrine—2
Hazu Shrine

Ho-o District—6 (all minor)

Katahara Shrine
Mitsu Shrine
Unatari Shrine
Toka Shrine
Akahiko Shrine
Iwakura Shrine

Yana District—1 (minor)

Ishimaki Shrine

Atsumi District—1 (minor)

Ashi Shrine

TŌTOUMI Province—62 (2 major, 60 minor)

Hamana District—5 (1 major, 4 minor)

Miwayama Shrine
Eta Shrine
Ihanako Shrine
Oomiwa Shrine
Tsunosakuhiko Shrine (principal deity, major)

Fuchi District—6 (all minor)

Kisa Shrine
Kobe Shrine
Tsumori (Tsukeri) Shrine
Omu (Yasu) Shrine
Sokonomitachi Shrine
Kakuru Shrine

Inasa District—6 (all minor)

Ii Shrine
Otsu Shrine
Miyake Shrine
Hachisaki Shrine
Sube Shrine
Oosechi (Daisechi) Shrine

Aratama District—4 (all minor)

Oro Shrine
Taka Shrine
Nagatani Shrine
Wakayamato Shrine

Naganoshimo District—4 (all minor)

Nagano Shrine
Oomika Shrine
Toroku Shrine
Inoe (Ike) Shrine

Naganokami District—5 (all minor)

Ootoshi Shrine
Ifuse (Kose) Shrine
Hatori Shrine
Asahihataka Shrine
Kokura Shrine

Iwata District—14 (all minor)

Irumi Shrine
Kasono Shrine
Aōmi-no-kunitama Shrine
Tanaka Shrine
Toyoikazuchi-no-mikoto Shrine
Toyoikazuchihime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ikuikazuchi-no-mikoto Shrine
Ame-no-miko Shrine—2
Mioya Shrine
Miko-no-kami Shrine—2
Yanahime Shrine
Suwawakamiko Shrine

Suchi District—3 (all minor)

Hagiwara-no-kawachi Shrine
Okuni Shrine
Mumanushi Shrine

Yamana District—4 (all minor)

Yamana Shrine
Kone Shrine
Shimana Shrine
Kōribe Shrine

Sano District—4 (all minor)

Makusa Shrine
Kotonomachi Shrine
Awawa Shrine
Toshi Shrine

Kikō District—2 (both minor)

Nara Shrine
Hinatano Shrine

Haibara District—5 (1 major, 4 minor)

Ookusu Shrine
Hatorita Shrine
Kataoka Shrine
Iitsusawano Shrine
Kyōman Shrine (principal deity, major)

SURUGA Province—22 (1 major, 21 minor)

Mashitsu District—4 (all minor)

Miwa Shrine
Akuwa (Akunami) Shrine
Nahe Shrine
Yakitsu Shrine

Udo District—3 (all minor)

Ikama Shrine
Iketa Shrine
Kusanagi Shrine

Abe District—7 (all minor)

Ashitsuki Shrine
Kamube (Kambe) Shrine
Takeho Shrine
Nakatsu Shrine
Oketsuri (Okushi) Shrine
Shirasawa Shrine
Ootoshi-mioya Shrine

Iohara District—3 (all minor)

Miho Shrine
Kusanagi Shrine
Toyotsumi Shrine

Fuji District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)

Shidori Shrine
Asama (Sengen) Shrine (principal deity, major)
Fuchi Shrine

Suruga District—2 (both minor)

Maroko (Mariko) Shrine
Momosawa Shrine

IZU Province—92 (5 major, 87 minor)

Kamo District—46 (4 major, 42 minor)

Izu-no-mishima Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Hafuhime-no-mikoto Shrine
Igamuhime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ikonahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Sakitamahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Itatewake-no-mikoto Shrine
Atsusawake-no-mikoto Shrine
Takemikaka-no-mikoto Shrine
Monoimina-no-mikoto Shrine
Hayatamawake-no-mikoto Shrine
Iware-no-mikoto Shrine
Itsunahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ametsuwake-no-mikoto Shrine
Hayashi-no-mikoto Shrine
Uwai-no-mikoto Shrine
Katasuga-no-mikoto Shrine
Kurae-no-mikoto Shrine
Yasu-no-mikoto Shrine
Nakichi-no-mikoto Shrine

Kami-no-mikoto Shrine
Tera-no-mikoto Shrine
Koshiki-no-mikoto Shrine
Takeishizuki-no-mikoto Shrine
Kunitsuhime-no-mikoto Shrine
Iwanohime-no-mikoto Shrine
Sugihokowake-no-mikoto Shrine
Takehokotsukuwake-no-mikoto Shrine
Iwakurawake-no-mikoto Shrine
Iwayo-no-mikoto Shrine
Ametsukatahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Iwahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Awa Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shiritaki Shrine
Achiko Shrine
Minamiko (Minako) Shrine
Hotsusake-no-mikoto Shrine
Iwatewake-no-mikoto Shrine
Hachi Shrine
Ootsu-no-yuki-no-mikoto Shrine
Fusaoki Shrine
Sasawarahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Tsukuma (Takama) Shrine—3
Kamo Shrine—2

Takata District—24 (1 major, 23 minor)

Araki Shrine
Fumunashi Shrine
Karono Shrine
Shidori Shrine
Takahashi Shrine
Nagahama Shrine
Kutsumi Shrine
Iwatokunotaka Shrine
Ikamashi Shrine
Hirose Shrine
Ogawa-izumi Shrine
Ooasa Shrine
Tamatsukuri-no-mizu Shrine
Yanagiwara Shrine
Karihayasutakihihayo-no-mikoto Shrine
Tachioyani-no-mikoto Shrine
Ho-no-musubi-no-mikoto Shrine
Shiranaminomina-awa-no-mikoto Shrine
Kanamura-iokimiwake-no-mikoto Shrine
Tachikara(Hikitachikara)-no-mikoto Shrine
Kanamura-iomurahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ametsuse-no-ketachi-no-mikoto Shrine
Tsurugitachi-iwatokowake-no-mikoto Shrine
Awabitama-shiratamahimewake-no-mikoto Shrine

Naka District—22 (all minor)

Minowa Shrine
Ishifu Shrine
Inakami Shrine
Naka Shrine
Ita Shrine
Inashimo Shrine
Naka-no-Ootoshi Shrine
Taniya Shrine
Tako (Oko) Shrine
Ukusu Shrine
Heta Shrine
Sawa Shrine—2
Futonushi-no-wakatama-no-mikoto Shrine
Kuni-no-mihashira-no-mikoto Shrine
Inamiya-no-mikoto Shrine
Iwakura-no-mikoto Shrine
Kunitama-no-mikoto Shrine
Mikatama-no-mikoto Shrine
Kunitama-no-mikoto Shrine
Toyomitama-no-mikoto Shrine

Aotamahime-no-mikoto Shrine

KAI Province—20 (1 major, 19 minor)

Yamanashi District—9 (all minor)

Kamube (Kambe) Shrine
Kaina Shrine
Kanazakura Shrine
Tamamoro Shrine
Yamanashioka Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Kurotona Shrine
Matsu-no-o Shrine
Ooimata Shrine

Koma District—5 (all minor)

Kamube (Kambe) Shrine
Uwato Shrine
Kasaya Shrine
Homi Shrine
Shidori Shrine

Yatsushiro District—6 (1 major, 5 minor)

Saku Shrine
Uwato Shrine
Nakao Shrine
Yuge Shrine
Asama Shrine
Hokotsuki Shrine

SAGAMI Province—13 (1 major, 12 minor)

Ashinokami District—1 (minor)

Samuta Shrine

Yoroki District—1 (minor)

Kawawa Shrine

Oosumi District—4 (all minor)

Sakitori Shrine
Hihita Shrine
Takaheya Shrine
Afuri Shrine

Aikō (Ayukawa) District—1 (minor)

Ono Shrine

Takakura District—6 (1 major, 5 minor)

Oowa Shrine
Utsumochi Shrine
Samukawa Shrine (principal deity; major)
Arika Shrine
Fukami Shrine
Iwatateo Shrine

MUSASHI Province—44 (2 major, 42 minor)

Ebara District—2 (both minor)

Hieta Shrine
Iwai Shrine

Tsutsuki District—1 (minor)

Sugiyama Shrine

Taba (Tama) District—8 (all minor)

Akiru Shrine
Futate (Futa-no-amatsu) Shrine
Azusami-no-amatsu Shrine
Torakashiwa Shrine
Ono Shrine
Oomatonotsunoamatsu Shrine
Anasawa Shrine
Aoi Shrine

Adachi District—4 (1 major, 3 minor)

Ashitate (Adachi) Shrine
Hikawa Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tsuki Shrine
Take-no-hime Shrine

Yokomi District—3 (all minor)
Yokomi Shrine
Takeuhiko (Takaoi-hiko) Shrine
Iwahi Shrine
Iruma District—5 (all minor)
Izumo-no-iwahi Shrine
Nakahikawa Shrine
Hirose Shrine
Mononobe-no-amatsu Shrine
Kuninuma-no-kunitsukasa Shrine
Saitama District—4 (all minor)
Saitama Shrine—2
Tamashiki Shrine
Miyame Shrine
Obusuma District—3 (all minor)
Obusuma Shrine
Izumonoiwahi Shrine
Inanohime Shrine
Hara District—4 (all minor)
Shirakami Shrine
Tanaka Shrine
Nireyama Shrine
Nara Shrine
Kami District—4 (all minor)
Nagahatabe Shrine
Imaki-aoyasaka-inami Shrine
Imaki-aosaka-inami-aramitama Shrine
Imaki-aosaka-inami-no-ikegami Shrine
Chichibu District—2 (both minor)
Chichibu Shrine
Mukura (Muku) Shrine
Kotama District—1 (major)
Kanasana Shrine (principal deity, major)
Oosato District—1 (minor)
Takaki Shrine
Hiki District—1 (minor)
Ikonohayamitamahime Shrine
Naka District—1 (minor)
Mikanoi Shrine
AWA Province 安房—6 (2 major, 4 minor)
Awa District—2 (both major)
Awa Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Mime-no-amehirinohime-no-mikoto Shrine (formerly Susaki-no-kami)
Asahina District—4 (all minor)
Amatsu Shrine
Nakoshi-no-yama Shrine
Shimotachi-matsuhara Shrine
Takaie Shrine
KAZUSA (KAMITSUFUSA) Province—5 (1 major, 4 minor)
Haniu District—1 (major)
Tamasaki Shrine (principal deity, major)
Nagara District—1 (minor)
Tachibana Shrine
Unakami District—2 (both minor)
Shima-ana Shrine
Anesaki Shrine
Mōda District—1 (minor)

Akitomi (Ofu) Shrine

SHIMŌSA (SHIMOTSUFUSA) Province—11 (1 major, 10 minor)

Katori District—1 (major)

Katori Jingū (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Chiba District—2 (both minor)

Samukawa Shrine Sokahime Shrine

Sōsa District—1 (minor)

Oio Shrine

Imuba (Imba) District—1 (minor)

Magata Shrine

Yūki District—2 (both minor)

Takahashi Shrine Taketa Shrine

Okadá District—1 (minor)

Kuwahara Shrine

Katsushika District—2 (both minor)

Moro Shrine Ifuhi (Ohohi) Shrine

Sōma District—1 (minor)

Mitsuchi Shrine

HITACHI Province—28 (7 major, 21 minor)

Kashima District—2 (both major)

Kashima Jingū (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)

Ooaraisozaki no Yakushi Bosatsu Shrine (principal deity, major)

Makabe District—1 (minor)

Ookunitama Shrine

Shida District—2 (both minor)

Tatenui Shrine Ami Shrine

Kuji District—7 (1 major, 6 minor)

Nagahatabe Shrine Satsu (Sachitsu) Shrine

Amanoshiraha Shrine

Ame-no-hayatamahime-no-mikoto Shrine

Shizu Shrine (principal deity, major)

Inamura Shrine Tachino Shrine

Tsukuba District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)

Tsukuba-no-yama Shrine (1 principal deity, major; 1 minor)

Naka District—7 (2 major, 5 minor)

Ooi Shrine Aoyama Shrine

Yoshida Shrine (principal deity, major)

Awa-no-yama-no-ue Shrine

Sakatsura-isozaki Yakushi Bosatsu Shrine (principal deity, major)

Fujiuchi Shrine Iwafune Shrine

Niihari District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)

Inada Shrine (principal deity, major)

Sashino Shrine

Kamo-no-ōkami-no-miko-kamutama Shrine

Mubaraki District—3 (all minor)

Ihari Shrine Hanashiyama Shrine
Nushiishi (Nushishi) Shrine
Taka District—1 (minor)
Sawawa-no-kunitsukami Shrine

* * * * *

End of Book Nine of the *Engi-shiki*
Enchō 5th Year, 12th Month, 26th Day
[same signatures as at end of Book Six]

BOOK TEN

REGISTER OF DEITIES (B)

TŌSAN, HOKURIKU, SAN'IN, SAN'YŌ, NANKAI, AND SAIKAI CIRCUITS

382 *kami* of the Tōsandō
  42 Major (for 5 of whom the *Tsukinami* and *Niiname* are celebrated with offerings on top of the tables)
  340 Minor
  OOMI (Chikatsu-ōmi) Province—155 (13 major, 142 minor)
    Shiga District—8 (3 major, 5 minor)
      Nawaka Shrine
      Shidori (Shizuri) Shrine
      Iwai (Iwakura) Shrine
      Kamuta (Kanda) Shrine
      Ono Shrine—2 (principal deities, major)
      Hiyoshi Shrine (principal deity, major)
      Ogura Shrine
    Kurimoto District—8 (2 major, 6 minor)
      Io-no-i Shrine
      Ibuki Shrine
      Otsuki-no-ōyashiro
      Otsuki Shrine
      Takano Shrine
      Ikishiro Shrine
      Sakunado Shrine
      Takebe Shrine (principal deity, major)
    Kōka District—8 (2 major, 6 minor)
      Yakawa Shrine
      Minakuchi Shrine
      Iwabe-no-kashio-no-kami Shrine
      Kawata Shrine—2 (both principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
      Iimichi (Iichi) Shrine
      Kawakare Shrine—2
    Yasu District—9 (2 major, 7 minor)
      Mikamu (Mikami) Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
      Otsu Shrine
      Shimo-no-niikawa Shrine
      Hyōsu Shrine (principal deity; major)
      Hirita Shrine
      Kami-no-niikawa Shrine
      Mumamichi-no-isobe Shrine
      Konino Shrine—2
    Gamō District—11 (1 major, 10 minor)
      Ooshima Shrine
      Oiso Shrine
      Isobe Shrine
      Ooya Shrine
      Hitosa (Hitsusa) Shrine
      Nagasu (Nagani) Shrine

Sasaki Shrine
Sugata Shrine
Mumamioka Shrine—2
Oitsushima Shrine (principal deity, major)

Kamusaki (Kanzaki) District—2 (both minor)
Oka Shrine
Kawaketa Shrine

Echi District—3 (all minor)
Karuno Shrine
Isobe Shrine—2

Inukami District—7 (all minor)
Ajiki Shrine—2
Taka Shrine—2
Himukai Shrine
Tsue Shrine
Yamada Shrine

Sakata District—5 (all minor)
Yamada Shrine
Hinade Shrine
Ifuki Shrine
Oka Shrine
Yamatsu-terasu Shrine

Asai District—14 (all minor)
Shiotsu Shrine
Yutsuki Shrine
Hakunu Shrine
Oe Shrine
Shimo-no-shiotsu Shrine
Ya-ai Shrine
Okamoto Shrine
Katayama Shrine—2
Hikitari Shrine
Masota Shrine
Kamikoso Shrine
Oowa Shrine
Tsukufushima (Tsukubusuma) Shrine

Ikago District—46 (1 major, 45 minor)
Ikago Shrine (principal deity, major)
Nomi Shrine
Kamusaki (Kansaki) Shrine
Oosawa Shrine
Ame-no-yaotsura Shrine
Omi Shrine
Hashiriochi Shrine
Ashisaki Shrine
Kurumita Shrine
Himeta Shrine
Iwahe (Owahe) Shrine
Akaho Shrine
Sakura-ichi Shrine
Toha Shrine
Yokoyama Shrine
Oota Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Akami Shrine
Hami Shrine
Sakurahashi Shrine
Ichiisaki Shrine
Sami Shrine
Tsubaki Shrine
Sawakato Shrine
Ikagokusaka Shrine
Yoshiro Shrine
Fuse-no-tateishi Shrine
Nokita Shrine
Ishitsukuri Shrine
Tamatsukuri Shrine
Ifufura (Oofura) Shrine
Iwataki Shrine
Takano Shrine
Erehiko Shrine
Ookura Shrine
Kuroda Shrine
Niu Shrine—2
Kamutakatsuki Shrine
Ame-no-iwatowake-no-mikoto Shrine

Ame-no-hihiki-no-mikoto Shrine
Kusaoka Shrine
Ooami Shrine
Amatsukawa-no-mikoto Shrine
Ita Shrine
Oomizuwake Shrine

Takashima District—34 (2 major, 32 minor)
Mio Shrine—2 (both major, *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ashitomi (Ashitsumi) Shrine
Tabe Shrine
Mishima Shrine
Ono Shrine
Ichiihara Shrine
Tomoyui Shrine
Tsuno Shrine
Oosaki Shrine
Ootokoro Shrine
Yuge Shrine
Hanifu Shrine
Oono Shrine
Oone (Ooni) Shrine
Mieu Shrine—2
Nagata Shrine
Yoroki Shrine
Kumano Shrine
Ookawa Shrine
Machi Shrine
Oota Shrine
Hioki Shrine
Ooarahiko Shrine—2
Sakamoto Shrine
Make Shrine
Shiroshi Shrine
Oomizuwake Shrine
Oumi Shrine
Arakura Shrine
Tsuki Shrine
Ukita Shrine

MINO Province—39 (1 major, 38 minor)
Taki District—4 (all minor)
Taki Shrine
Mii Shrine
Oomuwa (Oomiwa) Shrine
Kukumiohiko Shrine

Fuwa District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)
Nakayama-kanayamahiko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Tairyō Shrine
Ibuki Shrine

Ikeda District—1 (minor)
Yaki Shrine

Ahachi District—4 (all minor)
Uwato Shrine
Sumumata Shrine
Kamo Shrine
Arakata Shrine

Oono District—3 (all minor)
Hananaga Shrine
Koburi Shrine
Hananaga-no-shimo Shrine

Katagata District—2 (both minor)
Katagatatsu Shrine
Wakae Shrine

Atsumi District—3 (all minor)
Hinamori Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Akanebe Shrine

Kakami District—7 (all minor)
Iwanonishi Shrine
Asukada Shrine
Kasami Shrine
Murakuni Shrine—2
Murakuni-masumida Shrine
Mii Shrine

Kamo District—9 (all minor)
Agatanushi Shrine
Ooyama Shrine
Afushina Shrine
Sakuta Shrine
Nakayama Shrine
Sakahafuri Shrine
Tabe Shrine
Kamuta Shrine
Tai Shrine
Ena District—3 (all minor)
Sakamoto Shrine
Ena Shrine
Nakagawa Shrine
HIDA Province—8 (all minor)
Oono District—3 (all minor)
Mizunashi Shrine
Ena Shrine
Tsukimoto Shrine
Araki District—5 (all minor)
Ootsu Shrine
Takata Shrine
Kurihara Shrine
Araki Shrine
Atayuta Shrine
SHINANO Province—48 (7 major, 41 minor)
Ina District—2 (both minor)
Ooyamada Shrine
Achi Shrine
Suwa District—2 (both major)
Minakatatomi Shrine—2 (principal deities, major)
Tsukama District—3 (all minor)
Okata Shrine
Are Shrine
Isakota (Sata) Shrine
Azumi District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)
Hodaka Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kawa-ai Shrine
Sarashina District—11 (1 major, 10 minor)
Fuse Shrine
Sarashina Shine
Nagatani Shrine
Shimizu Shrine
Ike Shrine
Haheshina Shrine
Tagishina Shrine
Hioki Shrine
Hikanatome Shrine
Hata (Haruta) Shrine
Takemizuwake Shrine (principal deity, major)
Minochi District—9 (1 major, 8 minor)
Miwa Shrine
Tsumashina Shrine
Morita Shrine
Kazema (Kazama) Shrine
Izumo Shrine
Ogawa Shrine
Awano Shrine
Shiratamatariho-no-mikoto Shrine
Takeminakatatomi-no-mikoto-hiko-kamiwake Shrine (principal deity, major)
Takai District—6 (all minor)
Sumisaka Shrine
Ouchi Shrine
Ochi Shrine
Kasahara Shrine

Osaka Shrine — Takamori Shrine

Hanishina District—5 (all minor)

Awasa Shrine — Sakaki Shrine

Nakamura Shrine — Tamayorihime-no-mikoto Shrine

Hafuri Shrine

Chiisagata District—5 (2 major, 3 minor)

Ikushima-tarushima Shrine—2 (principal deities, major)

Yamaie (Yamaga) Shrine — Shiono Shrine

Komayumi-no-mine Shrine

Saku District—3 (all minor)

Eta Shrine — Nagakura Shrine

Ootomo Shrine

KŌZUKE (KAMITSUKE) Province—12 (3 major, 9 minor)

Kataoka District—1

Ohafuri Shrine

Kanra District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)

Nuki-no-saki Shrine (principal deity, major)

Uke (Uki) Shrine

Kuruma District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)

Ikaho Shrine (principal deity, major)

Haruna Shrine — Kawasukune Shrine

Seta District—1 (major)

Akagi Shrine (principal deity, major)

Yamada District—2 (both minor)

Kamo Shrine — Miwa Shrine

Nawa District—2 (both minor)

Hono-ikazuchi Shrine — Shidori (Shizuri) Shrine

Sai District—1 (minor)

Ookuni Shrine

SHIMOTSUKE Province—11 (1 major, 10 minor)

Tsuga District—3 (all minor)

Oomiwa-no-yashiro — Oosaki Shrine

Murahi Shrine

Kawachi (Kafuchi) District—1 (major)

Futaarayama Shrine (principal deity, major)

Haga District—2 (both minor)

Oosaki Shrine — Arakashi Shrine

Nasu District—3 (minor)

Takemuyama Shrine — Yu Shrine

Miwa Shrine

Samukawa District—2 (minor)

Awa Shrine — Munakata Shrine

MUTSU (MICHINOKU) Province—100 (15 major, 85 minor)

Shirakawa District—7 (1 major, 6 minor)

Tsutsukowake Shrine (principal deity, major)

Iwatowake Shrine
Shirakawa Shrine
Yamizo-no-mine Shrino
Iitoyohime Shrine
Nagakura Shrine
Iwatsutsukowake Shrine

Kamata District—1 (major)
Kamutamine Shrine (principal deity, major)

Natori District—2 (both minor)
Taka Shrine
Sakue Shrine

Miyagi District—4 (2 major, 2 minor)
Izusahime (Izusanome) Shrine
Shiwahiko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Hanafushi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Taga Shrine

Kurokawa District—4 (all minor)
Suki Shrine
Iwakamiyamasumi Shrine
Kashima-no-amatariwake Shrine
Yuku Shrine

Kami District—2 (both minor)
Iitoyo Shrine
Kamiishi Shrine

Shikama District—1 (major)
Itate Shrine (principal deity, major)

Tamatsukuri District—3 (all minor)
Yu Shrine
Araokawa Shrine
Yu-no-ishi Shrine

Watari District—4 (all minor)
Kashima-no-itsunohike Shrine
Kashima-no-onata Shrine
Afukawa Shrine
Kashima-no-amatariwake Shrine

Shinobu District—5 (1 major, 4 minor)
Kashima Shrine
Kuronuma Shrine
Azumaya-no-numa Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shirawase Shrine
Azumaya-no-kuni Shrine

Shida District—1 (minor)
Shikitama-hayamitama Shrine

Iwaki District—7 (all minor)
Ookunitama Shrine
Futamata Shrine
Yu Shrine
Samaku-no-mine Shrine
Sumiyoshi Shrine
Kashima Shrine
Kokuwakura Shrine

Shineha (Shimeha) District—1 (minor)
Kusano Shrine

Ojika District—10 (2 major, 8 minor)
Hitsujisaki Shrine (principal deity, major)
Katori-no-izunomiko Shrine
Ikohayawake-no-mikoto Shrine
Sowa Shrine
Ogaminoshi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Toriya Shrine

Ooshima Shrine
Kashima-no-miko Shrine
Kusuhina Shrine
Kesema Shrine

Momonou District—6 (1 major, 5 minor)
Iinoyama Shrine
Hitakami Shrine
Futamata Shrine
Ishigami Shrine
Kesema-no-ōshima Shrine (principal deity, major)
Oto Shrine

Namekata District—8 (1 major, 7 minor)
Takakura Shrine
Himatsuri Shrine
Sakamine Shrine
Mito Shrine
Kashima-no-miko Shrine
Masuta-no-mine Shrine
Taka Shrine (principal deity, major)
Oshio Shrine

Kurihara District—7 (1 major, 6 minor)
Uwato Shrine
Shiwahime Shrine (principal deity, major)
Oto Shrine
Komagatane Shrine
Waga Shrine
Katori-no-miko Shrine
Orushiwake-no-ishi Shrine

Isawa District—7 (all minor)
Iwa Shrine
Komagata Shrine
Wagaetono Shrine
Iwade-no-i Shrine
Isawagawa Shrine
Todoi Shrine
Oroheshi Shrine

Niita District—1 (minor)
Komatsu Shrine

Iwase District—1 (minor)
Hokotsuki Shrine

Aizu District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)
Isasumi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kokai-no-kuni Shrine

Oda District—1 (minor)
Koganeyama Shrine

Yama District—1 (minor)
Iwaki (Iwasaki) Shrine

Shiba District—1 (minor)
Shigariwake Shrine

Kese District—3 (all minor)
Rikukotan Shrine
Tonakoshi Shrine
Edate (Kinudate) Shrine

Asaka District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)
Unakorowake Shrine (principal deity, major)
Iitoyowake Shrine
Oitsushima (Kakushitsushima) Shrine

Shibata District—1 (major)

Ootakayama Shrine (principal deity, major)
Uta District—1 (major)
Koimine Shrine (principal deity, major)
Igu District—2 (both minor)
Atsuhitakahiko Shrine
Toriyamine Shrine
Iwai District—2 (both minor)
Haishiwa Shrine
Maikusa Shrine
Esashi District—1 (minor)
Shizuoka Shrine
DEWA (IDEWA) Province—9 (2 major, 7 minor)
Akumi District—3 (2 major, 1 minor)
Oomonoimi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Omonoimi Shrine
Tsukiyama Shrine (principal deity, major)
Tagawa District—3 (all minor)
Oga Shrine
Yuzusa-hime Shrine
Idewa Shrine
Hiraka District—2 (both minor)
Shioyu-hiko Shrine
Haushiwake Shrine
Yamamoto District—1 (minor)
Soikawa Shrine

352 *kami* in the Hokurikudō
14 Major (of these one has *Tsukinami* and *Niiname*)
338 Minor
WAKASA Province—42 (3 major, 39 minor)
Oniu District—16 (2 major, 14 minor)
Tada Shrine
Wakasahiko Shrine—2 (principal deities, major)
Oami Shrine
Iwakurahiko Shrine
Iwakurahime Shrine
Shiimura Shrine
Hako Shrine
Kusuya Shrine
Iwa (Miwa) Shrine
Niu Shrine
Anashi Shrine
Sobi Shrine
Kowaki Shrine
Kamutahiko Shrine
Kamutahime Shrine
Ooii District—7 (all minor)
Aoumi Shrine
Izanagi Shrine
Kagoyama Shrine
Shizushi Shrine
Hioki Shrine
Ooii Shrine
Sakichi Shrine
Mikata District—19 (1 major, 18 minor)
Sukama Shrine
Mikata Shrine
Imui Shrine
Tayuhi Shrine
Niu Shrine
Orita Shrine

Wanibe Shrine
Saki Shrine
Uwanishi Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami*, *Niiname*)
Takanami Shrine
Nifu Shrine
Suhe Shrine
Kono Shrine
Imi (Mimi) Shrine
Ose Shrine
Tsune Shrine
Noto Shrine
Kurami Shrine
Yamatsuta Shrine

ECHIZEN Province—126 (8 major, 118 minor)

Tsuruga District—43 (7 major, 36 minor)

Kehi Shrine—7 (all principal deities, major)
Kahiru Shrine
Tsurugi Shrine
Niu Shrine
Tayui Shrine
Kuzumi Shrine
Nosaka Shrine
Shihisaki Shrine
Tsuruga (Tsunuga) Shrine
Ookura Shrine
Washisaki Shrine
Ichiburi Shrine
Kanasaki Shrine
Itsuhata Shrine
Asomura-no-tokura Shrine
Shiraki Shrine
Yokokura Shrine
Yokoyama Shrine
Itakiya Shrine
Chiwamuramine Shrine
Ibeiwakura Shrine
Takaoka Shrine
Kahiru Shrine
Kahiru-tanokuchi Shrine
Oomiwa-no-shimosaki Shrine
Orita Shrine
Misaki Shrine
Ameyaoyorozuhime Shrine
Iwata Shrine
Amahime-no-wakamiko Shrine
Ametotsurugi Shrine
Amekunitsuhiko Shrine
Isanahiko Shrine
Amesuzu Shrine
Amekunitsuhime Shrine
Shirakihiko Shrine
Tamasasarahiko Shrine

Niu District—14 (1 major, 13 minor)

Aniko Shrine
Amayo Shrine
Oomushi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Nagaoka Shrine
Tofu Shrine
Hiraite Shrine
Make Shrine
Sasamushi Shrine—4
Ooyamamita Shrine
Ikazuchi Shrine
Omushi Shrine

Imatachi District—14 (all minor)

Hoyama Shrine
Kunaka (Kuninaka) Shrine—2
Ishibe Shrine
Okamoto Shrine
Suwa-asuki Shrine—3
Nitsu Shrine
Tona Shrine
Oyamada Shrine
Ukamu Shrine
Katashiwa Shrine
Shikiyama Shrine

Asuha District—13 (all minor)

Sugimori-no-kōri Shrine
Haniwa (Tsuchi-no-wa) Shrine

Naono Shrine
Tochii Shrine
Yosuna Shrine
Mikado Shrine
Kamusoi Shrine
Asuha Shrine
Make Shrine
Shiisaki Shrine
Yamakata Shrine
Wake Shrine
Ue Shrine

Oono District—9 (all minor)

Iwakura Shrine
Kamuba (Kaniha) Shrine
Sakato-hitokoto Shrine
Kuninari-ōno Shrine
Arashima Shrine
Shinokura Shrine
Ootsuki-iwakura Shrine
Kazahaya Shrine
Takao-iwakura Shrine

Sakanoi District—33 (all minor)

Fukuro Shrine
Misaki Shrine
Tane Shrine
Okami Shrine
Kunitsukami Shrine
Yanagise Shrine
Katakishi Shrine
Hikona Shrine
Kibe Shrine
Ketani Shrine
Eta Shrine
Iki Shrine
Yokoyama Shrine
Iwata Shrine
Takamuku Shrine
Ietsu Shrine
Itosaki Shrine
Sakanai Shrine
Tsunakoshi Shrine
Kumeta Shrine
Achiwase Shrine
Ikuchi Shrine
Konosumi Shrine
Oomizo Shrine
Heita Shrine
Hiraoka Shrine
Shiba Shrine
Ukuso Shrine
Hosoroki Shrine
Mikuni Shrine
Misaka (Umasaka) Shrine
Kasama Shrine
Oominato Shrine

KAGA Province—42 (all minor)

Enu (Enuma) District—11 (all minor)

Shinohara Shrine
Miki Shrine
Hatori Shrine
Imunami (Inami) Shrine
Izumi Shrine
Shiotsu (Ushiotsu) Shrine
Tokari Shrine
Miyamura-isobe Shrine
Sugau-no-isobe Shrine
Hioki Shrine
Keta-no-miko Shrine

Nomi District—8 (all minor)

Sano Shrine
Isobe Shrine
Hatasaka (Hatanari) Shrine
Takinami Shrine
Tata Shrine
Kasugami Shrine
Usagihashi (Uhashi) Shrine
Kumata Shrine

Ishikawa District—10 (all minor)

Shirayamahime Shrine
Motomurai Shrine

Nukahimukashi (Nukanohigashi) Shrine
Nukanishi Shrine
Mima (Mimuma) Shrine
Saki Shrine
Naramoto Shrine
Kasama Shrine
Misochi Shrine
Kamuta Shrine

Kaga District—13 (all minor)

Obama Shrine
Noma Shrine
Miwa Shrine
Kamo Shrine
Kamuta Shrine
Shimo-no-ma Shrine
Kumuke Shrine
Suki Shrine
Notsuchi Shrine
Hajikami Shrine
Oonominato Shrine
Noka Shrine
Kasano Shrine

NOTO Province—43 (1 major, 42 minor)

Hakui District—14 (1 major, 13 minor)

Aimi Shrine
Shio Shrine
Keta Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kamushiro Shrine
Hakui Shrine
Setohiko Shrine
Tehayahime Shrine
Shiiha-no-tsuburahime Shrine
Natsumihime Shrine
Moro-okahiko Shrine
Momonu-no-hiko Shrine
Kumakafutsu-arakashihiko Shrine
Fujitsuhiko Shrine
Ooanamochi-no-mikata-ishi Shrine

Noto District—17 (all minor)

Notohime Shrine
Fujiwarahiko Shrine
Sugaoshihime Shrine
Kafutohiko Shrine
Amenohikagehime Shrine
Toriyahiko Shrine
Araishihiko Shrine
Kutehiko Shrine
Noto-no-ikukunitamahiko Shrine
Shirahiko Shrine
Isurukihiko Shrine
Yokihiko Shrine
Arakashihiko Shrine
Kushi-inadakihime Shrine
Iyahime Shrine
Mikadonushihiko Shrine
Sukunahiko-no-kami-no-kataishi Shrine

Fugeshi District—9 (all minor)

Fugeshihiko Shrine
Iwasehiko Shrine
Kamusugi-no-izumuhime Shrine
Iwakurahiko Shrine
Mimanahiko Shrine
Mimanahime Shrine
Kamume-itsukihiko Shrine
Okitsuhime Shrine
Hetsuhime Shrine

Suzu District—3 (all minor)

Suzu Shrine
Komashihiko Shrine
Kashiwarahiko Shrine

ETCHŪ Province—34 (1 major, 33 minor)

Tonami District—7 (all minor)

Takase Shrine
Nagaoka Shrine

Hayashi Shrine
Hime Shrine
Asai Shrine
Ubara Shrine
Ogami Shrine

Imizu District—13 (1 major, 12 minor)

Imizu Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Kume Shrine
Hayakawa Shrine
Isobe Shrine
Kusaoka Shrine
Michi Shrine
Kakumi Shrine—2
Fuse Shrine
Fushita Shrine
Yashiro Shrine
Keta Shrine [principal deity, major]

Nehi District—7 (all minor)

Anekurahime Shrine
Shiratori Shrine
Kumano Shrine
Usaka Shrine
Hayahoshi Shrine
Takuhireshi Shrine
Sugiwara Shrine

Niikawa District—7 (all minor)

Kamuto Shrine
Ichiiwara Shrine
Hioki Shrine
Oyama Shrine
Takeiwakatsu Shrine
Yagokoro-ōichihiko Shrine
Fuse Shrine

ECHIGO Province—56 (1 major, 55 minor)

Kubiki District—13 (all minor)

Nunakawa Shrine
Ahita Shrine
Sata Shrine
Mizushima-no-isobe Shrine
Iogimi Shrine
Aomi Shrine
Hida Shrine
Oo Shrine
Keta (Ita) Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Sugawara Shrine
Eno Shrine
Matota (Marita) Shrine

Koshi District—6 (all minor)

Miyake Shrine—2
Tsuno Shrine
Unagushi Shrine
Kirihara-no-isobe Shrine
Oniu Shrine

Mishima District—6 (all minor)

Mishima-no-isobe Shrine
Ukawa Shrine
Mishima Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Taki Shrine
Iwai Shrine

Ionu District—5 (all minor)

Ionu Shrine
Sakamoto Shrine
Kawa-ai Shrine
Oosaki Shrine
Ime Shrine

Kambara (Kamuhara) District—13 (1 major, 12 minor)

Aomi Shrine—2
Ikure Shrine
Ofuse Shrine
Utsurawashi Shrine
Tsukita Shrine
Ikarashi Shrine

Iyahiko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Nagase Shrine
Nakayama Shrine
Asaiino Shrine
Funae Shrine
Tsuchifuta (Hanifuta) Shrine
Nutari District—5 (all minor)
Oogata Shrine
Ichikawa Shrine
Ishii Shrine
Mikuri Shrine
Kawa-ai Shrine
Iwafune District—8 (all minor)
Iwafune Shrine
Kambara Shrine
Nishinami Shrine
Arakawa Shrine
Taki Shrine
Urushiyama Shrine
Momokawa Shrine
Minato Shrine
SADO Province—9 (all minor)
Umo District—2 (both minor)
Watatsu Shrine
Oome Shrine
Sawada District—5 (all minor)
Hikitabe Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Mike Shrine
Iimochi Shrine
Oshiki Shrine
Kamo District—2 (both minor)
Oohata Shrine
Atsukushihiko Shrine

560 *kami* of the San'indō
37 Major (of whom one has *Tsukinami* and *Niiname*)
523 Minor
TAMBA Province—71 (5 major, 66 minor)
Kuwada District—19 (2 major, 17 minor)
Izumo Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kuwada Shrine
Miyake Shrine
Ogawatsuki Shrine (principal deity, major)
Miagata Shrine
Kamuno Shrine
Yamakuni Shrine
Atago Shrine
Ohata Shrine
Hashirida Shrine
Matsuno-o Shrine
Idate Shrine
Ooi Shrine
Iwaho Shrine
Yono Shrine
Taki Shrine
Murayama Shrine
Kuwayama Shrine
Hietano Shrine
Funai District—10 (1 major, 9 minor)
Funai Shrine
Shitahi Shrine
Izushi-no-ka-no-isobe Shrine
Shima-no-mononobe Shrine
Hatahisa Shrine
Shiwaka Shrine
Benaki Shrine
Make Shrine (principal deity, major)
Sakachishi Shrine
Tachii (Tanuma) Shrine

Taki District—9 (2 major, 7 minor)
Kushi-iwamado Shrine—2 (principal deities, major)
Kamuta Shrine
Oohime Shrine
Futamura Shrine
Kawachi-no-tatanuhi Shrine—2
Sasaba Shrine
Kumakura Shrine

Hikami District—17 (all minor)
Takakura Shrine
Karino Shrine
Chino Shrine
Sachi Shrine
Tatenui Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Nunuki Shrine
Kawara Shrine
Kamuno Shrine
Samiya Shrine
Isobe Shrine
Ine (Ichino) Shrine
Adaoka Shrine
Serida Shrine
Nii Shrine
Ionoi Shrine
Itsuki Shrine

Amata District—4 (all minor)
Ikuno Shrine
Amaterutama-no-mikoto Shrine
Amuka Shrine
Araki Shrine

Ikaruga District—12 (all minor)
Suwakibe Shrine
Asusuki Shrine
Sada Shrine
Iya Shrine
Takakura Shrine
Shimama Shrine
Aichi Shrine
Mitetsuki Shrine
Kamunabi Shrine
Akakuni Shrine
Sasuga Shrine
Fukuda Shrine

TANGO Province—65 (7 major, 58 minor)

Kasa District—11 (1 major, 10 minor)
Nagu Shrine
Iyakaki Shrine
Takata Shrine
Arasu Shrine
Marata Shrine
Hihara Shrine
Ichifuse Shrine
Shidori Shrine
Ookawa Shrine (principal deity, major)
Yahara Shrine
Miyake Shrine

Yosa District—20 (3 major, 17 minor)
Komori Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami*, *Niiname*)
Mononobe Shrine
Sushiro Shrine
Uzuki Shrine
Kurida Shrine
Ura Shrine
Achie-no-isobe Shrine
Mie Shrine
Itatsura Shrine
Wagano Shrine
Iyato (Mito) Shrine
Fukō Shrine
Achie Shrine
Tayu Shrine
Yatabe Shrine
Shidori Shrine
Kotsumi Shrine
Sugisue Shrine
Oomushi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Omushi (Komushi) Shrine (principal deity, major)

Tawa District—9 (2 major, 7 minor)
Oomiya-no-me Shrine—2 (principal deities, major)
Kuioka Shrine
Hami Shrine
Taku Shrine
Inashiro Shrine
Naki Shrine
Yata Shrine
Hichimanai Shrine

Takano District—14 (1 major, 13 minor)
Oouka Shrine
Nagu Shrine
Mizotani Shrine
Kunihara Shrine
Amino Shrine
Echi Shrine
Oono Shrine
Takano Shrine (major)
Ikuōbe Shrine
Shifuhi Shrine
Fukatabe Shrine
Yukao Shrine
Karatachi Shrine
Himefu (Mefu) Shrine

Kumano District—11 (all minor)
Kumano Shrine
Ibuki Shrine
Izushimi Shrine
Yata Shrine
Marota Shrine
Himefu (Mefu) Shrine
Moroyoshi Shrine
Mishimata Shrine
Kamutani Shrine
Muraoka Shrine
Kikibe Shrine

TAJIMA Province—131 (18 major, 113 minor)

Asako District—9 (1 major, 8 minor)
Awaka Shrine
Asako-no-isobe Shrine
Toka-no-isobe Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Akafuchi Shrine
Iyu Shrine
Shidori Shrine
Ashika Shrine
Sana Shrine

Yabu District—30 (3 major, 27 minor)
Yabu Shrine—5 (2 principal deities, major; 3 minor)
Uruwa Shrine
Mizutani Shrine (principal deity, major)
Asama Shrine
Yaoka Shrine
Ikuto Shrine
Tatenui Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Osaka Shrine
Sakitsuhiko-aruchi-no-mikoto Shrine—2
I-no-e Shrine—2
Tetani Shrine
Itafuki Shrine
Honama Shrine
Kuzu (Katsura) Shrine
Ooyohi Shrine
Kirihara Shrine
Mitsuoka Shrine
Sarakimura-no-ōhyōsu Shrine
Mii Shrine
Nakusa Shrine
Moriuchi Shrine
Wanami Shrine
Yakimura-ni-masu-yama Shrine

Izushi District—23 (9 major, 14 minor)
Izushi Shrine—8 (all principal deities; major)
Miizushi Shrine (principal deity, major)

Kirino Shrine
Suru Shrine
Hide Shrine
Ono Shrine
Nakashima Shrine
Amuka Shrine
Isobe Shrine
Morosugi Shrine
Sasaki Shrine
Sugi Shrine
Tetani Shrine
Ooyube-no-hyōsu Shrine
Hiji Shrine
Osaka Shrine

Keta District—21 (4 major, 17 minor)

Tamaraki Shrine
Ashita Shrine
Himefu Shrine
Kutone-hyōsu Shrine
Tatenui Shrine
Omoiyari Shrine
Takafu Shrine
Kanto Shrine
Sutani Shrine
Keta Shrine
Mino Shrine
Takanuki Shrine
Hioki Shrine
Ita Shrine
Mii Shrine
Saku Shrine
Ichi Shrine
Yama Shrine (principal deity, major)
He (To) Shrine (principal deity, major)
Ikazuchi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Hosoki Shrine (principal deity, major)

Kinosaki District—21 (1 major, 20 minor)

Mononobe Shrine
Anameki Shrine
Yosaki Shrine
Oe Shrine
Mimii Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine—2
Kuruhi Shrine
Agata Shrine
Nishito (Seto) Shrine
Kuma Shrine
Meshiro Shrine
Fukuhi Shrine
Kukuhi Shrine
Momoshima Shrine
Fukasaka Shrine
Kehi Shrine
Shikinami Shrine
Sakatare Shrine
Ama Shrine (principal deity, major)

Mikumi District—12 (all minor)

Sauke Shrine
Ikisa Shrine—3
Mii Shrine
Akotani Shrine
Iroki Shrine
Takano Shrine
Noriwa Shrine
Kurahashi Shrine
Kuwahara Shrine
Niu Shrine

Futakata District—5 (all minor)

Futakata Shrine
Ootoshi Shrine
Suka Shrine
Ooie Shrine
Menu Shrine

Shitsumi District—10 (all minor)

Tata Shrine
Shitsumi Shrine—2
Toyo Shrine
Oshiro Shrine—2
Isofu Shrine
Takasaka Shrine

Kurono Shrine — Haruki Shrine

INABA Province—50 (1 major, 49 minor)

Kono District—9 (all minor)

Oshiro Shrine — Oo Shrine
Saminohyōsu Shrine — Takano Shrine
Koyanohyōsu Shrine — Futakami Shrine
Miyu Shrine — Hino Shrine
Kamuro Shrine

Hōmi District—9 (1 major, 8 minor)

Takonoue Shrine—2 — Ikamu Shrine
Tsukiori Shrine — Arasaka Shrine
Temi Shrine — Hatori Shrine
Mitani Shrine — Ube Shrine (principal deity, major)

Yakami District—19 (all minor)

Ooe Shrine—3 — Tsubakichi-no-kami Shrine—2
Shionokami Shrine—2 — Tsubanami Shrine—2
Isonosashi Shrine—2 — Takamuku Shrine—2
Ihi (Ohi) Shrine — Himenu Shrine
Watari Shrine — Kutami Shrine
Furutachi Shrine — Miteguranu Shrine

Oumi District—1

Nakatomi-takatake Shrine

Takakusa District—7 (all minor)

Iwa Shrine — Shidori Shrine
Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto Shrine — Ame-no-hinatori-no-mikoto Shrine
Atakatsutake-mikuma-no-mikoto Shrine
Oonomi-no-sukune-no-mikoto Shrine
Oowasami-no-mikoto Shrine

Keta District—5 (all minor)

Hayakawa Shrine — Hatai Shrine
Kachimi Shrine — Itai Shrine
Shikanu Shrine

HŌKI (HAHAKI) Province—6 (all minor)

Kawamura District—2 (minor)

Shidori Shrine — Hahaki Shrine

Kume District—2 (minor)

Shidori Shrine — Kusaka Shrine

Oomi District—2 (minor)

Munakata Shrine — Oomiwa-no-yama Shrine

IZUMO Province—187 (2 major, 185 minor)[506]

Ou District—48 (1 major, 47 minor)

Kumano Shrine (principal, major)

[506] In Izumo Province the names of shrines in this list will show discrepancies when compared with the (older) text of *Izumo fudoki.*

Saki Shrine
Norito Shrine
Tatei Shrine
Fugomi Shrine
Sakusa Shrine
Takahi Shrine
Himezuki Shrine
Fujina-Oonamochi Shrine
Kutami Shrine
Karakuni-itate in same Shrine
Kumachi (Kimachi) Shrine
Sai-no-takamori Shrine
Urufu Shrine
Yuya Shrine
Chikuya (Tsukiya) Shrine
Yamasa Shrine
Fube Shrine
Noki Shrine
Tanaka Shrine
Hayatama Shrine
Iwasaka Shrine
Manai Shrine
Yamashiro Shrine
Noshiro Shrine
Fujina Shrine
Tamatsukuriyu Shrine
Himefu Shrine
Sai Shrine
Shishimichi Shrine
Suta Shrine
Karakuni-itate in same Shrine
Hayatsumushiwake in same Shrine
Kushimikeno in same Shrine
Tsubeshiro Shrine
Ooanamochi in same Shrine
Oonamochi-no-miko in same Shrine
Sakuta Shrine
Karakuni-itate in same Shrine
Otaki Shrine
Ichihara Shrine
Kachihi Shrine
Taomote Shrine
Shiomi Shrine
Miosa in same Shrine
Yuki Shrine
Kachihi-no-takamori Shrine
Kume Shrine

Shimane District—14 (all minor)

Fujikimi Shrine
Kurami Shrine
Kawakami Shrine
Kadoe Shrine
Kaga Shrine
Nisa-no-kashinoi Shrine
Ikuma Shrine
Take Shrine
Hayatsutakeshi in same Shrine
Nagami Shrine
Yokota Shrine
Nisa Shrine
Noriyoshi (Hōki) Shrine
Miho Shrine

Aika (Akika) District—10 (all minor)

Sada Shrine
Ooi Shrine
Mii Shrine
Tarumi Shrine
Kososhi Shrine
Utaki Shrine
Hita Shrine
Uchi Shrine
Etomo Shrine
Oonotsu Shrine

Tatenui District—9 (all minor)

Kutami Shrine
Umi Shrine
Mitsu Shrine
Kozu Shrine
Mi (Mizu) Shrine
Saka Shrine
Taku Shrine
Noroshi Shrine
Kozu Shrine

Izumo District—58 (1 major, 57 minor)

Ooanamochi Shrine
Kizuki-no-ōyashiro (principal deity, major)
Ookami no Ookisaki in same Shrine
Inochihime in same Shrine
Kamutama-no-miko in same Shrine
Kamutama-inochinushi in same Shrine
Ooanamochi-miko in same Shrine
Ooanamochi-no-inasewagi in same Shrine
Ooanamochi-miko-no-tamae in same Shrine
Asuki Shrine
Kamukarakuni-itate in same Shrine
Amewakahiko in same Shrine
Susano-o in same Shrine
Kami-musubi-ohotoji in same Shrine
Kan'asuki in same Shrine
Kan'isanaki in same Shrine
Kami-ama-no-hinatori in same Shrine
Kan'isaka in same Shrine
Ajisuki in same Shrine
Amewakahiko in same Shrine
Misaki Shrine
Inasa Shrine
Kusaka Shrine
Inu Shrine
Ooanamochi-amashirohiko in same Shrine
Ooanamochi-amashirohime in same Shrine
Kantama-izunome in same Shrine
Kantama in same Shrine
Hikosawake in same Shrine
Ibuki Shrine
Tsugari Shrine
Izawa Shrine
Mitami Shrine
Himeji in same Shrine
Agata Shrine
Wakafutsunushi in same Shrine
Iwa Shrine
Tsumuji Shrine
Uka Shrine
Minuma Shrine
Fuse Shrine
Ihomi (Oomi) Shrine
Izumo Shrine
Karakuni-itate in same Shrine
Hishiro Shrine
Karakama Shrine
Toriya Shrine
Kanshiro Shrine
Sokinoya Shrine
Karakuni-itateho in same Shrine
Isaga Shrine
Kumu Shrine
Kamori Shrine
Mii Shrine
Ishi Shrine
Hachi Shrine
Tachimushi Shrine
Ago Shrine

Kamuto District—27 (all minor)

Mikuga Shrine
Ane Shrine
Sashimu Shrine
Takigi Shrine
Taki Shrine
Ooanamochi in same Shrine
Kumura (Kunimura) Shrine
Namesa Shrine
Wakasuserihime in same Shrine
Saheki Shrine

Chii Shrine
Hifuchi Shrine
Kantama-mikotsunotama in same Shrine
Asayama Shrine
Ari Shrine
Karihime in same Shrine
Yano Shrine
Ooyama Shrine
Kunai Shrine
Yamuya Shrine
Honoka Shrine
Yamuyahiko Shrine
Yamuyahiko-mayumi Shrine
Hina Shrine
Asuri Shrine
Kamimusubi-no-mikoto Shrine
Yamuyahiko-no-mikoto-no-miko Shrine
Yakitachi-ame-no-hohiko-no-mikoto Shrine

Iishi District—5 (all minor)
Mitoya Shrine
Tabe Shrine
Iishi Shrine
Susa Shrine
Kawabe Shrine

Nita District—2 (both minor)
Ikatake Shrine
Misawa Shrine

Oohara District—13 (all minor)
Unoji Shrine
Sumine in same Shrine
Kambara Shrine
Yakuchi Shrine
Mishiro Shrine
Fusu Shrine
Hii 斐伊 Shrine
Hii-no-hayahiko in same Shrine
Kosuki (Kisuki) Shrine
Kata Shrine
Sase Shrine
Serita Shrine
Ushio Shrine

Nogi District—1 (minor)
Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto Shrine

IWAMI Province—34 (all minor)

Ano District—10 (all minor)
Mononobe Shrine
Kamuta Shrine
Sasuka Shrine
Asakurahiko-no-mikoto Shrine
Niigusohime-no-mikoto Shrine
Nihehime Shrine
Sahimeyama Shrine
Noi (No-no-i) Shrine
Shizuma Shrine
Kamube (Kambe) Shrine

Nima District—5 (all minor)
Ki-no-ue Shrine
Yama-no-be-no-yashirohime-no-mikoto Shrine
Hyakuraku Shrine
Mizukami Shrine
Kokubunji no Hyakuraku Shrine

Naka District—11 (all minor)
Tahato Shrine
Tsudo Shrine
Ikamu Shrine
Oomayama Shrine
Iwami-no-ametoyotarikarahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Oomatsuri-no-ame-no-iwatohiko Shrine
Ooiihiko-no-mikoto Shrine

Kushiro-no-ame-no-kokekahiko-no-mikoto Shrine
Ootoshi Shrine
Yama-no-be Shrine
Yasu Shrine
Oochi District—3 (all minor)
Amatsu Shrine
Tatachitakehorine-no-mikoto Shrine
Oohara Shrine
Mino District—5 (all minor)
Sugano-no-ameiruwakako-no-mikoto Shrine
Sahime-no-yama Shrine
Shimiwa-no-amaiwakatsu-no-mikoto Shrine
Kushirogahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ono-no-ame-no-ōkamishitasoazuwake-no-mikoto Shrine
OKI Province—16 (4 major, 12 minor)
Chifuri District—7 (1 major, 6 minor)
Yurahime Shrine (principal deity, major; former name, Watasu-no-kami)
Ooyama Shrine
Ama Shrine
Hinamajihime-no-mikoto Shrine
Make-no-mikoto Shrine
Amasashihiko-no-mikoto Shrine
Ama District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)
Nakirahime-no-mikoto Shrine
Ukeka-no-mikoto Shrine (principal deity; major)
Suki District—4 (all minor)
Kamonabi Shrine
Mioya Shrine
Tamawakasu-no-mikoto Shrine
Wakenosu-no-mikoto Shrine
Ochi District—3 (2 major, 1 minor)
Amatakekanakusa Shrine
Mizuwakasu-no-mikoto Shrine (principal deity, major)
Ise-no-mikoto Shrine (principal deity, major)

140 *kami* of the San'yōdō
16 Major (of whom four have *Tsukinami* and *Niiname*)
124 Minor
HARIMA Province—50 (7 major, 43 minor)
Akashi District—9 (3 major, 6 minor)
Uru Shrine
Mononobe Shrine
Tarumi Shrine—3 (principal deities, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Mikatata Shrine
Hayashi Shrine
Akawa Shrine
Iwatsuhime Shrine
Kako District—1 (minor)
Hioka ni masu Ame-no-isasahiko Shrine
Shikama District—4 (all minor)
Itate-hyōsu Shrine—2
Shirakuni Shrine
Takaoka Shrine
Iio (Iibo) District—7 (3 major, 4 minor)

Ibo ni masu Amaterasu Shrine (principal deity, major)
Aso Shrine
Hafurita Shrine
Awaji Shrine
Nakatomi-no-itate Shrine (principal deity, major)
Yahira Shrine
Ieshima Shrine (principal deity, major)

Akaho District—3 (all minor)
Iwatsuhime Shrine
Yaho Shrine
Kuraoki Shrine

Shisawa District—7 (1 major, 6 minor)
Iwa no Oonamochi-no-mitama Shrine (principal deity, major)
Mikata Shrine
Amagoi Shrine
Niwata Shrine
Ooyamato no Kotoshironushi Shrine
Yohi Shrine
Nishi Shrine

Sayo District—2 (both minor)
Sayotsuhime Shrine
Amehitotsu-kamutama Shrine

Minagi District—1 (minor)
Misaka Shrine

Kamusaki District—2 (both minor)
Niisuki Shrine
Tagawa Shrine

Taka District—6 (all minor)
Arata Shrine
Hyōsu Shrine
Konai Shrine
Katsuranomikoto Shrine
Ootsunomikoto Shrine
Ame-no-mahitotsu Shrine

Kamo District—8 (all minor)
Takatake Shrine
Isobe Shrine
Saka-ai Shrine
Sumiyoshi Shrine
Sugata Shrine
Konashi Shrine
Kakita Shrine
Ogihara Shrine

MIMASAKA Province—11 (1 major, 10 minor)

Oonba District—8 (all minor)
Sawara Shrine
Katabe Shrine
Ichiawa Shrine—2
Yokomi Shrine
Kuto Shrine
Ukami Shrine
Nagata Shrine

Tomahiukashi District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)
Kōya (Takano) Shrine
Chūsan (Nakayama) Shrine (principal deity; major)

Aita District—1 (minor)
Ame-no-iwatowake Shrine

BIZEN Province—26 (1 major, 25 minor)

Ooku District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)
Miwa Shrine
Katayamahiko Shrine
Ani Shrine (principal deity, major)

Akasaka District—6 (all minor)

Kamo Shrine—3 Munakata Shrine
Iso-no-kami-no-futsunomitama Shrine
Fuse Shrine
Wake District—1 (minor)
Kamine Shrine
Kōtsumichi District—4 (all minor)
Oomuwa (Oomiwa) Shrine—4
Mino District—8 (all minor)
Iwatowake Shrine Ohari Shrine
Ama-no-kami (Amatsukami) Shrine
Ise Shrine
Amahakari Shrine Kuni Shrine
Iwatowake Shrine Ochihari-no-namawakahime Shrine
Tsutaka District—2 (both minor)
Kamo Shrine Munakata Shrine
Kojima District—2 (both minor)
Kamo Shrine Tatsuchiura Shrine
BITCHŪ Province—18 (1 major, 17 minor)
Kuboya District—3 (all minor)
Momoiyama Shrine Ashitaka Shrine
Sugau Shrine
Kaya District—4 (1 major, 3 minor)
Furukōri Shrine Nomata Shrine
Tsuzumi Shrine
Kibitsuhiko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shimotsumichi District—5 (all minor)
Ishitatami Shrine Miwa Shrine
Masaki Shrine Yokota Shrine
Anatoyama Shrine
Oda District—3 (all minor)
Arita Shrine Kanshima Shrine
Ue Shrine
Shitsuki District—1 (minor)
Ashitsukiyama (Asukinoyama) Shrine
Aka District—2 (both minor)
Himesaka-no-ishi-no-chi-no-ana Shrine
Ido-no-ishi-no-chi-no-ana Shrine
BINGO Province—17 (all minor)
Ana (Yasuna) District—2 (both minor)
Takeinatakisayafutsu Shrine Amawaketoyohime Shrine
Fukatsu District—1 (minor)
Susanoono Shrine
Nuka District—1 (minor)
Niitsuhime Shrine
Nunokuma District—3 (all minor)

Takamoro Shrine — Nunasaki Shrine
Hikosasuki Shrine
Homuji District—1 (minor)
Tarihiri Shrine
Ashida District—2 (both minor)
Kamunabi Shrine — Kunitakayorihiko Shrine
Kafunu (Kōnu) District—1 (minor)
Okami Shrine
Mikami District—1 (minor)
Sorahiko Shrine
Eso District—1 (minor)
Takaokami Shrine
Mitsuki District—1 (minor)
Karakawa Shrine
Sera District—1 (minor)
Warihime Shrine
Mitani District—1 (minor)
Chihayahiko Shrine
Miyoshi District—1 (minor)
Chihayahime Shrine
AKI Province—3 (all major)
Saeki District—2 (both major)
Hayatani Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Itsukishima Shrine (principal deity, major)
Aki District—1 (major)
Take Shrine (principal deity, major)
SUŌ Province—10 (all minor)
Kumake District—2 (both minor)
Kumake Shrine — Iwaki Shrine
Sawa District—6 (all minor)
Tama-no-oya Shrine—2 — Izumo Shrine—2
Misaka Shrine — Tsurugi Shrine
Yoshiki District—1 (minor)
Nikabe Shrine
Tsuno District—1 (minor)
Futamata Shrine
NAGATO Province—5 (3 major, 2 minor)
Toyora District—5 (3 major, 2 minor)
Sumiyoshi no Aramitama Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major)
Imumiya Shrine — Muraya Shrine

163 *kami* of the Nankaidō
29 Major (of whom 10 have *Tsukinami* and *Niiname*; of those 4 also have *Ainame*)
134 Minor

KII Province—31 (13 major, 18 minor)
Ito District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)
Ota Shrine
Niutsuhime Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Naka District—3 (all minor)
Arata Shrine—2 Ama Shrine
Nakusa District—19 (9 major, 10 minor)
Hi-no-kuma Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Kunikakasu Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Itakiso Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Ooyatsuhime Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Tsumatsuhime Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Narukami Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Ainame, Niiname*)
Katsuchi (Kagutsuchi) Shrine Kata Shrine
Ikuhime Shrine Asakura Shrine
Sashitahiko Shrine Maihime Shrine
Kamayama Shrine Takatsumihiko Shrine
Takatsumihime Shrine Itachi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shima Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shizuhi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Katama(-no-oto) Shrine
Arita District—1 (major)
Susa Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Muro District—6 (2 major, 4 minor)
Kumanohayatama Shrine (major)
Kumano Shrine (principal deity, major)
Ama Shrine—3 Ame-no-tajikara-o Shrine
AWAJI Province—13 (2 major, 11 minor)
Tsuna District—9 (1 major, 8 minor)
Awaji-Izanagi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Ise-kuruma Shrine Iwaya Shrine
Tsukisa Shrine Kamo Shrine
Yura-no-minato Shrine Shichiku Shrine
Kishikawa Shrine Kawakami Shrine
Mihara District—4 (1 major, 3 minor)
Yahara Shrine Minatokuchi Shrine
Yamato no Ookunitama Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kudo Shrine
AWA 阿波 Province—50 (3 major, 47 minor)
Itano District—4 (1 major, 3 minor)
Ooasahiko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kaehime Shrine Ushihiko Shrine
Oka-no-ue Shrine
Awa District—2 (both minor)
Takefutsu Shrine Kotoshironushi Shrine

Mima District—12 (all minor)

Kamo Shrine
Tawa (Tane) Shrine
Yokota Shrine
Izanami Shrine
Take Shrine
Ameyoritachi Shrine
Amatsukasahiko Shrine
Yasoko Shrine
Haniyamahime Shrine
Mitsuwanome Shrine
Yamato Ookunitama-no-kami Ookunishiki Shrine—2

Oe District—8 (1 major, 7 minor)

Imube Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ame-no-murakumo-no-kami Ishiwayahime Shrine—2
Ikakashi Shrine
Ame-no-minumahiko Ame-no-mizusekihime Shrine—2
Hiwame-no-kami Awamadohime Shrine—2

Nakata District—9 (1 major, 8 minor)

Ame-no-iwatowake Yakurahime Shrine (principal deity, major; *Tsukinami, Niiname*)
Ame-no-iwatowake Toyotamahime Shrine
Manotohiko Shrine
Watatsumi Toyotamahime Shrine
Oomiwa Shrine
Amasashinowake Shrine
Mimatsuhiko Shrine
Ofutomahime Shrine
Takeminatomi Shrine

Katsura District—8 (all minor)

Katsura Shrine
Kotoshironushi Shrine
Yamagatahiko Shrine
Umorihiko Shrine
Asatachihiko Shrine
Hayasame Shrine
Mikata (Miagata) Shrine
Takeshima-meoya-no-mikoto Shrine

Naka District—7 (all minor)

Waya Shrine
Unai Shrine
Wanasaifuso Shrine
Murohime Shrine
Takehime Shrine
Yahoko Shrine
Kashiwahime Shrine

SANUKI Province—24 (3 major, 21 minor)

Samukawa District—5 (all minor)

Shitahari Shrine
Fuse Shrine
Kansaki Shrine
Tawa Shrine
Oominohiko Shrine

Miki District—1 (minor)

Wanikawa Shrine

Kagawa District—1 (major)

Tamura Shrine (principal deity, major)

Aya District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)

Kamo Shrine
Kamutani Shrine
Kiyama Shrine (principal deity, major)

Utari District—2 (both minor)

Ii Shrine — Ube Shrine

Naka District—2 (both minor)

Kushinashi Shrine — Kamuno (Kaminu) Shrine

Tado District—2 (both minor)

Ooasa Shrine — Kumoke Shrine

Katsuta (Karita) District—6 (1 major, 5 minor)

Takaya Shrine — Yamada Shrine

Kamara Shrine — Uhe Shrine

Awai Shrine (principal deity; major)

Kuroshima Shrine

Oouchi District—1 (minor)

Minushi Shrine

Mino District—1 (minor)

Oomizukami Shrine

IYO Province—24 (7 major, 17 minor)

Ume District—1 (major)

Murayama Shrine (principal deity, major)

Niii 新居 *District*—2 (1 major, 1 minor)

Isono Shrine (principal deity; major)

Kuroshima Shrine

Kuwamura District—3 (all minor)

Sasaku Shrine — Futo Shrine

Sufu Shrine

Ochi District—7 (2 major, 5 minor [sic])

Oosuki Shrine — Ikanashi Shrine

Ooyamatsumi Shrine (principal deity; major)

Oono Shrine

Himesaka Shrine (principal deity; major [but 'minor' in *Shinten* ed.])

Taki Shrine (principal deity; major)

Kusumoto (Makimoto) Shrine

Noma District—1 (major)

Noma Shrine (principal deity; major)

Kasahaya District—2 (both minor)

Kunitsuhiko-no-mikoto Shrine — Kushitamahime-no-mikoto Shrine

Yu District—4 (1 major, 3 minor)

Ajimi Shrine (principal deity, major)

Izumo-oka Shrine — Yu Shrine

Isaniwa Shrine

Iyo District—4 (1 major, 3 minor)

Iyo Shrine (principal deity; major)

Isono Shrine

Takaoshihime Shrine — Iyotsuhiko-no-mikoto Shrine

TOSA Province—21 (1 major, 20 minor)

Aki District—3 (all minor)

Murotsu Shrine — Take Shrine

Sakamoto Shrine
Kagami District—4 (all minor)
Ame-no-oshihowake Shrine
Komatsu Shrine
Fukafuchi Shrine
Ookawakami-no-mirafu Shrine
Nagaoka District—5 (all minor)
Toyo-okanokaminoamatsukami Shrine
Asamine Shrine
Ueta Shrine
Ono Shrine
Iwatsuchi Shrine
Tosa District—5 (1 major, 4 minor)
Tosa Shrine (major)
Katsurakio Shrine
Katsurakime Shrine
Kōritsu Shrine
Asakura Shrine
Agawa District—1 (minor)
Ame-no-iwatowake-no-yasukunitama Shrine
Hata District—3 (all minor)
Izuta Shrine
Takashiri Shrine
Kamo Shrine

107 *kami* of the Saikaidō
38 Major
69 Minor
CHIKUZEN Province—19 (16 major, 3 minor)
Munakata District—4 (all major)
Munakata Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major)
Orihata Shrine (principal deity, major)
Naka District—4 (all major)
Hachiman Daibosatsu Hakosaki-no-miya (principal deity, major)
Sumiyoshi Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major)
Kasuya District—3 (all major)
Shikaumi Shrine—3 (all principal deities, major)
Ito District—1 (major)
Shito Shrine
Mikasa District—2 (both major)
Chikushi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kamado Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kamitsuasakura District—1 (minor)
Materafu Shrine
Shimotsuasakura District—3 (all major)
Minagi Shrine—3 (principal deities, major)
Yasu District—1 (minor)
Oonamochi (Oonamuchi) Shrine
CHIKUGO Province—4 (2 major, 2 minor)
Mii District—3 (2 major, 1 minor)
Takara-no-tamatare-no-mikoto Shrine (principal deity, major)

Ise no Amaterasu-mioya Shrine
Toyohime Shrine (principal deity, major)
Mihara District—1 (minor)
Mise-no-ōmitama-ishi Shrine
BUZEN Province—6 (3 major, 3 minor)
Usa District—3 (all major)
Hachiman Daibosatsu Usa-no-miya (principal deity, major)
Hime Shrine (principal deity, major)
Ootarashihime-no-byō Shrine (principal deity, major)
Tagawa District—3 (all minor)
Karakuni-okinaga-ōhime-ōma-no-mikoto Shrine
Oshihone-no-mikoto Shrine
Toyohime-no-mikoto Shrine
BUNGO Province—6 (1 major, 5 minor)
Naori District—1 (minor)
Takeo-no-shimokorihiko Shrine
Ooita District—1 (major)
Samuta (Sasamuta) Shrine (major)
Hayami District—3 (minor)
Unakihime Shrine Hiohime Shrine—2
Ama District—1 (minor)
Hayasuihime Shrine
HIZEN Province—4 (1 major, 3 minor)
Matsura District—2 (1 major, 1 minor)
Tajima Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shishiki Shrine
Kii District—1 (minor)
Araho Shrine
Saka District—1 (minor)
Yotohime Shrine
HIGO Province—4 (1 major, 3 minor)
Aso District—3 (1 major, 2 minor)
Takeiwatatsu-no-mikoto Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kunitsukuri Shrine Asohime Shrine
Tamana (Tamaina) District—1 (minor)
Hikino Shrine
HIMUKA (HYŪGA) Province—4 (all minor)
Koyu District—2 (both minor)
Tsuno Shrine Tsuma Shrine
Miyazaki District—1 (minor)
Eta Shrine
Murakata (Murokata) District—1 (minor)
Kirishima Shrine
OOSUMI Province—5 (1 major, 4 minor)
Kuwahara District—1 (major)

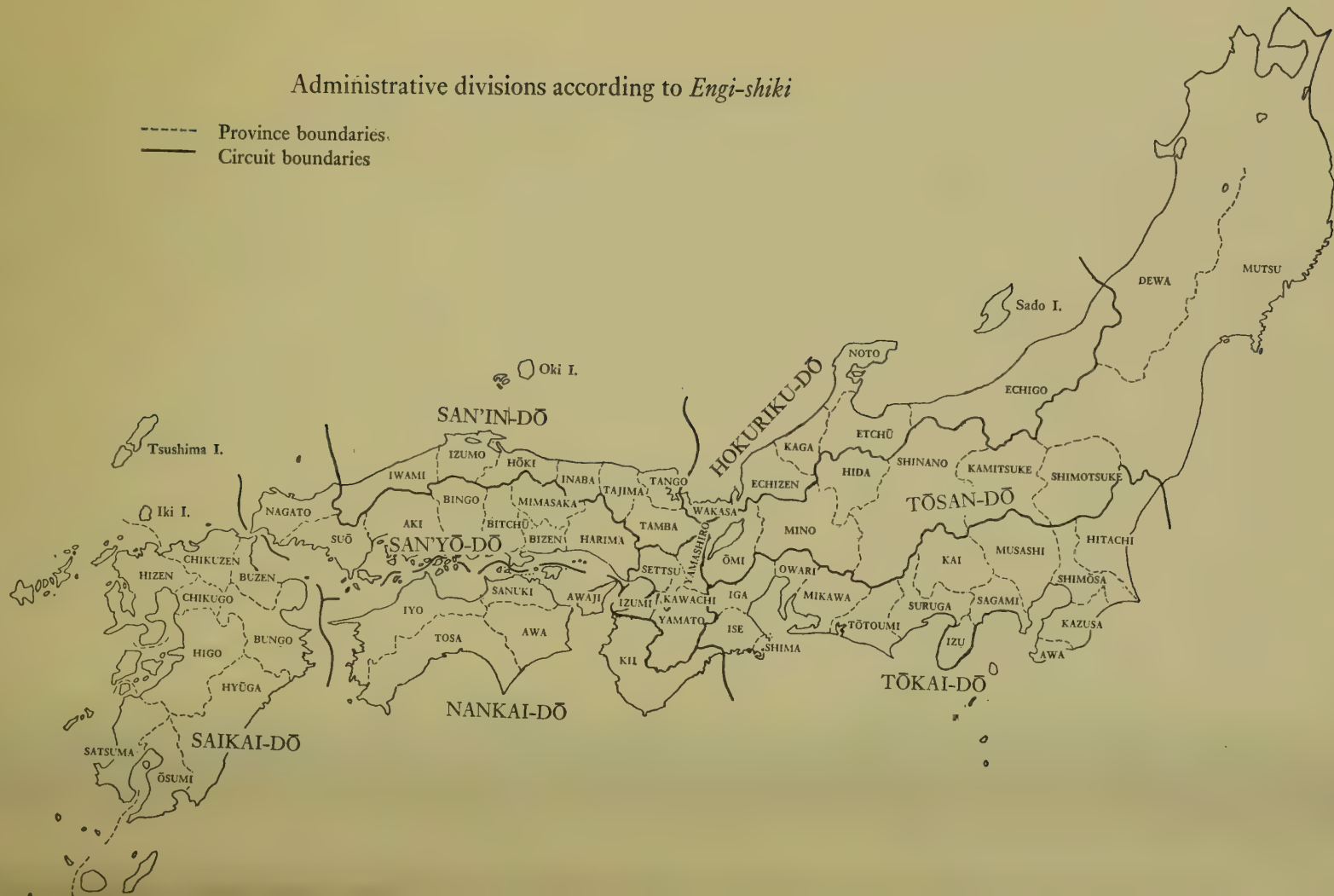
Kagoshima Shrine (major)
So-o District—3 (all minor)
Oonamochi Shrine
Miya-no-ura Shrine
Karakuni-no-uzumine Shrine
Komu District—1 (minor)
Sukuhi (Yaku) Shrine
SATSUMA Province—2 (both minor)
Eno (E) District—1 (minor)
Hirakiki Shrine
Izumi District—1 (minor)
Kashikuri Shrine
IKI ISLAND (IKI NO SHIMA)—24 (7 major, 17 minor)
Iki District—12 (4 major, 8 minor)
Mizu Shrine
Atami Shrine
Sumiyoshi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Hyōsu Shrine (principal deity, major)
Tsukiyomi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Kunikatanushi Shrine
Takamioya Shrine
Tanagahime Shrine
Sashifutsu Shrine
(same Shrine) Sashifutsu
Nakatsu Shrine (principal deity, major)
Tsunoe (Tsunokamu) Shrine
Ishida District—12 (3 major, 9 minor)
Ametanagao Shrine (principal deity, major)
Ametanagahime Shrine (principal deity, major)
Misakito Shrine
Kunitsu Shrine
Ama Shrine (major)
Tsu Shrine
Yo Shrine
Ookunitama Shrine
Niji Shrine
Minoe Shrine
Kunitsu-okami Shrine
Mononobe-no-futsu Shrine
TSUSHIMA ISLAND (TSUSHIMA NO SHIMA)—29 (6 major, 23 minor)
Kanzuagata District—16 (2 major, 14 minor)
Watatsumi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shima-no-ōkunitama Shrine
Norito Shrine
Ama-no-moroha-no-mikoto Shrine
Unuto (Utoto) Shrine
Ama-no-takutsutama-no-mikoto Shrine
Ohira-no-sukune-no-mikoto Shrine
Nasukami-no-kane-no-miko Shrine
Inakuhi Shrine
Yukiai Shrine
Watatsumi-no-miko Shrine (principal deity, major)
Koroku Shrine
Koroku-no-miko Shrine
Shimano-ōkunitama-no-kami-no-miko Shrine
Ooshima Shrine
Warawa (Harawa) Shrine
Shimo(tsu)agata District—13 (4 major, 9 minor)

Takamitama (Takami-musubi) Shrine (principal deity, major)
Shirokane-no-kami (Kanayamanoue) Shrine
Ikazuchi-no-mikoto Shrine
Watatsumi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Takutsu Shrine
Futonoto Shrine (principal deity, major)
Amateru Shrine
Sumiyoshi Shrine (principal deity, major)
Watatsumi Shrine
Taira Shrine
Shikishima Shrine
Tsutsuchi Shrine
Kanayama Shrine

* * * * *

End of Book Ten of the *Engi-shiki*
Enchō 5th Year, 12th Month, 26th Day
[same signatures as at end of Book Six]

Administrative divisions according to *Engi-shiki*



Adopted from Torao Toshiya's *Engi-shiki* (vol. 8, *Nihon rekishi sōsho* series)

TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS

I MEASURE OF LENGTH (for cloth, etc.):

1 *bu* 分 = 0.15 inch
10 *bu* 分 = 1 *sun* = 1.5 in.
10 *sun* 寸 = 1 *shaku* = 1.243 ft.
10 *shaku* 尺 = 1 *jō* 丈 = 4.14 yds.
1 *tan* 反 or 段 = varies from 2 *jō* 8 *shaku* up to 4 *jō*, according to textile type
1 *hiki* 疋 or 匹 = 2 *tan* (50 to 80 *shaku*)
1 *ryō* 兩 = 1 *hiki* or 2 *tan* ('a double')
1 *ryō* 了 = 7 *shaku* (?)

II CAPACITY:

1 *tsubu* (or *ka*) 顆 = a grain (of rice, cereal, etc.)
1 *satsu* 撮 = a pinch (0.0048 oz.)
10 *satsu* = 1 *sai* (0.048 oz.)
10 *sai* 才 = 1 *shaku* = 0.03 pint
10 *shaku* 勺 = 1 *gō* = 0.31 pint
10 *gō* 合 = 1 *shō* = 3.18 pints
10 *shō* 升 = 1 *to* = *c.* 4 gals.
10 *to* 斗 = 1 *koku* 石 or 斛 = *c.* 4.9 bushels
1 *wa* (or *taba*) 把 = 'a bundle'
1 *soku* (or *tsuka*) 束 = 10 *wa* (except in 'small tax', when it equals one *wa*)
1 *hyō* 俵, a bale = 4 *to*

Variables:

1 *tan* 擔 'a burden'
1 *i* 囲 'an armload'
1 *kago* 籠 'basketful'

III WEIGHT:

12 *bu* 分 = 1 *shu*
24 *shu* 銖 = 1 *ryō*
16 *ryō* 兩 = 1 *kin* 斤 = 1.32 lbs.
1 *mochi* (or *ton*) 屯 = 10 *ryō* (*c.* 13 oz.)
Wamyōshō says: 6 *ryō* (*c.* 7.8 oz.) = 1 *mochi*
1 *ko* 絢 = 1 skein of thread:
fine thread, 1 *ko* = 4 *ryō*
medium thread, 1 *ko* = 5 *ryō*
coarse thread, 1 *ko* = 7 *ryō*
tei 廷 ingot, or bar (of metals)

IV LINEAR MEASURE:

1 *chō* 町 = 60 *ken* 間 (*c.* 119 yds.)
1 *ri* 里 = 36 *chō* 町 (*c.* 2.44 miles)

V AREA:

1 *tan* 段 or 端 = 9.9 ares; 0.24 acre
1 *chō* 町 = 10 *tan* or 3,000 *tsubo* (*c.* 2.45 acres)

VI COINAGE:

1 *mon* 文 = a copper coin
1 *kan* 貫 = 1,000 *mon* = 'a string of cash'

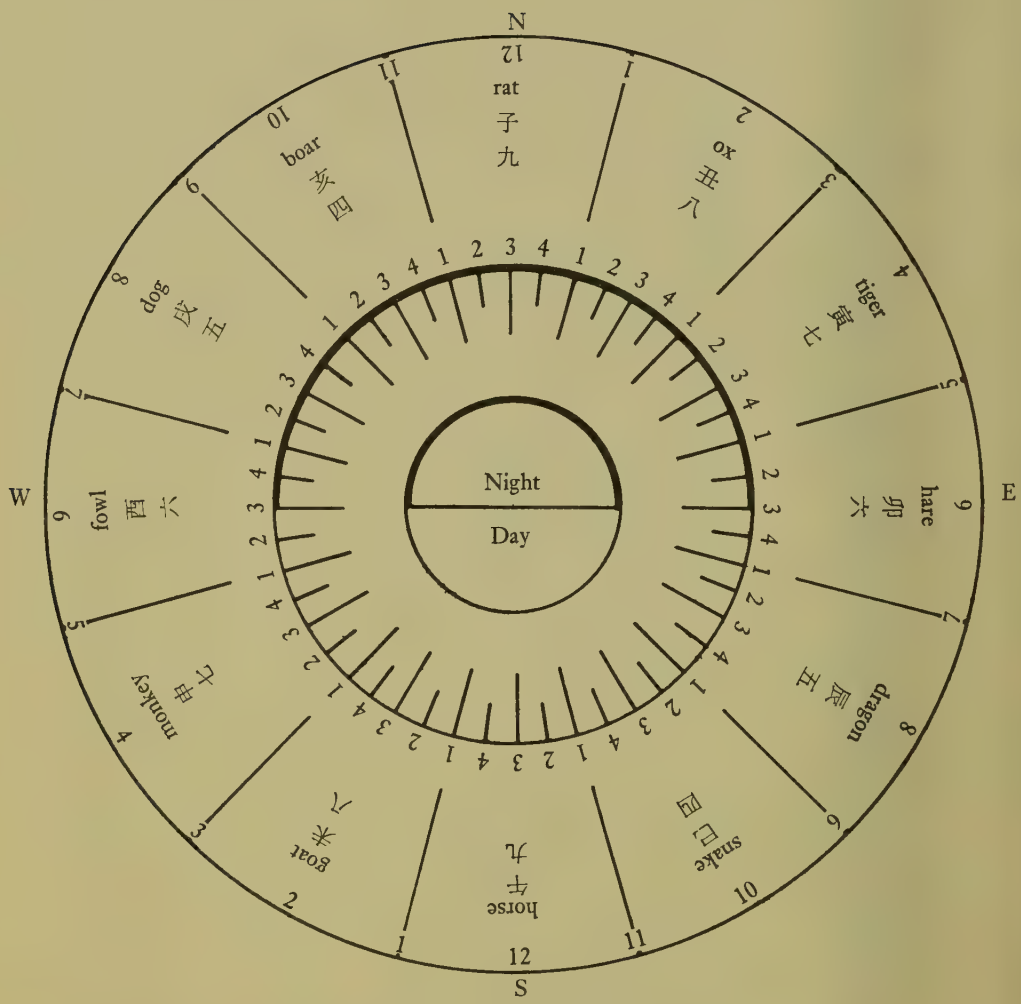


Diagram of Intervals of Day and Night

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PRINCESSES WHO SERVED AT KAMO SHRINES

(*Kamo Saiin-ki*)[1]

		APPOINTED BY	YEAR	A.D.
1	*Uchiko Naishinnō* 有智子內親王, 2nd or 8th daughter of Saga Tennō.	Saga Tennō	Kōnin 14 or Kōnin 1	823 810
2	*Tokiko Naishinnō* 時子, 9th daughter of Nimmyō Tennō.	Junna T.	Tenchō 8	831
3	*Takako Naishinnō* 高子, 12th daughter of Nimmyō T.	Junna T.	Tenchō 10	833
4	*Keishi Naishinnō* 惠子, 8th daughter of Montoku T.	Nimmyō T.	Kashō 3	850
5	*Nobuko Naishinnō* 述子, 5th daughter of Montoku T.	Montoku T.	Ten'an 1	857
6	*Noriko Naishinnō* 儀子, 3rd daughter of Montoku T.	Seiwa T.	Jōgan 1	859
7	*Atsuko Naishinnō* 敦子, 10th daughter of Seiwa T.	Yōzei T.	Genkei 1	877
8	*Bokushi Naishinnō* 穆子, 7th daughter of Kōkō T.	Yōzei T.	Genkei 8	884
9	*Chokushi Nyoō* 直子女王, daughter of Prince Korehiko (chief of the Ministry of Central Affairs).	Kōkō T.	Ninna 5	889
10	*Kimiko Naishinnō* 君子, 10th daughter of Uda Tennō.	Uda T.	Kampyō 5	893
11	*Kyōshi Naishinnō* 恭子, 19th (?) daughter of Daigo T.	Daigo T.	Engi 3	903
12	*Nobuko Naishinnō* 宣子, 2nd daughter of Daigo T.	Daigo T.	Engi 15	915
13	*Akiko Naishinnō* 韶子, 13th (?) daughter of Daigo T.	Daigo T.	Engi 21	921
14	*Enshi Naishinnō* 婉子, 7th daughter of Daigo T.	Suzaku T.	Shōhei 1	931 or 932
15	*Takako Naishinnō* 尊子, 2nd daughter of Reizei-In.	Reizei T.	Anwa 1	968
16	*Senshi Naishinnō* 選子, also called *Dai*	En'yū T.	Ten'en 3	975

[1] Based on *Gunsho ruijū*, III, *Kamo Saiin-ki*; and Takamure Itsue, *Dai Nihon josei jimmei jisho*.

	Sai-In 大齋院, 10th daughter of Murakami T.			
17	*Keishi Naishinnō* 馨子, 2nd daughter of Go-Ichijō T.	Go-Ichijō	Chōgan 4	1031
18	*Kenshi Naishinnō* 娟子, 3rd daughter of Go-Suzaku-In.	Go-Suzaku-In	Chōgan 9	1036
19	*Baishi Naishinnō* 禖子, 4th daughter of Go-Suzaku-In.	Go-Suzaku-In	Kantoku 3	1046
20	*Masako Naishinnō* 正子, 5th or 6th daughter of Go-Suzaku-In.	Go-Reizei	Tenki 6	1058
21	*Yoshiko Naishinnō* 佳子, 6th daughter of Go-Sanjō-In.	Go-Sanjō-In	Enkyū 1	1069
22	*Atsuko Naishinnō* 篤子, 4th or 7th daughter of Go-Sanjō-In.	Shirakawa T.	Enkyū 5	1073
23	*Saishi Naishinnō* 齊子, 5th daughter of Ko-Ichijō-In, granddaughter of Sanjō-In.	Shirakawa T.	Shōhō 1	1074
24	*Reishi Naishinnō* 令子, 8th daughter of Shirakawa-In, also called *Nijō Daigū* 二條大宮.	Horikawa T.	Kanji 2	1088
25	*Teishi Naishinnō* 禎子, 9th daughter of Shirakawa-In, also called *Tsuchimikado Sai-In.*	Horikawa T.	Kōwa 1	1099
26	*Kanshi Naishinnō* 官子, daughter of Shirakawa-In (or Toba-In), also known as *Seiwa-In Sai-In.*	Toba T.	Tennin 1	1108
27	*Sōshi Naishinnō* 悰子, 3rd daughter of Horikawa-In.	Toba T.	Hoan 4	1123
28	*Junshi Naishinnō* 恂子, daughter of Toba-In, also known as *Jōsai-mon'in.*	Sutoku T.	Taiji 3	1128
29	*Kishi Naishinnō* 禧子, 1st daughter of Toba-In.	Sutoku T.	Chōshō 1	1132
30	*Ishi Nyoō* 怡子女王, daughter of Prince Sukehito, granddaughter of Go-Sanjō-In, also known as *Kita-koji Sai-In.*	Sutoku T.	Chōshō 2	1133
31	*Shikishi Naishinnō* 式子, daughter of Go-Shirakawa-In.	Nijō T.	Heiji 1	1159
32	*Zenshi Naishinnō* 繕子, 2nd daughter of Nijō-In.	Takakura T.	Kaō 1	1169
33	*Noriko Naishinnō* 範子, daughter of Takakura-In, also known as *Bōmon'in.*	Takakura T.	Jishō 2	1178
*34	*Reishi Naishinnō* 禮子, 11th daughter of Go-Toba-In; given name of *Kayō-mon'in.*	Tsuchimikado T.	Genkyū 1	1204
*	The *Kamo chūshin zakki* here included *Koshi*, daughter of Toba-In.	Takakura T.	Shōan 1	1171

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF BOOKS IX AND X

CONTENTS OF BOOK IX

	Number of *kami*	Page
In the Palace	36	113
In the Capital	3	114
The Five Inner Provinces (*Kinai*)		
Yamashiro	122	115
Yamato	286	117
Kawachi	113	122
Izumi	62	124
Settsu	75	125
Total *Kinai*	658	
Tōkaidō (by province)		
Iga	25	127
Ise	253	127
Shima	3	131
Owari	121	131
Mikawa	26	132
Tōtoumi	62	133
Suruga	22	134
Izu	92	134
Kai	20	136
Sagami	13	136
Musashi	44	136
Awa (安房)	6	137
Kazusa	5	137
Shimōsa	11	138
Hitachi	28	138
Total Tōkaidō	731	

CONTENTS OF BOOK X

Tōsandō		
Oomi	155	141
Mino	39	143
Hida	8	144

Shinano	48	144
Kōzuke (Kamitsuke)	12	145
Shimotsuke	11	145
Mutsu (Michinoku)	100	145
Dewa	9	148
Total Tōsandō	382	
Hokurikudō		
Wakasa	42	148
Echizen	126	149
Kaga	42	150
Noto	43	151
Etchū	34	151
Echigo	56	152
Sado	9	153
Total Hokurikudō	352	
San'indō		
Tamba	71	153
Tango	65	154
Tajima	131	155
Inaba	50	157
Hōki (Hahaki)	6	157
Izumo	187	157
Iwami	34	160
Oki	16	161
Total San'indō	560	
San'yōdō		
Harima	50	161
Mimasaka	11	162
Bizen	26	162
Bitchū	18	163
Bingo	17	163
Aki	3	164
Suō (Suhō)	10	164
Nagato	5	164
Total San'yōdō	140	
Nankaidō		
Kii	31	165
Awaji	13	165
Awa (阿波)	50	165
Sanuki	24	166
Iyo	24	167
Tosa	21	167
Total Nankaidō	163	
Saikaidō		
Chikuzen	19	168

Chikugo	4	168
Buzen	6	169
Bungo	6	169
Hizen	4	169
Higo	4	169
Hyūga (Himuka)	4	169
Oosumi	5	169
Satsuma	2	170
Iki I.	24	170
Tsushima I.	29	170
Total Saikaidō	107	

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D. BOOKS AND ARTICLES IN WESTERN LANGUAGES

Abbreviations:

BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
MN *Monumenta Nipponica*
TASJ *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*

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KEY

References given indicate passages where the entries are explained, defined, analyzed, or treated for some length.

A

Abstinence, 13, 33 *and* n.141, n.166, n.280
Accession, n.12, 27
Aidono, 110
Ainame Festival, n.67
Amaterasu-ō-mikami, 1 *and* n.2, n.307, n.316, 94, n.427, 109
Amatsu-kami, kunitsu-kami, n.301
Amatsu kami no yogoto, n.418
Ame-no-hina-dori, 103
Ame-no-ho-hi, n.465, 103, 104
Ame-no-koyane, 65, n.292
Ame-no-waka-hiko, n.451
Aoi Festival, 6
Aramatsuri Shrine, n.430
Arame, n.150
Ason/asomi, n.1, n.120
Asuha, n.157
August districts, n.320, n.334, n.336
Awabi, n.28

B

Bell, post-station, n.175
Blue print *(aozuri)*, n.221
Boundaries, deities of, n.294, n.415
Brewers, n.194, n.195
Buraku-in, n.263

C

Caretakers, Palace, n.55
Carriage, n.62
Ceremonial, Ministry of, n.265
Chieftain, n.257, n.336, n.458
Chinka-sai, 89–90, n.410
Chinkon-sai, 4, n.164, 45, 93–4
Chōdō-in, n.196
Cinnabar, n.472, 109
Circuits, seven, n.130
Cloth, *aratae no miso,* n.241; bark-cloth, n.19; *corvée*/tax, n. 31, n.70; for ceremonial dress, 16; hemp, n.19, n.52, n.91; *hosonuno,* n.91; medium of exchange, n.167; Mōda, n.210; *nigitae no miso,* n.234; pongee, n.27; *sayomi*, n.70; *shizu/shidori,* n.52; silk (stiff, flossy), n.51, n.53, n.71; silk damask of Wu, n.77; tribute, n.93; *ungen,* n.107; *usuginu,* n.79
Cloth items, lists of, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20–1, 22–3, 25, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 53, 56
Clothing. *See* Garments *and* Raiment
Controller, n.35, n.243, n.447
Cooking compound, 36; preparations, 43–4, 49, 52
Counselor, n.271
Curtain, wall, n.108

D

Daijō-gū, construction of, 41–2
Daijō-sai, 27–56 (esp. 50–6), n.418
Dajō-kan, n.59, n.142
Dances, n.255, n.274, n.275, n.277, n.278, n.279, n.280
Defilement, n.163, n.377, n.380, n.383, n.384, n.396, n.398
Deities of Heaven and Earth, n.132
Deity, Great, n.133
Deity households, n.7, n.176, n.435, n.436; raiment, 37–8, n.234, n.241; seat, 5, n.245
Divers *(katsukime)*, n.186
Divination, n.15, n.341, n.398
Diviner, assistants, n.140; chief, n.49; of rice-

ears, n.147; priest, n.148
Dyeing, n.90, 18–20, 24, n.221
Dyes, n.58, n.80, n.81, n.82, n.96, n.112

E

Ebi-no-hatafune, n.258
Eight Deities, 34–5, n.157, 37 *and* n.170, 56, 67, n.308, n.309, 78, n.425, n.486; Hall of, 34 *and* n.157, 37 *and* n.170
Envoys to China, n.294, 101

F

Festivals. *See individual entries: Ainame, Aoi,* Boundaries, *Chinka-sai, Chinkon-sai, Daijō-sai, Hirose no Oomi, Kammiso, Kamo, Kan-name, Kasuga,* Kudo, *Michiae,* Mikado deities, *Niiname, Ooharae, Ootono-hogai,* Tatsuta deities, *Toshigoi, Tsukinami*
Fire, sacred, 15 *and* n.65; *yuki/suki* courtyard, 50
Fire god, n.410, n.411, n.414
Five grains, n.340
Flute players, n.253
Food Goddess, n.157, n.331, n.367, 94
Food items, n.24, 10–11, 13, n.54, 15, 16, 17, 19–20, 24, 25, 32, 33–4, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43–4, 47–8, 52, 53, 56
Fu (govt. order), n.142
Fu (wheat bread), n.97
Fubito, 87–9, n.399
Fujiwara Uji, 1, n.326, n.452, 108
Furuseki, n.345, 77
Futo-tamagushi, n.438
Futsunushi, n.452

G

Garments, n.89, n.94, n.109, n.110, 23–5, n.114, n.156, n.161, 43, n.209, n.221, n.233, n.241
Gate Gods, n.313, n.373
Gate Guards, n.219, n.227
Gesai-no-mai, n.280
Gishiki, n.64
Gosechi-mai, n.279
Governor, n.276
Great Deity, n.133
Greeters, n.56
Guards, Palace, n.218, n.219, n.229, n.244

H

Hafuri, n.74
Haigi, n.157
Hakudō, n.100
Hasshin-den, n.157, n.170, n.425
Hata Uji, 3, 4, 5, 6, 108, n.494
Hayato, n.228, n.255
Headdress, n.161
Hikage vine, n.224
Himorogi, n.11
Hirade, n.259
Hirano Shrine, n.345
Hiraoka Shrine, 71, 72
Hirose no Oomi Festival, n.330
Hitsugi, n.355
Hyōmon, n.102
Hyōsu shrines, 109

I

Igasuri/Igazuri Maidens, 67–8, n.310, 78, 114
Ikukuni, n.315, n.489
Ikushima Sacred Maidens, 69, 79, 114
Imaki, n.345
Imbe Uji, n.240, n.292, n.360, n.370
Imiko, n.74
Inner Controller, n.243; Provinces, n.130
Intervals of day, n.248, n.262
Ise Shrines, 1–2; rituals for, 94–9
Itsuki-no-miya, 1, n.443
Izanagi and Izanami, n.391, 89–90, 109
Izumo chieftain, n.294, n.338, n.458, 102–5

J

Jewel-makers, n.368
Jewels, n.267, n.353, n.369, n.473
Jijū-den, n.263
Jingi-kan, officials of, n.16

K

Kabane, n.1
Kairyū-den, 42, 46, n.206
Kambe, n.18, n.293
Kammiso Festival, n.429, n.440
Kamo Festival, 4–8
Kamo, Princess, 1–8, 172–3; Shrines, 3–4, 5, 6, n.68; Uji 3, 4, 5, 6
Kampei, 110
Kamu-naobi, n.371, n.453
Kan/kan-mon, n.98
Kanhatori, n.173, 37–8
Kanname/Kamunie Festival, 28, 97–8, n.440
Kannushi, n.174, n.297, n.421
Kantoki deities, n.448
Kara, n.39
Kasatori Uji, n.252
Kasuga Festival, n.325
Kasuga, Princess, 1; Shrine, n.326, n.498
Kataribe, n.220
Keeper of Keys, n.63
Kera raincoat, n.114
Kichō, n.84
Kinai, n.130
Kishi-mai, n.278
Kneeling-cushion, n.139
Koto, n.165
Kotoshironushi, n.157
Kudo, n.345, 77
Kume-mai, n.277
Kunado, n.415, n.416
Kushi-iwamado, n.313, 83–4
Kushimikeno, n.460
Kuzu, n.253

L

Lightning deities, 109
Lord of rice-ears, n.154
Lustration, n.26, 11–12, 15, 17–20, 32

M

Major *(kami)*, n.134, 110
Magic, 58–60
Malevolent deities, 99–101
Matsuno-o Shrine, 3, n.494
Mattock, n.34, n.497
Messenger, Imperial, n.45
Miare, 4–6, 8
Michiae, n.415, 90–2
Mikado, deities, n.307, n.313, 83–4; Sacred Maidens, 68, n.313, 78–9, 114
Mikumari deities, n.322, 70, 80, n.499
Minister, Great, n.270
Minor *(kami)*, n.134, 110
Mirror, n.100, n.268, n.353, n.467, n.477
Mitama, n.424
Mitoshi, n.157, n.296
Miwa, Mount, n.468
Mon, n.98
Mono-imi, n.74, n.433
Mononobe, n.218, 109
Musubi-no-kami. See Eight Deities
Myōjin, 110, n.490

N

Nakatomi Uji, n.385
Nakatomi no yogoto, n.418
Naobi deities, n.371, n.453
Narrators, n.220
Negi, n.74
Niiname-sai, 28, n.285, n.418
Niu shrines, 109
Niwatakatsuhi, n.157
No-no-miya, 7, n.60
Norito, n.266, 57–108

O

Offerings, government, 110, n.484; provincial, 110, n.483; symbolic, n.21, n.135, 32, 35, 38–9, 40–1, 45–8
Offering-tables, n.387, 110
Office, of Kamo Princess, 7; of Sovereign, n.42
Officials, in ceremonies, 11–12, 13–14, 25–6, 34, 35, 38, 44–56 *passim*, 85, n.447; classes of, 7, n.35, n.47, n.117, n.222, n.270
Omi, n.118
Order, from govt., n.142

Oo

Ooharae, n.76, n.131, 84–7
Ookunitama, 109
Oomiketsu, n.157, n.331
Oomiya-no-me, n.157
Oonakatomi, n.385
Oonamochi, 102, 103, 109
Oo-naobi, n.371, n.453
Oonie/Oomube. See Daijō-sai
Ooshi Uji, n.188
Ootono-hogai, 14, n. 61, 56, n.284, n.352, 80–3
Ootoshi, n.157, n.296

P

Pacification ceremonies, n.155, 36, n.164, 41 *and* n.198, 45, 89–90, n.410, 93–4
Pigments, 17 *and* nn. 85–7
Posting-board of ranks, n.232, 51
Priests, chief, n.174, n.297
Princess, Imperial, 2–3, n.14
Purification, 7, 10–12, n.50, 16–17, n.76, 31, 56, 84–7, n.376, n.410. *See also Ooharae*

Q

Quivers, n.497

R

Raiment, deity, 37–8, 46, 95; sacred, n.156, 43, 44, n.221, 49
Ranks, n.121; colors for, n.225
Recorder, 87–9, n.399
Reeds, n.160, n.169, n.356, n.364
Regalia, imperial, n.267, n.353
Rice-in-ear, 33
Rice, dark, n.99; for sake, 40; paddies (sacred), 33–5; plucking of, 35; pounding of, 40, 49
Ritualist, chief, n.47
Ryō (unit of length), n.137
Ryūbi-dō, n.197

S

Sacred Maidens, 32, 45, n.294, 67, n.308, 67–9, n.310, n.313, 78–9, 113–14
Sai-gū (Itsuki-no-miya), 1, n.443
Sai-in/Saiō (Itsuki-no-miko), 1–8
Saiin-shi, 7
Sakaki, n.20, n.438
Sakamakura, n.204
Sakanami, n.152
Sakatsuko, n.151
Sake (sacred), brewing of, 40
Sapanwood, n.80
Sarume Maidens, n.223
Screen, portable, n.103
Scribe, n.48, n.179
Sengū, n.446
Senji, 7, n.69
Senso, 27, 31–56, n.127
Seven Circuits, n.130
Shidori shrines, 109
Shiki, n.3, n.4
Shikinai-sha, 107, 110
Shinza, 5, n.245
Shosai-in, 7, n.25, 13, 15
Shrine chief, n.174, n.297, n.347
Soku (unit of measurement), n.159, 43, 46
Sokui, n.12, 27
Spears and shields, 41, 42–3, n.207, 46, n.445
Spirits *(mitama)* of sovereign, n.424

Stove, deity of, 15, n.75, 40, 56
Sue-no-kami, n.415, n.416
Sugegasa, n.250
Suki, -den ceremony, 52; districts/fields, 29, 31 *and* n.129, n.149, 36–7, 41, 47, 48; meaning of, n.129
Sukune, n.119
Suminoe/Sumiyoshi, n.294, n.457, n.501
Sun Goddess, 1 *and* n.2, n.307, n.316, 94, n.427, 109
Sunshade, n.101
Susano-o-no-mikoto, n.383
Sustenance households, n.7, n.176, n.435, n.436; villages, n.146
Suzaku Gate, n.208, n.242
Sword, sacred, n.269, n.353, n.474

T

Taboo, 7, n.129, n.149, n.158, n.166, n.168, n.178, n.383, n.384, n.462, n.463, n.464; words, 10 *and* n.23, 33
Takami-musubi, n.157
Taketsunumi, 4, 5
Ta-mai, n.275
Tamayori-hime, 4, 5
Tametsu rice, n.153, 35
Tarukuni, n.315, n.489
Tashiraka, n.182
Tatami, 43
Tatsuta deities, n.338
Tax, goods, n.135; regular, n.144
Thunder deities, n.294, 109
Toneri, n.41
Tools (mattocks, spades, axes, etc.), 11, 12, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45–6
Torosuki, n.181
Toshigoi Festival, n.136, n.296, n.306, n.351, 94–5
Toyo-iwamado, n.313, 83–4
Toyouke Shrine, 95, 97, 99
Tripod, n.105
Tsubaha, n.180
Tsukinami Festival, 63, n.351, 78–80, 94–5, n.432, 96–7
Tsukiyomi Shrine, n.439

U

Uchindo, n.431
Uji, n.1
Ujigami, n.2
Umbrella, n.250, n.252
Uneme, 7, n.43, n.372
Ungen, n.107
Urabe, n.15, n.398, n.410

V

Vessels, nn.180–3

W

Waist-ties, n.94
Wakame, n.29
Wake-ikazuchi, 4, 5, 6, 7
Watatsumi deities, n.294, n.502
Water deities, n.294, n.321, n.322, 70, 80, 108–9, n.487
Weaving, deity raiment, 37–8
Well, festival of, 12–14
Wet-nurses, n.57
White-bronze *(hakudō)*, n.100
Willow box, n.83
Wind gods, 73–5, n.338

Y

Yabune deities, n.361, n.367
Yachimata deities, n.416, n.448
Yamanokuchi, n.321, 70, n.334, 79
Yamato-mai, n.274
Yamatsuki, n.183
Yanaibako, n.83
Yata-kagami, n.268, n.353, n.467
Yellow-back, n.32
Yogoto, n.266, n.418
Yokura-oki and *Yakura-oki,* n.226

Yukamono, n.178
Yuki, -den ceremony, 50–2; districts/fields, 29, 31 *and* n.129, n.149, 36–7, 41, 47; meaning of, n.129

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Resources in Asian Philosophy
and Religion
Charles Wei-hsun Fu,
Series Editor

GREENWOOD PRESS
WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT • LONDON

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Picken, Stuart D.B.
Essentials of Shinto : an analytical guide to principal teachings / Stuart D.B. Picken.
p. cm.—(Resources in Asian philosophy and religion, ISSN 1073–1156)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0–313–26431–7 (alk. paper)
1. Shinto. I. Title. II. Series.
BL2220.P47 1994
299'.5612—dc20 93–40619

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 93–40619
ISBN: 0–313–26431–7
ISSN: 1073–1156

First published in 1994

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881
An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48–1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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To the 96th High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine,
THE REVEREND DOCTOR YUKITAKA YAMAMOTO,
the first Shinto Priest to receive an honorary doctorate in theology from
an American university in acknowledgment of his efforts to build
bridges of spiritual and cultural understanding across the Pacific Ocean,
this work is dedicated as my personal offering of
respect for his international achievements
and in appreciation of
the inspiring spiritual comradeship it has been my privilege to share.

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Contents

Guide to the Romanization of Japanese Words, Expressions, Forms, and Styles xv

Preface xvii

Introduction xxi

Misunderstandings about Shinto xxi

The Name "Shinto" xxi

The Term "Jinja" xxiii

The Concept of Kannagara xxiii

Attempted Definitions of Shinto xxiii

Is Shinto a Religion or Not? xxiv

Obstacles to Grasping the Essentials of Shinto xxv

Shinto in Contemporary Japan xxxi

Notes xxxii

Part I: History and Mythology

Chapter 1: Historical Aspects of the Development of Shinto 3

Historiography, Japanese History, and Shinto 3

Pre- and Proto-Historic Roots (B.C. 7000–552 C.E.) 6

Controversy over the Origins of Shinto 10

Asuka and Nara Periods (552–794) 13

Heian Period Shinto (794–1185) 18

Shinto in the Kamakura Period (1185–1333) 24

Muromachi (1333–1568) and Azuchi-Momoyama (1568–1615) Shinto 27

Edo Period Shinto (1615–1868) 30

Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–1926), and Shōwa (1926–1989) Periods 35

The Constitutional Separation of State and Religion 43

Shinto, the Heisei Era, and Japan's Internationalization 47

Notes 48

Chapter 2: Mythology 53

The Contemporary Question of Interpreting Mythology 53

Problems of Interpreting the Japanese Mythology 54

Parallel Synopsis of the Kojiki and the Nihongi 55

The Kami-yo: The Age of the Kami 57

The Mythology of Creation 61

Distinctive Aspects of the Mythology 63

Japanese Interpretations of the Mythology 64

Residual Influences in Japanese Culture 67

Myth in Modern Japanese Society 69

Notes 71

Chapter 3: Imperial Household Shinto 75

The Imperial Household and Shinto 75

Imperial Household Ceremonies: Kōshitsu Saishi 79

The Grand Shrines of Ise 80

Imperial Funeral Rituals and Misasagi (Mausolea) or Goryō 81

Imperial Accession Rituals 82
Interpretations of the Daijōsai 84
The Sanshu-no-Jingi: The Three Divine Imperial Regalia 86
Notes 87

Part II: Jinja Shinto

Chapter 4: Shrines and Kami 93
Jinja Shinto 93
Kami of the Japanese Mythology 94
The Ni-jū-ni-sha: The Twenty-Two Shrines 96
Kami Not Named in the Japanese Mythology 99
Notes 121

Chapter 5: Shrine Buildings (Jinja Shaden) 127
Origins of Shrines and Shrine Buildings 127
Development of Shrines and Shrine Architecture 129
Primitive Shrine Styles 130
Roof Designs and Ornaments on Shrines 132
Principal Types of Shrine Style 133
The Torii 146
Torii Styles 148
Shrine Grounds 162
Notes 168

Chapter 6: Rituals, Festivals (Matsuri), Liturgies (Norito), and the Shinto Priesthood 171
Rituals and Oharai 171
Ōharae no Kotoba and Norito 175
Shrine Festivals 176

Ritual Instruments and Utensils 183
Goshintai and Shinzō 185
Shrine Symbols 186
The Shinto Priesthood 187
Notes 191

Part III: Shinto Sects

Chapter 7: Kyōha (Sect) and Tsūzoku (Folk) Shinto 197
Non-Institutional Religious Movements in Japan 197
Sangaku Shinkō and Asceticism 197
Shugendō: Beginnings to the Heian Period 198
Shugendō in the Kamakura Period and After 201
Tsūzoku: Popular Shinto 209
Kyōha Shinto 212
Parallel Developments 250
Change and Continuity in Kyōha Shinto 251
Genealogy of New Movements from Kyōha Shinto Sects 252
General Sources 253
Notes 253

Chapter 8: Shinto and the New Religions 257
The New Religions 257
Theories about the New Religions 258
Characteristic Features of the New Religions 260
Contrasts with Established Religions in Japan 263
Worldview of the New Religions 264
Principal New Religions Related to Shinto 265
Other Shinto-Based New Religions 289
Comparative Reflections 290

General Sources 291
Notes 291

Part IV: Shinto Thought

Chapter 9: Academic Shinto 297
Shinto and Japanese Thought 297
Tendai Shinto or Sannō-Ichijitsu Shinto 298
Ryōbu Shinto or Shingon Shinto 299
Hokke Shinto 301
Yoshida Shinto 302
Watarai Shinto and the Origins of Ise Shinto 306
Suiga Shinto 311
Kokugaku Shinto 312
Notes 335

Chapter 10: Shinto Ideas and Western Thought 341
Shinto and Ethics 342
Shinto and Western Metaphysics 347
Notes 353

Glossary of Selected Japanese Terms and Expressions 355
Selected Bibliography and Research Resources in English 381
Index 391

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Guide to the Romanization of Japanese Words, Expressions, Forms, and Styles

ROMANIZATION

Romanization follows the Kenyusha *New-Japanese English Dictionary* (1974), which uses a modification of the Hepburn system. The following exceptions to that system bring the text into line with the Kodansha *Encyclopedia of Japan.*

1. *m* instead of *n* is used before *p*, *b*, or *m*, as in *shimbun*, *kampaku*, or *Kemmu.*
2. *n* is retained where there is need to hyphenate a word, such as *Gen-pon* (instead of *Genpon*) or *han-batsu* (instead of *hambatsu*).
3. The final syllable *n* is distinguished with an apostrophe when it comes before a *vowel* or *y*, as in *San'in* or *San'yo.*
4. Macrons are used to indicate the long vowels *a*, *u*, and *o* except for the following:
   - (1) the seven place names, *Tokyo*, *Kyoto*, *Osaka*, *Kobe*, *Kyushu*, *Honshu*, and *Hokkaido.*
   - (b) in the case of Japanese words that have come into English usage (e.g., *Shinto*, *daimyo*, or *shogun*).
   - (c) where established forms of romanization exist (e.g., Motoori Norinaga).

JAPANESE PROPER NAMES

1. General Names:
   - (a) Italicization is used only where the entire name is in Japanese (e.g., *Inari Jinja*). Where the title is half in English, the italicization is dropped (e.g., Hachiman Shrine). The former style is preferred because the purpose is to familiarize readers with Japanese expressions. The Kodansha *Encyclopedia of Japan* preferred the latter because it was intended to be for more general use.

(b) In the names of Japanese *kami*, only the first letter is capitalized (e.g., *Ame-uzume-no-mikoto*).

(c) In the names of the *kami* and in technical expressions, hyphens are included to indicate Chinese characters where this is considered helpful (e.g., *Honji-suijaku-setsu*).

2. Personal Names

(1) For transliteration of Japanese names, the Library of Congress catalog cards are the standard reference. Where no reference exists, the most common form in use is listed.

(b) The order of names is as in Japanese, family name first and given name second (e.g., Hirata Atsutane).

(c) Where there may be more than one form or simply two or more names, both may be listed: for example, En no Gyoja (also known as En no Shokaku).

PLACE NAMES

1. These are romanized as described under "General Names" and capitalized as in English (e.g., Urawa City)
2. English generic terms such as *lake* or *mountain* are capitalized when used as part of a proper name (e.g., Mt. Fuji, but not Mt. Fujisan).
3. Where including English unnecessarily fragments the Japanese name, the Japanese is retained in full (e.g., *Dewa Sanzan* or *Kumano Junrei*). Because they are technical terms as well as place names, they are also italicized.
4. Older place names may be identified by a modern name: for example, Edo (present-day Tokyo).

PRONUNCIATION OF ISE SHRINE NAMES

The written Japanese names of the Inner and Outer Shrines at Ise may be read as Naigu (Inner Shrine) and Gegu (Outer Shrine). Older people of the Ise region have traditionally used Naigu and Geku (softening the *g* to *k* for ease in pronunciation in the case of the Outer Shrine). Another reason for the change is *kotodama*, or the theory that more pleasant-sounding words please the *kami*. Kodaijingu is pronounced Kotaijingu, and *betsu-gu* becomes *betsu-ku* for the same reason. Recent English language publications romanize the Inner Shrine as Naiku in keeping with the Outer Shrine as Geku. Beyond the desire for standardization, there is no other apparent reason for this.

DATES

1. Western dates may be followed by Japanese dating: 1945 (*Shōwa* 20).
2. Solar dates are generally identified for dates before 1873.

Preface

Shinto appears at long last to be receiving a little of the attention and respect to which I believe it is entitled, since it is a religion of one of the world's great civilizations. It has languished under the shadow of the State Shinto era and has been made to bear responsibility for a war in the process. As the victim of wartime propaganda it became the object of academic hostility. Its inclusion in this series on Asian religion and philosophy indicates that it has now been recognized anew as an authentic part of the Asian tradition, unique in that it belongs almost exclusively to Japan's history and culture.

My own first attempt at reinterpreting Shinto in social and religious terms was entitled *Shinto: Japan's Spiritual Roots* (Kodansha International, 1980). Among the reviews following publication was a most kind one by Professor Wilbur Fridell, who pointed out a few merits as well as some limitations of my approach. He concluded his review by suggesting that subsequent general studies of Shinto should begin from it. I hope that those who are interested in this book will complement it by reading the other. It presents a profile of Shinto as a living religion against the background of contemporary Japanese society in a manner that a strictly academic work can never achieve.

The present work, designed primarily as a work of reference, goes beyond empirical description to basic documentation. The format includes an initial historical overview of key aspects of Shinto to provide a general framework of understanding. Then it addresses the Japanese myths, their content, and controversies about interpretation, including the sensitive issue of the relationship between mythology and politics in modern Japan. Part I concludes with a discussion of Imperial Household Shinto rites as they are still performed, the most recent major ones being the accession rites of the present Emperor Heisei in 1991 and the wedding rites of Crown Prince Naruhito in 1993.

Part II examines Shrine Shinto, the Shinto of local shrine life, festivals, and the priesthood. To expand the content of the text as a work of reference, I have constructed a typology of Shinto divinities and related them to the architectural styles of buildings and gateways that are essential to their identity and recognition. Because Shrine Shinto and its life centers on festivals, there is a chapter devoted to the structure of the festival, to the *norito* (the liturgical invocations used at rituals) to the priesthood, and to certain shrine artifacts that are used at festivals and other occasions. Shinto survives more in ritual than in thought, and without reference to these it remains inaccessible and mysterious.

Part III addresses the various types of Sect Shinto. It deals with several forms of folk Shinto and identifies the thirteen recognized sects of Kyoha Shinto, namely, the sects and cults that grew out of orthodox Shrine Shinto but separated and developed independent identities at various periods. Following this is a discussion of certain Shinto-based new religions that have emerged in the twentieth century, some before and some after the Pacific War. There are many more than there is space to discuss. A comprehensive list is included for reference, but only sizeable and influential groups are discussed.

Part IV offers a reference base on Shinto thought. The unique symbiosis of Buddhism and Shinto that flourished during the Heian period is the starting point; from there, the development of different phases and styles of Shinto thought is discussed. Particular attention is devoted to the academic Shinto movement of the Edo period, when Japanese thinkers, following the defined hermeneutical methods, tried to separate within the Japanese mythology those elements borrowed from China from elements that were distinctively Japanese.

I conclude the book with several personal observations of comparison and contrast with Western thought. These may be of interest to philosophically inclined readers and may serve as datum points in Western thought from which to gain an enhanced interpretation of Shinto. My observations may not find universal acceptance, but the discussion may at least provide a starting point for the debate on how to interpret the many phenomena found in the world of Shinto.

I have consistently tried to present Shinto in terms of itself. For example, I have resisted the use of Western terms like *Shintoist* that are untranslatable or become meaningless if rendered into Japanese. Western models of religiosity or commitment to religious organizations have little relevance to Shinto or Japan. I have also preferred the word *shrine* in English as the translation of *jinja* in Japanese. Older works in English speak of *Shinto temples*, which I feel can lead to confusion. According to Webster, the word *shrine* may refer to any sacred place, which seems to be close to the meaning of *jinja*. *Temple*, by contrast, usually refers to a building. Buildings erected within shrine precincts in Japan have separate names and are des-

ignated as *shaden*, shrine buildings. However, the shrine is not to be equated with the buildings. I have also avoided translating *kami* as *god* to avoid confusion between different concepts of the divine. If this text succeeds in its aims, what Shinto means by *kami* should become clear.

The general objectives are dictated by the goals of the entire series, with which I happily comply—namely, to produce an English-language reference work on Shinto. I have tried to consult as much basic Japanese material as possible and as much as I could of more recent work by both Japanese and non-Japanese researchers on aspects of Shinto and related subjects based on the following general assumptions.

First, the study of Shinto is worth the effort because it carries tremendous rewards both in itself and because of what it reveals about Japanese history and civilization. Second, Shinto is a remarkably complex and elusive phenomenon to which Western categories about religion do not readily apply without doing violence to its distinctive character. Third, serious study of Shinto can only proceed from a basic grasp of the Japanese language and from broad experience of shrines, their life, and their activities. Fourth, the study of Shinto requires sensitivity because it touches upon some of the most precious and sacred elements of the Japanese tradition. Finally, the study of Shinto demonstrates that it is alive and well, not the dead or dying primitive religion of the critics but a vital form of natural religion that has its place in the pantheon of world religions. It makes its contribution along with the other religions to what Ninan Smart called (in a Judaeo-Christian metaphor) the *Long Journey*, but which I would prefer to describe (in terms more appropriate to Shinto) as the human pilgrimage to the peaks of spirituality, the ascent from *homo sapiens* to *homo excellens*.

Because this is a reference work in English, I have tried where possible to point to available secondary English-language sources. This should make research easier and enable those who do not seek to study the Japanese language to acquire a broad understanding of the essentials of Shinto.

I anticipate inevitable criticism by three self-confessed limitations. First, I acknowledge that there are omissions. The book is intended to present the *essentials* but not *everything* about Shinto. Second, claims to originality must lie, if anywhere, in the overall perspective into which Shinto is cast and the form into which the material is organized. Finally, this is a book written by a non-Japanese primarily for a non-Japanese audience. That fact conditions the style of presentation and influences the manner of explanation.

Acknowledgments could be endless, but I must single out a few to whom I would like to express deep and special thanks. To my good friend the late Professor Toshihito Gamo of Kokugakuin University, I bow my head in respect. His encouragement in the writing of my earlier work gave me the appetite to continue my probings. To my contemporary colleague and supporter, who has offered much about Shinto but most of all who made

it all visible in himself, the Reverend Doctor Yukitaka Yamamoto, 96th High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine in Mie Prefecture, I consider no words of appreciation adequate. He may justifiably be considered one of the most luminous and charismatic priests within the contemporary world of Shinto, and he is very deeply committed to inter-religious understanding and dialogue. It goes without saying that I have been received with courtesy and patience at every shrine I ever visited. I have always received good counsel at the Association of Shrines and its international affairs division. Kokugakuin University has always been open, helpful, and very friendly, as have the two directors of the Japan Culture Institute I have been privileged to know, the late Professor Motoku Anzu and Professor Ueda Kenji. Several individuals looked at parts of this text in different forms and made helpful comments at various stages—Dr. J. Edward Kidder, Jr., formerly of International Christian University; Dr. Delmer Brown, formerly of U.C. Berkeley; Professor Fukuda of ICU; and Professor Asoya of Kokugakuin University, to name but a few. Research assistance has come from many sources and many conversations about Shinto over the years. Also, the efforts and patience of Dr. George Butler, Acquisitions Editor in Philosophy and Religion, and the editorial staff of Greenwood Press are due my hearty thanks, as they are to Professor Charles Wei-hsun Fu of the Series for the opportunity to assemble this work in the first place.

Introduction

MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT SHINTO

It could be said that Shinto has been the subject of misrepresentation more than any other religion. Wide-ranging opinions about Shinto still exist among foreign scholars. The most negative are based largely upon superficial understanding or inadequate experience. This is especially true of early writers. Englebert Kaempfer (1651–1716), who first set foot in Japan in 1690,[1] referred to the three religions of Japan and declared that Shinto was the "old religion of idol worship." The British diplomat W. G. Aston concluded his nineteenth-century study of Shinto by saying that "As a national religion, Shinto is almost extinct. But it will long continue to survive in folklore and custom, and in that lively sensibility to the divine in its simpler and more material aspects which characterizes the people of Japan."[2]

These judgments seem unsatisfactory and inadequate because the same "extinct religion" has been held responsible by other schools of critics for the Pacific War. Clearly, there is room and requirement for improved understanding not only of Shinto as a religion but of what kind of religion it is and how it is related to Japanese culture and Japanese national life.

THE NAME "SHINTO"

The term *Shinto* in English comes from two Japanese words, *shin* (which can also be read as *kami*) and *tō*, or more commonly *dō*, meaning "way." Shinto therefore means the way of the *kami*, or the divine as understood in Japanese culture. The oldest recorded usage of *Shin-dō* is in the *Nihon-Shoki* dating to the Emperor Yomei (r. 586–587), who is said to have believed in the law of Buddhism and revered the way of the *kami*.[3] Consider the two elements separately.

Kami[4] is often translated as "god" with a small "g." This is usually taken as grounds for claiming that the religious culture of the Japanese is polytheistic. However, in the Japanese language, singular and plural are not distinguished as they are in Indo-European languages; and although there may be many *kami*, they all share the same character. *Kami* thus refers to the essence of many phenomena that the Japanese believed were endowed with an aura of divinity. Rocks, rivers, animals, trees, places, and even people can be said to possess the nature of *kami*. Anything that can inspire a sense of wonder and awe in the beholder, in a way that testifies to the divinity of its origin or being, can be called *kami*. What the German phenomenologist of religion Rudolf Otto described as the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* would qualify as an intelligible definition of *kami*.[5]

Dō has three interesting background elements. First, it is a very important term of Chinese philosophy. The *Tao* of Chinese *Taoism* (as expounded in Lao Tzu's *Tao-Te-Ching*) is the same character, meaning "the teaching of the way."[6] Second, *dō* is used in Japanese as a suffix to several compounds that indicate ways, rituals, or disciplines. For example, there is *ken-dō*, the way of the sword (Japanese swordfencing); *ai-ki-dō*, the way of meeting of *ki*, or spirit (a Japanese self-defense art); *cha-dō*, the way of tea (the art of the tea ceremony, also known as *sadō*); and *sho-dō*; the way of or art of calligraphy. The number could be expanded considerably because Japanese culture makes use of *dō* to identify patterns of practice or discipline. The third meaning of *dō* is simply "way" or "road." In this aspect it is read as *michi*. Why was Shinto named as a *dō*?

Until the sixth century, it seems to have had no name. The gradual rise of Buddhism forced the indigenous cult to distinguish itself from *Butsu-dō*, the way of the Buddha. Hence the term *Shin-dō* (later *Shin-tō*), the way of the *kami*, was coined. Buddhism came to be called *Bukkyō*, the teaching of Buddha (in parallel with Christianity, which is called *Kirisutokyō*). However, Shinto remains a "way" because unlike either Buddhism or Christianity it has no historical founder. It is the natural expression of the spiritual feelings of the Japanese people, which grew and evolved with the development of Japanese history and society. The earliest indication of its importance was the establishment of the Office of Shinto Worship (*Jingikan*) around the time of the Taika Reform of 645 C.E. The Taihō Code of 701 C.E. stated that the highest government office was the Council of State (*Dajō-kan*) and that the Office of Shinto Worship was equal to it. Although its relationship with Buddhism over the centuries was complicated and it sometimes found itself at a disadvantage beside the complex doctrines and quasi-magic rituals of the sects of Buddhism, Shinto was never displaced as the local religion of agricultural communities and the supralocal cult of the families who were eventually to unify the nation.

THE TERM "JINJA"

Japanese religious sentiments were first connected with natural settings and were so deeply embedded in the Japanese perception of nature and its processes that there was no separate word to describe "nature" until the era of modernization, when the term *shizen*[7] was invented. In modern Japanese religious parlance, the term "Great Nature" (*daishizen*) is used with a cosmic or metaphysical flavor to describe the total context of human physical and spiritual life and that of the world itself.

The significance of this point can be seen in the meaning of the term *jinja*, which is translated in this text as "shrine." There are roughly 100,000 *jinja* in Japan, to be distinguished from Buddhist temples, or *tera*. These emerged in different parts of the country alongside the expansion of the communities for which they served as guardians. *Jinja* is a compound of two characters: *jin*, which in this case reads *kami*; and *sha* or *ja*, which means "place." Thus, *jinja* means literally "place of the *kami*." A shrine is a sacred area on which buildings or *shaden* are erected to revere the *kami* of that area.

THE CONCEPT OF KANNAGARA

An expression used in Shinto to refer to the divine essence of the processes and the law of the natural order is *kannagara*,[8] which also can mean "way of the *kami*." Here we see Shinto as a way. It grew and developed around certain impulses, sentiments, and feelings associated with an awareness of the sacred in combination with beliefs and rituals thought to have efficacy in the world of agriculture. It gave birth to a sense of the mysterious but unformulated set of influences, causes, and effects that surround and absorb everything and that bear life on its way. It is from this sense of *michi* that the values of Shinto are derived. People who follow the way are people who know the divine, the human, and how people should live. *Kannagara* is the sense of the term *michi* that marks those who recognize the way of the *kami* in all life.

The discussion of *michi* also introduces the topic of ethics in Shinto. It is frequently asserted that Shinto has no ethics.[9] It may not have formalized rules that guide people's conduct through life, but it is not unaware of a moral sense and it has a distinctive set of values derived from it. Values such as sincerity (*makoto*) or honesty (*tadashii*) have a particular meaning that relates to the overall Shinto view of life. The idea of purification in Shinto also carried ethical overtones.

ATTEMPTED DEFINITIONS OF SHINTO

Among the many descriptions of Shinto found in the writings of Japan's great scholars throughout the ages, the most influential come mainly from

the eighteenth century. Ise Teijo (1714–1784) and Amano Nobukage (1660–1733) spoke of it as the Way to celebrate the *kami* of heaven and earth. Hayashi Razan (1582–1657) and Yoshimi Yukikazu (1672–1762) described it as the Way of government or the rule of right and justice, the Way by which the Emperor governs the country. Yoshikawa Koretari (1616–1694), Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), and Hirata Atsutane (1774–1842) saw it as the Way to govern the country given by the Divine Ancestress *Amaterasu Ōmikami*. Confucian-Shinto scholars considered it to be the everyday Way or the right path of duty that should be followed by all human beings. It was the Way existing between lord and subject, man and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and among friends. Festivities at shrines were of course important, but it was considered improper to regard only these as Shinto.

The view associated with State Shinto declared it to be the national religion that has been transmitted from the age of the *kami* (*kami-yo*). They claimed that it maintained the national constitution and was the moral basis of the nation. Other names for Shinto are *kami no michi* (Way of the Kami), *kannagara no michi* (Way of the Divine transmitted from time immemorial), *Kodō* (the Ancient Way), *Daidō* (The Great Way), or *Teidō* (The Imperial Way). Some of these terms are still in use. Definitions old and modern can be divided into those that affirm Shinto as a religion and those that deny it.

IS SHINTO A RELIGION OR NOT?

A not uncommon viewpoint put forward in Japanese is: "Shinto is not a religion, it is a folk way" (*Shinto wa shūkyō dewai nai, michi desu*). Reasons for this position should be carefully examined. Some Japanese believe that because Christianity or Buddhism have historical founders, they are therefore religions in the formal sense. Shinto simply grew and evolved and therefore should not be classified with them. There is a certain humility in this that should be respected, although I suggest that it may be a little misguided. If it is related to the definition of the term *shū-kyō* (religion) in Japanese (a compound of two terms meaning literally "sect-teaching"), and if religion is defined in terms of the teachings or beliefs of a sect, Shinto in a general way would be hard to classify as a religion. If, on the other hand, the Western etymology of "religion" is considered (that religion is a binding force within society), then the idea of Shinto as a Way would imply that it also is a religion in the fullest sense of the term.

A separate approach claiming that Shinto is not a religion stems from a totally ulterior motive and should not be regarded so generously. It comes from those who claim that if Shinto is not a religion but simply a form of tradition or folk culture, then it cannot clash with any religion. This is in parallel with the State Shinto advocates of prewar days who insisted that

Shinto could be a required practice for all members of the State. In the postwar era, those arguments are advanced to claim that were the Government to assume financial responsibility for the Yasukuni Shrine,[10] such an action would not constitute a violation of the constitutional separation of State and religion, because, by definition, "Shinto is not a religion." This argument is neither humble nor honest. According to some observers, it is a calculated attempt to circumvent the terms of the Constitution and begin the revival of the State Shinto.[11]

During the prewar years, all the various branches of the main religions of Japan, Christianity and Buddhism, were supervised by the Ministry of Education. Shinto was a *dō* (a folk way), and therefore it was supervised by the Ministry of the Interior (the *Naimushō*). A crucial impasse was reached in 1945, before the end of the war, when the Ministry of Education called in the heads of the United Church of Christ in Japan (the *Nippon Kirisutokyō Kyōdan*, a forced amalgam of all Christian groups) to inform them that all references to the Lordship in creation of God (which by implication belittled the Emperor) had to be removed from their literature. The Bible and the Hymnbook required rewriting! If State Shinto were not a religion, it would not have been sensitive to such claims. The truth of the case was given away by that very anxiety. Only the end of the war prevented that collision of ideas from becoming an open conflict.

Shinto can be justifiably described as the indigenous religion of Japan. It would require a peculiar definition of religion to exclude it from the realm of world religions. It should also be noted that if Shinto were not a religion and if Japanese religion were not as powerful as it is, it would not be so difficult for other religions to enter Japan and attract Japanese followers. Buddhism took six centuries to come to terms with Shinto. It is doubtful if such a length of time would have been required had Shinto not been a religion.

OBSTACLES TO GRASPING THE ESSENTIALS OF SHINTO

These arise mostly from the peculiar character of Japanese religion. It makes it impervious to standard forms of Western analysis and categorization and the typical Western assumptions about religion, which are extremely misleading if they are applied to Shinto without qualification.

Consider first the two aspects of Shinto that make the scholar's work very difficult. First, there is the perennial problem that meaning is lost in translation. Terms such as *purity* or *sincerity* can sound too naive to have deep meaning. The depth of the ideas does not come across in verbal equations. When they are written in Chinese characters, they are infinitely more suggestive of meaning and they function differently in the Japanese mind. *Harai* means more than the English word *purification*, and *chōwa* means more than merely *harmony*. In English the metaphor for harmony is mu-

sical, but *chōwa* does not mean simply a symphonic harmony of congruous sounds. It implies something more like wholeness or completeness and is also a social ideal, not simply a state of affairs within human relations.

Second, Shinto has no written scriptures and no formally enunciated set of beliefs. The strength of Shinto lies in its survival in ritual. Ritual has the power to keep thought alive. Ritual and its significance keep Shinto before people's minds. The cycle of nature and the life of agriculture lie in the background; however, not only have these recurring events been reflected in the rituals of Shinto, but the cycle of life of the Japanese people has found its rhythm through their influence. In commencing the study of Japanese religion in general and Shinto in particular, this is a vital point to understand. Shinto has been preserved most effectively not through doctrines but rituals and attitudes. Consequently, in the study of Shinto it is more important to pay attention to what people do rather than to seek formal statements of belief.

Beyond these points are several areas of contrast wherein differences create genuine obstacles to understanding. First, because Western religion (generally speaking) is often held most deeply at the personal level, the element of personal faith is assumed to be universal, which is not necessarily the case. Religion in Japan is community- and family-based far more than individually based, and community religions have great powers to survive because the self-understanding of the community is closely tied to them. For example, the central act of Shinto worship, the festival, is in essence a community celebration of life and its blessings. Families are usually registered at temples and come under the protection of shrines. This does not mean that the Japanese do not have individual beliefs. They do, of course. Nevertheless, the emphasis is upon the family. Not infrequently, for example, people who have been Christian throughout their lives will be buried according to Buddhist rituals in the family temple with no regard given to personal beliefs. The old system of temple support known as *danka-dera* (required temple registration) was law during the Tokugawa era; it required that families register at a local temple. Although for some the relation between the people and the temples and shrines may have been one of devotion, undoubtedly for many it was simply a matter of legal requirement. Consequently, not a great deal can be drawn from the meaning of temple or shrine associations in terms of the relationship of individuals to them.

This problem is complicated by confusion over the meaning of *mu-shūkyō* in Japanese.[12] When Japanese are asked about their religion, they frequently answer "*mu-shūkyō*," which means literally "no-sect doctrine" but which usually comes out as "no religion" in loose translation. The reasons why the idea and the form of words is used lie in Japanese history. During the Edo period, when Christianity was prohibited, people were required once a year (usually on New Year's Day) to visit their registered

temple and stand on a brass plaque depicting a crucifix. To refuse to do so was to arouse the suspicions of government agents, who in the early years of Edo pursued known Christian families for up to four generations until there was reason to conclude that the Christian ideas had died out. The system of compulsory registration at a temple had the effect of disillusioning many people about organized religion. It had the additional effect of persuading people to conceal any religious ideas or feelings they may have had. Indeed, it was not until the early nineteenth century that any new religious movements began to emerge. Those developments coincided significantly with the more obvious signs of decline in the power of the Tokugawa government. These new movements became Sect Shinto (*Kyōha Shinto*), recognized as such by the Meiji government after the transfer of power in 1868. They possessed, relatively speaking, specific doctrines in contrast to the less structured beliefs associated with followers of Shrine Shinro (*Jinja Shinto*).

Mu-shūkyō therefore really means that the individual has no specific doctrinal preferences or is not too concerned about sects or cults. It does not mean that he or she has no interest in religion or has no religious beliefs whatsoever. Indeed, the individual may well have religious feelings—associated particularly with sacred places, those that have a special aura about them. Surveys on Japanese religiosity have shown that religious feelings are expressed mostly in relation to these.[13] Consequently, Japanese religion tends to be based on feelings rather than ideas, on experiences rather than doctrines. *Mu-shūkyō* must be understood in that context and as a natural barrier to receiving exact doctrinal ideas from anyone who may belong to a religious movement. For the average person who has no specific affiliation, *mu-shūkyō* serves to keep unnecessary inquiry at a distance.

These two points are directly related to a third, namely, that Japanese religion exists much more at the subconscious level than does Western religion. The religious traditions of Japan, particularly Shinto, remain alive in habits of thought and behavior rather than in a formal way. People visit shrines at times like New Year and on special occasions within the cycle of life's events. There is less general discussion of religious ideas and a minimal history of religious controversy as compared to the West.

Because the concept of nature and reverence for ancestors is basic, in both cases the key concept of dependence and its related notion of thanksgiving are central. These are expressed in many actions throughout life but may be seldom articulated. For example, there is no special meaning behind the simple term for gratitude (*kansha*) in Japanese. Western investigations often mistakenly focus on what people explicitly claim to believe as though it could not be possible for people to follow a religion unless they are able to explain in detail what they believe, as opposed to simply believing by following those around them to express their relationship to community

life. Any study of Japanese religion must take full account of these three points of contrast.

A further hindrance to the academic understanding of Japanese religion in general is that Japanese thought tends to be eclectic; consequently, consistency of ideas or practice is not a prerequisite for credibility. There is indeed a notable lack of interest in formal consistency of beliefs or ideas. Shinto is not easy to understand in terms of ideas, and it does not offer solutions to keep questions like the theodicy. This characteristic has encouraged some Western scholars to dismiss Shinto as "primitive," unworthy of the attention of intellectuals. The fact that most Japanese (often including Shinto priests) cannot give a coherent, let alone consistent, account of Shinto has led these critics to imagine that Shinto can be ignored or that it plays no important role in religious or social life. But on what basis is it argued that lack of intellectual content disqualifies a religion from having an important place in society and life? Furthermore, if the average Western person with a similar loose relationship to Christianity was asked to give an exposition of his or her beliefs, what view of Christianity would emerge? How intelligible would it be, and would that disqualify it from being taken seriously?

This particular difficulty is enhanced by the fact that Western civilization is heavily dependent upon the verbal and that the role of language in Western religion is different from its role in Japan. The Hebrew term *dabar* implied power and energy beyond the human. The *dabar*, the "Word of God," was the agent of creation in the Hebrew mythology (Genesis 1:1). The New Testament (John 1:1), using the Greek term *logos* (also translatable as "word"), impresses the idea of Christ as the Word and uses the concept of *dabar* again. Greek tradition stressed the role and importance of words and language; thought came to be best expressed in language,[14] and thereafter in other forms such as rituals. The practice of verbalizing everything became the dominant style of Western thinking, with philosophy and literature accordingly using accurate and specific forms of expression.

The definition of Christian beliefs was the work of Christian councils of theologians and theological lawyers who used categories of Greek philosophy in the Latin language to try to express the nature of the Divine, of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. These exercises in verbalization gave rise to the statement for Christians in the form of a creed (*credo*, "I believe") stated in a set of propositions. The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the later Confessions of Faith of the sixteenth century are monumental illustrations of the tradition. There is no counterpart in Japanese religion to this approach, not even within Buddhism.

Western religions are predominantly religions of revelation with defined beliefs. Perhaps most decisive of all is the degree to which Western religion with its emphasis upon revelation has rejected and devalued natural religion or religions of nature. In the view of the nineteenth-century approach to

"primitive religion"—to any religion that had a regard for nature or that saw religion as "natural" to human beings—revelation was considered superior. The Christian revelation was made the standard of all religions. Anything that differed was downgraded or condemned. This explains the existence of some of the views of Shinto noted earlier in this introduction. The "superiority" approach, along with the peremptory dismissal of mythology that it entailed, was challenged by Mircea Eliade, who claimed that such out-of-hand rejection of what he called *archaic ontology* had not only robbed the human intellectual task of many potential insights but at the same time had left a negative legacy within the development of Western thought.[15]

Religion, folk customs, and superstition are firmly distinguished from religion in the Western tradition, which has tried to place religion and reason in high prominence and to dispel ideas of a universe in which there is anything but Divine Providence. However, under influence from China, Japanese religion also accepted and used the Oriental Zodiac and did not reject fortune-telling. The fortune-teller in Japan has a long history, going back to the earlier times, and he still exists. The preference for auspicious days in the calendar, the avoidance of unlucky days, and seeking the advice of a fortune-teller regarding when to travel, marry, to have children are still very common. Intelligent and successful business people are not immune either. Before moving the desk in an office, some still have the fortune-teller come and give advice. This is in sharp contrast to the West, where such actions are associated with the occult or semi-occult and therefore are not approved by official religion. To people who live in a totally demythologized universe, it is all nonsense. The same cannot be said of Japan.

The monothesim versus polytheism typology is another potential framework of misunderstanding. The *kami* of Japan tended early on to be geographically limited in their spheres of influence; therefore, concepts of universality or the power of a *kami* outside a certain area were late in developing. If *kami* is equated with "god," the case for Shinto being classified as polytheistic seems closed. But the *kami* of Japan all share the nature of *kami* even though they have many manifestations. Polytheism and monotheism are Western terms that were designed to contrast phenomena from totally different religious worlds. Furthermore, there is within Western religion the standing claim of Islam that Christianity is polytheistic. Buddhism is not even theistic, yet in Japan the Buddhas and the *kami* are sufficiently close to make the case that Japanese Buddhism might be considered a form of polytheism!

The rituals surrounding the death of Emperor Hirohito and the accession of Emperor Akihito drew attention to another mistaken Western assumption, namely, that sacral societies are part of past civilization, or that their existence is incompatible with modern industrialization. One principal rea-

son why the Imperial system, the *tennōsei*, is not satisfactorily discussed in the West, especially in the press and in magazines, it that the models on which thinking is built fail to recognize that Japanese society is still in some regards a sacral society, one in which sacral kingship is exercised by the Emperor. The importance of this, and the rituals, is simply not grasped; until it is, questions and problems surrounding the Imperial system will remain nebulous in the extreme. In the famous movie about Japan's final moments before surrender, *Nihon no Ichiban Nagai Hi* (Japan's Longest Day), in anticipating the surrender and its implications one politician makes the observation that "So long as the *Tennōsei* survives and the rituals are followed, Japan will continue to exist." It is doubtful if the modern Western mind is equipped to grasp that kind of "archaic" logic. Emperor Hirohito's denial of divinity should be understood against this background. First, he was never regarded as divine in the Western sense of the "divinity of Christ." Second, as later commentators have remarked, the outward form changed little because he continued to perform the roles that were his duty before the "change of status."

Western models can be unhelpful at best and decisively misleading at worst. Because of their dominant historical consciousness, Western religions tend to stress exclusivity. In contrast to this, consider the fascinating situation in Japan whereby people can belong to more than one religious group at any one time. In the New Religions, this comes out very clearly. In being invited to join one or another of these groups at different times, I was assured that I could retain whatever other religion I had. The new one would simply add depth to what I possessed already. For example, the idea of being baptized a Protestant and dying a Roman Catholic would be considered equivalent to soliciting a passport to hell in some conservative evangelical quarters. "No man can serve two masters" is often quoted as justification for this. Søren Kierkegaard used the title *Either/Or* for one of his writings that makes precisely this point, the need to make a decision to believe and to be committed to that belief. The nature of commitment in some religions may ultimately call for or demand a degree of exclusiveness. This, of course, can also have a darker side. The mutual lack of tolerance within and between Islam, Judaism, and Christianity has been a regrettable source of many religious conflicts throughout Western history. But are commitment and exclusiveness logically entailed states of mind? Tolerance (*kanyō*) is a feature of Japanese religion that the Westerner often misinterprets as lack of commitment or lack of seriousness. The truth is far from this. The Japanese see religion in such a way that it would not be a matter over which they would go to war. It should enhance life, not destroy it. What religion can justify killing another human being because he defines "God" in a different way? What kind of god would approve of this?

Japanese religion is free from the ideological taints that make Western religions sources of potential violence as well as grace. It was the crude

display of such a lack of *kanyō* (tolerance) that led to the expulsion of Christianity from Japan in the sixteenth century. The Franciscan missionaries from the Philippines attacked Japanese religion with aggressiveness and hostility, burning shrines and temples and simultaneously giving the government a great deal of concern about what kind of society would be created if Roman Catholic Christianity were permitted to expand.[16]

Finally, in the Western mind there remains for some the problem of the lingering image of State Shinto. Alongside the development of Shinto as a folk way, there was an input from the government that climaxed in the late nineteenth century.[17] From the Meiji period onward, in spite of protests from many Shinto leaders the government used Shinto as a unifying national ideology. This occurred along the lines of the fabricated blood and soil ideologies that served the causes of national unification in nineteenth-century Europe. This aspect of Shinto was most readily identified in the West as the source of Japan's wartime militarism. Even a cursory look at Japanese society will show that Japan had all the makings of a military society long before State Shinto came on the scene. After 1946 Shinto returned to its former status, although it has continued to bear the stigma of its abused past. It is also a fact that during the era of State Shinto (*Kokka Shinto*) many shrines were forcibly merged against the will of local communities; and not a few of these, enjoying postwar liberation, were restored by those who thought their shrines had been improperly treated by the government. Also, some Shinto priests took a dim view of both State Shinto and the Pacific War.

SHINTO IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

Shinto today comprises a loose agglomeration of approximately 80,000 shrines. Among these are 200 that are central shrines of various *kami*, cults, or districts; and over 2,000 that could be called major shrines.[18] They can be classified according to their historical standing, location, or the particular *kami* that are enshrined in them. Although in certain regards they are different in their function from Western churches, shrines contribute to the survival of "Shinto" in the abstract, as the structure of beliefs and ideas that undergird the fabric of Japanese life and society in private as well as in public.

The general support for Shinto and for Shinto shrines is more readily observed at some times of the year than others. Festivals are still central events of community life, as they have been for centuries. It is in these that the heart of old Japan can most easily be seen, beating with strong rhythmic intoxication to the flute and the drums. Fields and farmhouses as well as factories and firms still acknowledge the way of the *kami*. The strategic location of shrines makes it obvious that they fulfill a role in the national way of thinking that would take more than a government edict to oblit-

erate. The worldview of Shinto remains the *Weltbild* or *Weltanschauung* of the Japanese, the principal source of self-understanding within the Japanese way of life. Shinto is indeed a religion that is "caught" rather than "taught," its insights "perceived" before they are "believed," its basic concepts "felt" rather than "thought." As one eminent Japanese of an earlier generation observed, Shinto is interested not in *credenda* but in *agenda*, not in things that should be believed but in things that should be done.[19]

The finest possible introduction to Shinto, which underlines how much it is a religion of experience, is to take part in a festival, to help carry the portable shrine (*omikoshi*) or pull one of the great wagons through the streets. For the truly adventurous, I suggest making the journey to a mountain shrine to plunge into an ice cold waterfall at midnight with crisp, frozen snow on the ground. In *misogi shuhō*, purification under a free-standing waterfall, the cosmic, the mysterious, and the energizing life of the waterfall meet and explain more eloquently than any number of words why Shinto, with neither scriptures nor saints, has survived as the basis of Japanese religion and culture and why it will continue to remain the living spiritual roots of Japanese culture.

NOTES

1. Englebert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, 2 volumes (London 1727)), tr. by J. G. Scheuchzer.

2. W. G. Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods* (Longmans, London, 1905), p. 377.

3. *Nihon Shoki*, Book XXI.

4. The etymology of *kami* is complicated by the fact that the term was in use in Japanese before the written script was introduced from China. Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) thought it was derived from *kabimoye*, meaning "to grow and germinate." Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) said it was an abbreviation of *kagami*, "mirror." Another suggestion was an abbreviation of *kashi-komi*, "reverential awe." Hori Hidenari (1819–1897) suggested a reference to the dual aspects of the divine: *ka*, meaning "something concealed," and *mi*, meaning "something visible." *Ka*, meaning "strange," and *mi*, meaning "a person," was another explanation. The dictionary lists several words pronounced as *kami* but having different Chinese characters assigned to them. The principal ones are (1) top or upper part (of a district), (2) seasoning, (3) feudal lord, (4) housewife, (5) paper, and (6) hair. Numbers 5 and 6 are pronounced a little differently, with the tone falling on the second syllable. The study of Shinto words and their origin is a basic form of research, particularly in the study of *Kotodama*, the spiritual meaning of words in the *norito*.

5. Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige*, 1917 (*The Idea of the Holy*, Pelican, London, 1959).

6. *Tao* is almost as versatile in Chinese as *logos* (word) was in classical Greek. *Tao* is used in the New Testament to translate *logos* (John 1:1).

7. The etymology of *shizen* is a combination of *ji*, meaning "self," and *zen*,

meaning "to decree": "That which moves by its own decree," rather different from *natura* in Latin.

8. Yamamoto Yukitaka, *Kannagara to Shinto* (Shinryusha, Tokyo, 1971) pp. 13–18.

9. See Chapter 10 for a fuller discussion of this issue.

10. The government, inspired by the Liberal Democratic Party, has unsuccessfully initiated five bills to this effect in the National Diet since 1946. See Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State* (Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 145–157.

11. Dr. Ernest Lokowandt of the East Asia Society House in Tokyo made such claims in a paper read to a joint meeting with the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1982.

12. Stuart D. B. Picken, "Religiosity and Irreligiosity in Japan: Aspects of *mushūkyō*," *Japanese Religions* 11 (December 1979): 51–67.

13. Joseph Spae, *Japanese Religiosity* (Tokyo, Oriens Institute for Religious Research, 1971), pp. 218–219. The data are based on pre-1970 research.

14. Ernst Fuchs, *Gesammelte Aufstäze Zur Frage nach dem historischen Jesus* (J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1960), pp. 143–167, 219–430.

15. Mircea Eliade, *Le Mythe de l'éternel retour: archétypes et répétition* (NRF Paris, Library Gallimard, 1949). The first English version was *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History* (Princeton University Press, 1954).

16. Immaneul Kant, in his *Essay on Perpetual Peace* (Library of the Liberal Arts Edition, Bobbs Merrill Press, New York, 1957, pp. 22–23), positively applauded the action of the Edo government in expelling Roman Catholic missionaries because they were perceived as a subversive threat to an ordered society.

17. Japan was merely following the international trend toward self-defining forms of nationalism. Whereas Prussia and Italy created these in the interests of national unity, Japan's isolation had engendered greater cultural homogeneity than was possible in Europe. This may be one reason why Japan's nationalism took such radical and extreme forms.

18. For names, addresses, and telephone numbers, see *Sourcebook of Shinto* (Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, forthcoming).

19. Nitobe Inazo, *Bushidō: The Moral Ideal of Japan* (Heinemann, London, 1924), p. 24.

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Part I

HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY

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Chapter 1

Historical Aspects of the Development of Shinto

HISTORIOGRAPHY, JAPANESE HISTORY, AND SHINTO

The writing of history is more than a matter of reading documents, gathering information, and drawing conclusions. History, the past, is inaccessible directly to the present precisely because it is the past, witnessed only by those alive at the time. Without the exercise of what R. G. Collingwood called the a priori historical imagination,[1] no reconstruction of history is possible at all. This is evidenced by the way in which archaeological research calls for such imagination to interpret the use of utensils, for example, in recreating the life of a past civilization within the mind of the researcher. In the case of shinto, immediate experience of its artifacts and rituals as well as the study of documents become means of gaining access to the secrets of the past. The researcher may then produce interpretations that are actually judgments on what has been observed. This does not imply that historical research is arbitrary, but it means that the organization of information and its subsequent evaluation is selective and is based upon insights the researcher has gained by sifting through the materials of the past. Consequently, different theories have been formulated about the historical origins and development of Shinto. In examining these, two important points should be borne in mind.

First, the historical development of Shinto cannot be separated from the entire history of Japanese religion, including that of Buddhism, Confucianism, and other continental influences that have interacted for centuries. The fate of Shinto has been intertwined with the fate of Emperor's courts in different eras, with the rise and fall of powerful Buddhist groups, and with the overall destiny of the nation. This makes it difficult to speak of Shinto as having an independent history as a religion. Nevertheless, an identifiable strand of tradition can be isolated for discussion and called the de-

velopment of Shinto in Japan. However, we must recognize that when the term *Shinto* is used, the denotation might be similar but the connotation in different eras may vary considerably.

Second, although there is Shinto with a capital "S"—the religion, the cults, the shrines, and the rituals—there is also shinto with a small "s." The latter exists not only in rituals and acts of reverence but more so in the attitudes that find expression in many actions of daily life, like taking baths at night or washing the porch of the house every morning. These attitudes are both derived from and embedded in mindsets and linguistic forms that function like an implicit metaphysic, guiding thought and behavior firmly but almost imperceptibly.[2] Throughout the text, the distinction between the two has been carefully maintained. However, the distinction is easier to draw than to apply, owing to the fact that various shrines and priests within the tradition (Shinto with a capital "S") have developed their own forms of shinto (with a small "s") because they also became the popular beliefs of masses of people. There is a further distinction to be noted: a distinction between cults that have their roots in the written Japanese mythology, and cults that came into existence at a later date or through folk traditions.

Shinto: Cult of the People or the State?

This question is raised because Shinto has been described as the source of Japan's creative spirit[3] on the one hand, and as an incorrigible source of militaristic nationalism[4] on the other. Although the roles need not be incompatible, the question draws attention to two faces of Shinto. There are folk origins as well as cults encouraged by governments, and these have not always coexisted harmoniously. There have been times of conflict and times of peaceful growth. In the creation of State Shinto, the conflict is seen at its height. The Meiji period government, in the interests of manipulating Shinto as a state ideology, was prepared to sacrifice the entire popular spirituality of Shinto to the extent of suppressing shrines and removing *kami* from communities. This underlines the dual origins of Shinto and the ways in which local and national interests have not always been harmonized. Sect Shinto (of the late Edo period) and the New Religions (of the twentieth century) show striking parallels in their development. They are windows that enable the outside observer to see into the popular religious mind. The august status of the Grand Shrines of Ise and the veneration with which they are regarded illustrate the awesome respect in which the Imperial tradition is held, along with its primal *kami*, Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun.

The chart in Diagram 1[5] is arranged in parallel columns. It presents a historical diagram of the era of Japanese history and the various cults and traditions that developed within them. It distinguishes the two sets of ori-

gins: those that can be assigned to the work of non-institutional religious leaders, mountain holymen, and local folk religious culture; and those that the government chose to encourage, support, or manipulate for the purpose of greater political and social control. The creation of State Shinto in the early years of Meiji brings these lines together. The diagram closes with the establishment of the Voluntary Association of Shinto Shrines (the *Jinja Honchō*) in the postwar era.

The Problem of Sources

Shinto is highly visible in Japan, but not so readily accessible to historical investigation. It survives primarily in rituals. If you look at ancient drawings of the removal of the *kami* of the Grand Shrines of Ise to a renewed building every twenty years (*Shikinen Sengū*) and at a modern photograph, the angle of carrying the canopies has probably not changed since the Heian age or before. The rituals have to be studied, their significance stated, and their meaning interpreted by drawing out the implications of the symbolism involved.

Documents do exist from individual shrines or eras, but most date from the introduction of the writing system from China. The Japanese mythology and the various codes that exist in written form all postdate the arrival of Buddhism. Later texts like the *Engishiki* assemble and collate already existing formulas and forms but give no indication of their age. As Japanese history progresses, documents in the form of government records and the records of individual shrines begin to accumulate and a composite picture begins to emerge. In the early phases, however, the archeologist must be given pre-eminence as the principal researcher of Japan's pre-Buddhist heritage.

Chart of the Development of Shinto

Era	Folk Tradition (Popular Origin)	Government-Acknowledged (Political Origin)
Jōmon	Primitive Religion	
	(1) Animism	
	(2) Nature Worship	
Yayoi	(3) Ancestral Reverence	
	(4) Shamanism	
	(5) Agricultural Rites	

Kofun	Primitive Shrines *Ujigami* of clans	Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are recognized by the Court
Taika Reform 645–650	*Jinja Shinto*	Imperial Shinto Nakatomi clan chieftains as priests
Nara 711–794		Rise of Hachiman *kami*
Heian 794–1185	*Shimbutsu shūgō kei Jinja* combined shrines and temples Rise of *Jingū-ji*	*Honji-suijaku-setsu* (Assimilation Principle) *Sannō-Ichijitsu Shinto* (*Tendai-shū*) *Ryōbu-Shinto* (*Shingon-shū*)
Kamakura 1185–1333	*Hokke-Shinto* (Lotus Shinto) (Nichiren) *Shugendō* and *Mikkyō*	*Ise Shinto* formalized *Yoshida Shinto* (Yoshida Kanetomo 1435–1511) *Yuiitsu Gempon Sōgen Shinto* *Urabe Shinto*
Muromachi 1333–1600	*Yashikigami*	*Gakuha Shinto* *Yoshikawa Shinto* *Watarai Shinto* (Watarai Nobuyoshi 1615–1691) *Suiga Shinto* (Yamazaki Anzai 1618–1682)
Edo 1600–1868	*Minkan Shinto* *Inari Shinko* *Kyōha Shinto* *Tenri-kyō* *Kurozumi-kyō* *Konkō-kyō*	Restoration Shinto *Kokugaku* Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) Expansion of *Jingū-ji*
Meiji Restoration 1868		Separation of Buddhism and Shinto *Shimbutsu-bunri*
	KOKKA SHINTO *(STATE SHINTO)* *Jinja Honchō* Post-1945	

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORIC ROOTS
(B.C. 7000–552 C.E.)

The ancient Japanese probably began to form a civilization around the eighth century B.C., although no exact dates can be given.[6] Archaeologists identify the following periods.

Jōmon (Neolithic): B.C. 7000–250

This era is identified by Stone Age clay pottery with distinctive *jōmon* rope markings made by pit-dwellers of obscure origins who lived by hunting and fishing. Japan's oldest pottery dates to before 10,000 B.C., which is early by world standards. The relationship between religious rites or practices that existed then and what later became Shinto can only be a matter of speculation. For example, figures have been discovered in Ehime Prefecture etched on small stones and clearly depicting the female form, perhaps anticipating the fact that the primal divinity of the Japanese of later days would be female. Some have been found set up on other stones, almost like an altar, although most are in fact broken.

Burial methods included folding the body, which is thought by some scholars to imply the fetal position and therefore a belief in life after death. In common with ancient peoples of other cultures, large cemeteries have been found. These tell very little about religious belief but indicate that some social hierarchy had begun to develop and that there was a clear desire to isolate the dead from the living. Burial jars have been found in addition to burial pits and stone graves.

At Ōyu in Akita Prefecture, there is an artifact in the middle of a field consisting of two sets of circles made of flat stones, each with an upright stone to the northwest of the center. This is known as the *Nonaka-do*. It appears to have been a place for communal religious observance. Beneath some of these are pits for graves containing various artifacts typical of the Stone Age. In this regard Japan shows the same impetus to ritual and symbol as is found in other primitive civilizations at a comparable stage of development.

Yayoi (Bronze-Iron): B.C. 250–c. 100 C.E.

Yayoi is a Tokyo district that gave its name to pots found in 1884 that identified a culture between the neolithic and proto-historic eras. Evidence exists of a sedentary rice-culture and metalwork in the form of spears, a few swords, and mirrors in bronze. These appear to have been used for religious rituals. Settled community life led to people associating themselves with particular places.

Items belonging to this era include *dōtaku* (metallic bell-like artifacts) along with the bones of deer that may have been used in fortune-telling. Some of these are quite large, being one meter or more in height. They are often found buried and may have been used in religious rituals rather than funerary ones. Burial methods included cists, jar burials, and clustered pots in pits. The *dōtaku* are restricted to the Yayoi era and vanish with the coming of the *kofun* type of burial mound.

The Japanese classics, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, although later in composition, document the sense of awe with which the ancients viewed certain

aspects of nature. These impressive realities they called *kami*, and it is here that the origins of *kami* worship can be detected. Some of the earliest terms and concepts of Shinto began to be coined, such as spirit (*tama*) or sacred object (*mono*). The beginnings of the Japanese festival (*matsuri*) can be traced to the oldest and most primitive form of worship of such *kami* in the emerging Japanese society of that age.

Kofun (Proto-Historic): 2nd Century–552 C.E.

This was the era of large burial mounds for Japan's early leaders. The tomb of Emperor Nintoku in Osaka occupies eighty acres. This indicated the growth of social differentiation and the rise to political power of a few families with the emergence of the Yamato court.[7] The earliest signs of the development of the Japanese state can be traced to the growth of the Yamato clan's cult and its rising power. The massive burial mounds were known as *kofun*, of which there were several types.[8]

Numerous mountain religious sites have been found dating to this era, but none have any apparent link with the burial mounds. Isonokami and Mt. Miwa in Nara Prefecture are two such places. To this era also date many of the interesting items found on the islands of Okinoshima, off the shore of Fukuoka Prefecture, which traditionally marked the ocean boundary between Japan and Korea. Because of its location as well as its awe-inspiring appearance, it has been revered as a *kami* for centuries and contains a wealth of artifacts from early eras that speak of the cultic practices of the fourth and fifth centuries in which beads, mirrors, and horse-related items were used. These rituals were probably among the earliest of which remnants and evidence remain. In west Japan, sites on which similar rituals were held became the earliest shrines of succeeding eras. The use of mirrors prefigures the later use of mirrors as symbols of the divine (*goshintai*). The divine beings revered in these early ages seems to have been the *kami* of the mountains and the oceans, as they came to be known more formally when Shinto developed. What kind of rituals were performed or what kind of emotions they evoked we can only imagine, but certainly divine beings were revered and offerings were made to them. To these were added eventually divine beings of the land itself and specially sacred spaces. All of these are still recognizable aspects of Shinto.

Roots of the Tradition

From general descriptions of these early periods, plus a reading of Japan's oldest written texts, six fundamental roots an be identified and defined. Although they are not unique to Japan or Shinto, their significance in the context of Japan's natural environment as well as the influence of Chinese

culture makes the growth of Shinto as a Japanese religion more readily intelligible.

Animism. This belief sees life and divinity in all the phenomena of Nature from lightning to the winds and rain. The ancient Japanese gave these names and called them *kami.* Animism is simply a way of recognizing and responding to an encompassing sense of life in all its forms. In the festival, Shinto celebrates the vitality of life and its power to endure. The oldest Japanese cult was probably the belief that ancestral spirits resided in nearby mountains, coming down in spring to assist the community through harvest and returning after the fall. This is known as *Sangaku Shinkō.*[9]

Nature Worship. Closely linked to animism, nature worship is the general Japanese reverence for nature and the origin of shrines in places of great natural beauty. Shinto in this sense may be described as both natural (rather than revealed) religion in its most basic sense and as a religion of nature. Shrine buildings were located in places that were considered sacred, and natural objects that overtly manifested a sense of divinity were marked with a sacred rope called a *shimenawa.* These may be found over the tops of waterfalls, around trees at the entrance to shrines, and in many other places.

Ancestral Reverence. This is found in Japan as in most Asian nations. A late nineteenth-century resident of Japan, Lafcadio Hearn, called it Japan's ultimate religion, meaning that any religion coming into Japan either had to come to terms with it or risk not finding a place in Japanese society. Buddhism was required to alter fundamentally many of its doctrines, notably reincarnation, because they were not consistent with ancestral reverence. Modern Japanese are no less meticulous in matters pertaining to funerals and ancestors than were those in previous eras. Most recent research shows that it continues to be a powerful social and political force.[10]

Shamanism. This belief has a long history in Japan.[11] Most probably, the early Empresses were shamanists, a role that is not inconsistent with the kind of power they wielded. A Chinese document[12] records eighty years of civil war preceding the installation of shaman "queen" Himiko, who died around 247 C.E. Another civil war broke out when a male succeeded her, and only after a thirteen-year-old girl had been made "queen" did peace return. The training of youths to be shamans for the divining of harvest prospects continues in modern Japan, particularly in the Tokohu region.[13] Famous also are the blind women shamans at Osorezan. They claim to have direct contact with the dead, and people resort to them for communication with their deceased relatives and friends. The fortune-teller and the shaman combine and are still found active, even in the modern city.

Agricultural Rites. Thee appear in references to the *kami* of the stars breaking down divisions between rice-fields. The principal shrine festivals coincide with sowing, harvesting, and the cycle of rice cultivation, as do the related Imperial Household rituals, showing how profoundly Shinto is

related to the agricultural year. Modern life still receives its framework from the Shinto calendar. New graduates are employed by companies in spring, from April 1, when the school year also commences. Police and schools seasonally change uniforms, and department stores do the same with their staff liveries. Seasonal awareness has always seemed important in Japan, perhaps because the four seasons are more clearly distinguished there than they are in some other countries.

Lustration. Bathing in rivers to be rid of pollution has long been associated with Japanese culture. The Chinese Wei Dynasty records noted that the Japanese bathed in rivers after a funeral. This predates the composition of the mythical narrative of Izanagi washing himself in the river after visiting the kingdom of impurity and darkness (*Yomi no kuni*) in search of his dead wife, Izanami. Purification is one of the most distinctive ideas of Shinto that lies at the root of Shinto's most central and common ritual. Priests may be seen waving a wand of paper streamers on building sites, at weddings, over an automobile for road safety, or even over politicians prior to elections in the public act of purification (*oharai*). Other forms of ritual purification can and do involve water. The ocean, lakes, rivers, and waterfalls are all used. It has been suggested that the Japanese fondness for the bath may be traced to the idea of lustration as a central religious concept. It is certainly connected with the desire to keep everything clean and fresh, from the taxi cab to the entranceway into a company or a restaurant. The sparkle of fresh water adds more than a welcome. It shows respect to those who will enter. It would be hard to find a concept that better expresses the basic outlook of Shinto. Shinto is obviously much more than that, even in its broad origins; but as a uniting theme, purification (*harai*) is a useful explanatory concept.

CONTROVERSY OVER THE ORIGINS OF SHINTO

The question of the origins of Shinto is a controversial topic, especially among scholars in Asia, notably Chinese and Korean specialists. Tsunoda et al.[14] argue that Shinto was not the indigenous religion of the "Japanese," because they were not the first inhabitants of the islands and because the religions found in Japan came from elsewhere. Similar types of religious culture may be seen in other parts of Northeast Asia, especially Korea. Tsunoda also argues that the idea of referring to Shinto as the "National Faith of Japan" was very much the work of nineteenth-century Western scholars trying to discover Japan after the country's long isolation. He maintains that Shinto was an amalgam of diverse cults that later received strengthening from Han Dynasty Confucianism, Esoteric Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism, and Christianity.

This line of argument, popular among those who wish to trace the origins of Japanese culture to roots outside of Japan, raises a number of questions

on methodology and objectives. Regarding methodology, at a more general level there is the issue of the degree to which identification of origins can be used to weaken the validity of claims about unique aspects of development. Some historians present phylogenetic arguments, as though identifying origins in some way determines how the development should be interpreted. How and in what way origins and validity are related requires clarification. To claim, on ontogenetic grounds, that X cannot make adult decisions because he began his life as a child is hardly convincing! Discussions about the origins of Shinto should be separated clearly from what Shinto came to be within the evolution of Japanese civilization and its distinctive significance for Japanese self-understanding. Once developed, Shinto did become unique to Japan. Shinto as such did not develop anywhere else.

This point applies not only to Shinto but to a number of arguments of both Western and Asian scholars concerning the origins of the Japanese race and the Imperial family. These range from the emotional at best to the purely polemic at worst. Both Korean and Chinese scholars have made claims that are tantamount to saying that everything that developed in Japan came from China or Korea. Because the exact migration patterns of ancient peoples is not known, there is doubtless more truth in such claims that some Japanese scholars would like to recognize. The origins of Japanese culture are nonetheless complex and were probably eclectic. Unitary lines of explanation of the origins of a culture are to be suspected as concealing (pro or contra) an ulterior racist theme. From time to time, the Japanese Ministry of Education is accused by other Asian nations of trying to rewrite the history of the Pacific War. Their distress is understandable. But neither these nations nor their scholars are themselves entirely models of reasonableness. Anyone making an academic presentation on Shinto to an audience of local scholars in Asia will be fascinated (or frightened) by some of the reactions to even the most seemingly innocuous statements!

Returning to Tsunoda et al.'s arguments, it is possible to accept the points made but to reject the framework of understanding within which they are cast. Before Western scholars tried to excavate the roots of Japanese culture, Motoori Norinaga and the National Learning (*kokugaku*) movement tried to distinguish what was essentially Japanese from the Chinese overlay of culture by means of textual analysis of the Japanese classics. Among other things, it was concluded that the basis of Japanese religious thought was the doctrine of Amaterasu, in other words, a solar myth. Japanese culture may well have drawn elements from Northeast Asia, because metalwork—and later Buddhism—came through Korea. However, it should not be forgotten that Korea was an occupied nation at the time. Furthermore, the styles of architecture (e.g., the Grand Shrines at Ise) resemble Southeast Asian rice storehouses, or the storehouses of ancient South coastal China, built on stilts. Their designs probably originated there.

Such ontogenetic studies of Shinto may continue to reveal a complicated mass of diverse ideas and practices. Nevertheless, these factors do not preclude the possibility of designating the borrowed items as Japanese, because it was the emerging Japanese culture that integrated them into a worldview that later became part of Japan's cultural identity. The view of life embodied in the Japanese classics, although set forth in Chinese language, is quite different from any other views of life found in Asia. Arguments about diverse origins do not determine the identity of what their amalgamated form may in time become. In its history, Japan has borrowed so many elements from outside that it would be easy to claim that there is nothing "Japanese." However, under the mold of local influences these can become distinctively Japanese.

Critics of Shinto might point out that "State Shinto" was a fabrication of nineteenth-century ideology. I have no quarrel with this claim. I do, however, question any attempt to reduce all of Shinto to borrowed strands of culture. This would be to falsify history and to render unintelligible the early conflicts between Buddhism and Shinto that took place in their first encounters inside the Japanese court.

Arguments that Shinto and popular Chinese Taoism share common origins may be addressed in the same way. Asian folk religion has common elements, not least in ancestral worship and shamanism. Practices found in more traditional parts of Japan may be similar to what can be seen in Taiwan, for example, or in China. However, the place that these came to occupy in culture need not be the same—and in fact was not the same. The case of Okinawa, the former republic located between Taiwan and Japan, underlines the point. Although Okinawa is now a prefecture of Japan, Shinto really does not exist in Okinawa; and Okinawan folk religion is merely a distant cousin of Shinto. Arguments about identical origins would sound ridiculous. How, then, can we discuss the origins of Shinto in terms of Shinto and Japan itself? Apart from archaeological evidence, the Japanese classics offer a description of ancient Japanese life; from them we can inductively build a composite picture of the Yamato country of the time. In the narratives dealing with Amaterasu and Susano-o-no-mikoto, for example, there are references to rice cultivation, fences between fields, a palace, weavers, an iron industry, and the manufacture of mirrors and jewels.

> Therefore did the eight hundred myriad Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven . . . assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night . . . taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven . . . and taking iron from the Heavenly Metal-Mountains, calling in the smith . . . charging Her Augustness Ishikoridome to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor to make an augustly complete string of curved jewels.[15]

To this list might be added the existence of ceremonial harvest rites, domestic animals, and the art of weaving from the passage in which Susano-o-no-mikoto drops the skin of a spotted horse into the palace through a hole in the roof, which results in the death of a weaver working at the loom. From these accounts, it has been argued that the origins of the family or clan heads (*uji no kami*) can be traced to the development of consanguineous family life. Deceased leaders eventually came to be worshipped as protective *kami* of the living, combining the Japanese sense of awe with mainland Asian ancestral reverence. The honorary title *mikoto* probably derives its origin here, and later the simple term *kami* was used of them. Although little more can be said of a specific nature, certain characteristic attitudes and practices that are associated with Shinto can be seen, at least in generic form, both within the Japanese classics and in external references to Japan of the ancient period. To me, this is a fruitful and scholastically sound approach to origins, which will display nothing if nothing is there to be displayed. It does not treat the classics as an authority. It looks at them in an almost hermeneutic way and seeks to interpret origins. Much can be inferred about Japan from the types of descriptions given, although problems do remain—such as the meaning of the reference to an alligator,[16] hardly a native of Japanese waters.

ASUKA AND NARA PERIODS (552–794)

Asuka (552–710)

The emergence of Japanese society and the origins of the Imperial Family and the Yamato State are normally dated to this period, although mythological accounts of Japan's origins date the Imperial Family to about 660 B.C. It is probably safe to claim that the imperial institution was established in Yamato as a sacral kingship concerned with the combined duties of *kami* worship and government (*matsuri-goto*). The hegemony of the clan was far from beyond doubt in the early days, although the unquestioned authority of the Yamato clan had probably been established by the early Nara period at the latest. It remains the world's oldest hereditary office and has never been usurped by revolution throughout the history of its officially claimed 125 incumbents.[17] In the very early stages of its development, the term *Shinto* as such was not widely used. *Kami* worship was practiced, but the term *Shinto* later came to distinguish the older indigenous cult from Buddhism. Over the centuries Buddhism grew in power and influence; and because of the illustrious and colorful complexity of Chinese culture, Shinto became obscured. Although Shinto was not able initially to compete with Buddhism, it never ceased to be important and it was only a matter of time before its cultural power was steadily revived. In the *Nihon Shoki* account of Emperor Sūjin it is recorded that he instituted the distinction between

the *kami* of heaven and earth and identified lands and estates for their worship.[18] This can be dated with relative confidence to either 258 or 318 C.E. based on glosses in the text.

It was almost as a response to Buddhism that Shinto began to formalize itself and establish more permanent symbols of its character. With the building of Buddhist temples, for example, shrines began to appear in more permanent form instead of the older, loosely identified sacred spaces (*himorogi*) or places where a *kami* was worshipped in the open, usually surrounded by stones (*iwasaka*), both of which delineated sacred locations. The organization and classification of the various *kami* was probably the result of mainland influences and the distinction between heavenly and earthly *kami*. During the Asuka era, a code of laws was drawn up and Buddhism from China and Korea, which probably had been filtering in from mainland Asia with immigrants from generations before, finally received recognition in the Imperial Court. To mark this, the Horyu-ji was erected in Nara Prefecture. Prince Shōtoku (574–622), the famous Imperial regent, used Buddhist and Confucian ideas as the basis of his seventeen-clause[19] set of guidelines for national life, ways of life and thought that were intended to bring about national prosperity and harmony.

The Taika Reform (Taika no Kaishin, 645–646)

This was an early attempt at organizing the emerging nation hierarchically. A system of provincial districts was organized during the governmental restructuring known as the Great Reform (*Taika*). The two districts of Taki and Watarai in the province of Ise were gifted to the Grand Shrine of Ise as divine estates and thereafter similar land endowments were made to shrines such as *Izumo Taisha* and *Kashima Jingū*. During the reign of Emperor Tenmu (672–686),[20] the sacred office of the highest priestess (*itsuki no hime miko*) at Ise, also known as the *saiō*,[21] was again filled. The last occupant had been Sukate-hime-no-hime-miko, who died in the 29th year of the reign of Empress Suiko. The office of *saiguryō*, the government official at Ise responsible for the *saiō*, was also created. In addition, the practice of removing the Ise shrines to alternate sites (*shikinen sengū*) was decreed by the Emperor, a tradition that has continued in almost unbroken cycles of twenty years.[22] The annual cycle of festivals and other *gyōji*, or events, for major shrines was stylized and implemented on a nationwide scale. The identity and pattern of Shinto activities dates largely to the era of Emperor Temmu, the Hakuho period (645–710).

The ancient clan histories were corrected at this time to conform to "official" history. These histories included texts such as the *Teiki* and the *Kyuji* (neither of which now exist). This provided the formal basis for the traditions of the nation, both legend and myth as well as history, to be recorded and made publicly available.

Taihō Code (Taihō Ritsuryo)

The Code of the Taihō period was promulgated in 701[23] and entailed further restructuring of government, including major provisions for both Buddhism and Shinto. It set up a Council of State known as the *Dajōkan* and an office of Shinto affairs known as the *Jingikan* (office of *kami*). The authorization was contained in the *Jingiryō*, the part of the code that dealt with all matters relating to Shinto. Its chief official had the responsibility of ensuring that the *kami* were properly worshipped. His work also included the supervision of priestly families (*hafuri*) and the divine estates (*kanbe*), which had been given to very privileged shrines.

The *Jingiryō* classified shrine festivals into three ranks. First were major festivals (*Taishi*). This title was given exclusively to the *Oname Matsuri*, which is also known as the *Daijōsai*, the first celebration of the harvest festival by a new Emperor.[24] Second were middle-ranked festivals (*Chūshi*), which included the *Toshigoi* (the Spring Festival), *Tsukinami* (acts of thanksgiving performed on appointed days), and the *Kanname* or *Niiname* (Autumn Festival). Third were minor festivals (*Shōshi*), which included all remaining festivals anywhere throughout the country. All shrines nationwide were officially ranked and records of the important ones were kept in registers (*Kanshachō*), which were to be the responsibility of the office of the *kami* (*Jingikan*). The *Jingikan* also presented offerings to these shrines on the occasion of the *Toshigoi* and *Niiname* festivals. The establishment of regular rituals under government supervision, as well as the erection of buildings to house them, gave Shinto much of its ordered and nationwide character and led to the ranking and regulating of these facilities. Thus, Shinto grew in close relationship with the government and its supervision of national life while maintaining good relations with Buddhist institutions.

Nara Period Shinto (710–794)

Japan's second "capital," Nara, was designed and constructed on the grid model of a Chinese city, as was Kyoto in a later age. Some early Buddhist texts and sects appeared then, and for the first time the indigenous faith faced the danger of being eclipsed by the immigrant cult. The Japanese *kami* did not seem to be on a par with the grandeur surrounding the Buddhas and the awesome power of Chinese civilization. However, the Shinto *kami* were not in fact eclipsed; indeed, they became very much a part of the new civilization of Nara. Nara Buddhism grew under the influence of Emperor Shōmu (701–756), who was also the first Japanese Emperor to become a Buddhist priest; but it became a Buddhism designed to ensure the protection and prosperity of the State. The establishment of provincial temples called *kokubunji* (with convents called *kokubunniji*) was one aspect

of this policy, as was the building of the great bronze Buddha to protect the nation. The *Shoku Nihongi* records many problems that occurred at the casting of the Buddha and indicates that the *kami* Hachiman was invoked for protection. An oracle reportedly delivered the promise, "I will lead the *kami* of heaven and earth and without fail see to the completion of the Great Buddha."[25]

The germ of the later idea of assimilation can be seen by the way in which the *kami* Hachiman was involved in protecting the construction of the Tōdai-ji. Following this precedent, Japanese *kami* were invoked in the building of temples and monasteries and Buddhist sutras were read before them in shrines as an act of appreciation. The building of the Tōdai-ji was justified by various arguments, but mainly because of the words of the *kami* of the sun who appeared in a dream experienced by Emperor Shomu on 11 November in the 14th year of Tempyo (742). "This land is the country of the *kami*. The people should worship them, but the wheel of the sun is *Dainichi Nyorai*. The true nature (*honji*) is Vairocana. If sentient beings understand this logic, they should convert to Buddhism."[26]

The Nara period saw the development of Buddhism and the beginning of the unique relationship between Shinto and Buddhism that remains a distinctive feature of Japanese religious history. The favor with which Buddhism was received at the Imperial Court had much to do with its development. The origins of the rapprochement are traced by Kitagawa to two sources. First, there was a sociological factor. Although Buddhism was developing, in 737 there were over 3,000 recorded Shinto shrines, and temple owners found that people derived their sense of identity from their local *kami* and Shinto cults. They thought that if shrines were erected on their premises, they would be protected. Hence, the need for a *kami* to protect Buddhist establishments. This also led to the identification in 783 of Hachiman as a *bosatsu*, a bodhisattva.

The second point of meeting between Buddhism and Shinto came through the existence of the shamanistic Buddhist, the *ubasoku-zenji*. The ascetic, magician, healer, and medium functioned as a bridge between Shinto and Buddhism. Although not recognized by orthodoxy, these individuals roamed the countryside exerting their spiritual powers to achieve results that made people stand in awe of them, while their syncretistic ideas appealed to the ordinary religious consciousness. One early example was En-no-Shokaku (known by various names, including En no Gyōja),[27] who, among other things, claimed to have been an original disciple of Buddha and an Emperor of Japan in his previous existences. He was associated with Mt. Katsuragi and is credited with having acquired supernatural powers through ascetic practice. His popularity among the populace troubled the government and the Buddhist aristocracy; eventually, by order of Emperor Mommu, he was banished to the island of Izu at the beginning of the eighth century. The popularity of the *ubasoku* lay in the way they mediated a kind of Buddhism that fitted Japan's traditional religious way

of thinking. The Buddha was depicted as a *marebito*, a *kami* who visits a community at special times to confer blessings, which strengthened the appeal of that type of religion.

Second, the religious institutions themselves were dominated by the aristocracy. Only aristocratic families could consider the religious life in terms of profession; consequently, like the *ubasoku*, lay religion was open for development. Third, the ordinary people of the Nara and later Heian period benefitted little from the splendor of the court. Their lives were filled with suffering, and the existence of such a healer and comforter gave them strength and hope in the face of adversity. The conflict between institutional Buddhism and the *ubasoku* was, as Kitagawa has aptly interpreted it, a conflict between a soteriological understanding of charisma (the official one whereby the ecclesiastical voice is officially transmitted and the charisma is handed on in that way) and an eschatological understanding of charisma in terms of a creative spirituality and immanental eschaton of healing and hope.[28] This might also be considered one root of the dual-source view of Shinto, the government-sponsored as opposed to the folk origins of the tradition.

Reconciliation between the two required the maximum effort at cooperation by Emperor Shomu and Gyōgi Bosatsu (670–749).[29] Gyōgi was disliked by the orthodox priests, who rejected his teachings as superstition. He was arrested in 717 for teaching a doctrine of meritorious works among the peasants. He taught that the way of the holy man (*hijiri*) was the way to salvation. To ordinary people he was a *bosatsu*. He was eventually appointed by the Emperor as the leading ecclasiastic in the court, and it was with his cooperation that the great Buddha of Nara was finally put in place.

In spite of the growth of Buddhist power, one incident showed that the *kami* still retained their ancient authority. A Buddhist monk, Dōkyō,[30] tried to usurp the throne because of his favor with Empress Shotoku; but he was foiled by an oracle from the Usa Hachiman Shrine of Kyushu declaring him to be unacceptable and barring him from further office. It is surprising that in the midst of a heavily Buddhist ecclesia, a shrine oracle should have so much authority. Yet it did, and it underlies the complexity of the relationship between Buddha and *kami* in the Nara period. Buddhism was introduced primarily in the interests of modernizing Japan and bringing its culture into line with the great civilization of China. The purpose was not the salvation of people's souls but the protection of the State.[31] The earliest Buddhist sutras were read to bring on rain for rice-growing; and even by the end of the Nara period, Buddhism remained very much the property of the court and the government. Hence the conflict with people such as Gyōgi. By the end of the Nara period, the rapport between Emperor Shōmu and an unorthodox figure like Gyōgi had pointed the way toward a future symbiosis of the traditions, although no matter how closely integrated they became, basic differences remained. The gap between the official and orthodox tradition and the *ubasoku*, the holy man of the people, was con-

siderably narrowed. This provided the background to the Heian age, which took these developments one stage further. Nevertheless, the fortune-teller, the popular shaman, the healer, and the charismatic remains very much at the core of popular Japanese religion. He has never been displaced.

HEIAN PERIOD SHINTO (794–1185)

Although Chinese influence remained, the removal of the capital to Kyoto encouraged the flourishing of distinctive styles of Japanese art and literature. The Heian period was a time of relative stability and cultural flowering, which still lives in the artifacts and atmosphere of the city of Kyoto. The world's first novel, the *Tale of Genji*, was written by Lady Murasaki. Esoteric Buddhism (*Shingon*) was introduced from China by Kūkai (774–835), later known as *Kōbō Daishi*, and semi-esoteric Buddhism (*Tendai*) by Saichō (767–822), later known as *Dengyō Daishi*. The Pure Land sects, *Jōdo* and *Shin*, emerged under the local leadership of Hōnen (1133–1212) and Shinran (1173–1262); they represent the reduction of Mahayana Buddhism to a very simple form of belief and rituals more in keeping with Japanese tastes. Within Shinto, various developments were also taking place. Some were concerned with the government organization and systematic ordering of shrines and worship; others were concerned with Shinto's relationship with Buddhism.

Government Systematization of Shinto

Suppression of Taoism. If an ordinance of 791 relating to rituals is considered as evidence, suppression of Taoism and a general anti-Chinese sentiment seemed to be growing. The *Shoku Nihongi* (November 787)[32] records that four years earlier Emperor Kammu had performed worship of the heavenly *kami* at Katano following what seemed to be a Taoist ritual. A small circular hill was set up on the day of the winter solstice on which sacrifices were offered to heavenly beings. All this was to be terminated. The edict also forbade farmers in specifically named provinces (including Ise and Omi, Echizen and Kii) to slaughter animals as sacrifices to (Chinese) Taoist deities.

The Practice of Chinkon: Pacification Rites. These began in the Heian court, a place of intrigue and scandal where malicious gossip could lead to the sudden rise and fall of courtiers and politicians. When they died (as they often did) in exile or from an assassin's knife, subsequent natural disasters were frequently attributed to their vengeful spirits. The idea of *chinkon*, of pacifying these vengeful spirits by reverencing them, led to worship known as *goryōe*. The first recorded instance took place in 863, when a service was held at the Shinsen-en gardens in Kyoto to calm the distressed spirits of Emperor Sudo, Prince Iyo, Fujiwara Fujin, Tachibana

no Hayanari, and Bunya no Miyatamaro. The most famous case was that of Sugawara Michizane, who died in exile in 903. Local Shinto cults grew out of some of these cases.

The Records of Ise. These began to be collected in 804, when two important documents were lodged with the *Jingikan* from the shrines at Ise: the *Kotai-Jingū Gishiki-chō* and the *Toyōke-gū Gishiki-chō.*[33] These were books of rituals and ceremonies along with other important information concerning the two shrines, including the explanation of their origins, foundation, and the details of priestly dress, the divine treatises, the system of shrine removal, the subordinate shrines, the divine lands, and the annual cycle of rituals. They are basic works of reference for the traditions of Ise, and they provide evidence of an organized system of Shinto that is intelligible in modern terms.

Shrine Endowment. This was approved in a document of 806[34] (included in the *Shin-Shokyaku-cho-kofu-sho*), which records that 4,870 agricultural households had been assigned to Shinto shrines, or *shinpo* (or *kanbe*, as noted earlier), showing that concern existed for the nationwide endowment and financial stability of shrines. In addition, the Imperial Princess was sent as *saiō* to the Grand Shrines of Ise, and another was sent to the Kamo Shrines in Kyoto as *saiin* (High Priestess to the shrines of Kamo). This occurred in 810 during the reign of Emperor Saga.[35]

Compilation of the Engishiki. The completed system of *kami* and rituals was finally drawn up and issued in 927.[36] The text is undoubtedly a watershed in the history of Shinto. It set into order things as they were at the time and thereafter exercised a formative influence upon all future developments. It includes many detailed rules and regulations governing everything from ritual practice and liturgy to priestly duties. Worship was detailed for specific occasions and times. There were regulations regarding the *Ise Daijinū*, the saigu-ryō, the *saiinshi* (*Jingikan* handling the business of the office of *saiin*), and the proper performance of the *Senso-daijōsai.* The liturgies (*norito*) were also written down or composed, and lists were compiled of the 2,861 shrines (along with the 3,132 enshrined *kami*) that were acknowledged by the *Jingikan* and designated as qualified to receive offerings. A system of ranks was introduced for the special shrines collectively referred to as *kansha.* Powerful shrines came under the management of the government, and a period of intense state control began.

The Twenty-Two Shrines: Ni-jū-ni sha. As time progressed, the sending of offerings to all the shrines on the list[37] was amended to the sending of Imperial envoys only to certain powerful shrines around the Kyoto area. The number of such shrines was initially fourteen, but in 1081 it was increased to twenty-two, the Twenty-Two Shrines. These included Ise, Iwashimizu, Upper and Lower Kamo Shrines, Matsuo, Hirano, Inari, the Upper Seven Kasuga Shrines, Ōharano, Ōmiwa, Iso no Kami, Ōyamato, Hirose, Tatsuta, the Middle-Seven Sumiyoshi shrines, Hie, Ume no Miya, Yoshida,

Hirota, Gion, Kitano, Niu, and the Lower Eight Kifune Shrines. This special ranking of twenty-two shrines remained in force until the mid-Muromachi era and functioned as a guideline for both the government and the common people, whose devotion centered around them.

The District First Shrines: Ichi-no-Miya. Certain important locally revered old shrines[38] came to be known as *Ichi-no-miya* (first shrines). The first reference to this system appears in the *Konjaku Monogatari*, where the term was applied to the *kami* known as Suo-no-kuni-tama-no-ya-Daimyōjin. The "first shrine" title was applied in each province to the shrine that drew the most widespread worship of the ordinary people. Many shrines still carry these titles, usually stated in the form of, for example, *Ise-no-ichi-no-miya* followed by the name of the shrine. *Ni-no-miya* and *san-no-miya*, second and third shrines, are also found. This shows that in addition to the national and government-backed shrines, recognition was given to local shrines derived probably from tutelary and clan *kami* (both *chinju* and *ujigami*), which were closely related to the daily lives of many ordinary people. These were given special attention and respect by government and common people alike.

Joint Shrines: Sosha. One noteworthy development regarding shrines of the Heian age was the establishment of *sosha*, or joint shrines, at which the worship of numerous *kami* could take place.[39] The *kami* of an entire province would be "invited" to a single provincial *sosha* and joint worship would be offered. In the same way, a large family would "invite" all the *kami* with which they had a relationship to a single clan *sosha* for special ceremonies.

Other developments within the Heian age belong to the assimilation of Buddhism and Shinto and the complex relationship that was slowly growing between them.

Relations between Buddhism and Shinto

The Creation of Shrine/Temples: Jingū-ji. Assimilation between Buddhism and Shinto, which could be seen germinally from the Nara period, began to express itself more concretely during the early Heian period. One significant development was the construction of *jingū-ji*, or shrine/temples. A document of the *Tado-Jingū-ji* records that in 763 the *kami* known as *Tado-no-kami* (of the *Tado Jinja in Tado-machi*, Kuwana, Mie Prefecture) issued an oracle on this. "It is my fate to have been born a *kami* but I wish straightaway to practice the Buddhist oath, shed my *kami*-body and became a Buddha. But I am troubled, without the ability to receive the necessary (good) karma. For this reason I desire that a place of (Buddhist) practice be established."[40] In response, a hall was erected for the purpose of training the *kami* in Buddhism. This was the origin of the *jingū-ji*, the most well known of which were *Tado-jingū-ji*, the *Kehi-jingū-ji* in Echizen (Fukui

Prefecture), the *Nangu-jingū-ji* in Mino (Gifu Prefecture), the *Atsuta-jingū-ji* (Nagoya city), and the *Kashima-jingū-ji* in Hitachi province (Ibaraki Prefecture).

Even the construction of the great esoteric temples such as the Kongobu-ji on Mt. Koya and the Enryaku-ji on Mt. Hiei required the cooperation and good will of the *kami* of these mountains. The ranking of Buddhas, *kami*, and men seemed to be accepted, although the relationship was more complicated in practice. For ordinary people, Shinto remained closest to their community life, because Buddhism retained the image of an aristocratic and courtly religion. The rapport between Buddhism and Shinto in the Heian period continued at the popular level with the introduction of many superstitious practices, some of which were eventually condemned and forbidden. However, it was the introduction of the two schools of Buddhism mentioned earlier, Tendai and Shingon, that made possible further developments of the relationship between Buddhism and Shinto. Both used rituals and ceremonies that must have been very impressive to the people of the Heian era, particularly the *goma* or fire rite.

Harmonization of Kami and Buddha: Shimbutsu Shūgō. This was one form of the system of ideas used to maintain harmony between Shinto and Buddhism. It can be traced to as early as 698, when the *Taki Daijingū* was moved. This is recorded in the *Zoku Nihongi*[41] as having taken place during the second year of the reign of Emperor Mommu. It is probably safe to say that it was a policy that had been in existence since the earliest encounter between Buddhism and Shinto, as a way of avoiding conflict and effecting harmony over the years.[42]

The concept of *honji-suijaku* (literally, "original essence, descended manifestation") can be viewed in a general way as the natural outcome of the process of *shimbutsu shūgō*, the close identification of interests between Buddhism and Shinto. The Buddhism of India was thought to be the *honji*, and the Japanese *kami* portrayed the *suijaku*. The *Iwashimizu Hachimangū Monjo* records that the government center in Dazaifu in Kyushu permitted one thousand copies of the Lotus Sutra to be placed in the *Hakozaki Jinja*.

Original Essence, Descended Manifestation: Honji-Suijaku. Developments led to the close identification of Buddhas and *kami* in the concept of *honji-suijaku*, which implied that the *kami* and Buddhas were one and the same. Actual listings in many cases were drawn up to show how the identification was to be understood. In 1175, the *kami* of the Kasuga *Taisha* were listed as follows:

Suijaku: Shinto		**Honji: Buddha**
Ichinomiya	Kashima-takemikazu-chino-kami	Fukūkenjaku Kannon
Ninomiya	Katori-iwai-nushi-no-mikoto	Yakushi Nyorai

Sannomiya	Hiraoka-amakoyane-no-mikoto	Jizō Bosatsu
Shinomiya	Aido-no-hime-no-kami	Jūichimen Kannon
Wakamiya		Monjushiri

The notion of *honji-suijaku* is first found in the Lotus Sutra, which is probably one reason why its role in Japanese religious thought has been so important. It was the idea that the understanding of Shinto *kami* and Buddhist deities could be in some way combined; it was first used (according to Matsunaga[43]) in the *Sandai-jitsuroku* (Chronological Description of the Three Generations of Emperors) written during the first years of Engi (901) and dated August 28 of the first years of Jogan (859). Eryō, of the Enryakuji, was granted two priests whom he requested to expound sutras for the *kami* at the Kamo and Kasuga shrines. At that time he stated: "When the Buddha leads existence he sometimes uses *jitsu* (truth) or *gom* (manifestation). The Nyorai reveals *jaku* (*suijaku*) and sometimes becomes a king or *kami*. Therefore when the noble king governs the nation, surely he will rely upon the help of the *kami*."[44]

The dating of its rise to the Heian period accords historically with the shift of the court from Nara (where Hinayana and semi-Mahayana types of Buddhism were introduced to Japan) to the Heian period, when Japanese religious thinkers such as Saichō and Kūkai took the initiative in combining the traditions. Esoteric Buddhism was more readily able to express the integration; this enabled Buddhism to come into contact with ordinary people, thus making it possible for popular forms to develop. *Honji-suijaku* is better understood not so much as a doctrine formulated by one person at a particular time but as a phenomenon brought about spontaneously by a great number of reasons that resulted in the creation of a new type of Buddhism and a new relationship between Buddhism and Shinto. It was with the two esoteric types of Buddhism that the first manifestations of the synthesis are seen, in *Ryōbu Shinto* in the Shingon tradition and in *Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto* in the Tendai tradition.

Shinto of the Two Parts: Ryōbu Shinto. This phase of development carried the principle of *honji-suijaku* further to the stage of actual unity between branches of Buddhism and Shinto. Kūkai took as his starting point the Shingon mystical concepts of the Diamond Realm and the Womb Realm, which were depicted on two Esoteric Buddhist *mandalas* (sacred cosmograms). There was the *Kongōkai Mandala*, known as the Diamond Mandala, and the *Taizōkai Mandala*, known as the Womb Mandala. The two parts were the two mandalas.

In this Dual Shinto, the *Naikū* of Ise was associated with the *Dainichi Nyorai* (Mahavairocana) of the Womb Realm and the *Gegū* was considered the equivalent to *Dainichi Nyorai* of the Diamond Realm. *Ryōbu Shinto* also made use of *mudras* (secret hand signs), *dharani* (mystical incanta-

tions), *yoga* (concentration), as well as *mandalas*, all of which found their way into aspects of Shinto rituals. The secret rituals were one way to achieve Buddhahood in the flesh and, consequently, to attain superior powers through spiritual exercises. Although it is neo-magical, this aspect has had great appeal. Heian-age priests performed *kaji-kito*, a ritual for the healing of the sick, exorcising ghosts, and safe delivery at childbirth. Traces of these are found in extant groups of Sect Shinto and in the Shinto-based New Religions.

Tendai Shinto. In this version of Shinto, which originated through the influence of Saicho, the *kami* known as Oyamakui no kami (who was worshipped at the *Hie Jinja* on Mt. Hiei) came to be known as *Sannō Gongen* (Mountain King avatar), a practice that followed a similar model in Tang China. The *honji* of this *kami* was considered to be Yakushi and the *honji* of Ōmiwa no kami was identified with Shaka, the historical Buddha. These relationships were explained through the Tendai concept of *isshin sangan* (one mind, three insights). The name *Sannō-Ichijitsu* means "Mountain King: One Truth."

Kumano Shinto. Around this period, the cults of the Kumano region began to develop. The appearance of mountain ascetics known as *shugenja* may be dated much earlier, but it was during the Heian period that the beginnings of cults that came to flower during the Kamakura period could be traced. During the latter part of the Heian age, the idea of the final age of the Buddhist Dharma law become widely influential under the concept of *Mappo*, and the Pure Land faith became popularly associated with the bodhisattva *Kannon*. This also developed in the Kumano area because Kumano was to the south of the capital and Kannon's place of dwelling was to the south as well. Three religious centers developed in Kumano, the *Hongu*, *Shingu*, and *Nachi*; these were known as the Kumano *Sanja*. Pilgrimages to Kumano became so popular that later literature referred to the "pilgrimage of ants to Kumano" led by retired Emperor Shirakawa, who made the first of twenty-three pilgrimages here in 1091. Kumano had long been known as the land of the *kami* and still attracts many visitors and pilgrims. Most famous of the Shinto/Buddhist relics of the age is the Kumano Mandala, a systematically assembled piece of syncretistic cosmological art.

Shinto at the Close of the Heian Period

Shinto had undergone dramatic change and transformation under the influence of Chinese culture. Externally, shrines came to be more colorful, typified by the *Kasuga Taisha* painted in bright vermilion, with dancers using ancient Chinese costumes. People continued to venerate the *kami*, but the *kami* were identified with Buddhas and even with *goryō*, the unhappy spirits. Buddhist priests and Shinto priests as well as those of other cults

offered the *goryō-e* to pacify these souls. *Hijiri*, holy men, continued to work incantations on the people, but doctrines of assimilation had become powerful. It is interesting, however, that both Saichō and Kūkai chose mountains as holy places for their temples, Saichō choosing Mt. Hie near Kyoto and Kūkai choosing Mt. Kōya in Wakayama. The natural appeal of mountains as places of spiritual encounter had not been displaced by the immigrant cult. It has been argued by some scholars that Japan became a truly Buddhist culture during that time because Shinto gave way to Buddhist influences. But is it so simple? It has been argued, on the other hand, that Buddhism compromised its essential character, its belief in reincarnation, and its moral principles in order to achieve that position. Kitagawa formulates the crucial question thus: "is is not equally true that Buddhism surrendered to the ethos of that nebulus religion of Japan, which lay deeper than the visible religious structure, commonly referred to as Shinto?"[45]

SHINTO IN THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185–1333)

The Rise of Minamoto

In 1192, the last cloistered ruler (*inezi*), retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, died and Minamoto Yoritomo established his military government (*bakufu*) in Kamakura, in effect moving the nation's capital to that city. The Imperial Court remained in Kyoto until the Meiji Restoration. This sequence of events began the Kamakura period. Minamoto no Yoritomo's earlier life was quite dramatic. He was captured after the Heiji uprising (*Heiji no ran* of 1160) and was sent in exile to Izu, where he spent twenty years until he was thirty-four years of age; at that time he began raising troops for a challenge to the government of the day. He seems to have developed a personal devotional faith in *Kannon* through those years. After 1180, when he began raising an army proper, he turned his devotions to *Hachiman kami* worshipping, particularly at the Tsurugaoka shrine in Kamakura. The Hachiman cult consequently grew widely due to its popularity with Yoritomo. However, he also maintained a reverential attitude toward the Grand Shrines of Ise. As a mark of respect, he donated estates known as *mikuriya* to shrines along with land-ownership rights called *ando*. There is a reference in a text known as the *Gyokuyo*[46] to Yoritomo presenting a general report to the Emperor in 1183 that referred to the promotion of shrines and temples in the *shinkoku*, the land of the *kami*. He actively cultivated this theme (taken from the *Nihon Shoki*) among popular ideas of the period. It was one part of his legacy that survived long after him.

Popular Religion and the Imperial Regalia

Various events took place during the Kamakura age that centered around the Imperial Regalia: the mirror, jewel, and sword. At the battle of Danno-

ura in 1185, the closing confrontation of the war between Taira and Minamoto, Emperor Antoku was drowned and the Imperial sword was lost as the Taira clan was routed. In 1183, when Antoku was with the Taira clan in west Japan, retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa presided over the accession rites of Emperor Go-Toba without any of the Imperial Regalia. The result of these events was dramatic and the significance of the Imperial Regalia came to be taken very seriously.

From the point of view of Buddhists of the time, the chaos was evidence of the coming end of the world, the era of *mappō*. The emerging power of Yoritomo seemed to offer hope. His reverence for the traditional Japanese *kami* seemed to qualify him for leading the nation into the future. His devotion to Hachiman was particularly beneficial to the growth of the cult. Yoritomo's reverence for the Imperial Regalia is recorded as impressive. Doubtless, he was using the Imperial system to legitimize himself as shogun, although it is unlikely that any Emperor would have been able to refuse him—especially because Antoku had been on the Taira side, which Yoritomo totally destroyed.

It remains an open question whether Yoritomo (or the Tokugawas four centuries later) genuinely revered the Imperial Household and the Imperial Regalia or whether a large degree of self-serving cynicism was the ultimate motivating factor. At any rate, the result was clear. Yoritomo was the unquestioned master. After peace had been restored (and here history may provide grounds for thinking that Yoritomo was sincere to some extent), he later quarreled with his brother Yoshitsune after the battle of Danno-ura, partly because he had permitted the young Emperor to die and partly because the Imperial sword had been lost as a result of lack of attentiveness to what was happening. In response, the Council of State drew up a series of regulations as the basis of social order. These were known as the *Goseibai shikimoku* or the *Joei* law, drafted by the Council of State in 1232 under the leadership of Hojo Yasutoki. The first lines read: "Shrines are to be maintained in good order and used dedicated to worship."[47]

The Grand Shrines of Ise began a major expansion of the cult at that time, emphasizing their own pre-eminence as the prime shrine of the *kami no kuni*, the land of the *kami*. It is to this time that the reverence of the masses for the Grand Shrines of Ise can be dated. Pilgrimages there also date from this period, and these began to supersede those made in the past to Kumano. The growth of the ideas of Ise Shinto began around this time.

The Emergence of Nichiren

Other developments that marked the age included the life of Nichiren (1222–1282), who appeared as a radical figure in Japanese Buddhism with his aggressive emphasis upon the Lotus Sutra. Zen arrived from China. The Mongols under Kublai Khan failed twice to invade, as Japan was saved by

the weather and the divine winds (the *kami-kaze*, as Nichiren designated them). However, Nichiren's name shows that the images of Shinto are never far from sight. The first character of his name means "sun" and the second means "lotus." His own enlightenment took place at sunrise, and he clearly had a deep sense of the *kami* of Japan as well as of the Buddha. From the tradition he established, *Hokke* (Lotus) *Shinto* developed.

Shugendō: The Way of Spiritual Power

Shugendō and Shinto in the Kamakura age were closely integrating to produce some of the unique features of Japanese religion. During the Heian age the tentative links began to flourish, but it was during the Kamakura age that the most significant developments took place. With the growth of ascetic religious practice in Esoteric Buddhism under the influence of both Saichō and Kūkai, many Buddhist temples came to be built in mountains, some in areas where shrines as far back as the ninth century had already been established. The two key terms, *shugen* (meaning to acquire spiritual powers through special discipline) and *shugenja* (someone who is in the process of acquiring or has acquired such powers), were introduced to describe these ascetics. They were also called *yamabushi* (literally, "those who lie down and sleep in the mountains") because they lived there for long periods of time. The goals of *Shugendō* were apparently to try to find ways of drawing spiritual energy from sacred places.[48] The roots of the popularity of these mountain cults were strengthened by the natural reverence the Japanese had for mountains. In addition, shrines of ancient origin could be found in many mountain areas that were thought to possess such power spots. Because of the prestige and the mystical imagery of Esoteric Buddhism in all its exotic manifestations, some of these developed as centers of mountain ascetic activities between the Nara and the Kamakura ages; and in spite of reversals of fortune they have managed to continue the tradition down to the present. Not a few of these claim a lineage in *Shugenō* practices that can be traced to a visit (real or alleged) by Kukai, who was said to have initiated those present into the secrets of esoteric practices during the Heian age.

The Yamabushi-chō: the Yamabushi Register

During the thirteenth century, a register was compiled of the people and activities of the *yamabushi* who practiced their cults in the Kumano region. Earlier scholars presumed that they wandered through the mountains from Yoshino to Kumano (now a national park). This view has been shown to be erroneous, probably the result of a desire to play down the significance of the independent cults. In fact, as the register shows, they were highly organized and engaged in a complex variety of rituals and activities. They

worked from specific locations, and codes of dress and behavior regulated community life. Clearly, the mountain cults and the *shugenja* played a more important part within the history of Japanese religion than at first might seem the case. This is particularly important when the role of charismatic individuals is considered. The *Kumano Junrei*, a mountain pilgrimage practiced by the Kumano *shugenja*, has been revived in the twentieth century[49] as further testimony to the tenacious vitality of the mountain tradition in Japan. Apart from these professional or semi-professional courses, between Buddhism and Shinto, Japanese religion still can boast of over 400 traditional pilgrimages that have been pursued on a regular basis into modern times.

Shugenja and Ninja

Among other activities of the *shugenja* was their work as spies and mountain commandos. They would bless horses and troops and perform rituals for camp sites. They passed information and could send it over long distances at great speed. They also became involved with the great *Ninja* masters of the martial arts; so good were the *shugenja* at disappearing and re-appearing that they were likened to the *tengu*, legendary "demonic" creatures who haunted mountain regions. *Shugenja* were often used as soldiers; not infrequently, vanquished lords escaped disguised as *shugenja*. Yoshitsune escaped in this way from Yoritomo, and later, Prince Morinaga did the same. But their military exploits also led to their destruction in some cases, when they became too much feared. The decline in *Shugendō* can be accounted for in part by its political involvement and in part by the changes in religious tastes during the Edo and Meiji periods. For their revival in modern times, they had to wait until the twentieth century and the liberation of religion after the Pacific War.[50]

MUROMACHI (1333–1568) AND AZUCHI-MOMOYAMA (1568–1615) SHINTO

Rise of the Ashikaga Shogunate

The capital returned to Kyoto in 1334 and a new military government took control of national affairs, though not to the same extent as the Kamakura government. The Ashikaga warriors for the most part lived in a district of Kyoto called Muromachi, hence the name of the era. The Muromachi *bakufu* was more restricted in its area of authority and consequently could pursue policies only as far as its power extended. Among the cultural developments of the period, *Noh* drama began to grow out of shrine ceremonies, and the tea ceremony and black and white painting developed under Zen patronage. Some of the famous Zen temples of Kyoto,

the Nanzen-ji, Daitoku-ji, Daikaku-ji,and Ryoan-ji, date from this era. In 1549 Francis Xavier, a Jesuit missionary, began the introduction of Christianity to Japan. Civil wars divided the land, but unification was gradually achieved: first through Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), who destroyed Buddhist power; Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598); and finally Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), who founded the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Muromachi *bakufu*, within its own limitations, continued the policy of the Kamakura government toward Shinto and appointed a commissioner of temples and shrines known as the *jisha bugyō*, charged with the task of ensuring that the ownership of shrine lands was protected and the shrine buildings were periodically renewed.

The Imperial Court had mixed fortunes during this period, and on account of economic restraints, even the *Oname-sai* was postponed. Offerings to the twenty-two major shrines could not be continued. Only the Grand Shrines of Ise received offerings from the *Jingikan*. National and local finances were such that the rebuilding of the shrines at Ise (*shikinen sengū*) was discontinued for over a century. From 1462 to 1585 the Inner Shrine was not rebuilt, and the Outer Shrine was untouched from 1434 to 1563. The continuing civil war made it impossible to dispatch the high priestesses (*saiō*) from the Imperial Household. This dates to the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo (1318–1339), and the practice was never re-instituted.[51]

The Beginnings of Urabe Shinto

Although government policy could not protect shrines as it desired, popular attachment to the local cults continued and various new syncretistic types of belief emerged, typified by writings such as the *Shinto-Shū* (The Shinto Collection). It was during this period that the traditions of *Ise Shinto* found a new champion in Urabe Kanetomo (1435–1511), who began advancing theories of the uniqueness of Japan along with the rejection of the Buddhist/Shinto syncretism represented by *honji suijaku*. Kanetomo belonged to the Urabe family, one of the official hereditary houses within the *Jingikan*. During the Heian period, the Urabe family had served as priests of the Matsuo Shrine and later at Hirano, *Ume no Miya*, and the Yoshida Shrines. During the Kamakura period Urabe Kanekata had written the *Shaku Nihongi*, which gave the family a reputation not only for preserving the Shinto classics but also for possessing sound scholarship and profound thought. Kanetomo was also known as Yoshida Kanetomo, because that was the branch of the Urabe family to which he belonged. He put forward a theory of Shinto called *Yuiitsu Genpon Sōgen Shinto* ("the one and only original essence Shinto"), also called *Yuiitsu Shinto* or *Yoshida Shinto*. This movement had a remarkable influence upon shrines and the entire culture of Shinto.

The range of theological ideas that Kanetomo developed are reflected in

the titles of the books he wrote, some of which he claimed had been written by a family ancestor and some of which he wrote under his own name.[52] He defined three types of Shinto: *Honjaku Engi Shinto*, Shinto of "true essence and manifestation"; *Taishi-Ryū Shinto*, also known as *Shotoku Taishi Shinto*, or *Ryōbu Shūgō Shinto*; and finally his own *Genpon Sōgen Shinto*. Kanetomo claimed that this form of Shinto drew its authority from the *kami* known as Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto, and that this was the true source of Japan's unique Shinto. Buddhism and Confucianism were considered to be the flowers and fruits of the true root, which was Shinto. He defined *kami* as the absolute existence proceeding from Heaven and Earth and responsible for forming them. In Heaven this is called *kami*, its objects are called *rei* (spirit), and in humans it is called *kokoro* (mind).[53] Shinto was the way to protect the mind. Thus, a person must exert himself to internal and external purity in order to follow the way of the *kami*.

Although he rejected Buddhism, Kanetomo permitted purification by fire (*goma*) and invocations (*kaji*) and permitted a rite of initiation into Shinto borrowed from Esoteric Buddhism. Although he had clear concepts of Shinto to present, he permitted the popular appeal of Esoteric Buddhism to remain in the background and within certain rituals and ceremonies of purified Shinto. Politically shrewd, he claimed for himself the title of Supreme Official of the *Jingikan* and created a system of Writs of Authorization of Shrines, which remained in effect until the beginning of the Meiji era. He claimed jurisdiction over four areas, namely, transmission of Shinto practices (forms of ceremonies for worship, offerings, and related rituals); priestly status, titles, and ranks; priestly dress (the *kazaore*, *eboshi*, *jōe*, *hashaku*, and other items of dress recognizable to the present); and the *kanjō* (invitation) and enshrinement of the *goshintai* (symbols of the *kami*) in any new shrines to be created in the future. He also created within the Yoshida shrines what he claimed was the supreme national ritual site. He built a hall of eight *kami* that was to serve as the central place for the proper administration of ceremonials in their honor. The Imperial Court received lectures on the *Nihon Shoki*, which has been discontinued since the Heian period, and Kanetomo himself lectured on the *Nakatomi-no-Ōbarae* to enrich the religious life of the Court. He circulated popular tracts such as the *Sanja Takusen* in order to expand the influence of his ideas.[54]

Other Developments in Shinto during the Period

With the disappearance of the southern court at Yoshino, the fortunes of the Ise cult began to decline. This left room for other traditions to develop or regain lost ground. The growth in importance of the Hirano cult can be traced to this era. The Hirano tradition devoted the years of the *Sengoku Jidai* (1467–1568) to transcribing the classics and maintaining its own traditions. The *Sanno* cult of Mt. Hiei and Lotus Sūtra (*Hokke*) Shinto

developed freely. Sociologically, within the life of the cults changes also occurred. The Shinto community became transformed from *uji-bito* (clansmen) to *uji-ko* (children of the *kami*). The traditional structure of the community had been based upon the relationship between clan and *uji-kami*. The idea of regional *kami* grew stronger than the kinship idea of *kami*, and this became the new basis of Shinto within the developed nation. This was at a time when the basis of society was shifting from the clan to the household, the *ie*. The *za* (trade guilds) and *miya-za* (groups appointed to look after shrines) also came into being, and shrine organization became more systematic. This new approach was an early step toward the great developments in Shinto thought that took place during the Edo period.

The religious attitudes of the three generalissimos of the era present a confusing tapestry. Oda Nobunaga held Tendai and Shinshu Buddhism in great suspicion because they tended to side with his political foes. He destroyed some shrines that seemed menacing, but he rebuilt the dilapidated Grand Shrines of Ise and the Atsuta Shrine in Nagoya. Hideyoshi, although a very superstitious individual, greatly feared any religious interference in the work of government. He insisted that he be enshrined after his death, but whether this was done out of sincerity or for the sake of his ego, we may never know. On the record is a remark he made to a Portuguese diplomat: "To know Shinto is to know Buddhism as well as Confucianism."[55] It may not reveal a lot, but perhaps it catches the syncretic tendency of national leaders to control the state through weakening any independent tendencies in its religious life. This was the background to the emergence of Japan's most powerful Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, and his fourteen successors who held power until 1868.

EDO PERIOD SHINTO (1615–1868)

The Character of the Edo Period

After the defeat of the last of Hideyoshi's supporters at the battle of Sekigahara, the power of Tokugawa Ieyasu was unquestioned and a new era began. He government moved to Edo, whose population grew to over 1 million people. Christianity was suppressed, all foreigners were expelled, and the country was technically closed and remained so for over two centuries. Neo-Confucian thought was applied to establish uniformity and maintain control, while revived study of the Japanese classics by the *Kokugaku* scholars led to new movements in Shinto. The rice-based economy eventually began to stagnate and was in critical decline when Commodore Perry arrived off the shores of Japan in 1853. This set in motion the long chain of events that ushered in the Meiji period in 1868 and Japan's entry into the modern world. The development of Shinto thought during the period is most easily grasped by reviewing the principal thinkers of the era.

Although the institutions underwent various developments, the most important movements were academic, ultimately providing a religious and ideological backdrop to the Meiji Restoration.

Tokugawa Ieyasu and Religion

Ieyasu devoted considerable time and energy to the study of Japanese religions and to the creation of the policy to control them. He studied the doctrines of the Tendai, Jodō, and Zen sects of Buddhism. He also received instruction in Shinto teachings and ideas by Yoshida Kanemi's younger brother. He entrusted his will to his closest advisors, including the regional lord (*daimyo*), Honda Masazumi; its provisions included the instruction to give him a Shinto funeral and to inter his remains in Mt. Kuno. He requested a Buddhist ritual funeral at the Zōjō-ji in Edo (near the modern Tokyo Tower) and instructed that a memorial be placed in the Taiju-ji in Mikawa (his birthplace). He also ordered that after the first annual memorial service following his death, a shrine was to be built at Nikko and his spirit revered as a *kami*. This became the famous *Tōshō-gū*, where he is enshrined as the *Tōshō-Dai-Gongen* (Great Avatar Light of the East). The shrine belongs to the *Tendai Shinto* tradition.

Ieyasu's instruction in Shinto included information about a mountain shrine called *Danzan Jinja*, where Fujiawara Kamatari (614–669, the genius of the Taika Reform) is enshrined, and about the *Kitano Tenmangū*, where Sugawara Michizane is enshrined. In both cases there had been a time lapse before their enshrinement. Ieyasu, astute as ever on the topic of power and influence, and clearly hoping to rule the social order from the grave, chose to be enshrined following the precedent of his two role models. Toyotomi Hideyoshi had been enshrined for about a year after his death in a similar way. Ieyasu also decided that he would become the protective *kami* for the eight provinces east of the *Sekisho* (checkpoint) at Hakone (which still stands and houses a museum). During the Edo period, the Imperial Court sent offerings only to the Grand Shrines of Ise and to the *Tōshō-Gū* at Nikko. As a result of the expulsion of Christianity to eliminate one possible source of disharmony, and after the power of all rival political and religious groups had been broken, a relatively stable and peaceful society permitted the cultivation of the arts and some technology, such as printing. Shinto studies began to develop in various regional and private academies of learning.

Yoshikawa Confucian Shinto

Confucian learning prior to the Edo period had been associated closely with Zen Buddhism and studied especially at five famous Zen temples known as the *Gozan* (Five Mountains). Confucian studies then detached

themselves from Buddhism, becoming independent. Some Confucian scholars became uncomfortable with Buddhism and were attracted to Shinto instead. This led to a hybrid Confucian-Shinto defined first by Fujiwara Seika and developed later by Hayashi Razan. Scholars of this rejected not only the concept of *honji-suijaku* but also the concepts of *Yuiitsu Shinto*, because a number of Buddhist theories were included within it. Yoshikawa Koretari, although initiated into *Yuiitsu Shinto*, rejected its Buddhist elements, bringing together Shinto and the Confucian cosmology of Chu Hsi (1132–1200), which was known as *Rigaku* (the Study of Rational Principles). Chu Hsi's social thought became the basis of the Tokugawa social order; and with some changes, it also became the foundation of Yoshikawa Shinto (*Rigaku Shinto*).

Seikyō Shinto

"Teaching of the sages" (i.e., Confucianism) was used to describe Shinto by Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), who insisted that Imperial reverence was the basis of Shinto. It was partly the influence of Chinese Confucianism during the Edo period that led to the development of Shinto thought along ideological lines, with heavy emphasis upon the duties of individuals within the sociopolitical system. Despite the later movements that undertook to establish the content of pure Shinto, the Confucian assumptions remained in the background although they were never overtly discussed. This line of development also contributed to the deliberate creation of State Shinto as a national unifying ideology after the Meiji Restoration.

Ise Shinto during the Edo Period

Ise had undergone reversals in fortune; indeed, along with the imperial institution during the long periods of civil war, it has been threatened with the prospect of extinction due to lack of revenue. The relative peacefulness of the Edo period permitted a renaissance, largely the work of a descendant of the Watarai family, Nobuyoshi (1615–1690), who revived the thought of the *Gekū*, the Outer Shrine. He formally rejected any synthesis with Buddhism and Confucianism and proposed instead a return to the simpler forms of the Shinto of Ise. Although strong Confucian influences remained in his ethical and political thinking, the revival of Shinto from Ise had commenced and in pursuing scholarly research Watarai formulated original concepts of his own. He also began serious documentation work and collected the extant documents of the Grand Shrine, establishing the *Toyomiyazaki Bunkō*, a library and school for priests of the Outer Shrine. He researched and revised the classic texts of Shinto and tried vigorously to revive the branch shrines of Ise, many of which had been destroyed and their locations lost during the civil wars. Ise pilgrimages started to become

popular after 1650, occurring throughout the year. There were also the famous *okagemairi* (thanksgiving shrine visits), which took place every sixty years. Hundreds of thousands of worshippers joined in these events.

Suiga Shinto

The "Shinto of Divine Revelation and Blessing," known as *Suiga Shinto*, was perhaps the most aggressive form of anti-Buddhist Shinto. Having studied the ideas of Yoshikawa and Watarai, Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) claimed there was but one Way, that of *Ōhirumemuchi* (Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun). There was only one Teaching, that of *Sarutahiko-no-mikoto*, who had guided the heavenly grandson from the Plain of Heaven to the land of Japan. The term *Shinto* meant the study of the sun-virtue (*nittoku*) of Amaterasu, whom he claimed was united with the sun in the heavens, *amatsuhi*. He added the concept of the absolute sovereignty of the Emperor as direct descendant of Amaterasu. The greatest power on earth is united with the greatest celestial power of the heavens. Later disciples of Ansai, such as Ogimachi Kinmichi and Izumoji Keichoku, provided more solid academic support for the Imperial loyalists and anti-*bakufu* movements of the late Edo period.

Kokugaku Shinto: National Learning Shinto

Beginning from different premises, a group of scholars began searching the Japanese classics to identify what was distinctively Japanese in the eras before the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism. The movement was called *Kokugaku*, the National Learning movement. Although there were others before him the principal figure of the movement was Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801). He claimed that the pure Shinto he had identified as the doctrine of the sun *kami* was the fundamental root of the Japanese nation. It was not simply the worship of *kami* but also the origin of government, ethics, and everything under the sun. The concept of *saisei itchi* (unity of worship and government) was the proper development of national life. The influence of Motoori Norinaga and the *Kokugaku* movement also contributed indirectly to the strengthening of the loyalist movement prior to the final collapse of the feudal government. Its line of transmission was through the succeeding generation of scholars who took it in a more specific and ideological direction.

Fukko Shinto: Restoration Shinto

The religious nature of Shinto based on the principle of the unity of worship in government came to be known as *Fukko Shinto*, or Restoration Shinto. It was largely the work of Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), whose

thought exercised great influence on the declining samurai class and drew many of them toward the Imperial cause. It left an indelible impression upon the political thought of the Meiji government and upon the concepts of the nature of Shinto and *kokutai*, the body politic, which came to be defined as the Emperor along with the people. Among other influences, these gave Japanese nationalism its unique flavor once the ideology of the Meiji period had been generated.

Popular Religion of the Edo Period

Shrines that had suffered during the civil wars and those that had lost prestige came to gradual restoration during the Edo age. During the time of the fourth Shogun, Ietsuna (1641–1680), 985 shrines were given special grants known as *shuin-ryō* (vermilion seal money). The amount of endowment equaled 151,925 *koku* of rice.[56] Local lords could also donate to shrines under their *kokuin* (black seal). Although not unsizable, the amount was still too little to restore the prestige the shrines had enjoyed during the earlier periods. Consequently, the shrines began to forge stronger links with communities and with ordinary people. Among the shrines that grew in popularity were the *Fushimi Inari*, the *Kitano Tenmangū*, and the *Gion Jinja* in Kyoto; the *Konpira Jinja* at Sanuki; the *Itsukushima Jinja* in Aki; the *Taga Jinja* in Omi; the *Tsushima Jinja* in Owari; the *Sanno Jinja* and the *Kanda Myōjin* in Edo; and the *Suwa Jinja* in Nagasaki. Most still retain great popular appeal.

The cult of *Inari* began to spread throughout the country, and the familiar red rows of *torii* standing like a covered avenue of approach became common with the cult's special appeal to merchants.

Kyōha Shinto: Sect Shinto

New cults also began to develop. Alongside the shrine and their activities grew up local movements under charismatic leaderships that later became recognized as *Kyōha Shinto*, or Sect Shinto. All were popular movements, formally approved and classified by the Meiji government, although their origins were mostly in the Edo period. Some have had varied fortunes. A number are now almost extinct; but the best known ones, *Tenri-kyō*, *Konkō-kyō*, and *Kurozumi-kyō*, remain active and successful and still have many thousands of followers.

Shrine Organization and Administration

Depending upon how shrine affairs were administered, five categories can be identified during the latter Edo period. (1) Those managed by trained Shinto priests: these were normally under the hereditary control of

major Shinto families, such as Watarai or Urabe. They might also serve as village shrines, but their management was totally in the hands of the shrine family.[57] (2) Those controlled by temples: these dated to the time when temples and shrines were closely related, and some shrines were built by temples for protection. The close link between shrine and temple is still seen in the pattern of the *Toyokawa Inari* Shrines (as distinct from the *Fushimi Inari* group). (3) Village Shrines: many of these had no permanent priests of their own but would call upon the services of a priest from a larger shrine to conduct festivals and rituals. The village headmen (*shoya*) were responsible for running the shrines, assisted by district representatives within the villages. (4) Those managed by a *za*: these were primarily parish shrines that related only to a district within a larger area. The *za* was a type of trade guilt based upon product interest (rather than profession, as in the West) that met to commune with the *kami* and be concerned about a shrine throughout the year. Priests might be invited from outside or from the group (the *tōya* system). However, general management was in the hands of the membership of the *za*. (5) Shrines of individuals located on private land for worship and private family use: these were controlled either by the individuals or the family. They ranged from *yashikigami*—occasionally elaborate shrines to protect the land, buildings, and the *ie*, the house itself—to shrines erected to revere a local individual who performed some great feat for the community. Some communities declared such persons *daimyōjin*, gracious *kami*, and revered them while they were still alive.[58]

MEIJI (1868–1912), TAISHŌ (1912–1926), AND SHŌWA (1926–1989) PERIODS

The Meiji Isshin: The Meiji Restoration

In 1867 the fifteenth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, recognizing that he could no longer maintain viable government, yielded to a group of young *samurai* who invaded the Imperial Palace in Kyoto proclaiming the young Emperor Mutsuhito restored as ruler as well as sovereign. The nation then began a process of modernization that crushed the *samurai* and created a modern state. The ultimate driving force of history, change through technological innovation, was seen at work when the presence of the U.S. navy in 1853 shocked the government and the *samurai* into an awareness that Japan had fallen behind in technology and consequently was in danger of invasion. The external threat and the general ineptness of the latter Tokugawa governments, especially their inadequate rice policy combined with their general inflexibility, set people searching for original solutions. The intellectual movements within Shinto provided focal points for the clarification of these issues, and the combination of influences finally led to groups of lower-ranked *samurai* from the outer domains successfully

sweeping away the three-centuries-old government of the Tokugawas. The political theory of the new leadership and eventually of the new government was deeply infused with the thought of *Fukko Shinto.*

Kokka Shinto: State Shinto

The reconstitution of Shinto as an independent tradition began between 1868 and 1871.[59] It was marked by the Emperor's proclamation of the *Taikyō Senpu* to further the teachings of the Great Way and to revive the earlier notion of *saisei-itchi*, the unity of government and reverence. State Shinto was not formally instituted until after the establishment of shrines for the dead of the Meiji Restoration and those who died in Japan's first military campaigns abroad (Russia, 1894–1895, and China, 1904–1905). Administration of Shinto in the early Meiji era was a matter of considerable confusion and reflected the lack of consistent policy on the part of the Meiji government. The first stage was the separation of Buddhism from Shinto (*shimbutsu-bunri*) to allow for a return to "pure Shinto." In 1869 the *Jingikan* of the Nara period was re-established and put in charge of Shinto rituals. The head was made *Dajokansei*, a member of the Council of State, to ensure respect for Shinto and reverence for the Emperor. A system of propagandists (*senkyōshi*) was set up to educate the people in the policies of the new government and to cultivate Shinto. An Imperial Edict of January 1870 proclaimed the enshrinement of the *kami* of Heaven and Earth, the eight central *kami*, and the Imperial Ancestors by the *Jingikan.*

In October 1870 a system of Imperial and national shrines was instituted, with each category being divided into three classes based on size. A shrine ranking system was established along with a listing of rituals to be performed, and a system of ranking for priests was formalized. Local governments were ordered to compile records of shrines in their area. These were steps to bring all shrines throughout the nation under government control. In 1871 shrines were declared national institutions and the system of hereditary priesthood was formally abolished, although many families and their shrines could not be so easily separated. Consequently, the creation and enforcement of State Shinto was not something unequivocally welcomed by people or by shrines.

However, Japan was seeking to create institutions that resembled at least outwardly those of the nations with which it would have to live and compete. In August 1871 the *Jinkigan* was abolished in response to criticism and was replaced by a new Ministry of Shinto Affairs, the *Jingishō*, immediately below the Council of State. Between 1870 and 1882 the favored position of Shinto was challenged; in reply, an idea was circulated by the government that Shinto was not a religion. Buddhism resisted this claim strongly under the influence of Shimazu Mokurai; and with pressure from the *Jōdo-Shinshū* sect, the government was forced to form the *Kyōbushō*

(Minister of Religious Instruction) in 1872 to replace the *Jingishō*, whose functions were transferred there. The *senkyōshi* were mostly ultranationalist Shinto priests who often launched unreasonable attacks on Buddhism, ignoring both local feelings and the needs of Japan in a changing world. Under heavy criticism from Buddhists and independent intellectuals, the system was abolished in April 1872.

A new system of instructors, called *kyōdōshoku*, was created that consisted of both Buddhist and Shinto priests. It worked effectively until 1884, when it too was abolished. The power of Restoration Shinto had begun to decline partly because of these problems and partly because it was advocating a return to the past, which, whether mythical or otherwise, was certainly not going to help Japan emerge as a powerful modern nation. Earlier, in 1877, the *Kyōbushō* had also been abolished and the administration of shrines had been transferred to the *Shakikyoku*, which was part of the Ministry of the Interior.

From 1882 the separation of religion and politics (*seikyō-bunri*) became a major issue, because it appeared that many religious instructors were actually promoting their own teachings or those of cults that were unrelated to the objectives of the government. An edict was passed forbidding religious instructors to be priests of any group at all; this led the Meiji government to recognize the rights of independent groups, many of which had developed during the Edo age. These received status as the thirteen sects of *Kyōha Shinto*. They were split off from Shinto and classified with other religious groups and Buddhist sects, and therefore not with the nation's shrines.

Shrine Statistics and Ranks within the Kokka Shinto System

The Council of State (*Dajōkan*) issued a proclamation on 14 May 1871 according to which all shrines were ranked in a new comprehensive system, which is outlined in the following list.[60]

Imperial Shrines

Kansha (The Grand Shrines of Ise)

(a) *kampeisha*: Government shrines

(b) *koku-heisha*: National shrines

(c) *kankoku-heisha*: Government and national shrines

Minsha Fuken ika sha (Shrines of Prefectural Rank and Below)

(a) *fukensha*: Prefectural shrines

(b) *gōsha*: District shrines

(c) *sonsha*: Village shrines

Unranked Shrines Small local shrines, sacred groves, trees, and stones.

Statistics for 1880.

Kansha	*kampeisha*	55
	koku-heisha	68
Minsha	*fukensha*	369
	gōsha	3,272
	sonsha	52,754
Ungraded Shrines		130,293
Total Number of Shrines		186,811

The 1889 Constitution recognized Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity as official religions. This was the first step toward a special status for Shinto. In 1894 many of the former government ranks were restored to the people's shrines (*minsha*), which had been removed as the government drew back from full state control of Shinto. The government began giving official civil servant status to all priests, even of unranked village shrines. After the 1894 ranks were issued, government control went with it, because all those appointed under the new system received prefectural authorization from the governor. This was the key to establishing State Shinto. Once it was denied that Shinto was a religion, every citizen could be compelled to visit shrines and show respect.

In 1900 the *Jinjakyoku* was set up within the Ministry of the Interior to handle Shinto affairs separately from the Bureau of Religion, which dealt with Buddhism, Christianity, and the Shinto sects. The logic was that there should be a ministry teaching enrichment of the entire body politic based on Shinto to encourage the following of the national way, the traditional way of the Emperor.

After the wars against China and Russia, which had been fought at enormous cost to the developing economy, there was great social and political unrest, clear symptoms of the breakdown of national order and the socio-political structure. This, amongst other factors, promoted a series of government measures to address the situation and to strengthen national vision and goals. There was the *Boshin* Rescript on Thrift and Diligence (1908), the revision of school textbooks (1910), the *Hōtoku* movement (government-supported after 1906), the formation of the *Teikoku Zaigō Gunjin-Kai* (Imperial Rural Military Association, 1910), and the *Chihō Kairyō Undō* (Local District Improvement Movement, 1909). These were designed to generate social stability, to recreate national values, and to add weight to the national ideology.

In 1913 the Bureau of Religion was moved to the Ministry of Education,

so that all non-Shinto groups would be supervised by the Ministry of Education. Shinto affairs were left in the hands of the *Shinto Honkyoku*, a department of the Ministry of the Interior, which existed until the end of the Pacific War.

The Shrine Merger (Jinja-Gappei) Movement

When the shrine merger movement began,[61] the number of shrines was gradually reduced from over 170,000 to fewer than 70,000. It began in 1900 when the Bureau of Shinto Affairs raised the status of shrines dramatically and emphasized that Shinto was simply a patriotic institution. From 1906 the government itself began to escalate *minsha* improvement programs, and here the question of merging shrines was raised. The objective was to make the shrines impressively fewer, easier to control, and better instruments of government policy. A set of standards was issued that had to be met if a shrine was to be recognized. The conditions were not easy to meet, and consequently many shrines lost recognition. It was a small matter to send inspectors to check on shrines and to report that some were not worthy of the name and should be eliminated. This led to the closure and abolition of many, with their *kami* being removed to new locations. The movement was variously called *gōshi* (joint enshrinement), *jinja gappei* (shrine merger), *jinja seiri* (shrine consolidation). The latter was the official term, which concealed the extreme nature of the actions involved. *Gappei* meant not that shrines were united but that the physical presence had been removed and the *kami* transferred to another shrine. Village shrines were thus consolidated into one and traces of local shrines were mostly removed. The name of the consolidated shrine would reflect the community or town, and this would strengthen the unity of Shinto and State. The results were effective, if statistics are reliable. The number of *minsha* between 1879 and 1947 were reported as 176,722 in 1879; 195,072 in 1905; 111,699 in 1929; 110,077 in 1941; and 87,369 in 1947.

Between 1903 and 1920 the total number of shrines was reduced by 77,899. The movement created great resistance, peaking in 1911 until 1920, after which it was not nearly so vigorous. In fact, between 1903 and 1920 it was primarily unranked shrines that were merged (from 136,947 to 66,069). In effect, approximately 41 percent of village unranked shrines were simply abolished, creating strong reactions in many communities. Shrines that were declared to have no recorded historical lineage (*yuisho*) were considered subjects for merger. There were strong opponents to the movement on the grounds that it was weakening links between people, their communities, and shrines, not making them stronger. Filial piety was being ignored and the essence of the nation's life and history was being damaged in the process. It was claimed that the mergers were damaging to patriotic feeling. Indeed, it was argued that the interference with the folk tradition

might be damaging to the entire nation. The people themselves frequently felt desolated and deprived with the departure of their protective *kami*, who were now being served by strange people in strange shrines. Gradually it came to be realized that as far as shrines were concerned, feelings came first rather than beliefs or thoughts. The loss of local festivals was one tangible result, and it is recorded that many villages were hung with gloom at traditional festival times. Some areas refused to cooperate; others were put under extremes of pressure. By the beginning of the *Taishō* period (after 1912), shrine mergers were not demanded but prohibitions remained on their reconstitution. However, after the defeat of Japan in 1945 and the subsequent liberalization policy, many shrines were in fact reconstituted.

Shinto and the Japanese Empire

With Japan's overseas expansion during the early years of the century and the eventual proclamation of the *Dai Nippon Teikoku*, the Empire of Great Japan, occasions for the creation of new shrines became possible. Perhaps the best known of the overseas shrines was the *Taiwan Jinja*, which enshrined Kitashirakawa no Miya, Yoshihisa Shinno. Born in 1847, he became a soldier in the Imperial Army and was dispatched to Taiwan in 1896, where he died after a successful engagement at Tainan on October 28 of the same year. His remains were returned to Tokyo for a state funeral. From 1897 local efforts were made in Taiwan to establish a shrine. General Nogi, Governor General at the time, led a committee that chose a site. Baron Kodama, his successor, persuaded the government in Tokyo to give its approval to establish *Taiwan Jinja* (1901). It was to be ranked as a government great shrine (*kampeisha taisha*) to enshrine Okuni-tama-no-mikoto, Onamuji-no-mikoto, and Sakunihikona-no-mikoto as well as Yoshihisa Shinno. Until the end of the Japanese occupation, various other shrines were added to the oldest, *Kaisan Jinja* (1898); *Taiwan Jinja* itself brought the final total to over thirty throughout the island. Shrines were also erected in Korea and in other occupied areas to gain recognition for the Empire. These were dismantled after the close of the Pacific War.

Shokonsha, shrines for the war dead, were also established. None were ever erected in Korea, although the Japanese armies were in occupation. However, a festival for the souls of the dead (*iresai*) was held annually as long as a Japanese division was present. Manchuria had several, including Tailen and other centers. The *Kenko Jinja* was established in Taiwan in 1929 to enshrine 15,350 *kami* who were not simply military personnel but every Japanese citizen who had died while working for the welfare of Taiwan within the Japanese Empire. All these shrines had annual festivals, and they continued where practicable until the retreat of Japan from its Empire and the final collapse in 1945.

The inter-war period was one of liberal trends often known as the Taishō

democracy. Its benefits were quickly suppressed as the political power of the military grew. Tokyo was also destroyed during this period by the great earthquake of 1923. The Manchurian Incident of 1931 and Japan's departure from the League of Nations indicated a change of mood. Extremists took control of the government and Japan moved toward war with the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States. During the early Shōwa period, nationalism was actively promoted through the use of Shinto rituals; in 1940 the *Jingiin* (College of Kami) was established within the Ministry of the Interior. The year 1940 also marked the legendary accession of the Emperor Jimmu 2,600 years earlier. To commemorate the event various activities were undertaken, including the expansion of the *Kashihara Jinja* in Nara Prefecture and the construction of the *Omi Jinja* in Shiga Prefecture. With the outbreak of war, shrine festival events such as the competition between *mikoshi* (portable shrines) and *dashi* (large wagons) were further restricted and Shinto was promulgated as a form of national ethics and nothing else. The significant question remains whether the government succeeded in its goals of making shrines more impressive in order to strengthen the value system of family and emperor. Patriotism was stimulated, but as much—it seems—by the education system as by shrine mergers. The damage to the feelings of the communities, however, loosened the ties of millions to their local shrines forever. The government, like the army, was pledged to promote Japan; and by the end of the war both had almost succeeded in destroying the very things they held most sacred.

The Allied Occupation and Shinto

General Douglas MacArthur, Japan's first foreign "shogun," was Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers from August 1945 until the Treaty of San Francisco restored Japan's independence in 1952. After long suppression from the Meiji period, the separation of religion and state enabled repressed movements to find new life, older traditions such as pilgrimages to be re-established, and many prohibited practices to be revived. Shinto began the difficult movement away from being a system of government-inspired moral education to being a natural religion. All these provisions were covered in the Shinto Directive of December 1945, which insisted that shrines be disestablished from the state, that Shrine Shinto was not to receive any national support and was not to be under any kind of state control. Shinto was thereafter to remain a recognized religion for the individual Japanese citizen to practice or not at personal discretion.

Jinja Honchō: Association of Shinto Shrines

When the Occupation abolished the *Jingiin*, leaders from the three major private groups, the *Dai Nihon Jingikai* (The Great Japan Association for

the *kami*), the *Kōten Kokyū-sho* (Center for Research on Imperial Rites), and the *Jingū-Hōsai-kai* (The Grand Shrine Service Association), met for consultation. In February 1946 they formed the *Jinja Honchō* (Association of Shinto Shrines), which oversees the nation's shrines and acts as a central communication point within the complicated system. Its basis was voluntary, however, and depended, as it still does, upon subscriptions from member shrines. From time to time, differences have occurred and some shrines have left. However, it is the only coordinating body for Shinto in Japan and the only organ (other than individual shrines) by which Shinto can be formally represented at a broad administrative level. The *Jinja Honchō* continued to supervise the administration of the network of shrines, and after many years of being located in Shibuya near Kokugakuin University it moved to a new site near *Meiji Jingū* in 1988.

The Modernization of Jinja Shinto (Shrine Shinto) since 1946

After the Shinto Directive to abolish State Shinto, Shrine Shinto was faced with a new problem. Although it was now free to pursue its own life, it had spent almost three-quarters of a century under government control and, more particularly, had benefitted from government support. It was now in the same plight as Buddhism in the Kamakura period, bereft of patronage. It had to seek private support and develop ways and means of surviving into the new age of democracy, not a small undertaking.

Such necessities brought about a number of natural changes that have worked toward greater participation by the community in shrine life. For example, under State Shinto new shrine buildings, *shaden*, had to be constructed according to government specifications. The worship hall (*haiden*) was made quite small so that only priests, designated officials, and community (*ujiko*) representatives could enter. This kept the shrines at a distance from the general populace. In the postwar era, worship halls were enlarged to accommodate large numbers of people upon whom the shrines depend for income. Teaching became a necessity and general office facilities were enlarged to include meeting rooms and lecture halls. *Meiji Jingū* makes use of its Memorial Hall for film screenings and various meetings. *Atsuta Jingū* uses its *Bunka-den*, its Culture Hall, to store ancient treasures, to hold lecture meetings, and to house a library on Shinto. *Kasuga Taisha* has a well-known Botanical Garden that attracts visitors, as does the *Hitomaru Jinja* in Yamaguchi. Another innovation in the postwar era was the introduction of kindergartens and nurseries. Between 1945 and 1965, the first twenty years after the war, approximately 200 kindergartens and nurseries were organized, catering to the needs of over 20,000 children. In the same period eighty or so Boy Scout troops were organized, catering for the needs of almost 2,500 boys. Most significant was the growth of women's organizations, about 370 in all with a membership of over 100,000. The

Jinja Honchō became active in disseminating information through publications and lectures. At local *jinja-chō* in various areas there are almost 2,000 lecturers and what might be called missionary teachers *(kyōka)* engaged in educational activities. Lecturers who visit prison inmates have been appointed. In ways like these, shrine priests have come to take more of a pastoral role in community and regional life than they had been permitted since the Meiji era. It should be remembered that one appeal of Sect Shinto was that it could freely pursue such goals. Shrine Shinto had to learn this; doubtless it was partly a return to old ways and partly an emulation of Christian Church models. The shrine wedding was another major development that has given Shinto not only substantial income but a gentler image than it had previously.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF STATE AND RELIGION

The 1947 Constitution continued the aforementioned principles, and Shinto was listed as one of the other religious bodies in Japan. Individual shrines became incorporated religious legal persons (*shūkyō hōjin*). Although these provisions were fairly straightforward, they were not without difficulties. Four principal topics emerged since 1946, and they remain as continuing and unsettled controversies.

The Use of Shinto Rituals for Local Events

When a village or a city plans a new road or building, it is traditional to have a Shinto priest perform the ceremony of *oharai* and to perform *jichin-sai*, rituals to calm the *kami* of the area who might be disturbed. Many Japanese do this when they build a new house, as do companies when they erect new facilities. As long as these are paid for by private individuals or companies, there is no violation of the Constitution. However, local authorities often carry out such rituals, and in many instances since 1945 cases have been taken to court on the grounds that these acts are unconstitutional.

The Yasukuni Shrine Problem

This problem is not easy to grasp because of the emotional delicacy and political complexity associated with the shrine. The shrine cannot be compared to the various international war memorials, such as the one in Arlington in the United States or the Cenotaph in London. They came later. The concept embodied in the Yasukuni Shrine lies deep in Japanese culture and must be viewed in that regard. Reverence for the dead is promoted in Japan in unique and extreme ways. The need for such a shrine was first

expressed in 1868 as a place to house the spirits of the 3,588 soldiers who fell during the Meiji Restoration struggles on behalf of the Imperial cause. The original site at Kudanshita in Tokyo, near the old castle of Edo that had become the Imperial Palace, was secured in 1870 and the shrine was erected in 1871. In 1880 it was designated a *Bekkaku-Kampeisha*, having the highest rank of shrine wherein the *kami* are subjects of the Emperor; at the same time, Emperor Meiji named it *Yasukuni* (Peaceful Country) *Jinja*. The Ministry of the Interior was responsible for the administration, finances, and appointments to the shrine staff, and thus it remained until the disestablishment of State Shinto in 1945.

The period from1894 to 1905 was marked by the steady rise of patriotic feeling, associated in large part with shrines where prayers for national success were offered. The wars against China and Russia provided stimulus for the strengthening of patriotic fervor, and it was here that the practice began of praying at a shrine as soon as a son went to war. If the son died he was given the privileged status of national *kami*, which at that time must have been a great honor. The Emperor himself on set occasions would visit the Yasukuni Shrine to show respect. These actions did a great deal to place the shrines and their unconscious symbols deep in the sentiments and imagination of the masses of rural people from whose ranks most of the infantry was drawn.

By 1911, over 105 *Shokonsha* (shrines for the war dead) were in existence all over the country. These were special places of devotion for those who had lost sons during Japan's era of military adventures. (From the perspective of the Meiji Restoration, twenty-two of these are in Yamaguchi, the home of the Choshu clan, and fifteen in Kagoshima, the home of the Satsuma clan.) Some *Shokonsha* pre-dated the Meiji Restoration, but they were all integrated into the system and helped to bolster local community commitment to the Imperial System and the State.

After the Pacific War, the Yasukuni Shrine became a privately incorporated religious and legal person (*shūkyō hōjin*), but controversy was not long in gathering. The issue is whether or not financial responsibility for the shrine should be taken over by the State. Those who favor this argue that the State has an obligation to maintain the memorial of the war dead. The government draws much support and money from the various associations of "bereaved families." The *eirei*, the "glorious war dead," is a subject that cannot be raised without risking dramatic emotional backlash. It is the result of calculated Meiji government manipulation of natural Japanese sentiments, but it has remained a significant political resource throughout the entire postwar era and shows little sign of diminishing.

Opponents of the government proposal charge (quite correctly) that it would be against the Constitution. Therefore the question of constitutional revision is closely linked with the Yasukuni problem. The governments of Korea and China, whose peoples experienced savage treatment under the

Japanese Imperial Army before the war, as well as opposition parties and religious groups in Japan, are vigilant in commenting on any signs of Yasukuni being specially honored, because to them shrines for the war dead are symbols of militarism and the indignities they had to endure. Their comments are similar, that Japan's war dead should not be honored because they were simply predators in Asia who committed outrageous crimes against humanity.

Clearly, there has been a move toward seeking government support for the shrine. However, public and international reaction seems to have impeded its expected development. Two events are worthy of note, however. First was the enshrinement of the fourteen Class-A war criminals designated at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, including General Tojo, the original war leader. Although it is understandable in Japanese terms that they should be enshrined along with all the others who died, the enshrinement shocked many people in Japan and outraged the governments of China and Korea. Western presses used the occasion for raking up Japan's wartime past. To these dangers, Japanese governments seem always oblivious. This took place in the fall of 1979. Among the enshrined is former Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke, one of the architects of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. The situation becomes ironic when it is remembered that Matsuoka was Christian (a Presbyterian) and that controversy has arisen over enshrining a member of the Self Defence Forces whose wife was Christian in the *Gokoku Jinja* in Yamaguchi.

The other controversial act occurred when Prime Minister Nakasone visited the Yasukuni Shrine with several cabinet members, an event that takes place annually. Until Nakasone's visit, previous Prime Ministers had signed the book as ordinary citizens and donated from their own pockets. Nakasone signed "Prime Minister (*Sori Daijin*) Nakasone Yasuhiro," making the visit official and stirring up considerable controversy. His successor, Mr. Takeshita, avoided the issue by deciding not to make the visit for one year. Like those arguing for the revision of school textbooks to soften Japan's image as an aggressor, protagonists claim that these are domestic matters. The distinction between domestic and international cannot be so easily or exclusively drawn in the age of international business and finance.

In dealing with an appeal by the right-wing Iwate Prefectural Assembly against a Sendai High Court decision that it had acted unconstitutionally, the Supreme Court in Tokyo ruled on 25 September 1991 that official visits by either the Emperor or Prime Minister to the Yasukuni Shrine violate the Constitution's separation of government and religion according to the terms of Article 20. On the one hand, this ruling seems to be fairly conclusive and should be welcomed as clarifying the situation. On the other hand, it may simply fuel the fires of demand in certain quarters for constitutional revision. Time alone will tell which consequence prevails.

Newly inaugurated cabinets always visit the Grand Shrines of Ise, as do

members of the Imperial Family at important times. No one has objected to this, surprisingly, when it is considered that these are the central shrines of the Imperial System (*Tennōsei*). But the Yasukuni Shrine remains an emotional issue. As close as Okinawa, now a prefecture of Japan, there are still unhappy memories of the Japanese military. There was little joy there when Emperor Akihito visited Okinawa as Crown Prince in his father's stead to read a letter of sympathy. Of the 224,000 who died, approximately 160,000 were civilians and not military personnel. Most died at the hands of the Japanese army, which by that time was totally out of control and compelling people to commit suicide with it.[62]

The Funeral of Emperor Shōwa in 1989

When Emperor Hirohito died in January 1989, the question of religion and state came up again. Who should pay for the funeral? What kind of funeral should take place? The *Taiso no Rei* was held on 24 February 1989 in Shinjuku *Gyoen*, and the late Emperor was interred at the site of the Imperial Mausoleum in Hachioji. Controversy centered on the erection of a white *torii*, the gate to a shrine in front of the pavilion where the rites were conducted according to the Shinto tradition. The argument was whether the Imperial Household, the *Tennōke*, should use Shinto rituals as their own personal right, or whether the national funeral should be free of religious ritual. In fact, the appearance was confusing and although the *torii* was removed, controversy ensued. However, the controversies that followed over the alleged war responsibility of the Emperor far outshadowed the debate about the funeral.[63] With the beginning of a new era, Shinto may find peace to be itself without government or other interference.

The Accession Ceremonies of Emperor Akihito

In the accession of the new Emperor, the government was faced with the same problem it encountered in the funeral of Emperor Shōwa; how to provide for the rites at public expense without violating Article 39 of the Constitution. The *Sokui-no-Rei* was declared to be a state matter and would be funded by the government. The *Daijōsai* was declared to be a Shinto rite that was the prerogative of the Imperial Family; as such it was considered to be an Imperial Household rite, which the State would fund because it is also of national interest. On matters of budget, the funding for the *Daijōsai* was taken from the *kyutei* budget for the Imperial Court for public affairs as distinct from the *naitei*, which is the Court budget for private use by members of the Imperial Family. It could also be argued that because the Constitution permits freedom of religion, the Imperial Family is merely expressing its preference for Shinto rites to mark the formal ac-

cession of Emperor Akihito. Those against government funding of the rites continue to question the Imperial system; others on the right wing insist that the government's way of handling the issue was weak, compromising, and inadequate.

The Association of Shinto Shrines produced a brochure to explain the *Daijōsai* to the public. It described the role of the Emperor as revering the *kami* on behalf of the people and suggested nothing about special status of the Emperor, as the doctrine was expounded in the Meiji period. Rather, it pointed in a different direction. It closed with a sentiment that is appropriate to Japan's place in the modern world: "A new era has begun. The Emperor together with his people will work for the well-being of the nation and for the peace of the world."[64] The *Daijōsai* in effect inaugurates this new age.

SHINTO, THE HEISEI ERA, AND JAPAN'S INTERNATIONALIZATION

When Crown Prince Akihito became Emperor on 24 January 1989, a new era of Japanese history began. The naming of Imperial Eras (*Gengo*) has a long tradition. The year 1989 began the era of *Heisei* which loosely means "Peace and Development," the new age of Emperor Akihito.

Outside the former Japanese Empire proper, only two other areas have shrines, both built voluntarily by Japanese immigrants of the Meiji period and having nothing to do with State Shinto. The islands of Hawaii have several shrines as well as a number of Buddhist temples, as does Brazil, where many Japanese settled. California, which had a large immigrant Japanese population, boasts numerous temples going back to the Meiji period, but for some reason no shrines. The first branch shrine (*bunsha*) created outside of Japan since 1945 was set up in Stockton, California, in 1985 as a point of intercultural meeting.

How will Shinto fare in the foreseeable future? The Association of Shinto Shrines seems to recognize that the religious dimension of Shinto is significant for the Japanese people and for religions abroad that wish to communicate. Consequently, it has set up an international exchange division that tries to explain Shinto abroad and conduct dialogue with other faiths. Shinto cannot easily internationalize itself and should not be expected to do so in the way that banking and commerce can be internationalized. Culture is different. However, two points can be made. First, Shinto will again begin to absorb other influences as it travels around the world. It may even begin to develop a new image of itself. Second, in the process of exchange it will transfer some of its precious insights and ideas to enrich other religions and cultures. The rate of change in the modern world—and in Japan itself—suggests that these developments might occur with greater

speed than observers expect. As long as mutual spiritual enrichment and better understanding result, such developments can only be for the best.

NOTES

1. R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford University Press Paperbacks, London, 1961), pp. 231–249.
2. Japanese language is more closely related to Japanese culture than a language like English, for example, which is used in many cultural settings.
3. Joseph W. T. Mason, *The Meaning of Shinto: The Primeval Foundation of the Creative Spirit in Modern Japan* (Dutton, New York, 1935), 252; *The Spirit of Shinto Mythology* (Fuzambo, Tokyo, 1939), pp. xiii, 285.
4. Robert J. Ballou, *Shinto: The Unconquered Enemy* (Viking Press, New York, 1945).
5. The idea of the diagram is borrowed from Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kokka Shinto* (Iwanami Shinshō, Tokyo, 1970), p. 17.
6. J. E. Kidder, Jr., *Japan before Buddhism* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1958).
7. The location of the ancient state of Yamato remains controversial. Both names *Yamato* and *Yamatai* are found in ancient documents. Some scholars have considered them to be identical. In contrast, Sansom and Reischauer have held that Yamatai was a separate kingdom in northern Kyushu. See Joseph M. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1966), pp. 5–6, for a fuller discussion.
8. Kidder, *Japan before Buddhism.*
9. The *Nihon Minzoku Eizo Kenkyūjo* (Center for Japanese Ethnological Visual Documentation in Shinjuku, Tokyo) has filmed rituals entailing *Sangaku Shinkō* beliefs over a period of seven years in Hiroshima Prefecture.
10. Robert J. Smith, *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan* (Stanford University Press, California, 1974).
11. Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1975), p. 326.
12. Tsunoda Ryusaku et al., *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, ed. L. Carrington (Goodrich, South Pasadena, 1951), pp. 23–26.
13. Ishizu Teruji, *Exorcism and Shamanistic Patterns in Tohoku Districts of Japan* (Proceedings of the VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1968), pp. 126–128.
14. Tsunoda et al., *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories.*
15. *Kojiki*, Vol. I, Section 16 (Tuttle, 1982, Chamberlain's translation), p. 63.
16. *Kojiki*, Vol. I, Section 21 (Tuttle, 1982, Chamberlain's translation), p. 81.
17. See *Sourcebook of Shinto* (Greenwood Press, forthcoming) for a complete list.
18. *Nihongi* (Tuttle, 1972, Aston's translation), p. 154.
19. The first clause declares harmony as the basic social ideal to be followed.
20. It has been suggested that the first formal claims to the divine lineage of the Emperor were made during the reign of Emperor Tenmu.
21. *Saiō* has also been read as *saikū*.

22. In the postwar era, the years of *shikinen-sengu* have been 1953, 1973, and 1993. The cost in 1973 was approximately U.S. $20 million.

23. The reforms were undertaken by order of Emperor Kotoku between 645 and 649.

24. This dates to the time of Emperor Tenmu (r. 672–686).

25. Hachiman is recorded as having come in the form of a priestess to visit the Tōdai-ji in Nara. The reference is in the *Zoku-Nihongi*, *Kokushi Taikeii*, Vol. II (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 1935), p. 206.

26. Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–748) tried to implement a program of Buddhist expansion, which (according to Professor Antonio Forte) was the result of a drive from China under Quan Xiancheng (651–692) to establish an international *pax buddhica* centered on Luoyang, where a *mingtang* (comprising a Hall of Government with a five-storied pagoda) and a giant clock were built to standardize in a symbolic way the ideals of nations participating in the Chinese dream. Shōmu called for a seven-storied pagoda in each province of Japan. Antonio Forte, "Some Characteristics of Buddhism in East Asia," *East Asia Culture and Korean Culture* (Papers from Institute of Korean Humanistic Sciences International Cultural Symposium, 1986), pp. 46–61.

27. A biography of En no Gyōja, also known as En no Ubasoku (Sanskrit: *Upasaka*) was compiled by Gigen in 724. Tradition dates his birth to 634. See Byron Earhart, "Shugendō, the Traditions of En no Gyōja and *Mikkyō* Influence," *Studies in Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism* (Koyasan University, 1965), pp. 297–317.

28. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, pp. 40–41.

29. Gyōgi (670–749) was a Hosso sect priest who received the title *Bosatsu* from the Emperor after his death.

30. Ross Bender, "The Hachiman Cult and the Dōkyō Incident," *Monumenta Nipponica* 34, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 125–153, gives an account of the origins of Hachiman and the political background to the Dokyo incident.

31. Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (East-West Press, Honolulu, 1973), pp. 455–457, noted that the Japanese were not converted to Buddhism but that Buddhism was converted to Japanese tribalism. For a discussion of sutras in use in Japan of the seventh and eighth centuries, compare M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* (Brill, Leiden, 1935) and Jacques Kamstra, *Syncreticism or Encounter* (Brill, Leiden, 1975).

32. *Shoku Nihongi*, by J. B. Snellen, "*Shoku Nihongi*: Chronicles of Japan Continued from 697–791," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 11 (1934): 151–239 and 14 (1937): 209–279.

33. The two texts contained the rituals of the two shrines, inner and outer.

34. The record is to be found in the *Shin Shōkyaku-cho-kofu-shō*.

35. Saga (r. 809–823).

36. The importance of the *Engishiki* cannot be overestimated as a guide to form. Only parts are rendered in English, including the *Ōbarae norito* and parts of the *Daijōsai*.

37. The *Engishiki* formally designates the list.

38. The existence of these shrines strengthens the case for the antiquity of *Jinja Shinto* over politicized Shinto. The *Ichi-no-Miya* founded their own association in 1991.

39. The practice of multiple enshrinements can probably be traced to this period, prior to which probably only local *kami* would have been enshrined.

40. From the *Tado Jingū-ji Garan Engi Shizai-cho*, which dates to around 801.

41. *Zoku Nihongi*, see previous note 25.

42. A fuller discussion can be found in Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* (Sophia, Tuttle, Tokyo, 1969), Chapter 5.

43. Ibid., pp. 231–232.

44. Ibid., pp. 227–228.

45. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, p. 85.

46. The diary of Kujo Kanezane (1149–1207, a Kamamura age courtier), which was known as *Gyokuo* or *Gyokukai*, remains a valuable source for historical research.

47. *Joei shikimoku* or *Goseibai shikimoku* was promulgated to regulate vassals of the Kamakura shogunate. It became the basis of the warrior house law (Bukehō).

48. This tradition belongs firmly to the folk side of Japanese religion and was viewed with great suspicion by officially sanctioned groups.

49. H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shegundō* (Sophia University, Tokyo, 1970) is a most valuable study.

50. Paul L. Swanson, "*Shugendō* and the Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 55–84 is a study of the pilgrimage in modern times. A detailed Japanese account can be found in Gorai Shigeru, *Yama no Shūkyō* (Tankosha, Kyoto, 1970).

51. The last *saiin* is recorded as having been a daughter of Emperor Go Toba, and the last *saiō* was a daughter of Go-Daigo. Lack of funds prevented even the *Daijōsai* from being held. Only the *kagura* (sacred dance) of the *Kashikodokoro* was held without interruption.

52. *Yuiitsu Shinto Myō Bō Yōshū* and *Shinto Yurai-ki* were attributed to an ancestor; *Shinto Taii* was written under his own name.

53. This important distinction became a basic element of Shinto anthropology and is still used in modern religious movements.

54. See Miyachi Naokazu, *Shinto-shi*, Vol. 3 (Yuzankaku Publishing Co., Toyko, 1964).

55. Akiyama Kenzo, *Nisshi Kosho-shi Kenkyū*, Studies in Sino-Japanese Diplomatic History (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1939), p. 663.

56. One *koku* was a little over five bushels. The 250 (or so) *daimyo* received stipends ranging from the minimum of 10,000 to the maximum of 50,000.

57. Some claim long heritages and descent from the *kami* enshrined there. *Izumo Taisha* claims ninety-five generations, the *Tsubaki Dai Jinja* in Mie Prefecture claims ninety-six, and the *Aso Jinja* claims eighty. They survived State Shinto because the Japanese military police were sensitive toward shrines whose *kami* were identified in the mythology.

58. Kato Genchi delivered a now famous defense of the existence of *ikigami* to the 17th International Congress of Orientialists at Oxford in 1928.

59. For sources, see Wilhelmus H. M. Creemers, *Shrine Shinto after World War II* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1968), pp. 1–35; Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State: 1868–1989* (Princeton University Press, 1989); D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (University of Chicago Press, 1943).

60. Data and statistics are taken from the sources listed in note 59.

61. The authoritative work in English is Wilbur M. Fridell, *Japanese Shrine Mergers 1906–12* (Sophia University, Tokyo, 1973). Basic Japanese accounts include the following: Morioka Kiyomi, "*Meiji makki ni okeru shuraku jinja no seiri*" (Shrine Consolidation in Late Meiji), *Toyo Bunka* (University of Tokyo Publication), no. 40 (March 1966): 1–50; Nishikawa Masatani, "*Jinja seiri mondai no shiteki kosatsu*" (Historical Investigation into the Problem of Shrine Consolidation), *Shinto Kenkyū* 3, no. 4 (October 1942): 47–65; *Mie-ken Jinja-shi* (A History of Shrines in Mie Prefecture) (Prefectural Publications); Toki Shokum, "*Meiji iko ni okeru jinja seiri no mondai: jinja hōrei o chusin to shita sono keika ni tsuite*" (The Problem of Shrine Consolidation from Meiji—Its Development as Centered on Shrine Laws), *Shinto Shūkyō* (Tokyo), no. 17 (August 1958): 36–47.

62. Historian Ienaga Saburo's proposed school text, which deals with the war, remains unpublished because the Ministry of Education, using its system of *ketei* (screening), changed what Ienaga had written. He has sued the government three times since 1965 for trying to falsify history. The Supreme Court in Tokyo ruled against him on March 16, 1993, declaring that the system was constitutional. The debate nevertheless continues.

63. The subsequent shooting of the Mayor of Nagasaki in August 1988 by a fanatical rightist because he had expressed the opinion that the late Emperor did share some guilt for the war underlies the intensity of feeling that still exists in Japan on the subject.

64. *Jinja Honcho*, Opinion Series 3, *Daijosai* (*Heisei 1*, 1989).

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Chapter 2

Mythology

THE CONTEMPORARY QUESTION OF INTERPRETING MYTHOLOGY

How to understand mythology has been an important and recurrent topic of debate among scholars of religion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Approaches have varied dramatically. Max Muller dismissed them all as the result of diseases of language in the same manner that Plato referred to the Greek myths as noble lies. Among twentieth-century scholars, on the one hand there stands Rudolf Bultmann's *entmythologisierung* program to demythologize the Judaeo-Christian tradition. He thought to rid it of its clumsy and misleading myths in order to release its true and saving message.[1] On the other hand there stands the approach taken by Mircea Eliade in his *Myth of the Eternal Return*.[2] Far from wishing to discard myths, he claimed to recognize in them an "archaic ontology." He made an intriguing comment concerning certain unhealthy tendencies of Western thought:

> Western philosophy is in danger of "provincializing" itself (if the expression be permitted): first by jealously isolating itself in its own tradition and ignoring, for example, the problems and solutions of Oriential thought; second by its obstinate refusal to recognize any "situations" except those of the man of the historical civilizations, in defiance of the "primitive man," of man as a member of the traditional societies.[3]

He went so far as to claim that the "cardinal problems of metaphysics could be renewed through a knowledge of archaic ontology. In several previous works, especially in our *Patterns of Comparative Religion*, we attempted to present the principles of this archaic ontology, without claiming, of

course, to have succeeded in giving a coherent, still less an exhaustive exposition of it."[4]

One of Eliade's contentions in that Judaeo-Christian thought has substituted existence in the Cosmos for a relation with history. The Cosmos too has a history, and through its "myths" that history is conveyed to those who live within it.[5] The Cosmos and society can be renewed periodically through participation in the meaning of these myths. This could add, for example, a new dimension of meaning to the celebration in Japan of the New Year (*oshōgatsu*) or the first sunrise of the New Year (*hatsu-hi-nōde*). Eliade is recognizing that the archaic ontology, as he calls it, has meaning that can be reflected upon and studied. Japanese mythology is probably the outstanding surviving example of the cosmically sensitive archaic ontology that generated rituals and a society dependent upon them for meaning and periodic regeneration.[6]

Other approaches to myth could be mentioned, but I think the approach taken by Eliade is particularly useful in the present context in that it asks the student of the myths to read them in their own terms, as the product of a cosmic awareness, as a version of archaic ontology, of human awareness in traditional society before historical consciousness developed. This is very much in keeping with what I have suggested about not imposing Western mindsets upon the raw data of Shinto. This, as we shall see, becomes a most acute and complicated problem in dealing with the Japanese mythology.

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETING THE JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY

There is one additional complication regarding the mythology. Shinto has no official holy writings[7] because its survival has been guaranteed almost entirely by the preservation and perpetuation of its rituals. Nevertheless, the origins of Shinto, although not directly documented, are recorded in a compilation of Japanese mythology that dates to around 682 C.E. This is the *Kojiki*, the records of ancient matters. It was submitted to the Imperial Court around 712 C.E. and was received as the official account of the origins of the Japanese people, the Japanese archipelago, and what is known as the "age of the *kami*." Another version of essentially the same material, known as the *Nihongi* (or *Nihon Shōki*), dates to around 720 C.E. Both texts are basic resources for the historian once the narrative has entered the fifth century. Prior to that, they give an account of Japan's mythological origins.

These texts are the raw materials that must form the basis of discussion and interpretation. It should be remembered that they were written in a Chinese style of writing that is extremely difficult to read. Allowances must be made for the influence of Chinese forms of expression, although most

of the key terms are so-called *Yamato-kotoba*, original Japanese words whose use predates the introduction of the Chinese writing system and the Chinese characters. Professor Jean Herbert, an eminent French Orientalist close to the spirit of Eliade, said that after prolonged study he had "come to believe that the cosmogony outlined in the Shinto scriptures is the product neither of the fanciful imagination of poets, nor of the intellectual fumblings of a primitive people, as has been almost uniformly alleged by western scholars. Like those found in other authentic scriptures of different religions, it is a faithful description of truths which great sages, in close touch with the laws of nature, have seen and understood."[8]

Although I may not share such a pious approach, I would not deny that the Japanese mythology possesses unique qualities that I have not encountered elsewhere in quite the same style. I include Herbert's interpretation as one guide to the mythology along with the remarks of certain Japanese scholars who have had reservations about this approach, to indicate how quickly controversy can surround any attempts at interpreting the mythology.

These pages on the mythology are little more than a guide to a journey of exploration that each researcher must undertake alone. The most basic way to begin the study is to read the *Nihongi* (Books I–II) and the *Kojiki* (Volume I). To assist, I offer a parallel synopsis of these sections. Follow this by reading Herbert's analysis, then read the texts again and consider the various responses made by Japanese scholars. Some have pointed out the political nature of the myths and regarded his views as "beating the air." Some did consider that he provided a vehicle of understanding, showing, for example, that mythology and science do not conflict. Others have felt that myth was beyond the bounds of science. One interesting comment praised him for the spiritual purity of his approach but qualified any praise in these terms: "But I cannot help feeling that it is a product of the West-European intelligence, which should not be understood as a compliment!"[9] Herbert devoted the succeeding seven chapters of his book to an amplification of the mythology along the lines presented here. Although I am in sympathy with his approach, I feel nevertheless that he became somewhat carried away with his ideas to the detriment of his study, falling into precisely the pitfall he sought to avoid, that of imposing Western forms. The archaic ontology does not yield so simply to the analytic techniques of the mind of historical civilization.

PARALLEL SYNOPSIS OF THE KOJIKI AND THE NIHONGI[10]

Kojiki	*Nihongi*	
Volume I	Book I	Contents
Section 1	I:1–3	Separation of Heaven and Earth.

Section 2	I:4	The generations of the *kami.*
Section 3	I:5	The jeweled spear of heaven and the island of Onogoro.
Section 4	I:5–6	Izanami and Izanagi procreate.
Section 5	I:7–9	Izanami and Izanagi procreate again.
Section 6	I:10–11	They give birth to various islands.
Section 7	I:12–14	They give birth to various *kami* and Izanami dies.
Section 8	I:15–17	Izanagi kills the fire *kami* and other *kami* appear.
Section 9[11]	I:18	Izanagi visits Yomi no Kuni.
Section 10	I:19–20	Izanagi escapes and divorces Izanami.
Section 11	I:21	He purifies himself in a river and Amaterasu is born.
Section 12	I:22	He hands on his task to the three noble *kami.*
Section 13	I:29	Susano-o-no-mikoto misbehaves and is expelled.
Section 14	I:30	He visits Amaterasu to bid her farewell.
Section 15	I:31	They bear more *kami.*
Section 16	I:32	He offends Amaterasu.
Section 17	I:37–49	She hides in the Ame no Iwato (the Heavenly Rock Dwelling). Ame-Uzume-no-mikoto entices her out.
Section 18	I:50–51	The eight-tailed serpent.
Section 19	I:52–58	The Palace of Suga.
Section 20	I:59	Ancestors of Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto.
Section 21		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto and the white rabbit of Inaba.
Section 22		The plot against Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto.
Section 23		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto saved by a mouse.
Section 24		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto overcomes his eighty brothers.
Section 25		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto woos and sings to Nuna-kaha-hime.
Section 26		Nuna-kaha-hime replies in song.
Section 27		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto sings farewell to Suseri-hime.
Section 28		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto is persuaded not to leave.
Section 29		The descendants of Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto.
Section 30		Sakuna-hiko appears to help in creating the land.

Section 31		Genealogy of various *kami*.
Section 32		Ame-no-ho-hiko is sent to pacify the land.
Section 33		Ame-no-waka-hiko is sent but does not return.
Section 34		The funeral of Ame-no-waka-hiko.
Section 35		The sons of Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto surrender the land.
Section 36		The second son of Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto surrenders.
Section 37		Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto is worshipped at Izumo.
	Book II	
Section 38	II:17	Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto and Ame-Uzume-no-mikoto.
Section 39	II:18	The descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto.
Section 40	II:	Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto and the shellfish (Chamb. 36).
Section 41	II:24	Marriage of Ninigi-no-mikoto.
Section 42	II:42	The lost fishhook.
Section 43	II:34–35	The palace of the *kami* of the sea.
Section 44	II:33–34	The *kami* of the sea lends the crocodile.
Section 45	II:48–49	Toyo-tama-hime gives birth.
Section 46	II:50	The children of Toyo-tama-hime-no-mikoto.

The two texts are not entirely identical or completely parallel, but the form in which the narrative is cast is similar. This provides the basis of the various interpretations discussed.

THE KAMI-YO: THE AGE OF THE KAMI

The first outline of the *kami-yo* is based on the work of a reputable prewar scholar who tried to set down a chronology of the *kami*. Thereafter, for the purposes of contrast, two Western summaries of the *kami-yo* are presented.

Akiyama's Outline of the Age of the *Kami* (the *Kami-Yo or Jin-Dai*)

Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-kami	*Kami* of the High Plain of Heaven
Takami-musubi-no-kami	*Kami* of Creativity
Kami-musubi-no-kami	*Kami* of Creation
Umashi-Ashikabihiko-no-kami	*Kami* of Creation

Ame-no-tokotachi-no-kami	*Kami* of Heaven
Kuni-no-tokotachi-no-kami	*Kami* of Earth
Toyokumonu-no-kami	"Mercury"
Ujini-no-kami	"Saturn"
Suijini-no-kami	
Tsunugui-no-kami	"Jupiter"
Ikigui-no-kami	
Otonoji-no-kami	"Mars"
Otonobe-no-kami	
Omodaru-no-kami	"Venus"
Ayakashikone-no-kami	
Izanagi-no-mikoto	
Izanami-no-mikoto	
Amaterasu-Okami	*Kami* of the Sun: primal *kami* of Japan
Ame-no-oshihomimi-no-mikoto	Son of Amaterasu
Ninigi-no-mikoto	Grandson of Amaterasu
Hikohohodemi-no-mikoto	Great-Grandson of Amaterasu
Ugaya-Fukiaezu-no-mikoto	Great-Great-Grandson of Amaterasu
Iwarehiko-no-mikoto, also known as Jimmu Tennō	Fourth son of Ugaya-Fukiaezu-no-mikoto, the first Emperor of Japan

The name for the Japanese archipelago was *Toyoashihara* (Fertile Land of Reed Plains), to which Amaterasu bade her grandson descend and govern for ages eternal. The sacred Regalia—the Mirror, Jewel, and Sword—were given to him. He descended upon the peak of Mt. Takachiho in Kyushu and married the *kami* known as Konohana-Sakuyahime. Their fourth grandson became the first Emperor.[12]

Herbert's Analysis of the Kami-Yo

Herbert summarizes the age of the *kami* by dividing it into seven successive stages:

1. *The appearance of differentiated non-material principles.* From an undefined and probably monistic pre-existence proceed in perfectly logical order the successive constituent principles which will permit the creation of the world. They are represented by the first seventeen *kami* listed in the *Kojiki.*
2. *The appearance of solid matter.* The original pair of actual Creators gradually brings the Earth out of the primeval Ocean, and gives birth to the individual *kami* representing the forces required to support the material world.
3. *The beginnings of mortal life.* Death . . . makes its appearance, and since it is a

basic imperfection and requires a purifying process, there also appears the possibility of purification, represented by a number of *kami*.

4. *The establishment of separate rulers for heaven and earth.* The three parts of the universe are organized and a distribution of duties is effected between their respective rulers. But since earth cannot subsist or prosper without the protection, blessing and co-operation of the heavenly forces, the latter are made to exercise the required influence.
5. *The consolidation of the earth by the heavenly powers.* The *kami* who are specifically in charge of the earth make and consolidate the land.
6. *The conquest of the earth by the heavenly powers.* The Heavenly *kami* feel that the earth being now organized but not yet divinized, the time has come for them to take charge of it. They make a number of successive and unconclusive attempts and finally succeed. The Heavenly *kami* now entrusted with the ruling of the earth takes charge of it.
7. The Heavenly *kami* effect complete intimate union with the powers of the land and of the sea, and finally with the earthly *kami* themselves.[13]

Wheeler's Version of the Kami-Yo

Another interesting attempt at analyzing the mythology into a chronological structure was produced by a former U.S. diplomat in Tokyo, Post Wheeler. His book was written primarily to attribute Japan's militarism to the idea of Divine Descent (he uses the capital letters). Although the original goal might have been polemic, he drew heavily upon Japanese scholarship of the day and presented the mythology in a form not dissimilar to that of Herbert. It provides further material for contrastive purposes to read alongside the originals.

Chaos	The Separation of the Sky and the Earth
The Sky	The Appearance of the Primal Deities The Appearance of the Lesser Deities The Appearance of the Creative Deity-Pair
The Earth	The Formation of the first Land by the Creative Pair The first House (architecture) The first Marriage (ceremony) Cohabitation Trial Birth (unsuccessful) The Birth of Lands The Birth of Elemental Deities (food, trees, mountains, rivers) The Birth of the Fire-Deity The first Death The first Murder
The Underworld	The first Divorce The Creation of Phallic Deities (thunder, disease, etc.)

The Earth	The Creation of the Three Ruling-Deities
	  The Sun-Deity (good)
	  The Moon Deity
	  The Rebellious Deity (evil)
	The Distribution among these of the All-Rule
	The Withdrawal of the Earlier Creator
	The Murder of the Food-Deity
	  Creation of grains, silk, and beasts of burden

The Sky	The Struggle between the Good Deity and the Rebellious Deity
	  Weaving (the loom)
	The Self-Sequestration of the Good Deity
	  The Sky and Earth Eclipsed
	The Return of the Good Deity Invoked (divination)
	  Invention of Sculpture
	  Metal-working (forge)
	  Feminine Adornment
	  Music (wind- and string-instruments)
	  Liturgy
	  Dance
	  Song (incantation)
	The Return of the Good Deity
	The Birth of the Sky-Ancestor of the Imperial Line
	The Expulsion of the Rebellious Deity
	Reigious Purification

The Earth	The Peopling of the Earth by the Rebellious Deity
	  Distribution of trees and seeds
	  Cultivation of the land
	The Slaying of the Earth-serpent
	  Poetry (the first poem)
	Multiplication of Earth-Deities
	The Birth of the Land-Master
	The Withdrawal of the Rebellious Deity to the Underworld
	The Persecution of the Land-Master by his Brethren

The Underworld	The Rape of the Rebellious Deity's Daughter and Property by the Land-Master

The Earth	The Land-Master Vanquishes his Brethren
	Improvement of the Land
	The Coming of the Southern Over-Sea Deity
	  His Assistance
	  Medicine
	  The Hot-Bath
	His Departure

The Sky	The Decision of the Good Deity to assume Earth-Rule The First Embassies to Earth (unsuccessful)
The Earth	The Land-Master Submits to the Sky-Ancestor The first Temple (ritual)

The Sky	His Abdication Confirmed by the Good Deity The Descent of the Deity-Ancestor
The Earth	The First Earthly Emperor His Conquest of the Realm[14]

One reason for including these two accounts is to provide models based on Western-style analysis. Of the two, Wheeler is the more "Western" in his approach, yet he reproduces more of the complexity of the narrative. Herbert is more metaphysical. Neither one addresses the problem of why the primal *kami* of the mythology appears so late. Amaterasu is the ancestor of the Imperial House, yet she makes her appearance after Izanagi and Izanami. The *zōka-sanshin* (the three central creative *kami*) are not treated satisfactorily in either of the accounts. Wheeler tries to find significance in the words rather than in the atmosphere or impressions that the mythology creates. He identifies the final separation of Izanami and Izanagi as the first divorce. Indeed, he pronounces the formula of divorce, but by that time she is already dead!

Questions like these strongly suggest that the content of the narratives of this archaic ontology is not readily accessible to the Western inclination to simplify and impose a rational structure upon mythology. There is no doubt that the study of the classics in general and the mythology in particular is basic to a developed and balanced view of Shinto. This each individual can achieve only by himself or herself.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF CREATION

According to both texts, when heaven and earth came into being there were five *kami* who were born in the High Plain of Heaven, Takamahara. The next level is Takamanohara. It was from the Floating Bridge of Heaven, Ame-no-Ukihashi, that the two creative *kami* discovered the island of Onogoro-jima, which has been taken traditionally to mean the Japanese islands. The *kami* were led by the Master of the August Center of Heaven (Ame-no-minakushi), the *kami* of absolute beginnings, the very first *kami*. There were also the August Producing *kami* (Takami-musubi-no-kami), and the Divine Producing Wondrous *kami* (Kami-musubi-no-kami). The concept of *musubi* means "biding together or bonding." Along with these three *zōka-sanshin* (the three central creative *kami*) were the Pleasant Reed Shoot Prince elderly *kami* (Umashi-ashikabi-hikoji-no-kami) and the Heavenly Eternal Standing *kami* (Ame-no-tokotachi-no-kami). The world came into being through the work of the *kami* and their union. The idea of uniting (i.e., balancing or harmonizing) is also a part of the idea of creation. The universe gradually becomes defined through the union of pairs of *kami* who represent opposite extremes. After these, ten more *kami* of heaven are

born; following them are the Male-Who-Invites (Izanagi-no-mikoto) and the Female-Who-Invites (Izanami-no-mikoto).

After receiving a jeweled spear from heaven and standing on the Floating Bridge, they thrust the spear down and stir. As they lift the spear from the ocean beneath, drops of brine harden and form the island of Onogoro. Izanagi and Izanami descend to the land they have found and created; and discovering their sexual identities, they make love.[15] (The description of the act of love was considered by Chamberlain to be too much for the gentle eyes of Victorian readers, so he rendered Section IV into Latin! The same section makes reference to the erection of a hall of eight fathoms, which has been considered by some scholars to refer to *Izumo Taisha*, although there is no final agreement on this.) Section 5 narrates the return of the pair to discuss the matter with the Heavenly *kami*, who in turn order them back to their work of love. They produce fourteen more islands and thereafter a succession of *kami*, last of whom is the *kami* of fire.

Izanami becomes ill after this last birth. As she lies dying, *kami* spring from her vomit, feces, and urine. Before her death, fourteen islands and thirty-five *kami* have come into being. From an anthropological point of view, Izanami's death after giving birth to the *kami* of fire presumably refers to the stage of civilization in which the utility of fire as well as its dangers came to be understood. Izanagi grieves for Izanami in a touching way, and he follows her to the underworld (Yomi-no-kuni), where he is ordered not to look at her. He disobeys and sees her decomposing form covered with maggots.[16]

The ugly hags of the underworld are set upon him and he flees to the border of the land of Yomi-no-kuni. He draws up a "thousand-draught rock," and in the closing scene they finally part, with Izanami threatening to kill one thousand people every day if he returns. He in turn insists that he can cause fifteen hundred to be born, which has been taken as a affirmation of the power of life over death, a strong and consistent theme in Shinto thought. The awareness of death as natural, but the polluting effect of the physical aspect of death, remain motifs of Japanese culture.

Izanagi then proceeds to a river mouth where he washes and purifies himself completely, thereby providing the origin of the practice of purification to remove *tsumi*, impurity. Before entering the Tachibana River, he throws off his jewelry and clothing and from each object a *kami* is born. He then plunges into the middle of the river, enacting the generic form of the later ritual of *misogi*. As he washes his face, three final *kami* appear: the *kami* of the stars, Susano-no-mikoto; the *kami* of the moon, Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto; and the primal *kami* of the sun, Amaterasu-o-kami.

The *kami* of the stars, Susano-no-mikoto, was inclined to be impetuous and to perform acts that affronted the other *kami*. After a series of misdeeds, the sun *kami* hides in the Rock-Dwelling known as Ame-no-Iwato. The world is plunged into darkness; and the *kami*, using a *sakaki* branch

(found in most Shinto rituals), try to induce her to return. At this point Ame-uzume-no-mikoto performs a ribald dance that makes the other *kami* laugh. On hearing the noise, the *kami* of the sun, Amaterasu, emerges. The other *kami* quickly throw a rope over the mouth of the cave to stop her returning, and the world again has light.[17]

Thereafter occurs the descent of the grandchild of the *kami* of the sun, Ninigi-no-mikoto.[18] The appearance of a massive *kami* called Sarutahiko-ō-kami, at the point where heaven and earth meet, causes fear in the heavenly *kami*. Ame-uzume-no-mikoto, whose trick had brought out the sun *kami*, is asked to go and meet this huge Earthly *kami*. She meets him and they settle on the earth, with Sarutahiko-ō-kami becoming the head of the earthly *kami* and his wife, Ame-uzume-no-mikoto, becoming the principal *kami* of entertainment, marriage, and defense. Thereafter, the grandson of the sun *kami* descends and the culture of rice is begun. From the descent of the August Grandson the Imperial Family has claimed its lineage with Jimmu Tennō being the first Emperor.[19]

DISTINCTIVE ASPECTS OF THE MYTHOLOGY

Certain features of the mythology illustrate how fundamentally different it is from Indo-European mythology and how difficult it is to interpret in an analogous manner.[20] Although the academic desire to conduct exercises in comparative mythology is justified, most of the meaningful parallels are drawn almost entirely from within traditional culture sharing some common heritage. It should not be surprising that the Japanese myths do not fit into categories devised for myths from different types of archaic society.[21]

The Relationship between Kami and Humanity

Humanity is descended from the *kami*, not created by them. This fact puts the Japanese mythology into a unique category and demonstrates how different it is from the Judaeo-Christian myths, for example. It is not a mythology of creation in the Western sense. The ancient *kami* are born and they too die.[22] *Kami* even have graves, in some instances. There are *kami* with a creative role, but their relationship to the creative process is extremely complicated and inconsistent, as a cursory reading of the narrative shows. It is more like a theory of the evolution of humanity from the *kami*, symbolized supremely by the *kami* origins of the Imperial House.

The Problematic Nature of Kami

This is a notorious issue to which I wish simply to draw attention. If a list is drawn up of all the beings that are identified as *kami*, and if the

manner of their birth and death is recorded, what do they have in common that makes them *kami*? This question may be inspired by Plato's search for universals, but it is not wholly unreasonable. I noted several definitions in the Introduction to this book, but the one I prefer is based upon what are designated *kami* in the world around us in addition to the *kami* of the mythology. Yet in terms of the mythology alone, what indeed is a *kami*?

The Late Appearance of the Primal Kami

The sequence places the *kami* of the sun as late in appearing. This makes the mythology an unusual solar myth. Western critics have widely assumed that Shinto is based on a solar myth expressed in the legend of the sun *kami*. The Imperial Regalia of the Mirror, Jewel, and Sword identify well with the sun, moon, and lightning. However, to read these solely in a political way ignores the role of the sun, moon, and lightning in the process of maturing rice.

Lack of Interest in Formal Consistency

It is a strange metaphysics or religion from a Western (especially a classical Greek) point of view that could speak of a god dying. The gods by nature are immortal, and the idea of a man in later ages becoming a god is also difficult to express. The narrative goes back and forth over certain themes even when something impossible is being said, such as the "divorce" of Izanagi from his dead wife. The same point has been made about Japanese thought in general, namely, that it exhibits little interest in formal consistency.[23]

The Manner of Transition from Mythology to History

With no seeming sense of gap, the narrative flows quite freely from the *kami-yo* to the islands of Japan, from the timeless era of the *kami* to the historical Japan. Perhaps this is the result of the tremendous influence of Chinese culture at the time of the composition of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The idea of Divine Descent becomes all the easier to discuss, although it does raise certain metaphysical questions. These are of no interest to the narrative, however, which continues to weave myth and history together even as the historical eras begin to dawn.

JAPANESE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MYTHOLOGY

Various schools of interpretation exist in Japan, but the beginning of the study of the classics in modern times dates to the work of the *Kokugaku* (National Learning) school of Shinto Studies.[24]

Kokugaku Interpretations

Japanese scholars over the centuries have written expositions of the *Kojiki* in particular and Japanese mythology in general. Leaders among them were Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769); Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), who developed the political meaning of the mythology; and, supremely, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801).[25] His work was analogous to that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century German *Formgeshichte* (form criticism) school, which was concerned with the origin and formation of the New Testament. Just as these scholars tried to separate the content of primitive Christianity from its Hellenistic overlays, Motoori Norinaga tried to identify what was pure Japanese mythology and to separate it from the influence of Chinese style and thought. He concluded that the doctrine of Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun, was the principal theme of the mythology. Regardless of the validity of his conclusions, his work stands as an early Japanese attempt at textual analysis in order to probe primitive roots. It is also the starting point for almost all modern work on the *Kojiki.*

Political Interpretations

Tsuda Sokichi was the earliest among modern scholars to express a clearly political view of the ancient texts. He argued in a Marxist manner in a series of works on the *Kojiki* that it was composed as neither history nor as myth, but as a document to legitimize the rule of the Imperial House. He propounded this theory first in 1913; understandably, its radical nature led to considerable controversy. However, his influence was established and remains dominant, with most later work being simply the development and amplification of his thought.[26] Anesaki Masaharu, close to the spirit of this, declared that

> Whatever the mythical significance or historical value of these stories may be, the Yamato race always believed in its descent from Heaven and worshiped the Sun-goddess as the ancestress of the ruling family, if not of all the people. They also endeavored to force this belief on the subjugated peoples, and partly succeeded in impressing them with that and other associated ideas. These legends and beliefs, together with the accompanying religious practices, make up the original religion of the Yamato race, now known as Shinto.[27]

Literary Views

Watsuji Tetsuro, famous for his work on the role of climate in the philosophy of culture, published a major work in reaction to Tsuda's. He favored a literary appreciation of the *Kojiki*, claiming that this gave it inner coherence.[28] This was taken a stage further by Kurano Kenji,[29] who sug-

gested that the *Kojiki* may best be compared with epic literature of the West and that it should be so regarded, much in the way that *Beowulf* is read now as an epic of the Anglo-Saxon world. The most thorough recent study of the structure of the text was undertaken by Takeda Yukichi, whose work covers the middle years of the century.[30] More recently, the unique role of imagination in Japanese myth has been discussed by Nakanishi Susumu.[31]

Sociological and Folklore Interpretations

Some scholars argue that the role of Japan's rice culture was decisive in the growth of its social self-awareness. The sense of divinity within life precedes these, and ultimately that idea is enshrined within the forms of the mythology. Like the mythology of the ancient Hebrews, which was borrowed from Babylon and elsewhere, it is not the form of the borrowed that is important nor even its original message, but what the borrower wished to communicate through it. In the case of the Japanese, the objective was to express a self-understanding about the world and the place of the *kami* and the Japanese people within it.

It is generally agreed by scholars that although material culture of Japan was quickly enriched by contact with China, the social and religious culture of Japan was more sophisticated than was first thought by early Western critics. Comparisons with pagan nature worship in the West are consequently misleading. Western nature worship, and later Christianity, fostered a sense of fear and the need to atone for evil and deformity. Shinto seems inspired by a religious mood of love and gratitude for natural beauty. Therein lies the key that explains the contrast between the two worldviews. All these points emerge in the great studies of Japanese folklore and their meaning. The most famous scholars in this area were the folkorist Yanigata Kunio[32] and a student of mythology, Matsumura Takeo.[33]

Modern Liberal Interpretations

In more recent times, some thinkers have tried to universalize the meaning of the mythology. For example, in the earliest stages when heaven and earth came into being, there were five *kami* born in the high plain of heaven. This can be radically reinterpreted.[34] Takamahara, the High Plain of Heaven, can be taken to mean the cosmos. The next level, Takamanohara, can be taken to mean the solar system. From the floating bridge of heaven, Ame-no-Ukihashi, the two creative *kami* discovered the island of Onogoro-jima. This could mean the Japanese islands, but from its etymology (literally, "self-condensing") it could also refer to the planet Earth.

The concept of *musubi*, which means "binding together or bonding," can also carry the nuance of "creativity." Along with the three Divine Cre-

ators (the *zoka-no-san-shin*) were the Pleasant Reed Shoot Prince elderly *kami* (Umashi-ashikabi-hikoji-no-kami) and the Heavenly Eternal Standing *kami* (Ame-no-tokotachi-no-kami). The world comes into being through the work of all these *kami* and their union. The idea of uniting (i.e., balancing or harmonizing) is also part of the idea of creation. The universe is designed to reflect the balance and harmony that their uniting achieves. As a result, conflict becomes understood as unnatural. After these, ten more *kami* of heaven are born as well as the Male-Who-Invites (Izanagi-no-mikoto) and th Female-Who-Invites (Izanami-no-mikoto). The universe becomes further formed and expanded by the union of these two *kami* of opposites. By command of the first *kami* everything is ordered according to the guidance of truth, reason, and principle. This kind of interpretation can be carried right through to the close of the *kami-yo*. Its purpose is to expound the universal significance of the narratives.

These ideas have been praised by some thinkers and condemned by others. Whether or not Japanese mythology can be universalized is not an old question. It represents an attempt to break out of the Meiji period State Shinto orthodoxy and away from conventional thinking toward more spontaneous and meaningful ways of speaking about the mythology, not just to the outside world but to the Japanese people themselves.

RESIDUAL INFLUENCES IN JAPANESE CULTURE

The myths of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, despite their antiquity, continue to exert indirect influences on modern Japanese culture much in the same way that Western myths affect the cultures they helped to create. Myth leaves its mark upon society. From this we can learn more about the myth and society as well as how they relate. The following sections review six significant areas of continuing influence that have been identified and discussed by various critics, including Namakura Hajime, the reknowned scholar of Buddhism and Japanese intellectual history.

The Idea of Spontaneous Creativity

This concept differs from the Western idea of a Creator God by whose sole agency the world comes into being.[35] The Japanese myths identify the collective activity of many *kami* whose action and interaction bring into being the world as we know it. The idea of *musubi* is central to this role. The Japanese inclination to rely on the result of spontaneous collective effort without trying to predetermine the outcome too strictly seems to have survived in aspects of modern decision-making processes in which widespread participation to achieve a harmonious conclusion is the objective.

Confidence in the Power of Life

Motoori Norinaga pointed to the great sense of power of life in the mythology. In modern times this may be reflected partially in the often-repeated affirmation that Japan's only real natural resource is its people and specifically in the Matsushita Corporation philosophy of "Human Resource Management." The Japanese festival as a celebration of life for its own sake is one way in which the principle is expressed in community life.

The Desire for All-Inclusiveness

A preference for all-inclusiveness and the reconciliation of differences may be attributed to the idea that pairs of *kami* representing opposites brought the world into being. These *kami*, in their harmony, become creative and are caught up in each other's efforts. Thus, a world comes into being that expresses the principle harmony as a natural ideal. Such ideals seems to imbue many Japanese workplaces with a distinctive atmosphere. Great scrolls bearing the characters for harmony (*chōwa*) may often be seen.

Styles of Artistic Expression

These are heavily influenced by Shinto ideals concerning nature, beauty, and goodness. Buddhist statuary in Japan was given greater benignity in its facial lines in keeping with the general good-naturedness of the Japanese *kami*. Gardens were designed to reflect the best of nature's seasons. Houses came to be made of natural wood like the oldest shrines, and the relationship of both to their surroundings came to be a complete art form. Tea houses provide outstanding examples of this concept. Aesthetic quality grew to be a value in Japan, whereas it has always been viewed with some suspicion in the West, whose primary non-ethical value norm is the "scientific" in the broadest sense.

The Inclination to Nationalism and Ethnocentrism

Narrow interpretation of the mythology, especially during the early nineteenth century, led to the growth of an ethnocentrism that served the interests of nationalism during the time of Japan's modernization when national self-awareness was necessary. However, it was manipulated and eventually transformed into a doctrine of racial superiority and the basis of a militaristic ideology. Although this has receded into history, there is no doubt that Japanese governments still think in ethnocentric terms with regard to the other peoples of Asia and consider nationalism to be a virtue, regardless of its potentially dangerous implications.

In his introduction to *Shinto: Japan's Spiritual Roots*, Ewdin O. Reischauer perceptively observed that it is difficult to imagine Japan without Shinto or Shinto anywhere except in Japan. Historically that is the case. However, Shinto mythology is capable of broader interpretation than it has received from certain commentators. It is not devoid of universal elements. These are now being sought so that Shinto, through reflection upon its own mythology, can engage in a dialogue with world religions.

MYTH IN MODERN JAPANESE SOCIETY

There are grounds for arguing that the power of myth is far from dead in modern Japan, even the Japan of the postwar era. Japan began the process of modernization and industrialization in 1868, so one would expect developments in Japan to follow the patterns of modernization found elsewhere. This was certainly the expectation of the Modernization School of the 1960s. Japan's modernization has incorporated more of the traditional society than would be expected on the basis of Western models.[36] This has been asserted by numerous Japanese, and it is now receiving even greater credibility by one leading Western sociologist who has retracted his earlier position.[37]

Kokutai Thought from Meiji to Shōwa (1868–1989)

The term *kokutai* (literally, "national body" or body politic) in Japanese consists of two characters. One represents the idea of "country" and the other of "body." The term *kokutai* belongs to Meiji period political philosophy. Another considerably older term,[38] *kunigara*, carries essentially the same meaning. It consists of the same character for country, read here as *kuni*, and the ending *gara*, whose roots mean "pattern" or "character." For example, *iegara* identifies social standing or the pedigree of a house lineage. *Hitogara* describes moral elegance in an individual. *Aidagara* refers to the "between" aspect of relationships. *Kunigara* is therefore the quality of national character (or virtue in the Confucian sense).

The Meiji definition of *kokutai* was "Emperor plus people." *Kunigara* seems to have a cultural rather than political nuance. The distinction is similar to that between government-sponsored Shinto cults and those that grew from popular roots. Likewise, the two sets of ideas may be set side-by-side in a table of contrasts between different ways of appreciating the national tradition.

The diagram is merely a guide designed to suggest that there is more than one line of thought about the nature of the body politic. There is a narrow one around which gathered the political ideals of Meiji Japan, such as *fukoku-kyōhei* (prosperous country, strong army) or *wakon-yōsai* (Western techniques, Japanese spirit). There is also a broader and more

cultural one, which seems to be reflected in the postwar Imperial Edict for the reconstitution of the State given on 1 January 1946. The *Manyōshū*[39] term *kunigara* existed prior to the modern state; like the *Manyōshū* itself, it gives a different picture of Japan from that of the rigid feudal society of Edo, which was quickly transformed into the narrow-minded nationalistic state of the Meiji period. The emphasis of postwar to Heisei Japan seems to be more upon the cultural and political ideals.

Kokutai Thought: Understanding the Meaning of the National Tradition

kokutai As an appreciation of the basic role of the State and the Emperor	***kunigara*** As an appreciation of the Japanese tradition in the broad sense—a spiritual understanding of *kokutai*
kokutai (Political) About the constitutional nature of the body politic	***kunigara*** (Religious) (This half can be read alongside the diagram on the development of Shinto)

kokutai The official history of the land of Yamato and the origins of the Imperial House	***kokutai*** The mythology of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*	***kunigara*** Reverence for *kami*, reverence for the dead, reverence for nature, love of life
Sai-sei-itchi Unity of worship and government—legal and constitutional principles	***kokutai*** *Sai-sei itchi* *Matsuri-goto* *Yamato-damashi*	***kunigara*** Appreciation of the excellence of the Japanese tradition of diligence, etc.
kokutai Ideals of the Imperial Rescript on Education	***kokutai*** *Kokka Shinto*	***kunigara*** Appreciation of natural beauty, historical culture, sense of humanity

Kigensetsu and Kenkokusai

The influence of the Meiji ideals has proved difficult to dislodge. For example, the early Meiji government declared the birthday of Emperor Meiji and the accession day of the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, to be national holidays.[40] This was decreed in 1873. The term *Kingensetsu* referred to the mythological national founding day in 660 B.C. Nationalists began a campaign to reinstate it as soon as the San Francisco Treaty had been signed. The February 11 debate was resolved when the holiday was formally included in the calendar of national holidays in 1966. It was named the *Kenkokusai* festival to mark the national founding day. It subsequently became an occasion for ultra-nationalists to organize rallies to decry the postwar Constitution and demand a new and militaristic constitution befitting the modern Japan.

The Separation of Mythology and Politics

The constitutional separation of State and Shinto that took place after the war has been discussed earlier in this book. It is stated in the Constitution and therefore is part of the law of the land. The separation of *mythology* and *politics* in Japan has proven to be more difficult to effect. I cite several reasons for this with minimum comment because they are factors that must be recognized and addressed openly and frankly, regardless of individual opinions.

First, religion and politics cannot be readily separated. The United States might have explicit constitutional provisions, yet there is such a thing in the United States as "civic religion." The U.S. dollar proclaims "In God We Trust." British monarchs receive the crown from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Islamic nations have made Islamic values the basis of law as well as morality. Buddhist cultures have done likewise. In spite of hunger in India, the cow remains sacred. Examples could continue indefinitely. Separation of Church and State, meaning that a government will not financially support any specific religious institution, is about the most that can be guaranteed. Religion and mythology in the broader sense of ideas and values cannot be separated from political life any more than language can be separated from the culture to which it gives expression.

Second, unlike many nations in Asia, Japan was not colonized in the nineteenth century and therefore was able to develop independently of colonial influences. A national way of thinking was established by the Meiji government that survived into the modern period, because it offered a sense of security and identity in a world that was changing with dramatic speed. It also helped to restore stability in the nation after the disastrous Pacific War and has not been absent from the era of economic development. New elements may be added to the Japanese tradition, but what is already in place cannot be changed—or so the common sense has it. Japan's dynamics of social change function according to their own laws.

Finally, it is more than reasonable to argue that Japan is a modern nation that differs from modernized Western nations in that its government has preserved (intentionally or not) much more of its past than other nations have, not least of all its roots in the mythology of a sacral society. This cannot be made to disappear. It is like a tree whose branches may be broken from time to time but whose roots are strong and healthy and too deep to be completely dislodged.

NOTES

1. Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (SCM Press, London, 1958). The post-Bultmann theological discussion of secularization can be traced to Ronald Gregor Smith, *The New Man* (SCM Press, London, 1955) and his subsequent work, *Secular Christianity* (Collins, Glasgow, 1970).

2. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton University Press, 1974).

3. Ibid., p. x.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

6. The interesting question remains of how Japan can operate so successfully within the historical structures created by Western thought and yet retain such a grip on the archaic ontology. Japan's perennial problem of adjusting to the outside world may arise from the lack of a sense of what Eliade called the "terrors of history."

A valuable and related study of the literary roots of the Shinto tradition is Herbert Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1990).

7. Western commentators frequently but misleadingly refer to the *Nihongi* and the *Kojiki* as Japan's sacred scriptures. Although they contain mythology and some early history, they have no spiritual significance on a par with the Bible or the Koran, or even with any of the sūtras popular in Japanese Buddhism. They are not guides for life and they are not used in any religious rituals, although the names of *kami* appear within them.

8. Jean Herbert, *Shinto: At the Fountainhead of Japan* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1967), p. 228. His work was based primarily on interviews with priests and scholars. It is a remarkable achievement in terms of the limited method of research.

9. This comment appeared in a 1962 issue of the *Kodo-Ishin* (a magazine for Shinto priests). See Herbert, *Shinto: At the Fountainhead*, pp. 229ff. The comments show just how divergent views are in Japan concerning the mythology.

10. English versions of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* quoted are W. G. Aston's translation, *Nihongi* (1896, Tuttle edition of 1972); Basil Hall Chamberlain's translation, *Kojiki* (1919, Tuttle edition of 1982); and Donald Philippi's new translation, *Kojiki* (University of Tokyo Press, 1968), which differs from Chamberlain's chapter divisions. The diagram follows the divisions in Philippi's translation. The *Nihongi* column is blank where the narratives of the *Kojiki* are not found.

11. The major differences in chapter divisions begin from Philippi's division of Section 9 into two parts and continue thereafter. *Mikoto* means "lord" or "prince."

12. Akiyama Aisaburo, *Shinto and Its Architecture* (Kyoto Welcome Society, Kyoto, 1936).

13. Herbert, *Shinto: At the Fountainhead*, p. 231.

14. Post Wheeler, *The Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese* (Schuman, New York, 1952), pp. xliv–xlvi.

15. *Kojiki*, Vol. I, Sections 3–4.

16. Ibid., Section 9.

17. Ibid., Section 16.

18. Ibid., Section 23.

19. I have also verified the understanding of these sequences by referring to a rare text in my possession entitled *Kannagara no Michi*, which was prepared within the Imperial Household for use in instructing Empress Taishō in the history and origins of the Imperial Family.

20. Wheeler, *Sacred Scriptures*, p. 389, suggests parallels with other mythologies, particularly those of Babylon and Egypt. In view of my contentions here, I have reservations about pursuing these. See also Joseph Campbell, *The Mythic Image* (Princeton University Press, 1974).

21. Anesaki Masaharu, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. 8 (Marshall Jones, New York, 1928; Cooper Square Publishers, New York, 1964), p. 221, draws attention to the differences in styles of mythology.

22. The grave of *Sarutahiko-no-mikoto* is found within the precincts of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine. No human graves are located in shrines because of the impurity entailed.

23. Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1964), pp. 345–576.

24. See Chapter 9 of this book.

25. Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki-den* (completed in 1798, first published in 1822).

26. Tsuda Sokichi, *Nihon Koten no Kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1948–1950). These volumes contain basic exegetical ideas and his text-criticism.

27. Anesaki, *Mythology*, p. 212.

28. Watsuji Tetsuro, *Fūdoron* (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1920).

29. *Kurano Kenji, Kojiki no Shin-Kenkyū* (Shibundo, Tokyo, 1927).

30. Takeda Yukichi, *Kojiki Kenkyū*, Vol. 1: *Teikiko* (Seijisha, Tokyo, 1944); *Kojiki Setsuwagun no Kenkyū* (Meiji Shoin, Tokyo, 1954); *Kiki Kayoshu Zenko* (Meiji Shoin, Tokyo, 1956).

31. Nakanishi Susumu, *Amastukami no Sekiai, Kojiki o Yomu*, Vol. 1 (Kadokawa, Tokyo, 1986).

32. Yanigata Kunio (1875–1962) was the founder of *minzokugaku* (folklore studies). See Nakamura Akira, *Yanagita Kunio Shisō* (Hosei University, Tokyo, 1968) and Kamashima Jiro, *Yamagita Kunio Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1973).

33. Matsumura Takeo, *Nihon Shinwa no Kenkyū* (Baifukan, Tokyo, 1954–1958).

34. Yamamoto Yukitaka, *Kami no Michi* (Tsubaki Grand Shrine of America Publications, Stockton, Cal., 1984).

35. Anesaki, *Mythology*, p. 221.

36. Isaiah Ben-Dasan, *The Japanese and the Jews* (Kinseido, Tokyo, 1973). The case he has made about there being as much continuity in Japan as change seems now quite well founded. The same point is made with regard to Japan's business development.

See also Stuart D. B. Picken, "The Role of Traditional Values in Japanese Society," *Shell International Conference on Continuity and Innovation*, University of Stirling Centre for Japanese Studies, Discussion Paper 3, 1984.

37. One of the principal exponents of the school, S. N. Eisenstadt, revisited Tokyo in 1984 and gave a lecture at the International House of Japan. At this time he took a large step back from the theory of the convergence of cultures he had promulgated earlier in view of the developments in Japan he subsequently witnessed. Although Japan appears to bear many resemblances to the West, the inner core has changed much less than many observers (Japanese and non-Japanese) realize or recognize. Robert Bellah now takes a similar position.

38. Ono Sokyo handled this topic in a different way in his various writings. He argued that the combination of characters may be read in Chinese in three separate

ways, two of which are relevant here. One reading is *kokutai* itself, which he claims has a clear political nuance. The other is *kunigara*, which carries more a moral nuance of virtue. For the idea of the diagram I am indebted to him, although I have restructured it in accordance with my own understanding of the phases of tradition. See Ono Sokyo, *Jinja Shinto Shingaku Nyūmon* (Introduction to the Theology of Shrine Shinto) (Jinja Shimpo, Tokyo, 1953); "*Jinjahō to Shūkyō Hōjinjhō Kaisei*" (Shrine Law and the Revision of the Religious Juridical Persons Law), *Jinja Shimpo Senshu* (June 1957): 216–217. He also published in English *The Kami Way* (Tuttle, Tokyo, 1959).

39. *Manyōshū* poem. 220.

40. This practice has continued. The birthday of Emperor Shōwa was designated a national holiday after his death in 1989 and is now known as Green Day, a tribute to his lifelong study of biology.

Chapter 3

Imperial Household Shinto

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD AND SHINTO

The Imperial House of Japan has been the subject of substantial research within the fields of history, politics, and religion. This chapter introduces some of the rituals and ceremonies performed by the Emperor or within the Imperial Household or Imperial Palace throughout the year. These have continued off and on at least since the Heian age. The vast majority cannot be seen by the general public; indeed, to the average Japanese their existence is little known, if at all. However, the passing away of Emperor Shōwa (known better by his personal name, Hirohito), which received massive media coverage in Japan, brought again to light the complex relationship between Shinto, the Imperial Family, and the 1946 Japanese Constitution that separates Religion and State. The Constitution follows the basic principles of the Constitution of the United States, which was designed to prevent the institution of a State religion. It is the logical creation of a pluralistic society. However, Japan is not a pluralistic society in the American sense of the term, although Japanese society may not be as homogeneous as is frequently claimed. Its homogeneity is implied as an unspoken premise of action by the Liberal Democratic Party, the government, and the bureaucracy. From that point of view, the holding of Shinto rites is not seen as a violation of individual Japanese rights. Many elderly members of the ruling party were brought up to believe that being a Japanese citizen and observing Shinto rituals were one and the same thing. This view has not totally disappeared. The entire debate about whether or not Shinto rites are religious was revived quite controversially over the funeral observances for the late Emperor Shōwa.

The attitude toward and atmosphere surrounding these events created by the government shows a marked contrast to transitional periods in West-

ern monarchies that follow the principle "The King is dead, God save the King!" There is usually a State Funeral followed by a massive celebration on the coronation of the new monarch. The Emperor Shōwa died on 4 January 1989 in the early hours of the morning. Television was blacked out, except for government reports on the change of the name of the era to Heisei from Shōwa. Thereafter, the new Emperor, Akihito, received the Imperial Regalia and formally became Emperor. His seal authorized the name of the new era in accordance with the Constitution. The funeral ceremonies, attended by approximately 160 dignitaries of foreign governments, took place over one month later.

The month was a period of national mourning during which all celebratory events were cancelled. In fact, when it became known that the Emperor was suffering from a terminal cancer, the government declared a state of *jishiku*, a period of self-restraint. It was considered inappropriate to hold end-of-year parties, New Year parties, weddings, or any special events. Public celebrations virtually ceased from October 1988 until early March 1989, a state of affairs that caused great hardship to businesses such as hotels, restaurants, and wedding halls. Because red is normally a celebratory color, red items were almost universally removed from the marketplace, including red soy beans. The funeral rituals were finally completed on 24 February 1989, when the enshrinement of the late Emperor took place at the Imperial Mausoleum. The mourning period within the Imperial Court continued for a full year; consequently, the government announced that the formal accession rites would take place in November 1990, almost two years after the death of the previous Emperor.

Throughout this time, key administrative decisions relating to the accession were made by the *Kunaichō*, the Imperial Household Agency funded by the State. It follows the recorded dictates of tradition, although it must receive authorization as well as funds from the government in accordance with the Constitution. The present situation is not very different from what existed before the Meiji Restoration.[1] The only major difference is the manner in which the Imperial Household was manipulated.

The Tokugawa government retained the Imperial Household in low profile and in the traditional Imperial Palace in Kyoto to function as the imprimatur of its status. The Meiji leadership, whose new government was described as a restoration of direct Imperial rule, brought the young Emperor to the city renamed Tokyo (literally, "east capital") to live in the Tokugawa Castle, which was restyled as the Imperial Palace. It was, in reality, no more than a calculated political move to boost the prestige and power of the new government, which claimed to be administering the nation's affairs in the name of the Emperor. During the preceding Edo period, there were times when Imperial accession rites could not be held because of lack of finances. All rituals had to be limited because of expense. However, Japan's post–World War II economic growth made it possible for the

nation to spend billions of dollars on the funeral of the Emperor Shōwa. Many domestic critics of the Japanese government labeled it politically motivated, with the purpose of adding prestige to the Imperial System, the *Tennōsei*, in their view the most manipulated monarchy in human history. Japan, like all Asian countries, has had its warlords. Only in earliest times did these include Emperors, and then only a tiny handful. The warlords and the Imperial Household have always gone their separate ways. Emperors have been more like High Priests than monarchs, and warlords have received authorization from the Emperor. It may be difficult to conceive, but history suggests that the Imperial Household and the Imperial System have always displayed the paradox of being simultaneously Japan's most prestigious institution but one of its weakest and most passive.

"God stops at the traffic lights" was the headline of an article in a British newspaper[2] about the less formal style of Emperor Akihito, whose car stops at traffic lights when he is conducting private business. The article underscored the change in status undergone by the Emperor and the Imperial Household after the death of the Emperor Shōwa. The divine status of the Emperor was formally denied by the late Emperor Shōwa in 1946; and although he worked hard at his new role of *Ningen Tennō* (human Emperor), much of the past remained. Japanese Emperors are considered to be direct descendants of Ninigi-no-Mikoto, grandson of Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun. Therefore, not only is he Emperor but, being descended from a *kami*, he was in the past understood to participate in the nature of *kami*. This placed him apart. It is important to note that there are other families that claim descent from *kami*,[3] just as, on various occasions, human beings have been declared to be *kami* and have been enshrined and revered during their lifetimes.[4] The demarcation between human and divine in Japanese thought can be rather vague, as the mythology shows, and certainly quite different from what is understood in Western thought.

There is no doubt that in the interests of strengthening its own authority, the Meiji government manipulated the symbol of the Emperor. Ito Hirobumi, an important figure in the preparation of the Meiji Constitution, spoke in a dramatic and exaggerated way of the emperor as an object of reverence. He may well bear responsibility for stimulating the cult of Emperor worship in modern times when he declared that "The Sacred Throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated. The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred; He is preeminent above all his subjects. He must be reverenced and is inviolable."[5]

Many such quotations could be listed from the Meiji era right through to the end of the Pacific War. Typical of the scholarly view is the following, which indicates how thoroughly the belief was being instilled: "The Emperor is regarded as a living *kami*, loved and revered by the country above everything else on earth. The Emperor himself loves and protects the people who are considered sons of the *kami-nagara* (the way of the *kami*) and

who are entrusted to his care by the *kami*. Shinto is therefore to be equated with the doctrine of the Emperor."[6]

School textbooks carried similar propagandist materials as part of what was later judged by liberal thinkers to be a politically undesirable program of moral education. The most extreme—and, ironically, the last—statement of this position was contained in the *Kokutai-no-Hongi*. It was issued by the Bureau of Thought Control in the Ministry of Education as a guide to teachers responsible for moral education. Its tone is well summarized in the following lines from the introduction: "on the one hand, the Emperor worships the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors and on the other as a deity incarnate (*akitsu-mi-kami*) leads the people."[7] The language of the document was effulgent and emotional but it also contains expressions that distantly echo the terminology of nineteenth-century German Idealist philosophy. The monistic metaphysics of Hegelian thought was particularly appealing to Meiji period thinkers, not least of all to Ito. He went to Europe in search of a framework of ideas for the Constitution, where he fell under the spell of right-wing European thinkers such as von Gneist.[8] There is also, in my view, good reason to suggest that the form in which the Imperial doctrine was cast was as much derived from Western thought as from traditional Japanese sources.[9]

Whatever the origins of the modern doctrine, it was formally renounced on 1 January 1946 when the Emperor declared that his relationship with the people was based not upon myths and legends nor upon false doctrines of racial superiority, but upon mutual trust and affection. The death of Emperor Shōwa closed out the era that began with the Meiji Restoration. Although lingering traces of the old sentiments can be found, it must be said that a majority of the population (according to opinion polls conducted around the time of the Emperor Shōwa's death) is rather distant from these concerns.

Future Emperors will doubtless continue to perform Shinto rituals within the Imperial Palace and, according to the Constitution, will do so as private individuals. In principle, the problem seems solved. However, in the accession ceremonies, which are considered a State occasion, the principal event is in fact a central ritual of Shinto. It is performed essentially by the Emperor himself. No crown is placed upon his head on behalf of the people or the State. It is a self-affirming act in which he receives confirmation from the *kami*. This seems, in the view of some critics, not quite consistent with his Constitutional status. The sacral society in that sense is not so readily dismissed by a clause in a modern constitution. The link between mythology and politics may not be so easily broken. The enigma remains—although, fortunately, it is not charged with the emotional fervor of the early years of Meiji or the fanaticism of the mid-years of Shōwa.

IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD CEREMONIES: KŌSHITSU SAISHI

The Imperial Household[10] performs a set program of rituals within the palace grounds throughout the year. Some of these relate to rice cultivation—one reason, incidentally, why the very word *rice* becomes an emotional issue in Japan. It is both a religious symbol and the nation's staple diet. Rice is offered on Shinto altars along with rice wine (*sake*), and all rice harvests are reported to the *kami*. The Emperor performs the rituals on behalf of the nation, acting as High Priest as well as a symbol of the State. Other rituals are performed according to a traditional cycle throughout the year. They follow forms laid out in the *Kōshitsu Saishierei*, the Ordinance of Imperial Household Ceremonies (1908). Although this has been superseded by the Imperial Household Law enacted after the Pacific War, the power of precedent remains strong.

The Kyūchū Sanden

There are three main shrines in the palace grounds. The most important is the *Kashikodokoro*, where the sacred mirror is enshrined. It contains the guardian *kami* of the Imperial Palace, including the five *musubi-no-kami*: Kami-musubi-no-kami, Takami-musubi-no-kami, Tamatsume-musubi-no-kami, Ikumusubi-no-kami, and Tarumusubi-no-kami. There is the *Kōreiden* in which the spirits of all past Emperors are enshrined. The third shrine is called the *Shinden*, the hall of the *kami* of Heaven and Earth. The three shrines play a central role in the various year-round rituals performed in the Imperial Household by the Emperor.

Festivals and Gyōji

Imperial Household officials called the *Shotenshoku* are in charge of all ceremonies. Dr. Delmer Brown, in his Preface to the second edition of Holtom's famous work on the enthronement ceremonies, recorded that the Grand Master of the Ceremonies of the Imperial Household informed him "that the Emperor, even though now defined by the constitution as a 'symbol of the state,' still conducts—personally and privately—more than thirty ceremonies a year at one or other of the three Imperial Court Shrines."[11] Some of these are known in detail only to the Imperial Household. Principal among them are the following:

1. The *Saitansai* is performed on New Year's Day. This festival is intended to acknowledge the New Year and was regarded as a minor festival.
2. The *Genshisai*, the festival of origins, is performed on January 3. It is one of

the major ceremonies in the Imperial Household and was a prewar national holiday.

3. The *Shunki Shindensai* (classified as a great festival) is the major festival of spring. It is a former national holiday. Classified likewise is the *Shunki Kōreisai* (the festival of the spring equinox). The *Toshigoi no Matsuri* (spring festival) is a simple ritual to ensure a good harvest. It was classified as a lesser ceremony.
4. *Shūki Kōreisai.* In autumn are the festivals of the *Shūki Kōreisai* (a prewar national holiday) and the great festival of the *Shūki Shindensai.*
5. *Daisai.* Festivals exclusive to the Imperial Household alone include the *Daisai*, the festival on the day of the death of the preceding Emperor instituted in the Meiji Imperial Ceremonies Article 21 (Meiji 41, 1909), and the *Reisai*, the festival for the spirits of the three preceding Emperors. There are others relating to particular Emperors, of which some were national holidays before the Pacific War but which now have no public significance.
6. *Kannamesei* and *Niinamesai.* The *Kannamesai* (festival of the new rice, October 17) and *Niinamesai* (harvest festival, November 23) were major festivals. The first complete *Niinamesai* of a new Imperial reign becomes the *Daijōsai*, which must be discussed separately.

These rituals, among others, are part of the life cycle of the Imperial Household. Which of these will be continued in their present form is a decision of the reigning Emperor. However, in 1989 in an article in the newspaper of the Associaton of Shinto Shrines, Emperor Akihito indicated that he wished to continue the traditions of his father. From this it may be concluded that most of the festivals listed will be continued, either in their present form or as modified to match the needs of the period in the style of the Imperial declaration of enthronement, whereby the Emperor declared he had acceded to the throne in accordance with the Constitution.

THE GRAND SHRINES OF ISE

The tradition remains that all acts and major events in the life of the Imperial Household should be reported to the *kami* of the sun at Ise. Newly inaugurated cabinets led by the Prime Minister go there to announce their appointment. The highest ranked *Sumo* wrestlers and the heads of the Sumo Association (on their provincial tours) pay a formal visit to the Grand Shrines of Ise, because *Sumo* is the Imperial Sport.[12] The special status afforded the Grand Shrines of Ise dates to an early period of Japanese history, although the shrines themselves may not be as old as some other shrines, which also have a lineage that can be traced to the *kami* of the mythology. Their status grew with the status of the Imperial Family, although there were long periods when the importance of shrines was eclipsed. However, they retain their special status and unique place in the

religious affections of the Japanese people. Most Japanese try to visit Ise at least once in their lifetime.

The Grand Shrines are architecturally unique among the world's religious buildings and are rebuilt in identical form every twenty years on adjacent sites (*shikinen-sengū*). Emperor Temmu decreed that they be eternally new, and the task is performed according to traditional specifications with traditional methods of construction that does not involve the use of nails. Since the end of the Pacific War, the twentieth century has seen rebuildings in 1953, 1973, and 1993. The rituals begin with *Kimotosai*, the cutting of the first trees for the rebuilding. Other links between the Shrines and the Imperial Household include the tradition of the High Priestess at Ise (*saiō*), who was from the Imperial Household; and the *Chokushi*, the Imperial messengers dispatched to various festivals throughout the nation.

IMPERIAL FUNERAL RITUALS AND MISASAGI (MAUSOLEA) OR GORYŌ

When Emperor Hirohito died, the pattern followed was basically that of the passing of Emperor Taishō seventy years before.[13] It was the most readily available model. These in turn have followed patterns going back to the Heian period, when many of the present-day ritual forms were determined. They may have included Buddhistic elements in the past, which probably were purged during the Meiji period when Buddhism and Shinto were separated by the government. The procession format, however, remained modeled upon court scrolls from the Heian age. In referring to the death of the Emperor, the normal word *shinu* (die) is not used in formal statements, nor is the euphemism *naku-nareru*. The term *hōgyo* is used, which in traditional texts means the death of a *kami*. The funeral followed five distinct stages:

1. *Rensō-tōjitsu-hinkyusai-no-gi* (ceremony of farewell): a private ceremony of the Imperial Household held on the day of the funeral and entombment.
2. *Jisha-hatsuin-no-gi* (ceremony to transport the Imperial hearse from the Imperial Palace to the funeral site): this was also private. The *Reikyu* (the Imperial coffin) was brought to the place where the ceremony was to be held.
3. *Sōjōden-no-gi* (ceremony at the Funeral Hall): a Shinto ritual involving the new Emperor and several Shinto priests. The *Sōjōden* was a hall erected for the purpose of conducting the ceremonies. By this time, the *Reikyu* had been placed upon the *Sōkaren*, a palanquin weighing 1.5 tons.
4. *Taiso-nō-rei* (the State Funeral): the Emperor was host and the Prime Minister was Chairman of the State Funeral Committee. This was public, involved the visiting heads of state, and was considered a secular ritual. At the funeral of Emperor Shōwa, the *Torii* was removed between the two rituals to emphasize

the distinction between the private rituals of the Imperial Household and the public State Funeral.[14]

5. *Ryōshō-no-gi* (ceremony of entombment at the Imperial Mausoleum): the *Sō-karen* was carried to the place of interment by fifty members of the Imperial Household Guard[15] wearing special robes called *Sōfuku*. In the case of both Emperor Taishō and Emperor Shōwa, this was the Imperial Mausoleum at Hachioji. On the occasion of the funeral of the Emperor Shōwa, the rituals lasted approximately five hours. This part was televised only to the stage at which the bier disappeared into the compound. To complete events, the *Mitamashiro*, containing the *tamashī* of the late Emperor, is finally brought to the *Kashikodokoro* of the Imperial Palace, where the ancestral Imperial souls reside. This took place one year after the date of death of the Emperor. It lay during the interim period in the *Gonden*. Thereafter, the new Emperor visited it as an act of reverence and later to announce the date of his formal accession rites.

The funeral rites of Emperor Meiji were an emotional event, and the famous General Nogi committed *seppuku* (ritual suicide) along with his wife on the day of the funeral. His funeral poems reflected the feelings of those who had grown up with the new Emperor and the Japan of the Meiji era.[16] The funeral of Emperor Taishō drew over a million people to central Tokyo. The cortege of Emperor Shōwa drew only 200,000 mourners but had a TV audience of more than half the nation.

IMPERIAL ACCESSION RITUALS

The term *coronation*, which appeared in many foreign newspapers to refer to the accession rites of Emperor Akihito, is a misnomer. It not only conceals but also misleads those who are not familiar with the distinctive way in which Japanese Emperors ascend the Chrysanthemum Throne.[17]

Coronations in the West trace their heritage to the victor's crown received after battle. The process evolved into a peaceful ceremony by means of which the crown is placed upon the royal head by a representative of the people, usually from the Church. Because there is no crown in Japan, the word *coronation* is inappropriate. The new Emperor ascends the throne with the approval of his august ancestors and he then stands in the great lineage. The title *Emperor* in English, employed during the Meiji period, was used to reinforce the image of authority, although the Japanese title *Tennō*, Heavenly Son, simply denotes his descent from the *kami* of the sun. Extravagant language was used to describe the accession of Emperor Hirohito, which followed almost identically the rituals surrounding the accession of Emperor Meiji. These followed traditional patterns yet included a number of changes. For one, it was customary for the Emperor to name his Consort out of several candidates after the *Sokui-no-Rei*. The Meiji Constitution limited the Emperor to one Consort, and thus the format of

the *Sokui-no-Rei* changed. Other changes reflected the new era and the evolving perception of the status of the imperial institution. The abundance of military uniforms seen at the Shōwa accession were of course not present in the accession of Emperor Akihito.

Descriptions of the accession of Emperor Shōwa suggest a silent and reverent populace, not the cheering crowds that greet Western coronations or presidential inaugurations. The 1990 accession rites[18] were celebrated in a relatively solemn manner, although many felt they should have been performed in a lighter manner befitting the steady modernization of the nation's central institution. An open car ride from the *Sokui-no-Rei* to Akasaka was the main concession to modernity. The accession rituals comprise five stages:

1. *Senso.* In the presence of members of the Imperial Family and the government, the Emperor symbolically receives the Imperial Regalia and formally accedes to the title. This usually takes place immediately following the death of the previous Emperor. In 1989 it was televised live for the entire nation to witness. The ceremony took less than four minutes.
2. *Sokui-no-Rei.* The ceremony of ascending the throne took place on 11 November 1990. The Emperor's accession is proclaimed before the nation, the government, foreign dignitaries, the *kami*, and the Imperial Ancestors. His address drew attention to his role as defined by the Constitution.[19]
3. *Daijōsai.* This is the Great Food Festival, which took place on 22 and 23 November 1990 because it was necessary to have a rice crop cut after the proper ceremony of planting. The performance of the *Daijōsai* required the building of the *Daijokyu*, a set of buildings in the East Garden of the Imperial Palace grounds. The *Jokan-Gishiki* of the ninth century details the manner of construction. Two ancient rituals are performed. The *Yuki-Den-Kyosen-no-Gi* is held in the *Yuki-Den*, and the *Suki-Den-Kyosen-no-Gi* is held in the *Suki-Den*. There is also the *Kairyu-Den* wherein the Emperor and Empress perform purification rituals and change clothes prior to the various ceremonies. The *Daijōsai* requires further separate discussion because of the controversy surrounding it.
4. *Daikyō-no-Gi.* This is the formal banquet to celebrate the completion of the accession rites. Three main banquets are held after all the rites have been completed. Various leading people along with those involved in the *Daijōsai* take part.
5. *Goshinetsu.* The Emperor completes the entire program of rituals with a visit to the Grand Shrines of Ise to report the successful completion of the accession rites, in particular to the four preceding Emperors. In the case of Emperor Akihito, they would be Emperors Komei (1846–1867), Meiji (1867–1912), Taishō (1912–1926), and Shōwa (1926–1989). Earlier records note that Imperial messengers were dispatched to the Grand Shrines of Ise to report all these matters on the Emperor's behalf. The first Emperor on record as having made the trip himself was Emperor Taishō, and this has been continued in the accession of Emperor Akihito.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DAIJŌSAI

The Daijōsai[20] is of great interest because it is the central and most important of all the ceremonies surrounding the accession. It is the most purely Japanese part of the accession rituals, unlike the *Sokui-no-Rei*, which is more Chinese in origin. The *Daijōsai* is interesting also because it is the rare use of a harvest ritual as the central feature of an accession ceremony. But beyond these points, the *Daijōsai* holds a unique fascination because it is the most controversial of the accession rites and because its real meaning is remarkably obscure. Its importance places the Emperor at the apex of the hierarchy of the entire half of the Shinto tradition that has been government-supported or government-inspired. It leans heavily upon the doctrine of Amaterasu and the idea of Imperial descent and traditionally has been understood in a general way as the ritual that brings to completion the status of the new Emperor. Emperors who did not celebrate the *Daijōsai* for various reasons are on occasions referred to as *han-tei* (half-Emperors), implying that their status was incomplete in certain respects. This draws attention to the importance attached to the *Daijōsai.*

Phases of Development

The *Daijōsai* is usually traced to a decree of Emperor Temmu (r. 672–686) that each new reign should commence with its celebration. The Heian period probably saw its fullest early development, which included a Buddhist ritual of accession ordination known as the *Sokui Kanjō*. During eras of civil war, because of rival courts and lack of funds the *Daijōsai* was abandoned for over 200 years, between 1466 and 1687. During the Edo period, permission was given by the Tokugawa government for its performance, but changes were made that forbade the Emperor to perform related preparatory rituals in public. So it became a private ceremony in its entirety.

The Meiji Restoration saw the *Daijōsai* undergo further major changes. First, it was purged of all Buddhist and non-Japanese elements. Second, it was used to add mystique to the Imperial image. Third, it was incorporated as a basic element of the Imperial System in its public role as the center of national ideology. The accession rites of Emperors Taishō and Shōwa followed the pattern of that of Emperor Meiji. It was during the early years of Shōwa that the overt connection between the Imperial House and the rising tide of nationalism was forged in every conceivable way, generating the fanaticism that eventually propelled Japan into a war that could well have resulted in the destruction of the Imperial line.

Character of the Daijōsai

The *Daijōsai* is the offering of the first cuttings of rice to the Imperial Ancestress by the new Emperor. The rice is planted and harvested with

great care and is eaten in a manner prescribed in the book of rituals accompanied by purification rites and appropriate liturgies (*norito*). Its origin was the festival of the new rice crop, and the connection remains. The areas where the rice is grown are chosen by divination. One is called *Yuki* and the other *Suki*. Corresponding to these are two buildings erected in the palace grounds known as the *Yuki-Den* and the *Suki-Den* in which the *Daijōsai* takes place.

The Emperor performs purification rituals and a sequence of rites in the *Yuki-Den* that last until around midnight on the appointed day, and he then repeats the same sequence in the *Suki-Den* beginning at two in the morning. The halls are barely furnished except for the mysterious seat of the *kami* (*shinza*), which is in the center of the hall. The procedures followed by Emperor Akihito were those performed by his father and grandfather, which is one reason for the controversy about the meaning of the *Daijōsai*.[21]

Meaning of the Daijōsai

The question of the meaning of the *Daijōsai* is extremely controversial. None of the accounts of the rituals surrounding the *Daijōsai* nor any records of the past offer interpretations of the event. As to how far back we can trace the idea that the *Daijōsai* transforms the Emperor into a living human *kami* (*aruhitogami*), there is no clear evidence.

One theory claims that because it begins with the selection, planting, and harvesting of rice, it represents the celebration of the rice *kami*. In the *Daijōsai*, the Emperor in a sense travels back in time to become unified with the sacred *kami*; thereafter the welfare of state and people is embodied in his unique person. In his high priestly role, he represents them before the *kami* of Heaven and Earth for provision of their basic needs, namely rice.

According to other theories, the numerous purification rites are designed to separate the Emperor from the power of death. The *Yuki-Den* is the hall in which the spirit of the deceased Emperor resides. The *Suki-Den* is the residence of the new Emperor. The clear distinction between life and death, basic to Shinto, is used in this theory. The Emperor receives the power of the ancestral spirits and their *kami* nature, and his role can thus be fulfilled.

The most ultra-nationalistic interpretation of the twentieth century was that of Origuchi Shinobu (1887–1953),[22] who argued that one eternal Imperial soul is magically transmitted from the previous Emperor to the new one. Less dramatic is the claim that a *bunrei* (a branch spirit) of Amaterasu is conferred upon the new Emperor. In truth, however, none of these can claim to be "orthodox" because no formal interpretation has ever been issued by the Imperial Household. The Imperial Household Agency prepared a statement entitled "The Daijosai" that simply recited the sequence of events. The question of meaning simply was not addressed. The issue of

its quasi-religious character has appeared in numerous press briefings and reports, but no clear concepts emerge. Having reviewed a vast amount of the literature surrounding the *Daijōsai*, including fierce attacks on it by some Christian and other groups, I can only feel confused as to why so much heat could be generated over a ritual whose meaning is nowhere authoritatively defined. I have never researched such an unsatisfactory and ill-focused debate.

THE SANSHU-NO-JINGI: THE THREE DIVINE IMPERIAL REGALIA

Central to the accession rites is the sacred regalia, the Mirror, Jewel (*magatama*), and Sword. They first make their appearance in the Japanese myths when the fourteenth Emperor, Chuai (192–200), meets a man called Itote in Tsukushi. According to the narrative, the man presents the Emperor with a mirror, a jewel, and a sword, along with an admonition:

> As to these things which thy servant dares to offer, mayst thou govern the universe with subtlety tortuous as the curvings of the Yasaka jewels (*Yasakani*); may thy glance survey mountain, stream, and sea-plain bright as the mirror of white copper (*yata no kagami*); mayst thou, wielding this ten-span sword (*kusanagi no ken*), maintain peace in the Empire.[23]

This origin suggests a great deal more about the origins of the Japanese people and the Japanese State than there is room to discuss in this book. The Regalia appears to have been regarded in ancient times as a set of protective charms. Witness the anxiety on the part of Yoritomo when the sword was lost at sea. However, through different eras their image gradually evolved. Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) wrote of them in quite different terms:

> The mirror reflects from its bright surface every object as it really is, irrespective of goodness or badness, beauty or the reverse. This is the very nature of the Mirror which faithfully symbolizes truthfulness. . . . The Jewel signifies soft-heartedness and obedience, so that it becomes a symbol of benevolence. The Sword represents the virtue of strong decision, i.e., wisdom. Without the combined strength of these three fundamental virtues, peace in the realm cannot be expected.[24]

This kind of allegorical account of the Regalia became popular after the rise of Ise Shinto. Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402–1482), a nobleman of the Muromachi era, wrote in a similar vein:

> The Three Divine Imperial Regalia are the essence of Shinto tenets and the fundamental principle of the Imperial rule; the final fusion with Confucianism and Buddhism, thus interpreted, is not entirely alien to the Japanese mind. The essential

elements of Confucianism, Buddhism and Shinto have their existence in our mind: there is no Truth apart from our minds; we cannot find Truth outside them. The mind is Divinity, Truth is the Way. The three teachings are after all one and the same thing. The selfsame One is manifested in a threefold way. Thus considered, the Three Divine Imperial Regalia symbolize one and the same mind.[25]

Perhaps under the influence of Chinese culture the Japanese became fond of allegorical explanations, which, if not embellishing upon history, add a new dimension of meaning to it and its artifacts. The Imperial Regalia currently are in the custodianship of *Atsuta Jingū* in Nagoya City.

NOTES

1. Japan's military governments of the past always appeared to consider the Imperial Family as necessary to legitimize their status, although they could easily have dispensed with it. In this sense the modern constitutional status of the Emperor differs little from his Imperial status after the Heian period.

English-language materials on the Imperial tradition are scant. Some useful but sycophantic papers by R.A.B. Ponsonby Fane were collected and published by the Ponsonby Memorial Society (Kyoto) under the titles *The Imperial House of Japan* (1959) and *Sovereign and Subject* (1962).

2. "Survey on Japan," *Financial Times* (London), July 10, 1989, p. xiv.

3. The *Shinsen Shojiroku* (Newly Compiled Record of Surnames), compiled between 799 and 815 by Prince Manda (788–830, son of Emperor Kammu), claimed that 402 clans were descended from *kami*, the Imperial Family was descended from Amaterasu, and others from *shimbetsu* (other *kami*), or *bambetsu* (foreign origins).

1. Kami	Clan	Descended Clans
Tsuhaya-musubi	Fujiwara	41
Kogoto-musubi-no-mikoto	Fujiwara	10
Takami-musubi-no-mikoto	Otomo	30
Kamimusubi-no-mikoto	Agatainukai	40
Tsunugoro-musubi-no-mikoto	Oginomuraji	6
Furi-musubi	Kisunomuraji	4
Isu-musubi-no-mikoto	none	
2. Hi-no-kami		
Nigihaya-no-mikoto	Monobemuraji	104
Ho-akari-no-mikoto	Owari	46
Hosurori-no-mikoto	none	
Hinohayahi-no-mikoto	none	
3. Others		121
	Total	402

4. The status of *ikigami*, "living human *kami*," has long been conferred upon special individuals. In the case of the Imperial sport of *Sumo*, the *tsuna*, or special attire of the *Yokozuna*, the highest ranking (Grand Champion), denotes sacral status.

5. Ito Hirobumi, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan* (Toyko, 1889).

6. Kume Kunitake, *Nippon Kodai shi to Shinto no Kankei* (The Relation of Shinto to Classical Japanese History) (Sohensha, Tokyo, 1907), p. 194.

7. *Kokutai-no-Hongi* (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan), tr. by John Owen Gauntlet, ed. Robert King Hall 1949). Included are expressions such as *Hakko Ichiu* (the eight corners of the world under one roof) and other nationalistic slogans.

8. Richard Storry, *A Short History of Modern Japan* (Penguin, London, 1960), p. 115.

9. The influence of Hegel's political and social thought in Japanese universities began after the early flirtations with British and American liberalism were abandoned in favor of the German metaphysical approach to ethics. See Stuart Picken, "Philosophy and Ideology in the Meiji Era," *Proceedings of the Tōhō Gakkai*, June 16, 1978.

10. Sources consulted include the following: S. Murakami, *Tennō no Saishi* (Iwanami, Tokyo, 1977); K. Hoshino, *Nihon no Saishi* (Tokyo, 1987); D. C. Holtom, *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies* (Kyobunkan, Tokyo, 1928; 2d ed. with Preface by Delmer Brown, Sophia Press, Tokyo, 1972); Robert S. Ellwood, *The Feast of Kingship: Accession Ceremonies in Ancient Japan* (Sophia University, Tokyo, 1973); John R. Piggot, "Sacral Kingship and Confederacy in Early Izumo," *Monumenta Nipponica* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1989); Felicia Bock, *Engi-Shiki*, Books VI–X (Sophia University, Tokyo, 1972).

11. Brown, Preface to Holtom, *Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies.*

12. *Sumo* wrestling is steeped in Shinto tradition. It has been traced to a form of harvest divining in ancient times. The top ranks in the sport are assigned on the basis of the "presence and quality" (*hinkaku*) of the person as well as technique, winning skills, and a good record of victories. Other aspects of Shinto may be seen in the canopy that stands above the ring or in the way *Sumo* wrestlers throw handfuls of salt each time they come face-to-face with each other in the center of the *dohyō*. *Sumo* tournaments in Tokyo for many years have been dedicated to Emperor Meiji. Consequently, all promotions to *Yokuzuna* are reported to the spirit of Emperor Meiji. New Grand Champions perform their first *Yokuzuna* ritual, known as the *dezu iri*, at the *Meiji Jingu*, where they receive their documentations. *Sumo* is also performed at the Yasukuni Shrine.

13. Material for this and the ensuing section was collected from Japanese newspapers, magazines, Association of Shinto Shrines publications, and government documents, as well as from historical accounts of the funeral and accession of Emperor Taishō.

14. This act failed to satisfy either the right wing, who thought the ceremony should be completely Shinto, or those constitutional critics who argued that the rituals could have been planned differently to eliminate all appearance of Shinto rites.

15. On the matter of who should bear the Imperial bier, an interesting controversy arose in 1988 when the residents of Yase in Kyoto's Sakyo Ward claimed the right because of a fourteenth-century incident. They had protected Emperor Go-Daigo (1288–1349) when he was being pursued by the members of the Ashikaga clan. Successive Emperors exempted the villagers from taxes and had conferred upon them the role of Imperial Palanquin bearers. They bore the coffin of Emperor Taisho and that of his widow, the Empress Dowager Teimei, who died in 1951. Their representatives were in fact invited as observers but were relieved of their

traditional privilege in view of the logistics of the cortege's movements. Emperor Taisho was transported by an oxcart and accompanied by 115 youths from the village of Yase. The tradition ended there. It may only be a footnote to history, but it underlines how seriously such traditions are regarded.

16. The two death poems of Nogi Maresuke:

> The light of the *kami* shines no longer,
> The Great Lord's memory is revered all the more.
>
> The *kami* departs from this world,
> The Great Lord's memory I know and follow.

17. Sources include the following: Kurabayashi Masatsugu, *Tennō no Matsuri: Daijōsai Shinron* (Daishi-houki Suppan, Tokyo, 1984); Mayumi Tsunetada, *Nihon no Matsuri to Daijōsai* (Shuro Shobo, Osaka, 1990); Takamori Akinori, *Tennō to Tami no Daijōsai* (Tentensha, Tokyo, 1990).

18. Sources for the *Daijōsai* in 1990 included an Imperial Household Agency paper, *The Daijōsai*; press briefings by Yamamoto Shichihei, Sata Kinko, and Ishihara Nobu prepared by the Foreign Press Center of Japan; documents from the *Jinja Honchō*; and Japanese press reports in English and Japanese, *Mainichi Graphik, Heisei Sokui no Rei*, December 1 1990.

19. The official text of the Emperor's accession address was as follows:

> Having previously succeeded to the Imperial Throne in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of Japan and the Imperial House Law, I now perform the Ceremony of the Enthronement at the Seiden and proclaim my enthronement to those at home and abroad.
>
> On this occasion, I pledge anew that I shall observe the Constitution of Japan and discharge my duties as symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, always wishing for the well-being of the people, in the same spirit as my father, Emperor Shōwa, who during his reign spanning more than sixty years, shared joys and sorrows with the people at all times, and ardently hope that our country, through the wisdom and unceasing effort of the people, will achieve further development and contribute to friendship and peace in the international community and the well-being and prosperity of mankind.

20. Controversial and critical articles in English include the following: "The Emperor System and Religion in Japan," *Journal of Japanese Religions* 17, nos. 2–3 (June–September 1990), which contains eight substantial papers; *Japan Christian Quarterly*, Summer (Vol. 56, no. 3) and Fall (Vol. 56, no. 4) 1990, which contain articles on the *Daijōsai* as well as sources for further study.

21. One critic made the point in these terms: "Why, if the Emperor is not and does not regard himself as a divine descendant of the Shinto deity Amaterasu, should he participate in ceremonies which at least some believe will transform him into a living deity?" Kurihara Akira, "*Niho monzoku shūkyō to shite no Tennōsei: Nichijo ishiki no naka no Tennōsei no monjuru*," *Sekei* 526, no. 4 (1989): 92–108.

22. Origuchi Shinobu, *The True Meaning of the Daijōsai, Complete Works*, 3 vols (Chuo Koron-sha, Tokyo, 1928).

23. *Nihongi*, VIII: 7 (Aston translation, p. 221).

24. Kitabatake Chikafusa, *Jinnō Shōtōki* (Chronicles of the Direct Descent of the Divine Ruler), Vol. I p. 20.

25. Ichijo Kaneyoshi, *Nihonshoki-Sanso* (Notes and Fragments on the *Nihonshoki*), Vol II p. 42.

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Part II

JINJA SHINTO

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Chapter 4

Shrines and Kami

JINJA SHINTO

Jinja Shinto (Shrine Shinto) refers to the shrines and cults that emerged as the historical core of the mainline Shinto tradition. It is the Shinto of the central shrines that, although not necessarily originating through government initiative, passed under its supervision once the *Jingikan* was first established. Chapters 4–6 deal with Shrine Shinto, to be distinguished from both Imperial Household Shinto and the Shinto of the sects, new and old. The cults discussed in this section are the norms of the tradition. They make use of the liturgies, observe the festivals, and are supervised by the regular priesthood described in Chapter 6. The artifacts described in Chapter 5 relate only to these "orthodox shrines" and cults and are included for discussion as essential parts of their identity.

To completely describe Shrine Shinto as it exists in modern Japan would require a detailed history of every shrine, its buildings, and *kami,* clearly a task beyond the scope of one book. It would in fact become a 70,000-volume series![1] So diverse is the variety of rituals and ideas that generalizations invariably break down. Therefore, I have tried to identify some of the principal *kami* most commonly encountered in shrines and describe a little of their background and origins. One or two are discussed in greater detail to illustrate the tremendous problems surrounding such research. The discussion also illustrates the complex and independent manner in which various cults and *kami* emerged as important in different eras and why it is difficult to speak of standard beliefs and practices. The *Jingikan* was created to bring about a degree of order and control, and the Association of Shinto Shrines continues that traditional task—which has proved to be most difficult. Much is inconsistent, confused, or vague. Another interesting but complicating factor is that lateral communication among shrines is lim-

ited. High-ranking priests of the major shrines do have some acquaintance with each other through the Association of Shinto Shrines and other agencies, and shrines within the same group such as *Inari* or *Hikawa* may have some contact. Beyond that, shrines function on their own and priests of one tradition may know very little in depth about the workings of other groups beyond their names.[2]

It is helpful to classify the *kami* into categories for the purpose of making of a structured presentation. This could be done in numerous ways. I have elected to follow my own categorization:

1. *Kami* of the Japanese mythology:
   Amatsu-no-kami: the *kami* of Heaven
   Kunitsu-no-kami: the *kami* of Earth

2. *Kami* not named in the mythology:
   Those associated with natural phenomena
   Those derived from historical personalities
   Those traceable to political origins
   Those associated with commerce and prosperity

It should be noted that the first distinction between Heavenly and Earthly *kami* does not appear within the early mythology. It arises in the later narrative as an attempt to set the *kami* into a hierarchy with the *kami* of the sun at the pinnacle. However, the *kami* of the sun is derived from other *kami* (as we observed in the discussion of the mythology) and her primacy seems to have come later, being one consequence of the ascendency of the fortunes of the Grand Shrines of Ise.

It is no less difficult to deal with *kami* not found in the mythology. Tracing their origins usually leads into grey areas, many of which are sensitive or controversial and impinge upon the delicate issue of the origins of the Imperial Family and some of Japan's oldest clans.

It should also be noted that the pattern is seldom simply that of one *kami* to one *jinja*. Frequently there are several enshrined *kami;* and, of course, many *kami* are enshrined as major *kami* in some shrines and as merely additional *kami* in others. Hachiman, for example, is enshrined in approximately 30,000 different places.[3]

KAMI OF THE JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY

The *kami* of the Japanese mythology are not all identified individually at their own shrines. They have been divided into two categories, the Heavenly and the Earthly *kami*. Only the principal ones have their own shrines. The rest are collectively identified in the *norito* under the three categories

Amatsu-kami, Kunitsu-Kami, and *Yao-yorozu-no-kami* or they are enshrined jointly (*gosho*) with other *kami.*[4]

Amatsu-no-kami: The Kami of Heaven

Principal of these is Amaterasu, who is revered at the Grand Shrines of Ise. Many *kami* of the mythology have independent shrines. Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto is revered at the *Izumo Taisha,* which is famous for its enormous *shimenawa* and is referred to in the mythology as an "eight-fathomed palace." *Kasuga Taisha* enshrines Takemi-kazuchi-no-mikoto, Futsunushi-no-mikoto, and Ame-no-Koyane-no-mikoto, along with some lesser *kami. Kasuga Jinja* was accorded the title *Taisha* (Great Shrine) in 1946. The *Atsuta Jingu* in the city of Nagoya enshrines Amaterasu, Susano-o-no-mikoto, and Yamato-Takeru-no-mikoto. The *Hikawa Jinja* in Omiya City in Saitama Prefecture enshrines Susano-o-no-mikoto, Onamuchi-no-mikoto, and Idahime-no-mikoto. Hikawa (the Hi River in Izumo) is identified in the *Kojiki*[5] with the descent of Susano-o-no-mikoto as the river where he slew a great eight-headed dragon. The shrine was established in the Musashi province during the reign of Emperor Kosho, the fifth Emperor. The *Hikawa Jinja* has at least 160 branch shrines in Saitama Prefecture alone and several hundred in the Kanto region. Similar patterns of development can be seen within other groups of shrines, often centering on the alleged activities of a single figure.

Yamato-Takeru-no-mikoto, for example, described by Ivan Morris[6] as the tragic hero of Japanese mythology, was engaged in a campaign in the province of Musashi during the reign of Emperor Keiko (r. 71–130). He visited the *Hikawa Jinja,* which was subsequently named an *ichi-no-miya* during the Heian period. This is a good example of the political promotion that characterizes the right-hand column of the historical guide to the development of Shinto in Diagram I. Yamato-Takeru traveled extensively throughout the realm and is consequently enshrined in many places. A massive statue of him stands in the grounds of the *Mitsumine Jinja* in Saitama Prefecture. Just a few miles away at *Hodo-san Jinja,* located at a corner inside the fence surrounding the *honden,* there is a small natural spring in which he is said to have performed the *misogi* purification ritual during his travels. Generally speaking, the *kami* of Heaven are usually found at fairly old and prestigious shrines, invariably in connection with feats performed in the vicinity or a significant mythological occurrence.

Kunitsu-no-kami: The Kami of Earth

The earthly *kami* are enshrined in different places along the same lines as the heavenly *kami.* Just as there is a head of the heavenly *kami,* Amaterasu, there is a head of the earthly *kami,* Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto, who

stood at the crossroads of Earth and Heaven when the Heavenly Grandson was to descend to the Land of Reed Plains.[7]

Ame-Uzume-no-mikoto was sent down to charm him, and eventually they married and settled in that location. The central shrine of Saruta-hiko is the *Tsubaki Dai-Jinja* in Suzuka City in Mie Prefecture.[8] There is also a side shrine to Ame-Uzume-no-mikoto, who serves as the guardian *kami* of entertainers. The figure of Saruta-hiko may have carried phallic (fertility) overtones in the past but is primarily associated with pioneering and the cultivation of rice in modern times.

Famed also as a guide is the *kami* known as Yatagarasu, another interesting case study in obscure but clearly ancient origins. Emperor Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor, was guided through one stage of his campaign by a three-legged crow.[9] The name *yatagarasu* means "eight-hand-crow," suggesting that it was a large bird. Some scholars claim that this was in fact Taketsunumi-no-mikoto, which would make the crow a *kami* of Heaven by descent. But the famous shrine of Taketsunumi-no-mikoto, the *Kamo Mioya Jinja,* bears no trace of the worship of Yatagarasu. On the other hand, there is a separate Yatagarasu shrine; and Yatagarasu rites are conducted at the *Nachi Jinja* in Kumano, where priests wearing crow-like hats perform esoteric rituals using fire and the water from the falls.[10] In the liturgies used at *Nachi Jinja* there is some identification of the two. Such fascinating enigmas will continue to provide researchers with perplexing questions for generations to come.

THE NI-JŪ-NI-SHA: THE TWENTY-TWO SHRINES

The twenty-two shrines listed in the *Engishiki*[11] of the Heian age offer a historical basis for identification of the older and more prestigious shrines recognized by the government. They also serve as a historical link between the *kami* of the mythology and those of later origins. The list, in three categories, is as follows:

1. *Jo* (upper seven): *Ise Daijingū, Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū, Kamo Jinja* (upper and lower), *Matsuo Jinja, Hirano Jinja, Inari Jinja, Kasuga Taisha.*
2. *Chu* (middle seven): *Ōharano Jinja, Ōmiwa Jinja, Isonokami Jingū, Ōyamato, Hirose Jinja, Tatsuta Jinja, Sumiyoshi Taisha.*
3. *Ge* (lower eight): *Umeno Jinja, Yoshida Jinja, Gion Jinja, Kitano Jinja, Hirota Jinja, Hiyoshi Jinja, Niu Kawakami Jinja, Kifune Jinja.*

It is not possible to examine all of these individually. Almost every one has been the subject of extensive writing. I will discuss only one or two as models. Some are discussed under different headings in the succeeding sections, specifically *Hachiman, Inari,* and the *Kitano Tenmangū.* The chapter

on shrine buildings also provides more details about some of these famous shrines.

Kamo Jinja

Location and Origins. The upper (*Kamigamo Jinja*) and lower (Shimogamo Jinja) shrines are located in the northern suburbs of Kyoto. The first evidence of buildings on the site dates to approximately 678 A.D. There is some suggestion that it was moved from Takakamo in Yamato to Kyoto during the reign of Emperor Temmu, further indicating its probable ancient importance.

Enshrined Kami. The primary one is Tamayori-hime-no-mikoto, whose name means "maiden devoted to the service of the *kami.*" There is also evidence of the worship of Taketsunumi-no-mikoto, the great-great-grandson of Kami-musubi-no-kami, which brings the shrine into the category of those derived from the mythology.

Historical Importance. The *Aoi Matsuri* (Hollyhock Festival) is celebrated here every year on May 15, visited by a *chokushi,* an Imperial Messenger. The pattern of procession is that found in the shrine's Heian period documents and scrolls. Records of its veneration by the Imperial Court date to the eighth century.

Isonokami Jingū

Location and Origins. The shrine stands in what was formerly Yamato province, south of the modern city of Nara and a little north of Tenri, the headquarters city of the *Tenri-kyō* Shinto sect close to the Meihan expressway. Its foundation is claimed to date as far back as the Mononobe clan.

Enshrined Kami. The *kami* of *Isonokami*[12] is mentioned in the classics. As well as the Futsu-no-mitama-no-Tsurugi, there is the Furu-Mitama-no-Okami, who is associated with recovery from illness and with good health and longevity.

Historical Importance. The shrine has the title *jingū,* reserved normally for shrines with an Imperial connection. The shrine is guardian of the sacred sword known as the *Futsu-no-mitama-no-Tsurugi,* which has been understood at different times to be the *arimitama* of Takemikazuchi-no-mikoto and later of Amaterasu herself. It was patronized by Emperor Shirakawa (r. 1072–1086), who as retired Emperor visited it in 1092 and bestowed special privileges upon its priests.

Tatsuta Jinja

Location and Origins. The shrine is located in Tatsuta City in the modern Aichi Prefecture near Tsushima. The oldest reference is to nineteen acts

of worship conducted there during the reign of Emperor Temmu. The notices were recorded in 676.

Enshrined Kami. The *kami* of the winds are found here, according to the *Nihongi.*[13] Its reverence for the *kami* can be traced to the time of Emperor Sujin, the tenth Emperor, who was perplexed about bad harvests until an oracle told him that worship to the *kami* of the winds should be offered at Tatsuta.[14] This he did, and not only did the the cereals grow but a series of natural devastations stopped.

Historical Importance. The shrine is close to *Hirose Jinja* and is related to it in that the combined *kami* of both shrines are considered to be the *kami* of the harvest. *Hirose Jinja* enshrines Wakaugame-no-mikoto, the *kami* of food, known also in the *Gekū* of *Ise Jingū* as Toyokehime-no-Kami.

Sumiyoshi Taisha

Location and Origins. Sumiyoshi Taisha is located in the modern city of Osaka. Legends date it to the time of Empress Jingu, who was in Naniwa en route to Korea. Her ship would not leave the harbor; she received instructions that the *arimitama* of Amaterasu wished to be at *Hirota Jinja* and that certain other *kami* had preferences about where they wished to be enshrined. As a result, all the *kami* of Sumiyoshi were enshrined as they are now. The original site may have been at Nagato, but the present site is claimed to date to around 470 or before.[15]

Enshrined Kami. In the main shrine (*Dai-ichi-hon-gū*) is Soko-tsutsu-no-o-no-mikoto. In the second main shrine (*Dai-ni-hon-gū*) is Naka-tsutsu-no-o-no-mikoto, and in the third main shrine (*Dai-san-hon-gū*) is Uwa-tsutsu-no-o-no-mikoto. Empress Jingu herself is enshrined in the fourth under the name Oki-naga-tarashi-hime-no-mikoto.

Historical Importance. The shrines received recognition from the Imperial Court and have long been associated with the protection of shipping. The buildings preserve a number of important documents, Shinto statuary, and some of the oldest seals ever made in Japan. There is a collection of Imperial Rescripts that postdate the Kamakura period. There is also a bronze bell, which tradition says was presented by Empress Jingu. It has been certified as from the early stages of the Koma dynasty and is therefore probably approximately 1,900 years old. The older reading of *Sumiyoshi* was *Suminoe.*

These brief descriptions do little more than suggest how much time could be spent on one shrine alone. It is impossible to elaborate on the scholarly debates about the meaning of names, historical origins, identities of the *kami* enshrined, and historical importance of each shrine. Needless to say, the political importance of the *ni-jū-ni-sha* contributed to the deepening of

the ideal of *sai-sei-itchi* (unity of worship and government) which goes back to the roots both of Shinto and of Japan's culture.

KAMI NOT NAMED IN THE JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY

Many of Japan's *kami* do not belong to the official mythology, although many main shrines celebrate *kami* from that origin or have included them with their original or local *kami*. We now consider some principal ones, each of which comes from a unique set of associations.

Kami Associated with Natural Phenomena

Although some of these can be found in the mythology, many others are derived directly from Shinto's animistic roots. Here again classification becomes difficult. Some of the *kami* associated with nature are earthly *kami*—such as Kukunochi, the master *kami* of the spirits of trees; or Kayanohime, *kami* of grass; or Totohehime-no-mikoto, *kami* of rice plants. We have already noted that the *kami* or *Tatsuta Jinja* are the *kami* of the winds. Inazuma is the lightning that makes the rice grow.

However, apart from these are many shrines that revere aspects of nature or animals, some of which are regarded as *kami* because they are servants of the *kami*. The deer is the messenger of the *kami* at Kasuga; the monkey serves the *kami* of Mt. Mie; the pigeon serves Hachiman; the fox serves Inari. The tortoise is associated with Matsuno, and the crow is associated with Kumano. *Mistumine Jinja* reveres the wolf, which is referred to as *o-inu-sama* (honorable dog) or *okuchi-no-kami,* the *kami* with the large open mouth. Statues of the wolf can be found all over the mountain, and the weathered look of some indicates the many centuries they have been revered.

Kanasana Jinja (in Saitama Prefecture) has no main building because the mountain behind it is both *kami* and *honden*. The most famous mountain *kami* is Oyama-tsu-mi, according to the mythology a child of Izanami and Izanagi. The number of sacred mountains in Japan gives an indication of the degree to which reverence for mountains (*sangaku shinko*) was part of ancient Japanese religion, probably stemming from the awesomeness of Japan's many active volcanoes.[16] The entire island of Okinoshima off the coast of Kochi in southern Shikoku is considered to be a protective *kami* of seafarers. It is approximately 2.5 miles in perimeter and rises straight out of the sea to a height of over 700 feet. Only priests may visit the island, and they must first perform *misogi* in the sea before setting foot upon its sacred soil.

Local *kami* of rivers, the sea, rocks, trees, and other phenomena of nature are widely revered. There are *kami* of the road (*michi-no-kami*); *kami* of the field (*ta-no-kami*); *kami* of the river and of the waterfall; and *kami* of

the house, including even a *kami* of the toilet. *Kami* of nature named in the mythology were most likely included for political reasons or because of important geographical locations associated with them. Those that did not find their way into the mythology are testimony to the extent of the animistic roots of Shinto and the way in which some elements of the divine were elevated above others. In one way or another the entire pantheon of nature is glorified in Shinto, including even male and female genitalia in rock formations.

Kami Derived from Historical Personalities

The enshrinement of famous people is normal in Japan. This includes at least twelve past Emperors. Holtom, in *National Faith of Japan* (p. 6), labeled this "anthropolatry." Numerous individuals also are enshrined because of their special deeds. Others trace their lineage back to the *kami*. Among non-Imperial human personalities, the most famous is the *kami* of learning Tenjin.

Tenjin. Enshrined at the *Kitano Tenmangū* in Kyoto, this *kami* has origins that go back to Sugawara Michizane (845–903). He was a brilliant Confucian scholar of the Heian period who was elevated to the life of the Court at a time when most positions were reserved for members of the great families, the Fujiwara, the Minamoto, and the Taira. At around age fifty he was appointed *Chunagon* by Emperor Uda, who, unfortunately for Sugawara, abdicated in 897. Emperor Daigo ascended the throne at the age of fourteen. His principal minister was Fujiwara no Tokihira, a man only twenty-seven years old, with Sugawara next below him. Sugawara's outstanding ability and the young Emperor's near reverence for him caused great anxiety among the Fujiwara. Finally, a plot was created to discredit him. One of his daughters had married the Emperor's younger brother; this, it was claimed, implied that he planned to usurp the throne in favor of his son-in-law. He was exiled to Dazaifu in 901, where he died in disgrace two years later, stripped of his rank. His only remaining pleasure in life was reverentially bowing toward Kyoto and the Emperor from a nearby mountain. Shortly after his death various disasters struck the city: plague, fires, floods, and unexpected deaths. Fujiwara no Sugane, Fujiwara no Tokihira, and Minamoto no Akira all died suddenly while still young. Yasuakira, an Imperial prince, died shortly afterwards. A fiery comet added drama to these omens, which continued unabated until gradually the *arimitama* of Sugawara was judged to be the cause. The wrongs he had received had led his spirit to seek expiation.

Sugawara and the legends surrounding him were the product of a deeply superstitious culture. His life itself magnified these tendencies. Stories about him and his relationship with bovines are legion. He was born in the year of the ox, and his coming of age at fifteen was celebrated on the day of

the ox. That very night he dreamed of a violent storm uprooting some pine trees, which fell and killed a white cow. Taking this as a warning he made a picture of a cow, which he thereafter revered. For the remainder of his life he treated every twelfth day as a day of mourning. He once took a stray white cow home with him because it looked at him in an appealing way and because it reminded him of the incident when Confucius met a winged creature while walking in the hills. There is also a record of him falling into an ambush when he had only one retainer with him. A bull appeared and killed the leader of the assassins, permitting Sugawara to escape. When Sugawara died, his remains were placed on an ox-drawn cart to be borne to the place of his burial. When the animal got to the place that is now the site of the *Daizafu Tenmangū,* it refused to go any further and apparently went crazy. This was taken as meaning that Sugawara should be buried there. Doubtless, many of these stories grew up long after his death. However, they are typical of the Heian belief in the need to pacify unhappy souls to avoid misfortune. The case of Sugawara remains the best known and best documented of all.[17]

Emperor Daigo lifted the ban of exile in 923 and restored Sugawara's court rank. He probably felt guilty about the treatment of Sugawara, from whom he had received his basic education. However, the process leading to enshrinement seems to have begun with the townspeople to whom the *arimitama* made itself known. Taijihi no Ayako, the daughter of a poor family, was the first to hear the voice of Sugawara. She built a small shrine near her house and named it *Tenmangū.* The seven-year-old son of a Shinto priest next heard the spirit tell him that it should be offered reverence in the *Ukon-no-baba.* His father went to speak to a priest of the Asahi-dera, who knew the story of Ayako. Out of incidents like these, the idea of a shrine to Sugawara developed. There were also Sugawara estates in southwest Kyoto, where the *Kisshoin Tenmangū* now stands.

Another legend has it that Emperor Suzaku carved a statue of Sugawara with his own hands and had it placed in the *Kisshoin* as a *go-shintai.* Tradition also states that the statue still exists and is in fact the *go-shintai* of the main *Tenmangū.* It may well have been that he was revered there first, after which the Kyoto shrine came into being. Regardless of how it developed, it is an astonishing tale, beginning with Sugawara's death in disgrace in 903, through the appearance of a tiny shrine built by a poor girl in 943, and climaxing in full enshrinement within fifty years (in 959) on the initiative of the Fujiwara clan that had destroyed him. To complete the recognition, the Court celebrated a festival there in 987 and its name came to be listed among the nineteen central shrines by 990. In 1005 the Emperor himself visited the shrine, just over a hundred years after Sugawara's death.

The origin of the name *Tenmangū* or *Tenjin Tenmangū* in relation to Sugawara is quite obscure, and it has been the subject of great speculation.

It has been attributed to an Imperial Edict that called him *Tenjin* (heavenly *kami*), although the oral tradition of an oracle survived alongside that version. *Tenjin* can also be read as *Amatsu-kami, kami* of Heaven. He was certainly not so in the sense of the mythology, but the title indicates the degree of reverence accorded him. There may also have been some influence of Buddhism, which, in Heian style, tied him to an incarnation. The architecture of the building has the *gongen*-style roof over the *haiden* found most commonly in shrines that were in some way syncretistic, because it is also the standard roof form of Buddhist temples. Doubtless, many elements went into the making of the legend.

Tenjin was established thereafter as the *kami* of learning, perhaps in appreciation of Sugawara's scholarship. The *Yushima Tenjin* shrine in Tokyo hosts thousands of pilgrims and worshippers each year prior to university and high school entrance examinations. They write their prayers on wooden tablets and pray for the inspiration of the *kami* of learning in order to pass their examinations successfully and win a place in a good school or college. Thus, *Tenjin* continues to be revered in the present.

National Heroes and Military Leaders. Among Japan's military leaders, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199) is enshrined in the *Shirahata-Jinja* in Kamakura, and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) in the *Nikkō Tōshō-gū.* Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) is enshrined in at least two places. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) is the *kami* of a number of shrines. In the *Kunosan Tōshō-gū,* a branch of the *Nikkō Tōshō-gū,* Ieyasu is enshrined along with Nobunaga and Hideyoshi as *aido-no-kami.* Of the main figures of the Meiji Restoration, Takamori Saigo (1827–1877) is enshrined in the *Nanshu-Jinja.*

General Nogi, enshrined in *Nogi Jinja* in the Roppongi district of central Tokyo, is a somewhat dramatic case from the twentieth century. He was a controversial military figure of the early Meiji period whose career as a soldier was one of mixed fortunes. Throughout his life he carried a sense of guilt for having lost the Imperial Color during a battle in his youth, and he laid out the Imperial pardon alongside his death poems. His ritual suicide (*seppuku*) on the day of the funeral of Emperor Meiji made him famous, and he was thereafter enshrined by the government as a symbol of the martial spirit it was fostering.[18] In addition to military leaders, all who fought for the success of the Meiji Restoration are enshrined in the *Sakurayama Jinja.*

Men of Culture. As in the case of Sugawara, the statesman and scholar, other men of letters are variously enshrined. The *Nagano-Jinja* enshrines the four great religious thinkers of the academic Shinto movement. Motoori Norinaga is enshrined in *Motoori Jinja*; Hirata Atsutane in *Yakata Jinja*; Kamo no Mabuchi in *Agatai Jinja;* and Kada no Azumamaro in *Azumamaro Jinja.*

Living Human Kami. Emperor Meiji was enshrined in several places

while he was alive. The famous *Meiji Jingū* in Tokyo, established after his death, is devoted exclusively to him. The concept of *ikigami* (living human *kami*) or *aru-hito-gami* has been discussed in this book under Imperial Household Shinto. The enshrinement of human beings in their lifetime is well documented and extends to judges, tradespeople, and even village headmen who have performed special service to the community. Not all *ikigami* were created for political reasons.

Modern Kami. The postwar era has seen relatively little activity on account of Shinto's controversial status and the Shinto Directive. However, it is significant that discussions quickly started for some form of enshrinement of the founder of Matsushita Electronics (National Panasonic), Matsushita Konosuke, after his death in 1989 at the age of ninety-three. Likewise, discussion about a shrine to Emperor Shōwa commenced informally early in 1990.

Kami Traceable to Political Origins

The principal *kami* that fits this heading is Hachiman, although it could include any *kami* enshrined to protect the nation.

Hachiman. The prominence of Hachiman was first highlighted in the infamous case of Dōkyō, a Buddhist priest who successfully gained the affections of the retired Empress Kōken and who by 768 had established himself as the most powerful person in the state. He began to aspire to the Imperial title and claimed an oracle from Hachiman in Kyushu declared that if he ascended the throne, there would be peace. Wake no Kiyomaro, a minister of state, was sent by Kōken (after she had been instructed in a dream) to Kyushu to find out the true will of Hachiman. The oracle with which he returned condemned Dōkyō and almost cost him his life: "Since the establishment of our state, the distinction between lord and subject has been fixed. Never has there been an occasion when a subject was made lord. The throne of the Heavenly Sun Succession shall be given to one of the imperial lineage; wicked persons should immediately be swept away."[19]

The significance of the incident is enormous because (1) Kōken became the last female to occupy the throne without an Emperor, and (2) it is from then that the cult of Hachiman takes on special importance. Why was an oracle from a *kami* in an obscure part of Kyushu required to judge issues at the Imperial court in Nara? How did Hachiman later become the guardian *kami* of the entire Kanto plain?

Origins of Hachiman. The *Shoku Nihongi* contains the earliest reference to Hachiman: offerings were sent in Tempyo 9 (737 C.E.) to five shrines on the occasion of conflict with the kingdom of Silla in Korea. It is also stated that the *kami* is enshrined at Usa in Buzen province in northeast Kyushu. Within three decades of that reference, Hachiman had risen to such prominence that an oracle could determine the foundation of the

shrine. Much research has been done on the origins of Hachiman, but little is conclusive.

One legend, recorded by the governor of Buzen in 844, concerns a blacksmith who lived beside a lake below Mt. Ōmoto in Usa. The blacksmith was visited by a holy man named Ōmiwa, who lodged with him for three years and devoted his time to prayer and meditation. In the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Kimmei, a golden hawk appeared in front of Ōmiwa. The hawk became a dove and then transformed itself into a young boy who announced that he was "the sixteenth human emperor, Homuda Tennō (Ōjin), the broad-bannered Hachiman-maro." The legend is rejected by Japanese scholars because of inadequate evidence for the connection between Ōjin and the Hachiman cult. However, the images of the blacksmith and the boy possessed by a *kami* do suggest strong shamanistic influences.

The most credible of modern Japanese accounts of the Hachiman cult is that of Nakano Hatayoshi,[20] who believes that the history of Shinto cannot be separated from the *shizoku* social structure that formed local beliefs. Consequently, he has concentrated upon the clans (*uji*) known to have been connected with Hachiman as far back as the ninth century. He traces the origins of Hachiman to the family cults of the Usa, Karajima, and Ōmiwa clans. The Usa clan was a union of smaller clans including the Ama, whose *kami* was a dragon, widely revered along the Kyushu coast. They also revered three large sacred stones on the Maki peak of Mt. Ōmoto and a female *kami* who protected shipping. According to Nakano, the Karajima clan may be considered Korean in origin on account of their bronze weaponry and use of shamanistic *miko* as mediums. This would also explain the association between Hachiman and the copper mines of the area. The Ōmiwa clan was from Yamato and may have been involved in assisting the Yamato to maintain local control during the Soga-Mononobe conflict. Thus, the Ōmiwa clan's links with the Ōjin cult may have introduced it to Kyushu. The syncretistic linking of the cults is consistent with Japanese practice and also explains the diversity of powers and roles of Hachiman. This is all speculation; the link between Ōjin and Hachiman remains a mystery. One radical explanation is that Ōjin was part of a fourth-century invasion of Japan from Korea and that he founded the imperial institution. The *Shoku Nihongi* contains no reference to the Ōjin-Hachiman link, so responsible scholarship must either explain the omission or begin from there.

Professor Herbert, to whom reference has been made in the discussion of mythology, researched Hachiman mainly through visiting Hachiman shrines and asking senior priests their about the origin of the cult.[21] His work revealed a strong tendency on the part of Hachiman priests to associate Ōjin and Hachiman, sometimes even suggesting that the existence of Hachiman prior to that era is either unimportant or unknown. The

desire to exalt Hachiman's roots is understandable, but this leaves too many questions unanswered. The father of Ōjin was Chuai, who was a son of Yamato-Takeru-no-mikoto. His mother, the Empress Jingu, was famous for her invasion of Korea. From this illustrious line Ōjin appeared. In numerous Hachiman shrines the enshrined *kami* are Emperor Ōjin, Jingu Kogo, and Hime-gami. Most frequently the three *kami* are enshrined together. In branch shrines, where Hachiman alone is identified, distinctions are ignored and all three together are considered to be Hachiman. Documents that directly connect Ōjin with Hachiman date from no further than the Heian period.

The Meaning of the Name Hachiman. The ancient Japanese pronunciation of *Hachiman* was probably *ya-wata* (literally, "eight-banners"). This was the reading that Motoori Norinaga[22] gave in his transcriptions of the edicts of the *Shoku Nihongi.* A late legend has it that when the Usa shrine was founded, eight banners floated down from heaven and stood on the roof of the building. The banners could refer to the Chinese military practice of carrying flags; because eight in Chinese can mean a large number, the military link could have come from that incident. Other scholars choose an agricultural connotation. Nakano suggests that due to the union of the Karajima and Usa clans, the regions of Yama and Toyo in Kyushu were linked. The consequent union of *Ujigami* led to the name *Yama-toyo,* which became *yawata,* and in due course *Hachiman.* The very possibility of the existence of a name like *Yamatoyo* takes the issue back to the question of Yamato power and, of course, to the Ōjin-Hachiman link. If the local maritime and feminine cults had been overcome by a shamanistic cult from Korea, Hachiman could have become associated with the conquest (of one clan by another) and thereby acquired a military connotation. This view seems corroborated by another, later legend about the origin of Hachiman. In the *Kojiki* there is the narrative of the "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Fade," according to which Hikohodohemi represented the Imperial ancestral clan in Kyushu and the Dragon *kami* of the Sea symbolized the Watatsumi clan, coastal seafaring people. Hikohodohemi married Toyotamahime, the daughter of the Dragon *kami*; the resulting *kami* was Hachiman, whose powers include the very elements listed by Nakano.

Growth of the Hachiman Cult. How was the Hachiman cult able to advance so rapidly to such prominence in such a relatively short time? Various aspects of the history, geography, and culture of the Usa region constitute one part of the explanation. It is referred to in the *Nihongi* in connection with Emperor Jimmu's military expansion to the east. He was entertained by local clan chieftains; by Imperial command, in appreciation of the support a local princess of the region was married to the Imperial attendant minister. It was from this union that the Nakatomi descended. Usa itself was also equipped with a good harbor and was a natural point of entry for continental ideas, information, and practices.

The local religious cults, particularly the *miko* of Buzen, were regarded as superior to the *miko* elsewhere in Japan because of their unusual abilities, which apparently resulted from the combination of Korean, Buddhist, and local beliefs. The Nara Court apparently held them in awe as possessing unique powers. In addition, by the period in question Kyushu had become significantly integrated into national political life as a result of the steady policy of centralization of the Taika and Taihō reforms. Taihō created the post of *Dazai Sochi* (Governor General) in Kyushu, which could rise to the third rank at Court, just below *Chunagon.* The significance of the post is evidenced by the importance attached to its acquisition by the Fujiwara clan in 732. One of Fujiwara Fuhito's sons, Muchimaro Dainagon, was also appointed *Dazai Sochi,* with responsibilities including the administration of the shrines in Kyushu.

A second group of factors that may account for the rise of the cult relate to the role played by the Hachiman shrines during the Hayato uprisings that disturbed Kyushu from the era of Wadō (708–714) to that of Yōrō (717–723). The *Shoku Nihongi* records a major rebellion in Osumi and in Hyuga in 720 that was suppressed, but no reference is made to Hachiman. Other documents of the Nara Court refer to prayers being offered at the Hachiman shrine and to priests leading an army endowed with divine power to defeat the Hayato. This suggests that people first resorted to Hachiman as a *kami* of great power to deal with crises. It was in this latter capacity that the Nara Court first consulted Hachiman, reporting misdeeds by the ruler of Silla. In Tempyo 12 (740), prayers were offered to Hachiman on the occasion of the rebellion of Fujiwara Hirotsugu, a former governor of Yamato who had been demoted to *Dazai Shoni* (Vice-Governor) of Kyushu on account of court politics. Azumabito was ordered by the Court to pray to Hachiman and to lead an army of 15,000 against Hirotsugu, which successfully captured him after he tried to escape to Silla. These early invocations of the Court to Hachiman for military victory must have strengthened the image of Hachiman as a *kami* of war.

The Tōdai-ji and Hachiman. The Nara Court invoked Hachiman for help in the construction of the Tōdaiji and the Daibutsu during the reign of Emperor Shōmu. This finally brought Hachiman into direct contact with the imperial institution and elevated Hachiman's status from that of regional war *kami* in Usa to that of the most revered *kami* in the entire nation.

Around 735, a plague from Kyushu reached Nara and killed all four sons of Fujiwara Fuhito. This weakened the power of the Fujiwara clan. The Emperor did not fall ill, which was attributed to the care of Gembo, the *Hosso-shū* Buddhist abbot who had studied in China and had succeeded in establishing the post of *Naidojo,* an office modeled on T'ang Dynasty Buddhist priests in the Chinese Imperial Court. This was the first permanent Buddhist office in the Imperial Court.[23]

The simultaneous weakening of the Fujiwara family made this possible. In 728 Emperor Shōmu (whose wife, Empress Kōmyō, was a Fujiwara), following upon the edicts of Emperor Temmu concerning Buddhist images being placed in homes, tried to actualize the idea. He ordered ten scrolls of the *Konkōmyō Sūtra* to be sent to each province and read for the peace of the nation. In 741 he issued an edict that every province had to erect a monastery (*Konkōmyō Shitennō Gokoku no Tera,* or *kokubunji*) and a convent (*Hokke Metsuzai no Tera,* or *kokubunniji*). Each temple was guaranteed land for support of its activities in return for reading the sutras every month for the peace of the people and the protection of the nation. To crown these efforts, in 743 the Emperor issued an order to cast the great bronze image of *Roshana* (*Vairocana*) Buddha at the Todai-ji. The link between Hachiman and copper mining would make sense in this context.

The statue was successfully completed in 752 and a great ceremony held, at which Shōmu, now retired, was present along with the reigning Empress, his daughter Kōken. An edict was read thanking Hachiman for protection during the great task and the *kami* was awarded the highest rank at Court. The form of Hachiman's aid is nowhere stated, but a donation from the Usa shrine would be one possible explanation. In 749, after the promotion of various officials at the Usa shrine had been approved by the Court, Hachiman made a formal visit to Nara. Courtiers and soldiers were added to the procession, and approximately one month after leaving Kyushu, Hachiman began the approach to Nara. Hachiman was enshrined in a newly built hall, and various rituals were celebrated. The *Shoku Nihongi* records the event as follows:

The nun and priestess of the Great Kami Hachiman, Ason Omiwa Morime, worshipped at the Tōdai-ji. His palanquin was of a purple colour, like that of the Imperial palanquin. The empress and retired Emperor and Empress also proceeded to the temple. On this day, great numbers of government officials and various members of the aristocracy all gathered at the temple. Five thousand priests prayed, performed ceremonies of veneration of the Buddha, and read sutras. The music of Great T'ang, Paekche, and Wu and the Gosechi and Kume dances were performed. Then the Great Kami Hachiman was awarded the first rank and *Himegami* the second. *Sadaijin* Tachibana Moroe presented an edict and read it to the *kami.*
"The sovereign Emperor proclaims, saying:
"In a recent year, we worshipped the Roshana Buddha at Chishikiji in the Agata district of Kōchi. Because we desired to construct such an image and yet were unable to do so, we appealed to the Great Kami Hachiman of the Broad Ways who dwells in the Usa district of Buzen province. The *kami* said:

We, leading and inviting
the heavenly *kami* and the earthly *kami*
Shall certainly accomplish this task.
We will turn water into steam for the casting;

> We will merge our body with the grass, trees and earth.
> It shall be done without hindrance.

"Because of the proclamation of the *kami* we were overjoyed and have been able to accomplish this work. And now, although it is with awe and trepidation, we confer a cap of the first rank."
Omiwa Tamaro was awarded the outer junior fifth rank, lower grade. Four thousand substance households, one hundred male servants, and one hundred female servants were bestowed on the Tōdai-ji. Those involved in building the temple were given ranks according to their labour.[24]

By 750, priestesses of Usa held the fourth court rank, whereas the highest officials at Ise ranked only fifth. This pinnacle of prominence was retained only until about 770, when the last instance of the Nara Court sending offerings to Usa was recorded. However, between the time preceding the building of the *Daibutsu* in Nara and the close of the Nara age, Hachiman's power as arbiter and authenticator of the Imperial tradition was unquestioned. When Dōkyō created a crisis in the matter of Imperial succession, it was the oracle of the *miko* at Usa that enabled the indigenous Japanese tradition to withstand the pressures of Buddhist ideology and remain strong enough to resist a challenge to the imperial institution, even at its weakest.

Ross Bender's research on the Dōkyō incident leads him to conclude that the rise of Hachiman was, in the context of the Court, an attempt to discover a balance between native beliefs and Buddhism. In the native view the Emperor's sovereignty, derives from his divine ancestry, which made him an *akitsukami.* In Buddhist thought it was dependent upon his being a meritorious Buddhist. The implicit threat to the Imperial lineage was visible and called for careful but effective measures to ensure its integrity. The Hachiman cult successfully provided these guarantees. It is indicative also, in Bender's view, that the native cult and its relatively primitive conception of divine rule was capable of surviving "more sophisticated systems of religious and political thought."[25]

Hachiman in the Heian Period. Hachiman lost some of the power of the Nara age, but politics involving Buddhism that were typical of the Nara Court were less frequent within the Heian Court, which was one result of the transfer of the capital. The crisis of legitimacy had been settled and the position of the *kami* was guaranteed.

Hachiman slowly came closer to Buddhism and actually became identified as a bodhisattva (*Dai-Bosatsu*) from 809. The coexistence of Shinto and Buddhism under the principle of *Honji-Suijaki* is in keeping with contemporary developments in Japanese religion and society. But the cult continued to expand. The head of the *Dai-Butsu* fell off sometimes shortly after 850. To facilitate repairs, a messenger went to Usa with apologies and a request for the aid of Hachiman in the work of reconstruction.

Shortly afterward, the *Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū* was established in

Kyoto to enshrine a *bunrei* (branch spirit) of Hachiman. The legend of its origin appears in ninth-century records. The founding is credited to a famous priest of the Daianji called Gyōkyō, who travelled to Usa and spent six months in prayer and devotion at the shrine. He received an oracle from Hachiman that instructed him to go to the capital and pray for the protection of the country. He proceeded to Kyoto and built a retreat at Otokoyama. A bright light was seen on the mountain, and simultaneously the Emperor and Empress had dreams of a cloud coming down from the mountain and resting protectively on the palace. This became divination for the shrine site. Perhaps in spite of the removal of the Court to Nara and the break with Buddhism and its political ambitions, the need was felt to have a Hachiman shrine in the new capital. The fortunes of Hachiman continued in his way to be associated with the Imperial Family.

Hachiman in the Kamakura Period. The links with military prowess were confirmed by Minamoto Yorimoto at the end of the twelfth century. He chose the coastal city of Kamakura at the edge of the Kanto plain as the location for his military government and nominated Hachiman to be the guardian *kami* of the city. The Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine was established along lines parallel to the creation of the Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine in Kyoto. Although having the powerful Hachiman in Kamakura as a branch of the Kyoto shrine in the Imperial city helped to legitimize his activities, Yoritomo apparently had a particular affection for Hachiman. The development of Hachiman as the guardian *kami* of the entire Kanto region paved the way for the massive expansion of the number of Hachiman shrines, as the communities of succeeding eras began to develop. The modern climax was reached when Hachiman enshrinements reached approximately thirty thousand.

Gokoku Jinja. The idea of *kami* protecting the nation is of ancient origin, as the cult of Hachiman aptly demonstrates. After modernization in the nineteenth century this was given a new twist within the philosophy of State Shinto, when the idea was introduced of enshrining ordinary soldiers as *kami* to protect the nation. These shrines (with *Yasukuni Jinja* at the peak) are the *Gokoku Jinja,* where all of Japan's war dead are enshrined. After the establishment of *Yasukuni Jinja* a network of shrines was constructed to enshrine the dead of Japan's mid-Meiji era military adventures against China and Russia. These shrines were never dismantled after the abolition of State Shinto and remain scattered throughout the country. The dead of World War II are enshrined in them also, and they consequently remain in somewhat controversial status. They are venerated by some of those whose loved ones are enshrined there, yet others bitterly denounce them as the foolish reason why their loved ones had to die. The enshrinements are in the most complete sense "political," having had as their purpose the nationalistic orientation of the people through according special honor to the war dead. This is on a par with the enshrinement of heroes

in the past, except that it is the first time in Japanese history that mass enshrinements of ordinary people have taken place.

Kami Associated with Economic Origins

Inari. The shrines of Inari are distinguished by the frequent occurrence of large numbers of red *torii* at their entrance and by the presence of stone statues of foxes.

Origins of Inari. Inari[26] is a well-known, although not very high, mountain at Fushimi, which forms the southern end of the *Higashi Yama* (eastern mountain) range in the south district of Kyoto. The collective name *Inari* refers to the *kami* worshipped there. Numerous theories on the meaning of *Inari* have been advanced; but like explanations of the term *kami,* they are mostly speculation.[27] The earliest associations seem to have been with food. The complex relation between rice and the fox became the central feature of the cult.

Anthropological research on the origins of the Japanese has unearthed incidental information relevant to the study of the Inari cult. For example, the Ainu[28] have a ceremony of salutation to new crops in which older men receive cereal cakes and offer a ritual prayer in a tasting ceremony. This is reminiscent of the *Niinamesai* (and of the *Daijōsai*) and of the idea of food as a *kami.* The Ainu also use the skull of the fox in witchcraft and divination.

Ethnologically related groups provide further interesting parallels that may suggest common origins. Some Siberian tribes[29] share beliefs and practices similar to Shinto, including the idea that the physical aspect of death is impure. A death in a community means that sacred places cannot be visited without purification. Foxes are also considered capable of being divine. One legend tells of a hunter who shoots a fox, which breaks into two. The front half flies to heaven and reports the matter to her father, who comes down and kills the hunter, cutting him in two. The idea that misfortune can result when a fox crosses the path of a human being may come from this.

Malay people[30] practice the cutting of the first sheaf of rice—the "rice child," as it is called—at a special autumn ritual. It is interesting also that white is both a sacred color and the royal color. Within the *Fushimi Inari Jinja,* the *Byakko-sha,* or "White Fox Shrine," is the most popular place of reverence. Both Japanese culture and Shinto thought share numerous features with both north and southeast Asia.

Accounts of the Origin of Inari. In what is probably the principal Shinto account, a rich man called Iroku-no-hata-gimi used *mochi* (rice cakes) as targets for archery practice. The *kami* of rice was indignant, and the man was frightened when it flew in the form of a white bird to the mountains and perched on a tall Japanese cedar. He realized that he had abused a

divine gift. To pacify the distressed *kami* and to preserve his fortune, he went to the place where the white bird had alighted and built a shrine to the *kami* of rice. This incident is dated to the reign of Empress Gemmyo (c. February 7, 711 C.E.), which is the official date of the founding of the Inari shrine as recorded by Hirata Atsutane in the *Koshinden.*[31]

There is also a Buddhist version of the founding of the shrine involving Kōbō Daishi. It records his meeting an old man carrying sheaves of rice and calling himself Shiba Mori Shoja Ina-tomi (rice wealth), who lived at the Nikai-bo temple in Kyoto. Kōbō Daishi was told that if he dedicated a shrine to the old man, he would be assisted in propagating his teachings. Kōbō Daishi built a shrine at Inari Mountain and named it *Inari,* using the Chinese characters for "rice," *ina,* and "carry," *ri* (because he was a famous calligrapher). Some years later, a shrine named *Uga-dama-no-mikoto* (food-spirit-*kami*-princess) was dedicated near the Inari shrine and also called Inari. It was then that the entire mountain was given the same name.

There is a tradition of a *mikoshi* that was laid up (*tabisho*) at the Nikai-bo temple containing a tablet written by Kōbō Daishi and bearing the characters *ina-ri.* Kōbō Daishi, although a genius beyond doubt, was in the view of many never liable to have qualms about a little elaboration on the truth for the sake of gaining a point. His skills in manufacturing syncretistic ideas are legendary. For example, when he became abbot of the Toji he wished to best his Tendai rivals on *Hie-san.* Accordingly, he claimed the *Inari kami* as the original protectors of the Toji and enshrined them there. He used Shinto, the old faith, to support his activities in the new. This was the beginning of *Ryōbu* Shinto, when Shinto *kami* were identified with Buddhist *bosatsu.* It remains to be explained how Kōbō Daishi could have been involved in the founding of a shrine that came into being approximately sixty-four years before he was born! Although he could not have had much of a hand in founding the *Inari Jinja,* it is possible that the tradition benefited from his influence at a later date.

The association of Inari with rice, along with superstitions about the fox,[32] can be traced to the folk origins of primitive Shinto, although the actual development of the cult as such came much later. Reverence for nature would lead to reverence for the *kami* of rice as a *kami* that supported human life. This belief permeates all of Shinto. To this, folklore about the fox was added, including the fox's fondness for bean curd. Foxes running wild in rice-fields probably first suggested the idea to farmers, who may have thought they were inspecting the crops. In gratitude, the foxes were offered red rice and fried bean curd. The roots of the generic ideas of the cult probably lie in the combination of these traditions.

Although the fox came to be the messenger of the rice *kami,* it is more likely that in ancient times the fox itself was revered as the *kami* of rice. In later days the spirit of rice was revered as a *kami* by the name of Uga-no-mitama-no-kami (food-augustness-*kami*) and the fox became her mes-

senger. From such beginnings the fox became revered and, because of other folk beliefs, also feared by the agricultural masses. Thus, the naming and ranking of types of fox began to be instituted.[33] Reverence for—and fear of—the fox have a long history and are prominent elements in the background of the Inari cult. Although the folk tradition of the fox may not be pure Shinto, it is (in the manner in which Hachiman serves to illustrate the political roots of some Shinto cults) an example of the complicated animistic roots of other cults. Fox anthropomorphosis, fox possession, possession of fox power, and use of foxes are the four principal forms of folk belief.

Fox Anthropomorphosis. Chinese culture[34] added to Japanese folklore the unique skill of the fox to transform itself into a female form, because it is a night animal that absorbs mostly the *Yin* (female) elements of the universe. In China four methods could compel the fox to return to its original form. One was the use of Taoistic charms. A second involved presenting it with a sacred metallic Buddhist mirror. A third involved a mystic geometric form, and a fourth involved confronting the fox with a stone pillar or tree of the same age.

Stories abound concerning foxes that have transformed themselves into beautiful women who teased or tormented men. The *Konjaku Monogatari*[35] narrates the story of a young *samurai* who copied the Lotus Sutra for the peaceful repose of the soul of a fox. He lived in Kyoto and was passing the Shujaku Gate of the Imperial Palace when he saw a beautiful and well-dressed eighteen-year-old girl. He invited her inside the gate to talk to him. She accepted, and they talked until it became dark. He then asked her to spend the night with him. She declared that if she did so, she would die. The *samurai* could not believe her. She protested that he had merely become infatuated and she wept because she said that she knew she had to die for a man who was emotionally unstable. She agreed finally and they went to a nearby hut to spend the night. At sunrise, the girl declared she was returning home to die but asked him to copy the Lotus Sūtra for the sake of her soul. The *samurai* insisted that she would not die, but he promised nevertheless to do as she asked should anything happen to her. The girl told him to come to the neighborhood of Butoku-den to the west of the Imperial Palace later that morning. She also asked him for his fan as a memento. Then she vanished into the morning mist. The *samurai* duly went to the place where he had been requested to appear and saw an old woman weeping. Being asked why she wept, the woman declared that she was the mother of the girl and that her daughter was indeed dead. When he asked her where the young girl lay, she pointed to the spot. The old woman then vanished, and when the *samurai* went to the place indicated he found a young fox lying dead, covered by an open fan. It was the fan he had given the girl. He was shocked and saddened to realize that the prediction had come true, and he returned home to keep his promise and

copy the Lotus Sūtra. Night and day he prayed for the peace of the fox's soul. Approximately six weeks later he had a dream in which the girl appeared as beautiful as before, announcing that he had saved her soul by copying the Lotus Sūtra. He saw her accompanied by celestial music and two maids of honor ascending to paradise and to the Great Buddha, who held copies of the sutra he had made. Although it was a dream, the tale ends by saying that the young *samurai* never abandoned his custom of copying the Lotus Sūtra.

Twentieth-century incidents have been reported by the chief priest of the *Inari Jinja* at Wakayama.[36] A man driving his car up the *Kurumazaka,* which leads to the shrine, was faced by a large car coming directly at him at high speed. A collision was avoided, but the same thing happened a day or two later when he was going down the slope. The same huge car was racing toward him, and a collision seemed inevitable. The driver braced himself for the impact, but there was only a dull thud and the car was gone. When the driver got out he found in front of the car the body of an old dead fox, which had been killed attempting to make him crash. Episodes like this, both ancient and modern, illustrate the character of the fox when it becomes deceitful and menacing. The description of people in Japan as "foxy" carries negative connotations.

Fox Possession: Kitsune-tsuki. In the Japanese mythology, Ame-Uzume-no-mikoto, who danced to entice the *kami* of the sun out of the cave in which she was hiding, was considered to have been "possessed" at the time.[37] According to both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi,* Empress Jingu, was possessed when she received instructions to undertake the conquest of Korea. These early instances of female shamanism foreshadow the later belief (as the image of the fox grew in folklore) that just as the fox could change its form, it could also take temporary possession of a human body. This led to more serious ideas concerning the psycho-physical influences of the fox.

In the *Konjaku Monogatari,* a young fox-possessed woman was seen playing with a jewel (tama), used also to symbolize the *tamashii,* or soul. A *samurai* took it from her and she became very distressed, because it was in reality the soul of the fox who was possessing her. When the woman was finally exorcised the jewel was gone, because of course the fox took it with him when he departed.

In Shrine Shinto there is no formal recognition of the religious merits of shamanistic possession, whereas in Sect Shinto, particularly *Shinshu* and *Ontake,* fox possession is recognized. It is interesting to note, however, that in Buddhist sects that recognize possession (Shingon, Tendai, and Nichiren), the Shinto *gohei,* the symbol of the presence of a *kami,* is hung and it is always a *kami* who is considered to descend and take possession.

Fox possession is understood medically as a psychosomatic disorder found mainly in residents of rural Japan. People believe that a fox has entered their chest or under their fingernails and can live its own life inside

them. The resulting schizophrenia may involve the fox and the person arguing with each other in different voices. The majority of cases occur in women, although men may be affected. The condition has been attributed to many factors, including brain function or the Japanese aesthetic imagination, but why it remains so common in an industrialized society is still largely unexplained.

Nichiren sect priests traditionally are the most effective in the difficult task of exorcising foxes, although in some cases they have unintentionally killed the victims by administering sulphur to the eyes and nostrils while chanting the *Namu-myō-hō-renge-kyo.* The twang of a bow string (as in the case of the daughter of Emperor Juntoku) is also considered effective, as is the threat of fox-hunting, which Hideyoshi used to exorcise the wife of one of his retainers. The *Busha-sai* (Shooting Festival) of the *Fushimi Inari Jinja* consists of a ritual firing of arrows (which foxes dislike) to chase away misfortune. Arrows may be seen at New Year, at *Setsubun-sai,* and on the last day (*Senshuryaku*) of every *Sumo* tournament, when an arrow is given to the first winner in *Sanyaku.*

Possession of Fox Power: Kitsune-mochi. This form of supernatural power[38] is believed strongly in some parts of the country, especially in Izumo. Families known as fox owners are feared because of their esoteric powers and because they are thought to be protected by seventy-five human foxes known as *Jinko.* These foxes protect family, land, and wealth.

Use of Foxes: Kitsune-tsukai. This type of enchantment was first recorded in the era of the Ashikaga shoguns by Nakahara Yasutomi (1398–1457).[39] Four prominent members of the Court were accused of *kitsune-tsukai,* and the service of priests was required to drive out the foxes from the apartment of the shogun's consort. The men were pronounced guilty and the court physician was exiled for life to Sanuki province. To receive the power of a fox it was necessary to tie three rice balls to the end of a three-meter-long straw rope. Each night a short length had to be taken to the local *Inari Jinja*; this had to be repeated for one hundred nights until a fox came to eat the rice ball. Provided the worshipper was of pure heart, the fox would become a servant, according to popular belief.

Somewhat more mysterious than this is the cult of Izuna-san, known as *Izuna tsukai* according to the methods first practiced on Izuna in the province of Shinano. The teachings of the priests at the two shrines there became known as *Isuna-ho.* A 1742 account of the sect that describes the method of acquiring fox power also offers a model of the integration of Shinto rituals and folklore about the fox:

First they purify themselves by fasting and then go into the mountains to seek for fox holes. If they find a pregnant fox, they politely ask her to make her young their child. Night and day they bring her food and when the little fox is born the mother brings it to them. Then the sorcerer says to the young fox "Henceforth you shall

follow me as my shadow." He gives the young animal a name and then the mother and child go away. From that time the fox always appears immediately when the sorcerer calls him by name and tells him all kinds of secret things, the knowledge of which gives him among the people the reputation of being a divine man. But if such a sorcerer becomes in the smallest degree lewd or greedy, he cannot exercise his art any longer, for the fox does not come again.[40]

Nineteenth-century records identify three fox *kami* (*miketsu-no-kami*) as revered in *Izuna Jinja*. *Dagini-Ten* is another name for the rites practiced there and on *Hie-san*. The shrine there is called *Seijo-sha*, shrine of the saintly woman. Another name for *Dagini* is *Kiko-Ten* (Venerable Fox–Heavenly King) or *Fuku-Tenjin* (Happiness–Heavenly *kami*). The real *Dagini* are called *Kanshoku Jinshin* and were introduced (originally from Indian tantrism) by Shingon priests. They were female deities empowered to confer supernatural power and esoteric knowledge upon their worshippers. The teachings of that sect were considered by orthodox Buddhists as *Maho* (demonic teaching) or *Geho* (heretical teaching). It was they who made use of *Osaki kitsune* (pipe foxes), who could confer upon their owners great wealth and honor.

Historical Development of the Inari Cult. When the capital of Japan was moved from Nara to Heian-jo (The City of Peace) Kyoto in 794, the arts and learning of all kinds began to flourish.[41] The shrine on Mt. Inari had been built in 823. In July 852, Imperial messengers asked various shrines to pray for rain. The fact that an Imperial petition was sent to an *Inari Jinja* indicates that the shrine had reached a high level of recognition and respect.

In the twelfth year of Jokwan (870), messengers bearing newly minted coins were sent to various shrines, including Inari shrines. It is interesting that the popular use of coins should be associated early with Inari. There is a reference in 908 to Fujiwara Tokihira having ordered the building of three *Inari Jinja* to honor the *kami* of food and clothes. The influence of Inari had gone far beyond simple agricultural concerns. Even members of the Imperial Family would set aside a small piece of rice from each meal to the *Uga-dama* or food spirit, Inari.

The *Nijūni-sha* included Inari in the most important seven. In 1072 there is the record of an Imperial visit to the *Inari Jinja* when horses were presented. In 1189 the Empress, who had reached the fifth month of pregnancy, donned a maternity girdle and, with proper ceremony, offered prayers to Inari for safe delivery.

The Kamakura age was more intimately connected with the rise of Hachiman through the influence of Shogun Yoritomo. The fortunes of Inari at the national level seem to have been eclipsed by Hachiman. The only significant reference is to a retired Emperor and Empress who went together to *Inari Jinja*. Likewise, in the Namboku-Cho and Muromachi era (1333–

1600) there is little reference to Inari. Indeed, in 1469, during the era of civil turbulence, all the shrines on *Inari-san* were destroyed in the course of a major battle. In 1589, however, Toyotomi Hideyoshi built a large shrine, which suggests that even though Inari may have lost some political power, it was considered sufficiently necessary for a man like Hideyoshi to feel he should replace what had been destroyed.

In the Edo period Inari began to find a new identity and entered a phase of development associated with commerce and popular concerns rather than Imperial matters. The relative stability that the Tokugawa shogunate afforded the country facilitated the gradual expansion of the rice-based economy. This gave birth to the new and rising merchant class. Its power by the end of the Edo period came to exceed that of the warrior class, which had been idle for over two centuries. References to Inari suggest the rise of a new class of followers.

In the twentieth year of Kan-ei (1643), a private ritual was conducted in the palace for the accession of the new Emperor. Inari was one of the shrines chosen to be informed of the accession and to be asked for protection for a trouble-free ceremony. Prayers for the Imperial Court were ordered to be made in various important shrines every month, and again Inari was chosen. Emperor Reige is reported to have visited the Inari shrine on 28 October 1697 and also as having composed a 31-syllable *tanka* poem about Mt. Inari. In 1704 an Imperial Edict declared that because of the great earthquake in Kanto in Genroku 16 (1703), prayers were to be offered at all *Inari Jinja*. A list of what was required for the festival is still extant:[42]

1. Decorations for the shrines and places of purification
2. Implements for the *Ohbarae*
3. Preparations for the sacred dance (*Kagura*) and collecting of musical instruments
4. Great food and drink offerings to the *kami*
5. Preparation for the feasts from the food and drink offerings to the *kami*.

The budget for these items was estimated at 80 *koku* of rice. Also contained in the document is a detailed program of festivals, which were to occupy approximately one week. The priests were to be purified on the first day and thereafter would follow this routine:

Assembly in the early morning of all priests in the *haiden*

They enter the shrine enclosure and take up their positions

The Chief Priest opens the *honden*

The offerings are made

Norito is read

The priests leave their places and enter the *haiden*
The implement for purification is taken up
All are purified (*oharai*)
Norito is read
All enter the precincts of the inner shrine
The instrument of purification is replaced in the inner shrine
All the priests leave the shrine
All enter the place for the preparation of the offerings
They leave and take up their places in the *haiden*
All are again purified
They go to the shrine, bearing offerings
Norito is read
Sacred music and dance
The offerings are removed

The offerings are taken to the *Sairo-oku,* the place where they are prepared and kept when not in use. The ceremony of *Gembuku* (of reaching the age of majority) in the Imperial Palace (which includes receiving the *eboshi*) was to be protected by the seven great shrines, which again included Inari.

Outside of the Imperial Household, among both townspeople (*chōnin*) and merchants (*shōnin*) Inari became popular with those seeking prosperity. Many people erected Inari shrines and Inari *yashiki-gami* on their own land for success, the *shusse Inari.* The characteristic rows of red *torii* gates became well-known and very popular features of Edo life.

Toward the end of the Edo age, in 1834 there is a record of the Emperor's illness being reported to the *Inari Jinja* on February 4 and prayers being offered for his recovery. The last great pre-modern act of the *Inari Jinja* was in 1863, when British warships entered Yokohama harbor. Special prayers were ordered for one week so that the barbarians would be driven away and the sacred soil of Japan would not be defiled by their presence. Prayers for the Emperor and the Empire were also offered.

These constitute most of the great developments of the Inari up to the Meiji Restoration, but Inari did not lose prominence entirely thereafter. In Meiji 2 (1869), all important shrines were instructed to offer special prayers for seven days to ensure the safety of the Emperor's journey to the eastern capital, Tokyo. By June 18, Meiji 4 (1871), the *Inari Jinja* had been raised to the rank of *Kampei Taisha* (Government Shrine). The silver wedding anniversary of the Emperor and Empress Meiji (9 March 1884) was announced to the *kami* at the *Inari Jinja.* Thereafter, all important national or international matters were reported at the *Inari Jinja,* including the treaties that followed the wars against China and Russia. Inari had reached the

peak of prominence, the climax of the process begun when an alliance was forged with Shingon Buddhism.

The Kami of Mt. Inari. People performing *seishiki sampai* at a local *Inari Jinja* are probably not aware of the fact that several *kami* are revered under the name *Inari.*[43] *Inari-sama,* if correctly revered, will endow worshippers with peace, happiness, and prosperity. In fact, at *Inari-san* in Fushimi there are five shrines known as the *Inari-gosha* enshrining nine *kami,* the original of whom was Uga-dama, the *kami* of food (associated the names of Saruta-hiko-ō-kami and O-ichi-hime). The abundance of foxes on the mountain suggested the fox as messenger of the *kami,* and it became the practice to offer earthenware foxes to the *kami.* From this the gradual identification of Inari, the *kami* of the mountain and the foxes, came about. The *Inari-gosha* probably evolved as new *kami* were identified by new groups of foxes. The original *kami* of Fushimi is worshipped on the third peak of Inari Mountain at a place called *Mannaka Shimo no Yashiro* (Central Lower Shrine) under a variety of names, all of which relate to food. According to the mythology, Izanagi and Izanami procreated Uka-no-mitama-no-mikoto (food-august-spirit-*kami*). Other versions of the mythology identify a *kami* of food. *Bunri-kami* (branch-*kami*) include the *kami* of grasses and weeds, known as Ya-bune-kuku-no-chi-no-mikoto (house-shell-stem-elder-*kami*), and the *kami* of the home, known as Ya-bune-toyo-uke-hime-no-mikoto (house-shell-abundant-food-princess-*kami*). Inari believers include carpenters and contractors as well as farmers.

The second principal *kami* is Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto,[44] along with Ame-Uzume-no-mikoto. The fourth and fifth *kami,* known together as the Ta-naka-o-kami (rice-field-center-*kami*), are O-na-mochi-no-kami and O-toshi-no-kami. The former is also known as Daikoku, the *kami* of wealth, and the latter is the guardian *kami* of harvest and fields. At the fifth shrine the *Shi-dai-jin* (four-great-*kami*) are revered, and ten additional *kami* are enshrined in different locations on the mountain.

Toyokawa Inari Jinja. After the *Fushuimi Inari Jinja,* the next best known is the *Toyokawa Inari Jinja*[45] in Toyokawa, five miles from Toyohashi. It was completed in March 1930. It is also known as *Toyokawa Bakini Shin-ten* because it was a Soto Zen temple that dates back to the fifteenth century. The worship of the *Byakko,* or white fox, was allegedly brought from the *Inari Jinja* in Kyoto to Toyokawa. This is an interesting case of syncretistic worship in modern times, as a visit to the *Toyokawa Inari Jinja* on Aoyama-dori in central Tokyo will confirm. Shrine and temple are adjoining, and Inari is served in both.

The continuing and persistent popularity of Inari makes the following remarks of a missionary commentator in 1930 interesting reading: "it seems likely that with the increasing emphasis by the Government on mental and moral training, the gross and superstitious elements of the religion (of Inari) will be eliminated, leaving the strong and worthy features to be absorbed

by higher and nobler faiths."[46] This is another case of either wishful thinking or lack of insight into the distinctive character of Japanese religion.

Ebisu. In the words of Herbert, Ebisu is both popular and controversial. The association with trade and commerce is even more explicit than in the case of Inari. Ebisu is depicted in physical form more readily than other *kami* and appears in the well-known shape of a fat bearded figure, smiling happily, holding a fishing line in one hand and a large *tai* (sea bream) in the other.[47] The association of Ebisu is consequently with good fortune and good luck. In this sense, the status of Ebisu is somewhat different from those Shrine Shinto *kami* whose origins are slightly less at the folk level—although as the case of Inari demonstrated, the reality is often far more complex.

Origins of Ebisu. The most likely origin of the cult is that of a *kami* called Ebisu-no-kami who protected fishermen. He was a *kami* of the sea; consequently the oldest *Ebisu Jinja* are near the ocean. In Ishikawa Prefecture, on the Pacific side of the northernmost promontory there is an *Ebisu-zaki* (Cape Ebisu), suggesting a place of refuge in the more fierce northern oceans. The only place name in the country where the identical *kanji* for Ebisu the *kami* are used is a district within the Minato ward of Tokyo.

Development of the Cult of Ebisu. By the twelfth century, reverence for Ebisu became associated with markets. A purification ritual and prayers for prosperity were offered before the market commenced. The cult seems to have flourished on the Pacific side of Japan, from what is now Mie Prefecture toward the island of Shikoku. Ebisu is also found in Kyushu. The principal shrine is in the city of Nishinomiya, between Kobe and Osaka in the Kansai region. In the earliest records, the market *kami* was Ichikishima-no-kami. Twelfth-century records show that in front of the Joraku-ji, a large Buddhist temple in the outskirts of the modern city of Handa in Aichi Prefecture, south of Nagoya City, there was a famous market from ancient times where an *Ebisu Jinja* was established. The same occurred in the case of the large South Market in Nara. Historical evidence suggests the frequent association of Ebisu with markets. Names like Yokkaichi (with markets on days with the number four: 4th, 14th, and 24th), a large city in Mie Prefecture, or Itsukaichi (with markets on days with the number five: 5th, 15th, and 25th) near Tokyo can be traced back to the ancient market day system, a well-known feature of the traditional Japanese economy. It is interesting to note, however, that not one Ebisu shrine is listed among the principal shrines nationwide.

The Identity of Ebisu. Who is Ebisu, and who is enshrined? In the *Imamiya-Ebisu-Jinja* in Osaka, Koto-shiro-nushi-no-mikoto is identified with Ebisu; and in Nishinomiya, Hiru-kuni-no-kami is identified with Ebisu.[48] The identity of Ebisu may have been less formal in earlier days, but after the Meiji Restoration and pressure from the government to eliminate "unworthy" shrines and cults, Ebisu (whose name may not have been considered

respectable for a Japanese *kami*) probably became identified with other *kami*. Ebisu is not considered to be among the *kami* who visit Izumo at the *Kami-ai-sai* in October, when the *kami* assemble there from all over the country. Consequently, Ebisu festivals are held in October. It might also be taken to mean that the Japanese could permit all their *kami* to visit Izumo, with the notable exception of the protective *kami* of the marketplace and commerce, a possibility that carries its own nuances of meaning.

Ebisu and Daikoku. There is an association with Daikoku,[49] the *kami* of prosperity, that in turn indirectly links Ebisu with Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto of the *Izumo Taisha*. However, the figure of Daikoku is different from that of Ebisu. Daikoku is normally depicted as a fat and wealthy-looking merchant sitting on two bolls of rice, carrying a sack full of valuable items on his back. He holds the sack on his back with his left hand; in his right he holds a *tsuchi*, a kind of mallet, which could also associate him with carpenters. The amount of construction work undertaken during the Edo age, especially in the city of Edo, would make sense of identifying Ebisu with more than commerce, which was less prominent in the Edo economy than it was in Osaka, for example. The place of Ebisu in rituals preceding commercial ventures seems well established by adequate historical precedent.

Shichi-fuku-jin. In the minds of most Japanese, however, Ebisu and Daikoku are distinguished; and they, plus five other deities of various sorts, constitute the seven *kami* of good fortune. They are not in fact all Shinto *kami* but are noted here because they are known as the seven *kami, Shichi-fuku-jin* (seven good-fortune *kami*).

The others are as follows. Ben-ten is a female derived from an Indian deity, Sarasvati, the patron of music. Bishamon-ten is a warrior in armor with a grotesque face, holding a spear in one hand and a treasure tower in the other. Fuku-roku-ju is said to be derived from the Chinese legend of a Sung Dynasty hermit. This is the *kami* of wealth, prosperity, and long life. Hotei is a fat-bellied Buddhist priest who carries a sack, which—like that of Santa Claus—never empties. He also carries a fan. Jun-ro-jin is often identified with the Southern Polestar but is depicted also as a Chinese-style hermit. He has a large head and carries a long stick to which a book is attached, the book of life, which includes anyone who consults him.

The seven *kami* are often seen sailing in a treasure ship, a *takara-bune,* filled with magical instruments, rich merchandise, a hat that makes people invisible, and a bag of money that never empties. In fact, most of these are of Buddhist origin. Indeed, Daikoku may also be of Indian origin, being identified by some with Mahakala, a domestic Hindu deity associated with cooking. Happiness was later included. There is also an association with Ta-no-kami, the *kami* of the field. In contemporary Japan, people carry money with them each year to have it washed in the sacred waters of Ben-ten so as to enlarge its value through purification. This is certainly in the order of folk religion rathern than pure Shrine Shinto, but it illustrates how

one level almost imperceptibly runs into the next. It also underlines the point that in the popular mind (from the Edo age onwards, but probably before) the distinction between *kami* and *hotoke,* between the *kami* and the Buddha, and between popular religion and institutional religion has never been clearly drawn, if at all.

NOTES

1. No exhaustive series of publications on shrines exists because it would be a documenting task of massive proportions. To visit all of Japan's shrines at the rate of one per day would take 290 years! Gakusei-sha, a Tokyo publishing company, began the *Nippon Jinja Series* in 1969 to cover twenty-two main shrines. Over twenty years later, less than half had been published. Individual shrines publish guidebooks based on material from their own archives. The Ponsonby Fane series offers some general studies in English. Data in this and the ensuing sections are verified from the *Shinto Jiten,* ed. Anzu Motohiko of Kokugakuin University (Horii Shoten, Tokyo, 1968).

One method by which the study of Shinto is advancing is through the study of various cults. Recent work on the cult of Kasuga is a good example. There is Royall Tyler's *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (Columbia University Press, 1990) and more recently Susan Tyler's *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Though its Art* (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1992). There is also Allan Grapard's excellent work entitled *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (University of California Press, 1992). The cults of Sumiyoshi, Hikawa and Suwa, to name but three, must be candidates for this kind of treatment.

Grapard is particularly interesting when discussing the possibility of using Kasuga as a structural model for interpreting the multiplex-based aspects of Japanese social and religious history. I have also used the term "multiplex" in a discussion of values in Japan, and I found Grapard's thesis most suggestive and illuminating. ("The Evolution of the Japanese Value System," *Humanities Journal* 17 (International Christian University, Tokyo, 1983, p. 148). A similar insight is found in William R. LaFleur's description of Japanese ethics as moral bricolage. (*Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan,* Princeton University Press, 1992 p. 12).

2. I was made aware of this in the case of Buddhism while attending a funeral in the company of a priest of the Jōdo sect. When the officiating priest began his intonations, I was astonished when he asked if I knew to which sect he belonged. Shrines at least share the same mythology, although it is questionable if many priests know the details of *kami* enshrined in shrines other than their own. The Association of Shinto Shrines has records only for shrines that are affiliated with it; this reflects what Delmer Brown has described as the particularlism of Shinto.

3. Statistics are from the Association of Shinto Shrines.

4. The *kami* of heaven, the *kami* of earth, and the myriad *kami.* "Myriad" is usually explained as "eight millions," a Chinese form of expression for "countless."

5. *Kojiki,* Vol. I, Section 18.

6. Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure* (Meridian Books, New York, 1976), pp. 1–13.

7. *Kojiki,* Vol. I, Section 33.

8. This was determined after extensive research and debate.

9. *Kojiki,* Vol. II, Section 46. The name has also been taken to mean "eight-headed crow" by Motoori Norinaga. Aston claims that it is a reference to a Chinese myth about a three-clawed crow, reddish in color, that lived on the sun (*Nihongi,* Aston translation, p. 168, footnote 2).

10. For a description of this, see the *Nihon Jinja Series* study by Shinohara Shiro of *Kumano Taisha* (Gakuseisha, Tokyo, 1969), pp. 120 ff.

11. Sixteen of the shrines that made up the *Ni-ju-ni-sha* were first identified during the reign of Emperor Murakami (r. 946–967), who had them offer prayers to end a time of floods. He classified them into *Kampeisha,* which received *hei* (Imperial offerings) directly from the Court, and *Kokuheisha,* which received them from the *Kokushi* (Provincial Governor). The completed list of twenty-two was finally drawn up in Choryaku 3 (1038) by Emperor Gosuzaku.

12. *Kojiki,* Vol. II, Section 45.

13. *Nihongi,* Vol. II, Section 33: 37.

14. The story is preserved in the *Engishiki* and is contained within the *norito* of the *Tatsu Kaze no Kami no Matsuri.* An English version of the *norito* by Ernest Satow can be found in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 7, pt. 4, 1879.

15. The *Nihongi* version and the *Kojiki* account of Empress Jingu's conquest of Korea and the subsequent enshrinement of the *Sumiyoshi kami* do not completely agree. Opinions differ over whether the recorded incidents happened before or after the expedition.

16. Hori Ichiro, "Mountains and Their Importance for the Idea of the Other World in Japanese Folk Religion," *Japanese Religions* 6, no. 1 (August 1966): 1–23.

17. For a concise account, see George Sansom, *History of Japan,* Vol. 1 (Tuttle, Tokyo, 1979), pp. 215–216.

18. For sources on the life and death of Nogi Maresuke, see Lifton, Kato, and Reich, *Six Lives, Six Deaths* (Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 29–66.

19. *Shoku Nihongi Jingo Keiun* 3.9.25. Sources on the Hachiman cult include the following: Usa Engi (Records of Rituals of the Usa Hachiman Shrine in Kyushu); Miyaji Naokazu, *Hachimangū no Kenkyū* (Studies in Hachiman) (Risōsha, Tokyo, 1956); *Tsurugaoka Hachimangū* official publications; and records from the *Hachimangū Shamushō.* Ross Bender, "The Hachiman Cult and the Dōkyō Incident," *Monumenta Nipponica* 34, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 125–153, is a useful discussion in English of some of the theories about Hachiman.

20. Nakano Hatayoshi, *Hachiman Shinkoshi no Kenkyū* (Studies in the Hachiman Cult) (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1976).

21. Jean Herbert, *Shinto: Foundation of Japan* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1967): 426–440. Herbert also made reference to the *Hachiman-gū-do-kun,* a Kamakura age document about Hachiman written for children, and Miyaji's work cited in note 19 of this chapter.

22. Motoori Norinaga, *Zenshu* (Complete Works), Vol. 5, (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 1926–1927), p. 112.

23. Gembo (?–746) represented the highwater mark of Nara Buddhist power in the court of Emperor Shōmu.

24. *Shoku Nihongi* record of *Tempyo,* 1.12.27.

25. Ross Bender, "The Hachiman Cult and the Dōkyō Incident," p. 153.

26. On Inari the following texts were consulted: *Kampei Taisha Inari Jinja Meisei Zusho* (Details of the Government Grand Shrine of Inari) (Inari Shrine Authorities, 1884), Okabu Jo, *Kampei Taisha Inari Jinsha Go-Saijin Ki* (Records of the Kami Celebrated in the Government Grand Shrine of Inari) (Tokyo, 1920); Yoshida Motozaburo, *Fushimi Inari Zen Keinai Meisho Zue* (An Illustrated Introduction to Famous Locations within Fushimi Inari) (Fushimi Inari Shrine, Kyoto, 1925); Hata no Kimihata, *Kami no Yashiro Hata no Kimihata Nikki* (Diaries of Negi Hata of the Upper Inari Shrine) (1821–1827); *Inarisha Kokon Jijitsu Kosko* (Studies on Inari Shrines Ancient and Modern) (c. 1820); *Inari Jinja Kobunsho* (Ancient Papers on Inari Jinja) (author and dates unknown); *Inari Jinja Kokiruoku* (Ancient Records of Inari Jinja) (author and dates unknown); *Shashi Tsukiban Zakki* (Records of Monthly Duties at the Inari Jinja) (1688–1911); *Inari Jinja Shamusho Nisshi* (Daily Record of the Inari Jinja Office) (1868).

English sources are scant. However, the following are useful: Daniel Crump Buchanan, "Inari: Its Origin, Development and Nature," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (Tokyo), December 1935 (a period piece, but a useful starting point); Karen A. Smyers, "Of Foxes, Buddhas and Shinto Kami: The Syncretic Nature of Inari Beliefs," *Japanese Religions* 16, no. 3 (January 1991): 60–75; Nozaki Kiyoshi, *Kitsune: Japan's Fox of Mystery, Romance and Humor* (Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, 1961). Nozaki's book contains a wealth of background information about the fox and can be read alongside the relevant portions of Blacker's *Catalpa Bow,* mentioned earlier in the context of shamanism.

27. *I*, meaning "rice," and *nari*, "form" or "shape," constitute one idea. When rice is poured into a bowl it often takes a conical shape, which would fit *inari yama* (rice-shaped mountain). There is *ine* (rice plant) and *nari* (form), based upon the idea that Inari is the spirit of the rice plant that sometimes appears in human form. This relates to the fox as the messenger of the *kami* and the shamanistic belief in fox possession. *Ine* (rice plant) and *nari* (fertile) would imply that Inari is the *kami* of the flowering rice plant. Ine plus *kari* (cutting) or *ine* plus *iru* (gathering) are also plausible candidates. *Ine* (rice plant), with *ka* read as ri (load or burden) are the characters used in the name *Iño* as it is usually written. Japanese explanations often favor etymology that most readily fits the characteristics or qualities they wish to identify or highlight. The result may often be as much supposition as scholarship.

28. John Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* (Religious Tract Society of London, 1901); Peng and Geisen, *The Ainu: The Past in the Present* (Bunka Hyoron, Hiroshima, 1977). Batchelor's many studies are still classic.

29. Czaplika, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914); Diōszegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia* (Ousterhout, Holland, 1968).

30. William Walter Skeat, *Malay Magic* (Macmillan, London, 1900).

31. Hirata Atsutane, *Koshinden* (Account of Ancient History) (1812).

32. Nozaki, *Kitsune,* Chapter 2.

33. Names and ranks of the fox are listed as follows:

Kitsune	The normal term for the fox.
Byakko	White fox, the *kami* of Inari.
Genko	Black fox; its appearance is a good omen.
Shakko	Red fox, a sign of good fortune.

Kiko	Spirit fox, used by *Yamabushi* in divining.
Kwanko	Pipe fox, also read as *Kuda-gitsune,* a small fox that can be inserted into a pipe and used by *Yamabushi* in divining.
Kūko	Air fox, considered identical to *Tengu* and extremely malevolent.
Jinko	Man fox, the fox in human form.
Reiko	Ghost fox, a powerful demonic fox.
Tenko	Heavenly fox, a fox who flies and may also be a *Tengu.*
Koryō	Haunting fox, who bewitches people.
Yakan	The most powerful and haunting of all foxes.
Kiko Myōjin	Venerable gracious *kami* fox and messenger of Inari.
Chōko	Fox chieftain, also read as *Osa-gitsune,* the king of all foxes in Japan and descendant of *Kiko Myōjin.*
Kyūbi no kitsune	Nine-tailed fox, a sign of good fortune.
Osaki gitsune	Osaki fox, the same as *Kwanko.*
Myōbu	Court lady, a fox revered on Mt. Inari.
Tome	Old Woman, a fox revered in the Byakko Jinja on Mt. Inari.
Tōka	Rice carrying, also read as *Inari,* the *kami* of the mountain.
Kotai	Fox regiment, groups of foxes who appear as soldiers.
Yako	Field fox, the lowest grade of fox.
Yorikata	Assistants, a grade higher than field fox.
Shuryō	Chief, the highest rank of fox.

A listing also appears in Buchanan, "Inari," pp. 34–36.

34. E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (Bretano, New York, 1922); J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese* (Macmillan, New York, 1910).

35. Narrated in Nozaki, *Kitsune,* Chapter 4.

36. See Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (John Murray, London, 1905), for similar incidents. Buchanan vouches for the car incident as coming from a priest of the *Inari Jinja* in Wakayama. See also Nozaki, *Kitsune,* Chapters 13 and 14.

37. Nozaki, *Kitsune,* Chapters 21 and 22. This disorder continues to exist in many rural parts of Japan. Blacker discusses this in *Catalpa Bow,* pp. 238–239, 242, 301.

38. This is usually considered equivalent to sorcery. See Blacker, *Catalpa Bow,* pp. 53–54.

39. *Yasutomi-Ki* (Diaries of Nakahara Yasutomi), 1401–1457, p. 50.

40. Daiyata Misaki, *Ro-on-Cha-wa* (Old Ladies' Tea Chatter).

41. See historical sources listed in note 26 of this chapter.

42. Records exist in the *Inari Jinja Kobunshō* (Ancient Papers of the Inari Shrine). See also Kata Nobutomo, *Goten Azukari Kata Nobutomo Nikki* (Diary of Kata Nobutomo, Priest of the Shrine) (Fushimi Inari); and Sir Ernest M. Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 7 (nos. 1, 2, and 4) and 9 (1878 and 1881).

43. On Inari and Phallicism there is clear evidence of the fertility dimension of the Inari cult in the past, when the agricultural mysteries of birth and growth were revered along with the protective *kami* of rice production. Various artifacts and festivals existed throughout the country. These were suppressed during the early years of Meiji and again under the weight of State Shinto when attempts were made to sever the link between Shrine Shinto and folk religion.

44. See the discussion of Saruta-hiko and Ame-uzume-no-mikoto in Chapter 2

of this book. My references are the *Kojiki* (Chamberlain's translation, pp. 130–136) and the *Nihongi,* Vol. I, pp. 77–79.

45. Information was provided from the *Toyokawa Inari Jinja.*

46. Buchanan, "Inari," p. 141. In spite of modern Japanese Christian protests about the *Daijōsai,* there seems little sign of the contemporary *in visa retrospecta* disapproval of both the Emperor system or the Japanese government's moral education program.

47. The Japanese name of sea bream, *tai,* is used in a word play to mean the last part of *omeditai,* a congratulatory wish. Consequently, the *tai* is used at weddings or celebrations, thereby becoming associated with happiness and prosperity.

48. The initial association of these *kami* seems to have been the work of Edo period scholars who wished to give Ebisu a more impressive pedigree than a simple folklore origin. A major research project is needed to trace in detail the origins and development of Ebisu on the same lines as the work on Hachiman and Inari. Paralleling the study of Hachiman, which deals with religion and politics, it could be an interesting preface to the relationship of economics and religion in Japan. The only study listed was Yoshii Yoshihide, *Nishinomiya Ebisugami Kenkyū* (Studies in the Kami Ebisu of Nishinomiya) (Tokyo, 1935).

49. At a dinner to open a British fair in the Mitsukoshi Department Store in Tokyo, as part of the entertainment a lion dance was performed as a religious act to close the evening. The program explained that the lion was Daikokusama, who was also Okuni-nushi-noi-mikoto, the *kami* of *Izumo Taisha,* the guardian shrine of Mitsukoshi. To encourage the blessings of the *kami,* as the lion danced around the *tatami*-matted hall it went first to the President of the store, who placed a 10,000-yen note in its wooden jaws. The British Ambassador was obliged to follow suit. My fellow Scots, with their accustomed sense of thrift, asked me what would be the smallest acceptable donation! The idea of a Shinto rite in that form took almost all the foreign visitors by complete surprise.

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Chapter 5

Shrine Buildings (Jinja Shaden)

ORIGINS OF SHRINES AND SHRINE BUILDINGS

Jinja in Japanese refers to a location, not to a building. Shrines began as places of theophanic manifestation, perhaps less dramatic than the burning bush that Moses saw or the place where Jacob dreamed of a ladder stretching up to heaven. But certainly they were no less impressive to the Japanese of old, who felt that those places were the residences of *kami*. Consequently, Japan's oldest and most impressive shrines are located in places of dramatic natural beauty. Early worship centered upon these sacred spaces, the precursor of the *himorogi*, marked off initially by a rope but later fenced by trees, rocks or carefully laid out stones. These were the locations where eventually buildings were raised to house acts of worship. This has continued in modern practices related to the erection of new buildings. When *jichinsai* is performed to pacify a *kami* of the earth, a *himorogi* is marked with branches of *sakaki* and straw-plaited *shimenawa*. The area inside is considered sacred for that time and the ceremony is conducted by a properly purified priest.

The earliest shrines were probably little more than rock piles that marked a sacred spot. Buildings came to be located in front of them or at the foot of the mountain where these spaces were identified. Some *jinja* of very ancient origin have no *honden*, and some even had no buildings whatsoever. The island of Okinoshima[1] was the center of the worship of the *Munakata-o-kami*. The government energetically promoted this cult, which prospered because of Japan's domination of the southern part of the Korean peninsula. *Munakata-o-kami* was the protective *kami* of the ocean waterways. The entire island is dotted with numerous altars. The huge volume of artifacts and treasures found here suggest the vitality of the cult between the fourth and seventh centuries, yet there is no evidence whatsoever of any building having been erected there.

It is from such simple beginnings that the modern shrine developed. It was indeed the "place of the *kami*," a *yorishiro*; because the space was perceived as sacred, *himorogi* and *iwasaka* developed. Some shrines continue to have no main buildings. The *Omiya* (great shrine) near Nara has Mt. Miwa as its *honden* and its *kami*. It is topped by a large rock that serves as a *yorishiro*. The *Isonokami Jinja* in Kyoto and the upper *Suwa Jinja* in Nagano had no *honden* until the Meiji era.

Once buildings began to appear, probably around the fifth century, *Jinja shaden* (shrine buildings) came to provide another example of Shinto's tendency to identify *kami* with particular places. Not only are *kami* worshipped in specific localities, but they are also worshipped in specific types of buildings whose form is associated with them. It would be incongruous to see the worship of Hachiman taking place inside buildings that looked like an Inari shrine, for example.

It is quite possible to have *massha* (subordinate shrines) to another *kami* inside shrine precincts. *Inari massha* are found in many shrines of other *kami*. Although there are historical reasons for the differences of design, these designs have become identifying marks of the *kami*.[2] This in part relates to the fact that the locations of *jinja* and buildings is the choice of the *kami* rather than the worshippers. For example, the need to have a particular *kami* might be felt by a community or a family, which would be taken as a sign from that *kami*. The location would be determined by divination in various ways[3] to choose a propitious site. The location then becomes sacred, and shrines or their buildings are seldom relocated unless under the most exceptional circumstances.[4] The individual details of shrines extend beyond buildings to the types of *torii* (gateway) and the kinds of *shinsen* (food offerings) that the various *kami* prefer. There are approximately sixteen main styles of architecture of varied historical origins and over twenty types of *torii* associated with different *kami* and locations. These I will describe with the names of principal exemplary shrines and *kami*.

It has been claimed on the basis of mythology that the first shrine building was erected by Okuninishi-no-mikoto to revere his own *kushi-mitama* (soul of mysterious virtue). Shortly thereafter, Nininigi-no-mikoto, grandson of Amaterasu, is said to have erected a shrine modeled on his palace to honor Okuninishi-no-mikoto at Obama in Izumo. This became the famous *Izumo Taisha*. Also according to legend, in February 657 B.C. Emperor Jimmu enshrined the spirit (*tamashii*) of Amaterasu on Mt. Tomiyama in Yamato although no buildings were erected. In 92 B.C. the sacred mirror (formerly kept in the Imperial Palace) was enshrined by Emperor Sujin at Kasanui in Yamato. In another legend Emperor Suinin constructed *Ise Jingū* in 5 B.C. for the sacred mirror, and from that date shrine buildings came to be erected. Of course, this is mere legend, because the dating is beyond verification. Much of this mythology was embodied in the teachings of State Shinto after the Meiji Restoration.

Alongside the politically inspired legends of shrine origins,[5] many old shrines have independent folk origins. There are shrines for the *kami* of Earth and other shrines that predate politicization. No Imperial approval was given to these shrines, which merely reflected the spiritual aspirations of an agricultural people to have their own places of veneration.[6] Many old shrine buildings around the countryside local to a community belong to this category. Most have no names and would have been part of the 100,000 eliminated by government ordinance during the era of State Shinto, when the wholesale destruction of local folk shrines was undertaken in order to strengthen government-authorized shrines.[7]

The earliest buildings were extremely simple, constructed—as in the case of *Ise Jingū*—of plain Japanese cypress[8] with no decoration and using few if any nails, to stand in stark beauty and simplicity. Polynesian rice stores are thought to be the nearest similar buildings. The shrines draw architects from all over the world to study their design, construction, and functions. Later shrines came to reflect Chinese and other influences in the use of vermilion and in the addition of color in general. The various styles of architecture that emerged reflect the different ages of Shinto and the periods through which the development of its traditions passed. The use of curved lines did not appear until after the eighth century, which was about the time that Chinese and Korean architectural influences began to appear in Japan.

Shrines reflect two deep traits of the Japanese character: the love of purity and the love of newness.The periodic rebuilding of shrines (usually replicating the existing form) expresses the spirit of endless renewal that seems to lie at the root of the culture along with the desire for purity and brightness. The *kami* should not be revered in buildings that are decrepit, dirty, and neglected. They should be fresh, clean, and well kept.

The capital has been moved from time to time for the same reason. Emperor Kwammu moved it from Nara to Kyoto in 794, ushering in not only a new period of Japanese history but also new styles in building, manners, and dress. From that time on, the styles of shrines began to change, matching the mood of the ages. Nevertheless, the ideals expressed in the simple, graceful form of the Grand Shrines of Ise, for example, remain the classical product of the Japanese spirit.

DEVELOPMENT OF SHRINES AND SHRINE ARCHITECTURE

The simplest method of classifying shrines is according to the *kami* enshrined. This affects the shape of the *torii* (which mark the entrance to the sacred site) and the architectural style (*zukuri*) of the buildings.[9] There are normally at least two buildings, one exclusively for the *kami* and another for use by worshippers.

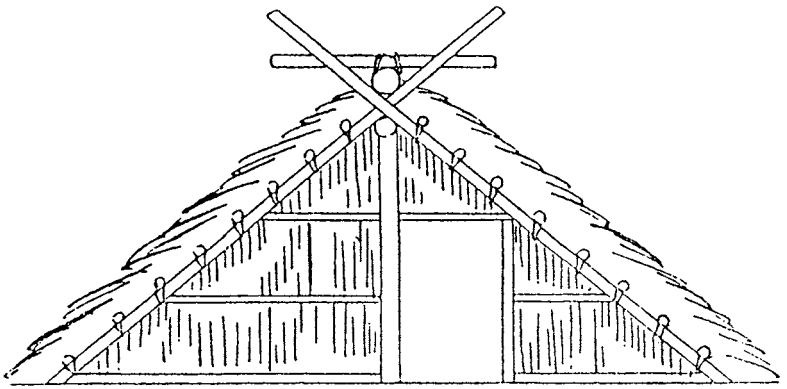
The original purpose of erecting buildings was to provide a place in

which the *kami* could descend and where both *kami* and worshippers could be together. Once shrine buildings have been erected and the *kami* has descended, the ground is sacred. *Tatari,* misfortune, threatens any who violate that sanctity by removing the shrine or damaging the grounds.[10]

PRIMITIVE SHRINE STYLES

Tenchi-Gongen

The name "Heaven-Earth origin" implies the basic distinction of *kami* into the Heavenly *kami* and the Earthly *kami* and suggests that it is a point where heaven and earth can meet. The diagram[11] is largely conjecture, but it combines anthropological and archaeological ideas about the residence of ancient anthropoids. Two posts are firmly embedded in the

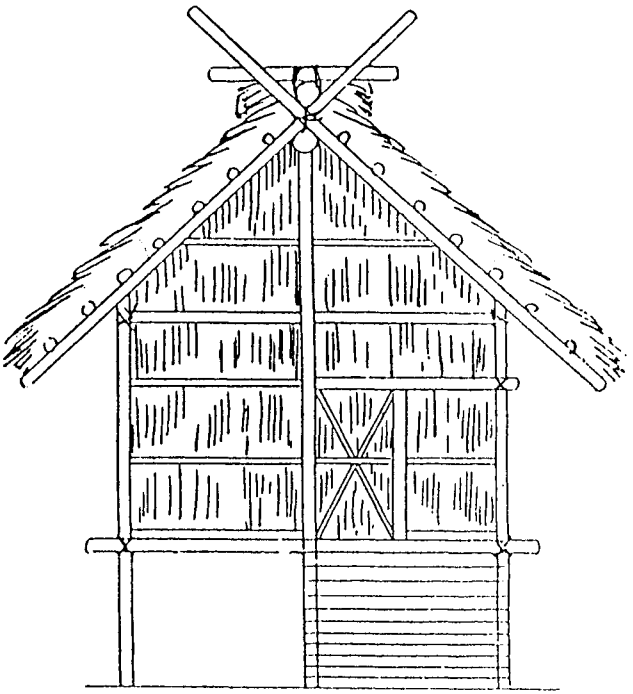


ground, and two slanted poles are tied front and rear to make a frame. Thin bamboos are added and thatch is placed on top of these. The only limitation of this design is that it would be flooded in the rainy season, unless the lower parts of the roof could be raised. This style seems closer to the North American Indian tepee whose lower covers could be opened for ventilation.

Tenchi-Gongen may also have been used as coverings for pit dwellings used by Japan's earliest inhabitants. Beside the *tate-ana* site in Toro, Shizuoka Prefecture, there is a restored raised house. In New Guinea, the *Tenchi-Gongen* style can be seen with two distinctions: it is round like the Indian tepee, and it has an upper floor for sleeping. Regardless of origin, the roof silhouette of shrines probably begins with the *Tenchi-Gongen* style.[12]

Takakuya

This "high house" style seems a more likely original form, although it has been argued that it is a later development. It is elevated to avoid flooding and has a staircase. The diagram is based on drawings on pottery and on ancient mirrors found during excavations. It fits the pattern of Southeast Asian houses in New Guinea, Sumatra, or Palao, where carved models are sold as tourist souvenirs. The style can be traced, at least in form, as far



back as the Yayoi period. Models of raised-floor buildings are among the funerary offerings made of baked clay known as *Haniwa* that date to the fifth century C.E. Similar buildings may be found particularly on outlying islands, such as Hachijo, Kyushu, and Okinawa. Some are constructed with a system of interlocking joints at corners for extra strength (known as *taazekura*), an extremely ancient method of construction still seen in the *Aramatsuri Jinja,* a branch shrine (*betsu-gu*) of *Ise Jingū.*

In the Yamato Court, designated storehouses of the government were known as *Okura* (great treasure house). There were three types. (1) *Imikura* were storage houses for ceremonial regalia of various kinds. These were supervised by the Imbe clan. (2) *Kura* were general storage places for

state property supervised by the Hata clan. (3) The *Okura* was the national treasury, which was supervised by the Yamato no Aya clan. *Isonokami Jinja,* near the Kyoto Imperial Palace, was used as an arsenal under Mononobe control. In this way, the religio-political role of the buildings grew with the evolving Yamato society. This would also explain why *Ise Jingū* had only one building surrounded by sacred fences: its sole function was the enshrinement of *kami. Ise Jingū* was thought to be a natural development from *Imikura* of the earlier period, built originally and controlled by the Imbe clan (who were also hereditary directors of the *Jingi-kan*). The turning point appears to be during the sixth century, when the *takakuya* were superseded by improved building techniques.

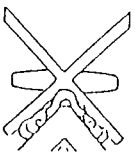
It was at this point that the Imbe made a point of stressing the uniqueness of the *Imikura* by retaining the archaic architectural style while other building styles changed. In this way *Ise Jingū* acquired its distinctive style. Raised building did not totally disappear; one other outstanding example is the *Shoso-in* in Nara, which dates to the eighth century. It is an example of the large-style *Okura.* The prototype for this appears to be Chinese. Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 C.E.) tombs contain tiles on which such buildings are depicted. The style seems to have been in use in China at an earlier date, although this does not have significant implications for the religious use to which the Japanese adapted their buildings. Once they developed, they became an integral part of the Shinto tradition and have remained so ever since.

ROOF DESIGNS AND ORNAMENTS ON SHRINES

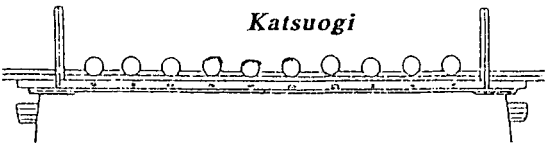
Chigi

Chigi are sets of timbers standing vertically and sitting crosswise at the upper end of the roof ridge. The oldest buildings were erected from two intersecting timbers raised and crossed as shown. They eventually became

Chigi



Katsuogi



merely decorative ornaments on the shrine roof. The top end (with some exceptions) is usually finished with a vertical edge when the *kami* is male and with a horizontal edge when the *kami* is female. Similar designs can be found on *Haniwa* buildings that date to the fifth century. The design can be traced back to second-century China.

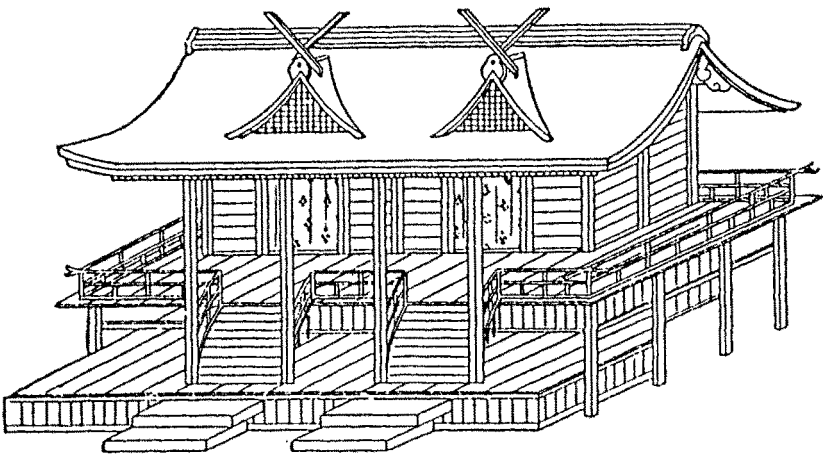
Katsuogi

These are short round pieces of wood that lie along the shrine's roof ridge at regular intervals. They are derived from the timbers used as weights on thatched roofs to prevent movement by strong winds. Again, function has been replaced by a decorative role. These are found particularly on shrine roofs that have no curves or that are influenced by the style of the *Ise Jingū*. The name is said to be derived from the similar-sounding name of small Japanese dried fish whose shape is similar. Both *chigi* and *katsuogi* seem to have been popular toward the end of the Tumulus period of the great sepulchral *Kofun*. The incident in the *Nihongi* in which Emperor Yuryaku[13] forbade the placing of *katsuogi* anywhere but on Imperial palaces (*miya*) indicates that they had come to indicate status. This appears to have been around the fifth century, from which time shrine architecture can be historically documented.

PRINCIPAL TYPES OF SHRINE STYLE

Aidono

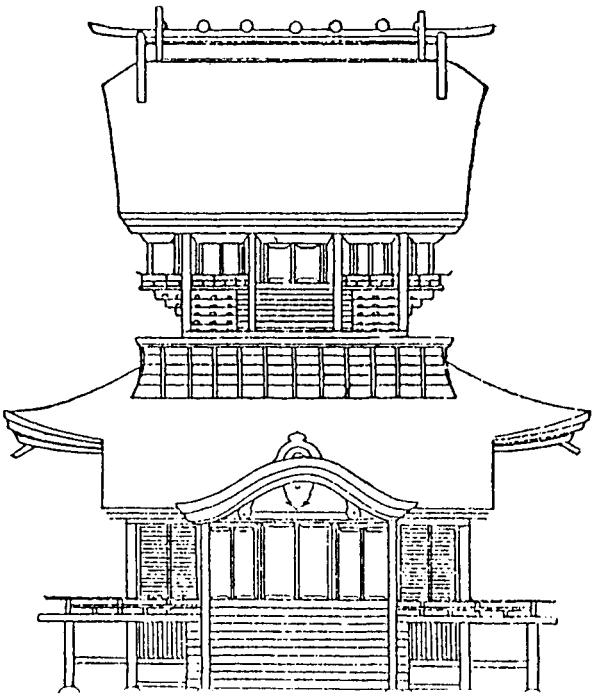
The *Aidono* (joint-hall) style is a modification of divine brightness (*shinmei*) whereby two shrines are joined together but each is provided with a separate door to the *haiden*. *Kasuga Taisha* is thought to be the oldest, but *Kashima Jingū* in Ibaraki used this style as early as 649. *Kashima Jingū*, which enshrines Take-mikazuchi-no-mikoto, dates to 1619. Nearby and closely related is *Katori Jingū* which enshrines Futsu-



nushi-no-mikoto (known locally as Iwainushi-no-mikoto), who assisted in the work of bringing the land of Japan into being. The *honden* of *Katori Jingū* dates to 1701.

Asama

The name comes from the *Asama Jinja* in *Ōmiya* near the base of Mt. Fuji. The *Asama* style involves the modification of *gongen* by the addition of an upper story. The lower floor, surrounded by a balustraded veranda, is in *Hoden-zukuri* style. The second floor is in *nagare* style with *chigi* and *katsuogi*. The entire building, apart from the roof, is painted in vermilion

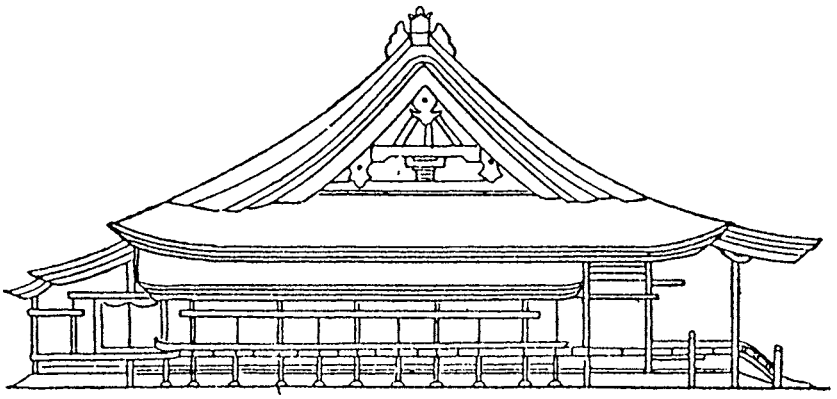


lacquer, with the eaves and rafters in blue and yellow. It is consequently very dynamic in appearance. Also called *Sengen Jinja,* it is sacred to Mt. Fuji and to Konohana-Sakuyahine, the consort of Ninigi-no-mikoto. The incident in which she marries is narrated in both the *Nihon Shoki* and the *Kojiki*. Legend has it that Asama-Okami saved Yamato-Takeru-no-mikoto when he was ambushed on a moor set on fire by assassins. *Asama* first appears in 1223. It was destroyed more than once and rebuilt; the present

buildings date to approximately 1604, with modern restoration work having been carried out in 1926. *Asama Jinja* has over 900 branch shrines.

Gion

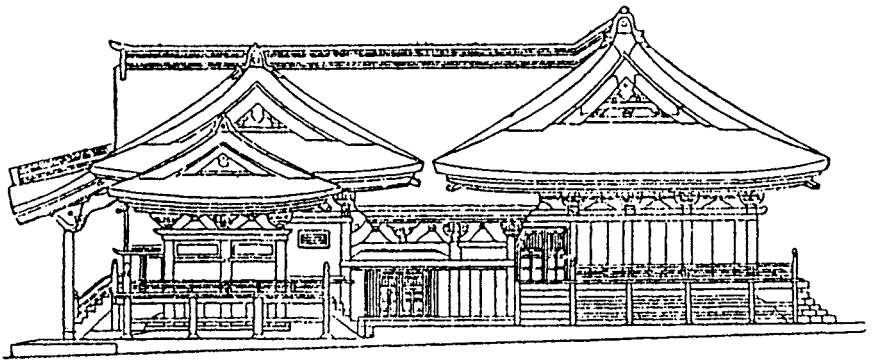
The most famous shrine in the *Gion* style is *Yasaka Jinja* in Kyoto (formerly known as *Gion Jinja*), last rebuilt by order of the fourth Tokugawa shogun, Ietsuna. It began as a *Tenjin* shrine beside the *Gion-ji,* which was built between 859 and 876. It was first rebuilt after a fire in 1070 in a form similar to its present one, which is famous for the annual spectacular *Gion Matsuri. Gion-zukuri* measures approximately 14 meters on each side and is surrounded by an aisle 2 meters wide that is similar to the classic *shinden* style modeled on the palaces of the ancient nobility. The main



structure and the central part are in *Irimoya-zukuri* style, whereas the right, left, and rear aisles are covered by a feather-edged roof. The steps up to the floor level in front are also covered. The unusual style does not appear to be the result of Buddhist or Chinese influence, but rather of the tastes in house design of the wealthy being applied to shrine building. The interior layout of the rooms is more reminiscent of a temple than a shrine; this underlined its possible origin in house architecture.

Gongen

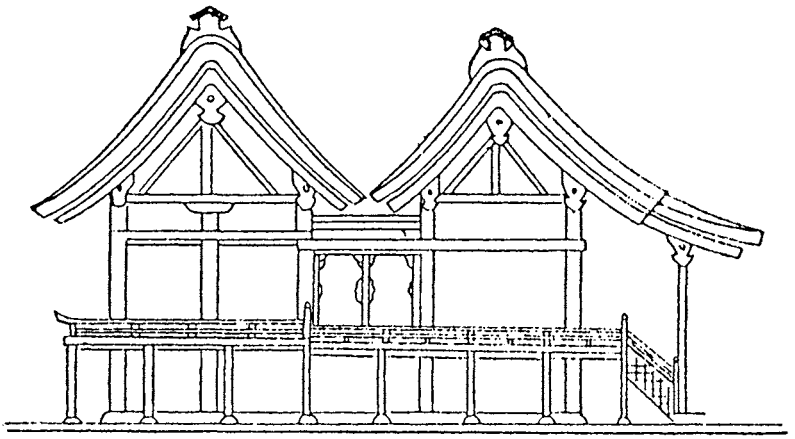
Gongen means "incarnation." The style became most popular during the early Edo era after it was used in the construction of the *Tosho-gū,* the *Tendai Shinto* shrine in Nikko where Tokugawa Ieyasu was enshrined in 1636. The front roof resembles a Buddhist temple; the main roof joins the



two principal buildings of the complex with a sheltered walkway between. It is heavily lacquered and adorned with carvings. Shrines closely affiliated with esoteric or semi-esoteric Buddhism frequently adopted the *Gongen* style. The *honden* and *norito-den* are usually in *Irimoya-zukuri* style. Three areas make up the complex, the middle one of which is sometimes the same height as, and sometimes lower than, the rest. The center room joined the hitherto unconnected *haiden* with the *honden.* This is probably the origin of the modern form of *Jinja Shaden* in three parts: *haiden, heiden* or *noritoden,* and *honden.*

Hachiman

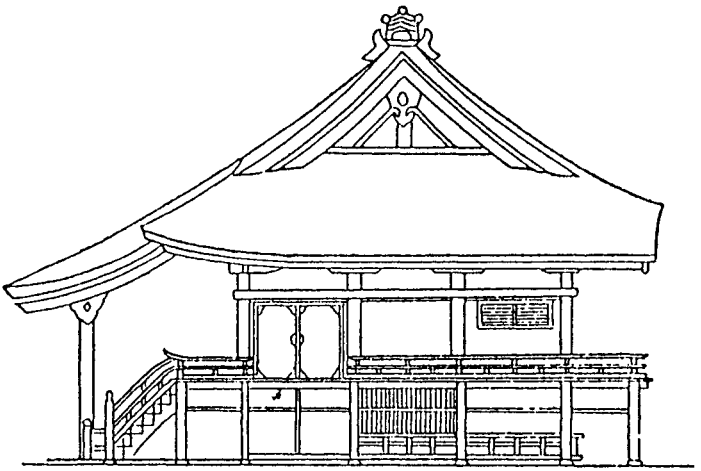
Hachiman, the most widely enshrined of all *kami,* came to be in the popular mind a *kami* of war, particularly after expansion of the cult under Yoritomo



during the Kamakura age. The original shrine at Usa in Kyushu dates to around 765–766. It was replicated in the *Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū* in Kyoto (which enshrines Emperor Ōjin, 270–312) probably around 859, and in the *Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū* in Kamakura (although the Kamakura shrine incorporates *Gongen* style.) The principal point of development is the addition of a separate hall for worshippers. There is thus a *honden* (main building) as well as a *heiden* (worship hall) connected and covered by sweeping roofs that meet to give the shrine its distinctive form. Under these is a gutter known as the golden gutter. The Hachiman cult also offers protection to localities. In the case of the Kamamura shrine, this includes the entire Kanto plain.

Hie

Hie style is named after the *Hie Jinja* at Sakamoto below Mt. Hie near Kyoto. It enshrines Oyamakui-no-mikoto (also known as Yamasuie-no-onushi-no-kami), the *kami* of Mt. Hie. The *Hie*-style roof has a pent-roof

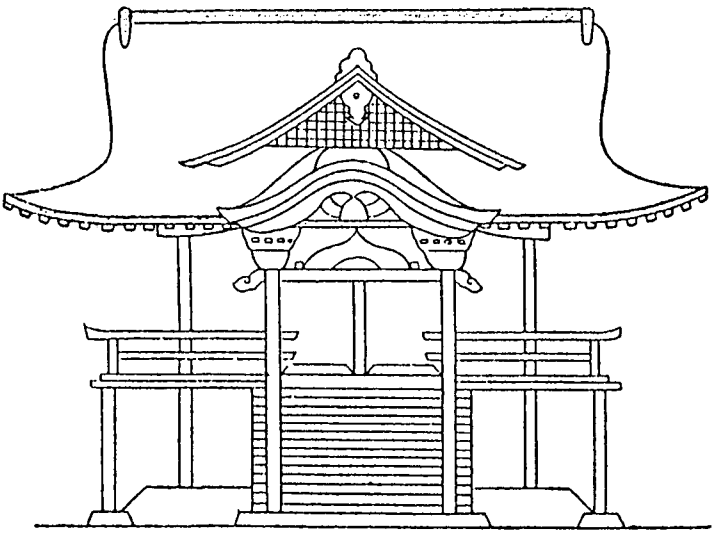


on three sides and a small additional roof in front covering a flight of stairs to the floor level. The style combines Buddhist and Chinese influence with native Japanese styles. During the Edo period, the name *Hie* was seldom used. It was better known as *Sannō* (mountain king) because of its association with the Buddhist *Tendai* sect, whose headquarters is the *Enryaku-*

ji on Mt. Hie. The Chinese characters of the Tokyo *Hie Jinja* differ from the older *Hie,* although it is a branch shrine.

Irimoya

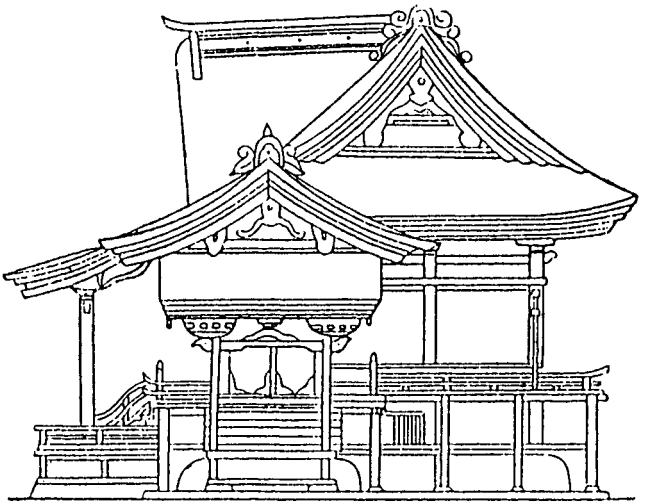
This style grew from a roof form called *Irimoya.* It consists of large gabled roof combined with a smaller sloping roof further down. It has neither *chigi* nor *katsuogi,* suggesting an early palace style. The *Kashihara Jingū,* which enshrines Emperor Jimmu at Unebi near Nara, is the most



famous of this type. It was approved and built in 1890 after the tomb of Emperor Jimmu had been officially "identified" by the government in 1863. There are very few branch shrines because the cult of Jimmu Tenno was never very popular. Other shrines in *Irimoya-zukuri* style are *Hiraoka Jinja* in Osaka, near which is the *Kofun* style tomb of Emperor Nintoku, and *Mishima Jinja* in Izu.

Kashii

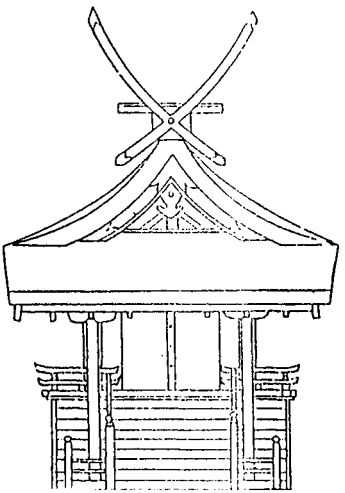
The *Kashii* style of northern Kyushu is retained in the *Kashii-gū* to the north of Fukuoka City, which enshrines Emperor Chuai and Empress Jingu, who moved their palace there because of a rebellion. The shrine claims to date to the eighth century and to have stood facing the Imperial Palace. The curiously complicated style includes a *honden* roof in *Irimoya,* whereas other parts have a *sugaru* gable. A veranda goes around all six sides, and

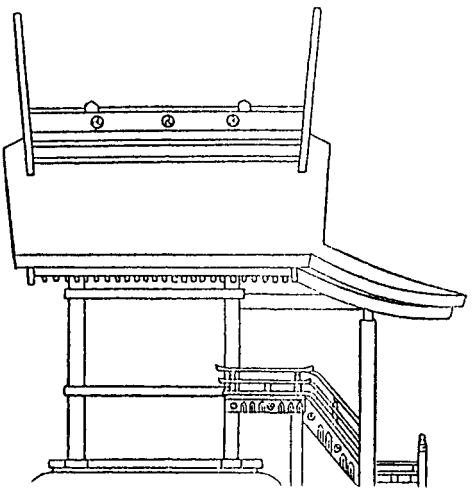


a covered staircase constitutes the entrance to the *haiden* in front. The buildings were last reconstructed in 1801.

Kasuga

The *Kasuga Taisha* in Nara (established by the Fujiwara family around 709) marks a new era in shrine architecture. Straight lines were replaced by sweeping roofs on the Chinese model, with even the *chigi* becoming

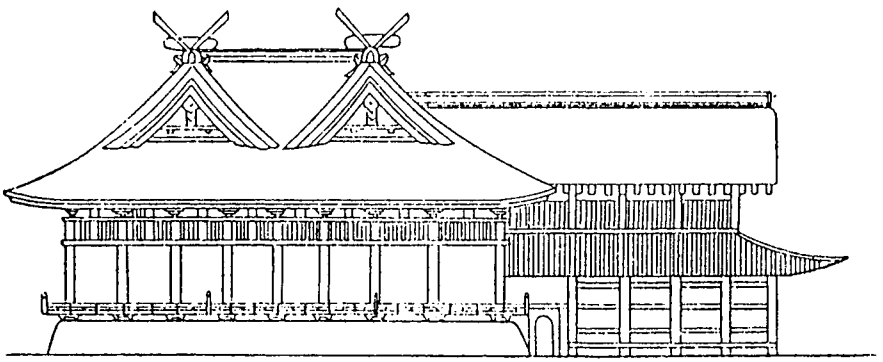




curved. Red, gold, and vermilion were introduced to decorate the woodwork. The name *Kasuga* designates a complex of four small buildings set up in a row. *Kasuga-zukuri* is supported by columns and the roof is thatched with *hiwada* (Japanese cypress bark). The style resembles *Taisha,* with the practical addition of a roof over the staircase to prevent it from becoming wet and slippery. At the time of construction it was surrounded by a *tamagaki,* a sacred fence, which was changed into an encircling veranda (*kairo*) in 1178. The present shrine was last constructed in 1862.

Kibitsu

The *Kibitsu Jinja* in the suburbs of Okayama is a rare style of shrine building with the largest *honden* of any shrine. It stands over 20 meters by 16 meters and was erected in 1390 by the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu. The *norito-den* was added in 1402. The previous buildings were destroyed in an early fourteenth-century natural disaster. The *Nagare*-style *honden* has three sections surrounded by an inner aisle, and an outer aisle

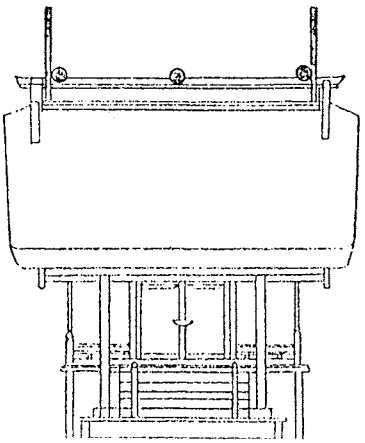


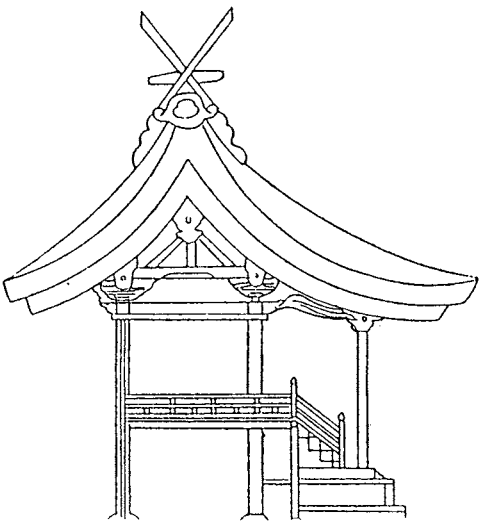
encircled by a balustraded veranda. It sits on a raised base called a *kamebara* because it resembles the belly of a turtle. Floors and ceiling heights rise progressively inside the complex. The outer walls are of natural wood; the interior is partly painted in vermilion and partly in black lacquer with

occasional gold metal fittings. The roof is thatched with *hiwada* and the ends are finished with *chigi*. Two *Irimoya* roofs are added, which gave rise to the name *hiyoku irimoya* (wings-abreast-*irimoya*).

Nagare

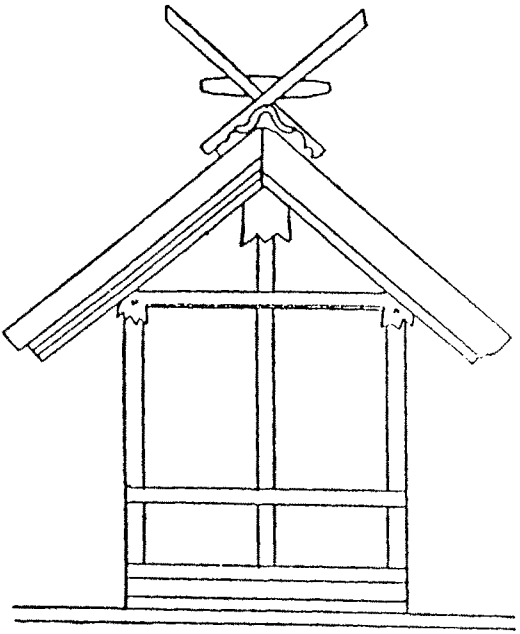
After the arrival of Buddhism, when shrine architecture took on Chinese influence, the subsequently popular *Nagare* style gave roof lines a new flowing form. The best known modern example is the *Meiji Jingū* in Tokyo. The classic *Kamigamo* and *Shimogamo Jinja* in Kyoto date to the seventh century. Compared to the other older shrines, they are relatively small. This suggests their origin as portable shrines (*mikoshi*). The roof sweeps over the stairs and the area in front of the building.





Otori

This is a variation of *Sumiyoshi,* but with three posts on the long side and an inner and outer sanctuary layout. The original *Otori Jinja* in Osaka (which legend dates to the time of Emperor Keiko) was burned down in 1905. The design includes a *honden* and a *norito-den*; but, like *Sumoyoshi,* it has no veranda. There are two doors and a staircase at the front, as in the *Taisha* style. Enshrined is Otori-no-Muraji, who has been identified



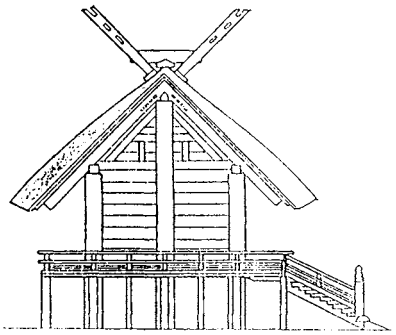
with Yamato-Takeru-no-mikoto (according to shrine publications) and with Ameno-Koyane-no-mikoto.

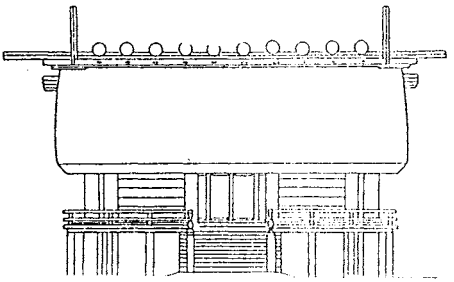
Shinmei

This is associated particularly with *Ise Jingū*[14] and is marked by the extra-large *chigi* and the ten *katsuogi* that line the roof. The *Naikū* (inner shrine) is consecrated to Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun (hence the name "divine brightness"), and the *Gekū* (outer shrine) enshrines the *kami* of grain, Toyōke-no-kami. This establishes a direct connection with the *Takaya* style and its function. The buildings at Ise are erected according to design instructions that, until 1945, could not be imitated in order to preserve the sanctity of their character. The Grand Shrines of Ise are the finest and only surviving example of *Yuiitsu Shinmei* (unique *shinmei*), assuming that in ancient times there may have been others like it. Legends have the *Naikū* being moved from Kasanui near Nara in March, 5 B.C., and the *Gekū* from Tamba near Kyoto in 478 B.C. The *shikinen-sengū* (rebuilding) requires 200,000 craftsmen; in 1993 it cost approximately U.S. $30 million to complete, almost all subscribed voluntarily.

The building is surrounded by a veranda on four sides with a wooden staircase up to it. To support the projecting roof, two pillars—sometimes

called *mune-mochi-hashira* (ridge-supporting pillar), *osa-hashira* (small lying-between pillar), or *futa-hashira* (two pillars)—right and left, go through the veranda. One explanation of these is the idea of using a tree as it stood. The *shin-no-mihashira* (heart pillar) is a large log standing under the center of the floor. The pedimental roof is thatched with *kaya* and the edge is covered by a *hafuri-ita,* a dust board, to which the *katsuogi* and *chigi* are attached.



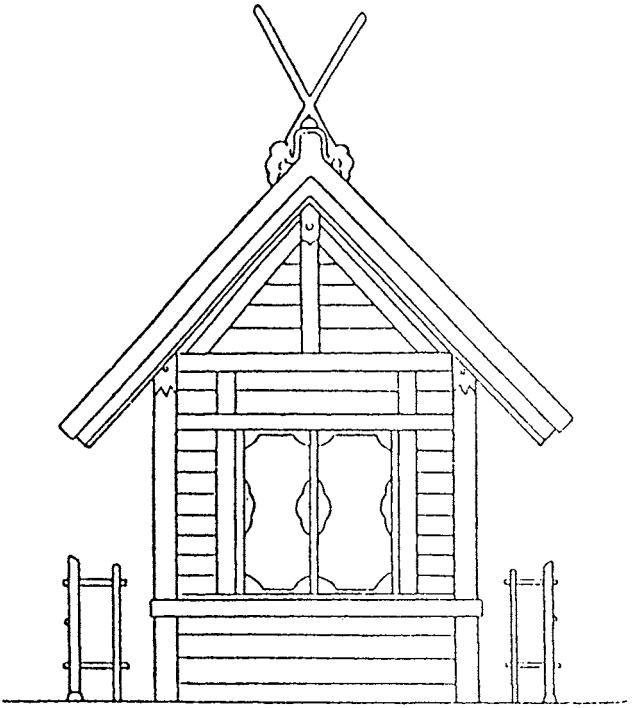


Atsuta Jingū in Nagoya is a distinctive example of *Shinmei* in that it is long in frontage and short in depth. The lower part of its pillars (larger than the upper) is buried deep in the ground. It enshrines Atsuta-no-kami along with Amaterasu, Susano-o-no-mikoto, and Yamato-takeru-no-mikoto, the possessor of the Imperial sword who died in the vicinity. Originally built in the *Taisha* style, the shrine was rebuilt in 1893 and then again in 1935 in *Shinmei* style. It was partially destroyed during World War II but was refurbished in 1955. The land area is 200,000 square meters, including small groves of camphor trees more than 1,000 years old.[15]

Sumiyoshi

One suggested origin of the style is the temporary buildings of that period erected for special festivals. *Taisha zukuri* is quite different but, like *Taisha,* eventually came to be a title of rank rather than design. Not all shrines bearing the title *Taisha,* such as *Kasuga Taisha,* are in *Taisha* style.

Sumiyoshi is similar to, but larger in appearance than, *Otori. Sumiyoshi* is longer in depth, its plane is oblong rather than square, and it has an inner and outer building. It is constructed of straight line timbers and has

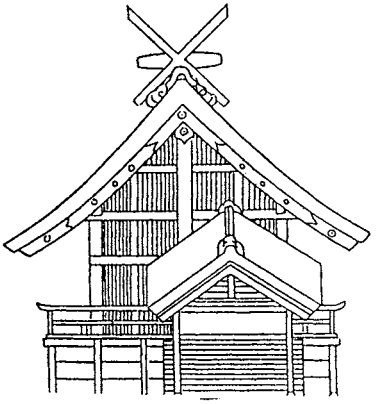


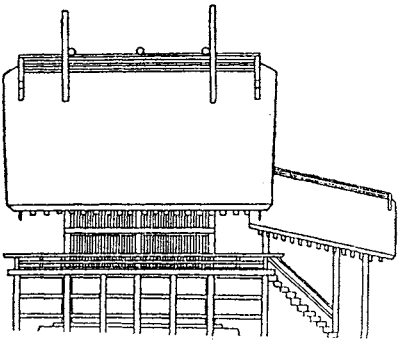
neither veranda nor central pillar but is surrounded by a low wooden fence. The roof is gabled and supported by large round posts and is marked by tall ornamental *chigi* and *katsuogi.* The *honden* doors face and open to the front. The head shrine in Osaka is made up of four buildings and was last rebuilt in 1708. It is a guardian shrine for the ocean and for sea-faring people; it rose to fame because of its association with Empress Jingu.[16]

Taisha

Izumo Taisha was modeled on palaces built by powerful lords and referred to in the mythology of the Kofun period. The present buildings at Izumo date to 1744 and, like *Ise Jingū*, are made of undecorated natural wood.

The *Taisha* style consists of four compartments surrounded by a balustrated veranda. Its most distinctive feature is the large central pillar, the *shin,* or *kokoro-no-hashira* (heart pillar), and the *daikoku hashira* (throne pillar), over one meter in diameter. To the right, facing the side of the

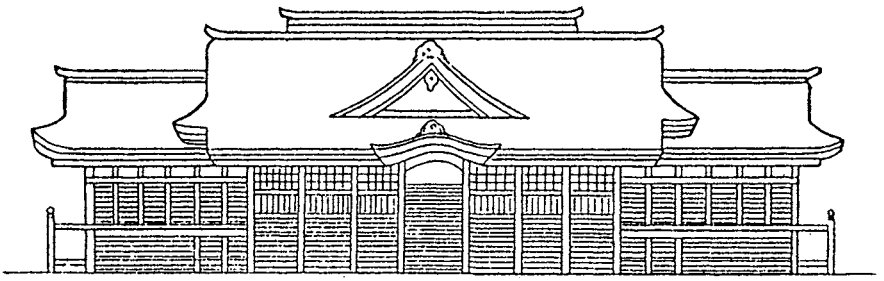




building, is the entrance with a steep wooden staircase. The *kami* nationwide are thought to go to Izumo in October for matchmaking. The great festivals of *kami-ai-sai* and *kami-ari-sai* are celebrated there.

Yatsu-Mune

Yatsu-mune means "eight-roofed" style. Both sides of the *haiden* have a small "wing" roof attached to the main roof, whose style follows *Gongen.* Most *Yatsu-mune* shrines have either five or seven roofs. The term *eight* follows the Chinese usage (as in "eight-fathomed palace") to mean large. The *Kitano Tenmangū* of Kyoto is perhaps the best example of *Yatsu-mune* architecture. Built in 1607, it enshrines Sugawara Michizane (844–903)[17] as Tenjin, the *kami* of learning. One special feature of the design is a room between the *honden* and the *haiden* known as the *ishi-no-ma* (room of stone). Some scholars think that the two buildings were originally separated by an open space, which later came to be a room (hence the other name,



ishi-no-ma-zukuri). The style of the *Kitano Tenmangū* has been replicated in other shrines such as the *Hokoku Jinja* in Kyoto, which enshrines Hideyoshi, and the *Osaki Hachiman* in Sendai. After the construction of the *Tōshō-gū* in Nikko, *Gongen* became a general term for that style along with *Yatsu-mune* and *Ishi-no-ma-zukuri.*

THE TORII

The *torii* marks the entrance to the sacred grounds of a shrine. There are a variety of types of *torii,* each with a unique history. Regardless of origin, the *torii* is inseparably identified with the image of Shinto.

Meaning of Torii

The word *torii* seems to be ancient Japanese, as is the concept itself. However, an accurate account of its etymology is uncertain. Several solutions may be considered,[18] although none seems very credible. The origin of the name and the idea itself is probably best left open to debate.

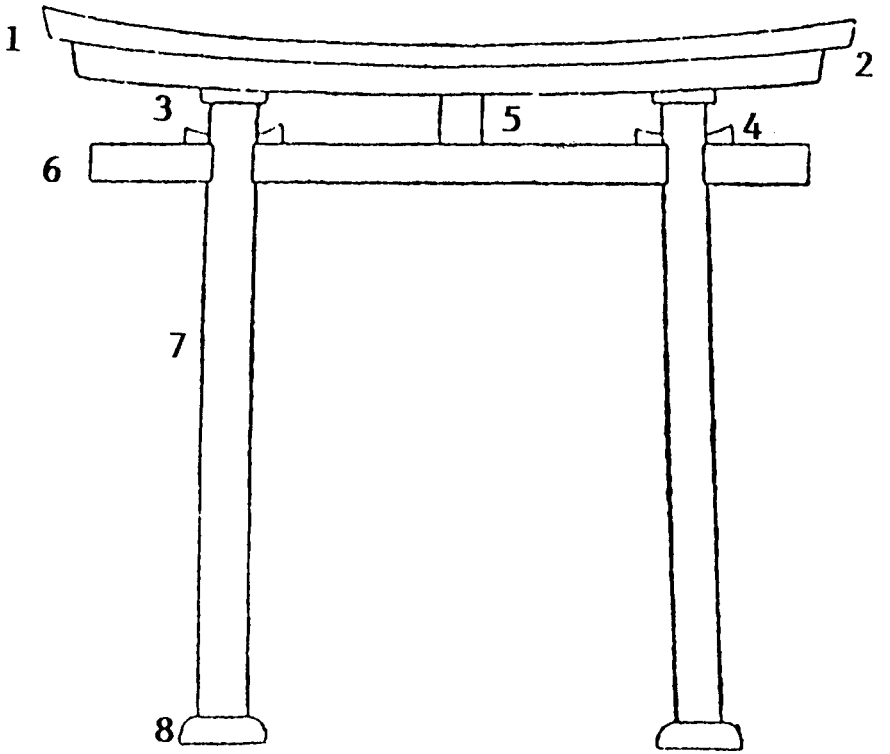
Development of the Torii

The oldest *torii,* such as at Ise, were made of plain unpainted *hinoki* or other native trees. From the Nara period, in keeping with changes in shrine buildings, red became common and *torii* came to be made of stone. Bronze, iron, and even porcelain came into use during the Tokugawa period (1603–1867), although the latter proved not to be durable. Concrete *torii* have been built, sometimes to minimize cost but often to meet the requirements of fire regulations as well.

The *torii* need not match the architectural style, although they often do. Some styles of architecture have no matching *torii*; some *torii* styles have no matching shrines. Straight-lined buildings are usually accompanied by straight-lined *torii,* but exceptions may be found. Reasons may vary from the wishes of a donor to the feeling of a priest as to the kind of atmosphere, spiritual energy, or aesthetic impact that a *torii* should have.

Some shrines may have only one *torii*; larger shrines may have several at different stages on the *sandō*, the winding road leading to the shrine buildings. *Torii* may also stand at a distance from a shrine, or even mark the extent of the shrine's territory. They may also be used to mark sacred rocks or trees, by being placed in front of them. *Inari Jinja* are famous for the large numbers of red *torii* that line the road to the buildings; the *torii* are usually presented by shrine supporters. The world of the *torii* exhibits all the fascination and complexity found throughout *Shinto* itself.

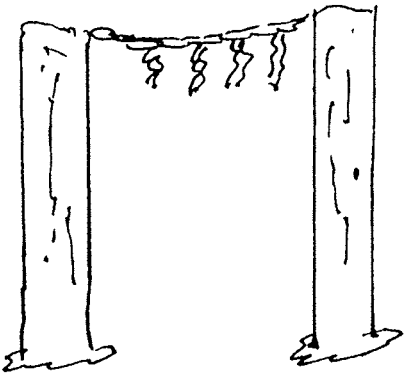
Elements of the Torii



1. *kasagi*—upper cross beam
2. *shimagi*—under upper beam
3. *daiwa*—upper cross beam rest
4. *kusabi*—lower cross beam wedges
5. *gakuzuka*—tablet or inscription holder
6. *nuki*—lower cross beam
7. *hashira*—vertical beams
8. *kamebara*—vertical beam supports

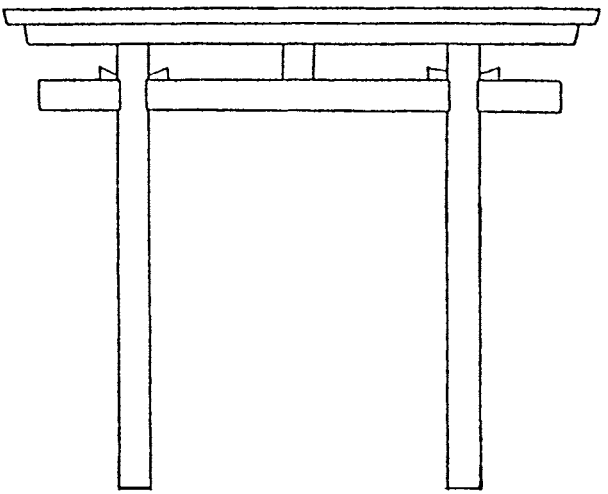
TORII STYLES

Churen



This name also reads *shimenawa torii* and is probably one of the oldest styles, consisting simply of two posts with a rope tied loosely across the top.

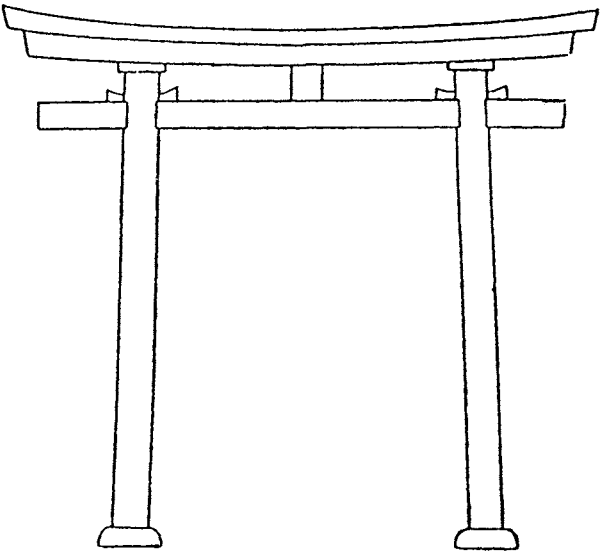
Hachiman



The formal *Hachiman* style originated during the Heian period (794–1185) and is closely modeled on the *Kasuga torii.* The *kasagi* and the *shimagi* are cut slantwise. Not all Hachiman shrines, however, have a *Hachiman torii.* Many have a *Ryōbu torii.*

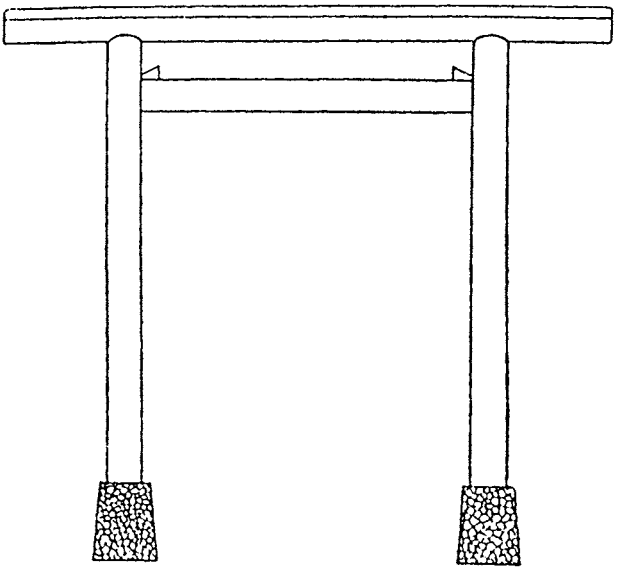
Inari

This first appeared during the late Heian period. It is also called the *Daiwa torii,* named from the round *daiwa* that support the *Ishimagi* and



the *kasagi*. The *Fushimi Inari Jinja* in Kyoto is famous for the large numbers of *torii* within its grounds, only a few of which are actually *Inari*.

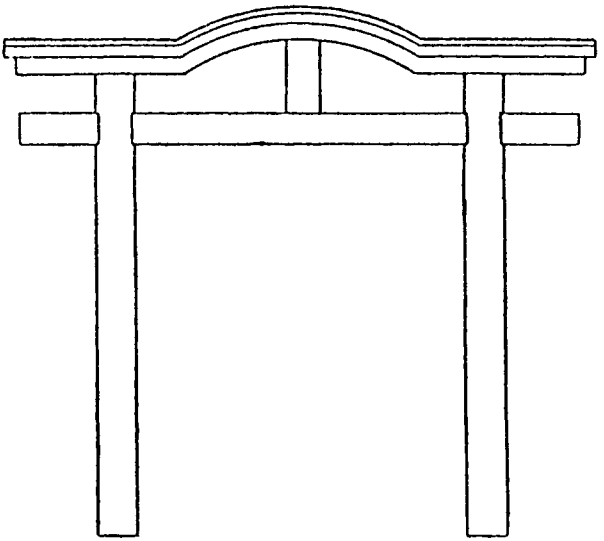
Ise



The *Ise torii* is also called the *Jingū torii* because it is associated only with *Ise Jingū*. It follows the same pattern as *shinmei*, except that the *kasagi*

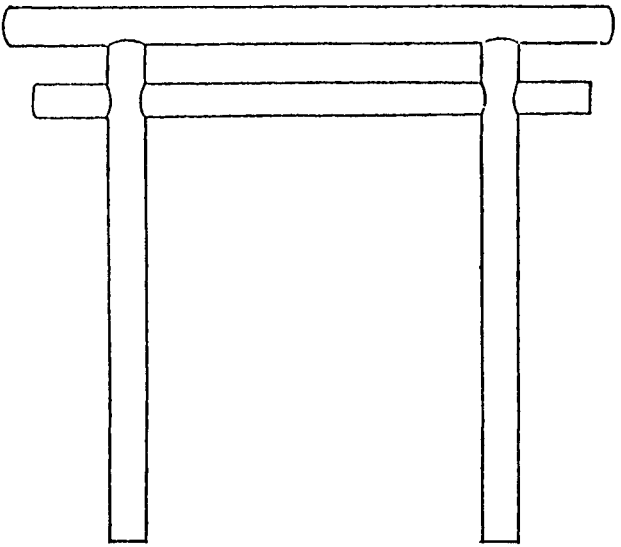
is pentagonal and there are two *kusabi* holding the *nuki* in place. The *kamebara* is made up of pebbles from the bed of the nearby Isuzu River, which runs beside the *Naigū*. This is found only at the *Naigū,* the inner shrine; the *Gekū,* the outer shrine, has a *torii* with no pebbles around the base.

Karahafu



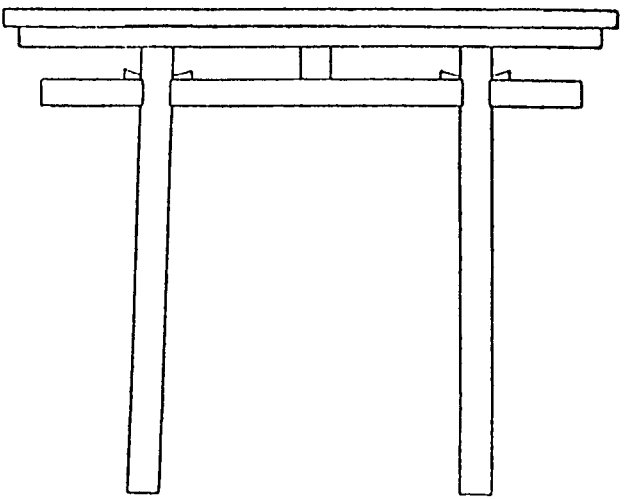
Kara meant "something new" (from China) and could be taken to be an innovative development of the *Kasuga torii.* It stands in front of the *Itsukushima Jinja* in the grounds of the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. Taira-no-Kiyamori (1117–1181) is said to have designed it. Its stone suggests that it predates the sixteenth century. The style is also known as *Tohafu.*

Kashima



The *Kashima* style is associated with the *Kashima Jingū* in Ibaraki. It is also found frequently in the area surrounding the *Kashima Jingū*.

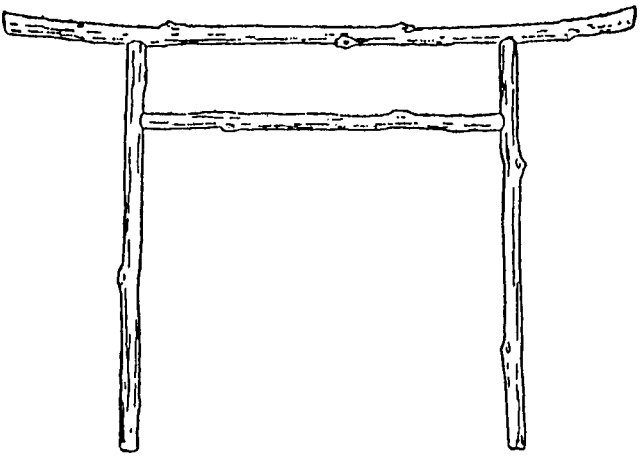
Kasuga



The *Kasuga torii* was the first to be painted red and the first to be seen with the *shimagi,* the under upper cross beam, at *Kasuga Taisha.* The double-wedged *nuki* goes through the *hashira.* The Chinese-influenced decoration of the shrine dates to 768.

Kuroki

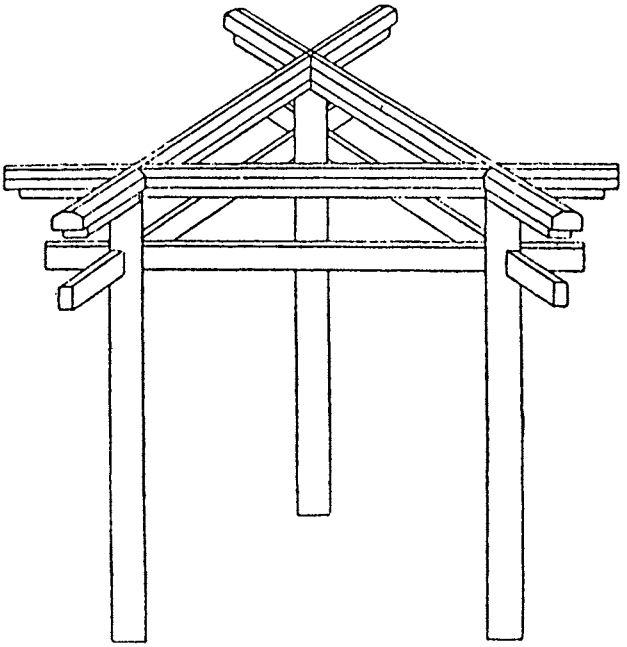
The "wild tree" is probably the most primitive and simple entirely wooden form, made of unscraped bark. The *nuki* is attached firmly across and between the *hashira* but does not break into them. *Nonomiya Jinja* to



Amaterasu (located in a bamboo grove) has such a *torii.* It was the place designated for the worship of Amaterasu by an Imperial Princess appointed as *saiō* of the *Ise Jingū* after a three-year period of purification.

Mibashira

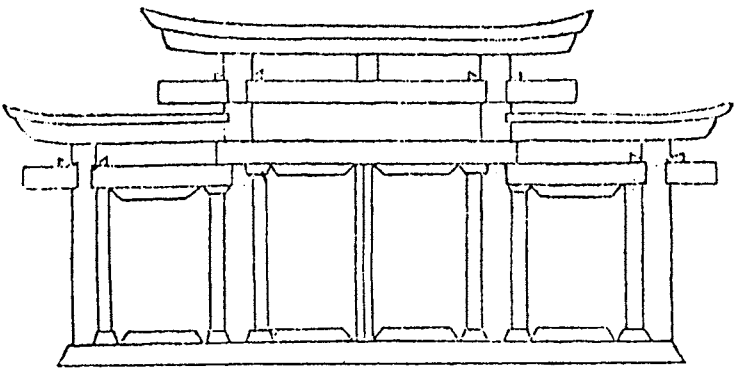
The design is made up of three *Kasuga torii* joined to produce a three-legged (*sankyaku*) *torii.* The best example, built in granite, is found on a small piece of land in a pond beside the *Kijima Jinja* in northwest Kyoto.



There is another a good example in the Ukyo ward of Kyoto at the *Konoshima Jinja*. The style is sometimes known as *Sanchu*.

Miwa

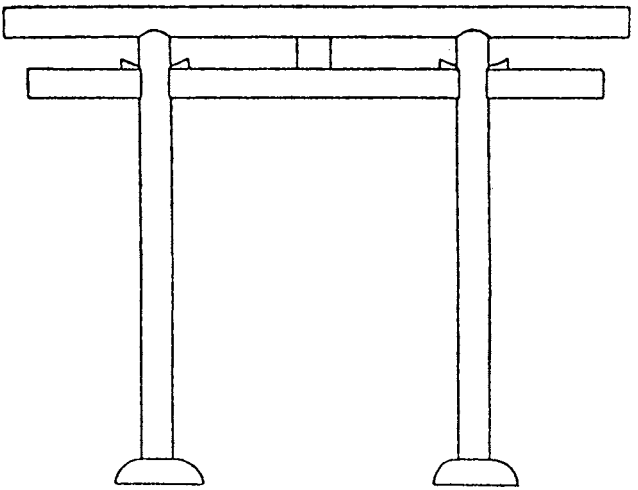
The triple composition of the *torii* at the *Omiwa Jinja* near Nara suggests its other names: *Sankō* (three lights), *Waki* (side), and *Komochi torii* (parent with child). It dates from the twelfth century and is found both with



and without doors. The enshrined *kami* of the *Omiwa Jinja* is Omono-nishi-no-mikoto, the guardian *kami* of *sake*-makers.

Munetada

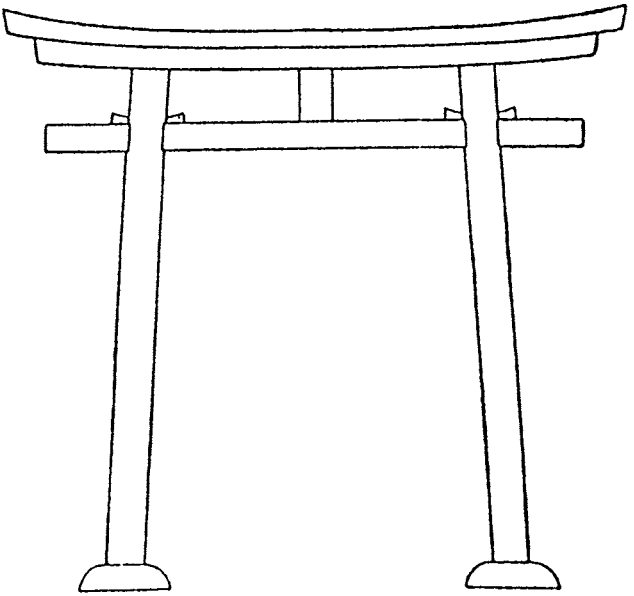
The *Munetada* is the last of the oldest type of *torii* that made use of straight lines, although there is a slight hint of a change of form. The best



example is the second *torii* on the *Munedata Jinja sandō* on Yoshida Hill in Kyoto. Munetada Kurozumi (1779–1850) founded *Kurozumi-kyō,* an Edo period Shinto sect.

Myōjin

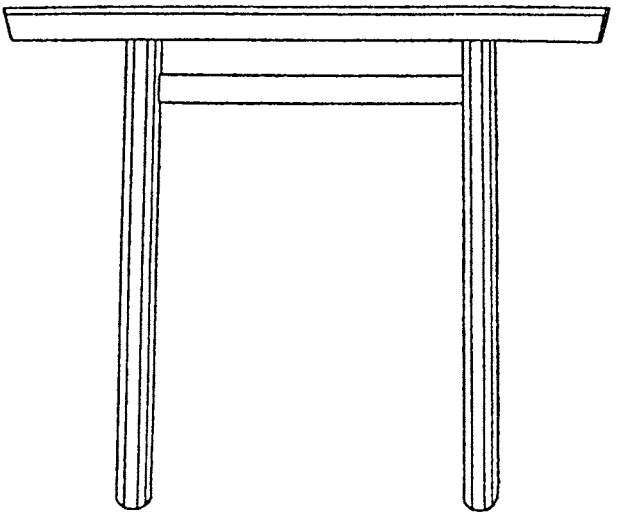
The "gracious *kami*" style is probably one of the most fashionable and commonly found styles in shrines throughout the country. It stands on a



low stone base instead of being buried directly in the ground. The *Kamo Jinja* in Kyoto and the *Meiji Jingū* in Tokyo have excellent *Myōjin torii.*

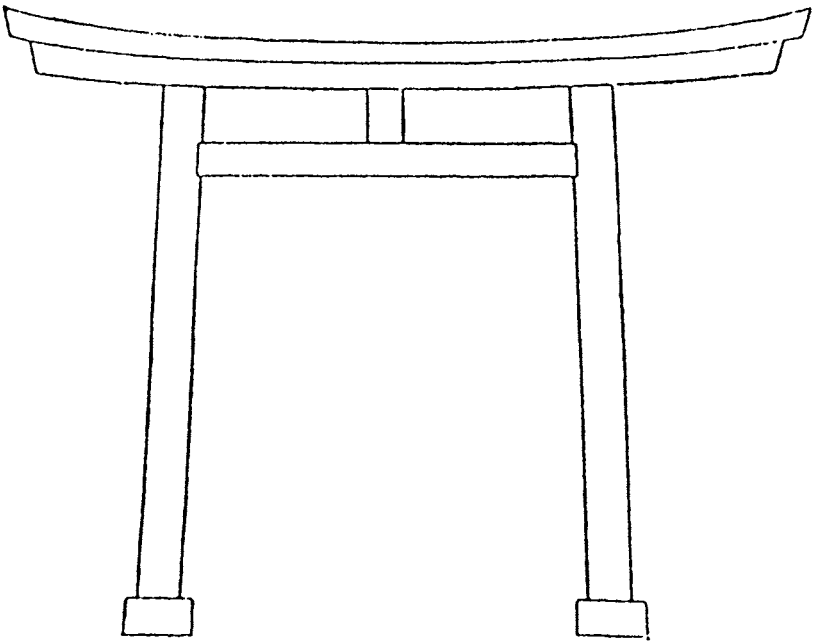
Naigu-gen

This style resembles the *Ise torii* except that is *hashira* are octagonal. The prime example is the *Daigengū-Jingū* in Kyoto.



Nakayama

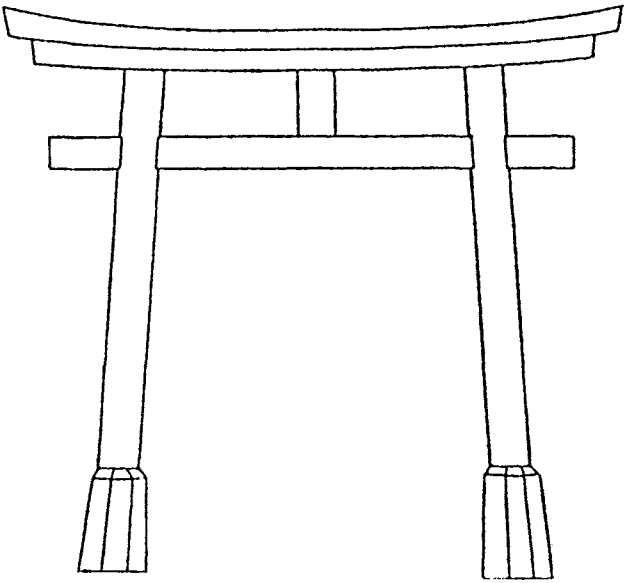
The *Nakayama torii* is not well known. The main *Nakayama Jinja* is in the village of Ichinomiya in Okayama. The *torii* is over 9 meters tall and



was erected in 1791. The *Kasagi* and *shimagi* are curved, but the *nuki*—which does not penetrate the *hashira*—is straight. The *honden* was completed 1559 and enshrines Kanayama-hiko-no-mikoto.

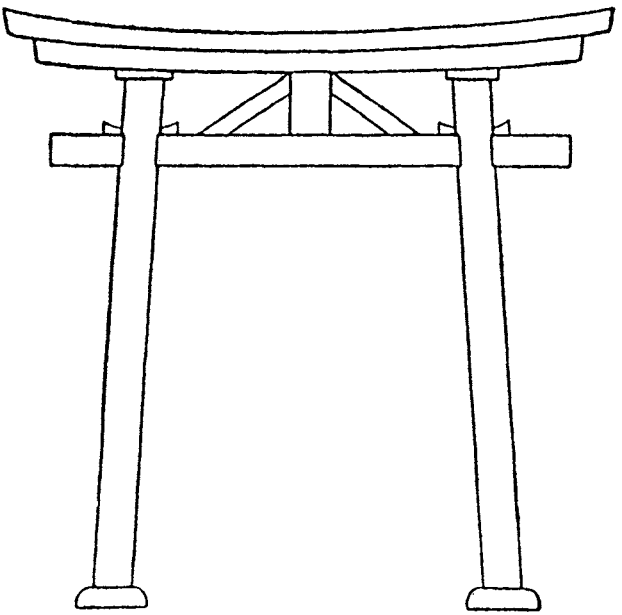
Nemaki

Nemaki means "wrapping the foot," so named probably because the bottom part of the posts are wrapped in wood or stone to prevent decay. The wrapped part is always painted black; the rest is red or vermilion. There is often an extra covering above the *kasagi,* which is painted black also. The *Fushimi Inari Jinja* of Kyoto has a *Nemaki*-style *torii.*

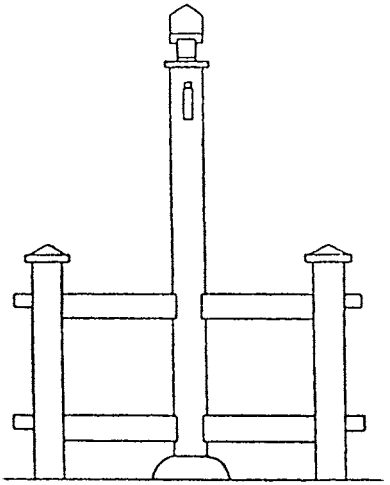


Nune

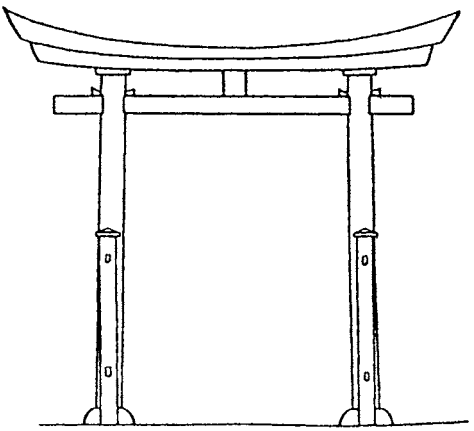
No specimens of this exist at present, but it is found frequently in art and is considered quite unusual. It is similar to *Inari* with the addition of two angled posts built in to the *gakuzuka.*



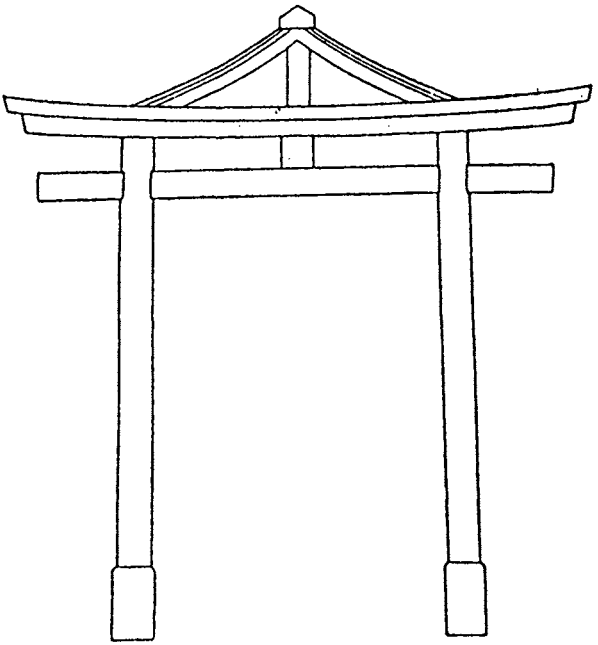
Ryōbu



This style is associated with dual Shinto and is distinctive because it has additional support in front of and behind the *hashira*. It is also called the *Shikyaku* (four-legged), the *Gongen,* the *Sode* (sleeve), or the *Waku* (framed) *torii*. The best example, commonly seen in brochures, is the *Itsukushima Jinja torii* on the sacred island of Miyajima in the inland sea. Last rebuilt in 1875, it stands in the ocean and towers 18 meters in height.

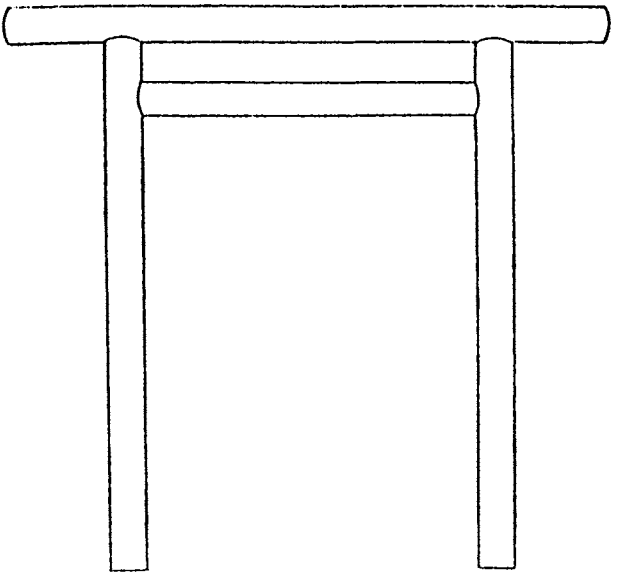


Sannō



The *Sannō* style is unusual because of its peaked top (*gashho,* "a joining of hands") above the *kasagi.* It has a rain cover called the *urako* with a *tokin* on the top, like the hat worn by *yamabushi.* The best example is at the *Hie Jinja* near Lake Biwa. It is sometimes called the *Sogo* (synthetic), the *Gassho,* or the *Hie torii.*

Shinmei



The style of "divine brightness" clearly reflects the *Kuroki* style. The absence in both *Shinmei* and *Kuroki* of the *gakuzuka* is evidence that they predate Chinese influences.

Shinmon

Some shrines, like the *Nikkō Tōshōgū,* have a *shinmon* (*kami*-gate) rather than a *torii.* This is common in *jingū-ji* (shrine-temples) of *Tendai Shinto* or *Shingon Shinto,* which combine Buddhism and Shinto. In the right and left alcoves of some of these *shinmon* may be seen the *Ya-Daijin,* the arrow ministers of state who guard against misfortune. The figures also represent two *kami,* Toyo-Iwamado-no-kami and Kushi-iwamado-no-kami, who are thought to be the sons of Futodama-no-mikoto. They are also sometimes taken to be Ame-no-oshihi-no-mikoto and Ame-no-tsukume-no-mikoto, who guided the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto to the Land of Reed Plains. The overlap of Buddhism and Shinto accounts for the multiple identity. There are various styles of gates according to the main architectural style of the buildings themselves. The principal ones are as follows:

Rōmon: This is a general term for gate as well as the term used to identify the special gate used by *chokushi.*

Sōmon: This usually refers to the outer gate or the first gate after the outer one.

Yotsu-ashi-mon: The name designates the style of four round pillars holding the gate.

Yatsu-ashi-mon: This style has eight square pillars to support the four round pillars to which the door is attached.

Kara-mon: *Kara* (Chinese) style has gates at both front and rear, as well as at right and left. It came into use during the Kamakura age.

Zuijin-mon: This is the gate style that enshrines the guardian *kami* of the gate, one on the right side and one on the left. These were originally Buddhist *Ni-O*; but after the separation of Buddhism and Shinto, in many cases they were replaced by *kami* dressed in Heian Court style.

Where there is more than one gate, they are normally identified as follows:

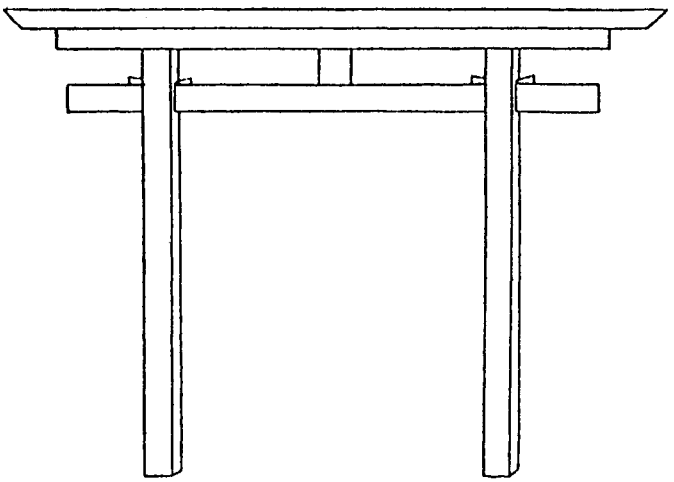
Ita-gaki: outer gate

Soto-tama-gaki: first inner gate

Uchi-tama-gaki: second inner gate

Mizu-gaki: third inner gate[19]

Sumiyoshi



The *Sumiyoshi torii* is distinctive because the *hashira* are square, an unusual feature in a *torii*.

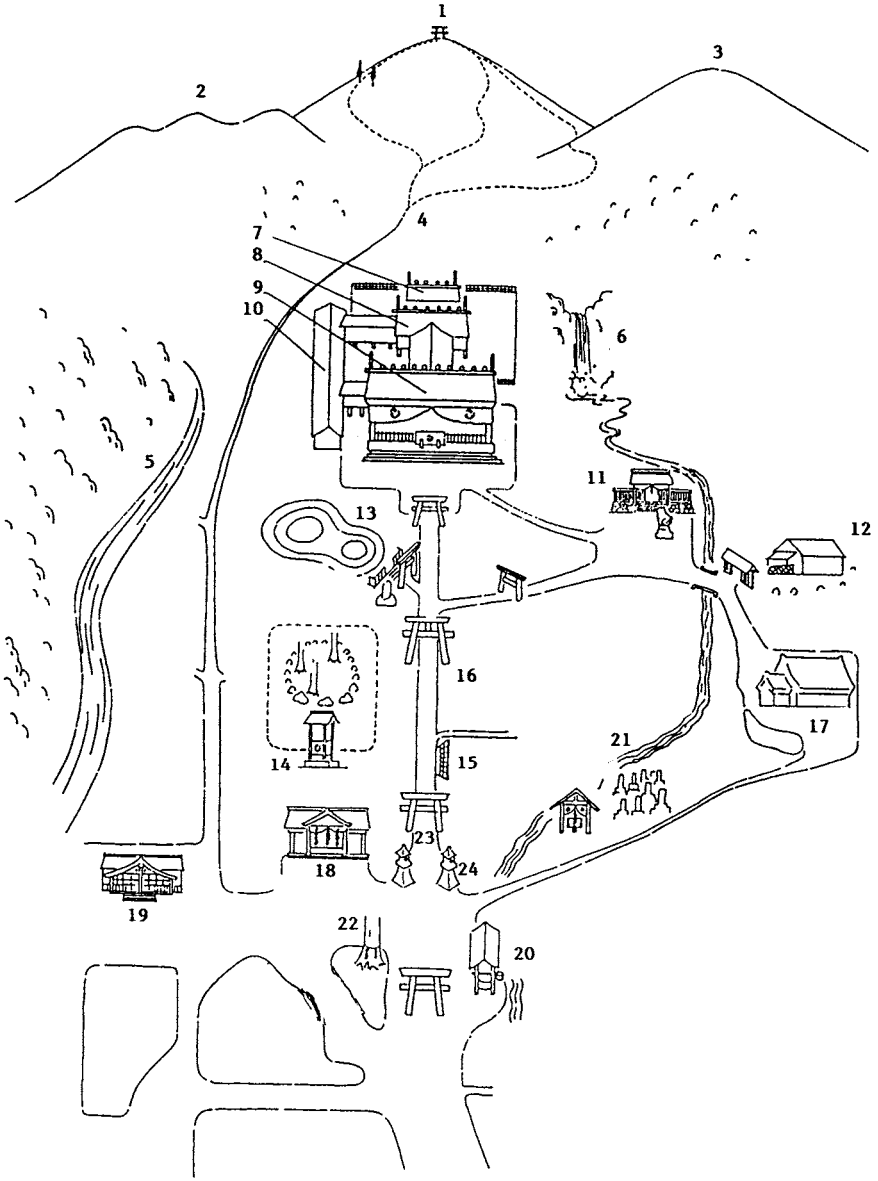
SHRINE GROUNDS

In addition to the *shaden* and *torii,* there are many other features of shrine grounds. None are purely decorative. They all have a symbolic meaning related to the worship of the *kami* and have been added at various stages in the development of Shinto and each individual shrine.

Layout of Ise no Ichinomiya, Tsubaki Dai Jinja—Mie Prefecture

Tsubaki Grand Shrine is one of the oldest sacred places in Japan. It boasts the Iwakura no Mifune, where Ninigi no Mikoto, grandson of the *kami* of the sun, first set foot on earth after his descent from the high plain of heaven. The enshrined *kami*, Sarutahiko Okami is head of the earthly *kami.* His wife, Ame-uzumo-no-mikoto, performed the famous dance that enticed Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun, out of hiding to restore light to the world. The incumbent priest, Guji Yamamoto Yukitaka, is the ninety-sixth generation of the Yamamoto family to be high priest of the Shrine. While the shrine grounds have features that are unique to its history, it follows the pattern of most shrines.

1. Mt. Nyuodogatake
2. Kunimi Peak
3. Tsubaki (Camellia) Peak
4. Mountain trails used to climb the mountain for purification—a five-hour climb.
5. Onbe River
6. Konryu Myōjin Waterfall (used for purification rituals of *misogi shuhō*)
7. Honden (inner sanctuary)
8. Haiden (worship sanctuary)
9. Heiden or Kaguraden (outer sanctuary)
10. Shamushō (Shrine offices)
11. Side Sanctuary to Ame-uzume-no-mikoto
12. Tea House (presented by the late Matsushita Konosuke of Matsushita Electronics Corporation)
13. Grave of Sarutahiko Okami (Graves are not found in shrines because of the impurity associated with death. This may not apply in the case of a *kami.*)
14. Iwakura no Mifune
15. List of shrine donors
16. Shishi Koma Inu
17. Gyōmandō for performance of Shinto/Buddhist rituals
18. Purification Hall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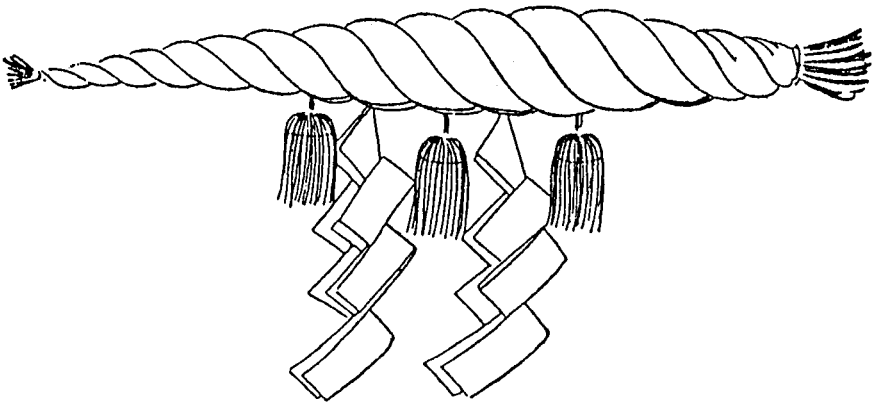
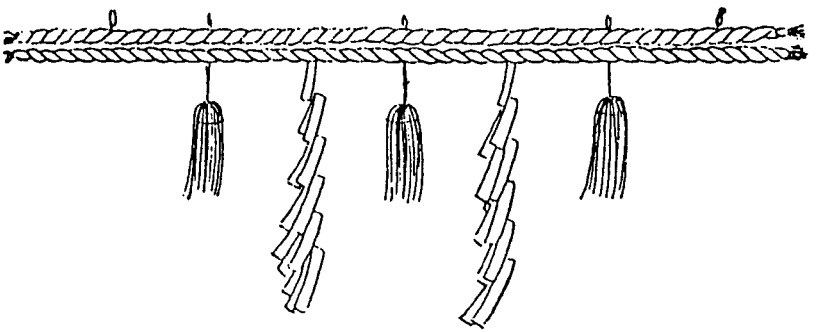
19. Sanshuden
20. Te-mizuya (Ablution Pavilion)
21. Daimyōjin River
22. Shimboku (the sacred tree, a 900-year-old Japanese cypress, or *hinoki*)
23. Omote Sandō (main approach to shrine buildings)
24. Tora (stone lanterns)

Shimenawa

The twisted rope marks out a place, object, or person that is sacred, has been purified and freed of pollution, and thereby is frequently renewed. Its origin is traced to the rope placed in front of the *Ame-no-iwato* in which





Amaterasu hid herself. The first part of the rope to be woven is placed on the right, because the left side is considered of higher rank than the right. The rope is woven to the left; and from it, seven, five, and three strips of straw may be hung. The seven, five, and three are sometimes taken to mean the three *kami* of creation and the seven heavenly and five earthly *kami,*

although this is speculation. Between these, *Yu-shide* or *Gohei,* zig-zag shaped folded paper strips, are hung as symbolic offerings to the *kami.*

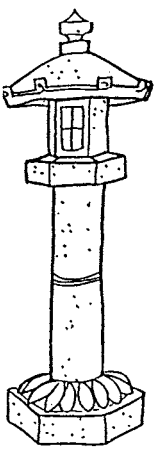
Shishi Koma Inu

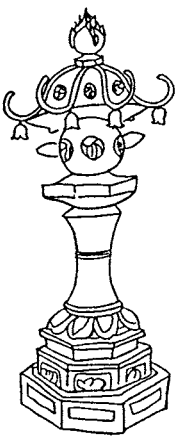
Shishi means "lion" and *Koma Inu* means "dog from Koma," a district of ancient Korea. They are taken sometimes as lions or dogs, sometimes as both. They stand a short distance inside the *sandō* behind the main *torii.* There are several variations. Sometimes both have horns, sometimes neither has. Sometimes both are open-mouthed or closed-mouthed. Most frequently, one mouth is open and one shut. They are usually made of stone but in some cases of bronze or wood. Their role is perceived to parallel the *Ni-O* at Buddhist temples, namely, to prevent bad spirits from entering the shrine precincts.

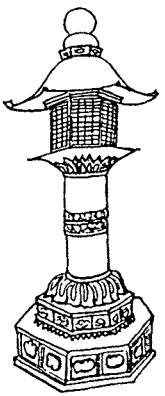
One improbable explanation of their origin is that they were introduced after the subjugation of Korea by Empress Jingu as a mark of the willingness of the Korean people to serve Japan as faithfully as a dog. Equally far-fetched is the suggestion that Empress Jingu's expedition was led by a dog, which became the symbol of victory. In the Chinese Court, figures of lions and dogs stood at the right and left of bamboo or silk screens to prevent them from moving in the wind. The Chinese also often placed such creatures at the entrances to important buildings. Either of these latter accounts is more plausible.

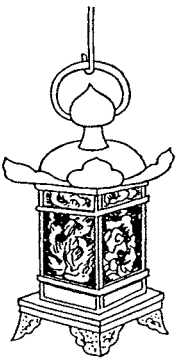
Toro

Within the ground of every shrine are numerous large standing lanterns (*toro*) which, like many other items within shrine precincts, are gifts of donors or parishioners who wish to contribute to the support of the shrine.


Ishi-toro


Kane-toro


Kane-toro


Tsuri-toro

There are several types of *toro*. The most common are made of stone, although they can be made of metal, wood, or a combination of materials. There are also hanging types. The wooden ones tend to resemble nineteenth-century gas streetlights; they have rectangular frames on top of large thin poles and are frequently painted red. They may also bear the names of the corporation or individuals who donated them. Originally designed to bear live flames, most are now lit by electricity. At night they give shrine precincts a distinctive atmosphere and contribute significantly to their aesthetic appearance.

Additional Buildings and Artifacts

Numerous other buildings are found among the *shaden* within shrine grounds. The names of the principal ones may vary from one locality another, but the following are the most commonly used designations:

Kagura-den: The building or raised platform on which *kagura* (sacred dance) is performed.

Gishiki-den: This is where weddings or other such events are celebrated. In some shrines the *haiden* and *heiden* serve the same functions as the *kagura-den* and *gishiki-den*.

Shamushō: Shrine business office.

Harae-dō: Place of purification.

Te-miuzu-ya: Trough for washing the hands and mouth upon entering the precincts of a shrine. Long-handled ladles called *haidatsu* sit on it.

Saikan: Place for the purification of priests prior to the performance of ceremonies.

Shinsen-den: The sacred kitchen in which the food offerings to the *kami* are ceremonially prepared.

Homotsu-den: The repository of all sacred or valuable artifacts belonging to the shrine.

Mikoshi-gura: The building where the portable shrine (*mikoshi*) is housed between festivals.

Kiyome-no-ike: In addition to buildings, many shrines have a small pond, sometimes known as a *kiyome-no-ike* (pond of purification), probably a lingering reminder of the origins of all Shinto rituals in lustration.

Hashi: There may be a bridge across the pond, frequently in the *Taiko* style, rounded like a drum. One of the most famous examples is found inside the grounds of the *Sumiyoshi Taisha* in Osaka. The grounds of most shrines are either designed in garden form or have a garden within them.

Sandō: The approach road to the shrine precincts, which is normally curved at some point so that the retreating worshipper does not turn his or her back on the *kami*. Some *sandō* are old and very long. *Ōmote Sandō* in central Tokyo's

Harajuku district is the main approach road to the *Meiji Jingū*. The *sandō* of the *Hikawa Jinja* in Ōmiya City runs through the center of the town. Shops now rent land for business along it, but the sacred trees cannot be removed. The shops are built around the trees, which protrude through the roofs and make a most unusual sight.

Bunsha and Massha: Branch Shrines and Side Shrines

Most major shrines have branches for the creation of which the spirit, or *mitama,* of the *kami* is divided. Shinto thought sees the spirit of the *kami* on an analogy with fire. Fire is not diminished by being divided. Neither is the *kami*. The four principal designations are as follows:

Bekkū (*betsu-gū*): "independent shrine"

Bunsha: "separated shrine"

Massha: sometimes understood as *matsu-sha,* "branch shrine"

Sessha: sometimes understood as *setsu-sha,* "embraced-shrine"

The first two are usually independently established shrines in a location separate from the head shrine; the second two are subsidiary shrines within the precincts of a large one.

The term *wakamiya* is used to denote shrines in which the multiplied spirit of a *kami* is enshrined. There are three main varieties, although there are many local variations. There are *wakamiya* in which the *kami* is that of the main shrine. There are those in which the *kami* is or are the offspring of the *kami* of the main shrine; and there are those in which the angry *mitama* of the *kami* is pacified.

Yashikigami and Kamidana

The *yashikigami* and the *kamidana* are found in and around dwelling places. The *yashikigami* (*kami* of the house) is usually found in a miniature shrine standing in a propitious corner of the courtyard or grounds of a large house. Traditionally, these exist for the veneration of household ancestors along with the spirit of the land *kami*. The *kamidana* (*kami* shelf) inside the building is a miniature shrine/altar usually brought from the shrine to which the house is attached as an *ujiko*. These can also be seen inside Japanese-style restaurants (especially *sushi* restaurants), company offices, railway stations, police stations, timber yards, and particularly on the premises of any of the traditional trades or occupations of Japan (e.g., carpentry, entertainment, or *sake*-brewing). Each has its guardian *kami* as well as the district ones; consequently, the *kamidana* may enshrine more

than one *kami*. The *yashikigami* and *kamidana* should be treated like normal shrines and should receive fresh *shinsen* every day, particularly rice, water, salt, and *sake*. Various items may be changed at each New Year, such as the *shimenawa*. Normally a priest makes an annual visit to attend to them and to offer a small festival to the *bunrei*, the divided spirit of the *kami*.

NOTES

1. See the discussion of "Kami Associated with Natural Phenomena" in Chapter 4 of this book.

2. Architecture in Christian churches reflects cultural traditions ranging from Byzantine, Baroque, and Gothic to the austerity of the Reformed tradition. Layout may reflect different theologies of the sacraments, but they neither determine nor indicate which divine being is worshipped. It is thus possible to discuss church architecture in a general way. In the case of *jinja shaden*, the format of the buildings is derived from a complex of historical associations, including the *kami* enshrined.

3. Divination of locations (*uranai*) by geomantic methods continues not only in the Imperial Household. In 1986 the residents of Motherwell, an industrial town south of Glasgow in Scotland, were surprised when officials from Kibun, a food company that was planning to open a factory nearby, chose their site after two Shinto priests in full *shozoku* performed *oharai* and released two wild geese to determine the most propitious location.

4. Removal of a shrine can be thought to be disastrous, because the community loses its *kami*. Owing to soaring land prices in central Tokyo, the *Hakkan Jinja* on Ginza's Namiki Dori was forced to rethink its location in the mid-1980s. It was a shrine to which businessmen came by day and entertainers by night, seeking good fortune. A building was erected on top of which the *shaden* were reconstructed, connected to the earth below by a pipe that linked the *shaden* with the soil upon which they formerly stood! The *Jinja Honchō* did not approve of this unusual idea.

5. See the Chart of the Development of Shinto in Chapter 1 of this book.

6. Among the oldest of these is the *Tsubaki Dai Jinja*, which I have already discussed.

7. See the discussion of "Shrine Statistics and Ranks within the Kokka Shinto System" in Chapter 1 of this book.

8. Natural materials (normally *hinoki*, Japanese cypress) are used. I wrote in my previous book that I had seen Buddhist temples in concrete but never a shrine. However, fire regulations in Tokyo required that the *Karasumori Jinja* in Shimbashi be rebuilt in concrete. The name means "forest of crows," which may suggest what Shimbashi looked like a couple of centuries ago. Today, not only are there no crows, but there are no trees and the shrine sits on a much smaller plot of land between numerous large buildings. Considering land values in central Tokyo, is this evidence of the sacredness of shrine lands?

9. In addition to materials published by individual shrines, my sources on *shaden zukuri* and *torii* included Yamauchi Akira, *Jinja Kensetsu* (Jinja Shimpo, Tokyo, 1937), an older text that is interesting because it effectively relates the shape

of shrines to mountains. It was written before World War II, when accounts of Japan's sacred places were not permitted to raise sensitive issues about origins outside of the Japanese archipelago. Useful as a source in English, but equally dated, is Akiyama Aisaburo, *Shinto and Its Architecture* (Kyoto Welcome Society, Kyoto, 1936).

10. In the middle of the parking lot at the Tokyo Airport at Haneda, there is the red *torii* of a shrine. The shrine was removed to make way for the buildings and the runway. Various disasters took place after the airport opened, which were attributed to the distressed *kami.* Although new shrine buildings had been erected nearby, it was decided to pacify the *kami* by replacing the *torii.*

11. See Yamauchi, *Jinja Kensetsu,* pp. 44 ff, on *Tenchi-Gongen* and *Takakuya.* The *Asahi Shimbun* of 22 May 1992 reported the finding of the oldest yet *Takakuya* artifact in Japanese cypress at Shimomagari in Shiga Prefecture, dating to the early third century.

12. Watanabe Yasutada, *Nihon no Bijutsu Series Ise to Izumo* (Shinto Art: Ise and Izumo Shrines), Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, Vol. 3 (Weatherhill, Tokyo, 1974), pp. 104 hr ff, discusses the origins of shrine buildings.

13. *Nihongi,* XIV: 6 and 39–41.

14. On *Ise Jingū* see also Vol. 18 of the Shogakkan Series on *Meiho Nihon no Bijutsu* by Soga Tetsuo on *Ise to Nikkō* (Shogakkan, Tokyo, 1982), pp. 1–28. The text also contains an excellent discussion of the origins of the structures of *shaden* and *torii,* along with seventy pages of illustrations. The section on Nikkō should be consulted for details on *Gongen-zukuri.* See also Watanabe Yoshio, *Jingū to Ise-Shi, Nihon no Bijutsu,* Vol. 12 (Sueisha, Tokyo, 1979).

15. On *Atsuta Jingū,* apart from the shrine's own publications (issued around 1940) there is a study by Shinoda Yasuo, *Atsuta Jingū* (Gakuseisha, Tokyo, 1968).

16. See the discussion of "Sumiyoshi Taisha" in Chapter 4 of this book.

17. See the discussion of "Kami Derived from Historical Personalities" in Chapter 4 of this book.

18. Possible explanations are (1) that in ancient times, it may have been the gateway to ordinary dwelling houses using existing trees. It would not, therefore, be stylized as it came to be in later times. It could also have been the gate of the fence that surrounded some ancient houses. (2) It has been linked to the *Ame-no-iwato* in which Amaterasu hid in anger. One version of how she was induced to come out involved the building of a wooden frame where cocks could perch and crow. *Torii* thus become *tori* (bird) and *i* as a shortened version of the term *iru,* meaning "to be." (3) *Torii* as "bird" and *iru* as "enter" suggest the place where people entered and birds perched (birds were used to tell the time). (4) It has been suggested that the term comes from the Chinese character for "heaven" (*Ten* in Japanese and *T'ien* in Chinese). This is unlikely, because *torii* were erected before the arrival of Chinese characters into Japanese culture.

19. These names may vary locally. In the case of *Izumo Taisha,* for example, they are called respectively *ara-gaki, mizu-gaki, tama-gaki,* and *suki-bei.*

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Chapter 6

Rituals, Festivals (Matsuri), Liturgies (Norito), and the Shinto Priesthood

RITUALS AND OHARAI

The main rituals of Shinto center around the concepts of *tsumi* (impurity) and its removal by *oharai* (purification.)[1]

Tsumi (Impurity)

Tsumi has a broad range of meanings including "pollution," "sickness," and "disaster," as well as "error." Certain actions, situations, or uninvited circumstances can cause impurity and must be dealt with by avoidance or by ritual purification. Two broad categories of *tsumi* may be distinguished, although within them can be found many specific kinds.

Ama-tsu-tsumi. Corresponding to the *Ama-tsu-kami,* the heavenly *kami,* there are *Ama-tsu-tsumi,* or heavenly impurities. These are typified by the outrageous behavior of the *kami* of the stars, Susano-o-no-mikoto, which was so offensive to Amaterasu.

Kuni-tsu-tsumi. Corresponding to the *kuni-tsu-kami,* the earthly *kami,* there are *Kuni-tsu-tsumi,* or earthly impurities. These include afflicting injury or death, immodest behavior, the use of magic, certain contagious diseases, damage done by harmful birds, wounds (*kega*),[2] and other things that may be beyond human control. Human beings may be morally responsible for some of these, but for most they are not. Herein lies the important difference between *tsumi* (often incorrectly translated as "sin") and "sin" referring to actions or conditions for which people may be held morally responsible (assuming that the doctrine of original sin is not considered a philosophy of moral determinism). Impurities in Japan include things that happen to people that can damage their lives, whether they will them or not.[3]

Magatsuhi-no-kami. There are also *Magatsuhi-no-kami* of temptation (from the land of *Yomi*) whose influence can only be dispelled by the *kami* of purification, the *naobi-no-kami.*[4]

Harai (Purification)

The only method of removing *sumi* is purification, or *harai*, which takes three basic forms:[5]

1. *Harai* is performed by a priest using a *harai-gushi,* a wand of paper streamers that is symbolically waved over the place or person to be purified.
2. *Misogi* involves lustration with water, either by hand, in small buckets, by crouching in a river or in the sea, or by standing under a flowing waterfall. Participants wear a loincloth or kimono-style robe, or are simply naked.
3. *Imi* involves avoidance of certain words or particular actions. For example, the word *kiru* (cut) must never be used at the time of a wedding. The word *deru* (go out) is taboo also. This presents a challenge for the master of ceremonies, who must announce the ceremony of cutting the cake and the ritual going out and coming in of the bride and groom as they change clothes in the ceremony of *ironaoshi,* in language avoiding these terms. People who have suffered a recent bereavement will not attend an occasion of celebration because death is associated with impurity.

Ceremonies of Purification

Priests perform many kinds of purification rituals throughout the year. The principal ones are described here, although others may be performed at the request of parishioners. They are rituals that the priests will travel to perform.

Jichin-sai (ground-pacify-festival). This is the ceremony of ground-breaking in which a priest will "pacify" the *kami* of the ground where a new building is to be erected. He will first set up a *himorogi* (sacred space) bounded by a *shimenawa* (sacred rope) and then perform *oharai.* Such ceremonies are held daily for new projects, new houses, new road works, or construction of any kind. Their purpose is to pacify the *kami* of the area who may be disturbed, and to guarantee the safety from misfortune of all who will work on the project.

Yaku-barai (misfortune-purify). This is the calming of a troublesome *kami,* or the purification of a person to avoid the years of life when disasters most frequently happen. It is sometimes misleadingly translated as "exorcism," a concept that belongs to the Western dualistic system of thought wherein good and evil, God and the Devil, are viewed as rivals battling for the soul of man. No such dichotomy exists in Japanese thought. Even the Buddhist deities of hell were downgraded in significance and soft-

ened in appearance after they arrived in Japan. Japanese thought inclines toward monism because of its doctrine of harmony; by contrast, Western thought inclines toward dualism, making use of the dialectic of confrontation for the development of new ideas and the enactment of social change. The Japanese, however, do believe in the realities of misfortune and calamity and try to ward these off by means of purification ceremonies. The Takashima Daira housing complex in Tokyo experienced a large number of suicides during the early 1970s when people jumped from the roofs to their deaths. Not even barbed wire restrained them. The residents finally arranged for a Shinto priest to perform *yaku-barai* in the center of the area, hoping that the reason for the tragedies would be removed.

The *yaku-doshi* are the years of misfortune in adult life, age thirty-three for women and age forty-two for men. People will go to a shrine for *yaku-barai* to ward off misadventures that may occur during these critical times in life. The sense of auspicious and inauspicious times is deeply ingrained in the Japanese mind, and certain days and dates are avoided (*imi*). Many business corporations follow such practices meticulously even to the present day with regard to the timing of new developments, company events, or overseas trips.

Kotsu Anzen Oharai. Travel safety of all kinds, whether by car, airplane, or bus, may be the subject of purification for the traveler. Cars may be purified at shrines, and bus companies usually have a priest purify new vehicles before they go into service. Northwest Airlines brought its newest and largest 747 jumbo jet to Tokyo in 1988 to exhibit it and have it purified by a priest.

Special Cases of Oharai. Oharai can be performed in different ways and in different seasons. Home-cleaning for New Year is called *susu-harai.* Purification after a death is sometimes called *fujo-harai.* Beginning election campaigns, opening new businesses, inaugurating a new company, cutting the tapes to open a new section of railway—all are occasions when *oharai* is appropriate. The purpose of these exercises is to rid the place, person, or object of impurities that could be causes of misfortune.

Shinzen Kekkon: The Shinto Wedding Ceremony. The central act at a Shinto wedding is the purification of the couple and the families followed by the drinking of *sake* to commune with the *kami* before whom the wedding is contracted. The ritual is still called a wedding; but in its structure it is the same as all Shinto rituals, having purification as its central feature. Otherwise, it follows all the other cultural features of Japanese wedding celebrations. Shinto shrines perform a large percentage of Japan's weddings, in the same way that Buddhism accounts for the bulk of the nation's funerary rites.

Misogi Shuhō: Waterfall Purification. This may also be done in different of ways but is normally performed late at night or at first light of dawn, with the place of purification lit only by a brazier of burning wood. Par-

ticipants are led by a *michihiko,* who leads the groups through the stages of the ritual. Men normally wear a *fundoshi* (loincloth) and a headband called a *hachimaki.* Women wear the headband and a white *kimono* garment, although the use by women of only the loincloth is not unknown.

After performing various calisthenic exercises to stimulate the soul and prepare it for the ritual, candidates make their way to the fall. The leader performs a number of ritual movements, which include pouring *sake* into the falls and throwing salt into it and upon all those taking part. The leader may also perform several secret hand signs, including one in which the nine squares of existence are cut and rid of impurities. The leader enters the fall first and then, one by one, he directs each person to follow. Each completes the same sequence of actions and steps back into the fall, taking the weight of water on the back of the neck and shoulders. The words "*Harae tamae kiyome tamae rokonshōjo*" are shouted (an invocation to wash away impurities from the soul and from the six elements of the body) until the leader signals the person to come out.

Misogi has been regaining popularity since the end of the Pacific War, when shrines were able once again to perform religious ceremonies. Some shrines have a *misogi-kai,* an association of practitioners who visit the shrine regularly to perform *misogi.* The revival of the religious culture of Shinto and the restoration of its spirituality have been significant features of its development since the postwar Constitution was put in place.

Salt as a Purifying Agent

Salt is also used as an agent of purification. This is because salt water is considered a more powerful agent of purification than ordinary water. Salt is seen in many places and is used on many occasions in Japan. It is used as an offering on Shinto altars along with water and rice. Salt water is consequently also seen as a powerful purifying agent.

Salt is thrown by *Sumo* wrestlers each time they enter the *dohyō,* which is a sacred area. Before each tournament, Shinto priests perform the *Dohyō Matsuri* in which the ring is purified. Offerings from the rituals are buried in the middle between the white lines behind which the wrestlers face each other before each bout begins. One famous *Ōzeki* (junior champion), had a weak knee; and in the preparatory walks to the middle of the ring before the bout began, as well as throwing salt in the air he always threw some on his knee. I have personally seen a baseball team, after a string of defeats, arrange to have salt thrown into the dugout by a priest or even by the manager in the hope of warding off the misfortunes that kept the team from winning.

Everyone who attends a funeral receives, among other items, a small packet of salt for self-purification upon returning home. It is sprinkled over the entrance to the house to prevent the pollution of death from entering

the mourners' homes. Restaurants and, not infrequently, bars as well as regular businesses may place two small piles of salt outside their doorway, one on each side, after washing the entranceway and before any customers arrive. It is intended to ensure that good customers will come and that the evening's business will be successful. Doubtless, the ancient property of salt as an astringent is the origin of its use as a purifying agent. Its use as a central item of liturgy is one unique aspect of Shinto and the Japanese tradition that does not find ready parallels in other traditions.

Misogi harai under the waterfall also involves the use of salt. After regular *oharai,* the people taking part move toward the fall and are sprinkled with salt again. They take three mouthfuls of *sake* with salt in it, which are spat out as part of the ceremony to purify the mouth one last time. Japanese *sake* is also a purifying agent used in Shinto rituals and found on the Shinto altar.

Imi

Many ancient customs that continue in contemporary Japanese society lie behind the penchant for choosing good days on the Oriental Zodiac for business trips and important events and for avoiding bad days for weddings or any other significant venture. These are cases of *imi,* the avoidance of high-risk times in favor of times that are conducive to good fortune and prosperity.

ŌHARAE NO KOTOBA AND NORITO

Harai is accompanied by the recitation of a *norito,* or address to the *kami,* consisting of specially chosen words that are designed to have a pleasing sound. This derives from belief in *kotodama,* the mystical and spiritual power residing within words. It is based on the ancient Japanese belief that beautiful words brought about good fortune and words that were the opposite brought about misfortune. Therefore, the choice and the method of reciting words was of the utmost importance. *Imi no kotoba* (words of avoidance) refer to any words or sound that are displeasing to the *kami.*

The model for all *norito* was laid out in the *Engishiki,* a code of regulations and procedures that dates to the tenth century. The first recorded injunction to perform *harai* at a national level is recorded in the *Nihongi* (Book IX), when the widow of Emperor Chuai called for a great purging of offenses at all levels. As a result, on the last days of June and December at shrines throughout the nation and in the Imperial Household the words of the *Ōharae,* or Great Purification, are repeated. The words of the *Ōharae* are a classic of Shinto and have been respected and recited for centuries. Many commentaries have been written on the *Ōharae* from var-

ious points of view. It provides information about the background, the culture, and the character of the Japanese of old and indicates where their sensitivities in belief lay. It consists of 900 characters, and performers of *Ōharae* are required to memorize the entire text.[6]

The goal of *oharai* in all its forms is the restoration of the state of purity known as *seimei-shin* (or *akaki kiyoki kokoro*), the basis of communion with the *kami*. It is characterized by four conditions of the *kokoro* (heart): namely, *akaki kokoro,* a bright heart; *kiyoki kokoro,* a pure heart; *tadashiki kokoro,* a correct or just heart; and *naoki kokoro,* a straight heart. These become the basis of all proper actions and conduct by people duly purified.

SHRINE FESTIVALS

Matsuri

The heart of all Shinto activities and of every shrine is the festival.[7] Thousands are held nationwide every year, ranging in scale and size from the great festivals such as the *Chichibu Yo Matsuri* in Saitama, which attracts over a quarter of a million people each year, to tiny village festivals that attract only a few hundred local parishioners. *Matsuri* possesses great breadth of meaning. The word *matsurigoto* in early times implied government and was the origin of *saisei-itchi* (unity of worship and government), an idea revived in *Kokka Shinto* during the nineteenth century and derived from ancient Japan as a sacral society.[8] The Meiji era government was endeavoring to present itself in these terms.

The event at which the community offers its collective worship to the *kami* is the festival, the organization of which is a major social activity in itself. The council of shrine leaders who take charge of the planning and organization enjoy doing so not just because they are keeping the festival in existence but also because part of the entire festival is intended to perpetuate reverence for the *kami* and to show the dependence of the community upon its divine protector. Not all shrines organize their own festivals, but large shrines host numerous festivals every year.

The festival is but one part of the annual cycle of events at all shrines throughout the country. Each shrine has its own set of annual events, most of which are related to agriculture, in particular to rice planting, rice protection, and rice gathering. The primary symbolic acts are still performed by the Imperial Family, who plant the first seedlings of the year and harvest the first grains, which are offered to the Imperial divine ancestor, Amaterasu, at the *Ise Jingū*. Other shrines celebrate in a similar way according to their own local customs, and it is around these that the yearly cycle of events is built.

Structure and Meaning of the Festival

Festivals follow a basic sequence of events to which local communities add particular activities (described subsequently) and a touch of local color depending upon the occasion.[9] No matter the festival and no matter the place, the fundamental sequence of events follows a tripartite structure: the invocation of the *kami,* the offerings to the *kami,* and the final communion with the *kami.*

Invocation of the Kami. This part consists of inviting the *kami* in proper fashion to visit and meet the people. The shrine is specially cleaned and the priests undergo purification before commencing any activities.

Shūbatsu. The priests in full ceremonial dress purify themselves in order to take part in the rituals. The inner building (*honden*) of the shrine complex is opened up and the *goshintai* viewed by the priests. This is performed after purification and is a ritual conducted entirely by the priests themselves, with no lay witnesses present. Sometimes, prior to the purification at the shrine, priests perform *misogi* by throwing buckets of water over themselves, or under a waterfall, in a river, or in the sea, depending upon where the shrine is located. This is called *shubatsu* or *kessai.* Priests are also expected to practice abstinence (*saikai*) before major festivals. Thereafter, the people taking part in the festival are purified so that the *kami* may be ceremonially invoked and invited to come to the shrine.

Opening of the Gate. Along with the participating leading laymen in robes of state, the priests form a procession that moves down the *sandō,* the approach road to the shrine, to meet the *kami* at the appointed place. Here the duly purified laypersons become responsible for transporting the *kami* into the shrine and throughout the community. The *kami* may be borne in a *mikoshi.* The meeting is effected; and the *kami* usually accompanies the procession to the shrine building, where the most sacred place is opened. The community follows the procession to the shrine, each group having assembled in its locality bearing the *kami* to the shrine. When everyone is assembled within the shrine grounds, the next stage of the festival can commence.

Offerings to the Kami. The *kami* is welcomed to the community and by the community, and then offerings are made. The offerings and order of events are as follows:

Shinsen. The offerings usually placed on the altar are rice, salt, water, rice wine (*sake*), rice cakes (*omochi*), fish (usually *tai* sea bream), seaweed (*konbu*), vegetables, grain, and fruit. The *Shinsen* are prepared in a purified and spotlessly clean kitchen called the *Shinsen-den.* There are various kinds, according to the way in which the foods are prepared: *jukusen* is cooked food, *seisen* is raw food, and *sosen* is vegetarian food containing no fish, fowl, or flesh of any kind.

Aisatsu (Greetings). The chief priest (*Gūji*) delivers an address of welcome.

Gifts are presented to the *kami* from the parishioners. These usually include flowers, money in special envelopes, food in rice bags, and *sake* in special drums called *taru*. These are usually on display in the public buildings of the shrine.

Entertainment: Music and Dance, and Martial Arts. Classic forms of entertainment have long been associated with shrine festivals. Although they are often performed in different places, their roots lie in Shinto rituals. There are two main categories: music and dance activities, and sports activities.

Music and dance include several separate forms that are arts in their own right. *Kagura* is a classical Japanese dance performed by shrine maidens (*miko*). Dances have a central place in Japanese religion; it was a dance that enticed Amaterasu out of the cave. The Chinese characters are *kami* plus "happy." Among the other dances seen at festivals is the *shishi-mai,* known also as the lion dance. It is performed as an act of purification and as the central event in the life of some shrines, taking place once only every two or three years. Several men or youths are under a long sheet, which becomes the body. One is inside the large wooden head. To the music of the *fue* and the rhythm of drum beats, the lion performs a sequence of dances. The animal portrayed need not be a lion but is usually described as such. In fact, in various parts of the country it may take a quite different form. The dance itself probably originated in China, where the creature in question was a dragon. Sometimes the lion mask has horns or is identified with the deer (suggesting a Buddhist influence).

During the festivals themselves, when the wagons are being drawn through the streets, various musical activities take place. There may even be a kind of "musicians' loft," a raised platform on which costumed musicians beat the *taiko* drums and blow flutes until they are exhausted by keeping alive the rhythm and atmosphere of the festival.

Bugaku is another genre of classical Japanese dance with special music. The instruments used here and in *gagaku* are described later in this chapter under "Ritual Instruments and Utensils."

The entire cycle of *Noh* drama has its roots in Shinto. *Kami* are portrayed in the introductions to the various epics.

As in other cultures, martial arts provide opportunities to select the fittest and strongest men in each category. They are also staged for the entertainment of the *kami. Yabusame* is costumed mounted archery from horseback at standing targets. The importance of the *hama* (arrow) and its power to break misfortune is underlined in this sport. *Budō* includes martial arts such as *Kendō,* Japanese sword-fencing; or *Sumo,* Japanese wrestling. Although in the later twentieth century it has become a televised sport in its own right, the Shinto associations of *Sumo* remain.

Removal of the Shinsen. The offerings are removed from the altar and taken away for various uses. Sometimes they are used by the priests or

given away. Sometimes they are consumed at the *naorai* or given to parishioners to take home.

Closing of the gate. The main events involving the priests conclude with the closing of the gate and the consequent closing of the inner sanctum. The priests have finished their work, and there remains only the sacramental act of drinking *sake* with the *kami* to bring everything to an end.

Communion with the Kami (Naorai). Casks of *sake* are broken open and drunk from a wooden *masu*, a square cup made of Japanese cypress. This gives the *sake* a distinctive taste. The combination of the aroma of the wood and the taste of the *sake* is probably one fragrance uniquely associated with Shinto and Japan. This aspect of the festival is peculiar also to Japan—social drinking as a religious act to commune with the *kami* in addition to the ritual use of *sake*. This happens after any major festival and often turns into a party with the organizers, the High Priest, and other priests present. The *naorai* is held not only after festivals but after *misogi* or other shrine rituals and activities. It is typical of the Shinto approach to life and the *kami*, one of celebration in a festive mood. Communion with the *kami* also enriches the communion of the people among themselves.

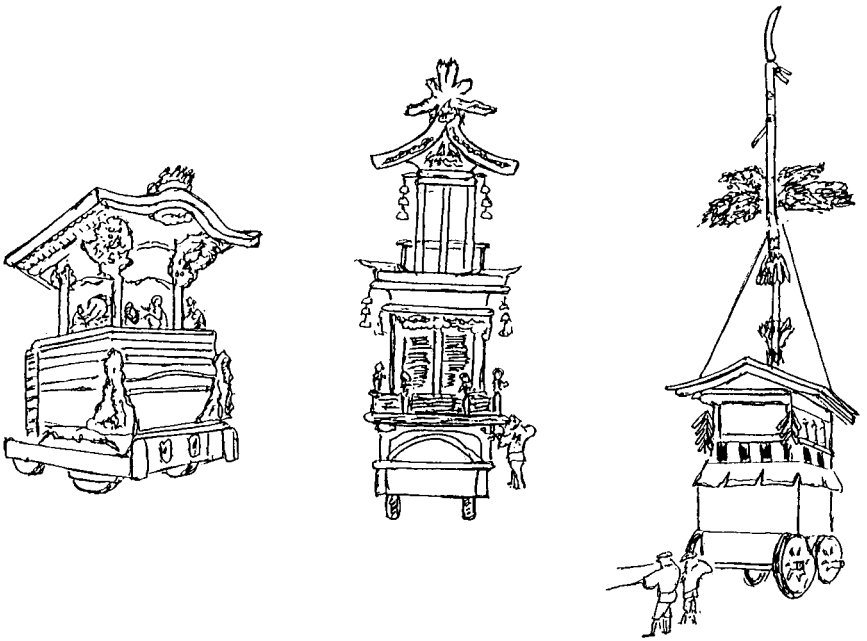
Chinkon (Calming of the Soul). This is a form of silent meditation within the shrine precincts at the close of major rituals (sometimes including festivals) when people reflect upon the significance of what they have been doing. They try to both conserve and draw from the experience they have had while performing the rituals. *Chinkon* takes place after the *misogi* rituals but before the *naorai*. Although it is a Shinto concept, it was popularized by Buddhism during the Heian period and was associated specifically with the calming of angry souls held to be responsible for the natural calamities that plagued the city of Kyoto from time to time.[10]

Ceremonial Wagons

The most extravagant and colorful aspects of the *matsuri* are seen when the *kami*, after being welcomed, is carried around the community, village, or town. Sometimes an *omikoshi* (portable shrine) is carried by groups who dance and reel vigorously around the streets. If the town is beside the coast, they might even bounce it into the sea. Sometimes there is more than one *omikoshi* and these might be jostled and charged playfully into each other. In areas where *omikoshi* are not used, great wagons are pulled through the streets instead. These are known as *dashi* or *yatai* and are of various designs. The following models indicate different styles peculiar to certain regions and festivals. Each district within a region may have its own wagon for these events.

Iwate Danjiri Festival Gikuruma (10 meters tall). Drummers and Musicians are located inside the wagon, which is pulled through the streets by members of the *ujikosodai* of each district. This festival is renowned for

Iwate, Takayama, and Kyoto Gion Festival Wagons



the speed and vigour with which the wagon is rushed through the streets, causing frequent damage to houses and sadly, the occasional fatality.

Takayama Festival Yattai (18 meters tall). Like the other wagons, each part of this vehicle has a name and a symbolic meaning. The wagon transports the *kami* of the community through the district it protects. The drummers and players of the *fue* sit inside and play as the wagon is hauled through the streets.

Kyoto Gion Festival Hoko (23 meters tall). These wagons are made of wood, and on account of their size, they weigh several tons. They are decorated elaborately in many colors and ornamented with numerous metallic plates and hanging artifacts.

Nen-chu-gyō-ji: Annual Events and Festivals

There may be local variations, but the following are basic and no shrine would omit any of them.[11]

Oshōgatsu (New Year). This event is the largest celebration of the year. The act of going to a shrine at New Year is called *hatsu mode* (the first shrine visit) and is performed by approximately 90 million people. The *Meiji Jingū* in Tokyo usually has 2.5 to 3 million visitors within the first seventy-two hours of the New Year. Police with microphones appeal to people to make their prayers short and keep moving to let others in.

Setsubun-sai. This festival is Chinese in origin but is performed at most shrines to mark the beginning of spring. The throwing out of ill fortune and the coming of good fortune are symbolized by the throwing of beans. The ritual usually commences with the High Priest of the shrine firing an arrow, the symbol of the power to break bad fortune; it climaxes in the throwing of beans over the worshippers, who gather them and take them home for good luck.

Haru Matsuri (Spring Festival). This festival is held to ensure the safety of the rice planting.

Natsu Matsuri (Summer Festival). This is held to protect the crops from pestilence and blight during the hot seasons.

Aki Matsuri (Autumn Festival). This festival is a ritual of thanksgiving for the gathered harvest.

Organization and Planning

For local shrine festivals it is the shrine elders, the *ujikosodai* or the *ujikokai,* who are responsible for seeing that the entire cycle of annual events takes place. Parishioners are called *ujiko.* In shrines where there are no priests permanently appointed, the lay leaders are sometimes called the *miyaza* or *to-za*; they conduct *naorai* at various times of the year between festivals to seek the protection of the *kami.*

Sampai

This formal act of showing reverence at a shrine can be performed by anyone at any time of the year. It can be associated with special events or activities and can also be an accompaniment to occasions such as purification of one's car or the start of a new business. Individuals or groups undertaking *seishiki sampai* perform the usual actions appropriate to anyone worshipping at a shrine. The layout of the shrine grounds and their artifacts is designed to facilitate the movement from entrance to the completion of the act of reverence.

Temizu-no-gi (washing of hands and mouth). The first ritual is performed at the *te-mizuya,* the ablution pavilion at the entrance to the precincts. A small ladle (*haidatsu*) with a long handle is used. Water is scooped from a trough of running water and, with the ladle held in the right hand, a little is poured over the left. The ladle is then transferred to the left hand and the right hand is similarly washed. Thereafter, returning the ladle to the

right hand, more water is poured on the left hand, some of which is taken into the mouth. This is emptied in front of the trough, the ladle is rinsed, and the ritual is completed. The worshipper may now proceed to the shrine precincts proper.

Sūhai (showing reverence). In front of the *heiden* the worshipper stops, probably throws a coin (an offering called a *saisen*), and follows the ritual of *ni-hai-ni-hakusho-ippai* (two bows, two claps, and one bow.)[12] This may vary somewhat within different shrine traditions. Some shrines call for three claps and others four. However, this sequence is probably the most common. To the average worshipper at a shrine, this is standard behavior; after perhaps buying a talisman or an *ema,* he or she returns home. For those performing the full rituals, there are two or three additional stages.

Oharai (purification). In the next important part of the ceremony the worshippers enter the *heiden,* where they kneel facing the altar. A priest then formally enters (*shikiten-kaishi*). After beating the *taiko* drum and perhaps playing the flute, he intones the words of a *norito* and then waves the *harai-gushi* over the worshippers to purify them (*shūbatsu-no-gi*). The priest then recites another *norito* to please the *kami,* and the *kami* alights on the evergreen *sakaki* in the rite known as *koshin-no-gi.* Offerings are dedicated (*kensen-no-gi*) and the *kami* is formally addressed in the *norito-sojo.*

Tamagushi-hoten-no-gi (offering the tamagushi). Worshippers then move from the *heiden* to the *haiden,* where they stand in front of another altar with a sacred table some distance in front. The evergreen *sakaki* tree provides branches and leaves with *gohei* attached. The principal worshipper or group leader receives one of these from the priest. He turns it so that the stem faces the altar and places it in front of the symbols of the *kami.* The sequence of two bows, two claps, and one bow completes the ceremony. *Saimotsu* is offered by the group or the individual, with special offerings of money being given to shrines for such services. The *tessen-no-gi* then takes place: the offerings that have been made are removed. The ritual is completed by the *shoshin-no-gi* in which the *kami* ascends heavenward from the *sakaki.*

Naorai. After completing all the rituals, worshippers file out of the *haiden* to a place where the shrine maidens are waiting to pour a little *sake* onto a flat dish from what looks like a silver teapot. The *sake* is drunk and the worshippers receive various gifts from the shrine (in return for their donations) along with protective talismans, sacred *sake,* and some shrine literature. These are usually presented in an attractively designed paper bag bearing the logo of the shrine. After this the worshippers return home.

Hatsu miya mairi

The birth of a baby is one occasion when a similar sequence is performed. The ritual is then called *hatsu miya mairi* (first shrine visit), when the infant

is received as a parishioner of the *kami.* It is performed on the thirty-second day after the birth of a boy and on the thirty-third for a girl.

Ema

One other feature of shrine precincts is the large wooden frames (sometime covered) to which are tied small wooden tablets, on the back of which prayers may be written. These are called *ema,* which means "picture of a horse." Horses were traditional offerings to the *kami.* In place of these, the wooden pictures were created. Nowadays they depict not only horses but features of the particular shrine, the animal symbols of the Oriental Zodiac, and other local features. They are very attractive and are often collected by folk art enthusiasts. They are hung in the *ema-den* and contain prayers that are often touching in their simplicity and honesty.

RITUAL INSTRUMENTS AND UTENSILS

Musical Instruments

In festivals and religious rituals involving *gagaku,* the classical courtly music, a variety of instruments are used.[13] These can be classified into two types.

Uchi-mono (percussion). This category includes the *sanko* (three drums), which are the *taiko,* the large drum that sits on a stand in all shrines and whose deep sound marks the beginning of a ritual; the *kakko,* which in *gagaku* keeps time; and the *shoko,* a smaller accompanying drum. Like the *taiko,* the *kakko* is beaten with two sticks. Groups may also play several *taiko* together. *Sasara* are pieces of wood clapped together. They are also used prior to announcing bouts between higher ranked *Sumo* wrestlers.

Sankan (wind: three reeds). These instruments are classical. They include the *fue,* a short flute-like instrument with six holes; the *sho,* a complicated instrument of seventeen bamboo tubes of different lengths arranged in a circle; and the *hichikiri,* an instrument that is a species of the straight flute or flageolet and that has nine holes.

Shrine maidens may use *suzu* in dances. It is a tambourine-like device with bells that can be made to ring simultaneously by a flick of the wrist. There is a more complicated version (used also by Buddhist priests) shaken during purification. The bell was used for exorcism in India and China and is an implement of purification in Shinto.

Non-Musical Objects

Various other accessories are used or are found in and around buildings where Shinto rites take place.

Goshiki-ban. In shrines where Buddhism and Shinto had close relations

in the past, there are numerous shrine items to which colored ribbons are attached. These are in five colors; each color[14] is associated with a direction and has a particular meaning.

Color	Direction	Meaning
kuro black	North	*aramitama*—origin, beginning
murasaki purple	(same as black where found as an alternative)	
ao blue or green	East	*kushi-mitama*—life, creation
aka red	South	*sachi-mitama*—harmony, expansion
shiro white	West	*nigi-mitama*—integration, power
kiro yellow	Middle	*nao-hi*—creativity, unity

Ryōbu Shinto explains these in the following way, along with the *kami* appropriate to each color and direction.[15]

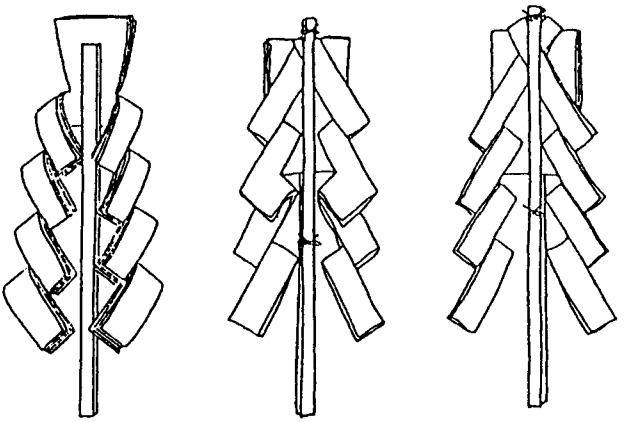
Direction	Kami
North	Ame-no-Hiwashi-ara-hi-no-o-kami (*hiwashi* means "eagle of the sun")
East	Kushi-hi-mitama-no-o-kami
South	Sachi-hi-mitama-no-o-kami
West	Nigi-hi-mitama-no-o-kami
Middle	Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami

The *kami* colors and directions are given complicated explanations. However, the colors feature prominently in many shrines, hanging inside the *heiden* in the form of five streamers approximately 2 meters or more long and 10 centimeters wide. They are also seen attached to the *suzu*, which many *miko* hold when they are performing *kagura,* and to the *hama,* the arrow that breaks bad fortune.

Gohei. These zig-zag strips of paper have been mentioned. The other reading of *gohei* (*mitegura*) is of uncertain origin. The use of *gohei* as offerings or as attached to the *amagushi* may have begun with the practice of offering cloth to a *kami,* which is still sometimes done by the Emperor. Paper came to be substituted just as the *ema* was substituted for the real horse—although white horses are still found at some shrines, the most famous being the *Tōshō-gū* in Nikko.

The shape of the folds and the number of folds varies according to the esoteric beliefs and practices of individual shrines and priests. *Gohei* may vary in color. Red is sometimes used along with white.[16] They may be made in metal or, as in the *Kibitsu Jinja,* of a gold-colored material. These surely

Examples of Gohei



reflect ancient origins and possible relationships with Buddhism. Silver is commonly associated with Korea, as gold is with Buddhism in Japan.

Saikigu. There are numerous important utensils used in all religious ceremonies. Some of these have been mentioned, but a more careful and complete description is necessary in order to see the degree of minute detail that each ritual entails. The principal ones are as follows:

sambō: the tray used to carry offerings

oshiki: a tray with an edge of thick wood around all four sides

hassoku-an: an eight-legged table that is set up to bear the offerings

heihaku: offerings

shinsen: food offerings

tamagushi: a sacred branch offered to the *kami*

takatsuki: a sacred utensil used to bear the offerings. This is now usually made of lacquered wood. Everything else is made of *hinoki.* There are two types of this utensil; the *kaku-takatsuki,* which is square, and the *maru-takatsuki,* which is round.

The utensils are seen at every Shinto altar. When *jichin-sai* is being performed, they are set up inside the *himorogi.* After the ritual is over, the *saikigu* are removed and only the *shimenawa* remains, joining four long branches.

GOSHINTAI AND SHINZŌ

The technical definition of *Goshintai* (honorable-*kami*-body) is the object in which the *mitama* of the *kami* is found within the shrine buildings. It is

treated with great respect; but it is not worshipped as a holy relic, as in the case of religions of crass superstition or crude magic.

Goshintai may or may not be found within the *honden* of a shrine. Shinto's lack of statuary and iconography is passed over all too frequently by those who wish to assert the superiority of Buddhism over the more primitive Shinto. Yet Judaism is not attacked as "primitive" on account of its lack of statuary. The *goshintai* is another distinctive idea of Shinto, something associated with the *kami* but not worshipped instead of the *kami.* In that sense, in spite of all its particularity, Shinto can see the power of *kami* in abstract terms.

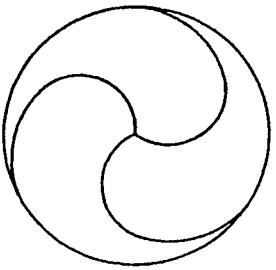
Because the *goshintai* is rarely seen or talked about, little is known about any of them. Indeed, in some shrines the most sacred place in the *honden* is in fact empty. There is simply nothing there. In others, a mirror inside a bag acts as the *goshintai.* In other instances it is an object associated with the *kami,* a bamboo comb or some unusual item. Swords can be found as *goshintai,* although such cases are rare. Often they are wrapped in sacred cloths or hidden in boxes and never brought out. Prior to the Meiji Restoration some shrines did have statues that dated back to the twelfth or thirteenth century, when Shinto art developed somewhat. Most of these were an admixture of Shinto and Buddhism and, in the majority of cases, were destroyed by government order. Some did survive. In the mountain *Tengu Jinja* near Hakone, the *goshintai* is actually a statue of Buddha. In cases where the shrine may have no *honden,* the implication is that a nearby natural object functions as both, perhaps a mountain or (in the case of small shrines), a tree, a waterfall, a rock formation, or even an abalone shell. These cases are dependent upon the locality. Shinto art in the form of *Shinzō* does exist.[17] However, portrayals of *kami* in that form usually depict them in court dress (from the Heian period, when the practice began under the influence of Buddhism). The painting or sculpture becomes a *yorishiro,* a place where the *kami* resides. It is therefore not merely a work of representational art.

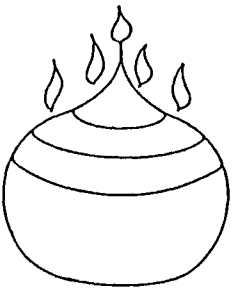
SHRINE SYMBOLS

Shrines have various identifying logos or symbols. In shrines that had a past relation with Esoteric Buddhism in particular, various types may be seen.

The *tomoe* is similar to the Chinese *in-yo* (*ying-yang*) symbol, except that it is divided into three sections. These are explained in various ways, one being Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

Hoshi-no-tama is most frequently found as an ornament or in a design related to Inari shrines. *Hoshi* means "star," and *tama* means "spirit" or "ball." Again, no convincing explanations appear to exist.





Sanmi-sangen, the three principles according to which life is understood, can be set out in the geometrical form of a superimposed triangle, circle, and square.[18] Although a great deal of supplementary explanation would be necessary to acquire a complete understanding of it, the basic format is easy to grasp if it is diagrammatically presented. It brings together numerous aspects of Shinto in a framework that unites cosmic and earthly existence in meaningful relation.

THE SHINTO PRIESTHOOD

The Shinto priesthood[19] is ancient and honorable and traces its origins to the sacral society that was ancient Japan. The duties of a priest are to serve the *kami,* to engage in religious activities based on *Jinja Shinto,* and to administer shrine business. Many shrines are served by hereditary priests. Some priestly families go far back, although the Meiji government policy about shrines did affect some of these. Many, however, preserved their heritage and remain in their traditional succession. The communities they belong to expect this of them.

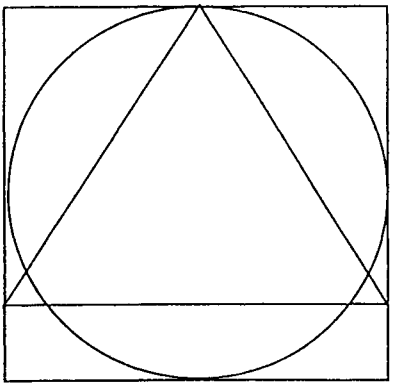
Priestly Vestments: Saifukingu

The dress worn by the priests, although possibly older in origin, was stylized during the Heian age and reflects the court dress of the period, suitably modified for liturgical purposes. The principal items are detailed here.

Headgear. Kanmuri is used when priests are in full dress for special ceremonies.

Robes. Ho is the outer garment worn over the other robes. It is also known as *sokutai, ikan,* or *saifuku.* Traditionally, the colors purple, red,

Sanmi-Sangen



THREE PRINCIPLES 三光の原理		
▲	●	■
GAS 気体	LIQUID 液体	SOLID 固体
☆	☽	○
STAR 星	MOON 月	SUN 太陽
MISSION 使命	LIFE 生命	DESTINY 宿命
SWORD 剣	JEWEL 玉	MIRROR 鏡
FUTURE 未来	PRESENT 現在	PAST 過去
TRUTH 真	VIRTUE 善	BEAUTY 美
WISDOM 知	MAN 人	COURAGE 勇
SALT 塩	WATER 水	RICE 米

green, light blue, and yellow reflected Court rank. In modern times these have been reduced to black, red, and light blue. The *saifuku,* made of white silk, is designed in the same way as the *ikan* and is used for most religious rituals.

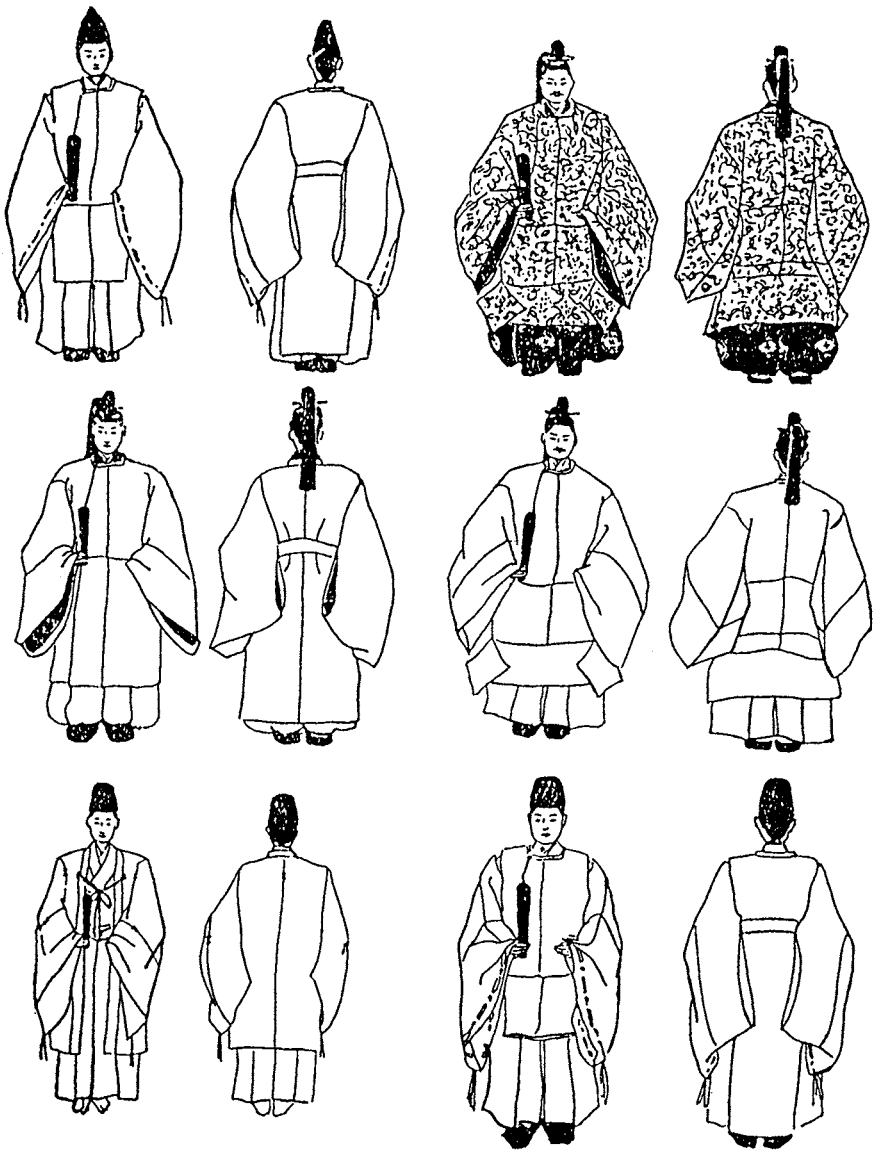
In addition to these is the *kariginu,* which also originated during the Heian period. There are many colors, selected according to the age and rank of the wearer as well as according to the seasons of the year.

Accessories. Shaku is a sceptre-like flat piece of wood carried by priests in the same manner as ancient Court officials carried them to indicate authority. In China, a shaku is carried to signify a message of state. *Asa-gutsu* are shoes worn during the Heian period by the nobility. They were made originally of leather, are now made of lacquered wood; the *asa-gutsu* are worn by Shinto priests when they perform rituals.

Priestly Training and Gradations

There are two principal institutions where people can study to become priests. There is a Faculty of Shinto Studies at Kokugakuin University in

Examples of Priestly Robes



Tokyo, which began as a center of the study of *kokugaku* (national learning). There is also Kogakkan University in Ise, which trains priests to recite the liturgies and understand the meaning of the rituals. Candidates may enter a college, qualify, and then attach themselves to shrines; or they may simply join a shrine and receive status at the lowest rank after basic training, supplementing their rank and status with further studies.

There are two ranking systems. One is within the shrines; like promotion in a company, it depends upon seniority and service (among other considerations). It is also in some cases related to who will inherit a shrine. These ranks are determined within individual shrines. Alongside this is a system of ranking priests according to their experience, accomplishments, and tests set out by the Association of Shinto Shrines.

The ranks are denoted by the color of *hakama* a priest may wear. A priest may be highly ranked in his own shrine but still have a lower grade in the national system. The ranking system known as *kai-i* is as follows:

jokai: purity. This is granted to priests who have served for twenty years or more at the rank of *negi* or above and who hold the rank of *meikai* at Grade 2.

meikai: brightness. This rank and the two below it are granted on the basis of education, general learning, training, and experience at a shrine.

seikai: righteousness.

chokkai: uprightness.

Ranks of the Priesthood within Individual Jinja

Gūji: the chief priest of a shrine

Gon-Gūji: the assistant chief priest of a shrine

Negi: senior priest (there may be more than one)

Gon-negi: assistant senior priest (there may be several)

Kannushi: priest (there may be any number)[20]

Miko: shrine maiden (unmarried daughter, often of a parishioner) who assists at rituals and performs sacred dances (*kagura*)

Itsuki-no-miya or *Saishu*: the highest of all ranks, traditionally a female of the Imperial Family, who was known as the princess devoted to the *kami*. The office exists now only at the Grand Shrines of Ise.

Shrine Organization and Life

In large shrines, the routine and rituals of the day are fixed throughout the year; whether or not visitors come to the shrine, these are fol-

lowed. When there are special rituals or festivals, these are performed in addition to the daily chores. A typical day might be as follows. Around 6:00 or 7:00 A.M., a senior priest in full robes makes his way assisted by several junior priests to open the doors of the *haiden,* where he performs a ritual involving a *norito,* the *taiko,* and the *fue.* Specially prepared offerings (*shinsen*) are brought and placed on the inner altar in the *honden.*

After this has been completed, the younger priests are joined by others who brush the gravel on the *sandō,* the approach road inside the shrine precincts, so that worshippers will walk on freshly cleaned pathways. Stone entranceways are washed with water, and the shrine offices (*shamushō*) are opened by 8:00 A.M. At that time the act of morning worship (*chō-hai*) takes place, involving all the shrine priests and staff. The *norito* is recited, the staff purified for the day, and announcements made about the day's events and duties.

Later in the day, sometimes as early as dusk but sometimes as late as 9:00 P.M., the offerings are removed and the large wooden front doors of the main buildings are closed again until morning. The times may vary in accordance with local customs and traditions. Shrines where *misogi* is practiced may close later, because *misogi* is usually performed late at night or early in the morning.

A shrine is a place of activity every day, all year round. Weekends tend to be busier because people have leisure time to take their cars for road safety purification or to seek *oharai* for personal reasons. People who do so go to the shrine office and register and then wait for their turn to have the rituals performed. They pay for these services, which enables the shrines to receive an income. Parishioners may also make appointments for priests to perform rituals at their new homes or their companies or to mark a special event in the family. Even casual visitors may be eligible for such services if the shrine *kami* is well known for some special capacity, such as assisting at childbirth or in passing examinations. In such ways, shrines offer care for all aspects and stages of life.

NOTES

1. The material for this section is drawn from a variety of sources, including works by Ono Sokyo, Muraoka Tsunetsugu, Katō Genchi, W. G. Aston, various publications of the *Jinja Honchō,* and individual shrines.

2. The term *kegare* is also used to describe specific types of impurity caused by child-bearing, menstruation, disease, and death. These occurrences affect not only the individuals concerned but those around them, including family members. If the presence of *kegare* is ignored, *tatari* (misfortune) may come as a warning. Restrictions on women performing shrine functions at certain times have been gradually

relaxed, although in conservative quarters they may still be strictly enforced. A U.S. boxer's woman manager was not allowed to enter the ring because it had been set up in the *Sumo* hall over the *dohyō,* a place considered sacred to the *kami.* She had to be content with coaching from a distance.

3. See the discussion of Shinto and Ethics in Chapter 10.

4. *Maga* means "confusion."

5. Other types of purification including *goma,* the fire rite, are used in *Shugendō.*

6. See *Sourcebook of Shinto* (Greenwood Press, forthcoming) for text and translations.

7. Materials and resources consulted for this section include the following: *Matsuri no* (*Gurafu-sha, Karagurafic* 8), (Gurafusha, Tokyo, 1980); Naoe Hiroji, *Matsuri to Nen-chū-Gyō-ji* (Festivals and the Cycle of Yearly Events) (Sakura, Tokyo, 1980), p. 289; Makita Shigeru, *Kami to Matsuri to Nihonjin* (Kami, Festivals, and the Japanese People) (Kodansha, Tokyo, 1972), p. 185; Yanagita Kunio, *Nihon no Matsuri* (The Japanese Festival) (Kadokawa Shoten, Tokyo, 1956), p. 232; *Nihon no Matsuri* (Japanese Festivals), 8 vols. (Kodansha, Tokyo, 1982); *Nihon no Jinja to Matsuri* (Japanese Shrines and Festivals) (Jinja Honchō, Tokyo, 1970). The literature on festivals is massive; specialties include types of festivals, regions of Japan, and shrines and cults.

8. Emperor Meiji frequently made reference to *saisei-itchi.* See the discussion of "Kokka Shinto: State Shinto" in Chapter 1 of this book.

9. The Institute of Japanese Culture at Kokugakuin University under Professor Ueda Kenji commenced a series on special festivals and their meaning in the 1980s.

10. See the discussion of *Tenjin* in Chapter 4.

11. See Nishitsunoi Imasayoshi, *Nen-chū-gyō-ji Jiten* (Dictionary of the Cycle of Yearly Events) (Tokyodo, Tokyo, 1958), p. 972.

12. The act of clapping is more formally called *kashiwade.*

13. Volumes abound on Japanese arts, including *Gagaku, Kagura,* and *Noh.* These are produced simply for appreciation of their artistic merits without reference to Shinto.

14. Although explanations vary slightly, the colors are standard and are also found in Buddhist temples.

15. Directions of the compass also are important aspects of the Oriental Zodiac. They relate to the cycle of twelve years believed to have influence upon people depending upon the year in which they were born. Many priests practice fortune-telling according to these principles.

16. Red and white in combination mark a celebration.

17. For a fuller discussion, see Kageyama Haruki, *Shinto Bijutsu, Nihon no Bijutsu,* Vol. 18 (Shibundo, Tokyo, 1967). There is an English version, *Arts of Shinto,* which is Vol. 4 in a series published by Weatherhill, 1973. Statuary and painting are discussed from p. 46 onward.

18. For a modern exposition by an authority on the subject, see Yamamoto Yukitaka, *Shinto to Tomo ni Ikeru* (Tosho Shuppan, Tokyo, 1988), pp. 223 ff.

19. The *Jinja Honchō* is the final source for correct information on the structure and organization of the modern priesthood, although there are many local variations as well as shrines outside the system. This excludes shrines that are designated Kyōha, or Sect, Shinto.

20. The term *kannushi* means "person who belongs to the *kami*." An alternative (Chinese-style) term is *Shinshoku*, which has the nuance of "serving the *kami*." *Tayu* was the fifth rank at Court and was used by priests. It is now obsolete in that usage.

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Part III

SHINTO SECTS

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Chapter 7

Kyōha (Sect) and Tsūzoku (Folk) Shinto

NON-INSTITUTIONAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

Alongside government-recognized and government-supervised shrines, independent and unofficial movements arose and flourished from time to time. This section and the next address these cultic, unorthodox, and often enigmatic movements. They are not part of *Jinja Shinto* as such, but even a cursory examination reveals that they were inspired by the Shinto tradition. Also, when great shrines rose to prominence, they frequently became "cultic" in the popular sense, the cultic nature of Japanese religion being one of its most prominent characteristics. *Izumo Taisha* enshrines the *kami* of the mythology but also has its own Sect Shinto support group, further evidence that abundant distinctions exist and that drawing lines of demarcation in Shinto is never simple. In order of discussion, I first examine the ancient mountain cults; second, the distinctive features of asceticism in Japan; and third, the topic of *Shugendō*. Thereafter I examine the thirteen sects of *Kyōha Shinto*.

SANGAKU SHINKŌ AND ASCETICISM

In researching the appeal and challenge of cults rooted in the folk tradition, it is necessary to understand the importance of mountains and the significance of practicing ascetic rituals in them. Mountains were believed to be the residence of spirits, principally spirits of the dead who watched over and assisted the living. Mountains themselves were often considered to be *kami* and were accorded special reverence. Ancient Japanese religion was largely based on a fascination with mountains, the roots of *Sangaku Shinkō*. Climbing mountains and living in mountains always seems to have

been associated with natural spirituality. Many old Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples are located on the peaks of mountains, which in modern times require railways, paved roads, and cable cars for convenient access. How they were built and how people lived there in the past is a matter of speculation. Kūkai chose *Kōyasan* as the site of the *Kongōbu-ji*, and Saichō chose Mt. Hie for the *Enryaku-ji*. Nichiren received his spiritual enlightenment on a mountain. Climbing Mt. Fuji has been a religious act for centuries, usually an act of purification. In some rural areas, boys reaching puberty purify themselves still by climbing a local mountain. The *Kumano Junrei*, the pilgrimage of the Kumano region, is essentially an exercise in mountaineering by people dressed in Heian age costume. The famous blind women shamans practice their art on Mt. Osore in Aomori Prefecture. The list could go on.

The essential role of mountains in Shinto in particular, and in Japanese religion in general, also has lent a distinctive character to the style of Japanese asceticism.[1] If we define an ascetic as someone who lives at the center of his or her spiritual energy, then the manner in which that energy is channeled toward achieving a particular state of mind or body depends upon the ascetic's perception of the self. If the self is viewed as evil, then it may merit punishment, as in medieval Western asceticism. On the other hand, if the self is capable of improvement, the purpose of the discipline correspondingly becomes positively targeted at such improvements, which is the dynamic behind Japanese asceticism. Buddhists speak of the *soku-shin-jō-butsu*—literally, "one who becomes a Buddha in the flesh." Shinto similarly aims at transforming a human being into a living *kami*. In the mountain tradition of the Buddhist/Shinto amalgam the full flowering of these ideals can best be seen.

SHUGENDŌ: BEGINNINGS TO THE HEIAN PERIOD

Shugendō dates to the Nara period, or perhaps even earlier. Most likely much of its early leadership came from the mainland of Asia, although it was not long before the Japanese reverence for mountains began to encourage the development of indigenous forms. Shugendō is often primarily associated with Buddhism rather than Shinto, and it is probable that the earliest developments began within Buddhism. However, as the movement grew, its peculiar character came to express as much the insights of Shinto as those of Buddhism.

The most famous of the early holy men (*ubasoku-zenji*) was the legendary En no Ozunu mentioned in the *Shoku Nihongi*[2] during the reign of Emperor Mommu (r. 687–707). He is described as having been expelled from Mt. Katsuragi to Oshima in Izu after being betrayed in some way by a disciple called Karakuni no Muraji Hiratori.[3] He was credited with powers that included being able to invoke demons to do his bidding and to

punish those who disobeyed him. Legend also tells that he compelled a spirit to build a bridge from Mt. Katsuragi to Kimpusen.[4] In later times he came to be regarded as the historical founder of Shugendō, which would date the rise of mountain asceticism to the early Nara period, before the arrival and development of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan. However far back mountain asceticism in Japan actually goes, it seems that the Nara period had its own traditions and that the later influx of Buddhist esotericism led to the growth and amalgamation of these groups into the class of people who came to be known as *shugenja*.

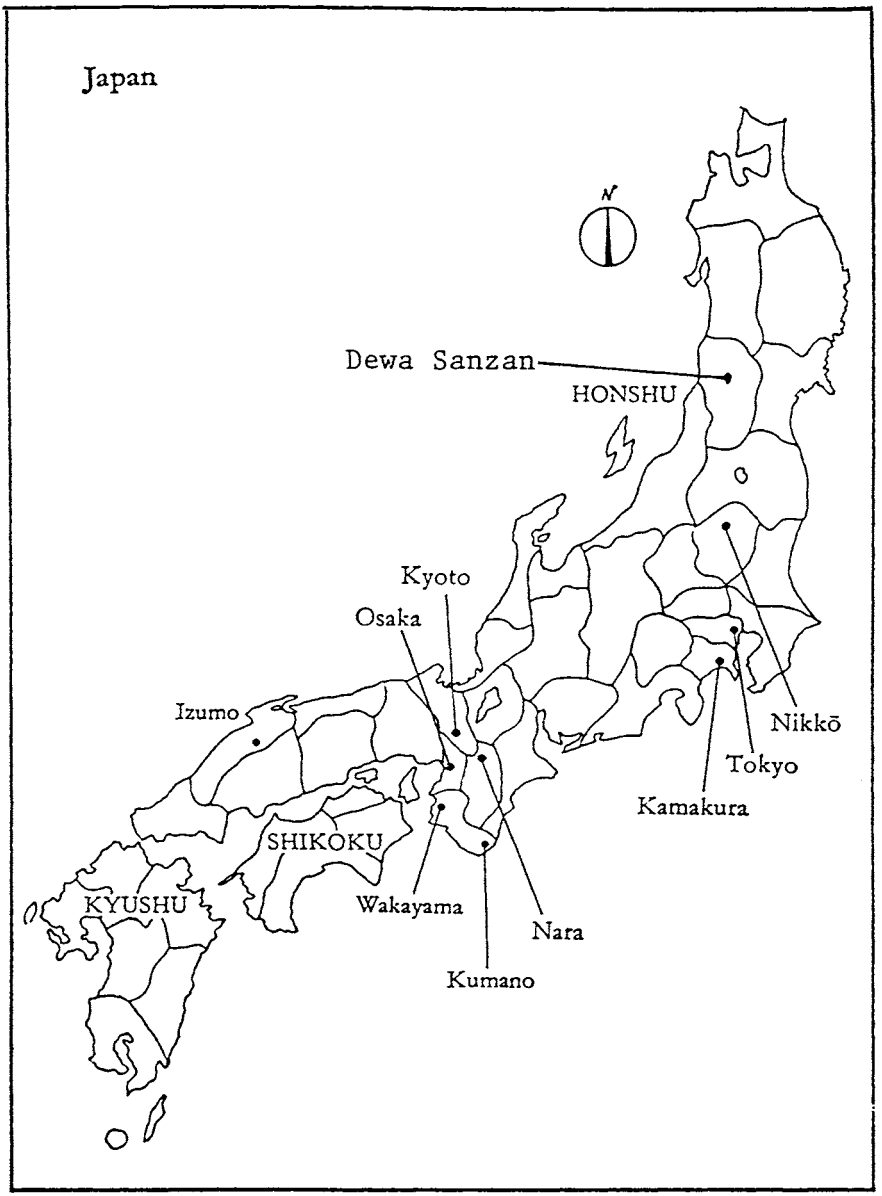
Descriptions of the early ascetics are limited. En no Ozunu's four practices were apparently picking fruits, drawing water, collecting firewood, and preparing vegetarian food. Early ascetics may have set up small Tibetan-style cave altars in the quest for spiritual powers from what they felt were energy spots. They were not well organized or formalized either in dress or manners (as they became in later days), but it was to express the activities of these people that the term *Shugendō* was invented. *Shugendō* uses three characters—*shu* (self-cultivation), *gen* (the beneficial effect of austerities), and *dō* (way), giving the generic meaning of "the way to spiritual power through discipline." Practitioners were called *shugenja*, people seeking to acquire these powers. The other name for *shugenja*, *yamabushi* (people who lie down and sleep in mountains), is better known and more popularly used than *shugenja*, which remains a rather technical expression.

In the early Nara period, three basic elements existed from which later practices developed to become the complex mass of rituals and disciplines recorded during the Kamakura age. Seclusion for long periods in caves close to rivers or waterfalls and devotion to particular *kami* were the first two, which reflect Shinto ideals. In Heian times a variety of esoteric rituals derived from Buddhism were added to them. The goals of Shugendō thus expanded to include the search for supernatural powers through ascetic and esoteric rituals conducted in secluded and holy mountain areas with power places.[5] All these features are still identifiable in modern Shugendō, as studies of groups at the Dewa Sanzan confirm.[6]

Other figures around whom legends grew included Soo (831–918) of Mt. Hiei, who lived near the Kasuragawa Falls in the western foothills of Mt. Hira and who focused on the Buddhist esoteric deity Acala; Enchin (814–891), who founded the *Mii-dera*, the headquarters of the Temple school of Tendai; and Shōbō (834–909), who lived on Mt. Yoshino. Specific mountain regions came to be identified with Shugendō, the most important of which were the Kimpusen range and Mt. Kastusuragi, the three shrines of Kumano, Mount Ishizuki in Shikoku, Daisen in Chugoku, Hakusan and Tateyama, Mt. Nikko, and the famous Dewa Sanzan (three mountains in modern Yamagata Prefecture—Hagurosan, Yudonosan, and Gassan).

In the Omine range linking Kimpusen and Kumano where there was a well-known "ascetic path," several groups were already established by the

Location of Dewa Sanzan



Heian period, principally at Ozasa, Shonoiwaya, Zenkidani, and Tamakiyama. This made it the informal capital of ascetic practice in central Japan by the twelfth century. The *Kumano Sanja* or *Sanzan (Hongū, New*, and *Nachi* shrines) have a long and interesting history. Heian period stories of the origins of the shrines,[7] associate the founding with the Buddhist avatar *Ojishin* of Mt. T'ien-t'ai in China. He is said to have visited Mt. Hiko, Mt. Ishizuki, the Kannokura sanctuary of the New Shrine, and *Asuga Jinja* before finally descending to the *Hongū* in Kumano in the form of the moon. The moon appears, of course, in the Kumano Mandala. Eight years after the legendary date of the descent, a hunter in pursuit of a wild boar saw three forms of the moon among the trees of the mountain. He asked them what they were and they replied that they were the *kami* of Kumano. Thus, Tendai Buddhism and the *kami* of the moon came to be identified in Kumano.

Official records of the shrines[8] relate the foundation of the *Hongū* to a priest called Zendō; the *Nachi* was founded by a monk called Ragyo, who landed in the southern part of Kumano. By the late Heian age, it was claimed that En no Ozunu himself went on a pilgrimage to Kumano, performing purification rites en route.[9] This seems unlikely, but the story illustrates the tendency within Japanese culture in general and Japanese religion in particular to trace origins to a mythological person of great status in order to enhance status. Such must have been the prestige of both Kumano and Kimpusen that after difficult beginnings, they were able by the Heian age to make such claims. It was in the succeeding era, however, that the organizational aspects of Shugendō reached maturity.

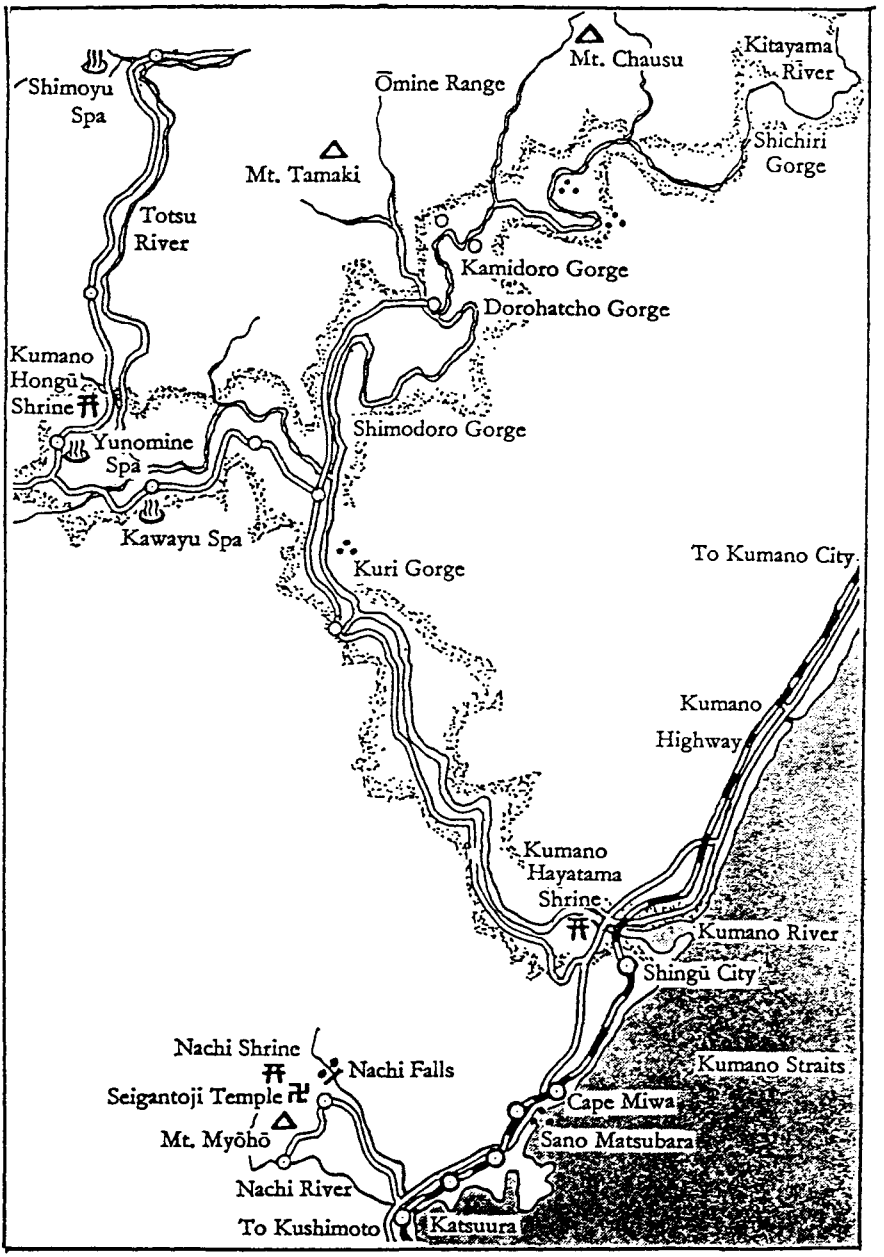
SHUGENDŌ IN THE KAMAKURA PERIOD AND AFTER

By the eleventh century, Kumano and Kimpusen had become established as the leading centers of mountain asceticism and had begun to develop both discipline and order. Kumano became the center of the *Honzan* sect (Tendai), and Kimpusen hosted the *Tōzan* sect (Shingon).

The Honzan Sect

Links with Tendai Buddhism began when the Imperial Family and members of the nobility began to make regular pilgrimages to Kumano. Ascetics from all over the country began resorting there to form various *shugen*, orders with different traditions, customs, and practices. Pivotal to this development was Zōyo (1032–1116), a Tendai priest of the *Mii-dera* who guided Emperor Shirakawa on his 1090 Kumano pilgrimage.[10] When he was subsequently appointed governor of Kumano, the Kumano *Sanja* became directly related to the *Mii-dera* and consequently to the Tendai sect. Jokei, the son of Emperor Go-Shirakawa, became a Tendai priest and abbot

Map of *Shugendō* Locations



of the *Shogo-in*, which in effect related the abbacy to the governorship of Kumano.

Shugenja in Kumano came to be known as *sendatsu* and their followers as *danna*. Highly ranked teachers called *oshi* received stipends for leading people to mountain power places. Many *sendatsu* as well as *oshi* became very wealthy owing to the large numbers of followers who came to their areas for purification and guidance. This added further prestige, as well as power, to the *Shogo-in*, which in turn appointed the *Higashiyama Nyakuoji Jinja* in Kyoto (strongly backed by the Ashikaga shogunate) as the supervising shrine of the *Kumano Sanja* in the fourteenth century. The system was expanded and remained under the administration of the *Shogo-in*, which consequently became the headquarters of what came to be known as the *Honzan* sect. It claimed to be the orthodox tradition of Shugendō, hence the name *Honzan* (original mountain), with En no Ozunu as founder and Zoyo as patron of the sect.

The Tendai monk Enchin (founder of the *Mii-dera*) was said to have been engaged in ascetic practices at Omine and Kumano in the hope that the temple would support it. Organizational structures began to firm up by the mid-fourteenth century. Abbott Ryoyu of the *Shogo-in* established places for ordination at Jinzen on Mount Omine and Nakatsugawa on Mt. Matsuragi. The *kasumi* system also was introduced around the same time, whereby influential *shugenja* established an independent area of authority called a *kasumi*. Lower-ranked *shugenja* were appointed with designated districts inside each *kasumi*. By the fifteenth century, *Shogo-in* abbots began making nationwide tours to all outlying centers to inspect *shugenja*. Abbot Doko (1430–1510) was particularly active. The Honzan sect claimed in its biography of En no Ozunu that he had visited all these places, a propaganda claim to legitimize the efforts of the abbots of the *Shogo-in* and to enhance the status of the sect. The headquarters remains the *Shogo-in* in Kyoto.

The Tōzan Sect

The other great sect of the era was associated with Kimpusen in Yoshino, which had become a center for *shugenja* from shrines and temples around Nara. The group was made up of thirty-six centers,[11] mostly temples that had strong links with the *Kofuku-ji* in Nara. The *Tōzan* sect grew out of this assorted group of shrines, temples, and their respective *shugenja*. Its name literally means "this mountain," implying equal status with Honzan. Headquarters were established at Ozasa on Mt. Omine, which received cooperation from both Eastern and Western Halls of the *Kofuku-ji*.

The Tōzan traced its roots to Shōbō, who founded both the *Daigo-ji* and the *Ono-ha* of Shingon Buddhism (thus its link with Shingon). A Muromachi era legend claimed that Shōbō had received the spiritual seal of En

no Ozunu and the Imperial Seal of Emperor Jomei (r. 629–641), which had subsequently been entrusted to two *shugenja*—Uchiyama, an *Oshuku* (leading master guide), and Sakuramoto, *Ninoshoku* (assistant master guide) of the order—another counterclaim to orthodoxy. Shōbō was also said to have led a pilgrimage of the greatest thirty-six *shugenja* into the Omine range of mountains from Yoshino, which was supposed to account for the thirty-six centers noted. Novices first had to join one of the thirty-six identified leaders, who would present their names to the entire group assembled at Ozasa. The image of Shōbō as founder was strengthened by the late Muromachi era, when the group slowly began to separate from the *Kofuku-ji* and move closer to the *Sambo-in* of the *Daigo-ji*, confirming the link with Shingon. Its headquarters remains the *Sambo-in* of the *Daigo-ji*.

Other centers of Shugendō grew up in different parts of the country, but their attachment to one or another sect or group demonstrates the preeminence of the Honzan and Tōzan sects. The structure of Shugendō and the development of the two sects and their various branches as well as their lingering influences is an aspect of Japanese religion that merits more attention than it has received.

Regional Shugendō

Some provincial practitioners of Shugendō attached themselves to either Honzan or Tōzan, whereas others tried to become independent. Four groups were particularly prominent.

Haguro-san. This group in Yamagata Prefecture still retains a distinct identity within the tradition. *Haguro yamabushi* are recorded as having visited Kyoto as early as the late tenth century, although the first historical references and the oldest records date to the thirteenth century.[12] Although it claimed many grounds for an independent existence, most likely *Haguro shugendō* originated from the *Honzan-ha*. The *yatagarasu* is the messenger of *Haguro-gongen*, which further strengthens the possibility of links with Kumano. The additional fact that three mountains are revered may further parallel Kumano. The area functioned as headquarters for all Shugendō in the Tohoku area. By the late Edo period, over 4,000 *yamabushi* practiced on Haguro. Both Shingon and Tendai priests performed ascetic rituals on *Haguro-san*, with married Tendai-affiliated ascetics and *hijiri* practicing the *nembutsu*. Shugendō was proscribed by the Mejii government, so *Haguro* suffered like all other centers. *Dewa-Jinja* became the most important center of the revived *Dewa-Sanzan* after the Pacific War, when Shugendō reestablished itself.

Nikko-san. This group claimed to be founded by Shōbō and developed by Benkaku, who became abbot in 1210 and who was renowned for his ascetic practices at Kumano (indicating links with Tendai Buddhism). He founded the *Komyo-in* on *Nikko-san*; this became headquarters for all the

shugenja in the region. The demise of the center at *Nikko-san* was the result of poor political judgment. *Nikko-san*, it appears, was on the side of the Hojo family during the campaigns of Hideyoshi, with the result that its lands were confiscated by Hideyoshi after the Odawara campaign. By the late sixteenth century it had been replaced by the *Zazen-in*, another subtemple of the same area. The *Nikko-Tōshōgū* is a Tendai Shinto shrine, which indicates the earlier links; the mountain area, like the *Dewa-Sanzan*, still breathes its ascetic past.

Hiko-san. This is the name of a Kyushu mountain. *Hiko-san* priests were first identified as demanding the removal of the governor at Dazaifu and the banishment of vice-governor Fujiwara no Nagafusa in 1094.[13] It is also recorded that in 1181 Emperor Goshirakawa added *Hiko-san* to the areas under the control of the New Kumano Shrine in Kyoto, which explains the relationship between *Hiko-san* and Kumano. *Hiko-san* included several holy places; the southern Peak of the World Body (the historical Boddha, Shaka), the northern Peak of the Dharma's Body (Amida), and the central Peak of the Female Body (the one thousand–armed Cannon). Over one hundred priests and two hundred *shugenja* were recorded as having lived there at one time, making it one of the largest centers of Tendai Shugendō. *Hiko-san*, like *Haguro*, was strategically located in a military sense and was protected by Prince Yasuhito, the son of Emperor Gofushimi (r. 1298–1301). The niece of the military governor of Buzen province married the prince, who received in return a residence and the abbacy of the *Nyoho-ji.* This gave *Hiko-san* peace and prosperity to develop not only its own style of rituals but a theology and a metaphysic of Shugendō as early as the sixteenth century.

Katsuragi-san. In contrast to the esoteric, *Katsuragi-san* was associated with the more esoteric cult of the Lotus Sūtra. Twenty-eight pilgrimage stations, representing the twenty-eight chapters of the Lotus Sūtra, ran from the Tomogashima Islands (near modern-day Wakayama City) to Nijo-san in Yamato. The guardian of all *shugenja* was considered to be Kongō Zāo Gongen, whom it was believed had appeared to En no Ozunu in a vision during the seventh century. According to one account, En no Ozunu (again invoked in the interests of credibility) was in a cave meditating upon a protector for those entering the mountains. Maitreya appeared to him along with Cannon and the Buddha. Nevertheless, he continued meditating until Zāo Gongen appeared, whom he felt was the best guardian for himself and Kimpusen. From the Kamakura era legends of this kind became widespread, which does suggest that Zāo Gongen had become an important *kami* of shugendō.

Each center of Shugendō had its own traditions, customs, and beliefs. One example of the diversity of the various regional groups was the existence in Omine of mythical child attendants of the *kami* known as *dōji.*[14]

Their unique role indicates how the Shinto tendency toward particularism interacted with the cosmology and metaphysics of Buddhism.

The Yamabushi-chō

One of the main sources of information about the *yamabushi* is the thirteenth-century register called the *Yamabushi-chō*, which lists many practices of the Kumano region. *Shugenja* dressed in orange tunics, wore *hakama* trousers and special headgear, and carried wooden boxes on their backs. Three accessories considered necessary for entry to the mountains were a wooden case (carried on the back); a conical-shaped, broad-brimmed hat; and a Shinto *harai-gushi*. This may have originally been made of paper, but weather considerations may have been the reason that in later ages *shugenja* came to carry a *suzu*. Although this is associated more with exorcism in India than Shinto, it came into widespread use and is still used in some shrines.

It was widely thought by older scholars that *yamabushi* merely hiked in the mountain ranges from Yoshino to Kumano (or from Kumano to Yoshino) through what is now the Kumano-Yoshino national park, although more recent research suggests that they formed temporary settlements at specific locations. However, entry into or exit from the mountains was ritualized. Buddhist and other sacred objects or artifacts were given to the *shugenja*. Rituals and practices began to become standardized during the Kamakura age, and much of modern Shugendō was developed during that period. Formal entry into the mountains commenced with the ritual beating of a novice with a staff to awaken him into awareness of the Tathagata or the Buddha whose power was being sought. This was followed by the confession of sins (which in the case of Kumano was performed by hanging over a cliff by a rope that is briefly released)[15] and purification in a waterfall. Consumption of food and water was minimal.

Sacred fires using small piles of wood set up in pillars (*hashiramoto goma*) were prepared and lit as a form of *oharai*. Initiation into esoteric mysteries followed these rituals performed on a regular basis along with instructions on how to draw energy from power places in the mountains. When the designated period was completed, there was a formal departure from the mountains. The concepts underlying disciplines such as *Sen-nichi-kai-hō-gyō*[16] and be traced to these early practices.

Two sets of practices are distinguished in the *Yamabushi-chō*. One was concerned with the life-support activities of the ascetic; the other pursued the quest for spiritual power. From about the fifteenth century, ten disciplines were made obligatory for anyone wishing to enter the mountains formally for ascetic practice. These included the beating to awaken the senses, the confession of impurities, the weighing of *karmic* bonds to determine how much guilt was being borne, the abstaining from drinking

water and from eating cereals, the pouring of water on the body for purification, ritual wrestling, dancing, and *hashiramoto goma* with esoteric rites. Each act was considered to correspond to one of the ten worlds of Shingon Buddhism through which people passed on their way to enlightenment. The ten worlds listed by Kukai were the worlds of hell, hungry spirits, animals, demons, human beings, heavenly beings, *shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas*, and finally the world of the buddhas.[17] A *shugenja* who correctly performed the rituals could progress through the ten worlds and attain Buddhahood in the flesh, according to the separate philosophies of Shingon and Tendai. Also from the fifteenth century, symbolic explanations of both rituals and locations were invented to intensify the meaning of the rites; this displays yet another interesting feature of Japanese religion. The Omine mountains, for example, were interpreted in terms of *Ryōbu Shinto*, the Kumano end being the Womb Mandala and the Yoshino end being the Diamond Mandala. The pilgrimage route thus carried the *shugenja* in a symbolic way either upward to enlightenment or downward to hell, depending upon where he began.

An additional feature of the activities of *shugenja* explains how so many grew rich and powerful; they acted as guides for the nobility who made pilgrimages from the Heian period onward. They led courtiers and *samurai* as well as ordinary people in performing rituals, offering prayers, and guiding the pilgrims through the requirements of the pilgrimage. *Shugenja* were attached to teachers who owned hostels, which in turn were used to collect revenue.

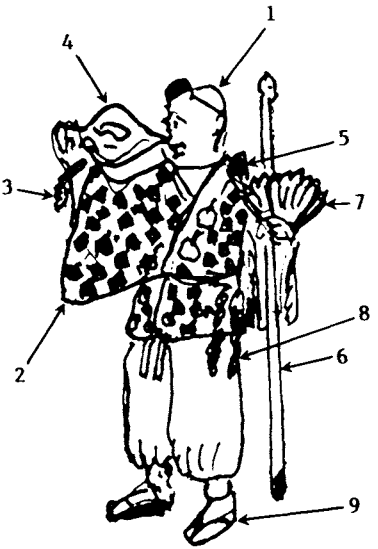
The Kumano guides, for example, traveled all over the country to spread the teachings of the cult, acquiring believers and helping to establish branches of the Kumano tradition. A sutra mound excavation at Nachi records that a *shugenja* called Gyoyo toured the country in 1176 and enlisted 69,000 followers. This was probably the peak of that sect, although Shugendō continued to exist until the Meiji government banned it. The *Kumano Junrei*, like the *Dewa-Sanzan*, was revived after the Pacific War.

Shugenja Dress

There are various styles of *Shugenja*, which is one reason for the controversy about whether Shugendō is Buddhist or Shinto. The *Tōzan-ha* members shaved their heads like Buddhist priests, whereas the *Honzan-ha* kept their hair and grew it long. The dress as well as the doctrines reflect Buddhist, Shinto, and perhaps even popular Taoistic ideas, thereby defying simple categorization. This very syncretism may justify calling it Japanese.

The dress of the *shugenja* remains essentially as it was, reflecting the cosmological philosophy of the Ten Worlds of Esoteric Buddhism. There are many forms of dress according to sect and rank. White, indicating purity, is the Shinto contribution to outward appearance. *Shugenja* wear a

white tunic and a special tassled stole, symbolizing the Diamond realm and the Womb realm. A small pillbox-like hat symbolizes Mahavairocana. Leggings and straw sandals are worn with a fur apron over the seat, a *juzu* is wound around the arm, and a ceremonial staff or wand and a large conch shell that represents the path of the *shugenja* toward Buddhahood are carried. Two ropes hang from the waist, wooden cases for religious articles and necessities are carried on the back, and a conical broad-brimmed straw hat is carried to symbolize ultimate rebirth as a Buddha. The uniform transformed the *shugenja* himself into a walking mandala, which united in his person the human and physical with the potential power of the Buddha and the supernatural. The costume was a constant reminder of the meaning of the pilgrimage and the goals of Shugendō.[18] The following diagram and list illustrate some of the basic elements carried by all mountain ascetics.



1. *Tokin* is the skull cap. This is an adaptation of a hood, made now of twelve folds which represent the twelve worlds in esoteric Buddhism. It is also thought to have the power to protect its wearer against evils and dangers in the mountains and is used as a drinking cup.
2. *Suzukake* is the distinctive colored robe which evolved into four main styles.
3. *Nenju* or *juzu* is the Buddhist rosary, which is made of rough stone beads.
4. *Hora* is the conch shell blown to proclaim the Buddhist law. It is also used for group communication in the mountains.
5. *Oi* is a portable altar carried as a backpack containing the Buddhist writings

and necessary work tools. It is covered by a *katabako*, a small box. The *oi* is considered female and the *katabako* is considered male.

6. *Kongozue* is the "diamond cane," used for climbing; in esoteric Buddhism it represents the hardness of true wisdom.
7. *Hiogi*, a cypress fan, is carried by *shugenja* of rank to symbolize the fanning of the flame induced in the ritual of *goma*.
8. *Hashira-nawa* is the rope used in climbing mountains.
9. *Waraji* are the straw sandals which are the only correct footwear of the mountain ascetic.

TSŪZOKU: POPULAR SHINTO

Local cults and rituals, along with popular but uninstitutionalized *kami*, are usually designated as folk Shinto. Cults grew around figures such as *Tengu*, a mythical object of devotion in many parts of Japan. Shrines can be found in various isolated locations that are strange admixtures of Shinto and folk culture. Some of that folk culture contains strands of Taoism, which entered Japan but was effectively contained and transformed by the mid-Nara period. Traces remain, for example, in the tales of the *Hagoromo*, young women in swan-like feather robes who descend to earth to bathe. The *Nagu Jinja* in Takeno enshrines Toyokanome-no-mikoto. Legend has it that an aging couple, finding a *Hagoromo* bathing, took the feather robe without which she could not return to her supernatural world. She agreed to become their adopted daughter and brewed a delicious *sake* that made them very wealthy. They then turned her out and she wandered until she came to the village of Nagu, where she settled and became Toyokanome-no-mikoto, transforming herself into a *kami* of cereals. In ways like this the idea of the world beyond, the *Toyoko-no-kuni* of the *Nihongi*, the mysterious sacred realm of *kami* became intertwined with folk ideas. Developments such as this, dating to the Nara period and before, produced many sites for shrines that literally grew out of the popular religious mind.

Such religious mentality never disappeared and re-emerged in various forms of popular syncretism. It reflects the Japanese dislike for drawing hard and fast distinctions. By government order, institutions based on syncretism had to decide whether they were shrines or temples after the Meiji Restoration, but many did not totally comply with government requirements. The ones that did were able to return to their former ways after 1946. Such phenomena illustrate the syncretistic tendencies in Japanese religion that traditionally revered the *kami* and the Buddha and followed the teachings of Confucius. The constitutions of the early Japanese merchant houses, such as the House of Mitsui, included exactly these injunctions in their practices. They counseled against excessive fervor about religion but required the basic observances of religion by all House members. This syn-

cretism produced new movements from time to time, and it is from the mass of such movements that the various sects of Kyōha Shinto emerged during the later Edo and early Meiji periods.

Two movements that characteristically combined reverence for the three great strands of Japanese religion were *Shingaku* and *Hōtoku*. Both arose and flourished during the Edo period and were, in many ways, among the most typical products of the popular syncretistic ethico-religious mentality encouraged by the government.

Shingaku

Ishida Baigan (1685–1746)[19] founded a movement that is usually classified as popular Shinto. The central ideas were both religious and ethical; the strong moral teaching included elements of Buddhism and Confucian virtues. It had a strong foundation in Shinto, particularly stressing the worship of Amaterasu and of one's own *uji-gami*. It also included elements of Zen thought and some aspects of neo-Confucian cosmology, which it combined into simple precepts for the daily life of ordinary people.

The movement began in Kyoto and spread nationwide. It primarily stressed the improvement of the heart (*kokoro*, a concept that remains very important in the teachings of the New Religions), hence the name *Shingaku*, "heart-learning." The idea of "heart" in Ishida's thought encompasses the seat of the emotions and the source of actions, although normally in Japanese the *hara* (stomach) is viewed in this way. Ishida thought that the heart can be cultivated as a source of good actions. His use of *kokoro* is remarkably similar to the use of *lev* (heart) in the Hebrew tradition. Ishida's movement widely influenced ordinary people and was easily combined with whatever local institutions they belonged to or shrines or temples with which they were affiliated. It still survives in indirect forms and continues to be in the background of many new religious movements, just as it lay in the background of Sect Shinto.

Hōtoku

Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856),[20] a peasant farmer sage, was the founder of this movement, which has a remarkable history and whose followers in modern times include some distinguished Japanese intellectuals. The term means "repayment of indebtedness" and was the basis of a movement that later became popular with the Japanese government at the time of the creation of State Shinto. The debt was the debt of people to ancestors, parents, and to Heaven and Earth for all they have given to mankind.

Originally, Ninomiya's purpose was to devise schemes for economic development in rural areas, and he considered that certain moral and mental attitudes were essential to the development of any successful economic the-

ory. He believed that if people do not have a reason to work or do not see it as an integral part of the meaning of life, they will not be motivated. Consequently, he created a religious ideology around the concept of *Hōtoku*; and the idea of repayment of indebtedness dovetailed with reverence for Buddha, *kami* worship, and the practice of Confucian values. His teaching had four basic elements. He stressed sincerity of mind (*shisei*), the virtue of industrious labor (*kinrō*), the ideal of a planned economy (*bundo*), and the virtue of yielding to others (*suijō*).

On the fiftieth anniversary of Ninomiya's death the Ministry of Home Affairs decided to promote the idea in the interest of national development, so it formed *Hōtoku* societies all around the country, stressing loyalty to the house (*ie*) and to the family of the nation. Repayment of indebtedness was now subtly redirected toward the Emperor, the *kami*, and the State as well as toward parents and ancestors. According to records of the times, the Ministry of Home Affairs became sarcastically renamed the *Hōtoku Naimushō*. It serves as another illustration of the way in which the government manipulated people's natural sensitivities and feelings for reverence toward sacred objects to strengthen the Imperial image and the centrality of the *kokutai*. The Ministry of Education had a statue of *Ninomiya Kinjirō*, the symbol of the cult, placed in every school playground established during the Meiji period. Depicted as a barefoot boy in Japanese dress carrying a bundle of sticks, he was used as a model for moral education. He was presented as a boy who endured misfortune and hardship to exemplify all the Japanese virtues.[21] Young people were encouraged to follow his courageous and determined example, to study diligently, work hard, and live in a sacrificial manner.

Although they are not purely Shinto, both *Shingaku* and *Hōtoku* are important simply because they employed a view of human nature that is associated with Shinto. Grasping the significance of these two movements aids in understanding the new religions.

Local Cults and Kami

Under this category may be listed some of the *uji-gami* that small and sometimes large shrines set up for the protection of local areas, old family residences and other special places, events, people, or natural phenomena. There were approximately 70,000 of these listed after the Meiji Restoration, so a detailed discussion of them is not possible. However, alongside these were numerous *kami* to whom people resorted but who are not always formally enshrined. These include the *shichi-fuku-jin*, the seven *kami* of good fortune. Traditionally, Japanese communities were organized around two shrines and two *kami* or sets of *kami*. First was the ancestral *kami* of the community, a historical founding figure or a great benefactor. The other was the *kami* of the land itself, the creative *kami*. Herein prob-

ably lie the origins of the *uji-gami* concept, the *kami* of the family. In some regions, after individuals passed away there was a custom by which that person was recognized as a *ji-kami*, a land *kami*, thirty years after death. The *ji-kami* in time shaded into *kami* such as the *ta-no-kami*, the *kami* of the field. *Dozoku-shin* (kinship-related *kami*), although somewhat vague, have as their main function to strengthen the relationship of the individual to the locality and to seal that relationship with reverence for the area *kami*. The existence of countless numbers of local *kami* left plenty of room for the emergence and development of regional cults. It is from these roots and the complex of phenomena discussed earlier in this section that the popular movements of the Edo period grew along with the movements later known as *Kyōha Shinto*.

KYŌHA SHINTO

Kyōha Shinto refers to various independent sects that grew up especially during the late Edo period and that received special status from the Meiji government. The basic difference between Shrine Shinto and Kyōha Shinto is that although both have deep roots in folk religion, Kyōha sects, because they were historically later in developing and grew self-consciously, could identify a founder, and a formal set of teachings and may even have produced some sacred writings. Most tended to come from simple background. Their teachings were correspondingly simple and had a great appeal to ordinary people. This new development within the world of Shinto allowed for the growth of new cults and new ideas in a way that had not been seen since the Kamakura period.

The distinction between Shrine Shinto and Sect or "Religious" Shinto had one unfortunate repercussion. It made possible the later claim that Shinto was not in fact a religion, because "religious" types of Shinto could be distinguished from Shrine Shinto. It was a policy of the Meiji government to use reverence for the Emperor as the basis of State Shinto. State recognition of Sect Shinto commenced in 1876 and was completed by 1904. Part of the reason for this recognition was to make the distinction between folk Shinto and government-approved rituals clear and unambiguous. Scholars such as Yanagita Kunio and the professors of the University of Tokyo, as civil servants, were required to offer arguments that the government-required observances of State Shinto did not violate the freedom of religion that was technically permitted by the Constitution, because Shinto was a folk way and not a religion.

Kyōha Shinto sects are usually classified under five headings. There are the Pure Shinto Sects: *Shinto Tai-kyō, Shinri-kyō*, and *Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō*. The Confucian Sects are *Shinto Shusei-ha* and *Taisei-kyō*. The Mountain Sects are *Jikkō-kyō, Fusō-kyō*, and *Mitake-kyō*. The Purification Sects are *Shinshu-kyō* and *Misogi-kyō*. The three Faith Healing Sects are *Kuro-*

zumi-kyō, Konkō-kyō, and *Tenri-kyō.* Historically, these may be divided into the religious groups that developed before the Meiji Restoration; those that reflect the strict religious policy of the government; and those that had a pre-Meiji beginning but came into line with the Meiji government policy. On etymology, *kyō* means "teaching" and *ha* means "sect." *Kyō-ha* refers to Shinto sects with explicit teachings that were transmitted to believers, as distinct from shrines that had less articulate cultic beliefs surrounding an enshrined *kami.*

In contemporary terms, it appears to be a declining movement. Statistics suggest that the entire Kyōha Shinto group is losing support, having lost nearly one million members between 1975 and 1985. It registered a total membership of 6,093,557 in 1975. The comparative figure in 1987 was 5,182,085 (which represents roughly a 16 percent decrease). Reasons for the decline may be explained in various ways. Undoubtedly, the further Japan moves from the Meiji period, the less likely these movements are liable to be perceived as relevant, unless they introduce major changes in their teachings. The changed social climate between 1950 and 1990 must also be a factor leading to reduced recruitment; and many new religions came into being during that time that are probably much more attractive to younger people.

Pure *Shinto* Sects

Shinto Taikyō. The movement for independent recognition of the thirteen Kyōha sects by the government, spearheaded by *Shinto Taikyō*, began in 1882 and lasted through 1908 (from Meiji 15 to Meiji 41). By looking at the development of Shinto Taikyō it is possible to understand not only the various steps in the recognition of the Kyōha movement but also how Kyōha Shinto in general and Shinto Taikyō in particular played a significant a role in the rise of Japanese nationalism alongside *Kokka Shinto.*

The Meiji government did not initially pursue a consistent policy toward Shinto. Shinto Taikyō,[22] a product of the Meiji period mentality, began in 1873 with the founding of the *Taikyō-in.* This was intended to be the central organization of the domestic missionary activity of Shinto, following the injunction of Emperor Meiji: *"Taikyō sempu no mikonotori"* (to revive the great way, Shinto, in his era). The *Taikyō-in* was dissolved after factional struggles and, instead, the *Shinto Jimukyoku*, the Office of Shinto, was established. After the separation of religion from politics (*seikyō-bunri*) had been declared in 1882, the *Shinto Jimukyoku* was renamed *Shinto Honkyoku* and Viscount Masakuni Inaba was elected as the first president (*kanchō*). He defined the basic doctrines of Shinto Taikyō in response to which the Ministry of Home Affairs recognized it as a sect, distinguishing for the first time between Sect and State Shinto. Inaba can be given credit

for both forming Shinto Taikyō as it is now known and for making space within the government system for other forms of Sect Shinto.

His successor was Inaba Masayoshi (appointed in 1898, or Meiji 31), whose main work was the organization of both teaching and teachers. Sect Shinto began to rise in popularity because it was seen to be in harmony with Japan as a land of the *kami* (*shinkoku shiso*), an idea that had been revived for ideological and propaganda purposes during the Sino-Japanese War at the turn of the century. The next president, Honda Kojo, took up office just before the Russo-Japanese War. He meticulously observed government injunctions to stimulate nationalism. *Shinto Honkyoku* along with Buddhism and Christianity encouraged the nation to confront Russia, merely acting in common with all other religious movements of the time. The sixth *Kanchō*, Hayashi Gosuke, decided to replace the name *Shinto Honkyoku* with *Shinto Taikyō* in an effort to establish a measure of independence from government pressure. Thus, it continued to promote the great teaching (*Taikyō*) until the end of the Pacific War, when its status came up for review. In 1951 it was recognized by the Ministry of Education as a religious corporate person (*shūkyō hōjin*) and received the formal identity of Shinto Taikyō by which it is still known.

Like other movements in the group, Shinto Taikyō underwent a transformation after the Pacific War; as a result, the emphasis of its teaching ceased to be upon *kannagara* as a way to unite the nation and focused instead upon *kannagara* as a way of peace and harmony. The transformation is indeed remarkable. The new ideals were to be achieved by the composition of *waka* poems, the practice of calligraphy, the way of tea, and the practice of martial arts such as *Aikidō*. By means of these, people would become closer to the *kami*, a doctrine that became the focus of Shinto Taikyō. The name still retains nationalist overtones, but the content has been thoroughly revised.

Although it is no longer overtly missionary, Shinto Taikyō drew up plans for expansion in 1965. An enlarged headquarters was to be a base for energizing of the spirit of the Japanese people and for functioning as the central office buildings of all religious movements in the group. The plan was not carried out through lack of resources.

Beliefs and Teachings. The influence of the president seems profound in the formation of an outlook on life by believers, but Four Great Beliefs (*Shinto Taikyō Yon-dai Shinjō*) that are defined as the basis of the movement are more orthodox in their content.

1. *Tentoku* (heaven-virtue) refers to Ame-no-minakushi-no-kami, who is considered to be the cosmic law of time and space and to be the source of goodness, love, morality, and inspiration from whom human beings receive wisdom and virtue.

2. *Chi-on* (earth-benefit) is the worldview aspect of the teaching that centers on the visible form of Ame-no-minakushi-no-kami as *inyo-nishin*.

The positive and negative *kami* are Taka-musubi-no-kami and Kami-musubi-no-kami. These three form the *zoka-sanshin* (the three *kami* of creation) in an orthodox interpretation of the mythology.

3. *Shōjō* (purity) refers to the phenomenal world of human life that is relative and limited by time and space. Although they are born from the *kami*, human beings become egocentric in order to survive, because of their environment. The struggles that result from this destroy harmony, so humanity becomes estranged from the spiritual world. Believers are expected to express and achieve truth (*shin*), goodness (*zen*), and beauty (*bi*). These have a purifying effect. By removing impurities through ritual purification (*harai*) and calming the soul (*chinkon*), they may return to the level of the *kami*.

4. *Kōmyō* (light-bright) deals with how to live life. When people follow the will of the *kami* by realizing their own dignity and that of others, and when they live close to the *kami* in the spirit of *shōjō*, an ideal society will come about. Hatred and conflict will be replaced by peace and love.

For other ideas, it is necessary to turn to the sect's main publication, *Shintoshinshi*, a quarterly magazine written by and for believers. Half of its forty pages from a typical 1988 edition were devoted to the activities of the eighth *kanchō*, Shinada Shohei, his own *waka*, or *waka* written in praise of him. In his position close to the *kami*, he is able to give advice to others on how to achieve that ideal state. Articles explained how he had met and knew the world's principal leaders. Believers reported supernatural experiences, such as hearing the voice of the *kami* or being assisted to perform impossible tasks because of inspiration from the teachings of *Taikyō*. The cultic side of the movement remains strong, although Shinada's teachings still resemble more traditional values. Indeed, a strong vein of nationalism can still be detected.

This is most evident in the content of some of the *waka* composed by the president:

> *Kore wa mi wa chichi-haha no mono-kami no mono-umiko no mono-ada ni sumajiki.*
> "My body belongs to my parents and ancestors, the *kami* and my descendants—so I must not waste it in selfish pursuits."

This is his understanding of *kannagara-no-michi* based upon the concept of *Nihonjin to shite no dogi*, the natural spirituality of the Japanese people derived from *ko-shin-dō* or *ko-dō* (the ancient way).

Through ideas like these Shinto Taikyō sees itself as a traditional form of religion that needs to be spread in Japan to confront the problems of modern society. The Japanese will receive wisdom only when they return to the ancestral faith. Present-day Japan is represented as being overlaid by "colonial" culture, and therefore the traditional Japanese spirit has been

set aside. This position is ethnocentric and mildly extremist, but at the same time it is claimed that the *Taikyō* has elements and a spirit that can be beneficial to people all around the world. It has points in common with other religions that, it is argued, show no grounds for conflict.

Shinada expresses great respect for Emperor Meiji, the *tennōsei* (emperor system), and the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku-chokugo*), which was condemned after the war as being one source of Japanese militarism. Shinada claims that the essence of its teaching was simply the ideal of the upright heart (*naoki kokoro*). These ideas are also expounded in *waka*:

> *Nippon mo zokkokuka shite rōmaji wa sengo chimata ni hanran sen to su*
> "Japan after the war is in a colonial state with romanization flourishing everywhere."
> *Nihongo no shinka shirashime nihongo o sekaigo ni made hiromen to omō*
> "Let the world know the value of Japanese language and make it a world language."
> *Kokubō no kyōka nakushite Nihon no heiwa to anzen nashi toshi omō*
> "There will be no peace and security in Japan without strengthening defense."
> *Shin taiko shūkyō kyōryoku nakariseba sekai heiwa wa eikyu ni kuru nashi*
> "World peace will never come unless we practice the will of the *kami* and all religions cooperate in this."

Organization and Believers. Since 1951, Shinto Taikyō has remained important and influential for its size because it technically remains the official representative of all Kyōha Shinto groups, although most of these have outgrown it in size. At a religious summit held on Mt. Hie in August 1987, the president of Shinto Taikyō intoned the *norito* for peace on behalf of all thirteen Kyōha sects. Shinto Taikyō originally embraced shrines and groups that had neither the size, economic power, nor originality of belief to be independent. Fully 194 shrines came under its jurisdiction in this way. Regardless of the differences of specific beliefs, all follow common roots in Shinto.

Group education is under the control of teachers (*kyōshi*) who may have any one of fourteen ranks (*kyōshi shokkai jūyon dankai*), including titles such as *Dai-kyōjo* (at the top) or *Gon-dai-kyōjo* and *Chū-kyōjo* (further down).

The headquarters of Shinto Taikyō is the *Shinto Taikyōin* in Azabu, Tokyo. There is a meeting on the twenty-first day of each month, open to anyone, at which teachers and believers interact. The monthly meeting and the ranking system are relics of the Shinto missionary movement ideal of the early Meiji period. There is still a director of missions (*senkyō buchō*). The position of *kanchō* is filled by direct election. Unlike religious groups

in Japan that depend heavily upon the charismatic power of one leader, Shinto Taikyō seems to be like an institution in the Western sense with a system of order that carries it from year to year.

Enshrined in the *shinden* of the headquarters in Azabu shrine are the heavenly *kami*, the earthly *kami*, and the *yao yorozu no kami*. There seems also to have been a dispute around 1882 as to whether or not Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto was enshrined early on. A calligraphy by Prince Arisugawa speaks of the *Tenshin-chinshin* (the *kami* of Heaven and Earth), the *Kashikodokoro* (the shrine in the Imperial Family Ancestors). Shinto Taikyō is totally dependent upon *gojozai* (dedicated offerings) and *osaisen* (offerings made when approaching the *kami*). Each April a budget is submitted to the Shinto Taikyō committee, which governs all future courses of action. Its faithful number approximately 45,000.[23]

Shinri-kyō. The sect was founded by Kannagibe (later Sano) Tsunehiko (1837–1910), who claimed to be the seventy-seventh descendant of a *kami* called Nigi-hayahi-no-mikoto, one of the *kami* attending Amaterasu Ōmikami. The Kannagibe family were originally practitioners of medicine; but because of the influences of foreign learning upon medicine, their activities became confused with Christianity. Sano himself wished to go into medicine, but for fear of being mistaken for a Christian believer he decided to propagate the family teaching instead. Between 1882 and 1886 he claimed to have received divine revelations in his dreams, which gave him confidence in both his divine mission and his divine ancestry. The sect was given government recognition in 1894; it became a part of *Ontake-kyō* initially but separated in 1908 and became an independent sect. Sano's brother, Takane, and his son Izuhuiko became the principal exponents after Sano died in Kyushu in 1910. Groups gradually began to emerge, initially in northern Kyushu and expanding from there. The tradition is maintained by direct descendants who use either Sano or Kannagibe as a family name.

The name *Shin-ri-kyō* includes the basic character *kyō* (teaching). *Shin* is the same character as *kami*. *Ri* (principle or reason) is a Confucian concept. *Ron-ri-gaku* (argument-principle-science) became the Japanese philosophical term for Aristotlean logic. *Ri* in Confucian thought referred to the principles of order within the universe. Thus, *Shin-ri-kyō* means "Teaching of the Divine Order."[24]

The sect sought to promote the national language and, like Shinto Taikyō, the writing of poetry, *kagura* (sacred dance), and flower arrangement. *Kami* revered include the three central *kami* of creation (the *zoka-sanshin*) and the principal *kami* of the *kami-yo*. The basic doctrines make use of the idea of the spirit of words (*kotodama*), indicating that the concepts are grounded in the classic ideas of Shinto. This becomes much clearer with a grasp of the basic doctrines.

Beliefs and Teaching. The fundamental ideas[25] do not depart far from traditional Shrine Shinto in that the *kami* are revered and proximity to the

kami remains the condition for human happiness. To achieve this, believers must purify their own hearts and then their surroundings. With blessings from one's ancestors, happiness will come about through these improvements. Shinri-kyō claims that people are reincarnations of their ancestors and that if there is unhappiness or misery, the essential cause lies with the ancestors. The root of unhappiness is due either to the fact that some ancestors did not rise to divinity or to the negligence of individuals in paying adequate respect to their ancestors. Ancestors must be properly served in order to bring about the best possible conditions in the present. This becomes the power to protect one's own offspring and to guarantee survival to posterity. The duties are listed in the articles of Shinri-kyō.

Article I: Follow the teachings of the High Ancestor (the divine ancestor of the Kannagibe family), Nigi-hayahi-no-mikoto, to make clear the meaning of *kotodama* and to understand the doctrines of *Shin-ri.*

Article II: Believe in the limitless, miraculous power of all heavenly *kami* and in the indivisibility of the physical and spiritual worlds. When the heart is made pure and conduct rectified, hardships and illnesses are healed. If we act, we will attain; if we pray, the divine power will operate. But believers must neither say nor do that which is opposed to the truth. (Truth means beliefs of the sect, not forensic or scientific truth in the Western sense.)

Article III: Repudiate heresies and delusions as contempt for rulers and father and weaken the evil cause of severing ancestral relations. Keep deep gratitude toward one's origins. Everything in the world is the creation of the divine will, might, and purpose. Acceptance of the way of the *kami* and submission to it is the essence of Reason, the true Way. (Confucian influences show here as well as Shinto, particularly in the idea of rectifying conduct.)

The principal teachings are summarized in the Ten Negative Precepts. Correctly observed, not only do these precepts guarantee making the best of one's existence, but when the human will conforms to the divine will, people of later generations are guaranteed to succeed them. Material prosperity in this world and bliss in the world to come is the goal. (Shinto emphasis upon happiness in the present is echoed here.) The Ten Negative Precepts of Shinri-kyō contain the principal teachings to be observed:

1. Do not transgress the will of the *kami.*
2. Do not forget your obligations to your ancestors; especially do not forget the kindness of the founder.
3. Do not transgress the decrees of the State.
4. Do not forget the profound goodness of the *kami* whereby misfortune is averted and sickness is healed.

5. Do not forget that the world is one great family.
6. Do not forget the limitations of your own person.
7. Even though others become angry, do not become angry yourself.
8. Do not be slothful in your business.
9. Do not be a person who brings blame to the teaching.
10. Do not be carried away by foreign teaching.

The teaching referred to in the ninth precept means the claim that the "*kami* is good, principle, and nature." Through ancestors, people receive part of the "good"; and it becomes each person's mission in life to carry on the work of the ancestral wills. The *Shin-ri*, the divine principle, is active in all the universe and becomes incarnate in people. Consequently, when individuals duly revere their ancestors and follow the Way, the divine principle becomes realized in the world. The way of Heaven and Earth coincide and there is harmony and peace as well as the prospect of true happiness.

The Ten Negative Prohibitions are supplemented by a set of principles called *Oboe* (Things to be Learned and Remembered) or *Kyōkun* (Lessons for Today):

1. In one day, today, do not have a spirit of laziness.
2. Today, do not say or do falsehoods.
3. Today, do not be poverty-stricken unless because of a shortage of divine will.
4. Today, no matter what happens, do not lose your temper.
5. Today, do not harbor a spirit of vanity.
6. Today, no matter what worries befall you, do not despair.
7. Today, do not feel bitter toward people or work.
8. This honorable day is all for the sake of the compassionate *kami* of Heaven and Earth. If it is at all possible for us to repay this honorable debt, we should seek to spend the day in happiness and enjoyment.

Omamori are available for protection; rituals and ceremonies of divination and reverence for the dead are considered necessary expressions of belief and are basic forms of Shinri-kyō practice.

Sensitivity to the spirit of words (*kotodama*) is evidenced by the preservation of distinctive terms and expressions that are embodied in rituals and addresses to the *kami*. Shinri-kyō also has special seventeen-syllable formulas called *Kai-kai* and words that express the spirit of *Shin-ri*. It also has numerous expressions for some of its central ideas, such as *Mitama-mono-orisuga-kami-wa-yosete* (to bring the spirit close to the *kami* in search of the human-*kami* boundary), *Waga-kokoro suga-suga shi* (to purify one's heart through divinity), or *Kannagi-kan-uranai* (to tell the future and one's fortune by means of divine rituals and practices). *Chinkon* is

defined as balancing and harmonizing the soul to rectify its workings through introducing the divine into it.

Organization and Believers. The headquarters of the sect is in Kokura, in Kita-Kyushu. The fourth-generation head of the organization (in 1991) was Kannagibe Takehiko (born in 1948). The largest concentration (250,000) of the 1,500,000 members of the movement is in Kita-Kyushu, but groups of believers are found in areas such as Eastern Chūgoku, Kinki, and other parts of the south. Followers are referred to by the name *Kyōshin-to* (learner-believers of the faith) and are divided into *kyō-to, shin-to*, and *shin-ja*. The most pious are sometimes elevated to the title of *yokusan-in*, which is subdivided into fifteen ranks. Teachers of Shinri-kyō themselves are graded into fifteen ranks. Groups of believers meet in "churches" (*kyo-kai*), a common expression used in Sect Shinto.

Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō. The sect dates to 1874, when the 80th governor of Kuninomiyatsuko (Izumo Province), Senge Takatomi, was also the *Guji* of *Izumo Taisha*. He left the *ujiko* of *Izumo-ōyashiro*, the shrine supporters' organization, to form the *Izumo Taisha Kei Shinko*, which recognized Izumo no Kuni nomi yatsuko and had Ame-ho-hi-no-mikoto as its head. Meiji government policy to use Shinto for national goals centered on the worship of Amaterasu and the *zoka-sanshin* but did not encourage the worship of Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto. It also placed restrictions upon the activities of all religious groups.

In 1882, *Taisha-kyō* was authorized as an independent sect under the leadership of Senge Takatomi. Although its main purpose was to popularize the worship of Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto, it also sought to promote the Great Way of the *kami* for the purpose of cultivating national character. This brought it into line with the ideals of the *kokutai* taught by the Meiji government and made it more acceptable.

After the end of the Pacific War, the organization was freed from state control; by 1951 *Izumo Taisha* had repossessed *Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō*. It has a separate existence although it is under full control of the shrine authorities. It functions nationwide as a base for the support of the shrine. The Senge family, hereditary priests of the shrine, now head the sect.

Beliefs and Teachings.[26] Members of the sect strive to follow three fundamental ideas:

1. To make our hearts upright and to govern our bodies.
2. To have compassion on those who are less fortunate than ourselves; and by giving instruction to those who defy the divine will, to lead them to enter our upright fellowship.
3. To devise ways of realizing genuine happiness and of attaining that spiritual power which pierces through all things both revealed and unrevealed and which exists both now and hereafter.

The sect has a complete statement of goals and expectations of itself and its members:

Those who have entered into this church, while reverently thanking and worshipping the divine goodness, should first and foremost accept and embody the divine purpose of loving their fellow men, should keep in mind the duty of improvement and achievement, and should give expression to moral sincerity. If one is merely greedy of divine blessings and is regardless of human duties, if one is selfishly lacking in concern for others, such a person desecrates the divine goodness and defies the divine purpose of love for others. He does not understand human duty and betrays the principles of the church. One should abandon the distinction of "other" and "self" and should consummate a heart of compassion for his fellow men, ever mindful of the fact that acts of knowing the truth and doing it are not performed merely for the sake of one's own interests, ever knowing that suffering and blessing, advantage and disadvantage, are to be shared widely with others and not in violation of the divine purpose of compassion and equality and not in injury of the good faith of one's fellow men. We believe that these are the main principles of human morals and the gist of one's duty in giving thanks for divine blessings. Therefore the believers of our church, by adding to and extending the benevolence of spirit which we have received as a natural endowment and by showing gratitude for divine goodness, should perform in the world with common duties of humanity. In the world to come such people will shine with the glory of those who have become *kami.*

Organization and Believers. The relationship between the *Izumo Taisha* and the sect illustrates the manner in which some traditional and acknowledged shrines relate to independent groups. Among the most important festivals at *Izumo* are the *Kami-ai-sai* and the *Kami-nari-sai*; these are celebrated in October, when it is believed that the *kami* of Japan all assemble at *Izumo*. Bonfires are lit on the beach to welcome and send off the *kami.* Supporters of *Izumo* come from all over Japan for that event.

The number of registered followers was 1,116,577 as of 1989. The sect's headquarters is within the shrine offices of *Izumo Taisha.*

Confucian Sects

Shinto Shūsei-ha. This sect was organized by Nitta Kunimitsu, who claimed descent from Nitta Yoshisada, an early fourteenth-century warrior renowned for his belief in the virtue of loyalty. Nitta was born in Awa (Tokushima Prefecture) on 5 December 1829, and he died in November 1902. His Confucian and warrior backgrounds inspired him to try to master the arts of both pen and sword. Although the *samurai* class was in decline by the early nineteenth century, in the classic tradition he studied the Chinese classics and the way of the *bushi* in an attempt to discover the proper bearing for a warrior and a gentleman scholar.

At the age of twenty he began to promote the teachings of Shinto as he understood them for the enlightenment of his fellow countrymen. Members of the Oshi clan opposed his activities and began successful slander campaigns, after which he was imprisoned. However, as often happens, his imprisonment had the effect of inducing "enlightenment." His writings before and after the imprisonment period indicate the nature and depth of his conversion experience. After his release, he became more determined than ever to work for the improvement of public morality (in the Confucian sense). With a show of public spirit, he and his companions tried to bring Shinto to greater prominence, stressing moral obligations, patriotism, and its own status as a Great Way. He wished to teach people to become good citizens, to serve in the military if required, and above all to make Japan's economy prosperous by whatever sacrifice was required. These themes found favor with the Meiji government, and he finally was vindicated when the sect was formally recognized in 1876. So successful did he become that he received ten citations and honors from the Imperial Court for his good influence on society.

His teachings, although Confucian in character, claimed to be drawn from the classic texts: the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, the *Kogo Shūi* (Mythological Annals of Japan), and the *Shi Sho Go Kyō*. Reflecting the influence of the *Chu Kun Ai Koku*, in his thought the Imperial tradition was supremely to be revered. He belonged to the *So nō Jōi* faction, which tried to exclude all foreign influences from the developing nation. He definitely reflected the ideology of the period, which called for people to act morally, be loyal to the Meiji government, work and support their families, serve the country, and make Japan great.

Shūsei-ha typifies the blending of Confucian influences with Shinto to generate social ethics that promoted ideals such as loyalty, filial piety, and respect for government authority. It makes use of fundamental Shinto concepts such as *kami* but combines them with elements of the cosmology of neo-Confucian thought and other syncretistic beliefs.

The name *Shūsei* consists of *shūri* (to repair) and *kōsei* (to consolidate). Both terms come from the *Kojiki* in relation to the work of Izanagi and Izanami; in combination they imply a conservative philosophy.

Beliefs and Teachings. The teachings[27] as set out in the publications of the sect illustrate the syncretism of Nitta's original ideas:

1. The myriad forms and manifold network of the universe, including man and the moral world and all things whatsoever, have come into being through the spiritual activity of the true deity of creation, and the soul of man is of one substance with this heavenly deity. The principles of this sect consist of the protecting and careful fostering of this superlatively good soul.
2. Izanagi and Izanami, at the command of the *kami* of Heaven, improved and consolidated this country, including peoples, creatures, grasses, trees, and all

things whatsoever. Accordingly, in *shūri kōsei* (strengthening, making secure) lies the fundamental law of the evolution of the universe; and in truth, the progress of mankind and the advancement of society are due to the operation of this one principle.

3. *Shūri kōsei* is also the process of observing faithfully the moral law and the means by which the affairs of family and society are administered. The purpose is brought to realization through the glorious and radiant virtue of Amaterasu-Omikami.
4. *Kogamesai* means the character of Amaterasu to be radiant and virtuous, which lays demands upon individuals to approximate their lives and conduct to this ideal.

The sect reveres the three central *kami* of creation (*zoka-sanshin*). Together with Izanagi-no-mikoto and Amaterasu they are known as the *Go Chu no Amastsu Kami*. In combination with the myriad of *kami* (*yao yorozu no kami*), they are revered under the general name of *Shu Sei Tai Shin*, the Great Kami of *Shu Sei*. *Tai Shin* is the Chinese (and therefore Confucian) style of reading of *Okami*.

Nitta's Ten Commandments for daily life are model Confucian values:

1. Practice and acquire the way of *shūri kōsei*.
2. Worship the *kami* and repay their virtue.
3. Be always conscious of the grace of one's ancestors and thank and worship them.
4. Stir up *Yamato-damashii* (the warrior spirit of Japan) and thank the Emperor for his grace and serve him.
5. Act in a moral way and strengthen your will.
6. Attend to your business and work for the success of your family.
7. Maintain temperance and frugality and always live within your means.
8. Use Japanese-made products. Don't be attracted by foreign countries.
9. Do what you have said and say what you have done. Live honestly.
10. Bear trials, patiently. Have faith in *Shūsei dō* and perform *kōsei* to complete and fulfill your mind.

Commandments 4 and 8 were eliminated after 1945 as being too nationalistic, although the Japanese preference for domestic products seems to remain a national trait.[28]

Organization and Believers. The leadership consists of designated teachers who have received a five-day training course during which the doctrines are taught formally by the older teachers. The nuance of "teachers" approximates to "missionaries" because they are seeking to spread their teachings nationwide. Once teaching status has been given, teachers engage in ascetic practices such as *misogi*, or in acts of self-denial.

Currently, the center of the sect's religious activities is in Shizuoka Prefecture on a mountain where the worshippers revere *Shinto Shūsei Ha Tai Gen Shi*. Principal ceremonies occur on April 4 and 5 and November 24 and 25. The original head office was in Saitama Prefecture but was moved to Suginami Ward in Tokyo. There are a total of 152 branches and 929 official teachers, 671 male and 258 female. Recorded membership in 1989 was 40,610, compared to 408,000 before the war. Leadership in 1989 was in the hands of fourth-generation Nitta Kunio (born in 1972).

Branch activities center on a monthly ceremony called *Tsukinami Sai*, the main festival. Counseling services are also offered. Members may consult with their teachers on personal matters and may receive advice followed by *oharai*, which shows the combined Shinto and cultic elements of the movement.

Taisei-kyō. This sect was founded by Hirayama Shosai (1815–1890), born as Kuroda Katsuensai and adopted as a Hirayama, who in time became a foreign affairs official of the Edo government. He was a loyal follower of the Tokugawa regime and served it as a *samurai* in several capacities, including as a member of the Council of the Shogun. Like *Shūsei*, he was concerned to use Shinto forms to promote neo-Confucian values. Because of his loyalty to the Edo shogunate, he was confined in 1870 by the Meiji government to Shizuoka. There he studied *Taidokokugaku Shinto* under Munihide Honso, after which he became a priest of the *Hikawa Nichie Jinja*. The new sect was approved on 19 September 1879 under the name *Taisei-Kyōkai*. In 1882 it became *Shinto Taisei-Kyō*. Like other Kyōha sects, it professes to worship Amaterasu and the three central *kami* of creation. The sect reveres seven other *kami*: Amano-onchu-no-kami, Koho-Sanrei-no-kami, Shinko-Sanrei-no-kami, Tensho-kodai-o-kami, Izanagi-no-Mikoto, Susano-o-no-Mikoto, and Okuni-Nushi-no-Mikoto.

Beliefs and Teaching. By observing the Three Teachings and the Five Statements contained in the sect's sacred texts, an individual can eliminate his or her tendencies to excessive preoccupation with self and can commence becoming a *kami*.[29] The three teachings are designed as gates, which is a Buddhist style of expounding a teaching as a way to a place or to a path that leads to enlightenment:

1. *Hoken-Kyō-mon*: having the courage to resist the evil spirits that possess people.
2. *Gyōho-Kyō-Mon*: knowing the holiness of the way, to construct relationships that properly express filial piety.
3. *Shinkyō-Kyō-Mon*: believing that people have good spirits and can always be reformed if they make the effort.

The name combines *Tai* (great), *Sei* (achievement), and *Kyō* (Teaching). The root term *taisei* carries the nuance of successfully completing a task.

The Five Statements are descriptions of or propositions about the world as the sect sees it. These are combined with recommendations about how people should live to benefit from it by achieving the goals of the sect:

1. *Kenyū Mujini*: this world and the world after death are one and the same.
2. *Shisei kan*: a nation is not divided.
3. *Jōju Anraku*: always live peacefully and try to enjoy life.
4. *Shinjin Dōki: kami* and human beings will return to the same origin.
5. *Fukumei Tenshin*: report to the *kami* and open the door to understand the teachings.

The Precepts of Taisei-kyō are stated as follows:

1. To observe the ownership of the *kami* of Heaven and Earth and the distant worship of the spirits of successive generations of Emperors and of the deities of the Imperial sanctuaries.
2. To observe the divine commandments that are imperishable as Heaven and Earth and to strengthen the national organization.
3. To make clear the way of human conduct as revealed by Heaven.
4. To train ourselves in devotion to the true law and to strengthen the foundations of inner tranquility.
5. To unite the temporal and spiritual worlds with a clear understanding of the meaning of life and death.
6. To study science and technique and to encourage business enterprise.
7. To carry on religious rites and ceremonies after the manner of successive generations of Imperial Courts.

The sect also teaches the doctrine of improving human instincts by means of the twelve Oriental Zodiac signs. Fortune-telling based on these birth signs can be used to select propitious days or compass directions to promote the success of events and projects. Although in fact these ideas originally came from popular Chinese Taoism, they have become a large part of Japanese culture and are extensively used in shrines and in Buddhist temples as well as by non-religious professional fortune-tellers. Annual sales of fortune-telling publications are in the millions of copies.

Organization and Believers. The original headquarters was at Haramachi in Koshikawa. Air raids on Tokyo during 1945 destroyed the main shrine, which was moved to Kurumsaka in Ueno and then to Kojimachi. The current head shrine is *Tensho-San-Jinja* in Shibuya-ku near Harajuku Station in Tokyo. The movement is organized into churches with central places of worship at seven designated shrines. In 1938 the membership was listed as 727,974 believers with 2,689 teachers, 209 churches, and two shrines. In 1973 it was listed as having one shrine, 51 churches, 10 propagation cen-

ters, 471 teachers, and 178,649 adherents. In 1988 these figures had dropped to 237 teachers and only 60,342 adherents belonging to 19 churches. The number of propagation centers was down to 6, although the group claimed 7 shrines. This suggests that the movement is in decline, a phenomenon noted in connection with other Kyōha sects.

The present leader is fifteenth-generation superintendent Iida Kingo, who trained as both Shinto priest and *yamabushi*. His personal philosophy centers on the ideas of *kami*, great nature (*daishizen*) and thanksgiving (*kansha*), which he sees as a virtue on a par with love in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

Mountain Sects

Jikkō-kyō. The sect was begun by Hasegawa Kakugyō (born in 1541) in order to worship the three *kami* of creation, to worship "from afar" the *Kashikodokoro* in the Imperial Palace, to revere Mt. Fuji, and to pray for the body politic. Its goals are still to expunge human vanity, to eliminate academic controversies from religion, and to ensure or enforce these precepts, hence the name *Jikkō* (enforcement). The name *Kakugyō* means "block-discipline" and is derived from Hasegawa's alleged practice of standing on a block of wood for long periods to commune with the *kami*, hence the rather severe image of the sect.

Reverence for Mt. Fuji can be traced to before the Heian period. Literature of that period and earlier contains many mythological and legendary tales about Mt. Fuji and the *kami* of the mountain. One narrative explains that Fuji was visited by a *kami* called Miogi-no-mikoto, who requested lodging for the night. Fuji refused and the visiting *kami* went instead to Mt. Tsukuba. In retaliation for the inhospitality, he decreed that Mt. Fuji would always be covered with snow so that it would become isolated. The early collection of Japanese poetry called the *Manyōshū* depicts Mt. Fuji with awe and splendor as a *kami*:

> Lo, there towers the lofty peak of Fuji
> The clouds of heaven dare not cross it.
> Nor the birds of the air soar above it.
> It is a kami, mysterious . . .
> It is our treasure, our tutelary *kami*.
>
> The snow that crowns the peak of Fuji melts on the mid day of June
> And that night it snows again.[30]

Fuji was still an active volcano until 1707, so the image of awe and unapproachability is quite appropriate. To calm the volcano, shrines were built to revere Sengen Taijin Ō Kami, Fuji being an object of prayer and reverence rather than the place of asceticism it later came to be.

By the twelfth century, shrines and temples began to appear on and around Mr. Fuji. Matsudai Shonin, also known as Fuji-Shonin, built the first known temple, *Dainichi-ji* (Great Sun Temple). He was an associate and friend of the cloistered Emperor Go-Toba, who retired to become a Buddhist priest. The Buddhist symbol for Mt. Fuji was male (a bodhisattva); the Shinto *kami*, Sengen, was considered female. Reflecting on this problem, Matsudai concluded that the world of the *kami* transcends male and female dichotomy. This helped to afford Mt. Fuji an ever more special status and placed the realm of the *kami* beyond physical or metaphysical dualism.

The various mountain cults already in existence throughout Japan provided a natural background for the development of the reverence of Mt. Fuji, and different groups grew up around the Fuji cult. Hasegawa Kakugyō's movement combined awareness of the Fuji cult with a significant message appropriate to the age, which became the basis of its popular appeal. From the end of the Muromachi period until the more stable Edo period, social turmoil encouraged the emergence of spiritual leaders who offered peace. Hasegawa's father appears to have instilled in his son's mind the idea that he was born to be such a leader. He made many visits to Shinto and Buddhist sacred places and finally arrived at Mt. Fuji, where he was struck by the natural beauty of the mountain. At another mountain, Oshudakkakotsu, Hasegawa met an ascetic from whom he learned the practice of standing on a block of wood to meditate. He was told to go to Mt. Fuji to practice meditation in this way. Here the legend arose of his having stood on a block of wood for 2,000 consecutive days seeking to attain the ability to release the spirit from the body (*ominukī*) so that the spirit could become united with, and receive the words of, the *kami*.

Hasegawa returned home. Following the deaths of his parents he set off once again, but this time he offered himself as a teacher. He went to live inside the crater of Mt. Fuji, where, legend has it, he sheltered Tokugawa Ieyasu when he was seeking refuge. When an epidemic broke out in Edo, Hasegawa went to the city and prayed for the sick. His efforts resulted in many miraculous cures, so he gained a favorable reputation as a healer. However, the government became suspicious of him, as it was of any potential religious leaders. But his help to Tokugawa Ieyasu guaranteed his safety. He returned to Mt. Fuji and lived there for thirty years, teaching that all the *kami* lived there. The principal *kami* in residence was Sengen-dainichi (a name that combines the *kami* with the *bosatsu*); there were others, although not always those named in the Japanese mythology. After Hasegawa's death his disciple, Kuruno Nichigyō, tried to systematize his teaching and successfully integrated many groups and individuals who practiced mountain folk religion.

Hasegawa's teachings came to be interpreted in numerous ways, and two main schools emerged. The *Kōsei* school emphasized ascetic practices and

rituals on the mountain. The eventually more powerful *Miroku* school of *Fuji Ko* was founded by Ito Jikigyō; *Jikkō-kyō* emerged from this school. Ito thought that too much emphasis was being placed upon ascetic rituals performed on the mountain itself, and he came to believe that there should be a physically less demanding but equally spiritual path that people could follow. Consequently, many priests of the *Miroku Ha* (school) were part-time, pursuing a secular occupation while serving as priests of the group.

The early eighteenth century was a time of plagues and famines. Merchants began stockpiling crops to force high prices, which caused farmers to revolt against merchants and bureaucrats. Distressed by such social chaos, Ito Jikigyō added Miroku to his name and tried to teach values and ethics. He believed himself to be the incarnation of the bodhisattva Miroku, and he preached accordingly. When Ito appeared to end a cholera outbreak, he was accused of being a hidden Christian (*kakuri kirishitan*), but after investigation he was proved not to be. His daughter, Ito Hanako, served as the next High Priest of the group. She was followed by Ito Sangyo, who tried to further separate the group and its activities from ascetic practices.

The next notable leader of the *Miroku Ha* was Kotani Sanshi Rokugyō, who claimed that the *kami* of the nation's shrines were incapable of solving the problems of the *Sengoku Jidai* and therefore could not be believed. He declared that the world was under the care of Moto-no-chichi-haha, the Father and Mother of everything. This *kami* resides on Mt. Fuji but is unrelated to Takami-musubi-no-kami. Kotani spent much time in Kyoto lobbying (with no success) to gain Imperial recognition. He even suggested that Tokugawa Ieyasu should be worshipped as the bringer of peace to the nation. Kotani changed the Chinese characters for *Fuji* from those of the mountain to those representing the idea that the sole belief was filial piety, in fact a Confucian ideal.

After reaching the age of sixty-six Kotani began to expound his own teachings, using traditional ideas to which he gave his own peculiar interpretation. He tried to simplify religious belief for the benefit of ordinary people. His basic principle was that each individual possessed the potential to become a *kami*, an idea found in various forms in almost all popular movements from the Heian period onward. He interpreted Ito Jikigyo's concept of *Tenchi-Furikawari* (the opposition of Heaven and Earth) so literally that he wore his kimono outside in and wrote the strokes of Chinese characters in reverse. He also began proclaiming that women should dominate men, that the farmers should dominate the *samurai*, and that the Tokugawa government should dominate the Emperor. After visiting Nagasaki, he also argued that Japan should end its closed country policy. This lost him the support of some of the younger *Kokugaku* scholars who were interested in promoting national learning based upon Shinto. Kotani died

in 1841, and his followers began reflecting upon how to seek official recognition in such a way that the teachings would not be banned.

The *Kosei-Ha* branch was headed at that time by a Buddhist priest, Tokudaiji Sangyō. Kotani and Tokudaiji met during one of Kotani's visits to Kyoto. Tokudaiji was impressed by Kotani and actually joined *Fuji-ko*, although he did not renounce his Buddhist priesthood. *Fuji-ko* was renamed *Fuji-dō*, after which Tokudaiji assumed the leadership. To achieve recognition for Kotani's work, Tokudaiji felt that an appeal to the government was preferable to an appeal to the Emperor. The government rejected the appeal on the grounds that any associations of common people were potentially subversive, so no groups were permitted to practice religious rituals on mountains. Nevertheless, Kotani's son continued a group that tried to put the *Fuji-dō* teachings into practice by being involved in various public-spirited activities.

Tokudaiji, on the other hand, began changing the teachings of Kotani by first eliminating all references to Buddhism. The *kami* of the mountain was changed to Tengochushu, the central *kami* of the universe, probably to accommodate the *Kokugaku* scholars. Kotani's son refused to acknowledge the proposed changes; and Tokudaiji went back to the ideas of Moto-no-chichi-haha, although his proposals foreshadowed the forced separation of Shinto and Buddhism by the Meiji government. After the Meiji Restoration, Tokudaiji retired from the Buddhist priesthood and sent a messenger, Shibata Hanomori (who became the effectual founder of the sect), to Tokyo to start *Jikkōsha*, which was to prepare *Fuji-dō* to become a pure Shinto sect. Kotani's son again rejected the "Shintoization" but was ejected by Tokudaiji. Kotani's group became *Fuji Dō Koshin Ko*. It continued to exist as a social welfare group working in the Kanto region until its support finally dissolved after World War II. It had its final meeting in 1955 and dissolved itself with a membership of 95.

Tokudaiji's mainline group began to work in harmony with the nationalist and Emperor-centered ideology of the Meiji government, which stressed the virtues of loyalty and patriotism. In 1872 the *Kyōbu-Shō* began its program of indoctrination, and it was then that Tokudaiji and Shibata successfully sought recognition by the government for their teachings. *Jikkō Sha* was formally acknowledged in 1873 as a religious sect that could be supervised by the *Shinto Jimukyoku*. A headquarters was built in Tokyo in 1878, Tokudaiji died in 1879, and in 1882 the group became independent from the *Jimukyoku* and was permitted to call itself *Shinto Jikkō Kyō*. Shibata then became the first High Priest. Although he claimed descent from Hasegawa and others, he did not make use of their teachings except for some of Kotani's ideas, which he incorporated selectively. Although Kotani had been opposed to "Shintoization," Shibata structured *Fuji-dō* in such a way that conformed to the ideology of the Meiji government.

Beliefs and Teaching. These[31] are summarized in the Three Tenets of Jikkō-

kyō. Shibata proposed three basic ideas that the government found acceptable (particularly Tenets 2 and 3):

1. To believe that Mt. Fuji is the spirit of truth and therefore the soul of the Earth.
2. To pray for the unbroken Imperial Line and the lasting dignity of the *kokutai.*
3. To work so that the high and the low are friendly and diligent in their occupations.

In order to become closer to the common people, Shibata simplified the teachings of the sect and introduced basic practices that people could follow. The *kami* that were worshipped included the three central *kami* of creation, the *Kashiko-dokoro-Jinja* within the Imperial Palace, and, of course, Mt. Fuji.

The next leader was Chuyo Udonmo, Shibata's first son, who was a world traveler and lecturer. In an address at the first Parliament of World Religions in Chicago in 1893 he tried to speak of universal elements in religion, although he maintained the particularism that is characteristic of Shinto thought. He chaired a conference of Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian leaders in Japan and led them to agree that even though they would continue to promote their own interests, they would also promote the interests of Japan and its national development.

Organization and Believers. The leader in 1988 was the great-grandson of Shibata, operating from a headquarters in Omiya City in Saitami Prefecture. The sect does not proselytize but survives simply by being handed on within families. This has resulted in a decline in membership. The postwar liberation of religion also contributed to the decline by permitting group splintering, a tendency in Japanese religion from early times. *Jikkō-kyō* has 57 churches throughout Japan, although only about 20 are of any size. It has 1,033 teachers; all have been trained at the headquarters, which mainly issues sect publications. The membership was estimated at 400,000 before World War II but in 1988 was posted at approximately 106,620. On August 3 of every year, thousands of believers dress in white and climb Mt. Fuji, shouting "*Rokkonshōjo,*" or "purify the six organs of sense" (the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind). However, the group does not have a shrine on or near Mt. Fuji. It is a form of reverence from a distance. The sect also practices divination, spells, and invocations according to believers' requests, a clear reminder of its roots in the folk tradition. No traces whatsoever of its Buddhist heritage are present in either its beliefs or its rituals.

Fusō-kyō. This sect also claims Hasegawa Kakugyō as its founder. It did not become an independent sect until 1882, by which time it was under the leadership of Shishino Nakaba. Shishino was born in Satsuma-gun, in what is now Kagoshima Prefecture, and he died in 1884. The original name

was *Fuji-Ichizan Kyōkai* (The One Mt. Fuji Association); it enshrined Sengen Okami but was changed to *Fusō-Kyōkai* as the result of a complex play on words. The change of title of the sect, *Fusō*, came from an old and poetic name for Japan, *fu* (meaning "to save") and *sō* (referring to a Chinese legend of a mulberry tree that stood in the sea to the east of China). The meaning gradually changed to refer to the land of the sunrise, and the sect as the teaching of the sect whose teaching protects the country. In 1878 it became *Fusō Kyōha*; in 1883, it became *Fusō-kyō*. It aimed at revering the divine virtue of creation, reverentially holding festivals for the *kami* of Heaven and Earth, and furthering the way of the *kami*. The sect taught and believed in the mystical spirit and unique power of Mt. Fuji. Its teachings were explained and practiced by divination and incantation; it demonstrated this by performing rituals that include removing the heat from fire and other ascetic rites. These rituals are still performed at various shrines and festivals throughout the country.

Beliefs and Teaching. Because *Jikkō-kyō* and *Fusō-kyō* claim the same founder, this suggests that there might be an overlap in their teachings, which to a certain extent is true.[32] However, there are also marked differences that led them to become independent movements. *Jikkō-kyō* is active and ascetic. Fusō-kyō is passive and contemplative. *Fusō-kyō* reveres the *zoka-sanshin*, Amaterasu-Ōkami, and Ubusuna-no-kami in addition to the *kami* of Mt. Fuji (Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime-no-kami), which did not change after the war. This is somewhat different from *Jikkō-kyō*. Fusō-kyō's objective is the happiness and prosperity of the nation rather than that of the sect's members.

The principles of the sect are stated as follows:

1. To worship the immeasurable and limitless goodness of the *zoka-sanshin* and to revere the *Amatsu-kami* and the *Kunitsu-kami*.
2. To cultivate the great truth of Shinto (*Kannagara*) and to understand the significance of life and death.
3. To cultivate the forms and ceremonies of the Imperial Country and make the sacred ceremonies conform to the standards of the royal court of the past.

The beliefs in this regard are close to those of *Jikkō-kyō* but were modified after the war to remove the ultra-nationalistic elements in favor of strengthening the more folk Shinto teachings. As with the other movements, there was a tendency toward a more humanistic view of *kami* within the general reinterpretation of the older doctrines. This occurred along with loss of members as new cults began to offer similar ideas, but in a more up-to-date form. Fusō-kyō was so strongly committed to the unity of worship and government (*saisei-itchi*) that the disappearance of that principle almost denuded its teaching not only of context but also of a great deal of meaning.

Organization and Believers. The organization in its prewar strength numbered over half a million. The chief priest of the sect as of 1989 was Sugiyama Ichitaro (born in 1937), and its headquarters was in Matsubara-cho, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo. Statistics of the same year reported 82,000 believers served by 978 teachers and priests in 81 churches.

Ontake-kyō (Mitake-kyō). Of the three sects concerned with mountains, the largest and most active is *Ontake-kyō*. It was founded by Shimoyama Osuke, an oil merchant in the city of Edo who became a mountain ascetic (*gyōja*) of Mt. Mitake in the Japan Alps between Nagano and Gifu Prefectures. The mountain itself had been revered from time immemorial by peasants of the area, who still refer to it as *Ontakesan* (Honorable Great Mountain). Hence the sect is known as Ontake-kyō. Its roots are, like the other mountain sects, deeply embedded in the folk tradition and beliefs of *sangaku shinko*. Shimoyama became interested and set about trying to identify the *kami* revered there. Mt. Mitake (Mitake Ōkami) was the only known name until Shimoyama claimed that it was a collective name for Kunitokotachi-no-kami, Onamuchi no-kami, and Sakuna-Hikona-no-kami. To these he added Tenshin-chigi, Rekidai-korei, and Ubusuna-no-kami. At first the sect was closely related to *Tosei Kyōkai*, but it was given government recognition as an independent sect in 1882.

Beliefs and Teaching. The beliefs[33] of the sect are set out in five clauses that express the essence of the founder's ideas. To meet the demands of the Meiji government, they included strong sentiments of patriotism:

1. To follow the instructions of the teachers of the church, to exemplify divine reason and human benevolence in conduct, and not to violate the sacred will of the great *kami* of Mitake.
2. Especially to preserve in their hearts reverence for the *kami* and love of country, to honor and obey the Emperor, to conform to the decrees of the State, and by constant diligence in business to lay the foundation of a prosperous land and a strong military (*fukoku kyōhei*).
3. To follow the teachings of the great *kami* and to keep the peace in patience, never to slander others, and to reveal modesty and reverence in conduct.
4. Always in uprightness and integrity to value the truth and never to speak words of deception.
5. To practice fraternity and be as brothers together, and as evidence of the possession of such a spirit to labor to assist travelers of whatever country they may be in their troubles and sickness.

The ideals of the sect reflect the values of the Meiji era, particularly in clause 2, which speaks of the ideal of a prosperous country and a strong military. Like other groups of the Kyōha tradition, these ideas have undergone modification in the postwar era.

The sect is also famed for some of its more than fifty special ceremonies

and rites. The principal act of reverence involves climbing Mt. Mitake while chanting "*Rokkonshōjo*" for the purification of the body and senses. This takes place on August 8 of every year and is similar to activities of other mountain groups. There are three shrines on the mountain: The *Omiya*, or Great Shrine; the *Wakamiya* (young shrine); and the *Yamamiya* (mountain shrine), which is located on the summit.

In addition, the sect practices *chinka shiki* (a fire-calming ceremony performed by walking barefoot over a red-hot charcoal fire) and *kugatachi shiki* (a ritual in which boiling water is sprinkled on the body after the heat has been subdued). The purpose of these rituals is the purification of the believer after a hot element has been subdued. Among other places, these rituals are performed at Hanno City in Saitama Prefecture (firewalking) on April 15, and at Otake Town—also in Saitama Prefecture—(boiling water rituals) on May 3 of each year. They attract large crowds because of their spectacular and dramatic nature. Besides these spectacular rites, there is *meigen shiki* (ritual use of a bow string), *shimbu shiki* (sacred dance), *ibuki ho* (deep breathing), and *kame ura* (divination using a tortoise shell).

The rituals reflect two strong folk aspects of *Ontake-kyō*. First, is its interest in healing and medicine, which developed as a basis for belief in other Kyoha sects that focus on healing. The secrets of the quasi-magical rites are also transmitted by the *kami* of Mt. Mitake to believers. Shamanistic group leaders can become *kami*-possessed and can teach special revelations to believers, who may find themselves in a charismatic state. Such groups assemble and roam the mountain from time to time seeking to induce ecstatic states.

The ceremonies are designed not only to heighten spirituality but also to secure the power and blessing of the *kami*, prosperity, longevity, guidance for the future through special revelations and disclosures, and happiness after death. These elements of universal appeal have enabled *Ontake-kyō* to retain its attraction in the midst of all the new religious groups that Japanese society has produced, particularly since the end of the Pacific War.

Organization and Believers. The headquarters of the sect was formerly located in Osaki in Tokyo but moved to Futana-cho in the city of Nara. Omomo Yoshio took over leadership in 1989. The membership in 1990 was 622,280, compared to 2,051,000 in 1930 (which displays the same trend as noted in the other groups—although less dramatic, probably because of continuing reverence for Mt. Mitake). Members belong to 310 churches, which have an additional 153 branches served by 2,912 licensed teachers.

Purification Sects

Shinshū-kyō. A separate group of sects makes the idea of purification itself the sole concern of their activities and beliefs. The *Shinshū* sect was

founded by Yoshimura Masamochi (1839–1916), a member of the great Shinto family of Ōnakatomi. After the Meiji Restoration and the *Shimbutsu-bunri* declaration by the government, he was able to advance his ideas; they emphasized a Shinto purged of all Buddhist elements whatsoever going back to the era before the Nara age. The sect received formal recognition from the government in 1880. Yoshimura himself became the first Head Priest of the movement. He declared the following as its goal: to learn the way of the *kami* in silence; to master the national rites; and to pray for the eternity of the Imperial Family, the health of the Emperor, the prosperity of the country, and the peace of the world along with an abundant harvest of grains and cereals. In fact, much folk religion remains within *Shinshū-kyō* despite all declarations of purity.

Beliefs and Teaching. Basic to *Shinshū-kyō (kami*-learn-become sect) are the ideas of harmony of *yu* (the world of the *kami* that is unseen) and *gen* (the world that human beings inhabit and that is seen).[34] The teaching of the sect emphasizes that it is by actions that people become kami. This is the basis for the ascetic rituals practiced by the group. In April and September, believers practice the two ascetic semi-magical rituals already discussed under Ontake-kyō, namely, the fire-calming ceremony (*chinka shiki*) and the sprinkling of boiling water on the body (*kugatachi shiki*). These are considered to be forms of purification; according to the traditions of the sect, no one has ever been injured or harmed by performing them.

Four other rituals are also performed, often in conjunction with the first two. In *misogi ho*, cold water is poured over the believers for purification. *Batsujo ho* is a form of meditation that claims to rid the personality of bad attitudes such as anger and selfishness. There is also *mono-imi ho*, abstinence from certain foods and drinks; and *shinji ho*, a procedure designed to lead to "divine possession" of the believers, which testifies to the shamanistic aspect of the sect.

According to the formal teachings of the sect, observance of the Three Elements of Shinto will enable the believer to take part in such rituals and achieve the perspective that comes from the union of *yu* and *gen*:

1. A believer should seek to achieve the spirit of a *kami* by practicing *oharai* purification (which may include the rituals described previously).
2. A believer should be well trained when he reaches the level of teaching required for practicing *oharai*. Those who have performed these rituals may become teachers of the sect.
3. A believer should reach harmony with the *kami* and pray for the repose of others' souls.

The kami revered by the sect include the three *kami* of creation, Amaterasu, and the successive Imperial spirits. However, three special *kami* are revered: Sokotsutsu-no-mikoto, Nakatsutsu-o-no-mikoto, and Uwatsutsu-

o-no-mikoto. These *kami* have a role in purification and are typical of the purification sects. The revered *kami* of the sect did not change after the war. The sect also has Ten Precepts to guide the believers' way of life. The Ten Precepts (*Kyōken Jikkajō*) of *Shinshū-kyō* are very much in line with the teaching of Shinto Taikyō in its Meiji period form:

1. Worship the great *kami* of the sect.
2. Pacify the spirit, for it is part of the spirit of the *kami*.
3. Practice the way of the *kami*.
4. Revere the divine origin of the State.
5. Be loyal to the ruler.
6. Be zealous in filial piety toward your parents.
7. Be kind to others.
8. Be diligent in business.
9. Preserve steadfastness within your heart.
10. Cleanse away the impurities of the body.

Precepts 4 and 5 explicitly demonstrate Meiji period ideology, but *Shinshū-kyō* also displays roots that combine traditional Jinja Shinto with the purification aspects of mountain and folk religion. These elements have survived alongside certain ambiguous feelings about the ideological elements.

One feature of the sect that is most explicitly Shinto is the idea that primarily in ritual and ceremonies is religious truth not only set forth but also grasped and experienced. By purifying the spirit and then coming to know it, it is possible to come to know the *kami* and consequently to heighten human spirituality. Thus, the sect is also known as *Mugon no Oshie* (teaching without words), because it believes that human beings can become *kami* by actions and rites.

Organization and Believers. In 1930 the sect had 770,000 members with a headquarters in Komazawa, Tokyo. It was there that the rites of *chinka shiki* and *kugatachi shiki* were performed traditionally twice a year, on April 9 and September 17. In 1989 the membership stood at 289,203 belonging to 166 churches led by 665 clergy. The headquarters is now located in Setagaya Ward in Tokyo, and the leader is still a member of the Yoshimura family.

Misogi-kyō. The sect was founded by Inoue Masakane (1790–1849), whose real name was Ando Kisaburo. From his distinguished *samurai* father he inherited a morbid concern for the world and its sufferings, as a result of which he became preoccupied with the problems of how to help the sick, the poor, and the aged and how both health and home could be optimally preserved. He traveled, studied, and became a disciple of *Shira-*

kawa Hakoke, a Shinto sect that taught *misogi* and breathing. From this sect he received a teaching license. He then went to Edo as head of the *Shinmeigu*.

Inoue expressed dissatisfaction with the religious policy of the Edo government, for which he was arrested and imprisoned several times. Finally the government exiled him to Miyakejima in 1843, where he died. He was succeeded by a group called *Tokami-ko* (distant *kami* group), which emerged in 1872 but split into two. One part merged with Taisei-kyō. The other, formed by Sakata Tetsuyasu as *Misogi Kosha* in 1883, was given government recognition in 1894 and became Misogi-kyō. Its principal object was to enhance the divine teachings of *misogi*, purification in a river based on the belief that cleansing of mind and body in flowing water was the most effective way to remove *tsumi*. The term *misogi* is said to be derived from the verb *misogu*, which means "to cleanse with water."

Inoue himself was a product of the Shinto/Buddhist/Confucian value system of the Edo period, practicing medicine along with his studies of Shinto ideas. His legacy of writings formed the basis of the history and doctrines of the sect after his death.

Beliefs and Teaching. Inoue taught three methods of improving life: *misogi harae*, proper breathing, and the practice of thrift in matters of daily life.[35] *Misogi* purifies people, and breathing brings them close to the *kami*. The core of Shinto he expressed in these terms: "Shinto is in the house of plain wood, under the thatched roof, with the mirror on the shelf."

The Five Precepts of Misogi-kyō are as follows:

1. Revere the *kami* and respect the Emperor.
2. Worship the *kami* every morning and evening.
3. Do not be deceived by any foreign religion.
4. Be industrious and show gratitude toward the country.
5. Do not disobey the teachings of the founder of the sect.

Inoue believed that the three most efficacious agents of purification in Japan were the *Sanshu Jingi*, the Three Sacred Treasures of the Imperial Regalia. By their amazing power, all forms of impurity, could be removed. He taught that if believers repeated the *norito* of the sect's main ritual, committing all of life to the will and purposes of the *kami*, purification would be effected. The central ritual of *misogi* is performed in Misogi-kyō by repeating the formula *Tōkami emitame, harai tamai, kiyome tamo* ("distant kami, purify and cleanse us we pray").

Breathing as a discipline Inoue based on the idea that the origin of this world is the breath of the *kami*. Consequently, through controlled breathing it is possible to be in communion with the divine. Controlled breathing for religious purposes (*ibuki*) is practiced by other sects also.

By *thrift* Inoue meant not to eat much or live richly: "People who eat much and richly get ill, make their hearts dark and their lives cheap, and they often become idle. Gluttons are people who do not think about the hunger of others or of assisting them in their sufferings. They think only and exclusively of themselves." These words are taken from Inoue's *Shinto Yuiitsu Mondō Shō*, in which he wrote in some detail about his life and teachings.

There is also the doctrine of *Anshin Ritsumei*, the belief that people should not worry about day-to-day concerns but should focus on long-term development goals. *Kami* reverenced by the sect include the three *kami* of creation, Amaterasu, and other select *kami* including Misogi-oshie-no-Ōkami.

Organization and Believers. The sect headquarters was located in Daito Ward in Tokyo opposite *Inoue Jinja* (established in 1880), where the founder is enshrined. The *Inoue Jinja* was renamed *Misogi Jinja* when the headquarters was moved from Uneo to near Yatsugatake after a brief relocation in the Setagaya Ward of Tokyo. The transportation of the *Jinja* from Uneo itself is an interesting story. It seems that a temporary shrine was erected in Setagaya until the rural shrine buildings had been completed. During the removal of the *kami* from Uneo, photographs were taken. Every photograph showed a mysterious ball of light flowing over the procession, although none was seen by anyone at the time. Believers claim that it was the self-disclosure of the *kami* to the people.

Besides the *Misogi Jinja* there are approximately 50 branches (*bunin*) throughout Japan to which the sect's current 98,560 members belong. Its highest prewar membership was 343,000 in 1938.

Under the rules laid down for succession, the organization is headed by the *Kyōshu*, who is appointed after examination by a committee of high officials. By coincidence the *Kyōshu* in 1990 was Sakada Yasugi, a son of the previous *Kyōshu*, but the position is not hereditary. There is an elaborate hierarchy of priests and management levels to which members may aspire after recommendation by the branch head (*bunin-chō*) and appropriate examination by the board of officials.

Priests train by attending three-day sessions four times a year at the *Misogi Jinja*, where they practice the rituals, study the doctrines, and undergo strict self-disciplinary training. Followers attempt to visit the shrine itself once a year to witness the priests performing the shrine rituals. The headquarters is now located in the Setagaya Ward of Tokyo.

The movement underwent upheaval with the separate establishment in Tochigi City in Tochigi Prefecture of the *Misogi-kyō Shin-ba*, which was legally constituted as a religious corporate person (*shūkyō hōjin*) in 1989. It lists 18,935 members in 5 main churches under the guidance of 238 spiritual advisers.

Faith-Healing Sects

Kurozumi-kyō. We now examine the first of the sects that centers on healing. The founder was Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850), who was enshrined as Munetada Daimyōjin in 1872. The sect was recognized by the government in 1882. Its history and development are related to the key dates in the life of Kurozumi himself. Born as the third son of a low-ranking priest of the *Imamura Jinja*, Kurozumi was a Shinto believer but was deeply influenced by the values of neo-Confucianism. He regarded filial piety as the highest good and resolved at the age of nineteen to honor his parents by becoming a *kami* during his lifetime. When his parents died in 1912 he was devastated, because his purpose in life had been to please them. He contracted tuberculosis and abandoned his mission. As death came near, he was moved to the veranda (*engawa*) of the house to revere the sun again and was completely healed. It was also in performing an act of reverence toward the sun, in November 1814, that he received a divine revelation. When he faced the east, he inhaled the sun's rays and felt transformed. This experience of unity with the divine came to be known as the *Tenmei Jikiju*, the Direct Receipt of the Heavenly Mission. At this point his new life as a religious teacher began.

From 1815 to 1843 he began to collect a group of disciples through his faith-healing as a Shinto priest. He was subject to various criticisms; and in 1816 a document from the Chief Priest ordered him to refrain from healing by charisma, which was considered to be beyond the tasks of a shrine priest. This led to serious conflict. From 1825 to 1843 Kurozumi became involved in alternate periods of seclusion within the shrine and active periods of proselytization outside.

From September 1825 to May 1828 he confined himself to the shrine for 1,000 days, a traditional discipline called *sanrō* or *okomori.* When he was outside preaching, village headmen welcomed him because he taught traditional values, which they felt would be helpful in discouraging peasant rebellion. He was gladly heard and supported by the local rural leadership. It was during this time that he formulated the Seven Household Principles of the sect.

Ultimately, the incompatibility between the particularism of the shrine of which he was priest and the more general nature of his message became critical, so he resigned his office of Senior Priest (*negi*) at the shrine in 1843 and passed it on to his son Munenobu. The followers he had gathered then became followers of Munetada himself, but they consisted mostly of peasants. The *samurai* felt that his teachings were not suitable to their needs.

From 1843 until his death in 1850 Munetada developed his teachings and continued to gather followers. After his death the task of recognition was achieved in 1856. But in 1863 the Okayama region condemned it as counter to the *samurai* spirit. After the Meiji Restoration the group coop-

erated with the idea of creating a state religion, but it still had difficulty because of the general ban on faith-healing. The Bureau of Shinto Affairs made it into *Shinto Kurozumi Ha*, a sect recognized in 1876 that was permitted both to proselytize and to conduct daily rituals and activities.

Beliefs and Teachings. The sect expresses its beliefs in its Five Teachings, its Seven Articles, and its proverbial sayings.[36] The Five Teachings are as follows:

1. Be always truthful.
2. Leave your fate to Heaven.
3. Do not be selfish.
4. Always be cheerful.
5. Use life productively.

The Seven Articles are as follows:

1. Don't be impious because you were born in the *kami no kuni.*
2. Don't be angry and don't worry.
3. Don't look down on others with arrogance.
4. Don't make your mind worse by dwelling on the wickedness of others.
5. Don't neglect your occupation as long as you are healthy.
6. Don't be faithless once you have entered the path of faithfulness.
7. Don't neglect to express *kansha* (thankfulness) every day.

Worshippers should pledge reverence to Amaterasu every morning and inhale fresh air. In the evening they should lie on their backs and apply strength to the stomach to ensure a sound mind and body. *Kami* reverenced include Amaterasu, Munetada Daimyōjin, and the *kami* of Heaven and Earth. These did not change after the war.

The Proverbs of Kurozumi-kyō elaborate upon these ideas. "When the heart of Amaterasu-Ōmikami and the heart of man are one, this is eternal life." "When the heart of Amaterasu-Ōmikami and our hearts are undivided, then there is no such thing as death." "When we realize that all things are the activity of Heaven, then we know neither pain nor care." "Forsake flesh and self-will and cling to the One Truth of Heaven and Earth." "Happy is the man who cultivates the things that are hidden and lets the things that are apparent take care of themselves." "Of a truth, there is no such thing as sickness." "If you foster a spirit that regards both good and evil as blessings, then the body spontaneously becomes healthy." "In truth, the Way is easy." "He who abandons self-knowledge and spends his days in thankfulness grows neither old nor weary. He knows only joy and happiness." "Both heaven and hell come from one's own heart." "Oh, the

sadness of wandering in the devil's prayers." "If in one's heart one is a *kami*, then one becomes a *kami*; if in one's heart one is a Buddha, then one becomes a Buddha; if in one's heart one is a serpent, then one becomes a serpent." "Nothing in all the world calls forth such gratitude as sincerity." "Through oneness in sincerity the men of the four seas are brothers." "All men are brothers. All receive the blessings of the same heaven." "The suffering of others is my suffering; the good of others is my good."

Sermons, Counseling, and Healing. A basic part of the activities of Kurozumi-kyō includes sermons and preaching, which are not normally part of Jinja Shinto activities. Sermons stress that problems arise from lack of harmony with the divine and teach that the solution to all problems lies in restoring the harmony between man and the *kami*. Sermons make use of loud claps (*kashiwade*), and believers also clap twice (in the manner of saluting a *kami* at a shrine) whenever the words of the founder are quoted.

Counseling and healing are practiced, but these are considered subordinate to the source of all problems, namely, the heart (*kokoro*) that is out of harmony with the divine. Once that harmony is restored, all will be well. Medicine is not ignored, but it is regarded as useless because problems of a medical nature are merely symptoms of deeper problems, and removing the symptoms is only half a cure. *Majinai* is used as a form of healing in which a minister transfers from his or her own *nippai* the energy of the sun to the diseased person. In *nippai*, a believer sits facing the sun and inhales the *yōki*, the essence of the deity; this can be transferred from the minister to the sick. Like other groups, Kurozumi-kyō offers a full range of services and rituals. However, these are recognizable both as folk Shinto and as common to many other traditional religious movements.

Organization and Believers. The churches are divided into wards (*kyōku*). Each ward has a director who facilitates communication between them. The largest numerical support is in Okayama, which has three wards and a large concentration of churches. The next in number are Hiroshima, Tottori and Shimanne Prefectures, followed by Shikoku, Hyogo, Nara, and Tokyo. The majority of followers live in Western Japan, but precise statistics are not kept. The operation of the group derives from Shrine Shinto, although it differs in numerous ways. Local relations with shrines vary, so there is a divergence of styles within the sect. Most churches have a layman's meeting called a *Tenshinko*. This involves rotating assemblies convened from time to time for the reading of the liturgy of the Great Purification and also for sermons, healing, and a common meal. Large rural churches may have up to fifty such meetings; urban churches may not have any.

Kurozumi-kyō belongs to the *Kyōha Shinto Rengōkai* (Association of Kyōha Shinto Groups). It also belongs to the World Congress for Religion and Peace (WCRP), thus it is a liberal group that does not attack other movements but is always willing to cooperate with other religions. One

unique aspect of Kurozumi-kyō is its claim to be a religion that helps the weak. It has an excellent record in welfare work for the severely handicapped. This was begun when the Japanese government was not as positive as it might have been in providing special facilities for the disabled. The organization now trains personnel for this kind of work from various parts of Southeast Asia. Although churches do exist in the United States, Brazil, and Peru, there is no propagation activity because it is against the policy of the group.

The membership was listed in 1989 at 295,225. These members belonged to a total of 340 churches led by 2,906 clergy and teachers. Eighty percent of the membership lives in rural areas. There are three categories of membership: *Shinja* (believer), which can refer to anyone who maintains a relationship with a church; *Michizure* (follower), which can be interchanged with "believer" but is more limited in its connotation because it refers to a dues-paying member; and *Kyoto*, which indicates households or individuals who traditionally have ancestral and funeral rites performed by the ministers of Kurozumi-kyō.

Churches (*kyōkai*) and shrines (*jinja*) are combined in Kurozumi-kyō. The church is for the pastoral activities of ministers, which is distinguished from the liturgical functions of shrine priests. Normally the *kyōkai* is adjacent to the *jinja* and is entirely supported by the group concerned. The exterior, however, resembles a shrine. The minister usually attends the shrines and their duties. The head shrine is the *Munetada Jinja* in Okayama City. The Head Priest of the shrine, the *Gūji*, is usually a younger brother of the Patriarch. Although in style the churches resemble shrines, instead of a *torii* outside there are two posts joined at the top by a straw rope (*shimenawa*) on which is hung paper strips (*gohei*). The inside of the altar area has two sections. One is for the ancestors of the church; the other represents the place for reverencing Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun.

The daily worship of the sun is the central act of worship in Kurozumi-kyō. It is called *nippai*, and the best time for *nippai* is sunrise. Recitation of the Great Purification Prayer is called *nissan*. Those who cannot offer daily prayers themselves but wish to have them offered on their behalf may have this done. It is called *nikku*. In addition to the usual rituals such as *hatsumode* (first shrine visit of the New Year), there are two other important annual observances: the *Tōji Taisai* (Winter Solstice Festival) and the *Ōbarae Taisai* (Great Purification Festival), which is performed every six months. The winter solstice commemorates the experience of the founder when he received his mission and the summer festival coincides with the summer solstice, thus making use of the longest and shortest days of the year. The movement of the sun is acknowledged; this remains a basic tenet of the sect.

The ministers of the churches perform the normal range of purification rituals to cover events such as groundbreaking, the birth of a child, success

in examinations, and safe travel for success at work. Special requests for liturgical purification are called *kinen* and are usually paid for in cash or kind.

Konkō-kyō. Konkō-kyō means literally "teaching of the golden light." It was founded by Kawate Bunjiro (1814–1883), who was born a peasant in Okayama Prefecture and brought up with a religious faith from childhood. Physically, he was not very strong. The dramatic turning point in his life occurred when he was forty-two years of age. His stepmother, younger brother, stepfather, two sons, his daughter, and his two cows died one after the other, precipitating for him a life-and-death sense of crisis. He retained his faith in *Konjin, Tenchi kane no kami* and decided to devote his life to helping people in their difficulties by acting as an intermediary between God and man. He devoted himself to *Toritsugi* mediation. He did not intend to create a movement, but such was his success and popularity that people gathered around him and a movement came into being. Later he received the name Ikigami, Konkō-daimyōjin, the gracious living *kami* of the golden light; from this, the name of Konkō-kyō was born.

As we have seen, the Tokugawa government regarded all popular religious movements with suspicion. Consequently, Konkō-kyō was suppressed in its early years. The founder eventually visited the powerful and influential Shirakawa family in Kyoto, which gave him permission to preach the *Konkō* teachings. After the Meiji Restoration, his status of priest was withdrawn and he was forced to stop mediating and preaching. The pressure was so great that many people deserted the movement. However, the Governor of Okayama responded to a petition that requested permission for religious activities on condition that nothing would be said against the government. Only Kawate was permitted to engage in religious activities, which enabled Konkō-kyō to revive. It soon began spreading; and by 1880, especially because of an outbreak of cholera, its numbers increased dramatically. When Kawate died in 1883 the need for a formal organization became clear. The followers felt that it was best classified as a Shinto group, so the *Konkō-kyōdan* was established as an official religion in 1885 and as an independent religion in 1900. During the Taishō period, when nationalism was being fostered, Konkō-kyō members had to do their duty to the State. They agreed to be patriotic but not cruel. Followers offered condolences to bereaved families in Japan and sent missions to build free medical centers in China. They also created language schools and junior and senior high schools.

After World War II, with freedom of religion established, the followers tried to reform Konkō-kyō, especially where it had been either compromised or reformed by the government. The Scriptures were rewritten to express more closely what the founder felt, and a festival for the founder began to be held annually. In 1964 South America (and later, North Amer-

ica) became new centers of the mission. In 1983 the first centenary festival was held and a new canon, *Gorikai*, was published.

Beliefs and Teachings. These are found in various publications and writings of the founder as well as in many proverbial sayings.[37] Kawate believed that people should enjoy happiness and prosperity and that man can glorify God through happiness and prosperity. The highest human ideal of participating in the glory of God can be realized by living one's everyday life to the fullest. The mediator helps to solve the problems of everyday life so that people can live more effectively and freely. Reward after death is not as important as effort within life. In this way Konkō-kyō mirrors the outlook of Shinto, although other elements are clearly present. "Pray earnestly this very day: God's blessing descends on your own heart. Pour out your heart to God with absolute trust in Him, at any time and at any place. Neither time nor space matters to him."[38]

Like Kurozumi-kyō, Konkō-kyō has a set of proverbs. "God is the Great Parent of your real self. Faith is just like filial obedience to your parents." "Free yourself from doubt. Open and behold the broad way of truth. You will find your life quickened in the midst of the goodness of God." "With God there is neither day nor night, neither far nor near. Pray to him straightforwardly and with a heart of faith." "With sincerity there is no such thing as failure. When failure to accomplish your purpose in prayer arises, then know that something is lacking in sincerity." "Bring not suffering upon yourself by indulgence in selfishness." "One who would walk in the Way of Truth must close the eyes of the flesh and open the eyes of the spirit." "In all the world, there is no such thing as a stranger." "Your body is not for your own freedom." "Do not bring bitterness to your own heart by anger at the things that are past." "Do not profess love with your lips while you harbor hatred in your heart." "One should not be mindful of suffering in his own life and unmindful of suffering in the lives of others."

The concept of God in Konkō-kyō resembles that of Christianity. Human beings are the children of God. However, Konkō-kyō does not believe in creation, but in *aiyokakeyo* (coexistence). God and men cannot exist without each other. If all human beings were to disappear, God would also cease to exist. The world is as it is now. The idea of *ikigami* is equally important to see how the concept of God is understood in practice. In Konkō-kyō teaching, a human being can have God within himself or herself whenever one's thoughts are directed toward the right beliefs. Good will equals God's will. When one possesses such a will, one becomes an *ikigami*. It is not necessary to consider life as a preparation for death and afterlife in which a person can be one with God. This is related to the fact that there is no formal act of confession in Konkō-kyō teaching. There is instead the concept of *okizuke*, making one realize the virtue of something through the problem of wrongful deeds rather than by punishment. In keeping with

the spirit of Japanese asceticism, the emphasis is positive. The mediator tells someone who is sick to appreciate the importance and value of being and staying healthy, which implies the philosophy of positive thinking. Believers are encouraged to thank the natural order for its benefits (this shows how closely Konkō-kyō retains the Shinto spirit that lays stress on the world as it is now).

Human nature is respected, and believers are not expected to fight human nature in the interests of reason. Prohibitions exist only in a very basic sense. Members can eat and drink what they will, providing they recognize these as gifts of God. Some prohibitions are moral admonitions:

To know the true way but not to walk in it.

To speak sincerely but to have no sincerity in the heart.

To see another's fault but to commit one's own.

Konkō-kyō is a very liberal religion that sometimes prefers to regard itself as a way of life. Believers may carry out wedding and funeral ceremonies at different religious organizations with no impediment. Indeed, there is no one doctrine that everybody should follow regardless of circumstances. Although the mediator bases his advice on the life of the founder and his teachings, he addresses problems in a person-to-person way so that flexibility is possible and the doctrine can be chosen according to each problem.

Konkō-kyō Scriptures are passages that describe the interaction of various farmers of the time with Konkō-daijin. In these accounts, his teachings are implied. They being with an explanation of how the founder was encouraged by God to devote himself to mediation. The divine call, which took place in November 1859, is called the *Rikkyo Shinden.* Thus began Kawate's service to Tenchi kane no kami. His wife became a "widow" by divine command to permit her husband to concentrate on his mediation work. The Scriptures list the *Tenchi Kakitsuke* (Heaven and Earth's Reminder); this hangs on the wall of every Konkō-kyō church. It is inscribed with these words: "Through Ikigami Konkō-daijin to Tenchi kane no kami with heart and soul pray. The Divine favor depends on your own heart. On this very day, pray." When they are praying, believers say the *kakitsuke* out loud. The Scriptures do not have "Biblical authority," partly because of the lateness of their composition and revision.

The eclecticism of belief makes it easy for Konkō-kyō followers to adapt their beliefs to different situations and to the problems of daily life. In this way it attracts and holds followers. Values include the principle that human nature is something to be treasured and disciplined. People are taught to realize their enormous potential and to express it honestly and sincerely. Prayer should occur often and be a basic part of the follower's daily life. It should be natural and spontaneous, not over-ritualized. In the *Kyoten*

Gorikai, Konkō-daijin exhorts believers to "practice faith like going up the rungs of a ladder. Work at it rung by rung, then your gratitude will increase day by day."

Konkō-daijin also stressed the importance of toleration, not only of other human beings and animals but even of insects. Followers should endure misfortunes and hardships and learn from them. There are not prohibitions with regard to drinking alcohol, smoking, and eating, which underlines the Shinto characteristic of striving to satisfy human nature and not to contest its character.

Organization and Believers. Organization is very democratic. Individual churches are set up, financed, and organized locally. In Hongo-sanchome in Tokyo, for example, the church was founded by a lady who had trouble at home that led to a divorce. Alone and unhappy, she turned to the teachings of Konkō-daijin and was able to rebuild her life. A new church came into being through her experience. She was the grandmother of the minister serving there in the 1980s.

There is no central authority. The headquarters receive only 3,000 yen per member per year. The ministers call the organization "circular," meaning that the churches encircle the headquarters. It is not a hierarchically structured organization, which is in keeping with its liberal style. There are 1,517 churches (60 of which are in Tokyo), with 4,362 ministers and 447,759 listed members as of 1989. Individual churches vary in size, but the interiors of the churches have certain features in common. On the left is a Shinto-style altar for worship of the ancestors of the followers of that church; on the right is an altar honoring Konkō-daijin.

The lives of believers are affected in many ways. Educational and research activities are carried out by twelve kindergartens, two junior high schools, and two senior high schools; a seminary for ministers; and an institute for advanced studies. A hospital, public library, and two scholarship foundations have been set up to express the Konkō-kyō ideal in action. There are also two associations for ministers, one for young people, a women's association, a society of believers, an association for girls and boys, and a group of missionaries who do prison work.

Followers of Konkō-kyō tend to be individuals rather than families. This is explained by the headquarters body as a result of Konkō-kyō being relatively young and not yet established as a family tradition. Within churches there are two groups: believers (*Shin-to*) and members (*Kyō-to*). The former attend church fairly regularly and adhere to the teachings of Konkō-daijin. But they need not devote themselves entirely to the *Konkō* way of life. They may practice Shinto or Buddhism at the same time. If they choose to become members, then they must become totally committed. This is done in an act called *Kashiki* or *Kikyoshiki*. Thereafter all family ceremonies are performed in the Konkō-kyō church.

Rituals performed in Konkō-kyō churches center on the founder's prac-

tice of mediation. The task of the mediator is to stand between the members of the community and God and to express the hopes and desires of the people as holy and pure desires presented to God. The mediator may also offer advice to members based on his knowledge of the life of the founder. Mediators are available during specified hours in the church each day. A believer may visit the church to seek mediation or advice. Prayer is the main activity, and people are reminded that they must pray for others as often as they pray for themselves. The basic form of prayer is to clap four times, bow, clasp the hands, pray, and conclude with four claps. There are set prayers that are intoned, but no hymns. Ceremonies are held in honor of God, the founder, and the church's ancestors on three Sundays of the month. There is a special festival in the fall (corresponding to the *aki matsuri*) to commemorate the founder. The spring festival (*haru matsuri*) honors God. Festivals use rice, water, and *sake* as in normal Shinto festivals. Believers hear the teachings of the founder and are invited to reflect on their own lives. After the ceremony, people talk and drink *sake* in the style of a communion with the *kami* and with each other (*naorai*). Unnecessary ritual is minimized in line with the founder's injunction: "when practicing faith do not abandon everything else and immerse yourself in faith obsessively. Practice faith effortlessly, as when you eat a bowl of barley gruel."

Because human nature is considered to be basically good (in line with the general Shinto outlook), ascetic practices or ecclesiastical rituals are not considered to be replacements for benevolent and unselfish acts in daily life. Following the natural order (as a farmer would see life) is taught and encouraged in Konkō-kyō. Like Kurozumi-kyō and Tenri-kyō, Konkō-kyō is a fully developed religion with a range of activities and beliefs that give it wide appeal to different age groups and sectors of society.

Tenri-kyō. Tenri-kyō means "Teaching of Heavenly Reason." The sect was founded by a female shaman called Nakayama Miki (1798–1887). Using a very simple doctrine, she encouraged people to seek *kanrodai sekai* (perfect divine kingdom). The movement was first considered to be a branch of Yoshida Shinto, but in 1880 it changed its affiliation and since then has been recognized as one of the official thirteen sects of Kyōha Shinto. The founding date is usually given as 12 December 1838.

Its distinctive feature is that it is considered to be genuinely monotheistic in the Western sense. Nakayama Miki received a revelation from Tenri-o-no-mikoto, the heavenly divinity known as Oyagami, "Parent God." After the revelation she became *Kami no Yashiro*, the living shrine of the *kami*. "God revealed himself through Nakayama in order to deliver people from individual sufferings and social evils, and to prepare for the coming of *kanrodai sekai*." This was taken to be union with God the Parent.

Nakayama Miki, or Maekawa Miki (her real name), was the eldest daughter of Maekawa Masanobu, who lived in the province of Yamato at

Sanmaiden (Nara Prefecture). She showed early signs of being charismatic and began as a devout member of Pure Land Buddhism. Although she wanted to become a nun, she was married in 1810 to Nakayama Zembei. In 1838 she had a vision that transformed her life and to which she devoted herself wholly and totally, neglecting her family, which eventually fell into poverty. She began performing healing miracles and teaching that divine protection was attainable through a life of sincere piety. She developed a form of worship characterized by ecstatic dancing and shamanistic practices. Her concept of *kanrodai sekai* was interpreted by the government in political terms, which led to extensive persecution for many years.

In 1853 Zembei died and Kokan, Nakayama's youngest daughter, went to Osaka to extend the new cult. During the time she was in Osaka a fire destroyed the Nakayama house, and over the next ten years the family had extreme financial problems. During this time, Nakayama Miki wrote *Mikagurauta* and *Ofudesaki*, which became the basic manuals of Tenri-kyō. In December 1864 the *tsutome-basho* (place for service) was built, and this became the first Tenri-kyō church.

After the Meiji Restoration the Japanese government classified Tenri-kyō as a Kyōha sect, and in this way it slowly began to gain formal recognition. However, it also had to make some changes in its form and order so that it conformed to government regulations. In 1872 a Department of the Imperial Government was established to examine the main doctrines of all the religious bodies in Japan. In July 1874 a formal notice was sent to Prefectural Governors and Head Priests concerning a prohibition on selling protective charms and offering prayers. This was the beginning of a period of intense police interference, which resulted in the seizure of some of Tenri-kyō's religious artifacts in October 1874. In September 1875 Nakayama was forced to report to the prefectural government and was arrested for disobeying religious ordinances. Followers were forced to give up their faith, and police had orders to stop people from assembling near her home. She was eventually released from prison but was arrested again in 1882 and charged with confusing Shinto and Buddhism, which had become a crime during the Meiji period.

It was not until 1885 that official authorization of Tenri-kyō was given by the Central Office of Shinto. After formal recognition, the head church of Tenri-kyō was moved from Tokyo to Jiba. On 26 January 1887 Nakayama began advocating the *Kagura Zutone* (salvation dance), which was also banned by the police. On the premise that the laws of God were more important than the laws of man, the dance was performed at Jiba, during which Nakayama passed away. She was considered to have reached a spiritual state; that, along with her *hinagata* (model life), became the two basic concepts of Tenri-kyō.

Iburi Izo (1833–1907) succeeded Nakayama as the leader through whom God spoke. He was Nakayama's most trusted disciple, and he made a

collection of his revelations in a work called the *Osahizu*, which was responsible for the emergence of the structured Tenri-kyō system.

Beliefs and Teachings. Tenri-o-no-mikoto (God the Parent) revealed himself through Nakayama Miki as the creator of the world.[39] He announced his will to save all mankind by emphasizing charity and the healing of disease through acts of mental discipline and faith. The purpose of life is *yokigurashi*, to be happy and free from suffering. (It is interesting to note the Buddhist concern with suffering and the use of Shinto shaman ideas to remove it.) To achieve the pathway to a happy life, several stages of development and faith are required.

First is the need to comprehend God the Parent. Tenri-o-no-mikoto revealed himself in three ways: as "the original and true *kami*," then as *sukihi* (the moon and sun), finally as *Oya* (parent). It has been suggested that there may have been some influence from the *kakuri kirishitan* (hidden Christian) beliefs. As the creator *kami*, God the Parent shows himself to be the true God who made Heaven and Earth and by whom life and the world are sustained. The moon and sun are manifestations of the God parent and remind us of his creative power. Finally, as *Oya*, the parent God teaches not only that he must be revered but also that there is a parent in Heaven whom people can trust and in whom they can confide. "My daily concern is solely how best I may help my children."

God the Parent taught that *tsutome* and *osazuku* constitute the way of saving mankind known as the *tasuke-ichijo*, through which the world will find prosperity and universal peace. The *tsutome* service is performed by seekers of *yokigurashi* with their hearts united, through which they can receive salvation and grace from the parent God. *Osazuke* is the gift of God to special aspirants who are accepted as missionaries after a careful test of character. They become free from pain and disease because suffering, sickness, and unhappiness are the result of the misuse of the mind, which makes an individual unable to receive divine protection from the parent God. Sympathetic toward mankind, the parent God urges people to seek the right path and to reform themselves accordingly.

Prayers in Tenri-kyō are intense and devotional. They are offered at 7:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. There are three simple steps in offering prayers. First, believers reflect on the events of the day, past or coming. Second, they recite the words: "*Ashiki o harote taskue, Tenri-o-no-mikoto*" (Please remove the evil and help, Divine Heavenly Wisdom). Then they listen for the voice of the parent God: "*Chotto hanashi kami no iu koto kikande na, Ashikina koto o iwande na*" (Listen to what the parent God says and do not speak of evil things). There is a final word of exhortation: "*Ashiki o harote tasuke sekikomu ichiretsu sumasu kanrodai*" (Wipe away all evil and let the world live in the Kingdom of Perfect Wisdom). Third, the *ostutome* is concluded by the repetition of these words three times. Believers bow three times toward their *Oyasama* shrine.

Three actions are considered necessary to achieve salvation. First, there is *osazuke*, the divine grant to be received that enables an individual to become an agent of God and to perform works for others. Second, there is *hinokishin*, the daily service to be performed. Third, numerous pilgrimages to *Jiba* are encouraged for the continued renewal of faith. If these three things are undertaken with careful devotion, a happy life free of sickness and pain will result.

Another important theme is that of *kashimono-karimono* (things borrowed, things lent). Because God is the creator, human beings cannot claim anything as their own. The body is something received from God on loan; therefore, people cannot do with it just as they please. Sickness is a warning that our bodies are not being used properly. To please God, we should make full use of our bodies as long as possible, being careful not to abuse them. When we die, we can return our body to God with gratitude for having had it to serve us. According to the *Osahizu* of 14 February 1889, "You have borrowed your body from Me. Only your mind is your own property and the workings of your mind shall influence your body." Thus, God is declared to have spoken through Nakayama.

Reincarnation (*innen*) is a belief of Tenri-kyō that is very similar to the Buddhist belief. The *Osahizu* of 3 October 1900 states it thus: "Do not think that a man lives only one life. He will be reborn over and over again. Hark and listen carefully: Your offspring will inherit the consequences of your previous lives." The soul is considered immortal; by *denaoshi*, temporary absence from the world, individuals are prepared for rebirth.

Ethics in Tenri-kyō consist of teaching about the *yatsu no hokori*, the eight kinds of dust: greed, stinginess, partiality, hatred, animosity, anger, covetousness, and arrogance. These are said to be the sources of all human unhappiness. Tenri-kyō does not view man as evil but sees his soul as covered by these different kinds of dust, which prevent him from shining. Once these are removed, the spirit can shine again and salvation will come. The pursuit of *makoto shinjitsu*, or sincere piety, is the goal of the faith and can be achieved through the three actions that lead to salvation.

Organization and Believers. Between 1889 and 1894, divisions of churches were established all over Japan. In 1892 the head church was promoted from the sixth to the first rank in Shinto. In August 1899 the Head Priest applied for independent status from Shinto, but this was denied. In 1901 the school of Tenri-kyō was established and a second application for independence was made. This was refused again on the grounds that the church doctrines were not clear. Three applications and seven years later, the Home Ministry licensed Tenri-kyō on 27 November 1908. Regardless of government interferences, Nakayama's teachings remained intact and Tenri-kyō began to spread outside of Japan in the United States, Taiwan, Korea, and China.

In 1920 the sect was reorganized and the country was divided into ten

diocese. After 1945 the *Fukugen* movement undertook the purification of Tenri-kyō teaching because it had been influenced by State Shinto and nationalism. This movement redefined Tenri-kyō and separated it from Kyōha Shinto. On 30 April 1970, Tenri-kyō withdrew from the *Kyōha-Shinto Rengokai* (Alliance of Kyōha-Shinto Sects). By around 1980 it claimed nearly three million believers. In 1989 it reported 1,754,570 members in 15,417 churches led by 185,088 clergy, as well as 20,039 missions throughout the world. It can be considered the most successful and the largest of the modern developments in Sect Shinto, although it now disclaims that identity.

Why has Tenri-kyō been so successful? One reason may be its simplicity. The *Ofudesaki* is written in *waka* style in 5-7-5-7-7 syllables, which was a popular literary form in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The doctrines are simple and the removal of the eight forms of dust by the Shinto ritual of *oharai* is cultural common sense. The idea of Oyagami, the parent God, is psychologically reassuring; because the parent God is everywhere, it accords naturally with Japanese spirituality, its reverence for nature, and its pursuit of harmony and peace.

Social service is prominent. It includes children's homes, homes for the mentally retarded, day care centers, crisis centers, homes for the aged, and kindergartens. Believers express their gratitude to the parent God by showing kindness to others.

PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS

Crosscultural parallels have been noted with regard to these groups. In view of the fact that the similarities with Christianity in some cases are striking, some comments seem appropriate. The Kurozumi-kyō teaching, for example, is similar to that of Jesus of Nazareth, whose metaphors were drawn from the fishing and farming world and who was concerned to deliver men from the present evil age into the Kingdom of God. The founder of Christian Science in the United States[40] had a career very similar to that of Nakayama Miki, and she taught doctrines of healing that are remarkably close to those of Tenri-kyō. Similarities exist at other levels. Parallel ideas in the crosscultural setting are always interesting to note, although they may give rise to spurious speculation, especially if the search centers on causal links.

We should not make too much of such "coincidences." The influence of latent Christian ideas cannot be ruled out—especially from *Kakuri Kirishitan*, whose ideas eventually became an admixture of Christianity, Shinto, and Buddhism. This alone would explain a great deal. The influences have been identified in many and even conflicting forms. However, two observations can help to establish a more objective context. First, there are universal religious elements of appeal (as in mysticism and meditation) that

transcend traditions and can be found everywhere. These can exist independently of each other in forms that resemble one another despite contrasting cultural backgrounds. Sociological, economic, or other reasons may account for their appeal at one time rather than another, but they remain as constants wherever they exist. Second, there are "mechanisms of belief" that seem effective for certain types of believing people (as in divination and healing). A sect may have success simply by addressing its appeal to the right type of person. Both healing and divination are widespread in religious cultures. Universality of presence or appeal seem to me more preferable as explanations of parallels than tenuous causal links that seek to connect A and B across cultural boundaries in ways that invariably require manipulation of facts. Seeming parallels are probably best left as such, being viewed as no more and no less than interesting cases of coincidence. Whether or not such parallels constitute evidence of truth is a separate metaphysical issue that is best left aside here.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN KYŌHA SHINTO

Without anticipating the discussions in the next chapter, it becomes obvious that there is considerable overlap between Sect Shinto and the New Religions. Murakami Shigeyoshi, a Tokyo University authority on Japanese religion, has commented that Kurozumi-kyō is not the first among the New Religions but is the last among the religions of feudal Japan.[41] Indeed, in the views of some scholars Kyōha Shinto should be classified as an early manifestation of the New Religions (a position with which I would not take issue, except to say that I think it is helpful to distinguish them in order to understand the nature of continuity that has survived throughout the different eras of change).

One line of argument has suggested that there are three phases of New Religions: the nineteenth century, the 1920s, and the postwar era. That is a convenient device for describing them in historical sequence. However, viewed from another standpoint—namely, the content of beliefs—they can indicate a continuum of thought and tradition rather than a series of new developments. The ultra-nationalistic tendencies of the Meiji period and the early years of Shōwa were toned down after the Pacific War, but other essential elements remained, including everything from enshrined *kami* (with some exceptions) to rituals and practices.

The central doctrine of meliorism that is common to all the sects as well as to the New Religions, the belief that human effort alone can save the world, remains as one basic element of continuity. The problems of the world lie within individuals, therefore the salvation of the world must begin there. Counseling of individuals always takes the form of pointing to defects in their attitudes or disposition that lead to the miseries they are experiencing. This confers on these movements their timeless qualities in spite

of the fact that they present themselves as speaking for a new age. It is interesting to compare the teachings of the Kyōha groups with each other and then with some literature from the New Religions. The relationship of change and continuity thereby becomes much more apparent.

GENEALOGY OF NEW MOVEMENTS FROM KYŌHA SHINTO SECTS

The clearest evidence of continuity is set out in the following listing of all the new movements that have grown out of the Kyōha Shinto sects, according to the latest research on the subject.[42]

Shinto Taikyō
Inari-kyō
Okami-kyō
Omiwa-kyō
Katori-kon Kon-kyō
Kannagara-kyō
Maruyama-kyō
Shizen-sha
Shinto-kan Shin-kyō
Shinto-shin Shin-kyō
Shinto Kami-no-Michibiki-kyō
Shinto-Tenkyo-kyō (Nojō)
Shisei Mahashira-kyō
Tengen-kyō
Tenzen-kyō
Mizuho-kyō
Yayama-kyō

Ontake-kyō
Ontakesan Soma-hon-kyō
Ontake-kyō-shusei-ha
Shinsen-kyō
Shinto-kokusei-kyō
Shintoku-kyōdan
Chikakuzan-Minshukyo-kyōdan
Tenji-kyō
Chokurei-kyō
Nichigetsu-kyu (Tokyo)

Fusō-kyō
Ishizu-chi-kyō
Isuzu-kyō
Daihinomoto-kyō
Omisora-kyō
Konpira-kyō
Shinso-kyō
Sei-ei-kyō
Daidō-kyō (Fukushima)
Tenshu-kyō
Tenchi-kyō (Kyoto)
Fuji-kyō
Fuji-mi-ho
Fuji-hon-kyō
Shinno-domyo
Kobo-shu-Kobo-en
Minetaka Inari Daisha-kyō

Jikkō-kyō
Shinto Konpira-kyō
Meiji-kyō

Shinri-kyō
Seishin-kyō
Chosei-kyō
Chintaku-reifu-shin-kyō
Hinomoto-kyō

Hino Oshie
Hinomoto-kyō
Mitama-kyō

Shinshū-kyō
Kamino-Michibiki-kyō
Tensho-kyō (Kyoto)
Meisei-kyō

Tenri-kyō
Seikai-shindō-kyō
Daidō-kyō
Hikawa-kami-Ichi-jō
Hinomoto-shinsei-kyō

Taisei-kyō
Shugen Dō-kyō
Tenchi-kyō (Hyogo)

Shrine-derived
Ishizuchi-Hon-kyō
Izumo-kyō
Nihon Jingu-Hon-chō
Yamato-kyō

GENERAL SOURCES

For Chapters 7 and 8, general sources include the following: *Shukyonenkan* (Yearbook of Japanese Religions) (Government's Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo); the extremely valuable *Shin Shūkyō Jiten* (Encyclopedia of New Religions) (Kobundo, Tokyo, 1989). The *Shinshūkyō Gaido* (Guide to the New Religions) (Best Books, Tokyo, 1989) produced for the *Shin Shukyo Kenkyukai*, or New Religions Research Association, offers a profile of the largest eighty groups as of 1 January 1988. D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan* (Kegan Paul, London, 1938), pp. 189–286, offers a prewar account in English of the Kyōha sects. Sect publications are listed where they exist. English translations are borrowed from these where they exist.

NOTES

1. William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh University, 1901–1902) offers a vivid account of the *via negativa* of medieval European asceticism that punished the body to save the soul. This contrasts with the *via positiva* of the Japanese *gyōja*, whose search for spiritual enlightenment implied an ascent from *homo sapiens* to *homo excellens*.

2. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History* (Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 38–45. He was also known by other names, including En no Gyōja.

3. *Karakuni* (referring to China or Korea) adds further weight to the thesis that many early ascetics associated with Buddhism came from the Asian mainland. Because Japan was still learning the secrets, the existence of a Japanese leader such as En no Ozunu becomes significant.

4. Recorded in the *Nihon Ryōiki* (which dates to around 822) is an anthology of Buddhist moral educational stories centered on the consequences of good and

bad behavior in life in terms of the Buddhist law. See Nakamura Kyoko, *Miraculous Stories from the Buddhist Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1973).

5. See Keith Dowman, *The Power-Places of Central Tibet* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1988), which is based on the work of a famous Tibetan Khampa lama, Jamyang Kyentse Wangpo (1820–1892).

6. H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō* (Sophia, Tokyo, 1970).

7. The story is recorded in the *Kumano Gengen Gosuijaku Engi* (Record of Divine Incarnations at Kumano), compiled during the tenth century.

8. *Kumano Hongū Betto Shidai* (Details of the Superintendent of Kumano Hongu).

9. This is found in the *Shozan Engi* (Narratives of the Origins of Several Mountains). The story has been taken as suggesting that the ascetics on Mt. Katsuragi and in Kumano had some degree of communication.

10. Emperor Go-shirakawa made twenty-three pilgrimages to Kumano.

11. The centers and provinces were as follows: Abe, Kongosan, Miwa, Kamamnokuchi, Bodaisan, Narukawa, Momohara, Shigisan, Koten-ji, Kayahara, Matsuo, Yata, Ryozen-ji, Horyu-ji, Nakanogawa, Nishi Odawara, Chosho-ji, Tonomine, Yoshino Sakuramoto, Uchiyama Eikyu-ji, and Hatsuse (in Yamato); Koyasan, Negoro Teranishi, Negoro Terahigashi, and Konakawa-dera (in Ki); Makio, Kamio, Takakura, Wada, and Nakagawa Ushinotaki (in Izumi); Fushimi and Kaijusen-ji (in Yamashiro); Iwamoto-in and Umemoto-in of Hando-ji (in Omi); Tanjo-ji (in Setsu); Segi-ji (in Ise).

12. The reference is in a text entitled *Azuma Kagami* (Mirror of Eastern Japan), an account of the Kamakura shogunate written between 1266 and 1301.

13. The reference is found in the *Honcho-Seiki* (Chronicles of the Reigns of the Imperial Court) by Fujiwara Michiari (ordered by Emperor Toba).

14. The eight main *dōji* of Omine were the *Kenzo Dōji* (protector and patron of the *Zenji no shuku* center); *Gose Dōji* (protector of the devotees of various teachings and patron of the *Tawa no shuku*); *Koku Dōji* (who reflected universal unchanging love and was the patron of the *Sho no Iwaya*); *Kenko Dōji* (protector of those keeping the precepts and patron of the *Ozasa no shuku*); *Aujo Dōji* (who clamed disturbances, subdued evil, and was patron of the *Tamaki no shuku*); *Kosho Dōji* (who illumined the universe and was patron of the *Jinzen no shuku*); *Jihi Dōji* (who preserved the Mahayana teachings and was patron of the *Suiin no shuku*); *Jona Dōji* (who overcame and removed karmic obstacles and was patron of the *Fukikoshi no shuku*).

15. Paul L. Swanson, "Shugendō and the Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 55–84.

16. John Stevens, *Marathon Monks of Mt. Hie* (Shambhala Press, Boston, 1988).

17. These are part of Shingon cosmology. See Kukai, *Shoji Jisso Gi* (The Meaning of Sound, Word, and Reality), tr. in Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 240–241.

18. For reference to the costume of the *Yamabushi*, see Earhart, *Religious Study*, pp. 25–32; and Ishihara Akitaro, *Nihon no Bukkyō Shuha no Subete* (Daihoronkaku, Tokyo, 1981), pp. 232–234. This book gives drawings and explanations of all *Yamabushi* and *Shugendō* costumes.

19. Regarding Ishida Baigan, see Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (Free Press, Glencoe, 1957).

20. Regarding Ninomiya Sontoku, see T.R.H. Havens, *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan: Agrarian Nationalism* (Princeton University Press, 1974); see also studies by Ohe Seizo.

21. The Ministry of Education raised a proposal in 1988 to restore these statues, which had been removed after World War II as symbols of the old value system. Some may still be seen in isolated rural areas where the work of demolition was never completed.

22. In addition to published documents, much of this material was taken from records of a research group visit to the headquarters of Shinto Taikyō in Azabu in central Tokyo in 1988. In included an interview with Kanchō Shimada Shohei, whose gracious cooperation and illuminating explanations are most gratefully acknowledged. *Meiji Hyakunen to Shinto Taikyō* is the main publication (*Tokyo Life*, 1965).

23. Shinto Taikyō has given rise to sixteen independent sects. (See the list at the end of Chapter 7.)

24. Although there may be similarities in the form of analogous Confucian origins, the use of the concept of Divine Principle in the Unification Church (which originated in South Korea) should not be confused with that in *Shinri-kyō*. Beyond the incidental resemblance of name, the two have no relationship whatsoever. There is no relationship either with the new cult *Om-shinri-kyō* or its political affiliate, *Shinri-tō*.

25. Sano Itohiko in *Uchū* (January 1930). See also Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kokka Shinto to Minshū Shūkyō* (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 1982); Furuno Masato, *Gendai Shinto Gaisetsu* (Sankibo Shuppanbu, Tokyo, 1931); *Nippon Shūkyō Jiten* (Kobundo, Tokyo, 1985); and Kono Shozo, *Shinto Taiko* (The Gist of Shinto) (Japan Culture Association, Tokyo, 1936).

26. The principal texts of *Izumo Taisha-kyō* are *Gokyogo, Shinri-Nyumon*, and *Shinri-no-Koe*. See the volume on *Izumo Taisha* (*Nippon no Jinja*, series 3) by Senge Takamune (Gakuseisha, Tokyo, 1968), pp. 249–261. *Izumo-kyō* was separately incorporated in 1951, as are several other *Izumo* groups.

27. *Shinto Shuseiha Kyōri* (Doctrines of Shinto) (Shusei-ha, Tokyo, 1928).

28. Meiji era Kyōha groups and prewar New Religions found it necessary to incorporate these themes in order to receive government recognition. These—along with the *kami* revered—in some cases underwent changes after 1946, as the discussion on New Religions demonstrates.

29. Information in this section was obtained from Shiraishi Umekichi, *Shinto Taisei-kyō Shudo Shimpo Ryakkai* (issued by headquarters, no date); Ogasawara Haruo, *Shinto Shinkō no Keifu* (Pelicansha, Tokyo, 1980).

30. *Manyōshū* poems nos. 319 and 320 attributed to Takahashino Mushimaro. Many of these ancient verses display powerful emotions that were heavily suppressed in later ages. The contrast between the mood of the *Manyōshū* and that of the teachings of the New Religions, for example, shows how heavily still the legacies of Edo and Meiji hang upon modern Japan. (For a modern rendering, see *The Manyōshū*, tr. by H. H. Honda, Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, 1967, p. 31).

31. Shibata Magotaro, *Fujidō Toden Kyogi Enkaku* (Fujido Headquarters, Tokyo, 1917); *Jikkō Kyō no Raireki* (Jikko-kyo, Omiya) and *Jikkō-Kyō Shinpai Go-Onreisho* (Jikko-kyo, Omiya) (The Prayer Book of the Sect); Okada Hiroshi, *Jikkō Kyō to Fuji Do Koshin Ko* (Jikko-kyo, Omiya) (issued by headquarters). The climb-

ing season of Mt. Fuji begins with the *Fujimode*, the first climb, on July 10. It is a festival of ancient origin that begins at the main shrine in Fujiyoshida city. The climb by Shinto priests and believers reaches the peak before sunrise, and a booming *taiko* drum greets the sunrise of the first climb. See *Nen-chū-gyō-ji Jiten*, ed. Nishitsunoi Masayoshi (Tokyodo, Tokyo, 1958), p. 703.

32. Sources were obtained from headquarters.

33. Sources were obtained from headquarters.

34. Information in this section was obtained from the following: *Shinshū-Kyō* (Shinshū-Kyō Dai-Kyo-Cho, Tokyo, 1982); Sugano Masateru, *Kyōgi no shori* (A Guide to Teaching) (Shinshu Headquarters, Tokyo, 1928).

35. Sources include the following: Inoue Masakane, *Shinto Yuiitsu Mondo Shō* and *Ikun Shu* and *Kono Yo no Kamisama-Inoue Masakane no Shogai*; and an interview very kindly given by Mr. Kuroiwa Akihiko, manager of the Tokyo Headquarters.

36. Sources include the following: *Kurozumi Kyōshō* (Texts of Kurozumi-kyō) (Kurozumi-kyo Nisshinsha, Okayama, 1974); Hara Keigo, *Kurozumi Munetada* (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 1964); Ebina Danmasa, *Kirisutokyō no Mitaru Kurozumi Kyō no Shinri* (Kurozumikyō Kenkyū Siryo Okayama); Helen Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō and the New Religions of Japan* (Princeton University Press, 1986); Kurozumi Muneharu (Chief Patriarch of *Kurozumi-kyō*), *The Teachings of Munetada Kurozumi* (private paper); and Willis Stoesz, *Kurozumi Shinto: An American Dialogue* (Anima, Chambersburg, Pa., 1989).

37. Sources include the following: Fujii Kineo, *Hito wa Minna Kaminoko* (General Headquarters of Konkōkyō, Okayama, 1984); *Konkōkyō: A New Religion of Japan* (General Headquarters of Konkōkyō, Okayama, 1958); Matsui Fumio, *Konkō Daijin: A Biography* (Konkō Churches of America, San Francisco, 1972); Delwin B. Schneider, *Konkōkyō: A Japanese Religion* (ISR Press, Tokyo, 1963); Yasuda Kozo, *Konkōkyō Scriptures* (General Headquarters of Konkōkyō, Okayama, 1983); *Konkō-kyō Kyōten* (The Sacred Texts of Konkō-kyō) (Konko Headquarters, Okayama City, 1920); Miyake Toshio, *Heiwa o Ikiru* (Kodansha, Tokyo, 1989); head of the *Konkō-kyō* of Izuo.

38. *Kurozumi-kyō: A New Religion of Japan* (General Headquarters, Okayama, 1958).

39. Sources include the following: *Tenrikyō Kyōka Honbu* (A Short History of Tenrikyō) (Tenrikyō, Tenri City, 1960); Masuno Michioki, *Tenrikyō* (Tenrikyō Head Church, Tenri, 1928); Henry Van Straelen, *Religion of Divine Wisdom* (Salesim Trade School, Tokyo, 1957); *Tenri Yearbook* (Headquarters, Tenri City, 1992).

40. Parallel developments with Christian Science are extremely interesting, empirically in terms of making crosscultural comparisons and philosophically in terms of grasping common roots and elements of religion and religious development in cosmic as well as historical and sociological settings. For historical data, see A. C. Bouquest, *Comparative Religion* (Penguin, London, 1958), p. 198. See also Nakamura Hajime, *A Comparative History of Ideas* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York, 1986).

41. Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century* tr. by H. Byron Earhart (University of Tokyo, 1980).

42. *Shin Shūkyō Jiten*, p. 66.

Chapter 8

Shinto and the New Religions

THE NEW RELIGIONS

The New Religions of Japan, the *Shin Shūkyō* or *Shinkō-Shūkyō* (in contrast to the older established religions known as *Kisei Shūkyō*), are well-known features of Japan's postwar religious and cultural landscape. The Ministry of Education, which keeps statistics on religious groups, identified over two thousand in 1987. These range from small groups with as few as a hundred followers and one spiritual leader to vast denominations like the Nichiren Buddhist movement *Soka Gakkai*, which claimed at its peak to have had 16 million followers. With the exception of the Unification Church (which originated in Korea) and one or two foreign Christian groups, all the movements have developed indigenously. They present a strong argument for the fact that religion continues to play a role in Japanese society; furthermore, they represent certain traits of character within Japanese religious life that seem to be typical of all periods of Japanese history and that reflect and support patterns of continuity in Japanese society and values.

In discussing these newer religions "related to" Shinto, it should be explained that they may not necessarily (or in some cases not even consciously) be derived from Shinto or shrines, although many are. In contrast to the groups that have Buddhist leanings, those listed here are based upon and influenced by ideas that can be derived from the Shinto tradition in one form or another. There may not be overt Shinto connections, but the central ideas and practices are closer to Shinto than to any other tradition in Japan.

A prima facie survey of the New Religions may suggest groups of ideas that seem to conflict with each other and that have in some cases only tenuous links with Shinto. More careful investigation will show that in spite

of apparent contradictions, which are often aggravated in translation, they nevertheless have common themes. Much of the research for this book was supported by visits to either the headquarters or meetings to which non-members were admitted. Through interviews with group leaders and the metaphors they used, my initial confusion began to fade in the face of recurrent patterns. Although I recognize that these groups are distinct, it could also be argued that there is much in common among them—and that the matters in common are more significant than the differences. Readers may judge for themselves.

It is difficult not to be struck by the parallels with Kyōha Shinto discussed in the previous section. In some respects only time separates these movements. The *Kyōha Shinto Rengōkai* (Association of Sect Shinto) originally included only the thirteen official sects. After 1949 many new groups entered, increasing its member groups to seventy-five. At that point some of the New Religions joined the great stream of the evolution of Japanese religion. Although they have different origins, different leaders, and belong to different eras, they all seem similar and very Japanese. Herein also is a sound reason for rejecting the crisis theories of the New Religions. The religious liberation of 1946 allowed suppressed movements to flourish and encouraged them to be less nationalistic, to think in terms of the wider world. This was a welcome development; many of the groups are now involved in movements such as the World Conference for Religion and Peace (WCRP) and the International Association for Religious Freedom (IARF), and others perform good works in numerous areas of society. If these tendencies continue as Japanese religions enter their "international age," it bodes well for the future.[1] Before examining the common features of the sects, I offer a few critical observations on some of the general theories about the New Religions.

THEORIES ABOUT THE NEW RELIGIONS

The earliest theories concerning the New Religions argued that they were religions of apocalyptic crisis, the immediate crisis being the World War II defeat, the subsequent pains of Occupation, and the rebuilding of both society and economy. The use of the term *crisis* was extended by some observers to encompass social crisis in a broad sense, similar to the changes overtaking Western society at that time. Macfarland Neill's *Rush Hour of the Gods* was one early example that attracted great attention when it was published. Harry Thomsen's *The New Religions of Japan* was the other best-known work along these lines, a discussion slightly more insightful in its conclusions than some. For example, Thomsen noted the role of charismatic figures in the formation of new religious movements, but he did not appear to see its broader historical perspective. Other major works on the New Religions tended initially to follow the same arguments and even

included some Japanese writers,[2] although it is interesting to note that none of Japan's major writers on religion (e.g., Nakamujra Hajime) gave serious credence to these theories.

The theories of crisis are unsatisfactory, first, because they lack historical perspective. The role of shamanism goes deep into Japanese history. It is a simple fact that the type of religious movements of the postwar period have been seen emerging at all stages of Japanese history, in times of relative quiet as well as in times of crisis. The growth of the various sects of Kyōha Shinto is a long tale of "new religions" emerging during the Edo period, when they were defined and then approved by the State as recognized sects. They were probably as novel to the people of their day as the New Religions are to the present. In other words, creating new movements has always been a feature of Japanese religious life.

A second unsatisfactory feature of the crisis approach to the New Religions is that they fail to take account of the changed nature of the Japanese Constitution after 1946. The abolition of State Shinto and the freedom of religious belief under the Constitution permitted the revival of shrines that had been suppressed during the *Jinja Gappei* period, when the government put all shrines under State direction. This fact of liberation meant that pent-up energies could be released, which was probably as important a factor in the sudden explosion of cults as was the critical situation that the nation was facing. Spiritual rootlessness, as Kitagawa has remarked,[3] remains a condition of the postwar society that many of these groups seek to cure. However, it is a condition of malaise, not of crisis.

Third, discussions have tended to focus on Buddhist groups as a consequence of the mistaken but commonly held view that Japan is essentially a Buddhist nation upon which Shinto was imposed by the government. Nothing could be further from the truth. Nakamura Hajime had made the point that the Japanese government came to Buddhism not in the interests of the salvation of the people's souls but in the interests of strengthening Japanese tribalism.[4] Buddhism was absorbed into Japanese culture, but the price was total accommodation to Shinto. Western observers in general have been excessively captivated by Buddhism in Japan, particularly Zen, and have consequently failed to see that Buddhism in Japan is Japanese first and Buddhist second.[5] Consequently, the religious movements that have their base in Shinto have been researched and documented less than their Buddhist counterparts. Many of the New Religions are in fact Buddhist, but what has been said about continuity with the past is also true of them. The largest and most influential of the new movements within Buddhism share three common factors: (1) they were started before the war under different names; (2) it was the constitutional separation of State and Religion that permitted them to flourish; (3) they are based on the Lotus Sūtra and they look to the Kamakura age priest Nichiren as their spiritual ancestor. Furthermore, in spite of declared statements on the subject, they

all practice ancestral reverence in some form. In other words, they are new in one sense but extremely traditional in another, which is precisely what makes them so enigmatic.

Finally, by not looking thoroughly at the nature of Japanese folk religion, theories that emphasize the crisis aspect of the New Religions fail to grasp the essentials of Japanese religiosity and the Japanese perception of spirituality. These are equally important elements of the tradition. The fundamental place of Shinto attitudes and what they impart to any perception of religion is a vital ingredient of a full understanding of the background to the growth of new religious phenomena in Japan. The elements of shamanism, divination, counseling, and healing are at the roots of spirituality in Japan in every age. If the *Kyōha Shinto* and the *Shinkō Shūkyō* groups are a response to any kind of crisis, perhaps it is to the general problem created by the impact of modernization[6] on traditional Japanese society, a process that has been going on since Commodore Perry first challenged the closed society of the Edo period. The Japanese of the late twentieth century are still coming to terms with that process—within which World War II was but a part, as have been the subsequent phases of economic growth. Perhaps it is a parable on the consequences of so much happening in such a short space of time. Japan moved further and faster than any other nation in the world within the same time span and may still be paying the price of the pressures generated.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE NEW RELIGIONS

Charismatic and shamanistic leadership can be traced as far back as the Yamato clan, which showed its leadership through women shamans who were married to the earliest clan leaders. The sacral nature of kingship, a principle that has never been absent in Japanese social development, can be seen there; the pattern is replicated in the new religious groups that emerged within the changing circumstances of Japanese history. The influence of fortune-tellers in contemporary industrial Japanese society is testimony to the fact that when Japanese religious life lacks vigor, all that seems necessary is the emergence of a powerful shaman for a new movement to be born.

Most of the New Religions (like the Kyōha Shinto groups) have a designated leader or founder who is reverenced in a special way and whose life story represents the values that have become a basic part of the organization. This is also true of corporations, which often display cultic features. The Matsushita *Kaikan*, a museum containing the story of Matsushita's founder, is presently celebrated in a reverential way that gives the sense of a place of worship as well as a museum. The cultic and the corporate have much in common.[7]

The importance and frequency of spiritual healing are significant fea-

tures. Many of the leaders were interested in healing for one reason or another, and several made astonishing claims about the powers they could summon to produce miraculous cures. Some claim that these are not miracles; others believe they are. Nonetheless, the supernatural is being tapped and spiritual energies appear to be released that bring cures to some individuals and that enhance the spiritual status of the leader and the group. In this regard, *Kurozumi-kyō* spans both older and newer religions.

Covert nationalism is a feature of the postwar New Religions that echoes history. Prewar groups were explicitly tied to the values of ultranationalism as a condition of government recognition. Some underwent changes after the war, introducing themes such as world peace or well-being. However, amid the talk of world peace and the development of humankind, we often find assertions that Japan is somehow spearheading a new emerging civilization or playing a messianic role. Similar narcissistic thinking can be found in Japanese Christianity, which is further proof of how deep the inclination is to think in these terms.

I use the word *covert* because some of these religions have imposing titles suggestive of a world vision, yet the tendency remains to see the world saved by the insights of a Japanese leader. Here, the messianic and the nationalistic converge in the pattern set by Nichiren, who declared of Japanese Buddhism in the Kamakura age that once purified by his teaching. Buddhism as a whole would be purified. Japanese Buddhism would then save Asia, and Asia would save the world. The nineteenth-century Christian thinker Uchuimura Kanzo (1861–1930) wrote in the flyleaf of his Bible a vow that shaped his life when he was working in a hospital for retarded children in America in the 1880s: "I for Japan, Japan for the world, the world for Christ and all for God." Unless I misread him, Christ is mediated to the world by Japan! But here the charisma and vision of a leader combine in a deep-seated respect for national identity. Most of the new religious groups existed before the war under different names and had to survive the pressures of militarism and constant government scrutiny and suspicion. Names were changed and new beginnings made, but aspects of the continuity remain and the teachings of the founders are still the norms of doctrines.

Ancestral reverence is central to the recognition and resolution of all human problems. Each of the groups discussed here lays great store on revering ancestors properly and on seeing oneself as a link between past and future, being responsible toward both. This metaphysical view of history seems crucial to Japanese self-understanding. It embodies the nation's deepest spirituality and is used by the new as well as the older religious traditions to show people where they stand in time and how they should view themselves and their duties in terms of past and future.

Stress on purification as a means to deeper spirituality is as old as Shinto itself. It is frequently expressed within these groups in their concerns for

the individual to maximize development in all respects. Underlying the power of purification is the belief in the fundamental goodness of human nature, a doctrine that seems basic to Shinto in whatever form it takes. The problem of evil is seldom discussed in ways that the Western mind would find satisfactory. This relates to the metaphysical issue of dualism versus monism in Japanese thought and the cultural influences that a predominantly monistic way of thinking may exert.

Stress on happiness is frequently combined with the demand that believers accept the world as it is now as being the best possible of all situations. The doctrine of *imanaka*, a very old Shinto term, can be heard in the background of many of these ideas and should be considered one of the key concepts of the Shinto tradition as well as an outlook on life that is common to all religious strands of Japanese culture. Even the Buddhist groups in the New Religions are concerned with happiness. The well-known research institute established by Matsushita Konoskue is called PHP (Peace, Happiness, and Prosperity), terms that belong to the tradition whereby the *kami* wish for people to be successful in business and to prosper. The objective of spiritual healing is to promote happiness, and happiness is often associated with the concept of harmony. This brings us to another common feature: the older Confucian ethics.

Confucian ethics in different forms have been taught in Japan ever since Prince Shōtoku (574–622) formulated his famous Seventeen Clause Constitution (in reality a set of moral guidelines), stressing harmony as the first principle for the order of society. The same may be said of the Kyōha sects, in which Confucian values are as strongly in evidence as they are throughout Japanese history.

Even the purists of the *Kokugaku* school were not averse to falling back on Confucian ideals, even indirectly. Although Confucianism is never mentioned as such, the values are identifiable. The inheritance is from the Meiji period, when the values were made the moral foundation of the Constitution in such a way that they linger to the present in forms of feudal thought and practice, some more obvious than others. Ancestral reverence, parental respect, and values related to husband and wife reflect the Confucian relationships; without these, the moral matrix of Japanese society would be extremely weak. Although they can be labeled Confucian, they have been adapted and changed in a Japanese way so that they are now truly Japanese values. Therefore, they inevitably feature in every new group that seeks to restore or rebuild the moral fabric of Japanese society.

Other characteristics could be adduced, but the foregoing seem to me to be sufficient evidence of common ideas and common traditions. Not all the New Religions that are Shinto-inspired are discussed here. The number is too great even to list. What follows is an account of a number of the most prominent groups that display aspects of Shinto in their activities. I also note that healing plays an important part and that they are trying to ad-

dress ageless concerns rather than offer panaceas for the problems of the present. However, human and existential problems linger that none of the New Religions seem to be able to address in a meaningful way. The nature of evil is one. A sensitive Japanese student of mine made the following critical point in a seminar: "Faithful people are betrayed, honest people become sick, and people who work hard remain poor. These religions do not address questions like this at all."

The Western mind would expect a rational approach to these realities. But perhaps it is the more "intuitive" Japanese approach that distresses the Western mind. The New Religions probably satisfy the Japanese mind with their soothing aesthetic approach to problems to the same extent that they perplex the Western observer. If they did not, they would not have such large followings. Likewise, the failure of Christianity in Japan[8] may well be partly the result of the application of rational methods to problems that Japanese culture considers to be fundamentally emotional perceptions of the world. It is as though the New Religions are concerned not to understand the questions but simply to offer acceptable answers.

CONTRASTS WITH ESTABLISHED RELIGIONS IN JAPAN

The distinction can be overstressed because the cultic and the institutional can fade into each other, as developments within Kyōha Shinto demonstrated. However, certain points of difference can make the distinction clearer to the outside observer.[9]

First, nearly all the New Religions look to a historical founder (*kyōsom-sama*), the person upon whose inspiration the movement is based and from whose experiences it is derived. That person is revered and in some cases considered to be a *kami*, as in Kyōha Shinto. In contrast, Jinja Shinto and its shrines can point only to the mists of time and declare that their origins lie in the beginnings of Japanese civilization, with the *kami* of the mythology rather than with subsequent historical personalities. Even where historical personalities are enshrined, such figures are in no way considered founders of the shrine, as the case of Sugawara Michizane proves.

Second, their New Religions' teachings are more clearly set out than the vague and less defined beliefs of the shrines themselves. In the case of Jinja Shinto shrines, the object of offering prayers may be for some general good like a good marriage, childbirth, passing examinations, or success in business. Intellectual content is minimal although rituals can be complex. New Religions have articulated sets of beliefs and rules to guide the behavior of believers.

Third, in the new movements the distinction between clergy and laity in terms of both status and function is vague. Indeed, some movements (particularly the Buddhist ones) style themselves movements for "laymen." The Shinto priest, by his training in rituals and by his skills in reciting *norito*

as well as by his dress and demeanor, is better qualified to approach the *kami* than the average believer. Furthermore, shrines are frequently in the hereditary possession of priestly families. This tendency can be found in New Religions that have reached the second generation and desire to establish a pedigree of tradition.

WORLDVIEW OF THE NEW RELIGIONS

In spite of all their apparent differences, the New Religions share an almost identical worldview. By *worldview* I do not exactly mean the German concept of *Weltanschauung*—which is heavily metaphysical (and which Japanese religions are not)—but rather a sense of the position of the individual, his or her religious beliefs, and the meaning of these against a loosely conceived cosmic background within which that meaning can be experienced and understood. It is not explicitly defined in any objective sense and therefore cannot be the object of systematic philosophical exposition. It is defined rather in terms of points of reference that serve more like guides through the sequences in a mandala than a charted map of cosmic geography. It is not a worldview that answers questions and gives a sense of meaning to human history and human development. It is thoroughly integrated into Japanese culture as its background and therefore shares all the presuppositions that lie within it. Consequently, its exposition is extremely difficult without a good grasp of the fundamentals of the culture itself.

It is best described as a set of concentric circles in which the individual *kokoro* (heart) or *tamashi* (soul) is at the center. Surrounding the soul is the body, which is part of the next circle, Japanese society. Beyond this is everything between the oceans around Japan and outer space! That may be called *Kannagara* (The Way of the Kami), *Daishizen* (Great Nature), or some other name with a cosmic connotation. The message of religion is designed to keep the harmonious balance of these circles. If the energizing principle of the system is grasped and followed, then all will be well. If not, then sickness, misery, and unhappiness will prevail. The individual has to learn how to integrate properly with society and beyond in order to avoid suffering. The cultivation of the *kokoro* in moral terms and the elimination of all tendencies to egoism in thought and behavior will result in the fulfillment of material and spiritual longings.

The serious problems of life are addressed in this way. They are seen not to be deficiencies within the structure of creation. Rather, they are traced to the individual, whose defective attitudes are the source of the problem. There is nothing wrong in the cosmos that the adequate moral cultivation of the individual will not set to rights. Consequently, Western solutions to social problems, political action, or public protest are dismissed as ineffective. Only collective moral cultivation can improve society. The healing of

society cannot be performed by drastic means. The same holds true of the human body, whose illnesses are the result of an uncultivated *kokoro*. A Japanese proverb says this most succinctly: "*Kurushimu mo tanoshimu mo kokoro no mochiyo*" ("Our suffering as well as our happiness is governed by how we bear our *kokoro*").

Because all problems are located within the individual and not in the social environment, healing begins when moral values are realigned to harmonize with the system in which people live. Only in this way can the individual reach the fulfillment of his or her highest potential. The individual life comes to have meaning only from being part of the religious group, which in turn permeates the entire Japanese cultural and social system. In this, people can enhance the power to find happiness (i.e., by subordinating the self to its immediate social environment). Here the Confucian elements in the worldview emerge. The delicate issues of authority and obedience become important. The self becomes cultivated by becoming selfless and by training in the various cultural and martial arts that enhance the self (e.g., calligraphy, flower arrangement, or *aikidō*), a principle already observed in Kyōha Shinto. The individual thus grows into the system and becomes a part of it.

Other aspects of the worldview[10] could be discussed, but the ones just mentioned should suffice to indicate not merely features of the general worldview but also some similarities between worldviews found in Kyōha Shinto and those found in the New Religions. This is a clear case of continuity being more noticeable than change.

PRINCIPAL NEW RELIGIONS RELATED TO SHINTO

Ōmoto-kyō

Origins and Development. The name of the movement means "The Teaching of the Great Origin"—an expression, according to sect records, invented by the foundress, Deguchi Nao, in 1892 when she planted a flower, the *Rhodea Japonica* (*Ōmoto* in Japanese), and in a *kami*-possessed state uttered the words "This is the *Ōmoto*, the Great Foundation of the World: the teachings of the Great Beginning, the First Cause, shall be preached." To this incident *Ōmoto-kyō* traces its origins. Thereafter the circumstances of the life of Deguchi (1837–1918) became the basis of the development of the movement.

She came from a poor background and was married to Deguchi Masagoro, whose circumstances were little better than those of her own family. However, she was by nature pious, hard-working, and sincere; and after being widowed, she began to have visions and experiences of being the medium of a *kami*. The critical event took place in the New Year of 1892, when she had a vision of herself in a great hall meeting with a pious-looking

man in the presence of her late husband. The vision occurred repeatedly, and finally she was able to ask the name of the spirit that was seeking to make contact with her. The spirit identified itself as Ushitora-no-Konjin. Thereafter she began preaching and making strange utterances for which the suspicious authorities imprisoned her. She scratched her ideas on the walls of the prison cell with a nail, and these became the beginnings of the sacred book of *Ōmoto*, the *Ofudesaki.*

She also predicted the coming of a fellow-believer whom she called the Master. In 1898 a young man named Ueda Kisaburo visited her, claiming that he too was a believer in Konjin, and he married into the Deguchi family. He than became Deguchi Onisaburo (1871–1948), and from his efforts the development of Ōmoto-kyō as an organized sect began. He too had come from a poor family and had experienced a severe depression when his father died. To find relief, he began practicing ascetic exercises in the mountains of Takuma. He also had revelations of Heaven and Hell and was taught the truth of the universe and the destiny of the world—in a way, it has been said, reminiscent of Dostoevsky's *The Dream of a Ridiculous Man.* He believed simply that his mission was to save the world by improving human society. His own revelations thus matched those of Deguchi Nao, and the combination formed the basis of the expansion of the Ōmoto-kyō teaching.

Government recognition of the movement was withheld for a number of reasons, partly because the teaching was heavily monotheistic and partly because of its innate suspicion of new movements that implicitly criticized then-contemporary society by proposing programs of "reform." Worst of all, Deguchi was publicly preaching that human salvation began with the salvation of ordinary people, the masses. Such tendencies were viewed as revolutionary and consequently as menacing to government authority and Imperial prerogative. Police action against Ōmoto-kyō was brutal and repressive. On charges of lèse-majesté, the headquarters was destroyed and many members arrested, charged with violations of the Maintenance of the Public Order Act, and imprisoned. This happened twice, during 1921 and 1935. In 1942 Deguchi was released after six years and eight months in prison.

Deguchi Onisaburo's own life was filled with dramatic incidents, including his return in chains from an aborted mission to China in the company of *Aikidō* master Ueshiba Morihei, with whom he maintained a close relationship. His remaining years were spent teaching quietly. After the war, the movement gained fresh momentum and became active in defending the postwar peace Constitution. It also developed a strong inter-faith approach to religious dialogue, particularly with Christianity in the United States.

Beliefs and Teachings. The main teachings[11] are contained in the founder's *Ofudesaki* and in a book entitled *Reikai Monogatari* (Tales of the World of the Spirit) written by Onisaburo. The powerful apocalyptic mood

of the message may have been one reason for its appeal. The following lines are from the foundress when she was imprisoned: "The Greater World shall burst into full blossom as plum blossoms in early Spring. The time for me, Ushitora-no-Konjin, the Primal *Kami*, to reign has finally come. This is a dark age! If things are left as they are, order will never prevail in the world. Therefore, the world shall be reconstructed under the protection of the One Ruling *Kami* where peace will prevail for all ages to come." This was powerful imagery for an illiterate peasant woman and, not surprisingly, words to make the government uneasy. Although she had never knowingly come into contact with Biblical writings, her prophecies and warnings resemble them, as do her concerns for social reforms.

Onisaburo supplemented her ideas by his writings, which he composed after his first release from prison in 1921. As well as documenting his own spiritual pilgrimage, he stated the fundamental Doctrine of Ōmoto-kyō and the three great Rules of Learning. "Konjin Kami is the all-pervading Spirit in the universe. Man is the minister governing all Heaven and Earth. When unity of man and *kami* is attained, he commands unlimited power and authority." The Rules are as follows:

1. Observe the true phenomena of nature and you will think of the body of the one true *kami*.
2. Observe the unerring function of the universe and you will think of the energy of the one true *kami*.
3. Penetrate the mentality of living creatures and you will conceive of the soul of the one true *kami*.

The divine is believed present in the human heart because they are interdependent. The divine becomes omnipotent only when man cooperates in the salvation of the world. This means the reconstruction of the world by the reorientation of the social value system. "Man must live in religion. Not one thing that man does is outside the sphere of true religion."

The themes of universal brotherhood and justice also lie at the heart of the teachings of the foundress. This stems from the belief that Konjin is the universal *kami* concerned about all mankind. Ōmoto-kyō sees itself as without prejudice or discrimination. There is a belief in life after death, which can be either direct transport to Heaven or a journey through a series of stages until pure spirituality has been achieved.

Purification from evil follows the traditional Shinto style. In 1901 the foundress, in obedience to Konjin, sent to the *Ame-no-Iwato* from which water was drawn that was then mixed with the wells of *Omoto*. This was taken to the island of Meshima, where Konjin was believed to be enshrined. She poured the water into the sea with the words, "Unshitora-Konjin, we humbly pray you with your power . . . to make this pure water from Moto-Ise circle the seas of the world, turning to clouds . . . to rain, snow, and

hail, watering the five continents, cleansing corrupt spirits, washing away impurities, and building a paradise on earth." This first act of universal purification became a model for future Ōmoto-kyō rituals. At the time of *Setsubun*, priests perform a ritual for purification of the universe in the *Miroku-Den* of the headquarters from 7:00 P.M. until the first light of dawn. The normal Shinto practice of *oharai* is followed throughout the year at all other festivals.

Although it has universal elements, Ōmoto-Kyō remains close to the spirituality of Shinto from which it drew inspiration, particularly the Shinto sense of the idea that man is a child descended from the *kami*. In that belief it is quite orthodox, although the application of the idea has unique aspects.

Organization and Believers. The movement is administered from a headquarters in Kameoka City in Kyoto-fu. Its holy place is the *Miroku-Den* and the *Kinryū-Den* (Pavilion of the Golden Dragon) in Ayabe, which is near Moto-Ise. The island of Meshima in the Sea of Japan is sacred because the foundress went there in 1905 to pray and receive revelations, as is Kamishima in the Sea of Japan, where Hitsujisaru no Konjin is enshrined. The head in 1989 was Deguchi Kyotaro, a great-grandson of the foundress.

Ōmoto-kyō developed during the crucial inter-war era but lost momentum and appeal during the postwar liberal years. It peaked during the inter-war era, when it claimed two million followers. It claimed only 200,000 registered believers in 1989. Why did such a dynamic movement decline so dramatically? Perhaps the eschatological message had been partly realized by the postwar changes in Japanese society. Perhaps its reported prewar political activities confused people as much as did its postwar concentration on art, education, Esperanto, and social welfare, which was probably too sophisticated for that moment of history. It had been dealt severe blows by the police and the press but did not explode with a postwar revival; it remains relatively small, although it is still one of the larger Shinto-based New Religions.

Shinrei-kyō

Origins and Development. Shinrei-kyō came into being after World War II. It is described by its followers as a "super religion" that in some way transcends both religion and science as hitherto known. The name combines *kami* (spirit) and "teaching" and is declared to mean "Teaching of the Divine Spirit." The miracles that divine power made possible to its founder are what believers claim differentiate it from other faiths. It claims that miracles do take place and that these are without parallel in any other religion. Consequently, it explains itself through case studies that demonstrate how its principles work. Miracles are the authenticating proof of Shinrei-kyō beliefs.

Otsuka Kan'ichi (1891–1972), the founder, was born the son of a

wealthy merchant in Tokushima. From childhood he showed prodigious capacities in the area of fortune-telling, predicting the future, and being an inventor. At age sixteen he went to various famous centers of mountain religion in Japan, not to learn Buddhism but to confirm his own spiritual powers. He then came to believe that Japan had a role to play in the process of world transformation. By making the nation's spiritual heritage known and available, Japan will contribute to the peace of the world. When the divine power of Shinrei-kyō is released, a new world order comes into being. Shinrei-kyō itself is thus the herald of the coming age. The movement is described by its followers as "the dawning world movement, the ultimate principle that makes the planets move, the true Shintoism and the spiritual sun rising in Japan."

Otsuka himself first put pen to paper in 1911 after extensive travels in Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. In a pamphlet entitled *Dainippon-seishin* (The Spirit of Great Japan) he warned that Japan's involvement in war against Germany would lead to catastrophe. Holding firmly to the ideals of salvation for the people and the realization of world peace, he founded Shinrei-kyō. After his death he was enshrined in Akigawa City in a place sacred to believers and known as the *Korin-kaku.*

Beliefs and Teachings. The basic teaching[12] centers on the idea of miraculous healing. Through a process of skull expansion (which happens to every follower), brain cells are activated and the mind is calmed; through being able to make sound judgments, believers are enabled to develop themselves to the fullest. The founder himself is declared by believers to be a *Shinrei-no-okami* (a *kami* spirit, great *kami*) who is one with the *kami* of the universe and one with the generative power that brings the universe into being, a doctrine derived from Shinto. *In-en-ga* is the principle of explanation used. *In* is "cause" and *ga* is "effect." *En* refers to invisible and external forces that shape human destiny by affecting the cause-effect relationship. One's present sufferings are the result of one's own and one's ancestors' wicked deeds. (This idea is partly Buddhist, but the importance of ancestors may once again be observed.) Shinrei-kyō believers claim to die a natural death in such a way that their bodies will not experience rigor mortis, death spots, or putrid odors. This enables the sublime transmigration to take place from death to a new life thereafter.

The Dawning World Movement idea was initiated by the founder in the early 1970s to stress Japan's role in international relations as a creator of world peace. He argued that the focus of international religions was shifting from West to East and that the core of human existence was rejecting materialism for what he called *seishinteki bunmei*, or spiritual civilization. The idea of *seishinteki bunmei* is not clearly defined but suggests a type of society different from that of modern Japan, wherein, according to Otsuka's views, material things had come to be dominant. At best, his views can be considered as containing authentic visionary elements. At worst,

they can be interpreted as calling for a return to a more traditional type of society.

Distinctive Features. The annual cycle of events is reminiscent of the *gyōji* of a normal shrine—a pattern common to most religious groups in Japan, especially those based on Shinto. Monthly gatherings and special ceremonies lead to the purification of the spirit, the key to health and healing. The practice of *sai*, or *matsuri* (festival), is explicitly Shinto. There is, for example, the *Tsuninamisai* (Lunar Festival) held on the third of each month except in January, May, and November; the *Shinnensai* (New Year) celebrated on January 3; the *Kaikyo-kinensai* (commemoration of the founding of Shinrei-kyō) held from February 11 to 12; the *Kyōso Seitan-sai* or *Shunki-taisai* (Kyōso-sama's birthday) held on May 3; the *Mitama-sai* (Calming the Souls of Ancestors) on August 15; the *Shuuki-taisai*, a counterpart of *Shunki-taisai*, held on November 3; and the *Misogi-sai* (Purification Festival) held on December 31.

At these and other festivals, *go shinsui* and *okumotsu* (water and food charged with divine power) are taken home to be consumed as sources of receiving the miraculous power of the founder. At the various ceremonies and Sunday gatherings, claps and bows toward the altar confirm the degree to which Shinto practices are being followed. Unique to Shinrei-kyō is the act of offering special thanks to the *Kyoso-sama*, who is considered to have been the human manifestation of a divine providence, the classic concept of a *daimyōjin* or an *ikigami*. One of its points of appeal for modern Japanese may be that it does not put any demands upon people to improve their lives actively, but rather encourages them to depend upon a figure like the *Kyoso-sama* to achieve it on their behalf. It may thus be viewed as a religion of dependence. It seems to suggest that human effort is not required; but to achieve the goals of the religion, considerable effort is in fact required.

Organization and Believers. The founder's widow (known as *Kyōbo-sama*) took over leadership after her husband's death. She came to be an intermediary between the founder and the members, because it was she who first recognized the divine power in him. The organization claimed 171,484 members in 1989, as well as 300 associate members who subscribe to Shinrei-kyō publications. Also listed were 165 instructors. There are seven churches located in Akasaka, Aobadai (in Tokyo's *Meguro-ku*), Sapporo (in Hokkaido), Kitami, Nagoya, Nishinomiya, and Ashikawa. There is no priesthood, but there is a division called the *Jimkyoku* charged with the responsibilities of organizing events, ceremonies, and religious services for members. But the office staff and the members are not distinctively divided.

There are two subordinate organizations within Shinrei-kyō. One is *Shinrei-jihō-sha*, which publishes a bimonthly newspaper, *Shinrei-jihō*, intended primarily for non-members. It also publishes books that are records of

miracles experienced by followers. There are seven volumes of *Kiseki no Izumi* (The Fountainhead of Miracles) that detail the cure of diseases considered fatal by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. They include miracles to people, animals, plants, and inanimate objects; painless childbirth; "sublime transmigration"; business prosperity; skull expansion; and skeletal reformation.

A separate movement was *Nippon Seishin Fukko Sokushin-Kai* (Society to Promote the Restoration of the Soul of Japan). Its aim is to restore the true Japanese spirit, which has been lost in the midst of the great economic changes of the postwar world. A monthly newspaper entitled *Keimei Shimbun* (The Cock-Crowing Newspaper) seeks to promote "enlightened activities." During the 1970s much effort was expended on propagation, particularly on university campuses. This aspect of mission work is still pursued vigorously. Open training sessions and *happyō-kai* are held at which individuals report on the miracles they have experienced.

Mahikari

Origins and Development. The *Sukyō Mahikari* was founded by Okada Kotama (1901–1974), as he later named himself. Formerly a soldier and a businessman, his body was occupied by Su-no-Kamisama in 1959 when he received a revelation to become *Sukuinushi-sama* (Master of Salvation). As a young man he injured his back in a horse-riding accident, which resulted in a disease of the thoracic vertebrae. His condition was pronounced incurable by medical specialists. Given only three years to live, he decided to devote himself to religion. After the three years had elapsed he was still alive and, mysteriously, his disease had disappeared. He went on to found several military aircraft–manufacturing companies, becoming wealthy in the process. The U.S. bombing raids at the end of World War II put an end to his business, and he became bankrupt and joined *Seikai Kyūsei-Shūyo* (a religion of world messianity).

Working hard to pay off his debts, on 27 February 1959 at 5:00 A.M. he received his first revelation. He was informed that religions up to that time had not exposed the truth fully, but that to him the fullness of Divine Truth would be revealed as to no other. He was told that his mission was to "purify" the world through the power of the True Light, which radiated through his hands. He also had the task of unifying world religions and building the World Shrine in order to enshrine the Almighty Creator God and to awaken people to the reality of the spiritual world.

During the 1960s and 1970s, *Sukuin-sama* traveled internationally and met various world religious leaders, including Pope Paul VI. On 13 June 1974, ten days before his death, he officially handed over his divinely commissioned mission to his daughter Sachiko. She is now known as *Oshienushi-sama* (Master of Teaching).

Beliefs and Teachings. The connection that human beings can have with God is established during a three-day seminar (*kenshu*).[13] A divine pendant is worn around the neck; called an *omitama*, this assists in the channeling of the True Light through the individual. By raising one's hand, any individual can become a channel that focuses the True Light. The Mahikari definition of True Light is "Divine Light" or the "Light of Almighty God," which not only heals people physically but also imparts "wisdom, will, and emotion that gives progressive understanding to souls and removes spiritual impurities that may have accumulated over hundreds of thousands of years."

The sacred text from which the teachings are drawn is the *Goseigen*, interpreted by Okada's idea of *genreigaku* (the science of interpreting words by spirit). The practice of radiating light from the hands is called *Makihari no Waza*. No special human qualities are needed to acquire this power. The ability to perform this act after only three days of training is explained by the belief that the world in which we live is a place where rapid spiritual, mental, and physical purification is needed to prepare mankind for the holy civilization that will come about after the cataclysm of the near future. A new world will emerge in which people will live in harmony with God and with each other. Before achieving worldwide harmony, however, human problems must be solved at the domestic level. Individuals must find health, happiness, peace, and material welfare through the understanding of the spiritual dimension and the practice of *Mahikari*. People experiencing domestic strife, for example, are represented as victims of the vengeful spirit of a previous life. Escape from the problem through divorce or a new lover not only builds bad *karma* for the future but ensures that the problem will recur. Only through the True Light can one's ancestors as well as one's self be progressively purified. The same principles can be applied to politics and other areas of human activity. Improvement of one's spiritual makeup is the key to improved performance in many areas of life, from education to economic success. Mahikari publications are designed to give evidence of the success of the movement in achieving these spiritual results.

Distinctive Features. Strong influences of Shinto can be seen in the concepts of purification and *goshintai* (a scroll with power to purify and protect). Mahikari recognizes the entire Shinto pantheon but places the bodhisattva Kannon on top. Although Mahikari meeting places seem to be churches, by installing a *goshintai* the church building in fact becomes a shrine. So Mahikari can enshrine *kami* as in normal Shinto practices. Buddhist elements are present, particularly the sense of transmitted bad *karma*. However, the importance of ancestral reverence points to its traditional Japanese character. It also makes use of other Shinto practices, including the *Ōharae no Kotoba* and *kotodama*. Before radiating the True Light, believers must chant the prayer *Amatsu Norigoto* in a bold and clear voice because the combination of words and syllables has spiritual power. This

is clearly derived from the Shinto concept of *kotodama*, the soul power of words. When Mahikari is being explained to the non-believer, the Buddhist elements are underlined along with other ideas technically supported by Christian writings. The point is to indicate the movement's syncretistic and eclectic style, which of course is another characteristic feature of Japanese religion in any era.

The chief deity of Mahikari is Su-no-kami or Mi-oyamoto-su-Mahikari-o-mikami, the creator of the entire world who sends out a supernatural light, *Mahikari*, which is the secret of the power of the religion. This *kami* is the source of all the gods of other faiths, Amaterasu in Shinto, Jehovah in Judaism and Christianity, Allah in Islam. These are all forms that are appropriate to their own historic situation. Mahikari claims that there is only one origin of religions and one origin of all human races. The theme may have a universal sound, but there is implicit ethnocentrism in the claim that the origin of all races and religions is to be found in Japan.

Mahikari has an explicit eschatological doctrine of an apocalypse in which man's fallen condition will be punished by a dreadful calamity (*hi-no-senrei*, baptism of fire), after which only 20 percent of the world's population will survive. This eschatology is quite detailed and teaches that the world exists in two forms, material and spiritual. There is *Reikai*, where only noble spirits can live, and there is *Yukai*, where most spirits live in two hundred levels, the lowest of which is Hell. The individual likewise has two parts, material and spiritual, which are divided into *Reitai* and *Yutai*. This resembles a combination of Chrisian Gnosticism of the first century A.D. and Buddhist cosmology and eschatology.

Organization and Believers. The total number of followers in Japan was listed as 419,482 in 1989. The headquarters is located in Takayama City in Gifu Prefecture. Among its unusual members is Antonio Inoki, a retired professional wrestler who turned politician and was elected to the House of Councillors in 1986. He is also famous for his wrestler/boxer fight in Tokyo with then boxing Heavyweight Champion of the World, Mohammed Ali. The movement has branches in North America and considers itself capable of becoming a world religion.

The sect under Okada Keishu (the founder's adopted daughter) was forced to separate in 1978 from the original *Seikai Mahikari Bunmei Kyōdan*. It was led thereafter by Sekiguchi Sakae following a court battle for leadership occasioned by Okada's death in 1974. The court awarded the succession to Sekiguchi, whose group numbers just over 80,000. There is also the breakaway *Shinyūgen Kyūsei Mahikari Kyōdan* founded in Yoda Kuniyoshi, and the *Subikari Kōha Seikai Shindan* founded by Kuroda Minoru in 1980. The latter has 4,500 members and 75 lecturers. All practice Okada's *Mahikari no Waza*. The two major groups have active overseas branches. The *Sukyo Mahikari* has 150 branches in Europe and Africa, 30

in North America, 70 in South America, and 50 in the Pacific region. *Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyōdan* has only about 18 overseas stations.

PL Kyōdan

Origins and Development. The sect can be traced to *Hitonomichi Kyōdan*, a 1931 prewar movement, and even further back as the successor to *Tokumitsu-kyō*, founded in 1912 by Kanada Tokumitusu (1863–1919). The terms in the title of *PL Kyōdan* were inserted for a specific reason, namely, the unhappy experiences of *Hitono-michi Kyōdan* in prewar days.

Although in principle religious toleration appeared in Japan with the revoking of the ban on Christianity and was included in Article 28 of the Meiji Constitution, in fact freedom of religious practice did not occur in every sense. Tokumitsu founded the new group during the business boom of World War I and it found great acceptance, especially among the merchants of Osaka. It died, however, with its founder; Miki Tokuchika then founded a successor movement in the mid-1920s. The name *Hitonomichi* was adopted in 1931.

The Kagoshima branch changed its name but failed to get permission from the prefectural government for the changes. When the police were informed of this, they prosecuted the leader; in 1931 he was convicted and sentenced to ten days in detention. A lawyer by the name of Matsumoto Shigetoshi believed this violated the constitutionally established freedom of religion, so he challenged the law under which the police exercised such surveillance. He demanded that the Supreme Court review the laws concerned. The Court ruled that the police were entitled to do whatever was necessary to maintain peace and order and to ensure the implementation of the duties of subjects. The judicial system was in effect unable to resist the authority of the government administration and consequently lost its independence. It accepted the principle that the government had the right to control thought, religion, and education. It is also interesting to note that seemingly out of fear for their own situation, other leaders of new religious movements accepted the Court ruling without demur. They in effect undermined their own freedom by doing so. This paved the way for frequent arrests of various religious leaders on the charge of lèse-majesté. Although the group did nothing wrong, the hysterical Japan of the 1930s was no place for such a movement. Hitonomichi changed some of its doctrines to match the needs of the time, but still with no success. For example, although Amaterasu was revered, the movement was told that it did so in a vulgar and disrespectful manner.

It was in fact the structure of Hitonomichi that alarmed the police. A unit consisted of five people plus a leader. Five units made a group (of thirty people). In Hyogo alone there were 200 groups in close network. There were nine districts with a district chief. Thus, a leader could give a

message to the nine leaders and they in turn to the groups, and finally to all units. This was too dangerous in the view of the suspicious police, who did not like any kind of group activity they could not control. In the eyes of the government, any group was capable of subversion and of threatening the government's power. Hitonomichi was considered a threat and therefore dissolved.

The founder of PL Kyōdan was the son of the founder of Hitonomichi Kyōdan. He described the persecution his father had faced as the "egoism of state power." Even when Hitonomichi tried to accommodate itself to State Shinto, it was still treated as subversive and attacked. Consequently, the basis for the name *Perfect Liberty* appears to be a statement of a point of view in relation to the absence of freedom that was characteristic of prewar pressures within Japanese society.

Kanada, the founder of *Tokumitsu-kyō*, was born in 1863. He had a childhood interest in religion, particularly Shingon Buddhism, and was a devotee of its founder, Kōbō Daishi. Like his ideal, he jumped off a cliff and injured himself but found illumination in the prowess of his act. When he married into the Kanada family, he changed his name to Tokumitsu and then established a successful cutlery business. Although he was not able to devote himself fully to religion, he became a teacher of the Kyōha-Shinto sect of *Mitake-kyō*. His *Tokumitsu-kyō* was originally a group within *Mitake-kyō*. When news of his miraculous powers began to spread, followers began to increase—not least of all among the business community, especially in Osaka. In 1912 Kanada met a Buddhist priest named Miki who had been born in 1871. At age ten Miki began various disciplines at the *Manpukuji*, head temple of the Obaku Zen sect. He met Kanada at a time when he (Miki) was having great doubts about Zen teaching, and he decided to become a follower of the *Tokumitsu* teachings. In 1916 Miki abandoned his Buddhist status and became a follower of Tokumitsu-kyō. He received the name *Tokuchika* from Kanada. Kanada died in 1919 and was given the title *Kakurioya* (Hidden Founder/Parent) of the PL Kyōdan.

Tokuchika followed Kanada's dying request to plant a *sakaki* tree at the place of his death. He worshipped there daily, having been told by Kanada that a "good man" would appear one day and that another three revelations would come. After five years of waiting, Miki had the three revelations himself—so he became the awaited "good man.' In 1924 he founded the successor to Tokumitsu-kyō, called *Jindō Tokumitsu-kyō* (The Human Way Tokumitsu Teaching). This distinguished it from *Shinto Tokumitsu-kyō*, which still exists as an independent sect (registered as *Fusō-kyō*). The main emphasis of the new group was humanistic, with stress on husband-wife and parent-child relations. After gradually spreading, it became popular and its name was changed in 1931 to *Hito no Michi.*

In 1936 the leadership passed from father to son, and thereafter persecution began. Tokuhara was detained for investigation and died under ar-

rest at the age of sixty-nine. The movement was forcibly disbanded. However, Hito no Michi believers continued their faith in secret through Tokuchika, who was also imprisoned and remained so until the end of the war. When religious freedom was proclaimed after the war, believers wished for the religion to be restarted. With some hesitation Tokuchika organized the *Perfect Liberty Club*; but after the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom from 29 September 1946, he established the PL Kyōdan in Tosu in Saga Prefecture. Tokuchika is referred to as *Oshieoya* (Teaching-Parent) and Tokuhara became known as the official founder of PL Kyōdan.

Beliefs and Teachings. PL Kyōdan is also known as the "religion of art."[14] It seeks to elucidate the way to the eternal peace and welfare of mankind by promoting the realization that all men are children of God, and by making people attain a state of mind whereby both they and others become blessed and happy through freely and powerfully expressing their individuality in the interest of fellow men and society under the motto "Life is Art." Its teachings distinguish between the Divine Law of Great Nature (*Daishizen*), which was revealed by the Divine to Miki, and Human Law, which is the ethics created by human art. The concepts of "Life is Art" and man's life as a continuous succession of "self-expressions" mean to engage in the creation of art by expressing the self in conformity with the Divine Law while also acknowledging human laws.

The Divine Law is stated in the form of Twenty-One Precepts for Life, known as the *Shosei-kun.* It was revealed to Tokuharu Miki, the father of Tokuchika, five years after the death of Kanada. Later, Tokuchika received it at Hiroshima in 1947. The official PL Kyōdan translation follows (which accounts for eccentric English usages):

1. Life is Art.
2. The whole life of the individual is a continuous succession of self-expressions.
3. The individual is a manifestation of God.
4. We suffer if we do not manifest ourselves.
5. We lose ourselves if we are swayed by our feelings.
6. Our true self is revealed when our ego is effaced.
7. All things exist in mutual relation to one another.
8. Live radiantly as the sun.
9. All men are equal.
10. Bring mutual happiness through our expressions.
11. Depend on God at all times.
12. There is always a way for each person.
13. There is one way for men and there is another for women.
14. All things exist for world peace.

15. Our whole environment is the mirror of our mind.
16. All things make progress and develop.
17. Grasp the heart of everything.
18. At every moment man stands at the crossroad of good and evil.
19. Practice at once whatever our first inspiration dictates.
20. Attain the perfect harmonious state of mind and matter.
21. Live in Perfect Liberty.

Of the twenty-one, only seven are actually precepts (numbers 8, 10, 11, 17, 19, 20, 21). The remaining fourteen may be divided into doctrines or assumptions about people, about the world, and about God. Numbers 2 through 6 are a set of propositions that expound the nature of the individual. Numbers 1, 7, 14, 16, and 18 are in reality metaphysical propositions, and number 9 seems to be borrowed from the U.S. Declaration of Independence. Numbers 12 and 13 do not appear to sit well together, and number 13 seems to reflect strong Confucian influences.

PL Kyōdan is monotheistic and believes in a parent God called Mioya-Ōkami. It is claimed that by himself man can do nothing, and that the power of nature controls everything man does. *Daishizen* also controls the progress of all creation. There is a great power in the universe, which human beings can receive if they live in accordance with the power and flow of Great Nature. This is God, the great power, the spiritual power that controls life and every human activity. God manifests himself in man, and man therefore makes self-expressions with the knowledge that God is his sustenance to lead to a perfect artistic life. God is also working for the betterment and improvement of man. However, there is also a sense in which man and God are different: "Man is God manifested as a human being, but Man is not God Himself and remains man, but possesses the essential qualities of God."

At the moment of birth, the individual receives the spirit of the parent God Mioya-Ōkami and thus life is sustained. When he or she dies, the spirit returns to God while the body remains on earth. It is the possession of a body, intellect, individuality, and the desire for expression and life that makes human beings surpass all other beings. But they can become their best only when they are in close relation with God. Salvation is achieved through spiritual and material efforts. Members must listen to the teachings, attend morning services, and show through their financial contributions how serious they are about attaining salvation. Members should visit the Holy Land (the headquarters in Osaka) at least once. Salvation comes by means of these relationships as well as the "divine function" of the founder, who mediates salvation from God to man.

PL Kyōdan stresses art and the artistic as a model for life. "Life is pleasant and interesting because man has this desire for self-expression, and

because man is made to feel joy and satisfaction by endeavoring to manifest this desire. The progress and development of human society can be said to be based on this boundless desire for expression. The result of the self-expression must be the creation of art."

According to the book *Perfect Liberty: How to Lead a Happy Life*, an artist is someone who devotes himself completely to his work without thinking of anything else. In this way an object of art is created. The reward of such creativity is spiritual pleasure or religious exaltation. The artistic life brings about happiness, the joy of the artist. Thus, if the purpose in life is to create art (i.e., to express oneself), there can be nothing but happiness in life and unhappiness cannot exist. However, if people forget God, life ceases to be artistic and such individuals will meet difficulties and misfortunes. The environment does not develop favorably, nothing happens as desired, and illness may occur. Sufferings and misfortunes are *gasho*, warnings from God. If the events are recognized as a warning, then there is hope. The believer goes to the Master (Miki) or a consultant to ask for a *kokoroe* (prescription). The problem is diagnosed and a treatment for the misfortune is proposed. If time is too short, the Master saves the believer by vicariously accepting his sufferings.

According to PL Kyōdan teaching, everything in the world can be used for the creation of art. Human beings are social beings, surrounded by many others who can share their joys. Self-expression must never be a hindrance to others or bring misfortune on society. It must be a blessing to the individual and to society. "A joy shared with others becomes a joy twice blessed."

There must also be harmony in the home of the artists. Every member of the family should strive to fulfill his or her respective task in a peaceful, joyous, and pleasant mood without any restraint or hindrance. The ultimate goal of PL Kyōdan is world peace. As more people embrace it and live artistic lives, the more evils will vanish and the world will become a lovelier place—indeed, a world of perfect liberty.

Organization and Believers. The membership was listed as 2,200,424 in 1990 under the direction of 28,937 teachers. The headquarters is in Osaka-fu. Expansion of the movement occurred principally after the war; it began in December 1948 when the headquarters was moved to Shimizu in Shizuoka Prefecture. In March 1952 a ground-breaking ceremony was held near Osaka, where the Eternal Headquarters were to be set up. In December 1953 the Head Offices were moved to Osaka. By 1955 the Eternal Headquarters in Tondabayashi were ready for occupancy, and the Holy Land of PL Kyōdan was completed with the erection of the Divine Hall. In addition to these projects, an eighteen-hole golf course was built overlooking the Divine Hall along with a Youth Hall; a hospital; a high school, *PL Gakuen* (famous for its baseball team); and a finishing school.

In January 1960 the nephew of Tokuchika, Miki Takahito, was designated *tsugioya* (next leader). In 1961 Tokuchika's wife was given the title

of *kagemioya* and empowered to dispense Divine Teaching (*mioshie*). Her daughter Shirahi was also considered able to dispense spiritual wisdom. The leader in 1989 was Miki Takahito, who succeeded on the death of Tokuchika in 1983.

Seicho-no-Ie

Origins and Development. The name *Seicho-no-Ie* was the name given by the founder, Taniguchi Masaharu, to a cultural magazine he first published in March 1940. In commenting upon the state of affairs of human life in a semi-philosophical way, Taniguchi began the process that led to the formation of the new movement. He was born the son of a Karasukara-mura farmer in Hyogo Prefecture on 22 November 1893. His parents were poor and he was given up for adoption at the age of four. He spent his childhood in Osaka and graduated there with top honors. He states in his autobiography that he considered himself in some way different from his brothers, desiring that he be set aside by the *kami* for a special purpose. He was very able, but his teachers regarded him as too self-possessed. He entered Waseda High School and finally Waseda University, but according to some accounts, due to a failed romance he dropped out in his third year.

He went to work in a factory of a company called Settsu Boseki in Akashi; but after an argument with the managers, he quit. While trying to find a place for himself in society, he happened to read an edition of a magazine called *Suisei* that contained an article about spiritual healing. This led to an interest in Ōmoto-kyō, at that time a new and controversial religion combining several ideas that attracted Taniguchi. He was fascinated by the Ōmoto-kyō claim that the world would soon be rid of all evil and that the present age would be followed by a new age of purity. Although he was critical of some aspects of the movement, he joined it and became editor of two publications of the sect, *Ayabe Shimbun* and *Shinreikai.* He then began to develop his own disciplines, including wearing an inexpensive robe tied with a rope, by reason of which he called himself the "St. Francis of the Ōmoto-kyō." He also fasted for days at a time and performed ritual *misogi* in rivers in order to purify himself. Around that time the Ōmoto-kyō belief in the end of the world was generating social hysteria, which drew it to the attention of the police and the government. Charges were pressed on the grounds of its disturbance of the peace and incitement to revolution. The leaders were arrested, and Taniguchi's house was searched. The group met again and became more dogmatic about the benefits of belonging to it after the last judgment had taken place. Some thought they would become rulers of other states, including Britain, the United States, and China.

In the midst of all this chaos Taniguchi fell in love with, and married, a member of the sect in spite of his anxieties about the end of the world. He finally found that the teachings of the group did not satisfy him, and he stopped lecturing and meeting group members. He met Nishida Tenko of

Itto-en but did not find what could satisfy him. He decided to leave Ōmoto-kyō and wrote a collection of essays entitled *Shodo-e*. This widely read and very successful book soon found him many followers. A man named Asano, who had also left Ōmoto-kyō, contacted Taniguchi to work on his new magazine, *Shinrei-kenkyū*. Taniguchi worked for this group as a translator and received a salary. He lived very poorly, dogged by crises. When his pregnant wife was found to be suffering from a disorder akin to heart disease, his thoughts turned to life, values, and suffering. He developed these in writing and sent them to *Itto-en*. He even began a long novel entitled *Kami o Sabaku* (Judging God), which he completed despite weakened health. Before he could collect any royalties, the Kanto earthquake struck on 1 September 1923. He and his wife escaped to Kobe with their lives and nothing else, where their parents helped them. He thereafter worked for various organizations. Finally, through publishing a magazine entitled *Seicho-no-Ie* in March 1940, which expounded his views of the world, his own movement came into being.

Beliefs and Teachings. The name *ie* refers not to a house but to the Great Universe.[15] The term *seicho* means "to grow," that is, to create as the universe is creating and growing infinitely. The great universe is the House of Growth, and members study the rules of life to teach people the rules that make it work. Taniguchi calls the true state of life (*Jisso-no-Sekai*) the *Seicho-no-Ie*. The Buddhist notion of Nirvana (particularly in Mahayana Buddhism) may be similar to this, but Taniguchi thought it was too negative. He thought that paradise should have a more joyful and lively image, so to him *Seicho-no-Ie* means "always growing and infinitely young." It is also regarded as a paradise on earth. He formulated a set of ideas known as the Seven Teachings of Taniguchi:

1. The purpose of the group is different from the other cults in that we worship life and teach people to live in accordance with the natural rules of life.
2. The rule in life is the way to infinite growth of oneself and also a life for each individual that is eternal.
3. We think and we testify to the true evolution of mankind.
4. Materialistic desire (for things such as money) and individual desire are not important. What is important is love. Through the different expressions of love such as prayer, worship, and cherishing, we realize love.
5. We are God's children and we inherit his perfection and have great potential. We are now standing in the era of evolution and we should make the best use of the creation of language and take the whole of mankind into the next great era.
6. We should make use of the best of language in order to reach our goal—that is, to change the present world order to something better. In order to spread our teachings to the world we must do whatever we can, such as publish periodicals, use the radio, hold seminars, and so forth.

7. Our goal is to give people a good education, a correct view of life, and to teach them the right way to live. We wish to be rid of all disaster, disease, and any form of evil on earth and actually build a paradise on earth.

This is achieved by worshipping life and by harmonizing the individual with life's rules. Rule 3 and its teaching about "true evolution" is difficult to understand if it is interpreted in material terms of development. Apparently it is meant to convey the idea of evolution moving toward a world in which there is no suffering or injustice, no unhappiness, a true paradise on earth.

Is Seicho-no-Ie a religion? The movement claims not to be a religion, but a way that transcends religion. Yet the question of whether its content is religious or not remains a problem. It opposes no religion and claims that through understanding Seicho-no-Ie people may better understand their own religions. Taniguchi, in a pamphlet distributed by the Headquarters, made his point in the following terms:

Seicho-no-Ie (House of Growth) is a house. All other cults are gates (*shumon*) to the doctrines. The members of a religion are at the gates of the world. To achieve real awakening one must not wait at the gate, but go deep inside. *Seicho-no-Ie* is the way into deeper understanding. The opening of truth comes with the philosophy of the real state of life (*Seimei-no-Jisshō*) which is taught by *Seicho-no-Ie*, and is also called *Yuishinjitsu Soron*. The philosophy declares that whatever exists is all expressed by God and God is good, which means that naturally eveything is good. Nothing is evil, and if it seems to be it is illusory.

In dramatic contrast to Western ideas wherein man must approach God through pain and suffering, in Seicho-no-Ie thought God does not wish to see human suffering. Indeed, true religion does not teach people to suffer for their sins. It teaches them to become happy and free from all kinds of sufferings. Seicho-no-Ie does not belong with Buddhism, because it does not teach a renunciation of desire. It more clearly belongs with Shinto, because it stresses happiness and freedom and doing ordinary things in a natural way.

Seicho-no-Ie claims to be able to help people understand their own religions better. Therefore, members of any religion can also be members of Seicho-no-Ie. It could be called a house of refuge for those who are confused by religion. Certainly, people can belong exclusively, but this is not required because Seicho-no-Ie shows no resistance or opposition to any other religious groups. The only clear stance is taken in the affirmation that religions should not call on people to suffer, but to escape suffering in order to find happiness. (Paradoxically, this may mean the duty to endure to find peace as opposed to escape from the world.) In this regard it is typical of

the New Religions in its essential point of view, one that is found in many new Buddhist groups as well.

Rituals and Practices. Although members may attend the rituals of other faiths they believe in, the rituals of Seicho-no-Ie are fundamentally Shinto because Taniguchi felt that Japanese would be most at home with these. There are three main rituals of the movement.

First, there is a memorial service for the dead. This is performed three times a year, in spring, summer, and autumn. At the headquarters in Harajuku in Tokyo is an altar over which a sūtra is read (herein is a Buddhist element). The group believes that the dead live on and can be helped with spiritual enlightenment. Seicho-no-Ie takes this ceremony very seriously. In this connection, it supports the idea of the government becoming responsible for the Yasukuni Shrine.

Second, there is a ceremony for the living. People for whom prayers are requested are named and the names are put into a box. The sūtra is read ten times a day for these people, to assist them with spiritual enlightenment.

Third, there is a ceremony of purification. This is performed only for those attending training sessions. Members write on sheets of paper things that are troubling them, and the sheets are burned while the sūtra is being chanted. (This resembles *goma*, the fire ceremony for purity performed in Esoteric Buddhism and in some Shinto shrines.) Seicho-no-Ie teaches firmly that negative feelings cause misfortune and unhappiness. Members avoid using negative words (a Shinto idea, *imi no kotoba*, "words to be avoided") and curses of any kind because they will increase the quotient of misery in the world.

Shinsōkan is a type of meditation performed by members and is the most important ritual. *Seiza* (sitting with legs bent) and *gassho* (hands together in front of the face) are involved. Members recite the *kami-yobi-uta* (the song to invoke the *kami*). Each participant must concentrate on the idea that the knowledge, love, life, happiness, and harmony of the *kami* is flowing through the body, which enables the person to leave the world of senses to enter the world of "truth." The period is concluded by a prayer for peace on earth. This is recommended as a discipline once a day for thirty to forty minutes. It can be done alone, but doing it in a group is considered to afford more energy.

Training sessions are offered for ten-day periods on a regular basis every few months. The day commences at 5:30 A.M., when the first sūtra is read and cleaning begins. At 6:00 A.M. it is time for *Shinsōkan*, and at 6:30 A.M. *Shihōhai* (a Shinto ritual showing reverence to north, south, east, and west as an act of respect to nature) is performed. Breakfast is at 8:00 A.M. and *Shinsōkan* at 8:30 A.M. At 9:00 A.M. the lecture period begins. Lunch is at 12 noon, and lectures commence again from 1:00 until 4:00 P.M. Baths are followed by dinner and from 6:00 to 6:30 P.M. small group discussions take place. From 6:30 to 8:30 P.M. there may be another lecture or a pu-

rification ceremony. The day closes at 9:00 P.M. People are encouraged to believe themselves to be part of God and to be capable of experiencing divine power. Illness and misfortune can be cured, and health and good fortune restored.

Organization and Believers. The organization claimed to have 810,644 members in 1989. They are served by 15,991 teachers and lecturers. The present leader is Taniguchi Seicho (born in 1919), who succeeded to the leadership after the death of the founder in 1985. Its headquarters is located in Jingu-mae, Shibuya Ward, in Tokyo near the Meiji Shrine. A house in Nagasaki Prefecture is used for various training purposes.

Sekai-Kyūsei-kyō

Origins and Development. The Church of World Messianity was founded in 1935 by Okada Mokichi. Like Taniguchi of Seicho-no-Ie, he had belonged to Ōmoto-kyō. The movement's first name was *Dainihon-kannonkai* (Great Japan Association for the Worship of Kannon). Okada was instructed by God to build a heaven on earth and to prophesy concerning the last judgment to the Japan of the 1920s and 1930s, which was then in the grip of an apocalyptic mood. The movement began as a Japanese movement but tried to take on the image of a world religion. It followed the recurring pattern of being created in Japan for the Japanese, who then felt the need to spread it for the salvation of the world. This can be seen in the development of new religious movements in different eras, particularly since the Meiji period and after World War II.

Okada himself was born in Tokyo on 23 December 1882. He dreamed of being an artist, but his general physical weaknesses forced him to abandon most of his ideas. His family became impoverished by the earthquake of September 1923 when their business was destroyed. Around that time, he was exposed to Ōmoto-kyō and was attracted by ideas of spiritual healing.

It was in 1926 that he heard a message telling him to prepare for "Heaven on earth" to be manifested as *miroku-okami* and that he was appointed to lead others in the process toward the ideal world. This endowed him with special powers to save others. In 1931 he received another message, which informed him that the spiritual world had been transformed from being dark and painful to being bright and pleasurable. He believed that he was to perform the mission of saving the world. "Heaven on earth," he declared, was a world without illness, poverty, and conflict—a utopian society of health, wealth, and happiness as well as truth, justice, and beauty, all in perfect harmony.

Okada's involvement in Ōmoto-kyō led to his founding the *Dainihon-Kannonkai* in February 1928 with two objectives. First was the goal of communion with the divine; second was the ideal of healing disease through

the laying on of hands. The government ordered him to limit himself to one purpose, and healing was chosen. In 1934 he changed the name to *Nihon-Jyoka-Ryoho* (Japan Association for Therapy through Purification). During World War II the movement was suppressed, but it was revived in 1947 as the *Nihon-Kannon-Kyōdan* (Japan Society for the Worship of Kannon). In 1950 the movement split and Okada formed the *Sekai-Meshiya-kyō*, the World Messianic Movement. The final name of *Sekai-Kyūsei-kyō* was determined just after that.

In June 1980 the Mokichi Okada Association (MOA) was formed to engage in activities that would not be affected by Okada's teachings. A great deal of doctrine had been acquired from Ōmoto-kyō. Okada believed that the *kami* of creation, Sozo-shushin, wished to establish paradise on earth, so the organization laid stress on two themes, faith-healing and utopianism. Okada was referred to as *Meishusama* (Enlightened Master) and is believed to have ascended to heaven, where he is still directing the affairs of this world. Just before his death he was arrested but cleared of charges of tax evasion. After his death his widow, Yoshiko, assumed the leadership role as *Nidaisama* (Second Master) until she died in 1962. Their daughter, Fujita Itsuki, became *Sandaisama* after her mother.

The MOA aims at overcoming racial, religious, and cultural barriers by means of art, education, agriculture, and environmental sciences. It seeks to deepen people's awareness of their cultural heritage and its beauty and thereby increase international understanding. The worldwide campaign began in July 1980 following Okada's ideas that the religion could save even America. In one of his speeches he declared that "no other nation besides America is today equal to the task of maintaining peace in the world. It is one of the most urgent tasks of the day to help America to improve the health conditions of her people. I therefore want to stop the spread of disease there and eradicate all existing disease."

The MOA has used International Exchange Programs on Contemporary Art to enable one culture to see others, a window to spiritual heritage. Since 1973 a Japan-Brazil Art Exhibition has been an annual event, and others have been held in the United States. Scientific research is being conducted on natural agricultural techniques promoting proper and healthy growth of vegetables without chemicals that damage the soil and threaten human life. In 1982 a Natural Agriculture International Research and Development Center was established on a fifty-hectare farm in Izu. Farms now exist in Hokkaido, Okinawa, and Nagano as well as in Hawaii, Brazil, and Thailand. The movement is also politically active, supporting the Liberal Democratic Party through its own *Jiyū-minshu-tō-Kyūsei Rengōkai* to actualize their ideals.

Beliefs and Teachings. To create a world of happiness, it is necessary to eliminate the three causes of unhappiness: sickness, poverty, and conflict.[16] Therefore, people must be physically, spiritually, and materially fulfilled.

"Sickness" is perceived not as a deteriorating process but as a form of cleansing. Too much of a good thing can have negative consequences. The body emits waste products daily to purify itself. Sometimes the amount of waste ejected is not enough and "sickness" results. Sickness is like a massive cleaning time, but it can also be painful. The world is understood according to the following diagram:

Reikai (Spiritual World)		*Genkai* (Material World)
Unseen world		The world of the five senses
events we can't see	become	events that can be seen
man is born		dies and re-enters
the *Reikai*		man's life is in the *Genkai*

The *Genkai* is the world we live in; the *Reikai* exists as a world that we cannot see, but where events take place before they happen in the *Genkai*. People come from the *Reikai*, die, and return. This is the meaning of *ojo*. People with special spiritual powers (*reikan*) in all religions and who have glimpses of heaven follow a similar model, according to official teachings. There are 180 levels in which individual existence is located; every existence is located in one of these. There are 60 levels each of heaven, hell, and purgatory. Everyone has *kumori*, the roots of unhappiness. It may take one of the four forms of (1) bad thoughts, words, and deeds; (2) bad deeds performed by ancestors; (3) bad deeds performed in one's previous existences; or (4) external bodies not good for them such as medicine, insecticides, and food additives. These are comparable to *karma* in Hindu thought and must be excised from human life. By lessening *kumori* in one's lifetime, the possibility of good reincarnation is enhanced. The belief structure of the church seems to reflect elements of Shinto along with Christianity, Buddhism, and even Hinduism. Basic is ancestral reverence, which relates to the amount of *kumori* the individual may have to bear. Christianity is presented in the form of the ideal of a Messiah who has come to save people from the Last Judgment.

Among the sect's rituals and practices, purification plays an important role. Two types are practiced. The natural cleansing of the body is called *jotai*. To alleviate pain and facilitate the removal of waste, *jōrei* is practiced. This relates to the purification of other forms of *kumori* such as natural disasters, thefts, or other events that may have an adverse effect on the individual. Sometimes it becomes necessary to take responsibility for deeds that one has not performed, including bad deeds performed by one's ancestors. Teaching number 4 is a practical form of avoidance of bad external influences by eating carefully. Okada conducted a scientific study on "heavenly agriculture," a form of environmental awareness. Research on the farm in Izu has shown the effects of insecticides on human cells, so the

natural organic farm has begun to gain recognition. The World Messianity Company distributes safe and wholesome foods.

Okada realized that single-handed accomplishment of his mission was not possible, so he circulated pendants with the Chinese character *hikari* (light) on them. Anyone possessing one of these can perform *jōrei*. Simply by raising the palm toward another person, the power of *Meishusama* flows from that person to the person to be purified. Belief by the second party is not necessary, because lack of faith does not affect the power of the pendant. (This is similar to the practice of Mahikari.)

Aesthetics also feature in the thinking of Sekai-Kyūsei-kyō. It owns the Mokichi Okada Association Art Gallery in Atami, along with another museum. Beauty is important in life and can also be a source of purification. Calligraphy is important as a reflection of the soul. The *Sangetsuryu* school of *Ikebana* (Flower Arrangement) was set up to purify human society and the human heart.

The religion also calls itself *Chōshūkyō*, meaning a religion above religions. The sense of "above" means that it is more comprehensive, being concerned not only with spiritual but also with aesthetic and material aspects of human life. It does not reject other religions but believes it is possible to belong to both Christianity and Buddhism as well. Its name includes *Sekai*, or world, which implies this breadth. It has branches in Brazil and Hawaii and it claims several hundred thousand followers throughout the world. Through them it seeks to purify all peoples of their spiritual and physical *kumori* so that when the Last Judgment takes place, it will not be so severe for those purified. It also seeks through its members to build an ideal human society throughout the world, one that appears to be a balanced combination of both Japanese and Western cultures. To join the movement it is necessary to attend three meetings. At the third one, the *hikari* pendant is given. Members are encouraged to join, not for personal reasons but in order to create a new heaven on earth. However, many people become members to cure bad health or bad fortune, and some have risen to prominence within the movement.

Organization and Believers. The headquarters is located at Gora near Hakone. There is a model displayed of the *miroku-ōmikami* (heaven on earth) called *Saichi*. It is said to be reflected in the *Reikai*, which in turn will be reflected in all the corners of the earth—thus making the *miroku-ōmikami* a reality. The church has three gardens in Japan that depict the three elements of the universe. There is an oriental-style garden in Hakone that symbolizes fire and a Western garden in Atami that symbolizes water. There is also a flat garden in Kyoto symbolizing the earth. These gardens are meant to represent the links between nature and humanity.

The MOA Trading Company was established (originally as Atami Shōjin in 1948) in 1983 to provide natural foods for a healthy and peaceful society and to operate hotels and restaurants for the welfare of followers. The

company also provides travel services and produces art goods, books, newspapers, and magazines.

An Economic and Industrial Research Association founded by Kamei Kanichiro in 1947 became a member of the MOA in 1973. It provides the economic input to the concepts of progress necessary to construct the "ideal" society. There are officially 54 churches and 453 mission stations. There were 4,211 teachers (2,181 male and 2,030 female) and 835,756 believers registered in 1990.

Jissen-Rinri-Kōseikai

Origin and Development. The president of the organization in 1990 was Uehiro Eiji, whose father, Uehiro Tetsuhiko, a *hibakusha* (survivor of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima), miraculously recovered after having been about to die. To show his gratitude, he resolved to spend his remaining years working for the benefit of others; to this the beginnings of the movement can be traced. It is therefore an entirely postwar movement. Nevertheless, it does present themes that are familiar in Japanese religious history. "The way of the Japanese people must be thought out again. There is no ideology upon which the Japanese people can build their way of life." The organization is dedicated to rethinking and guiding that way.

Beliefs and Teachings. The organization encourages people to live by the Five Principles:[17]

1. Today, let us not forget our three *on* (obligations of gratitude for parental love, the guidance of our mentors, and duties toward society) and work willingly with pleasure.
2. Today, let us not speak badly of others or speak well of ourselves.
3. Today, let us respond to the wishes of others instantaneously.
4. Today, let us not get angry or feel insufficient or discontented.
5. Today, let us try not to waste *kokoro*, things, and time, but live anew on earth.

The acceptance of inherited problems and the sense of responsibility toward the future is implied in Principle 1. The founder wrote of the idea being like passing the baton in a relay race. Then it is put into your hand, you must take it and go. "Parents" clearly implies "ancestors," as each generation of parents succeeds the next. "Mentors" can be anyone who conveys a better understanding to others.

Principle 2 implies a position of extreme passiveness toward any kind of wrongs. The passivity of Buddhism fits in here, but the stance of *Jissen-Rinri-Kōseikai* is more extreme. Social criticism is to be ignored. The problems of society are due to wrong shadows of the soul; and by cultivating large-heartedness, people will realize that they themselves are always

wrong. This seems to bypass the problem of evil in a way that even other Japanese religious traditions would find difficult to accept.

Principle 3 implies performing tasks that one notices need doing, which the founder declares is natural for people to do. Following the way of nature brings the movement close to Shinto, and the stress on keeping harmony with the natural can be traced to the same source. To be able to "notice" what should be done requires a certain spiritual telepathy, which in turn calls for a pure mind—another ideal found among Shinto thinkers.

Principle 4 underlines the idea of *honzen*, or humility. If people accept things as they are, then people may become human beings who live in accordance with nature or the natural. Acceptance of things as they are eliminates the need for a sense of anger or insufficiency.

Principle 5 deals with "unnatural movements of the soul," which lead to its waste. Sickness or unfortunate happenings are warnings that the soul is out of harmony with nature. This would be recognized by Shinto thinkers as similar to *tsumi* or *tatari*. Acceptance of material prosperity and its encouragement, as well as its use to benefit society, accords with the general attitude of Shinto thought toward the physical world.

The emphasis throughout on "now," seen in the repetition of "today" at the beginning of each principle, suggests another root of Shinto, which is stated more explicitly in the present president's principle of "*Kyo ichinichi shugi*" ("one day at a time, today, principle"). The idea that this world is the best and only place, and that emphasis must be strong upon living and living now, echoes the concept of *imanaka*.

The ultimate goal of human society is harmony. Human beings have a life given to them by "Mother Nature," which they must fulfill as dutiful human beings. This means following the ethics of Jissen-Rinri-Kōseikai. The rules in the system are considered to be not manmade but part of the natural law of the universe, which ensures that everything achieves its best fulfillment and ultimate condition. Harmony is stressed, but discipline is regarded as a basic part of the ideal of harmony. The student must be grateful to the teachers for their strictness as well as for the teacher needing to be strict. The same is true for parents. Contemporary society is plagued by massive information flow, but only that which is edifying should be selected for transmission to others. Members are taught to be sensitive and to respond to others' needs, to prevent them from feeling excluded; in this way, harmony in the true sense is preserved.

The ethics of the movement are natural ones to produce an ideal life. These are applied and very practical, directed to concrete situations and relationships with positive guidance on how to live. The movement's appeal lies in the way in which life can be directed and members need only follow by practicing the rules. Members believe they have an obligation to spread their teaching as a means to making a better world.

One of the basic principles taught in the founder's book, *Anata no Jissen-Rinri*, is that life must be accepted as it is because it has come about nat-

urally in that form. To deny the ego and be led by nature sounds easy, but actually it is very difficult. Unhappiness is a warning that life is not being lived properly. Changes must be made before it is too late.

What a person is may also be the result of what his ancestors did, and in this regard he also must accept the situation. This cannot be evaded or avoided. People are born with every good possibility and a gentle mind; but once they forget about the good of society and the good of others, they quickly come to grief. The teaching of Jissen-Rinri-Kōseikai declares that the worth of a person is measured by the degree to which that person can disregard his or her desires to expend energy in working for others. An open and generous mind is essential. Human beings are not made to live alone. They are born into a society and therefore must learn to fit together to form a valuable whole: this is the meaning of harmony. Respect for others is the basis of the generation of harmony and the energy for the advancement of society.

At the basis of all other forms of harmony is the harmony of the family. The basis of the individual life has to be located within the family, because any potential achievements in human society are possibly only through the family's existence as a foundation of the social order. Husband and wife should stand together on an even basis while following their individual roles as man and woman. The two rules are complementary, and this is what makes harmony possible.

Rituals and Ceremonies. Haya Okiai takes place every day of the year from 5:00 to 6:00 A.M. because the early morning is when people are most refreshed. This is when the five principles are chanted. The *Haya Okiai* is conducted in a room containing a desk above which are the Japanese flag and a photograph of the President. The Five Principles are written on the wall. Meetings involve reciting the Five Principles and then reading a chapter of a book written by the founder. The leader insists on the importance of practical ethics, and then members make short speeches testifying to their successful practice of the ideals.

In view of the teachings, one might expect there to be a ceremony of purification. However, there is not; individuals must see to this at their local shrines or in other groups to which they belong.

Organization and Believers. Jissen-Rinri-Kōsekai is recognized by the Ministry of Education as a socio-educational organization. It is an incorporated body that is non-profit making and dependent upon donations (*shadan hōjin*). It claimed 3.5 million members in 1989, who pay approximately 220 yen per month to be members. The admission fee is approximately U.S. $30.

OTHER SHINTO-BASED NEW RELIGIONS

The list of these religions is far from exhausted by this sampling of the most typical ones. Others have become well known and might have been

discussed had space permitted. That list could have included the following: *Nenbyō-Shinkyō, Oyama-nezu-no-Mikoto-Shinji-Kyōkai, Shizen-no-Izumi, Byakko-Shinkōkai, Tenshō-Kotai-Jingū-kyō, Kedatsu-kai, Kyō-sei-shu-kyō, Annanai-kyō, Sekai-Mahikari-Bunmei-Kyōdan, Shinsei-kai, Daiwa-Kyōkai, Shōroku-Shinto-Yamatoyama, Nippon-Sei-dō-Kyōkai, Shin-mei-ai-Shin-kai, Shizen-kai, Shizen-sha, Shizen-Shin-Dō, Makoto-no-Ie, Sumera-kyō, Maruyama-kyō, Ko-myo-kai, Heiwa-Kyōkai, Ichi-gen-no-Miya, Kami-Ichi-Jyō-kyō, Dai-Shin-Kyō-kai* and *Tenrei-Shinrei-Kenkyū-Jyō.* All these groups have less than 100,000 members.[18]

One feature of the postwar religious landscape is that many movements come into being and pass out of existence, fragment or amalgamate, in an almost molecular-like manner. There are also literally hundreds of small movements with tiny handfuls of members that cease to exist when the founder dies or disappears.[19] Such movements may not even be registered with the government, but they exist in an ad hoc fashion. Information about them comes to be known only if their doings reach the attention of the press or other media.

COMPARATIVE REFLECTIONS

Cults in America[20] is an interesting text that makes a useful accompaniment to this study, even though Japanese religions do not feature within it. It primarily addresses cults that have roots in American culture, although some Oriental cults are listed. It points in a useful way to common features of the cultic that help to make sense of their appeal in a crosscultural setting. It enables the reader to distinguish between what is universal in the matter of cults and what about these religions in Japan is peculiarly Japanese and distinctively Shinto.

Most cults in the United States have roots in the Judaeo-Christian tradition and emphases that either come directly from Christianity or are in dire opposition to it. Many of America's older cults grew up as new communities became isolated from mainline religious groups. Untutored reading of the Bible produced many of these, such as the Mormon movement. Others grew up as the nation expanded. These would be analogous to the Kyōha Shinto groups. The equivalent to the New Religions might include Scientology; certain television evangelists who place emphasis on healing and other charismatic evidences of power; and new religions of Asian origin. The self-help type of religion preached by Robert Schuller is also reminiscent of the New Religions in Japan, something that people can recognize in its externals as being somewhat traditional but whose content is eclectic.

The sharpest contrasts can be seen here, between the implied worldview and the place of the individual in relation to how problems are defined and

"solved." The Japanese cults stress group harmony, whereas the Western ones stress individual dependent faith (implicitly in the cult leader). In that sense, traditional cultural configurations seem to dominate, which may be one reason for their appeal. However, both sets seem to share the common goals of relieving people of the need for thought or decision. Perhaps this is the common root of the appeal of the cultic: release of the individual from the responsibility of thinking or deciding in a free and existential manner.

GENERAL SOURCES

In addition to the specific titles listed in the Notes, books consulted include the following: *Shin Shūkyō Dai-Jiten*; Shinshūkyō Gaido; Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century* (University of Tokyo, 1980); and various works by H. Byron Earhart, including *The New Religions of Japan: A Bibliography of Western Language Materials* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1983).

NOTES

1. See Stuart Picken, "Japanese Religions and Internationalization: Problems and Prospects," *Japan Foundation Orientation Series*, No. 24 (Tokyo, 1987).

2. Raymond Hammer, *Japan's Religious Ferment* (SCM Press, London, 1961); H. Neil MacFarland, *The Rush Hour of the Gods* (New York, Macmillan, 1967); Harry Thomsen, *The New Religions of Japan* (Tuttle, Tokyo, 1963); Takagi Hiro, *Nihon no Shinkyō Shūkyō* (The New Religions of Japan) (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1959). Helen Hardacre, *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan: Reiyukai Kyodan* (Princeton University Press, 1984) offers an excellent critique of the crisis theories.

3. Joseph Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History* (Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 331.

4. Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1973), p. 457.

5. Frederick Franck, *The Buddha Eye* (Nanzan Studies in Religion and Culture, New York, 1982) is typical of that approach.

6. Modernization theory sources include the following: S. N. Eisenstadt, *Essays on Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development* (Prentice Hall, New York, 1966), and *The Political Systems of Empires* (Free Press, Glencoe, 1963); C. E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1966); Jansen et al., *The Modernization of Japan and Russia* (Free Press, New York, 1975).

7. Cultic and corporate in Japan overlap: the corporations' songs and creeds appear very cultic, and the shrines function as guardians of the corporations. Most major corporations in Japan have a shrine affiliation of some kind. See *Kigyo to*

Jinja (Jinja Shinpo Books, Tokyo, 1986), p. 168. This useful study of well-known corporations and organizations explains their shrine affiliations.

8. See Stuart Picken, *Christianity and Japan: Meeting—Conflict—Hope* (Kodansha International, Tokyo, 1982).

9. For a general discussion, see Edward Norbeck, *Religion and Society in Modern Japan*, Rice University Studies, Vol. 56, No. 1 (Rice University, Houston, 1970); Saki Akio, *Shinkō Shukyō* (The New Religions) (Aoki Shoten, Tokyo, 1960).

10. The first chapter of Helen Hardacre's book *Kurozumikyō and the New Religions of Japan* (Princeton University Press, 1986) contains a superb account of the worldview of the New Religions.

11. Sources for this section include the following: Frederick Franck, *An Encounter with Oomoto* (Cross Currents, New York, 1975); *Nao Deguchi: A Biography of the Foundress of Oomoto* (Oomoto Foundation, Kameoka, 1982); Oishi Sakae, *Kaiso-Den* (Teenseisha, Tokyo, 1949); *Outline of Oomoto* (Oomoto Foundation, Kameoka, 1974); Deguchi Kyotaro, *The Great Onisaburo* (Oomoto Foundation, Tokyo, 1973). Deguchi's text, *Ofudesaki*, and the *Reikai no Monogatari* provide basic source material along with the magazine *Oomoto International.*

12. Sources include the following: Matsuno Junko, *"Shinreikyō" Shin Shūkyō Jiten* (Tokyodo Shuppan, Tokyo, 1984); Shinrei-kyō publications in Japanese and English including *Light from the East* (1986), *Towards the Dawning World* (1981), and the *Keimei-Shimbun* newspaper (Shinreikyō, Tokyo).

13. Sources include the following: *Kiseki no Hikari* (*Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyōdan*) (Yokasha, Shizuoka, 1990); *Response to Heaven: Additional Wisdom of Mahikari* (Yokosha, Shizuoka, 1990); A. K. Tebecis, *Mahikari* (LH Yoko Shuppan, Tokyo, 1982). The *Goseigen* remains the basic text of the sect.

14. Sources include the following: *PL Kyōdan: Shin no Jiyu* (Believer's Handbook) (Headquarters, Tondabayashi); *Perfect Liberty: How to Lead a Happy Life* (Headquarters, Tondabayashi, 1950); *Essay on the Way of Life* (Headquarters, Tondabayashi, 1950).

15. Sources include the following: Taniguchi Masakaru, *Seicho no Ie to wa Nanika?* (Nihon Kyobunsha, Tokyo, 1987); Editorial Head Office, *Seicho no Ie* (Nihon Kyobunsha, Tokyo, 1984); Hase Akihasa, *Japan's Modern Culture and Its Roots* (International Society for Educational Information, Tokyo, 1982). Because Taniguchi began publishing magazines, Seicho-no-Ie communicates principally through them: *Seicho-no-Ie* for general interest; *Shirohato* for women; *Hikari no Izumi* for new believers; *Risosekai* for young believers; *Risosekai Junior* for junior and senior high school students; *Seishinkagaku* for the general audience with a scientific perspective. Membership for a few thousand yen each year enables believers to have a reduction on magazine costs, which averaged U.S. $1 per copy in 1989.

16. Sekai Kyūsei-kyō texts include *Teachings of Meishu-sama, Prayers and Gosanka, Light from the East, World Messianity: What It Means.* All are issued in English and Japanese from either the headquarters in Atami or the U.S. offices in Los Angeles.

17. Sources include the following: Uehiro Eiji, *Anata no Jissen Rinri* (Practical Ethics for You) (Rinyu Shuppan, Tokyo, 1974); *Ikiru Seikatsu* (The Power to Live) (Dai Shindo, Tokyo, 1955); *Akarui Seikatsu* (Ways to Brighten Your Life) (Rinyu Shuppan, Tokyo, 1954); Sugihara Eiichiro, ed., *Rinrikōsei-Kaiho* (Jissenrinrikōsei-

kai, Tokyo, 1988). Magazines of the movement are *Rinri Kōsei Kaiho* (Ethics Bulletin) and *Seinen to Rinri* (Youth and Ethics).

18. See *Shin Shūkyō Jiten* for further information.

19. One such group, called *Michi no Tomo Kyōkai*, dissolved in crisis on 2 November 1986 when the founder died. This led to the deaths of six women members including the founder's wife, who immolated themselves on a nearby beach.

20. Wills Appel, *Cults in America: Programmed in Paradise* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1983).

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Part IV

SHINTO THOUGHT

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Chapter 9

Academic Shinto

SHINTO AND JAPANESE THOUGHT

Academic Shinto is a general term used to identify various movements within and among shrines that were overtly more philosophical and theological in their import than ritualistic. However, I do not wish to raise expectations about there being doctrinal positions worked out in a manner similar to Western theological and philosophical debate of the past. Rather, there are expressions of ideas based upon insights and intuitions that ignore many Western-style distinctions such as the one between natural and revealed religion. The doctrine of *kami*, for example, is not standardized in any form; therefore, each movement of thought must be described in terms of its own concepts. In this sense Shinto ideas run like strands of varying-colored threads throughout the entire tapestry of Japanese thought. Shinto and Japanese thought are at times inseparable, although Buddhist and Confucian ideas have been incorporated over the years. These have been woven together in a manner that is characteristically Japanese, selectively, and then adapted to meet the perceived needs of the age. The resultant system of thought and values deserves to be described as Japanese, although foreign elements are present. Their slow induction and steady ingestion into the system has changed their distinctively foreign character and made them very much "Japanese." Nakamura Hajime, the most renowned of Japan's twentieth-century intellectual historians, has described Japanese thought as eclectic (meaning not interested in formal consistency) and (because of the narrow social nexus that it supports) tending toward narrow and often ethnocentric points of view.[1] The particularism noted earlier is also very much in evidence throughout the history of Japanese thought; this should help to explain why, for example, Japanese politicians frequently fail to grasp the significance of the outside world and its potential impact until it has become too late to alter course.

The various currents of thought within the Shinto tradition can be roughly divided into overtly syncretistic and ostensibly purist trends. The syncretistic movements grew up from the early interaction with Buddhism based on the *honji-suijaku* principle in one of its various forms. Three movements emerged related to the main Buddhist movements, Tendai and Shingon in the Heian period, and Lotus or Nichiren Buddhism in the Kamakura period. These were *Tendai Shinto*, *Shingon Shinto*, and *Hokke Shinto*. As a reaction to these, the purist strand emerged in an attempt to identify the unique elements of Shinto apart from the Buddhism. The great thinker Yoshida Kanetomo drew attention to the fact that Shinto had its own tradition prior to the arrival of Buddhism and that Buddhist Shinto was simply a phase. He tried to define the fundamentals of Shinto according to the traditions of his own family and wanted to return Shinto to a purer form, although he acknowledged the distinction between exoteric and esoteric rituals. The growth of neo-Confucian influences resulted in the introduction of Confucian elements into Shinto thought, which were seen both in mainstream Shinto and in the various old and new sects. Finally, during the Edo period the great task of redefining Shinto and Japanese culture along with their relationship was undertaken by the scholars of the *Kokugaku* movement, foremost of whom was Motoori Norinaga.

The discussion here is an outline of the principle ideas of each important thinker and his place within the development of a particular strand of tradition, although the connections do not necessarily flow in any logical sequence. Great dialectical swings of the kind found in European thought are not typical of Japan, where gentle movement to and from older positions is typical. The *Kokugaku* movement lies in the background of the Meiji Restoration. This brings us into the modern period when government interference stunted the growth of new religious ideas in Shinto, a condition that the postwar Constitution brought to an end.

TENDAI SHINTO OR SANNŌ-ICHIJITSU SHINTO

This is the form of Shinto associated with the work of the famous Buddhist priest Saichō (767–822), who was posthumously called *Dengyō Daishi* and who introduced the Tendai sect of Buddhism to Japan from Mt. T'ien Tai in China. The Tendai sect is headquartered at Mt. Hie to the northeast of Kyoto. The sect was presented as a guardian of the country. The northeast was considered most vulnerable to the visitation of disaster, and Mt. Hie was located in that direction. The image grew of Tendai and its temples as guardians of Kyoto. *Sannō* means "mountain divinity"; it was the former name of the guardian *kami* on Mt. Hie. *Ichijitsu* means "truth is absolute;" it is an expression found in the *Hokke-kyō*, the Lotus Sūtra, which is the principal text of Tendai Buddhism.

The sect reached the peak of its development during the Edo period with

the work of another distinguished priest, Tenkai (1536–1643), posthumously named *Jigen Daishi*.[2] The *Sannō* cult was the core movement within the tradition, but it is known more for its works of art than for its religious and philosophical ideas.[3] Indeed, in these Shinto Buddhist movements, ideas were more readily expressed in art, ritual, and symbol than in words, a natural tendency of the Japanese way of thinking. Twenty-one Sannō shrines trace their origin to the act in which *Dengyō Daishi* prayed to Sannō to ensure that the *kami* of the mountain would approve of and duly afford protection to the Tendai temple that he proposed to erect. The principal shrine, the *Hie Jinja*, is located to the east at the base of the mountain overlooking Lake Biwa. It is divided into an eastern section that enshrines Oyamakui-no-mikoto, the *kami* of the mountain; and a western section that enshrines Inamuchi-no-mikoto, the *kami* of Mt. Miwa in the modern Nara Prefecture. These two, plus five others, are known collectively as the Seven Upper Shrines and are the heart of the cult. There are also Seven Middle Shrines and Seven Lower Shrines, which makes the total number twenty-one. The number seven in Tendai thought related to the Seven Worlds of Tendai cosmology.

RYŌBU SHINTO OR SHINGON SHINTO

The origin of this form of Shinto, referred to also as "Dual Shinto" or "Shinto of the Two Parts," is associated with Kūkai (773–835), who visited China at the same time as Saichō (during the Tang Dynasty) to study Buddhism and who subsequently founded the totally estoeric (*mikkyō*) Shingon sect. Yoshida Kanetomo (1434–1511) is also thought to have been an important early figure in the movement, because the term *Ryōbu Shinto* most likely did not come into use until after Kūkai's death.

The name *Ryōbu* arose from the combination of two important teachings, namely, the *Taizōkai* (womb, representing the world of embryonic truth) and the *Kongōkai* (diamond, representing the world of unshakable truth). These were also the names of two famous mandalas that symbolized, respectively, passive reasons and positive wisdom. Ryōbu was based on the concept of *honji-suijaku*, the "original incarnation." Each *kami* was thought to represent a *bosatsu* or bodhisattva. Titles such as *gongen* (avatar) or *bosatsu* were given to *kami* to heighten their significance. Kūkai worked extremely hard during his lifetime, visiting mountain shrines in particular; there, many traces of esoteric rituals can still be seen.

Development of Ryōbu Shinto

The Watarai school introduced many new elements into its eclectic theory of Shinto, matching what seems to have been a steady influence and input from Esoteric Buddhism into the Shinto of that period. This is illus-

trated by the creation of texts—such as *Yamatohime no Mikoto Seiki*—stressing worship of the *kami* with a pure heart.[4] Although they contain elements of tradition preserved from very early times at Ise, ideas parallel to the basic Shinto ideas were produced with Shinto concepts (e.g., the *Ōbarae* of the Nakatomi clan being given a Buddhist interpretation). The texts were called the *Ōnakatomi Sūtras* because their recitation was considered favored by Buddha.

Around this time there also grew up a tendency to interpret the principal *kami* along the lines of Esoteric Buddhism. This first appeared at *Ōmiwa Jinja* in Yamato. A distinguished priest named Bizon was also a devotee of the *kami* of Miwa. His disciple Shonin propounded as new theory in 1318 according to which Amaterasu descended to earth and appeared as the *kami* of Ōmiwa on Mt. Miwa and as the great imperial *kami* at Mt. Kamiji in Ise. According to Shonin, these three *kami* were in fact one and could be regarded as a threefold manifestation of the *Dainichi Nyorai*, the Great Buddha of the Light of the Universe (Sun). They became known as the "three-in-one." This gave rise to what was later called Miwa Shinto.

The Ise group also developed ties with the ascetic center, Mt. Katsuragi in Yamato. The group compiled a text entitled *Katsuragi Hozan-ki*,[5] according to which Ame-no-minakushi-no-mikoto transformed himself into a sacred mirror of the three-in-one and was enshrined in the *Toyōke Jingū* at Ise. The *Katsuragi Hozan-ki* is one of the most secret and sacred texts associated with Ise, according to the *Koro Kujitsu-den*[6] of Watarai Yukitada. The *Tenchi Reiki-ki*[7] was actually fourth in a series of the eighteen volumes that began with the *Nisho Daijingū Reiki-ki*,[8] but it was considered the most important and in this way came to give its name to the entire series. The texts share common features in the way they offer esoteric explanations of the different elements of the shrine, the location of its buildings, and other aspects of the site. They make use of the diamond mandala and the womb mandala of Ryōbu Shinto. The existence of the inner and outer shrines at Ise was explained in these terms. Buddhist arguments appeared that attributed them to that source. The tendency to explain Shinto (particularly Ise Shinto) in terms of Esoteric Buddhism became widespread. It was a priest of the Shomyo-ji in Musashi, Ken'a (1262–1338), who was most active in promoting these ideas. During the Kemmu Restoration (c. 1334), Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) and Jihen (the older brother of Urabe Kaneyoshi) composed works on Shinto thought and doctrine. Jihen's major works include *Kyuji Hongi Gengi*, *Tenchi Jingi Shinchin Yoki*, and *Toyoashihara Jimpu Waki*.[9] Chikafusa's representative work is *Gengenshū*.[10] In 1419, High Priest Ryohen of Mt. Hiei gave a formal exposition of his own interpretation of *Tenchi Reiki-ki* and of the section on "the age of the *kami*" in the *Nihongi* to his disciples. It later became customary to perform a *reiki-ki* initiation rite modeled on some of the more esoteric practices of Buddhism. The syncretism was completed, because (according

to Ryohen) even though we may speak of initiation by one term in Shingon esotericism and by another in Shinto, they are in fact the same thing. Another term for *reiki* was *kanjō*.[11]

During the Muromachi period (1336–1573), *Goryu Shinto* appeared. A type of Shingon Shinto, it was heavily influenced by Esoteric Buddhism and was practiced even on Mt. Kōya. It was known originally as *Kōbō Daishi Shinto* but later was officially named *Goryu Shinto*. In parallel to this, an Esoteric Buddhist version of Shinto was created without reference to the Grand Shrines of Ise.

HOKKE SHINTO

The Shinto[12] of the Lotus Sūtra refers to several types of Buddhist thought in which the Lotus Sūtra is taken into Shinto activities. A brief understanding of the relevant aspects of Buddhism is required for background. There are two main traditions of the Lotus Sutra in Japanese religion. The main and orthodox one is its transmission in the history and rituals of the Tendai school as it was introduced from China by Saicho. The other tradition is the more controversial line created by the Kamakura period priest Nichiren (1222–1282). Of all Japanese religious figures he is the most unusual, resembling, in the views of many scholars, a Hebrew reform prophet of the eighth century B.C. rather than a Japanese Buddhist priest. His aggressive criticisms of government and other Buddhists was out of character in Japan. He was exiled and sentenced to death but was miraculously saved.

Nichiren left the legacy of the *Nichiren-shū*, a sect of Buddhism bearing his intellectual imprint and based on the Lotus Sūtra. Three large new religions of Buddhist origin trace their roots to Nichiren, and each reflects a different face of the founder. There is the somewhat conservative *Reiyūkai* (Society of Friends of Spirits), which has its headquarters in Azabudai in central Tokyo. There is the radical *Soka Gakkai* (Association of Value Creation) headquartered at the *Taiseki-ji*, an old temple near Mt. Fuji; and there is the liberal *Risshō Kōsei-kai*, which has its headquarters in Suginami Ward in Tokyo. Its name is explained as *risshō* (righteousness and security for the nation), *kō* (harmony of believers), and *sei* (the ideal of attaining Buddhahood).

Nichiren's name affords a clue to one other aspect of his thought. At the age of twenty-one he returned to his native Boso Peninsula (in modern Chibu Prefecture); and in a mood of dissatisfaction with Tendai rituals, he found his religious inspiration on Mt. Kiyosumi during a sunrise exercise in 1253. It was then that he formulated his famous proclamation, the *daimoku*: "*Namu myōkō Renge-kyō*" ("hail to the Lotus Sūtra"). Nichiren's name reflects this duality. *Nichi* speaks of the sun, and *Ren* of the lotus.

The Tendai tradition had hitherto been known as Hokke (Lotus) Buddhism. Thereafter, the name became attached to Nichiren Buddhism.

Hokke Shinto therefore can refer to two slightly different versions of the same content. Tendai Shinto was a form of Hokke Shinto arising from a union of Tendai Shinto and Yoshida Shinto. There is also a form of Hokke Shinto that has been traced to Nichiren but concerning which almost nothing is extant. Unlike Shingon and Tendai Shinto, in which shrines can still be identified, Nichiren is now known only and completely as a Buddhist figure. It is quite likely that his name was attached to a set of ideas for propaganda purposes at a later date, as was the case with Kūkai. The content of Hokke Shinto, like Nichiren himself, is controversial; therefore little can be said with certainty. Its last known form, which died out because of the Meiji separation of Shinto and Buddhism, was *Remmon-kyō*, founded in 1868 by Shimmura Mitsu (1831–1914).

YOSHIDA SHINTO

During the latter part of the rule of the Ashikaga shogunate (1335–1575) Yoshida Shinto emerged, claiming to be the hereditary principles transmitted to the Yoshida family from its divine ancestor, Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto, the *kami* whom they claimed supervised the festivities of the *kami* during the *kami-yo*.

The basic teaching of Yoshida Shinto was that the *kami* are the heart and the heart is the *kami*. All things in the universe were created by the actions of the *kami*. Heaven and Earth are books that are lit for understanding by the sun and moon. That truth resides in Shinto, which is the foundation of everything else; the others receive their significance and authenticity from the foundation of Shinto. This perspective led it to be called *Genpon-sōgen-Shinto* (Original Source Shinto). It is also called *Yuiitsu Shinto* (Unique Shinto) or Urabe Shinto, because Urabe was the former name of the Yoshida family.

The background to the development of these ideas is unintelligible without some clarification of the complex relationship of the names of Hirano, Yoshida, and Urabe. The name *Urabe* dates to the era when the roles of the clans were first defined. First and foremost, they were officials in the *Jingikan* (Office of Shinto Worship). From this base they expanded their influence by becoming historians of Shinto and authorities on the classics. To heighten his status, the head of the clan made a point of observing all Shinto taboos—for example, by avoiding any contact with death or the dead whatsoever because of physical pollution, or by abstaining from certain foods, drinks, or activities because of the need for ritual purity.

Around the time of the development of new ideas by the *gekū* of the Grand Shrines of Ise, Urabe Kanekata composed the *Shaku Nihongi* as a

compendium of all previous commentaries on the classic text of the Nara age. He was a member of the Hirano branch of the ancient Urabe clan who had originally been in charge of divination by means of tortoise shells in the *Jingikan* of the Nara government. His father, Kanebumi, was an authority on the *Isonokami Jinja*, and his grandfather, Kaneyori, had been an expert in the *Nihon Shoki* as well as in the history of the Hachiman tradition. Their combined efforts and efficiency enabled them to rise steadily to the point at which they controlled several major posts in the *Jingikan.*

They also served as hereditary priests of such important shrines in Kyoto as the Hirano and Yoshida shrines. By the end of the Heian period two families, the Umenomiya and the Awatanomiya, had emerged from the Urabe clan as new families of Shinto priests. The latter were responsible for the worship of the spirits of Emperor Sutoku (r. 1123–1141) and of Fujiwara no Yoriie.

The Urabe clan subsequently developed two main lines of succession, the Hirano and the Yoshida. Kaneyori, Kanebumi, and Kanekata belonged to the Hirano branch. They were more active during the early period. However, by the middle to the latter part of the fourteenth century, the Yoshida line came to pre-eminence beginning with Yoshida Kanetoyo, who composed the *Miyaji Hiji Kuden.*[13] His son was Kanehiro (who was patronized by Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu), his grandson was Kaneatsu, and his great-grandson was the famous Yoshida Kanetomo.

In spite of the academic lineage and the deep and serious scholarship, the shamanistic face of Shinto remained. An incident is recorded from the fifteenth century about the wife of a Yoshida priest becoming possessed by a spirit in the early afternoon. She suddenly began uttering an oracle. The priest quickly purified himself by *misogi harai* and gave her some *sake.* After swallowing a little she completed the oracle, whose contents the priest, for some reason, elected not to record.

The Yoshida family also began to create its own interpretation of the age of the *kami.* The Imperial Prince Sondo, also a Buddhist monk, was instructed in the origins of Japan and Shinto by the Yoshida family, whose teaching in that way gradually attained the status of orthodoxy.

Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511)

He was the dominant and pivotal figure of the tradition. His successes relate to both his family background and the age in which he lived. He was the twenty-first generation of the Yoshida Shinto family; he was intelligent, thoughtful, and a well-learned Shinto scholar who brought the system to completion. He reached his mature years amid the horrendous destruction of the Onin War, witnessing the dreadful destruction of ancient and valued

artifacts. From the age of thirty-nine he launched himself into academic and religious activities, which occupied the rest of his life.

The construction of the *Saijoshō* was his first major project. It was a hall intended for abstinence and ritual purification, but in fact it was a version of the Hall of the Eight Kami in the ancient *Jingikan.* For this Kanetomo received Imperial authority, calling it the most sacred of shrines. He also received a large donation from Hino Tomiko, the wife of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa. His popular lectures on the *Kamiyo* sections of the *Nihongi* drew large audiences and spread the influence of his teachings. He supplied the ideas of the sect with apt comments and established his own thought almost as the orthodoxy of the age. He claimed in the *Shinto Taii*[14] and in the *Yuiitsu Shinto Myōbō Yōshū* to have derived his ideas from earlier thinkers such as Kanenao and Kanenobu. He argued powerfully for the uniqueness and independence of his thought from any form of Buddhist influence. He declared that the Shinto of his tradition was universal: winds and waves, clouds and mist; movement and stillness, advances and retreats; day and night, the hidden and the manifest; warmth and chill, heat and cold; recompense for good and ill, distinction of right and wrong. He claimed further that there was nothing whatsoever that was not the work of the divine principle taught by the Yoshida school. In speaking of Shinto "of one stream, not two," he was referring to an unrecorded memo of Shotoku Tasishi to the Emperor that Buddhism was the flower and fruit of the true doctrine, Confucianism was the branch and leaf, but Shinto was the root. The eastward movement of Buddhism showed that Japan was the prime nation of the Three Countries (India, China, and Japan). He devised rituals that were adapted from Shingon Esoteric Buddhism with the obvious intent of displacing Buddhism from its prominence by enriching the Shinto liturgy at the expense of Buddhism.

Of interest also is the attempt made by Kanetomo to conceptualize the idea of *kami.* He declared that *kami* was a form of absolute existence that was prior to the formation of heaven and earth. It transcends the principles of *in* (*ying*) and *yo* (*yang*) but can act with them. This power as manifest in heaven and earth is called *kami.* It is called spirit (*rei*) in objects and things, and in human beings it is known as heart (*kokoro*). *Kami*, *rei*, and *kokoro* are words that refer to the same reality. Thus, Shinto protects the human heart, a concept that features in all aspects of traditional and new religions. Kanetomo stressed the importance of purification as one method of preserving and protecting the heart. Regardless of the limitations of his system of ideas, he bequeathed both an intellectual inheritance and a political status to Yoshida Shinto. This was taken up by his principal successor, Kanemigi, under whose influence Yoshida Shinto grew to even greater importance.

Yoshida Kanemigi (1516–1573)

Kanemigi was actually a son of the influential Confucian scholar Kiyohara Nobutaka (1475–1550), who was adopted by the Yoshida family and thereby became a grandson of Kanetomo. One important aspect of the period was the spread of shrines across the country in the provinces. This was done not simply by teaching but also by bestowing status upon local *kami* and folk deities. Various privileges include the right to use the title *daimyōjin* (gracious *kami*) instead of *gongen*, the term used for *avatar* in Buddhism. This was evidence of the degree to which the power and influence of the Yoshida family over shrines had become established.

In 1485 Kanetomo was requested by Shogun Yoshimasa (1435–1490) to undertake a study of certain shrines around Kyoto, the enshrined *kami*, the corresponding Buddhist deities according to the old *honji-suijaku* theory, their subsidiary shrines, the associated Buddhist temples, their rites, clergy, and history. This added not only to the family's prestige but also to its general expertise in Shinto and its cultic relation to Buddhism.

Kanemigi was well acquainted with the antiquarian aspects of Shinto and followed the study with a commentary on the *Nijūnisha Chushiki*.[15] From 1542 to 1572 he traveled widely in Iga, Ise, Nagato, and other areas, researching records, shrines, and shrine families. One direct result was that the number of families of Shinto priests who came to Kyoto to seek formal affiliation with Yoshida Shinto grew steadily; people came initially from the central region in West Japan but later from the northeast and the northwest. From a list of 120 provincial shrines that received an imprimatur of Yoshida Shinto between 1482 and 1569, the following regions were represented: Kyoto area—79 shrines including 28 in Omi, 1 in Yamba, and 39 others; Chubu—16 including 5 in Echizen, 4 in Mikawa, 3 in Wakasa; Chugoku—12 with 6 in Suo; in addition, there were 10 in Shikoku, and 2 in Kanto.

During this period Shinto community relations went through an important stage of development. Many lay people were given permission to manage and maintain shrines. For example, the *Hirano Myōjin Jinja* in Settsu was put into the hands of the village elders, the headman being released from clothing taboos. The *Koita Jinja* in Tamba was given a tablet to be placed on the part of the *torii* intended for the identity markers, indicating that the enshrined being had been given full *kami* status, as was the locally revered being (the Nara monk Dōkyō) in the *Saeki Jinja* in Tamba. Other examples included granting permission to build a *torii* or to have permanent lay people act as shrine caretakers. As small villages moved toward independence, local *samurai* and the village elders became the core of the Shinto priesthood. This was probably the origin of the local *ujikosodai* and the *miyaza*, groups of lay people who maintained the shrines and

served the *kami* (the latter groups occurring where no fully authorized priest was serving).

Yoshida Shinto also relaxed certain rigid taboos, permitting the eating of meat for health or allowing some rituals to be performed with warmed water rather than cold. It was even able to release villagers from contractual bonds to other clan members or clan masters. Amulets and talismen were circulated for various purposes (e.g., to pacify the vengeful dead or to protect the home against fire and theft). These reflect the kinds of concerns that may be seen at shrines to the present day, allowing for more contemporary concerns such as road safety or air travel at home and abroad. The growth of village life during the sixteenth century established many of the patterns of life that are still observed. Much of this was due to the influence of Yoshida Shinto, which remained a powerful force until it was severely criticized by the *Kokugaku* scholar Hirata Atsutane (1774–1842). This brought its influence to an end during the latter third of the Edo age.

WATARAI SHINTO AND THE ORIGINS OF ISE SHINTO

During the reigns of Emperors Yomei and Kotoku (recorded in the *Nihongi*) the term *Shinto* was ordinarily used to refer to attitudes of reverence toward the traditional *kami* of the country and people, leaning heavily on the folk way idea. The *honji-suijaku* theory of the Heian period brought it into relation with Buddhism. By the Kamakura period, it had come to be defined as a system of ideas, a "philosophy" that coexisted with Buddhism as a religious and philosophical tradition in its own right. The *Kogi Zuiketsu-shu*,[16] written in 1256 as a compilation of responses by a Jōdo monk, Shinzui, to questions from Uehara Atsuhiro, defends this position. The fact that alms were offered by believers in Buddhism and Shinto was taken as evidence that the religions were equal and identical.

In the *Tsukai Sankeiki*, Amaterasu Omikami was declared to be the Lord of Shinto, whereas Dainichi Nyorai was the Lord of Buddhism. Shinto, however, could still be found referring to folk religion. It was not until the fourteenth century that the "philosophical" usage became the rule rather than the exception. Expressions then came into use that spoke of the profound meaning of Shinto, of the transformation of Shinto, or of the beautiful spirit of Shinto and Buddhism.[17] Many other texts make similar claims. The *Toyoashihara Jimpuwa-ki* contains a reference to the imperial virtue that extends over heaven, earth, and man that is called the Way of the Emperor. In Japan it is also called the way of the Kami.[18]

As at present, the influence of the major shrines seems to have been decisive. They were largely responsible for the development of both the philosophical and the ritual aspects of Shinto. At Ise, Sannō, and Miwa Shrines, such developments were most apparent. In prohibiting private vis-

its to Ise, the *Engishiki* stated clearly that servants of the Emperor may not visit and make offerings at Ise Grand Shrine at will.[19] However, lack of funds prevented the government from enforcing this order. Income had to be permitted from less official sources, principally from the lands held throughout the country known as *mikuriya*. Central and East Japan were targeted particularly for the development of these land tracts. Buddhist culture was less rooted there than in the rest of the country. Propagandist stress on the mythical origins of Japan and the Japanese race appealed to the emerging warrior class, who derived a sense of identity and purpose from it. Minamoto no Yoshimune made a donation to the Soima *mikuriya* in 1161 with a declaration that the entire land of Dai-Nippon belonged to the Toyoke Shrine and the Imperial Grand Shrines of Ise. Japan, he claimed, echoing the classics, was the Central Land of Reed Plains.

Origins of Ise Shinto

Following these changes in the intellectual climate, the priests of Ise worked hard to achieve hegemony over the eastern part of the country and clearly had much success.[20] Minamoto Yoritomo encouraged the *gon-negi* at Ise most committed to the extension of the cult, presented *mikuriya* and horses to both the inner and outer shrines, and suppressed all resistance to them in the Ise area. His influence was decisive for the growing *samurai* class and had a great deal to do with the establishment of the prestige of the Grand Shrines. By a coincidence of history, it was at this time that the *Tōdai-ji* in Nara fell into ruins after a disastrous fire and was in need of rebuilding. In 1186 a Pure Land monk called Shunjobo Chogen (1121–1206) presented a petition in the form of 600 scrolls of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra to the Grand Shrines of Ise in the company of 60 other monks to seek the cooperation of the Grand Shrines in the rebuilding of the *Tōdai-ji*. The High Priest, Ōnakatomi Tadataka; the chief *negi* of the Inner Shrine, Arakida Narinaga; and the chief *negi* of the Outer Shrine, Watarai Mitsutada, warmly welcomed the delegation and the scrolls, which were to increase the joy of Amaterasu Omikami and Toyōke Omikami in the law and in their own holy radiance.

According to the *Daijingū Shozoji-ki*[21] a courtier known as Tachibana no Moroe (684–757) had been sent by Emperor Shomu during the Nara period to the Grand Shrines of Ise to receive an oracle, which declared that the sun was identical with Dainichi Nyorai. The "sun" was, of course, Amaterasu. This marked the beginning of a new stage in the relationship, which was to develop to the benefit of Shinto over the ensuing eras and gradually reverse the earlier position whereby Shinto was forced to yield to Buddhism and Chinese culture.[22]

Expansion of Ise Shinto

The Ise shrines began to draw large numbers of pilgrims from the thirteenth century onward. The great ceremonies of 1266, and later of 1287, are recorded as having drawn millions of pilgrims. Under the influence of Chogen, many Buddhist priests made the pilgrimage. The *Tsukai Sankeiki* was used as a guidebook and introduction to the great themes of the *kami* of the Grand Shrines. Tsukai himself was a typical product of the age in which he lived. He was originally a member of the Ōnakatomi clan but had joined the *Shingon-shū* as a priest of the *Daigo-ji*, becoming proficient in the teachings of the *Sambo-in* school. He became Head Priest of the *Daigo-ji* and succeeded to the *Renge-ji*, a temple of the Ōnakatomi clan located on the Tanahashi *mikuriya* not far from the Ise Grand Shrine. He built an institution called the *Dai Jingū Horaku-ji* (literally, "Grand Shrine Temple of Pleasure in the Buddhist Law"), which he used as a base to explain how the native *kami* of Japan appreciated the teachings of Buddhism. He interpreted the nature of the *Geku* and the *Naiku* in quasi-Buddhist terms; this was a difficult position to maintain owing to the rules at Ise forbidding Buddhist priests from entering the shrine precincts because Buddhism was considered unclean.

Various popular explanations were invented to make it possible for Buddhism and Shinto to coexist. One common line of argument was that anti-Buddhist sentiment was actually pretense, and that in fact even though the Ise *kami* outwardly keep themselves apart from Buddhism, they inwardly guard and defend it. Consequently Buddhism, it was claimed, has always depended upon the protection of the Grand Shrines.[23]

These explanations gradually became official doctrines taught by the Outer Shrine (rather than the Inner Shrine) from the early Kamakura period. The *Engishiki* referred to the Inner Shrine as the Grand Shrine. The Outer Shrine was known as the Watarai shrine, indicating the influence of the Watarai family and their role in expanding the cult. By the late Heian period, the Inner Shrine was called the Imperial Grand Shrine and the Outer Shrine was called the Toyōke Grand Shrine. The Outer was slowly beginning to achieve parity with the Inner. In Tsukai's writings, the record of the pilgrimage noted that the *negi* of the Outer Shrine served at both Inner and Outer rituals.

The manner in which the Outer Shrine was presenting its claims aroused the displeasure of the Inner Shrine. In 1282 the Outer Shrine *negi*, Yukitada (1236–1305), who had been relieved of his duties, went to Kyoto to engage in research. He wrote a treatise on the divine names of the *kami* of the two Grand Shrines entitled *Ise Nisho Daijingū Shinmei Hisho*, which he presented to the retired Emperor Kameyama. He was restored to office in 1287. In 1296 there was a controversy with the Inner Shrine concerning the appropriateness of the name *Toyōke Imperial Shrine* in a document

referring to the Outer Shrine. Yoshitada made the Inner priests very angry by referring in his defense to the *Zō Ise Nisho Daijingū Hōkihon-gi*,[24] which had been written by a priest of the Outer Shrine. It contained many of the ideas of Ise Shinto as it was being developed by the Outer Shrine. It declared, for example, that *kami* and mind are the fundamental essences of Heaven and Earth and that the body is nothing less than the growth of the five elements. They return to the origin of all things in accordance with the universal mind. *Kami* is revealed through the performance of prayers, and they help the honest and upright. The *Zō Ise Nisho Daijingū Hōkihon-gi* also offered an interesting exposition of the idea of man as a divine being under Heaven who should live in a peaceful world. It is the mind, or heart, that gives residence to the divine, so it should be kept pure. The descent of the *kami* is through prayers and the divine protection is rooted in honesty. Individuals should entrust themselves to the original vow. Once everyone accepts the Great Way, the world revolves peacefully and the sun and moon are bright; wind and rain enrich the country in due season; and the people are at peace. The taint of Buddhism is thus avoided.

These ideas and many like them are found in works written by the generations of Watarai priests of the Outer Shrine, which came to be known as the *Shinto Gobushō* (The Five-fold Shinto Canon). The texts were the *Amaterashimasu Ise ni-sho Kōtai Jingū Go-chinza shidai-ki*, *Ise Nisho Kōtai Jingū Go-Chinza Denki*, *Toyōke Kōtai Jingū Go-Chinza*, *Zo-Ise Nisho Daijingū Hōkihongi*, and *Yamatohime no Mikoto seiki*.[25] These were the definitive works on Ise Shinto (meaning Watarai Shinto).

The essence of the cult was very simple. It stressed four principles: (1) the authority of the Grand Shrine, (2) the sanctity of the Imperial Regalia, (3) the self-awareness of Japan as the *kami no kuni* (land of the *kami*) and (4) the expression of reverence by prayer, purity, and honesty. These principles implied a rejection of the earlier principle of *Shimbutsu Shugo*, the harmony of Buddhism and Shinto. The cult recognized Buddhism as such, but it claimed that Shinto was a religion in its own right, received from one's ancestors to be passed on to one's descendants. This set of ideas was the work of Watarai Yukitada, Watarai Tsuneyoshi, and Watarai Ieyuki.

The *kami* of the Outer Shrine known as Miketsu no Kami is the same *kami* identified in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* as Ame-no-minakushi-no-kami and Kuni-no-tokotachi-no-mikoto. This *kami* is said to have made an agreement with Amaterasu at the time of creation that permitted her to rule the Empire forever. This clearly gave status to the Amaterasu cult. The *kami* of the Outer Shrine was understood to be in charge of water, whereas the *kami* of the Inner Shrine ruled over fire. However, Outer Shrine supporters argued that water was especially important for nourishing everything that exists. This assisted in the *kami*'s development from a *kami* of foodstuffs to one of general fertility and productivity.

To prove the arguments various sources of ideas were used, including

the Chinese *Yin-Yang* theory and the Five Elements Theory, as well as Esoteric Buddhist ideas and some Taoist thought. Watarai Ieyuki, the successor to Yukitada, wrote a book entitled *Ruiji Jingi Hongen*[26] in which he attempted to systematize the new Shinto ideas, drawing upon Sung Dynasty records to prove his case.

It is difficult to assess how influential these ideas were on ordinary people, but a nationwide network of believers (similar to the system of Kumano) came into being. This added to the prestige of the Outer Shrine as it gradually carved out its own place in Japanese religious history.

Many of the ideas of Watarai Ieyuki and Tsuneyoshi were used and developed by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) into spiritual ideals and practical principles (Kitabatake was a statesman at the southern court in Yoshino at the time). This added to the prestige and power of the Ise cult. Also at this time, the *Nakatomi Ōbarae* was coming to be treated with great respect, growing in prestige as the major *norito* of all Shinto rituals. Strict rules were devised and enforced with regard to the writings of Ise Shinto, the "writings prohibited beyond the river (Miyakawa)." They were forbidden to be read by anyone younger than sixty years of age who was not a member of a small elite, priestly class. This restriction on access further added to their prestige.

Later Developments under Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–1691)

Properly speaking, this discussion belongs to the Edo period but is part of the history of the Ise tradition. The Watarai family were the hereditary priests of the *geku* of the Grand Shrines of Ise. Nobuyoshi totally rejected Ryōbu Shinto and insisted upon reverence for only the *kami* of Heaven and Earth. He made a clear and distinct separation of Shinto ideas from Buddhism. He affirmed the principles of honesty, mystery, and purity as being based upon the dignity of the Grand Shrines of Ise and the sacred nature of the Imperial Household. He encouraged the development of provincial shrines and tried to heighten ordinary people's awareness of the importance of Shinto. But the ultimate objective was to elevate the place of the Outer Shrine above that of the Inner.

Watarai Shinto might be justifiably called Philosophical or Academic Shinto in that it tried to identify and define a pure form of Shinto, which it then presented as the basis of government and morality. It also showed how Shinto permeated daily life by pointing out systematically that not one normal human activity is unaffected by Shinto. In reality, there were elements of Confucianism, although in its doctrinal aspects there is also an underlying monotheistic universalism. The origins and contents of Watarai Shinto merit much more research and attention than they have received.

SUIGA SHINTO

The thought of Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was used by the Tokugawa government to introduce into Japan the kind of Confucianism it wished to promulgate. The system of thought of Chu Hsi Confucianism was first studied and developed by Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619)[27] and Hayashi Razan (1583–1657),[28] who were both former Buddhist priests and commoners (perhaps a reaction to the previous age as well as release from it). Hayashi was the principal scholar of the Tokugawa shogunate; his contribution was the assertion that the basic relationship of the system was that of Ruler-Subject, which was to take precedence over the traditional Confucian priority of Father-Son. In doing so Hayashi was Japanizing Confucian ideas, but at the same time he was re-framing Japanese thought within Chinese values.

Yamasaki Ansai (1616–1682) was an eminent Confucian scholar whose thought represented the culmination of this approach. He emphasized the Great Way established by Amaterasu and by Sarutahiko-o-kami. He stressed veneration of the *kami* and explained that man and the universe are one, signaling the return to a more clearly monistic pattern of thought. In effect he developed a new branch of the Chu Hsi school, becoming in the process the most notable exponent of Confucian Shinto.[29] His concept of reverence for the Emperor (*sonnō shugi*) tied up with the notion of Japan as the land of the *kami* (*kami no kuni*). The development of these two ideas gave a framework of reference for the definition of the *kokutai* (body politic), a concept that became basic to Tokugawa ideals of education. His school became known as *Suiga*, the "Shinto of Divine Revelation and Blessing." The Great Way, the true way, was that of Ohirumemuchi (another name for Amaterasu). Sarutahiko-o-kami Shinto was part of the sun virtue (*nittoku*) of Amaterasu.

Although Suiga Shinto effectively diminished the influence of Ryōbu Shinto, it incorporated many ideas that were unacceptable to Shinto orthodoxy because of its close relationship with Sung Dynasty Confucian ideas. It was on these grounds, for example, that Motoori Norinaga (1729–1801) rejected it as having preached Confucianism under the guise of Shinto. However, Ansai did in fact encourage reverence for the Imperial House and helped cultivate personal piety within Shinto.

Yamago Sokō (1622–1685) of the Ancient Learning School[30] within Confucianism showed an even greater tendency to be nationalistic or "Japanist" in this way, designating Shinto as the *Seikyō*, the teaching of the sages. Both thinkers contributed to the expanded influence of Confucian ethics as the moral dimension of Shinto, ensuring its place as a fundamental element in the Japanese social value system through modern times.

KOKUGAKU SHINTO

The term *Kokugaku* (national learning) refers to the work of a number of thinkers whose ideas developed around the mid-Tokugawa period, during which they gained slow but steady recognition. Kokugaku thought became more widely discussed, however, after the Meiji Restoration, when it was used to point the Japanese people toward the roots of their nationhood. The search for identity was a necessary and inevitable part of the modernization process for the Japanese, as it is for any nation struggling with the conflict between tradition and modernity. The ideas themselves grew out of various aspects of cultural development during the *sakoku jidai*, the era of the closed country. The name *Fukko Shinto* (Restoration Shinto) was also used to stress the idea of returning to older ways, when in fact the nation was undertaking the structural reforms necessary to equip it for survival in the changing modern world.

Intellectual History in the Tokugawa Period

Concepts that had become familiar to the popular mind included *hohon hanshi* (indebtedness to ancestors and return to beginnings), *gyōki* (the age of attenuation), and *mappō* (the apocalyptic age). These ideas were current during the *sengoku jidai* (the era of civil wars that started around 1470). Lack of central authority produced, among other things, social reforms, a breakdown of the class structure, and the liberation of the individual. After the final victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1615 following the earlier efforts at centralization by Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), the Tokugawa period came into being. The new shogunate devoted great attention to cultural and educational matters. The new culture was firmly in the hands of the government and did not depend upon priests and nobles, as in the Heian period. It was also totally secular, having been purged of all influences of Buddhism, a religion not well regarded by the Tokugawa House. The forced division of the *Jōdo-Shin* sect into *Higashi* and *Nishi-Honganji* to make two smaller groups indicates the degree of concern it exercised. Rule through culture and learning (*bunkyō seiji*) was the principal policy of the government.

As a reaction to the formal Confucian-Shinto alliance, various alternative schools emerged. One was the *yomei-gaku*[31] which asserted that moral truths were discovered by introspection rather than study, as the Chu Hsi school argued. Nakae Tōju (1608–1648)[32] and Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691)[33] were the two principal figures of this tradition. The name *Kogaku* (Ancient Learning) began to appear as a reaction to all of these, introducing a new stress upon return to original texts in search for the spiritual roots and true cultural identity of Japan.

Ito Jinsai (1627–1705)

The originator of the Ancient Learning School was Ito Jinsai,[34] who came from a merchant family in Kyoto. He developed a special interest in Confucianism, initially being influenced by Chu Hsi but later developing his own school and becoming famous on that account. His critical study of Chu Hsi led him to doubt whether or not it was actually Confucian. He began to move away from it, trying to bring out the original meaning of the Chinese classics, especially the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Book of Mencius*. He pointed out that Chu Hsi distinguished between primary nature (*honzen no sei*) and physical nature (*kishitsu no sei*) derived from the cosmology centered on the Absolute (*taikyoku*), principle (*li*) and spirit (*ki*). Its methods of self-cultivation were based on the maintenance of respect, *kei* (respectful behavior), and an exhaustive study of *li*. It saw morality expressed in the return to *honzen no sei* through a process of self-realization similar to Western philosophical idealist systems of thought such as that of F. H. Bradley.[35] Morality in this system became the realization of a principle that was achieved through self-reflection and emphasis upon speculative discipline. Ito's conclusion was that the Chu Hsi school was not really Confucian in the pure sense. The tenuous analogies with Buddhism and Taoism simply obscured the original ideas of Confucius and Mencius, which Ito proceeded to define in different terms. Confucian morality was based upon *in* (benevolence) in the sense of an active love toward other people. Love (*ai*) was the Way of Heaven (*Tendō*), the natural way. Human beings expressed this cosmic movement when they showed humanity (*jin*). Morality was thus achieved by practice and cultivation of *jin*, but not though speculation.

Ito's stress on the original meaning of Confucianism and the true meaning of morality represented a way of thinking that was to have profound influence on those coming later in the search for the origins and meaning of morality and moral order. Thus, a new style of Japanese scholarship came into being based on the principle that searching for antiquarian roots was a legitimate activity. It continued in Confucian studies for a time before the spirit transferred itself to the examination of the origins of *Nipponshugi*, Japanism. Ito's work was continued by his son Togai (1670–1736). Their joint work, a dominant influence in Kyoto scholarship, came to be known as the Horikawa school. Among their followers were many former scholars of the Chu Hsi and Yang Ming schools.

Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728)

The Ancient Rhetoric school of Sorai developed a generation after Ito.[36] It was a dedicated Sinophilism that disdained things Japanese. In contrast to Ito Jinsai's scholarly life in Kyoto, Ogyū worked for the government of

Edo and found patronage in the shoguns Tsunayoshi (1646–1709) and Yoshimune (1684–1751).

Ogyū began his career by studying Chu Hsi and in time founded his own school, which included a special interest in Chinese rhetoric. His teachings were close to those of Ito, although he felt that Ito's views still contained some elements of Buddhist and Taoist doctrines. He sought to further purify Confucian thought and argued that the sage kings Yao and Shun and those of the dynasties of Hsia, Yin, and Chou of the age of Confucius were successfully able to pacify China because they had received the Mandate of Heaven (*tenmei*). This was not Ito's understanding of the natural way, nor was it the same as benevolence (*jin*) and duty (*gi*). It was, rather, a utilitarian ethic based upon the traditional culture of rituals (*rei*), music (*gaku*), punishment (*kei*), and law (*sei*). Ogyū contended that the ideas of way and virtue (*toku*) never existed outside of these four elements of culture and civilization.

Because words (meaning poetry and history) and actions (music) were the central values of that classic age, there was need to clarify both the meaning of words and the character of actions. The study of the Six Classics could thus be the basis for the administration of the entire world, because they cover all aspects of ancient culture. Ogyū contended that Japanese poetry of the past was inferior to Chinese poetry, so he proposed a restoration of literary style based on Chinese writing. His school came to be known as the Ken'en school, which reached its peak between 1720 and 1740.

Two main branches grew up, the first of which centered on the classics and was typified by Dazai Jun (1680–1747).[37] During his first thirty years as a scholar, Dazai moved from Chu Hsi to Ito's school and then to that of Ogyū. He developed an extreme form of utilitarian ethics, being extremely critical of the study of *li* as a way of interpreting the classics. He was a competent literary critic; in his *Dokugo*, a collection of poems, he offers a Chinese perspective on Japanese poetry. He claimed to identify Chinese traits of style in old Japanese work but also insisted that people should study Japanese poetry of the past, which expressed feelings naturally without any artificiality. In this regard, to some extent he anticipated the *Kokugaku* school.

Hattori Nankaku (1683–1749)[38] was the model of the second group, which focused on the study of literature, particularly the prose and poetry of China. Dazai noted that after Hattori had begun to understand Japanese poetry he turned to Chinese poetry, and that after grasping its style he came to excel in it. The efforts of these scholars promoted a deep feeling for Chinese culture and style and a neglect of interest in the Japanese tradition. On the other hand, continued study of the ancient Chinese styles by Ogyū made possible the later critical work of National Learning as a philological movement, because the Chinese styles could not be identified. In all of these

scholars, no matter how pro-Chinese, there was a slightly ambiguous attitude toward the object of their respect. They studied things Chinese but somehow wanted to improve things Japanese to the point at which they equaled the Chinese in quality but could be called Japanese. This concern also lies in the background of the *Kokugaku* school.

Kokugaku: National Learning

Confucianism was the great force used by the government during the Edo period to control learning and culture. National Learning grew out of an antagonism to this and to Confucianism, which it saw as an imported ideology. Buddhist and Confucian ideas had dominated Japanese values since the Nara period, which meant Chinese influence. Tokugawa policy was to encourage the syncretistic mixture of Buddhism and Shinto, of temples and shrines, to permit Confucian learning to become the true mark of sophistication and the proper norm for social mores. Confucianism was thus able to disregard Buddhism, and under the patronage of the Tokugawa family it became the official ideology of the state, used to inculcate desirable manners and attitudes. From among the many Confucian schools, a school of Ancient Learning emerged that in part was responsible for the rise of the National Learning movement.

National Learning from its inception showed three very clear anti-Confucian tendencies. First, it appreciated things Japanese and deprecated things foreign as a reaction to the view that revered things Chinese and disregarded things Japanese. This is seen especially in the scholarly goals of identifying what was purely and originally Japanese and in the conception of a Japanese-style moral sense.

Second, it showed a preference for naturalism and simplicity of artistic style in contrast to the formalism, complexity, and artificiality that it saw as hallmarks of the Confucian tradition. The National Learning movement affirmed the emotions and refined and defended this idea through the philological study of the Japanese classics, particularly of the prose and poetic styles of the Heian period. Comments made by Motoori Norinaga must have been revolutionary in that age of gaudiness and formalism. The charges of the "unnaturalness" of Confucian morality and of the "naturalness" of a human moral sense represented a serious challenge to the basis of the Tokugawa social system and its insistence upon a divinely sanctioned order. Ultimately, it was little more than a matter of replacing one ideal of a divine order (invented in China) with another (developed in Japan), but the movement itself enabled people to clarify the central issues involved and to decide which they preferred.

Third, it claimed to be seeking to throw light on the meanings of Japanese words and concepts that were created and written before the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism. This refers to the *Yamato Kotoba*,

the ancient form of the Japanese language that was claimed to have existed before Chinese culture came to dominate Japanese life. The goal of National Learning was thus to define, defend, and propagate in their purest form the moral, spiritual, and artistic values of the ancient Japanese. It began by rejecting Confucian and Buddhist ideas in the Japanese classics and by trying to expose the original and unique spirit of the ancient Japanese people. This was the principal goal of the National Learning movement. From the work of Keichū and its attitude of "seeking the truth," through Kada Azumamaro and Kamono Mabuchi to Motoori Norinaga, we see the emergence of a genuine philosophical spirit and of a critical inquiry, something that never appeared to have existed in Japanese history until them.

Origins in Keichū and Kada Azumamaro

Both the Ancient Meaning school (*Kogigaku*) of Ito Jinsai and the Ancient Rhetoric school (*Kokunjigaku*) of Ogyū Sorai were schools of Chinese philology. *Kokugaku* grew out of the Ancient Learning movement. With the work of Keichū, the National Learning movement developed independently of the Chinese school and came to take on a uniquely Japanese profile.

Keichū (1640–1701)[39] began his career as a Shingon Buddhist priest and scholar who gradually became committed to seeking truth in an uncompromising way. His principal fields of study, the *Manyōshū* and the historical *kana*, aimed at restoring ancient Japanese language. This approach led him to make use of inductive reasoning in trying to infer original meanings and intents. He eventually went far beyond the *Manyōshū* and developed methods to gain insight into the proper way to read the *Tale of Genji* and the *Tale of Ise* as literary works. The moralistic character of Confucian studies had hitherto inhibited this kind of critical and analytical approach, but Keichū's entirely scholarly and objectively critical method gave great impetus to the study of Japanese learning (*Wagaku*).

Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736),[40] the son of the *Gūji* (High Priest) of the Inari *Jinja* in Kyoto, came a generation after Keichū. He first set the goals of National Learning in his search to identify and define the religious, moral, literary, and legal culture of the ancient Japanese through the study of the classics. Kada prepared and presented to the government in 1728 a petition to establish a school (*so gakko rei*). Although he may not have used the term *National Learning* as such, he did speak of state learning. Several aspects of his application are interesting for the future development of the movement. He subdivided National Learning into *kami* way (Shinto), law, history, and literature. The objective was to clarify the true meaning of the classics by removing Buddhist and Confucian distortions. He explained various methods of arriving at an understanding of the ancient

mind through the clarification of ancient words and books, and he spoke of the absurdity of interpreting them through the mysterious and the secretive.

The scholarly purpose of National Learning had been definitively set down. However, Kada's work in the study of *kami* way was not as deep as that of the *Manyōshū*, on which he did a great deal of work. In this way he was still within the tradition of Keichū. However, his tendency to express a normative view, as well as his own sense of what was ethical, entitles him to a place in the development of National Learning. He helped to give vent to the suppressed feelings of national consciousness that had been growing steadily within Shinto since the beginning of the Tokugawa period.

Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769)

Mabuchi[41] was a direct disciple of Kada. Like those before him, the motivating force behind his work was a reaction to overstylized, overformalized culture and the desire to return to the simplicity of what was purely Japanese. He was born in Hammamatsu, now a modern super express (*Shinkansen*) train stop between Tokyo and Kyoto. The family had a military tradition; one earlier figure, Masada, gained fame at the battle of Mikatagahara in 1572 while serving under Tokugawa Ieyasu. His father was a priest of the New Okabe Shrine in Iba Village, as a consequence of which he took Okabe as a family name. Kamo Mabuchi himself was adopted by the husband of an elder sister and later by another relative named Masanaga, whose daughter he married. Widowed at age twenty-eight, he left that family intending to become a Shingon priest. Unable to do so because his parents did not approve of his plan, he married the daughter of an innkeeper named Umeya in Hammamatsu. There he remained for ten years.

Of his academic training, little is known except what he tells us. He was taught by his mother to value serenity (*yasurakeku*) and refined elegance (*miyabika*), as in the poems of the *Manyōshū*. He was also apparently attracted at a young age to Chinese studies. Most important, he met Kada Azumamaro several times in Hammamatsu on his journeys between Kyoto and Edo and finally went to study with him for the last four years of the old scholar's life. He thus became deeply involved in the learning of the day. In 1737, the year following Azumamaro's death, he returned to Hammamatsu. In 1738 he abandoned the name Umeya, took back the name Okabe, and opened a private school in Edo. He taught Japanese poetry and prose and developed his new ideas until he retired in 1760 at age sixty-four. He died at age seventy-three. Like Confucius, he marked the stages of his life in decades.

He noted of himself that when he was over fifty years old, he came to

think that he had some understanding of both ancient things and the classics. At age sixty, the meaning of the *Manyōshū* came to life in his mind and he realized that the thinking of the ancients was accessible through the study of their poetry. This enabled him to finish his work on it. After these efforts, at the age of seventy he declared that he had a sense of accomplishment. During the first period, Ogyū Sorai's thought was still exerting cultural power. During the second period, the work of Hattori Nankaku was growing in importance. The final period occurred when the work of Mabuchi and his new concept of ancient learning came to replace both of the previously dominant schools. His home in Edo in the Hama Ward was in the house called *Agatai* (House in the Fields), where he lived from 1764. Agatai gave its name to his school, which came into being as a new intellectual force in Edo. Mabuchi was a poet and a philosopher, but he was also a very careful scholar. In addition to studying the *Manyōshū*, he worked on the Shinto liturgies and early Imperial Edicts as well as Heian period literature, *Genji Monogatari*, *Ise Monogatari*, *Kokinshu*, and the *Hyakunin Isshu*.

To study these texts, particularly the *Manyōshū*, Mabuchi recommended reading a poem five times from an annotated edition (probably the Muromachi Sengaku edition) marked with the *tempon* (Japanese readings) and without trying to grasp the meaning. This philological exercise would enable the reader to observe different word usages. The poem should be read a sixth time or more, but with an attempt at writing other readings into the text. This might generate some confusion but probably would bring previous readings unconsciously to mind. Reading these various versions in a comparative way would probably suggest some readings as preferable and correct. After doing this several times, he recommended a speed reading of other ancient works from the *Kojiki* to the *Wamyo ruiju sho*, the Shinto liturgies in the *Engishiki*, and the texts of the Imperial Edicts of various eras. Contrasts and generic meanings would naturally emerge. Problematic readings, interpolations, and mistakes could then be identified in a way that made the sentiments of antiquity (in the *Manyōshū*) transparent.

Mabuchi's work on the *Manyōshū* carried all earlier work to a great degree of refinement. Uniquely and successfully, he captured the spirit of antiquity in his philology and experienced it himself by becoming able to write poems in the style and mood of that age, which he called the "true mind of the high and upright." He demonstrated the importance of the spirit of simplicity that was at work in the creation of the *Manyōshū* before the advent of either Buddhism or Confucianism.

The essence of the *Manyōshū* as he saw and grasped it was contained in the core concepts of Shinto. In his *Niimanabi* (basic learning), he noted that through all its poems can be found a spirit that is lofty (*takaki*) and direct (*naoki*). There is elegance (*miyabi*) and manliness (*o-shiki*). These terms explain the meaning of the sincere heart (*magokoro*), which he took

to be the central theme of the *Manyōshū*. His efforts at imitating the style of the *Manyōshū* demonstrated his mastery of the spirit of the text as well as his acquaintance with the values of the age that had produced it. The Ancient Way gave to National Learning its finest tool of normative analysis, which enabled it to see beyond the outer layers of the past to the pristine spirit at the heart of Japanese culture.

Mabuchi's political philosophy starts from the idea of the body politic (*kokutai*) ruled over eternally by an unbroken line of Emperors. In his *Engishiki norito kai jo* (Introduction to Understanding Liturgies of the *Engishiki*), he brought the poetic and the political into touch by stating that literature is a "medication" for political order, especially in the days of Fuijiwara. The culture of ancient Japan was for that reason indeed excellent. The manly spirit seen in the *Manyōshū* emanated from the Emperor, and it characterized his rule. The ancient and great civilization of Japan was damaged by the intrusion of Confucian and Buddhist ideas. The Imperial Court (along with the national spirit) went into decline in proportion to its interest in academic trivia and complexity of style. Poetry also consequently suffered the effeminateness of the Heian Court. Mabuchi defended the link between poetry and the social order by declaring that poetry was the Great Way, whereas the teachings of Confucius were a lesser way. Poetry, not being based on logic, expressed spontaneous human feeling and consequently could harmonize with the spirit of good government. Poetry could have a soothing effect on the mind and consequently upon government. Logic simply killed what it touched.

Kamo Mabuchi was in effect generating an idealism (or, some might argue, a romanticism) that sought to recreate the life and spirit of the past within the present. Anyone concerned about social order would, in his view, think of the rule of past great Emperors. This would lead to an interest in the literature and culture of those eras. From these the spirit of the age could be learned, especially through poetry, principal of which must be the poems of the *Manyōshū*.

The concept of *zeitgeist* is assumed and used effectively in all of Mabuchi's arguments that idealize the past and make it a model for the present and future. The glories of that past age are a theme to which he returns time and again. From an enhanced aestheticism based on that understanding of the past, he believed that society could move to an enhanced morality. He always referred back to the age of Fujiwara, the Plain of Wisteria of the seventh century, as his datum point, describing those Emperors as people who venerated the *kami* and exercised power with awe and majesty for all to see. The nobility and magnificence of their style pacified the people and made sound government possible.

In the years immediately preceding his death and as recorded in writings such as *Agatai shugen roku* or the *Koku-i ko*, Mabuchi developed ideas that were influential on his successors and that left a foundation for the

emerging movement. He continued to stress the ideal of a return to the golden age of Japanese culture, which he dated from the era of Empress Ingu (fourth century C.E.) to that of Emperor Tenji (r. 668–671).

He metaphorically contrasted Japan, the land of the rising sun, with China, where the sun was at its zenith, and India, where the sun had set. The national character of Japan was that of spring, in contrast to China's summer and India's autumn; Japan was a youth compared to the maturity of China and the age of India. In contrast to the elaborate artificiality of these civilizations, Japan was simple and natural. The Japanese had no pompous philosophy, no places, no writing. Roofs were wooden, walls earthen, and clothes of hemp. For almost a millennium the Imperial Family reigned and peace and stability existed. But the Chinese, with their complex doctrines of Confucianism, had lost their Imperial continuity to barbarians. Japan alone followed the Way of Heaven and Earth. Shinto features strongly in Mabuchi's claim that the Shinto *norito* were pure models of ancient style and therefore untouched by Confucianism. Thus, the words of the *Ōbarae* were the basis for understanding the way of the *kami*.

Mabuchi continued to work on the philosophical basis for his position with the outlook of a mature, secular humanist. The *kami* way follows the natural rhythm of Heaven and Earth, which are transformed according to the changing seasons. Belief that *kami* answer prayers or save people from hell he regarded as fanciful superstition. Shinto meant simply revering the *kami*, which led Muraoka Tsunetsugu to label him as holding an atheistic natural philosophy. The atheism is debatable, but his idea of *kami* is not one that is heavily endowed with the supernatural.

He continued also to maintain a lively interest in political questions, praising the military government of Tokugawa Ieyasu and calling it an age that had returned to antiquity. He argued for the necessity to move the capital from time to time to invigorate the national spirit. He also advocated the restoration of the Imperial Court. In a manner that is almost prophetic of events just over a century later, in his *Koku-i Ko* he declared that he was hoping a ruler would appear who embodied his ideals. Such a person, he asserted, could set the world to rights in ten or twenty years. This outlook may have been optimistic, but the ideas he forged during his life became tremendous conceptual weapons in the hands of those who followed him.

Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801)

The greatest exponent of national learning, Motoori Norinaga, gave *Kokugaku* broad perspectives and precise scholarship.[42] Working from Heian Studies (*chukogaku*) and Nara Studies (*jokogaku*), he provided *Kokugaku* with a sound foundation. Although he was regarded as the most important of the National Learning scholars, Motoori was heavily indebted to his

predecessors. He insisted that a student should revere learning more than his teacher (the opposite of the Confucian ideal) and that a disciple should not be overawed by his teacher's explanations. Furthermore, he argued that secret teachings and oral traditions had no meaning for proper scholarship. National Learning he saw as bringing together four areas of study, namely, national morality (*kokumin-dōtoku-ron*), national history (*koku-shi*), national literature (*koku-bungaku*), and Shinto studies of the Ancient Way (*shin-dō*) concept of the body politic (*kokutai no kodō*). His thought in this regard is more rounded and more clearly focused than that of his predecessors.

Motoori was born during the era of the eighth Shogun Yoshimune, the son of a cotton wholesaler who lived in Matsuzaka City in Ise Province. He received a classical literary education typical in merchant families in the Kyoto-Osaka area and subsequently studied in Kyoto to become a physician and a Confucian scholar. At the age of twenty-eight he returned to Matsuzaka, where he practiced medicine as a pediatrician and lectured on poetry. His life and influence was strongest in the Kansai area, where his academy was located and which he rarely left except for occasional trips to Wakayama and Nagoya. He died sixty-six years before the Meiji Restoration, leaving a full half-century for his ideas to be developed and for the conditions to emerge that made the Restoration possible.

Motoori's meeting with Mabuchi at Matsuzaka at age thirty-four made him Mabuchi's disciple after only that one meeting, at which he probably received inspiration rather than instruction. Until Mabuchi died in 1769 they exchanged letters regularly, arguing about texts and clarifying ideas. Mabuchi's death was a great trauma for Motoori, which indicates the degree of influence he had received. The two things in particular that he received from Mabuchi were his idealism and his doctrine of simplicity. He praised Mabuchi but recognized that he had some limitations, which made it possible for Motoori to take *Kokugaku* ideas further. He spoke of Mabuchi as opening up the Way of Ancient Learning. His limitations included the fact that because he devoted so much time and energy to the *Manyōshū*, he was unable to spend much time on the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. Therefore he was unable to define the Way in detail because he had not probed the texts thoroughly enough. Also because of this, the Chinese spirit (particularly Taoism) remained influential in his mind; evidence of it can be found in spite of his strong Japanism.

It was to the removal of the last traces of Chinese thought and to the exposition of the purest form of the Ancient Way that Motoori dedicated all his scholastic efforts. Although he was heavily dependent upon Mabuchi, he did not pursue Mabuchi's philosophical route because he was also influenced by Keichū. It was Keichū, he said, who had awakened him from the torpor of dogmatism, acting as his "eye opener" (this is analogous to the manner in which the thought of the Scottish empiricist David Hume

awakened Immanuel Kant from what he called his "dogmatic slumber"). Motoori first encouraged the ideas of Keichū while studying in Kyoto. Keichū's method was more coldly analytical and scientific than Mabuchi's, whose poetic and inspirational style also appealed to Motoori. He first turned to the study of Heian learning, from which he developed his notion of *mono no aware* ("sensitivity to things," implying an aesthetic perception of reality). The meaning of Heian literature was not accessible to rational scrutiny but is seen in its feeling and beauty. He formulated and maintained to his death the principle that *ninjō shugi* (human feeling) was the essence of human nature. This explained the ideal of culture and morality in terms of the development and harmony of emotion.

Mabuchi's influence was responsible for Motoori's study of the Ancient Way beginning with the Nara classics, especially the *Kojiki*, although he had begun looking at the Shinto classics in Kyoto. He had relatives in priestly Shinto families near Ise and had retained an interest in Shinto since his youth. During his days in Kyoto he wrote of a "natural *kami* way," an ancient way that was not influenced by Buddhism or Confucianism.

One way to understand Motoori is to see his thought as a combination of the work of Keichū and Kamo Mabuchi, through which he gave *Kokugaku* a distinctive character. His own expository work, especially on the *Kojiki*, gave his ideas an independent basis, because his predecessors had concentrated heavily on the *Manyōshū*. The manner of combination in his later work was part of his unique process of thought.

His writings unfold the development of his conception of *Kokugaku*. In 1771 he produced *Naobi no Mitama* (The Spirit of Straightening) as a general introduction to the Ancient Way. In 1786 he completed his commentary on the *Kami-yo* of the *Kojiki*. By 1786 he had also completed the first volume of his *Kojiki Den* as well as the *Tamaboko Hyakushu* (One Hundred Poems on the Way), a basic and straightforward exposition of the way, and the *Tama Kushige* (Jeweled Comb Box). The year 1786 seems to mark the most developed stage of his thought.

The Ancient Way, as he saw it, consisted of action itself that had been transmitted and maintained by the Imperial ancestral *kami* (*mioya no kami*). Although it was called a "Way," it was not a way in the sense of Taoism or Confucianism. The Way was the creation of the two *kami*, Izanami and Izanagi, through the two creating *kami*, Taka-mi-musubi and Kami-musubi. It was then completed by the *kami* of the sun, Amaterasu; transmitted by successive Emperors; and then reverently observed by the people. Because Japan was the place where the Way came into being, its possession of the Way distinguished it from all the nations of the world throughout history, symbolized most clearly by the single-line descent of the Imperial Family throughout all the ages.

Not only was this true of Japan's past, but it would also be true of Japan's future. The people were expected to reverence the Imperial ances-

tral *kami* by showing absolute loyalty to the Emperors, who in turn were to be benevolent to their subjects. Children must learn filial piety but along with wives and servants, must be treated compassionately. This is to follow the Way. Motoori claimed that ancient Japan was an ideal age compared, for example, with China. Because Chinese morality was not consistent with the Japanese spirit, he wished to see all traces of Chinese influence eliminated from Japanese society and culture. Only the Ancient Learning could be used to remove such influences. The key to his approach lay in seeking the vestiges of the age of the *kami*, which would be a norm for how things should be. He felt that his studies of the *Kojiki* confirmed that it was the source of the details of that era. Each legend of the age, explained philosophically, could reveal reality as it was, an astonishing hermeneutic and philosophy of history. He claimed to be setting forth in an objective way the consciousness of the ancient Japanese. This was the approach that produced the *Kojiki den.*

Motoori took at face value the account of Izanami and Izanagi giving birth to land. He considered *Takamagahara* to mean the sky, and he regarded the *kami* of the sun as the sun and at the same time as an Imperial *kami.* The doctrine of the sun *kami* becomes the center of his thought, treated in his view "objectively" but in reality with similar literalism to that of a Biblical or Islamic fundamentalist. Motoori was both an expositor of the Ancient Way and a deep believer in its truth. The kind of philosophical critique that Mabuchi might have applied to the *Kojiki* was not possible on the basis of Motoori's reverence for the texts. He could not read the Shinto classics symbolically, which would have been a concession to Chinese influence. He judged Mabuchi's reference to the unbroken Imperial line to be his deepest insight into the spirit of the ancient past and a symbol of the principle of his philosophy of nature. He was a devout believer in the ancient legends; therefore he argued that they should not be subjected to criticism, almost a unique stance in the history of Japanese literature.

This attitude stemmed from his belief that everything was a gift of the *kami* and that the highest form of attitude was that of the sincere heart (*magokoro*), a humanistic ideal far removed from Mabuchi's vision of manliness. In contrast to the more radical Mabuchi, Motoori's ideas tend to be restrained, conservative, and gradual in their development. He was, however, deeply influenced by the optimism he found in the *Kojiki*, namely, that in the matter of the coexistence of good and evil, life and death, life and goodness always prevail. This probably accounts for his lack of radical temperament. His deep religious faith may be traced to the combined influences of Dazai Learning, Pure Land Buddhism, and Suiga Shinto, each of which was characterized by fervent religious sentiments. Motoori was undoubtedly a complex albeit emotional thinker whose influence led him to be revered virtually as a *kami* in his own lifetime. Yet he had enormous intellectual prowess and a basic honesty, as illustrated by his exposition of

the controversial passage of the *Engishiki* liturgy for the *Ōbarae* relating to the *kunitsu tsumi*. The earthly offenses (or, in older English, abominations) listed in the *norito* are usually translated as follows: "albinism, skin excrescences, the *tsumi* of violating one's own mother, the *tsumi* of violating one's own child, the *tsumi* of a mother violating her own child, the *tsumi* of a child's violating its mother, and the *tsumi* of transgression with animals."

Earlier commentators had avoided discussing these entirely. Confucian-influenced scholars referred to them as the "mother and child matters of the five elements" (*gogyō*), explaining it in terms of Chinese logic and metaphysics. Others treated them in terms of Confucian ethics. Violation meant not showing filial piety. Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–1690) took them at face value and declared them to be prohibitions on sexual acts. Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) also accepted this view and rejected Urabe and those who treated them as analogies or metaphors. In his *Norito Ko*, *Kamo Mabuchi* did not like the Chinese approach either, but he inherited from Kada a different way of seeing meaning in some of the terms. *Shirobito* (literally, "white person" albinism) he took as a distortion of *shiragi-bito* (people of the Kingdom of Silla in Korea) and *kokuri-bito* (people of the Korean Kingdom of Koguryo). He therefore defined the *tsumi* as wrongs committed by Korean immigrants.

With what must have been startling originality, Motoori rejected all these in favor of the simple view that in antiquity these forms of *tsumi* existed, and that other explanations were far-fetched and unjustifiable. He declared that Mabuchi was mistaken in substituting the character *rai* for *mi* in his study and in interpreting the "*tsumi* of violating one's own mother" as the *tsumi* of the people of Silla and Koguryo. He pointed out that in the *Jokan* code (859–877), the term *kokumi* is written with three different characters but the reading is still *kokumi*. He thought it unlikely that the third character was a mistake for *rai*. In the Ise text of the *Engishiki* (901–923), the earthly *tsumi* are listed in a different order: "cutting living flesh, cutting dead flesh, violating one's mother, violating one's child, transgressions with animals, albinism, skin excrescences, drowning, and burning." Mabuchi's interpretation does not fit the fact that "violating one's mother" comes ahead of *shirobito* and *kokumi*. Violating one's mother has no apparent grammatical relationship to *shirobito* and *kokumi*. His further statement that sexual relations between mother and child were unheard of in the Imperial Court is irrelevant. Motoori declared that it could not be argued that such things did not occur among ordinary people simply because there are no references to them in the *Nihongi* and other ancient texts. They were written to report official matters and would not include references to the habits of ordinary people. He pointed to later and contemporary references concerning persons violating their own daughters. That such happened in the past can be confirmed by the listing of *tsumi* in the Great Purification

Prayer. There is reference in the *Kojiki* to a Great Purification held during the reign of Emperor Chuai. The phrase "sexual intercourse between a parent and a child" is included. It would thus be absurd to say that this referred to acts by immigrants from Silla and Koyuryo, because Korean immigration had not then commenced. This is a good instance of the directness of Motoori's methodology. Not only could he challenge the past, but with logic and philology he could also strengthen his own argument.

To conclude this brief summary of aspects of Motoori's thought that are relevant to the development of Shinto thought during the Edo period, it may be best to mention the work he completed in October 1798, *Uiyamabumi* (First Hike in the Mountains). This was composed three months after he had completed his commentary on the *Kojiki*. It is an exposition of his scholastic method and as such is an excellent introduction to both his work and the *Kokugaku* movement. He never actually used the term *Kokugaku*, preferring to speak of Imperial Country Learning (*mikunimanabi*), Imperial Learning (*kochogaku*), and Ancient Learning (*kogaku*). The work commences by explaining the essentials of Imperial Country Learning, which is four parts: (1) *Kami* study or *Michi* (way) study, which was based on the *kami-yo*, the earlier parts of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*; (2) Antiquarian study (*yusokugaku*), which deals with government offices, ceremonies, and laws together with the study of ancient customs, costumes, and furniture; (3) Historical study, which commences with the study of the six national histories and other ancient works as well as books of later times; (4) Poetic studies, which include both poetry and prose together with the interpretation of poetic and prose works and the study of the origins and usages of the Japanese language.

Motoori considered part 1 to be the most important, the ancient way of the sun *kami* by which the Emperor rules the land, the true Way for the four seas and the nations of the world, which has been handed down only in the Imperial Country. It is based on evidence about the age of the *kami* recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. Ancient Learning he defined as the study without influence of later ideas that disclose the origins of things in ancient times as recorded in the classics, which in effect equates it with Imperial Country Learning. He carefully explains his research methods, and points out omissions of earlier scholars, especially the distinction between exegetical or expository (*setsumei-gaku*) and normative study (*kihan-gaku*).

Setsumei-gaku is the exposition of the ancient texts. It begins with the clear rejection of Buddhist philosophical theories and Confucian moralistic explanations of human nature in favor of the traditions of the *kami* found in the *Nihongi* and the *Kojiki*. The purpose was to recreate the simplicity of ancient thought by distinguishing it from the influences that had overlaid it in later days. The ancient mind must be disclosed as it was then and followed. The only way to achieve full appreciation of the ancient poetic writing is by trying to compose poems modeled on that style.

Kihan-gaku is demonstrated in his effort to produce an exposition of the Ancient Way in terms of the *Kojiki* only. Motoori assigned greater importance to the *Kojiki* than to the *Nihongi*, which was contrary to the convention of his day. The *Nihongi* he judged to be overlaid by philosophy and morality, whereas the *Kojiki* remained a simpler and purer text. National Learning (which aimed at grasping the ancient mind through the ancient texts) was thus the study of the Ancient Way. It was not simply academic but had tremendous practical implications for both Japan and the world. The purpose of scholarship is to follow the way. The Japanese he considered as fortunate to have been born in the Imperial Country, where the true way, superior to all others on earth or in heaven, had been transmitted.

He applied the distinction between *setsumei-gaku* and *kihan-gaku* to poetry, claiming that although composing poetry modeled on the *Manyōshū* was a beginning for the study of the classic age, the text of the *Shinkokin shu* was the aesthetic ideal. More generally stated, along with exegetical annotation of poems, literary values can be derived from the ideal of *mono no aware*. This point raises the enormous and open question of how the Ancient Way and its study were related in the mind of Motoori to National Learning. A complex personality as well as an original thinker, he left a powerful legacy for Hirata in terms of both ideology and methodology.

Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843)

Hirata was the last of the four most prominent figures of the *Kokugaku* movement.[43] He developed a combination of theological and political concepts that became a valuable support to the goals of the Meiji Restoration. He transcended the thought of Motoori in three important respects, each of which was partly ideological in its import.

First, he carried the interpretation of the mythology much farther than Motoori and more in the direction of an ontological and substantive definition of *kami*. In discussing Motoori's account of the *Kami-yo* in the *Kojiki-Den*, Hirata argued that Ame-no-minaka-nushi-o-kami was a personified *kami* who existed before heaven and earth.

Second, with regard to life after death, he affirmed the existence of a world of souls (the "concealed" world) different from the interpretations of *Yomi-no-kuni* as Motoori lifted the idea from the *Kojiki*. The idea of a concealed world was based upon the separation of powers of the concealed and the manifest referred to in the myth of O-kuni-nushi-no-kami, who yielded his territory to Amaterasu (the manifest world) in return for the concealed world. This interpretation introduced a novel moralistic and life-after-death aspect to Shinto thought through transforming the Ancient Way of the manifold *kami* into something monotheistic and transcendent. The

present thus became ephemeral, and the future became real. This all but stood Shinto on its head.

Third, Hirata tried to centralize Japanese ancestral reverence round the worship of the ancestral *kami* of the Imperial Family through arguments from the classics. Shinto as a national ancestral *kami* cult can trace its roots to this development. In this view of Shinto, Hirata held that the *kami* of Japan were world *kami* and that Shinto was therefore the basis of all world religion. In this way Hirata also stood on its head the idea of *honji-suijaku* of the Heian period. The *kami* had finally replaced the Buddha in prominence.

Philosophically, the second point is interesting because the distinction between manifest and concealed creates a dualism between the concealed and revealed (*yugen*) and the hidden and manifest (*inken*) in a way that introduced an element of dualism that brought Shinto closer to the basic tendencies of Western thought. Hirata's disciple, Nanri Yurin (1812–1864),[44] developed this, believing that there was unity in the highest levels of spirituality. In the *kami* nature of Ame-no-Mi-naka-nushi-no-kami he saw a return to this, which was manifest in the existence of an immortal spiritual realm. The essence of Shinto lay in the mind, not in words and deeds. Shinto was a doctrine of the spirit. Man was endowed with a *kami* nature; by perfecting conscience and performing good deeds, this nature could be restored. He could commune with the *kami* and become one with them. He could also bring prosperity and avert disaster. Although this is true in theory, in practice people are not like this; therefore, by enlightenment (*godō*) alone they cannot be in touch with the *kami* principle (*shinri*). Faith and dependence upon the *kami* are needed. Faith and sincerity would be rewarded. Therefore, prayer and purification are necessary.

Most important from the viewpoint of the development of Shinto thought, the potential for Imperialism in Motoori was cultivated by Hirata to become a powerful element in the political background to the Meiji Restoration.

Hirata Shinto and National Ideology during the Meiji Restoration

There were many intellectual aspects of the Meiji Restoration, but the influence of Hirata Shinto was one of the most decisive for the direction that Meiji Restoration ideology took. Numerous like-minded thinkers were involved, such as Hirata Kanetane (1790–1880) in Kyoto and Tamamatsu Misao (1810–1872, a student of Okuni Takamasa), who assisted Iwakura Tomomi in strongly advocating the restoration of Imperial Rule. In July 1867, Hirata Kanetake argued strongly with Iwakura for the revival of a Department of Shinto Affairs, insisting that the government should plan the elimination of Buddhism and commence with the removal of all Bud-

dhist ceremonies from the Imperial Court. By December 1867 the policy of *saisei itchi* (unity of worship and administration), centered on Shinto, had been defined by Yano Harumichi (1823–1887) in his work *Kenkin sengo.*

Some of these developments have been discussed in this book in the sections on history and in the account of Shinto Taikyō. Points noted here are especially relevant to Hirata's influence. The restoration of Imperial Rule was proclaimed on 3 January 1868; by February, the Office of Shinto Affairs (*Jingi Jimukyoku*) was re-established. A *Dajōkan* statement of March 13 read: "Whereas the restoration of Imperial Rule is founded upon the achievements initiated by Emperor Jimmu, and whereas the nation is being restored to a polity of general renewal and unity of worship and administration, it is ordered that first of all, the Department of Shinto Affairs shall be revived and further that rites and sacrifices shall thereafter be performed." This was the first of a number of edicts and rules designed to destroy the *jingū-ji* through the clear separation of Buddhism and Shinto. "Shrine monks" of these establishments were ordered back to secular life, thereby purging shrines of Buddhist influences. Shinto had in effect been declared the state religion.

In 1869, the replaced *Jimukyoku* was elevated to the status of ministry, becoming the *Jingikan* as in the Nara age. Missionaries (*senkyō-shi*) of Shinto were sent nationwide; in this, followers of Hirata Shinto were extremely active in promoting the Great Teaching (*Taikyō*)[45] and the Great Way of Kami (*Kannagara no daidō*). Not only was Buddhism attacked but also Christianity, which showed signs of revival in Kyushu. The Ministry of Shinto Affairs was replaced by the Ministry of Religion (*Kyobushō*), in which the Office of Religious Instruction (*Kyodōshoku*) and the Institute of the Great Teaching (*Taikyōin*) carried out the task of re-indoctrinating the people. Buddhist priests were now welcomed to the indoctrination pressures exerted on Christian groups.

The Ministry of Religion promulgated the *Sanjo Kyōken*, three fundamental principles of instruction, on 28 April 1872:

Principle 1: Compliance with the spirit of reverence for *kami* and love of country

Principle 2: Clarification of the "Principle of Heaven" and the "Way of Man"

Principle 3: Exalting the Emperor and obeying the Imperial Court.

Shinto and Buddhist priests were appointed *kyōsei* (instructors) and placed in charge of religious instruction. Konoe Tadafusa (1838–1873), Director of Ceremonies at Ise Grand Shrine, and Senge Takatomi (1845–1917), Great High Priest (*Daigūji*) of Izumo, were selected for this work along with twenty-one Buddhist priests. The Buddhists included Koson of the *Higashi Hongan-ji* and Kosho of the *Nishi Hongan-ji*, receiving the op-

portunity to train their own instructors (although in fact Shinto priests were also included). The new organization was made into an educational institution for all officials engaged in religious instruction. It came to be known as the Great Teaching Institute (*Taikyō-in*). It was established in Kojimachi in Tokyo but later moved to the *Zojo-ji* temple in Shiba. Middle and small institutes were also set up, known as *chukyo-in* and *shokyo-in*, respectively. "Eleven Themes" and "Seventeen Themes" were drawn up for the training of the officials of religious instruction, to be topics for sermons and teaching.[46]

The Eleven Themes proclaimed by the Ministry of Shinto Affairs included basic themes from Hirata Shinto, including the following points: (1) *Kami* virtue and Imperial favor; (2) Immortality of the human soul; (3) Creativity of the *Amatsu Kami*; (4) Difference between the worlds of the visible and concealed; (5) Love of country; (6) *Kami* worship; (7) pacification of souls; (8) Lord and Subject; (9) Father and Son; (10) Husband and Wife; (11) *Obarae*.

The Seventeen Themes put forward by the *Taikyō-in* were as follows: (1) Imperial country and body politic (*kokutai*); (2) Renewal of Imperial Rule; (3) Immutability of the Way; (4) Adjusting organizations to the situation of the day; (5) Difference between man and animals; (6) The necessity to teach; (7) The necessity to learn; (8) Intercourse with foreign countries; (9) Rights and duties; (10) The use of mind and body; (11) Political institutions; (12) Civilization and enlightenment (*bunmei-kaika*); (13) Development of law; (14) National and civil law; (15) A strong economy and military (*fukoku-kyōhei*); (16) Taxation and labor levies; (17) Production and control of goods.

Tensions arose over the Buddhist use of the *honji-sujiaku*. They were found problematic because they were tacitly acknowledging the primacy of the *kami* over the Buddha. By 1875, the Buddhists had opted out. Shinto indoctrination as planned in 1868 seemed beyond realization; in the face of popular indifference or scorn, the program was finally abandoned and the *Taikyō-in* was abolished. The Shinto Taikyō did survive and continues to exist as a sect. But its power effectively vanished after 1875.

Buddhists began their own campaigns, and within the fragmented world of Shinto many problems began to emerge. There was the *Kanetane* school (originally associated with Hirata), the *Ōkuni* (*Takamasa*) school, and the *Dai-jinja* (*Izumo Taisha*) and Ise schools. Shinto also included Kurozumi-kyō and other Kyōha sects that boasted of historical founders. Although a *Shinto Jimukyoku* had been formed and the *Shinto Daikyō-in* had been established, the system was unworkable in practice. The *Kurozumi* and *Shusei* sects received independent recognition, and in 1888 Tenri-kyō was founded. Unable to deal with these changes, the Ministry of Religion was abolished and the Office of Shinto Affairs (*Shinto Jimukyoku*) was trans-

ferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Naimushō*). The practice of Shinto priests serving as indoctrinators was abolished in January 1882.

Why did the Shinto indoctrination program fail in spite of its seeming potential? One explanation is that the program was not fully consistent with the needs of Japan at the time, namely, "civilization and enlightenment." Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), the leading academic of the era, argued in his famous *Bunmei ron no gairyaku* (An Outline of the Theory of Civilization, written in 1875) that Japan was behind the West and had a lot of catching up to do. He argued further that Shinto was unsuited to achieve the kind of modernization necessary to be on equal terms with Western nations. His views had a softening effect on the attack on Christianity, and his own contempt for Shinto had major implications in academic circles for attempts to use Shinto ideologically. Fukuzawa was typical of a body of thought that showed considerable disdain for numerous aspects of the Japanese tradition, Shinto being one.

A second reason may have been that Shrine Shinto in 1868 was itself too immature (having been only just separated from Buddhism) and intellectually inadequate as a religion to deal with the problems facing the Meiji government. Hirata Shinto was the only real academic base from which an ideology could be developed; and although Hirata's thought was quite well formulated, it was still evolving. It lacked clearly defined concepts that addressed the entire range of ideas to be covered by a local ideology, so little could be achieved. The influence of Hirata Shinto as an ideology was limited to its early appeal because it was not substantial enough to become a complete ideological tool.

A third possible reason was that within Shrine Shinto itself there was controversy and disagreement. Several particularly difficult areas obstructed a unified approach. For example, there were problems regarding the understanding of the Japanese classics and some of Hirata's interpretations of the myths about the origins of heaven and earth. The opening expression "*ametsuchi no hajime no toki*" ("at the time of the beginning of heaven and earth") was interpreted, for example, by Motoori to mean that Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami and the two *kami* under him had existed before heaven and earth as creator *Kami*. He developed this into a doctrine in his *Koshi Seibun* (A Composition of Ancient History), in which he argued that the three *kami* were central creators. The Department of Shinto Affairs (1869) accepted Hirata's view, which was included in the first article of the Five-Article Regulations on the Compilation of Religious Books issued by the *Taikyō-in* in July 1873:

That portion of the *Kojiki* dealing with the first seven generations of the *kami* and the Age of the Kami book in the *Nihongi* down to the phrase: *Kami* were born in Heaven and Earth, enable us to understand clearly the *kami* principle of the creation of Heaven and Earth and the evolution of the myriad things. Since they are the

foundation stones of the fundamental doctrine of the Imperial Way, not one word is to be deleted from or added to those passages.

These kinds of controversies highlighted a second area of disagreement, namely, the natural incompatibility between conservative and progressive tendencies. Hirata Shinto thinkers such as Okuni Yakamasa did display progressive and somewhat liberal ideas. They also supported the ideals of "civilization and enlightenment" but were opposed by more conservative restorationists. Fukuba Bisei (1831–1907), Assistant Director of the Mission Board, was on the progressive side; although he was in charge of Shinto missionaries, he also advocated the incorporation of useful foreign ideas. For this he was relieved of his duties both in the Department of Shinto Affairs and in the Board of Shinto Missionaries. The progressive element within Shinto and the missionary leadership were eliminated simultaneously.

A test case that arose illustrated just how widely divergent views existed concerning the question of which *kami* should be revered in the Office of Shinto Affairs.[47] In 1873 the Great Teaching Institute was set up and the three creator *kami* and Amaterasu were enshrined. However, when a new shrine was built in Hibiya in 1875, Senge Takatomi advocated that Okuni-nushi-no-kami be included, because he was not only the *kami* who presided over the "concealed rule" of heaven and ruled over the various *kami* under Heaven, but he was also the *kami* who passed judgment upon the souls of men after death. Tanaka Yoritsune (1836–1897) and others opposed this move on behalf of the Ise Shrine. They argued, among other things, that Okuni-nushi-no-kami was a kind of imitation of Jesus and was in that form inappropriate to be included with the *kami* already enshrined.

This was further complicated by the attack of Ochiai Naoki (1852–1934) in his *Shinto Yosho Ben* (Criticism of the Shinto Yosho) on Senge Takatomi's *Shinto Yosho* (The Essentials of Shinto) written in July 1880. In the Preface to Ochiai's book, Miwata Takafusa writes of Senge as a Great Instructor-Rectifier who claims that Shinto theology is weak because Okuni-nushi-no-kami is not worshipped in the Office of Shrine Affairs. He added that there is something improper about the souls of Emperors being judged after death. Some of Senge's followers had second thoughts on the topic. Finally, an Imperial Edict of 1881 decreed that the *kami* and Imperial Spirits enshrined in the Imperial Palace would be worshipped in the Office of Shinto Affairs, which in effect separated mainline Shinto and made way for State Shinto.

Perhaps the major reason for the failure of the proposed program of religious indoctrination envisaged by the Meiji government was the implicit attack on religious freedom, an issue that by then had become as sensitive in Japan as it was in the West. The Christian question in early Meiji times illustrates the point. Although attacks on Christianity were not of the brutal

kind used in the early 16th century under the Tokugawa government, greater coercive power was used to discourage Christianity. International reactions to this situation during the Iwakura Mission to Europe threatened to destroy its work, and this finally led to the repeal of the edict against Christianity. However, the claims of Shinto as expounded by the followers of Hirata—that it was indeed a religion with teachings about an afterlife, purification for the remission of sins, and other elements of theology—were criticized by many within Japan who argued that the government's Three Principles of Instruction[48] were artificial. Fukuda Gyokai (1806–1888), a leading priest of the Jōdo sect, in his book *Sanjo no Guben* (Humble Appraisal of the Three Principles of Instruction) declared that after chanting the name of Buddha for almost eighty years, he could not suddenly change and chant *kami* and love of country instead. Most of the strong criticisms came from Western-trained minds. Nakamura Masano (1832–1891),[49] after receiving an education in the United Kingdom, returned to Japan in 1868 and became professor in the Shizuoka *Gakumonjō* (Center for Learning). He wrote in August 1871 in reply to a question raised by Mita Hoko, the official in charge of the Board of Shinto Missionaries in the Shizuoka Han: "I am unhappy about the phrase 'one oath for government and religion.' Government is one thing and religion another; and they should be kept apart. The phrase is Chinese, not European."

Mori Arinori (1847–1889)[50] wrote a book entitled *Religious Freedom of Japan* in 1872 while he was studying in the United States. He argued that among cultured nations, freedom of conscience and freedom of religion are essential for progress. They are not merely right. He condemned the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the idea of forcing an artificial fusion of religion on people. He judged the entire project as incomprehensible as he found it reprehensible.

In addition to these problems within Shinto, attacks from Buddhists were increasing.[51] On the matter of the interpretation of the classics, they argued forcibly that the new Shinto ideas were totally inconsistent with older received doctrines. They insisted that the *Kojiki* was obscure in any case and noted perceptively and cleverly that Hirata's views appeared to have the flavor of Christianity, which implied that they were, in principle, dangerous. Buddhists also attacked the forced separation of Buddhism from Shinto and had some initial success in restricting the religious influence of Shinto.

Buddhists reacted even more aggressively (as many still do) to any attempt at bringing religion under government control, claiming that it was unreasonable to establish political control over religious affairs and religious beliefs. Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911) was a leading intellectual of the Jōdo-Shin sect. He argued for the separation of religion and government. He offered thorough and detailed criticisms of the Three Principles of Instruction, echoing sentiments that they were artificial and not derived from

genuine religious beliefs or feelings. Other Western-trained minds added their weight. By the time the Iwakura Mission encountered criticism in Europe of Japan's backward attitude toward religious freedom, the movement for religious indoctrination was coming to an end.

These factors, among others, led the government to formulate a view of Shinto that lifted it from the purview of religion and identified it as a cultural system that was simply an ancillary to citizenship. It was claimed that it had no impact on personal religious beliefs, provided they did not conflict with the proper duties of a citizen of the Japanese state. Consequently, although Hirata's thought did play a role in the Meiji Restoration, the policy that was finally developed represented a compromise of conflicting interests. This resulted in the emergence of State Shinto, and with it the demise of any possible intellectual and religious developments in mainline Shinto. These circumstances remained until long after 1946.

Hirata's Thought and Christianity

The limitations of Hirata's thought are further underlined by the misty and exceedingly complicated relationship between Hirata and Christianity.[52] Numerous scholars pointed to Christian influences within Hirata's ideas. During the Meiji period, these were identified in a more general way and were used to discredit him. Two areas were highlighted.

First, his views of creation were severely attacked as "neo-Christian" by the scholar Sasaki Yucho. In numerous writings Sasaki drew attention to a number of points. In *Tama no mihashira* (True Pillar of the Soul) and the *Kodō taii* (Outline of the Ancient Way), Hirata's alleged Christian views were identified and discussed. Sasaki took one example from the opening lines of the *Kojiki*. He claimed that in translating "*Ametsuchi hajime no toki*" as "in the beginning of Heaven and Earth," Hirata's reading of *hajime* as "beginning" (as Motoori did) avoided the idea of "creation" but still imposed an alien meaning. The word simply meant "parting," which was proved by another phrase in the preface to the *Kojiki*: "Heaven and Earth first parted and the three *kami* initiated creation." Sasaki was arguing that the native Japanese tradition did not think in terms of a doctrine of creation, but rather in terms of a cycle of birth and coming into being akin to Buddhist cosmology. The story of the moon *kami* (told in the Emperor Kenzo era of the *Nihongi*) includes the phrase that Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami "molded Heaven and Earth." Sasaki argued that the meaning was simply "molding and hardening" and in no way could be used to support a doctrine of creation. Consequently, he claimed that Hirata was following misinterpretations he had acquired from Motoori, which were the result of Christian influences.

Sasaki's argument, which begged the entire question of a Buddhist (Chinese) versus non-Buddhist reading of the Japanese classics, was controver-

sial enough to be damaging to Hirata Shinto. Motoori had argued that embedded in the Japanese classics there was a different and non-Chinese view of the origins of the universe that could be called the native Japanese view, and he had devoted himself to defining it. Sasaki made an issue of the fact that the basic texts of the Japanese tradition were not specific in meaning or consistent in content, and that to define a doctrine based on those early passages (as Hirata tried to do) was bound to be controversial.

In his *Jūichi kendai roku hyo* (Criticism of the Eleven Themes) Sasaki further claimed that the term *Heaven* was intentionally dropped from the July 1873 proclamation of the *Taikyō-in*, in contradiction to the mythology that refers to "Heaven and Earth" as one. These lines of argument, as well as others, gave adequate grounds for the ironic claim that in trying to create a theology out of the Japanese classics, Hirata was guilty of confusing *kami* with barbarians. These contentions were sufficient to undermine attempts to make Hirata Shinto orthodox Shinto teaching.

Hirata was also attacked for his views on the idea of life after death. It was claimed that his understanding of "concealed and the mysterious" had developed under the influence of Christian ideas, and that these—along with the creator *kami* idea—constituted the basic thought of his school, both of which were alien to the Japanese tradition. Hence the destiny or fate of the soul after death also became controversial. Within the Hirata school, this issue was far from settled. The idea of judgment after death was more explicitly Christian in origin (although Hirata was not totally uninfluenced by Buddhism). This tended to support Hirata's claim about the primacy of *O-kuni-nushi-no-kami* over other *kami*. Although Buddhists had little to say on this, it raised problems within Shinto itself. The Senge family of Izumo supported this position, but it met with fierce opposition from the authorities at Ise.

The Meiji government had failed to assess the complexity of the problem. The problems were legion. Desperate to establish the orthodoxy of Motoori and Hirata, in its *Kyōsho henshū taii* (editorial guide for the preparation of religious textbooks) it had declared that the teachings of Motoori and Hirata would be considered definitive of orthodox Shinto. Not only was there no clear consistency and agreement between them, but in many areas there were huge differences of interpretation. In the face of the disarray and disagreement of the Shinto camp and the opposition of the Buddhists and other groups, the government was forced to retreat, eventually settling for the approach that Shinto was not a religion but a folk way that all citizens could be required to follow without impugning their freedom of religion. It solved the impasse for the Meiji government but set back the spiritual development of Shinto to a degree that has taken over a century to reverse.

More recent studies[53] have demonstrated that Hirata did draw upon Christian sources explicitly, but they have highlighted the issue of why he

chose to do so. This seems potentially even more controversial. Professor Richard Devine published a valuable and interesting article in the *Monumenta Nipponica* (Spring 1981) on the question of what sources Hirata used and how they influenced his thought. He illustrates the point well by showing parallel texts. The deep question is whether Hirata was influenced by the Christian ideas or whether he was using them to express ideas that he already held. According to Devine, the religious teachings of Hirata survive today in the rituals of the *Yasukuni Jinja*. There is no doubt that aspects of Hirata Shinto were used effectively during the early Meiji era and that their use prevented any further development of the line of thought that Hirata himself may have wished to follow. His thought was frozen for the purposes of the emerging State Shinto, therefore many of his ideas were left only partly developed. This is, of course, only one view.

Arguments have issued from both sides (Christian and non-Christian) to argue the merits and defects of Hirata's thought. In either case, the conclusions are unhappy if the purposes are propagandist. If Hirata was drawing upon Christian sources, then Christianity could be held responsible for certain aspects of Hirata's nationalistic tendencies. If he was simply using Christian sources to express his own ideas, he was less than a Shinto purist. In either case, the result is useless to the party advancing the claim. It seems, based on historical evidence, that he was aware of Christian writings and that he made use of them (perhaps as other Japanese thinkers did with other Western sources) to suit his own purposes. The stated objectives of his thought would be the best instrument to assess his reasons for making use of these sources. But because his thought lacks clarity in many respects, the questions of why and how he used Christian sources may have to remain unanswered.

NOTES

1. Nakamura Hajime, *The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1964), pp. 434–449.

2. Tenkai was favored by Tokugawa Ieyasu, for whom he invented the term *Tōshō* (sun deity of the East). The name was used for Ieyasu after his death.

3. For information, see Kageyama Haruki, *Shinto Bijutsu, Nihon no Bijitsu*, Vol. 18 (Shibundo, Tokyo, 1967). English version: *The Arts of Shinto, Arts of Japan*, Vol. 4 (Weatherhill, Tokyo, 1973), Chapter 7, "Art of the Sanno Cult," pp. 104–118.

4. Records of *Yamatohime no Mikoto* date to the Kamakura period.

5. *Katsuragi Hozan-ki* (The Record of the Sacred Mountain of Katsuragi).

6. *Koro Kujitsu-den* (An Account of Truths Orally Transmitted by the Ancients).

7. Watarai Yukitada (1236–1305), *Tenchi Reiki-Ki* (On the Awesome Energy of Heaven and Earth).

8. *Nisho Daijingū Reiki-ki* (On the Awesome Beauty of the Grand Shrines of Ise).

9. Jihen (1795–1869), *Kuji Hongi Gengi* (Secret Meaning of the Kuji Gengi), and *Toyoashirara Jimpu Waki* (Records of the Divine Wind in Japan).

10. Chikafusa's *Gengen-shū* was an account of the origins of Shinto and Ise compiled around 1337.

11. The term *kanjō* was used in connection with the *sokui girei* (Imperial accession rites), specifically of the *sokui kanjō*—a little-studied Buddhist ordination rite that was part of the *sokui no rei.* Kamikawa Michio, "Accession Rituals and Buddhism in Medieval Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 17, no. 2–3 (June–September 1990): 243–280

12. Nichiren coined the expression *kamikaze* (divine wind) in reference to the storms that aborted the attempted Mongol invasion of Japan.

13. Yoshida Kanetoyo, *Miyaji Hiji Kuden* (An Account of the Oral Transmission among the Masters of Ceremonies at the Imperial Palace).

14. Yoshida Kanetomo, *Shinto Taii* (The Basics of Shinto) and *Yuiitsu Shinto Myobo Yoshu* (Collection of Important Passages Relating to the System of Unique Shinto).

15. Yoshida Kanemigi, *Nijūnisha Chushiki* (Notes on the Twenty-Two Shrines).

16. For a discussion of the development of Honji-Suijaku theory in Pure Land thought, see Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* (Sophia University, Tokyo, 1969), pp. 274–284.

17. *Tsukai Sankeiki* (records of Tsukai's pilgrimages to the Grand Shrines of Ise, composed around 1287).

18. *Toyoashihara Jimpu Waki.*

19. The *Engishiki* (Procedures or Ceremonies of the Engi era, compiled by order of Emperor Daigo between 905 and 927).

20. The primacy of Ise was established later by the popular *Okagemairi*, which brought millions to Ise.

21. *Daijingū Shozoji-ki* (Record of Major Incidents Related to Ise Shrine, between 5 B.C. and 1069 C.E.).

22. See my discussion of the Nara period in "Nara Period Shinto (710–794)" in Chapter 1 of this book.

23. From: Mufu Dogyo (1226–1312) of the Rinzai sect of Zen in his *Shaseiki-shu*, a collection of sayings that point to the truth of Buddhism, composed in 1283.

24. *Zo Ise Nisho Daijingū Ho Kihon-gi* (a description of the construction of the two Shrines at Ise compiled by a priest of the Outer Shrine).

25. *Shinto Gobushō*: these texts were a Watarai family memoir concerning the origins and practices of the Grand Shrines of Ise. Although the Canon professed to distinguish Shinto from all other cults, it permitted a certain degree of syncretism in order to make its teachings acceptable to ordinary people.

26. Watarai Ieyuki, *Ruiju Jingi Hongen* (Account of the Origins of the Kami). This was a fifteen-volume account of the teachings and traditions of Ise Shrine written in 1320.

27. Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619) was an early neo-Confucian scholar of the Edo period.

28. Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) was a disciple of Fujiwara Seika. The influence of Hayashi's value system remains visible in contemporary Japanese devotion to

the authority of hierarchy. Absolute obedience to company requirements to live away from home and family indefinitely (as in the case of Japan's 250,000 *tanshinfunin*, salaried workers in this category) is hard to explain in any other way.

29. Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi: see Wing-tsit Chan, *Sourcebook of Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton University Press, 1963, for texts) was the greatest of the neo-Confucian thinkers. See Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (Free Press, Glencoe, 1966), pp. 270 ff.

30. Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) was a Confucian scholar (*Shushigaku*), military scientist, and historian who combined Shinto myths with Confucian cosmology to stress the identity of the Imperial Way with the Way of Heaven.

31. Regarding Wang-Yangming (1472–1529), see Wing-tsit Chan, *Sourcebook*, pp. 654–691.

32. Nakae Toju (1608–1648).

33. Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691) was a disciple of Nakae.

34. Ito Jinsai (1627–1705) founded the *Kokigaku* (ancient meaning studies) school. See also Yoshikawa Kojiro, *Jinsai, Sorai, Norinaga* (Toho Gakkai Publications Tokyo).

35. F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality* (Allen and Unwin, London, 1983); *Ethical Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1876).

36. J. R. McEwan, *The Political Writings of Ogyū Sorai* (Cambridge University Press, 1962). Ogyū Sorai founded the *Kobunjigaku* (ancient language studies) school.

37. Dazai Jun (1680–1747), *Dokugo* (Solitary Words).

38. Hattori Nankaku (1683–1759) was a scholar, painter, and disciple of Ogyū.

39. Keichū (1640–1701), *Keichū Zenshū*, ed. Sasaki Nobutsana, 9 vols. (Osaka, 1926–1927). Typical of his approach was his rejection of Buddhistic interpretation of the famous poem by Yamanoe no Okura in Section 6 of the *Manyōshū*. Keichū's version read:

Onoko ya mo	Should a man's existence
munashiharubeki	Have proved so meaningless
yorozuyo ni	That he will not have made a name
kataritsugubeki	That will endure
na wa tatezu shite	For a myriad of ages

This was in contrast to the earlier:

Hito nareba	Because I am mortal,
munnashikarubeshi	I must die.

He saw this as a simple ancient response to death without any moral or metaphysical significance being attached to it.

40. Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736), *Shin'yōshū* (1728), *Kada Zenshū* (1928).

41. Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769). His main works were *Kanji ko jo* (Preface to the Study of Poetic Epithets); *Manyō ko* (Study of the Manyōshū), and *Norito ko jo* (Preface to the Study of Shinto Liturgy), *Kokinshu* (Anthology of Ancient and Modern Times), *Hyakunin Isshu* (One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets). He compiled a Japanese dictionary around 935.

References in the discussion are to the following sources: *Manyōshū kai tsushaku*

narabi shakurei jo (Preface to General Interpretation of the Manyōshū with Examples) (*Kamo Mabuchi Zenshū* IV, pp. 495–496); *Manyōshū ko jo, hitotsu* (Zenshū XII, p. 48; X, pp. 311, 361); *Manyō ko* (Study of the Manyōshū), Preface to Scroll 6 (*Zenshū* XII, p. 54); *Manyō ko jo*, Vol. 1 (*Zenshu* XII, p. 49); *Koku-i ko* (*Zenshū* X, p. 375); *Agatai shugen roku* (Collected Utterances at Agatai) or the *Koku-i to* (On the Spirit of the Nation).

42. Sources include the following: Matsuoka Tsunetsugu, *Motoori Norinaga* (Okayama Shōten, Tokyo, 1911); Kobayashi Hideo, *Motoori Norinaga* (Shinchosha, Tokyo, 1965); Tahara Tsuguo, *Motoori Norinaga* (Kodansha, Tokyo, 1968); Matsumoto Shigeru, *Motoori Norinaga* (Harvard University Press, 1970). He should not be considered as Murdoch portrayed him in his history of Japan, as a cynical manipulator of public sentiments through a nihilistic philosophy in which no reasonable person could believe simply because he wanted to reject Buddhism and Confucianism.

Texts referred to include: *Tama katsuna* (Jeweled Wicker Basket), *Motoori Norinaga Zenshu* (Enlarged Edition of the Collected Works of Motoori Norinaga), Vol. 8 (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 1937–1938), p. 59; *Tama katsuma* (*Motoori Norinaga Zenshu* VII, p. 440). Arguments have been put forward that because the National Learning movement was concerned with Japanese uniqueness, its scholars rejected European styles of analysis (such as they knew) and pioneered something new. National Learning is not unique in its methodology. It is similar to the German *Philologie* of the nineteenth century and the *Form-Geshichte* movement of Biblical scholarship that arose around the same time. They were both concerned with historical origins to understand the *sitz im leben* in which the documents were composed and to understand them linguistically and hermeneutically as a reconstruction of the consciousness of ancient times.

43. Sources include Tahara Tsuguo, *Hirata Atsutane* (Yoshikawa Kyobunkan, Tokyo, 1963); Watanabe Kinzo, *Kirata Atsutane Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1942); *Hirata Zenshu*, 15 vols. (Hakubunkan, Tokyo, 1911–1918).

44. Nanri Yurin (1812–1864) was a Shinto scholar from Saga Prefecture.

45. See Shinto Taikyō discussion.

46. *Sanjo Kyōken*: for general discussion of these issues, see Tokushige Asakichi, *Ishin seiji shukyo shi kenkyu* (Study of the Political and Religious History of the Restoration) (Isshin Seiji Shukyo-Kenkyū, Tokyo, February 1935). These ideas were expressed in works such as *Shinkoyo yoshi ryakkai* (Brief Explanation of the Essentials of Kami Doctrine) written by Konoe Tadafusa and Senge Takatomi (1873).

47. The *Shinden Saishin Ron* (Debate on the Kami Worshipped in the Shrine of the Office of Shinto Affairs) in the *Gyokuroku* collection of the *Mukyu kai Bunko* is the central source on the issue.

48. *Sanjo taii* (Outline of the Meaning of the Three Principles of Instruction) was written by Yano Harumichi (1875).

49. Jerry K. Fisher, "Nakamura Keiu: The Evangelical Ethic in Asia," in Robert J. Miller, ed., *Religious Ferment in Asia* (1974).

50. Regarding Mori Arinori (1847–1889), see Ivan Parker Hall, *Mori Arinori* (1973).

51. The most severe attacks on Mori Arinori are found in the following texts: (1) *Ketsuja Mondo* (Questions and Answers on Identifying Heresy) in the first issue

of *Kodo sosho* (Collection of Studies on the Way) published in 1870; (2) *Shingaku Benko* (Definition of Kami Learning) by Sasaki Yucho (1870 and 1874); (3) *Juichi Kendai roku hyo* (Criticism of Eleven Themes) by Sasaki Yucho (1874); (4) *Wayo Shinden* (Divine Myths in Japan and the West) by Sasaki Yucho (1875); (5) *Sanjo Bengi* (Analysis of the Three Principles of Instruction) by Shimaji Mokurai (included in the *Hoshi sodan*, 1874–1875).

52. The question of Christian influences on Hirata is a controversial topic. See Ebisawa Aramichi *Christianity in Japan* (International Christian University, 1960–66) in Japanese and Richard Devine, "Hirata Atsutane and Christian Sources," in *Monumenta Nipponica* (Spring 1981) for further reading suggestions.

53. Paradoxically, some Christian thinkers would like to claim that Christian influences were important during the Meiji era and before, and that Hirata had borrowed numerous ideas. Consequently, his thought ceases to be purely Japanese or totally *Kokugaku*. Other thinkers accepted the possibility that the same influences on Hirata were indirectly responsible for the intolerance of Meiji leaders in certain regards and for the ultra-nationalism that has been attributed to them. Could it be that Kokka Shinto was modeled on the idea of the Western "State Church" as found in older European nations? This dilemma illustrates some of the dangers of the loose attribution of cause-and-effect ideas on intellectual history without an adequate theory of the nature of cultural influence.

Hirata was also very likely influenced by Roman Catholic dogma, which was then proscribed in Japan. How ironic it would be if it were proved (as some have suggested) that the worst aspects of State Shinto drew their impetus from the intolerance of Japanese religion on the part of some Roman Catholic missionaries!

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Chapter 10

Shinto Ideas and Western Thought

This closing section is a brief discussion of aspects of Shinto presented in Western concepts. I am commencing from the premise that Shinto has within it all the elements found universally in religion and de facto in Western religion; but because many of these are not verbalized, they must be inferred through the study of rituals and their meaning. Therefore, I have tried in an exploratory way to be philosophically and theologically suggestive by conducting the discussion in the traditional categories of ethics and metaphysics. The discussion is presented largely in the form of my own personal observations rather than as completed arguments and fully developed positions. Some of these might suggest ideas worth further research or examination by Western scholars of religion in general and Japanese religions in particular.

Shinto has been judged by many of its critics to be a primitive religion. I have alluded to this in the introduction and elsewhere, and suffice to say I take issue with that view. One of the crucial arguments against it is the two-pronged argument based on the record of two "higher religions" in Japan, Buddhism and Christianity. On the one hand there is the apparent failure of Christianity to edge aside a "primitive religion," which has shown remarkable vitality in the age of artificial intelligence and supersonic travel. On the other hand there is the historical reality regarding Buddhism, which calls for explanation. Why did Buddhism require six centuries to become "naturalized" if it was merely encountering a "primitive religion"? The most successful missionary records of the higher religions have been in cultures where the local traditions were less sophisticated. Consequently, Shinto cannot be classified easily under either of the headings of conventional wisdom. Clearly, Shinto is worthy of the time and effort required for study. Perhaps it is most simply described as the oldest religious tradition of the world's seventh continent!

SHINTO AND ETHICS

One of the most common criticisms of Shinto is that it has no system of ethics similar to those of Judaism or Christianity and that consequently it offers no guidance for life.[1] This is usually used as further evidence of its primitiveness. It is indeed true that there is no written equivalent to the *Pentateuch* or the *Eightfold Path*. However, to claim that there is no ethical content to Shinto whatsoever is to argue simultaneously from an inadequate understanding of Shinto and from a narrow view of the origin and nature of values and ethics.

In the current dialogue of world religions, Shinto representatives are asked from time to time to express views on international issues. When their opinions and idea are expressed, the elements of a system of ethics are made explicit. Such a system is not being created or copied. It is being drawn from the resources of the tradition and formulated to meet the needs of the age. Some preliminary remarks are needed about the nature of ethics in order to set this part of the discussion into perspective.

The Nature of Ethics

Systems of ethics are not like suits of clothes. They cannot be designed, manufactured, and then worn. They evolve and develop with the growth and development of the civilizations they serve.[2] In this regard they do not change rapidly; rather, they adapt slowly to external change or are modified to address new circumstances. Consider the evolution of ethics within the Judaeo-Christian tradition. (1) Primitive Christianity had no value system other than that of Judaism, from which it emerged. Jesus of Nazareth did not add anything new to the values of Judaism. He merely identified strands of the tradition that had been obscured by Pharisaic legalism and re-emphasized them. (2) The Christian Church spent its few centuries dealing with metaphysical issues and did not begin formulating moral rules and ecclesiastical laws until well into the fourth century, largely under the influence of Augustine. (3) The idea that there is a set of "Christian ethics" issued by the founder is untrue both historically and in terms of how value systems develop. Indeed, it is equally arguable that there was a large degree of stoicism integrated into early Christian thought—if Tertullian,[3] an early Christian thinker, is to be considered typical of his age. (4) If the differences in opinion over topics such as birth control are taken into consideration, several systems of ethics can claim the title "Christian": Roman Catholic, Reformed, Protestant, and so forth, and these certainly do not agree on many matters. The cases of Buddhism and Confucianism are more simple. The *Four Noble Truths* and the *Eightfold Path* are the core of Buddhist values; but if the development and expansion of Buddhism are examined carefully, it becomes clear that Buddhism amended many of its precepts

and that the development of *Mahayana* and *Tantrayana* made this both necessary and possible. Confucian and neo-Confucian values were not entirely identical, and Japan's adaptation of the neo-Confucian thought of Chu Hsi created yet another variety. But these changes took long decades to complete.

Ethics in the Japanese tradition have been fed from several sources, Buddhism being one, Confucianism being another, but Shinto being the foundation. Shinto provided the idea of purification as the underlying value around which others were organized. The other traditions seemed more concerned with moral issues, although—as our discussion of the worldview of the New Religions demonstrated—ethics and metaphysics are thoroughly integrated. The moral values embedded in Shinto are acquired by imitation and not by memorization, which is the custom of traditional societies. One additional factor must be noted. The Western tradition sees man as created by a God who issues humanity with a moral code. Shinto has clung tenaciously to the idea that humanity is in some way biologically descended from the *kami* and therefore possesses something of a divine awareness. From these ideas, its value system is derived.

Moral Sense Theories and Kannagara

If Shinto ethics were to be classified, it is clear that they would not belong to rationalistic types of Western theory (whether deontological or utilitarian) but rather to a group of theories that would be a minority in the Western tradition, the moral sense theories. These are associated with the names of Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, and Adam Smith (the latter being known better for his innovative writings in the field of political economy). These thinkers held the common view that reason cannot lead human beings to action and that therefore some kind of intervening moral sense is required to lead people to act. This they identified as the moral sense, which was one among various other senses. The idea of a moral sense implies that ethics need not be equated with written codes of rules.

Hutcheson was the first of the three to expound the new theory, which bears a striking resemblance to what Motoori Norinaga said in Japan at roughly the same time. Hutcheson identified several human senses:

> Objects, actions or events obtain the name of *good*, or *evil*, according as they are the causes or occasions, mediately or immediately, of a grateful, or ungrateful perception to some sensitive nature.
>
> If we may call every determination of our minds to receive ideas independently on our will, and to have perceptions of pleasure and pain, A SENSE, we shall find many other *senses* beside those commonly explained.
>
> The fourth class (of senses) we may call the *moral sense*, by which "we perceive virtue or vice, in ourselves, or others." This is plainly distinct from the former class

of perceptions, since many are strongly affected with the fortunes of others, who seldom reflect upon virtue or vice, in themselves, or others, as an object: as we may find in natural affection, compassion, friendship or even general benevolence to mankind, which connects our happiness or pleasure with that of others, even when we are not reflecting upon our own temper, nor delighted with the perception of our own virtue.[4]

Motoori Norinaga made the following similar observation on ethics:

Human beings having been produced by the spirit of the two creative *kami* are naturally endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do and what they ought to refrain from. It is unnecessary for them to trouble their heads with systems of morality. . . . If a system of morals were necessary, men would be inferior to animals, all of whom are endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do, only in an inferior degree to man.[5]

It is interesting to note that after dealing with moral sense, Hutcheson goes on to identify a fifth sense, namely, a sense of honor. Its opposite is a sensation of shame.[6]

This argument differs from the moral sense theory of the West in one significant aspect, which is unique to Shinto. It is assumed that man is a biological descendant of the *kami* and that therefore human beings naturally know good from evil. This position is reminiscent of the Stoics of classical times, who saw the divine spark within men as something to be ignited or revived. Whether the position is similar to moral sense theories or to Stoicism, it can be argued that it is at least akin to recognized forms of moral theory. Arguments that Shinto has no ethics rest upon only one view of the nature of ethics.

In a similar vein, Hirata Atsutane made the observation that the Japanese "have been brought into existence through the creative spirits of the sacred ancestral *kami* and are each and every one, in spontaneous possession of the *kannagara-no-michi.* This means that we are equipped naturally with the virtues of reverence for the *kami* for rulers and parents, with kindness towards wife and children and with the moral principles which in Confucianism are called the five great ethical principles."[7] To follow these in a natural way, he declares, is to conform to the teaching of the *kami.*

There is also the implication that human nature is basically good. In neo-Confucian thought this is the theory of *seizensetsu.* A Japanese proverb puts it this way: "*Honshin ni oite wa akunin wa inai*" ("In their heart of hearts, no one is really evil"). The opposite theory, that human nature is fundamentally evil, is the doctrine of *seiakusetsu.* Doctrines that assume evil in human nature take a different view of the necessity and role of a system of ethics from doctrines that assume good. The Western tradition has been heavily dominated by Augustine's doctrine of original sin. Augustine, it should be remembered, successfully demolished the alternative

view put forward by Pelagius and had him declared a heretic through the effective manipulation of ecclesiastical politics.[8] Although moral sense theories in the West do not necessarily posit the inherent goodness of human nature, they do not begin by declaring its innate evil. Modern programs of social reform must assume the opposite of original sin, otherwise they become impossible even to conceptualize. *Kannagara* belongs to this type of theory.

The Shinto Anthropology

Shinto thought has a fairly consistent view of the nature of humanity and the *kami* implied within its rituals and activities. Various doctrines exist about the basic elements of mankind, the soul or *tama* (sometimes *mitama*). In the teaching of *ichi-rei-shi-kon*, four aspects of the soul or four types of soul are seen as coexisting under the control of one spirit. These are usually identified as *ara-tama*, which refers to the wilder and more primal aspects of the soul; *nigi-tama*, the more peaceful and refined aspects of the soul; *saki-tama*, the happy and creative aspects of the soul; and *kushi-tama*, the mysterious and concealed aspects of the soul. The significance of these aspects is reflected in the fact that in different shrines, different aspects of the same *tama* may be enshrined. According to one theory, within the Grand Shrines of Ise there is an *ara-matsuri-no-miya* in which is enshrined the *nigi-tama* of Amaterasu whereas in the *Geku* it is her *ara-tama* that is enshrined.

When Empress Jingu invaded Korea, she was accompanied by the protective *ara-tama* of the *kami* she invoked[9] for her defense, but the *nigi-tama* remained in Japan. There is no doubt that the *ara-tama* was considered to possess special powers and that these were not infrequently associated with the military spirit. Motoori Norinaga identified *saki-tama* and *kushi-tama*. This is usually taken to be reflected in the *mitsu-domoe*, the circle consisting of three equally shaped loops that narrow at one end to meet in the middle.

Closely associated with *tama* is its power or energy, known as *tamashii*. This too has special overtones, as in the expressions *kotodamashii*, the power of the spirit of words; or *Yamato-damashii*, the unique fighting spirit of the Japanese, associated particularly with prewar and war-time moral and political education.

One topic on which the mythology is almost silent is the status of the *tama* after death. In the mythology, *kami* die and later people and Emperors die, yet they continue to be *kami*. The only observation that can be made on this issue is that because Shinto is concerned with development and stages of growth, it views death as simply a stage in a longer process. Certainly there is no Shinto eschatology and little about life after death in the Western sense. Later concepts such as the idea of the Pure Land belong entirely to Buddhism.

Kokoro is also an essential part of the human structure, referring to the heart or the seat of the will and the source of volition and motivation.[10] The *kokoro* was singled out by Ishida Baigan as the place where the training of the spirit can begin, and it became a central concept of the New Religions.

The Moral Vocabulary of Shinto

The subjects discussed in Chapter 6 are germane to this section. Only through the process of comparison can the distinctive character of the ethics of Shinto be made clear. Consider some of the principal terms associated with moral values in Shinto. The most important is *makoto*, translated usually as "sincerity." Kamo no Mabuchi stressed the status of *makoto-no-kokoro*, a sincere heart, as the ideal virtue in Shinto. The term remains extremely important and a generic concept of the tradition. *Junsui*, meaning "pure," is used (in addition to its non-moral usages) to refer to people who are "pure in heart" or pure in the sense of simple, honest, and uncorrupted by the world. Terms related to this are *sei-mei-shin*, the pure heart; *akaki*, which describes brightness with regard to the human heart; and *naoki*, which refers to uprightness of character. All were defined individually by the *Kokugaku* scholars based upon the usages of the *Manyōshū* and the ancient Japanese texts.

Human nature can also be defined in terms of *shinjin goitsu* and *shinjin kiitsu*. The former term refers to the organic unity of human and divine (literally, "*kami*-person-meeting-one") and the latter refers to the restoration of the divine (literally, "*kami*-person-return-one"). Behind this are ideas of the original innocence of human character and its periodic restoration throughout life. Human beings are born with the ability to live in harmony with the divine and with nature, but because of the various forms of impurity that overtake life, purification becomes necessary. Purification effects restoration.

The need for purification is occasioned by the presence of impurities. The Shinto categories of impurity and purification are *kegare*, which means injury or impurity, and *tsumi*, which also refers to impurities and pollution. These are removed by means of *oharai*. The goal to be achieved by the performance of *misogi harai*, purification using water, is the cultivation of *reisei*, the Shinto ideal of spirituality. As the spirit is purified again and again, it can rise to the level of the divine as its spiritual sensitivity is heightened. The repairing and remaking of the *kokoro* is called *tsukuri katamenaosu*.

Kansha, or thanksgiving, is a term used widely in the Japanese language—but especially in Shinto—to express human gratitude for its dependence upon the divine. It frequently appears in statements of corporate philosophy in Japan and carries a neo-religious nuance. People are "thank-

ful" to customers, suppliers, workers, and the invisible powers that bless them; this is fostered as a basic attitude toward society. Individuals are encouraged to express *kansha* in order to maintain a positive outlook, even when things may not be so good.

Related to human effort is *tsui-shin* (hard work), which is praised in Shinto as a virtue. If there is anything that resembles a work ethic in Japan, it is this ideal. It can also be integrated into the thought of the *sankō genri*, the framework of life afforded by the concepts of mission, life, and destiny. *Life* means life in the widest sense of people being within the processes of *Daishizen*, or Great Nature, where they find mission or a clear set of purposes in the form of duties and responsibilities toward society and other people. In fulfilling these, destiny is achieved in the sense of realizing the best and highest of which humanity is capable. In order to keep ideals and the sense of mission alive, purification is necessary. That is the task of Shinto ethics, not a system of ethics that has a moral theology. Shinto ethics may best be classified as an agathistic utilitarianism with a summum bonum as its final end.

SHINTO AND WESTERN METAPHYSICS

Shinto appears from many aspects of its development to be particular rather than universal both in its meaning and application. The late nineteenth-century role of State Shinto appears to strengthen the claim for its particularity. However, this would do less than justice to other aspects of Shinto thinking that stress not the particular and the Japanese, but the universal and the cosmic. Underlying the concept of *kannagara* is the simple idea of following the way of the *kami* within the flow of life in the universe, and this seems capable of wider understanding. It can be viewed as a concept of natural religion, as a way of seeing and experiencing the divine in the midst of life. It has served to keep Shinto true to itself as a way of satisfying the longings and promptings of the human spirit that inspire the human soul to commence the spiritual journey (the history of religion) and that seeks the religious, religious belief, and above all, valid religious experience.

Critics of Shinto would do well to remember the Crusades in the West, the Inquisition, the numerous "holy wars" that have marred Western history, as well as the use of religion to bless weapons of war. Islam retains the concept of *jihad* and the Vatican holds to the doctrine of the "just war," presumably a war that is justified because its own vested interests are threatened. Religion anywhere requires a core of deep, self-correcting spirituality. This can enable it to transcend its own particularity and limitations and discover the universal truths and insights upon which all authentic religion is based and that can act as a guide back to the pathways of original insight when, for any reason, the pathway is not being followed.

Kannagara is the deep core of Shinto in all its many forms; it is another way of expressing that idea.

Beyond this, Shinto is capable of input into the dialogue of world religions because it is the only religious tradition of any sophistication that has grown out of a profound sense of the *immanence* of divinity rather than the *transcendence* of God, the principal feature of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The latter grew out of the desert wastes of the Middle East, which could see God only as "wholly other" or as the "Beyondness of the Beyond" but not as "within the world." Shinto grew up in an environment blessed with nature in all its plenitude and grace. Shinto can fulfill the role of *complimentarity*[11] by being part of the self-corrective community of truth in which religions supplement each other's limitations and point to the limits of doctrines while seeking to be mutually enriching for the sake of the spiritual development of mankind. I suggest six possible areas:

1. The divine in immanence and transcendence
2. Man and nature in harmony rather than in confrontation
3. The monistic versus the dualistic universe
4. The ultimate reality of presentness
5. The renewing power of purification
6. The metaphysic of process versus the metaphysic of substance

The Divine in Immanence and Transcendence

The Japanese *kami* may be found in all aspects of nature, particularly in special mountains such as Mt. Fuji or deep forests such as the wooded area of Mt. Miksa near the Kasuga shrine in Nara. This sentiment stands in sharp contrast to the Western use (1) in early Christian times of nature as a model of unregenerate man, and (2) in medieval times of the idea that the forest was the abode of demons. People who enjoyed the atmosphere of the forest ran the risk of being accused of witchcraft and consequently of being persecuted and burned at the stake. The divine was thus above nature and nature was an obstacle to divine grace. It could never be the vehicle of the divine. Beauty itself is therefore not a value in the Western system.[12] Values are essentially moral. A "natural" value such as the beauty of a mountain or river could even be considered, at its worst, a form of idolatry. This carries us back to the contrast of "natural religion" and its relation to a "religion of nature."

The Christian tradition has in its more broad-minded forms recognized the significance of natural religion as well as revealed religion, but it has never conceded that a religion of nature might also be a form of natural religion and a means of revelation at the same time. The categories have been widely separated, and under the influence of Barthian theology during

the twentieth century they have been completely asseverated. Barth refused an invitation from the Scottish Universities to deliver the famous Gifford Lectures in Natural Theology because he declared himself to be an unequivocal opponent of natural theology in any form. Pope Pius XII called him the greatest theologian since Thomas Aquinas. This has prevented Christian thought from assuming any other than a scientific view of nature, as a result of which it has no basis for an ethic of the environment. This is one of the blind spots of Christian thought that has emerged since the era of environmental concern began in the 1970s. Attempts to suggest that a Christian view of the environment exists are artificial and go against its inherent anthropomorphism and anthropocentrism. Destruction of a man-made work of art, like a landscape painting, will arouse more public indignation than wholesale destruction of nature itself. Any ethic of the environment must begin with a sense of reverence for nature, an attitude of which the Judaeo-Christian tradition is incapable but which Shinto naturally helps to foster.

Man and Nature in Harmony Rather Than in Confrontation

The Western myth of the Garden of Eden is primarily responsible for the image of man struggling with a cruel and relentless natural order, which he must subdue. Adam is told that he will earn his bread by the sweat of his brow and that he will have to battle the elements to survive. The subjugation of nature as a policy can be dated back to the Stoic influences in Roman thought and to the vast works of civil engineering undertaken during Roman times as an expression of Roman ideology. Forests were cleared, marshes drained and settlements established. Tertullian, an early Christian writer, praised this; he thereby married rationalistic Stoicism to Christianity by affirming that the world was made for the benefit of its rational members. Praising Roman civilization, he wrote that "cultivated fields have subdued forests; flocks and herds have expelled wild beasts . . . marshes are drained; and where once were hardly solitary cottages, there are now large cities."[13] He was following the views of Cicero (106–43 B.C.) expressed in his work *Concerning the Nature of the Gods*, in which he argued that the universe existed for the benefit of its rational members, in reply to the Epicurean philosopher Balbus. Later ages never saw fit to challenge this, let alone inquire if it needed to be corrected. In terms of modern environmental thinking, man and nature in harmony is much more significant and relevant. Here Shinto thought may have a contribution to make.

The Monistic versus the Dualistic Universe

Unlike Western religion, which sees the world in terms of good and evil or as an arena in which the conflict of cosmic forces is taking place, Shinto

sees the world and man in it as essentially good. From a philosophical point of view, the absence of clear dualism means that Japanese thought tends to be synthetic, uniting and unifying opposites, rather than analytic in the sense of breaking the world down into elements that may express diversity or contradiction. The absence of dualism applied to the realm of ethics also means, for example, that there is no cultural basis for tales about vampires or for movies like *The Exorcist* or *Dracula*. Good and evil are not ultimate opposites that are embodied in God and the Devil, and Heaven and Hell are not rival residences that seek to claim the destiny of the human soul. Human nature is viewed like a mirror that can cease to reflect light because of dust. Once it is washed or polished, it can once again reflect light as it was originally intended. The importance of such monistic thinking as a corrective to some of the influences of dualistic thinking is in its ability to assist the process of integrated holistic thinking. Such broadly lateral thinking is necessary for problem-solving in the complex modern world where conventional approaches have become singularly ineffective.

The implications of monism rather than dualism in culture have been recognized gradually in different areas of academic concern with interesting consequences.[14] Psychology as well as philosophy and theology are affected, as research has shown.

The Ultimate Reality of Presentness

In Shinto, every moment has intrinsic value. The term used to express this is *naka-ima* (literally, "in the middle of the present"). It is a doctrine that affirms the vitality and the significance of *now*. The measured solemnity with which Shinto rituals are performed stresses the importance of every step and every movement in the process of actual performance. In contrast to aspects of modern life that encourage people to rush in a peremptory manner through many activities to get to "essentials" by shortening the "preliminaries," Shinto sees each act as having importance so that the fullness of life and experience can be enjoyed and appreciated in its entirety. *Naka-ima* carries the same nuance as a similar term, *naka-tsukuni* (literally, "middle country"), that is, the world as it is or the place in which man's life finds its best environment. It expresses the Shinto ideal that the world is rich in the blessings of the *kami* and that it exists to be appreciated.

Shinto is optimistic about the world, although it may often be a place of suffering and tragedy. But that reflects the short-term view. Human beings are not isolated in their existence, and in their present they unite the past and future. They represent their ancestors in the present and are bringing about the future. The culture and the spirit of past and future meet in the life of the present—which therefore has, in all its moments, intrinsic value and the promise of blessing, which can be received by the power of

regular purification. This is a profoundly existential and affirmative idea; it is born of naturalness and rejects the status of means in favor of ends. Everything is equally important because achieving one goal becomes a means to another.

The Renewing Power of Purification

Purification, *harai*, is the means by which *tsumi* is removed and human nature is restored. Its generic form was the act of *misogi* performed by Izanagi after his visit to *Yomi-no-kuni*. Among the ways *misogi* can be practiced, one of the oldest (favored especially by holy men of ancient times and practiced still) is *misogi* performed under a free-standing waterfall. Dressed in a loincloth and headband, participants enter the fall after ritual and physical preparation and invoke the power of the *kami* to purify them and the elements that combine to constitute their existence.

Similarities with the practice of baptism in early Christianity have been pointed out, but there are some significant differences that indicate the distinctive characteristics of *misogi*. First, *misogi* entails instant and total union with nature. The moment of impact when the water and the participant make contact can generate in some a level of cosmic awareness. States of altered consciousness are common among frequent practitioners of *misogi*; these experiences are documented from non-Japanese as well as Japanese who have undertaken *misogi*.

Second *misogi* is a primal, pure, and unmediated experience. It continues to attract people in increasing numbers in a world in which the quality of experience is often measured by what is printed in books or by what experts say that people should experience. The self-discovering process of searching for authentic experience in the world of manmade concrete and plastic has been replaced by the acceptance of much at second hand. In this sense, however, *misogi* defies description. It is an invitation to the purity of authentic experience itself.

Third, *misogi* is not in any sense symbolic. It is actual purification that takes place at a physical and emotional level of which participants are profoundly aware. This may be true of some forms of baptism, but the difference is heightened by the fact that the waterfall is also a *kami*. Furthermore, *misogi* is performed on a regular basis, unlike the "once and for all" character of baptism. Repeated performance itself is a pathway to spirituality for those who have made a discipline out of midnight and morning *misogi*. The therapeutic effects of lowered stress levels and some of the healing side effects have shown that it contains medical as well as spiritual wisdom.[15]

The terms *kiyoshi* (cleansed) and *sayakeshi* (refreshed) are found in the *Manyōshū* over a hundred times, showing how basic the idea was to the earliest literati of Japan. The brightness of the sun and moon are described

by these terms, but so is the human spirit once it has been purified and cleansed properly.

Tamamakuze no	Clean precious riverbed
Kiyohi kahra ni	In it do I purify myself
Misogi shite	For the sake of my wife
Iwau inochic wa	
Imoya tame koso	

In this sense, the *Manyōshū* is perhaps the finest guide not only to the outlook of the ancient Japanese but to the mentality of Shinto in the generic sense of the term. *Misogi* and *uranai* (fortune-telling) are closely connected. The purified person is best qualified to discern the times. The *kiyoki* (pure heart) is the origin of *kiyome*, one of the key words in the *misogi* ritual.

The Metaphysic of Process versus the Metaphysic of Substance

The Western intellectual tradition after Aristotle became (and remained) dominated by the concept of substance, which was used in early Christianity to define the relation between Christ and God. This led to the famous "iota of a difference" battle as to whether Christ was of the same substance as the Father or of a like substance to the Father. The theological battle of the Reformation era was over the meaning of the term *transubstantiation.* Did the bread and wine of the Eucharist physically become, as the Roman Church claimed, the body and blood of Christ, or were they merely symbols? The concept of substance has played an important—but from a cultural point of view, sometimes an ambiguous—role in Western thought. Shinto mythology implies an awareness of process as an equally important category for the understanding of life and the world.[16]

The concept of *musubi* as it features in the mythology is understood as the spirit of binding, of birth and becoming. The etymology is usually taken to be from *musubu*, "to grow,"[17] which exists in the tradition close to the idea of embodied creativity. Through the agency of *Takami-musubi-no-kami* and *Kami-musubi-no-kami* the earth comes into being. The role of *musubi-no-kami* also goes further and even includes the creation of some of the clans.

Fujisawa Chikao, a modern exponent of so-called neo-Shinto, claims that the concept of *musubi* can be equated directly and simply with the *élan vital* of Henri Bergson. Western thinkers, too, have in recent times come to see the importance of process. Notable is Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), whose ideas have influenced Christian theology in its search for a rapport with Buddhism, for example. In Shinto, life and the world flow like the river and the waterfall. The processes and stages are marked by rituals, and each has value and importance. The waterfall in *misogi* offers the corrective insight that life as well as its purification are ongoing

processes. Teilhard de Chardin's idea of the hominization of the universe that leads onward in a teleological way to its divinization seems close in spirit to the approach of Shinto (although of course there are significant differences).

Western parallels to the basic concepts of Shinto are difficult to find because of the dominant influence of revealed religion that suppresses all other routes to the divine. The greatest of the earlier routes is Celtic Christian spirituality, which wed nature and grace in a unique manner. The Celtic dictum that Christ wore two sandals, the Scriptures of the Hebrews and Nature, is the explicit recognition of the other way. Celtic Christian reverence for rocks and stones, mountains and rivers, fire and water united natural and revealed religion. Even ancestral reverence was to some extent preserved in its rituals. The enforced standardization of Christian practices during the seventh century forced its insights into oblivion. Study of the Celtic tradition alongside Shinto would not only be helpful to the comparative understanding of Shinto and its place in the pantheon of world religions but also would assist the Christian tradition in its search for the basis of an ethic of the environment.

Shinto has no more than commenced its dialogue with world religions. In view of the antiquity of its origins and the visible role it plays in Japanese society, as well as the invisible role of its cultural influence, its contribution could prove to be interesting as well as edifying.

NOTES

1. This has been one of the strongest and most dismissive contentions made against Shinto by Christian missionaries. Herbert noted this in *Shinto: The Fountainhead of Japan* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1967, p. 68). Shinto apologists have not been adept in dealing with it, thereby encouraging the impression that there may be no answer.

For a serious and sympathetic attempt at interpreting the *homo religiosus Japonicus* starting from Shinto concepts, see J. J. Spae, *Shinto Man* (Oriens Institute, Tokyo, 1972). It is the fourth in a series of books that tries to effect a theological meeting between Christianity and Japanese culture.

2. See Stuart Picken, "The Evolution of the Japanese Value-System," *Humanities Journal* 17 (International Christian University, 1983).

3. I have argued elsewhere that although Christianity and Stoicism did engage in head-on collision in the persecutions of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Christianity eventually adopted more Stoic ideas and values than Christian thinkers might wish to concede. Kant's praise for Stoicism, offered from the viewpoint of the moral consciousness of eighteenth-century Prussian Protestant thought, may be one of the finest pieces of evidence of its long-term influence. That Protestant ethics are deeply imbued with the Stoic ideals of rationality and discipline seems fairly obvious.

4. Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (John Smith, Glasgow, 1728 ed.), pp. 356–357. The entire range of

the relevent members of the group may be sampled in the Oxford University Press two-volume edition of *British Moralists, 1650–1800*, ed. D. D. Raphael (Oxford University Press, 1969).

5. Motoori Norinaga, *Naobi no Mitama* (The Spirit of Rectification) (1771).

6. This puts into a broader perspective the oversimplified dichotomy between "guilt" and "shame" cultures that has often been used to contrast Japan and the West. Perhaps these are not Eastern versus Western values, but rather the preferences of a social system or a way of approaching values.

7. The seat of the emotions in Japanese culture is the *hara* (stomach) in the sense that it was the bowels for the ancient Hebrews. *Hara ga tatsu* (literally, "the stomach is standing") signifies anger. *Haraguroi* ("black stomach") implies "black-hearted." *Hara-gei* ("stomach speaking") refers to the process of non-verbal communication.

8. Mathew Fox was the author of *Original Blessing*. Fox was silenced by the Vatican for one year in 1989 because of his alleged heterodoxical views on creation and spirituality. Pelagius was declared heretical after a debate with Augustine for harboring similar ideas.

9. *Nihongi*, Vol. 1, IX: 8.

10. Regarding Ishida Baigan and his concept of *kokoro*, see Chapter 7 of this book.

11. On complementarity in world religions, see the works of Nolan P. Jacobson. Also relevant is Steve Infantino, "The Principle of Complimentary in World Religions," in Ron Miller and Jim Kelley, eds., *Fireball and the Lotus* (Bear and Co., Santa Fe, 1987).

12. Plato in his earlier years considered beauty on a par with goodness and truth, but later he revised his architectonics of values to eliminate beauty.

13. Tertullian (160–220), *De Anima*, (Garnier, Paris, 1879) *Writings of Tertullian*, Vol. 2.

14. Steve Cousins, "Culture and Self Perception in Japan and the United States," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56, no. 1 (1989): 124–131. David Loy, *Non-Duality: A Study in Comparative Philosophy* (Yale University Press, 1988).

15. See Yamamoto Yukitaka, *Kami no Michi* (Tsubaki Grand Shrine of America, Stockton, CA, 1987).

16. The application of these ideas has been extremely beneficial to Japan in the area of manufacturing. Process thinking, as in Alfred Whitehead, *Process and Reality* (Macmillan, New York, 1929), or Charles Hartshorne, *Creative Synthesis and Philosophic Method* (Open Court, La Salle, Ill., 1970), is a minority position in the West. See Nolan Pliny Jacobson, *Buddhism and American Philosophy*.

17. *Musubi* and *musu* can be found in the following words, among others: *musuko* (son), *musume* (daughter), *musubi-jo* (a rolled letter tied with string sent by lovers during Japan's medieval age), *musubi-matsu* (a paper expressing a wish tied to a pine tree), and *omusubi* (a ball of rice).

Glossary of Selected Japanese Terms and Expressions

EXPLANATION OF GLOSSARY

1. *Selection of Terms.* The terms compiled are not an exhaustive list of all Shinto names and terms. Terms listed are taken from the main body of the text. The glossary does not contain the names of individual *kami*, nor does it list the names of shrines or notable personalities in *Jinja Shinto* or *Kyoha Shinto.* Some terms used in the Imperial Household are listed because they have appeared in the press over the last twenty years, particularly in connection with the passing of Emperor Showa and the accession of Emperor Heisei. Others are related to the materials in the content.
2. *Chinese Characters.* Verification of the writing of the Chinese characters has been made from several authoritative dictionaries. Reference has been made to the *Kokugo Daijiten*, *Shinto Jiten*, and *Shin-Shukyo Jiten* as well as to the *Nen-chu Gyoji Jiten.*
3. *Format and Usage.* Parenthesized titles included after explanations indicate the context of usage; usually the sect, the name of the user, the text in which it is found in that form, the Imperial Household, or wherever is appropriate. Where no specific indication is found, it may be assumed that the term is in general usage in the contemporary Japanese language or is an in-use term of *Jinja* Shinto and shrines in general.
4. *Order of Listing*. Terms are arranged alphabetically according to standard English usage based upon the style of romanization of Japanese employed throughout the text. Although there are strong arguments from a scholastic point of view that it would be better to follow the Japanese language format, this would make unnecessary difficulties for the English Language readership for whom this work is intended.

Aidagara 間柄 The dimension of betweenness in a relationship.
Ai-dono 相殿 When several *kami* are enshrined together, the subordinates to the principal are enshrined in *ai-dono* and are known as *ai-do-no-kami.*
Aikidō 合気道 A Japanese self-defense art.
Akaki kiyoki kokoro 明き清き心 Four virtues in Shinto which are conditions of unity with the *kami*; these are also known as *seimei-shin. See Chapter 10.*
Akaki Kokoro 明き心 Bright heart.
Aki-matsuri 秋祭り Autumn Festival of harvest thanksgiving.
Akitsumi-kami 現つみ神 *Kami* in human form, especially the Emperor in the past.
Aku 悪 Evil, not simply in the moral sense but encompassing unhappiness, disaster or misfortune. *See tsumi and kegare.*
Amaterasu Ōkami 天照大神 *Kami* of the sun, principal *kami* of Shinto.
Amatsuhi 天つ日 *Amaterasu* united with the sun.
Amatsu-kami 天つ神 The heavenly *kami* led by Amaterasu.
Amatsu-norigoto 天つ祝詞 Ritual prayer (*Sukyo Mahikari*).
Ame-no-Iwato 天岩戸 The cave in which *Amaterasu* hid herself.
Ame-no-murakumo-no-tsurugi 天叢雲剣 Imperial Sword.
Ame-no-Ukihashi 天浮橋 The Floating Bridge of Heaven.
Ame-tsuchi 天地 An expression meaning "heaven-earth." At creation, the light and pure elements remained in *ame* while the heavier elements remained on *tsuchi.*
Ando 安堵 Ownership rights to land given to the Grand Shrines of Ise.
Anshin Ritsumei 安心立命 Doctrine that teaches people not to worry about daily life concerns, but to pursue their religious goals.
Arahito-gami 現人神 A living, human *kami* (formerly used in reference to the Emperor).
Arimitama 荒魂 Spirit of the *kami* of origins and beginnings.
Asa-gutsu 浅沓 Shoes worn by priests in formal attire made of hollowed paulownia wood and surfaced with black laquer.
Bakufu 幕府 Military Government.
Beppyo Jina 別表神社 A list of the principal 200 shrines nationwide.
Bessha 別社 Independent branch shrine.
Betsu-gū 別宮 Branch shrine.
Bokusen 卜占 Divination.
Bon-matsuri 盆祭 Festival celebrated in mid-July to early August to welcome back the souls of ancestors. First a *mukae-bi* (welcoming

fire) is lit, and later an *okuri-bi* (sending fire). Buddhist elements are involved, but the festival antedates Buddhism.

Bugaku 舞楽 Ceremonial music and dance.

Bukkyō 仏教 Buddhism (modern term).

Bun-in 分院 Branch of a sect.

Bunkyō-seiji 文教政治 Rule through culture and learning (Edo period ideal).

Bunmei-kaika 文明開化 Civilization and enlightenment (Meiji period).

Bun-rei 分霊 Branch spirit.

Bun-sha 分社 Place of enshrinement of *bun-rei*.

Busha-sai 奉射祭 Arrow-shooting festival celebrated at *Inari Jinja*.

Butsudō 仏道 The Way of the Buddha (ancient form of reference).

Chadō 茶道 The Way of Tea (Tea Ceremony).

Chigi/Katsuogi 千木竪男木 The distinctive gable posts and roof beams on *shimmei-zukuri* shrine roofs. *See Chapter 4.*

Chinju 鎮守 Clan *kami*.

Chinki-shiki 鎮火式 "Fire Calming" ritual in which believers walk bare-footed on hot coals (*Ontake-kyō* and *Shinshū-kyō*).

Chinkon 鎮魂 A ritual to calm the soul (sometimes of the dead).

Chi-no-wa 茅輪 A large ring made of twisted miscanthus reeds through which people pass on June 30 for purification to avoid misfortune.

Chokusai 勅祭 Festival celebrated in the presence of an Imperial messenger.

Chokushi 勅使 An Imperial messenger at highly ranked festivals.

Chōnin 町人 Townspeople (Edo period).

Chūkogaku 中古学 Heian Studies (Edo period).

Chūnagon 中納言 Second rank at the Heian Court.

Chūshi 中祀 Middle ranked festivals in the Heian period.

Da-gakki 打楽器 The percussion instruments used in *gagaku*.

Daidō 大道 The great way, an old name for Shinto.

Dai-Gūji 大宮司 Special title of the High Priest of the Ise Jingū.

Daijō-sai 大嘗祭 Festival at which a newly installed Emperor offers, for the first time, the first fruits of the harvest to Amaterasu. Thereafter, in autumn in the *Niiname-sai*, he continues to do so for the entire length of his reign.

Daikoku 大黒 This *kami* was combined with O-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto to become a *kami* of prosperity (and, in Western Japan, of rice fields).

Dainagon 大納言 First rank in the Heian Court.
Dai-Nippon Jingikai 大日本祇会 Pre-War Organization of Shrines.
Daisai 大祭 Annual ritual marking the death of the previous Emperor (Imperial Household).
Daishizen 大自然 Great Nature.
Dajōkan 太政官 Council of State.
Danna 檀那 Disciple of *shugenja* teacher (Heian period).
Dashi 山車 A large wagon pulled at festivals, differently named in various areas as *yatai, hiki-yama, odori-guruma,* or *yama-boko.*
Daizai Shoni 太宰少弐 Provincial Vice-Governor (Heian period).
Dazai Sochi 太宰帥 Provincial Governor (Heian period).
Dōjin 童人 Mythical child attendants of the *kami* in folk religion.
Dōsojin 道祖神 Also known as *sai-no-kami,* Dosojin are worshipped on village borders or mountain passes to protect travelers.
Dōtaku 銅鐸 Ancient bell-like objects found in parts of Japan.
Dōzoku-shin 同族神 Kinship-*kami,* meaning the *kami* of a family or group with strong kinship ties in a common ancestor.
Ebisu 恵比須 In cities the *kami* of merchants; in rural areas, of rice-fields.
Eboshi 烏帽子 Head dress for priests.
Eirei 英霊 The War Dead.
Ema 絵馬 Wooden tablets that are offered with special prayers written on them.
E-maki-mono 絵巻物 Picture scrolls from the Heian period depicting the origin and wonders of a shrine.
Engishiki 延喜式 A collection of government regulations drawn up between the seventh and ninth centuries, comprising fifty volumes, the first ten of which deal with Shinto rituals.
Fukensha 府県社 Prefectural shrine.
Fukko Shinto 復古神道 Restoration Shinto.
Fukoku-Kyōhei 富国強兵 A strong economy and a powerful military (Meiji period slogan).
Funa-dama 船玉 A *kami* revered by fishermen to protect ships.
Fundoshi 褌 Loincloth used in purification rituals.
Gagaku 雅楽 Ancient court and shrine music.
Gaki 垣 Shrine fences:

- ***Ita-gaki*** 板垣 Outer fence.
- ***Mizu-gaki*** 水垣 Third inner fence.
- ***Soto-gaki*** 外垣 First inner fence.
- ***Uchi-gaki*** 内垣 Second inner fence.

Gakuha Shinto 学派神道 Academic Shinto.
Gashō 我象 Sufferings and misfortunes as divine warnings, now referred to as *mishirase* (PL Kyodan).
Gasshō 合掌 Ritual of *Seicho no Ie.*
Gekū 外宮 Outer Shrine of Ise.
Gembuku 元服 Coming of age (Imperial Household).
Gengō 元号 System of naming Imperial eras.
Genkai 現界 Material world (*Sekai Kyūsei-kyō*).
Genreigaku 言霊学 Science of interpreting words by their spirit (*Mahikari*).
Genshi-sai 元始祭 Festival of origins, January 3 (Imperial Household).
Gion 祇園 Susa-no-o-no-mikoto is enshrined in the Yasaka Jinja in Kyoto. The *Gion Matsuri* is celebrated there as one of Japan's major festivals.
Gishiki 儀式 General term for a ritual.
Gishiki-den 儀式殿 A shrine building for special ceremonies.
Go-hei 御幣 Paper or cloth *heihaku* (paper offered to a *kami*) attached to a stick.
Gokoku Jinja 護国神社 Shrine for the protection of the State.
Goma 護摩 Fire ceremony of purification (originally from Shingon Buddhism).
Gongen 権現 "Incarnation" style of shrine buildings.
Gon-Gūji 権宮司 Assistant High Priest of a shrine.
Gorikai 御理解 Sacred scriptures of *Konkō-kyō.*
Goryō-e 御霊会 Ritual to calm angry souls (Heian period).
Goryō-sha 御霊社 Shrine for the War Dead.
Goseigen 御誓言 Sacred text of *Sukyo Mahikari.*
Gosha 郷社 Village shrine.
Goshiki-ban 五色板 Five colored sets of ribbons hung in shrines in the altar area: *kuro* (black) or *murasaki* (purple) are accompanied by *ao* (green), *aka* (red), *shiro* (white) and *kiro* (yellow).
Goshinetsu 御親閲 Report at *Kotai Jingū* by an Emperor on his Accession.
Goshinsui 御神水 Offering water charged with divine power (*Shinrei-kyō*).
Go-shintai 御神体 Symbol of the enshrined *kami* kept in the innermost part of the *Honden.* Also called *mi-tama-shiro* in older Japanese form.
Gūji 宮司 High Priest of a shrine.
Gyōji 行事 One of a shrine's annual fixed rituals, or a personal discipline.

Gyoki 澆季 The age of attenuation (Edo period idea).
Hachimaki 鉢巻 Headband tied on for performing purification rituals.
Hachiman 八幡 Of obscure origins, including being the protective *kami* of copper miners in Kyushu, Hachiman is revered principally as a *kami* of battle.
Hafuri 祝 Shrine estates.
Hagoromo 羽衣 Mythological heavenly female person wearing a robe of swan feathers.
Haibutsu-kishaku 廃仏毀釈 Meiji period anti-Buddhist slogan
Haidatsu 擺脱 Ladle used for washing hands and mouth upon entering the precincts of a shrine.
Haiden 拝殿 Worship hall in a shrine.
Hairei 拝礼 The formal manner of showing reverence to a *kami*.
Hakama 袴 The lower part of the priestly costume.
Haniwa 埴輪 Clay figurines used as funerary offerings.
Happyō-kai 発表会 Meeting (in *Shinrei-kyō*) to report miracles.
Harae-do 祓戸 A building (or area) provided for purification of body and mind prior to participation in religious ceremonies.
Harai 祓い Ritual purification.
Harai-gushi 祓串 A wooden stick with paper streamers used in *oharai* rituals.
Haru-matsuri 春祭 Spring festival to pray for protection of crops.
Hashira 柱 Pillar in a shrine building. The different types are:

- ***Daikoku-hashira*** 大黒柱 Throne pillar.
- ***Futa-hashira*** 二柱 Two pillars through the veranda.
- ***Kokoro-no-hashira*** 心の柱 Heart pillar in the center.
- ***Mune-mochi-hashira*** 棟持柱 Ridge-supporting pillar.
- ***Osa-hashira*** 狭柱 Small "in-between" pillar.
- ***Shin-no-mihashira*** 心の御柱 Same as *kokoro-no-hashira*.

Hashiramoto-goma 柱源護摩 *Goma* (fire purification ceremony) performed with piles of wood introduced into Japan by Shingon Buddhism.
Hatsu-hi-node 初日出 First sunrise of the New Year.
Hatsu-miya-mairi 初宮参 First shrine visit of children to be accepted as parishioners; boys, 32nd day and girls, 33rd day.
Hatsu-mōde 初詣 First shrine visit of the New Year made by over 80 million Japanese during the first two or three days of the New Year.
Haya Okikai 早起会 Ritual of *Jissen Rinri Kosekai*.
Heihaku 幣帛 Pieces of paper and cloth hung as offerings to a *kami*.

Heisei 平成 Era of Emperor Akihito.
Hijiri 聖 Holy man, ascetic.
Hi-machi 日待 Waiting for the sun on the 15th night of the first, fifth and ninth months of the old calendar. Meeting in each other's homes, believers would pass the night talking until the act of devotion could be performed as the sun rose.
Hi-matsuri 火祭 A fire festival performed as an act of purification or divination. Some shrines, such as the one at Nachi, have famous festivals involving fire.
Himorogi 神籬 A sacred space marked off by a rope.
Hi-no-kami 火神 The *kami* of fire.
Hinokishin ひのきしん Daily service in *Tenri-kyō*.
Hitogara 人柄 Moral elegance of personality.
Hiwada 檜 Bark of Japanese cypress.
Hō 袍 The outer priestly garment, also known as *sokutai*, *ikan*, or *saifuku*.
Hōgyo 崩御 Honorific form to describe the passing away of an Emperor or *kami*.
Hōhon-hanshi 報本反始 Indebtedness to ancestors and return to beginnings (Edo period popular idea).
Hokke Shinto 法華神道 Combination of Tendai Shinto and Yoshida Shinto.
Hōmotsu-den 宝物殿 Repository for sacred articles.
Honden 本殿 Shrine building containing *goshintai*.
Hongu 本宮 The central shrine for the worship of a particular *kami*.
Honjaku Engi Shinto 本迹縁起神道 Shinto of true essence and manifestation.
Honji-suijaku-setsu 本地垂迹説 The principle of noumenal (*honji*) and phenomenal (*suijaku*) aspects of Buddhism and Shinto that enabled the one to be a manifestation of the other, making possible an explanation of the relationship between Buddha and *kami*. Originally, the Buddha was the *honji* and the *kami* were *suijaku*. Later the view was reversed by Shinto thinkers in the theory of *han-honji-suijaku-setsu*, or *shimpon-butsuju-setsu*.
Honso 本宗 Source or root.
Honzan-ha 本山派 Sect of *Shugendo* (Heian period).
Honzen-no-sei 本然の性 Primary nature (Chu Hsi).
Hoshi-no-tama 星の玉 "Star-ball" ornament found in many shrines.
Hotoku 報徳 "Repayment of Virtue" philosophy of Ninomiya Sontoku, which taught four virtues:

Shisei 至誠 Sincerity of mind.
Kinrō 勤労 Industrious labor.
Bundo 分度 Planned economy.
Suijō 推譲 Yielding to others.

Ibuki 息吹 Breathing exercises performed before *misogi harai.*

Ibuki-hō 息吹考 Deep breathing as performed in *Ontake-kyō.*

Ichi-no-miya 一宮 The formally acknowledged and designated oldest shrine of a district (Heian period).

Imi 忌 Avoidance as a form of purification.

Inari 稲荷 The protective *kami* of rice cultivation as well as the five basic grain cereals, popular among the merchant classes of Edo.

In-en-ga 因縁果 Cause-and-effect cycle that affects human destiny (*Shinrei-kyō*).

Innen 因縁 The Buddhist doctrine of Reincarnation.

Inzei 院政 Cloistered retired Emperor.

Ise Shinto 伊勢神道 The teaching of the Ise Shrines.

Itsuki no hime miko 斎姫王 Imperial Princess serving at a shrine.

Iwakura 磐座 A rocky crag or crevice considered to be the seat of a *kami.*

Iwasaka 磐境 A place where the *kami* is worshipped in the open.

Jiba 地場 Sacred place of *Tenri-kyō.*

Jichinsai 地鎮祭 Ground breaking ceremony.

Jingi-in 神祇院 College of the *kami* as in 1940.

Jingikan 神祇官 The ancient government department of Shinto worship.

Jingiryō 神祇令 Government budget for shrines (Heian period).

Jingishō 神祇省 Department of Shinto Affairs.

Jingū 神宮 Shrine with Imperial connections.

Jingū Hōsaika 神宮奉斎会 Association of supporters of Ise Jingu.

Jinja 神社 Sacred place where a *kami* is present and is revered.

Jinja Gappei 神社合併 Enforced shrine mergers, also called *Jinja Seirei*, or "shrine consolidation."

Jinja-Honchō 神社本庁 Association of Shinto Shrines created after 1945.

Jinja Kyoku 神社局 Ministry of the Interior (*Naimushō*) department handling Shinto affairs (1900).

Jinja Shaden 神社社殿 Shrine buildings.

Jisha Bugyō 神社奉行 Edo period magistrate in charge of shrines and temples.

Jisha-hatsuin-no-gi 轜車発引の儀 Transport of Imperial hearse to the funeral site.

Jishuku 自粛 Period of self-restraint.
Jo-ē 浄衣 Priestly head dress.
Jokogaku 上古学 Nara studies (Edo period).
Jōmon 縄文 Earliest period of Japanese civilization.
Jōrei 浄霊 Ritual to cleanse the body of impurities (*Sekai Kyūsei-kyō*).
Jotai 浄体 Cleansing of the body (*Sekai Kyūsei-kyō*).
Junpai/Junrei 巡礼 Pilgrimage through a circuit of sacred places.
Kagura 神楽 Ceremonial dance to please the *kami*.
Kagura zutome 神楽努 Salvation Dance (*Tenri-kyō*).
Kai-i 階位 Four ranks of priests awarded by the *Jinja Honchō*.
Kairiginu 狩衣 Priestly robes, especially the outer garment which originated as a hunting garment of the nobility of the Heian period.
Kairō 回廊 Veranda around a shrine building.
Kairyū-den 廻立殿 Place where the Emperor and Empress change clothes during the accession rituals.
Kaji 加持 Prayer or ritual in Esoteric Buddhism.
Kakuri-yo 幽り世 Hidden world of the *kami* as opposed to the *utsushi-yo* (visible world).
Kamado-gami 竈神 *Kami* of the hearth, fire and family protection.
Kame-ura 亀卜 Divination by tortoise shell (*Ontake-kyō*).
Kami 神 The object of reverence in Shinto.
Kami-arisai 神有祭 Festival of *Izumo Taisha*.
Kami-dana 神棚 Family altar (shelf) for reverencing tutelary and family *kami*.
Kami-goto o saki to suru 神事を先とする Putting Shinto matters first.
Kami-kaze 神風 Divine winds.
Kami no Michi 神の道 Way of the *kami*.
Kami-yobi-uta 招神歌 Songs invoking the *kami* (*Seicho-no-Ie*).
Kampeisha 官幣社 Highly ranked government shrine.
Kanbe 神戸 Estates that provided shrine revenues.
Kanchō 管長 Title of the president of *Shinto Taikyō*.
Kandokoro 神所 Shrine lands (sixth century).
Kanjo 勧請 Invitation and proposal for the enshrinement of a *kami*.
Kankoku-Heisha 官国幣社 Government and National Shrines.
Kanmuri 冠 Priestly head wear.
Kannagara 惟神 Following the will and way of the *kami*.
Kannamesai 神嘗祭 Autumn Festival.

Kannushi 神主 Older term for a priest. Ranks are as follows:
- ***Chokkai*** 直階 "Uprightness," fourth rank.
- ***Jōkai*** 浄階 "Purity," first rank.
- ***Meikai*** 明階 "Brightness," second rank.
- ***Seikai*** 正階 "Righteousness," third rank.

Kanrodai Sekai 甘露台世界 Perfect divine kingdom (*Tenri-kyō*).
Kanrodai Zutome 甘露台努 Salvation Dance.
Kansha 感謝 Gratitude.
Kanyo 寛容 Tolerance.
Kanzukasa 神司 Central agency for selected ceremonies (sixth century).
Kashikodokoro 賢所 Shrine in the Imperial Palace enshrining past Emperors.
Kashikomu 畏む Attitude of respect toward a *kami*.
Kashimono-karimono 貸物借物 "Things borrowed, things lent" (*Tenri-kyō*).
Kashiwade 拍手 Ritual clapping (in *Kurozumi-kyō*) when the founder's words are quoted.
Kasumi 霞 Area of authority of leading *shugenja* (Heian period).
Kegare 穢 Impurity or injury.
Keiba 競馬 Horse races.
Kenkokusai 建国祭 Constitution Day (after 1945) to replace National Founding Day, *Kigensetsu*.
Kensen-no-gi 献饌の儀 Dedication of offerings.
Kessai 潔斎 Purification or priests.
Kibuku 忌服 Mourning.
Kihan-gaku 規範学 Evaluative study of ancient texts (Motoori Norinaga).
Kigan 祈願 Prayer to the *kami* in whom the individual believes.
Kigensetsu 紀元節 The commemoration day of the mythical accession of Emperor Jimmu in 661 b.c.
Kimotosai 木本祭 Ceremony related to the reconstruction of the Grand Shrines of Ise.
Kinryū-den 金龍殿 Golden Dragon Pavilion, sacred place of *Omoto-kyō*.
Kisei Shūkyō 既成宗教 Older established religions (Jinja Shinto, Buddhism) in contrast to New Religions and sects.
Kishitsu-no-sei 気質の性 Physical nature (Chu Hsi)
Kitsune-mochi 狐持 Possession of fox power.
Kitsune-tsukai 狐使 Use of fox power.

Kitsune-tsuki 狐憑 Being possessed by a fox.
Kiyoki-no-kokoro 清きの心 Purified heart.
Kiyome-no-ike 清めの池 Purification pond.
Kiyoshi 清し Cleansed (*Manyōshū*).
Ko 講 A meeting for religious ceremonies or spiritual guidance.
Kobunjigaku 古文辞学 Ancient Rhetoric School (Ogyu Sorai).
Kōchōgaku 皇朝学 Imperial Learning (Motoori Norinaga)
Kodo 古道 The ancient way, an old name for Shinto.
Kofun 古墳 Ancient Imperial burial mounds.
Kogaku 古学 Ancient Learning (Motoori Norinaga).
Kogigaku 古義学 Ancient Meaning School (Ito Jinsai).
Kokka Shinto 国家神道 State Shinto (Meiji period).
Koku 石 Rice Measure (Edo period).
Koku-bungaku 国文学 National literature (Motoori Norinaga).
Kokugaku Shinto 国学神道 National Learning Shinto.
Koku-Heisha 国幣社 National shrines.
Kokumin-dotoku-ron 国民道徳論 National morality (Motoori Norinaga).
Koku-shi 国史 National history (Motoori Norinaga).
Kokutai 国体 Body politic.
Kokutai-no-kodo 国体の行動 Way of the body politic (Motoori Norinaga).
Koma-inu 狛犬 A pair of sculptured lion-dogs placed at the entrance of a shrine as protective symbols.
Kōreiden 皇霊殿 Sacred pavilion within the Imperial Palace.
Kōrinkaku 光輪閣 Sacred place of enshrinment of the founder of *Shinrei-kyō*.
Koshin-no-gi 貢進の儀 Alighting of a *kami* on a *sakaki*.
Koshitsu-saishi 皇室祭祀 Shinto ceremonies of the Imperial Household.
Koshitsu-Saishierei 皇室祭祀令 Ordinance of 1900 governing Imperial Household ceremonies.
Koto-dama 言霊 Pleasant-sounding words thought to please the *kami*.
Kotsu anzen harai 交通安全祓い Purification for road safety.
Kugatachi-shiki 誓湯式 Subduing hot elements shown by pouring boiling water on the body without harm (*Ontake-kyō*, *Shinshū-kyō*).
Kumori 曇 Roots of unhappiness (*Sekai Kyūseikyō*).
Kunaicho 宮内庁 The Imperial Household Agency.
Kunigara 国柄 National character.
Kunitsu no kami 国つ神 The *kami* of earth, head of whom is Sarutahiko-Okami.

Kura 蔵 State Storehouse.
Kushimitama 奇し御魂 Soul of life and creativity.
Kyōbushō 教部省 Ministry of Religious Instruction (Meiji period).
Kyodoshoku 郷土色 System of Shinto Instructors (Meiji period).
Kyōha Shinto Rengokai 教派神道連合会 Association of Sect Shinto groups.
Kyo-ichi-nichi-shugi 今日一日主義 One day at a time (*Jissen Rinri Koseikai*).
Kyōha Shinto 教派神道 Sect Shinto (specifically the thirteen sects approved during the late Edo and early Meiji periods).
Kyōkai 教会 Church, used of groups in some sects of Shinto.
Kyoken-Jikkajo 教憲十ケ条 The Ten Precepts of *Shinshū-kyō*.
Kyōku 局 Administrative ward in *Kurozumi-kyō*.
Kyokun 教訓 Lessons for today (*Shinri-kyō*).
Kyōshin-to 教信徒 Learner/believer in *Shinri-kyō*.
Kyōshu 教主 The head of *Misogi-kyō*.
Kyōsosama 教祖様 Founder of a religion (used especially in reference to New Religions).
Kyūchū Sanden 宮中三殿 Three shrines within the Imperial Palace.
Magokoro 真心 Sincere heart (*Manyoshu*).
Mahikari no Waza 真光の業 Light from the hand (*Mahikari*).
Majinai 禁厭 Healing through infusion of *Nippai* (*Kurozumi-kyō*).
Makoto no kokoro 真の心 Sincere heart.
Mappō 末法 The doctrine of an apocalyptic evil age in Buddhism.
Marebito 賓人 Visiting *kami* in disguise.
Massha 末社 Subordinate shrine.
Matsuri 祭 Festival.
Matsuri-goto 祭事 Government (ancient name).
Megumi 恵 Bestowing of grace.
Meishusama 明主様 Enlightened Master (*Sekai Kyūsei-kyō* founder).
Michi 道 Way.
Michi no Kami 道の神 *Kami* of the road.
Michizure 道連れ Follower (*Kurozumi-kyō*).
Mifune-no-Iwakura 御船の磐座 Landing place of *Ninigi-no-Mikoto*.
Mikagurauta 御神楽歌 Sacred writing by founder of *Tenri-kyō*.
Miki 神酒 Rice wine offered to a *kami*.
Miko 巫女 Shrine maiden or supplementary priestess.

Mikoshi 御輿 Portable shrine for carrying *kami* through the community.
Mikoto 御言 The command of a kami, or a title of respect.
Mikoto 命 Suffix denoting a divine being.
Mikoto 尊 An Imperial prince in Japanese mythology.
Mikunimanabi 御国学び Imperial Country Learning (Motoori Norinaga).
Minkan Shinto 民間信仰 Folk beliefs.
Minsha 民社 Local folk shrine.
Miroku-Ōkami 大光明真神 *Kami* revealed to founder of *Sekai Kyūsei-kyō*.
Misasagi 陵 Imperial mausolea.
Misogi Harai 禊祓 Purification by immersion in a river, the sea or under a waterfall.
Misogi Shuhō 禊修法 *Misogi harai* as a discipline.
Mitarashi 御手洗 Water provided for washing hands and mouth before taking part in a religious ceremony. *See Te-mizu-ya.*
Mitegura 幣 Other name for *gohei.*
Miyabika 雅 Refined elegance (Kamo no Mabuchi).
Miya-za 宮座 Organization that oversees shrine ceremonies.
Mono 物 Object.
Mono-imi-hō 物忌法 Abstinence from food and drink (*Shinshū-kyō*).
Mono no aware 物の哀れ The pity or sadness of things, aesthetic sensitivity.
Mushūkyō 無宗教 No denominational allegience.
Musubi 産霊 The spirit of birth and becoming.
Naidōjō 内道場 Buddhist court rank modelled on practices of T'ang Dynasty China.
Naiku 内宮 Inner Shrine of Ise.
Naitei 内廷 Part of the Imperial Household Budget.
Nakaima 中今 Doctrine that the present moment is the best moment.
Nakatomi 中臣 Ancient family that undertook Shinto rituals.
Naka-tsu-kuni 中つ国 Similar idea to *nakaima.*
Naobi-no-kami 直日神 *Kami* of purification.
Naoki kokoro 直き心 Straight heart.
Naorai 直会 Communing with a *kami* after a ritual, which includes drinking *sake.*
Natsu-matsuri 夏祭 Summer Festival.
Negi 禰宜 Senior Priest of a shrine under whom is a *Gon-negi.*
Nembutsu 念仏 Ritual invocation of the Buddha.

Nenchū-gyōji 年中行事 The annual cycle of shrine festivals and rituals.
Niiname-sai 新嘗祭 Autumn Festival.
Nigimitama 和御魂 Spirit of integrating power.
Ni-jū-ni-sha 二十二社 The principal twenty-two shrines of the Heian period.
Nikkū 日供 Prayers offered on behalf of those unable to attend daily worship (*Kurozumi-kyō*).
Ninja 忍者 Martial arts specialist.
Ninjō-shugi 人情主義 Principle of human feeling as the essence of humanity (Motoori Norinaga).
Ni-Ō 仁王 Guardians at the entrance of a Buddhist temple, corresponding to the *Ya-daijin* at some shrines.
Nippai 日拝 Inhaling the sun (*Kurozumi-kyō*).
Nissan 日参 Recitation of the *Obarae no Kotoba* (*Kurozumi-kyō*).
Nittoku 日徳 The sun virtue of Amaterasu.
Noh 能 Religious drama.
Norito 祝詞 Words addressed by a priest to the *kami* in traditional style.
Ōbarae-no-kotoba 大祓詞 Words of ritual purification as compiled in the Heian period. *See Chapter 3.*
Oboe 覚 Things to be learned and remembered (*Shinri-kyō*).
Ofuda 御札 An amulet bearing the name of a *kami* kept by believers.
Ofudesaki 御筆先 Sacred scriptures of *Tenri-kyō*.
Oharai 御祓 Purification in any of its forms. *See harai and Chapter 3.*
Okagemairi 御蔭参 Thanksgiving shrine visits every sixty years (Edo period).
Okumotsu 御供物 Sacred food offerings (*Shinrei-kyō*) charged with divine power that believers take home.
Okura 御蔵 National Treasury.
Omairi 御参 Going to a shrine to offer worship.
Omamori 御守 Protective talisman from a shrine that may be for travel, health, road safety or good fortune.
Omikuji 御御籤 Divination by lots.
Ominuki 御身抜 Release of spirit from body to receive the words of the *kami* (*Jikkō-kyō*).
Omochi 御餅 Rice cakes.
Oni 鬼 A near human form of a spirit with frightening appearance.
Onogorojima 石殿馭慮島 The archipelago of Japan (or the

planet Earth) in the mythology.

Onsashiha 御翳 A canopy to conceal the sacred, used in processions.

Osazuke 授け Gift of the divine to an aspiring teacher of *Tenri-kyō*.

Oshi 御師 A highly ranked *Shugendō* teacher (Heian period).

Oshoku 御職 Leading master guide in *Shugendō*.

Oyagami 親神 Parent *kami* (*Tenri-kyō*).

Rei 霊 Spirit.

Reikai 霊界 Spiritual realm (*Sekai Kyūsei-kyō*).

Reisai 例祭 The principal festival of any shrine performed once or twice a year depending on local custom.

Reisei 霊性 Spirituality.

Reitai 霊体 Spiritual part of human beings (*Sukyō Mahikari*).

Rigaku Shinto 理学神道 Confucian Shinto.

Rikkyo Shinden 立教神伝 Divine call to Akazawa Bunji in 1859 (*Konkō-kyō*).

Rokkon-sho-jo 六根清浄 Purification of the six elements of existence, a term used in *misogi* and in mountain climbing for purification.

Ryōbu Shinto 両部神道 Dual Shinto based on the two Shingon mandalas.

Renso-tojitsu-hinkyusai 斂葬当日殯宮祭 Funerary ritual preceding burial (Imperial Household).

Ryosho-no-gi 陵所の儀 Ceremony of entombment (Imperial Household).

Sachimitama 幸魂 Spirit of harmony and expansion.

Sadaijin 左大臣 Highly ranked official (Heian Court).

Saifuku 祭服 Priestly vestments.

Saigū 斎宮 Imperial Princess serving at at a shrine (also *Saiō*).

Saijitsu 祭日 The day on which a festival is celebrated.

Saikan 斎館 Purification of priests.

Saikigu 祭器具 Utensils used in Shinto rituals, including:

Hassoku-an	八足案	Eight-legged table set up to bear offerings.
Heihaku	幣帛	Offerings.
Oshiki	折敷	Four-sided tray.
Sambō	三方	Offerings tray.
Shinsen	神饌	Food offerings.
Takatsuki	高杯	Sacred utensil for carrying offerings, *kaku-takatsuki* (square) and *maru-takatsuki* (round).

Tamagushi 玉串 *Sakaki* branch.
Saisei-itchi 祭政一致 Unity of Worship and Government.
Saisen 賽銭 Money offered during shrine visits.
Saitansai 歳旦祭 New Year's Day ceremony in the Imperial Household.
Sakaki 榊 A Japanese evergreen used in Shinto rituals.
Sakoku Jidai 鎖国時代 Era of the closed country (Edo period).
Sampai 参拝 Offering worship at a shrine.
Sangaku Shinko 山岳信仰 Mountain cult of spirit worship.
Sankan 三管 "Three reeds," wind instruments used in rituals:
- ***Fue*** 笛 Six-holed flute.
- ***Hichikiri*** 篳 Nine-holed flageolet.
- ***Shō*** 笙 Seventeen bamboo-tubed instrument.

Sanko 三鼓 Three drums used in ritual music:
- ***Kakko*** 羯鼓 Small drum for time-keeping.
- ***Shōko*** 小鼓 Small accompanying drum.
- ***Taiko*** 太鼓 Large drum used in most rituals.

Sanko-genri 三光源理 Cosmic diagram based on three principles. *See Chapter 6.*
Sannō 山王 "Mountain King," another name for *Hie Jinja.*
Sannō-Ichijitsu-Shinto 山王一実神道 Tendai Shinto.
Sanshu-no-Shinki 三種神器 The Imperial Regalia.
Sasara 簓 Wooden clappers.
Sayakeshi 清けし Refreshed (*Manyōshū*).
Sei-aku-setsu 性悪説 Doctrine of inherent evil in human nature (Confucian concept).
Seikyō 聖教 Teaching of the sages.
Seikyō Bunri 政教分離 Separation of religion and politics.
Seikyō Shinto 聖教神道 Confucian Shinto (Edo period).
Seimei 清明 Purity and brightness of heart.
Seimei-shin 清明心 Same as *akaki kiyoki kokoro.*
Seishiki Sampai 正式参拝 Formal worship at a shrine by offering a *tamagushi.*
Seishinteki bunmei 精神的文明 Spiritual civilization (*Shinrei-kyō*).
Seiza 正座 Reverential posture in *Seicho-no-Ie.*
Sei-zen-setsu 性善説 Doctrine of inherent goodness of human nature (Confucian concept).
Sendatsu 先達 Name for the *Shugenja* of Kumano.
Sengoku Jidai 戦国時代 Era of the civil wars.
Sengu 遷宮 The ceremonial removal of a *kami* to a new shrine building.
Senkyoshi 宣教師 Meiji period Shinto missionary in Japan.

Sen-nichi-kai-hō-gyō 千日回峰行 Mountain ascetic discipline of *Tendai-shu* that takes 1,000 days to complete over a period of seven years.
Senshūryaku 千秋楽 Last day of a *Sumo* tournament.
Senso 践祚 Imperial Accession Rites.
Seppuku 切腹 Ritual suicide (Edo period).
Sessha 摂社 Embraced shrine.
Setsubun-sai 節分祭 Equinox festival.
Setsumei-gaku 説明学 Exposition of ancient texts (Motoori Norinaga).
Shaden 社殿 General name for shrine buildings.
Shaku 笏 A scepter-like stick carried by courtiers and by priests.
Shamushō 社務所 Shrine office.
Shichi-go-san 七五三 Rites of passage festival for children aged three, five and seven years.
Shichi-fuku-jin 七福神 Seven folk *kami* of good fortune.
Shihohai 四方拝 Ritual of showing reverence to north, south, east, and west as an act of reverence toward nature.
Shikinen-sengū 式年遷宮 Removal of *kami* to a new building after a prescribed number of years.
Shikiten kaishi 式典開始 Formal entry of a priest to perform a ceremony.
Shimbu-shiki 神舞式 Sacred dance ritual (*Ontake-kyō*).
Shimenawa 標縄 The rope set up to mark a sacred area or object.
Shinboku 神木 A sacred tree within shrine precincts.
Shinbutsu-bunri 神仏分離 Meiji period separation of Shinto and Buddhism.
Shinbutsu-shūgo 神仏習合 Integration of *kami* and Buddha (Heian period).
Shinden 神殿 One of the three shrines inside the Imperial Palace grounds.
Shindensai 神殿祭 Festival at the *Shinden*.
Shingaku 神学 The study of *kami* in Shinto belief and ritual (theology).
Shingaku 心学 The "Heart Learning" movement founded by Ishida Baigan.
Shinja 信者 Believer.
Shinji-hō 神事法 Divine possession (*Shinshū-kyō*).
Shinjin-gōitsu 神人合一 Organic unity of human and *kami*.
Shinjin-kiitsu 神人帰一 Restoration of the divine to the human.
Shin-koku 神国 Land of the *kami*.

Shinkō-shiki 神幸式 Bearing a *kami* around the community and fields.
Shinkō-shūkyō 新興宗教 New Religions.
Shinmon 神門 "*Kami* gate," general name for shrine gate:
- ***Kara-mon*** 唐門 Kamakura period Chinese-style gate.
- ***Rōmon*** 楼門 General name and name for gate used by *Chokushi*.
- ***Sōmon*** 総門 Outer or first after outer gate.
- ***Yatsu-ashi-mon*** 八脚門 "Eight pillars" gate.
- ***Yotsu-ashi-mon*** 四脚門 "Four pillars" gate.
- ***Zuijin-mon*** 随身門 Gate style that enshrines guardian *kami* of the gate

Shinrei-no-Ōkami 神霊大神 *Kami* of *Shinrei-kyō*.
Shinri-kyō 神理教 Teaching of the Divine Principle (*Kyōha Shinto*) sect.
Shinsen 神饌 Food offerings to the *kami*:
- ***Jukusen*** 熟饌 Cooked food.
- ***Seisen*** 生饌 Raw food.
- ***Sosen*** 素饌 Vegetarian food.

Shinsen-den 神饌殿 Kitchen in which *Shinsen* are prepared.
Shinshoku 神職 Shinto priest.
Shin-shūkyō 新宗教 New Religions.
Shinsōkan 神想観 Meditation (*Seicho-no-Ie*).
Shinten 神典 Sacred writings about Shinto.
Shinto Honkyoku 神道本局 Meiji period Office of Shinto affairs.
Shinto Taikyō 神道大教 Sect of *Kyōha Shinto* that teaches the following:
- ***Tentoku*** 天徳 Cosmic world.
- ***Chion*** 地恩 The creation of the world.
- ***Shōjō*** 清浄 The phenomenal realm.
- ***Kōmyō*** 光明 How to live life.

Shinza 神座 *Tatami*-matted reclining throne used in the *Daijosai*.
Shinzen kekkon 神前結婚 Wedding ceremony at a shrine.
Shinzō 神像 Shinto statuary.
Shishi koma inu 獅子狛犬 Same as *Koma-inu*.
Shishi-mai 獅子舞 Ritual lion dance.
Shizen 自然 Nature.
Shōgatsu 正月 New Year.
Sho-gūji 少宮司 The special rank of Associate High Priest at *Ise Jingu*.
Shodō 書道 Japanese calligraphy.
Shōkonsha 招魂歌 Shrine for the War Dead.

Shōshin-no-gi 昇神の儀 Ascent of a *kami* after a ritual.
Shūbatsu 修祓 Self-purification of priests before a ceremony.
Shugendō 修験道 Mountain cult combining Buddhism and Shinto.
Shugenja 修験者 Practitioner of *Shugendō*.
Shuin-ryō 朱印領 Vermilion seal money, shrine grants (Edo period).
Shūki Kōreisai 秋期皇霊祭 Spring Equinox (Imperial Household).
Shūkyō Hōjin 宗教法人 Legally incorporated religious body (post-1946).
Shunki Shindensai 春期神殿祭 Major Spring Festival (Imperial Household).
Shūri-kōsei 修理佼成 "Strengthen and secure," meaning to observe the moral law as understood in *Shusei-ha*.
Sofuku 喪服 Uniform worn by guards of the Imperial bier.
Sojōden-no-gi 喪場殿の儀 Funeral Hall Ceremony (Imperial Household).
Sokaren 葱花輦 Palanquin bearing an Imperial coffin.
Sokui-kanjō 即位灌頂 Traditional Buddhist element in Imperial accession rites purged in the Meiji period.
Sokui-no-rei 即位の礼 Imperial accession proclamation ceremony.
Sonnō-joi 尊王攘夷 Meiji period ideological slogan of anti-foreign groups: "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians."
Sonnō-shugi 尊王主義 Principle of reverence for the Emperor (Yamazaki Ansai).
Suki-den 主基殿 One of the two halls used in the *Daijō-sai*.
Sonsha 村社 Village shrine.
Sōri Daijin 総理大臣 Chief Minister of State (Prime Minister).
Sosai 総裁 Funeral ceremonies according to Shinto belief and practice.
Sosha 総社 Joint shrine.
Suiga Shinto 垂加神道 Shinto of "divine blessing" (Edo period).
Suijin 水神 *Kami* of water.
Sukei 崇敬 Worship at a shrine.
Sukeisha 崇敬者 "Worshipper" at a shrine.
Suki-den 主基殿 One of the two halls used in the *Daijō-sai*.
Suki-den-kyosen-no-gi 主基殿供饌の儀 Ritual performed in the *Suki-den*.
Sukuinushi-sama 救主様 Master of salvation (*Mahikari*).
Sumō 相撲 Japanese style wrestling that originated as a form of harvest divination and later became a popular sport and the

Imperial sport.
Suzu 鈴 A tambourine-like instrument with bells.
Ta-asobi 田遊 A ritual pantomime of the year's rice cycle performed at the first full moon of the New Year to ensure a good harvest.
Tadashiki kokoro 正しき心 Correct and upright disposition.
Taihō-ryō 大宝令 Law of Taiho era.
Taiko 太鼓 Drums used in Shinto rituals.
Taiko-bashi 太鼓橋 High-arched round bridge found at many shrines resembling the shape of a drum.
Taikyoku 太極 The supra-rational metaphysical Absolute (Chu Hsi).
Taikyō Senpu 大教宣布 Teachings of Emperor Meiji.
Taisai 大祭 The highest ranked festivals of the year nation wide.
Taishi Ryū Shinto 太子流神道 The Shinto of Shotoku Taishi.
Taishō Tennosai 大正天皇祭 Festival for Emperor Taisho (Imperial Household).
Taisō-no-rei 大喪の礼 State funeral (Imperial Household).
Takakuya 高久屋 Primitive "High House" shrine building.
Takama-no-hara 高天原 The Plain of High Heaven.
Tama 玉 Jewel.
Tama-gaki 玉垣 A fence surrounding the buildings of a shrine.
Tama-gushi 玉串 Offering branch of *sakaki* with strips of paper (*shide*).
Tama-gushi-no-hoten-no-gi 玉串奉奠の儀 Offering a sacred branch to a *kami*.
Tamashii 魂 The human soul.
Tanka 短歌 Japanese poetic form.
Ta-no-kami 田の神 *Kami* of the rice fields.
Taru 樽 Barrel-shaped *sake* container.
Tatari 祟 Misfortune.
Te-azekura て校倉 Ancient style of shrine construction.
Teidō 帝道 Imperial Way, an old name for Shinto.
Te-mizu-ya 手水屋 Ablution pavilion for hand and mouth washing at the entrance to a shrine.
Tempon 點本 Japanese readings (of the *Manyōshu* by Kamo no Mabuchi).
Tenchi-gongen 天地権現 Primitive "heaven-earth" style of shrine building.
Tenchi kakitsuke 天地書附 Heaven and Earth reminders (*Konkō-kyō*).

Tenchi Kane no Kami 天地金乃神 *Kami* of *Konkō-kyō*.
Tengu 天狗 Mountain spirit.
Tenjin 天神 The *tamashi* of Suguawara Michizane (*kami* of learning).
Tenmei 天命 Mandate of Heaven.
Tenmei-jikiju 天命直受 Receipt of the Heavenly Mission by Munetada Kurozumi.
Tennōsei 天皇制 The Imperial lineage.
Tokoyo 常世 The world in which the purfied spirits of the dead reside.
Tōkyō-Jutsu 東教術 Doctrine of improving human instincts through observing the Oriental Zodiac (*Taisei-kyō*).
Tomoe 巴 Logo of a circle divided by three curved lines emanating from the centre seen at many shrines.
Torii 鳥居 Gateway to shrine precincts. Styles are as follows:

Chūren	注連	Two posts joined by a *shimenawa*.
Daiwa	台輪	Same as *Inari*.
Gashhō	合掌	"Peaked top" same as *Sannō*.
Gongen	権現	Same as *Ryōbu*.
Hachiman	八幡	Upper beams are cut with a slant
Hie	日吉	Same as *Sannō*.
Inari	稲荷	Usually set up in large numbers and painted bright red at *Inari* shrines.
Ise	伊勢	Similar to *Shinmei* with a pentagonal *kasagi*. (*See "elements" that follow*).
Karahafu	唐破風	Style influenced by Chinese ideas.
Kashima	鹿島	Style associated with *Kashima Jingu*.
Kasuga	春日	First style to be painted red and with a *shimagi*.
Komochi	子持	Same as *Miwa*.
Kuroki	黒木	"Wild cherry," using undressed wood.
Mibashira	三柱	"Three-legged" style.
Miwa	三輪	Twelfth century triple-beamed style seen with and without doors.
Munetada	宗忠	Old style using straight lines.
Myōjin	明神	"Gracious *kami*" style, which uses a low stone base.
Naikū-gen	内宮	Similar to *Ise* with octagonal *hashira*.
Nakayama	中山	Local style from Ichinomiya in Okayama.
Nemaki	根巻	"Wrapping the foot" so called because of wooden covers at the base of the

		posts to prevent decay.
Ryōbu	両部	Distinctive because of supports in front of and behind *hashira*.
Sanchū	三柱	Same as *Mibashira*.
Sanko	三光	"Three lights," same as *Miwa*.
Sankyaku	三脚	Same as *Mibashira*.
Sannō	山王	Recognised by its *gashho* (peaked top).
Shikyaku	四脚	"Four legged," same as *Ryōbu*.
Shimenawa	注連	Same as *Chūren*.
Shinmei	神明	"Divine brightness"
Shinmon	神門	"*Kami* gate," shrine gates.
Sode	袖	"Sleeve," same as *Ryōbu*.
Sogo	総合	"Synthetic," same as *Sannō*.
Tohafu	唐破風	Same as *Karahafu*.
Waki	脇	"Side," same as *Miwa*.
Waku	輪枠	"Framed," same as *Ryōbu*
Sumiyoshi	住吉	Distinguished by its square *hashira*.
Elements:		
Daiwa	台輪	Upper cross-beam rest.
Gakuzuka	額束	Inscription holder.
Hashira	柱	Vertical beams.
Kamebara	亀腹	Vertical beam supports.
Kasagi	笠木	Upper cross-beam.
Kusabi	楔	Lower cross-beam wedges.
Nuki	貫	Lower cross-beam.
Shimagi	島木	Upper cross-beam.

Toritsugi 取次 Meditation (*Konkō-kyō*).

Tōrō 灯籠 Lantern.

Toshi-gami 年神 *Kami* of the New Year.

Toshigoi no matsuri 年越の祭 Festival for a good harvest.

Tōya 頭屋 Group of laypersons who oversee the affairs of a shrine that has no resident priest. *See also Miya-za*.

Tsuka 塚 Sacred mounds used for worship or other ritual purposes.

Tsukinami-sai 月次祭 Main festival of *Shūsei-ha*.

Tsumi 罪 Impurity, misfortune, which can be removed by means of *oharai*.

Tsustushimi 慎み A circumspect attitude.

Tsutome 努め Worship in *Tenri-kyō*.

Ubasoku-zenji 優婆塞 Wandering ascetics.

Uchi-mono 打物 Percussion instruments used in ritual music.

Ugadama 食魂 Food spirit.

Uji-bito 氏人 Clan member.
Uji-gami 氏神 The ancestral kami of a family or house.
Uji-gawa 宇治川 Izu River in Ise.
Uji-ko 氏子 Parishioners living under the protection of a shrine.
Uji-ko-kai 氏子会 Organizing committee of *uji-ko*.
Uji-ko-sōdai 氏子総代 Same as *uji-ko-kai*.
Ushitora-no-Konjin 丑寅の金神 *Kami* of *Ōmoto-kyō*.
Wa 和 Harmony.
Wagaku 和学 Japanese learning (Keichu).
Waka 和歌 Japanese poetic form.
Wakamiya 若宮 Young (newly formed branch) shrine.
Wakon-Yosai 和魂洋才 Western learning, Japanese spirit.
Wazawai 災い Disaster understood as a form of *tsumi*.
Yabusame 流鏑馬 Heian period horse-backed archery contest using three targets.
Yakubarai 厄払い Purification to calm a troubled *kami*.
Yakudoshi 厄年 The years of misfortune, traditionally thirty-three for women and forty-two for men.
Yamaguchi-sai 山口祭 Ceremony relating to the reconstruction of the Grand Shrines of Ise.
Yamamiya 山宮 Mountain shrine.
Yama-no-kami 山の神 *Kami* of the mountains revered in traditional *Sangaku Shinko*, or the cult of the mountains.
Yamato 大和 Ancient name for Japan.
Yamato damashii 大和魂 Unique martial spirit of the Japanese race.
Yamato kotoba 大和詞 Ancient Japanese language before Chinese influences entered Japan.
Yao-yorozu-no-kami 八百万の神 The myriads of *kami*.
Yasaka nin no magatama 八尺瓊の曲玉 The Jewel in the Imperial Regalia.
Yashiki-gami 屋敷神 The *kami* enshrined in the corner of a dwelling, or *yashiki*.
Yasurakeku 安らけく Serenity (Kamo no Mabuchi).
Yatagarasu 八咫烏 The crow that guided *Ninigi-no-mikoto*.
Yatai 屋台 Large wagon pulled in festivals.
Yata no Kagami 八咫の鏡 Mirror of the Imperial Regalia.
Yatsu no hokori 八つの埃 The eight kinds of dust (impurities), the source of unhappiness (*Tenri-kyō*).
Yoki 陽気 Essence of the *kami* (*Kurozumi-kyō*).
Yokigurashi 良き苦らし Happiness and freedom from suffering as the goal of life (*Tenri-kyō*).

Yōmei-Gaku 陽明学 Yang-Ming Confucianism.
Yomi 黄泉 The land of pollution.
Yorishiro 依り代 Rock piles used to mark sacred places in ancient times.
Yoshida Shinto 吉田神道 Shinto thought of Yoshida Kanetomo.
Yudate 湯立 Purification ritual using sprinklings of boiled water.
Yuishō 由緒 Historical lineage of shrine and its *kami*.
Yuiitsu Gempon Sogen Shinto 唯一原本宗源神道 Original true-essence Shinto of Yoshida Kanetomo (*Yuitsu Shinto*).
Yuki-den 悠紀殿 One of the buildings used in the *Daijo-sai*.
Yuki-den-kyosen-no-gi 悠紀殿供饌の儀 Imperial ritual performed in the *Yuki-den*.
Yū-shide 木綿四手 Paper streamers hung on straw ropes (*shimenawa*) at shrines. Same as *gohei*.
Yūsokugaku 有識学 Antiquarian study (Motoori Norinaga).
Za 座 Committee of laypersons supervising a shrine.
Zen 善 The good, happiness and sometimes the superiority of an object.
Zoka Sanshin 造化三神 The three central *kami* of creation.
Zukuri 造 General term for styles of shrine architecture:

Aidono-zukuri	相殿造	"Joint enshrinement" modification of *Shinmei*.
Asama-zukuri	浅間造	"Two-storied" style.
Gion-zukuri	祇園造	Style modeled on homes of the ninth century rich and aristocratic.
Gongen-zukuri	権現造	"Incarnation" style noted for its Buddhist temple-shaped roof.
Hachiman-zukuri	八幡造	Three-building style with connecting roofs associated with *Hachiman kami*.
Hie-zukuri	日吉造	Combined Buddhist, Chinese, and Japanese style.
Hiyoku-irimoya	比翼入母屋	"Wings abreast" (double roof) *Iromoya* style.
Hōden zukuri	寳殿造	General name for the architectural style of the *Honden* of a shrine.
Irimoya-zukuri	入母屋造	Large gabled roof with small sloping roof marked by the absence of *chigi* and *katsuogi*.
Ishi-no-ma-zukuri	石の間造	Same as *Yatsumune* style.

Kashii-zukuri	香椎造	Local style from northern Kyushu.
Kasuga-zukuri	春日造	Chinese influenced sweeping roof style using Japanese cypress bark.
Kibitsu-zukuri	吉備津造	Rare style unique for its enormous size.
Nagare-zukuri	流造	Flowing roof style.
Ōtori-zukuri	大鳥造	Modification of *Sumiyoshi.*
Shinmei-zukuri	神明造	"Divine brightness" style.
Sumiyoshi-zukuri	住吉造	Style based on buildings erected for festivals.
Taisha-zukuri	大社造	"Great palace" style.
Yatsumune-zukuri	八つ棟造	"Eight roof" style meaning many roofs.

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3. The *Nihon Minsozku Bunka Eizo Kenkyujo* (Japan AV Research Institute for Folk Culture) (Shinjuku, Tokyo) has excellent Japanese-language materials.

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Index

Academic Shinto, 297–98
Aesthetics, influence of Shinto on, 68
Age of the *Kami*, xxiv, 54; outline and interpretations, 57–61
Agriculture: rites, 9; shrine roots in, 129; year, 10
Aidono-zukuri, 133
Aiyokakeyo (coexistence), in Konko-kyō, 243
Akitsukami, 108
Amaterasu Omikami, 94, 95; in the thought of Motoori Norinaga, 322. *See also* Grand Shrines of Ise; Heavenly *kami*; Ise Shinto
Ame-no-Iwato, Amaterasu hides in, 56, 62
Ame-uzume-no-mikoto, 52, 62; enshrined, 96; spirit possessed, 113
Ancestors: in Mahikari, 272; in the New Religions, 261; reverence of, 9; R. J. Smith on, 48; in Sekai-Kyūsei-kyō, 283
Ancient Learning School (*Kogaku*), 312–13
Animism, 9
Anshin ristumei, 237
Anthropolotary (D. C. Holtom), 100
Architecture, origins of shrine, 129. *See also* Grand Shrines of Ise; Shrines
Arimitama, of Sugawara Michizane, 100
Aruhitogami, 102. *See also Ikigami*
Asama-zukuri, 134
Asceticism, 197. *See also* Misogi-kyō; *Misogi Shuhō*; Mountain Sects of Kyōha Shinto; *Sangaku Shinko*; Shingon Shinto; *Shugendō*; Tendai Shinto
Assimilation of Buddhism and Shinto: *honji-suijaku*, 21–22; origins, 20; *Shimbutsu-shūgō*, 6
Asuka period, 13–15
Atsuta Jingū, 95; architecture, 142

Bradley, F. H., 313
Breathing (*ibuki*), in Misogi-kyō, 236
Buddhism, 3; conflicts with Shinto, 12, 13; esoteric, first introduced, 18; at the folk level, 120–21; *honji-suijaku*, 16; influence on Shinto, 10; interaction with Shinto, 16; Nara period influences, 14, 15; older name *Butsudō*, xxii; pre-Buddhist Japan, 5–8; separation from Shinto (*Shimbutsu-bunri*), 36
Bultmann, Rudolf, 53
Bunsha, 167

Chigi, 132

China: criticized by Japanese scholars, 319–20, 323; Five Elements theory, 310; fox anthropomorphosis, 112; government views on Yasukuni Shrine, 44–45; influence of, 3, 10, 15, 54, 64, 121 n.4; influence on architecture, 129, 150; influence on Imperial Accession rituals, 84; influence weakened, 18; legend of the crow (at Kumano), 122 n.9; military banners, 105; Mount T'ien-t'ai, 201; records about Japan, 10; T'ang Dynasty Buddhism, 106; writing system, xxii; Yang Ming School, 131; Ying Yang theory, 310
Chika shiki (Fire calming ritual), 233, 234
Chinkon (pacification rites): calming of Sugawara Michizane, 101; Heian period popularity, 18; in Shinri-kyō, 219; in Shinto Taikyō, 215; soul calming, following festivals and *misogi*, 179
Chōwa. *See* Harmony
Christianity: comparisons with Shinto, 290; conflict with government, xxv; influences, 10; introduced by Xavier in 1549, 28; nature of beliefs, xxviii
Chu Hsi (1130–1200): and Neo-Confucian thought in Japan, 311, 312, 313, 314, 343
Churen-torii, 148
Civic religion, 71
Clan heads (*uji no kami*), 13
Complimentarity of religions, 348, 354 n.11
Confucius, 101
Confucianism: Confucian Sects of Kyōha Shinto, 221–26; Confucian values in Jikko-kyō, 228; Confucian values in the New Religions, 262; Confucian values in Shūsei-ha, 222; Confucian values in Taisei-kyō, 225; Edo period neo-Confucianism, 32; hostility to, 315; influence on Japan, 3, 10; morality in Ito Jinsai, 313; sense of virtue, 69; in Shinri-kyō teaching, 218; unnaturalness of Confucian morality, 315. *See also* Chu Hsi; Fujiwara Seika; Hayashi Razan; Yamaga Sokō; Yamazaki Ansai
Constitution, controversies over Shinto, 43–47, 71
Cosmos: history of, 54; and Shinto, 54, 72
Council of State: established, 15; Meiji period, 36; shrine system of 1871, 37
Creation by God (versus descent from the *kami*), 343, 344
Creation mythology, 61–63
Cults: cultic and corporate in Japan, 260, 291 n.7; in the USA, 290
Cypress (*hinoki*): *hiwada* (bark), 139; in shrine construction, 129, 168 n.8

Daidō, xxiv, 15
Daijōsai: Buddhist elements, 84; first *Niinamesai* of new emperor, 80; first ranked, 15; format, 83–84; instituted by Emperor Temmu, 84; interpretations, 85–86; Origuchi Shinobu on, 85, 89 n.22; sources on, 89 n.18
Dainichi Nyorai, and Amaterasu, 306, 307
Dainihonkannonkai, 283
Daishizen, xxiii, 347
Dajōkan. *See* Council of State
Danka dera system, xxvi
Dazai Jun (1680–1747), 314
Deguchi Nao (1837–1918), 265–66; Onisaburo (1871–1948), 266
Dengyō Daishi (Saichō, 767–822), 18, 298
Dewa-sanzan, 204
Diamond Mandala (*Kongōkai*), 299
Divination (*uranai*), shrine locations, 128, 168 n.3. *See also* Fortune Tellers
Dōkyō: incident with Empress Kōken, 103; the monk, 17
Dōtaku, 7
Dozoku-shin, 212

Earthly *kami*, 95–96. *See also* Sarutahiko-okami

Ebisu: link with Daikoku, 119; origins of, 118
Edo period (1615–1868), 30–35
Eliade, Mircea (1907–1986), archaic ontology, xxix
Ema, 183
Emperor: divinity of, xxx, 77; as High Priest, 77, 79
Emperor Go-Shirakawa, 25
Emperor Heisei (Akihito): accession, 47; accession speech, 83, 89 n.19; less formal style, 77
Emperor Kammu, 18
Emperor Meiji, 35; enshrinements, 102–3; *Taikyō sempu* edict, 213; on unity of worship and government, 192 n.8
Emperor Ōjin, 103; association with Hachiman, 104, 136
Emperor Shōmu, 15, 17; on Buddhism, 49 n.26
Emperor Shōwa: death of, 46, discussion of proposed enshrinement, 103; and Green Day, 74 n.40
Emperor Temmu, 84, 98
Emperor worship, 77
Empresses, early shamans, 9
Empress Jingu, 98, 122 n.15; fox-possessed, 113; and Korea, 165, 345; mother of Emperor Ōjin, 105; and Sumiyoshi Taisha, 143
Empress Kōken, 103
Engishiki: compiled, 19; model for Norito, 175–76
En no Gyōja (En no Ozunu, En no Ubasoku), 16, 49 n.27, 198
Environment, attitudes to, 349
Esoteric Buddhism, and Ise Shinto, 300. *See also* Shingon Shinto; Tendai Shinto
Ethics: absence of in Shinto, xxiii; in the Buddhist tradition, 342–43; ideals, 176; in the Judeo-Christian tradition, 342; in Shinto, 342–47; in Tenri-kyō, 249

Faith Healing Sects of Kyōha Shinto, 238–50; in Mahikari, 272; in the New Religions, 260–61; in Sekai-Kyūsei-kyō, 284–85; in Shinri-kyō, 270–71
Festivals, 8; celebrating life, 68; curtailed, 40; musical instruments, 183; ranking, 15; structure and organization, 177–79; wagons, 179; wartime restrictions, 41
Fire calming ritual, 233, 234
First District Shrines. *See Ichi-no-miya*
Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ame no Ukihashi), 61
Fortune Tellers, xxix; blind women of Osorezan, 9; in modern Japanese society, xxix, 260; origins, 9
Foxes: cult of Izuna-san, 114–15; exorcism of, 113–14; fox possession, in rural Japan, 113; fox power, 114; links with Inari, 114; links with Shingon-shū, 115; names and ranks of, 123 n.33; use of foxes, 114. *See also Kitsune*
Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619), 311
Fukko Shinto (Restoration Shinto), 33. *See also* Hirata Atsutane
Fukoku kyōhei, 69; in Ontake-kyō teachings, 232
Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), 330
Fushimi Inari Jinja, 156
Fusō-kyō, 230–32

Gekū, and *Ryōbu Shinto*, 22
Genreigaku (Mahikari), 272
Gion-zukuri, 135; festival wagon, 180. *See also* Yasaka Jinja
Gokoku Jinja, 45, 109. *See also* Yasukuni Shrine
Goma (Buddhist fire ritual): introduced, 21; permitted in Yoshida Shinto, 29
Gongen (avatar), 299
Gongen-zukuri, 135
Goryōe, 18. *See also Chinkon*
Goshintai, 8, 185
Grand Shrines of Ise: architectural style, 129, 132, 142; legendary origins, 128; *torii*, 149, 160; visited by

Imperial Household members, 46, 80, 83; visited by new government cabinets, 45–46; visited by *Sumo* wrestlers, 80. *See also* Gekū; Ise Shinto; Naikū
Great Nature (*Daishizen*), xxiii, 347
Gyōgi Bosatsu (670–749), 17

Hachiman: enshrinements, 94; expansion in Heian period, 108; expansion in the Kamakura period, 109; grows under Yoritomo, 24; history and character of, 103–10; origins of the cult, 24; recognized as *bosatsu*, 16; *torii*, 148; *zukuri*, 136
Hagoromo, 209
Happiness: in the New Religions, 262; in Seicho no Ie, 281
Harmony, xxv
Hasegawa Kakugyo, 226–27, 230
Hashiramoto goma, 206
Hatsu-miya-mari, 182
Hattori Nankaku (1683–1749), 314
Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), 311
Heavenly *kami*, 95. *See also* Amaterasu Omikami
Heian period, 18–24
Herbert, Jean, 55, 58–59
Hie-zukuri, 137, 159. *See also* Nikko Tōshōgū; Tendai Shinto
High Plain of Heaven (Takamahara), 61
Hikawa Jinja, 95, 166
Himorogi, and origin of shrines, 127
Hirano Shinto, 29
Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), 33; and Christianity, 333–35, 338 n.53; enshrined, 102; on human nature, 344; and Meiji period ideology, 327–33; thought, 326–27
Hirayama Shosai (1815–1890), 224
Historiography, 3
Hitonomichi Kyōdan, 274
Hokke Shinto, 301–2
Honji-suijaku-setsu, 20–22, 108
Honzan Sect, 201–2
Horikawa School, 313. *See also* Ito Jinsai
Hōtoku, 210. *See also* Ninomiya Sontoku
Human nature, theories of, 344

Ibuki, 233, 236
Ichi-no-miya (first district shrines): first listed, 20; 1991 Association of, 49 n.38
Ikigami, 103. *See also Aruhitogami*
imi, 172, 175
Immanence (in contrast to Transcendence), 348
Imperial Accession Rituals, 82–83
Imperial Country, 326
Imperial Edicts, 36, 38
Imperial Funerals, 81–82
Imperial Household: mythological origins, 13; Ordinances, 79; origins, 13; rituals, xxx, 9, 79–80
Imperial Household Agency, 76
Imperial Lineage, in Kokugaku thought, 319, 323
Imperial Palace, 76
Imperial Regalia: in the Kamakura period, 24–25; meaning, 86–87
Impurities, Heavenly and Earthly, 172
Inari: among *Nijūni-sha*, 115; constituent *kami* of Inari, 118; early spread of, 34; history of, 110–18; invoked after Kanto earthquake of 1703, 116–17; meaning of the word, 123 n.27; phallicism and, 124 n.43; red *torii* characteristic, 117, 146; *torii*, 148; Toyokawa and Fushimi distinguished, 35. *See also* Foxes
International Association for Religious Freedom (IARF), 258
Irimoya-zukuri, 138
Ise Shinto: earliest records, 19; expansion during Edo period, 32–33, 307–10; Muromachi period, 28; origins, 25
Ishida Baigan (1685–1746), 210. *See also* Shingaku
Isonokami Jinja, 97; as Mononobe arsenal, 132; Mt. Isonokami, 8
Ito Jinsai (1627–1705), 313
Iwasaka, 128

Izanami-no-mikoto and Izanagi-no-mikoto: in the age of the *kami*, 53–71; in Yomi no Kuni, 10
Izumo Oyashiro-kyō, 220–21
Izumo Taisha, 95; architecture, 144; *kami-ai-sai*, 120; legendary origin, 128

Jichinsai, 172
Jikkō-kyō, 226–30
Jingikan: established, xxii, 15; growing importance, 19, 28–29; re-established, 36; replaced by Jingisho, 36, 302
Jingū-ji (shrine-temples): in history, 6; origins, 20
Jinja, meaning of the term, xxiii. *See also* Shrines
Jinja Honchō, founded, 5, 6, 41
Jinja Shinto, 93
Jinjakyoku: established, 38; replaced by *Shinto Honkyoku* until 1945, 39
Jissen-Rinri-Kōseikai, 287–89
Joint shrines, *Sosha*, 20
Jōmon (Neolithic) period, 7

Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736): enshrinement, 102; thought, 316–17
Kagura (lion dance), 178; Chinese origin of, 178
Kagurazutone (Salvation dance in Tenri-kyō), 247
Kamakura period, 24–27
Kami: clan descent from, 87 n.3; etymology, xxxii; of Heaven and Earth distinguished, 13–14, 94; living human, Kato Genchi's defence, of, 50 n.58, 103; nature of, 63–64; not equivalent to "god," xxix; in the thought of Hirata Atsutane, 326; in the thought of Watarai Nobuyoshi, 310–11; in the thought of Watarai Yukitada, 309; in the thought of Yoshida Kanetomo, 304
Kami-ai-sai and *Kami-nari-sai*, 221
Kamidana, 168
Kami-ya. *See* Age of the *Kami*
Kamo Jinja, 97
Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769): enshrined, 102; thought, 317–20
Kanada Tokumitsu (1863–1919), 274
Kanasana Jinja, 99
Kannagara, xxiii, 77; view of human nature, 345; and western metaphysics, 347–48; and western moral sense theories, 343–44. *See also Daishizen*
Kannagibe Tsunehiko (1837–1910), 217
Kannamesai, 80
Kannushi, meaning of, 193 n.20. *See also* Priesthood
Kanrodai sekai, 246
Kansha, as a value, 346–47
Kanyō. *See* Tolerance
Karahafu-torii, 150
Kashii-zukuri, 138
Kashikodokora, 79
Kashima Jingū, 15; *torii*, 151
Kasuga Taisha, 42, 95, 99, 133; architecture, 139; *torii*, 151
Kasumi, Shugendō system of, 203
Katori Jingū, 133, 151
Kawate Bunjiro (1814–1883), 242
Katsuogi, 133
Keichū (1640–1701), 316
Kegare, 191 n.2, 346
Kenkokusai, 70
Kibitsu-zukuri Jinja, 140
Kigensetsu, 70
Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), 86
Kitano Tenmangū, 31, 100; architecture, 145
Kitsune (fox), 113–14
Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai, 774–835), 18; built shrine at Mt. Inari, 111, 299; *Ryōbu Shinto*, 22
Kodō, xxiv
Kofun (Proto-Historic) period, 8
Kojiki, 7; mythology, 54
Kokka Shinto. *See* State Shinto
Kokoro, 346. *See also* Ishida Baigan; Shingaku
Kokugaku Shinto (National Learning), 33, 65, 312–35. *See also* Motoori Norinaga

Kokutai, 69–70
Konjin, 242–45
Konko-kyō, 242–46
Korea, 8; architectural influences, 129; Koma, 165; possible links to Hachiman, 105; religious culture similar to Japan, 10; uses of silver, 185. *See also* Empress Jingu
Kotodama, 175; in Mahikari, 273; in Shinri-kyō teaching, 217, 219
Kotodamashii, 345
Kugatachishiki (boiling water ritual), 233, 234
Kūkai (773–835). *See Kōbō Daishi*
Kumano Shinto, 23; cult of Yatagarasu, 96; *junrei* pilgrimage, 206, 254 n.15; mandala, 201; pilgrimages, 23, 26–27
Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), 312
Kunigara, 69–70
Kuroki-torii, 152
Kurozumi-kyō, 238-42
Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850), 238
Kyōbushō: abolished, 36; instituted in 1872, 36
Kyōha Shinto, 34, 212—253; and New Religions, 258; *Rengokai* (Association of), 240, 250. *See also* Sect Shinto
Kyūchū Sanden, 79
Kyushu, early importance of, 106

Lotus Sūtra, 112–13
Lustration. *See* Purification in Shinto

MacArthur, General Douglas, 41
Magatsuhi-no-Kami, 172
Mahikari, 271–74
Majinai (*Kurozumi-kyō*), 240
Mandate of Heaven (*tenmei*), 314
Manyōshū, 70–71, 316–18
Mappō, 25
Marebito, 17
Massha, 167
Matsuri, 177–79. *See also* Festivals
Matsuri-goto, 13, 176
Matsushita corporate philosophy, 68; Matsushita *Kaikan*, 260; PHP Institute, 262
Matsushita Konosuke, proposed enshrinement of, 103
Meiji Period (1868–1912), 35–40
Meiji Restoration, 35
Meiji Shrine, 42, 102–3; architecture, 141; New Year, 181; Omote Sandō, 166
Merchant House Constitutions, 209
Metaphysics in Shinto, 347–54
Mibashira-torii, 152
Mifune no Iwakura, 162
Miko, of Buzen, 106
Mikuriya, 307
Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199): enshrined, 102; and Hachiman, 136; and Imperial Regalia, 24–25
Ministry of Education, 38; Kokutai no Hongi, 78; textbook screening, 51 n.62
Ministry of the Interior, xxv
Minsha, 37–38
Misogi, 234
Misogi-kyō, 235–37
Misogi Shuhō, 173–74, 351
Miwa Shinto, 300
Miwa-torii, Omiwa Jinja, 152
Miya-za, 305–6
Modernization, of Japan, 69
Mokichi Okada Association (MOA), 284
Monism (in contrast to dualism), 349–50
Mono no aware, 322
Mori Arinori (1847–1889), 332
Motoori Norinaga: enshrined, 102; and Francis Hutcheson, western moral sense theory, 343–44; on the Japanese classics, 10–11; on mythology, 68; National Learning movement, 33; thought, 320–26
Mountains and Mountain Cults, 197–209; climbing for purification, 230; climbing Mt. Mitake for purification, 233; Mt. Fuji, 226–27; Mt. Katsuragi, 300

Mountain Sects of Kyōha Shinto, 226–33
Munakata-o-kami, 127. *See also* Okinoshima Cult
Munedata Jinja, *torii*, 154
Mu-shū-kyō, as a non-religious sentiment, xxvi-xxvii
Musubi, 61; *kami*, 79
Myojin-torii, 154
Mythology: cultural influences in Japan, 67–69; Japanese, 54; Japanese interpretations of, 64–67; Judaeo-Christian, 63; relationship to politics, 71; synopsis of Japanese classics, 55–57; views about, 53–54

Nagare-zukuri, 141
Naikū, and *Ryōbu Shinto*, 22, 300; *Naigū-gen-torii*, 155
Naimushō. *See* Ministry of the Interior
Nakae Toju (1608–1648), 312
Naka-ima, 350
Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), 246–47
Nakayama-torii Jinga, 156
Nakamura Hajime, 67, 297
Nakamura Masano (1832–1891), 332
Nakatomi, origins of, 105
Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), 246
Naorai, 179; in Konko-kyo, 246
Nara Court: casting of Buddha, 107; links with Hachiman, 106
Nara period, 15–18; bronze Buddha, 15–16
Nationalism, 68; in the New Religions, 261
Nature: in Japanese language, xxiii; and man in harmony, 349; worship, 9
Natural religion, 348
Natural values (versus moral values), 348
Nemaki-torii, 156
Nen-chū-gyō-ji, 180. *See also* Shrines
New Religions (Shinto), 257–91; characteristics and worldview, 263–65; comparison with established religions, 163–64; theories about, 258–63
New Movements derived from Kyōha Shinto, 252–53
Nichiren (1222–1282), 25–26, 261, 301
Ninja (and *shugenja*), 27
Nihongi, 7; mythology, 54, 55–58
Nikko Tōshōgū, 31; gate (*shinmon*), 160
Niinamesai, 80
Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856), 210. *See also* Hōtoku
Nitta Kunimitsu (1829–1902), 221–22
Nogi: General, 40, 82; Nogi Jinja, 102; suicide, 82. *See also Seppuku*
Noh, Shinto and, 178
Nonaka-do, 7
Norito, 175
Nune-torii, 157

Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), 30; enshrined, 102, 312
Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), 313–14
Oharae no Kotoba, 175
Oharai, 171–74. *See* Purification in Shinto
Okada Kotama (1901–1974), 271. *See also Genreigaku*
Okagemairi, 336 n.20. *See also* Pilgrimage
Okinoshimna Cult, 8, 99, 127. *See also* Munakata-o-kami
Okuni-nushi-no-mikoto, 220; links with Daikoku, 125 n.49
Okura, types of, 131
Omamori, 219, 306
Omikoshi, xxxii, 179
Omoto-kyō, 265–68
Onogorojima, 62
Ontake-kyō (*Mitake-kyo*, 232–33
Optimism, in Shinto, 350–51. *See Naka-ima*
Otori-zukuri Jinja, 142
Oysuka Kan-nichi (1891–1972), 268–69

Pacification rites. *See Chinkon*
Parallel Developments (in other religions), 250–51

Persecution of Sect Shinto and New Religions by State and police, 247, 266, 274–76
Pilgrimage: modern circuits, 27; in Tenri-kyō, 249
PL Kyōdan, 274–78
Priesthood, training and ranks, 187–90
Priestly dress: formalized, 29; styles, 187–90
Process, Thought, and Shinto, 352–53
Purification in Shinto: basic ethical value in Shinto, 343; ceremonies of, 172–74; ethical overtones, xxiii; of Izangi in the Tachibana River, 62; *kami* of, 234–35; lustration, 9; in Mahikari, 272; in the New Religions, 261–62; in *Omoto-kyō*, 267–68; renewing power of, 351; in Seicho no Ie, 282
Purification Sects of Kyōha Shinto, 233–37

Reikai and *Genkai*, 285
Reincarnation: in Shinri-kyō teaching, 218; in Tenri-kyō, 249
Remmon-kyō, 302
Revealed religion, 353. *See also* Natural religion
Rigaku (Chu-Hsi, 1132–1200), 32
Ryōbu Shinto, 22, 299–301
Ryōbu-torii, 158

Saichō (767–822). *See* Dengyō Daishi
Saio: discontinued, 28; duties at Ise, 19; established, 14
Saiseiitchi, 33, 99; in Fuso-kyo teachings, 231; redefined in the Meiji period, 328
Sakaki branch, 66
Salt as purifying agent, 174
Sampai, 181–82
Sandō, 166
Sangaku Shinko, 9; relation to Shugendo, 26, 197–200. *See also* Mountains and Mountain Cults
Sanmi-sangen, 187–88
Sannō-Ichijitsu-Shinto (Tendai Shinto), 23, 298–99
Sannō-torii, 159
Sanshu-no-Jingi. *See* Imperial Regalia
Saruta-hiko-okami, 33, 63, 95; grave of, 73 n.22; and Suiga Shinto, 311
Sect Shinto, 34
Seikusetsu, 344. *See also* Human nature, theories of
Seicho-no-Ie, 279–83
Seikyō Shinto. *See* Yamaga Sokō
Seizensetsu, 344. *See also* Human nature, theories of
Sekai-Kyūsei-kyō, 283–86
Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyodan, 273
Sendatsu, 203
Senge family, Izumo-kyō, 220, 331, 334
Sengoku Jidai (1467–1568), 29
Senkyōshi: abolished, 37; introduced, 36. *See also* Shinto Taikyō
Sen-nichi-kai-hō-gyō, 206
Seppuku, of General Nogi, 82
Setsubunsai, possible Chinese origin, 181
Shaku, Chinese origin of, 188
Shamanism, 9; in the New Religions, 258, 259; Ontake-kyō, 233; related to foxes, 113; in Sect Shinto, 113; in Tenri-kyō, 247; *ubasoku-zenji*, 16. *See also* Foxes; *Kitsune*
Shichi-fuku-jin, 120, 211
Shikinen-sengu: discontinued, 28; instituted by Imperial edict, 81; recent dates, 49
Shimbutsu-Shūgō. *See* Assimilation of Buddhism and Shinto
Shimenawa, 9; styles, 164
Shinbutsu-bunri. *See* Buddhism
Shingaku, 210. *See also* Ishida Baigan
Shingon Shinto, 22, 203–4, 206–7, 299–301
Shinjin goitsu, 346. *See also* Creation by God
Shinjin kiitsu, 346
Shinmei-zukuri, 142; *torii*, 160. *See also* Grand Shrines of Ise
Shinmon, 160
Shinrei-kyō, 268, 71
Shinri-kyō, 217–20; data, 220; teachings, 218–19

Shinsen, 177
Shinshū-kyō, 233–35
Shinto: anthropology, 345; arguments concerning origin and uniqueness, 11–12; chart of development, 5–6; definitions, xxiii–xxiv; Directive of 1945, xxiv–xxv, 41; folk belief, 4; in Japanese history, 3–4; moral vocabulary, 346; nameless before the 6th century, xxii; not a religion, in Meiji period, 36; obstacles to understanding, xxv–xxvi; origin of the term, xxi–xxii; as primitive, xxviii; a religion or not?, xxiv–xxv; wedding ceremonies, 173; and the world's religions, 348
Shinto Shūsei-ha, 221–24
Shinto Taikyō, 213–17; beliefs, 214–16; data, 216–17, 329
Shishi-Koma-Inu, 165
Shokonska (shrines for the war dead), 43
Shoku Nihongi, 103
Shoseikun (PL Kyōdan), 276–77
Shotoku Taishi (574–622), 14
Shrines: annual cycle of events, 180; architecture, 127–67; branch designations, 167; buildings in, 166–67; daily life, 190–91; declared national institutions in 1871, 36; derived from Southeast Asian rice storehouses, 11; estates (*kanbe*), 15; families (*hafuri*), 15; historical lineage (*yuishō*), 39; land (*mikuriya*), 24; mergers (*gappei*), 39–40; overseas, 40–41; parishioners and organization, 181; primitive origins, 8; ritual utensils, 183–84; for the war-dead (*shokonsha*), 44
Shubatsu, 177
Shugendō: dress, 207–9; in the Kamakura period, 26; later developments, 304–6; origins, 23, 198–209; P. L. Swanson on, 50
Shūkyō hōjin, legal status defined, 43
Soku-shin-jō-butsu, living Buddha, 198
So nō Jōi, 222
State Shinto: abolition, 42; created, 4, 36–38; overseas, 40–41
Stoicism, 342, 344
Sugawara Michizane, 100–102
Suiga Shinto, 311. *See also* Yamazaki Ansai
Suki-Den, 83
Sumiyoshi (also Suminoe) Taisha, 98; architecture, 143; *Taikobashi*, 166; *torii*, 161
Sumo: roots in Shinto, 88 n.12; visits by wrestlers to Ise, 80
Sun, *kami* of. *See* Amaterasu Omikami
Susano-o-no-mikoto, 13
Suzu, 183, 206
Symbolism, 183–84, 186–87

Taihō Code, 15
Taika Reform, 14
Taisei-kyō, 224–25
Taisha-zukuri, 144
Taishi-ryū Shinto, 29
Taiwan Shrine, 40
Takakuya, 131, 169 n.11
Taniguchi Masaharu, 279
Taoism: in fortune-telling, 225; popular Taoism and Shinto, 12, 209; Taoist charms to control foxes, 112; Taoist (Chinese) rites, suppressed, 18; *Tao-te-Ching*, xxii
Tatsuta Jinja, 97, 99
Teidō, xxiv
Tenchi-Gongen, 130
Tendai Shinto, 23, 201–2, 298–99
Tengu, 27, 209
Tenjin, origins of, 100
Tennō, meaning, 82
Tennōsei (Imperial System), 77; criticisms of, 89 nn.20, 21
Tenri-kyō, 246–50
Tōdai Temple, 16, 106–8
Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616): and Buddhism, 312; enshrined, 102; view of religion, 31
Tolerance (*kanyō*), xxxi
Tomoe, 186, 345

Torii: development of, 146; elements of, 147; theories of origins, 169 n.18
Toro, 165
Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598): enshrined, 102, 312; on Shinto, 30
Tozan Sect, 203–4
Tsubaki Okamiyashiro (Daijinja): central shrine of Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto, 96; lineage, 50 n.57; Mifune no Iwakura, 162
Tsumi, 171; kinds of, 346
Tsūzoku Shinto, 209
Twenty-two shrines: Heian period, 19; list of, 96

Ubasaoku-zenii, 198
Uchimura Kanzo (1861–1930), 261
Ueshiba Morihei, 266
Ujigami, 211
Uji-ko (Shinto community: defined, 30; origins, 305–6
Urabe Shinto, 28, 302–3. *See also* Yoshida Shinto
Usa Hachimangū, 103

Wagaku, 316
Wakon yōsai, 69
Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–1690), 32, 301
Watarai Shinto, 306–7; and Ise Shinto, 307–8
Watarai Yukitada (1236–1305), 335 n.7
Welfare and Social Work: in Kyōha Shinto and the New Religions, 241, 245, 268; in Shrine Shinto, 42–43
Wheeler, Post, 59–61
Womb Mandala (*Taizōku*), 299
Work, *tsui-shin*, as a virtue, 347
World Congress for Religion and Peace (WCRP), 240
World Messianity Movement, 284

Yabusame, 178
Yakubarai, 172
Yakudoshi, 173
Yamabushi, 199. *See also* Shugendō
Yamabushi-chō, 26, 206
Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), 32, 311
Yamato: ancient culture, 12; family and state, 13; Yamatai controversy, 48; *Yamato kotoba*, 55
Yamato-damashii, 223, 345
Yamato Kotoba, 315–16
Yamato-Takeru-no-mikoto, 95
Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682), 32, 311
Yanagita Kunio (1875–1962), 66, 73 n.32
Yasaka, Jinja, 135
Yashikigami, 35, 168
Yasukuni Shrine: question of state support, xxv, 43–46; supported by Seicho no Ie, 282
Yatagarasu, 204. *See also* Kumano Shinto
Yatsu-mune-zukuri, 145
Yayoi (Bronze-Iron) age, 7
Yomei-gaku, 312
Yomi-no-kuni, Izangi escapes from, 62
Yoroshiro, 128, 186
Yoshida Kanemigi (1516–1573), 305–6
Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511), 28, 303–4
Yoshida Shinto, 302–7
Yoshikawa Confucian Shinto, 32. *See also* Chu Hsi; Rigaku
Yoshimura Masamichi (1839–1916), 234
Yuiitsu Genpon Sogen Shinto, 28
Yuishō, 39
Yuki-Den, 83

Za (and *miyaza*): origins, 305–6; shrine guardians, 30
Zoka-sanshin: creative role, 61, 67; in Fusō-kyō teaching, 231; in Jikko-kyō teaching, 226, 230; in Shinri-kyo teaching, 217; in Shinshū-kyō teaching, 234; in Shinto Shūsei-ha teaching, 223; in Shinto Taikyo teaching, 215; in Taisei-kyō teaching, 224

About the Author

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Fudoki

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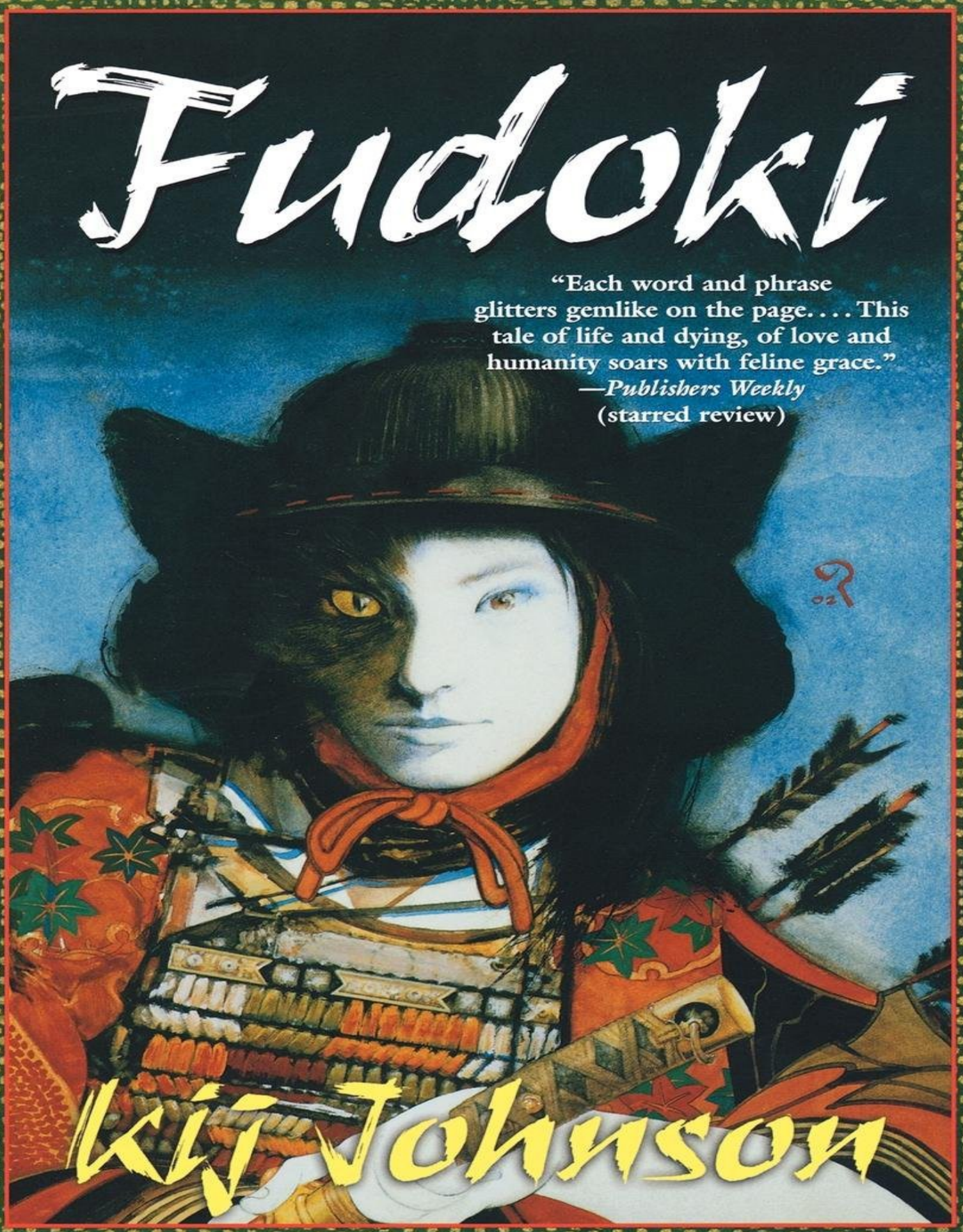

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A TOM DOHERTY ASSOCIATES BOOK
NEW YORK

For Chris and for my parents: a tale told under your eaves

These times have passed, and there was one who drifted uncertainly through them, scarcely knowing where she was…. Yet, as the days went by in monotonous succession, she had occasion to look at the old romances, and found them masses of the rankest fabrication. Perhaps, she said to herself, even the story of her own dreary life, set down in a journal, might be of interest; and it might also answer a question: had that life been one befitting a well-born lady? But they must all be recounted, events of long ago, events of but yesterday. She was by no means certain that she could bring them to order.

—*Kager nikki (The Gossamer Years)* translated by Edward Seidensticker

Map TK

Characters in the Princess Harueme's Tale

Fumiya no **Shigeko,** Harueme's primary attendant
The emperor **Shirakawa,** now dead: formerly the prince Sadahito; Harueme's half-brother
The emperor **Horikawa,** now dead: formerly the prince Taruhito; Shirakawa's son; Harueme's nephew
The emperor **Sutoku:** formerly the prince Atsuhito; Shirakawa's great-grandson; Harueme's great-grandnephew
Fujiwara sammi no **Kenshi:** Shirakawa's consort; mother of Horikawa
Fujiwara no Yorimichi: Harueme's maternal grandfather; her **foster father**
Fujiwara no Morozane: Harueme's **uncle**
Mononobe no **Dōmei,** a guardsman from Mutsu province
Shisutko: Harueme's first cat
Myb: Harueme's current cat
The cat **Kagaya-hime**
Osa Hitachi no **Nakara:** a road-met companion to Kagaya-hime
Osa Hitachi no **Kitsune:** Nakara's adopted brother
Junshi: Nakara's primary attendant
Seiwa Minamoto no **Takase:** commander of the war band
Suwa: Takase's attendant
Onobe no **Kesuko:** priestess with the war band
Abe no **Noritō**: head of the Noritō clan
Uona and **Otoko**: Kagaya-hime's female and male human attendants

Contents

1. The Cloud-Paper Notebook

2. The Plum-Colored Notebook

3. The Grass-Character Notebook

4. The Butterfly-Printed Notebook

5. The Kihada-Dyed Notebook

6. The Genji-Poem Scroll

7. The Michinoka-Paper Notebook

8. The Fan-Fold Notebook

9. The Shobu Notebook

10. The Chang-An Notebook

11. The Ten-Ox Notebook

12. The Mashi-Hemp Notebook

13. The Blue-Green Notebook

14. The Bamboo-Paper Notebook

15. The Silver-Foil Notebook

16. The Last Notebook

Author’s Note

1. The Cloud-Paper Notebook

I am the princess Harueme, daughter of Fujiwara no Enyu and the emperor we now call Go-Sanjō. More to the point, I am old and I am dying.

My life (what remains of it) does not look so different from the outside than it has anytime in the past fifty years, since I first came to court. I kneel on a straw mat laid on my oh, so familiar boxwood floors, though the padding is thicker than it was when I was young, and despite it my knees hurt rather more. I wear silk as I have since I was a child today; my robes are the *susuki* grass color combination, a private favorite of mine. My screens and curtains of state and eye-blinds are elegant but worn—but so they have been through all these years. I cannot recall ever having completely new hangings.

And there is a cat watching me as I write, a tabby female with green eyes whom we call Myōbū for her grand-lady manners. Before her there were others, but she fills the same place in my life that they did. The individuals may change, but there are always cats, there are always robes, there are always mats. These do not change.

I am old, but it is not age that kills me. There is a pressure deep in my chest, as if my liver and lungs are pushed aside by new and unknown organs. To breathe, my lungs steal back territory from these encroaching organs, and then they must do it again for the next breath. Each time they reclaim less and retreat sooner, so that I see a day when they find the price of this war too high, and we will die, my lungs and I. I can only hope that these usurping organs will be required in the Pure Land, and my body is simply premature in generating them. Even in hoping this, I grasp for a reason, like a falling monkey catching at vines. My half-brother who was the emperor died some months ago; I follow him rather sooner than either of us expected.

I know I am dying, though my great-grandnephew the emperor and a thousand medical men—herbalists, diviners, eccentrics of every stamp—do not seem to believe me when I tell them. Or perhaps they do not choose to

believe. Believing in a thing can make it so; how could they risk such a thing? If it is possible, what else might be, as well?

I cannot die here in the palace, of course—to do so would stain the purity of the sacred enclosure, and therefore it would be bad for my great-grandnephew the emperor—so I have already made my plans. Soon a priest will administer certain vows, give to me a new name and cut my long hair, and I will be a nun. It is as simple as that.

Not quite so simple: in my lifetime I have acquired and filled what seem to be a thousand trunks, and these must be emptied and removed. Their contents comprise an odd sort of midden heap: close-writ diaries; broken antiques from China or beyond, their value only in their provenance; a half-finished translation of *The Thousand-Character Classic;* torn robes in no-longer-fashionable color combinations; love letters twisted into the clever little knots that girls think can conceal secrets. And there are notebooks I have never gotten around to filling, their pages full of promise, or emptiness.

Pick up a *biwa*-lute, and you can't help but strike a note or two. Watch a cat sleep and you long to touch it (often to the cat's annoyance). A new brush begs you to grind ink. A cup makes you thirsty; dice in your hand demand to be thrown. The mind follows what the hand touches.

A blank notebook demands words. Which words? I wonder.

At a time now past, a cat was born. The emperor Ichijō brought the first cats from Korea—my great-grandfather, though this was long before I was born. This was not so long after that, when cats were still rare, and all in the inner provinces near the capital.

This cat was a female, the smallest of her litter of four, and her fur was at first a blurred darkness. As she grew it changed to black flecked with gold and cinnamon and ivory, like the tortoiseshell of a hair ornament. Her eyes when they opened were gold, like a fox's. She was small but fierce: in no way but size a runt, for she lacked the gentle resignation of the weak.

She lived on the grounds of a *shinden* residence on Nijō avenue, in the capital's west side. It filled a city block, and it had once been very fine, though that had been before even the emperor Ichijō's time. The owners abandoned it to build a house closer to the heart of things (and that heart

had moved east, to where the retired emperors lived); there were fires and droughts and earthquakes; there was the slow erosion of apathy. The main house with its three wings still stood, but the roofs leaked and had fallen in places; the walls were furred with mosses. Some outbuildings were no more than piles of wood and cedar shakes. The grounds were overrun with ivy and weeds, and the three little lakes and the stream that joined them were green with neglect.

Three people lived here. They called themselves servants to justify their presence, but they were no more than cuckoos squatting in a nest that did not belong to them. They lived in the north wing, what had once been the primary wife's rooms, and cooked on the pavement of what had once been the bamboo courtyard. Their trash they tossed into a heap beside the covered walkway to the west wing. A goat also lived here, too wily to catch and be eaten.

Cats have their estates, as well: their gathering places and private wings. A handful of females, fellow-wives and sisters, shared the residence's grounds, which had not inconsiderable resources viewed from the perspective of a cat's tastes. The ruined garden and the kitchen yard seethed with mice and small edible things, and the brook and the lakes contained slow, fat frogs that attracted what seemed consistently stupid birds.

Each adult claimed her slice of the grounds, where she hunted and mated and bore kittens in solitude. These private spaces met at the center, like the petals of a dogwood bloom, and on pleasant days when the sun was warm the cats gathered at the midden heap and the space around it, matrons dozing as the kittens chased one another.

Most kittens were sired by one of two toms, each of whom claimed half the grounds (and sometimes more) and visited when their responsibilities permitted. Sometimes a strange male infiltrated, like a guardsman secretly visiting a nobleman's wife, and there would be a kitten with unusual markings or strangely colored eyes. Apart from these occasional visits, toms had no part of the cats' lives: were irrelevant, in fact.

The cats (the female cats) of the residence's grounds shared another thing, their *fudoki,* which is self and soul and home and shrine, all in one to a cat. The *fudoki* is the chronicle of the females who have claimed a place, a river of cats that starts with the first to come to that place, and ends with oneself—when one grows experienced enough to have a tale to tell. It is also the place itself, and the cat whose story it is, and the immaterial shrine

in which the household is honored. A cat may lose her tale by leaving her family and place, but then she is not the same cat. Mothers taught their daughters the *fudoki;* if the mother died too soon, the cousins and aunts and fellow-wives did so. Some (though not all) of the kittens would live; the tale would go on, an unbroken stream.

Though she was fairly young, the tortoiseshell cat had survived kittenhood and not run away. She had not yet earned a place in her tale, though her aunts and cousins had taken to calling her The Small Cat. This would change when she had earned a true name and a longer story. The tortoiseshell's *fudoki* was many cats long, and she knew them all—The Cat with a Litter of Ten, The Cat Born the Year the Star Fell, The Fire-Tailed Cat.

The Fire-Tailed Cat. I wrote those characters as my woman Shigeko came to me, to warn me of the impending visit from the latest healer my great-grandnephew has sent—a yin-yang diviner this time, with the good looks and arrogance that mean he will go far in his profession. He wasted half a day of my none-too-long life, but as I waited for his rather silly rituals to be completed I at least had ample time to ask myself why I am writing in this notebook. For the pleasure of watching the characters shape themselves under my hand? Do I distract myself from pain or boredom or fears for the future (for of course I am afraid. I am not so enlightened as all that)? I know the ending of my own story: do I long for a tale with an end I do not yet see?

I have written much before this but always notes about things I have observed. Never a tale (which is, after all, a lie, without proof or relevance). And why a cat?—Which is the easiest of all these to answer, for Myōbū sat beside me, sunlight in her green eyes as she stared into air, or nothing. What does she see? And when I look at her, what do I see? Cats. Who can tell?

There was a day, beautiful and very hot: summer, though autumn would begin soon enough. The first gingko leaf had turned, a surprising brilliant gold fan against dusty, dry green. Ducks slept on a pond as still as enamel,

out of reach of ambitious cats. Pollen choked the air with a haze like smoke. The afternoon sky had leached to the color of tin in the heat.

The cats were gathered at the midden, five adults and a handful of half-grown kittens. There were not many, because it was not a good summer for cats: the cat distemper had killed some, and a stray dog others including the oldest female, The Cat Who Found the Jewel. Most of her kittens—too young to have earned places in the *fudoki*—died, but one survived, the small golden-eyed tortoiseshell. She sat on a wall, looking down at the courtyard, blinking as the sun moved into her eyes.

Adults dozed tight-muscled in the dappled shadows cast by the garden's trees, or stretched out on the gravel under the sun, looking dead. The kittens played idly with fishes' tails retrieved from the midden, pausing to rest in the shade of the raised walkway and buildings that formed three sides of the space. One cat licked clean the ears of her half-grown daughter. The *fudoki* rippled over them all, slow and warm as a summer brook. A wind started.

The ducks panicked suddenly: awoke and whirled up from the lake in a ragged spiral like a dust devil. The cats did not move from their places, but in a blink slipped from sleep to hunters' wakefulness. They watched the wheeling ducks, all thrashing wings and strange cries. The air had changed; or something.

A duck broke from the spiral and arrowed toward the cats. The others followed her; and when the first duck slammed into the side of a storehouse they followed her there, too, and died with her. The last broken-necked duck had not hit the ground when the earthquake struck.

It was not a large quake, nor a long one. Across the capital, screens and cooking braziers rattled or fell. Humans and animals screamed in their various ways. Tree branches tossed; leaves rustled as if in a gale. Temple and shrine bells jangled in their frames without rhythm.

The ground shuddered and gave a deep sound the cats felt through their paws. Some had experienced earthquakes and hunkered down, ears flat and eyes wide. Some bolted for safe places, under buildings or up trees.

The tortoiseshell did not know earthquakes; her *fudoki* (and there were quakes in the *fudoki*) could not prepare her for the ground moving. She jumped to her feet, teetered, and lost her balance, falling to the wall's base in an awkward heap. Plaster fell around her in heavy flakes. She staggered to the courtyard's center, braced her legs against the bucking ground, and hissed.

The residence's main house collapsed slowly, almost painstakingly. Old timbers groaned and broke like river ice. With odd musical noises, cracked roof tiles shook free, slid, and shattered on the dirt. More fell; they sloughed in sheets like snakeskin as supporting pillars flexed. A dislodged beam crashed down. Another splintered with a noise like fireworks, or thunder. Slowly, the roof crumpled in on itself, vanished into the building with a wave of white dust and a sound so loud that the tortoiseshell fell, stunned with the weight of it.

She could not tell when the shaking stopped being the earth and became instead the falling building. She streaked up the ragged bark of a *hinoki* cedar, to an abandoned squirrel's nest she knew. She heard noises outside the grounds: shouts, cries; on the street to the west, frightened horses that had kicked down their stable doors; the frightened (or irritated) bleating of the estate's goat, fading as it bolted away. The last cat she saw was an aunt vanishing beneath the west walkway.

The bells chimed randomly for a long time after the earthquake ended.

Despite the earthquake's damage, it was the fire that destroyed the *shinden* residence and its grounds. The eighth month is a dangerous month: the gardens are dry, and wood-and-paper houses catch fire as quickly as brazier coals. In the capital's southeast quarter, a tipped lantern set fire to a floor mat. A length of summer gauze hanging from a curtain stand flared up and lit an old reed eye-blind, and that was the first house to burn. In the afternoon's rising breeze, flames spread to the north and west, a bright fan across the city.

Crouched in her tree, the tortoiseshell smelled the fire before she saw or heard anything. The air grew sharp and stung her eyes, made her wrinkle her nose and sneeze: a greasy, complicated smell. She shook her head to dislodge the tang.

There were more shouts outside the grounds, more hoofbeats, wagon wheels screaming under weight. Bells rang again, their discord rhythmic, in earnest this time. Behind all was a steady roar, like a festival crowd cheering.

The heart of a *hinoki* cedar is not a good vantage point, and the tortoiseshell crept along a limb until she could see out through the needles, over the broken outer walls. Through the dirty air she saw that everywhere

to the south and east was smoke. Where buildings burned, thick dark plumes seethed upward; where there was grass or gardens, pale shreds crawled toward her. And there were flames.

She knew fire, convenient little blazes that the residence's people used for their mysterious purposes, but this was not the well-mannered glow of charcoal or lamplight. This was chaotic, full of angry colors: the source of the roar she had heard, the shouting crowd. A sudden gust of hot wind slammed into her. She retreated along her branch.

When she was small, she fit into the squirrel's nest, had hidden here as the dog killed her mother. But she was larger now, and it was no longer a refuge. She climbed as high as she safely could, and pressed herself into a little hollow where a branch joined the trunk. And then she waited, panting, for the fire.

We—humans I mean, peasants and nobles alike—know about the fires. I had not lived more than a few summers before I had learned of them. They always start with something small, but if the weather is dry or the wind is strong, they can destroy everything—or nearly everything; fire is as whimsical as the gods. Flames settle into one place, burning for days with choking black smoke and leaving the ground too hot to touch, mysteriously poisoned for years afterward. Across the street, they cross another residence with no more damage than black-scorched tips to the banquet field's grass. The flames disregard entirely the gardens of a third residence, happily beyond the range of the winds' vagaries. Within a few streets one may see all of these, and more besides: a thatched stable with a roof like a pillar of flame, its walls hidden in the smoke that pours downward; a storehouse half-burned, half-untouched; a garden pond filled with boiled, once-ornamental fish. One shop is abandoned, screens and grilles gaping as the owners flee with the best of their stock in a wagon pulled by their strong-legged sons. A shop next door remains open, and a woman buys gourds in a net from an old man. Except for the cloths over their mouths, they seem oblivious to the burning city.

If the wind blew safely away from where I lived, the fire became exciting, like riots in another quarter of the capital. "What is the news?" we all called to passersby. The rules were forgotten, and noblewomen (even princesses, if no one was attending closely) ran barefaced and barefooted into the street to catch at the sleeves of the guardsmen hurrying past: how many houses are gone, what streets, what lives? We ate our rice cold on the

verandas where we could watch the smoke. We prayed desperately to the kami, to the Buddhas, to all the gods and demons, begging for an easy fire, begging that the wind stay kind.

We know about the fires, but the tortoiseshell did not. There were stories in the *fudoki,* of course, but a story does not choke you with fumes; the grass in a tale doesn't hiss like a kitten as it burns. She crouched in her tree and watched through eyes slitted against the smoke.

At sunset the wind eased, and the flames slowed. The fire seemed brighter with dusk, its movements clearer. The smoke glimmered red and amber. She heard individual noises within the roar now: a whistle like an overblown *shō*-pipe, low wooden sighs, an angry metallic squeal.

To the east was a *shinden* residence like this one, old and forgotten and dry. The main house and its wings were half-hidden from the tortoiseshell, but for a time what she could see remained recognizable and was even made beautiful by the fire. Flames defined everything, tracing the shapes of screens and supports, railings and walkways. Smoke gushed like water along the roofs, but she could not tell whether it moved up or down.

The flames hesitated at Sai avenue. Lanky weeds and half-grown trees muddled its neglected surface, but it was broad, and the border-ditches still carried water, if not much. Cinders showered up from the burning buildings and started small fires in the weeds. The neighbors' gatehouse collapsed outward, and coals caught in a young *katsura* tree in the avenue. Smoke oozed from the tree's crown until the fire became visible and destroyed it.

The tortoiseshell's grounds caught in a hundred places. Flying sparks settled on roofs and in dead pines and cryptomeria. Fire slipped into the ditch, leapt across the reeds that bridged the slimy trickle, crept up to the outside wall, and swarmed over it.

The residence burned for most of the night. Thatch and shingles went immediately. Woodwork took a little longer, the perfect grid of a screen or a carved phoenix over a doorway outlined for a time in light. The buildings' heavy-beamed skeletons settled in like *Urabon* festival bonfires as the timbers turned black and then white and cherry red. The smoke thinned somewhat, for the wood here was well aged.

The air was very hot, not quite unbearably so. When a coil of smoke curled around the tortoiseshell, she pressed her face between her paws and breathed through the fur of her inner leg, leaving tears and smears of the

dirty mucus that trailed from her nose. Her claws had been out since sunset. Her muscles trembled with exhaustion.

Through the gaps left open by her second eyelids, she watched the flames flicker, quick as birds or lizards. Sometimes cats looked up through the hot, wavering air with shining eyes and glistening mouths that said things she could not hear. They might have been the cats of her *fudoki,* her cousins and aunts. They might have been ghosts, or flames, or illusions. She could not tell.

A live cinder settled on her shoulder: a tiny smell of burning fur. It was a moment before she recognized the pain. She screamed and scraped herself convulsively against the bark, but there was nowhere to run, nothing to fight.

Fire is not constant. Trees near her burned, but the *hinoki* cedar did not. Needles on the lower branches sizzled as they flared, and then smoldered like incense sticks. She smelled the changed air, and pressed herself harder against the trunk. The squirrel's nest below her remained intact, though the smoke would have been fatal. Her retreat was high enough that fresh air found its way to her, and so she lived.

We understand what fires are like, in the same way we understand about riots and wars. We hear tales, rumors, reports from the front. They interest us, but they do not threaten us. Long before we are truly endangered our careful attendants hustle us off to some safer place: the summer house at Biwa lake, a relative's home in a quieter quarter, a temple in the mountains.

There are some who know fire (or riots, or war) intimately, who see it as the tortoiseshell did. I am not one of those (my so-careful attendants have prevented this), but I have watched bonfires and braziers and walked in a garden after a fire once. I guess what she might have seen or felt, the acid touch of scorching air in her lungs. I imagine; I dream, even when (especially when) it frightens me.

"What are you writing?" Shigeko asks me. It is afternoon, and I write out on my veranda, enjoying the sun's warmth and the low voices of my women as they put together a robe for me to wear when next I am summoned to visit my great-grandnephew the emperor.

Shigeko is my primary attendant, as old and weathered as I, and so she dares ask such a question, when other, younger, lesser women might instead

remain silent. The perfect attendant (and I have had many of them in my life) asks no questions. She brings what is requested; she cleans up what is spilled; she laughs and cries appropriately, as required by her mistress's mood. Shigeko has never been the perfect attendant, despite her inarguable skills: managing the other women, overseeing my wardrobe, and intercepting unwanted visitors and letters.—Though she certainly has been the most interesting of them.

My brush was moving when she asked this, and so I have written her words and now my thoughts, quite as though they were part of this tale. Now her politeness is at an end, for she has said, her voice sharper: "My lady?" I think I must put down my brush and answer her—

"Nothing," I told her.

She frowned: she knows I lie. I am not skilled at lies, and she is expert at detecting them. Why did I not tell her, "A *monogatari* tale"? I have written a thousand things and shared them with her: my notes on the number of legs and the wing-colors of whatever vermin I was observing, my letters, even my diaries. Why am I unwilling to show her this?

I have shared everything in my life with others. Not much has belonged to me alone.

The cat did not sleep so much as fall unconscious, and she was not aware of doing either until she startled awake, her claws still sunk deep in the bark, her burning eyes sticky with clotted tears and mucus. She was hungry and very thirsty. Dirt and ash caked her fur and clotted at the roots of her whiskers and sensing hairs. The air smelled strange, of char and ash, every scent changed beyond recognition.

The sky was pale and smoke-pillared in the southeast, smeared indigo and black to the west. Several buildings retained their shapes but were hollowed out and seared. Others were only heaps of charred timber, unrecognizable piles of smoking gray and black, red light peeking through cracks in certain logs. The fire still burned in the northern wing where the "servants" had lived, but with the idle half-interest of a well-fed cat teasing a mouse. The great trees of the garden stood, though their lower branches were charred or gone altogether. Everything else was scorched or destroyed, leaving the garden a tangle of black shapes that might have been shrubs or branches, and might not.

The tortoiseshell *niyaan*ed softly, and then loudly. There was no response, no sound of any sort: no morning songbirds, no people swearing and spitting and clattering pottery in the north wing. No cats. The only living creature she saw was a soaked rat climbing from the stream, which was chalky with ash. Setting foot on a patch of still-smoking ground, it made an anguished noise and leapt back into the water, then swam off to vanish beneath a collapsed bridge.

She was alone. She knew this, though she could not have explained how, or even what, she knew. We, who are more familiar with the gods of our land than she, might have said that the garden's and the residence's kami were gone—dead or angry or distracted, or something else that men cannot understand. But her people were new to the Eight Islands, and neither knew nor cared about our gods. She knew only that the heart of her home was gone.

She climbed down, carefully feeling her way along the soot-slick branches. She paused on the lowest and then dropped the final distance. The earth was hot enough that she shifted from paw to paw trying to find a comfortable place to set her feet. Around the base of the *hinoki* cedar was a scattering of dead birds fallen in the night, but her thirst was stronger than her hunger. Startling with every step, she walked down to the little stream. She found a place where she could crouch without burning her paws and lapped at the water. A taste like sulfur caught at the back of her throat, but she drank.

She returned to the dead birds. She pushed the closest one with a paw but it was already rigid despite the heat. She wrinkled her nose and turned away. The next bird had been badly burned, its eyes melted away, its clawed feet curled against its breast. It was unpleasantly crunchy, and she turned away from this one as well. The third was a late-season nestling, scarcely a mouthful.

The fourth she ate. The meat was smeared with ashes that ground against her teeth, but she was too hungry to care. The blood in its veins was stagnant but warm and helped ease the sulfur taste at the back of her throat. Feathers were always bitter, and she clawed them from the bird when she could; otherwise spat them out as she ate. She tried to groom the blood and feathers and ash from her fur, but her mouth was dry. After cleaning her forepaws and face, she gave up and explored her world's remains.

The continuing silence frightened her. She had always lived in a cloud of noises large and small. Leaves rustled, birds sang, water chattered over rocks in the stream; the people in the north wing had yelled and whispered and snored through their days. Now she heard noises outside the grounds, but the silence within seemed absolute. She listened to her own rasping breath and a steady fast thump like a small drum: her heart beating. She *niyaan*ed again. The sound did not carry, muffled by ashes.

One of her aunts had slipped beneath the walkway, so the little cat searched there. She found no one, only a smoking shape that might once have been a cat, pressed into a depression in the ground. She sniffed carefully and caught the memory of a scent, the black-and-white cat, The Cat Who Talked to Moths. "Aunt?" she asked. When the tortoiseshell tapped with a paw, the shape that might have been a cat crumbled.

She searched throughout the grounds and the destroyed structures, but she found no other cats.

Beside the north wing, she found a dead woman caught beneath a beam that had fallen in such a way that half the wood was untouched and the other end burned away to a blunt point. The woman had been pinned and died there, of the smoke or injuries. A ghost knelt over the corpse, patting it as one might try to wake a child and sobbing, "Get up, get up!" Though there was no wind, its hair and clothes moved like water weeds in a storm.

Cats see ghosts, of course, and speak with them, too, when they have not yet passed on to wherever they must go. Can you doubt it? "Where are the other cats?" the tortoiseshell asked.

The ghost looked up with red-rimmed eyes. "Help me wake up."

The tortoiseshell said, "You're dead. I don't think you'll wake up from that."

"I have to," the ghost said. "Where will I go? I was a bad Buddhist, but I don't want to go to Hell. I won't have to, if I can just wake up." It shook its corpse, and ash flew from its clothes.

A flake fell on the tortoiseshell's nose, and she shook her head to dislodge it. "Where are the cats, my cousins and aunts?"

The ghost stopped shaking. The tears that fell from its eyes were blood. "They are all gone. Cats and mice, people and kami. I am all that's left."

"No," the tortoiseshell said. "*I* am left. *You're* a ghost. If my kin are dead, where are their ghosts, then?"

“Why would I know?” the ghost said bitterly. “I am no cat. If cats go to Hell perhaps I will meet them there. Unless I can wake up.”

The tortoiseshell returned to the midden heap to think.

Individual cats are not important. Even if the other females were gone, she lived, and the *fudoki* continued. Grass and bushes would grow again, and mice would crawl from their holes or move from other, less damaged residences. Humans might or might not return, but they were of only minor usefulness. Perhaps other females would find the grounds and become part of the tortoiseshell’s *fudoki*. Eventually, the males would visit again. If they did not, new males would take their place. She would have kittens, perhaps many litters, and some would be daughters. The tale would continue, and she would take her place in it: The Surviving Cat. She was frightened and alone, but the tale remained, and this comforted her.

There were sounds within the grounds: men’s voices, heavy footsteps. The fire left a thousand new hiding spots, but they were unfamiliar and frightening, so she leapt for the top of a wall. *Up* had always been safe; had been safe through the night’s fire.

She landed with her full weight on her front paws, driving them down onto the still-smoking top edge. She screamed and twisted sideways in the air, fell full length onto a raised stone walkway, still scorchingly hot. The pain closed down her mind, and she ran.

All through the night, when her life depended on it, the tortoiseshell had not panicked. With morning, the enemy was no longer immediate and all-threatening. It could be avoided, and so there was no longer a reason to panic. But she was weary to staggering, and queasy with the poisons of the night’s unused fear. When she burned herself, the pain overwhelmed what strength she still had.

Cats do not like to run far at a time—their strength is in their patience, not their legs—but she could not stop herself. She was past the wall in a flash, and streaked south, in the shadow of the weeds along Sai avenue’s western ditch. Everything was strange. The noises that had whispered at the fringes of the frightening silence were all around her now, and they were all made by *things,* blundering objects that moved unpredictably, any one of which might be a threat. There were horses and oxen, dogs and carts and people. Smoke still choked the streets, and she smelled fire, old and new,

everywhere around her, and she could not tell what was dead and what still lived. With each step, new pain seared her feet. She jumped forward, away from the pain, but it stabbed at her with the next step. Whenever she managed to overcome the reaction caused by the pain, a noise or blundering *thing* would startle her, and she would run again.

In the end, the exhaustion that began her flight also ended it. She missed a step and sprawled. Because she fell on her uninjured side, for a moment there was no sharp shock of pain. In that moment, the goddess Kannon was merciful, and the tortoiseshell fainted. Small and injured as she was, she had crossed more than a mile of the capital.

It was not, perhaps, the ideal place to fall: in the center of the dog-walk, the walkway that ran alongside Rokujō avenue, which is always busy with the doings of the common people who live in the south of the capital. But she was both fortunate and unfortunate in the day: unfortunate, for had there been no earthquake, there would have been no fire and no deaths, no burned paws and terror to drive her from her home and *fudoki;* fortunate in that her own troubles were mirrored in those of others, and no one paid attention to the corpse of a small filthy cat in the middle of the path. People saw her and stepped aside. There are a thousand ownerless dogs in this city, but they were all busy elsewhere. It is true that a dun-and-black dog examined her, leaving a moist nose-print on her shoulder; but he was called away by his owner, who had lost much in the fire and feared to lose this last thing, his dog.

It seems I have fallen asleep over my notebook. I do not recall the shift from awake to asleep. I was thinking of this small cat and all her losses, and then I was standing naked beside a cold river, in a place so far to the north that it has no name, watching blue-green fish tremble under the water's surface. I did not seem to realize that I am old and cannot swim and have never been farther north than a visit to Funaoka hill, and that this must therefore have been a dream.

When I nodded off I trailed one of my sleeves in the ink, leaving dust on the dried ink stone and a feathery stain across my writing desk and this page. Worse, I dropped my favorite writing brush to the floor, where the wolf's fur bent into an awkward curve and then dried. I am forced to switch to this brush, stiff-bristled and narrow-tipped, though I do not like the

flightiness of its line. I loved that wolf brush, which gave my calligraphy a soft elegance that it doesn't really deserve.

Shigeko woke me, entering my rooms to force the latest batch of herbs into me. Mercifully she was sidetracked into getting the ink cleaned up and replacing my outer robe with a clean and (I observe) darker one. She is no younger than I am, has been with me since I first came to court fifty? sixty? years ago; and she forgets things as much as I do. "I came to ask you"—she hovers before me, trying to think of why she came in; then guesses, incorrectly to my relief—"whether you wish to be read to?—though I see you are occupied."

"I am," I tell her, and hold up my brush, this irritating scratchy new brush. I have had to make new ink, which (since I am a princess and do not always have to suffer the effects of my actions) I am doing on a new ink stone, in preference to cleaning the old one. "Kneel. Keep me company."

Shigeko eases herself down to her knees. I hear their cracking, like twigs in a fire. "I am so sorry, I should not have awakened you."

I gesture with the brush to the floor beside me, still shining with water from the cleaning. "It's better you did. Sleeping with ink is, well, dangerous. For my surroundings, anyway."

"You shouldn't have been writing at all, my lady: the healers say it is bad for your hands, and you need your sleep. More than writing, anyway."

"No," I say, and then smile at her, the old joke: "I can sleep when I'm dead."

After all these years, she still does not find this amusing. Worse, she remembers the herbs and so I must now drink this vile tea.

—I see that I have ruined all the pages after this one in this notebook. No matter: I have others as empty as this one once was.

2. The Plum-Colored Notebook

The tortoiseshell woke in the sheep's hour, when the afternoon sun threaded through the trees beside the walkway and warmed her fur. For a moment everything was all right; she was basking by the midden heap with her cousins and aunts around her, though she couldn't understand why she hurt everywhere. There had been a terrible nightmare, with flames and fear, but it made no sense for her to ache from running in a dream. She heard the breeze in a tree overhead, and she snapped awake. This was not the right tree, not *any* of the right trees, the trees of her garden.

She rolled upright and crouched there, gathering her bearings. There was packed earth under her sore feet, a ditch beside her. She smelled the air, and then opened her mouth to taste it: smoke; horses and oxen; cooking rice and radishes; stagnant water and rotting wood; a squirrel's musk and the tiny fresh scent of a chewed twig. She also smelled the dog who had touched her and stood nervously, salivating involuntarily at the renewed pain. She saw no dogs, but beyond the ditch was Rokujō avenue. Broad as it was, it seemed (to her) filled with people and animals and wheeled conveyances. In fact, it was not a busy day: the fire had not affected this corner of the capital, except as people from the north and east came here from their own, more damaged quarters. The *iroha* maple above her was untouched by flame.

She limped to a safe place under the raised floor of an ancient small building away from the road, where she inspected her front paws. The pads were sticky from blisters that had broken during her flight, and caked with ashes, dirt, shards of broken pottery, and splintered wood. The pads' leather seemed torn away, leaving only raw flesh. She licked herself clean, biting at the clots of blood and pus that kept her claws from retracting. The pain made her queasy, and sometimes she had to stop and wait for the dizziness to ease, but after a long time her tongue found skin under the filth, and blood began to flow cleanly from the cuts and blisters, a soft comforting taste in her mouth.

Her flank was less damaged, only a broad sore area that made her flinch when she nosed there. The exhaustion was worse: every muscle and joint and bone ached, and grooming was a slow and painful process. Once finished, she looked about her.

A human is a reasoning creature, or so we would like to think. After disaster, we assess our situation and make plans: make sure the stored rice is untainted, rebuild the main house's roof, borrow quilted robes from our sister until we can replace our ruined ones. The tortoiseshell's idea was simpler: find home. She returned to the avenue, and looked about her, but everything was new, unfamiliar. She took a tentative step first one way, then the other. Nothing smelled or looked right; no way led home, to her *fudoki* and her cousins and aunts. She could not help the cry of sorrow that escaped her.

She was lost, in every sense. There was only her. She recited the *fudoki* to herself, compulsively, one cat after another in their proper order: The Cat Who Ate Silk, The Thousand-Spotted Cat, The Cat Who Hid Things. But without a place and her cousins and aunts and fellow-wives to anchor it, the *fudoki* had no meaning, and the tortoiseshell was no one and nothing. She had been like a brazier balanced on three legs: tales, clan, and the ground they claimed. Each was necessary. Each was useless without the other two. Lose one, and she fell.

She was young and not very experienced and did not understand that one cannot simply tack on a new leg. In her thinking, if she had lost one home, perhaps she could find another. If she lost her clan, surely there were other clans. If she taught them her tales, they would somehow become part of the *fudoki,* which would settle easily over new ground, and she would be whole again.

Her burnt paws hurt, and she felt and smelled the beginnings of infection. She needed to find a safe range. The lot where she had cleaned her paw seemed unclaimed by any cat (or dog or human, either), but it was poorly drained, a reeking swamp even in drought. There would be food—frogs, insects; ducklings, come spring—but she would never be dry, and the heavy smells would dull her senses. The building's support posts were spongy with moisture, riddled with beetles. Worse, there was no one here to learn the tale.

She limped east and south.

I cuddle pain to myself tonight. My woman Shigeko watches me in lamplight, her eyes dark with concern; but I say nothing to her, only smile and continue to write. I could tell her of the pain; but what would that accomplish? She would fuss and flutter, and despite all she would not ease it. And in some strange way I do not wish to share it with her, any more than I share these words I write. I had a nurse who used to say that a princess possessed only two things she did not need to share, her death and what she dreamt at night. There is little enough that is mine alone.

There is a day I remember, as precious as the Three Treasures to me. My half-brother the emperor (Shirakawa they call him now that he is dead—how can you be dead, my friend?) retreated to the Toba residence—scarcely an hour's ride, but outside the city's walls, and that meant it felt like an adventure. This must have been fifty years ago, when we were both young and grief had not stained us so deeply.

It was the third month, and we all complained about the cold damp everywhere, the moldy smell every trunk released when it was opened. Not even braziers seemed to help. I remember my toes were never once warm in the month we were there. The garden was ruined; day after day of heavy rain drowned the new growth and left slick-looking gray sludge where lawns and courtyards had been.

That day no one was out on the verandas, save the two of us, emperor and princess. My half-brother sat under the rain, his silks dark with water, his *eboshi* cap flattened. I had thrown an extra set of robes over my head and stayed huddled back from the eaves' edge, but even so I was wet through and shivering.

And then I joined him under the sky, tipped back my face and drank rain with him, and laughed. I recall the taste of the rain, sweet and toothachingly cold; the tiny blows of drops striking my eyelids; my half-brother's laughter rippling in my ears.

I do not know what exactly had happened that day. Did he send everyone away? Did he slip from their endless attentions? Why did he share this moment with me, with me alone? Why did I join him? What I remember is a moment of perfect joy, the taste of rain, and my half-brother's presence beside me.

My half-brother is dead now. I suppose that makes this memory mine alone now. I would trade every secret I have ever hugged close for the

sound of his laughter again.

I do not wish to think of my life just now. Oh, these dark nights.

"Who are you?" a voice hissed. "You do not belong here." Another cat, a female. When the tortoiseshell turned her head slightly, she saw the strange cat crouched just overhead on a fence, a gray tabby with cold green eyes. The tabby poured off the fence to land a few steps away, and began to groom her tail.

"I am nothing and no one," the tortoiseshell replied. She sat, turned her face away, and waited.

Cats have a sort of game they play when they meet. A player alternates between watching the strange cat and ignoring her, grooming or examining everything around herself—a dead leaf, a cloud—with complete absorption. It is almost accidental how the two cats approach, a sidelong step and then the sitting again. This often ends in a flurry of spitting and slashing claws, too fast to see clearly, and then one or the other (or both) of the cats leap out of range. The game can have one exchange or many—and is not so different from the first meetings of women.

The tortoiseshell and the tabby played this game, the tortoiseshell with deadly earnest, the tabby with unknowable motives. The tortoiseshell played well, for when they were done the tabby ignored her existence, and she was allowed to stay.

The tabby was part of a clan, a dozen females whose ground overlapped in the back garden of a dirty and poorly run inn. There was room and food enough; they had lost three females to the cat distemper of the summer, and the tortoiseshell threatened no one. She slipped into the space between the ranges claimed by the tabby and one of her sisters, a gray-and-white female.

She explored her new range, which was smaller than she was used to. The inn's storehouse had a crack in its floorboards, and the mice had found this and prospered, so food was plentiful, and she did not need much ground to survive. There were moles as well, and birds, and sometimes people threw out spoiled meat or bones. The moon had turned and it was early in the ninth month, so that there was more color in the early-changing trees around her: the gold of gingko, the red of *urushi*-lacquer. Her favorite retreat was a fallen tree trunk, where she slept curled warm and tight against

the tang of autumn in the air, and the rain that fell all one day and into the next.

The tortoiseshell pushed at the undrawn lines between her territory and her neighbors'. Whenever she saw one of the other cats, they played the meeting-game again. They hissed and complained, but she was desperate and they were not. After a few days they started ignoring her in earnest, and the game and the fighting were no longer necessary.

She spent a lot of time keeping her paws clean. The scabs became thick and healthy, and she walked easily, if still with pain. She slept a lot, but not well. Her dreams were uneasy, full of burning cats that stretched their mouths to speak, though she heard nothing but the crackle of flames, and the deep scream of a shrine bell breaking in the fire's heat.

One afternoon she sat high in a larch, where she looked into the inn's back garden and saw the cats there, touching noses as they greeted one another, dozing in untidy heaps, telling their tale. *Soon,* she thought. Soon they would accept her. They would become her clan, and she would approach the garden and teach them her *fudoki.* The world would become stable again.

The tabby spoke with the tortoiseshell sometimes now, when their wanderings brought them close together, sharing the things cats find interesting: a hanging pheasant in the storehouse (regrettably inaccessible, but one could hope), the male's visit after many days away, someone staying at the inn who had tried (and failed) to catch her gray-and-white sister. She said little about the fire, which had been only a strange bitterness to the air here, for they'd been out of the wind's reach.

The tortoiseshell approached the cats' gathering place slowly, over days. There were some flattened ears and sparring, and she responded with humility or ferocity, as required. But each time the females gathered she came closer.

There was a day when the oldest cat was teaching her daughter their *fudoki,* and the tortoiseshell crept forward to listen.

As she listened she shivered, and her fur lifted from her back. The tale was told in the correct way; the chronicles of one cat followed another in neat progression: The Cat Inside the *Biwa*-Lute, The Cat Born with One Eye, The Cat Who Ate a Poem. But these were the wrong cats, the wrong tales. They grated against her ears, and she felt parts of herself scraped away. Her stomach heaved, pushing gagging noises past her rigid throat.

She could not move, her muscles locked in a tension that hurt like a cramp. This was *wrong,* as wrong as if it had been a dog's tale, if such an abomination could be.

She suddenly realized: her *fudoki* would never belong here. They had their own, and it was a thousand, a million cats long. There was no room for her tale and all its cats. They would never learn it, for it was irrelevant to their lives. And if she stayed, and was accepted and became part of their world, she would no longer be *her,* but another cat in her shape, The Cat After the Fire or The Burned-Paw Cat—a cat in a different *fudoki*.

Where was *her* tale? Gone, the cats dead, the ground lost. She arched and backed away, tail shivering, teeth bared; and when she was far enough from the terrible stories, she turned and bolted. Howling as she ran, she streaked across Suzaku avenue, midway between the great gates that began and ended the avenue. Suzaku avenue is very broad; grief began her crossing, and her fear of an approaching bullock completed it. She slipped over a wall and into the east half of the city, and ran on.

She stopped in the east market. It was a large place, perhaps a hundred acres, and even this did not serve all the people of the capital: the west market, marshy as it was, had its share of workshops and storehouses, and there were other manufactories and shops throughout the capital, on the Street of Cloth and elsewhere.

It had been seven days since the fire had ruined the parts of the east market. Many of the storehouses and merchants' residences had collapsed, no longer identifiable save for a wall here, a fallen outbuilding there. The more temporary structures—tents, fences to hold in cattle or horses—had vanished altogether, though new ones sprang up to take their place, like mushrooms in rain. The air smelled of ash and wet flax and new dung and cooked (and now rotting) vegetables, where a vendor had lost his entire stock of early *taro* roots. New construction was everywhere, but the tortoiseshell found a quiet corner, crouched in the shadow of a blackened stone.

Life does not stop because of tragedy. People must eat. They must wear clothes to warm them or protect them from the sun; they must earn enough to pay their taxes; they must purchase and take medicines; they must continue with their lives. The time for people to mourn and tear at their clothes was past, and except for a few ancient grandmothers who yet bemoaned their lot, the people of the market were full of direction and

mission. Some were dead or their wares ruined, but most had saved some stock, or brought new from storehouses elsewhere, outside the capital, away from the all-too-common fires.

Life does not stop because of tragedy—but it can be gutted, left light and hollow as a winter gourd. The tortoiseshell's tale was dead: she knew that now. She had told the tabby that she was nothing and no one, but she had not believed it. The pain that immobilized her had no material remedy, no torn flesh to clean, but her body didn't seem to realize this. Her second eyelids half-closed, as they did when she was wounded, and her chest ached as if she had strained her heart running. She *niyaan*ed, the weak frightened noise of an injured newborn. She longed for her life to end, for the pain to stop. At least then she might find the ghosts of her kin. Perhaps the *fudoki* would go on in Hell, wherever and whatever that was.

She didn't hear the dogs approach. Unsettled by the activity around them, a pack of feral dogs that had claimed the market milled from site to site, looking for scraps and mischief. Instead they found her, absorbed in her misery. They weren't hungry, and cats are not much food for a dog, let alone a pack of them; but cats generally stayed out of reach, and one sitting absentminded on the ground proved irresistible. They barked at her—"Cat! Cat! Cat!"—and lunged.

She did not make a decision to live; her body made it for her. All claws and teeth, she scratched the first dog across the nose, and when he fell backward, she tore away, the pack yapping at her heels. Her instincts might have led her up high, but she still limped from the wounds left by the last time she had tried this. The market was full of hiding places, but it was also full of people and motion; there was no place safe. She found herself running faster than she ever had before. The scabs on her paws cracked. She might have been caught, but a gap between two foundation stones appeared, too obvious for her to miss. She streaked into the crack, which was deep enough to keep her from their mouths.

After barking insults at her for a time, the dogs wandered off (dogs are easily distracted from what appear to be fruitless situations). She slipped from her safe place, and continued south at a walking pace, leaving bloody paw prints where she stepped. When she came to the great Rajō gate, she climbed it and rested.

The Rajō gate is collapsing from age and neglect, and has been broken for many years now, but when she was there it towered a hundred feet or more, taller than most trees in the capital, and broad as a temple, with an impressive tiled roof. Back then, it must have been safe to climb. If one were inclined to do so, one would have ascended a ladder within the gate's structure, into a series of rooms above the passageways.

I do not know all this about the Rajō gate, precisely; but when I was young and first-come to the court, I ran away to explore the Red Sparrow gate. There were several narrow rooms with tall ceilings, and passages that went from one to the other. Some had guards in them and I avoided these. Another was empty except for an enormous cracked porcelain bowl gathering rainwater from a leak in the ceiling and, more mysteriously, a bale of silk fabric, riddled with (what I assumed were) mouse holes. The gate was full of mystery, like sneaking into storehouses when I was a girl, but so much more exciting because it was truly forbidden. Nothing happened; I was found by my old nurse and one of the menservants, and returned to my rooms before anyone realized I was not just in seclusion.

The tortoiseshell climbed a forgotten *sawara* cypress notch-ladder, and then climbed through the rooms of the Rajō gate until she found herself at its highest unfallen part, the hand-wide platform created by the roof's peak, which had been flattened in the Chinese style.

From here she could look down at the capital. Ours is not the biggest city in the world—great Chang-an is that, which tales say is a hundred miles around its boundaries—but we are the heart of our empire, and we spread for miles in each direction. Softened by late-afternoon light the warm pink of peonies, the city glowed before her, tucked in its valley. The path the fire had cut was clear, a blackened fan broken by the paler gridwork of streets and avenues. Far to the north, beyond the Red Sparrow gate, were the soaring roofs of the great palace buildings and, beyond that, Funaoka hill, which shelters the emperor (and us all) from ill.

She had climbed high in trees before this, but she had never seen the city in its entirety, cradled between the Kamo and Katsura rivers, cuddled in this hollow of the mountains. She had small imagination, and little ability to understand the significance of what she saw. She only knew that the city was far larger than she had realized. She would never have found her way back home; the loss of hope had been an appropriate response.

She turned her head and looked south, away from the city. There were buildings everywhere, and paths and roads threading through fields and copses in a thousand directions. To the south, the Kamo and the Katsura joined beside the abandoned capital Nagaoka. The city's tidy grid of roads was still visible after centuries, a subtle brocade of lighter and darker grasses.

One road was greater than the others, broad enough for ox-carts to pass. It marched off east to merge with another that marched north beside the city and then lost itself in the hills. *We* recognize this road immediately, even if we have never seen it before, even if we have never left our dark rooms in the court and the residences of our fathers and husbands, because we are raised with the romantic tales of the savage east ringing in our ears. She was a cat, and her stories are different from ours; she could not know that this was the Tōkaidō, the great road that begins at Rajō gate and skirts the sea for what seems a million miles before ending in distant Mutsu province. She only recognized that the Tōkaidō had a direction, a meaning, and that this made it unlike her.

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We ascribe meanings because it is our nature to do so. The Tōkaidō means mystery and wonders and adventure. We can no more see a thing without searching for a meaning than we can see a snag in a robe without pulling on the loose thread. When does this begin? With adulthood? Perhaps, for I remember when I was seven—the year before my mother's death—when the great comet came.

I do not remember much from when I was so small. I remember I had many nightmares and liked to play in dirt. I remember touching a snake once. It felt warm and muscular, and the gardener told me, "It's not the snake that is warm; it is the sunlight," though I had no idea what this meant. A story my nurse told me, something about monkeys and Kannon; but because I had once seen a picture of the goddess riding a carp, I thought Kannon was the fish, and so I did not understand the tale at all. A blue robe that my nurse wore always, as far as I can recall, that reminded me of the ocean, though I had never seen anything bigger than the garden's three ponds and the tame little brook that ran through them. That is all, really. And then the comet.

I heard of the comet before ever I saw it. The adults fretted among themselves—was it an omen? a kami falling? was it related to the drought we'd been having?—but since I had no idea what a comet might be, these statements made as little sense as all the other incomprehensible things adults said.

(*Was* the comet an omen? Had it a direction, a meaning? I did not think so then, but when I grew older I started to wonder, for we had been suffering from a great drought, and it was the year after this that my mother died. Still later, I decided that comets, like roads, have only the intentions we ascribe to them. And now I have no idea. If a comet is without meaning, it seems possible that a woman is likewise so; and I do not wish to think this of myself.)

There was one night when a terrible nightmare awakened me, and for once there was no nurse to coax me out of my tears—no one at all, and I was not used to being alone. Sniffling to myself, I pulled my robes close and padded out to the veranda to find someone who would pet me and cuddle me (and, I know now, spoil me).

It was wintertime, and very dark; either the moon had not yet risen or had already set, or perhaps it was the new moon, the beginning of the month. The garden was silver and black, all color gone. There was ice everywhere.

I saw gathered in the garden a handful of tall shadows: adults, men and women standing, talking together. (Now I realize how strange, how improper, this was: no screens, no curtain-stands.) I suddenly felt shy, for I knew that the nights belonged to adults, that here was an entire world that I was not meant to see. Still, a visitor straying by chance into the private quarters of a monastery does not immediately leave; she looks about for a moment before she returns to the public areas. Before I returned to my rooms and sleep (my rightful domain), I would see what was so special about the adults' world.

The sky overhead was thick, furred black, spangled with a thousand stars, and dominated by the comet, which hung overhead, a blurred streak of silver as long as my hand. I thought I could see it shimmer as if it were fire, or water flowing over silk (I must have seen such a thing before, to think this); I imagined that I heard a tingling noise: the comet moving through the sky.

At least I think I remember this.

I do remember that night, the adults in the darkness; and all the talk about the comet. But the story my nurse told me of that night is quite different: she and the others had gone out into the garden to watch the comet, and heard a child's voice singing, and found me utterly absorbed in cracking the shell of ice from a twig. When she had held me up to see the comet, I looked with polite disinterest, then returned to cracking ice from the twig in my hand. "As if you'd never seen ice before," she said years later, "when you'd spent all afternoon cracking ice!"

A child (or a cat) is not awed by the same wonders that an adult is, because everything is equally new and therefore wondrous. My nurse (and the adult I became) sees or imagines a comet and is struck dumb by the beauty of it. A child has not seen so much that she knows that ice on the trees is common, and a comet rare and therefore precious. It is only age that tells us what is precious, what is new.

Now that I am old, I think I have perhaps come back to this perception. I cannot afford to wait for another comet, and so I watch the tiny things of each day and am amazed by them.—Or I try to do this, anyway: there are a lot of days when I watch nothing at all except my breaths, and wonder how many more I will have.

The tortoiseshell cat dreamt of voices that night, tucked in a crotch between two beams high in the Rajō gate, under the quarter-moon of the ninth month. Dreams had always been silent for her: she chased prey or slapped fruitlessly at swimming fish in a world of scent, but without noise. Sounds were too important for dreams. Awake, they warned her of things she could not see, and even in sleep her ears were pricked, listening for threats or opportunities that should not be ignored.

But this night she dreamt with sounds, a thousand chaotic noises that flooded her, threatening to overwhelm her and send her into nightmares. She fought down the fear—nothing in dreams could be as terrifying as her waking hours had been since the earth shook—and noticed that there was sense to them, that the chaos she heard was actually myriad voices, speaking at every pitch and pace. Words flickered out of the background, like sparrows launching from a wind-tossed tree: *wave's crest, memory, heart, Tosa, rice, Why should I?*

She understood little, but I see much more than she. The kami do not speak to me, but they nevertheless speak, to others and to one another, and (if they are lonely, or have secrets) to themselves. They are everywhere, of course, in everything from my family's shrine to a dying cycad-palm on a beach in distant Satsuma province; and their voices are everywhere, all chattering or twittering or intoning at once.

Though they speak with the dead, cats hear neither kami nor Buddhas. Cats are too fierce for gods; they came godless from Korea many tens of years ago, and they worship no one. This is good, for they are free in ways men are not; but this is bad, because they are utterly alone in the world. Indeed, they seem reluctant to see any god but the living emperor, and even him they do not respect as they should. The cats at court (and there are always a few, besides the kitchen cats) seemed to disregard his presence altogether; when he was emperor, my half-brother used to laugh and tell me that the cats were his only attendants who did not bow and scrape and lie all the time. I said nothing in response, of course: the emperor may laugh at himself, but no one else is permitted to.

I cannot tell you why the tortoiseshell heard the kami—all the kami—or why she heard them now, and not yesterday, or in the fifth month, when she still lived warm against her mother's nipples in an abandoned fox den. Perhaps her ears had been attuned by her grief, or by the echoing chambers of the Rajō gate. Or perhaps it was this: that one kami chose to speak to her, and by opening her ears to its voice, it opened her ears to all.

"What are you?" something asked suddenly, close and very loud in her mind.

The tortoiseshell knew she was dreaming, for she stood, not on a perilous ledge in moonlight, but on a broad path as clear and bright as crystal that curved off into gold-gray fog in both directions. "Nothing," she said. "No one."

"Unlikely," the voice said. "You clearly exist. You must be something. And someone."

"I am a cat," she said. "That's all that's left to me."

"A cat," the kami repeated. "I am unfamiliar with your people. But now that I think on it, I recall that I have perhaps seen some of you before this, from the corner of my eye, as it were."

"What are you?" she said hotly. "I see no one here."

The road beneath her shook slightly, as if laughing. “And yet *I* also exist. I am this road, and those who walk it, and the trees and inns that line it. And I am the god who watches it all. And other things.”

She tapped at the road with a paw, and ripples formed at her touch, perfect circles growing until they slipped off the road’s edges and into the fog. “How can you be all those things?”

“How can you be a single thing, a *cat* and nothing else? You do not seem to be very creative, if that is all you’ve managed to become.”

“I have no choice,” she said bitterly. “I hadn’t yet found a place in my tale, but at least I was part of my family and my ground. My *fudoki.* And that’s all gone.”

“Your *tale,*” the kami said. “A tale contains a thousand things. I think you are more than you believe.”

“Not now,” she said. “Not anymore.”

“You would do better if you had gods,” the kami said. “Then you would have something, at least.”

“Well then, what is a god, and where do I find one?” she asked.

“I think you have already found one.” The road’s tone was perhaps a touch smug.

“I don’t see how I can carry you with me.” She tapped the road again, harder this time, her claws just bared. The road shook like a horse’s withers, and she went flying.

“I just told you,” it said, “though perhaps you did not listen very carefully. I am this road, and—”

“Never mind,” she said. “I don’t see what the point of a god is.”

The kami said, “I do not see what the point of a cat is,” and the tortoiseshell awoke.

When I was a girl, I longed for the voice of the gods—any kami, any Buddha or bodhisattva or saint. I prayed to a statue of Kannon my mother ordered erected in her room before she died. I thought I prayed for her health, but in truth I did not know her well—losing my nurse would have been much sadder—and what I really wanted was a sign that gods—any god—existed. I wanted to see the robes we had draped over the statue move as she reached out with one of her thousand hands to touch my mother. This did not happen. My mother died.

After that I made up a kami. I have never said so to anyone, but I wanted a god of my own and so I picked a little pink-and-black-and-white rock in the garden, no larger than a cat, and I honored it. I made a little hut over it, and smuggled it a bit of rice each day. I gave it flowers I stole from elsewhere in the garden, and I wrote prayers on slips of fabric in my childish writing: *Let me be pretty when I am grown. May my nurse let me keep my collection of moth's wings. Let my half-brother the heir like me.*

When my nurse found out, she rapped my hands with a piece of bamboo and insisted that I never visit that rock again; but I did, and I found that others had begun to leave flowers and scraps of fabric there; and the hut had been remade, and better. I *knew* I made up the kami of that stone, and yet others worshiped it, as well. After thinking on this for some years, I decided that I was wrong: is not everything filled with kami, every stick and rock and leaf? Perhaps I had been the first to recognize and worship this kami, but that did not mean it had not been there, lonely and hungry for attention, like a bored little girl.

Now, so many decades later that I do not choose to count them up, I think there may be another truth to this—that the rock was worthy of worship because it had been worshiped—that every shrine in the world began as mine did, with someone's longing for something greater than herself. I wonder if the shrine to the little rock is still there, and I wonder if, a thousand years hence, it will be as honored and hoary as the shrine at Ise.

The tortoiseshell hears kami because I cannot, and even though I created her (as perhaps I created the kami of that little rock), I envy her. For her they may be strange, but they are as close and immediate as dirt.

3. The Grass-Character Notebook

How many notebooks have I filled in my life? I have trunks filled with them—and the other odds and ends of my life: old letters and calligraphy samples; fans and robes; hundred-pace incense, long dead but still haunted by scent; a man's sash forgotten before a dawn forty years ago; scrolls and fan-folded notebooks of the poetry collections I gathered when I was first at court, before I gave up even the appearance of interest in poetry; a set of shallow lacquered boxes filled with moths' wings; a sutra that I began to copy when I was twenty and never finished.

I discard these once-precious things more easily than I could have dreamt. I empty the shallow boxes, and moths' wings flutter to the ground, a momentary illusion of life. Even the notebooks are taken apart and dropped like autumn leaves into my brazier; without sadness I watch them flare and then vanish into smoke. The sutra has more merit than the rest; to die working to finish it would indicate virtuous intention, at least.

And yet I fill one notebook and start another. I am dying, but there are still many things to say—to myself, if no one else.

The tortoiseshell woke in the ox's hour, after the moon had set. She clawed her way down the Rajō gate's south face, and dropped to her feet on its wood steps. There were several guardsmen there, and one called softly to her, "Sneaking out to meet a lover, little one?" Another guard chuckled, and the first crouched down and made meaningless noises to her, tickling the dirt under his fingers. She crouched there watching him, unsure. She was unused to kindness from humans (the servants at the residence of her *fudoki* had a tendency to throw things, and caught up in their own problems, everyone else had ignored her as she fled across the city), but his voice sounded a little like the warm sounds that a mother cat makes when she is grooming, and his hand's movements were strangely intriguing.

"She's not going to come to you," the other guard said. "She's wild, can't you see that?"

“But she’s tempted, isn’t she?” The guard inched forward, and she stood up and tensed to run.

“Oh, leave her alone. Some girls just aren’t susceptible to your charm.”

“I suppose.” The guard straightened and dusted his fingers off on his thigh. “Good luck, little one. When you return come find me. I’m here every night. Maybe I can show you around, hmm?”

She trotted into the shadows of a low shrub and watched him for a long time, but he did nothing else incomprehensible. The stars were fading when she crossed the bridge over the moat and moved on.

One generally travels with a goal. Even noblewomen travel to a purpose, however minor the journey ends up being: be at the banquet-pine grove by midday to view the cherry blossoms; be at the lady Chūnagon’s rooms by dusk to watch the moonrise. This generates a sense of mission and of urgency, however spurious. The tortoiseshell had no goal. She traveled because with no *fudoki* one place was just like another, and there are small edible animals everywhere. It was easier to move than to stay still, for movement eases pain—or distracts one, anyway. She had not yet lived through a winter, so she did not know the comfort of a familiar warm sleeping-place; winter was months away, at any event—as incomprehensible to her as gods.

She followed the Tōkaidō’s first miles more by accident than anything, and her pace was so slow that it was a fortnight and more before she came to the great Buddha just beyond the Osaka barrier, and that is only a handful of miles from the capital. The road was very busy in the daylight hours and into the evenings, and so she hid in trees and underbrush, and slept and watched passersby, and sometimes the little boats on Biwa lake.

She stayed with the Tōkaidō because its sense of direction and meaning were attractive to a cat with neither—even though the food was not quite so good as it might have been farther afield, where there were seed eaters in the fields. She caught a lot of squirrels. It was the time of year when squirrels seem to lose all the little sense they had, to run stupidly into the centers of kitchen yards and under the hooves of horses, and into the waiting claws and teeth of cats. She found them so easy to catch that she was not often hungry. Sometimes she caught them just to taste them, to learn what she could of the country she passed through, and she caught hints of *taro* root and horseradish.

A dog that loses a leg learns to cope, and after a time no longer seems to remember its loss. But on cold nights, when it is brought inside to doze beside the hearth pit, it licks the stump where its leg once was, and when it dreams, its remaining legs gallop in the pattern of a four-legged dog, instead of the three-legged gait that fills its waking hours. The tortoiseshell learned to cope with the loss of herself, and even found occasional joy—when she actually caught a fluttering *oban*-coot, or when she found a freshly dead fawn, miraculously unclaimed. But in quiet times, when she dozed or sat, the empty place filled her with despair.

She did not move far in any day: dogs and horses are designed to lope for endless miles, but cats are as brief-moving as an arrow. She would have lost interest quickly in any sort of disciplined movement, which in any event did not occur to her. It was just that the squirrels she decided to stalk were usually east of her, and when she was thirsty the water to her east always smelled better than the other possibilities. And there were times, at dusk or dawn, or during a lull in the middle of a beautiful afternoon, when she followed the road with nothing else on her mind but the even flow of yards into miles. The voices of the eight million kami still chittered and chanted in her mind—*despair, hut, flowering fortunes, she was dead, monkey*—but they offered no guidance; did not seem to know of her existence. Perhaps the road's kami led her, though if so she was unaware of this.

The Tōkaidō is a great road, of course; it connects us with our most distant lands to the east, and binds our empire together. But it is not a *large* road, not in comparison to the broad streets of our capital. It begins impressively, just beyond the capital; but it thins and becomes hard-packed earth, wide enough for carts to pass; and farther east, past the Fuwa barrier and the ferry at Nogami, it becomes still narrower. I have never known anyone who has been to the end of the Tōkaidō. Perhaps it runs straight through Mutsu province and off our island, into the sea and along its bottom never to appear in the lands of the living again. Perhaps it does not end but tapers off: a road, then a path, then a deer's trail, and then a rabbit's, and then it is no more than a traveler's imagination.

Once, at the beginning of the tenth month, she said aloud, "Road?" and hoped it would not answer. She wasn't aware that it was the no-gods month, when they all come to Ise and transact whatever business it is that kami consider important. In any case, we often hear what we expect. When she

received no response, she decided that the road-spirit that had spoken with her was a nightmare, like the cats of fire that still haunted her sleep. The voices of the eight million kami made her uncomfortable; mostly she chose to ignore them.

At first, totally cat-like, she stayed in the brush on either side of the road and hid when people passed. Over time, she started to do as the people did. Walking on the roadway really was easier than pressing through the shrubs and fields that fringed it, and no one tried to eat her; and so she did it. People stopped and drank when they passed an occasional well, and it made sense for her to do the same, lapping water from the puddles at its base rather than feeling her way on injured feet to the bottom of the many streams they crossed. Inns and houses looked so much warmer and more pleasant than sleeping under bracken, so she learned to slip into farmhouses and inns, and curled up in dimly lit corners.

There was more rain, and the days and nights grew colder. The cold did not bother her much, for her fur grew denser, and her foot-pads were thick. The rain was more irksome; she had never liked wet feet and fur. Worse, it drove the squirrels and other small things under cover where she could not reach them. Except for flies and fleas (which are always with us), most insects vanished altogether. She developed a taste for cooked fish, which could be stolen from bowls, if one was clever.

Cooked fish: I see now why I chose that rather than "cooked rice" or "buckwheat noodles" or "duck meat." I have been writing on the veranda again, for the weather is scorchingly hot, which is to say just barely warm enough for my old bones, and Shigeko and several other women are bringing a little table and series of trays. I suppose I smelled the fish cooking (it is *hake*), though I was absorbed in what I wrote.

This is hardly a profound reason to prefer "cooked fish" to all the other options. I have always assumed that the lady Murasaki weighed every word in her *monogatari* tale of Genji with the focus I might have applied to the making of a water-clock, where a badly shaped element may destroy all. But perhaps it is not like this: perhaps Murasaki selected Genji's robe combinations and the foods and trees for just such minor and immediate reasons, because she looked up from her brush and saw someone in cherry-shaded robes, and thought, *That's lovely. I'll use that.*

I wish my half-brother (Shirakawa, I must remember that this is his name now!) were still alive, so that I could share this thought with him. I think he would have been amused. No, I will not think of him just now—it hurts too much, and there is already enough pain for one day, in my chest and bones.

Cooked fish are not lovely, not even this cooked fish, with its elegant garnish of gromwell, now drooping dispiritedly. But they are necessary. "More necessary than words," says Shigeko, who tells me that the fish is growing cold.

There was an inn, not so far from the Omi-Owari border shrine. The tortoiseshell came to it one afternoon, when the sky was the color of old lead and had been weeping continuously since the night before, with an icy relentlessness that hinted at snow. She'd slept in an outbuilding at a little farm until an officious dog had rousted her, howling curses as she loped into the dusk. After catching an adolescent rabbit, she'd buried herself as deep as she could crawl into a mound of rice straw heaped around the base of an ancient and revered pine. But by midmorning, the dragon's hour, a drip found her and she heaved herself from the straw and moved on. She was soaked to the skin, and splashed to her belly with sandy dirt when she came to the inn, which squatted between rice fields filled with wet stubble and the mulberry trees that crept up the hill to the north.

It was an ordinary inn: which is to say, a farmhouse with rather more room divisions than is usual. The dirt-floored area was smaller than it would have been, and the raised section larger. Mats for sleeping were rolled up in a corner, beside an empty curtain-stand much too beautiful to be of local manufacture. This inn also grew silk when it was time, so boards had been laid on the horizontal beams overhead, giving an unsettling low flatness to the rooms.

It was special in one thing, that it had a cat. Remember, this is not so many years since the first cats came to the Eight Islands. Most remained in the capital, whence they spread slowly across the home provinces, like spilled syrup in cold weather. Some cats had come farther than that, though generally not voluntarily. Someone from the country saw a cat stalking vermin while he was visiting the city, or elsewhere. Inflamed with a sense of the possibilities (no mice ever again!), the hick purchased the cat from an

enterprising child, or captured one behind an inn somewhere, then stuffed his prize into a closed basket and carried it home to a backwater in the provinces. Sometimes the cat died immediately, but often she lived a long time and became the pride of her farmhouse. Sometimes the hick was lucky enough to acquire a pregnant cat, or even a female and a young male. The innkeeper had been one of the lucky ones, and his cats had been thriving for a decade and more, their population expanding to fill the countryside around.

The tortoiseshell did not know this. There were no scents in the cold rain, and the cats themselves were hidden away, sleeping off their night's hunt. She checked for dogs when she approached the inn, but she didn't notice the smell of a cat until she'd found a corner behind an earthen oven in the dirt-floored kitchen area. She groomed herself dry, taking comfort in the warmth of realigned fur. She was mildly hungry but willing to wait: there was a spill of some sort on the dirt floor, and she would examine it whenever the people went to sleep.

"Leave," a voice growled. There was a cat a short leap away, a well-fed and much larger black female with yellow eyes so pale that they looked white. Her ears were flat and angry. "This is *my* place."

The tortoiseshell responded warily, her claws half-out. "I won't stay long. I'm just tired."

The black cat danced sideways at her. "My *fudoki* is a dozen cats long and there will be a thousand more. And you are no part of it. Go *now.*"

"I have no tale," the tortoiseshell said. "My place is dead. Let me sleep here, just for tonight."

"Why should I?" the black cat said. "I am The Cat Who Killed a Hawk."

Cats fight as they run, in short spurts. The black cat and the tortoiseshell fought in quick snatches of great ferocity; in the pauses they groomed themselves with a cold rage. Ordinarily, the tortoiseshell would have left immediately, but the rain-turning-to-snow depressed her, and she was cold and sick at heart, and tired of having no place to call her own. For one day at least, she wanted to sleep safe and warm.

And so she tried something she'd seen men do, when they drank wine and started pushing one another around. During one of the grooming times, she attacked without waiting for the other female to finish, and surprised

her. The tortoiseshell slashed the black cat's neck and jumped back, out of range.

Despite this, weight and experience mattered in the end. The black cat pinned the tortoiseshell, and raked her again and again: "Storyless cat!" she snarled.

She would have killed the tortoiseshell, for cats are like people: they are uncomfortable in the presence of those who have suffered disasters that might happen to them. But the cats had drawn the attention of the servants in the kitchen house, who threw water over them to stop the fighting. Soaked and bleeding, the tortoiseshell fled into the gathering dusk.

She might have hidden in another building in the inn's compound—the stable or an unused room, perhaps—but she was thoroughly unsettled, and smelled cats everywhere now. Ears folded back and eyes half-closed against the rain, she trotted east along the Tōkaidō, through wet flakes of snow as large as her paws.

She came to a small wayside shrine: a hidden inner room and an open-fronted antechamber, in imitation of the great shrine at Ise. The shrine was small, perhaps waist-high to me, though built on a mound of stones that brought the structure to eye height. (When I was a very small girl and not yet properly respectful of the gods, I would have looked at this tiny shrine and longed to place dolls in it.) She stepped under the antechamber's peaked roof and looked around her. Wooden tablets painted with prayers hung everywhere from the roof. When she brushed past them, they clattered softly together. Bowls and packets lay scattered on the antechamber's floor, most empty, but a few still containing grains of rice or fraying scraps of fabric. She was hungry, but everything had been fouled with birds' droppings, and the floor was spangled black and white with them.

She pushed into the inner shrine. There was nothing she might make sense of here, only mysteries and shadows; but it was dry, and just large enough for a small cat who needed shelter. She licked clean her scratches and bites, then curled up to sleep.

She found herself on a path as clear and bright as crystal. The cacophony of voices had been with her since the night in the Rajō gate, a gabble in her mind, but she had not heard the single one, the road-kami's. Until now.

But she was a cat, and thus stubborn. The kami had not answered when she called for it. She had wondered about this at the time, simultaneously

hurt and relieved. Now, nursing her miseries, she was bitterly, proudly, alone. The kami might have shattered her loneliness, and so: "Go away," she said, and refused to listen.

The kami's voice faded, leaving only the gods' chittering—*under robes, violet, Kuji district, the lit candle.* For the rest of the night, she dreamt that she walked along the road looking for a way off, and found none.

Kami are in certain small ways like people: some seek company and the admiration of friends and strangers, while others seem to be content to exist without worship, in silent corners of the world. (Perhaps the kami of my pink-and-black-and-white rock was one such, and I disturbed its rest. Perhaps this explains certain sorrows in my life.) Though she slept in its shrine, the tortoiseshell ignored the road-kami's voice; and it is possible that she wounded it, or made it angry. There is no telling whether turning the tortoiseshell into a person was meant to be a punishment, or a lesson, or even a gift of some sort.—If the kami in fact did this thing, and not some other, unknown force. Who can tell, with kami?

When she woke, she was no longer in the inner room; and she had become a woman. She lay stretched on the ground before the shrine, a small, fine-boned woman with thick black hair to her shoulders and gold eyes under straight brows. She was wrapped in a moss-colored traveling cloak, with grass stuffed into a spare robe and rolled tightly to make a pillow. She sat upright and tipped her head first to one side, then to the other, listening to the crackling of her stiff neck. A beam of dawn's light made the fog of her breath gleam cherry-red. She stood stiffly and brushed the thin layer of wet snow from her cloak. Her bare feet were very cold, and her hands and her nose.

She must have still been half-asleep, or thought she was dreaming, for it wasn't until now that the change sank in. She dropped to her knees, staring at her hands—clearly hands, and clearly *her* hands, for they were scarred across their palms with healing burns. Her neck and sides burned from the inflamed scratches left by the black cat. She touched her face and felt eyebrows, cheekbones, soft lips. There was something snagged in her hair, and she pulled it free to see a comb carved of tortoiseshell, plain except for the character for cat, *neko,* carved into it. She clenched her hand around it and made a sound, a human sob.

It was just after dawn. The clouds that brought the rain and then snow were gone, vanished like a dream; the sky was the brilliant blue of turquoise. Grass stems and small rocks poked wet and shiny from the snow, which was barely a finger's-width deep. The first travelers were already on the road. She heard someone whistling as he walked toward her, west on the Tōkaidō. She crouched, ready to run, ready to jump up and fight. She no longer had hackles, but her shoulders and the nape of her neck tingled. She fought the temptation to hiss, afraid of what she would sound like.

It was a peasant man, dressed in sturdy hemp cloth, with a garland of teals strung by their legs around his neck. He stopped.

"My lady." He bowed slightly, the ducks squawking at the motion. "Have you lost something in the snow? Can I help you?"

"No. Go away, please." Surprised, she heard words coming from her lips. She scrambled to her feet and bowed back.

He smiled and then bowed to the shrine, clapped his hands, and bowed again. This made the birds squawk more loudly; he laughed at them, said, "Yell all you like; kami don't listen to ducks," and passed on. She watched until he was out of sight.

She looked at her hands again, and her bare feet. She was still human. "Road?" she said suspiciously, not knowing who else to ask; but there was no answer. And that was all there was to it: cat to woman.

Even for people, changes can be this arbitrary and extreme. Yesterday I was a girl, living in my foster father's house, sneaking away from my attendants, and kilting my robes high enough to wade after frogs when he ordered the servant-boys to stop catching them for me. The sun sets, the sun rises; a palm-walled carriage comes for me, and today I put on robes in tawny yellow and violet and dark red to take my place at court, serving my half-brother the emperor. My poetry (which has always been clunky, at best) is now elegant, "modern"; my music (I play the *biwa*-lute adequately, the six-string *koto* with an almost total lack of skill) is politely praised. In a single night, I become unrecognizable, even to myself, even though I have been raised for this my entire life.

And another change: I passed through a thousand thousand days, and each was made up of hours and moments; but they might as well have been a single day, for they are all past. Yesterday I was that girl chasing frogs (unsuccessfully, I add, and just as well: frogs are better left an unattained

goal). And today I am very old. And tomorrow I will die. Is this any less strange, any less arbitrary and extreme, than that a cat becomes a woman?

Still, in our minds, there are changes we expect, and those which we do not. To us, this is a miraculous thing, this change, cat to woman. But to the tortoiseshell, this was only the latest part of something that began with the earthquake, back in the capital. It was neither more nor less surprising than that the ground should move and the city burn.

She made no choice to be human, performed no magic. I do not guess whether cats will ever be tricky like foxes and *tanuki*-badgers, which change their shapes to do us mischief. It seems possible—they have the same intense desire to have things their own way. Perhaps they used to do such things when they lived in Korea, or whatever distant end of the world they originated. Here they do not; not yet.

She was not beautiful, for her hair was far too short, and her eyebrows unplucked; far from being a perfect moon, her face came to a point at her small determined chin. Still, she was lovely; to change any of these things for a more conventional attractiveness would have been to ruin all.

The cat-now-woman shook the grass from the robe that had been her pillow and pulled the garment on over the robes she'd slept in. The under robes were well made, of a high-quality padded silk in dark blue and ivory; the over robe was woven so that multicolored dyed threads made patterns like fallen leaves or a cat's fur: black and cinnamon and russet and ivory. The cloak was simpler, dark green oiled cotton, a rice-straw knot protecting the center seam of the back. In her sash, which was the bright orange of *take* bamboo berries, was a knife with a blade the color of claws.

She stepped into the wooden clogs beside her feet and started walking east. She noticed the change most as it affected her ability to do things. Fingers and thumbs were good, as was being able to eat things other than meat. She found these both out at midday, when the sun's warmth finally seeped through the heavy cold air. She stopped to remove the cape (and tied it into a tidy bundle she could wear over her shoulder, as easily as if she had made knots all her life), and sat for a time on a low stone divider, the perfect height for walking along, if one were a cat. An *amagaki* persimmon bush hung over the wall's side. It had been picked over, but there were a few little orange fruits that she could pluck and did. They were smooth-surfaced and chilly, but when she bit down they popped, and juice poured onto her tongue. She'd never eaten plant matter before, except the half-

digested chyme from preys' bellies, and grass when she needed to vomit. Nothing prepared her for this odd little burst of tart sweetness, so different from the texture and warmth of animals' blood. But she was not entirely changed: she saw a cricket on the ledge, logy from the cold, and she ate that as well.

Smell was different, she found. Things that had seemed obvious before—warm scents, like dung and the musk of other animals—were muted in her nostrils, while others—pine and cypress, distant hearth smoke—were sharper than she remembered. For a time as she walked she tried to imagine what people might gain by smelling such things so strongly; but she gave up at last, not seeing the point of smelling anything she could not eat.

Standing upright was not such an advantage. She saw much farther, but not as far as she could have in a tree. As the day passed her back ached, even though her muscles as a woman seemed better adapted to a long day's travel than her cat's body ever had. She had seen people pass her bearing sticks they leaned on. When she found a fallen branch, she used her knife (again, she knew just how to do this, as if she had been born with fingers) to lop off the unnecessary bits, and carried it as she had seen them do. It did not seem to help, but she liked swinging it at overhanging tree limbs to shake down pine cones and acorns.

People were pleasant to her, and this was also new. This was far from the capital, so most passersby were peasants and countryfolk, with none of the fixed stare and polite inattention of the city-dweller. And, for the first time, she noticed the strange things they carried everywhere, and knew what they were, which had not been the case when she was still simply a cat. When she was near the ocean (and as the days passed, the Tōkaidō spent much time within sight of the ocean, generally a sullen eleventh-month gray), she saw men carrying over their shoulders fishing nets caught up on long poles that snagged in branches overhead if they were not careful, or strings of dried cod, or flat baskets filled with mackerel strips. Once she saw a man who led a black ox with wheat straw loaded across its shoulders in a pile so tall that it dwarfed the ox. A dog slept on top of the straw, and did not notice her.

There was a night, when she was in Owari province. The moon was new, and the nights were very dark. She was tired of sleeping wet, and eating

cold food she couldn't see properly, and so when the light dimmed with dusk, she looked for a place to stay. A path left the Tōkaidō, and trailed north toward a hulking blackness capped with a dim luminous triangle, high up: firelight and smoke through an eave opening. Frosted grasses closed over the path, and she had to feel her way through, listening to them slide against her skirts. Another disadvantage: she missed her fur sometimes.

A dog barked. She stopped until it came up to her, yelling, "Hey! Hey! Hey!" and then it, too, froze.

They eyed one another in the near-dark, the woman who was a cat and the little dust-colored bitch. "Why," the tortoiseshell woman said, "you're no taller than my knee."

"You're—what are you?" the dog asked.

"Bigger than you," she said, and threw her stick at it. The dog tumbled backward into the grasses and vanished, and she did not see it again that night.

She continued to the farm. She looked around: there were a number of buildings, and she could tell what some were simply by their smells: a barn, a food-storage house, a granary. Everywhere were spaces into which she might have crawled had she still been a cat, all too small and unwelcoming for a woman. She stood indecisively in the farmyard's center.

"Hey," a voice called. The tortoiseshell woman spun and dropped into a fighting crouch: ready.

"Easy, easy, now," the voice said, comfort and laughter in its tone. She saw its owner: a man, barely more than an outline under the farmhouse's eaves. "I mean no harm, miss. This is my farm, is all. My wife here, she'll want to invite you in. Yukio?" he called into the farmhouse. "Come on out here."

A wood door slid open, and a woman stepped out, outlined in the dim light from inside the building. "Where—" she said, looking around. "Oh, there you are, husband. And miss. Come in, stay the night. We don't have much to eat, but you're welcome to it, such as it is. You shouldn't be out at this time of night. Wolves; other things."

The tortoiseshell woman took a step forward, then another. It is not an easy thing for a cat to trust people. They keep their own counsel even in the best of circumstances, when they are cherished pets (indeed, Myōbū, who pats at my damp ink stick as I write, has clawed two women I asked to take her away, and refuses even my touch); how much harder it must be for one

who had never felt a gentle person's hand. She might not have come in at all, but the wife gestured. "Come on up here, where I can see you."

The tortoiseshell woman stepped through the sliding door onto the dirt packed hard as stone that floored half the house. She slipped off her clogs (another thing she knew without knowing) and stepped up onto the boxwood floor of the raised section, following the couple to the square hearth pit. Mats were clustered here, and trays crammed with little metal bowls.

Here she learned one of her first lessons about people: "not much to eat" is a matter of opinion. As a cat, she had lived on whatever animals and insects (and, to be plain, garbage) were most easily captured or found, which had necessarily limited her options; as a woman her options had not broadened much. But the farmer and his family were not constrained. They grew many things and traded for others. It was autumn, so there was much to eat, and she tried it all: cooked rice with sweet vinegar and beans, and fresh and salted fish, a soup made of sweet potatoes and gromwell, little pickled quails' eggs, dried slices from a pungent orange melon, and preserved plums so sour-salty that her eyes watered after the first tiny bite.

The three of them ate together on the polished floor that surrounded the hearth pit. On the other side of a wall that lost itself in the shadows of the immense eaves were laughs and conversation from the two servants.

We—people—may not always recognize the feeling, but we can tell when a thing is not right. We walk into a room and know immediately that something has changed, though it may be days before we realize that it is the eye-blinds have been replaced. The farmer and his wife knew that the tortoiseshell woman was not what she seemed, even though they could not have told you precisely what she seemed to be. She was no peasant. She might have been a noblewoman—the weave of her robes was very fine—but her hair was chopped short as a nun's or a servant's. She might have been a nun, but she did not wear the drab grays that would be correct, and she neither begged nor offered prayers; if she were a wealthy nun, she had no servants. If she were running away from home, she would be attended by the lover who had talked her into eloping. That left only two possible explanations for her presence.

"Are you on pilgrimage?" the farmer asked.

"No," she said. "I don't think so."

“Then you must be selling something,” he said with total assurance. “What is it?”

“Sharpness,” she said, listening to herself with surprise. “Claws and teeth.”

“Needles?” his wife asked, as if she’d heard different words. “I need one. Mine is bent.”

“I don’t—”

“They’d be in your pack, yes?” the wife said. “May I get it for you?” She stood and crossed to the sliding door, and gathered up something that had been there. It was a footed wicker box with straps so that one could carry it over the shoulder, like the packs the monks carry.

The tortoiseshell woman frowned. “This is not mine.”

“Of course it is,” the wife said. “We saw you bring it here. You put it right there when you came in, along with your cloak and other things.”

The tortoiseshell woman opened the basket. Inside were bundles of various sizes. She unwrapped the first: a handful of needles pinned to a scrap of the indigo cloth that peasants use for everything, rolled tight to protect them. She handed this to the wife, who *ooh*ed over their sharpness, the lack of rust. There was a larger lumpy bundle of oiled cotton, as well. She unrolled it on the floor, and found wrapped in rabbit-patterned silk nineteen knives.

“Those are nice,” the farmer said. “What do you want for them?”

The knives were each precisely as long as her palm, each identical to the one in her belt. “I—cannot trade these,” she said, looking at them.

The farmer shrugged. “Someone else wants them, eh? It’s a pity, they look good and sharp.” But despite the fact that she had nothing to give him, he gave her a cloth filled with goose meat and rice balls.

They slept soon after that, and she was nearly asleep when she heard the farmer’s wife whisper: “My lady? Men, they see little, but you are more than a seller of needles, or even a flighty girl running away from home. Who and what are you?”

“I don’t know,” she answered, honestly but warily, remembering the last time she’d answered this question, for the black cat who had attacked her. “No one.”

“No one is no one,” the farmer’s wife said. But nothing else happened, and when she went her way at dawn the next morning, the farmer’s wife said nothing of this.

I try to write of the common people, but, really, what do I know? I have never met any. I have never slept in their homes, eaten their food. Even my servants are of good family, elegant and civilized women all. I imagine what their lives must be like, yet my imaginings are necessarily naïve. But what else do I have? Is it better to write and think only of what I have myself experienced? Most *monogatari* tales are about what their authors already know: life as a court noblewoman, the mannered round of exchanged poems and misunderstood intentions. I am intimately familiar with this world: I was born for it, and have lived at court for fifty years. And here, where I tell the tale of the cat who became a woman, I confess frankly that much of my life bored me senseless.

I have watched the full moon many times, crossing the same arch of sky between the same mountains to east and west, lighting gardens that were nearly interchangeable: here the three lakes, there the stand of reeds and iris, the pagoda from China, the perfect little bridge. Yes, it is always beautiful, each month's moon unique. But all my life I longed to see a place where the eye was drawn, not by delicate nuances in oh, so familiar sights but by utter newness, by a blow to the mind. Perhaps this is why I write a tale now, something so foreign to my experience—because in doing so I am for a minute or a month freed from my life.

I have traveled as much as was allowed. I have gone as far north as Funaoka hill, and been on pilgrimage as far away as Ise, Hase, Yoshino mountain, two days' travel and more from the capital. I even saw the moon rise over the ocean once. But every night the tortoiseshell woman sleeps under a new sky and a new moon. She has lost everything, and still I envy her from the bottom of my heart.

4. The Butterfly-Printed Notebook

In the morning it was raining. The wicker pack was still there, and so she shrugged into its straps. There was also a basket-hat, deep enough to conceal her face, with a trailing veil of ivory gauze. She had not had this the day before; but she took it without comment, along with the walking-stick beside them.

She crossed the border to Mikawa province, and stopped to eat her goose meat and rice. Her hands were cold and clumsy (a mixed advantage: fingers were better than paws had been, but then paws had never felt cold, even in the rainiest weather. Still, she was young and had not lived through her first winter; she did not know the numbness that snow brings to even the most leathery of pads) and she dropped several of the rice balls. She was not a lover of rice, so she left them where they lay, hoping some edible animal would find them and grow fat and slow, ready for her should she ever return this way.

There were few people on the Tōkaidō that day. No one traveled for pleasure, and even men who *must* travel—for pilgrimage or with news from the provinces for the capital—find there are days when they cannot quite bring themselves to hustle about. Such a day as this—cold, wet, and monotonous—encouraged a certain lack of discipline, and everyone who could stayed inside. But the tortoiseshell woman did not travel for pleasure or because she was required to, by gods or man. She traveled because there was no reason not to, because her misery was independent of weather, and so she moved on.

That evening it was still raining, steadily and everywhere, so she stopped in an abandoned roadside temple. (She slept much at shrines and temples: they were near the road, and they did not require her to talk with people, which became fatiguing sometimes, with their interminable chat about families.) There were no priests or monks, and not even a statue to show to which of the ten thousand Buddhas and saints the temple had been holy. All that was left was a bell the color of verdigris, its silver tassels tarnished and frayed; fading vermilion paint on the beams; and empty stone

pedestals: the ghosts of Buddhas. The little stones once heaped before the statues were still here, scattered to the temple's corners. With each step the tortoiseshell woman kicked aside now-purposeless pebbles. The roof was more cracks than shingles. Water fell through everywhere.

Using wood she broke from a ruined screen, she started a fire on the largest pedestal. Her wicker pack held many things, it seemed, though she only found them when she needed them; one was an oiled deerskin bag with a flint, and a bundle of dust-dry grass. The fire was small but bright, for the wood had been resinous. It spat colored sparks, and hissed when rain fell into it. Smoke seeped upward and let itself out at the cracks in the roof. She shook her cloak dry, and was soon warm again.

I cannot say quite how it was, but she was still a cat in some ways. Her robes never got as wet as they would have on a person, as if they were fur and she could shake and then groom herself dry whenever she wished. She did not know that this was not normal for people, and so she never thought of it. But I do. I have taken everything else from her: home, family, story. I know some of where she goes, into winter and conflict and more loss. And I find that I cannot make her physically miserable, as well: not tonight as she huddles in an unfamiliar body, anyway. We—the gods who create things, even we small gods who write *monogatari* tales—find that there are limits to our cruelty.

She ate the last of her food from the farmer, and curled up in her cloak to sleep.

She was dozing when something bit her hand. She killed it without waking up fully, and only after it was dead did she look at the little creature. It was small enough to fit in the palm of her hand, fat, and the dead-white of rice or ghosts. When she turned it over, she saw that it had either no legs or myriad tiny legs, though she couldn't tell which in the dim light of the dying fire. She felt another bite, on her ankle, and slapped at it, killing another of the little things. She was ready for the third one, and caught it between her hands when it sank its teeth into her calf. "Stop that!" she said.

The thing squirmed. "Let me go!"

She felt it trying to bite her fingers, so she shook it and then cracked a little opening to look inside. It was like the others, small and white; when she looked around, she saw several more, just out of the firelight. "Stay back, or I'll squash this one." She flattened her hands a little, and the others squirmed back into the darkness.

She returned her attention to her catch, which lay rigidly still in her hands. “What are you? Killing animal, prey, something else?”

“I am a rice ball,” it said with a certain pride.

It did look a bit like one, though.—“Rice balls don’t talk, or move. Or bite me,” she added as it tried to do so, and she closed her hands and shook it again.

“I’m not just *a* rice ball,” it said when it could talk again. “I am one of *your* rice balls. You dropped us. Remember?”

“You weren’t alive then.”

“You *abandoned* us,” it said, full of a sense of ill-usage. “Bad enough that you eat my brethren; bad enough that my *destiny* is to be eaten, but then you don’t even do that! You drop me on the ground, where mice or foxes will find me. Wasted!”

“Hey,” she said, and shook the rice ball again. “I said something: you weren’t alive when I dropped you. What happened?”

“How do I know?” the rice ball snapped. “How do *you* know, for that matter? Maybe we *were* alive, and you were just too much of a clod to notice.”

She considered the rice ball. This was the first time that something she might eat had ever spoken to her. Prey animals didn’t have souls and could not speak—her mother had taught her this, and it must be true.

“You have a soul?” she asked dubiously.

The rice ball said, “Why do *you* care?”

“If you do, then perhaps mice and rats and all the other prey animals have souls as well. I’m curious.”

“Would that stop you eating them?”

“No,” she said honestly. “Not if I can catch them.” (Cats are like that.) “But it might make things a little more difficult.”

“Why?” said the rice ball. “Life is all about eating and being eaten.”

“I suppose,” she said. “What do rice balls eat, then?”

It was an unanswerable question, and so it tried to bite her again. She popped it in her mouth and bit down. There was a single squeak, and her mouth was filled with cold sticky rice. The other creatures rolled to her feet, their life gone: no more than rice balls now. After eating two more (for she was hungry), she pushed the rest into the fire. I cannot say whether this was a touching attempt to offer them a Buddhist cremation, or whether she was making sure they would not come back to life and harass her in her sleep.

Perhaps she meant both these things. It is seldom that our motives are uncomplicated.

"Perhaps now you are willing to listen," the road said.

She stood on a road as clear as crystal, fading into fog at either end. Ten thousand voices chittered, growled, chanted in the back of her mind: *turn; cedar; emulate; I hear it now; rain-wet sleeves.* "Go away," she said as she had before, but added: "Did you make the rice-ball creatures?"

"The farmer made them," the kami said. "His wife and the little pregnant servant-girl, actually. You take cooked rice and a bit of vinegar and—"

"No, I mean did you make them live?"

The road shrugged, causing the tortoiseshell to stagger. "I am the road."

She gave up. "Did they all die?"

"Why do you care?" the kami said, echoing the rice ball.

"Because—" She sat down. "If they didn't all die, they might breed. Perhaps someday they might tell tales to one another. I wondered what a rice ball's story might be like." (As do I, though I cannot tell their stories myself. I must pick carefully what tales I tell in the time I have left.)

The road was warm, with a pulse like a heartbeat against her legs, she curled down until her face and side were against it. She found herself purring at the warmth. She had not felt warm all the way through since winter had started, and that had been at the border of Owari province, miles and days back.

"So why are you here?" she asked at last. "I told you to go away, the last time I saw you."

The kami's voice in her head sounded a bit like a snort. "You made an offering. And I came."

"I did not!" She straightened. "And this is a temple, not a shrine. It wouldn't be an offering to *you,* anyway. Even if it were one." It was another thing she knew without knowing, the difference between the Buddhas' temples and the shrines of the kami.

"The Buddhas were done with it," the kami said, "so I took it back. And there was an offering. Water in a fallen leaf. And rice. Though it would have been nice for you to offer something else, as well."

“The rice balls? They bit me, and then they turned back to rice and I threw them on the fire.”

“Quite. Was there anything else you wanted to give me?”

The tortoiseshell woman sighed. “I suppose you could have the cloth they came in. It’s in my wicker pack. As if you cannot tell.”

“An excellent gift”—as it was. The cloth was linen (if a little sticky and greasy), and flax is always appropriate for a kami.

There was silence for a moment—or an age; there is no telling about time when it is dark and there are no watchmen to sound the hours—and then the tortoiseshell woman spoke. “What are these voices?”

“The gods,” the kami said. “The eight million gods, speaking all at once.”

“Are they all roads?”

“That would be a lot of roads. No. They are peace. War. Rice, barley. A thousand forges, ten thousand gates. This lake, that pond, the other river. The houses of Fujiwara, Minamoto, a dozen others. A tree, all trees, a forest, all forests. I am not here to discuss theology.”

“How can there be so many of you, and I have never met a god before this?”

“How would you know if you met one? You cats live in a cat-shaped world. There do not appear to be any cat-shaped gods.”

“And now I am not even a cat,” she said bitterly.

“You are no more and no less than you ever were,” the kami said. “You lost nothing that was yours in the first place.”

“I am nothing and no one. Is that all I ever was?” She tipped her face toward the darkness, and felt hot tears on her cheeks. “I did not ask for this shape.”

“Do you hate it?”

“Yes! No. Sometimes. Parts are good. But,” she added, “I’m sure there are good things to being a mouse, and yet I have no desire to become one. I want to be a cat again. Change me back.”

“Who says *I* did this?” the kami asks. “Eight million gods and all the Buddhas and all the demons and all the dead; foxes and *tanuki*-badgers, snakes and spiders. Monkeys. Magicians. Any of these might have done this, or encouraged it to happen, or convinced you to do this to yourself.”

“I wouldn’t do this. I think you’re a nightmare,” she said. “I don’t think you’re really here at all—you or any of the others. At least rice balls are

real. But what are *you*? No one can eat you."

"I exist," the kami said. "But never mind."

"Wait—" she began, but it was gone. She had no more dreams that night.

When she awoke, she saw tiny pawprints in the dust on the floor and the cold ashes of the fire. Mice had crept past her as she slept and had eaten the rice balls.

A journey can be defined by miles or by days. Hers was defined by both, for each day meant more miles under her clogs. The Tōkaidō is a comparatively easy road, though in winter it can be blocked by drifts of snow taller than a man's height, or muddy wallows tens of feet across and knee-deep in the center, which stay liquid in all but the coldest weather. As on even the best of roads, there are ruts that can break a cart's axle, but constant usage keeps much of the path free of tangling weeds. Even the Hakone pass is not high. Roads and trails trail off to both sides. Some have signs painted or carved into wood stakes stabbed into the ground at the fork; others say nothing, keeping their mysteries to themselves.

Her wicker pack contained more things that surprised her. The knives were there. There was also a doeskin pouch filled with ancient coins: copper *wadōkaihō*, gold *kaiki shōhō*. They were not very useful as money, of course, but the countryfolk wanted them as good-luck amulets, and she found them handy to barter for rice and a roof, when she did not find her own. Inns and villages string along the Tōkaidō's length like beads on a cord, though they grow farther apart (and more barbarous) the farther east one goes.

Winter threatened, and the traffic along the Tōkaidō thinned, so that entire days would pass when she saw few people except in the villages that followed the road for a while, like idle dogs seeing one off their ground. The remaining traffic varied so much that there was no predicting what she would meet: a wagon pulled by horses, bells jangling on their necks; ox-carts with two wheels, with four; flocks of oxen tied neck to neck, being led to new pastures. Messengers and their guards cantered along the Tōkaidō on sturdy, wet, irritable horses. Begging priests walked barefoot through icy mud, their *fudō* scarves tight over their heads against rain.

Many people called greetings as they passed (for she did not walk fast, as she retained a cat's lack of enthusiasm for long marches), and when she stopped at the side of the Tōkaidō, to eat or rest or inspect her blisters (a disadvantage: her feet were always cold, and the clogs rubbed her toes raw; feet were not as durable as pads had been), others rested near her, and sometimes offered a bit of fish or *taro* root. She did not trust them, but no one threw anything at her, and after a time, she accepted that people generally meant no harm to this new shape. From them she learned to use the immense leaves of bog rhubarb to shelter her head, and even how to make the cheap rice-straw foot-covers that all peasants can make for themselves and their horses and oxen, and which they throw away whenever they please.

There were robbers from time to time, for they are common as lice on the Tōkaidō. Some she avoided, others she fought or negotiated with or simply gave something to: different solutions for different situations.

Somehow, no one asked her for papers or tolls. The guards at the barriers and the posting stations bowed deeply and let her pass, as if it were an everyday thing to see a woman in silks walking alone in winter. The ferryfolk did not charge her for their services, though they found themselves carrying her at times that they did not intend to cross this river or that bay, with the water icy-cold and foaming white as rice powder. The bridge-men and ferryfolk and guards never seemed to realize how irregular their actions were.

She still recited her *fudoki* to herself. She, the cat of that *fudoki,* was dead, and the tale with her. But sometimes, when the nights were cold and wet, and she was alone (and lonely, though she would not have recognized the concept), she would recite the familiar chain of cats to herself and take comfort in them. In this she was becoming human, that meaningless words can ease loneliness. We have all received enough empty poems from lovers to have learned this.

The dreams of fire-cats ended, as well. She knew—and had known, even when she spoke with the ghost of the servant, two and more months ago—that her people were dead. For cats there was no afterlife except one's place in the *fudoki.* Our Hell, filled with fire and demons and arcane punishments for breaking the precepts, did not frighten her, for she had no god or Buddha to send her there for disobedience or neglect. She'd left the

cats of the Eight Islands far behind. Now she walked through country that had never seen a cat, and never heard a cat's story.

Nor did it now, for she was no cat, though there were things about her that remained very cat-like. She did not feel squeamish at the taking of life, as any good Buddhist would; little as she understood of the kami, she understood still less of the Buddhas, which were as pointless to a cat's sensibilities as poetry would be. I pray for her enlightenment, as I pray for the enlightenment of us all; but I must confess (honesty is a good thing so close to death) that I think she was perhaps better off for not believing in the Buddhas.

She enjoyed the hunt, though it was different than it had been when she was a cat, since her prey was bigger and had different habits. Her favorite prey was the little serow deer, as tall as her thighs, for their abrupt movements and bright black eyes reminded her a bit of mice. She stalked them when the craggier bits of the forest came close to the Tōkaidō. They were wary, but she knew in her bones how to wait, and she caught them almost as often as she failed.

She reveled in the feel of her knife sliding along bone and through meat, the pulse of hot blood across her hand. She loved the slowing of their heartbeats, the shallow breaths, the silence. She did not thank the kami for the meat as some hunters do, but she understood the importance of their deaths. She caught enough that she traded meat sometimes. She usually remembered to cook what she ate.

She had always watched ducks and wondered what they might taste like, but as a cat they had been too clever for her. Now she learned to wade into marshy waters and wait for them to come close enough to kill by throwing one of her knives. They tasted better than she even had hoped, warm and grainy: an advantage to being human. At other times, she caught grouse, deer, monkeys, turtles, a crane once.

When nights came, she found she missed her night vision (though her eyes were still sharper than yours or mine might have been), and the messages her whiskers and sensing hairs had given her; so she slept wherever she found herself at dusk. She was fortunate, for it was a surprisingly easy eleventh month. Frost came some nights, snow others, but it did not accumulate. She watched the moon grow and rise, earlier each night, until the full moon of the eleventh month was bright through dead

reeds or pine needles, or shredded clouds, or the tears that sometimes flooded her eyes.

But there were also times when she forgot her sorrow and her state and enjoyed something, the taste of pheasant, the warmth of the sun, a rain so soft it was scarcely a hissing on her face. She was learning something about grief, that it begins with a great blow, but heals with a thousand tiny strokes.

To me her life is perfect. The cold is of no account; we are all cold in the winter. She owes nothing to anyone, and does not fret over the shape of her eyebrows or her robes' color combinations. She catches what she eats with her own hands, and sleeps where she likes. Every day she sees new sights, *real* things—an ancient pine struck by lightning, a shining green field frosted with melting snow and grazed by ink-black oxen—and not merely yet another well-painted screen.

And yet I have invented her, and her perfect life. These sights are not mine, but are secondhand. I have heard them from lovers, or read them in tales; in truth, I have more firsthand experience with well-painted screens than with anything in her world.

I must not forget that her life is her own. Her miseries, her longings, are not mine. For her, even this perfect month was filled with tears. Life is like that.

She was fortunate, for she traveled for some time before a man tried to rape her, an apparent woman traveling alone. It was in Suruma province where she was attacked. As so many other nights, there were no stopping places close to hand, and so she ended her traveling for the day in the shelter of a great pine tree with branches that swept the ground around it, close to a slow stream. She started a fire and cooked her food in a thin-hammered black metal bowl she found sometimes (though not always) in her pack. It was nearly dark, only the dimmest glow to the west, when another traveler, a man alone, joined her.

He dismounted and led his horse into the firelight. "May I share your fire?" he asked. His horse was a small stocky bay, and his garb was such that any reader of *monogatari* tales could have instantly told that he was, in fact, a bandit, for he had leggings of *tanuki*-badger skin with the fur still on.

The tortoiseshell woman did not read stories, and so she only shrugged. "If you wish. You might as well get some use out of the fire, as well."

He laughed. “An interesting perspective, my lady.” He unsaddled his horse, and crouched across the fire from her, a tall man with a missing tooth in the front of his smile. “If I put something in the pot, may I share your dinner?”

“If you wish,” she said again.

He handed her strips of salted deer meat and dried eggplant. “What do you have in there?”

“Rice, boar meat,” she said.

“Boar? Where’s a pretty woman like you getting boar meat?” he asked.

And so it began. He wanted to know her name (“Call me ‘Crow,’” he said, though she did not ask). She was obviously a lady, perhaps even a noblewoman (“Above my touch,” he said, and leered), so where were her attendants? Close? Within earshot? Her robes were very fine; where had she gotten them, from a husband, a lover, someone with power? Had she a brother, a father, waiting for her? He had a little barrel of plum wine, and he rolled it close to the fire, dragging it out every so often to drink from it. He offered her some, but she had discovered she had no taste for wine, and thus refused. She answered none of his questions, for they seemed pointless.

Every woman is born aware that a man can force his attentions on her. All our romantic *monogatari* tales are filled with circumstances where a nobleman slips behind the curtains of a woman who has repeatedly expressed a lack of interest, and has sex with her. Paralyzed with fear at what people might think, she says nothing, not a single squeak to awaken one of her women; and when it is done, she vows eternal love to her (to put it bluntly) assailant.

I was never like this. Courtiers (and others) crept behind my curtains from time to time, for, however inadequate my skills as a musician or poet, I was very beautiful when I was young—and I was a princess, and thus attractive to ambitious men. But I squeaked—emphatically—if I did not want them as lovers.

The tortoiseshell woman was not without defenses, though she did not recognize the exact nature of the threat. The man, Crow, stood and crossed to her side of the fire. She stood as he approached, and when he reached out for her, she slapped his hand away. “I do not choose to be touched,” she said as he nursed his stinging hand, anger darkening his eyes.

He grabbed at her again, and she attacked. She did not consciously pull her knife, but it was in her right hand, and she buried it to the hilt, straight

down into his shoulder. It grated on bone and jammed there. Holding him with the knife and her left hand on his arm, she slammed her knee into his groin, lifting him with the force of the blow. She pulled him down in stages, knee to belly, then to breastbone, then to throat and face. He fell from her hands to the ground, blood pouring from his nose and mouth and neck. She kicked him in the ribs twice, though it was not as satisfying as it would have been had she still been a cat, for she had no hind claws to sink deep in his belly. When the blood stopped flowing, and his terrible wet breathing stopped, she pulled her knife free and wiped it clean on his clothes.

When she left in the morning, she took his horse with her, but she did not ride or keep it, for (whatever its reasons) it had loved its master, and it feared and hated her. The blood on her robes (and there had been much) had vanished in the night, and there was nothing left of the bandit and his intentions.

—I do not know that it would have been like this. My experiences, as I said, were not violent; but there were nights when I shared robes with a man I had invited and then realized I had no interest in; and yet I could not send him away without the mating he craved. So I lay beneath him and made the correct noises, and imagined how I might stop these movements had I not been a princess and unwilling to expose myself to the questions that would arise. Perhaps this is a sort of assault, that I did not feel I could say no; though I had not thought so.

From time to time, other men tried to attack the tortoiseshell woman, but these attempts were never successful. She usually killed them silently, but there were times, when the black empty place that had once held her *fudoki* seemed overwhelming, that she laughed. When she had been a cat, killing meant food, survival. It came also to mean peace.

When she crossed into Sagami province, and stopped for a time at the border shrine, she found a lovely sorrel stallion tied outside its walls, a bridle and rosewood and inlaid-shell saddle wrapped in oiled hemp-cloth at the sorrel's feet. Perhaps by the sheerest coincidence they were abandoned here by some noble who had staggered into the woods to die (for the horse and the tack were very fine; no one would willingly leave such a treasure). Perhaps they were created by the magic that placed flint and knives in her basket—which had also, somehow, changed, to waxed saddlebags of leather patterned with tiny dark blue flowers on an ivory background. Perhaps the

horse and its gear were an apology or a lesson or something completely different, from the road-kami or another.

We try desperately to make sense of the world, to see the *why*s behind how things happen. We make up things that might help: *sukuse,* the law of cause and effect; perhaps even the gods. Perhaps even Buddha. But sometimes there is no *why.* The tortoiseshell woman didn't wonder why the sorrel was there—or the *why*s of any of it: the earthquake, the fire, the journey, her unfamiliar body. In this she was purely a cat. She approached the horse cautiously (always wise, when meeting a strange horse), and ran her hands along its legs and belly and back. She understood horses, she found. She also understood this horse, its temperament and the strength in its bones and its great-lunged chest. She pressed her face against the sorrel's long nose, hands on its cheeks. They stood there for a time, woman-who-was-cat and horse. And then she saddled and bridled it, mounted easily, and moved on.

Miles: days. Or a journey can be measured by sights, the smooth exchange of vista and intimate detail, shrine and temple. She saw the great mountain Fuji when she was as far away as Yoshida, back in Mikawa province, though it was many days before she saw it a second time, for the air hid it in clouds or mist. She crossed under the sullen black forests of Ashigara mountain, and overheard the elegant savage songs of the countrywomen there. She led the sorrel across the plains of Morikoshi, where she saw no flowers (and did not know enough to look for them, having no experience with the poetry we have all read a thousand times). She passed through reeds so tall that even standing on the sorrel's back she could not see over them. Mountains, rapids, marshes that stretch for days, dunes dusted with snow as white as the sand. Skies that stretch a million miles east across the endless ocean. A lake so clear that she could watch a sleeping fish as long as her arm, suspended as if in crystal.

I have not seen these sights, but I have heard of them, and longed to hear more. When I was young, I foolishly imagined myself in love with a guardsman who had been sent from Mutsu province. He was handsome, though his eyes were unsettling, for they were not properly black but instead liquid gold.

He could not write poetry, but I didn't care. Poetry did not laugh the way he did, and it did not come warm to my bed on certain brilliant moonlit nights. Poetry did not tell me about the great mountain Fuji at dawn, when it is the color of roses and pearls and peaches. Fuji captured a cloud sometimes, he told me, round and flat as a mirror. "You cannot imagine how big it is," he said to me, and I reached under the bed robes and grasped him. "Not that!" He laughed, and told me more, about the plains of the Kantō, which run to the very foot of Fuji, so that it seems but a handful of miles away, instead of the seventy and more that it is. There are many herds of half-wild horses there, each a hundred or more together, all more beautiful than anything you've ever seen.

He told me about all these places, and others besides. I did not write them all down back then. I regret this now, even though I would be burning those notebooks tomorrow in any case.

"You love it there, don't you?" I said to him: a little wistfully, for his eyes never shone when he looked at me, not as they did when he spoke of *azumi,* the east. "You will leave someday, and return there."

He said, "I serve my emperor as directed by my father; but come dawn of the first day my duty is done, I'll be gone."

And so he was. I cried a bit, for he had been very handsome, and was a kind lover. But mostly I cried from envy for his freedom, and because there was a place he loved like this.

Strange, how I have not let myself think of him until now.

One night, when she was still in Sagami province, she slept outside, for there were no houses or inns close—though there had once been a salt-making place close by; the silvered wood ruins looked and felt like ancient bones. The sky was clear and brilliant with stars, for the three-quarters' moon of the eleventh month was not yet up. She was very near the sea here, on Morikoshi plain. She could hear the surf, and feel it in the darkness, a great restless weight to her right.

She unsaddled her horse and hobbled him, and he began to pull up grass, and to strip the needles from a small tree stunted by the wind.

She built a fire of driftwood and watched the flames leap up taller than her own height. She had flinched the first few times she'd made fire, but that was many nights and miles (and sights) ago. She no longer saw the fire-

cats who had tried to speak to her with their distended mouths. There were no cats, fire or flesh, in these lands she passed through. She was the first, which only increased her sense of loneliness and loss. The words of her *fudoki* were rather pain than comfort, though she could not help but recite them some nights, as a child cannot help sucking her thumb.

Her ears were still sharp. Even through the crackling of the fire, she heard a tiny rustling in one of her unstrapped saddlebags, and so she flipped it upright, and began to remove things carefully until she saw her intruder. It was a straw-brown mouse, small as her thumb. Its black eyes stared up at her. "Mouse?" she said, and got no answer. "Do you speak? Do you feel? Have you a soul? Do you have gods?"

It only stared at her, vibrating with fear, and so she tipped the saddlebag onto its side and let the mouse go. Mice were less than a mouthful these days, anyway, and she would have gotten little satisfaction from eating this one.

She came to Musashi province at the end of the eleventh month, and forded Sumida river a few days into the twelfth month. The air was crisp, and heavy forest crowded the Tōkaidō on either side, so she buried her hands in her cloak, and let the sorrel pick its own path. Through a thinning in the trees she saw a wood yard, and a great tree propped up to be sawed into planks. A wiry little man in a loincloth stood atop the tree, pulling through the wood a saw as tall as he was. Sawdust drifted down in the heavy still air. Two other men watched him and said something—but she could not hear it, for by that time, she and the sorrel were past, and she had been craning back in her saddle to watch.

There was little traffic. She watched her breath puff in front of her and thought of mice. Ahead, a large party had pulled off the road near a roadside shrine to Inari. A well-dressed provincial woman and her women laid a packet of silk and a little barrel before the moss-green statues of Inari's foxes, bowed and clapped. The tortoiseshell woman picked up her reins, and helped her horse choose a path through the cloud of servants and guards and horses and oxen that clogged the road. The noblewoman lifted a hand and hailed her, and the tortoiseshell woman stopped.

"We are about to eat," the noblewoman said. "Would you be so kind as to join us?"

The tortoiseshell woman looked down from her saddle for a moment. The noblewoman was of middle age but still lovely, with a clever expressive face and merry eyes. She had kilted her padded robes to her knees, but this had not prevented their hems from being splashed with mud. The noblewoman looked down at herself and said, “I must look a perfect demoness to you; but I promise I’m hardly that. I don’t exaggerate when I say it would be a kindness for you to join us. We’ve been on pilgrimage for half a month now, and we are sick of each other’s faces.” She laughed and her attendants laughed with her. Provincials have a very different sense of the proper relationships between a master and the various sorts of servants. “Please.”

The tortoiseshell woman trusted no one, and yet she found herself sliding from her saddle. One of the noblewoman’s menservants reached for the sorrel’s bridle. “My horse doesn’t like—” she began, but the sorrel finished the statement by lashing out at the man, teeth slamming together with an audible sound a hairs-breadth from his arm.

He laughed and grabbed its bridle. “Settle down, biter.” He caught the tortoiseshell woman’s eye and said, “I like ’em feisty. Horse like a dragon, here.”

“He’ll make sure your horse gets some food and water,” the noblewoman said. “Please, come.” She bowed and took the tortoiseshell woman’s hand. If she felt the burn scars she said nothing, only led her to a rush-walled ox-carriage and helped her up into it.

It was warm in the carriage, and when the noblewoman followed her inside, it was crowded. There were five of them, all women, kneeling on thick cushions. They passed around little boxes filled with food of various sorts, and each helped herself with smooth little sticks to pickled cabbage, cold fried rice cakes, salted eggplant, and sea slugs. The tortoiseshell woman had never used sticks to eat, but she found a pair tucked into her sash—a thing she understood without learning, like horses and knives and knot-making. When the women were done, they handed the boxes out of the cart, and the men filled them with hot tea. She sniffed it warily (cats do not like hot things to drink), and carefully sipped. The warmth soaked right through her, along with a sweet, bright grassy flavor. She remembered with bitter clarity that summer afternoon, crouched on the wall at her grounds, the last moment she had still belonged. Her eyes filled with tears and she turned her face from the women.

There was little talking until the tea.

“I realized I have said nothing of who we are,” the noblewoman said suddenly. “I am the oldest daughter of my family. I’ve been to the temple at Takeshiba to pray for my youngest brother’s success in an endeavor. These are my women.” She named each, but the tortoiseshell woman frowned. She didn’t understand names: unlike a cat’s place in the *fudoki,* they said nothing useful about a person. The noblewoman laughed at her expression. “Never mind, you can ask again later, when there aren’t so many of them. Now: who are you and where are you from?—because this is the middle of nowhere, you know. Hitachi province is not the end of the world—that would be Mutsu province”—the women laughed—“but we can certainly see it from here, on a clear day anyway.”

“I am nothing and no one,” the tortoiseshell woman said. “I have no ground.”

The noblewoman looked at her from the corner of her eyes. “Ah. The Buddha says that this is the way to wisdom, to understand that family and property are nothing. How enlightened of you.”

“This Buddha is wrong, if it says that,” the tortoiseshell woman said, her voice hot, anguished. “Family and tale are *everything*.”

The noblewoman smiled, but her eyes were suddenly sad. “And you have lost both, I surmise. I am so sorry. Such loss I can understand.”

Somehow, though she never later understood how, when the tortoiseshell woman climbed out of the ox-carriage and returned to her sorrel, it was understood that she would travel with them. And that was how she met Osa Hitachi no Nakara.

5. The *Kihada*-Dyed Notebook

I had friends when I was a small girl, before I came to my half-brother's court. Most were boys, and were inevitably of lower rank, but I loved them dearly. Their toys were so much more interesting than my own—mulberry bows and mugwort arrows, stilts, riding whips made of vine, hoops, and mock swords—and they could do so much more. They played between the horses in the stable and chased mayflies across the garden. They ran the streets around my home in the eastern quarter of town, all equally ragged and breathless, and told me stories of their achievements, when I could sneak away to see them.

I could not join them, but I had my own interests. I used to watch vermin, green caterpillars eating lacework holes into leaves; ants running about or walking in formal trains, bearing gifts to shrines hidden deep underground. When my attendants restricted this ("Squatting like a peasant? My lady!"), I bribed the household boys with rice candy to bring me things—moths' wings and beetle shells and birds' eggs—whatever my interest of the moment was.

I eventually discovered mice, when a boy caught one in the gardens and brought it to me, a tiny black-eyed brown thing crouching in a tall lacquered box. Its whiskers were finer than silk thread drawn taut. Carrying it in my hands, I asked a gardener who knew of such things to tell me of mice. As I watched and listened, tiny pellets appeared from the creature's hindquarters, black with a small earthy smell. The gardener told me such creatures slept in cracks and crevices and ate seeds and grasses. "A small life, and a short one," he said. "Everything eats them—dogs, hawks, owls, foxes."

I frowned and shifted the mouse to my other hand, shaking the soiled one clean. "Then what's the point of being a mouse? They're not going to learn anything, so they'll just have to come back as a mouse again next time. What's the good of that?"

The gardener laughed a little. "Maybe that *is* the point of being a mouse, little one—being eaten. Maybe the lesson they learn is grace in the

face of unavoidable tragedy."

This made sense to me: *monogatari* tales are full of women (and sometimes men) dying gracefully. But—" What's graceful about mice? They don't write little poems before they die, or throw themselves into Uji river because their lover forgets to visit"—for my nurse had been reading to me from Genji's tale.

He laughed louder. "You think most people face tragedy with poems? No—we are a lot like mice. Some of us squirm under the cat's paw. Some fight, some freeze. I suppose a few have dignity."

"*I* will behave with dignity," I said. "With grace. But no poems." I wrinkled my nose and peered down at the mouse, a tiny quivering hot spot in my hand.

The gardener leaned closer to me, or perhaps the mouse. "Little one, the truest grace comes *after* the squirming and the fighting and the panic. To accept tragedy without despair. Can you do that?" I could not tell to whom he spoke.

I did not know the answer then. But I thought about it when my father died; and when my golden-eyed lover returned to the east, betraying us all; and when Shirakawa died; and now, as I feel my lungs fight this losing war to breathe. At last, perhaps I find an answer.

To show grace in tragedy? All those irritatingly stupid women in *monogatari* tales exhibit this, with their elegant little death-poems, their lovely corpses floating on willow-clogged waters. And they *are* stupid. What man, what lost love or deceased kinsman is worth death? The space in my life that my half-brother once filled is now an aching icy pain, like the hole left after a tooth is pulled, and I am dying in weeks or months—and yet I still fight for life, as every mouse does, until the final beak-blow. The grace in tragedy is not to succumb, but to fight on.

I knew none of this back then, of course: certain lessons come late. I was eight when I received my first mouse. What did I know? I made a cage of silk gauze and wood, but it ran away, as did the next and the next. For a time, I made up little stories about the mice, as dramatic and full of event as any tale from Ise. As I learned to keep them for more than a day or two (pottery stopped them, as did wire mesh), I told fewer stories involving thrilling adventures. The more I learned of them, the less convincing the stories were, even to me. I've found that's often the way with stories.

Perhaps the only reason I tell the tale of the tortoiseshell cat is that, even after decades of living with cats, I still understand them not at all.

After a time I didn't keep the mice caged, but still they stayed. Mostly it was food that kept them, though I liked to imagine it was love. They slept in my sleeves, so that I learned physical grace because I did not want to crush them. They hid in my hair and startled my tutors and nurses, if I didn't have time to return them to their box. They allowed me to touch them, to feel their ribs fine as grass stems, the shapes of their delicate skulls. Their hearts beat fast in the palm of my hand.

I no longer kept mice when I came to court, nor did I engage in any of my less-acceptable hobbies. I wrote my notebooks strictly for my own satisfaction, though my woman Shigeko was forever asking to read them. I read the Chinese classics, because, while irregular, it was not unheard of for a woman to do so. I built water-clocks only when my monthly courses or illness kept me away from court and I returned to the cinnamon-tree courtyard at my uncle's house.

When I came to court, I studied the first cat I met there with the same interest I had reserved for mice and other vermin. Our cat was small and gray, with blue-gray eyes. We tied bright-colored cords around her neck, choosing colors that were appropriate to the seasons, but she tore them off and played with them, tiny gaudy snakes. After a time we took to calling her Shisutāko, the little nun, because of her dislike of finery and her soft gray color.

Shisutāko was not exceptional in any way. She did not grow up to be arrogant, as so many cats do, and she did not grow loving, as so many of us hoped she would. She remained a creature of teeth and claws, and the only way we could show affection in an acceptable fashion was to fold paper into shapes and thread them onto string for her to chase. She slept near us, but she spent the rest of her time elsewhere. Sometimes, we heard her screaming in the garden; several months later she would vanish, and return with kittens.

We offered her bits from our food, but she was as picky as a pregnant empress. She was uninterested in sweet rice candies, but she liked fish and the hot-tasting pickled vegetables. She also begged from the kitchen house, but mostly she found her own meals, sometimes bringing them to us. I was less squeamish than the others, so it often fell to me to remove the mice and voles. I examined one once, its tiny broken bones like twigs, and blood and

saliva at the back of its neck. It was panting, eyes bright and fixed on me. I killed it.

"What have you done?" one of my women gasped.

"I stopped its pain," I said, and handed the mouse back to the cat to eat. Typically, she was no longer interested, absorbed instead in cleaning her paws, eyes half-closed as she lay in a patch of sun on the veranda. This was my first experience of a cat's nature.

And now: Myōbū has been sleeping on the sleeve of my maple-colored robes since this morning. I was wearing those robes but had not the heart to disturb her, so I slipped my arm free, and eventually discarded them altogether to change into another set, leaving her in undisputed possession. If I were to ask her what the point was of being a cat, what would she answer?

And what is the point of being a woman?

I cannot say why the tortoiseshell woman and Osa Hitachi no Nakara became close. The cat-woman expressed no affection and had little in common with Nakara, and yet they were friends. Nakara had her own concerns, so perhaps she saw the tortoiseshell woman's grief and her strangeness, and pitied them, and her. And Nakara had certain experience with the creatures who could take human form, and it is possible that she saw a cat's nature in her companion, and so understood not to expect what she might from a woman.

It is also true that Nakara was tired of her people, for there were only nine of them for a month's travel; and she was used to the hundreds of people always to be found at the Osa Hitachi estate. Because she was on pilgrimage she observed the ten prohibitions, and perhaps she was bored. There had been little company on the road, and even the monks and priests at the shrines and temples had been surly, as they settled in for what was becoming a cold and wet winter.

People of the provinces are not like people in the capital, and Nakara was not like a court woman. For one thing, she spoke to all her people, men and women, even the lowliest boy brought along to tend the oxen for the trip. For another, she saw no necessity to hide her face behind fans or sleeves; she had no die-away airs. If she wanted something, she simply

asked for it. If she didn't want something, she said so—very unlike the women of court, who on occasion find themselves married because they are unwilling to say no. She could use a Chinese abacus, but was hopeless at the poem-matching game.

She was capable of skinning out a deer or commanding her estate's defense from bandits, in the unlikely event that her brothers (and all their useful, strong, martial men) were far away. When she had been younger, barely a girl, she had served as nurse at an estate in Hida province. There had been a terrible disaster, and she had escaped with the clothes on her back and a ten-year-old boy, the only survivor. Together they walked two hundred fifty miles through the mountains in the dead of winter, to her family home in Hitachi. She avoided bears, wolves, and robbers, managing so well that on arriving she and the boy were well fed, clad in fur, and bearing weapons.

We would have considered her at best uncouth and at worst a barbarian, and she was both these things—but there is nothing to stop me from speaking the truth, however improper it is. She was brave and full of laughter and wisdom, and I would have liked to have called Osa Hitachi no Nakara a friend.

The tortoiseshell knew no one. Her clan were all dead. In her traveling, she met people on the road for no more than the shared instant of passing. Her meetings with the kami on the crystal-clear road were short and without satisfaction. She had no skill at conversation, polite or otherwise. She was moved with quick powerful grace, and there were moments of contentment or even happiness that softened her eyes; but the black grief at her heart made her less-than-light company. And though no one would have guessed she was a cat, there was something people did not recognize about her, something strange. We avoid those who grieve; we avoid those who are not like us; and so she was doubly distanced from her fellow travelers.

Friendships are strange. I meet one woman and I like her instantly. Another I dislike and distrust as quickly. They are both of good family and have beautiful manners and taste; they both laugh when I say something I consider clever. My woman Shigeko resembles a thousand of the women who have served me, her independence of thought her only difference—and even in that, there have been others. And yet she is one ear, and I the other.

Osa Hitachi no Nakara was another twenty days on the road returning home. Many things can happen in such a time. A woman can have a baby, or fall in love, or lose a loved one to death or indifference (though that can happen in an instant). The tortoiseshell learned about people. Nakara gained a friend.

The weather was mostly cold, for the twelfth month is solidly winter. Snow fell and lingered from one day to the next, until the oxen pulling the cart could not get through in places, and they had to stop until things became easier. When the sky was clear, the tortoiseshell woman rode beside the ox-cart, or ranged far ahead of the Hitachi party, tasting air so cold that it burned her lungs. For reasons she did not understand, she returned each evening to Nakara's people, to sleep wherever they did. Often she brought back animals she had killed, rabbits or *sika* deer draped across her horse's shoulder. The sorrel did not seem to mind the smell of blood or the twitches of dying prey; in this he was his mistress's match.

Though they considered their pace quick (particularly for winter), the party traveled far more slowly than she would have alone. An ox-carriage is not exactly noted for its swiftness. These oxen had been selected more for sturdiness than for fleetness of foot (if a fleet ox can even be imagined), and they lumbered through cold mud and hock-deep snow. The useful portion of the day was very short, so that there were days it seemed that they had barely begun to travel when the sun set abruptly over the mountains to the west—if they saw it at all; the sky was often overcast, or even snowing.

Snow like this would have stopped dead the soft people of the capital. We have snow, but it is not generally deep or long-lasting; and it is up to the servants and the guardsmen and the peasants to make their ways through it. We women merely watch from our sheltered verandas, and admire it as if it were painted on a scroll. It would never occur to us to take a winter pilgrimage of a hundred miles or more.

The farther one travels on the Tōkaidō, the more real snow becomes. No longer just pretty spangles on a robe, it grows deeper and lasts longer. People can die in it, and not just because they passed out in a ditch and drowned, overcome by too much *sake*. They can die from this eastern snow due to even the tiniest carelessness, or karma, or simply bad luck. Storms come up where the flakes fall so thick that a stranded traveler cannot see the eave-light of a farmhouse a hundred—a dozen!—paces away. Someone lost

can scream until she is hoarse, yet her voice is swallowed as if she shouted into a quilted robe. And these storms can last for days.

There are clear days, when the sky is a particular frozen blue, and the sun on one's face leaves no warmth. These days are bright, but oh, so cold. One's breath attaches itself as ice to one's clothing, and even tucked into sleeves, one's hands ache until they grow numb. Lakes and rivers freeze over and become solid for months instead of days; ferries become irrelevant. A cart can feel its way across the ice without falling through. (I have just realized: I do not think I will see snow again. How strange.)

Winter becomes harsher in the east, but the people somehow disregard it as we of the capital never can. They live and carry on their business even through snow and cold and darkness. There is no farming, of course, but the horses and cattle and other animals must be tended. Messengers still bring urgent business from outlying estates or along the roads. There is hunting and even fishing. My golden-eyed lover used to tell me about watching the fisherfolk of his district push their boats onto the sea on days when great snowflakes dissolved into its black water. *They like it,* he said; *snow keeps the waves down.*

Nakara and her people had adapted. They walked easily in high wooden clogs that no one in the city could manage with any facility. Their feet were often wet and always cold; but they shrugged this off as no more than an inconvenience. They did not panic if snow caught them unexpectedly; they sheltered themselves and made fire, and waited.

So travel was not fast. Beyond the limitations forced by the weather, the party stopped often for its own reasons. Nakara stopped at every temple and every shrine along the road, staying the night at the larger places, if they had guest quarters.

"Why do you stop so often?" the tortoiseshell woman asked once, when they pulled up for the third time in a day, before an unprepossessing little roadside Buddha cloaked in snow.

Nakara finished her prayer and laid her offering before the statue: food and a sheaf of votive papers, each printed with a hundred tiny Buddhas. She turned, her face sober.

"I had three brothers. Now I have one killed and one, my adopted brother, gone to the capital. How can I not pray for them every chance I get?" She stepped onto a plank that had been laid over the ridges and whorls of frozen mud between the Buddha and the road.

The tortoiseshell followed her an arm's length behind, frowning. "You pray for males? They have no place in *fudoki*—clan, you would say."

"Don't they?" Nakara said. "And yet, I miss my dead brother every minute." She sighed. "I pray that the gods leave me the brothers I still have."

"Gods do not listen," Kagaya-hime said. "They just talk, talk, talk, and none of it makes any sense."

Nakara turned. "They speak to you?"

"Not to *me*," the tortoiseshell woman said. "Not anymore."

"Perhaps at least they listen," Nakara said, and turned away.

Tabu slowed them, as well. Nakara traveled with three women (and the tortoiseshell woman), and so there were days when they could not travel due to this or that one's monthly courses. There were directional tabus, which would not allow them to start a day's travel in certain directions; often Nakara ordered the party to head in an acceptable direction for a quarter mile (though this might lead through fields, or down a country road that led nowhere). The party then returned to the road, having addressed at least technically the gods' wishes. Delays were inevitable. There was a night when everyone was forced to stay up to protect their souls against demons, and they were too tired to travel far the next day. The tortoiseshell woman remained a cat in that she had no courses, and wondered at the delays of this and the other tabus.

"We have no choice," Nakara explained that night. "Well, not much. There are times when I have had to ignore the strictures, but I prefer not to."

The tortoiseshell woman snorted. "Do you think the gods notice?"

"Well, *I* notice," Nakara said.

And then there were the ten thousand things they stopped to see only because it pleased Nakara to do so. The east is strange and beautiful, and doubly so in winter. Nakara did not travel as much as she would wish, generally busy administering the estate, and she looked about avidly.

A waterfall splashed over black rocks, on either side forming great intricate sculptures of ice, and Nakara and her women pretended they were mandalas, and searched them for tiny Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The tortoiseshell woman looked with them, but saw nothing, even when one of the women (Junshi was her name) broke a bit off and pointed out the half-

formed face and draped robes. And yet the tortoiseshell's eyes were clear enough that she saw an *ayu*-trout sleeping just below the waterfall, and threw her knife and startled it.

Later, just after they crossed Matsusado ford (now a stretch of slippery, dangerous ice that groaned under the cart's weight), they passed a wild black sow, the biggest any of them had ever seen, scrounging for stubble under the snow of a sunken rice field. The black against the white of snow and brown of earth was stunning, but Nakara stopped at the next farm to warn them that the pig was stealing their straw. The farmer explained that he allowed this because he knew where the old sow farrowed, and collected her piglets each year to sell. Nakara left a gift, charmed by the man's enterprise.

They came to a place beside a temple where a river had not frozen. Even though it was winter, a hundred ducks of every variety remained here, tempted by the open water and the grains the monks threw to them. A monkey moved among the ducks, squabbling with them as though he had been born from an egg. Nakara laughed until she cried, and stayed for nearly a day, using up all the fried rice cakes feeding this odd flock. The tortoiseshell woman did not laugh; perhaps did not know how to laugh.

Halfway through Shimosa province, there was a cinnamon tree as large as a *hinoki* cedar, alone in a field as flat as if it had been in the Kantō. Nakara and the women left the ox-carriage and felt their way across the field, which turned out to be less level than it looked, small stones hidden under moss and weeds and snow. The air was perfectly still, and they fell silent as they approached the tree. There was no shrine, nothing to indicate a kami was here (though of course they are everywhere), but Nakara saluted the tree as if it were a god, and removed her outermost robe and laid it at the roots. The tortoiseshell woman came close enough to see claw marks in the bark, as if a giant cat had scratched there. She pressed her face to them, but they smelled faintly of bear and not cat. She had known they could not be a proof of kin, for they were too large and too far away from the capital. Nevertheless, her sorrow nearly drove her to her knees.

They turned back, and when they got a certain distance from the tree, Nakara said, "I will tell my nieces and nephews of this."

The tortoiseshell woman frowned, abrupt in her unhappiness. "Why? What will you tell them? 'I saw a tree'? I have seen a million."

Nakara stopped and turned, surprised. “That tree is—you did not sense it? It is sacred.”

“To whom? The gods? Which gods? Do we stop at all these places so that you may find sacred things?”

Nakara turned back and walked slowly. “Not really. I stop because I must, I suppose.”

“Why?” the tortoiseshell woman asked, black grief forcing her to speak more harshly than she might have. “I understood the ducks and the monkey and the black pig, a little. But you can’t eat a tree. One is just like another. Where is the use in that?”

“It warms my eyes and my heart,” Nakara said, “and the world is cold enough. *That* is the use of that.”

Their conversations were often strange, for the tortoiseshell woman did not always make predictable (or even socially acceptable) statements. Nakara was not shocked. There had been a time when she was young, when she had lived under an enchantment, attendant to a fox in distant Hida province. Her life had been filled with wonders and strangeness. A woman who was also a cat did not surprise her.

Nakara treated the stranger as a peer and a friend, and gave her a sobriquet: “Princesses may say what they like; the rest of us must be more circumspect,” Nakara said to her at the end of one of their conversations.

“But then what is the good of speaking?” the tortoiseshell woman asked. “You might as well be silent.”

“We are not all princesses,” Nakara said. “And yet we have things to say.” That was how the tortoiseshell woman came to be called *Hime,* princess. The sorrel they called Biter, for obvious reasons.

It is very late; the only light in my room is the brazier’s dim red gleam and a faint sift of starlight that has somehow managed to ease its way past the screens and walls and curtains that otherwise protect me from the elements. My writing grows large and sloppy; I am sure that in the morning it will look to me as irregular as a child’s.

Shigeko kneels across from me in silence, though I have written many pages since she first entered my rooms. She is pulling at a flaw, a loose thread in a sleeve. I can only trust that the thread is there; I see the tension in her hands and the soft puckering of the fabric, but the thread itself is

invisible in this light. The night conceals her age; with her sleeping robes all askew around her shoulders, and her hair tied with paper tapes into a single hank to keep it from snarling, she looks like a small girl awakened by a bad dream.

"Shigeko, stop doing that, you'll ruin the fabric." She looks at her hands as if surprised they are hers, and places them in her lap abruptly. "Are you hungry? Would you like something warm to drink?" There is another attendant with me (there is *always* an attendant with me), a younger woman who silently bows and leaves, to try and find hot broth at this absurdly late hour. I no longer remember the younger ones' names; it seems pointless, like naming maple seeds.

Shigeko has stopped pulling threads; now she pulls the tapes from her hair and drops them into the brazier. Each bursts into tiny flames before vanishing utterly, a gold flare that illuminates her face's lines, touches the white in her hair.

I ask, "What's wrong, Shigeko?"

She does not answer immediately. Despite the tapes, there are tangles: she begins to comb out the knots using her fingers.

Except for visits to her family or the shrine at Ise, and her monthly retreats for her courses, we have been together nearly every moment of every day of fifty years. She seems to have no great dreams, no restless desire to be anything but what she is. For fifty years, she has been content to select robe combinations, sew even seams, exclaim about the weather, and exchange gossip with my other women—and to do it all again the next day, and the next. All these decades of shared minutiae have mounded up around us, concealing the fact that she is her own person, with yearnings and tastes of her own. I know her better than anyone, in the same way I know the texture of my own skin, or the shapes of my fingernails. There is a disadvantage to this: I do not always see what I am looking at.

The young attendant returns with bowls of hot *taro* soup and slivers of boar meat on a lacquered tray. I am not hungry: the growing thing that kills my body makes it difficult to eat, but I watch Shigeko drink her soup with tidy little sips, just as she has drunk every bowl of soup for fifty years. It is just as well that her manners are good, or she would have driven me mad, and I would have had to send her away. And this would have been like losing an arm.

The Tōkaidō takes to the great sea for a short while, on a long boat ride that just skims the Noumi peninsula, entering a vast inlet, landing the traveler at last in the Shida district of Hitachi province. This is (usually) safe in the summer months, but less so in winter, when snow can blind the pilot, and winds and strange tides may pull a boat far from shore before it can duck into the shelter of Shida inlet. The Osa Hitachi party waited for days before the weather and tides were such that the ferryfolk would take them. The only place they could stay at this time of year was a small and bitterly cold inn, mostly closed down for the season. Whatever their ranks, everyone gathered in the raised room beside the kitchen area of the main building, where the ovens kept things a bit warmer. The men went out often, for they had the animals to tend and various preparations to make, but the women stayed inside, and Hime often waited with them. They read aloud sometimes from a palm-leaf sutra they carried in a deerskin case; or from a handful of notebooks containing *monogatari* tales. Hime ignored the sutras (alas; she might have learned much from thinking of the Buddhas), but the tales intrigued her. "Though they are not very interesting," she said aloud.

Junshi put down the notebook from which she had been reading. "No? When Genji is exchanging such heartfelt poems with Aoi?"

"There is no fighting," Hime said. "No wonders, no strangeness. Not like the *fudoki* of my people."

"Tell it then," Nakara said.

"Tell you my *fudoki*?" Hime said, taken aback. She remembered all the cats' stories as vividly as if they were her own paws, but to tell them to one not of the group—this stymied her.

Nakara laughed at her expression. "I'm sick of *our* stories; I've heard them a thousand times. I say I'm praying for my brother's success, but I have to admit that a big part of my prayers is the hope that he brings me something new to read from the capital."

The Five-Colored Cat, The Cat with Three Legs, The Straw-Cloak Cat. She could tell the tales, and they would be heard, they would be witnessed. The *fudoki* would continue. But it would be wrong. The tale would be like the woman's ghost back in the capital, begging her charred body to awaken. "No," she said. Her eyes burned. "I have no tale to tell. Not anymore."

The other women begged a little, but Nakara said nothing, only poured tea for them all and led the conversation down safer paths. Hime left shortly

afterward, to “see to the horse,” and did not return for many hours.

She did see to Biter, and then stayed with the sorrel. Nakara might have been hurt had she realized this, that Biter was the closest thing Hime had to a friend. Hime did not speak to him, except the little nothings we say to our pets and our horses. He never spoke back. He did not behave in any human way; he was totally and unequivocally a horse, which is to say stubborn, occasionally stupid, frequently lazy, and occasionally savage.—Which is quite human, if I think on it.

Biter was an animal, and Hime, suspended between cat and woman, longed to be one. Perhaps Nakara would have understood this better than any of us might expect.

Nights were too dark to read anything, and so they talked, and Hime learned more of the party’s mission. “It’s complicated,” Nakara warned.

Hime—thinking of the intricate interrelations between cats and people, dogs, horses—shrugged. “I will try to keep track,” she said.

It *was* complicated, the sort of tricky political situation that usually ends with disaster of some sort. The *bandō*, the east, has always been a troublesome part of the empire. The original inhabitants were absolute savages (they wore furs and drank blood and carried arrows in their hair!), but they were controlled many centuries ago, when families from the central provinces and the southwest were sent by the empire to pacify them. Over time, some of these people became little better than those they defeated—though at least they did not drink blood. The eastern families are many months’ travel from the capital, and generally well armed and well mounted (indeed, Osa Hitachi no Nakara’s family is not atypical). The families develop independent ambitions and become fractious, and then the emperor (any of a dozen emperors over the past four hundred years) must send or assign troops to remind them of his absolute authority.

Or so it was explained to me so many years ago, on the one hand by my half-brother; on the other by my golden-eyed lover, Mononobe no Dōmei. My lover came from Mutsu province, as far north and east as one may go, and his perception of the situation was quite different from my brother’s, naturally. I tried to find a medium between their varying reports, but I must believe my half-brother was right. Was he not emperor?

Nakara explained to Hime: there was a problem. The Osa Hitachi clan controlled a neglected estate somewhere in Mutsu province. (I cannot say in which of the districts, for they're all barbarous places; there's no point to keeping track. The only district I know in Mutsu province is Iwate, which was Dōmei's home.) The second Osa Hitachi brother managed the estate, which he did well, opening new land for rice fields and producing small amounts of gold from a mine on the site.

But after some years, the second brother offended a local family, an ambitious branch of the ubiquitous Abe clan. The initial cause might have been anything—disputed land; a stolen (or eloping) wife; a killing, accidental or intended; theft; an impolite letter; simple willfulness or pride or temper or greed. The Abe were very powerful, with allies and contacts as far south as Kurobe river, and they were used to managing things in their own way. They killed the brother, his family, and his followers, then burned the estate.

The governor of Mutsu province did not care about this—he had relatives among the Abe—but there were others who did. It is not a wise thing to kill the brothers of powerful men, and the oldest Osa Hitachi brother was vice-governor (and actual leader, for the governor would have been a cousin of mine from the capital, leader in name only) of Hitachi province, just to the south. The central government is uninterested in mere bickering so far from the capital—and a few tens of deaths a million miles away was hardly more than that—and so I think that perhaps the vice-governor lied in the letter he sent, claiming that the Abe family were not paying their taxes or had too large a household military force or were concealing weapons; and asking for a warrant to destroy them. He sent his adopted brother, Osa Hitachi no Kitsune, to the capital for a *tsuitoshi* warrant authorizing an attack on the Abe.

"So your oldest brother has asked your youngest brother to lead an attack—" Hime said, setting things clear in her mind.

"Yes."

"—for someone who left their *fudoki* to found a new one—"

"I don't quite understand *'fudoki,'*" Nakara said.

"—home, then—because someone killed him to take his ground—home—when they had a perfectly good home of their own?"

"Yes," Nakara said.

"But he's dead, the one who left. Why do this?"

“He was my brother,” Nakara said. “They killed him.”

Hime frowned. “He was a male, and he was far away. He was not part of the *fudoki.*”

“What the Abe did was wrong, against the codes.”

“This isn’t about codes, though,” Hime said.

Nakara laughed suddenly, a humorless bark. “No. It’s about revenge.”

The day came when the ferryfolk were at last willing to travel, the sky overcast but calm. They left early, at the tiger’s hour, to catch a tide that would drift them up Shida inlet. The air was so heavy and wet that everyone (except the oxen) shivered and fretted. The horses hated the trip, as did Hime, who hung her head and vomited for the duration. Nakara pointed out sights to her at first, hoping to distract her: the home of the great kami Kashima, the Aze passage, the Island of Nine Shrines. Later, when it became clear that Hime had no attention for such things, she left her alone. By the time they landed on Enoura inlet in the purple light of dusk on snow, Hime was too weak to walk, and had to be carried ashore, still retching helplessly. She was barely conscious when Nakara’s women wrapped her in clean, dry robes and tucked her into a little curtained enclosure at the center of a room.

Hime awoke in the rat’s hour, in warmth and darkness. For a moment everything was all right; she had been sick, but now she lay close to her mother’s nipples, a sister cuddled next to her, other kittens pressing her down. She nestled closer, and Nakara sighed in her ear.

She was not home; she was not that kitten. The smells were wrong; the warm weight was robes heaped over her. Hime had been alone since her mother died. Her cousins and aunts had not cared deeply about her—cats came, cats went; only the *fudoki* remained—but even they were gone. A guardsman had scratched the ground before her, coaxing. She became a woman: a peasant with a necklace of ducks offered help; a farmer’s wife took her hand and asked who she was. A provincial woman asked for her company. That was all the contact she had had.

If she had remained a cat, I do not think she would have seen just how alone she was. But she was not a cat, not entirely anyway. She made a single sob, and bit her lip to silence it.

“It’s all right,” Nakara said softly: awake. “We’re on land now. Go back to sleep. You’ll feel better in the morning.”

“No,” Hime said, “I won’t,” and she cried and could not stop.

When her eyes wept blood and her sleeves were soaked through, she at last calmed and spoke a little, of her mother’s death, and her home burning down, and her time alone on the Tōkaidō since then. She never explained that she was a cat, for it didn’t occur to her that it would matter. Nakara listened and held her until the sobs were finished, and she lay limp in Nakara’s arms.

At last Nakara said, “What are you?”

Hime said, “Nothing and no one.”

“I understand a little, what it is to be so alone,” Nakara said.

“How can you? *None* of this is right.” Hime shook her head, and tears flew.

Nakara leaned back. “I will tell you a tale, and you can decide whether I might know. It’s about a girl who woke up one day and found herself nursemaid to a family in Hida prefecture. She remembered nothing before that morning. No: she woke up and there she was. There was a father and a mother and their son and servants and gardens, and everything was just the way you’d expect.” She paused for a moment, and pressed her cheek to the top of Hime’s head.

“But it wasn’t normal, not really, because in the corner of her eyes, the girl caught glimpses of something different—foxes and bare dirt and rainwater in a fallen leaf. She feared that she was just part of the illusion, and she cried herself to sleep every night over this. You think you are the first one to look around her and realize that she has nothing, no one?” Nakara’s laugh was brief. “You are at least real.

“After a time, she made up little stories about the life she wished were hers. She would be from a long way away, Hitachi province, maybe; and she would have parents who loved her, and brothers even; and she would have a hundred interests and a thousand friends, and they would all be real.

“And then there was a crisis, and all that was left was herself and the boy. She brought him to Hitachi province, and found it all just the way she dreamt: parents and brothers and home and horses. But she will never know whether she somehow *made* these things, or whether she was remembering what had always been there.”

No more was said. Woman and cat-woman watched the brazier coals fade. Sleep came eventually.

We all cry all the time at court, and anything may set us off: a particularly delicate sunset, a *sika* deer calling to his wife, the purity of the lady Izumi's calligraphy. The disadvantage to this is that at times of great sorrow, we have no deeper expressions of grief than those we have already used for a thousand more trivial matters. I think this is why the women in all those tales died at the end. If the cherry blossoms move me to tears, then there was nothing intense enough to express my sorrow at losing my golden-eyed lover. Except for death.

I did not die, of course. I am a princess, descendant of gods, granddaughter and daughter and half-sister and aunt and great-aunt to emperors. We do not die for pretty young men who leave for their homes with only a scrawled note, with not even an attempt at elegant writing or a thoughtful poem. (*I will miss you,* it said. *You would have loved my home. I wish…* and no more.) I still wept at all the appropriate sights (moons and cherry blossoms), and never mentioned him to anyone. But there were nights when my woman Shigeko held me, and stifled my sobs against her robes until the tears, the true tears, the ones that taste like poison and leave one sick and light-headed, were past.

I have reached an age where I have known many people, but by now more of them are dead than alive. I look for them in the young people at court—hoping to catch a certain expression, or the movement of a head turning, that reminds me of someone I knew long ago. Sometimes it is there, but often as not this is because the young woman I see is the daughter (or granddaughter) of the woman I once knew.

Every cat is an echo of the first cat I knew, the little nun, Shisutāko. She remained as independent-minded as a scholar, but as she grew older, she began to spend more of her time with me and my women, curled up as close to the braziers as we allowed; for we could not believe that she would not inadvertently set herself afire, despite all the years of proof to the contrary. She caught less of her own food, relying instead on the bits of fish and fowl that we set aside for her in a little pewter bowl that eventually came to be used for no other purpose. She still had her wild moments, when she bolted from end to end of a room or across the garden. Her tail took ten thousand positions, each like a rapid brush stroke—the fluid calligraphy of a cat's life.

Certain cold nights she slipped between my curtains and coiled herself into a tight little knot on my bed robes. She did not like to be stroked much, but in these quiet hours, she permitted my touch and even purred under my hand. She was always gone by morning, but I cherished this shared secret we had.

There came a time when she moved only reluctantly, remaining always in my rooms, straying only as far as my verandas to raise her face to the sun's warmth. She stopped eating and developed a growth on her shoulder. "A tumor," said one of my women, whose family had cats and understood these things. "They get them, just as people do."

I kneaded the lump, a strange solid contrast to her dry fur and the skin thin as bird's skin that hung from her stick-like bones. "Then she will die."

"Oh, yes, my lady. I am so sorry."

And it was twilight one day in the ninth month, and the world was shades of dim purple, like my subtlest robes. The little nun stepped slowly off the veranda to a stone, and then to the round gravel of my courtyard, her fur taking on the same lilac tones as the air. She made her unsteady way toward the mossy shadows beneath a copse of red and white pine in the gardens. "Wait—" I said to her, but she was well beyond the sound of my voice, and had never attended me in any case. She paused for a moment at the copse's edge to carefully sniff some small bush; and then she stepped tidily into the darkness, and did not return.

Strange that it has been fifty years since she died, and she was a mere cat—and hardly affectionate—and yet her death moves me as even my half-brother Shirakawa's does not. Perhaps this is because I was young then and death was a strange land to me, a place farther than India even. Now that I

am old, I know so many more people who are dead, and am myself so close to death that it no longer shocks me.

(I lie. Shirakawa does not affect me because I dare not let it. I still need my strength.)

Do not misinterpret. I am still terrified of death—terrified. If I thought anything could postpone it, even for a day, I would do that thing. I would give a thousand mirrors to the shrine at Izumo; I would write with my own hand a thousand sutras. But, unlike Kagaya-hime, the gods do not speak to me. Is there a Pure Land, hells, demons and Buddhas and bodhisattvas? Will my soul return reincarnated, perhaps with Dōmei, lovers for a thousand lives?

6. The *Genji*-Poem Scroll

I can't imagine what I was thinking, keeping this paper for so many years—though I can see why I have not used it before this. I was never a lover of spring colors, and the scroll is busy with silver leaves and pale gray poems, an intimidating background to any words I might choose to record. Why would I write on something that is so obviously full of its own importance? But my eyesight is not what it was; the poems are mere patterns to me now, no more meaningful than the paw-marks of a restless cat on a rainy day.

I take a private joy in admitting this here, on paper; for my conversations have been all about poetry, lately. I have a former attendant visiting, a woman I have not seen in some years. She married a Kaya, and has been for some time off in the backwoods somewhere—Hida province? Shinano? Evidently her marriage is a trial, and she has left her husband and returned here. I invited her for a visit, grateful for her company, since Shigeko has a *kaze*-cold and is staying with a nephew somewhere on Nijō avenue until she has recovered. My guest's faith in the proprieties is touching: she is careful with her robe combinations and poetic allusions, as if such things mattered in the long run. This would be irritating if her critical eyes ever turned outward, but she judges no one save herself.

I say whatever comes to mind in my conversations with her, but there are times she thinks I speak in poems. I stifle a smile, for this seems to be all the difference between a poem and a statement, or a poem and a background pattern on scroll's paper: intention. And she can scarcely be thirty, too young to have learned that the intention is what matters.

It was a beautiful day when the Osa Hitachi party came at last to Hitachi province. Hime woke to bright daylight filtering down from the eave openings. The other women were awake and gone, but she heard shouts and laughing screams from outside. She stretched, and waited through the moment of grief she felt every morning, when she realized that she was still

a woman, still with no ground and no *fudoki,* still alone. When her eyes stopped burning, she went outside.

Enoura was a posting station, and a fishing and farming village. Enoura inlet bordered them to the south, its open water nearly hidden by a tissue of mist, the only proof that there was any warmth in the thin sunlight. The houses of the village were large, with room under their roofs for cattle and sheep, though most animals (and people) were out, tramping through the stripped rice fields just up the hill from the inlet, hoping to find some overlooked treasure. A small fenced enclosure contained the border shrine, though the gate was open.

Nakara and her women stood at the covered well before the shrine's entrance. They dipped water from a bucket and threatened one another with it as if they were still children. As Hime approached, they settled down at last, and each washed her mouth and hands and clapped and bowed to the east.

"The god Kashima," Nakara explained when Hime was close enough. Recognizing the wariness that protected Hime's heart, she said nothing of the night's tears. "Agh, that's cold. I think my teeth will crack. Do you want to—?"

"No," Hime said.

"That's fine. We don't need to; it's really just a courtesy to Kashima. Let's register at the post, and then there will be hot food when we're finished." Her party straggled off, some back to the inn; Nakara, Hime, and two of her men to the guards' post, a large farmhouse at one end of the village.

"Do you know what this place is?" Nakara asked.

"Hitachi province," Hime said. "Yes?"

"We are in Hitachi, yes, and that means we are home. Or nearly so. But it's more than that, too. You have followed the Tōkaidō for a thousand miles. Or something. And now we are at the end of the road."

"The Tōkaidō ends?" Hime said, taken aback.

"Of course it does," Nakara said. "Every road has a start and an end somewhere. It ended at the ferry dock."

"But there is the road." Hime pointed past the posting station. The road was clearly present, a band of dirt and frozen slush that curved off to the north.

"That's Hitachi road. It's different."

Hime looked at her with startled eyes for a moment, and then bolted back the way they'd come. Nakara called after her, but did not follow.

Hime ran to the ferry dock, clogs clattering on the wood. "Road?" she said. "Are you still here?"

The road said nothing, though the people by the dock looked at her strangely. She knelt on the cold wood and closed her eyes, tried to remember the path of her dreams: the crystal beneath her feet; the golden fog from which it came, into which it vanished (though she could not have told which way was which). "Road?" she said again. "Please don't be gone." Silence. "At least change me back. I don't want to stay like this." Water lapped the dock.

"Well, anyway," she said, "I didn't like you much, and I don't understand you at all, but I am sorry you're gone."

One tear is lonely: she cried again, for the second time in half a day. When she was done, she scrubbed her face pink with clean snow and returned to Nakara.

They were in Hitachi province, but the Osa Hitachi estate is at its northernmost edge, and that is some eighty or more miles from Enoura village. Nakara stopped less for pleasure ("I have had surfeit of pretty things," she told Hime when asked; "now nothing will be prettier than my own rooms"), but a storm forced them to halt for several days. And then one of the women began her monthly courses and they had to stop; and one of the oxen hurt itself on a rocky incline and had to be rested until its foot healed. Hime did what cats generally do when things are cold and not very pleasant; she slept nearly all the time, even sometimes in her saddle.

It was the full moon of the twelfth month. The day before the cart had fallen into a half-buried ditch some ten feet deep that crossed the pathway, tumbling the women out onto the rocks and ice at its bottom. Junshi hurt her ankle, and the others were shaken. It took most of the day to lift the ox-cart back to the road. They had seen no farmhouse or other place to stay, so they had bundled everyone possible into the cart. No one slept well. Some slept not at all. At first Hime enjoyed the warmth of so many bodies close together, but after a time she grew restless and left the cart, to climb onto Biter's back and sleep there, under a robe that covered them both.

Everyone was tired the next day, and this is why no one, not even Hime, saw the ambush. Bandits are as much a problem in the east as monks are here—they gather in groups and steal whatever they please (though bandits are more likely to kill than monks; that is one advantage to the capital, at least). Like everyone else in the east, the robbers do not stop working merely because the weather is bad. They need food and clothing and animals, and these can be gathered in any weather. They have been known to steal even the loincloths from parties they attack, leaving their victims to die, barefoot and naked in the snow.

I am told that there is a place where the Hitachi road is some fifteen feet wide, a rutted dirt track that a thousand years of travelers have worn down until the land on either side is waist-high, held back in places by stone retaining walls. Two well-treed hills rise on either side. This is good, because the walls and the trees cut the wind for a time; it is bad, because a robber gang can easily ambush careless travelers here.

The Osa Hitachi party was ten people: Nakara and three women in the ox-cart; the ox-boy leading his animals; four guards on horseback, two on point and two behind; and Hime, riding beside the cart. The robber gang—who can say how many there were? There might have been a thousand. Certainly, there were enough that their cries shook the trees, and their arrows struck two of the guards immediately, unhorsing them.

The narrow road broke into chaos. The horses of the fallen men panicked and bolted. The guards had all carried their strung bows across their horses' withers; the two guards still on horseback tried to control their plunging mounts with their knees as they pulled arrows from the basket-quivers on their backs. But there were no targets: the bandits were protected by the heavy trees; and the horses were too unsettled for easy shooting. There was no winning this fight, so the two guards on horseback lowered their bows to the ground and showed their empty hands.

Cats are used to watching a threat and ignoring it if it passes by; in this they are very like women—as I was, at any rate. I sat on my verandas and listened to distant shouts or carefully phrased reports: riots in the streets when droughts threatened to starve the common folk (and us, as well: we were not immune to the gods' vagaries); the monks in open warfare in the capital; the men and women who died of famine or plague or cold or despair. I listened; but I looked at my beautiful screens, and when I could no longer bear it, I thought of anything else, water-clocks' mechanicals or

the change of caterpillars to moths—because even the human griefs were too much to bear, and there was so much more: dogs and horses that died of beatings, foxes frozen in a snowstorm, a nest of infant mice crushed by the sudden shifting of a trunk. What else could I have done? To understand the sorrows of the world requires the strength of a bodhisattva; to accept them requires a Buddha. I am not so enlightened.

Hime did not immediately react to the threat. The men killed were not her, nor her offspring, nor of her *fudoki.* She was mobile and (thus far) unattacked. She had her knife and knew that she was quicker than most people. Her horse was both fast and sturdy. A direct attack on her person would not succeed. She was wary, but there was no need to engage.

One of the women in the cart was married to one of the party's guards (it was not Junshi, but I cannot say precisely what her name was). She screamed her husband's name, and ripped the cart's door open. The other women caught at her and dragged her back inside, muffled her sobs. Nakara saw Hime, knife in hand, waiting to see what came next. "Get in here," she whispered.

Biter sidled under Hime. She calmed him, eyeing the hills, the stone retaining wall, the ox-boy crouched under his charges' feet; the two uninjured guards, empty-handed and dismounting now. "Why?" she said.

"They'll take everything, but there's no reason to let them—" Nakara slid the door open a little more to show that she held a long knife.

"They will hurt you?" Hime asked, watching. The robbers were emerging from cover, their bows still drawn: five to the right side of the road, more to the left—that she could see; there might have been another obstructed by the cart's slab side, and possibly others remained behind trees. Three of the men on the right stepped forward, the leader (he must have been the leader: he was the tallest of them, with a beard that trailed onto his chest and a hat made of wolf fur: very strange and alien) and two guards. Still perhaps sixty feet away.

"They will rape us if we are not careful," Nakara said, "though I will fight. Get in here, and I'll fight for us all."

"I don't think so," said Hime, and flipped her little knife in her hand to throw it at the closest bandit. He was a full thirty feet away, standing on the wall, but she hit him solidly in the hollow of the throat. He fell screaming, tearing at the knife. In the moment of shock that paralyzed the bandits, she caught up the bow across her saddle (though it had not been there even an

hour ago). It fit in her hand, light and easy. She pulled a crow-fletched arrow from the basket-quiver at her back (and that was new, as well), nocked it over her head and pulled the bowstring and arrow apart as she brought the bow down, aimed, and shot, in a single movement, quick as a cat's pounce. The second arrow's lozenge-shaped head buried itself in a second bandit's belly before the first man hit the ground.

A cat is a highly experienced killer, and this seemed to transfer to her woman-shape. She hit three men before anyone understood what was happening. By the time she sank an arrow into the bandit-leader's shoulder, the two Osa Hitachi guards had retrieved their bows and began firing. The robbers retreated, carrying some of their companions. Two remained behind, fallen where they had been struck.

Hime had dismounted at some point to jump onto the wall. She shot a last arrow after them. It hissed as it flew. When she knew they were gone, Hime went to the first man she had injured, to retrieve the knife in his throat. He still gasped a bit, and the red bubbles on his throat grew and vibrated and burst, tiny fireworks. She pulled the knife free. Blood steamed in the sharp air, and drilled twin holes into the dirty snow, where it dripped from his neck.

Hime made a noise, half snarl and half hiss, and she did not realize that it was laughter. The blood and the bandits' flight filled the black place inside her with a killing joy, sweet and hot as desire, the only true joy she had felt since the fire, so long ago. She touched the cooling blood, already gelling on his skin, and laid the wet finger against her lips. His blood tasted like copper and heartbeats and squirrel and dog and deer; and of something else that might have been his soul.

His ghost looked up at her for a moment, surprised. "But you are *not* a woman," it said, as if continuing a conversation they had begun before he had died. "I thought—"

"Hime! Hurry—" Nakara's voice summoned her, and she turned her back to the ghost.

Nakara and the surviving guards were bundling the casualties (one dead; one injured and unconscious, bleeding from the nose and mouth) into the carriage with the women. Hime helped, and when the ox-boy whipped the oxen into a lumbering gallop, she stepped up onto Biter's stirrup as he passed, and caught the reins of the last horse, whose guard was dead. The

ghost followed for a short while, crying tears of pus and blood, but it forgot its name soon enough and left her.

I have not been hungry of late, but for some reason I have just awakened feeling starved. I sent one of the women off to bring me food; but it is clearly very late. She'll have to find someone to wake a cook, which may take time, and so I write, content to watch words shape themselves under my brush.

I spent my life believing life is a series of nows, trying to discipline myself into accepting this, and enjoying (or suffering) the moments as they pass, instead of retreating into either memory or hope.

But I think that this is wrong. There is no now, or if there is, it is drawn with too fine a brush to see. There is what was, and there is what might (or what ought to) be. The line between them, which is now, is too small to see, and even as you reach it, it is past. *Now* is the edge of a page in a notebook.

Is this true? My old nurse would laugh sometimes. I would read or write a love-poem in a tale, and it would be about how "I" would love "you" for all the thousand years of the pine, how I want no one else. This is nonsense, of course—lies, in fact. I said this once to my nurse, and she laughed. "Lovers all lie, girl," she said. It is their nature—they lie to themselves, to their lovers, to the world. This is because what they claim to have is not real, what they seek is not real. But they must pretend it is, and since they already dissemble, it is simple enough to dissemble more.

When we were lovers, I believed that Dōmei did not lie to me. But in the end I realized he had lied twice: once, that he would never leave (the commonest lie of all among lovers), and once, that his loyalty to his emperor was steadfast. And then he left for Mutsu province, and six months later the great families of Mutsu rose up. He would have been among them, I am sure of it.

Wait. Tonight I have no reason not to see clearly, the hurt feelings over his abandonment so many decades old that they might as well be dead. Did he say he would never leave? Or did I want to hear it so much that I failed to listen to what *was* said? Perhaps it is not our lovers who lie, but our memories and hopes.

Still, he was in Mutsu province, and Mutsu rose against my half-brother. How can I have loved a traitor?

My broth is here, and just as well. I get no pleasure from my brush tonight.

The Osa Hitachi party paused at a covered travelers' well a mile or more beyond the fight in the sunken road. It was safer terrain. To their west was a gentle plain (soybeans in the summertime; now, in the twelfth month, snow). To the west were leafless trees and hills and then mountains. Any cover was far enough from the well that they would receive ample warning if anyone attacked. A short way ahead, a large farmhouse leaked smoke from its eaves. The tortoiseshell woman smelled tea and broth.

One guard was dead. The man whose wife had screamed for him was alive, the frightening blood pouring from his face a sign merely of his broken nose, damaged when the shock from a bandit's arrow shoved him from his horse. Hime's mouth watered from the hot coppery smell of his blood in her nostrils. The ox-boy trotted off to the farmhouse to acquire a cart to carry the dead man, since no one was willing to ride farther with it. Hime walked into the fields a bit, where the smell was not so sweet and strong.

Nakara came with her, shivering and pale from mingled horror and exhilaration, the aftermath of killing. "Brr," she said, and then, after a moment of silence, "Thank you."

Hime shrugged.

"There is blood on your mouth," Nakara said. "Like a court woman's lip paint."

Hime wiped and looked at the smear on her finger. There was more blood on her hand, darker than it had been when it poured from the bandit. She licked it clean. "Better?"

Nakara gave an unsteady laugh. "I suppose. You—shoot very well."

Hime's bow was in one hand still, and she looked at it, a great curve of tawny wood and black horn bound with ivory sinew. It was what warriors call a three-man bow (which is to say that it requires the strength of three men to string it, though in her case it was always strung when she needed it, like the tension of a cat's muscles sheathing and unsheathing its claws) and it was taller than she by a foot. She reached behind her back, felt the complex little basket that served as a quiver, a cluster of arrow-shafts springing like bamboo from a pot. She picked one at random, a humming-

bulb head on a slim shaft nearly as long as her arm, fletched black and ivory with crow and goose feathers.

"Sharpness," Hime said to herself.

"Why did you not attack sooner?" Nakara asked.

"They were not threatening me." Hime lifted bow in right hand and arrow in left, high over her head. She caught the bowstring between her fingers, and brought her hands down and apart to the ready position, the arrow aligning itself to rest on her bow hand. All this was a single fluid gesture, formal as a girl in the Gosechi dances. She turned and released. The arrow howled as it flew, and slashed into the ground near the well. The two guards snapped around at the humming, saw Hime and Nakara—and no foes—and relaxed.

"But you could have escaped, I imagine," Nakara said. "You're certainly quick enough."

"I did not want you to be injured."

"Was that it?" Nakara said. "You were laughing. You killed them and you laughed. I come from a bow-and-arrow family, but none of us would laugh, I don't think." She shivered. "It is so cold. I wish we were home."

Hime said, "This"—her gesture took in the bow, the arrows at her back, the knife in her sash—"is the only thing the gods left me. If they exist." Her mouth twisted with the word *gods*.

Nakara touched her hand, fingers cold as ghosts. "The gods mean no harm," Nakara said. "We just—get caught up in their things, sometimes. They have their own problems, even Buddhas."

This battle was why Nakara started calling the tortoiseshell woman Kagaya-hime: Princess Glory.

The night after the robber gang's attack, Kagaya-hime had dreams. She slept in a monastery's guest house, tucked warm and alone under sleeping robes, for Nakara and her women tended the injured guard. In her dream, Kagaya-hime stood as a woman in gold-gray mist that somehow managed to seem both bright and dim. When she knelt to see if she stood on the crystal-bright road, there was nothing but mist under her feet, no matter how closely she looked. The voices of a million kami flooded through her *(many sons*, *loyalty*, *stag's tail),* but none were her road, though she called for it and searched the mist.

She did not find the road; but she met a mottled darkness that stared silently at her with a thousand green eyes, and said nothing, no matter how she spoke to it. With dreams'-reason, she thought it was a cat, a male whose territory she had strayed into.

She averted her face. "I do not mean to stay—" and she meant *here,* in mist, without roads or sense. Though her own were closed, she saw the green eyes stare unblinking and heard voices say *I/we/you, intentions, without significance/crucial.* She could not tell whether this was the green eyes speaking, or the endless nattering of the million kami.

When I was young, and still fighting the new framework that shaped me, frog-watching girl to imperial princess, I met that darkness often in my dreams. I had no right to be angry that the world sought to form me to a shape I did not choose—none of us, peasant or emperor, have much choice, whatever plans we make. We do not choose to have one leg shorter than the other, eyes that do not focus well, weak lungs; but at least we have no illusion of control over these things. Yet even the things we pretend we control—our house's prosperity, our skills with a brush, a marriage's success—are beyond us.

I have always been told that the difference between intention and reality is karma, the unknown factor that makes one silkworm change to a moth and its neighbor rot in its cocoon. I conformed, because life demanded it, because it was my karma to do so. But I had such dreams, full of blood and anger. Some nights I had a knife in my hand, and I stabbed the darkness full of eyes, though the blade met nothing.

Another memory: my golden-eyed lover, Dōmei, and I stand outside. It is very dark, for it would be improper for him to visit me during the day; but we have placed a single torch in my courtyard, and inspect a target at its opposite end. Learning of my interest in small things, last night he told me of rabbits, the shapes of their small hearts. He used to hunt them with bows and needle-slim arrows. We talked of hunting, and he has brought me a mulberry-wood child's bow and a handful of arrows scarcely larger than my hand.

This is outrageous, of course—Shigeko (much younger, as were we all, forty years ago) is horrified, though it is she who has ensured our (more-or-less) privacy, here in the cinnamon-tree courtyard—but I revel in it. “Hold it thus,” he tells me, “the arrow resting on your finger.” Shigeko watches silently from the veranda, her expression strange to me, but I do not care. I am with Dōmei and I am focused on his breath in my ear as he places my hands. I drop the dove-fletched arrow a thousand times, and snap my fingers a hundred; at last I send it off on a single wobbly flight. It lands twenty feet before me, with all the power of a dropped fan. We try again, and finally I manage to get an arrow to stick for a moment into a support post (though that was not what I aimed at).

I laugh, and he laughs with me, and I think he believes I am merely pleased at this scrap of skill I have learned. It is not this. It is that, for the first time (and, as it turns out, the last), I have felt a killing action run through my fingers. I have been dangerous to someone besides myself.

I wonder if we all long to kill. I did not think it at the time, but perhaps Shigeko recognized this and hungered for it—her expression might have been envy. Dōmei had killed: animals, mostly, but bandits, as well. I envied him.

The party arrived at the Osa Hitachi estate at the three-quarters’ moon of the twelfth month. After the attack, they had pushed on as fast as they could, with no halts for sightseeing or monthly courses or directional tabus. “I am sorry if the kami are offended,” said Nakara, “but I won’t be able to apologize if we are dead.” Their arrival was well after the middle of the night, and Hime’s first impression of the place was a chaos of buildings, walls, and trees, touched red-gold by torches, pale lilac by the nearly full moon.

The big country estates are as different from the capital as a mountain might be. Each is a town, really: many buildings serving myriad purposes, gathered within bowshot of one another. There is a stockade of tree trunks gathered from land cleared for rice and soya and hemp, but (in this case, at least) it has been a long time since there has been a serious threat, and many of the logs are tipped or fallen, or even taken away to serve other, more immediately useful purposes. Goats and chickens wander through the breaks in the wall, scrounging for food under the shallow snow. The

children of the estate (and there are a lot, for there are more than a hundred regular residents here, to say nothing of the visitors and followers and mendicants) climb on them, playing Bandits.

The Osa Hitachi estate is all of this. To the east and the north, forest-covered mountains march all the way to the ocean; on cold nights, you hear wolves plotting to steal calves. A river runs beside the estate, fast and unruly, full of clear water so cold that my teeth ache even thinking of it, like biting into ice brought from the storehouses in the seventh month. Below the main buildings, something everyone calls the spider-leg stream crosses to join the river.

The Hitachi road threads through a series of steep-sided hills not so far away. Everywhere are trees, and because this is winter, they are bare mostly. The air is very cold.

Nakara was glad to be home. She slept for a night and a day, and then left lengths of cloth and paper and silk flowers at the altars of the kami and the Buddha. By the second evening, she had returned to managing the estate for her oldest brother, the vice-governor of Hitachi province.

The cat Kagaya-hime was more ambivalent. For months she had traveled alone, without clan or ground. The *fudoki* was gone, but the road had offered a substitute, and she had accepted it. Joining Nakara's party had not changed things so much. Kagaya-hime still slept on the ground, still killed her own food, still drifted north and east. And Nakara was far from her natural place, as well. A cat-woman on horseback and a provincial woman on pilgrimage are both unrooted from their worlds. But now they had come to the Osa Hitachi estate. Nakara belonged here, as did her attendants and guards and all the other scores of people. It was only Kagaya-hime who did not belong.

She did many things that were unconventional at best. Sometimes she wore women's robes, when she was with Nakara and her women. More often, she wore a man's hunting garb, knife at her waist and bow over her shoulder. The people of the estate did not seem to mind, or even notice her strangeness. People tend not to notice things that don't fit into their expectations, and it might have been this; or something else, of course.

Kagaya-hime's few expectations of people—that they tended to kick stray cats and were careless with food scraps—did not apply to her time as a woman at the Osa Hitachi estate, and so she noticed many things. Nakara had a lover, for instance, a bear-hunter who came down from the mountains

one moonless night, and stayed until just before dawn. Kagaya-hime saw them say their farewells, as she returned from hunting with a serow deer across her shoulders. He passed her on the path without a look; only later did she realize how strange this was, that he appeared not to observe her.

She noticed the unpredictability most. People stayed up some nights, slept others; they ate, whether they were hungry or not. They changed clothes when there was no reason for it, and played games that taught them no useful skills, such as pouncing would be. People may think that it is cats that are the unpredictable ones, but this is only because we do not understand their thoughts. Within a cat's mind the sequences—sleep to hunt to groom to doze—all make sense.

The patterns of movement and interaction on the estate were bewilderingly complex, especially in comparison with her only other experience of a shared ground, her *fudoki* with its ranked handful of cousins and aunts and fellow-wives, its careful separation of range from range. Even the *fudoki*'s overlaps were sharply differentiated; *this* cat used the wisteria courtyard in daylight only, *that* cat only at dusk. Perhaps such structure is a comfort to cats. Their lives are filled with a thousand sorts of danger; it may feel good to know precisely where one stands. Men and women also do this, but the dangers that threaten us are not quite so easy to identify as a hungry dog or distemper, and our attempts to give the world a pattern confuse even us.

The constant talking didn't bother her, for cats use their voices to say, "Here I am; where are you?"—and this seemed to be the primary intention of most human conversation, the words mere ornaments over the underlying purpose. The fact that humans seem never to be alone when they can help it bothered her more, and she found the constant companionship, as steady and irksome as dogs', annoying. She spent many hours in the stable with Biter, until one of the grooms saw in her a fellow spirit, and came more and more often to share stories of horses he had loved, brown, bay, and blue—the comparative merits of each—mares' tricks hiding their foals—the cleverness of certain stallions—a red stallion who had kicked off any saddle, however well placed—the comparative advantages of pearwood or cedar for saddle frames—the best workmanship available only from the capital, of course, preferably from the Yana family workshops. After this, she spent time well out of range of the people, killing quail or whatever fell within reach of her arrows and knives.

She rediscovered another thing, as well, the charm of hunting for mice. When she was a cat, this had been as automatic to her as breathing, but a mouse was scarcely a mouthful to a woman, and she had fallen out of the habit. Once she began to see them again, she saw that mice, like smoke, were everywhere. There were nights when she walked down to the grain storehouses and crouched there, killing mouse after mouse with quick stabs of her knife.

One night, Nakara, walking down to an outhouse, saw Kagaya-hime turning something over in her hands. It was a dead mouse, or rather the scrap of fur and flesh that was left when a finger-wide blade pins a mouse to the frozen ground.

"Vermin!" she exclaimed, and then, crouching beside Kagaya-hime, said, "What are you doing, anyway?"

"Trying to see if mice have ghosts." Kagaya-hime gestured at a heap of mice by her foot. "So far none of them do," she added.

"Why do you care?" Nakara asked. Kagaya-hime said nothing, so she added: "Why are you killing mice at all? That's dogs' work."

"Your dogs are not very effective, then. It is good practice." Kagaya-hime scooped up her mice and stood. The broken mice barely filled her hand.

"Good practice for what?" Nakara asked, but Kagaya-hime was gone already, walking toward the stables where Biter stayed. When they met later, in Nakara's rooms, she did not ask her guest what she did with the mice.

I am cold, and so I write of the cold. It is winter in Hitachi province, and Nakara's world, like mine, is centered on braziers.

Nakara had many braziers. In the hinterlands, the proprieties are not adhered to quite so stringently as they would be here at court. At the Osa Hitachi estate, everyone who was acceptably clean—male, female, warrior, and ox-boy (if clean enough)—stayed near Nakara. The curtains designed to protect her from the eyes of men and lesser souls instead embraced them all, cuddling the braziers' warmth close. "What is the good of having all these charcoal makers on one's property," she said once to Kagaya-hime, though the cat-woman had made no comment, "if you get no good from it? It's like raising silkworms and wearing hemp."

In any case, Nakara's responsibilities as practical manager of the estate precluded her hiding behind curtains; but even when it might have been appropriate—entertaining functionaries or messengers from the capital—she did not often hide herself. When she did, it usually had less to do with propriety, and more to do with concealing her sometimes obvious signs of boredom.

Kagaya-hime stayed nights with Nakara and her women. Like any cat, she craved warmth, and the braziers and fires compensated for the occasionally irritating unending patter of conversation. And there was much conversation.

There was even a *fudoki* of sorts for the people, an unconscious mix of shared jokes and experiences with histories of the residents: The Man with the Two-Foot Penis, Great-Grandfather Falls Through the Broken Screen, The Three Clever Sisters. Some were funny, but others were less so: The Woman Who Gave Birth to a Demon, The Leg That Rotted Off. The stories—or even a slanting reference to one, for everyone seemed to know them all—wove these people together as much as the rooms they shared and their confusing relationships.

Kagaya-hime had no stories, or thought she had none, and their tales filled her with longing. The events of her life grew as great as a *fudoki* a hundred cats long, but she could not see that this mattered. Not yet.

I am come to the end of this notebook, and find I must begin another.

7. The Michinoka-Paper Notebook

I love the feel of this paper, soft and strong at the same time. I can see the patterns of the mulberry bark in it. Strange that this paper comes all the way from distant Mutsu province, just as the cat-warrior Kagaya-hime approaches its borders.

Strange that I write this at all. I am dying, I remind myself sharply. I have no intention of showing this to anyone. Why do I fill page after page with a *monogatari* tale that no one (but I) will ever see?

It is late, and my women are asleep, even my former attendant from the provinces Shikujo, who does not sleep well these nights; even my dear Shigeko, who tries to keep me company but cannot, not tonight and not through this final battle. There is a brazier lit because I am cold all the time, even though it is the eighth month and swelteringly hot. I refuse to wear padded winter robes, for it is not the season yet (I am still that vain, at least), but I admit to looking forward to the tenth month when I can switch from these thin robes without disgrace—if I yet live.

The light from charcoal is unimpressive, a dim bloodred, but the three-quarters moon is bright enough that reflected light creeps in from the peony courtyard. This afternoon my women and I opened one of the trunks from my storehouse, and I found a mirror there, a pretty handheld disk of silver and bronze, from when first I came to court. Now, in the solitude of my sleeping women, I inspect myself in the mirror. My hair and face are only hinted at by faint silver curves, here a cheek, there my brow. There are no wrinkles or white hairs in such darkness. But behind my eyes is dull red fire, which might be Hell or might be a hearth in the Pure Land. I cannot tell, though this will become clear to me soon enough.

Perhaps this is why I write—so that things will be clear to me. Now that I am old and dying, I think I write because I always meant to tell this story, and yet I never did, unsure of the ending. But I find I cannot rest, cannot cut this heavy hair and leave this world for the monastery, until I do this thing. I don't think it will be seen by anyone; but I will have done it and it will no longer tie me to this world.

There was a blustery day, at the end of the twelfth month. Nakara was writing accounts on a scroll in the stilted half-language of official reports; her women quilted silk batting into a sleeping robe for a newly born son on the estate. Kagaya-hime slept, curled up so close to one of the braziers that the tips of her shoulder-length hair sizzled when she shifted position. From outside came shouts, whinnies, hooves, heavy thudding sounds, as several men tried to break a recalcitrant stallion for riding.

"Mistress!" a man shouted from outside. Clogs clattered onto the stepping stone to the veranda; bare feet raced along a gallery. "Mistress," he said again, panting as he entered the room. Kagaya-hime blinked her eyes open, looked up at him from cat's eye height. He towered over her as he bowed to Nakara. "Riders, my lady. From the west. There are banners."

"Whose?" Nakara laid her brush down and blew on her fingers.

"The wind blows them the wrong way. But one might be ours."

"My brother?" Nakara stood. Her women exploded upward like ducks rising at a sudden noise. Quacking with excitement, they trailed the man out to the veranda. Kagaya-hime paused to pull on another robe before following them.

The scene in the courtyard was so chaotic that she could not separate the new arrivals from the residents. There were men everywhere, leading horses away and pulling packs from behind saddles. Some of the women, barefaced and (occasionally) barefooted, stood or danced in the frozen slush around certain of the men; others stayed on the veranda, in the gloom under the eaves. Nakara was one of the women behaving like an unruly child in the slush, her arms thrown around a newcomer.

After watching for a few moments, Kagaya-hime sorted through the sights and understood several things. The new arrivals were clearly the expected party from the capital, but they were far too few, no more than twenty; and they seemed disheartened, for all their happiness at being there. Since the youngest of the Osa Hitachi brothers had left with ten attendants of his own, that meant that the request for assistance had failed. Kagaya-hime had listened to Nakara talk often enough to understand that there should have been fifty or a hundred, or even more. There were a few strangers, but they had no part in the chaos of greetings, laughter, tears. Instead they attended to their horses and gear, all carefully not looking at

the women, who in any case shouldn't have been scampering like puppies out in the open. And of these, there was one, an old man, heavyset, with eyes sharp and angry as hawks', astride a tall black horse, its own nose rather grizzled. He was their leader; he must be.

Kagaya-hime knew that the man Nakara embraced must be her youngest brother: the uncomplicated love on her face made this clear. And she also knew that he was not human.

Nakara had told her story to Kagaya-hime, but cats are literal-minded creatures, and I do not know whether Kagaya-hime understood it all. The family in Hida province had been a fox family, a wife and her human husband. Through magic I cannot explain, Nakara had been the child's nurse, but things had gone wrong, and she had fled here with him. There had been angry Buddhas and saddened Kannons, a jealous former wife—it is a long story, one I imagined when I was a girl myself, and pining for adventures that had nothing to do with Fujiwaras and Minamotos and boy emperors.

I made up many stories—I think every girl must; they are our best opportunity to become something unexpected. In some I was the heroine: a bandit-queen in the east, the empress Jingū conquering Silla. In others I was the victim, the princess who had been stolen away by a man of low rank in that tale from Ise. There were others, little tales I made up about people I saw and was fascinated by. I also made up stories about cats—*fudoki,* I suppose—for the little gray-furred cat Shisutāko and subsequent pets; and there were the stories about mice. Only now, as I prepare to die by emptying my trunks and, apparently, my mind, do I realize these tales are all connected.

Kagaya-hime knew foxes. There had been foxes on the neighboring residence's grounds, dirty little scavengers who occasionally strayed into her *fudoki.* They all smelled strong, even the smallest ones, who should have been scentless as kittens were, for protection's sake; and they were easy to avoid. She had seen them on the Tōkaidō, for she and they shared dawn and dusk as hunting times, and preferred the same prey, mice and small things. After she became a woman, she only saw them at a distance, a russet blur in twilight vanishing through a gap in weeds.

This man—Nakara called him Little Brother—did not look like a fox (or half-fox), except that his eyes were slanted, and flecked with gold. He moved quickly, but no more so than many men. Though he was some

distance away, Kagaya-hime could smell him, for the wind blew from him to her. His smell was sweet and thick and slightly wild, too delicate, too human, to be a fox's musk. But animal knows animal: Kagaya-hime recognized him as readily as if he walked on white-tipped paws.

Foxes and cats do not like one another. It is not the guarded warfare of the cat and the dog, the fights and truces that so resemble court families vying for primacy with their emperor. No: foxes and cats do not like one another because they are so similar, though one is wild and the other (occasionally) tame. They are both clever and self-absorbed. They eat many of the same foods, and since mice are sometimes scarce (though this is hard to believe living at court as I do, where the mice seem to be like the gods, numberless), one cannot always afford to share. Adult foxes and cats will not fight one another because, though foxes are slightly larger, cats have more sharpnesses; but each will kill and eat the young of the other, and then complain that the kit (or kitten) is gamy and unpleasant tasting.

Kagaya-hime watched Nakara and her brother embrace. Cats do not like foxes; but she was the first to be jealous of one.

(Am I a fool? I think of Shigeko watching my lover and me play with bow and arrow. I am sure it was envy, but now I must ask: Of what? And of whom?)

There was a day when I first saw the guardsman Mononobe no Dōmei.

I had been at court for several years, serving my half-brother the emperor. My proximity and relationship to him covered all my imperfections with gauze, and emphasized the few skills I had that were appropriate to court. I was praised for my wit, mostly because I had read so much more than my peers. Observations culled from reading something other than the *monogatari* tales and the poetry collections, to which the other women were addicted, were hailed as witty or wise.

In six years, a woman can have many lovers. Whatever my skills as a musician or poet, I was justly considered an extraordinary beauty—though much of this was owing to the never-ending labors of my woman Shigeko, who ensured that I was never seen in unattractive robe combinations or with tangled hair.

I was also a princess and thus valuable as a lover or wife for ambitious men—even if I could not bear children (and this seems quite likely, when one considers how many lovers I had, and never a baby). My foster father retired and then died, and was replaced in everything—job, house, authority—by his nephew: my uncle. My uncle selected husbands for me, men who could help his branch of the Fujiwara family to maintain or even expand its power, usually men I had seen only once or twice at court, if so much. I was willing to marry whoever was chosen for me, though it meant leaving my brother and the court; but circumstance (or karma, circumstance's older sister) intervened again and again. The first husband died during an epidemic of smallpox when I was sixteen and he fifteen, months before our wedding. The second disgraced himself before the union could be formalized, and was sent to Satsuma province (which might as well be Korea, so far away it is), where he was killed by a disease or pirates or something. The third was nearly twenty years younger than I, six to my twenty-three, and my uncle was waiting a year or two before marrying us. I had met the boy and found him very ordinary, prone to runny noses and setting things on fire, but the alliance would be good for the Fujiwaras, and thus for the empire. As I waited for my husband to grow up, I stayed at court in desultory attendance on my brother and took lovers, always from the fourth rank or above, always amiable, talented men who cried at sunsets and fallen maple leaves.

It was autumn of the last year of the Eihō era. There had been drought all summer, and the dust made the sunsets unusually beautiful. The moon was the red-orange of *amagaki* persimmons when it rose each night, surprisingly large. I was not attending my brother, for he was at Ise visiting one of his other sisters, who served as priestess there (and presumably guarding his brushes; the people of Ise are perfectly capable of robbing their own parents). Several of his attendants, including Shigeko and I, rested on a veranda. The others were there to write poems, I remember; I was watching for bats, and hoping I might hear their wings beat, and the tiny nearly inaudible cries that sometimes scratch at one's ears.

Guardsmen at court are often importunate; their duties give them permission to wander about at all hours. Several happened by and, seeing us there, stayed to flirt. I was hidden behind one of the screens we providentially had placed around ourselves—but the screen was of wide-woven gauze, and I saw them all clearly, four young men in identical

hunting garb, with identical hair and caps and expressions. As they talked, I corrected myself. One of the men was a few years older than the others, though younger than I, perhaps twenty. The folds in his soft black *eboshi* cap were slightly different than those of his peers, but I could not decide whether this was a daring aesthetic statement or mere sloppiness on his part. And when he turned to respond to something Shigeko said, I saw that his eyes were gold, even in the moon's cool light.

Young men and women together in the moonlight breed poetry as oak trees breed mushrooms. I don't remember anyone's poems—I was only half attending and they would be largely interchangeable anyway, all about the coming dawn and longing hearts, typical fare—until one of the guardsmen said, "But there are four of you, and we have heard only three poems."

Shigeko and I exchanged glances. "My mistress does not share her poems with every wandering rake," she said, "and she is not the only one who holds silent. There are five of *you,* and only *four* poems"—for the fifth guardsman, the golden-eyed man, had recited no poem.

"Why should I?" the golden-eyed man, Mononobe no Dōmei, said. "You have all said everything so much more eloquently than I can." I hid a smile. So he had not been listening, either.

"You must forgive him, my ladies," said one of the guardsmen. "He's from the hinterlands, practically a savage." Dōmei snorted, and then we all laughed, for his amusement was infectious.

The moon eventually slid behind the clouds that rose during the rat's hour, and the women and guardsmen wandered off; but I fell to talking with Dōmei, and before dawn, he was behind my curtains.

I knew Dōmei was no sort of lover for the daughter and granddaughter of emperors. He was of lower fifth rank, and unlikely to rise higher. Worse, he was from the provinces, thought playing the game *kemari* was a waste of time, and wrote pedestrian poetry when he could be brought to write it at all. Certain of my friends at court saw the appeal ("Those shoulders!" one sighed. "Those eyes! Such a pity he's practically a peasant"), but the general opinion was that Mononobe no Dōmei was ultimately meaningless to court, just another in the endless stream of semi-civilized hicks the provinces seem to churn out and deliver for guard duty each year.

Everyone who knew was horrified—and of course everyone did know; a secret at court is like a hawk in a cage, it screams to be let out. But there are certain advantages to high rank, and one is that very few people have

the effrontery—or courage, depending on one's perspective—to criticize their superiors directly. Shigeko shrugged at this affair of mine, only begging me to be more circumspect. From others there were sly comments, but I had no responsibility to respond to them in any way, and chose not to. I saw no reason to: I was blissfully, foolishly, in love.

He visited when his and my responsibilities permitted, a handful of nights each month; and we exchanged many letters, though we almost never wrote poetry to one another—a great comfort to me, as I was sick of producing *tanka* on demand, like a peasant making straw sandals to trade by the roadside. We made the usual promises that our love would last forever, even as we both spoke freely about our differing futures, his in the east, mine here in the capital. I cannot say exactly when I started disregarding the future, and believing the promises.

And then Dōmei left court and returned to his family. It was a year later that Minamoto no Yoshiee's war began in Mutsu province, and Dōmei fought against my half-brother's troops: a traitor.

We were in the middle of the Former Nine Years' War by the time I was old enough to be aware of anything beyond my nurse and my home. This was yet another war in Mutsu province, a million miles away, where they were apparently as common as the snowstorms there. "War" meant nothing to me, no more than did "sex": catalogued in my mind (and one of the notebooks I kept even then, childish calligraphy in large uneven lines down the pages; I found it this evening when we opened a chest I have not looked into for twenty years) as something important to adults but not as interesting as, say, spiders' eggs.

As far as I could tell, wars started when people rushed about killing one another with arrows someplace a long way from the capital. Some of the boys I knew had little bamboo bows and arrows made of mugwort twigs. I did not see how anyone could die in a war, for the arrows were so fragile that they tended to snap if they hit anything—which did not happen often.

I knew war must be like any child's game. You could play without interference if the adults were busy elsewhere and you were not too noisy about it. But if for some reason the adults noticed you, they would stop you. In war, this meant the government sent troops and generals into the

hinterlands, and expected a certain number of severed heads sent back to show progress. (At the age of six, severed heads fascinated me.)

Even as an adult, I have not been able to discern why *this* conflict is considered worthy of the council's attention and the empire's resources, and *that* one is treated like the bickering of children in another room: only worth sending someone to see what is the matter if the tears and shouts become serious. The few people I discussed such things with (my lover Dōmei; my half-brother Shirakawa; the old Sugara man with whom I pretended to flirt as a cover for the time he spent leading me through certain of the Chinese classics) could not always explain the differences. "It is because you're a woman," they said in their various ways: "too complicated, really." Water-clocks were also complicated, and yet I had little trouble understanding them, so I knew this was a convenient lie to cover the fact that none of them —not even the emperor—really understood the differences. Still, war is a thousand years old, here since the gods made these islands—well, fights, anyway—perhaps it is as inevitable as death.

The year I was fifteen and came to court, the war in Mutsu province had been going on so long that I think everyone was surprised when it ended.

Dōmei had actually fought. He said little about it, but what he did say made it clear that war was quite different from the little boys of my childhood scrambling around with their feeble bows: different, even, from the court guards who could shoot through a poem slip on a board a hundred paces away. Dōmei had actually fought. He had fired arrows—three feet long and tipped with steel—directly at men.

"Did you hope to kill them?" I asked one night, shocked but thrilled.

"That's why I aimed for them," he said and then laughed, though it was not an amused sound. "Truthfully, what I hoped for was to get through alive and without letting my father down."

And that is all he would say then.

Shortly after he left, yet another war began in Mutsu province: Yoshiee's war. I grieved for the loss of Dōmei, (though I did not realize at the time that this is why I took lovers, why I cried without reason some nights, why my temper was grown so short), and this manifested in a fascination with war. It certainly had to be more interesting than my activities at court, which left me feeling trapped and desperate: a mouse gnawing hopelessly, endlessly, at the lacquered walls of my box.

I have strayed far from my tale, I find. The *monogatari* tales (for I have read them, despite my professed disdain), and the folktales the blind storytellers recite, and the parables of the priests all stay close to their topics, such as they are. Event follows event in tidy progression, poem and response, question and answer.

I have often thought that we humans sort our lives and their experiences very strangely. We see everything as a tale, event following event, birth to death. These are the years I could have borne a child, that is the year I wore mourning for my father; this was the month that I fell in love, that the day I ran away.

But time is very flexible, I think. I remember things from many years ago with crystal clarity—the brilliance of the red silk the Chinese traders brought to the capital when I was nineteen, the tiled skin of a snake I touched when I was six, the grass-bright smell of Dōmei's breath—and they are clearer to me than the robes I wore yesterday. Today does not follow yesterday; *now* follows other *now*s.

There is another way to sort things, just as I can sort moths' wings by size, or by color, or by when and where acquired. Every line of this notebook—and all my other notebooks, and every letter and sutra and poem I have ever scrawled in a long and word-ridden life—has required that I make ink. On occasion the ink is gold or vermilion or the color of lapis; but it is most generally glossy black, and thick as paint.

The manner in which I make ink—the precise gestures of grinding the ink stick, adding water drop by drop, gathering and blending the two on a soft thick brush rolled against the ink stone—is always the same, whether I do it today or ten years ago or sixty, and it never fails to fill me with satisfaction—though this may be dispelled immediately afterward, when I drop the brush or find a long hair in the ink, or have absentmindedly made it too runny and must fiddle to correct it. Still, there is that perfect instant of brush and water and ink.

The instant that I make ink is closer to all the times I have made ink than to any other instant, even the moments surrounding it. I make ink, and a visitor is announced, someone I cannot simply send away. He approaches my screens bare heartbeats later, but his voice, the polite bow I see beyond the blinds, is almost infinitely far from the moment of the ink stone.

I have not lived seventy years. I have lived instead these things: the entwining of my days with a few men and women I have loved; a longing to walk on unpaved roads; the collecting of vermin, and other unacceptable studies; quite a number of unpleasant or tedious duties performed; the making of ink; eating and elimination and hair-washing and tooth-dying. My seventy years are only the frame on which they hang.

Very well, then:

Eventually the chaos in the yard settled down. The horses were settled, and the men were shown to quarters and fed, and given warm dry clothing. As bitter-cold twilight settled into moonless night, Nakara's brother Kitsune and the older man and several of their retainers were given places beside Nakara's omnipresent braziers. For once, Nakara banished much of the household, though Nakara's woman Junshi stayed, and Kagaya-hime: eight in total. The curtains that would more properly have been used to separate the men and the women, or the old man (who was the noble Seiwa Minamoto no Takase) from the lower ranks, were clustered around them all, the reflected light of lanterns and braziers making a warm little space that smelled of hot coals and men who have spent much time on horseback lately. The eaves were many tens of feet over their heads, blackened and shiny with soot and moisture, and the light lost itself in a tangle of beams that refuted the sense of coziness. No one but Kagaya-hime looked up. Everyone there knew that safety is an illusion; everyone except Kagaya-hime felt that sometimes the illusion is preferable.

Kagaya-hime's instinct had been right: Kitsune and his party had failed. There would be no official warrant to allow them to pursue and strike the Abe. The vice-governor of Hitachi province was not seen as the correct person to bring this to the central government's attention; however, if these allegations were true, they would surely be addressed by the next governor of Mutsu province, who would be named at the New Year's appointments.

"But that is many days from now, and then it will be months before he gets here," Nakara said, her eyes glittering with tears. "Months more before he acts—if he is not like the last one, allied with the Abe. My brother is dead and the Abe tramp over the land he kept and we have done nothing for half a year already." Her tears spilled over.

"*I* came," Takase said, as if that changed everything.

In many ways, it did so. There were the usual New Year's celebrations—the new men, Takase's attendants, made for more than usual humor among the unattached women of the estate; and children will celebrate in the midst of an earthquake, if need be—but they were muted, overwhelmed by the activities of a household preparing for war. Most winters the fields doze, and so do many of those who work them. But this year, gathering allies and supplies kept everyone as busy as silkworm season, when no one (not even the dogs) sleeps much.

Takase wished to head north with his troops as soon as possible, perhaps even in the second month, if the weather permitted. This urgency surprised everyone, even Kitsune and Nakara, eager as they were. Wars in the north can (and do) last years, even decades. Minamoto no Yoshiee's war, for which my Dōmei betrayed his empire, lasted four years; before that the Former Nine Years' War lasted twelve years. There is no need to rush into wars in the north; they will wait for you to begin.

Despite the untrustworthy weather (icy rain one day, bitter windless cold the next), messengers with letters flew like leaves in a gale. Some men chose to follow Takase because they owed it to his family, or they chose to support Kitsune's, or they hated the Abe for reasons of their own; or because, in the north, men are bred to war as horses are bred to run, and they pine if left too long without it. (Dōmei was one such man—restless without battle.) Warriors and their attendants arrived, three or ten or twenty at a time, bringing horses.

Takase pressed so hard because he was dying. The pain I feel, the bitter never-ending ache, the sense that my body is tired of its work—these are what he felt. And there was an old wound, where a barbed arrow had entered his side some years ago. It had never healed properly, but remained angry and wept pus from time to time. Takase had grown used to the red throb—had years to grow used to it—but now it grew worse again, the granulated flesh too sore to touch. He was dying, and he knew it (just as I know that I am dying), even if no one else could see it. Kagaya-hime also knew, for she smelled the wound and sensed the pain beyond it, the slow decay of his organs: a water-clock with a leak, nearly drained and useless.

In the flurry, Kagaya-hime was treated more as a member of the household than as a guest—which means she was alternately left to her own resources and asked to help. Nakara asked for her assistance in preparing clothing, but Kagaya-hime had no interest in sewing. She had a single

needle, so sharp and slender that the women all exclaimed with awe at it, and she was very good at sewing, the tiny pounces of needle into fabric coming as naturally as knife-thrusts to her, but sewing brought down no prey, did not fill the darkness inside. Instead, she caught birds for the arrow-makers to strip for fletching.

The noise and her hunting had discouraged most of the useful birds close to the estate, so she and Biter roved far, traveling into the mountains to the west looking for eagles. There were times they stayed out for a night or even two, and Kagaya-hime slept pressed against Biter's side, watching the ice-brilliant stars wheel overhead, threading their way through treeless branches.

She was gone for New Year's, sleeping in a thrown-together shelter of driftwood near the beach, where she had gone to look for geese. The air roared here with surf and wind, and perhaps this is why her New Year's dream was filled with the chittering voices of the kamis—*reed, despair, wives,* six wordless tones in sequence, *Wear red when you worship me*—when she had walked the crystal-bright road through golden mist. She searched for the road, or even the great mottled darkness full of blood and a thousand green eyes, but searching is futile when there are no landmarks, no way to keep track of one's movements. In the end, she gave up and sat as if on a riverbank, with her feet hanging into the mist. "Tell the road that I miss it," she said, and she awoke.

When at the Osa Hitachi estate, she watched the preparations with a certain curiosity. Cats understand combat—toms fighting for a female, females fighting to protect ground or kittens—but they carry their claws and teeth with them and they catch their own supplies as they go. War and its logistics—food and wine and weapons and tools to be carried to somewhere that is not one's *fudoki,* to fight a mass of others for no good reason—were incomprehensible to her. It was obvious that, whoever had initiated this war, Takase was at its heart, and so she watched him most.

Two days after her New Year's dream, Kagaya-hime returned with two eagles, three osprey, and a crow across Biter's haunches. She left them with the fletcher (who would pluck their long feathers and pass them to the kitchen), and led Biter to the stables to clean and brush him before releasing him into the field with some of the Osa Hitachi horses. When Takase

entered leading his own grizzled black, Kagaya-hime and Biter were pressed face-to-face, eyes closed, communing as horse and rider ever have. The black huffed and jangled its bridle. Kagaya-hime spun, knife in hand. “Ease up, girl,” he said. “Inkstick and I are no threat.”

“No.” Kagaya-hime replaced her knife in her sash and looked up at the old man, her cheek against Biter’s neck. “You are both old.”

He laughed, a surprised snort. “Not too old to bite. Someday you’ll be old; you’ll see. I heard your story. You’re the one who fought off the robbers.”

Kagaya-hime knew this already. She said nothing.

He continued. “Is your sword any good?”

Hime’s hand went to her waist and for the first time there was a longsword at her side, hung with amber-colored silk cords in the *jindachi-zukuri* manner. She slid it from its sheath: a short blade of the old design, straight-bladed with a ring pommel. She touched the steel, folded countless times so that blue and purple and indigo patterns chased one another across the metal, fine as slow-growing pine wood. “It’s beautiful.”

“It’s not a necklace, girl. Give it to me.” She handed it to him, and he examined the metal, his horse throwing up its head, restless. “Settle down, Inkstick. I don’t recognize the maker’s mark. Does your blade have a name?”

“No,” she said. He handed it back, and she sheathed it, as easily as if it had been for the thousandth time. Teeth didn’t have names.

Takase was silent for a moment, absently rubbing his horse’s long grayed nose. “Your horse. Good sturdy one.”

Kagaya-hime did not know Takase, but she said something that surprised her, and knew it was the truth even as she said it. “He is the only thing I love.”

“I understand,” Takase said. “I had a horse I felt like that about, a long time ago. Not Inkstick, here. He’s a good horse, but I can’t afford to care anymore.”

Cats do not ask questions about one another, for there is no reason to do so. The *fudoki* tells all, or everything important anyway; if the information sought is important, it is in the tale. She cared for Nakara, but this did not extend to asking questions; the others of the estate (even Junshi, who was often kind to her) mattered too little for her to wonder about them. But she

wondered about Takase, and began, for the first time, to ask questions of the men who traveled with him.

One of the followers, a nephew serving as bodyguard, thought Kagaya-hime beautiful, and he said much about Takase, mostly to keep her close to him. Takase's *fudoki* crossed sixty and more years, forty of them spent fighting bandit-gangs, pirates, refractory landholders. Takase had been a great general, and a governor somewhere in the south (Kagaya-hime did not bother to remember the place). Since his favorite consort had died, he had lived quietly, bowstring loosened, all thought of war gone. And he was ill—for even people could see this, though they could not smell or see that he was dying.

Kagaya-hime did not wonder about the half-fox Kitsune, but she watched him avidly when they were both at the estate, as a cat eyes a new dog. She did not choose to speak with him (what cat talks to dogs?), but she was often close, if safely out of reach. He would not have seemed beautiful to most of my friends at court (though there were a discriminating few). His face was thin, with straight eyebrows that flew up at the ends; and he had those sloped gold-flecked eyes, bright as a puddle reflecting autumn maples. He moved gracefully, with a fox's quick efficiency—not a tall man, as Takase was, but long-limbed and slender. Despite his fox-eyes and name, he often seemed no more an animal than Nakara, and no one else seemed to think of him as anything but human. It was only sometimes, when his attendants were busy elsewhere and he was alone, that Kagaya-hime saw something in his expression that she understood.

By the end of the first month, the first horses foaled in their pastures, and wolves came down from the mountains to try their luck—successfully, for two foals were dead within days. A man in charge of the pastures alerted Nakara (for she oversaw this as she oversaw everything else: "The Osa Hitachi men are busy being men," she said to Kagaya-hime, "someone must make sure that the foals are counted and the taxes paid"). Because the men of the estate were busy, Nakara chose to attend to this herself, though in the end she did not go alone. "I am tired of being nice to people," Takase said when informed of her wolves: "I need to kill something." No one asked why Kagaya-hime joined them.

Three men and three women left on a bright clear day. Down at the main estate, thin dirty snow covered everything; as the horses climbed into the foothills, it deepened and grew cleaner, a jeweled dust, until the horses slowed, each step crunching through a white crust into hock-deep snow, with drifts to their knees. They rode for much of a day before they found the herd, in a windblown clearing nearly free of snow. This was one of the Osa Hitachi's far pastures, the only good place for foals right now. The smell of mares made the growing groups of bickering war-mounts fight among themselves. More importantly to anyone for whom the raising of horses is a livelihood and the waging of war a mere momentary madness, the stallions made the mares nervous and their herd's leader overprotective and militant. Even the six horses the hunting party rode upset the herd. Nakara directed them away, to a hut of sorts half a mile east, and settled there.

Six people and any gear they wanted kept dry (saddles: weapons) packed the little structure tight as herrings in a barrel: particularly busy herrings, for there was a fire to be set and a meal to be cooked and the herder to consult; and Nakara's only attendant fluttered around, trying to shield her mistress from the snow puffing in through the cracks in the hut's wall. Kagaya-hime slipped unnoticed under the cracked horsehide that covered the open doorway, and out past the hobbled horses nosing under the snow for anything edible.

It was very dark, for the moon was nearly new, but her eyes were better than mine have ever been. She walked easily in the black spaces under the trees and came into the open at the bottom of the horses' clearing. The pasture was a great sweeping fold between two wooded slopes that lifted to the mountains beyond, dark jagged outlines against starlight and an almost invisible green light that hung in the air to the north. The mares and foals milled anxiously at the pasture's center. The herd's stallion trotted some distance away, his head high, his ears and attention focused into the hills above the herd.

Kagaya-hime was more interested in a rabbit half-hidden under a low shrub near the trees. It had not seen her. The air was perfectly still and too cold to carry her smell. She dropped into a crouch before she realized she'd made the decision to catch it.

She moved carefully, but in any case the rabbit was distracted, its attention elsewhere. She was scarcely an arm's length away when it saw her. In the instant before it gathered its minimal wits to run, she leapt the

space between them and spiked it to the ground, her knife through its shoulder. It gave a single scream before she broke its neck. Its blood was warm on her tongue when she felt herself observed from the trees behind her.

"You are the wolves," she said aloud without turning.

A wolf slipped from the trees; another rose from a depression in the ground. There were four in all, long-muzzled and gray. All animals know and fear the great killing creatures: the eagle, the bear, Korea's tiger, the wolf. The smaller killing creatures avoid them: they do not care to know how it feels to be prey. Kagaya-hime straightened and turned, the rabbit still in her hand.

"What are you?" the largest of the wolves asked—for there were no cats so far from the capital, and nothing it could compare her to. Her woman's shape meant nothing to the wolf, for it did not understand what a cat should look like.

"The people call me Kagaya-hime," she said. This appeared to be sufficient answer.

The largest of the wolves shook itself. "You are a killing animal, but a small one. We could kill you if we chose. Are you not afraid?"

"No," she said. "It does not matter. I have no *fudoki.*"

Wolves have no *fudoki*—the pack is defined by blood and smell and voice; their ground can change; their tales define nothing. Nevertheless, they understood her. "Why are you here?" another wolf, a female, asked. She smelled of milk and cubs.

"The people come to kill you," Kagaya-hime said.

"The people always seek to kill us," the female said, "but they do not succeed."

Kagaya-hime lifted the knife. "I have lived among them. If they have not killed you, it's because they have not wanted to do so. Yet. But you have taken their foals—"

"Ah yes, the foals," the female said. "They tasted sweet and their bones were soft."

Kagaya-hime's mouth watered despite herself. "—and now you must leave. They will hunt you down, find your cubs, and kill you. Your tale—your pack—will end there."

"And you?" the lead wolf asked. "Will you try to kill us, too, little killer?"

She raised her chin, a cat before an emperor. “I will kill you if I can. But I would rather you leave.”

“We stand together,” the wolf said. “We decide together.”

“Together.” Kagaya-hime’s face was very cold. “You are never alone.”

“We stand together,” the wolf said again. Its eyes flickered and it vanished, it and its priests, into the darkness of the overhanging trees.

“Girl!”—Takase’s voice across the clearing. He loped to her side, sword bare and gleaming in his hand; slowed when he saw she was unharmed. “Where did they go?”

“Away. I told them we would kill them.”

“Huh,” Takase said. “So you talked with them, did you?”

She wiped the back of her hand against her face, smearing blood into her tears. “I don’t know if they’ll stay. They lose nothing by going; they carry their tale with them.”

“I—” Takase said, and then shut his mouth abruptly. He gestured to the rabbit on the snow. “You will want to clean that. And wash your face before you return.”

In the morning they tracked the wolves back to their den, a mere slit in a rocky slope. Kagaya-hime was the smallest of them, and she crawled in to find nothing, only the torn fur of a nest, the chewed thighbone of a foal. She backed out and brushed herself clean. “They decided to leave,” she said, and no one asked how she knew this.

I have never seen a wolf, never even seen a picture of one. “They are like dogs,” said Dōmei, when I asked him once about them: “Like the gods of dogs.”

“Bigger, you mean?” I asked. We were sitting on the veranda, eating pickled eggs and watching one of the household’s cats prowling at the edge of a clump of reeds under a bright moon.

“They have gold eyes,” Dōmei said. “Flat and fierce. Think of a dog that could kill you, that would not even care whether it did so: that’s a wolf.”

Mutsu province, where there are wolves, and gold-eyed men like Dō mei. I shall never see it now.

8. The Fan-Fold Notebook

Strange. All these pages, all these brush strokes, and I have said little about my half-brother, the emperor everyone now calls Shirakawa. This is perhaps intentional: thinking of him is like scratching at a scab to see if the cut beneath is still fresh. What will I accomplish by doing this? I already know that it has not healed, and I am not brave enough to face the fresh pain.

It is not many months since the forty-ninth night rituals after his death. Some nights, when I feel the thing inside my chest pressing against my lungs, I talk to him. Some nights, I think he answers me.

He was not so many years older than me, and, when he was young, very handsome (as everyone told me, again and again—even my nurse sometimes looked at me and sighed, "Why could you not have a bit of your brother's elegance?"). For a time, when his father was still emperor, he lived with my foster father. The house was full of flurry and attendants because of him, but my women kept us far apart ("Trust me, your highness, he has no interest in having his thoughts disturbed by a flyaway girl with dirty hands and no manners").

Then my foster father said that I could no longer keep mice. Worse, he forced my nurse to take away the mice I did have. There were two or perhaps three: tiny buckwheat-colored creatures with glittering black eyes bright as prayer beads. She would not tell me what she did with them. My tears devolved into an enormous tantrum, for which she locked me into a little raised-floor storehouse, avowedly until I learned to control myself.

I did not learn control there, but I did learn that there were two planks in the floor that had not been properly secured, so that a resourceful girl could lift them and let herself down into the crawl space. I crept through the dust and emerged cautiously, on the far side from the house, then ran for the copse of white pine and *sawara* cypress at the garden's opposite end, as far from the main buildings as I could get without crossing the residence walls.

We called him Sadahito then, for he was not yet emperor. He must have been sixteen; certainly, he was much taller than I. He spent much of his time with his father, so I did not expect to find him in the grove—and certainly not alone; an heir is *never* alone, any more than a princess. I do not know what he was doing there—did not think to ask, caught up as I was in my own miseries.

I knew bursting in on him was a terrible solecism, but I couldn't think of what to do next: Apologize? Back away as if I hadn't seen him? Throw myself on the ground? Faint? Grace in awkward situations does not come at the age of ten, so I stood rooted to the ground, as if a tree myself. He did not seem offended; said only: "You've been crying," and pulled a soft paper from his sleeve. "Here, use this."

I took it from his hand and scrubbed at my cheeks, but I could not stop staring at him. Unless I did something stupid (now, for instance), I would probably serve Sadahito at court someday; he (and my foster father) would select the man I would marry. He controlled my destiny—he and the other gods.

"You're my half-sister," he said. We had met before, but always through curtains, as befit a princess and the heir. "I forget: what do they call you?"

"Harueme. What should I do with this?" I held up the now-grimy wad of sleeve-paper.

"Give it to me and I'll get rid of it for you," he said. "You don't want them to guess you got out, do you?"

"No," I said, amazed at his insight. He knew I'd been crying, and he knew I'd escaped. No wonder he got to be emperor. "Why are you here?"

He made a gesture, implying everything and nothing. "I am tired of studying, and I cannot visit Kenshi right now—she is in her courses." I knew who Kenshi was: she was his consort, and said to be very beautiful, though I did not meet her and learn the truth of this for several more years. He sighed heavily, though he smiled at himself as he did so. "So, little sister, why have *you* been crying?"

He had distracted me for a time; now his question brought it all back, and I started crying again. Between sobs, I sniffled out the story of my mice. He put his arm around me (though I was covered with dirt and snot and tears) and told me that they would be fine in the garden, if that's where they had been abandoned. "There's a lot for a mouse to eat out here."

"But the cats—foxes—" I said, crying in earnest now.

“If they die, they will just come back as something better. Maybe cats themselves, hmm? And who can say? Even mice may eventually attain enlightenment.”

I was comforted by this, not because I believed the mice were safe (or that their enlightenment was possible; already I’d had enough mice to suspect otherwise), but because he had tried to comfort me at all. By the time he helped me sneak back to the storehouse undetected, I loved him with all my heart.

Later that night, after I had been freed from my storehouse, bathed and given a good supper, my brother’s chief man came to my rooms, and left a pierced silver box, a treasure from beyond even India. Inside was a single gray-furred mouse, young enough that its eyes were still too large for its face. I named it Little Sister, and pretended that I was my brother, and the mouse me. No one could take the mouse from me—it was a gift from the heir, after all—and so I carried it inside my sleeve and fed it rice from my bowl. I wept for a half a month when it died, because he had given it to me.

Several years later (I was fifteen) I came to court to attend my half-brother. Everything happened very quickly—my father the emperor Go-Sanjō died, and Sadahito gave up his name and became emperor that very day. He asked for my company, and my foster father sent me there.

I had visited the palace before, when my father the emperor Go-Sanjō requested it, and even once when he was gone to stay with a consort’s father, and I was allowed to explore a little. Still, the notion of living there made everything different. The painted floor the color of turquoises, the crimson pillars, the painted screens—these were all mine now, in some small way. Every day I would wear robes prettier than my finest as a child. I would be surrounded by witty, beautiful, cultured people, and I would (I fantasized) become immensely popular, famed for my wit and scholarship, and as elegant as Sei Shōnagon had been, eighty years before. All my lovers would be handsome as Genji; all my attendants would be famous for beauty and charm, their glory reflecting on me.

And my half-brother and I—we would spend all our time together, reading and writing, perhaps even traveling, to Ise or even the Shirakawa Barrier or beyond! I would show him my moths’ wings, and my notebooks

of observations; he would show me whatever it was he cared for most in the world. He would call me Little Sister; I would call him Brother.

It was not like that; I have to laugh at my naïveté at thinking such a thing was possible. His responsibilities were great; he was always with his regent or the other high nobles, discussing this or that. When his duties did not occupy him, he spent time with the other high-ranked young men at court; or his consort, Kenshi; or others of his women. He even had other sisters and half-sisters, at court or nearby shrines. A thousand thousand people wanted his time or attention. I was just one of the horde, if higher-ranked than most.

And I was no Sei Shōnagon. Granted, I was the daughter of an emperor and (I am told) exceptionally beautiful; but the people at court were all more interested in music and poetry than in water-clocks and philosophy. No one but I cared how learned I was. And the public halls and emperor's chambers were lovely, but the private rooms, even the rooms of a princess, were worn-looking, sometimes dilapidated, and always flea-haunted.

A month after I came to court, I asked the emperor if he would let me leave, to return to my uncle's residence, or enter a nunnery. He denied the request. "I need you," was all he said. It was not for many years that I understood what he meant by this, until the day we sat together and tasted the rain on our lips. In the meantime, I learned to accept my life here.

Shirakawa and Kenshi. I was jealous of her, of course. She was only a little older than I but she was beautiful and graceful, and more important, charming. In my heart I claimed to despise these things (it would never do for me to announce such a sentiment), but now I can admit that I despised them because I felt I could never attain them. I was beautiful (I say with all candor), but that meant nothing. A round face and white skin are an accident of birth; being well dressed and groomed was a reflection on Shigeko and my other women.

As a child I judged myself by the adults that surrounded me—my mother and her women; my foster father and my uncle—and they all seemed infinitely elegant, masters of mysteries I could barely perceive. I was the daughter of an emperor; if I could not be as elegant as they, well then, I would be clever.

Becoming beautiful was a process that surprised me as much as it did my uncle. He had despaired that I would ever be valued for anything besides my birth, but my woman Shigeko came to attend me (just before my half-brother became emperor, this was), and I was suddenly clean, and my robes matched, and any dead animals I might be examining were discreetly hidden away. I think my half-brother Shirakawa would have summoned me to court in any case; but it was a comfort, my uncle said, to know I was not going to disgrace everyone associated with me when I got there.

Shigeko made me polite as well as elegant. It was she who insisted I write to my half-brother's favored consort, Fujiwara sammi no Kenshi, who lived elsewhere at court. I did so, growling all the way through the required poem, something about the reeds of the east wing greeting the grasses of the north—I'm sure it's here somewhere; I'll ask Shigeko when she returns from overseeing a gift to one of the temples south of town. I still recall Kenshi's response: "The clouds visit both east and north. Grass-blades blown between us show only fragments of the wind."

And so we wrote letters, and visited one another when we could. We were never friends, both being too highly ranked to be close to anyone not assigned to us; but I found her pleasant and quietly witty. It was easy to see why Shirakawa loved her.

Even more than her apparent perfections, I envied her his attention. A half-sister and a consort fill two different places in a man's life; this is no different for an emperor. He spent many of his nights with her, and certain days when no work could be performed, due to tabus or festivals or snow so heavy no one chose to leave the shelter of their own eaves. He visited me sporadically; "Whenever I want someone to question everything," he said once to me when I asked, "whenever I want to think hard to keep up." I took this as a compliment, reluctant to look at myself closely enough to determine whether he meant it as such.

"And your consort?" I said, half-laughing to conceal my embarrassment. "When do you visit her?"

He did not laugh. "When I can."

And so my brother had Kenshi. She bore him a son that they lost, and then another who lived—my nephew Taruhito, who became emperor—Horikawa, now he is dead. These experiences brought them together; even when I saw him without her (or her without him), I felt as if I were

watching a running dog who was missing a paw: the dog may not mind nor even know; but what is not there leaves an awkward bump in his gait.

After Mononobe no Dōmei and I became lovers, I was not so jealous. I had my own companion, my own fourth paw; and I spent every possible moment with him. If I did not get pregnant, it was not (as I overheard one of my women say to Shigeko at the time) for lack of trying.

And then Dōmei left the capital, to return to his family home. I claimed an indisposition and retreated for a few months from the court. I did not want to deal with the eyes of the others on me. Either they knew of our affair and would be feeling—ridicule? pity?—or they would not, and their jokes and petty concerns would grate on my sensibilities like ground nutshells on skin. My rooms at my uncle's residence were always available to me, so I retreated there, and did not come out for a time.

My memory is that I cried steadily for a month or more, that every overcast day and every ink stroke that I blotted set me off again. But I have just asked Shigeko what she remembers of that time, and she tells me I did not cry once. And yet I am sure—well, memory is strange, after all. Perhaps both of these are true, and she and I live in worlds that almost—but do not totally—overlap.

And whether I showed this grief or not, we both remember that after a time I stopped jumping to my feet every time a messenger arrived with what might be a letter from the provinces. War started in Mutsu province, and I started to read again, about war and the making of it; when the first reports of Minamoto no Yoshiee's war started trickling into court I read those as well, and pretended I was not searching for his name among the dead and distinguished.

I returned to court and even invited other men behind my curtains, usually old lovers who had become more friend than sexual partner. *I move forward with my life,* I said to myself, and felt smug about it. We can contrive victories of the most unpromising material.

A year after that, Shirakawa's consort Kenshi died.

Kenshi did not die at a good time. There is never a good time, of course; there is always something left undone, a last trunk left unemptied. But this was especially inconvenient: early in Yoshiee's war, when the situation was little understood, complicated, and not very encouraging. Kenshi and

Shirakawa's son, who was—five? six? very young, in any case—was sickly, and not expected to live to adulthood. The monks from the mountains nearby were behaving badly, marching armed in the streets of the capital and burning one another's temples; and there had been a drought that was taking a year and more to recover from; and the chancellors were for some reason or other being more than usually tiresome in their requests. Shirakawa managed all such things with the grace of an expert *kemari* player, but he coped poorly with her death.

I wrote Shirakawa the letters one might expect of a sister worried for her brother, or a noblewoman for her sovereign. The answers were polite but short, and not in his handwriting. He did not visit, nor invite me to attend him, when I could have determined for myself how he was doing. I did see him, at the seventh-night rituals and at a reading of the sutras for the well-being of Kenshi's soul. He wept—tears shining like rain on his face—and yet he seemed somehow remote, withdrawn, as if his grief were something held close. It seemed, as always, that Shirakawa without Kenshi was lacking some part of himself, but now it was more serious, more acute; as if it were not a limb but some vital organ gone.

I launched Shigeko and others of my women at their friends and admirers in his train, to learn what they could of my brother's state—for no one ever *tells* anyone anything at court; we spy out what we can, and guess the rest. They returned with nothing more specific than the rumors. He did not meet with his chancellors or his high nobles. He did not read. He did not have lovers. He did not sleep.

I wrote more letters to Shirakawa; but what I really wanted to do was talk to him, face to face. I had lost Dōmei, but I had survived; there was no reason why my clever, handsome, older brother—incidentally emperor of the Eight Islands—should not recover, as well; which is why, perhaps half a year after her death, I very improperly went to visit him without a summons.

This was easier than I would have expected. The court is a thousand buildings and courtyards connected by ten thousand walkways and gates; but it covers only a small area, and (if one is familiar with or can find one's way) it is possible to walk the length of the enclosure without needing to put on clogs, or get one's head wet on a rainy day. Shigeko was reluctant to invade the emperor's presence, but she accompanied me nevertheless (in many ways, she is far braver than I). I dealt with the guards and courtiers

we encountered by brushing past them without explanation. By the time they recovered from their surprise, Shigeko and I were well past, and another of my attendants was murmuring explanations, excuses—anything that might keep them from stopping us.

His rooms were nearly unpeopled: two bodyguards who started forward, and then stepped back when Shigeko spoke to them, and a woman server with a covered lacquered box in her hands. "Where is he?" I asked, and followed her silent gesture.

He was in an enclosed place that might have been where they slept, though there was nothing here now but a carving of Kannon and its offerings. He was not praying, but there was a tabu tag hung from his *eboshi* hat, meaning he was not to be interrupted. *Ha,* I thought, and knelt beside him. I pulled my prayer beads from my sleeve and began a just-audible prayer.

He sighed and put down his own beads. "Not you, too."

"Brother—" I began and trailed off. This had seemed like such a good idea; now that I was here, I found I had no idea what to say. He had been crying; his face was still wet. All the exhortations I had planned in my mind on the walk over here vanished, steam from a kettle. "I am so sorry," I whispered, and to my horror started sobbing.

He tipped his head back, and fresh tears slipped from the corners of his eyes, shining trails to his ears, his neck. "I keep—missing her," he said. "There are so many things that need to be done, I just—"

"You miss her so much," I said. "But—" *But she is dead; she's not coming back; she left you anyway, for the commonest lover of them all, death,* I did not say.

He glanced at me. "I am sorry about your guardsman."

He knew; he had cared enough to know. "I'm worried for you."

"Little Sister," he said, and his smile was so sweet that I began sobbing in earnest. He reached across the space between us, and held me close. We wept together. I cannot claim it was my doing, but after this, he again involved himself with the world.

Enough of this. I know my own story—have lived it, each day a new section added to a scroll that grows near its end now. I know this story too well to be surprised by it. My little cat-warrior—her tale has the capacity to

delight me and distract me from my half-brother's loss, which just at this moment (it is very late, and the pressure in my chest prohibits sleep) is as immediate and painful as it was the day he died, when I cried until my eyes wept blood.

So:

Spring comes later to Hitachi province than it does to the capital; still, by the third month the snow was gone from the Osa Hitachi estate, and the world was buffeted by floodwater and spring winds and storms that thundered like dragons through the clouds. Takase had established a camp just outside of the estate for his war band, but camp and household had blurred until everything was a single filthy, noisome mess. The ground had been mashed to mud, ankle-deep in the places where the horses collected. The air was filled with smells: wood and charcoal smoke, wet manes and manure, the oily smell of cooking meat, the bitterness of hot metal pounded out by the smiths. Not all cats are fastidious (I have been familiar with a cat who rolled in the midden heap behind our kitchen house, and entered my chambers with wilted radish-greens trailing from her ears), but most are. Kagaya-hime was like many of her kin in this, that she did not care to have dirty feet and disliked sharp smells.

Takase and Kitsune had gathered perhaps a hundred horsemen, each with attendants and a horse or two. This was not many, but to fight the Abe without a warrant or potential amnesty was risky business. The central council might eventually offer an exemption to the usual penalties, not everyone dared take the chance. Though his had been the initial letter asking for the warrant, the vice-governor, Nakara's brother, could not involve himself directly at the risk of his position. But when certain of his retainers asked for leave he did not ask too many questions. A handful of warriors brought their men and their horses from the provincial capital—along with sixty *hoko* spears, sent by the vice-governor under the convenient if implausible fiction that they might serve as "protection for the hazardous journeys home."

This brought the total number gathered to about three hundred men—horsemen, retainers, and servants—and one hundred twenty horses. It was not a large band (though large enough withal, especially when the horses are all male) but there was an immense amount of material required even for this sort of conflict, where they expected to seize food as they traveled.

I remember reading something once, when I was at my uncle's house, waiting through my monthly courses. Alert to my interests, Shigeko chanced to bring me an overview of the codes and practices that concerned war-making. (War-things were much on my uncle's mind at this time, for this was in the months after Minamoto no Yoshiee's war in Mutsu province began: a year after Dōmei left me and returned to the east.)

I had no idea how much was required for war-making! I suppose I might have guessed, familiar with what must be assembled for even a short journey by, let us say, a princess to the shrine of Inari no Jinja, scant miles from home and a place where one might be expected to need little. There was a list in my uncle's papers of what warriors require for military duty. I have found it folded into a diary of mine from that time. What my uncle thought of such a document going missing, I can only imagine.

—rice and *sake* and salt (*enormous* amounts of salt—why, I cannot say);

—weapons of every sort and size—longswords, short swords, and knives; a bow and fifty arrows; additional steel arrowheads ready for mounting—as well as whet-stones and quivers and bowcases and all the bits and bobs that are required to tend and store one's weapons;

—saddles and saddlebags and silk-cord bridles and steel bits;

—wood shields as tall as a man, to be propped on the ground in battle where they might serve as cover, for the men on foot or dismounted riders;

—axes and hatchets and chisels and saws, tents and cooking pots and copper trays;

—flints, tinder, long-handled tongs to grip coals;

—sickles (for what, I wonder?—and then think, ah, yes, the grass pillows mentioned in all those poems written by men at the frontier);

—moxas and bandages for healing;

—as if that were all. Then there are the attendants (and each horseman has one or two of these, to work as groom and servant and combatant as

need arises), along with all of *their* food and supplies and weapons—*hoko* and *naginata* spears and swords and bows; and the priest who comes to give guidance, along with his or her followers, and food and supplies; and the clerks and warrant officers; and any hangers-on that the leader believes might be useful or cannot be naysaid. And so many supplies must have required carts and oxen or horses, and still more men to drive and tend them. And all of this is organized into companies of fifty men each, and subdivided into campfires of ten and then squads of five. It sounds as complex as court life, if not so pretty.

In the months after Yoshiee's war was declared, I read much on the subject. I longed to understand, not what I later learned to call logistics, nor the *why*s of it, but the *what*. What was it like to fight, to actually shoot at someone else, to want them dead and have the means to make them so?

There were certain Chinese classics that all the military nobles thought essential: Sun Tzu, Ssu-ma, and the *Kōsekikōsanryaku*. These were full of strategy and tactics and oblique metaphors, but they seemed somewhat cold, bloodless. In addition, sheaves of poetry floated about court, purportedly written by soldiers (though this was often a literary conceit); but they said nothing about war itself, instead harping endlessly on how much the men missed their wives, and the loneliness of sleeping on those ubiquitous grass-stuffed pillows.

Some years ago a collection of stories started filtering through court—the *Konjaku*. We joked then that the *Konjaku* had one of everything, but in fact it has many more than one story about warriors, and these reports vary. In some, war seems more glamorous than horrible, as complex and formal as the presentation of the blue horses in the first month or the Gosechi dances in the eleventh: the exchange of arrows, the name-announcing; men in beautifully laced armor whirling in graceful combat on spirited horses. Others are perhaps more realistic, though in them war seems mostly to be exhortations and beheadings, usually over small (not to say absurdly petty) matters.

There was the *Mutsuwaki,* as well, all about the first war that had been going on in the north, back when I was very small. I was no longer at my uncle's house, so I borrowed a copy of this from the scrolls of my half-brother the emperor; he looked at me strangely but had it sent without comment. This was much longer. For the first time I realized that war was as filled with politics as court, but still there was the painstakingly

described armor, the elegant little platitudes about this or that one's skill at archery or riding. When the author stepped down from these aesthetic heights to describe battle itself or its results, his images were improbably grisly. I still remember one: "The ground was slick with viscera, the moors wet with fat."

All these wars, these battles, in the *Konjaku* and the *Mutsuwaki* and elsewhere, are true. Names are named; Shigeko (who knows everything about everyone who has ever been to court) could probably recite the genealogies of half the men mentioned in them. They are true, but they are lies—like all tales.

Some years ago there was a night in the fifth month when the full moon was hidden behind the clouds, and I overheard three older guardsmen talking in the darkness. They had fought in Yoshiee's war. Tongues loosened by plum wine and *sake,* they compared the lessons they had learned. These had nothing to do with eloquent speeches, and everything to do with avoiding diarrhea and keeping one's bowstrings from rotting. Their stories were hardly fit for gentle ears: an attack where foot soldiers swept blades along the ground to fell the horses by slashing their legs; a long season when everyone had dysentery and the men wore no *hakama*-trousers or loincloths, for it was pointless to do so and then clean them a thousand times a day; a man driven as mad as if he had been fox-possessed, all from an arrow-cut on his thigh that turned black and began to rot; a man hacked to pieces alive before his wife's weeping eyes; a wife raped before her husband's staring, severed head.

I listened to these things, and thought: *This is Dōmei's life. This is who he is*. But I could not reconcile this with the man who had laughed so often with me, the gold eyes that were so warm when we made love. I had nightmares for some time after listening to the men; and for years afterward their words would return to me suddenly, like a ghost story one heard as a child and can never forget.

The Osa Hitachi were a military clan, and everyone, from Kitsune and Nakara down to the oxkeepers' children, was caught up in the preparations. The buildings within the estate were crammed with the supplies that could not be left in the rain—for it still rained, naturally. Outside, fields were being prepared for the summer's crops ("I'm sure you want the space,"

Nakara said tartly to her brother one wet day when everyone's tempers ran high, "but come the tenth month, I'm guessing that you will want to eat, yes?"). Nakara had to send every mare within a ten-mile range twenty miles south and west to a smaller farm claimed by the Osa Hitachi, but even so the stallions sometimes fought. Kagaya-hime grew tired of trying to find solitude, and instead stayed out of the way and watched it all, rather as a cat sits on a wall watching the servants prepare to move a household to Biwa lake for the summer.

Nakara apologized one day. She clattered under the eaves of an outbuilding and saw Kagaya-hime there, tucked into the space between a pillar of shields and an untidy heap of new-made sickles, trimming Biter's hooves with her knife. "Be patient, Hime. Things will settle down as soon as the men leave."

Kagaya-hime finished the hoof and stood. "I imagine you will be grateful when we are all gone."

Nakara was holding a cedar-wood box filled with chopsticks for moving the coals in braziers; she dropped this, and the little iron rods rolled everywhere. Woman and cat-woman knelt and gathered them. "*You* can't leave," said Nakara. "*You're* staying. Aren't you?"

"No." Kagaya-hime laid her handful of sticks in the box and stood. "I go to Mutsu province, as well."

"Mutsu," Nakara said. "They are all fools or barbarians there. Or insane."

Kagaya-hime said, "Your brother was one of them."

"That's why I would know." Nakara hesitated, unaccustomed to asking for favors. "We're not like city people here, my dear. My household is whomever I say it is. A sister would be a great comfort to me."

Kagaya-hime closed her eyes and leaned against Biter's flank, feeling his rough winter coat against her cheek. "Why would you wish this?"

"I know what it is to not know who—what—you are," Nakara said. "This way you would have sister and brothers and home. You would know that much at least."

This was what she had lost so long ago: ground to live and mate and hunt on, a family, a tale into which she would fit. Nakara's brother was half-fox; there was clearly room for a woman who had once been a cat, for her to become Osa Hitachi no Neko. And she would no longer be alone. It would not be her *fudoki,* but humans' tales did not grate as other cats' had.

She would remain what she was—changed, perhaps, but still recognizable to herself. The road-kami had abandoned her; might she not stop? *Road?* she whispered to the backs of her eyelids. It did not answer; but for an instant she saw the dark thing with a thousand eyes, and it spoke her name.

"I cannot," she said finally, and opened her eyes. "I must go."

Nakara said in a tight voice: "I do not want to lose anyone else."

"You found this place, this—family. Or made it. It is not mine."

"Where will you go? Why?" A tear slid down Nakara's cheek; she brushed it aside impatiently.

Kagaya-hime said slowly, "I thought it was the road that carried me, but we left the road behind when we crossed the water at that town. Enoura. And I still have to go."

"Where will it end? Will you fight with the men? Will you walk until you die, till you walk into the ocean and drown? And I am to let you do this thing?"

"I cannot help it." Kagaya-hime began twisting a lock of Biter's mane into a tight little rope.

"Do not pretend that you have no control over your life, girl," Nakara snapped. "You go because you wish to, because you don't choose to stay." She turned on her heel and walked away, leaving the box lying in the mud. Her hurt and anger lasted for days.

No one controls their own life. Well, perhaps some of the Fujiwara men do. Perhaps they attain manhood, and suddenly know exactly what they want from life—I will marry in two years, and have a son in five, retire at thirty, die at sixty. And my half-brother knew his life—was born knowing it. But the rest of us? I look back on my life and I see a series of decisions, each of which made perfect sense at the time, most of which led to nothing in particular.

It is true that I am powerless, that I am controlled by my family, by the Fujiwaras, by the gods and Buddhas; but I am also free: to think my thoughts, and dream of blue-green streams under foreign trees.

I thank the merciful Kannon for this tale I tell, where I can at last control a life, even if it is not my own.

❀ ❀ ❀

The days of preparation collected themselves into untidy fortnights, and then a month and more. Takase spent much of his time in the main house, surrounded by low tables heaped with slips of paper listing the details of war. These he arranged into various piles and then rearranged the piles, his clerk scribbling completed lists onto other, larger pieces of paper. Discarded scraps drifted across the floor.

A courtier might have compared him to an aging poet writing among fallen cherry blossoms or snow. He reminds me more of my half-brother the emperor, who spent many days in precisely this manner—though it annoyed my uncle (indeed, most of his branch of the Fujiwaras), who thought he concerned himself overmuch with the running of the empire, which (in their opinions) might better be left in their hands.

Kagaya-hime saw Takase and the clerk and the countless, strangely attractive, fluttering papers, and saw a kitten's game, or a mystery. She often watched him, but Takase did not seem to mind, or perhaps even notice that she was near—it is easy to ignore a cat when she is not of a mind to remind you of her existence, though otherwise it is impossible. It may also be that he sensed she was not, strictly speaking, human; or perhaps he saw that she was one of those who are born to killing, without discerning the details.

On this day—it was toward the middle of the second month, when the irises by the spider-leg stream were first showing their leaves, straight as knives—Kitsune came into Takase's presence. He spent most of his time outside with the men and horses, where his voice was necessarily loud and his stride long; papers skittered away from his feet as he stopped and bowed. "My lord—" he began, and the eaves rang.

"Wait." Takase raised his hand. The clerk finished the character he was writing and laid down his brush, then fussed around, placing river stones on the heaps to hold them in place. Kagaya-hime knelt half-hidden by a latticed screen leading to the veranda, binding a steel arrowhead to a shaft; she lifted her head to watch. "Now," Takase said, when the piles were secure, and only the scraps on the floor fluttered. "What is it?"

"It" was many things, of course. I have learned that no one (not even Shigeko, whom I see a thousand times each day) has only one thing to say. Ask, "And what else?" and there is always another, and sometimes it is the most important of all. Lacquered stirrups from Musashi province had come

in; one of the Osa Hitachi retainers had received news that his wife was ill, and left for home with his men; mice had gotten into some of the rice, though it was still salvageable. Takase was old (and wise, though these are not always paired) and asked, “And what else?” a number of times.

If there are no secrets at court, there are fewer within a household, fewer still within a war band. “The men have learned that my sister’s guest means to travel with us,” Kitsune said.

“And they object,” Takase said.

Kitsune nodded. “A few. Monthly courses, sightseeing, endless delays for travel tabus and heating water and looking for protection from the dew.”

“Do you feel this way?”

“Ha. She is tough enough.”

“But you do not care for her,” Takase said.

Kitsune stiffened. “I never—”

“Boy, I am old. I have no interest in listening to excuses.”

Kitsune frowned and rubbed his neck. “I—do not understand her. Who she is.”

Takase snorted. “Say that about any woman, not just her. Will you be able to travel with her?”

“If she slows us down, no.”

“Well, girl?” Takase said. “Will you keep us waiting while you cut your nails on auspicious days?”

Kagaya-hime hadn’t known that he saw her: he had not turned his head her way once in the long hours of work. Caught, she stood and entered the room, arrow and thread still in her hands. She did not meet Kitsune’s eyes, but looked sidelong at him, gauging mood, threat, posture. He was flushed red with embarrassment, defiant. “No,” she said. “Why would I cut my nails?”

Takase barked a laugh that became a cough. And later, when (perhaps) he thought she had left them, he said to Kitsune: “She is driven by fate, as are we all. It’s a waste of energy to stand in the way.”

As I write here, my cat Myōbū watches me, suddenly intent, as though a fire flickered over my head. There have been many cats over the years, and I have spoken to them all in the high tones reserved for children, drunken men, and pets. They have never spoken back, but I have never thought they

would. They are not badgers or foxes, after all. They are from distant godless places, beyond my most ambitious dreams.

A month later, Kagaya-hime left with the war band. It was a bright spring day, still winter-cold, except that the trees showed a haze of pale green, and the air seemed furred with moisture and the possibility of life. Nakara and Kagaya-hime had avoided one another, but now the woman joined the cat, and in silence they watched the band form an unruly line of snappish horses and hoarse-voiced men.

"Must you do this?" Nakara said again.

Kagaya-hime said, "Yes."

Nakara sighed. "I cannot stop the wind from blowing, and I cannot stop you. I'm sorry that I was angry with you."

Certain cats hold grudges. Shisutāko, the little nun, was like this; she refused your embrace if she thought she had been slighted, or if you were to toss her from a veranda into the garden after a particularly wearisome morning of her face in everything; and she waited days if necessary to take a revenge as indelicate as it was surprising. I think it is possible that our cats learn how to bear grudges from people, for we can hold one for a lifetime.

Kagaya-hime was not of a resentful nature. This requires a sense of perogatives infringed, and she had no expectations to be dashed. She saw Nakara's sorrow and did something she remembered from the aunts and cousins when they sought comfort from one another; she stepped forward and pressed her cheek into the curve of Nakara's neck. Nakara reached out and pulled her close, held her tightly. Kagaya-hime stood taut-muscled for an instant, then relaxed and embraced Nakara: the first time she had embraced another, felt the comfort of one's arms filled with a person one loves.

"I am—sorry," she whispered into Nakara's hair, "though I do not know what that means."

They stood joined for a time, but no matter how tender the moment, a cat grows restive. Kagaya-hime moved away, still close but no longer touching.

Nakara looked at her and sighed. "There are people who cannot settle, as if they were birds born without legs. They go on and on, to the world's

end—the lands of the hairy northerners, or India; farther, even."

"What happens to them, the ones who go?"

"I don't know. They never return to tell us. Perhaps they never find a place to stop."

"I am not one of those," Kagaya-hime said. "I long for home and *fudoki*. I would stop if I could."

"Would you?" Nakara said.

"I have a gift for you," Kagaya-hime said suddenly. Tucked in her sash was a slim, shallow box carved of tortoiseshell, hardly larger than a fan-case. She laid it in Nakara's hands. Inside was a knife no longer than Kagaya-hime's hand, its blade the color of claws.

Nakara looked up. "I cannot take your knife."

"I have others," Kagaya-hime said, and held up her hands, though she showed only her palms to Nakara, so that the woman might not see the raw place where one of her fingernails had been until that morning.

"I have a gift for you, as well," Nakara said. Junshi stood a few paces away; Nakara gestured, and the woman handed to Kagaya-hime a lacquered woven box, long and narrow. Inside were gold and ivory feathers as long as Kagaya-hime's forearm: eagle feathers, feathers worthy of an emperor's arrows. The sunlight caught them and the feathers gleamed with flecks of muted light.

Nakara continued, her voice distant, as though she chose not to feel too strongly. "My father was a warrior; my mother was the daughter of a warrior. I have learned these things. Make sure that your neckguard is low. When charging, don't get shot in the face. Trust the men beside you."

Cats have no way to share their sorrow. It is not in their nature that two cats sharing a *fudoki* can truly feel sadness—cats come and go, it is the tale that matters. And a cat without a *fudoki* has no one with whom she can share sorrow, and so she learns no habits of expression. But a woman understands loss, and can express it. And this, Kagaya-hime learned, was both advantage and disadvantage to being human.

Mutsu province. This is the end of the (civilized) world, the farthest reaches of the empire. My favorite Michinoku paper comes from there, though I have a difficult time reconciling my image of the place with the notion that there are workshops, perhaps even manufactories, whole families or

villages devoting their lives to producing luxuries for the capital, so many hundreds of miles away. Mutsu is meant to be a land of savages (that drinking of blood! those arrows in the hair!), of peaks taller than the great mountain Fuji and snow a thousand feet deep, of springs of scalding water that rise from the very depths of Hell, of monkeys that speak and *tengu*-demons and monsters—it is meant to be the fringe of the world. The Mutsu province of my mind is filled with wonders.

My lover Dōmei told me that it is not really like this, that Mutsu province is like everywhere else. There are roads and estates, towns with government offices, posting stations; hills, mountains, and hot springs; peasants and nobles; nothing extraordinary, nothing I could not find nearer to home and better designed or regulated. I have to wonder whether the entire world is like this. I have learned a bit about Korea and China, and we of course share much culture with them; but if I went to India or even beyond, would I find maintained roads and public wells, town gossips and officious village leaders, peasants happy or unhappy with their lot, rice fields in varying states of cultivation, cats asleep in patches of sun?

And perhaps death will be like this, whether Hell or the Pure Land or some incomprehensible place I have not imagined. Will there be roads and sunlit verandas and sleeping cats? Would this be a comfort or a disappointment? Is there anyplace that is filled with wonder, anywhere but my imagination, and the tales?

Yesterday my great-grandnephew the emperor sent me a poem, which I correctly interpreted as a summons. It is more fitting that I attend him than the reverse; but I am an old woman, and I remember when he was born, the pup. I remember when his father was born: even his *grandfather's* birth, for I waited with Shirakawa's consort Kenshi when she was in labor. I bit back my mild annoyance at the poem. We have not visited for many months, and I may not see him again before I leave the palace altogether. And he is ten, after all. I can hardly expect more elegance of mind than I myself showed at that age.

It always takes time to prepare for an imperial visit, but it takes even more for an old woman who has been recently ill. One would think that Shigeko was accustomed to emperors by now, but for some reason this visit

set her all a-flutter, and she fretted over my robes as much as she ever did when I was younger.

"Akihito's ten," I said. "He's not going to care, as long as I'm respectable."

She frowned at me. "He's not Akihito anymore. He's the *emperor,* my lady. Even if you seem to forget it; even if he doesn't care. You have a responsibility to look respectable." *Not to disgrace us all,* she meant.

"To him?" I said. "He didn't seem to care much for such things, back when he spent all his time vomiting on his clothes."

"Nevertheless," she said, refusing the bait. So many years together make all sports familiar.

My younger women were all flutters and excitement, resetting the sleeves for a green-gray robe combination that had been disassembled for cleaning. Shigeko and two others washed my face and throat and hands, and eased me into my garments, stuffing one sleeve full of soft papers to use if I coughed. They propped me up between them, and we walked down walkways and verandas and galleries at a pace I hoped looked more deliberate than feeble. (I find I have *some* vanities, after all.)

The emperor my great-grandnephew has immense rooms, but as most emperors seem to, he lives most of his time in a small area set off from the immense echoing spaces. Curtains and eye-blinds and a canopy create the illusion of walls and intimacy; the lovely floor is padded with reed mats and a phoenix-bright carpet from some unimaginably distant land. He is never alone, so he had with him his regent, a calligraphy instructor, and a number of men and women. Everyone still wore mourning for Shirakawa's death, so the room felt muted.

They all looked very young to me (as, in truth, everyone does, when one is seventy). I recognized only a few of them, but amused myself searching for resemblances to court people I had once known, all now retired or dead: *with that nose, he must be one of the Sugara boys; the girl must be the daughter, all right, granddaughter of Fujiwara no Kimiko*. One of the women (she had the square face and unconscious grace the Kuroku-clan girls all seemed to have) slipped across to me, and led me to a curtain-stand very near the emperor, placing a mat and helping me to settle.

She wafted to the emperor and murmured in his ear. The boy put down his brush with a certain air of relief and dismissed the calligrapher. "Aunt, I

trust I find you well? I heard you were ill, so I burned incense for your health." His voice was clear, sweet as the high notes on a set of *shō*-pipes.

"Thank you, Nephew. Highness," I added as an afterthought.

He stared critically at me, head tilted like a bird's. It is true that he is a ten-year-old boy; still, I was glad that Kignu had goaded the women into finishing these robes. "Are you feeling better?"

"Child, I am seventy years old. Remaining alive is as 'better' as I can hope for." A ripple of stifled laughter ran through the attendants. The emperor—most of these children—were too young to understand what I meant by this; even the boy's father was born forty years after I. I must seem unimaginably old to them all, like the clay figures we find sometimes at ancient gravesites.

My nephew frowned a little. "You must take care of yourself, Aunt," he said sternly.

Why? I did not ask. "Your concern touches me," I said, and found I meant it. An attendant entered and claimed his attention: a relief, for my eyes were burning, and I had to blow my nose, which I did as quietly as possible. Shigeko took the damp sleeve-paper from me and slid it into her own sleeve with the bland look of a woman for whom such unappealing actions are duty. I watched my nephew and his court for a time, content to let the activity, the clever puns and poems, drift around my ankles.

"Aunt?" the emperor asked, later, when not so many people were paying attention to us. "Are you dying?"

"Yes."

"Huh." He thought for a time, a single tiny line between his eyes. "Well, don't."

"I have no choice, child. None of us do." I wondered if he was thinking of Shirakawa, his great-grandfather, my half-brother. "I am sorry I won't see you grow up." I realized suddenly that this was true. I have seen so many of my family grow up and then grow old and die, or die young and untimely. It would have been nice to watch this one, as well. And to see next spring, and the winter after that, and the robins returning from the south, and the dragonflies after a rain, and anything and everything.

His voice was very small. "You used to sing to me. When I was a child."

"You remember this?" I had a vague recollection of having done so when he had flu and was too ill to do more than cry and sleep.

He nodded vigorously. “All about moths and, um, butterflies.”

“Really,” I said. I had not offered poetry, not *ki*-chronicles nor Chinese exhortations to proper behavior: I had sung a peasant’s love-song from the north. Dōmei had taught it to me, singing the woman’s lines in a squeaky voice that never failed to dissolve me in laughter. “You remember this.”

“I still know the words,” he added. “They were pretty.”

“Yes, they were,” I said softly. Dōmei and I sang the song often, even sometimes when we made love, tossing lines back and forth like poetry.

He spoke the first line, hesitantly, and then sang it. And I found I could not help but join him. My nephew’s voice was much higher than Dōmei’s had been; mine was much lower than it had been when I was young.

A ten-year-old emperor and a dying woman sang a peasant’s song taught her by a long-lost lover from the north. Life is full of wonders. Dō mei lives still, in my heart, and in words a child does not yet understand.

9. The *Shobu* Notebook

Kagaya-hime traveled with eighty horsemen, two hundred miscellaneous attendants, and a hundred twenty horses. This is a good-sized village's worth of people, though *this* village sent a vanguard to scout its way; slept somewhere different each night; and was almost entirely male and entirely childless.

Kagaya-hime knew even less of villages than she did of estates. The road had taken her through a number of them, but she did not usually stay in them longer than it took to find food; she was uncomfortable in the presence of so many people and the undetectable boundaries between their territories. The war band's constant motion eased the discomfort she might have felt in such a large gathering. She knew about motion and travel; she knew what it was to sleep under unfamiliar trees.

Any gathering of men—but particularly of warriors—is like a troop of monkeys. There are continual jostlings and posturings, males circling one another looking for weaknesses. (I learned this from my lover Dōmei's stories, though I do not think this is the lesson he expected me to learn.) Even if the group's leadership is incontestable, even if the hierarchies of commander and captain are established, there is another level of dominance, based not on lineage or military rank, but on personal strength and skill, and the indefinable element that makes this man attractive and that man merely ordinary. My half-brother had this charm, if you can use so slight a word for a power that won him lifelong loyalties and affection. Takase had it, as well.

Though the war band traveled quickly, there was plenty of time for monkey-games, for most of the men were experienced at campaigning. Yoshiee's war was not so many years in the past, and these were northerners; even the youngest were accustomed to the constant scuffles to protect their lands from robber gangs. Some of the games involved the horses pushing past one another at a trot or even a gallop—on unfamiliar terrain; Kagaya-hime watched and could not see what they accomplished by risking their horses' legs in this way.

Other games involved archery—shoot at that fencepost, shoot at this twig, see if you can slice the fuzz from a rabbit's tail without hurting the rabbit. They also involved talk and bursts of laughter, and mock arguments: "You first, and then I'll put my arrow through yours."—"That rabbit there? Let's see his hat marker. He's not high enough ranked for me, but he'll do for you."—For in battle everyone wore a wood tag attached to his *eboshi* cap, to make severed heads easier to identify, one assumes.

The day was beautiful. The sun was warm on Kagaya-hime's back, but when she crossed into shade she shivered, for the air was still cold. They crossed into Mutsu province in the morning, leaving Hitachi road for a new road: another stage between her and the Tōkaidō's irascible kami. Mutsu road was as unimpressive and variable as its predecessors had been, widening to a broad lane of drying mud when it passed through villages, deteriorating to a single dirty band where it crossed the hills.

The road was littered with signs of other travelers: worn straw sandals and hoof-covers, ox and horse droppings; torn paper that once protected something; a discarded lantern, its wood frame irreparable. Occasionally the band met others, who always stepped aside or wheeled their carts into the new growth along the road and stared up at the men and their horses as they loped past. "Look!" a child said as Kagaya-hime passed: "A girl! Why is she—" but she did not hear the end of his question, already far behind. Everywhere smelled of sun on earth and new growing things.

Biter seemed content to amble forward in the straggling line of horses and men. Kagaya-hime sat him easily, the heavy weight of her armor (though she did not yet wear her helmet or shoulder guards) eased where it rested against the saddle. She watched the land pass, and the attendants running over fields or hills to retrieve the arrows of their masters' monkey-games; and she was close to content.

When they stopped for the night, Kagaya-hime saw other monkey-games in how the men chose the places they would tie their horses and lie down to sleep. They all knew what it was to sleep on the ground and they were frankly uninterested in doing so whenever they could avoid it; but the farms and temples and shrines here were loyal to the Osa Hitachi and Seiwa Minamoto, and Takase did not choose to inconvenience (and possibly antagonize: loyalties in the north might as well be written on water) anyone by appropriating foods and roofs for his own people. Instead, dry patches

and tree-sheltered knolls were claimed; campfires sprang up, and the smell of food filled the air.

Kagaya-hime threaded her way through them all, unwilling to play the games (which are as pointless to a cat as they are to a woman), but fascinated with the men's loud voices, their jokes and profanities and boasts. Takase and Kitsune and their attendants shared a fire, a little away from the others, and when she passed them, Takase gestured her over: "Have your people set up here." He returned to his conversation with Kitsune.

"I don't—" Kagaya-hime began, and then she realized she *did* have people. Two attendants had been walking beside her horse for some time; she had not noticed this, for she had been full of her own thoughts. Their presence had seemed as natural as Biter's had on that day she'd first found him.

One of these attendants brushed past her with a quick, perfunctory bow, and setting down his pack started to unload rice and dried fish, striking up a conversation with the other servants as if he had known them for some time: a man of average size, neither handsome nor homely, dressed in sensible travel clothes, a peasant's straw rain cape thrown over one shoulder.

The other attendant was, amazingly, a woman: again, of average size and attractiveness, dressed in men's garb, but with a servant-girl's thick, short hair and a ready laugh in her eyes. Bowing, she eased Biter's reins from Kagaya-hime's slackened grasp, and led him toward the river, alternately cooing in his ear and exchanging greetings and insults with the other servants: the first person (if one did not count Kagaya-hime) that Biter had ever allowed to touch him.

Over the months, Kagaya-hime had learned that other people did not find that useful items (such as servants) magically appeared when needed. —Indeed, it is not common save for princesses.

I have had this experience myself, especially lately. I awaken, and there is a new woman waiting beside my bed. Without a word spoken, she helps me upright and to my chamber box, as if she has done this all her life, and mine. Dazed with sleep, I am not sure whether she is truly new, or I just do not remember her. My age is the standard excuse for my uncertainty; but as an excuse it is more convenient than true. I do not remember them all, because there have been so many of them, scores or hundreds of

interchangeable women who have attended me over the decades. A few remain vivid to me because their intelligence or charm or opinions made them intriguing companions.

It is more than servants and attendants, of course. If I need a new writing brush, it appears. Leaf-shaped paper, ink sticks, sesame-seed tea, coals for the braziers, clean under robes: these things materialize as if I had prayed to some god and found him in an accommodating mood. Often I do not realize the need is there until it is met.

I know that the world is not like this for other people—if they run out of rice they must somehow acquire more—though I have no idea how this might be done. I put down my brush and ask my companion, "If you ran out of rice, what would you do?"

"My lady?" Shikujo is the girl whose marriage is so unsatisfying (though she is nearly thirty now: no girl), my visitor from the provinces. We are the only two awake: even Shigeko has returned to her bed where she can sleep off the remnants of her *kaze*-cold.

"Rice," I say again. "If you were to run out—in your household, I mean—what would you do?"

"Have more brought in," she says.

"How?" I ask.

"Send the servants for it, I suppose. I'm not sure what you're asking me, my lady."

I sigh. Of course she doesn't understand: Shikujo is nearly as artificial a creature as I am. Neither of us could feed or clothe ourselves if others did not supply the food and silk—and this goes on, layers and layers, for our attendants need attendants, and so on, all the way down to the person who actually knows how to husk rice or peel the cocoons of silkworms. But that person is as distant from my experience as she would be from a cat wandering in the northlands.

Kagaya-hime has no idea how to make fabric and cannot grow sweet potatoes. Her clothing, food, horse—and now servants—all come from the gods (or me, actually, for I am the kami of this tale). I had not thought of it before this, but it is not an accident she is called *hime,* princess.

My woman Shigeko came to me as suddenly as a sneeze. This was some months before my father died and my half-brother the emperor summoned

me to court, so I must have been fourteen. I was officially a woman, but I was still awkward as a boy, all long strides and loud laughs, apt to hang around the gardeners and carry dead vermin into my rooms in my (usually filthy) sleeves.

I despised my foster father's and uncle's wives and even my own women. They had no intellect, no wit to follow my reasoning about the relations between butterflies and moths, or robins and sparrows. They did not read Chinese, or at least were careful never to be caught doing so. They cared about stupid things: *monogatari* tales; the endless stream of poetry that flowed, drab and steady as river water, from their brushes; the shapes of their eyebrows; the low quality of the silks from Mikawa province in recent years; who was having a baby, by whom, and when and why.

I would never pluck *my* eyebrows; they would never get me to care whether my robes were the correct shades of peach, and not unseasonable rose. Any husband I might get (and I did not care whether I ever had one, not knowing yet the tricky exchanges of power that demand marriage of a princess) would have to accept all this. I am sure that I was as thoroughly a burden to my family as ever they were to me.

It was early in the year, when water left in a cup overnight skins over with ice. I had escaped the woman who was nominally in charge of my behavior by the simple expedient of lying to her face. "Off to the outhouse," I said and bowed, unwilling to let her see my face. Really, I thought, she was as stupid as hens—they all were. And I spent the morning in the pine-and-cypress grove where I had once found my half-brother longing for his consort. There were beetles there, even in the cold.

I only came back when I was hungry, and my feet were so cold that I stumbled in my clogs. There was the usual flurry of activity and complaints. I ignored these as I always did, though I was grateful for the padded robes the women wrapped around me, and the brazier I knelt beside.

There was a new girl, tall and not much older than I was. Even I could see that her robes were simpler than those of the other attendants, the silks less valuable; but somehow, her manner made this look perfectly correct, and the others slightly fussy and overdressed. Her face was hardly pretty—perhaps the reason she was being sent off to attend me, and not married to someone who might improve her family's situation—but I thought it interesting. Most new girls were shy about meeting a daughter of the emperor, watching me with anxious eyes until forced forward by someone

more experienced; but she knelt apart reading—some romance, no doubt, I thought with contempt.

And then I noticed my notebook was missing—I was interested in wing-shapes back then; I expect it was the gray dogshead-silk one, filled with drawings of birds' wings—and knew somehow that this was what she was reading.

"You, girl," I snapped out. She approached and bowed correctly, but I saw her finger still keeping her page. "Give me that."

She bowed again as she laid it before me, but she did not retreat as another might have. "You must still be cold. Let me stir up the fire, my lady."

I watched her use iron sticks to mound the coals. She was right: I was still cold. I tapped the notebook's cover with one finger. "What were you doing with this?"

She tipped her head to one side, still intent on the sparking heap. "I wanted to see what sort of mistress I was getting."

"And what have you decided?" I said, my voice arrogant to conceal my sudden embarrassment.

She leaned forward and opened the notebook, finding a page. I am right: it *was* the gray notebook, because I remember an outstretched wing drawn with a fine brush. Conscious of a stranger's eyes on it, I squinted at the drawing. It looked wrong now. I had made the largest feathers too long, I knew suddenly.

"I learned," she said, "that you need someone else's eyes on you."

Startled, I looked up. She added, "—to keep you honest. You are too accustomed to things being easy for you."

I felt as though the floor had collapsed under me, as if she and I were alone, sprawled in the dirt. How dare she see me so clearly? "I could send you home in disgrace," I said, thinking about it.

"Yes," she said, and for the first time, I saw the shyness behind the bravado. "But I would like to stay, my lady."

"Why?" I asked baldly.

"I—would like to serve you."

"Why, if I am so flawed?" I asked again, but she only blushed and shook her head, and did not answer, even after I pressed her.

A conversation with Shigeko never really begins nor ends; more accurately, it began the day we met, and will end the day I die. One of us

says something, and we are distracted, by a letter or the moon's rising or a bat that has found its way under the eaves. Later, or the next day, or the next month, we return to that thought. Perhaps years go by. Some questions are never answered: we have learned to leave silent places in this forty-year wandering conversation, and in what we know of one another.

On the other hand, I can't sleep. "Shigeko," I bark.

I am curled in my sleeping robes, trying not to drip ink anywhere while I use this not-very-practical portable writing desk. Shigeko lies burrowed into her duck's-down padded robes beside me. She has always been a messy sleeper, making a nest like a mouse. I can tell from her breathing that she is not sleeping tonight, either.

"My lady?" She rolls to her side and leans on an elbow looking up at me. Her hair is neatly tied, but strands have strayed free and catch moonlight and lamplight, silver and copper. She looks as translucent and fragile as a jade Kannon.

"Why did you stay with me?" I do not say: *when you first came*. So many years in a single conversation: we no longer find it necessary to complete our thoughts.

She wraps her arms around her knees like a girl. I can't remember the last time I could do that, even though she is older than I. "Because I knew I could not bear not to be with you."

"Ah." I had expected any of a thousand answers, but not so deep an honesty.

She continues: "You were kind, I could see; and always thinking. Your women all loved you—love you still—there had to be a reason, I knew. I remember thinking how brave you were."

"I?" I say, startled. "Brave?"

She looks sidelong at me, smiling a little. "You're thinking you've never done anything brave. But, my lady, I saw you that first day, trapped in these rooms, pacing like a fox trapped in a storehouse, born under a thousand thousand rules; and I knew that it took bravery to be happy, with all that."

"You have lived exactly the same life," I say.

Her smile grows wider. "I did not say you were the only brave one."

I have to laugh.

⁂

All my life I have longed to see the Shirakawa barrier, at the border to Mutsu province. As a child I imagined it would be a fabulous place, with towers as tall as cedars, built of jade and turquoise and guarded by strong-armed men and horses that breathed fire. As I grew older and moderated my daydreams somewhat, I altered this vision to walls of thousand-year oak, and slender fierce guards with eyes like Mononobe no Dōmei.

I have never been, and now will never go, to the Shirakawa barrier and beyond, into Mutsu province. And now I cannot visit it even here, in Kagaya-hime's story. I had thought I controlled this tale, but if that were the case I would demand, "Everyone must now travel Mutsu road, along the banks of Abukama river," and it would be so. But Seiwa Minamoto no Takase, old and wily, gives other orders and I find I cannot naysay him. He must bring his band to the estate where Kitsune's brother was killed, which is three hundred miles north, in the heart of the Abe clan's lands, and he must do this without drawing undue attention. Mutsu road is much too frequented, so instead he slips through the less-visited Nakoso barrier to the east and travels the sea road, with mountains to his left and the great ocean to his right.

Kagaya-hime will not see Shinobu rock, where white silk left overnight flushes rose-red and amber. She will miss the fields of *susuki* grass at Kasashima, subject of so many really rather uninteresting poems. She will never see the two-trunked pine of Takekuma; she will not cross the bridge over Natorigawa river, built of wood from a previous incarnation of the sacred pine.

The war band paces off its miles, always within hearing of the ocean: sometimes hushed like the wind in firs, at others a crashing din, louder than a peasant couple hurling pots at one another. There are estates and villages, of course, but those who live by the sea have their own concerns and alliances. They do not care about the disagreements of those whose hair is not whitened with salt-rime. The war band travels quickly and comparatively silently, and no one rides ahead to warn the Abe clan.

The men of the war band will pass the provincial capital of Taga in fives and tens, secretly and at night, so as not to draw the attention of the governor and military there. They will travel nearly a hundred miles in a fortnight—and none of it will be the Mutsu province of my dreams.

Kagaya-hime called the servants Uona and Otoko. No one seemed to find it worthy of comment that they had appeared like dew, without warning, and that Uona was a woman.

Kagaya-hime had no difficulty keeping up with the war band. She belonged to no squad and shared allegiance with no one, so she left the group often and roved far ahead and down side-paths, bringing back deer and wild calves and birds.

Even her skills did not prevent many of the men from viewing Kagaya-hime's presence with distaste, though most could not have said why they did not care for her. I have noticed this before, that there are people who simply do not care for cats, and many of these people are men. There are also men who do not care for women (except in the most rudimentary ways); and still more men who dislike women who like men-things, water-clocks and war among them. She did not talk of her family, of course, so perhaps she had been disgraced or even exiled. And (the men said), she was probably not even from one of the bow-and-arrow clans, the only excuse anyone (let alone a woman) could have to mess around with weapons and such. Kagaya-hime was cat and warrior and woman, and she was also strange; the members of the war band could sense this, even if they could not identify it.

Days passed, and miles, and landmarks. The war band made camp under stars and rain clouds and the roofs of abandoned farmhouses. Because life is full of such minor catastrophes, saddle-frames cracked and bags of rice burst: evenings were spent repairing things and sharpening arrows. The men determined their hierarchy, and the monkey-games settled into jokes and posturing, repeated until they became little rituals. The joke about rabbits' hat markers became dogma: every insect met along the road was asked for its marker.

Kagaya-hime continued to share Kitsune's and Takase's fire. It was a busy place. When the evenings were dry enough, the captains assembled and debriefed the day. Most of the rest of the time Kitsune and Takase were deep in plans. Kagaya-hime said little; but she listened, and watched Takase, and smelled the ever-present infection in the old arrow-wound in his side. Takase in his turn watched her, as he watched all his troops.

Kagaya-hime grew used to Uona and Otoko. They were good servants, quiet, efficient, and very loyal. Otoko got into fights with the other

attendants, defending Kagaya-hime. Uona was a storyteller, perhaps the best of the war band. On fine nights, the other servants gathered around to listen to her tell the story of the daughter of the moon, or the fox-wife and the Kannon; but she refused to tell tales in the presence of people who had criticized her mistress.

Most of the men distrusted or feared Kagaya-hime, or tried not to think of her at all. (Nearly everyone hides from the thing we do not understand—death, for example.) But one or two wondered to themselves who—or what—she was. She could shoot a swift from the sky, and she never lost an arrow. She said little, yet the commander and his war leader kept her close, shared their fire with her. She appeared tireless. Even by the eastern provinces' high standards for horses Biter was exceptionally fine (if fractious)—a dragon of a horse. Her servants were exemplary.

I have said that the war band was men, but there was another woman attached, the priestess Onobe no Kesuko. A war band needs priests as much as it needs weapons, and Kesuko served a shrine to Hachiman in Omi province, which owed a certain loyalty to Takase and had sent her when he requested their benison. She was a severe woman, younger than I (but not by so very much), slim and rough-edged as sword-grass. She wore women's robes and a travel cloak and basket-hat that concealed her face from the raff and scaff of the war band. She and her party kept much to themselves, for they could not afford to compromise their ritual purity; but she often came to Takase's fire to offer advice. Kagaya-hime did not like Kesuko, but she understood her better than she did any of the others with whom she traveled, for Kesuko's cold manners reminded her of the cousins and aunts she had lost.

Kesuko and Kagaya-hime circled one another warily. But on the fourth night of travel (roofless under a cloud-stained sky, on the mashed young stems of a trampled buckwheat field), Kesuko stopped by Kagaya-hime, who remained by the fire as the captains left the nightly council, playing idly with a thick silk tassel from Biter's bridle. "Come," Kesuko said.

Even the daughter of an emperor does not comfortably say no to a priest of the myriad gods; and Kagaya-hime was not experienced with generating quickly the excuses that might have been palatable to Kesuko or her kind (as a princess is; over the many years I have grown proficient with such lies). Kagaya-hime only nodded and stood, handing the tassel to Uona.

Typically Kagaya-hime navigated the encampment's chaos as a cat passes through unfamiliar ground: remaining at its fringes, moving from safety to safety. Kesuko moved as a tiger might, walking a straight line across the ground, men and animals scattering before her, sidestepping only for the fires themselves. Kesuko led Kagaya-hime directly to the stream: once clear, now churned the frothy brown of certain teas. "Sit," she ordered, and Kagaya-hime, who disliked orders (in truth, barely understood what they might be), found herself sitting on a rough cold rock beside the water.

Kesuko nodded. "Now. What are you?"

Kagaya-hime turned her face away but watched the priestess sidelong from the corner of one eye. "I am nothing and no one. They call me Kagaya-hime. I will fight."

"No doubt these are all true," Kesuko said. "But you do not answer my question."

Kagaya-hime looked her directly in the face. "Why should I tell you anything? Seiwa Minamoto no Takase is commander here. I do what I wish."

The priestess thought for a moment, seemed to make a decision, and sat down on a different rock, some feet away. "No, I think you do what you must. Your wishes have nothing to do with it."

If Kagaya-hime had still been a cat, she would have hissed and shown her claws, for Kesuko saw too much: a threat, if not a physical one. "My *fudoki*—my ground, my tale—is gone. And now I have lost my body, my claws, and teeth." She gestured at herself, a short angry sweep of her clenched fist. "Ask your gods what I am; they know better than I."

Perhaps Kesuko understood Kagaya-hime's defensive flare, for she changed the subject, tipped her head from side to side as if listening to the cracking behind her ears. "I am never going to get my neck stretched out. I slept wrong the first night out, and now—this." She rubbed the cords of her neck. "There are eight million gods. Eight million million gods. They do not all speak to one another, or with me. I ask because I must know: are you a risk to Seiwa Minamoto no Takase, or this campaign, or the men of this band?"

"I am dangerous," Kagaya-hime said, "but not to these men, unless they threaten me."

Kesuko nodded her head. "That is fair. A question that follows is: are *they* a danger to *you*? It is hard to be a woman and travel with so many

men."

"Because they will mate with me?" Kagaya-hime asked. "Men have tried."

"Unsuccessfully, I expect." Kesuko's eyes glimmered with what might have been a smile. "Rape is the least of the dangers. No: we are all killers here. Even I ask the gods to let us kill, and I carry this"—she touched her sword's hilt—" on the chance that I will do so, as well. Remain with us, and you lose the chance to be otherwise."

"I will cope," Kagaya-hime said.

Kesuko stood. "Will you? These men all think they will cope, as well. I have seen much fighting, girl, and I know this: most will stay to fight, because they do not wish their friends to die if they can be there to stop it. Some will find they have no taste for killing, or even fighting. Others will like it too well and will flee from this mirror to their souls, or remain to drown themselves in the killing rage. Which will you be?"

"I have killed before," Kagaya-hime said. "I will do so again."

"I still have not made myself clear. If you stay, if you fight and wound and kill—why will you have done this? Loyalty to Seiwa Minamoto no Takase or the Osa Hitachi? You had not met them a season ago. Loyalty to the men of your campfire? To protect your family, your friends?"

"I kill because it is what I have left," Kagaya-hime said.

"A dangerous path, girl," Kesuko said. "There is always more." Before Kagaya-hime could ask anything, she strode away.

I have had a bellyful of priests in recent days. I have made no secret of my plans to retreat to Kasugano and become a nun; for some reason this has brought priests and monks and nuns out in force to reassure me that I do a virtuous thing; that rebirth awaits me; that my story does not end, but only moves into a new notebook.—Rebirth or the True Land: whenever followers of different sects gather here, they start bickering over doctrine. I am not sure whether the new notebook they mention is my move to Kasugano, or death.

I have been telling everyone that I look forward to serving Buddha for the rest of my life. It is the proper thing to say, like: *I will love you forever,* and: *I care about poetry*. But I think that I am more honest if I say that what I look forward to are negatives. I look forward to not waking up each

morning within these infinitely familiar screens. I look forward to having my hair cut, so that it does not take a day and a night to dry, to wearing robes that do not bow my shoulders with their weight. No intrigue. No late nights spent trying to show interest in something other than my bed. I do not long to move *toward* Buddha, only away from everything else. I have a feeling this decreases my virtue in becoming one of the Kasugano nuns.

I am not tired of life—I do not want to die; there are days when I shut myself in my sleeping enclosure and cry in sheer rage, aware that my body will betray me in the end—but oh, I am so tired of *this* life. These walls, this sky. How can I die when I have seen so little?

I think of the priests and monks and nuns because a priestess sent by Ise shrine has been with me today. She can't be more than twenty years of age; too young, I would have thought, to speak for the kami. She is some sort of grandniece or cousin's child, though I cannot remember exactly how we are related.

All my other women were gone—even Shigeko, off bidding farewell to my visitor from the provinces, who is leaving court for her monthly courses (one of the advantages to growing old has been that I no longer must relocate so frequently). The priestess knelt with me and drank tea and ate little cakes made of sweet rice and liana syrup. She is extraordinarily graceful. I wonder why her parents permitted her to be sent to the shrine, for she could have married with great success, I think.

I found the visit comforting, for it comes with no promises, no exhortations, no differences of dogma. Unlike all the Buddhas, the kami have no great lessons for me or, I think, for anyone. They simply are.

There was a day when my husband (well, husband-to-be) was considered old enough to wed. This was the year my half-brother retired from the throne, and handed it to his son, though the child (I should call him Horikawa, for he is dead now) was still quite young. I'm not sure why my half-brother did this, for he loved the work of ruling; did he really think he could be as happy retiring to one of his estates and concentrating on the sutras? In any case, he did not do so, for Horikawa was always frail and interested more in poetry than in matters of the court: if an emperor was to rule us, it would have to be a retired emperor.

Shirakawa retired to his residence south of the capital's walls, though he visited the capital often (it is only a mile, after all). I accompanied him when I could. It was a year or two after this, when we were at the southern residence, that my uncle told me that the boy he had selected for me was old enough to be wed.

I had been examining a dead crow Shigeko brought to me, and attempting to record the delicate feathering of its leg, the glossy scales that covered its clawed foot. It was of course highly improper that I bring any dead thing into the house of an emperor, retired or otherwise, but I salved my conscience by thinking of the fleas we all killed without compunction, even in his presence. If a flea (or a mosquito, or a louse) was acceptable, surely a crow, which everyone knew was a mere scavenger, could be only a little worse.

Mercifully, my uncle would not be allowed behind my curtain, so the dead bird and the mysterious stains I had somehow accumulated from its body would not be visible to him. "How old is he?" I asked absently.

I could see out, for the curtain was just transparent enough to allow this. I watched him shift his weight a little. He cleared his throat. "He is thirteen—but well built for his age. He had his manhood ceremony this spring."

I stifled a laugh, for I was then nearly thirty. Well, perhaps he would be interested in dead birds: children often were. It was arranged that I would go to my uncle's house for a time, and the boy—"man"—would come to me there.

It was the sixth month when he first visited. The convention is that visits between men and women are serendipitous; he and she are admiring the moon in the same courtyard; or he passes her house on a rainy night and seeks shelter; or he idly accompanies a friend visiting another woman in the same rooms. Of course my uncle and I—and everyone in the house, I expect—knew the day and time he was expected to arrive; but none of us were allowed to admit it.

Even as she pretended there was nothing special to the night, Shigeko dressed me with special care that evening. I remember my robes were yellow and sea-green gauze, the outermost woven with a pattern of waves (I'm sure we'll find them in one of the trunks we haven't yet emptied)—and she refused to let me do anything that might possibly dirty the pale silk. Forced inactivity is never comfortable; I fidgeted from place to place, and

tried to interest myself in a collection of poems that was popular in court just then.

He arrived at the dog's hour, along with a little army of male friends and attendants, my uncle's son among them. It was understood (if not mentioned) that my cousin had invited him to drink wine in one of the garden's pavilions—my uncle being conveniently away, busy with something or other at court. My suitor would somehow end up, not there, but on the verandas of my rooms, and it would all be very charming and poetic, and he would eventually end up in my bed.

Everything happened as predicted. The men had been drinking together, so they were somewhat more ribald than I had expected; but by the rat's hour, most of the men wilted off to other assignations; and my husband-to-be was behind my curtains. Dim light conceals much—age and youth, flaws and tics—but he looked a mere infant to me, too young to have had his trouser ceremony. Thirteen was far younger than I had remembered. His face had the perfect roundness of beauty—or baby-fat. He was elegantly dressed—no doubt some attendant had fussed over him as obsessively as Shigeko had over me. We exchanged a few conventional poems. He was as uninspired as I in creating them, which made me hope his attention was focused on some other, more interesting topic—moths, perhaps, or Chinese medicine: something we might share after marriage. I had never heard that he was an intellectual, but I knew almost nothing about him.

The lovemaking was as inept—and incomplete—as might be expected. The sky was already growing pale and he would need to leave before daylight, so we did not have much time. He smirked at me (thirteen! a horrible age) as he fumbled at my sash, trying to untie what was a very simple knot and succeeding only in tangling it past remedy.

I realized suddenly that, had I wed the first husband my uncle found for me (the one who died of smallpox), I might well have a son his age. With this came a certain sympathy. Here the poor child was, trying to impress a woman more than twice his age, his future wife, the daughter and sister and aunt of emperors. He was probably intimidated by my sexual experience (which was not inconsiderable) and simply overdoing it in an attempt to seem worldly. I tried not to sigh out loud, but I allowed him to paw me through my robes until he left at dawn.

After he left I surprised everyone, including myself, by vomiting until my throat burned and my muscles ached. Shigeko attributed this to nerves.

For the wedding to be finalized, he would visit me for the next two nights and stay late the third, and we would share wine. And then it would all be over, “and we can go back to what we were,” Shigeko said, comfortingly.

Pah. I cannot bear to think of him just now. My cat and her journey are a welcome distraction from unpleasantness.

Mutsu province is a patchwork of estates that offer loyalty to any of a dozen or more great men or monasteries or temples, most of them a very long way away. Some of these estates are nothing at all, only uncut forest and fields that have been allowed to grow over and vanish back into the countryside. The farther from Hitachi province the war band came, the fewer Osa Hitachi estates and farms there were and the less certain their loyalty; and once they had passed the provincial capital Taga, there were barely a handful. This was why Nakara’s brother had come here in the first place, to solidify influence in the region.

At the same time, the Abe estates grew more common, and more directly linked—for alliances and allegiances are not as simple as I am pretending. There are layers of loyalties, overt or hidden, and nuances of promise and oath, and the *only-if*s and *what-if*s of conditional alliance. It is hard to say, “This household is loyal to the Abe,” because the household may simultaneously be loyal to the Onobe, who are enemies of the Abe; and to the Tendai temple at Taga, which hates both Onobe and Abe. In the end a household’s loyalty is to itself—and to the emperor, of course.

Still, at some point beyond Taga the war band’s journey crossed an invisible barrier. Beyond it, the estates they passed (or passed through) became what might now be considered enemies, with loyalties to the Abe, and not to Osa Hitachi or Takase or to any of the men who traveled with the war band. The men knew now that whoever they met was an enemy, or might as well be, and the lack of ambiguity was a relief of sorts.

Takase, Kitsune, and Kagaya-hime spent more of their time listening to reports from scouts. From time to time Kagaya-hime and Biter went exploring and brought back information of their own. She knew little and cared less about the spiderweb of politics, so she brought back news of useful wells and flooded river-fords—phenomena of interest to a traveling cat.

10. The Chang-An Notebook

I have been ill for several weeks—so tired, so very tired. The thing that fills my chest and leaves no room for breath evidently left room for a *kaze*-cold of sorts, for I found myself coughing out gobbets of dull green matter, and even blood. Shigeko moved me from the palace, of course—dying here would have been bad for the palace's purity—taking me to her family's residence on Konoe avenue, since her family is one of the few exalted enough to host a princess. The coughing (and the gobbets) eased, though they have not abandoned me; but they left in their place a terrible pain, as if I inadvertently coughed out some vital organ. Still, I am accustomed to pain of many sorts, and this is not what will kill me.

Perhaps I should have gone to Kasugano rather than return to the palace. Shigeko was surprised—I suspect she is looking forward to the simplicity of life there, of a life after I am gone—but I found I could not. The emptying of my trunks is only half-finished. I recently found a little teakwood cabinet filled with letters exchanged with one of my half-sisters when she was in retreat at Ise. She was prolific (as was I, it seems), and for some days I amused myself by hearing the echoes of her voice as Shigeko read the letters to me, one after the other. What other letters, memories, remain in those trunks?

And another reason: I did not want to leave this unfinished, these notebooks of my life. Writing is a habit into which I have fallen. It is hard to break.

And so five days ago (was it? I am not sure, for I have been sleeping such odd hours lately, tucked deep in my rooms away from daylight and stars) I returned here. Since then I have slept, and stared into the coals of my brazier (will I ever be warm again?). Today is the first day I have tried to write, and even these few lines have required that I rest three times.

Shigeko has watched me write and write and write—over the years, yes, but also here, in all these once-blank notebooks. She has seen how hard writing is for me, just now, and she has finally asked me what I write.

"Memories," I tell her. "Dreams."

“Why?” she asks. “You have all your old diaries”—though this is no longer true; many have already been picked apart and fed to the flames of braziers like this one.

“It is something to do,” I say. I do not tell her that I write because I must, because the price of my life is telling this story, if only to myself. If I die without telling it, I die in debt, and I will never be able to move into the Pure Land.

She does not ask more, not tonight, but no conversation between us truly ends.

There was a day when they were at last very close to their goal, and Kitsune took a handful of men and rode ahead to survey the situation at the Osa Hitachi estate. It had rained for three days, and the band had camped on steep pine-covered slopes that offered cover from the interminable tap-tap-tap of the rain—but only in exchange for irregular gouts of water that gathered and then dropped from the branches—the difficult choice between a steady small evil and a sporadic great one. Takase was not allowing patrols, so Kagaya-hime remained close to camp, and vented her irritation at being cold and wet by throwing knives into the soft bark of a yew, again and again at the place where she had seen a beetle, though nothing remained of the beetle and very little of the wood where it had walked. Biter stood under the thick rice-straw rain blanket Otoko had made for him, snapping idly at anyone who came within reach. The morning and the afternoon dripped on; and then dusk, made drab by the heavy skies. Takase sat back on his heels in silence beside the fire, absently rubbing his ancient arrow-wound. He said little, and Kagaya-hime said less. Cats and commanders know how to wait.

Kitsune did not return until shortly after full dark had fallen. Kagaya-hime woke from a doze when she heard horses walking and soft voices. Kitsune dismounted slowly, and handed his reins to a servant, then stumbled to the fire and sank back onto his heels. He was soaked through: gold and orange firelight glistened on his wet face. The horses and other riders moved away. There was a stranger with the group, a peasant by his looks, who remained near Kitsune just at the edge of the light, squatting under an immense rain hat. Peasants also know how to wait.

Takase had been sleeping beside the fire, but with the arrival he eased himself upright, and coughed and spat on the ground. “Well, boy. I didn’t expect you’d find your way back through the trees until morning.”

Takase’s attendants always had water heated at camp (an old man—or woman—is offered such courtesies); now they poured it onto tea leaves and handed cups to their master and Kitsune. He smelled of horses and wet silks and sweat and exhaustion—and tears, Kagaya-hime realized. He was crying: that was the water on his face.

Takase watched him for a moment. “Well, and—?” he said, and his voice was more gentle than Kagaya-hime had heard before.

Kitsune did not look up from the cup he cuddled in his hands. His voice was almost too low to hear, even in the quiet camp. “I knew they burned it,” he said, “that they killed him; my nephews, my baby niece—everyone. I knew it.—And it was nearly a year ago.” A tear slipped from his face, a gold flash in the light before it fell into his cup. “We got there at midday, maybe the horse’s hour. Some of the buildings are just gone, just charcoal. Farmers have been breaking up some of the structural timbers, burning what’s left in their ovens. The main house is about half-ruined.—They’re keeping mares in it nights, to protect them from wolves. My brother’s house.” He looked up suddenly. “It’s almost a year, now. It still smells like smoke.”

“Like kitchen fires and sulfur,” Kagaya-hime said. She remembered the burned grounds on Nijō avenue, the cats with burning eyes that might have been real or might have been ghosts. “And death.” Her nails were biting into her palms. She flexed her hands, trying to relax, and saw Takase and Kitsune looking at her. “I have seen it,” she said. “My *fudoki*. My aunts and cousins—that is how we died.”

“Well,” Takase said again. “What’s the situation there, boy? Where are the Abe?”

Kitsune rubbed his eyes. “The main force went back north in the autumn, but there’s still one of the family here, the fourth son and his family; and a cousin. They’re not rebuilding; they ride over from an estate a few miles away to check on things.” He gestured at the peasant, still crouched out of the fire’s circle of warmth. “Mori here knows more. He served my brother before—” His voice trailed off.

“You,” Takase barked at the man. “Come here.” The farmer crept forward, forehead nearly to the ground. “Where is this other place?”

“That way,” the peasant said and pointed into the darkness without looking up. “Two miles east and north of my master’s old estate. Ten miles from here.”

“You have been there?”

The man nodded.

“Who is there?”

“Abe no Juro—that is the fourth son, my lord; his cousin—families and servants—thirty horsemen—” The peasant looked up doubtfully. “And the servants, and all the locals.”

Takase looked up at the sky, as if he could see stars and moon through the dripping clouds. “It’s still early,” he said, “the rat’s hour or thereabout—”

The peasant pressed his face to the wet dirt again. “The boar’s hour, my lord.” Peasants can often tell such things.

Takase said, “Early, at any rate. We can be there long before dawn and attack while they sleep, before they’ve heard we’re here.”

Kitsune stood, his eyes flat in the firelight. “Attack them. Yes.”

“Lords—” The peasant’s voice sounded as though it had been wrung from him. “Please. My sister and her husband serve there. They have children.”

“So did my brother have children,” Kitsune said.

“My sister did not burn your brother’s family,” the peasant said, as sharply as he dared. “Please, let me send her word. She will leave and never say a thing, I swear it.”

“No,” Takase said. “She would have friends, and she would tell them. It must be this way.”

“Then they are dead,” the peasant said and turned his face away, toward the darkness and the rain.

There were few guards on the estate, the inhabitants evidently trusting to the wet night as their best protection. Forerunners found only three men standing under trees. Their senses numbed by the steady rain and the late hour, they died silently, perhaps without even realizing they died.

The war books I read so long ago were full of elaborate strategies with names that sound like sexual positions from a Chinese handbook; but on the night I listened to the old warriors from Yoshiee’s war, I learned that the

commonest strategies are the simplest. Ambush: night attacks: destroying a bridge so the enemy cannot approach: out-and-out flight.

Burning an enemy's household while he sleeps is popular, as well. The guards gone, Takase found it simple to arrange his war band around the main buildings of the estate. The horses he left out of earshot, for they had picked up their riders' excitement and could not be trusted to stay silent.

Not everyone was asleep, of course. There is always some old woman with aching bones, or a mother soothing her colicky baby, or a man full of wine shifting restlessly, his bladder full. But they were unlucky this night, or cursed. Everyone stayed inside and no one heard the Osa Hitachi men take their positions. The dogs must have heard, and the geese with which farms are always infested, but they said nothing—or perhaps did not hear, after all, over the rain.

Kagaya-hime's eyes were better than the men's, but there was little to see: the buildings and the men brought for this attack were just variations in the darkness, more felt than seen. Takase was a black bulk a few steps from her. When he spoke, his voice was low: "Bring the torches." The order was passed until she lost it in the rain. A moment later, lights dull as fox-fire bobbed toward the heavy mass of the main house: torches guttering in the rain. The torchbearer nearest her was Osa Hitachi no Kitsune. Watching to ensure his fire did not die, he walked carefully, feeling his way over the puddled ground. Tiny red lights flicked across his face. Kagaya-hime thought about the dream-thing of eyes and flames, the killing rage, and recognized it in Kitsune. She did not recognize the other torchbearers, but guessed that they, too, had lost family.

The main house was a typical rural building, thatched rather than tiled for warmth in the winters. The structure was raised on pillars, the roof far out of reach; but in one place the thatch had loosened over the winter and not yet been repaired. It hung down in a sloppy garland, like the frayed straw rope at a neglected shrine. Kitsune held his torch high beneath the overhang until the rice straw hissed as it dried, barely audible over the rain and the dripping trees. Dull red light licked certain stems, too weak to spread.

"Did it catch?" one man murmured to another, both nameless in the gloom. "Maybe he should—"

"Wait," the other said, and there was a noise, the soft sudden movement of air as new-dried straw burst into flames.

The men around Kagaya-hime took a simultaneous step as if pushed back by the light. Kitsune ducked backward, away from the sudden fire, and tossed the torch onto the roof. The clearing brightened as pillars of fire shot up elsewhere. “Now *that’s* a light you can read by,” one of the men said and laughed without humor. Kagaya-hime could see his intent face. They all had this look: the expression of a cat before she jumps.

They heard the first shout inside the main building: “Fire,” and then, “Fire! The roof—look!” screams and disorder. People tumbled through the doorway, a woman and two children, one an infant. One of Takase’s men shouted, “She’s mine,” and shot her in the belly, below the baby in her arms. She fell without a cry, dropping to her knees and then side. The child beside her stared stunned at the men outside until an arrow took him in the chest. He collapsed backward into a man and old woman stumbling out. The baby of the fallen woman started wailing as the man screamed. The old woman was silent for a single white-eyed moment before she turned to shout inside. “It’s an attack. We’re—”

She fell to the ground clutching the flesh around an arrow set fletching-deep into her thigh. “Well, shit,” she said before the next arrow slashed into her face.

The flames were young, bright and enormous as funeral pyres, though black smoke and glowing steam obscured them in places. Sparks showered the clearing; it was only when one landed on her face that Kagaya-hime realized that some were drops of rain catching the light.

The men of the war band howled, fierce as wolves, eyes shining flat and pale. They shot everything that came through the door, and after a time no one tried to escape that way except fowl and a terrified dog with a great dirty burn along its flank.

This was how it had been for her home, for the cats of Kagaya-hime’s tale—not the arrows but the fire, the thatch collapsing, the agonizing death, the impossibility of escape. She had lost everything in fire; but this did not make her merciful. She killed people as they ran out, and when they stopped coming she shot arrow after arrow into the flaming door, as if to kill those still inside. Perhaps this was mercy of a kind; no one had offered the cats of her *fudoki* so quick a death.

This is the way of war—of this war, anyway. Perhaps somewhere in the world, among the barbarians beyond India or across the great ocean, there are civilized wars with rules of engagement and judges to determine proper

behavior. Perhaps strategies are clever and complicated and minimize unnecessary deaths. Perhaps the only people who die are warriors sent to the scene of battle for no other purpose than to kill or be killed. Perhaps there is somewhere that chroniclers can tell the plain truth about a battle without shocking even the most delicate of sensibilities.

But I rather doubt this. We are a civilized people, in our way (dare I say it?) more sophisticated even than China; and yet I cannot forget the stories of the men from Yoshiee's war. Even for us war is unpleasant; surely it must be more so elsewhere.

Kagaya-hime understands war, accepts it as I do not. Why would she not? She is a cat, a killer by nature. She has seen children killed before this: the males of her race have been known to kill the kittens of a *fudoki* when they claim its territory. Perhaps this is the way of all males, to kill. They have no *fudoki* and so all that is left to them is life and death and their children. But I am forgetting; this is Kagaya-hime I am speaking of. Human males, men—Dōmei—surely they are more than this.

The cries ceased after a time, or were drowned by the fire. The screaming infant that had been crying fell silent; the heap of bodies before the door smoked, smelled of cooking meat. The war band's shouts stopped, and as it became certain that there would be no last-ditch escape—no one was left alive in the buildings to attempt one—men left the fire. Some wept or vomited as they walked, or collapsed as if they had fought for their lives, or shivered as if ill or injured. Some stayed: Kagaya-hime, Kitsune, Takase, others.

"Why are they sick?" she asked Takase. A man—the one who had laughed at the fire—had fallen to his knees, body wrenched with dry retching.

Takase turned to look at her, his expression harsh. "It takes some people this way. We've killed a lot of people."

"Wasn't that why you did this?"

He barked a humorless laugh. "Clever girl. We chose to kill them, but that doesn't mean we don't suffer for it."

"Why? You're alive, they're dead. This is what you wanted, and this is the way of things for you, is it not?" she asked: reasonably, she thought, but he eyed her as if she were a stranger found suddenly standing beside him.

“Yah,” he said, and spat on the ground; smoke leaves a bitter taste in the mouth. “We watch death and imagine it as if it were ours, our comrades’. Because it could have been. Will be, someday.”

“Is that why he vomits?”

“Maybe. Yes. No. Ask him, why don’t you.”

“Why don’t they *all* turn away?” She gestured.

“Some lost family,” Takase said. “They want to see these others die.”

“It doesn’t bring them back.”

“You lost your family, girl. Didn’t you want to kill someone, anyone, after that?” Takase rubbed his eyes. “Gah, I’ll go blind from this smoke. There are people who love death, who kill because it fills them with joy.”

“Oh, yes,” Kagaya-hime said softly. “Because the killing reminds them that they, at least, are alive.” A timber broke and collapsed inward, and a flame as tall as the trees shot up from the building’s interior. They stood in silence for a while. “Why do you watch this?”

Takase said. “I watch because—” He gave a short laugh. “I’m dying; I might as well tell you the truth. I’m here because I’m better at war than at anything else.”

“I also,” Kagaya-hime said. Cat and commander understood one another.

Fire in the night: the priest from the nunnery has been with me, and tells me to contemplate the sutras when I cannot sleep, as happens increasingly. It is my salvation, he tells me: my hope for rebirth into enlightenment.

But tonight I cannot. It is the tenth month now (can I have written for two whole months? I recall beginning these notebooks in the eighth month). I have been cold for so long, but for some reason tonight, when winter’s first frost glitters under the nearly full moon, I am sweltering as much as I did when my courses stopped, all those years ago. I do not hurt so much tonight, but earlier this evening the flush of heat drove me out walking a little, leaning on Shigeko until her back creaked. Now Shigeko sleeps, and I shift restlessly, pulling my sweat-sticky robes away from my skin.

Dōmei. His skin felt good, tasted better. Like any civilized man, he wore scent, and I remember he smelled of Chinese oranges and sandalwood; but beneath that was something rich as pheasant-meat, musky but sweet. I can remember it so vividly; if I close my eyes, it is so strong that I can imagine

him in my room, and see him untying his *hakama*-trousers behind my eyelids. He looks across the room at me, his eyes glinting with humor and passion. My heart pounds; I am choked with longing, sweet and hot and tart, like biting into sun-warmed fruit. He always loved to touch my throat, even lay his cheek and lips against it as we made love. My hand (the memory of his hand) reaches up to touch my neck and I feel—this. Skin as fragile and furred and folded as much-used mulberry paper. This is an old woman's throat. My throat. Dōmei is gone, and I am dying, and I will never never never be young again and feel his touch.

In my secret heart, I curse all the gods and Buddhas who permitted me to become old, who let Dōmei go.

Dōmei could not sleep nights, or did not sleep well, at any rate. Dreams haunted him, dreams he could never (or chose never to) tell me when I awakened him, unsettled by the inarticulate sounds he made, the sweaty thrashing as he fought the bed robes.

It is not a bad thing to have a lover who does not sleep well, when he may only visit you in the hours between dusk and dawn. Nights, we made love frequently and slept seldom, and I dozed my days away. I wonder (now, with the wisdom that has nothing to do with contemplation and everything to do with age) whether we had sex so often and so enthusiastically because he wished to batter himself against my body until he was too exhausted to dream.

But there was a night I had forgotten until this moment. It was winter, and snow was falling. This numbed the air, muffled it as thoroughly as summer humidity ever did. I had a bet with Dōmei about making snow mountains, so two of my women and Dōmei's two attendants chased around the peony courtyard throwing up plumes as they pawed the snow into heaps. Dōmei and I and the rest of my attendants watched, feet close to the braziers we had brought onto the veranda. The men were faster and more efficient, of course, so I sent Shigeko out to assist my team. Dōmei protested the cheat, and when I only laughed and tossed my head, he waded into the snow himself, tossing snow between his legs, dog-style, onto his mountain.

So, improper as it was, I went out myself to regain the advantage for my side. Others of my women tumbled after me. Protesting through his laughter, Dōmei tossed a handful of snow my way, a slow bright cascade in the torches. And I tossed snow at him, and my women at the men and at one another, and soon the courtyard was filled with squeals and screeching, for all the world as if we were none of us old enough to be trusted with using ink. As with the mountain-building, at first the men had the advantage of us, but I learn quickly, and it was no time at all before I had realized that the snow threw farther and more accurately when compressed into firm balls the size of a fist.—Which is not to say I was any better at this than I had been at shooting arrows at a target: I missed far more often than I hit, and even then it was not usually what I aimed at.

Dōmei encouraged me to fling these balls at him, his laughter muffled, granted intimacy by the snow-filled air. He tossed his own carefully, close enough to incite me, distant enough not to strike me.

I tossed my balls of snow and learned: harder next time, and a little more to the right. I threw one so well that he was forced to duck. And the next time, when he was distracted by a snowball from Shigeko, I struck him solidly on the side of the face.

A face full of snow cannot be pleasant—snow crunched tight until it is hard as wood must hurt like being struck with a club. The snowball exploded into dust and smoke. Dōmei dropped into a crouch of sorts, then leapt toward me, hands out to strike, eyes unrecognizing. I dropped to my knees, preparing to die. He would not mean it. I knew this would be no more than the unconscious slap of a man at a mosquito, a dog snapping at a flea that had bitten it. But I would be dead anyway.

I closed my eyes but I did not die, instead heard him fall to his knees before me, heard horror in his voice as he whispered my name.

This was the end of the snow-games that night. I coaxed him to stay with me, behind my curtains for a while, because the look in his eyes had frightened me, and I needed to replace it in my memory with other, tenderer expressions. He stayed because—I don't know why he stayed. I loved him, lived in his sleeve (and he in mine) for a year and a season; and I think I never knew who he was. He was Dōmei, the man from the hinterlands. He was a wild animal come to stay in my garden for a time. I watched him and wondered, but I never understood.

Dōmei slept that night, though he did not often do so in my presence—slept and dreamt. I woke in the darkness, to the sound of a man crying, and it was him, sobbing as he slept. I cannot say what had happened to the lamp, the braziers, for we lay in a darkness like the inside of mourning sleeves. I called his name; when this did not awaken him, I touched his hand and then his cheek.

"What?" He thrashed awake.

"It's just I." When I stroked his face, I found it wet, and his body shaking. "What is it?"

"I was at the Moki estate, with my father—" The Moki estate: I knew this place from a casual allusion he made once to one of his attendants. The Mononobe clan and the Moki had fought; the Mononobe had won. "—and they were crying, all the women, inside the house. I heard them screaming."

"Hush, hush. It's all right. You're here now. You're awake."

"I was awake then, too, Harueme."

I barely breathed, for I had never heard this tone in his voice before.

Lamplight and even daylight change what we say. We see someone's face and adjust our conversations accordingly: catch her interest, make him laugh. Certain things can be said only in darkness, true darkness, where one cannot see fear or horror or disgust in one's auditor. In the light (and there is always light, it seems: moon and stars, embers if nothing else; but not this night, not as it lives in my memory) Dōmei spoke of a thousand pleasant or amusing things: stories of his brothers, his horses, pranks and games and delights—it is no wonder I longed to see his home! He said nothing of battles, though I knew there had been several.

But the snow-fight and now the darkness—he spoke, in a voice I scarcely recognized. He had seen just such a night-attack as this I have written, years before. The fire that Kagaya-hime watches is his story—or the story I imagined behind his disjointed fragments of image and sentence that night; for he did not say, this happened and then that happened. He gave only details: how the screams ended in gurgles, sobs, an old man's voice that said, "I'm tired, mama"; the mixed smells of wet thatch and the burning dead; a lone baby crying in the growing heap of bodies by the door until it fell silent.

I thought at first this was a nightmare he recounted. It could not be possible for someone I knew, loved—for *Dōmei*—to have experienced this.

I asked no questions, for I could think of none I might want answered. I held him until he stopped shaking and squeezing out the bitter words. He fell silent and turned to me, and we had sex again: wordless this time, and fierce as cats mating. He left shortly after this, still in the strange total darkness, and never slept in my rooms again, though he visited as often as he ever had.

In the morning I was not at all sure that *I* had not been dreaming. I asked Shigeko as she picked up scattered robes and sleeve-papers from my sleeping enclosure, but fatigued from the snow-fight, she had fallen asleep and heard nothing. This has always seemed strange to me, that the one night that Dōmei spoke of war was the only night she failed to stay awake with me.—He forgot his sash, I remember now; Shigeko and I found it when we first started to empty these trunks.

"Shigeko?" I ask now. It is morning and bitterly cold. I have all my screens closed, but when one of my women came for my chamber box, I had a glimpse of the garden thick with fog, peony-colored in the rising sun. It is truly autumn now. I will leave soon, as soon as these words stop pouring from me, like a flux that cannot be cured.

Shigeko has been sleeping beside me as I fill this notebook. My favorite sandalwood-handle brush grew heavy, so I took up this brush, so much lighter in my tired hand. She awakened a short time ago; now she picks up the scraps of sleeve-paper I used to test this brush, for I tossed them on the floor. This could almost be that morning, forty years ago, when she gathered the papers left by sex with Dōmei—though her hair is frosted silver, and her movements are careful, as if her fingers were unfired clay and too fragile to use heedlessly. If the moments of my life might be sorted, not by hours and years, but by all the times I have held a brush, perhaps Shigeko's life might best be measured by the papers she has picked up.

"Do you remember Mononobe no Dōmei?" I ask her. This is the first time we have spoken of him in—twenty? thirty?—years.

She smiles slightly. "Of course, my lady."

"Do you recall the night we had the snow-fight, he and his men and you and I and—"

She thinks for a moment. "Murasaki and Tamiko and Hashi were there, as well."

"No doubt," I say to her: I cannot keep track of all the women who have attended me over the years. "That night, after we retired—were you there?"

“Oh, yes,” she says. “He—had bad dreams, as I recall.”

“You heard him, then? He said things?” I did not dream them? And you recall such a small thing, so many years later?

“I could not sleep, my lady. It was very dark. I was thinking about the snow, remembering the fight—” She smiles again. “That was fun, yes?”

“Yes,” I say. “I only remembered it when I began—” I gesture at the notebook with my brush, which I see is drying, the ink caking into the bristles.

“Truly, my lady?” She looks surprised. “I have never forgotten.”

“It was not a dream, then? What he said that night?”

“About the—fire, when those people died.” She shivers and goes without my asking her to stir up the coals in the brazier. “Yes,” she says absently.

“It was not a dream, then,” I say, and I mean, not just that night, the words he said, but everything about Mononobe no Dōmei, and how I loved him.

“No,” she says. “It was all real.”

What is it like, to die by fire? I have wished this fate on my cat-warrior’s family, and then on Osa Hitachi no Kitsune’s brother and his people; and now on the Abe, and all the hapless others that lived at this estate. There are fires in the capital nearly every year, and each time some tens or thousands die. Whenever there was a fire, I (through my women) followed its progress through the responses the guardsmen and passersby shouted to us as they hustled past. We clung to one another and imagined the fire might veer, and that somehow we might not be saved. It would creep closer and closer, pillars of smoke and flame; choking fumes; some touching final poems exchanged—

Well, really, what were we thinking? We played with the fire, thrilling ourselves with the notion of deaths so unlikely and exciting, just as a child pokes a stick at a sleeping mastiff, confident that the rope that holds it will not break. We already knew that we would die by childbirth and disease and old age. Fire, or drowning, or freezing to death would all be *exciting* deaths, so much more glamorous than the circumscribed borders of our lives.

We were fools—or I was, anyway. No matter its form, death is not exciting. Or it is always exciting. I do not yet know which. Frankly, I have

no desire to know.

In the morning, most of the fires were out at the destroyed estate. What remained burned on, sullenly stubborn but easy enough to avoid.

Kagaya-hime had never lost her cat's skill at walking over uneven surfaces, so she climbed farther into the collapsed main house than the others dared. She stooped under a beam and found herself in a strange gap where the wall had not completely collapsed, holding the ceiling beams clear. The space was slick with ash and water, and filled with the scents of burning and rain.—And ghosts: a man screaming and clawing at the remains of the wall; another bent over and weeping tears of blood that vanished when they fell; a woman lying beside a charred body, as if asleep beside a lover.

Kneeling at Kagaya-hime's feet, a ghost woman pawed at a collapsed timber.

"You can go now," Kagaya-hime said. It seemed futile work, even to a cat. "Most of the others have."

The ghost woman looked up. "My husband—I think he's here, but I can't seem to—help me. Please."

"You're dead." A drop of water landed on the back of Kagaya-hime's hand and left a black circle; she rubbed it away. "Everyone is."

"If we're both dead, why can't I find him?" the ghost said reasonably. "He should be right here, yes?"

Kagaya-hime looked around the dark reeking space. "There are others here, but I can't tell if they are your husband."

"Where?" The ghost leapt up, and Kagaya-hime could see a corpse, black as the wood that pinned it; though there was no telling whether it was the ghost's corpse, or that of the husband it sought. "Where is he?"

"There are people there"—Kagaya-hime pointed at the ghost men —"and there. But—"

The ghost whirled to look. "There's no one!" It sagged to its knees, tears red on its face. "I'm alone. Why would you lie?"

"*I* see them," Kagaya-hime said. She stepped across to the weeping ghost man, who looked up, confused. She held her hand just above its head. "Here is one."

The ghost man looked up at her hand. “What are you? Why are you alive?”

The ghost woman’s face crumpled. “There is nothing there, nothing but darkness. Don’t *mock* me.”

“Never mind,” Kagaya-hime said. After a moment, the ghost man covered its face with its hands; the ghost woman knelt again, to scrabble uselessly at the timber that trapped the corpse.

Kagaya-hime picked her way forward, through the darkness. Impatient with their stupidity, she did not speak to the other ghosts; but she heard something living, a high fast panting, and following it she found a dog with blood on its muzzle, hind legs crushed by a fallen chest. The dog did not lift its head at her approach, so she crouched and brought her face to its muzzle.

“It hurts,” the dog said.

“I can make it stop,” she said, “but then you’ll be dead.”

The dog panted for a time, then: “Yes.”

Kagaya-hime slit the dog’s throat. The breathing ended with a soft, wet noise. The body twitched once, and again. And then the dog shook itself free of its body, stood, and stretched. “Much better,” it said. “This is dead?”

Kagaya-hime nodded. The markings on the living dog had been concealed by ash and blood, but the dog’s ghost was clean: gold-brown coat, black muzzle and paws. “I did not know that dogs had ghosts.”

The ghost nosed at its corpse. “Neither did I. Now what?”

“I don’t know,” she said. “You’re dead. Everyone is.”

“I guess. Hey, there’s my lady.” The ghost dog pricked its ears forward.

“You can see her?”

“I see everyone,” it said. “Dead, like you said. She looks upset. I better check.”

“I don’t think—” Kagaya-hime began, but it was already gone across the short distance to the ghost woman trying to lift the timber.

“My lady?” the dog said.

The ghost woman did not look up. “Not now, Goldie, I’m busy.” The woman stopped suddenly and looked at the dog, realizations tumbling one after the other. *A dog spoke: no, it is dead: no, we are both dead, and yet we see one another. I am not alone.* Trembling, the ghost woman reached for the dog’s shoulder. Ghost touched ghost; she cried aloud, and pressed her face against the glossy immaterial fur.

Dogs, even ghost dogs, are only patient with tears for a time. It wriggled a little in her arms and said, “Now what?”

She wiped her eyes and looked around. “My husband—”

“Don’t see him,” the dog said. “He’s gone.”

“Oh,” she said, believing the dog as she had not Kagaya-hime.

Kagaya-hime said, “You, dog—you see all the ghosts, yes?”

“I suppose,” the dog’s ghost said. “My lady, let’s get out of here.”

“Wait,” Kagaya-hime said. “Are there mouse ghosts?”

The dog seemed to shrug. “See for yourself. My lady, can we go now?”

“Yes,” the woman’s ghost said, and at her voice a beam overhead shifted, ash and water cascading down. Shouts outside the building: “Girl! Are you in there?” When Kagaya-hime lifted her head from her protecting arms, the air was white with drifting ash. The ghost woman and dog were gone.

The other ghosts wept and screamed and slept on, unheeding. Kagaya retraced her steps carefully, but saw no mouse ghosts.

In all, Takase’s party found forty corpses and another score of things that might once have been bodies. I wish I could say that the peasant man Mori’s sister and her family survived, but it seems unlikely.

War and passion are caused by disturbances of the humors, an imbalance of yin and yang, too much fire or air, not enough water or wood. And yet the monks tell me that there is karma, and cause and effect; that war and passion (and sickness, and death) happen because they have been earned in some way. But this is nonsense. The peasant man whose sister died at the burned estate, and Kagaya-hime, who has lost her tale, and I, who die of this pressure in my lungs—what precisely earns these specific punishments?

Only in stories do things make sense.

11. The Ten-Ox Notebook

I have been so tired lately. We have emptied many of the trunks, but there are still what seem a thousand more. It is not the pain that keeps me awake. I am curious about this *monogatari* tale I tell: curious about the cat, and even curious about myself. My story ends, as all tales do, in death—or, more truthfully, my story ends just before that, when I put down this brush and retreat to Kasugano at last.

And that will be when the last of these empty notebooks is filled, and the last of the filled trunks is emptied. I replace *things* with *words,* I see. And after that? The notebooks are *things,* as well. As such, I suppose that even they will be put on the fire, when all is finished.

When I am done with the notebooks (and my life), there will be left the word: *remember*... Shigeko will think of me until she is dead, I hope with kindness. My great-grandnephew the emperor may have occasion to think of me when he is grown old; may even teach some child the song I taught him. Finally there will be no one who remembers me. I will be a name on a list, like the consorts of emperors five hundred years dead.

I should not be holding a brush when I feel like this.

I remember this from the Chinese guides to war-making that I borrowed from my half-brother the emperor: a small force in the territory of an enemy of superior numbers must utilize speed and surprise if it is to prevail. The war band of Seiwa Minamoto no Takase was still a hundred miles from the primary estate of the enemy. They (no doubt sensibly) did not choose to follow the main road north. This followed the course of Kitakawi river for many tens of miles, and led through villages and past forts and estates. There were many possibilities of losing surprise, and the almost certainty that soldiers assigned here would resent an unauthorized assault.

There was another way, a route that crawled over the flanks of mountains, and crept beside streams of icy water so fast that a horse more than knee-deep might be swept away and die. There were villages and

farms along this way as well, but fewer of them, and no forts. The route followed ox-wide roads in the valleys, and hunters' trails over the mountains. Here, two hundred fifty men and their horses (for others had left the war band, summoned or lured home) had more chance of traveling north without unwanted attention.

The Chinese guides do not mention this, but there is another thing required for a conflict of this sort, something so fundamental that I think that they overlook it. *Strike fast,* yes; and *strike with surprise;* but more importantly, *strike hard,* hard enough that the enemy reels and does not regain his balance. The books were full of strategy and tactics, a million details; but at its heart, war is about a single thing: violence. The war band understood this, as all the Chinese sages did not.

The band moved quickly. Estates were far apart, sometimes no more than a handful of buildings and a series of fields carved from the otherwise unending forest. The fields were often better tended than the structures, filled with horses ("not so good as ours," Kitsune said to Kagaya-hime one day) or grain, still no more than slim green shoots in the wet dirt.

Strategy was simple: the war band approached an estate and burned it to the ground. Anyone they found—peasant, child, country noble—they killed. If it was dusk when they found a place, they made camp in outbuildings, and burned the main house and fields: lighting a fire for the night, the men called it, and laughed.

The assumption was that anyone found between the estate where Abe no Juro was killed and the main estate of the Abe would be an ally of the Abe—if you could call people this when they had no options, and were in any case more interested in whether their poultry stayed healthy. This assumption was probably true, though "ally" is a flexible term in a world where a loyal follower can leave a marching war band with no dishonor because he is summoned home by the birth of a son, the sickness of a parent, a possible blight in the buckwheat, or an ill-omened dream.

The local inhabitants did not send north for assistance; by the time they realized assistance might be required, they were dead, or too busy fighting fires and mourning the lost. Perhaps they did not think to send north. Takase's men did not explain their goals as they advanced, even to the few survivors. There was no reason to be sure that this force was directed at the Abe and not another of the powerful families that bickered across Mutsu

province. The locals may even have believed the war band was no more than robbers, if better equipped and in greater numbers than usual.

There was warning for the people north of the war band, of course: smoke from a fire makes a towering signpost, the more so when it is night and the southern horizon shimmers angry orange. And messengers did get out: desperate youths on horses stolen from the fields, mothers cuddling infants in slings fashioned of charred cottons; but their messages were locally directed, to a daughter married in a neighboring village, a cousin working on one of the estates.

Men and women are full of contradiction. Even as they believe every runny nose is harbinger to the *kaze*-cold that will kill them, they convince themselves that the man idling alongside the road fingering his sword is no threat, and when they are too close to escape they are shocked to find his intentions are hostile. The residents saw the fires and they heard those few who fled; but they hoped that the band would pass somewhere else or ignore them, that the weather would change and hide them, that the gods would somehow save them.

The gods save no one. The fires continued. While there were men who loved the killing, for most men the willingness ebbed and flowed. There were moments when it was simple, others when a man could not bring himself to draw his bow. Many men grow sick of killing just after a battle: they shiver as if cold, and vomit and cry easily. This is why there were always survivors: stay quiet and hidden, pretend you are not there, and the men of the war band, grateful that the worst is over, will pretend that you are not there, either. You will not follow to avenge yourself. You will not report them, even supposing there is someone who cares, who is not grateful that the attack fell on you and not them. You will be too busy burning or burying your dead, tracking your escaped animals into the forests, saving what you can of the fields.

Some of the allies left the war band as they lost their taste for killing; others fought on out of loyalty to Takase or the Osa Hitachi, or (more often) a desire that the men of their campfire not despise them. Kagaya-hime had no bad times when she could not kill. Neither did Osa Hitachi no Kitsune, whose brother had been slaughtered and who was half-fox, which means killing-blood.

And Takase never faltered. I wonder about this, for I do not think he is a cruel man; but he is old, after all, and there are things we must finish before

we die, so that we know who we are when the time comes. A military man spends his life preparing for war, and perhaps he never sees it, or sees it in an imperfect form, in unimportant squabbles and artificial conflicts. Takase had fought, and led men, but that was many years ago, and often to no real purpose. Revenge is a simple motivation: aiding loyal followers is a good one. Me, I think that he wished to be a warrior once more before he died.

The boy who was to be my husband touched me that first night, a clammy, shaking hand pressed against my breast as if he were stanching a wound, and (because he could not untie the knot) incompetent gropings through the folds of my *hakama*-trousers, which grew soaked only by his nervous sweat. And then it was dawn, and he was gone.

I vomited and then slept the day away, and Shigeko made everyone—attendants, inquisitive cousin and uncle's messenger, priests and monks—leave me alone. I did not even see the morning letter he sent. Poetry is nothing but lies *(I will love you for all the years of the pine; we will share a thousand lives),* and she guessed that I would have little pleasure in any poem he might send. She wrote the response for me, and only showed me the exchange after I awakened and washed and ate sweet foods, hoping to clear my mouth of a terrible taste I could not identify.

The second night. Again my cousin and my suitor and all their attendants, the endless idiotic conversation. I had a headache but could not allow it to interfere with this oh, so important visit, so I left the burden of conversation to others (in our years together Shigeko has suffered much for me), and watched the moon move through clouds as thin and transparent as silk gauze robes. Again came the false yawns and "appointments elsewhere," and we were alone, he and I, six feet of boxwood floor and a curtain-stand between us.

Evidently he had spent the day thinking of our night together, for he was not so shy this time. "It grows quite cold"—though in fact it was unseasonably warm, that night—" May I come sit beside you?" he asked. I could hear a hundred rehearsals in his carefully casual voice.

"Oh, no!" I said in a voice that was no doubt as artificial as his own. "That would be *quite* improper." On my side of the curtain I exchanged a glance with Shigeko (who was there, of course, with two others of my

women); it had been some time since anyone had been quite so gawky in his pursuit.

The correct response to this, of course, is, “I will do nothing, just talk, I swear,” a statement patently false, reassuring only in its predictability. But he was hopeless. On this, his second night, he had decided to make up for last night’s clumsiness by being as debonair as possible, which at thirteen is not at all. He crawled around the edge of my curtain-stand, tangling his feet in the long legs of his *hakama*-trousers. “You’re even more beautiful the second time,” he smirked.

I itched to slap him, but he was my husband, after all—or would be. He would (one hoped) mature into a civilized man. In the meantime, it was my responsibility to use my skills to set him at ease, to show him desire and release. To educate him, train him into the man I wanted him to be. I was old enough to be his mother, after all: how hard could this be?

He showed an unseemly eagerness to dispense with the *hakama*-trousers and get down to cases, but it was absurdly early. “Oh! A moth!” I said. “Tell me, my dear, are you interested in such things?” I tried not to sound like an adult making polite conversation to a child.

“Not unless they eat the silk right off you,” he said.

I gave it up. There would be other nights, years of them. Later, no doubt, he would display his (currently undetectable) virtues. And even if he grew no more pleasant, he would grow older and presumably less annoying; and there would be other wives and consorts and lovers. I might not even see him from one month to the next. As for tonight, at least he would not care (or perhaps even realize) that any poems I might make were uninspired.

And so I said the things I should say, and tried not to either laugh or cry. He pushed aside my robes and then loosened my *hakama*-trousers (left untied this time, the cord only looped over itself, to avoid a second disaster) and pushed them down until they clumped around my knees and ankles, an awkward and unappealing wad of fabric.

In my turn, I untied the knot that held his trousers in place, priding myself on my grace in doing so: it is strange how one focuses on tiny benisons when trapped in unpleasantness. He was erect, and not inconsiderably sized. I made the appropriate admiring noises, and touched him, gently and then firmly, feeling the heat of his skin, the texture of his flesh, soft over firm.

But it had been some time since I'd had sex with a young man and I had forgotten certain things. He spent almost immediately all over my iris-colored robes, surprising us both.

And even this might have brought us together. A shared mis-step can do that, if handled with charm and humor. Instead he tried to ignore the situation, his sullen embarrassment a poor way to handle it. Since he was hard again almost immediately (ah, youth), he laid me down into the cooling stickiness of my ruined robes, not even pausing to slide the *hakama*-trousers off my legs.

Some things he knew. He entered me easily enough, with minimal fumbling, though his thrusting was feverish and clumsy. By this time I was too annoyed with him to do more than the minimum to encourage him. In his inexperience, he did not recognize the signs of my disinterest, and I resented him for that, as well. When he spent for the second time, I cried out and closed my eyes—in gratitude.

Poor boy. It is so many years since then, and now I realize it was not entirely his fault that things did not work. True, he was a smirking, self-absorbed monkey as gauche as he was stupid. But I was resentful and ungenerous, and did not conceal that I despised him. I could not stop thinking of Dōmei, and how different things would have been with him.

That was the second night of the three nights required for our wedding to be final. He stayed until dawn, as was required for the marriage to be formalized, but we said almost nothing after that. He drank plum wine as quickly as Shigeko brought it to him, and looked out at the garden, spurning my every attempt at conversation—for I knew I was behaving badly, and I tried to smooth things over with courtesy. As the sky paled, he took me again, one final time, quickly and angrily, and was gone.

❀ ❀ ❀

I was not present for the third night of my marriage.

After our second night, my husband-to-be left at dawn. He did not stalk out, as I suppose he thought he was doing, instead flouncing with all the maturity of a child in a tantrum. He gathered his closest attendants (who had spent their night on the veranda, near the screens of some of my women), and they swung off, down a long walkway that led to the residence's east gate. The sky had lightened enough that I saw them clearly,

but all the curtains and eye-blinds and lattices and screens cut my view into tiny random shapes: here, half of an angry face; there, a hand caught in a gesture without meaning.

Even after they were gone, and Shigeko and the other women started to bathe and dress me, I watched the world in fragments. The lattices that hung from the eaves broke everything into tiny squares, and even these were hidden in places by the eye-blinds, which left only slivers of light and motion. In one place, a half-opened screen revealed a narrow stripe of the world: silver-blue sky, and a part of a cloud, and a tree's crown, a tiled roof, other lattices and verandas, and ivy and white stones, all no wider than my hand at arm's length. And everything was hazed by the silk gauze of the curtains of state that surrounded me.

The squares and slices and slivers hinted at the world, but did not offer it. I had grown used to this, had learned to see a splintered world and conclude the rest. Even when I stood outside, as sometimes happened, my world was a shred of the whole world, the real world, bounded by walls and roofs and carefully planted trees. And even the hill Fudaoka and the mountains to the east and west, all as familiar as the rips in the screens around my bed.

My uncle and cousin called. I could not deny them a visit, but I had little enough to say to their plans for the marriage. The boy sent his morning poem, surprisingly shy and so late that he must have spent some hours sweating to get the words right. I replied with something meaningless about plovers at dusk, crying for loneliness. *I have never seen a plover,* I thought, but I sent the letter anyway, grateful for the emptiness of poetry.

When we have been awake all night, we commonly sleep the day away; the more so when the next night promises no rest. By midday most of my women had retired, though several stayed with me, concealing their yawns so poorly that I sent them away. And then there were only myself and Shigeko, who might as well be my skin, so closely joined are we. The air was warm, and hummed with insects I could not see. The shreds of the world shifted as breezes arose and then collapsed, as the sun moved inexorably across a sky I saw only in shards. Shigeko drowsed beside me, head on a porcelain pillow padded with worn China-silk. I did not read, nor list such observations as I had been lately making, about the feathered legs of crows. I carefully, carefully, thought of nothing at all.

I said aloud: “I will leave now.” I made no decision. It was as if my words decided for me.

My voice awoke Shigeko, who sat up, blinking.

“My lady?” she said. “Did you speak?” Her hair had been tied back with many little paper tapes, but strands had pulled free to make her outline hazy, indistinct.

“Nothing,” I said. “I said nothing.”

It does not take many days to travel from the burned-out estate to the main estate of the Abe. Despite the trail of fires and deaths left in the war band’s wake, it took fewer still for the news to reach the head of the clan. After tragedy most people are distracted by their situation or their grief; but there are others who flee, salvaging nothing from their ruined lives; still others who burn, hot and fast as paper, for revenge. The Abe main estate swarmed with those few who had seen the burnings, and more who had heard the tales and run northward, away from the danger. To the south, there was always smoke in pillars or veils, and a greasy look to the air. Sunsets were astonishing reds and golds.

The leader of the clan was a man fifty years of age, Abe no Noritō. No one had lived through the burning of the first estate; but Noritō must have known or guessed that this trail of fire led straight from where his fourth son had lived and died. Grief and the desire for revenge often share the surface of a single stone. Where does one end and the other begin? No one can tell, not even the stone.

Noritō’s resources for a war (even a small one) were not great. It was the middle of the fourth month: food is short, for the winter’s stores have been used up and the foods of the new year—sweet potatoes and *taro* and *daikon* and *azuki* beans—are not yet grown. People are scarce, as well, for there are so many up in the pastures with the horses, or busy in the fields, or with the silkworms. Everyone is tired; the harder they work now, the better they will eat come winter, and the more easily they will pay their taxes to the provincial governor. Of Noritō’s three remaining sons, only one remained at the estate; another was in the capital, at court as a guardsman; the third was far to the west, settling a dispute. Potential allies were mostly wrapped up in the affairs of their own estates and households; they had their own storehouses to fill and taxes to pay.

Still, Noritō could gather one hundred fifty horsemen: with attendants, nearly four hundred men. He could not know the size of the advancing war band (survivors thought there were a thousand, or a thousand thousand), but he fought on his own ground. If he himself did not know every stick and stone of the territory, he knew or could find someone who did.

Ambush would be possible but difficult. Though the advancing war band mostly traveled along the narrow stretch of flatland between mountains following a river course, there would be scouts and outriders expecting ambush, and a wary target is the hardest to hit. There were several places where the flatland widened out into a plain of sorts, which would make face-to-face battle possible. Combine what looked like a straightforward battle with sharp-eyed bowmen on the mountains; this might prevail over slightly greater numbers, and if the advancing force was smaller, it might end in the valley. If nothing else, there would be time for Noritō's household to retreat to an ancient *ki*-stockade a few miles to the west. Noritō sent a messenger south with a challenge: battle, on the twentieth day of the sixth month, on the plain beside the village of Ōgen.

A scout came to Takase one evening, carrying the challenge, still wedged into its cleft stick. Takase, Kitsune, and Kagaya-hime were in an open-walled pavilion a little way up a mountain slope, upwind, where the smell of the smoke from the burning farmhouse below was faint. It was too early for mosquitoes, but the first gnats hovered in the air, annoying as dust.

"I killed someone, who was coming up from the north and the west, moving fast," the scout said. "I found this afterward."

"You killed the messenger?" said Kitsune. "Was he attacking you?"

"I hit him from cover." The scout gave something very close to a shrug. "He's the enemy. He didn't exactly have a banner saying 'envoy.'"

"Unfortunate," Takase snapped. "If we respond, now we must send one of our own. There's no reason to think they will be any gentler with our man than we have been with theirs. Well. Let's see what the Abe have to say."

Kagaya-hime was a little apart from the others, only there at all because she did not care for the smoke down in the valley; it was easier to bind arrowheads to new shafts where the air was clear. "Girl, come here," Takase called. "They'll meet us. Find someone who can bring us to Ōgen, and we'll finish this."

As it happened, the scout was sent with the message to Noritō's estate. Only his family care whether he survived or not.

Ōgen was not hard to find: follow the river upstream, and it will be one of the villages alongside: if not this one, then the next or the next. The twentieth day of the sixth month was three days away, which gave the war band ample time to scout the ground and find defensible shelter—for a promise to fight on a given day is no guarantee that one side or the other will not try to win the night before.

They settled into a large but rustic farm less than a mile south of Ōgen. The farm was halfway up the mountain's flank, snugged against an outcropping of rock that kept even archers too far away to attack from above. There were ten or so buildings, and (once the reluctant inhabitants had been removed) these were comfortable for the men and their horses. Still: many scouts, many guards, many sentries.

This was a wet year. It is as well they found good roofs and hard walls, because it rained for two days in a row, and even the newly thatched main house developed leaks and that pervasive smell one gets in steady rain.

There were things to be done before the battle but not many, for the war band had been fighting for some days. The men slept as much as they could, and saw to the horses and their gear, swapping stories as they braided cord for new reins, or refletched arrows.

Kagaya-hime was restless. This might be expected, for she had traveled long, driven by kami and her own losses. No: it was something more immediate than that, a fever that flushed her cheeks and breasts and left her too agitated to stay long in one place. She could not be comfortable. She snapped at her woman Uona, more at her man Otoko; most of all at the men of the war band. Their presence was like sand caught in a graze, or a flea's bite: pain and an excruciating itch that she could not scratch. She scouted as much as possible, far from everyone, but even the mountains held men, bear hunters and hermits and such. She killed several; after the first day, when she returned with three quivers and five swords that were not her own, Takase forbade her to leave camp unless she could control herself. "They needed it," she snarled.

Takase was meeting with certain of his captains and the priestess Onobe no Kesuko beside the fire. Kagaya-hime paced the room, hands crooked

into claws. The captains were always a little afraid of Kagaya-hime, who was strange in a way they could not quite define, so they avoided her eyes; but Takase and the priestess watched her with more-or-less well-concealed amusement, each for his or her own reason. “Why did they need to be killed?” Takase said.

Kagaya-hime stopped, taken aback. “I needed to get past them. And they might take reports to the Abe.”

“It is a temptation to kill everyone who gets in your way, but people try not to do this too often. It leads to this.” Takase gestured. “Wars.”

She started pacing again. “Their smell—they irritated me.”

Kesuko snorted. “I am sure it did. Listen: I recognize this fever. It will pass.”

“No one feels this,” Kagaya-hime snapped.

“On the contrary,” Kesuko said. “Most of us do, sooner or later.” She smiled slightly.

A messenger interrupted them all, and the topic was dropped. Neither Kagaya-hime nor Takase thought to ask what Kesuko meant by this, and in any case priestesses are famed for statements that make little sense, except in retrospect.

At Kesuko’s recommendation, Kagaya-hime was allowed scouting again (“Better to have her far away, when she feels like this,” she said), though the cat woman stayed high in the mountains where she saw few people, and none up close. Well, almost no one: Kitsune also scouted, and they encountered one another on the second afternoon.

Kagaya-hime walked along a ridge that had a good view of the valley, just inside the trees. Ahead was a small covered shrine, one side open to the overlook. The vermilion paint was nearly gone, leaving only bare wood dark with rain, and the roof tiles had gathered moss and pine needles until the shrine seemed to fade into the woods around it. Kagaya-hime knew someone was there, though there was little to hear over the steady hissing of the rain through foliage, and less to smell. Well, then: if this one spied on the war band, she would kill him. She approached silently from the shrine’s blind side, short sword loose in her hand. She came around and saw sandaled feet stretched out, and leggings; and a bow tipped against one leg, ready for use. A basket-quiver stood on its block base holding a dozen

arrowheads of every shape. Kagaya-hime sheathed her sword as she stepped around to see Kitsune. “Keep better watch,” she snarled.

Kitsune had grabbed his bow and settled the arrow she had not seen until she saw him pick it up, a single quick motion. A leaf-headed arrow, long-shafted and designed for killing. He lowered bow and arrow to his lap, and spat on the ground. “Are you trying to get killed?” he asked.

“I think *I* would not be the dead one,” she said.

“Huh. Fish?” he said. He had been eating, rice balls and pickled fish.

“Yes.” She squatted on her heels, back to a post that held up the roof. The fish tasted of vinegar and salt and smoky earth. His smell, his closeness, his presence, still bothered her, but she was hungry. “You should have heard me,” she said. “Or smelled me.”

“Through *this?*” He pointed at the rain sifting down.

“A fox is supposed to have sharp senses. It was part of the *fudoki,* the—tale.”

He picked up the leaf-headed arrow and stabbed it point-down into the ground. “I am no fox.”

“You are half one,” she said. “I see it and smell it on you.”

“I have not been one, not since I was a boy.”

“You’ve been a man so long? You’ve never wished to taste a fox’s world?”

Kitsune laughed. “My brothers thought I cheated at all our games, anyway. If I had been changing back and forth—? It was easier to stay human. Human is good.”

She looked away. “No. I would kill everyone I know to become a cat again.”

“Ah,” Kitsune said. “So *that* is what you are.”

“It is what I was. The kami—someone—took everything away.”

“You are Kagaya-hime now,” Kitsune said. “Isn’t that enough?”

“It is nothing at all.” She leaned forward and her hair swept across her cheek, hiding him from her gaze. “I have no sisters and fellow-wives, no kittens, no ground to belong to us all, no tale.”

She heard in his voice that he smiled. “And yet I would have said you fit very well with us. You have sisters—my sister Nakara loves you; she wanted you to stay, or at least return with me. You have comrades in arms. You have a horse and servants, and can make a new home anytime you decide to.”

“And kittens?” she said, lifting her face to watch him. “Someone to pass the tale to?”

“Even those,” he said.

“Where are the toms?” she said bitterly. Her gesture included the trees, the camp, all of Mutsu province. “It is my season, and none are here.”

“Have you ever thought this body of yours might serve a purpose besides offering you clever paws? There are no toms here? *I* see no cats at all. *I* see a woman. You are surrounded by men. This is no problem at all, that I can see.”

“Do you think their smells—all your smells—don’t drive me mad?” she whispered. “But I will not have a human child.”

“You’re a cat, all cat. This”—he touched her shoulder—“is nothing. It’s like robes; you put them on, you take them off. This”—he touched her belly, where her soul lived—“is what *you* are. Which are you? Human or cat?”

“Cat.” Her eyes filled with tears. “Oh, cat.”

“Then why would you have a human child?”

“Oh,” she said, like a child understanding a lesson she has struggled with.

Sex. I was fourteen or so, new-come to court, and in love with every sweet-voiced guardsman I encountered. The first man who shared my robes was older than I by a few years and, I thought, handsome. Our conversations and letters would have incited a nun to sex, I think; while the experience itself was painful, I was so maddened by desire that I did not mind, even looked forward to this, since it meant that good as this was, subsequent caresses would be even better.—Though I cannot call his name to mind, my first lover. Or my second or third, for that matter—while I did not think of myself at the time as one who untied her sash for many, I loved the feel of flesh against flesh, and I suppose provincials might have called me wanton. I had no children, which certainly was easier than bearing one and finding a proper home for it.

What has made me think of sex?—Ah, yes: Kagaya-hime. I remember that burning she feels. She stalks through her days longing to ease an itch she does not know how to put her hands on. She aches; she shivers; she snarls and purrs in the same breath.

Kitsune was half-fox, and she a cat, both killing animals; but both human now. They have been speaking, words trotting back and forth. Her momentary peace is gone, and she paces the tiny width of the shrine. He stands and reaches toward her. Her hand comes up, fingers half-curled in what might be a memory of claws, or might be fingertips, curious about the texture of his skin. She touches his jawline, and his throat. He steps closer and slides his hand into her short, thick hair, soft and fine as cat's fur.

For me, releasing in sex used to be sweet and hot, like heated syrup suddenly spilled. I would shudder, throat to thighs, and then my body would float, as if in blood-warm water. I have seen cats mate; I do not think they release like this, and even Kagaya-hime, in a woman's shape, may not feel it as I do (or *did*: it has been so many years).

Kagaya-hime and Kitsune joined at the entrance to the shrine, in the rain-shadow of the eaves. This was her first time, as woman or cat, and she knew little of what it should be like. Her instincts and the lessons of the cousins and aunts made it seem a savage thing, rage and pain and desire dancing together. But Kitsune was a merry lover, with the enthusiasm of youth and the experience of an attractive man who has spent some time in the capital. Kagaya-hime mewed under his touch, panted and writhed and cried out at the end. He released, and her body relaxed somewhat; but the itch was not gone. It burned on, and she left him quickly, to pace the slopes above the village of Ōgen, trying not to howl.

12. The *Mashi*-Hemp Notebook

Did I decide to run away, or was it fated from my birth and before? Was this boldness unique to me, or have other princesses tried? Do all women run from their fates? Do all men? I am old now; I am dying. I still do not know.

To get rid of Shigeko, I faked an indisposition of the bowels—not such an unlikely thing, after my vomiting of the day before. I ordered her to leave me alone with a chamber box, and to remove any of my women who might be within hearing distance.

Certainly it was strange for a noblewoman to refuse assistance at such a time, but I have always been self-conscious about such things. I suppose to my women this might be considered the least of my eccentricities.—And even this is gone in these my dying days: I need help more than I need my pride, it seems.

In any case, Shigeko withdrew to a distance that, if not quite out of earshot, was still distant enough to offer the illusion of privacy, which is as much as a princess can expect.

What would I need to run away? I looked down at my robes of rose and pale blue-green—eleven layers of stiff silk, not to mention the sashes and cords and the amber gauze Chinese-style jacket—and my *hakama*-trousers, so long that I stepped on them when I walked. I would need clothing, obviously, something not so obviously regal. Clogs for walking. Food, I supposed: fruits, perhaps, or rice balls.

"I am running away," I whispered to myself. I felt cunning as a monkey, full of possibility. I opened a trunk (the bound-cedar trunk with the bronze chrysanthemum lock; we emptied that one and sent it away more than a month ago) looking for clothing, and found rolls of unsewn silk in autumn colors. Useless. The next trunk held old *monogatari* tales, left over from my childhood.

I opened a dozen trunks, I think. I'm not sure what Shigeko thought of the noise from my rooms—for she must have been near enough to hear the thumps and scraping. I thought, *really, I must clean these out sometime,* and

then laughed aloud, converting the sound to a realistic groan. *Let Shigeko empty them*.

It was the monkey's hour—midafternoon. Soon my women would come to me, find me robes for the last night of my wedding, feed me anise-water and ginger hoping to ease my indisposition. *Come on, come on,* I breathed, panicky now, not sure whether I was more afraid they would stop me, or catch me looking like a fool.

A small trunk held summer robes. It was daunting to think of changing all my robes without assistance, so I stripped off all but two of my rose-colored under robes. None of the robes in the trunk matched properly, but I selected three in shades of pale gold, in a rough gauze that I thought looked rather countrified. This made me laugh, even through my nervousness: I did not often care about my robe combinations, but now people—strangers—might see me.

The men tied their *hakama*-trousers up and out of the way of their feet when they played at archery games or *kemari;* but I had never seen just how this was done. I eventually contrived something with cords I pulled from two scrolls. The silk clumped in unruly bunches at my knees and ankles, but at least my feet were bare. I tied my hair into a heavy club that hung over one shoulder and down to my waist. I would have to steal a hat and some clogs at the gate—and food, wherever I could find it, for there was nothing to eat here, and I did not feel much like calling an attendant.

I had a notion that people traveling carried things with them, in little bundles on their backs. Clothes, I supposed, and—writing materials, perhaps. Books? The room was a tangle of fabric and carved wood and paper, heaped knee-deep in places. I should bring a sutra, I knew; then, if I stumbled into a monastery, I could at least become a nun. But didn't they demand that a novitiate bring presents? I knew noblewomen always did so.

My bare foot was hot. I looked down and saw that the sun had moved while I was fretting, and a tiny square of light had crawled onto my toes. I clumped up a second set of summer robes with my notes on mantises and an unused ink stone and brush. I needed an ink stick still, and more paper, and—*No time,* I thought, and ran.

Poor child. I was thirty, but that seems so young to me now. Run away, and you leave the tiger behind you, where you can no longer see it—and it is still faster than you. Unpleasant truths are there whether you look at them

or not. I did not realize this yet. Death is like this, and I find I face it better than I ever did my marriage.

Shigeko must have seen me slip from my rooms. Perhaps she thought I threw on these mismatched robes to creep to an outhouse, where I could be ill in true privacy. This is a question I have never asked her: *Did you know?* —For if she knew, and let me go, anyway—well, this is a Shigeko I have not imagined.

It is late and she is asleep on the other side of the crab-painted screen, the snore she has developed over the years as familiar as my pulse. I could awaken her and ask, this and a thousand other questions I suddenly realize I have never been arrogant or courageous enough to ask. But sleep is as precious as silver to old women—and perhaps my courage (or arrogance) is not what it once was. I will leave her to sleep.

I had no plans that day, except *away*. The boy would come for the third night, and there would be more of those hopelessly inane poems, but I would not be there. I would be free—free of him, of the poems, of a world that had more interest in robe combinations than moths' wings. Away.

Panic and excitement feel the same; I could not tell which was stronger in me. I padded down the walkway to the west gate—the path the boy had taken at dawn. What was *he* feeling just now, in whatever rooms he laid claim to? Was he lonely, even as he fended off the well-meant advice of older, more experienced attendants? Did *he* long to flee? For a moment I entertained myself with the idea that neither of us might show up for the third night, that many years later we might meet again. We would laugh over our disastrous wedding, a wise old nun and a clever monk. But I could not reconcile this with the gawky boy who had taken me so angrily at dawn.

As a child I had many times tried to escape my residence to join the boys at their games. I was not often successful, though the gardener-boys had shared with me their secret paths: a break in the east wall, a conveniently bent plum tree that overhung the north wall. But that was years before; surely the gaps had been plugged, the tree pruned. The boys would have found new escapes by now. In any case, I was grown: larger, harder to conceal, not so quick to crawl under walkways or up trees.

But I had an advantage. Children are expected to run away. See a child somewhere she does not belong, and you know she is escaping from

something unpleasant, and should be sent back to it, whatever it is. But an adult found somewhere unexpected—and, in my case it was the kitchen garden: really, I had no idea how many different plants we eat!—is assumed to be lost.

I was picking my way along a walkway cluttered with baskets of dirty greens when a voice snapped, “What are you doing here?”

I jumped and whirled. A young woman knelt among something leafy and dark green; her indigo-and-white cottons and her dirty feet and hands had concealed her somehow, made her a part of the lengthening shadows that stretched across the vegetable beds. “Oh, you’re from the north wing,” she said, and flushed. “I’m sorry, my lady, I shouldn’t have been so—You’re looking for the way out, aren’t you?”

I nodded, afraid to trust my voice. Did she recognize me? I had nothing to do with my uncle’s servants; she would never have seen my face. She could hardly imagine I was the princess Harueme, barefaced and alone along the radishes. She said nothing more, only led me to the servants’ eastern gate, which I had never seen before, even as a child.

The little gatehouse was crammed to the eaves with straw hats and rain capes, and bits of wood that to my inexperienced eye might have been anything. She offered me a basket-shaped hat that covered my head on all sides, nearly to my jawline. The weave was coarse enough that I could see through it: *yet another screen between me and the world,* I thought. She eyed the clogs I’d found next to a storeroom entrance, for so long that I was afraid she recognized them, but she said nothing.

“Watch out for rain,” she said, and waved me past the bored-looking guardsman. I could have embraced her, this excellent woman who had no interest in me. Instead we exchanged smiles, and I stepped past the guard and into Nijō avenue. *Away*.

Did she know who I was? Later, when the story could not be concealed, did she realize? Did she care? Perhaps I am not the only one who has run away from my life. Perhaps she had tried, or dreamt of it. Perhaps everyone does.

“Shigeko?” I ask, “Did you ever wish you were somewhere else?”

“Where?” she asks. She is awake now, and feeding an old scroll of bad poetry into a brazier. She amuses herself by trying to burn it as a single long roll without setting fire to her sleeves.

“Anywhere. Away.”

“Ah.” She nods wisely. I have not shown her this tale I write, but I think she can guess at least some of what I write from the questions I ask her, or whichever notebooks we’ve recently unearthed. “Oh!” Distracted, the flames have licked at her fingers, and she drops the entire roll onto the coals. They flare up, and we watch nervously, two small girls afraid that they will set fire to the eaves. The flames die down. We sigh in unison.

“Never,” she says.

“Really?” I say a little enviously. “Why not?”

She blushes. “I was well content here, with you.”

It is my turn to blush. Perhaps I will show her these notebooks I write.

The night before the battle at the village of Ōgen.

“We’re outnumbered,” Takase said. He sat with Kitsune and his captains at a fire laid in the center of the farmhouse’s kitchen yard, a place high enough that the ground had drained. The fire was large, not for warmth but to keep off mosquitoes, and the bitter smoke eddied into their eyes as they spoke. Takase had ordered Kagaya-hime to stay close to camp that night, and she fidgeted restlessly outside their circle, pulling an eagle-fletched arrow through her fingers, again and again. “Ideas? I have no desire to die without getting something accomplished first.”

“Night attack is useless,” a captain said. Abe no Noritō’s warriors camped at a temple just north of the village. The temple grounds were surrounded with a high wall of tree trunks set upright in berms of mountain rocks. The monks inside, hardened by robber gangs and the almost constant fighting that Mutsu province seems to breed, were at least as warlike as those near the capital. So: it was unwise to launch a surprise attack on the sleeping camp.

Other ideas were tossed back and forth. Sharp-eyed archers in the mountains could cut down the enemy during the battle, but Takase did not have so many men that he could spare even a few from combat. This was also the problem with sending a small force to assault the Abe from behind; in either case it was unlikely that the Abe would be caught unawares. The rice fields above the valley were still filled with water; if the war band’s attendants broke down the terraces the field would be flooded, but there was

not enough water to do more than swamp the fighting ground fetlock-deep with mud—and it was already close to that, after two days of heavy rains.

"What else?" Takase said.

From behind the circle Kagaya-hime spoke. "Sheathe our claws." Few men from the north had seen a cat, and none knew of this ability they have. But Takase knew cats, and had seen this. "Go on," he said.

She stepped through the circle, and stood beside the fire at its center. "You are smaller than they, yes?"

Takase nodded, eyes tight—though there was no saying whether this was because of the smoke, or annoyance, or the pain of his unhealing wound.

"Then there will be no bite to the back of the neck. You must trick them." She curled her back a little, remembering the feel of defiance. "Look larger than you are. Look fierce, and you may not be worth it."

The captains muttered among themselves, but Takase held up a hand. "We cannot look larger: by now they know how many we are. We can look fierce, but that won't stop them. Not this time. What else?"

She stared out over the heads of the council. "The hind legs are what kill," she said absently. "Your front claws pull them close, and then you gut them with your hind legs."

"What good is this?" one of the captains snapped. "If I want to listen to babbling, I will return to my wife and children."

Another said, "She shoots well, but—"

"She thinks in ways we do not," Takase said. "Four legs instead of two; hidden knives until they're needed. Run away; turn to fight. I see a way. Summon your chief attendants."

"The *servants?*" a captain said.

"The standard bearers, the grooms—yes, the servants. They have claws and teeth, just as we do," Takase said. "And I have orders for them."

So often we forget the servants. I say, "I was alone," as if I walked or read or slept out of sound of voices, isolated. I may say, "I have spent my life alone," but this is a lie—more of a lie than it would be for the baby in a family of six. I am never alone. Except for a handful of times in my life, the closest I have been is in the outhouses, and even then (unless I give orders otherwise) there is someone within earshot, just in case. There were always

other women, and there is always Shigeko. Even when we were younger and she or I left court because of our monthly courses, I knew she was there, like the roof over my head at night, like the wind I breathed.

We share much, Shigeko and I. We have shared books, and laughed at the *monogatari* tales' excesses, or the egregious lies in certain court diaries that have fallen into our hands. She has corrected my paintings of insects and moths and mice with her own delicate brush. She drew the line at millipedes, but she held dead birds for me, even though touching them was impure, so that I could better observe an outstretched wing or the tiny feathers that ringed their eyes.

She knows my face better than I do: has plucked my eyebrows and painted the new ones on since I was barely a woman. It was she who knew my monthly courses, and told me when I would be well advised to retire from court, or to avoid pale fabrics. She has held me more times in the night than any lover, than even my nurse.

Do *we* share, or does *she* share? She has aided me in all these things, but what would she read if left to herself? Soon enough she need read nothing (save sutras) she does not care to. What books and scrolls will she beg to have sent from the capital? More: what will she think about? What favorite foods of mine will she gladly stop eating? Which women (and men) of the court will she drop acquaintance with?

—When I wrote those words, she was kneeling across from me, staring absently into space, one long hand holding her place in a scroll that (I realized) I didn't recognize. "What are you reading?" I asked her. Had I ever asked this before? I must have—five and forty years is a long time: most questions are asked in such a time—but I cannot remember ever hearing her response. It is true that most of us are more interested in our asking a question than in the answer: this must be even worse for a princess.

"It is nothing, my lady," she said. "Do you need something?"

"No; except to know your answer."

"Well, then," she said, a little defiantly. "Poetry."

Poetry? I hate poetry, I managed not to say. She had heard me say it a thousand times, in any case. I was curious, yes? I wanted to discover what was inside Shigeko's mind, not my own. "Tell me what you see in it," I said.

"But you *hate* poetry," she said.

“You have listened to me for the reigns of five emperors,” I said. “I can listen to you this once.”

So she spent the afternoon explaining what she sees in it. Her observations were not the clever interpretations of image and meaning I expected. She told me, *This one reminds me of when I was ten,* and: *My first lover used to recite this in bed*. I won’t write everything she told me. They are her stories to tell if she chooses, not mine.

After a time, I said, “Do you keep notebooks?”

“Yes,” she said, and laughed a little, as if embarrassed. “I started when I was a child. I suppose there must be a hundred of them by now.”

“Really,” I said. *Amazing*.

“Or were,” she added. “I’ve been destroying them. I won’t need them in Kasugano, my lady.”

And, old woman that I am, I cried. I haven’t cared about the burning of my own notebooks, but I had a thousand objections to her burning hers. What parts of herself has she hidden away or destroyed, only for my convenience? And now I may never know them.—Unless I ask, of course.

How could I have forgotten? Shigeko is more than an accessory in my life, a trunk I put things in, a notebook to record my thoughts. She is, and has always been, herself.

The war band’s men set watch and sharpened their weapons and drank cold *sake,* and talked.

Armies have a *fudoki* of sorts. There are tales stretched so far as to become lies, familiar jokes a thousand times repeated, a list of the names of those now gone and how they died. There are childish pranks played (a hat marker replaced with a nonsense name, Prince Rabbit-toes or My Lady Blue-loins; an arrow’s fletching changed from hawk feathers to rows of white down), and these, too, become part of the army’s tale.

Dōmei once told me that he missed war.

“How can you?” I asked, shocked.

He was drunk and more candid than usual: he slurred as he spoke. “I have never had such good friends.”

“You are surrounded by people who love you,” I said, “and no one is dying here.” How could war be better than this? Than me?

“We are all dying,” he said. “We just forget that when nothing is trying to kill us.”

I said nothing (indeed, could think of nothing to say), and he lay back, arm thrown across his eyes. And he started to talk. I held myself silent, clinging to his words.

The stories were not all interesting. Even the stories about battle focused on little, often banal things: a man who lost his helmet and part of the skin beneath it, slick as skinning a rabbit; someone-or-other’s armor lacings that had rotted due to the dye used on them, replaced at the last minute with hemp cord—though I cannot even picture this, so barbarous it sounds; a man with dysentery so foul that the men who shared his campfire the night after a fight called him The Yellow River. There were a lot of stories, and after a time, I saw that tears leaked past Dōmei’s arm. He wept for these stupid stories.

No: he wept for something else behind the stories: the men he shared them with, and the sharing that comes only when you think you die tomorrow.

I have always thought I know what it is like when women are together: what we talk about and fret over, what matters to us—though lately I have begun to wonder whether I understand even Shigeko. But men with men? They are as foreign to me as the Chinese traders who came to court when I was nineteen. More: they are as foreign as listening to wolves talk, or tigers.

I am so easily distracted these days. I tell Kagaya-hime’s story, but my own is as insistent. So: I said that men set watch and drank and talked.

Takase and Kitsune sat at a sunken coal-pit in the middle of the building they slept in. Once he had brought tea and wine, Takase’s main attendant, as weathered and old as his master, settled back beside him, and talked with the ease that comes from decades of service to someone. There was a fire to discourage the insects: the men were too hot, but it was preferable to being bitten.

The stories were not all about making war. Takase and his attendant (who was called Suwa, for the town he was born in) knew one another’s stories intimately; but they did not know Kitsune’s, nor he theirs; in any case it is no bad thing to hear such stories one last time, just before

(possible) death. The men talked about their homes, their horses. As is typical, they talked about sex, swapping amusing or impressive encounters first, and, much later, the partners that mattered too much to discard thus casually, the women (and men) they loved: Takase's first lover, Suwa's wife, Kitsune's favorite mistress. Kagaya-hime's restlessness eased (or perhaps the mosquitoes grew worse than the restlessness), and she joined them in the bitter smoky air. They looked sidelong at her, but the tales went on. Such stories are not easily shared with strangers or women, but woman or no, she might die with them tomorrow: that made her no stranger.

Takase had a single wife, a woman from a branch of the Hata clan. There had been a night when he had crept into her father's residence and watched the moon with her. Just before dawn he gathered his courage ("You were afraid?" Kitsune said. "There are things more frightening than death," Takase said. "If you haven't figured that out, you're even younger than you look") and slipped behind her curtains, and they shared hurried, breathless, giggling sex, trying to be done before the household awoke.

"It isn't sex, is it?" Kagaya-hime interrupted him. "It's not being alone."

Takase wheezed a laugh. "Clever you. Some people say it's about love, but you're right. I loved her, yes. But one of the things I loved about her is that when we were together I wasn't alone. I had other lovers. None of them were like that for me."

"What about you?" Kitsune said to Kagaya-hime. "Have you loved anyone?"

"My horse," she said, and after a pause: "Your sister Nakara. Uona and Otoko perhaps."

"Ha," Takase said. "That's not what I meant."

"Then I don't know the answer."

"Well, you will wed none of them, I hope," said Takase, and the topic changed.

Much later, when the fire was guttering, and Suwa and Kitsune slept, their heads on their bundled armor, Takase and Kagaya-hime spoke.

"A cat," Takase said, for he had been told by Kitsune. "You're new to the islands. Well, I've heard no harm of your kind; you injure no man, unless you claw him—and then I expect he deserves it. But I hadn't heard that cats are so fond of travel."

"I have no home," she said.

Takase leaned back carefully, cradling his belly as he did so. “I’ve governed three provinces, lived in four residences at the capital. There were things I missed about all these places, but wherever I was, was home.”

I have read the war tales that float around court. Everything in a battle seems very orderly: the armies meet; there are envoys and arrows back and forth; one side or both decide to attack, and there is a scramble to be first in battle; men shout out their names and ranks, looking for suitably ranked foes; horsemen with their bows; the lower-ranked foot soldiers with their *hoko* spears and their *naginata* and their freestanding heavy shields to dodge behind.

But I am also familiar with the sorts of lies that are told for the sake of a story or to save face. I can imagine details the war tales do not bother (or choose) to mention. I can imagine a very different way of fighting.

Ōgen stands at the edge of a small plain, no more than a mile long, half that across. They grow rye and buckwheat there, rice on the nearer slopes of the mountains all around. Outside the village (which is not large—twenty houses, no more), there are wells, storehouses, farmhouses of those who do not choose to live as close to their neighbors as a village demands. With all this, there is not much space for a war band of seventy horses and their riders, and one hundred fifty grooms and attendants taking up arms as foot soldiers; even less for a defending force of nearly two hundred horsemen, and two hundred fifty more foot soldiers. Still, they manage. The two armies (for what else can I call them? The war tales are full of armies of ten thousand and more, but it seems more reasonable that armies are small. Where would one collect ten thousand horsemen willing to fight for the same thing, and where could they do so?) stand on opposite ends, north and south, of the valley. Battle is set for the dragon’s hour, midmorning.

The members of Takase’s war band were awake before dawn. Fighting men claim they can sleep through anything, but some part of them remains alert, and will startle awake at certain sounds. Dōmei did not sleep often in my company, but when he did he was oblivious to nearly everything—the laughter of my women and the men who visited them as they exchanged rude poetry on the verandas; shrill *shō*-pipes from a nearby garden; thunder and lightning. But he came wide awake at the tiny metallic scrape of my

picking up a knife to cut my nails, or the chink of pottery cups against one another.

Few people sleep well before a battle. Many gave up with the sky's first brightening, and called softly for their attendants to build up the fires and bring them food and drink. These muted noises woke more men, and most of the camp was awake by the time the sun lifted itself above the mountains. It had been a cool night, and mist hung above the fields, dissolving only when daylight struck it. Across the plain, members of the Abe forces came down in twos and tens, early to the field.

"Looks like a calm day," Kitsune said to Takase. "The shields shouldn't blow over." Takase nodded absently, and tucked an arrow into his topknot, as northerners do.

An army's shields are man-tall and very heavy, layers of hard wood pegged together to make what must look like a door to nowhere. On the back of each shield are legs that hold it upright at a slight slant. The foot soldiers of an army erect these shields and use them as cover, jumping out to jab or slash at the riders and their horses with the *hoko* spears and the *naginata,* then retreating to protect themselves from the horses—and the riders' arrows, provided the horsemen bother to pay attention to groundlings.

It is traditional that the opposing armies plant their shields a hundred paces apart. I suppose shields might be portable in combat; but on a muddy, rain-soaked field like Ōgen, once positioned they will not move easily or far.

In any case, Takase had given other orders. Close to the southern entrance to the plain of Ōgen, the foot soldiers arranged the shields into three ranks, close but staggered. Noritō's forces would see a wall of sorts, far behind the milling horsemen and foot soldiers: a waste of the shields, no doubt part of some feeble plot on the part of the meager band (or so the Abe might think). Or perhaps they meant to use them as a fortress of sorts, to protect the spare horses; though it kept the mounts too far from the action to be useful. Or perhaps there was a mutiny of sorts, and the foot soldiers refused to fight for some reason, and instead huddled away from the battle, trying to stay safe until they could slip home.

The Abe could not have seen the part of this that did matter: hidden behind each shield was a *hoko* spear, heel sunk as deep into the mud as the attendants could make it, set at an angle toward the Abe. Forty shields; forty

hoko spears. It was not so much, but the plain was not wide here, and this wall separated it into two halves, north and south. *Sheathed claws,* Takase had said the night before. Lure them in and then gut them.

The horsemen of Takase's war band did not much like their part in this; but the point of war is not to behave nobly or even well, or in such a way as to make it into the war tales of a future day. It is to win. You will seem noble enough once the chroniclers are done with you—but only providing you win.

I have read the war tales and manuals but despite this I know so little about what war is like. Battles on scrolls offer surprisingly little useful knowledge. Could Takase's plan work? How close do horses like to be? Will the foot soldiers and horsemen perform their parts? Will the enemy perform *theirs*? I can only guess, as I might guess what it is like to die in fire or bear a child.

So: Takase and Kitsune, and many of their horsemen stood a quarter-mile in advance of the shields. Kagaya-hime rode beside Takase. ("How can I give her orders?" Takase said to Kitsune, when he asked where she was to be. "They will just be countermanded by the gods. Who will win that discussion?")

Some (but not many) foot soldiers and standard-bearers accompanied them. I think that, without cover, this took more courage than anything else that day. Most of the servants and foot soldiers milled about their shield-wall south of the line; prowled the slopes just above the barrier—anything to conceal the spears.

Envoys passed back and forth—though, really, what would they have to say? I have never heard that they sought to stop the battle, and why would they? Both sides long to fight. Occasional arrows crossed the space between the groups, like insults or boasts. There was shouting, of course, though it was hard to hear the words over the noises of the river and the restless horses.

And then battle.

Everything fights to survive. A worm in a bird's beak writhes. A rabbit struggles, even tries to kick and bite the cat that catches it. A fox in a snare gnaws her paw to the bone trying to get free. Battle may start with great

goals, but I think it must always end up being a fight to survive, each man doing whatever he must to stay alive.

The arrows and shouts that flew between the Abe and the Osa Hitachi men came faster; the horses approached one another at a walk, then a trot and a canter; and at some point, the abstract *we ride to battle* changed to *I must survive this*. Horses everywhere, the enemy all around. A man lifts his bow and awaits his chance, circling his horse to get to the right angle to shoot while staying out of his enemy's line of fire. And of course there are many foes, all circling, all looking for their chances: and one's helmet makes it hard to see to the sides and impossible to turn one's head. Arrows have a harsh sound in the air, harsher when they strike one's armor: sick thuds when they sink into flesh. And there are shouts and the frightened horses' neighing, and hooves and feet scrabbling in mud. Even the shouting is cacophony, men's and gods' names and wordless screams, jumbled into a sound like the million voices of the kami.

I must survive this alternates with *How can I?* even in the bravest fighters. The killing rage can change to white-lipped panic and back within a breath. No one who is not mad wants to be the bravest man, not if this means all the enemies' attentions are focused on one; but no one at all wishes to be the most cowardly. Terror and courage shift places as deftly as the horsemen struggle for clear (but safe) shots.

Fighting with arrows means that nearness is defined not by distance, but by lines of sight—the clearer, the closer. An arrow can come from anywhere, even (if one has been so unfortunate as to select an armor-lacing pattern that matches one of the enemy's) from one's own people.

But arrows run out, and the battle becomes too close. One draws one's sword, strikes at anything, horse or man, near enough to hit, trying in turn not to be struck. The blade often fails to cut through armor, but it can knock a man from his horse, to be dealt with on the ground.

And there are the foot soldiers, as well. They mostly do not waste their time aiming for riders, but horses are easy game, their fragile legs within easy reach of a nine-foot *naginata*. The Abe's foot soldiers and their shields are everywhere. An Osa Hitachi rider fights to keep his horse safe as well as himself: if your horse stumbles—or if, injured or unbalanced or hit, you fail to keep your seat—you fall among the foot soldiers. You may live awhile, but their pole-arms are longer than your sword. They will kill you.

It is no surprise to the Abe that the Osa Hitachi horsemen, outnumbered and unsupported by foot soldiers, retreat. The Osa Hitachi horses sidle back toward the shields. At some point a signal runs through the Osa Hitachi men. They appear to panic, spin their horses, and bolt to the south end of the plain, back to the shields.

The Abe men had thought that the shields, the apparently reluctant foot men, were perhaps a trap; but their blood howls in their ears. They ride and shoot, hunters now, prey scattering before them.

Takase's horses dance through the zigzag paths between the shields. And at a shout from Takase, the foot soldiers behind the shields heave them up and sideways. The Abe horses see barriers where the paths used to be, and jig to the new-made gaps. Some stumble onto the deep-set *hoko* spears. They scream and fall, dumping their riders to the ground. The men just behind the leaders don't see what's happening and their horses do not have the time or room to react; they crash into the spears and the fallen shields and the struggling clots of horse and man. The Osa Hitachi foot soldiers stay out of range of desperate hooves, and slash anything they can reach with their spears and *naginata*. The lacings of everyone's armor have loosened in battle, and there are a hundred gaps at neck and arm and breast and groin. It is easy work.

The muddy ground is too wet to absorb the blood, which runs along its surface in glossy dark streams. Takase and Kitsune and Kagaya-hime watch; but many of the Osa Hitachi horsemen do not and turn their heads away; or focus instead on shooting at the Abe horsemen who have managed to stop their horses before they become part of the tangle.

There is little the remaining Abe horsemen can do. They shoot at any Osa Hitachi they can see, but the foot soldiers are half-hidden behind the chaos, and the horsemen are well armed and shoot back. There is no headcount, not yet, but the Abe have lost a surprising number. Shocked and demoralized, they retreat. A few, trapped, wave their hat markers to show they surrender.

There is a lot of death this way. Noritō loses sixteen horsemen outright; twenty are caught or injured in the broken heap of men and horses, and beheaded by the Osa Hitachi men. This is a slaughter by the standards of war, for a thousand horsemen can fight all day and suffer only twenty deaths, despite hundreds of injuries.

As Noritō retreats, another twenty of his men flee like clouds, scatter like divining sticks, returning to their own homes. By the time he makes it to the *ki*-stockade to which he has evacuated his family, he has fewer than a hundred horsemen and their attendants—less than two-thirds of what he began with—by the village of Ōgen.

The battle changed nothing. Tomorrow it would begin again: the riding and the burning, and it would not end until there was more fighting, more injuries, more death. And even *then,* supposing the Osa Hitachi destroyed the Abe, there were many hundreds of weary miles riding or walking home again, and more fighting, injuries, death along the way. Tomorrow it would all start again. This would be cause enough for despair.

—Although this is what life is. In our most painful times—a brother dies, a lover leaves, the world is not what it was—we claw through our days and weep as we fall asleep, grateful to be done with the day. And then morning comes and we have it all to do again, breath by weary breath. There is a difference, in that my battles have always been within myself.

How can men do this? It is horrible enough to imagine, let alone to be there. We are willing to suffer unbearable things for those we love, or because we must; but how can a man (anyone, of course, though it is only men who do so) walk into a battle for no great reason beyond this, that someone he respects wishes him to do so?

Perhaps this respect is love, a man's sort of love. Dōmei spoke more warmly of the men he fought with than anyone else—than even, I suppose, me. After he was gone, I brooded long on this, trying to understand, and concluded that only men could understand this, or practice it. Now that I am old, I realize this is too simple an answer. I would walk into all the Buddha's hells for Shigeko, not from courage but because I would not willingly leave her alone in such a circumstance. I love her more than I fear Hell.

—I find that insights grow more frequent as I have less time to take advantage of them.

After the attack, Kagaya-hime and Kitsune walked together, pulling arrows from the bodies. It was not easy work. Arrows often wound, seldom kill. An

armed man with an arrow buried deep in one thigh does not give up the arrow unless his life goes first. *Hoko* spear in hand, Uona followed, collecting the arrows they retrieved.

The village of Ōgen wanted no part of the battle but suffered nevertheless, as a mouse does caught under the feet of a panicking horse. The same concerns that drove the war band to destroy the farms they passed burned Ōgen, as well. Some of Noritō's men had thought to hide here, as well; to prevent retribution, Takase had ordered them ferreted out and killed. If village men died as well, it was regrettable but unavoidable.

"Gah," Kitsune said. "This is making me sick." They walked through a kitchen yard, blinking against the smoke that stung their eyes.

"Why?" Kagaya-hime asked. She had lost an arrow, one of the three she had fletched with the golden eagle feathers given to her by Kitsune's sister Nakara: her first friend. She did not often miss; it must be *in* someone.

"It's one thing when you're caught up in the fight. But now—"

She said, "We are killing animals, even in this form. Perhaps it is our nature." A dead man lay facedown, his blood a gelled puddle. He had been running. The arrow (not her eagle-feathered one) stood straight up from his back.

"No," Kitsune said. He turned his face away when she pulled the arrow free with a wet grinding noise.

"Man *or* fox, it's your nature," she said absently. An injured man had crawled behind a tumbled cart, but she heard him cursing, and came around to where he lay on the ground, arms wrapped tight around the arrow sunk deep in his belly.

"Hush…" Kagaya-hime knelt beside him.

His eyes focused for a moment on her—a woman in armor, naked sword in her hand. "Jingū?" he whispered. "Goddess?"

"No," she said, and stabbed him in the throat: a clean death. When his body uncoiled, she pulled the arrow free and inspected the feathers. "Not mine," she said.

Running footsteps behind them: Kagaya-hime leapt to her feet and spun, cat-quick. A village woman had been hiding behind a tree; seeing them ready, she paused, still some steps away. Her single coarse robe was kilted high enough to leave her legs clear. She held a long knife.

"Go away, woman." Kitsune had raised his bow with her approach; he spoke past his bowstring, the arrow beside his face. "Unless you want to

die.”

“You killed him.” The woman wept, her face twisted in rage and grief. “You killed them all.”

“Be grateful we did not kill *you*,” Kitsune said.

“For what? You’ve taken everything.” Her anger seemed to dissolve, and she fell to her knees, knife loose in her hand. “They’re gone, they’re all gone.”

“I know this feeling,” Kagaya-hime said.

Kitsune turned to say something, but she ignored him and crouched beside the woman, taking the knife. It was a cheap one; someone had died to preserve his possessions, when he had owned nothing nicer than this.

“You’re a woman,” the woman said in weary surprise.

Kagaya-hime said, “I have lost everything, too. Family, tale, place. Gone. But I am alive. Do you have a name?”

“I am Otomi no Seishi. This was my family.” She pointed to corpses in the yard. “Brother. Uncle. Cousin.”

“Do you know how to do anything?” Kagaya-hime asked the woman.

“I can farm,” she said.

Kagaya-hime stood. The village woman remained kneeling, face wet. “Uona, give this woman my stores, the food from my packs, the rice: everything. Keep your things, Biter’s gear.” Uona bowed and left them.

“*What?*” Kitsune lowered his bow. “And have her hunt us down for revenge?”

The woman opened her mouth to reply, but Kagaya-hime spoke first. “Why would she? It won’t bring them back.” The woman shut her mouth abruptly.

Kagaya-hime leaned forward until her face was close to the village woman’s. Cat-woman: farm woman; voices too soft to be heard by any but one another. “I have been alone,” Kagaya-hime said. “I have longed for death. Life is better, even life alone.”

“Alone—” The woman cried in earnest. “I can’t—”

“There may be others,” Kagaya-hime said, “but only if you live.”

Later, when Kagaya-hime and Uona had given the village woman rice and dried fish and salted birds and a short sword and robes, and returned to her one of the village’s horses, they spoke again.

“Do what you must,” Kagaya-hime said, “but stay alive.”

“I still hate you all,” the woman said. “This changes nothing. But—thank you.”

Kagaya-hime nodded. “And do not follow us, or I will kill you.”

Members of the war band had different opinions of Kagaya-hime’s kindness. Some assumed it was feminine softness on her part. Others: “Soft? She’s soft like oak is soft,” said with a wise look—for her skill and savagery had not gone unnoticed, and there were those who whispered she might be a kami in human form; and no one knows why the kami do anything. The priestess, Onobe no Kesuko, said only, “She is no god. She has her own reasons.” Takase just shrugged.

But Uona said later, “It was a kind thing you did, my lady.”

“I wouldn’t have her starve. I can hunt for *my* food.”

“Still,” Uona said, and bowed deeply. “I am proud to serve you.”

Kagaya-hime, who had never done so before, blushed.

After this, they were together more than they had been. Kagaya-hime had not the human gift of light conversation, but Uona did, and Kagaya-hime found she liked the quick rippling of her woman’s voice, even when she did not listen to the words.

—Another thing changed, as well. After this, the magic no longer produced whatever Kagaya-hime needed. Food ran short until the next estate they burned down, and after this, she and her attendants ate and drank and wore and used what they found and carried, just as everyone else did.

The night after the battle, Takase and his men camped at the same Buddhist monastery the Abe had used. The monks had made it clear that they did not care which side had won, provided no one threatened the monastery’s considerable riches; and Takase’s gift of horses and armor (everything left behind when Noritō’s fighters retreated) soothed any concerns they might have had.

Takase had forty-two heads lined up on the ground before his quarters: the thirty-six Abe horsemen and six of their foot soldiers, too injured in the early stages of the battle to escape. The foot soldiers’ heads were of no account, but might as well be removed as left on the corpses, now a mile

behind the Osa Hitachi forces. The whole made an impressive display—if already foul-smelling: the day was ending warm.

(I have seen such a display of heads, back when I was very small. They had been sent all the way from Mutsu province pickled in kegs of wine. I had nightmares for weeks afterward about their distorted faces and the smell—I cannot think what my nurse thought she was doing allowing me to see them.)

The Osa Hitachi casualties were much what might be expected: six deaths. One man broke his back when he fell from his horse trying to navigate the barrier of shields. Another fell, uninjured until he was trampled: a strangely crumpled, concave form. Two men had been killed outright by arrows, one struck through the eye, the other barely touched, though the blood pulsed from a nick in his neck until he turned pale and died. Two were skewered on *hoko* spears and died before the battle ended.

There were many injuries. An arrow often does not kill immediately. It is possible for the broad-headed killing arrows—the forked, the leaf, the four-sided—to slice a great hole in a man; but more often they do not even pierce his armor, if shot from too far away or striking at an angle. If the arrow does pierce, the wound will be painful and bloody, perhaps even incapacitating an arm or leg; but the man who suffers it may still be able to fight that day, the next, ten days hence. Or half a lifetime later: Takase's arrow wound was taking twenty years and more to kill him.

But many of the wounds fester. They ooze clear and then colored fluids. Dark lines crawl across a man's skin, reaching from the injury toward his heart. When the dark line reaches his chest, he dies. I have seen this once, a guardsman nicked in a fight with the monks who were harassing the capital some years back. We had been lovers a few years before, and he still visited from time to time. I saw the festering and the dark lines, and I smelled him, like rotting pheasant in the sun; but he denied all this: "Just a scratch," he said, and laughed a little, though his face was twisted with pain, and he could not stop touching the flesh beside the stripes. In the end he wept for death, and his superior gave it to him. I had bad dreams after this, thinking of Dōmei in Yoshiee's war.

And more. There is a sickness of the soul that settles once the war-madness drains away, a weary nausea in the belly. Men remember what they have done and cringe or weep or relive it endlessly, remembering certain sounds, screams, voices: searching for something, though they could not

say what. Everyone who has fought is injured in this way. There is little they can do but wait for their flayed spirits to scab over. Some will. Some will not and their hearts will fester across a lifetime.

Men have their various ways of coping with this. There was a group who celebrated their victory with bragging shouts and overly loud laughter, as if noise itself might heal. Others made themselves busy cleaning their armor and repairing their arrows; their voices were hard and practical: work to do, things to make ready. Many men sank (or retreated) into sleep, half-eaten food forgotten in their hands; or they wept openly or in secret. Everyone drank too much. Everyone's hands shook a little.

Kitsune was one of those who threw activity into the empty place left after the fever is gone. The battle had been directed by Takase, but the men of the war band were his men, Osa Hitachi men. He walked through the groups, talking to each warrior: loud with the shouters, brisk with the practical ones; quiet, even tender, with the broken ones. He stayed long with the injured men, keeping them from thrashing when their squad-mates laid burning moxas on their skin or pressed crushed leaves into the wounds.

Takase and Kagaya-hime sat together. There was a veranda framed by pillars painted with flying Buddhas, faded with sun and weather: a welcoming place, but it was inhabited by the forty-two heads, so Takase and the cat woman sat upwind in the garden. He still wore the red brocade commander's robe he had fought in, but it had been loosened by his attendant, who had checked the unhealing arrow wound in his side, found it open and weeping, cleaned it, and bandaged him. Now he drank *sake,* which he downed little bottle by little bottle, as if it were iced water on a hot day.

Kagaya-hime was perhaps the only one not haunted by the things she might have done differently or should not have done at all. She herself had taken three of the heads: an odd way to kill, for an odd reason, but people did stranger things than this, so she had shrugged and accepted it. The restless heat of her mating season still ran through her, but her exhaustion was strong and it was pleasant to slump against her bundled armor, and watch the fire Otoko was building.

"You don't seem upset," Takase said after a time.

"Should I be?" Kagaya-hime said.

He laughed, and stopped in midbreath. Sweat broke on his brow, shiny in the light. At last he let out his breath. "I keep thinking, this is the time it

will kill me, and I keep being wrong. Hah."

The fire gave a flat brilliant yellow light: pinewood, still fresh enough to sizzle and pop. It erased the lines drawn by pain and fatigue and age on Takase's face, leaving him what he had been; a strong-boned man with fierce eyes. Even the *sake* did not dim the intelligence, the strength, there. A strong man with a hawk's expression: wise; a leader.

Kagaya-hime stood suddenly, and reached a hand down to him. "Come," she said. Wordlessly he allowed himself to be heaved upright; wordlessly he followed her into their rooms; wordlessly they mated there.

As men so often do, Takase slept afterward. But a cat's heat leaves her little peace, so Kagaya-hime dressed and walked out to pace beside the fire. Otoko and Uona drank wine with some of the other attendants: occasionally one would come back and stir her fire up or add new wood. The severed heads looked at her with glittering half-closed eyes. The flames gave a foreign life to the heads; as she paced their mouths moved as if trying to frame words with stiff lips.

She paused for a moment at a cry from the other side of the temple enclosure, one of the injured men. When she turned back to her fire, a shower of sparks flared upward, and the heads became the thing of eyes and flames that had haunted her dreams. "What?" she said aloud. "Why are you here?"

Because, they seemed to say in voices that were like and unlike the chittering of the million kami: *grief and anger, you, joining*. It did not seem to her to be an answer.

"I have no patience with gods," she said. "There was a kami, and it left me."

Ask yourself why it/they/you are gone. The flames settled and the heads grew silent, and nothing she said earned more response than the light in their eyes.

I have given the early parts of Kagaya-hime's tale to Shigeko. I watch her as she reads, all the while pretending that my mind is engaged in recording great thoughts here.

I am as nervous as a child writing her first poems to send to her father. I wonder and fear what she thinks as she reads. Why should I care so? She has read everything I have written before this.—Ah, but this is different. Those were just my life. This is *real*.

The fire had burned to embers before Kitsune returned, the grief and tension that drove him all night eased at last. Kagaya-hime offered wine and he gulped it down, and then more, as fast as Takase had. He dropped to the ground beside her, resting his head on her bundled armor.

"So many of them are going to die," he said without looking at her. "The healers will work, and the monks will chant, and the priestess will pray, and none of it will make any difference. They'll die anyway. Some of them, I know their families."

"But you wanted this fight. Yes?"

He rubbed his eyes. "So I shouldn't feel sick about it? Don't *you* feel anything?"

"Sorry for the horses. Some of the attendants," she said. "They didn't want to be here. Everyone else?" She shrugged. "They're here by choice. People die in their beds, people die as infants. Where's the difference?"

"I'd cry for those, too," he said, a little tartly. "How can you not?"

"Should I weep for every kitten who dies without becoming part of the *fudoki,* every mouse I catch and kill?" She touched her cheeks, her eyelids. "We do not cry for this, we cats."

"What do you cry for, then?" he said. When she said nothing, he added, "Why did you leave the capital? Your—what do you call it?—tale was gone, maybe. But I've been in the capital. There are a million places you could have lived. And toms everywhere; I heard them. You could have built a new home, a tale. And you didn't. Why not?"

"I—" she stammered to a halt. "I ran and then kept running, and then there was the voice, the road-kami. So I went. And then this happened." She touched her human thigh.

"Huh," said Kitsune. "Maybe cats are too stubborn to learn anything unless you throw it at them."

"What was I supposed to learn? I knew every cat, every inch of ground, in my *fudoki*. I didn't *need* more."

“And when they were gone? A brave cat would have stayed and built a life.”

Noises from inside the rooms: Takase rolling in his sleep, mumbling the names of the men who had died that day—and other names; a lifetime of fighting leaves a long list. Kitsune and Kagaya-hime exchanged glances.

“I can’t,” Kitsune said. “I am so tired,” so Kagaya-hime went to kneel beside Takase, and soothe him in his sleep, and wipe the tears from his face.

13. The Blue-Green Notebook

Kagaya-hime mated six times in four days:

—Kitsune in the shrine.

—An Abe scout she found the day before the battle; she did not learn his name, only coupled with him, and then (because she fought for the Osa Hitachi) she killed him as he slept.

—Takase, the night after the battle.

—A captain of the Osa Hitachi, a married man from Shimosa province.

—A strong-backed man from the village of Ōgen, when she remained behind the war band to look for her arrow.

—And Kitsune again, the second night after the battle, in the charred remains of a storehouse the Abe had burned to make the war band's pursuit as irritating as possible. Six in four days: really, a cat in season makes even a woman at court look chaste.

And after this her season was done. She was no more restless than she ever had been, a cat without a *fudoki* in a woman's body; and no more interested in men. Kitsune watched her a little wistfully sometimes, but he was not importunate. It was a momentary thing; he could not have hoped for it to last, except that between men and women it sometimes does.

Not so many trunks left to empty. I had not thought I lived in clutter, but my rooms seem twice as large as they used to, and there is a hollow sound to the space. Shigeko empties a pawlonia-wood box, making neat stacks: gifts for the women, gifts for the temples. She pulls free a rumpled mass of hemp fabric and shakes it out. A blizzard: a hundred paper cards settle to the ground. The pieces from a poem-matching game were unaccountably bundled into a child's robe that none of us recognize and hidden here. Whose game? Whose robe? Why is it here?

There have been other surprises: the desiccated mouse, a teakwood box filled with unknown hard white seeds that smell like anise, a baby duck's beak threaded on a black cord, a river rock with the word *twelve* painted in

vermilion. I still have the rock beside my ink stone, cool and smooth when I lift it. Who painted it? I do not recognize the calligraphy. Why, and where, and how did it end up wrapped in a error-riddled page copied from a *monogatari* tale and stuffed into a box designed for combs?

I have been full of questions for Shigeko lately. It is as if I wish to see another life, one that will extend beyond my own. Or perhaps it is just love.

We have spoken much of her lovers lately. Her stories make me laugh, since we shared certain lovers, and can speak of their virtues and (far more often) their flaws with what we at least consider wit. But there were others we did not share. She has always had an incomprehensible taste for *shō*-pipe players ("Their hands;" she smirks, "their fingers are always so agile"), and the sorts of men who cry easily ("Self-absorbed," she says, "they never demanded much of my heart"). Me, my taste ran more to tall men with dry humor, such as the Fujiwara boy, Munesuke, who grew up so interested in bees. And Dōmei. Dōmei did not play flute, and he was no cryer. Still:

"Do you recall Mononobe no Dōmei?" I say, as casually as I can manage.

Shigeko is a little tipsy. We have been drinking too much hot wine; since the latest healers have demanded that I take divers noxious herbs in wine, I have chosen that I at least have the comfort of warm wine, which seems to make the medicines go less vilely. Shigeko takes hers without herbs, of course, but she has been matching me cup for cup, even though wine no longer seems to affect me. She slurs only a little, but her hair has become slightly disarrayed, a black-and-white wisp trailing over one eye. Her face is relaxed, seeming younger. "Dōmei? Oh, yes, my lady," she says.

"Were you lovers?" I say.

She pushes the strand to one side, but it slips back immediately. "Once. You were in seclusion. We talked for a while, and then he came behind my curtains."

"What did you talk about?" I ask.

"Horses, mostly." She frowns slightly, trying to remember. "Oh, spotted horses, and how much trouble they can be. And horse breaking. My brother used to be interested in horses. Dōmei quite made me want to see his family pastures."

Horses? In all our time together, Dōmei and I had never spoken of horses, except as tools to a purpose. I am surprised by the stab of jealousy that shoots through me. Shigeko seems not to notice. She is turning her cup over in her hands, a single line between her brows.

"He was all right," she says. "And charming, I suppose. But I was just never interested after that." She shrugs. "In truth I liked a lot of your other men better. The Genji man, Akifusa, for one. And what was his name? his brother—Toshifusa, something like that."

"But Dōmei was—" *Wonderful*. Charming and warm, and—Perhaps the wine *has* affected me; I cannot think why I am even discussing this.

She shrugs. "Some horses eat soybeans. There's no accounting for tastes."

I realize to my shock that she means that is it *my* tastes that are strange, for loving Dōmei. How odd.

And I do not even know whether she has ever felt for anyone as I did about Dōmei.

Away was all I had wanted from my escape, and *away* brought me through the servant's gate into Nijō avenue. Fine: I was out, an emperor's aunt standing under the incurious eyes of a low-level guard, wearing stolen clogs and unmatched robes and watching the sky to the east blur the purple of wisteria or rain. At any moment, Shigeko or my cousin or someone—*anyone*—would enter my rooms and find the wreckage I'd left behind, and the alarm would go out, and they'd catch me, ten feet from the residence walls. Something I learned immediately: the fear of embarrassment is a sharper goad than a chopstick in a child's hands. I briskly walked off, as if I knew where I was going.

A second thing I learned: walking is hard. It had been twenty? twenty-five? years since I had walked with vigor; and then I'd been a girl. The rutted dirt of eastern Nijō avenue was awkward, not to mention cluttered with carts and vendors and overgrown weed-patches. The dog-path alongside was little better, with an added risk: the clusters of noblemen in informal robes, drifting off to this or that assignation. Anyone might recognize me—or, more accurately, these robes, since my face was hidden. But I had forgotten that people see what they expect to see; I was just another attendant scrambling to complete an errand before the rain.

A third: rain is only pleasant if you are tucked under deep eaves, watching it mist across your pretty little garden. Standing under a dying oak in one of those icy, soaking autumn rains is hardly the stuff of poetry, unless there is a poetry of howls. The street and dog-path remained rutted, but over time transmuted, dirt to mud. The oak's few leaves were such inadequate cover that I gave up and walked on. I held my robes up to my knees and then my thighs, and even so mud splashed my hems as I clomped through the deepening puddles. The hat was of mixed advantage: while it did conceal my face and even protect my hair and neck, the brim dumped most of the water down my back.

At least the rain would discourage pursuit, I thought: cold comfort, when warm robes and brazier sounded better all the time.

I was lost, of course. I knew little of the capital outside the court and a handful of houses in the east quarter. The city was a collection of scattered places I had visited or heard of, separated not by a navigable grid of streets and avenues but by allotments of time spent in the rush-scented shade of a carriage; blurred shapes seen through woven palm-frond walls; the sounds of bells or street-vendor's cries or horse hooves on dirt.

I was learning that *away* is not really a plan. The only temples allowed within the capital walls are at the city's southernmost edge, and I knew that they would be too far to walk (whichever way south was; I had turned myself around in the rain), and I was sure that my uncle and cousin would look for me there. I might have retreated to the house of a relative or an attendant if I had any idea where any of them lived—and if this were not the third night of my own wedding I evaded.

There was a gate to the east, the fastest way out of the eastern quarter—where at any moment I might run into my husband-to-be—and, incidentally, the city. It led to the Tōkaidō, and which led eventually to the Shirakawa barrier and Mutsu province. It was not much of a plan, but it was something: I would find the gate, and then something would turn up.

Poor little princess, poor me that was. I thought myself so clever, my mind stuffed with mouse-pelts and military theory. I despised poetry because it was useless (as it is; that is its charm, I am learning from Shigeko). But life is much more than utility, even supposing that familiarity with the patterns of moths' wings can be considered practical. All that cleverness, and I did not realize how lonely I was.

The rain did not stop, the day I ran away. Perhaps the kami were warning me to return to my uncle's home, or marriage with the boy, or my life, but I do not think so. The kami are not convenient; they do not teach lessons. They are what they are, and they are everywhere; but they are as unfamiliar with our way of thinking as a cat might be.

I might have asked which way was east, but those few people outdoors moved quickly, running to avoid the rain. And I couldn't think of how to ask them a question. How did ordinary people call to one another? Did one say "please"? Did one bow when one's question was answered? I did not know any ordinary people.

I guessed which way might be east, and walked and walked, eyes on my path more than my surroundings, which already faded into the early dusk of autumn rain. The walls that surrounded the blocks grew older and showed breaks where the stones or wood had collapsed; there were even places with no fence at all. This surprised me: everyone (even princesses) knew that the east quarter was where everyone of rank and influence lived, so how could there be so many ruined residences? Well, I supposed, the blocks nearer the wall and therefore farther from the court might be less attractive. I'd always heard that there were a thousand of us, men and women above the fifth rank; but there was no list I'd ever seen; perhaps there just weren't enough families to fill the eastern quarter.

My feet hurt, a general thudding pain in my soles and heels, and sharp wet pains where the clogs rubbed. I saw a little gatehouse, isolated, its fence fallen. It looked dry under the remains of the ragged thatch. I stepped gingerly through the knee-high grass that buried the walkway, and into shelter.

The rain did not seem so bad now that I was at least somewhat protected. The space was filthy with dust and spiderwebs. I balanced myself with one hand on the doorpost and stepped from a clog to inspect my foot. The flesh was angry red in places, and slick with the remnants of a burst blister, my first since childhood.

When I was seven I studied the six-string *koto* as ordered by my foster father. I cannot remember the name of my instructor, a gaunt woman who looked as though she might have been carved of bamboo. I was a reluctant student, eager for any excuse to get out of lessons, which raised blisters on the tips of my fingers. There was a day I cried, and my instructor said, "A

woman of culture gladly suffers for art; she does not whine." "I don't want to be a woman of culture," I sobbed. She said coldly: "An emperor's daughter may never whine; her *life* is art." And she ordered me to continue. The blisters broke, ruining a set of sumac-colored silks, but I did not complain in my lessons again.

The rain eased a bit, so I returned to the dog-path and limped on, trying to walk in such a way that the clogs would not hurt, a futile attempt. There was no traffic: a dog and a man far down a side street; a gaunt ox, grazing the weeds in the ditch across the street. I smelled a fire, the fatty scent of cooking meat. I was hungry, I realized, but there didn't seem to be anywhere one might find food, and the cooking smell was not distinct enough to follow.

Night was falling, changing my world into indeterminate shapes of varying darkness. I could see almost nothing, but a dark mass across the street a block or so ahead would be the wall that ringed the city. I could not see the eastern gate, but once I got to the wall, I could look for torches, fires —something that would lead me there. I had no idea what would happen when I found the gate. I trotted forward, ignoring the pain and the burst-blister stickiness in my clogs.

I was wrong, of course. The *eastern* quarter does not decay into disuse as one approaches the wall (which is not really a wall, in any case, with stones and a roof cap and all, except in the south). It is the north and western section of the city that does this. Unfamiliar with the world outside my walls, I had turned around in the rain and walked west instead of east.

Even in the darkness, I saw that the "wall" here was a ridge barely waist-high, worn flat by the many tens of years since the west had been an important neighborhood. The western gate did not exist at all, except as a pile of rotted timbers. I reached through the weeds and touched the wood, which crumbled in my hand, soft as mulberry paper. This was not the *away* I had expected.

Masako. That was the name of the woman who taught me six-string *koto*.

There was a crooked storehouse across from the gate's remains: all ghost-shapes, dark and darker. I felt my way to the open doorway and up a step to the raised floor. From inside, the doorway showed as a blue-black shape but

did nothing to relieve the darkness. I inched forward feeling for holes. There was at least one, for I reached out with my foot, felt nothing, and stumbling backward lost my clog. I kicked the other off: one clog is worse than none. The floor felt cold but soothing on my blisters. I knelt and felt around carefully—no other holes within reach, no stones or boxes or unclaimed bones—and laid my bundle down.

I shivered in my robes, which were too few and too light for the deepening chill of an autumn night spent, for all practical purposes, outside. I had not brought a lantern or a candle to warm myself (and had no way to light one, even had I been so clever); I had no food; and I was (more or less) lost. Leaving the capital was not going at all the way I had imagined. I could return to my uncle's house or to court, but I thought I could better bear dying here than that embarrassment. I curled tight as a new moth's wings, trying not to shiver. I felt queasy from so many hours of excitement and fear and no food.

I was sure I would die. Every horror my women had ever gossiped about came back to me: rape and robbers and wild beasts, death by fire, death by cold, death. I had not thought of myself as imaginative, but they came vividly to mind. The air smelled musky, as if some animal lived here; but I could not tell whether the scent was fresh or might be only my own fear. I was dizzy and my chest hurt from my heart pounding. I strained to identify every noise—and in a ruined outbuilding after rain, there are many noises. In my fear, each drip was a voice, so that the night was filled with their chittering.

This is how my mice were, I recall: shaking and startling at anything unexpected. Poor mice. I had not realized that to them I was every evil.

I still don't understand how I could fall asleep. When the moon came up, I could at least see things through the doorway, dark shaggy trees and stars, and a haze of moonlight. My panic eased. I burst into tears, and cried as I had not since I was a child.

I recall my dream that night. Even now, so many tens of years later, it returns: something about watching a fish at the bottom of a river of blue-green water. Sometimes in the dream I jump in after the fish; other times, I reach down and it leaps into my hand. Sometimes the fish speaks to me, though the words never remain when I awaken. Perhaps I will finally hear them when I am dead.

I did not fall asleep so much as fall unconscious, and I was not aware of either until I startled awake, disoriented and cold and oh, so very stiff. Somehow I'd slept through first light, and the sky was already the color of pearls. Through the storehouse door I saw a streak of rose-colored sunlight touching a single tree. The storehouse was worse than I'd thought in the dark. The tile roof sagged down nearly to my eye's height, the timber that should have held up the roof rotted through and hanging loose. It looked as though any jar might collapse it. The dirt on the floor was patterned with so many paw prints that I could not identify them: fox? *tanuki*-badger? something else? Whatever it was had not visited in the night. I hoped.

I retrieved my clogs and crawled cautiously through the door, stretched and relieved myself, and assessed my situation.

—which was not good. I had no food, and while water stood all around me in puddles, I had nothing I trusted to drink. On a rainy day, when everyone keeps their eyes on the ground in front of them, my robes might pass as ordinary, but on a sunny day they stood out, both for their glorious shimmering amber color and for the mud and dirt ground into the weave. My hair and face could be no better. The first man to see me would recognize that I did not belong—anywhere.

I was ill-equipped for tending myself. I longed for Shigeko, who always knew (or could at least find someone who knew) how to do anything. Shigeko made food and hot drinks appear (and despite the sun's growing warmth, I was still chilled from my night on bare boards), filled quiet comfortable sleeping enclosures with soft bed robes and padded pillows. Undoubtedly Shigeko could make something pleasant out of even this unpromising situation. No: Shigeko would never have allowed this in the first place. She would have wept and clung to me, or—harder to resist—reasoned with me; and I would have endured another night of my husband-to-be's awkward gropings. And I would be married. Even starvation seemed preferable to that; though I learned soon enough that starvation only seems an acceptable alternative to something else until you get really hungry.

I was in the northwestern quarter of the city; now that it was daylight, I could see that—there was the hill Funaoka to the north, the mountains like walls to the east and west, all so familiar that I could have aligned myself from anywhere in the city. I walked south along what would have been the capital's western wall, had there been anything but rubble and a fading

mound; sometimes I came to clear places where I could see a glimpse of the Red Sparrow gate to the court.

I was hungry, but afraid to address anyone directly. It was unlikely anyone I met down here would have heard of my flight, wrapped up in their own survival as they must be; but I knew I looked a perfect fiend, and I wanted no one to run screaming for an exorcist. More immediately, I wanted no rape or robbery: no one to steal my clothes and leave me naked.

Many of the city blocks were untamed as countryside, with forest-thick copses of trees and weed-choked pools; but I learned that enterprising folks planted gardens of grain or vegetables on some blocks, hidden behind artfully placed windfalls. As a child playing (improperly) in the kitchen yards of my foster father's residence, I had learned a little about what plants (and which parts) were edible. Looking for a private place to relieve myself at midmorning, I stumbled into one of these gardens, and ate carrots and radishes raw. The dirt I could not scrape off was gritty on my teeth. Still, I was comforted: I would not starve, not immediately.

I did not walk fast, for I had nowhere I planned on going. *Away* had been my only thought, but I did not have the courage to go far. I could not bring myself to cross the western wall, though there was not much difference between the city's blocks and the countryside, squared-off dirt streets on this side of the wall and apparently random dirt roads on that. If anything, the countryside seemed better mannered, for it had not been allowed to grow shaggy with disuse. I was not used to walking far, and had nowhere to go, so I stopped often, hiding whenever I saw someone.

It was midafternoon when I next stopped, perhaps the sheep's hour. No, it was the monkey's hour; I remember hearing the gongs of the guardsmen announcing the time. I was smug with the notion that I could scavenge for my own food, but I had been lucky earlier: it was not so simple. I had learned to see the paths that people left when they snuck into ruined residences or secret fields. The first path led to a pool of relatively clear water, left over from a fine garden—but no food. The second took me to a set of collapsed buildings full of nothing. The third took me to a little field where buckwheat or something similar had been harvested. Perhaps I could pick through the field looking for fallen grains: that would be something at least. It was backbreaking work, but I grew absorbed in my gleaning, intent on each tiny, crunchy, unsatisfying bite.

A shout took me by surprise. I did not see who spoke, or where they were. I leapt to my feet and fled the way I had come: the panic of prey. Whoever it was did not follow me, no doubt was interested only in protecting his fields. When I stopped, I waited until my heart stopped hurting in my chest, and then I turned north and east, toward court and my uncle's residence.

Three days north and east, following the path of the defeated Abe forces. Takase drove the Osa Hitachi war band hard, hoping to intercept their enemies. In any case there was little to slow them down—no food or horses to claim—for the Abe were as destructive in their flight as the war band ever had been.

But a band in retreat will always travel faster than those pursuing, and there were tricks the Abe played to slow them down. Takase's men found a path seeded with jagged iron caltrops half-hidden by dirt and underbrush; three horses and an attendant on foot were injured before they realized what was happening, and it took nearly half a day for the band to work its way past.

The pursuit crossed a mountain river at the bottom of a small gorge. Rocks and wooded slopes overlooked the gorge: a perfect place for an ambush. Takase sent scouts out to search for Abe archers, but Kagaya-hime and the others found none, and no sign that any had been left behind. The war band broke its loose ranks and threaded across the water one at a time, the men leading their horses up the steep slope opposite. No attack.

This was repeated at the second river they came to, and the third. By the fourth the scouts were careless (and the archer well hidden); and four men and two horses were struck before Kagaya-hime's sharp senses showed her the movement in a tree upstream, and she killed the sniper.

The wind was from the north and east and blew the smoke from the fires set by the Abe straight into the war band, making the horses choke. Men wrapped scarves over their mouths, and the lucky ones, the horsemen, closed their streaming eyes, relying on their mounts to get them through. The smoke was nearly unbearable the first night, when they trampled a field of hemp to the ground to make camp; the village nearby was still alight, the surviving peasants so crazed with grief and rage that they shook their hoes and bear-claw rakes at Takase's men. When horses panic, mice are

trampled; to the mouse, it does not much matter which horse did the trampling.

By morning the wind had changed, and they were able to make better time, despite the second batch of caltrops.

Takase had (in his word) "borrowed" a man from Ōgen to tell him the lie of the land. The man, Yui, was tall, strong-armed, and young: enough used to having things his way that he argued with Takase instead of begging. "I have a wife, children. And my fields—haven't you done enough, without taking away our only chance to survive? I'll have to replant—"

"Serve well, or your family will be fatherless as well as fieldless," Takase had said at his dryest; and took the man.

Now Takase brought Yui forward. "They're off the path for their estate," Takase said. "Where are they going?"

Yui had become somewhat more accommodating after Takase left five horses for the people of Ōgen, an exchange for the food he took and the trouble. "I've been wondering this myself, my lord. There's not much this way: a hot spring, this crazy old hermit who's been living under a rock. There used to be a *ki*-stockade out here; my mother's sister married a man from a family that kept their mares in what was left of it during foaling. There, maybe."

Takase nodded. The *ki*-stockades had been bases for the men who conquered the northern barbarians a century and more ago. So long ago; but the dirt walls and earthworks might still be in place. There would have been great logs set upright to make a spiked wall; even if it had collapsed, most would not have rotted away. A good place to fight from—a place where the battle would not destroy your crops, nor frighten your animals into flight. "How far to the stockade?" Takase asked.

Yui pursed his lips. "Ten, twelve miles. In land like this, a group like yours—a day's travel. A little more for the injured to catch up."

It was the monkey's hour, midafternoon. Arriving after dark was not a good idea. "Have you seen it?" Takase said.

"When I was a boy, once," Yui said.

Takase said, "We will stop here, and move tomorrow."

I went back, of course. Kagaya-hime may be strong enough and resourceful enough to find her own way, but I was the daughter and sister of emperors, and in the final reckoning, this turned out to be less useful than being able to find your own food, and knowing how to sleep safe and warm.

I was lost, but I found the Red Sparrow gate and then recognized Seisenden park across Nijō avenue. I had been there a number of times, though always at night; by daylight it looked tawdry, full of rubbish people had dumped there. I stumbled around the northeast quarter until I recognized a thunder-struck magnolia that I had passed many times on my trips between my uncle's residence and court. I'd never seen the entire tree. I rode in palm-leaf carriages for the (I saw now) short journey; the magnolia had never been more than slivers and squares, glimpsed through the woven walls or the grille at the carriage's front. It was larger than I had imagined, the patterns of its burning more complex. Hidden in my cloud of carefully mixed scents, I had not smelled its earthiness: charcoal and bark. I laid my hand on it, and then my cheek. *There,* I thought. *I will go back, but I will always have this with me*.

Another block. Another. My uncle's residence and grounds filled a city block. I walked around it—four identical walls—and I saw seven gates. This was a problem I hadn't even considered. I didn't remember what the servants' gate looked like, so I could not slip back in unnoticed—even supposing it were possible. Had that guardsman been disgraced?—that woman, the one who had wished me good luck, turned away from her work? How could I not recognize my own gate, the gate my carriage had entered and exited a thousand times? All those years, and I had never actually looked at it, always thinking of something else. I knew I might slip into any gate, but the last thing I wanted was to enter the one my uncle and cousin used most often and possibly meet them. It would be hard enough to deal with their anger without stumbling into it unprepared, unwashed, and unfed.

And whichever door I entered, there would be guards. They would see me looking like this. I would have to tell them who I was, since they'd never seen my face; and then I would have to wait there, ragged and barefaced, until one of my women came and got me. I would be a mockery.

I had run away from my marriage; humiliated my future husband, my family, and even, perhaps, my half-brother Shirakawa; disgraced myself by behaving like a peasant, a child, a badly trained dog. By now, the entire

court would be aswarm with this scandal. All this, and what I was really worried about just then was a servant laughing at me. I straightened my shoulders and limped to the nearest gate.

There are not many mercies in this world, and they all seem to be small ones—hot wine on a cold day, fresh-washed hair, a *kaze*-cold that finally lets go. It was a little-used gate, and there was only one guard, and he too young for me to take seriously. I stepped onto the covered walkway, kicking off the hated ill-fitting clogs. Young maybe; but I still could not quite bring myself to meet his eyes. "Please find Shigeko for me," I said, my face averted to inspect the blisters on my feet. He hesitated a moment, probably worried about leaving his post unattended, then he was gone, feet drumming across the gardens toward the north wing, my wing.

I tipped my head back, looking into the small eaves of the gate. In the eaves' light I saw movement: a spider, one of the brown-and-silver ones I had called in my notes (when I was still interested in spiders) Lady Teishi, for a woman at court who favored those colors and displayed certain familiar characteristics. And there was a fly the iridescent purple-green of crow feathers, caught in the spiderweb: trapped. The web was too high to reach, and there was nothing to stand on. "I am sorry," I whispered to the fly. "I cannot help you."

More feet drumming: lighter sounds this time, women's bare feet running on walkways. Then the gateway was crowded with women laughing and crying and talking: "We thought we'd lost you, my lady, that you were drowned, murdered, assaulted." One of the women had snatched up a robe, and she threw it over my filthy clothing—a gesture that would have been even more thoughtful, had the robe not been one they were stitching together, and had both sleeves been in place. Another threw a scarf over my head; another fell to her knees and touched my blistered feet with soothing cool hands, exclaiming.

Shigeko said nothing and helped the other women not at all. She stood a little aside watching all this, her hands tucked in her sleeves. I thought perhaps she was angry until I saw tears slip from her jaw, and leave widening circles on the collars of her robes.

Another mercy: my uncle and cousin were away from the house just then, no doubt at court or my husband-to-be's house, trying to find me or (more likely) to contain the scandal. I returned to my rooms. My women bathed me and combed the dirt from my hair and clothed me in clean silk.

They fed me *ayu*-trout and little salted birds, and rubbed herbs onto my blisters, and then they left me to sleep in my familiar little enclosure. I fell asleep immediately, and awoke once, when I felt Shigeko's tears on my hand, and heard her voice whispering, "Never leave me again. Please."

I was let off lightly. I had caught a *kaze*-cold while I was running away—convenient since my uncle had told the boy (and, the next day, his insulted and infuriated family) that I had been taken suddenly, frighteningly ill, and that all anyone could do was pray that I lived. Within a day, I was sent out of town, to recover somewhere no one could report on my true state of health.

"We will attempt to patch things up with his family," my uncle said before I left. "My lady," he snapped as an afterthought; for I was still a princess, after all.

"I will not marry him," I said, and coughed.

"If you do *not* marry him," he said, "or he does not want you, you will become a nun, and there won't be any more of this childishness. My lady."

"*Out*," Shigeko said. "My lord. The healers have said she must not be disturbed." She had no authority over this man—quite the contrary—but she has a certain way of speaking that I think would bring all the demons of Hell into an eager, servile line.

And out he went. And by sunset, off I went, to the temple at Uji.

Uji, while distant enough from the capital to be considered exile (and for most of us, this means anywhere outside the walls, with the possible exception of our summer homes on Biwa lake), was close enough for frequent visits from anyone with a carriage and half a day free, so I had a number of visitors from court. Since I was in disgrace (or might be, anyway; there had been no formal statements, of course, but I *had* fled the city, a sure sign that *someone* thought I was in disgrace) their visits were purportedly to leave offerings at the temple; but their perfunctory prayers were followed by long visits in my rooms.

My uncle and cousin were frequent visitors, though it was clear they could barely speak to me, so angry were they at the failure of their plan—for my erstwhile husband's family expressed no desire to overlook the slight. Visits with them varied between icy silence meant to express displeasure; bitter animad-versions on the ruin I had wreaked on their

family, my good name, my half-brother's and nephew's patience, and the court's sympathy; and furious shouting: what had I been thinking? Was I mad?

I knew they could not see me well through the screens, so I learned to slip a small notebook into my sleeve, to have something to read during these visits: if they had nothing useful to say, I saw little reason to attend carefully. I actually read all the way through the Diamond Sutra in this fashion, which I am sure did more for my soul than any remorse they might have hoped to engender.

My nephew Horikawa was emperor by now, but I heard nothing from him beyond a short note expressing regret that "illness" had taken me from the city. It meant nothing, though it was well expressed; my nephew was always very elegant in his phrasing. My half-brother and I exchanged many short letters. I ached to be the little girl who could tell him all and then cry on his shoulder, but we were adults now. Nothing was stated clearly anymore. Our obliquities depressed me, and I stopped reading his letters, leaving them to Shigeko.

Shigeko behaved with kindness and restraint throughout all this. I was grateful, for I think a harsh word from her would have broken down my careful strength, and left me crying for a hundred days.

In many ways, my life changed little. One set of walls looks very like another; a set of chrysanthemum-colored robes do not lose their intensity when one is disgraced. My women were still with me, if somewhat prone to weeping as they served. Shigeko still oversaw them all, and harassed the temple's cooks into providing meals not appreciably different from those at court. The temple was a prosperous one, and its courtyards were as elegant as anything at home—and better maintained, for there were a vast number of young, otherwise useless acolytes set to such things as removing fallen leaves from the graveled areas.

I developed quite a liking for the abbot of this place. He was a cousin of some sort, but had gone into the temple so young that I had met him only a few times, when we were both young. He had grown into a witty, articulate man, and he visited often. We discussed doctrine whenever he felt compelled to do so by his position; but mostly we played *sugoroku*-backgammon and gossiped about mutual acquaintances.

There was a day when we spoke of life at court: my nephew the emperor's flute-playing; the rain in the galleries; the mice that seemed to be

everywhere; the snow-mountains my half-brother and his consort oversaw a winter ago, before he had retired. When we were done, the abbot said, “I am told you are to stay, and we would gladly offer you shelter from the annoyances of court if you wish it. But you don’t belong here, do you?”

“No,” I said, in that moment wishing I did. “Not yet.”

“I will see what I can do.” He left me; eight days later, my half-brother wrote requesting my company at the Ōi residence, one of his homes. The emperor my nephew could not have done this: he was too young, and not strong in resisting the desires of my uncle—who was still infuriated, and even went so far as to argue with Shirakawa. But Shirakawa had disregarded my uncle’s advice back when he was emperor and my uncle his regent; he had no difficulty in doing so now.

Shirakawa was everything kind to me, but we did not speak of the failed marriage, nor of why he had rescued me (nor indeed how). After a year, my nephew the emperor summoned me to court, and except for a private coldness on my uncle’s and cousin’s part, life returned to what it was.

Some years later, I saw the boy I was supposed to marry, when he was grown and wed to a niece of mine. We did not speak directly, but I overheard enough of his conversation to learn that he grew up well mannered, polite, and kind—everything I had tried to comfort myself with when I still thought I must marry him. In spite of this, I went back to my rooms that night, and wept with gratitude that I had not married.

I asked my half-brother once why he had brought me back without urging that I reconcile with the boy. “Why should you marry him?” he said. “It seemed foolish to punish you for not wishing to do something you hadn’t chosen in the first place.” I thought then that, himself a retired emperor and constrained by ritual and the demands of others as I was, he sympathized with me for the restrictions of my life, and offered this one small freedom, the right not to marry someone I did not choose for myself.

But now I think that he also understood about Dōmei.

14. The Bamboo-Paper Notebook

The ki-stockade was near the Abe's main estate, but sturdier and better-placed for launching or defending against an attack. The stockade was small, just large enough for six buildings and a courtyard with a square well. It has been a long time since the northern barbarians have been a nuisance to anyone but themselves, so the place had been abandoned, and the thatched roofs and even some of the original walls were gone. The walls around the stockade were a rank of tree trunks upended into earthworks; it was obvious that many of these had tipped and been repositioned, for there were signs of hasty construction everywhere. Several of the upright logs were new, so fresh that green leaves still hung from the scars left by lopped-off branches.

The Abe had nearly a day in the *ki*-stockade before the war band arrived: enough time to throw up hasty entrenchments and create sturdy platforms behind the upended logs, high enough for archers to fire over the walls. When the war band approached the stockade, arrows whistled down, and curses; and when they got closer, large stones and boiling water, though Takase's men were not near enough for these to have any effect.

The only injury was someone who had not tightened the laces on his armor since the battle at Ōgen; an arrow slipped through a gap and lodged itself in his shoulder.—And the men's pride, of course. No one likes having things thrown at them, especially if one cannot retaliate.

The war band withdrew out of arrow-range. "Fine," said Takase, and set the men to establishing two camps on the little plain around the stockade, one on each side, both just out of range.

Takase sent Kitsune and a squad to explore Abe no Noritō's estate; Kagaya-hime rode along. They found it abandoned by anyone of rank, none but peasants and servants left to defend the tumble-down walls—for what country estate does not have collapsed walls? There is always something better to do with one's time: mares to foal, crops to oversee, stories to share; sleep. Walls keep some (but not all) animals out, and they offer a certain sense of protection from robbers and undefined enemies, but they do little more. A single enemy within the walls makes them frail as grass.

Kagaya-hime and the others shot everyone who showed his face and burned everything flammable. The pillar of thick smoke was just becoming visible when they returned. Howls of anger rose from behind the walls: a flurry of arrows shot at extreme range. One arrow ticked against Kitsune's shoulder armor, and dropped like a fallen scroll. He picked it up and fired it back at the stockade. It skinned over the logs and vanished: "Should have written your name on it, my lord," one of the men said, "then they'd know who to look out for."

Takase looked tired and irritable. He'd sent envoys to the *ki*-stockade with letters to Abe no Noritō; the responses had been short, sharp, and defiant. They had fired on the returning envoys, and the closeness of the misses indicated not sloppiness in their aim, but great skill. "Well?" he snapped at Kitsune when they met with the captains at dusk.

"They evacuated everyone to here," Kitsune said. "And they brought the contents of one storehouse. Rice and buckwheat, it looked like from the dust everywhere. I can't say how full it was." Takase looked at Kagaya-hime, who added nothing, only nodded.

"I see these options," Takase said. "They mean to come out and attack us tomorrow or the next day, when they are rested. Or they mean to sneak away from the stockade the next moonless night, or during a distraction of some sort. Or they mean to stay inside the stockade until we grow tired of waiting and leave."

"Siege?" a captain said. "Are they *mad*? It's the wrong season; they won't have enough food this early in the year"—for last year's crops would be nearly eaten up, and this year's were still no more than new greenery.

Takase held up his hand for silence. "The place isn't well designed for sneaking away. We'll remove the underbrush, just to be sure. I think that we will wait for them."

This startled everyone but Kagaya-hime. Common as siege may be in the Chinese manuals of war, it is not a usual thing here in the Eight Islands. We are too impatient to wait for a mouse at its hole; if our enemy goes to ground, we are more likely to give up and return another day. Only Kagaya-hime knew that sooner or later the mouse comes out.—Unless he has another hole, anyway.

Siege. I think it must be hard for everyone involved, this mix of tedium and gnawing fear. Is there enough to eat, to drink? Does the enemy plan some trick that we are too weary or bored to see? Have the gods changed the rules in the night, so that we are now somehow within range of their arrows? And how do my distant family fare as I wait here for something to happen? Have the crops been planted, the silkworms harvested? Both sides in a siege fret; neither can do anything to ease their concerns.

The small river that ran through the valley was clean water, safe to drink, but food was short at the camp. The war band had carried some food and stolen more; but it is astonishing how much food even two hundred men (they were sixty horsemen now, and one hundred thirty grooms and attendants) can eat. Takase sent out people to take what they needed from nearby farms, but the longer a war band stays in one place, the more time there is for the neighbors to grow nervous and relocate what little they have to a secure location; and he was forced to rely increasingly on his hunters. The monkeys came down from the mountains to steal their food and mock at them, but after the first day the men did not waste arrows on them, for they had a tendency to grab any arrow that missed them and swing hooting into the trees. It was only half a joke when the men talked about going into the woods to find the monkeys' secret armory.

The horses were accustomed to fending for themselves; but the valley was not large, and they had grazed parts of it down to bare dirt within days.

The days of siege were perfect weather: the seventh month, brilliantly clear and as warm as it gets so far north. The members of the war band wore their *kote* over their torsos instead of the full armor as they moved about the camps. It rained twice, summer showers as pretty and translucent as gauze, good only for damping down the dust the camps kicked up.

As the siege continued, many of the men injured by arrows at Ōgen died, their deaths variously tranquil or violent. Some death-blows are obvious, as when bright blood froths on a man's lips, or a wound turns color and begins to smell of carrion. Others are subtler: a man loses his appetite as dull bruising spreads across his abdomen; a man's breathing bubbles in his chest until he turns blue and dies; night by night a man's fever grows until his skin burns like iron in sunlight.

There was little news from inside the stockade. They saw the thin smoke of cooking fires; gold light from lamps and fires on cool, foggy evenings. A breeze brought the scents of cooking onions, boiling *taro* root, hot metal. They heard smiths' sounds, for the ringing of hammers can carry for a mile: new arrowheads and *hoko* spearheads, no doubt. Sometimes men shouted, or a horse whinnied. On certain nights when the air was still, they heard the faint rumble of men talking behind the stockade walls, or sudden unexpected noises: a baby crying, a woman shushing it.

As the moon thinned and the nights became darker, men slipped from the *ki*-stockade, one or two at a time. Some vanished unnoticed; others were caught and questioned. This was no organized plot on Noritō's part, though one of the captured men admitted that his goal had been to return with reinforcements from his own lands. Most wanted only to return to their families, their crops. Takase and the war band learned from these men that there were three hundred in the stockade; that there were a thousand, or one hundred; that Noritō had sent for allies who were coming, who were not; that he had six months' food, or half a month's; that Noritō's wives and children were there; that they were all at a monastery far to the south, to the north, anywhere but here. People are not by their nature honest; they say what they must to survive—though in this case, they did not survive; Takase killed those he captured if he thought they would bring help for Noritō. The rotting heads had been dropped into kegs of brine; the row of barrels downwind of the camp grew longer.

This trickling loss of men was not one-sided. Siege has no glamour, no excitement to keep men distracted from their own concerns, and the men of the war band started to think of their own crops and wives and horses. Every so often someone gathered his attendants and his spare horses (if he still had any) and rode away to the south. The remaining men mocked him, but when he had ridden out of sight, they spoke wistfully of their own homes.

“Let them go,” Takase said to Kitsune, when he complained. “They are drawn away by their homes, not driven by cowardice.”

“*I* would not leave,” Kitsune exclaimed. “I will stay ’til this is finished.”

Takase smiled slightly. “It’s different for you, and me, and the girl, here.” (Kagaya-hime, who was with him often now, and cleaned the hole in his side when his attendants were not near.) “She has no home to call to her, and my family is dead these fifteen years. I want to finish this before I die. And you—your brother was killed. Your way home is through this. In any case,” he said, “a reluctant warrior is no warrior at all.”

Better than any, Kagaya-hime understood siege, the waiting at a mouse-hole; but this did not mean she liked it. A cat waits for an hour, perhaps, and she either catches the mouse or she doesn’t. This siege—day after day with nothing edible at the end of it—did not appeal to her. Cats love the warmth of sunlight and brazier, and she spent long hours lying along a broken wall, blinking in the sun. The men of the war band greeted her, on their way to this or that task, and in the evenings invited her to their fires lit for the smoke that shooed off the insects. Sometimes she did stop for a time with one or another of the groups, listening to their stories.

Men like to hear their own voices; but every so often, one of them would think to ask her about her own family. She would say: “They are gone now; there is nothing to tell.” But she would remain at the fire, and when most men had fallen asleep or left for duty she would speak in a near-whisper about the cats of what had once been her *fudoki:* The Cat Who Ate Watercress, The Blue-Ink Cat, The Cat Who Would Only Sleep on Silk. The tales clung to her like the barbed seeds of certain grasses, but she gently plucked them loose and told them, and they fell from her, one after the other—no more than stories now. She felt herself grow lighter, felt the festering bitterness ease, replaced by a cleaner pain.

The men listened with surprising patience and gentleness, and no one seemed surprised that the sisters and aunts she spoke of were all cats. Without anyone actually saying something, the men had learned already that she was a cat—there are no secrets in a war band, after all. Not everyone had seen a cat, but they had heard of them, from their comrades who had been to the capital.

In some strange way, they found it easier to accept her being a cat than any of the alternatives. A woman fighting was bad enough. It would be worse if she were a kami or a demon, each equally untrustworthy, their motives equally unknowable. In any case, what excuse had *anyone,* male or female, god or demon, to fight if they did not come from a bow-and-arrow family, from *gunki?*

But a cat—well, if a cat was not from *gunki,* what was?

Often she returned to Takase's fire. There were fewer of the captains' meetings; there is little strategy to a siege once begun, *don't let them out* and *don't let them surprise you* is about the sum of it, so many nights there were only the two of them. Kagaya-hime had taken to cleaning Takase's unhealed arrow-wound, like a mother-cat cleaning a kitten's cut. The flesh around it was hot under her fingers, but there was little she could do for it, except bathe the area with warm water, and wipe away the liquids that oozed out.

Takase liked the softness of her touch. "Softer than your bony old paw," he said to his man Suwa; "you're gentle like an ox."

"You're dying, aren't you?" she said one night. Kitsune was with them: a sharp breath expelled, as if in shock; but there are no secrets in war bands. Everyone knew Takase was dying, though Kagaya-hime was the first to say it outright.

Takase sighed heavily. "We're all dying, girl: you know that as well as any of us. But, yes. It's always hurt, but it's worse now. I'm tired, weak."

"How soon?" Kitsune asked, and then gave an embarrassed laugh. "I'm sorry. Of course you don't know."

"Don't I?" Takase said. "There are days I think I could tell you the number of breaths between now and then. Soon, boy."

Kitsune bowed. "I'll have a sutra read for your soul, my lord."

"Don't waste your money," Takase said. "I've seen my wife die, and I've been in a thousand fights, cut off a man's head when his mouth was still moving. And here's what I think happens: we live, we die, we rot. Save your money, spend it on pretty silks for your mistresses."

"Something lives on," Kagaya-hime said. "There are ghosts. I've seen them."

"Then where are they all?" Takase said. "My wife's ghost? The men who died?" He pointed to the row of barrels, their brine-pickled heads inside. "Where are *their* ghosts?"

Kagaya-hime squinted at the barrels, but saw nothing. “Gone. They don’t stay long, most of them.”

“Where do they go then?” Takase had little artifice; the mockery in his voice was forced and brittle as ice over a pond.

“I never asked,” she said.

“Weren’t you curious?” Kitsune asked.

“Not really,” she said. “Now, a little. Perhaps I will ask the next time I see one.”

Takase said, “If you are there when I die, *I* will tell you.”

There are good days and bad days. Lately I have had a whole series of bad days, bad enough that I found myself crying when I thought no one (but Shigeko) would see me. The thing that fills my chest has always been inappropriate, shall we say, but now it grows more *wrong,* somehow: *evil,* like cursing the gods or mocking one’s mother’s ghost. I can tell it does not belong in me, does not belong *anywhere*. Everything I try to eat makes me ill, so I have learned to take a little bite and then wait, and then another. It may take half a day to eat the segments of a Chinese orange. Shigeko is infinitely patient, getting me to eat.

I think if I had finished telling Kagaya-hime’s story—if I knew how it ended—I might already have summoned the priests, taken my oaths, left the court, and died these last days.—Though there are still trunks to finish. Ten now; I can count them on my fingers.

Today is the first day I have done more than sleep, and eat my single bites. I asked Shigeko to open my screens, take me onto the verandas to see the sun. It is full autumn, the leaves the colors of saffron and dandelion-dyed silk. The air is so cold that it seems almost a liquid; it leaves my fingers chilled and my nose running, but scorches my lungs.

The sky. Strange how no one ever seems to write poems about the varied clouds. Today they are stretched thin and transparent, a great sweeping arc over watery blue. This is not the thick clotted sky of summertime, the hammered gray silk of winter. Why did I never think to study the clouds?

I was unwilling to die when there was still much to say and do. But there is always something left undone, and if I were to die today, I would do so with the memory of the cold lambent sky; and that might be enough.

Kagaya-hime took to hunting again, looking for meat she could bring back to Uona and Otoko. The other hunters strayed far, looking for large creatures that might feed several men at a time, but she had learned a trick.

Early on, the monkeys had learned to use even the slight amounts of cover on the plain to approach the camps and steal a box here, a sack there. They had learned that the containers made for a very interesting game: while some held things useless to a monkey (clothes, for instance, or replacement reins), others were crammed with enough rice to gorge the troop; or salted fish, which was not a usual food for monkeys but was at least amusing, well worth the game of seizing it, fighting over it, chewing it, and spitting it out.

Now the monkeys stole everything that was light enough to carry on the off-chance that they would find something edible; and they tasted everything they stole, edible or no. The men of the war band could do little, so they watched their possessions closely, and cursed the monkeys with great dark oaths whenever they saw them.

Kagaya-hime learned to wait near something sure to be attractive to monkeys, which meant anything otherwise unobserved, conveniently near the trees. The monkeys saw her, of course; but after a while, their curiosity would overwhelm their caution and they crept forward. As they came into range, she would shoot one with a slim leaf-shaped arrow that would not shred the meat much. Whichever monkey she struck screamed and fell; the rest of the monkeys leapt for the trees and swore at her from their shelter. Sometimes she saw the ghost of the monkey she killed, plucking at its side or chest or face with immaterial fingers; but having no interest in the souls of monkeys, she did not listen to its chattering or ask where it went. The survivors were wary for a time, but monkeys are just clever enough for their curiosity to kill them. They returned eventually.

She killed many this way—though there were always more: the woods seemed to grow as many monkeys as pinecones. None of the men of the war band tried to imitate her, for she was the best shot and more patient than any of the men, willing to wait for a morning, or a day.

There was a day when she was hunting in this fashion, staking out a handful of barrels stacked on top of a shield to keep them out of the dirt. Spilled rice made a mound near the barrels: irresistible to the monkeys, she

figured. The monkeys were proving slow to arrive (she could not know this, but they had found a stack of boxes at the other camp. They were busy running their hands and mouths over wood stirrups and saddle-frames, and growing more irritable by the moment), but she was content to wait. The air was warm, gold with pollens. It tasted sweet and grassy.

Uona had taken Biter for a ride, to use up some of the energy that tended to show as irritability. Otoko was playing a gambling game with some of the other attendants. Takase slept; Kitsune watched the walls of the stockade, and amused himself by shooting arrows with his name written on them over its walls, hoping to hit something. There was nothing better to do.

Because she was watching for monkey-sized things, she didn't notice the smaller movements in the trampled grass near the barrels. Tiny actions, a rustling so faint she could hear it only when everything else in camp fell silent for an instant, as happens in even the busiest camp. She squinted, trying to separate the movement she'd caught into its elements: grass growing, the tiny breeze, the whatever-it-was.

Mice. Once she recognized the movement, she saw them easily: here eyes, small as seeds; there a tail, waving too slowly to be a grass stalk. They were using the trampled grass to get a short (human) pace from their goal, and then dashing, pausing, dashing across to the mound of rice. With her attention on the trees, she had not noticed them as they passed her foot, so close that she might have shifted her foot and stepped on one.

Mice had been her favorite thing, so many miles ago, when she still had a cat's form and lived in the abandoned residence at the capital. They had been sweet and salty at the same time, full of the sharp shards of crunchable bones, with none of the feathers that made sparrows so difficult, or the gaminess of voles. How long had it been since she had eaten one? Months, miles. Her hands were full of arrow and bow. She had no hand free to throw a knife, and they would all be gone if she moved quickly.

She had never watched them without hunting them. One of the mice stuffed rice into its mouth, grain after grain until its cheek bulged, as absurd as a squirrel storing nuts. Another crept around one of the barrels, sniffing at the iron binding that protected the wood. When it started to chew a splintering stave-edge, another joined it. A fourth mouse, fawn-colored, stood on its hind legs beside her foot, as if watching.

“Mouse,” she said. A flicker, a rustle, and the mouse by her foot had whisked itself to a broken tree stump three paces away.

“What?” it said, a little impatiently.

“You *do* speak,” she said. She lowered her bow and arrow carefully, rolling her shoulders as she did so. Within their limitations, monkeys are clever; hunting them required that she keep her arrow nocked and bow drawn, and this made her stiff. “I’ve always wondered.”

The mouse said, “You are a killing animal?”

Kagaya-hime was silent, already knowing the answer.

“There is no record of your type,” the mouse added. “What are you?”

“A cat,” she said. “We’re small and quick and silent, and designed for killing little things.” Kagaya-hime bared her teeth: a small smile. “Mice, mostly.”

“Ah,” the mouse said, as if storing the information for later. “Yet humans are not killing animals.”

“I’m not human.”

The mouse said nothing, its bright eyes fixed on her. Kagaya-hime laid her bow down slowly, and leaned back against a sapling’s trunk. The mouse-path to the barrels had moved out of reach, she saw. “You steal our grain,” she remarked.

“It is necessary to appropriate resources. There are many of us to feed,” the mouse said.

“We don’t stay forever,” she said. “You’ll have to find other resources.”

“We will find others when you are gone,” the mouse said. “Other districts report resources for utilization, as well.”

She chewed on a stalk of grass for a time. “‘We’?”

“Oh, yes,” the mouse said absently, its attention on the mice by the barrels. There were more mice now; several had joined the one that had found the weak place in the barrel, all gnawing steadily. “We are a large empire.”

“Why are *you* here?” she said. “You gather nothing.”

The mouse flicked her a sideways glance from one tiny brilliant eye. “I am here to report on this appropriation to my superiors. I will mention you, and ‘cat’ as well.”

“I see.” Kagaya-hime had spent much time with people; something in the fawn-colored mouse’s pose, its steady focus on the others’ labors, reminded her of men she had met: quartermasters, with their constant

cataloguing, their brushes and portable ink and ever-present notebooks and scrolls. “You are a recorder.”

“I am third assistant comptroller of grains for my district’s secondary storehouses,” the mouse corrected. “But I hope for a promotion soon. We do not always live so long, you see.”

“Why report at all?” she asked. “The grain is there or it isn’t. Why not eat it yourself, or take it home to your family?”

“A family is small, of no account,” the mouse said. “We are a large kingdom. It is necessary to catalog things: potential resources, storehouses, census rolls, properties.”

“But you would have these things, even if you didn’t keep track. There would still be food and young and holes.”

The mouse crumpled its whiskers, as if in distaste. “It would mean nothing. The records define the kingdom of mice.” She said nothing, and the mouse seemed to sigh, like a tutor with a dull student. “Perhaps you are faster in this form than you look; or a fox will eat me as I return to report; I will be trampled by one of those immense clodhopper horses; I will drown in my hole in a storm. Or my superior will die, and I will be promoted, but there will be another third assistant comptroller for grains, and one after that, and another. I am not so important, so long as the role remains filled. It is necessary to keep track of things, you see. Do you—‘cats’—not do this?”

“We have the *fudoki,* our tales. That is what we save.”

“Hmm,” the mouse said. “Perhaps that is why there are not so many of you. No organization.”

There are many mice in this world—many more than cats, more even than people. We—the men and women of the court—have always thought of ourselves as the center of an immense empire, a thousand miles from Mutsu province to–

Osumi province, ten thousand villages and temples and shrines; but we know in our hearts that China is a thousand times more vast than we.

But an empire of mice—what might a million mice create? Kagaya-hime had a sudden image of such a land, its families and clans, villages and districts, provinces and regions, overseers and governors, courtiers. And the cities of the mice, underground plats squared and vast as Chang-an on a mouse’s scale. A mouse would never be alone, always part of the strange *fudoki* of the mice, a tale without individuals.

“I’d like to see your land,” Kagaya-hime said.

“That is not a good idea,” the mouse said. “I do not think my superiors would approve.”

Kagaya-hime snorted. “Perhaps not.”

Where the mice had chewed the barrel, rice trickled from a new hole and formed a little mound. The third assistant comptroller straightened and tipped its head as a weary man might, hunched for too long over some list. “I must report, and send laborers.”

“Wait,” Kagaya-hime said. “I’ve killed so many of you; I’ll do so again”—the mouse gave an impression of shrugging—“I’m curious. Do you have souls?”

“Why do you care?”

Kagaya-hime blinked. “I want to know what tales I end.”

“Would it change anything?”

She thought of the taste of mice, hot and squirming on the tongue. “No. Oh, no.”

“I thought not,” the mouse said, dryly. “You might as well ask, do rice balls have souls? I have as much of a soul as a rice ball. Or a cat,” and the mouse slipped from the tree stump and vanished from her sight.

She waited there until dusk, but the fawn-colored mouse did not return. She did not disturb the visits of the mice who slipped into the barrel and left, cheeks fat.

Well? she asked the endless chittering of the kami; but they said nothing.

My rooms echo. They seem much larger, and harder-edged, the corners all rediscovered, bare to the eyes. And the hollowness: soft as it often is, my voice rings now. Shigeko’s footsteps are no longer muffled, and I hear her approach from rooms away. As my possessions have gone, so have my women, sent back to their homes, the younger ones first, more recently the older, the women who have been with me for years or decades. A few begged to accompany me to Kasugano, but I remain sure that I want no one but Shigeko. It’s not as though I will be there long before my death, and I will have no visitors (or trunks) to need the attentions of attendants.

I offered to send Shigeko home. She has a brother still, and she’s always gotten along well with his wives, who express (in a series of fatuous poems) the honor they would feel in welcoming so valued a courtier into their

midst. There would be nieces and nephews, and even grandnieces and grandnephews; a wing in the house that she could fill with trunks of her own; the chance to be pampered by others, to be the unreasonable one. She is older than I, but her health is very good. She might well live another decade; the women in her family are notorious for living well past any realistic age.

To my no-doubt poorly concealed relief, she has refused. She will attend me to Kasugano, and after I am dead, she will remain there. The assumption is that she will spend the rest of her life praying for a better next life for me; but I rather hope she does not waste her time brooding about this dead woman she once served. Even at seventy there are better things to think about. I hope she does some traveling, for she has always enjoyed that; and pilgrimages are a perfect excuse to see the sky ringed by new mountains. She might even see the great sea. She has her share of friends and old lovers who might welcome a visit.

What would it have been like if *she* had been the princess and *I* the attendant? Would I have been as good as she? Would I have loved her as selflessly? She is not here just now (out relieving herself, I think: an old woman's bladder is like an autumn grape, small and always close to bursting), so I cannot ask her what she thinks.

—She has returned, and I have asked her, and she has said, "Swap clothes with a monkey, and you end up with two monkeys, my lady." I laugh until my belly hurts, and now I think oh, yes, I would have loved her. I am "my lady," and she is my woman, but we are more than this. Swap clothes and we are still friends.

It was the mice that ended the siege. Kagaya-hime in her woman's shape had not much need to kill mice, but she was curious (and provident: if she ever returned to her cat's form, anything she learned now would have immediate and useful applications), so she spoke with them. She never saw the fawn-colored mouse again; she did not ask where it might have gone, knowing as well as it had that an individual mouse's life is short and hardly worth the recounting. Clearly it filed its report, for the mice seemed to recognize that she was a threat without teeth, a killing animal in useless human form. From one of these mice, she heard that the siege accomplished nothing: the Abe and their mice ate well, if boringly, on rice and salted fish;

their well was deep and showed no signs of drying up, even as the summer stretched out into a series of bright hot days. The Abe had taken apart a ruined building and used its timbers to strengthen the other buildings. They hacked one of the logs into shakes, which they used to shingle the empty spaces in the roofs, to keep out the rain that fell sometimes from indigo clouds in the afternoons.

Back when I was so interested in warfare, siege seemed simple enough to me, something every woman understands. Someone undesirable starts to haunt your rooms, hoping for an invitation to join you behind your curtains. His constant presence makes it impossible for you to entertain anyone else, or even perhaps to leave your chambers. He looks for any contact: bribes your women, steals the food you send away after meals.

The solution is simple, if dull: you outwait him. You do not respond to his ten thousand poems either with direct excoriation or indirect sarcasm, since these might be (indeed, will be) taken as encouragement. You wait patiently behind your screens and curtains. Sooner or later he will be summoned away by duties at court, or another woman's elegance, or even boredom. You wait; eventually he leaves.

Men, it seems, do not think this way. Not only do they avoid siege, preferring instead to feed one another's rages until face-to-face battle is inevitable; even when they do have a siege, they seem pantingly eager to break it at the first opportunity. While I might expect this of the besieger, since he has everything to gain by facing his opponent, I would not have thought the besieged have any incentive to leave their safe den, provided they have food and water enough.

Takase's war band tried to coax the Abe out with daily insults sent by envoy. The Osa Hitachi horsemen played their monkey-games, bragging and jostling one another until someone donned armor, raced his horse to the wall, and hurled a torch, hoping to set something, anything, on fire. Archers wrote their names and rude comments on the shafts of their arrows and then shot them over the walls. It was unlikely that they would hit anything, but the insults might incite someone to open the gate and charge out. But the Abe stayed cozy within their walls, disdaining all efforts.

The captains debated attack options for days, but there were no secret caves, no forbidding but passable cliffs. No one had a sister inside the stockade who might consider betraying her master. No one imagined that a prayer to the kami or the Buddhas would cause one of the walls to collapse.

If Abe no Noritō had been a woman, I think the Abe might have stayed until winter, when the lack of firewood would at last drive them out; but by then, the war band would have left, returned to their own fields and estates. The winter after a summer without crops would be hard; but surely easier, less dangerous, than war. But Noritō was male, and so this conflict could only end with battle: this month, next month, the tenth month.

The Osa Hitachi did not lift the siege; they merely lost interest in it. Kagaya-hime told Takase and the captains what the mice had told her. Faced by the possibility of no clear end to this waiting, Takase ordered the men to be ready that night at the rat's hour, midnight. The men of the war band would ride against the stockade's wall and shoot anyone who showed his head, while the foot soldiers pulled down the timbers. The Abe (it was as certain as if there had been an agreement between them) would open their gates and attack; there would be a lot of killing, and injuries that would lead to death, and it would all be over by dawn.

Men.

The night the siege ended was very dark: the new moon, the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when the air is so thick that the stars seem small and blurred. It is hard to conceal the preparations of two hundred men, the restless noises of warhorses who sense battle, so the Abe were not precisely unprepared.

Kagaya-hime and Biter stood beside Takase at the center of the ragged line of the war band. Many of the horsemen held torches, but the light was murky, as if the air absorbed half the illumination. No wind: smoke went straight up until it vanished into the darkness. The air was filled with waiting. A foot soldier murmured the Amida Buddha's name three times; in the momentary silence it was as audible as if she shared a room with him. A horse stamped and puffed; the metal of its bridle jangled gently. The priestess Onobe no Kesuko and her acolytes were far behind the line of horsemen, but Kagaya-hime smelled incense, and heard soft bells and chanting: prayers.

"Well," Takase said, his tone measured, as if he were about to comment on an arrangement of irises. "We will kill them. They will kill us. But it will be done. Go on, then."

Sound can make a wall as thick as wood and plaster. The men shouted, and the air was solid with noise, a barrier to push through. Kagaya-hime had never shouted in battle—why scare the prey?—but the sound pounded through her heart and bones, so loudly that she could not feel her own pulse, or tell whether she joined them.

There was no strategy and little tactics to this battle. Everyone bolted for the base of the walls, riders hunched over their horses' necks, foot soldiers racing behind. The Abe behind the walls shot, and shot and shot more, but many of the arrows missed, and most of the hits were an annoyance only.

The Osa Hitachi skimmed arrows over the wall or threw torches against its base. The hot days had dried the grass, and flames caught in the underbrush, licked the dry timber. Elsewhere, foot soldiers dug at the berm holding the logs upright, and horsemen used their horses' shoulders or flanks as bludgeons against the timbers. Two logs loosened, like teeth in old gums, and crashed down, leaving gaps that filled with arrows and *naginata*. A third post came down, a fourth.

Despite this, the stockade was still defensible. The Abe had to use their kettles of boiling water to put out the fires instead of pouring them over the attackers, but they still had stones to throw down, and an almost infinite supply of arrows, since they could pick up the Osa Hitachi arrows and return them a thousand times. They could have stayed, protected themselves. Waited.

But the Abe opened their gates, and their horsemen crashed into the Osa Hitachi men with a shock like an earthquake. Horses slammed into one another, trampled foot soldiers. The wall of sound made of arrows and whinnies and war cries turned to screams, shouts of rage.

Everything is dark, remember, like a rape on a moonless night, noise and buffets and terror. Everything is motion and uncertainty. A horse backs into Biter, and Kagaya-hime whirls, sword already flying. At the last instant, a flicker of torchlight shows her the colors of the armor's lacing: *kon,* fox-call blue. This is Kitsune she has nearly killed. She jerks the sword back and up and nearly clips Biter's ear. He leaps sideways, away from the hiss of moving steel. His hooves sink into something soft that screams in the shadows; when he jumps away he lands on another man. There is no telling whether these are soldiers or grooms, or for whom they fight. She feels a sharp shock on her thigh and a blazing pain, hot as touching a

brazier; but when she reaches down, she feels no wound. She cannot tell what struck her or what damage it has done.

Kagaya-hime sees a little better than the men: she stands on her stirrups to get her head above the immediate fray, and sees helmets, *eboshi* caps, manes, and ears. A horse's eye catches the firelight, rolling white in pain or rage. Otoko and Uona are utterly hidden to her, lost in the roiling darkness; but for an instant she sees Takase, standing on his stirrups as well, arm slashing down at something she can't see. Her own arm hurts; when she glances down, she sees an arrow jammed there, slipped through a loose place in the lacing of her shoulder guards. The feathers dance in the corner of her vision, distracting her, so she breaks it off. A wave of white pain blinds her for a moment, but no one attacks until she has time to blink it away. The arm doesn't seem to work well, but a cat uses the claws on either side equally: she shifts her longsword to her left hand.

Strange, these little gaps in the middle of battle. She looks for someone to kill, but everyone is just beyond her reach. She picks someone she doesn't think she recognizes as one of her war band, and moves Biter toward him. Movement from the side catches her eye; her longsword comes up, just as someone else's swings down. It strikes heavy as a timber falling. She loses a stirrup and drops from Biter's back to her knees on the ground. None of the foot soldiers are close enough to kill her, but the man who struck her jumps down, ready to stab her with his short sword. She lurches upright, steps inside his swing and grapples him, tips him backward to the churned dirt. His armor makes him fall heavy, knocking the wind out of him. She takes his short sword from his loosened grasp and stabs him with it, in the throat just above his *kote* armor. The blood looks black in the bad light. His quiver has fallen to one side: in all the chaos, she sees a slip of wood attached to it and with her cat-sharp eyes reads a poem he has written there, about rain and fish.

"My lady!" Uona is by her, *naginata* dripping. Otoko is nowhere near, but somehow Uona stayed close, and even managed to catch Biter's leading rein before he fled. Kagaya-hime shares a bare-toothed smile with her woman, and swings back astride Biter, feels her armor settle onto the saddle, lightening the load. She whirls Biter in a tight circle, but the field is growing strangely empty. She cannot find any Abe, so she gallops forward. It is surprisingly dark. She notices that light no longer pours from the opened gate, because the gate is closed again.

The Abe have retreated. Stupid as it is to leave the safety of shelter, it is stupider still to do so, and then return, nothing accomplished but death and more injuries.

Men.

I thought I understood war, but truly it is this: brutish and tedious and terrifying. This tale, the tale of the cat Kagaya-hime, is lies. But so were the historical chronicles I saw, of Yoshiee's war and others; the Chinese manuals; even the guardsmen's stories, Dōmei's nightmares. All lies.

Why do I tell her story, then? For that matter, why do I try to make sense of my own life, when I cannot say which things have happened exactly as I have written them, and which have been revised by wishes or regrets?

Tales and memories, however inaccurate, are all we have. The things I have owned, the people I have loved—these are all just ink in notebooks that my mind stores in trunks and takes out when it is bored or lonely. It is necessary to keep track of things, the third assistant comptroller of grains said. It is the recording of things, in our memories if nowhere else, that makes them real.

My *fudoki* is precisely as long as my life has been. Without my *fudoki* I am nothing, because it and I are the same.

15. The Silver-Foil Notebook

It is time: there are only a handful of trunks left, a neat little line of them down the center of my rooms. So I have written the emperor my great-grandnephew and asked his permission to leave court eight days from now. It is an auspicious time: no kami objects; the goddess Kannon does not mind; Kasugano temple has offered to send escorts. The emperor has written back, a kind little letter. He says he will miss me.

Now we are two: I and Shigeko. Well, there are three other women: a woman of sufficient rank to drive off visitors politely; another of a rank low enough to carry my chamber box away whenever required; and a third, of intermediate rank, to do everything else.

It is hard to believe that these are my (or anyone's) rooms. They have the empty look of a space between owners—which is close to the truth, for I know that one of my grandnieces, the princess Kasiko, has already claimed the rooms for her own, and waits, not very patiently, for us to leave. Well, and she may have them: I have been sick these forty years of that irritating sag in the roofline of the building across the peony courtyard.

It was six months ago? eight? that my half-brother Shirakawa died. He was living in the Ōi residence outside of the capital's walls. I had not been summoned, but I went to him. Months passed, even years when we did not see one another much; but then, whole winters passed when I never saw the sun, always hidden behind gray skies or high eaves. And yet it was there. I knew I would see it again, in spring if not sooner.

Now is perhaps the first time I cannot safely say this. Strange.

He was my brother: strong and clever and sensible and kind. He gave me a mouse when I was a child; he rejoiced with me, barefaced and laughing in the rain; he gained forgiveness for me when I refused the husband my uncle chose. He chuckled when I said something amusing, and listened patiently when I droned on (as I am sure I did) about the structure of claws or wings. He sent me poems when we were apart for one reason or

another; he didn't seem to care whether I responded in kind. He played *sugoroku*-backgammon with me, and even (one sleepless night after his consort Kenshi had died) told me a dream he had had.

His hair grew gray and his waistline spread a little. A few years ago, when I was reading (some dreadful *monogatari* tale, all about a bat and some sparrows), I noticed that he had wrinkles around his eyes, and frown lines set deep on his brow. He laughed at my surprise then: "We race toward the Pure Land, Sister; but it's a race everyone wants to lose."

Half a year since his death. The heaviness was already in my chest when I last saw him, though I still thought it was indigestion—an indigestion that had lasted for what seemed forever—or simple weariness.

The dead seem so close to me sometimes. My mother, my father, half-brother and -sisters, my nephew, attendants and cousins and relatives of every sort—mine will be the last in a series, like the twelfth picture-scroll in a set showing the months. Really, I have seen a battlefield's worth of death; gather the bodies of all those I knew, and they would carpet the ground.

Now it is my turn to fight, in this war that no one ever wins.

The last time I saw him. How could I have forgotten this, the things he said?—Or did I dream it all?

Shirakawa never liked lying down unless he was actually asleep. Weak as he was, he was elegant in informal hunting robes, leaning against a stack of cylindrical bolsters. He was pale and had lost some of the flesh on his bones, so that his face had the thinness I have always associated with certain Buddhist hermits and wise men. I mentioned this to him, and from his half-reclining position, he gave me a mock bow. "Neither hermit nor wise," he said, and laughed.

It was spring, but still cold, so we huddled around the brazier, putting our feet up on its edge like peasants. We both knew he was dying, so we talked of everything but that—the weather (what conversation, in all the ages of the world, does not include the weather?); Shigeko (they had been lovers several times, many years before, and they retained their fondness for one another; indeed, they exchanged occasional letters independent of my own correspondence with him); the mouse he had sent me, and the set of drawings of it that I had sent him; our father the emperor Go-Sanjō and his consorts our mothers and an argument they had when we were small; old lovers and lost friends.

"I saw him once," my half-brother said. "That provincial Mononobe man you favored. Thirty years ago? Back at the end of the Kahō era. Where was he from? Some backwater."

"Mutsu province," I said faintly. Dōmei had returned home just before Yoshiee's war, fifteen years before the end of the Kahō. How could Shirakawa have seen him since then?

"That's right," Shirakawa said, pursuing some memory of his own. "He had those strange eyes, I remember: almost foreign. Mononobe. Mononobe no—Dorei?"

"Dōmei," I managed to say without actually stammering. "Why—?"

"He brought news from up north. Fujiwara no Kiyohira is building some sort of fake capital up there. Hiraizumi, I think it is. He was warning us. Very sensible: he has a lot of land up there, and it could be a problem. Not mine, though."

"He didn't fight for the Mutsu forces in Yoshiee's war?" *He wasn't an enemy?* I had been so sure of his betrayal.

Shirakawa waved off the notion. "I think he mostly kept his head down, offered support to our forces when they came through. Sensible," he said again.

"But he was a warrior!" I said. "He'd fought many times."

My half-brother raised an eyebrow. "Then he'd know better, don't you think?"

Truly, I could not tell. Dōmei told me once that he missed the kinship that comes with sleeping in the shadow of shared death. But was it worth it? The nightmares, the dark days, the night he nearly killed me only because I had startled him? "Why didn't he speak to your regent?" I said at last. "I can't believe they let you meet him."

He smiled at me, his warm eyes almost lost in the wrinkles. “I was curious, Little Sister. About what sort of man you would like.”

“You knew about him.” What I meant was: *you cared*.

“‘A strong emperor knows how well his people sleep, and whether their bowels are healthy,’” he intoned, his rough voice a clever imitation of a tutor we had both known fifty and more years ago. “An interesting man, I thought,” he said in more normal tones. “Content with his life.”

“Was he well?” *Why didn’t you tell me?* I did not say, but Shirakawa understood.

“He was—older,” Shirakawa said at last. “Married. Three sons and a daughter.”

“Ah,” I said. Dōmei would have been forty at the end of the Kahō. *Married*. I wasn’t sure what I was feeling. Sorrow? Loss? Jealousy? None of these, I decided. Relief. See: he had been a good man. He was no traitor. My instincts had not been bad.

What if it had been possible to wed Mononobe no Dōmei instead of the irritating pup my uncle had chosen? What if I had accompanied him to Mutsu province, given up my rank to sleep on his shoulder every night of my life?

The Dōmei of my memory was not the real Dōmei—but then, the Harueme I recalled was not the Harueme who lived through those days and nights. And neither Harueme was the woman who would have gone to Mutsu province.

I looked up to catch my half-brother watching me, frowning slightly: worried. He said softly, carefully: “I think it wasn’t him you loved, but the places his eyes had seen.”

So. The attack against the stockade ended in nothing. The men of the war band dragged their wounded and dead out of arrows’ range and lit more torches, built the fires higher. Ten deaths: three men trampled or crushed between the horses, five slashed deep, one pierced through the throat with a turnip-headed arrow, and one who started howling and then died, though no one could find a mark on his body. There were many wounds, of course, arrows and broken bones and cuts; a severed hand, a crushed leg. Five horses were injured. Their screaming made everything seem worse; when they had been killed, the camp grew calmer.

Kagaya-hime examined her thigh where she'd felt the blow and found a bruise, thumb-sized and already hard as callus, where she was hit with a spear butt, or perhaps a spear tip deflected by her sword's sheath. Otoko bandaged the arrow-wound on Kagaya-hime's arm, but when he went off to help Uona with Biter, she removed the wrappings, and licked the deep little hole until it hurt a bit less.

Exhausted but sleepless, she limped through camp. There were no celebrations, not even the false ones born of bravado and weariness.

Kitsune was easy to find. He moved through the war band, spoke to everyone who was conscious to hear it, and touched the others, as if skin on skin might somehow ease their dreams. His head had been cut in the fight—shallow but bloody, as head wounds are—and his face was still masked in drying blood, twin tracks cleaned by the tears he didn't notice.

She didn't find Takase until the tiger's hour, for he had been pulled out of range on the opposite side of the stockade, where the trees clustered closer to its walls. Suwa, the old attendant who had brought them wine so many times, had settled him half-leaning against the trunk of a pine and cut the lacings on his armor, to bare his chest and belly.

Takase was not dead: not yet. He looked ash-white in the light just before dawn, his chest hollow, skin waxy with a sheen like sweat. She knew the shape and texture of the ancient wound in his belly, had cleaned the fluids that wept from it. Everything was changed now. Ragged lips of flesh peeled back at a new angle. Fresh blood, surprising red in the gray light, slipped down his leg and dripped onto the pine needles beside him. "You were hit," she said as she knelt beside him. "Again."

"Same place," he said. "A relief, really. It doesn't hurt so much now. I think we've lanced it, hey." He wheezed out a laugh. There was blood on his lips; it shivered with each breath. He opened his eyes. "Ha, girl. Didn't think I'd see you again." His voice was thin and dry as spiderweb.

Suwa laid a hand on his shoulder. "Quiet, my lord. Please—"

"It's all right, Suwa," Takase said. "Find the boy. Kitsune."

"But—"

"She'll stay with me. Yes?" He rolled his head to look at her.

She nodded.

"Keep him quiet." Suwa stood slowly. "I'll bring a litter."

"They left," Takase said, when Suwa had limped away. "In the dark."

“The Abe?” she said. She reached up to brush something from her face. Tears.

He nodded, then drowsed for a time. She settled herself more comfortably, her back against a neighboring tree. On the opposite side of the stockade, she heard the camp’s muted sounds, then the sudden shouts and bustle that must have meant Suwa had come.

“They’re gone,” Takase said, waking suddenly. “Did I tell you? They passed me, so close I could have shot every one of them. If I wanted to, hey.” He stopped to catch his breath. “Is there wine?”

“Just water.” She helped him drink the last swallows from the water-skin she’d carried all night. “But you didn’t.”

“No,” he said. “Too dark. No strength. Anyway, it’s over. They’re done. *We’re* done.”

“Will they try to avenge this? Attack the Osa Hitachi?”

After a while she realized he’d fallen asleep again. Not dead: his chest still moved, slow tired breaths. Blood still slid from the wound, darker, thicker. A fly rested on his upturned hand: waiting.

When she heard running footsteps, she turned her head to watch Kitsune approach with Suwa; behind them walked the priestess, Onobe no Kesuko, a sword still bare in her hand.

Kitsune dropped to his knees as Kagaya-hime held up her hand. “He’s sleeping,” she said, just as Takase spoke again.

“They’re not going to come after you,” Takase said in a conversational voice, as if he had not nodded off at all, as if they were discussing capital politics in a courtyard a million miles away.

The priestess arrived as Takase nodded off again. She bent to inspect the wound, and straightened. “That’s that.” She sheathed her sword, announced to the men beginning to cluster around Takase: “He will die.”

“Please, can you do anything?” Suwa asked.

“You mean, ask the gods to heal him?” She snorted. “They know as clearly as he does that he will die.”

Takase roused himself suddenly. “I heard them whispering, as they slipped past. It’s over. A war where everyone retreats, hah.”

“We should go after them to make sure,” Kitsune said.

“No,” Takase said. “Let them have whatever lives they can. Same as all of you. Go home.”

Kitsune clenched his fists. “Then all this was for nothing?”

The priestess said, “They killed some people, you killed some people. And now it’s done.”

Kitsune opened his mouth and then closed it.

“Go home,” Takase said again. “My last order, hey.” He slipped into unconsciousness and did not wake again.

Last night we found the strangest thing in the bottom of one of the last trunks: a letter.

There have been a thousand letters in the trunks, a thousand thousand—and I have not always been able to recollect who sent which and when. It became a game between Shigeko and myself: which lover wrote *these* deathless words? These two poems, of identical image and nearly identical language: were they written years apart, their similarities merely serendipitous; or do men crib their love-poems from one another when their creativity fails? And these—an entire packet of letters, clearly from one of my half-sisters—but which? Shigeko and I have played the game of unraveling my past, and burned the letters when the game palled.

But there is one that we have not been able to identify, written on a rich tricolored paper flecked with gold. The calligraphy is very fine, delicate and precise as whiskers. We are not even sure it is a letter:

> *“I have been fishing in a river a thousand miles from you, eyeing the trout beneath its surface. For some reason this brought you to my mind.”*

Who wrote this? we exclaim to one another, but I already know. I fought so hard to keep Kagaya-hime and her story in line, but it kept breaking out of my expectations. Once you have opened the gate to alternatives, it can be hard to get it closed again.

All those places I have never been, and now, never will see.

Wait—

All those months of preparation and travel, all those injuries and deaths, and this war ended with all the drama of a fan falling. The men of the war band broke camp quickly and were gone by midday. Most would travel together

until they were far enough south not to fear retribution, and then the band would dissolve into groups that grew smaller and smaller, each man traveling as fast as he could toward home. It was three hundred miles to the Osa Hitachi estate, farther for those who had come from Shimosa or Kozuke provinces. Some traveled with injured men (which generally means dying men); it might take them a month or more to return home.

Most of the dead were buried in the forest, wooden hat markers and paper prayer slips hanging from the branches above their heads. There were other tributes, as well: a pair of torn reins hung like straw rope over a shrine; an arrow driven into the ground over a grave, a poem written on its shaft.

Before she left, the priestess Onobe no Kesuko took Kagaya-hime aside. "It will not be long," she said, nodding at Takase. "Half a day: less."

"Yes," Kagaya-hime said, and then: "May I ask something?"

"Ha," Kesuko said. "Finally. Yes."

"The kami—I hear them," Kagaya-hime said, feeling her way, "but they never make sense."

"Why should they make sense to you? You don't even make sense to yourself, cat," Kesuko said. "Where's your ground, your tale, your, what was it, *fudoki?*"

"Gone," Kagaya-hime said, and felt the familiar grief, the wrench of loss.

"No," Kesuko said. "You're the first cat I've met, but I thought they were supposed to be smarter than this. *This*"—she gestured around them, at the striking camp, the empty stockade, the mountains and everything beyond them, the hot cloudless summer sky over all—"is your *fudoki,* girl. It lasts a lifetime, but you never noticed that.

"Why should they make sense to you? They have their own tales, their own shared grounds. They don't have to make sense to anyone but themselves. No one does."

Kagaya-hime and Kitsune and Takase's man Suwa knelt with Takase as he slept out the last hours of his life. "There's no point to taking him from this place, my lady," Suwa said, and Kagaya-hime nodded. The smell of death was strong on him. Even the crows had picked it up; though many pecked for the blood that had soaked into the ground, some lined themselves neatly

along a branch over Takase's head, waiting. Servant and half-fox and cat-woman took turns digging a grave and gathering stones to place over it.

Farmers, peasants, and poor people came even before the war band was gone, to glean the battlefield, the war band's campsite, the stockade's grounds. They left with whatever they could carry, and there was much of it after a month of siege, ranging from a longsword dropped in the woods in the darkness to half-filled barrels of rice.

Takase died in the heat of the afternoon, his last breaths fainter and fainter, until only Kagaya-hime could tell he still lived. "That's it," she finally said, and stood. "He is gone." She did not see his ghost: not then.

She and Kitsune left their attendants to bury him, and walked a little way up a slope, into the forest. The sun did not reach all the way to the ground, so they walked in a false dusk that hummed with insects. They had removed their armor, but had not changed clothes (and after a month of siege, there is little worth changing into), and sweat and bloodstains made patterns on their trousers and vests.

A flash of vermilion caught Kitsune's eye, and they made their way to a small shrine to Inari, newly painted and still bright. The stone foxes stood on either side of a red-painted arch scarcely taller than a fox itself. She nodded to the little arch.

"What is that called?" she said.

"A *torii,*" he said. "A gateway."

"It's not very impressive," she said, remembering the great Rajō gate in the capital. "What does it go through? There's no wall."

He laughed a little. "It's a passageway between *here* and *there.*" He pointed. "A sort of road for gods and spirits."

"Oh," she said. They listened for a time to the humming air and a stick cracking in the heat somewhere, the almost inaudible whistle of the pine needles crushed under their feet. Kagaya-hime ran her finger along the head of one of the foxes: a porous stone, rougher than it looked.

"Once in a while," Kitsune said into the silence, "I wonder what it is like, being a fox. Being human is supposed to be better. But. Do you see things differently? Does time move faster, slower? Do you get hungry for different things?"

"Better?" Kagaya-hime said. "Different."

"I remember when I was little," Kitsune said into the humming silence. "Mostly I was a boy. I had this pony, and there was a dog, and then Nakara;

she was my nurse. You knew that, right? I think my mother didn't like me being a fox much. So I wasn't. And then there was a fire and my family died, and Nakara brought me to her family. I have not been a fox since then."

"You were, though. Are," Kagaya-hime said. "You mean you have not had a fox's shape; but it is there in you. I smell it. It's in your blood."

"Hmmm," Kitsune said. And sometime later, "But how?"

"I don't know," Kagaya-hime said. "You're half of each. How hard can it be to move from the one to the other?"

And just like that, as if her words had caused it, he was a fox. He looked up at her for a moment: gold eyes to gold. She smiled at him, and he was gone, slipping through the trees, ears and head high.

Kagaya-hime walked back to Takase's grave and watched the men lay his already stiffening body into it, and push the frozen earth back in place. After a while, she noticed Takase's ghost stood beside her watching the burial: a young man now, taller than the living man had been: slim. "Well?" Kagaya-hime asked.

"What a lot of trouble *that* was," the ghost said, nodding at the body. "Why did I wait so long?"

"The others all cried," Kagaya-hime said. "The ghosts."

"Did they?" the ghost said. "I suppose they left things behind that they missed."

"And you?"

The ghost turned to her. "I will miss you a little, cat-girl."

"And I you," she said. "A little."

The ghost smiled. "I think you will have plenty to keep you busy." It reached out a hand as if to touch her belly, but she felt nothing, only the sun and a breeze against her clothes. "I have given you something; now give me something. If a male deserves it, give him a place in your *fudoki.*"

"There is no *fudoki,*" she said, but without bitterness.

"Hah," the ghost that had been Takase said. "You are a one-cat *fudoki*. Don't you realize that yet? Promise."

"If a male stays, if he earns a place in the tale, he will be allowed into it."

"Already has, I'd say," Takase said. "Remember the fathers of your children, cat-girl."

"Tell me—" she said; but he was already gone.

The half-fox Kitsune returned, a rusty shimmer of movement, at the bird's hour. It was nearly dusk, the sky through the trees strange shades of peach and amber and blue. A fox loped from the trees, and then he stood there, breathless, a man again. "Oh," he said, but nothing else.

"I know," she said. "I would do anything to go back to that."

He shook his head slightly, settling into his man's shape again. "Then do so. Who do you think keeps you in that body?"

Uona came shouting in the woods trying to find Kagaya-hime, and disturbed them. Kitsune gathered Takase's and his attendants together. "They won't be too many miles ahead," he said. "We'll ride until dark and then catch up with them tomorrow. But you're not returning with me, are you?"

"No," Kagaya-hime said. "I am not finished, not yet. Tell Nakara that I love her."

"I will," Kitsune promised, and they were gone.

Me, I'm waiting. It is four more days until I leave the capital.

Northward again. Kagaya-hime and Biter and Uona and Otoko traveled slowly through the summer days, accompanied by a packhorse, a pretty roan that Otoko loaded with most of the armor and what little food they had. They found a rough little road that led north and west through the forest. After half a day, it faded into a path and then, a day later, a track over the shoulder of a mountain—though their route would have been easy enough even without the path, for the weather was beautiful, and the ground soft from fallen leaves and needles.

Their path met Noshira river and turned west, to accompany it to the sea. They followed its shores for several days until they found a boat large enough for Biter. The woman who ferried them across had a barbarous accent but a ready laugh; they paid her with the last of Kagaya-hime's ancient coins and turned north again.

There was plenty to eat. Kagaya-hime hunted, and her attendants were clever at gathering food, or even stealing it when there was someone to

steal from, though in those cases it was often easier to trade meat for rice. Biter ate whatever green things came his way and grew a little thinner, evidently missing grass. He allowed Uona to ride him, but still snapped at Otoko whenever he was close.

The journey had no urgency. There was no Osa Hitachi, no Nakara longing for her home, no Seiwa Minamoto no Takase pursuing his war to drive them forward, and so they traveled slowly, at a walking pace. They did not often find farms or even cultivated fields, though sometimes they passed an abandoned house built in half-buried, in the old style. Uona was pregnant with Otoko's child, in her early months, so she did not often feel well enough to travel immediately in the morning, and there were days they went nowhere, everyone content to drowse cat-like through the afternoon. The few people they encountered did not ask where they were going, or how they would fare through the winter.

In the north, mountains are common as geese, and there always seems to be another just beyond this one. But as one travels north they get smaller, just as horses and dogs seem to grow smaller. When the party left Noshira river, they aimed for a smooth-sloped mountain, a perfect little sister to the great mountain Fuji.

"Softer country," Kagaya-hime said.

"Not easy, though," Otoko said. "Look." He pointed to a nearby ridge, its firs and pines bent nearly double. "They'll have snow here, and winds. Bad years, it'll be higher than my head."

Otoko had somehow become their guide. It did not occur to Kagaya-hime to wonder how he had learned any of the ten thousand things he seemed to know, or even why they still traveled. She nodded and said no more.

Their path angled across the mountain's flank. It didn't seem steep until they started walking it, an endless steady climb that was more tiring than crags would have been. They stopped often for the sakes of Uona and the packhorse ("Both of us"—Uona laughed breathlessly—"we're carrying extra baggage"), so that by midafternoon they had only ascended part of the way. Kagaya-hime stopped them beside a *torii*-gate in a little clearing, having no wish to leave everyone huddling on a ridge when the sun set and the wind grew bitter.

Building camp was quick, for there was little to do. Kagaya-hime unloaded the horses as Otoko settled Uona in a nest of cloaks, with Biter's

saddle as a pillow. She fell asleep almost immediately as Kagaya-hime and Otoko gathered wood for a fire. They still had the better part of a deer's haunch wrapped in its own hide left over from the day before, but: "Mushrooms, my lady," Otoko said softly, and pointed downslope. He took a cloth for gathering and vanished among the trees.

There was little for Kagaya-hime to do. The packhorse nosed over the weeds in the clearing; as he did every evening Biter chewed on his hobbles trying to find a flaw that hadn't been there the night before. Uona stirred a little and said, "Don't forget…" before sinking back into sleep. Kagaya-hime walked across the clearing to examine the *torii*-gate.

It was taller than Kagaya-hime could reach, painted a red now faded to dust, and hung with a braided straw rope and slips of white paper, soft-edged with weather. Offerings had been heaped by the posts, but the foods were long gone, only trays and leaves left to mark them. Other, more permanent gifts remained, but they meant little to Kagaya-hime: a padded amulet necklace shredded by sun and rain to show glimmers of something inside; the ghost of a scent of sandalwood; and, amazingly, a full set of court robes in spring colors, now faded nearly to white.

Every gateway implies a road that passes through it, but this was a gate that led nowhere: there was no shrine beyond the *torii*-gate, not even another *torii*-gate that would also lead nowhere. She walked around pillars, but saw nothing. Looking up she glanced through the gate in the other direction, and gasped.

Spread out before her was a thousand miles of mountains and river-plains and marshes. The path they'd followed was a thread across the land, leading—she knew where it led. She could not see the great mountain Fuji, which was many hundreds of miles to the south, but it felt as though she ought to be able to; perhaps, if she knew just where to look, she might even see the Tōkaidō, the shrine where she became human, the Rajō gate to the capital, the path of her panicked running through the streets: her vanished home on Nijō avenue.

It was a gateway, and there was a road; but she'd been looking in the wrong direction.

She still wore the torso of her armor, though she'd removed the skirts and shoulder pieces long ago. Now she ran back to the camp and gathered the

rest of the armor: leggings, arm protectors, shoulder-guards—everything. She carried the awkward weight to the foot of the *torii*-gate and laid it there. She bent over and shook the *kote* over her head, catching it with her hands as it dropped, before it could fall and awaken Uona. The tortoiseshell colors of the lacings flared with the afternoon's gold light. She hopped a little dance, like a cat chasing a dust mote, feeling light, almost insubstantial with the removal of her armor.

The kami voices that were always in the back of her mind rustled like tree leaves in a breeze. She had grown used to them, and scarcely ever listened to their words anymore; but she listened now, wondering if they said different things so far from her old home.

"*Ah,*" something said suddenly, very loud and close in her mind: the road-kami.

"Where have you been?" she said. "I left you behind, I thought."

"I am the kami of the road, but *I* never said which road. People occasionally misinterpret things."

Kagaya-hime looked down the slope to the path. "This is a different road. Can you be both?"

"Who says you are on a different road than you were?" the kami said. "There are a lot of roads, and they go everywhere. Some of them can't be seen. You are coming to the end of this one."

"But then what?" she said, her eyes filling with tears.

"You will settle down. Make a new *fudoki.*"

"Alone?"

She had the impression of snorting. "When's the last time you were alone? Your tale is a thousand long already—men, women, horses. Not to mention you have a belly full of kittens."

Her hand came to rest on her belly. "I have wondered—they'll be kittens?"

"Cats are clearly as dense as humans. Yes, kittens."

"I have been locked in this body for a thousand miles," she said, a little bitterly. "It's no surprise if I wonder."

"Who locked you there, hey?"

She opened her mouth to speak, but a thought came to her and she said nothing, her mouth gaping open, forgotten. "I never tried," she finally said. "I wept and complained and mourned, but I never thought to change myself. And it's that simple. Oh, I *see*. But why?"

“You needed a home. Could a cat come a thousand miles? It’s cold up here; I expect your children will get sort of shaggy. But you’ll come in handy.”

“Which road did you say you were?” she asked suspiciously. “Did I come here, or was I summoned?”

“You need a home; they need cats. Seems straightforward to me.”

And the kami’s voice was gone, as simple as that.

⁂

Today is my last here. I have been sitting out on the veranda, writing the last of the oh, so necessary good-bye letters and poems, and warming my hands beside the brazier when my fingers start to stiffen. All day I’ve received letters from relatives and friends and former attendants wishing me well. I write back to them all: *Kasugano will be lovely; I will pray for you; I look forward to spending my final days in quiet contemplation*. I say this, secure in the knowledge that they will have no opportunities to discover the truth of my statements.

It is blustery, and the wind carves clear but concrete shapes from the air, limning them with gold and red fallen leaves. When I look into the sky, I feel as though I am staring down into a stream, at a shifting blue-green fish —though I cannot say whether it is the fish that moves, or the water that makes it appear to do so.

Perhaps it is not the wind, and not the fish (fish? There is no fish here. What am I thinking of? It is the trees I see, tossing in the wind). Perhaps it is my eyes, which weep continually now, from exhaustion, I think. Or my mind, wavering.

There was a day, beautiful and surprisingly cold: autumn, though winter was a clear omen in the air. The forest shivered gold and red and pine-green in the wind. There were ducks overhead, shouting directions at one another as they arrowed south in great untidy flocks.

The mountain where Kagaya-hime heard the kami’s voice was the last between her and the sea. She came around a curve in the path and there, miles ahead, across thinning forest and a broadening plain where a river wandered, was the distant glitter of a bay cupped in the land’s arms. “Well, that’s the end of journeying, then,” she said aloud; cats do not like water.

Otoko walked beside her leading the horses. “Down there.” He pointed. A stream joined the river on the plain; there was a small village at the conflux, too far away to see clearly—perhaps ten shaggy-eaved buildings nearly the color of the fields that surrounded them. The pale lines of stone fences made ragged calligraphy against the ripe gold of grain, the heavy green of *taro* fields. Otoko crouched, turned over the dirt with a knife’s edge. “Good soil.” He straightened. “It’s even better down there.”

Uona astride Biter nodded toward the plains, the village. “Will they welcome us, husband?”

“Why wouldn’t they?” Otoko said. “We have horses, we’re strong. And”—he grinned suddenly, a look Kagaya-hime had never seen on him—“my family is from here.”

“You have *family?*” Kagaya-hime said; even a cat can be surprised. “Are there mice there?”

“They’re terrible,” he said. “They get into everything and—”

“Then I will stay,” she said.

Otoko said, “You’d be welcome, but it’s no place for a cultured woman.”

“But I’m not a woman, am I?” Kagaya-hime said. She kicked off her sandals, grateful to feel even cold earth underfoot.

“What are you doing?” Uona said.

“Starting a new tale,” Kagaya-hime said, and started to untie her short over robe.

“No men, then,” Uona said. “It wouldn’t be proper.”

Otoko said, “We—would not have thought of this,” and Kagaya-hime knew he meant: *becoming real*. He bowed. “Thank you, my lady.” He turned and led the packhorse down the slope toward the far-distant village.

Uona slipped from Biter’s back and busied herself loosing ties and lacings. “You’re sure?” she said, kneeling to remove Kagaya-hime’s *hakama*-trousers. “You will give up all this? Hands and the skills to make things; arrows, knives?”

“Oh, yes,” Kagaya-hime whispered, a voice soft as a purr. She dropped her vest and under robe on the ground: a shapeless untidy heap, like a snake’s skin when the snake has discarded it. Naked in the sun she stretched, a small fine-boned woman with thick black hair to her shoulders, gold eyes under straight brows. “You will let me sleep by your hearth-pit, yes?”

And there was no woman there, but a small cat, fur black flecked with gold and cinnamon and ivory, like the tortoiseshell of a hair ornament. She blinked up at Uona through eyes slitted to threads in the brilliant light. Biter reached down to touch noses with the tortoiseshell, and the cat leapt in a single fluid movement to Biter's shoulders, balancing there until Uona pulled herself into the saddle. Cat and horse and woman started down, toward the village.

Another piece of this story: a small tortoiseshell cat stands on the banks of a stream. The sun is out, but it is very cold; snow has mounded into strange shapes on the ground. Her breath puffs from her nostrils, like smoke from an inner fire, but she does not feel the cold through her winter-thick fur.

The stream's water is brilliantly clear, and there is a fish there, a trout as long as her tail. She can see it hover, every blue-green scale as brilliant as Mikawa silk, or a butterfly's wing. The fish's shadow hangs against the warm gray stones of the streambed. The tortoiseshell is reluctant to risk falling into the water, which she knows would be horrid. Still: a fish, and *such* a fish, fat and beautiful, and so close to the water's surface. And she is always hungry, keeping the kittens in her womb fed until they are born. She creeps down to a stone that touches the water, and crouches low, one paw raised over the water, patient.

The fish seems to examine the paw, as if it were an insect hovering above the water. Its eye is bright and shallow as a blade. It flicks a fin and raises higher in the water, closer to her claws.

"Cat!" Otoko's voice, behind her. "*There* you are." The tortoiseshell blinks and the fish is gone, as quickly as that. She stretches and sighs, and saunters closer to the man.

"Look what I have, girl." He cracks open his basket to show her the contents, all blue-green scales and blade-bright eyes; half a dozen trout. "Let's go home and have Uona cook these up, hey?" The tortoiseshell lets him stroke her head for a moment and then follows him home.

This notebook is nearly filled, but I have enough room to tell this much more. Kagaya-hime will have six kittens, from five fathers. This new land will belong to her, a part of a new *fudoki* that begins with her.

16. The Last Notebook

There is nothing left in these rooms: only two small trunks, and several bundles of indeterminate shape—and, I am afraid, contents; there are always a thousand last-minute requirements for anyone traveling, and they never fit into the storage space allotted to them.

I have burned all the notebooks but this one. I wrote them for my own reasons. When their job was done, I burned them, converting ink on paper to the loose calligraphy of smoke. Before I leave these rooms, I will burn this one as well.

The priests have been with me all morning, preparing me for my entrance into Kasugano—and, eventually, the Pure Land, though I'm afraid I daydreamed through their interminable prayers—regrettable, since I expect I will have need of their good wishes. I kneel behind a curtain (for not even now am I expected to be barefaced before these men; really, this makes me nearly laugh), so when I receive my nun's robes, they are handed past the curtain, and it is Shigeko who drapes them over my own blue-green robes and then kneels again beside me. She and I share a smile, but we say nothing.

The priests have offered to clip a mere hand's length of my long hair: a polite symbol of my separation from this world with none of the embarrassment (not to say shame) of having hair short as a servant-girl's. The priests sound impressed, if a little shocked when I demand that they cut it to my shoulders; even Buddha's servants are not impervious to social proprieties. Shigeko gathers the lengths of my hair in her hands, tugging at my head a little as she passes them through an opening in the curtain. The shears make a grating noise, and then a cascade of black and white pours back through the gap: the new ends of my hair. They aren't willing to go so far as shoulder-length hair, but it only hangs to my waist now, and my head feels weightless, light on my neck. If I decide it is still too long, I can always have Shigeko cut it shorter.

They give Shigeko her robes, and cut her hair, as well. There is a little more praying, and they bow themselves out. They do not stay to accompany

us: we have told them that the emperor very kindly offered men and carriages to carry us the short miles to Kasugano. I nearly laugh out loud.

For I am lying to everyone except Shigeko. I am running away—or rather, we are running away together, two old women sneaking away to see what sights they can before they die.

Shigeko has found a useful man of no rank whatsoever, but immense virtue in that he understands animals and traveling. And the Tōkaidō. His mother accompanies us to empty chamber boxes and makes sure we are fed; she used to wash for us, so we know she is patient with the foibles of old women. He has found others to assist us, guards and grooms and carters; and some quiet horses and two pairs of (I am assured) extremely well-mannered oxen. If we need further help, we will find some useful peasant-girl and exchange hair ornaments for her exertions.

I can't say how far I will be able to travel before the weight in my chest kills me. It may be no farther than Otsu, just past the walls of the city, or the first ferry (I might cross water in a boat! Think of it!). I think it's too much to hope that I will see the great mountain Fuji before I die, but at least I will see the sky unfringed by walls.

And I have this letter, in whisker-fine calligraphy, about fish that "mention my name." It was unsigned, of course—she never did have a name, only what she was called—but there is a single line after the poem. If it is a poem: I still cannot decide:

I look forward to meeting you.

Of course it is she, now mother and grandmother to a thousand cats, The Cat Who Walked a Thousand Miles. She returned to her cat's shape, but she is no longer just a cat. Why might she not have questions for me, just as I have questions for her? And why might we not meet?

Shigeko and I have talked much about her these last days. I know that she is as real as I am. I thought that I invented her, that she had no more existence than any other set of words on paper; but I know now that this is not true. She saw things I did not expect, and felt things I did not mean her to. She is as real as flesh, as ghosts.

I am not sure if she means I will make it all the way to Mutsu province; or that we travel toward one another and will meet in some monastery or temple between here and there, when I grow at last too ill to travel; or even

that she will meet me in the Pure Land when we are both dead. I am not sure whether she will be a woman or a cat—or, for that matter, what I will be. But then, I will still be Harueme, and she will still be the cat Kagaya-hime.

I would like Shigeko to meet her.

Author's Note

Fudoki, which may be translated as "records of wind and earth," were eighth-century documents collecting information about individual provinces for the imperial court. They included descriptions of natural features and population centers, local resources and products, bits of folklore and history—anything that the compilers thought might be of interest back in the capital. I adopted the word as the closest parallel to my cats' shared reality.

Harueme writes her notebooks in the year 1129, during the reign of her great-grandnephew, Sutoku. While she is fictional, she shares some characteristics with Shirakawa's real sisters, Atsuko and Reishi. She has somewhat more in common with the noblewoman in the tale-fragment, "The Woman Who Loved Vermin."

Favorite primary sources for this book were: *The Emperor Horikawa Diary* (tr. Jennifer Brewster), and the war-tales *Mutsuwaki* (tr. Helen Craig McCullough), and *Hōgen monogatari* (tr. William R. Wilson). Secondary sources I found useful were *Insei* by G. Cameron Hurst III, and the second volume of the Cambridge History of Japan, edited by Donald H. Shiveley and William H. McCullough. Favorite material on feral cats included Paul Leyhausen's *Cat Behavior,* Claire Necker's *The Natural History of Cats,* and especially Jack Couffer's *The Cats of Lamu*.

Karl F. Friday proved a generous and invaluable resource. His book, *Hired Swords,* was a fascinating and useful exploration of Heian-era military power. In addition, he very kindly answered even my stupidest questions with patience and clarity, and allowed me to see unpublished material on Heian combat technique. I can never fully express my gratitude for all his help.

I wish to thank the following for their assistance: Irene Michon for her insights into the writing process; writers Walter S. Williamson, Melissa Shaw, Louise Marley, and the Kilomon-keys (Wolf Baur, Ted Chiang, Jeff Grubb, Bridget McKenna, Marti McKenna, Chris McKitterick, and Lorelei Shannon); formerly feral cats Baby, Bro, Meerkat, Helen, Tatsuko, and Sanj ū; and especially Peg Kerr and Chris McKitterick. Mistakes in this book are entirely my own.

Since it all happened a long distance away, I am sensible of having made a great many blunders, which anyone acquainted with the truth is at liberty to correct.

—*Mutsuwaki*
translated by Helen Craig McCullough

Tor Books by Kij Johnson

The Fox Woman

Fudoki

This is a work of fiction. All the characters and events portrayed in this novel are either fictitious or are used fictitiously.

FUDOKI

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A Tor Book
Published by Tom Doherty Associates, LLC
175 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10010

www.tor-forge.com

Tor® is a registered trademark of Tom Doherty Associates, LLC.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Johnson, Kij.
Fudoki / Kij Johnson.—1st ed.
p. cm.
"A Tom Doherty Associates book."
ISBN: 978-1-4668-0065-6
1. Women soldiers—Fiction. 2. Metamorphosis—Fiction. 3. Japan—Fiction. 4. Cats—Fiction. I. Title.

PS3560.O379716F83 2003
813'.54—dc21

2003053345

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NEW YORK

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Table of Contents

Title Page
Copyright Notice
1. - THE CLOUD-PAPER NOTEBOOK
2. - THE PLUM-COLORED NOTEBOOK
3. - THE GRASS-CHARACTER NOTEBOOK
4. - THE BUTTEFLY-PRINTED NOTEBOOK
5. - THE *KlHADA*—DYED NOTEBOOK
6. - THE *GENJI*-POEM SCROLL
7. - THE MICHINOKA-PAPER NOTEBOOK
8. - THE FAN-FOLD NOTEBOOK
9. - THE *SHOBU* NOTEBOOK
10. - THE CHANG-AN NOTEBOOK
11. - THE TEN-OX NOTEBOOK
12. - THE *MASHI*-HEMP NOTEBOOK
13. - THE BLUE-GREEN NOTEBOOK
14. - THE BAMBOO-PAPER NOTEBOOK
15. - THE SILVER-FOIL NOTEBOOK
16. - THE LAST NOTEBOOK

CHARACTERS IN THE PRINCESS HARUEME'S TALE
Tor Books by Kij Johnson
AUTHOR'S NOTE
Copyright Page

For Chris and for my parents: a tale told under your eaves

1.

THE CLOUD-PAPER NOTEBOOK

I am the princess Harueme, daughter of Fujiwara no Enyu and the emperor we now call Go-Sanjō. More to the point, I am old and I am dying.

My life (what remains of it) does not look so different from the outside than it has anytime in the past fifty years, since I first came to court. I kneel on a straw mat laid on my oh, so familiar boxwood floors, though the padding is thicker than it was when I was young, and despite it my knees hurt rather more. I wear silk as I have since I was a child today; my robes are the *susuki* grass color combination, a private favorite of mine. My screens and curtains of state and eye-blinds are elegant but worn—but so they have been through all these years. I cannot recall ever having completely new hangings.

And there is a cat watching me as I write, a tabby female with green eyes whom we call Myōbū for her grand-lady manners. Before her there were others, but she fills the same place in my life that they did. The individuals may change, but there are always cats, there are always robes, there are always mats. These do not change.

I am old, but it is not age that kills me. There is a pressure deep in my chest, as if my liver and lungs are pushed aside by new and unknown organs. To breathe, my lungs steal back territory from these encroaching organs, and then they must do it again for the next breath. Each time they reclaim less and retreat sooner, so that I see a day when they find the price of this war too high, and we will die, my lungs and I. I can only hope that these usurping organs will be required in the Pure Land, and my body is simply premature in generating them. Even in hoping this, I grasp for a reason, like a falling monkey catching at vines. My half-brother who was the emperor died some months ago; I follow him rather sooner than either of us expected.

I know I am dying, though my great-grandnephew the emperor and a thousand medical men—herbalists, diviners, eccentrics of every stamp—do not seem to believe me when I tell them. Or perhaps they do not choose to believe. Believing in a thing can make it so; how could they risk such a thing? If it is possible, what else might be, as well?

I cannot die here in the palace, of course—to do so would stain the purity of the sacred enclosure, and therefore it would be bad for my great-grandnephew the emperor—so I have already made my plans. Soon a priest will administer certain vows, give to me a new name and cut my long hair, and I will be a nun. It is as simple as that.

Not quite so simple: in my lifetime I have acquired and filled what seem to be a thousand trunks, and these must be emptied and removed. Their contents comprise an odd sort of midden heap: close-writ diaries; broken antiques from China or beyond, their value only in their provenance; a half-finished translation of *The Thousand-Character Classic;* torn robes in no-longer-fashionable color combinations; love letters twisted into the clever little knots that girls think can conceal secrets. And there are notebooks I have never gotten around to filling, their pages full of promise, or emptiness.

Pick up a *biwa*-lute, and you can't help but strike a note or two. Watch a cat sleep and you long to touch it (often to the cat's annoyance). A new brush begs you to grind ink. A cup makes you thirsty; dice in your hand demand to be thrown. The mind follows what the hand touches.

A blank notebook demands words. Which words? I wonder.

At a time now past, a cat was born. The emperor Ichijō brought the first cats from Korea—my great-grandfather, though this was long before I was born. This was not so long after that, when cats were still rare, and all in the inner provinces near the capital.

This cat was a female, the smallest of her litter of four, and her fur was at first a blurred darkness. As she grew it changed to black flecked with gold and cinnamon and ivory, like the tortoiseshell of a hair ornament. Her eyes when they opened were gold, like a fox's. She was small but fierce: in no way but size a runt, for she lacked the gentle resignation of the weak.

She lived on the grounds of a *shinden* residence on Nijō avenue, in the capital's west side. It filled a city block, and it had once been very fine,

though that had been before even the emperor Ichijō's time. The owners abandoned it to build a house closer to the heart of things (and that heart had moved east, to where the retired emperors lived); there were fires and droughts and earthquakes; there was the slow erosion of apathy. The main house with its three wings still stood, but the roofs leaked and had fallen in places; the walls were furred with mosses. Some outbuildings were no more than piles of wood and cedar shakes. The grounds were overrun with ivy and weeds, and the three little lakes and the stream that joined them were green with neglect.

Three people lived here. They called themselves servants to justify their presence, but they were no more than cuckoos squatting in a nest that did not belong to them. They lived in the north wing, what had once been the primary wife's rooms, and cooked on the pavement of what had once been the bamboo courtyard. Their trash they tossed into a heap beside the covered walkway to the west wing. A goat also lived here, too wily to catch and be eaten.

Cats have their estates, as well: their gathering places and private wings. A handful of females, fellow-wives and sisters, shared the residence's grounds, which had not inconsiderable resources viewed from the perspective of a cat's tastes. The ruined garden and the kitchen yard seethed with mice and small edible things, and the brook and the lakes contained slow, fat frogs that attracted what seemed consistently stupid birds.

Each adult claimed her slice of the grounds, where she hunted and mated and bore kittens in solitude. These private spaces met at the center, like the petals of a dogwood bloom, and on pleasant days when the sun was warm the cats gathered at the midden heap and the space around it, matrons dozing as the kittens chased one another.

Most kittens were sired by one of two toms, each of whom claimed half the grounds (and sometimes more) and visited when their responsibilities permitted. Sometimes a strange male infiltrated, like a guardsman secretly visiting a nobleman's wife, and there would be a kitten with unusual markings or strangely colored eyes. Apart from these occasional visits, toms had no part of the cats' lives: were irrelevant, in fact.

The cats (the female cats) of the residence's grounds shared another thing, their *fiudoki,* which is self and soul and home and shrine, all in one to a cat. The *fudoki* is the chronicle of the females who have claimed a place, a river of cats that starts with the first to come to that place, and ends with

oneself—when one grows experienced enough to have a tale to tell. It is also the place itself, and the cat whose story it is, and the immaterial shrine in which the household is honored. A cat may lose her tale by leaving her family and place, but then she is not the same cat. Mothers taught their daughters the *fudoki;* if the mother died too soon, the cousins and aunts and fellow-wives did so. Some (though not all) of the kittens would live; the tale would go on, an unbroken stream.

Though she was fairly young, the tortoiseshell cat had survived kittenhood and not run away. She had not yet earned a place in her tale, though her aunts and cousins had taken to calling her The Small Cat. This would change when she had earned a true name and a longer story. The tortoiseshell's *fudoki* was many cats long, and she knew them all—The Cat with a Litter of Ten, The Cat Born the Year the Star Fell, The Fire-Tailed Cat.

The Fire-Tailed Cat. I wrote those characters as my woman Shigeko came to me, to warn me of the impending visit from the latest healer my great-grandnephew has sent—a yin-yang diviner this time, with the good looks and arrogance that mean he will go far in his profession. He wasted half a day of my none-too-long life, but as I waited for his rather silly rituals to be completed I at least had ample time to ask myself why I am writing in this notebook. For the pleasure of watching the characters shape themselves under my hand? Do I distract myself from pain or boredom or fears for the future (for of course I am afraid. I am not so enlightened as all that)? I know the ending of my own story: do I long for a tale with an end I do not yet see?

I have written much before this but always notes about things I have observed. Never a tale (which is, after all, a lie, without proof or relevance). And why a cat?—Which is the easiest of all these to answer, for Myōbū sat beside me, sunlight in her green eyes as she stared into air, or nothing. What does she see? And when I look at her, what do I see? Cats. Who can tell?

There was a day, beautiful and very hot: summer, though autumn would begin soon enough. The first gingko leaf had turned, a surprising brilliant gold fan against dusty, dry green. Ducks slept on a pond as still as enamel,

out of reach of ambitious cats. Pollen choked the air with a haze like smoke. The afternoon sky had leached to the color of tin in the heat.

The cats were gathered at the midden, five adults and a handful of half-grown kittens. There were not many, because it was not a good summer for cats: the cat distemper had killed some, and a stray dog others including the oldest female, The Cat Who Found the Jewel. Most of her kittens—too young to have earned places in the *fudoki*—died, but one survived, the small golden-eyed tortoiseshell. She sat on a wall, looking down at the courtyard, blinking as the sun moved into her eyes.

Adults dozed tight-muscled in the dappled shadows cast by the garden's trees, or stretched out on the gravel under the sun, looking dead. The kittens played idly with fishes' tails retrieved from the midden, pausing to rest in the shade of the raised walkway and buildings that formed three sides of the space. One cat licked clean the ears of her half-grown daughter. The *fudoki* rippled over them all, slow and warm as a summer brook. A wind started.

The ducks panicked suddenly: awoke and whirled up from the lake in a ragged spiral like a dust devil. The cats did not move from their places, but in a blink slipped from sleep to hunters' wakefulness. They watched the wheeling ducks, all thrashing wings and strange cries. The air had changed; or something.

A duck broke from the spiral and arrowed toward the cats. The others followed her; and when the first duck slammed into the side of a storehouse they followed her there, too, and died with her. The last broken-necked duck had not hit the ground when the earthquake struck.

It was not a large quake, nor a long one. Across the capital, screens and cooking braziers rattled or fell. Humans and animals screamed in their various ways. Tree branches tossed; leaves rustled as if in a gale. Temple and shrine bells jangled in their frames without rhythm.

The ground shuddered and gave a deep sound the cats felt through their paws. Some had experienced earthquakes and hunkered down, ears flat and eyes wide. Some bolted for safe places, under buildings or up trees.

The tortoiseshell did not know earthquakes; her *fudoki* (and there were quakes in the *fudoki)* could not prepare her for the ground moving. She jumped to her feet, teetered, and lost her balance, falling to the wall's base in an awkward heap. Plaster fell around her in heavy flakes. She staggered to the courtyard's center, braced her legs against the bucking ground, and hissed.

The residence's main house collapsed slowly, almost painstakingly. Old timbers groaned and broke like river ice. With odd musical noises, cracked roof tiles shook free, slid, and shattered on the dirt. More fell; they sloughed in sheets like snakeskin as supporting pillars flexed. A dislodged beam crashed down. Another splintered with a noise like fireworks, or thunder. Slowly, the roof crumpled in on itself, vanished into the building with a wave of white dust and a sound so loud that the tortoiseshell fell, stunned with the weight of it.

She could not tell when the shaking stopped being the earth and became instead the falling building. She streaked up the ragged bark of a *binoki* cedar, to an abandoned squirrel's nest she knew. She heard noises outside the grounds: shouts, cries; on the street to the west, frightened horses that had kicked down their stable doors; the frightened (or irritated) bleating of the estate's goat, fading as it bolted away. The last cat she saw was an aunt vanishing beneath the west walkway.

The bells chimed randomly for a long time after the earthquake ended.

Despite the earthquake's damage, it was the fire that destroyed the *shinden* residence and its grounds. The eighth month is a dangerous month: the gardens are dry, and wood-and-paper houses catch fire as quickly as brazier coals. In the capital's southeast quarter, a tipped lantern set fire to a floor mat. A length of summer gauze hanging from a curtain stand flared up and lit an old reed eye-blind, and that was the first house to burn. In the afternoon's rising breeze, flames spread to the north and west, a bright fan across the city.

Crouched in her tree, the tortoiseshell smelled the fire before she saw or heard anything. The air grew sharp and stung her eyes, made her wrinkle her nose and sneeze: a greasy, complicated smell. She shook her head to dislodge the tang.

There were more shouts outside the grounds, more hoofbeats, wagon wheels screaming under weight. Bells rang again, their discord rhythmic, in earnest this time. Behind all was a steady roar, like a festival crowd cheering.

The heart of a *hinoki* cedar is not a good vantage point, and the tortoiseshell crept along a limb until she could see out through the needles, over the broken outer walls. Through the dirty air she saw that everywhere to the south and east was smoke. Where buildings burned, thick dark

plumes seethed upward; where there was grass or gardens, pale shreds crawled toward her. And there were flames.

She knew fire, convenient little blazes that the residence's people used for their mysterious purposes, but this was not the well-mannered glow of charcoal or lamplight. This was chaotic, full of angry colors: the source of the roar she had heard, the shouting crowd. A sudden gust of hot wind slammed into her. She retreated along her branch.

When she was small, she fit into the squirrel's nest, had hidden here as the dog killed her mother. But she was larger now, and it was no longer a refuge. She climbed as high as she safely could, and pressed herself into a little hollow where a branch joined the trunk. And then she waited, panting, for the fire.

We—humans I mean, peasants and nobles alike—know about the fires. I had not lived more than a few summers before I had learned of them. They always start with something small, but if the weather is dry or the wind is strong, they can destroy everything—or nearly everything; fire is as whimsical as the gods. Flames settle into one place, burning for days with choking black smoke and leaving the ground too hot to touch, mysteriously poisoned for years afterward. Across the street, they cross another residence with no more damage than black-scorched tips to the banquet field's grass. The flames disregard entirely the gardens of a third residence, happily beyond the range of the winds' vagaries. Within a few streets one may see all of these, and more besides: a thatched stable with a roof like a pillar of flame, its walls hidden in the smoke that pours downward; a storehouse half-burned, half-untouched; a garden pond filled with boiled, once-ornamental fish. One shop is abandoned, screens and grilles gaping as the owners flee with the best of their stock in a wagon pulled by their strong-legged sons. A shop next door remains open, and a woman buys gourds in a net from an old man. Except for the cloths over their mouths, they seem oblivious to the burning city.

If the wind blew safely away from where I lived, the fire became exciting, like riots in another quarter of the capital. "What is the news?" we all called to passersby. The rules were forgotten, and noblewomen (even princesses, if no one was attending closely) ran barefaced and barefooted into the street to catch at the sleeves of the guardsmen hurrying past: how many houses are gone, what streets, what lives? We ate our rice cold on the verandas where we could watch the smoke. We prayed desperately to the

kami, to the Buddhas, to all the gods and demons, begging for an easy fire, begging that the wind stay kind.

We know about the fires, but the tortoiseshell did not. There were stories in the *fudoki,* of course, but a story does not choke you with fumes; the grass in a tale doesn't hiss like a kitten as it burns. She crouched in her tree and watched through eyes slitted against the smoke.

At sunset the wind eased, and the flames slowed. The fire seemed brighter with dusk, its movements clearer. The smoke glimmered red and amber. She heard individual noises within the roar now: a whistle like an overblown *shō*-pipe, low wooden sighs, an angry metallic squeal.

To the east was a *shinden* residence like this one, old and forgotten and dry. The main house and its wings were half-hidden from the tortoiseshell, but for a time what she could see remained recognizable and was even made beautiful by the fire. Flames defined everything, tracing the shapes of screens and supports, railings and walkways. Smoke gushed like water along the roofs, but she could not tell whether it moved up or down.

The flames hesitated at Sai avenue. Lanky weeds and half-grown trees muddled its neglected surface, but it was broad, and the border-ditches still carried water, if not much. Cinders showered up from the burning buildings and started small fires in the weeds. The neighbors' gatehouse collapsed outward, and coals caught in a young *katsura* tree in the avenue. Smoke oozed from the tree's crown until the fire became visible and destroyed it.

The tortoiseshell's grounds caught in a hundred places. Flying sparks settled on roofs and in dead pines and cryptomeria. Fire slipped into the ditch, leapt across the reeds that bridged the slimy trickle, crept up to the outside wall, and swarmed over it.

The residence burned for most of the night. Thatch and shingles went immediately. Woodwork took a little longer, the perfect grid of a screen or a carved phoenix over a doorway outlined for a time in light. The buildings' heavy-beamed skeletons settled in like *Urabon* festival bonfires as the timbers turned black and then white and cherry red. The smoke thinned somewhat, for the wood here was well aged.

The air was very hot, not quite unbearably so. When a coil of smoke curled around the tortoiseshell, she pressed her face between her paws and breathed through the fur of her inner leg, leaving tears and smears of the dirty mucus that trailed from her nose. Her claws had been out since sunset. Her muscles trembled with exhaustion.

Through the gaps left open by her second eyelids, she watched the flames flicker, quick as birds or lizards. Sometimes cats looked up through the hot, wavering air with shining eyes and glistening mouths that said things she could not hear. They might have been the cats of her *fudoki,* her cousins and aunts. They might have been ghosts, or flames, or illusions. She could not tell.

A live cinder settled on her shoulder: a tiny smell of burning fur. It was a moment before she recognized the pain. She screamed and scraped herself convulsively against the bark, but there was nowhere to run, nothing to fight.

Fire is not constant. Trees near her burned, but the *hinoki* cedar did not. Needles on the lower branches sizzled as they flared, and then smoldered like incense sticks. She smelled the changed air, and pressed herself harder against the trunk. The squirrel's nest below her remained intact, though the smoke would have been fatal. Her retreat was high enough that fresh air found its way to her, and so she lived.

We understand what fires are like, in the same way we understand about riots and wars. We hear tales, rumors, reports from the front. They interest us, but they do not threaten us. Long before we are truly endangered our careful attendants hustle us off to some safer place: the summer house at Biwa lake, a relative's home in a quieter quarter, a temple in the mountains.

There are some who know fire (or riots, or war) intimately, who see it as the tortoiseshell did. I am not one of those (my so-careful attendants have prevented this), but I have watched bonfires and braziers and walked in a garden after a fire once. I guess what she might have seen or felt, the acid touch of scorching air in her lungs. I imagine; I dream, even when (especially when) it frightens me.

"What are you writing?" Shigeko asks me. It is afternoon, and I write out on my veranda, enjoying the sun's warmth and the low voices of my women as they put together a robe for me to wear when next I am summoned to visit my great-grandnephew the emperor.

Shigeko is my primary attendant, as old and weathered as I, and so she dares ask such a question, when other, younger, lesser women might instead remain silent. The perfect attendant (and I have had many of them in my life) asks no questions. She brings what is requested; she cleans up what is spilled; she laughs and cries appropriately, as required by her mistress's

mood. Shigeko has never been the perfect attendant, despite her inarguable skills: managing the other women, overseeing my wardrobe, and intercepting unwanted visitors and letters.—Though she certainly has been the most interesting of them.

My brush was moving when she asked this, and so I have written her words and now my thoughts, quite as though they were part of this tale. Now her politeness is at an end, for she has said, her voice sharper: "My lady? *"* I think I must put down my brush and answer her—

"Nothing," I told her.

She frowned: she knows I lie. I am not skilled at lies, and she is expert at detecting them. Why did I not tell her, "A *monogatari* tale"? I have written a thousand things and shared them with her: my notes on the number of legs and the wing-colors of whatever vermin I was observing, my letters, even my diaries. Why am I unwilling to show her this?

I have shared everything in my life with others. Not much has belonged to me alone.

The cat did not sleep so much as fall unconscious, and she was not aware of doing either until she startled awake, her claws still sunk deep in the bark, her burning eyes sticky with clotted tears and mucus. She was hungry and very thirsty. Dirt and ash caked her fur and clotted at the roots of her whiskers and sensing hairs. The air smelled strange, of char and ash, every scent changed beyond recognition.

The sky was pale and smoke-pillared in the southeast, smeared indigo and black to the west. Several buildings retained their shapes but were hollowed out and seared. Others were only heaps of charred timber, unrecognizable piles of smoking gray and black, red light peeking through cracks in certain logs. The fire still burned in the northern wing where the "servants" had lived, but with the idle half-interest of a well-fed cat teasing a mouse. The great trees of the garden stood, though their lower branches were charred or gone altogether. Everything else was scorched or destroyed, leaving the garden a tangle of black shapes that might have been shrubs or branches, and might not.

The tortoiseshell *niyaan*ed softly, and then loudly. There was no response, no sound of any sort: no morning songbirds, no people swearing and spitting and clattering pottery in the north wing. No cats. The only living creature she saw was a soaked rat climbing from the stream, which

was chalky with ash. Setting foot on a patch of still-smoking ground, it made an anguished noise and leapt back into the water, then swam off to vanish beneath a collapsed bridge.

She was alone. She knew this, though she could not have explained how, or even what, she knew. We, who are more familiar with the gods of our land than she, might have said that the garden's and the residence's kami were gone—dead or angry or distracted, or something else that men cannot understand. But her people were new to the Eight Islands, and neither knew nor cared about our gods. She knew only that the heart of her home was gone.

She climbed down, carefully feeling her way along the soot-slick branches. She paused on the lowest and then dropped the final distance. The earth was hot enough that she shifted from paw to paw trying to find a comfortable place to set her feet. Around the base of the *hinoki* cedar was a scattering of dead birds fallen in the night, but her thirst was stronger than her hunger. Startling with every step, she walked down to the little stream. She found a place where she could crouch without burning her paws and lapped at the water. A taste like sulfur caught at the back of her throat, but she drank.

She returned to the dead birds. She pushed the closest one with a paw but it was already rigid despite the heat. She wrinkled her nose and turned away. The next bird had been badly burned, its eyes melted away, its clawed feet curled against its breast. It was unpleasantly crunchy, and she turned away from this one as well. The third was a late-season nestling, scarcely a mouthful.

The fourth she ate. The meat was smeared with ashes that ground against her teeth, but she was too hungry to care. The blood in its veins was stagnant but warm and helped ease the sulfur taste at the back of her throat. Feathers were always bitter, and she clawed them from the bird when she could; otherwise spat them out as she ate. She tried to groom the blood and feathers and ash from her fur, but her mouth was dry. After cleaning her forepaws and face, she gave up and explored her world's remains.

The continuing silence frightened her. She had always lived in a cloud of noises large and small. Leaves rustled, birds sang, water chattered over rocks in the stream; the people in the north wing had yelled and whispered and snored through their days. Now she heard noises outside the grounds, but the silence within seemed absolute. She listened to her own rasping

breath and a steady fast thump like a small drum: her heart beating. She *niyaan*ed again. The sound did not carry, muffled by ashes.

One of her aunts had slipped beneath the walkway, so the little cat searched there. She found no one, only a smoking shape that might once have been a cat, pressed into a depression in the ground. She sniffed carefully and caught the memory of a scent, the black-and-white cat, The Cat Who Talked to Moths. "Aunt?" she asked. When the tortoiseshell tapped with a paw, the shape that might have been a cat crumbled.

She searched throughout the grounds and the destroyed structures, but she found no other cats.

Beside the north wing, she found a dead woman caught beneath a beam that had fallen in such a way that half the wood was untouched and the other end burned away to a blunt point. The woman had been pinned and died there, of the smoke or injuries. A ghost knelt over the corpse, patting it as one might try to wake a child and sobbing, "Get up, get up!" Though there was no wind, its hair and clothes moved like water weeds in a storm.

Cats see ghosts, of course, and speak with them, too, when they have not yet passed on to wherever they must go. Can you doubt it? "Where are the other cats?" the tortoiseshell asked.

The ghost looked up with red-rimmed eyes. "Help me wake up."

The tortoiseshell said, "You're dead. I don't think you'll wake up from that."

"I have to," the ghost said. "Where will I go? I was a bad Buddhist, but I don't want to go to Hell. I won't have to, if I can just wake up." It shook its corpse, and ash flew from its clothes.

A flake fell on the tortoiseshell's nose, and she shook her head to dislodge it. "Where are the cats, my cousins and aunts?"

The ghost stopped shaking. The tears that fell from its eyes were blood. "They are all gone. Cats and mice, people and kami. I am all that's left."

"No," the tortoiseshell said. *"I am* left. *You're* a ghost. If my kin are dead, where are their ghosts, then?"

"Why would I know?" the ghost said bitterly. "I am no cat. If cats go to Hell perhaps I will meet them there. Unless I can wake up."

The tortoiseshell returned to the midden heap to think.

Individual cats are not important. Even if the other females were gone, she lived, and the *fudoki* continued. Grass and bushes would grow again, and mice would crawl from their holes or move from other, less damaged

residences. Humans might or might not return, but they were of only minor usefulness. Perhaps other females would find the grounds and become part of the tortoiseshell's *fudoki.* Eventually, the males would visit again. If they did not, new males would take their place. She would have kittens, perhaps many litters, and some would be daughters. The tale would continue, and she would take her place in it: The Surviving Cat. She was frightened and alone, but the tale remained, and this comforted her.

There were sounds within the grounds: men's voices, heavy footsteps. The fire left a thousand new hiding spots, but they were unfamiliar and frightening, so she leapt for the top of a wall. *Up* had always been safe; had been safe through the night's fire.

She landed with her full weight on her front paws, driving them down onto the still-smoking top edge. She screamed and twisted sideways in the air, fell full length onto a raised stone walkway, still scorchingly hot. The pain closed down her mind, and she ran.

All through the night, when her life depended on it, the tortoiseshell had not panicked. With morning, the enemy was no longer immediate and all-threatening. It could be avoided, and so there was no longer a reason to panic. But she was weary to staggering, and queasy with the poisons of the night's unused fear. When she burned herself, the pain overwhelmed what strength she still had.

Cats do not like to run far at a time—their strength is in their patience, not their legs—but she could not stop herself. She was past the wall in a flash, and streaked south, in the shadow of the weeds along Sai avenue's western ditch. Everything was strange. The noises that had whispered at the fringes of the frightening silence were all around her now, and they were all made by *things,* blundering objects that moved unpredictably, any one of which might be a threat. There were horses and oxen, dogs and carts and people. Smoke still choked the streets, and she smelled fire, old and new, everywhere around her, and she could not tell what was dead and what still lived. With each step, new pain seared her feet. She jumped forward, away from the pain, but it stabbed at her with the next step. Whenever she managed to overcome the reaction caused by the pain, a noise or blundering *thing* would startle her, and she would run again.

In the end, the exhaustion that began her flight also ended it. She missed a step and sprawled. Because she fell on her uninjured side, for a moment

there was no sharp shock of pain. In that moment, the goddess Kannon was merciful, and the tortoiseshell fainted. Small and injured as she was, she had crossed more than a mile of the capital.

It was not, perhaps, the ideal place to fall: in the center of the dog-walk, the walkway that ran alongside Rokujō avenue, which is always busy with the doings of the common people who live in the south of the capital. But she was both fortunate and unfortunate in the day: unfortunate, for had there been no earthquake, there would have been no fire and no deaths, no burned paws and terror to drive her from her home and *fudoki;* fortunate in that her own troubles were mirrored in those of others, and no one paid attention to the corpse of a small filthy cat in the middle of the path. People saw her and stepped aside. There are a thousand ownerless dogs in this city, but they were all busy elsewhere. It is true that a dun-and-black dog examined her, leaving a moist nose-print on her shoulder; but he was called away by his owner, who had lost much in the fire and feared to lose this last thing, his dog.

It seems I have fallen asleep over my notebook. I do not recall the shift from awake to asleep. I was thinking of this small cat and all her losses, and then I was standing naked beside a cold river, in a place so far to the north that it has no name, watching blue-green fish tremble under the water's surface. I did not seem to realize that I am old and cannot swim and have never been farther north than a visit to Funaoka hill, and that this must therefore have been a dream.

When I nodded off I trailed one of my sleeves in the ink, leaving dust on the dried ink stone and a feathery stain across my writing desk and this page. Worse, I dropped my favorite writing brush to the floor, where the wolf's fur bent into an awkward curve and then dried. I am forced to switch to this brush, stiff-bristled and narrow-tipped, though I do not like the flightiness of its line. I loved that wolf brush, which gave my calligraphy a soft elegance that it doesn't really deserve.

Shigeko woke me, entering my rooms to force the latest batch of herbs into me. Mercifully she was sidetracked into getting the ink cleaned up and replacing my outer robe with a clean and (I observe) darker one. She is no younger than I am, has been with me since I first came to court fifty? sixty? years ago; and she forgets things as much as I do. "I came to ask you"—she hovers before me, trying to think of why she came in; then guesses,

incorrectly to my relief—“whether you wish to be read to?—though I see you are occupied.”

“I am,” I tell her, and hold up my brush, this irritating scratchy new brush. I have had to make new ink, which (since I am a princess and do not always have to suffer the effects of my actions) I am doing on a new ink stone, in preference to cleaning the old one. “Kneel. Keep me company.”

Shigeko eases herself down to her knees. I hear their cracking, like twigs in a fire. “I am so sorry, I should not have awakened you.”

I gesture with the brush to the floor beside me, still shining with water from the cleaning. “It’s better you did. Sleeping with ink is, well, dangerous. For my surroundings, anyway.”

“You shouldn’t have been writing at all, my lady: the healers say it is bad for your hands, and you need your sleep. More than writing, anyway.”

“No,” I say, and then smile at her, the old joke: “I can sleep when I’m dead.”

After all these years, she still does not find this amusing. Worse, she remembers the herbs and so I must now drink this vile tea.

—I see that I have ruined all the pages after this one in this notebook. No matter: I have others as empty as this one once was.

2.

THE PLUM-COLORED NOTEBOOK

The tortoiseshell woke in the sheep's hour, when the afternoon sun threaded through the trees beside the walkway and warmed her fur. For a moment everything was all right; she was basking by the midden heap with her cousins and aunts around her, though she couldn't understand why she hurt everywhere. There had been a terrible nightmare, with flames and fear, but it made no sense for her to ache from running in a dream. She heard the breeze in a tree overhead, and she snapped awake. This was not the right tree, not *any* of the right trees, the trees of her garden.

She rolled upright and crouched there, gathering her bearings. There was packed earth under her sore feet, a ditch beside her. She smelled the air, and then opened her mouth to taste it: smoke; horses and oxen; cooking rice and radishes; stagnant water and rotting wood; a squirrel's musk and the tiny fresh scent of a chewed twig. She also smelled the dog who had touched her and stood nervously, salivating involuntarily at the renewed pain. She saw no dogs, but beyond the ditch was Rokujō avenue. Broad as it was, it seemed (to her) filled with people and animals and wheeled conveyances. In fact, it was not a busy day: the fire had not affected this corner of the capital, except as people from the north and east came here from their own, more damaged quarters. The *iroha* maple above her was untouched by flame.

She limped to a safe place under the raised floor of an ancient small building away from the road, where she inspected her front paws. The pads were sticky from blisters that had broken during her flight, and caked with ashes, dirt, shards of broken pottery, and splintered wood. The pads' leather seemed torn away, leaving only raw flesh. She licked herself clean, biting at the clots of blood and pus that kept her claws from retracting. The pain made her queasy, and sometimes she had to stop and wait for the dizziness to ease, but after a long time her tongue found skin under the filth, and

blood began to flow cleanly from the cuts and blisters, a soft comforting taste in her mouth.

Her flank was less damaged, only a broad sore area that made her flinch when she nosed there. The exhaustion was worse: every muscle and joint and bone ached, and grooming was a slow and painful process. Once finished, she looked about her.

A human is a reasoning creature, or so we would like to think. After disaster, we assess our situation and make plans: make sure the stored rice is untainted, rebuild the main house's roof, borrow quilted robes from our sister until we can replace our ruined ones. The tortoiseshell's idea was simpler: find home. She returned to the avenue, and looked about her, but everything was new, unfamiliar. She took a tentative step first one way, then the other. Nothing smelled or looked right; no way led home, to her *fudoki* and her cousins and aunts. She could not help the cry of sorrow that escaped her.

She was lost, in every sense. There was only her. She recited the *fudoki* to herself, compulsively, one cat after another in their proper order: The Cat Who Ate Silk, The Thousand-Spotted Cat, The Cat Who Hid Things. But without a place and her cousins and aunts and fellow-wives to anchor it, the *fudoki* had no meaning, and the tortoiseshell was no one and nothing. She had been like a brazier balanced on three legs: tales, clan, and the ground they claimed. Each was necessary. Each was useless without the other two. Lose one, and she fell.

She was young and not very experienced and did not understand that one cannot simply tack on a new leg. In her thinking, if she had lost one home, perhaps she could find another. If she lost her clan, surely there were other clans. If she taught them her tales, they would somehow become part of the *fudoki,* which would settle easily over new ground, and she would be whole again.

Her burnt paws hurt, and she felt and smelled the beginnings of infection. She needed to find a safe range. The lot where she had cleaned her paw seemed unclaimed by any cat (or dog or human, either), but it was poorly drained, a reeking swamp even in drought. There would be food—frogs, insects; ducklings, come spring—but she would never be dry, and the heavy smells would dull her senses. The building's support posts were spongy with moisture, riddled with beetles. Worse, there was no one here to learn the tale.

She limped east and south.

I cuddle pain to myself tonight. My woman Shigeko watches me in lamplight, her eyes dark with concern; but I say nothing to her, only smile and continue to write. I could tell her of the pain; but what would that accomplish? She would fuss and flutter, and despite all she would not ease it. And in some strange way I do not wish to share it with her, any more than I share these words I write. I had a nurse who used to say that a princess possessed only two things she did not need to share, her death and what she dreamt at night. There is little enough that is mine alone.

There is a day I remember, as precious as the Three Treasures to me. My half-brother the emperor (Shirakawa they call him now that he is dead—how can you be dead, my friend?) retreated to the Toba residence—scarcely an hour's ride, but outside the city's walls, and that meant it felt like an adventure. This must have been fifty years ago, when we were both young and grief had not stained us so deeply.

It was the third month, and we all complained about the cold damp everywhere, the moldy smell every trunk released when it was opened. Not even braziers seemed to help. I remember my toes were never once warm in the month we were there. The garden was ruined; day after day of heavy rain drowned the new growth and left slick-looking gray sludge where lawns and courtyards had been.

That day no one was out on the verandas, save the two of us, emperor and princess. My half-brother sat under the rain, his silks dark with water, his *eboshi* cap flattened. I had thrown an extra set of robes over my head and stayed huddled back from the eaves' edge, but even so I was wet through and shivering.

And then I joined him under the sky, tipped back my face and drank rain with him, and laughed. I recall the taste of the rain, sweet and toothachingly cold; the tiny blows of drops striking my eyelids; my half-brother's laughter rippling in my ears.

I do not know what exactly had happened that day. Did he send everyone away? Did he slip from their endless attentions? Why did he share this moment with me, with me alone? Why did I join him? What I remember is a moment of perfect joy, the taste of rain, and my half-brother's presence beside me.

My half-brother is dead now. I suppose that makes this memory mine alone now. I would trade every secret I have ever hugged close for the sound of his laughter again.

I do not wish to think of my life just now. Oh, these dark nights.

"Who are you?" a voice hissed. "You do not belong here." Another cat, a female. When the tortoiseshell turned her head slightly, she saw the strange cat crouched just overhead on a fence, a gray tabby with cold green eyes. The tabby poured off the fence to land a few steps away, and began to groom her tail.

"I am nothing and no one," the tortoiseshell replied. She sat, turned her face away, and waited.

Cats have a sort of game they play when they meet. A player alternates between watching the strange cat and ignoring her, grooming or examining everything around herself—a dead leaf, a cloud—with complete absorption. It is almost accidental how the two cats approach, a sidelong step and then the sitting again. This often ends in a flurry of spitting and slashing claws, too fast to see clearly, and then one or the other (or both) of the cats leap out of range. The game can have one exchange or many—and is not so different from the first meetings of women.

The tortoiseshell and the tabby played this game, the tortoiseshell with deadly earnest, the tabby with unknowable motives. The tortoiseshell played well, for when they were done the tabby ignored her existence, and she was allowed to stay.

The tabby was part of a clan, a dozen females whose ground overlapped in the back garden of a dirty and poorly run inn. There was room and food enough; they had lost three females to the cat distemper of the summer, and the tortoiseshell threatened no one. She slipped into the space between the ranges claimed by the tabby and one of her sisters, a gray-and-white female.

She explored her new range, which was smaller than she was used to. The inn's storehouse had a crack in its floorboards, and the mice had found this and prospered, so food was plentiful, and she did not need much ground to survive. There were moles as well, and birds, and sometimes people threw out spoiled meat or bones. The moon had turned and it was early in the ninth month, so that there was more color in the early-changing trees around her: the gold of gingko, the red of *urushi*-lacquer. Her favorite retreat was a fallen tree trunk, where she slept curled warm and tight against

the tang of autumn in the air, and the rain that fell all one day and into the next.

The tortoiseshell pushed at the undrawn lines between her territory and her neighbors'. Whenever she saw one of the other cats, they played the meeting-game again. They hissed and complained, but she was desperate and they were not. After a few days they started ignoring her in earnest, and the game and the fighting were no longer necessary.

She spent a lot of time keeping her paws clean. The scabs became thick and healthy, and she walked easily, if still with pain. She slept a lot, but not well. Her dreams were uneasy, full of burning cats that stretched their mouths to speak, though she heard nothing but the crackle of flames, and the deep scream of a shrine bell breaking in the fire's heat.

One afternoon she sat high in a larch, where she looked into the inn's back garden and saw the cats there, touching noses as they greeted one another, dozing in untidy heaps, telling their tale. *Soon,* she thought. Soon they would accept her. They would become her clan, and she would approach the garden and teach them her *fudoki.* The world would become stable again.

The tabby spoke with the tortoiseshell sometimes now, when their wanderings brought them close together, sharing the things cats find interesting: a hanging pheasant in the storehouse (regrettably inaccessible, but one could hope), the male's visit after many days away, someone staying at the inn who had tried (and failed) to catch her gray-and-white sister. She said little about the fire, which had been only a strange bitterness to the air here, for they'd been out of the wind's reach.

The tortoiseshell approached the cats' gathering place slowly, over days. There were some flattened ears and sparring, and she responded with humility or ferocity, as required. But each time the females gathered she came closer.

There was a day when the oldest cat was teaching her daughter their *fudoki,* and the tortoiseshell crept forward to listen.

As she listened she shivered, and her fur lifted from her back. The tale was told in the correct way; the chronicles of one cat followed another in neat progression: The Cat Inside the *Biwa*-Lute, The Cat Born with One Eye, The Cat Who Ate a Poem. But these were the wrong cats, the wrong tales. They grated against her ears, and she felt parts of herself scraped away. Her stomach heaved, pushing gagging noises past her rigid throat.

She could not move, her muscles locked in a tension that hurt like a cramp. This was *wrong,* as wrong as if it had been a dog's tale, if such an abomination could be.

She suddenly realized: her *fudoki* would never belong here. They had their own, and it was a thousand, a million cats long. There was no room for her tale and all its cats. They would never learn it, for it was irrelevant to their lives. And if she stayed, and was accepted and became part of their world, she would no longer be *her,* but another cat in her shape, The Cat After the Fire or The Burned-Paw Cat—a cat in a different *fudoki.*

Where was *her* tale? Gone, the cats dead, the ground lost. She arched and backed away, tail shivering, teeth bared; and when she was far enough from the terrible stories, she turned and bolted. Howling as she ran, she streaked across Suzaku avenue, midway between the great gates that began and ended the avenue. Suzaku avenue is very broad; grief began her crossing, and her fear of an approaching bullock completed it. She slipped over a wall and into the east half of the city, and ran on.

She stopped in the east market. It was a large place, perhaps a hundred acres, and even this did not serve all the people of the capital: the west market, marshy as it was, had its share of workshops and storehouses, and there were other manufactories and shops throughout the capital, on the Street of Cloth and elsewhere.

It had been seven days since the fire had ruined the parts of the east market. Many of the storehouses and merchants' residences had collapsed, no longer identifiable save for a wall here, a fallen outbuilding there. The more temporary structures—tents, fences to hold in cattle or horses—had vanished altogether, though new ones sprang up to take their place, like mushrooms in rain. The air smelled of ash and wet flax and new dung and cooked (and now rotting) vegetables, where a vendor had lost his entire stock of early *taro* roots. New construction was everywhere, but the tortoiseshell found a quiet corner, crouched in the shadow of a blackened stone.

Life does not stop because of tragedy. People must eat. They must wear clothes to warm them or protect them from the sun; they must earn enough to pay their taxes; they must purchase and take medicines; they must continue with their lives. The time for people to mourn and tear at their clothes was past, and except for a few ancient grandmothers who yet bemoaned their lot, the people of the market were full of direction and

mission. Some were dead or their wares ruined, but most had saved some stock, or brought new from storehouses elsewhere, outside the capital, away from the all-too-common fires.

Life does not stop because of tragedy—but it can be gutted, left light and hollow as a winter gourd. The tortoiseshell's tale was dead: she knew that now. She had told the tabby that she was nothing and no one, but she had not believed it. The pain that immobilized her had no material remedy, no torn flesh to clean, but her body didn't seem to realize this. Her second eyelids half-closed, as they did when she was wounded, and her chest ached as if she had strained her heart running. She *niyaaned,* the weak frightened noise of an injured newborn. She longed for her life to end, for the pain to stop. At least then she might find the ghosts of her kin. Perhaps the *fudoki* would go on in Hell, wherever and whatever that was.

She didn't hear the dogs approach. Unsettled by the activity around them, a pack of feral dogs that had claimed the market milled from site to site, looking for scraps and mischief. Instead they found her, absorbed in her misery. They weren't hungry, and cats are not much food for a dog, let alone a pack of them; but cats generally stayed out of reach, and one sitting absentminded on the ground proved irresistible. They barked at her—"Cat! Cat! Cat!—and lunged.

She did not make a decision to live; her body made it for her. All claws and teeth, she scratched the first dog across the nose, and when he fell backward, she tore away, the pack yapping at her heels. Her instincts might have led her up high, but she still limped from the wounds left by the last time she had tried this. The market was full of hiding places, but it was also full of people and motion; there was no place safe. She found herself running faster than she ever had before. The scabs on her paws cracked. She might have been caught, but a gap between two foundation stones appeared, too obvious for her to miss. She streaked into the crack, which was deep enough to keep her from their mouths.

After barking insults at her for a time, the dogs wandered off (dogs are easily distracted from what appear to be fruitless situations). She slipped from her safe place, and continued south at a walking pace, leaving bloody paw prints where she stepped. When she came to the great Rajō gate, she climbed it and rested.

The Rajō gate is collapsing from age and neglect, and has been broken for many years now, but when she was there it towered a hundred feet or

more, taller than most trees in the capital, and broad as a temple, with an impressive tiled roof. Back then, it must have been safe to climb. If one were inclined to do so, one would have ascended a ladder within the gate's structure, into a series of rooms above the passageways.

I do not know all this about the Rajō gate, precisely; but when I was young and first-come to the court, I ran away to explore the Red Sparrow gate. There were several narrow rooms with tall ceilings, and passages that went from one to the other. Some had guards in them and I avoided these. Another was empty except for an enormous cracked porcelain bowl gathering rainwater from a leak in the ceiling and, more mysteriously, a bale of silk fabric, riddled with (what I assumed were) mouse holes. The gate was full of mystery, like sneaking into storehouses when I was a girl, but so much more exciting because it was truly forbidden. Nothing happened; I was found by my old nurse and one of the menservants, and returned to my rooms before anyone realized I was not just in seclusion.

The tortoiseshell climbed a forgotten *sawara* cypress notch-ladder, and then climbed through the rooms of the Rajō gate until she found herself at its highest unfallen part, the hand-wide platform created by the roof's peak, which had been flattened in the Chinese style.

From here she could look down at the capital. Ours is not the biggest city in the world—great Chang-an is that, which tales say is a hundred miles around its boundaries—but we are the heart of our empire, and we spread for miles in each direction. Softened by late-afternoon light the warm pink of peonies, the city glowed before her, tucked in its valley. The path the fire had cut was clear, a blackened fan broken by the paler gridwork of streets and avenues. Far to the north, beyond the Red Sparrow gate, were the soaring roofs of the great palace buildings and, beyond that, Funaoka hill, which shelters the emperor (and us all) from ill.

She had climbed high in trees before this, but she had never seen the city in its entirety, cradled between the Kamo and Katsura rivers, cuddled in this hollow of the mountains. She had small imagination, and little ability to understand the significance of what she saw. She only knew that the city was far larger than she had realized. She would never have found her way back home; the loss of hope had been an appropriate response.

She turned her head and looked south, away from the city. There were buildings everywhere, and paths and roads threading through fields and copses in a thousand directions. To the south, the Kamo and the Katsura

joined beside the abandoned capital Nagaoka. The city's tidy grid of roads was still visible after centuries, a subtle brocade of lighter and darker grasses.

One road was greater than the others, broad enough for ox-carts to pass. It marched off east to merge with another that marched north beside the city and then lost itself in the hills. *We* recognize this road immediately, even if we have never seen it before, even if we have never left our dark rooms in the court and the residences of our fathers and husbands, because we are raised with the romantic tales of the savage east ringing in our ears. She was a cat, and her stories are different from ours; she could not know that this was the Tokaido, the great road that begins at Rajō gate and skirts the sea for what seems a million miles before ending in distant Mutsu province. She only recognized that the Tōkaidō had a direction, a meaning, and that this made it unlike her.

We ascribe meanings because it is our nature to do so. The Tōkaidō means mystery and wonders and adventure. We can no more see a thing without searching for a meaning than we can see a snag in a robe without pulling on the loose thread. When does this begin? With adulthood? Perhaps, for I remember when I was seven—the year before my mother's death—when the great comet came.

I do not remember much from when I was so small. I remember I had many nightmares and liked to play in dirt. I remember touching a snake once. It felt warm and muscular, and the gardener told me, "It's not the snake that is warm; it is the sunlight," though I had no idea what this meant. A story my nurse told me, something about monkeys and Kannon; but because I had once seen a picture of the goddess riding a carp, I thought Kannon was the fish, and so I did not understand the tale at all. A blue robe that my nurse wore always, as far as I can recall, that reminded me of the ocean, though I had never seen anything bigger than the garden's three ponds and the tame little brook that ran through them. That is all, really. And then the comet.

I heard of the comet before ever I saw it. The adults fretted among themselves—was it an omen? a kami falling? was it related to the drought we'd been having?—but since I had no idea what a comet might be, these

statements made as little sense as all the other incomprehensible things adults said.

(*Was* the comet an omen? Had it a direction, a meaning? I did not think so then, but when I grew older I started to wonder, for we had been suffering from a great drought, and it was the year after this that my mother died. Still later, I decided that comets, like roads, have only the intentions we ascribe to them. And now I have no idea. If a comet is without meaning, it seems possible that a woman is likewise so; and I do not wish to think this of myself.)

There was one night when a terrible nightmare awakened me, and for once there was no nurse to coax me out of my tears—no one at all, and I was not used to being alone. Sniffling to myself, I pulled my robes close and padded out to the veranda to find someone who would pet me and cuddle me (and, I know now, spoil me).

It was wintertime, and very dark; either the moon had not yet risen or had already set, or perhaps it was the new moon, the beginning of the month. The garden was silver and black, all color gone. There was ice everywhere.

I saw gathered in the garden a handful of tall shadows: adults, men and women standing, talking together. (Now I realize how strange, how improper, this was: no screens, no curtain-stands.) I suddenly felt shy, for I knew that the nights belonged to adults, that here was an entire world that I was not meant to see. Still, a visitor straying by chance into the private quarters of a monastery does not immediately leave; she looks about for a moment before she returns to the public areas. Before I returned to my rooms and sleep (my rightful domain), I would see what was so special about the adults' world.

The sky overhead was thick, furred black, spangled with a thousand stars, and dominated by the comet, which hung overhead, a blurred streak of silver as long as my hand. I thought I could see it shimmer as if it were fire, or water flowing over silk (I must have seen such a thing before, to think this); I imagined that I heard a tingling noise: the comet moving through the sky.

At least I think I remember this.

I do remember that night, the adults in the darkness; and all the talk about the comet. But the story my nurse told me of that night is quite different: she and the others had gone out into the garden to watch the comet, and heard a child's voice singing, and found me utterly absorbed in cracking the

shell of ice from a twig. When she had held me up to see the comet, I looked with polite disinterest, then returned to cracking ice from the twig in my hand. “As if you’d never seen ice before,” she said years later, “when you’d spent all afternoon cracking ice!”

A child (or a cat) is not awed by the same wonders that an adult is, because everything is equally new and therefore wondrous. My nurse (and the adult I became) sees or imagines a comet and is struck dumb by the beauty of it. A child has not seen so much that she knows that ice on the trees is common, and a comet rare and therefore precious. It is only age that tells us what is precious, what is new.

Now that I am old, I think I have perhaps come back to this perception. I cannot afford to wait for another comet, and so I watch the tiny things of each day and am amazed by them.—Or I try to do this, anyway: there are a lot of days when I watch nothing at all except my breaths, and wonder how many more I will have.

The tortoiseshell cat dreamt of voices that night, tucked in a crotch between two beams high in the Rajō gate, under the quarter-moon of the ninth month. Dreams had always been silent for her: she chased prey or slapped fruitlessly at swimming fish in a world of scent, but without noise. Sounds were too important for dreams. Awake, they warned her of things she could not see, and even in sleep her ears were pricked, listening for threats or opportunities that should not be ignored.

But this night she dreamt with sounds, a thousand chaotic noises that flooded her, threatening to overwhelm her and send her into nightmares. She fought down the fear—nothing in dreams could be as terrifying as her waking hours had been since the earth shook—and noticed that there was sense to them, that the chaos she heard was actually myriad voices, speaking at every pitch and pace. Words flickered out of the background, like sparrows launching from a wind-tossed tree: *wase’s crest, memory, heart, Tosa, rice, Why should*) *I?*

She understood little, but I see much more than she. The kami do not speak to me, but they nevertheless speak, to others and to one another, and (if they are lonely, or have secrets) to themselves. They are everywhere, of course, in everything from my family’s shrine to a dying cycad-palm on a beach in distant Satsuma province; and their voices are everywhere, all chattering or twittering or intoning at once.

Though they speak with the dead, cats hear neither kami nor Buddhas. Cats are too fierce for gods; they came godless from Korea many tens of years ago, and they worship no one. This is good, for they are free in ways men are not; but this is bad, because they are utterly alone in the world. Indeed, they seem reluctant to see any god but the living emperor, and even him they do not respect as they should. The cats at court (and there are always a few, besides the kitchen cats) seemed to disregard his presence altogether; when he was emperor, my half-brother used to laugh and tell me that the cats were his only attendants who did not bow and scrape and lie all the time. I said nothing in response, of course: the emperor may laugh at himself, but no one else is permitted to.

I cannot tell you why the tortoiseshell heard the kami—all the kami—or why she heard them now, and not yesterday, or in the fifth month, when she still lived warm against her mother's nipples in an abandoned fox den. Perhaps her ears had been attuned by her grief, or by the echoing chambers of the Rajo gate. Or perhaps it was this: that one kami chose to speak to her, and by opening her ears to its voice, it opened her ears to all.

"What are you?" something asked suddenly, close and very loud in her mind.

The tortoiseshell knew she was dreaming, for she stood, not on a perilous ledge in moonlight, but on a broad path as clear and bright as crystal that curved off into gold-gray fog in both directions. "Nothing," she said. "No one."

"Unlikely," the voice said. "You clearly exist. You must be something. And someone."

"I am a cat," she said. "That's all that's left to me."

"A cat," the kami repeated. "I am unfamiliar with your people. But now that I think on it, I recall that I have perhaps seen some of you before this, from the corner of my eye, as it were."

"What are you?" she said hotly. "I see no one here."

The road beneath her shook slightly, as if laughing. "And yet *I* also exist. I am this road, and those who walk it, and the trees and inns that line it. And I am the god who watches it all. And other things."

She tapped at the road with a paw, and ripples formed at her touch, perfect circles growing until they slipped off the road's edges and into the fog. "How can you be all those things?"

“How can you be a single thing, a *cat* and nothing else? You do not seem to be very creative, if that is all you’ve managed to become.”

“I have no choice,” she said bitterly. “I hadn’t yet found a place in my tale, but at least I was part of my family and my ground. *My fudoki.* And that’s all gone.”

“Your *tale*,” the kami said. “A tale contains a thousand things. I think you are more than you believe.”

“Not now,” she said. “Not anymore.”

“You would do better if you had gods,” the kami said. “Then you would have something, at least.”

“Well then, what is a god, and where do I find one?” she asked.

“I think you have already found one.” The road’s tone was perhaps a touch smug.

“I don’t see how I can carry you with me.” She tapped the road again, harder this time, her claws just bared. The road shook like a horse’s withers, and she went flying.

“I just told you,” it said, “though perhaps you did not listen very carefully. I am this road, and—”

“Never mind,” she said. “I don’t see what the point of a god is.”

The kami said, “I do not see what the point of a cat is,” and the tortoiseshell awoke.

When I was a girl, I longed for the voice of the gods—any kami, any Buddha or bodhisattva or saint. I prayed to a statue of Kannon my mother ordered erected in her room before she died. I thought I prayed for her health, but in truth I did not know her well—losing my nurse would have been much sadder—and what I really wanted was a sign that gods—any god—existed. I wanted to see the robes we had draped over the statue move as she reached out with one of her thousand hands to touch my mother. This did not happen. My mother died.

After that I made up a kami. I have never said so to anyone, but I wanted a god of my own and so I picked a little pink-and-black-and-white rock in the garden, no larger than a cat, and I honored it. I made a little hut over it, and smuggled it a bit of rice each day. I gave it flowers I stole from elsewhere in the garden, and I wrote prayers on slips of fabric in my childish writing: *Let me be pretty when I am grown. May my nurse let me keep my collection of moth’s wings. Let my half brother the heir like me.*

When my nurse found out, she rapped my hands with a piece of bamboo and insisted that I never visit that rock again; but I did, and I found that others had begun to leave flowers and scraps of fabric there; and the hut had been remade, and better. I *knew* I made up the kami of that stone, and yet others worshiped it, as well. After thinking on this for some years, I decided that I was wrong: is not everything filled with kami, every stick and rock and leaf? Perhaps I had been the first to recognize and worship this kami, but that did not mean it had not been there, lonely and hungry for attention, like a bored little girl.

Now, so many decades later that I do not choose to count them up, I think there may be another truth to this—that the rock was worthy of worship because it had been worshiped—that every shrine in the world began as mine did, with someone's longing for something greater than herself. I wonder if the shrine to the little rock is still there, and I wonder if, a thousand years hence, it will be as honored and hoary as the shrine at Ise.

The tortoiseshell hears kami because I cannot, and even though I created her (as perhaps I created the kami of that little rock), I envy her. For her they may be strange, but they are as close and immediate as dirt.

3.

THE GRASS-CHARACTER NOTEBOOK

How many notebooks have I filled in my life? I have trunks filled with them—and the other odds and ends of my life: old letters and calligraphy samples; fans and robes; hundred-pace incense, long dead but still haunted by scent; a man's sash forgotten before a dawn forty years ago; scrolls and fan-folded notebooks of the poetry collections I gathered when I was first at court, before I gave up even the appearance of interest in poetry; a set of shallow lacquered boxes filled with moths' wings; a sutra that I began to copy when I was twenty and never finished.

I discard these once-precious things more easily than I could have dreamt. I empty the shallow boxes, and moths' wings flutter to the ground, a momentary illusion of life. Even the notebooks are taken apart and dropped like autumn leaves into my brazier; without sadness I watch them flare and then vanish into smoke. The sutra has more merit than the rest; to die working to finish it would indicate virtuous intention, at least.

And yet I fill one notebook and start another. I am dying, but there are still many things to say—to myself, if no one else.

The tortoiseshell woke in the ox's hour, after the moon had set. She clawed her way down the Rajō gate's south face, and dropped to her feet on its wood steps. There were several guardsmen there, and one called softly to her, "Sneaking out to meet a lover, little one?" Another guard chuckled, and the first crouched down and made meaningless noises to her, tickling the dirt under his fingers. She crouched there watching him, unsure. She was unused to kindness from humans (the servants at the residence of her *fudoki* had a tendency to throw things, and caught up in their own problems, everyone else had ignored her as she fled across the city), but his voice sounded a little like the warm sounds that a mother cat makes when she is grooming, and his hand's movements were strangely intriguing.

“She’s not going to come to you,” the other guard said. “She’s wild, can’t you see that?”

“But she’s tempted, isn’t she?” The guard inched forward, and she stood up and tensed to run.

“Oh, leave her alone. Some girls just aren’t susceptible to your charm.”

“I suppose.” The guard straightened and dusted his fingers off on his thigh. “Good luck, little one. When you return come find me. I’m here every night. Maybe I can show you around, hmm?”

She trotted into the shadows of a low shrub and watched him for a long time, but he did nothing else incomprehensible. The stars were fading when she crossed the bridge over the moat and moved on.

One generally travels with a goal. Even noblewomen travel to a purpose, however minor the journey ends up being: be at the banquet-pine grove by midday to view the cherry blossoms; be at the lady Chunagon’s rooms by dusk to watch the moonrise. This generates a sense of mission and of urgency, however spurious. The tortoiseshell had no goal. She traveled because with no *fudoki* one place was just like another, and there are small edible animals everywhere. It was easier to move than to stay still, for movement eases pain—or distracts one, anyway. She had not yet lived through a winter, so she did not know the comfort of a familiar warm sleeping-place; winter was months away, at any event—as incomprehensible to her as gods.

She followed the Tōkaidō’s first miles more by accident than anything, and her pace was so slow that it was a fortnight and more before she came to the great Buddha just beyond the Osaka barrier, and that is only a handful of miles from the capital. The road was very busy in the daylight hours and into the evenings, and so she hid in trees and underbrush, and slept and watched passersby, and sometimes the little boats on Biwa lake.

She stayed with the Tōkaidō because its sense of direction and meaning were attractive to a cat with neither—even though the food was not quite so good as it might have been farther afield, where there were seed eaters in the fields. She caught a lot of squirrels. It was the time of year when squirrels seem to lose all the little sense they had, to run stupidly into the centers of kitchen yards and under the hooves of horses, and into the waiting claws and teeth of cats. She found them so easy to catch that she was not often hungry. Sometimes she caught them just to taste them, to

learn what she could of the country she passed through, and she caught hints of *taro* root and horseradish.

A dog that loses a leg learns to cope, and after a time no longer seems to remember its loss. But on cold nights, when it is brought inside to doze beside the hearth pit, it licks the stump where its leg once was, and when it dreams, its remaining legs gallop in the pattern of a four-legged dog, instead of the three-legged gait that fills its waking hours. The tortoiseshell learned to cope with the loss of herself, and even found occasional joy—when she actually caught a fluttering *oban-coot,* or when she found a freshly dead fawn, miraculously unclaimed. But in quiet times, when she dozed or sat, the empty place filled her with despair.

She did not move far in any day: dogs and horses are designed to lope for endless miles, but cats are as brief-moving as an arrow. She would have lost interest quickly in any sort of disciplined movement, which in any event did not occur to her. It was just that the squirrels she decided to stalk were usually east of her, and when she was thirsty the water to her east always smelled better than the other possibilities. And there were times, at dusk or dawn, or during a lull in the middle of a beautiful afternoon, when she followed the road with nothing else on her mind but the even flow of yards into miles. The voices of the eight million kami still chittered and chanted in her mind—*despair, but, flowering fortunes, she was dead, monkey*—but they offered no guidance; did not seem to know of her existence. Perhaps the road's kami led her, though if so she was unaware of this.

The Tōkaidō is a great road, of course; it connects us with our most distant lands to the east, and binds our empire together. But it is not a *large* road, not in comparison to the broad streets of our capital. It begins impressively, just beyond the capital; but it thins and becomes hard-packed earth, wide enough for carts to pass; and farther east, past the Fuwa barrier and the ferry at Nogami, it becomes still narrower. I have never known anyone who has been to the end of the Tōkaidō. Perhaps it runs straight through Mutsu province and off our island, into the sea and along its bottom never to appear in the lands of the living again. Perhaps it does not end but tapers off: a road, then a path, then a deer's trail, and then a rabbit's, and then it is no more than a traveler's imagination.

Once, at the beginning of the tenth month, she said aloud, "Road?" and hoped it would not answer. She wasn't aware that it was the no-gods month, when they all come to Ise and transact whatever business it is that kami

consider important. In any case, we often hear what we expect. When she received no response, she decided that the road-spirit that had spoken with her was a nightmare, like the cats of fire that still haunted her sleep. The voices of the eight million kami made her uncomfortable; mostly she chose to ignore them.

At first, totally cat-like, she stayed in the brush on either side of the road and hid when people passed. Over time, she started to do as the people did. Walking on the roadway really was easier than pressing through the shrubs and fields that fringed it, and no one tried to eat her; and so she did it. People stopped and drank when they passed an occasional well, and it made sense for her to do the same, lapping water from the puddles at its base rather than feeling her way on injured feet to the bottom of the many streams they crossed. Inns and houses looked so much warmer and more pleasant than sleeping under bracken, so she learned to slip into farmhouses and inns, and curled up in dimly lit corners.

There was more rain, and the days and nights grew colder. The cold did not bother her much, for her fur grew denser, and her foot-pads were thick. The rain was more irksome; she had never liked wet feet and fur. Worse, it drove the squirrels and other small things under cover where she could not reach them. Except for flies and fleas (which are always with us), most insects vanished altogether. She developed a taste for cooked fish, which could be stolen from bowls, if one was clever.

Cooked filsh: I see now why I chose that rather than "cooked rice" or "buckwheat noodles" or "duck meat." I have been writing on the veranda again, for the weather is scorchingly hot, which is to say just barely warm enough for my old bones, and Shigeko and several other women are bringing a little table and series of trays. I suppose I smelled the fish cooking (it is *bake*), though I was absorbed in what I wrote.

This is hardly a profound reason to prefer "cooked fish" to all the other options. I have always assumed that the lady Murasaki weighed every word in her *monogatari* tale of Genji with the focus I might have applied to the making of a water-clock, where a badly shaped element may destroy all. But perhaps it is not like this: perhaps Murasaki selected Genji's robe combinations and the foods and trees for just such minor and immediate reasons, because she looked up from her brush and saw someone in cherry-shaded robes, and thought, *That's lovely. I'// we that.*

I wish my half-brother (Shirakawa, I must remember that this is his name now!) were still alive, so that I could share this thought with him. I think he would have been amused. No, I will not think of him just now—it hurts too much, and there is already enough pain for one day, in my chest and bones.

Cooked fish are not lovely, not even this cooked fish, with its elegant garnish of gromwell, now drooping dispiritedly. But they are necessary. "More necessary than words," says Shigeko, who tells me that the fish is growing cold.

There was an inn, not so far from the Omi-Owari border shrine. The tortoiseshell came to it one afternoon, when the sky was the color of old lead and had been weeping continuously since the night before, with an icy relentlessness that hinted at snow. She'd slept in an outbuilding at a little farm until an officious dog had rousted her, howling curses as she loped into the dusk. After catching an adolescent rabbit, she'd buried herself as deep as she could crawl into a mound of rice straw heaped around the base of an ancient and revered pine. But by midmorning, the dragon's hour, a drip found her and she heaved herself from the straw and moved on. She was soaked to the skin, and splashed to her belly with sandy dirt when she came to the inn, which squatted between rice fields filled with wet stubble and the mulberry trees that crept up the hill to the north.

It was an ordinary inn: which is to say, a farmhouse with rather more room divisions than is usual. The dirt-floored area was smaller than it would have been, and the raised section larger. Mats for sleeping were rolled up in a corner, beside an empty curtain-stand much too beautiful to be of local manufacture. This inn also grew silk when it was time, so boards had been laid on the horizontal beams overhead, giving an unsettling low flatness to the rooms.

It was special in one thing, that it had a cat. Remember, this is not so many years since the first cats came to the Eight Islands. Most remained in the capital, whence they spread slowly across the home provinces, like spilled syrup in cold weather. Some cats had come farther than that, though generally not voluntarily. Someone from the country saw a cat stalking vermin while he was visiting the city, or elsewhere. Inflamed with a sense of the possibilities (no mice ever again!), the hick purchased the cat from an enterprising child, or captured one behind an inn somewhere, then stuffed his prize into a closed basket and carried it home to a backwater in the

provinces. Sometimes the cat died immediately, but often she lived a long time and became the pride of her farmhouse. Sometimes the hick was lucky enough to acquire a pregnant cat, or even a female and a young male. The innkeeper had been one of the lucky ones, and his cats had been thriving for a decade and more, their population expanding to fill the countryside around.

The tortoiseshell did not know this. There were no scents in the cold rain, and the cats themselves were hidden away, sleeping off their night's hunt. She checked for dogs when she approached the inn, but she didn't notice the smell of a cat until she'd found a corner behind an earthen oven in the dirt-floored kitchen area. She groomed herself dry, taking comfort in the warmth of realigned fur. She was mildly hungry but willing to wait: there was a spill of some sort on the dirt floor, and she would examine it whenever the people went to sleep.

"Leave," a voice growled. There was a cat a short leap away, a well-fed and much larger black female with yellow eyes so pale that they looked white. Her ears were flat and angry. "This is *my* place."

The tortoiseshell responded warily, her claws half-out. "I won't stay long. I'm just tired."

The black cat danced sideways at her. "My *fudoki* is a dozen cats long and there will be a thousand more. And you are no part of it. Go *now."*

"I have no tale," the tortoiseshell said. "My place is dead. Let me sleep here, just for tonight."

"Why should I?" the black cat said. "I am The Cat Who Killed a Hawk."

Cats fight as they run, in short spurts. The black cat and the tortoiseshell fought in quick snatches of great ferocity; in the pauses they groomed themselves with a cold rage. Ordinarily, the tortoiseshell would have left immediately, but the rain-turning-to-snow depressed her, and she was cold and sick at heart, and tired of having no place to call her own. For one day at least, she wanted to sleep safe and warm.

And so she tried something she'd seen men do, when they drank wine and started pushing one another around. During one of the grooming times, she attacked without waiting for the other female to finish, and surprised her. The tortoiseshell slashed the black cat's neck and jumped back, out of range.

Despite this, weight and experience mattered in the end. The black cat pinned the tortoiseshell, and raked her again and again: "Storyless cat!" she

snarled.

She would have killed the tortoiseshell, for cats are like people: they are uncomfortable in the presence of those who have suffered disasters that might happen to them. But the cats had drawn the attention of the servants in the kitchen house, who threw water over them to stop the fighting. Soaked and bleeding, the tortoiseshell fled into the gathering dusk.

She might have hidden in another building in the inn's compound—the stable or an unused room, perhaps—but she was thoroughly unsettled, and smelled cats everywhere now. Ears folded back and eyes half-closed against the rain, she trotted east along the Tōkaidō, through wet flakes of snow as large as her paws.

She came to a small wayside shrine: a hidden inner room and an open-fronted antechamber, in imitation of the great shrine at Ise. The shrine was small, perhaps waist-high to me, though built on a mound of stones that brought the structure to eye height. (When I was a very small girl and not yet properly respectful of the gods, I would have looked at this tiny shrine and longed to place dolls in it.) She stepped under the antechamber's peaked roof and looked around her. Wooden tablets painted with prayers hung everywhere from the roof. When she brushed past them, they clattered softly together. Bowls and packets lay scattered on the antechamber's floor, most empty, but a few still containing grains of rice or fraying scraps of fabric. She was hungry, but everything had been fouled with birds' droppings, and the floor was spangled black and white with them.

She pushed into the inner shrine. There was nothing she might make sense of here, only mysteries and shadows; but it was dry, and just large enough for a small cat who needed shelter. She licked clean her scratches and bites, then curled up to sleep.

She found herself on a path as clear and bright as crystal. The cacophony of voices had been with her since the night in the Rajo gate, a gabble in her mind, but she had not heard the single one, the road-kami's. Until now.

But she was a cat, and thus stubborn. The kami had not answered when she called for it. She had wondered about this at the time, simultaneously hurt and relieved. Now, nursing her miseries, she was bitterly, proudly, alone. The kami might have shattered her loneliness, and so: "Go away," she said, and refused to listen.

The kami's voice faded, leaving only the gods' chittering—*under robes, violet, Kuji district, the lit candle.* For the rest of the night, she dreamt that

she walked along the road looking for a way off, and found none.

Kami are in certain small ways like people: some seek company and the admiration of friends and strangers, while others seem to be content to exist without worship, in silent corners of the world. (Perhaps the kami of my pink-and-black-and-white rock was one such, and I disturbed its rest. Perhaps this explains certain sorrows in my life.) Though she slept in its shrine, the tortoiseshell ignored the road-kami's voice; and it is possible that she wounded it, or made it angry. There is no telling whether turning the tortoiseshell into a person was meant to be a punishment, or a lesson, or even a gift of some sort.—If the kami in fact did this thing, and not some other, unknown force. Who can tell, with kami?

When she woke, she was no longer in the inner room; and she had become a woman. She lay stretched on the ground before the shrine, a small, fine-boned woman with thick black hair to her shoulders and gold eyes under straight brows. She was wrapped in a moss-colored traveling cloak, with grass stuffed into a spare robe and rolled tightly to make a pillow. She sat upright and tipped her head first to one side, then to the other, listening to the crackling of her stiff neck. A beam of dawn's light made the fog of her breath gleam cherry-red. She stood stiffly and brushed the thin layer of wet snow from her cloak. Her bare feet were very cold, and her hands and her nose.

She must have still been half-asleep, or thought she was dreaming, for it wasn't until now that the change sank in. She dropped to her knees, staring at her hands—clearly hands, and clearly *her* hands, for they were scarred across their palms with healing burns. Her neck and sides burned from the inflamed scratches left by the black cat. She touched her face and felt eyebrows, cheekbones, soft lips. There was something snagged in her hair, and she pulled it free to see a comb carved of tortoiseshell, plain except for the character for cat, *neko,* carved into it. She clenched her hand around it and made a sound, a human sob.

It was just after dawn. The clouds that brought the rain and then snow were gone, vanished like a dream; the sky was the brilliant blue of turquoise. Grass stems and small rocks poked wet and shiny from the snow, which was barely a finger's-width deep. The first travelers were already on the road. She heard someone whistling as he walked toward her, west on the Tōkaidō. She crouched, ready to run, ready to jump up and fight. She no

longer had hackles, but her shoulders and the nape of her neck tingled. She fought the temptation to hiss, afraid of what she would sound like.

It was a peasant man, dressed in sturdy hemp cloth, with a garland of teals strung by their legs around his neck. He stopped.

"My lady." He bowed slightly, the ducks squawking at the motion. "Have you lost something in the snow? Can I help you?"

"No. Go away, please." Surprised, she heard words coming from her lips. She scrambled to her feet and bowed back.

He smiled and then bowed to the shrine, clapped his hands, and bowed again. This made the birds squawk more loudly; he laughed at them, said, "Yell all you like; kami don't listen to ducks," and passed on. She watched until he was out of sight.

She looked at her hands again, and her bare feet. She was still human. "Road?" she said suspiciously, not knowing who else to ask; but there was no answer. And that was all there was to it: cat to woman.

Even for people, changes can be this arbitrary and extreme. Yesterday I was a girl, living in my foster father's house, sneaking away from my attendants, and kilting my robes high enough to wade after frogs when he ordered the servant-boys to stop catching them for me. The sun sets, the sun rises; a palm-walled carriage comes for me, and today I put on robes in tawny yellow and violet and dark red to take my place at court, serving my half-brother the emperor. My poetry (which has always been clunky, at best) is now elegant, "modern"; my music (I play the *biwa*-lute adequately, the six-string *koto* with an almost total lack of skill) is politely praised. In a single night, I become unrecognizable, even to myself, even though I have been raised for this my entire life.

And another change: I passed through a thousand thousand days, and each was made up of hours and moments; but they might as well have been a single day, for they are all past. Yesterday I was that girl chasing frogs (unsuccessfully, I add, and just as well: frogs are better left an unattained goal). And today I am very old. And tomorrow I will die. Is this any less strange, any less arbitrary and extreme, than that a cat becomes a woman?

Still, in our minds, there are changes we expect, and those which we do not. To us, this is a miraculous thing, this change, cat to woman. But to the tortoiseshell, this was only the latest part of something that began with the earthquake, back in the capital. It was neither more nor less surprising than that the ground should move and the city burn.

She made no choice to be human, performed no magic. I do not guess whether cats will ever be tricky like foxes and *tanuki*-badgers, which change their shapes to do us mischief. It seems possible—they have the same intense desire to have things their own way. Perhaps they used to do such things when they lived in Korea, or whatever distant end of the world they originated. Here they do not; not yet.

She was not beautiful, for her hair was far too short, and her eyebrows unplucked; far from being a perfect moon, her face came to a point at her small determined chin. Still, she was lovely; to change any of these things for a more conventional attractiveness would have been to ruin all.

The cat-now-woman shook the grass from the robe that had been her pillow and pulled the garment on over the robes she'd slept in. The under robes were well made, of a high-quality padded silk in dark blue and ivory; the over robe was woven so that multicolored dyed threads made patterns like fallen leaves or a cat's fur: black and cinnamon and russet and ivory. The cloak was simpler, dark green oiled cotton, a rice-straw knot protecting the center seam of the back. In her sash, which was the bright orange of *take* bamboo berries, was a knife with a blade the color of claws.

She stepped into the wooden clogs beside her feet and started walking east. She noticed the change most as it affected her ability to do things. Fingers and thumbs were good, as was being able to eat things other than meat. She found these both out at midday, when the sun's warmth finally seeped through the heavy cold air. She stopped to remove the cape (and tied it into a tidy bundle she could wear over her shoulder, as easily as if she had made knots all her life), and sat for a time on a low stone divider, the perfect height for walking along, if one were a cat. An *amagaki* persimmon bush hung over the wall's side. It had been picked over, but there were a few little orange fruits that she could pluck and did. They were smooth-surfaced and chilly, but when she bit down they popped, and juice poured onto her tongue. She'd never eaten plant matter before, except the half-digested chyme from preys' bellies, and grass when she needed to vomit. Nothing prepared her for this odd little burst of tart sweetness, so different from the texture and warmth of animals' blood. But she was not entirely changed: she saw a cricket on the ledge, logy from the cold, and she ate that as well.

Smell was different, she found. Things that had seemed obvious before—warm scents, like dung and the musk of other animals—were muted in her

nostrils, while others—pine and cypress, distant hearth smoke—were sharper than she remembered. For a time as she walked she tried to imagine what people might gain by smelling such things so strongly; but she gave up at last, not seeing the point of smelling anything she could not eat.

Standing upright was not such an advantage. She saw much farther, but not as far as she could have in a tree. As the day passed her back ached, even though her muscles as a woman seemed better adapted to a long day's travel than her cat's body ever had. She had seen people pass her bearing sticks they leaned on. When she found a fallen branch, she used her knife (again, she knew just how to do this, as if she had been born with fingers) to lop off the unnecessary bits, and carried it as she had seen them do. It did not seem to help, but she liked swinging it at overhanging tree limbs to shake down pine cones and acorns.

People were pleasant to her, and this was also new. This was far from the capital, so most passersby were peasants and countryfolk, with none of the fixed stare and polite inattention of the city-dweller. And, for the first time, she noticed the strange things they carried everywhere, and knew what they were, which had not been the case when she was still simply a cat. When she was near the ocean (and as the days passed, the Tōkaidō spent much time within sight of the ocean, generally a sullen eleventh-month gray), she saw men carrying over their shoulders fishing nets caught up on long poles that snagged in branches overhead if they were not careful, or strings of dried cod, or flat baskets filled with mackerel strips. Once she saw a man who led a black ox with wheat straw loaded across its shoulders in a pile so tall that it dwarfed the ox. A dog slept on top of the straw, and did not notice her.

There was a night, when she was in Owari province. The moon was new, and the nights were very dark. She was tired of sleeping wet, and eating cold food she couldn't see properly, and so when the light dimmed with dusk, she looked for a place to stay. A path left the Tōkaidō, and trailed north toward a hulking blackness capped with a dim luminous triangle, high up: firelight and smoke through an eave opening. Frosted grasses closed over the path, and she had to feel her way through, listening to them slide against her skirts. Another disadvantage: she missed her fur sometimes.

A dog barked. She stopped until it came up to her, yelling, "Hey! Hey! Hey!" and then it, too, froze.

They eyed one another in the near-dark, the woman who was a cat and the little dust-colored bitch. “Why,” the tortoiseshell woman said, “you’re no taller than my knee.”

“You’re—what are you?” the dog asked.

“Bigger than you,” she said, and threw her stick at it. The dog tumbled backward into the grasses and vanished, and she did not see it again that night.

She continued to the farm. She looked around: there were a number of buildings, and she could tell what some were simply by their smells: a barn, a food-storage house, a granary. Everywhere were spaces into which she might have crawled had she still been a cat, all too small and unwelcoming for a woman. She stood indecisively in the farmyard’s center.

“Hey,” a voice called. The tortoiseshell woman spun and dropped into a fighting crouch: ready.

“Easy, easy, now,” the voice said, comfort and laughter in its tone. She saw its owner: a man, barely more than an outline under the farmhouse’s eaves. “I mean no harm, miss. This is my farm, is all. My wife here, she’ll want to invite you in. Yukio?” he called into the farmhouse. “Come on out here.”

A wood door slid open, and a woman stepped out, outlined in the dim light from inside the building. “Where—” she said, looking around. “Oh, there you are, husband. And miss. Come in, stay the night. We don’t have much to eat, but you’re welcome to it, such as it is. You shouldn’t be out at this time of night. Wolves; other things.”

The tortoiseshell woman took a step forward, then another. It is not an easy thing for a cat to trust people. They keep their own counsel even in the best of circumstances, when they are cherished pets (indeed, Myōbū, who pats at my damp ink stick as I write, has clawed two women I asked to take her away, and refuses even my touch); how much harder it must be for one who had never felt a gentle person’s hand. She might not have come in at all, but the wife gestured. “Come on up here, where I can see you.”

The tortoiseshell woman stepped through the sliding door onto the dirt packed hard as stone that floored half the house. She slipped off her clogs (another thing she knew without knowing) and stepped up onto the boxwood floor of the raised section, following the couple to the square hearth pit. Mats were clustered here, and trays crammed with little metal bowls.

Here she learned one of her first lessons about people: “not much to eat” is a matter of opinion. As a cat, she had lived on whatever animals and insects (and, to be plain, garbage) were most easily captured or found, which had necessarily limited her options; as a woman her options had not broadened much. But the farmer and his family were not constrained. They grew many things and traded for others. It was autumn, so there was much to eat, and she tried it all: cooked rice with sweet vinegar and beans, and fresh and salted fish, a soup made of sweet potatoes and gromwell, little pickled quails’ eggs, dried slices from a pungent orange melon, and preserved plums so sour-salty that her eyes watered after the first tiny bite.

The three of them ate together on the polished floor that surrounded the hearth pit. On the other side of a wall that lost itself in the shadows of the immense eaves were laughs and conversation from the two servants.

We—people—may not always recognize the feeling, but we can tell when a thing is not right. We walk into a room and know immediately that something has changed, though it may be days before we realize that it is the eye-blinds have been replaced. The farmer and his wife knew that the tortoiseshell woman was not what she seemed, even though they could not have told you precisely what she seemed to be. She was no peasant. She might have been a noblewoman—the weave of her robes was very fine—but her hair was chopped short as a nun’s or a servant’s. She might have been a nun, but she did not wear the drab grays that would be correct, and she neither begged nor offered prayers; if she were a wealthy nun, she had no servants. If she were running away from home, she would be attended by the lover who had talked her into eloping. That left only two possible explanations for her presence.

“Are you on pilgrimage?” the farmer asked.

“No,” she said. “I don’t think so.”

“Then you must be selling something,” he said with total assurance. “What is it?”

“Sharpness,” she said, listening to herself with surprise. “Claws and teeth.”

“Needles?” his wife asked, as if she’d heard different words. “I need one. Mine is bent.”

“I don’t—”

“They’d be in your pack, yes?” the wife said. “May I get it for you?” She stood and crossed to the sliding door, and gathered up something that had

been there. It was a footed wicker box with straps so that one could carry it over the shoulder, like the packs the monks carry.

The tortoiseshell woman frowned. “This is not mine.”

“Of course it is,” the wife said. “We saw you bring it here. You put it right there when you came in, along with your cloak and other things.”

The tortoiseshell woman opened the basket. Inside were bundles of various sizes. She unwrapped the first: a handful of needles pinned to a scrap of the indigo cloth that peasants use for everything, rolled tight to protect them. She handed this to the wife, who *ooh*ed over their sharpness, the lack of rust. There was a larger lumpy bundle of oiled cotton, as well. She unrolled it on the floor, and found wrapped in rabbit-patterned silk nineteen knives.

“Those are nice,” the farmer said. “What do you want for them?”

The knives were each precisely as long as her palm, each identical to the one in her belt. “I—cannot trade these,” she said, looking at them.

The farmer shrugged. “Someone else wants them, eh? It’s a pity, they look good and sharp.” But despite the fact that she had nothing to give him, he gave her a cloth filled with goose meat and rice balls.

They slept soon after that, and she was nearly asleep when she heard the farmer’s wife whisper: “My lady? Men, they see little, but you are more than a seller of needles, or even a flighty girl running away from home. Who and what are you?”

“I don’t know,” she answered, honestly but warily, remembering the last time she’d answered this question, for the black cat who had attacked her. “No one.”

“No one is no one,” the farmer’s wife said. But nothing else happened, and when she went her way at dawn the next morning, the farmer’s wife said nothing of this.

I try to write of the common people, but, really, what do I know? I have never met any. I have never slept in their homes, eaten their food. Even my servants are of good family, elegant and civilized women all. I imagine what their lives must be like, yet my imaginings are necessarily naive. But what else do I have? Is it better to write and think only of what I have myself experienced? Most *monogatari* tales are about what their authors already know: life as a court noblewoman, the mannered round of exchanged poems and misunderstood intentions. I am intimately familiar with this world: I was born for it, and have lived at court for fifty years.

And here, where I tell the tale of the cat who became a woman, I confess frankly that much of my life bored me senseless.

I have watched the full moon many times, crossing the same arch of sky between the same mountains to east and west, lighting gardens that were nearly interchangeable: here the three lakes, there the stand of reeds and iris, the pagoda from China, the perfect little bridge. Yes, it is always beautiful, each month's moon unique. But all my life I longed to see a place where the eye was drawn, not by delicate nuances in oh, so familiar sights but by utter newness, by a blow to the mind. Perhaps this is why I write a tale now, something so foreign to my experience—because in doing so I am for a minute or a month freed from my life.

I have traveled as much as was allowed. I have gone as far north as Funaoka hill, and been on pilgrimage as far away as Ise, Hase, Yoshino mountain, two days' travel and more from the capital. I even saw the moon rise over the ocean once. But every night the tortoiseshell woman sleeps under a new sky and a new moon. She has lost everything, and still I envy her from the bottom of my heart.

4.

THE BUTTEFLY-PRINTED NOTEBOOK

In the morning it was raining. The wicker pack was still there, and so she shrugged into its straps. There was also a basket-hat, deep enough to conceal her face, with a trailing veil of ivory gauze. She had not had this the day before; but she took it without comment, along with the walking-stick beside them.

She crossed the border to Mikawa province, and stopped to eat her goose meat and rice. Her hands were cold and clumsy (a mixed advantage: fingers were better than paws had been, but then paws had never felt cold, even in the rainiest weather. Still, she was young and had not lived through her first winter; she did not know the numbness that snow brings to even the most leathery of pads) and she dropped several of the rice balls. She was not a lover of rice, so she left them where they lay, hoping some edible animal would find them and grow fat and slow, ready for her should she ever return this way.

There were few people on the Tokaido that day. No one traveled for pleasure, and even men who *must* travel—for pilgrimage or with news from the provinces for the capital—find there are days when they cannot quite bring themselves to hustle about. Such a day as this—cold, wet, and monotonous—encouraged a certain lack of discipline, and everyone who could stayed inside. But the tortoiseshell woman did not travel for pleasure or because she was required to, by gods or man. She traveled because there was no reason not to, because her misery was independent of weather, and so she moved on.

That evening it was still raining, steadily and everywhere, so she stopped in an abandoned roadside temple. (She slept much at shrines and temples: they were near the road, and they did not require her to talk with people, which became fatiguing sometimes, with their interminable chat about families.) There were no priests or monks, and not even a statue to show to

which of the ten thousand Buddhas and saints the temple had been holy. All that was left was a bell the color of verdigris, its silver tassels tarnished and frayed; fading vermilion paint on the beams; and empty stone pedestals: the ghosts of Buddhas. The little stones once heaped before the statues were still here, scattered to the temple's corners. With each step the tortoiseshell woman kicked aside now-purposeless pebbles. The roof was more cracks than shingles. Water fell through everywhere.

Using wood she broke from a ruined screen, she started a fire on the largest pedestal. Her wicker pack held many things, it seemed, though she only found them when she needed them; one was an oiled deerskin bag with a flint, and a bundle of dust-dry grass. The fire was small but bright, for the wood had been resinous. It spat colored sparks, and hissed when rain fell into it. Smoke seeped upward and let itself out at the cracks in the roof. She shook her cloak dry, and was soon warm again.

I cannot say quite how it was, but she was still a cat in some ways. Her robes never got as wet as they would have on a person, as if they were fur and she could shake and then groom herself dry whenever she wished. She did not know that this was not normal for people, and so she never thought of it. But I do. I have taken everything else from her: home, family, story. I know some of where she goes, into winter and conflict and more loss. And I find that I cannot make her physically miserable, as well: not tonight as she huddles in an unfamiliar body, anyway. We—the gods who create things, even we small gods who write *monogatari* tales—find that there are limits to our cruelty.

She ate the last of her food from the farmer, and curled up in her cloak to sleep.

She was dozing when something bit her hand. She killed it without waking up fully, and only after it was dead did she look at the little creature. It was small enough to fit in the palm of her hand, fat, and the dead-white of rice or ghosts. When she turned it over, she saw that it had either no legs or myriad tiny legs, though she couldn't tell which in the dim light of the dying fire. She felt another bite, on her ankle, and slapped at it, killing another of the little things. She was ready for the third one, and caught it between her hands when it sank its teeth into her calf. "Stop that!" she said.

The thing squirmed. "Let me go!"

She felt it trying to bite her fingers, so she shook it and then cracked a little opening to look inside. It was like the others, small and white; when

she looked around, she saw several more, just out of the firelight. “Stay back, or I’ll squash this one.” She flattened her hands a little, and the others squirmed back into the darkness.

She returned her attention to her catch, which lay rigidly still in her hands. “What are you? Killing animal, prey, something else?”

“I am a rice ball,” it said with a certain pride.

It did look a bit like one, though.—“Rice balls don’t talk, or move. Or bite me,” she added as it tried to do so, and she closed her hands and shook it again.

“I’m not just *a* rice ball,” it said when it could talk again. “I am one of *your* rice balls. You dropped us. Remember?”

“You weren’t alive then.”

“You *abandoned* us,” it said, full of a sense of ill-usage. “Bad enough that you eat my brethren; bad enough that my *destiny* is to be eaten, but then you don’t even do that! You drop me on the ground, where mice or foxes will find me. Wasted!”

“Hey,” she said, and shook the rice ball again. “I said something: you weren’t alive when I dropped you. What happened?”

“How do I know?” the rice ball snapped. “How do *you* know, for that matter? Maybe we *were* alive, and you were just too much of a clod to notice.”

She considered the rice ball. This was the first time that something she might eat had ever spoken to her. Prey animals didn’t have souls and could not speak—her mother had taught her this, and it must be true.

“You have a soul?” she asked dubiously.

The rice ball said, “Why do *you* care?”

“If you do, then perhaps mice and rats and all the other prey animals have souls as well. I’m curious.”

“Would that stop you eating them?”

“No,” she said honestly. “Not if I can catch them.” (Cats are like that.) “But it might make things a little more difficult.”

“Why?” said the rice ball., “Life is all about eating and being eaten.”

“I suppose,” she said. “What do rice balls eat, then

It was an unanswerable question, and so it tried to bite her again. She popped it in her mouth and bit down. There was a single squeak, and her mouth was filled with cold sticky rice. The other creatures rolled to her feet, their life gone: no more than rice balls now. After eating two more (for she

was hungry), she pushed the rest into the fire. I cannot say whether this was a touching attempt to offer them a Buddhist cremation, or whether she was making sure they would not come back to life and harass her in her sleep. Perhaps she meant both these things. It is seldom that our motives are uncomplicated.

"Perhaps now you are willing to listen," the road said.

She stood on a road as clear as crystal, fading into fog at either end. Ten thousand voices chittered, growled, chanted in the back of her mind: *turn; cedar; emulate; I hear it now; rain-wet sleeves.* "Go away," she said as she had before, but added: "Did you make the rice-ball creatures?"

"The farmer made them," the kami said. "His wife and the little pregnant servant-girl, actually. You take cooked rice and a bit of vinegar and—"

"No, I mean did you make them live?"

The road shrugged, causing the tortoiseshell to stagger. "I am the road."

She gave up. "Did they all die?"

"Why do you care?" the kami said, echoing the rice ball.

"Because—" She sat down. "If they didn't all die, they might breed. Perhaps someday they might tell tales to one another. I wondered what a rice ball's story might be like." (As do I, though I cannot tell their stories myself. I must pick carefully what tales I tell in the time I have left.)

The road was warm, with a pulse like a heartbeat against her legs, she curled down until her face and side were against it. She found herself purring at the warmth. She had not felt warm all the way through since winter had started, and that had been at the border of Owari province, miles and days back.

"So why are you here?" she asked at last. "I told you to go away, the last time I saw you."

The kami's voice in her head sounded a bit like a snort. "You made an offering. And I came."

"I did not!" She straightened. "And this is a temple, not a shrine. It wouldn't be an offering to *you,* anyway. Even if it were one." It was another thing she knew without knowing, the difference between the Buddhas' temples and the shrines of the kami.

"The Buddhas were done with it," the kami said, "so I took it back. And there was an offering. Water in a fallen leaf. And rice. Though it would have been nice for you to offer something else, as well."

“The rice balls? They bit me, and then they turned back to rice and I threw them on the fire.”

“Quite. Was there anything else you wanted to give me?”

The tortoiseshell woman sighed. “I suppose you could have the cloth they came in. It’s in my wicker pack. As if you cannot tell.”

“An excellent gift”—as it was. The cloth was linen (if a little sticky and greasy), and flax is always appropriate for a kami.

There was silence for a moment——or an age; there is no telling about time when it is dark and there are no watchmen to sound the hours—and then the tortoiseshell woman spoke. “What are these voices?”

“The gods,” the kami said “The eight million gods, speaking all at once.”

“Are they all roads?”

“That would be a lot of roads. No. They are peace. War. Rice, barley. A thousand forges, ten thousand gates. This lake, that pond, the other river. The houses of Fujiwara, Minamoto, a dozen others. A tree, all trees, a forest, all forests. I am not here to discuss theology.”

“How can there be so many of you, and I have never met a god before this?”

“How would you know if you met one? You cats live in a cat-shaped world. There do not appear to be any cat-shaped gods.”

“And now I am not even a cat,” she said bitterly.

“You are no more and no less than you ever were,” the kami said. “You lost nothing that was yours in the first place.”

“I am nothing and no one. Is that all I ever was?” She tipped her face toward the darkness, and felt hot tears on her cheeks. “I did not ask for this shape.”

“Do you hate it?”

“Yes! No. Sometimes. Parts are good. But,” she added, “I’m sure there are good things to being a mouse, and yet I have no desire to become one. I want to be a cat again. Change me back.”

“Who says *I* did this?” the kami asks. “Eight million gods and all the Buddhas and all the demons and all the dead; foxes and *tanuki*-badgers, snakes and spiders. Monkeys. Magicians. Any of these might have done this, or encouraged it to happen, or convinced you to do this to yourself.”

“I wouldn’t do this. I think you’re a nightmare,” she said. “I don’t think you’re really here at all—you or any of the others. At least rice balls are real. But what are *you?* No one can eat you.”

“I exist,” the kami said. “But never mind.”

“Wait—” she began, but it was gone. She had no more dreams that night.

When she awoke, she saw tiny pawprints in the dust on the floor and the cold ashes of the fire. Mice had crept past her as she slept and had eaten the rice balls.

A journey can be defined by miles or by days. Hers was defined by both, for each day meant more miles under her clogs. The Tōkaidō is a comparatively easy road, though in winter it can be blocked by drifts of snow taller than a man’s height, or muddy wallows tens of feet across and knee-deep in the center, which stay liquid in all but the coldest weather. As on even the best of roads, there are ruts that can break a cart’s axle, but constant usage keeps much of the path free of tangling weeds. Even the Hakone pass is not high. Roads and trails trail off to both sides. Some have signs painted or carved into wood stakes stabbed into the ground at the fork; others say nothing, keeping their mysteries to themselves.

Her wicker pack contained more things that surprised her. The knives were there. There was also a doeskin pouch filled with ancient coins: copper *wadō kaibō*, gold *kaiki shōbō*. They were not very useful as money, of course, but the countryfolk wanted them as good-luck amulets, and she found them handy to barter for rice and a roof, when she did not find her own. Inns and villages string along the Tōkaidō’s length like beads on a cord, though they grow farther apart (and more barbarous) the farther east one goes.

Winter threatened, and the traffic along the Tōkaidō thinned, so that entire days would pass when she saw few people except in the villages that followed the road for a while, like idle dogs seeing one off their ground. The remaining traffic varied so much that there was no predicting what she would meet: a wagon pulled by horses, bells jangling on their necks; ox-carts with two wheels, with four; flocks of oxen tied neck to neck, being led to new pastures. Messengers and their guards cantered along the Tōkaidō on sturdy, wet, irritable horses. Begging priests walked barefoot through icy mud, their *fudō* scarves tight over their heads against rain.

Many people called greetings as they passed (for she did not walk fast, as she retained a cat’s lack of enthusiasm for long marches), and when she stopped at the side of the Tōkaidō, to eat or rest or inspect her blisters (a disadvantage: her feet were always cold, and the clogs rubbed her toes raw;

feet were not as durable as pads had been), others rested near her, and sometimes offered a bit of fish or *taro* root. She did not trust them, but no one threw anything at her, and after a time, she accepted that people generally meant no harm to this new shape. From them she learned to use the immense leaves of bog rhubarb to shelter her head, and even how to make the cheap rice-straw foot-covers that all peasants can make for themselves and their horses and oxen, and which they throw away whenever they please.

There were robbers from time to time, for they are common as lice on the Tōkaidō. Some she avoided, others she fought or negotiated with or simply gave something to: different solutions for different situations.

Somehow, no one asked her for papers or tolls. The guards at the barriers and the posting stations bowed deeply and let her pass, as if it were an everyday thing to see a woman in silks walking alone in winter. The ferryfolk did not charge her for their services, though they found themselves carrying her at times that they did not intend to cross this river or that bay, with the water icy-cold and foaming white as rice powder. The bridge-men and ferryfolk and guards never seemed to realize how irregular their actions were.

She still recited her *fudoki* to herself. She, the cat of that *fudoki*, was dead, and the tale with her. But sometimes, when the nights were cold and wet, and she was alone (and lonely, though she would not have recognized the concept), she would recite the familiar chain of cats to herself and take comfort in them. In this she was becoming human, that meaningless words can ease loneliness. We have all received enough empty poems from lovers to have learned this.

The dreams of fire-cats ended, as well. She knew—and had known, even when she spoke with the ghost of the servant, two and more months ago—that her people were dead. For cats there was no afterlife except one's place in the *fudoki.* Our Hell, filled with fire and demons and arcane punishments for breaking the precepts, did not frighten her, for she had no god or Buddha to send her there for disobedience or neglect. She'd left the cats of the Eight Islands far behind. Now she walked through country that had never seen a cat, and never heard a cat's story.

Nor did it now, for she was no cat, though there were things about her that remained very cat-like. She did not feel squeamish at the taking of life, as any good Buddhist would; little as she understood of the kami, she

understood still less of the Buddhas, which were as pointless to a cat's sensibilities as poetry would be. I pray for her enlightenment, as I pray for the enlightenment of us all; but I must confess (honesty is a good thing so close to death) that I think she was perhaps better off for not believing in the Buddhas.

She enjoyed the hunt, though it was different than it had been when she was a cat, since her prey was bigger and had different habits. Her favorite prey was the little serow deer, as tall as her thighs, for their abrupt movements and bright black eyes reminded her a bit of mice. She stalked them when the craggier bits of the forest came close to the Tōkaidō. They were wary, but she knew in her bones how to wait, and she caught them almost as often as she failed.

She reveled in the feel of her knife sliding along bone and through meat, the pulse of hot blood across her hand. She loved the slowing of their heartbeats, the shallow breaths, the silence. She did not thank the kami for the meat as some hunters do, but she understood the importance of their deaths. She caught enough that she traded meat sometimes. She usually remembered to cook what she ate.

She had always watched ducks and wondered what they might taste like, but as a cat they had been too clever for her. Now she learned to wade into marshy waters and wait for them to come close enough to kill by throwing one of her knives. They tasted better than she even had hoped, warm and grainy: an advantage to being human. At other times, she caught grouse, deer, monkeys, turtles, a crane once.

When nights came, she found she missed her night vision (though her eyes were still sharper than yours or mine might have been), and the messages her whiskers and sensing hairs had given her; so she slept wherever she found herself at dusk. She was fortunate, for it was a surprisingly easy eleventh month. Frost came some nights, snow others, but it did not accumulate. She watched the moon grow and rise, earlier each night, until the full moon of the eleventh month was bright through dead reeds or pine needles, or shredded clouds, or the tears that sometimes flooded her eyes.

But there were also times when she forgot her sorrow and her state and enjoyed something, the taste of pheasant, the warmth of the sun, a rain so soft it was scarcely a hissing on her face. She was learning something about grief, that it begins with a great blow, but heals with a thousand tiny strokes.

To me her life is perfect. The cold is of no account; we are all cold in the winter. She owes nothing to anyone, and does not fret over the shape of her eyebrows or her robes' color combinations. She catches what she eats with her own hands, and sleeps where she likes. Every day she sees new sights, *real* things—an ancient pine struck by lightning, a shining green field frosted with melting snow and grazed by ink-black oxen—and not merely yet another well-painted screen.

And yet I have invented her, and her perfect life. These sights are not mine, but are secondhand. I have heard them from lovers, or read them in tales; in truth, I have more firsthand experience with well-painted screens than with anything in her world.

I must not forget that her life is her own. Her miseries, her longings, are not mine. For her, even this perfect month was filled with tears. Life is like that.

She was fortunate, for she traveled for some time before a man tried to rape her, an apparent woman traveling alone. It was in Suruma province where she was attacked. As so many other nights, there were no stopping places close to hand, and so she ended her traveling for the day in the shelter of a great pine tree with branches that swept the ground around it, close to a slow stream. She started a fire and cooked her food in a thin-hammered black metal bowl she found sometimes (though not always) in her pack. It was nearly dark, only the dimmest glow to the west, when another traveler, a man alone, joined her.

He dismounted and led his horse into the firelight. "May I share your fire?" he asked. His horse was a small stocky bay, and his garb was such that any reader of *monogatari* tales could have instantly told that he was, in fact, a bandit, for he had leggings of *tanuki*-badger skin with the fur still on.

The tortoiseshell woman did not read stories, and so she only shrugged. "If you wish. You might as well get some use out of the fire, as well."

He laughed. "An interesting perspective, my lady." He unsaddled his horse, and crouched across the fire from her, a tall man with a missing tooth in the front of his smile. "If I put something in the pot, may I share your dinner?"

"If you wish," she said again.

He handed her strips of salted deer meat and dried eggplant. "What do you have in there?"

“Rice, boar meat,” she said.

“Boar? Where’s a pretty woman like you getting boar meat?” he asked.

And so it began. He wanted to know her name (“Call me ’Crow,’” he said, though she did not ask). She was obviously a lady, perhaps even a noblewoman (“Above my touch,” he said, and leered), so where were her attendants? Close? Within earshot? Her robes were very fine; where had she gotten them, from a husband, a lover, someone with power? Had she a brother, a father, waiting for her? He had a little barrel of plum wine, and he rolled it close to the fire, dragging it out every so often to drink from it. He offered her some, but she had discovered she had no taste for wine, and thus refused. She answered none of his questions, for they seemed pointless.

Every woman is born aware that a man can force his attentions on her. All our romantic *monogatari* tales are filled with circumstances where a nobleman slips behind the curtains of a woman who has repeatedly expressed a lack of interest, and has sex with her. Paralyzed with fear at what people might think, she says nothing, not a single squeak to awaken one of her women; and when it is done, she vows eternal love to her (to put it bluntly) assailant.

I was never like this. Courtiers (and others) crept behind my curtains from time to time, for, however inadequate my skills as a musician or poet, I was very beautiful when I was young—and I was a princess, and thus attractive to ambitious men. But I squeaked—emphatically—if I did not want them as lovers.

The tortoiseshell woman was not without defenses, though she did not recognize the exact nature of the threat. The man, Crow, stood and crossed to her side of the fire. She stood as he approached, and when he reached out for her, she slapped his hand away. “I do not choose to be touched,” she said as he nursed his stinging hand, anger darkening his eyes.

He grabbed at her again, and she attacked. She did not consciously pull her knife, but it was in her right hand, and she buried it to the hilt, straight down into his shoulder. It grated on bone and jammed there. Holding him with the knife and her left hand on his arm, she slammed her knee into his groin, lifting him with the force of the blow. She pulled him down in stages, knee to belly, then to breastbone, then to throat and face. He fell from her hands to the ground, blood pouring from his nose and mouth and neck. She kicked him in the ribs twice, though it was not as satisfying as it would have been had she still been a cat, for she had no hind claws to sink deep in

his belly. When the blood stopped flowing, and his terrible wet breathing stopped, she pulled her knife free and wiped it clean on his clothes.

When she left in the morning, she took his horse with her, but she did not ride or keep it, for (whatever its reasons) it had loved its master, and it feared and hated her. The blood on her robes (and there had been much) had vanished in the night, and there was nothing left of the bandit and his intentions.

—I do not know that it would have been like this. My experiences, as I said, were not violent; but there were nights when I shared robes with a man I had invited and then realized I had no interest in; and yet I could not send him away without the mating he craved. So I lay beneath him and made the correct noises, and imagined how I might stop these movements had I not been a princess and unwilling to expose myself to the questions that would arise. Perhaps this is a sort of assault, that I did not feel I could say no; though I had not thought so.

From time to time, other men tried to attack the tortoiseshell woman, but these attempts were never successful. She usually killed them silently, but there were times, when the black empty place that had once held her *fudoki* seemed overwhelming, that she laughed. When she had been a cat, killing meant food, survival. It came also to mean peace.

When she crossed into Sagami province, and stopped for a time at the border shrine, she found a lovely sorrel stallion tied outside its walls, a bridle and rosewood and inlaid-shell saddle wrapped in oiled hemp-cloth at the sorrel's feet. Perhaps by the sheerest coincidence they were abandoned here by some noble who had staggered into the woods to die (for the horse and the tack were very fine; no one would willingly leave such a treasure). Perhaps they were created by the magic that placed flint and knives in her basket—which had also, somehow, changed, to waxed saddlebags of leather patterned with tiny dark blue flowers on an ivory background. Perhaps the horse and its gear were an apology or a lesson or something completely different, from the road-kami or another.

We try desperately to make sense of the world, to see the *whys* behind how things happen. We make up things that might help: *sukuse*, the law of cause and effect; perhaps even the gods. Perhaps even Buddha. But sometimes there is no *why.* The tortoiseshell woman didn't wonder why the sorrel was there—or the *whys* of any of it: the earthquake, the fire, the journey, her unfamiliar body. In this she was purely a cat. She approached

the horse cautiously (always wise, when meeting a strange horse), and ran her hands along its legs and belly and back. She understood horses, she found. She also understood this horse, its temperament and the strength in its bones and its great-lunged chest. She pressed her face against the sorrel's long nose, hands on its cheeks. They stood there for a time, woman-who-was-cat and horse. And then she saddled and bridled it, mounted easily, and moved on.

Miles: days. Or a journey can be measured by sights, the smooth exchange of vista and intimate detail, shrine and temple. She saw the great mountain Fuji when she was as far away as Yoshida, back in Mikawa province, though it was many days before she saw it a second time, for the air hid it in clouds or mist. She crossed under the sullen black forests of Ashigara mountain, and overheard the elegant savage songs of the countrywomen there. She led the sorrel across the plains of Morikoshi, where she saw no flowers (and did not know enough to look for them, having no experience with the poetry we have all read a thousand times). She passed through reeds so tall that even standing on the sorrel's back she could not see over them. Mountains, rapids, marshes that stretch for days, dunes dusted with snow as white as the sand. Skies that stretch a million miles east across the endless ocean. A lake so clear that she could watch a sleeping fish as long as her arm, suspended as if in crystal.

I have not seen these sights, but I have heard of them, and longed to hear more. When I was young, I foolishly imagined myself in love with a guardsman who had been sent from Mutsu province. He was handsome, though his eyes were unsettling, for they were not properly black but instead liquid gold.

He could not write poetry, but I didn't care. Poetry did not laugh the way he did, and it did not come warm to my bed on certain brilliant moonlit nights. Poetry did not tell me about the great mountain Fuji at dawn, when it is the color of roses and pearls and peaches. Fuji captured a cloud sometimes, he told me, round and flat as a mirror. "You cannot imagine how big it is," he said to me, and I reached under the bed robes and grasped him. "Not that!" He laughed, and told me more, about the plains of the Kanto, which run to the very foot of Fuji, so that it seems but a handful of miles away, instead of the seventy and more that it is. There are many herds

of half-wild horses there, each a hundred or more together, all more beautiful than anything you've ever seen.

He told me about all these places, and others besides. I did not write them all down back then. I regret this now, even though I would be burning those notebooks tomorrow in any case.

"You love it there, don't you?" I said to him: a little wistfully, for his eyes never shone when he looked at me, not as they did when he spoke of *azumi,* the east. "You will leave someday, and return there."

He said, "I serve my emperor as directed by my father; but come dawn of the first day my duty is done, I'll be gone."

And so he was. I cried a bit, for he had been very handsome, and was a kind lover. But mostly I cried from envy for his freedom, and because there was a place he loved like this.

Strange, how I have not let myself think of him until now.

One night, when she was still in Sagami province, she slept outside, for there were no houses or inns close—though there had once been a salt-making place close by; the silvered wood ruins looked and felt like ancient bones. The sky was clear and brilliant with stars, for the three-quarters' moon of the eleventh month was not yet up. She was very near the sea here, on Morikoshi plain. She could hear the surf, and feel it in the darkness, a great restless weight to her right.

She unsaddled her horse and hobbled him, and he began to pull up grass, and to strip the needles from a small tree stunted by the wind.

She built a fire of driftwood and watched the flames leap up taller than her own height. She had flinched the first few times she'd made fire, but that was many nights and miles (and sights) ago. She no longer saw the fire-cats who had tried to speak to her with their distended mouths. There were no cats, fire or flesh, in these lands she passed through. She was the first, which only increased her sense of loneliness and loss. The words of her *fudoki* were rather pain than comfort, though she could not help but recite them some nights, as a child cannot help sucking her thumb.

Her ears were still sharp. Even through the crackling of the fire, she heard a tiny rustling in one of her unstrapped saddlebags, and so she flipped it upright, and began to remove things carefully until she saw her intruder. It was a straw-brown mouse, small as her thumb. Its black eyes stared up at

her. “Mouse?” she said, and got no answer. “Do you speak? Do you feel? Have you a soul? Do you have gods?”

It only stared at her, vibrating with fear, and so she tipped the saddlebag onto its side and let the mouse go. Mice were less than a mouthful these days, anyway, and she would have gotten little satisfaction from eating this one.

She came to Musashi province at the end of the eleventh month, and forded Sumida river a few days into the twelfth month. The air was crisp, and heavy forest crowded the Tōkaidō on either side, so she buried her hands in her cloak, and let the sorrel pick its own path. Through a thinning in the trees she saw a wood yard, and a great tree propped up to be sawed into planks. A wiry little man in a loincloth stood atop the tree, pulling through the wood a saw as tall as he was. Sawdust drifted down in the heavy still air. Two other men watched him and said something—but she could not hear it, for by that time, she and the sorrel were past, and she had been craning back in her saddle to watch.

There was little traffic. She watched her breath puff in front of her and thought of mice. Ahead, a large party had pulled off the road near a roadside shrine to Inari. A well-dressed provincial woman and her women laid a packet of silk and a little barrel before the moss-green statues of Inari’s foxes, bowed and clapped. The tortoiseshell woman picked up her reins, and helped her horse choose a path through the cloud of servants and guards and horses and oxen that clogged the road. The noblewoman lifted a hand and hailed her, and the tortoiseshell woman stopped.

“We are about to eat,” the noblewoman said. “Would you be so kind as to join us?”

The tortoiseshell woman looked down from her saddle for a moment. The noblewoman was of middle age but still lovely, with a clever expressive face and merry eyes. She had kilted her padded robes to her knees, but this had not prevented their hems from being splashed with mud. The noblewoman looked down at herself and said, “I must look a perfect demoness to you; but I promise I’m hardly that. I don’t exaggerate when I say it would be a kindness for you to join us. We’ve been on pilgrimage for half a month now, and we are sick of each other’s faces.” She laughed and her attendants laughed with her. Provincials have a very different sense of

the proper relationships between a master and the various sorts of servants. “Please.”

The tortoiseshell woman trusted no one, and yet she found herself sliding from her saddle. One of the noblewoman’s menservants reached for the sorrel’s bridle. “My horse doesn’t like—” she began, but the sorrel finished the statement by lashing out at the man, teeth slamming together with an audible sound a hairsbreadth from his arm.

He laughed and grabbed its bridle. “Settle down, biter.” He caught the tortoiseshell woman’s eye and said, “I like ’em feisty. Horse like a dragon, here.”

“He’ll make sure your horse gets some food and water,” the noblewoman said. “Please, come.” She bowed and took the tortoiseshell woman’s hand. If she felt the burn scars she said nothing, only led her to a rush-walled ox-carriage and helped her up into it.

It was warm in the carriage, and when the noblewoman followed her inside, it was crowded. There were five of them, all women, kneeling on thick cushions. They passed around little boxes filled with food of various sorts, and each helped herself with smooth little sticks to pickled cabbage, cold fried rice cakes, salted eggplant, and sea slugs. The tortoiseshell woman had never used sticks to eat, but she found a pair tucked into her sash—a thing she understood without learning, like horses and knives and knot-making. When the women were done, they handed the boxes out of the cart, and the men filled them with hot tea. She sniffed it warily (cats do not like hot things to drink), and carefully sipped. The warmth soaked right through her, along with a sweet, bright grassy flavor. She remembered with bitter clarity that summer afternoon, crouched on the wall at her grounds, the last moment she had still belonged. Her eyes filled with tears and she turned her face from the women.

There was little talking until the tea.

“I realized I have said nothing of who we are,” the noblewoman said suddenly. “I am the oldest daughter of my family. I’ve been to the temple at Takeshiba to pray for my youngest brother’s success in an endeavor. These are my women.” She named each, but the tortoiseshell woman frowned. She didn’t understand names: unlike a cat’s place in the *fudoki,* they said nothing useful about a person. The noblewoman laughed at her expression. “Never mind, you can ask again later, when there aren’t so many of them. Now: who are you and where are you from?—because this is the middle of

nowhere, you know. Hitachi province is not the end of the world—that would be Mutsu province"—the women laughed—"but we can certainly see it from here, on a clear day anyway."

"I am nothing and no one," the tortoiseshell woman said. "I have no ground."

The noblewoman looked at her from the corner of her eyes. "Ah. The Buddha says that this is the way to wisdom, to understand that family and property are nothing. How enlightened of you."

"This Buddha is wrong, if it says that," the tortoiseshell woman said, her voice hot, anguished. "Family and tale are *everything."*

The noblewoman smiled, but her eyes were suddenly sad. "And you have lost both, I surmise. I am so sorry. Such loss I can understand."

Somehow, though she never later understood how, when the tortoiseshell woman climbed out of the ox-carriage and returned to her sorrel, it was understood that she would travel with them. And that was how she met Osa Hitachi no Nakara.

5.

THE *KIHADA*—DYED NOTEBOOK

I had friends when I was a small girl, before I came to my half-brother's court. Most were boys, and were inevitably of lower rank, but I loved them dearly. Their toys were so much more interesting than my own—mulberry bows and mugwort arrows, stilts, riding whips made of vine, hoops, and mock swords—and they could do so much more. They played between the horses in the stable and chased mayflies across the garden. They ran the streets around my home in the eastern quarter of town, all equally ragged and breathless, and told me stories of their achievements, when I could sneak away to see them.

I could not join them, but I had my own interests. I used to watch vermin, green caterpillars eating lacework holes into leaves; ants running about or walking in formal trains, bearing gifts to shrines hidden deep underground. When my attendants restricted this ("Squatting like a peasant? My lady!"), I bribed the household boys with rice candy to bring me things—moths wings and beetle shells and birds' eggs—whatever my interest of the moment was.

I eventually discovered mice, when a boy caught one in the gardens and brought it to me, a tiny black-eyed brown thing crouching in a tall lacquered box. Its whiskers were finer than silk thread drawn taut. Carrying it in my hands, I asked a gardener who knew of such things to tell me of mice. As I watched and listened, tiny pellets appeared from the creature's hindquarters, black with a small earthy smell. The gardener told me such creatures slept in cracks and crevices and ate seeds and grasses. "A small life, and a short one," he said. "Everything eats them—dogs, hawks, owls, foxes."

I frowned and shifted the mouse to my other hand, shaking the soiled one clean. "Then what's the point of being a mouse? They're not going to learn

anything, so they'll just have to come back as a mouse again next time. What's the good of that?"

The gardener laughed a little. "Maybe that *is* the point of being a mouse, little one—being eaten. Maybe the lesson they learn is grace in the face of unavoidable tragedy."

This made sense to me: *monogatari* tales are full of women (and sometimes men) dying gracefully. But—"What's graceful about mice? They don't write little poems before they die, or throw themselves into Uji river because their lover forgets to visit"—for my nurse had been reading to me from Genji's tale.

He laughed louder. "You think most people face tragedy with poems? No—we are a lot like mice. Some of us squirm under the cat's paw. Some fight, some freeze. I suppose a few have dignity."

"*I* will behave with dignity," I said. "With grace. But no poems." I wrinkled my nose and peered down at the mouse, a tiny quivering hot spot in my hand.

The gardener leaned closer to me, or perhaps the mouse. "Little one, the truest grace comes *after* the squirming and the fighting and the panic. To accept tragedy without despair. Can you do that?" I could not tell to whom he spoke.

I did not know the answer then. But I thought about it when my father died; and when my golden-eyed lover returned to the east, betraying us all; and when Shirakawa died; and now, as I feel my lungs fight this losing war to breathe. At last, perhaps I find an answer.

To show grace in tragedy? All those irritatingly stupid women in *monogatari* tales exhibit this, with their elegant little death-poems, their lovely corpses floating on willow-clogged waters. And they *are* stupid. What man, what lost love or deceased kinsman is worth death? The space in my life that my half-brother once filled is now an aching icy pain, like the hole left after a tooth is pulled, and I am dying in weeks or months—and yet I still fight for life, as every mouse does, until the final beak-blow. The grace in tragedy is not to succumb, but to fight on.

I knew none of this back then, of course: certain lessons come late. I was eight when I received my first mouse. What did I know? I made a cage of silk gauze and wood, but it ran away, as did the next and the next. For a time, I made up little stories about the mice, as dramatic and full of event as any tale from Ise. As I learned to keep them for more than a day or two

(pottery stopped them, as did wire mesh), I told fewer stories involving thrilling adventures. The more I learned of them, the less convincing the stories were, even to me. I've found that's often the way with stories. Perhaps the only reason I tell the tale of the tortoiseshell cat is that, even after decades of living with cats, I still understand them not at all.

After a time I didn't keep the mice caged, but still they stayed. Mostly it was food that kept them, though I liked to imagine it was love. They slept in my sleeves, so that I learned physical grace because I did not want to crush them. They hid in my hair and startled my tutors and nurses, if I didn't have time to return them to their box. They allowed me to touch them, to feel their ribs fine as grass stems, the shapes of their delicate skulls. Their hearts beat fast in the palm of my hand.

I no longer kept mice when I came to court, nor did I engage in any of my less-acceptable hobbies. I wrote my notebooks strictly for my own satisfaction, though my woman Shigeko was forever asking to read them. I read the Chinese classics, because, while irregular, it was not unheard of for a woman to do so. I built water-clocks only when my monthly courses or illness kept me away from court and I returned to the cinnamon-tree courtyard at my uncle's house.

When I came to court, I studied the first cat I met there with the same interest I had reserved for mice and other vermin. Our cat was small and gray, with blue-gray eyes. We tied bright-colored cords around her neck, choosing colors that were appropriate to the seasons, but she tore them off and played with them, tiny gaudy snakes. After a time we took to calling her Shisutako, the little nun, because of her dislike of finery and her soft gray color.

Shisutāko was not exceptional in any way. She did not grow up to be arrogant, as so many cats do, and she did not grow loving, as so many of us hoped she would. She remained a creature of teeth and claws, and the only way we could show affection in an acceptable fashion was to fold paper into shapes and thread them onto string for her to chase. She slept near us, but she spent the rest of her time elsewhere. Sometimes, we heard her screaming in the garden; several months later she would vanish, and return with kittens.

We offered her bits from our food, but she was as picky as a pregnant empress. She was uninterested in sweet rice candies, but she liked fish and the hot-tasting pickled vegetables. She also begged from the kitchen house,

but mostly she found her own meals, sometimes bringing them to us. I was less squeamish than the others, so it often fell to me to remove the mice and voles. I examined one once, its tiny broken bones like twigs, and blood and saliva at the back of its neck. It was panting, eyes bright and fixed on me. I killed it.

"What have you done?" one of my women gasped.

"I stopped its pain," I said, and handed the mouse back to the cat to eat. Typically, she was no longer interested, absorbed instead in cleaning her paws, eyes half-closed as she lay in a patch of sun on the veranda. This was my first experience of a cat's nature.

And now: Myōbū has been sleeping on the sleeve of my maple-colored robes since this morning. I was wearing those robes but had not the heart to disturb her, so I slipped my arm free, and eventually discarded them altogether to change into another set, leaving her in undisputed possession. If I were to ask her what the point was of being a cat, what would she answer?

And what is the point of being a woman?

I cannot say why the tortoiseshell woman and Osa Hitachi no Nakara became close. The cat-woman expressed no affection and had little in common with Nakara, and yet they were friends. Nakara had her own concerns, so perhaps she saw the tortoiseshell woman's grief and her strangeness, and pitied them, and her. And Nakara had certain experience with the creatures who could take human form, and it is possible that she saw a cat's nature in her companion, and so understood not to expect what she might from a woman.

It is also true that Nakara was tired of her people, for there were only nine of them for a month's travel; and she was used to the hundreds of people always to be found at the Osa Hitachi estate. Because she was on pilgrimage she observed the ten prohibitions, and perhaps she was bored. There had been little company on the road, and even the monks and priests at the shrines and temples had been surly, as they settled in for what was becoming a cold and wet winter.

People of the provinces are not like people in the capital, and Nakara was not like a court woman. For one thing, she spoke to all her people, men and women, even the lowliest boy brought along to tend the oxen for the trip.

For another, she saw no necessity to hide her face behind fans or sleeves; she had no die-away airs. If she wanted something, she simply asked for it. If she didn't want something, she said so—very unlike the women of court, who on occasion find themselves married because they are unwilling to say no. She could use a Chinese abacus, but was hopeless at the poem-matching game.

She was capable of skinning out a deer or commanding her estate's defense from bandits, in the unlikely event that her brothers (and all their useful, strong, martial men) were far away. When she had been younger, barely a girl, she had served as nurse at an estate in Hida province. There had been a terrible disaster, and she had escaped with the clothes on her back and a ten-year-old boy, the only survivor. Together they walked two hundred fifty miles through the mountains in the dead of winter, to her family home in Hitachi. She avoided bears, wolves, and robbers, managing so well that on arriving she and the boy were well fed, clad in fur, and bearing weapons.

We would have considered her at best uncouth and at worst a barbarian, and she was both these things—but there is nothing to stop me from speaking the truth, however improper it is. She was brave and full of laughter and wisdom, and I would have liked to have called Osa Hitachi no Nakara a friend.

The tortoiseshell knew no one. Her clan were all dead. In her traveling, she met people on the road for no more than the shared instant of passing. Her meetings with the kami on the crystal-clear road were short and without satisfaction. She had no skill at conversation, polite or otherwise. She was moved with quick powerful grace, and there were moments of contentment or even happiness that softened her eyes; but the black grief at her heart made her less-than-light company. And though no one would have guessed she was a cat, there was something people did not recognize about her, something strange. We avoid those who grieve; we avoid those who are not like us; and so she was doubly distanced from her fellow travelers.

Friendships are strange. I meet one woman and I like her instantly. Another I dislike and distrust as quickly. They are both of good family and have beautiful manners and taste; they both laugh when I say something I consider clever. My woman Shigeko resembles a thousand of the women who have served me, her independence of thought her only difference-and even in that, there have been others. And yet she is one ear, and I the other.

Osa Hitachi no Nakara was another twenty days on the road returning home. Many things can happen in such a time. A woman can have a baby, or fall in love, or lose a loved one to death or indifference (though that can happen in an instant). The tortoiseshell learned about people. Nakara gained a friend.

The weather was mostly cold, for the twelfth month is solidly winter. Snow fell and lingered from one day to the next, until the oxen pulling the cart could not get through in places, and they had to stop until things became easier. When the sky was clear, the tortoiseshell woman rode beside the ox-cart, or ranged far ahead of the Hitachi party, tasting air so cold that it burned her lungs. For reasons she did not understand, she returned each evening to Nakara's people, to sleep wherever they did. Often she brought back animals she had killed, rabbits or *sika* deer draped across her horse's shoulder. The sorrel did not seem to mind the smell of blood or the twitches of dying prey; in this he was his mistress's match.

Though they considered their pace quick (particularly for winter), the party traveled far more slowly than she would have alone. An ox-carriage is not exactly noted for its swiftness. These oxen had been selected more for sturdiness than for fleetness of foot (if a fleet ox can even be imagined), and they lumbered through cold mud and hock-deep snow. The useful portion of the day was very short, so that there were days it seemed that they had barely begun to travel when the sun set abruptly over the mountains to the west—if they saw it at all; the sky was often overcast, or even snowing.

Snow like this would have stopped dead the soft people of the capital. We have snow, but it is not generally deep or long-lasting; and it is up to the servants and the guardsmen and the peasants to make their ways through it. We women merely watch from our sheltered verandas, and admire it as if it were painted on a scroll. It would never occur to us to take a winter pilgrimage of a hundred miles or more.

The farther one travels on the Tokaido, the more real snow becomes. No longer just pretty spangles on a robe, it grows deeper and lasts longer. People can die in it, and not just because they passed out in a ditch and drowned, overcome by too much *sake.* They can die from this eastern snow due to even the tiniest carelessness, or karma, or simply bad luck. Storms come up where the flakes fall so thick that a stranded traveler cannot see the eave-light of a farmhouse a hundred—a dozen!—paces away. Someone lost

can scream until she is hoarse, yet her voice is swallowed as if she shouted into a quilted robe. And these storms can last for days.

There are clear days, when the sky is a particular frozen blue, and the sun on one's face leaves no warmth. These days are bright, but oh, so cold. One's breath attaches itself as ice to one's clothing, and even tucked into sleeves, one's hands ache until they grow numb. Lakes and rivers freeze over and become solid for months instead of days; ferries become irrelevant. A cart can feel its way across the ice without falling through. (I have just realized: I do not think I will see snow again. How strange.)

Winter becomes harsher in the east, but the people somehow disregard it as we of the capital never can. They live and carry on their business even through snow and cold and darkness. There is no farming, of course, but the horses and cattle and other animals must be tended. Messengers still bring urgent business from outlying estates or along the roads. There is hunting and even fishing. My golden-eyed lover used to tell me about watching the fisherfolk of his district push their boats onto the sea on days when great snowflakes dissolved into its black water. *They like it, he said; snow keeps the waves down.*

Nakara and her people had adapted. They walked easily in high wooden clogs that no one in the city could manage with any facility. Their feet were often wet and always cold; but they shrugged this off as no more than an inconvenience. They did not panic if snow caught them unexpectedly; they sheltered themselves and made fire, and waited.

So travel was not fast. Beyond the limitations forced by the weather, the party stopped often for its own reasons. Nakara stopped at every temple and every shrine along the road, staying the night at the larger places, if they had guest quarters.

"Why do you stop so often?" the tortoiseshell woman asked once, when they pulled up for the third time in a day, before an unprepossessing little roadside Buddha cloaked in snow.

Nakara finished her prayer and laid her offering before the statue: food and a sheaf of votive papers, each printed with a hundred tiny Buddhas. She turned, her face sober.

"I had three brothers. Now I have one killed and one, my adopted brother, gone to the capital. How can I not pray for them every chance I get?" She stepped onto a plank that had been laid over the ridges and whorls of frozen mud between the Buddha and the road.

The tortoiseshell followed her an arm's length behind, frowning. "You pray for males? They have no place in *fudoki*—clan, you would say."

"Don't they?" Nakara said. "And yet, I miss my dead brother every minute." She sighed. "I pray that the gods leave me the brothers I still have."

"Gods do not listen," Kagaya-hime said. "They just talk, talk, talk, and none of it makes any sense."

Nakara turned. "They speak to you?"

"Not to *me,"* the tortoiseshell woman said. "Not anymore."

"Perhaps at least they listen," Nakara said, and turned away.

Tabu slowed them, as well. Nakara traveled with three women (and the tortoiseshell woman), and so there were days when they could not travel due to this or that one's monthly courses. There were directional tabus, which would not allow them to start a day's travel in certain directions; often Nakara ordered the party to head in an acceptable direction for a quarter mile (though this might lead through fields, or down a country road that led nowhere). The party then returned to the road, having addressed at least technically the gods' wishes. Delays were inevitable. There was a night when everyone was forced to stay up to protect their souls against demons, and they were too tired to travel far the next day. The tortoiseshell woman remained a cat in that she had no courses, and wondered at the delays of this and the other tabus.

"We have no choice," Nakara explained that night. "Well, not much. There are times when I have had to ignore the strictures, but I prefer not to."

The tortoiseshell woman snorted. "Do you think the gods notice?"

"Well, *I* notice," Nakara said.

And then there were the ten thousand things they stopped to see only because it pleased Nakara to do so. The east is strange and beautiful, and doubly so in winter. Nakara did not travel as much as she would wish, generally busy administering the estate, and she looked about avidly.

A waterfall splashed over black rocks, on either side forming great intricate sculptures of ice, and Nakara and her women pretended they were mandalas, and searched them for tiny Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The tortoiseshell woman looked with them, but saw nothing, even when one of the women (Junshi was her name) broke a bit off and pointed out the half-formed face and draped robes. And yet the tortoiseshell's eyes were clear

enough that she saw an *ayu*-trout sleeping just below the waterfall, and threw her knife and startled it.

Later, just after they crossed Matsusado ford (now a stretch of slippery, dangerous ice that groaned under the cart's weight), they passed a wild black sow, the biggest any of them had ever seen, scrounging for stubble under the snow of a sunken rice field. The black against the white of snow and brown of earth was stunning, but Nakara stopped at the next farm to warn them that the pig was stealing their straw. The farmer explained that he allowed this because he knew where the old sow farrowed, and collected her piglets each year to sell. Nakara left a gift, charmed by the man's enterprise.

They came to a place beside a temple where a river had not frozen. Even though it was winter, a hundred ducks of every variety remained here, tempted by the open water and the grains the monks threw to them. A monkey moved among the ducks, squabbling with them as though he had been born from an egg. Nakara laughed until she cried, and stayed for nearly a day, using up all the fried rice cakes feeding this odd flock. The tortoiseshell woman did not laugh; perhaps did not know how to laugh.

Halfway through Shimosa province, there was a cinnamon tree as large as a *hinoki* cedar, alone in a field as flat as if it had been in the Kantō. Nakara and the women left the ox-carriage and felt their way across the field, which turned out to be less level than it looked, small stones hidden under moss and weeds and snow. The air was perfectly still, and they fell silent as they approached the tree. There was no shrine, nothing to indicate a kami was here (though of course they are everywhere), but Nakara saluted the tree as if it were a god, and removed her outermost robe and laid it at the roots. The tortoiseshell woman came close enough to see claw marks in the bark, as if a giant cat had scratched there. She pressed her face to them, but they smelled faintly of bear and not cat. She had known they could not be a proof of kin, for they were too large and too far away from the capital. Nevertheless, her sorrow nearly drove her to her knees.

They turned back, and when they got a certain distance from the tree, Nakara said, "I will tell my nieces and nephews of this."

The tortoiseshell woman frowned, abrupt in her unhappiness. "Why? What will you tell them? 'I saw a tree'? I have seen a million."

Nakara stopped and turned, surprised. "That tree is—you did not sense it? It is sacred."

“To whom? The gods? Which gods? Do we stop at all these places so that you may find sacred things?”

Nakara turned back and walked slowly. “Not really. I stop because I must, I suppose.”

“Why?” the tortoiseshell woman asked, black grief forcing her to speak more harshly than she might have. “I understood the ducks and the monkey and the black pig, a little. But you can’t eat a tree. One is just like another. Where is the use in that?”

“It warms my eyes and my heart,” Nakara said, “and the world is cold enough. *That* is the use of that.”

Their conversations were often strange, for the tortoiseshell woman did not always make predictable (or even socially acceptable) statements. Nakara was not shocked. There had been a time when she was young, when she had lived under an enchantment, attendant to a fox in distant Hida province. Her life had been filled with wonders and strangeness. A woman who was also a cat did not surprise her.

Nakara treated the stranger as a peer and a friend, and gave her a sobriquet: “Princesses may say what they like; the rest of us must be more circumspect,” Nakara said to her at the end of one of their conversations.

“But then what is the good of speaking?” the tortoiseshell woman asked. “You might as well be silent.”

“We are not all princesses,” Nakara said. “And yet we have things to say.” That was how the tortoiseshell woman came to be called *Hime*, princess. The sorrel they called Biter, for obvious reasons.

It is very late; the only light in my room is the brazier’s dim red gleam and a faint sift of starlight that has somehow managed to ease its way past the screens and walls and curtains that otherwise protect me from the elements. My writing grows large and sloppy; I am sure that in the morning it will look to me as irregular as a child’s.

Shigeko kneels across from me in silence, though I have written many pages since she first entered my rooms. She is pulling at a flaw, a loose thread in a sleeve. I can only trust that the thread is there; I see the tension in her hands and the soft puckering of the fabric, but the thread itself is invisible in this light. The night conceals her age; with her sleeping robes all askew around her shoulders, and her hair tied with paper tapes into a single

hank to keep it from snarling, she looks like a small girl awakened by a bad dream.

"Shigeko, stop doing that, you'll ruin the fabric." She looks at her hands as if surprised they are hers, and places them in her lap abruptly. "Are you hungry? Would you like something warm to drink?" There is another attendant with me (there is *always* an attendant with me), a younger woman who silently bows and leaves, to try and find hot broth at this absurdly late hour. I no longer remember the younger ones' names; it seems pointless, like naming maple seeds.

Shigeko has stopped pulling threads; now she pulls the tapes from her hair and drops them into the brazier. Each bursts into tiny flames before vanishing utterly, a gold flare that illuminates her face's lines, touches the white in her hair.

I ask, "What's wrong, Shigeko?"

She does not answer immediately. Despite the tapes, there are tangles: she begins to comb out the knots using her fingers.

Except for visits to her family or the shrine at Ise, and her monthly retreats for her courses, we have been together nearly every moment of every day of fifty years. She seems to have no great dreams, no restless desire to be anything but what she is. For fifty years, she has been content to select robe combinations, sew even seams, exclaim about the weather, and exchange gossip with my other women—and to do it all again the next day, and the next. All these decades of shared minutiae have mounded up around us, concealing the fact that she is her own person, with yearnings and tastes of her own. I know her better than anyone, in the same way I know the texture of my own skin, or the shapes of my fingernails. There is a disadvantage to this: I do not always see what I am looking at.

The young attendant returns with bowls of hot *taro* soup and slivers of boar meat on a lacquered tray. I am not hungry: the growing thing that kills my body makes it difficult to eat, but I watch Shigeko drink her soup with tidy little sips, just as she has drunk every bowl of soup for fifty years. It is just as well that her manners are good, or she would have driven me mad, and I would have had to send her away. And this would have been like losing an arm.

The Tōkaidō takes to the great sea for a short while, on a long boat ride that just skims the Noumi peninsula, entering a vast inlet, landing the traveler at

last in the Shida district of Hitachi province. This is (usually) safe in the summer months, but less so in winter, when snow can blind the pilot, and winds and strange tides may pull a boat far from shore before it can duck into the shelter of Shida inlet. The Osa Hitachi party waited for days before the weather and tides were such that the ferryfolk would take them. The only place they could stay at this time of year was a small and bitterly cold inn, mostly closed down for the season. Whatever their ranks, everyone gathered in the raised room beside the kitchen area of the main building, where the ovens kept things a bit warmer. The men went out often, for they had the animals to tend and various preparations to make, but the women stayed inside, and Hime often waited with them. They read aloud sometimes from a palm-leaf sutra they carried in a deerskin case; or from a handful of notebooks containing *monogatari* tales. Hime ignored the sutras (alas; she might have learned much from thinking of the Buddhas), but the tales intrigued her. "Though they are not very interesting," she said aloud.

Junshi put down the notebook from which she had been reading. "No? When Genji is exchanging such heartfelt poems with Aoi?"

"There is no fighting," Hime said. "No wonders, no strangeness. Not like the *fudoki* of my people."

"Tell it then," Nakara said.

"Tell you my *fudoki*?" Hime said, taken aback. She remembered all the cats' stories as vividly as if they were her own paws, but to tell them to one not of the group—this stymied her.

Nakara laughed at her expression. "I'm sick of *our* stories; I've heard them a thousand times. I say I'm praying for my brother's success, but I have to admit that a big part of my prayers is the hope that he brings me something new to read from the capital."

The Five-Colored Cat, The Cat with Three Legs, The Straw-Cloak Cat. She could tell the tales, and they would be heard, they would be witnessed. The *fudoki* would continue. But it would be wrong. The tale would be like the woman's ghost back in the capital, begging her charred body to awaken. "No," she said. Her eyes burned. "I have no tale to tell. Not anymore."

The other women begged a little, but Nakara said nothing, only poured tea for them all and led the conversation down safer paths. Hime left shortly afterward, to "see to the horse," and did not return for many hours.

She did see to Biter, and then stayed with the sorrel. Nakara might have been hurt had she realized this, that Biter was the closest thing Hime had to

a friend. Hime did not speak to him, except the little nothings we say to our pets and our horses. He never spoke back. He did not behave in any human way; he was totally and unequivocally a horse, which is to say stubborn, occasionally stupid, frequently lazy, and occasionally savage.—Which is quite human, if I think on it.

Biter was an animal, and Hime, suspended between cat and woman, longed to be one. Perhaps Nakara would have understood this better than any of us might expect.

Nights were too dark to read anything, and so they talked, and Hime learned more of the party's mission. "It's complicated," Nakara warned.

Hime—thinking of the intricate interrelations between cats and people, dogs, horses—shrugged. "I will try to keep track," she said.

It *was* complicated, the sort of tricky political situation that usually ends with disaster of some sort. The *bandō*, the east, has always been a troublesome part of the empire. The original inhabitants were absolute savages (they wore furs and drank blood and carried arrows in their hair!), but they were controlled many centuries ago, when families from the central provinces and the southwest were sent by the empire to pacify them. Over time, some of these people became little better than those they defeated—though at least they did not drink blood. The eastern families are many months' travel from the capital, and generally well armed and well mounted (indeed, Osa Hitachi no Nakara's family is not atypical). The families develop independent ambitions and become fractious, and then the emperor (any of a dozen emperors over the past four hundred years) must send or assign troops to remind them of his absolute authority.

Or so it was explained to me so many years ago, on the one hand by my half-brother; on the other by my golden-eyed lover, Mononobe no Dōmei. My lover came from Mutsu province, as far north and east as one may go, and his perception of the situation was quite different from my brother's, naturally. I tried to find a medium between their varying reports, but I must believe my half-brother was right. Was he not emperor?

Nakara explained to Hime: there was a problem. The Osa Hitachi clan controlled a neglected estate somewhere in Mutsu province. (I cannot say in which of the districts, for they're all barbarous places; there's no point to keeping track. The only district I know in Mutsu province is Iwate, which was Dōmei's home.) The second Osa Hitachi brother managed the estate,

which he did well, opening new land for rice fields and producing small amounts of gold from a mine on the site.

But after some years, the second brother offended a local family, an ambitious branch of the ubiquitous Abe clan. The initial cause might have been anything—disputed land; a stolen (or eloping) wife; a killing, accidental or intended; theft; an impolite letter; simple willfulness or pride or temper or greed. The Abe were very powerful, with allies and contacts as far south as Kurobe river, and they were used to managing things in their own way. They killed the brother, his family, and his followers, then burned the estate.

The governor of Mutsu province did not care about this—he had relatives among the Abe—but there were others who did. It is not a wise thing to kill the brothers of powerful men, and the oldest Osa Hitachi brother was vice-governor (and actual leader, for the governor would have been a cousin of mine from the capital, leader in name only) of Hitachi province, just to the south. The central government is uninterested in mere bickering so far from the capital—and a few tens of deaths a million miles away was hardly more than that—and so I think that perhaps the vice-governor lied in the letter he sent, claiming that the Abe family were not paying their taxes or had too large a household military force or were concealing weapons; and asking for a warrant to destroy them. He sent his adopted brother, Osa Hitachi no Kitsune, to the capital for a *tsuitoshi* warrant authorizing an attack on the Abe.

"So your oldest brother has asked your youngest brother to lead an attack—"Hime said, setting things clear in her mind.

"Yes."

"—for someone who left their *fudoki* to found a new one—"

"I don't quite understand '*fudoki*,'" Nakara said.

"—home, then—because someone killed him to take his ground—home—when they had a perfectly good home of their own?"

"Yes," Nakara said.

"But he's dead, the one who left. Why do this?"

"He was my brother," Nakara said. "They killed him."

Hime frowned. "He was a male, and he was far away. He was not part of the *fudoki*."

"What the Abe did was wrong, against the codes."

"This isn't about codes, though," Hime said.

Nakara laughed suddenly, a humorless bark. “No. It’s about revenge.”

The day came when the ferryfolk were at last willing to travel, the sky overcast but calm. They left early, at the tiger’s hour, to catch a tide that would drift them up Shida inlet. The air was so heavy and wet that everyone (except the oxen) shivered and fretted. The horses hated the trip, as did Hime, who hung her head and vomited for the duration. Nakara pointed out sights to her at first, hoping to distract her: the home of the great kami Kashima, the Aze passage, the Island of Nine Shrines. Later, when it became clear that Hime had no attention for such things, she left her alone. By the time they landed on Enoura inlet in the purple light of dusk on snow, Hime was too weak to walk, and had to be carried ashore, still retching helplessly. She was barely conscious when Nakara’s women wrapped her in clean, dry robes and tucked her into a little curtained enclosure at the center of a room.

Hime awoke in the rat’s hour, in warmth and darkness. For a moment everything was all right; she had been sick, but now she lay close to her mother’s nipples, a sister cuddled next to her, other kittens pressing her down. She nestled closer, and Nakara sighed in her ear.

She was not home; she was not that kitten. The smells were wrong; the warm weight was robes heaped over her. Hime had been alone since her mother died. Her cousins and aunts had not cared deeply about her—cats came, cats went; only the *fudoki* remained—but even they were gone. A guardsman had scratched the ground before her, coaxing. She became a woman: a peasant with a necklace of ducks offered help; a farmer’s wife took her hand and asked who she was. A provincial woman asked for her company. That was all the contact she had had.

If she had remained a cat, I do not think she would have seen just how alone she was. But she was not a cat, not entirely anyway. She made a single sob, and bit her lip to silence it.

“It’s all right,” Nakara said softly: awake. “We’re on land now. Go back to sleep. You’ll feel better in the morning.”

“No,” Hime said, “I won’t,” and she cried and could not stop.

When her eyes wept blood and her sleeves were soaked through, she at last calmed and spoke a little, of her mother’s death, and her home burning down, and her time alone on the Tokaido since then. She never explained

that she was a cat, for it didn't occur to her that it would matter. Nakara listened and held her until the sobs were finished, and she lay limp in Nakara's arms.

At last Nakara said, "What are you?"

Hime said, "Nothing and no one."

"I understand a little, what it is to be so alone," Nakara said.

"How can you? *None* of this is right." Hime shook her head, and tears flew.

Nakara leaned back. "I will tell you a tale, and you can decide whether I might know. It's about a girl who woke up one day and found herself nursemaid to a family in Hida prefecture. She remembered nothing before that morning. No: she woke up and there she was. There was a father and a mother and their son and servants and gardens, and everything was just the way you'd expect." She paused for a moment, and pressed her cheek to the top of Hime's head.

"But it wasn't normal, not really, because in the corner of her eyes, the girl caught glimpses of something different—foxes and bare dirt and rainwater in a fallen leaf. She feared that she was just part of the illusion, and she cried herself to sleep every night over this. You think you are the first one to look around her and realize that she has nothing, no one?" Nakara's laugh was brief. "You are at least real.

"After a time, she made up little stories about the life she wished were hers. She would be from a long way away, Hitachi province, maybe; and she would have parents who loved her, and brothers even; and she would have a hundred interests and a thousand friends, and they would all be real.

"And then there was a crisis, and all that was left was herself and the boy. She brought him to Hitachi province, and found it all just the way she dreamt: parents and brothers and home and horses. But she will never know whether she somehow *made* these things, or whether she was remembering what had always been there."

No more was said. Woman and cat-woman watched the brazier coals fade. Sleep came eventually.

We all cry all the time at court, and anything may set us off: a particularly delicate sunset, a *sika* deer calling to his wife, the purity of the lady Izumi's calligraphy. The disadvantage to this is that at times of great sorrow, we have no deeper expressions of grief than those we have already used for a

thousand more trivial matters. I think this is why the women in all those tales died at the end. If the cherry blossoms move me to tears, then there was nothing intense enough to express my sorrow at losing my golden-eyed lover. Except for death.

I did not die, of course. I am a princess, descendant of gods, granddaughter and daughter and half-sister and aunt and great-aunt to emperors. We do not die for pretty young men who leave for their homes with only a scrawled note, with not even an attempt at elegant writing or a thoughtful poem. (*I will miss you,* it said. *You would have loved my home. I wish* … and no more.) I still wept at all the appropriate sights (moons and cherry blossoms), and never mentioned him to anyone. But there were nights when my woman Shigeko held me, and stifled my sobs against her robes until the tears, the true tears, the ones that taste like poison and leave one sick and light-headed, were past.

I have reached an age where I have known many people, but by now more of them are dead than alive. I look for them in the young people at court—hoping to catch a certain expression, or the movement of a head turning, that reminds me of someone I knew long ago. Sometimes it is there, but often as not this is because the young woman I see is the daughter (or granddaughter) of the woman I once knew.

Every cat is an echo of the first cat I knew, the little nun, Shisutako. She remained as independent-minded as a scholar, but as she grew older, she began to spend more of her time with me and my women, curled up as close to the braziers as we allowed; for we could not believe that she would not inadvertently set herself afire, despite all the years of proof to the contrary. She caught less of her own food, relying instead on the bits of fish and fowl that we set aside for her in a little pewter bowl that eventually came to be used for no other purpose. She still had her wild moments, when she bolted from end to end of a room or across the garden. Her tail took ten thousand positions, each like a rapid brush stroke—the fluid calligraphy of a cat's life.

Certain cold nights she slipped between my curtains and coiled herself into a tight little knot on my bed robes. She did not like to be stroked much, but in these quiet hours, she permitted my touch and even purred under my hand. She was always gone by morning, but I cherished this shared secret we had.

There came a time when she moved only reluctantly, remaining always in my rooms, straying only as far as my verandas to raise her face to the sun's warmth. She stopped eating and developed a growth on her shoulder. "A tumor," said one of my women, whose family had cats and understood these things. "They get them, just as people do."

I kneaded the lump, a strange solid contrast to her dry fur and the skin thin as bird's skin that hung from her stick-like bones. "Then she will die."

"Oh, yes, my lady. I am so sorry."

And it was twilight one day in the ninth month, and the world was shades of dim purple, like my subtlest robes. The little nun stepped slowly off the veranda to a stone, and then to the round gravel of my courtyard, her fur taking on the same lilac tones as the air. She made her unsteady way toward the mossy shadows beneath a copse of red and white pine in the gardens. "Wait—" I said to her, but she was well beyond the sound of my voice, and had never attended me in any case. She paused for a moment at the copse's edge to carefully sniff some small bush; and then she stepped tidily into the darkness, and did not return.

Strange that it has been fifty years since she died, and she was a mere cat—and hardly affectionate—and yet her death moves me as even my half-brother Shirakawa's does not. Perhaps this is because I was young then and death was a strange land to me, a place farther than India even. Now that I am old, I know so many more people who are dead, and am myself so close to death that it no longer shocks me.

(I lie. Shirakawa does not affect me because I dare not let it. I still need my strength.)

Do not misinterpret. I am still terrified of death—terrified. If I thought anything could postpone it, even for a day, I would do that thing. I would give a thousand mirrors to the shrine at Izumo; I would write with my own hand a thousand sutras. But, unlike Kagaya-hime, the gods do not speak to me. Is there a Pure Land, hells, demons and Buddhas and bodhisattvas? Will my soul return reincarnated, perhaps with Dōmei, lovers for a thousand lives?

6.

THE *GENJI*-POEM SCROLL

I *can't imagine* what I was thinking, keeping this paper for so many years—though I can see why I have not used it before this. I was never a lover of spring colors, and the scroll is busy with silver leaves and pale gray poems, an intimidating background to any words I might choose to record. Why would I write on something that is so obviously full of its own importance? But my eyesight is not what it was; the poems are mere patterns to me now, no more meaningful than the paw-marks of a restless cat on a rainy day.

I take a private joy in admitting this here, on paper; for my conversations have been all about poetry, lately. I have a former attendant visiting, a woman I have not seen in some years. She married a Kaya, and has been for some time off in the backwoods somewhere—Hida province? Shinano? Evidently her marriage is a trial, and she has left her husband and returned here. I invited her for a visit, grateful for her company, since Shigeko has a *kaze*-cold and is staying with a nephew somewhere on Nijō avenue until she has recovered. My guest's faith in the proprieties is touching: she is careful with her robe combinations and poetic allusions, as if such things mattered in the long run. This would be irritating if her critical eyes ever turned outward, but she judges no one save herself.

I say whatever comes to mind in my conversations with her, but there are times she thinks I speak in poems. I stifle a smile, for this seems to be all the difference between a poem and a statement, or a poem and a background pattern on scroll's paper: intention. And she can scarcely be thirty, too young to have learned that the intention is what matters.

It was a beautiful day when the Osa Hitachi party came at last to Hitachi province. Hime woke to bright daylight filtering down from the eave openings. The other women were awake and gone, but she heard shouts and laughing screams from outside. She stretched, and waited through the

moment of grief she felt every morning, when she realized that she was still a woman, still with no ground and no *fudoki,* still alone. When her eyes stopped burning, she went outside.

Enoura was a posting station, and a fishing and farming village. Enoura inlet bordered them to the south, its open water nearly hidden by a tissue of mist, the only proof that there was any warmth in the thin sunlight. The houses of the village were large, with room under their roofs for cattle and sheep, though most animals (and people) were out, tramping through the stripped rice fields just up the hill from the inlet, hoping to find some overlooked treasure. A small fenced enclosure contained the border shrine, though the gate was open.

Nakara and her women stood at the covered well before the shrine's entrance. They dipped water from a bucket and threatened one another with it as if they were still children. As Hime approached, they settled down at last, and each washed her mouth and hands and clapped and bowed to the east.

"The god Kashima," Nakara explained when Hime was close enough. Recognizing the wariness that protected Hime's heart, she said nothing of the night's tears. "Agh, that's cold. I think my teeth will crack. Do you want to—?"

"No," Hime said.

"That's fine. We don't need to; it's really just a courtesy to Kashima. Let's register at the post, and then there will be hot food when we're finished." Her party straggled off, some back to the inn; Nakara, Hime, and two of her men to the guards' post, a large farmhouse at one end of the village.

"Do you know what this place is?" Nakara asked.

"Hitachi province," Hime said. "Yes?"

"We are in Hitachi, yes, and that means we are home. Or nearly so. But it's more than that, too. You have followed the Tōkaidō for a thousand miles. Or something. And now we are at the end of the road."

"The Tokaido ends?" Hime said, taken aback.

"Of course it does," Nakara said. "Every road has a start and an end somewhere. It ended at the ferry dock."

"But there is the road." Hime pointed past the posting station. The road was clearly present, a band of dirt and frozen slush that curved off to the north.

“That’s Hitachi road. It’s different.”

Hime looked at her with startled eyes for a moment, and then bolted back the way they’d come. Nakara called after her, but did not follow.

Hime ran to the ferry dock, clogs clattering on the wood. “Road?” she said. “Are you still here?”

The road said nothing, though the people by the dock looked at her strangely. She knelt on the cold wood and closed her eyes, tried to remember the path of her dreams: the crystal beneath her feet; the golden fog from which it came, into which it vanished (though she could not have told which way was which). “Road?” she said again. “Please don’t be gone.” Silence. “At least change me back. I don’t want to stay like this.” Water lapped the dock.

“Well, anyway,” she said, “I didn’t like you much, and I don’t understand you at all, but I am sorry you’re gone.”

One tear is lonely: she cried again, for the second time in half a day. When she was done, she scrubbed her face pink with clean snow and returned to Nakara.

They were in Hitachi province, but the Osa Hitachi estate is at its northernmost edge, and that is some eighty or more miles from Enoura village. Nakara stopped less for pleasure (“I have had surfeit of pretty things,” she told Hime when asked; “now nothing will be prettier than my own rooms”), but a storm forced them to halt for several days. And then one of the women began her monthly courses and they had to stop; and one of the oxen hurt itself on a rocky incline and had to be rested until its foot healed. Hime did what cats generally do when things are cold and not very pleasant; she slept nearly all the time, even sometimes in her saddle.

It was the full moon of the twelfth month. The day before the cart had fallen into a half-buried ditch some ten feet deep that crossed the pathway, tumbling the women out onto the rocks and ice at its bottom. Junshi hurt her ankle, and the others were shaken. It took most of the day to lift the ox-cart back to the road. They had seen no farmhouse or other place to stay, so they had bundled everyone possible into the cart. No one slept well. Some slept not at all. At first Hime enjoyed the warmth of so many bodies close together, but after a time she grew restless and left the cart, to climb onto Biter’s back and sleep there, under a robe that covered them both.

Everyone was tired the next day, and this is why no one, not even Hime, saw the ambush. Bandits are as much a problem in the east as monks are here—they gather in groups and steal whatever they please (though bandits are more likely to kill than monks; that is one advantage to the capital, at least). Like everyone else in the east, the robbers do not stop working merely because the weather is bad. They need food and clothing and animals, and these can be gathered in any weather. They have been known to steal even the loincloths from parties they attack, leaving their victims to die, barefoot and naked in the snow.

I am told that there is a place where the Hitachi road is some fifteen feet wide, a rutted dirt track that a thousand years of travelers have worn down until the land on either side is waist-high, held back in places by stone retaining walls. Two well-treed hills rise on either side. This is good, because the walls and the trees cut the wind for a time; it is bad, because a robber gang can easily ambush careless travelers here.

The Osa Hitachi party was ten people: Nakara and three women in the ox-cart; the ox-boy leading his animals; four guards on horseback, two on point and two behind; and Hime, riding beside the cart. The robber gang—who can say how many there were? There might have been a thousand. Certainly, there were enough that their cries shook the trees, and their arrows struck two of the guards immediately, unhorsing them.

The narrow road broke into chaos. The horses of the fallen men panicked and bolted. The guards had all carried their strung bows across their horses' withers; the two guards still on horseback tried to control their plunging mounts with their knees as they pulled arrows from the basket-quivers on their backs. But there were no targets: the bandits were protected by the heavy trees; and the horses were too unsettled for easy shooting. There was no winning this fight, so the two guards on horseback lowered their bows to the ground and showed their empty hands.

Cats are used to watching a threat and ignoring it if it passes by; in this they are very like women—as I was, at any rate. I sat on my verandas and listened to distant shouts or carefully phrased reports: riots in the streets when droughts threatened to starve the common folk (and us, as well: we were not immune to the gods' vagaries); the monks in open warfare in the capital; the men and women who died of famine or plague or cold or despair. I listened; but I looked at my beautiful screens, and when I could no longer bear it, I thought of anything else, water-clocks' mechanicals or

the change of caterpillars to moths—because even the human griefs were too much to bear, and there was so much more: dogs and horses that died of beatings, foxes frozen in a snowstorm, a nest of infant mice crushed by the sudden shifting of a trunk. What else could I have done? To understand the sorrows of the world requires the strength of a bodhisattva; to accept them requires a Buddha. I am not so enlightened.

Hime did not immediately react to the threat. The men killed were not her, nor her offspring, nor of her *fudoki*. She was mobile and (thus far) unattacked. She had her knife and knew that she was quicker than most people. Her horse was both fast and sturdy. A direct attack on her person would not succeed. She was wary, but there was no need to engage.

One of the women in the cart was married to one of the party's guards (it was not Junshi, but I cannot say precisely what her name was). She screamed her husband's name, and ripped the cart's door open. The other women caught at her and dragged her back inside, muffled her sobs. Nakara saw Hime, knife in hand, waiting to see what came next. "Get in here," she whispered.

Biter sidled under Hime. She calmed him, eyeing the hills, the stone retaining wall, the ox-boy crouched under his charges' feet; the two uninjured guards, empty-handed and dismounting now. "Why?" she said.

"They'll take everything, but there's no reason to let them—" Nakara slid the door open a little more to show that she held a long knife.

"They will hurt you?" Hime asked, watching. The robbers were emerging from cover, their bows still drawn: five to the right side of the road, more to the left—that she could see; there might have been another obstructed by the cart's slab side, and possibly others remained behind trees. Three of the men on the right stepped forward, the leader (he must have been the leader: he was the tallest of them, with a beard that trailed onto his chest and a hat made of wolf fur: very strange and alien) and two guards. Still perhaps sixty feet away.

"They will rape us if we are not careful," Nakara said, "though I will fight. Get in here, and I'll fight for us all."

"I don't think so," said Hime, and flipped her little knife in her hand to throw it at the closest bandit. He was a full thirty feet away, standing on the wall, but she hit him solidly in the hollow of the throat. He fell screaming, tearing at the knife. In the moment of shock that paralyzed the bandits, she caught up the bow across her saddle (though it had not been there even an

hour ago). It fit in her hand, light and easy. She pulled a crow-fletched arrow from the basket-quiver at her back (and that was new, as well), nocked it over her head and pulled the bowstring and arrow apart as she brought the bow down, aimed, and shot, in a single movement, quick as a cat's pounce. The second arrow's lozenge-shaped head buried itself in a second bandit's belly before the first man hit the ground.

A cat is a highly experienced killer, and this seemed to transfer to her woman-shape. She hit three men before anyone understood what was happening. By the time she sank an arrow into the bandit-leader's shoulder, the two Osa Hitachi guards had retrieved their bows and began firing. The robbers retreated, carrying some of their companions. Two remained behind, fallen where they had been struck.

Hime had dismounted at some point to jump onto the wall. She shot a last arrow after them. It hissed as it flew. When she knew they were gone, Hime went to the first man she had injured, to retrieve the knife in his throat. He still gasped a bit, and the red bubbles on his throat grew and vibrated and burst, tiny fireworks. She pulled the knife free. Blood steamed in the sharp air, and drilled twin holes into the dirty snow, where it dripped from his neck.

Hime made a noise, half snarl and half hiss, and she did not realize that it was laughter. The blood and the bandits' flight filled the black place inside her with a killing joy, sweet and hot as desire, the only true joy she had felt since the fire, so long ago. She touched the cooling blood, already gelling on his skin, and laid the wet finger against her lips. His blood tasted like copper and heartbeats and squirrel and dog and deer; and of something else that might have been his soul.

His ghost looked up at her for a moment, surprised. "But you are *not* a woman," it said, as if continuing a conversation they had begun before he had died. "I thought—"

"Hime! Hurry—" Nakara's voice summoned her, and she turned her back to the ghost.

Nakara and the surviving guards were bundling the casualties (one dead; one injured and unconscious, bleeding from the nose and mouth) into the carriage with the women. Hime helped, and when the ox-boy whipped the oxen into a lumbering gallop, she stepped up onto Biter's stirrup as he passed, and caught the reins of the last horse, whose guard was dead. The

ghost followed for a short while, crying tears of pus and blood, but it forgot its name soon enough and left her.

I have not been hungry of late, but for some reason I have just awakened feeling starved. I sent one of the women off to bring me food; but it is clearly very late. She'll have to find someone to wake a cook, which may take time, and so I write, content to watch words shape themselves under my brush.

I spent my life believing life is a series of nows, trying to discipline myself into accepting this, and enjoying (or suffering) the moments as they pass, instead of retreating into either memory or hope.

But I think that this is wrong. There is no now, or if there is, it is drawn with too fine a brush to see. There is what was, and there is what might (or what ought to) be. The line between them, which is now, is too small to see, and even as you reach it, it is past. *Now* is the edge of a page in a notebook.

Is this true? My old nurse would laugh sometimes. I would read or write a love-poem in a tale, and it would be about how "I" would love "you" for all the thousand years of the pine, how I want no one else. This is nonsense, of course—lies, in fact. I said this once to my nurse, and she laughed. "Lovers all lie, girl," she said. It is their nature—they lie to themselves, to their lovers, to the world. This is because what they claim to have is not real, what they seek is not real. But they must pretend it is, and since they already dissemble, it is simple enough to dissemble more.

When we were lovers, I believed that Dōmei did not lie to me. But in the end I realized he had lied twice: once, that he would never leave (the commonest lie of all among lovers), and once, that his loyalty to his emperor was steadfast. And then he left for Mutsu province, and six months later the great families of Mutsu rose up. He would have been among them, I am sure of it.

Wait. Tonight I have no reason not to see clearly, the hurt feelings over his abandonment so many decades old that they might as well be dead. Did he say he would never leave? Or did I want to hear it so much that I failed to listen to what *was* said? Perhaps it is not our lovers who lie, but our memories and hopes.

Still, he was in Mutsu province, and Mutsu rose against my half-brother. How can I have loved a traitor?

My broth is here, and just as well. I get no pleasure from my brush tonight.

The Osa Hitachi party paused at a covered travelers' well a mile or more beyond the fight in the sunken road. It was safer terrain. To their west was a gentle plain (soybeans in the summertime; now, in the twelfth month, snow). To the west were leafless trees and hills and then mountains. Any cover was far enough from the well that they would receive ample warning if anyone attacked. A short way ahead, a large farmhouse leaked smoke from its eaves. The tortoiseshell woman smelled tea and broth.

One guard was dead. The man whose wife had screamed for him was alive, the frightening blood pouring from his face a sign merely of his broken nose, damaged when the shock from a bandit's arrow shoved him from his horse. Hime's mouth watered from the hot coppery smell of his blood in her nostrils. The ox-boy trotted off to the farmhouse to acquire a cart to carry the dead man, since no one was willing to ride farther with it. Hime walked into the fields a bit, where the smell was not so sweet and strong.

Nakara came with her, shivering and pale from mingled horror and exhilaration, the aftermath of killing. "Brr," she said, and then, after a moment of silence, "Thank you."

Hime shrugged.

"There is blood on your mouth," Nakara said. "Like a court woman's lip paint."

Hime wiped and looked at the smear on her finger. There was more blood on her hand, darker than it had been when it poured from the bandit. She licked it clean. "Better?"

Nakara gave an unsteady laugh. "I suppose. You—shoot very well."

Hime's bow was in one hand still, and she looked at it, a great curve of tawny wood and black horn bound with ivory sinew. It was what warriors call a three-man bow (which is to say that it requires the strength of three men to string it, though in her case it was always strung when she needed it, like the tension of a cat's muscles sheathing and unsheathing its claws) and it was taller than she by a foot. She reached behind her back, felt the complex little basket that served as a quiver, a cluster of arrow-shafts springing like bamboo from a pot. She picked one at random, a humming-

bulb head on a slim shaft nearly as long as her arm, fletched black and ivory with crow and goose feathers.

"Sharpness," Hime said to herself.

"Why did you not attack sooner?" Nakara asked.

"They were not threatening me." Hime lifted bow in right hand and arrow in left, high over her head. She caught the bowstring between her fingers, and brought her hands down and apart to the ready position, the arrow aligning itself to rest on her bow hand. All this was a single fluid gesture, formal as a girl in the Gosechi dances. She turned and released. The arrow howled as it flew, and slashed into the ground near the well. The two guards snapped around at the humming, saw Hime and Nakara—and no foes—and relaxed.

"But you could have escaped, I imagine," Nakara said. "You're certainly quick enough."

"I did not want you to be injured."

"Was that it?" Nakara said. "You were laughing. You killed them and you laughed. I come from a bow-and-arrow family, but none of us would laugh, I don't think." She shivered. "It is so cold. I wish we were home."

Hime said, "This"—her gesture took in the bow, the arrows at her back, the knife in her sash—"is the only thing the gods left me. If they exist." Her mouth twisted with the word *gods.*

Nakara touched her hand, fingers cold as ghosts. "The gods mean no harm," Nakara said. "We just—get caught up in their things, sometimes. They have their own problems, even Buddhas."

This battle was why Nakara started calling the tortoiseshell woman Kagaya-hime: Princess Glory.

The night after the robber gang's attack, Kagaya-hime had dreams. She slept in a monastery's guest house, tucked warm and alone under sleeping robes, for Nakara and her women tended the injured guard. In her dream, Kagaya-hime stood as a woman in gold-gray mist that somehow managed to seem both bright and dim. When she knelt to see if she stood on the crystal-bright road, there was nothing but mist under her feet, no matter how closely she looked. The voices of a million kami flooded through her *(many sons, loyalty, stag's tail),* but none were her road, though she called for it and searched the mist.

She did not find the road; but she met a mottled darkness that stared silently at her with a thousand green eyes, and said nothing, no matter how she spoke to it. With dreams'-reason, she thought it was a cat, a male whose territory she had strayed into.

She averted her face. "I do not mean to stay—" and she meant *here,* in mist, without roads or sense. Though her own were closed, she saw the green eyes stare unblinking and heard voices say *I/we/you, intentions, without significance/crucial.* She could not tell whether this was the green eyes speaking, or the endless nattering of the million kami.

When I was young, and still fighting the new framework that shaped me, frog-watching girl to imperial princess, I met that darkness often in my dreams. I had no right to be angry that the world sought to form me to a shape I did not choose—none of us, peasant or emperor, have much choice, whatever plans we make. We do not choose to have one leg shorter than the other, eyes that do not focus well, weak lungs; but at least we have no illusion of control over these things. Yet even the things we pretend we control—our house's prosperity, our skills with a brush, a marriage's success—are beyond us.

I have always been told that the difference between intention and reality is karma, the unknown factor that makes one silkworm change to a moth and its neighbor rot in its cocoon. I conformed, because life demanded it, because it was my karma to do so. But I had such dreams, full of blood and anger. Some nights I had a knife in my hand, and I stabbed the darkness full of eyes, though the blade met nothing.

Another memory: my golden-eyed lover, Dōmei, and I stand outside. It is very dark, for it would be improper for him to visit me during the day; but we have placed a single torch in my courtyard, and inspect a target at its opposite end. Learning of my interest in small things, last night he told me of rabbits, the shapes of their small hearts. He used to hunt them with bows and needle-slim arrows. We talked of hunting, and he has brought me a mulberry-wood child's bow and a handful of arrows scarcely larger than my hand.

This is outrageous, of course—Shigeko (much younger, as were we all, forty years ago) is horrified, though it is she who has ensured our (more-or-less) privacy, here in the cinnamon-tree courtyard—but I revel in it. "Hold it thus," he tells me, "the arrow resting on your finger." Shigeko watches

silently from the veranda, her expression strange to me, but I do not care. I am with Domei and I am focused on his breath in my ear as he places my hands. I drop the dove-fletched arrow a thousand times, and snap my fingers a hundred; at last I send it off on a single wobbly flight. It lands twenty feet before me, with all the power of a dropped fan. We try again, and finally I manage to get an arrow to stick for a moment into a support post (though that was not what I aimed at).

I laugh, and he laughs with me, and I think he believes I am merely pleased at this scrap of skill I have learned. It is not this. It is that, for the first time (and, as it turns out, the last), I have felt a killing action run through my fingers. I have been dangerous to someone besides myself.

I wonder if we all long to kill. I did not think it at the time, but perhaps Shigeko recognized this and hungered for it—her expression might have been envy. Dōmei had killed: animals, mostly, but bandits, as well. I envied him.

The party arrived at the Osa Hitachi estate at the three-quarters' moon of the twelfth month. After the attack, they had pushed on as fast as they could, with no halts for sightseeing or monthly courses or directional tabus. "I am sorry if the kami are offended," said Nakara, "but I won't be able to apologize if we are dead." Their arrival was well after the middle of the night, and Hime's first impression of the place was a chaos of buildings, walls, and trees, touched red-gold by torches, pale lilac by the nearly full moon.

The big country estates are as different from the capital as a mountain might be. Each is a town, really: many buildings serving myriad purposes, gathered within bowshot of one another. There is a stockade of tree trunks gathered from land cleared for rice and soya and hemp, but (in this case, at least) it has been a long time since there has been a serious threat, and many of the logs are tipped or fallen, or even taken away to serve other, more immediately useful purposes. Goats and chickens wander through the breaks in the wall, scrounging for food under the shallow snow. The children of the estate (and there are a lot, for there are more than a hundred regular residents here, to say nothing of the visitors and followers and mendicants) climb on them, playing Bandits.

The Osa Hitachi estate is all of this. To the east and the north, forest-covered mountains march all the way to the ocean; on cold nights, you hear

wolves plotting to steal calves. A river runs beside the estate, fast and unruly, full of clear water so cold that my teeth ache even thinking of it, like biting into ice brought from the storehouses in the seventh month. Below the main buildings, something everyone calls the spider-leg stream crosses to join the river.

The Hitachi road threads through a series of steep-sided hills not so far away. Everywhere are trees, and because this is winter, they are bare mostly. The air is very cold.

Nakara was glad to be home. She slept for a night and a day, and then left lengths of cloth and paper and silk flowers at the altars of the kami and the Buddha. By the second evening, she had returned to managing the estate for her oldest brother, the vice-governor of Hitachi province.

The cat Kagaya-hime was more ambivalent. For months she had traveled alone, without clan or ground. The *fudoki* was gone, but the road had offered a substitute, and she had accepted it. Joining Nakara's party had not changed things so much. Kagaya-hime still slept on the ground, still killed her own food, still drifted north and east. And Nakara was far from her natural place, as well. A cat-woman on horseback and a provincial woman on pilgrimage are both unrooted from their worlds. But now they had come to the Osa Hitachi estate. Nakara belonged here, as did her attendants and guards and all the other scores of people. It was only Kagaya-hime who did not belong.

She did many things that were unconventional at best. Sometimes she wore women's robes, when she was with Nakara and her women. More often, she wore a man's hunting garb, knife at her waist and bow over her shoulder. The people of the estate did not seem to mind, or even notice her strangeness. People tend not to notice things that don't fit into their expectations, and it might have been this; or something else, of course.

Kagaya-hime's few expectations of people—that they tended to kick stray cats and were careless with food scraps—did not apply to her time as a woman at the Osa Hitachi estate, and so she noticed many things. Nakara had a lover, for instance, a bear-hunter who came down from the mountains one moonless night, and stayed until just before dawn. Kagaya-hime saw them say their farewells, as she returned from hunting with a serow deer across her shoulders. He passed her on the path without a look; only later did she realize how strange this was, that he appeared not to observe her.

She noticed the unpredictability most. People stayed up some nights, slept others; they ate, whether they were hungry or not. They changed clothes when there was no reason for it, and played games that taught them no useful skills, such as pouncing would be. People may think that it is cats that are the unpredictable ones, but this is only because we do not understand their thoughts. Within a cat's mind the sequences—sleep to hunt to groom to doze—all make sense.

The patterns of movement and interaction on the estate were bewilderingly complex, especially in comparison with her only other experience of a shared ground, her *fudoki* with its ranked handful of cousins and aunts and fellow-wives, its careful separation of range from range. Even the *fudoki's* overlaps were sharply differentiated; *this* cat used the wisteria courtyard in daylight only, *that* cat only at dusk. Perhaps such structure is a comfort to cats. Their lives are filled with a thousand sorts of danger; it may feel good to know precisely where one stands. Men and women also do this, but the dangers that threaten us are not quite so easy to identify as a hungry dog or distemper, and our attempts to give the world a pattern confuse even us.

The constant talking didn't bother her, for cats use their voices to say, "Here I am; where are you?—and this seemed to be the primary intention of most human conversation, the words mere ornaments over the underlying purpose. The fact that humans seem never to be alone when they can help it bothered her more, and she found the constant companionship, as steady and irksome as dogs', annoying. She spent many hours in the stable with Biter, until one of the grooms saw in her a fellow spirit, and came more and more often to share stories of horses he had loved, brown, bay, and blue—the comparative merits of each—mares' tricks hiding their foals—the cleverness of certain stallions—a red stallion who had kicked off any saddle, however well placed—the comparative advantages of pearwood or cedar for saddle frames—the best workmanship available only from the capital, of course, preferably from the Yana family workshops. After this, she spent time well out of range of the people, killing quail or whatever fell within reach of her arrows and knives.

She rediscovered another thing, as well, the charm of hunting for mice. When she was a cat, this had been as automatic to her as breathing, but a mouse was scarcely a mouthful to a woman, and she had fallen out of the habit. Once she began to see them again, she saw that mice, like smoke,

were everywhere. There were nights when she walked down to the grain storehouses and crouched there, killing mouse after mouse with quick stabs of her knife.

One night, Nakara, walking down to an outhouse, saw Kagaya-hime turning something over in her hands. It was a dead mouse, or rather the scrap of fur and flesh that was left when a finger-wide blade pins a mouse to the frozen ground.

"Vermin!" she exclaimed, and then, crouching beside Kagaya-hime, said, "What are you doing, anyway?"

"Trying to see if mice have ghosts." Kagaya-hime gestured at a heap of mice by her foot. "So far none of them do," she added.

"Why do you care?" Nakara asked. Kagaya-hime said nothing, so she added: "Why are you killing mice at all? That's dogs' work."

"Your dogs are not very effective, then. It is good practice." Kagaya-hime scooped up her mice and stood. The broken mice barely filled her hand.

"Good practice for what?" Nakara asked, but Kagaya-hime was gone already, walking toward the stables where Biter stayed. When they met later, in Nakara's rooms, she did not ask her guest what she did with the mice.

I am cold, and so I write of the cold. It is winter in Hitachi province, and Nakara's world, like mine, is centered on braziers.

Nakara had many braziers. In the hinterlands, the proprieties are not adhered to quite so stringently as they would be here at court. At the Osa Hitachi estate, everyone who was acceptably clean—male, female, warrior, and ox-boy (if clean enough)—stayed near Nakara. The curtains designed to protect her from the eyes of men and lesser souls instead embraced them all, cuddling the braziers' warmth close. "What is the good of having all these charcoal makers on one's property," she said once to Kagaya-hime, though the cat-woman had made no comment, "if you get no good from it? It's like raising silkworms and wearing hemp."

In any case, Nakara's responsibilities as practical manager of the estate precluded her hiding behind curtains; but even when it might have been appropriate—entertaining functionaries or messengers from the capital—she did not often hide herself. When she did, it usually had less to do with

propriety, and more to do with concealing her sometimes obvious signs of boredom.

Kagaya-hime stayed nights with Nakara and her women. Like any cat, she craved warmth, and the braziers and fires compensated for the occasionally irritating unending patter of conversation. And there was much conversation.

There was even *a fudoki* of sorts for the people, an unconscious mix of shared jokes and experiences with histories of the residents: The Man with the Two-Foot Penis, Great-Grandfather Falls Through the Broken Screen, The Three Clever Sisters. Some were funny, but others were less so: The Woman Who Gave Birth to a Demon, The Leg That Rotted Off. The stories —or even a slanting reference to one, for everyone seemed to know them all—wove these people together as much as the rooms they shared and their confusing relationships.

Kagaya-hime had no stories, or thought she had none, and their tales filled her with longing. The events of her life grew as great as *a fudoki* a hundred cats long, but she could not see that this mattered. Not yet.

I am come to the end of this notebook, and find I must begin another.

7.

THE MICHINOKA-PAPER NOTEBOOK

I love the feel of this paper, soft and strong at the same time. I can see the patterns of the mulberry bark in it. Strange that this paper comes all the way from distant Mutsu province, just as the cat-warrior Kagaya-hime approaches its borders.

Strange that I write this at all. I am dying, I remind myself sharply. I have no intention of showing this to anyone. Why do I fill page after page with a *monogatari* tale that no one (but I) will ever see?

It is late, and my women are asleep, even my former attendant from the provinces Shikujo, who does not sleep well these nights; even my dear Shigeko, who tries to keep me company but cannot, not tonight and not through this final battle. There is a brazier lit because I am cold all the time, even though it is the eighth month and swelteringly hot. I refuse to wear padded winter robes, for it is not the season yet (I am still that vain, at least), but I admit to looking forward to the tenth month when I can switch from these thin robes without disgrace—if I yet live.

The light from charcoal is unimpressive, a dim bloodred, but the three-quarters moon is bright enough that reflected light creeps in from the peony courtyard. This afternoon my women and I opened one of the trunks from my storehouse, and I found a mirror there, a pretty handheld disk of silver and bronze, from when first I came to court. Now, in the solitude of my sleeping women, I inspect myself in the mirror. My hair and face are only hinted at by faint silver curves, here a cheek, there my brow. There are no wrinkles or white hairs in such darkness. But behind my eyes is dull red fire, which might be Hell or might be a hearth in the Pure Land. I cannot tell, though this will become clear to me soon enough.

Perhaps this is why I write—so that things will be clear to me. Now that I am old and dying, I think I write because I always meant to tell this story, and yet I never did, unsure of the ending. But I find I cannot rest, cannot cut

this heavy hair and leave this world for the monastery, until I do this thing. I don't think it will be seen by anyone; but I will have done it and it will no longer tie me to this world.

There was a blustery day, at the end of the twelfth month. Nakara was writing accounts on a scroll in the stilted half-language of official reports; her women quilted silk batting into a sleeping robe for a newly born son on the estate. Kagaya-hime slept, curled up so close to one of the braziers that the tips of her shoulder-length hair sizzled when she shifted position. From outside came shouts, whinnies, hooves, heavy thudding sounds, as several men tried to break a recalcitrant stallion for riding.

"Mistress!" a man shouted from outside. Clogs clattered onto the stepping stone to the veranda; bare feet raced along a gallery. "Mistress," he said again, panting as he entered the room. Kagaya-hime blinked her eyes open, looked up at him from cat's-eye height. He towered over her as he bowed to Nakara. "Riders, my lady. From the west. There are banners."

"Whose?" Nakara laid her brush down and blew on her fingers.

"The wind blows them the wrong way. But one might be ours."

"My brother?" Nakara stood. Her women exploded upward like ducks rising at a sudden noise. Quacking with excitement, they trailed the man out to the veranda. Kagaya-hime paused to pull on another robe before following them.

The scene in the courtyard was so chaotic that she could not separate the new arrivals from the residents. There were men everywhere, leading horses away and pulling packs from behind saddles. Some of the women, barefaced and (occasionally) barefooted, stood or danced in the frozen slush around certain of the men; others stayed on the veranda, in the gloom under the eaves. Nakara was one of the women behaving like an unruly child in the slush, her arms thrown around a newcomer.

After watching for a few moments, Kagaya-hime sorted through the sights and understood several things. The new arrivals were clearly the expected party from the capital, but they were far too few, no more than twenty; and they seemed disheartened, for all their happiness at being there. Since the youngest of the Osa Hitachi brothers had left with ten attendants of his own, that meant that the request for assistance had failed. Kagaya-hime had listened to Nakara talk often enough to understand that there should have been fifty or a hundred, or even more. There were a few

strangers, but they had no part in the chaos of greetings, laughter, tears. Instead they attended to their horses and gear, all carefully not looking at the women, who in any case shouldn't have been scampering like puppies out in the open. And of these, there was one, an old man, heavyset, with eyes sharp and angry as hawks', astride a tall black horse, its own nose rather grizzled. He was their leader; he must be.

Kagaya-hime knew that the man Nakara embraced must be her youngest brother: the uncomplicated love on her face made this clear. And she also knew that he was not human.

Nakara had told her story to Kagaya-hime, but cats are literal-minded creatures, and I do not know whether Kagaya-hime understood it all. The family. in Hida province had been a fox family, a wife and her human husband. Through magic I cannot explain, Nakara had been the child's nurse, but things had gone wrong, and she had fled here with him. There had been angry Buddhas and saddened Kannons, a jealous former wife—it is a long story, one I imagined when I was a girl myself, and pining for adventures that had nothing to do with Fujiwaras and Minamotos and boy emperors.

I made up many stories—I think every girl must; they are our best opportunity to become something unexpected. In some I was the heroine: a bandit-queen in the east, the empress Jingū conquering Silla. In others I was the victim, the princess who had been stolen away by a man of low rank in that tale from Ise. There were others, little tales I made up about people I saw and was fascinated by. I also made up stories about cats—*fudoki,* I suppose—for the little gray-furred cat Shisutako and subsequent pets; and there were the stories about mice. Only now, as I prepare to die by emptying my trunks and, apparently, my mind, do I realize these tales are all connected.

Kagaya-hime knew foxes. There had been foxes on the neighboring residence's grounds, dirty little scavengers who occasionally strayed into her *fudoki* They all smelled strong, even the smallest ones, who should have been scentless as kittens were, for protection's sake; and they were easy to avoid. She had seen them on the Tōkaidō, for she and they shared dawn and dusk as hunting times, and preferred the same prey, mice and small things. After she became a woman, she only saw them at a distance, a russet blur in twilight vanishing through a gap in weeds.

This man—Nakara called him Little Brother—did not look like a fox (or half fox), except that his eyes were slanted, and flecked with gold. He moved quickly, but no more so than many men. Though he was some distance away, Kagaya-hime could smell him, for the wind blew from him to her. His smell was sweet and thick and slightly wild, too delicate, too human, to be a fox's musk. But animal knows animal: Kagaya-hime recognized him as readily as if he walked on white-tipped paws.

Foxes and cats do not like one another. It is not the guarded warfare of the cat and the dog, the fights and truces that so resemble court families vying for primacy with their emperor. No: foxes and cats do not like one another because they are so similar, though one is wild and the other (occasionally) tame. They are both clever and self-absorbed. They eat many of the same foods, and since mice are sometimes scarce (though this is hard to believe living at court as I do, where the mice seem to be like the gods, numberless), one cannot always afford to share. Adult foxes and cats will not fight one another because, though foxes are slightly larger, cats have more sharpnesses; but each will kill and eat the young of the other, and then complain that the kit (or kitten) is gamy and unpleasant tasting.

Kagaya-hime watched Nakara and her brother embrace. Cats do not like foxes; but she was the first to be jealous of one.

(Am I a fool? I think of Shigeko watching my lover and me play with bow and arrow. I am sure it was envy, but now I must ask: Of what? And of whom?)

There was a day when I first saw the guardsman Mononobe no Domei.

I had been at court for several years, serving my half-brother the emperor. My proximity and relationship to him covered all my imperfections with gauze, and emphasized the few skills I had that were appropriate to court. I was praised for my wit, mostly because I had read so much more than my peers. Observations culled from reading something other than the *monogatari* tales and the poetry collections, to which the other women were addicted, were hailed as witty or wise.

In six years, a woman can have many lovers. Whatever my skills as a musician or poet, I was justly considered an extraordinary beauty—though much of this was owing to the never-ending labors of my woman Shigeko,

who ensured that I was never seen in unattractive robe combinations or with tangled hair.

I was also a princess and thus valuable as a lover or wife for ambitious men—even if I could not bear children (and this seems quite likely, when one considers how many lovers I had, and never a baby). My foster father retired and then died, and was replaced in everything—job, house, authority—by his nephew: my uncle. My uncle selected husbands for me, men who could help his branch of the Fujiwara family to maintain or even expand its power, usually men I had seen only once or twice at court, if so much. I was willing to marry whoever was chosen for me, though it meant leaving my brother and the court; but circumstance (or karma, circumstance's older sister) intervened again and again. The first husband died during an epidemic of smallpox when I was sixteen and he fifteen, months before our wedding. The second disgraced himself before the union could be formalized, and was sent to Satsuma province (which might as well be Korea, so far away it is), where he was killed by a disease or pirates or something. The third was nearly twenty years younger than I, six to my twenty-three, and my uncle was waiting a year or two before marrying us. I had met the boy and found him very ordinary, prone to runny noses and setting things on fire, but the alliance would be good for the Fujiwaras, and thus for the empire. As I waited for my husband to grow up, I stayed at court in desultory attendance on my brother and took lovers, always from the fourth rank or above, always amiable, talented men who cried at sunsets and fallen maple leaves.

It was autumn of the last year of the Eihō era. There had been drought all summer, and the dust made the sunsets unusually beautiful. The moon was the red-orange of *amapaki* persimmons when it rose each night, surprisingly large. I was not attending my brother, for he was at Ise visiting one of his other sisters, who served as priestess there (and presumably guarding his brushes; the people of Ise are perfectly capable of robbing their own parents). Several of his attendants, including Shigeko and I, rested on a veranda. The others were there to write poems, I remember; I was watching for bats, and hoping I might hear their wings beat, and the tiny nearly inaudible cries that sometimes scratch at one's ears.

Guardsmen at court are often importunate; their duties give them permission to wander about at all hours. Several happened by and, seeing us there, stayed to flirt. I was hidden behind one of the screens we

providentially had placed around ourselves—but the screen was of wide-woven gauze, and I saw them all clearly, four young men in identical hunting garb, with identical hair and caps and expressions. As they talked, I corrected myself. One of the men was a few years older than the others, though younger than I, perhaps twenty. The folds in his soft black *eboshi* cap were slightly different than those of his peers, but I could not decide whether this was a daring aesthetic statement or mere sloppiness on his part. And when he turned to respond to something Shigeko said, I saw that his eyes were gold, even in the moon's cool light.

Young men and women together in the moonlight breed poetry as oak trees breed mushrooms. I don't remember anyone's poems—I was only half attending and they would be largely interchangeable anyway, all about the coming dawn and longing hearts, typical fare—until one of the guardsmen said, "But there are four of you, and we have heard only three poems."

Shigeko and I exchanged glances. "My mistress does not share her poems with every wandering rake," she said, "and she is not the only one who holds silent. There are five of *you,* and only *four* poems"—for the fifth guardsman, the golden-eyed man, had recited no poem.

"Why should I?" the golden-eyed man, Mononobe no Domei, said. "You have all said everything so much more eloquently than I can." I hid a smile. So he had not been listening, either.

"You must forgive him, my ladies," said one of the guardsmen. "He's from the hinterlands, practically a savage." Dōmei snorted, and then we all laughed, for his amusement was infectious.

The moon eventually slid behind the clouds that rose during the rat's hour, and the women and guardsmen wandered off; but I fell to talking with Domei, and before dawn, he was behind my curtains.

I knew Domei was no sort of lover for the daughter and granddaughter of emperors. He was of lower fifth rank, and unlikely to rise higher. Worse, he was from the provinces, thought playing the game *kemari* was a waste of time, and wrote pedestrian poetry when he could be brought to write it at all. Certain of my friends at court saw the appeal ("Those shoulders!" one sighed. "Those eyes! Such a pity he's practically a peasant"), but the general opinion was that Mononobe no Dōmei was ultimately meaningless to court, just another in the endless stream of semi-civilized hicks the provinces seem to churn out and deliver for guard duty each year.

Everyone who knew was horrified—and of course everyone did know; a secret at court is like a hawk in a cage, it screams to be let out. But there are certain advantages to high rank, and one is that very few people have the effrontery—or courage, depending on one's perspective—to criticize their superiors directly. Shigeko shrugged at this affair of mine, only begging me to be more circumspect. From others there were sly comments, but I had no responsibility to respond to them in any way, and chose not to. I saw no reason to: I was blissfully, foolishly, in love.

He visited when his and my responsibilities permitted, a handful of nights each month; and we exchanged many letters, though we almost never wrote poetry to one another—a great comfort to me, as I was sick of producing *tanka* on demand, like a peasant making straw sandals to trade by the roadside. We made the usual promises that our love would last forever, even as we both spoke freely about our differing futures, his in the east, mine here in the capital. I cannot say exactly when I started disregarding the future, and believing the promises.

And then Dōmei left court and returned to his family. It was a year later that Minamoto no Yoshiee's war began in Mutsu province, and Dōmei fought against my half-brother's troops: a traitor.

We were in the middle of the Former Nine Years' War by the time I was old enough to be aware of anything beyond my nurse and my home. This was yet another war in Mutsu province, a million miles away, where they were apparently as common as the snowstorms there. "War" meant nothing to me, no more than did "sex": catalogued in my mind (and one of the notebooks I kept even then, childish calligraphy in large uneven lines down the pages; I found it this evening when we opened a chest I have not looked into for twenty years) as something important to adults but not as interesting as, say, spiders' eggs.

As far as I could tell, wars started when people rushed about killing one another with arrows someplace a long way from the capital. Some of the boys I knew had little bamboo bows and arrows made of mugwort twigs. I did not see how anyone could die in a war, for the arrows were so fragile that they tended to snap if they hit anything—which did not happen often.

I knew war must be like any child's game. You could play without interference if the adults were busy elsewhere and you were not too noisy about it. But if for some reason the adults noticed you, they would stop you.

In war, this meant the government sent troops and generals into the hinterlands, and expected a certain number of severed heads sent back to show progress. (At the age of six, severed heads fascinated me.)

Even as an adult, I have not been able to discern why *this* conflict is considered worthy of the council's attention and the empire's resources, and *that* one is treated like the bickering of children in another room: only worth sending someone to see what is the matter if the tears and shouts become serious. The few people I discussed such things with (my lover Dōmei; my half-brother Shirakawa; the old Sugara man with whom I pretended to flirt as a cover for the time he spent leading me through certain of the Chinese classics) could not always explain the differences. "It is because you're a woman," they said in their various ways: "too complicated, really." Water-clocks were also complicated, and yet I had little trouble understanding them, so I knew this was a convenient lie to cover the fact that none of them—not even the emperor—really understood the differences. Still, war is a thousand years old, here since the gods made these islands—well, fights, anyway—perhaps it is as inevitable as death.

The year I was fifteen and came to court, the war in Mutsu province had been going on so long that I think everyone was surprised when it ended.

Dōmei had actually fought. He said little about it, but what he did say made it clear that war was quite different from the little boys of my childhood scrambling around with their feeble bows: different, even, from the court guards who could shoot through a poem slip on a board a hundred paces away. Dōmei had actually fought. He had fired arrows—three feet long and tipped with steel—directly at men.

"Did you hope to kill them?" I asked one night, shocked but thrilled.

"That's why I aimed for them," he said and then laughed, though it was not an amused sound. "Truthfully, what I hoped for was to get through alive and without letting my father down."

And that is all he would say then.

Shortly after he left, yet another war began in Mutsu province: Yoshiee's war. I grieved for the loss of Dōmei, (though I did not realize at the time that this is why I took lovers, why I cried without reason some nights, why my temper was grown so short), and this manifested in a fascination with war. It certainly had to be more interesting than my activities at court, which left me feeling trapped and desperate: a mouse gnawing hopelessly, endlessly, at the lacquered walls of my box.

I have strayed far from my tale, I find. The *monogatari* tales (for I have read them, despite my professed disdain), and the folktales the blind storytellers recite, and the parables of the priests all stay close to their topics, such as they are. Event follows event in tidy progression, poem and response, question and answer.

I have often thought that we humans sort our lives and their experiences very strangely. We see everything as a tale, event following event, birth to death. These are the years I could have borne a child, that is the year I wore mourning for my father; this was the month that I fell in love, that the day I ran away.

But time is very flexible, I think. I remember things from many years ago with crystal clarity—the brilliance of the red silk the Chinese traders brought to the capital when I was nineteen, the tiled skin of a snake I touched when I was six, the grass-bright smell of Dōmei's breath—and they are clearer to me than the robes I wore yesterday. Today does not follow yesterday; *now* follows other *nows.*

There is another way to sort things, just as I can sort moths' wings by size, or by color, or by when and where acquired. Every line of this notebook—and all my other notebooks, and every letter and sutra and poem I have ever scrawled in a long and word-ridden life—has required that I make ink. On occasion the ink is gold or vermilion or the color of lapis; but it is most generally glossy black, and thick as paint.

The manner in which I make ink—the precise gestures of grinding the ink stick, adding water drop by drop, gathering and blending the two on a soft thick brush rolled against the ink stone—is always the same, whether I do it today or ten years ago or sixty, and it never fails to fill me with satisfaction—though this may be dispelled immediately afterward, when I drop the brush or find a long hair in the ink, or have absentmindedly made it too runny and must fiddle to correct it. Still, there is that perfect instant of brush and water and ink.

The instant that I make ink is closer to all the times I have made ink than to any other instant, even the moments surrounding it. I make ink, and a visitor is announced, someone I cannot simply send away. He approaches my screens bare heartbeats later, but his voice, the polite bow I see beyond the blinds, is almost infinitely far from the moment of the ink stone.

I have not lived seventy years. I have lived instead these things: the entwining of my days with a few men and women I have loved; a longing to walk on unpaved roads; the collecting of vermin, and other unacceptable studies; quite a number of unpleasant or tedious duties performed; the making of ink; eating and elimination and hair-washing and tooth-dying. My seventy years are only the frame on which they hang.

Very well, then:

Eventually the chaos in the yard settled down. The horses were settled, and the men were shown to quarters and fed, and given warm dry clothing. As bitter-cold twilight settled into moonless night, Nakara's brother Kitsune and the older man and several of their retainers were given places beside Nakara's omnipresent braziers. For once, Nakara banished much of the household, though Nakara's woman Junshi stayed, and Kagaya-hime: eight in total. The curtains that would more properly have been used to separate the men and the women, or the old man (who was the noble Seiwa Minamoto no Takase) from the lower ranks, were clustered around them all, the reflected light of lanterns and braziers making a warm little space that smelled of hot coals and men who have spent much time on horseback lately. The eaves were many tens of feet over their heads, blackened and shiny with soot and moisture, and the light lost itself in a tangle of beams that refuted the sense of coziness. No one but Kagaya-hime looked up. Everyone there knew that safety is an illusion; everyone except Kagaya-hime felt that sometimes the illusion is preferable.

Kagaya-hime's instinct had been right: Kitsune and his party had failed. There would be no official warrant to allow them to pursue and strike the Abe. The vice-governor of Hitachi province was not seen as the correct person to bring this to the central government's attention; however, if these allegations were true, they would surely be addressed by the next governor of Mutsu province, who would be named at the New Year's appointments.

"But that is many days from now, and then it will be months before he gets here," Nakara said, her eyes glittering with tears. "Months more before he acts—if he is not like the last one, allied with the Abe. My brother is dead and the Abe tramp over the land he kept and we have done nothing for half a year already." Her tears spilled over.

"*I* came," Takase said, as if that changed everything.

In many ways, it did so. There were the usual New Year's celebrations—the new men, Takase's attendants, made for more than usual humor among the unattached women of the estate; and children will celebrate in the midst of an earthquake, if need be—but they were muted, overwhelmed by the activities of a household preparing for war. Most winters the fields doze, and so do many of those who work them. But this year, gathering allies and supplies kept everyone as busy as silkworm season, when no one (not even the dogs) sleeps much.

Takase wished to head north with his troops as soon as possible, perhaps even in the second month, if the weather permitted. This urgency surprised everyone, even Kitsune and Nakara, eager as they were. Wars in the north can (and do) last years, even decades. Minamoto no Yoshiee's war, for which my Domei betrayed his empire, lasted four years; before that the Former Nine Years' War lasted twelve years. There is no need to rush into wars in the north; they will wait for you to begin.

Despite the untrustworthy weather (icy rain one day, bitter windless cold the next), messengers with letters flew like leaves in a gale. Some men chose to follow Takase because they owed it to his family, or they chose to support Kitsune's, or they hated the Abe for reasons of their own; or because, in the north, men are bred to war as horses are bred to run, and they pine if left too long without it. (Dōmei was one such man—restless without battle.) Warriors and their attendants arrived, three or ten or twenty at a time, bringing horses.

Takase pressed so hard because he was dying. The pain I feel, the bitter never-ending ache, the sense that my body is tired of its work—these are what he felt. And there was an old wound, where a barbed arrow had entered his side some years ago. It had never healed properly, but remained angry and wept pus from time to time. Takase had grown used to the red throb—had years to grow used to it—but now it grew worse again, the granulated flesh too sore to touch. He was dying, and he knew it (just as I know that I am dying), even if no one else could see it. Kagaya-hime also knew, for she smelled the wound and sensed the pain beyond it, the slow decay of his organs: a water-clock with a leak, nearly drained and useless.

In the flurry, Kagaya-hime was treated more as a member of the household than as a guest—which means she was alternately left to her own resources and asked to help. Nakara asked for her assistance in preparing clothing, but Kagaya-hime had no interest in sewing. She had a single

needle, so sharp and slender that the women all exclaimed with awe at it, and she was very good at sewing, the tiny pounces of needle into fabric coming as naturally as knife-thrusts to her, but sewing brought down no prey, did not fill the darkness inside. Instead, she caught birds for the arrow-makers to strip for fletching.

The noise and her hunting had discouraged most of the useful birds close to the estate, so she and Biter roved far, traveling into the mountains to the west looking for eagles. There were times they stayed out for a night or even two, and Kagaya-hime slept pressed against Biter's side, watching the ice-brilliant stars wheel overhead, threading their way through treeless branches.

She was gone for New Year's, sleeping in a thrown-together shelter of driftwood near the beach, where she had gone to look for geese. The air roared here with surf and wind, and perhaps this is why her New Year's dream was filled with the chittering voices of the kamis—*reed, despair, wives*, six wordless tones in sequence, *Wéar red when you worship me*—when she had walked the crystal-bright road through golden mist. She searched for the road, or even the great mottled darkness full of blood and a thousand green eyes, but searching is futile when there are no landmarks, no way to keep track of one's movements. In the end, she gave up and sat as if on a riverbank, with her feet hanging into the mist. "Tell the road that I miss it," she said, and she awoke.

When at the Osa Hitachi estate, she watched the preparations with a certain curiosity. Cats understand combat—toms fighting for a female, females fighting to protect ground or kittens—but they carry their claws and teeth with them and they catch their own supplies as they go. War and its logistics—food and wine and weapons and tools to be carried to somewhere that is not one's *fudoki*, to fight a mass of others for no good reason—were incomprehensible to her. It was obvious that, whoever had initiated this war, Takase was at its heart, and so she watched him most.

Two days after her New Year's dream, Kagaya-hime returned with two eagles, three osprey, and a crow across Biter's haunches. She left them with the fletcher (who would pluck their long feathers and pass them to the kitchen), and led Biter to the stables to clean and brush him before releasing him into the field with some of the Osa Hitachi horses. When Takase entered leading his own grizzled black, Kagaya-hime and Biter were

pressed face-to-face, eyes closed, communing as horse and rider ever have. The black huffed and jangled its bridle. Kagaya-hime spun, knife in hand. “Ease up, girl,” he said. “Inkstick and I are no threat.”

“No.” Kagaya-hime replaced her knife in her sash and looked up at the old man, her cheek against Biter’s neck. “You are both old.”

He laughed, a surprised snort. “Not too old to bite. Someday you’ll be old; you’ll see. I heard your story. You’re the one who fought off the robbers.”

Kagaya-hime knew this already. She said nothing.

He continued. “Is your sword any good?”

Hime’s hand went to her waist and for the first time there was a longsword at her side, hung with amber-colored silk cords in the *jindachi-zukuri* manner. She slid it from its sheath: a short blade of the old design, straight-bladed with a ring pommel. She touched the steel, folded countless times so that blue and purple and indigo patterns chased one another across the metal, fine as slow-growing pine wood. “It’s beautiful.”

“It’s not a necklace, girl. Give it to me.” She handed it to him, and he examined the metal, his horse throwing up its head, restless. “Settle down, Inkstick. I don’t recognize the maker’s mark. Does your blade have a name?”

“No,” she said. He handed it back, and she sheathed it, as easily as if it had been for the thousandth time. Teeth didn’t have names.

Takase was silent for a moment, absently rubbing his horse’s long grayed nose. “Your horse. Good sturdy one.”

Kagaya-hime did not know Takase, but she said something that surprised her, and knew it was the truth even as she said it. “He is the only thing I love.”

“I understand,” Takase said. “I had a horse I felt like that about, a long time ago. Not Inkstick, here. He’s a good horse, but I can’t afford to care anymore.”

Cats do not ask questions about one another, for there is no reason to do so. The *fudoki* tells all, or everything important anyway; if the information sought is important, it is in the tale. She cared for Nakara, but this did not extend to asking questions; the others of the estate (even Junshi, who was often kind to her) mattered too little for her to wonder about them. But she wondered about Takase, and began, for the first time, to ask questions of the men who traveled with him.

One of the followers, a nephew serving as bodyguard, thought Kagaya-hime beautiful, and he said much about Takase, mostly to keep her close to him. Takase's *fudoki* crossed sixty and more years, forty of them spent fighting bandit-gangs, pirates, refractory landholders. Takase had been a great general, and a governor somewhere in the south (Kagaya-hime did not bother to remember the place). Since his favorite consort had died, he had lived quietly, bowstring loosened, all thought of war gone. And he was ill—for even people could see this, though they could not smell or see that he was dying.

Kagaya-hime did not wonder about the half-fox Kitsune, but she watched him avidly when they were both at the estate, as a cat eyes a new dog. She did not choose to speak with him (what cat talks to dogs?), but she was often close, if safely out of reach. He would not have seemed beautiful to most of my friends at court (though there were a discriminating few). His face was thin, with straight eyebrows that flew up at the ends; and he had those sloped gold-flecked eyes, bright as a puddle reflecting autumn maples. He moved gracefully, with a fox's quick efficiency—not a tall man, as Takase was, but long-limbed and slender. Despite his fox-eyes and name, he often seemed no more an animal than Nakara, and no one else seemed to think of him as anything but human. It was only sometimes, when his attendants were busy elsewhere and he was alone, that Kagaya-hime saw something in his expression that she understood.

By the end of the first month, the first horses foaled in their pastures, and wolves came down from the mountains to try their luck—successfully for two foals were dead within days. A man in charge of the pastures alerted Nakara (for she oversaw this as she oversaw everything else: "The Osa Hitachi men are busy being men," she said to Kagaya-hime, "someone must make sure that the foals are counted and the taxes paid"). Because the men of the estate were busy, Nakara chose to attend to this herself, though in the end she did not go alone. "I am tired of being nice to people," Takase said when informed of her wolves: "I need to kill something." No one asked why Kagaya-hime joined them.

Three men and three women left on a bright clear day. Down at the main estate, thin dirty snow covered everything; as the horses climbed into the foothills, it deepened and grew cleaner, a jeweled dust, until the horses slowed, each step crunching through a white crust into hock-deep snow,

with drifts to their knees. They rode for much of a day before they found the herd, in a windblown clearing nearly free of snow. This was one of the Osa Hitachi's far pastures, the only good place for foals right now. The smell of mares made the growing groups of bickering war-mounts fight among themselves. More importantly to anyone for whom the raising of horses is a livelihood and the waging of war a mere momentary madness, the stallions made the mares nervous and their herd's leader overprotective and militant. Even the six horses the hunting party rode upset the herd. Nakara directed them away, to a hut of sorts half a mile east, and settled there.

Six people and any gear they wanted kept dry (saddles: weapons) packed the little structure tight as herrings in a barrel: particularly busy herrings, for there was a fire to be set and a meal to be cooked and the herder to consult; and Nakara's only attendant fluttered around, trying to shield her mistress from the snow puffing in through the cracks in the hut's wall. Kagaya-hime slipped unnoticed under the cracked horsehide that covered the open doorway, and out past the hobbled horses nosing under the snow for anything edible.

It was very dark, for the moon was nearly new, but her eyes were better than mine have ever been. She walked easily in the black spaces under the trees and came into the open at the bottom of the horses' clearing. The pasture was a great sweeping fold between two wooded slopes that lifted to the mountains beyond, dark jagged outlines against starlight and an almost invisible green light that hung in the air to the north. The mares and foals milled anxiously at the pasture's center. The herd's stallion trotted some distance away, his head high, his ears and attention focused into the hills above the herd.

Kagaya-hime was more interested in a rabbit half-hidden under a low shrub near the trees. It had not seen her. The air was perfectly still and too cold to carry her smell. She dropped into a crouch before she realized she'd made the decision to catch it.

She moved carefully, but in any case the rabbit was distracted, its attention elsewhere. She was scarcely an arm's length away when it saw her. In the instant before it gathered its minimal wits to run, she leapt the space between them and spiked it to the ground, her knife through its shoulder. It gave a single scream before she broke its neck. Its blood was warm on her tongue when she felt herself observed from the trees behind her.

“You are the wolves,” she said aloud without turning.

A wolf slipped from the trees; another rose from a depression in the ground. There were four in all, long-muzzled and gray. All animals know and fear the great killing creatures: the eagle, the bear, Korea’s tiger, the wolf. The smaller killing creatures avoid them: they do not care to know how it feels to be prey. Kagaya-hime straightened and turned, the rabbit still in her hand.

“What are you?” the largest of the wolves asked—for there were no cats so far from the capital, and nothing it could compare her to. Her woman’s shape meant nothing to the wolf, for it did not understand what a cat should look like.

“The people call me Kagaya-hime,” she said. This appeared to be sufficient answer.

The largest of the wolves shook itself. “You are a killing animal, but a small one. We could kill you if we chose. Are you not afraid?”

“No,” she said. “It does not matter. I have no *fudoki.”*

Wolves have no *fudoki*—the pack is defined by blood and smell and voice; their ground can change; their tales define nothing. Nevertheless, they understood her. “Why are you here?” another wolf, a female, asked. She smelled of milk and cubs.

“The people come to kill you,” Kagaya-hime said.

“The people always seek to kill us,” the female said, “but they do not succeed.”

Kagaya-hime lifted the knife. “I have lived among them. If they have not killed you, it’s because they have not wanted to do so. Yet. But you have taken their foals—”

“Ah yes, the foals,” the female said. “They tasted sweet and their bones were soft.”

Kagaya-himes mouth watered despite herself. “—and now you must leave. They will hunt you down, find your cubs, and kill you. Your tale—your pack—will end there.”

“And you?” the lead wolf asked. “Will you try to kill us, too, little killer?”

She raised her chin, a cat before an emperor. “I will kill you if I can. But I would rather you leave.”

“We stand together,” the wolf said. “We decide together.”

“Together.” Kagaya-hime’s face was very cold. “You are never alone.”

“We stand together,” the wolf said again. Its eyes flickered and it vanished, it and its priests, into the darkness of the overhanging trees.

“Girl!” “—Takase’s voice across the clearing. He loped to her side, sword bare and gleaming in his hand; slowed when he saw she was unharmed.”Where did they go?”

“Away. I told them we would kill them.”

“Huh,” Takase said. “So you talked with them, did you?”

She wiped the back of her hand against her face, smearing blood into her tears. “I don’t know if they’ll stay. They lose nothing by going; they carry their tale with them.”

“I—” Takase said, and then shut his mouth abruptly. He gestured to the rabbit on the snow. “You will want to clean that. And wash your face before you return.”

In the morning they tracked the wolves back to their den, a mere slit in a rocky slope. Kagaya-hime was the smallest of them, and she crawled in to find nothing, only the torn fur of a nest, the chewed thighbone of a foal. She backed out and brushed herself clean. “They decided to leave,” she said, and no one asked how she knew this.

I have never seen a wolf, never even seen a picture of one. “They are like dogs,” said Dōmei, when I asked him once about them: “Like the gods of dogs.”

“Bigger, you mean?” I asked. We were sitting on the veranda, eating pickled eggs and watching one of the household’s cats prowling at the edge of a clump of reeds under a bright moon.

“They have gold eyes,” Dōmei said. “Flat and fierce. Think of a dog that could kill you, that would not even care whether it did so: that’s a wolf.”

Mutsu province, where there are wolves, and gold-eyed men like Dōmei. I shall never see it now.

8.

THE FAN-FOLD NOTEBOOK

Strange. All these pages, all these brush strokes, and I have said little about my half-brother, the emperor everyone now calls Shirakawa. This is perhaps intentional: thinking of him is like scratching at a scab to see if the cut beneath is still fresh. What will I accomplish by doing this? I already know that it has not healed, and I am not brave enough to face the fresh pain.

It is not many months since the forty-ninth night rituals after his death. Some nights, when I feel the thing inside my chest pressing against my lungs, I talk to him. Some nights, I think he answers me.

He was not so many years older than me, and, when he was young, very handsome (as everyone told me, again and again—even my nurse sometimes looked at me and sighed, "Why could you not have a bit of your brother's elegance?"). For a time, when his father was still emperor, he lived with my foster father. The house was full of flurry and attendants because of him, but my women kept us far apart ("Trust me, your highness, he has no interest in having his thoughts disturbed by a flyaway girl with dirty hands and no manners").

Then my foster father said that I could no longer keep mice. Worse, he forced my nurse to take away the mice I did have. There were two or perhaps three: tiny buckwheat-colored creatures with glittering black eyes bright as prayer beads. She would not tell me what she did with them. My tears devolved into an enormous tantrum, for which she locked me into a little raised-floor storehouse, avowedly until I learned to control myself.

I did not learn control there, but I did learn that there were two planks in the floor that had not been properly secured, so that a resourceful girl could lift them and let herself down into the crawl space. I crept through the dust and emerged cautiously, on the far side from the house, then ran for the

copse of white pine and *sawara* cypress at the garden's opposite end, as far from the main buildings as I could get without crossing the residence walls.

We called him Sadahito then, for he was not yet emperor. He must have been sixteen; certainly, he was much taller than I. He spent much of his time with his father, so I did not expect to find him in the grove—and certainly not alone; an heir is *never* alone, any more than a princess. I do not know what he was doing there—did not think to ask, caught up as I was in my own miseries.

I knew bursting in on him was a terrible solecism, but I couldn't think of what to do next: Apologize? Back away as if I hadn't seen him? Throw myself on the ground? Faint? Grace in awkward situations does not come at the age of ten, so I stood rooted to the ground, as if a tree myself. He did not seem offended; said only: "You've been crying," and pulled a soft paper from his sleeve. "Here, use this."

I took it from his hand and scrubbed at my cheeks, but I could not stop staring at him. Unless I did something stupid (now, for instance), I would probably serve Sadahito at court someday; he (and my foster father) would select the man I would marry. He controlled my destiny—he and the other gods.

"You're my half-sister," he said. We had met before, but always through curtains, as befit a princess and the heir. "I forget: what do they call you?"

"Harueme. What should I do with this?" I held up the now-grimy wad of sleeve-paper.

"Give it to me and I'll get rid of it for you," he said. "You don't want them to guess you got out, do you?"

"No," I said, amazed at his insight. He knew I'd been crying, and he knew I'd escaped. No wonder he got to be emperor. "Why are you here?"

He made a gesture, implying everything and nothing. "I am tired of studying, and I cannot visit Kenshi right now—she is in her courses." I knew who Kenshi was: she was his consort, and said to be very beautiful, though I did not meet her and learn the truth of this for several more years. He sighed heavily, though he smiled at himself as he did so. "So, little sister, why have *you* been crying?"

He had distracted me for a time; now his question brought it all back, and I started crying again. Between sobs, I sniffled out the story of my mice. He put his arm around me (though I was covered with dirt and snot and tears)

and told me that they would be fine in the garden, if that's where they had been abandoned. "There's a lot for a mouse to eat out here."

"But the cats—foxes—" I said, crying in earnest now.

"If they die, they will just come back as something better. Maybe cats themselves, hmm? And who can say? Even mice may eventually attain enlightenment."

I was comforted by this, not because I believed the mice were safe (or that their enlightenment was possible; already I'd had enough mice to suspect otherwise), but because he had tried to comfort me at all. By the time he helped me sneak back to the storehouse undetected, I loved him with all my heart.

Later that night, after I had been freed from my storehouse, bathed and given a good supper, my brother's chief man came to my rooms, and left a pierced silver box, a treasure from beyond even India. Inside was a single gray-furred mouse, young enough that its eyes were still too large for its face. I named it Little Sister, and pretended that I was my brother, and the mouse me. No one could take the mouse from me—it was a gift from the heir, after all—and so I carried it inside my sleeve and fed it rice from my bowl. I wept for a half a month when it died, because he had given it to me.

Several years later (I was fifteen) I came to court to attend my half-brother. Everything happened very quickly—my father the emperor Go-Sanjō died, and Sadahito gave up his name and became emperor that very day. He asked for my company, and my foster father sent me there.

I had visited the palace before, when my father the emperor Go-Sanjō requested it, and even once when he was gone to stay with a consort's father, and I was allowed to explore a little. Still, the notion of living there made everything different. The painted floor the color of turquoises, the crimson pillars, the painted screens—these were all mine now, in some small way. Every day I would wear robes prettier than my finest as a child. I would be surrounded by witty, beautiful, cultured people, and I would (I fantasized) become immensely popular, famed for my wit and scholarship, and as elegant as Sei Shōnagon had been, eighty years before. All my lovers would be handsome as Genji; all my attendants would be famous for beauty and charm, their glory reflecting on me.

And my half-brother and I—we would spend all our time together, reading and writing, perhaps even traveling, to Ise or even the Shirakawa

Barrier or beyond! I would show him my moths' wings, and my notebooks of observations; he would show me whatever it was he cared for most in the world. He would call me Little Sister; I would call him Brother.

It was not like that; I have to laugh at my naïveté at thinking such a thing was possible. His responsibilities were great; he was always with his regent or the other high nobles, discussing this or that. When his duties did not occupy him, he spent time with the other high-ranked young men at court; or his consort, Kenshi; or others of his women. He even had other sisters and half-sisters, at court or nearby shrines. A thousand thousand people wanted his time or attention. I was just one of the horde, if higher-ranked than most.

And I was no Sei Shōnagon. Granted, I was the daughter of an emperor and (I am told) exceptionally beautiful; but the people at court were all more interested in music and poetry than in water-clocks and philosophy. No one but I cared how learned I was. And the public halls and emperor's chambers were lovely, but the private rooms, even the rooms of a princess, were worn-looking, sometimes dilapidated, and always flea-haunted.

A month after I came to court, I asked the emperor if he would let me leave, to return to my uncle's residence, or enter a nunnery. He denied the request. "I need you," was all he said. It was not for many years that I understood what he meant by this, until the day we sat together and tasted the rain on our lips. In the meantime, I learned to accept my life here.

Shirakawa and Kenshi. I was jealous of her, of course. She was only a little older than I but she was beautiful and graceful, and more important, charming. In my heart I claimed to despise these things (it would never do for me to announce such a sentiment), but now I can admit that I despised them because I felt I could never attain them. I was beautiful (I say with all candor), but that meant nothing. A round face and white skin are an accident of birth; being well dressed and groomed was a reflection on Shigeko and my other women.

As a child I judged myself by the adults that surrounded me—my mother and her women; my foster father and my uncle—and they all seemed infinitely elegant, masters of mysteries I could barely perceive. I was the daughter of an emperor; if I could not be as elegant as they, well then, I would be clever.

Becoming beautiful was a process that surprised me as much as it did my uncle. He had despaired that I would ever be valued for anything besides my birth, but my woman Shigeko came to attend me (just before my half-brother became emperor, this was), and I was suddenly clean, and my robes matched, and any dead animals I might be examining were discreetly hidden away. I think my half-brother Shirakawa would have summoned me to court in any case; but it was a comfort, my uncle said, to know I was not going to disgrace everyone associated with me when I got there.

Shigeko made me polite as well as elegant. It was she who insisted I write to my half-brother's favored consort, Fujiwara sammi no Kenshi, who lived elsewhere at court. I did so, growling all the way through the required poem, something about the reeds of the east wing greeting the grasses of the north—I'm sure it's here somewhere; I'll ask Shigeko when she returns from overseeing a gift to one of the temples south of town. I still recall Kenshi's response: "The clouds visit both east and north. Grass-blades blown between us show only fragments of the wind."

And so we wrote letters, and visited one another when we could. We were never friends, both being too highly ranked to be close to anyone not assigned to us; but I found her pleasant and quietly witty. It was easy to see why Shirakawa loved her.

Even more than her apparent perfections, I envied her his attention. A half-sister and a consort fill two different places in a man's life; this is no different for an emperor. He spent many of his nights with her, and certain days when no work could be performed, due to tabus or festivals or snow so heavy no one chose to leave the shelter of their own eaves. He visited me sporadically; "Whenever I want someone to question everything," he said once to me when I asked, "whenever I want to think hard to keep up." I took this as a compliment, reluctant to look at myself closely enough to determine whether he meant it as such.

"And your consort?" I said, half-laughing to conceal my embarrassment. "When do you visit her?"

He did not laugh. "When I can."

And so my brother had Kenshi. She bore him a son that they lost, and then another who lived—my nephew Taruhito, who became emperor—Honkawa, now he is dead. These experiences brought them together; even when I saw him without her (or her without him), I felt as if I were

watching a running dog who was missing a paw: the dog may not mind nor even know; but what is not there leaves an awkward bump in his gait.

After Mononobe no Dōmei and I became lovers, I was not so jealous. I had my own companion, my own fourth paw; and I spent every possible moment with him. If I did not get pregnant, it was not (as I overheard one of my women say to Shigeko at the time) for lack of trying.

And then Dōmei left the capital, to return to his family home. I claimed an indisposition and retreated for a few months from the court. I did not want to deal with the eyes of the others on me. Either they knew of our affair and would be feeling—ridicule? pity?—or they would not, and their jokes and petty concerns would grate on my sensibilities like ground nutshells on skin. My rooms at my uncle's residence were always available to me, so I retreated there, and did not come out for a time.

My memory is that I cried steadily for a month or more, that every overcast day and every ink stroke that I blotted set me off again. But I have just asked Shigeko what she remembers of that time, and she tells me I did not cry once. And yet I am sure—wen, memory is strange, after all. Perhaps both of these are true, and she and I live in worlds that almost—but do not totally—overlap.

And whether I showed this grief or not, we both remember that after a time I stopped jumping to my feet every time a messenger arrived with what might be a letter from the provinces. War started in Mutsu province, and I started to read again, about war and the making of it; when the first reports of Minamoto no Yoshiee's war started trickling into court I read those as well, and pretended I was not searching for his name among the dead and distinguished.

I returned to court and even invited other men behind my curtains, usually old lovers who had become more friend than sexual partner. *I move forward with my life*, I said to myself, and felt smug about it. We can contrive victories of the most unpromising material.

A year after that, Shirakawa's consort Kenshi died.

Kenshi did not die at a good time. There is never a good time, of course; there is always something left undone, a last trunk left unemptied. But this was especially inconvenient: early in Yoshiee's war, when the situation was little understood, complicated, and not very encouraging. Kenshi and Shirakawa's son, who was—five? six? very young, in any case—was sickly,

and not expected to live to adulthood. The monks from the mountains nearby were behaving badly, marching armed in the streets of the capital and burning one another's temples; and there had been a drought that was taking a year and more to recover from; and the chancellors were for some reason or other being more than usually tiresome in their requests. Shirakawa managed all such things with the grace of an expert *kemari* player, but he coped poorly with her death.

I wrote Shirakawa the letters one might expect of a sister worried for her brother, or a noblewoman for her sovereign. The answers were polite but short, and not in his handwriting. He did not visit, nor invite me to attend him, when I could have determined for myself how he was doing. I did see him, at the seventh-night rituals and at a reading of the sutras for the well-being of Kenshi's soul. He wept—tears shining like rain on his face—and yet he seemed somehow remote, withdrawn, as if his grief were something held close. It seemed, as always, that Shirakawa without Kenshi was lacking some part of himself, but now it was more serious, more acute; as if it were not a limb but some vital organ gone.

I launched Shigeko and others of my women at their friends and admirers in his train, to learn what they could of my brother's state—for no one ever *tells* anyone anything at court; we spy out what we can, and guess the rest. They returned with nothing more specific than the rumors. He did not meet with his chancellors or his high nobles. He did not read. He did not have lovers. He did not sleep.

I wrote more letters to Shirakawa; but what I really wanted to do was talk to him, face to face. I had lost Dõmei, but I had survived; there was no reason why my clever, handsome, older brother—Incidentally emperor of the Eight Islands—should not recover, as well; which is why, perhaps half a year after her death, I very improperly went to visit him without a summons.

This was easier than I would have expected. The court is a thousand buildings and courtyards connected by ten thousand walkways and gates; but it covers only a small area, and (if one is familiar with or can find one's way) it is possible to walk the length of the enclosure without needing to put on clogs, or get one's head wet on a rainy day. Shigeko was reluctant to invade the emperor's presence, but she accompanied me nevertheless (in many ways, she is far braver than I). I dealt with the guards and courtiers we encountered by brushing past them without explanation. By the time

they recovered from their surprise, Shigeko and I were well past, and another of my attendants was murmuring explanations, excuses—anything that might keep them from stopping us.

His rooms were nearly unpeopled: two bodyguards who started forward, and then stepped back when Shigeko spoke to them, and a woman server with a covered lacquered box in her hands. "Where is he?" I asked, and followed her silent gesture.

He was in an enclosed place that might have been where they slept, though there was nothing here now but a carving of Kannon and its offerings. He was not praying, but there was a tabu tag hung from his *eboshi* hat, meaning he was not to be interrupted. *Ha,* I thought, and knelt beside him. I pulled my prayer beads from my sleeve and began a just-audible prayer.

He sighed and put down his own beads. "Not you, too."

*"*Brother—*"* I began and trailed off. This had seemed like such a good idea; now that I was here, I found I had no idea what to say. He had been crying; his face was still wet. All the exhortations I had planned in my mind on the walk over here vanished, steam from a kettle. "I am so sorry," I whispered, and to my horror started sobbing.

He tipped his head back, and fresh tears slipped from the corners of his eyes, shining trails to his ears, his neck. "I keep—missing her," he said. "There are so many things that need to be done, I just—"

"You miss her so much," I said. "But—" *But she is dead; she's not coming back; she left you anyway, for the commonest lover of them all, death*, I did not say.

He glanced at me. "I am sorry about your guardsman."

He knew; he had cared enough to know. "I'm worried for you."

"Little Sister," he said, and his smile was so sweet that I began sobbing in earnest. He reached across the space between us, and held me close. We wept together. I cannot claim it was my doing, but after this, he again involved himself with the world.

Enough of this. I know my own story—have lived it, each day a new section added to a scroll that grows near its end now. I know this story too well to be surprised by it. My little cat-warrior—her tale has the capacity to delight me and distract me from my half-brother's loss, which just at this moment (it is very late, and the pressure in my chest prohibits sleep) is as

immediate and painful as it was the day he died, when I cried until my eyes wept blood.

So:

Spring comes later to Hitachi province than it does to the capital; still, by the third month the snow was gone from the Osa Hitachi estate, and the world was buffeted by floodwater and spring winds and storms that thundered like dragons through the clouds. Takase had established a camp just outside of the estate for his war band, but camp and household had blurred until everything was a single filthy, noisome mess. The ground had been mashed to mud, ankle-deep in the places where the horses collected. The air was filled with smells: wood and charcoal smoke, wet manes and manure, the oily smell of cooking meat, the bitterness of hot metal pounded out by the smiths. Not all cats are fastidious (I have been familiar with a cat who rolled in the midden heap behind our kitchen house, and entered my chambers with wilted radish-greens trailing from her ears), but most are. Kagaya-hime was like many of her kin in this, that she did not care to have dirty feet and disliked sharp smells.

Takase and Kitsune had gathered perhaps a hundred horsemen, each with attendants and a horse or two. This was not many, but to fight the Abe without a warrant or potential amnesty was risky business. The central council might eventually offer an exemption to the usual penalties, not everyone dared take the chance. Though his had been the initial letter asking for the warrant, the vice-governor, Nakara's brother, could not involve himself directly at the risk of his position. But when certain of his retainers asked for leave he did not ask too many questions. A handful of warriors brought their men and their horses from the provincial capital—along with sixty *hoko* spears, sent by the vice-governor under the convenient if implausible fiction that they might serve as "protection for the hazardous journeys home."

This brought the total number gathered to about three hundred men—horsemen, retainers, and servants—and one hundred twenty horses. It was not a large band (though large enough withal, especially when the horses are all male) but there was an immense amount of material required even for this sort of conflict, where they expected to seize food as they traveled.

I remember reading something once, when I was at my uncle's house, waiting through my monthly courses. Alert to my interests, Shigeko chanced to bring me an overview of the codes and practices that concerned

war-making. (War-things were much on my uncle's mind at this time, for this was in the months after Minamoto no Yoshiee's war in Mutsu province began: a year after Dõmei left me and returned to the east.)

I had no idea how much was required for war-making! I suppose I might have guessed, familiar with what must be assembled for even a short journey by, let us say, a princess to the shrine of Inari no Jinja, scant miles from home and a place where one might be expected to need little. There was a list in my uncle's papers of what warriors require for military duty. I have found it folded into a diary of mine from that time. What my uncle thought of such a document going missing, I can only imagine.

—rice and *sake* and salt (*enormous* amounts of salt—why, I cannot say);

—weapons of every sort and size—longswords, short swords, and knives; a bow and fifty arrows; additional steel arrowheads ready for mounting—as well as whetstones and quivers and bowcases and all the bits and bobs that are required to tend and store one's weapons;

—saddles and saddlebags and silk-cord bridles and steel bits;

—wood shields as tall as a man, to be propped on the ground in battle where they might serve as cover, for the men on foot or dismounted riders;

—axes and hatchets and chisels and saws, tents and cooking pots and copper trays;

—flints, tinder, long-handled tongs to grip coals;

—sickles (for what, I wonder?—and then think, ah, yes, the grass pillows mentioned in all those poems written by men at the frontier);

—moxas and bandages for healing;

—as if that were all. Then there are the attendants (and each horseman has one or two of these, to work as groom and servant and combatant as need arises), along with all of *Their* food and supplies and weapons—*hoko* and *naginata* spears and swords and bows; and the priest who comes to give guidance, along with his or her followers, and food and supplies; and the clerks and warrant officers; and any hangers-on that the leader believes might be useful or cannot be naysaid. And so many supplies must have required carts and oxen or horses, and still more men to drive and tend them. And all of this is organized into companies of fifty men each, and subdivided into campfires of ten and then squads of five. It sounds as complex as court life, if not so pretty.

In the months after Yoshiee's war was declared, I read much on the subject. I longed to understand, not what I later learned to call logistics, nor

the *whys* of it, but the *what.* What was it like to fight, to actually shoot at someone else, to want them dead and have the means to make them so?

There were certain Chinese classics that all the military nobles thought essential: Sun Tzu, Ssu-ma, and the *Kōsekikō sanryaku.* These were full of strategy and tactics and oblique metaphors, but they seemed somewhat cold, bloodless. In addition, sheaves of poetry floated about court, purportedly written by soldiers (though this was often a literary conceit); but they said nothing about war itself, instead harping endlessly on how much the men missed their wives, and the loneliness of sleeping on those ubiquitous grass-stuffed pillows.

Some years ago a collection of stories started filtering through court—the *Konjaku.* We joked then that the *Konjaku* had one of everything, but in fact it has many more than one story about warriors, and these reports vary. In some, war seems more glamorous than horrible, as complex and formal as the presentation of the blue horses in the first month or the Gosechi dances in the eleventh: the exchange of arrows, the name-announcing; men in beautifully laced armor whirling in graceful combat on spirited horses. Others are perhaps more realistic, though in them war seems mostly to be exhortations and beheadings, usually over small (not to say absurdly petty) matters.

There was the *Mutsuwaki,* as well, all about the first war that had been going on in the north, back when I was very small. I was no longer at my uncle's house, so I borrowed a copy of this from the scrolls of my half-brother the emperor; he looked at me strangely but had it sent without comment. This was much longer. For the first time I realized that war was as filled with politics as court, but still there was the painstakingly described armor, the elegant little platitudes about this or that one's skill at archery or riding. When the author stepped down from these aesthetic heights to describe battle itself or its results, his images were improbably grisly. I still remember one: "The ground was slick with viscera, the moors wet with fat."

All these wars, these battles, in the *Konjaku* and the *Mutsuwaki* and elsewhere, are true. Names are named; Shigeko (who knows everything about everyone who has ever been to court) could probably recite the genealogies of half the men mentioned in them. They are true, but they are lies—like all tales.

Some years ago there was a night in the fifth month when the full moon was hidden behind the clouds, and I overheard three older guardsmen talking in the darkness. They had fought in Yoshiee's war. Tongues loosened by plum wine and *sake,* they compared the lessons they had learned. These had nothing to do with eloquent speeches, and everything to do with avoiding diarrhea and keeping one's bowstrings from rotting. Their stories were hardly fit for gentle ears: an attack where foot soldiers swept blades along the ground to fell the horses by slashing their legs; a long season when everyone had dysentery and the men wore no *hakama-trousers* or loincloths, for it was pointless to do so and then clean them a thousand times a day; a man driven as mad as if he had been fox-possessed, all from an arrow-cut on his thigh that turned black and began to rot; a man hacked to pieces alive before his wife's weeping eyes; a wife raped before her husband's staring, severed head.

I listened to these things, and thought: *This is Dōmei's life. This is who he is*. But I could not reconcile this with the man who had laughed so often with me, the gold eyes that were so warm when we made love. I had nightmares for some time after listening to the men; and for years afterward their words would return to me suddenly, like a ghost story one heard as a child and can never forget.

The Osa Hitachi were a military clan, and everyone, from Kitsune and Nakara down to the oxkeepers' children, was caught up in the preparations. The buildings within the estate were crammed with the supplies that could not be left in the rain—for it still rained, naturally. Outside, fields were being prepared for the summer's crops ("I'm sure you want the space," Nakara said tartly to her brother one wet day when everyone's tempers ran high, "but come the tenth month, I'm guessing that you will want to eat, yes?"). Nakara had to send every mare within a ten-mile range twenty miles south and west to a smaller farm claimed by the Osa Hitachi, but even so the stallions sometimes fought. Kagaya-hime grew tired of trying to find solitude, and instead stayed out of the way and watched it all, rather as a cat sits on a wall watching the servants prepare to move a household to Biwa lake for the summer.

Nakara apologized one day. She clattered under the eaves of an outbuilding and saw Kagaya-hime there, tucked into the space between a pillar of shields and an untidy heap of new-made sickles, trimming Biter's

hooves with her knife. “Be patient, Hime. Things will settle down as soon as the men leave.”

Kagaya-hime finished the hoof and stood. “I imagine you will be grateful when we are all gone.”

Nakara was holding a cedar-wood box filled with chopsticks for moving the coals in braziers; she dropped this, and the little iron rods rolled everywhere. Woman and cat-woman knelt and gathered them. “*You* can’t leave,” said Nakara. *“You’re* staying. Aren’t you?”

“No.” Kagaya-hime laid her handful of sticks in the box and stood. “I go to Mutsu province, as well.”

“Mutsu,” Nakara said. “They are all fools or barbarians there. Or insane.”

Kagaya-hime said, “Your brother was one of them.”

“That’s why I would know.” Nakara hesitated, unaccustomed to asking for favors. “We’re not like city people here, my dear. My household is whomever I say it is. A sister would be a great comfort to me.”

Kagaya-hime closed her eyes and leaned against Biter’s flank, feeling his rough winter coat against her cheek. “Why would you wish this?”

“I know what it is to not know who—what—you are,” Nakara said. “This way you would have sister and brothers and home. You would know that much at least.”

This was what she had lost so long ago: ground to live and mate and hunt on, a family, a tale into which she would fit. Nakara’s brother was half-fox; there was clearly room for a woman who had once been a cat, for her to become Osa Hitachi no Neko. And she would no longer be alone. It would not be her *fudoki*, but humans’ tales did not grate as other cats’ had. She would remain what she was—changed, perhaps, but still recognizable to herself. The road-kami had abandoned her; might she not stop? *Road*? she whispered to the backs of her eyelids. It did not answer; but for an instant she saw the dark thing with a thousand eyes, and it spoke her name.

“I cannot,” she said finally, and opened her eyes. “I must go.”

Nakara said in a tight voice: “I do not want to lose anyone else.”

“You found this place, this—family. Or made it. It is not mine.”

“Where will you go? Why?” A tear slid down Nakara’s cheek; she brushed it aside impatiently.

Kagaya-hime said slowly, “I thought it was the road that carried me, but we left the road behind when we crossed the water at that town. Enoura. And I still have to go.”

“Where will it end? Will you fight with the men? Will you walk until you die, till you walk into the ocean and drown? And I am to let you do this thing?”

“I cannot help it.” Kagaya-hime began twisting a lock of Biter’s mane into a tight little rope.

“Do not pretend that you have no control over your life, girl,” Nakara snapped. “You go because you wish to, because you don’t choose to stay.” She turned on her heel and walked away, leaving the box lying in the mud. Her hurt and anger lasted for days.

No one controls their own life. Well, perhaps some of the Fujiwara men do. Perhaps they attain manhood, and suddenly know exactly what they want from life—I will marry in two years, and have a son in five, retire at thirty, die at sixty. And my half-brother knew his life—was born knowing it. But the rest of us? I look back on my life and I see a series of decisions, each of which made perfect sense at the time, most of which led to nothing in particular.

It is true that I am powerless, that I am controlled by my family, by the Fujiwaras, by the gods and Buddhas; but I am also free: to think my thoughts, and dream of blue-green streams under foreign trees.

I thank the merciful Kannon for this tale I tell, where I can at last control a life, even if it is not my own.

The days of preparation collected themselves into untidy fortnights, and then a month and more. Takase spent much of his time in the main house, surrounded by low tables heaped with slips of paper listing the details of war. These he arranged into various piles and then rearranged the piles, his clerk scribbling completed lists onto other, larger pieces of paper. Discarded scraps drifted across the floor.

A courtier might have compared him to an aging poet writing among fallen cherry blossoms or snow. He reminds me more of my half-brother the emperor, who spent many days in precisely this manner—though it annoyed my uncle (indeed, most of his branch of the Fujiwaras), who thought he concerned himself overmuch with the running of the empire, which (in their opinions) might better be left in their hands.

Kagaya-hime saw Takase and the clerk and the countless, strangely attractive, fluttering papers, and saw a kitten's game, or a mystery. She often watched him, but Takase did not seem to mind, or perhaps even notice that she was near—it is easy to ignore a cat when she is not of a mind to remind you of her existence, though otherwise it is impossible. It may also be that he sensed she was not, strictly speaking, human; or perhaps he saw that she was one of those who are born to killing, without discerning the details.

On this day—it was toward the middle of the second month, when the irises by the spider-leg stream were first showing their leaves, straight as knives—Kitsune came into Takase's presence. He spent most of his time outside with the men and horses, where his voice was necessarily loud and his stride long; papers skittered away from his feet as he stopped and bowed. "My lord—" he began, and the eaves rang.

"Wait." Takase raised his hand. The clerk finished the character he was writing and laid down his brush, then fussed around, placing river stones on the heaps to hold them in place. Kagaya-hime knelt half-hidden by a latticed screen leading to the veranda, binding a steel arrowhead to a shaft; she lifted her head to watch. "Now," Takase said, when the piles were secure, and only the scraps on the floor fluttered. "What is it?"

"It" was many things, of course. I have learned that no one (not even Shigeko, whom I see a thousand times each day) has only one thing to say. Ask, "And what else?" and there is always another, and sometimes it is the most important of all. Lacquered stirrups from Musashi province had come in; one of the Osa Hitachi retainers had received news that his wife was ill, and left for home with his men; mice had gotten into some of the rice, though it was still salvageable. Takase was old (and wise, though these are not always paired) and asked, "And what else?" a number of times.

If there are no secrets at court, there are fewer within a household, fewer still within a war band. "The men have learned that my sister's guest means to travel with us," Kitsune said.

"And they object," Takase said.

Kitsune nodded. "A few. Monthly courses, sightseeing, endless delays for travel tabus and heating water and looking for protection from the dew."

"Do you feel this way?"

"Ha. She is tough enough."

"But you do not care for her," Takase said.

Kitsune stiffened. “I never—”

“Boy, I am old. I have no interest in listening to excuses.”

Kitsune frowned and rubbed his neck. “I—do not understand her. Who she is.”

Takase snorted. “Say that about any woman, not just her. Will you be able to travel with her?”

“If she slows us down, no.”

“Well, girl?” Takase said. “Will you keep us waiting while you cut your nails on auspicious days?”

Kagaya-hime hadn’t known that he saw her: he had not turned his head her way once in the long hours of work. Caught, she stood and entered the room, arrow and thread still in her hands. She did not meet Kitsune’s eyes, but looked sidelong at him, gauging mood, threat, posture. He was flushed red with embarrassment, defiant. “No,” she said. “Why would I cut my nails?”

Takase barked a laugh that became a cough. And later, when (perhaps) he thought she had left them, he said to Kitsune: “She is driven by fate, as are we all. It’s a waste of energy to stand in the way.”

As I write here, my cat Myōbū watches me, suddenly intent, as though a fire flickered over my head. There have been many cats over the years, and I have spoken to them all in the high tones reserved for children, drunken men, and pets. They have never spoken back, but I have never thought they would. They are not badgers or foxes, after all. They are from distant godless places, beyond my most ambitious dreams.

A month later, Kagaya-hime left with the war band. It was a bright spring day, still winter-cold, except that the trees showed a haze of pale green, and the air seemed furred with moisture and the possibility of life. Nakara and Kagaya-hime had avoided one another, but now the woman joined the cat, and in silence they watched the band form an unruly line of snappish horses and hoarse-voiced men.

“Must you do this?” Nakara said again.

Kagaya-hime said, “Yes.”

Nakara sighed. “I cannot stop the wind from blowing, and I cannot stop you. I’m sorry that I was angry with you.”

Certain cats hold grudges. Shisutāko, the little nun, was like this; she refused your embrace if she thought she had been slighted, or if you were to toss her from a veranda into the garden after a particularly wearisome morning of her face in everything; and she waited days if necessary to take a revenge as indelicate as it was surprising. I think it is possible that our cats learn how to bear grudges from people, for we can hold one for a lifetime.

Kagaya-hime was not of a resentful nature. This requires a sense of perogatives infringed, and she had no expectations to be dashed. She saw Nakara's sorrow and did something she remembered from the aunts and cousins when they sought comfort from one another; she stepped forward and pressed her cheek into the curve of Nakara's neck. Nakara reached out and pulled her close, held her tightly. Kagaya-hime stood taut-muscled for an instant, then relaxed and embraced Nakara: the first time she had embraced another, felt the comfort of one's arms filled with a person one loves.

"I am—sorry," she whispered into Nakara's hair, "though I do not know what that means."

They stood joined for a time, but no matter how tender the moment, a cat grows restive. Kagaya-hime moved away, still close but no longer touching.

Nakara looked at her and sighed. "There are people who cannot settle, as if they were birds born without legs. They go on and on, to the world's end—the lands of the hairy northerners, or India; farther, even."

"What happens to them, the ones who go?"

"I don't know. They never return to tell us. Perhaps they never find a place to stop."

"I am not one of those," Kagaya-hime said. "I long for home and *fudoki*. I would stop if I could."

"Would you?" Nakara said.

"I have a gift for you," Kagaya-hime said suddenly. Tucked in her sash was a slim, shallow box carved of tortoiseshell, hardly larger than a fan-case. She laid it in Nakara's hands. Inside was a knife no longer than Kagaya-hime's hand, its blade the color of claws.

Nakara looked up. "I cannot take your knife."

"I have others," Kagaya-hime said, and held up her hands, though she showed only her palms to Nakara, so that the woman might not see the raw place where one of her fingernails had been until that morning.

“I have a gift for you, as well,” Nakara said. Junshi stood a few paces away; Nakara gestured, and the woman handed to Kagaya-hime a lacquered woven box, long and narrow. Inside were gold and ivory feathers as long as Kagaya-hime’s forearm: eagle feathers, feathers worthy of an emperor’s arrows. The sunlight caught them and the feathers gleamed with flecks of muted light.

Nakara continued, her voice distant, as though she chose not to feel too strongly. “My father was a warrior; my mother was the daughter of a warrior. I have learned these things. Make sure that your neckguard is low. When charging, don’t get shot in the face. Trust the men beside you.”

Cats have no way to share their sorrow. It is not in their nature that two cats sharing a *fudoki* can truly feel sadness—cats come and go, it is the tale that matters. And a cat without a *fudoki* has no one with whom she can share sorrow, and so she learns no habits of expression. But a woman understands loss, and can express it. And this, Kagaya-hime learned, was both advantage and disadvantage to being human.

Mutsu province. This is the end of the (civilized) world, the farthest reaches of the empire. My favorite Michinoku paper comes from there, though I have a difficulty time reconciling my image of the place with the notion that there are workshops, perhaps even manufactories, whole families or villages devoting their lives to producing luxuries for the capital, so many hundreds of miles away. Mutsu is meant to be a land of savages (that drinking of blood! those arrows in the hair!), of peaks taller than the great mountain Fuji and snow a thousand feet deep, of springs of scalding water that rise from the very depths of Hell, of monkeys that speak and *tengu*-demons and monsters—it is meant to be the fringe of the world. The Mutsu province of my mind is filled with wonders.

My lover Dōmei told me that it is not really like this, that Mutsu province is like everywhere else. There are roads and estates, towns with government offices, posting stations; hills, mountains, and hot springs; peasants and nobles; nothing extraordinary, nothing I could not find nearer to home and better designed or regulated. I have to wonder whether the entire world is like this. I have learned a bit about Korea and China, and we of course share much culture with them; but if I went to India or even beyond, would I find maintained roads and public wells, town gossips and officious village

leaders, peasants happy or unhappy with their lot, rice fields in varying states of cultivation, cats asleep in patches of sun?

And perhaps death will be like this, whether Hell or the Pure Land or some incomprehensible place I have not imagined. Will there be roads and sunlit verandas and sleeping cats? Would this be a comfort or a disappointment? Is there anyplace that is filled with wonder, anywhere but my imagination, and the tales?

Yesterday my great-grandnephew the emperor sent me a poem, which I correctly interpreted as a summons. It is more fitting that I attend him than the reverse; but I am an old woman, and I remember when he was born, the pup. I remember when his father was born: even his *grandfather's* birth, for I waited with Shirakawa's consort Kenshi when she was in labor. I bit back my mild annoyance at the poem. We have not visited for many months, and I may not see him again before I leave the palace altogether. And he is ten, after all. I can hardly expect more elegance of mind than I myself showed at that age.

It always takes time to prepare for an imperial visit, but it takes even more for an old woman who has been recently ill. One would think that Shigeko was accustomed to emperors by now, but for some reason this visit set her all a-flutter, and she fretted over my robes as much as she ever did when I was younger.

"Akihito's ten," I said. "He's not going to care, as long as I'm respectable."

She frowned at me. "He's not Akihito anymore. He's the *emperor*, my lady. Even if you seem to forget it; even if he doesn't care. You have a responsibility to look respectable." *Not to disgrace us all*, she meant.

"To him?" I said. "He didn't seem to care much for such things, back when he spent all his time vomiting on his clothes."

"Nevertheless," she said, refusing the bait. So many years together make all sports familiar.

My younger women were all flutters and excitement, resetting the sleeves for a green-gray robe combination that had been disassembled for cleaning. Shigeko and two others washed my face and throat and hands, and eased me into my garments, stuffing one sleeve full of soft papers to use if I coughed. They propped me up between them, and we walked down

walkways and verandas and galleries at a pace I hoped looked more deliberate than feeble. (I find I have *some* vanities, after all.)

The emperor my great-grandnephew has immense rooms, but as most emperors seem to, he lives most of his time in a small area set off from the immense echoing spaces. Curtains and eye-blinds and a canopy create the illusion of walls and intimacy; the lovely floor is padded with reed mats and a phoenix-bright carpet from some unimaginably distant land. He is never alone, so he had with him his regent, a calligraphy instructor, and a number of men and women. Everyone still wore mourning for Shirakawa's death, so the room felt muted.

They all looked very young to me (as, in truth, everyone does, when one is seventy). I recognized only a few of them, but amused myself searching for resemblances to court people I had once known, all now retired or dead: *with that nose, he must be one of the Sugara boys; the girl must be the daughter, all right, granddaughter of Fujiwara no Kimiko.* One of the women (she had the square face and unconscious grace the Kuroku-clan girls all seemed to have) slipped across to me, and led me to a curtain-stand very near the emperor, placing a mat and helping me to settle.

She wafted to the emperor and murmured in his ear. The boy put down his brush with a certain air of relief and dismissed the calligrapher. "Aunt, I trust I find you well? I heard you were ill, so I burned incense for your health." His voice was clear, sweet as the high notes on a set of *shō*-pipes.

"Thank you, Nephew. Highness," I added as an afterthought.

He stared critically at me, head tilted like a bird's. It is true that he is a ten-year-old boy; still, I was glad that Kignu had goaded the women into finishing these robes. "Are you feeling better?"

"Child, I am seventy years old. Remaining alive is as 'better' as I can hope for." A ripple of stifled laughter ran through the attendants. The emperor—most of these children—were too young to understand what I meant by this; even the boy's father was born forty years after I. I must seem unimaginably old to them all, like the clay figures we find sometimes at ancient gravesites.

My nephew frowned a little. "You must take care of yourself, Aunt," he said sternly.

Why? I did not ask. "Your concern touches me," I said, and found I meant it. An attendant entered and claimed his attention: a relief, for my eyes were burning, and I had to blow my nose, which I did as quietly as possible.

Shigeko took the damp sleeve-paper from me and slid it into her own sleeve with the bland look of a woman for whom such unappealing actions are duty. I watched my nephew and his court for a time, content to let the activity, the clever puns and poems, drift around my ankles.

"Aunt?" the emperor asked, later, when not so many people were paying attention to us. "Are you dying?"

"Yes."

"Huh." He thought for a time, a single tiny line between his eyes. "Well, don't."

"I have no choice, child. None of us do." I wondered if he was thinking of Shirakawa, his great-grandfather, my half-brother. "I am sorry I won't see you grow up." I realized suddenly that this was true. I have seen so many of my family grow up and then grow old and die, or die young and untimely. It would have been nice to watch this one, as well. And to see next spring, and the winter after that, and the robins returning from the south, and the dragonflies after a rain, and anything and everything.

His voice was very small. "You used to sing to me. When I was a child."

"You remember this?" I had a vague recollection of having done so when he had flu and was too ill to do more than cry and sleep.

He nodded vigorously. "All about moths and, um, butterflies."

"Really," I said. I had not offered poetry, not *ki*-chronicles nor Chinese exhortations to proper behavior: I had sung a peasant's love-song from the north. Dōmei had taught it to me, singing the woman's lines in a squeaky voice that never failed to dissolve me in laughter. "You remember this."

"I still know the words," he added. "They were pretty."

"Yes, they were," I said softly. Dōmei and I sang the song often, even sometimes when we made love, tossing lines back and forth like poetry.

He spoke the first line, hesitantly, and then sang it. And I found I could not help but join him. My nephew's voice was much higher than Dōmei's had been; mine was much lower than it had been when I was young.

A ten-year-old emperor and a dying woman sang a peasant's song taught her by a long-lost lover from the north. Life is full of wonders. Dōmei lives still, in my heart, and in words a child does not yet understand.

9.

THE *SHOBU* NOTEBOOK

Kagaya-hime traveled with eighty horsemen, two hundred miscellaneous attendants, and a hundred twenty horses. This is a good-sized village's worth of people, though *this* village sent a vanguard to scout its way; slept somewhere different each night; and was almost entirely male and entirely childless.

Kagaya-hime knew even less of villages than she did of estates. The road had taken her through a number of them, but she did not usually stay in them longer than it took to find food; she was uncomfortable in the presence of so many people and the undetectable boundaries between their territories. The war band's constant motion eased the discomfort she might have felt in such a large gathering. She knew about motion and travel; she knew what it was to sleep under unfamiliar trees.

Any gathering of men—but particularly of warriors—is like a troop of monkeys. There are continual jostlings and posturings, males circling one another looking for weaknesses. (I learned this from my lover Dōmei's stories, though I do not think this is the lesson he expected me to learn.) Even if the group's leadership is incontestable, even if the hierarchies of commander and captain are established, there is another level of dominance, based not on lineage or military rank, but on personal strength and skill, and the indefinable element that makes this man attractive and that man merely ordinary. My half-brother had this charm, if you can use so slight a word for a power that won him lifelong loyalties and affection. Takase had it, as well.

Though the war band traveled quickly, there was plenty of time for monkey-games, for most of the men were experienced at campaigning. Yoshiee's war was not so many years in the past, and these were northerners; even the youngest were accustomed to the constant scuffles to protect their lands from robber gangs. Some of the games involved the

horses pushing past one another at a trot or even a gallop—on unfamiliar terrain; Kagaya-hime watched and could not see what they accomplished by risking their horses' legs in this way.

Other games involved archery—shoot at that fencepost, shoot at this twig, see if you can slice the fuzz from a rabbit's tail without hurting the rabbit. They also involved talk and bursts of laughter, and mock arguments: "You first, and then I'll put my arrow through yours."—"That rabbit there? Let's see his hat marker. He's not high enough ranked for me, but he'll do for you."—For in battle everyone wore a wood tag attached to his *eboshi* cap, to make severed heads easier to identify, one assumes.

The day was beautiful. The sun was warm on Kagaya-hime's back, but when she crossed into shade she shivered, for the air was still cold. They crossed into Mutsu province in the morning, leaving Hitachi road for a new road: another stage between her and the Tōkaidō's irascible kami. Mutsu road was as unimpressive and variable as its predecessors had been, widening to a broad lane of drying mud when it passed through villages, deteriorating to a single dirty band where it crossed the hills.

The road was littered with signs of other travelers: worn straw sandals and hoof-covers, ox and horse droppings; torn paper that once protected something; a discarded lantern, its wood frame irreparable. Occasionally the band met others, who always stepped aside or wheeled their carts into the new growth along the road and stared up at the men and their horses as they loped past. "Look!" a child said as Kagaya-hime passed: "A girl! Why is she—" but she did not hear the end of his question, already far behind. Everywhere smelled of sun on earth and new growing things.

Biter seemed content to amble forward in the straggling line of horses and men. Kagaya-hime sat him easily, the heavy weight of her armor (though she did not yet wear her helmet or shoulder guards) eased where it rested against the saddle. She watched the land pass, and the attendants running over fields or hills to retrieve the arrows of their masters' monkey-games; and she was close to content.

When they stopped for the night, Kagaya-hime saw other monkey-games in how the men chose the places they would tie their horses and lie down to sleep. They all knew what it was to sleep on the ground and they were frankly uninterested in doing so whenever they could avoid it; but the farms and temples and shrines here were loyal to the Osa Hitachi and Seiwa Minamoto, and Takase did not choose to inconvenience (and possibly

antagonize: loyalties in the north might as well be written on water) anyone by appropriating foods and roofs for his own people. Instead, dry patches and tree-sheltered knolls were claimed; campfires sprang up, and the smell of food filled the air.

Kagaya-hime threaded her way through them all, unwilling to play the games (which are as pointless to a cat as they are to a woman), but fascinated with the men's loud voices, their jokes and profanities and boasts. Takase and Kitsune and their attendants shared a fire, a little away from the others, and when she passed them, Takase gestured her over: "Have your people set up here." He returned to his conversation with Kitsune.

"I don't—" Kagaya-hime began, and then she realized she *did* have people. Two attendants had been walking beside her horse for some time; she had not noticed this, for she had been full of her own thoughts. Their presence had seemed as natural as Biter's had on that day she'd first found him.

One of these attendants brushed past her with a quick, perfunctory bow, and setting down his pack started to unload rice and dried fish, striking up a conversation with the other servants as if he had known them for some time: a man of average size, neither handsome nor homely, dressed in sensible travel clothes, a peasant's straw rain cape thrown over one shoulder.

The other attendant was, amazingly, a woman: again, of average size and attractiveness, dressed in men's garb, but with a servant-girl's thick, short hair and a ready laugh in her eyes. Bowing, she eased Biter's reins from Kagaya-hime's slackened grasp, and led him toward the river, alternately cooing in his ear and exchanging greetings and insults with the other servants: the first person (if one did not count Kagaya-hime) that Biter had ever allowed to touch him.

Over the months, Kagaya-hime had learned that other people did not find that useful items (such as servants) magically appeared when needed.—Indeed, it is not common save for princesses.

I have had this experience myself, especially lately. I awaken, and there is a new woman waiting beside my bed. Without a word spoken, she helps me upright and to my chamber box, as if she has done this all her life, and mine. Dazed with sleep, I am not sure whether she is truly new, or I just do not remember her. My age is the standard excuse for my uncertainty; but as

an excuse it is more convenient than true. I do not remember them all, because there have been so many of them, scores or hundreds of interchangeable women who have attended me over the decades. A few remain vivid to me because their intelligence or charm or opinions made them intriguing companions.

It is more than servants and attendants, of course. If I need a new writing brush, it appears. Leaf-shaped paper, ink sticks, sesame-seed tea, coals for the braziers, clean under robes: these things materialize as if I had prayed to some god and found him in an accommodating mood. Often I do not realize the need is there until it is met.

I know that the world is not like this for other people—if they run out of rice they must somehow acquire more—though I have no idea how this might be done. I put down my brush and ask my companion, "If you ran out of rice, what would you do?"

"My lady?" Shikujo is the girl whose marriage is so unsatisfying (though she is nearly thirty now: no girl), my visitor from the provinces. We are the only two awake: even Shigeko has returned to her bed where she can sleep off the remnants of her *kaze*-cold.

"Rice," I say again. "If you were to run out—in your household, I mean—what would you do?"

"Have more brought in," she says.

"How?" I ask.

"Send the servants for it, I suppose. I'm not sure what you're asking me, my lady."

I sigh. Of course she doesn't understand: Shikujo is nearly as artificial a creature as I am. Neither of us could feed or clothe ourselves if others did not supply the food and silk—and this goes on, layers and layers, for our attendants need attendants, and so on, all the way down to the person who actually knows how to husk rice or peel the cocoons of silkworms. But that person is as distant from my experience as she would be from a cat wandering in the northlands.

Kagaya-hime has no idea how to make fabric and cannot grow sweet potatoes. Her clothing, food, horse—and now servants—all come from the gods (or me, actually, for I am the kami of this tale). I had not thought of it before this, but it is not an accident she is called *hime*, princess.

My woman Shigeko came to me as suddenly as a sneeze. This was some months before my father died and my half-brother the emperor summoned me to court, so I must have been fourteen. I was officially a woman, but I was still awkward as a boy, all long strides and loud laughs, apt to hang around the gardeners and carry dead vermin into my rooms in my (usually filthy) sleeves.

I despised my foster father's and uncle's wives and even my own women. They had no intellect, no wit to follow my reasoning about the relations between butterflies and moths, or robins and sparrows. They did not read Chinese, or at least were careful never to be caught doing so. They cared about stupid things: *monogatari* tales; the endless stream of poetry that flowed, drab and steady as river water, from their brushes; the shapes of their eyebrows; the low quality of the silks from Mikawa province in recent years; who was having a baby, by whom, and when and why.

I would never pluck *my* eyebrows; they would never get me to care whether my robes were the correct shades of peach, and not unseasonable rose. Any husband I might get (and I did not care whether I ever had one, not knowing yet the tricky exchanges of power that demand marriage of a princess) would have to accept all this. I am sure that I was as thoroughly a burden to my family as ever they were to me.

It was early in the year, when water left in a cup overnight skins over with ice. I had escaped the woman who was nominally in charge of my behavior by the simple expedient of lying to her face. "Off to the outhouse," I said and bowed, unwilling to let her see my face. Really, I thought, she was as stupid as hens—they all were. And I spent the morning in the pine-and-cypress grove where I had once found my half-brother longing for his consort. There were beetles there, even in the cold.

I only came back when I was hungry, and my feet were so cold that I stumbled in my clogs. There was the usual flurry of activity and complaints. I ignored these as I always did, though I was grateful for the padded robes the women wrapped around me, and the brazier I knelt beside.

There was a new girl, tall and not much older than I was. Even I could see that her robes were simpler than those of the other attendants, the silks less valuable; but somehow, her manner made this look perfectly correct, and the others slightly fussy and overdressed. Her face was hardly pretty—perhaps the reason she was being sent off to attend me, and not married to someone who might improve her family's situation—but I thought it

interesting. Most new girls were shy about meeting a daughter of the emperor, watching me with anxious eyes until forced forward by someone more experienced; but she knelt apart reading—some romance, no doubt, I thought with contempt.

And then I noticed my notebook was missing—I was interested in wing-shapes back then; I expect it was the gray dogshead-silk one, filled with drawings of birds' wings—and knew somehow that this was what she was reading.

"You, girl," I snapped out. She approached and bowed correctly, but I saw her finger still keeping her page. "Give me that."

She bowed again as she laid it before me, but she did not retreat as another might have. "You must still be cold. Let me stir up the fire, my lady."

I watched her use iron sticks to mound the coals. She was right: I was still cold. I tapped the notebook's cover with one finger. "What were you doing with this?"

She tipped her head to one side, still intent on the sparking heap. "I wanted to see what sort of mistress I was getting."

"And what have you decided?" I said, my voice arrogant to conceal my sudden embarrassment.

She leaned forward and opened the notebook, finding a page. I am right: it *was* the gray notebook, because I remember an outstretched wing drawn with a fine brush. Conscious of a stranger's eyes on it, I squinted at the drawing. It looked wrong now. I had made the largest feathers too long, I knew suddenly.

"I learned," she said, "that you need someone else's eyes on you."

Startled, I looked up. She added, "—to keep you honest. You are too accustomed to things being easy for you."

I felt as though the floor had collapsed under me, as if she and I were alone, sprawled in the dirt. How dare she see me so clearly? "I could send you home in disgrace," I said, thinking about it.

"Yes," she said, and for the first time, I saw the shyness behind the bravado. "But I would like to stay, my lady."

"Why?" I asked baldly.

"I—would like to serve you."

"Why, if I am so flawed?" I asked again, but she only blushed and shook her head, and did not answer, even after I pressed her.

A conversation with Shigeko never really begins nor ends; more accurately, it began the day we met, and will end the day I die. One of us says something, and we are distracted, by a letter or the moon's rising or a bat that has found its way under the eaves. Later, or the next day, or the next month, we return to that thought. Perhaps years go by. Some questions are never answered: we have learned to leave silent places in this forty-year wandering conversation, and in what we know of one another.

On the other hand, I can't sleep. "Shigeko," I bark.

I am curled in my sleeping robes, trying not to drip ink anywhere while I use this not-very-practical portable writing desk. Shigeko lies burrowed into her duck's-down padded robes beside me. She has always been a messy sleeper, making a nest like a mouse. I can tell from her breathing that she is not sleeping tonight, either.

"My lady?" She rolls to her side and leans on an elbow looking up at me. Her hair is neatly tied, but strands have strayed free and catch moonlight and lamplight, silver and copper. She looks as translucent and fragile as a jade Kannon.

"Why did you stay with me?" I do not say: *when you first came.* So many years in a single conversation: we no longer find it necessary to complete our thoughts.

She wraps her arms around her knees like a girl. I can't remember the last time I could do that, even though she is older than I. "Because I knew I could not bear not to be with you."

"Ah." I had expected any of a thousand answers, but not so deep an honesty.

She continues: "You were kind, I could see; and always thinking. Your women all loved you—love you still—there had to be a reason, I knew. I remember thinking how brave you were."

"I?" I say, startled. "Brave?"

She looks sidelong at me, smiling a little. "You're thinking you've never done anything brave. But, my lady, I saw you that first day, trapped in these rooms, pacing like a fox trapped in a storehouse, born under a thousand thousand rules; and I knew that it took bravery to be happy, with all that."

"You have lived exactly the same life," I say.

Her smile grows wider. "I did not say you were the only brave one."

I have to laugh.

All my life I have longed to see the Shirakawa barrier, at the border to Mutsu province. As a child I imagined it would be a fabulous place, with towers as tall as cedars, built of jade and turquoise and guarded by strong-armed men and horses that breathed fire. As I grew older and moderated my daydreams somewhat, I altered this vision to walls of thousand-year oak, and slender fierce guards with eyes like Mononobe no Domei.

I have never been, and now will never go, to the Shirakawa barrier and beyond, into Mutsu province. And now I cannot visit it even here, in Kagaya-hime's story. I had thought I controlled this tale, but if that were the case I would demand, "Everyone must now travel Mutsu road, along the banks of Abukama river," and it would be so. But Seiwa Minamoto no Takase, old and wily, gives other orders and I find I cannot naysay him. He must bring his band to the estate where Kitsune's brother was killed, which is three hundred miles north, in the heart of the Abe clan's lands, and he must do this without drawing undue attention. Mutsu road is much too frequented, so instead he slips through the less-visited Nakoso barrier to the east and travels the sea road, with mountains to his left and the great ocean to his right.

Kagaya-hime will not see Shinobu rock, where white silk left overnight flushes rose-red and amber. She will miss the fields of *susuki* grass at Kasashima, subject of so many really rather uninteresting poems. She will never see the two-trunked pine of Takekuma; she will not cross the bridge over Natorigawa river, built of wood from a previous incarnation of the sacred pine.

The war band paces off its miles, always within hearing of the ocean: sometimes hushed like the wind in firs, at others a crashing din, louder than a peasant couple hurling pots at one another. There are estates and villages, of course, but those who live by the sea have their own concerns and alliances. They do not care about the disagreements of those whose hair is not whitened with salt-rime. The war band travels quickly and comparatively silently, and no one rides ahead to warn the Abe clan.

The men of the war band will pass the provincial capital of Taga in fives and tens, secretly and at night, so as not to draw the attention of the governor and military there. They will travel nearly a hundred miles in a fortnight—and none of it will be the Mutsu province of my dreams.

Kagaya-hime called the servants Uona and Otoko. No one seemed to find it worthy of comment that they had appeared like dew, without warning, and that Uona was a woman.

Kagaya-hime had no difficulty keeping up with the war band. She belonged to no squad and shared allegiance with no one, so she left the group often and roved far ahead and down side-paths, bringing back deer and wild calves and birds.

Even her skills did not prevent many of the men from viewing Kagaya-hime's presence with distaste, though most could not have said why they did not care for her. I have noticed this before, that there are people who simply do not care for cats, and many of these people are men. There are also men who do not care for women (except in the most rudimentary ways); and still more men who dislike women who like men-things, water-clocks and war among them. She did not talk of her family, of course, so perhaps she had been disgraced or even exiled. And (the men said), she was probably not even from one of the bow-and-arrow clans, the only excuse anyone (let alone a woman) could have to mess around with weapons and such. Kagaya-hime was cat and warrior and woman, and she was also strange; the members of the war band could sense this, even if they could not identify it.

Days passed, and miles, and landmarks. The war band made camp under stars and rain clouds and the roofs of abandoned farmhouses. Because life is full of such minor catastrophes, saddle-frames cracked and bags of rice burst: evenings were spent repairing things and sharpening arrows. The men determined their hierarchy, and the monkey-games settled into jokes and posturing, repeated until they became little rituals. The joke about rabbits' hat markers became dogma: every insect met along the road was asked for its marker.

Kagaya-hime continued to share Kitsune's and Takase's fire. It was a busy place. When the evenings were dry enough, the captains assembled and debriefed the day. Most of the rest of the time Kitsune and Takase were deep in plans. Kagaya-hime said little; but she listened, and watched Takase, and smelled the ever-present infection in the old arrow-wound in his side. Takase in his turn watched her, as he watched all his troops.

Kagaya-hime grew used to Uona and Otoko. They were good servants, quiet, efficient, and very loyal. Otoko got into fights with the other attendants, defending Kagaya-hime. Uona was a storyteller, perhaps the

best of the war band. On fine nights, the other servants gathered around to listen to her tell the story of the daughter of the moon, or the fox-wife and the Kannon; but she refused to tell tales in the presence of people who had criticized her mistress.

Most of the men distrusted or feared Kagaya-hime, or tried not to think of her at all. (Nearly everyone hides from the thing we do not understand—death, for example.) But one or two wondered to themselves who—or what—she was. She could shoot a swift from the sky, and she never lost an arrow. She said little, yet the commander and his war leader kept her close, shared their fire with her. She appeared tireless. Even by the eastern provinces' high standards for horses Biter was exceptionally fine (if fractious)—a dragon of a horse. Her servants were exemplary.

I have said that the war band was men, but there was another woman attached, the priestess Onobe no Kesuko. A war band needs priests as much as it needs weapons, and Kesuko served a shrine to Hachiman in Omi province, which owed a certain loyalty to Takase and had sent her when he requested their benison. She was a severe woman, younger than I (but not by so very much), slim and rough-edged as sword-grass. She wore women's robes and a travel cloak and basket-hat that concealed her face from the raff and scaff of the war band. She and her party kept much to themselves, for they could not afford to compromise their ritual purity; but she often came to Takase's fire to offer advice. Kagaya-hime did not like Kesuko, but she understood her better than she did any of the others with whom she traveled, for Kesuko's cold manners reminded her of the cousins and aunts she had lost.

Kesuko and Kagaya-hime circled one another warily. But on the fourth night of travel (roofless under a cloud-stained sky, on the mashed young stems of a trampled buckwheat field), Kesuko stopped by Kagaya-hime, who remained by the fire as the captains left the nightly council, playing idly with a thick silk tassel from Biter's bridle. "Come," Kesuko said.

Even the daughter of an emperor does not comfortably say no to a priest of the myriad gods; and Kagaya-hime was not experienced with generating quickly the excuses that might have been palatable to Kesuko or her kind (as a princess is; over the many years I have grown proficient with such lies). Kagaya-hime only nodded and stood, handing the tassel to Uona.

Typically Kagaya-hime navigated the encampment's chaos as a cat passes through unfamiliar ground: remaining at its fringes, moving from

safety to safety. Kesuko moved as a tiger might, walking a straight line across the ground, men and animals scattering before her, sidestepping only for the fires themselves. Kesuko led Kagaya-hime directly to the stream: once clear, now churned the frothy brown of certain teas. “Sit,” she ordered, and Kagaya-hime, who disliked orders (in truth, barely understood what they might be), found herself sitting on a rough cold rock beside the water.

Kesuko nodded. “Now. What are you?”

Kagaya-hime turned her face away but watched the priestess sidelong from the corner of one eye. “I am nothing and no one. They call me Kagaya-hime. I will fight.”

“No doubt these are all true,” Kesuko said. “But you do not answer my question.”

Kagaya-hime looked her directly in the face. “Why should I tell you anything? Seiwa Minamoto no Takase is commander here. I do what I wish.”

The priestess thought for a moment, seemed to make a decision, and sat down on a different rock, some feet away. “No, I think you do what you must. Your wishes have nothing to do with it.”

If Kagaya-hime had still been a cat, she would have hissed and shown her claws, for Kesuko saw too much: a threat, if not a physical one. “My *fudoki*—my ground, my tale—is gone. And now I have lost my body, my claws, and teeth.” She gestured at herself, a short angry sweep of her clenched fist. “Ask your gods what I am; they know better than I.”

Perhaps Kesuko understood Kagaya-hime’s defensive flare, for she changed the subject, tipped her head from side to side as if listening to the cracking behind her ears. “I am never going to get my neck stretched out. I slept wrong the first night out, and now—this.” She rubbed the cords of her neck. “There are eight million gods. Eight million million gods. They do not all speak to one another, or with me. I ask because I must know: are you a risk to Seiwa Minamoto no Takase, or this campaign, or the men of this band?”

“I am dangerous,” Kagaya-hime said, “but not to these men, unless they threaten me.”

Kesuko nodded her head. “That is fair. A question that follows is: are *they* a danger to *you?* It is hard to be a woman and travel with so many men.”

“Because they will mate with me?” Kagaya-hime asked. “Men have tried.”

“Unsuccessfully, I expect.” Kesuko’s eyes glimmered with what might have been a smile. “Rape is the least of the dangers. No: we are all killers here. Even I ask the gods to let us kill, and I carry this”—she touched her sword’s hilt—“on the chance that I will do so, as well. Remain with us, and you lose the chance to be otherwise.”

“I will cope,” Kagaya-hime said.

Kesuko stood. “Will you? These men all think they will cope, as well. I have seen much fighting, girl, and I know this: most will stay to fight, because they do not wish their friends to die if they can be there to stop it. Some will find they have no taste for killing, or even fighting. Others will like it too well and will flee from this mirror to their souls, or remain to drown themselves in the killing rage. Which will you be?”

“I have killed before,” Kagaya-hime said. “I will do so again.”

“I still have not made myself clear. If you stay, if you fight and wound and kill—why will you have done this? Loyalty to Seiwa Minamoto no Takase or the Osa Hitachi? You had not met them a season ago. Loyalty to the men of your campfire? To protect your family, your friends?”

“I kill because it is what I have left,” Kagaya-hime said.

“A dangerous path, girl,” Kesuko said. “There is always more.” Before Kagaya-hime could ask anything, she strode away.

I have had a bellyful of priests in recent days. I have made no secret of my plans to retreat to Kasugano and become a nun; for some reason this has brought priests and monks and nuns out in force to reassure me that I do a virtuous thing; that rebirth awaits me; that my story does not end, but only moves into a new notebook.—Rebirth or the True Land: whenever followers of different sects gather here, they start bickering over doctrine. I am not sure whether the new notebook they mention is my move to Kasugano, or death.

I have been telling everyone that I look forward to serving Buddha for the rest of my life. It is the proper thing to say, like: *I will love you forever;* and: *I care about poetry.* But I think that I am more honest if I say that what I look forward to are negatives. I look forward to not waking up each morning within these infinitely familiar screens. I look forward to having my hair cut, so that it does not take a day and a night to dry, to wearing robes that do not bow my shoulders with their weight. No intrigue. No late nights spent trying to show interest in something other than my bed. I do

not long to move *toward* Buddha, only away from everything else. I have a feeling this decreases my virtue in becoming one of the Kasugano nuns.

I am not tired of life—I do not want to die; there are days when I shut myself in my sleeping enclosure and cry in sheer rage, aware that my body will betray me in the end—but oh, I am so tired of *this* life. These walls, this sky. How can I die when I have seen so little?

I think of the priests and monks and nuns because a priestess sent by Ise shrine has been with me today. She can't be more than twenty years of age; too young, I would have thought, to speak for the kami. She is some sort of grandniece or cousin's child, though I cannot remember exactly how we are related.

All my other women were gone—even Shigeko, off bidding farewell to my visitor from the provinces, who is leaving court for her monthly courses (one of the advantages to growing old has been that I no longer must relocate so frequently). The priestess knelt with me and drank tea and ate little cakes made of sweet rice and liana syrup. She is extraordinarily graceful. I wonder why her parents permitted her to be sent to the shrine, for she could have married with great success, I think.

I found the visit comforting, for it comes with no promises, no exhortations, no differences of dogma. Unlike all the Buddhas, the kami have no great lessons for me or, I think, for anyone. They simply are.

There was a day when my husband (well, husband-to-be) was considered old enough to wed. This was the year my half-brother retired from the throne, and handed it to his son, though the child (I should call him Horikawa, for he is dead now) was still quite young. I'm not sure why my half-brother did this, for he loved the work of ruling; did he really think he could be as happy retiring to one of his estates and concentrating on the sutras? In any case, he did not do so, for Horikawa was always frail and interested more in poetry than in matters of the court: if an emperor was to rule us, it would have to be a retired emperor.

Shirakawa retired to his residence south of the capital's walls, though he visited the capital often (it is only a mile, after all). I accompanied him when I could. It was a year or two after this, when we were at the southern residence, that my uncle told me that the boy he had selected for me was old enough to be wed.

I had been examining a dead crow Shigeko brought to me, and attempting to record the delicate feathering of its leg, the glossy scales that covered its clawed foot. It was of course highly improper that I bring any dead thing into the house of an emperor, retired or otherwise, but I salved my conscience by thinking of the fleas we all killed without compunction, even in his presence. If a flea (or a mosquito, or a louse) was acceptable, surely a crow, which everyone knew was a mere scavenger, could be only a little worse.

Mercifully, my uncle would not be allowed behind my curtain, so the dead bird and the mysterious stains I had somehow accumulated from its body would not be visible to him. "How old is he?" I asked absently.

I could see out, for the curtain was just transparent enough to allow this. I watched him shift his weight a little. He cleared his throat. "He is thirteen—but well built for his age. He had his manhood ceremony this spring."

I stifled a laugh, for I was then nearly thirty. Well, perhaps he would be interested in dead birds: children often were. It was arranged that I would go to my uncle's house for a time, and the boy—"man"—would come to me there.

It was the sixth month when he first visited. The convention is that visits between men and women are serendipitous; he and she are admiring the moon in the same courtyard; or he passes her house on a rainy night and seeks shelter; or he idly accompanies a friend visiting another woman in the same rooms. Of course my uncle and I—and everyone in the house, I expect—knew the day and time he was expected to arrive; but none of us were allowed to admit it.

Even as she pretended there was nothing special to the night, Shigeko dressed me with special care that evening. I remember my robes were yellow and sea-green gauze, the outermost woven with a pattern of waves (I'm sure we'll find them in one of the trunks we haven't yet emptied)—and she refused to let me do anything that might possibly dirty the pale silk. Forced inactivity is never comfortable; I fidgeted from place to place, and tried to interest myself in a collection of poems that was popular in court just then.

He arrived at the dog's hour, along with a little army of male friends and attendants, my uncle's son among them. It was understood (if not mentioned) that my cousin had invited him to drink wine in one of the garden's pavilions—my uncle being conveniently away, busy with

something or other at court. My suitor would somehow end up, not there, but on the verandas of my rooms, and it would all be very charming and poetic, and he would eventually end up in my bed.

Everything happened as predicted. The men had been drinking together, so they were somewhat more ribald than I had expected; but by the rat's hour, most of the men wilted off to other assignations; and my husband-to-be was behind my curtains. Dim light conceals much—age and youth, flaws and tics—but he looked a mere infant to me, too young to have had his trouser ceremony. Thirteen was far younger than I had remembered. His face had the perfect roundness of beauty—or baby-fat. He was elegantly dressed—no doubt some attendant had fussed over him as obsessively as Shigeko had over me. We exchanged a few conventional poems. He was as uninspired as I in creating them, which made me hope his attention was focused on some other, more interesting topic—moths, perhaps, or Chinese medicine: something we might share after marriage. I had never heard that he was an intellectual, but I knew almost nothing about him.

The lovemaking was as inept—and incomplete—as might be expected. The sky was already growing pale and he would need to leave before daylight, so we did not have much time. He smirked at me (thirteen! a horrible age) as he fumbled at my sash, trying to untie what was a very simple knot and succeeding only in tangling it past remedy.

I realized suddenly that, had I wed the first husband my uncle found for me (the one who died of smallpox), I might well have a son his age. With this came a certain sympathy. Here the poor child was, trying to impress a woman more than twice his age, his future wife, the daughter and sister and aunt of emperors. He was probably intimidated by my sexual experience (which was not inconsiderable) and simply overdoing it in an attempt to seem worldly. I tried not to sigh out loud, but I allowed him to paw me through my robes until he left at dawn.

After he left I surprised everyone, including myself, by vomiting until my throat burned and my muscles ached. Shigeko attributed this to nerves.

For the wedding to be finalized, he would visit me for the next two nights and stay late the third, and we would share wine. And then it would all be over, "and we can go back to what we were," Shigeko said, comfortingly.

Pah. I cannot bear to think of him just now. My cat and her journey are a welcome distraction from unpleasantness.

Mutsu province is a patchwork of estates that offer loyalty to any of a dozen or more great men or monasteries or temples, most of them a very long way away. Some of these estates are nothing at all, only uncut forest and fields that have been allowed to grow over and vanish back into the countryside. The farther from Hitachi province the war band came, the fewer Osa Hitachi estates and farms there were and the less certain their loyalty; and once they had passed the provincial capital Taga, there were barely a handful. This was why Nakara's brother had come here in the first place, to solidify influence in the region.

At the same time, the Abe estates grew more common, and more directly linked—for alliances and allegiances are not as simple as I am pretending. There are layers of loyalties, overt or hidden, and nuances of promise and oath, and the *only-ifs* and *what-ifs* of conditional alliance. It is hard to say, "This household is loyal to the Abe," because the household may simultaneously be loyal to the Onobe, who are enemies of the Abe; and to the Tendai temple at Taga, which hates both Onobe and Abe. In the end a household's loyalty is to itself—and to the emperor, of course.

Still, at some point beyond Taga the war band's journey crossed an invisible barrier. Beyond it, the estates they passed (or passed through) became what might now be considered enemies, with loyalties to the Abe, and not to Osa Hitachi or Takase or to any of the men who traveled with the war band. The men knew now that whoever they met was an enemy, or might as well be, and the lack of ambiguity was a relief of sorts.

Takase, Kitsune, and Kagaya-hime spent more of their time listening to reports from scouts. From time to time Kagaya-hime and Biter went exploring and brought back information of their own. She knew little and cared less about the spiderweb of politics, so she brought back news of useful wells and flooded river-fords —phenomena of interest to a traveling cat.

10.

THE CHANG-AN NOTEBOOK

I Have been ill for several weeks—so tired, so very tired. The thing that fills my chest and leaves no room for breath evidently left room for a *kaze*-cold of sorts, for I found myself coughing out gobbets of dull green matter, and even blood. Shigeko moved me from the palace, of course—dying here would have been bad for the palace's purity—taking me to her family's residence on Konoe avenue, since her family is one of the few exalted enough to host a princess. The coughing (and the gobbets) eased, though they have not abandoned me; but they left in their place a terrible pain, as if I inadvertently coughed out some vital organ. Still, I am accustomed to pain of many sorts, and this is not what will kill me.

Perhaps I should have gone to Kasugano rather than return to the palace. Shigeko was surprised—I suspect she is looking forward to the simplicity of life there, of a life after I am gone—but I found I could not. The emptying of my trunks is only half-finished. I recently found a little teakwood cabinet filled with letters exchanged with one of my half-sisters when she was in retreat at Ise. She was prolific (as was I, it seems), and for some days I amused myself by hearing the echoes of her voice as Shigeko read the letters to me, one after the other. What other letters, memories, remain in those trunks?

And another reason: I did not want to leave this unfinished, these notebooks of my life. Writing is a habit into which I have fallen. It is hard to break.

And so five days ago (was it? I am not sure, for I have been sleeping such odd hours lately, tucked deep in my rooms away from daylight and stars) I returned here. Since then I have slept, and stared into the coals of my brazier (will I ever be warm again?). Today is the first day I have tried to write, and even these few lines have required that I rest three times.

Shigeko has watched me write and write and write—over the years, yes, but also here, in all these once-blank notebooks. She has seen how hard writing is for me, just now, and she has finally asked me what I write.

"Memories," I tell her. "Dreams."

"Why?" she asks. "You have all your old diaries"—though this is no longer true; many have already been picked apart and fed to the flames of braziers like this one.

"It is something to do," I say. I do not tell her that I write because I must, because the price of my life is telling this story, if only to myself. If I die without telling it, I die in debt, and I will never be able to move into the Pure Land.

She does not ask more, not tonight, but no conversation between us truly ends.

There was a day when they were at last very close to their goal, and Kitsune took a handful of men and rode ahead to survey the situation at the Osa Hitachi estate. It had rained for three days, and the band had camped on steep pine-covered slopes that offered cover from the interminable tap-tap-tap of the rain—but only in exchange for irregular gouts of water that gathered and then dropped from the branches—the difficult choice between a steady small evil and a sporadic great one. Takase was not allowing patrols, so Kagaya-hime remained close to camp, and vented her irritation at being cold and wet by throwing knives into the soft bark of a yew, again and again at the place where she had seen a beetle, though nothing remained of the beetle and very little of the wood where it had walked. Biter stood under the thick rice-straw rain blanket Otoko had made for him, snapping idly at anyone who came within reach. The morning and the afternoon dripped on; and then dusk, made drab by the heavy skies. Takase sat back on his heels in silence beside the fire, absently rubbing his ancient arrow-wound. He said little, and Kagaya-hime said less. Cats and commanders know how to wait.

Kitsune did not return until shortly after full dark had fallen. Kagaya-hime woke from a doze when she heard horses walking and soft voices. Kitsune dismounted slowly, and handed his reins to a servant, then stumbled to the fire and sank back onto his heels. He was soaked through: gold and orange firelight glistened on his wet face. The horses and other riders moved away. There was a stranger with the group, a peasant by his

looks, who remained near Kitsune just at the edge of the light, squatting under an immense rain hat. Peasants also know how to wait.

Takase had been sleeping beside the fire, but with the arrival he eased himself upright, and coughed and spat on the ground. “Well, boy. I didn’t expect you’d find your way back through the trees until morning.”

Takase’s attendants always had water heated at camp (an old man—or woman—is offered such courtesies); now they poured it onto tea leaves and handed cups to their master and Kitsune. He smelled of horses and wet silks and sweat and exhaustion—and tears, Kagaya-hime realized. He was crying: that was the water on his face.

Takase watched him for a moment. “Well, and—?” he said, and his voice was more gentle than Kagaya-hime had heard before.

Kitsune did not look up from the cup he cuddled in his hands. His voice was almost too low to hear, even in the quiet camp. “I knew they burned it,” he said, “that they killed him; my nephews, my baby niece—everyone. I knew it.—And it was nearly a year ago.” A tear slipped from his face, a gold flash in the light before it fell into his cup. “We got there at midday, maybe the horse’s hour. Some of the buildings are just gone, just charcoal. Farmers have been breaking up some of the structural timbers, burning what’s left in their ovens. The main house is about half-ruined.—They’re keeping mares in it nights, to protect them from wolves. My brother’s house.” He looked up suddenly. “It’s almost a year, now. It still smells like smoke.”

“Like kitchen fires and sulfur,” Kagaya-hime said. She remembered the burned grounds on Nijō avenue, the cats with burning eyes that might have been real or might have been ghosts. “And death.” Her nails were biting into her palms. She flexed her hands, trying to relax, and saw Takase and Kitsune looking at her. “I have seen it,” she said. “My *fudoki*. My aunts and cousins—that is how we died.”

“Well,” Takase said again. “What’s the situation there, boy? Where are the Abe?”

Kitsune rubbed his eyes. “The main force went back north in the autumn, but there’s still one of the family here, the fourth son and his family; and a cousin. They’re not rebuilding; they ride over from an estate a few miles away to check on things.” He gestured at the peasant, still crouched out of the fire’s circle of warmth. “Mori here knows more. He served my brother before—” His voice trailed off.

“You,” Takase barked at the man. “Come here.” The farmer crept forward, forehead nearly to the ground. “Where is this other place?”

“That way,” the peasant said and pointed into the darkness without looking up. “Two miles east and north of my master’s old estate. Ten miles from here.”

“You have been there?”

The man nodded.

“Who is there?”

“Abe no Juro—that is the fourth son, my lord; his cousin—families and servants—thirty horsemen—” The peasant looked up doubtfully. “And the servants, and all the locals.”

Takase looked up at the sky, as if he could see stars and moon through the dripping clouds. “It’s still early,” he said, “the rat’s hour or thereabout-”

The peasant pressed his face to the wet dirt again. “The boar’s hour, my lord.” Peasants can often tell such things.

Takase said, “Early, at any rate. We can be there long before dawn and attack while they sleep, before they’ve heard we’re here.”

Kitsune stood, his eyes flat in the firelight. “Attack them. Yes.”

“Lords—” The peasant’s voice sounded as though it had been wrung from him. “Please. My sister and her husband serve there. They have children.”

“So did my brother have children,” Kitsune said.

“My sister did not burn your brother’s family,” the peasant said, as sharply as he dared. “Please, let me send her word. She will leave and never say a thing, I swear it.”

“No,” Takase said. “She would have friends, and she would tell them. It must be this way.”

“Then they are dead,” the peasant said and turned his face away, toward the darkness and the rain.

There were few guards on the estate, the inhabitants evidently trusting to the wet night as their best protection. Forerunners found only three men standing under trees. Their senses numbed by the steady rain and the late hour, they died silently, perhaps without even realizing they died.

The war books I read so long ago were full of elaborate strategies with names that sound like sexual positions from a Chinese handbook; but on the night I listened to the old warriors from Yoshiee’s war, I learned that the

commonest strategies are the simplest. Ambush: night attacks: destroying a bridge so the enemy cannot approach: out-and-out flight.

Burning an enemy's household while he sleeps is popular, as well. The guards gone, Takase found it simple to arrange his war band around the main buildings of the estate. The horses he left out of earshot, for they had picked up their riders' excitement and could not be trusted to stay silent.

Not everyone was asleep, of course. There is always some old woman with aching bones, or a mother soothing her colicky baby, or a man full of wine shifting restlessly, his bladder full. But they were unlucky this night, or cursed. Everyone stayed inside and no one heard the Osa Hitachi men take their positions. The dogs must have heard, and the geese with which farms are always infested, but they said nothing—or perhaps did not hear, after all, over the rain.

Kagaya-hime's eyes were better than the men's, but there was little to see: the buildings and the men brought for this attack were just variations in the darkness, more felt than seen. Takase was a black bulk a few steps from her. When he spoke, his voice was low: "Bring the torches." The order was passed until she lost it in the rain. A moment later, lights dull as fox-fire bobbed toward the heavy mass of the main house: torches guttering in the rain. The torchbearer nearest her was Osa Hitachi no Kitsune. Watching to ensure his fire did not die, he walked carefully, feeling his way over the puddled ground. Tiny red lights flicked across his face. Kagaya-hime thought about the dream-thing of eyes and flames, the killing rage, and recognized it in Kitsune. She did not recognize the other torchbearers, but guessed that they, too, had lost family.

The main house was a typical rural building, thatched rather than tiled for warmth in the winters. The structure was raised on pillars, the roof far out of reach; but in one place the thatch had loosened over the winter and not yet been repaired. It hung down in a sloppy garland, like the frayed straw rope at a neglected shrine. Kitsune held his torch high beneath the overhang until the rice straw hissed as it dried, barely audible over the rain and the dripping trees. Dull red light licked certain stems, too weak to spread.

"Did it catch?" one man murmured to another, both nameless in the gloom. "Maybe he should—"

"Wait," the other said, and there was a noise, the soft sudden movement of air as new-dried straw burst into flames.

The men around Kagaya-hime took a simultaneous step as if pushed back by the light. Kitsune ducked backward, away from the sudden fire, and tossed the torch onto the roof. The clearing brightened as pillars of fire shot up elsewhere. “Now *that’s* a light you can read by,” one of the men said and laughed without humor. Kagaya-hime could see his intent face. They all had this look: the expression of a cat before she jumps.

They heard the first shout inside the main building: “Fire,” and then, “Fire! The roof—look!” screams and disorder. People tumbled through the doorway, a woman and two children, one an infant. One of Takase’s men shouted, “She’s mine,” and shot her in the belly, below the baby in her arms. She fell without a cry, dropping to her knees and then side. The child beside her stared stunned at the men outside until an arrow took him in the chest. He collapsed backward into a man and old woman stumbling out. The baby of the fallen woman started wailing as the man screamed. The old woman was silent for a single white-eyed moment before she turned to shout inside. “It’s an attack. We’re—”

She fell to the ground clutching the flesh around an arrow set fletching-deep into her thigh. “Well, shit,” she said before the next arrow slashed into her face.

The flames were young, bright and enormous as funeral pyres, though black smoke and glowing steam obscured them in places. Sparks showered the clearing; it was only when one landed on her face that Kagaya-hime realized that some were drops of rain catching the light.

The men of the war band howled, fierce as wolves, eyes shining flat and pale. They shot everything that came through the door, and after a time no one tried to escape that way except fowl and a terrified dog with a great dirty burn along its flank.

This was how it had been for her home, for the cats of Kagaya-hime’s tale—not the arrows but the fire, the thatch collapsing, the agonizing death, the impossibility of escape. She had lost everything in fire; but this did not make her merciful. She killed people as they ran out, and when they stopped coming she shot arrow after arrow into the flaming door, as if to kill those still inside. Perhaps this was mercy of a kind; no one had offered the cats of her *fudoki* so quick a death.

This is the way of war—of this war, anyway. Perhaps somewhere in the world, among the barbarians beyond India or across the great ocean, there are civilized wars with rules of engagement and judges to determine proper

behavior. Perhaps strategies are clever and complicated and minimize unnecessary deaths. Perhaps the only people who die are warriors sent to the scene of battle for no other purpose than to kill or be killed. Perhaps there is somewhere that chroniclers can tell the plain truth about a battle without shocking even the most delicate of sensibilities.

But I rather doubt this. We are a civilized people, in our way (dare I say it?) more sophisticated even than China; and yet I cannot forget the stories of the men from Yoshiee's war. Even for us war is unpleasant; surely it must be more so elsewhere.

Kagaya-hime understands war, accepts it as I do not. Why would she not? She is a cat, a killer by nature. She has seen children killed before this: the males of her race have been known to kill the kittens of a *fudoki* when they claim its territory. Perhaps this is the way of all males, to kill. They have no *fudoki* and so all that is left to them is life and death and their children. But I am forgetting; this is Kagaya-hime I am speaking of. Human males, men—Dōmei—surely they are more than this.

The cries ceased after a time, or were drowned by the fire. The screaming infant that had been crying fell silent; the heap of bodies before the door smoked, smelled of cooking meat. The war band's shouts stopped, and as it became certain that there would be no last-ditch escape—no one was left alive in the buildings to attempt one—men left the fire. Some wept or vomited as they walked, or collapsed as if they had fought for their lives, or shivered as if ill or injured. Some stayed: Kagaya-hime, Kitsune, Takase, others.

"Why are they sick?" she asked Takase. A man—the one who had laughed at the fire—had fallen to his knees, body wrenched with dry retching.

Takase turned to look at her, his expression harsh. "It takes some people this way. We've killed a lot of people."

"Wasn't that why you did this?"

He barked a humorless laugh. "Clever girl. We chose to kill them, but that doesn't mean we don't suffer for it."

"Why? You're alive, they're dead. This is what you wanted, and this is the way of things for you, is it not?" she asked: reasonably, she thought, but he eyed her as if she were a stranger found suddenly standing beside him.

“Yah,” he said, and spat on the ground; smoke leaves a bitter taste in the mouth. “We watch death and imagine it as if it were ours, our comrades’. Because it could have been. Will be, someday.”

“Is that why he vomits?”

“Maybe. Yes. No. Ask him, why don’t you.”

“Why don’t they *all* turn away?” She gestured.

“Some lost family,” Takase said. “They want to see these others die.”

“It doesn’t bring them back.”

“You lost your family, girl. Didn’t you want to kill someone, anyone, after that?” Takase rubbed his eyes. “Gah, I’ll go blind from this smoke. There are people who love death, who kill because it fills them with joy.”

“Oh, yes,” Kagaya-hime said softly. “Because the killing reminds them that they, at least, are alive.” A timber broke and collapsed inward, and a flame as tall as the trees shot up from the building’s interior. They stood in silence for a while. “Why do you watch this?”

Takase said. “I watch because—” He gave a short laugh. “I’m dying; I might as well tell you the truth. I’m here because I’m better at war than at anything else.”

“I also,” Kagaya-hime said. Cat and commander understood one another.

Fire in the night: the priest from the nunnery has been with me, and tells me to contemplate the sutras when I cannot sleep, as happens increasingly. It is my salvation, he tells me: my hope for rebirth into enlightenment.

But tonight I cannot. It is the tenth month now (can I have written for two whole months? I recall beginning these notebooks in the eighth month). I have been cold for so long, but for some reason tonight, when winter’s first frost glitters under the nearly full moon, I am sweltering as much as I did when my courses stopped, all those years ago. I do not hurt so much tonight, but earlier this evening the flush of heat drove me out walking a little, leaning on Shigeko until her back creaked. Now Shigeko sleeps, and I shift restlessly, pulling my sweat-sticky robes away from my skin.

Dōmei. His skin felt good, tasted better. Like any civilized man, he wore scent, and I remember he smelled of Chinese oranges and sandalwood; but beneath that was something rich as pheasant-meat, musky but sweet. I can remember it so vividly; if I close my eyes, it is so strong that I can imagine him in my room, and see him untying his *hakama-trousers* behind my eyelids. He looks across the room at me, his eyes glinting with humor and

passion. My heart pounds; I am choked with longing, sweet and hot and tart, like biting into sun-warmed fruit. He always loved to touch my throat, even lay his cheek and lips against it as we made love. My hand (the memory of his hand) reaches up to touch my neck and I feel—this. Skin as fragile and furred and folded as much-used mulberry paper. This is an old woman's throat. My throat. Dōmei is gone, and I am dying, and I will never never never be young again and feel his touch.

In my secret heart, I curse all the gods and Buddhas who permitted me to become old, who let Dōmei go.

Dōmei could not sleep nights, or did not sleep well, at any rate. Dreams haunted him, dreams he could never (or chose never to) tell me when I awakened him, unsettled by the inarticulate sounds he made, the sweaty thrashing as he fought the bed robes.

It is not a bad thing to have a lover who does not sleep well, when he may only visit you in the hours between dusk and dawn. Nights, we made love frequently and slept seldom, and I dozed my days away. I wonder (now, with the wisdom that has nothing to do with contemplation and everything to do with age) whether we had sex so often and so enthusiastically because he wished to batter himself against my body until he was too exhausted to dream.

But there was a night I had forgotten until this moment. It was winter, and snow was falling. This numbed the air, muffled it as thoroughly as summer humidity ever did. I had a bet with Dōmei about making snow mountains, so two of my women and Dōmei's two attendants chased around the peony courtyard throwing up plumes as they pawed the snow into heaps. Dōmei and I and the rest of my attendants watched, feet close to the braziers we had brought onto the veranda. The men were faster and more efficient, of course, so I sent Shigeko out to assist my team. Dōmei protested the cheat, and when I only laughed and tossed my head, he waded into the snow himself, tossing snow between his legs, dog-style, onto his mountain.

So, improper as it was, I went out myself to regain the advantage for my side. Others of my women tumbled after me. Protesting through his laughter, Domei tossed a handful of snow my way, a slow bright cascade in the torches. And I tossed snow at him, and my women at the men and at one another, and soon the courtyard was filled with squeals and screeching, for

all the world as if we were none of us old enough to be trusted with using ink. As with the mountain-building, at first the men had the advantage of us, but I learn quickly, and it was no time at all before I had realized that the snow threw farther and more accurately when compressed into firm balls the size of a fist.—Which is not to say I was any better at this than I had been at shooting arrows at a target: I missed far more often than I hit, and even then it was not usually what I aimed at.

Dōmei encouraged me to fling these balls at him, his laughter muffled, granted intimacy by the snow-filled air. He tossed his own carefully, close enough to incite me, distant enough not to strike me.

I tossed my balls of snow and learned: harder next time, and a little more to the right. I threw one so well that he was forced to duck. And the next time, when he was distracted by a snowball from Shigeko, I struck him solidly on the side of the face.

A face full of snow cannot be pleasant—snow crunched tight until it is hard as wood must hurt like being struck with a club. The snowball exploded into dust and smoke. Dōmei dropped into a crouch of sorts, then leapt toward me, hands out to strike, eyes unrecognizing. I dropped to my knees, preparing to die. He would not mean it. I knew this would be no more than the unconscious slap of a man at a mosquito, a dog snapping at a flea that had bitten it. But I would be dead anyway.

I closed my eyes but I did not die, instead heard him fall to his knees before me, heard horror in his voice as he whispered my name.

This was the end of the snow-games that night. I coaxed him to stay with me, behind my curtains for a while, because the look in his eyes had frightened me, and I needed to replace it in my memory with other, tenderer expressions. He stayed because—I don't know why he stayed. I loved him, lived in his sleeve (and he in mine) for a year and a season; and I think I never knew who he was. He was Domei, the man from the hinterlands. He was a wild animal come to stay in my garden for a time. I watched him and wondered, but I never understood.

Dōmei slept that night, though he did not often do so in my presence—slept and dreamt. I woke in the darkness, to the sound of a man crying, and it was him, sobbing as he slept. I cannot say what had happened to the lamp, the braziers, for we lay in a darkness like the inside of mourning sleeves. I

called his name; when this did not awaken him, I touched his hand and then his cheek.

"What?" He thrashed awake.

"It's just I." When I stroked his face, I found it wet, and his body shaking. "What is it?"

"I was at the Moki estate, with my father—" The Moki estate: I knew this place from a casual allusion he made once to one of his attendants. The Mononobe clan and the Moki had fought; the Mononobe had won. "—and they were crying, all the women, inside the house. I heard them screaming."

"Hush, hush. It's all right. You're here now. You're awake."

"I was awake then, too, Harueme."

I barely breathed, for I had never heard this tone in his voice before.

Lamplight and even daylight change what we say. We see someone's face and adjust our conversations accordingly: catch her interest, make him laugh. Certain things can be said only in darkness, true darkness, where one cannot see fear or horror or disgust in one's auditor. In the light (and there is always light, it seems: moon and stars, embers if nothing else; but not this night, not as it lives in my memory) Dōmei spoke of a thousand pleasant or amusing things: stories of his brothers, his horses, pranks and games and delights—it is no wonder I longed to see his home! He said nothing of battles, though I knew there had been several.

But the snow-fight and now the darkness—he spoke, in a voice I scarcely recognized. He had seen just such a night-attack as this I have written, years before. The fire that Kagaya-hime watches is his story—or the story I imagined behind his disjointed fragments of image and sentence that night; for he did not say, this happened and then that happened. He gave only details: how the screams ended in gurgles, sobs, an old man's voice that said, "I'm tired, mama"; the mixed smells of wet thatch and the burning dead; a lone baby crying in the growing heap of bodies by the door until it fell silent.

I thought at first this was a nightmare he recounted. It could not be possible for someone I knew, loved—for *Dōmei—to* have experienced this. I asked no questions, for I could think of none I might want answered. I held him until he stopped shaking and squeezing out the bitter words. He fell silent and turned to me, and we had sex again: wordless this time, and fierce as cats mating. He left shortly after this, still in the strange total

darkness, and never slept in my rooms again, though he visited as often as he ever had.

In the morning I was not at all sure that *I* had not been dreaming. I asked Shigeko as she picked up scattered robes and sleeve-papers from my sleeping enclosure, but fatigued from the snow-fight, she had fallen asleep and heard nothing. This has always seemed strange to me, that the one night that Domei spoke of war was the only night she failed to stay awake with me.—He forgot his sash, I remember now; Shigeko and I found it when we first started to empty these trunks.

"Shigeko?" I ask now. It is morning and bitterly cold. I have all my screens closed, but when one of my women came for my chamber box, I had a glimpse of the garden thick with fog, peony-colored in the rising sun. It is truly autumn now. I will leave soon, as soon as these words stop pouring from me, like a flux that cannot be cured.

Shigeko has been sleeping beside me as I fill this notebook. My favorite sandalwood-handle brush grew heavy, so I took up this brush, so much lighter in my tired hand. She awakened a short time ago; now she picks up the scraps of sleeve-paper I used to test this brush, for I tossed them on the floor. This could almost be that morning, forty years ago, when she gathered the papers left by sex with Dōmei—though her hair is frosted silver, and her movements are careful, as if her fingers were unfired clay and too fragile to use heedlessly. If the moments of my life might be sorted, not by hours and years, but by all the times I have held a brush, perhaps Shigeko's life might best be measured by the papers she has picked up.

"Do you remember Mononobe no Dōmei?" I ask her. This is the first time we have spoken of him in—twenty? thirty?—years.

She smiles slightly. "Of course, my lady."

"Do you recall the night we had the snow-fight, he and his men and you and I and—"

She thinks for a moment. "Murasaki and Tamiko and Hashi were there, as well."

"No doubt," I say to her: I cannot keep track of all the women who have attended me over the years. "That night, after we retired—were you there?"

"Oh, yes," she says. "He—had bad dreams, as I recall."

"You heard him, then? He said things?" I did not dream them? And you recall such a small thing, so many years later?

“I could not sleep, my lady. It was very dark. I was thinking about the snow, remembering the fight—” She smiles again. “That was fun, yes?”

“Yes,” I say. “I only remembered it when I began—” I gesture at the notebook with my brush, which I see is drying, the ink caking into the bristles.

“Truly, my lady?” She looks surprised. “I have never forgotten.”

“It was not a dream, then? What he said that night?”

“About the—fire, when those people died.” She shivers and goes without my asking her to stir up the coals in the brazier. “Yes,” she says absently.

“It was not a dream, then,” I say, and I mean, not just that night, the words he said, but everything about Mononobe no Dōmei, and how I loved him.

“No,” she says. “It was all real.”

What is it like, to die by fire? I have wished this fate on my cat-warrior’s family, and then on Osa Hitachi no Kitsune’s brother and his people; and now on the Abe, and all the hapless others that lived at this estate. There are fires in the capital nearly every year, and each time some tens or thousands die. Whenever there was a fire, I (through my women) followed its progress through the responses the guardsmen and passersby shouted to us as they hustled past. We clung to one another and imagined the fire might veer, and that somehow we might not be saved. It would creep closer and closer, pillars of smoke and flame; choking fumes; some touching final poems exchanged—

Well, really, what were we thinking? We played with the fire, thrilling ourselves with the notion of deaths so unlikely and exciting, just as a child pokes a stick at a sleeping mastiff, confident that the rope that holds it will not break. We already knew that we would die by childbirth and disease and old age. Fire, or drowning, or freezing to death would all be *exciting* deaths, so much more glamorous than the circumscribed borders of our lives.

We were fools—or I was, anyway. No matter its form, death is not exciting. Or it is always exciting. I do not yet know which. Frankly, I have no desire to know.

In the morning, most of the fires were out at the destroyed estate. What remained burned on, sullenly stubborn but easy enough to avoid.

Kagaya-hime had never lost her cat's skill at walking over uneven surfaces, so she climbed farther into the collapsed main house than the others dared. She stooped under a beam and found herself in a strange gap where the wall had not completely collapsed, holding the ceiling beams clear. The space was slick with ash and water, and filled with the scents of burning and rain. —And ghosts: a man screaming and clawing at the remains of the wall; another bent over and weeping tears of blood that vanished when they fell; a woman lying beside a charred body, as if asleep beside a lover.

Kneeling at Kagaya-hime's feet, a ghost woman pawed at a collapsed timber.

"You can go now," Kagaya-hime said. It seemed futile work, even to a cat. "Most of the others have."

The ghost woman looked up. "My husband—I think he's here, but I can't seem to—help me. Please."

"You're dead." A drop of water landed on the back of Kagaya-hime's hand and left a black circle; she rubbed it away. "Everyone is."

"If we're both dead, why can't I find him?" the ghost said reasonably. "He should be right here, yes?"

Kagaya-hime looked around the dark reeking space. "There are others here, but I can't tell if they are your husband."

"Where?" The ghost leapt up, and Kagaya-hime could see a corpse, black as the wood that pinned it; though there was no telling whether it was the ghost's corpse, or that of the husband it sought. "Where is he?"

"There are people there"—Kagaya-hime pointed at the ghost men—"and there. But—"

The ghost whirled to look. "There's no one!" It sagged to its knees, tears red on its face. "I'm alone. Why would you lie?"

"I see them," Kagaya-hime said. She stepped across to the weeping ghost man, who looked up, confused. She held her hand just above its head. "Here is one."

The ghost man looked up at her hand. "What are you? Why are you alive?"

The ghost woman's face crumpled. "There is nothing there, nothing but darkness. Don't *mock* me."

"Never mind," Kagaya-hime said. After a moment, the ghost man covered its face with its hands; the ghost woman knelt again, to scrabble

uselessly at the timber that trapped the corpse.

Kagaya-hime picked her way forward, through the darkness. Impatient with their stupidity, she did not speak to the other ghosts; but she heard something living, a high fast panting, and following it she found a dog with blood on its muzzle, hind legs crushed by a fallen chest. The dog did not lift its head at her approach, so she crouched and brought her face to its muzzle.

"It hurts," the dog said.

"I can make it stop," she said, "but then you'll be dead."

The dog panted for a time, then: "Yes."

Kagaya-hime slit the dog's throat. The breathing ended with a soft, wet noise. The body twitched once, and again. And then the dog shook itself free of its body, stood, and stretched. "Much better, it said."This is dead?"

Kagaya-hime nodded. The markings on the living dog had been concealed by ash and blood, but the dog's ghost was clean: gold-brown coat, black muzzle and paws. "I did not know that dogs had ghosts."

The ghost nosed at its corpse. "Neither did I. Now what?"

"I don't know," she said. "You're dead. Everyone is."

"I guess. Hey, there's my lady." The ghost dog pricked its ears forward.

"You can see her?"

"I see everyone," it said. "Dead, like you said. She looks upset. I better check."

"I don't think—" Kagaya-hime began, but it was already gone across the short distance to the ghost woman trying to lift the timber.

"My lady?" the dog said.

The ghost woman did not look up. "Not now, Goldie, I'm busy." The woman stopped suddenly and looked at the dog, realizations tumbling one after the other. *A dog spoke: no, it is dead: no, we are both dead, and yet we see one another. I am not alone.* Trembling, the ghost woman reached for the dog's shoulder. Ghost touched ghost; she cried aloud, and pressed her face against the glossy immaterial fur.

Dogs, even ghost dogs, are only patient with tears for a time. It wriggled a little in her arms and said, "Now what?"

She wiped her eyes and looked around. "My husband—"

"Don't see him," the dog said. "He's goose."

"Oh," she said, believing the dog as she had not Kagaya-hime.

Kagaya-hime said, "You, dog—you see all the ghosts, yes?"

"I suppose," the dog's ghost said. "My lady, let's get out of here."

“Wait,” Kagaya-hime said. “Are there mouse ghosts?”

The dog seemed to shrug. “See for yourself. My lady, can we go now?”

“Yes,” the woman’s ghost said, and at her voice a beam overhead shifted, ash and water cascading down. Shouts outside the building: “Girl! Are you in there?” When Kagaya-hime lifted her head from her protecting arms, the air was white with drifting ash. The ghost woman and dog were gone.

The other ghosts wept and screamed and slept on, unheeding. Kagaya retraced her steps carefully, but saw no mouse ghosts.

In all, Takase’s party found forty corpses and another score of things that might once have been bodies. I wish I could say that the peasant man Mori’s sister and her family survived, but it seems unlikely.

War and passion are caused by disturbances of the humors, an imbalance of yin and yang, too much fire or air, not enough water or wood. And yet the monks tell me that there is karma, and cause and effect; that war and passion (and sickness, and death) happen because they have been earned in some way. But this is nonsense. The peasant man whose sister died at the burned estate, and Kagaya-hime, who has lost her tale, and I, who die of this pressure in my lungs—what precisely earns these specific punishments?

Only in stories do things make sense.

11.

THE TEN-OX NOTEBOOK

I have been so tired lately. We have emptied many of the trunks, but there are still what seem a thousand more. It is not the pain that keeps me awake. I am curious about this *monogatari* tale I tell: curious about the cat, and even curious about myself. My story ends, as all tales do, in death—or, more truthfully, my story ends just before that, when I put down this brush and retreat to Kasugano at last.

And that will be when the last of these empty notebooks is filled, and the last of the filled trunks is emptied. I replace *things* with *words,* I see. And after that? The notebooks are *things,* as well. As such, I suppose that even they will be put on the fire, when all is finished.

When I am done with the notebooks (and my life), there will be left the word: *remember* ... Shigeko will think of me until she is dead, I hope with kindness. My great-grandnephew the emperor may have occasion to think of me when he is grown old; may even teach some child the song I taught him. Finally there will be no one who remembers me. I will be a name on a list, like the consorts of emperors five hundred years dead.

I should not be holding a brush when I feel like this.

I remember this from the Chinese guides to war-making that I borrowed from my half-brother the emperor: a small force in the territory of an enemy of superior numbers must utilize speed and surprise if it is to prevail. The war band of Seiwa Minamoto no Takase was still a hundred miles from the primary estate of the enemy. They (no doubt sensibly) did not choose to follow the main road north. This followed the course of Kitakawi river for many tens of miles, and led through villages and past forts and estates. There were many possibilities of losing surprise, and the almost certainty that soldiers assigned here would resent an unauthorized assault.

There was another way, a route that crawled over the flanks of mountains, and crept beside streams of icy water so fast that a horse more than knee-deep might be swept away and die. There were villages and farms along this way as well, but fewer of them, and no forts. The route followed ox-wide roads in the valleys, and hunters' trails over the mountains. Here, two hundred fifty men and their horses (for others had left the war band, summoned or lured home) had more chance of traveling north without unwanted attention.

The Chinese guides do not mention this, but there is another thing required for a conflict of this sort, something so fundamental that I think that they overlook it. *Strike fast,* yes; and *strike with surprise;* but more importantly, *strike hard,* hard enough that the enemy reels and does not regain his balance. The books were full of strategy and tactics, a million details; but at its heart, war is about a single thing: violence. The war band understood this, as all the Chinese sages did not.

The band moved quickly. Estates were far apart, sometimes no more than a handful of buildings and a series of fields carved from the otherwise unending forest. The fields were often better tended than the structures, filled with horses ("not so good as ours," Kitsune said to Kagaya-hime one day) or grain, still no more than slim green shoots in the wet dirt.

Strategy was simple: the war band approached an estate and burned it to the ground. Anyone they found—peasant, child, country noble—they killed. If it was dusk when they found a place, they made camp in outbuildings, and burned the main house and fields: lighting a fire for the night, the men called it, and laughed.

The assumption was that anyone found between the estate where Abe no Juro was killed and the main estate of the Abe would be an ally of the Abe—if you could call people this when they had no options, and were in any case more interested in whether their poultry stayed healthy. This assumption was probably true, though "ally" is a flexible term in a world where a loyal follower can leave a marching war band with no dishonor because he is summoned home by the birth of a son, the sickness of a parent, a possible blight in the buckwheat, or an ill-omened dream.

The local inhabitants did not send north for assistance; by the time they realized assistance might be required, they were dead, or too busy fighting fires and mourning the lost. Perhaps they did not think to send north. Takase's men did not explain their goals as they advanced, even to the few

survivors. There was no reason to be sure that this force was directed at the Abe and not another of the powerful families that bickered across Mutsu province. The locals may even have believed the war band was no more than robbers, if better equipped and in greater numbers than usual.

There was warning for the people north of the war band, of course: smoke from a fire makes a towering signpost, the more so when it is night and the southern horizon shimmers angry orange. And messengers did get out: desperate youths on horses stolen from the fields, mothers cuddling infants in slings fashioned of charred cottons; but their messages were locally directed, to a daughter married in a neighboring village, a cousin working on one of the estates.

Men and women are full of contradiction. Even as they believe every runny nose is harbinger to the *kaze-cold* that will kill them, they convince themselves that the man idling alongside the road fingering his sword is no threat, and when they are too close to escape they are shocked to find his intentions are hostile. The residents saw the fires and they heard those few who fled; but they hoped that the band would pass somewhere else or ignore them, that the weather would change and hide them, that the gods would somehow save them.

The gods save no one. The fires continued. While there were men who loved the killing, for most men the willingness ebbed and flowed. There were moments when it was simple, others when a man could not bring himself to draw his bow. Many men grow sick of killing just after a battle: they shiver as if cold, and vomit and cry easily. This is why there were always survivors: stay quiet and hidden, pretend you are not there, and the men of the war band, grateful that the worst is over, will pretend that you are not there, either. You will not follow to avenge yourself. You will not report them, even supposing there is someone who cares, who is not grateful that the attack fell on you and not them. You will be too busy burning or burying your dead, tracking your escaped animals into the forests, saving what you can of the fields.

Some of the allies left the war band as they lost their taste for killing; others fought on out of loyalty to Takase or the Osa Hitachi, or (more often) a desire that the men of their campfire not despise them. Kagaya-hime had no bad times when she could not kill. Neither did Osa Hitachi no Kitsune, whose brother had been slaughtered and who was half-fox, which means killing-blood.

And Takase never faltered. I wonder about this, for I do not think he is a cruel man; but he is old, after all, and there are things we must finish before we die, so that we know who we are when the time comes. A military man spends his life preparing for war, and perhaps he never sees it, or sees it in an imperfect form, in unimportant squabbles and artificial conflicts. Takase had fought, and led men, but that was many years ago, and often to no real purpose. Revenge is a simple motivation: aiding loyal followers is a good one. Me, I think that he wished to be a warrior once more before he died.

The boy who was to be my husband touched me that first night, a clammy, shaking hand pressed against my breast as if he were stanching a wound, and (because he could not untie the knot) incompetent gropings through the folds of my *hakama*-trousers, which grew soaked only by his nervous sweat. And then it was dawn, and he was gone.

I vomited and then slept the day away, and Shigeko made everyone—attendants, inquisitive cousin and uncle's messenger, priests and monks—leave me alone. I did not even see the morning letter he sent. Poetry is nothing but lies *(I will love you for all the years of the pine; we will share a thousand lives),* and she guessed that I would have little pleasure in any poem he might send. She wrote the response for me, and only showed me the exchange after I awakened and washed and ate sweet foods, hoping to clear my mouth of a terrible taste I could not identify.

The second night. Again my cousin and my suitor and all their attendants, the endless idiotic conversation. I had a headache but could not allow it to interfere with this oh, so important visit, so I left the burden of conversation to others (in our years together Shigeko has suffered much for me), and watched the moon move through clouds as thin and transparent as silk gauze robes. Again came the false yawns and "appointments elsewhere," and we were alone, he and I, six feet of boxwood floor and a curtain-stand between us.

Evidently he had spent the day thinking of our night together, for he was not so shy this time. "It grows quite cold"—though in fact it was unseasonably warm, that night—"May I come sit beside you?" he asked. I could hear a hundred rehearsals in his carefully casual voice.

"Oh, no! I said in a voice that was no doubt as artificial as his own. "That would be *quite* improper." On my side of the curtain I exchanged a glance

with Shigeko (who was there, of course, with two others of my women); it had been some time since anyone had been quite so gawky in his pursuit.

The correct response to this, of course, is, “I will do nothing, just talk, I swear,” a statement patently false, reassuring only in its predictability. But he was hopeless. On this, his second night, he had decided to make up for last night’s clumsiness by being as debonair as possible, which at thirteen is not at all. He crawled around the edge of my curtain-stand, tangling his feet in the long legs of his *hakama*-trousers. “You’re even more beautiful the second time,” he smirked.

I itched to slap him, but he was my husband, after all—or would be. He would (one hoped) mature into a civilized man. In the meantime, it was my responsibility to use my skills to set him at ease, to show him desire and release. To educate him, train him into the man I wanted him to be. I was old enough to be his mother, after all: how hard could this be?

He showed an unseemly eagerness to dispense with the *hakama*-trousers and get down to cases, but it was absurdly early. “Oh! A moth!” I said. “Tell me, my dear, are you interested in such things?” I tried not to sound like an adult making polite conversation to a child.

“Not unless they eat the silk right off you,” he said.

I gave it up. There would be other nights, years of them. Later, no doubt, he would display his (currently undetectable) virtues. And even if he grew no more pleasant, he would grow older and presumably less annoying; and there would be other wives and consorts and lovers. I might not even see him from one month to the next. As for tonight, at least he would not care (or perhaps even realize) that any poems I might make were uninspired.

And so I said the things I should say, and tried not to either laugh or cry. He pushed aside my robes and then loosened my *hakama*-trousers (left untied this time, the cord only looped over itself, to avoid a second disaster) and pushed them down until they clumped around my knees and ankles, an awkward and unappealing wad of fabric.

In my turn, I untied the knot that held his trousers in place, priding myself on my grace in doing so: it is strange how one focuses on tiny benisons when trapped in unpleasantness. He was erect, and not inconsiderably sized. I made the appropriate admiring noises, and touched him, gently and then firmly, feeling the heat of his skin, the texture of his flesh, soft over firm.

But it had been some time since I'd had sex with a young man and I had forgotten certain things. He spent almost immediately all over my iris-colored robes, surprising us both.

And even this might have brought us together. A shared misstep can do that, if handled with charm and humor. Instead he tried to ignore the situation, his sullen embarrassment a poor way to handle it. Since he was hard again almost immediately (ah, youth), he laid me down into the cooling stickiness of my ruined robes, not even pausing to slide the *hakama*-trousers off my legs.

Some things he knew. He entered me easily enough, with minimal fumbling, though his thrusting was feverish and clumsy. By this time I was too annoyed with him to do more than the minimum to encourage him. In his inexperience, he did not recognize the signs of my disinterest, and I resented him for that, as well. When he spent for the second time, I cried out and closed my eyes—in gratitude.

Poor boy. It is so many years since then, and now I realize it was not entirely his fault that things did not work. True, he was a smirking, self-absorbed monkey as gauche as he was stupid. But I was resentful and ungenerous, and did not conceal that I despised him. I could not stop thinking of Dōmei, and how different things would have been with him.

That was the second night of the three nights required for our wedding to be final. He stayed until dawn, as was required for the marriage to be formalized, but we said almost nothing after that. He drank plum wine as quickly as Shigeko brought it to him, and looked out at the garden, spurning my every attempt at conversation—for I knew I was behaving badly, and I tried to smooth things over with courtesy. As the sky paled, he took me again, one final time, quickly and angrily, and was gone.

I was not present for the third night of my marriage.

After our second night, my husband-to-be left at dawn. He did not stalk out, as I suppose he thought he was doing, instead flouncing with all the maturity of a child in a tantrum. He gathered his closest attendants (who had spent their night on the veranda, near the screens of some of my women), and they swung off, down a long walkway that led to the residence's east gate. The sky had lightened enough that I saw them clearly, but all the curtains and eye-blinds and lattices and screens cut my view into

tiny random shapes: here, half of an angry face; there, a hand caught in a gesture without meaning.

Even after they were gone, and Shigeko and the other women started to bathe and dress me, I watched the world in fragments. The lattices that hung from the eaves broke everything into tiny squares, and even these were hidden in places by the eye-blinds, which left only slivers of light and motion. In one place, a half-opened screen revealed a narrow stripe of the world: silver-blue sky, and a part of a cloud, and a tree's crown, a tiled roof, other lattices and verandas, and ivy and white stones, all no wider than my hand at arm's length. And everything was hazed by the silk gauze of the curtains of state that surrounded me.

The squares and slices and slivers hinted at the world, but did not offer it. I had grown used to this, had learned to see a splintered world and conclude the rest. Even when I stood outside, as sometimes happened, my world was a shred of the whole world, the real world, bounded by walls and roofs and carefully planted trees. And even the hill Fudaoka and the mountains to the east and west, all as familiar as the rips in the screens around my bed.

My uncle and cousin called. I could not deny them a visit, but I had little enough to say to their plans for the marriage. The boy sent his morning poem, surprisingly shy and so late that he must have spent some hours sweating to get the words right. I replied with something meaningless about plovers at dusk, crying for loneliness. *I have never seen a plover,* I thought, but I sent the letter anyway, grateful for the emptiness of poetry.

When we have been awake all night, we commonly sleep the day away; the more so when the next night promises no rest. By midday most of my women had retired, though several stayed with me, concealing their yawns so poorly that I sent them away. And then there were only myself and Shigeko, who might as well be my skin, so closely joined are we. The air was warm, and hummed with insects I could not see. The shreds of the world shifted as breezes arose and then collapsed, as the sun moved inexorably across a sky I saw only in shards. Shigeko drowsed beside me, head on a porcelain pillow padded with worn China-silk. I did not read, nor list such observations as I had been lately making, about the feathered legs of crows. I carefully, carefully, thought of nothing at all.

I said aloud: "I will leave now." I made no decision. It was as if my words decided for me.

My voice awoke Shigeko, who sat up, blinking.

“My lady?” she said. “Did you speak?” Her hair had been tied back with many little paper tapes, but strands had pulled free to make her outline hazy, indistinct.

“Nothing,” I said. “I said nothing.”

It does not take many days to travel from the burned-out estate to the main estate of the Abe. Despite the trail of fires and deaths left in the war band’s wake, it took fewer still for the news to reach the head of the clan. After tragedy most people are distracted by their situation or their grief; but there are others who flee, salvaging nothing from their ruined lives; still others who burn, hot and fast as paper, for revenge. The Abe main estate swarmed with those few who had seen the burnings, and more who had heard the tales and run northward, away from the danger. To the south, there was always smoke in pillars or veils, and a greasy look to the air. Sunsets were astonishing reds and golds.

The leader of the clan was a man fifty years of age, Abe no Noritō. No one had lived through the burning of the first estate; but Norito must have known or guessed that this trail of fire led straight from where his fourth son had lived and died. Grief and the desire for revenge often share the surface of a single stone. Where does one end and the other begin? No one can tell, not even the stone.

Noritō’s resources for a war (even a small one) were not great. It was the middle of the fourth month: food is short, for the winter’s stores have been used up and the foods of the new year—sweet potatoes and *taro* and *daikon* and *azuki* beans—are not yet grown. People are scarce, as well, for there are so many up in the pastures with the horses, or busy in the fields, or with the silkworms. Everyone is tired; the harder they work now, the better they will eat come winter, and the more easily they will pay their taxes to the provincial governor. Of Noritō’s three remaining sons, only one remained at the estate; another was in the capital, at court as a guardsman; the third was far to the west, settling a dispute. Potential allies were mostly wrapped up in the affairs of their own estates and households; they had their own storehouses to fill and taxes to pay.

Still, Norito could gather one hundred fifty horsemen: with attendants, nearly four hundred men. He could not know the size of the advancing war band (survivors thought there were a thousand, or a thousand thousand), but

he fought on his own ground. If he himself did not know every stick and stone of the territory, he knew or could find someone who did.

Ambush would be possible but difficult. Though the advancing war band mostly traveled along the narrow stretch of flatland between mountains following a river course, there would be scouts and outriders expecting ambush, and a wary target is the hardest to hit. There were several places where the flatland widened out into a plain of sorts, which would make face-to-face battle possible. Combine what looked like a straightforward battle with sharp-eyed bowmen on the mountains; this might prevail over slightly greater numbers, and if the advancing force was smaller, it might end in the valley. If nothing else, there would be time for Noritō's household to retreat to an ancient *ki*-stockade a few miles to the west. Noritō sent a messenger south with a challenge: battle, on the twentieth day of the sixth month, on the plain beside the village of Ōgen.

A scout came to Takase one evening, carrying the challenge, still wedged into its cleft stick. Takase, Kitsune, and Kagaya-hime were in an open-walled pavilion a little way up a mountain slope, upwind, where the smell of the smoke from the burning farmhouse below was faint. It was too early for mosquitoes, but the first gnats hovered in the air, annoying as dust.

"I killed someone, who was coming up from the north and the west, moving fast," the scout said. "I found this afterward."

"You killed the messenger?" said Kitsune. "Was he attacking you?"

"I hit him from cover." The scout gave something very close to a shrug. "He's the enemy. He didn't exactly have a banner saying 'envoy.'"

"Unfortunate," Takase snapped. "If we respond, now we must send one of our own. There's no reason to think they will be any gentler with our man than we have been with theirs. Well. Let's see what the Abe have to say."

Kagaya-hime was a little apart from the others, only there at all because she did not care for the smoke down in the valley; it was easier to bind arrowheads to new shafts where the air was clear. "Girl, come here," Takase called. "They'll meet us. Find someone who can bring us to Ōgen, and we'll finish this."

As it happened, the scout was sent with the message to Noritō's estate. Only his family care whether he survived or not.

Ogen was not hard to find: follow the river upstream, and it will be one of the villages alongside: if not this one, then the next or the next. The twentieth day of the sixth month was three days away, which gave the war band ample time to scout the ground and find defensible shelter—for a promise to fight on a given day is no guarantee that one side or the other will not try to win the night before.

They settled into a large but rustic farm less than a mile south of Ogen. The farm was halfway up the mountain's flank, snugged against an outcropping of rock that kept even archers too far away to attack from above. There were ten or so buildings, and (once the reluctant inhabitants had been removed) these were comfortable for the men and their horses. Still: many scouts, many guards, many sentries.

This was a wet year. It is as well they found good roofs and hard walls, because it rained for two days in a row, and even the newly thatched main house developed leaks and that pervasive smell one gets in steady rain.

There were things to be done before the battle but not many, for the war band had been fighting for some days. The men slept as much as they could, and saw to the horses and their gear, swapping stories as they braided cord for new reins, or refletched arrows.

Kagaya-hime was restless. This might be expected, for she had traveled long, driven by kami and her own losses. No: it was something more immediate than that, a fever that flushed her cheeks and breasts and left her too agitated to stay long in one place. She could not be comfortable. She snapped at her woman Uona, more at her man Otoko; most of all at the men of the war band. Their presence was like sand caught in a graze, or a flea's bite: pain and an excruciating itch that she could not scratch. She scouted as much as possible, far from everyone, but even the mountains held men, bear hunters and hermits and such. She killed several; after the first day, when she returned with three quivers and five swords that were not her own, Takase forbade her to leave camp unless she could control herself. "They needed it," she snarled.

Takase was meeting with certain of his captains and the priestess Onobe no Kesuko beside the fire. Kagaya-hime paced the room, hands crooked into claws. The captains were always a little afraid of Kagaya-hime, who was strange in a way they could not quite define, so they avoided her eyes; but Takase and the priestess watched her with more-or-less well-concealed

amusement, each for his or her own reason. “Why did they need to be killed?” Takase said.

Kagaya-hime stopped, taken aback. “I needed to get past them. And they might take reports to the Abe.”

“It is a temptation to kill everyone who gets in your way, but people try not to do this too often. It leads to this.” Takase gestured. “Wars.”

She started pacing again. “Their smell—they irritated me.”

Kesuko snorted. “I am sure it did. Listen: I recognize this fever. It will pass.”

“No one feels this,” Kagaya-hime snapped.

“On the contrary,” Kesuko said. “Most of us do, sooner or later.” She smiled slightly.

A messenger interrupted them all, and the topic was dropped. Neither Kagaya-hime nor Takase thought to ask what Kesuko meant by this, and in any case priestesses are famed for statements that make little sense, except in retrospect.

At Kesuko’s recommendation, Kagaya-hime was allowed scouting again (“Better to have her far away, when she feels like this,” she said), though the cat woman stayed high in the mountains where she saw few people, and none up close. Well, almost no one: Kitsune also scouted, and they encountered one another on the second afternoon.

Kagaya-hime walked along a ridge that had a good view of the valley, just inside the trees. Ahead was a small covered shrine, one side open to the overlook. The vermilion paint was nearly gone, leaving only bare wood dark with rain, and the roof tiles had gathered moss and pine needles until the shrine seemed to fade into the woods around it. Kagaya-hime knew someone was there, though there was little to hear over the steady hissing of the rain through foliage, and less to smell. Well, then: if this one spied on the war band, she would kill him. She approached silently from the shrine’s blind side, short sword loose in her hand. She came around and saw sandaled feet stretched out, and leggings; and a bow tipped against one leg, ready for use. A basket-quiver stood on its block base holding a dozen arrowheads of every shape. Kagaya-hime sheathed her sword as she stepped around to see Kitsune. “Keep better watch,” she snarled.

Kitsune had grabbed his bow and settled the arrow she had not seen until she saw him pick it up, a single quick motion. A leaf-headed arrow, long-

shafted and designed for killing. He lowered bow and arrow to his lap, and spat on the ground. “Are you trying to get killed?” he asked.

“I think *I* would not be the dead one,” she said.

“Huh. Fish?” he said. He had been eating, rice balls and pickled fish.

“Yes.” She squatted on her heels, back to a post that held up the roof. The fish tasted of vinegar and salt and smoky earth. His smell, his closeness, his presence, still bothered her, but she was hungry. “You should have heard me,” she said. “Or smelled me.”

“Through *this?”* He pointed at the rain sifting down.

“A fox is supposed to have sharp senses. It was part of the *fudoki*, the—tale.”

He picked up the leaf-headed arrow and stabbed it point-down into the ground. “I am no fox.”

“You are half one,” she said. “I see it and smell it on you.”

“I have not been one, not since I was a boy.”

“You’ve been a man so long? You’ve never wished to taste a fox’s world?”

Kitsune laughed. “My brothers thought I cheated at all our games, anyway. If I had been changing back and forth—? It was easier to stay human. Human is good.”

She looked away. “No. I would kill everyone I know to become a cat again.”

“Ah,” Kitsune said. “So *that* is what you are.”

“It is what I was. The kami—someone—took everything away.”

“You are Kagaya-hime now,” Kitsune said. “Isn’t that enough?”

“It is nothing at all.” She leaned forward and her hair swept across her cheek, hiding him from her gaze. “I have no sisters and fellow-wives, no kittens, no ground to belong to us all, no tale.”

She heard in his voice that he smiled. “And yet I would have said you fit very well with us. You have sisters—my sister Nakara loves you; she wanted you to stay, or at least return with me. You have comrades in arms. You have a horse and servants, and can make a new home anytime you decide to.”

“And kittens?” she said, lifting her face to watch him. “Someone to pass the tale to?”

“Even those,” he said.

“Where are the toms?” she said bitterly. Her gesture included the trees, the camp, all of Mutsu province. “It is my season, and none are here.”

“Have you ever thought this body of yours might serve a purpose besides offering you clever paws? There are no toms here? *I* see no cats at all. *I* see a woman. You are surrounded by men. This is no problem at all, that I can see.”

“Do you think their smells—all your smells—don’t drive me mad?” she whispered. “But I will not have a human child.”

“You’re a cat, all cat. This”—he touched her shoulder—“is nothing. It’s like robes; you put them on, you take them off. This”—he touched her belly, where her soul lived—“is what *you* are. Which are you? Human or cat?”

“Cat.” Her eyes filled with tears. “Oh, cat.”

“Then why would you have a human child?”

“Oh,” she said, like a child understanding a lesson she has struggled with.

Sex. I was fourteen or so, new-come to court, and in love with every sweet-voiced guardsman I encountered. The first man who shared my robes was older than I by a few years and, I thought, handsome. Our conversations and letters would have incited a nun to sex, I think; while the experience itself was painful, I was so maddened by desire that I did not mind, even looked forward to this, since it meant that good as this was, subsequent caresses would be even better.—Though I cannot call his name to mind, my first lover. Or my second or third, for that matter—while I did not think of myself at the time as one who untied her sash for many, I loved the feel of flesh against flesh, and I suppose provincials might have called me wanton. I had no children, which certainly was easier than bearing one and finding a proper home for it.

What has made me think of sex?—Ah, yes: Kagaya-hime. I remember that burning she feels. She stalks through her days longing to ease an itch she does not know how to put her hands on. She aches; she shivers; she snarls and purrs in the same breath.

Kitsune was half-fox, and she a cat, both killing animals; but both human now. They have been speaking, words trotting back and forth. Her momentary peace is gone, and she paces the tiny width of the shrine. He stands and reaches toward her. Her hand comes up, fingers half-curled in what might be a memory of claws, or might be fingertips, curious about the

texture of his skin. She touches his jawline, and his throat. He steps closer and slides his hand into her short, thick hair, soft and fine as cat's fur.

For me, releasing in sex used to be sweet and hot, like heated syrup suddenly spilled. I would shudder, throat to thighs, and then my body would float, as if in blood-warm water. I have seen cats mate; I do not think they release like this, and even Kagaya-hime, in a woman's shape, may not feel it as I do (or *did*: it has been so many years).

Kagaya-hime and Kitsune joined at the entrance to the shrine, in the rain-shadow of the eaves. This was her first time, as woman or cat, and she knew little of what it should be like. Her instincts and the lessons of the cousins and aunts made it seem a savage thing, rage and pain and desire dancing together. But Kitsune was a merry lover, with the enthusiasm of youth and the experience of an attractive man who has spent some time in the capital. Kagaya-hime mewed under his touch, panted and writhed and cried out at the end. He released, and her body relaxed somewhat; but the itch was not gone. It burned on, and she left him quickly, to pace the slopes above the village of Ogen, trying not to howl.

12.

THE *MASHI*-HEMP NOTEBOOK

Did I decide to run away, or was it fated from my birth and before? Was this boldness unique to me, or have other princesses tried? Do all women run from their fates? Do all men? I am old now; I am dying. I still do not know.

To get rid of Shigeko, I faked an indisposition of the bowels—not such an unlikely thing, after my vomiting of the day before. I ordered her to leave me alone with a chamber box, and to remove any of my women who might be within hearing distance.

Certainly it was strange for a noblewoman to refuse assistance at such a time, but I have always been self-conscious about such things. I suppose to my women this might be considered the least of my eccentricities.—And even this is gone in these my dying days: I need help more than I need my pride, it seems.

In any case, Shigeko withdrew to a distance that, if not quite out of earshot, was still distant enough to offer the illusion of privacy, which is as much as a princess can expect.

What would I need to run away? I looked down at my robes of rose and pale blue-green—eleven layers of stiff silk, not to mention the sashes and cords and the amber gauze Chinese-style jacket—and my *hakama-trousers,* so long that I stepped on them when I walked. I would need clothing, obviously, something not so obviously regal. Clogs for walking. Food, I supposed: fruits, perhaps, or rice balls.

"I am running away," I whispered to myself. I felt cunning as a monkey, full of possibility. I opened a trunk (the bound-cedar trunk with the bronze chrysanthemum lock; we emptied that one and sent it away more than a month ago) looking for clothing, and found rolls of unsewn silk in autumn colors. Useless. The next trunk held old *monogatari* tales, left over from my childhood.

I opened a dozen trunks, I think. I'm not sure what Shigeko thought of the noise from my rooms—for she must have been near enough to hear the thumps and scraping. I thought, *really, I must clean these out sometime*, and then laughed aloud, converting the sound to a realistic groan. *Let Shigeko. empty them.*

It was the monkey's hour—midafternoon. Soon my women would come to me, find me robes for the last night of my wedding, feed me anise-water and ginger hoping to ease my indisposition. *Come on, come on*, I breathed, panicky now, not sure whether I was more afraid they would stop me, or catch me looking like a fool.

A small trunk held summer robes. It was daunting to think of changing all my robes without assistance, so I stripped off all but two of my rose-colored under robes. None of the robes in the trunk matched properly, but I selected three in shades of pale gold, in a rough gauze that I thought looked rather countrified. This made me laugh, even through my nervousness: I did not often care about my robe combinations, but now people—strangers—might see me.

The men tied their *hakama*-trousers up and out of the way of their feet when they played at archery games or *kemari;* but I had never seen just how this was done. I eventually contrived something with cords I pulled from two scrolls. The silk clumped in unruly bunches at my knees and ankles, but at least my feet were bare. I tied my hair into a heavy club that hung over one shoulder and down to my waist. I would have to steal a hat and some clogs at the gate—and food, wherever I could find it, for there was nothing to eat here, and I did not feel much like calling an attendant.

I had a notion that people traveling carried things with them, in little bundles on their backs. Clothes, I supposed, and—writing materials, perhaps. Books? The room was a tangle of fabric and carved wood and paper, heaped knee-deep in places. I should bring a sutra, I knew; then, if I stumbled into a monastery, I could at least become a nun. But didn't they demand that a novitiate bring presents? I knew noblewomen always did so.

My bare foot was hot. I looked down and saw that the sun had moved while I was fretting, and a tiny square of light had crawled onto my toes. I clumped up a second set of summer robes with my notes on mantises and an unused ink stone and brush. I needed an ink stick still, and more paper, and—*No time,* I thought, and ran.

Poor child. I was thirty, but that seems so young to me now. Run away, and you leave the tiger behind you, where you can no longer see it—and it is still faster than you. Unpleasant truths are there whether you look at them or not. I did not realize this yet. Death is like this, and I find I face it better than I ever did my marriage.

Shigeko must have seen me slip from my rooms. Perhaps she thought I threw on these mismatched robes to creep to an outhouse, where I could be ill in true privacy. This is a question I have never asked her: *Did you know?* —For if she knew, and let me go, anyway—well, this is a Shigeko I have not imagined.

It is late and she is asleep on the other side of the crab-painted screen, the snore she has developed over the years as familiar as my pulse. I could awaken her and ask, this and a thousand other questions I suddenly realize I have never been arrogant or courageous enough to ask. But sleep is as precious as silver to old women—and perhaps my courage (or arrogance) is not what it once was. I will leave her to sleep.

I had no plans that day, except *away.* The boy would come for the third night, and there would be more of those hopelessly inane poems, but I would not be there. I would be free—free of him, of the poems, of a world that had more interest in robe combinations than moths' wings. Away.

Panic and excitement feel the same; I could not tell which was stronger in me. I padded down the walkway to the west gate—the path the boy had taken at dawn. What was *he* feeling just now, in whatever rooms he laid claim to? Was he lonely, even as he fended off the well-meant advice of older, more experienced attendants? Did *he* long to flee? For a moment I entertained myself with the idea that neither of us might show up for the third night, that many years later we might meet again. We would laugh over our disastrous wedding, a wise old nun and a clever monk. But I could not reconcile this with the gawky boy who had taken me so angrily at dawn.

As a child I had many times tried to escape my residence to join the boys at their games. I was not often successful, though the gardener-boys had shared with me their secret paths: a break in the east wall, a conveniently bent plum tree that overhung the north wall. But that was years before; surely the gaps had been plugged, the tree pruned. The boys would have found new escapes by now. In any case, I was grown: larger, harder to conceal, not so quick to crawl under walkways or up trees.

But I had an advantage. Children are expected to run away. See a child somewhere she does not belong, and you know she is escaping from something unpleasant, and should be sent back to it, whatever it is. But an adult found somewhere unexpected—and, in my case it was the kitchen garden: really, I had no idea how many different plants we eat!—is assumed to be lost.

I was picking my way along a walkway cluttered with baskets of dirty greens when a voice snapped, "What are you doing here?"

I jumped and whirled. A young woman knelt among something leafy and dark green; her indigo-and-white cottons and her dirty feet and hands had concealed her somehow, made her a part of the lengthening shadows that stretched across the vegetable beds. "Oh, you're from the north wing," she said, and flushed. "I'm sorry, my lady, I shouldn't have been so—You're looking for the way out, aren't you?"

I nodded, afraid to trust my voice. Did she recognize me? I had nothing to do with my uncle's servants; she would never have seen my face. She could hardly imagine I was the princess Harueme, barefaced and alone along the radishes. She said nothing more, only led me to the servants' eastern gate, which I had never seen before, even as a child.

The little gatehouse was crammed to the eaves with straw hats and rain capes, and bits of wood that to my inexperienced eye might have been anything. She offered me a basket-shaped hat that covered my head on all sides, nearly to my jawline. The weave was coarse enough that I could see through it: *yet another screen between me and the world,* I thought. She eyed the clogs I'd found next to a storeroom entrance, for so long that I was afraid she recognized them, but she said nothing.

"Watch out for rain," she said, and waved me past the bored-looking guardsman. I could have embraced her, this excellent woman who had no interest in me. Instead we exchanged smiles, and I stepped past the guard and into Nijō avenue. *Away.*

Did she know who I was? Later, when the story could not be concealed, did she realize? Did she care? Perhaps I am not the only one who has run away from my life. Perhaps she had tried, or dreamt of it. Perhaps everyone does.

"Shigeko?" I ask, "Did you ever wish you were somewhere else?"

"Where?" she asks. She is awake now, and feeding an old scroll of bad poetry into a brazier. She amuses herself by trying to burn it as a single long

roll without setting fire to her sleeves.

"Anywhere. Away."

"Ah." She nods wisely. I have not shown her this tale I write, but I think she can guess at least some of what I write from the questions I ask her, or whichever notebooks we've recently unearthed. "Oh!" Distracted, the flames have licked at her fingers, and she drops the entire roll onto the coals. They flare up, and we watch nervously, two small girls afraid that they will set fire to the eaves. The flames die down. We sigh in unison.

"Never," she says.

"Really?" I say a little enviously. "Why not?"

She blushes. "I was well content here, with you."

It is my turn to blush. Perhaps I will show her these notebooks I write.

The night before the battle at the village of Ogen.

"We're outnumbered," Takase said. He sat with Kitsune and his captains at a fire laid in the center of the farmhouse's kitchen yard, a place high enough that the ground had drained. The fire was large, not for warmth but to keep off mosquitoes, and the bitter smoke eddied into their eyes as they spoke. Takase had ordered Kagaya-hime to stay close to camp that night, and she fidgeted restlessly outside their circle, pulling an eagle-fletched arrow through her fingers, again and again. "Ideas? I have no desire to die without getting something accomplished first."

"Night attack is useless," a captain said. Abe no Noritō's warriors camped at a temple just north of the village. The temple grounds were surrounded with a high wall of tree trunks set upright in berms of mountain rocks. The monks inside, hardened by robber gangs and the almost constant fighting that Mutsu province seems to breed, were at least as warlike as those near the capital. So: it was unwise to launch a surprise attack on the sleeping camp.

Other ideas were tossed back and forth. Sharp-eyed archers in the mountains could cut down the enemy during the battle, but Takase did not have so many men that he could spare even a few from combat. This was also the problem with sending a small force to assault the Abe from behind; in either case it was unlikely that the Abe would be caught unawares. The rice fields above the valley were still filled with water; if the war band's attendants broke down the terraces the field would be flooded, but there was

not enough water to do more than swamp the fighting ground fetlock-deep with mud—and it was already close to that, after two days of heavy rains.

"What else?" Takase said.

From behind the circle Kagaya-hime spoke. "Sheathe our claws." Few men from the north had seen a cat, and none knew of this ability they have. But Takase knew cats, and had seen this. "Go on," he said.

She stepped through the circle, and stood beside the fire at its center. "You are smaller than they, yes?"

Takase nodded, eyes tight—though there was no saying whether this was because of the smoke, or annoyance, or the pain of his unhealing wound.

"Then there will be no bite to the back of the neck. You must trick them." She curled her back a little, remembering the feel of defiance. "Look larger than you are. Look fierce, and you may not be worth it."

The captains muttered among themselves, but Takase held up a hand. "We cannot look larger: by now they know how many we are. We can look fierce, but that won't stop them. Not this time. What else?"

She stared out over the heads of the council. "The hind legs are what kill," she said absently. "Your front claws pull them close, and then you gut them with your hind legs."

"What good is this?" one of the captains snapped. "If I want to listen to babbling, I will return to my wife and children."

Another said, "She shoots well, but—"

"She thinks in ways we do not," Takase said. "Four legs instead of two; hidden knives until they're needed. Run away; turn to fight. I see a way. Summon your chief attendants."

"The *servants?"* a captain said.

"The standard bearers, the grooms—yes, the servants. They have claws and teeth, just as we do," Takase said. "And I have orders for them."

So often we forget the servants. I say, "I was alone," as if I walked or read or slept out of sound of voices, isolated. I may say, "I have spent my life alone," but this is a lie—more of a lie than it would be for the baby in a family of six. I am never alone. Except for a handful of times in my life, the closest I have been is in the outhouses, and even then (unless I give orders otherwise) there is someone within earshot, just in case. There were always other women, and there is always Shigeko. Even when we were younger

and she or I left court because of our monthly courses, I knew she was there, like the roof over my head at night, like the wind I breathed.

We share much, Shigeko and I. We have shared books, and laughed at the *monogatari* tales' excesses, or the egregious lies in certain court diaries that have fallen into our hands. She has corrected my paintings of insects and moths and mice with her own delicate brush. She drew the line at millipedes, but she held dead birds for me, even though touching them was impure, so that I could better observe an outstretched wing or the tiny feathers that ringed their eyes.

She knows my face better than I do: has plucked my eyebrows and painted the new ones on since I was barely a woman. It was she who knew my monthly courses, and told me when I would be well advised to retire from court, or to avoid pale fabrics. She has held me more times in the night than any lover, than even my nurse.

Do *we* share, or does *she* share? She has aided me in all these things, but what would she read if left to herself? Soon enough she need read nothing (save sutras) she does not care to. What books and scrolls will she beg to have sent from the capital? More: what will she think about? What favorite foods of mine will she gladly stop eating? Which women (and men) of the court will she drop acquaintance with?

—When I wrote those words, she was kneeling across from me, staring absently into space, one long hand holding her place in a scroll that (I realized) I didn't recognize. "What are you reading?" I asked her. Had I ever asked this before? I must have—five and forty years is a long time: most questions are asked in such a time—but I cannot remember ever hearing her response. It is true that most of us are more interested in our asking a question than in the answer: this must be even worse for a princess.

"It is nothing, my lady," she said. "Do you need something?"

"No; except to know your answer."

"Well, then," she said, a little defiantly. "Poetry."

Poetry? I hate poetry, I managed not to say. She had heard me say it a thousand times, in any case. I was curious, yes? I wanted to discover what was inside Shigeko's mind, not my own. "Tell me what you see in it," I said.

"But you *hate* poetry," she said.

"You have listened to me for the reigns of five emperors," I said. "I can listen to you this once."

So she spent the afternoon explaining what she sees in it. Her observations were not the clever interpretations of image and meaning I expected. She told me, *This* one *reminds* me *of* when I *was* ten, and: *My first* lover *used* to recite *this in* bed. I won't write everything she told me. They are her stories to tell if she chooses, not mine.

After a time, I said, "Do you keep notebooks?"

"Yes," she said, and laughed a little, as if embarrassed. "I started when I was a child. I suppose there must be a hundred of them by now."

"Really," I said. *Amazing.*

"Or were," she added. "I've been destroying them. I won't need them in Kasugano, my lady."

And, old woman that I am, I cried. I haven't cared about the burning of my own notebooks, but I had a thousand objections to her burning hers. What parts of herself has she hidden away or destroyed, only for my convenience? And now I may never know them.—Unless I ask, of course.

How could I have forgotten? Shigeko is more than an accessory in my life, a trunk I put things in, a notebook to record my thoughts. She is, and has always been, herself.

The war band's men set watch and sharpened their weapons and drank cold *sake,* and talked.

Armies have *a fudoki* of sorts. There are tales stretched so far as to become lies, familiar jokes a thousand times repeated, a list of the names of those now gone and how they died. There are childish pranks played (a hat marker replaced with a nonsense name, Prince Rabbit-toes or My Lady Blue-loins; an arrow's fletching changed from hawk feathers to rows of white down), and these, too, become part of the army's tale.

Dōmei once told me that he missed war.

"How can you?" I asked, shocked.

He was drunk and more candid than usual: he slurred as he spoke. "I have never had such good friends."

"You are surrounded by people who love you," I said, "and no one is dying here." How could war be better than this? Than me?

"We are all dying," he said. "We just forget that when nothing is trying to kill us."

I said nothing (indeed, could think of nothing to say), and he lay back, arm thrown across his eyes. And he started to talk. I held myself silent,

clinging to his words.

The stories were not all interesting. Even the stories about battle focused on little, often banal things: a man who lost his helmet and part of the skin beneath it, slick as skinning a rabbit; someone-or-other's armor lacings that had rotted due to the dye used on them, replaced at the last minute with hemp cord—though I cannot even picture this, so barbarous it sounds; a man with dysentery so foul that the men who shared his campfire the night after a fight called him The Yellow River. There were a lot of stories, and after a time, I saw that tears leaked past Dōmei's arm. He wept for these stupid stories.

No: he wept for something else behind the stories: the men he shared them with, and the sharing that comes only when you think you die tomorrow.

I have always thought I know what it is like when women are together: what we talk about and fret over, what matters to us—though lately I have begun to wonder whether I understand even Shigeko. But men with men? They are as foreign to me as the Chinese traders who came to court when I was nineteen. More: they are as foreign as listening to wolves talk, or tigers.

I am so easily distracted these days. I tell Kagaya-hime's story, but my own is as insistent. So: I said that men set watch and drank and talked.

Takase and Kitsune sat at a sunken coal-pit in the middle of the building they slept in. Once he had brought tea and wine, Takase's main attendant, as weathered and old as his master, settled back beside him, and talked with the ease that comes from decades of service to someone. There was a fire to discourage the insects: the men were too hot, but it was preferable to being bitten.

The stories were not all about making war. Takase and his attendant (who was called Suwa, for the town he was born in) knew one another's stories intimately; but they did not know Kitsune's, nor he theirs; in any case it is no bad thing to hear such stories one last time, just before (possible) death. The men talked about their homes, their horses. As is typical, they talked about sex, swapping amusing or impressive encounters first, and, much later, the partners that mattered too much to discard thus casually, the women (and men) they loved: Takase's first lover, Suwa's wife, Kitsune's favorite mistress. Kagaya-hime's restlessness eased (or perhaps the

mosquitoes grew worse than the restlessness), and she joined them in the bitter smoky air. They looked sidelong at her, but the tales went on. Such stories are not easily shared with strangers or women, but woman or no, she might die with them tomorrow: that made her no stranger.

Takase had a single wife, a woman from a branch of the Hata clan. There had been a night when he had crept into her father's residence and watched the moon with her. Just before dawn he gathered his courage ("You were afraid?" Kitsune said. "There are things more frightening than death," Takase said. "If you haven't figured that out, you're even younger than you look") and slipped behind her curtains, and they shared hurried, breathless, giggling sex, trying to be done before the household awoke.

"It isn't sex, is it?" Kagaya-hime interrupted him. "It's not being alone."

Takase wheezed a laugh. "Clever you. Some people say it's about love, but you're right. I loved her, yes. But one of the things I loved about her is that when we were together I wasn't alone. I had other lovers. None of them were like that for me."

"What about you?" Kitsune said to Kagaya-hime. "Have you loved anyone?"

"My horse," she said, and after a pause: "Your sister Nakara. Uona and Otoko perhaps."

"Ha," Takase said. "That's not what I meant."

"Then I don't know the answer."

"Well, you will wed none of them, I hope," said Takase, and the topic changed.

Much later, when the fire was guttering, and Suwa and Kitsune slept, their heads on their bundled armor, Takase and Kagaya-hime spoke.

"A cat," Takase said, for he had been told by Kitsune. "You're new to the islands. Well, I've heard no harm of your kind; you injure no man, unless you claw him—and then I expect he deserves it. But I hadn't heard that cats are so fond of travel."

"I have no home," she said.

Takase leaned back carefully, cradling his belly as he did so. "I've governed three provinces, lived in four residences at the capital. There were things I missed about all these places, but wherever I was, was home."

I have read the war tales that float around court. Everything in a battle seems very orderly: the armies meet; there are envoys and arrows back and

forth; one side or both decide to attack, and there is a scramble to be first in battle; men shout out their names and ranks, looking for suitably ranked foes; horsemen with their bows; the lower-ranked foot soldiers with their *hoko* spears and their *naginata* and their freestanding heavy shields to dodge behind.

But I am also familiar with the sorts of lies that are told for the sake of a story or to save face. I can imagine details the war tales do not bother (or choose) to mention. I can imagine a very different way of fighting.

Ogen stands at the edge of a small plain, no more than a mile long, half that across. They grow rye and buckwheat there, rice on the nearer slopes of the mountains all around. Outside the village (which is not large—twenty houses, no more), there are wells, storehouses, farmhouses of those who do not choose to live as close to their neighbors as a village demands. With all this, there is not much space for a war band of seventy horses and their riders, and one hundred fifty grooms and attendants taking up arms as foot soldiers; even less for a defending force of nearly two hundred horsemen, and two hundred fifty more foot soldiers. Still, they manage. The two armies (for what else can I call them? The war tales are full of armies of ten thousand and more, but it seems more reasonable that armies are small. Where would one collect ten thousand horsemen willing to fight for the same thing, and where could they do so?) stand on opposite ends, north and south, of the valley. Battle is set for the dragon's hour, midmorning.

The members of Takase's war band were awake before dawn. Fighting men claim they can sleep through anything, but some part of them remains alert, and will startle awake at certain sounds. Dōmei did not sleep often in my company, but when he did he was oblivious to nearly everything—the laughter of my women and the men who visited them as they exchanged rude poetry on the verandas; shrill *shō*-pipes from a nearby garden; thunder and lightning. But he came wide awake at the tiny metallic scrape of my picking up a knife to cut my nails, or the chink of pottery cups against one another.

Few people sleep well before a battle. Many gave up with the sky's first brightening, and called softly for their attendants to build up the fires and bring them food and drink. These muted noises woke more men, and most of the camp was awake by the time the sun lifted itself above the mountains. It had been a cool night, and mist hung above the fields,

dissolving only when daylight struck it. Across the plain, members of the Abe forces came down in twos and tens, early to the field.

"Looks like a calm day," Kitsune said to Takase. "The shields shouldn't blow over." Takase nodded absently, and tucked an arrow into his topknot, as northerners do.

An army's shields are man-tall and very heavy, layers of hard wood pegged together to make what must look like a door to nowhere. On the back of each shield are legs that hold it upright at a slight slant. The foot soldiers of an army erect these shields and use them as cover, jumping out to jab or slash at the riders and their horses with the *hoko* spears and the *naginata,* then retreating to protect themselves from the horses—and the riders' arrows, provided the horsemen bother to pay attention to groundlings.

It is traditional that the opposing armies plant their shields a hundred paces apart. I suppose shields might be portable in combat; but on a muddy, rain-soaked field like Ogen, once positioned they will not move easily or far.

In any case, Takase had given other orders. Close to the southern entrance to the plain of Ogen, the foot soldiers arranged the shields into three ranks, close but staggered. Noritō's forces would see a wall of sorts, far behind the milling horsemen and foot soldiers: a waste of the shields, no doubt part of some feeble plot on the part of the meager band (or so the Abe might think). Or perhaps they meant to use them as a fortress of sorts, to protect the spare horses; though it kept the mounts too far from the action to be useful. Or perhaps there was a mutiny of sorts, and the foot soldiers refused to fight for some reason, and instead huddled away from the battle, trying to stay safe until they could slip home.

The Abe could not have seen the part of this that did matter: hidden behind each shield was a *hoko* spear, heel sunk as deep into the mud as the attendants could make it, set at an angle toward the Abe. Forty shields; forty *hoko* spears. It was not so much, but the plain was not wide here, and this wall separated it into two halves, north and south. *Sheathed claws,* Takase had said the night before. Lure them in and then gut them.

The horsemen of Takase's war band did not much like their part in this; but the point of war is not to behave nobly or even well, or in such a way as to make it into the war tales of a future day. It is to win. You will seem

noble enough once the chroniclers are done with you—but only providing you win.

I have read the war tales and manuals but despite this I know so little about what war is like. Battles on scrolls offer surprisingly little useful knowledge. Could Takase's plan work? How close do horses like to be? Will the foot soldiers and horsemen perform their parts? Will the enemy perform *theirs*? I can only guess, as I might guess what it is like to die in fire or bear a child.

So: Takase and Kitsune, and many of their horsemen stood a quarter-mile in advance of the shields. Kagaya-hime rode beside Takase. ("How can I give her orders?" Takase said to Kitsune, when he asked where she was to be. "They will just be countermanded by the gods. Who will win that discussion?")

Some (but not many) foot soldiers and standard-bearers accompanied them. I think that, without cover, this took more courage than anything else that day. Most of the servants and foot soldiers milled about their shield-wall south of the line; prowled the slopes just above the barrier—anything to conceal the spears.

Envoys passed back and forth—though, really, what would they have to say? I have never heard that they sought to stop the battle, and why would they? Both sides long to fight. Occasional arrows crossed the space between the groups, like insults or boasts. There was shouting, of course, though it was hard to hear the words over the noises of the river and the restless horses.

And then battle.

Everything fights to survive. A worm in a bird's beak writhes. A rabbit struggles, even tries to kick and bite the cat that catches it. A fox in a snare gnaws her paw to the bone trying to get free. Battle may start with great goals, but I think it must always end up being a fight to survive, each man doing whatever he must to stay alive.

The arrows and shouts that flew between the Abe and the Osa Hitachi men came faster; the horses approached one another at a walk, then a trot and a canter; and at some point, the abstract *we ride to battle* changed to *I must survive this*. Horses everywhere, the enemy all around. A man lifts his bow and awaits his chance, circling his horse to get to the right angle to shoot while staying out of his enemy's line of fire. And of course there are

many foes, all circling, all looking for their chances: and one's helmet makes it hard to see to the sides and impossible to turn one's head. Arrows have a harsh sound in the air, harsher when they strike one's armor: sick thuds when they sink into flesh. And there are shouts and the frightened horses' neighing, and hooves and feet scrabbling in mud. Even the shouting is cacophony, men's and gods' names and wordless screams, jumbled into a sound like the million voices of the kami.

I must survive this alternates with *How can I?* even in the bravest fighters. The killing rage can change to white-lipped panic and back within a breath. No one who is not mad wants to be the bravest man, not if this means all the enemies' attentions are focused on one; but no one at all wishes to be the most cowardly. Terror and courage shift places as deftly as the horsemen struggle for clear (but safe) shots.

Fighting with arrows means that nearness is defined not by distance, but by lines of sight—the clearer, the closer. An arrow can come from anywhere, even (if one has been so unfortunate as to select an armor-lacing pattern that matches one of the enemy's) from one's own people.

But arrows run out, and the battle becomes too close. One draws one's sword, strikes at anything, horse or man, near enough to hit, trying in turn not to be struck. The blade often fails to cut through armor, but it can knock a man from his horse, to be dealt with on the ground.

And there are the foot soldiers, as well. They mostly do not waste their time aiming for riders, but horses are easy game, their fragile legs within easy reach of a nine-foot *naginata.* The Abe's foot soldiers and their shields are everywhere. An Osa Hitachi rider fights to keep his horse safe as well as himself: if your horse stumbles—or if, injured or unbalanced or hit, you fail to keep your seat—you fall among the foot soldiers. You may live awhile, but their pole-arms are longer than your sword. They will kill you.

It is no surprise to the Abe that the Osa Hitachi horsemen, outnumbered and unsupported by foot soldiers, retreat. The Osa Hitachi horses sidle back toward the shields. At some point a signal runs through the Osa Hitachi men. They appear to panic, spin their horses, and bolt to the south end of the plain, back to the shields.

The Abe men had thought that the shields, the apparently reluctant foot men, were perhaps a trap; but their blood howls in their ears. They ride and shoot, hunters now, prey scattering before them.

Takase's horses dance through the zigzag paths between the shields. And at a shout from Takase, the foot soldiers behind the shields heave them up and sideways. The Abe horses see barriers where the paths used to be, and jig to the new-made gaps. Some stumble onto the deep-set *hoko* spears. They scream and fall, dumping their riders to the ground. The men just behind the leaders don't see what's happening and their horses do not have the time or room to react; they crash into the spears and the fallen shields and the struggling clots of horse and man. The Osa Hitachi foot soldiers stay out of range of desperate hooves, and slash anything they can reach with their spears and *naginata.* The lacings of everyone's armor have loosened in battle, and there are a hundred gaps at neck and arm and breast and groin. It is easy work.

The muddy ground is too wet to absorb the blood, which runs along its surface in glossy dark streams. Takase and Kitsune and Kagaya-hime watch; but many of the Osa Hitachi horsemen do not and turn their heads away; or focus instead on shooting at the Abe horsemen who have managed to stop their horses before they become part of the tangle.

There is little the remaining Abe horsemen can do. They shoot at any Osa Hitachi they can see, but the foot soldiers are half-hidden behind the chaos, and the horsemen are well armed and shoot back. There is no headcount, not yet, but the Abe have lost a surprising number. Shocked and demoralized, they retreat. A few, trapped, wave their hat markers to show they surrender.

There is a lot of death this way. Noritō loses sixteen horsemen outright; twenty are caught or injured in the broken heap of men and horses, and beheaded by the Osa Hitachi men. This is a slaughter by the standards of war, for a thousand horsemen can fight all day and suffer only twenty deaths, despite hundreds of injuries.

As Noritō retreats, another twenty of his men flee like clouds, scatter like divining sticks, returning to their own homes. By the time he makes it to the *ki*-stockade to which he has evacuated his family, he has fewer than a hundred horsemen and their attendants—less than two-thirds of what he began with—by the village of Ōgen.

The battle changed nothing. Tomorrow it would begin again: the riding and the burning, and it would not end until there was more fighting, more injuries, more death. And even *then*, supposing the Osa Hitachi destroyed

the Abe, there were many hundreds of weary miles riding or walking home again, and more fighting, injuries, death along the way. Tomorrow it would all start again. This would be cause enough for despair.

—Although this is what life is. In our most painful times—a brother dies, a lover leaves, the world is not what it was—we claw through our days and weep as we fall asleep, grateful to be done with the day. And then morning comes and we have it all to do again, breath by weary breath. There is a difference, in that my battles have always been within myself.

How can men do this? It is horrible enough to imagine, let alone to be there. We are willing to suffer unbearable things for those we love, or because we must; but how can a man (anyone, of course, though it is only men who do so) walk into a battle for no great reason beyond this, that someone he respects wishes him to do so?

Perhaps this respect is love, a man's sort of love. Dōmei spoke more warmly of the men he fought with than anyone else—than even, I suppose, me. After he was gone, I brooded long on this, trying to understand, and concluded that only men could understand this, or practice it. Now that I am old, I realize this is too simple an answer. I would walk into all the Buddha's hells for Shigeko, not from courage but because I would not willingly leave her alone in such a circumstance. I love her more than I fear Hell.

—I find that insights grow more frequent as I have less time to take advantage of them.

After the attack, Kagaya-hime and Kitsune walked together, pulling arrows from the bodies. It was not easy work. Arrows often wound, seldom kill. An armed man with an arrow buried deep in one thigh does not give up the arrow unless his life goes first. *Hoko* spear in hand, Uona followed, collecting the arrows they retrieved.

The village of Ogen wanted no part of the battle but suffered nevertheless, as a mouse does caught under the feet of a panicking horse. The same concerns that drove the war band to destroy the farms they passed burned Ogen, as well. Some of Noritō's men had thought to hide here, as well; to prevent retribution, Takase had ordered them ferreted out and killed. If village men died as well, it was regrettable but unavoidable.

"Gah," Kitsune said. "This is making me sick." They walked through a kitchen yard, blinking against the smoke that stung their eyes.

“Why?” Kagaya-hime asked. She had lost an arrow, one of the three she had fletched with the golden eagle feathers given to her by Kitsune’s sister Nakara: her first friend. She did not often miss; it must be *in* someone.

“It’s one thing when you’re caught up in the fight. But now—”

She said, “We are killing animals, even in this form. Perhaps it is our nature.” A dead man lay facedown, his blood a gelled puddle. He had been running. The arrow (not her eagle-feathered one) stood straight up from his back.

“No,” Kitsune said. He turned his face away when she pulled the arrow free with a wet grinding noise.

“Man *or* fox, it’s your nature,” she said absently. An injured man had crawled behind a tumbled cart, but she heard him cursing, and came around to where he lay on the ground, arms wrapped tight around the arrow sunk deep in his belly.

“Hush …” Kagaya-hime knelt beside him.

His eyes focused for a moment on her—a woman in armor, naked sword in her hand. “Jingū?” he whispered. “Goddess?”

“No,” she said, and stabbed him in the throat: a clean death. When his body uncoiled, she pulled the arrow free and inspected the feathers. “Not mine,” she said.

Running footsteps behind them: Kagaya-hime leapt to her feet and spun, cat-quick. A village woman had been hiding behind a tree; seeing them ready, she paused, still some steps away. Her single coarse robe was kilted high enough to leave her legs clear. She held a long knife.

“Go away, woman.” Kitsune had raised his bow with her approach; he spoke past his bowstring, the arrow beside his face. “Unless you want to die.”

“You killed him.” The woman wept, her face twisted in rage and grief. “You killed them all.”

“Be grateful we did not kill *you,”* Kitsune said.

“For what? You’ve taken everything.” Her anger seemed to dissolve, and she fell to her knees, knife loose in her hand. “They’re gone, they’re all gone.”

“I know this feeling,” Kagaya-hime said.

Kitsune turned to say something, but she ignored him and crouched beside the woman, taking the knife. It was a cheap one; someone had died to preserve his possessions, when he had owned nothing nicer than this.

“You’re a woman,” the woman said in weary surprise.

Kagaya-hime said, “I have lost everything, too. Family, tale, place. Gone. But I am alive. Do you have a name?”

“I am Otomi no Seishi. This was my family.” She pointed to corpses in the yard. “Brother. Uncle. Cousin.”

“Do you know how to do anything?” Kagaya-hime asked the woman.

“I can farm,” she said.

Kagaya-hime stood. The village woman remained kneeling, face wet. “Uona, give this woman my stores, the food from my packs, the rice: everything. Keep your things, Biter’s gear.” Uona bowed and left them.

“What?” Kitsune lowered his bow. “And have her hunt us down for revenge?”

The woman opened her mouth to reply, but Kagaya-hime spoke first. “Why would she? It won’t bring them back.” The woman shut her mouth abruptly.

Kagaya-hime leaned forward until her face was close to the village woman’s. Cat-woman: farm woman; voices too soft to be heard by any but one another. “I have been alone,” Kagaya-hime said. “I have longed for death. Life is better, even life alone.”

“Alone—” The woman cried in earnest. “I can’t—”

“There may be others,” Kagaya-hime said, “but only if you live.”

Later, when Kagaya-hime and Uona had given the village woman rice and dried fish and salted birds and a short sword and robes, and returned to her one of the village’s horses, they spoke again.

“Do what you must,” Kagaya-hime said, “but stay alive.”

“I still hate you all,” the woman said. “This changes nothing. But—thank you.”

Kagaya-hime nodded. “And do not follow us, or I will kill you.”

Members of the war band had different opinions of Kagaya-hime’s kindness. Some assumed it was feminine softness on her part. Others: “Soft? She’s soft like oak is soft,” said with a wise look—for her skill and savagery had not gone unnoticed, and there were those who whispered she might be a kami in human form; and no one knows why the kami do anything. The priestess, Onobe no Kesuko, said only, “She is no god. She has her own reasons.” Takase just shrugged.

But Uona said later, “It was a kind thing you did, my lady.”

“I wouldn’t have her starve. I can hunt for *my* food.”

“Still,” Uona said, and bowed deeply. “I am proud to serve you.”

Kagaya-hime, who had never done so before, blushed.

After this, they were together more than they had been. Kagaya-hime had not the human gift of light conversation, but Uona did, and Kagaya-hime found she liked the quick rippling of her woman’s voice, even when she did not listen to the words.

—Another thing changed, as well. After this, the magic no longer produced whatever Kagaya-hime needed. Food ran short until the next estate they burned down, and after this, she and her attendants ate and drank and wore and used what they found and carried, just as everyone else did.

The night after the battle, Takase and his men camped at the same Buddhist monastery the Abe had used. The monks had made it clear that they did not care which side had won, provided no one threatened the monastery’s considerable riches; and Takase’s gift of horses and armor (everything left behind when Noritō’s fighters retreated) soothed any concerns they might have had.

Takase had forty-two heads lined up on the ground before his quarters: the thirty-six Abe horsemen and six of their foot soldiers, too injured in the early stages of the battle to escape. The foot soldiers’ heads were of no account, but might as well be removed as left on the corpses, now a mile behind the Osa Hitachi forces. The whole made an impressive display—if already foul-smelling: the day was ending warm.

(I have seen such a display of heads, back when I was very small. They had been sent all the way from Mutsu province pickled in kegs of wine. I had nightmares for weeks afterward about their distorted faces and the smell—I cannot think what my nurse thought she was doing allowing me to see them.)

The Osa Hitachi casualties were much what might be expected: six deaths. One man broke his back when he fell from his horse trying to navigate the barrier of shields. Another fell, uninjured until he was trampled: a strangely crumpled, concave form. Two men had been killed outright by arrows, one struck through the eye, the other barely touched, though the blood pulsed from a nick in his neck until he turned pale and died. Two were skewered on *hoko* spears and died before the battle ended.

There were many injuries. An arrow often does not kill immediately. It is possible for the broad-headed killing arrows—the forked, the leaf, the four-sided—to slice a great hole in a man; but more often they do not even pierce his armor, if shot from too far away or striking at an angle. If the arrow does pierce, the wound will be painful and bloody, perhaps even incapacitating an arm or leg; but the man who suffers it may still be able to fight that day, the next, ten days hence. Or half a lifetime later: Takase's arrow wound was taking twenty years and more to kill him.

But many of the wounds fester. They ooze clear and then colored fluids. Dark lines crawl across a man's skin, reaching from the injury toward his heart. When the dark line reaches his chest, he dies. I have seen this once, a guardsman nicked in a fight with the monks who were harassing the capital some years back. We had been lovers a few years before, and he still visited from time to time. I saw the festering and the dark lines, and I smelled him, like rotting pheasant in the sun; but he denied all this: "Just a scratch," he said, and laughed a little, though his face was twisted with pain, and he could not stop touching the flesh beside the stripes. In the end he wept for death, and his superior gave it to him. I had bad dreams after this, thinking of Dōmei in Yoshiee's war.

And more. There is a sickness of the soul that settles once the war-madness drains away, a weary nausea in the belly. Men remember what they have done and cringe or weep or relive it endlessly, remembering certain sounds, screams, voices: searching for something, though they could not say what. Everyone who has fought is injured in this way. There is little they can do but wait for their flayed spirits to scab over. Some will. Some will not and their hearts will fester across a lifetime.

Men have their various ways of coping with this. There was a group who celebrated their victory with bragging shouts and overly loud laughter, as if noise itself might heal. Others made themselves busy cleaning their armor and repairing their arrows; their voices were hard and practical: work to do, things to make ready. Many men sank (or retreated) into sleep, half-eaten food forgotten in their hands; or they wept openly or in secret. Everyone drank too much. Everyone's hands shook a little.

Kitsune was one of those who threw activity into the empty place left after the fever is gone. The battle had been directed by Takase, but the men of the war band were his men, Osa Hitachi men. He walked through the groups, talking to each warrior: loud with the shouters, brisk with the

practical ones; quiet, even tender, with the broken ones. He stayed long with the injured men, keeping them from thrashing when their squad-mates laid burning moxas on their skin or pressed crushed leaves into the wounds.

Takase and Kagaya-hime sat together. There was a veranda framed by pillars painted with flying Buddhas, faded with sun and weather: a welcoming place, but it was inhabited by the forty-two heads, so Takase and the cat woman sat upwind in the garden. He still wore the red brocade commander's robe he had fought in, but it had been loosened by his attendant, who had checked the unhealing arrow wound in his side, found it open and weeping, cleaned it, and bandaged him. Now he drank *sake,* which he downed little bottle by little bottle, as if it were iced water on a hot day.

Kagaya-hime was perhaps the only one not haunted by the things she might have done differently or should not have done at all. She herself had taken three of the heads: an odd way to kill, for an odd reason, but people did stranger things than this, so she had shrugged and accepted it. The restless heat of her mating season still ran through her, but her exhaustion was strong and it was pleasant to slump against her bundled armor, and watch the fire Otoko was building.

"You don't seem upset," Takase said after a time.

"Should I be?" Kagaya-hime said.

He laughed, and stopped in midbreath. Sweat broke on his brow, shiny in the light. At last he let out his breath. "I keep thinking, this is the time it will kill me, and I keep being wrong. Hah."

The fire gave a flat brilliant yellow light: pinewood, still fresh enough to sizzle and pop. It erased the lines drawn by pain and fatigue and age on Takase's face, leaving him what he had been; a strong-boned man with fierce eyes. Even the *sake* did not dim the intelligence, the strength, there. A strong man with a hawk's expression: wise; a leader.

Kagaya-hime stood suddenly, and reached a hand down to him. "Come," she said. Wordlessly he allowed himself to be heaved upright; wordlessly he followed her into their rooms; wordlessly they mated there.

As men so often do, Takase slept afterward. But a cat's heat leaves her little peace, so Kagaya-hime dressed and walked out to pace beside the fire. Otoko and Uona drank wine with some of the other attendants: occasionally one would come back and stir her fire up or add new wood. The severed

heads looked at her with glittering half-closed eyes. The flames gave a foreign life to the heads; as she paced their mouths moved as if trying to frame words with stiff lips.

She paused for a moment at a cry from the other side of the temple enclosure, one of the injured men. When she turned back to her fire, a shower of sparks flared upward, and the heads became the thing of eyes and flames that had haunted her dreams. “What?” she said aloud. “Why are you here?”

Becaune, they seemed to say in voices that were like and unlike the chittering of the million kami: *grief and anger, you, joining* . It did not seem to her to be an answer.

“I have no patience with gods,” she said. “There was a kami, and it left me.”

Ask yourself why it/they/you are gone. The flames settled and the heads grew silent, and nothing she said earned more response than the light in their eyes.

I have given the early parts of Kagaya-hime’s tale to Shigeko. I watch her as she reads, all the while pretending that my mind is engaged in recording great thoughts here.

I am as nervous as a child writing her first poems to send to her father. I wonder and fear what she thinks as she reads. Why should I care so? She has read everything I have written before this.—Ah, but this is different. Those were just my life. This is *real.*

The fire had burned to embers before Kitsune returned, the grief and tension that drove him all night eased at last. Kagaya-hime offered wine and he gulped it down, and then more, as fast as Takase had. He dropped to the ground beside her, resting his head on her bundled armor.

“So many of them are going to die,” he said without looking at her. “The healers will work, and the monks will chant, and the priestess will pray, and none of it will make any difference. They’ll die anyway. Some of them, I know their families.”

“But you wanted this fight. Yes?”

He rubbed his eyes. “So I shouldn’t feel sick about it? Don’t *you* feel anything?”

“Sorry for the horses. Some of the attendants,” she said. “They didn’t want to be here. Everyone else?” She shrugged. “They’re here by choice. People die in their beds, people die as infants. Where’s the difference?”

“I’d cry for those, too,” he said, a little tartly. “How can you not?”

“Should I weep for every kitten who dies without becoming part of the *fudoki,* every mouse I catch and kill?” She touched her cheeks, her eyelids. “We do not cry for this, we cats.”

“What do you cry for, then?” he said. When she said nothing, he added, “Why did you leave the capital? Your—what do you call it?—tale was gone, maybe. But I’ve been in the capital. There are a million places you could have lived. And toms everywhere; I heard them. You could have built a new home, a tale. And you didn’t. Why not?”

“I—” she stammered to a halt. “I ran and then kept running, and then there was the voice, the road-kami. So I went. And then this happened.” She touched her human thigh.

“Huh,” said Kitsune. “Maybe cats are too stubborn to learn anything unless you throw it at them.”

“What was I supposed to learn? I knew every cat, every inch of ground, in my *fudoki.* I didn’t *need* more.”

“And when they were gone? A brave cat would have stayed and built a life.”

Noises from inside the rooms: Takase rolling in his sleep, mumbling the names of the men who had died that day—and other names; a lifetime of fighting leaves a long list. Kitsune and Kagaya-hime exchanged glances.

“I can’t,” Kitsune said. “I am so tired, so Kagaya-hime went to kneel beside Takase, and soothe him in his sleep, and wipe the tears from his face.

13.

THE BLUE-GREEN NOTEBOOK

Kagaya-hime mated six times in four days:

—Kitsune in the shrine.

—An Abe scout she found the day before the battle; she did not learn his name, only coupled with him, and then (because she fought for the Osa Hitachi) she killed him as he slept.

—Takase, the night after the battle.

—A captain of the Osa Hitachi, a married man from Shimosa province.

—A strong-backed man from the village of Ogen, when she remained behind the war band to look for her arrow.

—And Kitsune again, the second night after the battle, in the charred remains of a storehouse the Abe had burned to make the war band's pursuit as irritating as possible. Six in four days: really, a cat in season makes even a woman at court look chaste.

And after this her season was done. She was no more restless than she ever had been, a cat without *a fidoki* in a woman's body; and no more interested in men. Kitsune watched her a little wistfully sometimes, but he was not importunate. It was a momentary thing; he could not have hoped for it to last, except that between men and women it sometimes does.

Not so many trunks left to empty. I had not thought I lived in clutter, but my rooms seem twice as large as they used to, and there is a hollow sound to the space. Shigeko empties a pawlonia-wood box, making neat stacks: gifts for the women, gifts for the temples. She pulls free a rumpled mass of hemp fabric and shakes it out. A blizzard: a hundred paper cards settle to the ground. The pieces from a poem-matching game were unaccountably bundled into a child's robe that none of us recognize and hidden here. Whose game? Whose robe? Why is it here?

There have been other surprises: the desiccated mouse, a teakwood box filled with unknown hard white seeds that smell like anise, a baby duck's beak threaded on a black cord, a river rock with the word *twelve* painted in vermilion. I still have the rock beside my ink stone, cool and smooth when I lift it. Who painted it? I do not recognize the calligraphy. Why, and where, and how did it end up wrapped in a error-riddled page copied from a *monogatari* tale and stuffed into a box designed for combs?

I have been full of questions for Shigeko lately. It is as if I wish to see another life, one that will extend beyond my own. Or perhaps it is just love.

We have spoken much of her lovers lately. Her stories make me laugh, since we shared certain lovers, and can speak of their virtues and (far more often) their flaws with what we at least consider wit. But there were others we did not share. She has always had an incomprehensible taste for *shō*-pipe players ("Their hands;" she smirks, "their fingers are always so agile"), and the sorts of men who cry easily ("Self-absorbed," she says, "they never demanded much of my heart"). Me, my taste ran more to tall men with dry humor, such as the Fujiwara boy, Munesuke, who grew up so interested in bees. And Dōmei. Domei did not play flute, and he was no cryer. Still:

"Do you recall Mononobe no Dōmei?" I say, as casually as I can manage.

Shigeko is a little tipsy. We have been drinking too much hot wine; since the latest healers have demanded that I take divers noxious herbs in wine, I have chosen that I at least have the comfort of warm wine, which seems to make the medicines go less vilely. Shigeko takes hers without herbs, of course, but she has been matching me cup for cup, even though wine no longer seems to affect me. She slurs only a little, but her hair has become slightly disarrayed, a black-and-white wisp trailing over one eye. Her face is relaxed, seeming younger. "Dōmei? Oh, yes, my lady," she says.

"Were you lovers?" I say.

She pushes the strand to one side, but it slips back immediately. "Once. You were in seclusion. We talked for a while, and then he came behind my curtains."

"What did you talk about?" I ask.

"Horses, mostly." She frowns slightly, trying to remember. "Oh, spotted horses, and how much trouble they can be. And horse breaking. My brother used to be interested in horses. Dōmei quite made me want to see his family pastures."

Horses? In all our time together, Dōmei and I had never spoken of horses, except as tools to a purpose. I am surprised by the stab of jealousy that shoots through me. Shigeko seems not to notice. She is turning her cup over in her hands, a single line between her brows.

"He was all right," she says. "And charming, I suppose. But I was just never interested after that." She shrugs. "In truth I liked a lot of your other men better. The Genji man, Akifusa, for one. And what was his name? his brother—Toshifusa, something like that."

"But Domei was—" *Wonderful.* Charming and warm, and—Perhaps the wine *has* affected me; I cannot think why I am even discussing this.

She shrugs. "Some horses eat soybeans. There's no accounting for tastes."

I realize to my shock that she means that is it *my* tastes that are strange, for loving Dōmei. How odd.

And I do not even know whether she has ever felt for anyone as I did about Domei.

Away was all I had wanted from my escape, and *away* brought me through the servant's gate into Nijō avenue. Fine: I was out, an emperor's aunt standing under the incurious eyes of a low-level guard, wearing stolen clogs and unmatched robes and watching the sky to the east blur the purple of wisteria or rain. At any moment, Shigeko or my cousin or someone—*anyone*—would enter my rooms and find the wreckage I'd left behind, and the alarm would go out, and they'd catch me, ten feet from the residence walls. Something I learned immediately: the fear of embarrassment is a sharper goad than a chopstick in a child's hands. I briskly walked off, as if I knew where I was going.

A second thing I learned: walking is hard. It had been twenty? twenty-five? years since I had walked with vigor; and then I'd been a girl. The rutted dirt of eastern Nijō avenue was awkward, not to mention cluttered with carts and vendors and overgrown weed-patches. The dog-path alongside was little better, with an added risk: the clusters of noblemen in informal robes, drifting off to this or that assignation. Anyone might recognize me—or, more accurately, these robes, since my face was hidden. But I had forgotten that people see what they expect to see; I was just another attendant scrambling to complete an errand before the rain.

A third: rain is only pleasant if you are tucked under deep eaves, watching it mist across your pretty little garden. Standing under a dying oak in one of those icy, soaking autumn rains is hardly the stuff of poetry, unless there is a poetry of howls. The street and dog-path remained rutted, but over time transmuted, dirt to mud. The oak's few leaves were such inadequate cover that I gave up and walked on. I held my robes up to my knees and then my thighs, and even so mud splashed my hems as I clomped through the deepening puddles. The hat was of mixed advantage: while it did conceal my face and even protect my hair and neck, the brim dumped most of the water down my back.

At least the rain would discourage pursuit, I thought: cold comfort, when warm robes and brazier sounded better all the time.

I was lost, of course. I knew little of the capital outside the court and a handful of houses in the east quarter. The city was a collection of scattered places I had visited or heard of, separated not by a navigable grid of streets and avenues but by allotments of time spent in the rush-scented shade of a carriage; blurred shapes seen through woven palm-frond walls; the sounds of bells or street-vendor's cries or horse hooves on dirt.

I was learning that *away* is not really a plan. The only temples allowed within the capital walls are at the city's southernmost edge, and I knew that they would be too far to walk (whichever way south was; I had turned myself around in the rain), and I was sure that my uncle and cousin would look for me there. I might have retreated to the house of a relative or an attendant if I had any idea where any of them lived—and if this were not the third night of my own wedding I evaded.

There was a gate to the east, the fastest way out of the eastern quarter—where at any moment I might run into my husband-to-be—and , incidentally, the city. It led to the Tokaido, and which led eventually to the Shirakawa barrier and Mutsu province. It was not much of a plan, but it was something: I would find the gate, and then something would turn up.

Poor little princess, poor me that was. I thought myself so clever, my mind stuffed with mouse-pelts and military theory. I despised poetry because it was useless (as it is; that is its charm, I am learning from Shigeko). But life is much more than utility, even supposing that familiarity with the patterns of moths' wings can be considered practical. All that cleverness, and I did not realize how lonely I was.

The rain did not stop, the day I ran away. Perhaps the kami were warning me to return to my uncle's home, or marriage with the boy, or my life, but I do not think so. The kami are not convenient; they do not teach lessons. They are what they are, and they are everywhere; but they are as unfamiliar with our way of thinking as a cat might be.

I might have asked which way was east, but those few people outdoors moved quickly, running to avoid the rain. And I couldn't think of how to ask them a question. How did ordinary people call to one another? Did one say "please"? Did one bow when one's question was answered? I did not know any ordinary people.

I guessed which way might be east, and walked and walked, eyes on my path more than my surroundings, which already faded into the early dusk of autumn rain. The walls that surrounded the blocks grew older and showed breaks where the stones or wood had collapsed; there were even places with no fence at all. This surprised me: everyone (even princesses) knew that the east quarter was where everyone of rank and influence lived, so how could there be so many ruined residences? Well, I supposed, the blocks nearer the wall and therefore farther from the court might be less attractive. I'd always heard that there were a thousand of us, men and women above the fifth rank; but there was no list I'd ever seen; perhaps there just weren't enough families to fill the eastern quarter.

My feet hurt, a general thudding pain in my soles and heels, and sharp wet pains where the clogs rubbed. I saw a little gatehouse, isolated, its fence fallen. It looked dry under the remains of the ragged thatch. I stepped gingerly through the knee-high grass that buried the walkway, and into shelter.

The rain did not seem so bad now that I was at least somewhat protected. The space was filthy with dust and spiderwebs. I balanced myself with one hand on the doorpost and stepped from a clog to inspect my foot. The flesh was angry red in places, and slick with the remnants of a burst blister, my first since childhood.

When I was seven I studied the six-string *koto* as ordered by my foster father. I cannot remember the name of my instructor, a gaunt woman who looked as though she might have been carved of bamboo. I was a reluctant student, eager for any excuse to get out of lessons, which raised blisters on the tips of my fingers. There was a day I cried, and my instructor said, "A woman of culture gladly suffers for art; she does not whine." "I don't want

to be a woman of culture," I sobbed. She said coldly: "An emperor's daughter may never whine; her *life* is art." And she ordered me to continue. The blisters broke, ruining a set of sumac-colored silks, but I did not complain in my lessons again.

The rain eased a bit, so I returned to the dog-path and limped on, trying to walk in such a way that the clogs would not hurt, a futile attempt. There was no traffic: a dog and a man far down a side street; a gaunt ox, grazing the weeds in the ditch across the street. I smelled a fire, the fatty scent of cooking meat. I was hungry, I realized, but there didn't seem to be anywhere one might find food, and the cooking smell was not distinct enough to follow.

Night was falling, changing my world into indeterminate shapes of varying darkness. I could see almost nothing, but a dark mass across the street a block or so ahead would be the wall that ringed the city. I could not see the eastern gate, but once I got to the wall, I could look for torches, fires —something that would lead me there. I had no idea what would happen when I found the gate. I trotted forward, ignoring the pain and the burst-blister stickiness in my clogs.

I was wrong, of course. The *eastern* quarter does not decay into disuse as one approaches the wall (which is not really a wall, in any case, with stones and a roof cap and all, except in the south). It is the north and western section of the city that does this. Unfamiliar with the world outside my walls, I had turned around in the rain and walked west instead of east.

Even in the darkness, I saw that the "wall" here was a ridge barely waist-high, worn flat by the many tens of years since the west had been an important neighborhood. The western gate did not exist at all, except as a pile of rotted timbers. I reached through the weeds and touched the wood, which crumbled in my hand, soft as mulberry paper. This was not the *away* I had expected.

Masako. That was the name of the woman who taught me six-string *koto.*

There was a crooked storehouse across from the gate's remains: all ghost-shapes, dark and darker. I felt my way to the open doorway and up a step to the raised floor. From inside, the doorway showed as a blue-black shape but did nothing to relieve the darkness. I inched forward feeling for holes. There was at least one, for I reached out with my foot, felt nothing, and stumbling backward lost my clog. I kicked the other off: one clog is worse

than none. The floor felt cold but soothing on my blisters. I knelt and felt around carefully—no other holes within reach, no stones or boxes or unclaimed bones—and laid my bundle down.

I shivered in my robes, which were too few and too light for the deepening chill of an autumn night spent, for all practical purposes, outside. I had not brought a lantern or a candle to warm myself (and had no way to light one, even had I been so clever); I had no food; and I was (more or less) lost. Leaving the capital was not going at all the way I had imagined. I could return to my uncle's house or to court, but I thought I could better bear dying here than that embarrassment. I curled tight as a new moth's wings, trying not to shiver. I felt queasy from so many hours of excitement and fear and no food.

I was sure I would die. Every horror my women had ever gossiped about came back to me: rape and robbers and wild beasts, death by fire, death by cold, death. I had not thought of myself as imaginative, but they came vividly to mind. The air smelled musky, as if some animal lived here; but I could not tell whether the scent was fresh or might be only my own fear. I was dizzy and my chest hurt from my heart pounding. I strained to identify every noise—and in a ruined outbuilding after rain, there are many noises. In my fear, each drip was a voice, so that the night was filled with their chittering.

This is how my mice were, I recall: shaking and startling at anything unexpected. Poor mice. I had not realized that to them I was every evil.

I still don't understand how I could fall asleep. When the moon came up, I could at least see things through the doorway, dark shaggy trees and stars, and a haze of moonlight. My panic eased. I burst into tears, and cried as I had not since I was a child.

I recall my dream that night. Even now, so many tens of years later, it returns: something about watching a fish at the bottom of a river of blue-green water. Sometimes in the dream I jump in after the fish; other times, I reach down and it leaps into my hand. Sometimes the fish speaks to me, though the words never remain when I awaken. Perhaps I will finally hear them when I am dead.

I did not fall asleep so much as fall unconscious, and I was not aware of either until I startled awake, disoriented and cold and oh, so very stiff. Somehow I'd slept through first light, and the sky was already the color of

pearls. Through the storehouse door I saw a streak of rose-colored sunlight touching a single tree. The storehouse was worse than I'd thought in the dark. The tile roof sagged down nearly to my eye's height, the timber that should have held up the roof rotted through and hanging loose. It looked as though any jar might collapse it. The dirt on the floor was patterned with so many paw prints that I could not identify them: fox? *tanuki*-badger? something else? Whatever it was had not visited in the night. I hoped.

I retrieved my clogs and crawled cautiously through the door, stretched and relieved myself, and assessed my situation.

—which was not good. I had no food, and while water stood all around me in puddles, I had nothing I trusted to drink. On a rainy day, when everyone keeps their eyes on the ground in front of them, my robes might pass as ordinary, but on a sunny day they stood out, both for their glorious shimmering amber color and for the mud and dirt ground into the weave. My hair and face could be no better. The first man to see me would recognize that I did not belong—anywhere.

I was ill-equipped for tending myself. I longed for Shigeko, who always knew (or could at least find someone who knew) how to do anything. Shigeko made food and hot drinks appear (and despite the sun's growing warmth, I was still chilled from my night on bare boards), filled quiet comfortable sleeping enclosures with soft bed robes and padded pillows. Undoubtedly Shigeko could make something pleasant out of even this unpromising situation. No: Shigeko would never have allowed this in the first place. She would have wept and clung to me, or—harder to resist—reasoned with me; and I would have endured another night of my husband-to-be's awkward gropings. And I would be married. Even starvation seemed preferable to that; though I learned soon enough that starvation only seems an acceptable alternative to something else until you get really hungry.

I was in the northwestern quarter of the city; now that it was daylight, I could see that—there was the hill Funaoka to the north, the mountains like walls to the east and west, all so familiar that I could have aligned myself from anywhere in the city. I walked south along what would have been the capital's western wall, had there been anything but rubble and a fading mound; sometimes I came to clear places where I could see a glimpse of the Red Sparrow gate to the court.

I was hungry, but afraid to address anyone directly. It was unlikely anyone I met down here would have heard of my flight, wrapped up in their

own survival as they must be; but I knew I looked a perfect fiend, and I wanted no one to run screaming for an exorcist. More immediately, I wanted no rape or robbery: no one to steal my clothes and leave me naked.

Many of the city blocks were untamed as countryside, with forest-thick copses of trees and weed-choked pools; but I learned that enterprising folks planted gardens of grain or vegetables on some blocks, hidden behind artfully placed windfalls. As a child playing (improperly) in the kitchen yards of my foster father's residence, I had learned a little about what plants (and which parts) were edible. Looking for a private place to relieve myself at midmorning, I stumbled into one of these gardens, and ate carrots and radishes raw. The dirt I could not scrape off was gritty on my teeth. Still, I was comforted: I would not starve, not immediately.

I did not walk fast, for I had nowhere I planned on going. Away had been my only thought, but I did not have the courage to go far. I could not bring myself to cross the western wall, though there was not much difference between the city's blocks and the countryside, squared-off dirt streets on this side of the wall and apparently random dirt roads on that. If anything, the countryside seemed better mannered, for it had not been allowed to grow shaggy with disuse. I was not used to walking far, and had nowhere to go, so I stopped often, hiding whenever I saw someone.

It was midafternoon when I next stopped, perhaps the sheep's hour. No, it was the monkey's hour; I remember hearing the gongs of the guardsmen announcing the time. I was smug with the notion that I could scavenge for my own food, but I had been lucky earlier: it was not so simple. I had learned to see the paths that people left when they snuck into ruined residences or secret fields. The first path led to a pool of relatively clear water, left over from a fine garden—but no food. The second took me to a set of collapsed buildings full of nothing. The third took me to a little field where buckwheat or something similar had been harvested. Perhaps I could pick through the field looking for fallen grains: that would be something at least. It was backbreaking work, but I grew absorbed in my gleaning, intent on each tiny, crunchy, unsatisfying bite.

A shout took me by surprise. I did not see who spoke, or where they were. I leapt to my feet and fled the way I had come: the panic of prey. Whoever it was did not follow me, no doubt was interested only in protecting his fields. When I stopped, I waited until my heart stopped

hurting in my chest, and then I turned north and east, toward court and my uncle's residence.

Three days north and east, following the path of the defeated Abe forces. Takase drove the Osa Hitachi war band hard, hoping to intercept their enemies. In any case there was little to slow them down—no food or horses to claim—for the Abe were as destructive in their flight as the war band ever had been.

But a band in retreat will always travel faster than those pursuing, and there were tricks the Abe played to slow them down. Takase's men found a path seeded with jagged iron caltrops half-hidden by dirt and underbrush; three horses and an attendant on foot were injured before they realized what was happening, and it took nearly half a day for the band to work its way past.

The pursuit crossed a mountain river at the bottom of a small gorge. Rocks and wooded slopes overlooked the gorge: a perfect place for an ambush. Takase sent scouts out to search for Abe archers, but Kagaya-hime and the others found none, and no sign that any had been left behind. The war band broke its loose ranks and threaded across the water one at a time, the men leading their horses up the steep slope opposite. No attack.

This was repeated at the second river they came to, and the third. By the fourth the scouts were careless (and the archer well hidden); and four men and two horses were struck before Kagaya-hime's sharp senses showed her the movement in a tree upstream, and she killed the sniper.

The wind was from the north and east and blew the smoke from the fires set by the Abe straight into the war band, making the horses choke. Men wrapped scarves over their mouths, and the lucky ones, the horsemen, closed their streaming eyes, relying on their mounts to get them through. The smoke was nearly unbearable the first night, when they trampled a field of hemp to the ground to make camp; the village nearby was still alight, the surviving peasants so crazed with grief and rage that they shook their hoes and bear-claw rakes at Takase's men. When horses panic, mice are trampled; to the mouse, it does not much matter which horse did the trampling.

By morning the wind had changed, and they were able to make better time, despite the second batch of caltrops.

Takase had (in his word) “borrowed” a man from Ogen to tell him the lie of the land. The man, Yui, was tall, strong-armed, and young: enough used to having things his way that he argued with Takase instead of begging. “I have a wife, children. And my fields—haven’t you done enough, without taking away our only chance to survive? I’ll have to replant—”

“Serve well, or your family will be fatherless as well as field-less,” Takase had said at his dryest; and took the man.

Now Takase brought Yui forward. “They’re off the path for their estate,” Takase said. “Where are they going?”

Yui had become somewhat more accommodating after Takase left five horses for the people of Ogen, an exchange for the food he took and the trouble. “I’ve been wondering this myself, my lord. There’s not much this way: a hot spring, this crazy old hermit who’s been living under a rock. There used to be a *ki*-stockade out here; my mother’s sister married a man from a family that kept their mares in what was left of it during foaling. There, maybe.”

Takase nodded. The *ki*-stockades had been bases for the men who conquered the northern barbarians a century and more ago. So long ago; but the dirt walls and earthworks might still be in place. There would have been great logs set upright to make a spiked wall; even if it had collapsed, most would not have rotted away. A good place to fight from—a place where the battle would not destroy your crops, nor frighten your animals into flight. “How far to the stockade?” Takase asked.

Yui pursed his lips. “Ten, twelve miles. In land like this, a group like yours—a day’s travel. A little more for the injured to catch up.”

It was the monkey’s hour, midafternoon. Arriving after dark was not a good idea. “Have you seen it?” Takase said.

“When I was a boy, once,” Yui said.

Takase said, “We will stop here, and move tomorrow.”

I went back, of course. Kagaya-hime may be strong enough and resourceful enough to find her own way, but I was the daughter and sister of emperors, and in the final reckoning, this turned out to be less useful than being able to find your own food, and knowing how to sleep safe and warm.

I was lost, but I found the Red Sparrow gate and then recognized Seisenden park across Nijō avenue. I had been there a number of times, though always at night; by daylight it looked tawdry, full of rubbish people

had dumped there. I stumbled around the northeast quarter until I recognized a thunder-struck magnolia that I had passed many times on my trips between my uncle's residence and court. I'd never seen the entire tree. I rode in palm-leaf carriages for the (I saw now) short journey; the magnolia had never been more than slivers and squares, glimpsed through the woven walls or the grille at the carriage's front. It was larger than I had imagined, the patterns of its burning more complex. Hidden in my cloud of carefully mixed scents, I had not smelled its earthiness: charcoal and bark. I laid my hand on it, and then my cheek. *There,* I thought. *I will go back, but I will always have this with me.*

Another block. Another. My uncle's residence and grounds filled a city block. I walked around it—four identical walls—and I saw seven gates. This was a problem I hadn't even considered. I didn't remember what the servants' gate looked like, so I could not slip back in unnoticed—even supposing it were possible. Had that guardsman been disgraced?—that woman, the one who had wished me good luck, turned away from her work? How could I not recognize my own gate, the gate my carriage had entered and exited a thousand times? All those years, and I had never actually looked at it, always thinking of something else. I knew I might slip into any gate, but the last thing I wanted was to enter the one my uncle and cousin used most often and possibly meet them. It would be hard enough to deal with their anger without stumbling into it unprepared, unwashed, and unfed.

And whichever door I entered, there would be guards. They would see me looking like this. I would have to tell them who I was, since they'd never seen my face; and then I would have to wait there, ragged and barefaced, until one of my women came and got me. I would be a mockery.

I had run away from my marriage; humiliated my future husband, my family, and even, perhaps, my half-brother Shirakawa; disgraced myself by behaving like a peasant, a child, a badly trained dog. By now, the entire court would be aswarm with this scandal. All this, and what I was really worried about just then was a servant laughing at me. I straightened my shoulders and limped to the nearest gate.

There are not many mercies in this world, and they all seem to be small ones—hot wine on a cold day, fresh-washed hair, a *kaze*-cold that finally lets go. It was a little-used gate, and there was only one guard, and he too young for me to take seriously. I stepped onto the covered walkway, kicking

off the hated ill-fitting clogs. Young maybe; but I still could not quite bring myself to meet his eyes. “Please find Shigeko for me,” I said, my face averted to inspect the blisters on my feet. He hesitated a moment, probably worried about leaving his post unattended, then he was gone, feet drumming across the gardens toward the north wing, my wing.

I tipped my head back, looking into the small eaves of the gate. In the eaves’ light I saw movement: a spider, one of the brown-and-silver ones I had called in my notes (when I was still interested in spiders) Lady Teishi, for a woman at court who favored those colors and displayed certain familiar characteristics. And there was a fly the iridescent purple-green of crow feathers, caught in the spiderweb: trapped. The web was too high to reach, and there was nothing to stand on. “I am sorry,” I whispered to the fly. “I cannot help you.”

More feet drumming: lighter sounds this time, women’s bare feet running on walkways. Then the gateway was crowded with women laughing and crying and talking: “We thought we’d lost you, my lady, that you were drowned, murdered, assaulted.” One of the women had snatched up a robe, and she threw it over my filthy clothing—a gesture that would have been even more thoughtful, had the robe not been one they were stitching together, and had both sleeves been in place. Another threw a scarf over my head; another fell to her knees and touched my blistered feet with soothing cool hands, exclaiming.

Shigeko said nothing and helped the other women not at all. She stood a little aside watching all this, her hands tucked in her sleeves. I thought perhaps she was angry until I saw tears slip from her jaw, and leave widening circles on the collars of her robes.

Another mercy: my uncle and cousin were away from the house just then, no doubt at court or my husband-to-be’s house, trying to find me or (more likely) to contain the scandal. I returned to my rooms. My women bathed me and combed the dirt from my hair and clothed me in clean silk. They fed me *ayu*-trout and little salted birds, and rubbed herbs onto my blisters, and then they left me to sleep in my familiar little enclosure. I fell asleep immediately, and awoke once, when I felt Shigeko’s tears on my hand, and heard her voice whispering, “Never leave me again. Please.”

I was let off lightly. I had caught a *kaze*-cold while I was running away—convenient since my uncle had told the boy (and, the next day, his insulted

and infuriated family) that I had been taken suddenly, frighteningly ill, and that all anyone could do was pray that I lived. Within a day, I was sent out of town, to recover somewhere no one could report on my true state of health.

"We will attempt to patch things up with his family," my uncle said before I left. "My lady," he snapped as an afterthought; for I was still a princess, after all.

"I will not marry him," I said, and coughed.

"If you do *not* marry him," he said, "or he does not want you, you will become a nun, and there won't be any more of this childishness. My lady."

"Out," Shigeko said. "My lord. The healers have said she must not be disturbed." She had no authority over this man—quite the contrary—but she has a certain way of speaking that I think would bring all the demons of Hell into an eager, servile line.

And out he went. And by sunset, off I went, to the temple at Uji.

Uji, while distant enough from the capital to be considered exile (and for most of us, this means anywhere outside the walls, with the possible exception of our summer homes on Biwa lake), was close enough for frequent visits from anyone with a carriage and half a day free, so I had a number of visitors from court. Since I was in disgrace (or might be, anyway; there had been no formal statements, of course, but I *had* fled the city, a sure sign that *someone* thought I was in disgrace) their visits were purportedly to leave offerings at the temple; but their perfunctory prayers were followed by long visits in my rooms.

My uncle and cousin were frequent visitors, though it was clear they could barely speak to me, so angry were they at the failure of their plan—for my erstwhile husband's family expressed no desire to overlook the slight. Visits with them varied between icy silence meant to express displeasure; bitter animadversions on the ruin I had wreaked on their family, my good name, my half-brother's and nephew's patience, and the court's sympathy; and furious shouting: what had I been thinking? Was I mad?

I knew they could not see me well through the screens, so I learned to slip a small notebook into my sleeve, to have something to read during these visits: if they had nothing useful to say, I saw little reason to attend carefully. I actually read all the way through the Diamond Sutra in this

fashion, which I am sure did more for my soul than any remorse they might have hoped to engender.

My nephew Horikawa was emperor by now, but I heard nothing from him beyond a short note expressing regret that "illness" had taken me from the city. It meant nothing, though it was well expressed; my nephew was always very elegant in his phrasing. My half-brother and I exchanged many short letters. I ached to be the little girl who could tell him all and then cry on his shoulder, but we were adults now. Nothing was stated clearly anymore. Our obliquities depressed me, and I stopped reading his letters, leaving them to Shigeko.

Shigeko behaved with kindness and restraint throughout all this. I was grateful, for I think a harsh word from her would have broken down my careful strength, and left me crying for a hundred days.

In many ways, my life changed little. One set of walls looks very like another; a set of chrysanthemum-colored robes do not lose their intensity when one is disgraced. My women were still with me, if somewhat prone to weeping as they served. Shigeko still oversaw them all, and harassed the temple's cooks into providing meals not appreciably different from those at court. The temple was a prosperous one, and its courtyards were as elegant as anything at home—and better maintained, for there were a vast number of young, otherwise useless acolytes set to such things as removing fallen leaves from the graveled areas.

I developed quite a liking for the abbot of this place. He was a cousin of some sort, but had gone into the temple so young that I had met him only a few times, when we were both young. He had grown into a witty, articulate man, and he visited often. We discussed doctrine whenever he felt compelled to do so by his position; but mostly we played *sugoroku*-backgammon and gossiped about mutual acquaintances.

There was a day when we spoke of life at court: my nephew the emperor's flute-playing; the rain in the galleries; the mice that seemed to be everywhere; the snow-mountains my half-brother and his consort oversaw a winter ago, before he had retired. When we were done, the abbot said, "I am told you are to stay, and we would gladly offer you shelter from the annoyances of court if you wish it. But you don't belong here, do you?"

"No," I said, in that moment wishing I did. "Not yet."

"I will see what I can do." He left me; eight days later, my half-brother wrote requesting my company at the Oi residence, one of his homes. The

emperor my nephew could not have done this: he was too young, and not strong in resisting the desires of my uncle—who was still infuriated, and even went so far as to argue with Shirakawa. But Shirakawa had disregarded my uncle's advice back when he was emperor and my uncle his regent; he had no difficulty in doing so now.

Shirakawa was everything kind to me, but we did not speak of the failed marriage, nor of why he had rescued me (nor indeed how). After a year, my nephew the emperor summoned me to court, and except for a private coldness on my uncle's and cousin's part, life returned to what it was.

Some years later, I saw the boy I was supposed to marry, when he was grown and wed to a niece of mine. We did not speak directly, but I overheard enough of his conversation to learn that he grew up well mannered, polite, and kind—everything I had tried to comfort myself with when I still thought I must marry him. In spite of this, I went back to my rooms that night, and wept with gratitude that I had not married.

I asked my half-brother once why he had brought me back without urging that I reconcile with the boy. "Why should you marry him?" he said. "It seemed foolish to punish you for not wishing to do something you hadn't chosen in the first place." I thought then that, himself a retired emperor and constrained by ritual and the demands of others as I was, he sympathized with me for the restrictions of my life, and offered this one small freedom, the right not to marry someone I did not choose for myself.

But now I think that he also understood about Domei.

14.

THE BAMBOO-PAPER NOTEBOOK

The ki-siockade was near the Abe's main estate, but sturdier and better-placed for launching or defending against an attack. The stockade was small, just large enough for six buildings and a courtyard with a square well. It has been a long time since the northern barbarians have been a nuisance to anyone but themselves, so the place had been abandoned, and the thatched roofs and even some of the original walls were gone. The walls around the stockade were a rank of tree trunks upended into earthworks; it was obvious that many of these had tipped and been repositioned, for there were signs of hasty construction everywhere. Several of the upright logs were new, so fresh that green leaves still hung from the scars left by lopped-off branches.

The Abe had nearly a day in the *ki*-stockade before the war band arrived: enough time to throw up hasty entrenchments and create sturdy platforms behind the upended logs, high enough for archers to fire over the walls. When the war band approached the stockade, arrows whistled down, and curses; and when they got closer, large stones and boiling water, though Takase's men were not near enough for these to have any effect.

The only injury was someone who had not tightened the laces on his armor since the battle at Ogen; an arrow slipped through a gap and lodged itself in his shoulder.—And the men's pride, of course. No one likes having things thrown at them, especially if one cannot retaliate.

The war band withdrew out of arrow-range. "Fine," said Takase, and set the men to establishing two camps on the little plain around the stockade, one on each side, both just out of range.

Takase sent Kitsune and a squad to explore Abe no Noritō's estate; Kagaya-hime rode along. They found it abandoned by anyone of rank, none but peasants and servants left to defend the tumble-down walls—for what country estate does not have collapsed walls? There is always something

better to do with one's time: mares to foal, crops to oversee, stories to share; sleep. Walls keep some (but not all) animals out, and they offer a certain sense of protection from robbers and undefined enemies, but they do little more. A single enemy within the walls makes them frail as grass.

Kagaya-hime and the others shot everyone who showed his face and burned everything flammable. The pillar of thick smoke was just becoming visible when they returned. Howls of anger rose from behind the walls: a flurry of arrows shot at extreme range. One arrow ticked against Kitsune's shoulder armor, and dropped like a fallen scroll. He picked it up and fired it back at the stockade. It skinned over the logs and vanished: "Should have written your name on it, my lord," one of the men said, "then they'd know who to look out for."

Takase looked tired and irritable. He'd sent envoys to the *ki*-stockade with letters to Abe no Norito; the responses had been short, sharp, and defiant. They had fired on the returning envoys, and the closeness of the misses indicated not sloppiness in their aim, but great skill. "Well?" he snapped at Kitsune when they met with the captains at dusk.

"They evacuated everyone to here," Kitsune said. "And they brought the contents of one storehouse. Rice and buckwheat, it looked like from the dust everywhere. I can't say how full it was." Takase looked at Kagaya-hime, who added nothing, only nodded.

"I see these options," Takase said. "They mean to come out and attack us tomorrow or the next day, when they are rested. Or they mean to sneak away from the stockade the next moonless night, or during a distraction of some sort. Or they mean to stay inside the stockade until we grow tired of waiting and leave."

"Siege?" a captain said. "Are they *mad*? It's the wrong season; they won't have enough food this early in the year"—for last year's crops would be nearly eaten up, and this year's were still no more than new greenery.

Takase held up his hand for silence. "The place isn't well designed for sneaking away. We'll remove the underbrush, just to be sure. I think that we will wait for them."

This startled everyone but Kagaya-hime. Common as siege may be in the Chinese manuals of war, it is not a usual thing here in the Eight Islands. We are too impatient to wait for a mouse at its hole; if our enemy goes to ground, we are more likely to give up and return another day. Only Kagaya-

hime knew that sooner or later the mouse comes out.—Unless he has another hole, anyway.

Siege. I think it must be hard for everyone involved, this mix of tedium and gnawing fear. Is there enough to eat, to drink? Does the enemy plan some trick that we are too weary or bored to see? Have the gods changed the rules in the night, so that we are now somehow within range of their arrows? And how do my distant family fare as I wait here for something to happen? Have the crops been planted, the silkworms harvested? Both sides in a siege fret; neither can do anything to ease their concerns.

The small river that ran through the valley was clean water, safe to drink, but food was short at the camp. The war band had carried some food and stolen more; but it is astonishing how much food even two hundred men (they were sixty horsemen now, and one hundred thirty grooms and attendants) can eat. Takase sent out people to take what they needed from nearby farms, but the longer a war band stays in one place, the more time there is for the neighbors to grow nervous and relocate what little they have to a secure location; and he was forced to rely increasingly on his hunters. The monkeys came down from the mountains to steal their food and mock at them, but after the first day the men did not waste arrows on them, for they had a tendency to grab any arrow that missed them and swing hooting into the trees. It was only half a joke when the men talked about going into the woods to find the monkeys' secret armory.

The horses were accustomed to fending for themselves; but the valley was not large, and they had grazed parts of it down to bare dirt within days.

The days of siege were perfect weather: the seventh month, brilliantly clear and as warm as it gets so far north. The members of the war band wore their *kote* over their torsos instead of the full armor as they moved about the camps. It rained twice, summer showers as pretty and translucent as gauze, good only for damping down the dust the camps kicked up.

As the siege continued, many of the men injured by arrows at Ogen died, their deaths variously tranquil or violent. Some death-blows are obvious, as when bright blood froths on a man's lips, or a wound turns color and begins to smell of carrion. Others are subtler: a man loses his appetite as dull bruising spreads across his abdomen; a man's breathing bubbles in his chest until he turns blue and dies; night by night a man's fever grows until his skin burns like iron in sunlight.

There was little news from inside the stockade. They saw the thin smoke of cooking fires; gold light from lamps and fires on cool, foggy evenings. A breeze brought the scents of cooking onions, boiling *taro* root, hot metal. They heard smiths' sounds, for the ringing of hammers can carry for a mile: new arrowheads and *hoko* spearheads, no doubt. Sometimes men shouted, or a horse whinnied. On certain nights when the air was still, they heard the faint rumble of men talking behind the stockade walls, or sudden unexpected noises: a baby crying, a woman shushing it.

As the moon thinned and the nights became darker, men slipped from the *ki*-stockade, one or two at a time. Some vanished unnoticed; others were caught and questioned. This was no organized plot on Noritō's part, though one of the captured men admitted that his goal had been to return with reinforcements from his own lands. Most wanted only to return to their families, their crops. Takase and the war band learned from these men that there were three hundred in the stockade; that there were a thousand, or one hundred; that Norito had sent for allies who were coming, who were not; that he had six months' food, or half a month's; that Noritō's wives and children were there; that they were all at a monastery far to the south, to the north, anywhere but here. People are not by their nature honest; they say what they must to survive—though in this case, they did not survive; Takase killed those he captured if he thought they would bring help for Noritō. The rotting heads had been dropped into kegs of brine; the row of barrels downwind of the camp grew longer.

This trickling loss of men was not one-sided. Siege has no glamour, no excitement to keep men distracted from their own concerns, and the men of the war band started to think of their own crops and wives and horses. Every so often someone gathered his attendants and his spare horses (if he still had any) and rode away to the south. The remaining men mocked him, but when he had ridden out of sight, they spoke wistfully of their own homes.

"Let them go," Takase said to Kitsune, when he complained. "They are drawn away by their homes, not driven by cowardice."

"I would not leave," Kitsune exclaimed. "I will stay 'til this is finished."

Takase smiled slightly. "It's different for you, and me, and the girl, here." (Kagaya-hime, who was with him often now, and cleaned the hole in his side when his attendants were not near.) "She has no home to call to her, and my family is dead these fifteen years. I want to finish this before I die.

And you—your brother was killed. Your way home is through this. In any case," he said, "a reluctant warrior is no warrior at all."

Better than any, Kagaya-hime understood siege, the waiting at a mouse-hole; but this did not mean she liked it. A cat waits for an hour, perhaps, and she either catches the mouse or she doesn't. This siege—day after day with nothing edible at the end of it—did not appeal to her. Cats love the warmth of sunlight and brazier, and she spent long hours lying along a broken wall, blinking in the sun. The men of the war band greeted her, on their way to this or that task, and in the evenings invited her to their fires lit for the smoke that shooed off the insects. Sometimes she did stop for a time with one or another of the groups, listening to their stories.

Men like to hear their own voices; but every so often, one of them would think to ask her about her own family. She would say: "They are gone now; there is nothing to tell." But she would remain at the fire, and when most men had fallen asleep or left for duty she would speak in a near-whisper about the cats of what had once been her *fudoki:* The Cat Who Ate Watercress, The Blue-Ink Cat, The Cat Who Would Only Sleep on Silk. The tales clung to her like the barbed seeds of certain grasses, but she gently plucked them loose and told them, and they fell from her, one after the other—no more than stories now. She felt herself grow lighter, felt the festering bitterness ease, replaced by a cleaner pain.

The men listened with surprising patience and gentleness, and no one seemed surprised that the sisters and aunts she spoke of were all cats. Without anyone actually saying something, the men had learned already that she was a cat—there are no secrets in a war band, after all. Not everyone had seen a cat, but they had heard of them, from their comrades who had been to the capital.

In some strange way, they found it easier to accept her being a cat than any of the alternatives. A woman fighting was bad enough. It would be worse if she were a kami or a demon, each equally untrustworthy, their motives equally unknowable. In any case, what excuse had *anyone,* male or female, god or demon, to fight if they did not come from a bow-and-arrow family, from *gunki?*

But a cat—well, if a cat was not from *gunki*, what was?

Often she returned to Takase's fire. There were fewer of the captains' meetings; there is little strategy to a siege once begun, *don't let them out*

and *don't let them surprise you* is about the sum of it, so many nights there were only the two of them. Kagaya-hime had taken to cleaning Takase's unhealed arrow-wound, like a mother-cat cleaning a kitten's cut. The flesh around it was hot under her fingers, but there was little she could do for it, except bathe the area with warm water, and wipe away the liquids that oozed out.

Takase liked the softness of her touch. "Softer than your bony old paw," he said to his man Suwa; "you're gentle like an ox."

"You're dying, aren't you?" she said one night. Kitsune was with them: a sharp breath expelled, as if in shock; but there are no secrets in war bands. Everyone knew Takase was dying, though Kagaya-hime was the first to say it outright.

Takase sighed heavily. "We're all dying, girl: you know that as well as any of us. But, yes. It's always hurt, but it's worse now. I'm tired, weak."

"How soon?" Kitsune asked, and then gave an embarrassed laugh. "I'm sorry. Of course you don't know."

"Don't I?" Takase said. "There are days I think I could tell you the number of breaths between now and then. Soon, boy."

Kitsune bowed. "I'll have a sutra read for your soul, my lord."

"Don't waste your money," Takase said. "I've seen my wife die, and I've been in a thousand fights, cut off a man's head when his mouth was still moving. And here's what I think happens: we live, we die, we rot. Save your money, spend it on pretty silks for your mistresses."

"Something lives on," Kagaya-hime said. "There are ghosts. I've seen them."

"Then where are they all?" Takase said. "My wife's ghost? The men who died?" He pointed to the row of barrels, their brine-pickled heads inside. "Where are *their* ghosts?"

Kagaya-hime squinted at the barrels, but saw nothing. "Gone. They don't stay long, most of them."

"Where do they go then?" Takase had little artifice; the mockery in his voice was forced and brittle as ice over a pond.

"I never asked," she said.

"Weren't you curious?" Kitsune asked.

"Not really," she said. "Now, a little. Perhaps I will ask the next time I see one."

Takase said, "If you are there when I die, *I* will tell you."

There are good days and bad days. Lately I have had a whole series of bad days, bad enough that I found myself crying when I thought no one (but Shigeko) would see me. The thing that fills my chest has always been inappropriate, shall we say, but now it grows more *wrong,* somehow: *evil*, like cursing the gods or mocking one's mother's ghost. I can tell it does not belong in me, does not belong *anywhere.* Everything I try to eat makes me ill, so I have learned to take a little bite and then wait, and then another. It may take half a day to eat the segments of a Chinese orange. Shigeko is infinitely patient, getting me to eat.

I think if I had finished telling Kagaya-hime's story—if I knew how it ended—I might already have summoned the priests, taken my oaths, left the court, and died these last days.—Though there are still trunks to finish. Ten now; I can count them on my fingers.

Today is the first day I have done more than sleep, and eat my single bites. I asked Shigeko to open my screens, take me onto the verandas to see the sun. It is full autumn, the leaves the colors of saffron and dandelion-dyed silk. The air is so cold that it seems almost a liquid; it leaves my fingers chilled and my nose running, but scorches my lungs.

The sky. Strange how no one ever seems to write poems about the varied clouds. Today they are stretched thin and transparent, a great sweeping arc over watery blue. This is not the thick clotted sky of summertime, the hammered gray silk of winter. Why did I never think to study the clouds?

I was unwilling to die when there was still much to say and do. But there is always something left undone, and if I were to die today, I would do so with the memory of the cold lambent sky; and that might be enough.

Kagaya-hime took to hunting again, looking for meat she could bring back to Uona and Otoko. The other hunters strayed far, looking for large creatures that might feed several men at a time, but she had learned a trick.

Early on, the monkeys had learned to use even the slight amounts of cover on the plain to approach the camps and steal a box here, a sack there. They had learned that the containers made for a very interesting game: while some held things useless to a monkey (clothes, for instance, or replacement reins), others were crammed with enough rice to gorge the troop; or salted fish, which was not a usual food for monkeys but was at

least amusing, well worth the game of seizing it, fighting over it, chewing it, and spitting it out.

Now the monkeys stole everything that was light enough to carry on the off-chance that they would find something edible; and they tasted everything they stole, edible or no. The men of the war band could do little, so they watched their possessions closely, and cursed the monkeys with great dark oaths whenever they saw them.

Kagaya-hime learned to wait near something sure to be attractive to monkeys, which meant anything otherwise unobserved, conveniently near the trees. The monkeys saw her, of course; but after a while, their curiosity would overwhelm their caution and they crept forward. As they came into range, she would shoot one with a slim leaf-shaped arrow that would not shred the meat much. Whichever monkey she struck screamed and fell; the rest of the monkeys leapt for the trees and swore at her from their shelter. Sometimes she saw the ghost of the monkey she killed, plucking at its side or chest or face with immaterial fingers; but having no interest in the souls of monkeys, she did not listen to its chattering or ask where it went. The survivors were wary for a time, but monkeys are just clever enough for their curiosity to kill them. They returned eventually.

She killed many this way—though there were always more: the woods seemed to grow as many monkeys as pinecones. None of the men of the war band tried to imitate her, for she was the best shot and more patient than any of the men, willing to wait for a morning, or a day.

There was a day when she was hunting in this fashion, staking out a handful of barrels stacked on top of a shield to keep them out of the dirt. Spilled rice made a mound near the barrels: irresistible to the monkeys, she figured. The monkeys were proving slow to arrive (she could not know this, but they had found a stack of boxes at the other camp. They were busy running their hands and mouths over wood stirrups and saddle-frames, and growing more irritable by the moment), but she was content to wait. The air was warm, gold with pollens. It tasted sweet and grassy.

Uona had taken Biter for a ride, to use up some of the energy that tended to show as irritability. Otoko was playing a gambling game with some of the other attendants. Takase slept; Kitsune watched the walls of the stockade, and amused himself by shooting arrows with his name written on them over its walls, hoping to hit something. There was nothing better to do.

Because she was watching for monkey-sized things, she didn't notice the smaller movements in the trampled grass near the barrels. Tiny actions, a rustling so faint she could hear it only when everything else in camp fell silent for an instant, as happens in even the busiest camp. She squinted, trying to separate the movement she'd caught into its elements: grass growing, the tiny breeze, the whatever-it-was.

Mice. Once she recognized the movement, she saw them easily: here eyes, small as seeds; there a tail, waving too slowly to be a grass stalk. They were using the trampled grass to get a short (human) pace from their goal, and then dashing, pausing, dashing across to the mound of rice. With her attention on the trees, she had not noticed them as they passed her foot, so close that she might have shifted her foot and stepped on one.

Mice had been her favorite thing, so many miles ago, when she still had a cat's form and lived in the abandoned residence at the capital. They had been sweet and salty at the same time, full of the sharp shards of crunchable bones, with none of the feathers that made sparrows so difficult, or the gaminess of voles. How long had it been since she had eaten one? Months, miles. Her hands were full of arrow and bow. She had no hand free to throw a knife, and they would all be gone if she moved quickly.

She had never watched them without hunting them. One of the mice stuffed rice into its mouth, grain after grain until its cheek bulged, as absurd as a squirrel storing nuts. Another crept around one of the barrels, sniffing at the iron binding that protected the wood. When it started to chew a splintering stave-edge, another joined it. A fourth mouse, fawn-colored, stood on its hind legs beside her foot, as if watching.

"Mouse," she said. A flicker, a rustle, and the mouse by her foot had whisked itself to a broken tree stump three paces away.

"What?" it said, a little impatiently.

"You *do* speak," she said. She lowered her bow and arrow carefully, rolling her shoulders as she did so. Within their limitations, monkeys are clever; hunting them required that she keep her arrow nocked and bow drawn, and this made her stiff. "I've always wondered."

The mouse said, "You are a killing animal?"

Kagaya-hime was silent, already knowing the answer.

"There is no record of your type," the mouse added. "What are you?"

"A cat," she said. "We're small and quick and silent, and designed for killing little things." Kagaya-hime bared her teeth: a small smile. "Mice,

mostly."

"Ah," the mouse said, as if storing the information for later. "Yet humans are not killing animals."

"I'm not human."

The mouse said nothing, its bright eyes fixed on her. Kagaya-hime laid her bow down slowly, and leaned back against a sapling's trunk. The mouse-path to the barrels had moved out of reach, she saw. "You steal our grain," she remarked.

"It is necessary to appropriate resources. There are many of us to feed," the mouse said.

"We don't stay forever," she said. "You'll have to find other resources."

"We will find others when you are gone," the mouse said. "Other districts report resources for utilization, as well."

She chewed on a stalk of grass for a time. "'We'?"

"Oh, yes," the mouse said absently, its attention on the mice by the barrels. There were more mice now; several had joined the one that had found the weak place in the barrel, all gnawing steadily. "We are a large empire."

"Why are *you* here?" she said. "You gather nothing."

The mouse flicked her a sideways glance from one tiny brilliant eye. "I am here to report on this appropriation to my superiors. I will mention you, and 'cat' as well."

"I see." Kagaya-hime had spent much time with people; something in the fawn-colored mouse's pose, its steady focus on the others' labors, reminded her of men she had met: quartermasters, with their constant cataloguing, their brushes and portable ink and ever-present notebooks and scrolls. "You are a recorder."

"I am third assistant comptroller of grains for my district's secondary storehouses," the mouse corrected. "But I hope for a promotion soon. We do not always live so long, you see."

"Why report at all?" she asked. "The grain is there or it isn't. Why not eat it yourself, or take it home to your family?"

"A family is small, of no account," the mouse said. "We are a large kingdom. It is necessary to catalog things: potential resources, storehouses, census rolls, properties."

"But you would have these things, even if you didn't keep track. There would still be food and young and holes."

The mouse crumpled its whiskers, as if in distaste. “It would mean nothing. The records define the kingdom of mice.” She said nothing, and the mouse seemed to sigh, like a tutor with a dull student. “Perhaps you are faster in this form than you look; or a fox will eat me as I return to report; I will be trampled by one of those immense clodhopper horses; I will drown in my hole in a storm. Or my superior will die, and I will be promoted, but there will be another third assistant comptroller for grains, and one after that, and another. I am not so important, so long as the role remains filled. It is necessary to keep track of things, you see. Do you—‘cats’—not do this?”

“We have *the fudoki,* our tales. That is what we save.”

“Hmm,” the mouse said. “Perhaps that is why there are not so many of you. No organization.”

There are many mice in this world—many more than cats, more even than people. We—the men and women of the court—have always thought of ourselves as the center of an immense empire, a thousand miles from Mutsu province to Ōsumi province, ten thousand villages and temples and shrines; but we know in our hearts that China is a thousand times more vast than we.

But an empire of mice—what might a million mice create? Kagaya-hime had a sudden image of such a land, its families and clans, villages and districts, provinces and regions, overseers and governors, courtiers. And the cities of the mice, underground plats squared and vast as Chang-an on a mouse’s scale. A mouse would never be alone, always part of the strange *fudoki* of the mice, a tale without individuals.

“I’d like to see your land,” Kagaya-hime said.

“That is not a good idea,” the mouse said. “I do not think my superiors would approve.”

Kagaya-hime snorted. “Perhaps not.”

Where the mice had chewed the barrel, rice trickled from a new hole and formed a little mound. The third assistant comptroller straightened and tipped its head as a weary man might, hunched for too long over some list. “I must report, and send laborers.”

“Wait,” Kagaya-hime said. “I’ve killed so many of you; I’ll do so again”—the mouse gave an impression of shrugging—“I’m curious. Do you have souls?”

“Why do you care?”

Kagaya-hime blinked. “I want to know what tales I end.”

“Would it change anything?”

She thought of the taste of mice, hot and squirming on the tongue. “No. Oh, no.”

“I thought not,” the mouse said, dryly. “You might as well ask, do rice balls have souls? I have as much of a soul as a rice ball. Or a cat,” and the mouse slipped from the tree stump and vanished from her sight.

She waited there until dusk, but the fawn-colored mouse did not return. She did not disturb the visits of the mice who slipped into the barrel and left, cheeks fat.

Well? she asked the endless chittering of the kami; but they said nothing.

My rooms echo. They seem much larger, and harder-edged, the corners all rediscovered, bare to the eyes. And the hollowness: soft as it often is, my voice rings now. Shigeko’s footsteps are no longer muffled, and I hear her approach from rooms away. As my possessions have gone, so have my women, sent back to their homes, the younger ones first, more recently the older, the women who have been with me for years or decades. A few begged to accompany me to Kasugano, but I remain sure that I want no one but Shigeko. It’s not as though I will be there long before my death, and I will have no visitors (or trunks) to need the attentions of attendants.

I offered to send Shigeko home. She has a brother still, and she’s always gotten along well with his wives, who express (in a series of fatuous poems) the honor they would feel in welcoming so valued a courtier into their midst. There would be nieces and nephews, and even grandnieces and grandnephews; a wing in the house that she could fill with trunks of her own; the chance to be pampered by others, to be the unreasonable one. She is older than I, but her health is very good. She might well live another decade; the women in her family are notorious for living well past any realistic age.

To my no-doubt poorly concealed relief, she has refused. She will attend me to Kasugano, and after I am dead, she will remain there. The assumption is that she will spend the rest of her life praying for a better next life for me; but I rather hope she does not waste her time brooding about this dead woman she once served. Even at seventy there are better things to think about. I hope she does some traveling, for she has always enjoyed that; and pilgrimages are a perfect excuse to see the sky ringed by new mountains.

She might even see the great sea. She has her share of friends and old lovers who might welcome a visit.

What would it have been like if *she* had been the princess and *I* the attendant? Would I have been as good as she? Would I have loved her as selflessly? She is not here just now (out relieving herself, I think: an old woman's bladder is like an autumn grape, small and always close to bursting), so I cannot ask her what she thinks.

—She has returned, and I have asked her, and she has said, "Swap clothes with a monkey, and you end up with two monkeys, my lady." I laugh until my belly hurts, and now I think oh, yes, I would have loved her. I am "my lady," and she is my woman, but we are more than this. Swap clothes and we are still friends.

It was the mice that ended the siege. Kagaya-hime in her woman's shape had not much need to kill mice, but she was curious (and provident: if she ever returned to her cat's form, anything she learned now would have immediate and useful applications), so she spoke with them. She never saw the fawn-colored mouse again; she did not ask where it might have gone, knowing as well as it had that an individual mouse's life is short and hardly worth the recounting. Clearly it filed its report, for the mice seemed to recognize that she was a threat without teeth, a killing animal in useless human form. From one of these mice, she heard that the siege accomplished nothing: the Abe and their mice ate well, if boringly, on rice and salted fish; their well was deep and showed no signs of drying up, even as the summer stretched out into a series of bright hot days. The Abe had taken apart a ruined building and used its timbers to strengthen the other buildings. They hacked one of the logs into shakes, which they used to shingle the empty spaces in the roofs, to keep out the rain that fell sometimes from indigo clouds in the afternoons.

Back when I was so interested in warfare, siege seemed simple enough to me, something every woman understands. Someone undesirable starts to haunt your rooms, hoping for an invitation to join you behind your curtains. His constant presence makes it impossible for you to entertain anyone else, or even perhaps to leave your chambers. He looks for any contact: bribes your women, steals the food you send away after meals.

The solution is simple, if dull: you outwait him. You do not respond to his ten thousand poems either with direct excoriation or indirect sarcasm,

since these might be (indeed, will be) taken as encouragement. You wait patiently behind your screens and curtains. Sooner or later he will be summoned away by duties at court, or another woman's elegance, or even boredom. You wait; eventually he leaves.

Men, it seems, do not think this way. Not only do they avoid siege, preferring instead to feed one another's rages until face-to-face battle is inevitable; even when they do have a siege, they seem pantingly eager to break it at the first opportunity. While I might expect this of the besieger, since he has everything to gain by facing his opponent, I would not have thought the besieged have any incentive to leave their safe den, provided they have food and water enough.

Takase's war band tried to coax the Abe out with daily insults sent by envoy. The Osa Hitachi horsemen played their monkey-games, bragging and jostling one another until someone donned armor, raced his horse to the wall, and hurled a torch, hoping to set something, anything, on fire. Archers wrote their names and rude comments on the shafts of their arrows and then shot them over the walls. It was unlikely that they would hit anything, but the insults might incite someone to open the gate and charge out. But the Abe stayed cozy within their walls, disdaining all efforts.

The captains debated attack options for days, but there were no secret caves, no forbidding but passable cliffs. No one had a sister inside the stockade who might consider betraying her master. No one imagined that a prayer to the kami or the Buddhas would cause one of the walls to collapse.

If Abe no Norito had been a woman, I think the Abe might have stayed until winter, when the lack of firewood would at last drive them out; but by then, the war band would have left, returned to their own fields and estates. The winter after a summer without crops would be hard; but surely easier, less dangerous, than war. But Norito was male, and so this conflict could only end with battle: this month, next month, the tenth month.

The Osa Hitachi did not lift the siege; they merely lost interest in it. Kagaya-hime told Takase and the captains what the mice had told her. Faced by the possibility of no clear end to this waiting, Takase ordered the men to be ready that night at the rat's hour, midnight. The men of the war band would ride against the stockade's wall and shoot anyone who showed his head, while the foot soldiers pulled down the timbers. The Abe (it was as certain as if there had been an agreement between them) would open

their gates and attack; there would be a lot of killing, and injuries that would lead to death, and it would all be over by dawn.

Men.

The night the siege ended was very dark: the new moon, the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when the air is so thick that the stars seem small and blurred. It is hard to conceal the preparations of two hundred men, the restless noises of warhorses who sense battle, so the Abe were not precisely unprepared.

Kagaya-hime and Biter stood beside Takase at the center of the ragged line of the war band. Many of the horsemen held torches, but the light was murky, as if the air absorbed half the illumination. No wind: smoke went straight up until it vanished into the darkness. The air was filled with waiting. A foot soldier murmured the Amida Buddha's name three times; in the momentary silence it was as audible as if she shared a room with him. A horse stamped and puffed; the metal of its bridle jangled gently. The priestess Onobe no Kesuko and her acolytes were far behind the line of horsemen, but Kagaya-hime smelled incense, and heard soft bells and chanting: prayers.

"Well," Takase said, his tone measured, as if he were about to comment on an arrangement of irises. "We will kill them. They will kill us. But it will be done. Go on, then."

Sound can make a wall as thick as wood and plaster. The men shouted, and the air was solid with noise, a barrier to push through. Kagaya-hime had never shouted in battle—why scare the prey?—but the sound pounded through her heart and bones, so loudly that she could not feel her own pulse, or tell whether she joined them.

There was no strategy and little tactics to this battle. Everyone bolted for the base of the walls, riders hunched over their horses' necks, foot soldiers racing behind. The Abe behind the walls shot, and shot and shot more, but many of the arrows missed, and most of the hits were an annoyance only.

The Osa Hitachi skimmed arrows over the wall or threw torches against its base. The hot days had dried the grass, and flames caught in the underbrush, licked the dry timber. Elsewhere, foot soldiers dug at the berm holding the logs upright, and horsemen used their horses' shoulders or flanks as bludgeons against the timbers. Two logs loosened, like teeth in old

gums, and crashed down, leaving gaps that filled with arrows and *naginata.* A third post came down, a fourth.

Despite this, the stockade was still defensible. The Abe had to use their kettles of boiling water to put out the fires instead of pouring them over the attackers, but they still had stones to throw down, and an almost infinite supply of arrows, since they could pick up the Osa Hitachi arrows and return them a thousand times. They could have stayed, protected themselves. Waited.

But the Abe opened their gates, and their horsemen crashed into the Osa Hitachi men with a shock like an earthquake. Horses slammed into one another, trampled foot soldiers. The wall of sound made of arrows and whinnies and war cries turned to screams, shouts of rage.

Everything is dark, remember, like a rape on a moonless night, noise and buffets and terror. Everything is motion and uncertainty. A horse backs into Biter, and Kagaya-hime whirls, sword already flying. At the last instant, a flicker of torchlight shows her the colors of the armor's lacing: *kon,* fox-call blue. This is Kitsune she has nearly killed. She jerks the sword back and up and nearly clips Biter's ear. He leaps sideways, away from the hiss of moving steel. His hooves sink into something soft that screams in the shadows; when he jumps away he lands on another man. There is no telling whether these are soldiers or grooms, or for whom they fight. She feels a sharp shock on her thigh and a blazing pain, hot as touching a brazier; but when she reaches down, she feels no wound. She cannot tell what struck her or what damage it has done.

Kagaya-hime sees a little better than the men: she stands on her stirrups to get her head above the immediate fray, and sees helmets, *eboshi* caps, manes, and ears. A horse's eye catches the firelight, rolling white in pain or rage. Otoko and Uona are utterly hidden to her, lost in the roiling darkness; but for an instant she sees Takase, standing on his stirrups as well, arm slashing down at something she can't see. Her own arm hurts; when she glances down, she sees an arrow jammed there, slipped through a loose place in the lacing of her shoulder guards. The feathers dance in the corner of her vision, distracting her, so she breaks it off. A wave of white pain blinds her for a moment, but no one attacks until she has time to blink it away. The arm doesn't seem to work well, but a cat uses the claws on either side equally: she shifts her longsword to her left hand.

Strange, these little gaps in the middle of battle. She looks for someone to kill, but everyone is just beyond her reach. She picks someone she doesn't think she recognizes as one of her war band, and moves Biter toward him. Movement from the side catches her eye; her longsword comes up, just as someone else's swings down. It strikes heavy as a timber falling. She loses a stirrup and drops from Biter's back to her knees on the ground. None of the foot soldiers are close enough to kill her, but the man who struck her jumps down, ready to stab her with his short sword. She lurches upright, steps inside his swing and grapples him, tips him backward to the churned dirt. His armor makes him fall heavy, knocking the wind out of him. She takes his short sword from his loosened grasp and stabs him with it, in the throat just above his *kote* armor. The blood looks black in the bad light. His quiver has fallen to one side: in all the chaos, she sees a slip of wood attached to it and with her cat-sharp eyes reads a poem he has written there, about rain and fish.

"My lady!" Uona is by her, *naginata* dripping. Otoko is nowhere near, but somehow Uona stayed close, and even managed to catch Biter's leading rein before he fled. Kagaya-hime shares a bare-toothed smile with her woman, and swings back astride Biter, feels her armor settle onto the saddle, lightening the load. She whirls Biter in a tight circle, but the field is growing strangely empty. She cannot find any Abe, so she gallops forward. It is surprisingly dark. She notices that light no longer pours from the opened gate, because the gate is closed again.

The Abe have retreated. Stupid as it is to leave the safety of shelter, it is stupider still to do so, and then return, nothing accomplished but death and more injuries.

Men.

I thought I understood war, but truly it is this: brutish and tedious and terrifying. This tale, the tale of the cat Kagaya-hime, is lies. But so were the historical chronicles I saw, of Yoshiee's war and others; the Chinese manuals; even the guardsmen's stories, Dōmei's nightmares. All lies.

Why do I tell her story, then? For that matter, why do I try to make sense of my own life, when I cannot say which things have happened exactly as I have written them, and which have been revised by wishes or regrets?

Tales and memories, however inaccurate, are all we have. The things I have owned, the people I have loved—these are all just ink in notebooks

that my mind stores in trunks and takes out when it is bored or lonely. It is necessary to keep track of things, the third assistant comptroller of grains said. It is the recording of things, in our memories if nowhere else, that makes them real.

My *fudoki* is precisely as long as my life has been. Without my *fudoki* I am nothing, because it and I are the same.

15.

THE SILVER-FOIL NOTEBOOK

It* is *time: there are only a handful of trunks left, a neat little line of them down the center of my rooms. So I have written the emperor my great-grandnephew and asked his permission to leave court eight days from now. It is an auspicious time: no kami objects; the goddess Kannon does not mind; Kasugano temple has offered to send escorts. The emperor has written back, a kind little letter. He says he will miss me.

Now we are two: I and Shigeko. Well, there are three other women: a woman of sufficient rank to drive off visitors politely; another of a rank low enough to carry my chamber box away whenever required; and a third, of intermediate rank, to do everything else.

It is hard to believe that these are my (or anyone's) rooms. They have the empty look of a space between owners—which is close to the truth, for I know that one of my grandnieces, the princess Kasiko, has already claimed the rooms for her own, and waits, not very patiently, for us to leave. Well, and she may have them: I have been sick these forty years of that irritating sag in the roofline of the building across the peony courtyard.

It was six months ago? eight? that my half-brother Shirakawa died. He was living in the Ōi residence outside of the capital's walls. I had not been summoned, but I went to him. Months passed, even years when we did not see one another much; but then, whole winters passed when I never saw the sun, always hidden behind gray skies or high eaves. And yet it was there. I knew I would see it again, in spring if not sooner.

Now is perhaps the first time I cannot safely say this. Strange.

He was my brother: strong and clever and sensible and kind. He gave me a mouse when I was a child; he rejoiced with me, barefaced and laughing in the rain; he gained forgiveness for me when I refused the husband my uncle chose. He chuckled when I said something amusing, and listened patiently

when I droned on (as I am sure I did) about the structure of claws or wings. He sent me poems when we were apart for one reason or another; he didn't seem to care whether I responded in kind. He played *sugoroku* - backgammon with me, and even (one sleepless night after his consort Kenshi had died) told me a dream he had had.

His hair grew gray and his waistline spread a little. A few years ago, when I was reading (some dreadful *monogatari* tale, all about a bat and some sparrows), I noticed that he had wrinkles around his eyes, and frown lines set deep on his brow. He laughed at my surprise then: "We race toward the Pure Land, Sister; but it's a race everyone wants to lose."

Half a year since his death. The heaviness was already in my chest when I last saw him, though I still thought it was indigestion—an indigestion that had lasted for what seemed forever—or simple weariness.

The dead seem so close to me sometimes. My mother, my father, half-brother and -sisters, my nephew, attendants and cousins and relatives of every sort—mine will be the last in a series, like the twelfth picture-scroll in a set showing the months. Really, I have seen a battlefield's worth of death; gather the bodies of all those I knew, and they would carpet the ground.

Now it is my turn to fight, in this war that no one ever wins.

The last time I saw him. How could I have forgotten this, the things he said?—Or did I dream it all?

Shirakawa never liked lying down unless he was actually asleep. Weak as he was, he was elegant in informal hunting robes, leaning against a stack of cylindrical bolsters. He was pale and had lost some of the flesh on his bones, so that his face had the thinness I have always associated with certain Buddhist hermits and wise men. I mentioned this to him, and from his half-reclining position, he gave me a mock bow. "Neither hermit nor wise," he said, and laughed.

It was spring, but still cold, so we huddled around the brazier, putting our feet up on its edge like peasants. We both knew he was dying, so we talked of everything but that—the weather (what conversation, in all the ages of the world, does not include the weather?); Shigeko (they had been lovers several times, many years before, and they retained their fondness for one another; indeed, they exchanged occasional letters independent of my own correspondence with him); the mouse he had sent me, and the set of drawings of it that I had sent him; our father the emperor Go-Sanjō and his

consorts our mothers and an argument they had when we were small; old lovers and lost friends.

"I saw him once," my half-brother said. "That provincial Mononobe man you favored. Thirty years ago? Back at the end of the Kahō era. Where was he from? Some backwater."

"Mutsu provinces, I said faintly. Dōmei had returned home just before Yoshiee's war, fifteen years before the end of the Kahō. How could Shirakawa have seen him since then?

"That's right," Shirakawa said, pursuing some memory of his own. "He had those strange eyes, I remember: almost foreign. Mononobe. Mononobe no—Dorel?"

"Dōmei," I managed to say without actually stammering. ""Why—?"

"He brought news from up north. Fujiwara no Kiyohira is building some sort of fake capital up there. Hiraizumi, I think it is. He was warning us. Very sensible: he has a lot of land up there, and it could be a problem. Not mine, though."

"He didn't fight for the Mutsu forces in Yoshiee's war?" *He wasn't an enemy?* I had been so sure of his betrayal.

Shirakawa waved off the notion. "I think he mostly kept his head down, offered support to our forces when they came through. Sensible," he said again.

"But he was a warrior!" I said. "He'd fought many times."

My half-brother raised an eyebrow. "Then he'd know better, don't you think?"

Truly, I could not tell. Dõmei told me once that he missed the kinship that comes with sleeping in the shadow of shared death. But was it worth it? The nightmares, the dark days, the night he nearly killed me only because I had startled him? "Why didn't he speak to your regent?" I said at last. "I can't believe they let you meet him."

He smiled at me, his warm eyes almost lost in the wrinkles. "I was curious, Little Sister. About what sort of man you would like."

"You knew about him." What I meant was: *you cared.*

"'A strong emperor knows how well his people sleep, and whether their bowels are healthy,'" he intoned, his rough voice a clever imitation of a tutor we had both known fifty and more years ago. "An interesting man, I thought," he said in more normal tones. "Content with his life."

“Was he well?” *Why didn’t you tell me?* I did not say, but Shirakawa understood.

“He was—older,” Shirakawa said at last. “Married. Three sons and a daughter.”

“Ah,” I said. Dõmei would have been forty at the end of the Kaho. *Married.* I wasn’t sure what I was feeling. Sorrow? Loss? Jealousy? None of these, I decided. Relief. See: he had been a good man. He was no traitor. My instincts had not been bad.

What if it had been possible to wed Mononobe no Dõmei instead of the irritating pup my uncle had chosen? What if I had accompanied him to Mutsu province, given up my rank to sleep on his shoulder every night of my life?

The Domei of my memory was not the real Dōmei—but then, the Harueme I recalled was not the Harueme who lived through those days and nights. And neither Harueme was the woman who would have gone to Mutsu province.

I looked up to catch my half-brother watching me, frowning slightly: worried. He said softly, carefully: “I think it wasn’t him you loved, but the places his eyes had seen.”

So. The attack against the stockade ended in nothing. The men of the war band dragged their wounded and dead out of arrows’ range and lit more torches, built the fires higher. Ten deaths: three men trampled or crushed between the horses, five slashed deep, one pierced through the throat with a turnip-headed arrow, and one who started howling and then died, though no one could find a mark on his body. There were many wounds, of course, arrows and broken bones and cuts; a severed hand, a crushed leg. Five horses were injured. Their screaming made everything seem worse; when they had been killed, the camp grew calmer.

Kagaya-hime examined her thigh where she’d felt the blow and found a bruise, thumb-sized and already hard as callus, where she was hit with a spear butt, or perhaps a spear tip deflected by her sword’s sheath. Otoko bandaged the arrow-wound on Kagaya-hime’s arm, but when he went off to help Uona with Biter, she removed the wrappings, and licked the deep little hole until it hurt a bit less.

Exhausted but sleepless, she limped through camp. There were no celebrations, not even the false ones born of bravado and weariness.

Kitsune was easy to find. He moved through the war band, spoke to everyone who was conscious to hear it, and touched the others, as if skin on skin might somehow ease their dreams. His head had been cut in the fight—shallow but bloody, as head wounds are—and his face was still masked in drying blood, twin tracks cleaned by the tears he didn't notice.

She didn't find Takase until the tiger's hour, for he had been pulled out of range on the opposite side of the stockade, where the trees clustered closer to its walls. Suwa, the old attendant who had brought them wine so many times, had settled him half-leaning against the trunk of a pine and cut the lacings on his armor, to bare his chest and belly.

Takase was not dead: not yet. He looked ash-white in the light just before dawn, his chest hollow, skin waxy with a sheen like sweat. She knew the shape and texture of the ancient wound in his belly, had cleaned the fluids that wept from it. Everything was changed now. Ragged lips of flesh peeled back at a new angle. Fresh blood, surprising red in the gray light, slipped down his leg and dripped onto the pine needles beside him. "You were hit," she said as she knelt beside him. "Again."

"Same place," he said. "A relief, really. It doesn't hurt so much now. I think we've lanced it, hey." He wheezed out a laugh. There was blood on his lips; it shivered with each breath. He opened his eyes. "Ha, girl. Didn't think I'd see you again." His voice was thin and dry as spiderweb.

Suwa laid a hand on his shoulder. "Quiet, my lord. Please—"

"It's all right, Suwa," Takase said. "Find the boy. Kitsune."

"But—"

"She'll stay with me. Yes?" He rolled his head to look at her.

She nodded.

"Keep him quiet." Suwa stood slowly. "I'll bring a litter."

"They left," Takase said, when Suwa had limped away. "In the dark."

"The Abe?" she said. She reached up to brush something from her face. Tears.

He nodded, then drowsed for a time. She settled herself more comfortably, her back against a neighboring tree. On the opposite side of the stockade, she heard the camp's muted sounds, then the sudden shouts and bustle that must have meant Suwa had come.

"They're gone," Takase said, waking suddenly. "Did I tell you? They passed me, so close I could have shot every one of them. If I wanted to, hey." He stopped to catch his breath. "Is there wine?"

“Just water.” She helped him drink the last swallows from the water-skin she’d carried all night. “But you didn’t.”

“No,” he said. “Too dark. No strength. Anyway, it’s over. They’re done. *We’re* done.”

“Will they try to avenge this? Attack the Osa Hitachi?”

After a while she realized he’d fallen asleep again. Not dead: his chest still moved, slow tired breaths. Blood still slid from the wound, darker, thicker. A fly rested on his upturned hand: waiting.

When she heard running footsteps, she turned her head to watch Kitsune approach with Suwa; behind them walked the priestess, Onobe no Kesuko, a sword still bare in her hand.

Kitsune dropped to his knees as Kagaya-hime held up her hand. “He’s sleeping,” she said, just as Takase spoke again.

“They’re not going to come after you,” Takase said in a conversational voice, as if he had not nodded off at all, as if they were discussing capital politics in a courtyard a million miles away.

The priestess arrived as Takase nodded off again. She bent to inspect the wound, and straightened. “That’s that.” She sheathed her sword, announced to the men beginning to cluster around Takase: “He will die.”

“Please, can you do anything?” Suwa asked.

“You mean, ask the gods to heal him?” She snorted. “They know as clearly as he does that he will die.”

Takase roused himself suddenly. “I heard them whispering, as they slipped past. It’s over. A war where everyone retreats, hah.”

“We should go after them to make sure,” Kitsune said.

“No,” Takase said. “Let them have whatever lives they can. Same as all of you. Go home.”

Kitsune clenched his fists. “Then all this was for nothing?”

The priestess said, “They killed some people, you killed some people. And now it’s done.”

Kitsune opened his mouth and then closed it.

“Go home,” Takase said again. “My last order, hey.” He slipped into unconsciousness and did not wake again.

Last night we found the strangest thing in the bottom of one of the last trunks: a letter.

There have been a thousand letters in the trunks, a thousand thousand—and I have not always been able to recollect who sent which and when. It became a game between Shigeko and myself: which lover wrote *these* deathless words? These two poems, of identical image and nearly identical language: were they written years apart, their similarities merely serendipitous; or do men crib their love-poems from one another when their creativity fails? And these—an entire packet of letters, clearly from one of my half-sisters—but which? Shigeko and I have played the game of unraveling my past, and burned the letters when the game palled.

But there is one that we have not been able to identify, written on a rich tricolored paper flecked with gold. The calligraphy is very fine, delicate and precise as whiskers. We are not even sure it is a letter:

> *"I have been fushing in a river a thousand miles from you, eyeing the trout beneath its surface. For some reason this brought you to my mind."*

Who wrote this? we exclaim to one another, but I already know. I fought so hard to keep Kagaya-hime and her story in line, but it kept breaking out of my expectations. Once you have opened the gate to alternatives, it can be hard to get it closed again.

All those places I have never been, and now, never will see.

Wait—

All those months of preparation and travel, all those injuries and deaths, and this war ended with all the drama of a fan falling. The men of the war band broke camp quickly and were gone by midday. Most would travel together until they were far enough south not to fear retribution, and then the band would dissolve into groups that grew smaller and smaller, each man traveling as fast as he could toward home. It was three hundred miles to the Osa Hitachi estate, farther for those who had come from Shimosa or Kozuke provinces. Some traveled with injured men (which generally means dying men); it might take them a month or more to return home.

Most of the dead were buried in the forest, wooden hat markers and paper prayer slips hanging from the branches above their heads. There were other tributes, as well: a pair of torn reins hung like straw rope over a shrine; an arrow driven into the ground over a grave, a poem written on its shaft.

Before she left, the priestess Onobe no Kesuko took Kagaya-hime aside. "It will not be long," she said, nodding at Takase. "Half a day: less."

"Yes," Kagaya-hime said, and then: "May I ask something?"

"Ha," Kesuko said. "Finally. Yes."

"The kami—I hear them," Kagaya-hime said, feeling her way, "but they never make sense."

"Why should they make sense to you? You don't even make sense to yourself, cat," Kesuko said. "Where's your ground, your tale, your, what was it, *fudoki?"*

"Gone," Kagaya-hime said, and felt the familiar grief, the wrench of loss.

"No," Kesuko said. "You're the first cat I've met, but I thought they were supposed to be smarter than this. *This"*—she gestured around them, at the striking camp, the empty stockade, the mountains and everything beyond them, the hot cloudless summer sky over all—"is your *fudoki,* girl. It lasts a lifetime, but you never noticed that.

"Why should they make sense to you? They have their own tales, their own shared grounds. They don't have to make sense to anyone but themselves. No one does."

Kagaya-hime and Kitsune and Takase's man Suwa knelt with Takase as he slept out the last hours of his life. "There's no point to taking him from this place, my lady," Suwa said, and Kagaya-hime nodded. The smell of death was strong on him. Even the crows had picked it up; though many pecked for the blood that had soaked into the ground, some lined themselves neatly along a branch over Takase's head, waiting. Servant and half-fox and cat-woman took turns digging a grave and gathering stones to place over it.

Farmers, peasants, and poor people came even before the war band was gone, to glean the battlefield, the war band's campsite, the stockade's grounds. They left with whatever they could carry, and there was much of it after a month of siege, ranging from a longsword dropped in the woods in the darkness to half-filled barrels of rice.

Takase died in the heat of the afternoon, his last breaths fainter and fainter, until only Kagaya-hime could tell he still lived. “That’s it,” she finally said, and stood. “He is gone.” She did not see his ghost: not then.

She and Kitsune left their attendants to bury him, and walked a little way up a slope, into the forest. The sun did not reach all the way to the ground, so they walked in a false dusk that hummed with insects. They had removed their armor, but had not changed clothes (and after a month of siege, there is little worth changing into), and sweat and bloodstains made patterns on their trousers and vests.

A flash of vermilion caught Kitsune’s eye, and they made their way to a small shrine to Inari, newly painted and still bright. The stone foxes stood on either side of a red-painted arch scarcely taller than a fox itself. She nodded to the little arch.

“What is that called?” she said.

“A *torii,”* he said. “A gateway.”

“It’s not very impressive,” she said, remembering the great Rajō gate in the capital. “What does it go through? There’s no wall.”

He laughed a little. “It’s a passageway between *here* and *there*.” He pointed. “A sort of road for gods and spirits.”

“Oh,” she said. They listened for a time to the humming air and a stick cracking in the heat somewhere, the almost inaudible whistle of the pine needles crushed under their feet. Kagaya-hime ran her finger along the head of one of the foxes: a porous stone, rougher than it looked.

“Once in a while,” Kitsune said into the silence, “I wonder what it is like, being a fox. Being human is supposed to be better. But. Do you see things differently? Does time move faster, slower? Do you get hungry for different things?”

“Better?” Kagaya-hime said. “Different.”

“I remember when I was little,” Kitsune said into the humming silence. “Mostly I was a boy. I had this pony, and there was a dog, and then Nakara; she was my nurse. You knew that, right? I think my mother didn’t like me being a fox much. So I wasn’t. And then there was a fire and my family died, and Nakara brought me to her family. I have not been a fox since then.”

“You were, though. Are,” Kagaya-hime said. “You mean you have not had a fox’s shape; but it is there in you. I smell it. It’s in your blood.”

“Hmmm,” Kitsune said. And sometime later, “But how?”

“I don’t know,” Kagaya-hime said. “You’re half of each. How hard can it be to move from the one to the other?”

And just like that, as if her words had caused it, he was a fox. He looked up at her for a moment: gold eyes to gold. She smiled at him, and he was gone, slipping through the trees, ears and head high.

Kagaya-hime walked back to Takase’s grave and watched the men lay his already stiffening body into it, and push the frozen earth back in place. After a while, she noticed Takase’s ghost stood beside her watching the burial: a young man now, taller than the living man had been: slim. “Well?” Kagaya-hime asked.

“What a lot of trouble *that* was,” the ghost said, nodding at the body. “Why did I wait so long?”

“The others all cried,” Kagaya-hime said. “The ghosts.”

“Did they?” the ghost said. “I suppose they left things behind that they missed.”

“And you?”

The ghost turned to her. “I will miss you a little, cat-girl.”

“And I you,” she said. “A little.”

The ghost smiled. “I think you will have plenty to keep you busy.” It reached out a hand as if to touch her belly, but she felt nothing, only the sun and a breeze against her clothes. “I have given you something; now give me something. If a male deserves it, give him a place in your *fudoki.”*

“There is no *fudoki,”* she said, but without bitterness.

“Hah,” the ghost that had been Takase said. “You are a one-cat *fudoki.* Don’t you realize that yet? Promise.”

“If a male stays, if he earns a place in the tale, he will be allowed into it.”

“Already has, I’d say,” Takase said. “Remember the fathers of your children, cat-girl.”

“Tell me—” she said; but he was already gone.

The half-fox Kitsune returned, a rusty shimmer of movement, at the bird’s hour. It was nearly dusk, the sky through the trees strange shades of peach and amber and blue. A fox loped from the trees, and then he stood there, breathless, a man again. “Oh,” he said, but nothing else.

“I know,” she said. “I would do anything to go back to that.”

He shook his head slightly, settling into his man’s shape again. “Then do so. Who do you think keeps you in that body?”

Uona came shouting in the woods trying to find Kagaya-hime, and disturbed them. Kitsune gathered Takase's and his attendants together. "They won't be too many miles ahead," he said. "We'll ride until dark and then catch up with them tomorrow. But you're not returning with me, are you?"

"No," Kagaya-hime said. "I am not finished, not yet. Tell Nakara that I love her."

"I will," Kitsune promised, and they were gone.

Me, I'm waiting. It is four more days until I leave the capital.

Northward again. Kagaya-hime and Biter and Uona and Otoko traveled slowly through the summer days, accompanied by a packhorse, a pretty roan that Otoko loaded with most of the armor and what little food they had. They found a rough little road that led north and west through the forest. After half a day, it faded into a path and then, a day later, a track over the shoulder of a mountain—though their route would have been easy enough even without the path, for the weather was beautiful, and the ground soft from fallen leaves and needles.

Their path met Noshira river and turned west, to accompany it to the sea. They followed its shores for several days until they found a boat large enough for Biter. The woman who ferried them across had a barbarous accent but a ready laugh; they paid her with the last of Kagaya-hime's ancient coins and turned north again.

There was plenty to eat. Kagaya-hime hunted, and her attendants were clever at gathering food, or even stealing it when there was someone to steal from, though in those cases it was often easier to trade meat for rice. Biter ate whatever green things came his way and grew a little thinner, evidently missing grass. He allowed Uona to ride him, but still snapped at Otoko whenever he was close.

The journey had no urgency. There was no Osa Hitachi, no Nakara longing for her home, no Seiwa Minamoto no Takase pursuing his war to drive them forward, and so they traveled slowly, at a walking pace. They did not often find farms or even cultivated fields, though sometimes they passed an abandoned house built in half-buried, in the old style. Uona was pregnant with Otoko's child, in her early months, so she did not often feel well enough to travel immediately in the morning, and there were days they

went nowhere, everyone content to drowse cat-like through the afternoon. The few people they encountered did not ask where they were going, or how they would fare through the winter.

In the north, mountains are common as geese, and there always seems to be another just beyond this one. But as one travels north they get smaller, just as horses and dogs seem to grow smaller. When the party left Noshira river, they aimed for a smooth-sloped mountain, a perfect little sister to the great mountain Fuji.

"Softer country," Kagaya-hime said.

"Not easy, though," Otoko said. "Look." He pointed to a nearby ridge, its firs and pines bent nearly double. "They'll have snow here, and winds. Bad years, it'll be higher than my head."

Otoko had somehow become their guide. It did not occur to Kagaya-hime to wonder how he had learned any of the ten thousand things he seemed to know, or even why they still traveled. She nodded and said no more.

Their path angled across the mountain's flank. It didn't seem steep until they started walking it, an endless steady climb that was more tiring than crags would have been. They stopped often for the sakes of Uona and the packhorse ("Both of us"—Uona laughed breathlessly—"we're carrying extra baggage"), so that by midafternoon they had only ascended part of the way. Kagaya-hime stopped them beside a *torii-gate* in a little clearing, having no wish to leave everyone huddling on a ridge when the sun set and the wind grew bitter.

Building camp was quick, for there was little to do. Kagaya-hime unloaded the horses as Otoko settled Uona in a nest of cloaks, with Biter's saddle as a pillow. She fell asleep almost immediately as Kagaya-hime and Otoko gathered wood for a fire. They still had the better part of a deer's haunch wrapped in its own hide left over from the day before, but: "Mushrooms, my lady," Otoko said softly, and pointed downslope. He took a cloth for gathering and vanished among the trees.

There was little for Kagaya-hime to do. The packhorse nosed over the weeds in the clearing; as he did every evening Biter chewed on his hobbles trying to find a flaw that hadn't been there the night before. Uona stirred a little and said, "Don't forget …" before sinking back into sleep. Kagaya-hime walked across the clearing to examine the *torii-gate.*

It was taller than Kagaya-hime could reach, painted a red now faded to dust, and hung with a braided straw rope and slips of white paper, soft-

edged with weather. Offerings had been heaped by the posts, but the foods were long gone, only trays and leaves left to mark them. Other, more permanent gifts remained, but they meant little to Kagaya-hime: a padded amulet necklace shredded by sun and rain to show glimmers of something inside; the ghost of a scent of sandalwood; and, amazingly, a full set of court robes in spring colors, now faded nearly to white.

Every gateway implies a road that passes through it, but this was a gate that led nowhere: there was no shrine beyond the *torii*-gate, not even another *torii-gate* that would also lead nowhere. She walked around pillars, but saw nothing. Looking up she glanced through the gate in the other direction, and gasped.

Spread out before her was a thousand miles of mountains and river-plains and marshes. The path they'd followed was a thread across the land, leading —she knew where it led. She could not see the great mountain Fuji, which was many hundreds of miles to the south, but it felt as though she ought to be able to; perhaps, if she knew just where to look, she might even see the Tōkaidō, the shrine where she became human, the Rajō gate to the capital, the path of her panicked running through the streets: her vanished home on Nijo avenue.

It was a gateway, and there was a road; but she'd been looking in the wrong direction.

She still wore the torso of her armor, though she'd removed the skirts and shoulder pieces long ago. Now she ran back to the camp and gathered the rest of the armor: leggings, arm protectors, shoulder-guards—everything. She carried the awkward weight to the foot of the *torii-gate* and laid it there. She bent over and shook the *kote* over her head, catching it with her hands as it dropped, before it could fall and awaken Uona. The tortoiseshell colors of the lacings flared with the afternoon's gold light. She hopped a little dance, like a cat chasing a dust mote, feeling light, almost insubstantial with the removal of her armor.

The kami voices that were always in the back of her mind rustled like tree leaves in a breeze. She had grown used to them, and scarcely ever listened to their words anymore; but she listened now, wondering if they said different things so far from her old home.

"Ah," something said suddenly, very loud and close in her mind: the road-kami.

“Where have you been?” she said. “I left you behind, I thought.”

“I am the kami of the road, but *I* never said which road. People occasionally misinterpret things.”

Kagaya-hime looked down the slope to the path. “This is a different road. Can you be both?”

“Who says you are on a different road than you were?” the kami said. “There are a lot of roads, and they go everywhere. Some of them can’t be seen. You are coming to the end of this one.”

“But then what?” she said, her eyes filling with tears.

“You will settle down. Make a new *fudoki.”*

“Alone?”

She had the impression of snorting. “When’s the last time you were alone? Your tale is a thousand long already—men, women, horses. Not to mention you have a belly full of kittens.”

Her hand came to rest on her belly. “I have wondered—they’ll be kittens?”

“Cats are clearly as dense as humans. Yes, kittens.”

“I have been locked in this body for a thousand miles,” she said, a little bitterly. “It’s no surprise if I wonder.”

“Who locked you there, hey?”

She opened her mouth to speak, but a thought came to her and she said nothing, her mouth gaping open, forgotten. “I never tried,” she finally said. “I wept and complained and mourned, but I never thought to change myself. And it’s that simple. Oh, *I see.* But why?”

“You needed a home. Could a cat come a thousand miles? It’s cold up here; I expect your children will get sort of shaggy. But you’ll come in handy.”

“Which road did you say you were?” she asked suspiciously. “Did I come here, or was I summoned?”

“You need a home; they need cats. Seems straightforward to me.”

And the kami’s voice was gone, as simple as that.

Today is my last here. I have been sitting out on the veranda, writing the last of the oh, so necessary good-bye letters and poems, and warming my hands beside the brazier when my fingers start to stiffen. All day I’ve received letters from relatives and friends and former attendants wishing me

well. I write back to them all: *Kasugano will be lovely; I will pray for you; I look forward to spending my final days in quiet contemplation.* I say this, secure in the knowledge that they will have no opportunities to discover the truth of my statements.

It is blustery, and the wind carves clear but concrete shapes from the air, limning them with gold and red fallen leaves. When I look into the sky, I feel as though I am staring down into a stream, at a shifting blue-green fish —though I cannot say whether it is the fish that moves, or the water that makes it appear to do so.

Perhaps it is not the wind, and not the fish (fish? There is no fish here. What am I thinking of? It is the trees I see, tossing in the wind). Perhaps it is my eyes, which weep continually now, from exhaustion, I think. Or my mind, wavering.

There was a day, beautiful and surprisingly cold: autumn, though winter was a clear omen in the air. The forest shivered gold and red and pine-green in the wind. There were ducks overhead, shouting directions at one another as they arrowed south in great untidy flocks.

The mountain where Kagaya-hime heard the kami's voice was the last between her and the sea. She came around a curve in the path and there, miles ahead, across thinning forest and a broadening plain where a river wandered, was the distant glitter of a bay cupped in the land's arms. "Well, that's the end of journeying, then," she said aloud; cats do not like water.

Otoko walked beside her leading the horses. "Down there." He pointed. A stream joined the river on the plain; there was a small village at the conflux, too far away to see clearly—perhaps ten shaggy-eaved buildings nearly the color of the fields that surrounded them. The pale lines of stone fences made ragged calligraphy against the ripe gold of grain, the heavy green of *taro* fields. Otoko crouched, turned over the dirt with a knife's edge. "Good soil." He straightened. "It's even better down there."

Uona astride Biter nodded toward the plains, the village. "Will they welcome us, husband?"

"Why wouldn't they?" Otoko said. "We have horses, we're strong. And"—he grinned suddenly, a look Kagaya-hime had never seen on him —"my family is from here."

"You have *family?"* Kagaya-hime said; even a cat can be surprised. "Are there mice there?"

"They're terrible," he said. "They get into everything and—"

“Then I will stay,” she said.

Otoko said, “You’d be welcome, but it’s no place for a cultured woman.”

“But I’m not a woman, am I?” Kagaya-hime said. She kicked off her sandals, grateful to feel even cold earth underfoot.

“What are you doing?” Uona said.

“Starting a new tale,” Kagaya-hime said, and started to untie her short over robe.

“No men, then,” Uona said. “It wouldn’t be proper.”

Otoko said, “We—would not have thought of this,” and Kagaya-hime knew he meant: *becoming real.* He bowed. “Thank you, my lady.” He turned and led the packhorse down the slope toward the far-distant village.

Uona slipped from Biter’s back and busied herself loosing ties and lacings. “You’re sure?” she said, kneeling to remove Kagaya-hime’s *hakama-trousers.* “You will give up all this? Hands and the skills to make things; arrows, knives?”

“Oh, yes,” Kagaya-hime whispered, a voice soft as a purr. She dropped her vest and under robe on the ground: a shapeless untidy heap, like a snake’s skin when the snake has discarded it. Naked in the sun she stretched, a small fine-boned woman with thick black hair to her shoulders, gold eyes under straight brows. “You will let me sleep by your hearth-pit, yes?”

And there was no woman there, but a small cat, fur black flecked with gold and cinnamon and ivory, like the tortoiseshell of a hair ornament. She blinked up at Uona through eyes slitted to threads in the brilliant light. Biter reached down to touch noses with the tortoiseshell, and the cat leapt in a single fluid movement to Biter’s shoulders, balancing there until Uona pulled herself into the saddle. Cat and horse and woman started down, toward the village.

Another piece of this story: a small tortoiseshell cat stands on the banks of a stream. The sun is out, but it is very cold; snow has mounded into strange shapes on the ground. Her breath puffs from her nostrils, like smoke from an inner fire, but she does not feel the cold through her winter-thick fur.

The stream’s water is brilliantly clear, and there is a fish there, a trout as long as her tail. She can see it hover, every blue-green scale as brilliant as Mikawa silk, or a butterfly’s wing. The fish’s shadow hangs against the warm gray stones of the streambed. The tortoiseshell is reluctant to risk

falling into the water, which she knows would be horrid. Still: a fish, and *such* a fish, fat and beautiful, and so close to the water's surface. And she is always hungry, keeping the kittens in her womb fed until they are born. She creeps down to a stone that touches the water, and crouches low, one paw raised over the water, patient.

The fish seems to examine the paw, as if it were an insect hovering above the water. Its eye is bright and shallow as a blade. It flicks a fin and raises higher in the water, closer to her claws.

"Cat!" Otoko's voice, behind her. *"There* you are." The tortoiseshell blinks and the fish is gone, as quickly as that. She stretches and sighs, and saunters closer to the man.

"Look what I have, girl." He cracks open his basket to show her the contents, all blue-green scales and blade-bright eyes; half a dozen trout. "Let's go home and have Uona cook these up, hey?" The tortoiseshell lets him stroke her head for a moment and then follows him home.

This notebook is nearly filled, but I have enough room to tell this much more. Kagaya-hime will have six kittens, from five fathers. This new land will belong to her, a part of a new *fudoki* that begins with her.

16.

THE LAST NOTEBOOK

There is nothing left in these rooms: only two small trunks, and several bundles of indeterminate shape—and, I am afraid, contents; there are always a thousand last-minute requirements for anyone traveling, and they never fit into the storage space allotted to them.

I have burned all the notebooks but this one. I wrote them for my own reasons. When their job was done, I burned them, converting ink on paper to the loose calligraphy of smoke. Before I leave these rooms, I will burn this one as well.

The priests have been with me all morning, preparing me for my entrance into Kasugano—and, eventually, the Pure Land, though I'm afraid I daydreamed through their interminable prayers—regrettable, since I expect I will have need of their good wishes. I kneel behind a curtain (for not even now am I expected to be barefaced before these men; really, this makes me nearly laugh), so when I receive my nun's robes, they are handed past the curtain, and it is Shigeko who drapes them over my own blue-green robes and then kneels again beside me. She and I share a smile, but we say nothing.

The priests have offered to clip a mere hand's length of my long hair: a polite symbol of my separation from this world with none of the embarrassment (not to say shame) of having hair short as a servant-girl's. The priests sound impressed, if a little shocked when I demand that they cut it to my shoulders; even Buddha's servants are not impervious to social proprieties. Shigeko gathers the lengths of my hair in her hands, tugging at my head a little as she passes them through an opening in the curtain. The shears make a grating noise, and then a cascade of black and white pours back through the gap: the new ends of my hair. They aren't willing to go so far as shoulder-length hair, but it only hangs to my waist now, and my head

feels weightless, light on my neck. If I decide it is still too long, I can always have Shigeko cut it shorter.

They give Shigeko her robes, and cut her hair, as well. There is a little more praying, and they bow themselves out. They do not stay to accompany us: we have told them that the emperor very kindly offered men and carriages to carry us the short miles to Kasugano. I nearly laugh out loud.

For I am lying to everyone except Shigeko. I am running away—or rather, we are running away together, two old women sneaking away to see what sights they can before they die.

Shigeko has found a useful man of no rank whatsoever, but immense virtue in that he understands animals and traveling. And the Tōkaidō. His mother accompanies us to empty chamber boxes and makes sure we are fed; she used to wash for us, so we know she is patient with the foibles of old women. He has found others to assist us, guards and grooms and carters; and some quiet horses and two pairs of (I am assured) extremely well-mannered oxen. If we need further help, we will find some useful peasant-girl and exchange hair ornaments for her exertions.

I can't say how far I will be able to travel before the weight in my chest kills me. It may be no farther than Otsu, just past the walls of the city, or the first ferry (I might cross water in a boat! Think of it!). I think it's too much to hope that I will see the great mountain Fuji before I die, but at least I will see the sky unfringed by walls.

And I have this letter, in whisker-fine calligraphy, about fish that "mention my name." It was unsigned, of course—she never did have a name, only what she was called—but there is a single line after the poem. If it is a poem: I still cannot decide:

I look forward to meeting you.

Of course it is she, now mother and grandmother to a thousand cats, The Cat Who Walked a Thousand Miles. She returned to her cat's shape, but she is no longer just a cat. Why might she not have questions for me, just as I have questions for her? And why might we not meet?

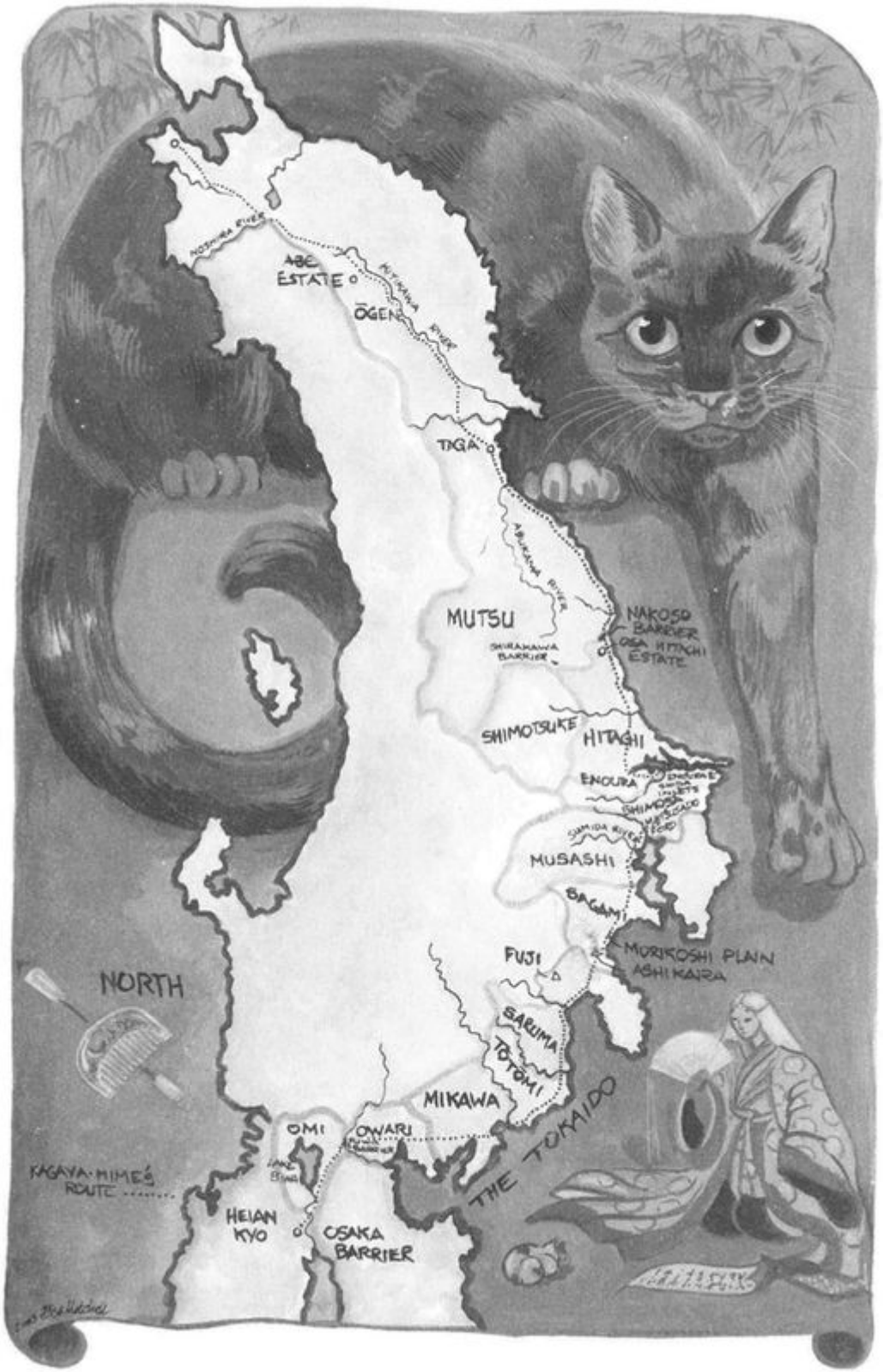
Shigeko and I have talked much about her these last days. I know that she is as real as I am. I thought that I invented her, that she had no more existence than any other set of words on paper; but I know now that this is not true. She saw things I did not expect, and felt things I did not mean her to. She is as real as flesh, as ghosts.

I am not sure if she means I will make it all the way to Mutsu province; or that we travel toward one another and will meet in some monastery or temple between here and there, when I grow at last too ill to travel; or even that she will meet me in the Pure Land when we are both dead. I am not sure whether she will be a woman or a cat—or, for that matter, what I will be. But then, I will still be Harueme, and she will still be the cat Kagaya-hime.

I would like Shigeko to meet her.

CHARACTERS IN THE PRINCESS HARUEME'S TALE

Fumiya no **Shigeko**, Harueme's primary attendant
The emperor **Shirakawa**, now dead: formerly the prince Sadahito; Harueme's half-brother
The emperor **Horikawa**, now dead: formerly the prince Taruhito; Shirakawa's son; Harueme's nephew
The emperor **Sutoku**: formerly the prince Atsuhito; Shirakawa's great-grandson; Harueme's great-grandnephew
Fujiwara sammi no **Kenshi:** Shirakawa's consort; mother of Horikawa
Fujiwara no Yorimichi: Harueme's maternal grandfather; her **foster father**
Fujiwara no Morozane: Harueme's **uncle**
Mononobe no **Domei**, a guardsman from Mutsu province
Shisutāko: Harueme's first cat
Myōbū: Harueme's current cat
The cat **Kagaya-hime**
Osa Hitachi no **Nakara:** a road-met companion to Kagaya-hime
Osa Hitachi no **Kitsune:** Nakara's adopted brother
Junshi: Nakara's primary attendant
Seiwa Minamoto no **Takase:** commander of the war band
Suwa: Takase's attendant
Onobe no **Kesuko:** priestess with the war band
Abe no **Noritō**: head of the Norito clan
Uona and **Otoko:** Kagaya-hime's female and male human attendants


ABE ESTATE
ŌGEN
TAGA
MUTSU
NAKOSO BARRIER
OSA HITACHI ESTATE
SHIMOTSUKE
HITACHI
ENOURA
MUSASHI
SAGAMI
MORIKOSHI PLAIN
ASHIKARA
FUJI
SAGAMI
TOTOMI
MIKAWA
OMI
OWARI
THE TOKAIDO
NORTH
KAGAYA-HIME'S ROUTE
HEIAN KYO
OSAKA BARRIER

These times have passed, and there was one who drifted uncertainly through them, scarcely knowing where she was … . Yet, as the days went by in monotonous succession, she had occasion to look at the old romances, and found them masses of the rankest fabrication. Perhaps, she said to herself, even the story of her own dreary life, set down in a journal, might be of interest; and it might also answer a question: had that life been one befitting a well-born lady? But they must all be recounted, events of long ago, events of but yesterday. She was by no means certain that she could bring them to order.

—*Kagero nikki (The Gossamer Years)*
translated by Edward Seidensticker

Tor Books by Kij Johnson

The Fox Woman
Fudoki

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Fudoki, which may be translated as "records of wind and earth," were eighth-century documents collecting information about individual provinces for the imperial court. They included descriptions of natural features and population centers, local resources and products, bits of folklore and history—anything that the compilers thought might be of interest back in the capital. I adopted the word as the closest parallel to my cats' shared reality.

Harueme writes her notebooks in the year 1129, during the reign of her great-grandnephew, Sutoku. While she is fictional, she shares some characteristics with Shirakawa's real sisters, Atsuko and Reishi. She has somewhat more in common with the noblewoman in the tale-fragment, "The Woman Who Loved Vermin."

Favorite primary sources for this book were: *The Emperor Horikawa Diary* (tr. Jennifer Brewster), and the war-tales *Mutsuwaki* (tr. Helen Craig McCullough), and *Hogezz monogatari* (tr. William R. Wilson). Secondary sources I found useful were *Insei* by G. Cameron Hurst III, and the second volume of the Cambridge History of Japan, edited by Donald H. Shiveley and William H. McCullough. Favorite material on feral cats included Paul Leyhausen's *Cat Behavior,* Claire Necker's *The Natural History of Cats,* and especially Jack Couffer's *The Cats of Lamu.*

Karl F. Friday proved a generous and invaluable resource. His book, *Hired Swords,* was a fascinating and useful exploration of Heian-era military power. In addition, he very kindly answered even my stupidest questions with patience and clarity, and allowed me to see unpublished material on Heian combat technique. I can never fully express my gratitude for all his help.

I wish to thank the following for their assistance: Irene Michon for her insights into the writing process; writers Walter S. Williamson, Melissa Shaw, Louise Marley, and the Kilomon-keys (Wolf Baur, Ted Chiang, Jeff Grubb, Bridget McKenna, Marti McKenna, Chris McKitterick, and Lorelei Shannon); formerly feral cats Baby, Bro, Meerkat, Helen, Tatsuko, and Sanj ū; and especially Peg Kerr and Chris McKitterick. Mistakes in this book are entirely my own.

Since it all happened a long distance away, I am sensible of having made a great many blunders, which anyone acquainted with the truth is at liberty to correct.

—*Mutsuwaki* translated by Helen Craig McCullough

This is a work of fiction. All the characters and events portrayed in this novel are either fictitious or are used fictitiously.

FUDOKI

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A Tor Book
Published by Tom Doherty Associates, LLC
175 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10010

www.tor-forge.com

eISBN 9781466800656
First eBook Edition : October 2011

Tor® is a registered trademark of Tom Doherty Associates, LLC.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Johnson, Kij.
Fudoki /Kij Johnson. p. cm.
"A Tom Doherty Associates book."
ISBN 0-765-30391-4 (PBK)
EAN 978-0765-30391-2 (PBK)
1. Women soldiers—Fiction. 2. Metamorphosis—Fiction. 3. Japan—Fiction. 4. Cats—Fiction. I. Title.
PS3560.O379716F83 2003
813'.54—dc2l
2003053345

Jinja

Heart of Japan

Kami and Jinja

A "jinja" is a sacred space, the seat of one or more kami.

The many kami are awe-inspiring, standing out from the normal and the everyday, and this is what makes them kami. Different jinja honour different kami, often more than one, in different combinations, and different aspects of the same kami are often emphasised at different jinja. The kami themselves are very diverse: some are figures from the ancient myths of Japan, others are historical figures, and still others are closely associated with natural features such as mountains or rivers.

The oldest jinja were established well over one thousand years ago, and new ones are still being founded today. A jinja exists to enable priests to serve the kami through a daily and annual cycle of rites called "matsuri", and other people visit to participate in those rites, to make requests of the kami, to give thanks for blessings received, or simply to pay their respects.

You are welcome to join them, whatever your nationality, age, sex, race, or religion.

The place where the kami is present is particularly sacred, and in many cases visitors to the jinja may not enter that area, or sometimes even see it. At many jinja, this is a building called the "honden", or main sanctuary, but at some jinja the kami inhabits a hill, mountain, island, or waterfall, or an area of woodland in the precincts.

Jinja are as varied as the kami they venerate, and nothing in this booklet is true of every jinja. It describes features common to most jinja, and ways to pay your respects that are acceptable almost everywhere. However, if priests at a particular jinja ask you to do things differently there, then you should follow their instructions.

Shinto Over Time

In the distant past, the people of the Japanese islands saw kami in the natural world around them, and reverence for these kami became part of their daily life. In that society based on rice agriculture and fishing, the power of nature brought great blessings, but could also be a terrible threat, through earthquakes, floods, plagues, typhoons, and volcanoes. People saw the kami at work in both aspects of nature, and revered mountains, great rocks, trees, waterfalls, and other natural phenomena as their dwelling places. Eventually, permanent buildings were constructed at sites of reverence. From early times, people revered their ancestors as kami, and later came to also see people who had made great contributions to the community as kami.

Unlike many religions, then, Shinto has no founder, having arisen and developed organically as the people of Japan interacted with the natural world and other peoples around them.

Reverence for the kami takes the form of matsuri, which reflect the traditional culture of Japan, and particularly the importance of rice cultivation. In spring, the community prays for a good harvest, and in the heat of summer they pray for good health. In autumn, they give thanks for the harvest, and in winter they bid farewell to the old year and welcome the new.

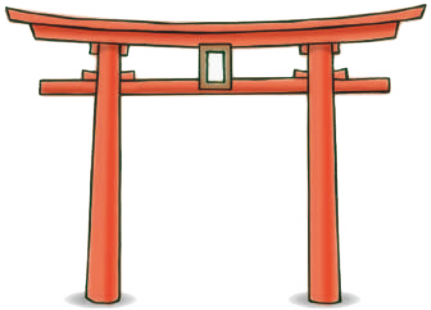
Many of these matsuri are major events for the whole community, with many people gathering to celebrate in the grounds of the jinja while the rites are conducted within. Sometimes, the kami is transferred to a “mikoshi”, in which they are carried around the area in procession, with much shouting and enjoyment.

Entering a Jinja

A jinja and its grounds are like the home of the kami. You should treat it with the respect you would show when visiting an important person in their home.

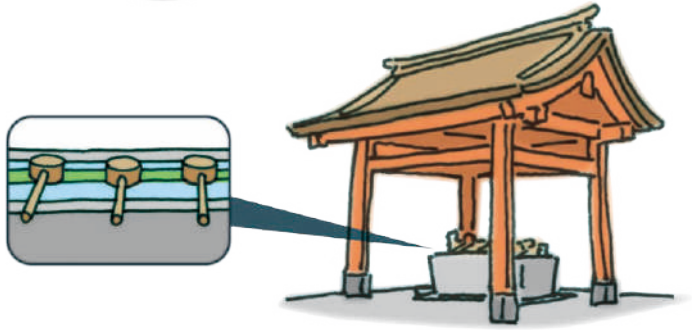
Torii

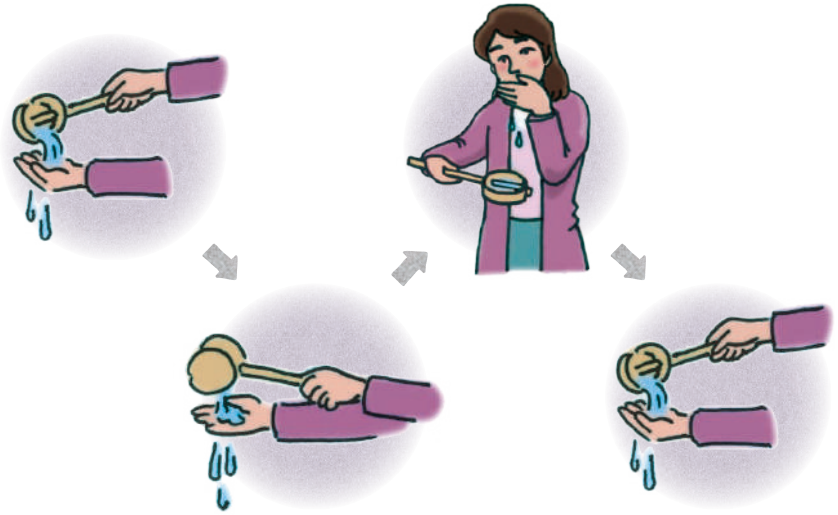
The entrance to a jinja is marked by a torii. The torii marks the border between the sacred space of the jinja and the everyday world outside, and so many people pause and bow their heads slightly before walking through.



Purification Font

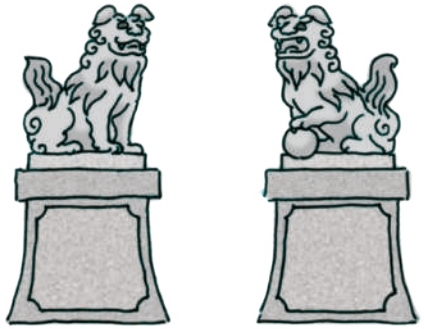
As purity is very important in Shinto, most jinja have a font of water that you should use to cleanse yourself before paying your respects. First, hold the ladle in your right hand, and rinse your left hand. Then, hold it in your left hand, and rinse your right hand. Next, pour a little water into the palm of your left hand, and use that to rinse your mouth. Do not touch the ladle to your mouth, and spit the water out at the base of the font, not into it. Finally, rinse your left hand once more. When you have finished, put the ladle back where you found it.





Koma Inu

Many jinja have a pair of animal statues in the grounds. The most common are mythological creatures called “koma inu”, which look a little like lions. Some jinja have animals particularly associated with their kami, such as foxes, wolves, or monkeys. These statues represent guardians, keeping evil influences out of the jinja.



Paying Your Respects

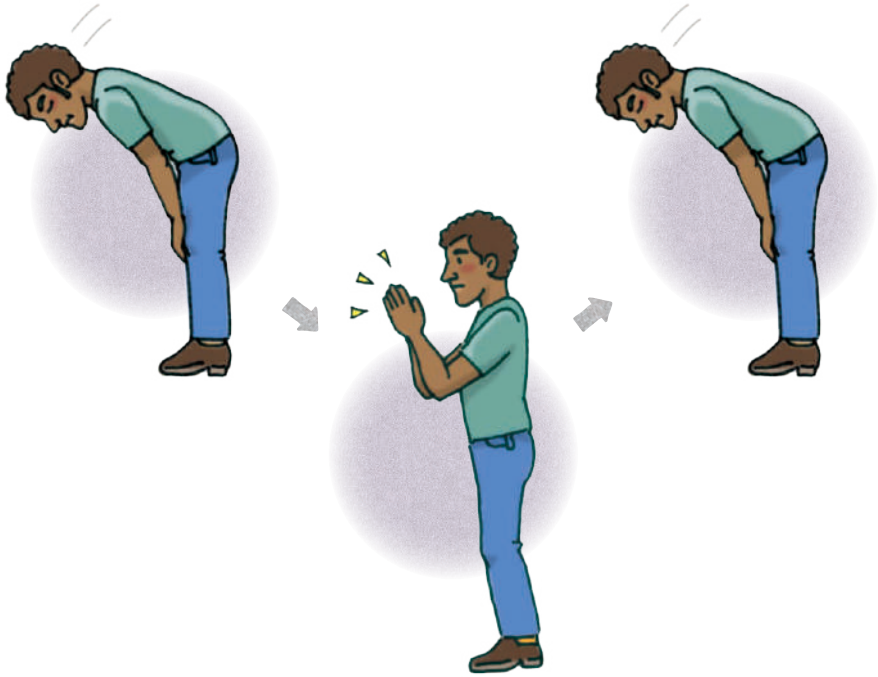
When visiting a jinja, you should first pay your respects to the kami, before looking around.

The path from the torii leads to the place where you should do so, normally in front of a building. At a small jinja, this may be the main sanctuary, but at larger jinja it is the prayer hall, or "haiden". If there is a prayer hall, the main sanctuary is normally behind it. You should not enter the prayer hall without permission, and most people pay their respects from outside.

There are often an offering box and bell rope at the front. The sound of the bell is said to purify you, and offering a small amount shows respect for the kami.

Etiquette

- Stand up straight, facing the prayer hall or sanctuary.
- Put some coins in the offering box, if you wish, and shake the rope to ring the bell if there is one.
- Bow deeply, twice.
- Stand up straight again, and put your hands together in front of your chest.
- Clap twice to show respect.
- Say a quiet prayer if you wish.
- Bow deeply once.



Getting Closer

If you wish to make a particular request of the kami, you may ask at the jinja office for a more formal ceremony, called a gokito, which is held in the prayer hall. If a jinja is staffed, the jinja office is normally close to the prayer hall.

Most priests only speak Japanese, but they may have prepared ways to organise gokito with people who do not.

You must make an offering for a formal gokito. These days, this is most often an offering of cash, which you should give to the priests while arranging the gokito. The amount of the offering depends on the jinja and the gokito, and the staff will indicate an appropriate amount. Many Japanese offer a few thousand yen, or a few tens of thousands on particularly special occasions.

In theory, a gokito can be for anything, but common requests include the following:

- Safe travel
- Good health
- Business success
- Success in studies
- A happy home
- New relationships (romantic, business, career, etc.)

Japanese families often bring new babies to their local jinja, for a ceremony called hatsumiyamairi ("first jinja visit"), or young children, aged three, five, or seven, for a ceremony in autumn called shichi-go-san ("seven-five-three"). You may see these if you visit a jinja.

It is also possible to have a ceremony performed to pay formal respects to the kami without a specific request.

At most jinja, you will have to wait for a while before your gokito: either the priest needs time to prepare, or you need to wait for another group of people to finish.

It is normal to remove your shoes before entering a traditional Japanese building, and most jinja are very traditional. However, there are exceptions, so you should follow the instructions of the priests.

Most jinja would prefer you to be dressed smartly, at least with long sleeves and trousers or skirts, for a gokito. If your clothes are too inappropriate, it may not be possible to have a gokito performed.

Gokito

A gokito follows the same structure as all jinja ceremonies, called matsuri. This is what you can expect.

Purification

In Shinto, it is believed that people pick up impurity in their daily lives, both from things that they do, and things that happen to them, such as illness or natural disasters. Purification, called "oharai", is therefore a central part of every Shinto ritual. Through this, people are thought to recover their natural standing, and resume an active role in society. Everyone, and everything, must be purified before the matsuri. This is called "oharai" in Japanese. At most jinja, a priest recites a short purification prayer, and then waves an "ohnusa" over the people and offerings involved in the matsuri, as shown in the picture. Some jinja use a branch of an evergreen tree, with the leaves attached. You should bow your head while the priest is purifying you.

Offerings

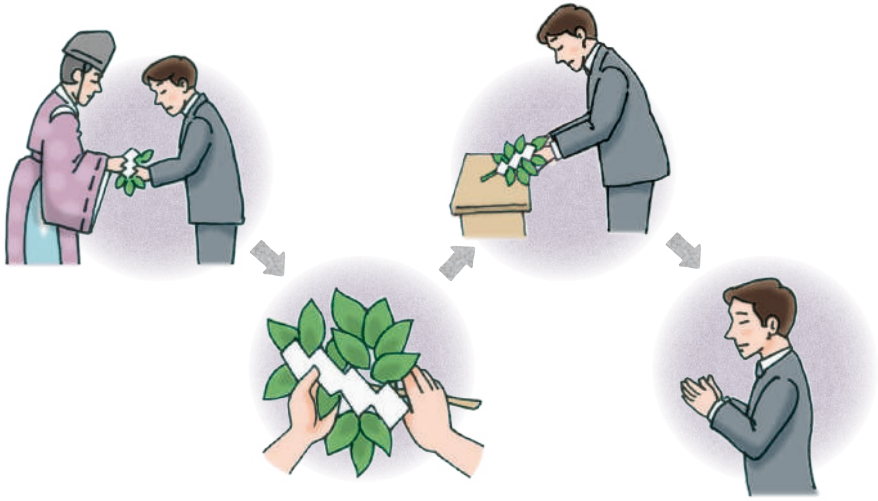
Offerings are made to the kami as part of the ceremony. They may be placed before the kami during the ceremony, or already be there before it starts. Rice, sake, rice cakes, fish, vegetables, fruit, salt, and water are common offerings.

Prayer

The presiding priest goes before the kami and recites a prayer, called a "norito" in Japanese. These prayers are written in ancient Japanese, and convey your request to the kami. Everyone should bow their heads while the norito is being offered.

Reverence

After the norito, everyone pays reverence to the kami. This follows the same etiquette as described earlier, and may also involve offering a small evergreen branch with narrow folded paper tied to it, called a "tamagushi". First, hold it vertically with the leaves upwards in front of your chest, and silently offer your prayer. When you place the tamagushi on the table, the stem should point away from you, with the leaves towards you. It is common for one member of a group to offer the tamagushi on behalf of everyone, but all members should bow and clap together once it has been offered.



Sacred Dance

At larger jinja, miko, female attendants, may offer sacred dance, called "kagura", before the reverence. At some jinja, you may be able to request this, or it may be part of the normal ceremony. Smaller jinja, however, usually do not have miko who are able to perform the dances.

Taking It Home

Jinja offer several ways to keep the power of the kami with you. A small offering is almost always required for any of these, and most jinja indicate the appropriate amount.

Ofuda

Ofuda are used to venerate the kami in your own home, and some people say that the kami's spirit resides in them. Physically, they are tablets with the name of the kami or jinja written on, and they come in various sizes.

Amulets (Omamori)

"Omamori" are small amulets, which are also said to contain the spirit of the kami. People normally choose an omamori that matches their request of the kami, and carry it with them.

Omamori are available for the same range of requests as gokito, and if you have a gokito performed many jinja will give you an appropriate omamori after the ceremony.

These take many forms, but most are colourful embroidered bags, which contain a sacred wooden tablet. You are not supposed to open the bags or look inside.

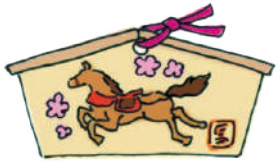
Omamori are appropriate gifts for friends or family who might appreciate the blessings of the kami.

Fortunes (Omikuji)

A lot of visitors to jinja draw Japanese-language fortunes, called omikuji.

Votive Tablets (Ema)

Ema are small wooden tablets used to make requests of the kami. They have a picture on one side and space to write on the other. After writing, you hang the ema up in the jinja grounds. Most jinja have pens available. Unlike the other items here, ema are often left at the jinja.



Goshuin

Many jinja will provide a goshuin as a record of your visit and respects. This is a red stamp on a piece of paper, normally with the jinja's name and the date written by hand in black. Every jinja has a different scarlet seal and the writing is always different, so some people in Japan collect them in special books, called "goshuincho".

A goshuin is a record of your visit to the jinja, so they are not appropriate gifts.

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https://www.jinjahoncho.or.jp

Published in March 2020

Donald L. PHILIPPI, *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers*. With a new preface by Joseph M. Kitagawa. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. xxxviii + 95 pp. Bibliography, glossary. Paper $9.95; ISBN 0-691-01489-2.

Two well-known verses from the *Man'yōshū* eulogize Japan as a "land blessed by the spirit of word" (*kotodama no sakiwau kuni*) (No. 894) and a "land where word-spirit lends its aid" (*kotodama no tasukuru kuni*) (No. 3254). These epithets serve as succinct reminders of the important place given to the spoken word in ancient Japan, and of the belief in the mysterious workings of creative speech. As Gary EBERSOLE has recently observed, orally recited verse was "frequently used and experienced as a form of the exercise of power. It was a linguistic means of manipulating religio-political power in the human sphere as well as of manipulating the spiritual powers, including the *kami* and the spirits of the dead" (1989, p. 19).

Yet the role of the word in effecting transformation is more often remarked upon in reference to the Hellenized West; its function as, in George STEINER's phrase, a "force and medium of creation" (1984, p. 17) has, until recently, been insufficiently addressed in studies of ritual Japan. All the more reason to welcome this new publication of Donald Philippi's *Norito*, long unavailable since its initial small release from Kokugakuin University in 1959.

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As Philippi notes in his introduction, the oldest of these liturgical verses contain elements "more akin to incantation than to prayer" (p. 3). Representing spells meant for the hearing of the kami alone, such formulae were whispered in a barely audible voice, a tradition continued even today in rituals observed at the Grand Shrine of Ise. Somewhat reminiscent of the Qu'ran, many *norito* represented the elevation of the spoken word to a kind of "God's speech." Not merely invocations, *norito* were, by their correct recitation, believed to summon the mysterious workings of *kotodama* in order to effect the very transformations they invoked.

The incantatory quality of *norito* is evident from their use of the formal *senmyōgaki* 宣命書, the archaic style of writing reserved for imperial edicts and, like the use of Latin in the Catholic liturgy, one which effectively imposed a "ritual distance" signalling the presence of the sacred. Intoned in a characteristic warbling monotone, *norito* were apparently meant less to be "understood" by the assembled audience than to be experienced as the audible workings of sacred power. As a result, in Philippi's words, "everywhere semantic clarity is sacrificed to sonority" (p. 1), a characteristic easily appreciated even today by anyone attending the actual recitation of a Shinto liturgy in its shrine setting.

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> Prosper it as eternal and unmoving.
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Such differences are manifest throughout the two versions, and serve as sharp reminders of the difficulty involved in rendering even the semantic "meaning" of these ancient charms, let alone approaching the effect of their ritual performance. As a single example, in the last excerpt above, Philippi has translated the original *ame no shita yosashi matsurishi toki ni, koto yosashi matsurishi amatsu norito futonoritogoto o mochite mōsaku* as a prologue invoking the past,

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Since little agreement exists among Japanese scholars regarding the precise significance of a number of these expressions, it would be impertinent to suggest any dogmatic choice between the two translations on every point. At the very least, however, the comparison of Philippi's long-unavailable work with the scholarly version produced by Bock should spark heightened interest in our attempts to understand this neglected side of Japanese ritual.

In addition to the translations themselves, *Norito* includes Philippi's original brief introduction and glossary of terms, and an extensive new preface by Joseph Kitagawa. Given the passage of years since its original appearance, it may be unfortunate that Philippi has provided no new research to accompany the Princeton edition, although a substantial degree of background commentary is provided by the Kitagawa essay.

As a final remark, it should be pointed out that *norito* remain a living part of Japan's Shinto legacy. The formulae included in the *Engi-shiki* were officially revised in 1875 and 1914, and again following World War II, and while emphasis is given to preserving the archaic style of the originals, the *Engi-shiki norito* are no longer recited at Japanese shrines. A number of works have been published in recent decades (primarily under the guidance of the Association of Shinto Shrines), setting out standards for the composition of *norito* for such modern purposes as blessing the inauguration of automobile production facilities and the launching of Japanese-built rockets. Readers looking for more recent research on ancient *norito* are advised to consult the special issue of *Yūkyū* 悠久 dedicated to the subject (No. 23, November 1985) and the bibliography compiled by KANEKO Zenkō (1982), pp. 71–91. Those interested in *norito* as employed within modern Shrine Shinto would do well to begin with the three companion texts published by the Jinja Shinpōsha: INAMURA 1956, JINJA HONCHŌ 1951 and 1976, and JINJA SHINPŌ 1962.

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Such differences are manifest throughout the two versions, and serve as sharp reminders of the difficulty involved in rendering even the semantic "meaning" of these ancient charms, let alone approaching the effect of their ritual performance. As a single example, in the last excerpt above, Philippi has translated the original *ame no shita yosashi matsurishi toki ni, koto yosashi matsurishi amatsu norito futonoritogoto o mochite mōsaku* as a prologue invoking the past,

following the Japanese by adroitly linking "at the time that the kingdom was entrusted" (*ame no shita yosashi matsurishi toki ni*) and "the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual" (*amatsu norito futonoritogoto*) with "words entrusted" (*koto yosashi matsurishi*). In contrast, Bock moves the entire phrase to the end of the verse, and renders it in a form making it appear mere reminiscence: "Ever since the time he was entrusted with the land under heaven, the solumn liturgy of the heavenly magic formula has been repeated."

Since little agreement exists among Japanese scholars regarding the precise significance of a number of these expressions, it would be impertinent to suggest any dogmatic choice between the two translations on every point. At the very least, however, the comparison of Philippi's long-unavailable work with the scholarly version produced by Bock should spark heightened interest in our attempts to understand this neglected side of Japanese ritual.

In addition to the translations themselves, *Norito* includes Philippi's original brief introduction and glossary of terms, and an extensive new preface by Joseph Kitagawa. Given the passage of years since its original appearance, it may be unfortunate that Philippi has provided no new research to accompany the Princeton edition, although a substantial degree of background commentary is provided by the Kitagawa essay.

As a final remark, it should be pointed out that *norito* remain a living part of Japan's Shinto legacy. The formulae included in the *Engi-shiki* were officially revised in 1875 and 1914, and again following World War II, and while emphasis is given to preserving the archaic style of the originals, the *Engi-shiki norito* are no longer recited at Japanese shrines. A number of works have been published in recent decades (primarily under the guidance of the Association of Shinto Shrines), setting out standards for the composition of *norito* for such modern purposes as blessing the inauguration of automobile production facilities and the launching of Japanese-built rockets. Readers looking for more recent research on ancient *norito* are advised to consult the special issue of *Yūkyū* 悠久 dedicated to the subject (No. 23, November 1985) and the bibliography compiled by KANEKO Zenkō (1982), pp. 71–91. Those interested in *norito* as employed within modern Shrine Shinto would do well to begin with the three companion texts published by the Jinja Shinpōsha: INAMURA 1956, JINJA HONCHŌ 1951 and 1976, and JINJA SHINPŌ 1962.

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Research Materials

An English Translation of "The Royal Meal Protocols" in the *Engi Shiki*

『延喜式』の「内膳司」式英訳の紹介

エミリー・ウォレン

Emily WARREN

The following is an English translation of the "Royal Meal Office" (*Naizenshi* 内膳司, hereafter called the Royal Meal Protocols) created with the National Museum of Japanese History's Multidisciplinary Collaborative Research on the *Engi shiki*: Japan's Ancient Encyclopedia.[(1)] The tenth century Engi Protocols, or *Engi shiki,* details in fifty scrolls the responsibilities of each ministry in the government and the materials and labor required to accomplish those responsibilities, making it a valuable source for understanding government and life in this period.[(2)] The Royal Meal Protocols in Scroll Thirty-nine address the procurement of ingredients and tools for making foods for the sovereign, or *tennō*. This was the primary responsibility of the Royal Meal Office.

The structure of the Royal Meal Office, which was located in the Royal Household Ministry (*Kunaishō* 宮内省), is outlined in the *ritsuryō* administrative codes where we can see that there were two directors called the royal stewards (*buzen* 奉膳); six assistant directors called associate royal stewards (*tenzen* 典膳) who were second level management; and one secretary or fourth level manager (*sakan* 令史). There were lower level officials: forty cooks (*kashiwade* 膳部) that prepared the food, clerks, and various servants, overseers, and workers.[(3)] These officials worked in conjunction with men and women from other offices involved in food preparation and presentation, such as the Banquet Agency (*Daizenshiki* 大膳職), Brewery Office (*Zōshushi* 造酒司), Grains Bureau (*Ōiryō* 大炊寮), Uneme Office (*Unemeshi* 采女司), and Female Chamberlains Office (*Naishishi* 内侍司). Within the palace bureaucracy, the Royal Meal Office was unique in that it had co-directors, the royal stewards, who were responsible for the sovereign's meals and tasting the food for poison. These positions were the hereditary posts of the Takahashi and Azumi lineages, whose service in the royal food preparation predated the *ritsuryō* system. The Takahashi had long served the sovereign as cooks, as reflected in the *Takahashi ujibumi* 高橋氏文, a partially extant history of the lineage. The Azumi were recognized as managers of coastal peoples and purveyors of seafood

and ingredients for the royal house.[4] However, competition between the two families resulted in the decline of the Azumi, and during the Heian Period the Takahashi came to control the Royal Meal Office.[5]

Ingredients flowed from the provinces to provide for the royal table through multiple systems that we can see in the Royal Meal Protocols: provincial tax items, royal tributary lands, and official gardens. Provinces were expected to provide specific goods, particularly food and cloth, as well as labor in the form of taxes. These ingredients were supplemented by ingredients from the royal tributary lands (*mikuriya* 御厨) that existed to provide offerings to the sovereign. At the end of the eighth century, the Royal Meal Office inherited all tributary lands in the Kinai region that provided food for royal banquets from the Banquet Agency, adding to other tributary lands under its control. We can see the importance of these tributary lands products by the lists and delivery schedules in the Royal Meal Protocols. In the late ninth century, the Gardens and Ponds Office (*Enchishi* 園池司), which provided fresh produce to the palace from a network of gardens, had been incorporated into the Royal Meal Office.[6] The ingredients from the tributary lands and gardens arrived at the palace where they were then received by the Palace Kitchen (*Mizushidokoro* 御厨子所) and the Offerings Station (*Shinmotsudokoro* 進物所) before being sent to the proper location to be prepared.

There are seven general sections in the Royal Meal Protocols. The first eighteen clauses address supplies and payments for specific events, such as royal banquets. Clauses nineteen to twenty-seven contain daily, monthly, and annual ingredients for the royal meal, as well as tableware and utensils. Produce delivery schedules are contained in clauses twenty-eight to thirty-three. The ingredients for pickling produce and preserving fish are detailed in clauses thirty-four through thirty-nine. Next, clauses forty through forty-eight address the royal provisions (*minie* 御贄) system. Forty-nine through fifty-six concern utensil production and the management of workers. Finally, clauses fifty-seven through sixty-three detail the administration of the gardens.

Why translate the Royal Meal Protocols into English? The protocols contain a wealth of information on Heian period food and material culture. Charlotte von Verschuer in her monograph on premodern Japanese agriculture, *Agriculture and the Food Supply in Premodern Japan*, translated Clause 63 in order to illustrate field agricultural practices.[7] However, the Royal Meal Protocols have even more to offer researchers and students. For those interested in world material culture, the protocols contain a variety of tableware, from the earthenware pots and jars, to pottery dishes, lacquerware, trays, and bowls. Also through the protocols, we can see the variety of food eaten by the classical sovereign.

The protocols also allow us to better understand the labor of lower level officials in the palace and gardens. The detail on kitchen utensils required for the kitchens also provides information on the kind of work that cooks were doing. We see the methods that cooks used to preserve food, by drying, fermenting, and pickling with salt, elm bark, sake lees, and *hishio*, a product similar to miso made with fermented soybeans. Cooks boiled mochi, pounded rice and wheat, and dried chestnuts, just to name a few preparations in the protocols. This is a perspective missing in many diaries and works of literature from this period. The protocols also allow us to see how important food was in rites and celebrations. While Japanese food history is of great interest to students, there are not many primary sources in English we can use in the classroom to teach food history from this period, nor do international researchers in food studies broadly have much in the way of translated primary sources on premodern Japanese food culture, which means that Japan may be left out of analysis on premodern developments in world cuisine. This text will be useful for understanding the history and significance of classical Japanese food culture in the English-speaking world.

『延喜式』の「内膳司」式英訳の紹介

エミリー・ウォレン

本稿は，国立歴史民俗博物館が推進する「古代の百科全書『延喜式』の多分野協働研究」の一環として行われた『延喜式』巻 39 の「内膳司」の英訳である（以下「内膳式」とする）。10 世紀に編集された 50 巻にも渡る『延喜式』は，古代の中央諸官司の業務内容と管理する物品等の子細を示す貴重な史料である。「内膳式」には，天皇の御膳の食材調達や調理する道具などについての情報が含まれ，内膳司の主な役割が天皇の食物の調理であったことを示唆している。

宮内省に属する内膳司の職員は，養老律令によると，長官の奉膳 2 名，次官の典膳 6 名，令史の 1 名で構成されている。下級職員には，調理を担当する膳部に加え，事務と雑役に従事する人々がいる。これらの職員は，宮廷における食事の準備をし，天皇に食事を提供するために，大膳職，造酒司，大炊寮，采女司，後宮の内侍司等，他の部署と互いに連携して任務をこなした。令の規定では，長官の奉膳は天皇の食物調理と毒味を職務としていた。このような職員構成は，内膳司の独特な性格を示すものである。奉膳は，高橋・安曇両氏が世襲的に任じられてきた職であり，このことはこれらの氏が律令制以前から天皇の御膳に奉仕していたことに由来する。例えば，高橋氏の家記として逸文が伝わる「高橋氏文」には，高橋氏が古くから膳臣という負名氏として御膳を調理したことを伝えている。安曇氏は海人を管理して海産物を調達することを伝統的な職務としていたが，両氏の争いで安曇氏が衰退した結果，平安時代には高橋氏が内膳司の長官として支配するようになった。

内膳式には，諸国や各地の御厨から御膳の食材を宮廷に調達するための制度が示されている。諸国には，特定の食材・布や労働などを税物として納めることが義務付けられていた。このような税物としての食材に加え，天皇の御膳を調達するための御厨が設置され，そこからも食材が集められた。8 世紀末には，内膳司の支配下にある御厨が増加した。というのは，以前は大膳職の支配下にあった饗宴の

食材を生産する畿内の御厨全てが内膳司に受け継がれたからである。内膳式に書かれている食材情報や調達のスケジュールなどを通じて，この御厨の重要性が伝わってくる。9 世紀末には，新鮮な野菜・果物を生産する御園の管理を職務とする園池司が内膳司に所属することとなった。園池司の御園や各地の御厨から宮廷に運ばれた食材が内膳司，御厨子所，進物所と上記の司で調理された。

内膳式の内容は七つに大別される。1 ～ 18 条では神事・仏事・節会に関する食材と物品，そしてその年中行事の従事者への支給物についての規定がある。19 ～ 27 条には日常の供御を作るための食材・食器・道具についての規定がある。28 ～ 33 条には蔬菜・果物類の産物計画の規定がる。34 ～ 39 条には漬物と魚の漬物の食材・物品の規定がある。 40 ～ 47 条には，諸国の御厨の御整制度に関わる事柄の規定がある。 48 ～ 56 条には，食器・道具の製造や，次いで，従事者の管理についての規定がある。 最後の 57 ～ 63 条には，園地の経営規定がある。

内膳式を英訳する意義は何だろうか。『延喜式』には，平安時代の原料や材料，そして食文化に関する多量の情報が含まれており，シャルロッテ・フォン・ヴェアシュア氏の『Rice, Agriculture, and the Food Supply in Premodern Japan』における内膳式 63 耕種園園条のように，既に英訳されている箇所もある。しかし，内膳式は，海外の研究者や学生の教育・研究に役立つにもかかわらず，まだ殆どの条文が英訳されていない。内膳式には鍋や壷といった土器をはじめ，陶磁，漆，金や椀とい った食器の名称も見え，人間が作り上げた産物の歴史に興味がある研究者にとっては重要な資料といえよう。また，古代の天皇が何を食べたのかという問いかけにも答えてくれる。

この式を考察することによって，供御の食材や御膳に奉仕する宮廷の下級職員の職務がより明確になるだろう。内膳式で使用される道具が明らかになることによって，台所で料理人がどのような調理法を用いたのかを推測することも可能となる。内膳式には，供御の食材・調理品として，各種の干物，熟鮓，塩漬け，ニレの漬物などの食品のほか，醤といった味噌や醤油の原型ともいえる発酵調味料などもみられる。内膳司の料理人が餅を茹でたり，米やムギや栗を挽いたりしたという説明からは，調理作業についての理解も深まるであろう。このような，主に下級職員が従事する作業については，日本古代・中世研究者が主に使用する貴族の日記と文学作品には現れにくく，研究上の重要な分析視角を提供するものと期待される。儀式における食物が具体的に記された内膳式は，食物と食事が有する社会的な意味の重要性を具体的に示す史料として評価されよう。海外の大学には日本の食物史に興味がある学生が多くいるが，授業で活用できる食物史の英訳史料は少ない。その上，海外の食文化の研究者に向けた日本の古代・中世の食文化に関する英訳史料があまりないため，世界食文化史の分析対象に日本の食文化が含まれない傾向が生じている。このような研究状況において，内膳式の英訳は，英語圏における日本古代の食文化研究および歴史研究の歩み，意義を理解する上で極めて有益と思われる。内膳式の英訳を通じ，前近代の食文化と延喜式研究の関心が高まることを期待している。

Notes on the Translation

This translation was based on the *Tsuchimikadobon* manuscript of the Engi Protocols, an Edo period copied manuscript held by the National Museum of Japanese History that is currently being studied by the project. An analysis of extant scroll thirty-nine manuscripts by Ogawa Hirokazu was published in the *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* in 2022 that addresses differences between the published and manuscript editions.

This translation also uses Torao Toshiya's annotated edition of the Engi Protocols, *Yakuchū Nihon shiryō: Engi shiki*. However, where there are differences between the versions, I have relied on the *Tsuchimikadobon* manuscript. Clause numbers are based on those in *Yakuchū Nihon shiryō: Engi shiki*. Clause titles have been provided in brackets for ease of reference, but they are not present in the original text.

In accordance with common publishing practices, small text is contained in angle brackets, and Japanese terms are provided in parenthesis. Additional clarifying information provided by the translator is in brackets. In longer clauses, spaces have been inserted for clarity.

As there is uncertainty in calculating precise weights and measurements from this period, amounts in the text has not been converted to modern measurements in text. Estimates for such are provided in the journal appendix.

The Royal Meal Protocols[8]

1 [Worker Payments for the Kasuga Spring Rite[9]]
Kasuga Spring Rite: 1 *hiki* of plain-weave silk (*ashiginu*[10]), 2 *ton* of silk floss <for one [Royal Meal] official in the color corresponding to his position>, 4 *tan* of *chōfu* cloth[11] <each of the eight cooks (*kashiwade*) are to be given 2 *jō* 1 *shaku* for outer robes[12]>, 1 *kin* of safflower <a suitable amount for dying the cooks' cloth>, 1 *tan* of dark blue cloth <an amount for the female servants' (*nyotei*) trains[13]>, 6 tan of *shōfu* exchange cloth[14] <4 *tan* is for outer robes for each of the laborers (*shichō*) and the transporters (*tanfu*). The other 2 *tan* are for towels for the cooks and female servants.> As to the above, the various items are to be requested of the Royal Household Ministry in advance and they are to be sent from the Treasury Ministry. <However, see the Kami Affairs Protocols about the things for the kami's offerings.> The official is to summon cooks and laborers to the location where the rite is conducted and they present these items. Similar items are to be provided or made for the

autumnal rite as well. <Transporters are to be requested at the time from the [Royal Household] Ministry.>

2 [The Ōharano Rite[15]]

The Ōharano Rite: this is the same as the Kasuga Rite.

3 [The Tsukihi Spring Rite[16]]

The Tsukihi Spring Rite: 2 high tables <to be provided by the Carpentry Bureau>, 4 pieces of *chōfu* tax cloth <each piece to be 5 *shaku* in length and large enough to spread beneath the table>, 8 Sue pottery[17] tall dishes[18], 2 [Sue pottery] rounded square jars, 2 wooden rice containers, 1 *kin* of mulberry floss. <These are to be prepared by the Palace Storehouse Bureau.> The female chamberlains (*naishi*) are to request the various items above.[19] As for the items being offered to the kami, the ingredients are to be taken out of the monthly provisions and prepared, arranged on the high tables, and sent to the Wardrobe Bureau. Similar items are to be provided or made for the autumnal rite as well.

4 [The Garden Kami (*sono no kami)* Rite[20]]

The Garden Kami Rite <The same for both spring and autumn>: 14 kami <2 for the Keihoku Garden, 3 for the Nagaoka Garden, 3 for the Nara Garden, 1 for the Yamashina Garden, 3 for the Hatsukashi Garden, 1 for the Naki Garden, and 1 for the administrative office managing the gardens.[21]> As to the above, 1 seat is for a fifth ranking kami[22] <for the Capital's Northern Gardens.> 13 are sixth ranking.

Items for the fifth ranking kami: 3 *shaku* of five-colored plain-weave silk; 1 *shaku* of mixed color barkcloth[23]; mulberry and hemp floss, 1 *ryō* of each; 1 hoe; 3 *to* of white rice; 1 *to* of glutinous rice; soy and adzuki beans, 3 *shō* of each; 1 *to* of sake; 2 *kin* of abalone; 6 *kin* of bonito and dried meat or fish; 11 *kin* of various fermented fish[24]; 4 *kin* of wakame seaweed; 1 *shō* of salt.

Items for the sixth ranking kami: For each [kami] 1 *shaku* of five-colored thin plain-weave silk;1 *shaku* of mixed color barkcloth; 1 hoe; mulberry and hemp floss, 1 *ryō* of each; 1 *shō* of rice; 7 *gō* of sake; abalone, bonito, dried meat or fish, and wakame seaweed, 5 *ryō* of each; 7 *gō* of salt; 2 *tan* of *yōfu* tax cloth[25] to pay for the *norito* prayers.

5 [The Amounts of Various Produce for Rites]

The amounts of various produce for rites <The same in both spring and autumn>:

The Sono Kara Kami rites, 3 *koku*; Kasuga Rite, 4 *koku*; Hirano Rite[26], 3 *koku*; Ōharano Rite, 3 *koku*; Memorial to Confucius (*Sekiten*) rite, 3 *koku*. <For types and amounts, see the Banquet Protocols.>

6 [For the Sacred Meal with the Kami in the Sixth and Twelfth Months (*Kan'imake*)[27]]

For the Kan'imake in the sixth month <this is also to be done the twelfth month>: Awaji salt, 2 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 7 *kin* 5 *ryō*[28]; thinly sliced abalone, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō*; bonito, 5 *kin*; 6 dried sea bream; 30 dried horse mackerel; fermented abalone, boiled salt-boiled sweetfish[29], and *hishio*[30] crucian carp, 2 *shō* of each; 4 sea bream lightly cured with salt; codium seaweed and wakame seaweed, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* of each; dried jujubes, raw chestnuts, ground chestnuts[31], and water chestnuts, 2 *shō* of each. <In the twelfth month, *tachibana* oranges should be used in place of the water chestnuts.> 4 *hotogi* jars[32]; 10 pots <4 large, 6 small>; 8 torch bundles. The 2 offerings officials and the 6 cooks are to be given *chihaya* jackets made from 1 piece of bleached hemp cloth <length 8 *shaku*[33].>

7 [For the Great Harvest Rite (*Niinamesai*[34]) Royal Meal (*kugo*)]

For the Great Harvest Rite royal meal: Salt, 2 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; bonito, 5 *kin*; fermented abalone, salt-boiled sweetfish, and *hishio* crucian carp, 2 *shō* of each; 4 delicious sea bream cured with little salt; codium seaweed and wakame seaweed, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu* of each; dried jujubes, 2 *shō*; dried chestnuts, 2 *shō*; ground chestnuts, 4 *shō*; raw chestnuts, 1 *to*; castanopsis nuts and water chestnuts, 4 *shō* of each; 4 *tachibana* oranges; 4 *hotogi* jars; *hishio* and oil, 5 *shō* of each. The above is the items for the night rite's [royal meal].

8 [For the *Gesai* Feast Served at the Conclusion of Great Harvest Rite Purifications]

Rice, 2 *to*; glutinous rice, 2 *to*; dehydrated glutinous rice and foxtail millet, 2 *shō* of each; 10 stalks of glutinous rice; wheat, 4 *shō*; soybeans, 2 *shō* 2 *gō*; adzuki, 1 *shō* 6 *gō*; sesame seeds, 2 *shō* 8 *gō*; perilla seeds, 3 *shō*; clear sake[35] and cloudy sake, 1 *to* of each; vinegar and *hishio*, 5 *shō* of each; salt, 2 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 1 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; thinly sliced abalone, 13 *kin* 5 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu*; Oki abalone[36], 2 *kin* 5 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu*; boiled bonito and *sazae* sea snail, 13 *ryō* 1 *bu* 2 *shu* of each; squid, 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; dried whole fish and fowl, 5 *shō*; nori, 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; codium seaweed and wakame seaweed, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; dried ginger, 3 *ryō*; 1 basket of dried sorrel; dried jujubes, 2 *shō*; ground chestnuts, 6 *shō*; dried chestnuts, 2 *shō*; raw chestnuts, 2 *to* 2 *shō* 8 *gō*; 2 strings of dried persimmon; castanopsis nuts, 4 *shō*; water chestnuts and lotus seeds, 2 *shō* of each; 24 *kage* of *tachibana* oranges and 10 *tachibana* orange branches[37]; 10 plain chests; 19 large Sue pottery dishes; 12 [Sue pottery] bucket dishes[38]; 26 [Sue pottery] bowls; 7 [Sue pottery] large jars; 6 [Sue pottery] rounded square jars; 10 vinegar jars; 12 washing bowls; ash-fired *hotogi* jars and mortars, 8 of each; 30 Haji pottery roasting pots; large and small washing bowls, 4 of each; 8 large [Haji] dishes; 12 snuffers; 10 [Haji] *hotogi* jars; 50 pots <12 large, 38 small>; 42 loads (*hyō*) of Kashiwa oak leaves[39]. <These are to be all requested at one time and used over the seven royal banquets[40].>

The above section is the items for the *Gesai* [conclusion of purification rites[41]]. However, the various

vessels are to be used throughout the year on the seven royal banquets. <Similar items are to be provided, which are listed in the next clause.>

9 [For the Warmth of Sake Royal Banquet (*Toyo no Akari no sechie*)[42]]
Rice, 1 *to*; glutinous rice, 2 *to*; cooked and dried foxtail millet, 2 *shō*; wheat, 4 *shō*; sesame seeds, 2 *shō* 8 *gō*; perilla seeds, 3 *shō*; salt, 2 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; bonito, 5 *kin*; codium seaweed, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; wakame seaweed, 10 *ryō* 4 *bu* 8 *shu*; fermented abalone, salt-boiled sweetfish, and *hishio* crucian carp, 2 *shō* of each; 1 basket of dried sorrel; dried jujubes and dried chestnuts, 2 *shō* of each; ground chestnuts, 4 *shō*; raw chestnuts, 1 *to*; 2 strings of dried persimmon; castanopsis nuts and water chestnuts, 4 *shō* of each; 24 *kage* of *tachibana* orange [blossom wreaths], *tachibana* orange [blossoms] attached to 10 branches [per wreath]; 10 plain chests; 19 large Sue pottery dishes; 12 [Sue pottery] bucket dishes; 26 [Sue pottery] bowls; 7 [Sue pottery] large jars; 6 [Sue pottery] rounded square jars; 10 [Sue pottery] vinegar jars; 12 washing bowls; ash-fired vessels and mortars, 8 of each; 30 Haji pottery roasting pots; large and small [Haji] washing bowls, 4 of each; 8 large [Haji] dishes; 12 [Haji] snuffers; 10 [Haji] *hotogi* jars; 8 torch bundles; charcoal, 4 *koku*; and firewood, 600 *kin*. The 2 [Royal Meal] officials making the offerings and the 6 cooks should receive outer robes and *chihaya* jackets.
The above is the items for the Warmth of Sake Royal Banquet.

10 [For the Warmth of Sake Royal Banquet, cont.]
Salt, 2 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; bonito, 5 *kin*; codium seaweed and wakame seaweed, 6 *kin* 10 *ryō* 2 *bu* 4 *shu* of each; fermented abalone, *hishio* crucian carp, and salt-boiled sweetfish, 2 *shō* of each; 1 basket of dried sorrel; ground chestnuts, 4 *shō*; raw chestnuts, 1 *to*; castanopsis nuts, 4 *shō*; water chestnuts, 2 *shō*; 2 *tachibana* oranges; 10 plain chests; 19 large Sue pottery plates; 12 [Sue pottery] bucket dishes; 24 [Sue pottery] bowls; 7 [Sue pottery] large jars; 6 [Sue pottery] ceramic boxes; 10 [Sue pottery] vinegar jars; 12 [Sue pottery] washing bowls; 8 [Sue pottery] mortars; 30 Haji pottery roasting pots; large and small [Haji] washing bowls, 4 of each; 8 large [Haji] dishes; 12 [Haji] snuffers; 10 [Haji] *hotogi* jars; 8 torch bundles; charcoal, 4 *koku*; 60 *kin* of firewood.
The queen-consort's (*chūgū*) Warmth of Sake Royal Banquet amount is the same as the above.[43]

11 [For the Lectures on the Golden Light Sutra Rite[44]]
For the Lectures on the Golden Light Sutra Rite: 6 *koku* 5 *to* 4 *shō* 5 *gō* of various produce [are allocated] for the Banquet Office. The 2 [Royal Meal] officials and the 4 cooks preparing the offerings to the buddhas and kami are to receive 1 *ryō* of *chōfu* cloth for outer robes <from that 1 *ryō*, 2 *jō* 1 *shaku* is to be set aside>. [For the cooks,] 4 pieces of *chōfu* tax cloth <the length is to be 8

shaku each, and the four cooks are to receive [1 *jō* each] for *chihaya* jackets.>

12 [For the Seven Temples' Seventh Month Fifteenth Day Obon Rite (*urabon*)[45]]

For the Seven Temples' Seventh Month Fifteenth Day Obon Rite: various produce, 3 *koku* 2 *to* <Each temple receives 4 *to* 5 *shō* 7 *gō*>; fruits, 2 *koku* 4 *to* 3 *shō* <Each temple receives 3 *to* 4 *shō* 7 *gō*.>

13 [The Three Royal Banquets of the New Year[46]]

For the royal meal at various royal banquets <the queen-consort's amounts are the same, and the following are to be provided to lower rankers.> The three royal banquets of the New Year: rice, 3 *to*; glutinous rice, 4 *to* 6 *shō* 5 *gō*; 15 sheaves of glutinous rice on the stalk; dehydrated glutinous rice, 3 *shō*; dehydrated foxtail millet, 6 *shō*; wheat, 1 *to* 2 *shō*; perilla seeds, 9 *shō*; sesame seeds, 8 *shō* 4 *gō*; soybeans, 3 *shō* 3 *gō*; adzuki beans, 2 *shō* 4 *gō*; clear sake, cloudy sake, vinegar, and oil, 1 *to* 5 *shō* of each; *hishio*, 3 *to*; salt, 6 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 8 *kin* 4 *ryō*; Oki abalone, 11 *kin* 1 *ryō*; simmered bonito, 4 *kin* 2 *shō*; *sazae* sea snail, 4 *kin* 3 *ryō*; nori, 1 *kin*; dried ginger, 1 *kin*; dried jujubes, 3 *shō*; ground chestnuts, 9 *shō*; raw chestnuts, 6 *to* 4 *shō* 2 *gō*; 6 strings of dried persimmon; castanopsis nuts, 6 *shō*; water chestnuts, 3 *shō*; 36 *tachibana* orange [blossom wreaths with blossoms] attached to 15 branches; fallen *tachibana* oranges[47], 1 *to*; 5 long chests; 18 roasting pots; bamboo, 3 bundles; 12 *koku* of charcoal for the kitchen; 1,800 pieces of firewood. The 40 cooks <30 for the sovereign, 10 for the queen-consort> preparing the offerings are to each receive 1 *ryō* of dark blue cloth for outer robes. (This cloth will be used over the three banquets.> Each of the thirty cooks on leave (*kaban no kashiwade*) at each royal banquet is limited to two days and receives 2 *shō* of rice per day. <Other royal banquets are to follow this as well.>

The above items for the three days of royal banquets are to be presented at one time and then divided up according to each banquet day. The items for the Grand Archery Meet (*jarai*) come from this list as well.[48] Additionally, the side dishes for the archery matches (*noriyumi*) on the eighteenth day are to be prepared and served to the nobility and Inner Palace Guards assistant commander (*konoe jishō*).

14 [For Royal Meals in the New Year]

Daikon radish, melon miso pickle, melon sake lees pickle, venison, boar meat, salt-pressed sweetfish, salt-boiled sweetfish, 7 glazed Sue pottery dishes, 1 high table <length of 3 *shaku* 5 *sun*, width 1 *shaku* 7 *sun*, height 4 *shaku*.>

The above is to be prepared for the royal meals from the first day [of the New Year] through the third day.

15 [For Making Lye Mochi (*chimaki*) in the Third through Fifth Months]

2 *koku* of glutinous rice for lye mochi[49] <2 *shō* 5 *gō* per day>; cowpeas, 6 *to* <6 *gō* 6 *shaku* per day>; ramie, 2 large *kin*; 60 loads of firewood <to be purchased with cash>; 60 sheaves of wild rice <to be purchased in kind.>

The above is to be prepared for [royal] meals from the third month tenth day to the fifth month thirtieth day.

16 [Fifth Month Fifth Day Royal Banquet[50]]

Fifth Month Fifth Day Royal Banquet: rice, 1 *to* 3 *shō*; glutinous rice, 1 *to* 7 *shō*; 5 sheaves of glutinous rice <for pounded roasted rice[51]>; dehydrated glutinous rice and foxtail millet, 2 *shō* of each; soybeans, 2 *shō*; wheat, 4 *shō*; sesame and perilla seeds, 4 *shō* of each; sake, 1 *to*; vinegar and oil, 5 *shō* of each; *hishio,* 1 *to*; salt, 2 *shō*; dried whole fowl, 4 *kin*; Azuma abalone, 1 *kin* 10 *ryō*; Nagato abalone, Awa abalone, Izumo abalone, and Oki abalone, 2 *kin* 5 *ryō* of each; 2 salmon; squid, 1 *kin* 5 *ryō*; boiled bonito and *sazae* sea snail, 13 *ryō* of each; dried whole fish and fowl, 5 *shō*; nori, 5 *ryō*; codium seaweed, 1 *kin* 5 *ryō*; dried chestnuts, 1 *to*; raw chestnuts, 1 *to* 7 *shō* 4 *gō*; 2 plain wood boxes (*arahako*); raw silk, 2 *bu* 4 *shu*; 10 bundles of green wild rice[52]; 1 bundle of bamboo; charcoal, 4 *koku*; firewood, 60 *kin*. Each of the 40 cooks <30 for the sovereign and 10 for the queen-consort> preparing the offerings each receives 1 *ryō* of dark blue cloth for outer robes.

17 [Seventh Month Seventh Day[53]]

Seventh Month Seventh Day [royal banquet]: rice and glutinous rice, 6 *shō* of each; dehydrated glutinous rice, 8 *to*; dehydrated foxtail millet, 3 *shō*; common millet and wheat, 6 *shō* of each; adzuki beans, 1 *shō*; sake, 2 *to*; vinegar and oil, 5 *shō* of each; *hishio*, 1 *shō*; salt, 1 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 1 *kin* 10 *ryō*; Oki abalone, 2 *kin* 5 *ryō*; squid and *sazae* sea snails, 1 *kin* 5 *ryō* of each; boiled bonito, 13 *ryō*; dried whole fish and fowl, 5 *shō*; nori, 4 *ryō*; codium seaweed, 1 *kin*; 1 stove; charcoal, 4 *koku*; firewood, 600 *kin*.

18 [Ninth Month Ninth Day [Double Yang] Royal Banquet[54]]

Ninth Month Ninth Day Royal Banquet: rice, 2 *to* 3 *shō*; 5 sheaves of glutinous rice; dehydrated glutinous rice, 1 *to*; dehydrated foxtail millet, 2 *shō*; wheat and sesame seeds, 4 *shō* of each; soybeans, 2 *shō*; adzuki beans, 1 *to*; perilla seeds, 6 *shō*; sake, 1 *to*; vinegar and oil, 5 *shō* of each; *hishio*, 1 *to*; salt, 2 *shō*; Azuma abalone, 1 *kin* 12 *ryō*; Oki abalone, 2 *kin* 5 *ryō*; squid, 1 *kin* 5 *ryō*; boiled bonito and *sazae* sea snail, 13 *ryō* of each; salt-pressed sweetfish and dried whole fowl, 8 *ryō* of each; dried whole fish and fowl, 5 *shō*; nori, 5 *ryō*; codium seaweed, 1 *kin* 5 *ryō*; charcoal, 3 *koku*; 600 *kin* of firewood.

19 [Monthly Provisions for Offerings to the Royal Table]

[1]

Monthly Provisions for Offerings to the Royal Table: glutinous rice, 2 *to* 4 *shō* 7 *gō* 5 *shaku*; foxtail millet, 3 *to* 4 *shō* 5 *gō*; dehydrated glutinous rice, 1 *to* 2 *shō* 7 *gō* 5 *shaku*; dehydrated foxtail millet, 3 *shō* 7 *gō* 5 *shaku*; rice, 3 *to* 6 *shō* 4 *gō*; millet mochi (*awa no mochi*)[55], 1 *to* 5 *shō*; common millet, 3 *to*; brown rice syrup (*ame*)[56], 1 *to* 4 *shō* 2 *gō* 5 *shaku*; wheat, 1 *koku* 4 *to* 1 *shō*; mannagrass seeds, 7 *shō* 5 *gō*; soybeans and adzuki beans, 2 *to* 20 *shō* 5 *gō* of each; sesame and perilla seeds, 1 *to* 1 *shō* 2 *gō* 5 *shaku* of each; cowpeas, 1 *to* 3 *shō* 5 *gō*; sake, 7 *to* 5 *shō*; mash sake[57], 6 *to* 7 *shō* 5 *gō*; liquid lees (*shirukasu*)[58], 6 *to*; vinegar, 3 *to* 7 *shō* 7 *gō* 5 *shaku*; sesame oil, 1 *to* 5 *shō*; miso, 1 *to* 5 *shō*; *hishio*, 8 *to* 3 *shō*; wrung *hishio*[59], 7 *shō* 5 *gō*; salt, 1 *koku* 1 *to* 8 *shō* 7 *gō*;

[2]

dried meat (*hojishi*), 9 *kin*; dried whole fowl and salt-pressed sweetfish, 16 *kin* 8 *ryō* of each; Azuma abalone, 45 *kin*; thinly sliced abalone, 11 *kin* 4 *ryō*; Oki abalone, 45 *kin*; *hishio* abalone, 21 *jō*; bonito, 225 *kin*; boiled bonito and sea cucumber, 8 *kin* 4 *ryō* of each; octopus and squid, 23 *kin* 4 *ryō* of each; 45 salmon; dried whole fish and fowl, 4 to 5 *shō*; *kotsuo* shark[60] skin, 20 *kin* 13 *ryō*; infusion bonito[61] and salted sea cucumber innards, 4 *kin* 5 *gō* of each; various abalone from Awa Province, 23 *kin* 4 *ryō*; pickled abalone innards, 2 *to* 3 *shō* 2 *gō* 5 *shaku*; dried *kue* shark, 13 *kin* 8 *ryō*; various fermented fish, 2 *to* 3 *shō* 2 *gō* 5 *shaku*; *tsuhikihachi* fish skin[62], 21 *kin* 12 *ryō*; 142 Noto Province Spanish mackerel; nori, 12 *ryō*; codium seaweed, 2 *kin* 4 *ryō*; arame kelp, 13 *kin* 8 *ryō*; wakame seaweed, 22 *kin* 8 *ryō*; gelidium seaweed, 4 *kin* 8 *ryō*; glacilaria seaweed, 5 *kin* 4 *ryō*; gloiopeltis seaweed, 12 *kin*; campylaephora seaweed, 9 *kin*;

[3]

leaf mustard and soybean-wakame seaweed mixture (*kuki*)[63], 4 *shō* 5 *gō* of each; 23 *hishio* melons; dried jujubes, 1 *to* 4 *shō* 2 *gō* 5 *shaku*; ground chestnuts, 2 *to* 9 *shō* 3 *gō* 5 *shaku*; dried chestnuts, 7 *to* 5 *shō*; raw chestnuts, 2 *koku* 2 *to* 5 *shō*; 29 strings of dried persimmons; castanopsis nuts, 4 *to* 5 *shō*; walnuts, 1 *to* 5 *shō*; 45 *tachibana* oranges; fallen *tachibana* oranges and water chestnuts, 2 *to* 2 *shō* 5 *gō* of each; lotus seeds, 1 *to* 5 *shō* 7 *gō* 5 *shaku*;

[4]

7 *shaku* of silk <for wiping down the sovereign's dishes made with gold, silver, and red lacquer>; 6 *shō* of lamp oil <for the Plating Station and the Offerings Station[64], 3 *shō* each>; 450 pieces of bamboo for making chopsticks <90 pieces are to come from Otokuni Garden in Yamashiro Province and 360 are to come from Kasagi Garden in Sakaraka District.>

[5]

The above is the monthly provisions. For shorter months, this is to be decreased by one-thirtieth.

20 [For Stations]

Charcoal, 1 *koku* 4 *to* <The Plating Station receives 4 *to*. The Offerings Station and Sweets Station each receive 5 *to*>; 3 torch bundles <1 torch bundle each for the Plating Station, Offerings Station, and Sweets Station>; 120 pieces of firewood <The Grains Preparation Station and the Cooking Station are to receive 60 pieces each>[65]; the various ingredients for making various mochi[66]; 1 *shō* of *amazake*[67].

The above is the ingredients for one day.

21 [For Offerings in the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Months]

Mochi, fruits[68], and sweets[69], two willow boxes of each <Each to have a length of 1 *shaku*, and width of 9 *sun*>; plain wood boxes, 21 *gō*; round chests, 24 *gō*; 10 palm fronds[70].

The above is to be used for offerings from the seventh month seventh day through the tenth month.

22 [Lotus Leaves]

Lotus leaves:

75 young lotus leaves; the white portion of the stalk, four and a half stems <to be used from mid-fifth month to mid-sixth month>.

75 fully grown leaves; lotus seeds, 20 clusters; 15 lotus roots <for late sixth month through the late seventh month.>

75 yellow leaves; lotus seeds, 20 clusters; 15 lotus roots <for the early eighth month through the late ninth month.>

The above is to be sent as offerings from Kawachi Province, and they are to be presented on every other day [of the month] for each of these periods.

23 [Items for Making the Royal Meal Throughout the Year]

[1]

For the year: 3 silk covers for the sovereign's rice <2 silk covers of silk floss are to be separated into 5 *ton* of silk floss. 1 silk cover is to be 3 *ton* 1 *ryō* 2 *shu*. All have a length of 2 *jō* 5 *shaku*>; 1 silk wrapping for hand-pulled noodles <length of 7 *shaku*.> 4 large silk sieves <for the water jug spouts, each with a length of 3 *shaku* 5 *sun*>; 95 small silk sieves <13 for the Hot Soup Preparation Station, 14 for the Pickling Station, 13 for the Sweets Station, 10 for the Milling Station, 7 for the Glutinous Rice Flour Station, 3 for the Oil-making Station; 3 for the *Amazura* Syrup Station, 8 for the *Hishio* Station, and 24 for various uses[71]. All are to be 2 *shaku* in length.> 25 thin plain weave silk bamboo sieves <4 for crushing sesame seeds, each with a length of 4 *shaku*; 3 for [crushing] walnuts, each with a length of 2 *shaku*; 2 for straining *amazura* syrup, each with a length of 2 *shaku* 5 *sun*; 5 for straining water pepper, each with a length of 4 *shaku*; 3 for leaf mustard seeds, each with a length

of 3 ***shaku***. The above totals 17 sieves and they are to be double layered; 8 are for making ***hishio***, each with a length of 2 ***shaku***>; 12 tables for transporting food; 12 pieces of oiled plain-weave silk[72] for tablecloths <Each is to have a length of 5 ***shaku*** 1 ***sun***, half width>;

[2]

24 bleached hemp ropes for 12 royal meal chests <length of 1 *jō*, to be divided in half [to twelve], and replaced twice over the course of the year>; 14 bleached cloth sieves <10 large sieves for use at the royal well, each with a length of 3 ***shaku*** 5 ***sun***, double-layered, and 4 water sieves, each with a length of 4 ***shaku***>; 1 bleached cloth bag for polishing royal rice <length 1 *jō*>; 36 towels of bleached cloth <For wiping down the silver meal bowls, 12 pieces of cloth, each 2 ***shaku*** in length. For making thin dumplings (***usu mochii***[73]), 2 pieces of cloth, each 1 *jō* 2 ***shaku*** 5 ***sun*** in length. For wrapping the hand-pulled noodles, one cloth that is 4 ***shaku*** long. For wiping down the royal table, 6 pieces of cloth, each 5 ***shaku*** in length. For wiping down the cauldron (***kama***), one cloth that is 4 ***shaku*** in length. For wiping down the mortar, 2 pieces of cloth each with a length of 2 ***shaku*** 5 ***sun***. For pressing crucian carp, 3 pieces of cloth, each with a length of 2 ***shaku***. For crucian carp that has been grilled and preserved, then pressed, 3 pieces of cloth each with a length of 2 ***shaku***. For wiping out the shallow pot, 5 pieces of cloth, each 5 ***shaku***. To make bags for cooking and drying wheat or barley (***mugi***), 1 piece of cloth with a length of 6 ***shaku***>; 3 pieces of fabric for tablecloths <For the mochi-making table, 1 piece of cloth with a length of 1 *jō* 4 ***shaku***. For the Grain Bureau's 2 tables, 2 pieces of cloth, each with a length of 6 ***shaku***. For covering the stove pots, 12 pieces of bleached cloth <each with a length of 1 ***shaku*** 5 ***sun***>;

[3]

raw silk, 3 ***ku*** <for embroidering the tablecloth and for the strainer>; scoured silk thread, 1 ***bu*** 2 ***shu*** <for embroidering the rice covering>; 3 whetstones <for sharpening the knives>; 28 palm fronds <8 leaves for fanning the rice and 20 leaves for fanning the cooking fires>; hemp, 6 ***kin*** 3 ***ryō*** <24 pieces of string for the stoves, and it takes 4 ***ryō*** 3 ***shu*** to make 1 piece>;

[4]

5 Continental chests[74] <4 are for holding ***hishio***, vinegar, and miso, as well as pickles; 1 chest is for holding rice>; 24 transport tables[75] <3 tables are for the chests of various dishes, 2 tables are for holding fish, 4 tables are for holding the chests of various sweets, 4 tables are for the containers used to wash vegetables, 3 tables are for presenting the chests of various fish, 2 tables are for ***aemono***[76] chests, 3 tables are for the royal rice chest, 3 tables are spares>; 16 cutting board tables <2 tables are for preparing ***aemono***, 2 tables are for preparing side dishes, 2 tables are for various preparations of arame kelp, 2 tables are for preparing various produce, 4 tables are for preparing fresh fish, 2 tables are for preparing various sweets, and 2 tables are spares>;

[5]

8 large tubs <4 tubs are for washing various pickled vegetables, 1 tub is for washing various sweets, 1 tub is for washing the vegetables to make soup, 2 tubs are for washing tablecloths and other cloths>; 13 round tubs <2 tubs are for washing various raw produce, 5 tubs are for washing pickled ginger, 2 tubs are for washing various fresh fish, 2 tubs are for washing various produce, 2 are for washing [produce for] *aemono*>;

[6]

4 wooden mortars <2 for grinding salt and elm[77], 2 for grinding flour>; 8 pestles <for grinding various things>; 5 winnows <2 for separating salt and elm, 3 are for winnowing rice flour>; 190 dried gourds <for ladling various liquids>;

[7]

16 mats[78] <4 are to be hung up in the Grains Bureau, 4 are for drying various produce, 4 are for covering royal tables, 4 are for grinding salt and elm>; 16 wild rice mats <8 are to be hung up in the Grains Bureau, 8 are to be used as a concealing curtain at the Royal Meal Station>; sinomenium, 6 *kin* <to be hung up in the Grains Bureau and to attach to the mats [listed above]>;

[8]

vinegar jars and *hishio* jars, 30 of each; 8 bowls; 4 portable jars[79]; 8 large jars; 8 small jars; 8 rounded square jars; 4 Sue pottery mortars <the above is for presenting the eight types of *aemono*>; 12 washing bowls <4 are for polishing rice, 8 are for washing the various sake lees pickles>; 12 bucket dishes <4 are for pickling dishes for the royal meal, 8 are for holding the sake lees and miso>; 20 *motai* jars <10 are for holding the *hishio* and the various *hishio* pickles, 10 are for holding the various sake lees pickles>; 8 *tsubo* jars <for holding *hishio* pickles and sake lees pickles>;11 shallow pots <for scooping water>; 16 *yuka* jars[80] <for scooping water from>; 2 *tataibe* jars <for the water leftover from washing the rice>; 2 lamp lids <for covering lamps>;

[9]

47 plain chests <4 are for holding pots of *atsumono* soup, 4 are for holding pickles in liquid, 2 are for holding washed produce, 6 are for holding various fish, 3 are for holding side dishes, 4 are for holding various *aemono* vessels, 4 are for holding oak [leaves], 4 are for holding vegetables, 16 are for general preparation>; 57 plain wood boxes <12 are for cooling rice, 4 are for holding washed *aemono* [produce], 4 are for holding washed vegetables for soup, 37 are for general preparation>; 20 boxes <2 are for holding daikon radish, 4 are for holding mochi, 4 are for holding delicacies, 4 are for holding *shitoki* mochi[81], 2 are for holding knives, 4 are for holding fruits>; 38 round chests <for holding various items and to be sent from the Royal Provisions Hall[82] to the Royal Meal Station>;

[10]

77 knives <10 are for shucking oysters, 4 are for chopping up sea lettuce, 2 are for cutting abalone,

2 are for chopping up Ecklonia cava seaweed, 2 are for chopping or removing fish bones, 1 is for making mochi strips, 1 is for *konton* steamed dumplings, 55 are for various uses. 20 long knives. 35 short knives>;

[11]

10 tables <4 are for making various sweets,[83] 2 are for placing royal meal chests, 2 are for placing royal tables, 2 are for the contents of the royal meal>; 2 high tables <for cooling and drying bowls used by the sovereign>; 7 water jug tables;

[12]

24 roasting dishes <for roasting various dehydrated grains>; 11 large lids <for the jugs>; 24 strainer baskets <for scooping boiled mochi>;

[13]

bleached hemp cloth, 9 *tan* 2 *jō* 9 *shaku* <2 *tan* 1 *jō* 6 *shaku* is for 10 towels, and each piece should be 1 *jō*. The 3 *jō* 6 *shaku* is for the 2 cooks making mochi strips who receive cloth for outer robes, and each piece is to have a length of 1 *jō* 8 *shaku*. 1 *tan* 4 *shaku* is to be used for 11 clothing cords[84] each with a length of 4 *shaku*. 1 *jō* 2 *shaku* is for 2 *chihaya* jackets, and each is to have a length of 6 *shaku*. 1 *tan* 2 *jō* 3 *shaku* for the 13 workers' *chihaya* jackets, each with a length of 5 *shaku*. 1 *tan* 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* is for the 10 palace servants' *chihaya* jackets, each with a length of 6 *shaku*. 1 *jō* 8 *shaku* is for the 4 serving women's *chihaya* jackets, each with a length of 4 *shaku* 5 *sun*. 1 *tan* 1 *jō* 4 *shaku* is for 4 outer robes' cloth, each with a length of 1 *jō* 4 *shaku*. 8 *shaku* is for 4 hats, each with a length of 2 *shaku*.>

[14]

The above is to be used from the eleventh month until the tenth month of the following year when replacements are to be requested.

24 [Various Implements for the Royal Meal]

[1]

Various implements for the royal meal: 4 red lacquer standing trays <2 are for daily use and 2 are for royal banquets>; 2 black lacquer standing trays <for purification (*kessai*)>; various vessels of gold, silver, red lacquer, and glazed stoneware.

The above is to be requested by the Royal Secretariat (*Kurodo dokoro*). However, for daily items, such as the 2 *jō* 5 *shaku* 2 *sun* of oiled silk for covering the 2 standing trays, when these items are damaged, new ones are to be received from the Palace Storehouse Bureau.

[2]

5 red lacquer bowls <each is to be 3 *sun* 5 *bu* deep, and the rim is to have a diameter of 1 *shaku* 1 *sun*.> The queen-consort and the crown prince are to have three bowls each. 5 *Kondōkai* writing desks[85] <each is to be 1 *shaku* high and have a diameter of 8 *sun*.> The queen-consort and crown

prince are to have three each.

The above is to be used daily and at royal banquets. In the event that they are broken, they are to be replaced.

[3]

3 transport chests <for the sovereign, queen-consort, and crown prince's daily use>; 4 long chests <for transporting various produce during Obon and the royal banquets>; 2 transport tables <for choosing produce>; 1 sake tub <for washing produce> ; 1 portable water jug <to draw water from when washing the produce>; cloth, 1 *tan* <2 *jō* to make *chihaya* jackets and clothing cords for the two men choosing and washing the produce. 2 *jō* 2 *shaku* are for fastening the lids on the 4 transport chests>.

The above is to be requested and used each year. However, the long chests and the sake tub are to be requested once every three years.

25 [The Cloth Used for Harvesting and Collecting Fruits and Grains]

4 *tan* of *yōfu* tax cloth goes towards the harvest cloth (*katabira*) to be used for gathering fruit or drying various grains. This is to be requested once after three years.

26 [For the Red Label of Approval (*shime no ake no hata*)]

Various offerings are to be marked with a red banner of approval[86] of 16 *ryū* <each is to be 1 *shaku* 9 *sun* long and 5 *sun* 5 *bu* wide.> Each year, the Royal Meal Office is to receive this from the Female Chamberlains Office. The Female Chamberlains Office is to stamp the cloth with the seal.

27 [For making cowpea dumplings (*fuzuku*)]

For making cowpea dumplings: white rice, 4 *koku*; cowpeas, 1 *koku* 8 *to*; light thin for bags to use for wringing the flour and water strainers, 2 of each <the bags are to be 6 *shaku* long each and the strainers' diameters are to be 1 *shaku* 5 *sun* each>; 1 piece of bleached cloth that is used for curtains for drying the flour <length 3 *jō*>; 1 piece of bleached cloth for covering the water jug <length of 4 *shaku*>; for cooking the dumplings,[87] 2 bleached cloth bags <6 *shaku* long each>; 1 water jug; 1 sake tub; 2 *yuka* jars; 1 dried gourd for carrying water; 2 mats; 2 frames with slats; 30 *kin* of firewood for each day making the dumplings.

The above is to be served from the first day of the third month to the thirtieth day of the eighth month.

28 [Offerings of Various Produce]

[1]

Offerings of various produce: For one day, 1 *to*. For *aemono*, 3 *shō*; 30 melons <equivalent to 3 *shō* and

to be sent from the fifth month through the eighth month>; 40 eggplants <equivalent to 2 *shō* and to be sent in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months>; amaranth, 4 *shō* <fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth months>; 6 stalks of thistle <equivalent to 6 *shō* and to be sent from the second month through the ninth month>; 2 bundles of butterbur <equivalent to 2 *shō*, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth months>; 4 stalks of turnips <equivalent to 4 *shō* and from the New Year through the twelfth month>; 4 bundles of crucifer greens <equivalent to 4 *shō*, second month through third month>; Shepard's purse 4 *shō* <first, second, eleventh, and twelfth months>; 4 bundles of lettuce <equivalent to 2 *shō*, third, fourth, and fifth months>; 4 bundles of mallow <equivalent to 2 *shō*, fifth, eighth, ninth, and tenth months>; 4 bundles of dock <equivalent to 2 *shō*, fourth, fifth, eighth, ninth, and tenth month>; 2 bundles of Chinese chives <equivalent to 2 *shō*, second month through the ninth month>; 2 bundles of spring onion <equivalent to 1 *shō*, first, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months>; 100 stalks of garlic <equivalent to 2 *shō*, in the first, second, third, fourth, eleventh, and twelfth months it is to be sent fresh. In the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months, it is to be dried and sent[88]>;

8 hands of raw ginger <equivalent to 2 *shō*, sixth, seventh, and eighth months>; Japanese pepper, 2 *gō* <young leaves in the third and fourth months, the pepper seed in the fifth and sixth months>; 10 bundles of water pepper <equivalent to 2 *shō*, fourth month through the ninth month>; 2 bundles of long stamen chives (*araragi*[89]) <equivalent to 1 *shō*, from the first month to the twelfth month>; coriander, 2 *gō* <first, second, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months>; 4 bundles of daikon radish <equivalent to 4 *shō*, first, second, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months>; 4 bundles of water celery <equivalent to 4 *shō*, first month through sixth month>; 4 bundles of water leeks <equivalent to 4 *shō*, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth months>; 2 bundles of taro stems <sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months>;

[2]

various fruits, 5 *shō*; raw soybeans and adzuki beans, 6 bundles of each <sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months>; raw cowpeas, 6 bundles <sixth and seventh months>; cudweed, 5 *shō* <second and third month>; taros, 4 *shō* <first, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months>; 8 ripe melons <sixth, seventh, and eighth months>; chestnuts, 3 *shō* <seventh, eighth, and ninth months>; peaches, 4 *shō* <seventh, eighth, and ninth months>; 10 yuzu <ninth and tenth months>; persimmons, 2 *shō* <ninth, tenth, and eleventh months>; 10 bunches of loquats <fifth and sixth months>; plum, 2 *shō* <fifth and sixth months>; bramble-berries[90], 2 *shō* <fifth month>; 4 bamboo shoots <fifth and sixth months>. These are to be provided to the queen-consort.

[3]

5 *shō* of various produce is to be sent to the crown prince: *aemono*, 2 *shō*; various fruits, 3 *shō*; raw soybeans, adzuki beans, and cowpeas, 3 bundles of each; cudweed and taro, 2 *shō* of each; chestnuts 1

shō; peaches 2 *shō*; 5 yuzu; persimmons and plums, 1 *shō* of each; 10 clusters of loquats; 2 bamboo shoots.

29 [Fresh Produce for the Seven Annual Royal Banquets][(91)]
1 *koku* 5 *to* 9 *gō* of fresh produce for each of the seven annual royal banquets <5 *to* 1 *shō* to the Director of the Royal Meal Office, the same amount to the queen-consort, and 2 *to* 4 *shō* 9 *gō* to the crown prince>.

30 [The Yamashina Garden Early Melons]
On the fifth day of the fifth month, the Yamashina Garden is to make an offering of early melons. <If there are no early melons, send the flower buds[(92)]>.

31 [Annual Produce]
Various produce for the year, 84 *koku* 4 *to*

32 [Produce Quantity]
The amount of produce offered during the year should not be expressed in *to*, but in the number of pieces (*koku*). The amount is to be determined by the Royal Meal Office Director and the office receiving the produce.

33 [Various Produce for Royal Visits]
For royal visits, the various produce is to be provided in advance.

34 [The Various Produce Pickled Annually]
[1]
The various produce pickled annually: bracken, 2 *koku* <requires salt, 1 *to*>; aster, 1 *koku* 5 *to* <requires salt, 6 *shō*>; thistles, 2 *koku* 4 *to* <requires salt, 7 *shō* 2 *gō*>; water celery, 10 *koku* <requires salt, 8 *to*>; butterbur, 2 *koku* 5 *to* <requires salt, 1 *to* and rice, 6 *shō*>; nothosmyrnium, 6 *to* <requires salt, 2 *shō* 4 *gō*>; Polygonum, 3 *to* <requires salt, 1 *shō* 2 *gō*>; ground wild ginger flowers, 3 *to* <requires salt, 3 *to*>; black nightshade with elm bark powder, 6 *to* <requires salt, 4 to, 8 gō, elm 3 shō>; melon salt pickle, 1 koku <requires salt, 3 *to*>; clusters of wild chives, 6 *to* <requires salt, 5 *shō*>; wild chive flowers, 5 *to* <requires salt, 4 *shō* 4 *gō*>; ground Chinese chives, 4 *to* <requires salt 4 *shō*>; young turnip stems, 5 *to* <requires salt, 3 *shō*, and foxtail millet, 3 *shō*.>
The above is the produce for making spring pickles.
[2]
Melons, 8 *koku* <requires salt, 4 *to* 8 *shō*>; sake lees pickled melon, 9 *to* <requires salt, 1 *to* 9 *shō* 8

gō; lees liquid, 1 *to* 9 *shō* 8 *gō*; hishio lees, 2 *to* 7 *shō*; hishio, 2 *to* 7 *shō*>; *hishio*-pickled melon, 9 *to* <requires salt, *hishio*, and *hishio* lees, 1 *to* 9 *shō* 8 *gō* of each>; lees-pickled winter melon, 1 *koku* <requires salt, 2 *to* 2 *shō*, and lees liquid, 4 *to* 6 *shō*>; *hishio*-pickled winter melon, 4 *to* <requires salt, 8 *shō* 8 *gō*; *hishio*, *hishio* lees, and miso, 1 *to* 6 *shō* 8 *gō* of each>; leaf mustard with elm bark powder, 3 *koku* <requires salt, 2 *to* 4 *shō,* and elm, 1 *to* 5 *shō*>; fermented turnip,(93) 6 *koku* <requires salt, 6 *shō*; and soybeans, 1 *to* 5 *shō*>; turnip with elm bark powder, 10 *koku* <requires salt, 8 *shō* and elm, 5 *shō*>; ground turnip, 5 *to* <requires salt, 3 *shō*>; fermented turnip stems, 1 *koku* <requires salt, 6 *shō*, and rice, 5 *shō*>; *hishio* turnip, 3 *to* <requires salt, 5 *shō* 4 *gō*; and *hishio* lees 1 *to* 5 *shō*>; sake lees turnip, 5 *to* <requires salt, 9 *shō*; and lees liquid, 1 *to* 5 *shō*>; sliced turnip with elm powder, 1 *koku* 4 *to* <requires salt, 2 *shō* 4 *gō* and elm, 2 *shō*>; eggplants, 5 *koku* <requires salt, 3 *shō*>; *hishio* eggplant, 6 *to* <requires salt, 1 *to* 2 *shō*; lees liquid, miso, and *hishio* lees, 1 *to* 8 *shō* of each>; sake lees eggplant, 6 *to* <requires salt, 1 *to* 2 *shō*; liquid lees, 1 *to* 8 *shō*>; pickled black nightshade with elm bark powder, 6 *to* <requires salt, 6 *shō* and elm bark powder, 2 *shō* 4 *gō*>; pickled black nightshade, 3 *to* <requires salt, 9 *shō*>; water leek, 10 *koku* <requires salt, 7 *shō*>; sake lees pickled pickerel weed, 1 *koku* <requires salt, 1 *to* 2 *shō*; and lees liquid, 5 *to*>; *araragi* with elm bark powder, 3 *to* <requires salt 2 *shō* 4 *gō,* and elm, 1 *shō* 2 *gō*>; soybeans, 6 *to* <requires salt, 6 *shō*, and liquid lees, 1 *to* 8 *shō*>; Magnolia kobus, 2 *to* <requires salt, 4 *shō*>; water pepper with elm bark powder, 4 *to* <requires salt, 4 *shō,* and elm, 1 *shō* 6 *gō*>; foxnuts, 1 *koku* 5 *to* <requires salt, 1 *to* 5 *shō*: rice, 7 *shō* 5 *gō*>; Japanese ginger (*myōga*), 6 *to* <requires salt, 6 *shō*, and lees liquid, 2 *to* 4 *shō*>; young ginger, 3 *to* <requires salt, 6 *shō*, and lees liquid, 1 *to* 5 *shō*>; ground honeylocust pods, 3 *to* <requires salt, 4 *shō* 5 *gō*>; silver vine fruit, 2 *to* <requires salt, 2 *shō*>; chocolate vine, 1 *to* <requires salt, 2 *shō* 2 *gō*>; peaches, 2 *koku* <requires salt, 1 *to* 2 *shō*>; persimmons, 5 *shō* <requires salt, 2 *shō*>; pears, 6 *shō* <requires salt, 3 *shō* 6 *gō*>; Japanese pepper 1 *koku* <requires salt 2 *to* 4 *shō*>; perilla leaves, 6 *to* <requires melons, 9 *to*; winter melon, 7 *to;* eggplant, 6 *to*; turnip, 4 *to*; salt, 1 *to* 2 *shō*; hishio, miso, hishio lees, 1 *koku* of each.>

The above is the produce for making the autumn pickles.

[3]

Raw ginger, 4 *koku* 5 *to* <requires salt, 1 *koku* 4 *to* 2 *shō,* and lees liquid, 4 *koku* 2 *to*>; 35 bundles of beech wood <for covering the shallow pots>; 2 dried gourds <for carrying liquids.> 50 lower level female officials (*nyoju*) and 12 female servants (*nyotei*) are to handle the pickled ginger, and they are to receive half of the supplemental food allotted to a person <each day, each person receives 8 *gō*.>

Requests are to be sent to the Female Chamberlains Office to receive the necessary ingredients for making pickled ginger throughout the year. In the third month of the following year, depending on the pickling remaining, the amounts of salt and sake lees are to be determined. <For instance, if 1 *koku* of pickled ginger remains, the additional salt provided would be 1 *to* and the sake lees would be 5 *to*.> From the ninth month to the seventh month of the following year, these pickles are to be

served in the royal meal.

35 [For Elm Bark Powder]
Elm bark, 1,000 pieces <each to have a length of 1 *shaku* 5 *sun*, width of 4 *sun*.> When the bark is ground, this yields 2 *koku* of powder <1 piece yields 2 *gō*.>

The above is to be used for making soup (*atsumono*) and the various side dishes for the year.

36 [Yamashiro and Yamato Provinces]
Yamashiro Province <magnolia kobus, 2 *to*>; Yamato Province <dried bracken, 4 *tan*. The above is to be sent annually.>

37 [For Salt-Preserved Fish]
For making various salt-preserved fish, 20 *koku* 6 *to* <to be made at Abiko tributary land (*kuriya*) in Izumi Province>: *shōfu* exchange cloth, 16 *tan*; Shinano hemp, 100 *kin*; salt, 2 *koku*.

38 [For Salt-Preserved Fish]
For making various fermented fish, 10 *koku*: 6 *to* of salt-preserved fish for making the fermented fish <to be sent from E tributary land in Kawachi Province>; Exchange cloth, 16 *tan*; Shinano hemp, 100 *kin*; white rice, 2 *koku*; salt, 2 *koku* 2 *to*.

39 [For Making Crucian Carp]
For making *hishio* crucian carp and fermented crucian carp, 10 *koku* of each; salt-preserved crucian carp, 3 *koku* 4 *to* <to be sent from Tsukuma tributary land in Ōmi Province>; 30 *motai* jars; *shōfu* exchange cloth, 18 *tan*; Shinano hemp, 100 *kin*; sake, 5 *to*; rice, 1 *koku*; salt, 8 *koku*; hishio soybeans, 2 *koku* 5 *to*.

40 [Royal Provisions (*minie*) to be Sent from the Various Provinces]
Royal Provisions are to be sent from the various provinces <the queen-consort's follows this as well>.
Offerings to be sent every ten days (*jun no ryō*).
Pigeon from the Yoshino royal tributary land in Yamato Province is to be sent from the ninth month to the fourth month in the following year. Fermented and fire-dried sweetfish are to be sent from the fourth month through the eighth month, and for the first and last ten days of the month there are to be 3 person-loads of each.(94) However, libertina snails as well as big-scaled redfin fish gelatin

are to be increased and sent depending on what is caught.

From the ninth month to the third month of the following year for the first and last ten days of each month, the royal tributary land in Shima Province is to send fresh abalone and *sazae* sea snails, 2 person-loads of each. Each month, preserved [abalone], fermented innards, steamed abalone, dried abalone strips, dried abalone spirals, and summer abalone are to total 5 person-loads. Various fish, 13 person-loads <everything is to be conveyed by corvée labor>.

The various fish of Wakasa Province, 7 person-loads of each, are to be sent for the first and last ten days of the month. <The 116 taxable laborers (*kachō*) under the command of the director are to exchange the tax items (*chōmotsu*) received from Wakasa Province for fresh foods, which are to be then conveyed by corvée labor.>

The various fish, 3.5 *tan*, from Kii Province is to be sent for the first, middle, and last ten days of the month <74 of the same tax laborers are to exchange tax items for fresh foods, which will then be conveyed by corvée labor.> The various fish from Awaji Province is 2.5 person-loads <for ten days.>

For the royal banquets:

Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, Settsu, Ōmi <New Year's Day, first month seventh day's [White Horse Royal Banquet], first month sixteenth day's [Song and Dance Royal Banquet], fifth month fifth day's royal banquet, seventh month seventh day's [banquet], ninth month ninth day's [Double Yang Banquet], Great Harvest Rite Royal Banquet of the eleventh month: for each date there is to be 7 loads. Tax rice in provincial storehouses (*shōzei*) are to be traded for the necessary items and conveyed by corvée labor.>

Shima Province <New Year's Day and the Great Harvest Rite's royal banquets: 8 person-loads (*tan*) each. The first month seventh day, first month sixteenth day, fifth month fifth day, seventh month seventh day, and ninth month ninth day: 3 person-loads for each of these royal banquets.>

Mikawa Province <3 person-loads for each of the three royal banquets of the first month>; Wakasa Province <10 person-loads for the three royal banquets of the first month>; Kii and Awaji Provinces <5 person-loads for each of the three royal banquets of the first month.>

As to the above, Mikawa Province is to send pheasants. Other provinces are to send various fresh, delicious ingredients. Additionally, Ōmi Province is to include boar and deer to its shipments for the first day. All ingredients below sent every ten days are to be stored at the Royal Meal Office's facilities and served at the prescribed events.

41 [Awaji Province Royal Provisions]

The royal provisions from Awaji Province are for the queen-consort and the three royal banquets in the first month of the year.

42 [Annual Provisions]

Annual provisions:

Yamashiro Province <white bait, sea bass>

Settsu Province <crab, *kawatake* mushrooms>

Izumi Province <sea bream, horse mackerel>

Iga Province <2 person-loads of 4 jars of fermented sweetfish and 2 person-loads of salted sweetfish in trim-edged chests>

Ise Province <ground sea bream in vinegar: [Send] 2 person-loads of 20 baskets twice. Fermented sweetfish, 2 person loads of 4 jars twice, oysters, rock oysters>

Shima Province <deep seaweed(95)>

Owari Province <fat innkeeper worms, 2 person-loads of 20 jars; saltwater clams, 2 person-loads of 4 jars; hermit crabs, 2 person-loads of 4 jars; dried whole pheasant, 18 baskets, and a separate basket for 6 wings>

Mikawa Province <wakame seaweed, 1 person-load of 4 baskets. The standard basket has a length of 2 *shaku* 2 *sun*, width of 8 *sun*, and a depth of 4 *sun*. All other baskets are to be this size.>

Tootōmi Province <wakame seaweed>

Shimōsa Province <wakame seaweed, 6 baskets >

Hitachi Province <wakame seaweed, 2 person-loads of 20 baskets>

Ōmi Province <salt-boiled sweetfish, 2 *koku*; crucian carp, trout, Lake Biwa salmon, whitebait>

Mino Province <Fermented crucian carp, 3 *motai* jars every two months; fire-dried sweetfish, 1 person-load of 8 baskets; fermented sweetfish, 4 person-loads of 8 jars>

Shinano Province <pears, dried jujubes, walnuts, strips of dried salmon. The amounts are as follows: pears, 1 load of 8 baskets, are to be offered. In each basket there are to be 70 fruits. Large jujubes, 1 load of 8 baskets are to be sent with 1 *to* of fruit per basket. Walnuts, 1 load of 8 baskets, are to be sent with 1 *to* of nuts per basket. Dried salmon strips, 1 load of 9 baskets, are to be sent with 6 fish in each basket. This is ordinarily sent in the tenth month. Pears, 3 loads of 8 baskets, being sent with 70 fruits in the baskets; large jujubes, 1 load 8 baskets being sent with 1 *to* in each basket. This is to be sent as additional offerings (*bekkō*) in the eleventh month.>

Mutsu Province <cords of kelp, 42 *kin*; thin kelp, 120 *kin*; wide kelp, 30 *kin*>

Wakasa Province <fresh salmon, 3 person-loads of 12 fish, three times; wasabi, 1 *to* 5 *shō*, three times; wakame seaweed, 2 baskets of 12 *kin*; nemacystus seaweed; and gracilaria seaweed>

Echizen Province <wakame seaweed, 2 person-loads of 10 baskets, 1 *to* in each basket. In addition, 2 bundles (*sasage*) of wakame seaweed with 1 *to* in each bundle; fresh salmon, 3 person loads of 12 fish, three times; wasabi, 1 to 5 shō, three times; salmon roe; salmon cartilage; fermented salmon back organs>

Noto Province <wakame seaweed, 1 cart-load (*koshi*) of 6 baskets>

Etchū Province <wakame seaweed 1 cart-load is 5 baskets; whole dried pheasant; 1 cart-load is 5 baskets>

Echigo Province <dried strips of salmon 8 baskets of 80 fish; salmon roe, salmon cartilage, fermented salmon back organs, 4 containers of each. Each container holds 1 *shō*.>

Sado Province <wakame seaweed, 1 person-load of 12 baskets>

Tanba Province <fresh salmon, 3 offerings of 6 fish, three times. Fermented sweetfish, 2 person-loads of 4 jars. Salted sweetfish, 2 person-loads to be put in trim-edged chests.>

Tango Province <fresh salmon, 3 offerings of 12 fish, three times; salmon cartilage, 1 jar; fermented salmon back organs, 1 jar; wasabi, 1 *to* 5 shō, three times; small dried whole sea bream, 1 *koku* 2 *to*>

Tajima Province <wakame seaweed, 4 person-loads of 16 baskets; fresh salmon, 3 person-loads of 12 fish, three times; fermented sweetfish, 2 *motai* jars; wasabi, 1 *to* 5 *shō*, three times>

Inaba Province <wakame seaweed, 12 baskets; fresh salmon, 3 offerings of 12 fish three times; wasabi, 1 *to* 5 *shō*, three times>

Hōki Province <wakame seaweed, 1 person-load of 10 baskets; wakame seaweed stems, 1 person-load of 10 baskets>

Harima Province <fermented sweetfish, 2 person-loads of 4 jars>

Mimasaka Province <fermented sweetfish>

Bizen Province <jellyfish, 10 *motai* jars, two times>

Bitchū Province <salt-boiled sweetfish, 8 *motai* jars>

Nagato Province <wakame seaweed, 104 baskets>

Kii Province <fermented sweetfish, 2 person-loads of 4 jars>

Sanuki Province <sea bream *shio saku,* 20 fish; fish dried without salt, 12 baskets>

Tosa Province <salt-pressed sweetfish, 1,000 fish; salt-boiled sweetfish, 5 *motai* jars>

The Dazaifu <*Mitori* abalone, 459 *kin* in 5 bundles (*tsutsumi*); short abalone strips, 518 *kin* in 12 bundles; thin abalone strips, 855 *kin* in 15 bundles; *kage* abalone, 86 *kin* in 3 bundles; *hawari* abalone, 39 *kin* in 1 bundle; grilled abalone, 335 *kin* in 4 bundles. The above is *chō* tax items. Fermented crucian carp, 178 *kin* in 5 *motai* jars; fermented abalone, 108 *kin* in 3 *motai* jars; pickled abalone innards, 296 *kin* in 9 *motai* jars; *kuchimimi* abalone, 98 kin in 2 *motai* jars. The above is to be made as men's tax items (*chūnan sakumotsu*)[96]. Fermented sweetfish, 223 *kin* in 6 *motai* jars; salt-boiled sweetfish, 839 *kin* in 20 *motai* jars; fermented female sweetfish with roe, 36 *kin* in 1 *motai* jar. The above is pillar-caught (*yanatsukuri*)[97]. Sea bream in *hishio*, 4 *to* 8 *shō* in 2 *motai* jars; meat in *hishio*, 2 *to* 3 *shō* in 1 *motai* jar; pickled wild chive stems, 1 *koku* 5 *to* 7 *shō* in 6 *motai* jars. The above is to be tribute-made (*kuriyatsukuri*)[98]. Dried whole pheasant, 2 cart-loads of 60 baskets with 3 pairs of wings separately; and nibe croaker; and when both Chikugo and Higo Provinces send their

offerings, it should match these amounts. The above is their additional offerings (*bekkō*).>
The above shows the offerings of the various provinces. When these are served, they are to be taken by the Royal Provisions Hall to be used to make food for the royal table. <However, the nibe croakers are to be given to the Royal Meal Office.>

43 [Yamashiro Province Royal Provisions]
As for the royal provisions from E in Yamashiro Province, the governor (*kokushi*) is to order the custodian (*azukaribito*) to send fish.

44 [For Whitebait]
From each of the locations in Yamashiro and Ōmi Provinces that catch whitebait, they are to send whitebait starting from the ninth month through the twelfth month thirtieth day.

45 [Mikawa and Tosa Provinces]
Mikawa Province sea squirts, 1 *koku*. Tosa Province fermented innards and small abalone, 4 *motai* jars <one *motai* jar contains 3 *to*.> Each year these are to be exchanged for and sent.

46 [Izu Province]
Izu Province is to offer up approximately 1 *koku* 4 *to* 6 *shō* of bonito for making infused soups. This is to come as a men's tax item.

47 [Royal Tributary Lands' Schedule]
The schedule for provinces' royal tributary land offerings:(99)
Izumi Province <Rat and Snake [days]>
Kii Province <Ox, Horse, and Rooster [days]>
Awaji Province <Tiger, Sheep, and Dog [days]>
Ōmi Province <Rabbit [days]>
Wakasa Province <Dragon, Monkey, and Boar [days]>
The offerings listed below are to be sent on each appointed day. An itinerary is to be made in advance and executed on time.

48 [Oak Leaves for Plating]
Yamashiro Province is to send 1 load of fresh oak leaves everyday for the sovereign's meals <50 bundles of leaves> starting from the fifth month fifth day through the eleventh month fourth day. Tanba Province is to send 1 load of dried oak leaves every day starting on the eleventh month fifth day and

ending on the fifth month fourth day. The Residential Palace's portion is to be included here as well.

49 [Wooden Trays]

120 wooden trays. <For various uses in the kitchens (*tsukuri dokoro*). The Carpentry Bureau is to send these every year.>

50 [On Making Utensils]

2 people to make wooden vessels <one person from the Royal Provisions Hall, 1 person from the [Royal Meal] Office.> 9 people to make earthenware. Each month, 1 person is to make 30 plain wood chests, 780 pieces of earthenware <large dishes, medium dishes, deep dishes, flat dishes, saucers, corner plates, *hotogi* jars, pots, etc.> The person making the earthenware is to be paid 9 *dan* of *shōfu* exchange cloth <for making clay vessels.> 9 hoes <old hoes are to be submitted when requesting new ones>. Food payments for one person per day amount to 2 *shō* of brown rice[100] and 2 *shaku* of salt. They are to receive 4 *jō* 5 *shaku* of plain-weave silk in the summer and in the winter, 1 *hiki* 3 *jō* of plain-weave silk and 4 *ton* of silk floss as seasonal clothing payments.

51 [Food Payments]

The food payments for the 30 cooks are 1 *shō* of white rice and 1 *shaku* of salt, per person per day. The food payments for the 17 laborers are 2 *shō* of brown rice and 2 *shaku* of salt, per person per day. The 40 cooks are to receive clothing.

52 [Cloth Payments]

For the 17 laborers, 1 *ryō* of dark blue cloth for outer robes <2 *jō* each>; *chōfu* tax cloth for *hakama* trousers, 1 *koshi* <7 *shaku* each>; 1 piece of *chōfu* tax cloth for *obi* sashes <each to have a length of 8 *shaku* 4 *sun* at half the standard width.> They are to receive this once every three years.

53 [Royal Tribute Land Corvée Labor]

Yamashiro, Kawachi, Settsu, and Izumi provinces are to send corvée laborers to the royal tribute lands of E and Abiko. 40 people for E and 50 people for Abiko.

54 [Tsukuma Royal Tribute Land Head]

The head of the Tsukuma royal tribute land is to be selected from the cooks.

55 [Corvée Labor Exemptions]

From among the cooks with over ten years of service, one is to be considered for exemption from

corvée labor (*kanjaku*)[101] after three years.

56 [Laborers' Payments]
When cooks and male and female laborers are absent, their payment depends on their role within the [Royal Meal] Office.

57 [Oxen for the Gardens]
The 11 oxen used in the gardens are to come from the Bureau of the Left and Right Stables. When oxen die or become old, new ones are to be requested from the [Royal Household] Ministry. After the Council of State has confirmed the request, they are to receive the oxen. Among the 74 hoes provided, 40 of them are hoe shafts, and 34 are spade shafts. They are to be replaced once every two years. <Old hoes are to be exchanged.> 2 horse hoes <Old ones are to be exchanged.> 2 Ox-drawn spades, 4 blades <If the above are damaged, they are to be requested.> 2 carts <To be replaced every year.>

58 [Garden Laborers]
Garden laborers, 14 people <1 overseer, 13 workers>

59 [The River Boat]
1 river boat <length of 3 *jō*> is to be kept at Yodo Harbor.[102] This boat is to be used for transporting the various produce for the royal table from the Nara and Naki gardens.

60 [Garden Lands Under Cultivation]
The garden lands under cultivation total 39 *chō* 5 *tan* 200 *bu* <Keihoku Garden, 18 *chō* 3 *tan*; Nara Garden, 6 *chō* 8 *tan* 320 *bu*; Yamashina Garden, 9 *tan*; Naki Garden, 5 *chō* 5 *tan* 240 *bu*; Hatsukashi Garden, 4 *chō* 9 *tan*; Izumi Garden, 1 *chō*; Heijō Garden, 2 *chō*>

61 [Fruit Trees]
460 Various fruit trees <100 *tsugi* pear trees,[103] 100 peach trees, 40 citrus trees, 40 small citrus trees, 100 persimmon trees, 20 *tachibana* orange trees, 30 large jujube trees, 30 chocolate vines.> Bramble-berry garden, 2 *tan*.
The above are to be cultivated. If this amount is insufficient, when the official in charge completes his term he is to note this in his term completion record.

62 [Garden Paddies]
Paddies, 6 *tan* 234 *bu* <for growing water celery and water leeks, located in Otokuni District.>

63 [Plants to be Cultivated in the Gardens:]

Barley: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 1 *to* 5 *shō*. Labor: 14.5 people. Turn the soil once. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 1 person. Making ridges: 2 people. Sowing: .5 person. Harvesting: 2 people. Threshing: 5 people. Pounding: 2 people. <Wheat is the same.>

Soybeans: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 8 *shō*. Labor: 13 people. Turn the soil once. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 1 person. Making ridges: 2 people. Sowing: 2 people <third month.> Weeding: 1 time, 2 people. Harvesting: 2 people. Shelling: 2 people.

Adzuki beans: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 5 *shō* 5 *gō*. Labor: 13.5 people. Turn the soil once. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 1 person. Making ridges: 2 people <fifth month.> Sowing: .5 person. Weeding: 2 times, 4 people. Harvesting: 2 people. Shelling: 2 people.

Cowpeas: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 8 *shō*. Labor: 13 people. Turn the soil once. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 1 person. Making ridges: 2 people. Sowing: 2 people. Weeding: 1 time, 3 people. Harvesting: 3 people.

Turnips: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 8 *gō*. Labor: 32.5 people. Turn the soil 5 times. 2.5 people plough and 2.5 people handle the oxen. 2.5 oxen. Tillage: 1 person. Manure: 120 person-loads <1 person-load amounts to 6 *kin*.> Transportation [of the manure]: 20 people. <Each person to carry six times a day from the Bureau of the Left and Right Stables to the Keihoku Garden.> Sowing: .5 person <seventh and eighth months.> Harvesting: 6 people.

Wild chives: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 3 *koku*. Labor: 93 people. Turn the soil seven times. 3.5 people plough and 3.5 people handle the oxen. 3.5 oxen. Tillage: 2 people. Making dividing ridges: 3 people. Manure: 210 person-loads. Transportation [of manure]: 35 people. Sowing: 6 people <eighth month.> Weeding: 3 times. The first time is with 10 people, second time with 8 people, third time with 7 people. Harvesting: 15 people.

Chinese chives (*mira*) : 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 5 *koku*. Labor: 75 people. Turn the soil three times. 1.5 person people plough and 1.5 people handle the oxen. 1.5 oxen. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 210 person-loads. Transportation [of the manure]: 35 people. Choosing the seedlings: 6 people. Sowing: 6 people <ninth month.> Weeding: 3 times, 21 people <7 people for each weeding.>

Spring onions: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 4 *shō*. Seedlings: 1200. Labor: 87.5 people. Turn the soil three times. 1.5 people plough and 1.5 people handle the oxen. 1.5 oxen. Tillage: 1 person. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 210 person-loads. Transportation [of the manure]: 35 people. Sowing: .5 person <eight month.> Transplanting: 20 people <second month.> Weeding: three times. First time, 10 people; second time, 9 people; third time, 7 people.

Ginger: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 4 *koku*. Labor: 78 people. Turn the soil five times. 2.5 people to plough and 2.5 people to handle the oxen. 2.5 oxen. Tillage: 2 people. Manure: 210 person-loads. Transportation [of the manure]: 35 people. Making dividing ridges: 4 people. Sowing: 4 people <fourth month.> Weeding: 3 times. First time, 9 people; second time, 7 people; third time, 6 people. Harvesting: 6 people.

Butterbur: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 2 *koku*. Labor: 34 people. Turn the soil twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Manure: 120 person-loads. Transportation [of the manure]: 20 people. Sowing: 2 people <ninth month.> Weeding: 2 times. First time, 2 people <third month>; second time, 2 people <sixth month.> Reaping: 4 people. To be planted once every three years.

Thistle: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 3 *koku* 5 *to*. Labor: 44 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Manure: 120 person-loads. Transportation [of the manure]: 20 people. Sowing: 2 people. Weeding: 2 times. First time, 3 people <second month>; second time, 3 people <seventh month.> Reaping: 4 people. Harvesting: 8 people. One every three years a different location is to be selected for planting.

Early melons: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 4 *gō* 5 *shaku*. Labor: 46 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 3 people. Digging irrigation ditches and ridges: 3 people. Manure: 75 *tan*. Transportation: 12.5 people. 360 seedling beds. Making the beds: 1 person. Sowing: .5 person <second month.> Insect removal: 12 people. Pulling weeds and raking: 3 times. First time, 5 people <first part of the third month>; second time, 4 people <latter part of the third month>; third time, 3 people <fourth month.>

Late melons: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 4 *gō* 5 *shaku*. Labor: 35.5 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 3 people. Digging irrigation ditches and ridges. 360 seedling beds. Making the beds: 1 person. Sowing: .5. Raking: 1 person <3 times.> Weeding: 3 times. First time 10 people <third month>; second time, 8 people <fourth

month>; third time, 7 people <fifth month.>

Eggplants: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 2 *shō*. Labor: 41 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage and making ridges: 3 people. Sowing: .5 person <third month.> Choosing seedlings: 1.5 people. Transplant: 10 people <fourth month.> Raking: 2 times. First time, 3 people <fifth month> second time, 3 people <sixth month.> Weeding: 3 times, 18 people <6 people per session.>

Daikon radish: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 3 *to*. Labor: 18.5 people. The soil is to be turned three times. 1.5 people plough and 1.5 people handle the oxen. 1.5 oxen. Tillage: 1 person. Sowing: .5 person <sixth month.> Harvesting: 14 people.

Lettuce: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 3 shō. Seedlings: 1500. Labor: 39.5 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 132 *tan*. Transportation: 22 people. Sowing: .5 person <eighth month.> Choosing seedlings: 2 people. Transplanting: 6 people <ninth month.> Weeding: 1 time, 3 people.

Mallow: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 2 *shō*. Labor: 31.5 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 132 *tan*. Transportation: 22 people. Sowing: .5 person <eighth month.> Weeding: 1 time, 3 people.

Coriander: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 2 *to* 5 *shō* . Labor: 28 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 132 *tan*. Transportation: 22 people. Sowing: .5 person <third month and eighth month.>

Colza: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 1 shō. Labor: 28 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 132 *tan*. Transportation: 22 people. Sowing: .5 person <third month and eighth month.>

Nothosmyrnium: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 3 *koku* 5 *to*. Labor: 35 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people. Manure: 132 *tan*. Transportation: 22 people. Sowing: 3 people <ninth month.> Weeding: 1 time, 2 people. Reaping: 2 people.

Japanese ginger: 1 tan under cultivation. Seed: 3 koku. Labor: 35 people. The soil is to be turned

twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 2 people. Making ridges: 2 people <ninth month.> Manure: 132 tan. Transportation: 22 people. Sowing: 3 people. Weeding: 2 people. Harvesting: 2 people.

Taro: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seed: 2 *koku*. Labor: 35 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Making ridges and tillage: 4 people. Sowing: 3 people <third month.> Weeding: 6 people. Weeding: 3 times, 6 people <fifth, sixth, and seventh months, each session 2 people.> Harvesting: 4 people. Choosing the new taro: 10 people.

Water leeks: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seedlings 20 bundles (*i*). Labor: 53 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Tillage: 1 person. Manure: 120 *tan*. Transportation: 20 people. Sowing: 15 people <fifth month.> Transplanting 3 times, 15 people <each time, 5 people.> Harvesting: 15 people <3 times.>

Water celery: 1 *tan* under cultivation. Seedlings: 5 *koku*. Labor: 44 people. The soil is to be turned twice. 1 person ploughs and 1 person handles the ox. 1 ox. Breaking up soil: 1 person. Manure: 120 *tan*. Transportation: 20 people. Sowing: 6 people <second month.> Getting seedlings: 10 people. Reaping: 5 people.

The Engi Protocols, Scroll 39

annotation

(1)—— This translation was completed with the support of a Japan Foundation Doctoral Fellowship. I would also like to thank Kiyotake Yūji, Ogura Shigeji, and the *Engi shiki* project team of the National Museum of Japanese History for their generous guidance and assistance.

(2)—— Readers looking for a more in-depth introduction to the Engi Protocols in English should look to Felicia Bock's monographs and translations of the first ten scrolls of the protocols. In Japanese, Torao Toshiya's *Nihon rekishi sōsho Engi shiki* is a standard introduction to the text. For a more recent and concise introduction well-suited to students, see Ogura Shigegi, "Engi shiki."

(3)—— Inoue *et al.*, *Ritsuryō*, p. 182.

(4)—— For the most recent English translation of the *Takahashi ujibumi*, see Bentley, *Historiographical Trends in Early Japan*, pp. 93–102.

(5)—— For more on the dual control of this office, see Kobayashi, "Takahashi Azumi niuji to naizen buzen."

(6)—— The gardens were located in Yamashiro and Yamato so that it would be easier to transport the produce. On the history of this office, see Isaji Yasunari, "Enchishi ni tsuite."

(7)—— von Verschuer, *Agriculture and the Food Supply in Premodern Japan*, pp. 17–21.

(8)—— Citations for the Engi Protocols refer to the three volume annotated set edited by Torao Toshiya. *Engi shiki 1* refers to *Yakuchū Nihon shiryō Engi shiki jō*, which contains scrolls 1–10. *Engi shiki 2* is *Yakuchū Nihon shiryō Engi shiki*

chū, which contains scrolls 11–27. Lastly, *Engi shiki 3* refers to *Yakuchū Nihon shiryō Engi shiki ge*, which contains scrolls 28–50.

(9)——The Kasuga Spring Rite was conducted for the tutelary deity of the Fujiwara, the Kasuga Deity, in the second month in Sōnokami District, in what is now the northern end of Nara Prefecture. In the days prior to the rite, Palace Kitchen Office officials ordered cooks, menial laborers, and serving women to come to prepare foods and other offerings. Here, the compilers have only listed the payments for the workers, but the Four Seasons' Rites (*Shijisai* 四時祭) lists foods be offered to the kami and Banquet (*Daizen* 大膳) protocols contains foods for the banquet. *Engi shiki 1*, p. 33; *Engi shiki 3*, p. 479; *Engi shiki 3*, pp. 199–201. The Kasuga Rite was held twice annually on the first Monkey Day of the second and eleventh months for the worship of the Kashima 鹿島, Katori 香取, Hiraoka 平岡, and Aidono 相殿 deities. See *Engi shiki 2*, pp. 279–81; *Engi shiki 1*, p. 45.

(10)——Plain-weave silk, or *ashiginu*, appears throughout the Engi Protocols. This term refers to a general category of a plain-weave silk textile made of a thicker thread. For examples of *ashiginu* from the Nara period in English, see the Nara National Museum's *The 53rd Annual Exhibition of Shōsōin Treasures*, p. 39.

(11)——*Chōfu* tax cloth was a tax paid in kind item.

(12)——Outer robes made of hemp cloth, or *hitoeginu*, would be worn atop one's robes. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 480.

(13)——A train was fabric attached at the waist to trail behind the wearer. The female servants (*nyotei, jochō* 女丁) were commoner women who performed a variety of tasks around the palace. These female servants came to work from different provinces. The government permitted each province to send one to four women for this role, depending on how the province was ranked, and as a principle, these female servants were to change every three years, but it is unclear whether this was done in practice. See Ishii Masatoshi, "Jochō," *Heian jidaishi jiten*, p. 160. The Engi Protocols states that these female servants were not to exceed ninety in number, nor come from Shima, Hida, Mutsu, Dewa, Sado, Oki, and the Dazaifu. *Engi shiki 2*, p. 771. As for their food-related roles outside of the Royal Meal Protocols, we can see that in 31: 58 these female servants worked on making sake for the Daijōsai enthronement rites and Great Harvest Rite (*Niinamesai*) by mashing sake rice. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 175.

(14)——Shōfu, also read as *tani*, refers to a hemp cloth given as payment or tribute that could be exchanged for other goods.

(15)——The Ōharano Rite was held in the second month and eleventh month for the kami enshrined in Kyoto to protect the capital. When the capital was moved from Nara to Nagaoka in 784, the tutelary deity of the Fujiwara was made a protective deity of the new capital and palace, and when the capital was moved again to Kyoto in 794, it was enshrined as the protective deity of Kyoto. The kami worshipped are the Takemigadzuchi, Ihahinushi, Amenokoyane, and Hime deities. See Emura Hiroyuki, "Ōharano matsuri," *Heian jidai gishiki nenjūgyōji jiten*, pp. 62–3. The Grains Bureau prepared rice and the Brewery Office provided sake for the kami. See *Engi shiki 3*, p. 299 and 563. Clause 5 of the Royal Meal Protocols below says that vegetables were provided as well.

(16)——This may have been a rite dedicated to the kami of the Mikushige Hall (*Mikushigedono*). This location was in the Jōgan Hall where the female royal secretaries (*nyokurōdo*) and others worked at sewing clothing. This kami may have been a kami of the Wardrobe Bureau. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 480.

(17)——Sue pottery is a type of stoneware fired above 1000°C, yielding a strong, gray pottery. Sue is unglazed, except for ashes that melt against its surface. Sue contrasts with another pottery type, Haji, which was unglazed and fired at a lower temperature. Both pottery types were regarded as utilitarian. The square jars mentioned here were a pottery made in Mino and Bizen provinces. *Engi shiki 2*, p. 871 and 889. Many of the translations of pottery items in this chapter are based on Arai Hideki's extensive study of pottery in the *Engi shiki*. Arai Hideki, "Engi shūkei shiki no kawarake ni tsuite." For translation purposes, the illustrations of pottery of pottery found or reconstructed from Heijō palace archaeological sites done by the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties have been particularly useful. For more extensive photography and illustrations of pottery used at the Heijō palace, see Jinno Megumi, "Heijōkyū

shutsudo bokusho kawarake shūsei III."

(18)——These tall dishes, or *takasara*, were bowls attached to stands that made them taller than other pottery dishes. A single "leg" mounted in the center supported the bowl.

(19)——Female chamberlains worked in the Back Palace serving the sovereign by conveying royal commands, managing lower level servants, and generally keeping things running. For more on the female chamberlains and their office in English, see Ijūin, Yoshie and Piggott, "Gender in the Japanese Administrative Code: Laws on Officials in the Back Palace."

(20)——These were kami worshipped by the Royal Household Ministry. In this case, a rite was conducted specifically for the *sono* kami, or garden deities, that provided food for the sovereign. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 482.

(21)——The Keihoku and Naki Gardens are specifically named gardens, whereas Nagaoka, Nara, Yamashina, and Hatsukashi are places that contained gardens with kami to be worshipped for helping to provide food. Isaji Yasunari has proposed tentative locations for the gardens, as well as stated that it is highly possible that this garden system was put in place in the first half of the eighth century. See Isaji, "Enchishi ni tsuite," p. 139.

(22)——This ranking system used for the kami was the one used for officials, and there was a substantial difference between the fifth and sixth ranks. The sixth rank was a common for officials involved in government administration. This fifth ranking kami of the Capital's Northern Garden occupied a more important position in the ceremony than the sixth rankers.

(23)——Mixed-color barkcloth, or *shizu*, was made of paper mulberry, hemp, or other fibers woven in an irregular mix of colors, according to the Meiji period handicrafts encyclopedia *Kōgei shiryō*. See Kurokawa Mayori, *Zōtei kōgei shiryō*, p. 23. The Engi Protocols tells us that Suruga and Hitachi were responsible for sending this textile. *Engi shiki 2*, p. 865 and 871.

(24)——Fermented fish was a precursor to what a modern reader would identify as sushi. It is made by cleaning a fish, salting it, and then packing the fish with cooked rice. Once the fish and rice is packed so not to be exposed to oxygen, it undergoes a lactic acid fermentation process. Lactic acid bacteria and acetic bacteria transform the fish into a pungent, sour product. The rice is removed from the fish and then the fish is eaten.

(25)——This is a type of tax cloth that was originally paid in instead of corvée labor.

(26)——The Hirano Rite was conducted for the kami of Hirano Shrine, which protected the maternal line of Kanmu Tennō, the royal house, and in particular, the crown prince. They also were tutelary deities of the Minamoto and Taira. The Four Seasons' Rites protocols lists four kami associated with Hirano Shrine. See *Engi shiki 1*, p. 55. In 848, one kami, Aidono no Hime kami, rose in rank from an unranked position to junior fifth rank lower, bringing the total number of ranked kami at the shrine to four. Morita Tei, *Shoku Nihon kōki* (*ge*), p. 298.

(27)——This occurs during the night of the Tsukinami Rite, which was done in the sixth and twelfth months. For the Tsukinami Rite, officials of government and shrines gathered for the reading of *norito* prayers followed by alms. The Kan'imake followed, and the sovereign would undergo various purifications before changing into special clothing. The *Gishiki* tells us that once the Tsukinami Rite completed, for the Kan'imake, Kami Affairs officials prepared a ritual site, and in the Hour of the Boar (about 9–11PM), the Royal Meal Office led *uneme* female attendants and *tomo be* workers' groups to prepare the royal meal for the rite. Then, the same would be prepared for the rite again at the Hour of the Tiger (3–5AM). *Gishiki,* pp. 30–1. These ingredients listed here would be consumed during the night as the sovereign communed with the kami.

(28)——Azuma abalone refers to abalone produced in the eastern provinces in a particular manner. Kiyotake Yūji points out that Azuma abalone specifically came from Awa Province, as well as Kazusa Province, so it was not simply "abalone of the east," which encompassed a wider territory for "eastern" goods, but a specific regional preparation. See Kiyotake Yūji, *Awabi to kodai kokka*, pp. 27–30. Various kinds of abalone appear in the protocols, and the names reflect their region of origin, such as Oki abalone, or preparation, such as fermented abalone, or both. The Royal Meal Protocols specifically

show us which types were suitable for royal consumption: abalone from Azuma, Oki, Nagato, Awa, and Izumo, as well as thinly sliced abalone, fermented abalone, and pickled innards. For more on abalone generally in the Engi Protocols, see the aforementioned volume, and Kanō Hisashi, "Kodai ni okeru awabi no shūshu ni tsuite." For the most recent recreation study on abalone preparation, see Kiyotake, "Engi shiki ni mieru awabi ni kansuru fukugen shiryō: hitoribun no naga awabi kōnō ryō."

(29)——While there are no contemporary directions for making this preparation, the characters used here give us a hint. This *ayu*, or sweetfish, was liked boiled in saltwater to help preserve it.

(30)——*Hishio* was a fermented product made from grain and soybeans, similar to miso. The Banquet Protocols has an ingredient list for *hishio*: soybeans, rice (for inculcating, likely with kōji spores), glutinous rice, adzuki beans, sake, and salt. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 227. This was one of the four condiments, or *shishu mono*, served at banquets.

(31)——This is referring specifically to *kachiguri*, a chestnut preparation that consists of pounding dried chestnuts and removing the bitter skin.

(32)——*Hotogi* jars were a deep jar with a wide mouth. They could be made of earthenware, such as the ones sent from Yamato, Bizen, and Sanuki, which are recorded in the Accounting Bureau protocols (*Shūkei* 主計). See *Engi shiki 2*, p. 857, 889, and 895. These jars could also be fired at higher temperatures as Sue pottery. Arai Hideki has proposed that earthenware *hotogi* jars were used for keeping things warm, while the sturdier Sue types would be used for transporting goods and storage. *Motai* jars were another vessel commonly used for storage. Arai Hideki, "Hotogi to motai ni kansuru oboekaki."

(33)——A *chihaya* was a type of jacket or outer robe worn by workers. The cloth was made of hemp and bleached by sun exposure to become white. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 484.

(34)——From the establishment of the ritsuryō system, the Great Harvest Rite was performed in the eleventh month over a two day period. In the afternoon, the officials conducted a large ceremony to present offerings (*hanpei*) to 304 kami at designated shrines throughout the Kinai. The Great Harvest Rite was held on a tiger day, when the sovereign consumed the newly harvested grains, as well as the foods listed here, and communed with the kami. See Emura Hiroyuki, "Niinamesai, Toyo no akari no sechi," *Heian jidai gishiki nenjūgyōji jiten*, pp. 177–8.

(35)——By modern standards, this sake was likely not particularly clear; however, it had been strained more times than the cloudy sake to remove sediment.

(36)——Oki abalone were only consumed by those of fifth rank and above, making it higher status product. Possibly because of this, Oki abalone had a prestige that led to its wider consumption even into the medieval period. See Kiyotake, *Awabi to kodai kokka*, pp. 39–40.

(37)——It is not clear what this counter, *kage*, means here in the *Tsuchimikadobon* manuscript. The use of the *kage* counter implies that this counter might not actually refer to *tachibana* oranges. The *Kujōkebon* manuscript explains in a note that these were straw wreaths decorated with orange blossoms: "a bundle of 10 pieces of straw is to be made into a ring with a diameter of 4 *sun* to which 5 or 6 flowers are attached." The text also explains that the *kage* counter here equals one ring. The *Kujōkebon* manuscript contains twenty-eight chapters of the Engi Protocols, including the Royal Meal Protocols where this note appears. Scholars date this manuscript from the mid-eleventh century, although it is hard to say when this note was included in the text. The *Kujōkebon* can be viewed online. See National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, "Engi shiki (Kujōkebon)."

(38)——*Oke* were round vessels made of thin strips of wood or hemp, so it is possible that these bucket dishes, *okezara*, were pottery with a woven, bucket-like design.

(39)——Oak leaves were used in plating and presenting food, such as when they were woven together to create dishes.

(40)——The Seven Royal Banquets were banquets attended by his majesty (*sechie*): New Year's Royal Banquet, White Horse Royal Banquet, Song and Dance Royal Banquet, Fifth Day Royal Banquet, Seventh Month Seventh Day Royal Banquet, Double Yang Banquet, and the Warmth of Sake Royal Banquet.

(41)——This *gesai* marked the completion of the Great Harvest Rite. *Gishiki*, p. 143.

(42)——This banquet occurred after the Great Harvest Rite, on the Dragon Day of the eleventh month. Royals and officials processed into the Burakuin Hall, where after taking down the text for proclamations, the Royal Meal Office brought the royal meal to the sovereign. There would be rounds of drinking. The translated name of the banquet here refers to the glow or warmth to the skin that follows drinking. Different groups would offer up examples of regional song and dance, followed by emoluments for service. For a useful gloss of the ritual manual *Hokuzanshō* entry on this banquet, see Tokoro Isao, "Kōi no keishō gishiki," pp. 49–51.

(43)——The queen-consort did not attend this banquet. It is unclear what this might mean in this context. Typically the sovereign and queen-consort received the same amounts as royal meals.

(44)——This was an event held in the New Year over five days to protect the realm and sovereign. From the eighth day to the fourteenth day, the palace held lectures on the Golden Light Sutra.

(45)——This rite was held for the memory and repose of the deceased by making offerings to the Sangha. The palace would send these offering to the monks at seven temples: Tōji 東寺, Saiji 西寺, Saidera 佐比寺, Yasakadera 八坂寺, Nodera 野寺, Izumodera 出雲寺, and Shōshinji 聖神寺. The Banquet Office was the lead on this event. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 489.

(46)——The "New Year" does not refer to a single day at the start of the lunar calendar year, but a series of celebratory days that marked the beginning of the New Year. The three banquets of the New Year were the New Year's Royal Banquet on the first day of the first month, White Horse Royal Banquet on the seventh day, and the Song and Dance Royal Banquet on the sixteenth day.

(47)——This might refer to *tachibana* gathered from the ground. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 489.

(48)——The Grand Archery Meeting happened the day after the Song and Dance Banquet.

(49)——*Chimaki* is a glutinous mochi dumpling wrapped in straw or leaves and cooked in lye water. The lye water is made by cooking plant ashes. Mochi during this period was both savory and sweet. The Banquet Protocols says that lye mochi were served at the Fifth Month Fifth Day Royal Banquet. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 231. Here the rice might have been combined with cowpeas, wrapped in ramie, and then cooked.

(50)——This banquet was also called *Tango no sechie*. Prior to the banquet, there were mounted archery demonstrations and offerings of sweet flag (*ayamegusa*), as well as music. Participants would also attach the herb to their person. The *Gishiki* says that the Royal Meal Office was to serve the sovereign at the Hour of the Horse (11–1), and then the Banquet Agency and the Crown Prince's Office would serve them and present gifts, followed by the setting out of sweet flag tables. There was also a presentation of horses from the royal stables and ranches and horse-racing. *Gishiki,* pp. 222–3.

(51)——This refers to newly harvested rice that is roasted with the husk and outer layers on that is pounded to remove the grain.

(52)——Wild rice, or *makomo,* is an East Asian variety of rice with an edible stem and grain. Here this would be referring to bundles of green wild rice stems.

(53)——The seven month seventh day was designated as a day to hold a royal banquet, but the theme of that banquet changed over time. Inoue *et al.*, *Ritsuryō*, p. 484. The seven month seventh day initially contained demonstrations of an earlier form of sumo wrestling, but by the ninth century, the date for this event began to shift to other days in the seventh month. The mid-tenth century ritual manual of Minamoto no Takaakira, *Saikyūki*, explains that "on the seventh day, the Royal Meal [Office] is to serve a royal banquet. (Kikkōden 乞巧奠) rites. <There have been instances of the rite being postponed due to pollution)." *Saikyūki*, p. 201.

By the time Fujiwara no Tadahira was compiling the Engi Protocols, a trend had emerged of officials selecting wrestlers for demonstrations at the end of the seventh month and then a sumo banquet for officials was happening

within the first half of the eighth month. This banquet in the eighth month was a *kyō* 饗 for officials that participated in the demonstrations, not a royal banquet or *sechie* 節会, which would have been attended by the monarch. It is more likely that a royal banquet was held on the day of the demonstrations. For an example of the scheduling of these sumo demonstrations and later eighth month banquet, see *Teishinkōki*, pp. 88–9. Because of these difficulties around the scheduling of sumo, a likely possibility for this menu was that there was a royal banquet held in connection with the Kikkōden rites instead. The *Shinsen nenjūgyōji*, an eleventh century ritual manual, says that the Palace Storehouse Bureau and the Royal Meal Office were to prepare royal banquet foods on this day. The Wardrobe Bureau conducted the Tanabata Rite (*Tanabata sai* 織女祭), and in the evening, there was the Kikkōden Rite. See *Shinsen nenjūgyoji*, p. 87.

(54)——The ninth month ninth day had a Chrysanthemum Feast (*Kikuka no en* 菊花宴) inspired by a Chinese gathering. This event happened in the Shinsen'en 神泉苑 park where officials were furnished with paper, ink, and the supplies needed for poetry composition. A boat was provided for rides. There was drinking and dance performances, as well as proclamations issued by the throne. *Dairi shiki*, pp. 356–7. We can see more details of the larger feast in the Banquet Protocols, such as that senior officials and literatus (*monnin*) were served a variety of fruits and nuts, along with the usual seafood. *Engi shiki 3*, pp. 231–3.

(55)——There is some uncertainty about this term. It may be that this was one type of foxtail millet to be made into mochi. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 494. This would be read as "*awa no mochi*." There are other possible interpretations, such another type of millet or sorghum. See the tenth century materia medica dictionary, *Honin honzō*, p. 428. This dictionary is also called *Honzō wamyō* 本草和名.

(56)——The Banquet Protocols describe *ame* as being made from glutinous rice and sprouted wheat, which could be used to make brown rice syrup. See *Engi shiki 3*, p. 226. By added sprouted wheat to brown rice and cooking it, enzymes in the sprouted wheat digest the carbohydrates and produce a sweet solution. Syrups like this and *amazura* were important sweeteners prior to the introduction of sugar.

(57)——It is difficult to know what this term means. The first character 搗 refers to mashing or grounding, and we see it often around chestnuts. The second character 糟 is for sake lees, which is the mash leftover after sake is strained. This was served to the sovereign and queen-consort on a regular basis, although it was switched with other types during certain banquets, like the ones in the New Year. See *Engi shiki 3*, p. 543.

(58)——This mixture, a type of cloudy sake, was made from sake lees or mash from the same royal sake offered to the sovereign on a daily basis. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 546.

(59)——This can be read as *hishio* that has been wrung out, separating a liquid and leaving the mash of beans and grains behind.

(60)——This is read as *kotsuo*, which could be a type of shark. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 494. There is also a possibility that this could be a variety of flounder given the specification of skin and the fact that this is a food list; it would not make sense for shark skin to appear here.

(61)——This bonito was used for infusing soups, and we might consider this a precursor to *katsuobushi,* the bonito flakes used in making *dashi* today. This bonito was likely treated with salt and dried until hard. For a recent study and recreation of classical bonito preparation, see Mifune and Nakamura, "Kodai no katsuo seihin no fukugen."

(62)——The first character can be read as *fugu,* raising the possibility of this being a pufferfish. In the fifteenth century *Enjuruiyō*, Takeda Shōkei noted that pufferfish was also written as 鯸鮐, the second character matching the one used here. *Enjuruiyō*, p. 239.

(63)——The Banquet Protocols provides an ingredient list of soybeans and wakame, which were combined and fermented to make a condiment or side dish. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 229.

(64)——The Plating Station (*Morimono dokoro*) was where food was arranged on the correct tableware before being carried to diners. The Offerings Station (*Shinmotsu dokoro*) aided in food preparation. It is important to distinguish these stations, as they represent two types. The Offerings Station was a relatively stable bureaucratic unit with a designated

head, who was a noble of sufficient rank to enter the sovereign's living quarters. The Palace Kitchen (*Mizushi dokoro*) was another station in this category. For more on these stations and their structure, see Tamai Chikara, "Kyū, jū seiki no kurōdo dokoro ni kansuru ikkōsatsu," pp. 301–305. However, the Plating Station was a temporary space set-up for an event with workers assigned for the occasion. Other stations in this category that appear in the Royal Meal Protocols include the Sweets Station, Grain Preparation Station, and Cooking Stations.

(65)——The Sweets Station received fruits and nuts from gardens, which were inspected by the Banquet Office and then handled by the Royal Meal Office. The Grains Preparation Station was the site where grains like rice or millet are being cooked. The Cooking Station was not a permanent bureaucratic unit but instead a space wherever this cooking was occurring. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 496.

(66)——Mochi generally refers to glutinous rice that has been steamed, then pounded until smooth to make a dumpling. In the Heian period, mochi were flavored with savory elements, such as salty bean pastes and vegetables, as well as sweeter things. It was not only conceived of as a sweet like today.

(67)——*Amazake* is a sweet, non-alcoholic or low-alcoholic fermented drink made from rice and kōji.

(68)——This term, *tametsu mono* 甜物, refers to sweets. It appears in the *Gishiki* directions for the Daijōsai enthronement rites where it says that *tametsu mono* 多米都物 for that rite were to be "delicacies of various fruits, about a cart-load." *Gishiki*, p. 86.

(69)——*Kashi* includes fruits, nuts, and confections, but given the presence of fruits already, here it may refer to confections specifically.

(70)——These palm fronds were used to make fans and cool rice, as can be seen in Clause 23 below.

(71)——These are various preparation spaces needed to supply the royal kitchen system. The Milling Station was specifically for processing wheat and barley. *Amazura* syrup is made by squeezing Japanese ivy, boiling it, and straining it.

(72)——Cloth treated with oil would allow it to be waterproof.

(73)——The Banquet Protocols informs us that this item would be made with wheat flour and flavored with *hishio*. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 207 and 217.

(74)——These were chests with legs.

(75)——These transport tables were for carrying dishes. Once food dishes were placed on the transport table, group of people would carry the table to the dining location to serve the food.

(76)——*Aemono* is a general category of preparation, not unlike a salad in the American sense of the word, with chopped vegetables, fish, herbs, and such that are dressed with condiments like miso, vinegar, sesame, or mustard.

(77)——Ground elm bark (*nire*) when combined with salt functioned as a preservative that inhibited the growth of certain bacteria. Glutamic acid may also lend the salt-pickles a more complex flavor. For more on *nire* as a preservative, see Okamura *et al.*, "Effect of *Nire* on Production of *Niraki* in Engi-Shiki."

(78)——These mats were made of woven grass, not unlike blinds, and they could be laid out as seating. Here we can see how they were used in food preparation. Mats could be hung up to partition a space. In certain ritual circumstances, like the Daijōsai, these mats were layered to create platform-like seating, doors and partitions. For the above uses, see *Engi shiki 3*, p. 425, and *Engi shiki 1*, pp. 413–5.

(79)——This was a type of large jar that could be carried on one's back.

(80)——The sacred jars, or *yuka*, were type of large Sue pottery jar used in offering water and sake to the kami and sovereign. The first character has implications for kami-related ritual, but these jars appeared to be used widely for storing water and sake around the palace. See Arai, "Engi Shūkei shiki no kawarake ni tsuite (jō)," pp. 80–1.

(81)——A type of mochi made from steamed white rice and clean water. See *Kojiruien*, pp. 1165–6.

(82)——The Royal Provisions Hall (*Niedono*) was a building used for organizing royal provisions, or *minie*, sent from the provinces to be used by the Royal Meal and Banquet offices. Officials working in this hall would also be handling the foods produced at the tributary lands (*kuriya*). By the end of the ninth century, the government was shifting away

from the royal provisions system and relying more on the tributary lands it controlled in the Kinai. See Katsuura Noriko, "Ritsuryō seika nie kōnō no hensen," pp. 35–9.

(83)——Here, "sweets" means confections, as well as processing or drying fruits and nuts.

(84)——This cord was for tying back clothing across the shoulders so the fabric did not interfere with their work.

(85)——These were writing desks used at banquets.

(86)——This red banner of approval is a literal translation of the characters used. This cloth was marked with a seal. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the red banner came to function as a purifying force for those involved in tribute for the sovereign's meals as fears arose around pollution (*kegare*) in the food's production and sourcing. For more on the red banners, see Ogawa Hirokazu, "Akahata kō."

(87)——It is not clear how this item might be made. This verb here can be interpreted as "to lift," the dumplings while cooking, but how the bag is being used to lift dumplings is also unclear. The bags could contain the dumplings and be boiled, bag and all in the water, or the bags could be placed in the water strainer and possibly steamed and the bag used to lift the batch.

(88)——*Hiru*, the name for this plant is a general term for aromatic herbs like chives or garlic. Because this passage says to send both fresh and dried versions at different times of year, this may be garlic. There is also a possibility that *hiru* refers to the stalk and root while *araragi* below refers to the greens of the plant.

(89)——This is likely wild chives or another aromatic relative. This may refer to a specific part of a plant, like the greens.

(90)——*Ichigo* at this time referred to some kind of bramble-berry or wild strawberry.

(91)——Royal banquets (*sechie*) were banquets attended personally by the monarch. These were held on New Year's Day; the first month seventh day for the White Horse Royal Banquet; the first month sixteenth day for the Song and Dance Royal Banquet; the fifth month fifth day's royal banquet; the seventh month seventh day's banquet; the ninth month ninth day for the Double Yang Banquet; and the Great Harvest Rite Royal Banquet of the eleventh month.

(92)——The *Shinsen nenjūgyōji* of Fujiwara no Yukinari states that "The Royal Meal Office is to offer up two plain chests of early melons. <If there are no melons, send flowers, and if there are no flowers, send leaves and vines. This is an example of an offering to be served. However, these are first to be placed on the royal meal shelf, then this is taken to the Omonoyadori [to be prepared for serving]>." See *Shinsen nenjūgyōji*, p. 179. Melon vines, such as cucumbers or winter melons, grow male and female flowers. Male flowers grow before the female ones and have stamens and produce the pollen needed to grow fruit. Female flowers have a bulbous space at the base of the flower where fruit will grow once pollination occurs. If melons were still just beginning to grow after pollination, it would be fine for growers to pluck the male flowers and send them to the palace without destroying the future melon crop.

(93)——The term used here is *susuhori* and it may mean fermented with grains or beans. In this case, we see turnip fermented with salt and soybeans. *Engi shiki 3*, p. 512.

(94)——"Person-loads," or *tan*, was an amount that was thought to be manageable for one person to carry.

(95)——The exact type of seaweed is unclear. The characters 海松 suggest *miru*, which is codium seaweed, but 深 implies that this grows at a different kind of location, so it was likely a different kind of seaweed.

(96)——This was a tax levied on men viewed as being in their prime working years. Originally this meant men aged seventeen to twenty, but this was changed in the mid-eighth century to be men from eighteen to twenty-one. See Ijūin, Yoshie, and Piggott, "Gender in the Japanese Administrative Code: Comprehensive Glossary," p. 7.

(97)——This refers to a method used to catch fish where bamboo or wooden stakes are arranged in the water to trap the fish. This was considered one part of making pillar-caught sweetfish. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 969.

(98)——These items combined with *hishio* appears to have been a specialty of the Shuchūshi 主厨司, the Dazaifu office that prepared banquets for foreign visitors. See the note, *Engi shiki 3*, p. 1068.

(99)——This schedule is based on the sixty-day cycle organized around the zodiac cycle.

(100)——This rice is actually written as "black rice" 黒米. However, instead of meaning a modern black grain of rice, this actually means that the rice is relatively unpolished. Workers of lower status ate less polished rice.

(101)——*Kanjaku* refers to the practice of the Popular Affairs Ministry checking records to determine position and whether one would be exempt from corvée labor.

(102)——This harbor was likely located on the Yodo River.

(103)——These may have been grafted pear trees, based on the characters used.

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(2022 年 11 月 21 日受付，2023 年 7 月 25 日審査終了)

■ 研究ノート ■

God's Fingerprints in Japan II

— What is the name of God in Japanese context —

Toshifumi, Uemura

Since 2003, Dr. Daniel Kikawa and his team have studied Japanese Christianity. As an American of Japanese parentage, he has struggled within three cultural contexts. His ancestors were not native Hawaiians or Americans, but Japanese. His life has been a journey to seek the meaning of life and his identity as a follower of Jesus. His struggle and efforts have brought a drastic change in Hawaiian Christian society. Dr. Kikawa used the hula dance as liturgy within worship services. At one time, Hula dance was prohibited by Christian missionaries because of its erotic movement. However, hula itself is originally a prayer to God. There is no contradiction and it is even an appropriate way to express one's gratitude to God. The discovery of the name of an indigenous god, *'Io*, was the other crucial point for Hawaiians. *'Io* was identified and accepted as a creator god. Through several reformations within the church, it seems many Hawaiians have accepted Christianity.

On the other hand, Japan is still not a Christian society. The first DVD: "God's Fingerprints in Japan" challenged Japanese Christian and Shinto schools of thought. Shinto was thought to be an obstacle for Christianity. It is true that some Christian groups attacked Shinto shrines as places where evil spirits live. However, we must first examine the nature of Shinto. Just as Christianity has many denominations, the same is true for Shinto. There must be also some "heresy" or "paganism" in Shinto. But this would not be like Christian history; Shinto has never created or discriminated before the creation of "State Shinto." One of the differences between Shinto and Christianity is theology. As Shinto had, at first, no theology, there was no conflict. Shinto accepted other philosophies or religions, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. This makes it difficult to identify what is the exact essence of Shinto.

One critic mentioned that Shinto is like a "Dish." Another critic said Shinto wears different kinds of clothing. Most importantly, "*matsuri*" (festival) shows gratitude toward nature or the gods which give people their harvest. In that sense, Shinto originally reminds me Cain or Abel in Genesis in the Bible. Their way of serving God was initially to give thanks to God for first fruits of the harvest.

The attempt of Dr. Daniel Kikawa, in the first DVD, is the assumption that the first deity, *Amenominaka-nushi*, who appears at the beginning of "Kojiki" is the same deity as the Creator God. The second DVD is to assist the first one with the help of Japanese scholars. Dr. Nakanishi, a well known scholar of traditional literature, agreed in his interview that *Amenominakanushi* must have had an influence of Christianity.

This paper will record an original version of the subtitles of the second DVD as written documents. All statistics are from Gallup Poll 2006. At the end, part of the Abe genealogy is added as an appendix.

God's Fingerprints in Japan II (subtitle)

We live in a critical time for Japanese society. It is a time of great insecurity, a time of transition when the ideas and methods of the past 50 years are in doubt, people are searching for a new direction for the future and an identity as a people. It is a time when 64% of adults and 85% of teenagers wonder why they exist; a time when one fourth of Japanese seldom feel happy. Job security has disappeared and pressures at work and at school are at an all time high. This is a time when 36% of teenagers wish they were someone else and 11% wish they were never born. In times like these, thoughts turn to spiritual things and finding true meaning in life.

Many Japanese have found true meaning in Christianity, as a majority of people in Western nations have. Of Japanese who say they have a religion, 12% of adults and 36% of teens say they are Christians; being a Christian is no longer strange in Japan. And yet, 69% of adults say they do not know enough about Christianity to make a decision about it. Information about Christianity is confusing and many cults claiming to be Christian bring more confusion.

Is Christianity a strange foreign religion, brought by westerners who have an agenda to dominate Japan? Or is it part of the creator God's plan for all people including the Japanese? This is a presentation of historical evidence and personal experiences that seeks to find answers to these questions.

The Bible states that there is one Creator God. 24%, nearly one fourth of Japanese adults, also believe there is a supreme creator over all of the universe. Believing in a creator is not strange in Japan. Many scholars throughout Japanese history have pointed to the god *Amenominakanushi*, The God in the Glorious Center of Heaven, as the creator god.

The respected Japanese scholar, Hirata Atsutane (1776－1843) wrote, "*...we understand that he (Amenominakanushi)* has sovereignty over all the things in the universe. Since this great *kami* thus exists without a beginning, it is only appropriate that he be called the ultimate, first deity, and that no words should possibly exist to describe the heights and depths of his virtuous power."

Genchi Kato, D, Litt., life member of the Meiji Japan Society, receiver of the Purple Ribbon (the highest honor for a Japanese scholar), for his merits in the scholarly study of Shinto said, "We have good reasons to believe, from the standpoint of a comparative study of religion that *Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-kami* is really the Deity of Japanese primitive monotheism ...*Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-kami* is the Divine Lord of the Very Center of Heaven, judging from the very signification of the name. How lofty a designation of the Deity!" (from the book, "A Study of Shinto")

However, there are also notable scholars in Japanese history who believed that he is not the creator god. The purpose of this film is not to settle this debate, scholars have argued about this issue throughout Japanese history and will probably continue to do so. When it comes to spiritual and not physical things, there is no such thing as indisputable proof. In these situations, each one must rely on their *Chokkan* (direct feeling) to decide what they believe. One thing is clear however, that from the very beginning of recorded Japanese history, the notion of a creator God has been a part of Japanese culture and religious thought.

A creator God being a part of Japanese religious thought is to be expected. Ancient belief in a creator god is found all over the world. After finding much evidence during his research on ancient and primitive cultures, the famous anthropologist Andrew Lang proposed his theory of "Primitive Monotheism," that, opposed to evolutionary thought, ancient and primitive peoples began with a belief in one creator God. This ancient monotheism was later degraded into the worship of many gods. Following on this research, Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt compiled 12 volumes of names

and descriptions of the creator god in ancient and primitive cultures around the world, confirming this theory. Since then, anthropologists and historians have found many thousands more ancient names for the creator around the world. Some names for the ancient creator God in other countries are *Hananim* (Korea), *Shang Di* (China), *Koro* (Ethiopia), *'Io* (Polynesia), *Tupan* (South America) and *Tirawa Atius* (North America).

Daniel: "We have seen much evidence that the idea of a creator god exists in Japan. People may ask, "If the Japanese knew of the Creator God, then why do we have 8 million *Kami* today?"

The Bible says in Romans 1:19-23 that, "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed *it* unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: Because that, when they knew God, they glorified *him* not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.

The Bible says that the Japanese people like all people, had knowledge of the Creator God and then, like all people, fell away from that knowledge to worship man and beast and other created things.

Daniel: "If the Bible is true, then all names of the creator god around the world have been corrupted at one time or another. Even the name of *Yaweh* (the creator God of the Bible) went through a time of corruption. During the time of the ancient kings of Israel, he was very much like *Amenominakanushi*; he was the far off and forgotten god who had no hand in the affairs of the people of Israel. The Hebrews, at one time, worshipped a pantheon of gods in the temple of Yahweh and on every hill instead. (2 Kings 23:4, 2 Kings 17:16-17, 1 Kings 11:5-7, Ezekiel 8:14) At *Mizpah*, the temples of Asherah (The goddess of sexual lust) and Yahweh were erected side by side and in the Jewish Elephantine community in Egypt, the Canaanite goddesses, *Anat-Yahu* (or *Anat-Bethel*), *Ashim-Bethel* and *Haram-Bethel* were assigned to Yahweh as consorts.

We should not throw out the precious legacy of the names of the creator, but restore them to their original purity.

The notion presented by our first film "God's Fingerprints in Japan" that *Amenominakanushi*, the God in the Glorious Center of Heaven, was the creator god has initiated a significant new revelation. A family of two generations of Christian pastors was watching "God's Fingerprints in Japan" when they received a shocking revelation. This family is a branch of the Abe clan, one of the founding families of Japan. They are in possession of a private Abe family genealogy scroll passed down in their family for many generations. In their research, their genealogy scroll is one of only four such genealogies that trace back to the misty beginnings of Japan. Their genealogy goes back for over forty generations, over 1000 years, to the priests of the first emperors of Japan before it enters a mythical age they do not know the length of. The scroll is written in ancient Japanese which is a hybrid of Japanese and ancient Chinese that this current generation of Abes could not read.

Mr. Abe's father was the sixth son in the family. Knowing that he would not inherit this precious family heirloom, he took 6 months to copy the original scroll, character by character. It was providence that he did because the original family scroll was later destroyed at Hiroshima. Therefore, this precious copy of the family heirloom is the only one left for the Abe family. When the Abes came to Christ, they were told that the Japanese never knew the Creator God, that

they only knew the 8 million *kami*. Yet, they believed that Jesus died on the cross for their mistakes and accepted him, eventually becoming two generations of pastors. Imagine their shock when they watched "God's Fingerprints in Japan" and found that the very same God that many Japanese scholars called the Creator was also at the very top of their secret family genealogy scroll! The name of *Amenominakanushi* was followed by a creation account that they could not read.

In great excitement, the Abes went to their friend, Dr. Joseph Ozawa, who had introduced the film to them to share what they had found. Dr. Ozawa, being also a friend of Dr. Daniel Kikawa, the lead producer of the film, brought the news to him. In early December of 2006 the Abe family met with Dr. Kikawa and his team for the first time and showed them the Abe genealogy which confirmed their work. It was at that time that they agreed make a second film to document this amazing find.

Dr. Kikawa asked Professor Uemura, who has studied the ancient Japanese, to translated the scroll with the help of his scholar mentors. Dr. Kikawa also contracted the University of Hawaii's Japanese Studies Department to translate the scroll.

The Abe genealogy begins with the name of *Amenominakanusinokami*, followed by the creation account which says, "Heaven and Earth were not yet separated and chaos. It looked like an egg containing sprouts. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.

There were three elements that revealed themselves as *kami*, which was called *Kuninotokotachinokami*. It has the virtue of five elements and origin of one million and fifty thousands families. We call it *Amenominakanushinokami*."

The creation account in the Abe genealogy seems to bring together the "Kojiki" and "Nihonshoki" by showing that the name of *Amenominakanushi* and *Kuninotokotachinokami*, the first God mentioned in the "Nihonshoki" are both names for the same God! Thus showing a connection between *Amenominakanushi*, the god of creation in the "Kojiki" and, *Kuninotokotachinokami*, the first god mentioned in the "Nihonshoki".

Daniel: "Having different names for the Creator God is not contradictory to the Bible. It is also very common around the world. The Bible mentions many names or titles for the creator God, for instance: *Elohim* (El - plural form), *El Elyon* (El Most High), *El Shaddai* (El Almighty), *Yaweh Yireh* (Yaweh provides), *Adonai* (Master), and many others." As the Bible says in Romans 1:20 - 23, man worshipped one God and then fell into worshipping many gods. It is common for the many names for the one creator god to be corrupted until each name represents a separate god. The famous Egyptologists, Sir Wallis Budge and Sir Flinders Petrie, believed that this happened in Egypt. Other respected anthropologists have found this same evidence in Babylon, India, Polynesia, and every continent of the world.

Daniel: "The creation account in the Abe genealogy is evidence for the names or titles of the Creator God becoming different gods in Japan. It is also common for ancestors to become worshipped as gods, we find this all over the world. It is therefore, not strange that we find this in Japan."

There are similar creation accounts in the "Kojiki" and "Nihonshoki" and around the world. The Bible says in Genesis 1:1-2, "In the beginning, *Elohim* (literally, the Gods ― biblically this would mean the trinity) created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

This Chinese account says, "of old in the begin-

ning, there was the great chaos, without form and dark. The five elements had not begun to revolve, nor the sun and moon to shine. You, O Spiritual sovereign first divided the grosser parts from the purer. You made heaven. You made earth. You made man. All things with their reproducing power got their being."

The Hopi (Native American) say that, in the beginning, there was only the Creator, *Taiowa*. All else was endless space. There was no beginning or end, no time, shape, or life. There was only an immeasurable void that had its beginning and ending, time, shape and life in the mind of *Taiowa*, the Creator.

A Hindu, *Brahminical* account of creation recorded in the *Analysis of the Code of Menu*, published in the *Asiatic Journal*, Nov. 1827, says: the universe existed only in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, as if wholly immersed in sleep. The self-existing power, himself undiscerned, with five elements and other principles, appeared in glory, dispelling the gloom. He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even he, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person.' Having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought he created the waters; the waters are called *nara*, because they were the production of *Nara*, or the spirit of God; and since they were his first *ayana*, or place of motion, he thence is named *Narayana*, or moving on the waters.

Daniel: "For the Japanese to have a creation account similar to those found around the world is expected. This could possibly point to a common creation account in the past history of man as the Bible states."

Perhaps the most important thing about the discovery of the Creator God, *Amenominakanushi,* The God in the Glorious Center of Heaven, in their own genealogy is that it flipped who the God of the Bible was for the Abes. Immediately, their direct feeling was that the Creator God was no longer the strange Foreign God who dwelt in the West and never cared about the Japanese or had relationship with them. He became our Japanese God, who lovingly created us and cared for us from the beginning of Japanese history. The Bible says He has always cared for us, but we left him for the 8 million *kami*! It is we who left Him. He has never left Japan or the Japanese, but remains waiting for his beloved Japanese children to remember him and come home.

63% of adults believe one can follow Jesus and still be Japanese. Finding that the creator God of Japan is the same creator in the Bible confirms this. Our Japanese God continues to reach out to us like the father of the prodigal son in the Bible (Luke 11-32). In this story, a rebellious son takes his inheritance and leaves his father. After spending all of his inheritance and living on the streets, he realizes his error and says, "I would rather return home, apologize to my father and live as his servant than the way I am living now. He returns home, believing his father will be angry. But his father, seeing him a great way off, ran out to him, and hugged him and said to his servants, bring out the best robe, a ring and shoes for my son and let's have a great feast and rejoice because my son was lost and now is found. This is how our Heavenly Father waits to greet us when we repent for leaving him and come home. He longs for his lost Japanese children and hopes that they will remember him. When he sees us coming from afar, he will not be angry, he will run out to meet us with tears of joy. He will put his robe upon us and prepares his best feast for us. For what has been lost, has now been found, safe in the house of our own loving Japanese God. He is saying to his Japanese children, 'I cherish you! Please, Come Home."

Appendix

From Genealogy of Abe Family
Trial reading of Japanese

天之御中主神
Amenominakanusinokami
Ametsuchi imada wakarezu konntonntaru (koto) torinokono gotoku kumorite kizashi wo hukumu. Sono kiyoku younarumonowa tanabiite ame to nari omoku innarumonowa sizumite chitonaru. Sono naka (sanbutsu) ari nashite katachiwo arawashi kami to naru. Mou [gou] shite kuninotokotachinokami to shousu. Mizukara [onozukara] gogyou toku wo sonau. Hyakugoman kabane[sei]no taiso yorite tamenominakanushinokami to iu.

(　); not known, not found in Kojiki nor Nihonshoki
[　]; other possible reading
__ ; my trial reading

天八下神
(amenoyakudarinokami)
Mizukara arawaremasu kami ni shite kuninotokotachinokami no zen wo ukete amenosita wo osametamo.

天合神
amaainokami
天八百日神
(amenoyaohinokami)
天八十萬__神
(amenoyaoyorozu<u>tama</u>nokami)

高御皇産霊神
takamimusuhinokami
Kunshin wo michitatu rei wo tadasu

神御皇産霊神
kamimusuhinokami

神速魂命
kamuhayatamanomikoto
市千魂命
ichichitamanomikoto

興登魂命
(kotodamanomikoto)
Kunshinno rei hajimete sadamaru. Amaterasuo [mi] kami no chokuwohoujite matsurigoto wo toru. Kuni no mamori wo sadamete motte okami no mikotonori wo tsutaete motte osamu. Kunitsukami okami no mikotonori wo ukemochi (nasa) n [mu].

天津児屋根命
amatsukoyanenomikoto
Amaterasuo [mi] kami no mikotonori wo houjite oshihomiminomikoto niniginomikoto hutayo wo hosashite maturigoto wo toru. Amaterasuo [mi] kami mata mikotonori wo kudashite shinri [himorogi] no sein wo tutae motte kaminomichi wo tukasadorashimu. Yorite nakatomi no enso tosu. Oudohosa koreyori hajimu. Kawachinokuni makioka ni chinza kasugadaimyojin korenari.

天__雲命
(ameno<u>haya</u>kumonomikoto)
Hukiaezunomikoto no mikotonori wo tatematsuru. Hyuuganokuni takachiho ni miyako (wo) itari hukiaezunomikoto wo hosa site matsurigoto wo toru.

天種子命
amenotanekonomikoto
Hyuganokuni kashiwabara yori jinmutenno ni senjyu tatematsurite yamatonokuni ni jinmutenno wo hosa matsurigoto wo toru.

The *Kojiki*'s Worldview: Entangled Worlds of Gods and Humans

Taniguchi Masahiro

Keywords: Plain of High Heaven, Central Land of Reed Plains, Ōkuninushi, green-grass mortals, heavenly Kagu Mountain

Introduction

The *Kojiki* 古事記 consists of three fascicles. This tripartite structure is commonly understood to organize the work's content in the following manner: the first fascicle depicts the world of gods, the second, a world inhabited by both gods and humans, and the third, the world of humans. However, does such a simplistic reading really enable us to grasp the inner structure of the *Kojiki* as a literary composition? In the preface, the author Ō no Yasumaro 太安万侶 explains the work's structure in the following way:

> In general, the account starts with the beginning of heaven and earth and ends with the august reign of Owarida 小治田.
>
> Thus, everything from Ame no Minakanushi no Kami 天御中主神 through Hikonagisatake Ugayafukiaezu no Mikoto 日子波限建鵜草葺不合命 is included in the first fascicle.
>
> Everything from Heavenly Sovereign Kamuyamatoiwarebiko 神倭伊波礼毗古 through the august reign of Homuda 品陀 is included in the second fascicle.
>
> Everything from Emperor Ōsazaki 大雀 through the august reign at the grand palace of Owarida is included in the third fascicle.
>
> These three fascicles are brought together and presented to Your Majesty with reverence.[1]
>
> (Preface)

* This article is a translation of Taniguchi Masahiro 谷口雅博, "'Kojiki' no sekai ninshiki: Kōsaku suru kami no sekai to hito no sekai" 『古事記』の世界認識—交錯する神の世界と人の世界—. *Higashi Ajia bunka kenkyū* 東アジア文化研究 2 (2017), pp. 1–15.

1. Translations from the *Kojiki* follow the author's transcription of the original *kanbun* text, which is based on Nishimiya, *Kojiki*. The translations of the *Kojiki* into English by Philippi and Heldt as well as the recent translation into German by Antoni have been consulted.

Kokugakuin Japan Studies, volume 1, 2020, pp. 5–24
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Ō no Yasumaro does not mention a boundary between an age of gods and an age of humans. This distinguishes the *Kojiki* from the *Nihon shoki* 日本書記, whose first two fascicles are titled "fascicles of the age of gods" and suggest a different worldview. There are sections in all three fascicles of the *Kojiki* that seem to depict a world of gods *and* humans or a two-layered world inhabited by both gods and humans. In this article I will consider the *Kojiki*'s worldview by examining characters that seem to be related to both worlds, such as Ōkuninushi no Kami 大国主神 in the first fascicle, Yamatotakeru no Mikoto 倭建命 in the second fascicle, and the emperors Nintoku 仁徳 and Yūryaku 雄略 in the third fascicle.

Heavenly Time and Earthly Time

In considering the *Kojiki*'s worldview, I think it worthwhile to start from an investigation of how time is presented in the *Kojiki* myths. This includes not only direct descriptions of the passage of time but also the succession of generations. When parents give birth to a child, this signifies the birth of a new generation and thus results in a perception of the passage of time. However, one has to take into consideration the mode of the birth of deities in the *Kojiki*. The deities who appear at the beginning of heaven and earth are not born through sexual reproduction involving a male and a female deity but are rather depicted as beings who "became" (*narishi* 成). Consequently, there is no relationship between "giving birth" and "being born" and thus no succession of generations. That there is no succession of generations seems to suggest that there is also no perception of the passage of time. Conversely, on earth the two deities Izanagi no Mikoto 伊耶那岐命 and Izanami no Mikoto 伊耶那美命 produce lands and deities through sexual reproduction. It seems probable that this is the reason why the flow of time is not felt in heaven, whereas it is perceived on earth. However, the lands produced by Izanagi and Izanami do not give birth to a succeeding generation, and neither do the deities born through their union bring forth one generation after the other. The event that truly sets in motion the succession of one generation after the other, and thus the steady flow of time, is the marriage of Susanoo no Mikoto 須佐之男命 and Kushinadahime 櫛名田比売.

The different perception of time in heaven and on earth is observable in various episodes. For instance, in the myth of the pacification of the Central Land of Reed Plains (*Ashihara no nakatsukuni* 葦原中国) we are informed that three years passed after Ame no Hohi no Kami 天菩比神 was sent down to earth and eight years passed after Amewakahiko 天若日子 was dispatched. The passage of time is probably mentioned in this case since the deities have been dispatched to earth. The "eight days and eight nights of feasting" mentioned in the episode of Amewakahiko's funeral also seems to be based on the perception of time on earth. In the *Nihon shoki*'s description of the

same scene (chapter 9, variant 1), the location of the funeral is identified as "heaven" and no specific number of days is provided. In the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle, we are told that at the beginning of his eastward expedition Emperor Jinmu 神武[2] stayed at the palace of Okada 岡田 in Tsukushi 竺紫 for one year, at the palace of Takeri 多祁理 in the land of Aki 阿岐 for seven years, and at the palace of Takashima 高嶋 in Kibi 吉備 for eight years. This section of the text, too, describes the flow of time on earth. In the myth of Amaterasu Ōmikami's 天照大御神 concealment in the Heavenly Rock-Cave, on the other hand, the phrase "eternal night (*tokoyo* 常夜) reigned" is employed. The birds appearing in this scene are called "long-crying birds of *tokoyo* 常世." And the deity Omoikane no Kami 思金神 is in a later section of the text called Tokoyo no Omoikane no Kami 常世思金神. These expressions seem to reflect the perception of the Plain of High Heaven as a realm of eternity.[3]

It would be wrong to identify the Plain of High Heaven with the *tokoyo* to which Sukunahikona no Kami 少名毗古名神 or Mikenu no Mikoto 御毛沼命 crossed over, not to speak of the *tokoyo* discovered by Tajimamori 多遅摩毛理. In the *Kojiki*, *tokoyo* refers to an otherworld that is only described in the first and second fascicles. If we assume that the term *tokoyo* does not connote a specific location but rather an eternally existing world, the Plain of High Heaven can in fact be characterized as *tokoyo*. It is probably due to this reason that the expressions "long-crying birds of *tokoyo*" and Tokoyo no Omoikane no Kami appear in episodes set in the Plain of High Heaven.

As mentioned above, in the Plain of High Heaven there is no mention of the birth of children through sexual reproduction. This is because the relationship of "giving birth" and "being born" would introduce the passage of time into this eternal realm. The only deity in the Plain of High Heaven whose taking shape involves a relationship of "giving birth" and "being born" is Ninigi no Mikoto 迩迩芸命 (and his sibling Honoakari no Mikoto 火明命). This is related to a problem I have already addressed in an earlier article: it seems that Ninigi descends to earth instead of his father Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto 天忍穂耳命 (who had originally been ordered to descend) since he was born as a deity with earthly qualities.[4] In order to marry a female deity after his descent to earth and create a lineage that is connected through succeeding

2. Against convention, the translator decided against adding dates for the individual emperors mentioned throughout the article since they are treated as protagonists of the *Kojiki* (which does not contain any dates) rather than as historical persons. The introduction of a chronology was one of the innovations of the *Nihon shoki*, which depicts the flow of time in a different manner than the *Kojiki*. The historicity of some of the emperors is disputed.

3. This is according to a footnote in Nakamura, *Shinpan Kojiki*, p. 43: "Here *tokoyo* 常世 refers to a world of immortals, that is, to the Plain of High Heaven as perceived from the Central Land of Reed Plains."

4. Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 161–71.

generations with the first emperor, it was necessary for the deity dispatched to earth to have earthly qualities. The text moreover reports that Ninigi's son Hiko Hohodemi no Mikoto 日子穂穂手見命 dwelt at the palace of Takachiho 高千穂 "for five hundred and eighty years." This expression also suggests an awareness of the flow of time on earth.

Preceding Ninigi, Susanoo descended to the earth, married a female deity, and created a lineage spanning successive generations. The appearance of an old man and an old woman called Ashinazuchi 足名椎 and Tenazuchi 手名椎, respectively, in the episode of Susanoo's descent signifies that the flow of time on earth had already been set in motion.[5] There is no one in the Plain of High Heaven who is explicitly described as old. The name of the goddess Ishikoridome no Mikoto 伊斯許理度売命, who is mentioned in the episode of Amaterasu's concealment in the Heavenly Rock-Cave, is written in the *Nihon shoki* using a Chinese character with the meaning "old woman" (姥). However, at least from the characters used in the *Kojiki*, such a meaning of the name cannot be inferred. Seven of Ashinazuchi and Tenazuchi's eight daughters are devoured by a great eight-headed serpent that appeared every year. They are devoured annually without giving birth to children of their own. In other words, the same course of events is repeated every year. In this manner, the same cycle is repeated endlessly and time cannot progress in a linear fashion. I propose that this was one of Susanoo's roles in the mythical plot to enable the passage from cyclical to linear time. In order to change a closed world, an outsider's involvement is necessary. Through Susanoo's marriage with Kushinadahime and the subsequent birth of their children, time begins to flow in a linear fashion from one generation to the next.[6]

Ōkuninushi is Susanoo's descendant in the sixth generation (or in the seventh, if one counts Susanoo's child as the second generation). While it is impossible to compare the two cases directly, if one takes Susanoo and Amaterasu as belonging to the same generation, it can be pointed out that Amaterasu's descendant in the sixth generation is Jinmu's son, the second emperor, Suizei 綏靖, whose reign is treated in the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle. Furthermore, if one takes into consideration Ōkuninushi's genealogy, it spans seventeen generations of deities, counted from Susanoo's child

5. Kobayashi, "'Mihitaki no okina.'" Kobayashi points out that "among all deities, expressions of old age are only used with regard to these two" and argues that the passage of time during the birth and upbringing of Ashinazuchi and Tenazuchi's eight daughters and their eventual sacrifice to the great eight-headed serpent—all events that are not covered in the *Kojiki* in detail—is expressed in the terms "old woman" and "old man." When considering the modes of perception and description of time in the *Kojiki*, these remarks are extremely relevant and important. Generally, old people only exist on earth.

6. In the genealogical section following the description of Susanoo's deeds, Susanoo is said to give birth to children. As will be explained below, this mode of describing genealogies as patriarchal successions corresponds to the imperial genealogies in the second and third fascicles.

downward. Perhaps it is for this reason that the god Ōkuninushi, although his account is contained in the first fascicle, is described in some respects like a human.

First Fascicle: Ōkuninushi

The god Ōkuninushi, whose tale is told in the *Kojiki*'s first fascicle, has five different names:

> This deity took as his wife a daughter of Sashikuniō no Kami 刺国大神 with the name Sashikuniwakahime 刺国若比売. There was born the child Ōkuninushi no Kami, also called Ōnamuchi no Kami 大穴牟遅神, also called Ashihara no Shikoo no Kami 葦原色許男神, also called Yachihoko no Kami 八千矛神, also called Utsushikunitama no Kami 宇都志国玉神. Altogether he has five names.
>
> (First fascicle, genealogy of Susanoo's descendants)

When one examines the accounts dealing with this deity, one can infer that even though they are tales set in a mythical world, elements of the mundane world are superimposed onto them.

For instance, in an episode relating how the deity (here called Yachihoko) wooed a woman, a character otherwise reserved for emperors (*kō* 幸)[7] is used to describe his action. For his wife a character connoting "empress" (*kisaki* 后) is employed. In this respect, Ōkuninushi overlaps with the emperors described in the second and third fascicles. Moreover, when Ōkuninushi fashions the land, a deity appears to assist him in this task. In exchange for his assistance, this deity demands to be worshipped by Ōkuninushi. A deity worshipping another deity seems like a strange occurrence, as worshipping gods is the responsibility of humans.[8]

> Now Ōkuninushi no Kami lamented and declared: "How am I to fashion this land by myself? What deity can I join with so that we can fashion this land together?" At this time, there was a deity who approached, lighting up the sea. This deity spoke: "If you worship me, I will help you to fashion the land. But if you do not do so, it will be difficult for the land to reach completion." Then Ōkuninushi no Kami said: "In that case, in what manner should I worship

7. In this instance, the character is used as part of the compound *idemashi* 行幸 (imperial visit).

8. There is one more similar case in the first fascicle of the *Kojiki*. Before his descent to earth, Amaterasu hands Ninigi the mirror that had been used to lure her out of the Heavenly Rock-Cave and instructs him to revere it as if he were worshipping in her presence. The text continues that the mirror and another deity (probably Omoikane) "are worshipped at the shrine of Isuzu of the bell-bracelets," that is, at the Inner Shrine of Ise. The fact that Amaterasu and Ōmononushi no Kami 大物主神, the deity that assisted Ōkuninushi in fashioning the land, are the only two deities that are worshipped by other deities suggests their importance in the *Kojiki*.

> you?" He replied saying: "Worship me on the eastern mountain of the green fence in Yamato." This is the deity who dwells on Mount Mimoro 御諸.
>
> (First fascicle, Ōkuninushi's creation of the land)

Moreover, and this applies to Susanoo as well, the entries in the genealogy of Ōkuninushi's descendants take the form "… took as wife XX. There was born YY." This corresponds to the form of the imperial genealogies in the second and third fascicles. In general, the myths related to Ōkuninushi show parallels to the accounts of the emperors contained in the second and third fascicles. Although Ōkuninushi's account belongs to the mythical portion of the work, he is partially described like a character belonging to the mundane world. This connection to the mundane world is emphasized by the fact that many concrete toponyms are mentioned in the myths of Ōkuninushi. Moreover, Ōkuninushi's alternate name Utsushikunitama no Kami (deity Soul of the Manifest Land) also seems to draw attention to his connection to the mundane world. This name appears one time in the genealogy quoted at the beginning of this section and one time within a narrative. However, in the narrative, all manuscripts use the character *nushi* 主 (master) rather than *tama* 玉 (soul), suggesting that Utsushikuninushi no Kami 宇都志国主神 (deity Master of the Manifest Land) was the original form of the name.[9] The narrative runs as follows:

> So when he did as he was told and went to the place where Susanoo no Mikoto dwelt, that deity's daughter Suseribime 須勢理毗売 came out and saw him, whereupon they exchanged looks and pledged themselves to each other. She went back inside and told her father: "A beautiful deity has come here." Then the great deity went out to see for himself and said: "This is the one called Ashihara no Shikoo." Then he invited him inside and made him sleep in a chamber filled with snakes.
>
> …
>
> And so [Susanoo] pursued them [Ōkuninushi and Suseribime] as far as the gentle decline of Yomi 黄泉, where he gazed outward and called out to Ōnamuchi no Kami, saying: "With the sword of life and the bow-and-arrow of life you are holding pursue your brothers and smite them on the hill crests. Chase after them and sweep them into the river rapids. Then, my boy, become Ōkuninushi no Kami, and Utsushikunitama no Kami, and make my

9. This seems to be the only instance where the character *nushi* is confused with *tama* or vice versa. There is a similar case relating to the name Okinaga no Mate no Ōkimi 息長真手王, in which some manuscripts use the character for "soul" (玉) rather than "king" (*ōkimi* 王) as the last character. However, this case should not be conflated with the confusion of the characters *nushi* and *tama* discussed above. Onoda, *Shohon shūsei Kojiki*.

> daughter Suseribime your chief wife. Dwell by the foot of Mount Uka 宇迦, root the posts of your palace firmly into the base of the bedrock, and raise the roofbeams up as high as the Plain of High Heaven, you scoundrel!"
>
> So he pursued his eighty brothers, bearing this sword and bow-and-arrow. He pursued them, and smote them on the hill crests. He chased after them and swept them into the river rapids. Then he began to create the land.
>
> (First fascicle, Ōkuninushi's visit to the land Ne no Katasu)

When Susanoo first sees the god his daughter Suseribime has brought home, he says: "This is the one called Ashihara no Shikoo (Ugly Male of the Reed Plains)." This name signifies that he is a deity from the Central Land of Reed Plains, that is, the earth. After his flight from the land Ne no Katasu 根堅州, Susanoo shouts after his son-in-law: "Become Ōkuninushi no Kami (the deity Great Land Master)!" Therefore the narrative starting with the tale of the naked hare of Inaba 稲羽 and leading to the flight from Ne no Katasu is often considered a tale of the deity's maturation: starting out as Ōnamuchi, he finally becomes Ōkuninushi and begins his task of creating the land. However, in this interpretation, Susanoo's second command, "Become Utsushikuninushi no Kami!," tends to be overlooked. One reason for this is that the various modern editions of the *Kojiki* change this name to Utsushikunitama no Kami and interpret it as meaning "the deity of the land soul of the earth." This is then subsumed as one of the many qualities of Ōkuninushi and not given much further attention. However, that the two names Ōkuninushi and Utsushikuninushi are used side by side at this central turning point in the deity's maturation process suggests that both names are of equal importance. If the first name signifies that he is the master (*nushi*) of the great land (*ōkuni*), the second implies that he is the master of the manifest land (*utsushikuni*). Is it not possible that the one name relates to Ōkuninushi's role as ruler of the divine world and the other to his role as ruler of the human world?

Since I have already discussed the term *utsushi* elsewhere,[10] I will not repeat the details here. However, to summarize my findings, the term *utsushi* is used when a being belonging to the divine world manifests itself in the world of humans or, vice versa, when a being belonging to the human world manifests itself in the world of gods. Thus, to become the master of *utsushikuni* means nothing else than to become the ruler of the mundane world of humans. That the tale of Ōkuninushi's visit to Ne no Katasu begins with the appellation Ugly Male of the Reed Plains (Ashihara no Shikoo) and ends with the name Master of the Manifest Land (Utsushikuninushi) being

10. Taniguchi, "Ōkuninushi no kami."

applied to the deity seems to suggest that the Central Land of Reed Plains is transformed into the Manifest Land (*utsushikuni*).

The following scene at the end of Izanagi's visit to Yomotsu Kuni contains the first appearance both of the term *utsushi* and of the appellation "Central Land of Reed Plains":

> Then Izanagi no Mikoto proclaimed to the peaches: "As you have aided me, so may you also aid any green-grass mortal (*utsushiki aohitokusa* 都志伎青人草) from the Central Land of Reed Plains who falls into painful straits and suffers in anguish." … Izanami no Mikoto said: "My beloved brother, if you do this, I will each day strangle to death one thousand of your land's grass mortals." To this Izanagi no Mikoto replied, proclaiming: "My beloved sister, if you do this, I will each day build one thousand five hundred birth huts." From that point on each and every day one thousand people have died, while one thousand five hundred people have been born.
>
> (First fascicle, Yomotsu Kuni)

A number of commonalities can be observed between Izanagi's words and the ones Susanoo addresses to Ōkuninushi quoted above. In both cases, the words are uttered at the gentle decline of Yomi, a boundary marking the exit from an otherworld, and in both cases the words *utsushi* and *ashihara* (reed plains) are mentioned.

It is not clear what Izanagi's expression "any green-grass mortal (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) from the Central Land of Reed Plains" signifies. Judging from Izanami's words "your land's grass mortals," the expression must refer to something that at this point in time already existed in Izanagi's land, that is, in the Central Land of Reed Plains. If read as an origin myth of population growth, it is also possible to interpret the two deities' words as relating to a future point in time after the beginning of the age of humans; however, the formulation here translated as "from that point on" (*koko o mochite* 是以) supports the reading that exactly from this point in time the population of humans increases by five hundred each day. This formulation is used a total of thirty-eight times in the *Kojiki*. In thirty-four cases it is used as a conjunction within the narrative thread. Since, in the remaining four cases, the expression is used to explain the origins of a later phenomenon, it is possible to interpret the case under discussion here in the same way. However, judging from the expression "your land's grass mortals" and from the fact that the passage is dealing with "any green-grass mortal" from the "Central Land of Reed Plains," which is the designation of a mythical world, one is surely justified in concluding that at this point in time there already existed "green-grass mortals." This conclusion is further supported by the manner in which these "grass mortals" are counted. In contrast to the deities mentioned in the *Kojiki*'s mythical section (and to the

emperors and members of the imperial family descended from these deities) who are counted using the character "pillar" (*hashira* 柱), here the character "human" (*tari* 人) is employed to count the "green-grass mortals." All of this suggests that humans were believed to have existed during the age of gods. Therefore, the prior understanding that the world of gods (first fascicle) comes to an end, to be followed by a world in which gods and humans intermingle (second fascicle), and finally evolve into a world of humans (third fascicle), has to be revised. It might be more correct to state that the *Kojiki* from beginning to end describes a world of gods *and* humans. Possibly, this world is in the first fascicle described from the perspective of a divine world and in the second and third fascicles from the perspective of a human world. Whenever these two worlds come into contact, things described as *utsushi* appear. Of course, a chronological progression takes place between the beginning of the first and the end of the third fascicle. However, this progression cannot be reduced to a transition to the age of humans after the age of gods has come to an end. It rather entails a change from narratives that are set in the world of gods to narratives that are set in the world of humans.

If the name Ōkuninushi signifies that the deity has become the ruler of the Central Land of Reed Plains as a land of gods, the parallel name Utsushikuninushi might well imply that he has become the ruler of the Central Land of Reed Plains that is inhabited by the green-grass mortals. The two names might thus express Ōkuninushi's role as ruler over this double-sided world that includes both the world of gods and the world of the green-grass mortals. In this way, we can infer from Susanoo's words addressed to Ōkuninushi at the edge of Ne no Katasu the two-layered nature of the Central Land of Reed Plains that is both a world of gods and a world of green-grass mortals.[11]

Second Fascicle: Yamatotakeru

As suggested by the common characterization of the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle as a fascicle of gods and humans, deities often play a role in its narrative. In particular, the account of the first emperor Jinmu Tennō shows a strong connection to the age of gods. For instance, it contains a narrative of how the ancestral deities of the imperial family Amaterasu and Takagi no Kami 高木神 aid their descendant Jinmu's eastern expedition and reports that after his accession to the throne in Yamato he made a daughter of Ōmononushi no Kami 大物主神 his empress. The account of Sujin Tennō's 崇神天皇 reign reports that Ōmononushi caused many plagues until he was placated through the worship of his direct descendant Ōtataneko 意富多多泥古 resulting in

11. Taniguchi, "Ōkuninushi no kami."

tranquility for the realm and prosperity for the people. The account of Suinin Tennō's 垂仁天皇 reign reports that the great deity of Izumo had put a curse on the emperor's son Homuchiwake 本牟智和気 and demanded to be worshipped. Ōjin Tennō's 応神天皇 birth and reign is prophesized by Amaterasu and the three gods of Sumiyoshi 住江. Moreover, before his accession to the throne, Ōjin exchanges names with the deity Kehi no Ōkami 気比大神. As these examples show, many deities appear in the plot of the second fascicle. However, in all these instances, the deities appear in dreams or through the divine possession of a human; no direct encounter of deity and human occurs.[12] The exception to this rule is Yamatotakeru, who, returning from his western expedition, "subdued and pacified all of the mountain deities, river deities, and deities of the sea-straits" only to be ordered by his father Keikō Tennō 景行天皇 to embark on a further expedition to "subdue and pacify the unruly deities and the unsubmissive people of the twelve regions to the east." During this eastern expedition Yamatotakeru met a large number of deities face to face. Not only are we told that he "subdued and pacified all the unruly mountain and river gods and unsubmissive people," but also that he confronted the deity of the sea crossing at Hashirimizu 走水, the deity of Ashigara 足柄 pass (a white deer), the deity of Shinano 科野 pass, and the deity of Mount Ibuki 伊服岐 (a white boar). How can this exception be explained?

Moreover, if deities are mentioned in other narratives, their appearance is usually related to oracles or worship, whereas Yamatotakeru competes with the deities who cross his way and subdues them. This is also an important difference. There is only one further example in the *Kojiki* of a human subduing deities: the account of Jinmu's eastern expedition is brought to a close with the words "Thus he subdued and pacified the unruly deities and drove off the unsubmissive people…" But is Yamatotakeru in fact a human?

If one pays attention to the expressions used in the recurring phrases about the subjugation of the east and the west, one realizes that deities are included in the standard phrasing of "unsubmissive people" and "unruly deities." Here one can already infer the duality of gods and humans. Apart from that, Yamatotakeru kills the deity of Ashigara pass, who appears before him in the form of a white deer, and subdues the deity of Shinano pass. When he wants to cross an ocean called Hashirimizu, the local sea god hinders his progress by stirring up waves, but Yamatotakeru's wife Ototachibanahime 弟橘比売 appeases the deity's wrath by throwing herself into the waves. Finally, he tries to take the deity of Mount Ibuki (a white boar) with his bare hands

12. One could possibly raise the story of Prince Homuchiwake's marriage with a woman called Hinagahime 肥長比売, related in the account of Suinin's reign, as one example of a direct human-divine encounter. The narrative contains elements of a human-animal marriage tale, since Hinagahime's real form is a snake.

but is instead dazed by the deity, ultimately resulting in his death. Yamatotakeru's defeat in this scene is related to the fact that he left behind the sword Kusanagi 草那芸 at the dwelling of a woman called Miyazuhime 美夜受比売.

In this way, Yamatotakeru is presented as a being who encounters many deities. Might this not be due to the fact that he himself was perceived as a nearly-divine being? However, to subdue deities even Yamatotakeru depended on an object that enabled him to achieve this task. What is needed to subjugate a deity is, of course, an object that is connected to the world of gods—in Yamatotakeru's case, the sword Kusanagi. During his eastern expedition, Jinmu's success also depended on such an object, namely a sword that was sent down from heaven instead of Takemikazuchi no Kami 建御雷神.[13] The intention that underlies the appearance of the sword Kusanagi in this episode was probably to turn the account of Yamatotakeru's eastern expedition into a narrative of the Ise Shrine's, that is, Amaterasu's divine authority. However, in addition to that, one can also say that since it was a mighty sword that had emerged from the great eight-headed serpent, Kusanagi was deemed a manifestation of power that was necessary in order to subdue a deity.[14] But even so, it probably takes a godlike being to handle such a sword.

In the end, Yamatotakeru was defeated by a deity because he had parted with his sword. Even his demise has a divine quality about it:

> Now he changed into a giant white bird that soared into heaven and flew toward the shore.
>
> (Second fascicle, account of Keikō's reign)

After his demise, Yamatotakeru is buried by his wives and children who rush to his side from Yamato. But, as quoted above, he turns into a giant white bird who flies away. The story continues like this:

> He flew on from that land and rested at Shiki 志幾 in the land of Kōchi 河内. So they built a tomb at that place in which to lay his soul to rest. They named this tomb White Bird Tomb. But [the bird] yet again soared into heaven and flew away.
>
> (Second fascicle, account of Keikō's reign)

In this way, he ultimately soared into "heaven." This "heaven" is possibly nothing else than the Plain of High Heaven mentioned in the *Kojiki*'s first fascicle as the world of

13. On the significance of this sword in the account of Jinmu's eastern expedition, see Inoue, "'Kuni o tairageshi tachi.'"

14. Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 249–61.

gods.[15] This conclusion is suggested by some verses, in Yamatotakeru's exchange of songs with Miyazuhime:

But menstrual blood adhered to the hem of Miyazuhime's robe. Noticing this menstrual blood, he sang an august song:

Far off in the firmament
of heavenly Kagu 香具 Mountain
sounding like a sharp sickle
a swan soars across
as slender and delicate
as your supple arms.
Although I wish to use it
as my pillow…
Although I desire
to sleep with you…
On the hem
of the robe you are wearing
the moon has risen.

Then Miyazuhime sang an august song in reply:

O high-shining
prince of the sun,
O my lord
ruling in peace!
years new as raw gems
have come and gone,
moons new as raw gems
have come and gone.
Little wonder it is
that while waiting for you,
on the robe
I am wearing
the moon should rise.

(Second fascicle, account of Keikō's reign)

The part relevant to the present discussion is "Far off in the firmament / of heavenly Kagu Mountain / sounding like a sharp sickle / a swan soars across." The expression "sounding like a sharp sickle" is commonly taken to mean something along the lines of "squawking in a sharp and loud manner."[16] Most annotators agree that this part of

15. The relationship between "heaven" and the "Plain of High Heaven" is discussed in Sunairi, *Yamatotakeru densetsu no kenkyū*, and Obata, "Gen Yamatotakeru monogatari."

16. SNKBZ 1, headnote, p. 229.

the song functions as an introduction to the following verses on Miyazuhime's slender and supple arms. Therefore, the verses "Far off in the firmament / of heavenly Kagu Mountain / sounding like a sharp sickle / a swan soars across" are often viewed as a description of Miyazuhime as well. But this view is questioned by some researchers.[17] Is it not equally possible to view these verses as a description of Yamatotakeru himself? There are other songs, like the divine words of Yachihoko or Ōjin Tennō's song about the crab from Tsunuga 角鹿, in which the speaker begins by calling himself in the third person and later changes to the first person. Especially if one considers Ōjin's song, in which the emperor likens himself to "a crab from far-away Tsunuga," it does not seem unlikely that the verses "sounding like a sharp sickle / a swan soars across" might refer to Yamatotakeru himself. If one reads these verses as foreshadowing Yamatotakeru's later ascent to heaven in the form of a giant white bird, he can in a very real sense be said to soar across "heavenly Kagu Mountain." While Kagu is the name of a mountain situated in Yamato, "heavenly Kagu Mountain" in the *Kojiki* refers to a mountain located in the Plain of High Heaven.[18] To sum up, Yamatotakeru can be understood as a human/deity who has to return to the Plain of High Heaven that still continues to exist in the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle. Due to his position in the *Kojiki*'s plot he could become an ancestral figure of the imperial lineage that after Chūai Tennō's 仲哀天皇 death continued with Ōjin and Nintoku.

Third Fascicle: Nintoku Tennō and Yūryaku Tennō

As mentioned at the outset of this article, the *Kojiki*'s third and last fascicle is commonly thought to depict the age of humans. However, there are aspects in the account of Nintoku, the first emperor described in the third fascicle, that show his deep connection to the age of gods.

First, there is a scene in which Nintoku sings the following song:

> When to the glittering
> cape of Naniwa 難波
> I go and stand
> to look over my land,
> I behold

17. Yamaji, *Kīki kayō hyōshaku*.

18. Aoki Shūhei argues that because "'heavenly Kagu Mountain' is well known as an important mountain for the imperial family, one can therefore also read this as an expression referring to Yamatotakeru himself as a representative of the imperial family." However, he suggests that the verse "a swan soars across" hints at Miyazuhime. Aoki, *Kodai bungaku no uta to setsuwa*, p. 88. I plan a separate study on Kagu Mountain in the *Kojiki* that also includes the Kagu Mountain mentioned in the scene contained in the first fascicle where Izanami divinely passes away.

Awa 淡 Island,
Onogoro 於能碁呂 Island,
Ajimasa 檳榔 Island.
Remote are the islands I behold.

(Third fascicle, account of Nintoku's reign)

Nintoku sings this song when, in pursuit of a female called Kurohime, who has fled in fear of the empress Iwa no Hime's 石之日売 jealousy, he arrives on Awaji 淡路 Island, from where he surveys the sea. The island of Awa mentioned in this song is the first island Izanagi and Izanami gave birth to, right after the malformed deity Hiruko 水蛭子. The birth of both Hiruko and Awa Island were considered failures and thus they were not included in the number of the two deities' children. Whereas Hiruko was set afloat on the ocean, there is no mention that Awa Island met with the same fate. It can thus be considered to have continued to exist as the earliest-born island. Onogoro Island, in turn, came into being even before the two deities started giving birth to islands and served as the base for this task. It is thus the oldest island of all. That Nintoku surveys these islands should not be taken to mean that islands bearing these names actually existed in Osaka Bay, but rather that Nintoku viewed islands of the mythical world. In other words, the world of gods is superimposed onto the mundane world. Apart from its role in this narrative, this song is thought to have been recited by emperors when they performed the rite of surveying the land (*kunimi* 国見).[19] This is a special occasion that enables the emperor to perceive the islands mentioned in the myths, which are invisible under normal circumstances. But why is this song mentioned in the account of Nintoku's reign? A possible reason is that the song is mentioned at the beginning of the third fascicle in order to emphasize that the divine world and the human world overlap. The tale of Iwa no Hime's jealousy parallels the mythical tale of Suseribime's jealousy towards Ōkuninushi's lovers. The account of Nintoku's reign contains many such passages alluding to the mythical world. Another example is the emperor's exchange of songs with Takechi no Sukune over the auspicious omen of a wild goose laying eggs in Japan. The setting of this scene is the Island of Women (*Onnashima* 女島) mentioned in the myth of Izanagi and Izanami giving birth to lands. The occurrence of such a large number of passages connected to the world of gods cannot be considered a coincidence.

It would not be a correct assessment of the *Kojiki*'s structure to view the second fascicle as describing a world inhabited by both deities and humans, and the third fascicle as describing a world of humans. The *Kojiki* does not draw a sharp line between the two fascicles but rather connects them by hinting at connections with the divine world

19. Tsuchihashi, *Kodai kayō to girei no kenkyū*.

throughout both fascicles. The story of the brothers Akiyama no Shitabiotoko 秋山之下氷壮士 and Haruyama no Kasumiotoko 春山之霞壮士 who competed for the hand of Izushiotome no Kami 伊豆志袁登売神 can be raised as an example. This story, which is related at the end of the second fascicle, is parallel to the famous myth of Umisachi 海幸 (fortune of the seas) and Yamasachi 山幸 (fortune of the mountains) at the end of the first fascicle insofar as in both cases the younger brother triumphs over his senior. It has been shown that this myth, positioned as it is in a section that bridges the second and third fascicles, also marks a transition from father-son succession to a mode where brothers could succeed to the throne and thus functions as a legitimation for cases in which a younger brother, rather than the oldest, became emperor.[20] Aoki Shūhei proposes to subject the mythical contexts throughout the *Kojiki*'s three fascicles to close analysis and suggests that just as the mythical world continues from the first to the second fascicle, it serves as a foundation of the mundane world in the second and third fascicles.[21] The tale of Akiyama and Haruyama's rivalry, moreover, contains the following description:

> Then, when [Haruyama no Kasumiotoko] told his mother of his troubles, his august mother replied, saying: "While we are in this world, we should adopt the ways of the deities. Is it because he has adopted the ways of the green-grass mortals (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) that he does not pay what he owes?"
>
> (Second fascicle, account of Ōjin's reign)

The mother utters these words when she learns that the elder brother refused to give Haruyama the things he had promised him in case he succeeded to marry Izushiotome. She concludes that the elder brother does not give what he has promised his brother since he has adopted the ways of green-grass mortals rather than the ways of the deities, as he was supposed to. In this scene, the green-grass mortals, discussed in the second part of this study, reappear. There is a mutual relationship between gods and green-grass mortals insofar as both are depicted as entities that can influence the elder brother Akiyama's behavior. This suggests that gods and green-grass mortals coexist. Izushiotome, the female for whose favors the two brothers compete, is the daughter of the eight-fold great deity of Izushi 伊豆志 who was brought to Japan by Ame no Hihoko 天之日矛. The story of Ame no Hihoko itself is poorly connected to

20. Fujisawa, "Akiyama no shitabiotoko."

21. Aoki, *Kojiki kenkyū*. In the preface titled "Expressions in the *Kojiki*," he states, "To answer the question how myth is expressed as a logical structure permeating the *Kojiki* through an examination of individual expressions forms the object of the chapters in the first part on 'Myth'" (p. 18). Moreover, he explains, "The basic standpoint of the first part on 'Myth' is to read the whole *Kojiki* as a myth that was written down (put into writing)" (p. 18).

the *Kojiki*'s overall plot. Therefore, it is difficult to place it in the *Kojiki*'s chronology. However, if one considers that Tajimamori, who is mentioned in the account of Nintoku's reign, is a descendant of Ame no Hihoko in the fifth generation and Okinagatarashihime no Mikoto 息長帯比売命 (better known as Jingū Kōgo 神功皇后), a descendant in the seventh generation, Izushiotome can hardly be called a being of the age of gods. The tale of the two brothers Akiyama and Haruyama is presented in a way that makes it impossible to ascribe it completely to either the divine age or the human age. The term *miyo* 御世 (here translated as "this world") in the mother's reply is an expression that is otherwise reserved for the reigns of emperors in the *Kojiki*. From these observations we can infer the validity of the hypothesis that this tale related at the end of the second fascicle serves as a bridge to the third fascicle.

Finally, I want to touch upon Yūryaku Tennō. Yūryaku is often discussed in relation to Yamatotakeru. Certainly, there are many commonalities between the two characters: both kill their elder brother(s), both are called *oguna* 童男 (young man), and the names of both contain the character *take* 建 (Yūryaku is a posthumous name; throughout the text, the emperor is called Ōhatsusewakatakeru no Mikoto 大長谷若建命). But there is one decisive difference between the two: while Yamatotakeru dies before ascending to the throne, Yūryaku becomes emperor by killing one potential imperial heir after the other. There are still many open questions to be solved that are also related to the *Kojiki*'s quality as a literary work, before this crucial difference (despite both characters' inclination to resort to violence) can be explained. Leaving this question aside, Yūryaku is also an emperor who transcends the distinction between gods and humans. This becomes exceedingly apparent in the scene in which he meets the deity Hitokotonushi no Kami 一言主神 (one word master) on Mount Katsuragi 葛城. Even in the second fascicle, which is commonly characterized as depicting the age of gods and humans, Yamatotakeru is the only one who encounters deities face to face, yet Yūryaku, whose reign is contained in the third fascicle, also has a direct encounter with a deity.

> On another occasion, when the heavenly sovereign made his majestic way up Mount Katsuragi, the hundred officials in his retinue were all wearing red sashes and blue robes that he had bestowed upon them. At the time, a person came climbing up from the opposite side of the mountain. His majestic retinue was the same as the heavenly sovereign's. Even the manner of garb and the number of people were exactly identical. And so the heavenly sovereign, seeing this, inquired, saying: "There is no other king in the land of Yamato. Who are you to come here in this manner?" Straightaway he replied with the same words as those of the heavenly sovereign.… Hereupon the heavenly sovereign again addressed him, saying: "Declare your name. Then after both

> of us have declared their names, let us loose our arrows." To this, he replied, saying: "Having been asked first, I will give my name first. I am the god who can bring good or ill with a single word, Hitokotonushi no Ōkami of Mount Katsuragi!" The heavenly sovereign now grew fearful and spoke, saying: "I am struck with awe, O my great deity! Since there are ministers of the mortal world (*utsushiomi* 宇都志意美) [in your retinue], I was not aware of your presence." And so saying, he first removed his mighty great sword and his mighty bow and arrows, and then he had his hundred officials strip off their robes, prostrate themselves before the deity, and make an offering of their garb and gear to him.
>
> (Third fascicle, account of Yūryaku's reign)

There are different interpretations for the term *utsushiomi* appearing in the passage quoted above. According to an old theory, the term signifies "manifest body" (*utsushiōmi* 現し大身) and refers to the manifestation of Hitokotonushi, but this reading has been proved wrong. In contrast to the modern Japanese five-vowel system, ancient texts like the *Kojiki* distinguished between eight different vowels. According to this ancient system, the vowel in *mi* 美 (the character used in the text) does not correspond to the one in *mi* 身 (body). It is therefore not possible that the former character was used as a phonetical representation of the latter meaning. At present, there are two competing hypotheses as to the meaning of the expression. Advocates of the first hypothesis propose the reading "corporeal form" (*utsushiōmi* 現し大霊) and argue that the expression refers to the fact that the deity has appeared in human form.[22] Proponents of the second hypothesis take the expression to mean "minister(s) of the mortal world" (*utsushiōmi* 現し大臣) (the Japanese expression makes no distinction between singular and plural). While some supporters of this hypothesis believe that the expression refers to Yūryaku's role as a retainer of Hitokotonushi belonging to the mortal world,[23] others point out that there is no other case in the *Kojiki* of an emperor referring to him- or herself as the retainer of a deity. Therefore, they argue that the expression refers to Hitokotonushi's retinue and take the whole sentence to signify that Yūryaku did not realize he was speaking to a deity since the latter was accompanied by mortal ministers.[24] For various reasons, this last reading seems the most convincing and has therefore been adopted in the translation above. That Yūryaku refers to the deity's attendants as "ministers of the mortal world" (*utsushiomi*) rather than just as "ministers" (*omi*) probably signifies their belonging to another dimension (the world of

22. Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 200, headnote.
23. Okumura, "'Utsusemi' no gengi."
24. Mōri, "'Utsushiomi' kō"; "'Utsushiomi' to 'utsusemi.'"

humans) as seen from the perspective of a deity. If this conclusion is correct, the term *utsushi* is used in the same way as in the first and second fascicles. In other words, the expression *utsushi* is employed in the *Kojiki*, when the world of gods and the world of humans touch.

Concluding Remarks

In this article, I have examined the multilayered character of the divine world and the human world. In conclusion, I want to touch upon some of the characteristics shared by the deities and humans discussed in this article.

Yamatotakeru, Nintoku, and Yūryaku are all referred to as "prince of the sun" (*hi no miko* 日の御子) in songs.

(1) Yamatotakeru: See page 16 of this article.

(2) Nintoku Tennō:

O high-shining
prince of the sun
how fitting it is
for you to ask this,
truly well it is
for you to ask this,
for I am the longest-lived
in this age.
In the sky-filled
land of Yamato
of wild goose eggs
have I never heard.

(Third fascicle, account of Nintoku's reign, the wild goose egg)

(3) Yūryaku Tennō:

In Makimuku 纏向 lies
the palace of Hishiro 日代.
It is a palace where shines
the morning sun,
a palace where gleams
the evening sun.
…
This is what it is
that fills me with awe,
o high-shining
prince of the sun!

Of this same affair
is a tale told in words
such as these.
(Third fascicle, account of Yūryaku's reign, song of a court lady from Mie)

This appellation sets those three apart from other emperors as something special. This leads to the question why this appellation was granted to Yamatotakeru, who never became emperor in the first place. However, if we consider "prince of the sun" as a special appellation referring to persons that are connected to the world of gods, Yamatotakeru's inclusion in the list becomes understandable. Ōkuninushi, on the other hand, is presented as a person who ruled the earth before the advent of the imperial family.[25] As the first ruler of the earth, Ōkuninushi is depicted as a being with human-like elements in the world of gods. In contrast, Yamatotakeru, Nintoku, and Yūryaku are depicted as persons with god-like elements or with the ability to establish a connection to the world of gods. In the *Kojiki*, the world of gods and the world of humans appear to be overlapping. However, this does not mean that anyone can freely go back and forth between the two worlds, but rather that there are special persons who can on special occasions cross back and forth between the worlds. But it must be emphasized that the *Kojiki* is characterized by a three-layered structure of "deities, emperors, humans" or, perhaps, "deities—emperors/humans." This makes it difficult to press the cosmos depicted in the *Kojiki* into the dichotomy "world of gods / world of humans." This particular point will be a topic for future research.

(Translated by David Weiss)

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Abbreviation

SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakukan, 1994–2001.

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25. Aoki Shūhei, moreover, argues that Ōkuninushi shares some of the characteristics of the "princes of the sun." Aoki, *Kodai bungaku no uta to setsuwa*.

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KOJIKI

Translated
with an Introduction and Notes
by DONALD L. PHILIPPI

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Princeton University Press
University of Tokyo Press
1969

207

CHAPTER 1

THE FIVE SEPARATE HEAVENLY DEITIES COME INTO EXISTENCE.

1 At the time of the beginning of heaven and earth,[1] there came ing into existence in TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA a deity named AMË-NÖ-MI-NAKA-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, KAMĪ-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ. These three deities all came into existence as single deities,[2] and their forms were not visible.[3]

2 Next, when the land was young, resembling floating oil and drift-like a jellyfish, there sprouted forth something like reed-shoots.[4] From[5] these came into existence the deity UMASI-ASI-KABĪ-PIKO-DI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, AMË-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ.[6] These two deities also came into existence as single deities,[6] and their forms were not visible.[3]

3 The five deities in the above section are the Separate Heavenly Deities.[7]

[1] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 1 for a discussion of the cosmogony of this chapter. For discussions of proper names see GLOSSARY.

[2] *Pitöri-gamī;* unlike the pairs of male and female deities who came into existence later, these deities came into being one by one and had no counterparts. However, it later becomes apparent that both Kamī-musubi-no-kamī and Taka-mi-musubi-nij-kami had children (cf. 30:4; 38:5).

[3] Or 'they hid their bodies.'

[4] *Asi-kabī;* the word forms part of the name of the next deity.

[5] Or 'by. by means of.'

[6] The first two sentences of this verse are written phonetically, for the most part, and must have originated in oral tradition. Kanda Hidco surmises that the section from 1:2 through 2:2 was originally a poem depicting the birth of all things from reed-thoots springing up in the muddy water of some primeval period. *Kojiki* no *kōzō* (Meiji Shoin, 1959), pp. 246–47.

[7] *Kötö-ama-tu-kamī.* For some reason which is unclear to us today, these five deities were distinguished from the other heavenly deities and were set apart in a special category.

13

CHAPTER 2

THE SEVEN GENERATIONS OF THE AGE OF THE GODS COME INTO EXISTENCE.

1 Next there came into existence the deity KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TÖYÖ-KUMO-NO-NÖ-KAMÏ. These two deities also came into existence as single deities,' and their forms were not visible.[2]

2 Next there came into existence the deity named U-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse[3] SU-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, TUNO-GUPI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse IKU-GUPI-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, OPO-TO-NÖ-DI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse OPO-TO-NÖ-BE-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, OMÖ-DARU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse AYA-KASIKO-NE-NÖ-KAMÏ. Next, IZANAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

3 The deities in the above section, from KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMÏ through IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ, are called collectively the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods.*

4 The first two single deities' are each called one generation.[5] The next pairs of ten deities arc arranged in couples, each couple being called one generation.[5]

[1] *Pitöri-gamï.*
[2] Or 'they hid their bodies.'
[3] *Imo.* Literally, 'younger sister.'
[4] *Kamï-yö nana-yö.*
[5] *Yö.* The two single deities in verse 1 are each counted as one *yö;* the ten deities which follow are in couples, each couple being reckened as one *yö.* Thus there arc altogether seven *yö.* Verse 4 is a redactoral gloss, written in small characters in the original, no doubt by Yasumarö. For the cosmogony of this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

CHAPTER 3

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI ARE COMMANDED TO SOLIDIFY THE LAND. THEY CREATE ONÖGÖRÖ ISLAND.

1 At this time the heavenly deities,' all with one command,[2] said tothetwo deities IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ: "Complete and solidify this drifting land !"[3]

2 Giving them the Heavenly Jeweled Spear,[4] they entrusted the mission to them.

3 Thercupon, the two deities stood on the Heavenly Floating Bridge[5] and, lowering the jeweled spear, stirred with it. They stirred the brine with a churning-churning sound;[6] and when they lifted up [the spear]again, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This was the island ONÖGÖRÖ.[7]

[1] Evidently the Separate Heavenly Deities of Chapter 1.
[2] Some manuscripts have 'giving a command.' A heavenly mandate is not an essential element in the story of Izanagi and Izanami (its omirsion in most of rhc versions in the *Nihon shoki* reveals that it was something of an afterthought). Matsumura Takeo contends that it was included in the *Kojiki* version to conform with a traditional idcn that any deities descending from the heavens to perform any activities should be acting ondcr a mandate from the heavenly deities. *Nihon shinwa no kenkyü, II, 71-83.*
[3] The land mentioned above (1:2) as 'drifting like a jellyfish.' A similar command is given later to Opo-kuni-nusi (cf. 30:5).
[4] *Amë nö nu-bokö.* The words *amë nö* ('heavenly') are a stylized epithet praising an object by connecting it with the heavenly abode of the gods. *Nu* is an element which seems to mean 'jewel'; thus, *nu-bokö* would mean a spear made of, or decorated with, precious stones.
[5] *Amë nö uki-pasi;* cf. 32:3; 39:13. A bridge over which divine beings traveled between heaven and earth. Commentators have interpreted it as a boat or raft, a high ladder, a bridge of rainbows, or the Milky Way.
[6] *Köworö köworö ni.* This onomatopoeia, which appears again in the song in 133:57–58, has also the sense of 'curdling' or 'congealing.' This section of the narrative is perhaps reminiscent of the ancient Inland Sea custom of manufacturing salt by boiling down sea water.
[7] Onögörö island, which may literally mean 'self-curdling' island (see GLOSSARY),

CHAPTER 4

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI MARRY AND BEAR THEIR FIRST OFFSPRING.

1 Descending from the heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar' and a spacious palace.[2]

2 At this time [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] asked his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, saying:

"How is your body formed?"

3 She replied, saying:

"My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed insufficiently."

4 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said :

"My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed to excess. Therefore, I would like to take that place in my body which is formed to excess and insert it into that place in your body which is formed insufficiently, and [thus] give birth to the land. How would this be?"

5 IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied, saying :

"That will be good."

6 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said :

"Then let us, you and me, walk in a circle around this heavenly pillar and meet and have conjugal intercourse."

7 After thus agreeing, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] then said :

was evidmtly thought to be near what is now Ösaka Bay (see III:22). The dripping brine congealed or crystallized to form this island, which became the base of operations of Izanagi and Izanami when they descended from the heavens to begin their procreative work.

[1] For a discussion of the significance of this pillar (*amë nö mi-pasira*), see ADDITIONAL NOTE 3.

[2] *Ya-pirö-dönö*. The wedding palace of Izanagi and Izanami. According to Kurano. *pirö* is a unit of length equivalent to the distance from fingertip to fingertip when a person has both arms extmded.

"You walk around from the right, and I will walk around from the left and meet you."

8 After having agreed to this, they circled around; then IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:

"*Ana-ni-yasi*,[3] how good a lad !"

9 Afterwards, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said :

"*Ana-ni-yasi*, how good a maiden!"

10 After each had finished speaking, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] said to his spouse :

"It is not proper[4] that the woman speak first."

11 Nevertheless, they commenced procreation and gave birth to a leech-child.[5] They placed this child into a boat made of reeds and floated it away.

12 Next, they gave birth to the island of APA. This also is not reckoned as one of their children.

[3] An exclamation of wonder and delight.

[4] Or 'it bodes no good.'

[5] *Piru-go;* for a discussion of the leech-child, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 4. The leech-child and the island of Apa were considered failures and were not counted among Izanami and Izanagi's rightful progeny (cf. 7:25).

CHAPTER 5

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI, LEARNING THE REASON FOR THEIR FAILURE, REPEAT THE MARRIAGE RITUAL.

1 Then the two deities consulted together and said:
"The child which we have just borne is not good. It is best to report [this matter] before the heavenly deities."

2 Then they ascended together and sought the will of the heavenly deities. The heavenly deities thereupon performed a grand divination[1] and said:

3 "Because the woman spoke first, [the child] was not good.[2] Descend once more and say it again."

4 Then they descended again and walked once more in a circle around the heavenly pillar as [they had done] before.

5 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:
"*Ana-ni-yasi,* how good a maiden !"

6 Afterwards, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"*Ana-ni-yasi,* how good a lad !"

[1] *Puto-mani;* mentioned also in 73 :10. According to the description in 17:10, *puto-mani* was an ancient method of divination, in which the shoulder blade of a deer was heated (using bark from the *papaka* tree) and the cracks observed. This system was evidently practiced in Japan from antiquity and was later replaced by the tortoise-shell system of divination imported from China. Archeological evidence reveals that scapulamancy was performed at least as early as the Yayoi period: remains of such bones have been discovered in late Yayoi period strata in Miura, Kanagawa-ken. as well as in the Yayoi-period Chigusa remains on Sado island, Niigata-ken. The *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (*Wei Chih*), written about 297 A.D., attests to the prevalence of scapular divination among the early Japanese (Tsunoda Ryusaku et al., comp. Sources *of Japanese Tradition* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1958], p. 7). For information about the archeological finds see Saitō Tadashi, Nihon *zenshi* 1: *Genshi* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1958), pp. 241–43.

[2] This statement was anticipated by Izanagi in 4:10. The condemnation of the woman for speaking before the man was probably influenced by Chinese ideas; it is doubtful that the ancient Japanese had any such clear-cut ideas of male supremacy. Tsuda. *Nihon koten no kenkyii,* I, 353.

CHAPTER 6

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO NUMEROUS ISLANDS.

1 After they had finished saying this, they were united and bore as a child [the island] APADI-NÖ-PO-NÖ-SA-WAKË-NÖ-SIMA.[1]

2 Next they bore the double island[2] of IYÖ. This island has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:

3 Thus, the land of IYÖ is named EPIME; the land of SANUKI is named IPI-YÖRI-PIKO; the land of APA is named OPO-GË-TU-PIME; and the land of TOSA is named TAKE-YÖRI-WAKË.

4 Next they bore the triple island of OKI, also named AMË-NÖ-OSI-KORÖ-WAKE.

5 Next they bore the island of TUKUSI. This island also has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:

6 Thus, the land of TUKUSI is named SIRA-PI-WAKË; [the land of] TÖYÖ-KUNI is named TÖYÖ-PI-WAKË; [the land of] Pi is named

[1] All of the islands which Izanagi and Izanami bore have alternative personal names, and some of them clearly have gender. The island of Apadi plays a central role in ail of the Kojiki and *Nihon* shoki accounts of island-bearing; in one version in the *Nihon* shoki, Izanagi is said to dwell enshrined upon this island (wc note on 13 :9).

As Tsuda says, the accounts of island-bearing arc not a *cosmogony.* but are merely accounts of the origin of Japan in a political sense. It is strange that there is no account of the creation of man or animals in these origin myths. To Tsuda, Izanagi and Izanami are national deities in a narrow sense, who give birth first to the islands of Japan, then to the deities who dwell in them, and finally to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, the emperor-symbol; at no time do they leave Japan. *Nihon koten no kenkyii, I,* 343, 350, 358.

Kanda (pp. 251–54) argues that the Izanagi-Izanami myth was originally a myth-complex from the Inland Sea area and could be dated from the end of the Jōmon Period, or approximately the third century B.C.

At any rate, it is clear that the Kojiki account reflects the geographical knowledge of a fairly late period, when sea communications along the Inland Sea to Kyūshū were well developed and when the nation was unified under the Yamatö court.

*Literally, 'double-named island.' Both Iyö (Shikoku) and Tukusi (Kyūshū) have four divisions.

TAKE-PI-MUKAPI-TÖYÖ-KUZI-PI-NE-WAKË;[3] [4]and the land of KUMA-SÖ is named TAKE-PI-WAKË.[5]

7 Next they bore the island of IKI, also named AMË-PITÖTU-BASIRA.

8 Next they bore [the island of] TU-SIMA, also named AMË-NÖ-SADE-YÖRI-PIME.

9 Next they bore [6]the island of SADO.

10 Nest they bore[7] [the island] OPO-YAMATÖ-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-SIMA, also named AMA-TU-MI-SORA-T~Y&AKI-TU-NE-WAG.

11 Thus, because the eight islands[8] were born first, they are called OPO-YASIMA-GUNI.[9]

12 After this, when they returned,[10] they bore [the island] KIBÏ-NÖ-KOZIMA, also named TAKE-PI-KATA-WAKE.

13 Next they bore [the island of] ADUKÏ-SIMA, also named OPO-NO-DE-PIME.

14 Next they bore [the island of] OPO-SIMA, also named OPO-TAMARU-WAKË.

15 Nest they bore [the island of] PIME-ZIMA,[11] also named AMË-PITÖTU-NE.

16 Next they bore [the island of] TIKA-NÖ-SIMA, also named AMË-NÖ-OSI-WO.

17 Next they bore [the island of] PUTA-GO-NÖ-SIMA, also named AMË-PUTA-YA.

18 From KIBÏ-NÖ-KOZIMA through AMË-PUTA-YA are altogether six islands.

[3] There are textual difficulties in regard to this name; see GLOSSARY.

[4-5] Tanaka proposes to emend the text to read: "Next they bore the island of Sado, also named Take-pi-wakf." *Kojiki taisei*, VII, 15, head-note 14.

[6-7] Tanaka suppresses the words: ". . . the island of Sado. Next they bore . . ." Ibid., VII, 16, head-note 2.

[8] *Ya-sima.* 'Eight,' *ya,* was a sacred number to the Japanese, and may often be translated as 'myriad.'

[9] 'Great Eight-Island Land; Great Land of Yasima.' A poetical name for Japan.

[10] Evidently to Onögörö.

[11] Cf. 116:1.

CHAPTER 7

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO NUMEROUS DEITIES. IZANAMI DIES AFTER BEARING THE FIRE-DEITY.

1 After they had finished bearing the land, they went on to bear deities.'

2 The name of the deity they bore was OPO-KÖTÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore IPA-TUTI-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ;[2] next they bore IPA-SU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore OPO-TO-PI-WAKË-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore AMË-NÖ-PUKI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore OPO-YA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore KAZA-MÖTU-WAKË-NÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next they bore the sea-deity, whose name is OPO-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ;[3] next they bore the deity of the sea-straits,[4] whose name is PAYA-AKI-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, his spouse PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

3 From OPO-KÖTÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ through PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether ten deities.

4 These two deities PAYA-AKI-TU-PIKO and PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME rule, respectively, the rivers and the seas.

5 They[5] bore the deity AWA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AWA-NAMI-

[1] At this point Izanami gives birth to the deities who are to inhabit the islands. The deities represent various natural phenomena and physical features of the land.

Tsuda, reasoning from the fact that many of the deities in this section do not seem to have any gender and that their functions and rôles are not mentioned, concludes that they were gods having names but no distinctive characteristics; even their names were given to them in the absence of any real basis in folk belief. *Nihon koten no kenkyū,* 1. 365.

Matsumura (II, 345–50) draws attention to the similarities between the deities mentioned here and those which are listed in Chapter 2. Both accounts supply lists of names of deities without giving any information about their characters or functions.

[2] Tsugita (pp. 41–42) suggests that the six deities from Ipa-tuti-biko-nö-kamï through Kaza-mötu-wakë-nö-osi-wo-nö-kamï were deities of buildings.

[3] Other sea deities, whose names contain the element *wata-tu-mi* ('sea spirit'), are born of Izanagi's purification (cf. Chapter 11).

[4] *Minato;* also 'river-mouth,' [later] 'harbor.' Cf. 37:6.

[5] I.e., Paya-aki-tu-piko and Paya-aki-tu-pime.

NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TURA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ; nest, TURA-NAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-MI-KUMARI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-MI-KUMARI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-KUPIZA-MÖTI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-KUPIZA-MÖTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

6 From AWA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMÏ through KUNI-NÖ-KUPIZA-MÖTI-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

7 Next they[6] bore the wind-deity, whose name is SINA-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ.

8 Next they bore the tree-deity, whose name is KUKU-NÖ-TI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

9 Next they bore the mountain-deity, whose name is OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-Nij-KAMi.

10 Next they bore the deity of the plains, whose name is KAYA-NO-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named NO-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

11 From SINA-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ through NO-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether four deities.

12 These two deities OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ and NO-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ rule, respectively, the mountains and plains.

13 They' bore the deity AMË-NÖ-SA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-SA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-SA-GÏRI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KUNI-NÖ-SA-GÏRI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, AMË-NÖ-KURA-DO-NÖ-KAMÏ; [8]next, KUNI-NÖ-KURA-DO-NÖ-KAMÏ;[9] next, OPO-TO-MATO-PIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OPO-TO-MATO-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

14 From AMË-NÖ-SA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ through OPO-TO-MATO-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

15 Next they[10] bore the deity TÖRI-NÖ-IPA-KUSU-PUNE-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named AMË-NÖ-TÖRI-PUNE-NÖ-KAMÏ.[11]

16 Next they bore OPO-GË-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

17 Next they bore PÏ-NÖ-YAGI-PAYA-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named PÏ-NÖ-KAGA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ, and also named PÏ-NÖ-KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

[6] I.e., Izanagi and Izanami. The deities born in verses 7–10 are the children of Izanagi and Izanami.

[7] Le., Opo-yama-tu-mi-nö-kamï and Kaya-no-pime-nö-kamï.

[8-9] Lacking in the Shimpuku-ji manuscript.

[10] I.e., Izanagi and Izanami.

[11] The element *-nö-kamï*, missing in the text, has been supplied here on the authority of 35:7, II.

18 Because [Izanami-nö-mikötö] bore this child, her genitals were burned, and she lay down sick.[12]

19 In her vomit there came into existence[13] the deity KANA-YAMA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KANA-YAMA-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

20 Next, in her faeces there came into existence the deity PANI-YASU-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PANI-YASU-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.[14]

21 Next, in her urine there came into existence the deity MITU-PA-NÖ-ME-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, WAKU-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMÏ. The child of this deity is TÖYÖ-UKË-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

22 Thus at last, IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ, because she had borne the fire-deity, divinely passed away.[15]

23 From AMË-NÖ-TÖRI-PUNE through TÖYÖ-UKË-BIME-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

24 All of the islands borne by the two deities IZANAGI and IZANAMI were fourteen; the deities [borne by them were] thirty-five.

25 These were born before IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ divinely passed away. However, the island ONÖGÖRÖ was not born.[16] Also the leech-child and the island of APA are not reckoned as their children."

[12] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 5.

[13] Most manuscripts have 'were born'; the verse has been emended to agree with verses 20ff.

[14] The deities who came into existence in Izanami's faeces were deities of clay or earth, and Mitu-pa-nö-me-nö-kamï, who came into existence in her urine, was a deity connected with water or water-greens. Matsumura (II. 370–72) says that he knows of no other people who have deities born from excreta, and alludes to their importance as fertilizer in Yayoi period agriculture.

[15] From Izanami's death, Motoori concludes rhat even the gods arc subject to death and must then descend to the detestable land of Yömï. In his *Tama-kushige*, he goes on to write:

"Everything is an exotic, alien falsehood and deception which esteems the ideas of not rejoicing at what should rejoice us, not sorrowing at what should sorrow us, not being surprised at what should surprise us, and in general not feeling emotion when we should. This is against human nature and a most bothersome matter. Death, in particular, is one thing about which we cannot help but feel sorrow. Even the great god Izanagi, who formed the land and all things in it and who initiated the Way of this world-did he not. at the death of the goddess, weep and sorrow with all his heart like a little child, and out of his yearning follow after her to the land of Yömï? This is the true, the real human nature, and the people of the world must ofnecessity be this way." *Motoori Norinaga zenshü* [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1926–28], VI, 11.

[16] Cf. 3:3.

[17] Cf. 4:11.

26 At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"Alas, I have given my beloved spouse in cschange for a mere child!"

27 Then he crawled around her head and around her feet, weeping.

28 At this time in his tears there came into existence the deity who dwells at the foot of the trees in the foothills of Mount KAGU, named NAKI-SAPA-ME-NÖ-KAMÏ.[18]

29 Then he buried the departed IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ on Mount PIBA, the border between the land of IDUMO and the land of PAPAKI.[19]

[18] 'Weeping-Marsh-Woman Deity' (xe GLOSSARY). This account undoubtedly reflects the practice of using female lamenters or professional mourners (naki-me, 'weeping woman,' cf. 33:7, 34:3) at funerals.

[19] One important variant in the *Nihon shoki* relates that Izanami was buried in the village of Arima in Kumano in the land of Ki (Minami-muro-gun, Wakayama-ken). "The local people pay worship to the spirit of this deity with flowers during flower-time and also with singing and dancing, using drums, flutes, and banners." [*Kōtei*] *Nihon* shoki, ed. Takeda Yūkichi (Asahi Shimbunsha. 1953–57), hereafter cited Asahi ed., I, 72. Both are probably late glosses and do not form an essential part of the original Izanagi-Izanami myth.

CHAPTER 8

IZANAGI KILLS THE FIRE-DEITY. VARIOUS DEITIES COME INTO EXISTENCE.

1 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ unsheathed the sword ten hands long which he was wearing at his side and cut off the head of his child KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ.[1]

2 Hereupon the blood adhering to the tip of the sword gushed forth onto the massed rocks; the deity who came into csistence therefrom was IPA-SAKU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, NE-SAKU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, IPA-TUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ. (Three deities)

3 Next, the blood adhering to the sword-guard of the sword also gushed forth onto the massed rocks; the deity who came into existence therefrom was MIKA-PAYA-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PI-PAYA-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ, also named TAKE-PUTU-NÖ-KAMÏ, and also named TÖYÖ-PUTU-NÖ-KAMÏ. (Three deities)

4 Next, the blood collected at the hilt of the sword dripped through his fingers; the deity who came into existence therefrom was KURA-OKAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, KURA-MITU-PA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

5 The deities in the above section, altogether eight in number from IPA-SAKU-NÖ-KAMÏ through KURA-MITU-PA-NÖ-KAMÏ, are deities born by the sword.[2]

[1] The god whose birth, in 7:17, was the cause of Izanami's sickness and death.

[2] Or 'from, by means of' the sword. Tsugita (p. 54) regards this section as a reference to the tempering of a sword.

"The three gods Ipa-saku, Ne-saku, and Ipa-tutu-nö-wo represent rock: the two gods Mika-paya-pi and Pï-paya-pi represent fire; and the two gods Kura-okami and Kura-mitu-pa represent water. Thus, the necessary steps in making a sword-firing it. shaping it on a rock, and soaking it in water-are the meaning behind this myth. The blood flowing over the surrounding rocks is reminiscent of the sparks which fly out when a sword is being tempered. Also. at the appearance of the dragon-god [Kura-okami-nbkami] one imagines the smith seeking out sacred waters in the mountain valleys and soaking the blade in them."

Nakajima Etsuji says with regard to this section :

6 The deity who came into existence in the head of the slain KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMÏ was named MA-SAKA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.[3]

7 Next, the deity who came into existence in his chest was named ODÖ-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

8 Next, the deity who came into existence in his belly was named OKU-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

9 Next, the deity who came into existence in his genitals was named KURA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

10 Next, the deity who came into existence in his left hand was named SIGI-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

11 Next, the deity who came into existence in his right hand was named PA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

12 Next, the deity who came into existence in his left foot was named PARA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

13 Next, the deity who came into existence in his right foot was named TO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

14 From MA-SAKA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ through TO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ are altogether eight deities.

15 The name of the sword with which [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] killed [the fire-deity] was AMË-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI;[4] another name is ITU-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI.

"When the heavenly god Izanagi kills with a sword the fire-god (probably a volcanic fire-god), gods connected with rocks, gods connected with fire, thunder-gods, and water-gods are born from his blood. Is this not because volcanic explosions were regarded as the fearsome manifestation of a god tempering a sword?" Kojiki *hyōshaku* (Sankaidō, 1930), p. 55.

Matsumura (II, 380–81) writes that the violent explosion of Izanagi's emotions, accompanied by sword flashes, blood spurting forth, and the slashing into pieces of the body of the fire-god, points to volcanic eruption, which includes not only the destruction of the mountain and the bursting forth of molten rocks but also. frequently, thunder and lightning, rainstorms, and floods.

[3] The type of metamorphosis seen in verses 6–13 has already been seen in the account of the dying Izanami (7:19–21) and appears again in 9:7–14 and in 18:4.

[4] Cf. 35:3f.

CHAPTER 9

IZANAGI VISITS IZANAMI IN THE LAND OF YÖMÏ. BREAKING THE TABOO, HE LOOKS UPON HER CORPSE.

1 At this time, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö], wishing to meet again his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, went after her to the land of YÖMÏ.[1]

2 When she came forth out of the door[2] of the hall to greet him, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said :

"0, my beloved spouse, the lands which you and I were making have not yet been completed; you must come back !"[3]

3 Then IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied, saying :

"How I regret that you did not come sooner. I have eaten at the hearth of YÖMÏ.[4] But, 0 my beloved husband, how awesome

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[1] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 6 for a discussion of the evidence in this chapter regarding the ancient Japanese ideas of death and the afterlife.

It has frequently been suggested that the accounts of the visit to Yömï were influenced by the ancient practice of burial in subterranean stone chambers with stone passageways. (For a description of these tombs, similar to the tumuli of ancient Europe, see Kidder's *Japan before Buddhism*, pp. 145–92.) That some such recollection was at work can be argued from the fact that Izanami's corpse was found in an inner chamber (a 'hall,' cf. 9:4–5), and that the entrance to Yömï was a 'pass' closed by a large boulder (10:11). The archeologist Gotō Shuichi argues that the *Kojiki* account of the visit to Yömï clearly reflected the burial customs of the late Tomb Period-i.e.. the sixth, seven, and first half of the eighth centuries. *Nihon kodaishi* no *kōkogakuteki kentō* (Yamaoka Shoten, 1947). pp. 11–21. (See also Tsugita, pp. 57, 65–66, for an eloquent statement of the tumulus theory; and Matsumura. II. 393–407, for a dispassionate evaluation of this theory.)

Matsumura (Ibid.) concludes that it is patent that a separate land of the dead was intended here; arguing that the ancient Japanese fundamentally regarded the abode of the dead as being not a subterranean land but a place deep inside caves or far in the mountains, he believes that the suggestions derived from tomb construction were merely secondary elaborations.

[2] One ideograph (騰) in thir passage is corrupt and cannot be given a suitable translation.

[3] It is interesting that the appeal to return rests on the necessity of resuming the work of land-creating.

[4] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 7 for a discussion of this passage.

it is that you have entered here ! Therefore I will go and discuss for a while with the gods of YÖMĪ[5] my desire to return. Pray do not look upon me !"[6]

4 Thus saying, she went back into the hall, but her absence was so long that [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] could no longer wait.

5 Thereupon he broke off one of the large end-teeth of the comb he was wearing in his left hair-bunch,[7] lit [it as] one fire,[8] and entered in to see.

6 At this time, maggots were squirming and roaring[9] [in the corpse of Izanami-nö-mikötö].

[5] The *Kojiki* is apparently inconsistent about the nature of the rulers of Yömï. Here it seems to say that there are some unnamed 'gods [or god] of Yömï'—the word may be singular or plural-to whom Izanami is subordinate, while in 10:16 Izanami herself is called the 'great deity of Yömï' (Yömö-tu-opo-kamï). Tsuda writes that this reflects a state of mental confusion about the nature of Yömï on the part of the ancient Japanese. *Nihon koten* no *kenkyū*, I, 400–403.

In the *Nihon shoki* and *norito*, Izanami is depicted as the ruler of the underworld while Izanagi figures as the ruler of the world of men; this idea is also present in the Kojiki in 10:13–14.

[6] A similar taboo is found in 45:6. Some scholars have regarded both of these myths as variants of a single 'forbidden chamber' story, and some have connected the taboo related here with taboos against witnessing parturition (Izanami's downfall being connected with her giving birth to the fire-god-see also the variant mythological narrative in the *norito* for the fire-pacifying festival). Some scholars have thought this a reflection of an actual taboo against looking at a corpse. Matsumura (II, 439–48), on the other hand, supposes that there may have been a practice of going at stated intervals to look at a corpse in order to see whether it had come back to life, and that this myth is a reflection of such a custom.

[7] *Mi-midura*. The *midura* [from *mimi-dura*, 'ear bunch'?] was a man's hair style: the hair was parted in the middle, then tied in bunches on both sides of the head; combs were inserted at the top of each bunch, and the bunches were secured with strings called *kadura*, often made of vines. The word *midura* was later corrupted to *bizura* or *binzura*, which was in later periods a boy's hair style.

[8] Motoori says that, because the ancient custom must have been to kindle two or more fires, here special attention is drawn to the fact that only one fire is kindled. Kojiki-den, in Motoori *Norinaga zenshū*, Vols. I-IV, hereafter cited as Kojiki-den, I, 382.

The *Nihon shoki* has the following interesting gloss on this passage: "This is the origin of the taboo among the people of the present day against [lighting] a single light at night and against casting down a comb at night." (Asahi ed., 1:74; Aston, 1. 24)

Motoori (*loc. cit.*) mentions a taboo, in the region of Iwami (modern Shimane-ken). against presenting only one light to a god and against throwing down a comb. According to B. H. Chamberlain, the superstition still existed in Tokyo (Kojiki, Supp. to TASJ. X [1882], [rep. ed.: Tokyo, 1906], 42).

[9] Some manuscripts have 'oozing.'

7 In her head was Great-Thunder ;[10]

8 In her breast was Fire-Thunder;"

9 In her belly was Black-Thunder;[12]

10 In her genitals was Crack-Thunder;[13]

11 In her left hand was Young-Thunder;'*

12 In her right hand was Earth-Thunder;[15]

13 In her loft foot was Sounding-Thunder;[16]

14 In her right foot was Reclining-Thunder."

15 Altogether there were eight thunder-deities.[18]

[10] Opo-ikaduti.

[11] Po-nö-ikaduti.

[12] Kuro-ikaduti.

[13] Saku-ikaduti [*saku* meaning 'to be cracked,' 'to have a crevice'].

[14] Waka-ikaduti.

[15] Tuti-ikaduti.

[16] Nari-ikaduti.

[17] Pusi-ikaduti.

[18] *Ikaduti-gamī;* cf. 10:6. *Ikaduti* is written with the ideograph meaning 'thunder' and is so translated. Some scholars, however, have questioned whether *ikaduti* originally meant 'thunder.' In folk belief thunder is and was closely connected with snakes, which dwell in damp, dark places like those used for burying the dead. Tsuda argues, for instance, that snakes were regarded as the spirits of the dead or as evil spirits residing inside corpses, and interprets *ikaduti* as 'fearsome spirit' (*ika-tu-ti*) and as having been originally applied to snakes. *Nihon koten* no *kenkyū*, 1. *247, 397.* For a criticism of this view, see Matsumura, II, 411–14.

According to Shiratori Kurakichi, the maggots, which the ancient Japanese equated with the spirits of the dead, were here transformed into snakes. *Jindaishi no shinkenkyū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1955), pp. 210. 218–20.

CHAPTER 10

IZANAGI FLEES AND ELUDES HIS PURSUERS. IZANAGI AND IZANAMI BREAK THEIR TROTH.

1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, seeing this, was afraid, and he turned and fled.'

2 At this time his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"He has shamed me !"

3 Thereupon she dispatched the hags of YÖMÏ[2] to pursue him.

4 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ undid the black vine securing his hair[3] and flung it down; immediately it bore grapes. While [the hags] were picking and eating [the grapes], he fled.[4]

5 When again they pursued him, he next pulled out the comb he was wearing in his right hair-bunch and flung it down; immediately bamboo shoots sprouted forth. While [the hags] were pulling up and eating [the bamboo shoots], he fled.

6 Later, [Izanami-nö-mikötö dispatched] the eight thunder-deities" and a horde of warriors of YÖMÏ[6] to pursue him.

7 Then [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] unsheathed the sword ten hands long

[1] Cf. 45:7.

[2] *Yömö-tu-sikö-me*. The word is written phonetically. *Sikö-me* is literally 'ugly woman' or 'ugly women.' The word *sikö* appears again as an adjective *sikömëki* (translated as 'unpleasant, horrible') in 11:1, and also as an clcmmt in the name Asi-para-sikö-wo-nö-kamï (Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains Deity). another name for Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-kamï (20:19, 23:5, etc.).

[3] *Kadura;* cf. 9:5 and footnote. Much later the word came to mean 'head-band' and 'wig' (Modern Japanese *katsura*).

[4] Similar stories, involving throwing at one's pursuers various objects which change into other things and stop their pursuit, arc found in folk tales throughout the world and in later Japanese folk talcs. Such tales are called 'magic flight' or 'transformation flight' tales. Matsumura, II, 450.

Matsumura (II. 452-58) connects this myth with folk practices designed to prevent the spirits of the dead from coming back to disturb the living.

[5] *The ikaduti-gamï* mentioned in 9:15.

[6] Literally, 'the thousand five-hundred Yömï army.'

which hc was wearing at his side and fled while waving it behind him.

8 The pursuit continued, and when [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] had arrived at the foot of [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA,[7] he took three peaches[8] which were there and, waiting for [his pursuers], attacked [them with the peaches]. They all turned and fled.

9 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to the peaches:
"Just as you[9] have saved me, when, in the Central Land of the Reed Plains,[10] any of the race of mortal men[11] fall into painful straits and suffer in anguish, then do you save them also."

10 He bestowed [upon the peaches] the name OPO-KAMU-DU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

11 Finally, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ herselfcame in pursuit of him. Then he pulled a tremendous boulder[12] and closed [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA with it.

12 They stood facing each other, onc on each side of the boulder, and broke their troth.[13]

[7] Cf. verse 18 below; also 24:12.

[8] Using peaches to dispel demons or evil spirits was a common practice in China from antiquity; this myth is regarded by commentators as the product of an age when Chinese influence was strong.

[9] A singular pronoun is used.

[10] *Asi-para-nö-naka-tu-kuni;* a mythical expression referring to the islands of Japan, 'Central' may be used to locate the land between the heavenly land of Takama-nö-para and the subterranean land of Yömï.

[11] *Utusiki awo-pitö-gusa;* literally, 'mortal-green-human grass' (cf. 107: 16). The human race, thriving in profusion like the countless blades of grass.

[12] Ti-biki *nö ipa;* literally. 'thousand-pulling boulder' (i.e.. one requiring a thousand persons to pull it); cf. 24:8, 36:3. One interpretation is that this boulder is the rock used to sul the entrance to an underground burial mound. Matsumura (II, 466-73) doubts whether the long flight described in the chapter could have been thought to have taken place in the relatively short entrance corridor of a tomb.

Some scholars, including Matsumura, see in this boulder a *type* of the *Sai-no-kami,* a rock-deity worshipped at the outskirts of a village in order to keep evil spirits away. It seems more probable that the rock was used to block *physically* the passage of Izanami, rather than magically, as the *Sai-no-kami* is used; the latter is a small road-side idol and does not coincide with the description here.

[13] The Japanese words present some difficulties: they are read either (a) *kötö-do [wo] watasu,* or (b) *kötö-do wataru.* Their literal translations would be (a) 'to hand over a thing-door,' or (b) 'to cross a thing-door.' Both of these are, of course, quite meaningless, and some other interpretation independent of the literal meanings of the ideographs must be attempted.

13 At this time IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said :

"O my beloved husband, if you do thus, I will each day strangle to death one thousand of the populace[14] of your country."

14 To this IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said :

"0 my beloved spouse, if you do thus, I will each day build one thousand five hundred parturition huts."[15]

15 This is the reason why one thousand people inevitably die and one thousand five hundred people are inevitably born every day.'"

16 IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMÏ[17] is also called YÖMÖ-TU-OPO-KAMÏ.[18] Also, because she joined in the pursuit,[15] she is called TI-SIKI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ.

The *Nihon shoki* has for this passage ideographs meaning 'made an oath of divorce.' The pronunciation *kötö-do* is indicated in a gloss.

The word *kötö* may be a word meaning 'separate' or 'different.' It may also mean 'thing,' 'word,' or the musical instrument *kötö*.

The word do, written with the ideograph for 'door,' is unclear, but may mean 'place' ; more probably it is a term for any sort of solemn rite or magic ceremony. In this case it is the same as the *to* in the word *norito*. See Kaneko Takeo, *Engi-shiki norito kō* (Musashino Shoin, 1951), pp. 439–45.

Although *kötö-do* may have come to mean 'an oath of divorce,' it may earlier have meant some sort of magic-religious ceremony of rejection. Cf. Kaneko, ibid.; Matsumura, II, *473-81.*

[14] Literally, 'human grass.'

[15] *Ubu-ya* (childbearing-houses). A parturition hut is mentioned also in 45:3 and referred to in 41:16. In ancient Japan childbirth. as well as menstruation, was regarded as pollution, and the pregnant or menstruant woman was required to live in a building apart from the main dwelling and to eat food prepared separately. In many localities, until the Meiji period, pregnant and menstruant women were segregated in separate buildings as a matter of course, and some of these houses may still be seen today. For photographs see Minzokugaku Kenkyūjo, comp., *Nihon minzoku zuroku* (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1955), pp. 32, 114–15.

[16] The account in verses 13–15 is a mythical explanation for the statistical fact of population increase. Watanabe Ybshimichi sees in this passage the writer's awareness of the rapid population increase accompanying the development of agricultural production after the third and fourth centuries. Kojiki *kōwa* (Hakuybsha, 1936). p.52.

Matsumura (II, 485–90) says that this account reflects also the ancient custom of deciding disputes by verbal battles. However, in such cases the engagements usually took place by means of songs or long harangues, not by brief statements as here.

[17] Most manuscripts have Izanami-nö-kamï-nö-mikötö.

[18] 'Great Deity of Yömï.' The metamorphosis of the goddess Izanami from a land-creating goddess to a goddess of death and the underworld is paralleled in other mythologies, where the Earth-mother (Freya, Persephone, Nerthus, Frigg) becomes a goddess presiding over the abode of the'deah. See also Matsumura, II. 161–66, 388–93.

[19] *Opi-sikisi.*

17 The boulder which closed [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA is called TI-GAPESI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ; it is also called SAYARI-MASU-YÖMÏ-DO-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ.

18 The so-called YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA is now called the pass[20] IPUYA-ZAKA in the land of IDUMO.[21]

[20] Or 'is *now* said to be the pass.'

[21] Why is the entrance to the land of Yömï located in the land of Idumo? Tsugita (p. 66) writes that Ipuya-zaka was the main route between Idumo and Yamatö, and the mythical account of its being closed was a reflection of a historical rupture between the two regions.

This viewpoint is unconvincing, and it is now obvious that the passage was a late gloss which did not exist in the original version of the myth,

CHAPTER 11

IZANAGI PURIFIES HIMSELF, GIVING BIRTH TO MANY DEITIES INCLUDING AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI AND SUSA-NÖ-WO.

1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ said :

"I have been to a most unpleasant land, a horrible, unclean land. Therefore I shall purify myself."[1]

2 Arriving at [the plain] APAKI-PARA by the river-mouth of TATI-BANA in PIMUKA in TUKUSI, he purified and exorhsed himself.[2]

3 When he flung down his stick, there came into cxistencc a deity named TUKI-TATU-PUNA-TO-NÖ-KAMÏ.

4 Next, when he flung down his sash, there came into existence a deity named MITI-NÖ-NAGA-TI-PA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

5 Next, when he flung down his bag,[3] there came into existence a deity named TÖKI-PAKASI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

[1] Literally, 'therefore I shall work my body's purification.' The word used implies purification by ablution. Motoori, rejecting a spiritualizing interpretation, insists that pollution of **the** body, not of the soul, was meant:

"Exorcism and purification *are* for the purpose of cleansing the pollutions of the body. To say that they *are* for exorcising and cleansing the spirit is a concept completely alien to Japanese antiquity." *Kojiki-den, I,* 317.

It is questionable whether the ancient Japanese distinguished between physical and mental pollution. Matsumura, II, 504–506.

[2] The practice ofpurification by ablution had a very early origin in Japan. The account of Japan in the *History of the* Kingdom of *Wei* (*Wei Chih*) says this of Japanese funeral customs:

"When there is a death, they mourn for ten days, during which period they do not eat meat. The chief mourners wail and weep, and the others sing, dance, and drink liquor. After the burial, the whole family goes into the water to bathe, like the Chinese sackcloth-ablutions." Wada Sei and Ishihara Michihiro, eds., *Gishi wajinden* (Iwanami Shoten, 1951), p. 45; see also Tsunoda et al., Sources *of Japanese Tradition*, pp. 6–7.

Even today, purification by washing is a common element in Japanese folk religion. The propensity for bathing of the ancient Japanese probably reflected, not an inordinate wish for bodily cleanliness, but a desire to rid themselves by magical practices of evils and ritual impurity originating in contact with death.

[3] Some manuscripts have 'skirt.'

124

6 Next, when he flung down his cloak, there came into csistcncc a deity named WADURAPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

7 Next, when he flung down his trousers, there came into existcncc a deity named TI-MATA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

8 Next, when he flung down his headgear, there came into existcncc a deity natncd AKI-GUPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

9 Next, when hc flung down the arm-bands of his left arm, there came into cxistencc a deity named OKI-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OKI-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OKI-TU-KAPÏ-BERA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

10 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his right arm, there came into csistcncc a deity named PE-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PE-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, PE-TU-KAPÏ-BERA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

11 The twelve deities in the above section, from PUNA-DO-NÖ-KAMÏ through PE-TU-KAPÏ-BERA-NÖ-KAMÏ, all were born from his taking off the articles worn on his body.

12 Then he said:

"The current of the upper stream is [4]a current[5] too swift; the current of the lower stream is [4]a currents too weak."

13 Then, when he went down and dived into the middle stream and bathed, there came into existence a deity named YASO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OPO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ.

14 These two deities came into esistcncc from the pollution which hc took on when he went to that unclean land.

15 Next, in order to rectify[6] these evils,[7] there came into existencc the deity KAMU-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, OPO-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, IDU-NÖ-ME-NÖ-KAMÏ. (Ahogether three deities)

16 Next, when he bathed at the bottoms of the water, there came into existence the deity named SÖKÖ-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

17 When hc bathed in the middle[9] [of the water], there came into

[4-5] Omitted in certain manuscripts.
[6] Naposu.
[7] Maga.
[8] *Sökö.*
[9] *Naka.*

existence the deity named NAKA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMÏ; next, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

18 When he bathed on the surface[10] of the water, there came into esistence the deity named UPA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; next, UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[11]

19 These three WATA-TU-MI deities are the deities worshipped by
20 the MURAZI of the ADUMI as their ancestral deities.[12] The MURAZI of the ADUMI are the descendants of UTUSI-PI-GANA-SAKU-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, the child of these WATA-TU-MI deities.

21 The three deities SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, and UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ are the three great deities of SUMI-NÖ-YE.

22 Then when he washed his left eye, there came into existence a deity named AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMi.

23 Next, when he washed his right eye, there came into existence a deity named TUKU-YÖMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[13]

24 Next, when he washed his nose, there came into existence a deity named TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.[14]

25 The fourteen[15] deities in the above section, from YA-SO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMÏ through PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, are deities born[16] from bathing his body.

[10] *Upë.*

[11] Compare the account in verses 16–18 with the performance of Saruta-biko-nö-kamï in 40:4. Matsumura (II, 511–12) is of the opinion that both these accounts reflect an ancient practice of the Ama people involving ablution in three steps.

[12] *Oya-gamï.* This verse is the first of the *Kojiki's* many ancestral glosses, in which the ancestors claimed by various powerful families are fitted into the official national mythology. The formulation of a "correct" genealogy relating all the aristocratic families to the Yamatö ruling family was one of the primary objects of ancient Japanese historical compilation.

[13] Tsuda connects these accounts with the Chinese legend of P'an Ku, who in dying gave birth to the universe, and with another legend linking the sun with the left eye and the moon with the right eye. *Nihon koten no kenkyü, I.* 380–81.

[14] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 8 for a discussion of the nature and manner of birth of Susa-nö-wo.

[15] All manuscripts read 'ten'; emended.

[16] One manuscript has 'who came into existence.'

CHAPTER 12

IZANAGI ENTRUSTS THEIR MISSIONS TO THE THREE NOBLE CHILDREN.

1 At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, rejoicing greatly, said:

"I have borne child after child, and finally in the last bearing I have obtained three noble children."

2 Then he removed his necklace, shaking the beads on the string so that they jingled,[1] and, giving it to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, he entrusted her with her mission. saying:

"You shall rule[2] TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA."

3 The name of this necklace is MI-KURA-TANA-NÖ-KAMÏ.

4 Next he said to TUKU-YÖMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, entrusting him with his mission :

"You shall rule the realms of the night."

5 Next he said to TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, entrusting him with his mission:

"You shall rule the ocean."[3]

[1] Cf. 15:3,5. Hirata says that Izanagi ceded all of his spiritual power to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, and as a symbol of this, and in order to pray for her longevity, gave her the necklace. He connects the shaking of the beads with the ancient ceremonies of *chinkon*, or spirit-pacification, which included waving or agitating fctishcs. It must be remembered that the word for 'bead,' 'jewel' and the word for 'soul,' 'spirit' were both pronounced *tama. Hirata Atsutane zenshü* (Itchidö Shoten, 191 1), I. 365.

At any rate, the necklace was, like the Three Divine Treasures of 39:2, a symbol of delegated power.

[2] In ancient Japanese, the word for 'to rule' was *siru, sirasu* [later *sirosimesu*], meaning 'to know.' The ideograph here is the one meaning 'to know.'

[3] Perhaps because Susa-nö-wo, as a windstorm-deity, was connected mentally with the ocean. *In* some of the *Nihon shoki* versions, his assignment is to rule Ne-nö-kuni, the underworld realm to which he is later banished in the *Kojiki*.

CHAPTER 13

SUSA-NÖ-WO DISOBEYS HIS DIVINE TRUST AND IS EXPELLED BY IZANACI.

1 While [the other deities] ruled [their realms] in obedience to the commands entrusted to them, PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ did
2 not rule the land entrusted to him. [Instead], he wept and howled [even] until his beard eight hands long extended down over his chest.'

3 His weeping was such that it caused the verdant mountains to
4 wither and all the rivers and seas to dry up. At this, the cries of malevolent deities were everywhere abundant like summer flies; and all sorts of calamities arose in all things.[2]

5 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMÏ said to PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

"Why is it you do not rule the land entrusted to you, but [instead] weep and howl?"

6 Then [Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö] replied:

[1] Susa-nö-wo's conduct has been interpreted in various ways. Similar conduct is recorded in the *Kojiki* (73 :2), and twice in the *Izumo fudoki*, which reads:

"Adi-suki-taka-piko-nö-mikötö, the son of the great deity who created the lands under the heavens [Opo-namöti-nö-mikötö], cried exceedingly day and night. A high building was made for him . . . and they constructed a ladder on which they went up and down as they raised him." *Fudoki*, ed. Takeda Yūkichi (Iwanami Shoten, 1939). p. 144.

"Adi-suki-taka-piko-nö-mikötö, the son of the great god Opo-namöti-nö-mikötö, cried day and night until his beard grew eight hands long, and his words were not comprehensible." Ibid., p. 151.

Matsumura (II, 611–16) supposes that there was an ancient magico-religious rite to summon down the deities by crying and howling. This rite, which had by then been forgottm, was reflected in these accounts.

In verse 3, the actions seem to be those of a ravaging nature-deity such as Susa-nö-wo was often supposed to be. For further notes on the aggressive behavior of Susa-nö-wo see Chapter 16.

[2] Cf. 17:3.

"I wish to go to the land of my mother, NE-NÖ-KATA-SU-KUNI. That is why I weep."[3]

7 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, greatly enraged, said :
"In that case, you may not live in this land !"

8 Thus [saying], he expelled him with a divine expulsion.[4]

9 This IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ is enshrined in TAGA of APUMI.[5]

[3] See ADDITIONAL NOTE 9 for a discussion of this verse.

[4] Cf. 17:25.

[5] This verse is a gloss, inserted here at the end of Izanagi's career. Instead of the words 'Taga in Apumi;" the Ise manuscript has 'Taga in Apadi.'

Apadi also figures in ehe *Nihon shoki* account, which says:

"After this, Izanagi-nö-mikötö, his divine mission being completed, passed on in the spirit. Then he provided himself with a hidden shrine on the island of Apadi, and abode there eternally in peaceful seclusion. Also, it is said: Izanagi-nö-mikötö, his merit reaching its supreme limits and his virtue also being at its greatest, at this point ascended to Heaven and reported the accomplishment of his mission. Thus he remained abiding in the Younger Palace of the Sun." Asahi ed., I. 89; see also Aston, I, 33–34.

In any case, the verse is a gloss of late origin, and there is no need to attach great importance to it. Tsuda argues that Taga in Apumi is a place which has no connection with the god Izanagi, and that the passage is a fabrication of a period when various shrines sought to enhance their importance by creating mythical sanctions. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 351.

14 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named KUMANO-KUSUBI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

15 At this time AMA-TERASU-OpO-MI-KAMi said to PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

"The latter-born five male children came into existence from my possessions and are therefore naturally my children. The first-born three female children came into existence from your possessions, and are therefore your children."

16 Thus saying, she distinguished' [the offspring].

17 The first-born deity, TAKÏRI-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, is enshrined in the OKI-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

18 Next, ITIKI-SIMA-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is enshrined in the NAKA-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

19 Next, TAKITU-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is enshrined in the PE-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

20 These three deities are the three great deities worshipped by the KIMI of MUNAKATA.

21 Among the latter-born five deities, the child of AMË-NÖ-PO-PI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, TAKE-PIRA-TÖRI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IDUMO, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of MUZASI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KAMI-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SIMO-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IZIMU, of the AGATA-NÖ-ATAPË of TU-SIMA, and of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of TÖPO-TU-APUMI.

22 Next, AMA-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of OPUSI-KAPUTI, of the MURAZI of the NUKATA-BE-NÖ-YUWE, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UBARAKÏ, of the ATAPË of TANAKA in YAMATÖ, of rhe KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of YAMASIRÖ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UMAKUDA, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KIPË in MITI-NÖ-SIRÏ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SUPAU, of the MIYATUKO of AMUTI in YAMATÖ, of the AGATA-NUSI of TAKËTI, of the INAKI of KAMAPU, and of the MIYATUKO of the SAKIKUSA-BE.[8]

[7] Or 'divided.'

[8] Verses 21–22 include some of the many genealogical glosses which occur in the Kojiki. The intention is clear: by relating the ancestors of all of these powerful families directly to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, the Kojiki hoped to secure their loyalty to the Yamatö ruling family, which claimed descent from the elder brother of Amë-nö-po-pi-nö-mikötö and Ama-tu-pikone-nö-mikötö.

CHAPTER 16

SUSA-NÖ-WO RAGES WITH VICTORY.

1 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMi: '

"It was because my intentions were pure and bright that in the children I begot I obtained graceful maidens. By this it is obvious that I have won."'

2 Thus saying, he raged with victory,[2] breaking down the ridges between the rice paddies of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMi and covering up the ditches.

3 Also he defecated and strewed the faeces about in the hall where the first fruits were tasted.[3]

4 Even though he did this, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ did not reprove him, but said:

5 "That which appears to be faeces must be what my brother has vomited and strewn about while drunk. Also his breaking down the ridges of the paddies and covering up their ditches-my brother must have done this because he thought it was wasteful to use the land thus."

[1] In the Kojiki Susa-nö-wo's victory is due to his' production of female children, whereas in the *Nihon* shoki it is because his offspring are males.

Takeda suggests that this show of respect for women might indicate that the *Kojiki* was transmitted by women and may be adduced as an argument that Piyeda nö Are was a woman. Kojiki (Kadakawa Shoten, 1956), pp. 25–26.

Although it is not impossible to regard the *Kojiki* account as a reminiscence of an earlier matrilinear social system, it is generally agreed that. of the two, the *Nihon shoki* accounts are the older.

Tsuda argues persuasively that Susa-nö-wo's children were originally male, and that the statement that female children were a proof of innocence of heart is a later alteration. *Nihon koten* no *kenkyū*, *I*, 441–42. Cf. note on 15:6.

[2] For a discussion of Susa-nii-wo's destructive behavior in this chapter. see ADDITIONAL NOTE 10.

[3] Or 'where she tasted the first fruits.' The Hall of the First Fruits was the palace where the harvest festival was celebrated ; cf. also 133:31

6 Even though she thus spoke with good intention,[4] his misdeeds did not cease, but became even more flagrant.

7 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ was inside the sacred weaving hall[5] seeing to the weaving of the divine garments," he opened a hole in the roof of the sacred weaving hall and dropped down into it the heavenly dappled pony' which he had skinned with a backwards skinning.[8]

8 The heavenly weaving maiden,[9] seeing this, was alarmed and struck her genitals against the shuttle and died.

[4] *Nöri-naposi;* to speak good words correctively in an optimistic attempt to improve the situation. Perhaps this is evidence of an ancient belief that one could turn evil into good by speaking well of it. Japanese scholars love to dwell on the *kötö-dama,* or 'word-spirit,' the magic power dwelling in words or in certain verbal formulae, which were believed to have the power to bring about the announced results.

[5] *Imi-pata-ya.* Matsumura (II, 560–63) suggests that this section is reminiscent of the sun-priestesses whose duty it must have been to weave ceremonial garments to be used in the worship of the sun-deity. This sacred duty is projected into the mythical rôle of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, who is confused with these priestesses in the Kojiki. The deity, in other words, has assumed the characteristics of the priestesses, and become a glorified sun priestess.

Tsuda, on the other hand, sees a political significance in Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï's rôles: the goddess is an emperor-symbol against whom Susa-nö-wo rebels in a manner symbolizing the unsuccessful revolts of the enemies of the Yamatö Court. *Nihon koten no kenkyü,* I, 432.

[6] *Kamu-mi-so;* garments to be presented to a deity, or 'sacred garments.'

[7] *Amë nö puti-koma;* or 'heavenly piebald colt.' Aston says: "Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars." *Nihongi,* I, 40.

[8] *Saka-pagi.* "Backwards skinning," evidently flaying a live animal from the tail up, is mentioned together with "skinning alive" in the *norito* as one of the heavenly sins (*ama-tu-tumi*). Perhaps skinning a live animal was some sort of black magic practice.

[9] The heavenly weaving maiden is evidently a subordinate priestess belonging to the entourage of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï. The *Nihon shoki* has accounts in which it is Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï herself who is alarmed and injured. Matsumura (III, 43-45) is of the opinion that the latter is the original version, and that the *Kojiki's* account is a later revision making a subordinate suffer the direct effects of the indignity.

CHAPTER 17

AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ CONCEALS HERSELF.
THE OTHER DEITIES LURE HER OUT.
SUSA-NÖ-WO IS EXPELLED.

1 At this time, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, seeing this, was afraid, and opening the heavenly rock-cave door,' went in and shut herself inside.

2 Then TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA was completely dark, and the Central Land of the Reed Plains[2] was entirely dark.

3 Because of this, constant night reigned,[3] and the cries of the myriad deities were everywhere abundant, like summer flies; and all manner of calamities arose.[4]

[1] *Amë no ipa-ya-to.* Motoori says that *ipa-ya* (lit., 'rock-house') does not necessarily mean 'cave,' since *ipa* is often used attributively to impart the sense of 'firm,' 'solid' to the noun following; thus, the writer could be referring to an ordinary building. Kojiki-*den,* II, 407–408. There is also a theory that the concealment of the sun-goddess was a symbolic death; the *ipa-ya* is the stone tomb into which she enters, and the ensuing rites are performed to summon her back to life. In various poems in the *Manyōshū* the words 'to shut oneself inside the rock-door' mean 'to die and be concealed within the rocky tomb.'

[2] *Asi-para-nö-naka-tu-kuni;* cf. note on 10:9.

[3] Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, who had figured largely as the ruler of Takama-nö-para, now appears to assume more clearly the attributes of the sun-deity. When she conceals herself, constant darkness and night reign everywhere. A similar myth exists among the Ainu: the sun-goddess was taken captive, and all the deities and human beings died from excessive sleep. Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu seiten* (Sekai Bunko Kankhkai, 1923), p. 113.

The concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï has been explained as representing an eclipse, the death of the sun-goddess, her anger, etc. The ensuing rites are regarded as magico-religious rites to bring the sun back to life, to bring it out of eclipse, or to propitiate the anger of the sun-goddess. Matsumura (III, 46ff.) states that the myth had its origin in a magico-religious rite performed every winter, when the sun's rays are weakest, in order to renew the sun's power; the rite had elements of *chinkon (or tama-furi* -spirit pacification) and of ritual laughter.

Matsumura (III, 67) also insists, incidentally, that the rages of Susa-nö-wo, the concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamï, and the expulsion of Susa-nö-wo were originally independent myths, welded together later into a connected story.

[4] Cf. 13:4.

4 Then the eight-hundred myriad deities[5] assembled in a divine assembly in the river-bed of the AMË-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA.[6]

5 They caused the child of TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMÏ, OMÖPI-KANE-NÖ-KAMÏ, to ponder.'

6 They gathered together the long-crying birds of TÖKÖ-YÖ and caused them to cry.[8]

7 They took the heavenly hard rock[9] from the upper stream of the river AMË-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA; they took iron from [the moun-
8 tain] AMË-NÖ-KANA-YAMA. They sought the smith AMA-TU-MARA and commissioned ISI-KÖRI-DOME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ to mnke a mirror.

9 They commissioned TAMA-NÖ-YA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ to make long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.

10 They summoned AMË-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ to remove the whole shoulder-bone of a male deer of the mountain AMË-NÖ-KAGU-YAMA, and take heavenlv

[5] *Ya-po-yörödu nö kamï;* the ideographs, translated into Modem Japanese, mean 'eight million gods.' The word *ya,* written 'eight,' is a sacred number often meaning 'many'; and *yörödu,* written 'ten-thousand,' is an indefinite term best translated by the word 'myriad.'

[6] Another divine assembly is described in identical terms in 32:5. The ethnologist Torii Ryūzō compares these meetings of the gods with the Mongolian meeting of clans called *Kuriltai. Jinruigaku-jō yori mitaru waga jōdai* no *bunka* (Sōbunkaku, 1925), pp. 57–65. Tsuda says that the assembly of the gods reflects an ancient custom of holding *Kuriltai*-like meetings of powerful clans to confer and cooperate in deciding important questions on behalf of the ruling family. *Nihon koten* no *kenkyū,* I, 433. Most authorities agree that this convocation reflects not a primitive democratic town-meeting but a confabulation among the powerful ruling families connected with the Yamatö court.

[7] *Omöpu;* or 'to think,' 'to devise.' 'to lay a wise plan.' This deity, evidently a god of wisdom or counsel (see GLOSSARY), is always called upon to devise a plan whenever there is a convocation of the gods; cf. Chapters 32, 33.

[8] The 'long-crying birds' (*naga-naki-döri*) are cocks. *Tökö-yö* (see GLOSSARY) is clearly the land of Tökö-yö, the mythical 'eternal world.' The word was formerly mistakenly translated as 'eternal night,' on the understanding that 'eternal night' (*tökö-yo*) was phonemically equivalent to *Tökö-yö.* Actually, the final elements of the two words are phonemically distinct. Evidently, cocks were made to crow in order to summon the sun at dawn; the crowing of cocks is a feature of funerals among various peoples because of its association with dawn, early morning, resurrection of the dead. and banishment of evil spirits. There is a myth among the Miao tribes of southern China in which the sun concealed itself but came out again on hearing the cock's crowing. Matsumura, III, 71–73.

[9] Evidently, the hard rock was used as a rock anvil on which to temper the iron.

PAPAKA wood from the mountain AMË-NÖ-KAGU-YAMA, and [with these] perform a divination.[10]

11 They uprooted b y the very roots the flourishing MA-SAKAKÏ[11] trees of the mountain AMË-NÖ-KAGU-YAMA; to the upper branches they affixed long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads; in the mid-dle branches they hung a large-dimensioned mirror;[12] in the lower branches they suspended white NIKITE cloth and blue NIKITE cloth.[13]

12 These various objects were held in his hands by PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ as solemn offerings,[14] and AMË-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ intoned a solemn liturgy.'"

[10] *Uranapi;* cf. the notes on 5:2 in regard to divination by firing the shoulder-bones of deer, called *puto-mani.*

The deities playing important rôles in this chapter—Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö, Amë-nö-ko-yane-nö-mikötö, Puto-tama-nö-mikötö, Isi-köri-dome-nö-mikötö, Tama-nö-ya-nö-mikötö, Omöpi-kane-nö-kamï, and Ta-dikara-wo-nii-kam-appear again in the myth of the descent from the heavens (Chapter 39). There was evidently a close connection between the two myths; Matsumura (111, 31) even calls the retirement of the sun-goddess a "prelude" to the descent from the heavens.

The rites in this chapter seem to be based on accounts emanating from the Nakatömi (descendants of Amë-nö-ko-yane-nö-mikötö), the Imube (descendants of Puto-tama-nö-mikötö), and the Sarume (descendants of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö) clans, all priestly families connected with the Yamatö court. In this composite version, the Sarume influence seems to be the strongest, since the actions of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö form the central part of the ceremonies. In some versions in the *Nihon shoki* the coming forth of the sun-goddess is the direct result of the practices of the ancestors of the Imube or of the Nakatömi; such accounts do not mention the dance of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö, which is central in the Kojiki.

[11] *Ipo-tu-ma-sakakï;* cf. *yutu-ma-tubaki* in 112:21.

[12] *Ya-ata kagami;* the use of this mirror, which is evidently the one made in verse 8 by Isi-köri-dome-nö-mikötö, is described in verse 20. The myriad *maga-tama* beads and "the mirror which had been used to lure" are later (39:2) given, together with the sword Kusa-nagi (first mentioned in 19:22), as the three items of the sacred regalia to Piko-po-nö-ninigi-nö-mikötö on his descent from the heavens.

[13] Hanging mirrors and cloth offerings on branches of uprooted trees was a common practice in ancient Japanese worship; undoubtedly, the tree thus decked became the temporary abode of the spirit of the deity.

[14] *Puto-mi-te-gura.* These were probably not offerings in the strict sense, but implements held in the hands of the shaman in order to induce possession by the spirit of the deity.

[15] *Puto-nörito-götö;* any solemn words having magic power. The preliminary ceremonies in verses 7–12 were probably ritual preparations common to all religious ceremonies; the central part of the rite recorded in the Kojiki is the performance recorded in verses 14–16. According to Matsumura (III, 66), the fundamental magic power which was able to soften the heart of the deity and summon her forth was in Amë-nö-uzume's comic dance.

13 AMË-NÖ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ stood concealed beside the
14 door,[16] while AMË-NÖ-UZUME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ bound up her sleeves with a cord of heavenly PI-KAGË vine, tied around her head a head-band of the heavenly MA-SAKI vine, bound together bundles of SASA leaves to hold in her hands, and overturning a bucket before the heavenly rock-cave door, stamped resoundingly upon it.[17] Then she became divinely possessed,[18] exposed her breasts, and pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals.[19]

16 Then TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA shook as the eight-hundred myriad deities laughed at once.[20]

[16] In order to pull the sun-goddess out, as he does in verse 22.

[17] Note the various preparations of Amë-nö-uzume-nö-mikötö for shamanistic possession. A parallel to the stamping of the overturned bucket is found in the ceremonies of the chinkon-sai (spirit-pacification ceremony) of the imperial court, in which a wooden bucket (or some sort of tub or wooden container) is pounded with the staff of a long spear while the emperor's garments are shaken or waved in a magic rite to increase his longevity. Matsumura, III, 75-76.

Some scholars have held that all the rites in this chapter were the same as those of the chinkon-sai ceremony, in which indeed the women of the Sarume clan played an important rôle. The *chinkon* (or *tama-furi*) rite was a ceremony attempting to prevent the spirit from leaving the body, or to summon it back into a dead body-or, according to one interpretation, to attach additional spiritual forces to a person's soul, and thus to increase his vitality and longevity. Matsumura (III. 76–91) claims that *chinkon* rites must have been performed for the sun when it lost its force during the winter.

[18] *Kamu-gakari;* god-possession. The widespread popularity of shamanistic spirit-possession among the ancient Japanese is amply attested to in documentary sources; it was widely practiced until the Meiji period and is still practiced in the Ryūkyū islands and among the Ainu, Koreans, and other continental peoples. Torii asserts that shamanism was the native religion of the Japanese, that the sun-goddess and the deities surrounding her in Takama-nö-para were shamans, and that the whole setting for the concealment myth is shamanistic. *Jinruigaku-jō*, pp. 50-53.

[19] Motoori attributes Uzume's exhibitionism to derangement, i.e., to a state of possession. The same actions are performed in her encounter with Saruta-biko, as recorded in the *Nihon shoki* (see note on 38 : 11).

Exposure of the genitals is believed among many peoples to have magic power to drive away evil spirits. Chiri Mashiho records such a custom, called *hoparata*, among the Ainu. *Bunrui Ainu-go jiten* (Nihon Jōminbunka Kenkyūjo, 1954), III, 66–67.

Matsumura (III, 91–107) gives a number of accounts from various peoples which reveal that this type of exhibitionism was used in religious rites, not only to drive away undesirable influences, but also to amuse, entertain. and impart vitality to the deities. He likens Amë-nö-uzume's dance to the one performed by Iambe before Demeter in the Homeric hymns and to that performed by Baubō before Demeter in the Protrepticus of Clement of Alexandria.

[20] Matsumura (III, 91-98) says that ritual laughter was used magically to propitiate the anger of the gods or to increase their vitality. The *Kojiki* narrative, of course, records the laughter merely as a device to arouse the curiosity of the sun-goddess.

17 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, thinking this strange, opened a crack in the heavenly rock-cave door, and said from within:

18 "Because I have shut myself in, I thought that TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA would be dark, and that the Central Land of the Reed Plains would be completely dark. But why is it that AMË-NÖ-UZUMI sings and dances,[21] and all the eight-hundred myriad deities laugh?"

19 Then AMË-NÖ-UZUME said:

"We rejoice and dance because there is here a deity superior to you."

20 While she was saying this, AMË-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ brought out the mirror and showed it to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ.

21 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, thinking this more and more strange,"" gradually came out of the door and approached [the mirror-.]

22 Then the hidden AMË-NÖ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMÏ took her
23 hand and pulled her out. Immediately PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ extended a SIRI-KUMË rope behind her, and said:

"You may go back no further than this!"[23]

24 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ came forth, TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA and the Central Land of the Reed Plains of themselves[24] became light.

25 At this time the tight-hundred myriad deities deliberated together, imposed upon PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ a fine of a thousand tables of restitutive gifts, and also, cutting off his beard

[21] *Asobi*. The word is written with the ideograph meaning 'pleasure' or 'music. In Archaic Japanese it was read *asobi* ('singing and dancing') or *uta-mapi* ('song and dance').

[22] Either she saw her reflection in the mirror and thought that the reflected image was another deity; or seeing the mirror. a symbol of the sun-deity, she thought that there was another sun-deity besides herself.

[23] Evidently the two elements—extending the rope behind her back and reciting a magic formula-made it impossible for the sun-goddess to re-enter the cave.

[24] I.e., by themselves, naturally, as a matter of' course. The magic rites had been successful in restoring light to the universe.

and the nails of his hands and feet,[25] [26]had him exorcised[27] and cspclled him with a divine expulsion.[28]

[25] The deities had Susa-nö-wo's beard, fingernails. and toenails cut off to punish him or, rather, in order to exorcise him and thus remove the sins and pollution adhering to him.

[26-27] Some manuscripts substitute an ideograph meaning 'pull out' or 'remove' for the one translated 'exorcism'; thus the passage may read: "cutting off his beard and causing the nails of his hands and feet to be extracted, expelled him. . ."

[28] Here Susa-nö-wo is again expelled (cf. 13:8) *from* the society of the heavenly deities and, branded as a transgressor, is sent wandering throughout the world.

Susa-nö-wo was regarded as a wandering outcast for some time after his expulsion. The *Nihon shoki*, which records versions in which he went to Korea after having been driven out of heaven, gives this interesting variant:

"After being exorcised, the various deities expelled him with thcsc words:

'Because your conduct has been exceedingly outrageous, you may not remain in the heavens, nor may you dwell in the Central Land of the Reed Plains. Be gone with you quickly to the lowest Ne-nö-kuni!'

"Since there was a rainstorm then, Susa-nö-wo bound up grass and made a braided hat and straw coat and went around asking for shelter of the various deities, who answered that they would not provide shelter for one who was exiled for his evil doings.

"In spite of the fierce wind and rain, he was unable to find anywhkre to shelter himself and rest, and he descended in great pain.

"From this time on, there has been a taboo against entering the house of another wearing a braided hat and straw coat, and against entering another's house carrying grass bound in sheaves. If anyone breaks this taboo, he is fined and subjected to exorcism." Asahi ed., I, 108 (condensed).

CHAPTER 18

OPO-GË-TU-PIME PRODUCES FOOD AND IS KILLED BY SUSA-NÖ-WO.

1 Again, [Susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö] asked food of OPO-GË-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.[1]

2 Then OPO-GË-TU-PIME took various viands out of her nose, her mouth. and her rectum, prepared them in various ways, and presented them to him.

3 Thereupon PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, who had been watching her actions, **thought that** she was polluting the food before offering it to him and killed OPO-GË-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMÏ.

4 In the corpse of the slain deity there grew [various] things: in her head there grew silkworms; in her two eyes there grew rice seeds; in her two cars there grew millet; in her nose there grew red beans; in her genitals there grew wheat; and in her rectum there grew soy beans.

5 Then KAMÏ-MUSUBI-MI-OYA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ had thcsc taken and used as seeds.

[1] A food-goddess. See **ADDITIONAL NOTE 11** for a discussion of this chapter.

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明治三十五年十一月十五日發行
大正十年一月十日五版印刷
大正十年一月廿日五版發行

著者　本居宣長
校訂者　本居豐穎
東京市京橋區鈴木町十二番地
發行者　吉川半七
東京府下田端二百三十六番地
印刷者　村越伊祐

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古事記傳卷二十一終

じ、）海部を省て、海とのみ書、例は、凡海連海犬養連などの如し、さて海部てふ地名、こゝかしこにあれば、（尾張國海部郡、阿末の如し）此も角鹿の内の地名に依れる生ゆ、字面、[illegible]りなどせる由にて負る姓か、詳ならず、（彼凡海連海犬養連などは、海人に依れる姓と聞ゆ、其故は、此氏々は、姓氏錄に、安曇宿禰と同祖なればなり、安曇氏海人、宰たりしこと、傳六御身滌、段下に云るが如し、○續紀廿六に、敦賀、直見え、類聚國史、天長五年に、越前國、采女、角鹿、直福貴子、三代實錄十四に、角鹿、直眞福子など見えたり、此等は別姓にや有む、）國造本紀に、角鹿、國造、志賀、高穴穗朝、御代、吉備、臣、祖、若武彦、命、孫、建功狹日、命、定賜國造、と云るは、此、姓と一つか、別なるか、詳ならず、さて上、件の氏々の祖、姓氏錄などの傳も、多く書紀と同くして、此記とは異なり、然る所以は、書紀は諸、說どもの中に、正しきを擇て記されたる故にてもあるべけれども、又然のみにも非ず、大方書紀出來てより以來は、何事も其、趣に合へるを正しとし、合ざるをば、正しからずとせるから、家々の傳說なども、おのづから書紀に合ふ如くに書成たることも、少しは有けむかし、（舊事紀には、彥五十狹芹彥、命亦、名、吉備津彥、命、吉備、臣等、祖、彥狹嶋、命、海、直等、祖、稚武彥、命、宇自可、臣等、祖と云るは、又異なる說なり、凡て彼書は、依がたけれども、まれ〳〵には、捨がたきこともまじれゝば、是も一の傳にやありけむ、）さて上、件御子等を擧たる次第、二柱の吉備津日子、命を先、擧たるは、吉備、國言向坐し事に連けてなるべし、次に日子刺肩別、命と、日子寤間、命との次第の、前と違ひたるは、如何なる意にか知らず、若は御子孫の姓の高卑などありて、其に依れるか、

夜麻十八に、刀奈美能勢伎十九に、利波山などよめり、一代要記に、越中加賀堺礪波山とあり、）續紀十七廿八卅五に、越中國人、利波臣志留志と云人見ゆ、（此人、東大寺の事に功ありて、越中員外介になり、從五位上に叙し、後に伊賀守になれり、）○豊國之國前臣、豊國の事は、上卷に見ゆ、國前は、和名抄に、豊後國國埼郡君佐木（君字を書るは、たゞ久の假字には非ず、久爾を、音便に久牟と唱へし故なるべし、）是なり、書紀垂仁卷にも、豊國國前郡とあり、さて景行卷に、十二年熊襲反之、幸筑紫、先遣國前臣祖菟名手云々、國造本紀に、國前國造、志賀高穴穗朝、吉備臣同祖、吉備都命六世、午佐自命定賜國造、（午字は、乎の誤にや、）吉備臣と同祖と云るは、異なる傳なり、○五百原君、和名抄に、駿河國廬原郡伊保波良、とある是なり、廬原郷もあり、（萬葉三哥に、廬原乃云々、）國造本紀に、廬原國造、志賀高穴穗朝代、以池田坂井君、祖吉備武彦命、兒意加部彦命定賜國造、（池田坂井君祖と云ること心得ず、意字一本には思と作り、）書紀天智卷に、廬原君臣、續紀九に、五百原君虫麻呂、續後紀四に、廬原公有守など云人見ゆ、姓氏錄、右京皇別、廬原公、笠朝臣同祖、稚武彦命之後也、孫吉備武彦命、景行天皇御世、被遣東方、伐毛人及凶鬼神、到于阿倍廬原國、復命之日、以廬原國給之、（阿部郡も駿河に有、）とあり、さて上なる姓どもは、某國之と、國名を擧たるに、此に駿河之と云ざるは如何と云に、大抵朝廷に出て、常に親近く仕奉る人等の名には、國を云ず、國を云は、國に在て、常に親近くは仕奉さる氏々なり、○角鹿海直、角鹿は越前國なる敦賀なり、此地の事は、訶志比宮段の末に見えたり、海は、師の阿麻と訓れたるを用べし、海部なればなり、（書紀雄畧卷に、吉備海部直、續紀九に、海部直などある海部に同

條に、永主、稚武彦命之後也、（三代實錄、元慶三年十月、左京人、印南野臣宗雄男三人女一人妹一人賜笠朝臣、其先出自吉備武彦命也、宗雄自言、吉備武彦命第二男、御友別命、十一世孫人上、天平神護元年、取居地之名、賜印南野臣姓、三第男鴨別神、是笠朝臣之祖也、兄弟之後宜同姓也とあり、鴨別神の神字は、命の誤なるべし、さて此宗雄が言せる旨は心得ず、己が先祖なる御友別の子孫なる、下道朝臣上道朝臣など云姓をばさゑおきて、其弟の鴨別の子孫の姓をしも望めるは、何の意ぞや、）さて若建日子命の御子孫は、右の姓どもの外にも、姓氏錄に、吉備臣、稚武彦命、孫、御友別命之後也、（印本には、臣字を脫せり、古本にあり、）眞髮部、同命、男、吉備武彦命之後也、（備中國窪屋郡に、眞壁郷あり、）など見えたり、○針間牛鹿臣、牛の自濁て讀べし、（他書に宇自加と作ばなり、凡て黑牛黃牛などの類も、多く志を濁る例なり、）書紀、安閑卷に、播磨國牛鹿屯倉あり、姓氏錄、右京皇別、宇自可臣、孝靈天皇皇子、彦狹嶋命之後也、（續紀廿一に、宇自賀臣山邊、廿二に、宇自可臣山道と云人見ゆ、是は邊と道との內、一は一の誤にて、一人なるべし、）續後紀、承和二年九月、右京人、宇自可臣良宗、賜姓春庭宿禰、命狹嶋命之苗裔也、文德實錄、齊衡二年八月、宇自可臣武雄、改姓笠朝臣、三代實錄、貞觀六年八月、右京人、宇自可臣吉人、賜姓笠朝臣、命狹嶋命之後也、また元慶元年十二月、右京人、宇自可臣秋田等男女十四人、賜姓笠朝臣、彦狹嶋命之後也とあり、（彦狹島命の御子孫にして、笠朝臣姓を賜へりしは、何の由ぞや、○小右記に、宇自可春利宇自可吉忠など云人見ゆ、）○高志利波臣、高志は越國なり、上卷に見ゆ、利波は、和名抄に、越中國礪波郡止奈美これなり、（越後國磐船郡に、利波郷もあれど、其には非じ、萬葉十七に、刀奈美

京皇別、吉備朝臣、（此朝臣を今本に、宿禰と作は誤なり、）大日本根子彦太瓊天皇皇子、稚武彦命之後也、（是はかの天平のころ、下道を改て、吉備朝臣になれる族なり、）また續紀に、天平神護二年五月癸亥、下道臣色夫多、賜姓朝臣、姓氏錄、左京皇別、下道朝臣、吉備朝臣同祖、稚武彦命之孫、吉備武彦命之後也、（此に吉備武彦を、稚武彦命の孫とあれども、次なる眞髮部の下に、男とあるぞ正しき）○笠臣、書紀應神卷に、以波區藝縣封御友別弟鴨別、是笠臣之始祖也とありて、上に引るが如し、（此臣字を今本に田と作るは誤なり、）こは神功卷にも、吉備臣祖鴨別とある人なり、國造本紀に、笠臣國造、輕嶋豐明朝御世、元封鴨別命、八世孫笠三枚臣、定賜國造、（これに笠臣國造と標たる、臣字は、何謂ぞや、いとも拙きみだりごとなり、なれど八世孫云々は、據ありて云りと見れば引るなり、）書紀仁德卷に、笠臣祖縣守と云人の事見え、孝德卷に、吉備笠臣垂、天智卷に、笠臣諸石など云人見ゆ、天武卷、十三年十一月戊申朔、笠臣賜姓曰朝臣、續紀、天平神護元年六月、笠臣氣多麻呂賜姓朝臣とあり、姓氏錄、右京皇別、笠朝臣、孝靈天皇皇子、稚武彦命之後也、應神天皇巡幸吉備國、登加佐米山之時、飄風吹放御笠、天皇怪之、鴨別命言、神祇欲奉天皇、故其狀爾、天皇欲知其眞僞、令獵其山、所得甚多、天皇大悅、賜名賀佐とあり、（賜名賀佐とは、山名歟、加佐米山とあればなり、又鴨別に賜へる名歟、若然らば、此名をやがて姓ともせるか、又名とはあれども、本より姓か、何れにまれ）笠てふことの起りは是なり、續紀、天平神護二年十月、備前國人、三財部毘登方麻呂等九烟、賜姓笠臣、姓氏錄、右京皇別、笠臣、笠朝臣同祖、稚武彦命孫、鴨別命之後也、續後紀に、承和三年三月、飛驒國人、三尾臣永主、同姓息長等、賜姓笠朝臣、貫附右京五

と若建日子命）と傳へたるまぎれとやいはむ、（前に姑く兄命の後を下道と定めしも、此故なり、書紀の傳も、兄は下道の祖にて、弟は上道の祖なればなり、）然れども此記の傳へも、一の傳へなれば、必誤りとすべきにはあらず、さて此吉備姓、上件の如く、此彼と別れつれども、すべては廣く吉備臣とも云つと見えて、日代宮段、書紀神功卷なども、吉備臣、祖と見え、又後までも、雄略顯宗欽明などの御卷にも、吉備臣と云るあり、神名式に、備中國賀夜郡、吉備津彦神社（名神大）是は此氏神に坐せり、（相傳て吉備武彦命を祀ると云り、神號を思へば、始祖若建日子命ならむか、又たとひ祖には坐ずとも、國言向坐しゝ、大吉備津日子命ならむも知べからず、式に載れるは、何れにまれ一柱なり、さて此神社は、世にいはゆる吉備津宮にて、宮內村と云に在）さて下道臣は、和名抄に、備中國下道郡之毛豆美知とある、此地に依れる姓なり、（書紀に、分川嶋縣云々とある、川嶋てふ地名は、後に見えざれば、是即下道郡の域にやあらむ）國造本紀に、下道國造、輕島豐明宮朝御世、元封兄彦命亦名稲建別定賜國造、（建字書紀によるに、速の誤なるべし、さて是を國造と云るは、おぼつかなし）書紀雄畧卷に、吉備下道臣前津屋と云人罪ありて、族七十人誅殺されしこと見ゆ、天武卷、十三年十一月戊申朔、下道臣賜姓曰朝臣、續紀、天平十八年冬十月丁卯、從四位下下道朝臣眞備賜姓吉備朝臣、（十二の二葉に、此人の姓を上道朝臣とあるは、寫誤なり）此人のみ此時に下道を改て吉備となれり、天平神護二年十月、爲右大臣、（寶龜六年十月薨、年八十三、こは世に名高き吉備大臣なり）又同二十年十一月己丑、下道朝臣乙吉備直事廣三人、並賜吉備朝臣姓とあり、（直事廣は、二人の名なり、誤字か脫字か）姓氏錄、左

命專吉備臣等の祖に坐ば、彼時に此記の如く、必御兄弟相副てこそ物したまひけむに、兄命のみを擧て、氏々祖に坐弟命の御事を、記されざるはいかが、若くは吉備國を言向たまひしは、弟命なりしを、此記は、御兄弟二柱と傳へ、書紀は、若建吉備津日子てふ御名を、まぎらはして、たゞ吉備津日子と傳て、兄命の事となれるかとも思へども、さては兄命の御名、吉備津日子と負坐べき由なし、又此二柱は、實は一柱なりけむを、二記共に御名のまぎれに因て、二柱とは傳へたるかとも思へども、兄命は大吉備津日子、弟命は若建吉備津日子にて、大と若と別れたれば、然にもあらず、左右に疑はしきことなり、）但し姓氏錄などにも、吉備より出たる氏々は、稚武彦命之後とのみありて、大吉備津彦命之後と云は見えず、（續紀廿六に、吉備津彦之苗裔上道臣云々、と云こと見えたれども、此吉備津彦も、弟命を申せるなり、其由三代實錄卅六に見えたり、又姓氏錄に、椋椅部首、吉備津彦五十狹芹命之後者不見とあるも、未定雜姓なり、又國造本紀に、葦北國造、吉備津彦命兒、三井根子命定賜國造とあれども、さだかならざることなり、）故且く書紀の傳に從ひて云はゞ、（但し吉備國言向たまひしは、二柱相副而とある、此記の傳ぞ正しかりける、若然らずば、弟命の御子孫の、彼國にあるべき由緣なければなり、）御兄弟相副ゑて、彼國言向賜ひしかども、兄命の御末は無くて、たゞ弟命の御末ぞ、彼國に榮えけむ、其世嗣は、若建日子命の御子吉備建日子命、（然ること姓氏錄に見ゆ、此命は、倭建命段にも見ゆ、）其第二男彼御友別なり、（然ること三代實錄卅六に見ゆ、）かくて其長子（稻速別）は、下道臣の祖、次子（仲彦）は上道臣の祖なるを、此記には、此兄弟を誤りて、始祖御兄弟（大吉備津日子命

ふべし、○下道臣、下字、諸本に上と作るは誤なり、今は眞福寺本に依れり、（諸本みな二方共に上道とある、一方は必下道の誤なるべきこと、決けれども、今何れを何れと辨へがたかりしに因て、前には書紀應神卷に依て、いさゝか考を加へて、此記をも、且兄命の後を下道として、去るしおきつるに、後に眞福寺本を見れば、弟命の後ぞ、下道臣なりける）さて吉備姓の事、書紀には、稚武彦命是吉備臣之始祖也と見え、（兄命は、何れの始祖と云ことも見えず）又應神卷に、二十二年春三月、妃吉備臣祖御友別之妹兄媛、有戀父母之情、西望而歎云々、天皇聽之、送于吉備、夏四月、兄媛發船而往之、天皇望兄媛之船、以歌曰云々、秋九月、天皇狩于淡路嶋、轉以幸吉備、時、御友別參赴之、則以其兄弟子孫爲膳夫、而奉饗焉、天皇於是看御友別謹惶侍奉之狀、而有悅情、因以割吉備國、封其子等也、則分川島縣封長子稻速別、是下道臣之始祖也、次以上道縣封中子仲彦、是上道臣香屋臣之始祖也、次以三野縣封弟彦、是三野臣之始祖也、復以波區藝縣封御友別弟鴨別、是笠臣之始祖也、即以苑縣封兄浦凝別、是苑臣之始祖也、即以織部縣賜兄媛、是以其子孫於今在于吉備國、是其緣也とあり、御友別は、稚武彦命の孫なり、（弟彦は、御友別の季子と聞ゆ、香屋は、備中國賀夜郡これなり、三野縣は、備前國御野郡これなり、波區藝縣は、物に見えず、苑縣は、備中國下道郡に曾能郷あり、是なるべし、織部縣は、備前國邑久郡、又備中國賀夜郡に、服部郷、備後國品治郡に、服織郷あり、これらのうちなるべし）如此有ば書紀の傳にては、下道臣も上道臣も、並稚武彦命の子孫なれば、兄命の子孫は無かりしにや、甚いふかし、（其故は彼崇神卷に、四道將軍のうち、西道を言向たまひしは、此兄命にこそ坐けれ、其處に弟命の御事は見えず、若弟

は、上に見えたる北陸東海西道丹波なり、さて西道とは、山陽道を云りと聞ゆ、西海道までを兼たるにはあるべ〻からず、さて右の段のさまは、吉備津彦命と五十狹芹彦命とは、異人の如く見えたり、いふかしきことなり、さて同御世に、吉備津彦と武淳川別とを遣して、出雲振根を誅ゑめ給ひし事も書紀に見ゆ、）

故此大吉備津日子命者。吉備上道臣之祖也。次若日子建吉備津日子命者吉備下道臣。笠臣祖。次日子寤間命者。針間牛鹿臣之祖也。次日子刺肩別命者。高志之利波臣。豐國之國前臣。五百原君。角鹿海直之祖也。

上道臣、和名抄に、備前國上道郡加牟豆美知とある、此地に因れる姓なり、（上道郷も、此郡内にあり、さて此郡今は二に分れて、奥上道口上道と云り、さて師は、上道とは備前を云と云れし、其も理はあれど、なほ然には非じ、）國造本紀に、上道國造、輕島豐明宮御世、元封中彦命、兒多佐臣始國造と云り、（仲彦、應神紀に見ゆ、其文下に引り、）書紀雄略卷に、七年吉備上道臣田狹が事見え、清寧卷にも、此氏人の罪ありし事見えたり、然て衰へやゑにけむ、天武の御世に、朝臣姓を賜ひし氏々の中にも漏れ、姓氏錄などにも、此氏は見えず、續紀に、天平寶字元年七月、上道臣斐太都賜姓朝臣、閏八月、以上道朝臣斐太都、爲吉備國造と見ゆ、（此人の如此榮えしは、由ありてなり、）さて此吉備姓の始祖の事、書紀の傳へは此記と異なり、此事、次なる下道臣の處に委論

て、深き理あることなるべし、（中古よりこなたかゝる儀式の絶廢けるは、いと歎かはし）○道口とは、其入初る處を口と云、奥方を尻と云、（人體の口と尻とも同じ）其に前後字を用ひて、北陸道にては、古之乃三知乃久知は越前、古之乃三知乃奈加は越中、古之乃美知乃之利は越後と云、山陽道にては、岐比乃美知乃久知は備前、吉備乃美知乃奈加は備中、吉備乃美知乃之利は備後と云、西海道にては、筑紫乃三知乃久知は筑前、筑紫乃三知乃之里は筑後、比乃三知乃久知は肥前、比乃美知乃之利は肥後、止與久邇乃美知乃久知は豐前、止與久邇乃美知乃之利は豐後と云り、並和名抄に見えたり、此は吉備國に將入る道口にて、後までも播磨は、山陽の道口にてぞある、さて此に爲道口といへる由は、水垣宮段（傳二十三）に、東方十二道とある處に委いふべし、考合すべし、凡て道口道尻といふも、其國を治に、京よりゆく路の次序につきていふ名なり、○吉備國は、上卷（傳五）にいでたり、○言向和も、すでに神代に見ゆ、一本に、向下に平字あり、其もあしからず、さてこの兄弟命二柱共に、吉備津日子命と稱へ申せるは、此御功績に由てなり、さて此言向の事、書紀を考るに、崇神御卷に、十年秋七月、詔群卿曰云々、九月丙戌朔甲午、以大彦命遣北陸、武淳川別遣東海、吉備津彦遣西道、丹波道主命遣丹波、因以詔之曰、若有不受教者、乃擧兵伐之、既而共授印綬爲將軍、とある、をりしも武埴安彦、其妻吾田媛と共に、叛ける事起れるに因て、於是更留諸將軍而議之云々、天皇遣五十狹芹彦命、擊吾田媛之師、即遮於大坂、皆大破之云々、かくて埴安彦滅び、此事平ぎしかば、冬十月詔群卿曰云々其四道將軍今急發之、將軍等共發路、十一年夏四月、四道將軍、以平戎夷之伏奏焉とあり、（四道

歩奔、反、盆と同じ、和名抄には、甕字亦作名、和名毛太非、盆、字亦作瓮、比良加、俗云保止岐とありて、倍と云名は見えず、大抵瓮は、大きにして、腹大きなる物、瓮は、小き物と見えたり、されど漢國にても、古く用ひたるさま、二字まぎらはしく聞ゆ、今思に、閑には、瓮字よりは、瓮の方今少しよく當れゝば、古書に用たる皆此字なるべし、）書紀神武卷に、嚴瓮（此云怡途背）と云も見えたり、堝も魚菜を煮る瓮と云名なり、忌瓮は、神祭に用る器にて、齋忌て物する故の名なり、さて居とは、地を堀て、下方をや々堀て置を云、萬葉、哥に穿居とある是なり、（今時も土、中より、上代の瓦器をほり出ること、をり〳〵ありて見るに、底圓くて、直に居れば、傾きまろぶなり、）水垣宮、段にも、於丸邇坂居忌瓮而云々とあり、書紀には、其に鎮坐とあり、萬葉三（三十七丁）に、齋戸乎忌穿居、（又四十六丁十三の十九丁にもあり、）又（五十一丁）齋忌戸乎前坐置而十七（十五丁）に、久佐麻久良、多妣由久吉美乎佐伎久安禮等、伊波比倍須惠都、安我登許能弊爾、廿（十九丁）に、伊波比倍乎、等許敝爾須惠豆などよめり、さて此處にも、彼水垣宮、段にも、軍の首途の處に、此行事のあるは、凡て國言向に出立道口にして、必爲る行事にて、ゆくさき平安て、言向竟むことを、鎮ひ祈るなるべし、（材を伐に入むとする時に、山口祭を行ふが如し、）さて其をただ居忌瓮而とのみ云て、神を祭るとも何とも云ざるは、古神を祭て祈ることを、忌瓮居とぞ云けむ、（彼、萬葉十七なる哥に、伊波比倍須惠都と云るなど、明らかに然聞ゆ、又書紀は、いづこも〳〵、潤色の文多かるすら、彼、崇神卷に、たゞ以忌瓮鎮坐於和珥坂上とのみあるをや、）然るは祭祀の具はしも、種々あるが中に、取分て此物を居るをしも、其行事とするは、上代の禮典にし

記に、諸國名產を擧たる中にも、播磨針と見えたれば、針によれる名なるべしと云り、是も捨がたし、上代より針を出し、ことも知がたし）○氷河は、比能加波か比加波か知ねども、姑く比能加波と訓つ、此河も氷てふ地名も、物には見えず、今此名は存らぬか、國人に尋ぬべし、（備前國なる或人の說に、須佐之男命の大蛇を斬たまひし簸川上は、出雲に非ず、備前國なる簸川なり、備前の簸川は、赤坂郡石上布都之魂神社の山下を流れて、御野郡に至て海に入る、後には御野川と云、又大川とも西川とも云なり、古事記に針間氷河とあるも、即此川なりと云れど、凡て信がたし、備前にあらむを、いかでか針間とは云む、殊に彼御野川は、備前の中にても、東方に依れる地にも非るをや、此氷河は、必播磨の國內にこそあるべけれ、右の說に、神代の簸川を、備前なりと云に、種々の强たる說を云て、其證に忌部正通口決を引たれども、其も口決の文を橫さまに强たるものにて、さらに證となることに非ず、凡て古き名地を、强て己が國へ引入むと構ふるはいとかたはらいたきわざなりかし）○前は佐伎と訓べし、（師は久麻と訓れき、誠に久麻に前字を書こと、古書につね多く、又川には、久麻を多く云れば、彼此然るべきことなれども、此記には、久麻は皆垈とのみ書て、前字を用たる例なく、佐伎にぞ前字をば用たる、故河に佐伎はめづらしけれど、例に依て訓つ）○忌瓮は、延佳本に伊波比倍と訓る宜し、瓮は、書紀仁賢卷に、瓮此云倍と見え、貞觀儀式大嘗用度に、淡路國御原郡瓮十口（各受一斗五升）など見ゆ、（古閇に用たる字、瓮か瓮か定まらず、必一なるべきを、形も義も似たる故に、後にまがひて、何れをも書るなるべし、故今辨へおくなり、瓮は、烏貢反、說文に罌也と云て、甕と同じことなり、瓮は、

に吉備てふことの無きはいふかし、其由は下に論へし）○註男王は比古美古、女王は比賣美古と訓べし、凡て天皇の御子及御胤を、王と申すこと、伊邪河宮段、日子坐王の處に委く云、

故大倭根子日子國玖琉命者。治天下也。大吉備津日子命與若建吉備津日子命。二柱相副而。於針間氷河之前。居忌瓮而。針間爲道口以。言向和吉備國也。

若建吉備津日子命、此御名上にも下にも、若の下建の上に日子とあるを、此には諸本共に、其二字の無きは、書紀にも稚武彦とある如く、省きても申せしなり、然る例多し、日代宮段に出たるにも、此二字無し、（然るを延佳本に、是を補たるは、さかしらなり）○二柱相副而とは、相並てと云むが如し、この事上卷（傳十六）に、副其姉石長比賣とある處にくはしく云り、（凡て曾布とは、常には大なる物に少き物の附き、尊き者に卑き者の附が如きをのみ云に似たれども、本は然のみには非ず、同じほどのものゝ相並配ふをも云り、されば此も、兄命は大將軍、弟命は副將軍など云さまには非ずかし、副字に泥むべからず）○針間、和名抄に、播磨國波里萬とあり、國名義は、此國風土記に、萩原里、土中有井、所以名萩原、息長帶日賣命、韓國還上之時、御船宿於此村、一夜之間生萩根、高一丈許仍名萩原、即闢御井、故云針間井とあり、是に國名の始とは謂ざれども、云針間井とあるは、何とかや國名も是より出たりげに聞ゆ、若然らば榛木に由れる名なり、（又谷川氏云、赤染衛門集に、播磨より來たる人の、針をおこせてと見え、藤原明衡新猿樂

（凡て波夜は速と書るに、此に羽矢とし書るは、上の飛字に引れて、其に由ある字をふと書るのみなり、殊なる意あるに非ず）屋は阿夜にて、美稱なり、繼躰天皇の皇女若屋郎女を、書紀には、稚綾姫とあるにて知べし、さて餘の例によるに、此御名にも、必命とあるべきに、此字なきは、脫たるか、○弟は、美伊呂杼と訓べし、○蠅伊呂杼、浮穴宮御段に出づ、書紀に亦妃絙某弟とあり、○日子寤間命、（寤間を師は、佐那麻とか、佐能麻とか訓べし、日本紀に彦狹嶋とある、嶋は麻とのみも云へばなり、と云れつれども、佐那とも佐とも云むには、寤字を書くべくも非ず、又書紀にも、麻ならむには、嶋字を書べきに非れば、なほ佐米麻とこそ訓べけれ）名義未思得ず、書紀には彦狹嶋命とあり、（此書紀の御名は論あり、彼景行卷に、五十五年以彦狹嶋王拜東山道十五國都督是豐城命之孫也、然到春日穴咋邑臥病而薨之、是時東國百姓悲其王不至竊盜王尸葬於上野國とありて、下總國に狹嶋郡あれば、此地名を以て後に稱たる御名なるべし、然れば彦狹嶋命と申せしは、此御代の皇子には非るを、寤間と名の似たるに依て、まぎれつるものにて、此は此記を正しとすべきにや、姓氏錄垂水史條にも、豐城入彦命男彦狹嶋命と見えたり、男とあるは、書紀に孫とあると少し異なれども、何れにまれ是又此御代の皇子に非る證なり、又國造本紀に、活目帝皇子大入來命、孫彦狹嶋命と云り、大入來命は、崇神の皇子なるを、活目帝の皇子と云、彦狹嶋を其孫と云る、是又異なる傳なれども、此御代の御子には非る證なり、凡て古には、同名も多けれども、又一人をまぎらはして、此にも彼にも擧たる例も、多きぞかし）○若日子建吉備津日子命、此御名も、又吉備と負坐る所由下に見ゆ、書紀には、稚武彦命とあり（此御名

物食時にこそ用ふる物なれ、彼、薨坐しは、夜の明るを待て、櫛笥を開て見賜へるをりにて、物食す時に非れば、箸を持賜へるべき由なければなり、然るをまぎれて、彼と此と一時の事となりぬるは、崇神の御世に、大物主神を祠り賜ひし故事のあるに引れて、彼御妻になり坐し事も、此御代の事に語傳へたるなるべし、若然らずば、此故事は、他人ならむか、其はさだかならず）○日子刺肩別命、御名、義刺肩未たしかに思得ず、別のことは、日代宮段に委云べし、さて此御子、書紀には無し、○比古伊佐勢理毘古命、書紀に、彦五十狹芹彦命と書れたり、御名、義、伊佐は勇、（萬葉に、鯨を勇魚と書り）勢理は神代の火須勢理命の須勢理と同くて、（須、勢は勢と切まる）進む意なり、彼、神名を書紀一書に、火進命ともあるを以知るべし、彼、孝安天皇の御子、大吉備諸進命も、此、皇子の傳誤かと云ることを、考合すべし、續紀廿五に、伊豫國人周敷連眞國等二十一人、賜姓周敷伊佐世利宿禰とあるも、勇を賞たる由の姓なるべし、（神名式に、播磨國賀古郡に、天伊佐々比古神社と云もあり）○大吉備津日子命、書紀には吉備津彦命とあり、名義吉備は、國名なり、如此御名負坐る由も、彼、國の事も、下に云べし、○倭飛羽矢若屋比賣、書紀には倭迹々稚屋姫命とあり、飛は登毘と訓べし、御姉の御名、書紀に倭迹々日とある例なればなり、（登夫と訓るは非なり、又書紀の迹々日の日は濁るべきこと、此に飛と書るを以知べし）名、義飛は、登々毘の略なること、御姉の御名の例に同じく、其意も同じ、毘は比古比賣などの比にて、稱名なり、（書紀には御姉の方に日ありて、此御名には無し、此記には、御姉の方には無て、此御名に有るは、互に稱名を添たると、添ざるとの異のみなり）羽矢は、上なる千々速などの速と一なり、

姫命には非じ、孝元の皇女の、倭迹々姫命なるべし、其故は、彼孝靈の皇女は、崇神の御世には、百歳に多く餘りたまふべければ、大物主神の御妻となり坐けむ事も、似つかはしからず、又彼姫命は、崇神天皇の王姑に坐を、天皇姑とあるも違ひ、孝元の皇女は、御姑なれば、よく合へり、其上かの大物主神の御妻となりたまへる事を記されたる處に、始には倭迹々日百襲姫命とあれども、次には三所まで、たゞ倭迹々姫命とのみあればなり、然れば崇神紀に見えたるは、日百襲三字は、衍にて、孝元の皇女の倭迹々姫命なるべしと云り、此考へ皆一わたりは然ることなれども、猶熟思ふに、彼孝元の皇女の迹々姫命は、書紀にはあれども、此記には見えず、孝靈の皇女と同御名なれば、實は一柱なりしがまぎれて、孝靈の皇女とも、孝元の皇女とも、二に傳はりつるを、書紀には、二方ながら擧られたるものなるべし然る例いと多し、又父の姉妹を姑と云、祖父の姉妹をば王姑と云て分るは、やゝ後のことにこそありけめ、いと上代には、何れをも同じく袁婆とぞ云けむ、そは子孫を凡て子と云、先祖を凡て於夜と云しと同例なり、されば孝靈の皇女を、崇神の姑とあるも、違へるに非ず、又孝靈の皇女、崇神の御世には、百歳に餘り賜ふべしと云疑は、諾なれども、凡て上代の事は、年紀を以云ときは此と彼と合はざることは常なれば、必しも其を執へて、深く疑ふべきに非ず、此大物主神の御妻となり坐し故事も、書紀にこそ此日女命の御事に記されたれ、異なる傳どもありて、此記にては、生玉依毘賣にて、時も崇神の御世よりは、遙に前の事なりけるをや、然れば此故事、たとひ百襲姫命にまれ、其は崇神の御代より前にて、箸に御陰を撞して、薨坐しは、其時に非ず、他時の事にぞありけむ、然思はるゝ所以は、箸は

は、伊佐袁の約りたるなり）さて此日女命は、書紀崇神卷に、五年國内多疾疫、民有死亡者、且大半矣、六年百姓流離、或有背叛、七年天皇幸于神淺茅原、而會八十萬神、以卜問之、是時神明憑倭迹迹日百襲姫命曰、天皇何憂國之不治也、若能敬祭我者、必當自平矣、天皇問曰、敎如此者誰神也、答曰、我是倭國域内所居神名爲大物主神云々、是於疫病始息、國内漸謐、五穀既成、百姓饒之、また十年云々、於是天皇姑倭迹迹日百襲姫命、聰明叡智、能識未然、乃知其歌怪、とありて、武埴安彦が謀反むとせし事を、豫知坐て、天皇に言賜へりし事あり、かく朝廷の御爲に、種々の勤功をみ坐ける故に、百勤功とは稱奉られしなるべし、さてまた同年の下に、是後倭迹迹日百襲姫命、爲大物主神之妻、然其神常晝不見而、夜來矣、倭迹迹日姫命語夫曰、君常晝不見者、分明不得視其尊顏、願暫留之、明旦仰欲覩美麗之威儀、大神對曰、言理灼然、吾明旦入汝櫛笥而居、願無驚吾形、爰倭迹迹日姫命、心裏密異之、待明以見櫛笥、遂有美麗小蛇、其長大如衣紐、則驚之叫啼、時大神有恥、忽化人形、謂其妻曰、汝不忍令羞吾、吾還令羞汝、仍踐大虛、登于御諸山、爰倭迹迹日姫命仰見而悔之急居、則箸撞陰、而薨、乃葬於大市、故時人號其墓謂箸墓也是墓者、日也人作、夜也神作云々と見えたり、（急居此云菟岐于）とあるは、言のすわりたる方を以て注せるものなり、活かしては菟伎韋ともよむべし、即中古の物語文などに、都伊韋賜など云るは、此言なり、大市は、大和國城上郡の鄕なり、此御墓、天武紀にも箸陵と見ゆ、其地を今も箸中村と云て、御墓も、大道の西づらに、甚大なる冢山にて存なり、箸中は、箸之墓の約りたる名と聞ゆ、さて此崇神卷に見えたる、倭迹迹日百襲姫命を、或人疑て云て、是は孝靈の皇女の百襲

々都久和比賣命と申すも坐り、速は光映なり（此事神代の哥、阿那陀麻波夜の處に云り）書紀には是を、細媛命の一の傳として、春日千乳早山香媛とあり、（速眞若と、早山香とは、互に夜と和との省かりたるが異なるのみなり）さて此記書紀共に、父を擧ざるは、傳はらざりしにこそ、○千々速比賣命、書紀には、此御子無し、神名式に、尾張國中嶋郡に、知除波夜神社と云あり、○意富夜麻登久邇阿禮比賣命は、浮穴宮御宇天皇の御曾孫にて、彼御段に見ゆ、蠅伊呂泥の亦名なり、書紀には、倭國香媛、亦名絙某姉とあり、○夜麻登々母々曾毘賣命、此御名、夜麻登々のこと、書紀には、倭迹々日百襲姫命とあり、又御妹の御名倭飛羽矢若屋比賣と申すも、書紀には、倭迹々稚屋姫命とありて、各互に少しづゝの異あるを、彼此相照して參考るに、委く云ば倭登々なるを、登を一畧て、倭登とも云るなり、（此記は略ける方、書紀は委き方なり）御妹の倭飛の例を以知べし、（是も書紀には倭迹々とあり）又書紀、崇神、卷に、（三丁）倭迹速云々と云名もある、是も同じことなるを、迹を一略けるなり、凡て同音の重なるときは、一略かるゝ例多し、（登々麻流を登麻流とも云類なり、然るを此、御名を、書紀とくらべて、登字一つ脫たるかと思ふは、中々に委しからず）さて又書紀にも、御妹の御名にも共に、登の下に毘てふ言あれば、此も然るべきが、脫たるにやとも見ゆめれど、然らず、毘は稱名なれば、添ても省きても云るにて、此は本より添ざるなり、御妹の御名倭飛を、書紀には、倭迹迹とありて、毘はなく、又彼、崇神、卷なる倭迹速は、速と連きたるさへ同じきにも、毘は添ざる、これらを以准知べし、さて御名義は、登々（登を一略けるも、意は同じ）は、上の千々と同く、（通音なり）母々は百曾は勤功なり、（伊曾

り、書紀開化、卷に、春日此云二箇酒鷺繼躰、卷勾大兄、皇子、御哥に、播磨比能、哿須我能倶爾（武烈、卷、哥にも如此あり、上に引り、波流比能と云枕詞は、師の冠辭考に、春の日のかすむと云かけたるなりとあり、萬葉九に、春日之霞時爾、とあるにて知べし、さて加須賀を春日と書ことは、云なれたる枕詞の字を、即その地名に用ひたるものなり、飛鳥の明日香と云から、明日香をやがて飛鳥と書、と同例なり、此事別に委く云り、）などあり、さて此地名の起の事、姓氏錄、大春日、朝臣の條に見えたれど、疑はし、（其文は、上の春日、臣の下に引るが如し、其詞に、彼、氏の、先祖、大雀、天皇の御代に、糟を以、垣にせしに因て、糟垣、臣と號たまへるを、後に春日、臣と改むとある、此、說に依るときは、本糟垣なりしが、後に省りて、加須賀とはなれるなり、さて又其、糟垣は、本賜はりし姓なれば、地名になれるは、後のこと、聞ゆるなり、然れども此、說の疑はしき由は、先、書紀の綏靖、卷に、既に春日縣主と云こと見え、又此、段にも、如此春日之云々とあるは、正しく地名なるに、彼、糟垣の事は、遙に後大雀、天皇の御世とあればなり、されば地名を本にて、彼、姓は、其、地に因れるにこそ有けめ、然れども若猶、彼、說をたすけて云はゞ、糟垣の事は、いと上、代のことなりけむを、誤りて大雀の御世とは傳へたるにや、其は若くはかの糟垣に因て、其の地名を加須賀と云來つるを、後に姓に賜ひしが、大雀の御世なりしにやあらむ、さて糟を以て垣とすと云るは、いかなることぞと云に、古には、川の堤の如く、廣く築たる垣もありしとおぼしければ、然るさまの垣なるべし、哥などに垣穗と云も、さる堤の如くなる垣に、生じたる草木を云なり、）○千々速眞若比賣、名義千々は、神代の栲幡千々姫、命の千々に同じかるべし、水垣、宮、天皇の日女御子に、千

る、此なるべし、今も黒田村あり、（出雲風土記に、意宇郡黒田驛、土躰色黒、故云黒田とある、此例に依らば、此處も然る故の名にや）○廬戸宮、此宮の御趾は、大和志に、宮古村と黒田村との間なる、都杜なりと云り、書紀に、日本足彦國押人天皇百二年、冬十二月癸亥朔丙寅、皇太子遷都於黒田、是謂廬戸宮とあり、○十市縣主、十市は、和名抄に、大和國十市郡、止保知、これなり、（十は登袁なるを、止保とあるは、假字違へり、地名なればなるべし、されど其はやゝ後の訛にこそあらめ、十字をしも書來れるは、本は登袁とぞ唱へけむ、然れども今は姑く和名抄に從て訓つ）神名帳同郡に、十市御縣坐神社（大月次新嘗）あり、さて此縣主氏、他には見えず、○大目、神名式、尾張國山田郡、大目神社、佐渡國羽茂郡、大目神社、和名抄に、同郡大目（於保女）郷などあり、さて此人を、書紀、孝元卷には、磯城縣主とあり、○細比賣、命細は、師の久波志と訓れたるを用ふべし、目微比賣など云例もあればなり、又細字を然訓る例も、萬葉などにも多かり、書紀には、二年春二月丙辰朔丙寅、立細媛命爲皇后、一云、春日千乳早山香媛、一云、十市縣主等祖、女直舌媛也と見え、又孝元卷に、母曰細媛命、磯城縣主大目之女也とあり、○大倭根子日子國玖琉命、書紀に、后生大日本根子彦國牽天皇とあり、御名、意、玖琉は、括にて、統る意なり、（今の俗言に、物を統るを、久留米流とも、久々流とも云り、凡て久流てふ言は、環る意なれば、統るを云も、括ると云も、環らし包て、もらさぬ意より云なり、さて書紀に、牽字を玄も書れたるは、繰寄引く意か、又拘也と注せる意か、其は史記に、牽於所聞など云る類にて、俗言に久々良留々と云にあたれり）○春日、和名抄に、大和國添上郡春日郷加須加とある、此なり、神名帳同郡に、春日神社、春日祭神などあ

上に云り、書紀仁德卷に四十年、佐伯直阿俄能胡てふ人、私地を公に獻て、雌鳥皇女の玉を盜みし罪を、贖ひたりし、其地を玉代と號しことあり、是は何れならむ、さだかならず、但安寧天皇の大御名の玉手は、河內國なるとおぼしければ、彼は仁德の御世よりの地名には非じを、御陵の名などは、後の地名を以ても、申し傳へつべければ、此玉手ならむか、なほよく考ふべし、又天智紀の童謠に、多麻提能伊鞞能とあるも、何れならむ、さだかならず、）

黑田宮卷

大倭根子日子賦斗邇命。坐黑田廬戶宮。治天下也。此天皇。娶十市縣主之祖大目之女。名細比賣命。生御子。大倭根子日子國玖琉命。一柱。玖琉以音子又娶春日之千千速眞若比賣。生御子。千千速比賣命。一柱又娶意富夜麻登玖邇阿禮比賣命。生御子。夜麻登登母母曾毘賣命次日子刺肩別比。次比古伊佐勢理毘古命。亦名大吉備津日子命。次倭飛羽矢若屋比賣。四柱又娶其阿禮比賣命之弟。蠅伊呂杼。生御子。日子寤間命。次若日子建吉備津日子命。二柱此天皇之御子等。并八柱。男王五女王三

此天皇後の漢樣の御謚、孝靈天皇と申す、○黑田は、和名抄に、大和國城下郡黑田郷久留多とあ

には非るか、其故は、是は大吉備と申す御名負坐る由も、おぼつかなく、又進も、彼伊佐勢理と同意なればなり。（其由は、彼處に委云べし。）○大倭根子日子賦斗邇命、御名意、根子は尊稱にて、景行天皇の御子にも、倭根子命と申すあり、凡人にも、記中に難波根子、書紀神功卷に、山背根子など云名見えたり、天皇は、大倭國所知看を以て、倭根子とは申奉るなり、故此御號是を始とし、孝元開化の二御世、又清寧元明などの御名にも、稱奉れり、（光仁より仁明までの御諡號には、皆是あり。）凡て御代御代の天皇の御通號となりて、詔命などにもみな、倭根子天皇と申し奉ることなり、（孝德紀大化二年の詔に、明神御宇日本倭根子天皇詔云々、天武紀十二年の詔に、明神御宇大八洲日本根子天皇勅命者云々、續紀一の詔に、現御神止大八島國所知倭根子天皇命云々、などとあるが如し。）賦斗邇は、書紀に、太瓊と書れたる字の意ならむか、（邇の義は、なほもあらむかと思はるれども、いまだ他に思ひ得ず。）さて書紀には、后生大日本根子彥太瓊天皇とありて、大吉備諸進命は無し、○御年壹佰貳拾參歲、書紀には、百二年春正月戊戌朔丙午、天皇崩とありて、御年は記されず、（但し大御考、天皇の六十八年、立爲皇太子、年二十とあるに依ば、百三十七歲なるべし。）或書には、百三十七とも、百二十七とも云り、○王手岡書紀、孝靈卷に、百二年春正月、日本足彥國押人天皇崩、秋九月甲午朔丙午、葬于王手丘上陵と見え、諸陵式に、玉手丘上陵、室秋津嶋宮御宇孝安天皇、在大和國葛上郡、兆域東西六町、南北六町、守戶五烟こあり、今も玉手村ありて、即御陵も其地にあり、前皇廟陵記に、玉手村是也、在室村西北河東と云、大和志に、玉手村陵南有天神祠、小冢二在邑中と云り、（河內國安宿郡にも、玉手てふ地あり、

此天皇後の漢樣の御諡は、孝安天皇と申す、○室は、和名抄に、大和國葛上那牟婁郷あり、是なり、今も室村あり、又三室村と云もあり、書紀、履中、卷に、掖上室山とあるも、此處なり、○秋津嶋宮、書紀に、二年冬十月、遷都於地室、是謂秋津嶋宮とあり、此は彼、神武、卷に、皇輿巡幸因登腋上嗛間丘而廻望國狀曰云々、猶如蜻蛉之臀呫焉、由是始有秋津洲之號也とあるは、誰も大倭一國のことゝは思へど、若くは又此、掖上のあたりの地形を御覽して、詔へるにもあるべし、（古は郡郷などの如きをも、某國と云る、常のことなれば、廻望國狀とあるに妨なし）若然らば、秋津嶋と云は、彼、時より此、地の號なりしが、此、天皇の百餘年も久しく敷坐せる、めでたき大宮地の名なりし故に、後におのづから、倭、國の大號の如くにもなれるか、（師木嶋の例と同じ）又彼、御古事を、倭一國のことゝせば、此、宮、號は、彼、御古事のありし地なる故に、如此はつけ賜へりしか、何れにまれ、彼御故事に依れる號なり、○姪は、和名抄に、姪釋名云、兄弟之女爲姪、和名米比と見ゆ、米比とは、女甥の意の稱なるべし、○忍鹿比賣命、御名、鹿の義未思得ず、書紀には、二十六年春二月己丑朔壬寅、立姪押媛爲皇后、一云、磯城縣主葉江、女長媛、一云、十市縣主五十坂彥女五十坂媛也とあり、又孝靈、卷に、母曰押媛、蓋天足彥國押人、命、之女乎とあり、（如此疑て記されたるゆゑは、天皇の御兄弟はたゞ天押帶日子、命一柱のみ坐ば御姪ならむには、必此、御女なるべく、されど誰の御女と云ことゝは傳はらざれば、決ては云難なり）○大吉備諸進命、（進を、師は須美と訓れつれど、なほ須々美なるべし）此、御子は、書紀には見えざるに依て思に、此は孝靈天皇の御子、比古伊佐勢理毘古命、亦名大吉備津日子、命を、或は此、天皇の御子とも、傳誤れる

御年玖拾參歳、書紀には、八十三年秋八月丁巳朔辛酉、天皇崩とありて、御年は記されず、（但大御父天皇の廿二年に、爲皇太子、年十八とあるに依ば、百十四歳なるべし）或書には、百十四とも、百十五とも、百二十とも云り、○掖上博多山上、書紀孝安卷、三十八年、秋八月丙子朔己丑、葬觀松彦香殖稻天皇于掖上博多山上陵とある、三十八年心得ぬ事なり、（舊事紀に、八十三年、天皇崩、明年八月葬と云るは、書紀に依ながら、三十八年を疑て、明年とは、おしあてに記せるなるべければ、據とするにたらず）諸陵式に、掖上博多山上陵、掖上池心宮御宇孝昭天皇、在大和國葛上郡、兆域東西六町、南北六町、守戸五烟とあり、大和志に、在室村陵畔有八幡祠并冢四と云り、（○凡て御陵地を、山上坂上など記せるは、上にまれ下にまれ、そのあたりと云事なり、古は宇倍又倍と云る、皆其意なり、必しも今俗に云ふ上のみには非ず、此は古の御陵どもの、今在るを見て、其地形の、記に違へるがごと思ふ人のありぬべき故に、思ひ出るまゝに、此に驚かしおくなり）

秋津島宮卷

大倭帶日子國押人命。坐葛城室之秋津嶋宮。治天下也。此天皇。娶姪忍鹿比賣命。生御子。大吉備諸進命。次大倭根子日子賦斗邇命

二柱。自賦下三字以音

故大倭根子日子賦斗邇命者。治天下也。天皇。御年壹佰貳拾參歳。御陵在玉手岡上也。

飯高公大人諸丸二人、賜姓宿禰と見え、續後紀に、承和三年三月庚子朔丙午、左京人飯高宿禰全雄、同姓弟高等五烟、改宿禰賜朝臣、（全雄、一の卷には今雄とあり、）また同九年六月甲子朔丙寅、伊勢國人飯高公常比麻呂、弟五百繼、飯高宿禰濱永等、男女廿七人、賜姓飯高朝臣、編附左京三條と見え、三代實錄に、貞觀十五年十二月二日、越前國敦賀郡人、伊部造豐持、賜姓飯高朝臣、即改本居、貫左京五條三坊、其先出自孝昭天皇皇子、天足彥國押人命也、○壹師君、和名抄、伊勢國壹志郡（伊知之）是なり、續紀十三に、壹師君族古麻呂、續後紀十九に、壹志公吉野など云人見えたる、此吉野を、文德實錄齊衡二年の處に、壹志宿禰吉野とあれば、此より前に、宿禰姓を賜はりしを、史に其事の漏たるなるべし、三代實錄に、貞觀四年七月廿八日、左京人、壹志宿禰吉野、賜姓大春日朝臣、天足彥國押人命之後也、○近淡海國造、こはいまだ物に見あたらず、（書紀崇峻卷に、近江臣滿てふ人見えたるは、此氏か他姓か、しらず、國造本紀には、淡海國造、志賀高穴穗朝御世、彥坐王三世孫、大陀牟夜別、定賜國造と云り、）○書紀に、天足彥國押人命、此和珥臣等始祖也とあり、此に此姓は漏たり、こは殊に廣き氏なれば、此にも必載るべき事なり、此姓のことは、伊邪河宮段に云べし、さて此皇子の御後は、上件の外にも、氏々多くして、姓氏錄に見えたり、又三代實錄九に、民首方永てふ人、此命の後とあり、又續後紀四に、近江國人、島朝臣眞行、賜姓高生朝臣、其先觀松彥香殖稻天皇之後也、（島朝臣、古本には鳥脚臣とあり、）とあり、是も此皇子の後なるべし、

天皇御年玖拾參歲。御陵在掖上博多山上也。

なる身狹に非ず、邪射などは、濁音假字なり、）國造本紀に、武社國造、志賀高穴穗朝、和邇臣、祖彦意祁都命、孫、彦忍人命、定賜國造と云り、續紀に、神護景雲三年三月、陸奥國牡鹿郡人、春日部奥麻呂等三人、賜姓武射臣とあるは、素より此氏族なりけむ、（三代實錄卅六にも、武射臣助守など云見えたり、○舒明紀皇極紀に見えたる身狹君身狹臣は、別姓なるべし、）○都怒山臣、此地名も姓も、いまた古書に見あたらず、續紀九に、角山君內麻呂と云人は見えたり、（こは君の尸なれば、異姓か、はた同姓か、知がたし、されど角山は同地なるべし、此人獻私穀於陸奥國鎭所とあれば、東國の人ならむ、なほ考ふべし、）○伊勢飯高君、和名抄、伊勢國飯高郡（伊比多加）これなり、（大神宮儀式帳に、忍飯高國と見え、倭姫命世記に、于時飯高縣造、祖乙加豆知命乎、汝國名何問賜白久、意須比飯高國止白而、進神田幷神戸、倭姫命、飯高志止白事貴止、悅賜支と云り、）續紀に、天平十三年四月甲申、伊勢國飯高郡采女、正八位下飯高君笠目之親族、縣造等、皆賜飯高君姓、また神護景雲三年二月辛酉、伊勢國飯高郡人、飯高公家繼等三人、賜姓宿禰、また寶龜六年四月戊辰、飯高公若舍人等十一人、賜姓宿禰、（また同八年五月戊寅、典侍從三位飯高宿禰諸高薨、伊勢國飯高郡人也、性甚廉謹、志慕貞潔、葬奈保山、天皇御世、直內敎坊、遂補本郡采女、飯高氏貢采女者、自此始矣、歷仕四代、始終無失、薨時年八十とあり、此人は、即上に引る采女笠目なり、後に名を諸高とは更たるなるべし、寶龜元年のところにも、諸高とあり、さて笠目の目字を、廿二の廿三葉には、日に誤り、廿三の十四葉には、因に誤れるを、古本にはみな目とあり、さて此ころ此氏人の、したしく朝廷に仕奉て、榮えつるは、此人のゆかりと見えたり、）また同九年二月癸巳、

〳〵見えたれば、是ならむも知りがたし、）さて此姓、此より外に見あたらず、（姓氏錄なる大坂、直は、異姓なり、）○阿那臣、阿那は、書紀景行、卷（十三丁）に、穴海安閑、卷に、（六丁）婀娜國などある地にして、和名抄、備後、國安那郡（夜須奈）これなり、（夜須奈とは、安那と云事を嫌ひて、後に唱へたるものなり、此例他國にもあり、）國造本紀に、吉備、穴國造、纏向日代朝、御世、和邇臣同祖、彥訓服命、孫、八千足尼、定賜國造、（彥訓服命は、天押帶日子、命の三世、孫なり、）姓氏錄に、右京皇別、安那公、天足彥國押人、命之後也とあり、（那、字、印本に郡と作るは誤なり、古本には那とあり、さて此氏は、此には臣姓なるに公とあるは、いかなることにか、○此姓の事、近江、國坂田、郡阿那、垂仁紀に、吾名邑とある是なり、又美濃、國郡上、郡安那あり、然るに是らをおきて、備後、國なる安那とも定むる事は、國造本紀に依てなり、さて是を備後の安那とするに依て、上なる大坂をも、彼、國のならむとは云なり、）○多紀臣は、丹波、國多紀郡より出たるか、多紀てふ地名は、なほ他にもあるべければ、定め難し、又此姓もいまだ他に見あたらず、○羽栗臣、和名抄、尾張、國葉栗郡（波久利）葉栗、郷、これより出たるべし、（山城、國久世、郡にも羽栗、郷あり、）續紀に、寶龜七年八月丙辰朔癸亥、山背、國乙訓、郡、人、羽栗、翼、賜姓臣、（後紀、文德實錄などにも、羽栗氏、人見ゆ、（姓氏錄、左京皇別、葉栗、和爾部、朝臣同祖、彥姥津、命三世、孫、建穴、命之後也、（穴一本に安と作り、（また右京皇別、葉栗、小野同祖、彥國葺、命之後也、（臣の姓なるが無きは、いかなるにか、）○知多臣、和名抄、尾張、國知多、郡、（萬葉七に、知多之浦）これより出たるべし、羽栗に並べればなり、さて此姓、他に見あたらず、○牟邪臣、和名抄、上總、國武射、郡これなり、（大和國高市、郡

五月、授無位小野神、從五位下、依遣唐副使小野朝臣篁申也、三代實錄、貞觀四年十二月、近江國小野神、授從四位下、などあり、又式に、同國高島郡にも、小野神社あり、又山城國愛宕郡、小野神社、和名抄、同郡小野、同國宇治郡小野などあり、是らも由緣あるにやしらず、）又姓氏錄に、山城皇別小野臣、天足彥國押人命七世孫、人花命之後也ともあり、（人花の人字、印本にはなし、古本にあり、さて紹運錄に、小野妹子臣を、敏達天皇の御子春日皇子の子として、世に小野氏を、敏達の後と云は、ひがことなり、こは思ふに、春日皇子の御母は、春日臣氏の女にて、春日臣と小野臣と同祖なれば、かゝることよりぞ誤りつらむ、）○柿本臣、天武紀に、十三年十一月戊申朔、柿本臣賜姓曰朝臣、姓氏錄、大和國皇別、柿下朝臣、大春日朝臣同祖、天足彥國押人命之後也、敏達天皇御世、依家門有柿樹、爲柿本臣氏、とあり、（神名式に、山城國紀伊郡、飛鳥田神社、一名柿本社とあり、又今大和國葛下郡に、柿本村あり、）歌仙と仰がるゝ人麻呂は、此氏人なり、なほ此氏の人續紀に此彼出たり、○壹比韋臣、壹比韋は、大和國添上郡の地名にて、輕嶋宮段の大御哥に、伊知比韋能和邇佐能邇袁とある是なり、猶此地の事は、彼御哥の下に云べし、さて此姓は、天武卷、十三年十一月戊申朔、櫟井臣、賜姓曰朝臣、姓氏錄、左京皇別、櫟井臣、和安部同祖、彥姥津命五世孫、米餅春大使主命之後也、（和安部朝臣、大春日朝臣同祖云々とあり、これらの安字は、爾を誤れるなり、猶此事伊邪河宮段、丸邇臣の下に云、）此外朝臣なるは見えず、○大坂臣、大坂は地名にて、和名抄に、備後國安那郡大坂郷あり、是ならむか、其由は次なる阿那臣の下に云、（又和名抄に、大和國葛上郡に、大坂郷あり、神名式に、同國葛下郡大坂山口神社あり、此天和なる大坂は、古書にをり

皇別、粟田朝臣、大春日朝臣同祖、天足彦國忍人命之後也、（又山城國皇別）粟田朝臣、天足彦國押人命、三世孫、彦國瞿命之後也と見ゆ、續後紀に、承和四年二月甲午朔癸卯、勅聽大春日布瑠粟田三氏五位已上、准小野氏、春秋二祠、時、不待官符、向在近江國滋賀郡氏神社とあり、（布瑠氏の事は、傳十八石上神宮の條下にいへり、さてこの近江國なる氏神の事は、次の小野臣の下に云べし）○小野臣、（舊印本延佳本並に、臣字脱たり、今は眞福寺本又一本に有に依れり）此姓の事は天武紀に、十三年十一月戊申朔、小野臣賜姓曰朝臣と見え、姓氏錄、左京皇別、小野朝臣、大春日朝臣同祖、彦姥津命五世孫、米餅搗大使主命之後也、大德小野臣妹子、家于近江國滋賀郡小野村、因以爲氏、（妹子臣は、小治田の御世に、始て唐國に大御使に罷れりし人なり、滋賀郡に、今も小野村あり、堅田より北、比良より南なり）山城國皇別、小野朝臣、孝昭天皇皇子、天足彦國押人命之後也、（姓氏錄今印本此處、第卅一葉と、第卅二葉との次序錯亂て、前後になれり、故に第卅一葉の始に、姓を標ずして、孝昭天皇云々とあるは、第卅二葉の終なる、小野朝臣の條にして、今此に引る是なり、又第卅一葉の終なる阿閇臣は、第卅三葉の始に、阿部朝臣大彦云々とある、是其條なり又此錯簡によりて、第卅一葉粟田朝臣より、阿閇臣まで八氏、右京皇別となれり、此等は右の小野朝臣の次にて、山城國皇別なり、近きころ一本を得て、按へたる次第かくの如し、姓氏錄を看む人、此錯簡に因て、數姓等を誤む事を恐て、かく委く辨へおくものなり）神名帳、近江國滋賀郡、小野神社二座、（名神大）これ此氏神なり、續後紀に、承和元年二月壬午朔辛丑、小野氏神社、在近江國滋賀郡、勅聽彼氏五位以上、毎至春秋之祭、不待官符、永以往還、（同三年

は異姓なり、思混べからず）○大宅臣、大宅は、和名抄に、大和國添上郡に、春日大宅と並たる郷にて、書紀、武烈、卷、哥に、暮能娑幡儛、於裒野該須擬、播屢比能箇須我鳴須擬、とよめる地なり、（物澤にてふ枕詞は、澤に多しと云意のつゞけなり、さはと多とは、同じ事なれども重言る例あり、萬葉十八に、山乎之毛佐波爾於保美等とよめり）さて此姓は、天武紀十三年十一月戊申朔、大宅臣、賜姓曰朝臣と見え、姓氏錄、山城、皇別に、大宅、小野、朝臣同祖、また攝津、國皇別に、大宅臣、大春日同祖、天足彦國押人命之後也とありて、朝臣なるは見えず、（されど類聚國史職官部、弘仁元年の處に、大宅、朝臣年雄從五位下に叙する事見ゑたり）脫たるにや、（右京皇別、火氏の次、粟田朝臣の上に、姓を標ずして、たゞに孝昭天皇皇子、天足彦國押人命之後也とある、もしこれ大宅、朝臣にて其一行脫たるにやあらむと思ひしに、後に一本を得て校るに、火氏の次なる孝昭天皇云々は、小野朝臣條の錯亂たるなり、其事委く末に別に云り）續後紀、承和三年五月己亥朔庚子、山城國人、大宅臣福主、改臣賜朝臣、（○姓氏錄に、大宅眞人、大家臣、大宅首、大家首などもあり、是等は異姓なり）○粟田臣粟田は、和名抄に、山城、國愛宕郡上粟田（阿波多）下粟田、此地なるべし、（諸陵式にも山城國愛宕郡上粟田郷とあり、文德實錄八に、山城國宇治郡粟田山とあるも、同地なり）さて此姓は、天武紀に、十三年十一月戊申朔、粟田臣、賜姓曰朝臣と見え、續紀に、天平寶字三年七月丁丑、粟田臣道麻呂賜姓朝臣、また天平神護元年三月癸巳、近江、國坂田郡人、粟田臣之瀨直瀨斐太人池守四人賜姓朝臣、（之瀨の之字は、誤寫なるべし）また神護景雲元年六月己亥、左京人、粟田臣弟麻呂種麻呂乎奈美麻呂三人、賜姓朝臣などあり、姓氏錄、右京

の意なり、帶は借字にて、足の意なり、（萬葉二に、御壽者長久天足有、）さて記中に、多羅志に帶字を借れる事は、古哥に、御帶の倭文服結垂とある如く、帶は結垂るゝ物なる故に、此名あるなり、（大刀を御佩、弓を御執と云なゝ同じ心ばへなり、）書紀に、后生天足彦國押人命、日本足彦國押人天皇とあり、）

故弟帶日子國忍人命者。治天下也。兄天押帶日子命者。春日臣。大宅臣。粟田臣。知多臣。小野臣。柿本臣。壹毘韋臣。大坂臣。阿那臣。多紀臣。羽栗臣。牟邪臣。都怒山臣。伊勢飯高君。壹師君。近淡海國造之祖也。

春日臣、春日は、大和國添上郡にある地名なり、此地の事は、黑田宮段に云べし、さて此姓は、書紀天武卷に、十三年十一月戊申朔、大春日臣賜姓曰朝臣とあり、大てふ言は、是より前何れの御代に加へられたるにか、詳ならず、（持統卷五年の下に、十八氏を擧たる中には、たゞ春日とありて、大字はなし、元明紀に出たるには、大字あり、）姓氏錄、左京皇別、大春日朝臣、出自孝昭天皇皇子天帶彦國押人命也、仲臣令家重千金、委糟爲堵、于時大鷦鷯天皇（諡仁德）臨幸其家、詔號糟垣臣、後改爲春日臣、桓武天皇延曆二十年、賜大春日朝臣姓とあり、（是に仲臣令とあるは、文字の脫誤れるにや、人名なるべき處なり、仲は一本に件とあり、是もいかゞ、さて桓武天皇云々と云るも疑はし、是より先既に大春日朝臣姓なればなり、糟垣の事も論あり、黑田宮段に云べし、）文德實錄に、齊衡三年八月辛未朔丁酉、春日臣雄繼賜姓大春日朝臣、（○姓氏錄なる、春日眞人

張宿禰同祖、火明命之男天香吾山命之後也、右京神別（天孫）尾張連、火明命五世孫武磯目命之後也、（右京なる尾張連、天長十年に、忠宗宿禰と云姓を賜はれるあり）山域國神別、尾張連、火明命子天香山命之後也、大和國神別、尾張連、天火明命子天香山命之後也、河内國神別、尾張連、火明命十四世孫小豐命之後也とありて、此外にも此姓より別れたる氏々、甚多くして、同書（又舊事紀）に見えたり、○奥津余曾、舊事紀に、三世孫天忍男命、此命葛木土神劔根命女賀奈良知姫爲妻生二男一女、（書紀神武卷に、以劔根者爲葛城國造）四世孫瀛津世襲命、亦云葛本彦命、尾張連等祖、天忍男命之子とあり、天忍男命は、天火明命の子天香語山命、其子天村雲命の子なり、○余曾多本毘賣命、書紀に、二十九年春正月甲辰朔丙午、立世襲足媛爲皇后、一云、磯城縣主葉江女淳名城津媛、一云、倭國豐秋狹太媛女大井媛也（狹太媛女とはいかゞ）また孝安卷に、母曰世襲足媛、尾張連遠祖瀛津世襲之妹也とあり、舊事紀に、天忍男命の二男一女を擧て、瀛津世襲命、次建額赤命、妹世襲足姫命、亦名日置姫命と云り、（和名抄に、大和國葛上郡に、日置郷あり）名義妹兄共に、未思得ず、（多本を書紀には、足とあるに依て、本字は、李の誤かと、師は云れつれど、此記に、李は假字に用ひたる例なし）○天押帶日子命、大倭帶日子國押人命、二柱の御名、共に皆美稱なり、押は意布志にて、大の意なり、其證は、凡河内を、安閑紀推古紀などに、大河内とも書き、（傳七凡河内國造の條下）天武卷に、凡海てふ姓を、大海とも書き、（天武天皇幼御名を、大海人皇子と申せしも、此姓を取れるなり）神代紀一書に、熊野忍隅命を、一書には、熊野大隅命ともあるを以、思定むべし、凡て稱名の押（忍とも書り）皆同じ、押並てなどの押も、同く大

の葛城を、高尾張邑とも云けむを、誤て本名の如く得へ云しなるべし、但しこれらは、今己が思ひよれることにて、たしかには定めがたけれども、とまれかくまれ、葛城に高尾張てふ名のあるは、此氏の本居なる由縁なる事は、違はざるなり、三代實錄九に、尾張國海部郡人、其目、連公宗氏、尾張、醫師其目、連公多雄等、同族十六人、賜姓高尾張宿禰、天孫火明命之後也とあるを以て、尾張と高尾張と、別ならざる事を知べし、右の其目の目、印本には日とあり、古本目なり、又其は、甚の誤り、伊勢、一志郡に甚目村あり、尾張、海部郡に甚目寺あり、さて此氏人の、葛城より始て尾張國に下り住居しは、何れの御世なりけむ、さだかならず、國造本紀に、尾張國造、志賀高穴穗朝、以天別天火明命十世、孫小止與命、定賜國造とあれども、倭建命の下り坐し時に、既に彼國に此氏人はありつれば、志賀高穴穗朝と云るは違へり、小止與命は、さもあるべし、なほ尾張國なる此氏人の事は、彼倭建命段に委く云べし、さて又備前國に、此氏の由縁ある事あり、まづ和名抄に、備前國邑久郡に尾張、郷ありて、神名式、同國御野郡に、尾針神社、尾治針名眞若比女神社あり、舊事紀に、十四世孫尾治針名根連、これを姓氏錄に、波利那乃連公とあり、さて尾張國愛智郡にも、針名神社あり、又尾張國海部郡に、伊福郷、神鳳抄に、尾張國伊福部、御厨ありて、備前國御野郡にも、伊福郷あり、姓氏錄に、伊福部宿禰、尾張連同祖、火明命之後也とあり、書紀天武卷に、十三年十二月戊寅朔己卯、尾張連賜姓曰宿禰、（天平寶字二年三月庚申、初尾張連馬身云々、未被賜姓、其身早亡、於是馬身子孫、並賜宿禰姓と、續紀に見）姓氏錄、左京神別（天孫）尾張宿禰、火明命、二十世孫、阿曾連之後也、（二十世、一本二十七世とあり、曾は、一本には魚と作けり）尾連、尾

同記五卷に、此姓の世系を次々に擧て、（其中に、始祖天火明命を饒速日命と混一にして、此尾張連を、物部連と同祖にしたるは、甚き僞說なる由、傳十五の始に委く辨へたるがごとし、又其御子天香語山命を、亦云高倉下命と云て、白檮原宮段なる高倉下と一人としたるも、信られぬことなり、その外にも、取がたきことゞもまじれり、然れども凡ては、古き家乘のありけるを取て、記せりと見えて、ひたぶるに捨べき物には非ず）始祖より十三世孫、尻綱根命、品太天皇御世、賜尾治連姓とあり、（かくて十四世孫より下、世々の名みな、尾治某連と記せり）其は倭建命段に、尾張國造之祖美夜受比賣とある、此國造即此氏とおぼしければ、此氏人既く尾張國に下居住けるを、尻綱根に至て、此姓をば賜へるなるべし）此事猶輕島宮段に云を、考合すべし、書紀にかの美夜受比賣を、尾張氏之女とあるは、當時既に此姓なりし如く開ゆれども、こは例の後を前へ及して云るなり、さて此氏の本居は、大和國葛城なり、然云故は、境原宮段に、此氏人に、葛城之高千那毘賣とあり、又舊事紀に、此氏三世孫、天忍人命、異妹角屋姫、亦名葛木出石姫云云、次天忍男命、葛木土神劔根命、女爲妻云々、四世孫瀛津世襲命、亦云葛木彦命、七世孫建諸隅命、葛木直祖大諸見足尼、女爲妻などゝあり、さて書紀神武卷に、高尾張邑、或本云葛城邑也、また高尾張邑云々、因改號其邑曰葛城とあるは、高尾張と云は、葛城の本名と聞ゆれば、國名の尾張は、此高尾張より出て、其は此氏人の葛城より出て、彼國に下住居し故に、其本居の名を取て、國名とせるかと思へとも、然には非じ、かの神武卷の趣は、一の傳へにて、實は天火明命の子孫、葛城に住居けるが、尾張國造になりて、彼國に下り居住し人ありし緣によりて、其國名を取て、本居

年作掖上池持統卷に、四年二月、幸于腋上陂云々、なと見えたり、（掖上室山とある、牟婁郷も、葛上郡なり、姓氏錄秦忌寸條に、大和朝津間腋上地とあるも、同處なるべし、今朝妻村も同郡にて、室村など、遠からぬ地なり）さて此地名、いかに訓べきにか、さだかならねど、書紀に何處も、和伎能加美と訓る故に、姑く是に從ひつ、（和伎倍とも、和伎能倍とも、和伎加美とも訓る故に、定めがたきなり、和伎能賀美と云は、石上は伊曾乃加美丹波圖多紀郡、草上は久佐乃加美なる、これらの例なり、城上郡葛上郡などは、上下と分たる上なれば、此の例に非ず）書紀に、元年七月遷都於掖上、是謂池心宮とあり、○尾張連、書紀、神代、卷一書に、天忍穗根尊、娶高皇產靈尊女子栲幡千々姬萬幡姬命、而生兒天火明命、次生天津彥根火瓊々杵尊、其天火明命、兒天香山、是尾張連等遠祖也、また一書に、正哉吾勝勝速日天忍穗耳尊、娶高皇產靈尊之女天萬栲幡千々姬爲妃、而生兒號天照國照彥火明命、是尾張連等遠祖也、次天饒石國饒石天津彥火瓊々杵尊と見えたり、（然るを本書に、彥火々出見尊の御弟を、號火明命、是尾張連等、始祖也とあるは、傳の異なるなり、その事傳十五の始に云り、彥火々出見尊の御弟なる火明命は、此記には、火照命とありて、隼人の祖なり）然るを此記には、天火明命の下に、此姓の祖なりと云ことの見えざるは、漏たるなり、（凡て此記は、其子孫の氏々をあぐること、殊にくはしき例なれば、彼處に此姓之祖也と云ことも、必あるべきことなり）さて舊事紀に、天孫の御天降の御供奉、三十二神（これを饒速日命の天降る時の事にして記したるは、例の僞にて、實は邇々藝命の御天降の供奉にて、其古き傳の有けむを取て、記せるなるべし）の首に、天香語山命、尾張連等祖とあり、又

御年肆拾伍歳、書紀には、三十四年秋九月甲子朔辛未、天皇崩とありて、御年は記されず、（但大御父天皇の十一年に、爲皇太子年十六とあるに依らば、七十七歳なるべし）○眞名子谷上、書紀に、明年冬十月戊午朔庚午、葬大日本彦耜友天皇於畝傍山南纖沙谿上陵、（纖沙を麻佐胡と訓るはわろし、此記に依て麻那胡と訓べきなり、萬葉にも沙細砂など、皆然訓、又眞名子麻名胡など書、書紀私記にも、萬奈古とあるをや）諸陵式に、畝傍山南纖沙溪上陵、輕曲峽宮御宇、懿德天皇、在大和國高市郡、兆域東西一町、南北一町、守戸五烟とあり、此御陵は、畦樋村より西方、吉田村へ起る路の、少し南方にあり、即畝火山の南の谷の内なり、（貝原氏が、畝火山の巽方に小谷陵あり、懿德天皇の御陵なりと云る、小谷は、眞名子谷の眞名を省ける名にや、其ころ此地を然云るにこそあらめ、又或說に、久米寺の東南にあると云るは、甚くたがへり、

掖上宮卷

御眞津日子訶惠志泥命。坐葛城掖上宮。治天下也。此天皇。娶尾張連之祖奥津余曾之妹。名余曾多本毘賣命。生御子。天押帶日子命。次大倭帶日子國押人命。二柱

此天皇、後の漢樣の御謚は、孝昭天皇と申す、○葛城は上に出たり、○掖上は、（掖字、說文に、與腋同とあり、諸本皆此字なり、然るを延佳本に、腋と作るは、さかしらなるべし）諸陵式に依に、葛上郡なり、書紀神武卷に、皇輿巡幸因登腋上嗛間丘云々、履中卷に、掖上室山、推古卷に、二十一

り息石耳命は、安寧天皇の御子にて、天皇の御兄なり、）○御眞津日子訶惠志泥命、御名、意、御眞木入日子、又御眞津比賣などの御眞と一ッにて、御孫の意か、又地名か詳ならず、（國造本紀に、長國造、志賀、高穴穗、朝、御世、觀松彥色止命、九世、孫韓背足尼、定賜國造と云り、長は、阿波、國那賀、郡なり、神名式、彼、國名方、郡、御間都比古神社あり、彼、色止命を祭れるか、）訶惠志泥も未思得ず、（泥は例の稱なるべし、）○多藝志比古命、名、義白檮原朝の皇子、多藝志耳命と同じかるべし、書紀に、后生觀松彥香殖稻天皇、一云天皇、母弟武石彥奇友背命とあり、（多藝志と武石と通へり、舊事記には、此、御子無て、安寧天皇の御子に、師木津日子、命の御弟に、手研彥奇友背命あり、）

故御眞津日子訶惠志泥命者。治天下也。次當藝志比古命者。血沼之別。

多遲麻之竹別。葦井之稻置之祖

血沼之別、血沼は地名にて、和泉、國和泉、郡にあり、上（傳十八五瀨命の下）に出、別は尸なり、此、尸の事は、日代宮、段に、國々之國造亦和氣云々、とある下に云べし、さて此、姓他に見えず、（書紀、雄略、卷に、茅渟縣主あれども、異姓なり、）○多遲麻之竹別、但馬、國に竹と云地、古書に見えず、（和名抄に、美含、郡に、竹野、多加乃と云鄕はあり、）○葦井之稻置、同國に此、地も見えず、（神名式に氣多、郡に葦田、神社はあり、）此等の地名、今在や無や、國人に尋ぬべし、さて此二姓も他に見えたることなし、

天皇御年肆拾伍歲。御陵在畝火山之眞名子谷上也。

子と云にありと云り、いかならむ）今も輕村あり、（大哥留とも云、そは中昔に、大小二村有しが、其小哥留の方は、今絶けるにやあらむ）此地、水垣宮、段玉垣宮、段、書紀、應神、卷（五十七丁）雄略、卷（二十丁）欽明、卷（四十一丁）推古、卷（十七丁）などにも見え、萬葉二（三十七丁）に、天飛也輕路者云々、輕市爾吾立聞者、玉手次畝火乃山爾喧鳥之音母、不所聞、三（四十丁）に、輕池之云々、四（二十三丁）に、天飛哉輕路從、玉田次畝火手見管、十一（二十八丁）に、天飛也輕之祇之齋槻云々などよめり、○境岡宮、岡は、師の袁と訓れたるに從べし、書紀には曲峽とあり、又神功、卷に、渟中倉之長峽とある地名を、攝津國風土記には、沼名椋之長岡之前とあり、是ら其證なり、萬葉（七の三十五丁）に向岡ともあり、（袁加の本語は、袁なるに、加を添たるにて、加は處の意なり、坂も本は佐なるに、此加を添たる言なる由、上卷に云り、其と同じ、丘も常には袁加とよむを、書紀に袁とのみも訓り）さて此宮は、今彼哥留村より西方、三瀨と云處へ行間、小高く廣き岡越の道にて、坂あり、其あたりにぞ有けむ、境は坂合なれば、境岡と云べき地のさまなり、又此岡上、廣き原なれば、堺原宮（孝元天皇の大宮なり）も、此あたりなるべし、書紀には、二年春正月甲戌朔戊寅、遷都於輕地、是謂曲峽宮とあり、（或人云、此宮の趾は、輕の坤、方にあり、今も未波理乎佐と云田地の字のこれり）○師木、縣主、上なると同氏なり、○賦登麻和訶比賣命、名、義太眞若なるべし、○飯日比賣命、名義殊なる考なし、（日は例の美稱にて、上に云るが如し）書紀には、二年二月癸卯朔癸丑、立天豐津媛命爲皇后、一云、磯城縣主葉江男弟猪手女泉媛、一云、磯城縣主太眞稚彦女飯日媛也とあり、（天豐津媛命は、孝昭、卷に、息石耳命之女也とあ

ときは、綏靖天皇の十五年に、生坐るなり、然るに、其廿五年に、皇太子に立坐る、年二十一とあるは、十年違へり、其年は十一歳にこそ當りたまへ〕○美富登は御陰なり、（上卷に見ゆ）此は山をも、人體に准へて云るにて、巓腹腰脚なども云類なり、書紀懿德卷に、元年秋八月丙午朔、葬磯城津彦玉手看天皇、於畝傍山南御陰井上陵、諸陵式に、畝傍山西南御蔭井上陵、片鹽浮穴宮御宇安寧天皇、在大和國高市郡、兆域東西三町、南北二町、守戸五烟とあり、（蔭字は、陰を寫誤れるか、又富登と云ことを惡て、昔御蔭と唱へ換たりけむも知がたし、なほ正本を考へて、定むべきなり）此御陵、吉田村と云にあり、畝火山の西南方の麓に著たる高き岡にて、（書紀に、畝傍山南とあるは、式に依に、南上に、西字を脱せるなるべし）彼慈明寺村の南なる御陵と、全同じさまなり、（御陰井は、吉田里中の路傍に在て、尋常の小き井なり、御陵は、此井より一町あまりありて、西北方にあたれり、

境岡宮卷

大倭日子鉏友命。坐輕之境岡宮。治天下也。此天皇。娶師木縣主之祖。賦登麻和訶比賣命。亦名飯日比賣命。生御子。御眞津日子訶惠志泥命。自訶下四字以音　次多藝志比古命。二柱

此天皇、後の漢樣の御謚、懿德天皇と申す、○輕は、大和國高市郡にあり、神名帳に、此郡に輕樹村坐神社あり、（此は輕の內の樹村てふ地名か、又輕樹てふ地名か、大和志に、此社、池尻の屬邑輕

皇の御子に、千々速比賣命、其御母千々速眞若比賣、崇神天皇の御子に、千々衝倭姫命などあり、さて都は、例の辭、美は耳に同じき尊稱なり、○淡道之御井宮は何郡何鄉に在にか、未考へず、御井は、高津宮段に、旦夕酌淡道島之寒泉、獻大御水、書紀、反正卷に、天皇初生于淡路宮、於是有井、曰瑞井、則汲之洗太子などある、皆一にて、上代より名高く、甚美泉にぞありけむ、（此泉今もありや、又絶たりとも、其跡だにありや、國人に尋ぬべし）宮とは、此御子の住坐しゝに依て云なるべし、（舊より宮のありしには非じ）さて此御子の、此地に下り住坐る所以は、傳へなければ知難し、○此王、王字美古と訓べし、其由は伊邪河宮段に云り、○二女は、美牟須賣二柱と、師の訓れたるに從ふべし、○兄は伊呂泥と訓べし、○蠅伊呂泥、繩の義未思得ず、若くは地名などか、（蠅は借字なるべし、假字は波弊なり）伊呂泥の事は、上に云り、明宮段末に、百師木伊呂辨と云名も見えたり、○亦名意富夜麻登は大倭、久邇は國なり、阿禮の義は、未思得ず、（若くは明淨の意にてもあらむか、賀茂の齋王を、阿禮袁登賣と申すも、明淨の意かと所思ればなり、彼は齋清まはれるより云ひ、此はたゞ清してふ美稱ならむ）○弟は伊呂杼と訓べし、○蠅伊呂杼、蠅上に同じ、伊呂杼は伊呂弟なり、書紀に、弟字妹字などをも訓り、さて此二柱の御女等は、共に黑田廬戸宮御宇天皇の妃になり坐て、御子をも生坐り、彼段に見ゆ、書紀、彼卷に、御姉を倭國香媛、亦名絙、某姉、御妹を絙某弟とあり、

天皇御年肆拾玖歲。御陵在畝火山之美富登也。

肆拾玖歲、書紀には、三十八年冬十二月庚戌朔乙卯、天皇崩、時年五十七とあり、（此御年數に依

紀に、伊賀國云々、難波朝御世、隷伊勢國、飛鳥朝代、割置如故、倭姫命世記に、伊賀國、天武天皇庚辰歲七月、割伊勢國四郡、立彼國、）此國名は、下三姓へ係れり、○須知之稻置、和名抄に、伊賀國名張郡周知、延長風土記に、同郡に、周知山あり、又神名式に、同國阿拜郡須智荒木神社あり、（此社今荒木村にあり、延長風土記に、荒木山有神、號須智明神、所祭猿田彦、武内宿禰、葛城襲津彦也と見ゆ、）此二處の內、何れならむ、（又和名抄、播磨國餝磨郡にも、周智郷あり、）○那婆理之稻置、和名抄、伊賀國名張郡名張、奈波利、（延長風土記に名張てふ名の說あれども、信がたし）書紀天武卷に、隱郡隱驛家又郡張など見ゆ、萬葉一に、吾せこは何所ゆくらむ、おきつ藻の隱の山を今日か越らむ、又暮に逢て朝面無み隱にか、け長き妹が廬せりけむ、八に、暮相て朝面羞隱野の、芽子は散にき黃葉はやつげ、是ら皆此地をよめるなり、（今本に、加久禮と訓て、伊勢にありと云は、非なり、那婆流は隱の古言なり、萬葉十六の卅葉長哥に、おしてる難波の小江に廬作、難麻理亙居葦蟹をとある、其證なり、是も今本は、訓を誤れり、難は那の假字なるをや、）○三野之稻置、書紀持統卷に、伊賀國伊賀郡身野と見えたる、此地なるべし、（天武紀に、三野縣主あれど、異姓なるべし、）さて書紀に、磯城津彥命是猪使連之始祖也、（此姓、天武天皇十三年に、宿禰になれり、）姓氏錄、右京皇別、猪使、宿禰、安寧天皇皇子、紀都比古命之後也、（紀上に、志字脫たり、）また左京皇別、新田部朝臣、安寧天皇皇子、磯津彥命之後也と見ゆ、（磯下に、城字を脫せり、）此記には、此二氏は漏たり、○一子は、比登波志良能美古と訓べし、○和知都美命、和字は知なるべきかと、師の云れつる、信に和知てふ言は、聞着ぬこゝちすれば、知知なるべし、知知てふ例は、孝靈天

本義には非ず、此字に勿泥みそ、）倭建命段に、御鉏友耳建日子と云名もあり、書紀懿德卷なる、奇友背命の友も、同じ美稱なり、○師木津日子命、師木は、御兄命の鉏と一なり、書紀には、后生二皇子、第一曰息石耳命、第二曰大日本彦耜友天皇、一云、生三皇子、第一曰常津彦某兄、第二曰大日本彦耜友天皇、第三曰磯城津彦命、（舊事紀に、常津彦を、息石耳の亦名とせるは、おしあてなるべし、

此天皇之御子等。幷三柱之中。大倭日子鉏友命者。治天下。次師木津日子命之子二王坐。一子孫者。伊賀須知之稻置。那婆理之稻置。三野之稻置之祖。一子和知都美命者。坐淡道之御井宮。故此王有二女。兄名蠅伊呂泥。亦名意富夜麻登久邇阿禮比賣命。弟名蠅伊呂杼也。

二王は、布多婆斯良と訓べし、王字の事は、伊邪河宮段に云べし、○一子孫者は、比登婆斯良能美古波と訓て、子孫を御子の意に取べし、（然らざれば、下に祖とあると、應わろきなり、）此御子の名は、漏て傳はらざりけむ、○伊賀は、伊賀國風土記云、（殘篇一卷あり、）猿田彦神、始此之國爲伊勢加佐波夜之國、時二十余萬歲知此國矣、猿田彦神、女吾娥津媛命云々、此神之依知守國、謂吾娥之郡、其後淸見原天皇御宇、以吾娥郡、分爲國之名云々、後改伊賀、吾娥之音轉也、（和名抄に伊賀郡に、阿我郡あり、）同延長風土記云、伊賀國者、往昔屬伊勢國、大日本根子彦太瓊天皇御宇癸酉、分而爲伊賀國、本此號者、伊賀津姬之所領之郡也、仍爲郡名、亦爲國名とあり、（國造本

通ふ稱なり、（同母姉を云は、阿泥の阿を省きて、泥と云なり）さて伊呂とは、人を親み愛みて云る言にて、某入彦某入姫と申す御名の伊理、又郎子郎女などの伊良も、皆此同言の活用にて、同意なり、日子坐王の御子に伊理泥王、崇神紀に飯入根と云名なども、伊呂泥と云と通へるを以て知べし、同母兄弟を伊呂勢伊呂杼伊呂妹、母を伊呂波と云も、（伊呂波は、伊呂波々なり）親み愛みて云稱ぞかし、（萬葉十六に、伊呂雅せる菅笠小笠とよめるも、伊呂は、其人を親みて云るなるべし）さて此伊呂泥を、書紀に某兄と書れたる某字は、如何なる由にか、（若くは古に人を親みて云るより轉て、其名を云べき時に、名に代て伊呂と云しことのありしにや、某は那爾賀志曾禮賀志など、訓て、名に代て云字なり、書紀には、此下なる蠅伊呂泥蠅伊呂杼をも、恒某姉恒某弟と書れ、垂仁紀一丁に某邊とも書れたり）○大倭日子鉏友命、日子は大倭へ屬て讀べし、鉏は師木なり、上卷に阿遲鉏高日子根神を、阿遲志貴ともある、是其證なり、（傳十一大國主神御末段下）師木縣主より出て、此大御父天皇及弟命などの御名に負坐る師木と同じ、友は登毛志と云言にて、美稱なり、（ともしを、ともとのみ云は、久しをひさ、戀しをこひとのみも云に同じ）其意は、心におむかしく宜しと思ふにて、萬葉二（二十六丁）に、味凝文爾乏寸高照日之御子、九（十五丁）に、欲見來之久毛知久、吉野川音清左、見二友敷、十三（三丁）五十串立神酒座奉神主部之雲聚山蔭、見者乏文、（今本に、山を玉に誤れり、山蔭は日蔭の蔓のことなり、山かづら蔭ともよめり）などある是なり、此外乏と云言、萬葉に甚多し、（或は羨む意、或ば戀ぢぬぶ意などにも云り、乏字を書は、不足思ふより轉れる一の意にして、登毛志てふ言の

らず、○阿久斗比賣、（斗を、舊印本延佳本共に、計と作るは誤なり、計は、記中に假字に用ひたる例なし、今は眞福寺本、又延佳が一本作斗と云ひ、又の一本にも然あるを取りつ、）神名帳に、攝津國島上郡阿久刀神社あり、（此社、芥川村にありと云り、然らば芥は、もと阿久刀なるべし、さて神名帳、但馬國養父郡、伊久刀神社もあり、又和名抄に、同國二方郡に、久斗郷もあり、これらは名の似たる故に引るのみなり、）書紀には、三年春正月戊寅朔壬午、立淳名底仲媛命（亦曰淳名襲媛）爲皇后、一書云、磯城縣主葉江女川津媛、一書云、大間宿禰女糸井媛とあり、（淳名底仲媛命は、懿德卷に、事代主神、孫鴨王、女也とあり、鴨王と云名、心得ず、其故は、王とは、必皇胤ならでは申さぬ例なるに、事代主神、御子に、此名あるべき由なし、思ふに是は、大和國葛上郡、鴨都波八重事代主命、神社か、高市郡高市、御縣坐鴨事代主命、神社かの御靈の、顯男に化て、婦人に娶て、生ませる御子なりし故に、鴨神、御子と云意にて、鴨御子と申せしを、名と心得て、鴨王とは書るなるべし、是を舊事紀には、天日方奇日方命とせり、其事は水垣宮段に委云べし、）○常根津日子伊呂泥命、此御名、義常何の由にか、未思得ず、（若書紀の如く、御母淳名底仲媛命とせば、其御名の底に依れるか、底と常と通ふ由は、上卷に云るが如し、）根は美稱、（書紀には根、字なし、）伊呂泥は、伊呂勢と同くて、同母兄の意か、書紀に此御名を、某兄と作れ、神代卷神武卷欽明卷孝德卷などに、兄をも然訓り、和名抄にも、兄日本紀云伊呂禰とあり、（同母姉を伊呂泥と云によりて、此泥は、凡て女に限れる稱の如く聞ゆめれども、然らず、白檮原宮段に、神淳河耳命の、御兄を那泥汝命と申し賜へれば、那泥と云も、女には限らず、伊呂泥も准ふべし、）されは此は、男女に

國府渡と云は、大和國平群郡より、津國住吉郡へ通る大道にて、此川を渡る處なり、）是ら古く語傳へたる說にやあらむ、天皇の御名の師木も由あり、（志紀郡）かの玉手てふ村も、此石川に近き地にて、かたく由緣あれば、此宮は、此川の近きあたりにぞありけむ、（彼若江郡も、志紀郡の北に並べり、○師冠辭考に、此宮を、交野郡なりと云れつるは、據を去らず、交野郡なる舟橋川を、片足村川とも云と云り、これもよりどころをしらず、又或說に、大和國葛下郡三倉堂村に、此宮の跡ありと云、又高市郡なりとも云、皆據なし、）書紀に、二年、遷都於片鹽、是謂浮穴宮とあり、（凡て書紀に、遷都とあるは、たゞ漢籍にならひて記されたるものにして、實は後世の如く引遷されたるには非ず、上代に、御代ごとに都のかはれるは、大方上代には、皇子たちも、御父天皇と、同大宮には住坐ずて、多くは別地に住坐りしかば、御父天皇崩坐て、皇太子天津日嗣所知めせば、其元より住坐る鄕、即都となれりしなり、されば諸臣連たちなども、多くは各其本鄕に住めりしかば、都城と云ても、後世の如く、こよなく大きになどはあらざりしかば、何地にまれ、元來住坐る宮ながらに、天下始しゝなり、されば此記などの如く、坐某宮治天下と云るぞ實にて、古言には有ける、）○河俣毘賣は、大御母にて、前段に出たり、○縣主は、師木縣主なるを、先に師木縣主之祖河俣毘賣と云て、其兄と云る故に、師木をば省けるなり、○殿延は、書紀に葉江とあるに就て、殿字、延佳は、破なるべしと云、師は般ならむかと云れつれども、是らの字は、記中に假字に用ひたる例なければ、なほ波の誤ならむか、（一本に、殿宇の傍に、波字を書て、御本とあり、）されど是は字形やゝ遠ければ、定め難し、訓は姑書紀の葉に依て、此名地名かさだかな

賣之兄縣主殿延之女。阿久斗比賣。生御子。常根津日子伊呂泥命。

自伊下三字以音　次大倭日子鉏友命。次師木津日子命。

此天皇、後の漢樣の御諡、安寧天皇と申す、○片鹽は、訶多志波と訓べし、書紀雄畧、卷に、堅磐此云柯陀之波、和名抄に、筑前國穗波郡、堅磐加多之方、（方を今本に萬とあるは、方を万に誤れるを、遂に萬と作るなり）神名式に、越前國今立郡加多志波神社、これら訶多志波てふ名の例なり此なるも、堅磐の意の地名にて、片鹽と書るは、借字ならむか、（志波に鹽字を書るは、志波由々志などの志波なり）さて此は萬葉九（十九丁）に、見河内大橋獨去娘子哥に、級照片足羽河之、佐丹塗大橋之上從云々、と賦る地なりと師の說れつる、信に然るべし（片足羽を、今本に、加多阿須波と訓るは非なり、師の訶多志波と改められたるぞ宜き）○浮穴宮は、姓氏錄、河內國神別に、浮穴直ありて、續後紀三に、女孺河內國若江郡人、浮穴直永子賜姓春江宿禰（和名抄、伊豫國の郡名に、浮穴、宇城、安奈と云あり、續後紀三に、伊豫國人、浮穴直千繼、同姓眞德等賜姓春江宿禰とある、是ら共に、春江宿禰、姓を賜へるを思へば、河內國なると同姓なるべし、然らば伊豫なる浮穴も、元河內なるよりうつれる地名なるべきか）とあると、天皇の御母の御名の川俣の在所とを思合すれば、若江郡ならむか、但河內志に、片足羽河を、志紀郡と安宿郡との堺なる石川の舊名なりと云、或人も此川なりとして、彼大橋は、今國府渡と云處に掛れりしなりと云る、（石川は、石川郡より、古市郡を經て、安宿郡、西志紀郡、東堺を北へ流れて、大和川に入川なり、

鳥野、在三瀬村一と云るは、今然云野のあるにや、尋ぬべし、いかにも身狹は、今の三瀬と思はるゝなり、此事委くは、檜垣宮段に云べし、又萬葉十六に、都久怒とあるは、是か非ぬか、又鳥屋村の西南方に、宣化天皇の御陵と申すあり、是桃花鳥田丘上陵ならむか、周は池にて、中に御陵あり、樹ども生茂れり、廟陵記に、桃花鳥田丘、俗云鳥田丘、在二久米寺戌亥一と云るも此所を云るに似たり、若此御陵ならば、桃花鳥坂と同地には非ず、桃花鳥坂の御陵の事は、檜垣宮段に云べし、空海益田池碑銘序に、右二鳥陵一と云るは、桃花鳥田丘上陵を云るか、若然らば、益田池の西方近處にあるべし、此鳥陵を、倭建命の白鳥陵のことゝ謂は、非なり、其は彼池より程遠ければなり、又大和志に、桃花鳥田丘上陵、在二慈明寺村東南丘一、俗呼二主膳冢一と云る御陵は、神武天皇なるべき由、彼御段に云るが如し、綏靖の御陵は、決て是には非ず、其故は、神武安寧懿德などの御陵、畝火山に附たるは、何れをも、此記書紀共に、畝火山某陵と記されたれば、此綏靖の御陵も、若かのいはゆる主膳冢ならば、殊に畝火山に附たる尾なれば、必畝火山某とあるべきに、是は畝火山を云ずたゞ衝田丘とあれば、彼山をば離れたる地なること明らけし、貝原氏が、畝火山の乾方に鳥田陵あり、綏靖天皇御陵なりと云る、乾方と云るは、彼主膳冢の如く聞ゆれども、鳥田陵と云るは、又彼廟陵記の鳥田丘のことゝ聞えたれば、乾方は誤なるべし、

浮穴宮卷

師木津日子玉手見命。坐片鹽浮穴宮。治天下也。此天皇。娶河俣毘

此地、片鹽浮穴宮に由あればなり、其事次御段に云べし、（大和國葛上郡にも、玉手岡あり、孝安天皇の御陵地なり、されど其處には非じ）見は耳と同くて、尊稱なり、（其由は傳七御宇氣比段下にくはしく云り、さて又此御名、玉は美稱にて、手見は、日子穂々手見などの手見かとも思はるれども、是は然にはあらじ）○天皇御年、天皇は、堺原宮段、玉垣宮段、又下卷にも此彼、此天皇御年云々とあるに倣ひて、此天皇と、此てふ言を加へて讀べし、古言は必然あるべき處なり、次々なるも皆同じ、（此字を畧て置ざるは、漢文の格に依れるなり）○肆拾伍歳、（此下に、舊印本又一本などに、崩字あるは、例なきことなり、今は眞福寺本又一本などに、無きに依れり）書紀には、三十三年夏五月、天皇不豫、癸酉崩、時年八十四とあり、○御陵、在二衝田岡一也、書紀安寧、卷に、元年冬十月丙戌朔丙申、葬二神渟名川耳天皇一於倭桃花鳥田丘上陵一、（都伎を桃花鳥と作れたるは、借字にて、和名抄に、鳻和名豆木とある鳥名にて、今は登伎と云り、登伎色も、此鳥の色なるを云なり、鳻漢名朱鷺ともいふ）諸陵式に、桃花鳥田丘上陵、葛城高丘宮御宇、綏靖天皇、在二大和國高市郡一、兆域東西一町、南北一町、守戸五烟とあり、此御陵、今は詳ならず、（神名式、葛下郡調田坐一事尼古神社あり、是若高市郡堺に近くば、此地なるべし、古と今と、郡堺は變れること多ければなり、されど此神社も、今詳ならねば、定めがたし、大和志に此神社を、疋田村に在と云るは、據あるか、はた調と疋と名の似たるからの推當か、おぼつかなし、疋田は、高市郡堺とは、やゝ隔れり、同郡に築山村と云もあれど、是もその在所をさだかに知らず）此郡内に、身狹桃花鳥坂（垂仁紀宣化紀に見ゆ、神武紀の築坂と同じ）あれば、其と同地ならむか、（大和志に、桃花

とは云なるべしざてかの神八井耳命の子孫の志紀縣主は後に此地より出たる姓なり、さて此河内なる志紀郡に神名式に志貴縣主神社あり、此は二流の内何れの縣主にか詳ならねども、大社の列にて、月次新嘗にもあづかり給ひ、又貴字を書るなど、此彼を以見れば、倭の師木縣主にて、即日子湯支命を祭れるにやあらむ、此人天皇の御外祖なる故に、其神社の列重きかと思はるればなり、其國の女に娶て、此河俣毘賣を生賜ひけむ、（舊事紀に、彦湯支命、日下部馬津名久流久美女河野姫爲妻とある、日下は、河内國河内郡なれば、是れも由なきに非ず）若然らば、河俣は、其御母の本郷などにやあらむ、さて此處の文、師木縣主之祖某之女とこそあるべきに、某之女と云ことなくて、直に祖とあるは、先祖の姉妹などをも、先祖として云るものにて、（師は是を疑ひて、祖字の下に、某之女てふことの脱たるなり、と云れつれど）此例多し、境岡宮段に、師木縣主之祖、賦登麻和訶比賣命、水垣宮段に、尾張連之祖、意富阿麻比賣、日代宮段に尾張國造之祖、美夜受比賣、玉穗宮段に、三尾君等祖、名若比賣などあるが如し、さて河俣毘賣は、時世を以思ふに、彼日子湯支命の女にやあらむ）若姉妹ならむには、祖とは云べからず、日子湯支命は、此縣主の始なればなり、第二世よりの姉妹をこそ、祖とは云べけれ）書紀云、二年春正月立五十鈴依媛爲皇后、一書云、磯城縣主、女川派媛、一書云、春日縣主大日諸女糸織媛也、即天皇之姨也、后生磯城津彦玉手看天皇とあり、○師木津日子玉手見命、師木は御母家の師木、（河俣毘賣、河内より大和に上りて、父家に師木縣に住坐て、此皇子を生坐るか、又河内にて生坐りとも、師木てふ御名は有ぬべし）玉手は、今河内國安宿郡に、玉手村玉手山あり、此地名なるべし、

に師木縣主と云二流あり、一は書紀神武卷に、弟磯城名黑速、爲磯城縣主とある是なり、されど此は傳への誤には非るか、若然らずば、一世にして絶たるなるべし、其故は、此氏若絶ずて存むには、彼日子湯支命と同時に、一師木に、二氏の縣主あるべきに非ず、又此子孫の物に見えたることもなければなり、さて今一は、姓氏錄に、河內國皇別志紀縣主、多朝臣同祖云々、また志紀首云云、また和泉國皇別志紀縣主、雀部臣同祖、また右京皇別志紀首、多朝臣同祖などある是なり、こはもと河內の志紀にて、皆神八井耳命の後なり、さて此流の中には、連なるは無し、故にかの天武卷に、連姓を賜へるをば、日子湯支命の流と定めて、上に引つ、又續後紀四に、志紀宿禰永成と云人見えたるは、右の皇別の方か、後には大氏大和のをば、志貴、河內のをば志紀と書ればなり、されど何れにまれ、宿禰になれることは、史に見えず、脫たるなるべし、）神名帳、大和國城上郡、志貴御縣坐神社あり、○河俣毘賣、（延佳本に、俣を股と作るは、さかしらなり、其事既に上卷に云り、）河俣は地名、和名抄に、河內國若江郡川俣郷これなり、（此俣字を、今本には、保と誤れり、）神名帳に同郡、川俣神社もあり、書紀應神卷、大雀命、御歌に、伽破摩多曳とよませ賜へるも、此處の江なるべし、（川俣村今もあり、又川俣公と云姓もあり、）又神名帳に、大和國高市郡川俣神社あり、（是は御子、天皇の御代などに、此比賣命を祭り賜へる社などにやあらむ、）然れども此御名は、なほ河內のより出たるなるべし、所生御子、河內國にかたゞ〳〵由緣あればなり、（此事次、御段に委く云り、考合すべし、）さるは此御父倭師木縣主、河內國に知領地など有て、通ひ住れける、（河內の志紀は、此倭師木縣主の知領る地なりし故に、其本居の名を取て、同く志紀

なると、河内なるとに三氏ありて、まぎれぬべし、此事次に委く辨へつ、熟考ふれば、即物部連の先祖なり、其は書紀、天武、卷に、十二年冬十月、磯城縣主賜姓曰連、姓氏錄、大和、國、神別志貴連、神饒速日命、孫、日子湯支命之後也、（印本に、此下に二十六字あるは、後人舊事紀の文を書入たるなり、古本に是無きぞ宜き）とある日子湯支命は、宇摩志麻遲命の子にして、物部連の先祖なればなり、然るに物部連、祖と云ずして、師木縣主、祖としも云るは、如何と云に、此日子湯支命の世より、始て師木に居住て、其の縣主にして、當時いまだ物部連と云稱は無かりし故なり、（此氏の物部連になりしは、日子湯支命の五世の孫、十市根、大連の世にて、其以前は、世々師木縣主と云しなり、傳十八、物部連下考合すべし、抑此氏の事は、舊事紀五に、委系譜を載たるを考るに、日子湯支命の四世孫、伊香色雄命の子に、大新川命十市根命、建新川命、大畔布命などあり、其大新川と十市根とに、始て物部連と云姓を賜ひ、十市根、石上の神寶を掌れり、されば物部連になれる十市根などは、此時に、石上邑へ居住を移したりけむを、弟の建新川と大畔布とは、師木の本居に留りて、舊のまゝに子孫まで、師木縣主にてありしなり、されば舊事紀には、建新川を倭志紀縣主等、祖と云り、是物部連と此氏と、別れたる始なる故なり、然るに姓氏錄に、日子湯支命之後也とあるは、此縣主になれる始の祖を擧たるものにて、彼と此と違へるには非ず、又大畔布の後は、姓氏錄、和泉國神別志貴縣主、饒速日命、七世孫、大賣布、之後也とある是なり、大和の師木より、子孫の和泉へ移居しなるべし、上件の事ども、よくせずばまぎれぬべし、舊事紀は、大凡は信がたき書なれども、此氏の事は、委く載たる、考への助となること多きぞかし、○さて又別

古事記傳二十一之卷

本居宣長謹撰

高岡宮卷

神沼河耳命。坐葛城高岡宮。治天下也。此天皇。娶師木縣主之祖河俣毘賣。生御子。師木津日子玉手見命。一柱 天皇御年肆拾伍歲。御陵在衝田岡也。

此天皇、後の漢樣の御諡、綏靖天皇と申す、○葛城は、書紀、神武、御卷に、高尾張邑有土蜘蛛、其爲人也身短而手足長、與侏儒相類、皇軍結葛網、而掩襲殺之、因改號其邑、曰葛城、（また以劒根者爲葛城國造）と見え、高津宮段、大后の御歌に、迦豆良紀多迦美夜とよませ賜ひ、書紀、推古、卷に、葛城縣、天武、卷に、葛城下郡など見えたり、和名抄に、大和國葛上郡、加豆良岐乃加美、葛下郡、加豆良木乃之毛とあり、高岡此名は他に見えたることなし、（大和志に、此宮趾、葛上郡森脇村にありと云へれど、例の信がたし）高宮と云は、若は此宮の趾にて、岡を省て云る名歟、はた其は別なるか知らず、書紀に、都葛城是謂高丘宮、○師木縣主、師木は、大和國の地名なり（城上城下二郡是なり、猶此地のこと、水垣宮段に云べし、磯城とも志貴とも、字はさまざまに書る、同ことなり）さて此縣主のことは、甚まぎらはしきを、（まづ志紀、大和と河內と二所にあるを、縣主も、大和

古事記傳之卷二十終

ごろの御世々々は、皆然らぬはなく、御陵無きが如くにてたゞ法華堂とか申して、全佛舍のさまなりけるは、甚も〳〵あさましく、哀きならひなりけるを、近き御世々々、此火葬にし奉ることの停ぬるは、禍津日神の荒びも漸に靜まりて、何事もめでたかりける古に、立還りぬべき時の來向へるかも、さて又漢國俗には、王も臣も、墓の外に廟と云物を建て、祖をまつる、皇國には陵墓を祭り坐て、外に廟は無し、書紀、皇極卷に、蘇我、蝦蟆、大臣の、己が祖廟を建て、八佾之儛を爲しつとあるは、漢國王のまねせしなるべし、

まれる内を廢かれたると、新に置れたるとあり、其後御代々々に廢置ありて、延喜式のころは十陵八墓なり、かくて後々には、たゞ此近陵墓の御祭のみの如くになりて、遠陵の奉幣のことは隱れゆきてをさ〳〵物にも見えず、いと心うきことなりかし抑近陵墓は、當代に近きを、殊に厚く祭り坐なれば、然もあるべきことなるを、其中に天智天皇をば、永く廢かれぬことになりぬるは、此も彼漢國の制に、太祖の廟をば、百世といへども廢ずと云にならひ賜へるなるべし、されど始清和の御代に、此天皇を第一に置れたるは、當代の大御父尊より、上七世なる故にこそありつらめ、必しも太祖と玄賜ひしにはあらざるべし、然るを其より後々の御代に至ても、猶此天皇を殊に祭坐は、何の由にかおぼつかなし、續紀御代々々の宣命に、近江大津宮御宇、大倭根子天皇乃與天地共長與日月共遠不改常典止立賜敷賜覇留法乎云々、などゝありて殊なる由もありげなれども、此天皇は、皇太子に坐しゝほどより、藤原大臣と共に謀給て、蘇我入鹿を滅し給し御功と、又天下の御制度を漢樣に革め給へることゝこそあれ、其他に殊なることも坐まさず、凡孝德の御世に、萬の御世の古へより有來ぬるを廢て、多く漢樣にしもなれるは、此天智天皇と、藤原大臣との御心より出つとぞ見えたる、後世に此天皇をしも、中興の主など申すめるは、此漢樣の事を多く創坐る故なるべし、かくて此天皇の御陵をしも、永く殊に祭坐ることならば、神武天皇の御陵をこそ、第一に厚く祭り賜ふべく、猶又餘にも有べきをや、さて上代の御陵どもは、上にも云る如く、何れも〳〵甚大に、嚴き御構なりけるは、誠に然あらまほしきわざなるを、佛の道の廣く行はれて、いとも〳〵可畏く火葬と云に玄奉ることの始まりて、中

十陵八墓にて、其餘を凡て遠陵墓とす、近とは、當代に親しく近き意を以云なり、故近陵の幣物は、こよなく多く、なほ又別貢の幣物も多くありて、其は別に內藏寮より供ることにて、其色目は內藏式に見え、又中務式に、凡十二月奉諸陵幣者云々、其別貢幣者、臨幸便所奉送、其使參議已上、及非三議三位、太政官定之、自餘省點之云々、などゝ見えたる如く、近と遠とは甚く差別あるなり、抑此近遠の定まりしは、三代實錄に、天安二年十二月九日、詔定十陵四墓、獻年終荷前之幣、とあるや始ならむ、其十陵は、天智天皇、田原天皇、光仁天皇、桓武天皇、平城天皇、仁明天皇、文德天皇と七代、是當代の皇祖等なり、平城は然らざれども、近き故に加へられたりと見ゆ、嵯峨淳和は近けれども、遺詔にて、山陵を置れざる故に入ず、如此七代をしも定められしは、漢國の七廟の制をまねばれたるなるべし、さて餘の三陵は、桓武の御母后と、皇后と、崇道天皇となり、崇道天皇は、延曆の廢太子にて、そのころ厲給へりしより、殊に祭らるゝなり、次に四墓は、贈太政大臣正一位藤原朝臣多武峯墓、藤原朝臣冬嗣墓、尙侍藤原朝臣美都子墓、源朝臣潔姬墓これなり、冬嗣公は文德天皇の御外祖、美都子は同御外祖母、潔姬は當代の御外祖母なればなり、然るに多武峯墓は、不比等公にて、聖武孝謙の御外祖にこそあれ、淸和の御代に殊に祭らるべき由はなきに、此內に置れたるは、此時天皇は未幼坐々ば、凡て良房大臣の御心より出たる故なるべし、さて三代實錄今本に、右の多武峯墓、鎌足とあるは、後人のなまさかしらに改めつるものなり、古本には此名なし、多武峯は不比等公と、諸陵式にも見え、贈太政大臣正一位も、鎌足公にてはかなはぬ物をや、さて又元慶八年十二月廿日、定毎年獻荷前幣十陵五墓云々、この時、さきに定

諸陵寮美佐々岐乃豆加佐、（書紀持統卷に、五年十月、詔曰、凡先皇陵戸者、置五戸以上云々、若陵戸不足、以百姓充、免其徭役、三年一替、（陵戸は上代より有しことなるべし、近飛鳥宮段に、韓袋が子等をして、大御父市邊王の御陵を守らしめ賜ひしこと見ゆ、是を書紀には、充陵戸とあり、喪葬令に、凡先皇陵、（義解、謂先代以來帝王山陵）置陵戸令守、非陵戸令守者、十年一替、兆域內、不得葬埋及耕牧樵採、（陵戸と云は、永く其陵々に屬たる戸なり、非陵戸令守と云は、持統紀に以百姓充と云るにて、是は其陵戸無きか、或はたらざれば、其陵の近き民戸を差充て、守らしむるをいふ、諸陵式各陵の下に、守戸と有は是なり、）諸陵式に、凡山陵者、置陵戸五烟令守之、有功臣墓者、置墓戸三烟、其非陵墓戸、差點令守者、先取近陵墓戸充之、また、凡陵墓側近有原野者、寮仰守戸、并移所在國司、共相知燒除、また、凡諸陵墓者、每年二月十日、差遣官人巡撿、仍當月一日、錄名申省、其兆域垣溝、若有損壞者、令守戸修理、專當官人、巡加撿校、また、凡每年十二月、奉幣諸陵及墓、其陵別五色帛各三尺、庸布一段一丈四尺、倭木三尺、木綿四兩、麻一斤、近陵別五色帛各一丈、絁一匹、絲一絇、調布一端、倭文一丈、木綿十三兩、麻三斤五兩、裏料、薦五尺、黑葛三兩、遠墓及近墓、幣各同遠陵例、（其別貢幣物、色目見內藏式）同月上旬云々、頒幣日、差各陵墓預人奉、（但神功皇后陵差寮主典已上奉）云々と見えたり、（此、諸陵の幣物は、大藏省より供る、大藏式に、十二月供諸陵幣、其物納調之日、別收正倉、供幣數、見諸陵式、とある是なり、さて參議以下、大藏省の正倉院に行向て、幣を頒つ儀式も、諸陵式大藏式に見えたり、此日天皇建禮門前の幄に行幸あり、其儀貞觀儀式に見えたり、さて近陵遠陵近墓遠墓とは、路程の近遠を以云に非ず、近陵墓はいはゆる

多けれども、何れも〳〵いと高く大に、山の如くにて、内の石構などすべて〳〵おほろけならず、當初大に嚴しかりしほど、推計られて着明きを、是はさらに上代の御陵のなごりとは見えず、同山の邊にて、安寧懿德の御陵などは、さばかり高大なるに、此御陵しもかりそめなるべき理なきをや、是はやゝ近き代に、をこの者の、畝火山の東北にあたりて、此丘のたま〳〵あるを見付て、ゆくりなく是ぞと定めたるなるべし、されど白檮尾上とあるをも考へず、上代の御陵どものさまをも知ずて、いと妄なることなり、）昔承和のころすら、成務天皇の御陵を、神功皇后と誤られしこと、續後紀に見えたれば、況て近代には、まがひけむこと、あやしむべきに非ず、さて歷代の御陵の事、上代には其諸の制、又祭り賜し式など、如何有けむ、詳なる事知がたし、書紀天武卷に、壬申年の亂のほど、神の御諭に因て、遣高市郡大領高市縣主許梅而、祭拜神日本磐余彦天皇之御陵、因以奉馬及種々兵器、と云こと見ゆ、是は臨時の事なれども、御陵を祭り幣を奉賜ふことの、物に見えたる始なり、（是より先も、定れる奉幣などは必有つらむ）續紀に、神龜五年八月、緣皇太子病、遣使奉幣帛於諸陵、（是御陵等に御祈事ありし事の、物に見えたる始なり、）又年號天平と改まりし時に、諸大陵差使奉幣、（取分て大陵と申が有しにや、此は未考へず、）同二年九月、遣使以渤海郡信物令獻山陵六所、（是蕃國の信物を、御陵に奉り給ふ事の、物に見えたる始なり、六所は何々なりけむ、）などゝ見ゆ、さて職員令に、諸陵司正一人、掌祭陵靈、（義解、謂十二月奉荷前幣是也、）喪葬凶禮、諸陵及陵戸名籍事、佑一人、史一人、土師十人、掌贊相凶禮、員外臨時取充使部十人、直丁一人、續紀に、天平元年八月、改諸陵司爲寮、增員加秩、（和名抄に、

傍、橿原宮御宇神武天皇在大和國高市郡兆域東西一町南北二町、守戸五烟、と見えたり、此御陵今は詳ならず、但綏靖天皇の御陵と申傳たるぞ、（里人主膳冢と云り、綏靖を訛れるなるべし、また綏靖冢とも申せり）綏靖には坐ずして、（綏靖天皇の御陵の事は、彼御段に云り、考へ合すべし）此神武天皇の御陵なるべき、其は山本村の西、慈明寺村の南に連きたる高き處に在て、即畝火山の西北方に屬たる岡上にて、正しく尾上と云べき地形なり、（是は山の西北方なれば、書紀及式に東北とあるには違ひたれども、御陰井、上御陵も、正しく此山の西なるを、書紀には南とある違ひもあれば、必しも東北とあるに堅く泥むべきに非ず、式は書紀の隨にぞ擧られつらむ、又此記には北方ともあるをや、さて松下氏が前皇廟陵記に、此御陵下に、可百年以來壞爲糞田、民呼其田字神武田、暴汚之所爲可痛哭也、餘數畝爲一封云々、夫神武天皇繼神代草昧之蹤、東征平中州、王道之興實創於此、我國君臣億兆當致尊奉之廟陵也、澆季至此噫哀哉と云り、大和志にも在四條村と云り、これらに云るは、四條村の一町許東にて、畝火山よりは五六町も東北方にあたりて、田間に僅に三四尺許の高さなる小丘にて、松一木櫻一木生てあり、誰も是を此御陵の趾と思ふめれど、決て是には非ず、まづ地形、白檮尾上など云べき處に非ず、久しき世々を經れば、山も變て平になるなど、常のならひなれども、其もなほ其とは見ゆる物なるに、此地のさまは然らず、山とは清く離れて、其間にいさゝかも、尾の壞れたらむ蹤など思はるる、小高處も殘らず、凡て此わたりは、元より平原なりける地とこそ見えたれ、且上代の御陵どもを今見奉るに、有つるまゝに全きもあり、又發き壞はれて、内のさまの顯露になれるなども

けれ、壽數など然云べきに非ず）○壹佰參拾漆歳は、毛々知麻理美曾那々都と訓べし、（歳字は漢文の方にて書れども、皇國にては古より今に至るまで、人の壽數を若干歳とはいはず、たゞ幾つと云、是ぞ古言なる）書紀に、七十有六年春三月甲午朔甲辰天皇崩于橿原宮、時年一百二十七歳とあり、御年數、此記と十歳の差あり、元より傳への異なりし歟、又二と三とも、廿と卅とも、只一畫の差のみにて、常によく相誤る字なれば、古書にてまがひつるにも有べし、今就を正しとも定め難し、○御陵は美波加と訓べき由、上卷（傳十七鵜羽産屋段の末）に云るが如し、○北方は岐多能加多と訓べし、（師は、凡て方をば倍と訓れつれど、處に依べし、必しも倍をのみ古言と、ひたぶるには定むべからず）○白檮尾上は訶志能袁能宇閇と訓べし、（尾は上へ屬る心に讀べし）萬葉廿（六十一丁）に、多加麻刀能乎能宇倍乃美也とあり、（宇を省て訓まむも不可からず、されど是又、袁能閇をのみ古言と偏には定むべからず）さて山に袁と云に、峯と尾との二あり、尾は鳥獸などの尾と同くて、山のすその長く引延たる處を云、猶此事傳四十二朝倉宮段に、自所向之山尾登山上とある下に委云べし、白檮尾とは、畝火山の北面の尾にて、白檮樹の多く有しより、此名を負るなるべし、さて上と云に、上を云と邊を云と二あり、凡て宇閇は、裏表と云て、裏は內、表は外なるを、上も邊も共に外表なれば、本は同意なり、（共に宇を省て閇とも云り、然るを後には、宇閇は上、閇は邊と分て、二つ言となれり、又邊宇は、邊裏邊垂など云て、中央ならざるはしつ方を云り、されどほとりは其表外をも云なり）此の宇閇は上を云なり、書紀には、明年秋九月乙卯朔丙寅、葬畝傍山東北陵とあり、諸陵式に、畝傍山東北陵、畝

神八井耳命の讓坐るに因てぞ、始て御位は定まりつらむ、（或人、此即位の遲かりしは、三年の御喪を竟賜ひてなりといふは、例の漢國の儒意なり、皇國にそのかみ三年喪など云ことのあるべきかは、

凡此神倭伊波禮毘古天皇。御年壹佰參拾漆歲。御陵在畝火山之北方白檮尾上也。

記中御代々々の段の終に、御年御陵を記せる處の例、多くは、此天皇御年云々、或は天皇御年云々などゝあるを、此に凡此と凡字を置る、此例は訶志比宮段の終に、凡此帶中津日子天皇之御年云々、とあると、輕嶋宮段終に、凡此品陀天皇御年云々、とあるとのみなり、（抑此凡字、うちまかせては心得ぬことなり、意富余曾と云ても、意富加多と云ても、須辨豆と云ても、並古語の法にあたらず、訓べき言なし、故つら〳〵思ふに、）こは其天皇の御事をば離れて、中間に他事を長く記して、終に其御代の一段を括總畢る意にて置る辭と聞えたり、故須辨氐と訓る、其は上卷に、凡伊邪那岐伊邪那美二神共所生、嶋一十四嶋、神三十五神とある凡は、此二大神の嶋をも神をも生々坐る終に、其數を括總云る辭なり、又日代宮段の始つ方に、其御子等を擧たる終に凡此大帶日子天皇之御子等、所錄廿一王、不入記五十九王、幷八十王とあるも同じ、是らは凡と云ること當れるを此は彼等の例とは異なれども、事の終に云る意は相似たるを思に、彼例より轉れる辭なるべし、（又御年の數へ係て云るかとも思へど、物の數をこそ凡若干といふべ

たる功によりて、島田地を賜はりて、其處に在けるか、若然らば丹羽臣も共に、此子上の子孫にやあらむ、）文德實錄七に、島田朝臣清田云々、弘仁十四年改臣姓爲朝臣とあり、（清田は、續後紀八にも見え、同十六に、島田朝臣貞繼と云人も見えて、此人は、類聚國史弘仁元年の處にも朝臣とあり、）上件十九姓の外にも、姓氏錄に、右京皇別志紀首、多朝臣同祖、神八井耳命之後也、園部、同氏、河內國皇別志紀縣主、多朝臣同祖、神八井耳命之後也、（此氏人三人に宿禰姓を賜しこと、三代實錄六に見ゆ、）紺口縣主、志紀縣主同祖云々、志紀首、志紀縣主同祖云々、と見えたり、

神沼河耳命者治天下也。

書紀綏靖卷に、元年春正月壬申朔己卯、神渟名川耳尊即天皇位、是年也大歲庚辰とあれば、大御父天皇崩坐て、三年過て後に、御位には即坐しゝなり、（神武天皇元年を辛酉とあれば、崩の年は七十六年とあれば、丙子に當れり、さて丁丑戊寅己卯と三年過て庚辰なり、）凡て上代の事は、年紀は必しも拘はり難けれども、此御世の初を、三年の後として定められたるは、據ありけむ、（其所以は今知べき由なけれども、つら〳〵思ふに、）神日本磐余彥天皇崩、時神渟名川耳尊孝性純深悲慕無已、恃留心於哀葬之事焉、其庶兄手研耳命云々、遂以諒闇之際、威福自由、苞藏禍心圖害二弟、干時大歲己卯冬十一月云々、至於山陵事畢乃云々、とあるを以見れば、手研耳命の禍害を構へ賜ひしに因て、大御葬すら、四年になるまで（子年より卯年まで四年なり、然るに崩の明年秋九月葬と上にあるは、此の文と違へり、）延緩つるなどなりしかば、其間は、天皇は何の皇子とも、未定坐ずてありけむを、手研耳命を殺し給て、世間靜まり、さて

乙未、割上總國、平群安房朝夷長狹四郡置安房國とあれは元は上總國の内なりき、又思ふに、上なる常道は、此長狹へも係るか、若然らば、上代には上總下總安房かけて、大名を常道と云しにも有べし、此は嘗に驚かしおくのみなり、又上總國夷灣郡にも長狹郷あり、又同國望陀郡に飫富神社あり、長狹國造の祖神なるべし）○伊勢船木直船木何郡にあるにか、詳ならず、（神鳳鈔に、志摩國船木原御厨あり、志摩國をば、古へ伊勢へ攝て云ること多ければ、是ならむか、又多氣郡に今、世舟木村あり）和名抄に、他國には此郷名此彼見えたり、是皆古へに船に造べき材を採れるより負る名と聞えたり、（書紀推古、卷廿六年に、安藝國の山にて、舶材を伐せられしこと見えて、和名抄に、其國安藝郡船木布奈木と云郷あるは、其地なるべし、○續紀廿八より卅六まで、船木直馬養と云人見え、後紀一に船木直安麻呂見えたれども、これらは越前國人にて他姓なり、）○尾張丹羽臣、和名抄に、尾張國丹羽（邇波）郡、是なり、（郡内に丹羽郷もあり、神名式に同郡爾波神社もあり、）續紀十七に丹羽臣、眞咋と云人見ゆ、○嶋田臣、和名抄に、尾張國海部郡嶋田郷、是なり（神名帳、同國中嶋郡大神社、名神大、臨時祭式に、大或作多と見え、文德實錄五に尾張國多天神、三代實錄卅に尾張國多名神などある、皆此神社のことなり、丹羽臣島田臣など、多臣の支別なれば、其祖神なるべし）續紀卅七に島田臣宮成といふ人見ゆ、姓氏錄右京皇別、島田臣、多朝臣同祖、神八井耳命之後也、五世孫武惠賀前命、孫仲臣子上、稚足彦天皇（謚成務）御代、尾張國島田上下二縣有惡神、遣子上平服之、復命之日、賜號島田臣也、（仲臣は、子上の姓にて彼仲國造氏なる歟、さて尾張に多神社あり、又丹羽臣も同祖なれば、子上かの惡神を平げ

さて類聚國史に、天長三年、外正六位上磐城臣藤成授外從五位下とあるは此氏人歟、國造本紀に、石城國造、志賀高穴穗朝御世以建許呂命定賜國造とあるは異姓なり、（其故は、同紀師長須惠馬來田等國造の下に、茨城國造、祖建許呂命云々とありて、茨城國造の下に、天津彦根命孫云々とあり、茨城國造は、書紀神代卷に出て、天津彦根命の後なり、さて常陸國風土記にも、茨城國造、初祖祈許呂命とあり、祈は祁の誤にて、此上に多字脱たるなるべし、然れば建許呂命と云は、天津彦根命の子孫なり、）○常道仲國造、常道は常陸なり、萬葉廿（二十六丁）に比多知、和名抄に常陸比太知）比多に常、字を書は、萬葉十八に等能乃多知波奈比多底里爾之豆とあるは、變らず常に照を、比多底里と云り、此意なり、又十三に常土と書り、今本には常を當に誤れり、さて知に陸、字を書は、陸奥の陸と同くて、陸道の意なり、古今集顯注に、常陸は、ひたかちをひたちとは申すなり、陸をかちともよむなりと云るを、契冲が、陸をかちとよめること未知ず、ひたちはひたみちなりと云る、まことに然り、古哥に、東道の道のはてなる常陸とよめるは、東海道の極なればなり、）常陸國風土記に、往來道路、不隔江海之津濟、郡鄉、境堺、相經山川之峯谷、取近通之義、以即名稱焉、（此は常道の意なり、）また倭武尊巡狩東夷之國、幸、過新治之縣、時、遣國造毘那良珠命、新令堀井、流泉淨澄、尤有好愛、時停乘輿、翫水洗手、御衣之袖、垂泉而沾、依漬袖之義、以爲此國之名、國俗諺、云筑波岳黑雲掛、衣袖漬國是矣とあり、仲は和名抄に、常陸國那珂郡これなり、（郡內に那珂鄉もあり、）國造本紀に、仲國造、志賀高穴穗朝御世伊豫國造同祖、建借馬命定賜國造、○長狹國造、和名抄に、安房國長狹郡奈加佐是なり、（續紀に、養老二年五月甲午朔

國にあり、郡名となれり、）○科野國造、信濃國の事は、上卷（傳十四）に出たり、國造本紀に、科野國造、瑞籬朝御世、神八井耳命孫建五百建命定賜國造、○道奥石城國造、道奥、書紀、齊明卷にも道奥と作、又陸道奥とも作れたり、萬葉十四十八に美知能久と見ゆ、（能に於の韻ある故に、自於は省かるゝなり、）和名抄には、陸奥三知乃於久とあり、（古今集顯注に云、陸奥國と書て、みちのおくにて申すは、哥の詞に非ず、ましてむつの國と申す無下のことなり、陸と云文字をむつと云へばと思へり、陸をばみちとよむなりと云り、陸をむつと云とは、數の六に此字を借用ることなり、信に此國名の美知を、牟都と訛れるは、是よりぞまぎれつらむ、）奥は口に對へ云稱にて、道口道後の後に同じ、京より行に、初の地を道口と云、終を後とも奥とも云り、此國は東北の極に在て、實に道の奥なり、（筑紫にても、大隅薩摩を奥の國と云ること、檜垣家集に見ゆ、又陸奥國にても、黑川郡より北を、奥郡と云大同五年の官符に見えたり、源氏物語若菜卷には、播磨國内にて、此國の奥郡と云ることあり、）石城は、和名抄に、陸奥國磐城郡これなり、（伊波岐とあり、此郡内に磐城郷もあり、又名取郡宮城郡桃生郡などにも、磐城郷あれど、其等にはあらず、）後に郡郷などになれる地をも、古へは國と云ること多し、（春日國吉野國難波國など云、長谷小國などもいへり、）又國と云ながら、猶大名の道奥をも擧るは、書紀敏達卷に、火葦北國造などある例なり、さて續紀八、養老二年五月甲午朔乙未、割陸奥國之石城標葉行方宇太亘理菊多六郡置石城國とあるは、後の事なり、（今本に此陸奥を、常陸と作るは誤字なり、今古本に依れり、）

倍、丹波國天田郡雀部などあり、○雀部造、此の外はいまだ物に見あたらず、○小長谷造、まづ小長谷と云は、雄略天皇の大御名を、大長谷と申せるに對へて、武烈天皇を小長谷若雀命と申せる、此、大御名に由れり、其は彼段に、天皇无太子故、爲御子代定小長谷部（書紀には、置小泊瀬舍人とあり）とあり、然れば、此姓は、神八井耳、命の後の中の人の、彼、小長谷部にてありしが、姓とせるなるべし、（大和圖の長谷を、歌などに小長谷とよめども、是は直に其、地名より出たる姓にはあらず）書紀仁德、卷に、小泊瀬造、祖宿禰臣賜名曰賢遺臣、天武、卷に、十二年九月乙酉朔丁未、小泊瀬、造賜姓曰連とあり、（續紀十三に、小長谷、常人、廿九に、小長谷部、宇麻呂、後紀十九に、小長谷、直淨足など云人見ゆ、是らも皆、彼、小長谷部より出たる姓なるべし）○都祁直、都祁は地名、（祁、清音に讀べし、濁るべからず）和名抄に、大和、圖山邊、郡都介、（續紀六に、開大倭、國都祁山之道、神名帳に、山邊、郡都祁山口、神社、主水式に山邊、郡都介）是なり、書紀仁德、卷に、鬪鷄稻置大山主、允恭、卷に、鬪鷄、國造貶其姓謂稻置と見えたる、（仁德、卷なると允恭、卷なるとは、一姓と聞えたるに、仁德、卷に國造と云ずして、稻置とあるは如何、若初、稻置なりしが、中ごろ國造にはなれりし歟、又は後に貶されたる尸を以て、古へも及ぼしていへる歟）是ら此、氏と同じきか異なるか知ず、（都祁鬪鷄地名は一なり）○伊余國造、伊豫、國の事は、上卷（傳五）に出たり、和名抄に、伊豫、國伊豫、郡、（神名帳、伊豫、郡伊豫、神社、名神大、伊豫豆比古、命、神社、續紀廿七に久米、郡伊豫、神）國造本紀に、伊余、國造、志賀高穴穗、朝、御世、印幡、國造同祖、敷桁彦、命、兒速後上、命定賜國造、（印波、國造、輕島、豐明、朝、御代、神八井耳、命八世、孫伊都許利、命定賜國造とあり、印幡は下總、

在何無人耶、故號其國曰阿蘇とあり、國造本紀に、阿蘇國造、瑞籬朝御世、火國造、同祖、神八井耳命、孫速瓶玉命、定賜國造、神名式に、肥後國阿蘇郡健磐龍命神社、名神大、阿蘇比咩神社、國造、神社と見ゆ、國造本紀科野國造條に、神八井耳命、孫建五百建命とあるは、健磐龍と同じと聞ゆ、彼社傳には、本宮武磐龍命は、神八井耳命の子なり、阿蘇姫神は武磐龍命の妃にて、速甕玉命の母なり、國造、神は、速甕玉命にて、武磐龍命の子なり、一說には、神八井耳命の子なりと云り、書紀に化人出賜ひし阿蘇都彦は、即健磐龍命の神靈なるべし、さて阿蘇山の事は、筑紫風土記に、肥後國閼宗縣、々坤、二十餘里に有一禿山、曰閼宗岳云々、と委く見えたり、○筑紫三家連、三家は美夜氣と訓べし、美夜氣の事は、日代宮段に、倭屯家とある下（傳二十六の末）に委く云べし、筑紫の屯家は、書紀繼躰、卷に糟屋屯家、（糟屋は筑前なり）安閑、卷に、二年五月、置筑紫穗波屯倉鎌屯倉等、宣化、卷に、筑紫肥豐三國屯倉、散在懸隔など、所々に見えたり、かくて又安閑、卷に、詔櫻井田部連縣、犬養連難波吉士等、主掌屯倉之稅など云ことも見えたれは、此姓は、筑紫なる屯家の事を掌れるより出たるか、又三家てふ地名に由れるか、地名は和名抄に、筑前國那珂、郡三宅、筑後國上妻、郡三宅など見えたり、さて書紀天武、卷に、筑紫三宅連得許と云人見ゆ、○雀部臣、佐邪伎辨と訓べし、（佐々伊辨と訓は、後の音便なり）、姓氏錄和泉國皇別、雀部臣、多朝臣同祖、神八井耳命之後也（また志紀縣主、雀部臣同祖）と見ゆ、又建內宿禰の後にも雀部臣ありて、姓氏錄其條下に、雀部と云事の由緣を擧たり、（其文は其下に引り）若此氏も、同じく然る由緣ありしにやあらむ、又地名には、和名抄に、參河國寶飫郡雀部散々倍、上野國佐位郡雀部佐々伊

御後なるは見えず、若右の二の中の一がまがひて、此に出たるにやあらむ、さて書紀雄略卷に坂合部連贄宿禰、（是は神別の方なり）推古卷に境部臣摩理勢、境部臣雄摩侶、（是らは臣尸なるは別姓か）孝德卷に坂合部連磐積、齊明卷に、同磐鍬同藥同石布など見え、天武卷十三年十二月に、境部連賜姓曰宿禰（是らは皇別の方か、神別の方か玄らず）と見えたり、○火君、（火字、或は大、或は炊、或は炊などに誤れり、今は延佳本又一本に依れり）火は地名、筑紫の肥國是なり、名の由など上卷（傳五大八島成出の段下）に委く云り、其處に引る肥後風土記に、肥君等祖健緒組とあるは、即此氏の祖なるべし、書紀欽明卷十七年に、筑紫火君見ゆ、（今本火を大に誤れり）國造本紀に、火國造、瑞籬朝、大分國造同祖、志貴多奈彦命、兒遲男江命、定賜國造、（大分國造同祖とあれば、此氏なるべし）姓氏錄、（右京皇別）火、多、朝見同祖、また（大和國皇別）肥直、多、朝臣同祖、神八井耳命、後也とあり、（景行紀に火國、別又火國造などあるは、別姓なり）○大分君、大分は地名、書紀景行卷に、十二年天皇遂幸筑紫、到豐前國、云々、冬十月到碩田國、其地形廣大亦麗、因名碩田也、碩田此云於保岐陀、とある是なり、風土記にも同じ如見えたり、和名抄に、豐後國大分郡、於保伊多とある、岐を伊と云るは、後の音便なり、（大隅國桑原郡にも大分てふ鄕あれど、其にはあらず）伎陀を分と書は、段の意なり、さて此氏、人は、書紀天武卷に、大分君惠尺、同稚臣（臣を見ともかけり）見ゆ、壬申年の亂に功ありき、○阿蘇君、阿蘇は地名、和名抄に、肥後國阿蘇郡（阿曾）阿蘇、鄕是なり、書紀景行卷に、十八年六月、到阿蘇國也、其國郊原曠遠、不見人居、天皇曰、是國有人乎、時有二神曰阿蘇都彦阿蘇都媛、忽化人、以遊詣之曰、吾二人

臣蔣敷、天武、卷に多臣品治など見えて、同卷十三年十一月戊申朔、多臣賜姓曰朝臣、姓氏錄、左京皇別、多朝臣、出自諡神武皇子神八井耳命之後也とあり、此記撰はれたる安麻呂朝臣は、此氏人なり、（萬葉十七に、太朝臣德太理てふ人見ゆ）三代實錄に、貞觀五年九月五日、右京人散位外從五位下多臣自然麻呂賜姓宿禰、信濃國諏方郡人右近衛將監正六位上金刺舍人貞長賜姓大朝臣、並是神八井耳命之苗裔也、○小子部連、小子の訓は、和名抄、越中國婦負郡鄕名小子知比佐古とあるに依べし、さて此姓の人は、書紀、雄略、卷に少子部連蜾蠃、（七年に、此人大命を蒙りて、三諸岳の雷神を捉へ參れりし勇に依て、雷と云名を賜ひき、姓氏錄に小子部雷とある、此人なり、右の故事、靈異記に委く記せり）天武、卷に小子部連鉏鉤など見ゆ、同御世十三年十二月戊寅、朔己卯、小子部連賜姓曰宿禰、姓氏錄左京皇別、小子部連宿禰、多朝臣同祖、神八井耳命之後也、大初瀨幼武天皇御世、所遣諸國收斂蠶兒誤聚小兒貢之、天皇大哂、賜姓小兒部連、また和泉國皇別、小子部連、神八井耳命之後也、○坂合部連、坂合は佐加比と訓べし、書紀に即境とも書れたり、（凡て境は、即坂合の意の名なり）さて此姓の此に出たること心得ず、其故は、姓氏錄大和國皇別に、坂合部首、阿部朝臣同祖、大彥命之後也、また攝津國皇別、坂合部、大彥命之後也、允恭天皇御世、造立國境之標、因賜姓坂合部連、（連の尸を賜ふと云ながら、此尸を擧ざるは如何ぞや、若脫たるにや）また左京神別、坂合部、宿禰、火明命八世孫、邇倍足尼之後也、右京神別、坂合部、宿禰、火闌降命八世孫、邇陪足尼後也、火明命と火闌降命と異傳なり、）和泉國神別、坂合部、火闌降命七世孫、夜麻等古命之後也と見えて、皇別と神別と、二の坂合部氏あれども、神八井耳命の

六年四月壬子朔庚申、右京人正六位上茨田連魚麻呂等七人賜姓忠宗朝臣、又姓氏錄山城國皇別、茨田連、茨田宿禰同祖、彦八井耳命之後也など見ゆ、（此外にも同書に、河內國皇別に、下家連、彦八井耳命之後也、また江首、彦八井耳命七世孫來目津彦大雨宿禰大碓命之後也、また尾張部、彦八井耳命之後也なども見ゆ、是らは茨田連より別れたる氏なども なるべし、○姓氏錄の撰者萬多親王の御名は、乳母の姓を取れるなり、そは此氏人なりけむ、此御名も初は茨田と書れしを、後に萬多とは改め書れつるなり）○手島連、手島は和名抄に、攝津國豐島（手島）郡豐島天之萬とある、此地より出たる姓なり、姓氏錄攝津國皇別、豐島連、多朝臣同祖、彦八井耳命之後也、日本紀漏、（松津首、豐島連同祖）とあり、

神八井耳命者。意富臣。小子部連。坂合部連。火君。大分君。阿蘇君。筑紫三家連。雀部臣。雀部造。小長谷造。都祁直。伊余國造。科野國造。道奥石城國造。常道仲國造。長狹國造。伊勢船木直。尾張丹羽臣。島田臣等之祖也。

意富臣、意富は地名、和名抄に、大和國十市郡飫富とある、（今本に、飫を誤て飯と作り、上總國望陀郡の飫富をも、飯に誤れるを、於布とあるにて、其誤を知るべく、大和なるをも、准へて知べし、さて今も十市郡に多村ありて、太とも書り、神名帳に、多坐彌志理都比古神社、臨時祭式に太社と見えて、或作多社とある是なり、此社今も多村にあり、此氏神にや坐らむ）此より出たる姓なり、書紀にも、神八井耳命云々、是即多臣之始祖也と見え、景行卷に多臣祖武諸木、天智卷に多

故其日子八井命者。茨田連手島連之祖。

日子八井命、書紀には、此皇子無し、姓氏錄には、神八井耳命、男彥八井耳命とあり、（其文は下に引べし、舊事紀にも、御名は彥八井耳命とありて、神淳名川耳尊の御弟とせり）故思に、此命若白檮原朝の皇子ならましかば、御兄弟等の當藝志耳命を殺し賜ふ時に、必出給はましを、其段には唯二柱のみにて、此命は見え給はぬを思へば、書紀の方正しくて、姓氏錄に見えたる如く、實は神八井耳命の御子にぞ坐けむ、然るを此記に其御兄としもせるは、混れたる傳なるべし、其まぎれは、此命御齡も長しく、勇などの優りて、父命よりは、御威名も殊に高くありし故なるべし、されば姓氏錄に、茨田連など、たゞに神八井耳命之後とのみはいはずして、その男彥八井耳命之後と、此御名をしも擧るは、彼氏々、此命を以本祖とする故なるべし、○茨田連、茨田は河內國の地名にて、其地より出たる姓なり、其地の事は、下卷（傳三十五）に、茨田堤とある下に云べし、さて此姓は、高津宮御世十一年に、茨田堤を築せられし時、河內人茨田連衫子てふ人、功を立たりし事、書紀に見え、繼躰紀に、茨田連小望と云人見ゆ、さて天武卷に、十三年十二月戊寅朔己卯、茨田連賜姓曰宿禰、姓氏錄河內國皇別、茨田宿禰、多朝臣同祖、彥八井耳命之後菅呂母能古、仁德天皇御代造茨田堤、（菅呂母能古を、今本に男野現宿禰と作るは誤なり、古本に依て改めつ）又續紀に、文武天皇二年八月戊子朔、茨田足嶋賜姓連、（萬葉廿に、茨田連沙彌麻呂と云人見ゆ）又姓氏錄右京皇別、茨田連、多朝臣同祖、神八井耳命、男彥八井耳命之後也、續後紀、承和

毘、（此訓注の齋字の下に、今本に主字あるは誤なり、是は上の齋字の訓注にて、伊幡比とのみあれば、主字あるべき由なし、後人のさかしらに加へたるなり、さて此文を、齋主と齋之大人とは同言なるに、かく云るはいかゞと、人の疑ふことなれども、よく聞えたることなり、齋主はその時の職をいひ、下の齋之大人は、其神の名になれるよしを云るなり、後まで香取神號を、伊波比奴志神と申すを以ゑるべし）など見え、萬葉七（四十丁）に、三幣帛取、神之祝我、鎮齋杉原、十四（廿丁）に、爾布奈未爾、和家世乎夜里豆、伊波布許能戸乎など猶多し、さて此の忌人は、書紀にも、吾當爲汝輔之奉典神祇者と有て、天皇の御親行ひ給ふ御神事を、扶輔奉り給ふ職を云なり、然るは上代には、御神事を、有が中に最嚴重き御業として、（職員令に神祇官を第一として、太政官より上に次第られたるなど、上代の意の遺れるなり、後世何事も如此こそあらまほしけれ）書紀に右に引る文にも、朕親作顯齋と見え、神功卷には、皇后選吉日入齋宮、親爲神主、とも有如く、大御親仕奉り賜へる故に、（後世までも大嘗などには此式遺れり）其御扶輔を爲給ふなれば、甚々重き職掌にぞ有ける、上に扶汝命といひ、書紀にも爲汝輔、とあるに心を著べきものぞ、（齋主と云ずして、齋人と云るは、如何にと云に齋主は、中臣忌部などの諸の神職を總帥て仕奉る職なる故に、主と云を、今此神八井耳命の仕奉賜ふは、然には非ず、天皇の御自ら仕奉賜ふ御事を、扶奉給ふ方の職なる故に、主とは稱ざるなり、）○仕奉は、神に仕奉と見むか、天皇に仕奉と見むか、何れにても違ふべからず

於神沼名川耳尊曰、吾是乃兄而儒弱不能致果、今汝特挺神武、自誅元惡、宜哉乎、汝之光臨天位以承皇祖之業とあるは、心得ぬことなりかし、（其故は、若神沼河耳命一柱、既く皇太子に定まり坐てあらむには、皇位を嗣坐むこと、本より論なきに、此に至て今更に、讓云々とあるは如何ぞや、また宜哉乎云々とある語は、かねてより定まり坐る如く聞ゆれども、若然らばいよ〳〵、讓曰云々てふ語に叶はず、されば此は、哉乎、二字を除きて、宜汝之光臨天位以承皇祖之業と云てこそ、本末あひ叶ふべけれ、凡て書紀に、某年月日立某爲皇太子とあるは、上代のは何れも疑はしきを、此に宜哉乎と書給へるは、上に爲皇太子とあると、首尾を合さむとての文なるべし）さて上代には武を主として、天下治しめしゝこと、此段を見てさとるべし、○僕は阿禮と訓べし、（上にも吾者とあり、書紀にしも吾とあり）○忌人は、師の伊波比毘登と訓れたるぞ宜き、此訓は、黒田宮段に、伊波比辨を忌瓮と書るにて定むべし、凡て伊波布と伊牟と本同言にて、齋字をも書て、（後世には、忌字をば伊牟とのみ訓て、伊波布には齋字、祝字などをのみ書ども、齋を毛能伊美とも訓を以て、同言なることを知るべし）諸の凶惡事汗穢事などを忌避て、萬を愼むを云なり、故多く神に仕奉る事に言り、（後世には伊波布とは、壽く事をいひ、伊牟とはたゞ嫌惡て去ことをのみ云て、反對なる如くになれゝども、壽を云も、其人其物を吉からしめむと願ふにつきて、凶惡事を嫌去て、愼む意より轉り、又たゞ嫌去を伊牟と云も、凶惡事を嫌去より轉れるにて、本は一意なり）書紀此御卷に、時勅道臣命、今以高皇產靈朕親作顯齋、用汝爲齋主云々、顯齋此云于圖詩怡彼毘、また神代卷に、是時齋主神號齋之大人、齋此云伊幡

委く云りき、○雖兄は阿爾那禮杼母と訓べし、（此兄は、伊呂勢などと訓てはわろし）○不宜爲上は、加美登阿流辨加羅受と訓べし、さて此上は、只此二柱の間の上下を云には非ず、天下萬人の上にて、天皇となることを云なり、一姓の中の長を氏上といひ（氏長者と同じ）長子を子上といひ、（兄字を古能加美と訓によりて、一人には限らぬ如く聞ゆれども、然には非ず、漢字に依て古言の意を勿失ひそ）諸官の長官をも皆加美と云、是らも皆其所有中に、最上たる一人を云て、同じことなり、さて又爲を登阿流と訓は、多流と云と同じ、多流は即登阿流の切りたる辭なり、故多流と云べきを、登阿流と云ること、古言に多し、（凡て此多流多理に二あり、躰言の下に附るは、此と同じくて、皆登阿流登阿理なり、但漢文にて、瑟兮僩兮など云類は、用言の下なれども、字音にて活かざれは、體言に同じくて、是も登阿理の切りたるなり、さて用言の下に附るは、皆豆阿流豆阿理の切りたるなり、云たり聞たりなど云類是なり、多良牟多禮など活きたるも右の二なり）○汝命爲上、此爲上は、加美登麻志氐と訓べし、凡て尋常の人には、阿理阿流と云辭を、尊みていふときは、坐と云例なり、續紀宣命に、皇坐豆天下治賜君者云々、また君坐氐御宇事云々など、此外も皆かくの如し、○上代には日嗣御子と申すは、一柱に限らざりしかば、（此事上にも下にも委く云り）神八井耳命も神沼河耳命も、共に日嗣御子に坐て、此時御位を嗣坐べきは、未何れとも定り給はざりし故に、今如此る御論議はあるなり、若豫て定まり賜へらむには、今更に此御議論はあらめやも、然るを書紀には、四十有二年春正月壬子朔甲寅、立皇子神渟名川耳尊爲皇太子とありて、此處に至ては於是神八井耳命憑然自服、讓

○書紀に、會有手研耳、命於片丘大窖中獨臥于大牀、時淳名川耳尊（淳上に神字を脱せるか、）謂神八井耳命曰、今適其時也、夫言貴密事宜慎、故我之陰謀本無預者、今日之事唯吾與爾自行之耳、吾當先開窖戸、爾其射之、因相隨進入、神淳川耳尊突開其戸、神八井耳命則手脚戰慄、不能放矢、時神淳名川耳尊擊取其兄所持弓矢、而射手研耳命、一發中胸、再發中背、遂殺之と見ゆ、（是し大窖中に臥とあるに依て思へば、此記に持兵入而云々、故持兵入以云々、所持之兵入殺云々、と三たびまで入と云るは、窖内なる故歟、はたさばかりの意はなきか、又三處ながら、入字の兵字の下につゞきてあるは異なる意などある歟、驚かしおくなり、）○亦稱其御名謂建沼河耳命、こは本の神を建と更めたるにはあらず、是時より亦御名に如此も申せりといふなり、上の亦字に其意見えたり、故次の此命の御段の始には、又舊のまゝに神とあり、建沼河耳命登母麻袁志伎と訓べし、大毘古命の御子にも、建沼河別命といふあり、

爾神八井耳命讓弟建沼河耳命曰。吾者不能殺仇。汝命既得殺仇。故吾雖兄。不宜爲上。是以汝命爲上。治天下。僕者扶汝命。爲忌人而仕奉也。

讓てふ言は、佛足石歌に、由豆利麻都良牟とあり、○得殺仇は、延志勢賜比奴と訓べし、仇字は讀べからず、仇をと云ことは、上にあるを、此に又云むは、煩はしければなり、また得殺とあるをば、常には殺すことを得と訓ども、其は漢籍讀なり、延志勢と云ぞ古言なる、此事先に例など引て

兵、字、又卒などを然訓るは誤なり、又其をイクサビトなど、訓る、これぞ宜しき、）名義は鐔物なり、（和名抄に、鐔都美波、）匠具農具其餘も、諸、器に刀鉾の屬の物は多かる中に、兵器に局りて鐔ある故に、此名を負るなり、（都美波の美を省きて都波と云るは、後世には鐔をも即都婆と云と同じ、さて書紀には此に、弓矢を新に造給へること見えて、遂に其を以射殺し給ふとあるを以思へば、此に兵とあるも、弓矢ならむか、若然らば、刀鉾のたぐひより轉りて、弓矢などをも同く都波毛能と云る歟、但此記の傳は弓矢にはあらで、刀鉾のたぐひなりけむも知がたし、○諸、器物を凡て、宇都波毛能といへば、兵器も本も宇都波毛能と云て、其は諸、器の惣名なるが、別て兵器の名にもなれる歟、又兵器を本にて、諸、器の惣名にもなれる歟、何れにまれ宇都波物とは、本一名の如くにて、まぎらはしけれども、本より別にて、宇都波物は、本坏の屬の名にて、空埴物の義なるを、爾を省けるは、土師を波自と云と同じことなり、物を實む料に、内を空に造れる故に然云り、さて後には、必しも土物ならねども、凡ての名にもなれるなり、）○持は登理氏と訓べし、書紀神功、卷にも、荷持此云能登利、とあり、（されど毛知豆と訓も、あしくはあらず、）○故持兵は神八井耳、命なり、○和那々岐氏は、書紀には戰慄、とあり、又神功、卷に戰々栗々、清寧、卷に慓然振怖、敏達、卷に搖震、皇極、卷に動手、又掉戰、など見え、字鏡に、悸動也亦惶也和奈々久、また怯懼也和奈々久、又乎乃々久、とあり、このほか物語文などにも常に云る言なり、（和と乎とは、殊に親しく通ふ音にて、乎乃々久も同言なり、俗言に身の震動ふ貌を、和陀々々とも、乎杼々々ともいふ、是も同じ、）○弟は伊呂登と訓べし、下卷若櫻、宮、段に伊呂弟とあると同じ、

春になりゆくなり、春去にけりと云るも、春になりにけりといふ意なり、）今の俗言に、夜を夕さりとも夜さりとも云は、此より出たる言なるべし、○此御哥は、當藝志美々の、晝のほどは忍びて、さりげなくて在るを、雲の靜まり居るに譬へ、夕になれば汝等を殺し奉むとて、其事謀設けをするぞと云ことを、風の吹むとして、木葉のさやぐに譬へたまへるなり、○聞知とは、御母命の御歌を聞て、其意を解り給へるなり、○爲將殺當藝志美々之時云々、書紀に、至於山陵事畢、乃使弓部稚彦造弓、倭鍛部天津眞浦、造眞鏃、矢部作箭、及弓矢既成、神淳名川耳尊、欲以射殺手研耳命、とあり、○兄は伊呂勢と訓べし、其解傳九（八俣遠呂智の段下）に見ゆ、○那泥は、人を親み尊みていふ稱なり、書紀神代卷に阿姉と見え、萬葉四（五十丁）に、己が女を名姉とよみ、今本の訓は誤れり、）九（三十二丁）に妹名根とよみ、常にも、男には兄、女に姉と云へば、那泥は女に局るべきに似たれども、此に兄命を詔へれば、男にもわたる稱にて、（伊呂泥も女に限る如くなれども、安寧天皇の御子に、常根津日子伊呂泥命と申すあれば、是も男女にわたる稱なり、）泥は、天津日子根など、常多かる泥なり、○汝命は、那賀美許登と訓べきこと、上（傳七のはじめ）に云り、○兵は、和名抄に、兵庫寮、豆波毛乃々久良乃官とあれば、都波毛能と訓べし、刀鉾の屬の總名なり、書紀に、鉾、及兵、器兵、仗兵、革など、然訓り、（漢國にても兵字は、もと械也とも戎器也とも注して、其義なるを、轉して、其兵を執人を多く兵と云る、其をも誤て都波毛能と訓るから、後世には、只勇士の稱の如くなりて、剛者の意と心得て、刀鉾の屬の名なることをば知ずなりぬ、皇國にては、古其人を指て都波毛能と云ることは無りき、書紀などに人を云る

此、寧若其家にありし歟、たとひ家には在ずとも、住りし地に遠からじ、是を以見れば、其家、京より東北の方にはあらじとぞ思はるゝ、さて又雲の立渡るは、風の吹むとするさまなれども、木葉のさやぐは、方に風の吹時の事にこそあれ、吹むとするさまによみ給へるは、事のさま違へるに似たれども、然細に思ふは、後世の意なり、たゞ木葉のさやぐは、風の吹に事縁る故に、かくはよみたまへるなり、凡てかゝること、古へは大らかにこそよめれ、又風は先山上より吹て、後に山下へは吹おろすものなる故に、先山の木葉のさやぐが見えて、いまだ山下までは吹及ざるほどなりとも云むか、其は殊にくだ〳〵し、）○又歌曰は、たゞ麻多どのみ訓べし、○比流波久毛登韋は、晝者雲と居にて、雲と居とは、雲にて居るを云れり、夕には風になるべき雲の、晝のほどは、未雲にて居るを云、居とは、起騒ぎなどはせずて、山際などに懸りて、駐り集るを云なり、（俄に黒雲の起て、いみしく雨の降ぬべきけしきなるが、雨はふらずて、風の吹出て、其雲は晴ゆくことなど、常にあるものなり、これらも其雲の即風になるなり、師の、此句を、雲の如く居るなり、又多知を切むれば知なるを、通はして登と云るか、然らば雲立居なり、と云れつるは、二共にわろし、雲の如く居とは、何物の居るにか、又立居とは云がたし、さては立もし居もすることにな[illegible]を、此處はたゞ静まり居る意ならではかなはず）○由布佐禮婆は、夕去者にて、夕になればと云むが如し、萬葉に多き詞なり、明去ば朝去ば、春去ば秋去ば、又春去ぬればなどもいひ、夕さらば春さらば、秋さらばなどもいひ、又夕去來れば春去來ればとも、春去にけりとも、又春去往とも、さま〳〵に云る、みな去は其時になる意に云り、（去往る意にはあらず、春去往と云るも、

ことをなり、○歌曰は曾能美宇多と訓べし、○佐韋賀波用は自狹井河なり、此川の事上に見ゆ、用を延佳本に由と作るは非し、此事も先卷に委く云り、○久毛多知和多理は雲起亘なり、此は直に狹井川より起と云には非ず、（狹井川に雲の立騰る處は、白檮原京より見え分るべきに非ず、）此川の方よりと云意なり、其は京より狹井川は東北方にあたれば、たゞ東北の方より起るなるを、此比賣命の本郷なる故に、女の御心に、平日に其方さまをば、凡て狹井川の方と心得坐るから、如此は讀坐るなり、○宇泥備夜麻は畝火山なり、○許能波佐夜藝奴は木葉喧擾ぬにて、木葉のさや〳〵と鳴り騷ぐなり、萬葉二（十九丁）に、小竹之葉者、三山毛清爾、亂友、（清は借字なり、）十（三十八丁）に、葦邊在荻之葉左夜藝、秋風之吹來苗丹、雁鳴渡、古今集十九に、小竹の葉の佐夜具霜夜をなどよめり、又上卷に、葦原之水穗國者、伊多久佐夜藝氐有祁理、（傳十三のはじめ）此御段の上にも同語あり、又傳十一宇伎由比の段須勢理毘賣の御歌に、多久夫須麻、佐夜具賀斯多爾ともあり、○加是布加牟登須は欲風吹なり、○一首の意、表は、狹井川の方より雲の發渡て、大宮のべなる畝火山の樹葉どもの喧擾ぐを見坐て、風の吹發なむとすることを所知看たるさまにて、然曾賜へる裏の意は、當藝志美々の方に事謀をし設るぞ、其は汝等を殺さむとてなりと云るにて、雲起亘木葉さやぐは、事謀する譬へ、欲風吹は殺さむとする譬なり、（雲の起る方を、狹井川從としもよみ給へるは、若くは當藝志耳、命の家其方に在し故かとも思はるれども、其までの意はあるべからず、彼命の家は、何處にありけむも知べからねど、書紀に片丘なる大窖中に臥たまへりしことのある、片丘は葛下郡なれば、畝火山の西なり、

るも、如此有事の亂のありし故に、當時より貶して申せるか、當藝志耳命も、是より下には、みな命てふことを省ける例をも思ふべし、されど假令然る事ありとも、后の御心より和ひ給へるには非ずして、たゞ當藝志耳命の强たる所爲なりけむこと、御哥よみして其惡事を令知賜ひしにておしはかるべし、）○三弟は美婆斯羅能意登御子多知と訓べし、上に擧たる三柱の御子なり、○將殺は斯勢牟登志氐と訓べし、上卷沼河日賣の哥に、伊能知ハ波、那志勢多麻比賀、（命は莫殺給ひそなり）水垣宮段の哥に、奴須美、斯勢牟登、宇迦々波久斯良爾（竊弑むと窺はく不知なり）など見え、書紀卷々に、弑また殺を斯勢麻都流と訓り、斯勢は令死の切りたるにて、殺をいふ古言なり、（弑の字音には非ず）○謀之間は波加理碁都富杼爾と訓べし、獨言するを獨碁都、政爲を麻都理碁都など云例にて、謀事爲を切めて、如此云なり、書紀云、神日本磐余彦天皇崩時、神渟名川耳尊孝性純深悲慕無已、特留心於哀葬之事焉、其庶兄手研耳命、行年已長歷朝機故、亦委事而親之、然其王立操厝懷本乖仁義、遂以諒闇之際威福自由、苞藏禍心、圖害二弟于時也、大歲己卯冬十一月、神渟名川耳尊與兄神八井耳命、陰知其志而善防之、至於山陵事畢乃云々、（抑大后の所生る御子は、三柱の弟御子等なれば、天日嗣は、此御子たちの中ぞ所知看むこと論なきに、其を殺奉むと謀れるは、高御座を窺へりしこと知られたり、また大后に婚けむとせられしはさらなり）○御祖、古御母を皆御祖と云り、此事上に委く云り、○患苦は宇禮比氐と訓べし、上卷にも、其御祖命哭患而とあり、○以歌は宇多與美志氐と訓べし、（宇多毛豆と訓まむも惡からず）、○令知は、殺奉むとする

りの如く庶兄と書り、然れども皇國にては、嫡庶を論ず、凡て異母の兄弟を麻々兄麻々弟と云けむこと、彼字鏡に嫡をも庶をも萬々とあるにても知べく、又和名抄に、繼父萬々知々、繼母萬々波々と見え、又古へも今も、非所生子を麻々子と云、今言に非所生親子の間を麻々志伎中と云り、）○嫡后は意富岐佐伎と訓べし、上に大后とあるとおなじ、○妾は、此は多波久と訓べし、書紀に、通（景行卷允恭卷）姧（允恭卷）淫（安康卷）など皆然訓り、凡て男女の交通の義に違へるを多波久と云りと聞ゆ、字鏡に、姧亂也犯淫也多波久とあり、（同書に淫太波留とあり是も本同言なるべく、又萬葉二十に多波和射とあるも、又狂も、皆同言にて、本は男女の事には限す、凡ての事にいふ言なりけり、）さて此、當藝志耳命の、嫡后に姧坐ること、書紀には見えず、疑はしきことなり、此、次に嫡后の患苦坐て、御哥賦して、御子等に知しめ給へるなどを以見れば、未交通はしたまはざれども、強て犯し奉むと欲て、聘ひ賜へるを、多波久とは云るにやあらむ、（與婆布又都麻杼比などいふも、既に交通せるをも、未せざるをもいへば、多波久も然らむか、又思に、上卷に將婚欲婚など書る例を以見れば、此もたゞ交通せむとし給ふをいはゞ、將字欲字などを加て書べきに、然はあらで直に妾と書るは、若くは既に其事ありしにもやあらむ、若然らば書紀には、綏靖天皇の皇母なる故に憚り忌て省かれたるか、但書紀にては、天皇元年に皇后に立給て、七十六年に崩坐しかば、其時皇后御年甚く老給たるべければ、然ることあるべくもあらず、然れども此記の傳にては、此、大后何れの年より召れ給ひしともなく、又凡て書紀の年數、強て拘り難きこと多ければ、左右に定めがたし、此、御名に多く命と云ことを省て云

故天皇崩後。其庶兄當藝志美美命。娶其嫡后伊須氣余理比賣之時。將殺其三弟而謀之間。其御祖伊須氣余理比賣患苦而。以歌令知其御子等。歌曰。佐韋賀波用。久毛多知和多理。宇泥備夜麻。許能波佐夜藝奴。加是布加牟登須。又歌曰。宇泥備夜麻。比流波久毛登韋。由布佐禮婆。加是布加牟登曾。許能波佐夜牙流。於是其御子聞知而。驚乃爲將殺當藝志美美之時。神沼河耳命曰其兄神八井耳命。那泥(此二字以音)汝命。持兵入而殺當藝志美美。故持兵入以將殺之時。手足和那那岐豆(此五字以音)不得殺。故爾其弟神沼河耳命乞取其兄所持之兵。入殺當藝志美美。故亦稱其御名謂建河河耳命。

庶兄は、字鏡に庶兄萬々兄とあり、如此訓べし、(上巻に庶兄弟とあるをば、たゞ阿爾於登杼母と訓たりき、彼は異母兄弟等を凡て云る、其を麻々某といふ稱を知ざればなり、又書紀、綏靖巻に、庶兄をイロヒ、用明巻に、庶弟をハラカラと訓るなどは、皆當らず)又同書に、嫡母萬々波々、旬萬々妹などもあり、(漢國にて、庶字は嫡に對へる稱にして、嫡妻の生る子を嫡子といひ、妾の生るを庶子といふ、されば庶兄とは、嫡妻の生る弟の、妾の生る兄をいふ稱なり、此も其定ま

まだ思得ず、御弟命の沼河の例に依らば、字の如きかゝて此御子の事、下に論あり、○神八井耳命、名義、八井は上と同じ、耳は上卷忍穗耳命の處に云るがごとし、次なるも同じ、書紀綏靖御卷に、四年夏四月、神八井耳命薨、即葬于畝傍山北とあり、（此御墓の事、大和志に、在高市郡山本村、稱御陵山、傍有小祠、曰岩井耳と云り、山本村畝火山の邊にあり、）○神沼河耳命、沼河は書紀に依て奴那加波と訓べし、上卷に沼河比賣と云あり、萬葉十三（九丁）に、沼名河之底奈流玉、神名帳に、越後國頸城郡奴奈川神社あり、是を和名抄郷名には、沼川奴乃加波とあり、此例に准へば、那は之の意にやあらむ、（淨御原天皇の御名天淳中原瀛眞人、淳中此云農難とあり、是も中は借字にて、同意なるべし）さて沼河とは、沼の如く水の淀みて深き川などをいふか、また砂ならで泥なる川をいふか、又此御名は、然る川の意にて、御兄の御名の八井も此も、稱名になる由あるか、將地名か、詳にはしりがたし、書紀云、庚申年九月壬午朔己巳、納媛蹈鞴五十鈴媛命以爲正妃、辛酉年春正月庚辰朔、天皇即帝位於橿原宮、是歲爲天皇元年、尊正妃爲皇后、生皇子神八井命、神渟名川耳尊とあり、（凡て書紀に、上古の御代々々皇后を立たまふことなどを、如此某年某月某日と、月日を記されたること甚疑はし、其由別に眞暦考に委く論へり、考へ見べし、又きはやかに尊爲皇后などゝいふことも、漢國の事にこそあれ、皇國の上代にはさる事あるべくもあらず、皇后は何時よりとなく、自皇后なるべきをや、さて神八井耳命は、綏靖卷には、此記と同く、井下に耳字あるを、此處に無きは、後に脫せるにや、又此記に日子八井命と申す例もあれば、本より耳てふ言をば省きても申せるか、

めて、希見しき旅宿せしことよとよみ賜へるなり、○阿禮坐は生坐にて、宇麻禮賜へりと云ことなり、阿禮てふ言の意は、新現と通へり、生るゝは此身の新に成なり、又現るゝなればなり、（宇麻を切れば阿なる故に、阿禮は即宇麻禮なり、と意得るは違へり、宇麻禮は所產にて、言は元より別なり）明宮御宇天皇の生坐るをも、其御子者阿禮坐とあり、續紀一に、天皇御子之阿禮坐牟彌繼々爾と見え、月次祭祝詞にも、阿禮坐皇子等乎毛惠給比と見え萬葉一（十六丁）に、阿禮座師神之盡六（四十二丁）に、阿禮將座御子之嗣繼など見ゆ、又書紀允恭卷に、皇后產大泊瀨天皇とある產を、阿良志麻須と訓るは、令生坐なり、（凡て阿禮坐とは、御子に就ていふ言にて、宇麻禮賜ふと云意なり、故御母に就ていふときは、阿良志坐なり、令生坐の意なればなり、又宇牟は母に就たる言なる故に、子に就ていへば宇麻流といふ、所生の意なり、されば古書に生字を書るに此差別あり、母に就て某生某とある生は、親の子を產なれば、宇牟とか阿良志坐とか訓べし、子に就て某生とある生は、子の誕生なれば、宇麻流とか阿禮坐とか訓べし、然るに世人此差別なく、生字をば、子に就ても親に就ても、阿禮坐と訓を古言と心得たるは非なり、凡て何事も文字に委ねおく故に、古言のかゝる差別あることを得辨へ知ざる、此類多し、其例を一二いはゞ、賜ふと賜はるとを一に心得、遣すと遣さるとを一に心得るなど、皆誤なり、多麻布は與ふる人に就ていふ言、多麻波流は受る人に就ていふ言にて、所賜の意なり、都加波須は遣る人に就ていふ言、都加波佐流は行人に就ていふ言にて、所遣の意なり、凡ての言づかひ、此等を以て准へ知べし、）○日子八井命、姓氏錄には彥八井命とあり、（舊事紀も同じ、）八井の意い

りと云れつるは、葦原の繁き中にある小屋と云意なるべけれど、若其意ならむには、葦原の志宜美能小屋などいはでは聞えず、此言小屋へ著たれば、小屋を云ること明けし）萬葉四（五十四丁）に、牟具良布能穢屋戸爾、十三（十四丁）に、刺將燒、少屋之四忌屋爾、掻將棄、破薦乎敷而、十九（四十四丁）に、牟具良波布、伊也之伎屋戸母、大皇之、座牟等知者玉之可麻思乎などあり、さて此は、彼狹井河のべなる家なり、抑此、比賣の家は然云ばかりの醜屋には非るべけれど、天皇の大宮に比べては、こよなかりけむ故に、如此はよみ給へるなりけり、上代には、凡て海川の邊は、多く葦原なりしかば、此家のあたりも然ぞありけむ、○須賀多々美は菅疊なり、倭建命段に、弟橘比賣命將入海時、以菅疊八重皮疊八重絁疊八重敷于波上而、下坐其上とあり、○伊夜佐夜斯岐氏は彌清敷而なり、日本紀に、潔身を美乎佐夜米氏と訓り、さやめては清めてなり、萬葉に清を佐夜とよめりと契沖云り、伊夜は、此は幾重も重ぬる意なるべし、此家は醜屋なれども、天皇の御寢坐に因て、菅疊を重彌敷て、清潔めたるなり、（若此意ならば、伊夜斯岐佐夜米などゝあるべきに、伊夜佐夜とあるは、異意歟とも云べけれども、幾重も重ね敷て清潔なるを指てよみ賜へるなれば、清潔に敷てと云意なり、師は多にの意なりと云れき、障るをも佐夜流と云る例もあれば、是もさることなれども、疊は幾重も重ぬることをこそ云へ、多きことを云むは似つかはしからず）○和賀布多理泥斯は朕二人寢しなり、終は伎とあるべきを、斯とよみ賜へるは、和賀の賀の結の格なり、（賀は之の格と同じ）○此御哥は、今伊須氣余理比賣を大宮內に召納て牽寢坐に就て、有し新枕のをりを所思出て、さる醜屋に負ぬ菅疊を八重敷清潔

依らば、左は大物主神なるべし、大神御子神とあるにもかなへり）かくて神祇令に、孟夏三枝祭、義解に率川社祭也、以三枝華飾酒罇祭故曰三枝也（四時祭式此祭條に、三枝花の事は見えざるは、官幣物の限には非ればなり）とあり、由緣あることなりけり、○此註の文に疑あり、其故は、本文に狹井河と書るを、字を變て佐韋河と作ることいかゞ、下なる哥に、佐韋賀波と書るに依れるなるべけれど、凡て哥は假字書の例なれば、論なきを、註は必その本文の字のまゝにこそ書べけれ、又狹井は地名なれば、其處にある故に狹井河とは云なるべきを、佐韋草の多かりし故といふもいかゞ、（若は本河名より出て、其あたりの地名にもなれるか、又は地名本此草名より出たるを、此は河名の註なる故に河へ係ていへるか、

後其伊須氣余理比賣參入宮內之時。天皇御歌曰。阿斯波良能。志祁去岐袁夜邇。須賀多多美。伊夜佐夜斯岐豆。和賀布多理泥斯。然而阿禮坐之御子名。日子八井命。次神八井耳命。次神沼河耳命。二柱

宮內は意富美夜能知と訓べし、○御歌曰は美宇多余美志賜波久と訓べし、○阿斯波良能は韋原之なり、○志祁去岐袁夜邇は醜小屋になり、醜きを延て志祁去岐と云は、寒き暑きを佐牟祁伎阿都祁伎などいふ類なり、（但しこれらの格ならば、志古祁伎と云べきを、古祁を下上に云るも、一の格なるべし、又下上に誤れるもしりがたし、一本には去字を志と作り、それも志岐はこひしきかなしきなどのしきと聞ゆれば、醜しきなり、さて此志祁去岐を、契冲も師も繁きな

は、たゞ由理なるべし、佐は多く添て云辭なればなり、姫百合は、別に一種にて、夏の野のをげみに咲るとよめるなど、かの漢名山丹と云物と聞ゆ、今世に姫由理と云物も山丹なり、さて山由理てふ名は、他に見えざれども、凡て木草の名に、山某と云多ければ、此姫由理も、山由理と云つべき物なりかし、師は、山字を少の誤として、佐由理と訓れき、然れども佐夜佐枝など云類の佐を、小とも少とも書は、後世のことにこそあれ、古書にはさらに例なきことなり、其上此も、諸本みな山字にて、少と作る本もなければ、かたゞ〳〵從ひがかくなむ、○山由理草之本名云佐韋也、新井氏、百合を由理と云は、もと韓地の方言と聞ゆと云りき、若此説の如くならば、信に古名は、佐韋とぞ云けむ、師の冠辭考さきくさの條に、古に三枝と書て、佐紀久佐と云し物は、佐由理花なるべしと云て、此處の文を引て、（其中に、山由理の山字を少に改めて、佐由理と訓れたるは、誤なること上に云るが如し、然れども佐由理はたゞ由理なれば、山由理を指て然云むも、實は違はず、但由理反伊なれば、佐由理と佐韋と音近ければ、一名の轉れるかと思ふ人もあらむか、そはひがことなり、名は元より別なり、）佐韋と佐紀と音通ふと云れき、信に古は此佐韋草を、三枝とも云て、一物なるべし、（今世に人の氏族の名に、三枝と云ありて、佐伊具佐と唱ふ、こは紀を音便に伊と云なり、）韋と紀と通ふ例は、書紀神武、御卷に、山城水門亦名山井水門とある、是も一の名なるを、韋とも紀とも云るなり、さて神名式に、大和國添上郡奉川坐大神御子神社三坐、これを或書に、三座中は此伊須氣余理比賣命、左は事代主神、右は玉櫛媛なりと云り、さもあるべし、（但し事代主神と云るは、書紀神武卷の傳へに依れるなるべし、神代卷又此記に

さけるとめと、奇しみとがめたるに應へて、如此吾裂たる利目は、天皇の御爲に、汝に行遇て、見つけむとてぞ、と云なせる哥なり、○白之仕奉也とは、上に娶むと所思看ことを詔へる大命を諾奉れる御答なり、○伊須氣余理比賣命、そも〳〵此比賣の御名、都て十二度出たる中に、初て出たる處と此處と、二處のみ命とありて、其餘は、命と云言なし、此は大后にして、次の天皇の大御母に坐ば、必いづくも〳〵、命とあるべきに、然らざるは、所以あるか、（若所以あらば、二處には命とあるはいかに）將所以はなきか、いぶかしくこそ、○狹井河は、神名帳、大和國城上郡に、狹井坐大神荒魂神社（令義解、又四時祭式などに、狹井社とあり、）あれば、其處にある河なるべし、（大和志、城上郡部に、狹井溪、源自三輪山遠狹井寺跡至箸中村入纏向溪と云り、まことに此川にや、猶よく尋ぬべし）○上は邊と云ことなり、辨と訓べし、○之許は、師の賀理と訓れたるに從ふべし、（又能母登と訓むも惡からず）萬葉十四（三十丁）に、伊可奈流勢奈可、和我理許武等伊布、（吾之許なり）又己許呂能未伊母我理夜里豆、又（三十三丁）和我理可欲波牟など、此外にも多し、○一宿は比登與と訓べし、○御寢坐也は、玉垣宮段にも、爲御寢坐也と見え、丹後風土記にも、神御寢坐間云々と見え、若櫻宮段には、大御寢也ともあり、○註に佐葦河、延佳云、印本作佐阿、別本作章河、今參考補正と云り（己が見たる一本にも、章河とあり、一本には佐井河とあり、是も惡し）まことに然るべし、○山由理草は、百合の一種なるべし、此より外他古書に見えず、和名抄にも、百合和名由里と、一種のみなり、萬葉哥には、佐由理又姫由理と云はあり。（山由理は、百合紅花者、名山丹是也と、新井氏は云り、さもあらむか、萬葉によめる佐由理

は裂たる利目なるぞ、と云るにやあらむ、（此歌契冲が、阿米は天、都々は千鳥を喚聲なるべし、又は千鳥を都々千鳥とも云にや、さて倭建命薨坐て、化八尋白知鳥翔天とあれば、都々天千鳥と呼かくる意なるべし、麻斯は汝にて、千鳥を云たるべし、登々は都々と通ず、又千鳥を呼詞か、と云るは皆ひがことなり、まづ都々といひ汝と云て、千鳥を呼かけたることも、此哥の趣に似つかはしからず、又倭建命の千鳥に化て、天に翔たまへる例のあればとて、天千鳥と云むこともいかゝなるうへに、天と千鳥との間に、都々てふ呼言を挾て云べきものかは、又師は、五言七言六言と讀て、初句を天地、中句を取坐、末句を黥利目なりとして、一首の意は、天地をも手に取坐が如き、さかしき眼ざしなる勇士なりと云るなり、と云れき、されど天地と云に、都てふ助辭を中に置べきにあらず、若地の本語を、都々知なりとせば、さもあらむか、神名式、對馬に都々智神社あり、されど此は異意なるべし、さて又天地をも手に取坐すべき勇士と云ことを、杼理麻斯登々那と云ては、語と、のはず、登々那は如何なる詞とかせむ、そのうへ杼は、凡て濁音に用る字にて清音に用ひたる例なきに、此說の如くにては、二共に清音なるをや、此はみづからも心よからずや思はれけむ、誤字ならむかと疑ひおかれたり、此杼字、記中に梯と書る處多きにつきて此を梯にて、清音のト歟とも云べけれど、梯はテの假字にこそ用ふべき字なれ、ドには用ふべくもあらず、記中假字に此字を書るは、みな杼を誤れるものなり、）○袁登賣爾は媛女になり、汝にと云むが如し、○多陀爾阿波牟登は直將逢となり、萬葉などの哥にも、まのあたり逢見ることを、直に逢と多く云り、古への言なり、○和加佐祁流斗目は吾裂有利目なり、彼より、何

和名抄に胡鷺子阿萬止里とある、是を阿米とのみも云るにや都々は鶺鴒の一名、（または阿米都々は、千鳥の枕詞にもあらむか、されど其意は未思ひ得す）知杼理は古哥に多く見えて論なし、麻斯登々は、書紀天武、卷に、巫鳥此云芝苔々、和名抄にも、鵐之止々とある鳥にて、眞鵐ならむか、（眞といふは、眞鴨眞牡鹿などの例なり）さて如此鳥どもの名を擧たるは、凡て鳥の目は圓くて利げなる物なる故に、此大久米命の目を譬へたるなり（刀具に鵐目と云名のあるも、其形の似たるより云り、此等を以ても、此鳥などの、目の譬へに似つかはしきことを思ふべし、又天竺國に舍利弗と云し僧は、舍利は鳥名にて、その母の眼の明らかなること、かの鳥の眼の如くなりし故に、舍利と云しを、子名にせるなり、といふこともあり）古への哥には、鳥を以物の譬へにせる例多し、神代に沼河日女の哥に、吾心浦洲の鳥ぞ、八千矛、神の御哥に、奥つ鳥胸見時、又群鳥の吾群往ば、率鳥の吾所率往ばなど見え、朝倉、宮段には、鶉鳥領巾取掛て、鶺鴒尾行令合、庭雀うずくまり居てなど、多く並べたるも有をや、されど右の考へも、猶思ひ定めがたきことなむある、（其故は、鳥を譬へに擧るは然ることなれども、そは皆一事には一ッをこそ云へ、かの朝倉、宮段なる哥も、鳥二ッを云へれども、各異事の譬へなり、然るに是は一ッ物の譬へに、鳥四ッを並へ云るは、いまださる例を見ざれば、いかゞあらむ、若くは此、さける利目のあやしきことを甚しく云むとて、ことさらに多く重ねたるにもやあらむ、萬葉十四に、おきにすむ小鴨のところ、八尺鳥いきづく妹を、云々、と鳥名二ッ云るはあり、なほ後人よく考へてよ）○那杼佐祁流斗米は何裂有利目なり、○一首の意は、汝の目を見れば、胡鷺鶺鴒、千鳥眞鵐などの目の如くになむある、何如此

志伎とのみ云り、此等の如し、○以天皇之命は、娶むと所思看すことを詔ふ勅命なり、○黥利目は、歌に依に、佐祁流斗米と訓べし、黥は只借字にて、佐祁流は裂有なり、そは自然に裂て有るをいふ、他の此を裂たるには非ず、（黥は、罪ある人の面を刻て墨を入る　を云て、米佐久と訓む字なり、そは目のあたりを裂ゆゑに、然云るなるべし、さて此處に此字をしも書るは、此人の目大にして、裂たるが如くなる故に、米佐久てふ訓を借たるのみか、又は打見たるが、彼黥る者の目のさましたりし故に書るか、何れにまれ借字にてはあるなり、猶黥の事は、穴穂官段に、面黥とある處に云べし、さて師の冠辭考みつ〳〵しの條に此文を引れたるには、此字を黥に改て書れたり、まことに黥は慧也とも堅也とも注して、佐登志とも加斯許志とも訓ば、黥よりは利目に似つかはし、然れども、哥に佐祁流とあるは、決裂有なるべければ、此も其同言の借字なるべければ、なほ黥なるべく思はる、若黥字とせば、三字を連て、佐登伎米などゝ訓べきにや、されど此は目の貌を旨と云るなれば、佐祁流なるべし、思奇と云も、佐登伎にてはいかゞなり）さて此は、此命の目の甚大にして、裂たる如くなるを云なり、利目は、視ることの明らけき目なり、（俗に目のときと云は、速にて物を速視取方に云り、其とはいさゝか異にて、物を明らかによく見辨るを、利とは云なり、されど云もてゆけば、彼も此も一なり、耳口などの利も同じ）抑此命の目は、滿々し久米と名に負て、（此事傳十九に委く云り）人に異なる目になむ有ける、故に伊須氣余理比賣命も、見て奇しと思ほせりしなり、○阿米都々（四音一句なり）知杼理麻斯登々、此二句甚解り難し、されど例の試に強て云ば、鳥の名四歟、そは阿米は詳ならねど、若くは

云る言多けれども、古言にはいまだ見あたらず）上卷（傳六）夜見段に、最後とあるをも、伊夜波氐と訓つ、其處の傳考へ合すべし、○加都賀都母は且々もなり、こは事の未慥ならず、はつはつなるを云辭なり、假令ば且々見ゆとは、未さだかには見えず、はつ〳〵に見え初るをいふ、其は慥に見ゆると、未見えざるとの中間なる故に、且見え且未見えずと云意にて、且々と重ね言なるべし、萬葉四（四十丁）に、玉主爾、珠者授而、勝且毛、枕與吾者、率二將宿、（勝且毛を、玉主爾の上へ移して見べし）こは且々も玉主に玉をば授てと云るにて、未うけばりて授畢ぬるにはあらざれども、先はつ〳〵に授初たる意なり、（此勝且を、誤字なりと云は、此句を上へ移して心得べきことをしらざるなり）此餘中昔の物語文などにも多かる、皆同意なり、（今世の語にも、物の足はぬを且々なりと云めり）○伊夜佐岐陀氐流は最先立有なり、抑伊夜てふ言には、常に彌と書き、萬葉往々に益とも書き、顯宗紀には轉字をも訓り、是らは皆意通ひて一しく聞ゆるを、此は上文に最前とある字の如く、七八の中に第一に先に立る意と聞ゆ、（俗言に一ちと云に同じ）○延袁斯麻加牟は可愛を將覓にて、斯は助辭なり、延は、伊邪那岐伊邪那美大神の、愛袁登古愛袁登賣と詔へる愛を（此愛は假字なり）書紀には、可美とも可愛とも善とも書れたる意にて、即可愛媛女なるを、可愛とのみ云るなり、其例は下卷輕太子の御哥に、宇流波斯登佐泥斯佐泥豆婆とある、宇流波斯はうるはしき妹と云ことなり、又萬葉十四（九丁）に、曾能可奈之伎乎、刀爾多氐米也母、又（十九丁）加奈之伎我、古麻波多具等毛、又（三十二丁）加奈思家乎於吉氐（家は、伎を東語にかくいへるなり）など云るも、悲愛夫と云ことを、加那

も言ずして、然聞ゆるは古文なり、さて此人は、本より伊須氣余理比賣をばよく知居しなるべし、故今七人の中に在を見付たるなり、さてそは容色のこよなく勝れて美麗くして、諸の媛女等に混ふべくもあらざれば、彼ぞと指ては申さずとも、必いちじろく見取賜はむ物ぞと、推量奉れる故に、歌以て試み奉れるなり、○夜麻登能は倭之なり、大和國を云、（餘國ならむにこそ國を云べけれ、倭には國を云べくもあらざれば、是は城下郡なる倭鄉なるべしと云疑もありぬべけれど、凡て哥は、五言の句より起まることにて、七言より起まるはなき故に首に五言句を置むために、國名を出せるものなり、さて五言句を、四言にも三言にも云は古の恒ぞ）○多加佐土怒は高佐土野なり、○那々由久は七行にて、七人行を云、○袁袁賣杼母は媛女等なり、○多禮袁志摩加牟は誰を將覓にて、志は助辭なり、麻久とは妻問するを云、（契冲が、志摩加牟と讀て、志を發語とし、枕を纏ことゝして、萬葉二の磐根四卷手といへるを引るはあたらず）上卷八千矛神御哥に、夜斯麻久爾都麻々岐迦泥豆とあり、○一首の意は、今此處を七人連ねて遊び行、媛女等の中に、何れにか大御心は着坐ると問申すなり、其は此中に彼伊須氣余理比賣の雜れることをば先申し置たるべければ、即何れを其人と見坐るぞと申す意にて、如此は申せるなり、○立其媛女等之前、こは大美和大神の御子なる故に、常に尊みて、今も先には立たるか、はた母方も良家なりし故か、はた何となく此時たま〳〵先に立るか、何れにても有なむ、○御心知云々、大久米命の推量奉れるに違はず、最先に立るを其人と、炳焉く見取たまへるなり、○最前は、御哥に依に、伊夜佐伎と訓べし、（師は麻佐伎と訓れつれども、いかゞ、近世には眞先と

余理比賣立於最前。以歌答曰。加都賀都母。伊夜佐岐陀豆流。延袁斯麻加牟。爾大久米命以天皇之命詔其伊須氣余理比賣之時。見其大久米命黥利目而。思奇歌曰。阿米都都。知杼理麻斯登登。那杼佐祁流斗米。爾　大久米命答歌曰。袁登賣爾。多陀爾阿波牟登和加佐祁流斗米。故其孃子白之仕奉也。於是其伊須氣余理比賣命之家在狹井河之上。天皇幸行其伊須氣余理比賣之許。一宿御寢坐也。其河謂佐韋河由者。於其河邊山由理草多在。一取其山由理草之名。號佐韋河也。山由草理之本名云佐韋也。

七媛女は、那々袁登賣と訓べし、上卷に八稚女とも見え、又日代宮段に二孃子ともあり、○高佐土野は、歌に夜麻登能とはあれども、何郡ならむ詳ならず、（大和志に、十市郡南浦村にありと云るは、何の據あるにか、例のおぼつかなし、又師は、城下郡にありと云れつれど、是は夜麻登を、倭鄉と見ての說なるべければ、取がたし）姓氏錄の未定雜姓の中に、河內國に佐自努公と云あり、（右京皇別にも此姓あり、又神名帳、常陸國新治郡に佐志能神社あり）○遊行は阿曾辨流と訓べし、（下を辨理とよめば語絕るゝを、辨流とよみて、次の語へ意を續くるは、雅文の格なり）○大久米命云々、此段は天皇幸行の時、高佐土野にして、七人の媛女の遊べるが行遇奉れる、其時に大久米命も御從に侍ひ賜へるなり、然るに幸行のことをも、御從に侍へることを

神の御子とのみあるは、いかにぞや、二ツともに古への傳へにはあるべけれども、彼卷と此卷と違へるに似たるをや、さて事代主神と申すも、此神の鎮坐社の御靈を云なれば、神名帳に、大和國葛上郡鴨都波八重事代主命神社、また高市郡高市御縣坐鴨事代主神社、此二社の内の御靈なるべし、飛鳥神社も同神なれども、事代主と申す社、號の方なるべし、）○上件大物主神の故事、水垣宮段なる、同神の活玉依毘賣の許に通ひ坐ること、相似たり、姓氏錄の大神朝臣條に、初、大國主神娶三嶋溝杭耳之女玉櫛姫云々とあるは、此と彼と一ツに混ひたるものなり、（舊事記に、事代主神化爲八尋熊鰐、通三島溝杭女活玉依姫、生天日方奇日方命、姫蹈鞴五十鈴姫命と云るも、二事を一ツに混へたり、）又書紀崇神卷なる倭迹々姫命の事もよく似たり、（仙覺が萬葉抄に引る、土佐國風土記には、此倭迹々姫命の故事を、即かの三輪てふ名の由緣の故事とせり、）同神にしてかく似たる事の此彼に見えたるは、本一ツなりしが、傳の混て、此事彼事に轉れるか將神の御所爲なれば、此時も彼時も似たる事のあまたありしか、測り難くなむ、○謂神御子也、これまで大久米命の天皇に申し給へる詞なり、

於是七、媛女遊行於高佐士野。佐士二字以音伊須氣余理比賣在其中。爾大久米命見其伊須氣余理比賣而。以歌白於天皇曰。夜麻登能。多加佐士怒袁。那那由久。袁登賣杼母。多禮袁志摩加牟。爾伊須氣余理比賣者。立其媛女等之前。乃天皇見其媛女等而。御心知伊須氣

萬葉十六（九丁）に、古部狹々寸爲我哉とあるも、少年のすゞろきさわぐを云り、猶上卷（傳十七）海神、宮段須々鉤の下考合すべし、さて右の例どもを以思ふに、伊は略ても云言なるべし、（師は、此伊をも發語なりといはれつれども、他の發語の伊とは、いさゝか異に聞ゆ、是は出坐などの伊と同じ、凡て言の頭を濁る例はなければ、出を傳といふは、伊を略けるにて、伊は發語にはあらず、此も是に准へてしるべし）伎は語辭なり、○置於床邊倭建命の御哥に、袁登賣能、登許能辨爾、和賀淤岐伎斯、都流岐能多知とあり、○富登多々良伊須々岐比賣命、富登とは、父神丹塗矢に化て、御母の陰を突坐しゝにより、多々良は御母の御名により、（書紀に、蹈鞴と書れたるは、借字なるべし）伊須々岐は、上文なる立走伊須々岐の事に依れる御名なり、○比賣多々良伊須氣余理比賣、富登を比賣と、改たるなり、伊須氣は、伊須々岐を、通音に約たるなるべし、余理は、玉依毘賣の依と一なり、意は彼處に見ゆ、（傳十七鵜羽産屋の段下）○是者云々の十三字は、亦名の註なり、抑此比賣命の御事、書紀には、庚申年秋八月癸丑朔戊辰、天皇當立正妃改廣求華胄時、有人奏之曰、事代主神共三嶋溝樴耳神之女玉櫛媛所生兒、號曰媛蹈鞴五十鈴媛命是國色之秀者、天皇悅之と見え、綏靖、卷にも、媛蹈鞴五十鈴媛命、事代主神之大女也と見えたり、此記と傳への異なるなり、但し神代、卷には、大三輪之神之子姬蹈鞴五十鈴姬命、（蹈鞴此云多々羅）又曰事代主神化爲八尋熊鰐、通三嶋溝樴姬而生兒、姬蹈鞴五十鈴姬命、是爲神日本磐余彦火々出見天皇之后也と見えたり、（抑かく神代、卷には、此記と同じく、大三輪、神の御女と云、方を主として記しながら、此、御卷には、其、傳へをば一曰とも擧ずして、たゞ事代主

可茂別雷命、所謂丹塗矢者、乙訓社坐火雷命在とあり、似たる事なり、○化は、大物主神の化坐るなり、○爲大便之溝流下、此七字を訶波夜能斯多と訓べし、古厠は、溝流の上に造て、まりたる屎は、やがて其水に流失る如く構たる故に、（今世にも、如此構たるもあるなり）河屋とは云なり、（省て河とのみも云り、萬葉十六に川隅とよみて、川に厠をもたせたる哥あり、又今世に、兒の尿屎を受る器を、御河といふも是なり）○富登は上卷に出、○立走萬葉五に、難波津爾、美船泊農等、吉許延許婆、紐解佐氣豆、多知婆志利勢武とあり、○伊須々岐伎は、即驚て立走るさまなり、大殿祭詞に、夜女能伊須須伎云々事無久とあるを、夜睡れるほどに、物に壓はれなどして、心さわぎ驚くを云て、同意なり、（夜女は夜目にて、夜睡れるを云、上に朝目ともありし類なり、然るを師の祝詞考に、童女のことゝせられたるは叶はず、又童女なりと云ながら、夜の御床に仕奉ると云れつるは、いかにぞや、一の夜を、童女の與と夜と、二に兼用ひむことあるべきかは、）又源氏物語朝貌卷に、西なる御門を云々、驚てあけさせ給ふ、御門守寒げなるけはひ、宇須々伎いで來て、速にもえ聞やらずとある、宇須々伎も同言なるべし、（伊と宇とは殊に近く通音なり、此も門守がおどろきて、立走來るを云り契冲此を春歟といへるは當らず）さて又榮花物語（かゞやく藤壺卷）に、曾々伎立て云々、狹衣に、若宮おはして曾々伎ありき給ふ、などあるは、驚くには非れども、事のさまは同じ、（須と曾とは通音なり、今世に、人のふるまいの靜やかならず、騷がしきを、曾々許志といふも、同言なり）又大殿祭詞に、取葺計魯草乃噪伎（古語云蘇々伎）無久とある、蘇々伎は、亂れそゝくるを云て、此も事は異なれども、意は通へり、又

人なる故に、彼、八十萬神を指て物とは云り、（又神代紀に、葦原中國之邪鬼とある邪鬼を、私記に安之岐毛乃と訓、また尸者を毛乃萬佐と訓、中昔に毛乃々氣と云るなど、これらの例に依ば、皇孫命を守奉る神靈の方に就て云か、何れにまれ、彼、八十萬神を云ことは、違はざるなり）主は之大人の約りたるなり、大は例の美稱なり、かくて此、御名は、此、神現御見は八十坰手に隱坐て、御靈の此、國には留まりて、御護神となり給ふ方の御名なるが故に、現御身の一名には非ず、て、大美和に拜祭る御名とはなれるなり、（彼、高御產巢日命の賜へるを以て、即美和に鎭坐御名とせるなり、然るを書紀に、大巳貴神の一名どもを擧たる處に、亦名大物主神とあるは、古意に違へり、撰者のさかしらに加へ給へるか、かくて世々の識者たゞ廣く大巳貴命の一名とのみ心得居るは、古書を見ることの精しからざる故の誤なり）○見感而は美米傳豆と訓べし、此詞上卷（傳十七）海神宮段に出たり、○其美人は、勢夜陀多良比賣を云、○爲大便は、加波夜爾伊禮流と訓べし、日代宮段に、朝入厠之時云々、と云例もあればなり、（此を師は、久曾麻流と訓れき、そは上卷に屎麻理、書紀神代卷に、送糞此云俱蘇摩屢などあれば、然もあることなれども、彼はその糞を主として云る處なるを、此は同事ながら、糞の事を云る處に非れば、然訓はわろし、又加久志須、或は氣賀志須など訓るは、糞てふ言を惡み避て、修ろへるものにて、古言とは聞えず、中昔の言に、波許須など云る類なり、）○丹塗矢は爾奴理夜と訓べし、（之を添て訓はわろし）矢に丹を塗れるは、何の料にか、未考へ得ず、若くは唯餝のみにやあらむ、山城風土記に、玉依日賣於石川瀨見小川遊爲時、丹塗矢自川上流下、乃取挿置床邊、遂孕生男子云々、號

名は、美和にのみ申せるをや、さて此御名の義は、まづ書紀一書に、是時歸順之首渠者大物主神及事代主神、乃合八十萬神於天高市、師以昇天、陳其誠欵之至時、高皇產靈尊勅大物主神、汝宜領八十萬神、永爲皇孫奉護とある、つら〳〵此段を考るに、此神の御名、初には大已貴神とのみありて、今歸順へる處に至て、名を更て、かく大物主神とあるは、即此時に高御產靈命の賜へる御名なるべし、（神代記にて此一段は、事の趣まぎらはしき故に、古來くさ〴〵解誤れることなり、よくせずば、まがひぬべし、已別に委き考へあり、今その大旨をいささか云む、まづ長隱者矣と云までは、此神の現身の事、大物主神及事代主神云々と云よりは、御靈の事なり、凡て神代の故事、現身と御靈と、差別なく語り傳へたる物なる故に、まぎるゝこと多し、此段も此差別をよく辨ふべきことなり、長隱とは、現身は八十垣手に隱たまふを云、さて御靈を留めて、皇孫命の御護神となし賜ふ、其時に高天原に參出たまひて、高御產巢日命の詔を蒙りたまひ、大物主てふ御名をも賜はりたまふなるべし、故此處に至て、始て此御名を擧たるなり、されば帥給ふ八十萬神も、御靈を云なり、さて又彼上文に、故更條々而勅之、夫汝云々とある、此つゞきの條々は、御靈のうへの事を豫て詔し賜へるにて、汝應住天日隅宮と云も、御靈の鎭坐べき宮を云なり、抑如此現身と御靈とを別て見ざれば、此段解がたし、一段の內にして、前と後と御名のかはれるを以ても、此差別あることを曉るべし、）物主とは、八十萬神の首として、皇孫命を護奉るを以て、神之大人と云むが如し、凡て物と云稱は、萬に泛くわたる中に、人を指て云こと多し、（たとへば此人彼人を、此者彼者ともいふ類なり、）此も然なり、そは神は神代の

此比賣の名、書紀神代卷には、三島溝樴姫、神武卷には玉櫛媛とあり、○其容姿麗美は、曾禮加富余斯と訓べし、容姿を加富と訓べき由は、上卷（傳十三阿遲志貴高子根神の下）に云り、さて萬葉十四（十三丁）に可抱與吉と見え、書紀景行卷に容姿麗美、垂仁卷に美麗、雄略卷に麗允恭卷に艶妙、孝德卷に美姿顏など、みな加富與斯と訓り、さて上なる其は、即多々良比賣を指言にて、中昔の物語文などにも此如云る例多し、（かゝる處に其と云むは漢文訓めきたりと思ふ人あるべけれど、からぶみの其とは云ざまいたく異なり、また此字は、甚の誤りかとも思はるれど然らず、）記中には、活玉依毘賣其容姿端正、また二孃子其容姿麗美、また髮長比賣其顏容麗美など見え、又朝倉宮段には、河邊有洗衣童女、其容姿甚麗ともあり、（是に下に甚とあれば、上なるは皆甚に非ることしるべし）○美和は、大和國城上郡大神神社を云、此社のこと、水垣朝段（傳二十三大物主神の條）に委云べし、○大物主神、書紀崇神卷の哥に、於朋望能農之とあり、此神は大穴牟遲神の和魂に坐て、美和に拜祭る神なり、出雲國造神賀詞に、乃大穴持命乃申給久、皇御孫命乃靜坐牟大倭國申天、己命和魂乎八咫鏡爾取託天、倭大物主櫛瓱玉命登名乎稱天、大美和乃神奈備爾坐云々、皇孫命能近守神登貢置天、とあるを以考るべし、抑此大物主と申す御名は、右の詞の如く、美和に鎭坐御魂の御名にして、大穴牟遲命の一名にはあらず、倭大物主とあるにてもしるべし、（須佐之男命の、出雲の熊野に拜祭る御名を、櫛御氣野命と申し、建御雷神の、下總の香取に拜祭る御名を、齋主命と申すたぐひにて、美和社にかぎれる御名なり、）故上卷に、大穴牟遲神の亦名どもを擧たる處には、此御名は出さず、大方古書皆此御

神御子とは、大かた神社の御靈の顯壯夫に化て、女に娶て、生坐る御子を云なり、水垣宮段に、意富多々泥古を神子と云る類なり、彼段を考合すべし、○三島は、津國に在て、書紀雄略卷に三島郡と見ゆ、後に二郡に分れて、島上島下といふ是なり、（凡て諸國郡鄕の名、字はつゞめて二字に書ども、なほ元のまゝに讀例なれば、是もミシマノ上ミシマノ下とこそ云べきに、和名抄に、志末乃加美と、頭の美を畧ていへるは、いかなることにか）三島之藍御陵は、諸陵式に島上郡にありと見え、神名帳に、島下郡に三島鴨神社あり、伊豫國風土記には、津國御島と書り、萬葉七（三十四丁）に、三島江之玉江、十一（三十九丁）に、三島江之入江などよめり、（後世の哥にも多くよめる名所なり）今も島上郡に三島江村あり、（淀川に傍たるところなり）○湟咋、神名帳に島下郡溝咋神社あり、今此郡に溝杭莊と云ありて、其内なる馬塲村と云に此社は坐なり、（此他島上郡の堺に近くして、三島江と相遠からず）さて此神社は、此人を齋へるか餘神かさだかならず、又湟咋と云は、本此人の名なりしが、後に地名とはなれるか、將地名を取て此人名とせるか、是も詳ならず、此人書紀には、溝咋耳神とあり、（國造本紀に、都佐國造、志賀高穴穗朝御代、長阿比古同祖、三島溝杭命九世孫、小立足尼定賜國造）○勢夜陀多良比賣、勢夜は地名なるべし、聖德太子傳曆に勢夜里と云見えて、今大和國平群郡に勢夜村あり、（太子傳なるも是なるべし）陀多良は、如何なる意にか未考得ず、（陀濁れるは、上より續きの音便なり）內膳式、漬年料雜菜の中に、多々良比賣花搗三斗（料鹽三升）と見え、衞門府風俗歌にも多々良女乃花、字鏡にも莘太々良女とあり、此花の名、此比賣に由緣ありて著たるにやあらむ、さて

差別はあらざりしかば、大后にまれ凡の后たちにまれ、御母となり坐ては凡て大御祖とぞ申せし、孝德紀に、皇極天皇を皇祖母尊と御號奉らるゝこと見えたる、こは天皇に坐すら猶如此申せるを以て、后も夫人も、大御祖と申すに差別はなかりしこととさとるべし、さて皇極は孝德の大御姉に坐ども、大御母に准て、此御號奉り給へりしなり、さて又こは御母と申すことなるに、祖母と書れたるは、如何、と疑ふ人あり、凡て古は、母を多く美意夜と申して、古書どもに御祖と書れば、其例のまゝに祖字を書き、又皇祖尊と書ては、先代天皇にまぎるゝ故に、御母なることを知しめむために、母字をも添られたる物なり、かゝる例他にもあり、彼八咫烏を、書紀には頭八咫烏と書れたるも、八咫は頭の大さなることを知しめむ料に、頭字を添られたる類なり、其後遂に常の語にも、當代の嫡后をばたゞ后と申し、大御母を大后と申すことにはなれるぞかし、（凡て何事もかく漢樣にのみ變はてゝは、古樣をよく辨知人もなくて、たま〳〵古書に遺在を見ては、返て疑をさへなすめり、師の萬葉考にすら、彼二の卷なる大后を疑て、天皇いまだ崩坐ざるほどなれば、大后とあるは誤なりとて、皇后と書改められ、又別記に、夫人の訓を論はれたるなど、中々にみな誤りなり、）○美人はみな袁登賣と訓べし、（必しも美字にはかゝはらず、古に若き女をばなべて袁登賣と云り、）○求は麻岐と訓べし、上卷八千矛神の御哥に、夜斯麻久爾、都麻々岐迦泥豆とあり、○此間は許々と訓べし、倭國を指て云なり、（間字、一本に國とあれどなほ間なるべし、）○媛女もみな袁登賣と訓べし、（袁登賣をば、記中に美人とも媛女とも孃女とも孃子とも書り、みな同じことなり、）此媛女は、伊須氣余理比賣を申すなり、○

そ皇大后とは書れたるに、此は其例に違ひて、たま〳〵當時の實の稱のまゝに、當代のを大后とは書れたるなり、此餘にもかくとりはづしては、凡ての漢樣の例に違ひて、古の稱のまゝに書れたることもまゝ見えたり、御子をば皇子皇女と書るが、凡ての例なるに、をり〳〵は王とも書れたる類なり）又萬葉二に、近江大津宮御宇天皇聖躬不豫之時、大后奉御歌、また天皇大殯之時大后御歌、また明日香清御原宮御宇天皇崩之時、大后御作歌など見え、又伊豫國風土記に、天皇等於湯幸行降坐五度也、以大帶日子天皇與大后八坂入姫命二軀爲一度也、云々とある、是らなり、さて上件の如く、古に大后と申せしは、當御代の第一なる御妻なり、然るを萬の御制漢國のにならひ賜ふ御代となりては、正しき文書などには、當代のをば皇后先代のを皇大后と書るゝことゝなれり、されど口に言語、又うちとけたる文などには、奈良のころまでもなほ古の隨に、當代のを大后、先御代のをば大御祖と申せるを、（されば書紀などに、皇大后皇大妃皇大夫人などゝあるをば、皆意富美意夜と訓べし、古の稱は然なり、まことに大御母に坐を、伎佐伎美賣などゝは申すまじき理なり、然るを書紀清寧卷に、皇大夫人を意富伊伎佐伎と訓るは、古に叶はず、皇極卷に、天皇の御母吉備姫王と吉備嶋皇祖母命とある、此ぞ古の稱なる、又續紀九に、藤原夫人を、宣文則皇大夫人、語則大御祖、との詔のあるを思ふべし、皇后にまれ夫人にまれ、大字を加て御母の事とするは、漢國の定めにこそあれ、皇國の古にはさることなし、故文には漢樣を用ひながら、語にはなほ古のまゝに申されしなり、いまだ漢籍を取用ひられざりし前の御代には、大妃大夫人など云品の

申す班までを、幾柱にても申せり、（今世女童の詞に、十二人の御后といふなるは、愚なるに似たれども、かへりて古に近し）倭建命段に、弟橘比賣命を、其后とありて、又次に坐倭后等云々とあるは、橘比賣をも坐倭をも、共に后と申せるなり、（倭建命は、萬を天皇に准へて申せる例なり）又等と云るを以ても、一柱に限らざることを知べし、されば書紀反正卷（九丁）に、皇夫人また夫人、敏達卷（四丁）にも、夫人、これらを伎佐伎と訓るは、古にかなへる訓なり、字鏡にも、妃妃也支佐支とあり、（又書紀に、夫人をば意富刀自と訓る處もあるは心得ず、又妃夫人嬪女御などを、多くは美賣と訓り、そも〳〵御賣とは、皇后を始奉て、夫人嬪などの列までも通ひて申すべければ、此訓は惡からず、但神武卷に、尊正妃爲皇后とある、正妃を牟加比賣、皇后を伎佐伎と訓る、こは文字に就ては然も訓べけれども、當時の實の稱には叶ふべくも非ず、牟加比賣とは皇后を申すべく、又伎佐伎とは、妃などにもわたる稱なればなり、されば、こは、正妃を伎佐伎、皇后を意富岐佐伎と訓て宜し、凡ていづこにても、妃夫人などは伎佐伎、皇后は意富岐佐伎と訓べきなり）さて其后等の中の第一なるを大后と申せし證は、此處を始として、玉垣宮段に、其大后比婆須比賣命と見え、訶志比宮段に、息長帶比賣命を大后と申し、高津宮段に、大后石之日賣命と見え、又遠飛鳥宮段、朝倉宮段などにも、同く大后と申せり、又書紀天智卷に、天皇御病甚重くならせ給へる時に、天武天皇の儲君に坐けるが、後事を辭申給へる御言に、請奉洪業付屬大后云々、とある大后も、皇后倭姫王を申たまへるなり、（凡て書紀の例は、上代の事を記されたるも、後世の如く漢國の定めに隨ひて、當代の大后をば皇后と書き、御母后をこ

と着らるゝことになれり、此後天皇の大御名に仁字の着ざるは、後鳥羽天皇を尊成順德天皇を守成、後二條天皇を邦治、後醍醐天皇を尊治と申せる、是のみなり、そも〳〵時代に從ひて、萬の事の漸くに移りかはるまゝに、人の御名ども、古今と世々にかはり來ぬるさまを知しめむために、如此近き世の御事まで、事のついでにかつ〴〵申せるなり）

然更求爲大后之美人時。大久米命曰。此間有媛女是謂神御子。其所以謂神御子者。三嶋湟咋之女名勢夜陀多良比賣。其容姿麗美故。美和之大物主神見感而。其美人爲大便之時。化丹塗矢。自其爲大便之溝流下。突其美人之富登。此二字以音下效此爾其美人驚而立走伊須須岐伎。此五字以音乃將來其矢。置於床邊。忽成麗壯夫。即娶其美人。生子名謂富登多多良伊須須岐比賣命。亦名謂比賣多多良伊須氣余理比賣。是者惡其富登云事。故是以謂神御子也。後改名者也。

大后は、字の任に意富岐佐伎と訓べし、後世の皇后なり、古は天皇の大御妻等を后と申て、其中の最上なる一柱を、殊に尊みて大后とは申せしこと、上卷（傳十一）八千矛神段に云るが如し、（大は、大臣大連などの大と同じくて、あるが中に一人を尊みて云稱なり）されど猶疑あらむ人の爲に、其證どもを擧てなほ委に云む、先古に后とは、一柱に限らず、後に妃夫人など、

を取て、御子の御名とせられし御制も有き、文德實錄に、先朝之制、每皇子生、以乳母姓、爲之名焉、故以神野、爲天皇諱、と見えたる、此は嵯峨天皇御名神野と申せるは、御乳母の姓なりしことに就て云るなり、抑此制は、何れの御世より始まりしにかあらむ、上代よりも稀々には此例も有つるか、詳ならず、欽明天皇の御子たちなどよりして、姓と思はるゝ御名の多く見ゆるは、此例か、桓武平城などの御子たちの御名は、男女みな此なり、さて彼嵯峨天皇の御名の外に、乳母の姓を取られたる證の、物に見えたるは、天武天皇初大海人皇子と由せしに、その崩りましゝ時に、大海宿禰蒭蒲といひし人の、第一に誄奉りしことの見えたるは、御乳母の氏族と聞え、孝謙天皇御名阿倍と申せるに、阿倍朝臣石井といふ御乳母見え、平城天皇初御名小殿と申せるに安倍小殿朝臣堺と云御乳母見え、桓武の皇女朝原內親王の御乳母に、朝原忌寸大刀自と云見えたる、是らなり、(然るに嵯峨天皇の御子たちの御名は、悉く古への例を廢て、何にも依ることなく、たゞに二字を撰て着らる、是後世の名の如くになれる始なり、其御名ども、皇男のはみな、良字を下におかる、其中に源朝臣と云姓を賜へるはみな、皇子のは一字、皇女のは某姬と云、次に淳和天皇の御子たちのも、同じさまにて、此は多く上に恒字をおかれ、仁明天皇の御子たちのは、下に常字をおかれ、文德のは、上に惟字をおかれ、清和のは、上に貞字、陽成のは、上に元字、光孝のは、上に是字、醍醐のは、下に明字、村上のは、下に平字なり、又皇女のは、嵯峨天皇より以來今に至るまで、みな某子と申す、さて又清和天皇を惟仁と申せしより始まりて、醍醐天皇を敦仁、一條天皇を懷仁、後冷泉天皇を親仁、後三條天皇を尊仁と申す、是より後は、皇子等凡て某仁

京にては院と申せり、凡て院と申す御號は、御位避坐て後の宮の號より起れゝば、正しくは某院、天皇、若くは某院、帝などとこそ申すべけれ、只院とのみ申すは、甚く畧きたり、さて圓融花山光嚴光明などは、漢樣ながら佛寺の名なり、さて又桓武を柏原帝、仁明を深草帝、文德を田村帝、光孝を小松帝とも申し、又宇多醍醐村上など、これらは皆御陵の地名なり、又平城嵯峨水尾などは、後に御坐ましゝ地名、陽成朱雀冷泉などは、後の宮の名なり、其後の御諡みな京城の坊名、若は京の邊の地名などを取て着奉らるゝことゝなれり、抑これらの御事どもは、古の御諡の事のついでに、一わたり申せるなり）大概古への王等の御名は、上件の三種にして、又希々には、御母の名に因れりと見ゆるもあり、孝靈天皇の御子千々速比賣命は、御母千々速眞若比賣なり、孝元天皇の御子建波邇夜須毘古命は、御母波邇夜須毘賣なるが如し、又繼體天皇の御子茨田大娘女は、御母茨田連氏の女、用明天皇の御子當麻王は、御母當麻藏首氏の女なる、これらは御母の姓を取るか、又應神天皇の御子大山守命は、職名なり、（此例は他に見えず、後世に式部卿親王帥宮などいふさまなり）猶此等の外なるも種々あるべし、さて又上の色々の中なる此と彼とを、合せ連ねて申せる御名も多し、又某王亦名某亦名某などゝあるを以て、凡てを思ふに、一柱の王に、御名二三もありし中の一が傳はりて、餘は傳はらぬも多かるべし、（たとへば生坐し時に、由緣につきて着奉りし、本よりの御名は御名として、又其居地の名などを以申せる御名もあり、又美稱て申せる御名もありつるを、其中に何れにまれ一を記し傳へて、世に遺れるがごとし）なほ細なることゞもは、其處々に云べし、さて又やゝ後には、其乳母の姓

に、穴穂命と申せし類は、皆居地名を以申せる證例なり、又舒明天皇の御子蚊屋皇子は、吉備國の蚊屋采女が腹、天智天皇の御子伊賀皇子は、伊賀采女が腹より生坐る、此等は御母の本郷の名を取れる御名と聞えたり、次に神武天皇、初は豐御毛沼命、又狹野命と申せしを、後に天下所知看て、神倭伊波禮毘古命、又神倭伊波禮毘古穗々手見命と申し、（此大御名のこと、書紀神代下卷に見ゆ、）倭男具那王は、武御功によりて、倭建命と申せる類は、美稱へて着奉れる證例なり、凡て御代々々の天皇たちの、長き大御名などは、大方何れも此例なり、凡人にも其類多かり、（凡人のは、書紀垂仁卷に、八綱田が功をほめて、倭日向武彥八綱田てふ名を賜ひし類なり、さて又天皇崩坐て後に、大御諡を奉らるゝことは、書紀神功卷に、皇大后命崩坐て、葬奉れる日に、氣長足姫尊と着奉られしこと見えたれども疑はし、此事委く伊邪河宮段に論べし、此外には、上代には其例二記に見えず、續紀に至て、持統天皇崩坐て後に、大倭根子天之廣野日女尊とつけ奉られたること見えて、次々の天皇のも其御事見ゆ、此は何れの御代のころより始まりしことにか、詳ならず、書紀天武卷に、大三輪眞上田君子人の卒しに、壬申年の功をおもほして、大三輪眞上田迎君と云諡を賜しこと見えたり、然れば天皇のも、是よりは先よりありけむかし、さて後には、仁明天皇の御諡日本根子天璽豐聰慧尊と申すまで見えて、其後は見えず、此事絕たるにやあらむ、文德清和光孝の三御代は、此漢樣の御諡のみなり、平城嵯峨陽成又字多より以來は、凡て漢樣のも絕て、其後に漢樣なるはたゞ、崇德安德順德崇光稱光明照靈元などのみなる、それも皆院と申して、天皇と申すは安德のみなり、後醍醐は吉野にては天皇と申せるを、此も

御代々々の王等（皇子皇女男王女王等を、古は凡て王と云り）の御名に種々の色あり、今茲に其大概をいはゞ三種なり、一には由縁に就て、諸物名など以つけられたる、二には居地名を以申せる、三には美禰て付奉れるなり、王等のみならず、凡人の名ども、大方此三種なり、さて此三色の例を一二づゝいはゞ、垂仁天皇の御子火中に生坐し故に、本牟智和氣御子と着られ、景行天皇の御子雙生坐るを、父天皇異坐て、確に誥し給へりし故に、大碓命小碓命と申し、應神天皇は、生坐し時に、御腕に鞆のごとくなる御肉の坐ける故に、大鞆和氣命と申し、仁德天皇と建内宿禰の子と同日に生坐て、木兎と鷦鷯との祥ありしに因て、其祥を相易て、御子を大鷦鷯建内宿禰の子を木兎と名け坐し、清寧天皇は、生坐ながら御白髮坐ける故に、白髮命と申し反正天皇に、御齒の奇びに坐しに因て、水齒別命と申しゝが如きは、由縁の物名を取て着奉れりし證例なり、又聖德太子は、廐の戸にして生ましゝ故に、廐戸と申し、天武天皇の御子大伯皇女と申しゝは、備前國の大伯海にして生坐しゝ故の御名なる、是等も處名ながら、猶由縁に就たるなり、次に開化天皇の御孫沙本毘古王の、沙本に坐し、（此王、垂仁天皇を弑せ奉らむと謀ける時に、天皇の大御夢に、沙本の方より暴雨降來と見坐しゝこと見ゆ）應神天皇の御子宇遲能和紀郎子の、山代の宇遲に坐し、仁賢天皇の御子春日山田郎女の、春日に坐し、（書紀繼躰卷に、勾大兄皇子の、此皇女を妻問坐る御哥に、春日の春日の國に、くはし女をありと聞て云々）雄略天皇の大后若日下王の、河内の日下に坐る、（天皇此后の御許に、日下に幸行しゝ事見えたり）又此天皇長谷宮に坐し、故に、大長谷若建命と申し、安康天皇は、石上穴穗宮に坐る故

石偏なるべし、碕は橋なり、と字書に云りと云れつれども、是もいかゞ、埼も碕も、古書に崎と同く佐伎に用ひたる字にて、橋に用ひたる例もなく、又字書に其義も見えず、さて椅も字書には橋の義なけれども、皇國の古書どもに多く見えたれば、決て此字なり、凡て古は、漢國の字義によらずして、世にあまねく用ひならへる例多し、倉に椋字、隈に前字を書たぐひなり、）○阿比良比賣は、和名抄に、大隅國、郡名姶羅、阿比良、又同國大隅、郡姶羅、熊毛、郡阿枚、（これら皆本は一ッ地なるべし、書紀神代卷の、日向、吾平山上、陵といふも同じ地なり、）是らの中の地名に因れる名なり、書紀には、娶日向國吾田邑吾平津媛爲妃とあり、（是にも姓を擧ずして、吾田邑とあるを以て、此記の阿多も、此は地名なることを知べし、）○娶は米志豆と訓べし、（又伊禮豆とも、美阿比坐豆とも訓べし）書紀に、此字又御又納又通などをも然訓たり、○多藝志耳命、書紀には手研耳命と書れたり、名義さだかならず、若は倭建命段に、吾足不得步成當藝斯形とある、此物に因れる御名か、（當藝斯といふ物のことは、彼處に釋べし、○書紀に書れたる研は、伎志流と訓字にて、此は借字なるべし）耳は尊稱にて、忍穗耳命などの耳と同じ、其事彼處に（傳七御宇氣比段）委くいへり、○岐須美々命、書紀には此御子無し、故思に、此御名志と須とは通音なれば、御兄の御名とたゞ多の畧りたるのみの差にて、いとよく似たり、（舊事紀に研耳と書るは、おしあてなるべし、）又下に至て、多藝志美々命の御事のみ出て、此御子の御事見えず、（若此御子坐ば、必其御事も出べきことなり、）これらを以思に、此は御兄の御名の傳へのいさゝか異なりしが、まがひて二柱とはなれるにて、書紀の方や正しからむ、○是より次々、凡て古の

ればなり、又君てふ加婆禰は、必姓の下にこそ附る例なれ、名の下にはいかゞともいふべけれど、凡て加婆禰は、元は其人を尊みて云るより起れることなり、此御代のころは、未さだかに姓と云物はなかりしこと、見ゆれば、たゞ其居處の名などを以て、某處君と尊み呼るが、世々に其種の傳はりて、つひに姓とはなれるなり、殊に此小椅君などは、妃の兄君にしあれば、尊みて某處の君といはむことさらなり、（書紀神代卷に、火闌降命即吾田君小橋等之本祖也とある小橋も此人を指て云るなり、（凡て此記にも書紀にも、某者某氏、祖とあるは、皆其子孫の姓を擧る例にて、人名を擧る例はをさ〳〵無れば、此小橋も猶姓の如にも思はるれども、若姓ならば、君字は小橋の下にあるべきに、上にしもあるは、必人名なり、かゝる處に人名を擧たるは、同神代上卷に、大三輪之神、此神之子即甘茂君等大三輪君等、又姫蹈鞴五十鈴姫命、とあるたぐひなり、是も此天皇の大后に坐故に、かく御名を擧たる如く、小橋も妃の兄君なる故に、殊に其名を擧たるなるべし、さて此時は、いまだ吾田君と云は姓にはあらず、尊みて如此呼るまゝに記せるなり、凡てかゝる事も、其時代に隨て心得別くべきものぞ、）さて此記には、橋階などに皆椅字を書り、凡て古は多く此字を用ひたりと見えて、萬葉集神名帳姓氏錄和名抄、鄉名など、其餘の古書にもあまた見えたり、（萬葉七に倉椅、神名式下總國に、高椅神社、阿波國に天椅立神社、和名抄武藏國、鄉名良椅與之波之など、此外もなほ多かり、）さて此字、舊印本に手偏に書るも、延佳本に記中なるを皆土偏に書るも、共に誤なり、今は一本に從へり、他の書なるも、記中異處なるも、みな木偏なればなり、（延佳が皆土偏に書るは、さかしらに改つる物と見ゆ、又師は、

古事記傳二十之卷

本居宣長謹撰

白檮原宮下卷

故坐日向時。娶阿多之小椅君妹名阿比良比賣自阿以下五字以音生子。多藝志美美命。次岐須美美命。二柱坐也。

阿多は地名にて、薩摩國にあり、委くは上卷隼人阿多君とある下（傳十六の末）に云るが如し、（此の阿多も、彼上卷なる阿多君と一にて、姓とこそ聞えたるに、地名なりといへるは如何といふに、此御代のころは、いまだ姓を云る例なければなり、此事猶次に委いへり、但此はなほ地名ながら後に姓となりつれば、即彼阿多君にてはあるなり）○小椅君は、地名に依れる人名なり、（阿多は大名にて、其中にある小椅といふ地なるべし、此地物に見えざれども、必然るべし、今此名の地は無きか、大隅薩摩の國人に尋ぬべし、舊事紀に景行天皇の御子たちを擧たる中に、襲小橋別命、三田小橋別祖と云り、三字一本に兎と作り、何れも誤にて、吾田小橋別なるべし、是も此なると一地名と聞えたり、さて小椅君は、其地をうしはける人にて、即名に負るなるべし、又此は名には非すして、阿多氏中より別れたる一姓の如くにも聞ゆめれど、若姓ならむには、必下に其人の名あるべきに、名をいはで妹と云ることいかゞ、某氏の妹とは云まじけ

ること、甚く疑ひあり、此事已委曲に論へり、其文いと長くて、此には擧がたき故に、別に眞暦考と號て一卷とせり、

古事記傳十九之卷終

に宅地を賜て、築坂邑に居しめ、大來目を來目邑に居しむとあるは、皆京城の近き邊の地なりけむ、（築坂は、宣化天皇の御陵のある身狹桃花鳥坂と同じ、今三瀬より東、方輕村へ越る間の岡にて、東よりも西よりもやゝ登る坂路なり、其上の平なる地に窟あり、これ彼御陵なるべし、此事猶委き考へあり、此地畝火より遠からず、又久米村久米寺なども、畝火に近き地なり、（書紀に云、己未年三月辛酉朔丁卯、下令曰云々、觀夫畝傍山東南橿原地者、蓋國之墺區乎、可治之、是月即命有司經始帝宅、（古語拾遺に、此大宮造らしゝ間の事、其餘も此御代の御制どもなど、くさ〳〵記せり）萬葉一（十六丁）に、玉手次畝火之山乃橿原乃日知之御世從云々とよめり、○治天下、治は斯呂志賣志伎と訓べし、次々の御世〳〵の段なるも皆同じ、萬葉廿（五十丁）に、安吉豆之萬夜萬登登能久爾乃可之婆良能宇禰備之宮爾美也婆之良布刀之利多豆々安米能之多之良志賣之祁流須賣呂伎能云々、攝津國風土記に、宇禰備能可志婆良能宮御宇天皇世などみゆ、（凡て古の天皇の御事を申すに、古は某宮治天下天皇と申せり、書紀、天武卷に、孝德天皇を、難波宮治天下天皇、天智天皇を、於近江宮治天下天皇などある類なり、又某宮御宇天皇とも書る、御宇も阿米能志多志呂志賣志々と訓ことなり、後世には是を誤て、某天皇御宇と云て、御宇を御時の意に用るは非なり、御宇時とはいふべし）書紀云、辛酉年、春正月庚辰朔、天皇即帝位於橿原宮、是歲爲天皇元年云々、故古語稱之曰於畝傍之橿原也太立宮柱於底磐之根峻峙榑風於高天之原而始馭天下之天皇、號曰神日本磐余彥火々出見天皇焉、（書紀に、此大御代の元年を辛酉と定め、又紀中何事にも某月某日と、日を指て書された

段に、撥治參上覆奏とある、撥治も、波良比多比良牙豆とも、波良比牟氣豆とも訓べし）書紀神代卷に駈除平定、○畝火は、大和國高市郡にある山名なり、此下なる大后の御哥に、宇泥備夜麻と見え、書紀欽明卷、哥にも見え、允恭卷に、新羅客が此山を愛て、宇泥哮巴椰と云ること、又推古卷に畝傍池、皇極卷に、蘇我大臣の畝傍家、（此畝字を釋紀にも今本にも敏に誤て、トシカタノイヘと訓るはひがことなり）續紀に文武天皇四年八月に、此山の樹木の故なくして枯たりしことも見ゆ、萬葉一（十一丁）には、雲根火耳梨香山と三山の妻競の近江宮、天皇大御歌、又（二十三丁）藤原宮御井哥に、畝火乃此美豆山者日緯能大御門爾彌豆山跡山佐備伊座、二（三十八丁）に、輕市爾吾立聞者、玉手次畝火乃山爾鳴鳥之音母不所聞四（二十三丁）に、天翔哉輕路從玉田次畝火乎見管などよめり、書紀、此御卷に、畝傍山此云宇禰縻夜摩とあり、神名帳大和國高市郡畝火山口坐神社（大月次新嘗）あり、さて今此山の東南の麓に、畦樋村と云ふあるなり、今土人は樋を清て呼り、然れども古書には備字などを用て、皆濁音なり）○白檮原宮、白檮は加志と訓べし、此樹の事は、玉垣宮段（傳二十五）に葉廣熊白檮とある處に云べし、さて此宮號は、此地舊は白檮樹原にて有し故に（書紀には、披拂山林經營宮室とあり）負るなるべし、かくて此地名は、今世には遺らざれども、大宮所は、畝火山の東南の麓に近き地なりしこと、書紀にて著明し、（或說に、葛上郡なる柏原村、此宮趾なり、此村畝火山の西南方にあたれ、ば、日本紀の東字は、西を寫誤れるなりと云るは非なり、今の柏原村は、畝火山のあたりに非ず、や、遠ければ、さらに畝火の白檮原と云べき地理にあらず、由なきことなり）書紀に、道臣命

て總云なり、○荒夫琉神は、此は彼、熊野、山の荒神を云べし○言向は許登牟祁、平和は夜波斯と訓べし、此語のこと傳十三國平御議の段に云り、上卷に、言趣和其國之荒振神等、また言向和平葦原中國などあり、○不伏人は、麻都漏波奴比登と訓べし、人字諸本皆之と作るは、決て寫誤なり、故今は例に依て改つ、其例も訓の例も次に擧るが如し、水垣宮段に、令和平其麻都漏波奴人等、倭建命段に、言向和平東方十二道之荒夫流神及摩都樓波奴人等、また同段に、平東西之荒神及不伏人等也、また言向和平山河荒神及不伏人等などあり、さて此言は、書紀雄略卷大御哥に、飫哀枳瀰儞磨都羅符、（是に依ば、漏を羅とも通はし云るなり）萬葉二（三十四丁）に、千磐破人乎和爲跡、不奉仕國乎治跡、十八（二十一丁）に、麻都呂倍乃牟氣乃麻爾々々、二十（五十丁）に、知波夜夫流神乎許等牟氣、麻都呂倍奴比等乎母夜波之波吉伎欲米、（此倍は、必波とあるべき處なるを、もとより如此よみ誤れるか、又後に寫誤れるか）書紀に、歸順不服不順などあり、○退撥は、萬葉十九（三十九丁）に、天雲爾磐船浮云々、國看之勢志豆安母里麻之、掃平千代累彌嗣繼爾所知來流天之日繼等云々、とあるに依て、波良比多比良牙豆と訓べし、又五（十三丁）に、可良久爾遠武氣多比良宜豆ともあり、（如此訓まむも宜しけれども、上に言向とあれば、牟氣てふ言重なる故に、此は然は訓がたし、又字のまゝならば、曾祁波良比とも訓べけれど、言うるはしからず、凡てかゝる古言は、例をよく考へ、勤めて語をうるはしく訓べきなり、師は波伎夜良比豆と訓れつれど、此も宜しとも聞えず、又上卷大穴牟遲神段に、每河瀨追撥とあるに依に、若は退は追、字の誤にて、淤比波良比と訓べきかとも思へど、此は然らじ、さて倭建命、

臣等祖と云あれど、臣と云る尸も違ひ、又書紀の趣と合ざれば、信がたし、姓氏錄には此氏見えず、たゞ和泉國神別に、榎井部といふありて、饒速日命後也とあるのみなり、朴井てふ地名は、椎古紀、二十葉に見ゆ、）○穗積臣、此氏の事は、堺原宮段（傳二十二の始）に云べし、○婇臣、婇は宇泥辨と訓べし、舊印本に此字を妹と作るは寫誤、延佳がさかしらに采女二字に改めつるも、中々に非なり、今は一本に依れり、猶婇の事は下卷（傳四十二）朝倉宮段の三重婇下に委に云べし、さて此氏の婇てふ名を負けるは、元如何なる由緣にか知がたし、踐祚大嘗祭式薦悠紀御膳行立次第に、采女司、采女朝臣二人（左右前駈）とあれば、元婇の事に由れる名には有なり、さて此氏人、書記舒明卷に采女臣摩禮志、孝德卷に采女臣使主麻呂、天武卷に采女臣竹羅など見えたり、同卷十三年十一月、采女臣賜姓曰朝臣、また續紀に、天平神護元年二月、攝津國島下郡人右大舍人采女臣家麻呂、采女司、采部采女臣家足等四人、賜姓朝臣と見ゆ、姓氏錄右京神別（天神）采女朝臣、石上朝臣同祖、神饒速日命六世孫大水口宿禰之後也、（舊事紀に、大水口宿禰命、穗積臣采女臣等祖、出石心命子と云り）和泉國神別（天神）采女臣、神饒速日命六世孫伊香色雄命之後也とあり、（天武紀に、采女造賜姓曰連とあるは、異姓なるべし、

故如此。言向平和荒夫琉神等。夫琉二字以音退撥不伏人等而。坐畝火之白檮原宮治天下也。

如此、こゝは朝倉宮段大御歌に加久能碁登とあるに依て訓り、さて此は始よりの事どもを指

連源等言、己等是物部、大連等之苗裔也、夫物部、連等、各因居地行事、別爲百八十氏云々とあり、（百八十とは、たゞ百にも多く餘りて數の多きをいふ古言なり）又神名帳に、諸國に物部、神社いと多し、（こは其國々に居住る此氏、人の祖神を齋へる社と見ゆ、其中に物部天神、社と云もあるは、正しく遐藝速日命を祭れるならむ）さて持統紀に、四年春正月戊寅朔、物部麻呂、朝臣樹大盾云々、（是は天皇即位の時の儀なり）續紀に、神龜元年十一月己卯大嘗云々、從五位下石上、朝臣勝男、石上、朝臣乙麻呂、從六位上石上、朝臣諸男、從七位上榎井朝臣大嶋等、率內、物部、立神楯於齋宮、南北二門、また延曆四年正月丁酉朔、天皇御大極殿受朝、其儀如常、石上榎井二氏各竪梓楯焉、貞觀儀式大嘗祭儀に、石上榎井二氏、人各二人、率內、物部卌人、（着紺布衫）立大嘗祭、南北門、神楯載、（門別楯二枚載四竿）云々と見えたり、此氏、人此事を仕奉るは、上代の式の遺れるなり、（榎井朝臣は、物部氏より別れたる氏なり、孝德紀に、物部、朴、井、連椎子、齊明紀に、物部、朴、井、連鮪などいふ人見え、天武紀に、朴、井、連雄君と云人を、物部、雄君、連とも記されたり、此雄君、連は、壬申、年の大功あるに依て、天武、五年に卒れる時、贈位など有て、氏、上と玄賜る人なり、然れば榎井、朝臣は、此人の子孫なるべし、さて同十三年に五十二氏に朝臣、姓を賜へる中に、此氏見えざるは、朴、井、連とも稱ながら、此時はなを物部、連の內にて、共に朝臣にはなれるなるべし、さて正しく榎、井朝臣と改まりしは、かの麻呂公などの石上、朝臣と改まりし同じ時のことなるべし、續紀文武天皇二年十一月己卯、大嘗、榎井、朝臣倭麻呂竪大楯とある、是榎井、朝臣と見えたる始なり、又養老三年五月榎、井連枠麻呂賜朝臣、姓などもあり、舊事紀物部氏の歷世の中に、榎井、

從三位石上朝臣宅嗣賜姓物部朝臣以其情願也同十年十一月勅中納言從三位物部朝臣宅嗣宜改物部賜石上朝臣（宅嗣卿は麻呂大臣の孫中納言弟麻呂卿の子なり大納言正三位にて天應元年六月に薨年五十三）姓氏錄左京神別（天神）石上朝臣神饒速日命之後也（宇摩志麻治命十六世孫物部連公麻呂賜物部朝臣姓改賜石上朝臣姓）とあり一本には細書二十九字は無し（細書は後人の舊事紀に依て書加へたるものなるべし連公と公字を添へたるは例なきことにて舊事紀にのみ然あるなり）さて物部連麻侶は天武卷に出たれば朝臣姓を賜へるは信に此人の世なり又石上と改まりしことは書紀に見えざれども同卷の末又持統卷に石上朝臣麻呂と見え次に十八氏を擧たる處にも石上とあれば是も此人の世に改まりしこと明し舊事紀に饒速日尊十七世孫物部連公麻侶淨御原朝御世改連公賜物部朝臣姓同朝御世改賜石上朝臣姓と云り麻侶は續紀に養老元年三月癸卯左大臣正二位石上朝臣麻呂薨大臣大連物部目之後宇麻子之子也とあり凡て物部氏の事饒速日命より麻呂大臣までの世次舊事紀五卷に具に擧たり其文の中には信がたきことども多けれども歷世の次第なきは大方違へることも無しと見ゆるは家譜を取て記せるものなるべし（さて石上と改められし由緣は傳十八卷石上神宮の下に云るが如し）さて代々住地も即石上にぞありけむ古今集雜上詞書に石上並松がみやづかへもせで石上と云所にこもり侍りけるを云々とあるを以見れば今京に移りて後も此氏大和石上に昔の宅地など猶そのまゝにぞ持たりけむ）抑宇摩志麻遲命の子孫物部連氏より支別たる氏々甚多くして姓氏錄にも數多見え續紀四十に韓國

物部四十人、掌主當罪人決罰事（續紀和銅四年十月、始定祿法中にも、召使門部物部主師等並絲二絇錢十文とあり、類聚國史天長八年二月、囚獄司、物部定額四十人、依无名負氏入色人、通取他氏云々とある、名負氏とは、先祖より世々物部なる種の人をいふなり、）とありかゝれば後には、降りてたゞ刑人の事を掌て、いと賤職となれるなり、（雄略卷にも既く其さま見えたり、）さて物部連氏は、遠祖宇摩志麻遲命武勇勳功ありける故に、上件の天物部の人等を帥領しめ賜ひしより、（舊事紀に、宇摩志麻治命率天物部而翦夷荒逆云々と云るは、實なるべし、）子孫世々相嗣て、物部を率領て仕奉れるによりて（書紀雄略卷に、物部目連自執大刀使筑紫聞物部大斧手執楯叱於軍中云々、大斧手以楯翳物部目連云々、目は人名なり、續紀九に、石上朝臣勝男等率內物部云々、これら物部を率たる證なり、）此姓を賜はれるなり、書紀崇神卷に、物部氏遠祖大綜麻杵、又物部連祖伊香色雄、垂仁卷に、物部連遠祖十千根などいふ人見ゆ、されど此姓を賜ひしは、何時とも見えず（傳二十一の始師木縣主の下考へ合すべし、さて垂仁卷二十六年の處に、物部十千根大連とあれば、此より先に既に此姓は賜へるなり、舊事紀に云、饒速日命兒宇摩志麻治命云々、七世孫建膽心大禰命、伊香色雄命子也、弟安毛建美命、弟大新河命、纏向珠城宮御宇天皇御世賜物部連公姓、弟十千根命、同御世賜物部連公姓と云り、さも有けむ、姓氏錄にも、伊香色雄命は饒速日命六世孫、大新河命は七世孫とあり、）さて仲哀卷に、物部膽咋連、履中卷に、物部伊莒弗大連、同長眞膽連見え、雄略卷に、物部連目爲大連と見え、此後も位貴き人世々に見えたり、さて天武卷十三年十一月戊申朔、物部連賜姓曰朝臣、續紀に又、寶龜六年十二月

さて物部と云者は、一部の武士にて、其は上代に、殊に勇て武事の勝れたる輩なりし故に、其部を殊に武士部とは名けられしなり、（されば母能々布と云は、凡て武き人の稱物部と云は、一部の武人の稱にて、差別あるを、萬葉などに、母能々布にも物部と書る故に、まぎらはしきことあるなり、）さて上代に物部と云る者の見えたるは、崇神紀に物部八十手とある是なり、（この物部は姓にあらず、物部の人を云なり）姓氏錄に、原造、神饒速日命、天降之時從者天物部現度造、之後也、また坂戸物部、同神、從者坂戸天物部、之後也、また二田物部、同神、從者二田天物部、之後也と見え、（舊事紀、饒速日命天降段に、五部造、爲伴、領率天物部、天降供奉とありて、其五部の中に、二田造と云も坂戸造といふもあり、又天物部等二十五部人同帶兵伏天降供奉とありて、此二十五部皆某物部と云名等なり、其中に二田物部と云もあり、又嶋戸物部と云もあるは、姓氏錄に現度造とある是歟、現一本に峴と作り、嶋字の誤にや、さて姓氏錄の右の三氏は、未定雜姓部に收れり、未定雜姓といふは、勘尋氏姓、職由本系、而此等姓、祖違古記、事漏舊典、雖加研究、稽然所不及、故集爲別卷、號曰未定、附之於末、以俟後賢とありて、慥ならざる姓どもなり、然れば右の天物部などある類も、皆實は御孫命の御天降の御從神なりけむを、僞りて饒速日命の伴神とせること、上に云るが如くにて、祖違古記と云るものなり、されど物部といふ稱は、神代より有て、彼御天降の御從にて、天より降れる故に、天物部とは云なるべし）書紀、雄略、卷に、遣物部、兵士三十人、誅殺前津屋并族七十人、また天皇便疑御田鍬其采女、自念將刑而付物部、また付物部使刑於野、欽明、卷に、有至臣所將來民筑紫物部莫奇委沙奇能射火箭など見え、職員令、囚獄司に、

とにて、布辨を約て母能々辨とはいふなり、さて其母能々布と云は、（名義は未考得ず）總て武勇職を以仕奉る建士の稱にして、萬葉哥に、是を宇治の枕詞に云るも、いちはやしといふ意なり、（此事冠辭考に委し）又三卷には武士とも書り、（五十一丁）後世までも武士をものふと云り、さて又朝廷に仕奉る人等を凡ても母能々布と云て、母能々布之八十伴緒などよめるも、萬葉に多きは、上代に武勇職を主とせられし世の古言の遺れりしなり、（母能々布の事、師の冠辭考に委く說れたり、其中に、古へ凡て武き人をものゝふと云て、そは世に限りなく多ければ、八十稜威人とは云りと云れつるは違へり、八十氏とつゞけ云るは、かの八十伴緒と云ると同じくて、武人のみならず、凡て朝廷に仕奉る人をも皆母能々布と云る、其氏々の多き意にて、八十稜威人の意には非ず、彼八十と云ずして、たゞものゝふのうぢといひ、又ちはやぶるうぢ、ちはや人うぢなどゝ云るとは、つゞけの意異なり、彼ちはやぶるちはや人などは、唯宇治とのみつゞけて、八十宇治とはつゞけたる例なきを以て、此差をさとるべし、母能々布之と云る枕詞は、只宇治とつゞけるは、彼ちはや人などゝ同じくていちはやき意、八十宇治とつゞけるは、八十伴緒の氏々の多き意にて、同枕詞同地名ながら、そのつゞけの意ことなり、よくせずば混ぬべし、さて又ものゝふの八十乃嫵、ものゝふの八十心などつゞけるも、八十氏とつゞくと同意にて、八十の枕詞なり、さて又冠辭考に、上代には母能々布てふ稱は見えず、後に云る名なりと云れつるもいかゞとぞおもふ、二記に此種は見えざれども、そはついでなくてたまたま漏たるにこそあらむ、物部てふ稱、既に上代より、あれば、母能々布の稱も有しことしるべし）

などの類も、天上のは尋帶の制とは遙に勝れて、めでたく貴き物なりけり、さて天皇の天表を見て、益踉踏しを思へば、天孫命の御物は、又更に絶異たること知られたり、さて舊事紀に、天神御祖詔以天璽瑞寶十種授饒速日尊云々、また宇摩志麻治命以天神御祖授饒速日尊天璽瑞寶而奉獻於天孫云々、また饒速日命自天受來天璽瑞寶同共藏齋號曰石上大神云々など云り、思ふに此十種神寶を授かり賜へりしも、實には邇々藝命なるを、例の僞りて邇藝速日命とせるにや、但し垂仁天皇の御代より、石上の神寶を物部氏の掌れるは、元來此十種神寶の由緣も有し故かとも聞ゆれば、此は實に饒速日命の持來しにもあらむか、若然らば、今此に天津瑞と云物は、かの天羽々矢步靫のみならず、此十種神寶も其中にありけむ、十種神寶の事は、傳十根堅洲國の段下に云り、）此天上より持來し瑞物を、私寶とせず、天皇へ獻れるは、（書紀の趣は異なり、又舊事紀に、天羽々弓天羽々矢、復神衣帶手貫三物、葬斂於登美白庭邑、以此爲墓とあるは、此記に、獻天皇とあるに違ひ、又天羽々弓と云名なども心得ず、）服從へる表なり、○登美夜毘賣、名意、登美は地名にて、上の登美毘古の處に云るが如し、夜は未思得ず、○宇摩志麻遲命、書紀には、可美眞手此云于魔詩莽耐、とあり、名義、遲は阿斯訶備比古遲などの遲ならむか、（但書紀には手とあれば、他意か、さて姓氏錄に此人名多く出たる、みな治とあり、味島乳とも書り、手と云る處は一ツもなし、舊事紀には、亦云味間見命と云り、）さて舊事紀に此人の勳功の事をいみしく記せるは、子孫の氏々の大に廣ごり榮へたるを思へば、然もありけむかし、○物部連、此はまづ母能々布又物部てふ稱の事を說て、後に此氏の事をば云む、抑物部は、母能々布部といふこ

て、天皇には仕奉しも知がたし、舊事紀には、饒速日命は既く薨て、天皇に仕奉しは、子の字摩志遲命とせれども、登美毘古が妹に娶とある、其登美毘古も猶存在れば、邇藝速日命の存在むも何かは疑はむ）○天津瑞は天上より持來つる物にして、天神の子なる徵信の實なり、されば瑞は、師の斯流志と訓れつるぞ當れる、（萬葉十九の三十九葉に、從古昔無利之瑞、これらの瑞も、新流志と訓べし、瑞字は說文に、以玉爲信也とある意を取て、表初に用たるなり、然に是を美豆と訓は、いみしきひがことなり、其はもと書紀、神代卷に、美豆穗國の美豆に、此瑞字を書て、此云彌圖とありて、其餘も同意の美豆には、瑞宮瑞籬など皆書れたるより起れり、此も當らぬ文字なれども、此らの美豆と讀言は違はぬを、是らに效て他意の瑞字をも、皆同く美豆と訓ことと心得て、祥瑞などをさへ然訓るも、大非なり、それも斯流志とこそ訓べけれ）書紀に、時長髓彥乃遣行人言於天皇曰、嘗有天神之子乘天磐船自天降止、號曰櫛玉饒速日命、是娶吾妹三炊屋媛、亦名長髓媛亦名鳥見屋媛、遂有兒息、名曰可美眞手命、故吾以饒速日命爲君而奉焉、夫天神之子豈有兩種乎、奈何更稱天神子、以奪人地乎、吾心推之未必爲信、天皇曰、天神子亦多耳、汝所爲君是實天神之子者、必有表物、可相示之、長髓彥即取饒速日命之天羽々矢一隻及步靫以奉示天皇、天皇覽之曰、事不虛也、還以所御天羽々矢一隻及步靫賜示於長髓彥、長髓彥見其天表益懷踟躇、然而凶器已構其勢不得中休而猶守迷圖無復改意、饒速日命本知天神慇懃唯天孫是與、且見夫長髓彥稟性愎狠不可敎以天人之際、乃殺之帥其衆而歸順焉、天皇素聞饒速日命是自天降者、而今果立効、則褒而寵之、此物部氏之遠祖也とあり、（是を以見れば、矢又靫

さて此、邇藝速日命は、天上より降れる神なることは論なけれども、（姓氏錄にも、此神の子孫なる氏々は、皆天神部に載せ、續後紀八にも、天神饒速日命とあり）何神の御子とも知難し、（姓氏錄などにも、御父を記せる所は無し）思ふに、天照大御神の御子孫には非て、他天神の御子なるべし、（其故は、姓氏錄の例、神別に天孫天神地祇の三ありて、天照大御神の御子孫の氏々をば、天孫部とし、他天神の子孫をば、天神部とせるに、此神の子孫の氏々は、天孫に收ずして、天神の部なればなり、然るに舊事記に、天忍穗耳命の御子天火明命を以、此邇藝速日命とせるは甚く古書どもの趣に違ひて、全僞說なる由、傳十五の始に委く辨るが如し、さて此神の天降坐し時の事を甚嚴重て記して、三十二人の防衛神、五部人五部、造、天物部二十五部、人などを、御從に副て降し賜ふと云て、盡く其神等の名をも擧たるは、ひたぶるの虛言とも見えず、思ふに是らは實には、皆御孫命の天降坐し時の御供奉の神たちにて、古記に記し傳へたるが、埋れて遺れりしを、竊に取て、此邇藝速日命の事に僞りなせる家記を取て記せる物とこそ見えたれ）さて此神の天より降坐し時代は、御孫命の御天降よりは後、天皇の日向より發坐し時よりは遙に前なるべくして、其中間何時のほどとも、さだかには知がたし、（御孫命の天降坐るを聞て、追て降るとあるは、追續てほどなく降れる如くに聞ゆめれども、然には非す、先御孫命の降坐て後に、又同じ如降れる故に、追てとは云なり、其間幾許年を經て後の事とも知がたし、さて天皇日向に坐しほどに、往昔倭國へ此神の天降けむことを聞食しも、いたく近き事の如くも聞えず、抑此ほど神代の際なれば、猶人の命長きもありぬべければ、此神も、天降て後數百年存在

昔既く歌は絶て、舞のみ遺れりしなり、）抑初國所知着し天皇の大代に始まりて、さばかりめでたかりし樂の絶はてぬるは、可惜しとも可惜しく、哀しとも哀し、

故爾邇藝速日命參赴白於天神御子。聞天神御子天降坐故。追參降來。即獻天津瑞以仕奉也。故邇藝速日命娶登美毘古之妹登美夜毘賣生子宇摩志麻遲命。此者物部連穂積臣。姝臣祖也。

邇藝速日命、書紀に、饒速日此云爾藝波椰卑とあり、名義、邇藝は、書紀に書れたる饒の意にて、邇々藝命を、天邇岐志國邇岐志云々と申せる邇岐志と同し、速日は、上卷勝速日の御名の處（傳七御誓約の段下）に云るが如し、○參赴は麻韋伎豆と訓べし、（書紀に、此二字をマウヅともマウケリともマウキツとも訓り、マウはマヰの轉れる言、ケリは來而有と云意なり、外詣至參來來朝來歸などをも、マウケリと訓り、高津宮段、御哥に麻韋久禮、萬葉四（四十六丁）に參來而、廿（十一丁）に麻爲許牟などあり、○白於天神御子は、天皇に申すなり、○聞天神御子云々は、邇々藝命の御事なり、○追參降來とは、邇々藝命の御跡を追て、天より降來るなり、（天より降るを參と云るは、常の例に違へれども、こは邇々藝命既に此國に降居坐る故に、其方を尊みて參とはいふなり、）書紀、此卷、首に、抑又聞於鹽土老翁曰、東有美地、青山四周、其中亦有乘天磐船飛降者云々、厥飛降者、謂是饒速日歟と見え、又終にも、及至饒速日命乘天磐船而翔行大虛也、睨是鄕而降之、故因目之曰虛空見日本國矣、（日本國とは、畿内の大和國をいふ）

續紀に、天平勝寶元年十二月に、東大寺に行幸て、佛事行はせ賜へる時、又四年四月に、同寺の大佛の開眼れし日、行幸ありし時など、種々の音樂ありける中に、久米儛もありしこと見えたり、（當時などまでは、かゝる事にも此舞ありければ、他節もおもひやるべし）其後は大嘗會に見えたり、三代實錄に、貞觀元年十一月十六日丁卯大嘗祭云々、十九日庚午、撤去悠紀主基兩帳、天皇御豐樂殿、廣廂宴百官、多治氏奏田舞、伴佐伯、兩氏久米舞、安倍氏吉志舞、內舍人倭舞、入夜奏五節、並如舊儀、（元慶八年の大嘗會の處にも、如此見えたり、さて此儛を伴佐伯二氏の仕奉るは、久米部は後に大伴氏の下に屬る故なり、佐伯は大伴より分れたる氏なり、此等の事上に委く云り）貞觀儀式踐祚大嘗祭午日段に、伴佐伯兩氏率舞人入自儀鸞門、（左伴氏右佐伯氏、五位已上相分而列、）就中庭床子、（所司豫設）奏久米舞、（廿人二列而舞）また金作劔廿口、右久米儛料など見ゆ、北山抄同午日條にも、右の如くありて、舞人廿人琴工六人、新式云、所司設五位幷彈正琴、床子、又設琴臺床子、寬平記云、王四人着緋衣、末額劔靴、承平記云、於舞臺、東供奉舞人在前後、端者服四位、袍、中間服五位、袍、皆帶劔、終頭拔劔舞、無歌、以琴爲節、舞如駿河舞、（彈正琴とあるは彈琴工の誤、終は絡の誤なるべし、さて此儛の事、此後江次第、又諸家の記錄などに往々見たるも、大抵右の如し、兵範記、仁安三年十一月廿五日壬午云々、一獻國栖奏笛歌、次伴佐伯兩氏奏久米舞、悠紀方行之、兩氏五位着小忌、列之、舞人廿人着冠、退紅袍半臂下襲白袴冒額劔等、琴工六人從之、於舞臺北列舞、舞如駿河舞、次安倍氏奏吉志舞、主基方行之云々）と見えたり、近世に至ては、此儛絕て傳はらずとぞ、（北山抄に引れたる承平記、又江次第などに無歌とあれば、當

などには鵜養ありて、今世にも稀には遺れり、さて登母とは其徒類を云て、萬葉一（二十四丁）に處女之友、六（二十六丁）に大夫之伴、十八（十二丁）に之津乎能登母などもあり、さて字字の下なる上字は、舊印本又一本共に大字なれども、此は上聲は讀との注にて、上卷に例多き皆細字なれば、今も改めて細書つ、（延佳本には此上字無し、哥には例なき故に、さかしらに削きしにや、○伊麻須氣爾許泥は今助に來ねなり、今と云に速にと云意あり、（今世の語にも速にと云ことを強く云には、今又只今など云なり）須氣を多須氣と常にいふは、手助にて、本語は須氣なり、故諸司の次官（輔副助介など）などをも、皆須氣と云、今俗言にも、助るを須氣流と云り、來ねは、來れと云むが如し、早く食物を齎來て、軍士の飢疫たるを救へとの意なり、さて人もこそあれ、鵜養をしも擇出て如此よみ坐る故は、契冲が、前に吉野にて、阿陀鵜養の祖贄持之子仕奉ければなりと云る、然もあるべし、贄持てふ名も緣あり、若は此度の戰に、此人の許より、軍糧を送獻るべき約束などの、豫てありしにも有べし、（○師は、書紀と合せて思に、此御哥の次に文脫たらむと云れつれども、然には非ず、上の登美毘古を討たまふ處も、哥のみを擧て、前後の事をば畧ける、其例なるをや、）○書紀に、上件數首歌ども（宇陀能多加紀爾云々てふ哥より是まで、合せて六首、書紀には猶外に二首ありて八首なり、又其次第も異なるところ〳〵あるなり、）の終に、凡諸御謠皆謂來目歌、此的取歌者而名之也とあり、後に久米儛と云は、此樂なるべし、（書紀に、彼宇陀能多加紀爾の哥の次に、是謂來目歌、今樂府奏此歌者、猶有手量、大小及音聲、巨細、此古之遺式也とある、此儛の狀を云るなり、其由上に引て委くいへり）

音を以て敵を驚駭さむための御策なるべし、炭火に水を灌げば、おびたゝしき音のして鳴轟くものなればなり、）先弱軍を出し戰はせて、敵をして輕り怠らして、其形狀を窺ひつゝ、伊那佐の山の木間隱れに、陰に强軍を率て行廻りて、後方より攻戰賜ふなるべし、如是て思へば、伊那佐能山と云は、即墨坂の本名と聞えたる、（墨坂てふ名は、此時に燒炭を置るより起れる由、書紀の上文に見ゆ）○多々加閇婆は戰者なり、○和禮波夜惠奴は吾者飢ぬにて、夜は歎辭なり、余と云に近し、水垣宮段哥に、美麻紀伊理毘古波夜云々、とある波夜と同じことなり、此外哥のとぢめに置る多し、そは傳二十七倭建命の、阿豆麻波夜と詔へる處に委く云べし、（早なりと注るは非なり、又者哉と注して、疑の夜と心得るもわろし）さて和禮は天皇の吾にて、軍士も其中にこもれり、飢の字を省ける例は、書紀聖德御子命御歌に、伊比爾惠豆とあり、さて上詞には暫疲とありて、此には飢ぬとあるを合せて思に、此戰、先女軍を出して戰はせ、其後に伊那佐山を越て、敵の後方へ行廻などして、左右に時刻の移りたるべければ、皆人飢たる故に疲たるなるべし○志麻都登理は嶋つ鳥にて、鵜の枕詞なり、雉を野鳥、鷄を庭鳥と云たぐひなり、○宇加比賀登母は鵜養之徒なり、萬葉十七（四十五丁）安由波之流奈都能左加利等之麻都等里鵜養我登母波、由久加波乃伎欲吉瀨其登爾可賀里左之、奈豆左比能保流、十九（十二丁）に、嶋津鳥鸕養等母奈倍などあり、古は鵜を使て魚を捕こと、いと多かりき、故公に供奉る鵜養も有て職員令、大膳職の下に、雜供戶と云あるを、義解に、謂鵜飼江人網引等之類とあり、萬葉集を姑めて、世々の哥にも、鵜河をよめる多く、物語書などにも此彼見えて、中昔まで何處にも川邊

こともあるはいかにぞや、欲はユの假字に用ひたる例なし、又從自などゝ書る處をも、右に引る哥どもに依て、ヨとも訓べし、必しもユと訓に限れることには非ざるをや、）然れば古は、用理とも用とも又由理とも用とも通はし云るなりけり、（書紀崇神卷哥に、於朋耆妬庸利云々とあれば用理と云も上代の言なり、然るを必理を省くをのみ古言と心得居るも偏なり、又由理と云るは、萬葉二十の十五葉に、阿須由利也と見えたり、）伊由岐麻毛良比は行候にて、伊は發語なり、（古伊を發語に置例多き中に、伊由伎と云るは殊に多かり、）麻毛理の理を延て良比と云も、古言の常なり、さて麻毛流は、萬葉七（三十九丁）に、淡海之海浪恐登風守、年者也將經去榜者無二、（風守は風を候ひ考るなり）とある風守の如く、敵の形狀を考へ候ふを云、上に木間よもとあるも、蜜に伺ふ意なり、（麻毛流とは身を護すると、目を放たず物を見ると、二の意を兼て見るべきかど契冲は云れど、そは末の意にて、本の意に非ず、凡て麻毛流と云は、本は候ひ考るより出て、目を放たずて見も、害あらせじと物を守護るも、皆此より轉れる意なり、又佐毛良布と云言も、毛流を延たるなり、）書紀の此段に、椎根津彦許之曰、今者宜先遣我女軍出自忍坂道虜見之必盡鋭而赴、吾則駈馳勁卒直指墨坂、取菟田川水以灌其炭火、儵忽之間出其不意則破之必也、天皇善其策、乃出女軍以臨之、虜謂大兵已至、畢力相待云々、果以男軍越墨坂從後夾擊破之斬其梟帥兄磯城等、とあるに依て思ふに、（女軍とは、女々しく弱軍、男軍とは、雄々しく强軍を云、上に勁卒とある即是なり、契冲追手搦手歟と云るは、さらに當らず、此は先弱軍を出して、敵を欺きたまふ御畧なるをや、又炭火を置て灌し事は、其

此山の名は見えず）下に考へあり、○許能麻用母は從樹間にて、母は添たる辭なり、さて用理の理を省きて用とのみ云は古言なり、（抑これを由と云ことをば、人皆知れども、用とも云ことをばをさ〳〵知らず、故今此事を委曲に云む）萬葉にも五（十九丁）に久毛爾得夫久須利波牟用波云々、十四（十丁）に、乎都久波乃之氣吉許能麻欲多都登利能、又（十三丁）與曾爾見之欲波、（仙覺抄に云、東詞に賤しき者の、今もよりをよと云なり）又（十四丁）安素乃河伯良欲、又（十七丁）伊毛我多太手欲、又（十八丁）麻久良我欲安麻許伎久見由、又（二十九丁）兒呂我可奈門欲由可久之要之毛、十五（三十八丁）に許欲奈伎和多流、十七（七丁）に安我松原欲見度婆、十八（十丁）に保等、登藝須許欲奈枳和多禮、又（廿一丁卅一丁三十二丁）伊爾之閇欲、又（二十三丁）和可禮之等吉欲、十九（十三丁）天地之遠始欲などある用欲みな從の意なり、かくて記中の歌に、從を一言に云るは、凡て皆用とのみありて、由と云るは一も無し、然るを書紀には、此記と同歌なるも其餘も皆由とのみありて、用と云るはなし、萬葉には欲とも由ともあるなり、（此記の哥の從の意なる用字をば、延佳本には、何れも皆由字に作るは非なり、そは書紀に由とのみあるに泥て、用とも云ることは知ずて、さかしらに改めたる妄ごとぞ、舊印本にも又の本どもにも、みな用と作るを用ふべし、又師は用字に作る方を取りながら、ユと讀れつれども、此記に用はヨの假字にのみ用ひてユに用ひたる例なければ取がたし、抑此辭、書紀に由とのみありて、萬葉にも從自などゝ書るが一言なるをば、今の本にはみな由とのみ訓るに目なれて、皆人用と云る古言をば知ずて、欲とあるをさへにユと讀るひが

は志麻志波と訓べし、（波は者なり）萬葉に之麻志、又思末志久母などゝあり、（師は御哥の詞に依て、暫字は飢の誤なるべしと云れつれど、書紀に不レ無二疲弊一とある不無も、暫の意なり）さて如此云るは、終には勝賜ひしかども、中比、且者疲れ賜へる時もありし意なり、書紀に、先是皇軍攻必取戰必勝、而介冑之士不無疲弊、故聊爲御謠以慰將卒之心焉謠曰とあり、○爾歌曰は、曾能登伎能意富美宇多と訓べし、○多々那米豆は楯並而なり、成務天皇の御陵多他那美を、書紀に盾列と書て、此云二多々那美一とあり、是此と同意の地名なり、（但那米は、人のこれを並べるを云言、那美は其並びたるを云言なり、又楯を多々と云は、稻を伊那酒を佐加船を布那といふなどゝ同格なり）此句、契冲云、二の意あるべし、一には楯を衝並て射ると云意に、次句の伊へ云かけ賜へる序か、戰には先楯を衝て、敵の矢に中るまじく身を守て後に、弓を射る物なればなり二には序には非ずて、實に今楯を並べるを詔へるか、萬葉十七に、楯並而伊豆美乃河乃云々とよめるも、伊の一言にかゝる序か、又泉川はもと挑川なれば、楯を並て互に挑む意につゞけたるか、是も二に聞えたりと云り、（萬葉なるは何れにても序なり）、今思に誠に二に聞ゆるなり、若後の意なちば、下の多々、加閇婆といふへつゞけて心得べし、（師は共に伊の冠辭と定られたり）○伊那佐能夜麻能、此山は、大和國城上下兩郡の內にあるかと契冲云り、（師は城上郡にありと云れき、大和志に、一名山路山在二宇陀郡山路村上方一と慥に云るは、例の信られず、伊那佐てふ地名は、遠江（引佐郡）出雲（伊那佐小濱）など此彼に見えたれども、大和には此の外には聞えず、（書紀、此戰の段に、忍坂墨坂菟田川などの事は見えたれども、

螺に譬させ賜ふなりと云るも違へり、細螺は皇軍の譬なるをや）萬葉二（三十五丁）に、鶉成伊波比廻（三の十三葉にも同語あり）など云ると、言は同じけれど意異なり、○書紀には、宇知豆志夜麻牟といふも、疊て二句あり、又此御哥を、彼國見岳なる八十梟帥を討たまふ時の御哥として、於佐箇廼云々といふ哥の前にあり、又此御哥の次に、謠意以大石喩國見丘也とあり、此等此記と傳への異なるなり、

又擊兄師木弟師木之時。御軍暫疲。爾歌曰。多多那米豆。伊那佐能夜麻能。許能麻用母。伊由岐麻毛良比。多多加閇婆。和禮波夜惠奴。志麻都登理。宇上加比賀登母。伊麻須氣爾許泥。

擊兄師木弟師木、書紀に、復有兄磯城軍布滿於磐余邑、また十有一月癸亥朔己巳、皇師大舉將攻磯城彥、先遣使者徵兄磯城、兄磯城不承命云々、（彼紀には此事委く記されたり、其文長ければ此には略けり、本書を開て考ふべし）とあり、師木は大和國の地名にて、城上下郡是なり、此地の事、水垣宮段の始、（傳二十三）に委云べし、さて此兄弟此地名を名に負るなり、書紀に磯城彥とあるは、（登美毘古と云る類なり）兄弟を合せて云り、又弟猾又奏曰倭國磯城邑有磯城八十梟帥とあるも、此磯城彥が黨を云るなるべし、さて弟師木は、書紀に、八咫烏を遣して召けるに、速に皇命に從て參て、忠に仕奉て、後に弟磯城名黑速爲磯城縣主とあり、然るに今此記には、兄弟を共に討賜ふ如くあるは、未參らざる以前を以先如此云るなるべし、○御軍暫疲、暫

匍匐と蔓延と、本は一言なるべけれど、事は同じからず、次句の譬なり、此下へ如くと云言を加へて意得べし、書紀には、此次にまた之多太瀰能、次に阿誤豫々々々、次に又之多太瀰能、と云三句あり、（如此同言を幾回も返したるは、樂府にて歌へるまゝを記されたるものなり）さてかく、近くもあらぬ伊勢海の物をしも取出て譬へさせ給へるは、前にも云る如く、嚮に熊野を經賜し時に、伊勢國の堺なる錦浦までも幸行しかば、其時に親く所看行して、大御目に付たりしが所念出られつるからなり、（上代には凡て、由もなきに他國の事を引出よめることはなし、紀國錦浦より今道五里ばかり東に、伊勢國度會郡に贄浦と云あり、其十町ばかり海中に、大石と云ていと大なる石あり、此大御哥によみたまへるおほいし即是なるべし、今も其石に細螺多く着るを、其浦人はゑりじろと云り、さて其わたりの人のみたけ詣するには、山越のさがしき道ありて、七日ばかりに往來ると云り、此事は天明三年冬、荒木田久老みづから彼浦にまかりて見聞たりとて、かたりつるなり、彼大石をも見たりとぞ）○伊波比母登富理は蔓延廻にて、伊は發語なり、此は彼細螺の夥しく大石に蔓廻れる如くに、登美毘古が軍の四面を、千萬の皇軍以て、透間もなく、繞らし圍賜ふを詔へり、蔓延とは、皇軍士の長く連なり續を詔ふなり、（契冲上句なる波比を匍と注して、此句なるをも、上に注するが如しと云るは、書紀の倍字をへの假字として、いはひもとへりと讀て、此句をも細螺の事とせるなり、此說誤れり、倍は此にてはホの假字にて、此記に富とあると同じくて、いはひもとほりうちてと、次句へ連く詞なるをや、されば此句は決て皇軍の事にして、細螺のことには非ずと知べし、又小敵とおぼしめして、細

一丁卅二丁）に大殿之此廻之云々、大殿乃此母等保里能云々とあるは、躰言になせるにて米具理能と云ことなり、（衣服などの緣も、俗に云幣理のことにて、米具理といふ意なり）さて此句書紀には異波臂茂等倍屢とあり、（倍は此にてはホの假字なり、下句なるも同じ、此字ホに用たる例もあるなり、へと讀は誤なり、共にへにては叶はず）○志多陀美能は細螺之なり、和名抄に、崔禹錫食經云、小蠃子貌似甲蠃面細小、口有白玉蓋者也、楊氏漢語抄云、細螺之太々美、又玉蓋、和名之太々美乃不太、萬葉十六（二十九丁）に机之嶋能小螺乎伊拾持來而、石以都追伎破夫利云々、大嘗祭式に細螺二十坩とあり、拾遺集の物名にも見ゆ、（其哥は東にてやしなはれたる人の子は、舌たみてこそ物は云けれ、○谷川氏云、細螺は、吐呪をつだみと云に依れば、舌吐の意なるべし、今きゑやごゑちゑやごと云物なり、玉蓋は、本艸に相思子と云る物にて、今俗に醋具と云是なりと云り、又或人云、ゑたゞみは、榮螺の如くにて角無き物なり、ちゑやごとは異なりと云り、又或人云、 如此なる形にて、物に附てある具なりと云り、又荒木田久老云、志摩國にて今も志多陀美と云、又尻高とも云り、さて布久陀美と云物あり、此名と合せて思ふに、ゑたゞみは尻高だみの意、ふくだみは低たみの意にて、陀美は此類の總名歟といへり）さて此二句は、倭建命段の歌に、伊那賀良邇波比母登富呂布登許吾豆良とある（稻柯に延迴薜葛なり）如く、許多の細螺の大石に著るが、絡石などの蔓延たるさまに長く連なり、纏ひ繞れるを詔へるにて、（大石を匍匐あるきて行迴るには非ず、かの倭建命段、哥の前に、作御陵即匍匐迴云々と見え、又萬葉三に、若子乃匍匐多毛登保里などある匍匐と、思ひ混ふること勿れ、

も、辛くて齒の蹙む由にて、同名を負り、那流とは、實にて木になる物なればなり、）さて此は薑を御見て、此物を食へば、後まで口の疼く如くにと云意にて、次句の意の譬に借りて詔ふなり、（此時天皇此物を聞食て、大御口の疼坐とには非ず、○比々久を、書紀に弭比倶とあるは、比弭を下上に誤れるなるべし、弭字濁音なり、）○和禮波和須禮士は、吾者不忘にて、かの大御兄五瀨命の、此登美毘古が痛矢串を負て崩し、慷慨さは、吾世の限り忘るまじとなり、（此意上に引る書紀の文に見ゆ、）上卷日子穗々手見命の大御哥に、伊毛波和須禮士余能許登碁登邇とあると同意なり、士を、本どもに志と作るは誤なり、今は古寫一本に依つ、記中濁音には必士字を用る例なればなり、書紀には儒とせり、（ずなれば、今に忘れずと云意なり、）次句へかけて思ふに儒の方まされり、○加牟加是能は神風之なり、此枕詞の事、師の冠辭考に見えたり、（契冲の萬葉二なる人麻呂の哥を引て、天照大神の吹させ賜ふ風なりと云るは非なり、神武天皇の御時、大御神はいまだ伊勢には坐ざるものをや、）○意斐志爾は大石になり、富伊を切むれば斐となる、書紀には於費巽之珥夜とあり、（夜はうたふ調に添たる聲にて意なし、費を此にては。と讀は誤なり、）○波比母登富呂布は蔓延廻なり、母登富流の流を延て呂布と云は、古言の常なり、母登富流は廻繞るを云、字鏡に、邇また言を轉也信也移也毛止保留とあり、萬葉四（十六丁）に、磐間乎射往廻、九（二十一丁）に嶋山乎射往廻流河副乃、十七（十八丁）に、をみなべし咲たる野べをゆきめぐり、君を思出多母登保里きぬ、又（三十六丁）之夫多爾能佐吉多母登保里、十八（七丁）乎敷乃佐吉許藝多母等保里などあり、（此外にも多し、）又十九（卅

へて思ふべし、猶書紀年紀のこと、下に委く論へり、）さて穀の中に粟生をしも賦たまへるこしは、凡て古は粟を殊に多く佃れることにて、此物の事を多く言り、（奈良京のころに至てす、事の譬にも粟蒔などよめる哥、萬葉に此彼見えたり、）されば久米部の營れる粟生の中に、韮の一本まじりて立るを見そなはして、其に寄て賦坐るものなり、（書紀に久米の子らが垣下にと詔ふは、畝を御手に入たる物におもほしめせる意歟と、契冲は云へれども、其意はあるべからず、又此御歌は十二月によませたまへれば、當時粟ありしには非ずと云るも、書紀に十二月とあるに、泥めるものなり、當時大御目に觸ずば、韮を云む料に、由もなき粟生を取出たまふべきに非ず、されば此御歌、實には粟の畠に在時節によみたまへるものなり、凡て此御歌などを以ても、書紀の年月日を疑ふべきものぞ、）○又歌曰は、たゞ麻多と訓べし、（此は字のまゝに訓ては、上の歌曰を意富美宇多と訓ると照して、語のつゞきわろし、次なるも同じ、）○加岐毎登爾は於垣下なり、此も久米部の軍營の垣の下に殖るを御見てよみ賜へるなり、○宇惠志波士加美は所殖薑なり、薑は、今もたゞ波士加美と云を、和名抄には、生薑和名久禮乃波之加美俗云阿奈波之加美、乾薑和名保之波之加美と見え、字鏡には、干薑久禮乃波自加彌と見ゆ、（これらに久禮乃と云るは、いかなる由にか、○加賀國加賀郡波自加美神社式に見ゆ、又大神宮四月十四日、祭に、遠江、神戸より進れる種薑を、獻る神事あり、年中行事に見ゆ、）○久知比々久は契冲、口響なり、薑を食へば、辛味の氣の後までのこりて、口中の疼くを云、是聲の響の如くなればなりと云り、波自加美てふ名義も齒蹙なりと、谷川氏が云るも此意にてよく當れり、（蜀椒

（彼漢籍に韭白と云る是なり、釋にも契冲も其妻なりと云るは非なり、妻にしては上に韮を云る何の料ぞや、且此記の例、女妻の假字には賣をのみ用て、米を用たることなし、是は延佳が芽と注せるぞ當れる）凡て芽は萠の約まりたる名なり、（又萠は芽生の約まりたるにてもあらむか、米波は麻と反るを、通はして母といふか、萬葉に目生と書る處あり）さて書紀、齊明紀御製に、伊喩之々乎都那遇何播杯能倭柯矩娑能とある、都那遇は他虛へ放ち令去ざるをいふ、此も其意にて、根をも芽をも一に合せて遺さずと云なり、さて根は登美毘古、芽は其黨類を譬へて、皆縱さず漏さず、盡に討滅してむと云譬なり、（契冲云、かくよませ賜へるは、右詞に意欲窮誅とあるに叶へり）○此御歌、始に久米之子等が粟生としもよませ賜へるは、何の由にかと云に、先皇軍大倭國に入坐てより、此彼あまたの敵等を平賜ふには、年をも經たるべければ、其間許多の御軍士等、穀を營らずてはえあるべからねば、久米部の人々粟をも佃りけむ、其粟生は近處にて、天皇の大御目にも觸ける故に、賦坐るなるべし、（契冲、是は設けて詔ふなり、實は此時來目部の粟生、いまだ大和國に有に非ずと云るは、書紀の年紀に依ときは、一わたり然ることなれども、猶熟思に、若設けて詔はむには、粟生には久米子等は由なし、猶似付はしき事他にあるべきものをや、故思に、書紀に依れば、先皇軍の大倭に入坐て、始て兄猾を討たまへるは、戊午年八月にて、此長髓彥を攻たまふは、同年の十二月なれば、信にいまだ粟を佃るべき間はあらず、然れども必しも此書紀の年月に泥むべきに非ず、初日向國より發坐て、上幸る途にて經給へる年數も、此記と書紀とは、十年あまりの差あれば、大倭に入坐て、後の年數も、又准

亦得たるは誤なり、其之と云ことは有べくもあらず、能と賀とは同く之の意なれば、能賀と重ね云る例なし、萬葉三に、ゑひるゑひのが云々、又十四に、せなのがそでも云々、これらは別なる例なるをや、且次句に曾禰とあれば、此も必曾禰とあらでは宜しからず、さて書紀に曾廼とあるに依て、此記の曾泥をも其の意とせるは、いよ　誤なり、能を通はして那とは云れども、泥といへる例なし）さて其を曾とのみ云ることは、古言に常多かる中に、曾某と連言は、其處を曾許と云類なり、（凡て其てふ言の用格は、此己吾彼誰などゝ同じくて、下は禮とも能とも賀とも活き、又下を省きて許於能和和多などゝのみも云、又下へ他言を連言ときに、此處此度己妻吾君なども云例なれば、其根を曾泥と云もこれらの例なり）根之莖とは、先凡て木草に母登と云は、立る幹のことにて、（必しも末に對へて云本には非ず）大祓詞に繁木本乎とあるも、繁木の木立を云、孝德紀、歌に模騰渠等爾波那播左該騰模とあるも、木毎と云ことなり、又一もと二もとなど云も、木にては一木二木と云に同じければ、草も其意にて、生立る莖を以云なり、さて韮は、土中に隱れたる根の處も莖にて立る物なれば、其處を根之莖と云べし、（たゞ根をも根之莖とも云べけれど、然にはあらじ）韮は殊に根を賞る物なる故に、如此はよみ賜へるなり、（漢籍にも本草に、禮記謂韮爲豐本、言其美在根也、薤之美在白、韮之美在黃、黃乃未出土者と云、韮の莖を韮白と云、根を韮黃と云り、是等をもおもふべし、韮と韮とは同じ）○曾泥米都那藝豆は、其根芽繁而なり、上に其根之莖と光言置て、又其根と重ねいふは、古哥の常なり、（書紀神代哥に、石河片淵片淵にと云る類甚多し）芽は、根之莖に對へて、土上へ萠出たる莖を云、

然後は、此は曾能々知と訓べし、○登美毘古は、前に大御船青雲、白肩津に泊坐し時に、軍を興て待戰し登美能那賀須涅毘古なり、書紀に、十有二月癸巳朔丙申、皇師遂擊長髓彥、連戰不能取勝、時忽然天陰而雨氷、乃有金色靈鵄飛來、止于皇弓弭、其鵄光曄煜、狀如流電、由是長髓彥軍卒皆迷眩不復力戰、云々昔孔舍衞之戰、五瀨命中矢而薨、天皇御之常懷憤懣至、此役也意欲窮誅、乃爲御謠之曰とあり、○歌曰は、意富美宇多と訓べし、○阿波布爾波は、於粟生者なり書紀神代下卷に、粟田豆田とありて、和名抄に、日本紀私記云、粟田安八不と見ゆ、布は、麻生淺茅生蓬生などの生にて、其物の專と生殖る地を、某生と云なり、（書紀の田、字には泥むべからず、萬葉には苧原などゝ、原、字をもかけり、）さて書紀には、此句の上に、介者茂等珥と云一句あり、されども此處には此句は無きぞ宜き、○賀美良比登母登、美良は韮なり、和名抄には、薤、和名於保美良、韮、和名古美良と見え、字鏡には、薤奈女彌良、薤太々彌良、また薑韮彌良と見ゆ、萬葉十四（十八丁）に、久君美良ともよめり、（莖韮なるべし）さて賀美良と云は、物に見えず、別に一種か、又、4の韮にて、臭韮と云るにても有べし、越前國敦賀郡鹿蒜も、臭蒜の意の地名歟、式には加比留神社とあり、（書紀釋には、謂大韮と云へれども、據を知らず、契冲は、賀はか青か黑などの加にて、助語歟と云れど、さも聞えず、又延佳は、和名抄の古美良を引たれども、古の通音ともきこえざるなり、）美良後には爾良と云り、比登母登は一莖なり、書紀允恭卷に蘭一莖とあり、上卷八千矛神御哥に、比登母登須々岐ともよみ賜へり、○曾泥賀母登は其根之莖なり、書紀に泥を廼とあるは、樂府にて歌ひ訛れる物なるべし、（此句を、書紀に就て、釋にも契冲も其之本と

賜へるあり、此と同言なり、なほ彼處（傳卅二髮長比賣の條下）にも云ることを考合すべし（さきには、かの御哥の、書紀には伊弉佐伽婆曳那とあるに依、又彼をも此をも、余は爾とある本に依て、爾良二字を、延の誤として、延斯と訓りしかども、なほよく思へばわろかりき）○如此歌而は、師の加久字多布時爾と訓れつるも、理聞え易くて宜しけれども、（上に聞歌之者云々とあれば、歌ふ人と斬る人とは異なるに、歌而云々と云ては、歌ふも斬も同人の如くにて、事違へるに似たればなり）而、字を書るを思ふに、なほ宇多比豆と訓て宜し、其は歌ふも、斬も、人は異れども、共に御方の人の爲事なる故に、一に連ねて、歌而云々と云るぞ古文のさまなりける、（若は聞加此歌而とありけむ、聞、字の脫たるかとも思へど、然には非ず）書紀に、時我卒歌、俱拔其頭椎劒、一時殺虜々無復噍類者とあり、

然後將擊登美毘古之時歌曰。美都美都斯。久米能古良賀。阿波布爾波。賀美良比登母登。曾泥賀母登。曾泥米都那藝豆。宇知豆志夜麻牟。又歌曰。美都美都斯。久米能古良賀。加岐母登爾。宇惠志波士加美。久知比比久。和禮波和須禮士。宇知豆斯夜麻牟。又歌曰加牟加是能。伊勢能宇美能。意斐志爾。波比母登富呂布。志多陀美能。伊波比母登富理。宇知豆志夜麻牟。

作れる由の名にて、別物には非ず、（上古の劒頭、石を以作れるを見たりと、谷川氏云りき、此事上卷頭椎の處に云り、師は石鏃など云類なりと云れつれど、そは堅き意を以て石某と云例は多けれども、みな伊波とこそ云れ、伊斯と云るは無し、又私記に、其頭似石と云るも非なり）○宇知豆斯夜麻牟は擊而將止にて、斯は助辭なり、さて此は、將擊と云て足ぬべきを、將止としも云るは、擊むことを決てつよく云る言にて、擊ずは止じと云むが如し、さて書紀には、此句をとぢめとして、次の五句は無し、○久米能古良賀、上に同し、良はあるも、無きも、意は異なることなし、○伊麻宇多婆余良斯は、（余字、舊印本一本には、爾と作り、今は眞福寺本延佳本又一本などに依れり、）上は今擊者なり、下は善らしにて、善かるべきさまに思はると云むがごとし、今の世の俗言にいはゞ、よささうなといふ意なり、良斯は、櫻ちるらし、玄ぐれふるらしなど、常に多くいふ良斯なり、（櫻ちるらしなども、俗言にいへば、さくらが散さうなと云意なり、凡て良斯は、此意と心得べし、さて若善らしならば、よからしとこそ云べけれ、よらしと云むは、いかゞなる如くにも聞ゆめれども、萬葉に煮らしなどもあれば、古言にはかくも云つべし、さて師は、將宜なりと注せられたるは、きることなり、契冲が、余字爾とある本に依て云、煮疑にて、これは八十膳夫にうたすれば、今うちたらば煮む歟の意か、又は似らしにて、似はよき意なり、不肖とはよからぬ人をいふ、肖は似なり、是を思合すべし　云　は、煮も似も非なり、膳夫なればとても、煮むと云こと、此に由なし、又似をよき意として、不肖字を證に出せるも、さらに叶はぬことなり、古言と漢字と混るべきにあらず、）輕嶋宮段の大御哥にも、伊邪佐佐婆、余良斯那と、ぢめ

ありぬべけれども、是は凡て名高き神の御子孫などは、代々に人に異なる奇き相のあることなど、今世にすらまゝ聞ゆることなれば、本此天津久米命の御目の久流目に坐て、久米てふ名は負坐るを、其子孫代々大久米命までも、同じく久流目に坐しゝにもあるべし、又は大久米命の目の久流目なりしが、世に名高かりける故に、先祖の神をも、此名を以て後より稱奉れるにもあるべし、何れにても名の意は同じ）さて此大久米命の帥坐る軍土を、久米部とも大久米部とも云て、今此に久米之子とあるは、其久米部を指て云るにて、即彼膳夫と爲て刀佩せ置る人々なり、（師は此久米之子をも、大久米命を云と云れつれど、一人と見ては、上に八十膳夫に毎人佩刀といひ、一時共斬と云るに叶はず）子とは、男をも女をも親みて云稱なり、書紀、此卷哥に阿誤、（吾子なり）又輕嶋朝段大御歌に古杼母、（子等なり、萬葉にもあり）又推古紀大御歌に、蘇我大臣の蘇餓能古羅とよませ賜へり、（又武烈紀歌に鮪臣を思寐能和倶吾、繼躰紀歌に、毛野臣を愷那能倭具吾とよめり、わくごは若子なり、又女を云るは、朝倉宮段歌に、三重婇を美幣能古とよみ、又萬葉に子とも兒等ともよめる多し）此句も書紀には固邏餓とあり、○久夫都々伊は頭椎にて、上卷御天降段に、天忍日命天津久米命二人取佩頭推之大刀とあり、此刀の事、彼處（傳十五日向宮御鎮座の段下）に云り、都々伊は槌と云ことなり、そは槌を上代には常にも都々伊と云し歟、又は今歌ふ言の調に任せて、延てかくは云なせるにもあるべし、さて此は一の刀の名には非ず、一種の製にて、此は即上に毎人佩刀とある其刀等なり、○伊斯都々伊母知は石椎以なり、石椎は、即上の頭椎と一物なるを、彼は形を以云る名、此は其を石以

室内に滿る意に取れるなり、非なり、又契冲は、大久米命の目をさけるが、にらまへたるやうなれば、大に見る意に見つ見つしと云なるべしと云て、二の都は天津國津などの津に同じと云るも非なり、都の助辭も事にこそよれ、見つ〳〵と云言のあるべきかは、又師は、都を濁りて、美豆垣などの美豆として、若く健なる人をほめて云り、今も萬の物のわかくうつくしきを、みづみづしと云りと云れき、されど物をほめて云、みづは、記中に美豆能小佩、又水垣など書き、萬葉にも水枝など、書て、豆は濁言なるを、此、みつ〳〵しは、此記にも書紀にも、みな都字をのみ書て、必清言なるをや、又余思ふに、書紀顯宗卷に、不才をアツナシと訓り、彼紀の傍訓にミをサと書る多ければ、此もミツナシにて、ミツは才の古言か、然らば此のみつ〳〵しも才々しにて、目つきの才々しきを云にやとも思へど、なほ上に云る意なるべし、）萬葉三（四十九丁）にも、見津々々四久米能若子とあり、（師は此枕詞をも、若子までへ係て、若きを云ことは此にても知べしと云れつれど、是はたゞ久米てふ御名へかゝれるのみの枕詞にこそあれ、）○久米能古賀は、久米之子之なり、先久米てふ稱は、本天津久米命及大久米命より出たり、其中に大久米命を黥利目と下文にありて、目の圓に大きにありし故に、久米てふ名を負賜へる、其久米は久流目の約りたる言なり、久流目とは、うつほの物語俊蔭卷に、阿修羅怒れる形を出して、眼を車の輪の如く見久流辨かして云々と云ひ、今世の言にも、人の目の圓く、大にて利げなるを、目の久流々々としたると云是なり、故滿々し久流目とは續けたり、（さて久米を大久米命の目に因れる稱とするにつきて、若然らば此命の先祖をも既に天津久米命と申せしは如何と云疑ひ

吾歌聲、則一時刺虜、已而坐定酒行、虜不知我之有陰謀、任情徑醉時、道臣命乃起而歌之曰とあり、○意佐加能は、忍坂之なり、○意富牟盧夜爾は、於大室屋なり、○比登佐波爾は人多なり、八十建等を云、萬葉十四（二十丁）にも、比登佐波爾とあり、○岐伊理袁理は、來入居なり、（此記と書紀と趣の異なるに就て、來と云意いさゝか異るべし、此記にては、此大室は元來八十建等の棲なれば、此彼より來聚て住居る意なり、書紀にては、此時に此大室を新く作て、招集たるなれば、常の棲より來て入居なり、言のさま書紀の方にてはいさゝかまさりて聞ゆ）高津宮段、大御哥に、岐伊理麻韋久禮とあり、さて書紀には此句異離烏利苦毛とあり、○伊理袁理登母は雖入居なり、袁流登母と云ずして、袁理登母と云るは、高津宮段、哥にも、玖毛婆那禮曾岐袁理登母、又比登理袁理登母、などありて、凡て居は必如此言べき言格なり、（居は有なゞ、同じ言の格にて有も阿理登母と云格にて、阿流登母とは云ず、然いふは俗言なり、居も、袁流登母と云へば俗言なり、古今集俳諧、哥に、胸走火に心所燒袁理とあるも、所燒有と云むと同格なり、此も今人の心には、袁流と云べきことゝ思ふべけれど、然云は俗言なり）さて此句、書紀には枳伊離云々と、初に枳てふ言あり、さて右の四句、同言を再返して云るは、古哥の常なり、（今世とても、賤男賤女の常に歌ふ歌は皆然なり、是謠ふ物の自然の勢なり）○美都々々斯は、滿々しにて、圓々しと云むが如し、（斯は喜し悲しなどのしなり）美都と麻登とは本同言にて、音通へり、（全も本同言にて、此等皆物の足ひて欲たる處なきを云言なり）此は目の圓に大なる貌を云へにて、久米の枕詞なり、（書紀釋にも滿々也と云れども、そは言充滿也と注せれば、八十建が大

考べし、○命以は勅にてなり○饗賜は、御饗乎賜伎と訓べし、此は書紀に云る如く謀事なり、○宛、此字延佳本には充と作り、義はさることなり、（充字は、當也と云注あり、宛字にはあつる意なし）然れども皇朝の古書には、多く宛と作て、此も一本等皆然り、（世に、分りあつる物、數を幾箇づゝと云豆都にも此字を書ならへり）○膳夫の事、上卷（傳十四櫛八玉神の條下）に見ゆ、○毎人、人は即膳夫を云、此は歌に、依に大久米命の帥坐る大久米部の士等を、膳夫に爲立たるものなり、○佩刀は多知波氣豆と訓べし、倭建命の御哥に、多知波氣麻斯袁とあり、令佩を約て波氣とはいふなり、○聞歌之者は、宇多乎伎加婆と訓べし、此事は俗にいはゆる相圖なり、○一時共は、毛呂登毛爾と訓べし、書紀に一時とある處皆然訓り、（俗に伊知杼伎爾といふに同じ意なり）又同時俱時などゝもあり、皇極紀に一時俱とあるは、此の書ざまと同じ、さて此は、八十と多くの建等なる故に、一時とはいふなり、○斬は八十建をなり、○明とは、其とは云ずして、彼膳夫等に其意を顯し示すをいふ、○歌曰は宇多と訓べし、此歌、此記には誰作とも見えず、歌詞に依て思ふに、若天皇の大御歌ならずば、必大久米命の作賜へるなるべし、然るに書紀に、是をしも道臣命のとせるはいかにぞや、（其故は、まづ大久米部は、必大久米命の帥坐る軍士にてあるべきに、書紀には大久米命、といふ人はなくて、道臣命帥大來目部とのみあり、此事上に委論へるが如し、然れば此哥も、實は大久米命の歌ひ給へるを、同く道臣命へ係たるなるべし、）書紀云、勅道臣命汝宜帥大來目部、作大室於忍坂邑盛記宴饗、誘虜而取之、道臣命於是奉密旨、掘窖於忍坂而、選我猛卒與虜雜居、陰期之曰、酒酣之後吾則起歌、汝等聞

の例皆、訓云々云々とこそあるに、此はたゞに訓云とありて、訓雲と云ざるも例なきとぞ、○八十建は、書紀に、天皇陟彼菟田高倉山之巓瞻望域中時、國見岳上則有八十梟帥、梟帥此云多稽屢と見え、また弟猾又奏倭國磯城邑有磯城八十梟帥、又高尾張邑有赤銅八十梟帥、此類皆欲與天皇距戰、また弟磯城云々詣到而告之曰、吾兄兄磯城聞天神子來、則聚八十梟帥具兵甲將與決戰云々、是時磯城八十梟帥於彼處屯聚居之、果與天皇大戰、遂爲皇師所滅、また景行卷に、襲國有厚鹿文迦鹿文者、是兩人熊襲之渠帥者也、衆類甚多是謂熊襲八十梟帥、其鋒不可當焉などゝありて、一人の名に非ず、右の中に、八十梟帥を聚ともあるを以見れば、八十と數多の建どもをいふなり下文に宛八十建設八十膳夫とあるにても知べし、さて右の如く書紀には、此御世に八十梟帥と云る此彼ありし中に、此忍坂の大室なりしは、彼國見岳上に有とある八十梟帥なり、そは先擊八十梟帥於國見丘破斬之云々、既而餘黨猶繁其情難測乃顧勅道臣命汝宜帥大來目部作大室於忍坂邑云々とありて傳への趣此記と異なり、さて建とは、定まれる名にはあらず、威勢ありて猛勇き者をいふ稱なり、（書紀に梟帥と書れつれど、必しも此字に泥むべからず）日代宮段に、熊曾建（書紀には川上梟帥ともあり）出雲建など云もあり、○在其室と云る、書紀の傳へと異なり、○待伊那流、此言いと〳〵意得難し、（種々思ひ依れることもあれども、我ながらだに可と思ふ說もいでこず、されど其中に一いはゞ）若は獸の怒て吼るを宇那流と云に通ひて聞ゆれば、（凡て伊と宇とは殊に近く通音にて、魚伊袁芋伊毛鱗宇呂古など例多し）其意にて、皇軍來たらば戰はむと、怒り誥びて待居るを云にもやあらむ、猶

誅土蜘蛛田油津媛、（山門、縣は筑後、國山門郡なり）などゝある類にて、岩窟土窖などに住て、人を害ひ殘暴ぶる梟帥等を、蜘蛛に准へて、如此は稱けられたるなるべし、（上に引る攝津國、風土記に其由見えたり、又書紀に見えたるかの高尾張邑なりしは、身短手足長とあれば、此形に因て稱けられたるを始として、其餘のも此にならひて、此稱を付られしにもあるべし、然るに新井氏云、大古の時につちぐもと云しは、國神と云が如し、古語にクマと云しは、神と云語の轉にて、クモと云もクマの轉なり、されば虫の蜘蛛に寄て云しには非ず、土蜘蛛と書るは後の借字なり、蜘蛛をクモと云は韓地の方言にて、今も朝鮮の人クモと云なり、但是本我國の語なるを、彼國へ習たるも知べからずと云り、此說は不可し、久母と云名、本より皇國の言なり、されば、本我國の語なるを彼へ習へるかと云るは宜し、凡て韓語には然る例も多きぞかし、又或人、クモはコモリにて、土隱と云稱なりと云り、此は語はさも云べきことなれど、なほ其意の稱には非じ、さて又今世に、吉備國などに、大石を積て作れる、大なる岩窟處々に多くありて、土人の傳に、昔火雨の降し時、諸人の隱れし跡なりと云と、彼國人語れり、今思に是らも上代に土雲等の住りし蹟なるべし、火雨のことは後の傳の虛說なり、又日向國風土記に、御孫命の天降坐し時に、大鉗小鉗と云二人の土蜘蛛ありて、云々の事奏せしこと見えたり、此は人を殘害し者には非れども、土中に住し故に、後に此稱を負せたるなるべし、）さて此土雲は即八十建をいふなり、○訓云具毛とある注心得ず、雲を具毛と訓むに、注を附べきに非ず、（久を具と濁る故の注かともいふべけれど、是又土雲と連言むに、濁ることは注を待べきに非ず）且記中の訓注

は、到忍坂之時、生尾云々在大室と云べきを、到忍坂大室と云るは、何とかや地名の如くなるいひざまなれども、此は歌に意佐加能意富牟盧夜とありて、殊に名高かりし故に、其歌詞に就て如此は云るなるべし○生尾とは、上の吉野段にも有し如く、いと上代には然る人も間ありつと見ゆ、書紀、神功卷に、羽白熊鷲といふ人は翼ありて高く飛翔しことも見えたり、○土雲、雲は借字なり、書紀、此御卷に、層富縣波哆丘岬有新城戸畔者、又和珥坂下有居勢祝者、臍見長柄丘岬有猪祝者、此三處土蜘蛛並恃其勇力不肯來庭、天皇乃分遣偏帥皆誅之、又高尾張邑有土蜘蛛、其爲人也身短而手足長、與侏儒相類、皇軍結葛網而掩襲殺之、（攝津國風土記に、宇禰備能可志婆良能宮御宇天皇世僞者土蛛、此人恒居穴中、故賜賤號曰土蛛とあり、）又景行卷に、到速見邑、有女人曰速津媛、爲一處之長、其聞天皇車駕、而自奉迎之諮言、茲山有大石窟、曰鼠石窟、有二土蜘蛛住其石窟、一曰青、二曰白、又於直入縣禰疑野有三土蜘蛛、一曰打猨、二曰八田、三曰國摩侶、是五人並其爲人強力亦衆類多之、皆曰不從皇命云々、（速見邑は豐後國速見郡なり、其國の風土記に、速水郡、昔者纒向日代宮御宇天皇云々時、於此村有女人、名曰速津媛云々、奏言、此有大磐窟、名曰鼠磐窟、土蜘蛛二人住之云々、又於直入郡禰疑野有土蜘蛛三人云々、また禰疑野、昔者纒向日代宮御宇天皇行幸之時、此野有土蜘蛛云々と見え、又同書に、石井郷、昔者此村有土蜘蛛之堡、不用石築、以土云々、五馬山、昔者此山有土蜘蛛、名曰五馬媛云々、細磯野、同天皇行幸之時、此間有土蜘蛛、名曰小片鹿奥小片鹿臣云々などゝもあり、）又同卷に、自高來縣渡玉杵名邑時、殺其處之土蜘蛛津頰焉、（肥前國に高來郡、肥後國に玉名郡あり、）神功卷に、轉至山門縣則

比登佐波爾。伊理袁理登母。美都美都斯。久米能古賀。久夫都都伊。伊斯都都伊母知。宇知豆斯夜麻牟。美都美都斯。久米能古良賀。久夫都都伊。伊斯都都伊母知。伊麻宇多婆余良斯。如此歌而。拔刀一時打殺也。

自其地は宇陀よりなり、○忍坂は、和名抄に、大和國城上郡恩坂、於佐加、（恩字は忍の誤なるべし、恩も於の假字に用ふまじきにはあらねども、なほ此字にはあらじ）神名帳に、同郡忍坂山口坐神社、又忍坂坐生根神社などあり、諸陵式にも、押坂内陵在大和國城上郡と見ゆ、今も忍坂村と云あり、書紀垂仁卷にも、忍坂邑と見え、萬葉十三（三十一丁）に、青幡之忍坂山者、走出之宜山之出立之妙山叙とよめり、（延佳が是を大坂と一つに意得て云る說は、いみじきひがことなり、大坂は玉垣宮段出、そこに云を見べし）○大室、室は和名抄に白虎通云、黃帝作室以避寒暑、和名無呂とあり、（師は歌に依て此の室をも牟呂夜と訓れき）凡ての室の事は、甕栗宮段に、新室とある處（傳四十三の始）に委云べし、此なるは土雲の棲なれば、書紀に掘窖とある如く、土中の室にて、（窖は、字書に地室と注せり、仁德紀に窟をも牟呂と訓り）山腹などを横に掘て、岩窟の如く構へたる物なるべし、（平地を下へ掘たるには非す）大室といへば、其内は甚廣かりけむ、書紀、綏靖卷に、手研耳、命於片丘大窖中獨臥于大牀とあるは、尋常の室の廣きなるべし、（但是も片丘と其地名をしも云るを思へば、掘たる土中の窖にも有べし）さて此、

一度にいへる、記中にかゝる例往々にあることなり）○陀、水取、水取は毛比登理と訓べし、和名抄に主水司毛比止里乃豆加佐とあり、モドリ或はモムトリ或はモムドなど訓は、後世の訛なり）なほ水取のことは、高津宮段に、水取司とある處（傳三十六の始）に委くいふべし、宇陀なるは、當昔宇陀に住て、水部の職を奉仕し者のありしなり、職員令、主水司の下に、水部四十人とある是水取なり、（令今本に、此水部を氷部と作るは誤なり、古本に水部とあるぞ宜しき）主水司式にも、官人率水部云々と云こと、處々に見（又令の同司下に、氷戸と云ものあり、是も一本には水戸とあり、水戸ならば、此も水取の戸なるべし、氷戸ならば、氷室に因る戸なり）さて書紀には二年春二月甲辰朔乙巳定功行賞云々、又給弟猾猛田邑、因爲猛田縣主、是菟田主水部遠祖也とあり（猛田は竹田にて、十市郡なり、神名式に見ゆ、今も竹田村あり）二記共に猛田縣主祖と云ざるは、其氏は既く絶て、たゞ宇陀の水取のみ、此人の子孫はのこれりしなるべし

自其地幸行到忍坂大室之時。生尾土雲訓云具毛八十建在其室待伊那流。此三字以音故爾天神御子之命以饗賜八十建。於是宛八十建設八十膳夫。每人佩刀。誨其膳夫等曰。聞歌之者一時共斬。故明將打其土雲之歌曰。意佐加能。意富牟盧夜爾。比登佐波爾。岐伊理袁理。

て、阿々云々の注は、嘲咲者也なりけり）さて此言、舊本一本には、伊能基布曾とあり、（靈異記に、彼犬之子毎向家室而期剋睚眥喚吠云々とありて、期剋イノ去不と注せれども、何の意にか心得がたし）何れよけむ定め難けれども、姑く延佳本に依て云るぞかし、○阿々、此言書紀には、於佐箇廼云々と云歌の次に、皇軍大悅、仰天而咲因歌之曰伊莽波豫、伊莽波豫、阿々、時夜塢、伊莽儴而毛阿誤豫、伊莽儴而毛阿誤豫、今來目部、歌而後大哂是其緣也とあり、（此は此記と傳への異なるなり、さて今來目部云々と云るは、久米舞の時の態なり）私記に、阿々を咲聲也と注せり、誠に今世の人も、咲聲は阿々と云り、○志夜胡志夜は上なると同じ、私記に、かの時夜塢を、猶言乎加志と注せり、○嘲咲者也は、阿邪和羅布曾と師の訓れつるに從べし、即あざけり笑ふ意なり、字鏡に、嗤蚩同、阿佐介留、又曾志留、又和羅不、書紀神代卷に、笑嗤又嘲とあり、さて者也を曾と訓は、上の伊碁能布曾の曾の例によればなり、さて盈々と云より下は、歌には非ず、（歌は斐惠泥といふまでなり）上の歌をうたへる次に言る詞にて、（書紀の阿々時夜塢云々は、因歌之曰とあれば、別に一首哥の如く聞ゆれども、其次に、來目部歌而後大哂とある、今此處の詞どもは、此後大哂とあるに當れり）兄宇迦斯がおふけなき所爲を、詈辱しめ嘲り嗤へるものなり、さて此は、盈々、志夜胡志夜、阿々、志夜胡志夜と續きたる詞なるに、此者伊碁能布曾と云注の詞を、其中間にしも置るは、いかにぞや聞ゆめれども、如斯短く約めていへるも古文のさまなり、（委く記さば、まづ盈々云々、阿々、云々とつゞけ書て、次に盈々云々此者云々曾、阿々云々此者云々者也、とあるべきことなれども、さては同詞を二度いふが煩しき故に、約めて如此

志牟ともいふ類なり、曾は辭にて、此ぞ彼ぞなどいふ曾なり、（延佳が、いきのぶぞと假字を附たるは、息延と心得たるにや、基をキの假字とするも、布を濁音とするも皆非なり、さて師は、疊々を延佳本に亞々と作るに就て、次なる阿々と一言と心得て、其說に云く、此處は阿々志夜胡志夜、阿々、此者伊基能布曾、志夜胡志夜、此者嘲咲者也とありけむを、後に今本の如くには誤れるものなり、今本は、上の阿々を亞々と作るも、又其下に音引とあるも、皆誤なり、次に阿々とあれば、上も阿字なること明らけく、又音引と云注は、次の阿々の處にこそ有べけれ、上には有べき由なし又下の阿々は、右の如く此者伊基能布曾の上にあるべきを、其下に書るも誤なり、伊基能布曾とは、阿々の注にて、伊基は息にて、いごうなり、兄猾を滅て息を延るなりと云れき、今思ふに、まづ亞も疊も、記中に假字に用たる例なければ、阿の誤とせむもさることなり、又亞々の下に音引とあるも、下の阿々と、二と見るときは非なり、又下の阿々を、此者伊基能布曾の上へ移されたるも、亞々と阿々とを一としては然るべきことなり、又伊基能布を休息と云るゝも一わたり聞えたり、今、世の俗にも、力を用て勞れたる時に、打休みては阿、と云、又苦勞のありし者の、其苦勞を終て休まることを阿々と思と云り、此ら伊基能布を阿々の注としてよく叶へり、然れども猶よく考るに、まづ阿と亞疊とは、字形甚く異なるうへに、亞も疊も、假字に用ひならはぬ字なれば、此らの字には寫し誤るべき由もなく、又下の阿々の置所を替るも心ゆかず、又息を延ると嘲咲とは、甚く趣の異なる事なるを一に連けて言べきにも非ず、彼此を思ふに、なほ上の疊々と下の阿々とは、一にあらず、異言にして、伊基能布曾は、疊々云々の注にし

衣のくび取て引立よなどある（猶此外にも多し）志夜と同くて、物を賤しめ嘲る辭なり、（今の俗言にもシャツツラと云ことあり）さて右に引る中昔の語どもなるは、車者などの字音の如く呼しと聞ゆるを、（虫の志夜尻にと云る句、必七言なるべければなり）上代には然る言なければ、志と夜とを慥に讀べし、○胡志夜は、袁胡志夜の遠を省けるにて、袁加志夜と云に同じ、（袁加志と云は、即袁許志なり）袁胡は、袁胡賀麻志などの袁胡なり、此言は輕島宮段大御哥に見ゆ、彼處（傳三十二の末）に委く云べし、志夜は、喜しや悲しやなどの志夜にて、夜は歎息の辭なり、（上の志夜とはいさゝか異なり）又書紀に時夜塢とある（此は下に引り）に依ば、塢と胡とは、横に通て殊に近き音なれば、胡を上へ屬て、志夜胡と讀み、下の志夜は、上の志夜を再び重て云りとすべし、是も惡からず、其時は胡は上の志夜に附たる辭なり、○伊碁能布曾、此言甚心得難し、（凡て如此假字に書るは、古より其意の詳ならざる故に、言傳たる言のまに記せるが、往々あることなり、書紀神功卷に阿豆那比之罪、又欽明卷に、歎曰久須尼自利、此新羅語未詳也とある類なり、此は殊に上の言を注せる語なれば、其意の知たることならましかば、かく假字には書ましやは、然ればかゝる言を、遙の後世に、さる意ぞなどゝ注せむは、中々に物ぞこなひにもあるべけれども、さりとて又默止て有べきにはた非ざれば）されど例の強ていはゞ、伊碁は、上文に見えたる伊賀を轉かしたる言にて、能布は、賭の物を出すを都久能布と云類の能布にて、（賄をするをまひなふ、仇をするをあたなふといふ類の那布も同じ）伊賀と云て人を賤しめ詈るを、伊碁能布と云しにや、咄嗟と云て駭くことを、阿夜志とも阿夜

とて羂を張たるに、思ひかけぬ大魚の鯨のかゝれるぞ、家なる妻が魚を待乞ば、此肉の長く大なるを、望むまゝに幾らも多く聶て與へよとよみ賜へるにて、其鯨の肉の饒きに、皇軍の盛に大なることを譬て、いかなる强敵に遇ひて、足はぬことなど、餘ある物を、小き謀以て害ひ奉むとせしことのおふけなさよと、兄宇迦斯が所爲を賤しめ嘲り賜へる下の意なり、さて書紀に此御哥の次に、是謂來目歌今樂府奏此歌者、猶有手量大小及音聲巨細此古之遺式也とあり、（手量とは、舞の手の動く量なり、大小は、其手を大に動かす處と、小く動かす處とのあるを云なり）○疊々は詳ならねど强ていはゞ、盈の草書の字を、疊と見誤れるにや、盈は假字に用たる例なけれど、（後世、平假字には用ふ、其躰疊の草書と全く同じ）其言によりては、例なき假字をも用たる、處此記にも往々あるを、此は殊に尋常の言にも非れば、かゝる假字をも用ひたるべし、故姑く盈字と定めて、延々の假字とす、さて此言は、今俗に醜惡き事或は汙穢き事などを見聞て、延々といふ、是惡み疎む歎息の聲なり、此も其に同くて、兄宇迦斯がおふけなく逆なる所爲を、辱しめ惡みたる辭なり、（延佳本又一本にも、亞々と作るは心得ず、其故は、亞々にては、次に阿々とあると同言なるを、此者伊碁能布曾、此者嘲咲者也と、異事に注せること通えざればなり）○音引とは、二の盈を離しては讀ず、只一の盈を長呼が如く引て讀めとの註なり、（阿々の下なるも同じ）○志夜は、平家物語に、志夜冠を打落せ、又志頰をむず〳〵とぞ蹈れける、宇治拾遺物語に、貫之が東人に令似てよめる哥とて、あな照や虫の志夜尻に火の著て、小人魂とも見え渡る哉、今昔物語に、志夜頰は猿に似て、又志多足打折てむ物を、又志夜

りと云れつれどいかゞ、古嚴櫃とは云れども、嚴坂樹と云る例もなく、又此御哥には嚴と云こと由なし、又櫃の實の獨とは云れども、其實は大きなる物に非れば、大の序とせむこともいかが）さて此句は次の意富祁久の序なり、○意富祁久袁は、大きなるをと云むが如し、大と多とは本は同言なりしかば、（古は少きと小きとをも通はし云て、小きことを須久那と云る例も多かり）大をも意富祁久ともいひしなり、さて彼、枅の實は細小なる物なれば、大の序には叶はぬに似たれども、言の同じきまゝに、序は多の意につゞけたるなるべし、（上の那祁久を、姑く長けくと定めつるから、此をも大けくとせり、若かの那祁久も他意ならば、其意によりて、此も多けくならむも、知がたし、其は後の人の考へを待つなり）さて此は鯨肉の大きに切置るをと云なり、○許紀陀斐惠泥は、幾許聶よなり、許紀陀のこと上に云るが如し、凡て同言を再云ときは、少し云ざまを變ること、古哥に多し、（上卷八千矛神の御哥に、上には阿理登伎加志豆と云て、下には阿理登伎許志豆と云、高津宮段、御大哥に、上には須賀波良とありて、下には須宜波良とある類なり、猶多し）故上には許紀志此、には許紀陀と、變て詔へるなり、師は、上も此も共に許紀志陀なりしを、上なるは陀、此、は志を互に脫せるものなり、さて許紀志陀斐惠泥とは、實をこきおろし玄なへよと云るなり、志陀と志那と同じく、斐惠を約むれば、幣となればなり、さてかくいふ意は、前妻の子の小きをも、後妻の子の大なるをも、皆なぶり殺せと云意なりと云れき、されど此說いとむつかしきうへに、書紀にも此記と同く、居氣辭居氣儻とあれば信がたし、又此說の如くにては、鯨を出せる何の由もなく聞ゆ）○御哥の總ての意は、鳴を捕む

にも有べし、此は何れにても有なむ）泥は然せよと仰する辭にて、斐惠與と云むが如し、○宇波那理賀は後妻之なり、和名抄に、後妻和名宇波奈利と見え、（同書に、前夫之太乎、後夫宇波乎ともあれば、宇波は後の意なるべし、凡ての事に、前を下云々といひ、後を上云々といふたぐひ多し、）字鏡には嫌宇波奈利とあり、（嫌字は心得ず、）大和物語にも、こなみうはなりと云ることあり、檜垣家集に、船にのせなどするほどに男も來たり、此うはなりこなみ一日一夜萬の事を云語らひて、つとめて船に乘ぬとあり、又書紀に、嫉妬をウハナリヲタミと訓り、（此は本妻の後妻に嫉むを云なり）○那許波佐婆は上なると同じ、さて前妻後妻は、鳴鏑を張れる者の家の妻にて、（是はたゞ譬のうへのみのことなり、兄宇迦斯が妻にあて、いへるには非ず、）必しも二人には非るを、假に前妻後妻と二にいふは、古の長哥の常なり、さて夫の獵漁に出つれば、家なる妻は、夕魚朝魚の料に其獲物を待居るものなる故に、魚乞者とはよみ賜へるなり、○伊知佐加紀微能は、田中道麻呂云、今近江の彦根のあたりにて知佐加紀と云木あり、是なるべし、尾張にては志良者氣、美濃にては、毘者加紀と云り、黑く小き實の甚多くなる木なれば、意富祁久の序によく叶へりと云り、此說宜し、其木は和名抄に、柃漢語抄比佐加木とある是なり、（柃字を當たるは未詳）今も比佐加紀と云り、伊勢にては微佐加紀とも毘者許ともいふ、北國にては此木を佐加木と云とぞ、何處の山にも多かる木なり、（是に大小二種ありて、實の多きは大なる方なり、小き方はいと低く叢り生て、春の若葉の色いと赤し、○契冲は嚴龍眼木歟と云、師も是に依て、古佐加紀といひしは、多く檀にて、檀の實の獨と萬葉によめる如く大の序な

十七の三十四丁に曾許婆廿の廿五丁に曾伎太久毛）などある、皆同言なるを、如此さまゞに云へれば、許紀志とも云べきなり、さて右の言どもを、眞字には幾許と書て、卷々にいと多し、（皆右の假字書の例どもに依て訓べし）抑此言は、本は物の數の多きことなれども、阿麻多佐波爾などいふとはいさゝか異にして、伊加婆加理加といふことなる故に、幾許とは書るなり、（萬葉四の卅七丁に、幾許思ひけめかも云々、是はいかばかりと訓べし五卷に伊加婆加利と云あり、又八の五十八丁に、わがせこと二人見ませば幾許か此降雪のうれしからまし）さて其いかばかりかと云は、數の多きより云言なるを轉して、甚しき意にも云るなり（こゝた戀しきなど云はいかばかりか戀しきと云ことにて、甚戀しきと云意になれり、此にて何れをも准へ知べきなり）さて又正しく數の多きことに云るは、萬葉五（十八丁）に、妹がへに雪かもふると見るまでに許々陀母まがふ梅の花かも、（源氏物語などに許許良、又曾許良など云るは、皆正しく數の多きことに云り）是なり、さて此の許紀志許紀陀は、伊久良母といふ言にて、然云は幾ほどにても多くといふ意なり、斐惠泥は、漢籍禮記（禮運）に、捍豚（注に擘折豚肉也）又（少儀）牛與羊魚之腥、聶而切之爲膾、（聶は膈膟と同じ、簿切肉也と字書に見えたり）この捍又聶を、古より比惠豆と訓り、（凡て漢籍の舊訓に、古言の遺れること多し、物をへぐといふも、ヒヱグのつゞまれる言なるべし）肉を簿く小く切ことなり、（書紀神代下卷に竹刀、和名抄に、日本紀私記云竹刀阿乎比衣とあるは、衣の假字なれば、此、斐惠とは別言ならむか、但し字流波志を、字鏡に于留和之と書るなどの例もあれば、斐惠を誤りて、比衣と私記には書る

る、是なり、（又中をも那とのみ云るは、書紀神功卷にある淳中倉てふ地名を、津國風土記には沼名椋とあり、又繼躰紀に坂中井、中此云那、又天武紀に淳中此云農難とあり、此等も今の例ともすべし）祁久は伎と云むが如し、伎また久を、古言に祁久と云ること多し、（古今集に、世中のうけくにあきぬと云るなどは、宇伎にて、伎を祁久と云るなり、又惜けくもなしなど云は、惜久にて、久を祁久と云るなり、何れも萬葉などに例多し）但し序の曾婆も、今何木と慥には知ざれば、其實も如何なる形したる物とも知らざれども、此句を長けくとせば、彼實をも姑く形の長き物として、長きの序とすべし、さて長きは鯨肉の長く切たるをいふ、（鯨は大魚なれば、其肉を全にては置がたき故に、宜き程に切分て置物なれば、其長く切置る肉をと云るなり、○師は此句を少けくをなるが須久二字の脫たるなりと云れき、信に下なる意富祁久に對へては然るべけれども、書紀にも此記と同じくて、須久の字は無ければ、從ひがたし）○許紀志斐惠泥、許紀志は下、許紀陀と同言にて、（書紀には、二共に紀を氣と書り、氣はケの假字にて、書紀にもケにのみ用ひたれば、彼はケと讀べきかとも思へど、凡て書紀の假字は、吳音をも漢音をも用ひ、一字を三音四音にも通はし用たれば、此字も漢音を取て、此はキと讀べし）延佳が幾許と注せるぞ宜しき、其は萬葉二（四十四丁）に、御笠山野邊往道者己伎太雲繁荒有可久爾有勿國、廿（二十五丁）に、己伎婆久母ゆたけきかも、十四（二十八丁）に、許己婆かなしき、又（七丁）己許太かなしき、十五（二十三丁）に、奈曾己許波いのねらえぬも、十七（四十八丁）に許己太久母ゑげき戀かも、十八（六丁）に、許己太久爾云々、（又九の十八丁に曾己良久爾

る故に、多知某と云り、木立などいふも同じ、（倭建命段の哥に、字惠具佐、萬葉三に殖木、また殖子水葱、十四にもうゑこなぎ、又うゑ竹など、ある字惠も、人の植たる由にはあらずて、植りてある意なれば、多知といふと同意なり）曾婆は、和名抄に唐韻云柧棱、木也又四方木也、和名曾波乃木とあり、（字書を考るに、柧棱は木名に非ず、木の楞なり、然るに、此字を曾婆の木に當たるは、物の稜角を曾婆といふから、思ひ混へたる誤りなり）書紀仁德、卷皇后御哥に、箇波區莽珥多知瑳箇踰屢、毛々多羅儒椰素麼能紀破とあるも、この木にやあらむ、（谷川氏云、是は箭柧棱にて、今矢筈と云、漢名鬼箭といふ木なりと云り、又八柧棱か、又八十葉木か、何れならむ詳ならず）また枕冊子に木はと云る中に、そばの木、はしたなき心ちすれども、花の木ども散はて、おしなべたる綠になりたる中に、時もわかず濃き紅葉のつやめきて、思ひかけぬ青葉の中より差出たる、めづらしと云り、（はしたなきこゝちすとは、そばといふ名のことなり）さて此は何れの木にか、未慥に考得ず、（今かなめといふ木を、山里人などはそばの木とも云り、此は何處の山にも多かる木にて、三月のころ若葉の赤くつやゝかなる物なれば、枕冊子に云るにはよく叶へり）さて此句は次の那祁久の序なり、七言一句の序いとめづらし、（古哥を考るに、凡て序は、或は五言七言と二句、或は五七五と三句などは常のことなれども、一句にて七言なるは、をさ〳〵見あたらず、一句のときは皆五言なり、又三言四言なるは多し、それは五言の格なり）○那祁久袁、此句心得難し、（契冲も未詳と云り）されど強て試にいはゞ、長けくを歟、長を那とのみ云る例は、風神を書紀には級長津彦命と書るを、此記には志那都比古神とあ

云しなるべし、壹岐國風土記に、鯨伏てふ地名の由縁を云るに、鯨を俗に伊佐といへるよし見ゆ、○久治良佐夜流は鯨障にて、鳴覊へ鯨の羅れると云なり、如此譬たまへる意は、思ひかけぬ大軍の來て、小謀の違へるとなり、和名抄に、唐韻云大魚雄曰鯨雌曰鯢淮南子云鯨鯢魚之王也、和名久知良と見ゆ、さて鳴の小に對へて云むには、大に猛き物は鳥にも獸にもあるべきに、覊に似つかはしからぬ、海物の鯨をしも作賜へるは、徒に大なる物を擇出賜へるのみには非ず、此は此大饗の御饌物の中に、鳴と鯨との有しに就て、即其物に寄て詔へるなり、（然らざれば覊に鯨は似つかず、）さて此句、書紀には流を離とせり、流の方ぞ優れる、○古那美賀は前妻之なり、和名抄に、前妻和名毛止豆女、一云古奈美とあり、字鏡には娼古奈彌とあり、（娼、字は心得ず、）○那許波佐婆は魚乞者なり、乞ばを許波佐婆といふは古言の格ぞ、（立を多々須、行を由加須などいふと同じ云ざまなり、）さて魚の事を詔は御饗に因てなり、（此句、延佳も契冲も師も、汝子者として、佐婆をば、契冲は訕咤なりといひ、師は歌ふ辭なりと云れつる、何れもわろし、まづ子の假字には、記中に古字をのみ用ひて、許を用ひたる例なし、此事傳首卷に委く云るが如し、書紀にも子には、古胡固などの字をのみ用たるに、此には居字を書る、是子に非る證なり、又汝子としては、下の詞どもゝ聞えがたし、誰も皆此句を解誤れる故に、次々も明らかならざるなり、己も年ごろ心得かねて、くさ〳〵思ひめぐらしつるを、近ころ思得て魚乞者と定めつ、）○多知曾婆能微能は、契冲立柧棱之實之かと云り、然るべし、多知は、書紀神代卷に、門前所植湯津湯桂木とある、訓注に所植此云多底婁とある意にて、凡て木草は立てある物な

（二十七丁）旅にして物戀之伎乃鳴事毛十九（九丁）に、春儲て物悲きに三更て羽振鳴志藝誰田にかすむ和那は、和名抄、畋獵具に、蹄、周易云蹄者所以得兎也云々、師説和奈と見え、書紀（神代卷下）には、時有川鴈嬰羂困厄と見え、字鏡には、胥、擊也挂也和奈と見ゆ、（胥は罥字にて羂と同じ）萬葉十四（五丁）に、あしがらのをてもこのもにさす和奈の云々、さて此句は、兄猾が機を構て落し入奉むとせし小き謀を、鳴取むとて羂張置に譬て詔へりと契冲云り、○和賀麻都夜は我待にて、鳴の羅るを待なり、夜は高行や隼別（高津宮段の哥）打や霰、（遠飛鳥宮段哥）咲や斯花（古今集序）などの類の夜にて、待や鳴と、次の句へ續くなり、（此句を上句へ着て心得るは非なり、上句は、波留と切れたり、）和賀は、此羂を張れる人の我にて、己が待鳴はと云むが如し、（故此句は下へ續なりとはいふなり、若上へ連けて見るときは、我と云こと聞えず、又和賀を、契冲の、兄猾が我なりと云るは、いさゝか違へり、譬たる意は兄猾に當れども、言のうへは然らず）○志藝波佐夜良受は、契冲云、鳴者不障なり波と夜と同韻にて通ふ故に、障を佐夜留と云り、萬葉五に百日しも行ぬ松浦路けふ行て、あすは來なむを何か佐夜禮留とよめり、さて此の障は羅るなり俗に物に觸るゝを佐波留と云と同じと云り、此説の如し、又萬葉五（三十八丁）に、訪良爾佐夜利奴ともあり、○伊須久波斯は、契冲云勇細なり、佐と須と音通へり、鯨を伊佐那と云て、萬葉に勇魚と書り、久波斯は、名細花細香細などの類にて、美稱る詞なり、故鯨と云むために、まづ其を稱る詞を發語に置なりと云り、此説の如し、猶師の冠辭考いすくはし又鯨魚取條に委し、（萬葉に伊佐那を鯨魚と書るを思へば、鯨をやがて伊佐那とも

大饗は意富美阿幣と訓べし、（天皇へ獻る饗なる故に、大とはいふなり、後世にいはゆる大饗の謂には非ず、彼は饗の大なる由にて、大饗とは云り、）○委とは、御饗の物を殘さずと云にもあるべく、又御軍士等一人も漏さずといふにても有べし、○此時とは、此御饗の物を賜はりて、皇軍士等の宴飲遊ぶ時なり、○歌曰は、書紀の訓注に依て、美宇多余美志賜久と訓べし、此歌は、此宴に御軍士等の歌へるなれども、天皇の作坐る大御歌なる故に、書紀に御謠とは云るなり、書紀云、已而弟猾大設牛酒以勢饗皇師焉、天皇以其酒宍班賜軍卒、乃爲御謠之曰、謠此云宇多豫瀰とあり、（設牛酒と書れたるは、漢籍に倣へる潤色の文なり、戎國にてこそ、かゝる饗などにも牛肉を主とはすれ、皇國にては、古も今もさらに無きことなり、天武天皇の御世に、牛馬肉を食ふことを禁められしは、やゝ後に民間などにては、食し者もありつらむ、上代にはさらにさることなし、縱ひ食し者は稀々ありしにもあれ、かゝる大御饗などに用ひしことは、決て無きなきことなり、ゆめ虛文にな惑ひそ、）○宇陀能は、三言の句なり、（次へ連ねて七言の句とするは非なり、）○多加紀爾は、契冲、高城になりと云る、然なり、（高樹とするは非ぞ、）紀とは、必しも後世の城の如く玄たゝかならねども、かりそめに、垣ゆひ廻らし構へたる處などをもいふなり、（稻を積置處を稻城、馬を居しむる處を牧と云るにても知べし、）多加紀は、高津宮段、歌に、美母呂能曾能多加紀那流、書紀、顯宗卷、哥に、於尸農瀰能苣能拖賀紀儺屢などもあり、○志藝和那波留は、鳴羂張なりと契冲云り、鳴を取むとて羂を張置を云り、志藝は、和名抄に、玉篇云、鷰野鳥也楊氏抄云之木一云田鳥とあり、書紀（神代上卷）には、離此云之伎、とあり、萬葉一

辭乃自蹈機而壓死とあり、（虜爾を、本にはイヤシキヤツコと訓り、今此記に依てイガと訓つ、さて獲罪於天と云るは、例の漢意の潤色なり、かゝることに天を云は、古意に非ず、故此天字を阿米とは訓ずして、伎美としも訓るは、古への道をよく辨へ知れるものなり、）○控出とは、壓れてある下より引出すなり、○斬散は、伎理波布理伎と訓べし、上卷八俣遠呂智段に切散とあるをも然訓つ、此は水垣宮段に、斬波布理其軍士、故號其地謂波布理曾能とあるに依り、此言のこと彼處に云べし、○血原、此地名今は聞えねば、何處方とも知がたし、たゞ宇陀郡と心得べし、（大和志に、在上田口村と云るはおぼつかなし、凡て彼書、古蹟を其處と定めて云る、妄なること多し、）書紀に云、時陳其屍而斬之、流血沒踝、故號其地曰菟田血原と云り、此記には血の流れたることは云ざれども、斬散と云るに、おのづから血はきこえたり、

然而其弟宇迦斯之獻大饗者悉賜其御軍。此時歌曰。宇陀能。多加紀爾。志藝和那波留。和賀麻都夜。志藝波佐夜良受。伊須久波斯。久治良佐夜流。古那美賀。那許波佐婆。多知曾婆能微能。那祁久袁。許紀志斐惠泥。宇波那理賀。那許波佐婆。伊知佐加紀微能。意富祁久袁。許紀陀斐惠泥。疊音引志夜胡志夜。此者伊碁能布曾以音此五字阿音引志夜胡志夜。此者嘲咲者也。故其弟宇迦斯。此者宇陀水取等之祖也

爲、陰には難を爲むとしながら、陽には仕奉ると見せたる故に、此方よりも、言には其陽の戸爲を以如此云て、下の意は、汝其押に打れて死ねと云意なり、（今世人の語にも、此格つねあることなり、）其押に打れて死るは、即難をなし奉むとする狀を自顯すなり、○握横刀之手上は、書紀、此卷（五瀨命の段）に、撫劒此云都盧耆能多伽彌屠利辭魔屢とあり、如此訓べし、（但屢は言の居りたる處を以注せる例にて彼も理とよむ處なり、今此も然り）神代紀に急握劒柄、また此、御卷に案劒とあるなど、皆然訓り、手上のことは傳五（迦具土神被殺の段下）に云り、登理志婆流は、かの字の意にて、つよく堅く握るを云（撫劒と書れたるは、漢文ざまにて、此言の意には疎し、）○矛由氣は、書紀、崇神、卷に、豐城命以夢辭奏于天皇、曰、自登御諸山向東而八廻弄槍八廻擊刀とあり、さて此に由氣と書るは假字なれば、氣下へ志てふ辭を添て、躰言に讀は非なり、用言に讀べし、（凡て假字の下へ辭を讀附ることなく、又此は上の握も下の矢刺も用言なるに、是をのみ躰言によむべきに非ず、かの書紀の弄鎗擊刀をも、ホコユケタチカクと用言に訓べきなり、）さて由氣てふ言は、他に見えざれば、如何なる態ともさだかには知がたければ、（言の活用は、受掛付退避などの例に依ば、由氣由久由久流と活くべきにや、）姑くかの弄槍に依て意得おくべし、○矢刺は、上卷（傳十手間山段の末）に見ゆ、書紀には彎弓とあり、○追入は、彼押機を設置る殿内へ、兄宇迦斯を追入る、なり、○所作は波理於祁流と訓べし、書紀曰、天皇即遣道臣命察其逆狀時、道臣命審知有賊害之心而、大怒誥嘖之、曰、虜爾所造屋爾自居之、（爾此云飫例）因按劒彎弓逼令催入、兄猾獲罪於天事無所

り、○伊賀、此は他に例もなく、甚心得がたき言なるを試に強ていはば、伊賀國風土記伊賀郡處に、猿田彦神女吾娥津媛命云々、此神之依知守國謂吾娥之郡云々、後改伊賀吾娥之音轉也とあり、（同國延長の風土記には、伊賀國本此號者伊賀津姫之所領之郡也、仍爲郡名亦爲國名と云り）是に依に伊賀は阿賀と通へり、さて於能禮とは自己を云稱なるに、又人を賤しめて云にも用ひ、（今世にも然り、宇治拾遺物語に、此度の我命にかはれおのれらよなどゝあり）意禮とは人を賤しめて云稱なるを、今世には自己のことを然云、此らの例を以見れば、阿賀と云も、自己のことなるを、又人を賤しめて云にも用ひしにや、是又今世にも然り、書紀に此を虜爾と書れたるも其意にや、（師は、若は嚴しくなるを字の落たるかと云れつれど、宜しとも聞えず）皇極紀（十一丁）に、蘇我大臣蝦蟆云々嗔罵曰、噫入鹿云々、爾之身命不亦殆乎、○大殿內、この殿字を諸本に誤て麻と作るを、廷佳が改めつるは當れり、故今も其に從へり、萬葉十三（二十九丁）に、大殿乎都可倍奉而とあり、○意禮は、人を賤しめ詈る稱なること、上卷（傳十根堅洲國の段下）にいへるが如し、（宇治拾遺物語に、やうれおのれらよ、又おれは何事いふぞなどもあり）○明白は、阿加志麻袁世と訓べし、阿加須は隱せることを顯し言なり、（今世にもさる意に云言なり）此は言を以云には非れども、其狀を顯すは、言ふも同じこゝろばへなり、（白字は、己が罪を自顯し告ることに用ふ後世にいはゆる白狀など是なり、然れども此は必しも其意にて書るには非じ、只麻袁世云言に用ひたるのみなるべし、又明白とつゞける字に就て、師は此二字を伊知自漏志と訓れつれどわろし）○將爲仕奉之狀とは、今の兄字迦斯が所

四世の孫なり、天押日命の事は傳十五に見ゆ、）○大久米命は、皇孫命の天降坐し時、大伴連の祖天忍日命と相並て御前に立坐し、天津久米命の子孫にて、今度も又當昔のまゝに、如此道臣命と相並て、大功を立賜へる人なり、然るを書紀には、日臣命帥大來目云々、また勅道臣命、汝宜帥大來目部云々などゝ、道臣命の下に屬たる人の如く記されたるは如何ぞや、此はやゝ後に子孫に至ては、大伴氏のみ榮て、此久米直氏は甚く衰て、終に大伴氏の部下に屬ることゝなりにけるを、書紀は其衰へたりし子孫の時代の狀を以記されたる物とこそ聞ゆれ、（さばかり大功ありし臣命を、たゞに大來目とのみにて、命とも書されず、又部とあるなどは、一人の名とだに聞えず、此命のためにも氏のためにも、いと心うきわざならずや）此事上卷（傳十五）に委論へり、考へ見べし、さて久米てふ名意は、猶下に云べし、さて書紀のかの道臣命に築坂宅地を賜へる事の次に、亦使大來目居于畝傍山以西川邊之地、今號來目邑、此其緣也、（來目邑は、和名抄に、大和國高市郡久米鄕あり是なり、式に久米御縣神社もあり、此村白檮原京にいと近し、今も久米村久米寺などあり、川邊とあるは、雄畧紀に來目水とある是なるべし、さて伯耆美作伊豫などに久米郡と云あり、其餘も國々に此地名の多くあるは、皆本は此氏より出たるものなり）續後紀に、伊豫國人浮穴直千繼云々、千繼之先、大久米命也とあり、（伊豫國浮穴郡に並て久米郡あるも由ありけむ、此事傳十五にもいへり、）○罵詈は、能理豆と訓べし、萬葉十二（二十八丁）に、柜楮越爾麥咋駒乃雖詈また於能禮故所詈而居者、十六（九丁）に將若異子等丹所詈金目八などあり、能流とは、もと詔宣などを云を、又如此人を辱しめて言ことにも用ふめ

上に大殿とあれば、此も意富登能と訓べし、書紀に、弟猾即詣至因拜軍門而告之曰、臣兄々猾之爲逆狀、聞天孫且至、即起兵將襲、望見皇師之威、懼不敢敵、乃潛伏其兵、權作新宮而、殿內施機、欲因請饗、以作難、願知此詐善爲之備とあり、（さてかく、弟として兄の罪を顯はし白せること、義いかにあらむと論ふは漢意なり、假使父にまれ、君に背奉むには、從ふまじきことわりなれば、況て兄ならむをや、いかばかり善事を爲ても、天皇に背奉む者は、いみしき逆としるべし）○大伴連又久米直のことは、上卷（傳十五）に云り、○道臣命、書紀に、大伴氏之遠祖日臣命、帥大來目督將元戎、蹈山啓行、乃尋烏所向、仰視而追之、遂達于菟田下縣云々、于時勅譽日臣命曰、汝忠而且勇、加能有導之功、是以改汝名爲道臣とあり、此にて名義知られたり、（延喜六年、竟宴、哥に此命を、伊佐袁志久多陀斯岐瀰知乃於牟迦斯佐斗豆曾我那毛岐微波多末比斯、二三の句の際に道臣をたち入たり、意美を意牟とよめるは音便）また初天皇草創天基之日也、大伴氏之遠祖道臣命、帥大來目部奉承密策、能以諷歌倒語掃蕩妖氣、倒語之用始起乎茲、（繼體紀の詔に、故道臣陳謨而神日本以盛云々）また二年春二月甲辰朔乙巳、天皇定功行賞、賜道臣命宅地居于築坂邑、以寵異之、（築坂は、垂仁紀に葬倭彥命于身狹桃花鳥坂、と見え、又檜隈天皇葬大倭國身狹桃花鳥坂上陵、と見えたる同所なり、高市郡と諸陵式に見えて、白檮原京に遠からぬ地なり）さて姓氏錄の大伴宿禰條に、高皇產靈尊、五世孫天押日命とあると、高志連條に、高魂命九世、孫日臣命とあるとを、合せて考れば、道臣命は天押日命の玄孫なり、（又大伴、大田宿禰條には、高魂命六世孫天押日命とあり、此に依ば

伊都波理豆と訓べし、（陽は佯と同じくして、實には然らぬことを、うはべに然る貌をする意の字なり、）○作大殿は、書紀に請饗とある、其料として作れるなり、○押機は淤志と訓べし、（師の於志波自伎と訓れつるはわろし、）下に押とのみも書り、書紀には機とあり、（文選にも機をオシと訓る處あり、）さて此物は、下文に押見打而死と云、書紀に蹈機而壓死とある如く、人を欺て殺む爲に、然りげなく見せて、蹈ば覆り墮入て壓れ死ぬべく構たる物なり、和名抄、畋獵具に、漢語抄云、鼠弩、一云鼠弓、於之とある、（拾遺集物名に、押年魚を、はし鷹の招餌にせむと構へたる鼠弩あゆがする鼠とるべく、あゆがすは動搖すなり、）是は鼠を取む料の押機なり、又天武紀に、詔諸國曰、自今以後制諸漁獵者莫造檻穽及施機槍等之類とある機をば、フムハナチと訓れども、（蹈發の意なり、）此も於志と訓べし、獸を取る押機なり、（今世には於登志と云、又處によりて、許夫知とも云り、○凡て機と稱ふ具くさ〳〵あり、いづれも此處に觸れば彼處に發くが如き事に名けたり、）○作は波理豆と訓べし、次の文には即張と作けり、是古言なるべし、○先參向、先とは彼構へたる大殿へ未入來坐ぬ、先に彼へ參るを云、○拜は袁呂賀美豆と訓べし、書紀、推古、御卷の歌に、烏呂餓彌豆兎伽陪摩都羅武とあり、袁賀牟と云は、此呂の省りたるなり、○兄々宇迦斯の上の兄は、阿尒と訓べし、（阿爾と云べきこと、上卷に云り、さて舊印本には、兄字一ッは無し、其もあしからず、既に兄と云うへは、又兄といはでもあるべければなり、然れども他の本どもにも書紀にも、皆兄々とあれば、今も其に依つ、）○將爲は、爲將を下上に寫誤れるかとも思へども、下にも將爲仕奉などゝあれば、如此も書しなるべし、○殿は

又書紀此卷に兄倉下弟倉下もあり、（是も地名か）又雄略卷に、兄君弟君兄麻呂弟麻呂あり、女には景行卷に、兄遠子弟遠子と云あり、兄比賣弟比賣は此記にも此彼あり、○鳴鏑は那理訶夫羅と訓べし、上卷（傳十根堅洲國の段下）に委云り、○使は八咫烏なり、書紀には、此には、八咫烏の御使の事なくて、先遣使者徵兄磯城、兄磯城不承命、更遣頭八咫烏召之時、烏到其營而鳴之、曰天神子召汝、怡弊過怡弊過、（過音倭）兄磯城忿之曰聞天壓神至而吾爲慨憤時奈何烏烏若此惡鳴耶乃彎弓射之烏即避去、次到弟磯城宅而鳴之曰、天神子召汝、怡弊過怡弊過時弟磯城怵然改容曰臣聞天壓神至旦夕畏懼善乎烏汝鳴之若此者歟、即作葉盤八枚盛食饗之、とあるは、一事の宇迦斯と磯城と傳の異なるなり、（天壓神とは其ころ倭國人どもの申せる稱なるべし、然申せるこゝろは、天神御子と名のらして、その御軍の向ふ處は、いかなる敵も、たちまちに敗らるゝこと、物を壓ひしぐが如くなる御いきほひなりし故なるべし、阿米能淤斯賀微と訓べし、訓注にオスとあるは、言のすわりたる方を以注せる例なり）○待射返は、待取て射還すなり、凡て古言に待云々と云こと多し、さて射返と云は、必しも射殺むとには非て、ただ射て逐還すなり、○訶夫羅前は、他に見えたることもなく、此地名も聞えたることなし、書紀に、秋八月甲午朔乙未、天皇使徵兄猾及弟猾者是兩人者菟田縣之魁帥者也、時兄猾不來、猾此云宇介志とあり、（介をケの假字とするは誤なること、上に云るが如し）○將待擊云而とは、天神御子の幸行すを待取て擊奉むと云てなり、○不得聚軍者は、延阿都米邪理志加婆と訓べし、（軍字は此は讀べからず、上に既に軍とあればなり、下に此同語あるには此字無し）○欺陽は

宇迦斯は、地名に依れる名なるべし、今世にも宇陀郡に宇賀志村と云あり、（日張山の下也）是此兄弟の住し地なるべし、兄某弟某と云名、其住る地の名なる例多し、（下に引り）然れば上文に、曰宇陀之穿と、あるも、實は宇迦斯なるを、宇賀知と云言と音の近きに就て、かの蹈穿越坐る故事に因て、穿と名けたりと語り傳へたる物なるべし、されば穿邑と云は、世間に此故事を語傳へたるのみの地名にて、實は其地にては、始より宇迦志邑とぞ云けむ、（又上文の穿てふ地名と此宇迦斯てふ人名とは、元來別なるかとも思へども、其名甚近ければ、かにかくに別にはあらじとぞ思ふ、今の現にも宇賀志村あればなり、また今の宇賀志村は、此兄弟宇迦斯の住しに因て、後に地名とはなれるにて、彼穿に由あるには非じかとも思ひ、又穿を訛て宇賀志となれるにて、人名とは別なるかとも、種々に思へども、猶此人名も今の村名を、彼穿も、別事とは聞えずなむ、又此人名書紀に猾字を書るに依て、師は地名に非ず、みだりなる意なりと云れつれど、然には非ず、彼猾字は、兄宇迦斯が不服る爲人に就て書れたるものにて、必しも宇迦斯てふ言の意に依る字には非ず、兄こそ猾なりとも云べけれ、弟は天皇へ忠に仕奉しものを、爭かは猾なりと云む、八十建をも、書紀には八十梟帥と書れたり、是も此人不服る爲人に就て當られたる字なり、多祁流とはたゞ勇猛きことにこそあれ、梟字の意は無し、天智天皇の御子に建皇子と申す坐る、皇子に梟帥の意の御名を付奉むものかは、此等の例を以ても、猾字は必しも言の意に非ることさとるべし、）さて兄弟の名を兄某弟某と云る例は、下に兄師木弟師木、書紀、景行、卷、兄夷守弟夷守、兄熊弟熊などあり、此等も皆地名にて、此の宇迦斯の類の人等なり、

古事記傳十九之卷

白檮原宮中卷

本居宣長謹撰

故爾於宇陀有兄宇迦斯自宇以下三字以音下效此也弟宇迦斯二人。先故遣八咫烏問二人曰。今天神御子幸行。汝等仕奉乎。於是兄宇迦斯以鳴鏑待射返其使。故其鳴鏑所落之地謂訶夫羅前也。將待擊云而聚軍然。不得聚軍者。欺陽仕奉而。作大殿。於其殿內作押機待時。弟宇迦斯先參向拜曰。僕兄兄宇迦斯射返天神御子之使。將爲待攻而聚軍。不得聚者。作殿。其內張押機。將待取。故參向顯白。爾大伴連等之祖道臣命。久米直等之祖大久米命二人。召兄宇迦斯罵詈云。伊賀此二字以音所作仕奉於大殿內者。意禮。此二字以音先入明白其將爲仕奉之狀而。即握橫刀之手上。矛由氣此二字以音矢刺而追入之時。乃己所作押見打而死。爾即控出斬散。故其地謂宇陀之血原也。

翔降、天皇曰云々、遂達于菟田下縣、因號其所至之處曰菟田穿邑、穿邑此云于介知能務羅、とあり、（此穿を今本に、ウゲチと假字を附たるは、訓注の介字をケの假字と思ひ誤れるなり、此字和名抄などには、ケの假字に用ひたれども、書紀にはカの假字にのみ用ひて、ケに用たる例なし、思ひまがふべからず、萬葉五の七丁に、宇既具都とあり、穿沓なり、是は沓の破れて、孔のあきたるを云て、宇既は所穿の約まりたるなれば、某を穿つといふとは、言の用ひざま異なり、）

古事記傳十八之卷終

まはむには、其より徑に大和の國中へこそは幸行すべきに、さはあらで、又更に吉野山へ入たまひ、東方なる宇陀にしも幸行ること、何の由もなく、又蹈穿越とある文も、國栖よりにては似つかぬなど、彼此叶はぬこと多きぞかし、然ればかにかくに、河尻とあるより國栖までの事は、返す〳〵書紀の傳への如く、異時の幸行とすべきなり、）○蹈穿越とは、八咫烏の翔りゆく導のまに〳〵、道もなき荒山中を行達り坐るをいふ、穿とは、常に物に孔を鑿て、面より背へ貫通すをいふごとく、此方より彼方へ、路なき地を行通り貫け坐る意なり、（穿、字、通也とも貫也とも字書に注せり、）○宇陀は、和名抄に、大和國宇陀、（宇太）郡これなり、此郡内に、今も宇陀といふ邑もあるなり、萬葉に、宇陀乃大野宇陀乃眞赤土などゝよめり、（二の三十丁、七の三十七丁、八の四十八丁、）○穿、今郡内に宇賀志村といふあり、これ即宇賀知の訛れるか、此ことなほ下に論ひあり、（傳十九の始め）○也、字、延佳本に無し、今は舊印本又一本に有に依れり、（上文云、日下之蓼津也、また故謂血沼海也、下文に、故其地謂宇陀之血原也など、皆也字有ればなり、さて又舊印本に、穿と也との間に、指聲、二字あり、是を師は、穿指聲、三字は、宇牙智邑てふ四字を誤れるなり、といはれき、信に穿と宇牙、二字とも、指と智とも、聲と邑とも、字形は似たり、然れども此地名は、宇賀知にこそあれ、宇牙知にはあらず、牙字ハゲの假字にて、ガ。には用ひず、故また指聲は能邑の誤かなども思へど、かゝる處に能字は書べくもあらねば、なほ此二字は衍字と定むべし、其はもと後人の、穿字の傍に訓を附て、云々指聲と識し置るを、又後に本文と心得誤りて、書加へたるものなるべし、中昔指聲といふことの有しぞかし、）書紀に、果有頭八咫烏、自空

いふありて、（南と云は、昔は北國栖と云も有しにや）其あたり七村を、總て國栖、莊といふなり、萬葉十（十六丁）に國栖等之春菜將採司馬乃野之云々とよめり、（此哥の初句を今本に、クニスラガと訓り、是古にかなへるか、又くずと云ことを知らずて、妄に訓るか、袖中抄に引るには、グズビトノとあり）書紀に、更少進、亦有尾而披磐石而出者、天皇問之曰、汝何人、對曰臣是磐排別之子、此則吉野國樔部始祖也、姓氏錄大和國神別、（地祇）國栖、出自石穗押別神也、神武天皇行幸吉野時、川上有遊人、于時天皇御覽、即入穴、須臾又出遊、竊窺之喚問答曰、石穗押別神子也、爾時詔賜國栖名云々とあり、（是に石押別神子といへるは、異なる傳なり、若神宇衍か、または之子といふ稱に因て、石押別といふをば、其父の名と心得誤れるにや）なほ國栖のこと、輕島宮段（傳三十三のはじめ）に委くいふべし、○自其處は吉野郡の內の東方の山奥よりと見べし、上文を受て、國巢の地よりとは見べからず、其由は上に次々論へるがごとし、（上件河尻と云るより、國巢までの事、地理に合ざればなり、若此を國巢よりとするときは、蹈穿越といへる文似つかはしからず、國巢より宇陀へは然いふばかり嶮き路にあらず、程も甚く遠からぬ物をや、○若此度熊野より幸行の道路を、今世に熊野の本宮より吉野郡へ越て、十津川天川などいふを經て、下市へ出る道ある、是なりとして、宇智郡の阿陀に出たまひ、次に飯貝の地を經て、吉野山に入坐し、國野に到坐るなりともいふべきか、如此く見れば、河尻に到坐りと云るもよく叶ひ、其より次々國野までの路、次も皆叶へり、然れども彼、十津川などを經る路は、北方を指て大和へ來る路なれば、かの背負日云々とあるにも叶はず、また此時に阿陀へ出た

の地より河に傍ては上坐ずて、吉野山に入て、國巢へ越坐るなるべし、故入其山とはいふなり大和志に、川上莊の碇村に、井光の宅址ある由いへり、韋比加理を訛て伊加理と云むことは、然もあるべし、然るに其碇村は、國栖よりは山奥東南に在て、河上の方なれば、此に入其山とあるに叶はず、若碇村のあたりより國栖へ幸行には、出自其山といふべき地理にこそあれ、又書紀に、更少進とあるにも叶はぬものをや、）○過生尾人は、袁阿流人阿閇理と訓べし、（袁阿流人爾阿比賜と訓は、雅言の例にあらず、此例のこと、傳十六大山津見神、詔の段下に委く云り、）○巖、和名抄に、巖以八保とあり、石秀の意なり、○石押分之子は、伊波於斯和久能古と訓べし、書紀に磐排別之子と作て、排別此云飫時和句とあり、（師は、分を和氣と訓れつれども、なほ和久と訓べし、此例かの贄持の下に云るがごとし、）さて上件三人の名は、皆此時の事に因て名づけたる物と聞ゆるを、（彼水光姫てふ名、天皇の賜へる由、姓氏錄に見えたるをも思ふべし、）此時の御答に、各謂某と名告るさまに記せるは、後を以て前へも及ぼして言傳へたるなり、○今聞云々は、上卷に、答白、僕者國神名、猨田毘古神也、所以出居者、聞天神御子天降坐故、仕奉御前而參向之侍、とあるに似たり、○吉野國巢、昔より久受と呼來れゝども、此記の例、若久受ならむには國字は書くまじきを、此にも輕島宮殿にも、又他の古書にも、皆國字を作るを思ふに、上代には久爾須といひけむを、やゝ後に音便にて久受とはなれるなるべし、（凡て言の中間にある爾は略かりて、其下の濁音になる例多し、是おのづからの音便なり、）されど正しく久爾須といへること物に見えねば、姑舊のまゝに今も久受と訓り、さて今も吉野川に添て、南國栖村と

名なり、光を比加とのみいへる例は、和名抄に、伊勢國朝明郡田光多比加てふ郷名あり、（式に多比鹿神社もあり）さて此井氷鹿に遇たまへる地は、今の飯貝なるべきか、井光りを訛りて伊比加比といへるから、飯貝と書き、また後に伊賀比とは訛れるなるべし、此村は吉野川の南づらに在て、上市の向ひなり、（書紀の次第にしても、今の飯貝の地にてよくかなへり、其故はまづ此地に幸行て、次に更少進とあるは、川上の方へ上りたまふにて、次に國栖の事あり、其より及緣水西行とあるは、河にそひて還り下りませるにて、つぎに苞苴擔の事あるは、阿陀にて、路次叶へればなり）○吉野首、書紀に、至吉野時、有人出自井中、光而有尾、天皇問之曰、汝何人、對曰臣是國神名爲井光、此則吉野首部始祖也、（此記には、井有光と云て、この人に光のあることは見えぬを、書紀には、人に光ありといへる、いさゝか異なり）さて天武紀に、十二年十月乙卯朔己未、吉野首賜姓曰連、姓氏錄大和國神別、（地祇）吉野連、加彌比加尼之後也、謚神武天皇行幸吉野、到神瀨、遣人汲水、使者還曰、有井光女、天皇召問之、汝誰人、答曰、臣是自天降來白雲別神之女也、名曰豐御富、天皇即名水光姬、今吉野連所祭水光神是也とある、（加彌比加尼と水光姬と同じきか異なるか、まぎらはし）此水光姬即井氷鹿と聞ゆるを、（水と井と義も近く、音も横に通へり）女と云るは異なる傳へなり、續紀五に、和銅三年正月壬子朔甲子、授正六位上吉野連久治良從五位下、と見え、續紀十八に、嘉祥元年十一月丁巳朔辛未、大和國吉野郡大領吉野連豐益、依政績有聞、借授外從五位下、と見ゆ、○入其山之、上文に從其地幸行者とある、者、字の例に依らば、之、字は者の誤ならむか、（師は、之、下に時、字脱たるなりと云れき）さて此道は、飯貝

に陀音可濁讀とあるは、そのかみ既に訛て清る故か、はた後人の書加へたるか、後世哥人の說に、清てよめといふことあるは、古にはかなはぬことなり、）萬葉十一（三十二丁）に、安太人乃八名打度瀨速、十（三十四丁）に、阿太乃大野之芽子花散などよめるも、此處なるべく、（今西阿田村東阿田村は、吉野川の北に在て、伊勢より紀國へ通ふ大道なり、南阿田村は河の南にあり、また此あたり十二村を惣て阿陀郷といへり、又阿田村に今も贄持の宅址とてありと大和志にいへり、）また今贄持の魚取居たるも、即此地なるべし、吉野河尻とあるに合へり、（若此段を、熊野より越來坐る時の事とするときは、地理に叶はず、其故は、熊野より吉野へ到りたまはむには、先國栖などを經て後にこそ、阿陀の方へは到坐べきことなるに、先始に此贄持の事をいへるは、路の序に違へばなり、又吉野より蹈穿越て、宇陀へ幸行とあれば、阿陀は經たまふべき地方にもあらざるをや、故此段は別時の事ならむとはいふなり、）鵜養のことは、此天皇の大御哥に宇加比賀登母とある、其處にいふべし、さて此段、書紀には、（兄猾弟猾が事の次下に、）是後天皇欲省吉野之地、乃從菟田穿邑、親率輕兵巡幸焉、至吉野時云々、更少進云々、及緣水西行、亦有作梁取魚者、天皇問之、對曰臣是苞苴擔之子、此則阿太養鵜部始祖也とあり、て、熊野より宇陀へ越坐る時にはあらず、其後別時の事なり、是ぞ正しき傳なるべき、故今も此傳に依て解なり、又事の次第も、書紀は先井光、次に磐排別、次に苴苞擔とありて、此記と異なり、（此次第は何れにても違はざるうちに、此記の方勝れり、其由は次々に見ゆ、）○生尾人は遠阿流比登、○有光は比加禮理、と師の訓れつるに從ふ、し、○井氷鹿は、書紀に井光と作り、此意の

宇倍、筍取魚竹器也、とありて、筌は宇閇なれば、（萬葉十一の四十七丁に、山河爾筌乎伏而とある是は伏と云れば宇閇なり）夜那とは別なれども、凡てかゝる物名などは、古書には其作者の心々に字をば當たれば、猶此は夜那に筌字を書るなるべし、（作と云るも夜那にて叶へり）相遠からぬ物は、然例常多し、又作を宇知と訓る由は、萬葉三（三十九丁）に、梁者不打而、又梁打人乃、十一（三十二丁）に、八名打渡などあるに依れり、書紀にも作とあり、（古今六帖夜那哥に、やな見れば川風寒く吹時ぞ浪の花さへ落まさりける）○魚は那と訓べし、凡て饌の料の魚をば那といふなり、萬葉五（二十三丁）にも奈都良須（魚釣なり）とあり、○贄持之子、書紀に苞苴擔と作て、此云珥倍毛菟とあり、如此訓べし、（師は、持を毛知と訓れたり、凡て之と受る上は、必躰言なる例なり、書紀に毛菟と注せられたるは、此記にも上卷に、必多祁備と訓べき建字を、多祁夫と注したる例にて、言の居りたる處を以注せる物とすべければ、毛知と訓むこと諾なるが如し、然れども猶熟思ふに、たゞ擔一字ならむにこそ、言の居りたる所を以て毛菟とも注すべけれ、是は苞苴擔とつゞきたるうへに、人名にさへあれば、毛知ならむには、決て毛菟とは注すまじく思はる、故今は彼訓注のまゝに訓つ、下なる石押分の分字の訓も、此と同格なり、）之子は、別に添たる稱なれば、毛都之と用、言より之へ連くも妨なし、さて某之子といふ名は、浦嶋之子などの例なり、書紀仁德卷に、衫子此云莒呂母能古といへる人も見えたり、なほ此外もこれかれあり、さて贄持てふ名は、此時に魚を取て、大御贄を獻しに因て賜へるものなるべし、子孫も鵜飼なるをや、○阿陀は、和名抄に、大和國宇智郡阿陀郷あり、是なり、（和名抄

て、（伊勢の宮川の川上なり）甚山深く、西方は彼吉野川の源なる大臺原へ續きて、今も土人の吉野へ越る山路あるなり、（大杉村より吉野の川上莊の鹽葉村といふへ、八里半ばかりありといへり、此鹽葉村は、彼大臺原の西に在て、伯母谷などいふ處を歷て、吉野へ出る處なり、）是ぞ東より西を指て物する路なれば、彼上文に、背負日云々とあるによく合へりける、さて此處、書紀には、果有頭八咫烏自空翔降、天皇曰、此烏之來自叶祥夢、大哉赫矣我皇祖天照大神、欲以助成基業乎、是時大伴氏之遠祖日臣命帥大來目、督將元戎蹈山啓行、乃尋烏所向仰視、而追之遂達于菟田下縣、とありて、吉野を歷賜へる事は見えず、（若此書紀の傳に依て、此時吉野をば經給はず、熊野より直に宇陀へ越坐りとせば、其路次はかの伊勢の大杉より、同國の河俣谷へ越坐し、高見山を越て、宇陀に到坐るなるべし、河俣谷と云は、大杉より北方にて、飯高郡の西の極にて、高見山を越て大和へ物する道なり、高見山は河俣の西の極にて、伊勢と大和との堺なり、此山を越て西は、吉野郡の內の杉谷村と云へ出、此あたり宇陀郡の境に近き地なり、）然れども地理を思ふに、吉野の東方の山奧を經て宇陀へは出坐りとするぞ優りて聞ゆる、（然るを書紀の傳は、吉野を歷たまへるは、中途なる故に、省ける物なるべし）但し河尻といふより下、石押分の事までは、上にもいへるごとく、後に別に幸行る時の事なりけむを、同じき吉野なるから、混て此にはいへるなるべし、其由は次々に委く論ふべし、○作筌は、夜那袁宇知豆と訓べし、其は書紀に、梁と作て此云椰奈とある、此訓注に依れり、和名抄には、毛詩注云、梁魚梁也、和名夜奈、唐韻云、籍取魚箔也、漢語抄云、夜奈須、また野王按、筌捕魚竹笱也、和名

理なり、）さて又贄持井氷鹿石押分の次第も、地理にかなひがたし、此事下に次々論ふがごとし、故思ふに、此時の幸行は、熊野より吉野の内の東方の山中を經て、宇陀へ越坐るにて、河尻と云より、石押分の事までは、此時の事にはあらずて、是は後に別に幸行る時の事なりしが、混ひつる傳ならむかし、さて此時の幸行の路次は、正しくは何の地とも今さだかには知がたけれども、まづ書紀に、至熊野荒坂津亦名丹敷浦因誅丹敷戸畔者時神吐毒氣人物咸瘁とありて、次に高倉下の事ある、今も熊野の東北の極、伊勢國（度會郡）の堺に近き地に、錦浦といふ處あり、是彼丹敷浦なるべく、また天皇大御哥に、伊勢能宇美能云々、とよませたまへる、古は由なき處を取出て哥によむことなければ、必此時に伊勢海の境まで幸行て、御覽しけるなるべし、是らを以思ふに、此時熊野の地を東北へ行廻り盡て、彼丹敷浦まで幸行るなるべし、（此記は、上に到熊野村之時と云て、高倉下の事ありて、此段も即其地にての事にして、自此奥方莫使入幸などゝあるを以見れば、此處も皆熊野の地の中程あたりまでの事にて、甚く東方伊勢の堺などまで到坐りとは聞えぬに似たれども、上文に背負日とあるを以見れば、甚く東方まで廻り幸行て、さて西方を指て倭國に入坐道ならでは叶はず、）さて其より大倭國に入坐むとするに、山中嶮絶無復可行之路と書紀に見えて、八咫烏の道引に賴て、辛くして越坐るをおもへば、此道は殊にゆゝしき荒山中なりけむと思はるれば、彼丹敷浦のあたりより、伊勢の大杉谷へかゝりて、（今紀國の河内村といふより、伊勢の大杉村へ越る山路ありとぞ、河内村は彼錦浦のあたりより遠からず、）吉野へは越坐るなるべし、大杉谷といふは、多氣郡の西の極に

いふ立にて、行ことなり、從は、步徒行舟從行など云從なり、（此從字、シタガヒテとも、ツキテとも訓べけれど、なほ余理と云むぞ古言なるべき、）書紀に旣而皇師欲越中州而、山中嶮絕、無復可行之路、乃棲遑不知其所跋涉時、夜夢天照大神訓于天皇曰、朕今遣頭八咫烏、宜以爲鄉導者とあり、○書紀には此次に、果有頭八咫烏自空翔降とあり、此記にも此下に然の如き言あるべきに、其言無して、直に故隨其敎覺云々と云るは、言足ぬに似たれども、然るぞ此記の例にて、古文のさまなりける、○敎覺は御佐登志と訓べし、○吉野は延斯怒と訓べし、下卷朝倉宮段の大御歌に、美延新怒能とよませ給ひ、書紀天智卷の童謠にも、美曳之弩能、曳之弩能阿喻、阿喻擧曾播、施麻倍母曳岐とあり、即此童謠に、余伎を曳岐と云へば、吉をも延斯とも云て、古へは此地名をも然ぞ呼けむ、（萬葉十八、二十三丁家持、哥には、與之努とよめり、）和名抄に、大和國吉野郡吉野與之乃とあり、さて此地は、上代より今に至るまで、絕れたる名地なることは云も更にて、山も河も、萬葉集より始め世々の歌等など、計るに勝ず、又地の廣きことは此郡は大和國の半にも過て、南は木國の熊野に續けり、○河尻、書紀仁德卷に流末ともあり、さてまづ吉野河は、源は遙に東方の山與、大臺原といふ處（伊勢國の堺なり、）より出て、川上莊といふを歷て流出來るなり、さて下は宇智郡へ流れ、紀國の伊都那賀名草の三郡を歷て（紀の川といふ、）海に入めり、さて今熊野より山越に幸行て、吉野へ出たまはむ地は、なほ川上といふべきあたりにこそあらむを、河尻としもいへるは、地理を考るに、違へるがごとし、（今の上市飯貝などいふあたりより末ならでは、河尻とはいふべからず、其より上ざまならむには、川上といふべき地

依日子者、今賀茂縣主等遠祖也、と見えたり、（然れば此八咫烏神は、愛宕郡の賀茂上社別雷神の御外祖父、下社御祖神の御父なりけり、さて此神此度天より先日向の曾峯に降著たまひて、其より東方に來坐て、此鄉導をなし賜ひ、天皇中州に入竟賜て後、葛城峯に行坐し、其より山代へは遷坐るなり、式に、山城國相樂郡岡田鴨神社、大月次新嘗、和名抄に同郡賀茂鄉）古語拾遺にも、賀茂縣主遠祖八咫烏者、奉導宸駕、顯瑞菟田之徑、といへり、（然るに此記にも書紀にも、賀茂縣主の祖と云ことの見えざるは、傳に脫たるにや、但し書紀に、又頭八咫烏亦入賞例、其苗裔即葛野守殿縣主部是也とあり、これ賀茂縣主と一か別なるか、さだかならず、又此守殿は地名にや）續紀三に、慶雲二年九月丙戌、置八咫烏社于大倭國宇太郡祭之とあるは、神名帳に、大和國宇陀郡八咫烏神社あり是なるべし、（此社今はおとごろすの社と云て、鷹塚村に在と云り、又書紀釋に、賀茂建角身命、大和國宇陀郡八咫烏神社、山城國愛宕郡久我神社、同國同郡三井神社、已上鎭坐三箇所とあり、久我三井二社も式に載て、三井社は殊に名神大にて、月次新嘗に預りたまふ、）○遣は淤許世牟と訓べし、（遊仙窟などにも然訓り、凡て遣字、此より彼へやるをば、夜留とも都加波須とも訓べし、彼より此へ來らしむるをば、於許須と訓べし、今世の俗文に申越など云、越は於許須の於を省ける言なるを、越字の義と心得て、此より彼へいひやることをも、申越といふはひがことなり）萬葉十八（二十四丁）に、思良多麻能伊保都々度比乎手爾牟須比、於許世牟安麻波、牟賀思久母安流香、十九（十二丁）に、紅之八鹽爾染而於己勢多流、服之禰毛云々、などあり、○從其立後は、曾能多々牟斯理余理と訓べし、立は、先に立後に立など

といふをば、其御覺しの御言とすべし、○奥方とは、行前を指て詔ふなり、（今も口熊野奥熊野と云稱もあり、）○莫使入幸は、那伊理麻志曾と師の訓れたるに從ふべし、（使字幸字にかゝはるべからず、使字は若くは便の誤にもあらむか、）○自天、高木神は天に坐神なれども、此は此國に天降坐て諭白賜ふ命なる故に、如此詔へり、○八咫烏、名義は八頭烏にて、頭の八ある由なり、八咫は借字なること、上卷（傳八天石屋戸の段）八咫鏡の處に委く云るが如し、八頭なりしは、彼八俣蛇の、八頭八尾ありし類なり、八は必しも七八の八ならずとも、幾箇もあるをもいふべし、序にはたゞ大烏と云り、猶此烏の事、彼八咫鏡の下と考合べし、（和名抄に、歷天記云、日中有三足烏赤色、今按文選謂之陽烏、日本紀謂之頭八咫烏、とあるは必得ず、）姓氏錄山城國神別（天神部）に、賀茂縣主、神魂命、孫武津之身命、之後也、鴨縣主、賀茂縣主同祖、神日本磐余彦天皇（諡神武）欲向中州之時、山中嶮絕、跋涉失路、於是神魂命、孫鴨建津之身命、化如大烏、翔飛奉導、遂達中州、時天皇嘉其有功、特厚褒賞、八咫烏之號、從此始也、と見え、山城風土記に、可茂社稱可茂者、日向曾之峯天降坐神、賀茂建角身命也、神倭石余比古之御前立坐、而宿坐大倭葛木山之峯、自彼漸遷至山代國、岡田之賀茂、隨山代河下坐、葛野河與賀茂河所會至坐、迴見賀茂河、而言、雖狹小、然石川清川在、仍名曰石川瀨見小川、自彼川上坐、定坐久我國之北山基、從爾時名曰賀茂也、賀茂建角身命娶丹波國神野神伊可古夜日女、生子名玉依日子、次曰玉依日賣、玉依日賣於石川瀨見小川遊爲時、丹塗矢自川上流下、乃取挿置床邊、遂孕生男子、云々、乃因外祖父之名、號可茂別雷命、云々、可茂建角身也、丹波神伊可古夜日賣也、玉依日賣也、三柱神者、蓼倉里三井社坐也、玉

且依夢中教開庫視之、果有落劒倒立於底板、即取以進之、于時天皇適寐忽然而寤之曰、予何長眠若此乎、尋而中毒士卒悉復醒起とあり、

於是亦高木大神之命以覺白之。天神御子。自此於奥方莫使入幸。荒神甚多。今自天遣八咫烏。故其八咫烏引道。從其立後應幸行。故隨其教覺。從其八咫烏之後幸行者。到吉野河之河尻。時作筌有取魚人。爾天神御子問汝者誰也。答曰僕者國神名謂贄持之子。此者阿陀之鵜養祖。從其地幸行者。生尾人自井出來。其井有光。爾問汝者誰也。答曰僕者國神名謂井冰鹿。此者吉野首等祖也。即入其山之。亦遇生尾人。此人押分巖而出來。爾問汝者誰也。答曰僕者國神名謂石押分之子。今聞天神御子幸行故參向耳。此者吉野國巢之祖。自其地蹈穿越幸宇陀。故曰宇陀之穿也。

覺白、書紀に依に、此も大御夢に諭し給ふなり、（此には夢とはいはざれども、亦といふに、夢なることをも含めたるべし、上に高倉下の夢の御諭事を云る次なればなり）さて此は天神御子に覺白とも讀べけれど、白の字の下に之の字あるを以見れば、まづ覺白賜はくと讀て、天神御子

汝庫裏、宜取而獻之天孫とあり、（是に依ば、此記の文も、可降と云までを御答の詞として、降此刀狀と云より下を、高倉下へ敎たまふ詞とすべけれども、若然らば、其間に故建御雷神敎曰、など云言なくては足はず、そのうへ穿高倉下之倉頂と云るもいかゞ、高倉下に對ひて宣ふ詞に、高倉下之倉とは云べからず、故此記は墮入と云までは御答の語なり、）○阿佐米余玖とは、師說に、旦目吉なり、後世人も、朝に吉物を見れば、朝目吉とて悅ぶめり、又田舍人の、夜の目佐の目も合せずと云なるは、夜目朝目をも合せずと云語なりと云れし、（冠辭考のいなのめの條に見ゆ、）此意なり、朝に起出て、此刀のあるを見るは、朝目の吉きなり、江次第大嘗會の條に、天皇丑刻云々、御主基殿、天皇還廻立殿之後、采女進南戶下申云、阿佐女主水、夕曉乃御膳平久供奉都止申、（新嘗祭儀にも此事見ゆ、）とある阿佐女も同意なるべし、又寤と云言も、本は朝目と云ことにやあらむ、（伊勢家集に、人々霄の目さましてといふことも見えたり、）○如夢敎而は、伊米能袁斯閇能麻々爾と訓べし、（而字を志豆と訓ては、爲而の意となる故にかなはず、未見ぬ前に爲而といふべき事の無ければなり、）○旦は都登米豆と訓べし、凡て夜有し事を云て其明旦のことを、都登米豆とは云なり、○獻耳は、多氐麻都流爾許曾と訓べし、然訓故は、高倉下の今如此申すは、上に天神御子問獲其橫刀之所由とある御答へなる故に、此刀を獲て今如此獻る所由は、云々にてこそ侍るといふ語勢なる故に、許曾と訓べきなり、（凡て耳字を置る處は、許曾といふにあたる由は、首卷に委云るがごとし、又許曾侍禮と云べき處を、たゞ許曾とのみいひとぢめて、侍禮と云意をば含むるも、雅言の常なり、）書紀に高倉曰唯々而寤之、明

社、於大倭國山邊郡石上邑、則天祖授饒速日尊、自天受來天璽瑞寶、同共藏齋、號曰石上大神、以爲國家、亦爲氏神崇祠、と云るごとく、先祖の傳へられたる彼十種の神寶も、此神宮に納れるをも、共に物部氏の掌て、氏神と祠れるから、布留といふこと地名にはなれるなるべし、凡て舊事紀は信がたき書なれども、此物部氏のことなど委く記せるは、依所もあることゝ聞ゆれば、是らは強て棄がたき由もあるなり、師說には、石上神宮に師靈の劒の坐が故に、其處を布都ともいひけむを、後には語の通ふまゝに布留とは云なり、師は斷聲と注して、刀を振に音通へり、然れば古は布都といひしは、刀を振ことなり、と云れつれども、地名に布都と云ることも見えず、又古刀を振ことを布久とは云へれども、布都と云る例もなきうへに、師を斷聲と注して、刀を振ことなりといふこと心得ず、斷聲とは、上に云るごとく物の斷る時の聲といふことにこそあれ、刀を振とは大異なり、都と留と横に音の通へばとて、大く異なることを混に說べきにあらず、）○倉頂は久良能牟泥と訓べし、○墮入の下に脫文あるべし、其故は、下まで續て同く建御雷神の言にはあれども、墮入と云までは、天照大御神へ御答に申給へる言にて、故阿佐米と云より下は、高倉下へ敎給ふ言なれば、此間に其堺なくては通え難し、故今試に、故建御電神敎曰、穿汝之倉頂以此刀墮入、と云十七字を補へつ、（必かゝる言の有けむを、墮入故といふ言の重なれる故に、其間の語の脫たるなるべし）かゝる語なくては、故阿佐米云々といふ言も上へ連きて、御答の言となるなり、熟味ふべし、此處書紀には、武甕雷神對曰、雖予不行、而下予平國之劒、則國將自平矣、天照大神曰、諾、時武甕雷神謂高倉曰、予劒號曰師靈今當置

石上神を正三位に三代實錄に、貞觀元年正月廿七日、奉授大和國正三位勳六等石上神に從一位に同九年三月十日、進大和國從一位勳六等石上神階に加正一位と見ゆ、（今世此神宮の在處は布留村なり、磯上と云處はやゝ距れり、こは古は石上と云が廣き名にて、布留村のあたりも其内なりしを、後に今の一村の名に遺れるなり）さて此石上神御名は、右の如く此記にも書紀にも布都御魂と見え、上卷に出たる建御雷神の亦名、又此刀の名どもなども、皆某布都といひ、又かの備前國なるも布都之魂とありて、凡て古は皆布都とのみ云るを、神名式にしも布留御魂とあるに就て、布都と布留との差別を考るに、まづ書紀履中卷に石上振神宮と見え、顯宗卷の御言擧に石上振之神榲と見え、武烈卷哥に伊須能箇瀰賦屢と見えたれば、布留てふこともいと古くは聞ゆめれども、これら皆其地名をいへるものにて、（右に引る姓氏錄の文にも、御布瑠村と見えたり）正しく神名を指て布留御魂などゝ云ることは、古くは見えず、（聖德太子傳曆にも、物部府都大明神と云り）然れば布留と云は、神名の布都とは本より別事なりけむを、（布都を地名にいへることもさらに見えず）常に布留てふ地名の方を普く言ならはして、振神宮（如此いへるも、振は地名なり）など云るから、神名の布都をも語の通ふままに混はして、終に式のころは布留御魂ともいへるなるべし、（然るに彼備前國石上なるなどは、返て後までも上代の神名を失はずて、布都之魂神社と申せるなり、○布留てふ地名の義は、舊事紀に云る、饒速日命の十種神寶を、由良由良止布瑠部、是則所謂布瑠之言本也と云る、此事傳十根堅洲國段下に引て委論るが如し、又同書物部氏のことを云る卷に、伊香色雄命云々、遷建布都大神、

日本紀畧に、延曆二十三年二月丙午朔庚戌、運収大和國石上社器仗於山城國葛野と見え、類聚國史に、同廿四年二月庚戌、造石上神宮使正五位下石川朝臣吉備人等、支度功程申上單功一十五萬七千餘人、太政官奏之、勅曰、此神宮所以異於他社者何哉、臣奏云、多収兵仗故也、勅有何因緣所収之兵器、奉答云、昔來天皇御其神宮便所宿収也、去都差遠、可慎非常、伏請ト食而運遷云々、収山城國葛野訖、（是までは、去年二月の事を追て記せるなり、昔來の來、字は在の誤か）とありて次に、聖體不豫の御事あり、是石上神の祟なる由巫に託て告賜へるに依て、天皇の御年數に准て、六十九人の僧をして彼神宮にして經を讀しめ賜ひ、御告文を奉賜ひ、典藥頭從五位上中臣朝臣道成等を遣て、かの兵仗を石上神社に返納奉賜しこと見えたり、（其文長ければ引かず）か、れば此神宮は、布都御魂御刀を主神として、上代より種々の神寶、及兵器など納め置れし社なりけり、（中昔奈良僧の訴に依て、春日社の賢木を京へ上せ奉りし時々は、此布留の神寶をも共に上せ奉りしことにや、彼賢木を歸し奉る時、先布留神寶を出し奉り、次に本社の御榊五所の御正躰出させ賜ふこと、二條良基大臣の榊葉日記と云物に見えたり、○神皇正統記に、此劔をば豐布都神と號す、初は大和の石上に坐ましき、後には常陸の鹿島神宮に坐ますとあるは、非なり、こは舊事紀に、建甕槌之男神亦名豐布都神、今坐常陸國鹿島大神、即石上布都大神是也、とあるを取て記し給へるなり、建甕槌神と布都御魂劔とを一にして、今鹿島に坐と云るは、例の妄說なり、此劔は後までも石上にこそ坐ませ、いかでか鹿島には坐さむ）續紀に、神護景雲二年十月甲子、充石上神封五十戸、文德實錄に、嘉祥三年十月乙己朔辛亥、進大和國

庫造梯、豈煩登庫乎、故諺曰神之神庫隨樹梯之此其緣也、然遂大中姫命授物部十千根大連而令治、故物部連等至于今治石上神寶是其緣也と見え、（書紀同御代廿六年の處に、天皇勅物部十千根大連曰、屢遣使者於出雲國、雖檢校其國之神寶、無分明申言者、汝親行于出雲、宜檢校定、則十千根大連校定神寶、而分明奏言之、仍令掌神寶也とあれば、後に此人の石上の神寶を掌れるも元より由緣あることなりけり、さて又かの市河てふ人は、春日臣と同祖にて、十千根大連の物部とは異姓なるに、同御代に共に石上神寶を掌て、此も彼も物部氏なるに就てまぎらはしきを、熟考れば、此時に此神寶を掌れるは、實は一人なりしを、此と彼と傳への異なるかとも思へども、然には非ず、先十千根大連の方の物部氏の、此神寶を掌れることは顯にして、後に石上朝臣とさへ改て、子孫に至るまでまぎれなく、又かの市河臣の子孫の物部氏も、後に社地名に依て布留宿禰と改つれば、是も又此神寶を掌りしこと疑なし、かゝれば十千根大連首長として掌り、市河臣も相副て神主職として、共に掌れりしなるべし、古今集雜上に、石上並松が宮づかへもせで、石上と云處にこもり侍けるを、にはかにかうぶり賜はれりければ、よろこびいひつかはすとて、よみてつかはしける、布留今道云々、これ石上氏と布留氏と、共に上古まり由緣ある故に、哥よみて賀びつかはせるなるべし、さて共に物部氏といふことは、もと物部の稱は、此神宮の兵器を掌れるより出たることなるべし）又同年、牟士那といふ獸の腹にありし八尺瓊勾玉も、今在石上神宮と見え、天武卷に、三年八月戊寅朔庚辰、遣忍壁皇子於石上神宮、以膏油塗神寶、即勅曰、元來諸家貯於神府寶物、今皆還其子孫と見え、（神府は石上宮の神庫なり）

離る、貌を、布都と云り、（布都理など云り、狹衣にふつと見はなつともあり、）然れば此劍の利して、物を清く斷離つ意を以稱へつる御名なるべし、（上卷に見えたる建布都、神豐布都、神、又此の佐士布都甕布都、又書紀の經津主神などの布都、みな一つなり、）神名式に、備前國赤坂郡石上布都之魂神社、（此神社のことは、傳九、八俣遠呂智の段下、十拳劍の條にいへり、）阿波國阿波郡建布都神社、壹岐嶋石田郡物部布都神社などいふも見ゆ、○石上神宮は、神名式に、大和國山邊郡石上坐布留御魂神社（名神大月次相嘗新嘗）とある是なり、和名抄同郡に石上（伊曾乃加美）鄕もあり、さて此神宮の事、玉垣宮段に、印色入日子命の作らせる横刀一千口、奉納石上神宮と見え、書紀にも此事を載て、是後命五十瓊敷命俾主石上神宮之神寶、一云、其一千口、大刀者藏于忍坂邑、然後從忍坂移之藏于石上神宮、是時神乞之言、春日臣族名市河令治、因以命市河令治、是今物部首之始祖也、（姓氏錄に、布留宿禰、柿本朝臣同祖、天足彥國押人命七世、孫米餅搗大使主命之後也、男木事命市川朝臣、大鷦鷯天皇御世、達倭賀布都奴斯神、社於石上、御布瑠村高庭之地、以市川臣爲神主、四世孫額田臣武藏臣、齊明天皇御世、宗我蝦夷大臣號武藏曰物部首并神主首、因茲失臣姓、爲物部首、男正五位上日向、天武天皇御世、依社地名改布瑠宿禰姓云々とあり、春日臣と柿本朝臣とは同祖なり、さて右の文に、市川朝臣とある、朝字は衍なるべし、又達字は幸の誤なるべし、さて市川を、大鷦鷯天皇の時の人とせるは、書紀と異なり、）また八十七年云々、五十瓊敷命謂妹大中姬命曰、我老也不能掌神寶、自今以後必汝主焉、大中姬命辭曰、吾手弱女人也、何能登天神庫耶、五十瓊敷命曰、神庫雖高、我能爲神

ず、故此記には、天にしていふ處には皆、たゞ降とのみあるなり、）○專有の專字は、有字の下にある意なり、○平其國之横刀、上卷の此平國の段には、此記にも書紀にも、此刀の事は見えず、（拔十掬劒逆刺立于浪穗云々とはあれども、是は此劒の事を主と云るにはあらず）されど其時主と佩持て、功を成賜へりし刀は必有ぬべし、況や此建御雷神は、伊邪那岐大神の迦具土神を斬賜へる御刀より生坐て、元來劒に緣れる神なるをや、○可降は久陀志豆牟と訓べし、（延佳本又一本には、降字の下に是刀二字あり、師も此二字あるを佳とすと云れつれども、舊印本又一本にも無く、釋日本紀に引るにも無きにつきて、猶思ふに無方まされり、有も惡くはあらねど、次言に降此刀狀とあるに重なりて、煩はしくも聞ゆかし）○佐士布都神、佐士の義未思得ず、下に高佐士野てふ地名もあり、神名帳に、壹岐嶋壹岐郡佐肆布都神社、同佐肆布都神社あり、○亦名云の云字、師は衍れりと云れつれど、如此有も例多し、○甕布都神、甕は（和名抄には甕美加、甕毛太非とあれども、字鏡に甕彌加とあり、書紀などにも美加といふに此字を借れり）借字にて、美加の義は傳五卷迦具土神被殺の段下に云るが如し、三代實錄四に、進河內國從三位彌加布都命、神比古佐自布都命、階並加從二位と云ことあり、（是は何れの神社にか、神名帳に見えず、當昔從二位を授奉給ふばかりの神の、官帳に載ざることは有まじきを、いぶかしきことなり、若くは枚岡四座の內にやあらむ、若江郡弓削神社を、今布都大明神と云なれども、それにはあらじ）○布都御魂、書紀に韴靈と書て、此云赴屠能瀰哆磨とあり、韴字、廣韻玉篇などに、斷聲と注せる意を以て、用ひられたるなるべし、今の世の言にも、物の殘なく淸く斷れ

書漢文の心ばへなるべし）さて自とあるに心を著べし、未切ざるに自ら切仆さるゝなり、抑此大刀を獻しかば、即先天皇醒坐、次に此を受取賜へば、即御軍士も、悉醒て、如此くなるは、奇しとも奇しく、靈しとも靈しき大刀の御威德にざりける、○惑伏は、上に遠延而伏とあると照して、師の遠延許夜世流と訓れつる宜し、○己夢云は、意能禮伊米爾と訓べし、（云字讀べからず）古は凡て伊米と云て、由來とは云ざりさ、師、說に伊米は寢目なりと云れき、米は所見の約りたるにて、（目も所見なり）眠たる間に見ゆる由なり、○伊多玖佐夜藝帝阿理祁理、此言既に上卷に出て其處に云り、（傳十三のはじめ）此は惡神の荒びて、如此天皇を腦まし奉るを詔ふなり、○我之御子等、子とは凡て子孫にわたる稱なること、上に云るが如し、○不平は夜久佐美と訓べし、此言の意は未よくも得ざれども、古言なるべし、書紀、神代、上卷に、須佐之男命の荒び坐る處に、日神擧體不平と見え、（私記には耶須加良須と訓り）天武、卷に、朕身不和と見ゆ、（是天皇の御病ゑたまふを詔へる御言なり）今も荒神の氣に遠延腦坐ことを詔へるなれば、事の趣同じ、（書記神代下卷に、彼地未平とある未平をば、サヤケリと訓り、又允恭、卷に皇后之色不平とある不平をばヨウモアラズと訓り、又遊仙窟に、不平をコトゞシとも訓り、これらは皆此の不平には叶はず）○坐良志、凡て良志は、然ぞあらむと他を推量る辭なり、○專汝云々、此、平國の事、上卷に見えて、傳十四、卷に委く云り、（專又言向などの解も既に出）○可降は久陀理豆余と訓べし、（此、降字を、師はアマクダルと訓れき、其は天降と書るに效て、然訓むは理なれども、天降とは、天より降來るを、此、國にして云言にこそあれ、天にしていふ言にはあら

音なれば、此とは異なり、）書紀推古、卷に吉士倉下てふ人あり、續紀卅（十一丁）に秦勝倉下てふ人あり、又藤原倉下麻呂もあり、神名式、大和、國宇陀、郡椋下神社あり、（此、椋下を、印本にムクモトと訓るは非なり、）書紀、此卷に、菟田、高倉山と云も見えたり、（舊事紀に此高倉下を、饒速日、命の子、宇麻志摩治、命の兄とし、天、香語山、命天降名手栗彦、命、亦云高倉下、命などゝあるは、例のおぼつかなし、又或說に、熊野の神藏大明神は、此、高倉下なりといふは、然も有むか、猶よく尋ぬべし、）○此者人名とある四字、注は、後、人の所爲ならむ、と師の云れつる、さもありなむ、○一横刀、一字は讀べからず、（かゝる處に一と云は、漢文の格なり、）さて凡て横刀と書る、皆たゞ刀なり、横字に心を着べからず、○天神御子とは、此は神倭伊波禮毘古、命を指て申なり、此、御稱のこと、傳十四の始、八重事代主神のところに云り、○到は麻韋伎豆と訓べし、○寤起は佐米坐豆と訓べし、（師はオドロキマシテと訓れき、是もさることなれども、此はたゞに眠給へるには非ず、遠延坐るをりなれば、酒の醉の醒ると同じ心ばへなれば、佐米と訓ぞ優れる、かの倭建、命の醒井の故事をも思合すべし、）○長寢乎は、師の那賀伊志都流加毛と訓れつるに從ふべし、こは惡神の氣に遠延坐ることをば、御自所思賜はで、唯何となく長眠しつと所思看て、如此は詔へるなり、○受取、上に獻とあるは、未醒坐ざるほどなれば、只大御許まで齎參入る處をいひ、さて今は醒坐て正しく受取給ふなり、○荒神は、上卷に荒振神とあるに同じ、阿羅夫流神と訓べし、○爲切仆は、伎理多布佐延豆と訓べし、（禮と云べきを延と云は、古言の格なり、）仆の假字は、字鏡に太不留と見えたり、（爲字は、少しめづらしきかきざまなれども、爲所切仆と

たるに依べし、爲字あるはいかゞなる書ざまなれども、日代宮段に、爲泥疑也ともある爲字の格なり、（かゝる處に此字を添て書古の一ッの格なるべし）彼もたゞ泥疑都と訓べき處にて、爲字は讀がたければ、此も此字を舍て、坐てふ言を讀附べきなり、さて遠延は書紀に瘁と書り、（瘁は、字書に病也とあり）又景行卷に、度信濃坂者多得神氣以瘯臥、（是を引て和名抄に、瘯臥和名宇江不世利とある、宇は乎の誤寫なるべし）仁德卷に被蛇毒而多死亡、欽明卷に毒害などあり、又景行卷に、吉備穴濟神及難波柏濟神、皆害心以放毒氣、令苦路人と見え、倭建命の伊服岐山神に惑され賜ひしなど、皆同類の事なり、○御軍は軍士を云り、萬葉二（三十四丁）に、御軍士乎喚賜而云々、御軍士乎安騰毛比賜、又六（二十五丁）に千萬乃軍、又廿（二十七丁）に須米良美久佐、（皇御軍士なり）などゝある、皆其人を指て伊久佐と云り、師說に、伊久佐とは箭を射合と云ことなるを、用を躰に云なして、軍人のことゝもせりと云れき、（書紀天武卷に習射、また觀射なども見ゆ）○伏は許夜志伎と訓べし、書紀推古卷聖德皇子命の御哥に、伊比爾惠亙、許夜勢屢、諸能多比等阿波禮とあり、猶下卷（傳三十九）允恭段の哥に、都久由美能許夜流、とある處に委云べし、書紀曰、天皇獨與皇子手研耳命、帥軍、而進至熊野荒坂津、（亦名丹敷浦）因誅丹敷戶畔時神吐毒氣、人物咸瘁、由是皇軍不能復振、○高倉下、書紀、此御代卷なる兄倉下弟倉下の訓注に、倉下此云衢羅餌、とあるに傚て此をも訓べし、名義さだかならず、（下文に穿倉頂云々の事に依るかと思へど、此名他にもこれかれあれば、彼倉の事によれるには非じ、又書紀欽明卷に、鞍橋此云矩羅賦、とある、是は馬鞍橋の事に依て名たる由あり、賦は知の濁

其地とは男水門を指なり、○廻幸、此まで三處に廻幸と云るは、皆初に行廻とある意にて、徑に、倭の方をば指ずして、南方へ廻給ふを云、熊野までの途然なり、○熊野村は、紀國牟婁郡なり、抑此地は、牟婁郡の半に過て、數十里に亘て、いと〳〵廣く、一國ともあるべきを、一郡にも建られず、和名抄の鄉名にだに載ざるは、山國にて、古は民いと少かりつと見ゆ、（牟婁郡の鄉纔に五なり、）名の由は、此の大熊の事より起れるか、又出雲の熊野より起れるか、（此由は、傳十手間山の段下に云り、考合すべし、）定めがたし、書紀神代上卷に熊野之有馬村見え、神名帳に熊野早玉神社（大）熊野坐神社（名神大）などあり、○大熊髮、髮字は決て寫誤なり、故くさ〴〵思に、序に此事を化熊出爪と書る爪字も誤にて、山か穴かなるべければ、此も從山の二字を髮とは誤れるにや鬱と鬱と草書似たり（一本に髴とあれば、富能加爾と訓べきかとも思へど、若然らば所見といふべきを、出とあれば然には非じ、又延佳が頭書に、異本に作弗疑鰐、字之誤乎と云るは、書紀神代卷に熊鰐と云あるを思ひよせたるなれど、此には由なきひがことなり、）○出入、入字心得ず、下に失とあれば、入とはいふべからざればなり、（若くは出即入失とありけむを、即字と下上に誤れるかとも思へど、入といはゞ、失とは云まじく思はる、又は出み入み數度して失ぬる意かとも思へど、若然らば即と云ることいかにぞや聞ゆ、）故今は姑く此字をば讀ずて、大なる熊山より出て即ち失ぬと訓つ、さて此熊は世常のに非ず序に化熊とある如く、荒振神の假に化れるなり、○倏忽は爾波加爾と訓べし、書紀天武上卷に然訓り、又安康卷欽明卷などには多知麻知爾と訓り、然訓むもあしからず、○爲遠延は、師の遠延麻志と訓れ

故神倭伊波禮毘古命。從其地迴幸到熊野村之時。大熊髮出入即失。爾神倭伊波禮毘古命倏忽爲遠延。及御軍皆遠延而伏。遠延二字以音此時熊野之高倉下。此者人名齎一横刀到於天神御子之伏地而獻之時。天神御子即寤起。詔長寢乎。故受取其横刀之時。其熊野山之荒神自皆爲切仆。爾其惑伏御軍悉寤起之。故天神御子問獲其横刀之所由。高倉下答曰。己夢云。天照大神高木神二柱神之命以。召建御雷神而詔。葦原中國者伊多玖佐夜藝帝阿理祁理。此十一字以音我之御子等不平坐良志。此二字以音其葦原中國者。專汝所言向之國故。汝建御雷神可降。爾答曰。僕雖不降。專有平其國之横刀。可降。此刀名云佐士布都神。亦名云甕布都神。云名降此刀狀者。穿高倉下之倉頂。自其墮入。故建御雷神教曰。穿汝之倉頂。以此刀墮入。故阿佐米余玖自阿下五字以音汝取持。獻天神御子。故如夢教而旦見己倉者。信有横刀。故以是横刀而獻耳。

異神ならむかさだかならず）此社は和田の竈山明神とて、名草郡宮郷和田村の西南三町許に今もあり、（宮郷とは、日前宮の邊十七村の惣名なり）弱山より一里半許東南にて、古の大道（今俗に小栗海道といふ）に近し、近世に國の殿より年毎に使をも奉遣賜ふ社なり、さて其社の近き地に、丸山と云て大なる塚あり、物舊たる大樹ども生茂れり、是や此竈山御陵ならむ、猶國人に委く尋ぬべし、（或説に、今世に九度山といふ處是なりといふは非なり、九度山村は、高野山近き處にて、怡土郡なれば、名草郡とは那賀郡を隔ていと遠し、抑此説は、今世竈と窓とを混て、竈を久度ともいふ處ある故に、推當に定めつるなるべし、又或説に、紀國に加信土山といふあり、是は信字を麻と訓て、即此竈山なりといふも非なり、紀國に加信土山ることなし、此名は、萬葉九卷なる、木方往君我信土山云々、とある哥を謬訓せるより出たるものなり）書紀に、五月丙寅朔癸酉、軍至茅渟山城水門、（亦名山井水門、茅渟此云智怒）時五瀬命矢瘡痛甚、乃撫劒而雄誥之曰、慨哉大丈夫被傷於虜手將不報而死耶、時人因號其處曰雄水門、進到于紀伊國竈山而五瀬命薨于軍、因葬竈山、とあり、（竈山に到て薨とある、此記と異なり、此記は男水門にして崩坐り）○首より是までは、五瀬命天皇に坐ば、上件の事は皆此命へ係れり、（故此次より更て、故神倭伊波禮毘古命云々といへり）然れども未大倭國に入坐ざる以前に崩坐ぬる故に、一御代には立られず、故此記にも、此命の段を別には立ずて、始より伊波禮毘古命の段と立て、其中に記せる趣なり、此事首に委く論へるが如し、

かゞなれば、今も志といはぬ訓を取つ）記中に崩字を書る例の事は、宇治若郎子の處に云べし、さて神上とは、萬葉一（二十七葉、日並知皇子命薨時長哥）に、天原石門乎開神上、上坐奴とよみて、天所知といふも同意なり、凡て人は死れば、尊も卑きも皆悉く、底津根國（即夜見國なり）に罷ることなるを、天皇を始奉、凡て尊むべき人をば、其を忌憚て反を云て、天に上坐とはいひなせる古言なり、（此事傳十三天若日子の段にも委云り、考合すべし）○水門、上卷に出づ、○謂男水門也、抑男建に依れる名なれば、建水門とこそ謂べきを、只男としもいふは如何と云に、此男は、たゞ男子と云意にはあらず、猛く雄々しき意なり、故男とのみ云るに、男建の意あるなり、○陵は美波加と訓べき由、上（傳十七鵜羽産屋の段の末）に云るかごとし、○即とは紀國にして崩坐て、御陵も即其國に在を云なり、（倭國ならむには、如此ことわることは有まじきを、他國なる故にかくいへるなり）○竈山は加麻夜麻と訓べし、書紀の訓も然なり、（加麻度夜麻と訓はわろし、筑紫なるは加麻度山にて、竈門山と書り、おもひまがふることなかれ）延喜諸陵式に、竈山墓、彦五瀨命、在紀伊國名草郡、兆域東西一町南北二町、守戸三烟と見ゆ、（此御陵の如此後世まで式にも載て、毎年に御幣を奉り賜ふを以ても、此尊は天皇に坐けることを知べし、若おしなべての皇子に坐むには、然ることあるべからず、上代の皇子等の御墓の中に、諸陵式に載れるは、五十瓊敷入彦命、日本武尊、菟道稚郎皇子、などの外は例なし、さて陵と云ずして墓と云るは、一御代に立られざる故なり、飯豊皇女などのも墓とある例なり）又神名帳に、同國同郡に竈山神社もあり、（此社も即五瀨命を祭ると云り、さもあらむか、されど社は

と間三里許ありと云り、此等も由ありげには聞ゆめれど、たしかに古書に見えざれば取がたし、）又は古へは紀國との堺まで男郷にて、猶古へは此郷紀國に屬りしも知がたし、（今の男里より西南へ大道を行ば、國堺まで今、道五里餘もあれども、正南の方は國堺遠からざるなり、○書紀に、此地を茅渟山城水門とありて、亦名山井水門とあり、是も疑はし、其故は、茅渟は古へはいと廣き地名にはありしかども、かの男里のあたりとは遙に距れり、其うへ崇神卷に、茅渟縣陶邑とある、陶は今は陶器莊と云て、大鳥郡なり、又式に山井神社も大鳥郡なれば、日根郡の男郷とは、いよ〳〵遙なるものをや、）○負賤奴之手乎死乎字（舊印本に誤て守と作るを、延佳乎字に改めつるは宜しけれども、死字の下へ移せるはわろし、今は一本に依れり、）夜と訓べし、かかる處に乎字を置る、記中に此彼例あり、上卷に此口乎不答之口、（傳十六猨田毘古神、阿射加の段下）などゝあるが如し、死は伊能知須疑那牟と訓べし、萬葉五（廿八丁）に道爾布斯豆夜伊能知周疑南とあると、語の勢いとよく似たり、人の死ぬるを過と云ことは、冠辭考黃葉のすぎ云々條に見えたるが如し、又命てふことを上に附ていふも、古言の例なり、書紀雄畧卷（十七丁）すなはち命過とも書り、○男建は傳七（御宇氣比の段下）に出づ、○崩は加牟阿賀理麻志奴と訓べし、（書紀の訓然なり、但神武天皇の崩をば、加牟阿賀理志麻志奴と、志てふ言を添へて訓り、信に神上と云は本は用言なれども、躰言にいひなせるものなれば、直に坐ぬとは連き難ければ、爲坐ぬと云ぞ正しかるべき、されど然訓ては、何とかや中々に穩ならぬが如聞ゆ、上卷に神避坐とある、神避も同例にて、躰言に云なせるなれど、加牟邪理志麻志奴と訓てはい

神之威とある如く、其威を借賜ふ意あるなり、）○南方は美那美能加多と訓べし、（南をも、比牟加志に傲て、牟を添へて美牟那美と云は非なり、）○血沼、玉垣、朝段に血沼池見え、書紀崇神、卷に茅渟縣、允恭、卷に茅渟宮（續紀十五にも智努離宮見ゆ）などある、皆同處なり、さて欽明、卷に、河内國言、泉郡茅渟海中云々、續紀に、靈龜二年三月癸卯、割河内國和泉日根、兩郡、令供珍努宮、（宮字、印本に官と作るは誤なり、古本には宮とあり、さて和名抄に、靈龜二年割河内國大鳥日根、兩郡置和泉國とあるはたがへり、）四月甲子、割大鳥和泉日根、三郡、始置和泉監焉、天平十二年八月甲戌、和泉監幷河内國、天平寶字元年五月乙卯、和泉等國依舊分立とあり、是等にて血沼は和泉國和泉郡なることしらる、此郡は、大鳥郡の南に續たれば、自南方、廻幸す路次もよく合へり、萬葉七（十二丁）に陣奴乃海十一（十二丁）に珍海又血沼之海とよめり、（六、卷に千沼回、九、卷に智奴壯士などもあり、）古は名高かりし處なり、（黑鯛の屬に知奴と云魚あり、和名抄に海鯽魚を當たり、此魚血沼海の名產なりし故に、地名を即其物の名に負るなるべし、さる例此方にも漢國にも甚多し、然るに此魚の多くあるより地名ともなれりといふ說は、本末たがひて此記の趣にもそむけり、）○紀國、上卷に出○男之水門、神名帳に、和泉國日根郡男神社（二座）和名抄に同郡呼唹乎鄕あり、（今に男里村と云あり、男神社も即此村にあり、和泉志に一座神武天皇今稱男、森明神、一座彥五瀨命今稱濱天神といへり、）是なり、日根郡は和泉郡の南なれば、此も路次よく合へり、但紀國とあるは傳への誤ならむか、（或說に、雄山と云處あり、昔は日根郡なりしを今は紀國に屬りといひ、又或說には、今名草郡若山に雄町と云あり、竈山

は御言なる故に、泛く痛手と詔ふなり、痛手といへば、矢に限らず何物にも渡るなり、）訶志比宮、段の歌に、布流玖麻賀伊多豆淤波受波とあり、抑刀劍又矢などに傷られたるを、手を負と云故は、凡て人の爲る事を指て手といふ類多くして、（書法擊劍搏力圍碁など其外も、各其法を手といひ、又爲べき限の事を盡すを、手を盡すといひ、又其より轉て其事をする人を指て某手と云ことも多し、敵を討軍士を討手といひ、捕ふる人を捕手と云類なり、追手搦手と云も、もと此方より追人を追手といひ、其を彼方に待取て搦取人を搦手と云より初れる稱なり、さて又轉ては、物を見人を見手、聞人を聞手と云類も萬にあり、又物を造る人を、古は手人と云り、又萬の物を作るに、麁きを隱して精く見せて、人を欺くを、手を爲といひ、人に欺むかるゝを、手を喰と云、其外萬の事に、手といふこと猶多し、其中に敵對ありて其を謀る事には、殊に多く云り、）刀劍にて擊も射るも手なれば、其刀劍矢などに傷らるゝを、手を負とは云なり、（人に傷れたる疵を、手疵といふも此なり、）○行廻は、徑よりは行ずて、他方へ曲行て、志す處へ旋り向ふなり、○背負は勢淤比豆と訓べし、（此の背を、曾毘良と訓はわろし、曾毘良のことは傳七御宇氣比の段下に云り、）凡て淤布とは、古言には身に受持ことを廣く云て、必しも背に持には限らず、故背に負をば背負とも云るなり、（常には背に負をも、唯負ともいへども、此は背後にすることを主とする處なる故に、殊に背負とは詔ふなり、）此言今の俗言にも遺れり、下卷朝倉朝段に、若日下王令奏天皇、背日幸行之事甚恐、とあるは意異なり、（同じ背字なれども、彼は後方にして背く意、今は大御身の背に負持奉る意なり、故彼處には負といはず、此は書紀にも負日

ば凡て夜都古と云り、國造郡領伴造なども皆御臣の意なり、此事は傳七卷に委く云り、又欽明紀に、陪臣を伊夜都古と訓るも、臣の臣なる故に、又臣の意なり、伊夜は重なる意なり、そもそも古は君に仕奉る人をも、又凡人の中にて良人に使はるゝ者をも、共に夜都古と云るを、漢國にては臣といひ奴婢と云て名を分たる故に、後人は此字に泥て、臣を夜都古と云ことをしらず、又夜都古は君臣の臣にもわたることをもしらざるなり、然るを此にも、其文字に拘らずして、賤奴字を、君臣の臣の義に借用ひたるなり、）天皇の御上よりは、凡人は皆臣なる故に、如此詔へるなり、下卷穴穗宮段に、都夫良意富美の言に、賤奴意富美と自いへり、（是は己がことを云るなれば、僕と漢文に云意のごとく聞ゆめれど然らず、これも臣と云意なり、但漢文に己がことを臣といふとは異なり、卑下る辭にはあらず、又此人は、書紀に圓大臣と書て、大臣なるに、夜都古と云り、此を以ても、夜都古は、必しもひたすら賤き者のみの稱にあらざることをしるべし、）是は皇子に對へて、凡人を臣と云るなり、凡て古は天皇のみならず、皇子諸王に至るまでも、皇胤をば、天皇と同じく大君とも申し、又王とも申して、凡人の種とはさらに相混らず、其差別いと嚴なりき、（故上代には、皇太子はさらにも申さず、諸皇子諸王までも、皇胤の人を臣と云ることなく、自も然詔ふことなし、然るを後には、何事も漢風を用ひらるゝ故に、皇太子すら天皇へは臣と申し賜ふめり、されど朝廷の人々を惣擧るときに、諸王諸臣とも又王臣とも云て、王と臣とを分つは、古意の遺れるなり、）○痛手は後世までもいふ言にて、深手とも云に同じ、上に所謂る痛矢串なり、（上なるは地詞なる故に、其物をあらはして痛矢串といひ、此、

天つ日の事には、たゞ日出日入など、のみ云て、出賜ふ入賜ふなど、はいはざれども、不敬とせず、神代の沼河日賣の歌にも、日之隱者とよめれば、是おのづから古意の差別にかなへるものなり、○此に皇祖をば日神と詔ひ、天日をばたゞ日と詔へるを以て、天照大御神と天日とは異なる故と思へばひがことなり、天照大御神即天日に坐々こと、上卷に申せるが如し、さて日は、東方より出て、西方へ旋行坐故に、東方に向て戰は、其に逆ふなり、○不良は布佐波受と訓べし、此訓の事、傳四美斗能麻具波比の段下に委く云り、（此を書紀に、此逆天道也とあるは、古意に非ず漢意なること、首卷に論へるが如し）○賤奴、二字を夜都古と訓べし、賤は良に對へる賤にて、是も奴の義なり、續紀三十二に鹿島神賤、また紀寺賤、また萬葉七（二十七丁）に、住吉云々賤鴨無などあり、みな奴婢を云り、卑賤しと云意に言るにはあらず、（さて師は、奴をば凡て夜伊都古と訓れたり、是書紀神功卷の哥に據てなれども、彼哥の詞も必奴の義とは決めがたし、其他に夜伊都古と云ること一も見えず、萬葉十八にも夜都古と見え、和名抄にも夜豆古とあれば、如此訓ほかなし）但し此にては、賤奴、字は借字の如くにて、實は君臣の臣の義なり、（良人に對へて賤とも奴ともいふは、凡人の上にての分ちなり、此は其にはあらず、天皇に對へて凡人を云る夜都古なれば、臣の意なり、凡て君に對へては、臣をば皆夜都古と云故に、書紀などにも、君臣の意に云る臣字をば、みな夜都古と訓り、是古意なり、然るに後世人は、臣をばたゞ意美とのみ心得、又夜都古と云は、ひたすら賤き者のごとく心得るは、非なり、意美といふは、朝廷に仕奉る人等を尊みて云稱にて、君臣の臣の義にはあらず、君に對へては、貴人にても臣を

○負は手を負の負なり、敏達紀に、如中獵箭之雀鳥とあり、凡て負は身に受持を云り、さて此を書紀には、有流矢中五瀨命肱脛、皇師不能進戰とありて、彼孔舍衛坂にて戰坐し時の事なり、此記も地異なり、（此流矢をしも伊多夜具志と訓るは、此記に依る訓なれども當らず、痛矢串とは、身に中りたる上にてこそはいふべけれ）○詔は五瀨命の詔なり、○吾者云々、此御言にても此時は五瀨命ぞ君に坐けること明し、（書紀には、此詔をも伊波禮毘古命へ係たり）○日神、天照大御神を日神とは此に始て見ゆ、抑上卷には天照大御神とのみあるを、此に至て更て如此ある故は、神代にては即此神の御上の事を語る故に大御名を申し、（此下高倉下の夢の段も同じ）此は高天原に坐ます御體を、此國土に在て仰瞻奉る處に就て（次に向日とあると合せて見べし）詔ふ御言なるが故に、如此あるなり此等を以ても、古言の差別の精きほどを知べし、（書紀は漢文を主として書れたる故に、かゝる處に古言にはかゝはらざること多くして、神代卷にも、日神と書れたる所多し）○御子とは御子孫の謂なり、凡て子孫は幾世を重てもみな子といふこと、前に云るが如し、○向日、上には日神とあるを、此には忽變りて、たゞ日とのみ詔へる、是又古言の差別なり、上は其御子と詔ふ處なる故に、神てふことを添へて詔ひ、此は唯に仰見奉り賜ふ日を指て詔ふまでなる故に、神とは無きなり、（これらはいひもてゆけば、強て差別はなきに似たれども、よく思へばなほいさゝかの差別あることぞかし、そも〳〵今世の人の言にも、直に天つ日をさしては、天照大御神とは申さずて、只日とのみ申し、又此神の御上の事を申すには、天照大御神と申し、必云々し賜ふ、云々坐などゝ、尊辭を添へて申すを、

物をや、白肩津草香津など云むは、必海邊と聞えたれば、和泉の日下なること疑ひなし、さて和泉の地も、舊は皆河内國なりしを、別に一國とせられしは、靈龜二年よりのことなれば、古傳には河内國と云ること論なし、さて又更欲東踰の東字は、趣龍田の上にあるべきことなり、其故は、龍田より行も伊駒山より行も、共に東なれば、上の龍田の處にこそ此字は置べきことなるに、伊駒の處にわきて此字を置るは、是又地理まぎらはしく聞ゆめり）また却至草香津植盾而爲雄誥焉、因改號其津曰盾津、今云蓼津訛也とあるも、此記と異なり、（此記の趣は、御舟の泊たる處に、敵の軍待向て防戰ふ故に、楯を執れるなれば、事もなく聞えたるを、此書紀の趣は、虜亦不敢逼と云るに、草香津へ却て、盾を立て雄誥せるは何の故にか、聞え難し、若くは上代の軍陣の祝事などにもやありけむ）○蓼津、此地名は他の古書にも見えず、今に聞えず、○登美毘古は卽那賀須泥毘古なり、此が妹をも登美夜毘賣といへれば、兄をも如此もいひしなるべし、（但登美とは、彼鵄の瑞に因て、後に此人の討るゝころに云初つる地名なれば、生存るほどに登美毘古とは云じを、討れて後に、追て世人の云る稱なるべし）○痛矢串、痛とは事の甚しく切なるをいふ、甚字をも書り、下の痛手の痛なり、串は、物を貫く物を凡て云る名なり、（玉串なども云るを思へ）されば矢の體を穿て徹りたるをも云るなり、（さて久志はもと弗字にて、字書に燔肉器とあり、然るに此方にては、古より串字を用ひたり、串字には久志の義は見えず、但物相連貫也と注し、字形も弗と似たる故に、まがひつるなるべし、漢國にても此二字まがへることあり、和名抄には、唐韻云、弗炙肉弗也、和名夜以久之とあり、是も古本には串と作り）

るぞかし、（此高津と高石とを合せて思へば、古は高石のあたりまでも、日下と云しことしらる、さてこの高津の津字は師の誤にて、此記なるも高師池にてもあらむ、又此時に大御舟の泊し津なれば、高津と云む地名も似つかはしければ、何れにしても、大鳥郡に日下ありし據なり、さて此高津池を或説に、河内國なる日下村に在といふは、和泉にも日下有しことをしらで、妄に云るものなり）又姓氏錄、和泉國皇別に、日下部首、また日下部など云姓あり、是等も日子坐王の御末にて、河内國の日下部氏と元は一なり、（河内國の日下部氏の事は、伊邪河宮段に委く云べし）故思に、彼日下部氏の人等の分て、此和泉國大鳥郡にも住ける族の廣ごれるより、其處の名をも日下とは云けむ、されば和泉なるも元は彼河内の日下より出たる地名なるべし、書紀には、三月丁卯朔丙子、逆流而上、徑至河内國草香邑青雲白肩之津、夏四月丙申朔甲辰、皇師勒兵步趣龍田而其路狹嶮人不得並行、乃還更欲東踰膽駒山而入中州時長髓彥聞之曰、夫天神子等所以來者、必將奪我國則盡起屬兵、徼之於孔舍衞坂與之會戰とあるは、此記の趣と異なり、（まづ逆流而上と云ることいと心得ず、草香はたとひ河内の草香にしても、難波より遡流て至る處にあらず、甚く地理たがへり、況や和泉なるをや、故おもふに、こは地理をも思はで、たゞ妄に潤色に書添られたる文にやあらむ、然るを此文につきて、白肩津とは今の枚方なりと云説もあるは、いたく非なり、さて此に河内國とあるに依て、草香を河内國河内郡なる日下とのみ誰も思ひ居るも誤なり、河内の日下は海邊にあらざれば、船の泊る處ならず、川にも津といふことはあれども、かの日下は、船通ふばかりの川だに無き地なる

○於今者、三字を伊麻爾と訓べし、記中に例多し、（此事傳十稻羽素兎の段下に云り、師は此を伊麻志久波と訓れたり、此萬葉に見えたる古言にて、今はといふ意なり、然れども此は其意に云るには非ず、然訓ては於字あまれり、者字は、常のごとく波の意に置るに非ず、今者二字にて伊麻と云ことなり、記中に此例多し、）○日下は、久佐訶と訓て地名なり、是は河內國河內郡なる日下にはあらざるべし、（河內郡なる日下は、古書に多く見えて名高し、其處の事は、下卷坂畧段に云べし、又日下と書く文字のことなども彼處に云む、）其故は、難波海をば過て、なほ海路を幸行て、泊賜へる津なれば、必難波より南方にて、海邊なるべければなり、故思に、和名抄に、和泉國大島郡に日部（久佐倍）郷あり、式に同郡日部神社もあり、此郷今草部村と云り、是實は日下部にて、此の日下は是なるべし、（下字を畧て日部と書るは、凡て諸國郡郷の名、必二字に約て書例にて、大和の葛城上下郡を葛上葛下、磯城上下郡を、城上城下と書と同じ、然るを和名抄に久佐倍とあるは、佐下に加字脫たるか、又今も草部と云を以見れば、和名抄のころより既く訛て、久佐倍と云ならへるか、如何にまれ元は久佐加倍なるべし、日下と二字連ねてこそ久佐加とは讀め、日字のみを久佐と讀べき由なし、春日を加須賀とよめばとて、春一字を加須とはよみ難きを思へ、さて又今の草部村は、海邊には非ざれども、甚しも遠からず、古は海邊までかけたる廣き名なりけむ、又日下とも日下部とも通はし云るは、下卷雄略天皇の大御哥に、日下山を久佐加辨能許知能夜麻とよませ賜へるなど、例あるなり、）玉垣宮段に日下之高津池とあるも、此日下なるべし、彼池を書紀には高石池とある、高石も同大鳥郡の海邊な

るなどは、此登彌なり、又斑鳩の富の小川といふも、此登彌に因れる名にや、斑鳩は平群郡なれども、此川添下郡より流るゝなり）此の登美にはあらず、○那賀須泥毘古、長髓は邑之本號なりと書紀に見えて、上に引るが如し、妹の一名をも長髓媛と云とあれば、さもあるべし、（凡て兄と妹と同地名を負て、比古比賣と名くるぞ、古への常なりける、さて和名抄に、野王云髓骨中脂也、和名須禰と見えたり、然るに世俗言には、足を須禰といふに就て、長髓とは脛の長き由の名の如く聞ゆめれど、髓字に足又脛などの義は見えず、但骨中脂にては、長と云る似つかはしからず、若は髓は借字にやあらむ）○待向、待は待受る意なり、凡て待云々と云こと古言に多し、向は迎の意として、牟加閇とも訓べけれど、此は敵對ふ意なれば、牟加比と訓べし、さて此那賀須泥毘古が本居は、大倭の登美なるを、今は大御舟の泊る處へ出向ひて、防戰ふなり、○楯は、和名抄に、兼名苑云、楯一名櫓、和名太天、また釋名云、狹而長曰步楯、步兵所持也、和名天太天などあり、名義は立なるべし、兵庫寮式に、凡踐祚大嘗會新造神楯四枚、（各長一丈二尺四寸、本濶四尺四寸五分、中濶四尺七寸、末濶三尺九寸、厚二寸、丹波國楯縫氏造）載八竿云々、其料黑牛皮八張、（各長八尺廣六尺）掃黑一斗三升六合、（楯別二升八合、戟別三合）云々、商布四段四尺、（裏料楯別二丈六尺）云々、（猶其料物委く見えたり）とあり、是にて古への楯のこと大氐に知らる、（楯を造るをば縫と云へれば、皮を板の面に縫合せて張て、裏には布を張るなるべし、料の板は載せざれども、厚二寸とあれば、必板に張れるなるべし）○取は、軍士の手に執持なり、○下立は、御舟より陸へ軍人の下立なり、（楯を下して立るにはあらず）○其地とは即白肩津なり、

早く長髓彦を登美毘古とも云、其妹をば書紀にも鳥見屋媛とあれば、當時より登毘とはいはず、登美といひしなり、然れば上代には虻をも阿牟といひし如く、鵄も登美とぞいひけむを、訛れりと云るは、鳥名の登美を呼と、此地名の登美を呼と、聲の去と上との訛りありしにや、楯津を蓼津と云も、たゞ互音の清濁の違ひのみなるをも、訛と云るに同じ）さて此地名、神名帳に大和國城上郡等彌神社、又添下郡登彌神社と、二所見えたる中に、今は城上郡なる登美にて、今世に外山村といふぞ、此名の遺れる地なる、即神武紀の末に、乃立靈時於鳥見山中其地號曰上小野榛原下小野榛原用祭皇祖天神焉とあるも、（榛原は、今世に萩原と云驛ある是なりと云り、さもあるべし、此村長谷の東方にて、今は宇陀郡に入て、彼外山村とはやゝ遠けれども、古へ登美といひしは、廣き名と聞ゆれば、彼驛のあたりまでかけて、鳥見山中と云むこと、違ふに非じ）天武紀（廿九の十八丁）に迹見驛家とあるも、此登美なり、（かの迹見驛は、飛鳥宮より泊瀬に幸て、還坐をりの路次なれば、今の外山村のあたりにてよく叶へり、（又式なる城上郡の宗像神社のことを、元慶五年の官符に、（類聚三代格に載り）坐大和國城上郡登美山とあり、（此神社は、今外山村にある春日と稱社なりといへり）又萬葉四（四十九丁）八（三十七丁三十九丁）などに、跡見莊といひ、射目立而跡見乃岳邊之とよめるも、同じ登美なり、（其故は、八卷に跡見田莊作哥二首と題て、其一首に吉名張乃猪養山をよめり、吉名張は今も城上郡に在て、其村彼萩原に近き處なればなり）さて添下郡なる登彌は、今も鳥見莊と云處にて、（書紀六に作迹見池と見え、續紀六に、大倭國添下郡人倭忌寸果安云々、登美箭田二鄉云々とあ

例あれば、雲に限らず白き物を青某と云、其は甚く白き物は、青く見ゆる故なり、と云るも心得ず、甚く白き物のいさゝか青みて見ゆればとて、椎て青とはいかでか云む、さては白と青との名混ひて分りがたし、かの白馬節會を青馬とも云は、白馬をやがて青馬と云には非ず、是は舊は實に青馬にて、白馬には非ず、故萬葉又文德實錄延喜式などに、皆青馬とのみありて、凡て古書には白馬と作ることなきを、後に更て白馬を用ひらるゝことになりて、白馬節會と云ひ、又舊の名をも呼て、青馬節會とも云なり、平兼盛集に、降雪に色もかはらで牽ものを、誰青馬と名づけ初けむ、是白馬を用ひられて、なほ青馬と云名のある故の哥なり○又或人は、此に青雲とあるは、地名なるべし、枕詞には非じと云へれども、地名とはきこえず、さて歌及宣言などの類にもあらぬ直の言にも、かく枕詞を置る例は、三代實錄二（十九丁）に、薦枕高御產栖日神と云ることあれば、上代にはかゝる類なほ有けむこと知べし、（拆鈴五十鈴宮などとあるは、神の詔言なれば、たゞの詞の例に非ず）○白肩津、（白は、志良か志漏か知られず、姑く書紀の訓によりて志良と訓つ）名義未思得ず、此地のこと下に論へり、○泊とは、舟の到り着をいふ、○登美は地名なり、書紀に、戊午年十有二月癸巳朔丙申、皇師遂擊長髓彥連戰、不能取勝時忽然天陰而雨氷、乃有金色靈鵄飛來止于皇弓弭、其鵄光曄煜狀如流電、由是長髓彥軍卒皆迷眩不復力戰、長髓是邑之本號焉、因亦以爲人名、及皇軍之得鵄瑞也、時人仍號鵄邑、今云鳥見、是訛也、とあり、（是は此段の時の事には非ず、熊野より廻て大倭國に入坐て後の事なれども、後の名を初へも廻らして、此にも登美とは云るなり、さて鳥見と云を訛れるなりとあれども、

雲は無物なれども、たゞ大虛空の蒼く見ゆるを然云なり、（今世人も、晴たる虛空を青雲と云り、さて又漢國にて青雲と云なるも是なり、右の萬葉二卷十四卷の哥などに、たなびくとよめるにつきて、虛空にてはいかゞと思ふ人もあるべけれど、凡てたなびくとは、雲にまれ霞にまれ、おしなべてあまねくきりわたるを云、たなぐもりと云も同じ、萬葉の哥どものさまをよく考へてさとるべし、然るを後世人は、たなびくとは、たゞ一むら引はへたるなどを云、たなぐもるとは、うすく曇ることゝ心得たるは、みなたがへり、古哥に山にたなびくとあるは、山おしなべてわたるを云なり、然れば雲といふから、青雲にもたなびくと云むこと妨なし、かの北山にたなびくとよめるは、北山の虛空のことなり、又いでこの枕詞としたるは、曇りて雨ふる時など、晴るをまちて、青きそらの見えこむことを願ふ意なり）さて白とは、凡て物の鮮明なるを云、伊知志漏志登保志漏志などの志漏も是なり、（御火白く燒けなどゝ云も、明りのためなれば、鮮明に燒けといふことなり、又太平記などに、矢前白く射通してと云るなども、矢鏃の鮮明に見ゆばかり射とほせるを云）かくて霽たる虛空の蒼き色は、鮮明なるものなる故に、青雲之白とは續け云なるべし、（師の説に、青雲は本白雲なれば、白てふ語に冠せたり、いと晴たる蒼空にある白雲は、青く見ゆる物なれば、即見るまゝに青雲とは云なり、とあるは心得ず、もし白雲なれども青く見ゆるに依ていはば、白雲の青とこそは云べけれ、そのうへ蒼く晴たる空なる白雲は、いよ〳〵白くこそ見ゆれ、さらに青く見ゆる物にはあらざるをや、又右に引る祝詞の文、又萬葉十三の哥などにて、青雲と白雲とは別なることしるし、又或説に、白馬を青馬と云

○浪速は、字のまゝに那美波夜と訓べし、（此にては那爾波とは訓べきに非ず、但後に那爾波を浪速と書むは惡からじ）書紀に戊午年春二月丁酉朔丁未、皇師遂東舳艫相接方到難波之碕會有奔潮太急因以名爲浪速國亦曰浪華今謂難波訛とあり、此事師冠辭考（おしてるの條）に委見たり、考へ見べし、さて難波は、古は難波國とも云て、攝津國西生郡又東生郡の西邊までかけての大名にて、古書どもに多く見えたること、云も更なり、○渡とは海にまれ川にまれ渡行處を云、（後世の歌などに、難波わたりといふとは異なり）万葉一（二十六丁）に、對馬乃渡々中爾云々、六（四十五丁）に、泉川渡乎遠見云々、此外も多し、凡て某渡と云は皆此意なり、景行紀に、柏濟吉備穴濟向津野大濟名籠屋大濟見え、又川には、仁德紀に考羅濟などあり、又難波之大渡とも此記に見ゆ、（高津宮段）何れも海路に就ていふ名なり、○經は歷過てなり、難波津には泊賜ずして、此處をば過て、なほ海路を幸行を云り、（抑難波は、西國より上る船は、悉く必泊る津なるに、此處をしも過坐るは、書紀に見えたる如く、此をりしも浪太急て、御船泊難かりしなるべし、さて然ありけむは、此あたりより徑に東方に向て幸行むは、不良所由ある故に、南方より廻り幸さしめむ爲の、神の御所爲にぞありけむ、次の事と考へ合せて知べし）此事下に論へり、○青雲之は、白の枕詞なり、青雲と云る例は、祈年祭祝詞に青雲能靄極、白雲能墜坐向伏限、（月次祭のにも見ゆ）萬葉二（二十五丁）に、向南山陣雲之青雲之、十三（二十九丁）に、白雲之棚曳國之、青雲之向伏國乃、十四（二十八丁）に、安乎久毛能伊氐來和伎母兒、十六（二十九丁）に、青雲乃田名引日須良霖曾保零、そも〳〵青色の

同時に、播磨國明石郡人、海直溝長等十九人大和、赤石連を賜ふ、是も大和氏の支別なるべし、さて又姓氏錄、攝津國同部に、物忌直、椎根津彦命九世孫矢代宿禰之後也と見え、又河內國神別地祇部に、等禰直、椎根津彦命之後也とも見ゆ）さて續後紀に、承和七年八月甲辰朔己未大和國人戸、主從八位上大和宿禰吉繼戸口掌侍從四位下大和宿禰館子等賜姓朝臣、貫附左京三條、一坊とあり、

故從其國上行之時。經浪速之渡而。泊青雲之白肩津。此時登美能那賀須泥毘古自登下九字以音興軍。待向以戰。爾取所入御船之楯而下立。故號其地謂楯津。於今者云日下之蓼津也。於是與登美毘古戰之時。五瀨命於御手負登美毘古之痛矢串。故爾詔。吾者爲日神之御子向日而戰不良。故負賤奴之痛手。自今者行迴而。背負日以擊期而。自南方迴幸之時。到血沼海洗其御手之血。故謂血沼海也。從其地迴幸。到紀國男之水門而詔。負賤奴之手乎死。爲男建而崩。故號其水門謂男水門也。陵即在紀國之竈山也。

從其國上には只速吸門の事を云るのみなれば、此に其國と指べき處は無し、いかゞ、（上段の次第の亂れつるから、かゝることもあるにやあらむ）○上行をも能煩理伊傳麻須と訓べし、

るべし）さて天平九年十一月壬辰、大倭忌寸小東人同水守二人賜姓宿禰自餘族人連姓爲有神宣也、（自餘族人に連姓を此時に賜へるは、なほ直にて在し族も有しなるべし）同十年閏七月段に、大養德宿禰小東人とあり、是は天平九年十二月に、改大倭國爲大養德國とありて、國名の文字を如此改られしに依て、此姓を其字に改しなり、（同十九年三月に、又舊の如く大倭國とせられたり）同十九年四月段に、大倭神主正六位上大倭宿禰水守授從五下下と、見え、（此氏人大倭神主といふこと此に見ゆ）同廿年正月壬申朔甲戌、大倭連深田魚名並賜宿禰姓天平勝寶三年十月丁巳、大倭國城下郡人大倭連田長古人等八人賜宿禰姓、神護景雲三年十月、大和國造正四位下大倭宿禰長岡卒、五百足之子也云々、勝寶年中、改忌寸賜宿禰云々とあり、此に至て倭字を書ずして和と作るは、天平勝寶のころ國名の大倭字を改て、大和とせられしかば、（此事委き考へあり、別に記せり、又やまとに大字を添へて、大倭大和など書るは、みなオホヤマトとよむことなり、たゞヤマトとよむはわろし、さればたゞやまとゝ云には、大字を添へて書もわろし）姓にも其より此字を用るなり、（後世の如く意に任せて妄に書るには非ず）さて姓氏錄に、（大和國神別地祇）大和宿禰、出自神知津彦命也、神日本磐余彦天皇從日向地向大倭國、到速吸門時有漁人乘艇而至、天皇問曰汝誰也、對曰臣是國神名宇豆彦、聞天神子來、故以奉迎、即牽納皇船以爲海導、仍號神知津彦、（一名椎根津彦）能宣軍機之策、天皇嘉之任大倭國造、是大倭宿禰始祖也と見えたり、又（攝津國神別地祇）大和連、神知津彦命十一世孫御物足尼之後也、（續紀廿九に、攝津國菟原郡人倉人水守等十八人賜姓大和連、とあるは此族にや、又

はしく云り、考へ見べし）又此事一傳には、師木玉垣朝御世廿六年の事とす、（そこには大倭直祖長尾市宿禰とあり、さて此大神を祠る地を、定神地於穴磯邑、祠於大市長岡岬とあり、此穴磯字、傍にシキと假字を付たるは非なり、字によらばアナジと訓べし、されど崇神紀に市磯長尾市とあると照して思へば、穴は市の誤にもやあらむ、又長尾市といふは、長岡岬の地名に依れる名にもやあらむ）共に書紀に見えたり、此長尾市、檍根津日子の末にて、大倭國造の先祖なるを、此人より始て、大倭大神を以祭く神主となりて、後まで此氏人相傳へて以祭けり、次に仁德紀に、倭直祖麻呂、又倭直吾子籠見ゆ、雄略紀二年段にも、大倭國造吾子籠、宿禰と云人見え、欽明紀に、倭國造手彦と云見えたり、さて天武天皇十年四月己亥朔庚戌、倭直龍麻呂賜姓曰連、（これまでは直姓なり、そは欽明紀までは國造とのみありて、直とはなきを、此にかくあるは、何れの御代より直姓にはなれりけむ、此記に倭國造等之祖とある、等字に依れば、始は此氏人みな國造と云姓なりしなるべし、書紀に倭直祖とあるは、直の姓にて有し程の語を以云るなり、さて直姓になりてよりは、其中に殊に一人を國造には補されしなるべし）同十二年九月乙酉朔丁未、倭直賜姓曰連、（十年の時に連になれるは、龍麻呂一人なりしを、此度其餘の人も連になれるなり）同十四年六月乙亥朔甲午、大倭連賜姓曰忌寸、（是までは或はたゞ倭と見え、或は大倭と見えて、大てふ言の有無定まらず、此程まではさもありけむ、後には必定まれることなり）さて續紀六に、以從五位下大倭忌寸五百足爲氏上、令主神祭、（神は大倭大神）と見え、九卷に、大倭國造大倭忌寸五百足とあり、（是にて國造は此氏人の中に殊に一人なることし

て、此方へ引入るなり、○槁根津日子、名義は、書紀三（十八丁）に、人名に劒根と云も見え、又八尋桙根なども云類に、檣を檣根と云るなり、さて如此名け賜へる由は、此人海道を能知れりと申せるに因て、即其導者とし賜むと所思看て、今執着せて引入つる檣に就て、此檣以て漕まに〳〵船のよく行意に、彼導を准へて稱給へるなるべし、（たゞに檣に執着せて引入たるのみは、名に稱ふべくもあらねば、必海路の導の意あるべきなり）○倭國造、（倭のこと、又國造のことは、既に上卷に出つ、）書紀此御世、二年の處に、春二月甲辰朔乙巳、天皇定功行賞云々以珍彥爲倭國造（珍彥此云宇努毘古、）とあり、（此人、前に椎根津彥と云名を賜て、其後所々に皆其名をのみ云るに、此に至て立歸て更に又初名をあげて珍彥と云るはいかゞ、又珍彥の訓注は、初に出たる處にあるべきに、今此にあるもいかゞ、○舊事紀十國造本紀に、東征時於大倭國見漁父、謂左右曰、浮海中者何物之耶、乃遣粟忌部首、祖天日鷲命、使見之、還來復命曰、是有人耳、名椎根津彥、即召率來矣、天孫問汝誰哉、對曰、吾是皇祖彥火々出見尊、孫椎根津彥と云、又六卷に、故遣女弟玉依姬命、以來養者矣、即爲御生一兒、則武位起命矣、また武位起命、大和國造等祖と云るは、椎根津彥を、彥火々出見尊の孫、武位起命の子とせるなり、此說信がたし、若彥火々出見尊の御孫ならば、此人の後胤の姓は、姓氏錄に天孫の部に收べき例なるに、皆地祇部に收れるは、元來國神の子孫なること明けし、）さて師木水垣朝、御世七年に、夢の諭ありしに依て、倭直祖市磯長尾市を以て、倭大國魂神を祭主とし給へり、（此處には倭直祖と云ことは見えざれども、玉垣朝、御世三年又七年の段に、倭直祖長尾市と見えたり、倭大國魂神の御事は、傳十二卷にく

とあり、檣字には佐乎の義は見えず、誤なるべし、（和名抄印本に檣と標ながら、唐韻を引る文には檣とあり、是は寫誤なり、古本には此をも檣と作り、さて右の古書どもにみな檣とあれども、漢籍には多く篙とのみ作り、但し玉篇に、檣、古勞反、所以進舡とあり、此物竹のみならず、木を以ても造る故に、木偏を加へて、檣とは作成せるなるべし、かゝる類多し、）さて機字はいと〳〵心得がたし、此字舶具に緣あることなし、若は檝字を誤れるにや、（檝は古加遲にのみ用て、佐乎と訓る例はをさ〳〵なけれども、輕島朝段の末に、宇治川の渡舟の事にも、執檝者とあり、これらは佐乎とこそ云べけれ、又和名抄二に涉人條に、檝榜とある注に、檝、正也和名佐乎とあれば、此檝字の誤歟とも云べけれど、此字は佐乎と訓べき由なし、佐乎とあるは、下の榜字の注にこそあらめ、）そは如何にまれ、檣檝二字を連ねて佐乎と訓、外なし、（師は、景行紀に、大木の偃れたる上を人々の往來けることを、時人の哥に、瀰概能佐烏麼志とよめるを例として此の二字を佐乎婆志と訓れたり、誠に圓木の獨橋は竿の如くなれば、竿橋の義にてもあるべければ、此も然訓むことよく當れるに似たれども、猶よく思へば當らず、かの佐烏麼志は、小橋に佐てふ辭を添へたるかとも聞えて、竿橋とも決めがたきがうへに、檝を波志と訓べき由もなく又こゝは、次の言に引入と云、書紀には令執而牽入とさへあれば、橋に爲て其上を渡らしむるには非るをや、指度とある言に迷て、橋とな思ひそ、）○指度は、大御船の中より檣を下して、彼龜に乘て在る處へ差遣るを云、（書紀に授と書る、此字にて心得べし、）度とは、此より彼まで至らしむるを云、大御舟は高く、龜背は低ければ、間遠くて直には乘移り難き故に、此檣、末に令執着

迎引皇舟表績香山之巓と云り、○喚歸は與備余世氐と訓べし、歸を余世と訓る例は、萬葉三（四十丁）に樹爾伐歸都と見え、此記上卷（少名毘古那神の段）に歸來とあるも、必余理來と訓べき處なり、さて萬葉十五（十六丁）に、於吉敝欲里布奈妣等能煩流、與妣與勢豆伊邪都氣也良牟多婢能也登里乎、これ余毘與世氐と云る例なり、（首二句のさまさへこゝによく似たり）○誰也は多禮曾と訓べし、下卷朝倉朝大御哥に然あり、（多曾と訓は俗し）○國神とは、此土地の神と云意なり、當國人を國人、當里人を里人と云が如し、（天神に對へて云國神にはあらむ）さて人と云ずして神と云るは、猶神代の言の隨なるか、將乘龜來は凡人に非ず、實に神なる故か、（下なる贄持之子など三人の名告も、皆國神といへり）書紀にも如此ぞある、さて此下に必其名を告べきに、名の無きは脫たるなるべし、誰ぞと問給むに、たゞ國神とのみ申て止べきかは、又かゝる御答への例を考るに、上卷に僕者國神名、猿田毘古神、また此下段に僕者國神名謂贄持之子、また僕者國神名謂井氷鹿、また僕者國津名曰石押分之子、などゝのみありて、名を告ざる例は一も見えず、故今書紀及姓氏錄に依て、名字豆毘古の五字を補ひつ、（毘古の毘、書紀の訓注に依て濁音と定めつ）○海道は宇美都遲と訓べし、書紀七（九丁）に海路萬葉九（二十八丁）に、海津路乃名木名六時毛渡七六などあり、海原を舟より行路を云、（東海道西海道などいふ海道にあらず）○從而仕奉乎は、師の美登毛爾都加閇麻都良牟夜と訓れたるを用べし、（而字にかゝはるべからず）○槁機二字を佐乎と訓べし、槁は、書紀には檣と作り、和名抄にも、檣、唐韻云檣棹竿也、字亦作篙、和名佐乎、方言云剌船竹也、と見え、字鏡にも檣、左乎

は豐前の早鞆浦のことならむと云り、まことに潮の速きことは名に負れども、さてはいたく地理違へり、書紀の傳に依ても、宇佐より前にあればあはず、○此一段の事、書紀には、日向を發坐て宇沙に至坐す前にあり、此記と次第異なり、故思に、此地名正しく豐後國にあれば、書紀の傳ぞ正しかるべき、吉備國より難波までの間には、此地名あることを聞ず、（書紀に釣魚於曲浦とありて、攝津國八田部郡輪田御崎と云、あれば、此わたりにもやと思ひよれど、かの曲浦は地名とも聞えず、ワダノウラと云訓もいかゞとぞおもふ、）此記は、此一段の次第の亂れつるなるべし、書紀曰至速吸之門時有一漁人乘艇而至、天皇招之因問曰、汝誰也、對曰、臣是國神名曰珍彦、釣魚於曲浦、聞天神子來、故即奉迎、又問之曰、汝能爲我導耶、對曰導之矣、天皇勅授漁人椎檝末令執、而牽納於皇舟、以爲海導者、乃特賜名爲椎根津彦、（椎此云辭毘）此即倭直部始祖也とありて、此人の功ありし事ども、後に見えたり、（名を椎根津彦とあるは、此記と異なり、椎と云る意さだかならず、まづ上に檝を椎檝とあるは、かの比々羅木之八尋矛など、器名に其材の名をも連て呼る例あれば、さもあるべけれども、此人の名に負せむには、此記の如く檝とこそあるべきことなれ、其檝に造れる材の名をしも取むことは、いかにぞや思はる、故つら〳〵思に、姓氏錄には、此名神知津彦とあれば、もと知根津彦なりけむを、書紀には、志理を志比と訛れる傳を取れたりしにや、理と比とは横に通音なり、是海路をよく知由の稱名なるべし、さて後に志比と訛れるに、就て、此記の傳の檝根津日子とくらべ見て、此名と合せむために、かの檝をも推て椎檝とは書成れたるにや、なは考べし、）古語拾遺に、大和氏遠祖椎根津彦者、

くて主とある方を下に云ぞ定まりなる）○羽擧は波夫理と訓べし、（上卷に以此比禮三擧打撥とある擧も必布理豆と訓べきこと、傳十のをはりに云るが如し、考へ合すべし）又波夫伎と訓むも同じことなり、（古は布理を布伎とも通はし云り）古今集哥にも、山郭公打波夫伎とよめり、和名抄に、唐韻云、翡飛擧也、字亦作翡、文選射雉賦云、軒翡、波布流、俗云波豆々と見え、靈異記にも、翡波不利、又云加介利伊久とあり、萬葉十九（九丁）に羽振鳴志藝、又（三十三丁）打羽振、鶏者鳴等母、これらは鳥に云り、又二（十八丁）に、朝羽振、風社依米、夕羽振、浪社來縁、六（四十六丁）に、朝羽振、浪之聲躁などゝ、浪風などにも云り、凡て振とは、物の動き擧るをいふ言なり、後撰集雜哥に、古へも契てけりな、打羽夫伎飛起ぬべし天の羽衣、（是は羽衣といふから、鳥に擬て如此は云るなれども、人の身に云るは、今此處の羽擧にいと近きなり）なども云り、此處は鳥の羽振如く、左右袖を擧て打振つゝ來るなり、然爲る故は、大御舟を慕て招奉るなるべし、（書紀に奉迎とあり、來とは大御舟の方へ依來なり）袖を振て人を招くは、古への常なり、（萬葉に多く見ゆ）○速吸門は、波夜須比那度と訓べし、（吸を須布と訓はわろし、釋紀の秘訓にも爪比とあり）書紀、神代卷、伊邪那岐、大神の御禊段、一書に、速吸名門とあると同處なり、（是に名門とあるを以て、今も然訓べきなり、即之門といふに同じ、此外にも之を那といふ例多し）神名帳に、豐後國海部郡早吸日女神社あり、（續後紀十三三代實錄四十四などには、早吸咩神とあり）此地にて、此神名によれる地名なるべし、速吸とは、大祓詞に、速開都咩止云神持可々呑氐牟とある意にて、彼御禊に緣れる神名なるべし、門は海門なり、（或人、速吸門

故從其國上幸之時。乘龜甲爲釣乍、打羽擧來人。遇于速吸門。爾喚歸。問之汝者誰也。答曰僕者國神(名)(宇)(豆)(毘)(古)又問汝者知海道乎。答曰能知。又問從而仕奉乎。答曰仕奉。故爾指度槁機引入其御船。即賜名號槁根津日子。此者倭國造等之一祖。

龜甲は、師の加米能勢と訓れつるに從ふべし、龜は、和名抄に、龜、大戴禮云、云々、和名加米、兼名苑云、龜一名鼈、漢語抄云、宇美加米、また鼈鼉、玉篇云、鼈鼉、大龜也、和名於保賀米、などゝあり、甲は同書に、甲、文字集略云、龜蚌之屬、甲曰介、甲音俗云古不とありて、和名は見えず、(今も東國にては龜甲を加米之加和良と云とぞ、然らば古不と云も、甲字音にはあらで、加和良の轉れる名にてもあらむか、それは如何まれ、此は龜の上に乘れることを云る處なれば、甲字にはかゝはらずて、背と云むぞ宜しかるべきなほ加和良のことは、輕島宮段之訶和羅前の下に委くいふべし)書紀には此處を、乘艇とあり、○爲釣乍は、都理志都々と訓べし、(乍字は、萬葉などにもみな都々と云に用ひたり)凡て都々てふ辭は、此事を爲ながら、彼事をも相交へて爲るを云ときに置り(されば那賀良と云辭と相通ふ意ある故に、後世には、那賀良に乍字を書も、當らざるにはあらず、されど古は、那賀良に此字を書ることは無きなり)こゝは釣をもしながら來るにて、釣すると來ると二相交るを云なり、(さてかく相交る二事の中に、此は大御舟の方へ來を主として云る故に、來るは乍の下にあるなり、凡て事の輕くて傍になる方を、乍の上にいひ、重

呑氏なり、文字は異なれども、即多家なり、家を能美と云例は、伊勢國壹志郡に、今も新家村といふあり是らなり、）さて多祁理てふ名、義は高か、又建の意か、（若高ならば、理の意は別に有べし、）さだかならず、○七年坐、書紀には、甲寅年十二月壬午（二十七日なり）に安藝國に至り坐て、明年乙卯三月己未（六日なり）に、吉備國に移り坐る由あれば、其間わづかに七十日許なれば、此記と大異なり、○遷上幸、始に幸行と云、次に遷移と云、次に上幸と云、次に此に遷上幸と云て、次々に詞を換たるは文なり、○吉備上卷（傳五大八島成出の段下）に見ゆ、○高島宮、此地さだかならず、（或云、今備前國に高島と云島あり、神武天皇の宮趾は此處なり、今に神異き事どもありと云り、其郡など猶委く尋ぬべし、又吉備國人云、今高島はいと小き島にて、天皇のとゞまり坐べき地に非ず、其島を去こと遠からぬ兒島の北浦に、宮浦と云處あり、これ行宮の跡ならむかと云り、又或備中國に高の島あり、是なりと云り、されど是は、神名帳に備中國小田郡神島神社あれば、神島にこそあらめ、高島には非じ、又和名抄に、備後國三上郡に多可郷あり、若是島には非る歟、さもあらば、高島宮は、多可と云島に在し宮歟、又同國安那郡に高迫郷あり、若是多加勢麻と訓て、是などにもやあらむ、されど、此等は凡て、地理を知ぬことなれば、くさ〳〵驚かしおくのみなり、）猶熟く尋ぬべきことなり、○八年坐、書紀には、乙卯年春三月甲寅朔己未、徙入吉備國、起行宮以居之、是曰高島宮、積三年間、脩舟檝蓄兵食云々と有て、戊午年二月に、難波に到坐ることあれば吉備宮に坐しは三年間なり、此記と又異なり、

とある處なり、さて廣島より出雲石見へ通ふ道、此可部川にそひて上る、上にては根谷川と云り、川上に八岐大蛇の居住し跡と云あり、又山縣郡の山奥、石見の堺近き所に、可愛淵と云もありとぞ、又廣島より西に、川合川と云あり、川合は可愛の字音にて、これぞ可愛之川なるとも云り、此川のあたりに、式に載る速谷神社あり、今は速田大明神と云、瀬織津姫を祭りて、是神武天皇の御禊し給し所なりと云り、信られぬことゞもなり、此外にも、此天皇の古事を云處々あり、何れも實しげにも聞えずなむある、さて書紀に埃宮とある、埃字こそ疑はしけれ、若かの可愛之川と同處ならむには、此も可愛宮と書るべきことなり、此外可愛之山陵などの文字も然なり、此山陵の下の訓注に、可愛此云埃とあり、然るに今はその訓注の假字の音を用ひて書れたる、さらに例なきことなり、）此埃宮と名は異なれども一にや、（かの此字の疑はしきにつきて思ふに、若くは峻字にて、多祁と訓べきか、又埃も峻と同じければ、此字ならむか、多祁は多加と通ひて、嶽なども高の意なり、萬葉十三に吉野之高などかけり、）又本より傳の異にして異處にや、何にまれ多祁理てふ地名は、高宮郡高宮郷あれば是ならむか、（郡も郷も、和名抄には多加美也とあれども、上代には多祁美也と云しか、左まれ右まれ祁と加とは近く通音なり、さてかの可部川の上は、高宮郡をも流るれば、是實に可愛之川にて、多祁理宮一名埃宮とも云しにてもあるべし、さて又周防國との堺に、大竹川と云あり、續紀十一にも見えたり、是歟とも思ひしかど、然には非じ、又神名式に、安藝郡に多家神社あり、今府中村に在て總社と云、この多家を多祁と訓べきかとも思ひしかども、然らず、是は意富能美と訓べきなり、此社の神主世々大

午（二十七日なり）には、安藝宮に至坐る由あれば、此宮に坐し間は、僅に四十日餘なり、此記と異なり、○上幸、凡て四方國より京へ行を、上ると云り、今世とても然なり、（京より四方へ行を下ると云、又四方國より、京の方を上といひ、畿内を上方と云、京よりは、四邊方を下と云り、然るに今山城伏見より南方、奈良のあたりまでの土人の言を聞に、京方を下と云、其方へ行を下ると云、奈良の方を上と云、そなたへ行を上ると云り、是は古倭京のころに言ならへるまゝの遺れるにや、猶諸國の言を尋ねば、此類のめづらしきことありなむかし、又漢國にては、西上東下と云は、東邊に偏れる國にて、水も皆東に流るればなり）されば此時は、未東に行を上るとは云まじき理なれども、既に倭京に定まりての後を以て、前へ及して語傳たる言なり、さて始に日向より筑紫へ幸行をば、上るとは云ずして、此に始て云るは、地方を以て思に、信に然るべきことなり、（日向より筑紫へは北行にて、必しも京の方へ行に非ず、上るとは云がたからむか、今世國人は如何云らむ、尋ぬべし、さて筑前より阿岐へは東行にて、京の方なれば、誠に上るなり）○阿岐國は、山陽道なる安藝國なり、名義未思得ず、（山城國相樂郡の和伎は、崇神紀に依ば、我君の義なり、是に准へば、此國名も若くは我君歟、さる由緣ありてや名けゝむ）安藝郡安藝鄕もあれば、其より出たる國名なるべし、（三代實錄十四に、此國に安藝都彦神と云も見えたり）岐字濁て讀べし、藝も濁音に用ふ字なり、○多祁理宮、書紀には、十有二月丙辰朔壬午、至安藝國、居于埃宮とあり、（埃は、神代紀に、素戔嗚尊下到於安藝國可愛之川上とあると同處にや、此可愛之川は、今可部川と云川なりとそ、可部と云邑もあり、和名抄に安藝郡漢辨

らば、天三降命と云は、高御魂尊の御子にて、宇沙都比古は其子にや）○足一騰宮、書紀に、乃於菟狹川上造一柱騰宮而奉饗焉、一柱騰宮、此云阿斯毘苦徒鞅餓離能宮とあり、（菟狹川、景行紀にも見ゆ）此名は、宮の造樣に依れる名なり、さて如何なる構ぞと考るに、宮の一方は、宇沙川の岸なる山へ片かけて構、今一方は、流の中に大なる柱を唯一つ建て支へたる構なるべし、（宇沙川の岸へ、山ある處なり）さて騰と云故は、宮の御床は、山の片岸の上に構たるに、彼一方を支へたる柱は、川中より立たる故に、其方より望めば、高く騰りて見ゆればなり、抑此宮は、一時大御饗を奉む料なるが故にことさらに如此めづらしくけしきあるさまには構たるなるべし、（彼一方の柱を、川中へ唯一立て持せたるも、ことさらに希見しく構たるなり、さればこそ足一騰てふ名をも負つらめ、さて柱を足といふことは、後世にも四足門など云例あり、延佳本に、漢籍の一柱觀のことを引り、似たることなり、此名義は、種々思ひ依れることあれども、皆善からず、右の考に思ひ定めつ、○御饗、上卷（傳十四の櫛八玉神の下）に出づ（○書紀に是時勅以菟狹津媛賜妻之侍臣天種子命とあり、中臣系圖に、天種子命の子宇佐津臣命あり、是は此菟狹津媛の所生にて、母名を取る名にや）○岡田宮、書紀には、十有一月丙戌朔甲午、天皇到筑紫國崗水門とあり、和名抄筑前國遠賀郡あり、是歟、仲哀紀にも、幸筑紫時岡縣主祖云々、また自山鹿岬廻之入崗浦、到水門と見ゆ、（和名抄に、遠賀郡に山鹿郷あり、さて萬葉七に、水莖之崗水門とあるは、此岡水門にて、水莖は枕詞なり、別に考あり）岡と岡田とは一にや、別に岡田てふ地名は、古書に見えず、○一年坐、書紀には、十一月甲午より（九日なり）坐て、十二月壬

御身滌の段）に見ゆ、古は大隅薩摩までかけての總名なり、○筑紫、上卷（傳五、卷のはじめ）に見ゆ、九國を總ても筑紫嶋と云ども、此は其中の一國の筑紫にて、後の筑前筑後の域を云、○幸御の御字は行の誤なり、（御字にても通ゆれども、幸御と云ること、記中にも他の古書にも例なし、凡てかゝる處は、みな幸行とある例なり）さて此は、筑紫國へと行給ふを云なり、既に筑紫に到坐るには非ず、（故次にその間の路次の事を云て、筑紫に到坐ることは、下にあり）○豐國、上卷（傳五のはじめ）に出、此國は、日向と筑紫との間に在ば、今幸行す道路なり、（日向の北に並て豐後、々々の北に並て豐前、々々の西に並て筑前なり）○宇沙、和名抄に豐前國宇佐郡、これなり、書紀、神代卷には、宇佐島ともあり（海中ならねど、山川の周れる故に嶋といふ）名義未考ず、さて書紀に、其年冬十月丁巳朔辛酉、天皇親帥諸皇子舟師東征と見え、其次にも皇舟の事あれば、此わたりも海路より幸行りと見ゆ、○土人は久邇毘登と訓べし、（こは豐國の國人といふことにても有べれけど、なほ）宇佐の國人なり、（書紀に菟狹國造ともあれば、宇佐をも國と云べし、凡て後に郡とも鄕とも云ほどの地をも、上代には國とも云りしこと、云もさらなり）○宇沙都比古宇佐都比賣は、兄弟と聞ゆ、名は地名に依れり、書紀に、行至筑紫國、菟狹時、有菟狹國造祖號曰菟狹津彦菟狹津媛とあり、（菟狹を、筑紫國と云るは疑はし、若九國の總名の意ならば、日向も筑紫、內なれば、こゝに分て筑紫國とことわるべきにあらず、さて舊事紀三、饒速日命の天降坐時供奉の神等の中に、天三降命と云ありて、豐國宇佐國造等、祖といひ、又十國造本紀に、宇佐國造、橿原朝高魂尊孫宇佐都彦命定賜國造と云り、此說ども若據あ

は、東西南北みな方と訓附たり、（こは其用ひ所によりて、加多と云、では言の足はぬ故なり、古人はさる語の用ひざまをよく辨へ居し故に、然訓るを、今人はさる差別をば知ずて、煩はしと思ふめり、）伊傳麻須は、行賜ふと云ことにて、古は天皇の行幸をも、伊傳麻志と云り、此事前に見えたり、さて此處を書紀には、及年四十五歲謂諸兄及子等曰云々、（こゝの文に、是時運云々といふより、積慶重暉といふまでは、古意にあらず、例の漢意を以て、撰者の添られたる潤色の文なり、）抑又聞鹽土老翁曰、東有美地、青山四周、其中亦有乘天磐船飛降者、余謂彼地、必當足以恢弘天業光宅天下、蓋六合之中心乎、厥飛降者、謂是饒速日歟、何不就而都之乎、諸皇子對曰、理實灼然、我亦恒以爲念、宜早行之、是年也大歲甲寅とあり、（かゝれば書紀の趣は、日向にして議り給ふ時より、既に大倭國へと定めて發向せるなり、此記の趣は、未何國と定賜へることはなくて、只東方にと幸行て、行々美地を求賜ふと聞えたり、通々藝命の國覓給ひしと同じさまなるべし、故阿岐國にも七年、吉備國にも八年坐り、若始より大倭國と定て幸行むには、半途にかくまで久しく留りたまふべくもあらずかし、大歲甲寅、このことは論ふべきことあり、下に委し）さて今如此、皇祖の遠き御代より久しく坐々ける宮所を去て、他處に遷坐むことを議給ひ、終に東方にと決め賜へる御意を、地方に就て推度るに、此日向國は西の邊なる故に、天下所知看に不便ず、中央なる國に坐むとなるべし、かの書紀に、大倭國のことを詔へるに、蓋六合之中心乎とあるも、其由なり、○即、こは只語つゞけの助のみに置る辭にて、いと輕し、必しも猶豫たまはず速なる意にはあらず、○日向、上卷（傳五大八嶋成出の段、同六

とは自奉仕るを云言、麻都呂閇は、他をして奉仕ら玄むるを云言なればなり、）○平は、安くと云むが如し、さて其は難きの反の易きにて、何の地に坐ば、天下治易からむといふ意なり、（何事にまれ爲難ければ平らかならず、爲易ければ平けし、故易きをも平とは云るなり）天下を治坐に、其地によりて、便不便とある故に、其地を議りたまふならむ、○聞看とは、天下の臣連八十伴緒の執行ふ奉仕事を、君の聞し賜ひ看し賜ふを云り、續紀卅一（十四丁）詔に、自今日者大臣之奏之政者不聞看夜成牟、とあるを以心得べし、（聞看と云を以ても、其政は臣下へ係る言なるを思ひ定むべし）さて看聞てふ言の意は、傳七の始、ところ〴〵所知所知看の處に委く云り、又八のはじめ聞看大嘗てふ處をも考合すべく、なほ此卷にも下卷にも、處々見えたる言なり、又續紀十七（十六丁）に聞看食國、又（二十七丁）天津日嗣高御座乃業者、伊夜嗣爾奈賀御命聞看止勅夫なども見ゆ、○猶、此猶の意は、（常のにはいさゝか異りて）數多ある中の物を、此やよからむ、彼やよからむと、左右に反覆ひ思ひて、終に一ッに思決むるが如きことに云て、（今世の俗言に、登加久爾といふが如し）中昔の物語文などにも、此意に云ること多し、此處は、坐べき地を此處やよけむ、彼處やよけむと、相論ひ議りて、終に東方地こそ善からめと決め賜ふ意なり、萬葉八（五十七丁）に、梅花折も不折も見つれども、今夜の花に尙玄かずけり、○思東行は、比牟加志乃加多爾許曾伊傳麻佐米と訓べし、（別に思字をば讀むべからず、かかる處は於毛布於毛富須などゝ訓ては、語のさま宜しからず、然訓ねども、おのづから其意はあるなり、）只比牟加志とのみは云ずて、方てふ言を讀添るは古言なり、漢籍などにも、古訓に

べからざれども、漢國より書籍渡參來て言初たる稱を以て、古へ及ぼして語り傳へたるなるべし）○政は、凡て君の國を治坐す萬事の中に、神祇を祭賜ふが最重事なる故に、（他國にも此意あり、皇國は更なり）其餘の事等をも括て祭事と云とは、誰も思ふことにて、誠に然ることなれども、猶熟思に、言の本は其由には非で、奉仕事なるべし、そは天下の臣連八十伴緒の、天皇の大命を奉はりて、各其職を奉仕る、是天下の政なればなり、さて奉仕るを麻都理と云由は、麻都流を延て麻都呂布とも云へば、即君に服從て、其事を承はり行ふをいふなり、（されば都加閉麻都留は、事服從なり、又服從は奉仕にて、皆本は一意より出たり、書紀雄略、卷大御哥に、波賦武志謀飫裒枳瀰儞磨都羅符とある、羅都羅符は奉仕るをよみ賜へり、又萬葉二に不奉仕とあるは、服從ぬことを云り、これらを以て、言の相通ひて、本同意なることをさとるべし、又神を祭ると云も、其神に奉仕るにて、本同言なり、されば政とは、天皇の神に奉仕り坐義とせむも、言の本の意は同じけれども、其祭祀の事に因て云、稱にはあらず、臣連等の天皇に奉仕る方に就て云、稱なり）故古言には、政と云をば、君へは係ず、皆奉仕る人に係て云り、上卷天照大御神の詔に、思金神者取持前事爲政と見え、輕嶋朝の詔に、大山守命爲山海之政、大雀命執食國之政以白賜、宇遲能和紀郎子所知天津日繼也と見え、又下に引る續紀卅一の文など、皆然るを以曉るべし、（然れば言の本を以て見れば、麻都理碁登には政字は當らず、此字になづむべきに非ず、されど臣下の奉仕る萬事は、即君の國を治め賜ふ御事なれば、末は一におつめり、○麻都理碁登は令服事なりと云說もあれど、若然らば、麻都禮碁登と云ざれば、自他の違あり、麻都理

記及書紀の五の傳ある中四の傳には、皆伊波禮毘古命を末とせれども、一の傳には第二の御子とせれば、五瀨命崩坐ては、此命の嗣坐べき理にて、彼第二とせるや正傳ならむとも思へども、此記の次第に違へれば取がたし、然れば左に右に此時の事は、五瀨命と伊波禮毘古命と二柱、元より日嗣御子に坐しを、父命崩坐てよりは、御兄の五瀨命、君にて坐けむが、此命崩坐る故に、伊波禮毘古命の嗣坐るにぞありける、）故稻氷命は、此伊波禮毘古命を救奉り賜むが爲にぞ、海原には入坐けむ、（此事既に上卷傳十七の末に委く云り、考合すべし、）若然らずば、海原に入坐しは何の由とかはせむ、○高千穗宮、此宮の事傳十七鵜羽產屋の段の終に委曲く云る如く、大隅國なるべくおぼゆ、（日向國宮崎なりと云說は、古書の趣に叶はず、今世に日向國南方村と云に、神武天皇の社とて有て、其處を皇居の趾ぞと云なるも信られず、書紀などに、日向高千穗峯と云、此記の此處の言にも、自日向發とあるから、今の日向國の地なりと心得るは、委しからず、上代には、大隅薩摩の地までをかけて、日向と云しと、上に處々云るが如し、三代實錄に、日向國高智保神と云あり、和名抄、同國臼杵郡に智保鄕あり、是らも高千穗山に附たる名とは聞ゆめれど、高千穗宮はなほ大隅國の方に有べきこと疑ひなし、）○天下は、萬葉十八（三十二丁）又廿（二十四丁五十丁）に、安米能之多とあり、如此訓べし、（能を我と云るは、古に見えず、わろし、）さて此稱は、天照大御神の所知看すなる高天原に對へて、此國土を謂むこと、古意にも叶てはあれど、猶よく思に、本漢籍より出たる稱にて、神代よりの古言にはあらじか、然れど甚々古より普云なれぬることにてはあるなり、（此天皇の御代などには、未此稱ある

柱をのみ擧たるを思ふべし）か、れば此處は、當時の有けむ隨に記さば、五瀨命與其伊呂弟若御毛沼命二柱云々、とあるべきことなれども、若御毛沼命（伊波禮毘古命なり）御業を成終へて、遂に天下を知看ける後を以て、其御世の初を記す言なる故に、彼命を主として首に標て、五瀨命をば客に爲て、次には云へるなり、（此處書紀には、元より伊波禮毘古命を主として、謂諸兄及子等曰云々とありて、殊に五瀨命を取分てはあげず、此記の趣と異なり、然れども是も伊波禮毘古命既に天下を治しける後を以て記せればこそ、如此はあるなれ、實は五瀨命ぞ君にては坐々けむ）さて若五瀨命崩坐なば、第二の御子なる稻氷命こそ、天津日嗣は所知食べきに、末の御子に坐伊波禮毘古命しも嗣賜へるは如何と云に、凡て上代には、諸皇子の中に、取分て日嗣御子と定まり坐も、必しも一柱には限らざりしこと、日代宮段に其證あり、（此事委くは彼處にいふべし）然れば此御兄弟四柱の中にても、五瀨命と伊波禮毘古命と二柱ぞ、由ありて元來日嗣御子にては坐々けむ、（又思に、稻氷命の海に入坐、御毛沼命の常世國に渡坐しは、此記には既に上卷に見えたれば、未日向宮に坐ける時の事にて、今東方幸行の時は、此二柱は坐まさゞる故に、自然伊波禮毘古命の嗣坐るにて、此處に五瀨命一柱をのみ擧たるも、彼二柱は既に薨坐し故なりとも云べけれども、彼二柱の御子の、海に入坐、常世國に渡坐しこと、日向國に坐けるほどの事としては、然るべき由緣なし、此事は書紀に見えたる如く、東征せる時、紀國の海路にての事なりけむは明らけきを、此記は、其時も處を云ざる傳によれる故に、上卷に彼二柱の御名の出たる處に云るにこそあれ、實は東征し時も存在けるなり、又思に、此

へる由あるは、委曲も考へざる浮たる說なり、そは淡海御船てふ人は、世に聞なれざる故に、ゆりなく淡海公に思ひまがへて、桓武の御世をも文武と誤れるものなり、○ついでに云、凡て古の御代を、古は或は近江、大津宮御宇天皇、或は飛鳥淨御原朝など、こそ申せるを、後世人はにゞ後の漢謚をのみ知て、返て本の眞の御稱をばさらに玄らず、古書に記せるを見ても、何れの御代の稱とも得辨へぬ人のみ多し、甚しきものは漢謚を當昔の眞の御名と心得て、上代を疑ふ者もあるをや、古を尙む人は、よく思ふべきことなりかし、○又ついでに云、古の文には、凡て某宮御宇天皇、御世と申せることなるを、後世の俗文には、なべて某天皇、御宇と申すは非なり、御宇は天下所知看と云ことにて、御宇、時御宇、御世など、こそいふべけれ、たゞに御宇とのみにては、其御時と云とにはなり難きぞかし、）○與其伊呂兄五瀨命、伊呂兄の解は傳九八俣遠呂智の段に見え、五瀨命の御名義は傳十七の末に見ゆ、○注なる上伊呂の上、字は、衍なるべし、例なきことなり、○此時の有狀を思ふに、五瀨命は葺不合命の第一の御子に坐ば、父命崩坐てよりは、此命ぞ天津日嗣は所知看たりけむ、（書紀に、此、御兄弟の次第に、五の異なる傳あれども、此、五瀨命は、何の傳にも皆第一なり、）然れば伊波禮毘古命も、此時は稻氷命御毛沼命と共に、此、五瀨命に奉仕て坐けむを、五瀨命は、未中州を言向終賜はぬ間に早く崩坐て、御業を終賜はざりし故に、其事は慥に傳はらざれども、今此處に取分て、此命一柱をしも擧たるを以て、君に坐しことを玄るべし、（若此時伊波禮毘古命既に天津日嗣所知看て、御兄弟諸共に議り給ひむには、稻氷命御毛沼命も同じく御兄に坐ば、此命等をも此處に連ね擧べきに、只五瀨命一

諡を奉りしことのみ見えて、漢樣のはすべて見えず、然るに天平寶字二年八月に、寶字稱德孝謙皇帝と云尊號を奉りしことあり、是は當代の御事にて、諡には非ざれども、漢樣音讀の號の始にぞ有ける、さて同月に、豐櫻彥天皇に勝寶感神聖武皇帝と云尊號を奉らる、是ぞ諡號の漢樣の始なる、されど此時も、古の歷代天皇の漢諡のさだはなかりき、さて光仁天皇崩り坐て、上尊諡曰天宗高紹天皇とあるは、音讀の漢諡の如く聞ゆめれども、さにあらず、なほ古禮の諡なり、文武天皇の天眞宗云々、桓武天皇の皇統云々なども、皇朝樣の諡ながら、漢めきたるは、やうやくに漢意のまじれる故ぞかし、此天宗高紹天皇も、漢樣のは別に光仁と申て、本紀の首にも、細字にて光仁天皇と注せり、續紀の例、凡て古禮の諡を標て、其下に漢樣のを注せれば、是も其例なること明けし、又此後仁明天皇までは御代々々皆古禮の諡あれば、光仁天皇にのみ無るべきに非ず、孝謙天皇は出家を賜へるに因て、諡を奉らず、かの寶字二年の尊號を用る由見ゆ、嵯峨天皇のは、有りけるが傳らざるか、又元より無りしか、物に見えず、此二御代の餘は、仁明まで皆有なり、如此て桓武天皇の御代に至て、かの御船、眞人の在世し延曆四年七月までの間にぞ神武より光仁までの漢樣の諡は撰定めしめ賜ひけむ、其證は、延曆十六年に成れる續紀に古の天皇たちのも往々見えたり、第一卷に天武天皇天智天皇などある類是なり、然るに如此く漢諡を以て記されたる處を考るに、皆撰者の文のみにして、昔の文を載たるには、皆某宮御宇天皇、或は某宮、朝などとのみありて、漢諡は見えたることなし、これらを以て、撰ばれたる時を定むべし、然るに甘露寺、親長卿、記などに、文武天皇の御世に、淡海公藤原、不比等に勅して定めしめ賜

り、皇國の上代の天皇たちの大御名は、諱と申すべきに非ず、凡て尊むべき人の名を呼ことを忌憚るは、本外國の俗なり、名は本其人を美稱ていふものにて、上代には稱名にも多く名てふことをつけたり、大名持などの如し、されば後世萬事漢國の制に因たまふ代に至てこそ、天皇の大御名をば諱と申すべきなれ、上代のは何れの御名も、諱と申べきに非ず、仁賢紀に諱大脚と記して、註に、自餘諱天皇不言諱字而至此天皇獨書者據舊本耳とあり、此大脚を諱と書るも非なり、さて自餘天皇には諱を言さずとあれば、此神武天皇の彥火々出見てふ御名も、古書には諱とはあらざりしを、撰者のさかしらに然書れたること著し、さて上代には名を忌こと無ければ、伊美那と云も古言に非ず、諱字に就て設たる訓なり、又此字を多々乃美那と訓るも古言にあらず、是は稱名謚などに對へて、唯何となき常の名と云意にて設たる訓なり、此天皇、後の漢樣の謚號神武天皇と申す、凡て御代々々の漢樣の謚のこと、書紀私記に、師說神武等謚名者、淡海御船奉勅撰也とあり、まことに然るべし、（時は桓武の朝と或說に云るも然るべし、抑此御船てふ人は、續紀に、天平勝寶三年正月辛亥賜无位御船王淡海眞人姓とあるを始にて、次々に官位進まれしこと見えて、延曆四年七月庚戌、刑部卿從四位下兼因幡守淡海眞人三船卒云々、年六十四とありて、其處に傳を記されたり、考へ見べし、さて此人廢帝紀に、敏性聰慧兼明文史と見え、光仁紀に、自寶字後爲文人之首とも見えて、大學頭文章博士などにも任せられたり、然れば此御代々々の謚號の事、此人に撰しめ賜けむことさもあるべし、さて桓武の御時と云說も然るべしと云、故は、先續紀を考るに、持統より以來御代々々の天皇崩の時みな古禮の

古事記傳十八之卷

古事記中卷

白檮原宮上卷

本居宣長謹撰

神倭伊波禮毘古命。目伊下五字以音與其伊呂兄五瀨命上伊呂二字以音二柱。坐高千穗宮而議云。坐何地者平聞看天下之政。猶思東行。即自日向、發幸御筑紫。故到豐國宇沙之時。其土人名宇沙都比古宇沙都比賣此十字以音二人作足一騰宮而獻大御饗。自其地遷移而於竺紫之岡田宮一年坐。亦從其國上幸而。於阿岐國之多祁理宮七年坐。目多下三字以音亦從其國遷上幸而。於吉備之高嶋宮八年坐。

神倭伊波禮毘古命、御名義上卷傳十七の末に見ゆ、（書紀に、諱彦火々出見とあるは、心得ぬ書ざまなり、先此天皇をも彦火々出見と申せしことのよしは、傳十六のするに云るが如し、然るに是を諱としも書れたるは、漢國の史どもに、某帝諱某と云例に倣てなれども、甚く事たがへ

三大考をよみてしりへにしるせる

はとりの中つねが、此あめつちよみのかむかへはも、さとり深く、物よくかむがふなる西の國國の人どもゝ、いにしへより、いまだえかむがへ出ざりし事をし、めづらかにも考へ出たるかも、くすしくも考出たるかも、かくてこそ、高天原も夜之食國も、いぶかしきくまなくはあからひぬれ、これによりても、いにしへのつたへとは、いよゝます〳〵たふとかりけり、

宣長

古事記傳十七之卷附錄終

は、重く凝濁れる物の滓なれば、滓の方が返りて輕く淡きなり、さて今現に海潮の滿干の月のめぐりに隨ふも、本一つなるが故なり、さて思ふに、記に須佐之男命に所知せとある海原、又書紀に、滄海原潮之八百重とあるは、すなはち泉國を云るにもあらむか、○上に云る如く、天と地とつゞきてありし帶の天浮橋、數條ありしやうにも聞えたり、若然らば、富士信濃の淺間、嶽日向の霧島山などは、其帶の斷離れたるあとの蔕にもやあらむ、山のさまも然云べきさまなり、又今に火の出るも、初に昇りゆきし氣のなごりの、なほのこりて騰るにやあらむ、○今水晶などを以て、日の火月の水を取といふことあり、これは日は火月は水なるによりて、其火水の降來ると思ふめれど、然にはあらず、日月の親しくうつり來る故に、其氣に牽れて、地なる火水のより來るなり、○遙なる西國の說に、此大地も、恒に旋轉ると云說もありとかや、すべて西國は、さるたぐひの測度、いと精密ければ、さるまじきにもあらず、さてたとひ大地をめぐる物としても、古への傳への旨に合ざるともなく、己が此考にも、いさゝかも妨はなきなり、○外國には、星を日月にならべて、いみしき物にすれども、皇國の古傳には、星の事なし、たゞ書紀に、星神香々背男と云、微き神名の見えたるのみなり、日月とならべてことゞ〳〵去く云べき物にはあらず、

寛政三年五月廿五日に書をへぬ

服部中庸

て、彼浮脂の如くなりし物これなり、其中に清明かゝる物分れて、葦牙の萠出る如く、上方へ騰り去て、天となれる、是即日なり、又重濁れ　物は、分れて下方へ垂降り去て、泉となれる、是即月なり、かくて其中間にのこり留まれる物、是大地なり、されば日の質は、清明かにして此地なる物にては、火と近き物なり、然れども、火と全く同き物には非ず、彼浮脂の如くなる物の中に、混れてありしほどは、一つなれども、既に分れ昇りて、日となれるところと、地にのこり留まりて、火となれるところとは、異ありて、地にある火は、日の昇去ぬる跡に殘れる、滓のごとくなる物なり、本同物なる故に、其熱きとも、明きとも、よく似たり、然れども日と火との熱さ、全くは同じからず、又明さも、日は火とは異ありて、火の如くに、物を照す光はなくして、たとへていはゞ、炭火などの如くなりと見えたり、世を照し賜ふ光は、日の光にはあらず、此光は、其中に坐々天照大御神の大御光なること、上に云るが如し、何を以て知ぞと云に、此大御神、天石屋に隱坐れば、天地皆闇かりしかばなり、或人問、火は日の滓の如しと云、其滓に光ありて、日に光なきといかゞ、答、滓は凝たる物なる故に、かへりて光はまされるなるべし、同じ火にても、炭火などは、炭につきたるのみにて、火凝ざる故に、光らず、燃る火は、專火ばかり凝てもゆるゆゑに、光あるを以て知べし、日は物に着たる物にはあらざれども、もとより清て凝らざる物のなれるなれば、火とはそのやう異なり、次に月の質は、重く濁りて、此地なる物にては、水と近き物なり、然れども是も、水と全く同物には非ず、既に分れ降りて、月となれるところと、地に殘り留まりて、水となれるところとは、異有て、地にある水は、月の垂下り去ぬる跡に、のこれる滓の如き物なり、但し是

鳴せたるとも、大御神つねに此鳥を愛好ませ給へる故と見れば妨なし、たゞ心得がたきは、沼河比賣の哥に、青山に日が隱らば、ぬばたまの夜は出なむとある、此時いまだ日はめぐらざりしに、かくよめるは、いぶかし、又或人、皇國は大地の頂上に在て、正しく天に對へりし國なりと云こと、心得ず、若然らば日のめぐり、春分秋分の時、眞頂上をめぐるべきことわりなるに、恒も南方にかたよりて、斜に旋るを以て見れば、地の頂上とはいひがたしいがゞと問に、已此ことわりをえ解らず、師に問けるに、師の考に云、こは人の面の、頭頂には着ずして、目も鼻も口も、前の方にかたよりてあると同理なり、抑地は圓にして、其形には、上下前後などのけぢめなきが如くなれども、實には其けぢめなきにあらず、日月星みな、東西とのみめぐりて、南北とはめぐることなし、故日をつねに横にのみ見る國もあり、然ればこれ、まのあたり東西と南北との差ありて、何方も同きには非るにあらずや、これに准へて、上下も前後もあることをさとるべし、かくて其上方の正中は、皇國にして、南方は前なり、北方は後なり、東方は左なり、西方は右なり、故日月のやゝ南方によりてめぐるは、人面の前方にあると同しことにて、前方をめぐるなれば、皇國の大地の頂上なること、いよゝ着明しと云れき、又問、もし然らば、日月をやゝ南のそらに望む國々は、皆地の頂上と云べし、頂上いかでか皇國に限らむ、答、皇國の地の頂上なることは、日月の南によりてめぐる故に然りとするにはあらず、もとより頂上なるか故に、日月は其前方によりてめぐるなり、されば皇國と同じさまに、日月を南の空に望む國々あるは、たま〳〵皇國の東西にあたるすぢに近きが故なゝ○日と地と月との三つ、初には一つにて、分ちなく混れ

いひて、天泉とは、別物の如くなれるなり、或人問、日のめぐらずして、恒も頂上に在し世には、晝夜の別あるべからず、地の上半は、いつも晝、下半はいつも夜なるべし、然るに鎭火祭祝詞、伊邪那美命の御言に、日七日夜七夜と見え、記黃泉段に、一日といふと見え、大穴牟遲神の、泉國に往坐し段にも、晝夜のさま見え、天若日子段に、日八日夜八夜と見えたる、これらみな、いまだ皇御孫命の天降坐ざりしほどにて、日の旋り初ぬ世なるに、何を以て晝夜をば別たるにか、いぶかし、答、日月の旋る世になりてこそ、專日の出沒によりて、晝夜を分つとなれ、未旋らざりしほどには、日にはよらずして、他に晝と夜との分ちはありて、運びゆき、又その晝夜の長短などもありしなるべし、さて後に、日のめぐるも、其もとよりの分ちに隨ひて、晝は地の上方をめぐり、夜は下方を旋るなるべく、長短なども、もとよりのまゝによるなるべし、さて泉國は、もと地の下に在しかば、いつも日の光はあたらねば、いつも闇かりしか、他に光ありしか、しらねども、晝夜と定まりありしことは、此國土と同じかりけむ、さて又地の下半に着たる國々の晝夜のことは、今世にすら、夜國とか云て、夜がちなる國もありといへば、そのかみは地の下半は、日の光至ることなかりしは、論なし、凡て外國どもの成竟たるは、皇國とはるかに後のことゝおぼしければ、いまだ皇御孫命の天降坐ざりし前の世の、外國の事は、とかく論ふべきにあらず、百餘萬歲の前にあればなり、又問、日神天石屋に隱坐しほど、天地共に常夜往とある、そのかみ晝夜を分つこと、日の出沒によらずは、闇きを以て常夜とは云べきに非ず、いかゞ、答、闇かりしことを常夜といへるは、後の言を以て語り傳へたるなれば、妨なし、此類はつねに多きことなり、又長鳴鳥を

第十圖

○是ハ天地泉ノ連キタル帶斷離レテ、天モ泉モ、旋ルトコロノ圖ナリ、サテカクノ如ク圖シタルサマハ、假ニ十五日ゴロノ正午時ニ、西ノ方ヨリ見タルトコロノ、大カタノサマナリ、

○天ト地ト泉トノ大サ小サナド、必シモ圖ニカヽハルコトナシ、又其各アヒ去ルコトノ遠サ近サハ、殊ニカヽハラズ、此レハイタク縮メテ圖セリ、

天は即日のとなり、泉は即月のとなり、さて其は、上件の圖どもの如く、初は天地泉と三珠を貫きたる如く、帶つゞきて、天はいつも地の頂上に在、泉はいつも地の下方に在て、共に動き轉るとはなかりしに、皇御孫命の既に天降坐て、天下を所知看時に至て、其つゞきたる帶絶はなれて、正しく三つとなる、是よりして、天も泉も、地を中におきて、恒に相旋ると今の現のごとし、これらの事、すべて神の產靈の、奇く妙なる理によりて然るなれば、さらに人の小き智を以て、とかく測り識るべき限りにあらず、さて世人、日即天なり、月即泉なりといふことを知らざるは、初いまだ旋らざりしほど、天は頂上にあり、根國は下方に在しならひにて、頂上を天と心得、根國は地下にありと心得來れるから、旋る世になりて後も、なほ其心にて、旋る物をば、日といひ月と

いふに、皇御孫命の天降坐るは、兒の生れ出たるが如し、又二柱大神の生成し賜ひ、天照大御神の生坐る、此御國の君の定まり賜ひて、天降來坐て、所知看は、天地國土の事、全く成竟たるなれば、これ木草の實の成竟て熟たると、全同じ理ならずや、此を思ふにも、皇國はこれ天地の根蔕、皇御孫命は、四海萬國の大君に坐ますと、いよゝいちじろくして、尊しなど申奉るも、中々よのつねなり、然るを世の人、ひたすらに外國の妄說どもに、惑ひ溺れて、皇國のかばかり尊きことを識らず、たま〳〵これを聞ても、かへりて云破らむとさへするは、いかなるまがとぞや、○天浮橋の事、古書どもを考るに、古事記傳にも云れたる如く、一つのみにもあらず、此處、彼處に有し如くにも見ゆ、其は彼帶はたゞ一條ながら、下の方、地へ降る路は、幾條もありしにや、又は彼帶下の方にては、數條に分れてありしにや、さるこまかなることは、知がたし、何れにても、凡てのさまは、かはることなし、○地と泉と斷離れたるは、何時のほどゝいふこと、知がたけれど、天と地と離れたる時代に准へて、大かたには推度るべし、大國主神、初には現身ながらに、往還給ひしこと、上に云るが如し、其時はなほ連けりしさまなり、さて此御國を經營賜ひて後、皇御孫命に避奉給ひて、八十坰手に隱て侍とあるは、永く此世を去て、泉國に隱侍て、幽事を掌賜ふにて、是は尋常の人の死ぬると同じさまに聞ゆれば、其時には、既に地よりつゞきて通ふ路は、斷絕たりしにやあらむ、これ又こまかには知がたし、大かた世中の人の、死て泉に往は、屍は此地に留まりて、魂のゆくなれば、此地よりつゞける道なけれども往くを、現身ながら往還ふことは、連きたる道無くては、得往還はぬことなり、

ながら、泉國に往て、還賜へりしと、右のごとし、然れば此時、大地と泉と、未斷離れず、連きて、地中より通ふ路ありしと知べし、黃泉比良坂の事、第六圖と併考ふべし、

記曰、天照大御神之命以豐葦原之千秋長五百秋之水穗國者、我御子正勝吾勝々速日天忍穗耳命之所知國言因賜而、天降也、於是天忍穗耳命、於天浮橋多々志而詔之云々、更還上云々、又曰、爾日子番能邇々藝命將天降之時、居天之八衢而、上光高天原、下光葦原中國之神、於是有云々、

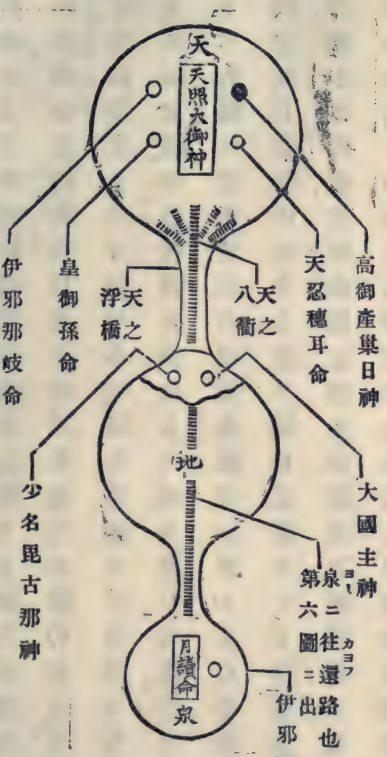
記曰、天津日子番能邇々藝命、離天之石位、押分天之八重多那雲而、伊都能知和岐知和岐豆、於天浮橋、宇岐士麻理蘇理多々斯豆、天降坐于竺紫日向之高千穗之久士布流多氣云々、

第九圖

天浮橋の往來の事、初、伊邪那岐伊邪那美命の往來賜ひしほどなどは、天と地との間、いと近く聞えたるを、今皇御孫命の天降坐時のさまは、甚遠く聞えて、漸々に相遠ざかりたるほど見えたり、そもそも天浮橋は、天と地と相連續ける帶にて、天地の漸に相遠ざかりゆくに隨ひて、此帶も漸々に細く微くなりて、皇御孫命の天降坐まで、此帶ありしが、既に天降坐て、終に斷離れて、永く天と地との往來止ぬるなり、是を物に譬へていはば、兒の臍帶の、胞衣とつゞきたるが、既に生れては、斷離るゝ如く、又木草の實の、熟すれば蔕おちのするが如し、これらは、たゞに其狀の似たるのみならず、其理も全く同じとなり、いかにと

罷らむとすと云るにて、穢き泉國に罷らむことの哀さに、愁哭賜ふよしなり、然れば始より、此神には泉國を所知せと、任し賜へるにて、是即月讀命に、夜食國を任し賜ふと一つなり、書紀に素盞嗚尊是性好殘害、故令下治根國、また故汝可以馭極遠之根國などある、これら初より根國を任し給へる趣なると、思ひ合せてさとるべし、されば、もと須佐之男命と申すは月讀命の一名なるが、まぎれて別神の如く傳はりたるから、御事依のことも何も、彼と此と二つになりたるにて、書紀に、月神可以配日治、故亦送之于天などあるは、月日の旋轉る世になりて後、其見るところによりていへる傳へなるべし、月讀命須佐之男命を、一神として見るときは、その本の紛いちじるく、何事も明らかにして、夜食國といふは、すなはち泉國根國なると、疑なきものなり、

第八圖



記曰、大穴牟遲神云々、御祖命告子云、可參向須佐之男命所坐之根堅洲國、必其大神議也、故隨詔命、而參到須佐之男命之御所者云々、大神追至黃泉比良坂、遙望呼、謂大穴牟遲神曰云々、始作國也、又曰、故自爾大穴牟遲與少名毘古那二柱神相並作堅此國、然後者其少名毘古那神者度于常世國也、

大國主命、現身、

は第九第十の圖の下に云べし、初のほどは、上件の圖どもの如く、天地泉と、三連接きたる物にて、旋轉ることなければ、泉は大地に隔てられて、いつも御光の及ばざりしなり、さて夜食國は、高天原の如く、內裏方にあるか、又大地なる國の如く、外表方に在か、知がたし、若外表方にあらば、月中にむら〳〵と見ゆる物、これ其國にてもあらむか、さて泉國には、伊邪那美命の坐ませども、其國を所知看神は、月讀命なり、或人疑ひて問けらく、夜食國を月のとなりといふは、さもあるべし、然れどもこれを根國泉國と一ッにいふは、心得ず、根國は、須佐之男命の逐はれて、罷坐る國なり、月讀命のしろしめす國には非ず、いかゞ、答ふ、先伊邪那美命は、泉國に坐ますを、須佐之男命の、妣國根之堅洲國と詔へれば、泉と根國と一ッなることは、論なし、かくてその根國即夜食國なる由は、まづ師の古事記傳九の卷に、月讀命と須佐之男命とは、一ッ神かと思はるゝと多しとて、其由を擧られたる、中庸つら〳〵是を思ふに、書紀に、月讀尊者、可以治滄海原潮之八百重也、と見えたるに、記及書紀一書には、須佐之男命に、滄海原を所知べしとありて、今現に、海潮の滿干の、月のめぐりに隨ふは、これ須佐之男命と申すは、月讀命の亦、御名にて、信に一ッ神なるべし、又書紀の傳々を考へ見るに、何れの傳へにも、須佐之男命の惡行を擧たるに、彼保食神の一書にのみは、須佐之男命の事はなくて、月讀命の惡行を擧たる、其事即記にては、須佐之男命の事なる、これら全く一ッ神とこそ聞ゆれ、さて月讀の讀と、黃泉と名同く、夜食國に由あり、さて又記に、須佐之男命の啼泣賜ふことを、伊邪那岐命の問給へる、御答に、僕者欲罷妣國根之堅洲國、故哭とある、欲罷とは、妣國に罷らむことを願欲し給ふ如く聞ゆめれど、然らず、欲字は、將の意にて、

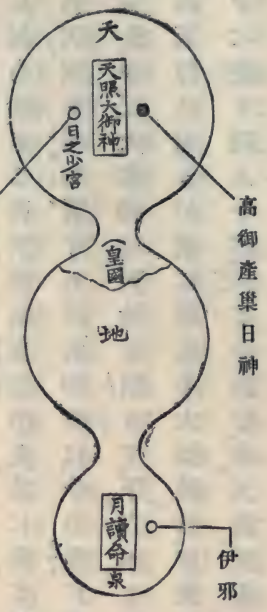
くには非ず、清く透たる物なれば、其内なる御國に坐ます大御神の大御光の、照徹りて、虛空をも大地をも、普く照し賜ふなり、されば日の光と見ゆるは、實は日の光にはあらず、天照大御神の御光にぞありける、さて第三第四の圖に擧たる如く、高天原には、五柱天神坐まし、又伊邪那岐命も留坐ませども、其高天原を所知看君たる神は、たゞ天照大御神なり、但し君に非ずとて、餘神等を臣なりと思はむは、漢意なり、君に非ずといへども、臣にはあらず、皆至て尊き神たちなり、○夜食國は、中庸思ふに、即泉國のことなり、泉は、根、國底、國とも云て、大地の下、方に在こと、つぎ〳〵の圖の如し、さてその泉は、即これ月にして、月讀命の所知看國是なり、されば月讀命は、月には非ず、月の中に坐ます神なること、天照大御神の、日の内にましますと同じ、如此云故は、まづ夜食國と云をたゞ月は夜を照し給ふことゝのみ見ては、食國といふにかなはず、必別に其國無くはあるべからず、黃泉國は夜の國にて、其國をしろしめす神なるが故に、月讀命とは申すなり、國名の黃泉と、御名の讀と、同きを思ふべし、豫美とは、月は夜見ゆる物なる故の名なるべし、さて書紀一書、月讀命の、保食神を殺し給へる段に、天照大神云々、乃與月讀尊一日一夜隔離而住とある、此一日一夜といふ、いかに見ても心得がたし、故思ふに、こは古傳には、日夜とありけむを、漢文を潤色て、一日一夜とは書れたるにやあらむ、凡て彼紀には、然類多ければなり、日夜隔離とは、大御神は高天原に坐、月讀命は夜食國に坐をいへるなり、その隔離れるさま、圖にて知べし、大御神の御名を、大日女命とも申て、其御光の照及ぶ限を、晝と云、其御光の及ばぬ處を夜と云、夜食國は、大御神の御光の及ばぬ國なり、抑今の如く、日月の旋轉るは、後の事にて、そ

看神と申すに同じ、又須佐之男命の參上坐時に、大御神丈夫の御裝束にして、待給ふ、これ全く人體の如くなる神に坐ますと明らけし、日なりとは申しがたし、又八咫鏡を、此大御神の御象と申すと、實には人の如くなる御形にましませども、大御光の熾なるによりて、遠く瞻奉れば、圓く見え賜ふなり、ともいふべけれど、其は此國土よりこそ、然も見え賜はめ、彼御鏡を造奉しは、高天原にての事なれば、御象を圖すとならば、眞の御形をこそ圖し奉るべけれ、いかでかは下なる國土より瞻奉るところの狀をばうつすべき、抑此御鏡を、此神の御象と申すことは、書紀の一書に、たゞ一處見えたるのみにて、其餘の一書どもにも見えず、もとより記にも見えざることなり、されば、これは、大御神の御形に似せて造れるには非ず、此神の御影をうつし奉むために作れる御鏡なり、そは大御神の、天石屋に隱坐し時、此鏡を示奉りて、其御影の、此鏡にうつりて見え賜ふを、御覽して、吾と等き神の坐と所思むために構へたるなり、記を見て知べし、然るをかの書紀の一書の說は、御影をうつせりといふがまぎれて、御象を圖せりとも、申傳へたるものなるべし、さて日は、即かの葦牙の如く萠上りて成れる物にて、天と云物は、即是なり、又これを高天原と云は、古事記傳に見えたるごとく、其天にも、此國土の如く、國あるなり、かくて此大地にある國は、皆地の外表方に屬たるを、天にある國は、內裏方に屬たりと思はる、其故は、記に天若日子が、雉を射上たりし矢の、高天原に坐高木神の御許に至れるを、初に射上つる矢の穴より、衝返し降し給ふとあればなり、內裏方に國あること、此大地なる國の例に泥みて、疑ふべきにあらず、物の理は窮りなく、妙なるものなればなり、さて天は、其質もとより此國土の如

しこと、次第の圖を見て、其狀を知べし、○又書紀に、伊弉諾尊於是登天報命仍留宅於日之少宮矣とある、日之少宮は、天上なること、仍留の字にて論なし、○天といふ物、漢國などにては、虛空をおきて、別に其體は無き物とし、或は理を以ていひ、或は氣を以ていふのみなり、又重々あることをいふ說などもあれど、それも其形ありとにはあらず、然るに皇國の古傳は、虛空と天とは別にして、天はもと、葦牙の如く萠上れる物の成れるにて、正しく其體ありて、高天原とて、其國もあるなり、又天竺國などにていふ天は、高天原に似て、體あれども、そは皆妄說なれば、論ふに足らず、さて高天原は、虛空の上方に在と見るは、一わたりのことにて、誰も然思ふめれども、其高天原を所知看す天照大御神は、今の現に虛空に見え賜ふに、高天原といふべき物は、さらに見えず、又大御神は、天地を周りて、下方へも至り坐なれば、高天原、上方に有と云がたし、たとひ高天原は遠きが故に見えず、大御神は、御光の坐故に、其御形のみ見え賜ふなりといふとも、地下に迴り賜ふをば、何とか云む、若又高天原は、異國にて云ところの天の如く、大地を包みて、其上下四方に周れりと云むにも、かの葦牙の如く萠上りて成れるにかなはず、されば如何考へ見ても、此高天原の在處心得がたし、故中庸つら〳〵思ふに、異國に云ところの天は、ともあれかくもあれ、吾古典に天といひ、高天原といへる物は、虛空にも非ず、虛空の上方に別にあるにも非ず、日ぞ即高天原なりける、されば日は、天照大御神には非ず、其所知看御國にして、大御神は、日の中に坐ます神なり、其故は、記の神武天皇段に、吾者爲日神之御子向日而戰不良とある、此にて日と日神と別なることを知べし、日神とは、日を所知看神と申す意にて、高天原を所知

あれば、既に別神も有しなり、故第四圖に是を擧つ、然れども其名も傳はらず、幾柱と云ともなければ、むね〳〵しき神にはあらじとぞ思ふ、○黃泉比良坂は、此國土と泉國との堺なり、其在處は、此國土より、大地に入際か、又は大地の中心にあるか、又は大地と泉との間に在るか、詳ならず、記の趣は、出雲の伊賦夜坂、すなはち其處の如く聞ゆ、もし然らば、大地中に入むとする際なり、さかれどもこれはたゞ、黃泉比良坂に通ひし處は、伊賦夜坂なりといふ意にて、語傳へたるにもあるべし、

第七圖



○天は即日ナリ、其中ナル國ヲ、高天原ト云、

○泉ハ即月ナリ、其中ナル國ヲ、夜之食國ト云、

記曰、是以伊邪那岐大神詔之云々、到坐竺紫日向之橘小門之阿波岐原而禊祓也云々、右件八十禍津日神以下、速須佐之男命以前、十柱神者、因滌御身所生者也云々、賜天照大御神而詔之、汝命者、所知高天原云々、次詔月讀命、汝命者、所知夜之食國、次詔建速須佐之男命、汝命者、所知海原矣、

高天原は、天なる御國なり、書紀に大日孁貴云々、是時天地相去未遠、故以天柱擧於天上とあり、天と地と泉と、初は混一なりしが、漸に分れ、漸に相遠ざかれるを、是時は未いたく遠からざり

神の產給へる國に非ず、是皇國と、初より尊卑美惡きけぢめの、分るゝところなり、さて後に外國はみな、少名毘古那神の天降らして、經營給へるなり、此らの事、古事記傳に見えたり、披き見て、然る所以を知るべし、○皇國の在處は、圖の如く、大地の頂上なり、其故は、初葦牙の如き物の、萠上り初し、根の處にして、天地と分れて後も、天浮橋の往來ありて、未斷離れず、續きてありしほど、正しく天と上下相對へる、蔕の處、皇國なればなり、そも〳〵大地は、虛空に懸りて、圓體なる物なれば、何方を上とも下とも橫とも云べきにあらず、此方より下とする方は、其方にては、亦此方を下とす、橫の方にても、何方にても、同じことなり、と心得るは、一わたりのことにて、其は天と地と離れて、今の如くなれるうへをのみ知て、元の狀を知らざるものなり、なほ大地は、上下もあり、前後もあると、師の說もあり、第十圖の下に舉るが如し、

第六圖

是伊邪那岐命ノ黃泉國ニ往還リ坐シ、路ナリ、此道ハ、地ノ中ニアリ、出雲國ノ伊賦夜坂ヨリ通フ、

記曰、既生國竟、更生神云々、又曰、故伊邪那美神者、因生火神、遂神避坐也、又曰、伊邪那岐命、欲相見其妹伊邪那美命、追住黃泉國、云々、故號其伊邪那美命、謂黃泉津大神、云々、故其所謂黃泉比良坂者、今謂出雲國之伊賦夜坂也、

此より黃泉國に坐神は伊邪那美命なり、さて此段に、此神の御言に、與黃泉神相論と

を思ふに、まづ高天原より降坐時に、天浮橋に立して、沼矛を以て、かの浮脂の如くにたゞよへる物を、掻成し賜ひて、引上給ふ時、其矛の鋒より、滴り落る物凝て、淤能碁呂島となれる、其矛の滴は、微なる物なれども、其物に因て、漂へる物聚り凝堅りて、廣く大きになりて、一の嶋とは成れるなれば、大八洲を産賜へるも、其如くにて、まづ二柱神の交合の滴、女神の御腹内に、合凝成りて、さて御腹より産出し給ふところは、微小き物なれども、其物に、かの漂へる物、寄聚り凝て、國土とは成れるなり、近くは人身の成る初にても知べし、父母の交合の時に、滴る物は、微なれども、月を經て、兒の形となるにあらずや、又人も鳥獸魚虫なども、生れ出たる時は、なほ小けれども、漸に大きになる、其中にも、殊に蛇などは、生れたるほどは、尋常の小虫なるが、年久敷く經て、大蛇となるに至りては、ことの外に大きなる形ならずや、又草木も同じことにて、生初たる二葉の時は、いと小さけれど、年を經ては、雲ゐを敷のぐ大木となるなり、神代のほどの年序は、いと〳〵久しきことなれば、此國土も、産出し賜へるより、全く國土と成了るまで、幾萬歳をか經けむ、其間には、いかほども大きになるべし、殊に國土の初などは、産巣日神の殊なる産靈によりて、成れることなれば、女神の御腹より産出し賜へること、さらに疑ふべきに非ず、これを疑ふは、正しき倭魂にあらず、例のなまさかしき漢意なり、さて國を産成し給ひて、國土と海水と分れて、漸に大地は堅まりつるなり、○外國どもの初は、二柱神大八洲を生賜ひて、國土と海水と、漸に分るゝに隨ひて、此處、彼處と潮沫のおのづからに凝堅まり合たるどもの、大きにも小くも成れるものなり、これはた産巣日神の産靈によりて成れることは、ひとしけれども、外國は、二柱

る物是なり、泉字は、只漢文を假れるのみなり、字に拘るべからず、さて其垂降りて成れる事は、天の萠上りて成れると、何れか先何れか後なりけむ、知べからず、理を以ていはむは、例の漢意にて妄なり、なほ泉の事、第七圖の下に委云べし、○此より次々、天と地と泉と、漸に分れ、漸に相遠ざかりゆきて、遂に第十圖の如くに成了るなり、

是ヨリ次々ノ圖ニハ、天ニ成坐ル神、地ニ成坐ル神タチ、其圖ニ用アルヲノミ擧テ、餘ハ略ケリ

第五圖

天浮橋、天ト地ト往來フ道ナリ

○外國ドモノ在處、又ソノ大小、其數ナド、此圖ニ拘ルベカラズ、タヾ假ニ大カタノサマヲ着セルノミナリ、但皇國ノ在處ハ、圖ノ如シ、ソノヨシ次ニ云リ

○此圖ハ、二柱神、國ヲ產成シ給ヒ、又外國ドモヽ成テ、國土ト海ト、分レタルウヘノアリサマナリ、

記曰、於是天神諸命以詔伊邪那岐命伊邪那美命二柱神修理固成是多陀用幣流之國云々、故因此八嶋先所生謂大八嶋國云々、書紀曰、處々小嶋皆是潮沫凝成者矣、

二柱神の、此大八洲國を產給へると、世人漢意を以て見る故に、これを信ずして、種々なまさかしき說あれども、そはみな私ごとなれば、取にたらず、たゞ古傳の隨に心得べし、たゞ人の兒を產が如く、御腹より生賜へるものなり、但し其委曲き狀は、いかにありけむ、傳へなければ、知がたけれども、今これ

○是ヨリ次々ノ圖皆、外輪ヲ畧ケリ、紙ノ地ヲ虛空ト見ルベシ、

第四圖

○地ニ成坐ル十二柱神ノ座位、タヾ記ノ文ノ次第ノマヽニ着セリ、必シモ拘ルベカラズ、○黑白ニ分タルハ、黑ナルハ隱身トアル神タチナリ、

以上五柱天神

記ニ曰、次成神名、國之常立神、云々、上件自國之常立神以下、伊邪那美神以前、幷稱神世七代、此を天神七代と申すは、後世の俗說なり、此神等は、天神にはあらず、地に成坐る神なり、○彼葦牙の如く萠上る物、漸に騰り、漸に成て、天となり、其跡に殘れる、地となるべき物は、未堅まらず、混れて漂へり、○記曰、於是欲相見其妹伊邪那美命、追往黃泉國、云々と見えて、黃泉といふ國あり、然るに其黃泉の初發の事は、記にも書紀にも見えず、傳說なければ、知べきに非れども、かの萠騰る物ありて、天と成れるに准へて思ふに、彼一物の中より、垂降る物も有て、黃泉とは成れるなるべし、其は根國底國とも云て、地下に在ればなり、故今其趣を以て、圖に着せり、泉と記せ

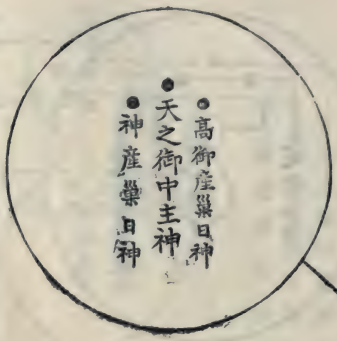
とあるは、これもたゞ世の初といふことなるを、初判など書れたるは、たゞ漢文なり、判字は拘るべからず、天地未生之時ともあり、又虛中空中とあるにて、いまだ地も何も無き時なると知べし、すべて書紀は、つとめて漢文を餝られたるほどに、細にいふときは、當らぬ文字多く、漢文に引れて、おのづから古傳のおもむきの、まぎらはしき事も多し、其心して見るべきなり、○記には、此一物の初めて成れることは記されざれども、次國稚云々とあるにて、既に一物の生れると知られたり、○此一物の、虛空に初めて生れるより始めて、次第に第十圖の如くに、成了るまで、これ皆悉く、高御產巢日神神產巢日神の產靈によりて、生成るなり、其產靈は、いとも〳〵靈く奇く妙なるものにして、さらに尋常の理を以て、測知べき限にあらず、そも〳〵此天地の初を、太極陰陽乾坤などいふ理を以て、かしこげにいふ、漢國人の說などは、なみ此產靈の神靈によりて生ることを、しらざる故の妄說なり、

第三圖

記曰、次國稚如浮脂而久羅下那洲多陀用幣流之時如葦牙因萌騰之物而成神名宇麻志阿斯訶備比古遲神次天之常立神云々

かの初めて成れる一物、浮脂の如く、虛空に漂蕩へるなり、さて其物の中より、葦牙の如く、萌上る物あり、これ天となるべき物なり、かくてその天となるべき物は、萌上り了りて、其跡に殘れるが、堅まりて、地とは成る也、されど此時は、いまだ海と國土との分ちなどもなく、たゞ混つにて、ふは〳〵とたゞよひてあるなり、

第一圖



此輪ノ内ハ大虛空ナリ、輪ハ假ニ圖ルノミゾ、實ニ此物アリトニハアラズ、次々ナルモ皆然リ、

○三柱神ノ座位ハ、記ノ文ノ次第ニ依テ、假ニ如此書ルノミナリ、必シモ拘ルベカラズ、

記曰、天地初發之時、於高天原成神名天之御中主神、次高御産巣日神、次神産巣日神云々、

此時いまだ天も地もあるとなく、すべてたゞ虛空なり、天と地との初は、此次の文に見えたり、然るを天地初發之時と云るは、後より云る言にて、たゞ世の初といふとなり、また高天原にとあるも、此時いまだ高天原はあらざれども、此三柱神の成坐たる處、後に高天原となれる故に、後より如此云る語なり、

輪中ノ●●ハ第一圖ニ擧タル三柱神ナリ、

第二圖

書紀曰、天地初判、一物在於虛中、狀貌難言、又曰、天地未生之時、譬猶海上浮雲、無所根係、又曰、天地初判有物若葦芽、嘗於空中、云々、又有物若浮膏、生於空中、

書紀の傳へども、かくの如く各少しづゝの異ありて、全くは同じからずといへども、彼此を合せて、其さまを知べし、さて天地初判

書添(キヘ)て、一卷となし、三大考と名けつ、三大は、天地泉(アツチヨミ)の三(ツ)なり、これを大と云むは、漢(カラ)めきたれど、さてもあへなむか、さて其、あるやう、彼、なまさかしき理もて云る、外國ざまの說は、すべて取らず、もはら皇國の傳へに隨ひ、其說は、すべての事は、古事記傳に依れり、されば大かたは、彼、書に委(ユダ)ねて、こまかにはいはず、かの書を看て心得べし、日ごろたゞ漢意(カラゴヽロ)の說にのみなれたる人、いぶかることなかれ、

寬政三年辛亥五月

伊勢人服部中庸

萬の事、外國の如く、かしこげに言痛く、論ひさだするとなく、たゞ大らかなる御國ぶりなるが故に、天地の初の說なども、外國の說どもの如く、これは此故にかくのごとし、それは云々の理によりて、かくの如しなどやうに、細にこちたく、說諭したる物にはあらず、たゞ有しさまのまゝを、おほらかに語り傳へたるのみなり、然れども上代に、いまだ外國の說どもの、來り雜らざりしほどは、世の入みな古への傳說を守りて、さらに異なる論ひもなかりしかば、又殊に論ふべきともなかりしに、後に外國のこざかしくこちたき說ども、入來りまじりては、人みな其說どもの、うはべの言美きに惑ひて、古への傳說の趣をば、忘れはてゝ、ひたぶるに外國の說にのみ依るとゝぞなりにける、されば神の御書を說く人も、みなその外國の說にのみまつはれて、いにしへの趣を得たる人は、よゝに一人もなかりけり、こゝに吾本居大人、はやくそのひがとなることをさとりて、いさかも外國の意をまじへず、專皇國の古傳に依て、そのおもむきを委曲に考へ得て、古事記傳を着し給へるにぞ、神代よりの傳への趣は、ふたゝび世に明らけくなりにける、中庸をぢなき身なれども、神の御靈の幸厚くて、此大人の同鄕にさへ生れて、務のいとまには、まのあたり其教を受て、正しきまとの道のかたはしをも、窺ふとを得たり、かくて此天地の初のさま、又其ありかたなど、かの古事記傳によりて、古傳說の趣を見るに、さらに人の造り云る、彼外國の妄說どもの、及ぶところにあらず、眞にかぎりなく深く妙なる味ありて、神代の傳說の、世にすぐれて尊きとを悟りぬ、如此して又いさゝか己が思ひよれるとども、有けるを、大人に申し、試みければ、あしくもあらぬさまに、許諾し給へるまゝに、其次第のおもむきを、十箇の圖にかきあらはし、其ことわりを

も直く正しくして、外國の如く、さくじり僞ることなかりし故にや、天地の初の事なども、正しき實の說有て、いさゝかも私のさかしらを加ふることなく、ありのまに〳〵、神代より傳はり來にける、これぞ虛僞なき、眞の說には有ける、そも〳〵彼漢國の說などは、これを聞に、理深く聞えて、信に然るべしと思はれ、皇國の傳へは、いと淺はかに、何の理も無きが如く聞ゆれども、彼は妄說、此は眞實なる故に、後世に至り、もろ〳〵の考へ、精くなるに隨ひて、かの虛妄說どもは、やう〳〵にその非の顯れゆくを、此眞の傳へは、違ふことなし、然云ゆゑは、近き代になりて、遙に西なる國々の人どもは、海路を心にまかせて、あまねく廻りありくによりて、此大地のありかたを、よく見究めて、地は圓にして、虛空に浮べるを、日月は其上下へ旋ることなど、考へ得たるに、彼漢國の舊き說どもは、皆いたく違へることの多きを以て、すべて理を以ておしあてに定むることの、信がたきをさとるべし、然るに皇國の古傳說は、初に虛中に一物の成れりしより、つぎ〳〵其云ることゞも、凡て今の現のありかたに、合せ考るに、いさゝかもたがふことなし、これを以ても古傳の、眞なることは知べきなり、さてかの遙の西國の人は、右の如く、此大地のありかたを、よく見きはめ、又大虛空なることゞもをも、なほくさ〳〵精密に考得て、漢人の說とは、はるかに勝れることゞも多けれども、それもなほ、測算の及ぶ限にこそあれ、其及ばぬ所は、今の現の事だに、なほ知盡すことあたはざること多ければ、まして大地日月などの、かくのごとく成れる初は、知べきやうなし、思ふに、其國々にも、各其說は有べけれども、それも又皆例の後人のおしはかりにて、かの天竺或は漢國の說ども、あたぐひにぞあるべき、皇國の傳へは、さらに其類に非ず、先皇國は、神ながら言擧せぬ國と云て、

古事記傳十七之卷附錄

三大考

天地國土のありかた、其成れる初のさまなど、外國の說どもは、いはゆる佛にもあれ、聖人にもあれ、皆己が心を以て、智の及ぶたけ考へ度りて、必如此あるべき理ぞと、おしあてに定めて、造りいへるものなり、其中に天竺國の說などは、たゞ世の女童を欺くが如き、妄說なれば、論ふにも足らず、又漢國の說などは、何もやゝ物の理を深く考へて、造れる物なれば、打聞くには、げにもと信らるゝが如くなれども、よく思へば、其太極無極陰陽八卦五行など云理は、もと無きとなるを此方より其名どもを作り設けて、何事にも是を當て、天地萬物皆、これらの理によりて成れる如く、これらの理をはなるゝことなきが如く云なしたるものにて、是も亦皆妄說なり、すべて物の理は、きはまりなきことにて、さらに人の智の、度りつくすべき限に非れば、理を以て云說は、信られず、人の考へて知べきは、たゞ目の及ぶ限、心の及ぶ限、測算の及ぶ限こそあれ、其及ばざる所に至りては、いかに考へても、知べき由なし、然れば此天地の成れる初、又かくの如く成竟たる、つぎ〳〵のさまなども、八百萬千萬歲の後に生れたる人、いかでか其初をよく知ことのあらむ、こゝに吾皇大御國は、殊に伊邪那岐伊邪那美二柱大神の、生成賜へる御國、天照大御神の生坐る御國、皇御孫尊の、天地と共に、遠長に所知看御國にして、萬國に秀で勝れて、四海の宗國たるが故に、人の心

欲沒、是必海神、心也、願以妾之身、贖王之命、而入海、言訖乃披瀾入之、暴風即止、船得着岸、とあるといとよく似たるを以て思ふに、此命海に入坐て、伊波禮毘古命の御身に代りて、救ひ奉らむとの御心なりけむ、さるを此記に、爲妣國と云るは、母命海神の御女なれば、已其宮に罷入て、海神に逢て、よきさまに請て、浪風を止めむと所念す御心にて、母命の國なるを、賴みづよく所思したる意あればなるべし、抑伊波禮毘古命は、御弟に坐ども、既く御世嗣て、君に坐ける故に、稻氷命は、御兄ながら、如此ありしにや、そも〳〵これらみな、おしはかりごとなり、御毛沼命は御弟なるに、先に申し、稻氷命は、御兄なるに、後に申せるは、その事の時の前後によれるにやあらむ、

古事記傳上卷終

終字無き本もあり、又卷字も、共に無き本もあり、

古事記傳卷之十七終

は、御母の國なるによりて、と云むが如し、玉依毘賣命は、海神の御女に坐ばなり、須佐之男命も、欲往妣國と申賜ひしこと、上に見えたり、○入坐海原也とは、海底に沈入坐を云なり、（漢籍に、船に乘て海上へ趣くを、入海と云とは、異なり、又海原と云へば、たゞ海上の如く聞ゆめれど、上のみならず、底をも然云ること、例あり、）上に天神之御子、不可生海原とあるも、海神宮なるを思ふべし、書紀神武御卷云、戊午年五月、進到于紀伊國（云々）六月到熊野神邑、且登天磐盾、仍引軍漸進、海中卒遇暴風、皇舟漂蕩、時稻飯命乃歎曰、嗟乎吾祖則天神、母則海神、如何厄我於陸、復厄我於海乎、言訖乃抜劍入海、化爲鋤持神、三毛入野命亦恨之曰、我母及姨、並是海神、何爲起波瀾、以灌溺乎、則蹈浪秀而往乎常世鄕矣、（此二柱命の御事、此記と書紀とを相照して、委曲に考るに、先御毛沼命の、常世國に渡坐し事、此記には、何の所以と云こと見えざれども、跳波穗とあるに、眼を着べきなり、さて書紀の趣も、亦恨之曰云々の御言は、只浪風の荒きを、恨み給へる意のみこそあれ、常世國に渡坐べき所以は、聞えず、海神の、浪風を起るが恨めしとて、遠つ國に渡坐むことは、由なければなり、故思ふに、此時此命の乘賜へる御舟は、何路ともなく遙に漂流て、終に破れ、若は覆りなどぞゑたりけむ、書紀に、灌溺とあるも、此故と思はる、さて然御舟を失ひ給ひし故に、直に海上を步渡りて、遙なる國に着坐りしなるべし、然れば二記共に、浪の穗を蹈跳てとあるは、舟無きが故に、然爲賜ひしなるべし、さるは海神の御魂幸ひてぞありけむかし、次に稻氷命の、海に入坐し所以は、書紀のおもむき、日本武尊の、東國征たまふ時に、乃至于海中、暴風忽起、王船漂蕩、而不可渡、時有從王之妾、曰弟橘媛、啓王曰、今風起浪泌、王船

書に、先生五瀨命、次三毛野命、次稻飯命、次磐余彥尊、亦號神日本磐余彥火々出見尊、一書に、先生彥五瀨命、次稻飯命、次神日本磐余彥火々出見尊、次稚三毛野命、一書に、先生彥五瀨命、次磐余彥火々出見尊、次彥稻飯命、次三毛入野命などあり、○波穗、上に出、（傳十二の初）○跳は、布美豆と訓べし、（師は加祁理豆と訓れたり、此字、史記、漢高祖本紀に、項羽遂圍成皐、漢王跳獨與滕公共車出、注に、跳走也と云、又輕身走出也とも云る、此勢にて、輕く捷きさまを以て、此字を書るなるべし、下に渡坐とあれば、此字はたゞ布美豆と訓ても、走行意は、おのづから具れり、又波穗をふみてといへば、輕く捷き意も具れり、）書紀には、蹈浪秀とあり、○常世國は、何國にまれ、皇國を離りて、易く往還がたき、絕遠き國を云こと、上（傳十二の初）に委云るが如し、さてかく御毛沼命の、然る國に渡坐ける所以は、詳ならず、（下に、おしはかりの論ひはあり）姓氏錄、右京皇別に、新良貴、彥波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊、男稻飯命、之後也、是於新良國、即爲國主、稻飯命、出於新羅國王者、祖、（印本には、是、字の下に、出、字有て、即爲國、三字脫たり、今は一本に依れり、かの出、字は、坐を誤れるにもあらむか、さて命、下の出於、二字も、衍なるべく、者、字は、之の誤なるべし、さて又此、姓は、葺不合尊の御子の後なれば、神別、天孫、部に收るべきに、神武天皇の御兄弟なるを以て、皇別には收れるなるべし、）とあるに依れば、新羅、國に渡坐て、其、國王に爲坐せるなるべし、（新羅も常世國なり、さてからぶみ北史、新羅傳に其、王、本百濟、人、自海逃入新羅、遂王其國と云るは、實は皇國、人にて、此、命の御事なるを、誤りて百濟、人とは傳へたるにや、）さて其は、御毛沼、命なるを、姓氏錄に、稻飯、命とあるは、御兄弟の間の傳への異なるなり、（さる例多かり、）○爲妣國

し、（こは然る由ありてぞ名けつらむ）○若御毛沼命、如此四柱の御名並、稲御食を以て稱奉れることは、上處々に云る如く、殊に天津日嗣に、重き由緒あるが故なり、○神倭伊波禮毘古命、此大御名は、大和の京に遷坐て、天下所知看ての上に、稱奉れる物なり、書紀一書に、狹野尊、亦号神日本磐余彦尊、所稱狹野者、是年少時之號也、後撥平天下奄有八洲、故復加號、曰神日本磐余彦尊とあるが如し、（狹野は、早稲主の意か、されど和を省く例は、未考出ず、早稲を和佐と云例は、早田早穂などの類なり、これらも、早稲田早稲穂の意なり、和佐と云稱、稲に限れるを以知べし、さて和世を和佐と云は、下に言を連ね云ときの例にて、稲をも、伊那某と云が如し）さて神と申し、倭と申すは、論なきを、伊波禮と云も稱申せるは、何の由にか、詳ならず、（大和國十市郡に、此地名はあれども、大御名に稱申すべき由緣は、ありとも聞えず、但し書紀、此御卷に、夫磐余之地舊名片居、亦曰片立、逮我皇師之破虜也、大軍集、而滿於其地、因改號爲磐余、とあるに依て、考るに、皇軍倭國に到りて、此時に大く振になりて、集滿たるを賀て、倭伊波禮毘古とは稱奉れるにもやあらむ、若然らば、彼地名を取れるにはあらで、たゞ皇軍の倭に云て、集滿る由の御名にて、又其地の名にも負せしなるべし、また或曰、天皇往嘗嚴瓮粮、出軍而征、是時磯城八十梟帥、於彼處屯聚居之、果與天皇大戰、遂爲皇師所滅、故名之曰磐余邑、ともあるに依らば、あるが中に強き敵に勝たまひし地なるを以て、其地名を以て、稱奉れるにもあらむか、思決めがたし）書紀云、彦波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊、以其姨玉依姬爲妃、生彦五瀨命、次稲飯命、次三毛入野命、次神日本磐余彦尊、凡生四男、一書に、先生彦五瀨命、次稲飯命、次三毛入野命、次狹野命、云々、一

姨は御袁婆なり、新撰字鏡に、姨母乎波と見え、和名抄に、唐韻云、姨母之姉妹也、爾雅云、母之姉妹曰從母、母方乃乎波とあり、（祖父祖母は、大父大母の意にて、於遲於婆と云、父母の兄弟は、小父小母の意にて、袁遲袁婆と云、於と袁と大小の差あり、さて父の父母又兄弟をば、たゞ於遲於婆、袁遲袁婆と云、母方のをば、母方之某々と云は、ことを分て云ときのことにこそあれ、常には、母方のをも、たゞ於遲於婆、袁遲袁婆とのみ云ことなり、今世とても然なり、さて或説に、以姨爲妻非禮と云て、論あるは、心得ず、古の正しき書に、是を非禮と云ること見えず、何を據に云ことぞや、若漢國のさだめを以て云にや、そはいみしきひがことなり、外國のさだめに拘泥て、いかでか皇朝明神の御所爲を議奉るべき、あなかしこ〳〵）○五瀨命、此御名を、伊世と訓は、いみしき非なり、五十をこそ伊とは云、たゞ五は、伊都と云例にて、五百の外には、伊とのみ云る例なし）御名義は、嚴稻なり、稻を志禰と云る例多く、和名抄に、精久萬之禰、粳米字流之禰、稑乃古利之禰、などの類なり）其志禰を切めて、世と云は、早稻などのごとし、（嚴を五と書る例、垂仁紀に嚴橿之本、これを萬葉一に、五可新何本と書り、嚴と五とは、都の清濁差へるが如くなれども、五手船をも、萬葉廿に二處まで、伊豆手船と書り、これらを思へば、五も、古は都を濁れるかとおぼゆ、然れども、此はいまだ思定めがたければ、此御名の五も、姑都清音に讀む）此命の御事は、白檮原宮段に出たり、（續紀二に、三田首五瀨と云人、名も見ゆ）○稻氷命、御名、意書紀に、稻飯と作れたる字の意なり、○御毛沼命、御名、義御食主なり、出雲國造神賀詞に、熊野大神櫛御氣野命とあるも、（此は須佐之男命を申すなり）同意の稱名なり、又國名の上毛野下毛野も、同意なるべ

から、彼國に、今其ぞ彼ぞとて、神代の御跡どものあるは、心得ぬことなり、さて大隅薩摩に在べしとは、人もをさ〳〵心つかず、又かしこは、他國人の往ることなども、稀なる國なれば、おのづから埋れて、世に識人もなくなれるなり、己はやくより、此事を慷慨く思ひて、いかで大隅薩摩に古へを慕ふ人に、逢てしがな、委く尋ねてば、必語傳へたる處のあるべきをと、願ひわたりつるに、近きほど、白尾齋藏國柱と云薩摩鹿兒島の人の書る、神代山陵考と云物を得て、見たるに、果してみな彼二國にありけり、今此御陵どもの注の中に、薩摩國人の云りとて、さるしたるは、みな彼、說なるぞかし、）さて諸陵式に、已上神代三陵於山域國葛野郡田邑陵南原祭之其兆域東西一町南北一町とある、此は筑紫は甚く遠き故に、此地にして祭賜ふなり、（かゝれば古より、此御陵どもへは、御使を奉遣し賜ひし事なども無かりけむ故に、其地もさだかならず、終に何處とだに知れずなりぬるなりけり、）なほ歷代の諸御陵に關れる、種々の事どもは、中卷畝火山御陵の處に云べし、

是天津日高日子波限建鵜葺草葺不合命。娶其姨玉依毘賣命。生御子名五瀨命。次稻冰命。次御毛沼命。次若御毛沼命。亦名豐御毛沼命。亦名神倭伊波禮毘古命。四柱故御毛沼命者。跳波穗渡坐于常世國。稻冰命者。爲妣國而。入坐海原也。

里、有大陵、異氣甚盛、而不得近焉、是可愛陵歟、又或人云、臼杵郡永井可愛村と云神社あり、傍百町餘山あり、絶頂に靈石三尖す、岩洞あり、是可愛陵なり、又或人云、今日向國延周の領内に、すなはち可愛と云所ありて、そこに陵山と云あり、山の腹に神社あり、御陵は何れのほどにありともさだかにしらず、又或人云、臼杵郡高千穗山の東南の方に、榎の嶽と云山あり其山中に、邇々藝命の陵なりと云あり、里人大石大明神と申すなり、など云り、何れも古く故ある地とは聞えたれど、可愛御陵には非じとぞ思ふ、）又書紀云、久之彦波瀲武鸕鷀艸葺不合尊崩於西州之宮、因葬日向吾平山上陵、諸陵式に、日向吾平山上陵、彦波瀲武鸕鷀艸葺不合尊在日向國、無陵戸とあり、廟陵記に、今大隅國姶羅郡之山と云り、然るべし、和名抄に、大隅國姶羅、（阿比良）郡、又大隅郡姶羅、熊毛郡阿枚あり、（これら本より別處か、又もと一の阿比良なるが、如く三郡に分れ屬るか、地理を尋ねて決むべし、又今世に、肝屬郡に、姶良又大姶良と云處あり、）御陵此等の内に在べし、（薩摩國人の云く、吾平山陵は、大隅國肝屬郡、姶良郷上名村の巖洞中にあり、此巖洞、東方に向へり、内の廣さ三十歩あり、陵上に祠あり、又小川を隔てゝ、前に廟あり、鵜戸權現と云て、葺不合尊を祭れり、）かゝれば神代の三御陵は、大隅と薩摩とに在て、日向國にはあらず、（然るを諸陵式に何れをも、在日向國と記されたるは、書記に日向とあるまゝに記されたるものにて、後に國分れては、日向國にはあらず、大隅薩摩の域に在ることをば、考へられざりしなり、歴代の御陵皆其郡をも記されたるに、此三御陵のみ、郡を記されざるにても、日向國とあるは、ただ書紀の文に依れるのみなることを知べし、さて世々の人もみな、たゞ日向國にのみ尋ぬる

二陵、則無之、さて又此陵の右に、新田宮と云あり、瓊々杵尊を祀る、又天照大神栲幡千々姫をも配祀る、此宮は、後世に建たるなるべし、此廟の山を、神龜山とも、龜山とも云は、山の形に依てなり、此廟域は、即瓊々杵尊の宮城の墟なり、廟山の背を、城村と云、屏障を削成たるに似たり、是宮城の趾なりと云傳へたり、さて或人、川合と可愛の字音と、相近きを以て、彼川合陵を可愛陵なりと云は、非なり、今見るに、中山陵と端陵とは、大なる阜にて山の如くなるを、川合陵は、中山陵を距ること、一里許にて、其地卑濕狹隘、非可以藏玉體處、と上り、宣長今此說を按に、古へ帝皇を葬る、或は云々と云るは、然もあることなれども、必三墓を合せて、某山陵とせしことにも非れば、かの川合陵端陵と云、二は、可愛御陵にはあらず、別にて、他神の御墓なるべし、其故は、川合陵は、中山陵を距こと、一里許と云ればなり、若是可愛御陵に附たるものならば、さばかり遠く放て在べきにあらず、端陵は、中陵より幾ばかり離れるにか、川合陵の遠きに准へて思へば、其も甚近くは非るにや、凡て右の說に、右にあり、左にありと云るは、いと近く、一域に相並べる如く聞ゆるを、かの川合陵は、一里許、距れりと云れば、端陵も、遠き近き程さだかならざるなり、凡てかゝる事を、委く記さむには、東南西北の方位を云て、某方幾ばく放れりと云ざれば、其在處さだかならず、たゞ左右とのみにては、甚おぼつかなし、又高城郡は、穎娃郡と接て、此御陵の地、古は穎娃郡なりしが、今は高城郡に屬たるにや、若この二郡相接ず、離りたる域ならむには、此中山陵も、なほ疑なきにあらず、此郡の在處をも、なほよく尋ねて決むべきことなり、）日向國にはあるべからず、（口決に、可愛之山陵、在日向國宮崎と云るは、心得ず、又或人云、臼杵郡縣西三

き海べに、高屋島と云ある、これ此御陵なりと云は、心得ず、書紀景行、卷十二年に、到日向國、起行宮、以居之、是謂高屋宮、云々、居於高屋宮、已に六年也、とあるは、大隅薩摩の域に非ず、日向國と聞えたれども、こは此御陵のある高屋とは、別なるべし、○書紀には、遲々藝命葺不合命の御陵をも記されて、三御世の備れり、此記も、必然有きことなるに、たゞ穗々手見命のみ、御歷年をも、御陵をも記して、餘の二御世のは、共に見えざるは、初より漏つるなるべし、故今ついでに、此に其二御陵をも擧て注すべし、書紀云、久之天津彥々火瓊々杵尊崩因葬筑紫日向可愛之山陵、(可愛此云埃)諸陵式に、日向埃山陵、天津彥々火瓊々杵尊、在日向國無陵戶、とあり、廟陵記に、今薩摩國頴娃郡と云り、然るべし、和名抄に、薩摩國頴娃(江乃)郡頴娃鄕、これなり、(娃字は、紀伊の伊字などの例にて、エの音の韻を添へたるのみなり、今國人は、えいと云、其もエを長く引て呼なり、文字は、舊のまゝに頴娃と書、或は江居とも書り、和名抄に江乃とある乃字は、削るべし、)御陵必此處にあるべし、(薩摩國人の云、可愛山陵は薩摩國高城郡、水引鄕五臺村、中山の巓にあり、天書に、瓊々杵尊云々葬筑紫日向、緣之中山之巓陵也と見えたり、又川合陵端陵と云て、二あり、今俗に中山陵をば中陵と云て、中にあり、瓊々杵尊の陵と云り、川合陵は其、左端、陵は右に在て、此二陵をば、天照大神と、忍穗耳尊の陵なりと云は、非なり、古帝皇を葬る、或は三陵を營す、二は聖體ををさめ、餘は轜車及服御の物等をゝさめ、三墓を合せて某帝皇山陵とする、然れば、此三陵合せて、瓊々杵尊の可愛山陵なり、其中に、玉體を藏奉たるは、中陵なり、今見るに、此中陵には、巓に安磐石二、尙如曠域、周圍以井韓、世命修之、其石最大、如俗謂片石、非神功不能輸山上、他

あり、但し某天皇の御陵など云ふときは、美波加と云ふべく、其御陵を指ては、美佐邪紀とも云べし、（たとへば、某處の美佐邪紀は、某天皇の美波加ぞ、など云むが如し、某天皇の美佐邪紀などは云ざりけむ）凡て同物も、指さまによりて、名のかはる類多し、（後世になりては、陵をばすべて美佐邪紀と、申して、墓と別ること、なれり）なほ美佐邪紀の事は、下卷（傳四十、穴穗宮の段下）なる佐々紀山、君の注に云べし、○在其高千穗山之西也、書紀には、後久之彦火々出見尊崩葬日向高屋山上陵とあり、口決に、高屋前爲竹屋也、（前に見えたる竹屋は、以竹刀截其兒臍、其所棄竹刀、終成竹林、故號彼處曰竹屋、とありしところなり）延喜、諸陵式に、日向高屋山上陵、彦火々出見尊、在日向國、無陵戸、松下氏前皇廟陵記に、薩摩國阿多郡、大隅國肝屬郡、俱有鷹屋郷、蓋二郷境相接、恐此地之山と云る、此說信に謂れたり、（但し阿多郡と肝屬郡と、相接きて、一の鷹屋の二郡にわたれるか、又は鷹屋二あるか、其地理を知らざれば、さる細なることは、えしもわきまへず、なほ國人によく尋ぬべし）和名抄に、大隅國肝屬郡鷹屋、薩摩國阿多郡鷹屋と見ゆ、此高千穗山は、上にも云る如く、霧島山なるべければ、其西は大隅國なり、（薩摩國人の云、高屋山陵は、大隅國肝屬郡、内浦郷北方村、高屋山の巔にあり、此山上を、今俗に國見山と云て、國中を見わたすところなり、麓に高屋神社あり、出見尊を祭れり、と云り、此說然るべし、彼地、霧島山より西方にあたれりや、なほ尋ぬべし）然るを日向とあるは、上に云る如く、上代には、大隅薩摩までかけて、日向國と云しことありつればなり、（神武紀に、日向國吾田邑とあるも、可愛、山陵の可愛も、みな薩摩の地名なるを以ても知べし、然るに今日向國宮崎郡、佐土原のあたり近

萬六千四十二年、と記せるは、いみしき妄説なり、そも〳〵三御代、次々に如此御命長くなり坐むことも、由なく、又葺不合命は、然ばかり長く坐けるに、其御子の神武天皇は、俄に縮りて、わずかに百餘歳なりしは、何の由とかせむ、いとも〳〵心得ず、此に至て、かの詛言の驗あらはれたるなりとも云むか、されど二御世殊に長く坐々て、其を過て後に、俄に驗のあらはるべきにも非るやを、右の年數は、後人の彼神武紀の年數に據て、其を妄に三御代に分配りて、定めたるものにて、彼詛言の事をも、思ひわたさず此記に、此にかく五百八十歳とあるなどをも、考へずして、たゞゆくりなく物したるなり、次々に年數を多く云たるは、御世の彌益に長久しかりしよしに、祝奉れるこゝろ云らひなるべし、此三御代の年を合すれば、かの神武紀なる數と、全く同きは、是後人の云わざなる證なり、凡て上代の傳は、かくさまのことは、必此と彼と、全くは同じからぬものなればなり、さて右の三御代の年數を、神代卷口決には、三十萬八千五百三十三年、六十三萬七千八百九十二年、八十三萬六千四十三年と分たり、此は少し差あれども、三十萬の萬の上に、一字を脱し、卌を卅に誤りたるにて、もと初に云ると同じことなり、）○御陵は美波加と訓べし、萬葉二（二十四丁）に八隅知之、和期大王之、恐也、御陵奉仕流、山科乃、鏡山爾云々、師の考に、古は天皇の山陵をも、御墓とぞ云つらむ、此も御陵とは書たれど、みさゞきとは訓がたく、必みはかと訓べければなりとあり、書紀仁德卷推古卷などに、難波荒陵と云地名もあり、源氏物語須磨卷に、院の御はかとあり、（又御山ともあり、古書にも、御陵を、築くを、山作といへり、）又美佐邪紀と云も、古き稱なり、和名抄に、山陵美佐々岐、また諸陵寮美佐々岐乃豆加佐と

書紀に、襲之高千穗峯ともある、襲は大隅、國なれば、是霧島山をも、高千穗と云し證なり、かゝれば、初、邇々藝命は、笠沙、御崎なる宮に坐々しを、穗々手見命に至て、此宮に遷坐しにこそはありけめ、○伍佰捌拾歲、凡て神代の年、數の事、（今これをかにかくに論はむは、中々にいまだしき事に思ふ人あるべけれど、然らず、此にも如此見え、書紀にも見えたれば、必なほざりにすぐすべきにあらず、）書紀、神武、卷の首に、自天祖降臨、以逮于今、一百七十九萬二千四百七十餘歲とあるは、三御代（邇々藝命、穗々手見命、葺不合命）の總ての年、數なり、（此、年數の、いみしく多く久しきを、近き世の、なまさかしき人の心には、信られぬことに思ふから、種々の說あれども、皆漢意のさかしらなり、たゞ古傳のまゝに心得べし）今假に此、數を三御代に等く分つときは、一御代大凡六十萬歲許づゝなるべし、然るを此に、五百八十歲とあるはこよなき短さにて、かの總ての數と、甚くあひかなはざるは、如何と云に、彼、石長比賣の事に依て、父の神の、天神御子之御壽者、木花之阿摩比能微坐、と詛白賜ひしに因て、至于今、天皇命等之御命不長也とあれば、穗々手見命よりこなたは、御命こよなく短く坐べき理なり、（かの詛言、邇々藝命は關り給はず、其、御子より御繼々を詛奉れるものなり）然ればかの一百七十九萬云々の年は、多くは邇々藝命の御世に經過て、穗々手見命は、僅に五百八十歲、次に葺不合は、いよ〳〵短かるべく、次の伊波禮毘古命に至て、又いよ〳〵縮りて、百三十七歲に玄て、崩坐しなり、かゝれば此、御年の數のこと、何かは疑ふべき、（然るを倭姫命世記など、後世の書どもに、神代の年、數を、邇々藝命三十一萬八千五百四十三年、穗々手見命六十三萬七千八百九十二年、葺不合命八十三

崎なる宮なるべく思はるゝを、又よく思ふに、高千穂と云名、又御陵も、其高千穂山の西に在りとあれば、此宮は、彼笠沙御崎なるとは、別にして、（笠沙御崎は、必薩摩國なるべきこと、上に云るが如し、然れば其地ならむには、高千穂宮とは云べからず、彼山よりやゝ遠ければなり）大隅國にて、高千穂山に近き地とこそ聞えたれ、（薩摩國人の云、火々出見尊の宮は、大隅國桑原郡宮内と云地これなり、神名式に、同郡なる鹿兒島神社も、此尊を祭れり、今は正八幡宮と申す、と云り、桑原郡は、高千穂山に近き域にや、なほよく地理を尋ぬべし）さて此高千穂は、霧島山を云なり、（高千穂山の事、傳十五の末に委く云るが如く、其とおぼしき二ありて、何方とも決めがたき中に、此宮の名の高千穂は、必かの霧島山なるべきこと、御陵の在處を以て知べきなり、此御陵の在處の事は、下に云を考へ見べし、若是を日向の臼杵郡なる高千穂としては、御陵の在所に叶はざるなり、さて此に依て、つら〳〵思ふに、神代の御典に、高千穂峯とあるは、二處にて、同名にて、かの臼杵郡なるも、又霧島山も、共に其山なるべし、其は皇孫命初て天降坐し時、先二の内の、一方の高千穂峯に、下著賜ひて、それより、今一方の高千穂に、移幸しなるべし、其次序は、何か先、何か後なりけむ、知べきにあらざれども、終に笠沙御崎に、留賜へりし、路次を以て思へは、初に先降著賜ひしは、臼杵郡なる高千穂山にて、其より霧島山に遷坐て、さて其山を下りて、空國を行去て、笠沙御崎には、到坐しなるべし、かゝれば神代の高千穂と云し山は、此二處なりけむを、此も彼も同名なりしから、古より混ひて、一の山のごと語傳へ來て、此記にも書紀にも、然記されたるなるべし、さて然二處共に、同名をしも負たりしも、所以ありたることなるべし、）

盡、（此二の盡字、いろいろ異さまに訓れど、みな非なり、此の御哥と相照して、コトゴ〳〵と訓べきこと決し）十七（三十九丁）に、久奴知許登其等夜麻波之母之自爾安禮登母、（これら、夜のかぎり、晝のかぎり、國内の限に、と云意なり）貫之集に、櫻花ちらぬ松にもならはなむ色こと〳〵に見つゝ世をへむ、是は色のあらむ限と云意なれば、（これを契冲が、松と櫻と面々にと注したるは、ひがことなり）此と正しく同じ、さて余は、人の生涯を云世にて、御自の御齡なり、（右の萬葉廿なる、貫之集なる、皆同じ）凡て人の命の間を、世と云こと、常多し、結の邇、書紀には、母とあり、六帖又濱成歌式に出せるなどは、此記と同じ、（邇と云るは、世の限までに、と云に同く、母と云るは、世の限までも、と云に同じければ、何れにても同じ）さて右の二首歌、書紀には、豐玉姫云々、言訖乃渉海徑去、于時彦火々出見尊、乃歌之曰、飫企都鄧利云々、是後豐玉姫云々、寄玉依姫而奉報歌曰、阿軻娜磨廼云々、凡此贈答二首號曰擧歌とありて、（擧歌の事は、遠飛鳥宮段、傳三十九に云べし）此記を、贈答反さまに相換れり、何れにても通ゆる中に、御歌のさまを思に、此記の方、やゝまされり、（谷川氏、此記の方を、非陰陽唱和之義と云るは、例の漢意、いと〳〵うるさくなむ）又一書に、初豐玉姫別去時、恨言既切、故火折尊、知其不可復會、乃有贈歌、已見上とありて、豐玉姫の答歌の事無き、此も一の傳なり、（但已見上と云に、答哥をもこめたるにてもあるべし）○高千穗宮は、白檮原宮段の初にも、坐〻高千穗宮而云々とあれば、彼御世まで御世々々、此宮に坐坐しなり、抑邇邇藝命、天降坐て、初て笠沙之御崎に、宮敷坐りしこと、上（傳十五日向宮御鎮座の段下）に見えたる如くなれば、此高千穗宮と申すも、即彼笠沙御

其は伊の假字にて、異なり、思ひ混ふべからず、）凡て率とは、身に副へ附るを云て、（ゐてゆくは、身にそへて行なり、ひきゐは、引從へて身にそふるなり、）率寢は、身に副附て寢るなり、孝德紀の哥に、陀虞毘預俱、陀虞陛屢伊慕乎、多例柯威爾鷄武（誰か、率にけむなり、）ともあり、○伊毛波和須禮士は、妹をば不忘なり、妹とは、豐玉毘賣命を指て詔ふなり、禮を書紀には、邏とあり、（濱成哥式に出せるには、此記と同く禮とあり、書紀纂疏に、不可得忘也、と注せられたるは、邏とあるを、忘られじの意に見給へる物にて、誤なり、邏にても、意は忘れじなり、又契冲が、禮と邏とを、五音の通なりと云るも、精しからず、凡てかく言の活く處は、五音の轉用、定まれる格ありて、漫には通はし云ものに非ず、其轉用に從ひて、意も轉るものなればなり、然れば、忘れじを、忘らじと云も、通音の故には非ず、別に一の活用にて、常に、わすれ、わする、わするゝ、と活用く格には非ず、わすらむ、わすり、わする、など活用く格なり、古はさる例あり、隱も、常には、かくれ、かくる、かくるゝ、と活用くを、古は、かくらむ、かくり、かくる、など多く云り、これらと同じ、後世にも、一言の二種に活用く例、あることなり、又六帖に、此御哥を、わぎもこと云題の處に出して、此句を、わすれずとせり、そは終句を、世の事毎にの意と見たる故に、士を受に改めたるなるべし、ひがことなり、）○余能許登碁發邇は、契冲云、世の盡になり、世の限の意なり、萬葉廿に、多知之奈布、伎美我須我多乎、和須禮受波與能可藝里爾夜、故非和多里奈無、此意に同じと云り、（事々事毎などの意とするは、非なり、さて盡てふ言は、常には、數ある物を、一も遺さぬことにのみ云て、如此き限の意に云るは、めづらしきに似たれど、）萬葉二（二十四丁）に、夜者毛、夜之盡畫者母、日之

云までは、たゞ嶋と云名に係てつゞけたる、序のみなり、此海神宮に、鴨の寄と云には非ず、（或説に、萬葉に、奥鳥鴨云船とあるを引て、此の鴨も、船をよみ給へるにて、嶋は、かの無目堅間の小船の着たりし嶋なりと云るは、由ありげに聞ゆれども、非なり、上代に、船をたゞに鴨とのみ云が如きことは、あることなし）さて海底にある海神宮をしも、島とよみ賜へるは、海路を經て到る處なる故に、海表にある尋常の島に准へて詔へるなり（この島を、いはゆる可怜小汀なりと、契沖が云るは、似つかはしくは聞ゆめれど、非なり、こはかの小汀に關かることにはあらず、又或人、此御哥に島とよみ給へるを以て、海神宮も、一の島なりと云、證にしたるも、まことに然ることのごと聞ゆめれど、なほ然には非ず、志麻とは、必しもよのつねの海上にある島を云のみにはあらず、周に界限の有て、一區なる處を云名なること、國號考に委く云るがごとし、又或人の云、今薩摩國江居郡海門村に、海童神社あり、海門の後なる山を、今も鴨つく島と云り、神代紀に海宮と云るは、此海門山のことなりと云も、例の信られぬ事なり、今も鴨つく島と云とは、後世人の、此の御哥に依て、造り設けたる名とこそ聞えたれ、さる類、いづくにもあることぞかし）○和賀韋泥斯は、契沖云、我率寢しなり、謂を古事記には韋、濱成式には爲と書り、伊以なゞ、同じからざれば、たゞ我寢しには非ず、妹を率て寢たりしなり、古事記雄略天皇御哥に、多斯爾波韋泥受、また和加々閇爾、韋泥豆麻斯母能、萬葉十四に、伊伎豆久伎美乎、爲禰豆夜良佐禰、また安麻多欲母、爲禰豆己麻思乎、同十六に、橘寺之長屋爾吾率宿之、みな率て寢るなりと云り、なほ遠飛鳥宮段の哥にも、多志陀志爾、韋泥豆牟能知波とあり、（たゞ寢るをも、伊泥といへど、

如く、色々の玉の中に、白玉は殊に勝れたる故に、赤玉に對へて、譬へ賜へるなり、（或說に、三四の句を、天子は白玉を佩たまふ、其御裝束を云と云るは、わろし、須賀多などはいはずして、余曾比とあるは、其意かと思ふ人もあるべけれど、然らず、余曾比即光儀なり、たとひ裝束の意にもあれ、白玉を佩たまへるを云には非ず、其にてもなほ、白玉は譬へなり、さて此御歌、書紀の趣は、白玉に譬へずして、直に君の儀を、赤玉に對へてよみ給へり、さて彼紀には、聞其兒端正、心甚憐重云々、とあるによりて、或說に、君がよそひを、葺不合命の御事なりと云り、然れども御歌のさま、然は聞えず、決く夫君を戀奉りて、よみ賜へる趣なれば、聞其兒云々とある詞と歌と、相叶はず、いかゞとぞ思ふ、）○比古遲、上に出たり、此も穗々手見命を申せるなり、○答歌曰は許多閇賜祁流美宇多と訓べし○意岐都登理は、奥つ鳥なり、奥に住鳥を云て、鴨の枕詞なること、野つ鳥雉、家つ鳥鷄、島つ鳥鵜などの例の如き、なほ師の冠辭考に委し、其餘萬葉十一（四十三丁）にも、奥爾住鴨之浮宿之十四（二十八丁）に、於吉都麻司母十五（十一丁）に、於伎爾奈都佐布可母須良母、などもあり、○加毛度久斯麻邇は、於鴨着島なり、着を度久と云る例は、上（傳十六猿田毘古神、阿射加の段下）に底度久御魂とあり、度、書紀には豆とあり、（此によりて、此記の度をもヅとよむは非なり、此記には、一字を二音に通用ひたる假字の例なし、度はドの假字にのみ用ひたり、）度と豆と通へる例、多杼伎多豆伎などのごとし、さて此着は、清音なるべき處なるに、度も豆も濁音なるは、古への音便にて、かゝる例多し、さて着は、寄と云むに同じ、（船などの寄をも、着と云り、又手着と手寄と同きをも思へ、）嶋は、海神宮を指て詔ふなり、かくて鴨着と

なり、然れば、御言を持とも云むには、口ゑて白す歌をも、獻ると云つべし、又は後に物に書て贈ること出來ての世の詞を以て、獻とは云傳へたるにもあるべし）○其歌曰を、師は、曾能宇多と訓て、曰字は讀れざりき、是ぞ皇國の物言なる、（曰字は、たゞ漢文の例に書るのみなり、よむべきにあらず）○阿加陀麻波は、赤玉者なり、（これを契冲が、海底の珊瑚なりと云るは、こと限りてわろし、たゞ赤き玉なり、又書紀の注に、明玉とゑたるも、わろし、此記にては、殊に白玉に對へたるにかなはず、又吾玉と見て、葺不合命の御ことゝ云るなどは、殊にひがことなり）○袁佐閇比迦禮杼は、緒副雖光なり、貫る緒まで映きて、光照を云て、玉の甚美麗きよしなり、○斯良多麻能は、白玉之なり、下に、如きと云言を添へて心得べし、（此格古歌に常多し）以上三句書紀には、阿軻娜磨廼、比訶利播阿利登、比鄧播伊珮耐とあり、○岐美何余曾比新は、君之儀しにて、君は、夫君穗々出見、命を申給へるなり、斯は助辭なり、○多布斗久阿理祁理は、貴有けりなり、此貴は、上に益我王而甚貴、とあると同くて、美く好きを云こと、彼處に云るが如し、萬葉六に、貴吾君などあり、○一首の意は、赤玉は、緒さへ光りて、いと美好しけれども、其よりも、白玉の如くなる君が御光儀ぞ、なほまさりて美き、と云て、戀慕ひ奉る御情を述賜へるなり、人を玉に譬へたるは、萬葉七（十九丁）に、奥津波、部都藻纏持、依來十方、君爾益有、玉將緣八方廿、（二十九丁）に、都久比夜波、須具波由氣等毛、阿母志々可、多須乃須我多波、和須例西奈布母、白玉に譬へたるは、書紀武烈、卷、影媛に贈賜ふ御歌に、擧騰我瀰爾、枳謂屢箇鰐比、謎、拖摩儺羅麼、婀我裒屢拖摩能、婀波寐之羅陀魔、萬葉十九（十六丁）に、白玉之、見我保之君乎、（此外にもなほ多し）などある

なり、然れば、緣に因てと云は、其使にと云意なるべし、（又思ふに因治養其御子之緣とは豐玉毘賣戀しきに得忍給はざれども既に訣別て海坂を塞て還坐るうへは又立迴りて逢奉賜ふべきにもあらざるが故に御子を治養奉るためと云なして其を緣に去て玉依毘賣を遣して歌を獻り給ふにもあらむかもし其意ならば其御子袁治養奉流袁余斯爾志豆と訓べし萬葉十一に久方乃雨毛零奴可其乎因將爲とあると同じ詞なり然れどもなほ初に云るに依べし）書紀一書に、是後豐玉姬、聞其兒端正、心甚憐重、欲復歸養、於義不可故、遣女弟玉依姬以來、養者也、于時豐玉姬命寄玉依姬、而奉報歌曰、阿軻娜磨廼云々とあるは、此記の趣と近し、（但し此記に、不忍戀心とあるは、夫君をおもほしたるにて、御子を戀給ふには非れば、是は異なり、なほ此事は、下に論ふべし、又御歌の贈答の、反さまなることも、下に云べし、又彼紀には、上に豐玉姬將女弟玉依姬來到とあれば、玉依姬は、初にも、御姉と共に來坐るなり、然れば御姉の返去坐し時に、又共に、返去坐けむを、今又更に參らせ給へるなるべし、）但し此記には、玉依毘賣、初に御姉と諸共に來坐し事は、見えざれば、此度始めて參らせ賜ふと聞えたり、かくて此處にも、正しく來坐るよしは見えざれども、其はおのづから、然聞えて明し、又書紀本書に、豐玉姬將其女弟玉依姬來到、一書に、留其女弟玉依姬持養兒などあるも、初より將て來坐し趣なり、又一書に、一云、置兒於波瀲者非也、豐玉姬命自抱而去、久之曰天孫之胤不宜置此海中、乃使玉依姬持之送出焉とあるも、一の傳なり、○獻歌とは、當時文字はなければ、後世の、物に書て、其を獻る如くには非ず、たゞ御口傳に奏し賜ふを云なり、（宰は、御言持にて、いと古き稱

も肥立と書は、俗のゑわざにて、此も日數の經過よしにて、日足と同意なり、若は比陀流を訛れるにもあるべし、）書紀一書に、亦云彦火々出見尊、取婦人、爲乳母湯母及飯嚼湯坐、凡諸部備行以奉養焉、于時權用他姫婦、以乳皇子焉、此世取乳母養兒之緣也とあるは、此御子を日足奉りしさまを、委く云る傳なり、○玉依毘賣御名、意、玉は、御姉の御名のに同く、依は、（字は借字にて、）余呂志の切りたるなり、（呂志は理と切）余呂志は、師説に、物の足り具れるを云、余呂都余呂布なども、同言の分れたるなり、萬葉一に、取與呂布天乃香具山とあるも、此山の、よろづとのひ足たるを云るなり、又宜奈倍吾背乃君など云るも同じ、と云れたるが如し、此意を以て美、稱たる名なり、名の例は、男には、飯依比古、建依別、稻依別など、女には、伊須氣余理比賣、息長水依比賣、水穗五百依比賣などあり、續紀廿七に、與呂志女云名も見えたり、玉依てふ同名は、書紀一書に、栲幡千々姫、一云萬幡姫兒玉依姫命、此記水垣宮段に、活玉依毘賣あり、賀茂御祖神の御名も、玉依姫なり、（山城風土記に見ゆ）皆右の意の稱名なり、神名帳に、信濃國埴科郡、玉依比賣神社あり、是は何れを祠れるにかあらむ、○附は、ことつくるなり、萬葉廿に、常陸さし行む雁もが吾戀を、ゑるして都祁豆妹に、ゑらせむ、古今集春下に、吹風に、詐へつくる物ならば此一本はよきよと云へまし、伊勢物語に、宇都の山に至りて云々、修行者遇たり云々、京に某人の御許にて、書かきてつく、（此つくを、眞字本に傳とかけり、これを告と心得るは、非なり）などある都久と同じ、さて此處の趣は、豐玉毘賣御自は本國に還去給ひしかども、御子を此國に遺置奉賜へる故に、其を治養奉らゑめむために、御弟の玉依毘賣を、此度參らせ賜ふ、其便に附給へる

岐美何余曾比斯。多布斗久阿理祁理。爾其比古遲三以音字答歌曰。意岐都登理。加毛度久斯麻邇。和賀韋泥斯。伊毛波和須禮士。余能許登碁登邇。故日子穗穗手見命者。坐高千穗宮伍佰捌拾歲。御陵者。即在其高千穗山之西也。

然後者は、（一句を隔てゝ）不忍戀心と云に係れり、然は斯加禮杼母と訓べし、上の白云々返入と云を承て云るなり、○雖恨は、宇良美都〻母と訓べし、後にいふ、恨那賀良の意なり、○不忍戀心は、許比志伎爾延多閇多麻波受豆と訓べし、此言は、下の獻歌と云へ係れり、○治養は、比多志麻都流と訓べし、中卷玉垣宮段に、日足奉とある、此字の意にて、多志は令足なり、（今世の言にも、令足を多須と云り、）書紀私記に、云比太須其義如何、答師說、凡人子、初生日數最少、而漸々長養、日數最稍足、故謂養長其子、爲日足耳、と云る如く、兒は、日數の積るに隨ひて、成長る物なる故に、日數を足らゝむる意以て、養育ることを、然云なり、書紀にも、養、また子養長、養持、養膝、養など、皆然訓り、上宮記（釋紀に引）に、無親族部之國、唯我獨難養育、比陀斯、續紀四に、人祖乃、意能賀弱兒乎養治事乃如久、治賜比慈賜、萬葉十三（二十八丁）に、何時可聞日足座而、（此萬葉なるは、成長賜ふ自のうへより申せるにて、此多良志は、多理を延へたるなり、令足には非ず）など見ゆ、（倭姫命世記に、豐鋤入姫命、吾日足止曰支とあるは、儀式帳には、御形長成とあれど、これは老賜ひぬるを云る如く聞ゆるなり、又今俗に、病の愈りて後、漸に健になるを、比陀都と云

化爲龍、而（此間に、文脫たるべし）甚愧之曰、如有不辱我者、則使海陸相通、永无隔絕、今既辱之、將何以結親昵之情乎、乃以艸裹兒、棄之海邊、閉海途、而徑去矣、故因以名兒、曰彥波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊、（これには、たゞ以艸裹兒とのみありて、鵜羽のことなければ、御名の宇賀夜は、此傳にては、たゞ草名にや、然らば鸕鷀草と書れたるは、借字とせむか、又上に產屋のことも見えざれば、葺不合も、何の由にか、明らかならざれば、かにかくに故因以名と云ること、通えず、）一書に、先是且別時、豐玉姬從容語曰、妾已有身矣、當以風濤壯日、出到海邊、請爲我造產屋、以待之、是後、豐玉姬果如其言來至、云々、猶以櫛燃火視之時、豐玉姬化爲八尋熊鰐、匍匐逶蛇、云々、所以兒名稱云々者、以彼海濱產屋、全用鸕鷀羽爲草葺之、而甍未合時、兒即生焉、故因以名焉、一書に、先是豐玉姬謂天孫曰、妾已有娠也、天孫之胤、豈可產於海中乎、云々、屋甍未及合、豐玉姬自馭大龜、將女弟玉依姬、光海來到、時孕月已滿、產期方急、由此不待葺合、徑入居焉、云々、化爲八尋大鰐、云々、天孫就而問曰、兒名何稱者當可乎、對曰、宜號云々、言訖乃涉海徑去、一書に、云々、豐玉姬大恨之曰、不用吾言、令我屈辱、故自今以往、妾奴婢至君處者、勿復放還、君奴婢至妾處者亦勿復還、遂以眞床覆衾及草裹其兒、置之波瀲、即入海去矣、此海陸不相通之緣也、一云、置兒於波瀲者、非也、豐玉姬命自抱而去、久之、曰、天孫之胤、不宜置此海中、乃使玉依姬持之、送出焉、

然後者、雖恨其伺情、不忍戀心、因治養其御子之緣、附其弟玉依毘賣而、獻歌之、其歌曰、阿加陀麻波、袁佐門比迦禮杼、斯良多麻能、

も思はるれど、なほ此は、上に係べきなり、後ながら倭建若建など申す例もあり、）○鵜葺草、眞福寺本に、此葺字無きは、（訓注にもなし、）わろかるべし、（其は、書紀には、草とあるに按べて此も葺字は、衍として、削りたるにこそ、但し云加夜の訓注、上にあらずして、此にあるを思へば、彼本も、いはれなきにあらず、故姑葺字無き方に就ていはば、諸本に、此をも葺草とかけるは、上なるに效ひて、葺字は、後に加へたるものとして、さて上なる葺草をば、字のまゝにフキクサと訓て、こゝなる草の一字を、加夜とは訓べきなり、然れども今諸本並葺字あり、又上なるも、かならず加夜とこそ訓べけれ、フキクサと訓むはいかゞなれば、なほ彼本は取らず、訓注の、上にあらずして、此にあることは、波限の訓注も、然るをや、さてうがやを、水鏡に、うのかやとしるせるは、昔然もよみたりしにや、）○葺不合は、俊成卿の古來風躰抄に、此御名を、うのはふきあへずのみことゝ書れたり、（鵜葺草を、うのはとあるは、わろけれど、）不合を、阿閇受と云る、甚宜し、必古き據ぞありけむ、是に從ひて訓べし、阿波世受を切めて、阿閇受と云は、古言なり、下卷朝倉宮段、御哥に、麻那婆志良、袁由岐阿閇とあるも、尾行合なり、此他にも、合を阿閇と云る例多し、（フキアハセズノ命と訓はわろし、あはせずと云言、御名に似つかはしからず、凡て上代の名に、然詞の調あしきは無きをや、）さて凡て屋を葺には、此方彼方の軒より、葺上りて、棟にて葺合せて、終ることなる故に、葺終るを、葺合すとは云なり、（六帖に、思ふ人雨と降來る物ならば漏るわが屋根は合せざらまし、）○書紀云、後豐玉姫、果如前期、將其女弟玉依姫、直冒風波、來到海邊、逮臨產時請曰、妾產時、幸勿以看之、天孫猶不能忍、竊往覘之、豐玉姫方產、

り、（眞福寺本に恠と作るも、誤りなり）師の、怍を誤れるなりと云れたるぞ、正當れる考へなる、故今然改めつ、中卷玉垣宮段に、是甚慚とあると、全同き文なるをも、思合すべし、萬葉十八（二十七丁）に、左刀妣等能見流目波豆可之、さて此は甚怍加志伎許登と、許登と云辭を讀附べし、許登余と云意にて、雅語には常ある格なり、（古今集、哥に、云々吾を欲と云うれはしきこと、此等のごとし）○海坂は、師の宇那佐加と訓れたるに從ふべし、（延佳が、坂字は、嶮の誤かと云るは、あらず）坂は堺の義にて、（佐加比とは、此方より上る坂と、彼方より上る坂との、合處を云て、坂合の意なること、上に既に云るが如し、さて坂とのみ云ても、即堺のことになることもあるなり）海神の國と、此上國との間の、隔ある處を云なり、（そこに山坂のあるには非れども、陸地の坂堺に准へて、坂とは云るなり）萬葉九（十八丁）に、浦島子を賦る哥に、海界乎過而榜行爾、海若神之女爾邂爾云々、とある海界も、此と全同じければ、相證して、彼をもウナサカと訓べく、此の坂も、堺の意なること、明らけし、（彼、海界を、今、本に、ウミギハと訓、師はウナベタと訓れたる、共にあたらず）○塞は勢伎豆と訓べし、勢久とは、閉塞ぎて、不令通を云、關も、其を躰言になせる名なり、○返入は、海神宮になり、さてかく此時に、海坂を塞ふたぎ賜へるに因て、永く海神宮の往來は、絶たるなり、○是以は、上の於其海邊波限以鵜羽爲葺草云々の事を承て云り、○天津日高日子は、上に出（傳十五の始め）○波限建、上に於其海邊波限云々と見え、書紀一書には、遂以眞床覆衾及艸裏其兒置之波瀲、即入海去矣ともあるか、る由を以て、如此名け奉れるなり、建は美稱なり、（建てふ稱は、多くは上に著る例なれば、此も下に係て讀べく

ついけば云々、源氏物語（葵卷）に、大臣は、え立もあがり賜はず、かゝる齡の末に、若く壯の子に後れ奉りて、もこよふことゝ、恥泣たまふなどあり、さて此は、匍匐委蛇をば、輕く見べし、たゞ鰐に化給へる形狀を云るのみなり、（書紀の或注に、產時のなやみのさまを云、と云るは、わろし）○伺見、これも、加伎麻見と訓べし、○心恥は、宇良波豆加志と、師の訓れたるに從ふべし、心を宇良と云は、宇良賀那志宇良佐備志など是なり、萬葉十四（二十五丁）には、心もとなきを宇良毛等奈久、心やすきを宇良夜須爾などもよめり、○生置は、下の返入と云に係て見べし、御子をば置て、御自は、海神宮に返給ふなり、○恒は、都泥波と訓べし、今までは、と云意にて、上に恒無歎とある恒に同じ、さてこは欲と云へ係る言なり、（ツチニと訓て、往來と云へ係て、今より以後のことゝ見るは、非なり）○海道は、宇美都治と訓べし、萬葉九（二十八丁）に海津路、書紀景行卷に海路などあり、○通は、師の登富志豆と訓れたる宜し、凡て登富流とは、此より彼に行到るを云て、（雨などに衣の沾て、表より裏に徹るを、沾登富流と云類の登富流と、同言なり、今俗に、たゞ經て行を、某處をとほると云は、違へり）登富志は、令登富良なり、此は、海神宮と、此上國との間の海路を、誰も易く往來して、互に到るべくするを云り、○往來は加余波牟と訓べし、書紀萬葉などにも、然訓る例あり、さて此は、豐玉毘賣命の、御自のことのみにあらず、大凡の世人の事を、廣く詔ふなり、○欲、字は、通、字の上にある意にて、恒云々欲ひ、と云ふ意なり、○然、字は讀べからず、於母比斯袁と云袁に、此字の意を帶り、（夫木集に實清朝臣、契だにたがへざりせばわたつ海の底にも人やゆきかよはまし）○甚怪、怪、字諸、本皆作と作るは誤な

なりけり、○願勿見妾は、阿袁那美多麻比曾と訓べし、（願字讀べからず、此字を讀は、皇國語の躰にあらず、）此言黄泉段にも見えたり、○方産は、麻佐加理爾御子字美賜布袁と訓べき、書紀にも方産と訓り、書紀に、顧眄之間、此云美屢摩沙可利爾、萬葉七（二十七丁）に、壯子時我度爲石走者裳、（方産を師は、ミコウムミサカリニと訓れたるは、右の書紀の訓注の格なり、されど又、右の萬葉の如く、みさかりを上にも云り、麻と美とは同じ）麻佐加理は、俗に眞最中と云意なり、舊印本には、産の下に時字あり、餘本には並無し、（有もあるからずとぞ、師は云れし）○竊伺は、加伎麻美と訓べし、垣間見なり、書紀にも、視其私屏とあり、後の物語書などにも多き言にて、其は必しも垣の間ならねども、物の隙などより、竊に見るを云り、（加伊麻美と云は、垣の伎を、例の音便に伊と云るにて、やゝ後のことなり、故今は正きに就て、加伎と訓つ、萬葉十に、垣間とあり、）○八尋和邇は、甚大きなる鰐なり、○匍匐は、波比と訓べし、白檮原宮段の哥に、伊波比母登富理、（伊は發語なり、）萬葉三（五十三丁）に、若子乃匍匐多毛登保里（又九卷に迷匍匐と、借字にも用ひたり、）などあり、此字上にも見えて、そは波良婆比と訓つ、（傳五陰神御石隱の段下）中卷倭建命段に、匍匐迴、○委蛇は、母許余比伎と訓べし、（伎は辭なり、許は濁音にもあらむか、此清濁定めがたし、）書紀にも、委蛇とありて、然訓り、（字は、委蛇とも、逶蛇とも、逶迤とも、なほさまゞに作て、義も種々ある中に、說文に、斜去貌と注せるなどや、此には近からむ、母許余布に用ひたる意は、蛇などの行貌に取れるなるべし、）文選、江賦に、神蜈蚣蟠と云る、蜈蚣（注に行貌）をも、モコヨフと訓り、うつほ物語（樓上卷）に逃て仆れもこよひつ

稱なる、其皆產屋より轉れるものとも聞えざれば、鵜羽を葺るよしにはあらじか、○古語拾遺に、彥瀲尊誕育之日、海濱立室、于時掃部連、遠祖天忍人命、供奉陪侍、作箒掃蟹、仍掌鋪設、遂以爲職、號曰蟹守、今俗謂之掃守者、彼詞之轉也とあり、和名抄に、掃部寮、加牟毛理乃豆加佐とあり、加牟毛理てふ官名は、信に蟹守なるべし、和泉國和泉郡の郷名の掃守は、加爾毛利とあり、さて姓氏錄に、掃守連、振魂命、四世孫天忍人命之後也、雄略天皇御代、監掃除事、賜姓掃守連とあるは、異なる傳なり、さて此御產殿のこと、今日向國那珂郡宮浦村の海邊に、其御跡と云て、大なる窟あり、鵜殿窟と云、中に社ありて、鵜戸權現と云、此はいかゞあらむ）○未葺合は、伊麻陀布伎阿幣奴爾と訓べし、其由は下に云むとす、○不忍御腹之急故は、美波良多幣賀多久那理多麻比祁禮婆と訓べし、（急は迫れる意なり、萬葉十六に、將死命爾波可爾成奴、とある爾波可は、迫れるを云るなれば、此の急も、爾波加爾とも訓べし、）はや御子生坐むとする御腹のこゝちにて、產殿を葺終るを待間も、堪がたくなり賜へるなり、○爾將方產の四字、舊印本又一本には無し、今は眞福寺本延佳本又一本などに依り、○日子は、上八千矛神段に、日子遲神、下文にも、比古遲とあるに同じければ、遲字の脫たるなり、故比古遲と訓べし、穗々手見命を指て申せるなり、此稱の事、上（傳十一宇伎由比の段）に云り、（師はこれを、御子あるに對へて、產父と云なるべしと云れしかど、いかゞ、其意と玄ては、彼八千矛神段なるにかなはず）○以本國之形は、本國能形爾那理豆と訓べく、以本身も、本能身爾那理豆と訓べし、そも〳〵如此白玄て、八尋和邇に化て、產給ふを以て見れば、海神はみな、眞の形は魚なるを、人に交る時、假に人の形には化居賜へる

雛、故産婦執之易生、と云ることあり、或は云、不卵生と云は、妄説なり、そは鵜鳥とて、異鳥なりともいへり、）○葺草は、下に訓注ありて、云加夜とあり、凡て加夜と云は、此字の如く、屋を葺く草を云る名なること、上なる鹿屋野比賣神の處（傳五諸神生坐の段下）に云るが如き、たゞ草の古名と心得るは、非なり、（新井氏云、荻は、今うみがやと云物なり、日向、國人の云を聞に、彼國には、今もうがやと云物のあるなり、即鵜葺草葺不合、尊の御産屋を葺たりし物なり、と云傳へたりとなり、うがやとうみがやと、名近ければ、大古の時、うがやと云し物は、荻なりけむも知らずと云り、今思ふに、此説もさることなれども、以鵜羽云々とある、古傳に叶はず）○産殿は、師の宇夫夜と訓れたるに從ふべし、書紀には産屋と作れたり、又此記、黄泉段にも、千五百産屋とあり、宇夫夜と云ぞ、古き稱なりける、書紀仁德、卷允恭、卷などに、産殿とあるも、然訓べし、（殿と作るを、夜と訓むは、いかゞとも云べけれど、此字必トノと訓に限れることならず、ミアラカともよめば、夜とも訓むに、なでふことかあらむ、これは太子の御なれば、屋と云むはいかゞとも云べけれど、宮も御屋なれば、屋と云は、上下にわたる名なり、かの仁德、卷に、天皇の御をば産殿、臣のをば産屋と、別て書れたれど、そはたゞ文字のうへの差別にこそあれ、當時の言には、共にうぶやとこそ云つらめ）さて兒の初めて生れたる時の、物をも事をも、宇夫某と云こと、古も今も多し、（今世の言に、凡て物の生れるまゝにて、修りかざれることなきをも宇夫といへり、）その宇は、生の字と一にて、生れたるに云稱なるべし、（宇夫夜とは、今此に鵜羽を以て葺るより云、と云る説も、さることなれども、宇夫てふ言は、産屋のみに非ず、他の物にも事にも、多く云

天神之御子。不可生海原。故參出到也。爾即於其海邊波限。以鵜羽爲葺草。造產殿。於是其產殿未葺合。不忍御腹之急故。入坐產殿。爾將方產之時。白其日子言。凡佗國人者。臨產時。以本國之形產生。故妾今以本身爲產。願勿見妾。於是思奇其言。竊伺其方產者。化八尋和邇而。匍匐委蛇。即見驚畏而。遁退。爾豐玉毘賣命。知其伺見之事。以爲心恥。乃生置其御子而。白妾恒。通海道。欲往來然。伺見吾形是甚怍之。即塞海坂而。返入。是以名其所產之御子。謂天津日高日子波限建鵜葺草葺不合命。訓波限云那藝佐訓葺草云加夜

參出は、日子穗々手見命の御所になり、○巳は、波夜久用理と訓べし、○臨產時は、美古宇牟辨伎登伎邇那理奴と訓べし、○海邊と波限とは、同じことの如くなれども、海邊と云は廣く、波限は、正しく波の打寄る際なり、（又波限とは、川池などにも云故に、海邊のとはことわれるにもあるべし）此は殊に御名に負せる由緒なれば、さらなり、萬葉廿（卅丁）に、宇爾能奈伎佐爾云々、和名抄に、韓詩注云、一溢一否曰渚、和名奈木左、○鵜は上に出、此鳥の羽を玄も、葺草に用ひられしこと、いかなる故にかありけむ、書紀釋に、今按、鸕口喉廣、飲入魚、又吐出之、容易之鳥也、是以象產生平安、令葺此羽於產屋者歟と云り、かゝる故にもやあらむ、（漢籍に、此鳥不卵生、口吐其

まで、其種々の狀態なり、）又本書には、乃自伏罪曰、從今以後、吾將爲汝俳優之民、請施恩活、於是隨其所乞、遂赦之、一書には、乃伏罪曰、吾已過矣、從今以往、吾子孫八十連屬、恒當爲汝俳人、（一云狗人）請哀之、弟還出潮涸瓊、則潮自息云々などあり、この俳優は、即溺し時の種々の態を爲をいふなり、職員令に、隼人司、正一人、掌撿校隼人及名帳教習歌儛、隼人司式に、凡踐祚大嘗日云々、其群官初入、發吠、悠紀入、官人幷彈琴吹笛擊百子拍手歌儛人等、（彈琴二人、吹笛一人、擊百子四人、拍手二人、歌二人、儛二人）從興禮門參入御在所屏外、北向立、奏風俗歌儛、主基入亦准此、大嘗祭式に、進於楯前、拍手歌儛など見え、續紀に、大隅薩摩隼人等、風俗歌儛を奏しこと、往々見えたり、此風俗哥儛も、彼俳優の遺れるにぞありけむ、（上代には、全俳優なりしが、後には哥儛の躰になれりしならむ）○故至今云々、抑後世に隼人の職業は、上件の如く、守護と俳優と二なり、然るに今、火照命の能美の言には、たゞ守護人とならむとのみありて、俳優のこと無く、此處には又俳優の方のみを云て、守護の事を云ざるは、（互に略きて、相照して心得る文かとも云べけれど、然には非ず）互にこと足らぬこゝちす、（書紀の傳どもには、たゞ俳優の方のみ見えて、守護の方を云るは、只一書に、不離天皇宮墻之傍、代吠狗云々、とある傳のみなり、其上文に、恒當爲汝俳人、一云狗人とある、俳人は傳への誤にて、狗人とあるぞ、正しかるべき、其故は、其下の是以云々の文、もはら守護の事にして、俳優に非ればなり）但し故と云るは、上の出鹽盈珠而令溺云々の事を承たるなり、（能美の言を承ては見べからず）

於、是海神之女豐玉毘賣命。自參出白之。妾已妊身。今臨產時。此念。

りの、隼人の儀見えたる、右に引る式文の如し、抑隼人の、京に上りて仕奉り事の見えたるは、下卷朝倉宮段に、所近習墨江中王之隼人名曾婆加理と云あり、次に書紀に、大初瀬天皇の崩坐し時に、隼人晝夜陵側にて哀號て物も食ずて死けることあり、（天武天皇崩坐し時、大隅阿多隼人、誄を奉し事、書紀に見ゆ）天武天皇十一年七月、大隅隼人と阿多隼人と、朝廷にして相撲しこと、持統天皇九年五月にも、隼人の相撲を觀はゑしことなどあり、さて清寧天皇四年、欽明天皇元年、齊明天皇元年など、隼人衆を率て內附しこと、（こは畿內に移住しことなどを、內附と記されたるか、漢籍に內附と云は、彼國に服ひ附ことなり、なほ隼人の入朝し事、續紀にも、をり〳〵見ゆ）大寶二年養老四年など、隼人を征討賜ひし事も、續紀に見えたれば、叛きしこともありしにこそ、○其溺時之種々之態とは彼弟命の、鹽盈珠を出し賜へる時、溺れ苦みたりし狀態を、令似行ふを云、然子孫に至るまで、此狀態を仕奉るは、此時に伏辜奉しことを、長に忘れぬよしなり、書紀一書に、火折尊歸來具遵神敎、至乃兄釣之日、弟居濱而嘯之時、迅風忽起、兄則溺苦、無由可生、便遙請弟曰、汝久居海原、必有善術、願以救之、若活我者、吾生兒八十連屬、不離汝之垣邊、當爲俳優之民也、於是弟嘯已停、而風亦還息、故兄知弟德、欲自伏辜、而弟有慍色、不與共言、於是兄著恃鼻、以赭塗掌塗面、告其弟曰、吾汚身如此、永爲汝俳優者、乃擧足踏行、學其溺苦之狀、初潮漬足時、則爲足占、至膝時、則擧足、至股時、則走廻、至腰時、則捫腰、至腋時、則置手於胸至頸時、則擧手飄掌、自爾及今、曾無廢絕、（神の上に海字脫たるなるべし）とあるは、其種々の態を、委曲に云る傳なり、（擧足踏行、とは、先惣てを云るにて、初潮云々より、飄掌と云

と別ち云なり、或人、大衣をも、大隅阿多などゝ並べて、一種の隼人の如く云るは、式をも考へざる妄說なり、續後紀に、山城國人、右大衣、阿多隼人逆足と云人見えたり、又番上隼人と云は、本國より、かはる〳〵上りて、仕奉る者なり、職員令、義解に、分番上下一年爲限とある、是なり、續紀廿五に、大隅薩摩等隼人相替と云こと見ゆ、隼人式に、凡番上隼人、二十人、有闕者、取五畿內及近江丹波紀伊等國隼人幹了者、申省補之とあり、類聚國史に、延曆廿年、停太宰府進隼人とあるは、番上隼人のことには非じ、又今來隼人と云は、番上にはあらで、本國より新に上りて、永く留りて、京畿に住居する者なり、此は妻子をも率て上る故に女もあり、式に見ゆ、凡今來隼人給時服及鹽云々、また今來隼人身亡者、擇取畿內隼人充之、二十人爲限云々、など式に見えたれば、此も中昔には、人數定まり有て、召上せられしと見えたり、諸儀に吠聲を發るは、今來隼人の職なり、類聚國史に、大同三年勅定額隼人、若有闕者、宣以京畿隼人隨闕便補之、云々、其女者、不在補限とあるは、女のことあれば、番上には非で、今來の隼人なるべし、又續紀廿八に、隼人司、隼人百十六人、不論有位无位、賜爵一級とあるは、番上今來の外に、別に司隼人と云あるにや、職員令、隼人司に、直丁一人の次に、隼人と云あり、是なるべし、員は見えず、式に、白丁、隼人一百三十二人とあるは、凡大儀者、預前申官喚集諸國隼人、令供其事とあるを以て見れば、司隼人とは別なるにや、これらは詳には知がたし、さて威儀に、隼人の執る楯に、鉤形を畫とある、此も失たる鉤を徵りし故事を、後世まで示さむためなるべし、鉤字、本に釣と作るは、誤なり、）萬葉十一（十三丁）に早人名負夜音灼然とあるも、吠聲をよめるなり、なほ貞觀儀式などに、元日又踐祚、大嘗などのを

の職なり、隼人司式に、凡元日即位、及蕃客入朝等儀、官人三人史生二人、率大衣二人、番上隼人二十人、今來隼人二十人、白丁隼人一百三十二人、分陣應天門外之左右云々、今來隼人發吠聲三節、（蕃客入朝、不在吠限）云々、大衣及番上隼人云々、自餘隼人皆云々、執楯槍並坐胡床、また凡踐祚大嘗日、分陣應天門內左右、其群官初入發吠云々、また凡遠從駕行者、官人二人史生二人、率大衣一人、番上隼人四人、及今來隼人十人、供奉其駕經國界及山川道路之曲、今來隼人爲吠、また行幸經宿者、隼人發吠、但近幸不吠、また凡今來隼人、令大衣習吠、左發本聲、右發末聲、惣大聲十遍、小聲一遍、訖一人更發細聲二遍、また凡威儀所須、横刀一百九十口、楯一百八十枚、（云々以赤白土墨畫鉤形）木槍一百八十竿、胡床一百八十脚云々など、隼人の事、なほ委く見えたり、（そも〳〵隼人は、大隅薩摩國人なること、上に云るが如し、さて朝廷に召れて、仕奉れるが、永く留りて、京近き國の人になれるも、子孫までなほ隼人と稱て、其職に仕奉れりしなり、隼人式に、五畿內及近江丹波紀伊等國、隼人とある、是なり、又諸國隼人とあるも、右の國々のを云なり、和名抄に、山城國綴喜郡に、大住郷あるも、大隅國の隼人の、留住しよりの名なり、中原康富記に、隼人司、領、山城國大住莊と見え、又康正元年十月十七日、是日當國大住莊內、隼人司領、名主南、未知實名、來申、予對面、申云、大住內隼人領、大嘗會田ト申テ、田地一町二反有、大嘗會、時參洛於官廳、奏風俗、舞人役是也、など見えたり、さて大衣と云は、右の近き國々の隼人の中にて、二人を擇びて、補たるものなり、隼人式に、凡大衣者、擇譜第內置左右各一人、大隅爲左、阿多爲右、教道隼人云々と見ゆ、大隅阿多とは、其國の人を云には非ず、先祖の出たる地を以て、近國なるをも、大隅隼人、阿多隼人

能美麻袁佐玖と訓べし、書紀崇神卷に、彥國葺射埴安彥中レ胸而殺焉、其軍衆云々、知レ不得免、叩頭曰云々、叩頭此云二廼務一、景行卷に、日本武尊抽二裀中之劒一刺二川上梟帥之胸一、未及之死、川上梟帥叩頭曰云々、神功卷に、新羅王降二於王船之前一、因以叩頭曰云々、などあると、事のさまも皆同じ、（又稽首と叩頭と、字義も大かた同じ）此記朝倉宮段に、志幾之大縣主懼畏稽首白云々、故獻二能美之御幣物一云々、これも事のさま同くして、稽首の表物を、能美之御幣物と云るにて、能美と訓べきことを知べし、（延佳本には、ヲガミと訓、師は、ウナヂツキテと訓れき、そは祝詞に、頭根衝扳と云ること、多くあるに依られたるなり、これらの訓、稽首の字義には當れども、此處は、たゞに字の如く、首を地につけて、拜むのみを云るには非ず）能牟は、ひたぶるに伏從て、罪を赦し給へと、請願申すなり、（俗言に、眞平あやまり奉ると云がごとし）故書紀には此を、自伏罪曰と書れたり、又萬葉哥に、神に物を祈るを、許比能牟と多くよめるも、（奈牟ともあり、能と奈とは、通ふ音なり）本は同意なり、書紀崇神卷に、請二罪神祇一ともあり、此は二方（伏罪方と、祈る方と、）にわたれり、○晝夜は余流比流と訓べし、續紀卅一宣命に、旦夕夜日不云などあり、古語皆如此し、祝詞に、夜乃守日乃守と云ること、常に多く見ゆ、○守護人、書紀欽明卷に、爲二守護一、さて書紀一書に、云々於是兄知弟有二神德一、遂以伏二事其弟一、是以火酢芹命、苗裔諸隼人等、至今不レ離二天皇宮墻之傍一、代二吠狗一而奉事者也、世人不レ債二失針一、此其緣也とある、代吠狗と云る、即守護人なり、不レ離二宮墻之傍一とあるは、晝夜と云るに當れり、（職員令に、衛門府、督一人、掌二諸門禁衛一云々、及隼人門籍門牓事）抑この火照命は、隼人の祖に坐て、（其事傳十六に出）此守護の事、後まで隼人

は伊奈々々と云なれど、古は伊余々とのみ云しなり、）萬葉五（四丁）に、伊余興麻須萬須、廿（五十一丁）に、伊興餘などあり、さて此は、事の漸に甚しくなりもてゆくを云、言にて、（今世には、本より然る事の、甚しくなるを云が如くなれども、然のみには非ず、本よりある事ならでもいへり、）稍愈貧とは、三年之間、漸に貧くなりまさるを云なり、（俗に次第々々に貧くなると云意なり、本より貧しかりしには非ず、）さて然貧くなりゆくは、彼淤煩鉤貧鉤と言る、二の詛言の驗に當れり、（貧くなれば、愁思ふ事ありて、心晴やらず、然れば貧くなるに、淤煩てふ驗をも兼たり、）○更は、先に失たりし鉤を、強に責徵りしうへに、今又更になり、○起荒心、これ彼須々鉤字流鉤と言る、二の詛言の驗に當れり、（弟命の御威德に勝がたきことを、得悟らで、なほかく須々美荒ぶるは、癡騃心なれば、宇流てふ驗をも兼たり、）○迫來、此にて語を絶べし、此は大凡を先云へるにて、此次の言に、其迫來ての狀を子細に云り、○將攻之時云々愁請者云々、此は唯一度の事にはあらで、幾度も如此有しと聞ゆる文のさまなり、書紀一書に、時彥火々出見尊、受彼瓊鉤、歸來本宮、一依海神之敎、先以其鉤與兄、兄怒不受、故弟出潮溢瓊、則潮大溢、而兄自沒溺、因請之曰、吾當事汝爲奴僕、願垂救活、弟出潮涸瓊、則潮自涸、而兄還平復、已而兄改前言曰、吾是汝兄、如何爲人兄而事弟耶、弟時出潮溢瓊、兄見之走登高山、則潮亦沒山、兄緣高樹、則潮亦沒樹、兄既窮途、無所逃去とある、是正しく一度に非りし趣なり、又一書に、弟時出潮滿瓊、即兄擧手溺困、還出潮涸瓊、則休而平復、其後火酢芹命、日以繼縷而憂之、○惱苦惱、字、諸本に揔或は惣と作り、今は上文なるに依て改めつ、○稽首白は、（諸本、首字を脫せり、今は眞福寺本延佳本に依る、）

なきをや、さて須加比の切りたるにや、とおぼしきにつきて思へば、書紀に鋤字を書るは、古須伎を延て、須加比とも云るが、此佐比の本言の須加比と、同き故に、通はし借れるにやあらむ、和名抄農耕具に、鎛、鋤、屬也、漢語抄云、佐比都惠、とあれば、鋤をも佐比とも云しにや）續紀十に、紀朝臣佐比物、類聚國史九十九に、玉作佐比毛知、など人名にも見えたり、（天武紀に、小子部連鉏釣、また小子部連鉏劒あり、こは同人にて、釣劒のうち、一々は誤字なるべし、さて何れにても、チと訓ること、心得ず、神代紀の鉤の謬訓によれるにや、さて又齊明紀に、膽振鉏此云伊浮梨娑陛とある、此は佐比を、佐閇とも通はし云りと見ゆ）

是以備如海神之教言。與其鉤。故自爾以後稍俞貧。更起荒心迫來。將攻之時。出鹽盈珠而令溺。其愁諸者。出鹽乾珠而救。如此令惚苦之時。稽首白。僕者自今以後。爲汝命之晝夜守護人而仕奉。故至今。其溺時之種種之態。不絕仕奉也。

故自爾、此三字、上なる（傳十二）少名毘古那神、段にもあり、○以後の下に、其兄と云ことあらまほし、さて、與其鉤と云、次に、高田を菅れば云々、下田を菅れば云々の事も有べきに、なきは、其は初に、敎奉し言に、既に備に出たる故に、此には略けるなり、（かゝる例、記中におほし）○稍俞は、伊余々と訓べし、（俞字は、愈と通ふ、稍は、常には夜々とよむ、夜々は、伊夜々々の伊の省かりたるなれば、即伊余々と本同言なり、故今は二字を合せて、伊余々と訓つ、さて此言、後世に

有ける、其神の初の由緣の傳へ、此と彼と異なるなり、此神の二あるにはあらず、名義は、かの被賜れる紐小刀を有持る由なり、佐比は、書紀推古卷大御哥に、多智奈羅磨、句禮能摩差比、（これ吳の眞佐比を、すぐれたる大刀のよしによませ給へるなり、私記に、吳眞鋤、良劒之名也と云り、）又神代卷に、蛇韓鋤之劒と云あり、（吳眞鋤と韓鋤と、心ばへ似たる名なり、韓鋤をカラスキと訓るは非なり、さて佐比に、書紀に鋤字を書れたるは、いかなる義にか、心得がたし、此事なほ次に云む、さて又此、佐比の比を、濁りて讀はわろし、此にも書紀、推古卷にも、並、清音の比字を書ればなり、濁るべき據は無し、鏞と一ッ意に心得るは妄なり、）さて中卷倭建命の御哥に、木以造れる詐刀のことを、佐味那志爾阿波禮とよみ賜へる佐味も、佐比と通ひて、同きが如聞えて、（師の冠辭考にも、然るよし見えたり、和名抄に、越中國新川郡佐味、左比、越後國頸城郡佐味、佐美とある、これらも此、比と、美と通へる例なり、）共に大かたは、刀のことゝは聞ゆれども、右の御哥の佐味は、直に刀とのみ見ては、穩ならず、（冠辭考は、木刀は身なき謂にて、佐味那志とよめり、刀に身てふこと、古へも云りとありて、此の佐比持、神のことをも引れたり、今思ふに、佐味那志は、身無しにて聞えたり、佐比持は、身持としては、穩ならず、）故かの佐味とは、なほ別なるにやあらむ、かくて佐比は、物を截斷貌を云る言にて、須加比の切まりたるにて、かの須加流劒布都御靈など云類の、劒の稱にやあらむ、上なる都牟刈之大刀の處（傳九、八俣遠呂智の段下）を考合すべし、（或說に、神代紀に竹刀あれば、佐比は小刀なりと云へれど、右の推古紀の御哥に、大刀に摩差比とあれば、小刀のみの稱に非ず、且小をば、佐々とこそ云へれ、佐と云ること、古言に例

經て行路を、一尋和邇は、一日に行なるは、纂疏に、短者身輕、而行駛、長者身重、而行遲とある、是故にや、（よのつねの例を以て思へば、大なるぞ速かるべきに、却て小きが速きは、鰐は實に然る物にや、なほよく尋ぬべし）隨己身之尋長、限日而白とあれば、長き短きに隨て、速き遲きけぢめあるなり、又一書には、乘火々出見尊於大鰐、以送致本鄕とあるは、小きと大なると、異なる傳なり、又一書に、召集鰐魚、問之曰、天神之孫、今當還去、爾等幾日之內、將作以奉致、時諸鰐魚、各隨其長短、定其日數、中有一尋鰐、自言一日之內則當致焉、故即遣一尋鰐以奉送焉、（作字は、供の誤か）とあるは、此記と同じ、○若渡海中時、萬葉一（二十六丁）に、對馬乃渡渡中爾云々、さて若は、惶畏へ係れる言なり、（海中を渡るは、もとより定まれる事なれば、若と云べきに非ず）○無令惶畏は、那訶志許麻世麻都理曾、と師の訓れたるに從ふべし、こは凡て海中を行ほどは、可畏き物なる故に、其心して、懼賜はぬさまに物せよと戒め給ふか、將鰐は猛くおそろしき物なる故にてもあらむか、○載其和邇之頸、背にこそ乘奉るべき物なるに、頸に玄も乘奉れる由は、鰐は、書紀に、竪其鰭背などある如く、背には、鰭の有て、乘がたきにやあらむ、○如期は、伊比斯賀碁登と訓べし、○紐小刀、上に出たり、（傳十六猿女君の段下）此を頸に着て還し賜ふは、送致奉りし功を、賞賜ひての賜物なるべし、○佐比持神、書紀には、紐小刀の事もなく、此神のことも、此處には無く玄て、神武卷に、進到于紀伊國云々、海中卒遇暴風、皇舟漂蕩、時稻飯命乃歎曰、嗟乎吾祖則天神、母則海神、如何厄我於陸、復厄我於海乎、言訖乃抜劒入海、化爲鋤持神、とあるは、甚異なる傳なり、（此記に於今謂とあるを以見れば、後まで海中に佐比持神と云神の

海神宮は、海底に坐て、此御國は上なるが故に、如此云なり、（或人、漢文にいはゆる上國のことを思ひて、尊める稱なりと云るは、ひがことなり、）鎭火祭、詞に、吾名妖能命波、上津國乎所知食倍志、吾波下津國乎所知牟止申豆、（こは豫美國にて申賜ふ御言なるが故に、此現國を、上國と詔へり、豫美も、根國底國と云て、下方に在ればなり）○誰者幾日、これ言少くして、意詳に聞えたり、古文なりけり、（然るを誰者と云ことを聞なれず思ひて、異さまに訓るは、非なり、多禮波と云ざれば、意明らかならず）○覆奏、中卷にも如此書り、覆は復なり、書紀にも、復命を服命とかき、萬葉に、都を堵と書るたぐひ、往々あり、みな音の通ふまゝに、あらぬ意の字をも書ること、古書の例なり、（漢籍にも、覆奏と云ことあれど、其は異意なり、又漢には、覆を復と作る例はあれども、復を覆と作ことはなし、）○己身、二字を、美と訓べし、（己字を別には訓べからず）上に各とある、即己も己もなればなり、○尋長、二字を、那賀佐と訓べし、（ヒロとも、ヒロノナガサとも訓べけれど、）上の八俣遠呂智にも、其長とあり、○一尋和邇、（ヒトヒロノと、之を讀附るはわろし、下文の八尋和邇も、さかなり）書紀一書に、鹽筒老翁計曰、海神所乘駿馬者、八尋鰐也、是堅其鰭背而在橘之小戸、吾當與彼者共策、乃將火折尊、共往而見之、是時鰐魚策之曰、吾者八日以後方致天孫於海宮、唯吾王駿馬一尋鰐魚是當一日之內必奉致焉、故今我歸而使彼出來、宜乘彼入海云々、言訖即入海去矣、故天孫隨鰐魚所言、留居相待、已八日矣、久之方有一尋鰐來、因乘而入海、とあるは、いたく異なる傳なり、（一尋和邇に乘せるは海神宮より還坐度の事なるを、此一書の傳は、其宮へ幸行すをりの事とせり、）さて是に依に、八尋和邇は、八日も

珠は、今火遠理命に授奉れるのみにもあらず、なほ幾箇もある物と聞えたり）萬葉十九（二十九丁）に、和多都民能可味能美許等乃美久之宜爾多久波比於伎豆伊都久等布多麻爾未佐理豆云々、とよめり、○若其、其字曾禮と訓べし、（此下に兄字の脱たるかとも思へど、然には非ず）火照命を指て云言なり、（漢文に其と云格とは異なり）下文にも、其愁請者とあり、○令惚苦は、多斯那米賜幣と訓べし、書紀に、厄字又辛苦困厄劬勞などを、然訓り、（此、言、多志那美といへば、自のうへなり、多志那米と云ときは、米は麻世の切りたるにて、他をたしなましむるなり、こゝに上に令字ある、是にあたれり）惚字上に出たり、（傳六夜見國の段下、桃子のところ）○授鹽盈珠云々、此言は前に先云べきを、云はずして、出鹽盈珠云々と先云て、後に此にかく云るも、文の一格なり、書紀云、復授潮滿瓊及潮涸瓊、而誨之曰、漬潮滿瓊者、則潮忽滿、以此沒溺汝兄、若兄悔而祈者、還漬潮涸瓊、則潮自涸、以此救、如此逼惱、則汝兄自伏、（これに瓊を漬とあるは、此記に出とあると、用法の傳異なるなり）又一書に、以思則潮溢之瓊、思則潮涸之瓊、副其鉤、而奉進之曰云々、又一書に、復進潮滿瓊潮涸瓊二種寶物、仍敎用瓊之法、又敎曰、兄作高田者、汝可作洿田、兄作洿田者、汝可作高田、とあり、又一書には、又汝兄涉海時、吾必起迅風洪濤、令其沒溺辛苦、一書には、又兄入海釣時、天孫宜在海濱、以作風招、如此、則吾起瀛風邊風、以奔波、溺惱など云ことありて、瓊の事はなし、○和邇魚の魚字、讀べからず、（上にも下にもたゞ和邇とのみあるを、此にのみ魚字を加へ書るは、漢名に效ひてなるべし漢名には、鰐とも鰐魚ともいひ、又鯉を鯉魚、鮒を鮒魚など云例なり）○上國は、書紀に、上國此云羽播豆矩儞とあり、

るを、國の異なるは、傳の異なるなるべし、さて書紀に如意珠と書れたること、心得ず、いかにも訓べき方なし、そのかみ文字なき世に、如意など云名、あるべくもあらぬを、強に漢をまねび給ふあまりに、かゝる名をさへ物し給へるは、後世の人まどはしなり、さてかく如意と書れたる意、たゞ珠の美きを稱たるのみか、又は此姫尊新羅を征たまへる時に、彼國中まで潮の押上りし事ある、其は即此珠の德なりし故に、其意を以て書れたるか、されどかの新羅の國中へ潮の上りし事、此珠の德なりと云ことは、此記にも彼紀にも見えざれば、いかなりけむ、宇佐宮緣起に、神功皇后干珠滿珠を龍宮より得賜ひて、三韓をまつろへたまへる由云るは、古き傳か、はたかの書紀の如意珠と、新羅の國中へ潮の上りし事とを、引合せて、おしあてに云るか、是もたしかならず、又其二の珠、後に肥前國佐嘉郡河上宮と云に納まれるよし云り、かくて書紀釋に、元曆之比、宇佐宮監行之時、本宮注文、滿瓊涸瓊二種、在當宮之由、注進之云々、二種瓊已在當宮、神功皇后征伐三韓之時、就新羅海潮滿宮庭、思之、定令持此瓊御歟、然而無慥所見と云り、此にもおぼつかなきことあり、神功皇后の珠は、新に海中より得賜へるなれば、かの神代の瓊とは別なるに、神代の瓊の、宇佐宮に在は、何の由緣にか、心得がたし、故思ふに、宇佐宮に在りと云は、神功皇后の得たまへる珠にて、かの肥前國河上宮に納れる珠ぞ、神代のなりけむを、此と彼とを一に心得誤りて、左右にまぎれつるにやあらむ、かの河上宮と云は、神名式に、佐嘉郡與止日女神社とある、是なりと云り、或書に、豐玉姫を祭ると云るも、由あり、さてかの神功皇后の得賜ひし珠も、若實に干珠滿珠にて、新羅の國中へ潮の上りしも、其玉の故ならば、海神の有てる鹽盈珠鹽乾

くに聞えて、意違へり、爾とはよむべからず）中卷明宮段末に、其兄八年之間干姦病枯、とあるも同じ、○貧窮は、麻豆志久那理那牟と訓べし、下文に自爾以後稍兪貧とある是なり、（師はマヂタシナミナムと訓れつれども、言の重なりざま、いかにぞや聞ゆ、たしなむは古言にて、窮字には近けれども、此は貧をむねと云て、窮字は輕し、故下文には、たゞ貧とのみあり、又書紀一書に、貧窮之本とあるも、貧を主とせり、又書紀に繦褸とある、此言にあたれども、やつると云言は、形狀につきて云言なれば、貧窮字には當らず）高田を佃れば旱し、下田を佃れば雨多くて、毎も稔を得ずして、貧くなりなむとなり、○恨怨其の其字は、若の下にある意にて、火照命を指て云言なり、次に若其愁請者とある其と同じ、○爲然之事とは、初の詛事、及田佃て稔得ず、貧くなることなどを、皆都て云なり、其中に、田佃て稔得ぬなどは、海神の所爲なれども、弟命の御爲に爲給ふなれば、其をも直に弟命の爲給ふ事と云て、かくは云なり、○鹽盈珠鹽乾珠は、志本美都多麻志本比流多麻と訓べし、（志本美知陀麻志本比跎麻と訓べきかとも思へど、なほ然には非ず、又乾は書紀景行卷に、賦と訓注あれば、比流とは云ず、急居を菟岐于とあると同格にて、比布々流と活用く言なるべし、されど布流と云むは、今は耳遠ければ、姑く尋常の如く、比流と訓つ）中卷末に、振浪比禮切浪比禮振風比禮切風比禮と云物見えたり、此類なり（書紀仲哀卷に、皇后泊豐浦津、是日皇后、得如意珠於海中、と云ることあり、こは土佐國風土記に、吾川郡玉島、或說云、神功皇后巡國之時、御船泊之、皇后下島休息、礒際得一白石、圓如鷄卵、皇后安于御掌、光明四出、皇后大喜、詔左右曰、是海神所賜白眞珠也、故以爲島名、とあると一ツ事な

一書に、因敎之曰、以鉤與汝兄時、則可詛言貧窮之本、飢饉之始、困苦之根、而後與之、一書に、貧鉤滅鉤落薄鉤、一書に、因奉敎之曰、以此與汝兄時、乃可稱曰大鉤踉蹌鉤貧鉤癡騃鉤、言訖則可以後手授賜、一書に、因敎之曰、還兄鉤時、天孫則當言汝生子八十連屬之裏貧鉤狹々貧鉤、言訖三下唾與之、○然而は、然爲而なり、此言此處にては、上の事を下へ係る言なり、○高田は阿宜多と訓べし、書紀然訓り、（字のまゝにタカタと訓むも、あしからじ、國々に然云地名も多し、されど）萬葉十二（十七丁）にも、水乎多上爾種蒔とよめり、（田中道麻呂云、尾張近江美濃などにて、今も田の中の水のつかぬ處を、あげと云り、）地高くて、よく燥く田なり、○下田は、書紀に洿田とあるに依て、久煩多と訓べし、窪み卑くて、水多き田なり、○掌水故は、美豆袁斯禮婆と訓べし、（師は、ミヅヲシレルカラニと訓れき、故をカラニと訓れたるはわろし、此は然は云べきに非ず、掌をシレルと訓れたるは、いと宜し、今も其に依れり、此字、常にはツカサドルと訓めども、此は然訓ては、古言にあらず、）斯流は、天下を知る、國を知るなどの知にて、水を保有ち掌りて、心に任すを云り、されば兄若高田を佃らば、吾旱して水を有らせじ、若又下田を佃らば、雨を多くふらせて、妨げむとなり、萬葉十八（三十二丁）に、安米布良受、日能可左奈禮波、宇惠之田毛、麻吉之波多氣毛、安佐其登爾之保美可禮由苦云々、安之比奇能、夜麻能多乎理爾許能見由流、安麻能之良久母、和多都美能、於伎都美夜敝爾多知和多里、等能具毛利安比豆安米母多麻波禰、これ海神水を掌賜ふゆゑに、雨を乞へるなり、○三年之間は、漸に貧窮くなる間、三年なるを云、（然るを間の下に爾てふ辭を添て、アヒダニ、或はホドニなど訓ときは、三年を經て後に、貧くなる如

の煩治の濁音と重なればなり、古言に濁音の二重なることは、をさ〳〵例なし）これに二の考あり、一には、佐知の知と同くして、取なり、（海佐知山佐知の佐知は、幸取の意なること、上に云るがごとし）其由は、此失ひ賜ひし釣鉤は、もと海佐知毗古の幸取なるを、今は詛ひて、其幸の反の不幸事どもを取具と云意にて、（幸取も、幸を取具と云意なること、上に委云り）鬱悒取、踉蹌取、貧取、癡騃取なり、（此四は、不幸事どものかぎりなり、さてかく某取と云ときは、上の言みな躰言なり）さて取の意なるに、鉤字を書るはいかにと云に、其取具即鉤にて、備にいへば、某取鉤と云ふことなればなり、（かの佐知も、備に云へば、幸取弓幸取鉤と云ことなるに同じ）二には、鉤字は、もと釣なりけむを、後人さかしらに、鉤の誤りとして、改めつるか、（書紀今本に此二字は、たがひに誤れる處多し、又書紀に效ひて、此記も同く改めたりけむ、眞福寺本には、此四の鉤、みな釣と作り、されど彼本は、上なる鉤をも、みな誤りて、釣と作たれば、據としがたし）さて釣を知と訓は、都理の約まりたるにて、此種々の不幸事を釣る具と云意なり、物を釣る具を指て、某釣と云も、取具を取と云と同格なり、かくて凡ての意は、上の考と同じ、右二のうち、見む人、心の向はむ方を取べし、但し幸取を反さまに云るなれば、なほ取とせむ方や優りたらむ、（此知を、たゞ鉤の古名と心得、或は都理婆理を切むれば知なりなど云、此段なる鉤字をば、すべてみな知と訓るは、精しからぬひがことなり）○後手は、上傳六黃泉段に見ゆ、此處は、是も詛態なり、書紀一書に、以後手投棄與之、勿以向ともあり、（これをかの逆手と一に心得るは非なり、逆手〻と後手とは異なり）書紀云、因誨之曰、以此鉤與汝兄時、則陰呼此鉤曰貧鉤、然後與之、

類なるべし、此記に能美てふ辭なきは、詛言なる故に、言の調をなして、淤煩須々麻治宇流と、皆二音に齊へたる物なり、（書紀一書に、貧窮之本、飢饉之始、困苦之根とあるも、本始根と換へて、言を文なせるなり、）さて此四皆本は用言なるを、此には言になせるなり、（其由は下に云、）凡て用にも躰にも云言は、用の時は、下に活く辭を加へ、躰の時は、其を除くこと多くして、（用言には、渡り渡ると云を、躰言には海と云、用言には、歌ひ歌ふと云を、躰言には歌と云たぐひなり、）かの意保々志久などは用言なるを、此には躰言に淤煩といひ、須々牟須々呂久などは用言なるを、此には躰言に、須々と云り、（又須須能美と云は、用言なるを、下なる活く辭をそのまゝにて、躰言になせるにて、渡りと云用言を、そのまゝにて、渡る處を指て、躰言にも渡りと云、歌ひと云用言をそのまゝにて、歌ふ物をも謠と云が如し、此例も常のことなり、）○貧鉤は、麻治知と訓べし、書紀にも如此ありて、昔より然訓來れり、麻治は、麻豆志の切、まりたるか、はた麻豆志は、本は麻治志にてもあらむ、○宇流鉤は、書紀に、癡騃鉤、此云于樓該賦とあり、此字の意なり、（駿も、字書に癡也と注せり、）又景行卷に失意とあるなども、（敏達卷に、於閭礙と云人名もあり、）同言ならむか、（俗言に、うろたゆ、うろ〳〵、うるむなど云言も、同言の轉れるなり、又水の寒からざるを、ぬるしと云も、うるしと通へり、物を塗物を、うるしと云にて知べし、又俗に、鈍きことを、ぬるしと云も、宇流の意なり、）さて書紀には于樓該とある、を、此記に該の無きは、上の須々の例の如く、皆三音に齊へたるなり、さて右の四の鉤は、皆書紀の訓注に、賦とあるに依て訓べし、（賦は女利反にて、知の濁音の假字なり、但淤煩鉤貧鉤の二は、清音に訓べし、上

おほゝしくと、本は同し、淤と伊と通ふは、淤伎と伊伎との如し、さて此いふかしいふせしの布も、常に濁れとも、萬葉には多く清音に書り）又おほろかおほよそおろそかおほかたなども、委曲ならぬを云へば、本は明らかならざる意にて同じ、淤富とのみも云り、さて此の淤煩は、愁思ふことの有て、心の晴せぬ意なり、（心を晴らすことを、明らむと、萬葉などに云へれば晴せぬは、明らかならざるなり）萬葉二、（三十丁）日並皇子命の薨坐て、舍人等の慟傷哥中に、旦日照島乃御門爾鬱悒人音毛不爲者眞浦悲毛、四（三十三丁）に、今更妹爾將相八跡念可聞幾許吾胸鬱悒將有、五（二十六丁）に、國遠伎路乃長手遠意保々斯久許布夜須疑南已等騰比母奈久、（許布夜は、戀やなり）これらの鬱悒の如し、○須々鉤、師の冠辭考（ふせやたきの條）に、廬八燎須酒師競云々、すゝしきそひとは、壯士どもの、心の進みすゝろぎて、身もしらず競ふを云、古事記に須々鉤とあるを、神代紀に踉蹌鉤と書たり、是もすゝろぐ意なり、又古事記に美人驚而立走伊須々岐伎とあるも、立走りすゝろぎたるなり、後の書に、すゞろそゞろなど云るも是なりとあり、又上須佐之男命の於勝佐備云々とある處（傳八の始め）に引る師說に、佐備は須佐備なりとある、此によく當れり、須佐と須々と同くて、かの須佐備は、進み荒ぶるなれば、こゝの須々も、進みすゝろぎて荒ぶる意なり、書紀に、踉蹌鉤此云須々能美賦とあり、（玉篇に、踉蹌欲行貌と注し、又蹌急行とも注し、又字書に、踉高蹈也とも、また跳踉、踊躍、貌なども注せり、すゝみすゝろぐ意に近き字なり、又字鏡に猖獗須々乃彌とあるも、荒ぶる意に近し、獗字は獗なるべし、さて須須能美の能美は、其言を活用す辭にて、音をおとなひ、商をあきなひなど云、那比の

之、皆曰レ不レ知、但赤女有口疾、不レ來、（亦云口女有口疾）云々、於是海神制曰、儞口女從レ今以往、不得呑餌、又不得預天孫之饌、即以口女魚所以不進御者、此其緣也、（此一書、上には赤女と云て、下に口女と云るはいかに、初に、赤女とあるは、口女を寫誤れるにや、また亦云口女云々の注も心得ず、こは一本にかくありしを、後人の注せるにや）一書に、海神召赤女口女（赤女即赤鯛也口女即鯔魚也）問之時、口女自口出鉤以奉焉、○清洗は須麻志豆と訓べし、洗ひ清むるを須麻須と云り、○給其兄、こは火遠理命を尊崇み、又火照命を賤め惡みて、御兄なれども、給ふと云るなり、○淤煩鉤、書紀一書に、因奉敎之曰、以此與汝兄時、乃可稱曰、大鉤踉蹌鉤貧鉤癡騃鉤、言訖則可以後手授賜、とあると相照して考るに、淤煩鉤は大鉤に當れり、（大は借字なり、此大字の意を以て說は、あたらぬことなり、餘の三鉤は、皆借字に非れども、此大のみは、借字とせざれば、意明らかならず）煩は濁音なれども、此淤煩の煩は、清ても云り、此言は、萬葉卷々に、鬱悒と云こと多かる是なり、四の卷に、朝居雲乃鬱などもあり、明かならざる意なり、（十の十六葉、十二の十八葉などに、不明とあるを、今本にはホノカニモと訓たれど、是もオホヽシクと訓ぞ宜き、ほのかも、本おほのかのおの省かりたるなり）これを假字には、意保々斯久など保には多く清音の字を用ひたり、（五、卷十一、卷十四、卷十六、卷）然るに又十七（八丁）には、於煩保之久と濁音にも書り、（清ても濁りても云る言なるべし）又おぼつかなし、（此も常には煩を濁るを、萬葉八、卷十、卷などには、於保束無と、清音の保を書たり）おぼろなども明らかならぬを云て、本同言なり、（又かの鬱悒を、イフカシとも、イフセシとも訓處ある、これらの伊布も、淤煩と通ひて、

錫食經云、鯛味甘、冷無毒、貌似鯽、而紅鰭者也、和名太比と見え、字鏡にも、鯛太比とあり、（師は、此の赤海鯽魚をも、書紀に依てアカメと訓れたり、其もさることなれども、此記の例、若あかめならむには、直に赤女と書べきなり、さて又書紀の赤女を、赤鯛也とあるに依て、或説に、鯛の中の一種殊色赤きなりとするは、わろし、後世にこそさもあらめ、上代には、さばかり細に分て、名くることはなかりしぞかし、赤鯛とあるも、即よのつねの鯛にて、黑鯛の類もあるに對へて、赤字は添たるものなり、然るにかの仲哀卷に、海鯽魚をタヒと訓るにつきて、此の赤海鯽魚をもアカタヒと訓て、かの殊に赤き一種と心得るは、非なり、又アカチヌと訓るも、非なり、）さてこの多比の下に、那母てふ辭を讀添べし、語の勢必然るべし、○喉は、能美斗と訓べし、呑門の義なり、和名抄に、喉和名乃無止、（こは美を音便にんと云、後のことなり、）萬葉五に、能杼與比と云言あり、（喉聲に啼をいへり、）美を省けるなり、（かくさまに省き云、下は、多く濁る例なり、今世にも能度と云り、）○鯁は、能義阿理と訓べし、和名抄に、唐韻云、鯁、魚刺在喉也、和名乃木とあり、（又字書に、骨不下咽也とも注せり、）○愁言故の三字を、宇禮布禮婆と訓べし、身の憂を人に告るを、宇禮布と云故に、愁言二字を然訓り、（さて禮婆と云に、故字の意はあり、）○是とは赤海鯽魚を指て云なり、（許禮賀と云意なれども、かゝる處を賀と云は、雅言に非ず、）古文に此例多し、（漢文の是字の格とは、異なり、）書紀云、海神乃集大小之魚、逼問之、僉曰不識、唯赤女、比有口疾而不來、固召之、探其口者、果得失鉤、一書に、海神於是總集海魚、覓問其鉤有一魚對曰、赤女久有口疾、疑是之呑乎、故即召赤女云々、一書に時海神便起憐心、盡召鰭廣鰭狹而問

にも多し、）○罰は波多禮流と訓べし、上には、乞徵とありき、○海之大小魚は、波多能比呂母能波多能佐母能と訓べし、（書紀の大小之魚をも、かく訓べきなり、）そは上天宇受賣命段に、悉追聚鰭廣物鰭狹物以問言とあると、語のつゞきさへ全同く、（此記の例、同言を、一は言のまゝに書き、一は意を以て書るが多きこと、首卷に云るが如し、此も意を以て書るものにて、訓は上なるに效はせたるなり、）又書紀一書に、此をすなはち盡召鰭廣鰭狹而問之、と云るされたるを以てさとるべし、（かく訓べきことを知らず云て、かの大小之魚を、トホヒロクヒキイヲドモ、或はトホシロク云々、など訓るは、古書めきて、何とかや由ありげに聞ゆれど、みなひがよみなり、）○頃者、この言いかゞ、鉤を呑たりしは、三年前なるべきをや、されば此は、書紀に、（一書）赤女久有口疾とある久ぞ、當りて聞えたる、○赤海鯽魚は、多比と訓べし、鯛なり、書紀には、赤女とありて、赤女鯛魚、名也と注あり、（但此注は、後人の云わざにもあらむか、）一書には、赤女或云赤鯛とあり、又一書には、鯛女、又一書には、赤女とありて、即赤鯛也と注せり、さて仲哀卷に、海鯽魚とあると、和名抄に、辨色立成云、海鯽魚、知沼、とあるとを合せて見れば、赤海鯽魚は、鯛なること決し、（知沼は、鯛の色灰色き物にて、黑鯛の類なり、和名抄に、知沼と久呂多比とは別なれど、遠からぬ物なり、さてつねの鯛は、知沼と形全く同くて、色赤き故に、赤海鯽魚と書るなり、檀を白檮と書るたぐひなり、又仲哀卷なるは、色の赤き黑きを一にして、海鯽魚を鯛にあてたるものなり、凡て古書に、物の漢名を書ること、其人の心々にて、右の如く少しづゝの違あり、彼此をよく考合せて、定むべし、よくせずはまぎれぬべきものぞ、）多比は、和名抄には、崔禹

も、なほ今夜と云こと、津國風土記、夢野鹿事を記せる處に、明旦、牡鹿語二其嫡一云、今夜夢吾背爾雪零於祁利止見支、伊勢物語に今夜夢になむ見え給ひつると云りければ、源氏物語野分卷、野分せし明旦の詞に、今夜の風とあり、和泉式部物語に、いたく零明して、明旦、今夜の雨の音は云々、○若有何由は、母志那爾能由惠阿流爾加と訓べし、若と何とを重ね言ること、穩ならず聞ゆれども、下文に、若渡二海中一時無令惶畏とあるも、若と無と重なれる、古言には、かく格にも云けむかし、（書紀仁德卷大后御哥に、あによくもあらず、萬葉四に、豈不益歟などある、豈の用格も、聞つかぬこゝちす、これらの類なり、今俗言の格をもていはゞ、何ぞの由あるか、と云意に見れば、若と云言、穩なる如く、なれども、何と云言を、然用ひたること、雅言には未見あたらず）○父大神、こゝに至りて大神と云るは、火遠理命の御婦翁になり賜へる故にやあらむ、○聟夫は、御牟古能君と訓べし、（たゞ牟古とのみ訓むは、輕きが如くなればなり）和名抄に、爾雅云、女子之夫爲二壻一、作二聟一、和名無古と見え、字鏡には、聟毛古とあり、○今且、且字、諸本並如此あれども、決く旦を誤れるなり、祁佐と訓べし、○爲大歎、こゝには一字なし、さもあるべき處なり、○若有由哉、書紀には、海神乃延二彦火々出見尊一、從容語曰、天孫若欲レ還レ鄉者、吾當奉送とあり、○亦到二此間一之由奈何、書紀には、娶二豐玉姬一と云より前に、因問二其來意一時、彦火々出見尊對以情之委曲云々とあり、一書ども、同じ、信に此事は、初に先問賜ふべきものなり、然るを此記には、此に至て問給ふは、御長息の事を聞せるに就て、其所由は奈何なるにかと所思すから、其につきて先初此處に來坐る所由をも、問給へるなり、（此處を此間と書ことは、漢文に常多くて、萬葉など

せり）などあり、これら息のいと〳〵長き由に、八尺と云り、伊伎豆久伊毛など、よめるも、長き息を衝て、戀思ふ妹と云ことなり、同五（六丁）に、和何那宜久、於伎蘇乃可是（長き息の風なり、於伎蘇は、息嘯なるべし）などもよめり、大とは、其長息の聲の、高く大なるを云、（漢文にも、長大息と常に云り）思ひの深きまゝに、其聲も大なるなり、萬葉十三（十四丁）に、此床乃、比師跡鳴左右嘆鶴鳴廿（三十四丁）に、於比曾箭乃曾與等奈流麻迩、奈氣吉都流香母、古今集戀に、つれもなき人をこふとて山彦の答するまで歎きつるかも、これら長息の聲の大きにて、物に響きたるよしなり一は、一聲なり、長息に數を云ること、中卷倭建命の、阿豆麻波夜と詔へる處にも、三歎とあり、（されど彼は、三をミタビなどは訓まじきこと、彼處に云が如し、漢文に一唱三歎など云り）萬葉四（三十九丁）に遍多嘆久嘆などあり、さて此は、所念すゑの淺くて、唯一聲なるには非ず、此時まで御心に隱て、顯し賜はざりしを、三年にもなりて、甚久しきほどに、今は得忍び敢たまはで、思ほえず出たる一聲なり、一と云るに、其意見えたり、（次なる言に依るに、豐玉毘賣此御長息を聞て、驚き賜へるさまなれば、此比賣にも、國思び給ふことを、語り賜はざりしなり、然れば御心に隱給へりしこと、いよゝ玄るし、書紀に、此長息を數〳〵或は時などあるとは、趣異なり）○恒無歎は、都泥波那宜加須許登母那加理斯爾と訓べし、都泥波は、今までは、と云意なり、（故者と云辭を添て訓り）其は中卷倭建命段に、吾心恒念自虛翔行、萬葉七（三丁）に、常者曾不念物乎此月之過匿卷惜夕香裳、などの如し、○今夜は、昨夜を云るなり、此は次の父神の言に、今旦云々とあれば、御歎を聞賜ひし、明朝の詞なればなり、其夜明て後

比持神也。

思其初事とは、たゞ本國を戀しく所念看なり、（かの御兄の、鉤を責賜ひし事を指が如く聞ゆめれど、然にはあらず）さるは三年にもなりぬる前の事なる故に、初事とは云るなり、書紀に、仍留住海宮、已經三年、彼處雖復安樂、猶有憶鄉之情、故時復太息、豐玉姬聞之、謂其父曰、天孫悽然數歎、蓋懷土之憂乎、一書に、是後火々出見尊數有歎息、豐玉姬問曰、天孫豈欲還故鄉歟、對曰、然、豐玉姬即白父神曰、在此貴客、意望欲還上國、などあるを以見べし、

○大一歎は、意富伎那流那宜伎比登都志賜比伎と訓べし、（舊印本延佳本などには、オホキニナゲキマスとよみ、師は、イタクナゲキタマヘリと訓れき、かくさまに訓むは、なべてのことなれども、若然訓べくは、一字を加へては書まじきに、此にも下にも一字あるは、必用あるべきものなり、故くさ〳〵思ひめぐらすに、字のまゝに、オホキニヒトタビ云々、なども訓べきかとおもへど、それも古への雅言のさまにあらじ）那宜伎は長息にて、心に思ひ結ぼるゝ事あるをりは、長き息の衝るゝを云、（さるは哀き事憂しき事などは、もとよりにて、喜しきこと愛きことなども、凡て心にあまりて、こめがたき時には、長息あり、漢國にても、歎字など、何れにもわたること、此間と異なることなし、さて其中にも、哀き事憂しき事などは、殊に深く心に結ぼるゝ物なる故に、後には、もはら其方にのみ取て、那宜伎と云へば、やがて哀み憂ふることにもなれり、）萬葉十三（十六丁）に、吾嗟八尺之嗟、又（三十四丁）杖不足八尺乃嘆十四（二十九丁）に、也左可杼利伊伎豆久伊毛乎（これ鵠鷏は、息の長き鳥なる故に、八尺鳥と云て、息衝の枕詞と

之狀。是以海神。悉召集海之大小魚問曰。若有取此鉤魚乎。故諸魚白之。頃者赤海鄭魚。於喉鯁。物不得食愁言。故故必是取。於是探赤海鄭魚之喉者。有鉤。即取出而清洗。奉火遠理命之時。其綿津見大神誨曰之。以此鉤。給其兄時。言狀者。此鉤者。淤煩鉤。須須鉤。貧鉤。宇流鉤云而。於後手賜。淤煩及須須亦宇流六字以音然而。其兄作高田者。汝命營下田。其兄作下田者。汝命營高田。爲然者。吾掌水故。三年之間。必其兄貧窮。若恨怒其爲然之事而。攻戰者。出鹽盈珠而溺。若其愁請者。出鹽乾珠而活。如此令惚苦云。授鹽盈珠鹽乾珠幷兩箇。即悉召集和邇魚。問曰。今天津日高之御子虛空津日高。爲將出幸上國。誰者幾日送奉而覆奏。故各隨己身之尋長。限日而白之中。一尋和邇白。僕者一日送。即還來。故邇其一尋和邇。然者汝送奉。若渡海中時。無令惶畏。即載其和邇之頸。送出。故如期。一日之內送奉也。其和邇將返之時。解所佩之紐小刀。著其頸而返。故其一尋和邇者。於今謂佐

き物とは見えず）後世神今食新嘗祭などに神座に、八重疊と云を設けらるゝは、上代の儀なり、○敷其上の其、字、舊印本又一本などには、具とあり、今は眞福寺本延佳本に依れり、○坐其上の坐は、麻世麻都理豆と訓べし、書紀清寧卷に、起柴宮權奉安置、敏達卷に、請其佛像二軀、孝德卷に、迎佛像四軀、使坐于塔內、萬葉十二（十八丁）に、君乎座而、この餘にも麻世と訓ること多し、令坐を約めたる古言なり、○百取机代物、上に出、○具は曾那幣豆と訓べし、祝詞に、置足豆と云ると同くて、今俗言に、とりそろえてと云意なり、（俗に、神に物を獻るを、曾那布流と云は、具へて獻るより轉れるなり）○令婚は、阿波世麻都理伎と訓べし、書紀一書云、於是豐玉彥遣人問曰、客是誰者、何以至此、火々出見尊對曰、吾是天神之孫也、乃遂言來意、時海神迎拜、延入、慇懃奉慰、因以女豐玉姬妻之、故留住海宮、已經三載、一書に、是時海神自迎延入、乃鋪設海驢皮八重、使坐其上、兼設饌百机、以盡主人之禮、一書に、海神聞之曰、試以察之、乃設三床、請入、於是天孫於邊床則拭其兩足、於中床則據其兩手、於內床則寬坐於眞床覆衾之上、海神見之乃知是天神之孫、益加崇敬、

於是火遠理命。思其初事而。大一歎。故豐玉毘賣命聞其歎。以白其父言。三年雖住。恒無歎。今夜爲大一歎。若有何由故。其父大神。問其聟夫曰。今且聞我女之語云。三年雖坐。恒無歎。今夜爲大歎。若有由哉。亦到此間之由奈何。爾語其大神。備如其兄罰失鉤

委く見えたり、海人藻芥に、疊事、帝王院、繧繝縁也、神佛、前半疊、用繧繝縁、此外更不可用者也、大紋、高麗縁、親王大臣用之、以下更不用之、大臣以下、公卿、小紋、高麗縁也、僧中、僧正以下、同有職非職、紫縁也、六位侍、黄縁也、諸寺諸社、三綱等、皆用黄縁云々、四位五位雲客、用紫縁也、）○絁は伎奴なり、和名抄には、絹、和名岐沼、帛、俗云波久乃岐奴、絁、和名阿之岐沼、（阿之岐沼とは、唐韻云、絁、似布也、と云る如く、麁く惡き絹と云意の名なり）などありて、各差別あれども、古書には、たゞ伎奴に、絹、字をも絁、字をも、通用ひたり、○八重は、例の彌重にて、たゞ幾重もと云ことなり、書紀に、海神於是鋪設八重席薦、以延内之とあり、此記中卷倭建命段、弟橘比賣命の、海に入坐處に、以菅疊八重、皮疊八重、絹疊八重、敷于波上而下坐其上ともあり、さて萬葉九（十一丁）に、吾疊三重乃河原之、（三重とつゞくるは、三にはかゝはらず、たゞ重にかゝれり、然るを三重は、表中裏を云など云は、後世意なり）十六（二十一丁）に、薦疊平群又（二十九丁）韓國乃、虎云神乎、生取爾、八頭取持來、其皮乎、多々彌爾剌、八重疊、平群之山爾、（八重疊まで七句は、みな序なり）又右に引る、倭建命の御哥などみな、疊は幣てふ言に係たる序にて、（幣は、即一重二重などの重の意なり）幾重も重ぬる物なる故に、然つゞけたるなり、さて物を重ぬるを、多々牟とも云ば、疊と云名も、重ぬるよしなり、（廣き物を、狹く折約むるを、多々牟と云も、折れば重なる故なり）然れば疊は、上代には、必幾重も重ね敷たる物なり、（萬葉十一に、疊薦隔編數、十二にも、疊薦重編數とある、此は薦を幾重も重ね編て、一の疊に造るを云り、こはやゝ後の事にて、かの上代の如く、幾重も敷べきを、便よく一に編重ねて、厚く造成せる物なるべし、上代の疊は、後世の如く、厚

あり、岩屋の内に上り、よく睡る物なり、皮は馬具に用ふ、其首馬に似て、大さは小馬ばかりなり、これ海驢なるべし、陸奥松前蝦夷、又國々の海邊にも、稀にあるなり、と云り、（本草綱目に、東海嶋中出海驢、能入水不濡、）又或人の云く、今も北海に海驢あり、其皮、潮滿れば柔に、潮干れば枯る、今も敷皮にするなり、と云り、右の說どもの內、何れか正しく美智に當るべき、（かの紀國人の云る阿志加と、或書に云る登騰とは、一ッ物の、地によりて名の異なるか、はた別物か、なほよく尋ぬべし、相遠からぬ物とは聞えたり、又近き年、西國の海にて捕れりとて、水豹と云物を、觀せ物にしたる、長さ三尺許ありて、阿志加のたぐひなる物と見えたり、こは已正しく見たる物なる故に、云なり、水豹と云名は、新にみだりに著たるなるべければ、依るに足らざることなり、）今世にも、美智と云名の遺れる地は無きにや、尋ねて定むべし、○疊は、白檮原宮段、大御哥に、須賀多々美、伊夜佐夜斯岐豆、倭建命、御哥に、多々美許母、幣具理能夜麻能、遠飛鳥宮段、哥に、和賀多々彌、などありて、いと〳〵古き名なり、皮を以て疊とせる例、此次に引る、弟橘比賣命云々、萬葉十六、韓國乃云々、などのごとし、さて皮疊絁疊などあるを以て見れば、上代には、氈茵などのたぐひをも、凡て多々美と云りしなり、（右の白檮原、朝の大御哥に、菅疊を敷て、二人御寢坐しよしあれば、敷て寢る物をも、疊と云しこと知らる、）和名抄に、疊、和名太々美、（此ころに至りては、疊と云は、今世にいふ疊にて、皮絁などのをば、疊とはいはず、氈茵席など、おの〳〵別なり、さてその疊に、又品々あり、長帖短帖狹帖半帖、又厚帖薄帖などあり、帖字は、疊と音を通はして用るなるべし、さて又其端に、暈綢端、錦端、兩面端、布端、綠端、黃端など、くさ〳〵あり、掃部寮式などに

記の虛空津日高も、其意かとも云べけれど、此記には、天津日高と申す至て尊き御稱ありて、其御子とあれば、其に亞る御稱なること論なし、然れば虛空を、天と地との中間にとれることは同くて、其中間を、亞るかたに取ると、勝れたる方に取れるとは、異なり、さて此記には、虛空津日高とあるを、書紀には虛空彥とあり、邇々藝命の御名の天津日高も、天津彥とありて、凡て書紀には、日高と申す御名なし、此は思ふに、當代の天皇の大御名、氷高と申せるを諱て、撰者の心ゑらひを以て、みな彥に改められたるにぞあるべき、されど其はいみしきひがことなり、御末の天皇の御名に觸ればとても、皇祖神の御名を改むべきにあらず、且天津彥彥云々と、彥と云ことの重なれるもいかゞ、）○美智皮、書紀に、海驢と作て、此云美知とあり、釋に海馬也と注し、（海馬は漢名なり、本草に、陳藏器曰、海驢海馬等、皮毛在陸地皆候風潮則毛起、）口決には、海驢之皮、在陸而潮滿則自起毛、とのみ云て、其物のさまは云ず、建長八年百首に、衣笠內大臣、我戀は海驢の寐流れ寤やらぬ夢なりながら絕やはてなむ、（夫木集に出）紀、國人の云く、今紀の海に、阿志加と云物あり、其處にて昔より、字には海馬と書來れるよし、日高郡の海中に、阿志加島と云島のあるに、年毎の秋冬のころ、多く來て、岩上に睡り、又波上に浮びながらも熟睡て、凡て寤ることの遲き物なり、大きなるは、長さ一丈許なるもあり、足は無くて、水搔の如くなる物あり、此物西國の海にもあるなり、和名抄に、葦鹿と云物を載て、本文未詳と云るせり、思ふに是海驢なるべし、と云り、（或人は、阿志加は、本草綱目に海獺とある物なりと云り、）或書には、山東志曰、海驢出文登海中狀如驢常於秋月登嶋產乳其皮製爲雨具水不能潤今按に、海中に登騰と云物

は、美米傳豆と訓べし、米傳てふ言は、書紀允恭卷、大御歌を始めて、多く見えたり、（めづらし、めでたしなども、此言より出たるなり、）見感は、中卷白檮原朝段、倭建命段などにも見えて、書中に、見驚見喜見畏、などある類の古言なり、○目合の事は、上に云り、（傳十根堅洲國の段下）○而白の而字、延佳本又一本などには無し、（舊印本には、而字は有て、白字を脫せり、）今は眞福寺本又一本に有によれり、○天津日高上に出、（傳十五皇孫命御天降の段）○虛空津日高、谷川氏、天津日高は天子の稱、虛空津日高は太子の稱なりと云り、（此說古意に非るが如聞ゆれど、よく考るに、）信に然るべし、其故は先、邇々藝命穗々手見命鵜葺草葺不合命、みな天津日高と申せる、これ天津日嗣所知看せるうへの大御稱なり、かくて此は、穗々手見命、いまだ皇太子にて坐ほどなるが故に、天津日高之御子と申せり、（此にては、天津日高は、此尊の御稱には非ず、）さて其を虛空津日高と稱す以所は、虛空は、天と地との中間なる故に、天津日高に亞て尊み申す御稱なるべし、（常には通はして、天をも蘇良といひ虛空をも阿米と云ことも多きは、地よりいへば、虛空も天の方なればなり、故今世の言には、上を蘇良と云こともあるなり、また地上即天など云は、漢籍の意なれば、云べきにあらず、）書紀神功卷に、於天事代、於虛事代云々、これ天と虛空とを別言る例なり、書紀一書に、白其父神曰、門前井邊樹下、有一貴客、骨法非常、若從天降者、當有天垢、從地來者、當有地垢、實是妙美之虛空彥者歟とあるは、いたく異なる傳なれども、虛空彥と云稱、又虛空を、天と地との間を取れるなどは、此に似依れることなり、（右の書紀の意は、天垢もなく、地垢もなしと云て、虛空を殊に勝れたる意に取れるものなり、然れば此、

かゞなる文字づかひなり、書紀にも、我王また其王など書れたり、こゝは阿賀伎美爾母麻佐理豆と訓べし、爾母とは、此婢の心に常に、綿津見神をのみ、甚貴き物に思居によりて云る辭なり、（たゞ爾とのみ讀ては、其意足はず）書紀一書に、告其王曰、吾謂我王、獨能絶魔、今有一客、彌復遠勝、とあるが如し、○貴は、此卷末なる豐玉毘賣命御歌に、斯良多麻能、伎美何余曾比斯、多布斗久阿理祁理、萬葉二（二十七丁）に、春花之貴在等、催馬樂に、安名多不止、介不乃太不止在也、などあると同くて、美く好き意なり、是貴きの本義なり、（太占太祝詞太祷、などの類の太と、同言にて、多布斗伎は、太きに、多の添りたるなり、後世には、音便に、多布斗をば、とをとゝ呼、故に、異なるが如くなれども、古は本音のまゝに呼ければ、同じことなり）○奉水者は、たゞ多豆麻都理斯加婆と訓べし、水字は讀べからず、（上に水といふことはあればなり）○任入將來は伊禮那賀良母知麻佐伎豆と訓べし、書紀云、門前有一井、井上有一湯津杜樹枝葉扶疏、時彦火々出見尊就其樹下、徙倚彷徨、良久有一美人排闥而出、遂以玉鋺來當汲水、因舉目視之、乃驚而還入、白其父母曰、有一希客者在門前樹下、一書に、有一美人容貌絶世、侍者群從、自內而出、將以玉壺汲玉水、仰見火々出見尊、便以驚還、而白其父神曰、門前井邊樹下、有一貴客、骨法非常云々、一云、豐玉姬之侍者、以玉瓶汲水、終不能滿、俯視井中、即倒映人笑之顏、因以仰觀、有一麗神倚於杜樹、故還入白其王、一書に、門前有一好井、井上有百枝杜樹、故彦火々出見尊、跳昇其樹、而立之、于時海神之女豐玉姬、手持玉鋺來將汲水、正見人影在於井中、乃仰視之、驚而墜鋺、々既破碎、不顧而還入、謂父母曰云々、などあり、かくて玉を唾入賜へる事は、書紀には何れの傳にも見えず、○見感

とし）万葉廿（十丁）に、山人乃和體爾依志米之夜麻都刀曾許禮、○婢乃、この婢は、又麻加多知と訓べし、○御頸之璵は、上に出、（傳七の初）○含口は、美久知爾布々美豆と訓べし、書紀應神、卷、大御哥に、府保語茂利、萬葉十四（三十五張）に、布敷、麻留、十八（十六丁）に、敷布、賣利、十九（四十六丁）に、布敷賣流波、廿（三十一丁）に、保々麻例等、又（四十三丁）布敷賣里之、また六（十七丁）に、含而、八（十七丁）に含有などあり、さて如此玉を御口に含まして、唾出し賜ふは、いかなる由にかあらむ、詳ならず、（前には、御口含給へるは、玉を嚼碎き賜へるにや、と思ひしかど、下文のさま然は聞えず、若くは玉を、器に著て、離れざら玄むる術にやありけむ、神代にある類の術、をり〳〵見ゆ、さて然此玉を、器に著て離れざるべく爲賜ふは、必海神、女に見せ賜はむとてなり、其は此玉、尋常の餝の玉とは、遙に絶れて、美麗きを見て、凡人に非るこゝを知玄らしめむための御所爲なるべし、なほよく考ふべきことなり）○璵任著は、多麻都氣那賀良と訓べし、萬葉十六（二十九丁）に、角附奈我良、○我井上、この我と云言の用ひざま、何とかや漢文めきて聞ゆれども、上代にもありしことにぞ有けむ、吾君など云は、もとより古言なるを、それと同じければなり、下なる吾門も同じ、（伊勢物語に、わがみかど六十餘國と云るは、漢文の吾朝を取れる如くなれども、此も古言に違ひはせじ、凡て右の類の吾は、つねに云吾門吾家などゝは、いさゝか異なる故に、かく論ふなり）今俗言に許知能と云意なり、○我王は、綿津見神を指て云るなり、（伎美と云に、王字を書るは、佛書の海龍王を思へるにや、こは皇國を離れて、外なる域なれば、王と云まじきにも非るが如くなれど、なほ古文には、かゝる處には、い

はかの武烈紀の哥などを以て思ふに、盛る器の名より出たるにやあらむ）また内膳式に、鹿十一口、（汲運水料）由加十六口、（汲運水料とあり、和名抄に、俗人呼大桶爲由加乎介）主水式に、汲水料、器に、缶一口、土埦一合、（加盤）片盤五口など見え、此外も水を盛器種々、式に見えたり、さて後世には、井より水を汲揚るには、必縄など著たる都流倍を用ふる事なれども、（和名抄に、罐汲水器也、楊氏漢語抄云都流閇）上代の井は、淺き泉なるなども多かりしかば、（今も山里などのは然なり）盛器を以て、直に汲揚もしつとおぼしければ、此の玉器も、盛器以て汲にてもあるべく、又汲たるを盛る料にても有べし、（次の文に、酌水入玉器貢進とあれば、汲揚るのみの料の器には非ず）書紀には此を、玉鋺玉壺玉瓶など作れたり、皆タマモヒと訓べきなり、（玉鋺をタマヽリと訓たり、麻理も、古き名とは聞えたり、なほ鋺の事は、下卷若櫻宮段に、隱面大鋺とある處、傳卅八に云べし）竹取物語に、天人のよそほひしたる女、山中より出來て、銀のかなまりを持て、水を汲ありく云々、○有光は、加宜阿理と訓べし、書紀に、見人影在於井中とあり、（此には、影字をかゝずして、光字を書るを思へば、比加理とも訓べきにや、されど白檮原宮段に、其井有光、とあるなどゝは異にして、是は光明のあるには非ず、たゞ影を云なり、加宜は、かゞやくかぎろひなど云、かゞかぎなどゝ、本同言なれば、比加理と云ても、終には同意になるなり）火遠理命の樹上に坐す影の、井の水にうつりて見え賜ふなり、○註訓壯夫云々、此注は、既に上大穴牟遲神段に有れば、又此處には無くてありなむ、○見其婢、この婢は、袁美那と訓べし、○乞欲得水は、美豆袁延志米余登許比賜と訓べし、（えをめよは、えさせよと云ふがご

さて此處の事狀は、かの敎奉りし語に委く云る故に、此には略きて、たゞ如其言と云るなり、○豐玉毘賣、名義、書紀一書に、父神の名豐玉彥とあれば、其に因れるなるべし、（父神の名は、或人の說に、鹽盈珠鹽乾珠を有てるによれる名なりと云り、さもあらむか、又たゞ美稱にてもあるべし、）但此記にては、父神には其名無ければ、豐玉はたゞ比賣の御名にて、容顏の美麗きを稱へたるにもあるべし、山城國風土記に、久世郡水渡社、（祇社）名天照高彌牟須比命、和多都彌豐玉比賣命と見え、（帳に、水度神社三座とある社なり）神名帳に、阿波國名方郡和多都美豐玉比賣神社あり、（同郡に、天右門別豐玉比賣神社と云もあり、これは如何なる由の名にかあらむ、）○從婢は、麻加多知と訓べし、書紀に此を侍者と書き、又欽明卷に從女、遊仙窟に婢また侍婢など、皆然訓り、前子等等の意なるべし、（幣を省き古良を切て加と云）天皇の御前に候ふ臣等を、前つ君（書紀景行卷、哥に、摩幣菟耆彌とあり、後に音便に轉りて、まうちぎみと云）と云と、意ばへ似たり、子等とは、女を云古言なり、萬葉などの哥に多し、（子等とは、一人をも云へば、良と多知と重なること、妨なし）○玉器は、多麻母比と訓べし、書紀武烈卷、哥に、梅摩暮比爾瀰逗佐倍母理（玉盌に水さへ盛なり）とあり、和名抄瓦器類に、說文云、盌、小盂也、字亦作椀、辨色立成云、末里、俗云毛比、（毛比はいと古き名なるを、俗云とあるは誤なり）萬葉四に片埦、（埦字は、椀の誤か）大膳式に、片埦十二口、片埦四十八口、片埦八十七口、豐受宮儀式帳に、御水四毛比、御水六毛比、など見えたり、（主水、又さいばら飛鳥井哥に、御母比も寒しなど云る母比は、水を云り、但し池川などにたゞある水を、凡て母比とはいはず、母比は、汲て飲む水の名なり其

書を披きて見べし）などあり、これら各一ッの傳へなり、

故隨教小行。備如其言。即登其香木以坐。爾海神之女豐玉毘賣之從婢。持玉器。將酌水之時。於井有光。仰見者。有麗壯夫。訓壯夫云遠登古下效此以爲甚異奇。爾火遠理命見其婢。乞欲得水。婢乃酌水。入玉器貢進。爾不飲水。解御頸之璵。含口。唾入其玉器。於是其璵著器。婢不得離璵。故璵任著。以進豐玉毘賣命。爾見其璵。問婢曰。若人有門外哉。答曰。有人坐我井上香木之上。甚麗壯夫也。益我王而甚貴。故其人乞水故。奉水者。不飲水。唾入此璵。是不得離故。任入將來而獻。爾豐玉毘賣命思奇。出見。乃見感。目合而。白其父。曰吾門有麗人。爾海神自出見云。此人者。天津日高之御子。虛空津日高矣。即於內率入而。美智皮之疊敷八重。亦絁疊八重敷其上。坐其上而。具百取机代物。爲御饗。即令婚其女豐玉毘賣。故至三年。住其國。

備は都夫佐爾と訓べし、上八千矛神の御哥に、麻都夫佐爾とあり、漏ることなく具備れる意にて、此は、鹽土神の敎へし如くにて、事々に（俗言にいふ一々になり）違へることなきを云り、

倍とあるに依れり、（式に大和國平群郡猪上神社、萬葉七に井上、これらも地名なり）井のほとりなり、○湯津香木の事は、上天若日子段に、湯津楓とありて、其處に云り、（傳十三天若日子の段）○其木上、この上は、下に對ふ上なり、（井上の上とは異なり）次に登其香木とあるにて知べし、○海神は、和多能迦微と訓べし、（他古書には、常に和多都美神にも、海神と書たれど、此記には、書別けたり）○相議者也、こは上大國主神段に、御祖命告子云、可參向須佐之男命所坐之根堅洲國、必其大神議也、とあるに同じ、其前後の凡ての事の趣も、よく似たり、考合すべし、（傳十根堅洲國の段）さて是まで、鹽椎神の敎奉れる語なり、○註訓香木云々、舊印本などに、訓香云加都良木とあるは、香、下なる木字を、（二行にて並べるに因て）誤て良、下に書るなり、又眞福寺本延佳本などには、香、下良、下共に木字あり、其も非なり、（良、下に木字あるは、決くわろし、訓を注するに、訓を用ふること、例もことわりもなし、且加都良紀とは云べくもあらず、若又加都良能紀ならば、必能字も有べきなり、されば此は、香、下なる木を、誤て良、下に書る本を見て香、下に脫たることをばさとりて、補ひながら、良、下なるが錯なることをばえしらざりしなり）故今は一本に從ひつ、書紀一書云、時有一長老忽然而至、自稱鹽土老翁云々、老翁即取囊中玄櫛、投地、則化成五百箇竹林、因取其竹、作大目火籠、內火々出見尊於籠中、投之于海、一云、以無目堅間爲浮木、以細繩繫著火々出見尊而沈之、所謂堅間是今之竹籠也、又一書に、是時弟往海濱、但侮愁吟時、有川鴈嬰霜困厄、即起憐心、解而放去、須臾有鹽土老翁來云々、又一書に、時遇鹽筒老翁云々、計曰、海神所乘駿馬者八尋鰐也云々、（文長ければ、此には略きぬ、本

へて說たるものなり、又漢ぶみにも似たる事のあるも、然なり、そも〳〵皇國は、萬國を御照し坐、天津日大御神の本御國なれば、凡て萬の事も物も、みな皇國ぞ本にして、主に坐て、他國々へもおのづから流れ及びたるものにて、相似たることも、もとより多かるは彼が吾に似たるにこそあれ吾が彼に似たるには非ず、然るを世々の物知人みな、此元の本末をば、得知らずして、たゞ後に萬の事も物も、異國を學び、異國より來り、又物語書などに、異國の故事を取て、作りかへたることのあるなどに傲ひて、萬の事みな、異國を本と心得るから、神代の故事などをさへに、其類かと疑ふは、よく異國書に惑へるものなり、よ坐や本末は坐ばしおきぬ、天地の中に、人の形を始めて山川草木、其餘の物も、皇國漢天竺と、大かた異なることなく、皆おのづから同じさまなれば古への傳へ事なども、此方と彼方と、などかは同じきこともあらざらむ、同じきからに必彼を學びたりと思ふは、いと愚なり、人の形も何物も、彼を學びて造らざれども、おのづから同じきにあらずや、さて又近き代の、なまさか坐き人の心には、水中に宮室などのあるべき理なし、と思ひとるから、かの龍宮などの說をも信ず、此段の事をも、實は、海底には非ずとして、或は薩摩國近き一の島なりといひ、或は琉球國なりといひ、或は對馬なりなども云て、其證などをも、とり〳〵に云めれど、凡てさる類は、皆古傳に背ける、例の儒者意の私事なり、さばかりさかしく漢めきて書れたる書紀にすら、內彥火々出見尊於籠中、沈之于海、また海底自吞可怜小汀などあれば海底なることは、これらの語にても、坐るきものをや）○井上は韋能辨と訓べし、和名抄に河內國（志紀郡）に井於、甲斐國（山梨郡）に井上と云鄕名ありて、共に井乃

の格にはたがひて、古言の例なり、まれにはとりはずして、返りてかゝるよきこともあるなり、）萬葉十三（卅丁）に衣社薄其破者、伊勢物語に、女御高子と申すいまそかりけり、それうせ給ひて云々、なほ物語等に此たぐひ多く見ゆ、○綿津見神は、上に大綿津見神ありて、名義など其處に云り、又御禊段に、底中上と、三柱綿津見神あり、其は阿曇連が祖神に坐よし、其處に見えて、姓氏錄に安曇宿禰、海神綿積豐玉彦神、子穗高見命、之後也とあると、書紀此段（一書）に、海神豐玉彦とあるとを、合せて見れば、此の綿津見神は、卽彼御禊段のなりけり、萬葉九（十八丁）詠浦嶋子哥に、海若神之宮乃內隔之細有殿爾云々、（此哥、凡て此段の趣と似たるとあり、考へ見べし）さて海神の宮は、海の底にある國なり、後世のなまさかしき說どもは古傳の趣にかなはず、佛書に龍宮と云る物あり、其說るさま、あやしきまで此段にいとよく似たる處あり、故書紀の口決纂疏などには、此海神宮を、直に龍宮とぞ云れたる、佛書を信める人は、然上客の語の別まへだになくて、彼所謂龍宮を主として云れたるなり、又漢籍にもをり〳〵、水神宮の事を云るありて其はたよく似たる故にかにかくに此段は異國書に依て、造れるものかと、疑ふ人あるなり、されどそはたゞ異國書をのみ信みて、皇國の古傳をば信ざるものなり、凡て皇國のは其書こそ後に出來つれ、其事は、神代より語傳へ來つるまゝなれば、こよなく古きを、異國の說どもは其書こそ、此方のよりやゝ先なれ、說る事は、己がさかしらのみ多く玄て、古のまゝならねば、返りて皇國書より遙に後なり、然れば此段の傳說は、眞なり本なり、佛書の龍宮は、此綿津見神宮の事の上代におのづから、天竺などにも、かたはし傳はりたるに、種々の事を造加

の甍のさまを云るが如くにも聞ゆれども、然にはあらじ、さては所造と云るにうとし）うつほ物語藤原君卷に、四面四町の殿に、面ごとに御門を建て、伊呂古の如くに造り重ねたるおとゞに云々、（おとゞは殿舍なり、）又梅花笠卷に、色々のあげはりを、伊呂古のごと打渡して、云云、などいへるも物の稠く重なり連れるさまの譬へなり、（からぶみ楚辭の九歌、河伯篇に、魚鱗屋兮龍堂、注に、言河伯所居、以魚鱗蓋屋堂畫蛟龍之文云々、形容異制、甚鮮好也云々、河伯水神也、故託魚龍之類以爲宮室也といひ、また靈何爲兮水中、注に、言河伯之屋殊好如是、何爲居水中而沈沒也、また乘白黿兮逐文魚、また魚隣々兮媵予、注、媵送也言江神聞己將歸、亦使波流滔々來迎河伯遣魚隣々侍從而送我也、など云る、凡て此段といとよく似たれば、如魚鱗造と云も、此文を取て書るかとも、云べけれども、彼は直に魚鱗を以て屋を葺るよしなり此は其狀を譬へたるなれば、其趣異なるをや、なほ又凡ての事の似たることの論ひは、下にあり、）書紀に、其宮也、雉堞整頓、臺宇玲瓏、また城闕崇華、樓臺壯麗、などあるは、ひたぶるに漢文を餝れる物にて、さらに古言にかなはざることなり、宮室は、二字を美夜と訓べし、さて如字の上に、有字あるべく、若無くとも阿良牟と云言を讀附べきが如くなれども、上に將有味御路といひ、下にも有湯津香木と云へば、あまり同言の重らむを厭ひて、此はことさらに省けるならむ、さて有むと云へざれども其意と聞えて足はぬこゝちもせず、返りて語の勢宜くぞありける、○其は、曾禮と訓べし、上なる物を指て云言なり、書紀景行卷に、有女人曰速津媛、爲一處之長、其聞天皇車駕云々、また以討土蜘蛛、若其畏我兵勢云々、（凡て書紀は、つとめて漢文ざまに書れたるを、これらの其は、漢文

紀にも、道と書ずして、御路としも書る所以は、まづ常には、たゞ知と云べきにも、美知と云て、けぢめなけれども、美知はもと、道をほめて、御てふ言を添へたる名なり、かくて此處は、甚善道なる由をいふ處にて、美てふ言、用有りて重きが故に、本義の隨に書るなるべし、）○乘は、字のまゝに能理豆と訓べし、此道は、尋常の陸なる道にあらず、水中なる故に、乘と云る、おもしろし、（萬葉十一に、海原乃路爾乘哉云々とよめるは、海路を舟に乘を云るなれば、異なり、又靈異記に、乘路而行時云々ともあるは、路のまに〳〵など云意にて、これも別なり、但し此も其に准へて、道のまに〳〵なども訓べきに似たれども、此記の例、まに〳〵と云むに、乘字など書べきに非ず、又書紀には、尋路とあれば、此も乘字は尋を誤れるにや、とも思はるれど、なほ然にはあらじ）○往者は、伊麻志那婆と訓べし、凡て由伎坐と云べきを、伊麻須と云ること、古言に常多し、中卷（傳三十二）明宮段、大御哥に、須久々々登、和賀伊麻勢婆、此餘萬葉に多く見えたるは、彼大御哥の下に引て、委云べし、○如魚鱗所造之宮室、魚鱗は伊呂古と訓べし、和名抄に、唐韻云、鱗魚甲也、文字集畧云、龍魚之屬、衣曰鱗、和名以呂久都、俗云伊呂古、字鏡には、鰭魚脊上骨、又伊呂己とあり、（和名抄に、伊呂久都と云るは心得ず、又伊呂古をば、俗云とあれど、俗には非じ、さて又これを、今は字呂古と云、此字と伊とは、何れか古ならむ、魚をも、中昔には伊袁と云れども、今は多く字袁と云る、古言にも字袁と云り、然れば鱗も、中昔にこそ伊呂古とのみ云れ、古言は字呂古、なりけむも知がたし、されど古書に然云るを未見ざれば、姑和名抄に隨ひて訓るなり、）さて如魚鱗と云は、壯麗く大きなる宮の、殿門など、數多並立連りて見ゆる狀を譬へたるなるべし、（屋上

て、目の無きを云り、（中卷に八目之荒籠、書紀に大目麁籠、など云るは、目の麁きを云り、さて加多麻と云を、凡て籠の古名と心得て、右の麁籠などをさへに、アラカタマと訓は非なり、麁きをかたまとは云べき由なし、許と云ぞ、本より總名にはありける、筥と云も、布多許の切りたるにて、もと蓋のある籠の名なり、これらにても、總ての名は許なりしことを知べし、）萬葉十二（九丁卅四丁卅九丁）に、玉勝間とあるも、此物なり、（和名抄に、周防國佐波郡勝間加都萬、讃岐國三野郡勝間加都萬、三代實錄卅七に、筑前國賀津萬神、萬葉十六に、勝間田池、これらみな、此物に因れる地名と聞えたり、加都麻と訓べきこと、これらにても、ゑるし、又式に紀伊國名草郡堅眞神社もあり、）さて和名抄に、唐韻云、籠竹器也、和名古、また四聲字苑云、笭箒小籠也、漢語抄云、賀太美、とある賀太美は、加多麻の轉りたるなり、（古今集より、ゑて後の哥などにも、皆加多美とのみよめり、さて小籠を、ゑも加多美と云けむは、古と違へり、加多麻はもと、大きなるにも小きにも云りし名なればなり、）○小船とは、此は必ゑも船の形に造れりとには非じ、何物にまれ、乘て水を行物を、船とは云るなるべゑ、書紀に以无目堅間爲浮木、とあるも同じ、和名抄に、唐韻云、艇小船也、釋名云、一二人所乘也、楊氏漢語抄云、艇乎夫禰、○押流其船の其は、此と云べき處なり、故今は然訓つ、○差暫は、夜々志麻斯と訓べし、差を夜々と訓るは、萬葉七（二十七丁）にあり、暫は、同十五（十四丁卅一丁）に、思末志久母、十八（六丁）に、布禰之麻志可勢、などあるに依て訓つ、○味御路は、書紀に、可怜小汀ともありて、可怜此云于麻師と注し、又可怜御路ともあり、甚善道と云むが如し、さて此に御路と書る、これ美知の本義なり、（此處にのみ、此記にも書

紀にに鹽土老翁、また一書に、鹽筒ともあり、（都知と都々とは、通音にて同じ、續紀廿九に、賀茂朝臣鹽筒、と云人名も見ゆ）老翁とは、たゞ尊みても云稱なれど、凡て年老たる人ぞ、物をばよく知識ことなれば、此は實に翁にてもありけむ、（書紀に、有一長老とあるは、老翁てふ稱に就ての、例の撰者の文にてもあるべし）さて神武卷なる鹽土老翁も、物知れる翁といふことなり、又事勝國勝長狹神をも、亦名鹽土老翁とあり、これも物知れりし神にて、此稱はありしならむ、（帳に、薩摩國穎娃郡枚聞神社あり、こは此段の鹽土神を祭れる社なりとぞ、今世に開聞が嶽と云これなり）○虛空津日高の御事は、下に申すべし、○易鉤、此所いさゝか足はず、字の脫たるならむと、師は云れき、信にかくのみにては、互に鉤と鉤とを相易賜ひし如く聞えて、紛らはし、然れども字の落たる物とも見えず、本よりたゞ如是ぞ有けむ、さるは弓矢と鉤と易へ賜へるなれど、弓矢の事は、此に用なき故に略きて、一方のみを云るや、古文ならむ、○汝命は、那賀美許登と訓べきこと、上（傳七の初）に云るが如し、○爲は、美多米爾と訓べし、萬葉に、御爲と多く見ゆ、奉爲と書るをも、然訓ことなり、○議は、許登婆加理と訓べし、萬葉四（五十四丁）に、事計爲與、十二（十二丁）に、事計吉爲、此他も多し、○无間勝間は、麻那志加都麻と訓べし、无間は、書紀に無目と作る意なり、（間は借字）加都麻は、堅津間の約まりたるにて、書紀には、即堅間とあり、（師は、此書紀の字に依て、勝間と書るをも、みな、加多麻と訓べし、と云れつれど、此記の字づかひ、加多に勝などは書ることなし、又次に引る如く、地名などにも、加都麻と云る多かるをや、然れば古加多麻とも加都麻とも云りしなり）こは籠の、編る竹と竹との間の堅く密り

故鉤

於、是其弟。泣患居海邊之時。鹽椎神來問曰。何虛空津日高之泣患所由。答言。我與兄易鉤而。失其鉤。是乞其鉤故。雖償多鉤。不受。云猶欲得其本鉤。故泣患之。爾鹽椎神。云我爲汝命作善議。即造无間勝間之小船。載其船以。教曰。我押流其船者。差暫往。將有味御路。乃乘其道往者。如魚鱗所造之宮室。其綿津見神之宮者也。到其神御門者。傍之井上有湯津香木。故坐其木上者。其海神之女。見相議者也。

訓香木云加都良

海邊は、宇美辨多と訓べし、書紀に海畔、古今集（戀三）に、世をうみべたに云々とあり、萬葉十二（廿丁）に、淡海之海、邊多波人知、後撰集にへたのみるめ、（萬葉十四に、宇奈比と云ることあり、凡て邊を比と云ること、山備濱備の類、古言に多し、然れば宇奈比は、海邊と聞ゆれども、又地名かの疑あり、此外に、正しく海邊を然云るを、未見ざれば、然は訓がたくなむ）さて此は、海邊を先讀て、泣患を後に讀べき語のさまなり、（凡て上に云と、下に云とによりて、其言、重くも輕くもなることぞ）○鹽椎神は、一柱の神名には非ず、凡て物をよく知識る人を云稱にて、名義知識大都知なり、（大は、例の美稱、都知も、野椎神の處に云る如く、例多くして、美稱なり）書

凡ての意は、山幸取の弓矢も、海幸取の釣鉤も、己己が本より得たる幸取なれば、久しく易置べきに非ず、互に既に試つれば、今は己々本の如く返さむとなり、○強は、阿那賀知爾と訓べし、書紀に多く然訓り、（此言は、孔穿にと云ことなるべし）○乞徴は、許比波多理伎と訓べし、萬葉十六（二十二丁）に、課役徴者、○破は夜夫理豆と訓べし、凡て夜夫流は、成の反對にて、壞字毀字などをも當たる、其意なり、劒をやぶるは、銷鑠を云、○五百鉤は伊富波理、○一千鉤は、知波理と訓べし、○償は、都具能比と訓べし、字鏡に、貳、豆久乃布、また俏、還也復也報也、豆久乃布などあり、（償字書に、酬也とも、報也とも、還所直也とも注せり）○猶は、左右に償ふを聽ずして、其は猶不欲、といふ意より云る言にして、押てひたぶるに乞意になるなり、（俗言に、是非とも、どう有てもと云意になるなり、さて物語文などに、物を彼此といろ〳〵に試み考へて、他は何れも宜しからず、猶此こそ宜しけれと、終に一に思定むる處に云る猶も、是なり）また云字の上にある意として、猶云と見ても通ゆ、（其時は、よのつねの猶なり）○其正本鉤は、如能母登能波理と訓べし、（正字は、讀べからず）下には其本鉤とあり、（書紀にも、故鉤とあり）書紀に、始兄弟二人相謂曰、試欲易幸、遂相易之、各不得其利、兄悔之乃還弟弓箭、而乞己釣鉤、弟時既失兄鉤、無由訪覓、故別作新鉤、與兄、兄不肯受而、責其故鉤、弟患之、即以其横刀、鍛作新鉤、盛一箕、而與之、兄忿之、曰、非我故鉤、雖多不取、益復責、また一書に、時兄弟欲互易其幸、故兄持弟之幸弓、入山覓獸、終不見獸之乾迹、弟持兄之幸鉤、入海釣魚、殊無所獲、遂失其鉤、また一書に、時兄謂弟曰、吾試欲與汝換幸、弟許諾云々、俱不得利、空手來歸云々、故別作新鉤數千、與之、兄怒不受、急責

につりばりと云つれば、次々はたゞ波理と云ぞ、語の定まれる法なる、）○山佐知毋云々、海佐知毋云々、こゝの佐知も、皆幸取にて、其具を云ること、上に同じ、毋は辭なり、己之は、人々の己々之なり、（俗言に、面々之、また手前手前之、など云が如し、火照命の自云己にはあらず、）佐知佐知と重ね云は、凡て物を相對へて云ときの古言の格にて、山佐知の方は、海佐知に對へ、海佐知の方は、山佐知に對へて云るなり、さる例は、萬葉九（三十三丁）に、遠津國黃泉乃界丹、蔓都多乃各々向々、天雲乃別石往者、こは弟の身まかれるをよめるにて、只一人の事なるを、向々と重言へる、これ此世に留れる吾身に對へてなり、又古今集戀哥に、思ふどち一人々々が戀死なば、誰によそへて藤衣著む、此は思交せる男と女の中に、何方にまれ、一人が若戀死なば、と云意なるを、一人〳〵と云る、此も今一人に對へてなり、（竹取物語に、一人々々に逢給へ、此も幾人もある中にて、何れにまれ一人と云るにて、其餘の人に對へて云り、大和物語に、一人々々に逢なば、これも同じ、源氏物語若菜に、一人々々罪なきときには、椎本に、一人々々なからましかば、などあるも、皆二人の間にて、何方にまれ一人にて、今一人に對へ言り、今世の心以て思へば、一人々々は、一人毎と云が如く聞ゆれども、然に非ず、又からぶみ禮記、曲禮に、二名不偏諱と云る、二名とは、二字の名を云り、こは二字の名の中にて、上字にまれ下字にまれ、離して一字は諱ず、と云ことなるに、偏をヒトツ〳〵と訓るも、古言の例によく當れることなり、大かたこれらを以て曉るべし、）山佐知毋海佐知毋、己々之佐知々々と見れば、早く心得らるゝなり、○今は伊麻波と訓べし、（俗言に毋波夜と云に當れり、）○各は、此は淤能淤能と訓て宜し、さて此處の語の

とは、上に出たり、（傳十四大國主神禱言の下）萬葉五（二十三丁）に、多良志比賣可美能美許登能、奈都良須等、美多々志世利斯、伊志遠多禮美吉、和名抄に、聲類云、鉤設鈎餌取魚也、和名都理字鏡に、釣伊乎豆留、○都は、加都豆と訓べし、萬葉四（四十三丁）に、花勝見都毛不知戀裳摺可聞、十（十九丁）に、木高者曾木不殖、十三（二十四丁）に、戀云物者都不止來、（此都は、今本には、スベテと訓れど、四卷なるに效て、カツテと訓べし）○不得一魚は、比登都母延賜波受と訓べし、（漢文ざまに一魚とは書たれど、魚は上にあれば、又讀むは煩し）○鉤は都理婆理と訓べし、（書紀にて、此段の鉤字を、みな知と訓て、古名と心得、或は其知を、都理婆理の切まりたる名なりとするなどは、ひがことなり、そも〳〵之を知と訓ることは、もと彼紀に、踉蹌鉤、此云須々能美賦、などあるより出、又此記に、海佐知などある知をも、鉤と心得、彼此を以て、まぎれ誤りたるものなり、かの須々能美賦などの賦も、鉤字にあたりたる言にはあらず、其由は、下に委云べし）波理と云は、もと物縫針の名にて、其を曲て、釣に用ふるを、釣針と云なり、（書紀神功卷に、勾針爲鉤、とあるが如し、或人、翻譯名義集に、婆利翻曲鉤、と云るを引て、波理は梵語なりと云るは、本末を辨へざるひが說なり、曲鉤は、波理の本義に非れば、末の自似たるにこそあれ）さて此鉤の下に、佐閇と云辭を添へて讀べし、魚を得給はざるのみならず、鉤をさへ失ひ賜ふなり、（書紀には此處に、兄命の山に入て、獸を獵れるに、其も得ざりし事もあるを、此記には、たゞ海の方の事のみを云るは、山の方の事は、用なき故に、畧けるなるべし）○失海、失てふ言は、萬葉十五（三十四丁）に、安我之多其呂母、宇思奈波受、○乞其鉤、この鉤は、たゞ波理と訓べし、（初

むと云意ならでは、聞えぬ事ぞかし）○不許は、由流佐邪理伎と訓べし、（師は、ウナヅルサヾリキと訓れき、書紀に、不聽などを然訓り、此も古言とは聞ゆれども、たしかなる例を未見ず、由流須と云言は、武烈紀平群臣鮪の哥にも有て、慥なり）○纔は、事の、かつ〳〵に、始めて其處に及びたる如き意にて、（纔字の注に、一入色之淺也とも、始也とも、甫爾也とも見え、また僅字の注に、纔能也ともある、よく叶へり、此意より轉りて、少許のことをも、和豆加といへども、此は其意にはあらず）此は、三度まで乞賜へども、許さぬを、なほ強て乞て、辛くしてかつ〳〵に易賜ふを云なり、（俗言に、やう〳〵と易たりと云意なり）○得相易は、延加幣賜比伎と訓べし、得を延と先讀べき由は、上（傳十二幸魂奇魂の段）に委曲に云り、さて此、幸取易の事、此、記にては、弟命の御方より乞賜へるなり、書紀は、本書及一書にては、兄弟互に相語らひて、易給へるなり、又の一書にては、兄命の方より乞賜へるなり、此、三の傳の中に、兄命の方より乞賜へるぞ、此段の終までの趣に、よく叶へりける、なほ其傳には、はじめに、兄則毎有風雨、輙失其利、弟則雖逢風雨、其幸不惑とあれば、易てむと所欲る由緣さへ知られて、いよゝ明らけし、然れば、此、記の傳は、紛ひ誤れる物なるべし、○海佐知、これも海にて幸を取る具をいふこと、上に同じ、（これ又佐知をたゞ幸の意とするときは、以海佐知釣魚と云こと、聞えがたし）書紀に、弟持兄之幸鉤入海釣魚、また弟取兄釣鉤入海釣魚、などあると、照して知べし（師は、此、記にも、佐知の下に鉤字脫たらむ、と云れつれど、其は佐知を、たゞ幸の意に見られたるからなり、幸取の意と見るときは、鉤といはざれども、鉤のことになるなり）○釣魚は、那都良須爾と訓べし、魚を那と云こ

また一書に、兄火酢芹命、得山幸利、弟火折、尊、得海幸利、（此は海と山とを、相誤る傳へなり、）○各は、師の加多美遲と訓たる宜し、互になり、此、言、欲用と云までへ係れり、○欲用は、母知比豆牟と訓べし、（舊印本などに、欲字なきは、わろし、今は眞福寺本延佳本などに依れり、）用の假字は、源、仲正、家集に、元日、戀、千代までも影をならべて逢見むと祝ふ鏡の用ひざらめや、（夫木集卅二に載れり、又後なれど、藤原、經衡、家集にも、此、同、人、字治殿にて、餅をおこすとて、肴には何もあれども此、中に、心につかば是を用ひよ、かへし、君が代を心用ひのうれしきはいかなる人のなさけなるらむ、）と餅に云かへたるに依て定めつ、（仲正は、後撰集の作者なれば、いまだ假字の亂れざりしほどなり、もちひもちふもちふると活用く言にて、戀強など、同格の活きなり、）さて此の佐知も、（下なるも皆同じ、）上の海佐知山佐知の佐知と同くて、幸取なから、上なるは幸を取人を指て云、（又毘古とつゞければ、取は、たゞに取事を指としても可し、さて其人を指て、某取と云例は、水取、梔取などのたぐひなり、此、例なほ他し言にも多かり、）此處なるは、幸を取具を指て云るなり、（欲用とあるを以て、其、具を指て云るなることをさとるべし、）凡て用の言の、其、具の名ともなれる例多き中に、火を取器を、火取と云など、（和名抄に、薰爐、比度利、）正しく同じ、然れば海幸取彦の幸取は、海にして魚を取具にて、釣鉤などなり、（即書紀に、幸鉤ともあり、幸取鉤なり、）山幸取彦の幸取は、山にして獸を取具にて、弓矢などなり、（即書紀に、幸弓ともあり、幸取弓なり、さて佐知と云ことを、幸とのみ心得てはたがふと云こと、此、にて知べし、書紀に、欲易幸と書れたれども、幸を易とては、文字のうへ聞えがたし、取幸具を易

得ては、下に至りてかなはぬことあり、其由は其處に云べし、）佐知は、幸取にて、伎を省き、登理を切めて、知と云なり、（登理を知と云例多し）さてまづ幸とは、凡て身のために吉き事を云、（福字をも書り）此にては、海にて諸魚を得を、海佐伎と云、山にて諸獸を得るを山佐伎と云、凡て物を得るは、身のために吉事なる故に、幸と云なり、さて其海山の佐伎を取賜ふを以て、幸取彦と申せるなり、次の文に、取鰭云々、取毛云々、とある取を思ふべし、萬葉一（二十六丁）二（四十四丁）六（十四丁）などに得物矢、（此をトモヤと訓るは、誤なり、師のサツヤと訓れたるぞ、よくあたれる）五（九丁）に佐都由美、三（十八丁）に山能佐都雄、十（三十九丁四十丁）に薩雄、又（五丁）佐豆人、などある佐都も、佐知と同じ、薩摩てふ地名も、此幸取彦たちの、住給へりしにぞ因つらむ、日本紀竟宴歌に、火遠理命を夜麻讃曾比胡とよめり、○鰭廣物鰭狹物は、上に出、（傳十六猿田毘古神の下）○毛麁物毛柔物は、氣能阿羅母能、氣能爾古母能と訓べし、（廣瀬大忌祭辭に、和支物荒支物とあるに依て、伎を添て讀は、中々にわろきこと、上に云るが如し）諸獸を云る古の雅言なり、氣母能又氣陀母能も、毛を以て云る名にて同じ、（和名抄に、獸を介毛乃、畜を介太毛乃と分たるは、いかなる由にか、介太毛乃も、毛津物とこそ聞えたれ）書紀保食神段に、又嚮山則毛麁毛柔亦自口出、龍田風神祭祝詞に、山爾住物者毛乃和物毛乃荒物、（遷却祟神祝詞にもかくあり）道饗祭祝詞に、山野爾住物者、毛能和物毛能荒物など見ゆ、書紀に、兄火闌降命、自有海幸、弟彦火々出見尊、自有山幸、一書に、兄火酢芹命、能得海幸、故號海幸彦、弟彦火々出見尊、能得山幸、故號山幸彦、兄則每有風雨輙失其利、弟則雖逢風雨、其幸不惑、

古事記傳十七之卷

本居宣長謹撰

神代十五之卷

故火照命者。爲海佐知毘古（此四字以音下效此）而。取鰭廣物鰭狹物。火遠理命者。爲山佐知毘古而。取毛麤物毛柔物。爾火遠理命謂其兄火照命。各相易佐知欲用。三度雖乞。不許。然遂纔得相易。爾火遠理命。以海佐知釣魚。都不得一魚。亦其鉤失海。於是其兄火照命乞其鉤曰。山佐知母己之佐知佐知。海佐知母己之佐知佐知。今各謂返佐知之時。（佐知二字以音）其弟火遠理命答曰。汝鉤者。釣魚不得一魚。遂失海然其兄强乞徵。故其弟。破御佩之十拳劍。作五百鉤雖償。不取。亦作一千鉤雖償。不受。云猶欲得其正本鉤。

海佐知山佐知は、直に宇美佐知夜麻佐知と訓べし、（海之山之と、之を添るはわろし）下なるも皆同じ、書紀に、海幸山幸と書て、幸此云左知とあれども、幸の意のみには非ず、（幸とのみ心

古事記傳十六之卷終

處云るか如し、考合すべし、然るにこれらの富々を、書紀の字に依て、火の意とするは非なり、火折こそ、生坐る時の火に因れる御名なれ、此亦御名は、天津日嗣しろしめしての御稱名にて、彼火に因れることには非ず、故此記に、火照火須勢理火遠理と、火に因れる御名には、皆火字を書るに、同じつゞきにて、此御名のみは、穗字を書て、別たるを以ても知べし、但書紀には、或は彦火火出見尊とのみありて、火折てふ御名をば出さず、或は出しながら、亦御名とせるなどは、火々出見と申す方を、火明など、並べて、火の義に取れる傳なり、されど其はもと混ひつるものにて、正しからず、此記及一書に、火折尊亦號彦火々出見尊とあるぞ、正しかりけり、）手は根に通ひ、見は耳と同くて、並美稱なり、手てふ例は、八嶋手（須佐之男命の御子にて、書紀に見ゆ）などあり、又宇麻志麻遲命を、書紀には可美眞手とあれば、手は遲と通ふにもあるべし、其も同く美稱なり、（根又遲などの稱名の例は、常多し、又見耳の事は、傳七男御子女御子御詔別の段に委く云り、）手見と連ける例は、浮穴宮御宇天皇の御名、師木津日子玉手見命これなり、（さて書紀に、火折の命と彦火々出見尊とを、二柱としたる一書あり、そはいたく異なる傳なり、又火夜織命次彦火々出見尊とあるもあり、火夜織は火折なれば、是も二柱とせる傳なり、又火折彦火々出見尊と、二の御名を、一に連ねて擧たる傳もあり、）さて白檮原宮御宇天皇をも、彦火火出見尊と申せるよし、書紀に見えたり、天津日嗣に由ある稻穗を以て、美稱奉れる御號なる故に、又傳負賜へりしなり、

初起時に生坐る御子の御名にしも、此字を當られたるは、進昇ると、衰降ると、反對の違ひなるをや）○火遠理命、これも火之と訓はわろきこと、上の二柱に同じ、此は火の衰へたる時に、生ませる故の御名にて、火弱りの義なり、書紀一書に、火夜織命ともあるを以て知べし、（本與を切むれば、本となり、和と袁と通ふ例は、たわやめたをやめ、たわむとをむ、たわゝとをゝ、わなゝくをのゝくなどのごとし、但し折と織と、袁淤の通ひたる例はめづらし）又一書に、次避火炎時生兒、火折彦火々出見尊、また一書に、次火炎衰時躍誥出兒、亦言吾是天神之子名火折命、などもあり、さて右の三柱の中に、終に火の衰へたる時に生坐る御子しも、天津日嗣を所知看しけることは、如何なる故にか、知がたけれど、こゝろみに云ば、此御子等は、父尊の御疑を明め奉むとして、かく火中に在て生產るを、初に火の發れるほどは、御疑いまだ明ざるべく、熾に燃るほども、なほ燒む燒けじは、未定めがたかるべきを、其火既に盛過て、衰る時に至りてぞ、御母も御子も、終に所燒坐ざること定まりて、實に天神の御子に坐徵驗は明らかなりける故に、終りに生坐るが貴きことわりならむか、（かの伊邪那岐大神の、阿波岐原の御禊の時も、最後に生坐る三柱御子ぞ、殊に貴く坐ける、其も漸に穢の除りて後、清明かりしこと、此もこゝろばへ似たり）○天津日高は、父尊の御名にて、（傳十五の初に出）傳へ負賜へるなり、○日子穗々手見命、穗々は稻穗にて、即字の如く、重ね云るか、又大穗にてもあるべし、（大を、意を省きて、富と云る例、傳七、忍穗耳命の處に委云るがごとし）穗々と云例は、書紀一書に、邇々藝命を、天之杵火々、置瀨尊ともあり、此火々も、稻穗に依れり、（稻穗は、天津日嗣に、重き由緣あること、上に處

命、次云々）とあるは、此記と、此神の生坐る次第も違ひ、又隼人祖も異なり、されどその生坐る次第に就て、第一なるが隼人祖なることは同じきなり、又一書には、此御兄弟を、火酸芹命と火折尊と二柱と云て、火明命無きは、火酸芹と火明とをば、同神とせる傳なり、（又一書に、火折命と火々出見尊とを、別神と云たる傳もあれば、此火酸芹と火明も、或は一神とし、或は二神として、其生坐るついでも、互に前にも後にもなれるなり）かゝれば此二柱の間に、此隼人祖の錯のあるは、かたゞ〳〵由あることなりかし、○火須勢理命、これも火之と訓はわろし、（其由は上に云るが如し、然るに書紀の訓注に、火闌降此云褒能須素理とある、能字は、後の訛訓に耳なれたる人の、さかしらにかへたるなるべし、又姓氏錄にも、富乃須佐利ともあれど、是もいかゞ、同書の二見首、條に、富須洗利命とあるぞ、正しかりける）此は火の熾に進み燃る時に生坐る故の御名なり、書紀一書に、次火炎盛時生兒火進命、又曰火酸芹命、また一書に、次火盛時躍誥出兒、亦言吾是天神之子名火進命、とあるを以て心得べし、須勢理は（須素里須佐利も皆同言、進と同意なり、萬葉十七（四十丁）に、越國立山長哥に、之良久母能知邊乎於之和氣安麻曾々理多可吉多知夜麻とある、安麻曾々理も、此山の甚高く云て、天に進み登る狀なるを、思ひ合すべし、（俗に、人の心の浮立進むを、そゝると云も同じ）然るを書紀に、此御名を、火闌降とも書れたる文字は、撰者の誤にぞありける、（其故は、此神の生坐るは、始起烟末とも、焰初起時とも、また火炎盛時ともあれば、此御名は、闌降の意なるべき由なし、闌は、衰也とも、殘也とも注せる字なれば、一書に、次火炎衰時云々名火折命とある火折にこそ、よくかなふべき字なれ、然るを

見えたる、彼處に委曲に云べし、阿多君は、（多、清て讀べし、濁るは非なり、）地名に由れる、書紀海神宮段に、其火闌降命即吾田君小橋等之本祖也、（上には是隼人等始祖也と云て、此には又如此云る、同本書の內にて、前と後と違ひあるはいかにぞや、小橋の事は、中卷白檮原宮段、傳廿の初に云べし、）姓氏錄に、（右京神別）阿多御手養、火闌降命六世孫、薩摩若相樂後也、また、（山城國神別）阿多隼人富乃須佐利乃命之後也と見え、續後紀に、承和三年六月、山城國人右大衣阿多隼人逆足賜姓阿多忌寸、など見えたり、（これら隼人の國より上りて、皇朝に仕奉れるが子孫の、京畿に遺り住るなり、大衣の事は、傳十七火照命奉仕の段下に云り、さて火闌降命の後は、右の外にも、大和國に二見首大角隼人、津國に日下部、和泉國に坂合部など、姓氏錄に見えたり、）さて火照命は、廣く隼人の祖と聞えたるに、分て阿多君の祖としも云るは、隼人の諸姓の中に、殊に顯れたる氏にこそありけめ、（或說に、此の隼人阿多君を、隼人と阿多君と二つとし、又は、隼人國の阿多君と見たるなど、皆わろし、たゞ阿多君は、隼人なる故に隼人とは云るなり、）さて阿多てふ地は、和名抄に、薩摩國阿多郡阿多鄕あり、是なり、（此名今も存り、）書紀に、吾田長屋、笠狹之碕、神武卷に、日向國吾田邑（古は薩摩までかけて、日向國と云しこと、上に云るが如し、日向國臼杵郡英多あれど、其にはあらず、）などある、皆此地を云り、天武紀持統紀などに、阿多隼人とあるは、此地の隼人なり、（又持統紀に、六年閏五月詔筑紫大宰、率河內王等曰、宜遣沙門於大隅與阿多可傳佛敎、）さて書紀に、始起烟末生出之兒號火闌降命、是隼人等始祖也、次云々、次生出之兒號火明命、（一書には、焰初起時共生兒號火酸芹命、次火盛時生兒號火明

とも云は、波伊登と云たぐひなり、）隼人と云者は、今の大隅薩摩二國の人にて、其國人は、絶れて敏捷く猛勇きが故に、此名あるなり、（古言に、猛勇きを波夜志とも登志とも云へれば、波夜と云に、猛勇き意もあるなり、隼字を書ことは、迅速きこと、此鳥の如く、又波夜夫佐てふ名も合へればなり）景行仲哀の御世のころ、熊曾と云し者も是にて、即其國を熊曾國と云き、（熊曾國の事は、傳五大八嶋成出の段下に云り、）又其を隼人國と云るは、續紀二に、大寶二年、先是征薩摩隼人時云々、唱更國司等（今、薩摩國也）言云々とある、唱更これ隼人なり、（拾芥抄、改名所々部に、薩摩國元唱更とあり、職員令、隼人司、義解に、隼人者、分番上下、二年爲限云々、とある意を以て、其ころ唱更とは書たりしなり、今、薩摩國也とは、續紀撰ばれし時の注なり、）萬葉三（十五丁）に、隼人乃薩摩乃迫門、六（二十二丁）に、隼人乃湍門、など云るも、國名なり、（書紀孝德卷に、薩麻之曲、右に引る續紀に、薩摩隼人、萬葉に、薩摩乃迫門、などある薩摩は、國名には非ず、隼人國の中の地名なり、後まで薩摩郡あれば、其あたりの名にぞ有けむ、）其を薩摩國とは、後に改められたるなり、（さて隼人とは、今の大隅薩摩二國の人を云る中にも、隼人國と云しは、今の薩摩國の域なるべし、大隅は、和銅六年に、日向より分れたる國なればなり、但し上古には、薩摩までかけて、日向國とも云しかば、其中に、薩摩より大隅かけてを、殊に隼人國と云しにもあるべし、さて國名の、薩摩と改まりしは、大寶より靈龜までの間なるべし、其故は、右に引る大寶二年の紀には、唱更國とありて、養老元年の紀に、始めて大隅薩摩二國、隼人とある、此、薩摩は、既に國名なればなり、）なほ此、隼人の、皇朝に仕奉る事などは、傳十七海神宮、段の末に、其由緣の

次火盛時云々、次火炎衰時云々、次避火熱時云々など、一柱毎に、生坐る時の火の狀を、別て云るに就て、准へ見れば、此記は、たゞ火照命の生坐る時の狀をのみ云て、次の二柱には、火の事を云ざるは、事足らず、脫たる如く聞ゆめれど、よく考ふれば然らず、此記は、書紀の如く各別ては云ず、三柱を惣て云る物にして、盛とは、必しも初起時と、衰れる時とに對へて、云るには非ず、書紀なる盛とは異なり、此字に泥みて、勿思ひ惑ひそ、）さて然廣く云る中に、其火の初起れるほどと、中ごろ盛なるほどゝ、後衰りたるほどゝの次序ありて、三柱は生坐るにて、書紀の傳は、其狀を細く云るものなり、○火照命、本傳理と訓べし、本能豆流と訓はわろし、（此、御兄弟三柱の御名、皆直に火某と訓べし、之を添べからず、此記には、火之と之の添たる名には、火之夜藝速男、火之炫毘古、火之迦具土など、皆之字あるをや、又照も、豆流とは訓まじく、必豆理なること次の火須勢理火遠理の理の例を以て知べし、）さて此は、初に火の燃起て、照明れる時に生坐る故の御名なり、書紀一書に、初火燄明時生兒、火明命、又一書に、其火初明時、躡誥出兒、自言吾是天神之子、名火明命とある、即此御子にて、照と明とは、同意なり、（書紀には、みな火明命とのみありて、火照命と云る傳は無きは、彼、天忍穗耳命の御子、尾張連、祖なる天火明命と、混ひつるなり、故此段の火明命を、本書には、尾張連等始祖也とあり、そはいよいよ混亂たるものなり、然れば、此御名は、此記に火照とあるぞ、正しかりける、）○隼人阿多君之祖、隼人は、波夜毘登と訓べし、和名抄にも、隼人司、波夜比止乃豆加佐とあり、（後世に波伊登と云は、夜毘は伊と約まれども、なほ訛なるべし、又書紀の訓などに、ハイトンとあるは、いよゝ正しからず、又今世に波夜登

は、眞福また福ともあり、此、ほか幸眞幸と、いと多く見ゆ、○八尋殿は、上（傳四美斗能麻具波比の段下）に出たり、無戸とは、土以て塗塞ぎたる上を以て云なるべし、（書紀には何れの傳にも、土以て塗塞ぐ事は見えず、たゞ無戸室とのみあり、これ無戸室と云へば必、塗塞ぎたる室にて、今の世俗に牟呂と云物のさまなるべし、故塗れるとをば、殊に云ざるなるべし）初、より出入べき口のひたぶるに無くてはあるまじければなり、○土は波邇と訓べし、塗るは必埴土なるべげればなり、○塞は布多岐と訓べし、かく塗塞ぎ給ふ故は、火を避て外へ遁出べき由無かるべく構へたるなり、○方產時は、宇麻須登伎爾阿多理豆と訓べし、○以火著其殿は、其殿爾肥袁著豆と訓べし、（火を、師の、すべて皆本と訓れたるは、一偏なり）其は外をば塗塞ぎて、內より放るなり、書紀に、故鹿葦津姫忿恨、乃作無戸室、入居其內、而誓之曰、妾所娠、若非天孫之胤、必當焦滅、如實天孫之胤、火不能害、即放火燒室、一書に、吾所娠、是若他神之子者、必不幸矣、是實天孫之子者、必當全生云々、などあり、又一書に、一夜有身、遂生四子、故吾田鹿葦津姫抱子而來進曰、天神之子、寧可以私養乎、故告狀知聞云々ともあり、○其火盛燒時、盛燒は、麻佐加理爾毛由流と訓べし、火の燒る時に當りてと云むが如し、書紀に、顧眄之間、此云美屢摩沙可利爾と見え、（間字、麻沙可利てふ言にあたれり）又方產ともあり、（麻と美と同じ、萬葉七に壯子時、）これらの如し、然れば此は、三柱、御子の生坐る時を、廣く凡て云るにて、火折命の生坐るまでに係れる言なり、（火照命一柱の生坐る時のみを、分て云にはあらず、然るに書紀には、始起烟末生出云々、次避熱而居生出、あるひは煽初起時云々、次火盛時云々、あるひは其火初明時云々、

勢理命。須勢理字以音三次生子御名火遠理命。亦名天津日高日子穗穗手見命。三柱

參出は、遍々藝命の御許に詣るなり、萬葉十八（二十七丁）に、麻爲泥許之廿（三十二丁）に、麻爲豆枳爾之乎、などあり、（麻宇傳と云は、音便にくづれたる言なり）○臨產時は、古字牟倍伎時爾那理奴と訓べし、○佐久夜毘賣とは、其名を呼出て、嘲り賜ふなり、○一宿哉妊は、比登用爾夜波良米流と訓べし、一夜にて妊めるかと、嘲りて詔へるなり、書紀一書に、天孫見其子等、嘲之曰、研哉、吾皇子者、聞喜而生之歟とあると、意ばへ同じ、（また皇孫未之信曰、雖復天神、何能一夜之間令人有娠乎、とあるによらば、ヒトヨニヤハラマムと訓べけれど、もし其意ならば、一宿妊哉と書べきを、哉字、妊の上にあるは、其意とは少し異なるべし）又同書に、天孫報曰、我知本是吾兒、但一夜而有身、慮有疑者、欲使衆人皆知是吾兒、并亦天神能令一夜有娠、云々、故有前日之嘲辭也とあるも、一の傳へなるべけれど、此は然らず、只實に疑ひて詔へるものとすべし、書紀雄略卷に、童女君者本是采女、天皇與一夜而娠、遂生女子、天皇疑不養云々、物部目大連曰、此娘子以清身意奉與一霄、安輙生疑、臣聞易生腹者、以褌觸體、即便懷胎、況與終霄而、安生疑也、天皇命大連以女子爲皇女、以母爲妃、○產不幸は、宇牟許登佐伎加良士と訓べし、眞福寺本延佳本には、產の下に時字あり、其も佳し、さて此次なる幸は、佐伎加良牟と訓べし、幸とは、無恙く平安なるを云り、萬葉五（三十一丁）に、佐伎久伊麻志豆、十三（十丁）に

日子穂々出見命は、坐高千穂、宮五百八十歳、とあれども、これなほ不長りしなり、さて同じことながら、短しといはずして、不長と云るは、天照大御神の皇統を承傳へ坐て、天津日嗣所知着天皇に坐ませば、大御壽は、必長かるべき理なるに、と云意を含めり、（書紀に、世人短折とあるも、人代の中にての短命なるを云には非ず、神代の長壽かりし時に比べて云るなり、さて此記などには、天津神、御子の御命を詛ひたるばかりにて、諸人の命までを詛ひたる由には非れども、天皇の御命の、長く坐ざるうへは、天下にあらゆる人の命も、隨ひて短きは、本より然るべきことわりなりかし、さて書紀の纂疏に、皇胤蒼生、短壽者、謂定業不可轉也、豈由磐長姫之詛乎とあるは、いと〳〵心得ず、そも〳〵神御典を說とて、其古傳にはよらずして、由なき異國の說を信じ給へるは、いかに惑ひ給へるひがことぞや、萬國の人の命の、神代の如く長からざることはもはら此時の詛に由るものなり、）

故後木花之佐久夜毘賣。參、出白。妾妊身。今臨產時。是天神之御子。私不可產。故請。爾詔。佐久夜毘賣。一宿哉妊。是非我子。必國神之子。爾答白。吾妊之子。若國神之子者。產不幸。若天神之御子者。幸。即作無戸八尋殿。入其殿內。以土塗塞而。方產時。以火著其殿而產也。故其火盛燒時。所生之子名火照命。此者隼人阿多君之祖。次生子名火須

二丁）に、玉梓之妹者花可毛足日木乃此山影爾麻氣者失留、などよめり、能微は、而已にて、御世御世の天皇、何れも皆然而已坐て、然らざるは無らむと云意の而已なり、○至于今とは、此字氣比言の驗の、遠き代まで延及べることを云るなり、○天皇命、かくの如く命、字を添へても書奉れること、出雲國造、神賀詞にも、二處あり、續紀の（一の卷三の卷など）詔詞の中などにも見えたり、三字を須賣良美許登と訓べし、儀制令、義解に、須明樂美御德、（此假字は、異國人に示さむために書れたる物と見えて、好字のかぎりをあつめたるほどに、御字など、清濁さへ叶はず、此字に據て、許を濁るはひがことなり、なほ此假字の事は、馭戒慨言に云り）書紀竟宴歌に、數女良美己度（又須女羅乃支美とも、數梅羅機瀰ともよめるあり）などあり、須賣とも、須賣良とも、須賣良藝とも申奉れり、須賣良朕と、御自も詔へり、（續紀十の卷の詔に、高天原由天降坐之天皇、御世始而とあるは、邇々藝命をも、天皇と申せるなり、さて天皇、字を當奉りしも、いと上代よりの事と見えたり、若は仁德天皇などの御世に、和邇などの如き博士の、申定奉しにやあらむ、さるは漢國孔丘が春秋に、かの王を天王と書るなどに本づきて、皇に天、字をば冠へ奉りけるなるべし、彼國にても、遙の後に、唐高宗が時に、天皇と云號を、新に立たることありしかども、末とほらざりしを、たゞ吾須賣良尊の此御號ぞ、眞の理にかなひて、天地のかぎり、竪にも横にも往通り足はして、動くことなく、變ることなき大御號にはありける）○御命不長也、そも〳〵上代の天皇等は、百歲に多く餘らせ賜ふが、あまた坐ましけるは、人代にては、御壽長かりしなれども、神代の人の壽の、なほこよなく長かりし時を以て云へば、甚く短きなり、此詔の後、

唯弟獨見御故其生兒必如木華之移落一云磐長姫恥恨而唾泣之曰顯見蒼生如木華之俄遷轉當衰去矣此世人短折之緣也（此詛を石長比賣の自の言とせるは此記と傳の異なるなり）とあると相照して考るに阿摩比は脆く不堅固き意と聞えて（或說に脆弱也と云る然ることなり）甘と同言なり（花の脆く移ひ落る類のことを阿麻と云る例はいまだ見あたらざれども物の堅固からぬをあましと云ることは漢ぶみにも莊子天道篇に斲輪徐則甘而不固注に甘緩也など云り今の俗語にも多く云ことなり甘い事をいふ甘い事では行ぬ甘い奴ぢや等の如し又人の身の病無く健なるを堅いといひ病ありて弱きを柔なといふ此柔も甘きに近し又天の清く晴て雨のふるべきけしきのさらに無きを日よりの堅いと云堅からぬを甘いと云りこれらみな脆く不堅固きと其意遠からぬことなり）小兒に髮固し髮甘しと云言のあるは正しく此の意にあたれり さて甘は甘し甘く甘きなど活用く言なるを比とも云るは其甘き狀を云る辭か（されど此と同格に活用く言に比と云る例はをさ〳〵おぼえず若くは味に阿治波比業に那理波比など云たぐひの波比の切まりたるか）はた異意あるか此はなほよく考ふべし（さきには此比は濁る音に讀て荒きを阿良備と云と同格にて夫流と活用く備ならむと云つるをさては言の意はよく聞ゆれども なほよく思ふに清音の比を用ひたるは其意にはあらじ比と毘とは互に寫誤れる例もあれば さも云べきなれど荒備の類には記中備字をのみ用ひて毘を用ひたる例は見えず）萬葉五（三十八丁）に水沫奈須微命母（此微命を アマキイノチとも訓べし）六（四十三丁）に春花乃遷日易七（四十

萬葉六に、春草者後波落易巖成常盤爾座貴吾君、月次祭又神嘗祭、祝詞に、御壽乎、手長乃御壽止、湯津如磐村、常磐堅磐爾、これらも然なり、○佐久夜毘賣、こゝの毘字、諸本に比と作れど、今は一本に依れり、（此御名、前後なる皆毘とありて、比にあらず）○如木花榮榮、佐加延は咲光映にて、（伎波は加と切まる）すなはち御名の佐久夜これなり、（上に云る佐久夜の義と、考合すべし、さて榮とは、花を本にて、他物にも云言なり、上卷沼河比賣の哥に、阿佐比能惠美佐迦延と、朝日にも、人の顏にも云り、さてその惠牟と、花の開と、共に咲字を書ならへるも、榮は咲光映にて、同意なるが故なり）萬葉二（三十五丁）に、木綿花乃榮時爾、七（十丁）に、安志毗成榮之君之、また三に、青丹吉寧樂乃京師者咲花乃薫如今盛有、などもあり、佐加理も、もと咲の延たる言にて、咲光映たるを云なれば、榮と同じ、○宇氣比は上に出、（傳七御誓約の段）○此令は、姑く加々流爾伊麻と訓つ、（かくの如き處に、此と云るは、めづらし、爾字に准へて、許々爾とも訓べけれど、然訓むよりは、加々流爾と訓むぞ、まさるべき）加々流爾は、如此有になり、令は、今字を誤れるなるべし、（今既不然と、書紀にあるにあたれり）○木花之は、此は木花の如くと云意なり、（某之と云て、某之如くと云意なる、古語に常多し）○阿摩比能微は、微字は、諸本並徵と作るは、決く誤なり、（此記は更にもいはず、凡て古書に、徵字を假字に用ひたる例なし、且徵字ハ、チョウの音なり、チといふ音はたゞ、宮商角徵羽などの時のみなるを、いかでかチの假字には用ふべき）舊事紀、舊印本に、徵と作るぞ正しかりける、故今は然改めつ、さて書紀に、故磐長姫大慙而詛之曰、假使天孫不斥妾而御者、生兒永壽、有如磐石之常存、今既不然、

屬る言なり、（是はた風ふけどもと切て、恒石と心得ては違へり）○常堅不動、此四字を、登伎波爾加伎波爾と訓べし、登伎波は、常石の切れるにて、（即常に常磐と書り、許伊は伎と切まる、）萬葉六にすなはち、人皆乃壽毛吾毛三吉野乃多吉能床磐乃常有沼鴨とあり、（床は借字なり、）加伎波は、堅き石の、多の省かりたるなり、（又加多を切めても、加となる伊は伎の韻にあれば、省くこともとよりなり、）書紀雄略、卷に、堅磐此云柯陀之波ともあり、さて此に、たゞ常堅と書て、二共に石字を略けるは、上に既に如石とあればなり、（こは漢文の方の字面を思へるものなり、）又不動二字を添へたるも、意を以てなり、（延佳本には、常石堅石不動とあり、こは舊事紀にかくの如くあるに依て、さかしらに、二の石字を加へたるものなり、諸本に石字あるはなし、眞福寺本に、常の上に一石字あれど、其は上なる石字よりまぎれたる衍なるべし、もし常の下なりしを、誤て上に書るならば、堅の下にもあるべきに、堅の下にはなければ、然にはあらず、又師は、不動を別に、ウゴカズと訓れつれども、古の雅言とも、おぼえず、後の宣命又哥などに、うごきなきなどあれど、古言とは聞えず、然れば此はたゞ、意を以て添へたる字とすべし、）萬葉三（二十五丁）に、常磐成石室、五（十丁）に、等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等、十一（九丁）に、常石有命哉などよみ、祈年祭、祝詞に、皇御孫命、御世乎、手長御世登、堅磐爾常磐爾齋比奉、春日祭、祝詞に、常石爾堅石爾福閇奉利、出雲國造、神賀詞に、天皇命能手長大御世乎、堅石爾常石爾伊波比奉など、なほ餘の祝詞どもにも、此言多く見えたり、さて上に如石と云て、又登伎波加伎波と云むは、石と云言、煩はしく重なるに似たれど、此はあまねく云なれたる壽詞なれど、然も云、常の事なり、

々）今陛下不嫌其醜將滿荇菜之數是甚大恩也、などあり、なほ傳二十四玉垣宮段に、茲二女王、淨公民故、宜使也、とある處を考合すべし、○天神御子は、此は遍々藝命のみならず、大御末々までをかけて申せるなり、書紀に、生兒永壽とあるが如し、萬葉二（二十三丁）に、大王之、御壽者長久、天足有、○雖雪零風吹は、雪字は、雨を誤れるなり、（舊印本又一本又一本舊事紀、舊印本などには、並雪雨と作り、今は姑く眞福寺本延佳本に依れり、然れども、雪はいかゞなり、其由は次に云、）故阿米と訓つ、其故は、此言は、木花の雨風に移落ふに對へて云るなれば、必雨をいふべし、木花は春の物にて、雪の降る時に非ず、雨と風とに傷はるゝ物なればなり、（もし又、木草を枯す物を云とならば、雪よりも、霜をこそ云べけれ、されば霜字を誤れるかとも云べけれど、然にはあらじ、さて又諸本に、雪雨とあるを取らざるは、雪のいかゞなることは、右の如くなるうへに、風一ッに並べて、雪と雨と二ッを云べきに非ず、風も一ッなれば、上も必一ッなるべき、文のならひなり、古言はかゝる處、必しらべ宜き物なるをや、然れば此は、もと雨とありしを、雪に誤れる本に就て、又雨とある本を見合せて、さかしらに、其字をも加へたるなどにやあらむ、そはいかにまれ、雪とあるも、雪雨とあるも、よろしからず、かならず雨とあるべきことなり、）さて其は、石の恒なるよしを云るにて、如雖雨零風吹恒石と、如字、雖の上にある意なり、阿米布理加是布氣杼母と訓べし、（布氣杼母を、若布久登母と訓て、如字の在所を、文のまゝに心得るときは、此言の意たがふなり、）書紀一書に、弟則雖逢風雨、其幸不惑、○恒如石は、登許志幣那流伊波能碁登久と訓べし、さて恒は、雨ふり風吹ども（移落ことなく）恒なるよしにて、上に

るものなり、實は中昔までも、古の如くにて、姉に對へては、弟とこそ云つれ、古今集雜上詞書に、妻の弟をもて侍りける人に云々、源氏物語花宴卷に、朧月夜君のことを、女御の御おとうとたちにこそあらめ、などある類にて、姉に對へて、妹と云ことは無かりき、）○一宿は比登與と訓べし、一夜なり、○爲婚は、美刀阿多波志都と訓べし、上に、故八上比賣者如先期美刀阿多波志都とあり、言の意は、彼處に云り、（傳十の末）書紀云、時皇孫謂姉爲醜不御而罷、妹有國色引而幸之、則一夜有身、○白送言は、麻袁志淤久理賜比祁流許登波と訓べし、（送は贈なり、）○二並は、布多理那良倍豆と訓べし、萬葉三（五十六丁）に、水鴨成二人雙居、五（五丁）に爾保鳥能布多利那良毘爲などあり、（又思ふに、二人と書ずして、二と書るは、書紀應神卷の大御哥に、淡路嶋異椰敷多那羅弭、小豆嶋いやふたならび云々、萬葉九に、二並筑波乃山、などありて、物の二並べるを、布多那良毘と云れば、人の二人並べるをも、然云りしにや、然らば此も、直に布多那良毘と訓べきか、されど人に然云る例を未見ざれば、姑く上の如く訓つ、）○立奉と、立字を添へて書る例、上（傳九八俣遠呂智の段下）に云るが如し、（師は、立字は、出の誤なりとて、イダシマツルと訓れしかど、其は例を考へられざりしなり、）○使し者は、都迦波志豆婆と訓べし、（婆は濁るべし、）都迦比賜豆阿良婆と云、意なり、都迦波志は、都迦比を延へたるにて、尊む言にもなるなり、書紀推古卷、大御哥に、宇倍之訶茂、蘇餓能古羅鳥、於朋枳彌能、兎伽破須羅志枳、續紀、天平元年八月、立正三位藤原夫人爲皇后詔に、加爾加久爾、年乃六年乎、試賜使賜豆、此皇后位乎授賜、書紀安康卷に、天皇爲大泊瀨皇子、欲聘大草香皇子妹幡梭皇女、（云々）大草香皇子對言（云

は訓まじきなり、○萬葉二長歌に、遣使御門之人毛、とある訓は、ひがことなり、此遣使は、必ツカハシヽと訓べき處なり、此外も麻陀須をば、つかはすの古言と心得て、遣字を、凡てみだりにマダスと訓るは、皆非なり、麻陀須は、奉ると云意なれば、敬ふ處に遣す事ならでは、云ぬ言なり、

書記一書に、皇孫因謂大山祇神曰、吾見汝之女子、欲以爲妻、於是大山祇神乃使二女、持百机飲食奉進、○甚凶醜は、甚字、諸本に其と作るは誤なり、今は眞福寺本に依れり、伊刀美爾久伎と訓べし、（師はシコメケルと訓れつれど、いかゞ、）書紀神武卷に、大醜此云鞅奈瀰儞句、と見えたり、中卷玉垣宮段に、其弟王二柱者、因甚凶醜返送木土、○見畏而、此詞の例、何れも怖しき事を見たる處に云れば、此も石長比賣の顏貌、たゞ尋常の醜きのみには非で、可怖畏しかりしにやあらむ、○弟は淤登と訓べし、（伊呂杼と訓て宜きもあれど、所によることなり、）

和名抄に、爾雅云、男子後生爲弟、和名於止宇止、（とあれども、淤登は男女にわたりて云稱なり、又もとはたゞ淤登と云りしを、淤登宇登と云は、夫を袁宇登、妹を伊毛宇登と云類にて、宇登は皆人にて、弟人夫人妹人なり、かく人と添て云は、後のことぞ、）また爾雅云、女子後生爲妹、和名伊毛宇止とあれども、古は、姉に對へて、後に生れたるをば、女をも弟と云て、妹とはいはず、記中の例皆然り、心を着て見べし、中昔までも、然にぞありける、（後に生れたる女子を、妹と云は、男兄に對へ云稱なり、姉に對へては、弟とのみ云て、妹と云ることなかりき、然るを後世には、姉にむかへても、妹とのみ云て、男ならでは、弟とは云ぬことゝなれるは、漢籍には、姉妹と云るに、めなれたる、うつりにして、皇國の古稱にたがへり、和名抄なども、たゞ漢ざまによりて云

天、奉出須止申賜布狀乎、同五年八月、祭北山神詞に、禮代乃幣乎令捧齎天、獻出事乎、續後紀、承和三年五月宣命に、云々令捧持豆、奉出事乎、同八年五月宣命に、奉出狀乎、同六月宣命に、奉出此狀乎、嘉祥三年二月宣命に、云々差使天、奉出須此狀乎聞食天、三代實錄、貞觀十八年五月宣命に、云々差使天、聞江奉出之賜不、元慶元年六月、渤海國使に賜ふ、太政官宣詞に、彼國王此制爾達天、使乎奉出世利、など見え、書紀に、奉遣（十四の十四丁、十七の二丁、二十四の一丁）遣（十九の廿四丁）奉（十七の十八丁）遣（十九の九丁、卅二丁）奉施（三十の十四丁）頒幣帛於諸神祇（廿九の卅二丁）萬葉に、奉（四の三十七丁十の五十八丁）奉有（十一の二十丁）藤原高光集に、忠清の右衞門督、五節たてまだし賜ふに云々、それに入れてたてまだすとて云々、など見えたり、貞觀儀式、奉山陵幣儀の處に、貴所稱獻出、凡所稱奉出とあるは、文字のさだなり、（續紀卅四宣命に、歡奉出禮波、三代實錄卅一に、奉出流、これらはマタスとは訓がたければ、餘の奉出をも、皆タテマツルと訓べきかとも思へど、上に引る宣命どもに、奉出須、また奉出世利なども書れたれば、然らず、さて又萬葉二の詞に、奉入哥、祝詞式に、齋內親王奉入時、また天長五年の宣命に、大神御杖代止之豆奉入多留、これら奉入は、タテマツルとよむ外なし、さて出と入とは、反對ながら、又同意になることも多し、參出と參入と同きが如し、然れば奉出も奉入も、意は同じことなり）さて麻陀須と云言は、萬葉十五（三十六丁）に、麻都里太須、可多美乃母能乎とあれば、（師は、此須を流の誤ならむと云れつれど、然には非ず、太も必濁音の假字なり）麻都理陀須の省言なるべし、（然らば奉出を、直にマツリダスと訓べきが如くなれど、なほ然

崇神卷に、倭國之物實、物實此云望能志呂、とある實にて、何にまれ其物を指て云、机代は、机に居る種々の物なり、（今世に、代物と云言、此によく叶へり）禮物を、祝詞に禮代と云るも是なり、さて此禮代を、出雲國造神賀詞には、禮自利とあるを、師の考に、利自は、志流志の約まりたるなりとあり、然れば志呂も、と其意にて、其と現れたる物を云るにて、灼然など云志呂と同じ、（志流志と志呂志と同じ、又社御船代御樋代の類、又苗代などの代も是より出たり、又物の代りを云も、是より轉れるなり）貞觀儀式、及臨時祭式の、鎮魂祭條に、大膳職造酒司、供八代物、（其品目は、大膳式造酒式に見えたり）遷却祟神祝詞に、云々横山之如久、八物爾置所足豆奉留、などあり、これらの八字は、几を誤れるなり、（八物を、師のヤトリノモノと訓れたるは、誤なることを考へられざりしなり）書紀保食神段に、夫品物悉備貯之百机而饗之、萬葉十六（二十九丁）に、高坏爾盛机爾立而、大神宮儀式帳に、御饌奉机二具などあり、（書紀孝德卷に兵代之物草代之物など云ことも見えたり又續後紀一に出雲國造奏神壽時に獻れる物の中に倉代物五十荷とあるは臨時祭式に御贄五十舁とあると同物と聞ゆれば置座に置く物を云るにて卽机代之物と同じかるべし又大神宮儀式帳に机代貳佰拾前また机代七十一前などあるは机の代りと云意もて名けたる一器の名にて別なり）さて今如此て獻るは、聟取の禮物なり、下卷穴穗宮段に、天皇爲大長谷王子、大日下王の妹若日下王を聘しめ賜ふに、大日下王、恐隨大命奉進云々と白して、卽爲其妹之禮物令持押木之玉縵而貢獻とあり、○奉出は、多豆麻陀志伎と訓べし、（伎は例の辭なり）類聚國史、天長四年十一月、告柏原山陵詞に、云々差使

等太號磐長姫少號木花開耶姫、亦名豊吾田津姫ともあり、○目合は、麻具波比と訓べし、此言の事、上に云り、（傳十根堅洲國段下）○僕不得白云々は、上の建御雷神の問給へる、大國主神の答に、僕者不得白我子八重事代主神是可白とあると同じ、此は殊に、父の心に隨ひ賜ふこと、さもあるべし、書紀一書云、皇孫後遊幸海濱見一美人、皇孫問曰、汝是誰之子耶、對曰、妾是大山祇神之子、名神吾田鹿葦津姫、亦名木花開耶姫、因白亦吾姉磐長姫在皇孫曰、吾欲以汝爲妻如之何、對曰、妾父大山祇神在、請以垂問、○乞遣は、許比爾都加波志と訓べし、（コヒツカハシと訓はわろし）○副は、並べてと云むが如し、中卷黒田宮段に、二柱相副而、また明宮段、大御哥に、伊蘇比袁流迦母、續紀卅に、歌垣の處に、男女相並分行徐進歌曰、乎止賣良爾乎止古多智蘇比云々、これらも皆、同じさまに並び配ふを、蘇布と云り、（世の言に、夫婦にて在を、某と曾布と云も同じ、されば此も、木花之佐久夜毘賣を主として、其に附副る意には非ず、副字に拘るべからず）○百取机代之物、百とは、其數の甚多きを云るなり、（必しも百に限れるには非ず）取は、書紀神功卷に、荷持田村、荷持此云能登利、とある持の如し、（書紀には、百机とあれども、これは、机の數を云には非ず、机に置物の數百取なり、又私記に、百人共擧一机、言其高大也、と云るは、殊にいみしきひがことなり）机は坏居にて、（伎須は久と切まる）飲食の器を居る由の名なり、和名抄に、唐韻云、机案屬也、和名都久惠とあり、（坏居を本にて、又和名抄文書具に、書案俗云不美都久惠もあり、又坐臥具に、凡和名於之萬都岐もあり、於之萬都岐は、押坐儿の約まりたる名にて、脇足のたぐひなり、さて古書には、字は案几机など通はし用ひて、皆坏居の意なり）代は、書紀

た、木花の咲光映ながら、即主と櫻花に因て、然云なるべし、や　後には、木花と云て、即櫻にせるもあり、古今集序の歌に、難波津に咲や木花とある是なり、（これも何の花となく、たゞ木花ともすべけれど、然にはあらず、又梅花とするは、由なし、そは冬隱今は春べとゝ云語を、あしく心得て、おしあてに定めたる、ひがことなり、然るを其說に泥みて、此の御名の木花をさへに、梅なりと云說は、いよ　云にもたらず）又萬葉八（廿丁）に、藤原朝臣廣嗣櫻花贈娘子哥に、此花乃云々、和歌にも、此花乃云々とよめる、是は贈る花を指て、（字の如く）此花と云る物ながら、櫻を木花と云から、其を兼たりげに聞ゆるなり、さていよ、後には、たゞ花といへば、もはら櫻のことゝなれり、（それもおのづから、上代の意に叶へり）さて此處、書紀には、到於吾田長屋笠狹之碕云々、故皇孫就而留住、時彼國有美人、名曰鹿葦津姫、亦名神吾田津姫、亦名木花之開耶姫、皇孫問此美人曰、汝誰之女子耶、對曰、妾是天神娶大山祇神所生兒也とあり、（彼國有美人とのみにては、皇孫問此美人と云こと、由なく聞ゆ、いかなるをりに問賜ふとかせむ、又天神娶大山祇神と云こと、通えがたし、女字脫たるなるべし、若然らば、此傳は、大山津見神の外孫なり、）○兄弟は、此は波良賀良と訓べし、（イロヲイロドと訓はわろし）○答白我の白字、諸本には、曰と作れど、今は眞福寺本に依れり、前後の例皆白なればなり、○姉は、和名抄に、爾雅云、女子先生爲姉、女兄、和名阿禰、○石長比賣、名義、下なる字氣比詞にある如く、常磐堅石に、長久き由なり、さて此二女の御名、石も木花も、主と山の物にて、父神に緣あり、書紀一書に、云々天孫又問曰、其於秀起浪穗之上起八尋殿而手玉玲瓏織紝之少女者是誰之子女耶、答曰、大山祇神之女

袁登賣、下卷若櫻宮段、大御哥に、淤富佐迦邇、阿布夜袁登賣、これらの過も、袁登賣の方より過にて、同じ、（袁登賣に過給ふと云意にはあらず）さて麗をかほよきと訓は、萬葉十四（十三丁）に、可抱與吉と見え、書紀に麗又美麗又艶妙又容姿麗美など、みな、然訓り、美人は、記中に、孃子孃女媛女などあると同くて、並をとめと訓べき例なり、○大山津見神之女、こは何地にまれ、此神の鎮坐社の御靈の、現壯士に化て、婦人に婚て、生賜へる御女なるべし、其例は、上に淤迦美神之女とある處（傳十一大國主神、御末、神等の段）に云るが如し、○神阿多都比賣、御名義は、神は、例の美稱、阿多は地名、和名抄に、薩摩國阿多郡阿多、これなるべし、○木花之佐久夜毘賣、上に大山津見神之女、木花知流比賣と云もあり、名意、木花は、字の意の如し、佐久夜は、開光映の伎波を切めて加なるを、通はして久と云なり、（若子を、和久碁と云類なり）さて光映を波夜と云は、上なる下照比賣の哥に、阿那陀麻波夜とある、波夜の如し、（此事は、傳十三の末に委しくいへり）かくて萬の木花の中に、櫻ぞ勝れて美き故に、殊に開光映てふ名を負て、佐久良とは云り、夜と良とは、横通音なり、（小兒のいまだ舌のえよくもめぐらぬほどの言には、良理流禮呂を、夜伊由延余と云て、櫻をも、佐久夜と云、これおのづから通ふ音なればなり、さて此御名も、庭つ鳥かげ、野つ鳥きゞし、など…の例と去て、直に木花の櫻、と云ことゝもすべけれど、木花知流比賣と云もあると、合せて思ふにも、佐久夜はなほ開光映の意に云るなり、もし即櫻ならば、下に如木花之榮、また木花之阿摩比など云處も、直に如佐久夜之榮、また佐久夜之阿摩比、とこそあるべきに、さはあらぬは、此佐久夜は、花名には非るが故なり）されば此御名も、何の花とはなく、

字音以坐。故是以至于今。天皇命等之御命不長也。

遇麗美人は、加本余伎袁登賣能阿幣流爾とるにも是雅言の格なり、（近世にはかゝる處は、美人爾と云例なれども、雅言は然らず、美人爾と云ときは、此方より美人に遇なり、美人遇、また美人之遇など云ときは、其美人の方より遇なり、かれば爾てふ辭のあるとなきとは、此と彼との違ひあるを、いかなればにか雅語には、凡て爾とは云ざる例なり、左にこれかれ擧るがごとし）萬葉十三（二十三丁）に、裏觸而妻、會登人曾告鶴、（妻者と云も、妻之會なり）古今集（春部）端詞に、志賀の山越に女の多く遇りけるに、伊勢物語に、宇都の山に至りて（云々）修行者遇たり、拾遺集又六帖（伊勢の哥）に、散散らず聞まほしきを故郷の花見て還る人も遇はなむ、（人もと云も、人のあはなむなり、忠見集に、云々ゆく道に知たる人あひて兼盛集に、旅人いくあひだに、ぬす人あひたり、赤染衛門集に、同じ道に恥かしげなる男のいきあひたりしかば云々、後の物がら宇治拾遺物語にも、道に狐のあひたりけるを、又與佐の山に、白髪の武士一騎あひたりなど云、徒然草にすら、細道にて、馬に乘たる女の行遇けるがなど云り、其ころまでも、云ざまを失はざりしなり）などあるを以て心得べし、凡て道などにして行遇たる事をば、皆如此云り、（然るを近き世には、某に遇と云ことになれるは、漢文よみよりうつれるものなるべし、漢文にては、遇字、上に在て、返りてよむ故は、爾とよみならへるなり、今此記などにも、遇字を上に置るは、漢文の格に依れるなり）中卷輕嶋宮段、大御哥に、許波多能美知遇、阿波志斯

の海の嶋にて、即志摩國なり）如此てこそ、此段の趣は、明らかなりけれ、さて給とは、其内を分て給ふを云なり、（みながら給ふと云にはあらず）

於是天津日高日子番能邇邇藝能命。於笠沙御前遇麗美人。爾問誰女。答白之。大山津見神之女。名神阿多都比賣。此神名以音亦名謂木花之佐久夜毘賣。此五字以音又問有汝之兄弟乎。答白我姉石長比賣在也。爾詔。吾欲目合汝奈何。答白僕不得白。僕父大山津見神將白。故乞遣其父大山津見神之時。大歡喜而。副其姉石長比賣。令持百取机代之物奉出。故爾其姉者。因甚凶醜。見畏而。返送。唯留其弟木花之佐久夜毘賣以。一宿爲婚。爾大山津見神。因返石長比賣而。大恥。白送言。我之女二竝立奉由者。使石長比賣者。天神御子之命。雖雪零風吹恒如石而。常堅不動坐。亦使木花之佐久夜毘賣者。如木花之榮榮坐宇氣比豆自字下四字以音貢進。此令返石長比賣而。獨留木花之佐久夜毘賣故。天神御子之御壽者。木花之阿摩比能徵此五

どあり、今京になりても、三代實錄に、元慶六年十月廿五日、志摩國年貢、御贄四百三十一荷、令近江伊賀伊勢等國驛傳貢進、內膳式に、諸國貢進、御式、旬料云々、志摩國、御厨、鮮鰒螺、起九月盡明年三月、月別上下旬、各二擔、味漬腸漬蒸鰒玉貫御取夏蝮等、月別惣五擔、雜魚十三擔、（並以傜丁運進）云々節料（云々）志摩國、（正月元日、新嘗會、二節各八擔、正月七日、十六日、五月五日、七月七日、九月九日、五節各三擔）年料云々、伊勢國、（鯛春酢二擔二十籠二度鮨年魚二擔四壺二度蠣礒蠣）志摩國、（藻海松）主税式に、凡志摩國供御贄潛女卅人云々、など見えたり、（又此國より、大神宮に御贄獻る事は、後世までも絶ず、伊勢の書どもに見えて、今世にものこれる事おほし、）○給猨女君等、此事、上代には例にてありけむを、やゝ後には絶やしにけむ、此處の外には、物に見えたることなし、（但し事は有つれども、漏て記せることのなきにてもあるべし）さて上の還到は、罷到の誤にて、其より拆其口と云までは、伊勢國にての事なり、（もし本の如く、還到ならば、此段、日向に還りて後の事なり、若然るときは、猨田毘古神を送れることには、さらに關らず、緣なき事なれば、別に端を更めてこそ記すべけれ、彼神を送れるに引連きて云るは、送りて伊勢に到て、其國にての事なればなり）故其處の志摩の速贄を獻れる時に、給ふ例とはなれるなり、（若舊事紀に依て、嶋字を、御世二字の誤とするときは、此速贄は、何の國より獻れるとかせむ、この獻る處を、何處とも云ずして、たゞに御世々々の速贄と云ことやはあるべき、されば此も、必嶋にてこそ宜しけれ、さて志摩は、もと伊勢の內にて、嶋々の多くある處を、分て一國とはせられしものにて、後までも伊勢に附たる國なり、然れば此に嶋とあるも、伊勢

御世、二字の誤とするはわろし、其由は下に云べし、）○速贄、和名抄に、唐韻云、苞苴、裹魚肉也、日本紀私記云、於保迺倍俗云阿良萬岐、（苞苴の注には、裹魚肉といへれども、爾閇は、魚肉には限らざるなり、）書紀、神武、卷、人名の訓注には、苞苴を珥倍とあり、爾閇と云名は、爾比阿閇の切れるにて、（この事、傳八の始、大嘗の處に云り、）もと新物を、神とも人にも饗、みづからも食ふより出たり、（苞苴又贄、字などは、末なり、爾閇の本義にはうとし、）さて朝廷に貢る御贄を、大爾閇とは云なり、（中卷に大贄とあり、書紀仁德、卷に、苞苴をオホニへと訓るも、天皇に獻るところなる故なり、又大嘗をおほにへと云は、名の本は一ッなれども、事は異なり、）其、御贄は、御食津國々より、土產物種々貢るなり、（師云、御食津國とは、大御饌の御贄を貢る國を云り、食國と云とは異なり、）內膳司式に、諸國貢進御贄云々、右諸國所貢、並依前件、仍收贄殿擬供御、とありて、其品物なども委く擧られたり、（西宮記云、贄殿、在內膳中、太宰及諸國所進御贄納備供御、）さて速贄とは、初物を云なるべし、速と初とは意通へり、（波都は、即速津と云にてもあるべし、）今世に、初物を走と云も、速き意なり、（又は、定まれる時節より速く貢る物を云にもあらむか、）萬の物、早く出來たるを殊に賞るは、今も古へも同じかるべし、內膳式に、五月五日、山科園進早瓜一捧と云たぐひならむか、とも思へど、なほ初物なるべし、）此目此處より外に、古書には未見あたらず、源俊賴朝臣集に、垣根には百舌鳥の早贄たてゝけりしでの田長にしのびかねつゝ、さて志摩國は、殊に御贄を獻れりし國にて、萬葉六（三十九丁）に、御食國志麻、（神鳳抄に、此國に贄嶋と云もあり、）十三（五丁）に、御食都國神風之伊勢乃國、（志摩、伊勢の內なり、）な

那美命御石隱の段下）○紐小刀は、（紐字諸本に細に誤り、眞福寺本には劒に誤れり、今は延佳本に改めたるに依れり）比母賀多那と訓べし、此物海神神段にも見え、中卷玉垣宮段には、八鹽折之紐小刀とあり、書紀には七首と書れたり、（史記刺客傳云々、索隱曰、七首、劉氏云短劒也、鹽鐵論以爲長尺八寸云々）和名抄に、大刀太知、小刀加多奈とありて、（大刀と加多那との事、傳九八俣遠呂智の段の下に云り）加多那は片刀の小刀なり、紐と云は、懷中に佩て、下帶に挿す故の名なり、此小刀は、彼玉垣宮段に見えたる、密に天皇を刺奉む料なれば、必懷中に隱し賜ひたるべし、（書紀に、是七首佩于細中云々とあり）倭建命段に、以劒納于御懷幸行、などもあり、今字受賣命も、女なる故に、懷中に佩たるにや、（或人云、今世に脇差と云物は、脇差の刀とて、古へのは、六七寸ばかりの長さにて、懷中に、隱してさす物なり、脇の方へよせてさす故に、脇差と云り、用心のために隱しさして、身を守る刀なる故に、守刀とも云り、東山殿のころより、下部の者など、顯して腰にさし初めしと見ゆ、今世の脇差は、其形大に變じたり、と云り、此中昔の脇差、刀と云物、即上代の紐小刀の傳はりしなるべし）但し此は、海鼠は小き物なる、其口を拆料なる故に、小刀を用ひたるよしにもあるべし、さて此に海鼠の事を記せるは、仕奉仕奉らぬことには關らず、たゞ此物の口の裂たる事本の談なり、○是以とは、上の追聚鰭廣物鰭狹物云々の事を承て云り、（海鼠の事には係らず）○御世は、御々世々と重ねてありけむが、脫たるなるべし、舊事紀に、御世御世速贄とあり、○嶋は、志摩國なり、（舊事紀に、嶋之二字無きは、作者のさかしらに省けるか、又後に脫たるかなるべし、然るを此舊事紀に依て、此記の嶋字を、

ろものさものと云べき言の格なり、故此言、もろ〳〵の祝詞に多かる、何れも支字あるはなし、右の廣瀨祭なる一にのみあるは、心得ぬことなり、）魚の大きなる小きを云る、古の雅言なり、（獸に毛和物毛龜物と云、下に見えたり）鰭の事は、上に云り、（傳十四の末、大國主神禱言の條下）萬葉廿（二十一丁）に、鷗河立取左牟安由能之我波多波吾等爾可伎无氣念之念婆、（三の句、爾之鰭者なり、之我は、それがと云むがごとし、）これらも、魚には鰭を主としてかく云り、書紀に、鰭廣鰭狹、祈年祭、祝詞に、青海原住物者、鰭能廣物鰭能狹物、春日祭、祝詞に、青海原乃物者、波多能廣物波多能狹物、此餘龍田風神、祭、平野、祭、鎭火祭、道饗祭、鎭御魂祭、遷却祟神、などの祝詞にも、如此ある、童蒙抄に、海原の底まですめる月影に、數へつべしや鰭のせば物、古哥なり、鰭のせば物とは、小き魚なり、とあり、（狹は世婆の切りたるなれば、せば物も同じ、）○追聚、魚なる故に追と云り、（魚は、方々より追寄せて集むればなり、）海神、宮段に、召集海之大小魚問曰云々、書紀、同段にも、盡召鰭廣鰭狹而問之、○天神御子仕奉乎とは、皇孫命の大御饌の御贄になりなむや否やを問なり、萬葉十六（卅丁）に、爲鹿述痛哥に、佐男鹿乃來立嘆久頓爾吾可死王爾吾仕牟云々、また爲蟹述痛哥に、葦河爾乎王召跡何爲牟爾吾乎召良米夜云々、これらも御贄になるを云り、○諸魚、諸は母呂母呂能と訓べし、（カタ〳〵ノと訓はひがことなり、）○海鼠は、和名抄に、崔禹錫食經云、海鼠似蛭而大者也、和名古、本朝式、加熬字云伊里古とあり、（今世、なまこく、こきんこなど云名もあり、）內膳式、供御月料の中に、熬海鼠八斤四兩、また、海鼠腸四升五合など見ゆ、○此口乎、かゝる處に乎と云は、余と云むが如し、例上に出、（傳五伊邪

あらず、そも〳〵此三の御魂神、當時いまだ朝廷より祭り賜ふ事もなく、社などもはか〴〵しきもあらざりし故に、祟らして、諭し給ひしにぞありけむ、かの崇神天皇の御世に、大物主神の祟らして、疫病のいみしく起し事など、思合すべし、大物主神は、皇京の御守神に坐すら、疫病をおこし賜へれば、猨田毘古神の御魂の、荒び賜ひけむこと、何か疑ふべき、○或書に、多氣郡神山神社は、猨田彦命なり、里人鑰取神と稱す、鑰取貝取と通ふ、と云て、此段を引るは、あたらぬことなり、）

於是送猨田毘古神而。還到。乃悉追聚鰭廣物鰭狹物以。問言汝者天神御子仕奉耶之時。諸魚皆仕奉白之中。海鼠不白。爾天宇受賣命謂海鼠云。此口乎不答之口而。以紐小刀拆其口。故於今海鼠口拆也。是以御世。島之速贄獻之時。給猨女君等也。

於是の下に、天宇受賣命とあらまほし、○還到、還字は、罷を誤れるなるべし、麻加理伊夜理豆と訓べし、伊勢に到れるなり、其由は、下に斷るべし、（若本の如く還ならば、日向京にかへれるなり、然れども然ては叶はず、下に云が如し）○鰭廣物鰭狹物は、波多能比呂母能多波能佐母能と訓べし、（然るに、廣瀨大忌祭祝詞に、毛能和支物、毛能荒支物、鰭能廣支物、鰭能狹支物、とあるを據として、師は各此のごとく、伎てふ辭を添へて訓れしかども、伎と云ては、よろしからず、必ひ

神に從四位上、同八年十一月、伊勢國阿邪加神に授從三位、これ此三の御魂を齋祀れるなり、今、世阿邪訶神社、大阿坂村と小阿坂村と、二處にあり、（二方共に、俗に龍天社と申すなり）同じほどの森にて、共に古く見え、神殿も各三字あり、何方か古への本よりの御社ならむ、別まへがたし、（小阿坂村なる圓座藥師と云寺の緣起文に、小阿坂なる神社は、昔行基僧が勸請せるよし記せり、もし是實ならば、大阿坂なるや、本よりのなるべき）さて此、阿邪訶、神、上古に荒び坐し事あり、倭姫命世記に、十八年己酉、遷坐于阿佐加藤方片樋宮、積年歷四箇年奉齋、是時爾阿佐加乃彌尼爾坐而、伊豆速布留神、百往人者、五十人取死、卌人往人、廿人取死、如此伊豆速布留時爾倭比賣命、於朝廷大若子乎進上而、彼神事乎申之者、種々大御手津物彼神進、屋波志志豆目、平奉止詔、遣下給支、于時其神乎、阿佐加乃山嶺社作定而、其神乎夜波志志都米上奉天、勞祀支、（初に歷四箇年奉齋とあるは、皇大御神の御事なり）また一書曰、天照大神、自美濃國迴到安濃藤方片樋宮坐于時安佐賀山有荒神云々、因茲倭姫命、不入坐度會郡宇遲村五十鈴川上之宮云々、即賜種々幣而、返遣大若子命、祭其神、已保平、定社於安佐賀以祭之矣、而後倭姫命即得入坐、とある是なり、かの儀式帳に、惡神平とあるも、此事なり、（阿邪加神社は、正しく此荒び坐し神を祀れる社と聞えたれば、猨田毘古神には非じかども云べけれども、荒びまし、神、即此の猨田毘古神の三の御魂なるべし、三座に坐も、必然思はる、さて猨田毘古神の御魂ならむには、皇大御神の幸行の前途をしも、妨げ給はむこと、あるべくもあらじと、なほ疑ふ人もあらむか、其は凡人心なり、凡て神の御所爲は、測りがたき物なれば、さる理あらじなどは、さだむべきに

は、落たるなり、（前後の例に違へり）今は一本に有に依れり、○阿和佐久は、沫咲なり、佐久は、花の咲と同くて、沫の起出るを云と、師の説なり、浪の立をも咲と云に同じ、書紀に、秀起浪穂、秀起此云左岐陀豆屢とあり、さて右の三の狀は、猨田毘古神の御身の、底に沈着坐るに依て、海水の都々夫々と鳴上りて、沫の起るなり、（三件の次序も如此し）○阿和佐久御魂、諸本に阿和二字無きは、後に脱たるなり、故今補へつ、（延佳は、沫字を補て、據舊事紀補之と記せり、されど沫字は宜しからず、上に阿和佐久とあれば、此も必其字なるべきこと、疑なし、舊事紀は、上をも沫佐久と作ればこそ、此も其字にてはあるなれ）○註の阿字、諸本に、佐と作るは、非なり、（もとは阿なりしを、本文の阿和二字、脱てなきにつきて、佐の誤ならむと思ひて、後人のさかしらに、佐に改めたる物なり、もとより佐久二字ならむには、たゞに佐久二字とこそ注すべけれ、凡て自某字至某字と注するは、三字以上の時の例なるをや、二字を然注すべきことわりも、例もなきことなり、此を以て、本文に脱たるも、必阿和二字にして、沫字には非ることをも、互に相照して、さとるべし）故今これをも、阿に改めつ、○此三の御魂は、此時の事に就て、各分れたる、猨田毘古神の神靈なり、（或伊勢人の説に、此三御魂は、猨田彦神の、三人の妃を云るなり、凡て妻を御魂と云る例多しと云るは、さらに由なく、論ふにも足らぬ、ひがことなり）神名帳に伊勢國壹志郡、阿邪加神社三坐、（並名神大とあり、續後紀に、承和二年十二月、奉授阿邪賀大神、從五位下、此神、坐伊勢國壹志郡、文德實錄に、嘉祥三年十月、授伊勢國阿邪賀神、從五位上、齊衡二年正月、以伊勢國阿邪賀神預於名神、同月、加從四位下、三代實錄に、貞觀元年正月、奉授伊勢國阿邪加

の人に尋問はゞ、今も古の名の殘れる處も有べきなり、さて今飯高郡の海邊に、平生と書て、比良於と呼、村あり、壹志郡の堺に近くして、阿坂村より一里半ばかり東なり、これ若くは、古は比良夫にて、此貝の此の故事より出たる地名にはあらざるか、神鳳抄に、平生御厨とある處なり）○海鹽は、（鹽は借字）齋明紀の御哥に、于之哀とあるに依て、然訓べし、下なる海水も同じ、（師はウナシホと訓れつれども、據なし）○沈溺は、於頻禮と訓べし、さて此神は、如此て是時に甕坐しにや、然には非ずや、決めがたし、○底度久は、底著にて、底に沈着なり、下なる日子穗々手見命の大御哥に、加毛度久とあるを、書紀には軻茂豆句（鴨着なり）とある、是度久は着なる證なり、○都夫多都は、師說に、物の沈沒る時に、水の鳴音なりと云れき、藤原實方集に、物をだに岩間の水のつぶ〳〵と云ばや行む思ふ心の、（千五百番哥合、顯昭判詞に、世俗の口ずさみの哥に、雨ふれば軒の玉水つぶ〳〵といはゞや物を心ゆくまで）萬葉十八（十二丁）に、可治能於登乃、都波良都波良爾、これも櫓の水に觸て鳴音にて、都婆は都夫に同じ、（此つばらを、師は、かぢの舟ばたに摩るゝ音なりと云れつれど、然にはあらず）今世言にも、物の水に沒り沈むを、都夫理と入など云、これなり、（又多都とあるに就て思へば、音にはあらで、物の沈沒る時に、水都煩の發を云にや、水都煩は、萬葉廿に見えたり、水上に圓に浮ぶ泡なり、又宇治拾遺物語に、大柑子の膚のやうに、つぶだちてふくれたり、これらも形を云り、然れども此處は、次に阿和佐久とあれば、形にしては、同じことの重なれば、なは音なり）多都とは、上るを云て、（烟のたつ、鳥のたつなど、みなのぼるを云）底より音の鳴て上るなり、○時下なる名字、多くの本に無き

かとも云べけれども、坐時とあるなどを以て思に、なほ其後或時の事なるべし、○注なる地名二字は、例なし、後人の加へたるなり、除くべし、と師の云れたる、然もあるべし、○爲漁而は、須那杼理志豆と訓べし、和名抄に、漁、說文云、捕魚也、訓須奈度利、書紀欽明卷に捕魚、萬葉四に、奥幣往邊去伊麻夜爲妹吾漁有藻臥束鮒などあり、師云、須那取は、伊須那取の伊を略き、須と佐は、上條（いすくはし）の如く通へば、即鯨魚取なり、然れば鯨魚を取を本にて、何の魚取をも云り、（冠辭考いさなとりの條に見ゆ）さて阿邪訶地は、今は海邊やゝ遠けれども、（今の村よりは、海邊まで、一里餘許あるべし）古は海邊かけて廣き名なりけむ、又さらずとも、甚くは遠からねば、出て漁し給ひつべし、○比良夫貝は、古世に多かりし物とおぼしくて、人名に負る、書紀續紀にいと數多見えたり、（書紀に、大伴毘羅夫、連巨勢臣比良夫、額田部連比羅夫、阿曇連比羅夫、倭漢直比羅夫、河部引田臣比羅夫、續紀に、民忌寸比良夫、采女朝臣枚夫、田邊史比良夫、石川朝臣比良夫などあり、これらみな、此貝を以て名けたりと見ゆ）然るに和名抄などに見えざるは、後に名の變れるにやあらむ、今詳ならず、（なほくさ〳〵思ひめぐらすに、今世に月日貝と云あり、殼のさま月日に似たり、是などにや、そは比良は平、夫は日に通ひて、平日の意かと思へばなり、又多比良岐と云貝あり、岐は貝比の切りたるにて、平貝の意にて、是にや、又佐流煩と云貝あり、猨溺らしてふ意にて、此の故事に依れる名にて、是にや、されどこれら皆、其名につきて、思ひよれるまゝに、こゝろみに云のみなり、かくて後に、志摩國の海邊の人に、此貝の事問へるに、云く、比良夫貝は、月日貝のことなり、此わたりの海に、いと稀にある物なり、とぞ云ける、なほ國々

語の首に輕く置る例なり）

故其猨田毘古神。坐阿邪訶此三字以音地名時。爲漁而。於比良夫貝自比至夫以音其手見咋合而。沈溺海鹽。故其沈居底之時名。謂底度久御魂。度久以二字音其海水之都夫多都時名。謂都夫多都御魂。自都下四字以音其阿和佐久時名。謂阿和佐久御魂。自阿至久以音

阿邪訶は、伊勢國壹志郡なり、大神宮儀式帳に、次壹志藤方片樋宮坐只、其在阿佐鹿惡神平、驛使阿倍大稻彦命即御共仕奉支、彼時壹志縣造等遠祖建呰子乎、汝國名何問賜支、白久、宍往呰鹿國止白只、即神御田并神戸進支、（此惡神の事、下に云べし、建呰子の呰、字倭姫命世記には、皆とあり、其一本には、比とも作り、呰鹿の呰は、字書に毀也とも注せれば、鯵の意に取て書るか、又靈異記に、呰アザケルとあり、此意か、又和名抄備中國郷名の呰部は、安多とあり、參河國にも、呰見てふ郷あれど、其には注なし、宍往と云る枕詞も、心得がたし、世記には、害行阿佐賀國とあり、害は誤字にや、）神鳳抄に、壹志郡大阿射賀御厨、（彼是廿六石凡絹廿匹）小阿射賀御厨、（冊三町八段十五石）また小阿射賀神田（二町）とあり、今も大阿坂小阿坂と、北南に並びて、二村あり、（松坂より一里半許西方なり）其の山をも阿坂山といふ、さて宇受賣命の送りて還られたること、下にあれば、猨田毘古神の、此阿邪訶に坐しは、日向より還賜ふをりの途の次

殿寮解、內侍奏補之）裏書に、貢猿女事、（弘仁四年十月廿八日、猴女公氏之女一人進縫殿寮）延喜廿年十月十四日、昨尙侍令奏、縫殿寮申、以葦田福貞子、請爲葦田海子死闕替云々、天曆九年正月廿五日、右大臣令奏、縫殿寮申、被給官符於大和近江國氏人、令差進猿女三人死闕替云々、貞觀儀式、踐祚大嘗會卯日儀に、大臣一人、率中臣忌部御巫猿女、前行、（大臣在中央、中臣忌部在左右）延喜大嘗祭式に、大臣若大中納言一人、率中臣忌部（中臣立左忌部立右）御巫猴女、（左右）前行、（江次第にも見えたり、平戸記に、仁治三年十一月十三日、今夜大嘗祭也云々、祭祀之間、又多違例等云々、無猿女云々、希代勝事也）鎭魂祭儀式に、縫殿寮率猿女、升自東側階、就座、また御巫舞訖、次諸御巫猿女舞畢、（延喜式にも見ゆ）縫殿寮式に、鎭魂齋服（新嘗祭同用之）云々、猴女四人、綠袍四領、（綠衣帛裏、別三丈）綿八屯、（別二屯）兩面紐四條、（別長一尺九寸、廣五寸）汗衫四領、（別三丈）綠裙四腰、（綠表帛裏、別三丈）裙腰料、縹帛四條、（別一丈五尺）綿八屯、（別二屯）下裙四腰、（裙別三丈、腰別一丈五尺）袴四腰、（別三丈）綿四屯、（別一屯）縹帶四條、（別長六尺、廣四寸五分）細布髮髻四條、（別二尺）緋帔四條、（緋表帛裏、別一丈五尺）細布袜四兩、（別三尺）線鞋四兩、（この種々の服儀式には、大嘗祭の處に見えたり）○事是也とは、中卷末に、此者神宇禮豆玖之言本者也（師は是を、後人の注なりと云れつれど、然らず）と見え、又書紀に、多く云々之緣也とあると同意にて、其事の所由始と云ことなり、（事の下に、本字の脫たるにや、さらずとも、意は其意なり）さて此處の文、上に是以と云て、是也と結めたるは、とゝのひ宜しからず聞ゆ、（是以をば、故と云ると同く、輕く見べし、故は多く、たゞ

も其子孫にはあらざれども、此職業を相嗣て仕奉る女等を、猨女君と號て、此神を祖神とせるにやあらむ、書紀應神卷に、百濟王貢縫衣工女曰、眞毛津是今來目衣縫之始祖也とあるなども、同じ例にやあらむ、（又同卷に、工女兄媛を、筑紫の御使君祖とあるは、如何にあらむ、玄らず、）されば此記書紀を始めて、世々の史どもに、猨女君と云姓の人も、見えたることなく、天武天皇の御世に、此同列の氏々（中臣忌部玉祖など）はみな加婆泥を賜はれるに、其中にも見えず、又姓氏錄にも見えざるも、然る故にやあらむ、（次に引く書どもに依れば、猨女君氏とて、一氏ある如くなり、其はやゝ後には、世々女子を此職に供奉らゝむる家の、おのづからに定まりて、例となりて、其家の女子を、猨女君氏とは云るにこそ、古語拾遺に、神武天皇の段などに云るは、氏字は、後世の稱に依て、書る文なるべし、凡て彼書には、後世の稱に依て云る事、此類多し、）なほよく考ふべきことなり、さて猨女といふ職は、後まで大嘗會鎭魂祭などに見えたり、次に引く書どもの如し、古語拾遺、神武天皇段に、猨女君氏供神樂之事、類聚三代格、弘仁四年十月、太政官符に、應貢猨女事、右得從四位下行左中辨兼攝津守小野朝臣野主等解�segment、猨女之興、國史詳矣、其後不絕、今猶現在、又猨女養田、在近江國和邇村、山城國小野郷、今小野臣和邇部臣等、既非其氏、被供猨女熟搜事緒上件、兩氏貪人利田、不顧恥辱、拙吏相容、無加督察也、亂神事於先代、穢氏族於後裔、積日經年、恐成舊貫、望請令所司嚴加捉搦、斷用非氏、然則祭禮無濫、家門得正、謹請官裁者、搜撿舊記、所陳有實、右大臣宣奉勅宜改正之者、仍兩氏猨女從停廢、定猨女公氏之女一人、進縫殿寮、隨闕即補、以爲恒例、（この小野々主等の解文、類聚國史にも載れり、）西宮記に、猿女（依縫

は、何の由ぞや、故思に、本は是も、呼爲猿女君とありけむを、上にも猿女君等とある故に、煩はしと思ひて、後人のなまさかしらに、猿女二字を削れるにこそあらめ、）古語拾遺にも、天鈿女命ハ者、是猿女君、遠祖、以所顯神名爲氏姓、今彼男女皆號爲猿女君、此緣也とあり、（書紀にも此書にも、男女皆と云ることいかゞ、其故は、男女皆呼ことは、萬姓の常なり、いづれの姓かは然らざらむ、殊更に云べきことにあらず、且此號は、女に局れる事とおぼしくて、男に猿女君と云ることは、諸の書に見えたることなし、故思に、こは本は此記の如く、女とのみありなむを、例の漢文のあやに、何の意もなく、ふと書れたる物にこそあらめ、さるは男のみならず女もと云意にて、實は女を云むためにはあれども、かにかくに男を云るは、いたづらなるのみならず、事違ひてぞ聞ゆる、）さて書紀に依れば、此號は、即宇受賣命に賜へる號にして、其を後々まで嗣々傳へたる物なり、上に天宇受賣命者、猨女君等之祖、書紀に、猿女君、遠祖天鈿女命、また猿女上祖天鈿女命とあり、さてかくあれば、猨女君と云は、尋常の姓氏の如聞ゆれども、鏡作連、祖伊斯許理度賣命と、此宇受賣命とは、女神なるに、子孫の氏のあらむこと疑はし、（天照大神の、皇統の御祖神に坐などは、殊なる所由のまし〳〵て、殊に天上の事なれば、例には申しがたし、同じき神代といへども、御天降の後は、萬の事やう〳〵に、人代のさまと近ければ、此神たち、夫なくして子孫のあらむこと、いぶかし若くは夫神ありつれども、其夫神は功なくして、此婦神ぞ功ありて、皇朝に仕奉給ひ、後までも其家の職業は、世々女子の仕奉る氏なる故に、殊に妣神を以て、祖とはせるにやあらむ、ともいふべけれど、なほ然にはあらじ）故思にこれらは、尋常の姓の如く、必し

きことなるに、然はあらで、字受賣命よりして後までも、皆女にして其職に仕奉る故に、女にして男の代を供奉ると云意にて、男神とはことわれるなり、次に女とあると、相應せる言ぞ、（師説に、日本紀古語拾遺などゝ合せて考るに、男神名とある男字は、下の女字の上に在しが、錯れたるなり、と云れたるは、一わたりのことにて、なほ深く思はれざりしものなり、もしさもあらむには、男字の上なる之字も、いかゞなり、男神と云むとてこそ、之字をも置るなれ）○女呼猨女君、上の女字、袁美那袁と訓べし、（先には、書紀古語拾遺などに、男女皆呼とあるに依て、袁美那母と訓て、男も女もと云意と玄つれども、然にはあらずかし）此は女に玄て、男神の名を負て、仕奉る所由を云處なる故に、男には用なく、たゞ女を主とは云り、猨と云は、男神の名なるを、女の負て、猨女と呼なり、（然るを、男字の脱たるかと思ふは、中々にあらず）呼字、師は伊布と訓れたり、（與夫と云は、からぶみ讀めきたれば）それも然ることなれども、なほ此などは、與夫と訓べくおぼゆ、さて此處、書紀には、時皇孫勅天鈿女命、汝宜以所顯神名爲姓氏焉因賜猨女君之號、故猨女君等、男女皆呼爲君、此其緣也、（此は漢文を修はれたるにつきて、古意の主とある所を失へり、此記と合せ見て曉るべし、且此文には、心得ぬ事どもあり、まづ上には姓氏と云て、下には號と云る、姓氏と號と忽違へり、そも〳〵此時、いまだ姓氏と云ことあるべくもあらざれば、此二字は、此にかなはず、たゞ號とあるぞ宜き、次に呼爲君と云るも心得ず、其故は、此は猨田毘古神の名を取て、號とせるなれば、猨女と云こそ主なれ、君と云は、たゞ尊稱のみにて、こゝの由緣に關れることに非るを、その主とある猨女をば畧きて、たゞ君と呼ことを云る

傳の異なるなり、さて此記には、猨田毘古神、何處へ往坐とも云ずして、たゞ送奉とあるは、其本郷に還りたまふなるべし、（もし本郷に還賜ふに非ずは、必往坐處を云はでは、事足はず）是に依て見れば、伊勢は初より其本國なりけり、（伊勢の書どもにも、其趣に云り）かくて天宇受賣命の送りしは、書紀の趣は、かの御前に立て、天より降賜ふをゝりの如くに聞ゆれど、此記の趣は、然にあらず、猨田毘古神は、先伊勢に降到て、さて伊勢より、一度日向の宮に朝參て、（此事は傳十五御孫命御天降段にも云り）さて暇を賜はりて、日向より伊勢に歸り給ふ時の事と聞えたり、（書紀に、遂以侍送焉とあるをも、口決などには、天孫降臨之後の事に云り、さもあるべし）さて猨田毘古神の、日向に參り賜ひしことは、此記にも書紀にも見えざれども、若日向に參給へる事無からむには、既に天降坐て後に、宇受賣命の送たるをは、何處よりとかせむ、必日向よりとこそ聞えたれ、○其神御名者汝負すべて名を負と云は、他人の名にまれ、物名にまれ、取て己が名につくを云、其名を負持よしなり、○仕奉は、皇朝に仕奉にて、（猨田毘古神に仕奉と心得るは、甚く違へり）即後まである猨女の職これなり、さて是は、猨田毘古神躬づから皇朝に侍て、仕奉り賜ふべきを、此神は、幽契ありて、罷退て伊勢に坐べきが故に、宇受賣命此神の代と爲て、其御名を負持て、（近世に、身の代を名代と云は、此義によく當れり）仕奉れと詔ふなり、（汝負其神御名とは云ずして、其神御名者汝負とある、語の勢に心を着て、よく味ふべし、其神の代には、汝仕奉れと詔ふ意、おのづから含めり）○猨女君等、これは後の猨女君氏の人等を指て云り、○男神の名を負てとは、猨田毘古神の代として、其御名を負ふ者は、男なるべ

古事記傳十六之巻

本居宣長謹撰

神代十四之巻

故爾詔天宇受賣命。此立御前所仕奉。猨田毘古大神者。專所顯申之汝送奉。亦其神御名者。汝負仕奉。是以猨女君等。負其猨田毘古之男神名而。女呼猨女君之事是也。

此立御前云々、此は、彼と云むが如し、先に天降坐し時の事を指なり、（中昔の物語書などにも、彼と云べきを、此と云ること多し、）又此時猨田毘古大神、大前に侍り坐を、直に指て詔ふともすべし、○猨田毘古大神、書紀に、自名告賜ふ言にも、大神とあり、本より尋常ならぬ神にこそ坐つらめ、○專とは、他神は得問ざりしを、此宇受賣命たゞ獨、よく問顯せる意なり、其處にも、專汝云々とあり、○顯申とは、彼大神の御名をも、又其出居賜へる所以をも、問聞て顯せるを云、上に顯白其少名毘古那神、所謂久延毘古云々、とあるに同じ、申は、云々と奏せるを云、（顯に附て云辭には非ず、）書紀に、天鈿女還詣報狀とあるに當れり、○送奉、書紀には、猨田彦大神云々、因曰、發顯我者汝也、故汝可以送我而致之矣、また果如先期、皇孫云々、其猨田彦神者、則到伊勢、狹長田五十鈴川上、即天鈿女命隨猨田彦神所乞、遂以侍送焉などあり、いさゝか此記とは

古事記傳十五之卷終

云は、かゝる差めあればぞかし、よくせずは、必混るべき物ぞ、かゝれば彼壽言も、此瓊の眼炎耀きて美きが如く、御德光を妙に施し賜て、天下を所知看云々、と申せるなり、かく見るときは、其下文に、且如白銅鏡云々、乃提是十握劒云々、とあるにも、義理よく貫きて聞ゆるなり、然るを縣居翁の、出雲國造神賀詞の考に、青玉能水江玉乃行相爾云々、とある處に、此仲哀紀の語を引て、此に行相と云、如八尺瓊之勾と云る、共に天下をすべめぐらし知しめす譬なり、と說れしは、あたらず、上に云如くなればなり、此行相と云る意は、然る譬にはあらず、師の後釋の說の如し、宣長云、勾玉と云名、此考いと宜し、從ふべし、なほ此考委き本書あり、

と云ことの由あるを知べし、然るを昔より、此意を得たる人なくして、たゞ玉の形の曲りたるに依れる名とのみ心得來れるは、非なり、今世に、土中より掘出などして、多くある、曲玉と云物は、其形の、いさゝか曲れるを以て、此を上代の曲玉と云し物ぞと心得て、みだりに曲玉と呼なれども、其今在は、さしも美き玉に非ず、土中などより出る、多くあれば、古多に有し物と見えて、殊に稱美たふとみたる物とは見えず、古の曲玉と云しは、世に希にして、すぐれて麗き玉にこそおりけれ、今云曲玉の如く、多に有し物には非ず、たとひ其形は、今ある如く、いさゝか曲りたりし物にもあれ、其形に依て、曲玉と云しには非ずと知べし、形の曲りたらむは、何のめでたきことかあらむ、然るを書紀の仲哀卷に、筑紫伊覩縣主、祖五十迹手、聞天皇之行、扳取五百枝賢木、立于船之舳艫、上枝掛八尺瓊、中枝掛白銅鏡、下枝掛十握劒、參迎于穴門引嶋而獻之、因以奏言、臣敢所以獻是物者、天皇如八尺瓊之勾、以曲妙御宇云々とあるは、全此瓊の形の曲れるを云る如くに、文字の書ざまと見え、又訓もそれにつきて附たれども、マガレルガゴトクタヘニと云と、さらに意得がたし、そも〳〵麻賀流とは、物の不吉ことにこそいへ、妙にとほむる事に、いかでか然はいはむ、されば是は、もと古文には、如八尺之勾玉妙、などありて、その勾は、もとより借字なるを、其字につきて、とり合せて、曲妙と、漢文を作られたる物と見えたり、其曲妙の字は漢籍に、曲成萬物不遺、また曲盡其妙、など云ことのあるを以て、字面を餝られたるのみなれば、古く訓來れる如く、二字を合せて、多幣爾と訓より外なし、されば曲れると云ことの用は、さらになき物なり、すべて書紀は、からぶみの潤色によりて、皇國の古意を失へること多しと

賞することは、右に引る祝詞に、夕日乃日隱處とも云て、夕日にはかゝはらぬこともあるを以て知べし、萬葉十六なる、夕附日云々は、夕日のさす地なるに就て、贊たるなり、）○故此地の下に、曾と云辭を附て、加禮許々曾と訓べし、○甚吉、甚字、一本に者とあり、其も聞えはしたれども、今は眞福寺本延佳本に、甚とあるが勝れるに依れり、（舊印本又一本などに、其と作るは誤なり、）○於底津石根云々、これ此國にして、皇大宮の始りなり、下文又白檮原朝段の首などに、高千穗宮とあるは、即此宮のことにやあらむ、なほ其事は、彼處に委云べし、（傳十七鵜羽產屋の段の末）

おひつぎの考

八尺勾璁

横井千秋勾玉考云、吾師の考に、八尺勾玉は、八は彌なり、尺は佐明なり、佐は眞と通へる言なり、されば彌眞明の勾玉と云ことなり云々、此說によりて、八尺の意は、甚明らかなり、さて此說にすがりて、なほ思ふに、勾玉といふ名も、形の曲れるを以ていふにはあらず、勾曲などは、例の借字にて、麻賀と云は、古事記帶中日子天皇段に、目之炎耀種々珍寶云々、書紀同卷に、眼炎之金銀彩色云々、など見えたる、目炎耀にて、目赫なるを約めて麻賀とは云なり、眼かゞやくとは、物語書などに、目もあやなりといひ、俗言に、まばゆきかゞはゆきなど云に同じ、されば八尺勾玉とは、彌眞明之目赫玉と云ことにて、玉の世にすぐれて、明朗に玲瓏り、美麗きよしの名なり、垂仁紀に、鵜鹿々赤石玉と云あり、萬葉哥に、加我欲布珠、などもよめり、これらを以ても、玉に赫

書るなどは、清音のごとおぼしければ、何方とも定めがたし、）通は、書紀に、行去此云騰褒屢、とある字の如く、通り過て往なり、（凡て登本流と云言は、皆此意なり、今俗言に、たゞ行を、某處を通ると云は、いさゝか違へり、）さて此處の語の都ての意は、鎮座べき國を覓め賜ふとて、齋肉空虛地を通過て、笠沙之御崎に到坐るなり、韓國袁と、袁を附て讀べし、○此地者とは、笠沙之御前を指て詔ふなり、○朝日之直刺國とは、東方に向ひて、朝日影を、直に正向ひに受る地を云、○夕日之日照國とは、西方も打晴て、夕日影も、障らず刺地を云なるべし、下卷朝倉宮段、哥に、麻岐牟久能、比志呂乃美夜波、阿佐比能、比傳流美夜、由布比能、比賀氣流美夜、大神宮儀式帳に、朝日來向國、夕日來向國、龍田風神祭祝詞に、吾宮者、朝日乃日向處、夕日乃日隱處云々、（日隱處は、賞べきにもあらざれども、たゞ朝日を主として、其對に、詞の文に云るのみなり、）萬葉二（二十九丁）に、朝日豆流、佐太乃岡邊爾、又（卅丁）旦日照嶋の御門爾、十六（十五丁）に、夕附日、指哉河邊爾構屋之など、皆日影のさすを以て、其地を美たり、師の冠辭考に、うちびさす宮とは、麗しき日のさす宮とつゞけたるなりと云て、此記の此の語、又萬葉の哥どもを引て、此外にも、日影を以て、宮をほめたる多きを思ふべしとあり、又物の美麗きことを贊るにも、日影はたとへに云り、萬葉十三（五丁）に、內日刺、大宮都可倍、朝日奈須、目細毛、暮日奈須、浦細毛云々、百磯城之、大宮人者云々、（こは女官等の、五十師原、行宮の宮仕する狀を、贊て云るなり、）など是なり、さて地をほむるに、日影を云ことは、大方日影のさゝぬ地も、をさ〳〵無き物なれども、高くうちはれて、殊によくさす地を、賞するなるべし、（又朝日夕日共に賞する中に、殊に朝日のさす地を

り、これらの意なり、神名帳に、大隅國囎唹郡韓國宇豆峯神社あり、（此韓國と、此處なると一と聞ゆ）○笠沙之御前、（記中、地名の字に、音と訓とを雜へ用ひたるは、他には、熊曾をおきては、例なければ、此沙も、須那の切りたるにて、訓かとも思へど、なほ音なるべし）名義未考得ず、（若は書紀に、此處の國主とある人名、勝長狹の約りたるなどにや、勝長狹を切むれば、加多佐にて、多と佐と横に通ふ）さて此地は、（書紀口決に、笠狹之碕は宮崎也と云るは、おしあてなるべし、又今、世日向國那珂郡に、日の御崎と云處あり、これ笠沙の崎なりと云も、おぼつかなし）書紀に、吾田長屋笠狹の碕とも、吾田笠狹之御碕ともある、吾田は、薩摩國阿多郡阿多なり、（神代の三の御陵も大隅薩摩にあり）又長屋之竹嶋ともある、竹嶋も、孝德紀に、薩麻之曲竹島之門、とあるに依るに、（今も、薩摩川邊郡に、竹嶋と云處ありと云り）長屋も、薩摩なることしるければ、笠沙も、彼國なるべし、（薩摩國人の云、今本國の阿多郡に、加世田之御崎と云處あり、これ笠沙之御崎なり、其地に接きて、宮崎と云處もあり、京之原と云處もあり、さて其あたりに、野間權現と云社あり、木花開耶姫、邇々藝尊、彦火々出見尊、火明命を祭る、又三柱の皇子御誕生の跡ありて、三皇子を祭りて、竹屋明神と云と云り）○眞來通、眞來は借字にて、書紀に、寛國此云矩貳磨儀、とある是なり、萬葉廿（五十丁）に、山河をいはねさくみて、布美等保利久爾麻藝之都々、度會宮儀式帳に、見志眞岐賜志處爾、志都麻利坐奴などあり、なほ此、言、既に上に出て、其處に云り、（傳十一の五始、さてきの清濁の事、書紀の訓注に、儀字、右の萬葉に、藝字を書るなどに依れば、濁音なり、然るに又、神武段、哥に、麻加牟と見え、萬葉に、卷字をも書き、又此に來字を借て

臠肉之空國、自頓丘覓國行去、到於吾田長屋笠狹之碕矣、其地有一人自號事勝國務長狹、皇孫問曰、國在耶以不、對曰、此焉有國、請任意遊之、故皇孫就而留住、また一書に、臠肉胸副國、自頓丘覓國行去、立於浮渚在平處、乃召國主事勝國勝長狹而訪之、對曰、是有國也、取捨隨勅、時皇孫因立宮殿、是焉遊息、また臠肉空國、自頓丘覓國行去、到於吾田長屋笠狹之御碕、時彼處有一神名曰事勝國勝長狹、故天孫問其神曰、國在耶、對曰在也、因曰隨勅奉焉、故天孫留住彼處、また到于吾田笠狹之御碕、遂登長屋之竹島、乃巡覽其地者、彼有人焉名曰事勝國勝長狹、天孫因問之曰、此誰國歟、對曰、是長狹所住之國也、然今乃奉上天孫矣などある文どもと、合せて思ふにも、又語のさまを思ふにも、眞來通笠沙之御前と云は、必地語にして、詔ふ御言には非ずかし、○韓國は、韓は借字にて、（もし此を正字とするときは、此にかなはず、其故は、まづ書紀神代上卷に、既に韓鄕之嶋の事見えたれば、此に其國のことあるまじきには非れども、此段の古事は、みな大隅薩摩日向の間のことにして、東南に向へる域なれば、向韓國と云べき由なければなり）空虛國の義にて、即書紀の空國なり、（凡て物の、內の空虛して、實の無きを、加良と云、殼なども其意なり、さて書紀の空國をば、昔よりムナクニと訓れども、胸副國に、空字をかゝずして、別に胸字を書れたるを思へば、カラクニと訓べきにや、されどムナクニと訓ても、意は同じ、さて此處は、向空國と云ても、聞ゆるが如くなれども、なほ然にはあらで、向字は、肉の誤なるべく、又臠に當る字の脫たることも、論なかるべし）さて臠肉空虛國は、書紀、口決に、臠宍之空國、荒芒地、仲哀紀曰、熊襲國者、臠之空國也、臠脊也、無肉以譬不穀之地といひ、纂疏に、空國則不毛之地とあ

某、天武紀に、來目臣鹽籠、また同御代に、來目臣、賜姓曰朝臣、續紀に、久米朝臣麻呂、また忍海手人廣道、賜久米直姓、また久米奈保麻呂、賜久米連姓、姓氏錄に見えたる、久米朝臣久米臣など、何れも皆異姓なり）姓氏錄に、（左京神別天神）久米直、高御魂命、八世孫、味耳命之後也、また（右京神別天神）久米直、神魂命八世孫、味日命之後也、（この味耳と味日とは、一ッと聞ゆれば、一方は誤字なるべし）これら此氏なるべきか、（此氏ならば、天津久米命、若くは大久米命之後也、とあるべきことなるに、然らざるは、なほ疑はし、但し此久米直の次に並びて、浮穴直あると、伊豫國久米郡と浮穴郡と並びたると）續後紀に、承和元年五月、伊豫國人正六位上浮穴直千繼等賜姓、春江宿禰、千繼之先、大久米命也、（とあると、彼此を合せて思へば、由ありて、此氏なるべく思はる）

於是詔之、此地者向韓國眞來通笠沙之御前而朝日之直刺國。夕日之日照國也。故此地甚吉地詔而。於底津石根。宮柱布斗斯理。於高天原氷椽多迦斯理而。坐也。

於是詔之云々、此處の文は、かならず於是、嶺肉韓國、眞來通笠沙之御前而詔之、此地者朝日之云々、とありけむを、詔之此地者の五字、錯れて上に移り、嶺字脫、（但し是は書紀に依て、姑嶺とするなり、其字は如何にもあるべし）肉字は、向に誤れるものなり、故今は其如く訓つ、（又は嶺肉韓國眞來通、到坐笠沙之御前而、とありけむ、到坐二字、脫たるにもあるべし）其故は、書紀に、

あり、續紀、文武天皇の大嘗には、大伴宿禰手拍、堅楯杵と見ゆ、手拍は名なり、）大伴、大田、宿禰、條には、高魂命六世孫、天押日命とあり、また佐伯、宿禰、大伴、宿禰同祖、道臣命七世孫、室屋、大連公之後也、（佐伯は、室屋、大連の時に分れたる故に、其後也と云るなり、さて此外に、姓氏錄に、大伴連、榎本連、神松造、大伴、大田宿禰、佐伯日奉造、高志連、高志壬生連、林宿禰、家內連、佐伯首、大伴、山前連、仲丸子、など云姓、皆大伴の支別なり、又三代實錄五の十七葉三十三葉に、大伴氏の事見えたり、考へ見べし、）類聚國史に、弘仁十四年四月壬子、改大伴、宿禰、爲伴、宿禰、鯛諱也、（淳和天皇の御諱を、大伴と申せり、抑古姓にも名にも何にも、大と云は、崇め種美たる物なるに、今此氏、罪なきに大てふことを除かれたるは、こゝろうし、必大のかはりに、美稱を添まほしきわざなり、右に引る萬葉七卷なる哥の詞などに依て、廣伴、宿禰などこそあらまほしけれ、）日本紀略に、天慶六年七月一日癸未、賜參議正四位下伴、宿禰保平、爲朝臣、○久米直、の米てふ名、義、又其地名などの事は、下傳十九白檮原宮段、大久米命の下に云べし、直は加婆泥なり、上（傳七の末十九氏の加婆禰の事の下）に出、さて此氏の事、上に云るが如し、中卷倭建命段に、平國廻行之時、久米直之祖名七拳脛、恒爲膳夫、以從仕奉也とあるは、此氏か、（書　には、たゞ七掬脛とのみありて、姓は見えず、爲膳夫は、此氏には、似つかはしからぬこゝちす、）此外に（大久米命をおきて、）二記に、此氏人見えたることなし、（書紀にも、神代卷、此段には、來目部、遠祖とあれば、一の氏と聞えたるを、其外は、神武卷よりこなた、たゞ來目部、又は大久目などのみありて、姓と聞えたるはなく、たゞ物部などの類にて、武事を以て、仕奉る者の職とぞ聞えたる、さて孝德紀に、來目臣

部連目、爲大連、（大連も後世の大臣の如し、上代には、臣姓の人をば、大臣とし、連姓の人をば、大連として、政を執しむ、大連てふ號は、垂仁卷に始めて見ゆ、）此御代に、大伴氏より分れて、佐伯氏と云、出來たり、（姓氏錄に見えて、下に引り）其より大伴佐伯と相並べり、さて後に、大伴金村てふ人も、大連なりき、孝德天皇の御世に、大伴長德連、右大臣たり、（其子御行卿は、大納言にて、大寶元年正月に薨られて、右大臣を贈給へり、是贈官の始なり、）天武天皇十三年、十二月戊寅朔己卯、大伴連佐伯連、賜姓曰宿禰、姓氏錄に、（左京神別）大伴宿禰、高皇產靈尊五世孫、天押日命、之後也、初天孫彥火瓊々杵尊神駕之降也天、押日命大來目部、立御前、降于日向、高千穗峯、然後以大來目部、爲天、靫負部、天、靫負之號、起於此也、雄畧天皇、御世、以天、靫負、賜大連公、奏曰、衞門開闔之務、於職已重、若一身難堪望、與愚兒語、相伴奉衞左右、勅依奏、是大伴佐伯、二氏、掌左右、開闔之緣也、（此文、大來目部の上に帥、字無く、又天、靫負とは、大來目部を云來れるを、雄略、御世に至て、此號を、大伴、大連には賜へるなり、然れば上に久米氏の事を、此記に依て、己が云る趣、此と合へり、さて後に近衞府衞門府兵衞府を共に、由介比乃都加佐と云も、此天、靫負より出たるなり、さて大連公とは、室屋、大連を云なり、書紀景行卷に、日本武尊居甲斐國酒折宮、以靫部賜大伴連、之遠祖武日、とあるは、傳への異なるなるべし、愚兒語とは、雄略紀に、大伴談連とありて、談此云箇陀利、とある人なり、此氏人衞門事は、江家次第、御即位儀に、開章德興禮兩門、伴佐伯、帶劍着五位、禮服、率門部三人、入自兩門、居會昌門內、左右廂、胡床、云々、次伴佐伯、兩門下、壇、對北面立、次令門部開門、還本座、諸門皆應、各還云々、兩氏閉門云々、また大嘗會儀に、伴佐伯、宿禰、開大嘗宮南門と

由伎登利於保世、山河乎伊波禰左久美豆、布美等保利、久爾麻藝之都々、云々などみゆ、○大伴連大伴とは、多くの伴を帥るを以て云か、又此氏の伴の、多く廣き由か、萬葉七（四丁）に、戦懸流、伴雄廣伎、大伴爾とあり、又八十持緒の中にも、此伴を、殊に崇め稱美て、大伴とは云か、萬葉廿（五十一丁）に、大伴乃、宇治等名爾於幣流（宇治は氏なり）と、家持卿のよまれたるなどを思ふべし、續紀（天平勝寶元年）の詔に、又大伴佐伯宿禰波、常母云久、天皇朝守仕奉事、顧奈波人等爾阿禮波、汝多知乃祖止母乃云來久、海行波美豆久屍、山行波草牟須屍、王乃幣爾去曾死米、能杼爾波不死止、云來流人等止奈母聞召須、是以遠天皇御世始豆、今朕御世爾當豆母、内兵止、心中古止波奈母遣須云々、（萬葉十八に長哥あり、考ふべし）又（天平寶字元年）詔に、又大伴佐伯宿禰等波、自遠天皇御世、内乃兵止爲而仕奉來、云々と見ゆ、さて上に引る如く、書紀、神武、卷に、大伴氏、之遠祖日臣、命、帥大來目、督將元戎、と見え、古語拾遺には、逮于神武天皇東征、之年、大伴氏、遠祖日臣、命、帥督將元戎、剪除兇渠、佐命之勳、無有比肩、など見えて、此氏は、祖神天忍日命よりして、世世もはら武事を以て、皇朝の御守衛とある職なり、（後世の左右、近衛、大將、左右、衛門、督、左右、兵衛、督、などの職の如し、然れば後の稱を以ていはゞ、かの中臣忌部五部などは、文官、此大伴久米などは、武官なり、然るを後には、文を尊ばる、故に六衛府は、太政官より卑きを、上代には、武を尊ばれし故に、此氏など甚尊かりき）さて書紀垂仁、卷に、大伴連、遠祖武日と云人見ゆ、（此人、倭建、命の、東國征たまふ時にも、御從せられたり、垂仁、卷に出たるは、廿五年なるを、其より景行天皇の四十年までは、百十五年なり、命長かりし人なりけむ）雄略、卷、御世、始に、大伴、連室屋、物

に、まづ此物をいへり、）又九（三十五丁）に、白檀弓、靫取負而、廿（十九丁）に、麻須良男能、由伎等里於比豆などあり、○頭椎之大刀は、白檮原宮段の哥に、久夫都々伊とある、是なり、（椎を延て、都々伊と哥へるなり、）書紀に、頭槌、此云箇輔豆智、また神武卷に、頭椎劒、神功卷の哥に、句夫菟智などあり、さて輕島宮段、御哥に、加夫都久麻肥とあるは、頭衝眞日にて、是頭を加夫と云る例なり、（頭を振を、俗に加夫理布流と云もこれなり、）其を久夫とも通はし云るなり、さて此大刀は、書紀、私記に、頭槌劒、名、其頭曲といひ、纂疏に、頭槌者、劒首如槌也、今隼人所帶之劒、有此形也、とあるが如し、（劒の、頭石にて、槌の形に似たるを、大和國の三輪山のあたりの土、中より、掘出たりと云を見たりと、谷川氏云りき、）○取佩萬葉五（九丁）に、都流岐多智、許志爾刀利波枳、佐都由美乎、多爾伎利物知提、十九（十四丁）に、劒刀、許思爾等理波伎、などあり、○天之波士弓、天之眞鹿兒矢は、共に上に出、（傳十三天若日子の段下）○取持、萬葉十九（四十丁）に、手束弓、手爾取持而、○手挾、同六（十四丁）に、得物矢手挾、十六（卅丁）に比米加夫良、八多婆左彌、廿（四十二丁）に、伊乎佐太波佐美などあり、書紀云、于時大伴連、遠祖天忍日命、帥來目部、遠祖天槌津大來目、背負天磐靫、臂著稜威高鞆、手捉天梔弓、天羽々矢、及副持八目鳴鏑、又帶頭槌劒、而立天孫之前、遊行降來、萬葉十八（二十一丁）に、大伴等佐伯氏者、云々、梓弓、手爾等里母知豆、劒大刀、許之爾等里波伎、安佐麻毛利、由布能麻毛利爾、大王能、三門乃麻毛利、云々、廿（五十丁）に、比左加多能、安麻能刀比良伎、多加知保乃、多氣爾阿毛理之、須賣呂伎能、可未能御代欲利、波自由美乎、多爾藝利母多之、麻可胡也乎、多波左美蘇倍豆、於保久米能、麻須良多祁乎々、佐吉爾多豆、

神は、此記にては、天忍日命と、相並ばして、同列なる趣にして、白檮原朝段にも、大伴連之祖道臣命、久米直之祖大久米命二人、云々と、相並べ云て、其大久米命の事、なほ處々に見えたり、然るを書紀には、彼卷にも、大伴氏之遠祖日臣命、帥大來目督將元戎、また大伴氏之遠祖道臣命、帥大來目部などありて、（これらの大來目は、一人の名とも聞えず）大久米命と云人も無し、此にも天槌津大來目とあるは、（此は一人の名とは聞ゆれども）命とも云ずたゞ天忍日命の下に屬る神にて、共に此記の趣と異なり、此二の傳へ何れか正しからむ、知がたけれども、此記に依りて考るに、久米直は、白檮原御世、大久米命などまでは、大伴と相並びたる氏なりしを、其子孫に至りては、痛く衰へて、（後の御世々々には、大伴と相並びたること見えず、いと微にして、世々に聞えたる人もなし）大伴氏のみ榮えたりしほどに、久米は其下に屬る者になれりしを、（書紀雄略卷に、詔大伴室屋大連使來目部云々などあるを見れば、當時既く大伴の下に屬りと見ゆ）書紀は、神代卷をも、神武卷をも、後に其子孫の衰へたる時の趣を以て、記されたる物と見えたり、萬葉十八（二十一丁）家持卿、哥に、大伴能遠都神祖乃其名乎婆、大來目主登、於比母知豆、都加倍之官、とよまれたるも、大伴の祖神の、大久米を帥主れる由にて、書紀の趣なり、姓氏錄の趣は、此記と合へり、（下に引り）○天之石靫、靫は上（傳七御宇氣比の段下）に出、石は、例の堅き由なり、萬葉三（五十九丁）に、大伴之名負靫帶而、（名負靫の事、姓氏錄に見えて、下に引り、考へ合すべし、又書紀孝德卷、踐祚處に、大伴連長德、帶金靫、立於壇右云々）七（四丁）に、靫懸流伴雄廣伎、大伴爾など有て、靫は、殊に大伴久米に由緣あるなり、（故大刀弓矢よりも先

山なり、又風土記には、稻穗の古事も、臼杵郡なる方に記せれど、是はた今の現に、霧嶋山にのこれり、又神代の地名、多く大隅薩摩にあり、彼此を以て思へば、霧島山も、必神代の御跡と聞え、又臼杵郡なるも、古書どもに見えて、今も正しく、高千穗と云て、まがひなく、信に直ならざる地と聞ゆれば、かにかくに、何れを其と、一方には決めがたくなむ）いとまぎらはし、なほ下に高千穗宮とある處に、論ふを考へ合すべし、（傳十七の末）

故爾天忍日命天津久米命二人。取負天之石靫。取佩頭椎之大刀。取持天之波士弓。手挾天之眞鹿兒失。立御前而仕奉。故其天忍日命。此者大伴連等之祖。天津久米命。此者久米直等之祖也。

天忍日命、名義ことなることなし、古語拾遺に、高皇產靈神の御子とせり、御子とは、子孫の謂なるべし、姓氏錄にて知らる（下に引り）三代實錄に、貞觀十五年十二月廿日、授河內國正六位上天押日命神從五位下、（此は神名式に、志紀郡、伴林氏神社とある社なるべし、此林氏神社は、貞觀九年二月、預官社、姓氏錄、河內國神別に、林宿禰あり、大伴宿禰同祖なり、又續後紀、承和二年十月、河內國人、林連馬主、賜姓伴宿禰とあり）神名帳に、山城國葛野郡、伴氏神社、（大、月次新嘗、續後紀に、承和元年正月、山城國葛野郡上林鄕地方一町、賜伴宿禰等、爲祭氏神處とあり、又式に、信濃國佐久郡、大伴神社もあり）此も此神を祭れる社にや、○天津久米命、書紀には、大伴連、遠祖、天忍日命、帥來目部遠祖、天槌津大來目とあり、（古語拾遺も同じ）、此事いとうたがはし、此

わきまへがたし、鋒の方に、横手ありて、十字の形の如し、又同じさまなる矛、今一立るは、近世に、嶋津義久、朝臣の、新に造りて、建添られたるなりとも、又は鹿兒嶋の商人、池田某と云し者、此山の神を深く仰ぎ奉りけるが、眞鍮を以て造りて、建たるなりとも云は、いづれか實ならむ、）かれば臼杵郡なる高千穗山も、諸縣郡なる霧嶋山も、共に古書にも見え、現に凡ならざる處なるを、（然るに此二の山を、混へて一の如く云る說は、いとおほろかにして、委くも考へざる、ひがことなり）皇孫命の天降坐し御跡は、何れならむ、（さだめがたし、其故は、まづ書紀の高千穗と、槵日二上とをば異山として、高千穗は、臼杵郡なるを其とし、槵日二上は、霧嶋山とするときは、二處共に、其御跡なりと云べけれど、風土記に、臼杵郡なるを、高千穗、二上、峯とあれば、二上も、臼杵郡なる方と聞えたるを、又書紀には、襲之高千穗峰とある、襲は、大隅なる地名なれば、此は高千穗と云も、霧嶋山の方とこそ聞ゆれ、然るに又、臼杵郡なる高千穗山をも、今時二上山と云て、まことに此も、中央に二峯ありて、然云べき山なりと、國人語れり、又二神明神と云もあり、槵日村槵觸が嶽なと云名もありとぞ、然る名どもは、後世につけたるも知がたければ、證としがたけれど、風土記にしも、二上之峯とあり、凡て風土記は、正しく其國にして、古き傳說を記せる物なるに、此臼杵郡なるをのみ記して、霧嶋の方をば、記さぬを思へば、霧嶋は非るが如くなれども、古の風土記どもは、たゞ書紀、釋と、仙覺が萬葉、抄などゝに、往々引るのみこそ遺りたれ、全きは傳はらざれば、其全書には、霧嶋山の事も、記したりけむを、彼書どもには、其をば引漏せるも知がたし、霧嶋山の方も、正しく峯二有て、二上なり、凡て古に二上山と云るは、皆峯二ある

焉とあるは、此山のことなるべし、書紀に襲之高千穂峰ともあればなり、（そも〳〵此山の事、委く聞に、霧山とも霧嶋山とも云て、東なる峰は、日向國諸縣郡、西なるは、大隅國囎唹郡なり、東なる峰、殊に高くして、鋒峰といふ、頂に神代の逆矛とてたてり、詣る者これを拜む、語傳へて云く伊邪那岐伊邪那美命、天浮橋の上より、霧の海を見下し賜ふに、嶋の如く見ゆる物あるを、天沼矛を以て、かきさぐり、其處に天降賜ひて、其矛を、逆樣に下し給へるなり、霧嶋山と云も、此由なり、と云なるは、此邇々藝命の御古事を、彼二柱神の御事に混へて、傳へひがめたるなるべし、かくて西なる峰は、やゝ卑し、頂よりやゝ下、のぼる道の傍なる谷には、常に火燃あがる、さるゆゑに、火氣布峰と云、日向の言に、常を氣布と云故なりとぞ、又此火、時によりて、いみしく熾に燃上りて、黑烟天におほひ、石砂遠く飛散ことあり日向大隅薩摩の國人ども、神火と云て、畏み拜むとぞ、霧嶋明神の社は、麓にあり、大なる社なりとぞ、凡そ此山の内、夏のころ、きりしまさつきの花盛は、目もあやなりとぞ、其外あやしき樹ども、くさ〳〵あり、山半より上には、樹は一もなくて、たゞこまかなる燒石のみなりとぞ、又山の内に、處々大なる池多く有て、大なる蛇すめりとぞ、さて此山、つねに登詣る人多きを、暴に霧の越りて、大風吹出、地とゞろき、おどろ〳〵しき音して、闇の夜の如く暗がりて、路も見え分ぬばかりになることありて、ともすれば、此霧におぼゝれ、風に吹放たれて、亡なる者もあり、然るに神代の故實と云て、いはゆる先達なる者、人に教へて、手ごとに稻穗を持せ行て、もし此霧おこりぬれば、其を以て、拂ひつゝゆけば、しばしがほどに、天明りて、事故なしとぞ、さて峰に立るかの御矛は、長さ八九尺許ありて、鉄にや石にや、

稱すとなり、と云るは、山名には由なく聞ゆ、久士布流は、靈異ぶるにて、書紀に、槵日ともあると同じ、（槵は皆借字なり、）布流と備とは、同言の活用けるなり、多氣は、萬葉に高とも書る意にて、（竹も、高く立伸る物なる故の名なり、物の立る高さを、長と云も、此意なり、されば立たる物ならで、凡て物の長さを、多氣と云は、誤なり、）高き山を云り、さて此山の事、上にも云る如く、其とおぼしき、二處に有て、いとまぎらはし、其一は、今も高千穗嶽と云て、かの風土記に見えたる、臼杵郡なる是なり、和名抄にも、日向國臼杵郡智保郷あり、續後紀十三に、日向國無位高智保皇神、奉授從五位下、（この日向國三字、印本には誤りて、皇神の下にあり、今は古本に依て引り、）三代實錄一に、授日向國從五位上高智保神、從四位上と見ゆ、（又和名抄に、肥後國阿蘇郡にも、知保郷あるは、日向の智保と、つゞきたる地にて、一か、はた別なるか、知らず、）かくて此山は、日向國の北の極にて、豐後國の堺に近し、（肥後の宇土八代などより、日向の延岡に通ふ道の、北方にあり、）其あたりを今も、高千穗莊と云とぞ、（これ智保郷なるべし、今世延岡なる主の領地にて其處に近し、延岡は、舊名縣と云し處なり、）今一は、諸縣郡にありて、霧嶋山と云、神名式に、日向國諸縣郡、霧嶋神社、續後紀六に、日向國諸縣郡霧嶋岑神、預官社、三代實錄一に、授日向國從五位上霧嶋神、從四位下とあり、此山は、日向國の南の極にて、大隅國の堺なり、（神代紀に、二上とあるごとく、）東西と分れて、峰二あり、（山下に、東霧嶋西霧嶋と云村もあり、）西なる峰は、大隅國に屬り、續紀に、延暦七年七月己酉、太宰府言、去三月四日戊時、當大隅國贈於郡曾乃峰上、火炎大熾、響如雷動、及亥時、火光稍止、唯見黑烟、然後雨沙峰下五六里、沙石委積可二尺、其色黑

千穂之久士布流多氣、（久士布流は、書紀に、槵觸と書き、又槵日ともあるに依らば、久志夫流とあるべきに、假字の清濁の違へるは、これ上代の音便にて、士を濁り、布を清しと聞えて、上なる肥國の亦、名も、豐久士比泥別とあるに同じ、此事、傳五、大八島成出の段下に云り、考へ合すべし、多氣の多も、古へは清てぞ唱へけむ）此山名、書紀に見えたるは、上に引るが如し、又一書には、日向襲之高千穂添山峯ともあり、（襲は、姓氏錄序にも、天孫降レ襲とあり、此襲の事は、上熊曾國の下、傳五に委くいへり）さて今皇孫命の、此山にしも降着坐りしことは、書紀に、猿田彦神に、天鈿女復問曰、汝何處到耶、皇孫何處到耶、對曰、天神之子則當到筑紫日向高千穂槵觸之峯云云、果如先期、皇孫則到筑紫日向高千穂槵觸之峯とあれば、元より然るべき所由ありしことなるべし、（當到は、イタリマスベシと訓ても、到給へと敎ふるには非ず、到坐むことを知れる故に、告るなり、故下に果と云り）萬葉廿（五十丁）に、比左加多能、安麻能刀比良伎、多可知保乃、多氣爾阿毛理之云々、さて此山は、日向國風土記に、臼杵郡、內知鋪郷、天津彦々火瓊々杵尊、離天、磐座排天、八重雲、稜威之道別々々而天降於日向之高千穂二上之峯時、天暗冥晝夜不レ別、人物失レ道、物色難レ別、於茲有土蜘蛛、名曰大鉗小鉗、二人奏言皇孫尊、以尊御手、抜稻千穂、爲レ籾、投散四方、得開晴、于時如大鉗等所奏、搓千穂稻、爲レ籾、投散、卽天開晴、日月照光、因曰高千穂二上峰、後人改號知鋪と見えたり、（鉗字、萬葉抄に引たるには、鉗とあり、いづれよけむ、後人改とは、文字を改めたるをいふ）名、意、高千穂は、此風土記に云るが如くなるべきか、（或說に皇孫命齋庭の穂を御す故に、其都に、供粢盛田ある、故の名なり、今も其田の蹟ありて、里人不レ蒔稻と

之而、などある立之に同くて、橇に乘て、發し行意なり、かゝれば此師の考、面白くして、此處の凡てのさまも、聞えたるが如し、然れどもなほよく思ふに、橇の事、書紀の傳どもに見えず、又天浮橋を云る例、何れも於多々斯とあれば、於は誤字とも思はれねば、用理とは訓がたく、多々斯は、即浮橋に立すことの如く聞ゆれば、定めがたし、故なほ思ふに、宇岐士摩理は、下卷なる平群鮪臣の哥に、大君の御子の柴垣夜布士麻理斯麻理母登本斯どある、士麻理と、同じからむかと思はるゝ由もあり、又蘇理もいさゝか思ひよれることもあれども、それなほさだかにも思得ず又一ツ思ふに、於天浮橋とあるに依るに、宇岐士麻理云々は、浮橋を下り竟給ひて後の事には非ず、方に浮橋を下り給ふ間の事なれば、其間に、浮橋の傍に浮洲のある處あるに、道を曲て、立寄賜ひて其浮洲に、暫留り立賜ひて、國を臨觀て、降到賜ふべき地を、着定めて、さて高千穗峯には降坐しにやあらむ、若然らば、浮洲は、天浮橋の傍に屬て、空中にある洲なり、故浮洲とは云かさて物の形の曲るを、蘇流といへば、蘇理とは、かの浮洲へ道を曲て、立寄給ふを云なり、鷹などの、あらぬ方へ行をも、蘇流と云り、又は蘇理は、書紀一書に、高千穗添山峯ともありて、添山此云曾褒里能耶麻とある添は、萬葉に川之副、山之副、又蘇比乃榛原などいへる副と同くて、片つ方に倚れる處を云て、かの頓丘と意相近し、頓丘は、片よれる、丘なること、傳十三天若日子の段下頓使の條に云るが如し、又胸副國とある副も、添に同じければ、蘇理は蘇本理にて、浮洲の內の、片よりて小高き處を云るにもあらむか若然らば、云々蘇理爾多々斯豆と訓べきなり、ずべて此等の考ども姑此記の文の次序に就て、試に云るのみなり、）なほよく考ふべきことなり、○高

なり、脅肉空國とは、其あたりの總てのさまを云るなり、）一書に、降到於日向槵日高千穗之峯而脅肉胸副國自頓丘覓國行去、立於浮渚在平地、乃云々、（胸は借字にて、空の意なり、副の事は下に云、）一書に、到於日向襲之高千穗槵日二上峯天浮橋而立於浮渚在之平地云々、などあり、此らと相照して考るに、此記と彼記と、異なること多くして、互に疑はしきことあり、そはまづ天浮橋は、天上より往來ふ道の橋なるを、書紀には、自二上天浮橋とあるは、心得ず、（此記の趣は聞えたり、）次に今世に高千穗山と霧嶋山と、別にあるを以思へば、此記に、高千穗之久士布流多氣と、一の山に云ること疑はし、（此事は、なほ下に委く云り、書紀は何れの傳も、高千穗と槵日二上とを、二の山と見ても、聞ゆるなり、）次に宇岐士摩理云々、宇岐士摩理は、書紀の浮渚在と同じければ、（彼訓注の、爾磨利の爾、字は、ジ。と讀べし、此記の士に當れり、ニマリと讀は非なり、書紀の假字は、漢音をも多く用ひたる例なり、）浮洲有と聞えたるに、蘇理と云ること、かの平處とさらに似ずして、いかなることゝも、解がたし、又於天浮橋とある於も、此は聞えがたく、且此事、高千穗峯に降着坐より先にあるも、次第穩ならず聞え、（此事、書紀には、二上峯に降坐ての後にあるぞ、然るべく聞えたる、）又多々斯豆の下にも何とかや、言足ぬこゝちぞする、此わたり、脱も亂れもしたる言やあらむ、（師本には、天浮橋ヨリと訓て、蘇理の傍に、槌字を注されたり、其說は聞ざれども、槌は、史記禹本紀に、泥行乘レ橇と見え、堀川院後百首に忠房、初御雪降にけらしなあらち山越の旅人蘇理に乘まで、とよめる物なり、字岐士摩は、地の堅まらずて、浮て泥の如くなる處なる故に、此物に乘て、行去賜ふなり、多々斯豆は、萬葉三に、和豆香山御輿立

段）に云り、都は清音なることも、彼處に云るが如し、知和岐は、書紀に、道別とかゝれたる如く、道を排行なり、（上なるは躰言、下なるは用言なり、さて大祓詞などに、天之八重雲乎とあるに依らば、即雲を分るなれども、此は、雲字の下に、而字もあれば、雲を分るを云には非ず、雲のみならず、何物にまれ、凡て分通るを云なり、）書紀に、稜威之道別道別而、大祓詞に、天之八重雲乎、伊頭乃千別爾千別豆、天降依左志奉支、（遷却祟神祝詞にもかくあり、）また天津神波、天磐門乎、押披豆、天之八重雲乎、伊頭乃千別爾千別豆所聞食武、ともあり、○註に、十字以音とある、十字、舊印本などに、七と作るは、誤なり、（そは知和岐三字の落たる本に就て、さかしらに改めしなるべし、）今は眞福寺本延佳本に依れり、○天浮橋上に出たり、續後紀、興福寺僧等が長哥に、茜刺志、天照國乃、日宮能聖之御子曾、瓠葛、天能梯建、踐歩美、天降利坐志、々とよめり、○宇岐士摩理、蘇理多々、斯豆、此語甚心得難し、まづ此處、書紀には、天降於日向襲之高千穗峯、既而皇孫遊行之狀也者、則自槵日二上天浮橋立於浮渚在平處、（立於浮渚在平處、此云羽企爾磨利陀毘羅而陀々志、）而膏肉之空國、自頓丘覓國行去、（こは高千穗峯に先降着坐て、然て都として鎭坐べき地を、覓め遊行せ賜ふ狀を云るにて、槵日二上は、高千穗と別なりと聞え、天浮橋は、其二上より下る道のごと聞ゆ、そは天上より上下ふ橋に准へて、高山より平地に下る道をも、天浮橋と云るか、此事なほ次に論へり、さて其浮橋より下りて、浮渚のある、平なる處に立賜ふなり、さて膏肉云々は、頓丘より、膏肉の空國を行去て、國を覓給ふと云ことなり、空國乎と訓べし、然らざれば、聞えぬ文なり、其あたり浮渚なる故に、小高き頓丘を傳ひて、空國の內を、行去過たまふな

の詔命を以て、令爲をいふ語に非るが故に、今は詔字をば除て讀す、此離をも、波那禮と訓つ）○天之八重多那雲、書紀に、且排分天八重雲、とあり、出雲國造神賀詞に、天能八重雲乎押別豆、萬葉二（二十七丁）に、天雲之八重搔別而、（一云、天雲之八重雲別而）十一（二十八丁）に、天雲之八重雲隱、など見えたり、（又二に、天雲之五百重之下爾、下とは、裏を云、十に、白雲五百重などもあり、）多那は、棚引にて、虛空に覆ひ亘るを云、（萬葉に多く、輕引とも書る、輕字は、虛空に浮べる意以て書るなり、薄き意には非ず、又書紀序に、清陽者薄靡而爲天、この薄靡をも、タナビキと訓たれども、これらの字は、多那毘久と云言の、本の意にはかなはず、輕字薄字などに就て思ふべからず、多那毘久は、虛空にひろく覆ひ亘る意なり、萬葉に、霏微靄また陣雲なども書たり）萬葉七（五十五丁）に、棚霧合雪毛零奴可、十三（二十四丁）に、棚雲利雪者零來奴、（又登能具毛流とも多くよめる、多那と登能と通音にて同じ、多那毘久を、輕引とも書、又かの薄靡の字などに依て、登能具毛流を、薄く曇ること、心得るは誤なり、薄曇りて、雨雪は零ものに非ず）などある棚と同じ、（棚と書るは、もとより借字ながら、此棚と云物も、雲霧などの、空に覆へるは同じさまにて、空に構ふる故に名けたるなれば、本は同意なり）○伊都能知和岐知和岐豆、（舊印本又一本などに、知和岐の三字脫たり、今は眞福寺本延佳本に依れり、但眞福寺本は、下の岐字を、脫せり、師云、爾字も脫たるべきを、延佳も、知和岐三字のみ補ひて、爾を脫せりと云れつれど、眞福寺本にも、爾字は無し、如此重ぬる詞の例、中間に爾てふ辭無くても云り、書紀に、神祝祝之、此云加武保佐枳保佐枳々、などあるがごとし）伊都の事は、上（傳七御宇氣比の

士摩理。蘇理多、多斯豆。自字以下十一字亦以音天降坐于竺紫日向之高千穗之久士布流多氣。自久以下六字以音

故爾詔、この詔字いかゞ、上に既に科詔日子番能邇邇藝命云々とありて、其下の趣を見るに、此處は此詔字と、命の下の而字と、無くて、宜きなり、（上にも云る如く、凡て此御天降段は、一事づつ分て、別に記せる如くにて、次第の穩ならぬ處などあり、其が中にも殊に此は、此詔字ありては次々の文讀がたし、彼と此と混るゝ故なり、其由は下に云べし、）故今は、此二字を除きて訓つ、○天之石位、書紀に、皇孫乃離天磐座云々、天磐座、此云阿麻能以簸矩羅、また皇孫於是脫離天磐座など見え、また引開天磐戸ともあり、（神武卷には、此の事を、闢天關披雲路とあり、闢字は闕の誤か、）大祓詞に、天之磐座放とあり、（遷却祟神祝詞同じ、）位は座と同じ、（久羅韋は座居の意なり、又人の坐處のみならず、物を居る臺などをも、久羅と云り又倉鞍なども、同意の名なり、）石は、堅固きよしなること、石屋戸段に云るが如くなれば、たゞ高天原なる大殿にて、此尊の坐々御座を云なり、○離は、波那禮と訓べし、（波那禮は、自離るゝを云言なり、若上なる詔字に依らば、波那知と訓べし、波那知とよむときは、大御神の詔命を以て、令離を云言なり、書紀一書に、乃用眞床覆衾、裹皇孫、而排披天八重雲、以奉降とあるは、其趣の語なり、大祓詞なども然なり、然れども、これらは下に、奉降、或は依左志奉などある故に、其趣に訓て宜きを、此處は、下に然る言はなくして、天降坐とあれば、其まで皆皇孫命の御自の御上より云る語にて、大御神

興せしなるべし、然れば玉作を玉祖と改められしも、此人の時などにやありけむ、仁賢紀に、玉作部、鯽魚女が生る子に、龕寸と云あり、されど其父は、山寸とありて、姓は見えず、式に大和國宇智郡、荒木神社あり、大荒木森と云は是なり、さて兵範記の、久安五年の處に、木工允玉祖親宗と云人見えたり、後世には、此姓の人めづらし、）また（右京神別）忌玉作、高魂命孫、天明玉命之後也、天津彦火瓊々杵尊、降幸於葦原中國時、與五氏神部、陪從皇孫降來、是時造作玉璧、以爲神、幣、故號玉祖連、亦號玉作連、（此氏は、本は玉祖連と同姓ながら、かの大荒木命の子孫に非るが故に、本の儘に玉作と云なるべし、此外にも、續紀廿八に、玉作金弓、卅一に、遠江國城飼郡主帳、玉作部、廣公、など云人も見えたり、さて此に、天明玉命とあるは、玉祖命とは、別神の如くにも聞ゆれども、猶同神なり、其由は、傳八天石屋戸段に云り、又號玉祖連、亦號玉作連と云るは、此天明玉命の子孫の中に、後に玉祖連と云と、玉作連と云と、二色あるよしなり、玉祖連を、亦玉作連とも云と謂にはあらず、）式に、河内國高安郡、玉祖神社、和名抄に、同郡玉祖、（多末乃於也）郷、又式に、周防國佐婆郡、玉祖神社二座、（三代實錄、貞觀九年三月十日、周防國從四位下玉祖神、授從三位、日本紀畧に、康保元年四月二日、授周防國坐正二位玉祖神、從一位、）抄に、同郡玉祖、（多萬乃於也）郷あり、

故爾詔天津日子番能邇邇藝命而。離天之石位。押分天之八重多那（此二字以音）雲而。伊都能知和岐知和岐豆。（自伊以下十字以音）於天浮橋。宇岐

へあることにや）又抄に、伊豆國田方郡、鏡作加々美豆久里、○玉祖命、石屋戸段に見ゆ、○玉祖連、書紀に、玉作上祖玉屋命、（玉作を、タマスリと訓はわろし）と見え、又其石屋戸段にも、玉作また玉作部とあり、（玉作部垂仁紀にも見ゆ、此記玉垣宮段に、玉作人）又仁賢卷に、難波玉作部鯽魚女と云人見ゆ、（今も難波に玉造と云地名あり）大殿祭、祝詞に、齋玉作等我、持齋波利、持淨麻波利、造仕禮留、瑞八尺瓊能御吹支乃五百都御統乃玉爾（云々）古語拾遺に櫛明玉命、出雲國玉作祖也、（傳八石屋戸の段下考へ合すべし、拾遺に、又神武段に、櫛明玉命之孫、造御祈玉、其裔今在出雲國、毎年與調物貢進其玉とある、此は臨時祭式、出雲國造奏神壽詞とき、獻る物の中に、玉六十八枚云々と見えて、彼詞に、此玉の事見え、又同式に、凡出雲國所進、御富岐玉六十連云々毎年十月以前、令意宇郡神戸、玉作氏造備、差使進上と見ゆ、拾遺に、毎年貢進とあるも、大殿祭、詞に云るも、是なり）式に、出雲國意宇郡、玉作湯神社、風土記に、同郡に玉造川と云もあり、又式に、近江國伊香郡、玉作神社、和名抄に、陸奥國玉造、（太萬都久里）郡、駿河國駿河郡玉造、（多萬都久里）土佐國安藝郡玉造、（多萬都久利）さて右の書どもにはみな、玉作とのみありて、玉祖と云ことは、見えざるに、此に、玉祖連と擧げ、書紀にも、天武卷十三年十二月戊寅朔己卯、玉祖連賜姓曰宿禰とあるは、此氏本はみな玉作と云けむを、やゝ後に、祖神の御名を取て、玉祖とは改められたるなるべし、姓氏錄に、（右京神別）玉祖宿禰、高御牟須比乃命十三世孫、大荒木命之後也、又（河内國神別）玉祖宿禰、天高御魂乃命十三世孫、建荒木命之後也、又大荒木、又大荒田、（これらに、祖神玉祖命を擧ずして、大荒木命之後也とあるは、此人の時に、中ごろ家門を

紀、寶龜元年九月の令旨に、以去天平寶字九歲、改首史姓、並爲毘登、彼此難分、氏族混雜、於事不穩、宜從本字とあるは、首を毘登とせられしことも、暫ありしなり、○天宇受賣命、書紀に、猿女君、遠祖、天鈿女命とあり、○猿女君の事は、次卷（傳十六の始）に云べし、○伊斯許理度賣命の事、上石屋戸段に云り、○鏡作連、書紀に、天武天皇十二年十月乙卯朔己未、鏡作造賜姓曰連とあり、此につきて、疑はしきことあり、凡て此記の諸姓を記せる例、當時の加婆泥にはかゝはらず、皆上代の隨に記せるに、（此なる中臣連忌部首玉祖連なども然なり）此鏡作氏を連と記せるは、如何ぞや、若はもと造とありけむを、後に連字には誤れるにや、（中臣玉祖などの例を見て、妄にさかしらに、改めしにもあらむ）書紀、神代卷、古語拾遺などには、たゞ鏡作、また鏡作部などのみ有て、加婆泥を擧たること餘には見えず、さて此氏の事、古語拾遺瑞垣朝段に、更令齋部氏、率石凝姥神裔、天目一箇神裔二氏、更鑄鏡造劒とある、是にも唯某裔とのみ云て、姓をも其人の名をも擧ず、又同書に、神祇官、神部可有中臣齋部猨女鏡作玉作盾作神服倭文麻績等氏、而今唯有中臣齋部等、二三氏、自餘諸氏、不預考選、神裔亡散、其葉將絕と云、世々の史にも、此氏人見えたることなきを思へば、甚く衰へたるなめり、さて姓氏錄にも載ざれば、そのかみ既く畿内には、此氏絕たりしにや、（いとも畏き大御神の御靈實をしも造奉し神の子孫の、かく絕けむことは、）甚哀きわざなりかし、和名抄に、大和國城下郡鏡作、加加都久利、（加々の下に、美字脫たるか、はたもとより美を省きて云るか、）式に、同郡鏡作坐天照御魂神社、（大、月次新嘗）鏡作伊多神社、鏡作麻氣神社、（或說に、伊多神社は、石凝姥、麻氣神社は、天糠戸を祭ると云るは、古き傳

ると、同人なり、子首と書るをも、古毘登と訓べし、首の意は古の韻にある故に、自省かれたるなり、同天武紀に、大三輪眞上田子人と云人をも、文武紀には、兒首と書れたり、此も同じ、續紀二に、忌部宿禰色布知卒）同十三年十二月朔、忌部連賜姓曰宿禰、（古語拾遺云、至于淨御原朝改天下萬姓而分爲八等唯序當年之勞不本天降之績其二曰朝臣以賜中臣氏命以大刀其三曰宿禰以賜齋部氏命以小刀と云るも、中臣忌部と、神代より相並びたる氏なるに、忌部の一等貶されたるを、歎きたるなり、）延曆廿二年三月乙丑、右京人正六位上忌部宿禰濱成等、改忌部爲齋部、（此はたゞ字を改めたるなり、凡て古は、姓名なども、文字は心に隨せて、いかにも書るを、此ころは、既に其も定まれるなり、）姓氏錄に、（右京神別）齋部宿禰、高皇產靈尊子、天太玉命之後也とあり、續紀に、天平寶字三年十二月壬寅、外從五位下忌部首黑麻呂等若干人賜姓造、（これらは同姓ながら、いまだ連にも宿禰にもならでありし族なり、）又神護景雲二年七月乙酉、阿波國麻殖郡人、外從七位下忌部連方麻呂、從五位上忌部連須美等十一人賜姓宿禰、大初位下忌部越麻呂等十四人賜姓連、（阿波國麻殖郡に、忌部の由緣あることと、古語拾遺に委く見ゆ、）三代實錄に、貞觀十一年十月廿九日、神祇大祐正六位上忌部宿禰高善、改忌部爲齋部、其先出自高御魂命也、（改忌部の三字、今本には脫たり、古本にあり、）神名帳に、阿波國麻殖郡、忌部神社、（名神、大、月次新嘗、或號麻殖神、或號天日鷲神）とあり、臨時祭式に、天日鷲神社と見ゆ、）和名抄に、阿波國麻殖郡忌部、（伊無倍）鄕など見ゆ、首は、上（傳九大國主神御祖の段下）に委く云る如く、大人の意にて、姓の下に附るは、加婆泥にて、其部の長を云、續

ものにて、正しからず、必伊美辨と書て、口には、イン。と聞ゆる如く讀むも、音便なればさもあるべし、凡て忌某と云たぐひ、皆此格なり、神を加牟と云とは、異なり、）こは諸忌部を率て、其長なる由の姓なり（自の職を以て名くるには非ず、かの中臣氏などの、卽其職を以て名くるとは、異なり、）古語拾遺に、太玉命所率神名、曰天日鷲命、（阿波國忌部祖也、）手置帆負命、（讃岐國忌部祖也、）彦狹知命、（紀伊國忌部祖也、）櫛明玉命、（出雲國玉作祖也、）天目一箇命、（筑紫伊勢兩國忌部祖也、）また令太玉命率諸部神、造和幣、（云々、）また宜太玉命率諸部神、供奉其職、如天上儀、また仍令天富命、（太玉命之孫、）率手置帆負彦狹知二神之孫、以齋斧齋鉞始採山材、構立正殿、（云々、）採材齋部所居、謂之御木、造殿齋部所居、謂之麁香、また又令天富命、率齋部諸氏、作種々神寶、鏡玉矛盾木綿麻等、（云々、）また天富命率諸齋部、捧持天璽鏡劍、奉安正殿、（云々、）また又令天富命率供作諸氏、造作大幣、などあるを以知べし、もと忌部とは、神を祭る種々の物を造り、又さらでも、凡て齋潔清はりて、事を爲す職を云名にて、（かの採材齋部、造殿齋部の類、）齋部諸氏とあるも、諸氏の齋部なり、かくて同書に、宮內立藏、號齋藏、令齋部氏永任其職、と云、其次にも齋部氏と云るは、布刀玉命の末、忌部首をさすなり、又云至於小治田朝、太玉之胤不絕、如帶天恩、興廢繼絕、纔供其職、至于難波長柄豐前朝、白鳳四年、以小華下諱、齋部首作賀新、拜神宮頭、（今神祇伯也、）云々、作賀斯之胤不能繼其職、陵遲衰微、以至今、と云り、（白鳳は、白雉なるべし、）なほ此氏の衰を歎きたること、彼書を見べし、さて書紀に、天武天皇九年正月丁丑朔甲申、忌部首子首賜姓曰連、則與弟色弗共悅拜、（今本に、子首の子、字脫たり、上文に子人とあ

然るに）續紀、文武天皇二年八月、詔に、藤原朝臣所賜之姓、宜令其子不比等承之、但意美麻呂等者、緣供神事、宜復舊姓焉、（舊姓とは、中臣をいふ、宜復舊姓とあるによれば、此ほどは、既に藤原とのみ云で、中臣とは云ざりしなるべし）神護景雲三年六月、詔に、因神語有言大中臣、而中臣朝臣清麻呂、兩度任神祇官、供奉無失、是以賜姓大中臣朝臣、と見えたり、（此に神語とあるは、大祓詞なり、其に中臣を大中臣と云る所以は、師の祝詞考に見えたるが如し）是より此人の子孫は、大中臣、朝臣なり、此、餘此、姓より支別て、中臣某と云姓多し、姓氏錄に見えたり、（又天兒屋命の子孫の外にも、中臣某と云姓の、これかれ見えたるは、いかなる由にか、知らず）○布刀玉命、書紀に、忌部遠祖太玉命、また忌部首遠祖太玉命、（誰神の子と云こと見えず）古語拾遺に、高皇產靈神の男、天忍日命の弟にて、天太玉命（齋部宿禰祖也）と見ゆ、神名帳に、大和國高市郡、太玉命神社四座、（並大、月次新嘗）とあり、（三代實錄に、貞觀元年正月、從五位上を授奉賜へり、此、社の坐村を、今も忌部村と云）又古語拾遺に、阿波忌部所居、便名安房郡、今安房國是也、天富命即於其地立太玉命社、今謂之安房社、とあり、（天富命は太玉命の孫と、同書に見ゆ）此は帳に、安房國安房郡安房坐神社、（名神大、月次新嘗）これなり、（續後紀に、承和三年七月、安房國无位安房大神、奉授從五位下、同九年十月、奉授正五位下、文德實錄に、仁壽二年八月、特加從三位、三代實錄に、貞觀元年正月、奉授正三位、とあり、今世に、洲崎大明神と申す是なり）また后神天比理刀咩命神社、（大、これも同位階を授奉り賜へり）○忌部首は、伊美辨能意毘登と訓べし、（和名抄に、阿波國麻殖郡の忌部は、伊無倍とあれども、そはやゝ後の音便のまゝに書る

見ゆ、道師は、神代紀に道主貴、開化天皇の御孫に、丹波道主命あり、欽明紀に、道君を、ミチノウシと訓り、然れば本より此稱有り）に、道師、字を塡られたるなり、かくの如く何れも、其稱はもとよりありつれども、姓の加婆禰となれるは、此御世より始まれることなり、さて道師は、此時八色の一に定められ玉かども、此加婆禰の姓は、後までも、物に見えたることなし）此より前に、中臣、連大嶋とありし人を、此後には藤原朝臣大嶋とあれば、朝臣の姓を賜ひし時に、此等も藤原になれるにや、（但し持統紀には又、中臣大嶋、朝臣とあり、此人は、糠手子連の孫、許米の子なり、さて又臣麻呂を、持統紀三年の處には、中臣朝臣と記し、七年の處には、葛原朝臣と記せり、これらを以て思ふに、藤原と云は、始のほどは、たゞ稱號と云物の如くにて、正しく姓にも非りけむ故に、なほ中臣、朝臣とも云しなるべし、若然らずは、天武天皇の御世、朝臣の加婆禰を賜ふ處に、かならず藤原ともあるべきことなるに、たゞ中臣、連とのみありて、別に藤原は見えず、然るを其時より後は、藤原、朝臣とも云るを以て見れば、なほ中臣、朝臣にて、藤原は別號の如くなりしと聞ゆ）姓氏錄（左京神別）に、藤原朝臣、出自津速魂命三世孫、天兒屋根命也、二十三世孫、內大臣大織冠中臣、連鎌子、（古記曰、鎌足）天命開別天皇（諡天智）八年、賜藤原氏、男正一位贈太政大臣不比等、天淳中原瀛眞人天皇（諡天武）十三年、賜朝臣姓、と見え、（或人云、鎌子はカマスと訓べし、魚名なりと云るは、いみしきひがごとなり、近きころは、かくさまのめづらしきことを云出て、學者の耳をおどろかす類おほし、ゆめまどはさるゝことなかれ、さて天武天皇の御世に、朝臣のかばねを賜へるは、中臣、連なれば、不比等公も、正しき姓はなほ中臣なりけむ、

だ大和國高市郡なる、藤原の地名によれることなり、其藤原てふ地の事は、傳卅四の末藤原琴節郎女の條に云り、考見て知べし）さて此時に、藤原と云を賜へりしは、此人一人のみとおぼしくて、此後も中臣金連など云人あり、（金連は、方子連の孫糠手子連の第一男にて、右大臣なりしを、壬申年の亂に、近江の御方にて斬れ、其子も流されたりき）かくて天武天皇、十三年十一月に、中臣連賜姓爲朝臣と見ゆ、（朝臣は、續紀に、阿曾美と書る處あり、吾兄臣の意なり、然るに此、御時より、朝臣と書は、阿佐意美の訓を借れるのみにて、さらに此字の義には非ず、但し此字をしも當られたるには、朝廷の臣といふ意を、含められたることもあるべし、さて後、世にこれを、あそんと唱るは、例の音便に頽れたるなり、○天武天皇十三年十月朔日に、更改諸氏之族姓、作八色之姓、以混天下萬姓、一曰眞人、二曰朝臣、三曰宿禰、四曰忌寸、五曰道師、六曰臣、七曰連、八曰稻置、かくの如く定められて、即其日に、守山公など十三氏に、眞人の姓を賜ひ、其後つぎ〳〵に、大三輪公など五十二氏に、朝臣の姓、大伴連など五十氏に、宿禰の姓、大倭連など十一氏に、忌寸の姓を賜ひ、桑原村主訶都槻本村主勝麻呂に、連の姓を賜ひしことなど見えて、道師臣稻置などの姓を賜ひしことは見えず、又右の八色の餘の姓も、此後もなほ多し、然れば、一たびかく定め給ひしかども、全くは其如くにもあらで、止ぬることなるべし、さて右の八色の中に、初の五は、此より以前には無き加婆禰なり、但人を崇て阿曾と云しことは、仁德天皇の大御哥に、宇知能阿曾と見え、後にも萬葉哥に、平群朝臣穗積朝臣などよめり、美を省けるなり、眞人と云稱も、ふるくより有しなるべし、天武天皇の大御名も、瀛眞人とあり、宿禰も、上代より名には多く

納るなり、太占の卜事を掌るは、神の御言を君に宣申すなり、これみな中臣の職にて、書紀に、天兒屋命、主神事之宗源者也、故俾以太占之卜事而奉仕焉、とあるが如し、）連は上（傳六御身滌の段下阿曇連の條下）に出、さて諸の姓に、職業を取れると、地名に依れると、祖名を取れると、又事を取り、物を取などせると、種々ある中に、此中臣などは、其職業に因れる姓なり、さて書紀神武御卷に、天種子命（種子を、タネと訓べしと云は、他の古書をも考合さゞるみだりごとなり、）と云、人見えて、是中臣氏之遠祖也とあり、（家系圖に依れば、天種子命は、天兒屋命の孫なり、）次に垂仁卷に、中臣連遠祖大鹿嶋、また中臣連祖探湯主（天皇此人に仰せて、大倭大神を祭るべき人を、卜へしめ給ひし事見ゆ、）など見え、仲哀卷神功卷に、始めて中臣烏賊津連と云人見えたり、（允恭卷にも、同名の見えたるは、別人か、なほ伊賀都臣の事、續紀卅六の四十六葉考ふべし、さて此中臣は、いまだ姓にはあらで、たゞ職を云るかとも聞ゆれども、四人の名を連ね擧たる、餘の三人も、皆姓を擧たれば、此も既に姓なり、本系帳には、欽明天皇の御世に、常磐大連公に、始めて中臣連と云姓を賜ふとあれども、然には非じか、さて欽明卷に、中臣連鎌子と云人も見えたり、さて又後世までも、姓のみならず、中臣と云職もあり、神祇官中臣などある、是なり、）かくて天智紀に、八年十月丙午朔庚申、天皇遣東宮大皇弟於藤原內大臣家、授大織冠與大臣位、仍賜姓爲藤原氏、自此以後通曰藤原大臣、辛酉藤原內大臣薨とある、これ鎌足公なり、（書紀に、いまだ大臣位をも、藤原氏をも賜はぬ前の文に、藤原內臣とあるは、誤なり、上文に、中臣內臣とあるぞ宜き、さて藤原と云姓を賜へる所以は、くさ〳〵說あれども、皆後世の造言なり、た

を此地にて祭賜ふものにして、もと他社の例と異なり、神名帳に、春日祭と、祭字を加へて、社字の無きなども、故あるべし、平野祭神四社、などある例と似たり、さて此春日四座の位階は、文德實錄に、嘉祥三年九月、建御賀豆智命伊波比主命二柱に、正一位、天兒屋根命に、從一位、比賣神に、正四位上を授奉賜へる策命あり、印本には、此處一ひら脫簡たり、）○中臣連、萬葉十七の哥に奈加等美と書り、名義は中執臣なり、（登理の理を省けり、其例は、のりたまぬをのたまふ、假字をかなと云たぐひにて、なほ多かり、又臣の意を省くも、常なり、此をたゞ那加都意美の約まりたるとするは、わろし、又或人、孝德紀に、上臣下臣と云ことあれば、其に對へたる中臣なり、又大臣小臣に對へたる稱なり、など云るも、みな非なり、）其由は、伊勢齋內親王奉入時、宣命に、（祝詞式に見ゆ）御杖代止進給布御命乎、大中臣、茂桙中取持豆、恐美恐美毛申給久止申、延喜奏覽大中臣本系に、按依去天平寶字五年、撰氏族志所之宣、勸造所進本系帳云、高天原初而、皇神之御中、皇御孫之御中執持、伊賀志桙不傾本末、中良布留人、稱之中臣者、復舊之由、惟其義也、康治大嘗會中臣壽詞に、（台記別記に見ゆ）本末不傾、茂槍乃中執持豆、奉仕留中臣云々、などある如く、祖神天兒屋命よりして、神と君との御中を執持て申す職なるよしなり、（茂桙云々と云るは、桙の柄の眞中を、首尾を傾けず、正しく平かに執持を以て、神と君との御中に立て、宜きさまに執持申すを譬へたるなり、舒明紀の詔に、亦大臣所遣群卿者從來如嚴矛取中事而奏諸人等也とあるも、中臣にはあらねど、事は同じ、これ古言と聞えたり、中を取とは、職員令、大納言、義解に、納下言於上、宣上言於下也、とあると、同じ心ばへにて、諸の祝詞などを申すは、君の御言を神に

故其天兒屋命者。中臣連等之祖。布刀玉命者。忌部首等之祖。天宇受賣命者。猨女君等之祖。伊斯許理度賣命者。鏡作連等之祖。玉祖命者。玉祖連等之祖。

故其とは、更に端を起せるなり、さるは、上の神たちは、御靈實にて、其鎮坐處を注し、是より下の神たちは、現御身にて、其子孫の氏々を注して、趣異なるが故なり、○天兒屋命、書紀に、中臣、連、遠祖、興台産靈兒天兒屋、命とあり、（興台、二字は、音を取れるにて、假字なり）古語拾遺には、神皇産靈神、是皇親神留彌命、此神、子天兒屋、命、即中臣、朝臣、祖也とあり、（これ書紀の傳と異なり、又神皇産靈神を、神留彌、命としたるは、誤なり）此神の祠は、帳に、河内國河内郡、枚岡神社四座、（名神大、月次相嘗新嘗）とある是なり、（承和三年五月に正三位、同六年十月に從二位、齊衡三年十月に從一位、貞觀元年正月に正一位を授奉り給へり、姓氏錄河内國神別に、菅生、朝臣中臣、連など、此神の子孫の氏々多く、平岡、連と云も見えたり）又後に春日にして祭り給ふ、春日祭、祝詞に、鹿嶋坐健御賀豆智命、香取坐伊波比主命、枚岡坐天之子八根命、比賣神、四柱能皇神等能廣前仁白久、大神等能乞賜比能任爾春日能三笠山能下津石根爾宮柱廣知立、高天原爾千木高知氐、天乃御蔭日乃御蔭止定奉氐、（比賣神は、枚岡四座の内にて、三代實錄に、貞觀元年正月、奉授枚岡、比咩神、從三位、とある是なり、こは何神を祭れるにか、さだかならず、天兒屋命の后神か、はた御子神などにぞ坐らむ、然るを天照大神なりと申すは、いと心得ぬことなり）帳に、大和國添上郡、春日祭神四座、（並名神大、月次新嘗）是なり、（此春日、社は、たゞ鹿嶋香取枚岡の神等

り、若佐那賣神は、上卷傳十二に出そも〳〵此神の此社に坐こと、由緣あるにや、又地名に因て、後人のおしあてに定めたるにや、さだかならず、又或人、此記のつゞきに依て、天石門別命と手力男命と二座なりと云るは、いみしきひがことなり、坐佐那縣と云ること、いかでか御門神に係らむ、）啓行の猨田毘古神、先此佐那縣に到着給へりしかば、（今一座は、此猨田毘古神には非ざるか、）此手力男神の御靈實の、此地に鎭座るは、由緣あることなりけり、（天照大御神の御靈鏡、猨田毘古神の導のまに〳〵、まづ伊勢國に降着賜ひし時、此神の御靈實も、附副坐れば、其時より、やがて此御靈は、此地に留坐るか、はた後に大御神の此國に幸行せる時に、共に遷來坐るか何れにても、始より由緣ある地なり、）さて此御社は、今多氣郡佐那の仁田村と云に在て、（村の西方に在、）大森社と申す、（已同國內なれどいまだ得詣てず、）佐那は、今佐那谷と云て一谷の大名にて、八村ある處になむある、又神名帳に、紀伊國牟婁郡、天手力男神社、（此神、齊衡二年預於官社よし、文德實錄に見ゆ、）又伊豆國田方郡、引手力命神社と云もあり、さて上には、手力男神、天石門別神と次第て擧たるに、此には、其次第を反さまに出せるは、此は鎭坐社を注せる處にて、石門別神は、其社の尊き故にやあらむ、（後の神名帳などにも、御門神は、大社の列にて、月次新嘗にも預り賜ひ佐那社は、小社の列なり、此社は、必大社なるべきに、いかなれば然らざらむ、）又上には、五伴緒神を先にあげ、此には、其を後に出せるは、天照大御神の御靈の御事を申て、其鎭坐社を注せる因に、其餘の神等の御靈どもの社々をも、引續けて注せる故なり、）

祭りけむ。）後に神祇官なるは、其圖象なるべし、（然らば此には、神代の御體の鎮坐社を擧べきことなるに、然らざるは、上代に、彼御體いまだ他所に遷奉給はざりし以前、皇大宮の内に齋祭りたまひし時の意を以て云るなるべし、）○手力男神、或書に、思兼神之子と云へれども、古書に見えざれば、おぼつかなし、○佐那縣は、佐那賀多と訓べし、（那の韻に阿を含めれば、賀多即阿賀多なり、さらでも阿を省くは常なり、凡て年魚市がた、松浦がたなどの類の賀多も、皆縣なり、これらを後世には、みな潟と心得たるは、まぎれたるひがことなり、）書紀猨田毘古神段に、伊勢之狹長田とある、此地のことなり、（此に伊勢と云ざるは、上の伊須受宮、又外宮のつゞきなればなり、さて書紀に、狹長田と書れたるは、借字なり、然るを狹田長田のよしに云る說などは非なり、又五十鈴川と此とは、別處なるを、狹長田之五十鈴とよむも、誤なり、五十鈴川のあたりを、狹長田と云ること、物に見えたることなし、さきに己が文にも、いまだ此誤を辨へずて書ることありき、）中卷伊邪河宮段に、曙立王者、伊勢之佐那造之祖と見え、大神宮儀式帳に、天照坐皇大神御幸行坐時云々、飯野高宮坐伎、彼時佐奈乃縣造御代宿禰乎、汝國名何問賜支、白久、許母理國志多備乃國、眞久佐牟氣草向國止白支、即神御田幷神戸進支、（眞久佐牟氣草向國とは、覓前迎來前迎てふ意にて、猨田毘古神の、皇御孫命の天降覓國來坐御前を、迎奉り賜ひし由の稱なるべし、）さて此御社は、神名帳に、伊勢國多氣郡、佐那神社二座、これなり、（大神宮式に、凡大神宮、年限滿、應修造者、遣使、孟多始作之神宮七院、社十二處云々、佐那社云々、と見えたり、廿年に、一度造改めらるゝ、十二社の中の一なり、或說に、二座を、手力男神と若佐那賣神となりと云

例なり、但二柱とするときは、此は二柱に渉れる御名にて、御門の左右に別れ坐て、守衛たまふ由にてもあらむか、（彼石屋戸段の時、天石屋の戸を開き分けたる意の如く聞ゆめれど、此神に然る由はなし）さて姓氏錄に、多米連、神魂命兒天石都倭居命之後也、とあるは、此神か、（古語拾遺に、太玉命の子、とあるに違へるが如くなれど、太玉命は、高御產巢日命の御子とあれば、同じことなり）神名帳に、丹波國多紀郡櫛石窓神社二座、（並名神大）とあり、（此社の事、上にも下にも云り、考ふべし）又大和國高市郡、天津石門別神社、攝津國嶋下郡、天石門別神社、近江國伊香郡、天石門別神社、陸奥國白川郡、伊波止和氣神社、美作國英多郡、天石門別神社、備前國御野郡、石門別神社、石門別神社、土佐國吾川郡、天石門別安國玉主天神社、（同國土佐郡朝倉神社は天津羽々神にて、天石戸別神の子なりと、風土記に見えたるよし、釋紀に見ゆ）三代實錄に、貞觀五年に、安藝國天磐門別神に、從五位下を授けられしこと、同七年に、太政大臣、東京第、天石戸開神に、從三位を授けられしことなど見ゆ、（從三位は疑はし、こは他神か）又式に、山城國葛野郡、天津石門別稚姫神社、（名神大月次新嘗）阿波國名方郡、天石門別八倉比賣神社（大月次新嘗）などもあり、（姫と申す神にしも、此名あるは、いかなる由にか）○御門之神也とは、たゞ門を守賜ふ神と、廣く云るにはあらず、かの神祇官西院坐御門巫祭神を指て申せるなり、（御門巫とは、此神を祭る故に云り）これ皇御孫命の大御門を守衛坐神なるが故なり、但神代に天降し賜へりし御靈實は、他所に遷し祭り給ひて、（右に引る如く、石門別神社は、諸國に多かる中に、正しく神代に天降し賜へる御體は、かの丹波國多紀郡なる社などにもや齋

き差ある故に、分て大といひ、前と云るにや、前の事は上に委云り、さて天兒屋命の形を、笏坐と云る、笏は、もと外國の物なれば、いかゞなるを、こは思ふに、實には笏には非れとも、其形樣の、笏の如くに見ゆる物なる故に、笏とは記したるにやあらむ）○天石戸別神云々、古語拾遺石屋戸段に、令天手力雄神引啓其扉、遷坐新殿、則天兒屋命太玉命、以日御綱、迴懸其殿、令大宮賣神侍於御前、令豐磐間戸命櫛磐間戸命二神、守衛殿門、是並太玉命之子也、また神武天皇段に、彼八神（神祇官坐、御巫齋神）の次に、櫛磐間戸神、豐磐間戸神、（已上今、御門巫所奉齋也）と見えたる、是彼神離に祭賜へる列なり、其は即神名帳に、神祇官西院坐、御門巫祭神八座、（並大月次新嘗）櫛石窓神、（四面門各一座）豐石窓神、四面門各一座）とある是なり、（二神を、四面の御門に、各一座づゝ祭る故にすべて八座なり）貞觀元年正月に、此二神に從四位上を授奉給ふよし、（これまでは无位なりき）三代實錄に見ゆ、四時祭式に、五月十二月、四面御門祭、（御門巫是を行ふ）とあるは、此神の祭なり、祝詞式に其祝詞あり、又祈年祭、祝詞にも、御門能御巫能、稱辭竟奉皇神等能前爾白久、櫛磐間門命、豐磐間門命登、御名者白氐、辭竟奉者四方能御門爾湯津磐村能如塞坐氐、朝者御門開奉、夕者御門閉奉氐、疎夫留物能自下往者、下乎守、自上往者、上乎守、夜能守日能守爾、守奉故云々と見ゆ、（月次祭の詞も同じ）さて右の書どもにては、二柱なるを、此記の傳は、一神にして三の御名あるなり、（さる例、他にも多し、師說に此をも例の荒魂和魂とせられたるも、わろし）名義、櫛豐は、共に例の稱名、窓は（借字にて）其門の意、石は、其門の堅固きよしにて、石戸と云と同じ、さて石門別てふ御名は、たゞ某別といふ名の

に呼處なり）これを以て見るにも、本は外宮のあたりの地名なりしことしるし、さて此の文、度相之外宮とこそあるべきに、反さまに外宮之度相とあるは、聞つかぬこゝちすめれど、（外宮に坐度相神、とも訓まるれど、度相神と申すことなし、又思ふに、五十鈴宮をも、渡遇宮と云ることあれば、度相は二宮の稱にて、此は五十鈴宮の度相に對へて、外宮の度相とは云にや、とも思へど、然には非ず）甚雅たる古語のさまなりけり、（凡て此記は、文にさかしらなき故に、かゝるさまの語ののこれるが、めでたきなり）さるは外宮大名にて、其中なる度相と云意には非ずて、たゞ宮は大御神の外宮なり、地は度相なる、其二を並べて、連言として、間に之てふ辭を置るにて、龍田風神祭祝詞に、吾宮者、朝日乃日向處、夕日乃日隱處乃、龍田能、立野爾小野爾云々、（この日隱處乃龍田とある乃に同じ、又立野爾小野爾と、爾の重なりたるも、同じ心ばへなり）又諸祝詞に、八束穗能伊加志穗また安幣帛乃足幣帛など云類、又萬葉十三に、走出之宜山之、出立之妙山叙、（山之の之なり、此類なほ多し）など云ると同格なり、（師說に坐外宮とはいはで、坐外宮之度相と云るは、登由氣大神は、相殿に坐故と聞ゆ、と云れたるは、心得ぬ解なり、さては度相てふことをば、いかなる意とかせむ）神名帳に、伊勢國度會郡、度會宮四座、（相殿坐神三座、並大、月次新嘗）儀式帳に、等由氣大神宮、（今稱度會宮、在度會郡沼木鄉山田原村）倭姫命世記に、豐受大神二座、相殿神三座、（大一座、天津彦々火瓊々杵尊、形鏡坐、前二座、天兒屋命、太玉命、形笏坐、寶玉坐、大左方坐、前二座右方坐とあり、式には、相殿神三座並大とあるを、此世記に、大一座と云るは、餘二座は、やゝ後に大になし奉り賜へるにや、又は本より並大がら、其中にも尊卑

申すことは、外宮と云稱の、古より有しに就て、新に內宮と云稱をも始めて、相對て云なり、然れば外宮と云稱も此時より玄ては、正しく內に相對へたるにて、古の意とはいさゝか變れり、又內宮と云は、奧に坐よしにて、たゞ外宮に對言のみなり、然るに是を、却て外宮と云稱より古きことの如く心得、地名の宇治と一に云る說などあれど、非なり、內と宇治とは、知の音淸濁異にして、通はし云ることなし、混ふべきに非）○度相は、和名抄、伊勢國郡名に、度會和多良比とある是なり、さて五十鈴宮の御事を、書紀垂仁卷に、渡遇宮といひ、神功卷にも、百傳度逢縣之とあれば、度相は、上代より廣き名と聞えたるに、（萬葉人麻呂の長哥に、渡會の齋宮とよめるは、五十鈴宮をいへるか、はた二宮を兼たるか）此には五十鈴宮にむかへて、外宮をしもかく云るを思ふに、なほ其初は、外宮のあたりの地名にこそありつらめ、故二宮を並言ときには、やゝ後までも、外宮をなむ度會宮とは云りける、（類聚國史、大同三年の勅に、伊勢大神幷度會二宮云云と見え、延喜式などにも、常にかくさまに云り）名意は、倭姫命世記の奧に、風土記曰、夫所以號度會郡者、畝傍橿原宮御宇神倭磐余彥天皇、詔天日別命覓國之時、云々大國玉神遣使奉迎天日別命、因令造其橋、不堪造畢于時到、令以梓弓爲橋而度焉、爰大國玉神資彌豆佐々良比賣命參來迎相土橋鄕岡本村、云々度會焉、因以爲名也とあり、（此に大國玉神とあるは、伊勢の國玉神にて、神名式に、度會郡に、大國玉比賣神社ある是なり、然るを神宮の書どもに、大己貴命なりとするは、名に因て混へたる誤なり、凡て國玉神と云は、國々にあるを、當國にては尊みて、大國玉とも申すなり、土橋鄕は、和名抄に、度會郡繼橋鄕ある是なり、岡本村は、今も山田の坊名

魂、神社なども、大三輪と並ぶばかりの大社には非ず、小社の列なり、然れば必しも和魂荒魂同等さまに齋ふにもあらず、又神功紀を引出て、津國の活田社を、天照大神の和御魂なりと云れたるも、心得ず、廣田社の、天照大神の荒御魂に坐ことは見えたれども、活田の、和御魂に坐よしは見えたることなし、活田社は稚日女尊とこそ見えたれ、稚日女尊を、推て天照大神の和御魂とは、いかでか定むべき、なほ神功紀の此事は、別に論あり、又大三輪の、大穴持命の和御魂に坐ことは、出雲國造神賀詞に見えたれども、杵築の、其荒御魂に坐と云ことは、物に見えたることなきを、おして杵築を荒御魂とせられたるも、あたらず、杵築大社はたゞ大穴持命の御魂なり、荒御魂には非ず、凡て師の説に、これらのみならず、二神にして一神の如くなるなどをも、皆推て和魂荒魂と定め、又一方荒魂なれば、今一方を、必和魂とせられたるたぐひ、皆然らず、なほ和魂荒魂の事は、中卷神功段、傳三十に委曲に辨へ云べし）然るに（伊勢の）神名祕書と云書に、村上天皇御宇、祭主公節之時、皇大神者、奥座之故號内宮、度會宮者、外座之故申外宮、始出自此時也と云り、（此説まことに然るべし）これに依れば、内宮外宮と申すことは、此御時よりぞ始まりけむ、（延喜式などまでは、此稱見えたることなきに、西宮記などに至て、始めて二宮を大神宮外宮とも、また内宮外宮とも擧られたり、日本紀畧、長保四年の處に、伊勢外宮云々、また百錬鈔、後朱雀天皇長久元年の處に、外宮の御事を、大神宮外宮と云ることあり、此は古の意にはよくかなへれども、其ころの文には疑はし、若は寫誤か、數本を考ふべし、但大神宮とは、二宮を合せて申す意にて、伊勢の外宮の謂にてもあるべし、さて村上天皇の御世より、内宮外宮と

地、（これらを常宮の意とするは、非なり、常と書るは、假字にて、みな外宮なり）二十（十二丁）に、東常宮、（此を續紀には、東院とあれば、外宮の意なること明らけし）こられ彼、天皇の外宮の例なり、さて外とは、もとより內に對ふ意の名にはあれども、內宮外宮と對云は、後のことにこそあれ、古に五十鈴宮を、內宮と申すことは無かりき、（凡て古書に、內宮と云ることは見えず、延喜式などにも、二宮を並擧たる處にも、五十鈴宮をば、大神宮とのみ云り、天皇の御も、外宮をば外宮といへども、常の大宮を、內宮と云ことはなければ、此も然あるべきことなり、三代實錄五印本に、內宮とあるは、古本には同宮とあり、其處の文意を考るに、同宮なるべきこと決し、內字は寫誤なり、さて又豐受宮を外宮と云ことも、古書には此よりほかには見えず、式などにも、度會宮又豐受宮などのみあり、其は本は大神宮の外宮なれども、豐宇氣大神の鎭坐てよりは、其神の宮なるが故なるべし、此記には、本よりの名を擧て、此神其宮に坐と云るなり、然るを師の考に、內宮には、大御神の和御魂を齋奉り外宮には、荒御魂を齋奉て、豐受神は、其相殿に坐神なり、と云れたるは、いとみだりなり、まづ豐受神を相殿に坐と云こと、さらによりどころなし、續紀廿八、神護景雲元年の詔にも、等由氣宮とこそ見えたれ、其をもとかくいひまげられたれども、相殿神の御名を以て、其宮を呼べきよしなし、又內宮は大御神の和御魂、外宮は其荒御魂と云ことも、さらに依所なし、凡て師の和魂荒魂と云れたるには、當らぬこと多し、そはまづ大神宮式に、荒祭宮を、大神荒魂とあるをも論ひて、荒魂は、和魂と並ぶばかりの大社なるべきに、荒祭の小社なるは、後の私ごとなるべきが如く云れつれども、大和國城上郡狹井坐大神荒

るよしなり、そもそも古よりして、朝廷より行ひたまふ御祭禮、又齋王の參詣給ふなど、此宮を先にし奉給ふも、其始、大御神の御誨に依れるよし、外宮の書に見えたる、こは信にさも有べきことなり、凡て何の御定めも、皆外宮は、大神宮とは減れることなるに、此御定めのみ先なるは、必さる所以あればなるべし、然るを此御祭禮の先後は、各鎮坐つる日を取など云は、强說なり、記せる支干に依て、上代の事を云がひがことなること、上に云るが如し、或人問けらく、然らば豐宇氣大神は、天照大御神よりも尊きか、答、天にも地にも、天照大御神より尊き神坐ことなし、然れども其大御神も、又祭り賜ふ神はあること、御代々々の天皇の、天下の天神地祇を祭り賜ふと、同じことなり、さりとて天皇の祭たまふ神、みな天皇より尊からめやは、此に准へて、天照大御神と豐宇氣大神との間をば、辨へ奉るべきなり、故古は、宮造を始め、朝廷より祭り賜ふ萬の式、大神宮とは差あること、古書どもに明し、然るに後世に、漸になにごとも、同等がごとなり來て、內宮外宮と相對ひ坐る神の如く、人皆思ひ奉るから、その尊き卑きけぢめをも、かにかくに申すなるは、甚も可畏きわざになむありける）○外宮は、師の祝詞考に、萬葉集なる登都美夜の例を引て、其は常の大宮の外に、別に建置れて、行幸ある宮を云なれば、即天皇の宮にして、別に主あることなし、然れば此伊勢の外宮も、五十鈴宮の外宮にして、たゞ天照大御神の宮なり、と云れたるは、昔より比なき考にして、信に然ることなり、然れば元來有し天照大御神の外宮は豐受大神をば鎭祭れるなり、萬葉六（十二丁）に、幸紀伊國時の哥に、和期大王之常宮等、仕奉左日鹿野由、十三（四丁）に、月日、攝友、久經流、三諸之山、礪津宮地、或本歌曰、故王都、跡津宮

丹波なりき、さて其同郡に、大宮賣神社二座名神大と式にあり此神も神祇官に祭る八神の内にて、同國同郡に鎮坐し、又丹波國多紀郡櫛石窓神社二座並名神大、これも此段に出て、神祇官に同く祭る神にして、同國に鎮坐て、共に名神大社なるなどを思へば、豐宇氣神も、本此神たちと共に、彼神離に祭る列なりしを、後に所以ありて、三神共に、丹波國に遷し祭りて、神祇官には、又別に各其御靈實を圖象て、祭賜へるにやあらむ、若然もあらば、神祇官に坐御食津神は、即此豐宇氣神の御靈を、又圖象せる御體なるべし、すべてかゝること、詳には知がたし、又書紀釋に、大倭本紀一書曰、天皇之始天降來之時、共副護齋鏡三面子鈴一合也、注曰、一鏡者、天照大神之御靈、名天懸神也、一鏡者、天照大神之前御靈、名國懸大神、今紀伊國名草宮崇敬解祭大神也、一鏡及子鈴者、天皇御食津神、朝夕御食、夜護日護齋奉大神、今卷向穴師社官所坐解祭大神也とある、此御食津神は、此記と合せて思ふに、正しく此豐宇氣神の御靈體と聞えたるに、穴師社に坐と云るはいぶかし、故思ふに、こは鏡と子鈴と二に坐ば、若穴師社に坐ものならば、彼社必二座なるべきに、一座なれば、彼社は、子鈴の方にて、鏡は別に、此伊勢の外宮に坐よしを云べきに、其方は漏て、一に穴師社に混ひたる傳にやあらむ、さて右の御夢の御誨言を、あしく心得て、豐宇氣神は、膳夫神なりと云說あるは、いみしき非なり、彼御誨は、高天原にして、御親く祭りたまふ神の御神の、他國に離り坐す故に、詔へるなり、膳夫神ならむには、いかでか等由氣大神とは詔はむ、大神とあるに心をつくべきなり、さて外宮に遷し奉て、天照大御神の御饌を、日別に仕奉るも、膳夫神なるが故には非ず、大御神の祭賜ふ御饌神に坐が故に、其を齋祀りて、其御許にて調

國常立尊は、何の由ぞや、凡て後世の俗學者は、國常立神を、あるが中に尊く、上なき神と心得るから、何事にも、國常立々々々と云のゝしれども、神名帳の内にも、國常立神の社と云は、あることなく、凡て此神を祭り賜ふことは、古書に見えたることなき物をや、又凡て神社に奉仕る人の、己が仕る神を、強て尊き神にしなさむとて、此外宮の神を、國常立ぞと云たぐひの、みだりごと、世に多し、そは其神の御爲にも、いと畏可きわざなり、さる直からぬ僞りごとを、神は喜び給はめやは、）さて此葦原中國に降り坐て、此神の御靈實は、丹波國に鎭坐けるを、（丹波に鎭坐しこと、いかなる由緣にかありけむ、又始には天照大御神と一に、皇御孫命の大殿内に坐しゝを、丹波には後に移し奉賜ひしか、將始より丹波に坐か、それも詳ならず、倭姫命世記など、伊勢の書どもに云ることあれど、後人の僞說多ければ、信がたし）朝倉朝御世になむ、伊勢には遷坐ける、其は此外宮の延曆儀式帳に、天照坐皇大神（云々）大長谷天皇御夢爾誨覺賜久、吾高天原坐氐、見志眞岐賜志處爾志都眞利坐奴、然吾一所耳坐波、甚苦、加以大御饌毛安不聞食坐故爾丹波國比沼乃眞奈井爾坐、我御饌都神等由氣大神乎、我許欲止、誨覺奉支、爾時天皇驚悟賜氐、即從丹波國令行幸氐、度會乃山田原乃下石根爾宮柱太知立、高天原爾比疑高知氐、宮定齋仕奉始支、是以御饌殿造奉豆、天照坐皇大宮乃朝乃大御饌夕乃大御饌乎、日別供奉、と見えたり、（是に我御饌都神とありて、其宮にて、天照大御神の朝夕の御饌を仕奉る、とあるを以て、大御神の御食の神に坐ことを知べく、又其御靈鏡に屬添て降し奉賜ひし神なることを知べし、比沼乃眞奈井は、神名式に、丹後國丹波郡に、比沼麻奈爲神社あり、此其地なるべし、古は丹後も一にて

の中には、事代主神ぞ主たればなり、故大物主神は、三輪にのみ祭りて、神祇官には祭られぬなるべし、さて又高皇産靈尊の勅し給ふ神籬なるに、神祇官八神の中に、其神も坐は、かの大穴牟遲神の、みづから己命の幸魂奇魂を祭賜へる如く、皇孫の御爲に、己命の御靈をも祭らしめ賜へるにてもあるべく、又八神に定まれるは、やゝ後にてもあるべければ、後に加へ祭れるにもあるべし、さて又書紀にいはゆる齋庭之穗の事も、此豐宇氣神に由ありげに聞ゆれども、齋庭之穗は、唯に神を祭賜ふためのみには非ず、新嘗の料の稻なり、傳八の始、大嘗の處に委云る如く、上代の新嘗は、神に獻るのみにはあらず、自所聞食し、人にも饗賜ふ中に、みづから所聞食ことを主とせり、故きこしめすと云て、祭とはいはず、即書紀にも、吾高天原所御とあり、此御字をもて、知べし、康治元年大嘗、中臣壽詞に、天都日嗣乃天都高御座仁御坐天、天都御膳遠、平介久安介久、由庭仁所知食、これらを以ても、天皇の所聞食す稻穗なることを、思定むべし、そを齋庭と云は、新嘗は、凡て重く忌慎みしこと、これ又上に云るが如し、さて大嘗の時、兩國の齋郡の齋院に祭る八神の中にも、大御食神あり、天照大御神の、高天原にして所聞食す、新嘗の齋庭にも、此神を祭り給はむは、本よりのことなれども、此勅旨は、其祭の事を詔ふにも非ず、其神の事を詔ふにも非れば、是を豐宇氣神を祭賜ふことゝするは、あたらず、伊勢外宮の或人、書紀の彼段を、多く錯亂たりと云て、文の次序を私に改めて、かの神籬磐境の勅を、此齋庭之穗の勅の次に連けて、此穗を以て、太祖國常立尊を祭る神籬なりと云るは、强て外宮の神を尊くして、大神宮の上にたてむとする、例のみだりごとなり、御食神を祭るともいはゝ、なほ由なきにはあらじを、

るものなり、其故は、是時歸順之首渠者、大物主神事代主神云々といひて、即以紀伊國忌部遠祖云々、代御手祭此神云々、以太占之ト事而奉仕焉、と云まで、續きたる文にて、皆彼二神の御靈を祭るを云り、然るに此祭典、あまり重きを以て、大物主父子を祭るには非じと、疑ふ人多けれども、此二神は、他神に異なる由あれば、さらに疑ふべきことにあらず、さて高皇產靈尊因勅曰とある、因字、上を承たれば、神籬磐境も、同く彼二神の御靈を祭る料に詔へること明らけし、然らば神祇官八神を祭る始と云ると、違ふに似たれども、彼八神の中に、事代主神坐ば、違へることなし、抑此神籬磐境、もとより大物主事代主二神のみを祭る料にはあらず、餘神をも祭れども、彼段は、大物主事代主の本末をもはらに記す處なるが故に、此二神に係て云るなり、然れば以紀伊國忌部遠祖云々より、以太占ト事而奉仕焉、と云までの事も、此二神を祭るのみの式には非ず、此二神、此式を以て祭る列に預り賜ふなり、だとへば神名帳に、某神社大月次新嘗、などあるも、月次新嘗は、其社には限らざれども、其社に係て云が如し、かくの如く見るときは、彼段いさゝかも疑ふべきことなし、又既に當主汝祭祀者天穗日命是也とあるを、又此に諸部の神たちをして祭らしむるはいかにと、疑ふ人あれど、穗日命の主り給ふ祭は、出雲杵築社の事なり、此は別に皇朝にして祭給ふなれば、何の妨かはあらむ、さて上件の如くなれば、神祇官に祭る中に、大物主神も坐べきに、事代主神のみ坐はいかにと云に、書紀の傳は、父子共に此神籬に祭らるゝ趣なれども、此記に、もはら事代主神爲神之御尾前仕奉などあるを以見れば、神祇官に祭るも、其傳の趣なるべし、かの八神は、皇孫命の大御身の守護のためにして、其方は、かの父子

きたる事にこそあれ、水に由あることにはあらず）さて書紀の此段に、此神を降し奉賜ふことの見えざるは、現御身にあらず、御靈實なるが故なり、（彼紀には、現身なる五部神と、三種寶物とをのみ擧て、御靈實なるをば、思金神などをも、凡て擧ざる例なり、然るを、外宮は尊き神に非るが故に、日本紀にも載ずといふは、例のあたらぬことなり、又書紀にいはゆる神籬磐境を、此神を祭ることなりと云説あれども、それもあたらず、かの神籬磐境は、後に神祇官西院に八柱神を祭賜ふ濫觴なりと、或人の云るぞ宜き、其は古語拾遺、神武天皇段に、爰仰從皇天二祖之詔、建樹神籬、所謂高皇產靈、神皇產靈、魂留產靈、生產靈、足產靈、大宮賣神、事代主神、御膳神、已上今御巫所奉齋也云々とある、從皇天二祖之詔は、正しくかの神代卷なる詔を云り、さて右の八神は、神名帳なる神祇官西院坐御巫祭神八座これなり、此八神は、上にも云る如く、天皇の大御身を守護給ふがために祭給ふなり、かの神代の詔に、爲吾孫奉齋とあるも、是故ぞかし、かくて此八神の中にも、御膳神あるは、伊勢外宮に祭ると、一神なるべけれど、その御靈體は別なり、なほ此事下に云べし、さて此因にかの神籬の事を云む、まづ比母呂岐と云物は、榮樹をたてゝ、其を神の御室として祭るよりして云名にて、柴室木の意なるを、布志を切て比と云なり、萬葉三に、吾屋戸爾御諸乎立而、これ榮樹を立るを、云、又十一に、神名火爾紐呂寸立而、又廿に、爾波奈加能阿須波乃可美爾古志波佐之、これらも同じ、磐境は、伊波紀と訓べし、祟神卷に、磯堅城神籬とある磯堅城と同じことなり、神を祭る場を、石を築周らして、構へたるなり、師は、及字を誤なりと云れたれど、あしくもあらず、さて書紀彼段にては、此神籬磐境も、大物主事代主二神に係て云

御身の降り坐にはあらず）御靈實を降し奉り賜ふなり、（此御靈體も、御鏡に坐よし、神宮の書どもに見ゆ）さるは此豐宇氣大神は、高天原にして、天照大御神の常に拜祭賜ふ、御食津神に坐が故に、己命の御靈鏡に屬添て、此御靈をも降し奉り賜ふなりけり、（神樂の採物幣の哥に美天久良波、和加仁波阿良須、阿女仁未須、止與遠加比女乃美也乃美天久良また杖篠鉾などの哥も、同く止與遠加比女乃美也乃と云り、止與遠加比女とは此豐宇氣毘賣を、うたひ誤れる物にて、其宮は、高天原にして、天照大神の、此神を祭賜ふ宮なり、そも〳〵右の採物哥よ、たま〳〵一首などこそは、さしもあらぬ神の事をもうたふべけれ、如此幣杖篠鉾と、種々の物に、たゞ同じさまに專此神の宮をのみ云るは、天照大御神の祭給ふ神事なるが故なり、かゝる古き傳事を以ても、此神のやむことなき御ほどは知べきなり、然るを此神は御食を掌る膳部神にて、皇御孫命の天降坐時の、供奉の臣列なり、など云說は、現御身と御靈實との差をも辨へず、又事のさまをもよくも考へずて、ひたぶるに、外宮を貶さむとする者の漫言なり、又豐宇氣毘賣神、始成出賜へる由緣の、尊からざるに似たるを以て、天照大御神の祭り賜ふと云を、疑ふ人もあらむか、其は後世の俗心なり、天照大御神も、伊邪那岐大神の黃泉の穢を清め賜ふ時、御目を洗ひたまふに成出坐るを思ふべし、凡て其始の由緣につきて、其神の尊卑きを思ふべきことにはあらず、又此神を、外宮の書どもに國常立尊なりと云るは、さらに由なく、いみしき强說なれば今さら論ふにも足らず、又水德神ぞなど云て、くさ〳〵言痛き說どもあれど、皆漢意なり、凡て火德水德など云たぐひは、皆漢人の妄言なる物をや、忍穗井の事などあれども其は御饌につ

申すぞ古言なるとて、此の字字を衍の如く云れたるは、例の偏なり、凡て古言は、約めてもいひ又本言のまゝにも云ることにて、此御名も、上に豐宇氣と書り、此はいかでかトユケとは訓べき、されば他書に豐受と書るをも、トユケとも、トヨウケとも訓べし、又後世に是をトヨケとも訓ども、其は古言に例なき唱なり、）此神は、上に豐宇氣毘賣神とある、（此神の御事は、傳五迦具土神被殺の段下にいへり、）其なるべし、さて此段は、五伴緒神も、又思金神等三柱も、皆上に其事を擧て、さて此二柱神者と云より下は、各其神たちの注なり、然るに此豐宇氣神のみは、上に御名をも擧ずして、ゆくりなく此にかく出せるは、いかゞ、（或人、こは天照大神の御鎮座の事を記せるついでに、豐受大神の御鎮座をも、併せ記せるなれば、疑ふべきことにあらず、といへれども、なほ心得ず、天照大御神の鎮坐處を記せるは、其御鏡の御事を、上に云るによりて、其御鏡は某處に坐と注せるなり、若其五十鈴宮の因に、外宮の御事をも記すとならば、坐外宮之度相神者、登由氣神也、とこそあるべけれ、登由宇氣神此者とあるは、此神の御うへを注する文なれば、必上に出賜はでは通へがたし、）上の思金神手力男神天石門別神と、連擧たる處に、此神の御名も有しが、後に脫たるにやあらむ、（此大神の甚尊く坐を以て思へば、其御名を擧たらむ次第は、思金神の上にあるべきなり、但此二柱神者と、先思金神の事を注して、次に此に此神の御事を注せるついでに依らば、思金の次にあらむか、とも云べけれども、二柱神者とは、大御神と同く、五十鈴宮に坐故に、一に先には云るなり、）そは如何まれ、此にかく擧たれば、此大神も、此時に共に天降し奉り賜ふなり、さて思金神等三柱と同例に此に記せれば、此大神も、（現

れ、然れば相殿には、必思金神こそ坐べけれ、其をおきて、手力男神の坐むことは、いかゞなり、且書紀一書に、秋津姫命を、思兼神の妹とあれば、思兼神は、皇孫命の御大舅に坐て、秋津姫命と御兄妹左右に並ばして、此相殿に坐むも、又由ありてぞおぼゆる、然ればかにかくに、此記の趣は疑ふべきことなきを、伊勢の傳の方は、必然るべしとおもはるゝことなければ、彼を誤と定めつ、此二神同時に同さまに、御鏡に副て降坐る故に、ふとまぎれつるものならむかし、又師の祝詞考の説も、此相殿のところ、誤おほく、）さて五十鈴宮に坐神は、かく三柱なるを、此二柱神者と云るは、如何といふに、此は天照大御神と思金神と二御靈の、鎮坐處を注せる詞にして、五十鈴宮の神を注せるには非ればなり、さてかくの如く此大宮は、天照大御神の御靈を齋奉る大宮にし坐せば、皇國人は更にもいはず、狛唐天竺其餘も、天地の裏にあらゆる國々、其王どもを始め、國民どもまでも、遙にだに拜み奉て、限なき大御德を、謝み奉るべき理なるに、今に至るまで、外國々の人等は、さることわりをもつゆ不知て過往なるは、いとあさましきわざなるかも、（世に此大宮を、宗廟と申すは、あるまじきことなり、宗廟と云は、戎國にて、其王が祖を祠る屋の名なり、戎王其祖をば天に配すなどいひて、みだりに尊きものにすめれども、實はみな凡人なり、然るにかけまくもいとも畏き大御神の宮をしも、外國の凡人を祠る屋と、同列に申さむことは、いとかたじけなきことならずや、）○登由宇氣神、由字は用を寫誤れるにやあらむ、（此御名は、古書どもに、豐宇氣とも登由氣ともある、由は用宇の切りたるなり、されば登由宇氣と云る例は見えず、故由を姑ヨと讀べきなり、師説に、登用宇氣の用宇を約めて、登由氣と

是皇孫之母、靈御形劔坐とあり、（一說に、天兒屋命太玉命なりと云は、非なり）此記と相照して思ふに、左方に坐を天手力男神とは、思金神を誤り傳へたる物なるべし、（然るに、思金神の此相殿に坐ことは、すべて伊勢の書には見えたることなし、神語記神皇實錄など云物には見えたれども、これらは後人の、舊事紀に依て云るなれば、依に足らず、又此宮の傳へに、神拜の次第、先大御神を拜奉り、次に相殿に坐神五柱を拜奉る、五柱は、手力男命、萬幡豐秋津姫命、思兼神、天兒屋根命、太玉命、これなり、此內兒屋根命太玉命二柱は、豐受大神外宮に鎭座てより、彼宮の相殿に坐なりと云り、然れども此內に思兼神を加へて拜む事は、此記舊事紀などを思ひて、後に定めたる事なるべし、もし本より此神も坐といふ傳へあらば、必儀式帳に載べく、式にも相殿三座とあるべきものをや、但式には、其神の御名を擧ざれば、二座の內一座は、此神か手力男神か知がたし、さて此記には、手力男神は、坐佐那縣と記せるに、其神しも、此相殿に坐とあるは、すべて此記と合ざるにつきて、つら〳〵考るに、若くは此記、此二柱神者といふ上に、文の脫たるか、はた錯れたるかなど、くさ〴〵こゝろむるに、脫たるにも錯れたるにも非ず、此記の趣は、決く思金神なり、さて此記と伊勢の書との中に、一方は思金と手力男との間まがひて、誤れるものなり、かくて何れを正しとせむ、今定むべきには非れども、始く伊勢の傳の方につきて云はばかの取持前事爲政とあるは、手力男神の事にて、坐佐那縣とあるぞ、思金神なるべきを、此記の傳は、まぎれつる物とやせむ、然れども初石屋戶段にても、思金神の功殊に高く、又取持前事爲政との詔命も、必此神の任にてこそ有べけれ、手力男神には、似つかはしからずこそおぼゆ

勢國渡遇宮とある是なり、（或人云、丁巳年は、垂仁天皇廿六年にて、其十月は、丁亥朔なれば、其月に甲子日なし、十當作九、九月戊申朔にして、甲子十七日なり、是によりて今に至るまで、九月十七日、皇大神宮、神嘗祭なりと云り、此考へよく當れるが如くなれども、信がたし、まづ廿五年三月丁亥朔、廿六年八月戊寅朔とあるを以て推ときは、廿六年九月朔戊申にあたれども、凡て後世の暦法を以て、上代いまだ暦無かりしほどの年月日を推て、支干を配ることは、諺に雲を握むとか云たぐひに、いとうきたることにて、いまだしきさだなり、此事なほ別に論あり、然れば丁巳年十月甲子とあるも一說、又其年八月戊寅朔とあるも一說にて、何れを正しとも定むべきことにあらず、されば暦法を以て推とき、其年の九月十七日甲子に當るも、偶然のことにこそあれ、本より其故を以て、神嘗祭十七日に定まれるには非ずかし）なほ其ほどの委き事どもは、彼宮の延暦の儀式帳、（凡て此大宮のくさ〳〵の事ども、委く此書に見えたり）又倭姫命世記などに見えたり、（儀式帳は眞の古書なり、世記は、後世の人の編る書にて、僞說多し、されど中には、眞とおぼしくて、棄がたきことも多し、其は今世に傳はらぬ彼宮の古書の、儀式帳の外にも有しを取て、己が僞を多く作りまぜたる物なり、撰びて取べし）又書紀に、石屋戸段一書にも、日神方開磐戸而出焉、是時以鏡入其石窟、（云々）此即伊勢崇祕之大神也、また神功卷に、大御神の御誨言に、神風伊勢國之百傳度逢縣之、拆鈴五十鈴宮所居神云々、などもあり、さて神名帳に、伊勢國度會郡大神宮三座、（相殿坐神二座、並大、預月次新嘗等祭）とある相殿坐二柱は、儀式帳に、同殿坐神二柱、坐左方稱天手力男神、靈御形弓坐、坐右方稱萬幡豐秋津姫命也、

當到筑紫日向吾則應到伊勢と申し賜へる、そも〳〵皇孫命の日向國に降坐むに、その啓行の神の、伊勢にしも降給ふこと、深き所以あり、豐受宮儀式帳に、天照坐皇大神度會乃伊須々乃河上爾大宮仕奉、爾時大長谷天皇御夢爾誨覺賜久、吾高天原坐豆見志眞岐賜志處爾志都眞利坐奴云々、とあり、かゝれば此御靈鏡を、後遂に此地に鎮坐しめむとは、大御神御自高天原にして、豫てより所念設けたることなり、されば猿田彦神の、啓行ひながら、此伊勢に到りたまふも、古語拾遺に、始在天上預結幽契衢神先降深有以矣、と見えたる如く、本より此由緣あるゆゑに、此御靈鏡を、終に鎮坐べき處へ、先導送り奉らむためなり、故其御天降の時に、皇御孫命に附副ひて、此御鏡を戴齎奉れる御從神は、彼啓行神の導きのまに〳〵、おのづから先此伊勢國に降着しなり、始自天降とは、此時の事なりけり、若然らずは、日向へ降賜ふ御孫命の啓行神の伊勢へ降賜はむこと、何の由もなく、徒ならずや、さて右の如く、此御鏡は先伊勢に降着賜ひしを日向に着賜へる御孫命の御許に、送奉り置て、猿田彦神は、御暇を賜はりて、又伊勢に歸り賜ひしなり、此間の事、なほ下に委云べし、抑此御鏡は、しばらくも皇御孫命の大御許を離ち奉り給ふまじきわざなるに、日向と伊勢と、分れて降着賜へらむとはいかゞ、と疑ふ人有べけれど、天上より遙に降賜ふなれば、日向と伊勢と放るといへども、同じく葦原中國の內にしあればなほ一處に降着給へるなり、されば後に又伊勢に遷奉賜へれども、初の大御神の詔旨に違はせ賜はざるも、同皇國の內なるが故なり、一云、天皇以倭姫命爲御杖、貢奉於天照大神、是以倭姫命以天照大神鎭坐於磯城嚴橿之本而祠之、然後隨神誨、取丁巳年冬十月甲子、遷于伊

の宮をこそ、委曲には記すべきことなるに、其をば只祠立於伊勢國とのみ、大かたに云て、齋王の坐宮をしも、却て具に五十鈴川上といふべきに非ず、萬葉なる人麻呂の長哥に、渡會乃齋宮とよめるも、必大御神の宮とこそ開えたれ、且倭姫命に宮と云て、大御神に祠とは云べくもあらず、然れば立字は、定を誤れるなるべし、神の夜志呂には、皇國にては、凡て社字を用ひ、又宮といふ、其中に此大御神などには、必宮と申す例なるに、祠とあるは、字義はさることなれども、たゞに其宮を申せるにはあらず、その祭るべき處をいへるなり、雄略卷に、稚足姫皇女侍伊勢大神祠とある祠も、拜祭給ふ意を帶たる故に、此字を書り、故ミヤともヤシロとも訓ずして、イハヒとは訓るなり、然れば此も、祠るべき處を、伊勢國と定めて、さて五十鈴川上に其宮を興と云るなり、次に是謂磯宮とあるは心得ず、此五十鈴宮を、磯宮と申せること、此外にさらに見えたることなし、故思に、是は儀式帳などに、五十鈴宮に鎮坐むとせし前に、磯宮坐とある、其は神名帳に、度會郡磯神社、和名抄にも、同郡に伊蘇郷ありて、今も磯村と云、此地にゑばらく坐しゝを、磯宮といふ、但し其磯宮は、度會郡なるには非ず、多氣郡の相可郷のあたりなるとも云り、其はいかにもあれ、此は其伊蘇といふと、伊須受と云と、名の似たる故に、混ひし傳なり、されば、こは、決めて磯宮とは云べきにあらず、謂五十鈴宮とこそ有べきことなれ、次に天照大神始自天降之處也と云こと、いと〳〵心得がたかりしを、近きこる思得たり、さるは古傳の趣にはよらずして、たゞ例の己が心に隨せて云る說どもは、くさ〳〵あれども、そはみなわたくしごとなれば、取にたらぬを、己が思ひ得たりと云は、先初に猿田彦神の答に、吾先啓行云々、大神之子則

十鈴之河上者、是大日本國之中仁、殊勝靈地侍奈利、其中翁世八萬歲之間、仁毛、未視如留有靈物、照輝如日月、奈利、惟小緣之物不在志、定主出現御坐、爾時可獻止念比豆、彼處爾禮祭申勢利、即彼處仁往到給、天御覽介禮波、往昔大神誓願比天、豐葦原瑞穗國之內仁、伊勢加佐波夜之國波、有美宮處利止、見定給比、從天上志天投降給比志、天之逆大刀逆鉾金鈴等是也、甚喜於懷比天、言上給比支、と云へれども、中に疑はしきことゞも有て、全は信られず、）さて天照大御神の御靈鏡は、此の詔旨の如く、御代々々皇御孫命の同大殿內に、拜祭賜ひ來にしを、水垣宮御宇、天皇御世よりぞ、別處には祭給へりける、其は書紀、彼御卷（崇神）に、六年（云々）先是天照大神倭大國魂二神、並祭於天皇大殿之內、然畏其神勢、共住不安、故以天照大神託豐鍬入姬命、祭於倭笠縫邑、仍立磯堅城神籬云々、それより伊勢に遷幸しゝは、垂仁御卷に、二十五年三月丁亥朔丙申、離天照大神於豐耜入姬命、託于倭姬命、爰倭姬命求鎮坐大神之處、而詣菟田筱幡、更還之入近江國、東迴美濃、到伊勢國時、天照大神誨倭姬命、曰是神風伊勢國則常世之浪重浪歸國也、傍國可怜國也、欲居是國、故隨大神教、其祠立於伊勢國、因興齋宮于五十鈴川上、是謂磯宮、則天照大神始自天降之處也、（此文にまぎらはしき事どもあり、よくせずば誤りぬべし、まづ其祠立於伊勢國、因興齋宮于五十鈴川上とある、齋宮即大御神宮なり、さかるを古語拾遺倭姬命世記などに、文を少し換て、此を倭姬命の坐宮の如く記さるは、御世々々の齋王の宮をも、齋宮と申す故に、其と心得たるひがことなり、齋王の宮を云は、其王の坐宮と云意、此は大御神を齋奉る宮といふことにて、同名ながら意異なり、抑此には、大御神

云むは、こともなけれど、その裂たる鈴をつけたらむからに、釧をしも直に佐久釧とはいかでか云む、此事冠辭考にもいぶかりて、釧と鈴を一ッにいへるにやあらむ、釧には鈴をつくる物にしあれば、其鈴の形によりて、さくゝしろ五十鈴とつゞけたるにや、と云れたり、なほ心ゆかず、）故熟思に、まづ古への鈴には、種々の形樣ありしとおぼしければ、（今もある驛路の鈴、其外にも、尋常のと形の甚く異なる古物の、遺れるを見ても、なほ種々有けむことを知べし、）釧の鈴も一種ありて、他のとは異なりけむ、さて釧とは、その小き鈴を多く緒に貫て、臂に纏を云る名にて、（異國の或と云物とは、其さま異なるべし、又玉釧ともあるは、玉を着たるも有しなるべし、）其鈴を除て別に躰は無き物と聞えて、書紀履中卷にも、此をたゞに手鈴と云り、（もし鈴の外に躰あらば、必たゞ鈴とはいはじ）然れば釧の鈴一種有て、釧即鈴なるが故に、裂釧とは云なるべし、（さて然手に鈴をまきしは、觀のための飾にはあらで、鳴音を取なるべし、萬葉に手玉鳴す、などあるを思ふべし、故釧は、あらはなる處にはつけず、袖に隱れたる臂にまくなり、又下卷遠飛鳥宮段に、足結の小鈴ともあれば、足にも着しなり、）さて五十鈴とつゞく故は、繁釧ともある如く、此が鈴は、繁く貫るをもて、五十と數々の鈴といふ意なり、（たゞに鈴につゞくのみに非ず、五十へもかけて續くなり、）又伊勢の書どもに、宇治と云にもつゞけ云るは、五十鈴より轉れる後の事なり、○伊須受能宮、これ伊勢大御神宮なり、書紀神功卷に、五十鈴と書れたり、此は地名にて、五十鈴川五十鈴原なども云り、名けたる由は詳ならず、（倭姫命世記に、猿田彦神裔、宇治土公祖大田命參相支云々、倭姫命問給久有吉宮處哉、答白久、佐古久志呂宇遲之五

同じ、師、説にこれを、思金神と手力男神となりと云れしは、誤なり、）○佐久々斯侶は、裂釧なり、大神宮儀式帳に、佐古久志侶とも、佐古久志留ともあり、書紀神功、卷には、拆鈴五十鈴、宮とあり、釧は、下卷高津宮、段に玉釧書紀繼體、卷に、矢自矩矢盧、（繁釧なり、鈴を玄げく着たるを云、）萬葉一（廿丁）に、釧着手節乃崎、九（二十五丁）に吾妹兒は久志呂にあらなむ、左手の吾奥手に纏ていなましを、又（三十一丁）玉釧、又（三十六丁）宍串呂（宍串は借字）など見えて、此物の事、師の冠辭考（さくゝしろ、玄〻くしろ、くしろつくなどの條）に、詳に説れたり、抑此、物、後には絶にたれば、今、京などになりては、其名をだに人知ざりけるにや、和名抄にも釧、字をば舉ながら、比知萬岐と玄るして、久斯呂てふ名をば出さず、（農耕具、中に、鋤、漢語抄云、加奈加岐一名久之路とあるは、若くは字、形の似たる故に、釧、字の、訓を、誤りて此、字には附たるか、又思ふに、此鋤、字、分裂也と云注もあれば、五十鈴の枕詞の佐久々志呂は、是にて、臂にまく釧には非るにや、とも思ひしかども、猶然には非ず、又かの萬葉（九、卷）なる、久志呂爾有奈武と云哥をも、六帖に櫛の哥としたり、（顯昭袖中抄に、此を辨へて、くしろは釧、字をよめり、内典には、在指上名鐶、在臂上名釧と云り、と云るは、さすがに物ひろく見たる人なればなりけり、）かゝれば古書どもにある釧、字をも、寫誤りて、或は鈔（萬葉）或は釵（此、記下卷）などゝ作るを、（これらの誤字なるを以思へば、かの書紀の拆鈴の鈴も、釧の誤とこそ思はるれ、）近き世となりて、契冲荷田、大人吾師など、つぎ〳〵に別ためられて、釧の事は明かになりぬるを、此、佐久久斯呂は、なほ少し詳ならず、（其故は、私記にも、鈴の口は裂たる故に、拆鈴と云、と云る如く、拆鈴と

若葉下卷に、宮たちの御あつかひなど、取持て玄たまふさまも云々、夕霧卷に、御法事によろづ取持てせさせ賜ふなどもあり、此は少し意の轉れるものなり、）其事を身に負持て、執行ふを云なり、（今世に、他の事をかたはらより助けて共々爲るを、取持と云も、是より轉れるなり、源氏物語なるは、今世に云方にちかし、）○爲政は、右に引る明宮段の詔に、白賜とあるに依て、麻袁志多麻閇と訓べし、其言の例は、彼段（傳廿二）に云り、（前にはマツリゴチテヨと訓べく思ひしかど、よく思へば、上に前事とある、すなはち政なれば、然訓ては、同言の重なるなり、爲政と書るは、たゞ義を以てなり、此字に拘るべからず、）如此有ば、天皇の御政を、關白大臣などの取申賜ふ如くに、此思金神は、天照大御神の御靈の御政を取行ひ賜ふ神なり、故其御鏡に附副て降し賜ふなり、されば同列に擧たる、手力男石門別二柱神の御靈實も、共に御鏡に附副て降し賜ふ神なること知られたり、（但し石門別神は、別事にもあらむか、其由は上に云り、）さて麻都理碁登と云言の義は、中卷白檮原宮段に委云べし、（傳十八の始）

此二柱神者。拜祭佐久久斯侶伊須受能宮。自佐至能以音次登由宇氣神。此者坐外宮之度相神者也。次天石戸別神。亦名謂櫛石窓神。亦名謂豐石窓神。此神者御門之神也。次手力男神者坐佐那縣也。

此二柱とは、大御神の御魂實の御鏡と、思金神の御靈實とを指て申せり、（此は君と臣と、尊卑きけぢめこよなきを、同等の如く、二柱と申せるは、古意なり、式などに、大神宮三座などあるも

條）に出づ、○如拜、また次の拜祭の拜、共に伊都久と訓べし、上に胷形君等之以伊都久三前大神者也とあると、諸人以拜竈神者也とあると同く、また伊都岐奉乎倭之青垣東山上とあると、中卷水垣宮殿に、於御諸山拜祭意富美和之大神前とあると、同言なるを以て知てよ、○伊都岐奉、此言は上に出たり、（傳六御身滌の段下以伊都久神の下、又傳十二幸魂奇魂の段下所々）是まで皇御孫命に詔ふ御命なり、以下は、思金神の御靈に仰せたまふ事にて、それも御孫命へ詔ふなり、さて天照大御神は、常へに高天原に大坐々て、下が下なる諸民までも、まのあたり瞻奉る大御神に坐ば、御孫命も、直に此高天原に坐現御身の御前をこそ、此國にても、拜祭り給ふべきに、別に此御鏡を御靈として、祭給へと詔ふは如何と云に、大御神は高天原に留坐し、御孫命は此國に降坐て、是より天と國との往來絶る際にして、遙に隔り給ふ御別れなる故に、今まで吾御前に侍坐て、親近く拜奉り給ひし如くに、今よりは、此鏡を祭り給へとなり、（故天津日を直に祭給ふ御事はなきなり、諸人も此意を思へ）○前事は、即此御魂の御前の事なり、（皇孫命の御前の事には非ず、）さて事とは、たゞ祭祀の行事を云には非ず、譬ば朝廷の政事の如く、此大御神の御靈の天下の萬事を、御思し處分ひおきて賜ふ、御政を云なり、前とは、上にも云る如く、即其神を指て申す言なれば、此は、此御靈の御政事と云むが如し、○取持は、中卷明宮段の詔に、大雀命執食國之政以白賜、萬葉十七（四十三丁）に、乎須久爾能許等登里毛知底、十八（卅丁）に、於保伎見能、末伎能末々爾々、等里毛知底、都可布流久爾能、三代實錄廿九（十五丁）詔に、右大臣藤原朝臣波內外乃政乎取持天、勤仕奉己止、夙夜不懈などあり、（源氏物語

にもあらむ）などあり、古言の一格なり、○專は、上に云るが如し、此は全てふ意なり、（中昔の物語書などにも、全くと云べき處を、母波良と云る例おほし）此の此、言、輕く見過すべからず、○爲我御魂とは、出雲國造神賀詞に、大穴持命乃申給久、云々申天、己命和魂乎、八咫鏡爾取託天とある如く、大御神の御神靈を、此御鏡に取託て賜はするなり、（凡て御靈と云に、又用と體との差別あり、此大御神の御於にて申さば、高天原を知看て、世を照しなどし賜ふは、廣く御靈の用なり、此御鏡は、其體なり、さて其御靈を、專此御鏡に取託て、其御體としたまへば、其用も、悉く此御鏡に具り坐り、然らば其用悉く此御鏡に移り坐て、高天原に坐現御身には、御靈は貽らじかと云に、凡て神御靈は、御靈にて、いとも靈異なる物にし坐ば、悉く此處にあれども、彼處にもいさゝか減ことなく、彼處に減ねども、此處にも悉く具りて、其體は千萬處に分つといへども、ほど〳〵に何れにも、その用は欠ることなし）然れば天照御大神の御靈は、全此御鏡に坐々すものぞ、貴きかも可畏きかも、此大御詔よ、ゆめおろそかにな見過しそ、書紀一書に、天照大神手持寶鏡授天忍穗耳尊而祝之曰、吾兒視此寶鏡當猶視吾可與同床共殿以爲齋鏡復勅天兒屋命太玉命惟爾二神亦同侍殿內善爲防護とあり、（本書に此重事を記されざるはいかにぞや）さて上に三種を擧ながら、此には唯其御鏡の御事をのみ、如此懇に詔へるにて、此御鏡は、中にも貴く坐こと、着明きものをや、（然るを本より三種同等なる物に說なし、或は玉をしも第一と思ふなるは、かの水垣朝より以來の趣になづみて、本をよくも考へざるものなり）○吾前とは、大御神の現御身の大御前なり、前のこと、上（傳十二幸魂奇魂の段下吾前の

たり、（其事下に委くいふ）さて此三柱神は、其現御身を天降し給ふには非ず、（現身は高天原に留りて、天照大御神に仕奉給ふ）皆其御靈實（今御靈實と云は、御靈の託る御體を云、下皆同じ、俗にいはゆる神社の御神躰なり）を降し給ふなり、故上の五伴緒神と、同列にはあげずして、今此に、三種御寶の次に連ね云り、（然れば此三柱神の御靈實どもは、鏡にまれ劔にまれ何にまれ、彼八咫鏡に添へ從へて、降したまふなり、其由は下に云り、但し石門別神一柱は、此記には、石屋戸段には見えざれば、此御靈は、皇孫命の御門の守衛神として、降し給ふにてもあらむか）又彼五伴緒神は、現御身なる故に、此次に各某氏之祖と注したるを、此三柱は、御靈躰なる故に、子孫をば擧ず、たゞ其鎮座す處を注せり、此等を以て、現身と御靈との差別あることを覺るべし、（書紀に、五部神はあげたれども、此三柱神をあげざるも、現御身に非るが故なり、上にも處々に云る如く、凡て神には、現身を云と、御靈との差別あれども、其分ちをいはず、共にたゞ同じさまに、某神と云ること、天照大御神をば、高天原に坐す現御身をも、又伊勢に拜祭る御靈をも、共に天照大神と申して、其御名には差別なきが如く、他神も然なるを、世々の識者、此差別を得辨へざるがゆゑに、事にふれてまぎらはしきこと多きぞかし）○副は、皇御孫命に副なり、賜は、授賜ふなり、たゞ崇辭に附云とは異なり、○詔者、上に天照大御神高木神之命以とありて、其より下に何とも見えざれば、是も其二柱の詔ふともすべけれど、爲我御魂とあるに依るに、こは唯天照大御神の詔ふなり、○此之鏡者は、許禮能鏡波と訓べし、萬葉三（十四丁）に、許禮能水島、廿（四十丁）に、許禮乃波流母志（此之針以なり、志は知の草字を誤れる

璽を渡さるゝ儀あり、又其餘の儀式にも、內侍二人劒と璽とを執て供奉す、此を以ておしはかるに、上代又大寶の定めの頃とても、舊主より新主へ、寶物を渡さるゝ時、璽も必渡されずはあるべからず、然るに鏡劒をのみ云て、璽を云ざるは、本鏡劒は重くして、璽は一きは輕き故なるべし、然れば此は、かの水垣、朝よりして、璽を先とせらるゝ定めにかゝはらずして、神代の本よりの定めにつきて云るものにて、返て古意とこそおもはるれ、さて後世に劒璽をいひて、鏡を云ぬは、鏡は內侍所に坐て、動きたまはぬがゆゑなり、）古語拾遺には、即以八咫鏡及草薙劒二種、神寶授賜皇孫永爲天璽、（所謂神璽之劒鏡是也）矛玉自從、とあるを以知べし、（此拾遺の文は、世に玉を第一と思ふが、古意に非ることを慨みて、ことさらに玉を貶して、鏡劒には比びがたきことを知らせたる文なり、自從とは、鏡劒の如く、正しく御璽として、賜へるには非ず、矛と玉とは、たゞ何となく、それに添へて賜へる由なり、さて此矛は、書紀に所謂日矛なるべきか、又大巳貴神の經津主神に授けし廣矛か、何れともさだかならず）これら三種の中には、玉は本は輕きが故なり、然はあれども、天皇の大御許にしては、此玉のみぞ今に至るまで、大御神の授賜へりしまゝの物に坐々ば、傳持給ふ三種の御璽の中には、殊に貴き御寶なりけり、（後世に神璽と申すは、此玉の御事なり、）○亦常世云々、亦てふ辭を此におくは、上と下と類異なるを、別むための隔なり、常世とは、かの天照大御神石屋に隱坐て、世間常夜なりし時に、功績を立し神なる故に云なり、此言先は思金神一柱に係れりと見ゆ、されど又石門別神まで、三柱へ係て見むも、あしからじ、○手力男神も、同段に出たり、○天石門別神は、古語拾遺に、同段に見え

む御ゑるしとして賜へりとも、大御神の御魂とある御鏡の上に立むことは、かたくなむあるべき、然れども其鏡に並べて賜はせし、一種の御寶物にしあれば、おのづから御國知食御璽となれるは、もとより然あるべき理なり、さて右の餘に、此三種には、なほくさ〳〵の理を、こちたく說る說どもおほかれど、皆古意にあらずなむ）今此に大御神の授賜ふ時を以云はゞ、鏡第一なることは更なり、次には劍、其次に玉なるべし、其故は、書紀繼體、卷に、大伴金村大連乃跪上天子鏡劍璽符再拜、神祇令に、凡踐祚之日、中臣奏天神之壽詞、忌部上神璽之鏡劍、（義解に、此即以鏡劍稱璽）大殿祭、祝詞に、高天原爾神留坐須、皇親神魯企神魯美之命以氏、皇御孫之命乎、天津高御座爾坐氐、天津璽乃劍鏡乎捧持賜天言壽宣志久云々、（此、神祇令又祝詞の文を以見れば、繼體、卷なる璽符も、即鏡劍を指て云るか、たとひ玉なりとも、鏡劍の次にあるをや）これら鏡劍のみを云て、玉を云ず、（師の祝詞考に、璁は御身に着坐寶にて、人の手觸る物ならざる故に、古より鏡劍二を以て、大儀の時のゑるしとは成來るなり、されど此祝詞には、勾璁を專擧べき理なるを、既に大實のころの儀式の表に依て、二をのみ云つる物にて、是も上代の文ならぬを知一なり、と云れつるは、心得ず、璁は御身に着坐寶にて、人の手觸る物ならずとは、常にこそさもあらめ、踐祚の時、いかでか本より御身には着坐む、そも〳〵彼令に、踐祚之日とあるは、義解に、即位を云と云る如く、古は踐祚すなはち即位なりしを、後には、踐祚と即位と別になりて、即位の儀式には、忌部上鏡劍ことは見えず、大嘗會に此事あるなり、然れども是本は、始て御位を嗣たまふ時の儀式と聞ゆるなり、さて後世には、踐祚の時、舊主の御許より、新帝の御所へ、劍

の上に及字をさへ置れたるは、如何と云に、水垣朝御代に至て、此御鏡劔をば、他處に齋祭り給てより、天皇の御許に坐は、神代の舊物には坐さず、たゞ玉のみぞ、今大御神の授賜へるまゝの物にて坐故に、彼御世よりしては、三種の中に玉を第一とぞせられけむ、然れば其御代より後は、常に玉を先に申しならひたる、其次第のまゝに、此記も書紀も記せるものにして、神代より然るには非ずなむ、）然るを或說に、本來玉を、鏡よりも殊に重き物の如く說成し、又師の祝詞考に、伊邪那岐命の御頸珠を、天照大御神に賜ひて、所知高天原と詔へれば、彼御頸玉は、大御神の天を知食す御しるしなり、さて今天孫に賜ふ勾玉は、天岩戸前にして、招禱せし時、彼天照大御神の御頸玉に准へて作りしを、今天孫天降て、國の主となりたまふ御ゑるしに、天照大御神これを賜はせしなり、と云れたるも皆かなはず、其故は、石屋戸段の勾玉は、彼御頸玉に准へて作りしと云こと、徵據なし、彼段を考るに、此玉、さる意にて作れるには非ず、凡て玉は、古殊に賞て、世に尊み欲する物なる故に、御幣に獻りしのみなり、さるは殊にたぐひなく重事招禱に用る故に、心をつくして作れるから、あるが中にもめでたく、美麗き玉なりける故に、大御神の殊に珍しみ賜ひて、比なき御寶物にて有けるを、此度御孫命には賜はせるにこそありけめ、異なる意あるべくも非ず、故此次の文にも、書紀にも、此時詔命には、たゞ御鏡の事のみありて、此玉の事は見えず、若此王、御國知食す御ゑるしとならば、必其事も詔ふべき理ならずや、然るを彼御頸玉に准へて、是をも、天孫の國知食す御ゑるしとして、賜ひしと云るゝは、此記にも書紀にも、三種の中の第一に擧られたるゆゑに、强て其意にかなへむとてなり、たとひ實に御國知食

しはし鷹の云々、拾遺集物名歌に、はし鷹の袁伎惠にせむと構たる云々、これらも鷹を招寄るを袁伎といへり、（をきゐは招餌なり）此等と、かの招禱字とを、合せて思ふに、凡て袁岐とは、物を招寄むとする事にて、此はかの石屋に隱坐る天照大御神を、招き出し奉りし行事を云なり、（俳優と云稱も、和邪は、神の爲したまふ意、遠伎は招にて、かの石屋戸段に、神懸して、大御神を招奉りしより云り、さて此遠岐の岐を、師の濁て讀れしは、わろし、此記にては、岐字は、濁にも清にも用ひたる例なること、首卷に委くことわりおけるが如し、然れば萬葉に呼久乎伎などと、皆清音字を用ひたるに依て、清音と定むべし）斯は、過往し事を云ときの辭なり、（所謂過去の斯）○八尺勾璁鏡は、彼、石屋戸段に、科玉祖命作て、眞賢木の上枝に取着し玉と、科伊斯許理度賣命作て、中枝に取擊し八咫鏡となり、當時是等物を用ひて、大御神を招禱奉し故に、遠岐し璁鏡とは云り、（然るに此勾璁を、或は伊邪那岐命の、天照大御神に賜へる、御頸玉なりとし、或は須佐之男命と誓約たまひし時の、曲玉なりとし、或は大己貴命事代主命の獻りし曲玉なりとするは、みな此の遠岐斯てふ言を、得心得ぬ故の、推當のひがことなり）○草那藝劍は、かの須佐之男命の、八俣遠呂智を切給ひし時に、其尾中より得給ひて、異物なりし故に、天照大御神に獻り給ひし大刀なり、さて鏡と劍との間に、及と云るは、上の遠岐斯の言、璁鏡へのみ係りて、劍は異時の物なる故に、其を隔むためなり、書紀に、天照大神乃賜天津彦々火瓊々杵尊八坂瓊曲玉及八咫鏡草薙劍三種寶物とあり、さて此三種を連擧る次第は、鏡劍玉とか、鏡玉劍とか有べき理なるに、（其由は次に云）此記にも書紀にも、玉を先にし、書紀には殊に、玉及鏡

兒屋命主神事之宗源者也、また天兒屋命太玉命、宜持天津神籬云々、などあるを以ても知べし、○天降也、これは、右の五伴緒、神を降したまふと見むも、惡からねど、猶御孫命に係て見べきなり、（然見るときは、次文と、事の前後錯へる如くなれども、此御天降段は、凡て次序にかゝはらず、一事々々を、別々に並べ擧たる如くなれば、妨なし、書紀には、三種寶物の事先にありて、其次次に五部神のことはあるなり、此段の中の次序のこと、上にも論へり、なほ下にも云べし、）

於是副賜其遠岐斯（此三字以音）八尺勾璁鏡。及草那藝劍。亦常世思金神手力男神天石門別神而。詔者。此之鏡者。專爲我御魂而。如拜吾前伊都岐奉。次思金神者。取持前事爲政。

其とは、石屋戸段の事を指て云なれば、加能と訓べし、又上の五伴緒、神、卽彼段に遠伎し神たちなれば、直に上文を指て、其神たちの遠伎しと云意ともすべければ、曾能と訓むもあしからじ、○遠岐は、書紀、石屋戸段に、思兼神者有思慮之智、乃思而白曰、宜圖造彼神之象、而奉招禱也とある、招禱これなり、（此を私記に、禰支と訓るはわろし、袁伎と附たる訓よろし、）又海神、宮段に、風招と云ることあり、風を招ぎ發す方なり、又萬葉十七（四十六丁）に、鷹の放逸しを歎きてよめる長哥に、呼久餘思乃曾許爾奈家禮婆とあるも、彼、鷹を招き寄べき由の無きと云なり、又十九（二十三丁）霍公鳥を待歌に、月立之日欲里乎伎都、々敲自努比麻低騰伎奈可奴霍公鳥可母、この乎伎も、霍公鳥を招寄る方をして、待なり、又後撰集雜三に、わがために袁伎にくかり

聞ゆるも、皆くはしくいへば其長なり、）又萬葉に多く、物部之八十伴男とよみ、（師說に、古は文官武官をいはず、凡て諸臣を物部と云りとあり）又七（四丁）に、靫懸流伴雄廣伎大伴爾、十九（二十七丁）に、八十伴男者大王爾麻都呂布物跡定有官爾之在者云々、（これに官とあるも、長なるゆゑなり、）などよめり、大殿祭祝詞、詞別に、皇御孫命、朝乃御膳夕乃御膳供奉流、比禮懸伴緒、襁懸伴緒、大祓、詞に、天皇朝廷爾仕奉留、比禮挂伴男、手襁挂伴男、靫負伴男、劔佩伴男、伴男能八十伴男乎始豆官々爾仕奉留人等、（此文いと〳〵めでたし）とある、是に八十伴男乎始豆と云るを以て、伴男は其長なることを思ひ定むべし、さて次に官々爾云々と云るぞ、其下に屬る部々の人等にはありける、○支加而は、久麻理久波幣氐と訓べし、（久麻理は久婆理なり）支は、字書に分也とも註して、凡て物の分るゝ意に用る字なり、（人の手足を云も、木枝を云も、みな本は分るゝ意より出たり、王廷壽が魯靈光殿賦に、支離分赴、註に支離分散也、なども云、）さて上の水分、神の註に、訓分云久麻理とあれば、久麻流は分ることなり、然れば此五公長神を、其職々の長に分配て、御孫命の御從に加へたまふなり、書紀に、又以中臣、上祖天兒屋命、忌部、上祖太玉命、猿女、上祖天鈿女命、鏡作、上祖石凝姥命、玉作、上祖玉屋命、凡五部神、使配侍焉とあり、此配侍字と相照して、支は必久麻理と訓べきことを知べし、（佐志久波幣と訓るは、甚非なり、支字佐志と訓べき由あらむやは、さて又此記と相照して、彼配侍をも、久麻理久波幣多麻布と訓べし、）さて此五伴緒、神の掌りたまふ職は、みな神事に依れゝば、（石屋戸段に見ゆ、）今支加而降しまふも、專神事の料なり、書紀に、乃使太玉命以弱肩被太襁而云々、また天

長の本語にて、袁佐と云は、長兄名の意なり、書紀に、魁帥渠帥などを、伊佐袁と訓るも、勇長なり、然れば伴緒は、其部屬の長を云稱なり、（師説に、此處の文を引て此五伴緒の中に、二柱は女神なることを云、又祝辭に、比禮懸伴緒と云るも、女なれば、伴男などゝ書る男は、皆借字にて、男女にわたる稱なる由云れたるは、信にさることなりかし）さて緒と云意は、師説に、一の緒に、數の玉を貫くに譬へて云なれば、伴緒と書る、正字なり、貫首など云貫も、意通へりと云れたるは、然ることなれども、今少し精しからず、其故は、玉緒などを袁と云も、多の玉などを總縛る故の名、又物の長を袁と云も、此徒屬を統帥る故の稱にて、本同言なり、然れども、何方を本とも末とも、定むべきに非れば、玉緒は、例には引べけれども、其に譬へて云とは、云べきに非ずなむ、（さて又右の師説の意は、伴緒を、たゞ其部類のこと、心得て云へれたる物にして、其長の意に云るには非ず、是も又精しからず、其故は次に云べし）さて今右の五柱神を指て、五伴緒と云るは、石屋戸段に見えたる如くに、此神たち各掌れる職ありて、其職々の部屬を帥る長神なればなり、（五神を指て五伴緒と云へれば、一伴緒は一神なり、然れば伴緒とは、其長を云て、其部類を云に非ること明けし、書紀に此を、五部神と書れば、五伴緒は、たゞ五部の意とも聞ゆるに似たれども彼も五神を擧て云へれば、其意に非ず、五部の長神といふこゝろなり、）下卷遠飛鳥宮段に、定賜天下之八十友緒氏姓、（八十伴緒とは、所有諸の伴緒を總云なり、さて是は、長に限らず部屬までにわたる如く聞ゆめれど、これらは朝廷に仕奉る官人たちを、大凡に云る、其はいづれも、ほど〳〵に帥る部屬あれば、此も皆長なり、此外にも部字などを書て、廣く其屬を云る如く

之矣、天細女還詣報狀とあり、凡て此段は、書紀委くて、此記は麁し、（延佳本に、此に、橘成近と云人の考へて載て云、爾天兒屋命以下、不レ承上文下文自レ故爾詔天宇受賣命、至レ給猨女君等也、二百六十九字、當レ在レ于此間、恐錯簡也と云り、此はたゞ一わたりの考へにて、精しからず、誤なり、なほ委く云ば、上の故隨レ命以可レ天降とある次に、爾天兒屋命云々より、玉祖連等之祖、と云までの文は在て、其次にこそ、爾日子番能邇々藝命將レ天降之時云々より、參向之侍、と云までの文はあるべき物なれ、書紀の次序は、即右の如くなり、されど、此は、本のまゝにても妨なし、さて故爾詔天宇受賣命云々より、給レ猨女君等也、といふまでの事は、御孫命既に筑紫に降着坐て後の事なれば、必此には在まじきことなり、然るに此事どもを、當レ在レ于此間、と云るは、いかにぞや、若此事此間に在ときは、五伴緒、矣支加而天降也とあると、天宇受賣命送レ猨田毘古神而還到、など、ある事と、前後錯亂るをば、如何とかせむ、又給レ猨女君等也、爾天兒屋命云々と續く、如此てはいよゝ、上文を承ざるをば、如何とかせむ、これらのことをよく思ひわたすべきものぞ、）

爾天兒屋命布刀玉命天宇受賣命伊斯許理度賣命玉祖命、幷五伴緒矣支加而天降也。

天兒屋命より玉祖命まで五神、皆石屋戸段に出たる神たちなり、○伴緒、凡て伴とは、官職にまれ何にまれ、一部ともなふを云、某伴某伴と云是なり、登母賀良など云も此意、又何となくて交り親む人を、友と云も同意なり、伴造と云は、其部の長を云、（此事傳七の末に委く云）緒は

末違ふべし、さて猨の形の、此神に似たるを以て思ふに、鼻長きも、猨と似たり、又背長七尺餘とあるも、俗に人の長立を背といへば、只凡その長立のことにもあるべけれど、若其義ならば、ただに長とのみこそいふべきに、背をしも云るは、是も猨の如く、這居坐形につきて、其背の長さをいふにてもあるべし、神にはさま〳〵あるめれば這居たまふとせむも、あやしむべきにあらず、若尋常の人のごとく、立て坐むには、尻の明耀といふも、似つかはしからぬをや、さて此神、御名につきて、十二支の申の事を引寄せて、種々の漢意をいひ、又は庚申といふ物を、此神なりとするなど、凡てうるさく穢はしきこと、云むかたなし、）○出居は、此天八衢になり、（俗に出迎といふ是なり、）○仕奉御前而とは、書紀に、吾先啓行とあるこれなり、仕奉は、都加幣麻都良牟登志豆と訓べし、（登豆と云は、古語に非ず、後世に登互と云處、古語にはみな登志豆と云り、古の宣命などに多かり、）○參向は、麻韋牟迦幣と訓べし、向は迎の意なり、（向と迎とは、異なるが如くなれども、言は本一なり、さて記中に、參向と云ること多き中に、向字は、たゞ輕く用ひて、參る意のみなるもあれども、此は書紀にも、奉迎相待とあるに依て、迎の意とはするなり、）中卷白檮原宮段に、石押分之子が答白せる詞、此と全同じ、○侍は、此も上に大國主神の、云々隱而侍、と白給ひし侍と同意なり、（書紀に相待とあるに當れり、）書紀云、衢神對曰、聞天照大神之子今當降行故奉迎相待、吾名是猨田彦、大神時天鈿女復問曰、汝將先我行乎、將抑我先汝行乎、對曰、吾先啓行、天鈿女復問曰、汝何處到耶、皇孫何處到耶、對曰、天神之子、則當到筑紫、日向、高千穗、槵觸之峯、吾則應到伊勢之狹長田五十鈴、川上因曰、發顯我者汝也、故汝可以送我而致

く聞ゆれば、老女の稱の多字米、本は多久米なるべし、）毛波良は全純なり、（全と圓と同言なり、純と比良と同言なり、比良は、俗に比良爾と云是なり、純にと云意なり、然れば毛波良は、全く純すらにと云むが如し、）故此言は、他の爲べき事をも、全く取總て、獨して爲る意、又一筋に方よりて、他義をまじへぬ意などに用ひたり、欽明卷に全字をも訓、一字をも訓る、皆其意なり、（今世古學者の文章に、盛なる意、又主とする意に用るは、俗意なり、古の意にたがへり、）此も其意にて、純一に汝獨と云意ぞ、○道字、美知袁と讀べし、其は、云々道なるものをと云意にて、此袁に、咎むる意あり、（雅言に此格おほし、）○問賜は、登波世多麻布と訓べし、令問賜ふなり、（登比多麻布と訓ときは、賜の言、字受賣命に係れり、）さて其問の語は、仰せし處に既に出たる故に、此には省けり、（書紀には、仰する處に省きて、其語は此に出せり、）書紀には、天鈿女乃露其胸乳、抑裳帶於臍下、而笑嘆向立、是時衢神問曰、天鈿女汝爲之何故耶、對曰、天照大神之子所幸道路、有如此居之者誰也、敢問之とあり、（露胸乳云々の事は、いさゝかも怖れぬさまを示す意にてもあるべけれど、此には、何とかや似つかはしからず聞ゆれば、此事は、此記に石屋戸段にあるぞ、よく當れる、）○國神とは、天より降る神に對て申す詞なる故に云り、（此事上に委く云り、）○猨田毘古神、（毘濁音なり、）名義、書紀に口尻明耀云々とあると、上光高天原云々とあるとを以て思ふに、尻明光彦なり、（志理の理を畧く例は、備中郡名後月などあり、又阿を畧ては常なり、かくて志加流を略めて佐流と云は、然るを佐流と云に同じ、又豆良を切れば多なり、）さて獸の猨は、此神の形に似たる故の名なるべし、（此神の此名を、猨に似たる故とせむは、本

明けし、（書紀の注に或人の、猨田毘古神の口尻明耀眼如八咫鏡とあるを、智慧の明らかなることに云て、それに諸人は恐れ憚りて、得問に往ぬ由に云るは、例の私の妄言なり、たゞ容貌に怖たること、着明きものをや）目勝と面勝とは同意なるうへに、麻と母と通音なれば、言も相近し、（今世俗言に、人に押勝者を、麻牟賀知那流と云も、此より出たるべし）○專は毛波良と訓べし、（多宇米と訓は誤なり、然るに和名抄に、專、日本紀云、專領、二字、讀太宇女乎佐女、今按專訓毛波良、專一之義也、太宇女者、毛波良之古語也、今呼老女爲太宇女、とある中に、呼老女爲太宇女と云る、是太宇女の義正なり、土佐日記に、おきな人一人、たうめひとりとも、又淡路たうめとも見え、源氏物語に、伊賀たうめともあり、又狐をたうめと云ることも、物に見えたり、そは老女より轉れるなるべし、老女を多宇米と云は、姥の轉れるにやあらむ、さて其多宇米に專字を用るは、いかなる由にか詳ならず、若くは、嫥と通ふ此嫥字にも、老女の意は見えざれども、御國にて、字義に非る意に用る例も多ければ、此字を用ひて、例の偏を省けるにもやあらむ、そはかもかくもあれ、多宇米と云は、老女の稱なり、然るに日本紀、景行紀に、故汝專領東國とある、和名抄に引るは是なり、此專字、又他にも、毛波良と訓べきを、多く多宇米と訓るは、彼老女の稱の專を、專一の義の古言ぞと、心得誤れるなり、さて和名抄に、太宇女者毛波良之古語也と云るも、書紀の謬訓に依て誤れる說なり、これより世々の人皆然のみ心得て誤なることをえさとらず、凡て字に依て古言を誤る、此類常に多し、故今委曲に辨へおくぞ、さて安閑紀欽明紀などには、專を多久米と訓り、是も專一の義なるを、然訓るは同じ誤なれども、多久米と云る言は、正し

南北相分之道、其中央似十字也、俗用辻字、本文未詳とある、是は知麻多にもあへり）道饗祭、祝詞に、大八衢、萬葉二（十六丁）に、橘之蔭履路乃八衢爾、十二（十二丁）に、海石榴市之八十衢爾、（此餘も八十衢と多くよめり、八衢とは云ずて、八十衢とはいかゞにも聞ゆめれど、此は八十と多くの處々へ行分るゝ衢と云意にて、衢の八十ある由にはあらざるべし）などもあり、○上光云々書紀に、先驅者還白、有一神居天八達之衢、其鼻長七咫、背長七尺餘、且口尻明耀、眼如八咫鏡、而絕然似赤酸醬也とあり、○於是有は、在于此の意なり、上に既に、居天之八衢而とありて、又如此云るは、於是てふ言衍て聞ゆ、古語にはかくもいひしにや、○天宇受賣神は、石屋戸段に出たり、○手弱女人も、上（傳八の始）に見ゆ、○雖有は、那禮杼母と訓べし、（爾阿禮杼母の約りたるなり）○伊牟迦布神は、書紀に、天若日子が久しく還參らぬ時、高御產巢日神の勅に、蓋是國神有强禦之者、この强禦を伊牟迦布と訓るを、射向なりと、或人の云る、此も其意にて、多牟加比敵なむを云、（人にかたきなむを、弓引と云と、心ばへ同じ、○萬葉十に、天漢射向居而とあるは、射は發語にて、たゞ向なり、此も其意かとも云べけれど、猶然には非じ）さて此は、然る神を廣く云るなり、猨田毘古神を指には非ず、○與は、後世の語ならば爾と云べきを如此云は、古語の格なるべし、與相對而と云意なり、○面勝は、人と相對て、愧ず怖れず、面の强くて、負ぬなり、宇受賣てふ名を思ひ合すべし、（この名義、傳八石屋戸の段下天宇受賣神の條に委く云り、彼處は愧ざる方、此處は怖れざる方なり）書紀云、即遣從神往問時、有八十萬神、皆不得目勝相問、故特勅天鈿女、曰汝是目勝於人者、宜往問之、これにて、此神を擇出たまへる所以

皇孫天津彦々火瓊々杵尊以爲葦原中國之主とありて、天穗日命の事、又天若彦の事、又大巳貴命の此國を避奉し事など、皆其次々にありて、（大祓詞、遷却祟神祝詞、出雲國造神賀詞、古語拾遺など、皆此趣にて、右の事等を、皇御孫命に係たり）さて高皇産靈尊以眞床追衾覆皇孫天津彦々火瓊々杵尊使降之とあり、一書には、天若彦の事初にあり、又一書は、此記の次序と同じ、是ら事の先後の傳へのさまゝなるなり、

爾日子番能邇邇藝命將天降之時。居天之八衢而。上光高天原。下光葦原中國之神於是有。故爾天照大御神高木神之命以。詔天宇受賣神。汝者雖有手弱女人。與伊牟迦布神自伊至布以音面勝神。故專汝往將問者。吾御子爲天降之道。誰如此而居。故問賜之時。答白。僕者國神。名猨田毘古神也。所以出居者。聞天神御子天降坐故。仕奉御前而。參向之侍。

天之八衢、知麻多は、道股の意なり、上に道俣神と云もあり、（傳六御身滌の段下道俣神の條下）八は例の彌にて、方々へ分行岐の、幾つもあるを云、此は天より降る道の衢なり、（和名抄に、唐韻云、巷、里中道也、和名知末太、とあれども、是は知麻多に稱はず、衢字街字などこそよく當りたれ、然るに此らの字をおきて、巷字をしも出せるは、いかにぞや、又同抄に、十字、今按十字者、東西

藝之大刀也、故是以云々、これも語は短けれど、上の注にて、故是以は、其注を隔てゝ、上を承たるは、同格なり、此ほかもなほ多し、又後なれど、源氏物語處女卷に、小侍從やさぶらふとのたまへど、音もせず、御めのとごなり、獨ごとを云々とあり、これも、御めのとごなりと云一句は、上の小侍從の注なり、）何れも、上件云々、右件云々、などある注の格とは異なれば、低て別に書べきには非ずなむ、○是以は、上の應降也とある處を承たり、○科詔は、美許登淤富世豆と訓べし、淤富世は令負の意なり、（仰課なども、言の意はおなじ、）負は持と同じければ、詔命を負持ゑむるを、淤富世と云り、（宰など云も、詔命を負持て、其處の政を行ふ故の名なると、心ばへは同じ、○科字は、此の意にはあたらねども、淤富世と訓、故に、字にはかゝはらで書るは、古の常なり、科を淤富世と訓は、品々を分ちて、それ〳〵に云付るこゝろなり、）さて此にのみ、詔とのみは云ずて、此言を加へたるは、始に忍穗耳命に詔ひし、御事依の詔命を、更めて此尊へ令負る意なり、然れば此處は、たゞ詔とのみ云ては、何とかや言足ぬこゝちする處ぞかし、さて父尊に代て、此御孫尊を降し奉り賜ふは、如何なる故にか、傳へなければ測りがたし、（此御子聖德坐故に、代へて降したまふなど云は、例の漢意のおしはかりにて、當らぬことなり、御子を聖德ありと稱奉るは、御父は聖德なしと申すに非ずや、あな可畏皆私事なり、）○隨命以の以字は、讀べからず、（こは凡て麻爾麻爾と云處には、多く隨云々而と、而字を添へて書る、此記の例なる、其而字の意にて、字面の方に添へたるものぞ、以字も豆と云處に用ひて、而字意に似たる故なり、）○書紀にはまづ、云々、生天津彦々火瓊々杵尊、故皇祖高皇產靈尊特鍾憐愛、以崇養焉、遂欲立、

の後とせるは、いみしき僞說なり、まづ饒速日命と、此天火明命とは、本より別神なること、云もさらなり、又尾張連は、此天火明命の後、物部連は、彼饒速日命の後にて、是も同祖の姓に非ず、然るを世々の識者、舊事紀の僞說に惑ひて、これらを混雜へたるは、いかにぞや、いで其僞なる由を喩さむ、彼饒速日命は、神武天皇の御時に、大和國に在て、歸順し人なること、此記にも、書紀にも見えたれば、天火明命に非ること、明らけきを、舊事紀に、饒速日命は既に薨て、神武天皇に奉仕しは、其子の宇摩志摩治命としたり、然れどもまた、饒速日尊娶長髓彥妹御炊屋姬と云る、其長髓彥をば、なほ第六卷に、神武天皇の御時の人に云へば、終に僞を覆ふことあたはず、又此記にも、書紀にも、饒速日命は、物部連、祖とこそあれ、尾張連の祖と云ることなし、又姓氏錄にも、同じき神別ながら、火明命の子孫なる氏々は、皆天孫部に收れ、饒速日命の子孫は、ことゞく天神部にありて、明白く分れたる物をや、抑舊事紀と云書、すべては、かくばかりの僞を構へたる書にはた非るを、此は物部連氏の人の、己が始祖を尊くせむ爲に、饒速日命を、天火明命なりと、僞り造れりし、家乘のありしを、漫に取て、其隨に記せる物なるべし、）○此御子者と云より、二柱也と云まで、三十八字を、延佳本には、上文の注なりと云て、改めて別に低て書り、注なりと云は然ことなれども、改めて低て書るは、さかしらなり、此記は凡て、阿禮が口に誦しまゝを記せる物なれば、注の如き語をも、正文に連けて、其事の中間に挾み云る例、猶他にも多かるをや、（其例を一二いはゞ、黃泉段に、故其所謂黃泉比良坂者云々、伊賦夜坂也、是以云々とあるも、坂也までは、上文の注にて、是以と云より、其注を隔てゝ、上文を承たること、全此と同じ、また是者草那

幡姫とも、（此に千幡とある千は、千々の約りたるなり、此を以て、此記の師も、師々の約りたるなることを、思合せよ、かの神功紀の千繒も、縮繒の意なるべし）萬幡姫兒玉依姫ともある、皆同意なり、（又一書に、丹舄姫ともあるは、饒津の意か）○天火明命、火明は、本阿加理と訓べし、（本能と、能を讀付るはわろし、弟命の番能の例に拘るべからず）名義、弟命の穗之丹饒と同くて、（火は借字）穗赤熟なり、天智紀に、稻生而穗云々熟、又萬葉十九に安可流橋二十に安可良我之波など、此餘も多、かる言なり、此神、書紀には、一書には、此記の如くあり、一書には、天照國照彦火明命とあり、本書又一書には、天字なくて、たゞ火明命とありて、瓊々杵尊の御子とせりそは異なる傳なりけり、（瓊々杵尊の御子とする傳のときは、名義も火明の字のごとし）さて又書紀には、瓊々杵尊の御子とせる方にも、是尾張連等始祖也と云ひ、御兄とせる方にも、是尾張連等遠祖也とも、兒天香山、是尾張連等遠祖也ともあるを、（或人、御兄なると、御子なるとを、同名にして、異神なりと心得て、御子なる方に、尾張連の祖とあるは、誤の如く云るは、返て非なり、異神には非ず、一神の傳の異なるのみなり、同傳の中に、二方にせるは無きを以て、異神に非ることを知べし、故其傳々に就て、尾張氏の祖なる由をば、何の方へも記されたるなり）此記に然ることの見えぬは、漏たるなり、（凡て某姓之祖也と記せること、書紀よりも、此記は委曲き例なれば、この尾張連之祖と云ことは、必有べきものなり）其尾張連姓の事は、中卷掖上宮段（傳二十一）に委ぐ云べし、舊事紀に、此天火明命と、神武段に見えたる饒速日命とを、一神として、名を天照國照彦天火明櫛玉饒速日尊と云ひて、尾張連と物部連とを一に、此神

萬葉十（三十丁）に、古に織てし八多を、此ゆふべ衣に縫て云々、是も織たる物を指て八多と云り、然れば栲幡も、栲布を云ること、倭文布を倭文幡と云に准へて知べし、萬は、師說に、宜てふ言は、物の足り備れるを云、與呂豆與呂比なども、此より別れたる言なりとある、此に依て思ふに、此も數の萬の意には非で、不足ことなく、美麗く織と、のへたる布帛てふ意に、萬幡と云なり、（書紀の千々姫と照して、數の意を思ふべからず、千々も數の意にあらず）○秋津師は、萬葉三（三十七丁）に秋津羽之袖、十（五十八丁）に秋都葉爾々實敝流衣、（此は、爾と云辭を以見れば、秋の紅葉を云るにてもあらむか）十三（二十六丁）に蜻領巾、などある如く、蜻蛉の羽の如く、薄く細精き帛布を云なり、書紀仁德卷皇后御歌に、夏虫の火虫の衣とあるも、同意なり、（古漢籍にも衣のうるはしきを、虫の羽に譬云るあり）師は、師々の約りたるにて、（凡て同音の重なる言は、一ツ畧き約めて云る例、つねのことなり）書紀に、千々姫とあると同じ、其由は、和名抄に、釋名云、縠、其形縅々、視之如粟也、唐韻云、縅、繒文貌也、此間云之々良岐とある、縅は、他の字書に、縮也ともあり、然れば之々良岐は、縮たる貌にて、今世の縮布縮緬などの如くなるを云なり、さて知々牟を志々牟とも通はし云ば、書紀の千々と、此の師と同くて、共に縅きたるを云なり、（大鏡に、髮ちゞけたるにともあり）さるは上代にも、布帛の縅きたるを、美好物に云ける故の御名なるべし、（師は、秋津洲の意と見て、洲を師と唱へしにや、と云れつれど、秋津洲を、あきつすと云は、後の誤にてこそあれ、古にさる例なし）書紀一書には、萬幡豐秋津姫とも、栲幡千々姫萬幡姫とも、火之戸幡姫兒千々姫とも、（戸は豐なり）萬幡姫とも、天萬栲幡千

のなるを、（書紀一書に、排披天八重雲以奉降、故稱此神曰天國饒石彦云々、ともあるがごとし）今此に父尊の答白し賜へる御言に、かく告賜ふさまに記せるは、違へるに似たれども、かゝることは、後を以て前へも回らし云、常のことなり、又、此御名、書紀には、天津彦々火瓊々杵尊とも、（此彦々二字を、合せて比古と訓は、私事なり、上の彦は上に屬、下の彦は下に屬て、別なるものをや）天津彦國光彦火瓊々杵尊とも、天津彦根火瓊々杵尊とも、天饒石國饒石天津彦火瓊々杵尊とも、天國饒石彦火瓊々杵尊ともあり、又天之杵火々置瀨尊とも、天杵瀨尊ともあるは、甚く異なる傳なり、（されど意は同じ、杵は穎なり、瀨は稻の切りたるにて、早稻などの例なり、置は祝詞に稻のことを、奥津御年とある奥の意か、○書紀には、かくさまゞにあれども、日高と申すは一ッもなし、下なる虛空日高をも、虛空彦とあり、そも〳〵此記に日高とあるを、書紀には皆彦とあるは、當代の御諱を避て、撰者の改められたるなるべし）古語拾遺にはたゞ、天津彦尊と申せり、さて皇御孫命とは、この尊を始めて、後の御世御世の天皇をも申まつる稱なり、（書紀に、皇孫とあるこれなり、續紀十五に、美麻乃彌己止とあり、讀は此に依べし、孫を麻とのみ云むは、心得がたけれど、未考得ず、又書紀に、天孫ともあるは、古言に非ず、こは天神之御子を、例の漢めかして、簡に書れたる物なり、阿麻都加微能美古と訓べし、阿米美麻と訓は非なり）○萬幡、書紀に、栲幡千々姫とあり、纂疏に、幡猶機也、夫女功之事、以織紝爲本、故取以爲名也、とあり、此意なるべし、但機具を指て云には非ず、織たる物（絹布の類）をいふなり、書紀神功卷に千縑高縑、萬葉に倭文幡之帶、和名抄に、綺加无波太など云、是ら皆織れる物を指て、波太と云例なり、

諸子中、特所靈異（神代卷に、有靈異之威ともあり）などある意にて、比古比賣は、靈異之兒と云意なり、なほ比の意、上傳三高御產巢日神の下、考合すべし、さて此日子をば、下へ屬けて讀べし、○番能邇々藝命、御名義、穗之丹饒君にて、稻穗に因れる御名なり、丹とは、穗の赤熟めるを云、凡て草木又人の顏など、色付にほふを、邇と云こと、狹丹頰歷黃葉、垣津旗丹頰合、又丹穗面など、萬葉にあるが如し、又藝は、加比の約りにて、饒穎の意にても有べし、（此御名の番を始として、次々の神たちの御名、書紀にはみな火と作れども、火照命火須勢理命火遠理命三柱の餘は、火に由緣なければ、皆借字なり、此記に火遠理命、亦名天津日高日子穗々手見命とある、火遠理は火に由れる御名、穗々手見は、火に由れる御名に非るが故に、同じつゞきなれども、字を易て、穗々と書り、是にて餘も火は借字なることを知べし、さて邇藝をば、たゞ饒の意ともすべけれど、饒をば、上に邇岐と書るに、此は藝字を書るは、饒の岐をば間に約めて、君の意なればなるべし、此記は凡て、かゝる假字づかひに意あること、首卷に云るが如し、又穎の意にてもあらむと云は、此御名を書紀に、天之杵火々云々ともある、杵は穎なるべければなり、猶彼御名の事は、次に云べし、さて穗と穎とは、同物なれども、富とは、穗に出たる貌を云名、加比は、其體を云名にて、言の意は異なれば、御名に重ねても申すべし、）穎は、祝詞等に千穎八百穎とも汁爾母穎爾母とも云る是なり、（穎のこと、師の祝詞考に委く見ゆ、）凡て此御天降段には、稻穗に因れるすぢのこと多きこと、上にも下にも云るを、考合すべし、（此御名義、書紀に火瓊々杵と書る字に就て云る說どもは、例のうるさき漢意にて、いふにたらず、）さて此御名は、後に稱申せるも

められしことありしが、史に漏たるか、但飯高の伊を省けば、即日高なり、故元正天皇、御諱、氷高皇女なるを、飯高ともあり、是に依て思へば、凡て日高てふ言は、實は飯高の意なるも知がたし、此に天津日高とある、天津は、日高に係る言に非ずとせむも妨なし、下には此御名を、天津日子番能云々ともあればなり、さて伊勢に飯高郡あり、倭姫命世記に、飯高縣造祖乙加豆知命乎、汝國名何問賜白久、意須比飯高國止白而、進神田並神戸、倭姫命、飯高志止白事貴止悅賜支とある、貴しと悅たまふと云ことなど、此の考へに由ありげなり、故後の考へのために、驚かしおくなり、儀式帳には、意須比を忍とありて、倭姫命云々と云語なし、式に、陸奥國桃生郡日高見神社あり、又常陸にも、日高之國と云あること、彼國の風土記に見えて、仙覺萬葉抄に引り、又豐後國郡名、日高比多と、和名抄に見ゆ、風土記には日田とあり、是によりて思へば、飛驒も日高國歟、○師云、此御名を日本紀には、天津彦々云々とあるを以て、此日高を、比古と訓べしと云人あれど、こゝは天字より子字までは、皆訓なるに、高字一のみ音に訓べき理りなし、海神段の日高も同じ、此命の御子火遠理命の亦御名をも、天津日高云々と申し、又虛空津日高とも申し、鵜葺草葺不合命をも、天津日高云々と申せり、皆下に見ゆ、○日子、凡て男に比古、女に比賣と云は、美稱にて、(濁りて讀べき名には、毘古毘賣とかけり、凡て此記には、此清濁を明らかに分て書り、然るを後世には、是を誤りて、漫に唱るたぐひ多し、又濁るをよきことに心得て、凡て濁るも非なり、一ごとに此記の清濁に依て讀べし、但日子日女と書るは、今辨へがたし、) 比とは、凡て物の靈異なるを云、天照大御神の御事を書紀に、一神喜曰、吾息雖多、未有若此靈異之兒、また清寧卷に、於

を云、故隨と云り、○知看、上（傳七須佐之男命御啼伊佐知の段）に出、○僕者、此者てふ辭、少穩ならず聞ゆ、古語には、かゝる處にも云しにや、（今者など書る例に、僕字に添へたるものとも見えず、）○將降裝束之間は、久陀理那牟與曾比世志富杼爾と訓べし、（又上の者字は、爲の誤にて、爲將降裝束之間か、爲將と書て、然訓べき例も、首卷にいへるがごとし）裝束の事は、上（傳十一字伎由比の段）に云り、○出生、出字は、坐の誤かと師の云れつる、信に然るべし、（萬葉五に、產禮出有白玉之、吾子古日者、など云る例もあれど、此はなほ出には非じ）○天邇岐志國邇岐志、書紀に饒石と書り、此意の稱名なるべし、（但し石は借字にて、志は、廣し高しなどの志と同じ辭なり、）是を書紀一書には、天國饒石ともあり、萬葉十七に、能登國鳳至郡に、饒石河と云もあり、○天津日高は、大祓詞に、大倭日高見之國とある、師の考に云、夜萬登國は、四方の眞秀なるをほめて、天津日の、虛空の眞秀に高くあるほどに、譬云なり、常に、日の天の眞秀に在を、日高しと云、是古より云ならへる言と聞ゆ、火々出見命を、海神の、空津日高と申せしを、思ひむかふべし、又景行紀に、陸奥に日高見國、又紀伊國に日高郡と云あるは、私記に云る如く、四方の望高く遠き故にてや名づけゝむ、此に夜萬登を云るは、さる意のみとは見えず、と云れたる、然もありなむ、然れば此の御名も、天津日の、高く天の眞秀らに坐を、望瞻奉るが如くなる由の、稱名とすべし、（凡て日高てふことには、猶異なる意もありげにおぼゆれど、未思ひ得たることもなし、大祓詞の日高見國には、說どもあれど、皆わろし、又紀伊國の日高郡は、續紀三に、紀伊國阿提飯高牟漏三郡とある、阿提郡は、故ありて、後に在田と改められる、飯高は、日高郡と聞ゆ、此も然改

古事記傳十五之卷

本居宣長謹撰

神代十三之卷

爾天照大御神高木神之命以。詔太子正勝吾勝勝速日天忍穗耳命。今平訖葦原中國之白。故隨言依賜降坐而知看。爾其太子正勝吾勝勝速日天忍穗耳命答白。僕者將降裝束之間。子生出。名天邇岐志國邇岐志自邇至志以音天津日高日子番能邇邇藝命。此子應降也。此御子者。御合高木神之女萬幡豐秋津師比賣命生子。天火明命。次日子番能邇邇藝命二柱也。是以隨白之。科詔日子番能邇邇藝命。此豐葦原水穗國者。汝將知國言依賜。故隨命以可天降。

太子は、日嗣御子なり、其意は上（傳十四大國主神國避の段）に云り、さて初の詔命の處には太子と云ことを申さずして、此にしも如く申せるは、初の時は、未御事依を受たまはぬほどにて、太子に坐ず、此は、前に既に御事依を受賜ひて、太子に坐故なるべし、○平訖は、許登牟氣袁幣奴と訓べし、○白は、建御雷神の復奏し、を云、○隨言依賜、この御言依は、既に前に有し

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大正十年五月十五日印刷
同　十年五月廿五日發行

古事記傳首卷與附

著作權所有

編纂者　本居清造

發行者　東京市京橋區鈴木町十二番地　吉川半七

印刷者　東京府下田端二百二十二番地　有川軍治

印刷所　東京市京橋區新榮町五丁目三番地　合資會社吉川弘文館出版部

發行所　東京市京橋區鈴木町十二番地　合資會社吉川弘文館

電話京橋二九九、六九七番
振替東京二四四番

名入門せるよし記せり。

○寛政十年

橋本　稻彦　初め通稱を保次郎といふ。後稻藏と改む。

横山　秀世　初の名は清風。

服部　菅雄　遠江の産。本姓は富田、通稱を求馬といふ。服部氏に養はる。千左衞門の千は仙なるべし。

浦　毎保　名の訓はツネヤス。

宮崎　吉偕　初め通稱を左中といふ。

岡田　茂枝　初め通稱を十郎右衞門といふ。

夏目　甕麿　初め通稱を小八郎、名を英積と稱す。

○宣長の手記せるものに、正月十八日加藤與市といふ人入門すとあり。

○寛政十一年

萩原　横充　擴充の誤なり。

富永　正高　鈴屋本には天子宮神主とあり。

石川　豐次　入門を六月と注したれど五月なり。

三浦　元蕃　入門を九月と注せるは誤にて六月なり。

圓立寺玄秀　宣長の記錄によるに、寛政十二年六月六日の入門なり

堤　壽玄　宣長の記錄によるに、寛政十二年六月六日の入門なり

清水　悟里　悟里はヤスサトと訓す。

村田　安足　泰足の誤。

大堀　弘定　弘足の誤。

磯村　道彦　中條多勝家來とある勝の字は膳の誤。

○寛政十二年

衣川　長秋　鈴屋本にはなし。

市岡　孟彦　後猛彦と書せり。

植松　信久　入門を五月と注したれど三月十一日なり。

實形院觀蓮　三月二十九日の入門にして五月にあらず。

近藤　光輔　初め通稱を羊藏といふ。

岡崎　俊平　新撰字鏡を刊行し、また新撰字鏡考異を著せる丘岬俊平なり。

大鐘　照實　九月の入門とせるは誤にして、十月十四日後なり。

紀　三冬　鈴屋本には記載せず。

西村　久雄　以下六人は享和元年二月の入門なり。久雄、秀秋、菅彦、光成、貞嗣は一日に、茂長は十七日に入門。

鹽田　貞嗣　順造は順道の誤なり。

○五月入門の殿村常久を寛政九年に、六月入門の圓立寺玄秀、堤壽玄を寛政十一年に、また櫻山典直を享和元年の條に混入せり。

○享和元年

七里　蕃民　七里はナヽサトと訓す。

粟山　仲保　粟山の誤。

惣社　昌方　昌芳の誤。

和泉　眞國　初め和麿といふ。

大友　久磐　久磐とあるは誤にして親久なり。久磐は春庭の門人にして別人なり。

○二月入門の西村久雄、島田秀秋、森本菅彦、別所茂長、鹽田光成鹽田貞嗣を寛政十二年の條に混ぜり。また宣長の手記せるものに、七月二十八日松阪の願證寺入門のことあり。

鈴屋門人錄補正終

横井　千足　初の名は時。
櫻田　茂　暮雨巷臥央と號す。
早川　雄義　後佐藤氏か冐す。直麿は渡邊直麿にて同じく門人なり
僧　義界　自筆本には禪林寺義界と書せり。
林　梅　大館佐右衞門の妹なり。
瀨尾　信田　信由の誤。

○寛政五年

古屋　直親　眞親の誤。
大久保鷺彦　醫師なり。
島　雅重　出雲北島國造の支流。
熊澤　眞澄　堂上家の侍なり。
鈴木　成峰　名の訓はシゲミネ。
僧　泰心　初の名は張振亮。
服部　應卿　應卿の誤なり。自筆本には住所を同近郷と書せり。
細井三千代麿　利事は判事の誤。初め通稱を金吾といふ。細井廣澤の裔なり。
森田　興茂　後に興枝と改む。
藤井　高尙　初め小膳と稱す。

○是の年三月、長瀨眞幸入門せるを、寛政八年の條に混入せり。

○寛政六年

殿村　安守　通稱初は五兵衞、後に佐五平と稱せるを更に佐六と改む。助吉と稱せしこと明かならず。
坂井　行方　鈴屋本にも行芳とあり。
秋井　時信　鈴屋本には秋井を秋子とせり。
岩橋　吉倚　吉倚は時倚の誤なり。

○寛政七年

木村　昌碩　實名を之貞といふ。
大鍾　信親　享和元年宣長追悼の歌に名親と自署せり。後に改めたるか。
高塚伊織助　鈴屋本に助を介と書せり。
竹村　茂雄　初の名は爲本。
伴野　光貞　宣長の手記せるものに伴忠五郎とあり。野は衍字なるべきか。
千家　豐廣　初め通稱を茂加美名を勝信といふ。寛政六年十一月の入門とせるは誤にて、本年五月の入門なり。

○寛政八年

柴田　以文　初の名を元文といふ。
玉串大内人　玉串大内人は職掌につきたる稱にて氏名にはあらず。宇治土公姓の大内人を宇治大内人といひ、宇治大内人は太玉串を設け備ふる職なれば、玉串大内人とも呼べるなり。鈴屋本に二見左兵衞とせるを宜しとす。
馬島　掃部　實名か安榮といふ。
福田　愿　後眞直と改む。宣長の手記せるものに、通稱を六郎右衞門とせり。
長瀨　眞幸　入門は寛政五年三月一日なり。

○七月入門の井面守典、寛政九年の條に混入せり。

○寛政九年

殿村　常久　鈴屋本には寛政十二年の條に入れり。寛政十二年五月二十日の入門なり。
青木　茂房　初の名は達房。
城戸　千楯　初の名を經正といふ。範治とあるも前の名か。
僧　孝壽　和歌山の感應寺に住す。
奈須　守彦　初め一麿といふ。
長谷川菅緡　初め通稱を伊三郎、名を菅麿といふ。

○宣長の手記せるものに。龍泉寺日瓶に竝べて、同國ろくなる人の入門せることを記せり。婦人なるべし。また六月八日に、南部人五

林　富　自筆本には林登美とあり。
垣本　茂良　重良と書くを正しとす。初め正良といふ。また通稱を初め半之丞と稱す。
古屋　直富　眞富の誤なり。
○自筆本鈴屋本には、白子昌平の次に村田七右衞門橋彥（白子の人）近坂忠孝の次に森伊右衞門光保妻琴（松阪）、平井辨五郎（津、家中葛原半大夫家禮）の入門あり。
○寛政元年
田尻　眞言　後道足と改む。
鈴木　眞實　初め和左禰といふ。
鳥居海人彥　自筆本には、鳥井海士彥と書せり。但し、寛政四年の條には海人彥男鳥居嘉八郎忠基と書せり。町與力を勤む。
新井　有雄　地方手代を勤む。
大橋　直亮　直亮はナホスケと訓す。
原田　勝男　初の名は垂水（タルミ）。
八木　善名　自筆本鈴屋本共に善とのみありて、名の字なし。
河村　正古　初め圓（ツブラ）、正章などと稱す。
乘西寺源慧　自筆本鈴屋本には源惠と書せり。
渡邊　綱　御城代與力を勤む。
鈴木　秀穗　初め通稱を雅樂といふ。寛政二年九月と注せるは、他の例によるに入門月日なり。されど秀穗の入門は本年八月二十三日なり。
山下　正彥　初の名を政定といふ。父は彥左衞門。
石塚　龍麿　初め通稱を八十右衞門、名を矩慶といふ。
倉田　秋滿　初の名を英林といふ。
青柳　種信　大藏は後に改めたる通稱、種麿は後に改めたる實名なり。
○自筆本には植松有信の入門を逸せり。三月入門。
○寛政二年
森川　直定　自筆本には玄翠を玄水と書せり。
小浦　朝通　名の訓はアサミチ。
河地　重矩　大矢重門の兄。
芝原　春房　自筆本には、柴原と書したれど芝原を正しとす。初の名は房氏。
伊藤　道信　大藏はオホクラと訓す。
富田　德風　初め横町新左衞門廣（ヒロム）といふ。姓は大伴。
米原　充興　自筆本鈴屋本に住所を上市とし、三隅の二字なし。
山根　信滿　同村とあるは目脚村（ヒナシ）とあるべきなり。
壽庸　壽康の誤。
米田　芳麿　末田の誤。後に稻麿と改む。
藤本　久葛　初の名を久誠といふ。
○自筆本には、泉舍榮の次に野呂佐右衞門盛種、西川行久の次に白樫覺左衞門の入門あり。共に松阪の人なり。
○寛政三年
松居　安國　初の名は邦（ヨシアツ）。自筆本には松井と書せり。
鬼頭　元吉　自筆本に改吉當と注せり。吉之は其の後更めたる名か。
棡　邦壽　氏はエヅリハ、名はクニヨシと訓す。
三谷比曾牟　初の名は清通。
衣川　長秋　初め池田辰三郎周令といふ。伊勢一志郡須川村の產にして本居家の姻戚なり。後鳥取の衣川氏を嗣ぎ長秋と改む。文政五年二月十日、大阪の門人中島豐足の家にして歿す。五十八歲。
○寛政四年
石原　正明　初め將聽（マサアキラ）と書す。

會郡慥柄の人なり。

○天明三年

岡田　元善　自筆本には、松平周防守殿家老子息と注せり。

三浦　正道　自筆本には、通稱を七左衞門とせり。

米原　充實　後充因と改む。

○自筆本、鈴屋本ともに、村田橋彦の入門を天明八年とし、又樋口正之の次に松阪の僧密道の入門あり。

○天明四年

村田　並樹　初の名を文哉といふ。自筆本に小笠原播磨守臣と注せり。

一見　直樹　初の名を俊德といふ。

坂倉　茂樹　初の名を菅生といふ。

倉田　實樹　初の名を實壽といふ。

菊屋　末耦　自筆本には菊谷末偶と書せり。

鈴木　粱滿　天明六年閏十月十四日破門。

○自筆本には、中村正賴の次に白塚晴兵衞岡村儀八郎の二人、森光保の次に西村喜三郎、森祐秀の次に觀音寺眞龍の入門あり。眞龍は志摩國堅神の人、他は皆松阪の人なり。

自筆本には、森琴の入門を天明八年とせり。

○天明五年

村上　有行　初め通稱を吉太郎、名を榮亮といふ。

服部　中庸　初め轍之助と稱す。後に姓を渡邊と改め更に箕田と改む。

栗田　土麿　自筆本には土万侶と書せり。また土滿とも書す。

青木　親持　初め親用と書す。

○自筆本鈴屋本には、横井千秋の次に吉祥寺映譽（伊勢國飯高郡大河內村）の入門あり。而て土岐建雄の名見えず。

○天明六年

牧戸　美鄕　自筆本鈴屋本ともに美卿と書せり。

齋田　清繩　自筆本に齊田（サイダ）と書けり。

帆足　惟香　自筆本鈴屋本には、山鹿郡久原（クバル）村一目明神社司とのみ注せり。寛政三年六月廿日入門と記せるは誤れり。天明六年四月二十七日鈴屋を訪ひて入門せり。寛政三年六月廿日は、惟香が同國の杉谷彝と相携へて更に鈴屋を訪へる日なり。

大矢　重門　初め重角と書す。

西村　重浪　自筆本鈴屋本には重左衞門と書せり。

○天明七年

林　茂蔭　通稱を自筆本には季林兒（キリムヂ）とせり。其の他宣長の手記を檢するに、何れも季と書せり。

七里　政要　初め佐紀を迮と書せり。政要はマサトシと訓す。

笠因　直麿　初め通稱を齋助と稱す。

萩原　元克　源兵衞は德兵衞の誤なり。元克はモトエと訓す。

川北　夏蔭　初の名は政式。

守屋　昌綱　鈴屋本にも、欄外に安永六年丁酉正月入門と朱にて書せり。

澤瀉　常尙　常尙はツネヒサと訓す。

蓬萊　瓠形　瓢形、尙賢とも書せり。

蘭田　守韶　守韶はモリツグと訓す。

井面　守訓　自筆本には九禰宜とあり。後七禰宜に進めるなるべし

柏淵三千廣　自筆本には、寛政三年の條に載せて、欄外に先年と注せり。

○天明八年

十文字重顯　自筆本に重頭（アキ）とあり。顯の字は後に改めたるなるべし

栗田　直菅　眞菅の誤なり。

林　好雄　初め稽古（トホフル）といふ。

鈴屋門人錄補正

本居清造

宣長の手づから記したる授業門人姓名錄一册あり。但し寛政五年の小崎七郎兵衞にて筆を擱き、別に寛政五年の入門者姓名(前の續き)を錄したる紙片一葉を卷末に貼付したり。後年これに多少の改竄を加へ、なほ寛政五年以後の入門者を追錄したるものあり。即ち前掲の鈴屋門人錄にして、曾て本居全集首卷に載せられたるものなり。(今これを假に全集本と稱す)。其の編者並に編纂の年代は不明なれど、松阪の門人を中心として組織せる鈴屋社にて、寛政十一年七月以後に編せるものなるべしと思はるゝ點あり。文化四年に既に成れることは、當時門人中に此の書を所持したるものあるに徵して明かなり。此の書、其の一本を予が家にも古くより藏せり。(今これを假に鈴屋本と稱す)但し全集本と比較するに小異の點なきにあらず。また全集本鈴屋本共に往々誤あり。よりて、今回全集本を古事記傳首卷の附錄として世に頒つに方り、これを自筆本鈴屋本等に參照し、なほ確實なる他の資料によりて增補訂正せんことを思ひ立てるなり。

○安永二年以前

小津　正啓　審齋は入道後の號なり。

稻掛　棟隆　入道して實入といふ。什助は多く十助と書きたり。

瀨古　中行　初め雅述といふ。

稻掛　大平　初め通稱を十藏といふ。

長谷川常雄　下なる中里常岳の兄なり。

中里　常國　初め常朝といふ。

中里　常岳　初め常道といふ。また、通稱を初め大三郎、彌五郎などと稱す。前なる長谷川常雄の弟なり。

藤田　元能　適齋は入道後の號。

谷　高峯　自筆本、鈴屋本には通稱を惠左衞門とせり。

○自筆本には島川齋にならびて、長谷川次郎兵衞の入門あり。松阪の人なり。これを加ふる時は、安永二年以前の門人は總計　十四人なり。

○安永四年

田中　町彥　もと石田氏。初の名を千町といふ。

中里　常秋　通稱を初め定四郎、伴藏などと稱す。

○自筆本には田中町彥の次に山内求馬(松阪の人)、大國都地の次に理延(リエ)宇治の人、婦人なるべし)の二人あり。鈴屋本にも理延を擧げたり。而て中川守先は、自筆本鈴屋本共にこれを載せず。

○安永五年

成道寺隆瑜　松阪とあるは誤なり。伊勢國一志郡算所村なり。

上島　美臣　松阪の人にあらず、伊勢國一志郡久居なり。次の菊川信滿も同じ。

○自筆本には、成道寺隆瑜の次に長井與八郎(入道して休英と號す)小津信業の次に岡山彥五郎の入門あり。共に松阪の人なり。

○安永六年

早川　廬　廬の字、自筆本鈴屋本共に广と書してイホリと傍訓を施せり。印本廬とせるはさかしらなり。

○天明七年の條に、本年入門の守屋昌綱を混じたり。

○安永八年

○自筆本には、岡山正興の前に密藏院戒應の入門あり。松阪の人なり。

○天明元年

殿村　整方　殿村宗右衞門とある宗右衞門は、道應とあるべきなり

同　妻文子　壽元と號す。元の字、鈴屋本には原と書せり。

○自筆本には、殿村文子の次に西迎寺密傳の入門あり。伊勢國度會郡中村の人。

○天明二年

村上　有信　自筆本には彥次の次を治と書せり。

○自筆本には、村上有信の次に理惠(婦人か)の入門あり。伊勢國度

飯野郡中万村　三月　山上源右衛門　光副
遠江敷智郡入野　同　竹村又右衛門　源尙規
同　同　郡新居驛　同　高須加兵衛　元尙
飯野郡中万村　六月　竹口喜左衛門　政常
尾張名兒屋　去寛政十二　櫻山彌與三郎　典直　後三郎右衛門
京新町錦小路上　四月、　七里市兵衛　善民
同錦小路室町西入　同　服部五郎左衛門　敏夏
同小川出水角茶屋刄郎次郎手代　樋口瀨平　安文
生國は近江坂田郡七條村　五月　粟山喜三次　仲保
同同手代　六月　矢倉安次郎　氏乘
同烏丸出水上中井主水下御背請方役人　六月　二宮春祥　タ、（印）　正禎
伊豫喜多郡矢野郷八幡濱　四月　田中彌次郎　紀文　改大秀
飛驒大野郡高山　四月
駿河阿部郡府中　惣社神主　五月　惣社中務　志貴昌方
同　有度郡草薙社神主　五月　森五十槻　藤秋津麿　貞温と云
遠江敷知郡新居諏訪明神社　五月社家（印）　飯田左門　藤秀麿
江戸箱崎町二丁目　渡邊屋　六月　和泉東吉郎　眞國
出羽平鹿郡八澤木村神職　九月　大友榮太　久磐
筑前鞍手郡植木村　九月十八日　香月勘次郎　春岑
飯野郡射和　十月朔日　富山岩次郎　貞平　貞豪男
伯耆米子　松平相模守殿醫師　十一月廿四日　田代元春
同　十一月廿四日　後藤市郎右衛門　直滿
同　同　間宮露筌　正彥
近江彥根　家老三浦内膳妻　三浦於兎吉母　龜美子
通計四百八十八人（印）

○鈴屋門人錄

鈴屋門人錄終

肥後菊池郡邊田村　八幡宮神主　石川常陸　藤豐次
近江彥根　家老三浦內膳　六月　三浦於菟吉　元苗
同　同二男享和二冬正木舍人養子となる正木藤三郎と改む　六月　三浦鉄之介　元蕃
安藝郡高野尾村　日蓮宗　六月　九月　圓立寺　支秀　俗姓左京塚本氏
安濃郡萩野村　醫　六月　堤壽玄
川曲郡三日市村　飯野神社神主　六月　坂倉越後守　藤正雄
能登鳳至郡宇出津　禪宗　九月　常樹寺　拔山
同　同　九月　秦藤三郎　甫冬
同　同　九月　眞脇久右衛門　安宣
同　同　九月　清水恒右衛門　悟里
近江彥根　家中　九月　石居市丞　元虎
同　同　同　村田大助　安足
同　同　同　大堀龍藏　弘定
下總古河　家中　十一月　中村彥太兵衛　綾麿
石見大麻山　熊野權現社別當　尊勝寺　慈海
尾張名古屋　中條多勝家來　十二月　礒村万七　菅道彥
同　醫　十二月　伊藤春桃　茂定
○寬政十二年庚申
飯野郡射和　正月　竹川彥太郎　政信
松坂　同　長束逸八　忠之
飯高郡岸江　五月　橋本傳兵衛　定之
一志郡須川　後因州鳥取　衣川宰記　長秋（寬政三年ニ見エ重出）
松坂　八月　長井武吉　清通

松坂　九月　殿村治兵衛　宥言
志摩鳥羽　二月　森岡理兵衛　世茂
尾張名古屋　同家中　市岡藤太郎　孟彥
同　五月　植松佳太郎　信久
參河吉田　同　修驗　寶形院　親蓮
松坂　須賀直入　直入
同　荒木九兵衛妻　三野光輔
肥前長崎　近藤半五郎　布施但馬守　安倍宿禰吉知
越後苅羽郡琵琶島村　剱川神社神主　四月　加藤健次郎　藤有清
尾張名古屋　桂光院　大道字は無量
大和長谷　長谷寺內紀國產　五月　岡崎青宇　俊平
若狹小濱遠敷郡　今大坂住　六月一　橋本播磨　藤孝包
安濃郡雲林院村　美濃夜神社神主　九月　平野春芳　方熟　改廣臣
尾張名古屋　御家中　平野春策　男醫　九月　大鐘藤四郎　照實
同　九月　紀麻續主　三冬　國造
紀伊　西村上總　橘久雄
同日前宮社家　十二月　島田河內　紀秀秋
同　同　同　森本主稅　紀菅彥
同日前宮國造臣　同　別所永德　茂長
同若山　醫　同　鹽田養的　光成
同同　針醫　同　鹽田順造　貞嗣
同同　同
○享和元年辛酉

松坂　殿村萬蔵　常久
同　青木恒藏　茂房
京錦小路室町之西　鐸舍（印）　城戸市右衛門　千楯　範治初萬次郎
飯高郡下蛸路村　堀口次郎三郎　光重　後六兵衛
一志郡飯福田村　四月　飯福田寺　快住
松坂　岡村儀八郎　定好
能登鳳至郡宇出津　六月　加藤上野介　吉彦
越後村上　江見大和守
伊勢津八町　伊東定五郎　鍵屋
泉州堺　下總住　六月　僧　孝壽
伊勢宇治　去年七月　井面出雲　荒木田神主守典
同　津　家中　村田宗内信重
同　多氣郡濱田村　早川左太郎　尹澄
石見濱田　龍泉寺　日翫
京　十一月　奈須伊三郎　守彦
同　十一月　長谷川三折　菅緒
同錦室町西へ入　十一月　波伯部藤介　百樹　上田百樹と諸書にあれば波伯部は姓なるべし
○寛政十年戊午
安藝廣島　正月　橋本中臺　源稻彦
伊勢宇治　栗谷壽老大夫妻　伊佐
石見濱田　家中　三月　鈴木才右衛門　政武
遠江城飼郡平尾　三月　横山藤兵衛　秀世
越後　三月　直

伊勢津　藤堂殿妾　同家中　中野多右衛門娘
阿波德島　三月　中野氏　直子
駿河島田　四月　河村左市　知當
伊勢津　家中　服部千左衛門　菅雄
志摩郡淀姫神社神主　松本只右衛門女　九三子
筑前　筑前一國中神職之支配　浦常陸介　藤田朝臣每保
日向諸縣郡高岡　八月　毛利勝作　元介
同　同　醫　八月　横山尚齋　古章
同　同　八月　有馬直右衛門　純正
伊豫八幡濱　八月　梶谷承慶　守典
伊勢宇治　八月　一文字報賀　尚一（カヅ）
伊勢津　八幡社司　九月　宮崎伊豫　藤吉備
志摩鳥羽　十月　岡田十郎次　茂枝
三河渥美郡龜山　井木彦馬　釀庸
遠江濱名郡白須賀驛　夏目嘉右衛門　爽鷹（リ）
同　濱松　井上河内守殿醫師　十一月　馬目玄鶴　愚之
土佐波多郡大和長谷住　十二月　僧　愛山
○寛政十一年己未七十歳
大和長谷　正月　萩原彌作　横充
紀國若山　御代官數見角右衛門男　三月　數見秀次郎　潭公中
肥後玉名郡小天村　大子宮神主　三月　富永加賀　正高（ヒタカタ）　主馬
伊勢宇治　四月　澁谷亘
大和長谷　五月　服部次郎兵衛　忠章
陸奥松前　家中　五月　下國武（タケシ）　季鳳（スヘカ）

伊勢久居　木村昌碩
播磨明石郡岩屋　明神々主　大藪主殿　藤信親
伊勢山田浦口町　莊門唱　光海
同　同　中島町　喜多加治馬　親章
肥後山鹿郡　高塚伊織助
石見濱田　家中　今井勘右衞門
同　同　谷口鼎
同　周防守殿侍女　松平周防守殿妾　隆子（タカコ）
同　同家老　岡田賴母妻　鍵子（カキ）
伊豆君澤郡熊坂村　竹村平右衞門　茂雄（シゲ）
美濃郡　横曾根村　安田彦八　義著
同　大垣　伴野忠五郎　光貞一改小一郎
松坂　深田佐兵衞　年雄
豐後大野郡宇自郷田原村　熊野社司　矢野丹後
伊勢宇治　大國左內　盛業
飯高郡垣鼻村　十月二日　中津伴右衞門　元義
伊勢宇治　烏帽子權之助　末方
近江彦根　家中　小原八郎左衞門　君雄
出雲大社　寛政六年甲寅十一月　千家清太理　出雲宿禰豐廣
伊勢津　十二月　小林直入　恒堅
○寛政八年丙辰
伊勢津　家中　柴田禮介　以文（モチアヤ）
同　同　同　寛政七十二月廿五日　武田貞吉　源信安

伊勢宇治　中瀨左金吾　勝文
同　同　岩井田奉膳　荒木田尙德
同　同　玉串大內人　宇治土公定津
同　神戸　馬島掃部
同河曲郡四日市　高津伊右衞門
讃岐　山田六郎　源高行
阿波　家中五百石取　前田助左衞門　英長
伊豫喜多郡矢野郷八幡濱　三月　野田淺吉　廣足
同　同　三月　野井七郎兵衞　安定
江戸淺草　三月　大垣久右衞門　久雄
同　同　三月　山中要助　清足
遠江見附　福田市郎右衞門　清足（スナホ）愚
信濃小縣郡鹽田前山村　宮澤右近　清房
大宮大明神神主　五月
肥後熊本家中　長瀨七郎平　眞幸（マサキ）
寛政五年二月入門
京　先年入門　澤善藏　眞風
近江彦根　家中　五月　酒居志津馬　近麿
遠江　元濱松八幡宮社司　六月　金原主計　紀清方
近江彦根　八月　岡村與惣彌
伊勢龜山東町　八月　林善助　群樹
同一志郡比留村　十月　佐藤元成　義貫
同　三渡村　同　石井三郎兵衞　順古
同　小津村　同　中村源右衞門　正直
○寛政九年丁巳

松坂　森田信兵衛　興茂
飯野郡上七見村　山崎直之助　源義知
備中　吉備津宮社人　藤井長門守　高尙
右至寛政五年　都二百九十七人也
○寛政六年甲寅
伊勢松坂　三月入門　殿村助吉　安守　後稱佐五平
三河八名郡大野村　戸村只八郎　俊行
同　加藤長左衛門　廣當（マサ）
美濃高田　小河喜右衛門　道足
尾張名兒屋　酒井彦八郎　忠雄
同　坂井勘三郎　行方　芳（印本）
同　醫師　丹羽有鄕（ウキヤウ）　有鄕
同　水谷治吉
同　醫師　加藤立見　正禮
同　神戸（カンド）文左衛門妻　伊都
同　川村九兵衛妻　志豆紀
同　鈴木藤九郎　清樹
同　西光寺　昇空
度會郡慥柄　向井城右衛門　明祥
同　中西彦右衛門　政恭
同　岩崎愛藏　義政
同　藤井佐左衛門　貫通
同　向井八五郎　原澄

度會郡慥柄　大森七兵衛　武信
同　竹內五兵衛　堯民
肥前長崎　關谷敬藏　潛
肥後　多久元良
土佐高知　家中　千頭（チガシラ）琢七　菅原繁根
參河　富永與八　某寧
筑前鞍手郡下村吉川　山王社司　國井安藝
同　同郡小伏村　秋井勘兵衛　時信
同　博多　村田仁吉
三河平坂村　外山善兵衛　成庸
伊勢山田八日市場　吉澤主水　度會末盈
同　同　前野町　山田大路主殿　元善
尾張名兒屋　梶久太郎　妹　綱
紀伊　玉津島社神主　高松上總介　房雄
同　若山家中　松澤八三郎　喜尙
同　同　杉田要人
同　糸鹿稻荷社神主　林信濃　藤景正
同　立神社神主　中山日向　岡刀著定（補印）
同有田郡千田村　須佐社神主　岩橋出羽守　大江古尙
京　佐々木壽六　直足（印）
播磨姬路　野口善八　秀興
○寛政七年乙卯
伊勢津　光德寺　講淨

伊勢一志郡矢野村　前田素平
江戸　小笠原播磨守殿家中　森田東次　保壽
出雲大社　千家國造俊秀舍弟　千家清主　出雲臣俊信（ザネ）
同　森山左膳　央興（ヒサオキ）
筑前櫻井　佐々駒公（ナレキ）　正劑
○寛政五年癸丑
甲斐　一之宮社人　古屋大和　直親
同巨摩郡古市場　大久保章言　鷲彦
紀伊若山　上野喜右衛門　易詮
河内郡神戸柳村　小崎七郎兵衛
播磨梅東郡林田庄　三木彌三左衛門
肥前長崎　伊勢宮神主　島八百道（ヤホヂ）　出雲臣雅重
京　生國伯耆　熊澤眞澄（マスミ）　源爲壽
同　後藤縫殿助家來　松岡恒次郎　賴古
同　生國尾張　神戸爲藏
同　富田吉左衛門
同　廣瀨半兵衛
同　江尻佐兵衛
同　清水嘉兵衛　廣居
同　林宗兵衛　鮏主
同　松尾社人　中澤越後
山城伏見　松平土佐守殿家中　山地覺藏　介壽
尾張名兒屋　鈴木彌平　成峰　眞實男

尾張名兒屋　横井勘次郎　有成　改良邑
同　僧　泰心
同　眞野次郎八　誠忠
同　山脇和泉　元貞
同海東郡木田村　大舘左市妻　土佐
同　郡村　服部卯年兒　應鄉
美濃大垣　高橋鈴四郎　義方
同　清水伊八　久忠
伊勢三重郡四日市　伊達源三郎　是保
遠江城飼郡櫻池ノ宮神主　櫻式部　豐麿
肥後一阿蘇宮神職　宮川紀
伊勢宇治　中瀨嘉大夫　秦以勝
同　山田　中津長大夫　益孝
三河吉田　城内鎭守天王神主　鈴木若狹　藤眞重
筑前福岡　家中　細井利事　藤三千代麿
甲斐山梨郡田中村　小野七郎右衛門　菅滿
同　酒折宮神主　飯田大藏　正房　源姓
三河吉田　大山治左衛門母　縫
尾張名兒屋　小川傳吉　榮宣
同　人妻　菌
同　醫師　關春粹　處生
松坂　伊豆田清三郎　金甫（カネヨシ）
飯高郡塚本村　曾根益五郎　孝直

尾張春日井郡清洲　鬼頭新左衛門　元吉　改吉之
宇治　搦少進　荒木田邦壽
一志郡小川村　酒井縫之助　長興
松坂　三谷景介　比曾牟
尾張木田村　大舘吉郎次　信鄕
松坂　林伊右衛門　利長
尾張清洲　早川清大夫　文明
一志郡須川　因幡鳥取　衣川宰記（サイキ）　長秋攝津大阪死於中島豐足之家
印本ニハ「伊勢一志郡須川村　池田辰三郎　周令」トアリテ因幡鳥取ヨリ長秋（ナガアキ）マデナシ
肥後玉名郡分田（ブンダ）村　八幡社司　杉谷三河彝（ツネ）
松坂　須賀圭民　手纏（マキ）
同　樋田久三郎　朝顯
飯高郡田原村　横山久五　利樹
○寛政四年壬子
尾張神守驛　石原喜左衛門　正明
遠江城東郡門屋村　高松社司
安濃津古川　八王子社司　中山將監　藤吉埴（ハニ）
尾張名兒屋　御家中　倉田山城守　有成
同　同　樋口又兵衛　好古
同　同　箕浦與右衛門　擲男（ナゲ）
同　同　鳥居嘉八郎　忠基・海人彦男
同　同　阿知波七之助　正容
同　同　藤井六郎次　豐恭（ユキ）
同　同　松岡鹿助　牡鹿輔（シカ）　初利長

尾張名兒屋　水野村住　水野權平　平正恭
同　同　村瀨善左衛門　景美
同　同　志村作左衛門　重長
同　同　横井十郎左衛門　千足　初稱熊吉千秋男
同　醫師　法橋加藤文中　文中
同　同　法橋小鹿周達　吉寛
同　同　有賀培元　凌
同　俳人　櫻田玄丈　茂（シゲ）
同　佐藤與市　正準
同　內田源兵衛　宣經
同　岩田傳兵衛　致陳（コシノブ）
同　花井市右衛門　知方
同　早川新六　雄義　直歷男
同　加藤理兵衛　知景
同　林杏助　越智廣海
同　醫師　鈴木常助　朗（アキラ）　號離屋（ハナレ）
同　東本願寺宗　淨瑞寺了榮
同　同宗　僧　義界
同春日井郡高田寺村　白山社司　町田靱負　利房
同中島郡福島村　林彌平次妻　梅
同　郡　瀨尾與右衛門　信田
美濃大垣　河地虎象（ゾウ）　重虎　大矢重門弟
一志郡須川村　八王子社司　萬井主鈴　忠孝

尾張名兒屋　坂本吉兵衛　列峰
同　山田新助　幸來（サキク）
同　河村善次郎　正保
同　堀田半右衛門　宗則　改元矩後梅衛
同　伊藤平右衛門　公彝（ツネ）
鈴鹿郡龜山　石上寺　實成
出羽山形　蒲生阿藏　秀足
尾張名兒屋　加藤善七　定房
同　乘西寺　源慧
同　御家中　渡邊源右衛門　綱
同　同　人妻　由良
同　醫師　井上專庵　正春
桑名郡桑名横野　醫師　野村多門　茂時
遠江周知郡一ノ宮宮代村小國神社神主　鈴木豐前　小國秀穗（ナクニ）
寛政二年九月
同豐田郡敷地村　山下武助　正彦
同敷智郡細田村　石塚安右衛門　龍麿
二河吉田　鈴木陸奥　穗積重野　梁万呂男
美濃大垣　大垣在結村（ムスブ）　岡田勝之右衛門　三貞（ミツ）
津　天明己酉九年正月　倉田金十郎　秋滿
土佐高知　家中　刈谷豫三郎　搏風
度會宇治　薗田七神主　荒木田神主守諸（ツラ）
筑前福岡　家中　青柳勝次　大藏種信　種麿
尾張起驛木陣（オコシ）　加藤右衛門七　磯足

○寛政二年庚戌
度會宇治　泉右門　舍榮（イヘヨシ）　荒木田神主
飯高郡名殘村　森川玄翠　直定
紀伊若山　御家中　小浦彦之丞　朝通
同　同　西川柳右衛門　行久
美濃大垣　河地小右衛門　重矩　重門兄
安濃津　芝原武次郎　春房
筑前　早良郡飯盛村　飯盛宮神主　牛尾大學　每敏（ツネトシ）
同遠賀郡中間村（ナカマ）　大穴牟遲神社司　伊藤大藏　道信
越中射水郡高岡　富田八十右衛門　德風（コシカセ）
石見奈賀郡上市三隅　米原玄仙　充興　敬亭弟
同　郡上市　野上雅樂　實房
同　郡同村　八幡社司　山根民部　信滿（サネマロ）
同　郡上市　大黑屋新兵衛　佐登風
尾張名兒屋　壽庸
安藝廣島　米田屯八郎　芳麿
松坂　谷文藏　高當
阿波麻殖郡兒島村　小島宇兵衛　雅秀
同　同　阿部勝五郎　定央
一志郡　辛洲神社司　今井要人　一清
度會山田　藤本勇　久蔕（イサミ）（ツラ）
○寛政三年辛亥
近江彦根　家中　松居正平　安國

美濃大垣　上田善右衛門
度會宇治　安永六年丁酉正月　守屋德大夫　磯部宿禰昌綱
同　寛政六ノ三ノ廿一卒　岩井田内記　荒井田尙友（ヒサ）
同　坂常陸　荒木田神主尙品（タヾ）
同　澤潟伊織　荒木田神主常尙　又稱坂
同　寛政四年春死　梅谷治部　荒木田神主末晴
同　泉藏人　荒木田神主舍輝（イヘテル）
同　益谷大學　荒木田神主末壽（ホギ）
同　蓬萊雅樂　荒木田神主孤形
同　薗田内藏允　初藤波勘解由氏韶　荒木田神主守韶（ノリ）
同　井面七神主　荒木田神主守訓（クニ）
山田　檜垣前司女源
美濃　郡高田　柏淵藤左衛門　三千廣　初在香
○天明八年戊申
宇治　十文字典膳　荒木田神主重顯
奄藝郡白子　白子兵大夫　昌平
遠江城飼郡　栗田市右衛門　直菅
同引佐郡堀ノ内村　鈴木半藏　書緒
攝津兵庫　泉宮内　謙（ユツリ）
飯野郡射和　富山與三兵衛　定豪
一志郡曾原村　林久左衛門　好雄
越後高田　倉石市三郎　高積　初爲光
尾張名兒屋　堀川肥太　稻置

山添村　服部淨助　良行
渡會宇治　佐八象（キサ）廣　荒木田神主定長
同　山田　安田傳大夫　正起　改豐（キヨ）　又廣治
松坂　近坂千藏　忠孝
尾張名兒屋　林良元妻　富
飯高郡驛部田村　垣本庄右衛門　茂良
甲斐八代郡末木村　醫師　辻保順　守祇
同　郡一之宮村　吉屋普之助　伴直富
○寛政元年己酉　六十歲
尾張海東郡木田村　大舘佐右衛門妻　民
遠江長上郡有玉村　高林勝三郎　方則（ミチノリ）　改伊兵衛　又吉人
筑前福岡　家中　田尻才兵衛　眞言　改稱梅翁
四日市　田中吉郎次　滿高　村田橋彥　竭
尾張名兒屋　河村九兵衛　正雄
同　御家中　鈴木仙藏　眞實
同　同　鳥居覺右衛門　海人彥
同　同　新井宇兵衛　有緒
同　同　稻葉喜藏　通邦
同　醫師　大橋丹治　直亮
同　同　原田道川　勝男
同　同　八木養碩　善名
同　同　河村德助　正古
同　植松忠兵衛　有信

石見三隅　醫師　米原敬亭　充實
同　松坂　中里友藏　常季

○天明四年甲辰

伊勢松坂　竹內彥市　直道　元之男
同　同　中村田龍　正賴
同　同　森　伊右衛門　光保　初稱義平（印本）
同　同　同　妻琴
同　奄藝郡一身田　後藤一學　照廣　改宗凭
同　同　森宗兵衛　祐秀　初稱貢次九兵衛後號山鵠舍又樂
同　白子　村田七郎左衛門　並樹　前一柳春門又村田蟹守又稱九二兵衛
同　同　一見元常　直樹
同　同　坂倉大和守　茂樹
同　同　倉田太左衛門　實樹
同　度會郡宇治　日祈大內人　菊屋兵部　荒木田末耦（ドモ）
三河吉田　熊野社司　鈴木士佐　穗積梁滿（ヤナマロ）
尾張海東郡木田村　大館左市　源高門

○天明五年乙丑

尾張名兒屋　醫師　堀田元進　紀世德
松坂　村上三介　有行　改圓方後潔夫
同　服部義內　中庸（ナカツネ）　源姓　號水月
尾張名兒屋　御家中　橫井十郎左衛門　平千秋　始千麿後稱田守
備中新見鄉龍山村　土岐周輔　源建雄

遠江城飼郡平尾八幡社司　栗田民部　土麿（ヒチ）
松坂　青木半右衛門　親持

○天明六年丙午

伊勢飯野郡西之野村　牧戶洵次　美鄉
同　度會郡山田　齋田義助　清繩
備中　庭瀨　山鹿郡久原（クハル）村一ノ目大明神　近藤嘯藏　春彥
天目一箇命也寬〻三年六月廿日入門享和元年六月四日
肥後　從五位下下總守蒙宣下改清原朝臣長秋　帆足下總　清原惟香
美濃大垣　大矢仁左衛門　重門
伊勢渡會郡山田　西村十左衛門　重淚

○天明七年丁未

尾張中島郡福島村　林李林（リンジ）兒　茂蔭　後稱彌平次
安濃津　家中　七里佐紀　政要　後號松叟改長行
松坂　笠因鈴之丞　直麿
甲斐山梨郡田中村　萩原平吾　元克　初稱源兵衛
安濃津　川北善太郎　夏蔭
美濃大垣　家中畫師　田中洞慶　美方
同　陪臣　伊藤周平　政甫
尾張名兒屋　寬政四正十三死　石田庄三郎　正誠
豐前中津　古表八幡社司　渡邊惣左衛門　直麿
度會山田　三方　渡邊上野介　藤原重名　朝臣（印）
飯高獵師平生村　橋村主膳　正代（タヾ）
同　刀禰五郎兵衛　伊藤直雄

同　松坂　谷　榮左衛門　高峯
同　同　長谷川　彦之助　光寛
祖翁四十四歳　右安永二年癸巳以前　都四十三人
○安永三年甲午
伊勢阿濃郡津　柴田四郎右衛門　常昭
○安永四年乙未
伊勢一志郡久居　田中　元　俊　町彦
同　松坂　中里平兵衛　常秋
同　度會郡宇治　大國雅樂某妻　都地（ソチ）
同　同　中川　大炊　守先　荒木田神主
○安永五年丙申
伊勢松坂　成　道　寺　隆瑜
同　同　上島專右衛門　美臣（ヨシシタ）
同　同　菊川久太郎　信滿
同　同　小津次郎左衛門　信業　初信實
○安永六年丁酉
伊勢三重郡蔦野　土方家中　早川　盧（印本）　源忠顯
同　同　同　加藤　仄（ホノカ）　藤正典
○安永七年戊戌
伊勢飯野郡丹生村　神宮寺　一如
○安永八年己亥
伊勢松坂　岡山八郎治　正興
同　同　三井總十郎　高隆　初高照

伊勢松坂　長谷川平藏　定矩
○安永九年庚子　五十一歳
美濃　多藝郡榛木村產　尾張名見屋住　田中庄兵衛　道慶　後道全
備前岡山　儒者備後產　平野晉齋　健行
石見濱田　松平周防守殿儒者　遠江濱松　號柳龍　小篠（サヽ）大記　敏（ミヌ）　初稱道冲
伊勢松坂　小津七郎次　正邦　正啓男
同　同　增田元　榮　是賢
同　同　西村平藏　積章
○天明元年辛丑
伊勢松坂　殿村宗右衛門　整方　元稱宗右衛門
同　同　同　妻　文子（フミコ）
同　飯野郡中万村　堀木太祐　勝齡
○天明二年壬寅
土佐高知　家中　天明五四ノ十二死　宮地喜八郎　春樹
同　阿濃郡津　村上彦次　有信
○天明三年癸卯
石見濱田　松平周防守殿家老　岡田頼母　源元善（ヨシ）　初稱權平次
同　同　同家中　三浦七右衛門　正道（マサ）
同　三隅　醫師　齋藤利三　藤秀滿（マロ）　正之印本作重水而无改重水三字
伊勢鈴鹿郡龜山　樋口太郎兵衛　正之　改重水
同　奄藝郡白子　村田七右衛門　橋彦
石見三隅　大橋伊兵衛　清常
同　同　滑川十兵衛　信清

鈴屋門人錄

授業門人姓名錄

伊勢松坂　小津清右衛門　正啓　後號審齋
同　同　中津伊右衛門　光多（ミツナ）
同　同　稻掛什助　棟隆
同　同　須賀正藏　直見
同　同　濱田八郎兵衛　明達
同　同　村坂嘉左衛門　道生　改高行
同　同　覺性院　戒言
同　同　青木喜右衛門　章房
同　同　同　甚藏　成房　章房男也
伊勢飯高郡大津村　森田與右衛門　雅行
同　松坂　折戸太右衛門　氏麿
同　同　德力善八郎　明通
同　同　小島幸助　孝基
同　同　伴元格　忠世
同　同　服部義中　時保
同　飯高郡杉村　法住寺　秀覺
同　渡會郡慥柄　海藏寺　大圓
同　飯高郡大口村　最勝寺　形譽
同　渡會郡阿曾浦　僧等傳
同　松坂　竹內彥市　元之　後稱四郎兵衛

伊勢松坂　瀨古喜兵衛　中行
同　飯高郡塚本村　村上小三郎　豐之
同　松坂　鑑蓮院　單旭
同　奄藝郡上野驛　伊藤磯次郎　殷興
同　度會郡慥柄　岩崎源五　忠屋
同　同　向井作兵衛　正隆
同　同　向井市郎兵衛　喜長（ヨシ）
同　同　向井三郎兵衛　清品（ヒデ）
同　同　藤井市郎右門　道治
同　松坂　稻掛十介　大平　初茂穗
同　同　長谷川武右衛門　常雄　初中里氏
同　同　山路喜兵衛　孝正
同　同　村田中書　光庸（モチ）（印本）
同　同　種森喜平太　茂隆
同　飯高郡江津村　西方寺　守忍
同　松坂　後山田住西山主計政樹　中里重五郎　常國
同　同　中里新三郎　常岳
同　飯高郡下村　園部六左衛門　芳武
同　松坂　藤田德右衛門　元能　後號適齋
同　阿濃郡津家中　島川齋　秀尹
同　松坂　中條源兵衛　直基

氏物語（帚木卷）を、享和元年　月十四日には古語拾遺を進講す。
山室山奥墓の事は、前掲奥墓の圖（第五圖）の説明にこれを述べたり。
髻華山薩及び地名字音轉用例等については、寛政十年の條に、本末の歌のことは寛政元年の條に、言語活用抄のことは天明二年の條にこれをいへり。
眞暦考不審辨は文政三年十二月刊刻す。

○享和元年

二月十七日、奥詰仰せ付けらる。
「四月某日旅立て」とあるは誤なり。三月二十八日の出立なり。三十日京都に着し四條通東洞院西へ入町に寓居、六月九日京都出立、十二日歸宅せり。在京中のことは、石塚龍麿の都日記にゆづりて之を略す。
五月二十三日、妹宮崎しゆん死去。
八月十六日、鈴屋新撰名目々錄起稿。
答問錄は天保六年刊刻す。

○明治八年

三月二十一日、川口常文等相議りて、祠宇を山室山の墓側に營み山室山神社と號す。該神社の事は前掲山室山神社の圖（第四圖）の説明に述べたり。

（明治十三年

七月六日、御巡幸の途に接せるを以て、山室山の墓前に、勅使として侍從富小路敬直を差遣せらる。

○明治十六年

二月二十七日、贈正四位に敍せらる。

○明治三十八年

十一月十八日、贈從三位に敍せらる。十二月十一日、策命使として三重縣知事有松英義參向。

鈴屋翁略年譜補正終

七月二十日、古事記傳卷三十七起稿。十月十七日淨書終る。
八月十三日、濱田藩主松平康定參宮にて松阪に宿泊、夜旅館に至りて謁す。十六日、歸途また一泊、正午頃より旅館に至り、源氏物語（初音卷）進講、十時頃退出す。
十月二十二日、古事記傳卷三十八起稿、翌八年正月二十八日脫稿、二月五日淨書終る。
十二月十五日、三女能登、山田安田傳大夫に嫁す。

○寛政八年

二月六日、古事記傳卷三十九起稿五月二十九日脫稿、七月四日淨書終る
七月四日、天祖都城辨々の第二稿を起す。九月二十日版下を書き終る。刊刻は翌九年五月なり。
七月十日、江戸より歸國の松平康定に桑名の旅館にて謁す。
七月二十一日、古事記傳卷四十起稿、十一月二十七日脫稿、十二月八日淨書終る。
十一月二十五日、出雲風土記意宇郡古文解一册を撰す。
十二月八日、古事記傳卷四十一起稿、翌九年四月一日淨書終る。
十二月十一日、蒲生秀實來訪。
是の年源氏物語玉小櫛成る。寛政五年頃起稿。九月十八日その淨書を始む。寛政十一年秋刊刻。

○寛政九年

正月二十五日、長女飛鼈四日市高尾九兵衛に嫁す。
四月十八日、古事記傳卷四十二起稿、九月二十二日淨書終る。
遠鏡は寛政六年正月既に成れり。
五月、古事記傳第三帙（六册）刊刻。
盆後より初冬まで氣分快らず。
八月六日、長男春庭京都より歸る。針醫を業とす。
十月二十六日、弟村田與三兵衛親次死去。
十二月三日、古事記傳卷四十三淨書終る。
十二月十六日、長男春庭、故村田與三兵衛の女伊伎を娶る。

○寛政十年

三月四日、古事記傳卷四十四起稿、六月七日脫稿、同月十三日淨書終る全部終業。
四五月頃、伊勢二宮さき竹の辨成る。
家譜修撰といへるは家の昔物語の事なるべし。家の昔物語は六月二十六日起稿、七月二十日に淨書せり。
初山踏は十月八日に稿を起し、同月二十一日に脫稿。
十一月十三日、神代紀嘗華山陰を起稿、同月二十四日脫稿、十二月十日淨書終る。
十一月、地名字音轉用例既に成る。
鈴屋の文集歌集七册は寛政十二年閏四月刊刻。寛政九年までの作を載せたり。

○寛政十一年

若山行を二月とせるは誤なり。一月二十一日出立、二十四日若山着、二月二十四日若山出立、二十五日吉野山に登り水分神社に參詣、二十八日歸宅す。今回の若山行は、初めての御目見を乞ほむが爲にして、二月三日御目見仰せ付けらる。また二月十七日源氏物語（紅葉賀卷）進講同月二十二日清信院より召されて、萬葉集（卷一）、源氏物語（初音卷）、古今集（大歌所の歌、神樂歌、眞名序）を講ず。
二月、門人稻懸大平及びその家族を厄介となすの儀聞き届けらる。

○寛政十二年

四月二十三日、歷朝語詞解の撰成る。起稿は寛政十一年六月八日なり。
七月、男春庭春村宛遺言書一册を認む。
枕の山の成れるは十月十八日なり。卒後刊刻す。
是の年、召により若山に赴く。十一月二十日出立、二十四日若山着、翌享和元年二月、十三日若山出立、大阪奈良を經て三月一日歸宅す。若山滯在中、寛政十二年十一月二十九日、十二月四日、同八日、同十四日源

遷幸みたがみてよめる長歌の成れるは、十二月か翌年の正月かなるべし。寛政三年十月刊刻、題して仰瞻卸簿長歌といふ。

○寛政三年

二月十九日、次女美濃、松阪、長井嘉左衛門（後小津勘藏といふ）に嫁す。

美濃家裏同折添は四月十三日成れり。家裏の刻は寛政七年十二月なり。

四月十六日、古事記傳卷三十起稿、十月二十四日脫稿、同月三十日淨書終る。

十月三十日、古事記傳卷三十一起稿、十二月二十九日脫稿、翌四年正月二十一日淨書終る。

十二月五日、加藤千蔭より初て書狀來る、翌四年正月六日返信を贈る。

是年玉霰既に成る。九月九日版下か書林に送り、刻成れるは翌四年の春なり。

○寛政四年

閏二月十一日、古事記傳卷三十二起稿、五月十九日脫稿、五月三十日淨書終る。

閏二月十一日、出雲國造神壽詞後釋成る。起稿は正月二十二日。

閏二月、古事記傳第二帙（六冊）刊刻。

三月、門人の乞により名古屋に赴く。五日出立、七日名古屋着、二十四日名古屋出立、二十七日歸宅す。

五月三十日、古事記傳卷三十三起稿、十月十一日脫稿、同月十三日淨書終る。

十月十八日、古事記傳卷三十四起稿、翌五年正月十五日脫稿、正月二十四日淨書終る。

十二月三日、藩主德川治寶（紀州侯）に事へ五人扶持を賜る。

○寛政五年

玉勝間刊刻は第一編（三冊）が寛政七年六月、第二編（三冊）が寛政九年十二月、第三編（三冊）が寛政十一年九月、第四編（三冊）が享和二年頃第五編（目錄共三冊）が文化九年正月なり。

京都へ上れるは三月十日なり。また京を立てるは四月十二日にして、歸宅せるは二十九日なり。在京中四月二日芝山持豐卿に謁し、同月八日妙法院宮眞仁法親王に謁見す。また小澤蘆庵、伴蒿蹊等を訪ふ。

枕の草葉は安政二年刊刻す。

九月二十三日、古事記傳卷三十五起稿、十一月二日脫稿。同月十二日淨書終る。

神壽後釋の成れるは寛政四年なり。

○寛政六年

正月、古今集遠鏡既に成れり。

二月二日、古事記傳卷三十六起稿、翌七年五月十二日脫稿、六月八日淨書終る。

三月、門人の乞により名古屋に赴く。二十九日出立、四月一日名古屋着、二十二日名古屋出立、二十六日歸宅す。

十月十三日若山着、十一月三日五日大祓詞を、六日詠歌大概を進講す。

閏十一月十三日十人扶持に加增、御針醫格仰せ付けらる。また清信院殿（藩主治寶の父重倫の實母）より召され、閏十一月十二日源氏物語（若紫卷）、古今集（俳諧部）を、十六日古今集（眞名序、假名序）を講ず。

歸途京都に立ち寄れるは二十六日にして、二十九日芝山持豐卿父子に對面、十二月一日京都出立、四日歸宅す。

十二月、松阪醫師總代と連署して、同町少名彦神社境內に儒學神學歌學醫學の研究所を建設せんことを願ひ出づ。

紀見のめぐみは安政二年に刊刻す。

是の年（六月以後）長男春庭失明。

○寛政七年

正月二十二日、清信院の命により、伊勢物語古意可否の考を書き終る。

中衛と改名せるは二月十六日なり。

大祓詞後釋の成れるは七月十五日なり。三月三十日起稿。

四月二十三日、長男春庭、針衛稽古のため京都に赴く。

九月十二日、眞暦考を撰す。寛政元年春刻す。
十月十三日、書齋を階上に造る。十二月上旬竣工。これ鈴屋にして廣さ四疊半。前掲鈴屋の圖(第三圖)の説明參看。
十月、言語活用抄の稿既に成れり。明治十九年十月刻す。

○天明三年

三月二十六日、古事記傳卷二十起稿、天明四年二月三十日淨書終る。

○天明四年

正月二十八日、家の昔物語(別卷)一冊を撰す。
三月六日、古事記傳卷二十一起稿。天明五年五月二日淨書終る。
六月二十九日、漢字三音考の稿成る。九月十一日淨書終る。

○天明五年

正月二十日、次男春村、津小西太郎兵衛の養嗣子となる。
五月二十五日、古事記傳卷二十二起稿、天明八年五月十二日脫稿、同年同月二十三日淨書終る。
鉗狂人は文政四年に刻成れり。
是の年、古事記傳出版の計畫成る。

○天明六年

五月上旬より病氣、閏十月に至りて猶全快せず。
十一月三日、長女飛驒、津草深玄鑑に嫁す。寛政四年離別。
是の年、玉矛百首既に成る。
玉匣の刊刻は寛政二年三月なり。
古事記上卷の傳 卷一より卷十七まで)成れるは、既記の如く安永七年なり。さて古事記傳の版下は、卷十五、十六、十七、二十二、二十三、二十四の六冊は自身に書き、卷一より十四まで及び卷十八、十九、二十の十二冊は男春庭、卷二十一は栗田土滿、卷二十五より二十九まで五冊は女美濃、卷三十より三十四まで五冊は植松有信、卷三十五より終まで十冊は丹羽勗なり。尤も春庭が書けゐる十七冊の本文は宣長が書けるなり。

○天明七年

祕本玉匣は嘉永四年五月刊刻。
四月の末より病氣、五月下旬快復。

○天明八年

三月十日の夜、村田春海來訪。
六月十二日、古事記傳卷二十三起稿、十月二十四日淨書終る。
八月、天祖都城辨々の初稿既に成れり。
十月二十九日、古事記傳卷二十四起稿、十一月七日淨書を始む。
是の年、天地圖の稿既に成れり。

○寛政元年

名古屋に赴けるは三月なり。十九日出立、二十一日名古屋着、四月二日歸宅。
四月、本末歌既に成る。
神代正語の成れるは五月二十九日なり。四月起稿、翌二年二月刊刻。
七月二十八日、古事記傳卷二十五起稿。十一月十日脫稿。同月十八日淨書終る。
十一月十一日、古事記傳卷二十六起稿、十二月九日脫稿、十二月十二日淨書終る。
十二月十二日、古事記傳卷二十七起稿、翌二年六月二十三日脫稿、七月七日淨書終る。

○寛政二年

七月八日、古事記傳卷二十八起稿、十月二十九日脫稿、十一月八日淨書終る。
九月、古事記傳初帙 五冊)刊刻。
上京の途につけるは十四日、十六日着京、二十八日歸宅す。
十二月二十一日、古事記傳卷二十九起稿、翌三年四月十五日淨書終る。
是の年、古事記傳初帙、妙法院宮より天覽に供せらる。

四年正月にして、刻成れるは寛政七年六月なり。

○明和二年

八月四日、谷川士清に初て尺牘を贈り、神道及び古言の解釋につきて其の說を論難し、復古の志を述ぶ。

○明和三年

是の年、萬葉集卷十一十二十三の中重載歌の事、全篇卷の次第の事一冊既に成る。

○明和四年

正月十四日、石上集(自選家集)二冊を編す。

六月二十五日、古事記傳卷四の淨書終る。

草庵集玉箒(前編)の成れるは、前に記せる如く寶曆六年なり。明和四年九月は前編刊刻の時なり。續編は天明六年の秋刊刻。

○明和六年

十二月四日、眞淵翁卒去の報、楫取魚彦より來る。

○明和八年

十月九日、直日靈を撰す。紐鏡の成れるも十月なり。

十二月、古事記傳卷五脫稿。

○安永元年

菅笠日記は五月頃既に成れり。寛政七年八月刻す。

九月八日、古事記傳卷七の淨書終る。

○安永二年

閏三月七日、古事記傳卷八の淨書終る。

春、自ら像を畫きて「めづらしきこまもろこしの花よりもあかぬいろ香は櫻なりけり」の詠を讃す。

○安永三年

四月七日、古事記傳卷九の淨書終る。

七月二十三日、古事記傳卷十の淨書終る。

十一月十日、古事記傳卷十一の淨書終る。

○安永四年

六月十七日、古事記傳卷十二の淨書終る。

○安永五年

十二月十一日、古事記傳卷十三の淨書終る。

○安永六年

十月二十五日、古事記傳卷十四の淨書終る。

十二月、馭戒慨言の稿成れり。

○安永七年

正月二十九日、古事記傳卷十五の淨書終る。

馭戒慨言は安永六年既に脫稿、淨書の終れるが今年二月三十日なり。

四月十五日、古事記傳卷十六の淨書終る。

閏七月　十五日、古事記傳卷十七の淨書終る。

○安永八年

二月、國歌八論斥非再評之評一冊既に成る。

玉小琴は十一月五日に成れり。天保九年三月刊刻。

玉の緒は十二月六日に成れり。寛政二年刻既に成る。

○天明元年

正月二十三日、古事記傳卷十八起稿、天明二年二月七日淨書終る。

手向草の成れるは翌年なり。追慕會は今年十一月九日に催されたり

眞曆考の成れるも翌年なり。

鈴屋は天明二年の末に造れる宣長の書齋なり。されば元年の頃に鈴屋の號あるべからず。

○天明二年

正月十六日、手向草を編す。天明四年刻す。

二月二十日、古事記傳卷十九起稿、天明三年三月二十一日淨書終る。

七月十五日、痰が病む　十月頃に至りて漸く快復。

八月十八日、天文圖說一冊を撰す。

外祖母村田元壽尼に隨伴して、智恩院御忌參詣のため、正月二十二日出立二十四日京着、二月四日歸鄉せり。遊學のため松阪を立てるは三月五日にして、七日着京、十六日景山に入門す。さて景山の先祖正意を惺窩の門人と記したれど、宣長の手記せるものには林道春の門人とせり。又景山の宅を室町の南とせるは室町の西の町南方の誤なり。

九月二十二日、新玉津島の社司森河章尹の門に入りて和歌を學ぶ。

○寶曆三年

七月二十二日より堀元厚に入門、醫書の講說を聽く。(寶曆四年正月二十四日元厚歿す)

健藏と改名せるは九月九日にして、十一月に號を芝園と稱す。

川口常文の本居宣長大人傳に、八月尾花がもと(一名おもひ草)一册成れるよし記せり。

○寶曆四年

幸順の門に入れるは五月一日にして、十月十日室町四條の南なる幸順の宅に轉宿せり。幸順は英仁親王(後桃園院天皇)の御典醫にして、漢學を景山に學ぶ。

○寶曆五年

改名せるは三月三日なり、さて「中たび春字を舜と書給へり」とあれど、「中たび」といふこといぶかし。交へ用ゐたるやうなり。但し春は本體、舜は變體なり。而て舜の字、初は蕣と書せるを、寶曆九年の秋ごろより舜と書せり。

○寶曆六年

「契沖が著せる云々」とあるは、玉勝間によりて記せるなるべけれどこれが寶曆六年のこととせるはいぶかし。玉勝間には「京に在しほど」と記せるのみなり。まづ古今餘材抄を見たるが寶曆六年ならざるは、寶曆四年三月に餘材抄(序文の部)二册を自ら寫せることあるに徵して明かなり。而て玉勝間によれば、百人一首改觀抄を見たるは餘材抄の前ならざるべからず。さて改觀抄を見て、はじめて契沖といひし人の說をしり、そのよにすぐれたるほどをも知れりとは玉勝間に記せる所然るに宣長は、寶曆二年五月十二日に伊勢物語を人より借りて、其の書入の諸說を抄寫せるが、その奥に「右伊勢物語、契沖之說而景山先生所增益也」と識せり。又同年十一月　十一日に寫し終れる枕詞鈔といへる一册の書は、契沖の說に樋口宗武が自己の考を記し加へたる書なり。これらを併せ考ふるに、改觀抄を見て契沖を知りたるは、上京後間もなきことと思はる。されば、これを以て寶曆六年の條に入れたるは根據なしといふべきなり。

二月頃より有賀長川の門に入りて和歌を學ぶ。有賀家月次會に初て出席せるは二月十五日なり。

五月十四日、草庵集玉箒(前編六册)の稿成る。

○寶曆七年

京より歸れるを七月とせるは誤にして十月六日なり、三日に京都を立ちたり。

○寶曆八年

正月二十日、古今選の稿を起す。三月二十二日成る。

○寶曆十一年

眞淵翁に謁せるは寶曆十三年なり。

三月、阿每莵知辨を撰す。

○寶曆十二年

草深玄弘の女と結婚せるは正月十七日なり。

○寶曆十三年

五月二十五日、眞淵翁を松阪の旅館新上屋に訪ひ對面す。

紫文要領は六月七日に成れり。

十二月　十八日、眞淵翁入門許諾の旨を、紹介者村田傳藏より通知の書狀(十二月十六日附)到る。翌明和元年正月入門誓詞を呈す。

手枕が寬政三年の刻としたれど、其の版下を大館高門に送れるが寬政

鈴屋翁略年譜補正

本居清造

明治三十五年、本居宣長全集刊行の際、鈴屋翁略年譜の附錄として、これが正誤を記しゝことあり。當時岐阜の寓居に在りて筆を執りし事とて、參考すべき資料に乏しく、隨て疎漏尠からざるべきを常に遺憾とす。然るに今回全集中の古事記傳を更に出版するに方り、その首卷に添ふるに又略年譜を以てすることゝせり。よりて再考する所あり、更めてこれが補正を試んとす。その詳細なる年譜に至りては、目下資料蒐集考究中なれば、他日これを發表することあるべし。

本文中に記せる門人の數に至りては、次に揭ぐる鈴屋門人錄及び其の補正を參看せられむことを乞ふ。

○享保十七年

十二月七日、妹はん生る。寶曆十一年二月十四日剃髮、智遊と號す。

○享保二十年

二月二十六日、弟親次生る。寛延三年外祖父村田豐商の養嗣子となる。

○元文二年

西村某は通稱を三郎兵衛といふ。八月より元文五年十一歳の秋まで通學。

○元文五年

二月七日、妹しゆん生る。寶曆六年十二月十二日飯高郡大口村宮崎清九郎に嫁す。

定利の歿せるは閏七月廿三日の夜戌の刻ごろにして、忌日を二十四日となすよし家の昔物語に記せり。字を彌四郎と改めしは八月なり。

○寛保元年

榮貞と稱せるは三月なり。きて榮貞の傍訓にナガサダとあれど、當時はヨシサダと唱へたるにて、寛延二年九月十六日に至りてナガサダと改む。山田の今井田氏に養はるゝほどのことなり。

齋藤松菊には、正月二十六日より翌年六月まで從ひ學ぶ。岸江之に就きしは七　よりなり。

○寛保二年

日記に「寛保二年七月十四日ヨリ廿二日マデ吉野ヘ參十六日夜ヨリ十七日參。十九日高野ヘ參廿日長谷寺ヘマヒル。」とあり。宣長は父定利が吉野水分神社に願る所ありて生れたるを以て、報賽のため參詣せるなり。

○延享元年

十一月は十二月の誤なり。

○延享二年

二月二十一日出立、二十三日京著、二十五日北野天滿宮に參詣、三月一日京を立ち三日歸鄉す。

四月十七日出立、二十六日江戸着、大傳馬町なる伯父小津源四郎の店に逗留。翌年三月二十六日江戸を立ち、四　九日歸鄉す。

○延享三年

「此頃より尋常風の歌をよみ始給ふ」とあるは、玉勝間卷の二に十七八歳の頃より歌をよめるよし記せるに據れるなるべし。日記を檢するに寛延二年二十歳の條に、去年より和歌に志し今年より專ら斯道に心を寄すと記せり。今井田氏に養はれて山田に在る間の事なり。

濱田瑞雪は通稱を三十郎、名を長安といふ。

茶の湯の式を習へるは寛延元年なり。

正住院に就きて學べるは寛延二年のことなり。

○寛延元年

閏十月十五日の夜より、山村吉右衛門につきて茶の湯の式を習ふ。

十一月十四日、山田妙見町年寄今井田儀左衛門尹平の養子となりて、同家に移る。寛延三年十二月離緣。

○寛延二年

三月下旬より、山田宗安寺の法幢和尚につきて和歌を學ぶ。

十月二日より、五經の素讀を正住院の住持に學ぶ。

○寶曆二年

いとくちをしくきゝおとろきて。いてあなかなし。あたら大人はやと。なけきかなしひて。さはれ。今よりは。そのかきのこされたる書ともをよく見あきらめて。その教はうけつきてむ。うつゝのをしへならさらむからに。ことなるへきことかはと。その後しも。大平かもとにことかよはして。うつし卷のかきりうつしとりて。直く正しきさとしことを。人よりことに心にしめて。尊ひ思ひあふかるゝかあまり。學のすちにさとくかしこく。世に功たてられたるのみならす。翁かうまれつき。つねのおこなひさへ世人に似す。まめに正しかりし事をもきゝ傳へて。道のをしへことのみならす。かきおかれたることは。何にても見まほしと。あなかちにもとめらるゝにより。わらはのほと。わらは心にしるしおかれたる。いとはかなき筆のすさみをも。かきうつして。見せにやりけれは。そのいさゝけ事をも。そのほとのとしなみについてしるして。それらのことまてかきしるされたるなりけり。かくてのち又。大平かもとに見せにおこせて。こはわかうみの子の末につたへて。かくなむとしめさまほしくてなむ。猶もれたる事はなくや。ひかことはましらすやといひおこされけるに。いさゝかもたかへる所なしとこたへて。かへしつかはさむと思へるそのをりしも。春門翁の。ちかきほとに江戸に出たゝるゝよしきゝて。いとよきたよりと思ひてことつけたりけるを。此翁。難波より出たちて。京の鐸舍の友たちに。かたらふことありて。そのついてにとりいてゝ見せられけれは。その人々。こひえて板にゑらせて。藤垣内の藏板になしてしかなと。ねきもとむることゝなりて。そのよし江戸に物してのち。信友主にあひて。しか〳〵なむとかたられけれは。そはともかくもとて。うへなひゆるして。かく事なりぬるなりけり。これかゆゑよしかくなむ。

文政十二年己丑八月二十三日

本居大平

鈴屋翁略年譜　終

たび公家のきみたち多く歌よみて給ひける中に富小路殿は古風の長きも短きも殊によくよみとゝのへてたまひけり　山城のとはにかづきて伊勢の海の玉の光りに我もあはばや又馬のはなむけに送ニ本居大人歸ニ伊勢國一作謌一首竝短謌とて神風の伊勢の國なる松坂のまつかひありてうちひさす都にのぼり草枕旅やどりしてならの葉の名におふ宮のふることの萬のこと業朝よひにときかたらふと梓弓音に聞つゝさす竹の大宮人もしづたまきいやしき人も明くれは日のくるゝまで夕されは夜のあくるきはみしゝじもの膝折ふせて玉かづら絶ることなく我もまた教をうけてつがの木のいやつぎ〳〵にいそのかみふるの中道ふみ見ればあやにたふとく分いればあやにかしこみはしきやしまなびの親と大船のおもひたのみてたびまれくいゆきとひしにあら玉の月も經ずして朝鳥の朝たちゆけばいはむすべせむすべしらになくこなすしたひうらぶれ玉鉾の道に出立てふるさとの二見の浦のふたゝびもさきくいましてかにかくにのぼり來ませと菅の根のねもころにのるけふの別れ路　天つ水あふぎてぞまつ玉くしげ二見の浦の名をしたのみてとよませたまへるもその中のひとつふたつなりかくて大人の身まかり給ひける後に何ぞの故やありけん　伊勢の海の清き渚にけふよりはわがたまとする玉をひろはむと口ずさみ給ひけるとそそも〳〵平安の都となりてよりこのかた千年あまりにおよぶまで大宮人の古風の歌よみ給へることのをさ〳〵世にはきこえざりけるにいとめでたくたふとしさて又このたび公家の君たちの御會また贈答の歌どもを弟子の書あつめて玉の名づきと名づけたる一卷あり又此とき門人石塚龍麿遠江より京に參りあひて松坂まで送りまゐらせけり其ほどの事を記しとゞめて宮古日記といふを大人の見て歌よみて書添給ひけり六月十二日松坂の家にかへり給ふ○九月十八日よりこゝちわづらひ給ひけるがやうやくにあつくなりて廿九日(小)の曉身まかり給ひぬ十月二日かれて定置給ひつる山室山の嶺の墓所に葬めまゐらす塚の上に櫻を植て碑に本居宣長之奥墓と銘せり（此文字は既にみづから書おき給へりとぞ）其墓所は妙樂寺の境内にて松坂より南のかた二里ばかりにありさて此時の事どもは門人青木茂房の書とゝのへたるがありて歌の下露といふまた尾張の起人加藤磯足が時雨の日記といふもあり（ソレカ）さて又大人の諡を敏津彦美豆櫻根大人と稱へ申す平常に手馴（テナラ）し給ひける櫻木にて造りたる笥の形したるものを靈牌として諡を書つけて家に祀（ソナ）り參らす又松坂なる樹敬寺といふは祖たちの墓所なりければ其所にも碑を建て僧か呼ぶなる戒名ざまの名をものして家族の常に詣るところとすこれらの事ともはかれて言おき給へるおもむきの有しゆゑなりとぞ

文政九丙戌年九月廿九日謹編畢

鈴屋翁略年譜後書

此一卷は。伴信友主のかきしるされたるなり。これかきしるされたるそのはしめの心さしをとふに。いにし享和のはしめの年。おなしく江戸にありて。心あへる村田春門主を。中人として名簿おくりて。鈴屋の門人となりて。したしくそのをしへことうけつさてむと。思ひたゝれたるを。そのころしも。はやく。翁はなくなられぬと。

十一

二月紀伊國に參り歸るさ吉野に物し給ふ

二月吉野百首詠成○古訓古事記成（卒後刻）

廿三人　七十歳

十二

今年伊勢國飯高郡（イヒタカ）山室（ヤマムロ）の妙樂寺の山に豫（カネ）て墓所を點（シメ）て標（シルシ）の石を建置たまふその時よみ給へる歌

山むろに千年の春のやどしめて風にしられぬ花をこそ見め

歷朝詔詞解既に成（今年みつから彫したを書おき給ふ卒後刻）○神代卷髣髴山蔭既に成（今年刻）○此頃櫻の歌あまたよみ給へるを十月に書あつめて枕の山と名つけ給ふ○地名字音轉用例既に成（今年刻）○疑齋辨既に成○眞曆考不審辨既に成○臣道既に成（此書は或人の君に事しる道を問たるに示し給へる書にて題號なきを今かく名付たるなり）○五部書說辨加評（はさきに說辨の本書の中にいたくたかへるところ〳〵におしかみして物せられたるを今くいふ）○本末の歌既に此長歌をよみて道の意をしめされたりけるを歌集にも何にもるる漏たりおぼゆればことに擧く○尾張連物部連系圖既に稿し給ふ○言語活用抄稿（門人田中道麿に示して既に書しめ給へり詞八衢のおや書といふへし）

廿四人　七十一歳

享和

人々の請申せるによりて四月某日旅立て都に上り四條烏丸の東に寓（ヤドリ）とりたまひぬ此時大人の許につどひてもの、まなびするともがら多かり諸國よりきゝつたへて參りあひたるもありけり此ほどやむごとなき御あたりにては中山大納言忠尹卿の御許にたびたひ召されて延喜式の祝詞を進講ぜらる御息宰相中將忠賴卿も聞食れけりまた花山院右大將愛德卿園大納言基理卿東園侍從基仲朝臣大炊御門中納言經久卿河鯖宰相實祐卿今城右中將定成朝臣三條大納言公修卿野宮左少將定業朝臣同侍從定靜朝臣なとも入り來まして御聽聞ありまた日野一位資枝卿富小路新三位貞直卿芝山中納言持豐卿園大納言殿等よりも召れて參り給へり又四條の寓にて萬葉集の講說ぜられけるを聞食しにとてうち〳〵にきませるきみたちには富小路殿日野中宮權大進資愛朝臣錦小路三位賴理卿外山三位光實卿倉橋中務權少輔泰行朝臣など又祝詞の講說の時には綾小路中納言俊資卿富小路殿錦小路殿日野權大進殿源氏物語の時には富小路殿外山殿日野權大進殿なども入らせ給ひぬ其ほか芝山宮內大輔國豐朝臣日野一位殿などもうち〳〵寓に訪ひ來ませりとぞ其外にも猶ありけむかしさて此

伊勢二宮さき竹の辨既に成（今年八月刻）○後撰集言葉の束纏成今年の秋とみに書とゝのへ給ひて櫻本にせんとてみづから彫したる三枚書さして卒りぬ（翌年刻）○年頃弟子の問に答へる答問の書とも鈴屋答問錄といへる一卷あり猶あるへし又弟子の歌合の判し給へるをとりあつめたる書もあり

廿一人　卒後に及ひて三人　弟子四十餘國之人合四百九十人

七十二歳

八	寛政	弟子の請申により二月尾張の名古屋にものし給ふ	五月卅日神代正語成（後年刻）	卅六人	六十歳	十九人	五十九歳
	二	八月自ラ像をうつし畫きて歌よみて書添給ふ其歌師木島の倭心を人とは〻朝日に匂ふ山櫻花○十一月都に上りて廿二日新造の内裏に遷幸の御よそほひをながめ給ふ	十一月遷幸をかみて長歌を詠給ふ（後年刻）	廿一人	六十一歳		
	三		四月新古今集美濃家褒同折添成（六年家褒刻九年折添刻）	十三人	六十二歳		
	四		玉霰既に成（今年刻後年三井高蔭辨玉霰論を著）○古事記中卷の傳成	卅七人	六十三歳		
	五	弟子の請によりて三月三日旅立て都に上り給ひ其ほと難波へものして四月十日京を立て歸るさに近江美濃へ立より又名古屋へおもむきしばしとゞまり給ひて三十日家に歸り給ふ	正月子ノ日より玉勝間を書始給ふ（二卷六年に刻又三卷九年に刻卒後六卷刻成）紀行○結ひ捨たる枕の草葉成○出雲國造神壽詞後釋成（八年刻）	四十四人	六十四歳		
		紀伊ノ殿に召されて十月十日に出立て若山に參りたまひ御前にて大祓詞古今集序等を進講し又詠歌大概を					

六	本文にして歌道を說き聞え參らせ給ふ此度奥書師の列に召加へられて俸を賜はり又御紋の服に種々の祿をさへに賜はり給ひて閏十一月廿三日罷立て歸るさに難波を經て都にもの し て十二月某日家に歸り給ふ此時よみ給へる歌われはもよみけしたばりぬさきくさのみつ葉しの葵のあやのみけ大平主をぐし給へ（此たび稲掛大平主をぐし給へり）	紀行 紀見のめぐみ成 此度稲掛大平主紀行名卿の濱褒宝	四十人	六十五歳		
七	二月字を中衛（チウエ）と改給ふ	大祓詞後釋成（寛政八年刻）	二十人	六十六歳		
八		天祖都城辨辨既に成（今年刻）○此頃源氏物語玉小櫛成（後年刻）	廿二人	六十七歳		
九		古今集遠鏡既に成（今年刻）	十六人	六十八歳		
十		古事記下卷の傳成卒後文政五年に至て全部刻成紀伊ノ殿賞たまひて御みづから其題號を書て大平主に賜ひけるを摹彫りて卷の首に載す○七月家譜修撰成○十月初山蹈成（十一年刻）○鈴屋の文集歌集を書調へ給ふ（卒後刻）	廿一人	六十九歳		

六	十月晦日師眞淵翁七十三歳にて卒り給ひぬ此翁の蓬萊雅樂に贈られたる書中に云松坂舜庵へも御面談之由才子に御座候へとも未學業不弘候何とぞ宜くなれかしと存候事也				四十歳
七	正月十二日長女飛驒生				四十一歳
八		直毘靈紐鏡等既に成（今年刻）			四十二歳
安永	三月五日旅立して吉野にものして十四日家に歸り給ふ	吉野の紀行菅笠日記成（後年刻）			四十三歳
二	正月二日二女美濃生		弟子 既に四十三人		四十四歳
三			入門 一人		四十五歳
四		正月十日字音假字用格成（五年刻成）	四人		四十六歳
五	正月十五日三女能登生		四人		四十七歳
六			二人		四十八歳
七		二月晦日馭戎慨言成（寛政八年刻）	一人		四十九歳

八	十一月萬葉集玉小琴（集中至第三卷）成○十二月詞玉緒成（後年刻）				三人	五十歳
九	十一月廿二日葛花成（卒後刻）				六人	五十一歳
天明	此頃より家の名鈴屋と號け給ふ	正月十六日眞淵翁十三回忌追慕の歌集手向草成（後年刻）○九月十二日眞曆考成（寛政元年刻）			三人	五十二歳
二					二人	五十三歳
三					九人	五十四歳
四			漢字三音考既に成（今年刻）○十二月鉗狂人成		十三人	五十五歳
五			玉匣既に成（寛政元年刻）○古事記上卷の傳既に成みづからも彫したを書給ひ寛政の始刻成		七人	五十六歳
六					六人	五十七歳
七	十二月やむごとなき所より問せ給ふによりて玉匣と題たる書を上り既に著し置れつる玉匣をば別卷として添へて上り給へりとぞ	正月呵刈葭成○國號考既に成（今年刻）○玉鉾百首詠既に成（今年刻後年大平主解を著刻成）○十二月秘本玉匣成			廿六人	五十八歳

三	此頃より草常風の歌をよみ始給ふ○七月より濱田瑞雪を師として射を學ひ○又某に茶の湯の式を問ひ○既に正住院に就て五經を讀學給ふ	十七歳	
四		十八歳	
寛延	四月五日旅立して近江の多賀の大社に詣九日ころ京へ上り廿一日の頃大坂へ下り廿五日伏見宇治を經て京へ立還り五月三日朝鮮人の京の罷立を觀給ひ四日京を立て六日松坂に歸給ふ	十九歳	
二		二十歳	
三		廿一歳	
寶暦	二月廿八日兄定治江戸にて沒らる子なきによりて大人家を嗣給ふ○三月江戸へ下り七月十日江戸を立て歸るさに富士の峯に登り廿日家に歸り給ふ	廿二歳	
二	三月物學ひに京へ上りまつ堀景山を師として儒道を學ひたまひ　景山は禎助と稱して其先祖正意といへるは惺窩主の弟子にて代々安藝殿の儒士也　其レか綾ノ小路室町の南なる家に寄宿したまへり○此ころ家號小津をやめて本の本居に復したまふ	廿三歳	
三	九月字を健藏と改給ふ	廿四歳	
四	五月典藥武川幸順法眼の弟子と成て小兒科の醫術を學ひその室町の南の家に寄宿し給へり	廿五歳	
五	三月名を宣長字を春庵と改給ふ但し中たび春字を舜と書給へり	廿六歳	
六	契沖が著せる百人一首改觀抄古今餘材抄勢語臆斷等を見て始て古學の志を起し給へりとぞ	廿七歳	

七	七月京より歸りて小兒科の醫を業とし始給ふこれかねて母刀自の意なりとぞ○賀茂眞淵翁の著されたる冠辭考を見てます〳〵古學の志を定め給ひけるとぞ	廿八歳	
八		廿九歳	
九		三十歳	
十		廿一歳	
十一	眞淵翁伊勢大和山城わたりものして江戸へ歸るさまに松坂に一夜宿り給へるなりにまうて、古學の旨を問ひきゝたまひつゝに名簿を進りて弟子となり給ひぬ此レよりしば〳〵書通はしてもの學ひし給へり（眞淵翁今年六十五歳）	廿二歳	
十二	伊勢ノ阿濃津人草深玄弘が女を娶給ふ○閏四月母刀自勝子信濃の善光寺に詣で、尼になられぬ	廿三歳	
十三	二月三日長男健藏春庭主生	廿四歳	著述　石上私淑言既に成（卒後刻）○手枕既に成（寛政三年刻）○古今選既に成（卒後刻）○六月祓文要領成
明和		廿五歳	古事記傳の稿を始給ふ
二		廿六歳	
三		廿七歳	
四	正月十四日二男春次郎春村生	廿八歳	九月草庵集玉箒成（後年刻）
五	正月朔日母刀自沒られぬ	廿九歳	九月國歌八論同斥非の評成

鈴屋翁略年譜

世系

延暦御後平高望朝臣裔權大納言賴盛卿六世孫

- 平建郷　本居縣判官
  - 武遠　兵部大輔
    - 武秀　兵部大輔
    - 武之　和泉守
      - 武基　民部少輔　至于武連代々屬北畠家
        - 直武　左馬助　屬伊勢國司北畠顯能卿
- 武貞　左馬亮
  - 武延　左衛門尉
    - 武重　左馬亮
- 武利　兵部大輔
  - 武連　總助
    - 延連　正右衛門　屬蒲生氏郷卿
    - 武秀　左兵衛　屬氏郷卿
- 某　家號改小津　七右衛門
  - 二男　某　三郎右衛門
    - 定治　三四右衛門　本生小津喜兵衛某長男
- 定利　三四右衛門
  - 定治　三四右衛門　本生小津孫右衛門某子
  - 宣長　爲定治嗣　家號復本居　春庵　中衛　母村田孫兵衛豐商女勝子

鈴屋翁略年譜

享保五十	五月七日子ノ刻紀伊殿の知しめす伊勢ノ國飯高ノ郡松坂ノ里にて生れ給ふ小津富之助と稱す		
十六		二歳	
十七		三歳	
十八		四歳	
十九		五歳	
二十		六歳	
元文		七歳	
二	西村某を師として手習を始給ふ	八歳	
三		九歳	
四		十歳	
五	閏七月廿四日父定利主沒られぬ○字を彌四郎と改給ふ	十一歳	
寛保	名を榮貞と付給ふ○齋藤松菊に從ひて手習し給ひ○岸江之仲にたよりて四書を讀始め又猿樂の謠曲を習ひたまふ	十二歳	
二	七月因ありて大和ノ國吉野ノ峯ニ坐水分ノ神社に詣て給ふ	十三歳	
三		十四歳	
延享	十一月廿一日元服し給ふ	十五歳	
二		十六歳	

鈴屋翁略年譜

伴信友著

略年譜序

老行まゝに過來しかたみのおもひいでられて見るものきくものにつけてむかしばかりむかしきはなかりけり春門はたちばかりのほど鈴屋の大人のみもとにまゐりそめしより今は五十年ちかくなむなりける其程の事どもとありきかゝりきと思へどもつきせず春山にたなびく霞のおほほしくながめわたるを伴信友主大人の略年譜といふものの書出たりとて見せらるゝをみればまのあたり見え奉りし時の事どもをちかへり今の現のごとく俤に見えてうれしともかなしともいはむかたなくなむしか思ふ我こゝろからはやく世にひろく物せられよ遠き國に住みて大人にしたしく見え奉らざりし人々にはかゝるものみせまほしといひやりつるにいでいな石上ふること學びの道のおやとたふとび奉ることなどは今さらいふべくもあらずよいほのもりの松のはのわかきほどはよのつねの人なみにはかなき事どもならひて三十ちかくて道にこゝろざし川上のゆづいはむらのうごきなく大いなるいさをゝたて給ひし事を人にもしらせ後まきのいねも猶たのみありとふとく厚きこゝろざしを立させばやとてかくものしたるなれば同じこゝろざしの人あらばうつさせなどはしもすべしとかねていはれしを今年春門江戸へくだらむとしけるころ京の鐸屋の人々板にゑらせむと思ふなりいとよきついでなればこのことはからへといはるゝがうれしくてこゝにくだりて浮世の山の椎柴しひて信友主にこひえたるなりそも〳〵我大人のつる龜の世をつくし給ふとも猶あきたらじとおもふこゝろのなぐさめにくりかへし〳〵見ても〳〵むかしきはこのとしだてになむありけるかくてこのはし辭かくべき人これかれあるべけれど春門ものすることはむかし信友主大人の御もとになづき奉られし時なかだちせし故よしもあればとかの主のゆるさるゝにまかせてなりけり

文政十二年ながつき廿日餘り五日の日江戸の
永田の里の旅やどりにて

村田春門しるす

寛政十年九月十三夜
古事記伝の記を〻わる
[illegible]
言視古こゝろと題
して人〻に見せよ
[illegible]

古事の記をよめば
[illegible]
[illegible]

宣長

○古事記傳終業慶賀會の詠なり。寛政十年〔六十九歳〕九月の日記に、

十三夜宵曇深更月清。今夜於二當家一月見會。是古事記傳終業慶賀會也。

とあり。當夜の當座題は寄月祝國

雲霧もをさまれるよを長月のこよひ月見る國のゆたけさ

くもらじないく千かへりの千五百秋みづほの國の長月のかげ

八束穂に國のさかえも長月の影ゆたかなるあきの千町田

第二十二圖

古事記傳終業慶賀會の詠

編者藏

本居宣長謹撰

天地初發之時。於高天原成神名天之御中主神訓高下天云阿麻下效此次高御産巣日神。次神産巣日神。此三柱神者。並獨神成坐而

古事記下巻終

○古事記傳の淨書本なり。古事記傳は畢生の大事業にして、眞淵翁に入門せる頃より既に其の稿を起し、三十餘年の歲月を經て、寛政十年〔六十九歲〕六月七日脫稿、同月十三日を以て淨書を終れり。當時荒木田久老に贈れる十七日附の書翰に、

一、私古事記傳も當月十三日全部四十四卷卒業、草稿本書立申候。明和四年ゟ書はじめ〔淨書の初をいへるなるべきか。起稿は明和元年なり〕卅二年にして終申候。命ノ程を危ク存候處、皇神之御めぐみにかゝり、先存命仕候而、生涯之願望成就仕、大悅之至存候儀に御座候。乍二慮外一御歡可レ被レ下候。

とあり。

各卷における起稿脫稿淨書の年月の明かなるものは、鈴屋翁略年譜補正にこれを揭げたり。安永七年の頃、相模の飯田百頃に答へたる宣長の書中、古事記傳撰述に關する記事あり。抄錄して參考に供す。

古事記の事もかにかくにいつとなく、世のいとなみのみしげき身にし侍れば、心ばかりはいそぎ侍れど、すが〳〵とも事ゆかで、漸に上つ卷をはりなんとする程になん侍るを、其一まきの註十まり五卷ばかり侍れば、下つ卷まですべては四十まきばかりにもや成侍りなん。大かた世の物しり人のもの註するは、たゞことずくなゝるをよきことにはし侍るめり。それはたさることに侍れど、おのがこの古事記の註は、つばらかなるがうへにもなほつばらかにせんとなん思ひ侍れば、うるさきまで長々しく侍る也。さるは古事記にかゝらぬあだしごとをさへ何くれとかきくはへて大よそ古學（フルコトマナビ）の道は此ふみにつくしてんの心がまへになん侍る。

第二十一圖

古事記傳淨書本

編者藏

三轉讃歌

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

○右圖は詞の玉の緒の淨書本なり。本書は安永八年〔五十歳〕十二月六日に成れり。起稿の年月は詳かならざれど、現存せる原稿の殘篇を檢するに、幾度もその稿を改めたるが如し。

○左圖は古今集遠鏡の淨書本なり。遠鏡は寛政六年〔六十五歳〕正月既に成れり。寛政八年五月上旬より版下を自ら書き初め、同年十月二十五日に終る。

○右圖は詞の玉の緒の淨書本なり。本書は安永八年〔五十歳〕十二月六日に成れり。起稿の年月は詳かならざれど、現存せる原稿の殘篇を檢するに、幾度もその稿を改めたるが如し。

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第二十圖

詞の玉の緒淨書本

古今集遠鏡淨書本

編者藏

玉拝百首

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

○直日靈及び玉鉾百首の淨書本なり。直日靈は明和八年〔四十二歳〕十月九日の撰なり。玉鉾百首は天明六年〔五十七歳〕に既に成り、版下をも自ら書きて、同年閏十月四日書林に送れり。

第十九圖

直日靈淨書本

編者藏

玉鉾百首淨書本

本居長世氏藏

神代紀豎華山蔭

物のあはれ

○右圖は玉の小櫛の草なり。玉の小櫛は寛政五年〔六十四歳〕頃その稿を起し、寛政八年に至りて成れるが、其の淨書を始めしは寛政八年九月十八日なり。濱田藩主松平康定、早く刊刻せまほしとの事にて、同年十月頃より宣長版下を書き始めしが、翌年九月四日に至りて全部書き終れり。

圖は卷一の第二稿にして、寶暦十三年〔三十四歳〕に成れる紫文要領を改竄せるもの、寛政七年三月十二日に稿を起せり。菅笠日記の稿を裏がへして書したり。宣長は常に紙を節約し、原稿の如きも多くは表裏兩面を用ゐたり。

○左圖は神代紀髻華山蔭の草なり。本書の功程は圖の自記に委し。寛政十年〔六十九歳〕の著なり。寛政十一年六月四日版下をも自ら書き終れり。

神代紀 琴華山蔭

[illegible]

一物のあワレ

○右圖は玉の小櫛の草なり。玉の小櫛は寛政五年〔六十四歳〕頃その稿を起し、寛政八年に至りて成れるが、其の淨書を始めしは寛政八年九月十八日なり。濱田藩主松平康定、早く刊刻せまほしとの事にて、同年十月頃より宣長版下を書き始めしが、翌年九月四日に至りて全部書き終れり。

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第十八圖

玉の小櫛稿本

神代紀髻華山蔭稿本

編者藏

果を復命のため江戸に赴けり。康定が玉の小ぐしを版行せんとせるは蓋しこれらにもとづけるものなるべし。紫文要領は寶暦十三年〔三十四歳〕六月七日に成れり。

古事記傳四帙とは、卷十八より卷二十三まで六冊をいふ。卷二十一以下の版下を書ける者に就いては、鈴屋翁略年譜補正にこれを記せり。「土まろ」は門人栗田土滿、「横井」は同横井千秋なり。そもそも古事記傳刊刻の擧は横井千秋の企つる所にして、其の資をも自ら支給せり。然るにこれを繼續すること能はずなれるは、その頃永く病にかゝり、且つ老衰して事に堪へざりしがためなりとぞ。さて此の後これを引き受けたる書林は、永樂屋東四郎と風月堂孫助との兩人なり。

「眞風」は澤眞風にして門人なり。在京中の春庭の世話を萬事頼みある人「竹内彦一」は門人竹内直道、「おのと」は宣長の三女なり。

果を復命のため江戸に赴けり。康定が玉の小ぐしを版行せんとせるは蓋しこれらにもとづけるものなるべし。紫文要領は寶暦十三年〔三十四歳〕六月七日に成れり。

古事記傳四帙とは、卷十八より卷二十三まで六冊をいふ。卷二十一以下の版下を書ける者に就いては、鈴屋翁略年譜補正にこれを記せり。「土まろ」は門人栗田土滿、「横井」は同横井千秋なり。そもそも古事記傳刊刻の擧は横井千秋の企つる所にして、其の資をも自ら支給せり。然るにこれを繼續すること能はずなれるは、その頃永く病にかゝり、且つ老衰して事に堪へざりしがためなりとぞ。さて此の後これを引き受けたる書林は、永樂屋東四郎と風月堂孫助との兩人なり。

「眞風」は澤眞風にして門人なり。在京中の春庭の世話を萬事賴みある人「竹内彦一」は門人竹内直道、「おのと」は宣長の三女なり。

言語も通ぜぬことなるを、意を以てしゐて通ずる也」「彼國にては平仄四聲あきらかに、風調聲音こと〴〵く、よしあしともに生れつきのわが物也。それを此方にてたとひいかほど奥旨に通じても、韈をへだて丶痒をかくことをまぬがれず」と難じ、「和歌は、吾神州開闢來自然の聲音言辭を以て自然天性の情をつらぬる。明らかなることむべならずや」と稱揚し、「同じ風雅に從事せんとならば、人の國のまはりどをき詩より、吾邦自然の和歌に心を用ひんことこそあらまほしきこと也」といへり。

○中なるは寛政六年〔六十五歳〕和歌山の旅寓より、松阪の留守宅に贈れる書狀なり。書中なる「新町」は弟村田親次、「湊町」は二女美濃の嫁せる長井嘉左衞門、「津兩家」は次男小西春村と妻の實家草深氏とを指せるなり。また「田丸や」は稻懸大平、「高蔭」「中里」は三井高蔭、中里常岳、「服部義内」は服部中庸にして、何れも門人なり。

宣長が和歌山藩主德川治寶に事へしは寛政四年十二月にして、寛政六年始て出府せるなり。

○下なるは寛政八年〔六十七歳〕在京中の春庭に遣せる書狀なり。書中初に「兩人」とあるは、春庭と附添の久助となり。

遠鏡の版下は自ら書く所、寛政八年十一月三日悉くこれを書林に送れり。校正摺の來れるも十一月なり。

玉の小ぐしの版下も自身に書きたり。而て寛政九年四月十日より同年十二月九日までに悉皆これを書林に送れり。校合摺の初て來れるは同年七月初旬頃なり。「周防守」は濱田の藩主松平康定にして、國學を好み、宣長を信ずること篤く、其の臣岡田元善、小篠敏等をして其の門に學ばしむ。寛政七年八月參宮の途次松阪に立寄り、宣長を旅館に召して源氏物語の講釋を聽けることあり。當時また小篠敏は、君命によりて源氏物語の講釋を聽かんとて松阪に滯留中なりしが、翌八年四月修業の結

○上なるは寶暦七年〔二十八歳〕十月京都より歸りて間もなく、某に贈れるものなり。名古屋市山本九八郎氏所藏に、該尺牘の後半闕損せるものありて、その初に「長井元恂様　奉庵」と記せるが、卷紙認にして宣長の筆なりと傳承せり。さては長井元恂なる人に贈れる尺牘なるべきか。

書中、歌の詩に優れることをいふ。詩歌優劣の議論は、京都遊學中の著と信ぜらるゝ『あしわけ小船』に詳述せり。其の一節をあぐれば、

詩と歌との辨をなをいはゞ、詩は時代にしたがひて詞も意もかはりゆく也。まづ三百篇の風雅の詩は人情をありのまゝにいひのべたるゆへに、女童の言めきてみなはかなきもの也。これが誠の詩の本体なり。さて次第に世のうつりかはるにつれて、後世の人は心さかしくなりゆけば、かの上代のはかなき詞つたなき意をはぢて、我實情をばいひ出ず、いかにも大丈夫の意をつくり出す。これ上代も末代も人情にかはることはなく、今とても人の實情をさぐりみれば、上代にかはらずはかなくおろかなるもの也。さかしく男らしきは實情にあらず。されば後世の詩はみな實にあらず、つくりかざれる情也。○中略。さて和歌も時代にしたがひてうつりかはるとはいへども、右にいへる詩のかはりゆくとは異なり。まづ歌のかはりゆくは詞也。萬葉の歌と中古以來の歌とをくらべみよ。大にことにしてさら〳〵同じものにあらず。されども情は萬葉の歌も今の歌もかはることなし。今の歌とても、たゞはかなくおろかにみへて、女童などの云ふべきやうの情のみ也。これ詩とのかばりめ也。○中略。唐土の人は、たゞ議論嚴格なることにのみ心のつながれてゐるゆへに、詩もをのづからやはらぐるとはすれども、どこやらが理窟がましき處ありて、上代の詩の本意にあらず。和歌のおもむきをからの詩人にしらせたきもの也。

といひ、尙用語上より其の優劣を論じて「詩は唐土のこと也。いかに通達したればとて、人の國吾國

第十七圖

尺牘の案

男春庭に遣せる書狀

編者藏

[illegible]

に今よりは玉づさの便からさゞらんを、むさしの丶草のゆかりをおもほしつ丶、あの丶松原つばらにきこえおこさせたまひねかし。

名におへる渚の眞玉ひろふともやつる丶袖につ丶みあへめや

日にけにさえまさり侍るをよ〳〵しのぎたまひて。うちつけなるなめげさは、さるかたにみゆるしたまへ。あなかしこ。

しはす五日　　橘千蔭

本居の君へまゐる

○加藤千蔭が萬葉集略解を撰するに方り、寛政三年十二月初て音信を通せるに對し、翌四年〔六十三歳〕正月に答へたる消息なり。兩者の交情はこゝに其の端を開き、千蔭は略解の稿成るごとにこれを送りて、宣長の閲覽を乞へり。書中に見えたる楫取魚彦の訪問は、明和六年參宮の途次にして、村田春海の來訪は、天明八年三月十日の夜なり。次に千蔭が寛政三年の書を掲ぐ。

雲ゐのよそにへだち侍るものから、み名は鳴神の音にきゝわたり侍りつ。おのれ千蔭、はやく賀茂のうしに名づきおくりつれど、いとわかゝりし時の心おこたりに、おほろかにものしつゝ、なにはの事もわいだめ侍らざりしほどに、おほやけごとにのみかゝづらひて、いとまなくなん成にて侍れば、こゝろのほかにうとく成もて行て、つひに問明らむる事なくて、うしみまかられつれば、今はたやちたびくゆともかひなくなん。此四とせさきに、千蔭やまひによりてつかへをしぞき侍しより、おふけなくうしのこゝろざしを繼てむと思起しつゝ、萬葉考をくり返し見侍るに、うしこゝらのとし月つとめたまへりし眞心はおぼろけならぬものから、齡の末に至ては、いかにぞやしひごとにやとおぼしき事どももまじらひ侍りて、卷のついでなどかうがへられしはいとことわりある事ながら、はやく今のついでに成ぬるとみえ侍るを、わたくしに改むべきならずおぼえ侍れば、今の本のまゝにて、つばらなる事は考にゆづりて、あら〳〵かいつめ見侍つれど、なほたど〳〵しき事のみぞおほかる。さるたづきありて、玉のを琴てふ書もとめ出つゝ見侍るに、こゑきゝしらむきはには侍らぬものから、まことにおよびがてなるしらべになむおぼえ侍る。そが中には、千蔭がをぢなき心に、とあらんかゝらむと思ひめぐらしゝと、またくひとしきことしもまれ〳〵侍りて、よろこぼひにたへずなむ侍る。されば君のみ名をあらはして書つべくおぼえ侍る也。同じ門に遊べる友垣も幾すくなくなりにて侍れば、こと

第十六圖

加藤千蔭に贈れる消息

編者藏

○寛政十二年〔七十一歳〕十月十八日讃を求むとて、高尾家より畫の來れるよし手記に見えたり。また同年十一月十四日高尾九兵衛に贈れる宣長の書中に「富士賛之儀致二承知一候」とあり。また同書に、

一拙著紀州行之儀、最早當年は參り不レ申候而濟候事と存罷在候處、昨日彼表役人中ゟ書狀到來、此節被レ召候由。依レ之近日廿日前後致二出立一罷越候筈に御座候。大方彼方に而致二越年一、來春に至罷歸り可レ申と被レ存候。何事も歸鄉いたし候而可レ得二御意一、此節甚心世話敗何事も不二申入一候。

とあれば、翌享和元年歸鄉後に認めたるものなるべし。

○寛政十二年〔七十一歳〕十月十八日讃を求むとて、高尾家より畫の來れるよし手記に見えたり。また同年十一月十四日高尾九兵衛に贈れる宣長の書中に「富士賛之儀致二承知一候」とあり。また同書に、

一拙者紀州行之儀、最早當年は參り不レ申候而濟候事と存罷在候處、昨日彼表役人中ゟ書狀到來、此節被レ召候由。依レ之近日廿日前後致二出立一罷越候筈に御座候。大方彼方に而致二越年一、來春に至罷歸り可レ申と被レ存候。何事も歸鄕いたし候而可レ得二御意一、此節甚心世話敷何事も不二申入一候。

とあれば、翌享和元年歸鄕後に認めたるものなるべし。

第十五圖

富士の畫讃

高尾九兵衛氏藏

更衣

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

宣長

保心為

心ゆくまでなにをかはしの[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

宣長

○更衣は寛政五年〔六十四歳〕の作、深山鹿は、安永八年〔五十歳〕九月十七日嶺松院月次會兼題の歌なり。共に鈴屋集に選び載せたり。前掲の短冊浦立春よりは何れも後の筆にして、晩年に屬せるものなり。

更衣

みなさいてとゝまるものは
きぬぎぬのなごりなりけり

宣長

○更衣は寛政五年〔六十四歳〕の作、深山鹿は、安永八年〔五十歳〕九月十七日嶺松院月次會兼題の歌なり。共に鈴屋集に選び載せたり。前掲の短冊浦立春よりは何れも後の筆にして、晩年に屬せるものなり。

第十四圖

色紙

編者藏

○寄露神祇の詠は、明和三年〔三十七歳〕三月十一日、松阪嶺松院月次會の當座短冊なり。

○浦立春は、寶暦十年〔三十一歳〕正月二十五日の詠にして、同月次會の兼題なり。鈴屋集にも載せたり。但し當時の歌稿には、結句を「春やたつらん」とせり。後年改めたるなるべし。眞淵翁に添削を乞へる詠草には、既に「春はきにけり」とせり。

○寄露神祇の詠は、明和三年〔三十七歳〕三月十一日、松阪嶺松院月次會の當座短冊なり。

○浦立春は、寶暦十年〔三十一歳〕正月二十五日の詠にして、同月次會の兼題なり。鈴屋集にも載せたり。但し當時の歌稿には、結句を「春やたつらん」とせり。後年改めたるなるべし。眞淵翁に添削を乞へる詠草には、既に「春はきにけり」とせり。

第十三圖

短冊

編者藏

高光日御子夜須美斯志吾大皇萬代乃伊在登
許斯玖迩奥山能葉倉玖麻許乃斯留葉能庫理
伊麻志斯賀枝能榮伊戸勢登支己宿美豆阿夜
乃畏美許登本岐麻都瑞

本居宣長

○鈴屋集五の卷頭にかゝげられたる詠なり。

花押は云といふ字なりと言ひ傳へたり。

○所有者高尾氏は、宣長の長女飛驒の緣家なり。

○鈴屋集五の卷頭にかゝげられたる詠なり。
花押は云といふ字なりと言ひ傳へたり。
○所有者高尾氏は、宣長の長女飛驒の緣家なり。

第十二圖

大御代ほがひの歌

高尾九兵衛氏藏

縣居大人の御霊まつりし給ふ十月三
日あけぼのうしの時に先考
うまれ給ふ月の小たちの日なりと云
詞

平宣長

○眞淵翁十三回忌の手向歌なり。天明元年十一月の日記に、

九日、今年十月卅日岡部大人十三回忌也。當日者因レ有レ障、今夕、追慕會於二當家一與二行之一。

とあり。當夜の當座題は琴の音に昔を忍ぶ。

かきひくやことのねきけばことがみにいます御影の今も見るごと

いそのかみふる人しのぶさよ中に琴のねきけばなげきしまさる

かきなすや琴をしきけば聲しらぬ我さへもとなふる人おもほゆ

宣長が備忘のため年々錄せる一族知己の忌日及び年忌の覺書を檢するに、其の中に岡部眞淵、堀景山、武川幸順三師の名あるを認む。以て毎年の忌日及び年忌ごとに其の靈を祭れること知らる。靈牌には「縣居大人之靈位」と自ら書ける一軸を用ゐたり。

おうまくのうぼうあきゃしゃにんばらはらばりたやうん
ばさらだとばんばさらだとばんばさらだとばん

○眞淵翁十三回忌の手向歌なり。天明元年十一月の日記に、

九日、今年十月卅日岡部大人十三回忌也。當日者因レ有レ障、今夕、追慕會於二當家一與二行之一。

とあり。當夜の當座題は琴の音に昔を忍ぶ。

かきひくやことのねきけばことがみにいます御影の今も見るごと

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第十一圖

賀茂眞淵翁十三回忌の手向歌

編者藏

カ又ウラヤウレノ心ノツクカ

ワキモコニミヽソワヘヨモ五月雨トニルヨシヤ

アレヒキノ

本氏百合山

爲人忍戀（寶曆十三年〔三十四歳〕四月十一日同會當座）

後朝戀（寶曆十二年十一月）

寄魚戀（寶曆十年十二月十一日嶺松院月次會兼題）

寄箏戀（明和元年九月十一日同會當座）

寄風戀（明和二年正月二十五日同會兼題）

花埋苔、月、戀命、寄枕戀の三首は見當らず。さて明和二年十月二十四日の宣長の書に對する、十二月二十一日の宣淵翁の返信中に「御詠いかゞ候哉」と催促の語見え、また翌明和三年九月十六日宣長に贈れる同翁の書に「詠歌の事よろしからず候」とて、縷々詠歌についての意見を示されたるを以て推すに、此の詠草は蓋し明和三年に贈れるものなるべし。

○所有者小津氏は、宣長の二女美濃の緣家なり。

○上圖は宣長が萬葉集卷十四の疑條に對し、眞淵翁の答へられたるなり。宣長の眞淵翁に師事するや、その命に從ひて、先づ萬葉集を考究し、その疑條を專ら質問せり。而て宣長の質問は、萬葉集全部を二回繰り返し、その再問の終れるは、翁が卒去の前年明和五年六月なり。其の質問書の現存せるもの十八冊あり。

宣長に贈れる眞淵翁の書翰〔明和二年十二月二十一日附〕に、

萬葉卷十三之御疑問之中宜御考共も有之候。甚偏意も見え候。

とありて、翌明和三年九月十六日同翁よりの書中に、卷の十七八の質問書返却の旨を記したれば、卷の十四の質疑は明和三年に終れることを知るべし。

○下圖は眞淵翁添削の詠草なり。歌稿を檢するに詠吟の時をほゞ知ることを得。卽ち左の如し。

山居梅、（明和二年〔三十六歳〕二月十七日松阪嶺松院月次會兼題）

古寺落花（明和元年三月）

夏月（明和二年六月十七日嶺松院月次會當座。二句、歌稿には「明るを」とあり）

野虫（明和元年八月十七日同會兼題）

野分（明和二年七月六日同會兼題）

浦雪（明和元年十一月十七日同會當座）

第十圖

萬葉集卷十四疑一條

賀茂眞淵翁添削の詠草

編者藏

小津芳藏氏藏

詠二首和歌

春庵

鄙月

月もこそ秋は嵯峨の山ぶかつゝ[illegible]
[illegible]

偽戀

[illegible]
[illegible]
何[illegible]

○寶暦六年〔二十七歳〕八月十五日、有賀長川家月次歌會の懐紙なり。但し歌稿には、野月の二句を「萩の花野を」とせり。

有賀長川は京都の人、宣長が和歌の師なり。宣長は寶暦六年二月頃よりその門に入り、月々の歌會にも常に出席せり。

春庵は通稱なり。寶暦五年三月三日、健藏を改めて春庵と稱す。春の字或は舜と書せり。但し初は蕣の字を用ゐたり。

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有賀長川は京都の人、宣長が和歌の師なり。宣長は寶暦六年二月頃よりその門に入り、月々の歌會にも常に出席せり。

春庵は通稱なり。寶暦五年三月三日、健藏を改めて春庵と稱す。春の字或は舜と書せり。但し初は蕣の字を用ゐたり。

第九圖

懷紙

編者藏

[illegible]

二十一日 南[illegible]十余[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

○醫學修行のため寶暦二年〔二十三歳〕京都に赴き、業成りて寶暦七年歸鄉せる間の日記にして三冊あり。三月五日の出立に筆を起し、十月六日の歸鄉に筆を擱けり。その文體、初は漢文なるが寶暦六年以降は和文を以て書せり。

圖は寶暦六年三月二十三日〔實は二十四日〕漢學の師堀景山、醫學の師武川幸順の兩先生等と高臺寺の花を賞せし條なり。當日景山先生の詠多かりしよし記せり。

先生が國語國文に通せしこと、宣長が其の影響をうけたることの尠からざるは周く人の知る所なれば更に贅せず。さて武川幸順は景山の門に入りて漢學を修めたる人なり。

二十二日 句子會讀始與塩野元三郎中

○醫學修行のため寶曆二年〔二十三歳〕京都に赴き、業成りて寶曆七年歸鄉せる間の日記にして三冊あり。三月五日の出立に筆を起し、十月六日の歸鄉に筆を擱けり。その文體、初は漢文なるが寶曆六年以降は和文を以て書せり。

圖は寶曆六年三月二十三日〔實は二十四日〕漢學の師堀景山、醫學の師武川幸順の兩先生等と高臺寺の花を賞せし條なり。當日景山先生の詠多かりしよし記せり。先生が國語國文に通ぜしこと、宣長が其の影響をうけたることの尠からざるは周く人の知る所なれば更に贅せず。さて武川幸順は景山の門に入りて漢學を修めたる人なり。

第八圖

在京日記

編者藏

今井田栄貞

卯花

[illegible]

卯花の咲るかきつ[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

咲る卯花

待郭公

[illegible]

[illegible]

人[illegible]

早苗

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

夕早苗

[illegible]

今日[illegible]

いと[illegible]

○寛延二年〔二十歳〕の詠草にして、山田宗安寺の和尚法幢の添削する處なり。寛延元年の頃詠歌に志せるが、今年より專ら學習、三月下旬法幢の門に入れり。今井田は養家の姓なり。家には養嗣子定治のあるを以て、寛延元年の冬出でて、山田の今井田氏に養はるゝこととなれり。居ること滿二年にして寛延三年離縁、家に歸りぬ。

今井田栄貞

○寛延二年〔二十歳〕の詠草にして、山田宗安寺の和尚法幢の添削する處なり。寛延元年の頃詠歌に志せるが、今年より專ら學習、三月下旬法幢の門に入れり。今井田は養家の姓なり。家には養嗣子定治のあるを以て、寛延元年の冬出でて、山田の今井田氏に養はるゝこととなれり。居ること滿二年にして寛延三年離緣、家に歸りぬ。

第七圖

法幢和尚添削の詠草

編者藏

職原抄文永卷上目錄

▲摂政事　▲関白事　▲太政大臣　▲左大臣　▲右大臣　▲内大臣　▲大納言　▲中納言　▲参議　▲左右大弁　▲左右大中少将　▲左右大中少弁　▲左右大中少辰巳

○宣長が延享元年十五歳の時の筆にして、卷紙にこれを寫せり。なほ此の他、幼年時代のものに中華歴代帝王國統相承之圖一卷、神器傳授圖一卷、赤穗記一卷あり。いづれも延享元年の筆錄なり。

職原抄支流は職原抄の注解にして上下二卷あり。著者詳かならず。

奥書の姓名小津(ラウヅ)は宣長の高祖父小津七右衞門の初て稱せる所、寶暦二年〔二十三歳〕三月、宣長舊姓本居に復せり。彌四郎は元文五年十一歳の八月に榮貞(ナガサダ)は翌寛保元年三月に名くる所なり。

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第六圖

職原抄支流の寫

編者藏

○山室山の奥墓なり。宣長の墳墓は松阪の南約五十町、山室村妙樂寺の山上にあり。妙樂寺は淨土宗にして山の半腹を占む。妙樂寺には本居家先祖の位牌ありて古く寄進の品もあり、宣長の頃までも常に佛餉米を奉れり。ことに安永六年六月當寺の住主となれる法譽上人は本居家の菩提所たる松阪樹敬寺の方丈にして、宣長は相識の間、かつ山寺の眺望佳なるを以て、時に出遊せることもありしが、終に此の山上を卜して永眠の地となせり。

寛政十二年〔七十一歳〕九月十七日妙樂寺に至り、山内を巡りて、妙樂寺より少し登り行きたる左の方御麻園村へ越え行く道の傍にこれを定めたり。然るに其の後更に現存の地卽ち山上に改めたるが、其の時日は明かならず。按ずるに、寛政十二年十一月十八日法譽上人に贈れる宣長の書中に、

然ば先達而は參詣仕候處、折節御他出に而不レ得二拜顏一殘懷之至奉レ存候。其節は大勢參り何角御世話相成辱奉レ存候。且其砌於二御山內一、私墓地之義御所望申上置候處、早速御承知被二成下一、殊更地面も廣く御許容被レ下候段、扨々辱大慶不レ斜奉レ存候。

とあり。九月に初て墓地を選定せる時の禮狀としては餘りに後れ過ぎたるのみならず、「先達而は」といへるも近き程を指せる言なるが如く聞ゆ。されば此の書翰は、後度參詣の時の禮狀なるべし。はたして然らば、山上に墓所を改めたる時日ほゞ知ることを得べし。さて墳墓の構造は自身に設計する所にして、門人三井高蔭その工事に努力せるが、翌享和元年の春に至りて成れり。其の碑の銘〔本居宣長之奥墓〕をも自ら書きおけり。明治三十三年山室村の有志者及び宣長の裔孫等相議りて、參道に大修繕を施し、また墓所の修築をも營みたり。こゝに掲げたるは改修後のものなり。奥墓の右に見ゆる建物は、山室山神社の舊殿、左に立てるは、平田篤胤翁の詠〔なきがらはいづくの土になりぬとも魂は翁のもとにゆかなむ〕を刻せる碑なり。

○山室山の奥墓なり。宣長の墳墓は松阪の南約五十町、山室村妙樂寺の山上にあり。妙樂寺は淨土宗にして山の半腹を占む。妙樂寺には本居家先祖の位牌ありて古く寄進の品もあり、宣長の頃までも常に佛餉米を奉れり。ことに安永六年六月當寺の住主となれる法譽上人は本居家の菩提所たる松阪樹敬寺の方丈にして、宣長は相識の間、かつ山寺の眺望佳なるを以て、時に出遊せることもありしが、終に此の山上を卜して永眠の地となせり。

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第五圖

山室山奥墓

十二

○松阪町四五百森（イホノ）に鎮座せる縣社山室山神社なり。本社の創建は明治八年〔一二五三五〕にして、川口常文、野呂萬次郎、垣本安基樂、久世安庭、岡村美啓、本居健亭、山室村有志者等相議りて、山室山の墓側にこれを營み、宣長の靈に配するに平田篤胤翁の靈を以てし、三月二十一日鎮座祭を執行せり。明治十四年三月、本居豐穎、同健亭、平田胤雄等主唱となり、千家尊福をはじめ、官國幣社の宮司並に神道各教派の重なる人々賛成者となり。川口野呂の篤志者を助けて、祠宇を改築し參道の嶮を開き大に神德を顯彰せんことを企て、天下に資金募集のことを發表せり。此の事畏くも天聽に達し、同年七月十一日内帑金百圓を下賜せらる。然るに山上狹隘にして宏壯の建物を設くべからず、且つ參道の修築維持困難なるのみならず、松阪を距ること一里半、參拜者の不便尠からざるを以て、松阪町有志者の賛成を得て、遂に同町に移轉の事に決し、明治十五年五月十日、同町字殿町〔舊奉行所跡〕に移轉改造の官許を得たり。明治二十二年九月工事竣りて同月二十六日遷座式を行ふ。然るにその地たるや、畑地を修築せるにて、樹木は新に移植したるもののみなれば、神域の莊嚴を闕き、靈威を瀆すの恐れあるを以て、崇敬者の間に再び移轉の計畫あり。議成りて大正四年四月四五百森にこれを移し、十一月八日遷座祭を執行せり。

本社もと無格社なりしが、縣社となれるは、明治三十六年四月なり。

第四圖

縣社山室山神社

寛政十二年庚申十二月　　本居宣長

書中「天明之頃」とあるにつきて、本居大平は「按ずるに安永年中也。若山客舍にて認られたる時、闇記のまゝにて天明と記されたる也」といへり。

左より第二位なるは、濱田の藩主松平康定の贈る所にして、春庭の書付に「唐金の大きなる形は、隱岐國造の家に古くつたはりたる形を鑄させて、松平周防守殿よりおくられたるなり」とあり。

左の端なるは鐵鈴なり。春庭の說明に「鐵のは、故翁上京のをり古き形によりていさせられたる也。鐵はいと鑄がたく、音もよくは出來がたきよし也」と記せり。鈴屋衣の地紋と同じく、紗綾形を一面に刻せり。

此の他の三鈴はその來由詳かならず。また圖に見ゆる七個の外に、今一つ「養老年製」と刻したるがありて、本居長世氏の藏なるを、こゝに寫しもらせるは遺憾なり。

○上圖は書齋鈴屋なり。鈴屋は自ら好みて造れる四疊半にして、天明二年〔五十三歳〕十月十三日に其の工を起し、十二月上旬に至りて成れり。室の概略をいへば、八級〔下部三級は箱形となし、紙屑入れに使用し、取り外すことを得〕の階段を昇れば入口〔西北〕に、襖一枚の引戸を建つ。室内は左側〔東北〕に床と押入とあり〔押入の襖には、もと淡彩の山水を畫きたりしが、破損せしを以て後にこれを張り替へ、門人の當座短冊を貼附したり〕。床の口右脇の壁に細長き板を塗り込めあり。右側〔西南〕は幅一間の中窓にして、中庭を見下し得べし。正面〔東南〕の中央に小窓ありて〔窓先に竹格子を設く〕障子二枚を建てたり〔後年隣家二階增築の事あり。窓はその側壁に妨げられて用をなさず。依て竹格子を除き、板を以てこれを張り塞ぎたり〕。小窓の右に敷込ありて、その一隅に棚を釣れり。壁はすべて眞土を以て上塗となせり。

庭に植ゑたるは、松、棕梠竹、榊、矢竹の四種なり。

○下圖は愛翫の鈴なり。右の端の聯に懸れるは、宣長が好みて造れるにて、三十六の小鈴を六個づつ赤き緒に貫き垂れたり。新築の書齋の柱にかけて朝夕の慰みとなす。鈴屋の號これより出づ。但し原品は、宣長の歿後、遺物として人々に分與したれば今存せず。圖版なるは文政五年〔一八二四〕の冬、男春庭の模造せるなり。

右より第三位にある鈴は、門人蓬萊尙賢の贈る所なり。寛政十二年紀州侯德川治寶の覽に供せる時、宣長の記して添へたる由來書左の如し。

右鈴出處之事

伊勢國度會郡神路山之內

內宮御境內五十鈴川之邊土中ゟ掘出し候古物、天明之頃彼宮祠官蓬萊雅樂荒木田神主尙賢許ゟ所二贈與一、宣長所藏之鈴也。

第三圖

鈴屋及び愛翫の鈴

編者　有

○松阪魚町の住宅なり。宣長が寛保元年十二歳の五月十四日より、享和元年七十二歳の九月二十九日終焉の日まで、六十一年間起臥せし住宅なり。宣長が呱々の聲をあげたるは本町の本宅にして、魚町なるは隱宅なり。

そも〳〵宣長の父定利の江戸にて死去するや、養嗣子定治、江戸大傳馬町の木綿店を閉ぢ、土地建物等盡くこれを賣却して借財の整理をなしたり。かくて尙江戸堀留町に、烟草店と兩替店との二店存すと雖、その榮また曩昔の如くならず。且つ定治は江戸にのみ住して松阪にあらず。ことに養嗣子の厄介となれる身にして、本宅に住せんこと憚なきにあらず。かた〴〵寛保元年五月十四日を以て、母勝子は宣長等兄弟三人を携へて、此の隱宅に蟄居せるものの如し。

この魚町の宅地は、本町の宅地と連續してその裏に當れり。承應三年〔一三一四〕十二月、宣長の曾祖父小津三郎右衛門、本町の宅地と共にこれを購ひ求め、父七右衛門の妾をしてこゝに居らしめ、母の如くに孝養をつくす。元祿の末には、支配人十右衛門の後室〔三郎右衛門の姪〕住居せり。其の後、享保十一年〔一三八六〕宣長の祖父定治、職人町なる己が隱宅を此處に引き移して住めり。これ宣長等が住せし建物にして、天明二年更に四疊半の書齋鈴屋を增築せり。爾來春庭、有鄕、健亭、編者等相繼ぎて住せしが、明治四十二年〔二五六九〕十月、これを永久に保護せんがため、松阪公園內に移し、其の屋敷跡と共に鈴屋遺跡保存會にて保管することとなれり。

第二圖

松阪魚町の住宅

編者有

紗綾形の地紋ある黒縮緬にて製す。裏なし。但しヒコは、鼠色に唐草模様ある縮緬にして襞あり。

袖たけ　一尺五寸五分　　袖はば　一尺六寸六分

袖ぐち　一尺三寸　但し平袖にして、巾二寸六分の裏〔紫縮緬〕を附く。

人　形　一寸二分　　身たけ　三尺七寸

ひこ巾　一尺六寸四つ折に畳む。　　肩はば　八寸

後はば　八寸　　前はば　五寸八分

襟はば　一寸九分　　腰あげ　七　分

襟かた　二寸

襟肩より一尺九寸の處に、巾八分長一尺の縫紐あり、古代紫の縮緬にて製す。また紐を縫ひ附けたる襟の裏に當りて、角製のコハゼとコハゼカケとあり。

宣長この肖像を書ける後、門人等の乞ふ者あれば、像を畫師にかゝせ讃歌を自書して與へたり。名古屋の畫工吉川義信のゑがけるが心に適ひて、大かた義信に寫さしめたり。又京都の畫師宮脇有慶が書けるもあり。

宣長の肖像について、平田篤胤翁が「たまだすき」〔篤胤全集四、三七九頁〕に記されたることは、誤もありまた明確ならざる點あり。

○右圖は安永二年に自ら書けるなり。上に着せるは宣長の好みに成れる服にして鈴屋衣と稱す。歌會或は講書の席上等にて着せし一種の式服なり。明和元年〔三十五歳〕或禪僧がこれを見て、我が宗の衣に似たりとて咎めけるに、

今さらに何とがむらむから衣やまと言葉にいひなれぬるを

とよめること歌稿に見ゆ。此の頃作りたるなるべし。寛政四年三月宣長名古屋にあり。九日人見璣邑を訪ひ終日相語る。その會談を記せる璣舜問答に、

○翁〔宣長〕の着服は何と云物ぞ。據ある事にや。

△據なし。唯物數奇にて工夫して拵しなり。

○左には非じ。何ぞ據あるべし。神代の服など學びたらんには美し過たり。賓主ともに嗤ふ。

△誠に據なし。本多伊勢君〔伊豫君の誤ならむ。伊勢神戸の藩主〕の御隱居なども強て問玉ひし。其後借りて型など出來し。

とあるも鈴屋衣のことなり。

これを次に掲ぐる六十一歳の肖像に着せると對比するに、其の製作同一のやうなれど、ヒコに相違の點あり。六十一なるはその色鼠にして唐草模樣あり、現存の品に等しきを、四十四なるは模樣なく色も異なり。按ずるに、四十四なるは筆の至らず且つ略する處ありて然るか。或は、年經て破損せるを以て新調せることのありて材料の前後異るか。其は明に知り難し。

讃歌は同じ安永二年によめる花五十首の中の詠なり。

○所有者本居長世氏は、宣長の歿後本居家の養嗣子となれる大平の後裔なり。

○左圖の肖像に着せる鈴屋衣は今なほ現存せり。その別物ならざる故は、此の種の肖像にして、或畫工が色彩地紋等をも委しく寫しおけると、現存せる品との色文等しければなり。その概略をいへば、

第一圖

四十四歲自畫自讃の肖像　本居長世氏藏

六十一歲自畫自讃の肖像　編者藏

第十二　大御代ほがひの歌

第十三　短冊

第十四　色紙

第十五　富士の畫讃

第十六　加藤千蔭に贈れる消息

第十七　尺牘の案
男春庭に遺せる書狀

第十八　玉の小櫛稿本
神代紀髻華山蔭稿本

第十九　直日靈淨書本
玉鉾百首淨書本

第二十　詞の玉の緒淨書本
古今集遠鏡淨書本

第二十一　古事記傳淨書本

第二十二　古事記傳終業慶賀會の詠

○

鈴屋翁略年譜

鈴屋翁略年譜補正

鈴屋門人錄

鈴屋門人錄補正

校訂 古事記傳首卷

目次

紀州侯德川治寶の題字
御題字能後爾記須詞
○附錄
第一 自畫自讃の肖像
第二 松阪魚町の住宅
第三 鈴屋及び愛翫の鈴
第四 縣社山室山神社
第五 山室山奥墓
第六 職原抄支流の寫
第七 法幢和尚添削の詠草
第八 在京日記
第九 懐紙
第十 萬葉集卷十四疑條賀茂眞淵翁添削の詠草
第十一 賀茂眞淵翁十三回忌の手向歌

乎又可看行玖
殿能御前珥持參上理祁禮婆
御筆跡能傍乃紙能開而有所珥
御印二上那琉波
紀亞相章下那琉波賜紫金魚袋登云文字有袁那毛朱志豆押而賜比奴琉
此傳首卷爾世乃常能序文乎添良禮邪理祁留乎當時或人云加々流書爾
序登云文乃不添奴事波伊迦爾登問斯迦婆翁云其者思布意有時志茂有
婆甚毛恐氣禮杼我
君乃御文袁許曾申賜良米又外爾誰斯乃詞乎迦請得牟登答良禮祁琉事
乃有都留爾今波哆如此自良珥斯豆
御筆乃跡能添奴留事波斯毛眞事奇斯玖翁乃靈毛天翔乍歡奴良牟登春庭
大平乎初豆敎子皆乃誰加波悅仰邪良武登尊美畏美如此記須爾那毛有祁琉
文政五年壬午冬　　本居三四右衛門平大平
野呂九一郎源隆年書

凡四十四卷遺禮留無玖彫板足比奴登云理本都書者我朝爾志豆殊珥尊
伎御典奈利宣長許多乃年月乎加佐禰豆觧記斯置哆流大伎那留功乃程
類無伎書奈利宣長世爾在程皆賀羅板本出來邪理斯波不飽事奈禮杼大
平春庭袁初此彼乃輩毛怠事無慢牟事無遺乃卷々令彫伊他豆伎哆留宇
牟賀斯伎事登厚玖賞給波斯豆此御筆者染給波須那利此者掛物爾與曾
比底汝之家乃哆迦良物登伊都伎茂哆禮今一枚板爾彫倍玖模佐勢豆賜
閑琉波世爾既玖富杼許禮琉板本乃初卷爾綴添而將良登高行之心志良
比茂有而如此云奈利登懃那琉仰事袁蒙而甚毛哆布登玖甚毛迦哆士氣
奈玖世爾有難伎事珥毛有迦奈登項爾捧氣恐美歡比豆早家珥持退歸奴
如此而此掛物乃表裝波
御官高伎
大納言君乃著馴斯給幣流
御裝束乃五葉葵乃唐草之御裂帛登迦々流表裝賀禰登令織置給遍流常
能葵乃御紋能金糸志豆織哆琉登乎申賜理豆日袁經豆美麗玖成整幣琉

眞名子春庭十七卷春庭之妹美濃五卷栗田土滿一卷翁乃自書哆琉茂有三十卷與理末五卷植松有信十卷丹羽勗書哆理皆春庭之手爾似豆斯書哆禮婆其差別不見那毛有又一卷彫竟琉每爾元本珥讀合須流事二度乃美不成校正斯彫改志米豆三度乃勞袁經而那毛成就理祁留初者翁自勢良禮後者弟子乃此彼曾爲祁留云立者事々斯玖成奴倍斯於此我翁乃著斯出流書等者摺卷出來度每珥麻豆

殿乃御前爾奉留倍玖仰事蒙禮理伎其著波勢琉書袁正月乃末都方殿能御前爾奉琉登底添底奉禮留峰乃松高伎惠能蔭登米豆今日布美能煩留道曾恐伎登鈴屋集爾所見哆理翁之後者大平同樣爾彌繼々珥奉理奴今年之秋乃初都方彼有信之跡繼有植松茂岳之許與理此八帙贈於許勢祁留珥有來斯年頃乃例乃隨々奉祁禮婆

御手都迦良此四文字袁那毛書而賜比祁琉佐琉波大平乎召豆大村高行爾仰勢豆許登佐良珥仰給波玖年來宣長之著斯哆琉古事記傳寛政之度與理板本出來麻爾々々次々奉豆此度八帙登云爾阿他琉乎那毛奉奴留

御題字能後爾記須詞

我翁古事記乃傳思起而著始良禮祁琉波明和元年甲申年爾志豆一部書竟哆琉波寛政十年戊午年珥那毛有祁琉其間三十年餘五年袁經哆理然斯豆是板爾彫初斯波天明六七年頃爾斯豆摺卷全部出來哆琉波今年文政五年爾斯豆其間三十年餘五年六年袁經哆理昔時請得而早玖板珥令彫豆斯賀登思起斯哆琉波尾張殿人横井千秋爾那毛有氣留此人古學毘爾志深玖道袁思事世人爾波勝豆那毛有氣留如此而五卷彫出而摺卷一帙出來哆琉珥甚玖喜比豆伊勢尾張大宮爾茂所々乃神社爾茂初幣登斯豆奉伎翁袁波士米皆人其志乎那毛賞合理祁留此賀彌繼々爾二帙三帙登令彫氣琉乎其頃病勞良斯玖身毛老衰閇豆不堪那毛有祁禮婆自初千秋袁助而事執勳斯美阿幣理斯鈴木眞實植松有信登議碁智豆元來賣施須事受賜波理預禮留名兒屋里乃書商人風月堂登永樂堂登能二人珥由多禰誂與己之家業登斯豆務成登云付祁禮婆其次々八帙爾到琉麻豆如此事成奴琉爾那毛有祁留初板爾將令彫登志底清玖寫斯書哆琉波翁之

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SHINTO, "THE WAY OF THE GODS," OR JESUS CHRIST, GOD'S "WAY"?

by Richard S. Lofgren

The ancient Japanese religion of Shinto confronts Christians with some very basic questions. Do we gain blessings in this life as the result of our own actions, or are all blessings given to us by God's grace? Do we enter eternal life as the result of our own efforts or the efforts of those who survive us, or is eternal life also a blessing given to us by God's grace alone?

Upon entering the world of Shinto we find a pattern of ritualized behavior known as "the way of the gods," but God has provided us with another "Way," Jesus Christ. The Lord calls us to follow Him.

In this article some of the main beliefs, organization, and practices of Shinto will be discussed. Suggestions will be offered as to ways Christians can introduce those who follow "the way of the *kami*" ("gods") to the One Who is "the way, the truth, and the life," Jesus Christ, God's only Son (John 14:6 *GOD'S WORD*).

I. Shinto

"The term *Shinto* in English comes from two Japanese words, *shin* (which can also be read *kami*) and *to*, or more commonly *do*, meaning "way." Shinto, therefore, means the way of the *kami*, or the divine as understood in Japanese culture" (Picken xxi). "*Shinto* is translated best as 'The Divine Way', (popular but less accurate: 'The Way of the Gods'" (Manske and Harmelink 17).

A. Religious Beliefs

Shinto is the indigenous religion of the people of Japan. The beginning of this religious belief system is obscure, but apparently it developed as a part of Japan's early agrarian society. "It was believed that the heavenly *kami* descended on top of mountains in the spring, and villagers would ascend to greet them with festivity. They would be brought into the fields to mate with the female *kami* of the soil and rice, work to bring in the crop-child, and then be thanked and sent off at the harvest festival" (Ellwood 206). Two of the oldest books in Japanese, the *Kojiki* (712 A.D.) and the *Nihonshoki* (720 A.D.) record the story of the *kami*, but "it was not until the end of the twelfth century that it gradually came to refer to the way of the *kami* in a sense that included doctrine" (Eliade 280). Even so, Shinto has no authoritative writing or set of beliefs that are normative for the religion as Christianity has the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments of the Bible.

Shinto is also known as the national religion of Japan. Although few people in Japan can tell you what their religious belief is, almost all Japanese take part in some Shinto ceremony or festival during their lifetimes. According the Agency for Cultural Affairs, statistics reported in

1994 indicated that 118.38 million Japanese were believers or followers of Shintoism (Katayama 181). This indicates that Shinto has more adherents than Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, or any other religion in Japan. However, Shinto, like many religions in the Far East, is syncretistic. It has become integrated with other religions and belief systems that have been introduced to Japan. It is often practiced along with other major religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. Thus, although the numbers indicate many followers of Shinto, few Japanese are considered "pure" believers in Shinto (Wakabayashi). In fact, the World Book Encyclopedia reports that "fewer than 3 percent of Japanese practice strict traditional Shinto" (World Book 9).

The focus of Shinto is worship of the *kami*, often translated as "gods." However, in the Japanese language singular and plural are not distinguished as in Indo-European languages:

> although there may be many *kami*, they all share the same character. *Kami* thus refers to the essence of many phenomena that the Japanese believed were endowed with an aura of divinity. Rocks, rivers, animals, trees, places, and even people can be said to possess the nature of *kami*. Anything that can inspire a sense of wonder and awe in the beholder, in a way that testifies to the divinity of its origen or being, can be called *kami*. (Picken xii)

In sum, Shinto is "the traditional indigenous religious practices of the Japanese people as well as their worldview, based on their concept of *kami*. Shinto is a 'national religion'. . ." (Eliade 280).

B. Organization

Shinto is characterized by three types of social organizations, all of which are interrelated: Shrine Shinto, Sect Shinto, and Folk Shinto.

1. <u>Shrine Shinto</u>. Shrine Shinto is the oldest type of Shinto and has the largest number of followers, involving worship of the *kami* at the local shrine. Such worship has had a unifying effect upon Japanese society. "While Shrine Shinto has no founder, it possesses an organization based on believers, (parishoners) and others, festivals and other religious practices, doctrines rooted in Shinto traditions and Japanese myth, all centered in the shrines' spiritual unification" (Eliade 280). The strategic location of shrines in such places as fields, houses, neighborhoods, businesses, and streets affects the self-understanding of Japanese people. "Shinto is indeed a religion that is 'caught' rather than 'taught,' its insights 'perceived' before they are 'believed,' its basic concepts 'felt' rather than 'thought' (Picken xxxii).

2. <u>Sect Shinto</u>. Sect Shinto is less common than Shrine Shinto and is of more recent origin. In the nineteenth century 13 sects were formed, each with its own leader. Membership was based on "an individual's religious experience or upon the basis of Fukko ('revival') Shinto. Generally, these groups do not have shrines but instead use churches as their centers of religious

activity" (Eliade 280-81). Since the end of World War II and the dissolution of government control over the sects, "these groups and their churces experienced repeated schisms combined with the appearance of new, Shinto-derived religions, producing a complicated picture" (Eliade 286). The new religions are characterized by shamanistic leadership, syncretism of religious and philosophical beliefs, closely knit social organization, and individualism (Ellwood 218-219).

3. Folk Shinto. The third major type of Shinto is Folk Shinto. It is the most common among people in the lower levels of the Japanese socioeconomic. It does not have any official teachings or social organization. Rather, its beliefs derive from three sources: 1.) ancient traditions, such as divination, shamanistic rituals, and folk medicines; 2.) basic elements of Shinto, such as customs of abstinence and purification rites, as well as worship of house and field *kami*; and 3.) syncretism of Shinto with beliefs from foreign religions such as Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity.

C. Practices

Shinto finds its fullest expression in the practices of the Japanese people. Japanese society is very unified, with family and community providing the norm of behavior.

1. Family. Families often participate in Shinto through community rites and festivals at the local shrine. This includes going to the shrine on various occasions throughout the year, such as after the birth of a child, on the third and seventh birthday of girls and the fifth birthday of boys, on a person's 20th birthday, and on New Year's Day. People also go to the shrine, for example, before a new car is bought, a new job is sought, or a marriage proposal is made. The belief, based in Shinto, is that through participation in the action, a blessing will be received. So on these occasions, a person goes to the shrine, an offering is given, a prayer is made to the local *kami* for a blessing, and a paper with the name of the shrine's *kami* written on it is bought to assure the person of the *kami*'s blessing (Wakabayashi).

2. Community. The Japanese community also takes part in worship activities through *matsuri* (festival). These festivals take place in every month of the year for almost every conceivable reason. In some *matsuri*, for example, young men participate by carrying portable shrines through the local streets of the city while the rest of the citizens watch and encourage them. By participation in such community worship, abundance of blessing, harmony and unity are promoted in Japanese society as a whole (Manske and Harmelink, 17).

II. A Christian Witness to Followers of Shinto

As the indigenous religion of the Japanese people, Shinto affects their worldview. Christians seeking to give a Christian witness to someone of a different religion or worldview need to be aware of the other person's beliefs.

> [T]he heart of a culture is the "world view." [In his most recent lectures, Bunkowske places "religion" in the center or "heart" of culture.] The world view leads to the belief system, which in turn leads to values, which in turn leads to behavior, which in turn is contexted by our artifacts, that is to say, the things we use in our society . . . We are beginning to see how important an understanding of world view is for communication across cultures. We need to understand what world view is in the center of the cultural skin or we will never be able to communicate with people of backgrounds different from ours, because the well-spring from which life itself flows is at the core of our way of life, our culture. (Bunkowske 30, 32)

But we need to get started. We propose beginning our Christian witness with people who follow Shinto not at the core of their religious beliefs, but rather nearer the "skin" of culture: those areas in which there is common ground between the way of Shinto and the way of Christ.

A. Finding Common Ground

The first point of common ground between followers of Shinto and of Christ is the belief that the world is the result of a divine act. "According to the myth, there existed the first three gods, Amenominakanushi-no-kami, Takamimusubi-no-kami, and Kamimusubi-no-kami, who were all invisible. Later, a god couple, Izanagi-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto, produced the eight islands of Japan" (Katayama 183). According to Christianity, the Triune God -- the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit --created the heavens and the earth out of nothing (Gen. 1).

Second, both believers in Shinto and in Christ acknowledge both the spiritual and material dimensions of life. The spiritual dimension is acknowledged in Shinto since "[a]ll natural objects and phenomena are also worshiped and considered as having gods, so there are myriads of gods in Shintoism, as the phrase goes *yaoyorozu-no-kami* (8 million gods)" (Katayama 183). Christians likewise acknowledge that there are spiritual and material dimensions to life in the Nicene Creed: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of . . . all things, visible and invisible." Both the ancient writings of Shinto and the Holy Scriptures of Christianity speak of the heavenly realm. See Ephesians 6.

Third, Shinto affirms the importance of tradition, life, purity, and loyalty in their ancient ceremonies, lively festivals, religious ceremonies, and ancestor worship. Christians also appreciate, for example: 1.) tradition in their liturgical services, 2.) life in their joyful holiday celebrations, 3.) purity in the Sacrament of holy Baptism and the practice of Confession and Absolution in worship.

B. Areas of Tension

Once a Christian develops a relationship with the follower of Shinto through discussing areas of common ground, the Christian can begin to discuss areas of tension that exist between the two religions. One area of tension, for example, is the emphasis in Shinto on the performance of rites in order to receive blessings in this life. At the local shrine followers of Shinto worship the *kami* ("gods" that are "immanent") in order to receive material and temporal blessings. This keeps them from considering the eternal life to come and the transcendent God Almighty. It gives people the false idea that they can manipulate God by their own actions in order to achieve their self-chosen objectives. God the Creator will not be told what to do by His creatures. Rather, He promises graciously to bless everyone who calls on His Name, both materially and spiritually, according to His good pleasure. Above all, He desires to bless all spiritually through faith in His Son, the Savior of sinners, Jesus Christ.

The culture of the followers of Shinto is generally of a more collective character than that of the followers of Christ in America and Western Europe. More than in the West, the group has influence in controlling individual behavior by using shame. Because Japanese people are very hard-working, many become self-righteous and trust in their own works for their material and spiritual well-being. They do not want to confess their unworthiness due to sin and humble themselves before God or their fellow Japanese citizens. This would cause them to "lose face." Yet only through such repentance can God lift them up in glory through the forgiveness that is in Christ Jesus (Wakabayashi).

C. Areas of the Most Difficulty

Finally, Christians will need to discuss with gentleness and the blessing of the Holy Spirit those areas of most difficulty that exist between God's Word and the religion of those with whom they speak.

One area of great difficulty between Christianity and Shinto is the Shinto belief in *kami* -- many "gods" -- instead of in the one true God, the Holy Trinity. The Shinto *kami* are not to receive worship, for the Lord "is a God who does not tolerate rivals . . . If you abandon the LORD and serve foreign gods, he will turn and bring disaster on you" (Josh. 24:19-20 *GOD'S WORD*). The true worship that God wants is "to believe in the one whom He has sent," Jesus Christ (John 6:29 *GOD'S WORD*).

Second, great difficulty also exists between the Shinto belief in achieving purification through the performance of certain rites and ceremonies and the Christian belief that sinners are purified by God's grace through Jesus' shed blood. Shinto teaches that by a priest waving a purification wand and the washing of the mouth and finger tips with plain water a person can be purified of unrighteousness (Ono, 51-52). However, only the blood of Jesus "cleanses us from every sin

[all unrighteousness]" (1 Jn. 1:7 *GOD'S WORD*). This washing is available to everyone through the Sacrament of Holy Baptism.

Third, the greatest point of difficulty is the Shinto belief that on the basis of performing certain ceremonies, by his or her own works, a person receives blessings from the *kami*, instead of by God's grace as the Christian believes. The greatest blessing of all, of course, is eternal salvation through Jesus Christ. Christians must clearly tell the followers of Shinto that it is not because of what a person does that she or he is saved, but entirely it is the blessing of God because of what He has done. Salvation is ours by grace alone, as the Bible says, "God saved you through faith as an act of kindness. You had nothing to do with it. Being saved is a gift of God. It's not the result of anything you've done, so no one can brag about it" (Ephesians 2:8-9 *GOD'S WORD*).

Telling the Good News about Jesus to followers of Shinto or any other religious belief system is a very humbling activity. This Gospel of Jesus' suffering, death, and resurrection is "God's power to save everyone who believes," including the person who speaks the message about Jesus Christ (Romans 1:16 *GOD'S WORD*). Therefore, when speaking to those who believe in Shinto, we Christians must remember that

> [n]o human being is free from the temptation to idolatry, the worship of God's created things rather than the Creator Himself. We have this powerful message of Law to share with those of Shinto faith, along with the Good News that Jesus Christ has paid everything we owe, performed all the duties that are required, suffered, died, and rose from death so that we can be free from sin and have new life in Him. (Nummela, 41)

Conclusion

Shinto is a deeply held religious belief and attitude toward life held by nearly all the people of Japan. This article has served as one form of introduction to Shinto. Stuart D. B. Picken suggests some others:

> The finest possible introduction to Shinto, which underlies how much it is a religion of experience, is to take part in a festival, to help carry the portable shrine (*omikoshi*) or pull one of the great wagons through the streets. For the truly adventurous, I suggest making a journey to a mountain shrine to plunge into an ice cold waterfall at midnight with crisp, frozen snow on the ground. (Picken, xxxii)

Our prayer is that every follower of Shinto may be introduced to the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, the way, the truth, and the life. This introduction will take place through the bold witness of interested Christians like you. We pray that, repenting of their sins, adherents of Shinto may be purified through Jesus' blood in holy Baptism.

"Consider this: The Father has given us his love. He loves us so much that we are actually called God's dear children. And that's what we are" (1 John 3:1 *GOD'S WORD*).

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UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

THE JAPANESE NEW RELIGION OOMOTO: RECONCILIATION OF NATIVIST AND INTERNATIONALIST TRENDS

THESIS

SUBMITTED AS PARTIAL REQUIREMENT

FOR THE MASTERS OF ARTS IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

JOEL AMIS

APRIL 2015

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UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

LA NOUVELLE RELIGION JAPONAISE OOMOTO: RÉCONCILIATION DES COURANTS NATIVISTES ET INTERNATIONALISTES

MÉMOIRE

PRÉSENTÉE COMME EXIGENCE PARTIELLE

DE LA MAÎTRISE EN SCIENCES DES RELIGIONS

JOEL AMIS

AVRIL 2015

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank the Oomoto organization in general and the International Department of Oomoto in particular for graciously hosting us in Kameoka and other Oomoto centers and for all their efforts to facilitate my research. I would especially like to thank Okuwaki Toshiomi of the International Department for all his assistance with language interpretation, logistics and various other aspects of my field study. In addition, I would like to express my appreciation to all my interview subjects for their willingness to participate in the study, to all others at Oomoto who assisted me in any way with the study, and to all Oomoto staff, volunteers and members whom we encountered over the course of the study – thanks to their hospitality, generosity and eagerness to help, this field study was not only deeply educational experience, but also a very memorable one.

I would also like to thank my research director, Mathieu Boisvert, who was always readily available to address my questions and concerns, and who guided me through this process with helpful advice and constructive criticism.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my wife Yevgeniya Amis, who steadfastly supported me throughout my research, offered fresh insights and perspectives during our many conversations about my research object, and assisted with various practical aspects of the field research in Japan.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 2
RÉSUMÉ 5
INTRODUCTION 6
CHAPTER I
PRESENTATION OF OOMOTO 10
1.1 Oomoto in scholarly literature 10
1.2 History of Oomoto 13
1.2.1 Founding period (1892-1918) 13
1.2.2 Expansion and internationalism (1918-1948) 22
1.2.3 Rebirth and stability (1948-present) 27
1.3 Scriptures, theology, ritual, and organization 29
1.3.1 Scriptures 29
1.3.2 Theology 33
1.3.3 Ritual and ceremonies 35
1.3.4 Organization and structure 40
1.4 Religious classification of Oomoto 42
1.4.1 Oomoto as a Japanese new religion 42
1.4.2 Oomoto as a Shinto sect 44
CHAPTER II
THEORY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS 46
2.1 Nativist and internationalist elements in Oomoto 46
2.1.1 Definitions 46
2.1.2 Nativist elements 48
2.1.3 Internationalist elements 55
2.2 Key concepts 64
2.2.1 Oomoto as model 64
2.2.2 The doctrine of Izu-Mizu 67

2.3 Research questions and hypothesis 69
2.3.1 Research questions 69
2.3.2 Hypothesis 70
2.4 Pertinence 71
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY AND FIELD EXPERIENCE 74
3.1 Overview and venue 74
3.2 Ethical considerations 76
3.3 Archival research 77
3.4 Interviews 79
3.5 Participant observation 82
3.6 Summary of field experience 84
CHAPTER IV
DISCUSSION OF RESULTS 89
4.1 Role of Esperanto 89
4.2 Role of interfaith activity 93
4.3 Role of Japanese language, culture, Shinto ritual and Japanese people/nation 96
4.4 Role of proselytism, Oomoto in non-Japanese context, and Oomoto as a universal religion 102
4.5 Role of duality and the doctrine of Izu-Mizu 110
CONCLUSION 114
APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW GUIDE 120
APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW SUBJECTS 125
APPENDIX C
SELECTED PHOTOS 127
BIBLIOGRAPHY 136

ABSTRACT

Founded in 1892 following its founder's divine revelations, the Japanese new religion Oomoto is a relatively small sect based largely on Shinto and firmly rooted in traditional Japanese culture. Nevertheless, Oomoto also comprises strongly internationalist, and, to a certain extent, universalist aspects.

From a Western perspective, Oomoto's "nativist" or "nationalist" aspects – notably its Shinto ritual practice, the sacred character attributed to the Japanese language, the value placed on traditional Japanese culture, the non-encouragement of conversion of non-Japanese people to Oomoto, and a central role for Japan and the Japanese people in the divine plan – would seem to be in tension with Oomoto's "internationalist" aspects – notably the promotion of Esperanto as an international language and the promotion of interfaith activity (based on the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon*, which teaches that all religions share the same divine source).

This thesis examines the relationships among Oomoto's nativist and internationalist aspects, how they are perceived by certain members of the Oomoto organization, and how they are reconciled or explained in the context of this religion. The following hypothesis is proposed: the duality between the internationalist and nativist tendencies in Oomoto is not a true tension, but rather a duality belonging to Oomoto's dualistic doctrine "Izu-Mizu". This research is built on a field study conducted in the fall of 2013 at Oomoto's main center in Kameoka, Japan. This study, centered on interviews with employees, leaders and volunteers of the Oomoto organization and accompanied by archival research and participant observation, sets out to better understand the relationships between Oomoto's nativist and internationalist aspects and test the hypothesis outlined above.

The researcher concludes that the proposed hypothesis is not supported by the evidence: Oomoto's nativist and internationalist aspects do not constitute a duality in the sense of the doctrine of Izu-Mizu. The results suggest rather that the nativist elements are perceived as non-essential aspects, while Oomoto's essence is perceived as being universalist.

KEY WORDS : Oomoto, Esperanto, Deguchi Onisaburo, Deguchi Nao, nouvelle religion japonaise, Japanese new religion

RÉSUMÉ

Fondée en 1892 suite aux révélations divines de sa fondatrice, la nouvelle religion japonaise Oomoto est une secte relativement petite fondée en grande partie sur le Shintoïsme et fermement ancrée dans la culture traditionnelle japonaise. Cependant, Oomoto comporte aussi des aspects fortement internationalistes, même, à certains égards, universalistes.

D'un point de vue occidental, les aspects « nativistes » ou « nationalistes » d'Oomoto – notamment une pratique rituelle shintoïste, le caractère sacré de la langue japonaise, la mise en valeur de la culture traditionnelle japonaise, le non-encouragement de l'adhésion de personnes non-japonaises à Oomoto, et un rôle central pour le Japon et le peuple japonais dans le plan divin – sembleraient être en tension avec les aspects « internationalistes » d'Oomoto – notamment la promotion de l'Esperanto comme langue internationale et la promotion de l'activité interreligieuse (basée sur la doctrine de *bankyo-dokon,* qui enseigne que toutes les religions partagent la même source divine).

Ce mémoire examine les rapports entre ces aspects nativistes et internationalistes d'Oomoto, comment ils sont perçus par certains membres de l'organisme d'Oomoto, et comment ils sont réconciliés ou expliqués au sein de cette religion. L'hypothèse suivante est proposée : la dualité entre les courants internationalistes et nativistes dans Oomoto n'est pas une vraie tension, mais plutôt une dualité inscrite dans la doctrine dualiste d'Oomoto « Izu-Mizu ». Cette recherche repose sur une étude de terrain effectuée en automne 2013 dans le centre principal d'Oomoto à Kameoka au Japon. Cette étude, centré sur des interviews avec des employés, leaders et bénévoles de l'organisme d'Oomoto et accompagnée d'études d'archives et d'observation participante, a pour but de mieux comprendre les rapports entre les aspects nativistes et internationalistes d'Oomoto et de tester l'hypothèse décrite ci-dessus.

Le chercheur tire la conclusion que l'hypothèse proposée n'est pas valide : les aspects nativistes et internationalistes d'Oomoto ne constituent pas une dualité dans le sens de la doctrine d'Izu-Mizu. Les résultats suggèrent plutôt que les éléments nativistes sont perçus comme des aspects non essentiels, tandis que l'essence d'Oomoto est perçue comme étant universaliste.

MOTS CLÉS : Oomoto, Esperanto, Deguchi Onisaburo, Deguchi Nao, nouvelle religion japonaise, Japanese new religion

INTRODUCTION

At first glance, Esperanto – a language created for international use by a Jewish doctor living in the Russian empire of the late 19th century – would seem to have little in common with Oomoto – a religion based in nativist (full definition of "nativist" in Chapter II.) Shinto and on the apocalyptic prophesies of a poor, illiterate, rural Japanese woman in the late 19th century. In fact, the cosmopolitan, universalist ideals of L.L. Zamenhof (creator of Esperanto) could not be further removed from the nativist, anti-modern and anti-Western views of Deguchi Nao[1] (founder of Oomoto), or so it would seem. Yet, as unapparent as it may appear, Esperanto has become a fundamental part of Oomoto – and Esperanto's role in Oomoto is only one of several seeming contradictions in this unique religious group.

Oomoto, or 大本 in Japanese script, meaning "Great Source" or "Great Origin" – 大 = "large" or "great", 本 = source, origin, root – is a Japanese new religion rooted in Japan's indigenous religion, Shinto, and based on the messianic revelations, conveyed through experiences of divine possession of Oomoto's founder Deguchi Nao, predicting the "destruction and reconstruction of the world". In this regard, Oomoto closely resembles other Shinto-based new religions (we will discuss this in detail in Chapter I.). Oomoto also highly values traditional Japanese arts and culture, rigorously follows Shinto ritual forms (to be discussed in detail in Chapter I.), and has a membership almost exclusively composed of Japanese people (with some notable exceptions). All the above mentioned attributes combine to paint a portrait of a very Japanese, even Japan-centric, religion.

---

[1] Deguchi is the surname. All Japanese names used in this work are given in the Japanese order: surname followed by given name.

This nationalist or nativist character of Oomoto is, however, called into question when we consider other important aspects of the faith. Since the 1920s, Oomoto has embraced certain internationalist traits which, at first glance, seem out of sync with the above mentioned Japan-centric characteristics. In the 1920s Oomoto introduced Esperanto as the religion's official language for international contacts[2] and also began championing interfaith cooperation – work that is based on Oomoto's doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* which teaches that all faiths share a common divine root. Though Oomoto would later become heavily involved in the World Federalist Movement, the international nuclear disarmament movement and international humanitarian work, Esperanto and interfaith cooperation have remained the defining aspects of Oomoto's internationalism.

Somehow, though, Oomoto manages to function as a coherent, unified religious movement. In this work we will explore the question of this nationalist/nativist-internationalist duality, and how Oomoto perceives this duality and reconciles these two aspects. After presenting a portrait of Oomoto – its history, theology, scripture, rituals, structure, and its place in relation to other Japanese new religions and traditional Shinto – we will look at Oomoto's nativist and internationalist aspects in depth, and explore key concepts in Oomoto, such as Oomoto's role as model and the dualist doctrine of Izu-Mizu. This doctrine, which conceives of reality in terms of opposing polarities – positive/negative, vertical/horizontal, male/female, fire/water, etc.—plays an important role in Oomoto and, I will suggest, could help explain the nativist/internationalist duality in Oomoto.

Though scholarly research on Oomoto has been limited, it is nonetheless not inconsiderable in view of Oomoto's small size. Of particular note are *Prophet motive: Deguchi Onisaburo, Oomoto, and the rise of new religions in Imperial Japan*, by

[2] English and other national languages are used as well, but, as we will see later, Esperanto maintains a special status in Oomoto.

Nancy K. Stalker, which presents Oomoto's history and development in relation to its charismatic co-founder Deguchi Onisaburo; *Women and Millenarian Protest in Meiji Japan: Deguchi Nao and Omotokyo*[3], by Emily Groszos Ooms, which studies Oomoto founder Deguchi Nao and the context surrounding the early development of Oomoto; *Omoto, espérance millénariste d'une nouvelle religion japonaise*, by Jean-Pierre Berthon, is a broad study of Oomoto history and development, and is the only major work on Oomoto in French.

The latter part of the work will be dedicated to the field study of Oomoto I conducted during a two month period in fall 2013 primarily at Oomoto's main religious center in Kameoka, Japan. The cornerstone of this study consists of 13 interviews with employees, leaders and other people highly engaged in the Oomoto organization. Interviews focused on the interplay of nationalist/nativist and internationalist elements in Oomoto, the role of Esperanto and interfaith cooperation, the universality (or potential universality) of Oomoto, and the relationship of the doctrine of Izu-Mizu with the nativist/internationalist duality. The interview portion was complemented by archival research in Oomoto's main library, and a participant observation portion to place my research object in context. In the fourth chapter we will look at the interview results in depth and by theme: role of Esperanto, role of interfaith activity, role of Japanese cultural aspects, role of proselytism and Oomoto in non-Japanese contexts, and the role of duality and the doctrine of Izu-Mizu.

Before delving into the meat of this thesis, allow me to say a few words about my personal interest in this subject. For a North American, with no Japanese heritage or roots, a rather obscure Japanese new religion would seem an odd choice for research. Certain specific factors, however, led me to choose Oomoto as my research object.

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[3] "Oomoto-kyo" or "Omotokyo" are variant names for "Oomoto". The suffix "kyo" means "teaching" or "belief", and is often used to denote new religions or sects. Oomoto followers consider this form somewhat derogatory, however.

One such factor is the fact that I spent two years (2000-2002) in Japan working as an assistant English teacher (living just a few hours away from Oomoto's main sanctuaries, in fact). Nonetheless, this factor — although necessary in my case — was not sufficient, since foreigners living in Japan are quite common. The key factor in my case was Esperanto. As an Esperanto-speaker active in the Esperanto community for 20 years now, and also active in certain Esperanto organizations, I was (while I was living in Japan) invited by Oomoto's International Department to come visit their main religious center in Kameoka and get to know this religion. I had known about Oomoto since the early days of my involvement with Esperanto – though my knowledge had been limited to Oomoto's support of Esperanto. I had really no idea what Oomoto was about beyond this isolated fact, and I vaguely imagined that Oomoto was some sort of "new age" religion. Upon becoming acquainted with Oomoto, I was both fascinated and perplexed by its character: what I had imagined as a sort of universalistic "new age" sect, actually looked very Japanese, and even traditionalist Japanese. I thus became fascinated with this religion, which projects a quite internationalist outlook, while remaining firmly grounded in traditional Japanese culture. Upon visiting Japan again in 2012, I was invited to come back to the Oomoto Center for a brief stay – I then became convinced that Oomoto was a very suitable object for my research.

CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION OF OOMOTO

1.1 Oomoto in scholarly literature

As mentioned in the introduction, academic research on Oomoto has been fairly limited. Nevertheless, three major scholarly works on Oomoto are available, and they form the core of literature for this study: *Prophet motive: Deguchi Onisaburo, Oomoto, and the rise of new religions in Imperial Japan*, by Nancy K. Stalker, *Women and Millenarian Protest in Meiji Japan: Deguchi Nao and Omotokyo*, by Emily Groszos Ooms, and *Omoto, espérance millénariste d'une nouvelle religion japonaise*, by Jean-Pierre Berthon.

The Stalker work focuses on the figure of Oomoto co-founder Deguchi Onisaburo. His life and activities are presented in detail, as well as the history and orientations of Oomoto from the time of its founding up until Onisaburo's death in 1948. Stalker emphasizes Onisaburo's charisma, entrepreneurship (hence the pun in the title: "prophet motive") and leadership skills in the expansion and development of Oomoto, arguing that without Onisaburo Oomoto would have remained a small regional sect. Stalker devotes separate chapters to nativism (the term she herself uses and defines, as opposed to "nationalism") and internationalism, without, however, focusing heavily on the relationship between these two elements.

The work by Ooms focuses on Oomoto's founder, Deguchi Nao, and the socio-economic context in which she lived and had her revelatory experiences. Ooms presents Nao's revelations as a socially acceptable form of protest against the Meiji-

era economic and political reforms. As a woman (who was also poor, uneducated and of low social standing), political engagement was not possible. On the other hand, Japanese folk religion had a long-standing tradition of women acting as mediums for *kami*. Ooms argues that Nao's experience of divine possession acted as a channel of expression for her underlying discontent with the changes being introduced to Japanese society by the imperial regime.

The work by Berthon (the only scholarly work on Oomoto in French) presents a broad portrait of Oomoto's history and development from its founding through the death of Onisaburo (and slightly thereafter) and situates Oomoto within the context of other Japanese new religious movements. The author notes also that, in common with millenarian movements, Japanese new religions are dominated by the personality of a founding figure(s). The author adds that all the female founders of Japanese new religions were "possessed" by *kami*. What's more, there is a tradition in Japanese folk religion in which a female medium is possessed by a *kami* while a "specialist of the sacred" (always a male) interprets her revelations. Thus, Nao and Onisaburo's relationship follows a known model (Nao as vehicle of revelation, Onisaburo as interpreter of revelation).

Minor scholarly works of note include "From *Gokyo-dogen* to *Bankyo-dokon*: A Study in the Self-Universalization of Omoto" (article in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*) by Richard Fox Young, which discusses the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* and the role of interfaith cooperation in the 1920s, and "Ômotos mission på esperanto.: En japansk ny religion i förändring från kiliastisk Maitreyaförväntan till religionsdialog" ("The Ômoto-Mission in Esperanto.: A japanese new religion in change from chiliastic Maitreya-awaiting to religious dialogue"), a doctoral dissertation by Leif Nordenstorm (2002)[4], which gives a good overview of the role of Esperanto in Oomoto's

[4] The full dissertation was not directly accessible as it is written in Swedish. Nonetheless, the dissertation includes lengthy summaries both in Esperanto and in English.

international activity, and provides a theological perspective on Oomoto's concepts of the world, God and humanity (the author is a Lutheran theologian).

The major flaw of the above scholarly works is the timeframe they cover: all these works, in large part, only cover the early history of Oomoto up through the death of Onisaburo in 1948 (the Nordenstorm work covers the post-war years briefly, but not extensively). To supplement these shortcomings, non-scholarly works were consulted. These include *A Portrait of Oomoto*, by Bill Roberts (2006), an account of contemporary Oomoto by an American journalist who spent 14 months living at the Oomoto Center in Kameoka (primarily) and conducting interviews with staff, clergy and followers[5], *Rakontoj el Oomoto* (*Stories from Oomoto*), by Roman Dobrzyński (2013), an account by a Polish Esperanto-speaking filmmaker who spent five months living at the Oomoto Center in Kameoka, and had also produced a film, *Japana Printempo: Oomoto 2009* (*Japanese Spring: Oomoto 2009*), and finally, *An encounter with Oomoto "The great origin" : a faith rooted in the ancient mysticism and the traditional arts of Japan*, by Frederick Franck (1975), a look at Oomoto from an artist's perspective.

The third category of sources were sources directly from the Oomoto organization: *The Great Onisaburo Deguchi*, by Deguchi Kyotaro (1998), an extensive biography of the co-founder of Oomoto written by his grandson, *Nao Deguchi: A Biography of the Foundress of Oomoto*, by Oishi Sakae (1982), the official biography of Nao, as well as *Diaj Revelacioj* (the "international" Esperanto version of the *Oomoto Shinyu*) and other Oomoto publications.

[5] All through translation from Japanese to English, as the author is fluent in neither Japanese nor Esperanto.

1.2 History of Oomoto

1.2.1 Founding period (1892-1918)

According to Oomoto tradition, Oomoto was born on the Lunar New Year in 1892, when Deguchi Nao (photo in Appendix C), a poor, illiterate woman of 55 years, began experiencing a vivid series of mystical "spirit dreams" involving encounters with a divine being. A few days later, on February 3, 1892, Nao fell in to a trance and began to speak with a loud, authoritative, male voice. This entity would subsequently identify himself as the *kami*[6] Ushitora-no-Konjin[7], who instructed Nao to take up a writing instrument to record his revelations through a process of automatic writing. These writings, prophetic and messianic in tone, would form the foundation of Oomoto doctrine.

Yet this dramatic founding account leads one to believe that Nao's experience of spirit possession (and even her encounter with the *kami* Ushitora-no-Konjin) came as a bolt from the blue. It is necessary, therefore, to place Nao and her experiences in their proper historical and religious contexts.

1892 was the height of the Meiji era in Japan. This era, which began in 1867 with the restoration of the imperial house[8] and the reopening[9] of Japan to the West, was one of unprecedented social and economic change. The Meiji Emperor pursued an aggressive

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[6] *Kami,* normally translated as "god" or "deity" has diverse meanings, ranging from "spirit" or even "essence", to "god" or even "God" in the monotheistic sense.

[7] Ushitora-no-Konjin, a folk deity associated with the northeast direction (*ushitora* = northeast in Japanese direction divination) generally considered malevolent in mainstream Shinto. In the belief of Konko-kyo, and subsequently Oomoto, Konjin is seen as a manifestation of absolute deity.

[8] Although there had always been an emperor on the throne, he was mostly symbolic. Real political power was in the hands of the Tokugawa Shogun. After the fall of the Shogunate the Emperor was restored to political power in 1867 (Berthon, 1985).

[9] From the early 17th century to the middle of the 19th century the government of Japan pursued a policy of strict isolationism: foreigners were not allowed to enter Japan and Japanese were not allowed to leave; Christianity was strictly forbidden, as was all Western knowledge, languages, etc. (Ibid.)

program of westernization and modernization, introducing capitalism, Western knowledge, educational styles and technology, Western political and military ideas, etc. This westernization did not, however, apply to the sphere of religion. Christianity, while legal, was discouraged. The Meiji Emperor, seeking legitimacy[10], established Shinto as the state religion, separating it from Buddhism, which was then relegated to a secondary role.[11] This new State Shinto was, however, essentially a mouthpiece for the government and was more concerned with boosting nationalistic sentiment rather than spirituality.

This rapid social, economic and religious change was a destabilizing factor for many Japanese. This was especially true for those living in rural areas, where a greater cultural conservatism was dominant and where the economic changes did not bring greater prosperity to everyone – in fact, the opposite was true. Land reform policies cut the ties that traditionally held peasants to the land. This forced many peasants to seek manufacturing jobs in larger towns and cities. Thus, from the rural perspective, the newly imported capitalist system brought poverty, rather than the prosperity promised by the government. It was in precisely this environment that Deguchi Nao lived when she communicated the first revelations (Ooms, 1993).

According to Oomoto's official biography of the Founder, Deguchi Nao was born Kirimura Nao in the city of Fukuchiyama in the famine-stricken Tamba region of Japan in 1837. Following the death of her father, at age nine Nao took on various odd jobs to help support her family. At the age of 16 Nao was adopted by her aunt, Deguchi Yuriko[12], who, childless, sought an heir to carry on the Deguchi family name and care

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[10] According to traditional Shinto the emperor is the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu (Ibid.).

[11] Since the introduction of Buddhism into Japan in the 6th century CE a certain syncretic and symbiotic relationship had developed between the two religions, to the point where most Japanese were not aware of any clear distinction between the two. The forceful separation of Shinto from Buddhism was confusing and disconcerting for most ordinary Japanese (Ibid.).

[12] Due to the importance of caring for the ancestral family spirits, it was common practice in Japan for childless couples to adopt the child of a relative (Oishi, 1982).

for the family's ancestral spirits after Yuriko's death. Nao moved to the Deguchi household in Ayabe and thereafter bore the surname Deguchi. Deguchi Yuriko also adopted a young man, Masagoro, whom she had chosen as a husband for Nao[13] (Oishi, 1982).

Masagoro, a skilled carpenter by trade, was given to laziness and heavy drinking, causing his business to suffer. Nao, stern and austere by nature, disapproved of her husband's conduct, yet tolerated him out of a sense of duty. Masagoro's alcoholism and financial irresponsibility caused him to accumulate huge debts, which ultimately forced them to sell off most of the Deguchi estate. At the age of 58, Masagoro suffered an accident that permanently injured his back – rendering him invalid and unable to work. Thereafter Nao was solely responsible for supporting the family, selling *manju* (sweet rice cakes) and collecting rags, an occupation only a step above begging[14] (Ooms, 1993).

In 1890 Nao's daughter Hisa had a nervous breakdown. As was common at the time, this condition was believed to be caused by an evil spirit. A Konko-kyo[15] practitioner was called in to perform an exorcism. The practitioner intoned the name of Konko-kyo's main deity, Ushitora-no-Konjin, over the course of the ritual. Hisa quickly recovered, leading Nao to attribute her daughter's healing to this deity. A year later, another of Nao's daughters, Yone, was similarly struck with mental illness. Yone's husband, however, refused any sort of religious intervention – Yone never recovered.

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[13] Nao clashed with her aunt Yuriko and objected to her plans to have her married to Masagoro, and thus, for a time, came back to her birth family. Nonetheless Yuriko threatened to haunt the Kirimura family after her death if Nao did not return and marry Masagoro. Yuriko subsequently committed suicide, and Nao fell ill a few days later. Assuming that the ghost of Yuriko was the cause, Nao consented to the marriage and moved to Ayabe (Ooms, 1993).

[14] Nao had attempted to find employment in silk factories (in the nearest urban center), but was ultimately unsuccessful as she could not be away from her ailing husband for extended periods (Ibid.).

[15] Konko-kyo is another Shinto-based new religion venerating Ushitora-no-Konjin as a benevolent deity.

Nao's first experiences of *kamigakari* (spirit possession) would follow soon after the onset of Yone's illness (Ibid.).

Following the initial spirit dreams, Nao was given to unpredictable bouts of possession, roaring prophetic warnings of the coming destruction and reconstruction of the world to random people and generally behaving in an erratic manner. Due to the alarming content of the prophecies and her odd behavior, Nao's relatives were urged by neighbors to put her under a sort of house arrest, locking her in a room, hoping the disturbing behavior would subside. It was during this time of detention that Nao, often unable to sleep or eat due to the possessions, petitioned the deity (Ushitora-no-Konjin) to relieve her of this behavior. He then instructed her to take up a brush and write, assuring her that he, not she, would do the writing. Having no brush in the room, Nao picked up a nail and began to scratch words on a wooden post, her hand moving on its own (she would continue these writings with brush and ink, once these materials became available to her). Thenceforth the deity's communications would continue through Nao's hand in written form, reaching approximately 200,000 pages by the time of her death in 1918. Nao, being illiterate, would have to rely on others to read and interpret these writings (Oishi, 1982).

Having already had positive contact with Konko-kyo, and due to Konko-kyo's veneration of the same *kami*, Ushitora-no-Konjin,[16] Nao sought to establish a relationship with the Konko-kyo organization – a relationship that would add legitimacy (including government recognition, as Konko-kyo was a sanctioned Shinto sect) and structure (including its network of temples) to Nao's revelations. As her revelations originated from the same *kami*, Nao (naively) believed the Konko-kyo leadership would recognize the superiority of her revelations, as they were more recent. The Konko-kyo leadership, on the other hand, saw Nao (who practiced faith-healing

[16] Ushitora-no-Konjin was the *kami* who initially possessed the Konko-kyo founder. Nonetheless, the religion would later come to focus on a higher absolute deity, Tenchi-Kane-no-Kami (Ooms, 1993).

since the start of her possession) as a way to attract members. Nao felt frustrated with the lack of progress of Ushitora-no-Konjin's divine plan within the Konko-kyo framework, while also feeling she lacked the organizational competence to start an independent religious organization (which, in addition, would be fraught with risk, as non-sanctioned religious organizations were threatened with police intervention) on her own. This tenuous relationship with Konko-kyo would thus continue until the end of the 1890s (Ooms, 1993).

In a certain passage of Nao's automatic writings, it is stated that "A person who will be able to understand these things will appear from the East" (Deguchi K., 1998, p. 31). Nao knew not who this person might be or when he might appear, but she hoped that this person would be able to help her in her mission. In October 1898, an eccentric figure from Anao (a village southeast of Ayabe) arrived in Ayabe, asking around about an old woman who is a medium of Ushitora-no-Konjin. Once the man had located her, Nao was taken aback by his appearance:

> Far from the gallant figure one might expect, the man who presented himself to Nao was a strange and comical-looking youth sporting an old-fashioned cloak and blackened teeth[17] and carrying an umbrella and a basket" (Deguchi K., 1998, p. 31).

This man, Ueda Kisaburo (later to become Deguchi Onisaburo – photo in Appendix C) would leave an indelible mark on the Oomoto movement.

Ueda Kisaburo was born in 1871 to a poor farming family (which, nonetheless, was of a more prosperous lineage, but had fallen on hard times), also in the Tamba region (the same region as Deguchi Nao), in the town of Anao. Though coming from a humble background like Nao, Kisaburo nonetheless had much greater exposure to culture and education. Having gone to live with his grandmother Uno, who was educated in poetry and classics, Kisaburo became familiar with classical poetry and literature, as well

[17] Teeth-blackening was a custom usually associated with married women at the time (Stalker, 2008).

kotodama (the traditional esoteric teaching that words and sounds, particularly of the Japanese language, contain mystical powers), an idea that would fascinate him throughout his life. He also showed keen interest in drawing and painting. This interest in classics and arts would be reinforced when he later studied under the nativist scholar Okada Korehira in the 1890s. Kisaburo also benefited from the Meiji-era education reforms that introduced compulsory education (Stalker, 2008).

Throughout his youth, Kisaburo would pursue various entrepreneurial schemes in attempts to make money, all the while dedicating himself to artistic pursuits on the side. This entrepreneurial spirit would later become clearly evident in his organization of Oomoto (Ibid.).

The death of his father in 1897 plunged Kisaburo into a deep depression, accompanied by heavy drinking. He was often involved in fights with creditors trying to collect on his father's debts. On February 28, 1898, Kisaburo was attacked by a band of thugs who beat him mercilessly and left him unconscious. Slipping in and out of consciousness, Kisaburo saw a man dressed in Western clothing[18] beside him. The man invited Kisaburo to follow him to a mountain just outside Asao. In a small cave on this mountain, Mount Takakuma, Kisaburo would spend a week of asceticism (meditating, fasting, praying), over the course of which he claims to have experienced a spiritual journey through various dimensions of the spirit world. Kisaburo would later record his experience in his voluminous work *Reikai Monogatari* (*Tales from the Spirit World*). He left the experience with newly acquired occult powers (healing, clairvoyance, etc.) and a profound sense of divine mission[19] (Ibid.).

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[18] "The interesting twist of a spirit guide in Western clothing suggests that unlike most early Oomoto believers, Kisaburo was open to Western influences and viewed these positively" (Stalker, 2008, p. 33).

[19] Berthon notes the typical marks of shamanistic experience: « l'initiation dans la montagne avec l'aide probable d'un ascète; le voyage cosmique à travers les trois mondes, sous la conduite de messagers; la conquête de la puissance et des pouvoirs magiques; la nouvelle vie difficile parmi le monde des vivants. Cette expérience n'avait rien d'inhabituel »

Wishing to distinguish himself from itinerant healers and exorcists, and recognizing the need for a successful religious movement to be tied to an officially sanctioned religion or sect, Kisaburo joined Inari-Kosha, a Shinto sect dedicated to the *kami* Inari (deity associated with rice cultivation and foxes, which were traditionally believed to be shape-shifters). Kisaburo then studied under the sect's leader, Nagasawa Kasutoshi, who taught him the technique of *chinkon-kishin*[20] and bestowed upon him the title of master exorcist.

In summer 1898, during prayer, Kisaburo received a divine message to go to Sonobe, a town northwest of Anao, where someone would be waiting for him. On his way to Sonobe, Kisaburo stopped by a tea shop to rest. The shop's owner asked the strangely dressed man what line of work he was in, to which he replied "an investigator of the gods". The shop owner (who was also Deguchi Nao's daughter) described her mother's experiences to him. Hearing this, Kisaburo decided to visit Nao in Ayabe. The first meeting between the two, however, was not particularly successful. Nao was suspicious of Kisaburo's ties with Inari-Kosha (believing he was involved in magical practices with fox spirits), as well as his youth (he was then 27, while she was 62). Nonetheless, despite Nao's initial doubts, Kisaburo's name began to appear in her automatic writings from this point forward, and Nao thus came to the realization that this odd man would be the one to help her organize the Oomoto movement. Likewise, Kisaburo felt more and more that his mission was in line with Nao's revelations (Deguchi, 1998).

Upon the second meeting of Nao and Kisaburo in July 1899, the two founded a new spiritual organization called the Kinmei Reigakukai,[21] the first independent organization of Oomoto as such. Kisaburo subsequently began working on interpreting

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[20] "Pacifying the soul and uniting with *kami*", a method to induce intentional and controlled *kamigakari* (spirit possession) (Ooms, 1993).

[21] "The Bright Metal Association for the Study of Spirit, the first character of the name paralleling the first character of Konjin" (Stalker, 2008, p. 38). "Konjin" here refers to "Ushitora-no-Konjin".

Nao's revelations, systematizing the religion's theology, and developing ritual (Stalker, 2008).

In 1900 Kisaburo married Nao's youngest daughter Sumiko and was adopted into the Deguchi family. Thenceforth he would be known by the name of Deguchi Onisaburo. While the change to the surname Deguchi is clear, the transition from Kisaburo to Onisaburo requires some explanation. Onisaburo's grandson Deguchi Kyotaro writes:

> Once, when he was still busying himself with his spiritual studies and practices in his native Anao, he had signed his name Kisaburo not with the proper Chinese character *ki* which means 'rejoicing', but with another character with the same pronunciation which means 'demon'. This character can also be pronounced *oni*, so that as written his signature could also be read 'onisaburo'. This was at the time when he was known as Kiraku Tengu, the 'free and easy goblin' (1998).

Though Onisaburo would later write his name using a different character pronounced *oni*, but not meaning 'demon' (as the name "Onisaburo" written with this different character had started to appear in Nao's revelations) this original meaning of "Onisaburo" demonstrates his sense of humor and taste for provocation.

At this point it is useful to make mention of the contrasts between these two founding figures. As we have seen, there was a significant age and education gap between the two, but they were actually quite opposite in many ways. As Bill Roberts notes:

> Nao and Onisaburo were complete opposites: female and male; old and young; cautious and impulsive; pragmatist and eccentric; introvert and extrovert; illiterate and educated. The differences were endless, but God intended this. The *Ofudesaki*[22] repeatedly declares the opposites are the only way to build Oomoto and reconstruct the world (2006, p. 91).

We will look into this idea of opposites in greater depth in the following chapter. It is worth noting at this point, however, that these contrasting personalities would lead to certain tensions in the early development of organized Oomoto.

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[22] The name of Nao's revelations, in unedited form.

One such area of tension was the practice of *chinkon-kishin*. This practice of inducing spirit possession by ritual means, which Onisaburo introduced to Oomoto, garnered much attention and attracted new followers to the movement. Nao was opposed to this practice, believing that, at best, it distracted followers from Ushitora-no-Konjin's plan of world reform, or, at worst, threatened the authority of her revelations. After all, if any follower could invoke possession by a *kami* it was entirely possible that a *kami* claiming to be superior to Ushitora-no-Konjin, or even Ushitora-no-Konjin himself bearing new revelations, could possess an individual who, in turn, would be led to challenge Nao's original revelations, leading to splintering of the movement[23]. Despite Nao's opposition, *chinkon-kishin* would continue into the 1920s when Onisaburo himself abandoned the practice and introduced a simpler, less "risky" meditational method of attaining divine communion (Ooms, 1993).

Onisaburo also faced opposition from Nao's original followers who saw him as an interloper who was trying to take over the Oomoto movement. Many of these followers expected (as did Nao) the imminent destruction and reconstruction of the world (in fulfillment of Ushitora-no-Konjin's plan) and took the content of Nao's revelations quite literally, while Onisaburo had a more nuanced approach (Stalker, 2008).

Things began to change in May, 1905, when Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese war. Nao had prophesied the defeat of Japan at the hands of Russia, which, in turn, would usher in the destruction of the world (to be followed, of course, by the reconstruction of the world). When this prophecy failed, Nao's credibility was undermined, and many followers left the movement. From this point on, Onisaburo's influence over Oomoto would only continue to grow as Nao's influence waned (Ooms, 1993).

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[23] This actually occurred in one particularly notable case: then Oomoto follower Taniguchi Masaharu experienced his own series of revelations while using this technique, and he would later abandon Oomoto and found his own religion, Seicho-no-Ie (Ooms, 1993).

Oomoto's ambiguous (outright illegal, strictly speaking) status in the eyes of the state was an ongoing source of worry for the movement in its early days as an independent organization. Seeking some sort of legitimacy, in 1906 Onisaburo withdrew from active involvement in Oomoto to study for the Shinto priesthood in Kyoto. Returning to Oomoto in 1908, armed with solid Shinto ritual skills and holding the state-recognized title of Shinto priest, Onisaburo took a clear leading role in Oomoto, taking over outright from Nao. He then founded a new "secular" organization, the Dai Nippon Shusaikai (Society for the Purification and Reform of Japan) to serve as a front for the Oomoto religion. Though strictly secular and "patriotic" (i.e. not directly critical of the imperial system) in its stated purpose, the society was clearly a thinly veiled Oomoto: its publications were filled with religious rhetoric, and Oomoto shrines were usually hidden on the second floor of Shusaikai branch offices. Nonetheless, this strategy would help Oomoto carry out missionary activities relatively free of government interference – for a time (Roberts, 2006).

Under Onisaburo's leadership the movement continued to rapidly expand. In 1916 the organization changed its name to Kodo Oomoto – Oomoto of the Ancient Imperial Way (Stalker, 2008).

1.2.2 Expansion and internationalism (1918-1948)

With the death of Deguchi Nao in 1918 Onisaburo became the unrivaled central figure of Oomoto[24]. Open to new ideas and innovation, which would have been shunned by the conservative Nao, in 1920 Onisaburo bought a widely circulated daily newspaper, the *Taisho Nichinichi Shimbun*, which he would blatantly exploit as a platform for his

[24] Deguchi Sumiko, Nao's daughter and Onisaburo's wife, was named Second Spiritual Leader of Oomoto (this position must always be held by a female).

religious and social ideals, as well as his criticism of the contemporary regime and ruling classes (Roberts, 2006).

As it attracted more and more converts, largely due to Onisaburo's personal charisma, and gained greater visibility through the media, Oomoto was subject to greater scrutiny and interest from state officials. In January 1921, the Home and Justice Ministries, relying mostly on sensationalistic media accounts of "perverse" secret activities in Oomoto and accusations from disgruntled former members, issued arrest warrants for Onisaburo and other Oomoto leaders. The charges against Oomoto were vague, centering on lèse-majesté (disrespect of the Emperor, in this case) and the religion's socially "dangerous" ideology. Released on bail in June 1921, Onisaburo would not be cleared of charges until 1927. This first episode of massive police intervention would come to be known as the "First Oomoto Incident" (or "First Oomoto Suppression"). Over the course of this incident, police detained around 80 Oomoto followers, dismantled Deguchi Nao's tomb (claiming that it too closely resembled the Emperor's tomb) and demolished an Oomoto temple, under the charge that it resembled the imperial Grande Shrine of Ise (Stalker, 2008).

In the internationalist atmosphere of the years following the First World War and, perhaps, in an attempt to move away from the controversial prophetic predictions of Nao's revelations in the wake of the First Oomoto Incident, in the 1920s Onisaburo extended his concerns beyond the borders of Japan, introducing a number of internationalist innovations to Oomoto.

Probably the most surprising of the internationalist innovations introduced by Onisaburo was the introduction of Esperanto as Oomoto's official language for international relations in 1923. Esperanto, a language created with the hope of uniting the peoples of the world with a common neutral language, was not an obvious choice for Oomoto, which had been dominated by Japan-centric concerns up to this point:

> The climate at Oomoto was strongly xenophobic under Nao's leadership, when foreigners were viewed as devils or beasts and foreign languages were thought to be evil. Although Onisaburo had been intrigued by Esperanto since 1913, he was unable to pursue his interest because of the anti-foreign feeling that prevailed at Oomoto. Nao's death and the departure of Asano Wasaburo and other oppositional factions removed the obstacles to his investigation of the universal language (Stalker, 2008, p. 156).

Esperanto has maintained an important role in Oomoto since its introduction in 1923 through the present day. The exact nature of the language's role, however, has changed over the course of time and is still open to the interpretation of individual believers. We will examine the role of Esperanto in Oomoto in greater depth in the following chapter.

The second important internationalist innovation introduced by Onisaburo in this period was the concept of interfaith cooperation. Though commonplace today, interfaith cooperation was quite novel at the time. Onisaburo based Oomoto's practice of interfaith cooperation on the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon,*[25] usually rendered in English as "all religions spring from the same source", a doctrine that was revealed to Onisaburo during his mystical experience on Mount Takakuma and recorded in his *Reikai Monogatari*. In the early years of Oomoto's interfaith activity, contact was mostly limited to other small new religions, especially those with a spiritualist bent. The first interfaith partnership Oomoto established began in 1923 with Tao Yuan (also called the "Red Swastika Society"), a Chinese new religion based on Taoism and also practicing automatic writing (Deguchi K., 1998). Oomoto would later build partnerships, albeit usually on a limited scale, with larger, more established religions. We will discuss the role of the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* and interfaith cooperation in Oomoto in the following chapter.

Yet another international undertaking launched during the 1920s was the *Jinrui Aizenkai,* officially called the "Universal Love and Brotherhood Association" (ULBA)

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[25] Literally "ten thousand teachings, one root".

in English. Founded in 1925, this organization was intended to be a sort of secular branch of Oomoto, open to non-believers, and dedicated to humanitarian and peace-building work in Japan and throughout East Asia. The guise of ULBA also allowed many of Onisaburo's key ideals (interfaith cooperation, universal brotherhood, respect for life and nature) to be promoted without much of the religious baggage and legal complications tied to Oomoto as an organized religion (Nao's prophecies, Shinto-based ritual and mythology, etc.), and it also facilitated activity outside of Japan (Stalker, 2008).

During this same period of intense international activity, Onisaburo would embark on a particularly odd undertaking. In 1924, accompanied by Aikido[26] founder Ueshiba Morihei and other Oomoto followers, Onisaburo travelled to Mongolia, with the hope of establishing a new independent country.[27] Having teamed up with Chinese general Lu Zhankui (a convert to Oomoto), with support from Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin, Onisaburo led Lu's army of around 500 men into Mongolia. Along the way, Onisaburo healed people and performed exorcisms, declaring himself to be the reincarnation of the Buddha, the Dalai Lama and Genghis Khan, and gaining the sympathy of the people. In the meantime, Zhang, originally supportive, feared that Lu and Onisaburo would betray him. He therefore asked one of his local allies to ambush Lu's army. Lu's army was massacred, while Onisaburo and the other Japanese were captured, only narrowly escaping execution due to Japanese consular intervention. Despite the mission's failure, however, Onisaburo was not discredited – to the contrary, he attained new heights of popularity and Oomoto was reinvigorated (Roberts, 2006).

Onisaburo remained under close surveillance following the First Oomoto Incident (having sneaked off to Mongolia illegally) until his pardon in 1927 during the general amnesty following the Emperor Taisho's death. In the following years, Oomoto would

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[26] Aikido is a martial art that incorporates many Oomoto spiritual concepts.
[27] The People's Republic of Mongolia had been declared a short time prior.

enjoy a time of relative freedom from government interference. Yet Onisaburo did not give up his social criticism, and continued to garner media attention. The media accused Onisaburo of an "intention to mold a new union between politics and religion, and then create some kind of imperial-religious-socialist society with Onisaburo at the top" (Roberts, 2006, p. 102). Onisaburo's activities and potential ambitions did not escape state scrutiny.

On December 8, 1935[28], Japanese police began a full scale raid on Oomoto. Onisaburo was arrested, and over a thousand Oomoto followers were detained and subjected to interrogation – some even torture. Oomoto's headquarters and main temples and religious buildings were destroyed by the police with dynamite. After several years in court, in 1940 Onisaburo was sentenced to life in prison, while several other Oomoto officials were given shorter sentences. Similarly to the First Oomoto Incident, Onisaburo and his supporters were charged with lèse-mejesté, as well as conspiracy to usurp the Imperial Throne (Deguchi Kyotaro, 1998).

Though Onisaburo, his wife (and Second Spiritual Leader) Sumiko and other Oomoto prisoners were released in 1942, this suppression – the Second Oomoto Incident – left the organization in shambles. Onisaburo lived out his remaining years quietly, devoting his time mostly to his art, though steadfastly unrepentant in his opposition to the war and his certitude that Japan would be defeated.[29] After the declaration of religious freedom under the new post-war constitution, Onisaburo would re-launch Oomoto under the name Aizen-en (Garden of Love and Goodness). In January 1948, Onisaburo died at the age of 76 (Ibid.).

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[28] It is interesting to note that this date is exactly six years before the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor (Deguchi Kyotaro, 1998). We will discuss the importance of correspondences such as these in the section entitled "Oomoto as model".

[29] Onisaburo encouraged drafted Japanese soldiers to fire their guns into the air, instead of firing on the enemy (Stalker, 2008).

1.2.3 Rebirth and stability (1948-present)

With the death of Onisaburo in 1948, Oomoto was, for the first time since its founding, no longer under the direct guidance of one of its founding figures. It was from this point on that Oomoto would take on a more institutionalized form, no longer focused on living prophetic or charismatic figures. The Second Spiritual Leader, Sumiko (Onisaburo's widow), continued to lead Oomoto during the difficult rebuilding process following the Second Oomoto Incident until her death in 1952.

The Third period of Oomoto history truly begins with Onisaburo's and Sumiko's daughter Deguchi Naohi, Third Spiritual Leader. Naohi, who resumed the use of the straightforward name "Oomoto" for the organization, would set Oomoto on a course significantly less messianic and less political than in the previous two periods. As the prophetic, austere and xenophobic Nao had set the tone for the first period of Oomoto history, the flamboyant, political, extroverted and media-savvy Onisaburo had done for the second, so too the introverted, thoughtful and artistic Naohi would set the tone for the third period of Oomoto history.

Under Naohi's leadership Oomoto would focus increasingly on the arts – traditional Japanese arts in particular. Such focus was not without precedent, however. Onisaburo displayed genius in painting, calligraphy, ceramics and poetry (to name but a few), and declared that "art is the mother of religion". But while art was more of a personal interest for Onisaburo (and of no interest whatsoever for Nao), Naohi made practice of traditional arts and preservation of traditional Japanese culture an institutional concern. In present-day Oomoto, believers are strongly encouraged to study one or several traditional arts as part of their religious practice.

The focus on the arts in the post-war period actually led to a dramatic revival of one of Onisaburo's earlier concerns: interfaith cooperation. In 1972, Oomoto launched a

traveling international exhibition of Onisaburo's works. This exhibition, which would last over three years and visit thirteen cities in Europe and North America, featured Onisaburo's *Yowan* ("scintillating bowls"[30]). In 1975, when the exhibition was in New York, a meeting between the Very Reverend James Parks Morton (Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine) and Deguchi Kyotaro would result in an Oomoto Shinto-style liturgy being performed in the Episcopal Cathedral. This event would lead to reciprocation on the part of Dean Morton, who came to perform an Anglican liturgy in Oomoto's main temple in Ayabe in 1977 (photos in Appendix C). Such exchanges would increase in number over the following years, and interfaith cooperation remains important to this day (Oomoto Foundation, 1997).

Upon Naohi's death in 1990, her daughter Deguchi Kiyoki became the Fourth Spirtual Leader of Oomoto. Kiyoko would preside over the completion and inauguration of the Choseiden, the largest and most impressive temple built in the religion's history, fulfilling a plan originally conceived by Onisaburo in 1934. Furthermore, to realize Onisaburo's dream that the Choseiden would be a house of worship for all faiths, in November 1993 representatives from Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Shinto, Japanese and other new religions, and other groups were invited for a joint prayer forum (Ibid.).

Following Kiyoko's death in 2001, Deguchi Kurenai, Kiyoko's adopted daughter[31] became Oomoto's fifth, and current, Spiritual Leader.

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[30] Name given to Onisaburo's tea bowls, produced mostly in his final years. These bowls epitomized his character: to this ancient Japanese art, Onisaburo applied his own innovative, convention-breaking approach. These bowls began to garner attention from the art world a few decades after his death.
[31] Kiyoko, not having a direct heiress, adopted a close relative from the Deguchi family (Okuwaki T.).

1.3 Scriptures, theology, ritual, and organization

1.3.1 Scriptures

As Oomoto has two founding figures, likewise Oomoto has two founding sacred texts. These texts, like their authors, have quite different styles and tone.

Oomoto's first sacred text is the *Ofudesaki*, roughly meaning "from the tip of the brush". This text comprises the totality of Deguchi Nao's automatic writings in raw, unedited form. This last distinction – i.e. that the *Ofudesaki* are Nao's revelations in *unedited* form – is a fundamental one. All Nao's automatic writings are written entirely in *hiragana,*[32] without punctuation, and many archaic and obscure terms are used, making the writings extremely difficult to read. The classically educated Onisaburo took on the task of rendering the texts comprehensible by adding *kanji* to clarify the meaning of words, adding punctuation and logically organizing the text into paragraphs, etc. Onisaburo even left out some of the more inflammatory passages critical of the Japanese government and the Emperor. The resulting five-volume text, called the *Oomoto Shinyu* (*Oomoto Divine Revelations*), constitutes the canonical version of Nao's revelations, as, according to Oomoto teaching, only Onisaburo could fully grasp and interpret Nao's automatic writings (Ooms, 1993).

Thus, the average Oomoto believer generally views Nao's revelations through the lens of Onisaburo. Such a practice, however, is not without precedent in the Japanese religious context. Oftentimes a female medium would serve as the mouthpiece or channel for a *kami*, while a male priest or shaman would serve as interpreter:

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[32] *Hiragana* is a phonetic Japanese syllabary that is normally used in combination with *kanji* (Chinese ideograms) to write the Japanese language. *Hiragana*, however, conveys only sound, while meaning is usually conveyed via *kanji*. Due to numerous homophones in Japanese, a text written in *hiragana* alone can be quite ambiguous and unclear.

> The combination of female mystic and male manager at the head of new religions was not uncommon. It reflected older folk practices using female mediums and male shamans/interpreters; these in turn derived from an ancient ideal of rulership by a "dual-gender pair," with women controlling the sacred realm and men supervising the secular. The postwar new religions Reiyukai and Rissho Koseikai had similar arrangements. Other traditional and new religious movements across South and Southeast Asia also share this male/female division of labor (Stalker, 2008, p. 38).

As to the content of the *Ofudesaki/Oomoto Shinyu*, the tone is apocalyptic and prophetic. The current state and direction of the world is condemned, and readers are warned continuously of the coming destruction and reconstruction of the world,[33] which would be followed by a utopic world in which neither poverty nor excessive wealth exists, and in which humanity lives in harmony with God and nature. The *Ofudesaki* stresses the need for humans to "purify their hearts" and return to a simpler, agrarian lifestyle, free from industrialism, capitalism, exploitation and excess. The focus of the *Ofudesaki* is the current age and the immanent renewal of the physical world – the preoccupation with more spiritualist concerns prevalent in later Oomoto is absent.

Oomoto's second (chronologically speaking, at least) canonical text is Onisaburo's voluminous work *Reikai Monogatari* (*Tales from the Spirit World*). This 81-volume work recounts Onisaburo's journeys through the spirit worlds during his week-long mystical experience on Mount Takakuma. In content, tone, style and literary form the *Reikai Monogatari* could not be more different from the *Ofudesaki*. In describing his Dantesque journey through the spirit realms (which are divided into heavenly realms, intermediate realms and infernal realms), Onisaburo vividly describes encounters with various deities and religious figures (both Japanese and not), demons, spirits and other

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[33] The term used for "destruction and reconstruction" of the world is *tatekae-tatenaoshi*. These terms are commonly used in construction, and especially to the Shinto practice of periodically (in the case of the Grand Shrine of Ise, every 20 years) dismantling shrines and rebuilding them on the same location using new materials. Thus, for Nao, the world had become rotten and dilapidated, in need of purification and renewal (Ooms, 1993).

mythological beings, running the gamut of literary and rhetorical forms (prose, poetry, debate, social-criticism, satire, etc.). The comprehensive character of the work attests to the author's erudition, with references to Japanese mythology, theology of other world religious traditions, as well as Western thought. As Bill Roberts writes:

> Onisaburo covered the divinity of God, the relation between God and man, the origin of Oomoto, the state of the spiritual world, the creation of the universe, the divine administration of the world, morality, politics, economics, education, art, love and many other topics ... He incorporated tenets of other religions, rephrased Christian hymns for Oomoto use, expounded on Buddhist divinities, examined Confucian and Daoist ideas and clarified ancient Shinto texts, which he said were misunderstood ... The *Monogatari* extols peace and love, condemns xenophobic patriotism and promotes a philosophy of universal salvation. No wonder the imperial government saw Onisaburo as a threat (2006).

While the two canonical scriptures are officially placed on equal footing, observation suggests that there is a preference for the *Reikai Monogatari* among current Oomoto believers. This can probably be attributed to the timeless, otherworldly quality of the work which is not so closely tied to apocalyptic predictions of world reform as is the *Ofudesaki.* In modern, prosperous, technologically advanced Japan, where the social inequality and poverty felt so vividly in Nao's time are no longer realities for most people, the dire prophecies of undoing the present corrupt age and promises of a utopic world may resonate less strongly. On the other hand, the spiritual depth and complexity of Onisaburo's writings (though much less direct and clear-cut than the *Ofudesaki*) lend themselves to a wide range of interpretation that can be applied to a variety of situations and contexts. What's more, the *Reikai Monogatari* receives greater attention in the regular spiritual practice of believers. An example of this is the common practice among committed believers of reading[34] the entire 81-volume work over the course of a year. Some believers strive to complete this task every year.

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[34] The recommended method is by reciting the texts aloud, as the sounds of the words themselves are believed to be imbued with mystical power, according to the teaching of *kotodama* (Okuwaki T.).

Due to the sheer volume of writings, combined with the religion's limited resources and translation difficulties, making the two canonical works available in non-Japanese languages has proved challenging. In 1999 the *Oomoto Shinyu* was made available in Esperanto. This edition, however, is called the "international edition", and is significantly abridged, constituting one single volume, as opposed to five (the same abridged text is also available in Portuguese). The translation of the *Reikai Monogatari* has proved more daunting. Though excerpts from Onisaburo's masterwork have continuously been published in Oomoto's Esperanto and English periodicals (and in Portuguese, as well as other languages at times) since the 1920s, no comprehensive translation has been completed to date. Saito Hiroshi, Director of Oomoto's Doctrinal Department, noted that translation of the *Reikai Monogatari* is fraught with difficulty. In addition to the utter length of the work (81 volumes vs. the five volumes of the *Oomoto Shinyu*), the nuances of Onisaburo's language are very difficult to faithfully render in other languages. Onisaburo made extensive use of word-play and double (or even multiple) meanings of words. Plus, significant portions of the work are written in verse (compared to the straightforward prose of the *Oomoto Shinyu*). In light of these considerations, therefore, it becomes obvious why the *Oomoto Shinyu* was chosen as the first of the canonical texts to be officially published in foreign languages, despite the fact that the *Reikai Monogatari* would probably be of greater interest to an international audience.

1.3.2 Theology

As suggested by the religion's motto, *Unu Dio, Unu mondo, Unu Interlingvo,*[35] Oomoto emphasizes the unity of God. Nonetheless, Oomoto's concept of divinity is not a simple monotheism. According to Oomoto's conception of divinity, God is experienced in monotheistic, polytheistic and pantheistic terms.

Oomoto teaching posits an absolute deity or first cause which is the source of all existence. This eternal and infinite absolute deity is called Ookunitokotachi or Amenominakanushi (the latter term is also used in Shinto for a primordial deity pre-existing all other deities). To avoid confusion, in Esperanto (English or other language) explanatory texts this absolute deity is written as GOD, while other aspects of divinity are written as God or god, depending on the case (Oomoto, Doctrinal Department, 2008).

Oomoto does not, however, consider the Shinto gods or the gods of other religions to be false. Other deities are considered to be part-spirits[36], or emanations, of the one GOD, and, as such, are to be worshipped as true Gods or gods ("Gods" denotes the ruling deities of the heavens and earth, while "gods" denotes benevolent lower *kami* and angels). Like parts of the human body, each deity is assigned a specific function in the universe (Ibid.).

Furthermore, Oomoto does not believe in a separation between creator and creation: God is the substance of the universe, and the divine character infuses the whole

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[35] "One God, One World, One Interlanguage (or International Language)" – this motto, introduced by Onisaburo in the 1920s when Esperanto was introduced into Oomoto, is originally and officially in Esperanto, not Japanese.

[36] This notion (*bunrei*) is based on the common Shinto practice of "division" of a *kami* so that a new branch shrine may be established (Berthon, 1985). Though called "division", the idea is more like a new fire being lit from another flame.

universe. Nonetheless, while God is all and is in all, God also exists beyond creation[37] (Ibid.).

Yet, if Ookunitokotachi (Amenominakanushi) is the Absolute Deity, where does Ushitora-no-Konjin come into the picture? To answer this question, we must examine the mythology behind Oomoto's founding.

According to Oomoto doctrine, Ushitora-no-Konjin is one and the same as Kunitokotachi (not to be confused with Ookunitokotachi), the ruler of the earth and father God of all earthly life. Kunitokotachi / Ushitora-no-Konjin is a direct part-spirit of absolute GOD. In the ancient era of the gods, Kunitokotachi reigned supreme over the earth, presiding over a golden era when harmony and peace reigned. Yet other deities, having grown lazy and corrupt, began to fear Kunitokotachi, and they joined forces to force him into seclusion in the northeast of the earth (*ushitora* refers to the northeast). Thenceforth under the rule of corrupt and materialistic (literally, body-over-spirit-ist) gods, the earth degenerated into violence and egotism. This state persisted and worsened until the world was on the brink of cataclysm. Thus, in 1892 Ushitora-no-Konjin came out of seclusion to proclaim, through Deguchi Nao, the destruction and reconstruction of the world (Ibid.).

But why would a powerful God like Kunitokotachi allow himself to be forced into seclusion? Oomoto doctrinal sources provide the following simplistic analogy as explanation: the deities who forced Kunitokotachi into seclusion were like teenagers rebelling against their parents. They had to be allowed to make their own mistakes. But when the state of affairs had reached a critical point, the responsible "parent" was forced to intervene to prevent disaster[38] (Ibid.).

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[37] Oomoto sources call this the "pantheistic" aspect of Oomoto theology, though it would be more accurate to call it "panentheistic".

[38] A comparison could also be made with the Fall of Man in the Garden of Eden, and the subsequent redemption of the world by Christ.

As we have seen, Oomoto is centered on two founders and two founding scriptures associated with these founders. Likewise this duality is also manifested on a divine level: as Ushitora-no-Konjin is associated with Nao, Hitsujisaru-no-Konjin[39] (corresponding to the deity Toyokumonu according to Oomoto teaching), wife of Ushitora-no-Konjin, is associated with Onisaburo. The idea of a male deity manifesting through a female body and a female deity manifesting through a male body is intimately related to the doctrine of Izu-Mizu (to be discussed in detail in the following chapter). What is more, Hitsujisaru-no-Konjin, as counterpart to Ushitora-no-Konjin (God of the Earth), is believed to be the God of Heaven, who will descend to earth so that the divine plan may be fulfilled and the world of *Miroku*[40] brought about (Ibid.).

1.3.3 Ritual and ceremonies

As to ritual, to an outside observer Oomoto closes resembles Shinto – often to the point of being indistinguishable. Liturgical vestments follow the same basic style of those worn by *kannushi* (Shinto priests).[41] Oomoto temples differ from standard Shinto shrines in that ordinary local Shinto shrines usually have little or no interior space for accommodating worshippers, as worshippers usually stand in front of the shrine for brief personal prayer, with any seating space inside the shrine reserved for families or small groups participating in special rituals. Oomoto temples, nonetheless, resemble other sectarian Shinto temples (such as Konko-kyo or Tenri-kyo), and Buddhist

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[39] "Hitsujisaru" refers to the southwest – while Ushitora-no-Konjin was in seclusion in the northwest, his wife went into seclusion in the southwest (Oomoto, Doctrinal Department, 2008).

[40] "Miroku" is the Japanese form of Maitreya. Though Onisaburo was usually identified as Miroku in the earlier days of Oomoto, in the postwar years it has become more common to speak of *miroku-no-yo*, "the world of Miroku", the utopic age following the destruction and reconstruction of the world (Nordenstorm, 2002).

[41] Shinto liturgical vestments are based on the clothing style of the imperial court of the Heian period.

temples as well, with large *tatami*[42] rooms facing the main altars so that large groups may participate in communal group worship.

Oomoto prayers, or *norito* in Shinto parlance, are standardized, with only four prayers that are regularly used by believers: the *Kamigoto, Amatsu-Norito, Sorei-Haishi*, and *Miyabi No Kotoba*. The first three of these are based on standard Shinto prayers (only slightly modified by Onisaburo) – only the last one, *Miyabi No Kotoba*, was composed by Onsaburo and is unique to Oomoto. The *Kamigoto* is recited at daily evening prayer and during other rituals. The *Miyabi No Kotoba* is used for daily morning prayer, the *Sorei-Haishi* is the prayer for ancestral spirits, and the *Amatsu-Norito* is used on all occasions, and is considered the most basic prayer (not unlike the Lord's Prayer in Christianty). In group or family worship, these prayers are chanted in unison by all worshippers. In addition to these basic prayers, worshippers also make use of a *Sanbika* [43](hymnal) containing poems that are normally all sung to the same basic tune without instrumental accompaniment.

Most Oomoto believers conduct daily morning and evening prayer in their homes in front of their home altars. These altars, which can range from very small to large, generally have, at minimum, a *go-shintai* ("sacred body of the *kami*"),[44] small vessels and a tray for making daily offerings of rice and water, fresh pine branches in vases and candles. Next to the main altar there is usually a smaller altar dedicated to the ancestral spirits, where food from the family's meals is offered daily. These home altars, while usually larger and arranged differently from the standard Shinto *kami-dana* ("*kami* shelf") traditionally found in Japanese homes, are nonetheless very simple and humble in appearance, especially when compared to the ornate Buddhist altars used to venerate ancestral spirits in most Japanese households.

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[42] Woven straw mats used as floor covering in traditional Japanese buildings.
[43] It is said that Onisaburo introduced the concept of a hymnal to Oomoto after having attended Christian worship services (Okuwaki T.).
[44] A focal point for worship and the presence of God. Usually this consists of the divine name written in calligraphy on paper and housed in a small wooden shrine.

Daily morning and evening prayer at the main Oomoto centers in Ayabe and Kameoka, however, involves a special routine. In addition to the staff who work at these locations and local Oomoto members, pilgrims from across the country come to the centers for periods of personal spiritual renewal and retreat. These believers, and other guests staying at the centers, are encouraged to wake up early[45] and go to clean the temple before morning prayer. This period of cleaning is supposed to be symbolic of the purification of one's heart. After the conclusion of morning prayer, worshippers embark on a mini-pilgrimage through the center's grounds, stopping for brief periods of prayer at smaller shrines dedicated to the founders, missionaries, etc. Only then do worshippers assemble in the dining hall for breakfast. At the end of the day, just before supper, the same routine is repeated, minus the cleaning.

The basic liturgy in Oomoto (excluding daily prayers) follows Shinto patterns. The same basic elements are found in practically all Oomoto liturgies: ritual purification, offering of food to the deity, ritual prayer by the officiating priest, communal prayer using one or more of the above-mentioned forms (usually the *Kamigoto* and *Amatsu-Norito*), and the offering of pine branches (*tamagushi hoten*). The food offerings consist mainly of uncooked staples: rice, vegetables, fish, sake, salt and water.[46] Meat (meaning non-fish animal protein) is not offered, and the food products offered are typically those associated with a pre-modern Japanese diet.[47] After the service, many of the foods are divided up and distributed among worshippers, and worshippers are invited to partake of the blessed sake.

In smaller Oomoto centers all worshippers may be invited to approach the altar and offer pine branches, a symbol of eternity in Oomoto. At larger events, only dignitaries

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[45] Commonly before sunrise – traditional music is played over the sound system throughout the complex, followed by a recorded message reminding pilgrims and guests that morning prayer will commence shortly.

[46] Cooked foods are normally offered to ancestral spirits in the home, but not to the deity.

[47] When rituals are performed outside of Japan local foods may be substituted. In Mongolia, for example, vodka is often substituted for sake (Kimura K.)

and special guests are invited, followed by a couple (always male and female) representing the rest of the worshippers. During my field study I attended the Autumn Grand Festival[48] and, together with another foreign guest, was invited to participate in this ritual (photo in Appendix C). The offering worshipper approaches the high altar where he or she receives a pine branch adorned with *shide*[49] from a priest. The worshipper then goes to stand directly facing the high altar and, holding the branch up with both hands, bows three times, places the branch in the provided receptacle, claps four times[50] and then bows again.

The most basic Oomoto service is called the *Tsukinamisai* ("monthly festival"). This ceremony is celebrated once per month (usually on the first Sunday of the month) and follows the basic pattern outlined above. *Tsukinamisai* is celebrated in the main temples in Ayabe and Kameoka, in regional and local centers, and, for those unable to attend the service elsewhere, it may be performed on a small scale in the home. The *Tsukinamisai* at the Kameoka temple is often followed by a presentation of Noh drama and/or tea ceremony (Dobrzynski, 2013).

In addition to these monthly festivals, Oomoto celebrates four grand festivals throughout the year. Unlike the *Tsukinamisai*, these festivals are only held at one of the two main temples. *Zuisei*, the Grand Summer Festival, is celebrated in August in commemoration of Onisaburo. This festival is the only grand festival celebrated at the Kameoka temple. *Oomoto-Kaiso* is celebrated in November in Ayabe in commemoration of Nao (photos in Appendix C). *Miroku*, in May, also in Ayabe, celebrates the World of Miroku to come. Oomoto's largest and most important festival, however, is Setsubun, celebrated on the third of February.

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[48] This was the only Grand Festival that occurred during my 2013 field study. Nevertheless, when I lived in Japan from 2000 to 2002 I attended all four Grand Festivals at some point.
[49] Paper folded in a zigzag fashion (resembling lightening) frequently used in Shinto ritual.
[50] In Shinto prayer and ritual two claps are customary, while Oomoto prescribes four.

Setsubun (which I attended in 2002) is quite a spectacle and merits special mention. This festival commemorates the beginning of Nao's revelations and is seen as the liturgy of the "great purification of the universe". The ceremony, held at Oomoto's largest and most important temple in Ayabe, begins on the evening of February third and lasts through the night. The ceremony begins with the basic ritual elements found in the *Tsukinamisai* and other ceremonies. The ceremony then transitions to the purification portion of the ritual. First, "purification maidens" perform a ritual purification dance. This is followed by the longest portion of the ceremony, the blessing of *hitogata*. *Hitogata*[51] are small sheets of rice paper with a stylized human form printed on them. Each individual writes his/her name, address and date of birth on the *hitogata* (such papers with a different design are available for homes, vehicles, businesses, etc.). It is believed that during the Setsubun purification ritual one's negative energy from the preceding year is wiped away and blessings are bestowed for the coming year through the *hitogata*.[52] In the months preceding Setsubun, Oomoto believers collect *hitogata* from family, friends, neighbors and the surrounding community (some even go door-to-door)[53]. A small donation is customary, but one need not be an Oomoto believer to participate. During the longest portion of the Setsubun ceremony, these *hitogata*, placed in large ceramic jars, are prayed over by priests and specially prepared "purification maidens",[54] who then carry the jars in processional to the nearby Wachi River, into which the *hitogata* are dumped from a bridge. Due to the number of *hitogata* this process is repeated throughout the night. While this is going on, the assembled worshippers, led by a priest, chant the *Kamigoto* prayer in continuous loop throughout the night. Though there is always a large group

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[51] *Hitogata* means "human form".
[52] A similar custom is practiced in standard shrine Shinto, though, since the Meiji era, the purification ritual is associated with New Year's day (according to the Gregorian Calendar).
[53] The believer holding the record collected over 11,000 (Roberts, 2006).
[54] Though the term "maiden" is used, one can observe that these may be women of any age and marital status.

continuously reciting the prayer, worshippers may leave the sanctuary from time to time to refresh themselves, or participate in the procession to the river.

1.3.4 Organization and structure

Oomoto is led by the Spiritual Leader, who must be a woman of the Deguchi matrilineal line.[55] The Spiritual Leader, however, does not involve herself much in the day-to-day operations of the organization, but rather devotes her time to arts, creation and blessing of *go-shintai* for believers' home altars, meeting dignitaries and making official visits. Administration of the organization is left to the president and board of Oomoto (Okuwaki T.).

Oomoto employs no full-time professional clergy. Priests are members who have undergone a special training process that qualifies them to perform ritual. That said, many full-time employees at the Oomoto centers are also ordained priests. Men or women may serve as priests, though, by convention, only males serve at rituals in the main temples in Ayabe and Kameoka.[56] Nonetheless, women often serve as priests in local centers (Okuwaki T.).

Oomoto has two principal spiritual centers, in Ayabe and Kameoka. The Ayabe Center (Baisho-en[57]), considered the center of worship and ritual, is associated with Nao, as this is where her revelations began. The Kameoka Center (Ten'on-kyo[58]), considered the center of missions and administration, is associated with Onisaburo, as he was born

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[55] As we have seen, adoption is also acceptable.
[56] Upon questioning this practice, great pains were taken to explain to me that this is not a "discriminatory" practice, but just "custom".
[57] "Garden of Plum and Pine Trees"
[58] "Birthplace of Heavenly Benevolence"

here[59] and had his mystical experience on nearby Mount Takakuma. As the center of administration, most of Oomoto's paid staff is based here, with only a small staff based in Ayabe. While the Kameoka Center is always abuzz with activity (courses, workshops, etc.), the Ayabe Center has a serene, reflective atmosphere (except when thousands of believers swell the center at Grand Festivals and other events). The Spiritual Leader has residences in both cities, dividing her time between the two as needed (Okuwaki T.)

Besides these two main centers, Oomoto also maintains a large center in Tokyo. Though this center, unlike Ayabe and Kameoka, has no special spiritual status, the demographic weight of Tokyo places this center as third in importance. Other large cities have Oomoto centers in dedicated buildings, while Oomoto congregations in small towns are often housed in the homes of believers (Okuwaki T.).

Membership in Oomoto is maintained by making an annual or monthly financial contribution, adhering to the basic tenets of Oomoto, and committing to daily prayer. The question of membership numbers is, however, a bit trickier. The stated number of members is 170,000, though the organization is reluctant to reveal the details of this statistic (i.e. whether this number includes only active members in good standing, or whether it includes children, inactive members, etc.), making it difficult to ascertain the number of active Oomoto believers. Nonetheless, this number stands in sharp contrast to the 1,000,000+ Oomoto followers under Onisaburo's leadership (Stalker, 2008).

[59] Anao, Onisaburo's birth village, is now part of the city of Kameoka.

1.4 Religious classification of Oomoto

1.4.1 Oomoto as a Japanese new religion

The classification of Oomoto as a "Japanese new religion" – the usual English rendering of the Japanese term *shin-shukyo*[60] (lit. "new religion") – should not be taken to mean simply a religion founded recently, or newer relative to ancient, established religions. In the Japanese context, *shin-shukyo* refers to a specific category of religions (sects or movements) that were founded in the nineteenth century or later and share certain common characteristics. These new religious movements were founded most often in response to radical social change or upheaval. The relationship between the appearance of Japanese new religions and drastic social change is illustrated by the waves or phases of the emergence of these groups. According to Nancy Stalker:

> Current scholarship identifies five distinct phases: the latter half of the nineteenth century, the prewar period (1920s and '30s), the postwar period (1950s and '60s), the post oil-shock period (late 1970s and '80s), and the current post-Aum Shinrikyo period following the heinous subway gassing incident by a new religion in 1995" (Stalker, 2008, p. 6)

These religions are most often based upon Buddhism or Shinto, or, more rarely, Christianity, or inspired by these traditions, oftentimes with significant borrowings from other religions and philosophies, as well a folk practices. That said, Japanese new religions often make rather drastic departures from their source traditions and are generally not thought of as still belonging to these parent traditions. For example, (predominantly) Shinto-derived traditions such as Oomoto and Tenri-kyo focus on revelation through a charismatic founder, sacred scripture as a record of said revelation, and apocalyptic/messianic/world-renewal prophecies. Such concepts are foreign to

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[60]The term *shinko-shukyo* ("newly emerged religions") is also frequently encountered, though, due to the sometimes pejorative connotations of this term, the preferred neutral term is *shin-shukyo* (Berthon, 1985).

traditional Shinto which tends toward natural religion (nature worship, the divine revealed through nature) and ancestor worship, lacks revealed sacred scripture[61], and emphasizes continuity and stability.

The Encyclopedia of Religion defines five characteristics common to nearly all Japanese new religions:

> 1) Establishment within the last two centuries, usually characterized by features that suggest a religious response to crises of modernity, 2) A definite moment of establishment and, usually, a founder possessing special charisma, 3) An important new, distinctive revelation or realization, expressed through some novel doctrine and usually attributed to supernatural sources, 4) a separate institutional structure, 5) Distinctive rites or practices (Ellwood, 1987).

Other characteristics mentioned include: founding through shamanistic experiences of the movement's founder; a theological perspective tending towards monotheism or monism; syncretism; an eschatology announcing an imminent transformation of the world; and a sacred center or city serving as a focus of pilgrimage, worship and administration, while also serving as a model of the renewed world to come (Ellwood, 1987).

Let us now consider how well Oomoto fits this model. Oomoto was founded through the founder's experience of possession by a deity who communicated a new divine revelation through her (shamanistic experience and revelation); Oomoto stresses the unity of God (monotheism); Oomoto incorporates concepts from Buddhism and Christianity (and other sources) into a Shinto ritual framework (syncretism); the founder's revelations announce the coming deconstruction and reconstruction of the

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[61] The *Kojiki* and *Nihon-Shoki*, while loosely considered Shinto texts, are actually historical and mythological chronicles. These do not serve as any sort of revealed scripture in the same way that the Bible, Koran, or the scriptures of Japanese new religions do.

world (apocalyptic eschatology); Oomoto maintains two centers in the (for Oomoto) holy cities of Ayabe and Kameoka that are considered microcosms of the utopic world to come; and Oomoto was established on a specific date (the date the founder's revelations commenced) in the late 19th century during the social upheaval brought on by Meiji era modernization.

Thus, Oomoto fits quite clearly into the category of Japanese new religion. In many respects, one could say that Oomoto represents the typical or model Japanese new religion. Yet Oomoto's place in the greater category of Japanese new religions is not limited to the religious organization today known as Oomoto. In fact, Oomoto stands at the head of a whole sub-category of Oomoto-derived new religions and sects (termed the "Oomoto Group" by Harry Thompson in *The New Religions of Japan*). These derived groups tend to focus on the teachings of one of Oomoto's founders – not exclusively, but most typically on Oomoto co-founder Deguchi Onisaburo. This phenomenon may be attributed to Onisaburo's personal charisma and his complex, esoteric teachings that lend themselves to a wide range of interpretation. Therefore, though Oomoto has remained small as a religious organization, the influence of its founders has been wide-reaching, greatly exceeding the scope of institutionalized Oomoto[62].

1.4.2 Oomoto as a Shinto sect

Though, as we have seen, Oomoto represents a clear example of a *shin-shukyo* (new religion), it is nonetheless distinctly rooted in Shinto.

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[62] Seicho-no-ie, founded by former Oomoto follower Taniguchi Masaharu, is a particularly notable example, with over 1 million followers worldwide.

Shinto is normally divided into three broad categories: shrine Shinto, state Shinto and sectarian Shinto. Shrine Shinto, the mostly widely practiced form today, centers on worship at local shrines dedicated to tutelary deities (either natural deities or deified humans). State Shinto (declared illegal after WWII) claimed the Emperor to be the divine direct descendant of the solar goddess Amaterasu and associated Shinto with patriotism. Sectarian Shinto, however, was born from an attempt to bring sectarian Shinto-based movements and new religions into the imperial system. As the state system of officially sanctioned shrines were more civic than religious, commissioned with performing official rites, but not with moral or doctrinal teaching, religious Shinto was seen as the domain of sectarian Shinto (Stalker, 2008). Therefore, in the late Meiji (1868-1912) and early Taisho (1912-1926) period the government of Japan sanctioned thirteen sects of Shinto: Kurozumi-kyo, Shinto Shuseiha, Taisha-kyo, Fuso-kyo, Jikko-kyo, Shinto Taisei-kyo, Shinshu-kyo, Mitake-kyo, Shinto Taikyo, Shinri-kyo, Misogi-kyo, Konko-kyo, and Tenri-kyo[63]. This designation enabled these sects to carry out their activities without government interference, in exchange for which, however, they were precluded from criticising the imperial system (Berthon, 1985).

Oomoto is noticeably absent from the above list. Although Oomoto founder Deguchi Nao attempted to operate for a time under the roof of the officially designated sect Konko-kyo (which, like Oomoto, worshipped Ushitora-no-Konjin) in the early days of the Oomoto movement, the radical nature of her prophesies and her fierce criticism of the state would ultimately render this arrangement unworkable (Ooms, 1993). Thus, Oomoto's lack of official sanction combined with its criticism of the imperial regime would lead to ongoing clashes with the government up until the end of WWII.

[63] Tenri-kyo renounced its designation as a Shinto sect in 1970, claiming to be entirely separate from Shinto.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2.1 Nativist and internationalist elements in Oomoto

2.1.1 Definitions

"Nativist" vs. "nationalist"

I have chosen the word "nativist" to describe Oomoto's Japan-centric aspects rather than "nationalist" because the latter (especially in the Japanese context) is often associated with militarism and imperialism (both concepts based on imported ideas) – tendencies that Oomoto largely opposed from its beginning. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "nativism" thusly: "return to or emphasis on indigenous customs and traditions, esp. in opposition to those introduced from elsewhere" (*OED Online*). Furthermore, Nancy Stalker describes Japanese nativism thusly:

> Nativism, or kokugaku (also known as National Learning) initially developed in reaction to the strong influence of Chinese learning (kangaku), including Confucianism and Buddhism. In contrast to the formalism, rationality, and logic found in Chinese learning, Nativism celebrated emotion, beauty, and indigenous Japanese tradition. It asserted the superiority and divinity of Japanese culture… Like their earlier counterparts, nineteenth-century Nativists were generally anti-foreign, but the target of their hostility had shifted from China to the encroaching West (2008, p. 46).

Furthermore, there is a translation difficulty involved here as well.[64] The Esperanto term *nacieca*, used by interview subjects to describe the aspects of Oomoto I have generally labeled as "nativist", has no good equivalent in English. *Nacieca* (derived from the root *naci-* [nation], with the suffix *-ec-* [denoting abstract quality], plus the adjectival ending *-a*) roughly means "having to do with nation/nationality" or "having a national character". It does not been "nationalist" (which in Esperanto would be *naciista*), nor does it mean just "national" (which would be *nacia*). When translating from Esperanto into English (as in the interviews, where this term recurred frequently), I was forced to use less than appropriate terms, such as "nationalist" to translate the more nuanced term *nacieca*. Nonetheless, whenever the term "nationalist" occurs in the interview section, it is to be understood in the sense of cultural nationalism only, not in the sense of political nationalism. Furthermore, for the purposes of this work, no distinction is made between "nativist" and "nationalist" (in the cultural, not political, sense).

"Internationalist" vs. "universalist"

The term "internationalist" in this work is much more straightforward in comparison to the terms "nativist" and "nationalist", as the term is not employed in any particular way other than one would normally expect, and coincides with the Oxford English Dictionary's definition: (internationalism) "international character or spirit; the principle of community of interests or action between different nations" (*OED Online*). Thus, "internationalist" in the context of Oomoto refers to those aspects which reach clearly and intentionally beyond the scope of the Japanese people, nation, language and Shinto religion, with the purpose of engaging with other peoples and religions. Within Oomoto this most clearly applies to the use of Esperanto (and activities tied in with Esperanto) and interfaith activity, which has, from the beginning of Oomoto's interfaith

[64] In light of this difficulty, great pains were taken during the interviews to make clear the sense of the words being discussed. For more details see Chapter III.

activity in the 1920s, always included cooperation with non-Japanese religions, as well Japanese religious groups. Internationalism also applies to many other activities throughout Oomoto's history, however, such as international humanitarian work through the Universal Love and Brotherhood Association, international cooperation for nuclear disarmament and environmental protection, and the World Federalist Movement.

"Universalism" – "the principle of regarding humanity as a whole, rather than in terms of different nations, races, etc." (*OED Online*) – in the context of Oomoto refers to those ideals of the religion that apply to humanity as a whole, rather than to the Japanese people, or Oomoto followers, in particular. These ideals, namely the unity of religions and the brotherhood of humanity, provide the idealistic framework for Oomoto's internationalist activities.

2.1.2 Nativist elements

As we saw in the historical outline, the transition in leadership from Nao to Onisaburo brought about a shift away from the Japan-centric nativism of Nao's era and towards internationalism and openness to the greater world. Onisaburo's embrace of Esperanto and interfaith work, along with his concern for world peace and universal brotherhood, contrasts so starkly with Nao's parochial and xenophobic outlook that one is tempted to equate Onisaburo exclusively with the internationalist aspect of Oomoto, while attributing the nativist elements to Nao. In reality, however, the distinction is not so clear-cut. While Onisaburo was certainly a far more cosmopolitan figure than Nao, his thinking and outlook were nonetheless informed by a more nuanced nationalism. Stalker contrasts the two founders' perspectives thusly:

> Under Nao's leadership, hatred and fear of the foreign were strong. Early followers not only rejected *kanji* but also refused vaccinations as foreign intrusions into the Japanese body and threw salt on foreigners to purify them or exorcise their demons. Nao's vision of utopia was of a simple, frugal world where people grew their own food and relied on natural products for clothing and housing. There would be neither luxury nor vice; no silk, tobacco, fancy sweets, or gambling. Onisaburo's vision, on the other hand, was more cosmopolitan in scope. It envisioned world peace, economic justice, universal brotherhood, and world communication via Esperanto. It was not xenophobic in the sense of narrow-minded hatred of the Other. Rather it elevated the Japanese Self, proclaiming parity or superiority with Western norms of civility and accomplishment (2008).

Nao had clung to a form of nativism that rejected all things foreign as being contrary to the will of the *kami*, and thus in disharmony with the natural order. Nao's rejection of foreign ideas went beyond opposition to Western ideas, encompassing also rejection of Chinese influences that had long been deeply integrated into Japanese culture: Confucianism, Buddhism, and especially *kanji*. As noted earlier, all of the *Ofudesaki* was written in *hiragana*, which Nao perceived as a pure Japanese form of writing,[65] while *kanji* was associated with elitism and intellectualism in her mind. Onisaburo, however, found Nao's narrow perspective to be superstitious and narrow-minded, and instead believed that adoption of certain foreign ways and ideas, combined with a respect for nature and the divine way of the *kami*, would lead to the progress and prosperity of Japan (Ooms, 1993).

Yet, in today's Oomoto the narrow, xenophobic nativism of the early period under Nao's leadership has little remaining influence, having been eclipsed by Onisaburo's more nuanced, cosmopolitan approach. This becomes quite clear upon any extended contact with the Oomoto organization and its followers. Foreigners are warmly

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[65] It is interesting to note, however, that *hiragana* was originally derived from elements of *kanji*. Thus, while *hiragana* is unique to Japan, in the sense that this script is not used in any other language, it is nonetheless not of purely indigenous origin.

welcomed[66] at Oomoto centers and temples, and are encouraged to learn about Oomoto and Japanese arts, and are routinely invited to participate in Oomoto ceremonies and rituals. Also, further attesting to the move away from the nativism of the early period, whenever I inquired about the xenophobic and anti-foreign orientations of Nao and early Oomoto followers, many respondents were quick to assure me that such views were based on a misunderstanding of the true revelations of *Ushitora-no-Konjin* – a misunderstanding which Onisaburo corrected through his inspired editing of the *Ofudesaki* and his own writings.

Nonetheless, certain nativist or Japan-centric elements persist within Oomoto, and many of these are so fundamental to Oomoto's identity that they cannot be overlooked.

First of all, as we discussed earlier, Oomoto ritual practice closely follows that of Shinto, Japan's indigenous national religion. In contrast with much of Onisaburo's theology, which incorporates ideas from a wide variety of sources, there is no noticeable syncretism on the liturgical level. Even in cases where Oomoto liturgy is performed outside of Japan, as in the case of the temple in Brazil or the nascent Oomoto center in Mongolia, the basic Shinto ritual and prayer forms are still closely followed, with allowances for minor accommodations as dictated by local circumstances.[67] This strict adherence to Shinto ritual form would seem to be in line with Nao's nativist desire to return to primitive Japanese religion, devoid of Buddhist influences.

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[66] Foreigners visiting and spending time at the main Oomoto centre in Kameoka is so commonplace that there seems to be a steady stream of foreign guests always passing through. During my field study at the main Oomoto center, I encountered an American anti-capital punishment activist, a group of Christian theological students from Germany, an American tea ceremony practitioner, a group of American art enthusiasts, and others, in addition to various Esperantist visitors.

[67] For instance, chairs may be used (instead of the normal Japanese practice of sitting *seiza* on a *tatami* floor), some elements in the local language added (though not the main ritual prayers), and certain local foods may be substituted for offerings when Japanese foods are not readily available. These adjustments, however, are made for convenience, rather than out of a conscious attempt to incorporate non-Japanese elements into the ritual (Kimura K.).

Along the same lines, the Japanese language has an important role in Oomoto – a role that goes well beyond its use as a means of communication in an overwhelmingly Japanese context. Based on the principal of *kotodama* (the belief that sounds are invested with mystical power), the spoken words of Japanese are believed to have a sacred character all of their own. For this reason the fundamental prayers are almost always recited in Japanese, even by non-Japanese believers in other countries. This idea quite astonished me when I first encountered Oomoto: having learned about Oomoto only through its connection with Esperanto, I fully expected that prayers and liturgies would regularly be performed in that language. My subsequent personal experience with Oomoto and my questioning on this subject during the interview portion of the study have shown the opposite to be true. Though Esperanto, English, Portuguese and other translations of the prayers are available, these are not considered to have the same sacred character as the original Japanese versions, and generally these translations are used more for explanatory purposes than for ritual use. As it was explained to me, the *combinations of sounds* contained in the prayers is more important than the meanings of the words themselves, which are difficult even for Japanese speakers to understand due to the archaic and esoteric vocabulary used.

In the previous two sections we mentioned practice of Oomoto outside Japan and non-Japanese Oomoto believers. While Oomoto does maintain a temple in Brazil and has in recent years started an Oomoto center in Mongolia, Oomoto believers outside of Japan remain a very small percentage of the total. If ethnic Japanese living outside Japan are taken out of consideration[68], the number of Oomoto believers outside Japan is tiny indeed. What is more, according to the English version of Oomoto's official website,[69] non-Japanese should not be encouraged to join:

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[68] Brazil has a large ethnic Japanese population, and the majority of Oomoto believers at the temple in Brazil are fully or mixed ethnic Japanese (Asai K.).

[69] This quotation was on the English version of the Oomoto website up through the period of my field study. The page has since been updated and this text has been removed.

> Oomoto does not encourage people from outside Japan to join. The traditional Japanese rituals and practices can be difficult for a foreigner. Because Oomoto teaches that all religions come from the same source, Oomoto believes it is more appropriate for people to participate in religions more suitable to their own culture and language. That said, Oomoto does have a few non-Japanese members, usually the spouses of Japanese, or people with some other strong connection to Oomoto, through the arts, for example.[70]

As I would learn over the course of the study, however, this view is not unanimously shared – in fact, many respondents were surprised to learn that such a statement was on the English version of the website. Nonetheless, despite lack of consensus on the idea of encouraging non-Japanese to join (we will discuss this in detail in Chapter IV), this passage does illustrate perceived difficulties or barriers to conversion of non-Japanese, which is reflected in the actual Oomoto membership, overwhelmingly ethnic Japanese in composition.

Another element of nativism in Oomoto is the idea that Japan has a special mission or role in the divine plan. The Japanese traditionally held the belief that Japan is *shinkoku* – the divine land of the *kami*. Instead of rejecting this idea outright, Onisaburo sought to integrate the notion into a more global framework. One example of this is Onisaburo's reinterpretation of the term *yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit), a term traditionally loaded with racist Japan-supremacist connotations, to indicate instead a spirit of humanitarianism and protection of the weak – anyone who follows the path of God, according to Onisaburo, has the spirit of *yamato damashii*. Another example is Onisaburo's use of the Bible to justify Japan's special status. With the story of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, as basis, Onisaburo argued that three great races descended from these three sons: the *Semu*, the *Hamu* and the *Yahetto*.[71] He claimed that the *Semu*, which included the Japanese, Jews, Koreans, Mongolians, Manchurians

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[70] http://www.oomoto.or.jp/English/enFaq/indexfaq.html retrieved December 2013. The site has since been updated and this paragraph removed.

[71] Shem, Ham and Japheth as rendered in Japanese by Onisaburo.

and Caucasians, were God's chosen people. The *Hamu* included the Chinese, Indians and other Asian and European peoples, while the *Yahetto* were black Africans. Onisaburo also acknowledged, however, the extensive mixing of the three groups throughout history. In this way, he attempted to tie the Japanese people to the Jewish idea of "chosen people", while also undermining the validity of strictly race-based prejudice, as all peoples were mixed to some degree (Stalker, 2008). We will return to the idea of a special role for Japan in our discussion of Oomoto as model, as well as in Chapter IV.

Perhaps one of the most visible and characteristic nativist aspects of present day Oomoto, however, is the focus on and promotion of Japanese traditional arts. Yet, this aspect has its roots not in founder Deguchi Nao – whose austere character and outlook had no use for "elitist" pursuits such as the arts, which, in her mind, only distracted from the divine plan of reconstruction of the world – but in co-founder Onisaburo, who, as noted earlier, demonstrated from an early age a strong passion and natural ability for the arts, a passion he would pursue throughout his life, and one that would intensify in the last years of his life as he dedicated himself fully to his ceramics. It is perhaps his artistic sensibilities that underpinned all his other activities:

> It is impossible to understand this flamboyant and baffling man, this bundle of contradictions: genius and madman, contemplative and entrepreneur, artist and activist, radical and conservative, patriot and cosmopolitan pacifist, unless one sees him as the very prototype of the artist, and especially as the man in whom the religious seer and the artist are inextricably interwoven (Franck, 1975, p. 37).

Onisaburo's religious view of art and artistic view of religion was affirmed in the post-war period under Third Spiritual Leader Naohi's leadership, and reaffirmed under each following Spiritual Leader, who devote much of their time to Japanese traditional arts. Oomoto believers are encouraged to follow the Spiritual Leader's example by studying one or more of the traditional arts, with particular emphasis placed on tea ceremony,

Noh, calligraphy and ink drawing, ceramics, poetry, weaving, martial arts,[72] and others.[73]

The point of practicing these arts is not, however, to become a professional or create masterpieces. Nor is the purpose of art to express oneself, to provoke or to "send a message". The importance lies in the creative process:

> For Oomoto the arts are spiritual disciplines, the very contrary of narcissistic indulgence in that much vaunted "self-expression" which evades the question of what "self" is being so indefatigably expressed. Oomoto sees the practice of an art as a form of meditation, of prayer, as one of the ways towards integration by which man may reach his most central humanness. Far from demanding a forced "originality," it assumes that only the artist's authenticity ultimately communicates with the authenticity in others, with the True Self of Man (Franck, 1975, p. 42).

Ironically, though, this particular nativist aspect of Oomoto is actually a major attraction for non-Japanese. In addition to Esperanto and interfaith work, the traditional Japanese arts have been a very successful means of outreach with non-Japanese people. Those non-Japanese with an interest in tea ceremony, Noh, calligraphy, Aikido (photos in Appendix C), etc., often discover Oomoto due to the dedicated cultivation of traditional Japanese arts among its members and the opportunities afforded by Oomoto's main centers for the study of said arts.

Linda Irving[74], an American artist I met during my stay at the Oomoto center in Kameoka, is one such case. She first encountered Oomoto over 30 years ago when she attended the Oomoto School of Traditional Japanese Arts,[75] an intensive course (in English) designed to immerse foreigners in the study of a variety of Japanese traditional

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[72] Especially Aikido, as its founder was an Oomoto follower and close associate of Onisaburo.
[73] Though by no means a Japanese traditional art, at times Esperanto finds itself listed alongside other "arts", as it is one of the recommended subjects of study for Oomoto believers (along with the arts mentioned above).
[74] Actual name changed, as she was not part of the official interview sample, even though she gave full consent.
[75] A one-month seminar held annually from 1976 to 1996.

arts, spiritual principles, and even the art of Shinto liturgy. Since this first experience with Oomoto, Linda has maintained an ongoing relationship with the religion, visiting Kameoka from time to time to study Japanese arts. This ongoing relationship led to her joining Oomoto in 2013.

2.1.3 Internationalist elements

In contrast with the Japan-centric aspects outlined above, starting in the 1920s we find a clearly internationalist current taking hold in Oomoto thanks to Onisaburo's growing interest in universalistic themes.

Onisaburo's introduction of Esperanto in 1923[76] is clearly the most unexpected of his internationalist innovations. This language, designed in the late 19th century as a neutral international language by a Jewish physician living in the Russian Empire and based on Indo-European word roots and a rationalized grammar, could not be more far-removed from Nao's nativist Oomoto. Nonetheless, even in the *Ofudesaki* Onisaburo saw the introduction of Esperanto to Oomoto foretold: "Through the 48 letters of *iroha*[77] I will completely renew the world" (Deguchi Nao, 1999; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis). For Onisaburo, this meant that God would renew the world using a simple language – for him, that language was to be Esperanto. And as confirmation of Esperanto's specific role (as opposed to any neutral, simple language) in Oomoto, Onisaburo specifically mentions Esperanto in the *Reikai Monogatari.*

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[76] Though Onisaburo had developed an interest in Esperanto as early as 1913, a meeting with a Baha'i missionary in 1922 (the Baha'i Faith supported Esperanto as a universal language at the time) convinced him to introduce Esperanto to Oomoto.

[77] "Iroha" refers to the Japanese *hiragana* syllabary – as if to say "ABC".

Esperanto's role in Oomoto has not, however, remained the same over time. In the early years of Esperanto's use in Oomoto, there was a clear sense that Esperanto would serve to spread Oomoto's message abroad. In 1925 the Esperanto language magazine *Oomoto* was launched to bring Oomoto's message to an international public, and the following year an office of Oomoto was founded in Paris to spread Oomoto teachings through Esperanto in Europe, while also promoting Esperanto in general. In the early days of these publications there is little ambiguity as to Oomoto's missionary intentions, as well as Onisaburo's special role. The first issue of *Oomoto* greets the reader with the following declaration:

> For 2000 years now there has been the prophecy that Christ will be reborn in this world, and, having saved humanity from the miserable abyss into which it had fallen, He will reign eternally with love and peace. That has remained the belief of all humanity up to the present day. Up to now the signs of the end times have often appeared in the world, but the return of Christ has not yet come to pass. Humanity, dancing upon the volcano of material civilization, is in its death-throws due to ever increasing suffering and insurmountable difficulties. But the Bible never tells falsehood in its prophecies. Truly! The returned Christ has already descended to earth. The divine man, having the nail markings of Christ on both palms[78] and with all the other signs and conditions for the son of Heaven, was born in Tamba, Japan, the 12th of July, 1871. His name is Onisaburo Deguchi. He now works every day to show the origin (Oomoto) of world governance, granting true life to all beings (*Oomoto*, Jan. 1925, p. 2; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis).

Along similar lines, in an issue of the same magazine a few years later we find the enumeration of five principals of Oomoto, clearly tailored for an international public: (in summary – my comments in parentheses) 1) Oomoto is a reform movement established by God that aims to reunite religion with politics and soul with body; 2) Oomoto considers that existing religions are the products of the times and places of their founding, but that their ultimate origin and goals are the same; 3) Oomoto liberates from the shackles of divisive creed, and it seeks the realization of a "universal synod"

[78] This is the only reference to Onisaburo having some sort of "stigmata" that I came across.

(presumably a federation of religions and governments); 4) Oomoto seeks to practice a "world-family" system, that will solve the problems of clothing, food and housing (seemingly a sort of spiritually-based socialism); 5) "Oomoto asserts that Onisaburo Deguchi is God-Man, and definitive Savior of humanity" (*Oomoto,* April 1928; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis).

Notably absent from these early Esperanto Oomoto publications is the apocalyptic and Japan-centric rhetoric of Nao's revelations. Oomoto teachings are presented in such a way as to be relevant to an international (especially Western) public, with heavy emphasis placed on Onisaburo's universalistic ideas of global spiritual reform: religious and political unification, egalitarian international communication through Esperanto, a sharing economy, etc., with Oomoto playing a leading role and ultimately leading to the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.

After the suppression of Oomoto during the Second Oomoto Incident and WWII, with Esperanto publishing activities resuming in 1950, we see a shift of emphasis in Oomoto's international publications. References to Onisaburo as "Christ" or Savior" practically cease,[79] and the publications take on a markedly less messianic flavor. In the post-war period Oomoto's international publications focus more on a broad spiritual-humanist message, emphasising themes such as world federalism,[80] nuclear disarmament, interfaith cooperation, Esperanto activism, Japanese arts and culture, ecology and, more recently, bioethics and sustainable agricultural practices. While these themes are certainly in line with Onisaburo's thinking, the more comprehensive messianic framework and messaging are missing. Whereas the pre-war Oomoto Esperanto publications had the feel of a sort of herald announcing immanent positive

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[79] When the idea of savior is referenced in the post-war period it is usually tied to the theological concept of the Spirit of Mizu (traditionally associated with Onisaburo), rather than the human person of Onisaburo.

[80] The movement (not exclusive to Oomoto) for the creation of a world federation of nations – a more effective and powerful version of the UN. This movement received a great amount of attention in Oomoto in the 1950s and 1960s.

change in the world, the later publications feel more like a window on Oomoto for an international audience: readers can learn about traditional Japanese culture, Oomoto teachings and scriptures, Oomoto's perspective on major current events, etc. – yet one has the impression of being outside peering in, which stands in contrast with the earlier international publications where one has the impression that Oomoto is reaching out.

Based on this evolution in Oomoto's Esperanto publications, we can make the argument for a shift in the role of Esperanto in Oomoto. It seems clear that Onisaburo envisioned an active role for Esperanto, i.e. that Esperanto would ultimately become the one international language of the world and would thus facilitate the realization of the divine plan. In a speech given on November 24, 1923, Onisaburo declared, "I firmly believe that 10 years from now anyone who does not speak Esperanto will be behind the times" (cited in Itoo, Esumi and Nakamura, 1973, p. 75). When this did not happen, and as Oomoto itself lost members due to the Second Oomoto Incident and its membership levelled off in the post-war period, Esperanto, as well as other activities such as interfaith work, took on a more passive role within the concept of "Oomoto as model". We will discuss this concept in detail in the following section.

Nonetheless, Esperanto remains very present in today's Oomoto. Along with Japanese traditional arts, Esperanto is included among the subjects Oomoto believers are encouraged to study as part of their spiritual practice. Major Oomoto centers, as well as many smaller ones, usually hold regular Esperanto courses and study groups, and Esperanto is a mandatory subject for students studying at the Oomoto school[81] in Kameoka. While conversational fluency in Esperanto is rather infrequent among the bulk of Oomoto believers, knowledge of basic expressions and greetings is quite widespread. Among Oomoto employees and officers, however, conversational ability in Esperanto is quite frequent. Also, during every official speech the Fifth Spiritual

[81] A live-in program at the Oomoto Center in Kameoka, in which students engage in intensive study of Japanese traditional arts, Oomoto theology, doctrine and liturgical technique.

Leader delivers, the introduction and closing are given in Esperanto (with the body of the speech in Japanese).

Oomoto is also a traditional fixture at the annual World Esperanto Congress, held every year in a different city around the world since 1905. Oomoto usually organizes a whole caravan of believers to participate in the Congress and put on a series of programs featuring Oomoto worship, activities and Japanese traditional arts (most typically, tea ceremony and Noh). The Oomoto presentations at the Congress always draw a large crowd, and for many non-Japanese Esperantists the Oomoto presentations are their first and only direct encounters with traditional Japanese culture.

Oomoto also maintains an organization for the promotion of Esperanto. This organization, founded by Onisaburo in 1923 as the Esperanto-Propaganda Asocio (Esperanto Propaganda Association), but re-baptized as the Esperanto-Populariga Asocio (Esperanto Popularization Association) a few years ago, organizes Oomoto's Esperanto educational programs and is one of the larger Esperanto organizations in Japan (after the "neutral" [i.e. unaligned in regards to religion or politics] national Esperanto organization, the Japan Esperanto Institute).

The second major internationalist innovation Onisaburo introduced to Oomoto was that of interfaith cooperation, an idea based in the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* ("ten thousand teachings, one root" or "all religions spring from the same source"). This doctrine was revealed to Onisaburo during his mystical experience on Mount Takakuma and set down in the *Reikai Monogatari* in January 1922 in a chapter entitled "Bankyo-Dokon". Richard Fox Young summarizes this account:

> Transported to the astral world, he is granted a vision of the *kami*. Solicitous of mankind, they one by one refract themselves, and a part of each (*bunrei*) descends to earth, transformed into one or another of the deities, saints and saviors revered by other religions. The following is a complete list in order of appearance:

> Tsuki-teru-hiko-no-kami became the Buddha;
> Daruma-hiko-no-kami became the first Zen patriarch, Bodhidharma;
> Sukuna-hiko-no-kami was born in Israel, where, though not explicitly said to have become Jesus Christ, he propagated the "Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven";
> Ama-ji-wake-no-mikoto became Moses;
> Ame-no-ma-michi-hiko-no-mikoto became Elijah;
> Takami-musubi-no-kami became Dainichi-nyorai;
> Toyo-kuni-hime-no-mikoto became the Bodhisattva Jizo;
> Hiro-yasu-hiko-no-kami became Confucius;
> No-dachi-hiko-no-mikoto, whom the Buddhists call Lord Yama, divided off a portion of his spirit and became Lao-tsu out of concern that the teachings of Confucius were insufficiently spiritual (1988, p. 268).

Of course, one may argue that this vision does not clearly point to the one common origin of all religions, but rather suggests that the true forms of divinity are the Shinto *kami*. On the other hand, the vision may be presented in this form because the Shinto *kami* are more suitable to the Japanese cultural context and Onisaburo's background. This imagery of *kami* morphing into the founders of the world's religions may also have been a way for Onisaburo to introduce the concept of interfaith cooperation while also placating the more nativist elements among Oomoto believers of the time by suggesting the pre-eminence of the Shinto *kami*, and, by extension Oomoto:

> Although *bankyo dokon* implicitely asserted that Oomoto was the root or head religion, with all others subordinate, the concept nevertheless justified the sect's new effort to create transnational alliances with spiritual groups from other countries. Oomoto successfully built relationships with other new religions, with which it shared a number of characteristics (Stalker, 2008, p. 152).

Onisaburo also taught that, while not specifically mentioned, the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* is foreshadowed in the *Ofudesaki.* A revelation from 1892 states: "The streams of the valleys flow into a great river. This is God's plan" (Deguchi Nao, 1999, p. 14; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis), and in 1899: "As I have already told Deguchi Nao in the 25th year of Meiji (1892), all Gods and gods derive from the same source

and for that reason the way of all teachings must be of only one thread. Thus, at last all teachings will unite" (Ibid. p. 51). Onisaburo's role in the interpretation of the *Ofudesaki* must be kept in mind, however.

Though the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* was established in the early 1920s, and immediately put into practice through the founding of the World Religious Federation[82] in 1924 (Oomoto Foundation, 1997), it was further refined and ultimately put into wider practice in the post-war period. In an issue of the English language publication *Oomoto* (distinct from the Esperanto publication bearing the same name), stress is placed on "unity in diversity". All religions are one at the *source*, but they are each distinct in their particular manifestations, approach to spirituality and mission in the world. Thus, each religion has its own role to play in the religious economy. The distinguishing characteristics of each religion should be respected, and no follower of any specific religion should slander another's faith (*Oomoto*, June 1958).

In terms of practical application of *bankyo-dokon*, however, a key impetus was the joint worship experiences between Oomoto and American Episcopalians in the late 1970s (described above in the historical section). For the first time Oomoto moved beyond cooperation with other new religions and Asian religious groups to cooperation with a mainstream Western religious group. More such ties would be established in subsequent years, including, but not limited to, ties with the Roman Catholic Church, Islam,[83] and Tibetan Buddhism.

This beginning of this new active phase of Oomoto's interfaith activity was heralded as the beginning of a new age of *shusaika*. This term, a neologism coined by Oomoto,

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[82] This federation, however, was mostly made of Japanese and other East-Asian religious groups and other new religions.

[83] Oomoto representatives even made pilgrimage to Mecca in 1991 under the sponsorship of Sheikh Kuftaro, Grand Mufti of Syria and proponent of interfaith dialogue. Due to the Oomoto representatives belief in the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon* they had no reservations in affirming submission to Allah, and thus, after completing a preparatory course in Islam in Damascus, were granted permission to participate in the Hajj with Sheikh Kuftaro (Oomoto Foundation, 1997).

is usually translated as "interreligious cooperation". The actual sense, however, goes well beyond simple organizational cooperation, and can be best rendered by the similarly concocted English word "interreligionization", the process of integrating (or, from Oomoto's point of view, *reintegrating*) the plurality of religions into unity – a process in which Oomoto sees itself as a catalyst (Young, 1988).

The experience of worship exchange with the Episcopalians[84] would lead to the development of a sort of informal approach to interfaith work,[85] which is generally referred to as "sharing sacred space". This may sometimes mean worshiping together with members of other faiths, or, as was the case with the Episcopalians, exchanging rituals, i.e. Oomoto representatives perform an Oomoto liturgy in the partner religion's worship space, and, in turn, representatives from the partner religion come to celebrate worship in one of Oomoto's temples. The Very Reverend James Parks Morton describes his impression of this initial exchange experience with Oomoto:

> What happened was truly earth-shattering because there was this Shinto ceremony in the Cathedral. I felt very grateful, but it didn't hit me on the head until the year later when Kyotaro Deguchi asked me if I would go to Japan and reciprocate. Then the point was driven home to me what this had meant to him. He saw it as the New Age. I saw it as the New Age when he asked me to do *my* thing at *his* house, and that was the moment of truth. He was saying "Worship God your way in my house," which means, "We'll be worshipping God together" (The Oomoto Foundation, 1997).

During my field study, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to witness and participate in such a ritual exchange – and, as it happens, the guest religion was Oomoto's oldest interfaith partner, Taiwanese religion[86] Tao Yuan. As mentioned

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[84] After the exchange experience with Dean Morton and the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, Oomoto organized a similar exchange with Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, following the same basic model as in New York: after performing an Oomoto worship service in Grace Cathedral, Dean Rogers traveled to Japan to celebrate an Episcopal service in the Oomoto temple in Kameoka (The Oomoto Foundation, 1997).

[85] Oomoto does not define a formal, systematic approach to interfaith exchange, however (Saito H.)

[86] Originally based in mainland China, Tao Yuan has been based in Taiwan since the communists came to power.

earlier, in 1923 Onisaburo established a relationship with Tao Yuan, a new religion sharing Onisaburo's spiritualist inclinations – 2013 thus marked the 90th anniversary of this relationship (as well as 90 years since the beginning of Oomoto's interfaith activity). To commemorate this event, representatives from Tao Yuan were invited to come to Ayabe for the Autumn Grand Festival, during which a portion of the service was set aside to commemorate the 90-year relationship with Tao Yuan. The following day, the Tao Yuan representatives performed a Tao Yuan liturgy in the Choseiden (the main temple in Ayabe) in which the Oomoto faithful and I participated (photo in Appendix C). The ritual, conducted in Chinese with brief explanatory notes in Japanese, differed greatly from the Shinto-style rituals normally conducted in the Choseiden. Throughout the Tao Yuan service worshippers assume various postures, repeated in sets: standing, to kneeling, to prostration, then back to standing, then repeated. Nonetheless, the assembled worshippers (all Oomoto followers, except for me, my wife, and the Tao Yuan representatives), who ranged in age from teenagers to seniors (70+), all reverently and attentively participated in the physically demanding ritual from start to finish – illustrating the importance for Oomoto believers of showing respect for the other religion and actively participating in the guest religion's rituals.

Though this approach to interfaith work through the sharing of sacred space is an interesting and original one, one cannot help but wonder whether this sort of exchange is as effective as actual dialogue in understanding the Other on a deeper level. Ultimately, though, such intellectual understanding of the doctrines, teachings and perspectives of the other faith may not be the main goal of Oomoto's approach. Like Oomoto's Esperanto activity, Oomoto's interfaith cooperation is best understood through the concept of *model*, which we will discuss in the following section.

Although Esperanto and interfaith work make up the main internationalist attributes of Oomoto's activities – which I have chosen to focus on here due to the relative importance accorded them in Oomoto and their enduring presence in the religion since their introduction in the early 1920s – there are also other areas of international activity,

such as the Jinrui Aizenkai (Universal Love and Brotherhood Association — ULBA) and participation in the World Federalist Movement, anti-nuclear movement, environmentalism, etc. Nonetheless, these various activities and associations are all oriented towards unification of humanity and improvement of life on earth — notions which fall quite naturally in line with the idea of reconstruction of the world announced in Oomoto's founding revelations, as viewed through Onisaburo's universalistic lens.

2.2 Key concepts

2.2.1 Oomoto as model

Upon visiting the Oomoto Center in Ayabe, visitors come across a small lake, nestled in a garden by one of the temples. In this lake are five curious man-made islets, each featuring a miniature Shinto-style shrine. My guide, Okuwaki Toshiomi, named the islets one by one: Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, Hokkaido, and Taiwan[87] — the five main islands of Japan in Onisaburo's time. He then added that each islet represents one of the world's continents: Eurasia (= Honshu), Africa (= Kyushu), Australia (= Shikoku), North America (= Hokkaido), and South America (= Taiwan). This lake is no mere landscaping feature, but a concrete illustration of the concept of Japan as model of the world, and Oomoto as model of Japan (as this lake-model of Japan and the world is within the sacred grounds of Oomoto's holy city, Ayabe[88]).

This idea of "model" (*kata*), however, is not limited to mere geographic correspondences. According to this teaching, Oomoto is a microcosm and mirror of

[87] At the time Onisaburo had the lake built Taiwan was part of Japan.
[88] While not illustrated in the lake-model, Ayabe is believed to correspond to Jerusalem.

Japan, and Japan is a microcosm and mirror of the world (thus, ultimately, Oomoto is the microcosm and mirror of the world)[89]. Therefore, that which occurs within Oomoto on a small scale (both positive and negative events) will ultimately come to pass in the greater world (Nordenstorm, 2002).

Though elaborated and expanded by Onisaburo, the notion of model is alluded to at various times in the *Ofudesaki* – and quite explicitly in this passage:

> Look! That which occurs in my Oomoto also comes to pass in the world. Note well the things that happen in Oomoto and when they happen. In this Oomoto I demonstrate the things that later come to pass in the world. At the same time I call Oomoto the mirror of the world, because all world events are mirrored in Oomoto (Deguchi Nao, 1999, p. 75-76; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis).

The most often mentioned illustration of the role of model played by Oomoto is the Second Oomoto Incident, which is believed to have foreshadowed the destruction of Japan during WWII. The striking correspondences between events in the Second Oomoto Incident and events in WWII illustrate why belief in Oomoto as model is so strong: on December 8, 1935, in the early morning, 700 police raided the main Oomoto centers – six years later, on December 8, 1941, also early in the morning, the Japanese Imperial Navy attacked Pearl Harbor; on April 18, 1936 the Japanese government ordered the destruction of all Oomoto buildings in Ayabe and Kameoka – six years later, on April 18, 1942, the U.S. launched its first air raid on Tokyo (the first attack on the Japanese home islands); on September 8, 1945, the Second Oomoto Incident was brought to conclusion after the surrender of Japan – six years later on September 8, 1951, the Treaty of San Francisco was signed, thus formally ending the Pacific War; and finally, Onisaburo was incarcerated for six years and eight months (December 1935 to August 1942) – the same duration as the Allied Occupation of Japan, from August 1945 to April 1952 (Dobrzynski, 2013). A further parallel may be observed as well:

[89] The concept of model is sometimes taken a step further: Oomoto as the mirror of the spirit world as well (Agoo T.).

the rebuilding of Oomoto after the war, followed by a long period of peace and stability, comparable to the rebuilding of Japan after the war, with a period of peace and stability reigning in the country since that time.

Whereas the idea of model has been present in Oomoto doctrine since Nao's revelations, as we have seen, this teaching appears to have become more relevant in the post-war period. Having reaching a high point in membership and public visibility under Onisaburo, the post-war levelling off of membership and the more modest level of external activity that followed made the concept of model a justification for Oomoto's continued existence and activity. As the approach of more direct action practiced under Onisaburo proved less practical, and, as the religion's recent history had demonstrated, potentially risky, the concept of model has allowed Oomoto to continue activities on a more modest scale, in the belief that these activities will ultimately effect change in the world at large. In fact, the concept of model is the justification for much of Oomoto's present activity. The promotion of Esperanto and interfaith cooperation by such a small organization would seem to have a limited impact on the world as a whole. Yet it is by being a model of the ideal world to come that these activities become relevant. If Oomoto embraces Esperanto, the world will eventually embrace Esperanto. If Oomoto promotes religious unity, religious unity will ultimately be realized worldwide. This idea applies not only to big ideas like a neutral international language and religious unity, but to all aspects of life within Oomoto: if Oomoto believers work together in harmony and mutual respect, such qualities will increase in the world; if Oomoto practices sustainable agriculture and cares for the environment, the world will follow. Oomoto aims to be a miniature of the ideal world to come – therefore there is a great sense of responsibility (Nishinaga, A.).

2.2.2 The doctrine of Izu-Mizu

As we saw in the presentation of the founders of Oomoto and their respective scriptures, a marked contrast is evident between the two: starkly different personalities and approaches, and writings fundamentally different in tone, style and content – to the point that these two characters appear as polar opposites. This contrast between the two founders, nonetheless, is directly tied into Oomoto teaching through the doctrine of Izu-Mizu.

According to official Oomoto doctrine, at the beginning of the creation of the universe, GOD (Ookunitokotachi or Amenominakanushi) transitioned from an inactive state of pure undifferentiated unity into bipolar functions: positive (anode) and negative (cathode). These poles are also referred to as spirit/matter, or, in a theological sense, the Spirit of Izu and the Spirit of Mizu. Nao is the embodiment of the Spirit of Izu and Onisaburo is the embodiment of the Spirit of Mizu. The functions of the Spirit of Izu are heavenly, spiritual, masculine and paternal, and it is associated with the element of fire. The functions of the Spirit of Mizu are earthly, material, feminine and maternal, and it is associated with the element of water. The Spirit of Izu is most severe, exalted, noble and holy, while the Spirit of Mizu is most beautiful, loving, true, pure and good. All Gods and gods are grouped into those belonging to the system of Izu and those belonging to the system of Mizu (Oomoto, Doctrinal Department, 2008).

The relationship of Izu with Mizu is often illustrated in weaving terms: Izu is the warp and Mizu is the weft. As the warp (on a loom) is vertical and unmoving, so too the Spirit of Izu is constant and unchanging throughout all time, firm and solid. In contrast, as the weft moves freely between the warp when weaving on a loom, so too the Spirit of Mizu, fluid and flexible, freely manifests in the material and spirit worlds, adapting to conditions and circumstances, as needed to accomplish the salvation of beings (Ibid.).

For these reasons, therefore, Oomoto has two founders with distinct roles. Nao, characterized by severity and the embodiment of the Spirit of Izu, is God's prophet on earth to announce and fulfill the divine plan for reconstruction of the world, while Onisaburo, characterized by compassion and the embodiment of the Spirit of Mizu, is charged with the mission of the salvation of beings (Ibid.).

There is a particularly curious aspect of this doctrine that needs clarifying at this point, however. As noted, Izu is associated with masculine qualities, while Mizu is associated with feminine qualities. But it is Nao who embodies the Spirit of Izu, while Onisaburo embodies the Spirit of Mizu. This concept, developed by Onisaburo, is called *henjo nanshi* – the masculine represented in the other sex – and *henjo nyoshi* – the feminine represented in the other sex. This idea of "transformed beings" reflects the respective characters of the founders: Nao, stern, austere and uncompromising, seems more "male" in nature, while Onisaburo, compassionate, tolerant and artistically inclined, seems more "feminine" in nature. Onisaburo was fond of playing up his role, often dressing flamboyantly in gaily colored clothing and even dressing up as female deities for publicity photos (Stalker, 2008).

As mentioned in the section on the role of Esperanto in Oomoto, in earlier international publications Onisaburo (Spirit of Mizu) is often referred to as "Christ" or "Savior". However, parallels with Christianity and the Bible involving both the Spirit of Mizu (Onisaburo and his *Reikai Monogatari*) and the Spirit of Izu (Nao and her *Ofudesaki*) are drawn in Oomoto's earlier international publications as well (and were sometimes mentioned by respondents in the interview portion of my field study). One such comparison is with the Old and New Testaments: Nao and the *Ofudesaki* correspond to the Old Testament, and Onisaburo and the *Reikai Monogatari* to the New Testament. Another such comparison (more frequently encountered than the Old Testament/New Testament comparison) is that of Nao with John the Baptist and Onisaburo with Jesus (Kobayashi, 1960, cited in *Oomoto*). Nonetheless, the underlying idea is the same: the Spirit of Izu (embodied in Nao) is characterized by severity, prophecy and divine law

(in line with the Hebrew God YHWH, the Jewish prophetic tradition, and the ascetic and austere John the Baptist), while the Spirit of Mizu (embodied in Onisaburo) is characterized by love, compassion and salvation (in line with Jesus Christ and the loving God the Father).

The doctrine of Izu-Mizu is essential to understanding Oomoto as it explains the existence of two equally important founding figures, two equally important sacred scriptures, and two equally important sacred centers, even as the two elements of each pair have distinct and contrasting characters, tones and functions. Yet, given the importance of this concept, can we also explain the nativist-internationalist duality through the doctrine of Izu-Mizu? We will explore this question in greater depth under the section devoted to the hypothesis.

2.3 Research questions and hypothesis

2.3.1 Research questions

As we have seen, international and interfaith activity has formed an integral part of Oomoto teaching since the 1920s. Nevertheless, in addition to the overt nativist tendencies apparent in the early days of the movement, certain nativist aspects persist to this day, as we discussed earlier.

For Westerners, these two tendencies seem contradictory. Yet Oomoto followers (and Oomoto as an organization) live with these tensions and manage to present a fairly unified whole. So then, are these tensions actual contradictions? Or could it be that our perception of contradiction between these two tendencies is due more to our own Western resistance to such a stark duality existing in one religion? How, then, does Oomoto, as an organization, manage to reconcile these two tendencies? And, similarly,

how do leaders and employees of Oomoto perceive its universality in light of its fundamentally Japanese character?

2.3.2 Hypothesis

Even though the doctrine of Izu-Mizu explains[90] certain dualities well, I had difficulty applying this concept to the internationalist-nativist duality. Then I came across an editorial in *Oomoto Internacia* suggesting that material progress derives from the West, while spiritual progress derives from the East:

> The eastern continent is the birthplace of the world's cultures: Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam – they all come from Asia. And for that reason Asians can be proud that they have led all of humanity spiritually, but while they labored for hundreds of years in the invisible realm of the heart, the Europeans accomplished everything in the visible material realm (Nishimura, March 1926, p.1; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis).

In addition, these two avenues of progress merge in Japan, giving Japan a unique place in the divine plan, as both elements, spiritual progress *and* material progress, are necessary to the reconstruction of the world (Nordenstorm, 2002). What is more (keeping in mind the role of Oomoto as microcosm of Japan and the world), Oomoto is seen as a bridge between the two: "Oomoto has appeared as a movement of reconciliation between spiritual and material civilization" (Ibid.). If we view this statement in light of the doctrinal description of the functions of Izu and Mizu, it becomes clear how this doctrine could explain the internationalist-nativist dichotomy:

> The Spirit of Izu is the God who fulfills the divine plan throughout the material and spiritual worlds, and who in the material world is mainly concerned with material reform; the Spirit of Mizu is the God who accomplishes salvation throughout the material and spiritual worlds, and

[90] As duality was present within Oomoto (the duality of the two founders, for example) before this doctrine was defined by Onisaburo, the doctrine of Izu-Mizu seems to be an *a posteriori* doctrine conceived to explain existing dualities, rather than an *a priori* doctrine having the effect of producing dualities.

> who in the material world is mainly concerned with moral reform (Oomoto, Doctrinal Department, 2008, p. 53).

By applying this theory of the respective functions of the West and East to the doctrine of Izu-Mizu I arrived at the following hypothesis: **the duality between the internationalist and nativist tendencies in Oomoto is neither a contradiction nor a true tension, but rather naturally belongs to the Izu-Mizu polarity**. This duality is not only completely natural, but, according to the Oomoto world-view, is even a necessary factor for the maintenance of equilibrium, in a similar fashion as the dualities of male-female, matter-spirit, positive-negative, etc.

A primary goal of my thesis, therefore, is to determine whether (and, if so, to what extent) the hypothesis outlined above is shared by the official Oomoto organization and its representatives today, and, if not, how this nativist-internationalist duality is explained and reconciled (if at all). Furthermore, this study will allow me to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the religion's nativist and internationalist elements, what role this duality plays in religious life, and how this duality is experienced.

2.4 Pertinence

Although a small Shinto-based Japanese new religion may not seem relevant to us living in North America, the central theme of my research is quite pertinent to our pluralistic society. For us in Quebec, the tension between openness to the world (immigration, integration with the rest of North America, etc.) and the preservation of Quebec identity (French language and heritage, social values) poses great challenges. Yet the fact that Oomoto, a religion deeply rooted in a society historically inward-looking, can reach out and positively engage other religions and cultures, while still

maintaining its cultural and ethnic distinctness, can perhaps serve as an example for other religions, cultures, societies, or other groups struggling with similar challenges.

On the other hand, this study also has potential pertinence for Oomoto itself. Over the course of my field study it became apparent that Oomoto, like Japan itself (and, truth be told, most mainstream churches in Canada as well), faces a sizable demographic challenge. Though precise current membership statistics are not readily divulged, no one I discussed the matter with pretends that the membership is growing – at best, and most optimistically, the membership is stable. Yet, like the population of Japan as a whole, Oomoto's membership is aging, and retention of children of Oomoto followers remains a major challenge. Budget and staff reductions[91] also suggest a stagnant or declining membership.

I discussed the issue of membership recruitment with Mr. Asai Kiyotaka of Oomoto's Department of Missions (domestic section). At present, his department is mainly focusing on retention and recruitment of family members. Though some new converts come to Oomoto via the website, there is nonetheless no strategic plan at the moment for broad outreach to the general public (that is, beyond family members and friends). In my various contacts with Oomoto believers I frequently encountered second and third generation believers – first generation believers (i.e. those who came to Oomoto on their own, without having come from a family tradition in the faith), fairly infrequently. This demographic portrait of Oomoto more closely resembles that of an inherited religious tradition, rather than the evangelical model that prevailed before WWII. An aging population and low birth rate (in Oomoto as in Japan at-large),

[91] In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s Oomoto undertook ambitious interfaith projects (caravans of believers traveling to other countries for exchange projects, for example). Now, however, due to budgetary limitations, these projects are of a much smaller scale. As for staff reductions, the International Department serves as an example: this department once had a staff exceeding 20 employees, but now consists of only five (Okuwaki T.).

combined with mostly family-based "evangelism" and little outreach to the world beyond Japan's borders, does not bode well for the future of Oomoto.

Perhaps, though, if Oomoto could better understand the non-Japanese perception of the faith, i.e. the perception (or misperception) that it is a Japan-centric religion with unreconciled internal contradictions (nativism vs. internationalism) that has little to offer a non-Japanese person, Oomoto could learn to more effectively present itself, its ideals, its perspective – in short, more effectively tell its story – to an international public, thus reaching a wider audience of potential members.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND FIELD EXPERIENCE

3.1 Overview and venue

As the objective of this thesis is the study of nationalist/nativist and internationalist aspects of Oomoto, and, more specifically, testing the hypothesis that the doctrine of Izu-Mizu may explain that duality, and also given the relative paucity of published works available on the subject, I decided that a field study at the Oomoto main religious center would be an appropriate venue for this study. Therefore, the centerpiece of my research is a qualitative[92] field study conducted during a two-month stay in Japan (October and November 2013), the majority of which was spent living at Oomoto's main religious center and headquarters in Kameoka, Japan, a small city of 93,000 people, adjacent to the city of Kyoto. The Oomoto Center in Kameoka, officially named Ten'on-kyo, is, as mentioned previously, one of Oomoto's two main religious centers, and the religion's center for missions and administration. As most of the organization's day-to-day administration and educational activities occur here, the vast majority of Oomoto's professional staff is based in Kameoka. Ten'on-kyo is also home to Oomoto's main library and archives. For these reasons, the Kameoka Center was the ideal base for my field study.

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[92] "Le terme de recherche qualitative est un terme générique qui désigne l'étude des phénomènes sociaux dans leur contexte ordinaire, habituel, pour ne pas dire naturel (...) elle vise d'abord à faire éclore des données nouvelles et à les traiter qualitativement au lieu de les soumettre à l'épreuve de la statistique (...) elle permet une adaptation constante du plan de recherche au fur et à mesure que les données s'amoncellent" (Deslauriers, 1982, cited by Lefrançois in Deslauriers 1988).

I also visited the Oomoto Center in Ayabe several times over the course of the field study. This center, officially called Baisho-en, is home to Oomoto's principal temple (photo in Appendix C) and is the religion's spiritual center for worship and festivals. My visits to the Ayabe Center were mostly tied to religious events (the Autumn Grand Festival, for example, attended mostly by Japanese Oomoto followers, however, with some Western visitors, such as ourselves and a few others) or to teach Esperanto classes (attended by local Japanese Oomoto members). I also visited the Tokyo Center, the third in importance after Ayabe and Kameoka, as well as various regional centers.

As noted by Amit, the researcher plays a crucial role in constructing the field, which opens up a multiplicity of possibilities – for example, long and short visits, face-to-face and electronic interactions, through participant observation, interviews, documents, websites, media material, etc. (Amit, 2000). My field study consisted of the three following elements (in order of importance): 1) interviews, 2) archival research, and 3) participant observation. Before undertaking the field study, I read materials from the Oomoto website and exchanged a number of emails with Oomoto staff members, in order to become more familiar with certain aspects of the religion (notably the organizational structure) and to make additional personal contacts with people within the Oomoto organization.

The field study stay was, in fact, my second visit to the Oomoto headquarters in recent years (i.e. in addition to my first contacts with the religion while I lived in Japan from 2000 to 2002). During my previous visit to the Oomoto Center in 2012 (during a vacation in Japan), I collected newsletters, flyers, brochures and other literature from Oomoto which aided in my preliminary research.

3.2 Ethical considerations

As the project involves research with human beings, the field study was carried out in accordance with the CERPÉ (Faculté des sciences humaines, UQÀM) standards and following the specifications outlined in the my *demande d'approbation ethique* (certificate number FSH-2013-67).

Due to the fact that interview subjects were selected from among leaders, employees and others with a high level of official engagement with the organization, and the fact that the subjects covered in the interviews were not personal or sensitive in nature, ethical concerns were minimal. Nonetheless, explicit written permission was obtained from interview participants as to use of their name, title and direct quotations in the final thesis, and they were briefed on the nature of my research project and UQÀM's research ethics standards (also provided in writing, in Esperanto and English).

As to the participant observation aspect, all observation was participatory in nature, i.e. there was no simple observation. No video or audio recording[93] was used, except in the case of major public rituals (in which case official permission was obtained[94]). All interview subjects whose names appear in this work are Japanese followers of Oomoto who are highly engaged with Oomoto activities (employees, leaders and volunteers). In addition, I interviewed two Westerners (Americans), long-term friends of Oomoto who were visiting the Kameoka Center at the time of the study, passionate for Japanese arts and culture. They gave their written permission to be interviewed, but since they were not part of the official interview sample, their names were changed for anonymity.

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[93] Audio recording was only used for the interview portion. Permission to record the session was obtained beforehand.

[94] I was advised that any ceremony could be photographed or filmed *except* during portions when the Spiritual Leader was speaking or officiating.

3.3 Archival research

Oomoto's headquarters in Kameoka is home to Oomoto's main library and archives (photo in Appendix C), available to both researchers and the general public. The library is home to numerous books, magazines, newspapers, research papers and collateral material (brochures, flyers, etc.), most not readily available elsewhere. Most materials are in Japanese, but a significant number of materials is also available in English, Esperanto, with some materials in German, Portuguese and other languages. The most rare and fragile publications are stored in a special archive building designed for the preservation of such documents, where consistent temperature and humidity are maintained throughout the year. Researchers may access specific documents from this collection on request, though browsing is not allowed due to the condition of the documents.

The first portion of the field study was dedicated to research in the library and archives. The main objectives of the archival research were the following:

1) Noting how earlier publications addressed:
    a. nativist aspects of Oomoto;
    b. internationalist aspects of Oomoto (particularly the role of Esperanto and interfaith activity);
    c. Doctrine of Izu-Mizu;
    d. Oomoto in a non-Japanese context and recruitment abroad
2) Noting changes in tone or emphasis over time in regards to the issues above;
3) Preparation for the interview portion to follow.

The archival research portion focused primarily on Oomoto's international periodicals dating back to the beginning of the religion's international activity in the mid-1920s: *Oomoto* (Esperanto-language magazine, 1920s to present, with interruption during the

Second Oomoto Incident), *Oomoto* (English-language magazine, 1950s to 1980s), and *Oomoto Internacia* (Esperanto-language magazine, 1920s and 1930s). In addition to these periodical collections, I was also able to access a variety of other publications not readily available elsewhere, including a rare copy of *Oomoto Internacia* from the 1920s (and not available in bound copy in the library), available only in the conservation archive building.

The above mentioned magazines are bound and categorized, which facilitated the study. Firstly, I read through article titles and subheadings, and if the titles or subheadings suggested possible relevance to the topics of the study, I proceeded to a more detailed study of the article. If the article was in line with the topic of interest, I read the articles (either selectively, giving particular attention to paragraphs of interest, or in full, if preliminary skimming suggested that the article was pertinent enough to warrant detailed reading). In addition, all articles of interest (and bibliographic information) were photographed (due to the added expense, wasted paper and sheer weight of such a large number of photocopies) for further reference upon returning home (the articles of greatest interest and pertinence were coded as such, to distinguish them from other articles and to facilitate their study).

Several books were purchased during the course of my stay, and pages in the books that were not available for purchase, but nevertheless of interest for the study, were photographed. Overall, 426 photos of documents (mostly, with photographs of two-page spreads of periodical pages) were retained for further study.

This archival research allowed me to follow the evolution of Oomoto doctrine as presented to the outside world, observe the shift in missionary emphasis/non-emphasis, compare and contrast former emphases with current ones, and study the ways in which the nativist-internationalist duality was approached and how the doctrine of Izu-Mizu was presented.

3.4 Interviews

The interviews constituted the main body of qualitative material used in the study. As the subject of my research is linked to the official position of Oomoto in regards to Izu-Mizu duality, I decided to limit the interviews to leaders and employees of Oomoto, and *not* use a larger sample of simple Oomoto followers (which could also put them in a difficult psychological situation due to the intimidation/pressure of being interviewed by a foreigner about complex issues in their religion). By limiting my interview subjects primarily to leaders (current or past) and employees[95] of the organization, I was able to form a clearer picture of Oomoto's official teachings and viewpoints (especially concerning the nativist-internationalist duality and the doctrine of Izu-Mizu) as expressed by individuals with a high degree of knowledge about and commitment to the organization. It is worth noting, however, that Oomoto officials in no way prevented me from interviewing people not occupying an official function in the organization. The reason for limiting the interview portion to leaders, employees and others with a high level of engagement in the organization was not due to limitations imposed by the Oomoto organization, but rather because the scope of the study was intentionally limited to this group in order to determine the point of view of those actively engaged in the organization.

In addition to Oomoto officials, there was one subject that was not an employee of Oomoto, but who was nevertheless highly engaged in various Oomoto projects on a volunteer basis. Also, I interviewed an American couple who had recently joined

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[95] Limiting the sample thusly also helped avoid the complications associated with interviewing ordinary believers in a Japanese cultural context. Among these complications are: 1) language — the ordinary Oomoto believer is much less likely to speak Esperanto or English (thus requiring an interpreter) than is an Oomoto leader or employee; 2) culture — the intimidation of being interviewed by a foreigner about a sensitive issue would likely yield unreliable responses (whereas Oomoto officials are accustomed to routine interaction with foreigners; 3) commitment/knowledge — it is difficult to determine the level of a believer's commitment to the religion (as affiliation with more than one religious group is common in Japan) , and whether his/her knowledge of Oomoto's doctrine is reliable (due to influence from folk beliefs, teachings from other religions, etc.).

Oomoto[96]. Overall, 13 interviews[97] were conducted, among which five in English, five in Esperanto, and three in Japanese with translation into Esperanto by Okuwaki Toshiomi, fully proficient in Esperanto. The length of the interviews varied between one and 1.5 hours. The interviews were structured as semi-guided interviews, based on the interview guide (Appendix A), but with the possibility of elaboration of topics in the subject's area of expertise and follow-up based on the subject's responses. All questions were directly related to the topics of the study. The main objectives of the interview were to determine the subjects' perspectives on the:

1) Role of Esperanto and interfaith activity (primary internationalist aspects)
2) Role of Japanese language, culture, Shinto ritual and Japanese people/nation
3) Role of proselytism, Oomoto in non-Japanese context, and Oomoto as a universal religion.
4) Role of duality and the doctrine of Izu-Mizu

All interviews were recorded by MP3 voice recorder, with the explicit consent of each subject. Interviews were transcribed verbatim in real time during the interview sessions by my wife Yevgeniya Amis, trained in interview transcription and with many years of experience in journalism and editing. Yevgeniya is a M.Sc. student in Marketing, market analyst by current profession, fluent speaker of Esperanto and English and former journalist and editor (including five years of experience as editor-in-chief of an international Esperanto-language publication, *Kontakto,* magazine of the World Youth Esperanto Organization). After each interview I reviewed the transcript while listening to the recording to ensure accuracy of the transcription and correct any errors. Transcripts were subsequently coded by subject (nativist elements, internationalist elements, Oomoto as universal religion, etc.) for comparison and analysis.

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[96] This interview was not expected or planned, and these participants did not fit the profile of other subjects in the study. Nevertheless, as the opportunity presented itself and the couple was willing to be interviewed, I took advantage of the opportunity to hear the views of non-Japanese Oomoto members.
[97] The American couple were interviewed together, counting as one interview.

Most of the interviews were conducted at the Oomoto Center in Kameoka in person. The interviews were conducted either directly in Esperanto, when the subject's proficiency was sufficient, in Japanese with an Esperanto-speaking interpreter, or directly in English. Subjects who preferred the help of an interpreter preferred this option because they felt their ability in Esperanto was not sufficient to express the nuances needed to properly answer my questions. Nonetheless, it was clear that these respondents had passive knowledge of Esperanto because they would often begin answering the question before the interpreter had translated it. Due to the potential for misunderstanding of key terms such as "nativist", "nationalist", etc., great care was taken to convey the correct sense of the terms. This was done by referring to the terms both in Esperanto and English (as all subjects interviewed in English – with the exception of the American couple mentioned below – were conversant in Esperanto as well, even if they felt English to be their stronger foreign language), providing additional explanation, and, in the case of interviews conducted in Japanese through an interpreter, thoroughly briefing the interpreter on the intended meaning of the terms beforehand. The subjects were chosen among the leaders and employees of the organization's departments, including the International Department, the Doctrinal Department, the Missions Department, the Administrative Department, and some smaller departments. Mr. Okuwaki Toshiomi, my liaison during the stay, helped me to identify and contact interview subjects. With the exception of one interview with an American couple (two new Oomoto members), all subjects were native Japanese, born in Japan, many of whom were at least second generation Oomoto followers (meaning their parents had been members as well) – a common phenomenon among the Oomoto followers I encountered during the stay (first generation followers were far more rare). The criteria for selection of subjects were their subject matter expertise (for example, leaders of sections or departments were preferred over simple employees), as well as availability and a willingness to be interviewed for the study.

The departmental layout referred to above does require some explanation, however. I found that there is quite a bit of overlap among departments, and within departments there are various functions, though not always clearly defined. Many of the subjects did not have clearly defined titles, other than, for example, "member of the International Department". I also learned that employees are moved from one department to another fairly frequently. For example, my liaison Mr. Okuwaki was then a member of the International Department, but had previously worked in the Doctrinal Department, so he is thoroughly familiar with both. The purpose of such reshuffling, as I understood, is to give employees a wide range of experience within the organization, while encouraging cohesiveness throughout the organization. Therefore, one should not assume that the Doctrinal Department is made up of career theologians, for example.

3.5 Participant observation

While not central to my research (which aims to determine the perspective of those with a high degree of engagement in the religion, as opposed to the views of regular members), the third part of my field work was participant observation. As participant-observer, I participated in a number of events, assisted in teaching Esperanto classes, and was otherwise involved in the everyday life of the Oomoto Center (while for some events, such as festivals, we were not the only Westerners, most everyday interaction was with Japanese followers of Oomoto, with only sporadic presence of other Westerners). The informal conversations during the course of the stay took place sometimes in Esperanto, sometimes in English, and sometimes in (simple) Japanese (having lived for two years in Japan, I was able to converse at a basic-intermediate level). The informal conversations were *not* recorded in any way, however, I kept a

journal to note pertinent exchanges. Special attention was given to events (observations) that revolved around the themes of my research.

The main objectives of the participant observation portion were to:

1) Gain a greater familiarity and overall understanding of my research object;
2) Help me to situate my research within the greater context of Oomoto spirituality and practice;
3) Experience both internationalist and nativist aspects of Oomoto in the everyday life at the Oomoto Centers.

The participant observation took place throughout my stay as I stayed in guest housing within the Oomoto Center in Kameoka, providing ample opportunity for interaction with staff, volunteers and others guests. In fact, the Oomoto Center in Kameoka plays a dual role: on the one hand, it is the administrative headquarters of the religion, and on the other hand, it is also a retreat center for Oomoto believers, who may come at any time for a period of spiritual retreat and/or study. The Oomoto Center provides guest housing for retreat participants and other visitors (such as students of the arts and researchers) and a cafeteria that serves both Oomoto staff and visitors.

The main building of the Kameoka Center (photo in Appendix C) is a new building, completed in 2010, equipped with modern conveniences, while retaining the feel of traditional Japanese architecture and certain traditional Japanese features, such as rooms with *tatami* flooring and *fusuma* sliding doors. The temple buildings in both Kameoka and Ayabe were built using traditional Japanese techniques and materials (the principal temple in Ayabe, for example, was built entirely without the use of nails). It is interesting to note that signage (indicating various facilities, washrooms, baths, cafeteria, etc.) in the buildings at both of Oomoto's main centers (Kameoka and Ayabe) are in Japanese *and* in Esperanto (no English – a contrast with signage in most public spaces in Japan, where, when there is a second language at all, it is invariably English). The official motto of Oomoto: *Unu Dio, Unu Mondo, Unu Interlingvo* ("One God, One

World , One Interlanguage") is carved on a large stone monument beside the main building (photo in Appendix C). In addition, in front of the entrance of the main building in Kameoka three flags are flown side by side: the flag of Oomoto, the flag of the Universal Love and Brotherhood Association and the Esperanto flag, further emphasising the importance of Esperanto in Oomoto.

It is worth noting that I took most of my meals with the Oomoto staff, visitors, and retreat participants in the Oomoto cafeteria (the meals provided were almost exclusively traditional, and simple, Japanese food, with practically no meat other than fish and sea foods). Sharing meals was a great way to become acquainted with Oomoto staff, volunteers and visiting members and ask questions in an informal setting.

I also took part in daily morning and evening prayer in the temple, and experienced other aspects of religious life such as traditional arts and Esperanto study. As training in Japanese traditional arts occurs on an ongoing basis at the Oomoto Center, there were ample opportunities to experience this key component of Oomoto's nativist aspect, including tea ceremony (greatly emphasised and respected in Oomoto), traditional liturgical music, Noh, calligraphy, martial arts, etc.

3.6 Summary of field experience

My stay at Oomoto offered a unique opportunity to familiarize myself with both the nativist and internationalist aspects of Oomoto: through archival research, I was able to acquaint myself with Oomoto periodicals directed towards an international public, noting shifts in tone and emphasis in the way Oomoto has been presented to the non-Japanese public throughout the religion's history. Through interviews and interaction with the various departments of Oomoto, I was able to have a more complete picture of the organization's perspectives on the faith's nativist and internationalist aspects,

and by participating in various activities and observing Oomoto's practice of traditional Japanese arts, I was able to better appreciate how deeply Oomoto is engaged in preserving, valuing and showcasing traditional Japanese arts (e.g., tea ceremony, traditional pottery, martial arts, Noh, etc.), and music (e.g., the use of the ancient *koto* instrument, not typically used in contemporary Shinto and rarely encountered in modern Japan, but highly valued in Oomoto and used in all its liturgies).

My field study was set up through and hosted by Oomoto's International Department, the department responsible for all visiting foreigners, whether they be academic researchers, writers, artists, religious representatives or other dignitaries. Mr. Okuwaki Toshiomi of the International Department facilitated the setup of my stay and served as my liaison throughout the study. This arrangement is simply due to the way the organization is structured: the budget and paperwork for visitors from abroad is delegated to the International Department. That said, the International Department in no way interfered with or circumscribed my interactions with other people. The International Department only intervened when I requested help or when my presence was requested at a certain event or activity. My wife, Yevgeniya Amis, also accompanied me during the study and assisted me with many practical aspects of the research (such as transcription, mentioned above, and photographing archival materials; she did not ask questions or make comments during the interviews, but she did assist with ice-breakers and informal conversation).

The host organization was quite accommodating and eager to facilitate my work to the degree possible. In typically Japanese fashion, the experience was very well organized and orderly: I was provided with a printed schedule (made especially for us) of activities we would be expected to participate in so that I could better plan my other research activities around these events.

The earlier part of the field experience was mostly focused on archival research as I thought having a more complete historical picture of Oomoto's international activities (provided by study of the above-mentioned periodicals) before beginning the interviews would make for a more fruitful dialogue with the interview subjects. Interviews were worked into the schedule a bit later on in the study, at the subjects' convenience.

As guests of the Oomoto Center, we were asked to "work" a bit during the stay: my wife and I were asked to assist in teaching Esperanto classes (photo in Appendix C) at the Oomoto Center in Kameoka, as well as in Ayabe and other centers in neighboring cities (of course, this was not "work" from my perspective, but rather a pleasure). Class groups ranged from young students at the Oomoto School to adult classes (some specifically for Oomoto employees, with the rest being for local members) with a wide range of age groups represented. In talking with participants in these classes I learned that they practically all practice at least one other art (remembering that Esperanto is grouped in with the activities Oomoto encourages, the majority of which are traditional arts), and many of them practice several. I received the clear impression from them, nonetheless, that Esperanto is not just a hobby, but an activity on par with the other arts practiced by Oomoto believers.

In the week leading up to the Autumn Grand Festival, the International Department held an English-language workshop on Oomoto for foreigners, a workshop held from time to time. In addition to my wife and I and an Esperantist from the UK (originally from Poland), a group of Christian students from Germany and Switzerland studying Japanese religions at the University of Kyoto participated. The workshop covered a wide range of topics: Oomoto history, teachings and activities (including, but not limited to international activities), Esperanto, Chinkon meditational technique (practical workshop) and Ro-ei poem chanting technique (practical workshop). Unsurprisingly, the tone of the presentations was purely informational, without the

least hint of proselytism. Emphasis was placed on participation, with attendees expected to participate[98] in morning and evening prayer, including morning temple cleaning. A highlight of this workshop was the pilgrimage up Mount Takakuma, where Onisaburo spent his week of asceticism in February 1898. Upon reaching the "cave" where Onisaburo spent the week, I recall being impressed by its small size – more like a hollow in the mountainside than a cave – and could not imagine spending a week there in late winter. There our guide led us in prayer and then had us read English translations of excerpts from the *Reikai Monogatari* in turn.

The workshop culminated with the Autumn Grand Festival in Ayabe where, as mentioned in the section on ritual and ceremonies, I was invited to participate in *tamagushi hoten*, i.e. the offering of a sacred pine branch at the high altar. The Grand Festival assembled a large number of Oomoto followers, filling the main worship hall to capacity, with overflow to several other adjacent halls (in my estimate, at least 3000 people). Other than being on a much larger scale, the service followed the basic liturgical format of the *Tsukinamisai* (described in detail in the section on ritual and ceremonies). The pageantry of the Shinto liturgy, carried out with painstaking precision, on display during all Oomoto rituals, but especially during the Grand Festivals, is a powerful reminder of the central role of Shinto ritual in Oomoto as it is currently practiced.

Other highlights included participation in Oomoto events during the annual Japan Esperanto Congress in Tokyo, accompanied by a visit to the Tokyo Oomoto Center,

[98] Though most of the workshop attendees participated fully in the rituals, I observed that a couple of the Christian students refused to participate in the prayers (which was easily noticeable, because Oomoto prayer is done aloud and in unison, and begins and ends with a series of bows). I later asked some Oomoto believers what they thought of this behavior, and most found it to be "strange" and incomprehensible, as Oomoto believers always fully participate when invited to attend the rituals of other religions.

visits to Izumo Grand Shrine,[99] along with the Izumo Oomoto Center, and other Shinto sacred sites[100] with significance for Oomoto (with commentary), a stay at the Takeda Betsuin, a site with historical importance related to the Second Oomoto Incident,[101] singing with the Oomoto chorus,[102] and learning about traditional arts (especially tea ceremony, Noh drama and calligraphy) and Oomoto-supported martial arts, namely Aikido and Waraku.[103]

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[99] The second most important Shinto shrine in Japan, located in Shimane Prefecture, with a special significance for Oomoto: Deguchi Nao made a pilgrimage to this shrine to obtain sacred fire (Oishi, 1982).

[100] Among these was the Shinto shrine Moto-Ise ("source of Ise") in the Northern part of Kyoto prefecture, one of many shrines popularly believed to be the original location of Ise Grand Shrine (hence the name "source of Ise"), the most sacred shrine in Shinto (as it is dedicated to the sun goddess Amaterasu). In similar fashion as Nao brought sacred fire from Izumo, Nao travelled to this shrine to obtain sacred water from a spring there. Fire is associated with the Spirit of Izu, and water with the Spirit of Mizu (Oishi, 1982).

[101] The Takeda Betsuin, now an Oomoto Center, is a historic farmhouse where Onisaburo's daughter Naohi (later to become the Third Spiritual Leader) and her husband Deguchi Hidemaru (suffering from mental illness brought on by torture at the hands of police) were sheltered during the persecutions of the Second Oomoto Incident (Tsumoto M.).

[102] An unplanned occurrence that nonetheless illustrates an episode of "integration" in the community. The Oomoto chorus (made up of mostly of Kameoka Oomoto staff and nearby believers) was rehearsing a song in Esperanto and invited us to sing with them. We ended up rehearsing with them for several weeks and performed (presenting a song in Esperanto and also one in Japanese) at an Oomoto-run nursing home in Kameoka, with the Fifth Spiritual Leader in attendance.

[103] Waraku is a newer martial art founded by Oomoto believer Maeda Hiramasa Shihan (who still teaches classes in Kameoka), that incorporates meditation, sacred vowel sounds (according to the principal of *kotodama)* and the use of bamboo swords.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Note: interview subjects' names, roles in Oomoto and the language their interview was conducted in are listed in Appendix B. All translations from Esperanto (whether the subject's original words in Esperanto or the interpreter's Esperanto translation of the subject's original Japanese words) into English are mine.

4.1 Role of Esperanto

As we saw in section 2.1.2, Esperanto has played an important role in Oomoto since Onisaburo adopted the language for Oomoto in 1923. Nonetheless, as I studied issues of Oomoto's international publications dating back to the mid-1920s, I perceived a shift in emphasis from a quite missionary and expansionist tone in the pre-WWII period, to a more reserved tone in the post-WWII period. In the earlier period of Esperanto activity in Oomoto, while Onisaburo was still alive, I had the distinct impression, based on the periodicals and the existence of the Oomoto International Office in Paris during this period, that Onisaburo intended for Esperanto to be a practical tool to promote Oomoto (in the universalistic sense he conceived it) abroad. My interactions with today's Oomoto, however, suggest a different role for Esperanto: to inform about (rather than to spread) Oomoto abroad and promote mutual understanding through a neutral common language (which is the goal of basically all Esperanto organizations). Conversations with interview subjects, however, revealed that my perception of a clear shift in emphasis of the role of Esperanto was not widely shared.

Before getting into the evolution of the role of Esperanto in Oomoto, I shall first discuss the subjects' perceptions of Esperanto's role in Oomoto in general. I asked subjects to give their opinion as to the role and importance of Esperanto in Oomoto. All subjects, without exception and regardless of their level of competence in Esperanto, were quick to emphasize the fundamental importance of Esperanto in Oomoto. Nonetheless, there was more variance in perceptions of the role of Esperanto, though these perceptions tended to point in the same general direction: realisation of peace and brotherhood on earth.

Responses to this first question ranged from more doctrinal understandings – as exemplified by Mr. Yamada Uta's[104] assertion that "Esperanto is a gift from God. Oomoto aims to bring peace to the whole world, and Esperanto has and will have an important role in that work. Deguchi Onisaburo taught us this, and therefore we Oomoto followers believe it to be true" – to more humanistic understandings – as illustrated by Mr. Nishinaga Atsushi's[105] statement that "Esperanto itself has a special character. In using this language one can feel not like a member of a specific national group, but human; not Japanese, English or Chinese, but human. To spread Esperanto is, in itself, to realize the ideal of our humanity." Most responses, though, emphasised a combination of a practical role (for informing about Oomoto abroad, communicating with other peoples on a neutral basis, etc.) and idealistic role of Esperanto in Oomoto.

As to the idealistic role of Esperanto in Oomoto, several subjects made specific mention of similarities between Onisaburo's universalistic ideals and Zamenhof's *homaranismo.*[106] Dr. Zamenhof, creator of Esperanto, also had hopes for a universal neutral religion, in addition to a neutral second language. This religion would not be based on specific dogma or supernatural beliefs, but would serve as a common religion

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[104] Director of Interfaith Activities and Communications, Administrative Department.
[105] Special projects, currently working on compilation of a book on the 120-year history of Oomoto.
[106] "Hom-ar-an-ismo" roughly translates as "the religion/philosophy [or just "ism"] of membership in the human race.

of humanity, without replacing existing religions, nor forcing supernatural doctrines on the irreligious (basically the same concept as Esperanto applied to religion).[107] Onisaburo, then, recognized his own broad spiritual views in Zamenhof's *homaranismo*, which was influential in his decision to introduce Esperanto to Oomoto. Mr. Agoo Takashi[108] went even so far as to claim that Onisaburo's thought and Zamenhof's *homaranismo* are in complete agreement. While this assertion side-steps differences in the underlying philosophical assumptions of the two – Onisaburo's universalism being based on the idea of a common divine source of all religions (*bankyo-dokon*), while Zamenhof's *homaranismo* made no claims with regards to the divine, choosing to focus on humanistic themes – in saying this Agoo was referring to the broad aims of the two currents of thought: unity among religions, while maintaining religious diversity.

I subsequently asked subjects the following:

> Has the role of Esperanto changed since its introduction in the early 1920s? It seems to me that originally Oomoto used Esperanto to recruit members abroad, however today it seems that Oomoto doesn't actively recruit foreign members. How do you see the evolution of the role of Esperanto in Oomoto from its introduction to today?

At my suggestion that the role of Esperanto in Oomoto had changed since Onisaburo's time, some subjects appeared uneasy. After some reflection, however, the majority of subjects concluded that the role of Esperanto in the religion had not substantially changed, though, due to historical circumstances, the level of activity using Esperanto had fluctuated. Of the majority that thought the role of Esperanto had not substantially changed, most felt that Oomoto had always tried to inform about Oomoto teaching to an international public, with the hope of gaining members abroad, or at least

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[107] *Homaranismo* as envisioned by Zamenhof (as it was never put into practice in any significant way) bears strong resemblance to religious humanism, or even modern Unitarian Universalism.
[108] Director of the International Department.

sympathizers – and this is still the case. Mr. Inagaki[109] and Mr. Yamada, though, added that recruitment of Oomoto members abroad has never been the primary role of Esperanto, but rather promotion of peace, harmony and interfaith cooperation.

Comments by Mr. Agoo and Mr. Hazama Hirotomi[110] (both providing similar variations of the same basic idea) offer a possible explanation for the seeming shift in the use of Esperanto to recruit members abroad: while recruitment for Oomoto abroad using Esperanto was attempted in the pre-WWII era, this effort met with little success. It was hoped that new members abroad could be recruited this way, but, as Oomoto also did not want to impose itself upon members of other faiths (due to the teaching of *bankyo-dokon*) and perhaps due to the Japanese character of Oomoto (its rituals, origins and cultural context), recruiting non-Japanese members abroad proved extremely difficult. Thus, in later years emphasis was placed on informing and explaining about Oomoto, rather than directly attempting to recruit on a large scale.

On the other hand, a slightly different perspective was offered by Mr. Tanaka Masamichi,[111] according to whom the goal, even in the early days, of Oomoto's international activity, was not to convert people outside of Japan to Oomoto, but rather to build an international network of people of faith and goodwill connected to Oomoto. Converts were, and are, most welcome, but not sought out, in his view.

Diverging from the above views according to which the role of Esperanto has not substantially changed, however, Mr. Nishinaga felt that recruitment of members abroad (through Esperanto or other languages) has been emphasized at certain points in Oomoto's history, while at other times this has been de-emphasized, i.e. that

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[109] Vice President of the Jinrui Aizenkai (Universal Love and Brotherhood Association – of which all Oomoto members are automatically members) and President of the Jinrui Aizenkai International (made up mostly of non-member Oomoto sympathizers).
[110] Member of the International Department and board member of the Esperanto-Populariga Asocio de Oomoto.
[111] Special Emissary of the Spiritual Leader (not tied to a specific department, but reports directly to the Spiritual Leader).

conversion of people of other faith backgrounds is not necessary. These emphases have fluctuated from one period to another. In agreement with the other subjects, nonetheless, he added that the *idealistic* role of Esperanto to bring about peace and understanding in the world – both through actual international contacts through Esperanto and through the language's role in the Oomoto concept of model – has remained constant since Onisaburo introduced Esperanto to Oomoto.

Thus, it seems that while the idealistic role of Esperanto in Oomoto has, in the eyes of the interview subjects, remained basically the same, the perception of the language's practical application throughout its history of use in Oomoto is less clear.

4.2 Role of interfaith activity

Like Esperanto, interfaith activity has been a part of Oomoto's work since the early 1920s, when Onisaburo revealed the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon*. As noted earlier, Oomoto's interfaith activity began a particularly active phase in the 1970s with the worship exchanges with American Episcopalians that would lead to other exchanges and contacts with a variety of faith traditions. Interfaith activity gained such prominence that in 1997 Oomoto dedicated an entire English-language publication to this topic, *Bankyo Dokon: Seventy Years of Inter-Religious Activity at Oomoto*. This publication opens with the following unambiguous declaration:

> Oomoto is a small religion as measured by the number of its followers, but since its founding in 1892 it has played a role far in excess of its size in influencing inter-religious dialogue in Japan and abroad.
>
> The reasons are to be found in Oomoto's history. For Oomoto, inter-religious work is a central part of its divine mission. Joint worship and exchanges with other religions have not been merely a side business, something which a religion needs to do to keep up harmonious relations with others. According

> to the teachings of its founders, inter-religious work is what God created Oomoto to do (The Oomoto Foundation, 1997, p. 2).

Nonetheless, the role of interfaith activity has taken on different forms throughout the history of Oomoto. As mentioned earlier, Onisaburo's earliest major foray into interfaith work was the launching of the World Religious Federation. Though small (made up predominantly of new religions and Japanese religious groups) and relatively short-lived (falling victim to the Second Oomoto Incident and WWII), this first attempt introduced the idea of an organizational approach to interfaith unity. Post-war interfaith efforts did not return to the idea of religious federation, however, with Oomoto instead engaging individual religions (or denominations within religions) directly, most often through joint worship.

The first question I asked subjects on this topic was, "In your opinion, what is the role and importance of interreligious activity in Oomoto?" As to importance, all subjects (not surprisingly) stated that interfaith activity is a very important part of Oomoto's work – many of them going so far as to say that it is essential to Oomoto's very identity. According to Mr. Yamada, "Interfaith activity is important to Oomoto as one's right hand is important to a person".

As to the role of interfaith work, responses tended to be centered on a common theme: putting an end to religious conflict and promote friendship among religions (paralleling the idealistic role of Esperanto: bringing an end to conflict between peoples and promoting friendship among peoples). Such brotherhood among faiths will be brought about not by forcing unity upon religions, but rather by *recognizing* the underlying unity that has always existed (*bankyo-dokon*):

> It is necessary that religious people realize that all faiths share a common source. When all people of faith come to this realization, enmity between religions will disappear. This does not mean, however, that religion itself will disappear (Yamada U.).

The idea that failure to recognize the common divine source of all religions is the primary cause of interreligious conflict recurred throughout the responses. One response in this vein even suggests why, perhaps, Oomoto's approach to recruitment is a soft one: "If religions think primarily of their own expansion, conflict is inevitable. Religions must think first of a harmonious, peaceful world" (Okuwaki T.). Thus, Oomoto's own expansion and organizational maintenance is less important than the spread of the ideals Oomoto supports. This is in line with what Onisaburo wrote at the time he founded the World Religious Federation:

> As for the world religious unity Oomoto calls for, most people think this means that unless the entire world follows the teachings of Oomoto, we will not have religious unity. But religions differ naturally according to different thoughts and concepts, and when looked at from a larger point of view, it doesn't matter whether they are called Shinto, Buddhist, or Christian. If all religious groups and thinkers act in accordance with Oomoto's hopes, then this will be Oomoto's world unity (cited in *Bankyo Dokon*, The Oomoto Foundation, 1997, p. 6).

With Onisaburo's World Religious Federation in mind, I followed up this question by asking about the ultimate aims of Oomoto's interfaith activity: was the ultimate goal a sort of religious federation, like Onisaburo's, but on a worldwide scale? Responses to this question indicated a lack of consensus on this issue, though the responses diverged in two general directions. Approximately half of the subjects expressed a belief that such an organized federation of religions is neither possible nor really desirable: "Oomoto does not seek to unite religions organizationally, but seeks rather to promote peaceful and friendly relations among religions" (Hazama H.); "Uniting religions is impossible. We seek cooperation. Some religions don't want to cooperate – we can't force them. But if people come to the conclusion that cooperation is better than conflict, they join in cooperation" (Nishinaga A.). The other half of subjects was, however, convinced that religious federation is hoped for – "Such a federation was already created in the time of Onisaburo. Oomoto hopes that a world federation of all religions

will be created in the future" (Okuwaki T.) – or even inevitable, "In the future, a world federation of religions will be established, just as a world federation of nations will be established" (Yamada U.).

From this we can conclude that while there appears to be a consensus as to the general aims of interfaith cooperation – ending conflict between religions and promoting friendship and cooperation among them – there is less agreement as to the ultimate ends of interfaith cooperation – which, in turn, suggests that Oomoto teaching on this point is not clearly defined. Clearly defining a position on this question may not be important for Oomoto if the idea of model is taken into account:

> The example of the Federation [of religions established by Onisaburo] remains as one of the earliest world efforts – the first in East Asia – to unite all religions in one cooperative organization. This precedent has special meaning for Oomoto which conceives of itself as a "mirror" where events enact themselves in miniature before they later manifest in the world at large (The Oomoto Foundation, 1997, p. 7).

Perhaps, then, those who see the creation of a religious federation as inevitable see it as an outcome of the ultimate reconstruction of the world foretold in the *Ofudesaki*, while those who see the creation of such an organization as impossible are thinking in terms of efforts on the part of the Oomoto organization alone (efforts which are small and limited in scope).

4.3 Role of Japanese language, culture, Shinto ritual and Japanese people/nation

Though Oomoto, due to Onisaburo's influence, was able to move beyond the xenophobic aspects of the early period (whether these tendencies were inherent in Nao's revelation or whether followers just interpreted them in such a way), certain

nationalist/nativist elements seem to persist in Oomoto. As discussed earlier, emphasis on Japanese language and culture, use of Shinto liturgical forms, and a special role for the Japanese people or Japanese nation are the most notable (recruitment or non-recruitment of non-Japanese people will be discussed in the following section).

As to Oomoto's roots in Shinto, interview subjects were in agreement that Oomoto can be considered a Shinto sect, because it is derived from Shinto, but has its own particular doctrine (like Tenri-kyo, Konko-kyo and other Shinto sects, yet unlike traditional Shinto which has no formal doctrine as such). Oomoto is thus a Shinto sect in the broad sense, while never having had official designation as such, and was never part of the imperial system of Shinto[112]. Nonetheless, many respondents were quick to add that the government's persecution of Oomoto was due to a "misunderstanding" or "mistake" on the part of the state (the "mistake" being corrected with the end of WWII and the resolution of the Second Oomoto Incident), thus minimizing or softening the Japanese government's culpability in the religion's persecution.

According to Mr. Yamada, the appearance of Shinto sects in modern times is due to the fact that while ancient peoples were able to perceive/feel the divine directly, without words or teachings, modern people need instruction and explanation. Oomoto, he added, also seeks to reawaken this ability in people to directly experience the divine.

While there was also agreement that Oomoto's Shinto-style ritual constitutes a nationalist[113] aspect of Oomoto, responses nonetheless suggested that this aspect (Shinto-based ritual) is not essential:

> The Third Spiritual leader defined the essence of Oomoto thusly: worship God, pray to God, have a direct relationship with God, put the teachings into

[112] Discussed in detail in Chapter I.

[113] Any use of the word "nationalist" in this section refers only to a cultural sense. There is a distinction made in the original Esperanto version of the interviews that cannot be adequately expressed in English. The word used here is "nacieca", which roughly means "having to do with nation/nationality" or "having a national character". The word "naciista" would denote the more political sense of "nationalist".

> practice, purify your heart. She made no mention of liturgical forms. She never said that Oomoto requires Japanese language or Shinto ritual. Such a narrowly defined ritual style is not absolutely necessary, I think (Nishinaga A.).
>
> To a great extent, religions depend on eras and nationalities. Oomoto was born in Japan, so it has been strongly influenced by Japanese nationality. But Oomoto believers can worship in other ways – we don't insist upon Shinto-style worship (Yamada U.).

Other replies were in the same vein – in fact, no subject suggested that Shinto-style liturgy was a *sine qua non* of Oomoto. On the other hand, clear examples of Oomoto worship in a completely non-Japanese context (i.e. not just physically outside of Japan, but Oomoto adapted to an entirely different cultural setting) are lacking, as the limited instances of Oomoto practice outside Japan or by non-Japanese (as with the Oomoto temple in Brazil or the Oomoto center in Mongolia) are nonetheless firmly rooted in Japanese culture, even if minor modifications are incorporated (we will discuss this in greater depth in the following section).

The apparent dissonance between the supposed universal teaching of Oomoto (unity of God, common source of all faiths, unity of humanity) and the actual expression of Oomoto in a thoroughly Japanese form suggests a distinction in the subjects' minds between Oomoto as the "Great Origin" and Oomoto as a particular Japanese religious group. Mr. Tanaka framed this distinction thusly:

> We think Oomoto is for Japanese people. We value Japanese cultural traditions – Noh, tea ceremony, music, poetry, Shinto-style ritual – yet the philosophy of Oomoto is universal. In my understanding, though, religious expression must be local.

Similar perspectives were expressed regarding traditional Japanese arts (which most subjects grouped together with Shinto ritual and customs in the broad category of Japanese culture):

> Japanese people are responsible for Japanese culture, but every people must respect and cultivate their own culture. However, Japanese culture is not an essential part of Oomoto, but is rather due to the historical and cultural context in which Oomoto developed (Hazama H.).

Thus, the cultural trappings of Oomoto are more contextual than essential: because Oomoto developed in (and continues to exist predominantly in) a Japanese cultural context, Japanese culture is important – as Japanese people are first and foremost responsible for the preservation and cultivation of Japanese culture, as other peoples are responsible for the preservation and cultivation of their respective cultures.

Nonetheless, the fact that Japanese arts and culture must be a priority for Japanese people does not preclude non-Japanese people from potentially benefitting from Japanese arts and culture:

> Though not essential, Japanese traditional arts can teach spiritual truths and discipline. Also foreigners can learn from Japanese arts. Traditional arts can communicate spiritual truths that are otherwise hard to understand from texts (Tabuchi Y.).

In fact, though a culturally nationalist aspect of Oomoto, the emphasis on traditional Japanese arts has been a point of attraction for many of the non-Japanese people who have become Oomoto followers or sympathizers. We will discuss this point further in the following section.

As to the role of the Japanese language, I noted a similar consensus. The Japanese language is not intrinsically sacred, but rather sacred through its context in Oomoto: Nao's *Ofudesaki* and Onisaburo's revelations came through the medium of the Japanese language, thus making it sacred for Oomoto. Furthermore, the idea of *kotodama* (the belief that sounds and combinations of sounds have mystical properties) plays a key role here. I asked interview subjects whether *kotodama* (see more on *kotodama* in Chapter I) applies only to Japanese. On this point there was general agreement that the sounds of human language generally have mystical properties, not

just the Japanese language. On the other hand, in regards to translation of Oomoto basic prayers into other languages there was a divergence of responses. While all subjects agreed that all Oomoto prayers could be translated for explanatory purposes, not everyone agreed that translated prayers could or should be used in actual worship. This is especially true of the fundamental prayer *Kamigoto* (which, as mentioned earlier, is not original to Oomoto, but is derived from an ancient Shinto prayer): according to Mr. Agoo, though other prayers may be translated (into Esperanto, Portuguese, English, etc.) and used in worship, the two fundamental prayers, *Kamigoto* and *Amatsu-Norito*, are untranslatable and unchangeable. Mr. Agoo explained that this is due both to the combinations of sounds (*kotodama*) in these prayers and the multiple layers of meaning in the Japanese text that cannot easily be conveyed in other languages.

As to the role of the Japanese nation or people in the divine plan, I noted a general consensus that the country of Japan does have a special role to play (a few of the respondents pointed out to me, however, that it is not the Japanese *people,* but rather the country of Japan that has a special role). Opinions varied, however, as to what the nature of this role is exactly. A common theme among subjects' responses was that Japan's role, while special, is not unique: each country (or, in certain cases, groupings of countries or geographic regions) has its own role to play. Two subjects specifically mentioned that Oomoto's idea of Japan's role is not like that of the Hebrew/Jewish people: the Japanese are not a chosen people, set apart from all others.[114] Rather, like organs in the body, each country has its own important, yet distinct, function.

Among the roles Japan should play, according to the subjects, are that of promoting peace, abolishing nuclear weapons (even nuclear energy), and, more generally, demonstrating harmonious coexistence between man and nature:

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[114] Viewed in the light of earlier (pre-WWII) nationalist notions of Japanese identity – in which Japan was viewed as the "land of the gods" and the Japanese people as a divine people – this notion is rather universalistic.

> Japan's role is to be a leader in science, interfaith cooperation, work for world peace and abolition of nuclear weapons. Other countries have their own roles to play (Yamada U.).
>
> Japan's role is to be a model of harmony between nature and humans (Saito T.).
>
> Japan has a mission to be a good model to the world – it is a peaceful country, low crime rate, people respect each other. Japan must demonstrate to the world the spirit of *wa* – harmony, both with each other and with nature – Japan should spread this spirit of *wa* so that other nations may learn from it. Also, as Japan is the only country to have ever been bombed by nuclear weapons, and in light of the recent nuclear tragedy in Fukushima, Japan should be a leader in opposing atomic energy and nuclear weapons (Tabuchi Y.).

One particular example of a recent Oomoto-sponsored project that illustrates such a role for Japan (or Japanese culture, at least) is worth mentioning here. Starting in 2003, the Oomoto Israeli-Palestinian Peace Institute,[115] in cooperation with local governments (the municipal governments of Ayabe and Kameoka, for example), has coordinated the Israel-Palestinian Peace Project. In the framework of this project, Israeli and Palestinian teens whose families have been affected by Israeli-Palestinian violence are invited to Japan to spend time in Japanese host families. In each host family are placed one Israeli and one Palestinian teen. The teens are then involved in various Japanese cultural activities with the host family and the greater community. The basic idea is to have the Israeli and Palestinian teens interact with each other in a setting and environment completely foreign to them, and one far removed from their native land – with the hope being that, when confronted with a culture very different and far removed from their own, they will realize they have more in common with each other than they have differences (Yano H.; mentioned also in Roberts, and in *La Riverego*).

[115] Organizationally separate from Oomoto, though founded by and affiliated with it.

Of course, as with Oomoto's interfaith activities, the real-world impact of this project is limited. But, viewed as *kata* (model), we can see the role of Japan as peace agent symbolized here.

Overall, then, I received the impression from my interview subjects that much of what I perceive as nativist elements in Oomoto are more superficial, and conditioned by Oomoto's history and geographical and cultural context, rather than doctrinally binding aspects of the faith. Even as these elements constitute Oomoto's particularity (as opposed to the very broad, universalist elements shared by many religious movements and philosophies), they are nonetheless not presented as being distinctions based on hierarchical superiority, but rather distinctions based on differences in role and function.

4.4 Role of proselytism, Oomoto in non-Japanese context, and Oomoto as a universal religion

In addition to the shift in emphasis away from overt proselytism through Esperanto (or, at least, a shift away from direct promotion of Oomoto abroad) discussed in the section on the role of Esperanto, there remains the question of the general attitude towards recruitment of foreigners (Esperanto-speaking or not). As noted earlier, the English-language version of the Oomoto website stated that non-Japanese are not encouraged to join:

> Oomoto does not encourage people from outside Japan to join. The traditional Japanese rituals and practices can be difficult for a foreigner. Because Oomoto teaches that all religions come from the same source, Oomoto believes it is more appropriate for people to participate in religions more suitable to their own culture and language. That said, Oomoto does have a few

> non-Japanese members, usually the spouses of Japanese, or people with some other strong connection to Oomoto, through the arts, for example.[116]

When I prefaced my questioning about the recruitment of foreigners with this statement, the majority of subjects were quite surprized that such a statement was on the website, and most did not agree with that statement:

> I don't agree with that. Oomoto is a national religion – it came from ancient Japanese tradition. But we can share the feeling of our religion even with Western people and other Asian people – we can share the same feeling in praying to God. Now I recommend joining Oomoto to many foreign people. 20 foreign people have joined Oomoto on my invitation and recommendation. We try to recommend foreign people to join Oomoto. The statement on the website was one person's idea. Everything has two aspects. This idea is correct, but I think my idea is also correct (Kimura K.).

> It seems that that statement is due to a translation problem. The English website was the product of a native English speaker who worked at Oomoto for many years. But we encourage foreigners to come to Oomoto. We have centers in Brazil and Mongolia where there are many non-Japanese members (Agoo T.).

> That's not Oomoto's general tendency, I don't think. Oomoto is a Japanese-derived religion, and therefore somewhat difficult for non-Japanese people. For that reason the person who wrote that statement felt that way – and I understand that such a perspective can be found among some Oomoto members (Okuwaki, T.).

Those who agreed that this statement reflects Oomoto's general position on the issue of recruitment of non-Japanese, did, however, take care to emphasize that this does not mean active discouragement or exclusion:

> We welcome foreigners. If you're interested in traditional Shinto ritual and Japanese traditional arts, we welcome you to join Oomoto. We do have members outside of Japan and members who are not Japanese. But we don't send missionaries out to other countries. ... Oomoto is very Japanese. Japanese people can convert to Islam or Judaism, but it is strange for a Japanese person to recite prayers in Arabic or Hebrew (Tanaka, M.).

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[116] http://www.oomoto.or.jp/English/enFaq/indexfaq.html retrieved December 2013. The site has since been updated and this paragraph removed.

> That is a common perspective in Oomoto. We don't strongly encourage people from other religions and cultures to join. We must respect every culture, and not impose Japanese culture (Hazama H.).

It is clear, therefore, that even among Oomoto representatives there is no clear consensus on the question of recruitment of non-Japanese. We may note, however, that a common theme among responses is the idea that Oomoto should not be pushed upon anyone – especially those without a Japanese cultural background or heritage. Those who take the more extreme view that foreigners should not be encouraged to join Oomoto, seem to do so in the context of not wanting to impose Japanese ritual and culture on non-Japanese people. On the other hand, those who are open to the idea of recruitment of non-Japanese people, also emphasise Oomoto's soft, non-intrusive approach that must be viewed in the context of the unity of all religions. Behind both these attitudes, however, lies another idea: the idea that, ultimately, conversion to Oomoto is not really necessary, due to the unity of religions according to the doctrine of *bankyo-dokon*. We will discuss this idea further a bit later.

Whatever the attitude towards conversion of non-Japanese, Oomoto is, in fact, already practiced in non-Japanese contexts. As mentioned earlier, in addition to isolated individual followers in various countries, Oomoto maintains centers in Brazil and Mongolia – where many of the members are non-Japanese.

Why in these two countries in particular? The reason for Brazil is historical and demographic: in the early and mid-20th century large numbers of Japanese (mostly poorer, rural people – a key base of early Oomoto support) emigrated to Brazil. Today ethnic Japanese make up around 80% of Oomoto members in Brazil (Asai K.). Mongolia, on the other hand, is a bit less obvious, and has more to do with symbolism than demographics: Onisaburo said that Mongolia is key to peace in Asia, and Asia is

key to peace in the world[117] (Kimura K.). Unlike Brazil, the majority of Mongolian Oomoto members are ethnic Mongolians.

Oomoto ritual practice in Brazil and Mongolia follows the same basic form as in Japan, with allowance for certain superficial adaptations, according to Asai K. and Kimura K. Locally available foods, as opposed to traditional Japanese foods, may be used for offerings, chairs may be used for seating, instead of sitting *seiza* on *tatami* mats, and the rigor of the Shinto ritual style is somewhat relaxed (Asai K.). The fundamental prayers, *Kamigoto* and *Amatsu-Norito*, are always recited in Japanese (with explanatory texts in the local language available), while other prayers may be recited in the local language. The availability of Oomoto's sacred texts in the local languages is, however, quite limited. While the *Oomoto Shinyu* (the authorized version of the *Ofudesaki*) is available in Portuguese (in the condensed "international" edition – the same text available also in Esperanto), only excerpts of the *Reikai Monogatari* are available in Portuguese (as is the case with Esperanto and English), and only excerpts of any of the sacred texts are presently available in Mongolian.

What is particularly interesting to note about Oomoto in its current "international" setting is the attitude of non-Japanese followers to its particularly Japanese character. Mr. Kimura Katsuya, who has worked extensively with the Mongolian center, noted that practically all of the Mongolian adherents are attracted to Japanese traditional culture: Japanese language study, martial arts (especially Aikido) and Japanese arts. As for non-Japanese Brazilian adherents, Mr. Asai Kiyotaka – who spent six years working at the Oomoto center in Brazil – noted that many converts were attracted to Oomoto's healing rituals, while others were drawn by an interest in Japanese culture. He added, however, that when the Brazilian center introduced prayer forms in Portuguese, it was predominantly the *non-Japanese* adherents who expressed a desire to return to the Japanese language prayer texts, even though they did not understand

[117] A fact that explains Onisaburo's unsuccessful expedition to Mongolia in the 1920s.

the content. He claimed that non-Japanese Brazilians who converted to Oomoto said they felt that Oomoto was the embodiment of Japanese culture, and, when praying in the Oomoto temple they felt the presence of God (Asai K.).

This phenomenon – i.e. Oomoto's "national" character being a point of attraction for non-Japanese converts – is quite common, even to the point of being the norm. When I brought up the question of non-Japanese converts, a common theme among subjects' responses was the attraction of Japanese culture and arts.

During my stay at the Oomoto Center in Kameoka I had to the opportunity to meet two new non-Japanese Oomoto members, Linda and Mark Irving[118], artists from California. They have had a relationship with Oomoto for over 30 years, a relationship that has centered on Japanese traditional arts.[119] Deeply in love with Japanese culture and arts, Linda now brings groups of Americans interested in learning more about Japanese arts and culture to study at the Oomoto Center. Over the course of this relationship with Oomoto, Linda and Mark were invited to become members several times (challenging the idea that Oomoto "does not encourage non-Japanese to join"). They characterized their decision to join as being based on their relationship with the people at Oomoto and the arts – it was not a "conversion" or belief in automatic writing or the revelations. Mark stated that though he supported the major themes of Oomoto (as he perceives them), such as the unity of religions and the spiritual aspect of artistic practice, there are certainly doctrinal aspects of Oomoto he would be less comfortable with, especially if taken literally. As to the procedure for becoming members, they said they only had to fill out a brief form and give a nominal donation (2000 yen – around $20) – they were not asked to subscribe to any doctrines nor commit to any specific spiritual practice. This contrasts with the normal procedure for joining Oomoto described to me:

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[118] Actual names changed, as they were not part of the official interview sample, though they both fully consented to the same interview conditions as other subjects.

[119] Linda was a student in the Oomoto School of Traditional Japanese Arts, where she studied not only traditional arts, but also learned Shinto liturgical technique.

to become a member one must adhere to the teachings of Oomoto, make a minimum monthly or yearly financial commitment, and commit to daily prayer at some sort of home altar where the Oomoto deity is enshrined (Okuwaki T.). Mark and Linda said they knew they would never be "model members", but they also felt that they weren't really expected to be. This seems to confirm an impression I had received based on conversations with Oomoto representatives on the topic of non-Japanese members: expectations for non-Japanese members are somewhat different, more relaxed than for Japanese members. This seems to mainly apply to Japanese cultural and religious *practices* (as opposed to religious *beliefs*) in Oomoto such as maintaining and worshipping at a home altar (as it is common in traditional Japanese homes to maintain a small Shinto *kamidana* or "*kami*-shelf") and venerating one's ancestors (as it is common in traditional Japanese homes to maintain a Buddhist altar where the ancestors are venerated). Non-Japanese members, it seems, are not necessarily expected to maintain these practices, nor study the Oomoto scriptures in depth (only possible if one can read Japanese) – adherence to the broad ideals and aims of Oomoto is sufficient (as mentioned in the previous paragraph, this stands in contrast with the normal membership requirements). As the numbers of non-Japanese Oomoto members are relatively very small, such a "two-tier" approach does not appear to be an issue, though if Oomoto were to have a large non-Japanese following this disjoint would need to be addressed.

As we have seen, then, Oomoto acceptance by (a very limited number of) non-Japanese has not necessarily had a universalizing influence on the faith. To the contrary, non-Japanese who choose to affiliate with Oomoto are primarily attracted by the traditional Japanese character of Oomoto and its support for traditional arts. Oomoto is then a sort of "specialized product", a religion that combines openness to other religions with a strong support for traditional Japanese culture. Without the Japanese cultural aspect, Oomoto's broad universalistic ideals would be non-distinctive, and without the universalistic aspect Oomoto would differ little from other Shinto sects. Thus, in a non-

Japanese context (i.e. among people not ethnically Japanese) Oomoto is a sort of "niche", with limited appeal to a very narrow demographic (i.e. non-Japanese people interested in Japanese spirituality and traditional arts, who also value openness to other faiths and a universalistic outlook).

This brings us to another question: is Oomoto a universal religion, or could it become one? Could Oomoto become a universally applicable religion like Christianity or Buddhism, for example? In Oomoto's earlier publications much is made of the universal character of Oomoto: Onisaburo as savior of humanity, the oneness and universality of God, the unity of all religions and their common source, etc. The emphasis on universality was not subtle, as suggested by the following titles of articles in *Oomoto* (English-language publication): "Oomoto, a Universal Popular Religion", "Oomoto's Mission as a Universal Religion", "What characterizes Oomoto as a Universal Religion", and, in *Oomoto* (Esperanto-language publication), "Oomoto, Mondsava Religio" ("Oomoto, a religion of world-salvation"). But, to what degree is Oomoto universal, or to what extent could it become universal, in the eyes of Oomoto representatives? As in other areas discussed above, opinions diverged on this issue.

Though all subjects acknowledged the presence of universalist (see definition in Chapter II) elements in Oomoto's teachings, a slight majority felt that Oomoto either is already a universal religion, will become one, or could potentially become one. Those subjects who saw Oomoto as universal or potentially universal stressed the central teachings (as they perceive them) of the unity of religions and the brotherhood of mankind. Several subjects noted, however, a distinction between the universal nature of Oomoto (inherently present) and the potential for Oomoto to become a widely practiced international religion such a Christianity or Buddhism:

> The central idea of Oomoto is universal. But for Oomoto to become a religion practiced in many countries and cultures concerted effort and resources would need to be devoted to this goal. Very few foreigners join Oomoto today. But it [spreading widely around the world] is theoretically possible (Okuwaki T.).

> In the future, I hope Oomoto will become an international religion. Thanks to Esperanto, people can learn a lot about Oomoto. But it takes time. Jesus Christ was born over 2000 years ago. Christians had to hide themselves in catacombs in the early days. Later Christianity became an international religion. It takes time and effort (Tabuchi Y.).
>
> Universality is inherent in the teachings of Oomoto. But to truly internationalize Oomoto and spread it around the world would depend on the directive of the Spiritual Leader and would require great effort. If we don't strive to define the essence of Oomoto teaching and apply local customs and culture to our liturgy, Oomoto will never spread widely outside of Japan. But it's difficult to do this without enormous will and effort. I'm not pessimistic about the possibility, however (Asai K.).

Those who took the contrary view focused on Oomoto's character as a particularly Japanese religion, all the while maintaining that Oomoto has important universalistic ideals that provide a basis for cooperation with other faiths:

> I don't think it is possible. Oomoto is very Japanese in style. It's not possible for it to become international like Christianity. Oomoto encourages people to share the same idea, but not everybody will become Oomoto members. It's not necessary. Oomoto wants one very simple thing: world peace. All people can live in peace (Kimura K.).

The underlying theme, though, common to all responses, is the idea that the central idea of Oomoto is universal. Those who believe Oomoto is or will become a universal religion based their belief on the central universal idea of Oomoto (one universal God). Those who stated that Oomoto is not, per se, a universal religion, based their view on Oomoto as an existing institutional religion firmly (and persistently) rooted in Shinto and Japanese culture.

4.5 Role of duality and the doctrine of Izu-Mizu

"Why do westerners like to see everything in terms of conflict?" – Okuwaki Toshiomi's reaction to my question as to whether there is a conflict between the internationalist and nativist elements in Oomoto. This spontaneous statement sums up the prevailing view of interview subjects regarding this particular duality in Oomoto. All subjects acknowledge the existence of a duality of internationalist and nativist elements in Oomoto, yet all but one saw no tension, conflict or anything that would need reconciling:

> Nationalist and internationalist thinking are like two wheels on a cart – they are both necessary and must work together in harmony. Both are worthy of respect. Internationalism alone is insufficient, in my view (Agoo T.).
>
> Oomoto is a national religion and a universal religion. It has two aspects. The nationalist aspect is often symbolized by the writings of Deguchi Nao, while the internationalist aspect is represented by Deguchi Onisaburo. It may appear contradictory, but mysteriously tying those two aspects together is Oomoto (Yamada U.).
>
> There is no contradiction between Oomoto's nationalist and internationalist aspects. To be active internationally, one must be rooted in one's own nationality as well. A people or religion without nationality doesn't make sense. Raising awareness of our own national culture is part of Oomoto's international activity. Oftentimes foreigners will point out the beauty of our culture that we Japanese may fail to realize (Inagaki Y.).

Thus, the great majority of subjects were of the opinion that being rooted in one's national culture was a prerequisite for being engaged internationally – one cannot engage with other cultures if one is not engaged with one's own. Likewise, internationalist orientation is a necessary partner of national orientation – without the international aspect, national culture becomes closed and narrow. As Mr. Agoo noted, "like two wheels". In fact, these two orientations are so deeply rooted in Oomoto that several subjects did not really understand what I meant by "tension" or "contradiction" between these two aspects, because they had never really thought of it in such terms.

A more nuanced view of the internationalist-nativist duality was offered by Nishinaga Atsushi:

> I'm not really sure that the nativist tendency and internationalist tendency are reconciled. Historically there was much conflict regarding these tendencies, and there is still a bit of a balancing act between the two. It's nice that we have both aspects. But to assert that Nao embodied the nationalistic aspect and Onisaburo the internationalist aspect is too simplistic. Onisaburo was also a nationalist of sorts. Some say that, given the nationalistic imperialism of the Japan of his era, he had no choice but to present himself as a nationalist. In my view he was both a nationalist and internationalist. But the nationalist-internationalist distinction is foreign for us. If one is bothered by nationalism, Onisaburo was neither nationalist nor internationalist. For him nationality was completely unimportant. In that case nationalism and internationalism have no meaning.

Here we begin to see that the internationalist-nativist duality may not necessarily be explained by the duality of the two founders, as Onisaburo himself embodied this duality as well – which brings us to my hypothesis: that the internationalist-nativist duality in Oomoto may be explained through the doctrine of Izu-Mizu.

As we discussed earlier, Oomoto views the universe in terms of two polarities: horizontal-vertical, matter-spirit, female-male, etc. These polarities, expressed as the doctrine of Izu-Mizu, are traditionally associated with Nao and Onisaburo, and explain their contrasting characters and approaches. The interplay of these two polarities is seen as fundamental to existence:

> Normally other religions have one founder – but Oomoto has two. Nao and Onisaburo, Ayabe and Kameoka, *Ofudesaki* and *Reikai Monogatari*. Two is perfect, one is imperfect. For that reason Izu-Mizu is a characteristic trait of Oomoto teaching. Father unites with mother and a child is produced. Two is the foundation of unity (Agoo T.).
>
> According to the teaching of Oomoto, there is spirit and matter. When spirit and matter intermingle, force is produced. Spirit and matter must be balanced (Inagaki Y.).

As you will recall, in my hypothesis I proposed that the internationalist-nativist duality can be explained by the doctrine of Izu-Mizu. As I mentioned, this hypothesis was inspired by the following text:

> The eastern continent is the birthplace of the world's cultures: Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam – they all come from Asia. And for that reason Asians can be proud that they have led all of humanity spiritually, but while they labored for hundreds of years in the invisible realm of the heart, the Europeans accomplished everything in the visible material realm (Nishimura, March 1926, p.1; translated from Esperanto by J. Amis).

This passage suggests that material progress is associated with the West (exemplified by Europe and North America) while spiritual progress is associated with Asia and the East. Furthermore, according to Oomoto teaching:

> The Spirit of Izu is the God who fulfills the divine plan throughout the material and spiritual worlds, and who in the material world is mainly concerned with material reform; the Spirit of Mizu is the God who accomplishes salvation throughout the material and spiritual worlds, and who in the material world is mainly concerned with moral reform (Oomoto, Doctrinal Department, 2008, p. 53).

Therefore, it would seem that the Spirit of Izu is associated with material reform, while the Spirit of Mizu is associated with spiritual reform. By associating the West (which, from a Japanese perspective, most clearly embodies "foreign-ness") with material progress and the East (with Japan being the most Eastern nation in Asia) with spiritual leadership, I thus hypothesized a parallel between Izu-Mizu and internationalist (foreign) and nativist (Japanese) aspects of Oomoto.

I found, however, that the passage from Nishimura cited above resonated little with interview subjects. There was a tendency to view the ideas expressed in that passage as naïve, dated, or no longer relevant:

> That particular author writing at that particular time [1926] thought that. But now Japan has greatly progressed on the material plane compared to then. Japanese people have adopted an egoistic mindset – and the times have

> drastically changed. For that reason I can't freely subscribe to such thinking. Nonetheless, at that time Japanese people had no idea what Europe was like. Most people couldn't imagine it, because there wasn't even television (Agoo T.).
>
> That passage doesn't refer to the West as a whole, but only to the negative aspects of the West at that time: colonialism, too much emphasis on material science. That passage comments on the bad aspects of the West when these bad aspects were strong – but Japan came to imitate these same bad tendencies... Spirituality is lacking now, for Japanese people as well. For Oomoto there is not just the spiritual side or material side that matters – both are important. In Oomoto we say that it is also wrong to neglect material/scientific progress. But Japanese have forgotten the importance of spirituality and overemphasize the material/technological side (Yamada U.).
>
> After the Meiji Restoration, Japan veered sharply in the materialist direction. At that time people thought that the countries of the West were very developed, especially with regards to material/technical matters. Eastern countries were not developed materially, but were inward-looking... But now people can easily travel internationally. Japanese cars are produced everywhere in the world. The difference between East and West is not so great. There is still a wide gap between North and South, but not between East and West (Hazama H.).

It would seem then, that the passage from Nishimura reflects an oversimplified view of the East-West relationship deriving from a time when Japanese perceptions of the West were limited. Likewise, most subjects felt that Izu-Mizu could not be clearly applied to the nativist-internationalist duality. Though Onisaburo, for example, is associated with the Spirit of Mizu, we cannot assert that Mizu is clearly associated with internationalism, since Onisaburo himself embodied nationalist tendencies as well. So, while matter and spirit do indeed belong to the Izu-Mizu duality, the matter-spirit duality cannot be clearly tied to the nativist-internationalist duality.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, both nativist elements and internationalist elements have played key roles throughout the history of Oomoto, though these elements have received different emphases in differ periods of the religion's development. In the founding period, dominated by Oomoto founder Deguchi Nao, the faith was largely inward-looking and concerned with the reform of Japan through a return to the country's agrarian roots and Shinto-based spirituality (a purified Shinto, however, cleansed from Buddhist and Confucian, i.e. foreign, influences). Nao rejected the Western and modernist importations of the Meiji-era reforms (capitalism, liberalism, colonialism, science, etc.) and, as spokesperson of Ushitora-no-Konjin, warned that Japan was headed down the road to ruin. Salvation lay in returning to the "great source", i.e. the one true primordial God, and returning to a simpler way of living through rejection of modernist and foreign influences.

Following Nao's death, co-founder Deguchi Onisaburo dominated Oomoto and took the religion in a distinctly internationalist direction. Onisaburo advanced universalist ideals of religious unity, world peace and human brotherhood – ideals which he sought to spread using the neutral international language Esperanto and put into practice through religious and humanitarian cooperation. Onisaburo distanced himself from the dire apocalyptic prophecies of Nao and emphasised working towards an ideal world through interfaith and international cooperation.

After the suppression of Oomoto in the Second Oomoto Incident, Oomoto was reborn in a more moderate and modest form than in the previous two periods. The post-war period saw a balancing of Oomoto's more national aspects – with Japanese traditional arts coming to prominence in this era – and international aspects.

Nonetheless, in today's Oomoto one may still clearly distinguish aspects that fit into the category of internationalist and nativist/nationalist. Yet, as we saw in the interview portion, opinions are far from unanimous on the role and relative importance of these aspects.

Let us first consider the nativist aspects. As we saw in the interview portion, subjects were aware of elements in Oomoto that may be considered as nativist or nationalist (again, these words being understood in a *cultural* not political sense). We found consensus among subjects that elements such as Shinto liturgy, Japanese language prayer forms and focus on Japanese traditional arts constitute the cultural ethos of Oomoto. We must also note, however, that most subjects did not view these elements as being *essential*, i.e. a central part of the Oomoto religion. As a religion that has developed and existed in a predominantly Japanese context, Shinto ritual forms and traditional Japanese arts are, in Oomoto's view, most suitable to Japanese people.

The "non-recruitment of non-Japanese" position – one that we had posited as being another nativist aspect of Oomoto – did not, however, find much support among subjects. Most subjects felt that the idea that Oomoto does not encourage non-Japanese to join (which, as mentioned, I had originally found on Oomoto's English-language website) was an individual opinion, and not an official policy or stance of the religion as a whole. All subjects (including the minority who felt Oomoto does not encourage non-Japanese to affiliate) stated that non-Japanese are warmly welcome as members, all the while stressing that, because all religions share the same root, conversion from another religion is not necessary. Therefore, since this presumed particular nativist aspect found little support (beyond a mention in the English-language website, which has since been removed), it cannot be considered a true nativist aspect of Oomoto.

As to the international aspects of Oomoto, I was left with the impression that subjects perceived Oomoto's international/interfaith activities as deriving more directly from the religion's core ideals – that is to say, the core ideals of religious unity, human

brotherhood and peace, as opposed to the particular Japanese cultural aspects of Oomoto as a Japanese religious sect. Interfaith activity is viewed as an expression of the fundamental teaching of *bankyo-dokon*, while Esperanto is an expression of human brotherhood (as Esperanto is not the property of any particular country or people, and therefore is not tied to colonialism, imperialism, etc.). Both of these aspects, interfaith cooperation and Esperanto, though not part of Oomoto at its inception, have come to be viewed as essential parts of Oomoto's identity (at least, in the view of my interview subjects).

Though I began the study conceiving the nativist and internationalist aspects of Oomoto in a clear duality of sorts, the interview results leave a much less clear picture. While duality is a fundamental concept in Oomoto, it is not clear that a dualistic conception neatly applies to these two aspects of Oomoto which I have labeled as nativist and internationalist. On the one hand, while acknowledging certain aspects of Oomoto which may be labelled as nativist/nationalist and internationalist, most subjects did not feel that there is any tension or conflict between the two needing to be reconciled, but rather that one is necessary for the other, like two sides of a coin – i.e. one must be grounded in one's own culture (or religion) in order to be able to interact with other cultures (or religions).

That said, however, subjects' responses suggested that the essence of Oomoto, its core idea, is the common origin of all religions and the unity of humanity, not the Japanese cultural baggage in which Oomoto is dressed in its particular expression as a Japanese new religion. So, while certain *activities* may seem to fall into a sort of nativist/internationalist duality (like two sides of a coin or two wheels on a cart), the national *character* and universal *character* do not seem to have the same relationship. As suggested by subjects' responses, the *essence* of Oomoto is universal, however the *accidents* (to borrow Greek philosophical terminology) are national (Japanese) in character.

This distinction became more obvious when I questioned subjects about whether Oomoto is or could be a universal religion. As noted, responses diverged into two broad groups: those who said that Oomoto is, or will become a universal religion, and those who said it could not, or would likely not, become a universal religion. The divergence, it seems, derives from the subjects' understanding of universality in relation to Oomoto. Those who replied that Oomoto is or will become a universal religion focused on the essential central ideals of Oomoto as they understood them, i.e. the unity of religions and humanity. In this sense, Oomoto "writ large" is universal. Those who replied that Oomoto cannot, or probably will not, become a universal religion focused on the "accidents" (in the philosophical sense) of Oomoto, i.e. Oomoto as an organized Japanese new religion, rooted in Japanese culture and Shinto religion, operating primarily in Japan, with a primarily Japanese membership. In their opinion, Oomoto as an organized religion could not become a broadly practiced international or universal religion due to its cultural limitations. Nonetheless, those maintaining this position also felt that Oomoto's teachings on the unity of religions and humanity can and should be shared with other peoples.

What we have, then, are two broad conceptions about what Oomoto, in fact, is: a broad universal teaching on one hand, and a small, particular Shinto-based sect on the other. When viewed in this light, we can make better sense of Oomoto's attitudes towards recruitment abroad in various historical periods. Oomoto's most active period of recruitment abroad, in the 1920s and early 1930s, saw greater emphasis placed on the former conception of Oomoto. The Oomoto that was preached to a non-Japanese audience of this time was not one preoccupied by Japanese culture and Shinto liturgy and mythology, but one announcing a new age of peace, brotherhood and interfaith cooperation. As these ideals have gained broad international acceptance, Oomoto's uniqueness in this area has diminished. In today's Oomoto, therefore, most foreigners come to Oomoto *because of* its special character as a Japanese new religion that highly

values traditional Japanese culture (and also engages the international community), rather than just because of its universalistic ideals.

How, then, does this affect our hypothesis? I had proposed that the alleged nativist/internationalist duality could be understood by the doctrine of Izu-Mizu, as, based on the article in *Oomoto Internacia* by Nishimura in the 1920s, material progress derives from the West (i.e. not Japan), while spiritual progress derives from the East, and Izu is linked to reform of the material world, while Mizu is related to moral or spiritual reform – thus, Izu = material world = West/not Japan, and Mizu = spiritual world = East/Japan. According to this theory, then, the nativist/internationalist duality could be understood through the doctrine of Izu-Mizu.

The first problem with this theory is the one we just discussed. Based on subjects' responses, we cannot really conclude that the nativist/nationalist elements of Oomoto and the internationalist/universalist elements constitute a clear duality. Rather one – the universalistic ideals of Oomoto as a philosophical ideal – constitutes the essence, or inner spirit of the religion, while the other – the Japanese cultural dressing of Oomoto as a particular Shinto sect – constitutes the outer appearance of the religion. Thus, the relationship between these two aspects cannot be compared to other dualities in the Izu-Mizu paradigm: male-female, fire-water, positive-negative, light-dark, etc.

The second problem with this theory is that no substantial support was found for it from subjects' responses. The majority of subjects felt the opinion expressed by Nishimura was his individual opinion, and one that belonged to the time he was writing – i.e. not a principle that could be generally applied to Oomoto (neither then, nor, much less, now). Furthermore, no subjects felt that there was a link between the doctrine of Izu-Mizu and the nativist and internationalist elements of Oomoto.

Therefore, the hypothesis that the doctrine of Izu-Mizu can explain the (supposed) duality of nativist and internationalist elements does not hold up. Furthermore, the idea

that the nativist and internationalist elements of Oomoto constitute a true duality – in the sense understood in the doctrine of Izu-Mizu – must be called into question as well.

What, then, can be made of the seeming contrast in nativist/nationalist elements and internationalist/universalist elements in Oomoto? Perhaps Oomoto's youth and size may exaggerate these elements. After all, if we consider Christianity (or, more appropriately at that stage, the "Jesus Movement") in the first century after Jesus' death, we cannot speak of a truly universal religion – Christianity was still firmly attached to Judaism at that time and still struggled with the question of what aspects of Jewish culture should be retained and what aspects should be rejected. Perhaps Mr. Tabuchi was right – maybe Oomoto is just too young and still too small and geographically limited to compare it to established "international" religions?

We can conclude from this study, though, that, while broad consensuses seem to exist on important issues, nuances and significant differences of opinion remain – even given the small and organizationally committed group involved in the study – suggesting that Oomoto as an organized religion is still defining stances on many important issues. As Oomoto was born from the teachings not of one founder, but from the teachings of two very distinct – even opposing – personalities, compromise and divergence of opinion are probably to be expected. We are left with the impression, then, that, in many ways, Oomoto is still a religion in the making. It is up to the membership and leadership as to whether Oomoto ultimately follows a path of international expansion (focusing more on its core universalist ideals), or remains a small, Japan-centered Shinto-based sect (that also happens to use Esperanto and engage in interfaith cooperation on a small scale).

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. Introduction
   a. Overview of the project
      i. Title : « **La nova japana religio Oomoto : harmoniigo de universalecaj kaj naciecaj ideoj** » / « *The Japanese new religion Oomoto: reconciling nativist and universalist tendencies* »
      ii. Explanation of project: **Ĉi tiu projekto celas studi la ideon de dualeco en Oomoto, aparte la ideon de dualeco kiel ĝi rilatas al universalecaj (aŭ internaciecaj) aspektoj kaj naciecaj aspektoj de la religio. Apartan atenton ricevos la rilato de la doktrino de Izu-Mizu al la ideo de dualeco.** / *This project aims to study the idea of duality in Oomoto, especially the idea of duality as it relates to the universalist (or internationalist) aspects and the nativist aspects of the religion. Special attention will be given to the relationship of the doctrine of Izu-Mizu with the ideal of duality.*
   b. Interview instructions, consent form, other
      i. Go over consent form and allow participant to read it. Answer any questions and ask participant to sign the form if he/she agrees to the conditions.
      ii. Explain that the interview will be recorded, expected duration, etc.
      iii. Explain that the absolutely « correct » answer is not necessarily expected, but rather the participant's understanding of the question being discussed.
      iv. Thank participant for finding the time to participate.
II. Interview body
   a. Identification: **Bv. diri vian nomon kaj titolon/rolon/fakon en Oomoto** / *Please state your name and title/role/department at Oomoto.*
   b. Universalism/internationalism

i. **Oomoto estas konata en la Esperanto-komunumo tutmonde pro sia internacieco. Kion vi pensas pri la internacieca orientiĝo de Oomoto?** / *Oomoto is known among the world-wide Esperanto community for its internationality. What do you think about the internationalist orientation of Oomoto?*

1. **Esperanto**
   a. **Kion vi pensas pri la rolo/graveco de Esperanto en Oomoto?** / *In your opinion, what is the role and importance of Esperanto in Oomoto?*
   b. **Ĉu la rolo de Esperanto ŝanĝiĝis ekde ĝia enkonduko en la fruaj 1920-aj jaroj? Ŝajnas al mi, ke originale oni uzis Esperanto por varbi membrojn al Oomoto internacie, tamen nuntemp ŝajnas ke oni ne aktive varbas eksterlandanojn. Do, kiel vi vidas la evoluon de la rolo de Esperanto en Oomoto ekde ĝia enkonduko ĝis nun?** / *Has the role of Esperanto changed since its introduction in the early 1920s? It seems to me that originally Oomoto used Esperanto to recruit members abroad, however today it seems that Oomoto doesn't actively recruit foreign members. How do you see the evolution of the role of Esperanto in Oomoto from its introduction to today?*
   c. **Ĉu Esperanto iam estas uzata en Oomoto-ritoj?** / *Is Esperanto ever used in Oomoto ritual?*
2. **Kion vi pensas pri la rolo/graveco de interreligia agado en Oomoto?** / *In your opinion, what is the role and importance of interreligious activity in Oomoto?*
3. **Ĉu estas aliaj internaciaj aspektoj de Oomoto kiujn vi povas prikomenti?** / *Are there other internationalist aspects of Oomoto that you can comment upon?*

ii. **Ekde kiam Oomoto havas internaciecan orientiĝon?** / *Since when does Oomoto have an internationalist orientation?*

iii. **Ĉu vi pensas ke la internacia agado de Oomoto estas *esenca* parto de la religio? Kion ĝi alportas al Oomoto?** / *Do you*

think that Oomoto's international activity is an essential part of the religion? What does it bring to Oomoto?

c. Nativism/nationalism

i. **Ĉu Oomoto estas ŝintoisma religio (sekto de ŝintoo), aŭ ŝinto-inspirita?** / *Is Oomoto a Shintoist religion (Shinto sect), or Shinto-inspired?*

ii. **Samtempe kun sia internacieco, Oomoto ankaŭ tre emfazas la japanan kulturon, japanan lingvon kaj aliajn specife japanajn aferojn.** / *Alongside its internationalism, Oomoto also puts great emphasis on the Japanese culture, Japanese language and other things specifically Japanese.*

1. **Laŭ vi, kiuj estas la specife japanecaj, japancentraj aŭ eĉ naciismaj aspektoj de Oomoto?** / *In your opinion, what are the specifically Japanese, Japan-centric or even nationalistic aspects of Oomoto?* (follow up questions based on responses)

2. (If the participant has not already volunteered these) **Se mi bone komprenas, iuj gravaj naciecaj aŭ japan-centraj aspektoj de Oomoto estas: la praktiko de tradiciaj japanaj artoj kiel religia devo, la sankta karaktero de la japana lingvo por diservo, ne-instigo al ne-japanoj aliĝi al Oomoto, kaj centra rolo por Japanio en la dia plano por la rekonstruo de la mondo. Ĉu, laŭ vi, tio estas ĝusta prezento?** / *If I understand correctly, some of the important nativist or Japan-centric aspects of Oomoto are: the practice of traditional Japanese arts as a religious obligation, the sacred character of the Japanese language for ritual use, discouragement of non-Japanese from converting to Oomoto, and the central role Japan is given in the divine plan for the reconstruction of the world. Is this an accurate characterization, in your opinion?*

(Follow up depending on participant's reaction to above. For example, if the participant challenges the statement that non-Japanese are discouraged from joining Oomoto, I will ask his/her view of non-Japanese converting to

Oomoto, proselytism and missions; special role for Japan in divine plan, etc.)

iii. **Ĉu vi pensas ke la kunekzisto de internaciecaj elementoj (kiel Esperanto kaj interreligia agado) kaj ŝajne naciecaj elementoj (kiel ni diskutis supre) estas kontraŭdiro en Oomoto?** / *Do you think that the coexistence of internationalist elements (such as Esperanto and interfaith work) and seemingly nativist elements (as we discussed above) is a contradiction within Oomoto?*

1. (if yes) **Kiel vi harmoniigas tiujn kontraŭojn?** / *How do you reconcile those two opposites?*
2. (if no) **Kiel, do, vi klarigas tiun ŝajnan tension?** / *How then do you explain that apparent tension?*

d. **Izu-Mizu**

i. **Miakomprene, la doktrino de Izu-Mizu estas unu el la fundamentaj doktrinoj de Oomoto. Bv. klarigi ĉi tiun doktrinon laŭ via kompreno.** / *In my understanding, the doctrine of Izu-Mizu is one of Oomoto's fundamental doctrines. Please explain this doctrine in your own words.*

1. **Ĉu ĉi tiu doktrino estas originala al Oomoto? Ĉu estas simila instruo en kutima Ŝintoismo?** / *Is this doctrine original to Oomoto? Is there a similar doctrine in traditional Shinto?*
2. **Kiel ĉi tiu doktrino aplikiĝas al la mondo ĝenerale?** / *How does this doctrine apply to the world in general?*
3. **Kiel ĝi aplikiĝas al la historio, strukturo kaj funkciado de Oomoto?** / *How does it apply to the history, structure and functioning of Oomoto?*

ii. **En numero de *Oomoto Internacia* de 1926, la redaktoro skribas ke la Oriento estas fonto de spirita evoluo, dum la Okcidento estas gvidanto en materia evoluo – la rolo de Oomoto estas harmoniigi la du. Kion vi pensas pri tiu diraĵo? Ĉu vi konsentas? Ĉu tio bone reprezentas la nunan vidpunkton de Oomoto?** / *In an issue of* Oomoto Internacia *from 1926, the editor writes that the East is the source of spiritual progress, while the West is the leader in material*

development – Oomoto's role is to reconcile the two. What do you think of this quote? Do you agree? Does it represent the current view of Oomoto?

1. **Ĉu vi pensas ke tiu ideo povas sugesti paralelon inter la doktrino de Izu-Mizu kaj la dualeco de universaleco kaj nacieco en Oomoto?** / *Do you think that this idea could suggest a parallel between the doctrine of Izu-Mizu and the duality of universalism and nativism in Oomoto?*

(follow up based on response)

iii. **Miakomprene, la Fondintino enkorpigas la spiriton de Izu, dum la Kunfondinto enkorpigas la spiriton de Mizu, ĉu ne? Tio iel klarigas iliajn malsamajn karakterojn kaj iliajn malsamajn vidpunktojn pri la direkto de Oomoto. Sed ankaŭ foje ŝajnas ke iliaj pensoj estis kontraŭdiraj: ekz. la forta kritiko en la Ofudesaki pri ĉiu eksterlanda influo, kompare kun la universaleca ideo de Aizenkai. Ĉu vi vidas tion kiel kontraŭdiron? (se ne, tiam kiel oni klarigas ĝin)** / *In my understanding, the Foundress embodies the spirit of Izu, while the Co-founder embodies the spirit of Mizu, correct? To a certain extent this explains their different characters and their differing viewpoints on the direction of Oomoto. But it also at times seems that their ideas were contradictory: for example, the strong criticism of all foreign influence in the Ofudesaki, compared with the universalist idea of Aizenkai. Do you see this as a contradiction? (if not, then how do you explain it?)*

e. **Ĉu vi pensas ke Oomoto estas universala religio? Ĉu ĝi estas religio por la tuta mondo? Aŭ ĉu ĝi estas religio precipe por Japanio, kaj ne-japanoj devus aliri Dion per siaj tradiciaj religioj?** / *Do you think that Oomoto is a universal religion? Is it a religion for the whole world? Or is it a religion mainly for Japan, and non-Japanese should approach God through their traditional religions?*

III. **Conclusion**

a. **Ask the participant whether he/she has other comments to add or has questions for me.**

b. **Thank participant.**

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

Interviews in Esperanto

Agoo, Takashi: Director of the International Department. Interviewed 2013/10/23

Hazama, Hirotomi: employee of the International Department and board member of the Esperanto-Populariga Asocio de Oomoto (Esperanto Popularization Association of Oomoto). Interviewed 2013/10/23.

Nishinaga, Atsushi: Special projects, currently working on compilation of a book on the 120-year history of Oomoto. Interviewed 2013/10/25.

Okuwaki, Toshiomi: employee of the International Department and editor. Interviewed 2013/10/22.

Saito, Tadashi: Liturgical Department, rituals for ancestral spirits. Interviewed 2013/10/22.

Interviews in English

Irving, Linda and Mark (real names changed for sake of anonymity): artists and non-Japanese Oomoto members. Interviewed 2013/11/03.

Kimura, Katsuya: Secretary General of the Jinrui Aizenkai (Universal Love and Brotherhood Association) International. Interviewed 2013/11/07.

Tabuchi, Yasuo: Project facilitator, Israel-Palestine Peace Project. Interviewed 2013/10/30.

Tanaka, Masamichi: Special Emissary of the Spiritual Leader. Interviewed 2013/11/01.

Yano, Hiromi: Director of the Oomoto Israeli-Palestinian Peace Institute and employee of the International Department. Interviewed 2013/11/01.

Interviews in Japanese with Esperanto interpretation

Asai, Kiyotaka: Department of Missions, domestic section. Interviewed 2013/10/25.

Inagaki, Yasuhiko: Vice President of Jinrui Aizenkai (Universal Love and Brotherhood Association) and President of Jinrui Aizenkai International. Interviewed 2013/10/24.

Yamada, Uta: Administrative Department, Director of Interfaith Activities and Communications. Interviewed 2013/10/24.

APPENDIX C

SELECTED PHOTOS

Deguchi Nao (source: www.oomoto.or.jp)

Deguchi Onisaburo (source: www.oomoto.or.jp)

"One God, One World, One Interlanguage" monument (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Joel and Yevgeniya Amis with students of the Oomoto School (Esperanto class) with Okuwaki Toshiomi (left), their regular Esperanto teacher (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Entrance to the main building in Kameoka, with three flags flying: (left to right) Esperanto, Oomoto and Jinrui Aizenkai (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Library and archives at Kameoka Oomoto Center (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Choseiden, the main Oomoto temple in Ayabe (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

The Autumn Grand Festival, processional (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

The Autumn Grand Festival: Joel Amis (left) participating in *tamagushi hoten* -- offering of pine branches at the main altar (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

The Autumn Grand Festival: presentation of offerings (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

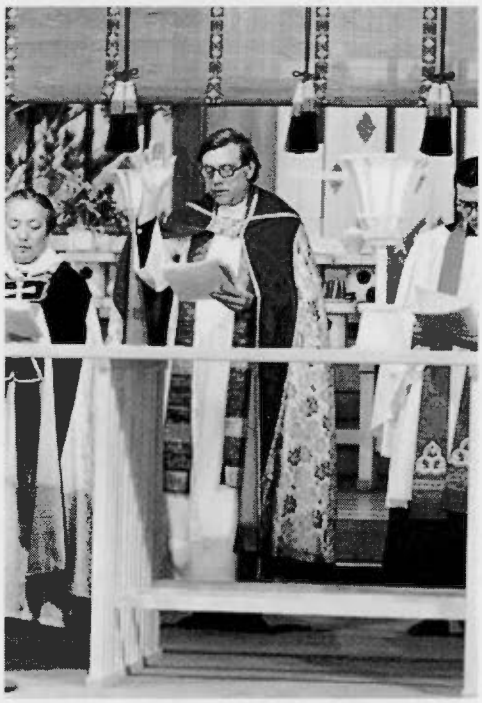
Aikido training session at the Kameoka Oomoto Center (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Tea ceremony study at the Kameoka Oomoto Center (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Presentation of Noh drama at the Kameoka Oomoto Center (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Oomoto priest (left) assists with Tao Yuan ritual (Tao Yuan representative on the right). Tao Yuan is Oomoto's oldest interfaith partner (photo by Yevgeniya Amis)

Oomoto liturgy in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York (1982, source: The Oomoto Foundation, 1997)



The Very Reverend James Parks Morton, Dean of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine (New York), performs an Anglican liturgy in Oomoto temple in Ayabe (February 3rd, 1977, source: The Oomoto Foundation, 1997).

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Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition

HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE
MONOGRAPH SERIES
VOLUME 20

Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition

The *Nihon ryōiki* of the Monk Kyōkai

Translated and annotated with an introduction by

KYOKO MOTOMOCHI NAKAMURA

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

1973

BQ5795 .J3H313

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 72-87773
SBN 674-57635-7
Printed in the United States of America

Translator's Preface

In the various publications of the "new religions" in Japan, many stories about the miraculous karmic retribution of good and evil are reported side by side with sophisticated discussions of the doctrines and management of the organizations. Some intellectuals tend to condemn these stories as vulgar expressions of a concern for material benefits; however, one cannot deny the fact that the miraculous events related in the stories often generate and deepen faith in those who have witnessed, heard, or read them. Why do such stories appeal to so many minds in this century? Is the world of the miraculous totally foreign to us who live in the nuclear age?

To put great trust in a literal statement and little in a mythological one is a prejudice, which, although increasingly being challenged, is still very strong. In the field of the history of religions, insufficient work has been done on the folk piety that is oriented around the miraculous in different religious traditions, and this tendency leads to a misunderstanding of both the medieval world and contemporary man.

Recently I had a chance to observe the reaction of some Catholics when the list of approved and recognized saints was revised. The Vatican released the new calendar which had dropped or reclassified about two hundred saints, including such popular ones as St. Nicolas and St. Christopher, in an attempt to drop historically obscure saints, thus separating pious legends and local devotions from the central tradition of the saints of the Church. Even if few Catholics literally believed in the historicity of all the saints, many were dissatisfied with the way Vatican authorities had handled these matters relating to their faith. Not only the lay people but also representatives of the Eastern Catholic churches criticized the move to reclassify the saints. Such an example suggests that there is common ground between the folk piety of Catholics in a modern Western city and that of Buddhists in a medieval Asian village. My interest lies in this common human experience, understood within its different historical and cultural settings.

The present work consists of two parts: an introductory essay followed by an annotated translation of the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記,[1]

1. *Nihon* (*Nippon*) *reiiki* is the alternative reading. Its full title is *Nihonkoku genpō zen'aku ryōiki* 日本國現報善惡靈異記 (Miraculous Stories of Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil in Japan) [hereafter *Nihon ryōiki*].

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which was compiled in the ninth century in Japan. I chose this collection of legends for several reasons. First, it offers illustrations of religious phenomena whose interpretation is helpful for a better understanding of human experience. Second, the *Nihon ryōiki* is the earliest collection of Buddhist legends in Japan, and its influence on later literature is significant. Third, it is a key document for understanding how Buddhism was accepted by the Japanese in the first few centuries after its introduction. In other words, this document was produced through the interaction of the Buddhist tradition with the Japanese indigenous tradition. And, finally, these legends have a charm of their own; apart from their doctrinal significance, they are both enjoyable and informative.

The *Nihon ryōiki* is a product of the Buddhist tradition as it took root in Japanese soil. The author Kyōkai 景戒[2] was moved to compile these stories both by a sense of awe of the Buddhist *dharma*[3] and by a sense of the wonder of the world. He lived a monastic life at a temple called Yakushi-ji 薬師寺, one of the great state temples in Nara,[4] during a period of political change when the capital was in the process of being moved from Nara to Nagaoka and then to Kyoto. His work served as a source from which his fellow monks might draw "true stories" to illustrate their popular preaching. It has also become the source of later legendary literature in Japan, many of its motifs reappearing in more elaborate and polished forms. It is quoted by historians and folklorists in their attempts to reconstruct the history and popular Buddhism of the Nara period. So far, however, insufficient attention has been given to interpreting the work as an illustration of how people in early Japan oriented themselves in the world. For this reason I have attempted in the introduction to place these tales in their cultural and historical context and have emphasized their cosmic orientation rather than their specific doctrinal significance.

The *Nihon ryōiki* is divided into three *kan* or volumes. Although no complete manuscript of the work has been preserved, several critical editions of the text have been published since the nineteenth century, most of which are based on the first critical text made by Kariya Ekisai 狩谷棭齋 (1775–1835).[5] In the recent work by Takeda Yūkichi

2. Keikai is the alternative reading, according to the *kan'on* or so-called Han pronunciation.

3. Skt., meaning elements of existence, universal law, the teaching of Buddha. Hereafter *dharma* is treated as an English word.

4. Located at present Nishinokyō-machi, Nara-shi 奈良市西京町. See Chap. I(1)c.

5. *Kōhon Nihon ryōiki* 校本日本靈異記 (1816); *Nihon ryōiki kōshō* 日本靈異記攷證 (1821); reprinted in the *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從, XVI, Book 447 (1894); *Kariya Ekisai zenshū*, 2 vols. (1925); *Shinkō gunsho ruijū*, XIX (1932, 1939).

武田祐吉,[6] and in the joint work of Endō Yoshimoto 遠藤嘉基 and Kasuga Kazuo 春日和男,[7] a forward step was made by using a newly discovered Kōfukuji manuscript as the basic text for the first of the three volumes.[8]

The *Nihon ryōiki* was introduced to the West in 1934 through Herman Bohner's elaborate and scholarly German translation,[9] but because of the outbreak of the Second World War, Bohner's work received only limited attention. His translation is faithful to the text of Kariya's critical edition. I have chosen the most recently edited text of Endō and Kasuga, for I find it the most comprehensive and critical.[10] A bibliography of the many excellent works of specialists in textual criticism and philology appears at the end of this work. Without these works I could never have undertaken this translation.

I am responsible for all paragraphing and punctuation since the original text lacks any division beyond that into stories. Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese words are retained in cases where translation might lead to misunderstanding. Chinese characters are generally given after the first transcription of a particular noun, a title of a quoted work, or an important term. English translations of technical terms are explained in the footnotes or identified in Appendix C. Difficulties in determining the actual pronunciation used in the age of the *Nihon ryōiki*[11] have prompted me to follow the readings given by Endō and Kasuga for personal and local names, and the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*[12]

6. *Nihon ryōiki* (*Nihon koten zensho* 日本古典全書, 1950).

7. *Nihon ryōiki* (*NKBT*, 70, 1967).

8. The Kōfukuji manuscript discovered in 1922 has only the first volume, but is the oldest (904) of all the extant manuscripts. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 26.

Vol.	Kariya text	Nos. of tales	Takeda text	Nos. of tales	Endō & Kasuga text	Nos. of tales
I	Kōyasan ms.	31	Kōfukuji ms.	35	Kōfukuji ms.	35
II	Shinobazu-bunko ms.	42	Shinobazu-bunko ms.	42	Shinpuku-ji ms.	42
III	Shinobazu-bunko ms.	39	Shinobazu-bunko ms.	39	Shinpuku-ji ms.	39
	total	112	total	116	total	116

9. "Legenden aus der Frühzeit des Japanischen Buddhismus," 2 vols., *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, XXVII (1934–35).

10. As to the first volume, the choice falls on the Kōfukuji ms. due to the fact it is the oldest and best preserved; while, as to the second and third, the Shinobazu-bunko ms., a critically edited text of the Shinpukuji ms., was adopted by several scholars, and the recent work of Endō and Kasuga is a new attempt to adopt the Shinpukuji ms. as its basis. Endō and Kasuga, who had found the Shinobazu-bunko ms. unsatisfactory, followed the established practice of textual criticism, adopting the manuscript closest to the source.

11. Tsukishima Hiroshi 築島裕, *Heian jidaigo shinron* 平安時代語新論, 404–410.

12. Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, ed. 佛書解說大辭典, 12 vols. (1933).

for titles of Buddhist scriptures. Japanese words are transcribed according to the system adopted in *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*,[13] and Chinese words, according to *Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary*.[14] All historical dates in this work follow the lunar calendar. For full information concerning the works referred to in the notes, see the bibliography.

I hope that this work will serve as a clue to the better understanding of the Japanese tradition which has partly survived even to this day in various spheres of life.

13. *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, ed. by Senkichiro Katsumata (1954).
14. *Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary* (American Revised ed., 1943), ed. by R. H. Mathews.

Acknowledgments

I began my study of the *Nihon ryōiki* when writing a thesis at the University of Tokyo. If my work displays any merits, credit should be given to the professors in the Department of the Study of Religion there, as well as in the Department of the History of Religions at the University of Chicago, where I spent two stimulating years, 1960–1962, under the guidance of Professors Mircea Eliade and Joseph M. Kitagawa.

I am grateful to the Radcliffe Institute for providing a fellowship grant, 1968–1970, and in particular to the late Dean Constance E. Smith for her encouragement in preparing this work for publication. I am greatly indebted to Professor Masatoshi Nagatomi of Harvard University and to Dr. Glen W. Baxter, associate director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, who encouraged me to carry out this project and offered valuable suggestions. My sincere thanks go to Professor Burton Watson of Columbia University who kindly read the entire manuscript and made numerous suggestions and corrections; to Professors Virginia Corwin of Smith College and H. Byron Earhart of Western Michigan University who read portions of my draft to help me improve it. I owe much to Dr. and Mrs. Minor Rogers for their constant help in my struggle to write in English. Also, I should like to express my gratitude to Miss M. Rita Howe, editor at the Harvard University Press, whose patient work greatly improved my manuscript. Without the help of my friends I could not have completed this work.

This work is dedicated to my father, Tetsunosuke Motomochi, who passed away in 1962 before I could return from Chicago.

Tokyo, Japan
Spring 1972

Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura

Contents

Part One Introduction to the *Nihon ryōiki*

Abbreviations 2

Chapter I Background 3
(1) Kyōkai, the Author 3
a. His Life and His Motive
b. Date of Compilation and Authorship
c. Yakushi-ji and the Six Nara Schools
d. State Control of the Samgha and Popular Buddhist Movements
(2) Influence of Earlier Writings 29
a. Doctrine of Karma and Samsara
b. The Influence of Chinese Buddhist Literature
c. Japanese Legendary Literature

Chapter II World View Reflected 45
(1) Cosmic Order 45
a. Rites of Cosmic Renewal
b. Symbolism of the Visit to the Other World
c. Paradise and Hell: Good and Evil
(2) Man and Power 60
a. What Makes Man Human
b. Woman as a Cosmic Symbol
c. Ideal Image of Man
(3) Miraculous World 80
a. Belief in the Spirits of the Dead
b. Wonder of the Three Treasures

Part Two Annotated Translation of the *Nihon ryōiki*

Volume I Contents 95
Preface 99
Tales 1–35 102
Volume II Contents 153
Preface 157
Tales 1–42 158

Contents

Volume III Contents 217
Preface 221
Tales 1–39 223

Appendix A. Chronology 289
B. Imperial Family Lineage 293
C. Translated Ranks and Titles 294
D. Buddhist Scriptures Quoted or Referred to in the *Nihon ryōiki* 295
E. Chronological List of Major Japanese Works of Legendary Literature during the Heian-Kamakura Periods 298
Selected Bibliography 301
Index 319

PART ONE

Introduction to the *Nihon ryōiki*

ABBREVIATIONS

DBZ	*Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
IBK	*Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
NKBT	*Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*
SGR	*Shinkō gunsho ruijū* 新校群書類從
SPTK	*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊
SZKT	*Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂增補國史大系
Taishō	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經
TASJ	*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*
TPJS	*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*
ZGR	*Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續群書類從

Ch.	Chinese
Ja.	Japanese
Skt.	Sanskrit

Chap. I(1)a A cross-reference to Part One, referring to chapter, section, and subsection.

I.1 A cross-reference to Part Two, referring to volume and tale.

CHAPTER I

Background

(1) KYŌKAI, THE AUTHOR

a. *His Life and His Motive*

The *Nihon ryōiki* compiled by Kyōkai, a monk of Yakushi-ji, is the earliest collection of Buddhist legends in Japan. Nothing is known of his life except what is revealed in this single work. Although his biography is found in the *Honchō kōsō-den* 本朝高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks in Japan) compiled by Shiban 師蠻 in 1702, all that is said about him is:

> The birthplace of the monk, Kyōkai, is not known. He lived at Yakushi-ji, and espoused the teaching of the Yuishiki 唯識 School as his doctrinal base. In addition to Buddhist studies he compiled the *Ryōiki*, in the preface of which he says. . . .[1]

As the passage which follows consists of a quotation from the *Nihon ryōiki*, it will be seen that this "biography" fails to reveal even the birth and death dates or the birthplace of the subject. Some scholars assume that he came from Kii 紀伊 province, because that is the location of several legends recorded in his work, those which can be dated approximately within his lifetime and which offer precise local names of the area.[2] Probably we would be safe in surmising that he was from a province in or near Kinai 畿內, where most of the legends originated.[3] His signature, "Kyōkai, a monk[4] of Yakushi-ji on the West Side of Nara," is found at the beginning of each volume and at the end of the third volume. Only the last of these signatures specifies his clerical rank, *Dentō jū-i* 傳燈住位, next to the lowest of the five clerical ranks.[5]

1. Shiban, *Honchō kōsōden*, VI (*DBZ*, 102), 125–126.
2. Hashikawa Tadashi, "*Ryōiki no kenkyū*," *Geibun*, XIII (No. 3, 1922), 194.
3. Takase Shōgon, *Nihonkoku genpō zen'aku ryōiki* (*Kokuyaku issaikyō*, Shiden-bu, XXIV), 19–23. Kinai is the area comprising the five home provinces of the Yamato court; they are Yamato 大和, Settsu 攝津, Kawachi 河內, Izumi 和泉, and Yamashiro 山城.
4. Skt. *śramaṇa*, transliterated as *sha-men* 沙門, 桑門, etc., in Chinese and *shamon* in Japanese, originally means "ascetic, recluse," and is later used in the same sense as *biku* 比丘 (Skt. *bhikṣu*), a (Buddhist) monk. In this work the Japanese terms *shamon*, *sō* 僧 (see below, n. 17), and *biku* are all translated as "monk," since they are used interchangeably in the *Nihon ryōiki*.
5. *Dentō daihōshi-i* 傳燈大法師位 (Rank of the Great Master of Transmission of Light), *Dentō hōshi-i* 傳燈法師位 (Rank of the Master of Transmission of Light), *Dentō man-i* 傳燈滿位 (Senior Rank of Transmission of Light), *Dentō jū-i* 傳燈住位 (Junior Rank of Transmission of Light), and *Dentō nyū-i* 傳燈入位 (Initiatory Rank of Transmission of Light) correspond, respectively, to court ranks from three to seven (see II.35, n. 7). The clerical ranks were instituted in 760, in the reign of Emperor Jun'nin. See *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀, XXIV (Tenpyō hōji 4:7:23).

Shiban must have assumed that because Kyōkai lived at Yakushi-ji, he studied the Yuishiki teachings since Yakushi-ji had been the center of the Yuishiki School.[6] By Kyōkai's lifetime, however, the sectarian administrative structure was still rudimentary. Temples were not yet affiliated with particular sects but were, rather, Buddhist institutes for the study of several different doctrines. On the other hand, Kyōkai might well have witnessed a sectarian consciousness growing among scholar monks at Yakushi-ji in response to the challenge of the new Buddhist teachings introduced by Saichō 最澄 (767–822)[7] and Kūkai 空海 (744–835),[8] who were favored by the court. Kyōkai seems to have been interested in the new teachings as offering a more comprehensive way to happiness (III.38). In any event, he chose not to identify himself with the eminent monks at Nara, who attempted to maintain their leadership by revitalizing the traditional doctrinal learning in the face of these two new schools.

Kyōkai's autobiographical passages, which are found in the latter section of Tale 38 in Volume III, were unavailable to Shiban because the Kōyasan manuscript of the *Nihon ryōiki*, which Shiban used, lacked Tale 38 and eleven other stories. Shiban's knowledge of Kyōkai was limited, therefore, to the few lines quoted above. We may conclude that the only dependable information on Kyōkai's life is to be found in the *Nihon ryōiki*, primarily the autobiographical sections, the three prefaces at the beginning of each volume, and the postscript at the end of Volume III. What do these passages tell us about his life? In the second half of Tale 38, the following dated events are mentioned:

Year	Era	Event
787	Enryaku 6:9:4[9]	He was stricken with remorse in the evening and dreamed at night of a novice monk[10] named Kyō-nichi 鏡日.

6. Skt. *vijñaptimātratā*, "consciousness only," is the tenet of the Yuishiki or Hossō 法相 School which asserts that all phenomena are produced from seeds stored in the *ālayavijñāna*, a sort of "reserve consciousness." The founder of this school in China is Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 (c. 596–664); the Japanese monk Dōshō 道昭(照) (629–700), who studied under Hsüan-tsang in China, is considered the founder in Japan (I.22).

7. Founder of the Tendai 天臺 School, known posthumously as Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師. He was sent by an imperial decree to study at Mt. T'ien t'ai, the headquarters of the T'ien t'ai School in China for one year (804–805).

8. Founder of the Shingon 眞言 School, known posthumously as Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師. He studied in China for two years (804–806) and advocated esoteric Buddhist teachings.

9. The numbers mean 6th year, 9th month, 4th day of the Enryaku era. See Appendix A.

10. *Shami* 沙彌, transliterated from Skt. *śrāmaṇera*, means a monk below the age of ordination who keeps the ten precepts (see Chap. I(1)d, n. 87); the *Nihon ryōiki* also uses the term to mean a monk who leads a householder's life and does not strictly follow the precepts, regardless of age.

788	Enryaku 7:3:17	He dreamed of his own death.
795	Enryaku 14:12:30	He was awarded Junior Rank of Transmission of Light.
797	Enryaku 16:12:17	His son died.
800	Enryaku 19:1:12, 25	His horses died.

One autumn evening in 787 Kyōkai reflected on his poverty-stricken life filled with cravings and burning desires, and lamented his past *karma*.[11] He sighed with remorse, dozed off, and dreamed what he took to be a revelation from the Buddha. In the dream he was called on by a mendicant named Kyōnichi. The mendicant showed him a huge flat board on which were marked the heights of several men, their stature being indicative of their relative merits. According to Kyōkai's interpretation, the mendicant was none other than an embodiment of Kannon 觀音,[12] who had come to teach him that man possesses the Buddha-nature, and that, by adding to it wisdom and practice, he can erase past karma and thereby gain happiness. The mendicant, whose begging was an expression of the great mercy of Kannon, gave him an anthology of Buddhist scriptures in order that he might cultivate wisdom, and then disappeared.

In the following year Kyōkai had a second mysterious dream in which he died and was cremated while his spirit observed the whole procedure as an onlooker. Kyōkai did not interpret this dream, but simply remarked that it might be an omen indicating the attainment of long life or a particular rank since dreams sometimes depict the opposite of what is to follow. We do not know whether he lived a long life, but eventually, in 795, he was honored with the second lowest clerical rank.

From these accounts Kyōkai must have entered the priesthood sometime between 787 and 795, perhaps near the time of his second dream in 788, since several years must have passed in the priesthood before he received even the second lowest rank. That Kyōkai did not give any specific information as to when and how he entered the priesthood is in strange contrast with the exact dates and detailed description given for his dreams and for the death of his son and of the

11. Skt. meaning deeds: it is a common Hindu-Buddhist belief that each individual existence is conditioned by past deeds and that every action must bear fruit for the doer. See Chap. I(2)a. Hereafter *karma* is treated as an English word.

12. Or Kanzeon 觀世音 (Ch. Kuan-yin or Kuan-shih-yin), the equivalent of Skt. Avalokitasvara, which means "the one who hears the sounds of the world"; another name, Kanjizai 觀自在 (Ch. Kuan-tzu-tsai) is equivalent to Avalokiteśvara, which means "the onlooking lord," or "the lord who is manifested." Hindu and Iranian influences are evident in the development of the cult of Kannon, who appears in many Mahayana scriptures as a *bodhisattva* (hereafter this will be treated as an English word) of great mercy, and who has been continuously popular among Mahayana Buddhists. See Chap. II(3)b.

horses. However, since Tale 38 of Volume III was given the heading "On the Appearance of Evil and Good Omens Which Were Later Followed by Their Results," and as it is likely that this section was written not as autobiography but to illustrate the interrelationship between Heaven and human beings, he may have deliberately omitted details irrelevant to the theme.

Since our sources are limited, these two dreams must serve as the primary clues to Kyōkai's decision to pursue the spiritual life. The first dream seems to have roused him from the "web of delusion" by widening his vision from a self-centered love to a universal love for all sentient beings. As a result of what Kannon revealed to him, he came to understand the working of the principle of karma. It is possible that he remained silent about the second dream, refraining from interpreting it in Buddhist terms, because it expressed symbols not uniquely Buddhist but universal in character. In many religious traditions the reduction of the body to bones symbolizes the death and rebirth of man, that is, the total transformation and mystical rebirth of a new man. By being reduced to bones, man can be liberated from the human condition. In the Buddhist tradition, the symbol of death, rebirth, and initiation are prominent: "Buddha taught the way and the means of dying to the human condition, to bondage and suffering, in order to be reborn to the freedom, the bliss, and the unconditionality of *nirvāṇa*."[13]

In 787, the year of his first dream, Kyōkai was still a layman, but he must have been familiar with the *Shokyō yōshū* 諸經要集 (Essentials of All Sūtras),[14] which was given to him in his dream by the mendicant Kyōnichi. This means that his spiritual pilgrimage must have begun earlier.[15] We have assumed that he entered the priesthood in the following year, soon after the second dream, and it seems that entering the priesthood represented a way for him to seek a happier life by gaining knowledge of the law of causation.

"Aspire to wisdom, and guide all sentient beings" is an important Mahayana Buddhist maxim which Kyōkai espoused. It was believed

13. Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Feedom*, 166. In his *Birth and Rebirth* (p. 105), he says, "In another Tantric meditation, the novice imagines that he is being stripped of his flesh and finally sees himself as a 'huge, white, shining skeleton.'" Hereafter *nirvāṇa* will be treated as an English word.

14. Tao-shih 道世, *Chu-ching yao-chi* (*Taishō*, LIV, No. 2123), 81–194.

15. Kurano Kenji, "*Nihon ryōiki* kō," *Bungaku* II (No. 12, 1934), 751–766; reprinted in the *Koten to jōdai seishin*. He asserts that the *Nihon ryōiki* was compiled by Kyōkai in 787, and that sections dated later than this were added by others. Although the text as we have it now was most likely compiled during the Kōnin era (810–824), it is agreed that 787 was an epoch-making year in Kyōkai's life, and it might indicate the beginning of the compilation of the *Nihon ryōiki*.

that enlightenment could be attained by devotion to Buddha and mercy for all fellow beings. Thus, he brought together the tales of the *Nihon ryōiki* as a step toward such enlightenment:

> By editing these stories of miraculous events I want to pull people forward by the ears, offer my hand to lead them to good, and show them how to cleanse their feet of evil. My sincere hope is that we may all be reborn in the western land of bliss, leaving no one on the earth, and live together in the jeweled palace in heaven, abandoning our earthly residence [III.Preface].

Although Kyōkai belonged to Yakushi-ji, one of the greatest centers of Buddhist studies, and was honored with clerical rank, he was conscious of a gap between scholarly monks and common devotees with whom he often identified himself. He showed great sympathy for lay devotees whose simple, direct faith he admired, and he was determined to "guide all sentient beings" to the western land of bliss[16] in spite of his own limitations.

By the time Kyōkai came to live at Yakushi-ji, state control of the Buddhist *saṃgha*[17] had gradually been strengthened. Emperor Kōnin (r. 770–781) exiled Dōkyō 道鏡, who had been appointed *Dharma* King 法王[18] by Empress Shōtoku[19] in 766 and who almost usurped the throne after the empress died (III.38). Emperor Kanmu, who had succeeded Emperor Kōnin, transferred the capital from Nara to Kyoto in order to sever traditional ties between the court and the temples in Nara. During the twenty-five years of his reign he issued more than fifty decrees concerning Buddhist temples and monks, a number unparalleled in Japanese history. More than thirty of these decrees were apparently intended to correct the evils and injustices found in the samgha. One decree issued in 798 states that there were many temples

16. Skt. *sukhāvatī* translated as *gokuraku* 極樂, *jōdo* 淨土, *anrakukoku* 安樂國, etc.; Amida's pure land in the west where devotees are reborn after death and live happily free from any desires. For the details of this land of bliss, see the *Larger and Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha, Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts* (*SBE*, XLIX). Also see A.K. Reischauer, "Genshin's Ojo Yoshu: Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise," *TASJ*, Second Series, III (December 1930), 68–94. For Amida, see Chap. II(3)b, n. 132.

17. Transliterated as 僧伽, which is shortened into 僧; originally the community of Buddhist monks and nuns united by wisdom and practice for the purpose of reaching Buddhahood. It has both historical and transcendental aspects as one of the Three Treasures (Skt. *triratna*). In the Mahayana tradition it includes not only monks and nuns but also lay brothers and sisters. Hereafter *saṃgha* will be treated as an English word.

18. Skt. *dharmarāja*, originally an honorific title for the Buddha; in Japan *hōō* is used only for Prince Shōtoku (574–622) and Dōkyō. See *Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu* 上宮聖德法王帝說 (*DBZ*, 112), 43–48; *Shoku Nihongi*, XXVII (Tenpyō jingo 2:10:20). Hereafter *dharma* will be treated as an English word, both as a title and a term.

19. Empress Kōken (r. 749–757) resumed the throne as Empress Shōtoku (r. 764–770) after banishing Emperor Jun'nin. Cf. Nakagawa Osamu, "Shōtoku-Dōkyō seiken no keisei katei," *Nihon rekishi*, No. 196 (1964), 41–55.

in the former capital of Heijō (Nara) where monks and nuns did not keep the Buddhist precepts.[20] Another decree issued in 804 notes that many monks in all provinces had failed to keep the precepts, and that some had maintained their family life after they were appointed to the high Buddhist position of lecturer.[21]

When we read the passage on the death of Kyōkai's son, one decree seems particularly relevant: "From now on all monks who have sons shall return to lay status so that they may set an example to future generations."[22] It was issued to correct the evils of the loose monastic life and to avoid giving special favors to the sons of high-ranking monks. Two years later a monk named Kyōkoku (Keikoku) 景國 of Yakushi-ji sought to conform to the spirit of this decree, and he petitioned to be allowed to return to lay status on the grounds that he was innately dull and incapable of studying.[23] Perhaps Kyōkai knew of Kyōkoku's petition and departure since they had lived at the same temple about the same time. How did Kyōkai feel about himself, a monk of a clerical rank, who was not separated completely from his family? He might well have wanted to clarify his motivation for joining the samgha and to maintain his clerical position free from family ties. The brief glimpses of his life end with the note that his horses died in 800, and we recall an article of the *Sōni-ryō* 僧尼令 (Ordinances concerning Monks and Nuns) which states that monks and nuns shall not receive any slaves,[24] horses, oxen, or weapons as offerings.[25] It is difficult to know how conscious he was of these laws and how desirous of living up to them, but there is evidence in the *Nihon ryōiki* that he intended to make his renunciation complete and to clarify his status as a member of the samgha. The detailed description of his dreams suggests that he was led to renounce lay status by the revelation of the great mercy of Buddha.

The *Nihon ryōiki* gives no information on his latter years, but he

20. *Ruijū kokushi* 類從國史, 186 (Enryaku 17:7:28).

21. *Ibid.*, 186 (Enryaku 23:1:11). The position of lecturer, *kōji* 講師, was instituted in 795, replacing that of provincial preceptor, *kokushi* 國師, a mature and venerable monk who expounded dharma and who was in charge of discipline for monks and nuns; also a learned monk who was appointed to lecture at court ceremonies. See *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 類從三代格, III (Enryaku 14:8:13, 24:12:25).

22. *Ruijū sandaikyaku*, XIX (Enryaku 17:9:17).

23. *Ruijū kokushi*, 187 (Enryaku 19:8:15).

24. *Nuhi* 奴婢; one category of the unfree people, mostly manual workers or farm laborers, prescribed in the *Yōrō-ryō* 養老令 as hereditary status with no property rights but protected by law against injury (*Yōrō-ryō*, "Ko-ryō," Article 35). See Yoshida Akira, *Nihon kodai shakai kōsei shiron*, 297–364.

25. *Ryō no gige* 令義解, "Sōni-ryō," Article 26. See Chap. I(1)c; G.B. Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," Part Two, *TASJ*, Second Series, XI (December 1934), 117–147.

must have lived until the reign of Emperor Saga (r. 809–823), at which time the narrative of the *Nihon ryōiki* ends.

b. *Date of Compilation and Authorship*

No single extant manuscript of the *Nihon ryōiki* contains the complete text of all three volumes. There are four manuscripts; the Kōfukuji manuscript of the first volume,[26] the Shinpukuji manuscript of the second and third volumes,[27] the Maeda (-ke) manuscript of the third volume,[28] and the Kōya manuscript of the three incomplete volumes.[29] They seem to have been transmitted independently of each other, and most of them appear to have been edited from different manuscripts.[30]

The most controversial passage in the *Nihon ryōiki* is the first part of the preface to the third volume, which is known as "Maeda (-ke) -bon itsubun" 前田(家)本逸文 (Unknown Passage of the Maeda Manuscript). It gives an exact date for the compilation of the *Nihon ryōiki* in the course of outlining a Buddhist eschatological view of history.

> The Inner Scriptures show how good and evil deeds are repaid, while the Outer Writings show how good and bad fortunes bring merit and demerit. If we study all the discourses Śākyamuni made during his lifetime, we learn that there are three periods: first, the period of the true dharma (*shōbō* 正法), which lasts five hundred years; second, the period of the counterfeit dharma (*zōbō* 像法), lasting a thousand years; and third, the period of the degenerate dharma (*mappō* 末法), which continues for ten thousand years. By the fourth year of the hare, the sixth year of the Enryaku era, seventeen hundred and twenty-two years have passed since Buddha entered nirvana. Accordingly, we live in the age of the degenerate dharma following the first two periods. Now in Japan, by the sixth year of the Enryaku era, two hundred and thirty-six years have elapsed since the arrival of the Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha.

26. Ōya Tokujō, ed., *Kōfukuji Nihon ryōiki* (1934): oldest and most accurate of all the manuscripts, which can be dated in 904, although it was recopied later.

27. Koizumi Michi, ed. and annot., *Kōchū Shinpukuji-bon Nihon ryōiki, Kuntengo to kunten shiryō*, suppl. No. 22 (June 1962): dated in the Kamakura period (1192–1333) and less corrupt than the Maeda and Kōya mss., although some errors crept in since it was copied more than three times.

28. A photostatic copy of the Maeda ms. was published in the *Sonkyōkaku sōkan* 尊經閣叢刊 (No. 19, 1931). The manuscript is dated 1236, and was discovered in 1883. The first section of the preface to the third volume is found only in this manuscript.

29. Also known as Sanmaiin 三昧院 ms., dated 1214. Although it has three volumes, it is incomplete and corrupt; it was lost in the 1930's or 1940's. See Nagai Yoshinori *Nihon Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū*, 139–146.

30. Koizumi Michi, *Nihon ryōiki* (*NKBT*, 70), 8–21.

This passage offers a basis for the theory that Kyōkai wrote this preface and compiled the *Nihon ryōiki* during the Enryaku era (782–805), probably in the sixth year (787); accordingly, the stories dated later must be interpolations by others.[31] Scholars who assert that Kyōkai's compilation took place during the Kōnin era (810–824) regard the "Unknown Passage of the Maeda Manuscript" as an interpolation made by Kyōkai himself or a later forgery.[32] Therefore, the theories for the date of compilation and the authorship of the "Unknown Passage" are intricately entangled, and neither has been documented convincingly. If we assume that the passage was written by Kyōkai himself in the sixth year of the Enryaku era, this becomes the first reference to Buddhist eschatological ideas in Japan.

That the text of the *Nihon ryōiki* suffers from poor editing is shown by the confused plots in some tales (II.16, 25, 42), the combination of two independent tales into one (I.4; III.1), the irrelevance of the editor's note to the story (I.4), and the inappropriateness of the quotations from the scriptures (II.13, 22). If, indeed, it was written by Kyōkai himself, it represents the accumulation of more than thirty years' effort, but it lacks unity. Some scholars point out that the term "mappō," meaning degenerate dharma,[33] is found in only one passage of the Maeda manuscript and does not occur in the rest of the work. Therefore, they conclude that *mappō* consciousness was alien to Kyōkai, and that the "Unknown Passage" is a later interpolation. It is further argued that *mappō* consciousness became prominent only toward the end of the Heian period, while the *Nihon ryōiki* was compiled at the beginning of this period. These arguments do not, however, rule out the possibility that Kyōkai wrote the controversial preface or that the passage reflects his knowledge of the concept of *mappō*.

The argument that *mappō* consciousness was alien to Kyōkai is called into question by evidence presented in the *Myōhōki* 冥報記.[34] This text, which influenced Kyōkai, does not use the term *mappō*, in spite of the author's obvious respect for Hsin-hsing 信行 (540–594), who

31. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 15.

32. The theory of a later forgery originated with Itabashi Tomoyuki, "*Nihon ryōiki* no senjutsu nenji ni tsuite," *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, VII (No. 2, 1930), 132–142; "*Ryōiki* Enryaku yonen izen gensensetsu ni tsuite," *Bungaku*, III (No. 6, 1935), 757–764. The theory that the interpolation was made by Kyōkai himself is advocated by Sakaguchi Genshō, *Nihon Bukkyō bungaku josetsu*, 95–103.

33. In English, it is usually known as "the decline," "the end," or "the latter period of the law."

34. T'ang-lin 唐臨, *Ming-pao chi* (Records of Invisible Work of Karmic Retribution; *Taishō*, LI, No. 2082), 787b–802a. It begins with the story of Hsin-hsing (788a–c), which is followed by that of his disciple, Hui-ju 慧如 (788c).

founded the Sect of the Three Stages.[35] Hsin-hsing stressed the teaching of the three stages of dharma and preached a Buddhist eschatological message to the common people. There is also ample evidence against the general argument that *mappō* consciousness became prominent only in late Heian times. Clearly, a Buddhist eschatology was known to many monks in both the Nara and Heian periods, even though it did not become a social force until the late Heian period. Kyōkai, being a monk, would surely have known of it.

In the "Unknown Passage," the author specifies five hundred years of true dharma and one thousand years of counterfeit dharma. He miscalculates when he says that seventeen hundred and twenty-two years have passed since the date of Buddha's nirvana which was widely thought to be 949 B.C. in the Chinese tradition,[36] since the sixth year of the Enryaku era, 789, falls on the seventeen hundred and thirty-sixth year. On the other hand, as he says that two hundred and thirty years have passed since the arrival of Buddhism in Japan, it becomes evident that he adopted 552 A.D. as the date of the introduction of Buddhism, for which the only source is the *Nihon shoki*.[37] Historians have speculated why the writer of this section of the *Nihon shoki*, probably Dōji 道慈,[38] chose 552 instead of 538, the latter date being generally accepted in the older traditions.[39] Some concluded that 552 was chosen because it was the first year of the age of degenerate dharma, assuming that Dōji adopted 949 B.C. as the date of Śākyamuni's nirvana and used the same time spans for the two periods, as did the author of the "Unknown Passage."

But, why was the first year of degenerate dharma chosen as the beginning of Buddhist history in Japan? According to Tamura Enchō, Dōji wanted to demonstrate the strength of Japanese Buddhism in overcoming the age of degenerate dharma, and to contrast it with Chinese Buddhism, which was showing signs of serious deterioration.[40] However, such an interpretation of Dōji's motivation is questionable when we consider his treatise "Gushi" 愚志 (A Fool's Idea), in which he deplored the condition of Buddhism in Japan as

35. Cf. Yabuki Keiki, *Sangaikyō no kenkyū*.

36. Concerning the date of Śākyamuni's nirvana there are two theories in the Chinese tradition: the *Chou i shu* 周異書 gives 949 B.C., while the *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歴代三寶記 gives 609 B.C.

37. *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, XIX (Kinmei 13:10) gives 552 as the year of the formal introduction of Buddhism, but contemporary scholars agree on the earlier date of 538. See W. G. Aston, "Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan," *TPJS*, suppl. I (1896), II, 65–67.

38. Inoue Kaoru, *Nihon kodai no seiji to shūkyō*, 189–258.

39. See "Gangōji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō," *Nara ibun*, ed. by Takeuchi Rizō, I, 383, *Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu* (*DBZ*, 112), 47.

40. Tamura, *Asuka Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 166–177.

he found it when he returned from China after seventeen years of study.[41] In the *Shoku Nihongi*, there are passages indicating that the Tenpyō era was regarded as the age of counterfeit dharma, the second of the three ages,[42] and Dōji might have been hoping for the restoration of dharma when he set the date of Buddhism's introduction to Japan in the first year of the third age, that of degenerate dharma. Kyōkai might have shared the view held by Dōji, who was known for his anti-Confucianism.[43] He had witnessed the effects of anti-Buddhist propaganda spread by Chinese Confucian scholars during his stay in China, but it had only deepened his great respect for the scholarship and discipline of Chinese Buddhists. He must have hoped that Japan as a country would achieve the Buddhist ideal.

In India, sectarian struggles and violations of precepts led to serious self-examination within the samgha. The theory of the three stages of dharma was formulated as a warning to monks against the danger of violating the precepts, which was believed to cause the destruction of dharma. In China, persecution of the Buddhists led to a similar process of self-examination.[44] Thus, a more deterministic view of history arose, which was gradually combined with the theory of the three stages of dharma. This is why the time spans allotted to each period vary in the different scriptures. They may be summarized as:

Theory	True dharma (years)	Counterfeit dharma (years)
A	500	1,000
B	500	500
C	1,000	1,000
D	1,000	500

Among the four theories, A and C were popular in China.[45]

These ideas were transmitted to Japan in the scriptures and through the accounts of student monks who studied in China. The *Daihōdō daijik-kyō* 大方等大集經,[46] one of the scriptures from which the author

41. The work is no longer extant, but an outline of it is given in the *Shoku Nihongi*, XV (Tenpyō 16:10:2).

42. *Ibid.*, XV (Tenpyō 15:1:13): "The age of counterfeit dharma is revived . . . "; XXIII (Tenpyō hōji 4:7:22) "Now the age of counterfeit dharma is coming to the end . . . ."

43. Inoue Kaoru, *Nihon kodai*, 205–208.

44. Major persecutions took place in 444–446 (in the reign of Emperor Wu of Northern Wei), and 574 (Emperor Wu of Northern Chou), while minor ones occurred in 626 and 713. See Nomura Yōshō, *Shūbu hōnan no kenkyū*.

45. In China, theory A was adopted by Hui-yüan 慧遠 (334–416), Tao-ch'o 道綽 (526–645), K'uei-chi 窺基 (632–682), and others. Theory C was adopted by Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596–667). See Takao Giken, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shiron*, 54–96.

46. *Mahāvaipulyamahāsaṃnipātasūtra* (*Taishō*, XIII, No. 397), 1–408.

of the *Nihon ryōiki* may have derived the Buddhist eschatological concept, focuses on the age of degenerate dharma when monks fail to live up to the precepts and laymen lose faith, but at the same time stresses the eternal presence of true dharma which can be maintained with the help of *dhāranī*.[47] According to the *Daihōdō daijik-kyō*, Buddha preached on the subject of the five periods, each lasting five hundred years: the first is the period of enlightenment; the second, that of meditation; the third, that of reciting and hearing scriptures; the fourth, that of building temples and pagodas; the fifth, that of disputes and the disappearance of dharma.[48] This periodization parallels theory C, which allots one thousand years to both the age of true dharma and the age of counterfeit dharma. There is a possibility that Dōji accepted this theory of five periods, along with theory C. If so, then 552 A.D. would mark the beginning of the fourth period, which fits well with the historical situation of the Nara period. Chikō 智光 (II. 7) and Zenshu 善珠 (III. 35, 38), two eminent monks whose lives are recorded in the *Nihon ryōiki*, adopted theory A, although neither wrote explicitly on the age of degenerate dharma. Saichō was the the first Japanese monk to discuss the eschatological idea explicitly in terms of its relation to human existence.[49]

When Kyōkai, their contemporary, read the scriptures predicting the coming age of decadence of dharma, he understood it in the Japanese historical context of his time and must have felt a desire for salvation, which he states clearly in the prefaces and autobiographical sections. Throughout the Nara period there were power struggles, intrigues, and murders around the throne. The imperial patronage of Buddhism encouraged corruption among monks and embroiled them in politics, as in the case of Dōkyō. Flagrant violation of the precepts led to the promulgation of many decrees to bring about order. Since the *Nihon ryōiki* is full of the stories of men killing, stealing, and cheating, it is evident that Kyōkai recognized the decadence of his times. Such recognition did not, however, necessarily mean that he believed in the Buddhist eschatological theory. The sinfulness of human nature appeared to conflict with his fundamentally optimistic world view. At the end of his work he says:

47. 陀羅尼, mystic syllables which sustain the faith of their reciters; later this power expanded and was regarded as a talisman instrumental in achieving desires, a charm to bring about miracles, a means to attain Buddhahood; it was analogous to *mantra* 眞言. See L. A. Waddell, "The *Dhāraṇī* Cult in Buddhism," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, I (No. 2, 1912), 155–195; M. Eliade, *Yoga*, 212–216; Toganoo Shōun, *Mandara no kenkyū*, 429–468. Hereafter *dhāraṇī* will appear in its English form.

48. *Daihōdō daijik-kyō* (*Taishō*, XIII), 363. Cf. Kazue Kyōichi, *Nihon no mappō shisō*, 17.

49. Tamura, *Nihon Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū*, 277–308.

> By conferring the merits obtained in writing this work on all beings who are going astray, I pray to be born in the western land of bliss with them all [III.Postscript].

He believed that man would be saved if he repented of his past and aspired to Buddhahood, and he compiled the *Nihon ryōiki* to accumulate merits in the hope that he and his fellowmen might be saved from evil and misfortune.[50] In another passage he says:

> Kyōkai, however, has not studied the *yin-yang tao* 陰陽道 of Huang Ti 黄帝, nor understood the profound truth of the Tendai Sage 天台智者, and he is stricken with disaster without knowing how to evade it, worrying and grieving without looking for the way to do away with disaster [III.38].

For Kyōkai, the sophisticated Buddhist doctrines of the Tendai Sage,[51] as well as the Chinese cosmological theories[52] lead to the secret of the cosmic law. He was convinced that the good way of life could be taught to all. In this respect he differed from those monks who became prominent toward the end of the Heian period, for they professed faith in the pure land and affirmed that man is too sinful to attain any merits on his own.

We can conclude, tentatively, that the *Nihon ryōiki*, including the "Unknown Passage," is the work of Kyōkai and that it was compiled over many years but was left incompletely edited. Kyōkai seems to have accepted Buddhist eschatological ideas and the notion of the decadent age, but these concepts did not change his basic world view. The inconsistencies that resulted do not prevent us from concluding that Kyōkai is responsible for the *Nihon ryōiki*, for he seems to have been an ordinary monk, little interested in doctrinal studies and the writing of a systematic work. His aim, rather, was to guide people to salvation by transferring the merit gained in the compilation of a collection of Buddhist legends. He intended to show how dharma was at work in the history of the whole Japanese people, whether or not they knew of the teachings of Śākyamuni, and to demonstrate that dharma is neither Indian nor Chinese, but universal.

50. The Buddhist idea of karma cannot be understood apart from the belief that Śākyamuni attained enlightenment after long, unflinching efforts, through a series of many births, toward the maturing of good stock (Skt. *kuśalamūla* 善根) and accumulation of merits (Skt. *puṇyaskandha* 功德).

51. Refers to Chih-i 智顗 (538–597), founder of the T'ien t'ai School in China, who formulated the T'ien t'ai doctrines. Cf. Leon Hurvitz, "Chih-i," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, XII (1962), 1–372.

52. A cosmology which presupposes that all phenomena result from the interplay of male and female principles; it was customarily regarded as the creation of the mythical Huang Ti 黄帝 (traditional dates 2998–2598 B.C.), often called the Yellow Emperor, who was believed to be the founder of the Chinese Empire and to symbolize the ancient golden rule. Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, II, Chap. 2. See III.38, n. 50.

c. *Yakushi-ji and the Six Nara Schools*

Kyōkai compiled the *Nihon ryōiki* in the precincts of Yakushi-ji, which was originally built in the central part of the capital known as Fujiwara-kyō 藤原京.[53] Yakushi-ji was one of the four great temples in the capital, together with Asuka-no-tera 飛鳥寺 (Hōkō-ji 法興寺), Ōtsukasa-no-ōtera 大官大寺 (Takechi-no-ōtera 高市大寺), and Kawara-no-tera 川原寺 (Gufuku-ji 弘福寺). In 680 Emperor Tenmu made a vow to build Yakushi-ji as a meritorious act of petition for the recovery of his consort's health,[54] but he died before making much progress. His consort, who succeeded him as Empress Jitō, continued the construction, and it was almost completed by 698, during the reign of Emperor Monmu, her grandson.[55] After the transfer of the capital to Nara, Yakushi-ji was removed to its present site in 718, the original temple becoming known as Moto-yakushi-ji.

During the first stage of Buddhism in Japan, most temples were built by influential families; after the acceptance of Buddhism at court, emperors built temples which functioned both as private temples for the imperial family and as official temples for the state cult. In the capital of Fujiwara the four great temples were designated as state temples by Emperor Tenmu and given financial support.[56] The capital of Nara was built on a larger scale, with state temples being added one after another.[57] The erection of Tōdai-ji with its colossal Buddha statue marks the high point of the Nara period (710–774). It was built as the headquarters for all provincial temples, and, at the dedication ceremony of the Great Lochana Buddha,[58] ex-Emperor Shōmu declared himself to be the "slave of the Three Treasures."[59]

53. The original temple was located at present Kidono-machi, Kashihara-shi, Nara-ken 奈良縣橿原市木殿町. Fujiwara-kyō was the first permanent capital situated in the Yamato plain, although it was short-lived (694–710).

54. *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 9:11:12): "The empress was unwell. Having made a vow on her behalf, the emperor began the construction of Yakushi-ji and made one hundred persons enter the priesthood. In consequence of this she recovered." See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 348.

55. *Shoku Nihongi*, I (Monmu 2:10:4): "The construction of Yakushi-ji being nearly completed, an imperial command was given to the monks to occupy their quarters." See J. R. Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi," *TASJ*, Second Series, XI (December 1934), 176.

56. *Nihon shoki*, XXXIX (Tenmu 9:4). See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 356.

57. Possible dates for the transfer and erection of new temples are:

710 Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 (former Yamashina-no-tera 山階寺) and Daian-ji 大安寺 (former Ōtsukasa-no-ōtera) transferred.

718 Yakushi-ji and Gangō-ji (former Asuka-no-tera) transferred.

749 Tōdai-ji 東大寺 erected.

759 Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 erected.

765 Saidai-ji 西大寺 erected.

58. Vairocana Buddha of the *Kegon-gyō* 華嚴經 (*Avataṃsakasūtra*) and *Bonmō-kyō* 梵網經 (*Brahmajālasūtra*), a cosmic Buddha symbolizing the oneness of the universe.

59. *Shoku Nihongi*, XVII (Tenpyō shōhō 1:4:1): "This is the word of the sovereign who is the slave (*yakko* 奴, same as *nuhi*) of the Three Treasures. . . ."

One indication of the wide acceptance of Buddhism among the common people is the fact that more than thirty stories out of a hundred and sixteen in the *Nihon ryōiki* originated in his reign. By that time about four hundred temples had been built throughout the country, almost ten thousand scriptures had been brought from the continent and copied, and about fifteen hundred monks and nuns had been officially recognized.[60]

Buddhism was transmitted to Japan mainly from Korea, and Korean monks and immigrants played a significant role in its acceptance.[61] During the century following its introduction, the need for direct contact with China was felt, and many student monks were sent to China to pursue the study of Buddhism there. One of their missions was to bring back as many scriptures as possible to build up Buddhist libraries in Japan. Soon after Buddhist scriptures were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, they found their way to Japan, stimulating the rise and development of Buddhist study groups, which eventually became Buddhist schools during the Nara period.

The first reference to Buddhist schools is found in a decree issued in 718 by the chancellor (*daijōkan* 太政官), which mentions that "the studies of the five schools and the teachings of the Three Baskets (Skt. *tripiṭaka*) differ in theory and argument. . . ."[62] The Six Nara Schools[63] came into existence between 747 and 751, and they were well represented at Tōdai-ji; there each had its own facilities including a library, an altar, and an office, and each had its own officials who administered funds.[64] The situation seems to have been different at older temples, but unfortunately their history is so poorly documented that it has been little studied by scholars. Only recently has the existence of the pre-Nara tradition transmitted in those temples been discussed and assessed.

The *Nihon ryōiki* contains some passages relevant to this problem. There are three stories about the funds of the Sutara-shū 修多羅宗(衆), a school or seminar which existed at Daian-ji from the late Nara

60. Ishida Mosaku, *Nara jidai bunka zakkō*, 2.

61. The *Nihon ryōiki* gives records of Korean monks such as Kanroku 勸勒 (I.5), Ensei 圓勢 (I.4), Gigaku 義覺 (I.14), Ta(ra)jō 多(羅)常 (I.26), and of monks of immigrant families such as Soga 蘇我 and Kuratsukuri 鞍作 (I.5). The *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏錄 (Newly Selected Records of Family Names and Titles) compiled in 814–815 gives the proportion of immigrant families as 326 to 1,059, or about 30 percent of the registered families.

62. *Shoku Nihongi*, VIII (Yōrō 2:10:10).

63. They are Kusha 倶舍, Sanron 三論, Jōjitsu 成實, Hossō 法相, Ritsu 律, and Kegon 華嚴. Cf. J. Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*.

64. See Ishida, *Nara jidai*, 136–149; Inoue Mitsusada, "Nanto rokushū no seiritsu," *Nihon rekishi*, No. 156 (1961), 2–14.

period to the early Heian period (II.24, 28; III.3).[65] It seems that each seminar had its officials: senior dean (*daigakutō* 大學頭), junior dean (*shōgakutō* 小學頭), and provost (*ina* 維那). In addition to the Sutara School, the Ritsu, Sanron, Betsu-sanron, and Shōron 攝論 Schools were represented at Daian-ji.[66] At Gangō-ji there were three seminars: Sanron, Jōjitsu, and Shōron, the history of which can be traced back to Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614–669)[67] who donated building funds.[68] At Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 there were four seminars: Sanron, Betsu-sanron, Hossō, and Ritsu.[69] No record exists concerning Yakushi-ji.

It is evident from this material that at large temples there were several distinct seminars, called *shū*,[70] devoted to the study of particular scriptures. The names of at least nine such seminars which once existed in several temples are known to us,[71] and the great state temples, where various seminars were represented, thus served as institutes for Buddhist studies. These seminars, each of which centered about the study of a scripture, existed in the eighth century. They were gradually reorganized and eventually institutionalized as six officially recognized schools. The *Nihon ryōiki* employs the phrase, "deans of the Six Schools" (II.28), and we may conclude that the idea of the Six Nara Schools had become widespread by the beginning of the Heian period, which coincided with Kyōkai's lifetime. This was

65. Tamura, *Asuka Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 113–133. As there had been no such school in either China or Korea and no document reveals its nature in Japanese history, there is ample room for arguments and theories as to its identity. Tamura asserts that it is a school established by Dōji for the study of the *Dai hannya-kyō* 大般若經, while others identify it with one of the Six Nara Schools. Inoue Mitsusada ("Nanto rokushū," 11–12) equates it with Jōjitsu; Ishida Mosaku, with Hossō (*Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bykkyō no kenkyū*, 67).

66. "Daian-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō," *Nara ibun*, ed. by Takeuchi, I, 299. Two Sanron Schools were found at Hōryū-ji and Kōfuku-ji as well as Daian-ji. According to Inoue, one is the school of Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549–623), and the other is that of the followers of Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya) 清辯 (490–560/570), whose works were transmitted to China by Hsüan-tsang ("Nanto rokushū," 8–10). Shōron is a shortened title of Asaṇga's *Mahāyānaparisaṃgraha*, *Shōdaijōron* 攝大乘論, a major text for the Yuishiki School till the seventh century; hence the name of a school devoted to its study (*Taishō*, XXXI, No. 1592, 97–112b; No. 1593, 112b–132c; No. 1594, 132c–152a).

67. Also known as Nakatomi no Kamako no muraji 中臣鎌子連 who helped Prince Naka no Ōe 中大兄皇子 overthrow the Soga family and carry out the Taika Reform.

68. "Gangōji garan engi," *Nara ibun*, I, 390; "Kaden," *ibid.*, II, 880.

69. "Hōryū-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō," *ibid.*, I, 347. The founding of Hōryū-ji is ascribed to Prince Shōtoku who lived close to its precincts at Ikaruga (I.5); the original temple building was destroyed by fire in 670 (*Nihon shoki*, XXVII, Tenchi 9:4:30). See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 293; also, J. H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism*, 312–315.

70. As to the use of two characters 衆 and 宗 for *shū*, Ishida thinks that the former character stands for seminar groups; the latter, for organizations made up of the seminars devoted to the study of the same scriptures at several temples. The two are structurally different (*Nara jidai*, 105). Inoue, however, says that the former character is not found after 747 and that the latter character replaces it in later documents. Considering other factors as well, he concludes that the latter means an officially recognized school of Buddhism ("Nanto rokushū," 3, 11).

71. Inoue, "Nanto rokushū," 13.

brought about partly by the natural development of Buddhist studies, and partly by the government's eagerness to standardize and promote such studies.

d. *State Control of the Samgha and Popular Buddhist Movements*

As soon as Buddhism spread beyond India, where the samgha enjoyed an authority independent of the state, the problem of the relationship between samgha and state was raised. In China a central supervisory system was instituted during the fourth century, but not much is known about it. Generally speaking, state control was stronger in the north than in the south. Under the northern dynasties samgha officials independently administered the affairs of its members, but secular officials were appointed to oversee samgha properties. Under the southern dynasties, however, no secular officials were appointed as samgha officials.[72] The Sui dynasty (581–618), which united northern and southern China, followed the legal system of the northern dynasties, and secular officials were appointed to oversee samgha officials. The T'ang dynasty (618–907) adopted a similar system, and the autonomy of the samgha was weakened.

In Japan the relationship between samgha and state was regulated by the institution of the *Sōgō-sei* 僧綱制, a supervisory system for monks and nuns, and its legal code laid down in the *Sōni-ryō* 僧尼令, a collection of ordinances concerning monks and nuns. The former was established in 624, when Empress Suiko made appointments of *sōjō* 僧正 (Ch. *seng-cheng*), *sōzu* 僧都 (Ch. *seng-tu*), and *hōzu* or *hōtō* 法頭 for the control of monks and nuns.[73] These titles reflect the influence of the southern Chinese tradition. The *sōgō*, samgha supervisors, were charged with the discipline and punishment of monks and nuns. A story in the *Nihon ryōiki* tells how a Korean monk, Kanroku (Kwalleuk), stressing the importance of the autonomy of the samgha, ap-

72. See Yamazaki Hiroshi, *Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai*, Part II. In Liu Sung (420–479) and Ch'i (479–502) times, the chief executive was called *seng-chu* 僧主; under the Liang (502–557) and Ch'en (557–589), he was called *seng-cheng* 僧正. Assistant executives were termed *seng-tu* 僧都 or *wei-no* 維那. Inoue Mitsusada believes that the Japanese system was more influenced by the southern tradition than by the northern tradition or the later Sui and T'ang systems. See his *Nihon kodai kokka no kenkyū*, 324–327.

73. According to the *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 32:4:3): "There was a Buddhist monk who took an axe and struck his grandfather with it. Having heard of this, the empress summoned ministers and gave a command, saying: 'The man who has renounced the mundane world should be devoted to the Three Treasures, and cherish devoutly the Buddhist precepts. How can he recklessly cause a crime? We have heard that a monk struck his grandfather. Therefore, let all the monks and nuns of temples be assembled and an investigation made. Let severe punishment be inflicted on any who are convicted of offences.'" See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 152–153.

pealed to the empress to prevent secular officials from punishing monks and nuns and to leave this responsibility to samgha officials (I.5). Eventually he was appointed *sōjō* with two laymen for *sōzu* and *hōzu*.[74] Of the three samgha officials, *sōjō* and *sōzu* had precedents in China and Korea, even though a layman had never been appointed *sōzu* in China. The office of *hōzu*, a secretary in charge of samgha properties, was created in Japan. As the first three appointees were all related to the Soga family, the leadership seems at first to have been in their hands.

In 645, when the Soga family perished, the reformed government established fundamental policies and appointed ten eminent monks as leaders of the samgha.[75] These appointments were politically motivated to smooth over the transition of leadership from the Sogas to the court, and, after this objective was fulfilled, no further appointments of this kind were made.[76] The new Sōgō system was firmly established in the reign of Emperor Tenmu by replacing *hōzu* with *risshi* 律師, preceptors, and by excluding lay officials from the Sōgō system.[77] The function of *hōzu* was taken over by the bureau for the administration of alien relations and registry of monks and nuns, Genbaryō 玄蕃寮, which was probably established by Empress Jitō about 690.[78] Theoretically, the samgha officials were subordinate to the Genbaryō, but the autonomy of the samgha was respected in the Kinai region, while in the rest of the country a provincial magistrate (國司) and a provincial preceptor (國師) were in charge of samgha

74. *Ibid.*, XXII (Suiko 32:4:17): "Monk Kanroku was appointed *sōjō*, and Kuratsukuri no Tokosaka 鞍作德積 was made *sōzu*. On the same day Azumi no muraji 阿曇連 was made *hōzu*." See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 153.

75. *Ibid.*, XXV (Taika 1:8:8).

76. The Chinese precedent for this system occurred during the T'ang dynasty when ten virtuous monks were appointed to control the samgha in 619. This autonomous system did not last long, however, and secular officials took office again. See Yamazaki, *Shina chūsei*, 602–607.

77. *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 2:12:27).

78. Tamura, *Asuka Bukkyōshi*, 90. The following is adapted from his table on p. 94 to show the chronological development of the Sōgō system. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of appointees, and the offices in italics were filled by laymen.

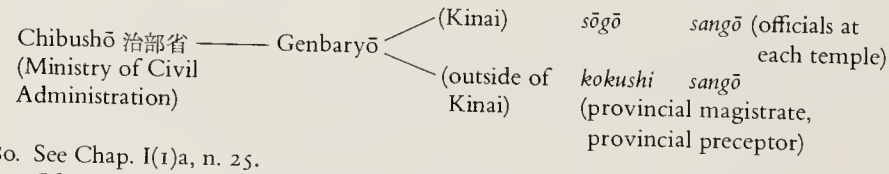
Year	Reign	Appointive offices in the Sōgō system			
624	Suiko 32	sōjō (1)	sōzu (1)	*hōzu* (1)	
645	Taika 1	jusshi (10)		*hōzu* (3)	
673	Tenmu 2	sōjō (1)	dai-sōzu (1) shō-sōzu (1)	*hōzu* (1)	sakan (4)
683	Tenmu 12	sōjō (1)	dai-sōzu (1) shō-sōzu (1)	risshi (1)	sakan (4)

affairs.[79] This system must have been influenced by the T'ang's bureaucratic rule of the samgha, but the appointment of a provincial preceptor, a new position created in Japan, revealed that the samgha maintained some autonomy in Japan in spite of apparent state control.

The *Sōni-ryō*, a compilation of ordinances concerning monks and nuns, was aimed at more direct control over the samgha, although in reality it represented a compromise with the already established tradition of the Sōgō system. The *Sōni-ryō* is contained in the earliest extant legislative code, the *Yōrō-ryō* 養老令, which was promulgated in 757,[80] although there are a few earlier codes such as the *Ōmi-ryō* 近江令 (668?), *Kiyomigahara-ryō* 淨御原令 (689), and *Taihō-ritsuryō* 大寶律令 (702). It is probable that the T'ang laws influenced the *Sōni-ryō*, but the T'ang codes do not include a specific chapter of ordinances concerning monks and nuns. There are, however, some temporary and subsidiary laws called *Tao-seng ko* 道僧格, or laws concerning Taoist and Buddhist monks.[81] The Japanese government, after careful study, adopted the T'ang laws after making certain modifications necessary to meet political and social conditions at that time.[82] The *Sōni-ryō* consists of administrative, substantive, qualifying, and penal administrative laws. It is assumed that the *Sōni-ryō* was an independent set of laws that originated in the autonomous rules of the samgha and was later incorporated into the code.[83] The severest punishment prescribed for monks and nuns was reversion to lay status. For instance, article 14 of the *Sōni-ryō* says:

> For the office of the *Sōgō* it is essential to select a man of virtuous conduct, who can guide the people wisely. It is necessary that he be respected by both clergy and laity, and be competent in management of samgha affairs. Those who wish to recommend someone shall notify the authorities with collected signatures. . . .

79. *Shoku Nihongi*, II (Taihō 2:2:20): "A provincial preceptor was appointed and assigned to every province." See Chap. I(1)a, n. 21.



80. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 25.

81. Cf. Futaba Kenkō, *Kodai Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū*, Part II, Chap. 2.

82. Inoue Kaoru asserts that the *Sōni-ryō* was first compiled in the *Taihō-ritsuryō*, basing his assertion on the passage in the *Shoku Nihongi*, II (Taihō 1:6:1): "Michi no kimi Ofutona 道君首名 was made to expound the *Sōni-ryō* to the congregation of monks at Daian-ji." See his *Nihon kodai*, 238. On the other hand, Futaba believes it originated in Emperor Tenmu's reign. See his *Kodai Bukkyō*, 137. Emperor Tenmu achieved the centralization of the state by establishing many new systems to consolidate it. The *Sōni-ryō* is regarded by Futaba as one of these measures.

83. Nanba Toshinari, "*Sōni-ryō* no kōsei to seiritsu ni tsuite," *Bukkyō shigaku*, XIII (No. 2, 1967), 104–120.

The samgha supervisors in the central office who managed all monastic establishments with the help of officials at each temple[84] were recommended by the monks and appointed by the chancellor.

Although this system of recommendation and election sounds quite democratic, throughout the Nara period the ordination of monks and nuns was in the hands of the Genbaryō, a bureau of the central government. When a free citizen wanted to renounce lay status, he had to obtain a permit from that bureau in order to exempt himself from taxation and the rule of local authorities. For those taxed heavily, entering the priesthood brought a considerable degree of relief. Accordingly, the government carefully checked the activities of any itinerant peasants in an effort to detect laymen pretending to be monks and to return them to their original status (III.14). Those who attempted to obtain immunities by fraudulent means or to deceive the public by wearing clerical robes and begging with a bowl were punished (Article 22). Those who had once pretended to be monks and nuns could never be ordained, even if they had led a disciplined life (Article 24). State control of ordination through the Sōgō system was not challenged until the arrival of Ganjin 鑑眞 (688–763), an eminent Chinese monk who was invited to Japan to establish the orthodox platform for full ordination. A later protest was lodged by Saichō, the founder of the Tendai School and the Mahayana platform for ordination.[85]

To become a monk, a man customarily passed through the following stages: he renounced lay life at an early age to serve as an acolyte to a monk; in his teens he underwent ordination, *tokudo* 得度, and became a novice. Before this could be done, however, a recommendation for ordination had to be sent to the Genbaryō, which examined the applicant's personal character and his knowledge of essential requirements.[86] Once ordained, novice monks were issued permits from the bureau, and they were expected to observe the precepts.[87]

84. *Sangō* 三綱 consists of *jōza* 上座 (Skt. *sthāvira*), president, *tera-ju/-nushi* 寺主 (Skt. *vihārasvāmin*), director, and (*tsu*) *ina* (都)維那 (Skt. *karmadāna*), provost. In smaller temples there was one official for each office, while in larger ones there were two directors and provosts, a junior one and a senior one. See Ishida, *Nara jidai*, 101–102.

85. See Satō Tetsuei, "Dengyō Daishi no Daijō sōdan," in *Bukkyō kyōdan no kenkyū*, ed. by Yoshimura Shūki, 351–396.

86. Horiike Shunpō, "Ubasoku kōshinge to shukke nyūshisho," *Nihon rekishi*, No. 114 (1957), 25–32.

87. The first five of the ten precepts were binding on all lay devotees, lay brothers and sisters; novice monks and nuns were required to keep all ten precepts. Many different versions of the precepts are found in Buddhist scriptures. According to the *Khuddakapāṭha*, II, they are: no killing, no stealing, no adultery, no lying, no drinking, no eating at wrong hours, no worldly amusements, no ornaments; no sleeping in a large bed, and no possession of gold and jewels. Mahayana scriptures such as the *Kegon-gyō* and *Bonmō-kyō* give the ten precepts for a bodhisattva. See Tsuchihashi Shūkō, "Jukai girei no hensen," *Bukkyō kyōdan no kenkyū*, 205–282.

After a few years of disciplined life, novices received the full list of some two hundred and fifty precepts, *jukai* 受戒, and became full-fledged monks. In the Buddhist tradition three masters and seven witnesses, all qualified monks, had to be present to give the complete set of precepts to a novice and to consecrate him as a monk. Before the arrival of Ganjin, there were so few monks qualified to perform this rite that it was practically unknown. However, the texts of the Hinayana precepts continued to be studied by some monks.[88] Ganjin was invited by Emperor Shōmu to initiate the traditional rite of giving the complete precepts to Japanese monks. For example, Saichō, who followed the standard procedure, left home to serve a provincial preceptor at the age of twelve. After two years he was examined for ordination as a novice, and he received the complete precepts to become a monk at the age of nineteen, a little earlier than the standard age of twenty.[89] On the other hand, Kyōkai was ordained in middle age, after marrying and begetting a child. Those who renounced the householder's life in middle age were, after a few years of discipline, ordained as lay brothers or sisters. For example, Kūkai, who first intended to become a government official and who went to the university[90] in order to study the Chinese classics, changed his course as the result of an encounter with a Buddhist monk. After following ascetic practices in the mountains as a lay brother,[91] he renounced lay status at the age of twenty-four and was ordained when he was thirty-one, before sailing for China.

The official ordination system was aimed not only at controlling the number of monks but also at setting minimum standards for their doctrinal education. When Buddhism was first introduced, it was organized largely as a system of religious rites for the benefit of influential families. Many persons were ordained so that their masters might obtain merit and recover from illness. By the early eighth century, however, a minimal standard of learning was required for ordination. A decree issued in 734 states that no one was to be ordained

88. Ishida Mizumaro, *Ganjin*, 25–33; *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 25–31.

89. Sonoda Kōyū, "Saichō to Kūkai," *Nihon Bukkyō shisō no tenkai*, ed. by Ienaga Saburō, 33–57.

90. *Daigaku* 大學, a state college for the study of the Chinese classics, established to train the sons of men of the fifth rank or higher for official careers. See *Ryō no gige*, "Gaku-ryō," Articles 2, 5, etc.

91. *Ubasoku* 優婆塞, transliterated from Skt. *upāsaka;* a layman who professes faith in the Three Treasures and keeps the five precepts. In Mahayana Buddhism lay brothers form one group in the samgha.

without first memorizing a chapter of the *Hoke-kyō* 法華經[92] or the *Saishōō-kyō* 最勝王經,[93] learning to perform Buddhist rites, and living under monastic discipline for at least three years.[94] According to the record of the recommendations for ordination during the period from 732 to 745, the number of years spent under discipline ranged from four to fifteen, and the age of those who had undergone discipline, from thirteen to forty-eight.[95] After that period the names of scriptures memorized and the number of years of discipline were not recorded, but evidence of participation in the construction of a temple, particularly Tōdai-ji, or the fact of being related to an official or a monk was noted. There was a tendency toward lowering the age and qualifications of monks as their numbers increased.[96]

Monks and nuns were expected to maintain disciplined lives of study, instruction, and the performance of rites in the temples, except when they were allowed to go for meditation in the mountains (Articles 5, 13). They were not permitted to own land, buildings, or other forms of wealth, nor could they buy and sell for profit or lend at interest (Article 18). They could not set up unauthorized establishments and preach to congregations, nor falsely expound on the karmic retribution of good and evil (Article 5). They were not permitted to practice fortune-telling or to attempt curing illness by exorcism or magic. However, healing by the recitation of Buddhist formulas[97] was practiced (Article 2).

These articles of the *Sōni-ryō* were often ignored, even by officially ordained monks in state temples. In spite of the government ban there were many self-ordained monks, and descriptions of them can be found in the *Nihon ryōiki* (I.19, 27; III.10, 15, 17, 33). Retreat to the mountains was such a popular practice among ascetics that eventually, in 770, the prohibition against living in the mountains was relaxed.[98] Both Saichō and Kūkai emphasized withdrawal to the mountains, aiming at a meditative and rigorously disciplined life. The samgha and monks are well known for their economic activities in the cultiva-

92. *Myōhōrenge-kyō* 妙法蓮華經 (*Taishō*, IX, No. 262, 1–62c; No. 263, 63a–134b; No. 264, 134b–196a). H. Kern, trans., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law* (*SBE*, XXI); Bunnō Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō: The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law*.

93. *Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra*), (*Taishō*, XVI, No. 665, 403–456.)

94. *Ruijū sandai-kyaku*, II (Tenpyō 6:11:20).

95. "Chishiki ubasoku tō kōshinbun," *Nara ibun*, ed. by Takeuchi, II, 508–531.

96. *Shoku Nihongi*, XIV (Tenpyō 13:10:16), for an example of a mass ordination of 750 lay brothers.

97. *Ju* 咒 (incantation, spell, oath), though it originated in pre-Buddhist China, denotes Mantrayana dharani. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 47.

98. *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXI (Hōki 1:10:28).

tion of land (III.30), money lending (II.24; III.3, 4), and brewing (II.32), thus violating the ban (Article 18). Originally money lending had been instituted at Chinese monasteries as a social welfare measure, but it soon turned into a profit-making business conducted by unscrupulous monks.[99] One story in the *Nihon ryōiki* reveals a popular belief that one could escape the messenger of death by being engaged in business with a loan from the temple fund (II.24).

Although Buddhism in the Nara period served the state and was often referred to as "Buddhism for the welfare of the nation," the concept "nation" did not exclude the common people. The *Nihon ryōiki*, as stated above, has been considered one of the earliest sources for popular Buddhism in Japan, and it has been quoted to illustrate that Buddhism was popularly accepted. However, the distance that separated state Buddhism from popular Buddhism should not be unduly exaggerated. A helpful illustration of the situation that existed is seen in the case of Gyōgi 行基 (668–749), the person most venerated by the author of the *Nihon ryōiki*. At the age of fifteen, he renounced the world.[100] In spite of being condemned by the court because of activities outlawed by the *Sōni-ryō*, he continued preaching.[101] Emperor Shōmu sought his cooperation in building the statue of the Lochana Buddha at Tōdai-ji in 741 and appointed him great chief executive in 745.[102] According to tradition, he lived for some time in Yakushi-ji, a state temple.[103] He traveled and preached (II.2, 7, 8, 12, 29, 30), and directed the construction of bridges and canals and the establishment of ferries (II.30). Wherever he went, thousands of followers gathered to hear him. Lay brothers over sixty-one and lay sisters over fifty-five who followed him were allowed to enter the priesthood in 731,[104] and these lay devotees played an intermediary role between the clergy and the common people.

Gyōgi was not the first monk to carry out such projects on behalf of society. Dōshō, the founder of the Hossō School in Japan and Gyōgi's master, had also traveled, preached, and built bridges and ferries while on journeys in later years (I.22). Evidently such activities worked against the government's intention to confine monks to the

99. Michihata Ryōshū, *Tōdai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 514–545.

100. Inoue Kaoru, *Gyōki*, 7.

101. *Shoku Nihongi*, VII (Yōrō 1:4:23): "These days the streets are filled with an ordinary monk named Gyōgi and his followers, who preach the karmic retribution of good and evil irresponsibly and mislead people by organizing groups and burning fingers and elbows as they abuse the Buddha's teaching to ask for donations."

102. *Ibid.*, XVI (Tenpyō 17:1:21). See II. 7, n. 18.

103. *Ibid.*, XVII (Tenpyō shōhō 1:2:2).

104. *Ibid.*, XI (Tenpyō 3:8:7).

temple precincts (*Sōni-ryō*, Articles 5, 13), but Dōshō was greatly respected by Emperor Monmu.[105] Although Gyōgi was condemned by the court, it is clear that he was neither exiled nor persecuted, for he actively organized devotees and established many private temples and retreat halls for nearly forty years. Finally Emperor Shōmu compromised by sanctioning his leadership in the popular Buddhist movements, while asking for his help.

The *Sōni-ryō* aims at having Buddhist monks serve the state, thus preventing them from gaining leadership among the common people. There were reasons why Buddhism could not be confined to the monastic establishments, however. First, there were a number of immigrants and their descendants who had participated in the Buddhist tradition even before it was officially introduced from the continent. Eminent monks such as Gyōgi, Dōji, Dōshō, and Saichō were descendants of immigrants. Secondly, the imperial family and many influential families such as the Sogas gradually accepted Buddhism and built family temples, *uji-dera* 氏寺 (I.5, 7, 17; III.23, 30, for example). The idea of "state temples" evolved in the reign of Emperor Tenmu as part of the third phase of the development of Buddhism in Japan.[106]

In the early stages the ruling class was mainly responsible for building temples, promoting Buddhist art and sculpture, copying scriptures, and carrying out regular or occasional Buddhist ceremonies. This practice, however, did not continue for long. The *Sōni-ryō* includes an article prohibiting the building of private establishments (Article 5), but, far from its being enforced, state officials and influential families were actually encouraged to build temples.[107] In addition to state and provincial temples, there were "licensed temples," *jōgaku-ji* 定額寺, which were built with private means but officially recognized and financially supported by the state.[108] The decree issued in 783,

105. *Ibid.*, I (Monmu 4:3:10): "On his return home from China he built and lived in a hall for meditation in the southeastern corner of the Gangō-ji precincts. Seekers from all quarters came to learn meditation under his guidance. In his later years he traveled widely, dug wells by the roadside, provided boats at each ferry and built bridges. Thus the Uji Bridge in Yamashiro is his construction. As the Venerable Dōshō had traveled for more than ten years, the emperor asked him to return, and he came back to live at the hall for meditation." For details of the relationship between Gyōgi and Dōshō, see Inoue Kaoru, *Gyōki*, 30–34.

106. Tamura, *Asuka Bukkyōshi*, 34–53. On the basis of his analysis of the period from the introduction of Buddhism to its establishment as state religion, he postulates a first stage covering the reigns of Kinmei. Bitatsu, Yōmei, and Sushun, when the court adopted a noncommittal policy, although Buddhism was accepted by some emperors privately; a second stage covering the reigns of Suiko, Jomei, Kōgyoku, Kōtoku, Saimei, and Tenchi, when the state control of the samgha was instituted and Buddhism was established at court; and a third stage coinciding with the reign of Tenmu, when Buddhism was established as a state religion.

107. *Ruijū kokushi*, 180 (Tenpyō 7:6:5); *Shoku Nihongi*, XVII (Tenpyō 19:11:7, 19:11:14).

108. *Shoku Nihongi*, XVII (Tenpyō shōhō 1:4:3, 1:7:13).

which stated that even in the smallest districts there were temples, stressed the need to limit their numbers.[109]

From the *Nihon ryōiki* we learn that there were many private temples whose buildings and statues were more modest than those of the state temples. They were often named after the village or hamlet where they stood, and were called *dō* 堂 rather than *tera* 寺. They were centers for the religious activities of the villagers, whereas mountain temples were for the retreat of disciplined monks. These village buildings were erected and maintained by villagers organized into *chishiki* 知識[110] by a monk or local official. [111] The *chishiki*, made up of lay devotees of considerable education and means, not only built private temples, made images, and copied scriptures, but they also sponsored monks to expound Buddhist teachings. It was through their activities that the common people came into contact with Buddhist teachings. In the case of the erection of an *uji-dera*, the *uji*[112] functioned as a *chishiki* and the temple symbolized the organizational unity of that *uji*.

The *Nihon ryōiki* records the story of the Ōtomo 大伴 family in Shinano 信濃 province. They built an *uji*-temple, and, after it was completed, an ordained member of the *uji* lived in the temple until he was killed by one of the patrons, a member of the same *uji*. We are told that the monk went to hell because he made private use of the temple property (III.23). This story suggests a decree issued in 716:

> It is reported that in all provinces even if temples have been constructed, there are neither monks nor nuns in residence, no Buddhist rites are performed, and descendants of the donors take over the rice paddies of the temple to support their families. . . .[113]

According to the records of recommendations for ordination, many monks and lay devotees came from the families of local magistrates.

109. *Ibid.*, XXXVII (Enryaku 2:6:10).

110. A translation of Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*, a friend of virtue, good counsellor, or name of Śākyamuni; donation of fields, grains, money, labor for the Three Treasures; hence, an organization of devotees who share the same faith and participate in the same project.

111. References of *chishiki* in the *Nihon ryōiki:*

Vol.	Tale	Date or reign	Organizer	Project
I	35	?	nun	making image, saving life
II	31	Emperor Shōmu's reign	local official	building temple
	39	758 (Tenpyō hōji 2)	monk	building hall, making image
III	13	Empress Kōken's reign	local official	copying *Hoke-kyō*
	17	771 (Hōki 2)	monk	making image

112. Naoki Kōjirō, *Nihon kodai no shizoku to tennō*, 101–135. *Uji* is defined as families grouped around a powerful family with a position in the hierarchical structure of the court.

113. *Shoku Nihongi*, VII (Reiki 2:5:15).

These magistrates, who had once been members of the ruling class in the provinces, were appointed to occupy lower ranks in the hierarchy after the centralization of the *ritsuryō* state.[114] They were made aware of the plight of the peasants, who suffered constantly from heavy taxation, famines, natural disasters, and civil war. Some of them turned to Buddhist teachings for some answer to their problems (II.2), while others utilized the temples as an institutional base for solidifying their power.[115] For example, the head of an *uji* built a temple by organizing his family group into a *chishiki*, and made one member of the same *uji* a monk in charge of the temple.

Several stages in the interaction of Buddhism with the native tradition can be traced in the *Nihon ryōiki*. The first instance is found in the story about an ancestor of a district magistrate of the seventh century. In gratitude for the protection given him in battle, he built a temple[116] to enshrine all the kami 神 of heaven and earth (I.7).[117] This early story omits any reference to the relationship between kami and Buddha. There follows a story illustrating the conflict between indigenous and imported traditions (I.28). E no Ozunu 役小角, legendary founder of the Shugendō 修驗道,[118] was slandered by Hitokotonushi no kami 一言主神[119] and exiled to Izu[120] by the court. This story is unique in the *Nihon ryōiki*, for it contains numerous Taoist phrases, in spite of the fact that E no Ozunu is pictured as a Buddhist lay ascetic and practicer of Buddhist dharani.

In ancient Japan there were religious practices associated with mountains where kami lived and ascetics practiced austerities. When

114. In the eighth and ninth centuries Japan showed many characteristics of an imperial state due to the fact that the legal codes, *ritsuryō*, were patterned after those of T'ang China. See Sogabe Shizuo, *Ritsuryō o chūshin toshita Nichū kankeishi no kenkyū*.

115. *Shoku Nihongi*, XVII (Tenpyō 19:11:7). One way to secure the status of district magistrate was by building a temple.

116. *Garan* 伽藍 being the shortened transliteration of Skt. *saṃghārāma*, originally a monastery or convent, later meaning a temple which consists of buildings for religious rites and residential quarters.

117. *Kami* denotes the divine in the Shinto tradition and cannot be translated by any one English word. It refers to various deities of heaven and earth as well as their spirits, or to human beings, animals, trees, mountains, etc., which exhibit extraordinary powers; also it denotes the functional divinity affiliated with such natural phenomena as birth, growth, change. See Tsuda Sōkichi, "The Idea of Kami in Ancient Japanese Classics," *T'oung Pao*, LII (No. 4–5, 1966), 293–304. Hereafter *kami* will be treated as an English word.

118. *Shoku Nihongi*, I (Monmu 5:4:24); Snellen, 179. See H. Byron Earhart, "Shugendō, the Traditions of En no Gyōja, and Mikkyo Influences," in *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, 297–317. *E* is a family name which is often pronounced *En* in an elision with *no*; he is also known as E (or En) no gyōja (or ubasoku).

119. *Kojiki* 古事記, III, 132; *Nihon shoki*, XIV (Yūryaku 4:2). During the reign of Emperor Yūryaku, Great Kami of Kazuraki (or Katsuragi) Hitokotonushi no kami [Lord of One Word], who dispelled evil and incurred good with a charm, revealed himself to the emperor on Mt. Kazuraki. See D. L. Philippi, *Kojiki*, 360–361; Aston, "Nihongi," I, 341–342.

120. 伊豆嶋; *Shoku Nihongi*, I (Monmu 5:5:24) 伊豆島; identified with present Izu Ōshima.

Buddhist ascetics went to the mountains, they prayed for the protection of the kami. Even scholar monks sent to China for Buddhist studies prayed to native kami for their safe journey. The prosperity of Buddhism was sought through the protection of kami. Many Hindu deities found their way into Buddhist scriptures as guardians of the dharma, and, in similar fashion, Japanese deities were considered protectors of dharma. Emperor Shōmu, a noted patron of Buddhism, paid homage to the Grand Shrine of Ise during a rebellion in 740,[121] and, in the following year, he sent copies of the *Saishōō-kyō* and *Hoke-kyō*, monks, and horses to the deity Usa Hachiman 宇佐八幡, and built a pagoda attached to the shrine.[122] This is the beginning of the practice of building a *jingū-ji* 神宮寺, shrine-temple, which represents the institutional merger of a shrine and a temple. There developed at the same time the idea that kami were among the sentient beings and therefore in need of enlightenment. The story is told that in the Hōki era (770–780) the Great Kami of Taga 陀我 asked a monk to read the *Hoke-kyō* for him so that he might be liberated from *saṃsāra* (III.24). From the eighth century it became a common practice to read Buddhist scriptures before the altar at which a kami was enshrined.[123]

When Saichō challenged the traditional Buddhism at Nara, he insisted on establishing the Mahayana samgha, based on the Mahayana precepts expounded in the *Hoke-kyō* and independent of state control.[124] However, in declaring that the aim of the samgha was to protect the state, his teaching differed little from the traditional position which upheld the *Hoke-kyō, Saishōō-kyō*, and *Ninnō hannya-kyō* 仁王般若經[125] as a trilogy of scriptures with power to promote the welfare of the state. However, his teaching was distinct in stressing that initiation into the Mahayana samgha—that is, transmission of the Mahayana precepts—should symbolize the immediate attainment of Buddhahood. Since Saichō was a prominent advocate of the new Buddhist teachings and a contemporary of Kyōkai, it is highly possible that Kyōkai knew Saichō.[126] Kyōkai was apparently interested in Saichō's fresh approach to Buddhist teachings. He was particularly

121. *Shoku Nihongi*, XIII (Tenpyō 12:9:11, 11:3). Nishida Nagao says that Gyōgi went to the Ise Shrine as an imperial messenger at that time. See his *Jinja no rekishiteki kenkyū*, 87–149.

122. *Shoku Nihongi*, XIV (Tenpyō 13:3:24).

123. Tamura, *Asuka Bukkyōshi*, 190–216. Hereafter *samsāra* will be treated as an English word.

124. Asai Endō, "Dengyō Daishi to Hokke shisō no renkan," *Hokke-kyō no shisō to bunka*, ed. by Sakamoto Yukio, 569–597.

125. *Ninnō hannya haramitsu-kyō* 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (*Taishō*, VIII, No. 245. 825a–834a).

126. In 801 and 802 Saichō invited several eminent monks of the great temples in Nara to his lectures on the *Hoke-kyō* and Tendai doctrines. In 815 he lectured on the *Hoke-kyō* at Daian-ji in Nara. This occasion marked the beginning of the debates between Saichō and Tokuichi 徳一 (749–824) of the Hossō School in Nara which lasted for several years.

impressed with the bodhisattva ideal of working for the salvation of all and acquiring mystical knowledge as a means for attaining Buddhahood. Saichō's insistence on the Mahayana precepts and teachings for men in the decadent age met a ready response in an ordinary monk such as Kyōkai, who was keenly conscious of his limitations.

Although the Sōgō system and *Sōni-ryō* never fully realized their goals, they did achieve a fundamental aim in making.Buddhist monks and nuns serve the state. Both suffering and happiness were understood as a communal experience to be shared within the family, village, province, and state. Such a tendency, which emphasizes group participation and identity is a recurrent theme in the Japanese tradition. On the level of popular practice, there was little differentiation in the roles of Buddha, bodhisattva, and kami in helping people to lead happier lives. In spite of the fact that their symbolic forms differed, they referred to faith and happiness here and now.

(2) INFLUENCE OF EARLIER WRITINGS

a. *Doctrine of Karma and Samsara*

Karma is a notion fundamental to the world view of Hindus and Buddhists alike. Karma, which etymologically means "action," "deed," is moral law, which is taken for granted by most Hindus as the basis on which the cosmos operates. The doctrine teaches that every human action takes place in a sequence of the moral law of cause and effect and each individual's existence is conditioned by the idea of samsara, transmigration. Man's life is neither limited to one lifetime nor to the human species. Man's existence is believed to transmigrate through numerous lives in different species, such as deities, animals, hungry ghosts, hell beings.[127]

This world view underlies Śākyamuni's teachings. The doctrine of interdependent causation[128] is interpreted by some Buddhists in close association with the idea of karma. Tradition says that Śākayamuni allowed a man who accepted the Buddhist interpretation of karma to join the samgha, for karma was probably regarded as a popular expression of the central doctrine of interdependent causation.[129] Bud-

127. The six modes and places of existence of animate beings are *naraka* (hell), *preta* (hungry ghost), *tiryañc* (animal), *asura* (furious spirit), *manuṣya* (man), and *deva* (heavenly being). The idea of the five modes and places of existence, excluding *asura* from the above six, was more popular in China and Japan. Although *asura* is never mentioned in the *Nihon ryōiki*, the terms "six destinies" (I. 21, 35) and "five destinies" (III. 38) are found in the *Nihon ryōiki*.

128. Skt. *partītyasamutpāda* (縁起), chain of causation, or dependent origination. See Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, 58–70.

129. Mizuno Kōgen, "Gō-setsu ni tsuite," *IBK*, II (No. 2, 1954), 463–473.

dhists thoroughly adopted this pre-Buddhist notion of karma and samsara in the Jātaka literature, the tales of Buddha's numerous past lives, which appealed particularly to lay Buddhists.

When the Buddhist tradition entered Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan, the teaching of karma and samsara proved to be most novel and appealing to those who were taken by surprise by the subtle, metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism. This doctrine, although presented as a highly speculative cosmology, found some points of contact with the Chinese tradition because of the universality of the moral law of cause and effect. In China, where the idea of Heaven presiding over the universe was tenacious, however, the idea of fortune as a result of past deeds did not develop. Confucian scholars actively criticized this Buddhist doctrine on the basis of their concept of the "Mandate of Heaven" (*t'ien-ming* 天命),[130] which they regarded as determining man's fate. But the idea of the moral law of causation was not entirely absent among the Chinese, for in the Mandate of Heaven theory there was a common belief that good fortune comes to a family which does good deeds over a period of time, and misfortune to a family which does evil ones.[131] The difference lies in the fact that Buddhism combines the doctrines of karma and samsara and postulates a residuum that persists through many lives as a consequence of karma. The Chinese had difficulties with the doctrine of samsara in the beginning, but later interpreted it by using their concept of *shen* 神, soul, as an entity for transmigration and stressing its immortality, though this is somewhat contrary to the original Buddhist teachings.[132]

A clear understanding of karma was evidenced as early as the fourth century by Hsi Ch'ao 郗超 (336–377), who emphasized the function of the mind as subject to karmic retribution and stated that the effects of karma are borne by an individual.[133] His contention was further expounded by Hui-yüan 慧遠 (334–416) who wrote "San-pao lun" 三報論 (Treatise on the Three Ways of Karmic Retribution) in order to defend the doctrine of karma before those contemporaries who doubted the validity of the law of karmic retribution. He argues that people fail to recognize the effects of karma, because they confine

130. The theory of the "Mandate of Heaven" asserts that Heaven is accountable not only for human affairs but for natural phenomena; the cosmos is a self-contained, harmonious organism and it is the duty of rulers to maintain the state of equilibrium between man and nature.

131. Uchiyama Toshihiko, "Kandai no ōhō shisō," *Tokyo Shina gakuhō*, No. 6 (1960), 19.

132. Walter Liebenthal, "The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought," *Monumenta Nipponica*, VIII (1952), 327–396; Kajiyama Yūichi, "Eon no hōōsetsu to shinfumetsuron," *Eon kenkyū—kenkyūhen*, ed. by Kimura Eiichi, 89–120.

133. Hsi Ch'ao, "Feng-fa yao," *Hung-ming chi* 弘明集, XIII (*Taishō*, LII, 86a–91b). See Erik Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, Appendix B to Chapter III, 165–176.

their consideration to their present existence. In order to convince them of the invisible function of karmic retribution, he introduces a new theory of *san-pao*, or three ways of karmic retribution.

> The scripture says that karma is worked out in three ways: *hsien-pao* 現報, *sheng-pao* 生報, and *hou-pao* 後報. In the first, good and evil deeds originate and receive responses in the same lifetime. In the second, the effects of deeds will visit the person in the next lifetime. In the third, consequences will come in a second, third, hundredth, or thousandth lifetime. Nobody controls the function of karmic retribution, and only our mind is responsible for it.[134]

Hui-yüan may have taken this theory from the *Abhidharmasāra-hṛdaya*[135] which was translated for him in 391/392 by Saṃghadeva.[136] His treatises popularized the theory of karmic retribution and contributed to its influence on later generations.

According to the *Kao-seng chuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks), Hui-yüan introduced an innovation into the routine of the Buddhist ceremonial meeting by opening it with stories on karmic causation.

> Whenever there was a ceremonial meeting, he himself would ascend the high seat and personally take the lead in preaching, first elucidating the work of causation in the past, present, and future, and then discussing the significance of the particular occasions. Later generations continued this practice until it became a standard for all times.[137]

This is the beginning of *ch'ang-tao* 唱導, the practice of preaching, and the stories used as illustrations treated the theme of the law of karmic retribution. Tradition says that Kumārajīva (344–413) wrote a work called "Treatises on the Past, Present, and Future" (通三世論 inextant) and also emphasized the law of karmic retribution.[138] Chinese Buddhist writers are fond of asserting that a result follows a deed in the same way that a shadow follows a form or an echo follows a sound.[139]

134. Hui-yüan, "San-pao lun," *Hung-ming chi*, V (*Taishō*, LII, 34b); *Eon kenkyū—ibunhen*, ed. by Kimura, 70–71. See W. Liebenthal, "Shih Hui-yuan's Buddhism as Set Forth in his Writings," *JAOS*, LXX (1950), 243–259.

135. *A-pi-t'an hsin lun* 阿毘曇心論 (*Taishō*, XXVIII, No. 1550, 814b). 若業現法報次受於生報後報亦復然 餘則說不定.

136. *Eon kenkyū—ibunhen*, ed. by Kimura, 314. See Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 230.

137. Hui-chiao 慧皎, *Kao-seng chuan*, XIII (*Taishō*, L, 417c).

138. *Ibid.*, II (332b).

139. Hsi Ch'ao, "Feng-fa yao," (*Taishō*, LII, 87c). See Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 169. Hui-yüan refers to this cliché in his "Ming pao-ying lun," 明報應論 (*Eon kenkyū—ibunhen*, 76) and uses it himself (*ibid.*, 85). It is also found in an anonymous treatise, "Cheng-wu lun," 正誣論, *Hung-ming chi*, I (*Taishō*, LII, 8b), dated in the early fourth century and in Taoist scriptures.

They stressed that karmic retribution is based on the law of nature, and Kyōkai adopted their idea and cliché. It was about this time that several Buddhist scriptures expounding this doctrine were translated into Chinese.[140] People accepted a new cosmology in which the world was enlarged from the present to include the past and future, and at the same time from human beings to other modes of existence such as deities, animals, and ghosts. In contrast to the Confucianists, the Taoists did not attempt to refute the doctrine of karma and samsara. In fact, they used it to supplement their teachings, though it took several centuries for the Chinese indigenous idea of the other world to fully combine with the Buddhist cosmological conception.[141]

Hui-yüan's concept of karmic retribution is repeated in the preface of T'ang-lin's *Ming-pao chi*, a collection of Buddhist legends compiled between 650 and 655.

> It is taught that there are three ways [of karmic retribution]. First, one receives in the present existence what one's good or evil deeds have caused. This is called *hsien-pao*. Second, what one's deeds have caused is not received in this existence, but determines the next life according to good and evil deeds. This is called *sheng-pao*. Third, if good or evil deeds in the past have not brought the results and one has gone through many lives and still created karma without any consequences, one will receive them in a second, fifth, or tenth lifetime. This is called *hou-pao*.[142]

T'ang-lin was a government official who received a Confucian education and espoused the Buddhist faith. He collected stories throughout China, presenting a Sinicized interpretation of the doctrine of karmic retribution. As the title and theme of his work, he chose *ming-pao*, "invisible function of karmic retribution," which is a general concept blending the three ways into one. In China, Buddhists tried to demonstrate the profundity of Buddhist doctrines by stressing the fact that they revealed future responses that were not even considered in Confucian teachings.

On the other hand, Kyōkai used the word *genpō* (*hsien-pao*), which in T'ang-lin's preface refers to consequences that are manifested in this life, as the main theme for the collection of Japanese Buddhist

140. *Kako genzai inga-kyō* 過去現在因果經 (*Taishō*, III, No. 189, 620c–653b), *Zaifuku hōō-kyō* 罪福報應經 (*Taishō*, XVII, No. 747, 562b–564c), *Funbetsu gōhō ryak-kyō* 分別業報略經 (*Taishō*, XVII, No. 723, 446b–450c), and others.

141. Akizuki Kan'ei, "Rikuchō Dōkyō ni okeru ōhōsetsu no hatten," *Hirosaki daigaku jinbunshakai*, No. 33 (1964), 26–60; reprinted in *Chūgoku kankei ronsetsu shiryō*, I (1964), Part One, 386–403.

142. T'ang-lin, *Ming-pao chi* (*Taishō*, LI, 788a).

legends. This may reflect his emphasis on present existence, even though he did not exclude stories dealing with the effects of past deeds upon a future life. He was uninterested in subtle arguments concerning the meaning of karma and samsara, or the question of whether there is something about man which is immortal. Rather, he compiled the *Nihon ryōiki* as an aid for monks in their preaching, should they wish to follow the fashion initiated by Hui-yüan in China, and as a guide for lay Buddhists. Kyōkai's primary concern seems to have been in the salvation of his fellow beings and himself, which he hoped would be accomplished as a result of the merit accumulated in the compiling of the collection. He understood karmic retribution as a universal principle and stated that its operation was also discernible in the Chinese classics and in the pre-Buddhist age in Japan (I. Preface).

Kyōkai's task differed from that of the Chinese monks who tried to demonstrate the profundity of Buddhist teachings in comparison with those of Confucianism and Taoism. Many fundamental questions concerning Buddhist teachings were asked and answered in the debates and writings of eminent Chinese monks obliged to delineate their positions in the face of anti-Buddhist propaganda and occasional persecutions. Japanese monks, on the other hand, were free from both the good and bad effects imposed by such a competitive situation. Their task lay in choosing the most effective scriptures or doctrines from the vast accumulation of materials in the Buddhist tradition. They accepted the Buddhist doctrines expounded by Chinese monks, and their concern was to apply them meaningfully to themselves, the people, and the state.

In the *Nihon ryōiki*, nirvana is mentioned only once in reference to Śākyamuni (III.30). Kyōkai's ideal is the bodhisattva who makes a vow to stay in this world in order to work for the salvation of all. By means of "maturing good stock and accumulating merit" the bodhisattva practices love for others in the world of samsara. The common goal is rebirth in this world, heaven, or the land of bliss. According to Kyōkai, some emperors and princes had been virtuous monks in their previous lives and had accumulated enough merit to be born into the imperial family. For this reason they deserved to be revered and obeyed (III.39).

In contrast to the understanding of the law of causation as the law of nature, the *Hoke-kyō* gives another interpretation which may have influenced Kyōkai. The *Hoke-kyō* is the scripture most frequently quoted in the *Nihon ryōiki*, and it has been extremely popular throughout the history of Japanese Buddhism. Although the *Hoke-kyō* makes

many references to karma (Chaps. i, ii, vii, x, xii, xv, xvi, xix, xxv),[143] the main emphasis is on overcoming karma and obtaining salvation, rather than on the doctrine of karma itself. The recitation of the *Hoke-kyō* or even the invocation of its title, when done with faith, constitutes an act of merit which will overcome all other karma. Further, it says that dharani and mantra (Chap. xxvi), a remembrance of Kannon, or the calling of Kannon's name (Chap. xxv) also transcend time and space, making possible the immediate attainment of Buddhahood. This message of the *Hoke-kyō* may be considered as a warning against a mechanical, static, or deterministic understanding of karma. Faith is the basis for salvation here and now, which is the work of the dharma-body Buddha, both transcendent and immanent.

b. *The Influence of Chinese Buddhist Literature*

Japanese literature was gradually shaped under the influence of the Chinese classics which were brought to Japan in the fifth century, and the vast amount of Buddhist writing that followed the official introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century (I.Preface). The earliest works of literature which have been preserved are the *Kojiki*[144] and *Nihon shoki*,[145] historical records written in the early eighth century, and patterned on Chinese historical works such as the *Han shu* (History of Former Han Dynasty), *Hou-Han shu* (History of Later Han Dynasty), and *Shih chi* (Records of the Historian), which clearly show that the influence of Buddhist literature is readily apparent in them.[146]

Since the *Nihon ryōiki* is the first collection of Buddhist legends in Japan, the heavy influence of earlier Chinese literature is to be expected in almost every aspect of its style, form, content, motif, and arrangement. As to the depth and extent of the influence, however, scholars differ in opinion. Some maintain that most of the legends were borrowed directly from the Chinese tradition and simply rephrased.[147] Others hold that the legends must have been accepted and believed by the people who transmitted them, concluding that, in spite of their partial foreign origin, their popularity stamps them as Japanese.[148]

Kyōkai stated his editorial principles as follows:

My work is comparable to a rough pebble. . . . Its source in the

143. Kamimura Shinjō, "Chūgoku Tendai to Hokke shisō no renkan," *Hoke-kyō no shisō to bunka*, ed. by Sakamoto, 550–555.
144. *Kojiki* (*NKBT*, 1), ed. by Kurano and Takeda; D. L. Philippi, *Kojiki*.
145. *Nihon shoki* (*NKBT*, 67–68), ed. by Sakamoto Tarō and others; Aston, "Nihongi."
146. Kojima Noriyuki, *Jōdai Nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku*, I, 241–255.
147. Haga Yaichi, *Kōshō Konjaku monogatarishū*, I, 3.
148. Hori Ichirō, *Nihon jōdai bunka to Bukkyō*, 187.

oral tradition is so indistinct that I am afraid of omitting much [I.Preface].

However, I cannot suppress my passion to do good, so I dare to write down oral traditions [at the risk of] soiling clean paper with mistakes [II.Preface].

According to what I had heard, I selected oral traditions and put down miraculous events, dividing them into good and evil [III.39, Postscript].

It is evident from his repeated references to an oral tradition there were many stories circulating among the monks in Nara and that some of these stories had already been written down. The fact that Kyōkai's quotations from scriptures are not faithful to the letter of the text suggests his dependence on previous writings and a frequent use of anthologies rather than the original texts.[149] We cannot trace the source of all these quotations because of the vast body of writings in the Buddhist Canon and because some of the works extant in Kyōkai's lifetime are no longer available.[150] However, a list has been prepared of the Chinese Buddhist literature that might have influenced Kyōkai in compiling the *Nihon ryōiki*. It consists of two categories of works: anthologies of scriptures and biographies edited by monks, and legends collected by lay Buddhists. The aim of the *Nihon ryōiki* was to combine these two types of literature.

The quotations from scriptures in the *Nihon ryōiki* may be divided into four categories: first, direct quotations from the original texts; second, indirect quotations which match passages in anthologies rather than the original texts; third, rephrased quotations; fourth, apparent quotations whose sources cannot be located. As the second category is the largest (13 out of 44 cases), it is evident that Kyōkai was more familiar with anthologies than with the original texts of scriptures, except in the case of the *Hoke-kyō* and probably the *Nehan-gyō* 涅槃經,[151] which are quoted several times. The inclusion of materials from the third and fourth categories suggests that some legends were transmitted orally before they were compiled by Kyōkai.[152] Many scriptures in the Buddhist Canon are filled with colorful Indian leg-

149. See Appendix C.

150. Kariya Ekisai wrote a pioneer work tracing quotations to their sources (see his *Nihon ryōiki kōshō*). Recent works done by Tokushi Yūshō ("*Nihon ryōiki* ni inyō seru kyōkan ni tsuite," *Bukkyō kenkyū*, I [No. 2, February 1937), 51–65) and Haraguchi Hiroshi ("*Nihon ryōiki* shutten goku kanken," *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō*, No. 34 [December 1966], 53–67) are to be noted.

151. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 大般涅槃經 (*Taishō*, XII, No. 374, 365–604; No. 375, 605–852).

152. Uematsu Shigeru, *Kodai setsuwa bungaku*, 116–142.

ends about deities, men, and animals depicted in Buddhist terms. These legends incorporated the Buddhist teachings of karma within several types of stories such as *jātaka, avadāna*, and *nidāna*.[153] Their influence was great not only on later Buddhist literature but on the development of lay Buddhism in particular. The translation of the Buddhist Canon in China led to the compilation of many anthologies of legends taken from the scriptures. They were arranged thematically in order to serve as handbooks for Buddhist studies.

Among them, the *Shokyō yōshū* (*Chu-ching yao-chi*) was decisive in its influence on Kyōkai's life and work.[154] Kyōnichi, the mendicant who appeared in Kyōkai's dream, gave him a copy of it, saying that it was an excellent scripture for instructing the people (III.38). The *Shokyō yōshū*, compiled in 659 by the Chinese monk Tao-shih (d. 683), consists of important passages from the scriptures arranged thematically. Its purpose was to instruct monks; the author gives an exegesis of doctrine at the beginning of each section, followed by illustrations. The major themes of this work are karmic retribution and the veneration of the Three Treasures. As far as themes are concerned, the *Nihon ryōiki* followed the priorities of the *Shokyō yōshū*.[155] The latter was compiled to summarize Buddhist teachings in a systematic way using scriptural passages as illustrations, while the former arranged the stories from the Japanese tradition, both oral and written, in historical sequence. The style of the headings of the stories is similar.[156]

In addition to the *Shokyō yōshū*, two other works seem to have been favorites of Kyōkai. In the preface he says:

> In China, the *Myōhōki* (Record of Invisible Work of Karmic Retribution) was compiled, and, during the great T'ang dynasty, the *Hannya kenki* (A Collection of Miraculous Stories concerning the *Kongō hannya-kyō*) was written. Since we respect the docu-

153. *Jātaka* is a story which tells how Śākyamuni accumulated merits in his former lives; *avadāna* is a type of story about a hero who is a disciple or follower of Śākyamuni, and whose past karma is described by Buddha; *nidāna* is a tale of how a Buddhist precept originated. See Iwamoto Yutaka, *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josetsu*, 26–43; Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, Appendix I, 261–287.

154. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 14.

155. The headings of the *Shokyō yōshū* are as follows: (1) Three Treasures: Veneration of Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha; (2) Veneration of Pagodas; (3) Meditation; (4) Renunciation; (5) Adoration; (6) Incense and Lamps; (7) Receiving Invitations; (8) Starting a Fast; (9) Ending a Fast; (10) Wealth; (11) Poverty; (12) Advocating the Way; (13) Repaying Kindness; (14) Saving Life; (15) Attaining Merits; (16) Selecting Friends; (17) Thoughtfulness; (18) Six Virtues (Donations, Keeping Precepts, Perseverance, Hard Work, Meditation, and Wisdom); (19) Karmic Causation; (20) Desires and Illusions; (21) Four Kinds of Birth; (22) Receiving Consequences of Retribution; (23) Ten Evils; (24) Deception; (25) Falling into Pride; (26) Liquor and Meat; (27) Divination; (28) Hell; (29) Funerals; (30) Miscellaneous.

156. Katayose Masayoshi, *Konjaku monogatarishū no kenkyū*, I, 404–413.

ments of foreign lands, should we not also believe and stand in awe of the miraculous events in our own land? [I.Preface].

By the beginning of the Heian period the *Myōhōki* was known to Japan, where its three volumes have been preserved.[157] Except for five stories in the third volume, most of the stories seem to be based on the Chinese oral tradition. In the preface to the work, T'ang-lin says that he also followed earlier works of Buddhist literature.[158] The *Hoke-kyō* is the most popular scripture in the *Myōhōki* as well as in the *Nihon ryōiki*. In both works the stories begin with the date and name of the central figure and teach the law of causation through the interpretation of miraculous events. Both T'ang-lin and Kyōkai were Buddhists, but the fact that the former was a layman while the latter was a monk may explain several differences between their respective works. Kyōkai dealt sympathetically with self-ordained monks who had not studied Buddhist doctrine and who violated Buddhist precepts and the *Sōni-ryō*. At the same time, in spite of his identification with the common people, he was aware of his status as a monk of a great state temple with a clerical rank. T'ang-lin, on the other hand, was critical of the corrupt clergy. T'ang-lin records the source of each story at its end, while Kyōkai concludes each story with a note (*san* 讃) or his comment which is often accompanied by scriptural quotations to draw a moral from the story.[159]

The "Hannya kenki" mentioned in the preface quoted above may have introduced the style of a note following a story. It is known in full as the *Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki*,[160] a collection of miraculous stories about the *Kongō hannya-kyō* thematically arranged.[161] We do

157. The original text does not exist in China, for it was probably lost soon after its transmission to Japan. Extant manuscripts in Japan are incomplete, but nearly eighty stories have been reconstructed from quotations in other works. See *ibid.*, I, 350–385.

158. They are the *Kanzeon reigenki* (*Kuan-shih-yin ling-yen chi*) 觀世音靈驗記, *Sengenki* (*Hsüan-yen chi*) 宣驗記, and *Myōshōki* (*Ming-hsiang chi*) 冥祥記.

159. In the *Nihon ryōiki* there are fifteen stories accompanied by a concluding remark which begins with "The note says . . . ." Their distribution is as follows:

I.5, 6, 14, 18, 22, 25, 33
II.2, 21, 42
III.1, 4, 10, 12, 30

In Chinese historical writings a passage known as a *tsan* (san) is appended to a biography and used to summarize the writer's opinion of its central figure. Hui-chiao adopted this device in his *Kao-seng chuan*. Since the note is generally written in four-character phrases, it may indicate Kyōkai's desire to conform to Chinese style and his dependence on preceding literary works. Sometimes Kyōkai adds his comment after the note; this has given rise to the speculation that the note was not written by Kyōkai at all but that the story, along with the note, was borrowed by him from an earlier work.

160. Iwabuchi Etsutarō, "*Nihon ryōiki* ni mietaru *Hannya kenki* towa nanika," *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, XII (No. 8, 1935), 61–67; Katayose, *Konjaku monogatarishū no kenkyū*, I, 388–389.

161. It consists of three volumes, each divided into two sections: Vol. I: (1) Salvation and Protection; (2) Protection. Vol. II: (1) Making up for Sins; (2) Divine Power. Vol. III: (1) Merits; (2) Sympathy for the Faithful.

not know when it was introduced into Japan, but by the early Heian period, when the *Nihon ryōiki* was written, it was popular and known as the *Hannya kenki*, although it was no longer mentioned in China. It contributed a story to the *Nihon ryōiki* (II.24), and also suggested the idea for a separate preface for each volume. Its popularity lasted throughout the Heian period.

Kyōkai's dependence on these three works as his models is proved by a comparison of the content of the stories in them. It reveals that the *Myōhōki* furnished eight stories, the *Shokyō yōshū*, four, and the *Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki*, one story in the *Nihon ryōiki*, where all are retold as Japanese stories.[162] A study of these earlier Chinese works shows that their main theme was karmic retribution, particularly in the works written by lay Buddhists. There is little doubt that the *Nihon ryōiki* was influenced by and patterned on them, and in this sense was dependent on the Chinese Buddhist tradition. However, there are differences which should be noted. Kyōkai's chronological arrangement of Japanese stories[163] was probably influenced by Japanese historical works such as the *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*, and *Shoku Nihongi*, for the Chinese works discussed above are not chronologically arranged. However, we must admit that Chinese stories are presented in a historical fashion by indicating the sources, even though they are thematically classified. Kyōkai, on the other hand, did not give the sources for his stories. The *Nihon ryōiki* has the quality of a chronicle, but at the same time much of the content is legendary. It is not factual history, but history seen from a Buddhist viewpoint, even though it lacks the consistency of a causal narrative and remains a collection of separate stories. It became the precursor of a new genre of narrative history which eventually in the tenth century replaced the court chronicles that had been modeled on the Chinese pattern.

In addition to the established sources mentioned above, there are numerous other possible sources. Recent studies in comparative literature suggest an increasing number of correlations between Japanese and foreign literature and the oral transmission of legends from the continent to Japan. It is extremely difficult to document the latter, but

162. The *Myōhōki* offers the plots to the following stories of the *Nihon ryōiki* (I.7, 10, 18; II.5, 10, 19; III.10, 13). *The Shokyō yōshū* gives four, of which two (I.4; III.1) are originally from the *Kao-seng chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks); one (I.17) is from the *Hsiao-tzu chuan* (Biographies of Filial Sons); and one (II.3) is from the *Zōhōzō-kyō* 雜寶藏經. The *Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki* offers one (II.24) which is also adopted in the *Myōhōki*.

163. The first volume begins with a story from Emperor Yūryaku's reign (late fifth century) and ends with a story from Emperor Shōmu's reign, dated in 727. The second volume comprises stories which range from 729 to 763. The third volume covers the period from Empress Kōken's reign to Emperor Saga's reign, 749–822. See Appendix A.

there are two significant cases worthy of note. One is the legend centering about Prince Shōtoku while the other concerns E no Ozunu.

The *Nihon shoki* obviously mythologized Prince Shōtoku as the Dharma King, and the *Nihon ryōiki* contributed a story which is not found in the *Nihon shoki*. On a golden mountain Prince Shōtoku was given a jewel of the elixir of life by a monk in order that he might go back to the world of the living to propagate Buddhist teaching (I.5). The note following the story identifies this golden mountain with Mt. Wu-t'ai 五臺山 in Shansi province in China, a sacred mountain traditionally regarded as the place of Mañjuśrī's descent.[164] He was reborn a century later as a great patron of Buddhism, Emperor Shōmu. Tradition says he is an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. The same type of story is also found in the Korean Buddhist legends, compiled in the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事. One of these tells of a Korean preceptor named Chanjang 慈藏 of the seventh century, who met Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wu-t'ai in China. Mañjuśrī advised Chanjang to return to Silla and visit Mt. Odae where they would meet again. Another story concerns two princes who withdrew to Mt. Odae and met Mañjuśrī.[165] These legends are used to help legitimize Korean Buddhism and to make Silla the land of the eternally present Buddha. We conclude that the Mt. Wu-t'ai legends in China and Korea had great influence on the formation of the early Japanese legends, including that of Prince Shōtoku's encounter with Mañjuśrī. Each played, respectively, the same role of establishing Buddhism firmly on the native soil in the three lands.

A similar resemblance is found between the E no Ozunu legend in the *Nihon ryōiki* and the Hui-yüan legendary cycle as it is documented in "Lu-shan Yüan-kung hua" 嚧山遠公話, discovered at Tun-huang.[166] Both Hui-yüan and E no Ozunu are said to have had an encounter with the local deity of the mountain where each one resided. As the "Lu-shan Yüan-kung hua" cannot be dated, it is impossible to prove its direct influence on the E no Ozunu legend. However, we may assume that these legends originally had little to do with Prince Shōtoku, E no Ozunu, or Hui-yüan, but that folk piety incorporated

164. Mt. Wu-t'ai is also known as Mt. Ch'ing-liang 清凉山. Tradition says that the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Monju-bosatsu 文殊菩薩) descended on its peak to convert the Chinese. Cf. Étienne Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," *T'oung Pao*, XLVIII (1960), 54–61; Ennin 圓仁, *Nittō guhō junreiki* 入唐求法巡禮記 (*DBZ*, 113), III, 237–238, 243; Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin's Diary*, 246–247, 266.

165. Iryŏn 一然, *Samguk yusa* (*Taishō*, XLIX, 590a). See Peter H. Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 9–10.

166. Stein, No. 2073. For a critically edited text, see Makita Tairyō, *Chūgoku kinsei Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 287–311.

these historical figures as heroes into the various legends. Immigrant monks and student monks who had studied abroad probably transmitted such legends to Japan orally. We will discuss the symbolism of these legends more fully in the next chapter.

c. *Japanese Legendary Literature*

By the early ninth century, when the *Nihon ryōiki* was compiled, many works of Japanese literature had already been written. The *Nihon ryōiki*, following the *Manyōshū* 萬葉集,[167] begins with the story of Emperor Yūryaku who reigned in the fifth century (I.1). The idea of the land of the dead, *Yomi no kuni* 黄泉國, and a taboo on eating food cooked in that land (II.7) is probably drawn from the *Kojiki*, which was compiled in 712. The *Nihon ryōiki* is the earliest work to support the *Nihon shoki*'s date of 552 for the official introduction of Buddhism, as against the traditional dating of 538. Kyōkai closely followed the tradition of the court histories, although there is some doubt about his familiarity with the *Shoku Nihongi* which was compiled in 797. If the *Nihon ryōiki* was compiled in 787 (Enryaku 6) as some scholars assert, it would have been impossible for him to have consulted the *Shoku Nihongi*. However, if the *Nihon ryōiki* was compiled during the Kōnin era (810–824) as we have concluded, he might have made use of it. When we compare passages on E no Ozunu and Gyōgi in these two works, we find that the story in the *Nihon ryōiki* is a development of the one in the *Shoku Nihongi*. Since Kyōkai sought to make his work a history of dharma existing in Japan, he must have been interested in the newly compiled history which covers approximately the same historical period. On the other hand, it may be argued that he simply used older private records, which differed in some instances from the sources for the court history. This hypothesis is supported by a few references made by Kyōkai to records otherwise unknown.

> According to a record, in the reign of Emperor Bitatsu, sounds of musical instruments were heard off the coast of Izumi province [I.5].

> According to a record, in the second month of the ninth year . . . , an imperial order was given to the officials . . . [I.25].

There seem to have been some historical documents apart from the court tradition. The former passage differs from the *Nihon shoki*, which dates that event in the reign of Emperor Kinmei.[168] No passage corresponding to the latter can be found in the court history.

167. *Manyōshū* (*NKBT*, 4–7), ed. by Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, and Ōno Susumu. See the *Manyōshū*, trans. by J. L. Pierson.

168. *Nihon shoki*, XIX (Kinmei 14:5:7). See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 68.

The following passage implies that a private record of a miraculous event was in circulation.

> As Hirokuni visited the land of the dead and saw the karmic retribution of good and evil, he recorded it for circulation [I.30].

A close comparison between the descriptions of the same historical figures in the *Nihon ryōiki* and the *Shoku Nihongi* may illuminate the degree of Kyōkai's dependency on the court histories. Princes and nobles who appear in the two works are those who were involved in rebellion and political intrigues.[169] Although Kyōkai tries to explain the violent death of the rebels as being the result of their evil deeds in the past, he concurs with the judgment in the court history except in the case of two men (III.36, 37). These two are not rebels but loyal courtiers who are praised in the court history but condemned by Kyōkai as sufferers in hell because of their offences against the Three Treasures. However, they were eventually saved. The adaptation of these two stories illustrates Kyōkai's intention to preach the inescapability of suffering in hell. Tale 38 of the third volume closely parallels accounts in the *Shoku Nihongi*. The same is true with the *Nihon shoki* and *Nihon ryōiki*. Therefore, it seems clear that Kyōkai was familiar with the *Nihon shoki* and the *Shoku Nihongi*, depended on them for historical dates and events, but interpreted them according to the law of karmic causation.

It is extremely difficult to learn about the oral tradition before the compilation of the *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*, and *Fudoki* 風土記 (Topographic Records).[170] However, many myths and legends in these early writings reflect the rich local traditions that had existed throughout Japan for several centuries before they were written down. Some found their way into the court histories and poetry, while others served as the basis for stories of the founding of shrines and temples, the genealogy of families, folk etymology, and folk tales. The *Nihon ryōiki* shares with other early texts such ancient motifs as divine marriage, descent of deities, marriage between a human being and an animal, or visits to the other world. For instance, the section of the *Suminoe no taisha jindaiki* 住吉大社神代記 (Ancient History of the Great Shrine of Suminoe)[171] which deals with legend, written in part in 659

169. Prince Nagaya (II.1), Prince Uji (II.35), Princes Funado, Kifumi, and Shioyaki (III.38); Tachibana no Naramaro (II.40), Fujiwara no Nagate (III.36), Saheki no Itachi (III.37), Fujiwara no Nakamaro and Tanetsugu (III.38), etc. Fukushima Kōichi, "*Nihon ryōiki* ni arawareta Kyōkai no kangaekata," *Heian bungaku* (*Kokubungaku ronsō*, 3), 99–138.

170. They were compiled between 713 and 733, and five of them are extant: Hitachi 常陸, Izumo 出雲, Harima 播磨, Bungo 豐後, and Hizen 肥前. Several others exist only in fragments. See *Fudoki* (*NKBT*, 2), ed. by Akimoto Kichirō.

171. Tanaka Takashi, *Sumiyoshi taisha shi* (History of Great Shrine of Sumiyoshi [originally Suminoe]), Vol. I, Appendix I.

and 702, gives a local version of the mythological tradition which differs from the corresponding section in the *Nihon shoki*. Many Buddhist temples have in their historical records "origin tales," which are found to be of the same genre as the *Nihon ryōiki*. For instance, "The Founding of Hase-dera" 長谷寺縁起,[172] compiled in 741, gives an origin tale structurally similar to some stories in the *Nihon ryōiki*.

The *Nihon ryōiki* is the earliest collection of such legends selected to clarify the Buddhist teaching of karmic retribution. It includes origin tales, anecdotes of saints, and folktales, which are partly historical and partly fictional. Out of twelve origin tales, seven refer to temples (I.5, 7, 17; II.5, 21, 31, 39), three to painted or sculptured images (I.33; III.17, 30), one to a hill (I.1), and one to a family (I.2). There are many anecdotes about historical figures, for Kyōkai wanted to show dharma working in human history.

As stated above, Kyōkai used as his sources not only the oral tradition of his time but also written traditions both Japanese and foreign. According to Uematsu, nearly 90 percent of the stories had been handed down by monks or local people before they reached Kyōkai. He was by no means a creative writer, but rather an editor and commentator on the tradition he worked so faithfully to document.[173] Although isolated legends had existed for several centuries, Japanese legendary literature was not born until a special set of conditions came into existence. It is clear that the corpus of Buddhist legends that had originated in India, developed in China, and been transmitted to Japan greatly stimulated and influenced the development of indigenous Japanese legends.

Thus the *Nihon ryōiki* created a form of literature called "legendary literature," and served as the fountainhead for later writings. In legendary literature the author neither expresses his ideas nor describes society as directly as he does in other genres. The object of his interest is man, and he selects a motif which matches his creative purpose from among extant legends in order to explore the nature of humanity. The *Nihon ryōiki* was followed in the same century by the *Nihon kanryō-roku* 日本感靈錄 (Japanese Record of Miraculous Events),[174] which is indebted to the former in both content and form.[175] The next two centuries may be called the golden age of legendary literature, during which the great popularity of the *Nihon ryōiki* continued.

172. "Hase-dera engi," *Shoji engi-shū* 諸寺縁起集 (*DBZ*, 118), 326–333.
173. Uematsu Shigeru, *Kodai setsuwa bungaku*, 141.
174. *Nihon kanryōroku* (*ZGR*, XXVB, Book 717).
175. Nagai Yoshinori, *Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū*, I, 147–154.

In the tenth century the *Nihon ryōiki* tradition is represented by two works which are somewhat dissimilar in nature. One is the *Sanbō ekotoba* 三寶繪詞 (Notes on Pictorial Presentations of the Three Treasures) written for a princess by Minamoto no Tamenori 源爲憲 in 984[176]. It consists of three volumes, which correspond to Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, and it incorporates seventeen stories from the *Nihon ryōiki*. The other work is the *Nihon ōjō gokurakuki* 日本往生極樂記 (Biographies of the Japanese Who Were Born in the Land of Bliss) compiled by Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤 between 985 and 987.[177] In a note the author explains why he included Prince Shōtoku and Gyōgi among those who were born in the land of bliss. Originally he had not intended to do so, but he altered his intention in order to comply with the last wishes of Prince Kaneaki. He distinguished Prince Shōtoku and Gyōgi from the others he described by identifying them as "appearances of the two incarnated bodhisattvas,"[178] and making Prince Shōtoku's biography several times longer than other biographies. Since these two men were not known for their belief and rebirth in the pure land, the author must have hesitated to include them.

The function of the *Nihon ryōiki* as a casebook for preachers was carried on in works such as the *Uchigikishū* 打聞集 (Collection of Sermons)[179] and *Hyakuza hōdan kikigakishō* 百座法談聞書抄 (Summary Notes of One Hundred Lectures on Dharma)[180] in the twelfth century. The faith in the *Hoke-kyō* was singled out as the subject for the *Dainihon Hoke-kyō kenki* 大日本法華經驗記 (Records of Wonders Related to the *Hoke-kyō* in Japan).[181] The narrative aspects of the *Nihon ryōiki* found their fullest expression in the *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集 (Collection of Tales Present and Past)[182] and *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (Tales from the Later Gleanings of Uji),[183] the most famous and admired works of the legendary literature.

Kyōkai's custom of adding personal comments and morals after each story developed into the genre of moralizing legends which

176. Yamada Yoshio, ed. and annot., *Sanbō ekotoba ryakuchū*.

177. Yoshishige no Yasutane, *Nihon ōjō gokurakuki* (*Gunsho ruijū*, IV, Book 66; *SGR*, III).

178. *Ibid.* (*SGR*, III, 726a). 拔國史別傳等 入二菩薩應迹之事焉.

179. *Uchigikishū* (photostat ed.), Koten hozonkai.

180. *Hyakuza hōdan kikigakishō*, ed. by Satō Akio.

181. Chingen, *Honchō Hokke kenki* (*ZGR*, VIIIA, Book 194).

182. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (*NKBT*, 22–26), ed. by Yamada Yoshio, Tadao, Hideo, and Toshio. For a selected translation of thirty-seven stories, see E. O. Jones, *Ages Ago*. It is also called *Konjaku monogatari*.

183. *Uji shūi monogatari* (*NKBT*, 27), ed. by Watanabe Tsunaya and Nishio Kōichi. For a selected translation of fifty-five tales (out of one hundred and ninety-four), see John S. Forster, "Uji shūi monogatari," *Monumenta Nipponica*, XX (No. 1–2, 1965), 135–208.

flourished in the Kamakura period and produced introspective works such as the *Hosshinshū* 發心集 (Collection of Tales for Awakening Faith)[184] and *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (Collection of Sand and Stone).[185] They fit well into the genre of essays. Kyōkai's interest in writing a history was carried on partly in the biographical writings such as the *Ōjōden* series, [186] and partly in interpretative histories such as the *Fusō ryakki* (Concise Chronicle of Japan)[187] and the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (Miscellany of Ignorant Views).[188]

It is evident that later works surpass the *Nihon ryōiki* in literary refinement, historicity, and depth of introspection. However, the merit of the *Nihon ryōiki* lies in its simple affirmation of faith and its diversity of interests and views. Though no one would deny the influence of Chinese tradition, the *Nihon ryōiki* is, nonetheless, Japanese in the sense that it was not only accepted by the people at the time of its compilation but also helped to shape the later Japanese tradition.

184. *Hōsshinshū* (*Kamo no Chōmei zenshū*), ed. by Yanase Kazuo.

185. Mujū 無住, *Shasekishū* (*NKBT*, 85), ed. by Watanabe Tsunaya.

186. See Shigematsu Akihisa, "Ōjōden no kenkyū," *Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū*, XXIII (1960), 1–124; *Ōjōden no kenkyū*, ed. by Koten isan no kai. The following seven works are classified as *Ōjōden: Nihon ōjō gokurakuki* (see n. 177); *Dainihon Hoke-kyō kenki* (see n. 181); *Zoku honchō ōjōden* by Ōe no Masafusa (*Gunsho ruijū*, IV, Book 66, *SGR*, III); *Shūi ōjōden* and *Goshūi ōjōden* by Miyoshi no Tameyasu (*ZGR*, VIII, Books 196, 197); *Honchō shinshū ōjōden* by Fujiwara no Munetomo (*ZGR*, Book 199); and *Sange ōjōki* by Renzen (*ZGR*, Book 198).

187. Kōen, *Fusō ryakki* (*SZKT*, XII).

188. Jien, *Gukanshō* (*NKBT*, 86), ed. by Okami Masao and Akamatsu Toshihide. For a partial translation, see J. Rahder, "Miscellany of Personal Views of an Ignorant Fool," *Acta Orientalis*, XV (1936), 173–230; XVI (1937), 59–77.

CHAPTER II

World View Reflected

(1) COSMIC ORDER

a. *Rites of Cosmic Renewal*

In ancient Japan the religious life of the people frequently found expression in a variety of cyclical rites performed at court, at local shrines, and in private homes. The state cult performed at the court consisted primarily of communal agricultural rites at times of planting and harvest, and prayers for the protection of the crops and the community in spring and summer. On the last day of the sixth and twelfth months, the rite of purification (*Ōharae* 大祓) took place, during which the law prescribed that both native prayers[1] and formulas of Chinese origin should be recited to expiate defilement and insure happiness.[2]

The introduction of Buddhism did not affect the observance of these rites. At first Buddhist rites were performed on behalf of the sick and the dead, while traditional rites continued to be observed at the New Year, at planting and harvest, and in prayers offered for the community. Such a division of function gradually disappeared, and monks were invited to the court to pray for the nation's protection from natural disaster.[3] Buddhism increased its claims by adopting indigenous rites, reinterpreting them, and providing them with a new symbolic meaning. For example, from the time of Śākyamuni the confession of sins had been one of the most important rites in the samgha, and many scriptures taught the merit of confession and repentance.[4] Beginning in the seventh century the rite of repentance (*keka* 悔過) was held in the Japanese court on various occasions.[5] This rite usually took the form of a devotional service which centered on a Buddha or bodhisattva mentioned in a particular scripture. In the eighth century a rite of repentance based on the *Saishōō-kyō* (*Kichijō-*

1. *Norito*, ed. by Takeda Yūkichi (*NKBT*, 1, 422–427). See Philippi, trans., *Norito: A New Translation of the Ancient Ritual Prayers;* E. Satow and K. Florents, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," *TASJ*, reprint, II (December 1927), 5–143.
2. *Ryō no gige*, "Jingi-ryō," Articles 2–9, 18. See Sansom, "Early Japanese Law," Part Two, 123–126.
3. *Shoku Nihongi*, IX (Jinki 2:1:17).
4. See *Sharihotsu keka-kyō* 舍利弗悔過經 (*Taishō*, XXIV, No. 1492) for its full exposition.
5. *Shoku Nihongi*, XXV (Hakuchi 2:12:30, 3:12:30).

keka 吉祥悔過)[6] was celebrated at all provincial temples during the first week of the year to pray for the prosperity of the state.[7]

This practice gradually spread, accompanied by the belief that the sins of the outgoing year should be confessed and expiated. It fulfilled the same function as the traditional rite of *Ōharae*, although Buddhism emphasized the internal significance of the ceremony. The *Nihon ryōiki* gives an example of a man who wanted to atone for his sins by holding a ceremony of repentance at the end of the year (I.10). He invited a monk to recite a Mahayana scripture[8] and to officiate at the ritual of repentance. Eventually it was discovered that the deceased father of the man had been born as an ox and had suffered as a consequence of his past karma. Owing to the merit of the man's faith in the Three Treasures[9] and the monk's helpful guidance, the father was released from such a life of suffering. The rite of repentance, which aimed at removing anything that might hinder meditation and the enlightenment of monks in the Indian samgha, became a meritorious act for those who sponsored the ceremony in China or Japan.

Another prominent change was introduced with Buddhism: dread of defilement by the dead was replaced by a sense of veneration for the dead. In contemporary Japan, the visit of the dead to their former homes is popularly celebrated at the *Bon* festival, July 15,[10] but in the *Nihon ryōiki* there are indications of a belief that the dead visited the living on New Year's Eve and that it was customary to make offerings for a ceremonial meal with them at the family altar.

> Dōtō, a Buddhist scholar of Koryō 高麗, was a monk of Gangō-ji. . . . Once, when he was passing through the valley . . . , he saw a skull which had been trampled by men and animals. In sorrow, he had his attendant Maro 萬侶 place it on a tree.

6. Or *Kisshō-keka;* in the *Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō* (VIII, 16, 17; IX, 22) Kichijōten 吉祥天 (Śrīdevī or Lakṣmī), female deity of felicity, promises to bestow wealth and prosperity to the followers of that scripture. Cf. Gerda Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmī.*

7. *Shoku Nihongi*, XVII (Tenpyō shōhō 1:12:18, 25); XXII (Tenpyō hōji 3:6:22); XXVIII (Jingo keiun 1:1:8), etc.

8. *Hōkō-kyō* 方廣經; since the term is used for Mahāyāna scriptures in general it is impossible to determine what particular scripture is meant; possibly the reference is to *Daitsū hōkō sange metsuzai shōgon jōbutsu-kyō* 大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經 (*Taishō*, LXXXV, No. 2871) forged in China during the Sui dynasty. The forgery attests to the popularity of this rite in China; the rite was transmitted to Japan before 731.

9. See Chap. II(3)b.

10. A shortened form of *Urabon* 盂蘭盆. (In many rural areas it is still celebrated according to the lunar calendar.) For the latest theory on the etymological and historical origin of the cult of *Urabon*, see Iwamoto, *Mokuren densetsu to Urabon*, 225–245. According to Iwamoto, the term *Urabon* comes from *urvan*, which is "soul" in Avestan; it came to denote an agricultural rite in honor of ancestral spirits which was celebrated in the Central Asia, northern India, and China. In China the cult was assimilated into Buddhist and Taoist traditions. For the traditional theory, see Ashikaga Enshō, "Notes on Urabon," *JAOS*, 71 (1951), 71–75.

On the New Years's Eve of the same year, a man came to the temple gate, saying, "I would like to see the Venerable Dōtō's attendant Maro." When Maro came out to see him, he said, "Thanks to the mercy of your master, I have been happy and at peace. And I can repay your kindness only on this evening" [I.12].

There is another version of this story (III.27). These two stories share the motif of "the grateful dead" which is found in folktales elsewhere.[11] The dead man appears in a human form and asks his benefactor to join the ceremonial meal at the end of the year to help rectify evil deeds. New Year's Eve is the time for repentance and the renewing of the cosmic and moral order, and the family altar is prepared for the ceremony. It is a chaotic time when barriers between the dead and the living, present and future, this world and the world of the dead, dissolve.[12]

This renewal of the cosmos may take place not only annually but daily, seasonally, and at the beginning of every era or emperor's reign. For example, there are two stories in which the hungry ghosts[13] or wicked spirits come to devour the living at midnight (I.3; II.33). The notion of cosmic renewal was reflected in the ancient custom of building a new palace and changing the name of the era every time a new emperor was enthroned. The ceremony at the enthronement symbolized cosmic unity and renewal, and is similar in form to the harvest festival; in addition, it emphasizes the emperor's union with the ancestral spirits.[14]

The practice of using era names, which was initiated in 645, was obviously influenced by the Chinese system. During the Asuka and Nara periods covered by the *Nihon ryōiki*, the naming of the era took place so often that in one instance the same year was named twice.[15] We may ascribe this practice to the great influence of Chinese cosmological thought, which was so highly systematized during the Han dynasty. All natural phenomena and human affairs were believed to be governed by two principles, *yin* and *yang*, which complement each other and follow the unchanging law of Heaven. A mysterious cor-

11. According to Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-literature*, this type of folktale is indexed E. 341.

12. Cf. Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, 54.

13. *Gaki* 餓鬼 (Skt. *preta*); frustrated spirits wandering among men and hells without means to gratify their desires. See Chap. I(2)a, n. 127.

14. See Orikuchi Shinobu, "Ōmube matsuri no hongi," *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū*, III, 174–240; Robert Ellwood, "Harvest and Renewal at the Grand Shrine of Ise," *Numen*, XV (No. 3, November 1968), 165–190.

15. The year 749 is the twenty-first year of the Tenpyō era, and the first year of the Tenpyō-kanpō and Tenpyō-shōhō eras.

respondence between nature and man was recognized in all phenomena as a consequence of the interaction of these two forces. Seasonal vicissitudes, a man's life and death, human relationships, and history were all explained in terms of *yin* and *yang*, and any disharmony and abnormality in the human world inevitably stirred Heaven to manifest corresponding abnormal phenomena in the natural world.[16] Such phenomena were known as "visitations" (*tsai* 災) or "prodigies" (*yi* 異)[17] and were interpreted as Heaven's warnings to the ruler, while the appearance of unusual birds and animals or events were considered to be signs of Heaven's sanction and blessing. Accordingly, whenever and wherever such occurences took place, the court was notified and sometimes the unusual animals and birds were presented to the court. On such occasions the emperor might wish to change the name of the era, naming it after felicitous omens such as a white pheasant (Hakuchi 白雉), a vermilion bird (Akamidori 朱鳥), a sacred tortoise (Reiki 靈龜), a divine tortoise (Jinki 神龜), or symbolical phrases or events such as universal peace (Tenpyō 天平), universal peace and excellent treasure (Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝寶), universal peace and precious script (Tenpyō hōji 天平寶字). The emperor's decision to change the name of the era represented the abolishment of the past and the initiation of a new period.

With such a cosmological frame of reference, praying for the dead and praying for the welfare of the nation were not separate actions. In the Asuka and Nara periods political intrigue and murder took place frequently, and people feared that natural disasters and epidemics were caused by the curses of the victims. Those in authority longed to return to a state of primordial unity by destroying the past and renewing life. This unity was realized in the ceremonial meal of the living and dead, in which the moral and cosmic order was renewed and re-established. Since Buddhism had been able to incorporate the ancestral cult and also taught a life after death, it seemed to offer a more comprehensive way to ensure happiness and prosperity. It was only natural that Buddhism should be patronized by emperors and empresses who keenly felt the need for peace and harmony provided by rites of cosmic renewal. Buddhist rites were performed in the traditional pattern and with similar aims.

The persistence of a symbolism of cosmic renewal in the Japanese

16. See Sawada Takio, "Tong chang-shu tenjin sōkansetsu shitan," *Nihon bunka kenkyūsho kiyō*, III (1967), 293–312; reprinted in the *Chūgoku kankei ronsetsu shiryō*, VIII (1967), Part One, 428–438. Ikeda Suetoshi, "*Tendō to tenmei*, Part I," *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō*, XXVIII (No. 1, 1968), 24–39; reprinted in *Chūgoku kankei*, X (1968), Part One, 68–75.

17. See Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, II, 55.

tradition is evidenced by the fact that many of the rites mentioned above have continued to be observed throughout Japan's history. We can trace the rite of repentance and cosmic renewal in the tradition of Mt. Kōya, the headquarters of the Shingon School, which has faithfully preserved many ancient rituals. During the last four days of the year, December 28–31, Shingon Buddhist monks perform the rite of *Gohei hasami*. *Gohei* 御幣 is a Shinto symbol of the presence of kami and also an instrument for purification.[18] While reciting the *Hannya shin-gyō* 般若心經,[19] the monks make *gohei*, which are consecrated and enshrined in the temple until New Year's Eve. At midnight they are carried to the shrine and burned. Their embers are distributed to the congregation to make a new fire on New Year's Day.[20]

Buddhism served to internalize ancient Japanese rituals such as purification rites and ancestor rites. Traditional rituals and symbols persisted because of their significance for human life, although they were given new meanings.[21] Dharma was interpreted by Kyōkai as the universal law in the sense of *tao* 道. He included the way of kami, *yin-yang tao*, and all other ways in dharma itself, for dharma is universal and comprehensive, and there is common ground for them in the idea of cosmic interrelation of all existences. The cosmos can be renewed and restructured according to traditional patterns and rhythms of life, which Buddhism incorporated in its cosmology.

b. *Symbolism of the Visit to the Other World*

In Japanese literature prior to the *Nihon ryōiki*, there are legends in which heroes such as Urashima no ko 浦島子[22] and Tajimamori 田道間守[23] visit the other world beyond the sea. The *Yu-hsien-k'u* 遊仙窟,[24]

18. Also called *mitegura;* it consists of a twig or a stick with some strips of folded paper attached and is often held by a mediator; hence, it serves as an offering to *kami*.

19. *Hannya haramitsu shin-gyō* 般若波羅蜜心經 (*Taishō*, VIII, Nos. 250–255, 257). See Max Müller, trans., *The Larger and Smaller Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, Buddhist Mahāyāna Text* (*SBE*, XLIX).

20. J. M. Kitagawa, "Gohei hasami—A Rite of Purification of Time at Mt. Kōya," *Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of IAHR*, II, 173–174.

21. See Eliade, "Methodological Remarks on the Study of Religious Symbolism," *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology*, 86–107, for a general discussion of the function of symbols.

22. *Nihon shoki*, XIV (Yūryaku 22:7): "Mizunoe no Urashimako of Tsutsukawa, Yoza district, Tanba province, went fishing on a boat. Eventually he caught a big tortoise, which turned into a woman. Thereupon, he felt desire and made love with her. Then they went into sea together and visited the land of immortality (常世國) to see a saint." See Aston, "Nihongi," I, 368. Also see other versions in the *Manyōshū* (*NKBT*, 5, No. 383); *Tango Fudoki, Fudoki* 風土記 (*NKBT*, 2, 470–477).

23. *Nihon shoki*, VI (Suinin 90:2:1); *Kojiki*, II (*NKBT*, 1, 202–203). See Aston, "Nihongi," I, 186; Philippi, *Kojiki*, 226.

24. Chinese novelette ascribed to Chang Chou 張鷟 (?660–732). See *The Dwelling of Playful Goddess*, trans. by Howard S. Levy. For its influence on Japanese literature, see Kojima, *Jōdai Nihon bungaku*, II, 1013–1071; III, 1443–1456.

a Chinese novelette which enjoyed great popularity among educated people during the Nara and Heian periods, is a tale of a visit to the ideal land of immortals in the mountains.[25] The popularity of these tales suggests that the Taoist idea of the eternal land was accepted in Japan at an early date and spread widely from the seventh century.

"The other world" as a creation of popular imagination does not present a uniform image. However, several ideas of the other world found in the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Fudoki* may be classified as follows: a heavenly land known as Takamagahara 高天原, an underground land known as Yomi no kuni, which is a Japanese reading of the Chinese Huang-ch'üan-kuo or "Land of the Yellow Springs" 黄泉國, and a distant land beyond the sea known as Tokoyo no kuni 常世國. Although these categories are diverse in origin and nature, they are not necessarily exclusive of each other and together they suggest a common symbolic understanding of the other world.[26] For the ancient Japanese, the other world meant the land of the dead or the abode of kami or immortals which lies somewhere above, below, or beyond this world, where the living might visit under certain conditions.

Buddhist ideas of the other world fascinated those who lacked a well-delineated cosmology in China as well as in Japan. Just as the doctrines of karma and samsara were novel and appealing, so, too, were the ideas of paradise and hell, which offered a differentiated view of the other world, and the notion of judgment after death with a judge presiding. In the Indian tradition inherited by Buddhism, five or six levels of existence characterize the cosmos.[27] Although different peoples at different periods of their history had their own particular beliefs, there were also some basic similarities: the hells were located at the bottom; the heavens which housed the deities were on top; men and animals existed in between. One of the earliest Buddhist scriptures presents such a cosmic image:

> The four lands [that is, Jambudvīpa in the south, Pūrvavidehadvīpa in the east, Avaragodāṇīyadvīpa in the west, and Uttarakurudvīpa in the north] are surrounded by eight thousand lands, which are again enclosed by the great ocean. There is a great mountain, Mt. Diamond, encircled by the waters and again by an outer mountain, a second Mt. Diamond. Between them there

25. According to Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*, "visit to the other world" is indexed as F. 111.

26. See Matsumura Takeo, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, IV, chap. 5. For a good English summary of various theories on the other world, see C. Ouwehand, *Namazue and their Themes*, 85–96.

27. See Chap. I(2)a, n. 127.

is an abyss so deep that no light of the solar or lunar deities, although effective in the heavens, could penetrate it.[28]

This abyss is hell (*naraka*).

When this conception of hell was introduced into China, it was transliterated as 奈落迦, or translated as 地獄, *ti-yü* or underground prison, and often combined with the name of T'ai shan 泰(太)山 or Mt. T'ai in early translations.[29] This was a device for presenting a new idea in old clothing to facilitate understanding and acceptance. In many regions of pre-Buddhist China, people venerated mountains as an abode of deities, and emperors and nobles made offerings on the mountains to pray for the prosperity of the land. T'ai shan in Shantung province gained national preeminence as the residence of the lord who was believed to control life and death, and as a gathering place for the spirits of the dead.[30] Taoist and Buddhist ascetics chose mountains for their retreats, seeking a better understanding of the mystery of the universe; they believed that deities, spirits, or Buddhas would appear and help them attain mystical knowledge.[31] Mountains were identified with the other world, including both the land of the dead and the land of immortals. However, before the introduction of Buddhist ideas, hell and paradise were not clearly differentiated.

The *Nihon ryōiki* does not present a uniform image of the other world. We can recognize a difference between the earlier and later tales: the former are more varied and reflect some pre-Buddhist but not necessarily indigenous ideas, while the latter tend to be stereotyped and patterned on the Buddhist tradition. Fourteen of the one hundred and sixteen stories that share the same motif of a visit to the other world, are distributed as follows:

Vol.	Tale	Reign	Year
I.	5	Empress Suiko	593–628
	30	Emperor Monmu	697–707
II.	5, 7, 16, 19, 25	Emperor Shōmu	724–748
III.	9	Empress Shōtoku	764–770
	22, 23, 26, 37	Emperor Kōnin	771–780
	35, 36	Emperor Kanmu	781–796

28. *Jōagon-gyō* 長阿含經, I (*Taishō*, I, 121bc). Cf. Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośaśāstra* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (*Taishō*, XXIX, 57c–58a).

29. See Sawada Mizuho, *Jigoku-hen*, 43ff., for references to the *Rokudo jik-kyō*·六度集經 (trans. 251–280), *Hokku hiyu-gyō* 法句比喩經 (trans. 290–306), *Shutchō-gyō* 出曜經 (trans. 350–417), etc.

30. Cf. Edouard Chavannes, *Le T'ai chan*.

31. Cf. Ko Hung 葛洪, *Pao-p'u-tzu* 抱朴子, XVII. See James R. Ware, trans., *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of* A.D. *320*, 279.

The first two stories date from the seventh century; the remainder, from the eighth. The earliest one is of a journey to the golden mountain in the Prince Shōtoku legend mentioned above.[32] In the second story the other world lies beyond a river and is called "the land in the southern direction" 圖南國, or "a strange wonder land" (I.30). It owes its origin to the *Chuang-tzu* 莊子, a Taoist classic, in which the Southern Ocean or "the Pool of Heaven" 天池, a Chinese mythological resort of deities, is known as the destination of the flight of the mythical bird, *p'eng* 鵬.[33]

Therefore, we may conclude that early stories give the idea of the other world as a distant land, whether in the mountains or beyond the waters, although hell and Yama, the lord of the dead, are also included in the second story.

The Buddhist tradition combined the southern paradise, Kannon's land, with an oceanic image of the other world. In India it is called Mt. Potalaka (Ch. Po-t'o-lo shan; Jap. Fudarakusan 補陀落山), a legendary mountain on the southern coast of India or an island in the southern ocean, where Avalokiteśvara resides and protects navigators.[34] Although the *Nihon ryōiki* does not refer to this land, which became a focus for devotion during the Heian period, the second story discussed above shows a possible link with such a development. The ancient Japanese idea of the other world beyond the sea is filled with Taoist and Buddhist images and symbols.

In the later stories in which hell is a major feature of the other world, the image of a distant land is stronger than that of an underground land. Water often separates the land of the living from that of the dead. One can reach the other world only by crossing a bridge (I.30) or fording a river, guided by messengers from the lord of the dead.[35]

> Ahead of us there was a deep river; the water being as black as ink, did not run but stood still. A good-sized young branch was placed in the middle of the stream, but it was not long enough to reach both sides of the river. The messenger said to me, "Follow me into the stream and ford it by following in my footsteps." Thus he guided me across [III.9].

32. See Chap. I(2)c.

33. *Chuang-tzu*, I(1)l. See James Legge, trans., *The Text of Taoism* (*SBE*, XXXIX, 164).

34. This belief originated with the chapter on Kannon of the *Hoke-kyō* (*Myōhōrenge-kyō*, XXV) (*Taishō*, IX, 56c); Kern, trans., *Saddharma* (XXIV, 406–407); Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō* (XXV, 404); and *Kegon-gyō* (*Taishō*, X, 366c).

35. These stories suggest a possible relation to the symbols in the Iranian tradition, that is, Cinvat Bridge, Bridge of Requiter, which leads to heaven or hell, and which the dead have to cross. However, in the *Nihon ryōiki* the other world is not differentiated into two parts. See R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, 302–308.

This crossing may symbolize a rite of passage from one world to the other. Purification by ablution was known to the Japanese from early times. A good illustration is found in the story of the primordial kami couple: Izanagi 伊邪那伎 followed his deceased consort Izanami 伊邪那美 to Yomi no kuni, the dark land of defilement; on his return from the land of the dead, he purified himself in the river and gave birth to several kami, including Amaterasu Ōmikami.[36] The river of death became the river of life.

Izanagi, as we see, could freely visit the other world, although there were certain prohibitions and rites to which he had to subscribe. Similarly, one story of the *Nihon ryōiki* tells of a prohibition against eating food cooked in the land of the dead, violation of which prevents one's return to the world of the living (II.7).[37] After the age of kami, only folk heroes, ascetics, or shamans, who practiced austerities, could attain such power, which is symbolized by a jewel or treasure obtained through a visit to the other world.[38] They came back to the world to help people by means of the power which they had gained.[39] Various experiences through which one discovered the mystery of the world were symbolically expressed as visits to the other worlds, whereby the hero might encounter the divine, the Buddha, or spirits.

A similar form is found in stories which tell how a bodhisattva, instead of entering nirvana, returns to this world to work for the universal salvation of all sentient beings. Mahayana Buddhism shifted the the emphasis from the goal of personal liberation to the process of bringing liberation for all. The bodhisattva ideal, expressed in such a form, was actualized by Buddhist monks and ascetics, who entered the mountains in pursuit of mystical experiences and then returned to their villages and temples to guide their fellow beings. In other words, the traditional cosmology provided a frame of reference for the bodhisattva ideal which had been actualized in the traditional practice of entering the mountains for retreats.

The *Hoke-kyō* gives a scriptural basis for such practices carried out in remote areas and in the mountains. The following is from Maitreya's discourse with Mañjuśrī, explaining Buddha's miraculous signs:

36. *Kojiki*, I (*NKBT*, I, 68–73). See Philippi, trans., *Kojiki*, 61–70.

37. For a detailed analysis, see Matsumura, *Nihon shinwa*, II, 427–439.

38. Skt. *maṇi*, which has the power to protect man from disaster and misfortune; Buddhist tradition says that Śākyamuni's relics were transformed into jewels. In China jade corresponds to *maṇi*. (See Berthold Laufer, *Jade*.) Jade symbolizes sovereign power, immortality, cosmic deities, etc.

39. See Maeda Egaku, "Ryokō no tochū tasekai ni sōgū suru monogatari kō," *IBK*, VI (No. 1, January 1958), 196–200; expanded in "Indo Bukkyō ni arawareta tasekai hōmontan no seikaku," *Bungaku ni okeru higan hyōshō no kenkyū*, ed. by Ueda Yoshifumi and others.

"I see also many monks in the mountains and woods leading rigorous lives as if they are protecting a bright jewel."[40] The *Nihon ryōiki* contains two stories of monks who entered the mountains, recited the *Hoke-kyō* and eventually died there. The fact that even after death their tongues never ceased the recitation suggests the significance of this scripture for such ascetic monks and lay brothers (III.1).[41]

Throughout Japan there are mountains which have become centers for such religious activities. In Kinai, the central region of Japan in its early history, the Yoshino 吉野 area was a great center for ascetic practices, and Mt. Golden Peak, Kane no take 金峯, was particularly well known (I.28, 31; II.26; III.1, 6). The legend of E no Ozunu says that he disciplined himself in this region and, as a result, gained control of the local spirits and deities. He was later involved in a power struggle with Hitokotonushi no Kami of Mt. Kazuraki 葛城 (木).[42] After he was exiled as a result of Hitokotonushi no Kami's complaints about him to the emperor, he went to Mt. Fuji 富岼 (士) to practice austerities (I.28). This legend suggests that the practice of austerities in the mountains was known at an early date, and the following story is another example:

> In Kamino district in Iyo province there was a mountain called Iwazuchi-yama 石槌山. The name was derived from that of the Kami of Iwazuchi who lived on the mountain. It was so high that ordinary persons could not reach the summit. Only men pure in mind and deed could climb up and live there [III.39].

Buddhist ascetics climbed the mountains to make their retreats, and the kami of the mountains were believed to help them. Only special persons could carry out austerities and receive the blessing of the kami.

Encounters between men and the Buddha, local spirits, or other manifestations of divinity in the mountains is a recurrent theme in many religious traditions. As we have seen, Emperor Yūryaku met Hitokotonushi no Kami in the mountains and received a blessing in exchange for his offerings. However, the same kami was bound by E no Ozunu's spell. The legend of Mañjuśrī's descent on Mt. Wu-t'ai played an important role in legitimizing Buddhism in Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan. In these countries, legends were ascribed to some members of the royal family, identifying them as incarnations of bodhisattvas. In each tradition people looked for a mountain in their

40. *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, I (*Taishō*, IX, 4c). 或有諸比丘在於山林中精神持戒猶護明珠.

41. The possible prototype of these stories is the biography of Kumārajiva in the *Kao-seng chuan*, II (*Taishō*, L. 333a), by Hui-ch'iao. When he died and was cremated, only his tongue remained unburned. 卽於逍遙園依外國法以火焚屍薪滅形碎唯舌不灰.

42. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 119.

own land to claim as the center of the cosmos, or the point where the sacred jutted into the world of men.

The *Nihon ryōiki* mentions several mountains famous as retreats for ascetics and suggests that they became centers for religious practices in their particular localities: for example, Mts. Yoshino and Kumano in Kinai 畿内; Mt. Iwazuchi in Shikoku 四國; and Mt. Fuji in Kantō 關東. Each mountain was the symbolic center of the cosmos for those who accepted it as the place where revelations might take place.

> *There*, in *that* place, the hierophany repeats itself. In this way the place becomes an inexhaustible source of power and sacredness and enables man, simply by entering it, to have a share in the power, to hold communion with the sacredness.[43]

In the Heian period many pilgrims and ascetics were attracted to Mt. Yoshino. Originally it was believed to be the prospective site for Maitreya's descent at the end of the world, and later to be the site for the appearnace of Amida and Kannon. There is a list of Buddhist monks who entered the sea and were drowned in their attempt to cross over to Kannon's pure land from the foot of Mt. Nachi 那智山 at Kumano, which was identified as the gate to that pure land.[44]

The Prince Shōtoku legend is a good illustration of the fusion of Taoist and Buddhist symbols. He stands on the peak of the golden mountain and is given a jewel by a monk, Mañjuśrī's incarnation. In ancient China, jade and gold were prominent symbols of power and immortality. The symbolic structure remains unchanged, although the jade may now take the form of a bead in a Buddhist rosary and immortality be interpreted to mean rebirth as a bodhisattva who will save all sentient beings.

The Buddhist cosmology had a great influence on the vague, undifferentiated world view of the Japanese, although new symbols tended to be accepted in the traditional frame of reference. In Japan the fantastic scale of the Hindu-Buddhist cosmos was restricted frequently to the physical boundaries of the Japanese islands. As cosmology is the fundamental and essential ground for Buddhist doctrines in Mahayana Buddhism, these cosmic symbols played a crucial role in the understanding of Buddhism in Japan.

c. *Paradise and Hell*

For the Chinese and the Japanese, the most novel ideas in the Buddhist cosmology were those of paradise and hell and of judgment

43. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 368.
44. Hori, *Wagakuni minkan shinkōshi no kenkyū*, II, 231–236.

after death.[45] In the *Nihon ryōiki* a prominent feature of the other world is the golden pavilion which stands at its entrance. This is the palace of King Yama (I.30), where men of good karma are welcomed (II.7, 16). Yama is a deity in early Vedic literature and the first dead person to rule the land of the dead.[46] As life and death meet in him and his palace, he has become a symbol of the beginning and the end of life. In these tales of visits to the other world, King Yama appears to inform the dead person which of the five or six paths of destiny he is to take, depending on the records of the dead person's past karma.[47]

Judgment after death is postulated in many religious traditions. For the Hindu-Buddhist tradition it has the following significance: Yama could never exist apart from karmic retribution, and the sentence given by him is not of his own making. He is not a judge in the common legal sense but simply an administrator of the law of causation.

As one story of the *Nihon ryōiki* depicts him, Yama himself is one of these sentient beings who aspire to enlightenment through faith in the Three Treasures. Yama is said to have sent for a devout lay sister who was famous for reciting the *Hannya shin-gyō*.

> Seeing her, the king stood up, made a seat, and spread a mat [for her], saying, "I have heard that you are very good at reciting the *Shin-gyō*. I am longing to hear you, and this is why I have invited you here for a short visit. Will you please recite the scripture? I am listening" [II.19].

Delighted with her recitation, he paid his respects and sent her back to the world. This aspiration of Yama finds a parallel in the story of the Great Kami of Taga, who longed to hear the dharma. Although he was the enshrined guardian of a particular locality, he was also a sentient being seeking his own enlightenment (III.24).[48] This is not a peculiarly Japanese interpretation since we find the following passage in an early Buddhist scripture:

> Once upon a time, monks, it occurred to King Yama: "Those that do evil deeds in the world are subjected to a variety of punishments like these. O that I might acquire human status and that a Tathāgata might arise in the world, a perfected one, a fully Self-Awakened One, and that I might wait on that Lord, and that

45. See S.G.F. Brandon, *The Judgement of the Dead: A Historical and Comparative Study*, for a global treatment of this subject.

46. See Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, III (No. 1, 1959), 44–73, for a diverse image of Yama presented in his various titles.

47. See Chap. I(2)a.

48. See Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, for a general discussion of such phenomena.

that Lord might teach me *dhamma*, and that I might understand that Lord's *dhamma*."[49]

It was necessary for Yama or this kami to be born as a human being to work for enlightenment.

The Buddhist tradition says that a man's activity is composed of three aspects, that is, the physical, the verbal, and the mental. Scriptures emphasize that the mind is the basis for all deeds: "All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, and it is made up of our thought."[50] Kyōkai quotes the following line of the *Nehan-gyō* to the same effect: "All evil deeds originate in wicked minds" (I.29).[51] A passage from the *Daijōbu-ron* 大丈夫論 further expounds the same teaching: "If you offer alms with compassion, the merit will be as great as the earth; but if you offer alms to everyone and it is for your own sake, the reward will be as tiny as a mustard seed" (I.29).[52] There is a constant admonition against good works becoming a mere formality.

A story, probably written as an exposition of a passage of the *Hoke-kyō*, tells how an ignorant man suffered violent death because he deliberately broke a statue made by a child while playing. The pure devotion of the child stands in contrast to the wicked man's intentional violation of dharma (III.29).[53] Faith in the Three Treasures is essential for leading a good life, while particular forms of its expression are subordinate. In the *Nihon ryōiki* the notion that a good life is equal to a long, happy, healthy life, is held by both clergy and laity. Those who had visited the other world lived past the age of ninety (I.5; II.5); eminent monks of virtue lived past the age of seventy or eighty (I.7, 22; II.7; III.30); devout women lived long lives (II.2, 8, 34). Those who confessed their past deeds and accumulated merits were healed of their diseases (I.8; III.11, 12, 34).

On the other hand, people suffer in hell or in the form of an animal because of their evil deeds. Such offenses were those against the

49. *Majjhimanikāya*, 130:186; I. B. Horner, trans., *The Middle Length Sayings*, III, 229–230.
50. *Dhammapada*, I (*SBE*, X, 3).
51. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XXXV, 12 (*Taishō*, 573c).
52. *Daijōbu-ron* (*Taishō*, XXX, 257b).
53. *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, II (*Taishō*, IX, 8c–9a). See Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 57.

Even boys, in their play,
Who, either with reed, wood or pen,
Or with finger-nail,
Have drawn buddhas' images,
All such ones as these,
Gradually accumulating merit,
And perfecting hearts of great pity,
Have all attained the Buddha-way; . . .

Buddha, dharma, and samgha, and killing, which included not only matricide (I.23, 24; II.3) and patricide (III.4), but the killing of animals (I.16; II.40) and the taking of birds' eggs (II.10). The persecutors of monks and usurpers of the samgha properties are pictured as being most severely punished, which may reflect the longings of monks who lived in the decadent age of dharma.

In spite of some preoccupation with man's rebirth in the realm of hell and in the form of animals, the world view of the *Nihon ryōiki* reflects the optimistic attitude of the ancient Japanese. There is little indication of an existential sense of crisis, but rather lamentation for the decadence of the times. The idea of a sinful self is absent, and, instead, emphasis is placed on efforts to improve. The idea of a pure land was still novel and lacked popular appeal; only eminent monks such as Dōshō (I.22), Shingon (II.2), and Kanki (III.30) are known to have been born in such a land. On the other hand, in the *Ōjōden* series compiled between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, there are biographies of those from all social strata—high and low, clerical and lay—who attained rebirth in the pure land.[54]

Hell in Buddhist tradition has something of the quality of purgatory and is not a place of eternal damnation since Buddha-nature inheres in all living beings. In order to pursue the bodhisattva ideal, rebirth as a human being was preferred to rebirth in the pure land or heavens. Jizō 地藏, the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha, out of his compassion for those who suffer, descends to hell to save them. A story, dated in 768, of Fujiwara no asomi Hirotari 藤原朝臣廣足 identifies Jizō with Yama, a tradition which probably originated with the *Daihōkō jūrin-gyō* 大方廣十輪經.[55] Although Jizō was known in Japan as early as the eighth century, the cult centering on him did not become popular until the late Heian period.[56] With the advent of eschatological ideas, he came to be looked upon as a savior who had vowed not to seek his own salvation until all sentient beings had been saved from the world of samsara.

If the autonomy of the law of karmic retribution is emphasized, there is little need for the intervention of a judge or savior. Since the *Nihon ryōiki* represents various stages of transition, it includes con-

54. See Chap. I(2)d, n. 186.

55. *Taishō*, XIII, No. 410. Translated for the first time in the period 397–439. The new translation done by Hsüan-tsang in 651 is *Daijō daijū Jizō jūrin-gyō* 大乘大集地藏十輪經 (*Ibid.*, No. 411, 684c–685a). 是地藏菩薩作沙門像 現神通力之所變化 或作閻羅王身 或作地獄卒身 或作地獄身.

56. See Takase Shigeo, *Kodai sangaku shinkō no shiteki kōsatsu*, 364–368; Manabe Kōsai, *Jizō-bosatsu no kenkyū*, 16–17.

flicting views. For instance, stories dated in 773 and 774 discuss the three paths: the first path is flat and wide; the second is covered with weeds; the third is narrow and hard to pass through because of thick bushes (III.22, 23). Each seems to lead to hell, and Yama tells the dead person which path to follow based on his past karma. The wide and flat path is reserved for devotees of the *Hoke-kyō* or those who have accumulated merits. The narrow and hard path is for the most wicked. However, in the Buddhist scriptures these three paths are interpreted as leading to rebirth in hell, as an animal or as a hungry ghost. In contrast, the stories in the *Nihon ryōiki* do not provide such an exegesis. "The three paths" was a universally popular motif, which was probably adapted to Buddhist tradition. In hero tales a man who chooses the hardest path will be victorious,[57] but in the Buddhist tradition the order of the paths has been reversed as a consequence of the law of karma. In other words, a doer of good deeds will pass along an easy path, while a doer of evil deeds will travel painfully along a difficult one. There is a striking resemblance with the Zoroastrian image of the paths to the nether world.

> (79) And when the soul of the saved passes over that bridge, the breadth of the bridge appears to be one parasang broad. (80) And the soul of the saved passes on accompanied by the blessed Srōsh. (81) And his own good deeds come to meet him in the form of a young girl, . . .[58]

This is the "Bridge of the Requiter" which every man must cross for three days and nights.

In contrast to the well-delineated Iranian or Chinese versions of the other world, the Japanese version in the *Nihon ryōiki* is vague, fragmented, and inconsistent. The Chinese tradition established a bureaucratic system in hell, while the Japanese tradition located hell in a volcano, emphasizing concrete visual imagery.[59] The other world remained essentially homogeneous with this world in spite of its mythical aspects. Another example of this vagueness is found in the notion of time. Indian cosmological thought is full of astronomical units of time duration and numbers. One day and night in hell is said to correspond to a hundred years (III.35); and one day in paradise, to a single year in this world (I.5). Only the Maeda manuscript specifies a "hundred days" in place of the "hundred years" of the other manu-

57. See G. Dumézil, "The Three Last Voyages of Il'Ja of Murom," *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, ed. by Kitagawa and Long, 153–162, for a general discussion of this motif. It is indexed as N. 122 in Stith Thompson, *Motif Index*.

58. *Mēnōk i Khrat*, trans. and quoted by Zaehner, in *The Teachings of the Magi*, 133–134.

59. Cf. Takase, *Kodai sangaku shinkō*.

scripts, and there is an obvious tendency for this manuscript to minimize the use of such astronomical units (III.35).[60] We may conclude that the Japanese popular imagination incorporated foreign ideas to agree with traditional ones. Although novel ideas had considerable appeal, they were not determinative, and the center of attention remained in the life of this world.

In the *Nihon ryōiki*, however, there is an interpretation of the other world that transcends time and space. One such instance is the story about a wicked man who used to eat birds' eggs. One day a messenger from Yama came to lead him into hell. Villagers saw the man running around in the field as if he were crazy until eventually he died from burns. Kyōkai's note says: "Now we are sure of the existence of hell in this world. We should believe in the law of karmic retribution" (II.10). The passage gives a popular understanding of hell as a mode of existence. Although Kyōkai quotes from the *Zen'aku inga-kyō* "The one who roasts and boils chickens in this life will fall into the Hell of the River of Ashes after death,"[61] he insists on the idea of "hell here and now." Hell exists in this world in this life and not in the other world after death. This interpretation is parallel to the popular understanding that Buddhahood was attainable in the life of this world. Accordingly, the world view of the *Nihon ryōiki* is said to be "this-world centered," and stands in sharp contrast to that of a later period when men longed for rebirth in the pure land because of their conviction that they were living in the degenerate age of dharma.

(2) MAN AND POWER

a. *What Makes Man Human*

In the Buddhist world view not only human beings but all living beings are destined to die and to suffer as a result of their desires. Each being forms a psychic entity intricately connected with all other beings. As shown by Kyōkai, the doctrines of karma and samsara are understood in the following way: "Beasts in the present life might have been our parents in a past life" (I.21). Therefore, every act, whether good or bad, will leave its effect on the community of all beings as well as on the actor. For this reason many Buddhist treatises have the same ending as the three prefaces in the *Nihon ryōiki*.

60. See Koizumi Michi, "*Ryōiki* no shohon o megutte," *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō*, No. 34 (December 1966), 18–38. Another case is found in the size of Kṣitigarbha's finger (III.9). Although the other manuscripts have "about ten yards around," the Maeda manuscript specifies "about five feet around."

61. *Zen'aku inga-kyō* (*Taishō*, LXXXV, 1381).

The deep significance of the three karmas as taught by Buddha,
I have thus completed elucidating in accord with the Dharma and logic:
By dint of this merit I pray to deliver all sentient beings
And to make them soon attain perfect enlightenment.[62]

This passage expresses the author's sincere wish to offer his merit for the deliverance of his fellow beings. "Merit" (Skt. *puṇya*) is the motive force toward enlightenment, but the realization of interdependent relationships among all existences is a positive restraint against the accumulation of merit for oneself alone.

Kyōkai reveals his view of man in a section of his autobiographical material (III.38). Although man is driven by desire, he also possesses potential for enlightenment. Kyōkai believed that some people totally lacked such potential, for in interpreting his first dream, he says: "'He does not have any ways to support them' means that those who lack potential are not oriented for enlightenment" (III.38). In the note to a story on a wicked robber who broke a Buddhist statue, he quotes from the *Nehan-gyō*, and adds his comment:

> "Those of the *ichisendai* 一闡提 shall perish forever. If you kill even an ant, you will be accused of the sin of killing; you will not, however, be accused of the sin of killing if you kill the *ichisendai*." (Because the *ichisendai* slanders the Three Treasures, fails to preach to all beings, and lacks a sense of gratitude, killing him is not a sin.) [II.22].

Ichisendai is a transliteration of a Sanskrit term *icchantika*, which is translated as "culmination of desires" 極欲, "one lacking faith" 信不具足, "one lacking good stock" 斷善根. It designates a man who is driven continuously by his desires and lacks any potential for enlightenment,[63] who commits sins and never repents.

Ichisendai was a controversial concept in both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, for it conflicts with the idea of universal Buddha-nature expounded in the same *Nehan-gyō*.[64] Since the goal of Buddhists is

62. Vasubandhu, *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, trans. and quoted by D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 194. See Yamaguchi Susumu, *Seshin no Jōgō-ron*, 254–256.

63. Skt. *gotra* translated as *shushō* (*shujō*) 種性 (姓): potential for enlightenment which leads men to any of the three *yāna*. Buddhist schools differ on the concept of *gotra;* some consider it a priori 本性住種性, while the others a posteriori 習所成種性. See Tokiwa Daijō, *Busshō no kenkyū*, for the whole doctrinal development of the Buddha-nature in human beings.

64. See Mizutani Kōshō, "Ichisendai kō," *Bukkyō daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, XL (December 1961), 63–107.

enlightenment, the doctrine of Buddha-nature or *Tathāgatagarbha* is fundamental. The *Hoke-kyō* and *Nehan-gyō*, which influenced Kyōkai more than any other scriptures, are known for the doctrine that Buddha-nature exists in all sentient beings, while both denounce those who slander Mahayana teachings. However, Kyōkai never stressed the central message of the *Nehan-gyō*, that all sentient beings have Buddha-nature; instead, he repeatedly warned against those who committed offenses against the Three Treasures, such as persecutors of monks, usurpers of temple properties, and slanderers of dharma. Kyōkai explicitly says that a man who commits such acts is inferior to an ant. He also says:

> Without compassion man is just like a crow. The *Nehan-gyō* says: "Though there is a distinction in respectability between man and animal, they share the fact that they cherish life and take death seriously." [II.10][65]

Man shares a common destiny of mortality with other living beings, and knowledge of mortality makes him cherish both his own life and that of others. However, he differs from them in that he is able to attain enlightenment. Buddhists often say that it is difficult to obtain birth as a human being and hear dharma.[66] This statement can be understood only in the context of the Buddhist cosmology which presupposes an infinite expanse of time and various modes of existence. If a man fails to make good use of this rare opportunity with gratitude, he is no better than an animal.

Kyōkai expounds this further in a group of tales on the theme of repaying kindness, in which animals and ghosts, having been saved, rescue their benefactors (I.7, 12; II.5, 8, 12, 16; III.27). His note says: "Even an animal does not forget gratitude, and repays an act of kindness. How, then, could a righteous man fail to have a sense of gratitude? (I.7) The passage echoes a story about a wild fox in which Śākyamuni says that even a wild fox knows gratitude and pays back an act of kindness; how much more, then, should a man feel grateful for having been born as a man and been given an opportunity to hear the preaching of the dharma. In the Buddhist cosmology the notion of *on* 恩 based on the realization that there is interdependent relationship among all living beings. *On* became a central principle for guiding

65. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō* (*Taishō*, XII, 484b). 雖復人畜 尊卑差別 寶命畏死 二俱無異.

66. See *Dhammapada*, 182: "Difficult (to obtain) is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the true Law, difficult is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood)." Translated by Max Müller (*SBE*, X, 50).

67. *Zōagon-gyō* 雜阿含經, XLVII (*Taishō*, II, No. 99, 346ab).

conduct in a hierarchical society.[68] The concept of the four kinds of *on* (*shion* 四恩) originated about the sixth century; the *Shōbō nenjo-kyō* 正法念處經 identifies them as indebtedness to mother, father, Tathāgata (Ja. Nyorai),[69] and monks, while the *Shinji kan-gyō* 心地觀經 gives another list, namely, indebtedness to parents, all fellow beings, king, and the Three Treasures.[70] In China, Confucian ethical teaching was combined with the Buddhist notion of *on* (Ch. *en*), and understood as the path of bodhisattvas.[71]

The motif of "the grateful dead" is universal (I.12; III. 27), and that of animals, fish, and other creatures repaying indebtedness often occurs in Buddhist scriptures.[72] The *Nihon ryōiki* contains tales of "the grateful crabs (II.8, 12), a tortoise (I.7), fish (II.5), and oysters (II.16)." The tales on crabs became the prototype of the Kaniman-ji 蟹滿寺 cycle, legends concerning the foundation of temples or the origin of local names,[73] and gave rise to many versions of folktales about the crab. On the other hand, a crow is used as a symbol of evil, as we have seen in Kyōkai's note quoted above (II.10), and in the story of Shingon (II.2). The popular belief in the crow as an unlucky bird may go back to the earliest period of history.

Śākyamuni taught that misery arises from desire and attachment and concluded that their eradication would lead to enlightenment. Thus, the mind is the focus of discipline in the Buddhist tradition, and enlightenment means a state free from any desire. The Chinese and Japanese interpreted this as an affirmation of life, the goal of which is an orderly restructuring of desire rather than an attempt at its total annihilation. Desire is not only the cause of misery, but also the cause for positive action. Therefore, lay life is valued as much as monastic life in Japan, and the *Nihon ryōiki* tales illustrate this wide humanism.

Kyōkai's positive attitude is evident in the way he deals with stories about human passion. He quotes a scriptural passage in the story of a

68. For *on* in the later social context in Japan, see Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion*, 20–21, 70–73, 77–78, and elsewhere, and Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, 99–116, although these authors ignored the Buddhist cosmological significance and limited *on* to the social ethical context.

69. *Shōbō nenjo-kyō*, LXI (*Taishō*, XVII, No. 721, 359b). 有四種恩甚其難報何等爲四 一者母二者父三者如來四者說法法師若有供養此四種人得無量福.

70. *Daijō honjō shinji kan-gyō* 大乘本生心地觀經, II (*Taishō*, III, No. 159, 297a). 出世恩有其四種 一父母恩二衆生恩 三國王恩四三寶恩如是四恩.

71. See Mibu Taishun, "On the Thought '*kṛtajña*' or '知恩' in Buddhism," *IBK*, XIV (No. 2, March 1966), 951–961; Sasaki Kentoku, "Bukkyō no onshisō o kiwamete Jōdomon no soreni oyobu," *Umehara Kangaku koki kinen ronbunshū*, 19–47.

72. The *Shokyō yōshū* which influenced Kyōkai contains one chapter on repaying kindness (*Taishō*, LIV, 67c–70c). See Chap. I(2)c, n. 154.

73. See Kurosawa Kōzō, "Kaniman-ji engi no genryū to sono seiritsu," *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, No. 535 (September 1968), 14–24.

scripture copier who, driven by lust, had intercourse with a girl while he was at work in a temple and was punished by death. "If you know what the five kinds of desire are, you will not find any pleasure in them. Nor will you remain a slave to them . . . even momentarily"[74] (III.18). Kyōkai does not necessarily negate desire per se; he negates the desire that drives man to oppose the Three Treasures. In other words, he is against any desire which prevents man from accepting dharma. One story tells of a lay brother who lusted after the statue of a female deity[75] until the deity responded to him because of his single-mindedness (II.13). Kyōkai does not condemn him for his lust, but simply remarks, "Indeed we know that profound faith never fails in gaining a response." He does reject another kind of lust, however. A wicked husband violated his wife while she was observing a period of strict discipline for a day and night, and he was punished by death as a consequence of his wicked lust (II.11). In another story a licentious woman who had affairs with many men and deserted her children died suffering from swollen breasts, but after death she asked her children to forgive her (III.16). These acts are called wicked by the author, and those who committed such acts are all punished by death. These offenses are religious rather than moralistic since the fundamental cause lies in the ignorance of dharma.

It is clear that the *Nehan-gyō* influenced Kyōkai's view of man. In spite of his denunciation of *ichisendai*, Kyōkai basically agreed with Saichō in not recognizing any distinction between clergy and laity.[76] In an attempt to unify the conflicting doctrines, the *Nehan-gyō* says that if the *ichisendai* confesses his sin, he will attain the way of Buddha.[77] What makes possible this fundamental change is faith in dharma, which is a turning of the heart to the Three Treasures. More than half of the legends in the *Nihon ryōiki* are about poor helpless people who were saved by Buddha in answer to their single-hearted faith. Even men driven by desire are accepted by Buddha for their great devotion. Notes by the author which explicitly stress the significance of faith are found in twelve stories: one from the first volume (I.17), four from the second (II.6, 13, 15, 28), and seven from the third (III.3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 25, 34). Since the *Nihon ryōiki* is arranged chronologically, this distribution shows that profound faith and utmost devotion (至心) were increasingly emphasized. Katayose says that "utmost

74. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XXII (*Taishō*, XII, 496); *Bonmō-kyō koshakki* (*Taishō*, XL, 705).
75. Kichijō-ten; see Chap. II(1)a, n. 6.
76. Saichō, "Kenkai-ron," *Dengyō Daishi zenshū*, I, 112. See Nakao Toshihiro, "Dengyō Daishi Saichō no ningenkan," *Bukkyō no ningenkan*, ed. by Nihon Bukkyō gakkai, 188–203.
77. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō* (*Taishō*, XII, 425c–426a).

devotion" is a central theme in the Buddhist legends of the *Konjaku monogatarishū*, compiled in the twelfth century, and that it is the forerunner of the rise of the pure land faith which swept Japan during the Kamakura period (1192–1333).[78] As we have seen, however, the *Nihon ryōiki* has already insisted that faith is the basis for salvation, which is available to all beings.

A story is told of two ignorant fishermen who, on a stormy night, were told to collect driftwood by their master. While doing so, they drifted out of port on their broken raft. After repeatedly crying out: "Śākyamuni Buddha, please deliver us from this calamity!" they were eventually saved by the Buddha's compassion, repented of their past occupation, and became monks. The author comments as follows:

> The sea being full of danger, it was owing to the power of Shaka-nyorai and the deep faith of those who drifted on the sea that they could survive the peril [III.25].

This story illustrates a typical pattern of conversion in the *Nihon ryōiki:* men come to repent of their past karma in their experience of peril, illness, misery, or rescue, and thereafter they become devout followers of Buddha. As soon as faith arises in their hearts, they are saved. Repentance of past karma leads to the confession of sins in the present as well as to the making of a vow for the future. The seeds of faith are sown in man, but because of ignorance some men fail to discover and cultivate them.

Kyōkai's view of man is also substantiated in the way he treats people of noble birth. As we have seen, he accepted the traditions of the court histories, such as the *Nihon shoki* and *Shoku Nihongi*, but he tried to interpret history from the Buddhist view of the law of karmic causality. A high status at birth indicated, for him, merit accumulated in previous lives. There is a story of two virtuous monks who were born as princes as a consequence of their past karma (III.39). This does not mean that highborn men were infallible or free from evil; rather, there were emperors and princes who erred because they were too proud, inconsiderate, or passionate. For instance, Prince Nagaya 長屋王 perished because he insulted some monks (II.1); Prince Uji 宇遲王 was punished by death because he persecuted a Buddhist mendicant (II.35); Empress Jitō was admonished by her loyal minister for being inconsiderate of her subjects (I.25). Above all, Kyōkai describes the love affair between Empress Shōtoku (Kōken) and the Buddhist monk Dōkyō more frankly than any court chronicle ever dared to do (III.38). Kyōkai does not state his opinion directly, but records the popular

78. Katayose, *Konjaku monogatarishū-ron*, Part I, Chap. 2.

satirical songs about the empress and the monk that were sung on the streets at that time. Although the empress was noted in other writings as a great patron of Buddhism, this fact is never mentioned in the *Nihon ryōiki*, and little restraint is shown in describing the sexual indiscretion of the empress. It is important to remember that Kyōkai compiled the *Nihon ryōiki* in the early Heian period when the government was trying to break its close ties with Buddhist institutions in Nara, for which the empress was partially responsible. However, this realism may also be the natural outcome of the Buddhist emphasis upon seeing the world as it really is.

In Indian history, the Brahmans held the highest place in the caste structure, and the ruler had to seek their sanction and support. The idea of *cakravartin* (*tenrin jōō* 轉輪聖王), a universal king who turns the wheel of the land, developed among the Buddhists as a result of the universality of their teachings.[79] The *cakravartin* is an ideal king who protects all sentient beings by ruling the world on the sole basis of the dharma as revealed by Śākyamuni. Early Buddhist scriptures present him as the best of all men; later ones mythologize and emphasize his superhuman character. This idea of *cakravartin* was readily accepted outside of India, where rulers were viewed as cosmic figures or mediators between the divine and human realms. Since Buddhism was introduced to those lands mainly on the initiative of the rulers, they were receptive to the idea of *cakravartin* and identified themselves with the ideal universal king.

In Japanese history, actual political power has customarily been exercised by influential court nobles and later by a growing warrior class, rather than by the emperor. The Japanese emperor traditionally was more a symbol of the unity of the people than an active political ruler. The Confucian image of the sage emperor and probably the Buddhist idea of *cakravartin* were adopted when the court started compiling the earliest histories, and this gave Kyōkai an impressive precedent. In his preface he looks back at Japanese history and says:

> There are many examples of piety in the imperial line. For instance, it is said that there was an emperor who climbed a hill to survey his domain, had compassion for the people, and thereafter contented himself with a palace that had a leaky roof. Again, there was a prince who was innately prudent and foresighted, able to listen to ten men addressing him at the same time without

79. See Fujita Kōtatsu, "Tenrin jōō ni tsuite," in *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku ronshū*, 145–156. For a general treatment of Indian kingship see J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (reprint from *Numen*, III, IV).

missing a single word. . . . Another emperor made great vows and, as an act of devotion, built a statue of Buddha. Heaven aided his vows, and the earth opened its treasure house to offer gold [I.Preface].

This passage is based on the accounts in the *Nihon shoki* concerning Emperor Nintoku, Prince Shōtoku, and Emperor Shōmu. These men are venerated not because of their hereditary status but because of their deeds of compassion and faith as illustrated in their legends.

Prince Shōtoku and Emperor Shōmu are regarded as incarnations of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (I.5), who came to Japan to propagate the Buddhist teachings. Kyōkai shows great veneration for Emperor Saga in whose reign he probably concluded the writing of the *Nihon ryōiki*. Emperor Saga was a great patron of learning and of the new Buddhist schools of Tendai and Shingon. In the *Nihon ryōiki* Emperor Saga is described as an incarnation of Dhyāna Master Jakusen 寂仙, and, therefore, a sage emperor. Kyōkai argues for the merits of Emperor Saga as a sage emperor. Those who favored Emperor Saga said that he was a sage emperor because he had abolished capital punishment and had ruled the state with benevolence. Those who were against him said that he was not compassionate because he enjoyed hunting, and he was not virtuous enough to maintain the harmony of the universe and prevent natural calamities from descending on the people. Kyōkai says in reply to the latter:

Their charge, however, is not right. Everything in the country he reigns over belongs to him, and we cannot claim as our own even a piece of earth the size of a needle point. All are at the will of the emperor. How could we accuse him of such things? Even in the reign of the sage emperors Yao and Shun, there were also droughts and plagues. So we should refrain from such abuse [III.39].

In Kyōkai's defense of Emperor Saga we hear the echoes of the ideology of universal sovereignty found in the Chinese classics. Some Buddhist scriptures reveal similar ideas; the *Shinji kan-gyō* states:

Mountain, river, earth of the land,
Reaching all the way to the ocean,
Belong to the Lord;
For in fortune and virtue he excels all others.[80]

80. *Shinji kan-gyō*, II (*Taishō*, III, 297c). 於其國界山河大地盡大海際屬于國王一人福德勝過一切衆生福故. Cf. Matsunaga Yūkei, "Gokoku shisō no kigen," *IBK*, XV (No. 1, December 1966), 69–78; Kanaoka Shūyū, "Konkōmyō-kyō no teiō-kan to sono Shina-Nihon-teki juyō," *Bukkyō shigaku*, VI (No. 4, October 1957), 21–32.

The monarchy being a divine institution, passive obedience on the part of the people is enjoined. Buddhist rulers govern the state with the altruistic love of bodhisattvas, and the people should respond with obedience and loyalty. The Buddhist idea of dependent origination is applied to the social hierarchy in this case, and the sense of gratitude, particularly toward a ruler, is emphasized.

The significance of the emperor in the Japanese tradition rests on the notions that there is temporal continuity of an unbroken line of imperial rule from ancestors in the remote past to descendants in the future and that there is a cosmic unity of heaven, earth, and man. Kyōkai's attempts to reconcile such fundamental notions about his own tradition with Buddhist universalistic ideas met with only limited success. One difficulty in delineating his view of man is due to conflicting materials present in the Buddhist scriptures, which had been written at different times and places. The primary difficulty, however, is that his participation in a social order based on such deeply rooted hierarchical principles limited his claims for the universal dharma.

b. *Woman as a Cosmic Symbol*

During the one hundred and seventy-seven years of the Asuka and Nara periods, roughly the years covered by the *Nihon ryōiki*, six empresses reigned for a total of seventy-two years.[81] They were all members of the imperial family, and one reason for their selection was the difficulty of deciding on a male ruler. Female rulers in the sixth and seventh centuries were empress dowagers. In the eighth century, after the establishment of the Chinese legal system, women became empresses as a result of the principle of parent-child succession that replaced the traditional principle of succession from brother to brother. Several theories have been advanced for the large number of women rulers. Orikuchi Shinobu, a contemporary Japanese classicist, stresses the shamanistic role of the empress on the presupposition that the ancient tribal rule was carried out through the collaboration of the male chieftain and a female shaman.[82] His theory does not hold

81.

Empress	Reign	Empress	Reign
Suiko	593–628	Genmyō	708–714
Kōgyoku	642–644	Genshō	715–723
Saimei (Kōgyoku)	655–661	Kōken	749–757
Jitō	687–696	Shōtoku (Kōken)	764–770

Parentheses indicate rule for a second period.

82. Orikuchi, "Nyotei-kō," *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū*, XX, 1–23.

up in the case of an empress dowager succeeding her deceased husband because a female shaman such as Amaterasu Ōmikami[83] and Himiko 卑彌呼[84] was a virgin of the tribe and not a chieftain's wife with children.

Inoue Mitsusada makes a clear distinction between female rulers of the sixth and seventh centuries and those of the eighth century and rejects Orikuchi's theory as an excessively mythological interpretation. However, he does not deny the influence of a mythical, shamanistic female ruler even as late as the Nara period. According to Inoue, the frequent appearance of female rulers in that age is not an isolated phenomenon at court but an indication of the persistence of a matrilineal tradition that had existed before the Taika Reform (645) and was patterned on the Chinese patrilineal tradition. Although family registries dating from 702 show that the heads of families were usually males, it is assumed that the early tradition was still alive in the practice of using the mother's surname in naming the child during the Nara period and even in the Heian period.[85]

The stories of the *Nihon ryōiki* describe a rich diversity of women, both high and low, rich and poor, lay and clerical. Thirty tales out of one hundred and sixteen feature heroines, and women appear in in another ten. Nuns appear in six stories (I.35; II.2, 17, 19; III.19, 34), and the remainder are devoted to lay women. As mentioned above, the legal system of the society was patrilineal, but social convention betrayed the persistence of the matrilineal tradition. A typical family of a freeman consisted of a dozen members: husband and wife, children, close relatives, and servants. After marriage a wife usually lived in her husband's family (I.2; II.27; III.4). On the other hand, going to the wife's home for courtship and marriage was also in practice (I.31; II.33, 34). Supporting parents was an established practice, and failure to do so brought ethical condemnation (I.23, 24). In spite of such a patrilineal society, stories about parent-child relationships stress the maternal ties in all but three instances (I.9, 10, 15).

83. The sun goddess and mythological ancestor of the imperial family whose name literally means Heaven-shining-great-deity. According to Naoki Kōjirō, Amaterasu was probably a local deity of Ise or a priestess of the sun-god enshrined at Ise. The Grand Shrine of Ise originated in the latter part of the fifth century, and the close tie with the imperial family was established probably in the reign of Emperor Kinmei in the early sixth century. See his *Nihon kodai no shizoku to tennō*, 241–268.

84. The *Wei chih* 魏志 compiled about 297 A.D. gives passages on Wa 倭 (Japan), and refers to Himiko (or Pimiko) as its ruler. "She occupied herself with magic and sorcery bewitching the people. Though mature in age, she remained unmarried. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country . . . ." See R. Tsunoda and L. C. Goodrich, *Japan in Chinese Dynastic Histories*, 8–16.

85. Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon Kodai*, 223–253. See III.16, 39. Cf. *Kojiki*, II (*NKBT*, 1, 145).

Buddhism introduced in its world view the notion of the equality of all beings before dharma. Śākyamuni's teachings which challenged social discrimination and the caste-oriented society, appealed to women as well as to lower-caste people in India. Equality was realized within the samgha in which discussions and decisions were made in the council of all members. However, some qualifications were made on the status of woman in the samgha. In spite of the fact that early Pāli scriptures include biographies of eminent nuns, as well as monks who attained enlightenment,[86] other scriptures disparage women and stress their inferior ability to practice the disciplines that lead to enlightenment. A tradition has it that Śākyamuni consented to the admission of women to the samgha as long as the regulations pertaining to them were stricter than those for monks.[87] He is credited with saying that the admission of woman to the samgha would shorten the thousand years of Buddhism's golden age by five hundred years.[88] Although there are many reasons to doubt the historicity of these words ascribed to Śākyamuni, the existence of such a tradition indicates that there was a conflict between Śākyamuni's teachings and the traditional Hindu world view.

In Vedic India, women had not only the right of offering sacrifices in their own names but also that of composing hymns.[89] Later, in the Brahmanical period, women lost freedom in religious practices as well as in other social activities. Women were expected to live in complete subservience to their parents in childhood, to their husbands after marriage, and to their sons after the death of their spouses.[90] Such discrimination may be explained in various ways: women's suffering in childbirth was interpreted as a result of evil deeds in past lives; the path to the enlightenment which Śākyamuni had preached was thought to be more suitable for men; women were considered to be more emotional than men, and, therefore, to have more difficulty in reaching enlightenment. No matter what the reasons, the traditional low view of woman gained prominence in later Buddhist literature.

In the Mahayana tradition, the *Hoke-kyō, Nehan-gyō*, and *Muryōju-kyō* 無量壽經 are famous for their message of salvation for women. However, in these scriptures women gain enlightenment only after

86. *Therīgāthā*. See *Psalms of the Early Buddhists: 1. Psalms of the Sisters*, trans. by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

87. See Hirakawa Akira, *Ritsuzō no kenkyū*, 493. A certain Vinaya text gives two hundred and fifty precepts for a full-fledged monk and three hundred and forty-eight precepts for a full-fledged nun.

88. *Cullavagga*, X, 1 (*SBE*, XX, 320–326).

89. Clarisse Bader, *Women in Ancient India*, trans. by Mary E. R. Martin, 9.

90. See *The Laws of Manu*, V, 148 (*SBE*, XXV, 195).

they have changed sex and become men. The *Hoke-kyō* contains a story about an eight-year old daughter of King Nāga who was enlightened. She was so intelligent that she could acquire in one moment a thousand meditations and proofs of the essence of dharma. Śāriputra, Śākyamuni's disciple, told her that there was no example of a woman having reached Buddhahood because a woman cannot attain any of the five ranks: Brahmā, Indra, the Guardians of the Four Quarters, *cakravartin* (universal Buddhist king), or bodhisattva. She miraculously transformed herself from female to male, thereupon manifesting herself as a bodhisattva, and went to the pure land.[91] In the same manner, the *Nehan-gyō* narrates that two thousand billion women and female deities transformed their female bodies into male bodies and attained arhatship.[92] The same view is expressed in the scriptures of the pure land school, in which the pure land is depicted as a land without any women. Amida vowed that he would not attain enlightenment if women should fail to turn their thoughts toward attaining enlightenment and to despise their female nature, and [they should] be born again as women after having heard his name.[93] There is even a scripture written specifically on the transformation of women into men.[94] Change of sex is accomplished by meditation, Amida's vow, or recitation of dharani.

Kyōkai learned the Buddhist teachings through these scriptures, but he did not accept the view of woman contained in them. The women in the *Nihon ryōiki* convey a quite different impression. Generally Kyōkai not only depicts women as devout and compassionate, even capable of attaining enlightenment, but he also alters the meaning of the scriptural passages to fit his own purposes. For instance, in a story of a poor mother with nine children, a bodhisattva comes to their rescue in response to the mother's faith (II.42). In the note, Kyōkai gives a quotation from the *Nehan-gyō*: "By loving the child the mother is reborn into Brahmā's heaven." This quotation is a modified version of the following passage: "Although women are innately inferior and worse [than men], they may be born in heaven as a consequence of their motherly love."[95] Obviously this scriptural

91. *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, XI (*Taishō*, IX, 35bc). 當時集會 皆見龍女勿然之間變成男子 具菩薩行. See Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 258–260.

92. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XL (*Taishō*, XII, 603c). 人女天女二萬億人 現轉女身得男子身 須跋陀羅得阿羅漢果.

93. *Muryōju-kyō*, I (*Taishō*, XII, 268c). Cf. Max Müller, trans., *The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, 19.

94. For example, *Tennyoshin-kyō* 轉女身經 (*Taishō*, XIV, No. 564).

95. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, X (*Taishō*, XII, 425c). See *The Laws of Manu*, V, 147–166 (*SBE*, XXV, 195–196). Women are promised birth in heaven by means of their loyalty to their husbands and motherly care and love.

passage makes a distinction between male and female concerning the capacity for enlightenment, although there is concern for the salvation of women devotees.

However, such a view of women's nature was unacceptable to the compiler and his contemporaries and it was eliminated. The *Nihon ryōiki*, instead of making negative statements about women, maintains the equality of men and women before dharma. A more explicit statement of such equality is found in the story of a nun of miraculous birth.[96] Though a dwarf and deformed, she was innately intelligent. When two monks bullied her, a divine man came down to punish them. Once a local magistrate invited a provincial preceptor to act as lecturer on a Buddhist scripture, and this nun was seated in the audience.[97]

> Seeing her, the lecturer said accusingly, "Who is that nun unscrupulously seated among the monks?" In reply she said, "Buddha promulgated the right teaching out of his great compassion for all sentient beings. Why do you restrain me in particular?" Then she asked a question by quoting a verse from the scripture, and the lecturer could not interpret it. In amazement, all the famous wise men questioned and examined her, but she never failed [III.19].

This story reveals influences of the Indian tradition: in her birth from a ball of hard flesh, in her title of Sari-bosatsu (bodhisattva) 舎利菩薩,[98] and in her lack of female sexual organs. In the *Nihon ryōiki* she is the only woman that is given the title of bodhisattva. Accordingly we interpret her physical lack of gender as the persistence of the Indian tradition in the process of being feminized in Japan and as a stage in the process of transition from male to female. This story serves as a bridge between an early Mahayana trend and a later Tantric trend in which woman plays a central role as a cosmic symbol. There must have been some hesitancy about conferring the title of bodhisattva on a nun. On the other hand, there is nothing new or striking about the nun's statement on the equality of women before

96. She was born out of a ball of hard flesh, a popular Indian theme which is found in a few Buddhist scriptures as well as in the *Mahābhārata*. In the Indian tradition sons are born of such a ball in contrast to the birth of a girl in the *Nihon ryōiki*. See S. C. Nott, ed. *The Mahābhārata*, 54–55.

97. The *Sōni-ryō*, Article 12, says, "A monk may not enter a nunnery and a nun may not enter a monastery, except to be received by an elder, or for a visit on account of death or sickness or for the purpose of religious ceremony, observance, or instruction." See Sansom, "Early Japanese Laws," Part Two, 130.

98. *Sari*, a transliteration of Skt. *śarīra*, means Śākyamuni's relics, which were popularly believed to be the source of miraculous power. Cf. Jean Przyluski, "Le Partage des Reliques du Buddha," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, IV (1935–36), 341–367.

dharma. One Pāli scripture says: "How should the woman's nature hinder us? Whose hearts are firmly set, who ever move with growing knowledge onward in the Path?"[99] The scene closely resembles that of the daughter of King Nāga who showed a miraculous change of sex in the congregation of monks and attained Buddhahood. Kyōkai apparently adapted a portion of the story in the *Hoke-kyō* to put forward the early Japanese view of woman, which is shown in other tales in the *Nihon ryōiki*.

The *Nihon ryōiki* includes several legends which make us hesitate to call it simply a collection of Buddhist legends. They are "non-Buddhist" legends in the sense that they neither express Buddhist ideas nor use Buddhist terms. Among them there is a cycle of legends on the Venerable Dōjō 道場 which drew the attention of Yanagita Kunio, the founder of Japanese folklore studies. The Venerable Dōjō was a monk of Gangō-ji, a state temple in Nara, who was famous for his great physical strength. Since he was a monk, the story about his life might be classified as a Buddhist legend (I.3). However, it seems proper to classify this and several other legends as "non-Buddhist" because they are thematically and structurally related to each other and distinguishable from the main group of stories. They include:

I.2 On Taking a Fox as a Wife and Bringing Forth a Child
3 On a Boy of Great Physical Strength Whose Birth Was Given by the Thunder's Blessing
II.4 On a Contest between Women of Extraordinary Strength
27 On a Woman of Great Strength

These stories are based on the local tradition of Mino and Owari provinces, where they originated and were transmitted. The two heroes and heroines possess great strength, which has been granted them by the thunder. Another story (I.1) may be added to this group; it shares the element of thunder with the legends about the Venerable Dōjō. Yanagita states that these are legends which show a transfer of power from a heavenly deity.[100]

In addition, there are more "non-Buddhist" legends of this type to which Yanagita never refers. They are as follows:

I.25 On a Loyal and Selfless Minister Who Gained Heaven's Sympathy and Was Rewarded by a Miraculous Event
II.33 On a Woman Devoured by an Evil Fiend
41 On a Woman Who Survived the Violation of a Big Snake Owing to the Power of Drugs

99. *Therigāthā*, 61–62. See *Psalms of the Early Buddhists: 1. Psalms of the Sisters*, trans. by Mrs. Rhys Davids, 45–46, 181–182.

100. Yanagita Kunio, *Imōto no chikara* (*Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū*, IX), 64.

III.31 On a Woman Who Gave Birth to Stones and Enshrined Them as Kami

As examination of these eight "non-Buddhist" stories shows that five heroines and three heroes are concerned with thunder (I.1, 3, 25). Most of the stories belong to a category in which a transfer of power from a heavenly deity takes place. All of the heroine-centered stories are somehow related to sexual matters; two of them are about inexplicable events (II.33, 41); the remainder are based on the belief in the power given through an extraordinary birth.

One example is the story of a girl in a village in Mino province.

> She was over twenty but unmarried, and she became pregnant without any sexual intercourse. At the end of the second month in the spring of the tenth year of the boar . . . she gave birth to two stones after a three-year pregnancy. They measured five inches in diameter. One was blue and white mixed together, while the other was pure blue. They grew year after year [III.31].

Then one local kami possessed a diviner, who announced that the two stones were the children of the kami. Therefore, they were enshrined in the residence of the maiden who had given birth to the stones, and she served them as a priestess. The stones had special significance: they were born of a virgin, they grew as if they were alive, and they were identified as descendants of the kami. It is assumed that the kami who uttered the oracle was the ancestor of the girl's family, that is, their *ujigami*. Invested with miraculous power as a result of their origin, they were venerated as symbols of the identity of the ancestral kami, as his descendants, and as protectors and enrichers of life in the universe. The transfer of power through birth is based on the importance of the blood tie between kami and man. The symbolism of woman as a mediator of such power helps explain the Japanese phenomenon of female shamans and priestesses. Procreation was viewed as a mysterious process in which, as a result of the union of male and female, woman became the source of life.

Divine marriage is a recurrent theme in Japanese myths. The pattern is for a woman or a man to be betrothed to a deity who comes to them in a disguised form. Such a marriage often ends with the permanent separation of the couple after the birth of a child because of the curiosity of the human spouse.[101] One of the legends about the Venerable Dōjō illustrates this point: A man married a girl whom he

101. *Kojiki*, I (*NKBT*, 1, 136–147) Hoori no mikoto 火遠理命 and Toyotama hime no mikoto 豐玉毘賣命, a daughter of the marine kami going back home in the form of a crocodile; *ibid.* (*NKBT*, I, 180–183) Kami of Mt. Miwa 三輪山 and Ikutamayori-hime 活玉依毘賣. See Philippi, trans., *Kojiki*, 150–155, 203–204. Cf. Yanagita, *Imōto no chikara*, 41–62.

had met in the fields, and she bore a son. When she was discovered to be a fox, she was forced to leave her husband's home. Her son was named after her and possessed the gift of great strength (I.2). All his descendants inherited this extraordinary strength.

Gradually changes in the symbolism of woman took place. After the arrival of Buddhism, women became symbols of Buddha's boundless compassion, and motherly love was idealized. For instance, there is a story of a man who was sent to the frontier to serve his term of duty in the defense force. He took his mother to the frontier, leaving his wife in charge of the household (II.3). This was contrary to the common practice, exemplified in other stories, of government officials going to the frontier accompanied by their wives and leaving their parents behind (II.20; III.4). Overcome with love for his wife, he tried to kill his mother to obtain permission for a period of mourning so that he could go home to his wife.

> When the wicked son stepped forward to cut off his mother's head, the earth opened to swallow him. At that moment his mother grabbed her falling son by the hair and appealed to Heaven, wailing, "My child is possessed by some spirit and driven to such an evil deed. He is out of his mind. I beseech you to forgive his sin." In spite of all her efforts to pull him up by the hair, he fell down [II.3].

The author says in the note: "How great the mother's compassion was! She was so compassionate that she loved an evil son and practiced good on his behalf."[102]

Motherhood was the major reason for deferring to women, whose status was low in society. Buddhism often teaches the practice of altruistic love in terms of a mother's love for her child:

> As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so also let everyone cultivate a boundless (friendly) mind toward all beings.[103]

Unlimited motherly love is embodied in the bodhisattva, who was believed to possess the power to save children destined to die (II.2, 20). A mother's milk symbolizes her love.

> When her dear son contracted a fatal disease and was dying, he said to her, "It will prolong my life if I drink my mother's milk." The mother gave her breast to her son as he had asked. Sucking

102. Boundless motherly love is a universally popular theme. A medieval Neapolitan poem on a mother killed by her son sounds a similar note: ". . . she said: 'Son, did you hurt yourself?' and looking at his finger, sighing, she died. . . ." Salvatore de Giacomo, *Poesie*, 112 (trans. by Louis F. Salano).

103. *Suttanipāta*, 148 (*SBE*, X, 25).

her breast, he lamented, saying, "I am abandoning the sweet milk of my mother and dying!" and breathed his last [II.2].

Even if man is confronted with the reality of life and death, and knows the inescapable destiny out of which Śākyamuni's teachings originate, there still remains some hope and longing for life sustained by love.

However, motherly love needed to be extended and transformed into the universal Buddhist principle which seeks salvation for all living beings. The *Nihon ryōiki* gives several stories on the theme of saving life, two of which are particularly relevant here (II.8, 12). The heroine of each story is a devout maiden who meets a snake about to swallow a toad. Each maiden risks her chastity in exchange for the toad's life, and eventually is saved owing to her faith. It is evident that these tales are Buddhist adaptations of the divine marriage theme. She is an embodiment of the altruistic love of a bodhisattva, which is compassion based on the Buddhist cosmological idea of the interdependence of all sentient beings.

In ancient Japanese tradition, woman had particular importance as a symbol of cosmic power, a role which is exemplified in her procreative function. Buddhism added the ethical significance of motherly love to the symbolism of woman. In China and Japan, Kannon acquired feminine features as the embodiment of great compassion in spite of a reluctance to see the bodhisattva in female form. Women as well as men are potential bodhisattvas in the *Nihon ryōiki*. Kyōkai does not accept the view of women's inferior nature, but insists on the equality of all before dharma.

c. *Ideal Image of Man*

As dharma never exists apart from the cosmos, so dharma never exists apart from men, in particular Śākyamuni and his followers. In a third of the legends in the *Nihon ryōiki*, there appear monks of widely varying character: virtuous and corrupt, scholarly and ignorant, officially ordained and self-ordained. The most noteworthy and highly venerated is Gyōgi, who appears in seven legends (I.5; II.2, 7, 8, 12, 29, 30). One legend is particularly informative because it compares Gyōgi with Chikō, who was one of the most learned monks of the Nara period. When we compare the epithets given to the two eminent monks, there are similarities. Of Chiko, it is said: "He was innately intelligent, and no one excelled him in knowledge." On the other hand, it says of Gyōgi: "He was innately intelligent, endowed with inborn wisdom." (II.7). What makes a real difference between the two is the fact that Chikō was interested in doctrinal studies and scholarly

activities while the compassionate Gyōgi was concerned with missionary activities. Therefore, his contemporaries called him a bodhisattva and regarded him as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī (I.5).

The title of bodhisattva is given to four other eminent religious persons: Konsu, the Ascetic 金鷲行者 (II.21); Dhyāna Master Eigō 永興 (III.1); Saru-hijiri 猴聖 (III.19); and Dhyāna Master Jakusen 寂仙 (III.39). These persons were free from attachments to the world, led a disciplined life, engaged in missionary works, and, except for Saru-hijiri, were venerated by the emperors. Their relationship with the emperors reflects the development of the imperial practice of granting the title of bodhisattva (*bosatsu*) to eminent monks, the first record of which is found in 749.[104] The exceptional case of Saru-hijiri leads to a consideration of what *hijiri* means in the *Nihon ryōiki*.

Hijiri may be defined as a charismatic leader of lay Buddhist movements in medieval Japan, particularly in the pure land school. Originally the concept of *hijiri* developed not only under Buddhist but also Taoist and Confucian influences.[105] In China, where legendary emperors such as the Yellow Emperor, Yao and Shun, or Lao-tzu and Confucius were venerated as sages, Śākyamuni was accepted as another great sage and added to the list. Kyōkai, in compiling the *Nihon ryōiki*, may be seeking to portray Japanese sages under the influence of Chinese hagiography.[106]

The *Nihon ryōiki* identifies only two persons as *hijiri:* one is Saru-hijiri, and the other is Prince Shōtoku. If we compare these two figures with the other monks, it is evident that they are more legendary than historical. As has been pointed out, Saru-hijiri, an extraordinary nun with a deformed body, shows strong influences of the Indian tradition. On the other hand, Prince Shōtoku's legend reveals a Taoist influence in the concept of a "hidden sage." Although a distinction between clergy and laity is not stressed very much in Japan, Prince Shōtoku was a lay Buddhist, and Saru-hijiri was a nun. Obviously the Buddhist and Taoist ideal images of man overlap in the *Nihon ryōiki*, with the Taoist being particularly prominent in the earlier legends. This syncretic tendency took place in China and was transmitted to Japan. According to the Taoist tradition, there are three kinds of *hsien* 仙: heavenly immortals 天仙, earthly immortals 地仙, and disembodied immortals 尸解仙.[107] The beggar and Gangaku (I.4) seem to be

104. *Shoku Nihongi* (Tenpyō shōhō 1:2:2). The title was conferred on Gyōgi.

105. See Hori, "On the Concept of Hijiri (Holy-man)," *Numen*, V (1958), 128–160, 199–232.

106. The influence of Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan* is documented in the *Nihon ryōiki* (see Chap. I(2)b, n. 137), but that of the biographies of Taoist sages probably came indirectly through Chinese Buddhist literature.

107. Ko Hung, *Pao-p'u tzu*, II, 9a. See Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion*, 47–48.

disembodied immortals, while E no Ozunu (I.28) and a mother of seven children (I.13) seem to be heavenly immortals, for they ascend to heaven. The anecdote of Prince Shōtoku's meeting with a beggar is the most famous, and it is found in several different versions.[108] The difference between the *Nihon shoki* and *Nihon ryōiki* is that the former emphasizes Prince Shōtoku as a saint admired by his contemporaries and the latter depicts the beggar as a saint. In the *Nihon ryōiki*, Prince Shōtoku is admired indirectly because of his ability to recognize saintliness in a beggar.

A sage is said to differ from an ordinary person in this way:

> We learn that a sage recognizes a sage, whereas an ordinary man cannot recognize a sage. The ordinary man sees nothing but the outer form of a beggar, while the sage has a penetrating eye able to recognize the hidden essence. It is a miraculous event [I.4].

In the Buddhist tradition the penetrating eye[109] is the faculty that distinguishes the Buddha and bodhisattva from ordinary men. With such an eye, a person can see into the past and the future, as well as the present; they can also see into other people's minds. It is a sign of the ascetic's passage from conditioned existence to a state of deliverance, or from samsara to nirvana. Prince Shōtoku and Gyōgi are prominent instances. On the other hand, there are stories of men who reveal other sorts of miraculous powers. Gigaku 義覺, a Korean monk, used to recite the *Shin-gyō*,[110] and, as a result, he could become visible or invisible at will and move around without any restrictions (I.15).[111] Knowledge of previous existences is one such power, and there is a story of a devotee of the *Hoke-kyō* who was rewarded with such knowledge of his past life (I.18).[112] As a consequence of the penetrating eye, or clairvoyance, many eminent monks knew when they were

108. *Nihon shoki* (Suiko 21:12:1); *Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu, Jōgū Shōtoku taishi-den hoketsuki* (46:11:15); *Shōtoku taishi-den ryaku* (*DBZ*, 112); *Manyōshū* (III, 415).

109. *Tengen* 天眼 (Skt. *divyacakṣus*). See Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*, IX (*Buddhist Scriptures*, trans. by Conze, 121–133). According to Eliade, these "miraculous powers" are for the most part stereotyped, and occur in all the ascetic and mystical literatures of India. See his *Yoga*, 177–180.

110. *Prjñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts* (*SBE*, XLIX).

111. The description of various modes of miraculous power occurs in all the *nikāyas*. For example, *Dighanikāya* (III, 112–113) divides them into two categories, that is, ignoble supernormal power which is concomitant with mental intoxicants and with worldly aims, and the noble supernormal power which is attained only by Buddhist monks. In the former, from being one a man becomes multiform; from being multiform he becomes one; from being visible he becomes invisible; he passes without hindrance to the further side of a wall, or a battlement, or a mountain, as if through air; he travels cross-legged through the sky, like a bird on the wing. In the latter, he is free from desire and attains self-mastery. See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, trans. by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Part III, 106–107.

112. See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, trans. by Rhys Davids, Part Three, 104–106. Cf. Eliade, *Yoga*, 180–185.

to die and what their future life would be (I.22; III.20, 39).[113] In spite of the popularity of stories concerning such miraculous powers, possession of them or particularly exhibition of them was regarded in early Buddhism as dangerous for a monk whose goal was nirvana.

In the Japanese religious tradition, no clear-cut distinction can be made between sacred and secular. What is closest to "sacred" is 聖 (*sei, shō,* or *hijiri*), but its antonym is 凡, "ordinary," as understood by Kyōkai. "Sacred" means "supreme, preeminent, extraordinary." No discontinuity exists. This is the basis for the doctrine of universal salvation. Each person has the potential to be a bodhisattva, although there are differences in the degrees of achievement, which is by no means predestined. The ideal image of man is not a scholarly and virtuous monk, but one who lives an ordinary life yet reveals an extraordinary quality through such a life. In other words, he is in society and at the same time rises above society. Generally speaking, bodhisattvas are monks noted for their virtuous lives, while *hijiri* is a term applied to those who possess charismatic or miraculous qualities. The person who combined these two is Gyōgi, the most admired figure throughout the *Nihon ryōiki*. He is the embodiment of compassionate love, wherein the two aspects are incorporated.

There is an anecdote of Gyōgi's love for his disciple, Shingon. Out of his love for Gyōgi, Shingon used to say that he would die and go to the pure land with his master, but he died young. Gyōgi, grieving over the death of his disciple who had made such a vow, composed a poem:

> Did you not promise me we would die together?
> But, alas! You are gone,
> Leaving me behind.
> Are you a crow, to be such a great liar? [II.2].

This is simply an expression of human love. Gyōgi's grief over his favorite disciple's death shows the depth of his human feeling.

Other legends of Gyōgi, however, stress his extraordinary ability to penetrate into other people's minds and to see things as an extended series of cause and effect from the past into the future. When Chikō came to see Gyōgi after he had abused Gyōgi and had been punished for his inordinate pride, Gyōgi welcomed him with open arms, knowing what had taken place (II.7). In another story "the penetrating eye" is used as a motif whereby Gyōgi accuses a woman in his audience of having smeared her hair with animal oil, for he saw in the oil the act of killing life (II.29). In another story he told a mother with a crying

113. *Buddhist Scriptures*, trans. by Conze, 133.

child to throw it into the river. Naturally the mother's affection prevented her from abandoning the child, and she came back to listen to Gyōgi again, bringing the child with her. He rebuked her and repeated the same words. Finally, when she obeyed Gyōgi and threw the child into the water, she learned that she had not settled all her debts in a previous life and that her former creditor had been born as her child to make her suffer and pay her debts. The telling of this story is a skillful means for preaching karmic retribution. This woman came to hear dharma, but had difficulties in putting her trust in Gyōgi and obeying him; she was pressed to choose between not hearing dharma and making a total commitment. After she chose the latter, she learned how her karma was being worked out in the past, present, and future.

Wisdom and compassion are means for fulfilling the bodhisattva's vow. Wisdom is cultivated by looking at reality, by seeing things as they are. No discontinuity exists between the great mercy of Buddha and human love. What distinguishes them is the degree to which right knowledge sustains love. Ordinary men are conscious only of physical, carnal love as in the case of the mother with the crying child. But a sage's love is based on right knowledge with which he may see events on a macrocosmic scale. Human love is never rejected, but it must be elevated and expanded on the basis of the right understanding of existence.

(3) MIRACULOUS WORLD

a. *Belief in the Spirits of the Dead*

We find two types of miraculous tale in the *Nihon ryōiki*. In one type, a man or his spirit reveals his extraordinary power through miraculous signs; in the other type, the *dharmakāya*, essential body of Buddha,[114] or the Buddha's spirit (*shōryō* 聖靈) works as an agent through such things as Buddha images and scriptural scrolls to cause miraculous signs which bring people lacking in faith to the realization of the eternal presence of *dharmakāya*. According to Kyōkai, these two are not separate, but united in one dharma transcendent and immanent. Let us begin with a discussion of stories of the miraculous power of the spirits of the dead and that of extraordinary men.

114. Dharma-body of Buddha: one aspect of the threefold body of Buddha, namely, *dharmakāya; sambhogakāya*, functional aspect of Buddha which appears in Buddhas and bodhisattvas, such as Amida or Kannon; and *nirmāṇakāya*, historical manifestation in Śākyamuni. Cf. Louis de la Vallée Pousin, "The Three Bodies of a Buddha," *JRAS* (October 1906), 943–977; Chizen Akanuma, "On the Triple Body of the Buddha," *The Eastern Buddhist*, IV (No. 1, 1922), 1–29.

In the account of the funeral rites we find a great concern with spirits of the dead. There is evidence of the practice of *mogari* 殯, the ancient custom of preserving the corpse for a short period before burial. During this period some spirits of the dead visit the land of the dead and come back to report on what has happened to them. The dead come back to life in three days (I.5, 30; II.19; III.9), five days (III.23), seven days (II.16; III.22, 26), or nine days (II.5, 7). A three-day period[115] seems to have been most common, while longer periods were exceptional and resulted from an imperial decree (I.5) or the dead man's last wish (II.5, 7, 16; III.26). The *Myōhōki*, a collection of Chinese Buddhist legends which influenced the *Nihon ryōiki*, also tells of the dead being revived: four times on the seventh day, two each on the first and third days, and one each on the second, fourth, and fortieth days. The frequency of revivals on the seventh day may reflect the influence of the Chinese custom of holding the service for the dead on the seventh day (II.33), and repeating it thereafter at the end of each seven-day interval until the forty-ninth day (III.37). Buddhism assimilated this practice of the ancestral cult and incorporated it into Buddhist rites.[116]

Buddhists brought the Indian custom of cremation to China, Korea, and Japan. The Chinese resisted this strange custom, and it was largely adopted by Buddhist monks,[117] while in Japan it was adopted by people of high court rank as well as monks. The first Japanese recorded case is that of the Venerable Dōshō (I.22), who died and was cremated in 700. Empress Jitō, cremated in 703, is the first case among members of the imperial household.[118] However, people seemed to be afraid of losing the body through cremation in case the spirit should return to this world. This might happen in the event that death took place prematurely as a result of some error of Yama or his messenger, or if the merit accumulated by the dead man or his family was judged by Yama to be great enough to allow him to return to life again. Some people stipulated in their wills that their bodies not be cremated, providing for the possibility of coming back to life (II.5, 7, 16). There

115. Temporary burial preceding final burial is a universal practice, although the length of the period varies. According to the Zoroastrian tradition, the soul of the dead hovers around the body for three days and nights. See Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi*, 133.

116. See Takeda Chōshū, *Sosen sūhai*, 214–244.

117. See J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, III, 1391–1417. Since very ancient times, cremation has been odious to the Chinese, for elaborate funeral and burial was esteemed as the highest duty prescribed by filial piety. In spite of the development of Buddhism in China, we find little positive reference to cremation in Chinese documents for nearly a millennium.

118. *Shoku Nihongi*, I (Monmu 4:3:10), *Dōshō* was cremated; III (Daihō 3:12:17), ex-Empress Jitō was cremated; III (Keiun 4:11:12) Emperor Monmu was cremated.

is a story of a girl who was sent to the land of the dead by the intentional error of Yama's messengers, who had been bribed by another girl destined to die to substitute the former girl for herself. Yama, after discovering the error, told her to go home, but her body had already been cremated (II.22). The same thing happened to a former minister of the state who could not be revived because his body had been cremated (III.36). The taboo that a man born in the year of fire[119] cannot be cremated is recorded in one story (III.20). These cases reveal a belief that, when a man dies, his spirit leaves the body and goes to the land of the dead. A duality of spirit and body is found in such thought.

In contrast, a monistic view is found in the legends of the beggar met by Prince Shōtoku (I.4), Monk Gangaku (I.4), E no Ozunu (I.28), and the mother of seven children (I.13). These four are clearly depicted in terms of the imagery of Taoist saints who attained immortality. In the first story (I.4) the beggar died and was buried while Gangaku died and was cremated, but both were revived and seen alive. These three legends, in spite of their Buddhist coloring, are primarily Taoist. However, this monistic view of man does not appear prominently in the legends of the *Nihon ryōiki*. The Japanese attitude to the Taoist ideal of immortality, similar to the way in which the Japanese accepted the Buddhist teaching of the transience of life, was largely one of sentimental appreciation.[120]

In the Heian period the belief in spirits of the dead grew into a morbid fear of evil and vindictive spirits,[121] but the *Nihon ryōiki* already exhibits such a tendency. It was believed that, after a violent death, often as a result of political intrigue, the spirit would not leave the body but would linger in this world to haunt the living. For example, Emperor Shōmu had the rebellious Prince Nagaya killed and ordered that he be cremated and his ashes thrown into a river. However, his cremated bones were buried in a distant province. The local people ascribed an outbreak of disease to the vindictive spirit of the prince and appealed to the court. Thereupon, the bones were reburied on an island off the coast of Kii, closer to the capital, in order to appease the spirit. According to Kyōkai, the prince incurred his

119. *Hinoe* (*ping* 丙), the third of the Ten Stems, referring to the south and fire in the Chinese *yin-yang wu-hsing* cosmology, and there are many taboos for a person born in this year. See Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, II, 11–16, for the Ten Stems.

120. Cf. Kobayashi Tomoaki, *Mujōkan no bungaku* 無常感の文學. In order to emphasize the Japanese sentimental appreciation of the Buddhist idea of transiency 無常觀, the author replaces *kan* 觀 (aspect, idea, view) with another *kan* 感 (feeling, sentiment, emotion).

121. Hori, *Folk Religion*, 111–117. *Goryō* 御靈 is an angry spirit. Cf. Thompson, *Folklore*, 257. In his *Motif-Index*, it is classified as E. 413.

violent death as a result of his insulting treatment of a mendicant monk. Although the *Shoku Nihongi* gives a different version of the story,[122] it seems clear that even a rebel's spirit deserved a proper burial in a grave (II.1).

There was a belief that the spirit would not leave the bones even after the flesh decayed, or the body was cremated. Therefore, after cremation, bones were collected and buried properly in a grave. The spirit of the dead person existed somewhere in the universe, and, in the case of a violent death, the spirit haunted the living by hovering around the bones, the only remaining portion of the body. Several stories in the *Nihon ryōiki* reveal this belief. The skull, which was regarded as the essential part of the human body, was the place where the spirit resided (I.12; III.27). The complete Buddhist version of this belief is found in the stories in which the strong faith of a dead ascetic remained in the tongue of the skull and made it recite the *Hoke-kyō* (III.1). Belief in the miraculous power of Śākyamuni's relics may be classified in the same group (II.31, 36). That flesh decays but bone does not is an ancient belief which may be traced back as far as the Paleolithic age. In the tradition of hunting peoples, bone represents the core of life; in death man and animals are reduced to bone and reborn from it according to the perpetual cycle of life and death.[123]

A mediator between the dead and the living was the diviner, *kamnagi* 卜者.[124] When a person died, the bereaved family sent for a diviner to ask him to instruct them of the dead person's last wish or of any message from him (II.16; III.39). This is an ancient rite to call back the dead. The diviner also had the role of healer. When "neither doctor nor medicine could cure the disease," diviners were summoned to purify and pray for the sick person (III.5). Doctors were professional physicians who made use of drugs to cure the sick (II.5, 41). They were concentrated in the vicinity of the capital, and the first to be summoned on occasions of illness.[125] However, since sickness was believed to be the result of past evil karma, confession and prayer was a fundamental means of treating the patient's soul and body, particularly if he was seriously ill.

122. *Shoku Nihongi*, X (Tempyō 1:2:13). It says that Prince Nagaya and his spouse were buried at Ikomayama 生駒山, which is situated in the same province as the capital.

123. See Eliade, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries*, 83–84, 169, and *Shamanism*, 162–163, 323–326.

124. Female shamans (巫) who are the mouthpieces of spirits; *kamnagi* probably derived from *kamu* (kami) and *nagi* (pacify). *Shoku Nihongi*, XVIII (Tenpyō shōhō 4:8:17) says that seventeen diviners in the capital were arrested and exiled to distant provinces such as Izu, Oki, Tosa.

125. Suzuki Shūji, "Konjaku monogatarishū ni okeru byōsha to chiryōsha," *Nihon rekishi*, No. 243 (August 1968), 92–105.

These two functions of a diviner were gradually taken over by Buddhist monks who, through ascetic practices, gained the power of "the penetrating eye." Dharani was considered the most effective medium for such purposes. Tajō 多常, (or Tarajō 多羅常), a Korean monk, won the empress' respect for his compassionate acts of healing.

> He lived a life of strict discipline in Hōki-yamadera in Takechi district and made it his chief concern to cure diseases. The dying were restored to health by his miraculous works. Whenever he recited formulas for the sick, there was a miraculous event. . . . This is the fruit of his disciplined life. His fame and compassionate virtue will be praised forever [I.26].

The *Sōni-ryō* prohibited monks and nuns from healing by exorcism or magic, but the healing of the sick by the recitation of Buddhist formulas was permitted.[126] Although the *Sōni-ryō* tried to differentiate between Buddhist healing practices and those of the *Onmyōdō*[127] and of pre-Buddhist origin, on the practical level they fused.[128] Buddhism tended to internalize ancient healing practices and emphasized self-introspection and repentence as a necessary part of the healing process. On the other hand, there were ascetics (*gyōja*) whose only contact with Buddhist discipline was the practice of recitation of the name of a Buddha, mantra, or dharani, and who became religious leaders in villages. Most of them were lay brothers (*ubasoku* 優婆塞) who lived in a village temple or mountain retreat. Some of them were promoted to the status of ordained monk, while others remained as *gyōja*, performing a role similar to that of *kamnagi*, although the former were predominantly male and the latter female.[129]

b. *Wonder of the Three Treasures*

Let us turn now from the stories about the miraculous power of holy men to the stories of the miraculous power displayed by such objects as scriptures and Buddha images. Among the miraculous tales of the *Nihon ryōiki*, the most prominent are the stories about Kannon and the *Hoke-kyō*. Although devotion to Kannon is based on a chapter of the *Hoke-kyō*,[130] we will discuss separately the Kannon legends and the *Hoke-kyō* legends, partly because the chapter on Kannon was often

126. *Ryō no gige*, "Sōni-ryō," Article 2. See Sansom, "Early Japanese Law," *TASJ*, Second Series, XI, 128.

127. Japanese reading of *yin-yang tao;* it became popular in Japan through divination and astrology. See Murayama Shūichi, "Jōdai no onmyōdō," in *Kokumin seikatsushi kenkyū*, ed. by Itō Tasaburō, IV, 121–156.

128. Divination and healing by *kamnagi* were prohibited by the authorities. See *Ruijū sandai-kyaku*, XII (Hōki 11:12:14) and (Daidō 2:9:28).

129. Cf. Nakayama Tarō, *Nihon fujo-shi*.

130. *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, XXV (*Taishō*, IX, 56c–58b); Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, XXV, 404–415; Kern, trans., *Saddharma*, XXIV, 406–418.

taken as an independent scripture, and partly because there is a distinction between the two groups of legends in the *Nihon ryōiki*.

Among the Buddhas and bodhisattvas found in the *Nihon ryōiki*, Kannon is the most popular and remains a center for devotion by all classes of people. There are seventeen stories on Kannon, six on Miroku 彌勒,[131] three each on Amida,[132] Śākyamuni, and Myōken 妙見;[133] and two each on Kichijōten,[134] and Yakushi 藥師.[135] Their distribution is as follows:[136]

Buddhas and bodhisattvas	Number of tales	Volume	Tale
Kannon	17	I	6, 17, 18, 20, 31
		II	11, 17, 26, 34, 36, 42
		III	3, 7, 12, 13, 14, 30
Miroku	6	II	23, 26
		III	8, 12, 13, 30
Amida	3	I	5, 33
		II	26
Śākyamuni	3	II	28
		III	25, 30
Myōken	3	I	34
		III	5, 32
Kichijōten	2	II	13, 14
Yakushi	2	II	39
		III	11

131. Maitreya, whose future coming is prophesied in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese scriptures such as the *Dīghanikāya* (iii, 76), *Mahāvastu* (iii, 240), *Hoke-kyō*, *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, *Miroku geshō-kyō* 彌勒下生經, *Miroku-bosatsu jōshō Tosotsuten-kyō* 彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經, and others. Maitreya resides in the Tuṣita heaven (Tosotsuten) and will descend to earth to teach dharma at the end of the world. The Maitreya cult shows similarities to the Amida cult, but the latter outnumbers the former in China and Japan in terms of those who aspired to birth in the western paradise. See Ienaga Saburō, *Jōdai Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū*, 28–37.

132. Amitābha (Infinite Light) or Amitāyus (Infinite Life) rose in popularity toward the end end of the Heian period in Japan. The *Hoke-kyō* mentions Amitāyus as one of the sixteen Buddhas and the lord of the western paradise. For the western paradise, see Chap. I(1)a, n. 16. The *Nihon ryōiki* does not refer to any scriptures of the pure land school, although there are indications of the belief in the western paradise.

133. A bodhisattva who originated with the Chinese folk worship of the North Pole Star, which was believed to control the life of people as well as their fortunes; Buddhist tradition regards the North Pole as the apex of Mt. Meru, a cosmic mountain. In Japan the cult, centering on the figure of Myōken, was celebrated not only at Buddhist temples but also at Shintō shrines. The first evidence of the cult at court is recorded as 785, and the enshrined images resemble those of Kichijōten. See Murayama, "Jōdai no onmyōdō," in *Kokumin seikatsushi*, ed. by Itō, IV, 131–133; Nomura Yōshō, "Kindai ni okeru Myōken shinkō," *Kindai Nihon no Hokke Bukkyō*, ed. by Mochizuki Kankō, 201–246.

134. See Chap. II(1)a, n. 6.

135. Bhaiṣajyaguru, Buddha of Healing, who resides in the land of pure emerald in the east. See *Yakushi nyorai hongan-kyō* 藥師如來本願經, *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, XXIII (*Taishō*, IX, 53a–55a).

136. Buddhas and bodhisattvas referred to only once are omitted.

The great popularity of Kannon rests on the message of the *Kannon-gyō* (the chapter on Kannon of the *Hoke-kyō*), which affirms life in this world, human nature, and the doctrine of universal salvation. It teaches the saving power of Kannon over the seven calamities of fire, water, storm, sword, evil spirits, enemies, and inner evils such as lust, anger, and ignorance.

The stories about the *Hoke-kyō* are distributed as follows:

I. 11, 18, 19, 28

II. 3, 6, 15, 18

III. 1, 6, 9, 10, 13, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 29, 34, 35, 37, 38.

Only two stories appear in both lists (I.18; III.13). This is due to the fact that the Kannon cult was centered more around images than scriptures, and devotees simply meditated on Kannon, invoked Kannon by calling the name, or made offerings of lights, flowers, and incense to Kannon. In response to their devotion, Kannon never failed to answer their requests. On the other hand, in the *Hoke-kyō* cult devotees recited or copied the scripture, which required some degree of learning. The concentration of the *Hoke-kyō* stories in the third volume shows their rising popularity toward the end of the Nara and early Heian periods, for the common people did not have access to the scriptures in the early years of Japanese Buddhism, when a limited number of scriptures were available only in Chinese.

Kannon was known to the Japanese not only through the *Hoke-kyō* but also through the scriptures of the pure land school such as the *Muryōju-kyō* and Tantric scriptures such as the *Jūichimen kanzeon shinju-kyō* 十一面觀世音神呪經,[137] and *Senju sengen darani-kyō* 千手千眼陀羅尼經.[138] Over one hundred and thirty Tantric scriptures were transmitted to Japan by eminent monks such as Dōji (d. 700) and Genbō (d. 746) and spread quickly.[139] The Eleven-headed Kannon (Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara 十一面觀音) and the Thousand-armed Kannon (Sahasrabhujasahasrākṣa Avalokiteśvara 千手[千眼]觀音), which became popular with the practice of reciting the relevant dharani, are the embodiment of the cosmic nature of Kannon. Avalokiteśvara was originally a mythological creation of Indian Buddhists; the being was seldom represented as a human, but was invested with supernatural forms. Avalokiteśvara absorbed so many attributes

137. *Jūichimen kanzeon shinju-kyō* (*Taishō*, XX, No. 1070). *Jūichimen kanzeon shinju shin-gyō* (*Ibid.*, No. 1071).

138. *Senju sengen kanzeon bosatsu kōdai enman muge daihishin darani-kyō* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 (*Ibid.*, No. 1060).

139. See Inaya Yūsen, "Nara jidai mikkyō kyōten to Kūkai," *Mikkyō bunka*, No. 73 (June 1965), 52–59. Genbō of the Hossō School who had studied in China (716–734) made a vow to make a thousand copies of the *Senju sengen darani-kyō*, and achieved it in 743.

of Buddhas and bodhisattvas that it became almost an independent cosmic figure in the northern Buddhist countries.[140] Kannon incarnated in thirty-three forms is a mediator of this world and the other world, life and death, and Buddhas and all living beings. Ganjin, a famous blind preceptor who came from China to establish the ordination platform at Emperor Shōmu's invitation, was a great devotee of the Thousand-armed Kannon, probably because that Kannon was believed to cure blindness (III.12).[141]

In boundless compassion Kannon is eternally at work to protect and save all sentient beings in this world and an infinite number of other worlds. One tradition explains how the Eleven-headed Kannon came into being by a story: Avalokiteśvara once looked down on the suffering of the world and was so distressed by the sight that his head split into eleven pieces.[142] Female features which characterize Kannon in Japan and Kuan-yin in China may have originated with Kannon's role of savior, and the fusion of these features with the folk belief in mother divinities. In medieval China, many legends about a girl who is identified as an incarnation of the Thousand-armed Kuan-yin illustrate the process of acceptance of Kuan-yin as a young woman.[143] Obviously Tantric Kuan-yins preceded beautiful female Kuan-yins in China. In the *Nihon ryōiki*, three stories are on the Eleven-headed Kannon (II.11; III.3, 30) and Thousand-armed Kannon (II.42; III.12, 14), while one is on the Kannon based on the *Hoke-kyō* (I.18).

The same miraculous qualities are attributed to the *Hoke-kyō*. Its scrolls were believed to be repositories of miraculous power, which worked against those who slandered the scripture or its devotees (III.6, 20, etc.). Copying the *Hoke-kyō* was considered to be an act of great merit, a fact well illustrated in the story of a high official who was sent to hell. Yama tried to offset his offenses with the merit of the 69,384 characters of the *Hoke-kyō* he had copied during his lifetime, but found that the merit was insufficient (III.37). The biographies of the *Ōjōden* series record the accounts of those born in the pure land by reciting or copying the *Hoke-kyō*. The *Hokke kenki*[144] shows that the devotees of the *Hoke-kyō* were born in Maitreya's heaven or

140. See Paul Mus, "Thousand-armed Kannon: A Mystery or a Problem?" *IBK*, XII (No. 1, January 1964), 438–470.

141. See Kobayashi Taichirō, "Narachō no Senju Kannon," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, XXV (1955), 55–80.

142. L. A. Waddell, "The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and His Consort Tārā 'the Savioress,' Illustrated from the Remains in Magadha," *JRAS* (1894), 59–60.

143. Tsukamoto Zenryū, "Kinsei Shina taishū no nyoshin Kannon shinkō," *Yamaguchi hakushi kanreki kinen Indogaku Bukkyōgaku ronsō*, 262–280; Kobayashi Taichirō, "Tōdai no Daihi Kannon," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, XX (1953), 3–27; XXI (1954), 89–109; XXII (1954), 3–28.

144. See Chap. I(2)d, n. 181.

Kannon's pure land. Mahayana scriptures state it to be a bodhisattva practice to uphold and propagate dharma. Since the scriptures contain dharma, upholding, reading, expounding, and copying them are effective means for spreading dharma, and, therefore, a bodhisattva practice. The Buddha is said to be present in the scriptures.

The *Hoke-kyō* was influential in the Japanese understanding of Śākyamuni, for it was one of the earliest scriptures in Japan and it had gained great popularity among the people. Prince Shōtoku's commentary on the *Hoke-kyō, Hokke gisho* 法華義疏[145] is a good illustration of the appeal which it exercised as early as the sixth century (I.Preface). It emphasizes that faith in the Śākyamuni's teaching is favored above all else, and with faith even karma is destroyed by dharani, although good works are neither excluded nor rejected. Bodhisattvas are ready to help devotees reach Buddhahood. In China as well as Japan, the *Hoke-kyō* cult was gradually overshadowed by the Amida cult, but they share a common emphasis on devotion, although the stress shifted from this world to the hereafter. In the *Hoke-kyō*, Kannon is the counterpart of Amida, the Savior.

Speculation on the nature of Buddha led to the formulation of the doctrine of *trikāya*, the three bodies of Buddha, namely, the dharma-body, enjoyment body, and apparitional body. The *Hoke-kyō* says that Śākyamuni attained enlightenment many ages ago, and he will exist for countless more in the future. Thus his transcendental quality is greatly enhanced, and he is identified with dharma. On the other hand, the *Nehan-gyō* developed the idea of the immanent Buddha-nature within all beings. As stated above, these two scriptures were those most familiar to Kyōkai. Kyōkai interprets many miraculous signs of Buddha images by saying:

> The dharma-body Buddha of the ultimate reality has neither flesh nor blood. Why then did it suffer from pain? This took place only to show that dharma exists changeless. It is another miraculous event [II.23].

Why does the dharma-body Buddha reveal miraculous signs? Dharma was understood as the ultimate reality underlying every phenomenon. The dharma-body is not one since it pervades and supports everything; nor is it multiple since it remains identical with itself.[146]

145. *Hokke gisho* (*DBZ*, 14, 1–130). See Hanayama Shinshō, *Hokke gisho no kenkyū* (*Tōyō bunko ronsō*, XVIII, 1). Hanayama, an exponent of the traditional theory on its authorship, ascribes it to Prince Shōtoku, while Tsuda Sōkichi challenges this and would shift the date of compilation to the Nara period (*Nihon koten no kenkyū*, II; *Tsuda Sōkichi zenshū*, II, 129–138).

146. Poussin, "The Three Bodies of Buddha," *JRAS* (1907), 956.

> Indeed we know that the dharma-body of wisdom exists. This is a miraculous sign to bring the faithless to a realization of this [II.36].

In some stories he explains such miraculous signs as the work of the Buddha's spirit 聖靈 (II.22, 26) or the Buddha's mind 聖心[147] (III.26), which resided in Buddha statues.

> It is said that the Buddha statue is not alive, so how could it suffer and be sick? Indeed, we learn that this was the manifestation of the Buddha's mind. Even after the death of Buddha, the dharma-body always exists, eternal and unchangeable [III.28].[148]

All beings exist in the dharma and reveal it. Buddha is a major cosmic symbol of the dharma, and Buddha's spirit or mind functions in the cosmos.

When we compare miraculous stories about the spirits of the dead with those about the Buddha's spirit or mind and dharma-body Buddha, we find structural similarities that lead us to think that Kyōkai may have understood the latter as analogous to the former. The dharma-body Buddha is present in scriptures and statues, just as the spirits of the dead reside in bones and elsewhere. In the *Nihon ryōiki* there is no reference to the historical Buddha, and Śākyamuni Buddha is depicted as a savior similar to Amida or Kannon (II.28; III.25). The dharma-body Buddha, transcendent and immanent, became the source of faith for the Japanese who lived far away from India and accepted Buddhism a millennium after Śākyamuni's lifetime.

In the Buddhist tradition, *triratna*, the Three Treasures, is the foundation of salvation, and the Buddhist profession of faith is formulated into the vow of faith in the Three Treasures. As to the understanding of the Three Treasures in Japan, Ienaga has discussed the second article of Prince Shōtoku's Seventeen-Article Constitution, which reads: "Venerate highly the Three Treasures. The Three Treasures are Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha."[149] He points out that the Japanese understanding of the Three Treasures centered around the dharma-body Buddha, which became the basis of Japanese Buddhism as early as the time of Prince Shōtoku.[150] He infers that the second sentence was

147. See W. Liebenthal, "One-mind-dharma 一心法," *Tsukamoto hakushi shōju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū*, 41–47. According to Seng Chao 僧肇 (374–414), the mind of the Sage, that is, Buddha's mind, is life靈, which is identified with *prajñā*, and permeates the universe: the Sage is the universal soul, which participates in individual lives, latent and manifest, one and divided. Liebenthal suggests its possible derivation from *dharmakāya*.

148. 雖佛滅後法身常住 may be a modified version of 明雖滅盡燈爐猶存 如來亦爾煩惱雖滅法身常存 in the *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, V (*Taishō*, XII, No. 374, 390a).

149. *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 12:4:3).

150. Ienaga, *Jōdai Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū*, 26–27.

originally a note of a later commentator, included in the main text by mistake, and that the three components of the Three Treasures were not considered of equal significance.

The *Nihon ryōiki* gives more than a dozen citations of "the Three Treasures" (*sanbō* 三寶), and two of "Buddha, Dharma, Samgha" (*buppōsō* 佛法僧), the latter two being apparently Kyōkai's words since one is found in his comment on the term *ichisendai*[151] and the other in his preface to the third volume. The term "Three Treasures" means the Buddhist teachings as often as it means the embodiment of Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha in Buddha images, scrolls, and monks. Therefore we agree with Ienaga that the Japanese Buddhists had faith in the dharma-body Buddha, and we may add that they have also shown a strong tendency to embody the Three Treasures in specific objects that became symbols of the dharma-body Buddha. This explains why there are miraculous tales concerning holy men, statues, and scrolls in the *Nihon ryōiki*. Through devotion to a particular symbol, devotees have experienced the eternal presence of the dharma-body Buddha revealed in miraculous signs.

From early scriptures we learn that primitive Buddhists did not reject the miraculous, but they held it in low esteem. There are three categories of the miraculous: the mystical wonder, the wonder of manifestation, and the wonder of education.[152] The real wonder is that of education, that is, the wonder of transforming the self, or self-mastery. Monks were not allowed to display miraculous power before the laity.[153] On the other hand, there was a strong tendency to ascribe power to Śākyamuni and his famous disciples out of veneration for them. In the Mahayana tradition in which the power of Śākyamuni and other Buddhas and bodhisattvas is revealed through their compassion in the saving of all sentient beings, such power is manifested in all times and places as a skillful means for guiding men to faith, to the path of enlightenment. Biographies of Buddhist monks have a special chapter on those who were famous for miraculous powers.[154] Signs of miraculous power serve as stimuli for the faithful, as the observance of precepts is considered an aid to the realization of enlightenment.

151. See Chap. II(3)a, n. 114.

152. *Dīghanikāya*, I, III, and elsewhere. See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, trans. by Rhys Davids, Part I, 272–284, III, 95–110, and elsewhere. See Chap. II(2)c, n. 111.

153. See *The Vinaya Texts*, trans. by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, III (*SBE*, XX, 81), *Cullavagga*, V, 8, 2: "You are not, O Bhikkus, to display before the laity the superhuman power of *Iddhi*. Whosoever does so shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa* (a wrong act)."

154. Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan* has a chapter on *shen-i* 神異 (IX–X), while Tao-hsüan's *Kao-seng chuan* (道宣, 高僧傳) and Pao-ch'ang's *Ming-seng chuan* (寶唱, 名僧傳) have a chapter on *kan-t'ung* 感通.

If miracles are narrowly defined as the intervention of the divine which is designed to suspend or change the law of nature, then wondrous occurences in the Buddhist tradition are not miracles, but the work of karma (I.26). As a consequence of past karma, man becomes a sage, holy man, bodhisattva, or buddha, and attains self-mastery. To the popular imagination, however, wonders held such appeal that they served as signs to invite men through the gate along the path toward enlightenment.

PART TWO

Annotated Translation of the *Nihon ryōiki*

NIHONKOKU GENPŌ ZEN'AKU RYŌIKI

VOLUME I

by Kyōkai

Monk of Yakushi-ji
on the West Side of Nara

CONTENTS

Thirty-five Stories on the Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil

Preface 99
1. On Catching Thunder 102
2. On Taking a Fox as a Wife and Bringing Forth a Child 104
3. On a Boy of Great Physical Strength Whose Birth Was Given by the Thunder's Blessing 105
4. On Prince Regent Shōtoku's Showing Extraordinary Signs 108
5. On Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in the Three Treasures 111
6. On Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in Bodhisattva Kannon 115
7. On Paying for and Freeing Turtles and Being Rewarded Immediately and Saved by Them 116
8. On a Deaf Man Whose Hearing was Restored Immediately Owing to his Faith in a Mahayana Scripture 118
9. On the Reunion in a Foreign Land of a Father with his Child Who was Carried Away by an Eagle 119
10. On a Man's Rebirth as an Ox for Labor and Showing an Extraordinary Sign Because of Stealing from His Son 120
11. On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for a Lifetime of Catching Fish in a Net 122
12. On a Skull, Which Was Saved from Being Stepped on by Men and Beasts, Showing an Extraordinary Sign and Repaying the Benefactor Immediately 123
13. On a Woman Who Performed Work in an Extraordinary Way, Ate Sacred Herbs, and Flew up to Heaven Alive 124
14. On a Monk Who Got an Immediate Reward for Recollecting and Reciting the *Shin-gyō* and Showed an Extraordinary Sign 125

15. On a Wicked Man Who Persecuted a Begging Monk and Gained an Immediate Penalty 126
16. On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for Skinning a Live Rabbit without Mercy 127
17. On Suffering War Damage and Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in an Image of Bodhisattva Kannon 128
18. On Recollecting and Reciting the *Hoke-kyō* and Gaining an Immediate Reward to Show an Extraordinary Sign 129
19. On Ridiculing a Reciter of the *Hoke-kyō* and Getting a Twisted Mouth as an Immediate Penalty 130
20. On a Monk Who Gave away the Firewood Provided to Heat the Bath and Was Reborn as an Ox for Labor, Showing an Extraordinary Sign 131
21. On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for Driving a Heavily Burdened Horse Without Mercy 132
22. On Showing an Extraordinary Sign at the Moment of Death Owing to Devotion to Buddhist Studies and Spreading the Teaching for the Benefit of All Beings 133
23. On an Evil Man Who Was Negligent in Filial Piety to His Mother and Gained an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death 135
24. On an Evil Daughter Who Was Negligent in Filial Piety to Her Mother and Gained an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death 136
25. On a Loyal and Selfless Minister Who Gained Heaven's Sympathy and Was Rewarded by a Miraculous Event 137
26. On a Full-fledged Monk Who kept Precepts, Practiced Austerities, and Attained a Miraculous Power in this Life 138
27. On an Evil Anonymous Novice Who Tore Down a Pillar of the Pagoda and Gained a Penalty 139
28. On Practicing the Formula of the Peacock King, and Thereby Gaining an Extraordinary Power to Become a Saint and Fly to Heaven in This Life 140
29. On Breaking Wickedly the Bowl of a Begging Novice and Gaining an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death 142
30. On Taking Others' Possessions Unrighteously, Causing Evil, and Gaining a Penalty Showing an Extraordinary Event 143
31. On Attaining a Great Fortune Immediately Owing to Devotion to Kannon and Praying for a Share of Benefits 146
32. On Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in the Three Treasures, Reverence to Monks, and Having Scriptures Recited 147
33. On the Miraculous Survival of a Buddha's Picture Offered by a Widow Who Made a Vow to Have It Painted for Her Deceased Husband 148
34. On Taking Back Silk Robes Once Stolen Owing to the Petition to Bodhisattva Myōken 149

35. On a Nun Who Painted a Buddha Image out of Gratitude for the Four Kinds of Blessings and Gained a Power to Show an Extraordinary Sign 150

Preface to Volume I

The Inner Scriptures[1] and Outer Writings[2] initially came to Japan by way of Paekche[3] in two waves: the latter arrived during the reign of Emperor Homuda 譽田,[4] who resided at the Palace of Toyoakira in Karushima 輕嶋豐明宮;[5] the former, during the reign of Emperor Kinmei 欽明,[6] who resided at the palace of Kanazashi in Shikishima 磯城嶋金刺宮.[7] Nowadays, it is fashionable for scholars who study the Outer Writings to slander Buddhist teachings, and for those who read the Inner Scriptures to neglect the Outer Writings. They are foolish and deceive themselves, ignoring the consequences of good and evil deeds.[8] But the wise, who are well versed in both the Inner and Outer traditions, stand in awe and believe in the law of karmic causation.[9]

There are many examples of piety in the imperial line. For instance, it is said that there was an emperor who climbed a hill to survey his domain, had compassion for the people, and thereafter contented himself with a palace that had a leaky roof.[10] Again, there was a prince who was innately prudent and foresighted, able to listen to ten men addressing him at the same time without missing a single word.[11] At the emperor's bidding he lectured on a Mahayana scripture when he was twenty-five years old, and his commentaries on Buddhist scriptures have been handed down for posterity. Another emperor made

1. 內經 *naikyō;* Buddhist scriptures.

2. 外書 *gesho;* non-Buddhist writings, that is, Chinese classics.

3. 百濟 Kudara (traditionally 18 B.C.–663 A.D.); one of the Korean Kingdoms which unified the southwestern part of the Korean peninsula in the beginning of the fourth century and served as the chief route for the introduction of continental culture to Japan.

4. (traditional reign, 270–310) posthumous name Ōjin 應神. Homuda might be a local name. About 400 the King of Paekche, whose country had been aided by the Japanese expedition against Koguryō 高句麗 in 291, sent scholars (阿直岐, 王仁) and Chinese classics to the Japanese court. See *Nihon shoki* (Ōjin 15:8:6; 16:2); Aston, "Nihongi," I, 262–263.

5. Located at present Ōkaru, Kashihara-shi, Nara-ken 奈良縣橿原市大輕.

6. (traditional reign, 539–571) According to the *Nihon shoki*, the introduction of Buddhism took place in 552, when King Syöng-myöng 聖明王 of Paekche presented to Emperor Kinmei a bronze statue of Śākyamuni Buddha, several flags and canopies, and a number of scriptures. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 37; see also I.5.

7. Located at present Kanaya, Sakurai-shi, Nara-ken 奈良縣櫻井市金屋.

8. 罪福 *zaifuku;* evil deeds which lead to penalties and good deeds which lead to rewards.

9. 因果 *inga;* cause and effect, that is, the law of karmic causation. It is juxtaposed with *zaifuku* in the preceding sentence.

10. Refers to Emperor Nintoku 仁德 (traditionally, 290–399); depicted in the Confucian image of an ideal king in the *Kojiki* (III.110) and *Nihon shoki* (XI, Nintoku 4:2:6; 7:4:1).

11. Refers to Prince Shōtoku. See I.4, 5.

12. The *Sangyō gisho* 三經義疏; commentaries on three Buddhist scriptures, that is, *Hoke-kyō* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*), *Yuima-kyō* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*), *Shōman-gyō* (*Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*), which are traditionally ascribed to Prince Shōtoku (*Taishō*, LXI, Nos. 2185–2187). See Chap. II(3)b, n. 145.

great vows[13] and, as an act of devotion, built a statue of Buddha. Heaven aided his vows, and the earth opened its treasure house to offer gold.[14]

There were also eminent monks whose virtues equaled those in the ten stages[15] and whose path went beyond the two vehicles.[16] They brought the light of wisdom to dark corners, rescued the drowning with the boat of compassion, practiced religious austerities, and were known even in distant lands. As to those of our own age who are enlightened, we cannot yet know how great their merits are.

Now I, Kyōkai, monk[17] of Yakushi-ji[18] in Nara, see the world closely. There are men who are able, but they are selfishly motivated. Their desire for gain is stronger than a magnet that can pull a mountain of iron; their lust for the possessions of others and their tightfisted hold

13. 弘誓願 *guzeigan;* four great vows of bodhisattvas, formulated in reference to the Four Noble Truths in Śākyamuni's teaching. The contents of the vows differ according to various traditions, and the following is widely accepted in the Tendai School: 1. However innumerable sentient beings are, I vow to save them; 2. However inexhaustible cravings are, I vow to extinguish them; 3. However limitless dharma is, I vow to study it; 4. However endless the quest for enlightenment is, I vow to attain it. For the significance of a vow, see M. Anesaki, "Prayer (Buddhist)," *ERE*, X, 166–170.

14. Refers to Emperor Shōmu 聖武, who made a vow in 743 to build a statue of Lochana Buddha in gold and copper but had difficulty in accomplishing it, because the statue was more than fifty feet high. In 749 gold was discovered in Japan for the first time, and eventually the statue was completed with popular support organized by Gyōgi. See Sansom, trans., "The Imperial Edicts in the *Shoku Nihongi*," *TASJ*, Second Series, I (1923–24), 26.

15. 十地 *jūji* (Skt. *daśabhūmi*); the ten stages in the disciplinary process of the bodhisattva; according to the *Kegon-gyō*, they are as follows:

1. *paramuditā:* stage of joy at benefiting oneself and others;
2. *vimalā:* stage of freedom from all possible defilement;
3. *prabhākarī:* stage of emission of the light of wisdom; 發光地
4. *arciṣmatī:* stage of glowing wisdom; 焔慧地
5. *sudurjayā:* stage of overcoming utmost difficulties; 難勝地
6. *abhimukhī:* stage of realization of wisdom; 現前地
7. *dūraṃgamā:* stage of proceeding far; 遠行地
8. *acalā:* stage of attainment of immobility; 不動地
9. *sādhumatī:* stage of attainment of expedient wisdom; 善意地
10. *dharmameghā:* stage of attainment of ability to spread the teaching. 法雲地

16. 二乘 *nijō; śrāvakayāna*, the path of listeners, and *pratyekabuddhayāna*, the path of solitary Buddha; Mahayana Buddhists place *bodhisattvayāna* beyond these two paths, saying that the goal of these two paths is self-enlightenment while that of the *bodhisattvayāna* is enlightenment for all beings. See III.38, n. 42.

17. 沙門; see Chap. I(1)a, n. 4.

18. See Chap. I(1)c.

on their own goods are greater than that of a grinder[19] which relentlessly squeezes even the husk of a single millet seed. Some men defraud temples and are reborn as calves to toil and repay the debts of their former lives;[20] some speak ill of Buddhist teachings and monks and meet with calamity in this present life;[21] some seek the path [of Buddha] by leading a disciplined life of practice and are rewarded in this life;[22] some practice good with a profound faith and are blissful.[23]

Good and evil deeds cause karmic retribution as a figure causes its shadow, and suffering and pleasure follow such deeds as an echo follows a sound in the valley.[24] Those who witness such experiences marvel at them and forget they are real happenings in the world. The penitent withdraws to hide himself, for he burns with shame at once. Were the fact of karmic retribution not known, how could we rectify wickedness and establish righteousness? And how would it be possible to make men mend their wicked minds and practice the path of virtue without demonstrating the law of karmic causation?

In China,[25] the *Myōhōki* (Record of Invisible Work of Karmic Retribution)[26] was compiled, and, during the great T'ang dynasty, the *Hannya kenki* (A Collection of Miraculous Stories Concerning the *Kongō hannya-kyō*)[27] was written. Since we respect the documents of foreign lands, should we not also believe and stand in awe of the miraculous events in our own land? Having witnessed these events myself, I cannot remain idle. After long meditation on this, I now break my silence. I have recorded the limited information that has come to me in these three volumes called the *Nihonkoku genpō zen'aku ryōiki*,[28] for future generations.

However, I am not gifted with either wisdom or lucidity. Learning acquired in a narrow well loses its way when out in the open. My work resembles that of a poor craftsman working on the carving of a master. I am afraid that I will cut my hand and suffer from the injury

19. 流頭 may be a mis-copying of 臼頭, which is a grinder. Itabashi holds that the script is a combination of water and grinder 碓. In T'ang China, Buddhist monasteries were engaged in milling with grinders 碾碓 for profit. See Michihata, *Tōdai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 450–452.

20. See I.20; II.9, 32, etc.

21. See I.19; II.7, 11, etc.

22. See I.14, 26, 38; II.21; III.1, 6, etc.

23. See I.31; II.14, 28, 42; III.21, etc.

24. 善惡之報如影隨形. 苦樂之響如谷應音. See Chap. I(2)a, n. 139.

25. 漢地 literally means "the land of the Han," that is, China.

26. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 34; Chap. I(2)b.

27. See Chap. I(2)b. 般若驗記, a shortened title of *Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki*, 3 vols., compiled by Meng Hsien-chung 孟獻忠 in 718 in the reign of Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (*Dainihon zokuzō-kyō*, Part II. 乙, case 22: 1).

28. See n. 1, above.

long afterward. My work is comparable to a rough pebble beside the K'un-lun Mountains.[29] Its source in the oral tradition is so indistinct that I am afraid of omitting much. Only the desire to do good has moved me to try, in spite of the fear that this might turn out to be a presumptuous work by an incompetent author. I hope that learned men in future generations will not laugh at my efforts, and I pray that those who happen upon this collection of miraculous stories will put aside evil, live in righteousness, and, without causing evil, practice good.[30]

I

On Catching Thunder[1]

Chīsakobe no Sugaru 小子部栖輕[2] was a favorite of Emperor Yūryaku 雄略天皇 (called Ōhatsuse-wakatake no sumeramikoto 大泊瀬稚武天皇) who reigned for twenty-three years at the Palace of Asakura in Hatsuse 泊瀬朝倉宮.[3]

Once the emperor stayed at the Palace of Iware 磐余,[4] and it happened that Sugaru stepped into the Ōyasumidono 大安殿[5] without

29. 崑崙山 a mountain range in Sinkiang province which is famous for jade.

30. 諸惡莫作諸善奉行, a popular maxim found in most Buddhist scriptures.

1. Another version of the same story is found in the *Nihon shoki*, XIV (Yūryaku 7:7:3); Aston, "Nihongi," I, 347. The emperor commanded Sugaru to go and seize the kami of Mt. Mimoro. Sugaru climbed the hill and caught a great snake. When he showed it to the emperor, thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The emperor was frightened and sent it back to Mt. Mimoro, renaming it Ikazuchi, thunder. For a discussion of snake (dragon)-thunder themes, see De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*.

2. Chīsakobe is a surname, and Sugaru a given name, the latter meaning "wasp." The *Nihon Shoki*, XIV (Yūryaku 6:3:7) gives a story on the origin of Chīsakobe; Aston, "*Nihongi*." Once Emperor Yūryaku (traditionally, 456–479) told Sugaru to collect silkworms (Ja. *kaiko*) in order to encourage court ladies to work for the silk industry. Sugaru collected babies (*kaiko*) instead of silkworms. The emperor was amused and gave him the title of Chīsakobe, literally meaning "little children cooperation." Shida, on the basis of these stories, holds that Sugaru was in charge of preventive magic against thunder and was related to the Hata 秦 family which had immigrated from Silla early in the fifth century and probably taught the Japanese the process for making silk. See his "Chīsakobe no seikaku ni tsuite," *Nihon rekishi*, No. 214 (March 1966), 66–79. Naoki says that Sugaru was a royal guard in his "Chīsakobe no seishitsu ni tsuite," *Shoku Nihongi kenkyū*, VII (No. 9, September 1960), 225–228.

3. Located in the eastern part of present Sakurai-shi, Nara-ken 奈良縣櫻井市.

4. It may be a detached palace somewhere in present Shiki-gun, Nara-ken; neither the *Kojiki* nor *Nihon shoki* refers to this palace.

5. The main building in the imperial palace during the Asuka and Nara periods; identified by some scholars with the later Daigyokuden 大極殿.

knowing that the emperor lay with the empress there. The emperor, ashamed of his conduct, stopped making love, and it thundered in the heavens. The emperor then said to Sugaru, "Won't you invite the rolling thunder to come here?" "Certainly," answered Sugaru, whereat the emperor commanded him, "Go, invite it here."

Leaving the palace, Sugaru hurried away on horseback, wearing a red headband[6] on his forehead and carrying a halberd with a red banner.[7] He passed the heights of Yamada in the village of Abe[8] and Toyura-dera 豊浦寺,[9] finally arriving at the crossroads of Karu no morokoshi.[10] He cried out: "The emperor has invited the rolling thunder of heaven to his palace." While galloping back to the palace, he asked himself why, even if it were a thunder kami, would it not accept the emperor's invitation.

As he returned, it happened that the lightning struck between Toyura-dera and Īoka 飯岡.[11] On seeing it, Sugaru sent for priests to place the thunder on the portable carriage,[12] and he escorted it to the imperial palace, saying to the emperor, "I have brought the thunder kami." The thunder gave off such a dazzling light that the emperor was terrified. He made many offerings[13] and then had it sent back to the original site, which is called "Hill of Thunder" 雷岡.[14] (It is situated to the north of the Palace of Owarida 小治田 in the old capital.)[15]

After a while Sugaru died. The emperor let the corpse stay, in its coffin for seven days and nights.[16] Then, recalling Sugaru's loyalty, the emperor had a tomb built at the place which had been struck by lightning and had a pillar inscribed: "The tomb of Sugaru who caught the thunder." The thunder was not pleased. It struck the pillar and was caught between the splintered pieces. When emperor heard this,

6. 緋蘰 a piece of red cloth tied around the head; also worn by a guard of the land of the dead (II.7). According to Shida, wearing it was a protective measure against thunder ("Chīsakobe," 74).

7. 赤幡桙 a sign of a royal messenger; see n. 6, above.

8. 阿部山田, a village to the south of Mt. Kagu 香具, the eastern part of the present Takechi-gun 高市郡, Nara-ken.

9. Also known as Mukuhara-dera 向原寺 or Kōken-ji 興建寺; a nunnery originally built by Soga no Iname 蘇我稲目 (d. 570) at his residence, which is located at present Asuka-mura, Takechi-gun, Nara-ken.

10. 諸越 *morokoshi* may be a place name which derived from the intercourse between China and Japan, hence meaning Chinese or trading center.

11. Unidentified local name.

12. 轝籠 *koshiko;* a palanquin made of bamboo.

13. 幣帛 *mitegura;* see Chap. II(1)a, n. 18.

14. A low hill located in the present Asuka-mura on the bank of the Asuka River.

15. Since Kyōkai lived in the late Nara and early Heian periods, "the old capital" refers to the capitals before the Nara period, that is, during the Asuka and Fujiwara periods.

16. See Chap. II(3)a, n. 115.

he freed the thunder loose, narrowly rescuing it from death. The experience left the thunder in a confused state of mind which lasted for seven days and nights. The emperor's officer, in rebuilding the pillar, inscribed it with the following epitaph: "Here lies Sugaru who caught the thunder both in his lifetime and after his death."

This is the origin of the name, "Hill of Thunder," given in the time of the old capital.

2

On Taking a Fox as a Wife and Bringing Forth a Child[1]

In the reign of Emperor Kinmei (that is, Amekuni-oshihiraki-hironiwa no mikoto 天國押開廣庭命, the emperor who resided at the Palace of Kanazashi in Shikishima),[2] a man from Ōno district of Mino province 三野國大野郡[3] set out on horseback in search of a good wife. In a field he came across a pretty and responsive girl. He winked at her and asked, "Where are you going, Miss?" "I am looking for a good husband," she answered. So he asked, "Will you be my wife?" and, when she agreed, he took her to his house and married her.

Before long she became pregnant and gave birth to a boy. At the same time their dog also gave birth to a puppy, it being the fifteenth of the twelfth month. This puppy constantly barked at the mistress[4] and seemed fierce and ready to bite. She became so frightened that she asked her husband[5] to beat the dog to death. But he felt sorry for the dog and could not bear to kill it.

In the second or third month, when the annual quota of rice[6] was hulled, she went to the place where the female servants were pounding rice in a mortar to give them some refreshments. The dog, seeing her, ran after her barking and almost bit her. Startled and terrified, she

1. The prototype of Japanese folktales concerning a fox; one tale of the Venerable Dōjō cycle; see Chap. II(2)b. Cf. M. W. de Visser, "The Fox and the Badger in Japanese Folklore," *TASJ*, XXXVI, Part Three (1908), 20–21. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (III, Kinmei), *Mizukagami* (I, Kinmei).

2. See Preface, n. 7, above.

3. The eastern part of present Ibi-gun, Gifu-ken 岐阜縣揖斐郡. The country was divided into provinces (*kuni* 國), and provinces were divided into districts (*kōri* 郡). In the beginning of the eighth century, there were sixty-six provinces comprising 592 districts.

4. 家室 *ietoji*, housewife.

5. 家長 *iegimi*, master of the family.

6. The rice harvested in the preceding autumn had to be delivered to the capital before the end of the eighth month.

suddenly changed into a wild fox and jumped up on top of the hedge.

Having seen this, the man said, "Since a child was born between us, I cannot forget you. Please come always and sleep with me." She acted in accordance with her husband's words and came and slept with him. For this reason she was named "Kitsune" meaning "come and sleep."[7]

Slender and beautiful in her red skirt (it is called pink), she would rustle away from her husband, whereupon he sang of his love for his wife:

Love fills me completely
After a moment of reunion.
Alas! She is gone.[8]

The man named his child Kitsune, which became the child's surname—Kitsune no atae.[9] The child, famous for his enormous strength, could run as fast as a bird flies. He is the ancestor of the Kitsune-no-atae family in Mino province.[10]

3

On a Boy of Great Physical Strength Whose Birth Was Given by the Thunder's Blessing[1]

In the reign of Emperor Bitatsu 敏達 (that is, Nunakura-futotama-shiki no mikoto 渟名倉太玉敷命, who resided at the Palace of Osada in Iware 磐余譯語田宮),[2] there was a farmer in the village of Katawa in Ayuchi district of Owari province 尾張國阿育知郡片蔰里.[3] While he was working to irrigate the rice fields, it began to rain. He took shelter under a tree and stood there holding a metal rod[4] in his hands. When it thundered, he raised the rod in fear. At that moment the thunder struck in front of him in the form of a child, who made a

7. Folk etymology of *kitsune*, fox; *kitsu-ne* 來寝 means "Come and sleep," while *ki-tsune* 來毎 means "come always."

8. In the form of a thirty-one syllable poem (5–7–5–7–7).

9. 狐直; although Kitsune no atae is not listed in the *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏錄, *atae* is a hereditary title conferred on the family of a local governor who was of the local gentry class.

10. For his descendant, see II.4.

1. One tale of the Venerable Dōjō cycle; see II.4, 27; quoted in the *Fusō ryakki* (III, Bitatsu), *Mizukagami* (II, Bitatsu), etc.

2. Emperor Bitatsu's palace is located in the western part of present Sakurai-shi, Nara-ken.

3. Present Furuwatari-chō, Naka-ku, Nagoya-shi 名古屋市中區古渡町.

4. 金杖 metal rod or plow (the *Fusō ryakki* gives "plow").

deep bow. The farmer was about to strike it with the metal rod when the child said, "Please don't hit me. I will repay your kindness." The farmer asked, "What will you do for me, then?" The thunder answered, "I will send you a baby to repay your kindness.[5] Make me a boat of camphor, fill it with water, and give it to me with a bamboo leaf on the water."[6] When the farmer did this, the thunder said, "Keep away from me," and it ascended to heaven in a rising mist.

Some time later a baby was born to the farmer; the baby had a snake coiled twice around his head, and the snake's head and tail hung down his back. When the child reached his teens, he heard of a man of great strength at the court, and he went to the capital, for he thought of challenging the man in a contest of strength. An unusually strong prince lived in a detached house on the northeast corner of the imperial palace grounds, where a stone eight feet square also stood. Once, the powerful prince came out, picked up the huge stone, and threw it. Then he went back into his house and closed the door to prevent people from entering. The boy[7] saw this, and he knew that the prince was the very man he sought.

That night the boy crept into the place and threw the stone one foot farther than the prince had. When the mighty prince discovered this, he clapped his hands to warm up, tried to throw it farther, but failed. A second time the boy threw it two feet farther, and again the prince failed. Then the boy, making footprints three inches deep, threw it three feet farther. The prince wanted to catch the boy, who was easily identified by his small footprints, but the boy ran away quickly. The prince tried to catch the boy as he was creeping out through the hedge, but he found that the boy was inside the hedge. When the prince jumped over the hedge to reach the boy, the boy was already on the other side, and the mighty prince was unable to catch him. The prince, realizing that the boy was indeed the stronger, gave up chasing him.

Some time later the boy became an acolyte[8] at Gangō-ji 元興寺.[9] At that time no night passed without some of the acolytes in service

5. 我報汝之恩; see Chap. II(2)a, for the idea of *on*.

6. In ancient Japan camphorwood was used to make boats.

7. 少子 a child between three and sixteen according to the *Ryō no gige*, "Ko-ryō," Article 6; see Sansom, "Early Japanese Law," Part Two, 135.

8. 童子 *dōji* or *warawa*, Skt. *kumāra*; an unordained boy under the age of twenty who works at the temple as an apprentice.

9. Originally called Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 or Hōkō-ji 法興寺, founded by Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 in 588 and completed in 596; it was the first temple to have a pagoda and halls and showed Korean influence, and it was moved to the capital of Nara in 716. The present Angoin 安居院 stands at the site of the original temple at Asuka-mura.

at the bell hall being murdered. The new acolyte said to the monks at the temple, "I will put an end to these tragedies by killing the evil fiend,"[10] and the monks approved of his proposal. He proceeded to set four lamps and four men at the four corners of the bell hall and said to them, "When I get hold of the fiend, take the covers off the lamps." Then he hid himself at the base of the door.

At midnight the huge fiend appeared, but departed at the sight of the boy, returning again before dawn.[11] The boy seized it by the hair and pulled hard. The fiend struggled to extricate itself, but the acolyte pulled it into the hall. The four men at the four corners, frightened, were unable to remove the lamp covers so the boy had to light the lamps, one by one, while dragging the fiend around the hall. About dawn,[12] the fiend, its hair having been torn completely out, escaped. In the morning people traced the blood stains as far as the crossroads, where a wicked former slave[13] of the temple was buried,[14] and they discovered that it was the ghost of that dead man. The hair is still preserved in Gangō-ji as a treasure.[15]

Meanwhile the acolyte became a lay brother[16] and lived on at Gangō-ji. The temple owned some irrigated rice fields. When some princes stopped the flow of water and the fields became parched, the lay brother said, "I will irrigate the fields." The monks agreed to his plan. First, he made a plow so heavy that it took ten men to carry it. He took the plow in his hand like a cane and went to the fields, where he put it at the sluice gate to prop it open. But the princes took it away and closed the sluice gate that controlled the irrigation of the fields of the temple. Whereupon the lay brother placed at the sluice a stone so heavy that it would have required more than a hundred men to move it and proceeded to work in the fields. The princes, terrified by his great strength, did not dare to cause any more trouble. After that the fields were never dry, and they yielded good crops. The monks of the

10. 鬼 *oni;* hungry ghost, one of five or six modes of existence in Buddhist cosmology. See Chap. I(2)a, n. 127.

11. 後夜 *goya*, from three to five a.m.

12. 晨朝 *jinchō*, from five to seven a.m.

13. 奴 *yakko* (*nuhi*); see Chap. I(1)a, n. 24.

14. There was a belief that the spirits of the dead, particularly of those who died violently, would linger in this world and cause harm to the living. In order to prevent the activities of the evil spirits, wicked people were buried at a crossroads or the end of the bridge in the hope that the pressure of heavy traffic would keep them in their graves.

15. This passage reflects a belief that anything extraordinary or strange had power and thus should be properly cared for.

16. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 92.

temple allowed the lay brother to be ordained and to renounce the world, naming him Dharma Master Dōjō 道場法師.

This is the story of the mighty hero of Gangō-ji, renowned in later legends, whose extraordinary strength originated in the merits accumulated in his former lives. This miraculous event was witnessed in Japan.

4

On Prince Regent Shōtoku's Showing Extraordinary Signs[1]

Prince Regent Shōtoku 聖德皇太子 was the son of Emperor Tachibana-no-toyohi 橘豐日,[2] who reigned at the Palace of Ikebe-no-namitsuki in Iware 磐余池邊雙槻宮.[3] He became Prince Regent in the reign of Empress Suiko 推古,[4] who resided at the Palace of Owarida 小墾田. He had three names: Umayado no toyotomimi 厩戸豐聰耳; Shōtoku; and Kamitsu-miya 上宮. Since he was born in front of the stables, he was called "Umayado" [meaning "stable door"]. "Toyotomimi" [which means "intelligent ear"] originated because he was by nature so wise that he could attend to the legal claims of ten men at a time and decide them without missing a single word. He was also called "Shōtoku" [which means "sacred virtue"] because he not only behaved like a monk but was so well versed in Buddhist teachings that he could write commentaries on the *Shōman-gyō*, *Hoke-kyō*, etc.,[5] and so well versed in Chinese classics as to institute the system of court

1. This tale consists of two independent stories; the first is an anecdote of Prince Regent Shōtoku; the second concerns Ensei and Gangaku, two Buddhist monks. A common structure is found in these two stories: the beggar in the first and Gangaku in the second are sages in disguise, whom Prince Shōtoku and Ensei recognized with their penetrating eyes, thereby demonstrating their own sagacity. The former is similar to a popular legend found in works such as the *Nihon shoki*, *Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu*, *Jōgū taishiden hokejsuki* 上宮太子傳補闕記, *Sanbō ekotoba* (II,2), *Nihon ōjō gokurakuki*, *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XI, 1), etc. Also see Herman Bohner, "Shōtoku taishi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, XXVIII (1936).

2. Emperor Yōmei 用明 (585–587).

3. Situated in present Ikejiri 池尻 and Ikeuchi 池內, Sakurai-shi, Nara-ken.

4. (592–628), Emperor Bitatsu's consort and the aunt of Prince Shōtoku, who appointed him Prince Regent in 593.

5. See Preface, n. 12, above.

ranks and honors.[6] He was called Kamitsu-miya no kimi [which literally means "Prince of the Upper Palace"] because his residence was located above the imperial palace.

Once, when the Prince Regent lived at the Palace of Okamoto in Ikaruga 鵤岡本宮,[7] he happened to go to Kataoka 片岡[8] and, on the way, he found a sick beggar lying by the side of the road.[9] Alighting from his palanquin, the prince talked with the beggar, took off his cloak to cover him, and went on his way. On his return he did not see the beggar, but only his cloak hanging on the branch of a tree. The prince put it on again. One of his ministers said to him, "Are you so poor that you must wear the soiled garment once worn by a beggar?" "It's all right, you wouldn't understand," was his reply. Meanwhile the beggar died in another place. The prince sent a messenger to have him buried temporarily[10] while a tomb which was named Hitoki no haka 人木墓 (Man-tree-tomb)[11] was built for him at Moribeyama 守部山 in the northeast corner of Hōrin-ji 法林寺[12] in the village of Okamoto. A messenger sent to visit the tomb found it too tightly closed to allow anybody to enter. Only a poem was found at the door, and it read:

The name of my Lord
Would be forgotten,
Should the stream of Tomi of Ikaruga
Cease to flow.[13]

6. The *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 11:12:5), gives an account of the initiation of the twelve-grade ranking system (603); see Aston, "Nihongi," II, 128. Cf. Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon kodai kokka no kenkyū*, for the significance of this system in Japanese history.

7. Situated in the present site of Hokki-ji 法起寺 at Okamoto, Ikaruga-machi, Ikoma-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣生駒郡斑鳩町岡本. Cf. *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 9:2); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 125.

8. In the vicinity of present Kamimaki-mura, Kita-kazuraki-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣北葛城郡上牧村.

9. The *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 21:12:1, 2); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 144–145. The difference between the *Nihon ryōiki* and the *Nihon shoki* is as follows: in the former the sage is a sick beggar while in the latter he is a starving man; in the former the poem expresses admiration for Prince Shōtoku, while in the latter it expresses grief for a dying man; in the former people do not understand what really happened, while in the latter they understand and increase their veneration of Prince Shōtoku. See Tamura Enchō, *Asuka Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 262–278.

10. 殯 *mogari;* see Chap. II(3)a.

11. The name may have originated in the preceding passage: "he could not see the beggar, but only his garment hanging on the branch of a tree," implying that the beggar had been replaced by a tree.

12. Founded in 622 by Prince Yamashiro no Ōe 山背大兄王 for his late father, Prince Regent Shōtoku, who died in 621.

13. It is one of the three funeral songs composed by Kose no Sanjō daifu 巨勢三杖大夫, according to the *Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu* (*DBZ*, 112, 46b).

The messenger, on his return, reported this to the prince, who was silent.

We learn that a sage 聖 recognizes a sage, whereas an ordinary man cannot recognize a sage. The ordinary man sees nothing but the outer form of a beggar, while the sage has a penetrating eye able to recognize the hidden essence.[14] It is a miraculous event.

The Venerable Ensei 圓勢師, a disciple of Dharma Master Shaku 藉法師, was a national preceptor of Paekche.[15] He lived in the Takamiya-dera 高宮寺 at Kazuraki in Yamato province 大倭國葛木 in Japan.[16] In the north chamber of that temple, there once lived a monk whose name was Gangaku 願覺, who used to go out to the village at dawn and come back at dusk. When a lay brother, a disciple of the Venerable Ensei, told his master about Gangaku, the master said "Don't say a word about him." The lay brother secretly bored a hole in the wall of Gangaku's chamber to spy on him and found the chamber full of light. Again he reported to his master, who answered, "This is why I told you to keep quiet about him." Before long it happened that Gangaku suddenly passed away. Ensei told the lay brother to cremate him and bury the ashes, and this was done. Later the lay brother came to live in Ōmi 近江.[17] Once he heard someone say, "Here lives the Venerable Gangaku." At once he paid a visit, finding Gangaku exactly as he had been. Gangaku said to the lay brother, "It is a long time since I last saw you, but I have been thinking of you all the time. How have you been getting along?"

We learn that he was incarnated as a sage.[18] Eating five kinds of strong herbs[19] is forbidden in Buddhist precepts, but, if a sage eats them, he will not incur any sin.[20]

14. See Chap. II(2)c.

15. In the Maeda manuscript this story is found in III.39. The three monks are otherwise unknown; a similar story is found in Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan* (X, 2, 邵碩). 百濟國之師 may be interpreted in two ways: "national preceptor of Paekche," or "monk from the land of Paekche."

16. A mountain temple in present Minami-kazuraki-gun, Nara-ken.

17. Present Shiga-ken 滋賀縣. .

18. 聖反化 *hijiri no henge;* the alternate reading is *shōhenge,* meaning "sacred incarnation, Buddha incarnated."

19. 五辛 *goshin;* garlic, scallion, onion, ginger, leek; see *Ryō no gige,* "Sōni-ryō," Article 7; Sansom, "Early Japanese Laws," Part Two, 128–129.

20. This note does not fit the story, but it may have been added to emphasize the idea that a sage is free from all precepts and conventions.

5

On Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in the Three Treasures[1]

Lord Ōtomo no Yasunoko no muraji 大部屋栖野古連[2] of the Great Flower Rank[3] was an ancestor of the Ōtomo no muraji in Uji, Nagusa district, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡宇治.[4] He was endowed with a lucid mind and highly revered the Three Treasures.[5]

According to a record,[6] in the reign of Emperor Bitatsu,[7] sounds of musical instruments were heard off the coast of Izumi 和泉 province.[8] They sounded like pipes and strings or rolling thunder. They were heard in the daytime and at night a light spread eastward. Lord Ōtomo no Yasunoko no muraji heard this tale and reported it to the emperor, who did not believe it and remained silent. When he reported it to the empress, however, she ordered him to investigate. He went to the seaside to witness the scene himself and found it exactly as reported. While there, he came upon a camphor log which had been struck by thunder.[9] On his return, he said to the empress, "I have found a camphor log on the beach of Takaashi 高脚濱.[10] I humbly request permission to make Buddha images out of it." The empress gave permission saying, "Your wish is granted."

Yasunoko was very happy and announced the imperial decree to Shima no ōomi 嶋大臣,[11] who, in great joy, commissioned Ikebe no

1. Cf. *Nihon shoki* (Kinmei, Bitatsu, Suiko), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XI, 23), *Fusō ryakki* (III, IV), etc.

2. The Ōtomo family is one of the influential families mainly in charge of the imperial guards, whose ancestry can be traced to the age of kami. See *Nihon shoki*, II, III, XVI, etc.; Aston, "*Nihongi*," I, 86, 116, 133, 403, etc. *Muraji* is a hereditary title for high ranking administrators from the end of the fifth century to the first half of the seventh century at the Yamato court.

3. 大花位 *daikei;* the seventh of the nineteen ranks instituted in 649 by Emperor Kōtoku 孝德 (645–654). See the *Nihon shoki*, XXV (Taika 5:2); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 231–232.

4. Present Uji, Kimiidera, Wakayama-shi 和歌山市紀三井寺宇治.

5. See Chap. II(3)b.

6. 本記 *honki;* this story must have been quoted from a source which no longer exists.

7. According to the *Nihon shoki*, this event took place in 553 in the reign of Emperor Kinmei, not that of Emperor Bitatsu (XIX Kinmei 14:5:1); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 68. In the *Nihon shoki*, it was Ikebe no atae 溝邊直 who was sent to make an investigation by the emperor.

8. The *Nihon shoki* gives "Chinu no umi, Izumi," 和泉茅渟海 (present Izumi-nada, south of the Gulf of Ōsaka).

9. See I.3.

10. Present Hamadera beach in Sakai-shi, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府堺市濱寺.

11. Meaning Minister of the Island, a popular name for Soga no Umako; in the courtyard of his mansion he had a pond dug with a small island in the middle. See *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 34:5:20); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 154. *Omi* is a hereditary title for high-ranking administrators.

atae Hita 池邊直氷田[12] to carve three bodhisattvas.[13] They were consecrated in a hall at Toyura[14] to inspire awe and reverence in the people. However, Lord Mononobe no yuge no Moriya no ōmuraji 物部弓削守屋大連[15] addressed the empress, saying, "No Buddha images should be kept in this country. They must be thrown away." Hearing this, the empress called Lord Yasunoko no muraji, saying, "Hide these Buddha images without delay." Thereupon he had Hita no atae hide them among rice sheaves. Lord Yuge no ōmuraji eventually burned the hall and threw the remaining images into the canal at Naniwa 難破.[16] He rebuked Yasunoko, saying, "The cause of our present disaster lies in keeping pagan images sent from a neighboring country. Give them up and throw them into the current which flows toward Korea." ("Pagan images" means "Buddha images.") Yasunoko firmly refused. Yuge no ōmuraji, deranged and rebellious, looked for an opportunity for treason, but heaven disliked him and earth hated him. He was at last overthrown in the reign of Emperor Yōmei,[17] and the Buddhist images were brought into the open to be kept for posterity. The image of Amida 阿彌陀[18] is now enshrined at Hiso-dera 比蘇寺[19] at Yoshino.

In the first month in the spring of the tenth year of the ox,[20] the empress was enthroned at the Palace of Owarida, and reigned for thirty-six years. On the tenth of the fourth month, in the summer of the first year of her reign, Prince Umayado was appointed Prince Regent,[21] and Yasunoko no muraji was made his personal attendant. On the fifth of the fifth month in the thirteenth year of the reign, the empress gave him the Great Faith Rank,[22] saying, "Your distinguished service shall be remembered forever." In the second month

12. The *Nihon shoki*, XX (Bitatsu 13:9), says that Soga no Umako asked for the two Buddha images imported from Paekche and sent Ikebe no atae Hita and others to find practitioners. See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 101.

13. This differs from the passage quoted above, and the three images are unidentified.

14. See above, I.1, n. 9.

15. A central figure of the anti-Buddhist group at court; the Mononobe family, whose ancestry can be traced to the age of kami, was in charge of military affairs. See *Nihon shoki*, III, VI, XX, XXI; Aston, "Nihongi," I, 128, 184; II, 90, 102–112.

16. Or 難波, present Ōsaka-shi 大阪市.

17. Mononobe no Moriya and his family were defeated by the Soga family in 587 after the death of Emperor Yōmei.

18. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 132.

19. Also known as Hōkō-ji 放光寺, which exists at Hiso, Ōaza, Ōyodo-chō, Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣吉野郡大淀町大字比曾.

20. For the traditional Chinese usage of the Ten Stems and Twelve Branches for the Calendar, see *Mathew's Chinese English Dictionary*, Appendix A, 1176–1177.

21. See *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 1:4:10); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 122.

22. 大信位 *daishin'i*, the seventh of the twelve ranks instituted by Prince Shōtoku; see I.4, n. 6.

of the seventeenth year, the Prince Regent entrusted him with six hundred and seventy acres of rice fields at Iho district in Harima province 播磨國揖保郡.[23] When the Prince Regent died at the Palace of Ikaruga in the second month of the twenty-ninth year,[24] Yasunoko no muraji revealed his desire to renounce the world, but the empress did not permit this.

In the fourth month of the thirty-second year, a Buddhist monk took an axe and smote his father with it.[25] Yasunoko no muraji immediately petitioned the throne, saying, "All monks and nuns should be examined and a presiding officer[26] appointed in order to guide them and establish righteousness." The empress agreed and granted him the right to carry out the task. It turned out that there were eight hundred and thirty-seven monks and five hundred and seventy-nine nuns.[27] The monk Kanroku 觀勒 was appointed *daisōjō*,[28] and Yasunoko no muraji and Kuratsukuri no Tokosaka 鞍部德積[29] were appointed *sōzu*.[30]

On the eighth of the tenth month of the thirty-third year, Yasunoko died suddenly at Naniwa. His corpse was unusually fragrant, and the empress declared seven days' mourning in honor of his loyalty. He returned to life in three days, however, and told his family the following tale:

"There were five-colored clouds like a rainbow stretching to the north.[31] I was walking along that roadway of clouds, and it smelled fragrant, as if valuable incense was being mixed. At the end of the way

23. Situated in the western suburbs of present Himeji-shi, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣姫路市. When the Prince Regent lectured on the *Hoke-kyō*, the empress was so pleased that she granted him the rice fields in Harima, which may have been administered by Yasunoko. See *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 14); Aston, "Nihongi," II,135.

24. *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 29:2:5); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 148.

25. See Chap. I(1)d, for the initiation of the *Sōgō-sei*, a supervisory system for monks and nuns. The *Nihon ryōiki* gives "father"; the *Nihon shoki*, "grandfather."

26. 上座 *jōza*, the highest official of the monastic community in a temple; see Chap. I(1)d, n. 84.

27. The *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 32:9:3) states that there were 816 monks and 569 nuns.

28. Kwal-leuk came from Paekche in 602. The *Nihon shoki*, XXII (Suiko 10:10) says that he presented many books on calendar making, astrology, geography, and magical arts. He lived at Gangō-ji. He was appointed *sōjō*, and not *daisōjō*, a title later conferred on Gyōgi. See Chap. I (1)d, n. 74.

29. The Kuratsukuri family were craftsmen who immigrated from Paekche and were related to the Shiba family who played an important role in the introduction of Buddhism to Japan. See *Fusō ryakki* (Kinmei 13) for Shiba no Tachito 司馬達等.

30. The *Nihon shoki* gives Azumi no muraji instead of Yasunoko. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 74.

31. The rainbow bridge to the land of the dead is a motif (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, F 152.1.1) traced in many traditions of the world. And the North Pole Star is the point of cosmic breakthrough in the Chinese tradition and is the place where the deity in charge of life and death presides. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 129. For the symbolic meaning of this story, see Chap. II(1)b.

there appeared a golden mountain which dazzled my eyes as I approached it. There the late Prince Regent Shōtoku was waiting for me and we climbed to the summit together. A full-fledged monk[32] was standing on the top of the golden mountain. Bowing to the prince, he said, 'I have come from the Palace of the East. In eight days you will fall into danger. I beseech you to take this elixir of life.'[33] Then he gave one bead of his bracelet to be swallowed, and, with the penetrating eye,[34] he had the prince recite three times, 'Homage to the Bodhisattva of Miraculous Power'[35] and retired. The prince said to me, 'Go back home without any delay and prepare a place to make a Buddha statue. When I finish performing the rite of repentance,[36] I will return to the court to make it.' I came back along the way I had taken before, and all of a sudden I was brought back to life."

Accordingly, people called him the "Revived Muraji." In the ninth month in the autumn of the seventh year of the dog, the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Kōtoku, he was decorated with the Great Flower Rank, Upper Grade, and when he died he was over ninety.

A note says: How praiseworthy the member of the Ōtomo family is for his devotion to Buddha, for his commitment to dharma with purity of heart and loyalty, and for his longevity and fortune! He was known for his courage, and for the sense of filial piety he handed down to his descendants. Indeed we know it is a testimony to the Three Treasures, and it is due to protection by good deities.[37] On reflection we discover that a danger in eight days corresponds to the revolt of Soga no Iruka,[38] for "eight days" corresponds to eight years; "Bodhisattva of Miraculous Power" corresponds to Bodhisattva Monjushiri 文珠師利菩薩;[39] the "one bead" which was swallowed is a pill to escape danger. "The golden mountain" is identified with Wu-t'ai shan 五臺山 in China,[40] while the "Palace of the East" means Japan. The "going

32. 比丘 *biku*, a transliteration of *bhikṣu*, a monk who has been ordained and has accepted the full list of more than two hundred precepts. For the ordination system, see Chap. I(1)d.

33. Itabashi gives a different interpretation of this passage: The prince, bowing to the full-fledged monk, said, "This is a man from the Palace of the East. He will fall into danger in eight days. Please let him have the elixir of life" (*Nihon ryōiki*, 31).

34. 天眼 *tengen;* see Chap. II(2)c, n. 109.

35. 南无妙德菩薩 *Namu myōtoku-bosatsu; namu* is a transliteration of Skt. *namas;* Myōtoku-bosatsu does not refer to any specific bodhisattva, for *myōtoku* means "miraculous power."

36. 悔過 *keka;* see Chap. II(1)a.

37. 善神 *zenjin;* also known as *gohō* 護法, guardians of dharma; numerous deities in the Mahayana assembly of Buddhas and bodhisattvas who protect dharma, particularly during the age of degenerate dharma.

38. *Nihon shoki*, XXIV (Kōgyoku 2:11:1) Prince Yamashiro no Ōe was killed by Soga no Iruka; *ibid.* (Kōgyoku 4:6:12) Iruka was killed at the court. But "eight years" does not fit the historical record. See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 181–194.

39. Transliteration of Mañjuśrī; see Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī."

40. See Chap. I(2)b, n. 164.

back to the court to make an image" was realized in the birth of ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu 勝寶應眞聖武太上天皇,[41] who built a temple and Buddha statue.[42] The Most Venerable Gyōgi,[43] a contemporary of Emperor Shōmu, is an incarnation[44] of Bodhisattva Monjushiri. This is a miraculous story.

6

On Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in Bodhisattva Kannon[1]

Elder Master Gyōzen 行善 came from the Katashibe 堅部 family[2] and was sent to Koryō 高麗 for Buddhist studies during the reign of the empress who resided at the Palace of Owarida.[3] When that country was invaded, he wandered from place to place. When he came to a river, he was at a loss how to cross it, for there was neither bridge nor boat. Sitting on a broken-down bridge, he was meditating on Kannon 觀音[4] when an old man came by in a boat to take him to the other side. Upon landing, he could see neither the old man nor the boat. Thus he learned that the old man was an incarnation[5] of Kannon, and on the spot he made a vow[6] that he would make an image to be venerated.

41. *Shoku Nihongi* (Tenpyō hōji 2:8:1, 9). Posthumous names were given to the former emperor (Shōhō-kanjin-shōmu 勝寶感神聖武) and the former empress (Chūdai-tenpyō-ōjin-ninshō 中臺天平應眞仁正). Kyōkai apparently confused these two names.

42. See Preface, n. 14, above.

43. For Gyōgi, see Chap. I(1)d. *Daitoku* 大德 is a transliteration of Skt. *bhadanta*, which means one who has great virtues, and is used as an honorific title for Buddhas, bodhisattvas, elder monks, etc.; in China and Japan the usage as an honorific title for eminent monks was added.

44. 反化 *henge;* see I.4, n. 18.

1. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (VI, Yōrō 2:9), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 1), etc.

2. An immigrant family from Paekche. *Shoku Nihongi*, VIII (Yōrō 5:6:23) gives a decree: Monk Gyōzen studied abroad and, after ascetic practices, learned the miraculous art and eventually returned home. If he visits a temple to pay homage to the Buddha, entertain him as a samgha official.

3. Or Kogrō (traditionally 37 B.C.–668 A.D.); it was the most northern of the three Korean Kingdoms. Gyōzen went to Korea, probably in the reign of Empress Suiko (592–628). However, the *Fusō ryakki* and *Shoku Nihongi* date this story in the reign of Empress Genshō (715–724), even though Koryō was subjugated by the T'ang army in 668.

4. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 11, and Chap. II(3)b.

5. 應化 *ōge* (Skt. *nirmāṇa*), meaning transformation, incarnation; Kannon is known to appear in thirty-three forms.

6. 誓願 *seigan*, a translation of Skt. *Praṇidhāna;* in this case the vow is addressed to Kannon as an expression of faith and to himself as a confirmation of commitment to disciplinary practice. Also see Preface, n. 13, above.

Eventually he reached Great T'ang China where he made an image to worship day and night. He was called Dharma Master Riverside 河邊法師. No one exceeded him in fortitude,[7] and he was respected by the emperor of the T'ang dynasty.[8] He returned home with the Japanese envoys to China in the second year of the Yōrō era.[9] He lived at Kōfuku-ji 興福寺[10] and never ceased performing services before that image until he died.

Surely we learn that the power of Kannon is beyond understanding. The note says: An eminent monk went to study abroad, fell into danger, and was unable to cross at the ferry. On a bridge he meditated on Kannon[11] and trusted holy power. Kannon, in the form of an old man, came to his rescue and disappeared after they had parted. The monk made an image of Kannon and worshiped it continuously until his last day.

7

On Paying for and Freeing Turtles and Being Rewarded Immediately and Saved by Them[1]

Dhyāna Master[2] Gusai 弘濟[3] came from Paekche. When that country was invaded, an ancestor of the governor[4] of Mitani district in Bingo province 備後國三谷郡[5] was put in charge of reinforcements and

7. 忍辱 *nin'niku* (Skt. *kṣānti*), one of the six practices of bodhisattvas for attaining Buddhahood. The *Hoke-kyō*, XIII (*Taishō*, IX, 36c), advocates it as the most suitable for working among ignorant people in the age of the degenerate dharma. See Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 266–268.

8. Probably Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (713–755) of the T'ang dynasty (618–906).

9. *Shoku Nihongi*, VIII (Yōrō 2:10:20). An envoy to China, Tajihi no Mahito agatamori 多治比眞人縣守, returned to Japan.

10. Originally founded in 669 at Yamashina and called Yamashina-dera 山階寺; next moved to Asuka, and then to Nara in 710.

11. 聖 Buddha or bodhisattva; in this case, Kannon.

1. The same motif of repaying kindness is found in tales II.5, 8, 12, 16, etc. See Chap. II(2)a. Cf. *Myōhoki* (I, On Yen-kung 嚴恭), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIX, 30), etc.

2. 禪師 *zenji* is a title often used honorifically for monks in general.

3. Unknown.

4. 大領 *dairyō* is the first among the four high officials in the district, generally a man of influence from the local gentry.

5. Present Futami-gun, Hiroshima-ken 廣島縣双三郡.

sent to Paekche.[6] At that time the present governor's ancestor vowed that he would build a temple[7] to dedicate to the deities[8] of heaven and earth if he came home safely. Eventually, he escaped harm. Thereupon, he invited Dhyāna Master Gusai to return to Japan with him. Mitani-dera 三谷寺[9] is the temple that was founded by this master, and both monks and laymen felt awe and reverence at its sight.

Once, in going to the capital to exchange his belongings for gold and paints,[10] the master reached the port of Naniwa.[11] He happened to see a seaman selling four big turtles, and he advised people to buy them and set them free.[12] After that he rented a boat and boarded it with two acolytes[13] to cross the sea. Late at night, the sailors, filled with greed, threw the acolytes into the sea near of Kabanejima 骨嶋, in Bizen 備前,[14] and turned to him, saying, "Quick, into the sea with you!" The monk tried to reason with them, but they would not listen. Finally, after making a vow,[15] he sank into the water. When the water came up to his waist, he felt a stone supporting his legs. In the morning light he found that he was being carried by the turtles. They left him on the beach of Bitchū 備中[16] after nodding to him three times. It seems that the turtles which had been set free came back to repay his kindness.[17]

Eventually the thieving sailors, six in all, happened to visit his temple to sell the gold and paints they had stolen from him. The patron[18] of

6. *Nihon shoki*, XXVI (Saimei 6–7), XXVII (Tenchi 1–2); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 263–270, 274–280. Paekche and Koryö joined forces to fight against Silla in 641. Silla sought help from T'ang China, which sent troops in 658 and 659, but had no success in conquering Koryö. In 660 T'ang China joined by Silla conquered Paekche, but in 661 Paekche rose and fought back, receiving help from the Japanese expeditionary forces in 662. In the next year, however, Silla and T'ang joined forces again to invade Paekche where they destroyed the Japanese base, putting an end to Japanese influence in Korea.

7. 伽藍 *garan*, also written 僧伽藍 *sōgaran*; see Chap. I(1)d, n. 116.

8. 諸神祇 *kamigami*; deities of heaven and earth in which all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are included.

9. Unidentified; there are temples built by local officials and given local names such as Iwata-dera (II.31), Miki-dera (III.36), etc.

10. Probably for the use of painting Buddha images and temple buildings.

11. The port of present Ōsaka-shi.

12. 放生 *hōjō*, the practice of buying captive fish, birds, or animals and releasing them is highly recommended for promoting the Buddhist doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, nonkilling, particularly among fishermen. The first reference to *hōjō* in the *Nihon shoki* is found in the reign of Emperor Tenmu (676), who promulgated a decree to release all living beings in captivity. See *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 5:8:17); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 334.

13. See I.3, n. 8.

14. Unidentified, but situated off the coast of present Okayama-ken 岡山縣.

15. 願 *gan*; this has a meaning closer to prayer as a confession of faith. Compare with *seigan* (See I.6, n. 6).

16. Present Okayama-ken.

17. 報恩 *hōon*; see Chap. II(2)a.

18. 檀越 *taniochi* or *dan'otsu*, a translation of Skt. *dānapati*, meaning one who makes offerings; in Japan, a patron, often an influential member of the local gentry who makes donations to the temple and, hence, controls financial matters of the temple.

the temple first came out to make an estimate, and then the master appeared to see them. The thieves were petrified with terror. Out of mercy he did not punish them, but rather made a Buddha image to be consecrated in the pagoda and performed rites of dedication. Later he lived by the seaside, and preached to passersby. He passed away when he was over eighty.

Even an animal does not forget gratitude, and repays an act of kindness. How, then, could a righteous man[19] fail to have a sense of gratitude?

8

On a Deaf Man Whose Hearing Was Restored Immediately Owing to His Faith in a Mahayana Scripture[1]

In the reign of the empress residing at the Palace of Owarida[2] there was a man whose name was Kinunui no tomonomiyatsuko Gitsū 衣縫伴造義通[3] who suddenly became seriously ill. He was deaf in both ears and suffered a chronic skin disease which never healed. He said to himself, "My past deeds[4] influence my life not only in the present but also in the future. It is better to do good and die soon than to live long and be hated by others." Therefore he swept the ground, cleaned the hall, summoned a *dhyāna* master[5] with all due reverence, and, after purifying himself with holy water,[6] devoted himself to reading a Mahayana scripture 方廣經.[7]

Meanwhile, he experienced an extraordinary sensation and said to the master, "I am hearing the name of a bodhisattva in my ear, so I beg you, Most Venerable Master,[8] to continue the service." During

19. 義人 *ginin*.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 5), *Fusō ryakki* (IV, Suiko), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 36), etc.
2. Refers to Empress Suiko; see I.6, n. 3.
3. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, Kinunui is the name of an immigrant family.
4. 宿業 *sukugō* or *shukugō*; the term is ethically neutral, including both good and evil deeds, but it usually refers to evil deeds.
5. 義禪師 Gi-zenji may be a combination of a personal name Gi and *zenji*, an honorific title, or a monk who is well-read in scriptures.
6. 香水 *kōzui*, ritually purified water.
7. *Hōkō-kyō*; 方廣 *hōkō* is a shortened compound of 方正 *hōsei*, "square, upright," and 廣大 *kōdai*, "large, great"; hence, in the Buddhist tradition it designates Mahayana. Therefore, *Hōkō-kyō* means Mahayana scripture; for another possible meaning, however, see Chap. II(1)a, n. 8.
8. 大德 *daitoku*; see I.5, n. 43.

the master's performance, one ear was completely healed. With great joy, Gitsū repeated his request to go on, and, as the master went on with the service, both ears were healed. People far and near marveled at the news. We learn that there really exists a mysterious correspondence.[9]

9

On the Reunion in a Foreign Land of a Father with His Child Who Was Carried Away by an Eagle

In the third month, in the spring of the tenth year of the hare, in the reign of the empress who resided in the Palace of Itabuki, Asuka Kawara 飛鳥川原板葺宮,[2] there was a baby girl in a certain home in a remote village in Shizumi district of Tajima province 但馬國七美郡.[3] While she was crawling in the courtyard, an eagle seized her and carried her high into the sky toward the east. Her parents, lamenting, grieving, and wailing, ran in the direction the eagle had gone, but could not find it. Therefore, they held a memorial service for her.[4]

Eight years passed. At the end of the eighth month, in the autumn of the seventh year of the dog, in the reign of the emperor who resided at the Palace of Nagara-no-Toyosaki in Naniwa 難破長柄豐前宮,[5] her father happened to lodge for the night in Kasa district, Tanba province 丹波國加佐郡.[6] Wishing to wash his feet, he accompanied his host's daughter who had been sent to the village well to get water. Around the well there were some village girls who snatched away the daughter's pail and would not allow her to draw water. They joined together to bully her, saying, "You, who were not eaten by the eagle, why don't you have any manners!" They shouted all kinds of abusive remarks and hit her, so that she came home crying. The host[7] asked, "Why are you crying?" Whereupon the traveller told him what he

9. 感應 *kannō* means a mysterious correspondence between Buddhas and all sentient beings. Every prayer or vow addressed to Buddha elicits a response owing to the unity of existence. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 147.

1. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (IV, Kōgyoku), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XXVI, 1), *Mizukagami* (II, Kōgyoku), etc. A similar plot is found in the legend on Rōben 良辨 (689–773), the charismatic founder of Tōdai-ji. See II.21; Yanagita, "Densetsu," *Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū*, V, 88–90.
2. Empress Kōgyoku (642–645), whose palace was situated in present Asuka-mura, Takechi-gun, Nara-ken. This event took place in 643.
3. Present Mikata-gun, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣美方郡.
4. 修福 *shūfuku;* holding a Buddhist service on a person's behalf to store up merit for his well-being in the other world.
5. Emperor Kōtoku (645–654), whose palace was situated at present Ōsaka-shi.
6. The coastal area of the Maizuru Bay

had seen in detail, and asked why it was. The host replied, "At such and such a date, I was up in a tree to catch doves, when an eagle carrying a baby flew from the west and dropped it in the nest to be eaten by the young eagles. The baby screamed in fear, and the young eagles hesitated to peck at it. This is the girl whom I brought back from the nest and reared." The date of the accident and this story identified the girl as the lost child of the traveler. Crying bitterly, the traveler told the host the entire story of how an eagle had flown away with his baby daughter. When the host understood all the circumstances, he agreed to return the girl to her real parents.

Ah! This father happened to stay with the lost child's foster parents and finally regained his child. We surely know what sympathy Heaven[8] had for them, and how deep the parent-child relation is. It is a miraculous event.

10

On a Man's Rebirth as an Ox for Labor and Showing an Extraordinary Sign Because of Stealing from His Son[1]

In the central village of Yamamura in Sou upper district, Yamato province 大和國添上郡山村,[2] there was once a man who was called Lord Kura no iegimi 椋家長.[3] In the twelfth month he wanted to atone for his past sins by having a Mahayana scripture recited.[4] Therefore he ordered his servant, "Go and call a monk."[5] The servant asked,

7. 家主 *iegimi;* see I.2, n. 5.

8. 天 *ten;* although the Buddhist influence is not so strong in this story, it does show how intricately karma is interwoven and points out that, with the intervention of Heaven, miraculous interrelationships exist.

1. Cf. *Myōhōki* (III, On Wang 王, Yü 瑜, etc.), *Fusō ryakki* (IV, Saimei), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 37). See II.15.

2. Present Obitoke, Nara-shi 奈良市帯解. According to the *Ryō no gige*, "Ko-ryō," Articles 1 and 2, a village, *sato* 里, consists of fifty households, but less in mountainous or remote areas; a great district 大郡 consists of from 16 to 20 villages; an upper district 上郡, from 12 to 15; a middle district 中郡, from 8 to 11; a lower district 下郡, from 4 to 7; a small district 小郡, from 2 to 3. An alternative reading is Sou no kami district. 村 *mura* is not legally defined, but consists of twenty houses or less.

3. Although *iegimi* 家長 is a common noun meaning "the head of the family," it is used here as a popular name; *kura* means "storehouse." See n. 10, below.

4. *Hōkō-kyō;* see Chap. II(1)a, n. 8.

5. *Zenji;* obviously it means "monk" in general.

"To which temple shall I go to find a monk?" The master answered, "I have no preference; you may invite any monk you happen to meet." Thereupon the servant brought home a monk whom he had met on the way, as he had been told. The master put faith[6] in this monk and made offerings.[7]

In the evening when the monk was retiring after the service,[8] the host[9] made him a bed with quilts, and the monk was tempted to take the quilts rather than wait to receive offerings the next morning. Then he heard a voice saying, "Don't steal the quilts." Startled, the monk looked around and found only an ox standing under the eaves of the storehouse.[10] When the monk approached the ox, it began to speak: "I am the father of Iegimi, the master of this house. In my previous life I stole ten sheaves[11] of rice belonging to my son in order to give them to others. Because of that, I was reborn in the form of an ox to make up for my evil deed. How dare you, who have entered the priesthood, steal the quilts? If you want to know whether or not my story is true, make a seat for me. I will come to lie on it so that you may know that I am the father of your host." The monk passed the night stricken with shame.

The next morning, after the service, he said to his host, "Have the other people withdraw." Then he summoned the host's family and told them the story he had heard the night before. The host went to the ox in grief and made a seat of straw, saying, "If you are my real father, will you take this seat?" And the ox knelt down and lay on the seat. All the relatives cried bitterly, and the host said that the ox was really his father. The host stood up and, with a bow, said to the ox, "I will cancel the accounts in your former life." At this the ox sighed and shed tears. The ox died at four o'clock that afternoon, whereupon the host presented the quilts and offerings to the monk and accumulated merits[12] for his deceased father.

We cannot but believe in the law of karmic causality.

6. 信心 *shinjin*, the mind to believe in the Three Treasures. See I.15, n. 7.

7. 供養 *kuyō*, a translation of Skt. *pūjā*, which means making offerings of food, clothes, incense, flowers, candles, etc., to the Three Treasures.

8. 禮經 *raikyō*, *rai* means worship and *kyō* means scripture recitation.

9. 檀越 *taniochi*, sponsor of the service, one who makes offerings.

10. 倉下 *kura no moto*, which means literally "under the storehouse"; if it is a storehouse on stilts, the floor is several feet elevated from the ground, and it is possible for a man to take shelter under it. See Naoki Kōjirō, "Kura no moto no gogi ni tsuite," *Shoku Nihongi kenkyū*, VII (No. 7, July 1955), 178–181.

11. One sheaf yields about a quarter bushel of rice, according to the *Ryō no gige*, "Den-ryō," Article 1.

12. 功德 *kudoku*; see Chap. I(1)b, n. 50.

11

On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for a Lifetime of Catching Fish in a Net[1]

The Most Venerable Jiō 慈應,[2] monk[3] of Gangō-ji[4] in the capital,[5] went on a summer retreat[6] to lecture on the *Hoke-kyō*[7] at Noo-dera 濃於寺[8] in Shikama district, Harima province 播磨國餝磨郡, on the invitation of the patron of the temple. In the neighborhood, there was a fisherman who had been netting fish since his childhood. One day he began to crawl in the mulberry bushes on his property, crying aloud, "Fire is devouring me!" His family tried to help him, but he only repeated, "Don't come close to me. I shall be in flames soon." In the meantime, his parents rushed to the temple to ask the ascetic[9] to save their son. The ascetic came and recited formulas[10] for a while, and the fisherman was released from the devouring flames. His breeches had already been burnt. Stricken with terror, the fisherman paid a visit to Noo-dera, confessed his sins in the congregation,[11] and repented, offering clothes and having a scripture recited. Thereafter he never did any evil.

The *Ganshi kakun* 顏氏家訓[12] gives an analogous passage: "Once there was a man who belonged to the Liu family in Chiang-ling,[13]

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 6), *Honchō kōsōden* (75).
2. Otherwise unknown.
3. *Shamon;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 4.
4. See I.3, n. 9.
5. Since no date is given, it is not clear whether this is the new Gangō-ji in Nara or the former one (Asuka-dera or Hōkō-ji) in Asuka.
6. 夏安居 *geango* (also [*u*]*ango* (雨) 安居, *gegyō* 夏行, etc), a translation of Skt. *varṣavārṣika*, which is "summer retreat"; during the rainy season monks in India held a ninety day retreat for study and disciplinary practice.
7. See Chap. II(3)b.
8. Uncertain; it may be a provincial temple in present Gochaku, Himeji-shi, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣姫路市御着.
9. 行者 *gyōja;* in this passage refers to Jiō. It means "one who practices the path."
10. 咒 *ju;* see Chap. I(1)b, n. 47.
11. 大衆 *daishū;* the congregation consisting of the participants of the retreat.
12. Yen Chih-t'ui, *Yen-shih chia-hsün* (*SPTK*, No. 169). See Teng ssu-yü, trans., *Family Instructions for the Yen Clan.* Yen Chih-t'ui (531–591) presents a synthesis of Buddhist and Confucian teachings, and in Chapter XVI (On Faith 歸心篇) in particular, he emphasizes the law of karmic retribution. His work was popular during the Nara period, and its influence may be detected in Fujiwara no Kamatari's *Kaden* (see Chap. I(1)c, nn. 67, 68) and other biographical and moralistic writings. That particular chapter is included in the *Kuang hung-ming chi* 廣弘明集, XI (*Taishō*, LII, 107b–108c).
13. Present Hupei province 湖北省.

who made a living by selling stewed eel. Later he had a child with the head of an eel and a human body,"[14] which demonstrates the same moral.

12

On a Skull, Which Was Saved from Being Stepped on by Men and Beasts, Showing an Extraordinary Sign and Repaying the Benefactor Immediately[1]

Dōtō 道登,[2] a Buddhist scholar[3] of Koryö, was a monk of Gangō-ji.[4] He came from the Ema 惠滿 family[5] in Yamashiro 山背 province.[6] In the second year of the horse, the second year of the Taika era,[7] he built the Uji Bridge 宇治椅.[8] Once, when he was passing through the valley in the Nara hills 奈良山,[9] he saw a skull that had been trampled by men and animals. In sorrow, he had his attendant Maro 萬侶 place it on a tree.

On New Year's Eve[10] of the same year, a man came to the temple gate, saying, "I would like to see the Venerable Dōtō's attendant Maro." When Maro came out to see him, he said, "Thanks to the mercy of your master, I have been happy and at peace. And I can repay your kindness only on this evening." Then he took Maro home with him. Through the closed gate they entered the back quarters of the house, where they found abundant food and drink already prepared. The man divided his fare with Maro, and they ate together.

14. This passage is omitted in the *Kuang hung-ming chi*. See *Family Instructions*, 149. 江陵劉氏以賣鱓爲業後生一兒頭是鱓自頸以下爲人耳.

1. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (IV, Kōtoku), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIX, 31). There is another version of the same story (III.27). For the significance of the story, see Chap. II(1)a, and (3)a.
2. Dōtō's name is found among the ten great masters (*jusshi* 十師) appointed by Emperor Kōtoku in 645. See *Nihon shoki*, XXV (Taika 1:8:8); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 203.
3. 學生 *gakushō* is one who studied Buddhist teachings, or Chinese classics at a state college. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 91.
4. See I.3, n. 9.
5. It is unclear whether Ema is his family name, or that of a friend he visited.
6. After 794 it was written as 山城, present Kyoto-fu.
7. 646.
8. See *Shoku Nihongi* (I (Monmu 4:3:10). There it gives Dōshō, not Dōtō, as the builder of the Uji Bridge, but other documents agree with the *Nihon ryōiki* in making Dōtō its builder.
9. The hills between Kyoto and Nara. See II.40, n. 6.
10. It was believed that deceased family members visited their former homes at the end of the year, and a cosmic renewal rite was held then. See Chap. II(1)a.

Shortly after midnight they heard a male voice, and the man said to Maro, "Go away quickly, for here comes my brother who killed me!" In wonder, Maro asked him about this, and he answered, "Once my brother and I were traveling on business, and I acquired about fifty pounds[11] of silver in my trade. Out of envy and hate my brother killed me to take the silver. For many years my skull was trampled by passing men and beasts, till your master mercifully rescued me from that suffering, which is why I have given you a banquet this evening."

It was at this point that the man's mother and elder brother entered the room to worship all spirits.[12] Being surprised at the sight of Maro, they asked why he was there, and Maro told them what he had just heard. The mother thereby accused her elder son, saying, "Ah! You killed my dear son. It was not a robber, but you!" Then she thanked Maro and gave him a feast. On his return, Maro reported this to his master.

Even a spirit of the dead or a skeleton repays an act of kindness;[13] how can a living man forget?

13

On a Woman Who Performed Work in an Extraordinary Way, Ate Sacred Herbs, and Flew up to Heaven Alive[1]

In a village of Nuribe, Uda district, Yamato province 大倭國宇太郡漆部里,[2] there lived an extraordinary woman,[3] who was married to Nuribe no miyatsuko Maro 漆部造麿.[4] Innately pure and straightforward in upholding what was right, she gave birth to seven children, but she was too poor to feed them since she had no one to depend on. Since the children had no clothes, she wove vines into clothes for them. Every day she purified herself in a bath and clothed herself in rags. She would gather edible herbs in the fields, and devoted herself to staying at home and cleaning the house. When she cooked the herbs, she called her children, sat up straight, and ate the food, all the

11. 斤 *gon;* as 1 *gon* is 1.323 lbs., so 40 *gon* makes 53 lbs.
12. 諸靈 *shoryō*.
13. For the motif of "the grateful dead," see Chap. II(1)a, n. 10.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 42).
2. Present Soni-mura or Mitsue-mura, Uda-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣宇陀郡曾爾村, 御杖村.
3. 風流 *misao*.
4. 妾 not the legal wife, but a concubine.

while smiling, talking cheerfully, and being grateful. This constant discipline in mind and body made her spirit resemble that of a guest from heaven.[5]

In the fifth year of the Hakuchi era[6] of the emperor who resided at the Palace of Nagara no Toyosaki in Naniwa,[7] heavenly beings[8] communicated with her,[9] and she ate special herbs[10] gathered in the field in springtime and flew about in the heavens.

Indeed, we know that her extraordinary qualities and her diet of special herbs are well recognized, even though she has not studied Buddhist teachings. The *Shōjin nyomon-kyō* 精進女問經[11] gives this relevant passage: "You will be able to achieve five kinds of merit[12] by leading a lay life and sweeping the garden with an upright mind."[13]

14

On a Monk Who Got an Immediate Reward for Recollecting and Reciting the Shin-gyō *and Showed an Extraordinary Sign*[1]

Saka Gigaku 釋義覺[2] was originally from Paekche.[3] When it was destroyed[4] in the reign of the empress who resided at the later Palace of Okamoto,[5] he immigrated to this country and lived in Kudara-dera

5. 天上客 *tenjō no kyaku*, literally, a guest from heaven, that is, a *hsien* or Chinese Taoist saint. See I.28, n. 10.
6. Hakuchi era (650–654) during the reign of Emperor Kōtoku.
7. See I.9, n. 5.
8. 神仙 *shinsen;* Taoist saints.
9. 感應 *kan'nō;* see I.8, n. 9.
10. 仙草 *sensō;* diet for Taoist saints.
11. *Muku ubaimon-kyō* 無垢優婆夷問經 (*Taishō*, XIV, 950c).
12. 五功德 *go-kudoku*, five kinds of merit attained after rebirth in the pure land.
13. The quotation differs from the original, which reads: "Buddha taught a pure lay sister, saying, 'sweep the precinct of the pagoda, and you will be rewarded with five kinds of merit.' " The original text stresses the merit of sweeping the precinct of the pagoda, while Kyōkai's altered quotation shifted the emphasis to everyday household work by replacing the "precinct of the pagoda" with the "garden" and adding, "leading a lay life . . . ." See Chap. II(2)b.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 7), *Fusō ryakki* (IV, Saimei), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 32), *Mizukagami* (II, Saimei), *Genkō shakusho* (IX), etc.
2. *Saka* is a shortened form of Śākyamuni; those who renounced the world are regarded as descendants of Śākyamuni, and given the surname Saka.
3. See Preface, n. 3, above.
4. See I.7, n. 6.
5. Empress Saimei (655–661), whose palace was called the later Palace of Asuka no Okamoto because it was built on the site of Emperor Jomei's Palace of Okamoto, presently Asuka-mura, Takechi-gun, Nara-ken. See *Nihon shoki*, XXIII (Jomei 2:10:12), XXVI (Saimei, 2:9); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 165, 250.

百濟寺,[6] in Naniwa. He was seven feet tall, studied Buddhist teachings extensively, and recited the *Shin hannya-gyō* 心般若經.[7] Egi 慧義,[8] a fellow monk in the same temple, happened to go out at midnight and found Gigaku's room brightly illuminated. Wondering why, Egi made a hole in the paper window, peeped secretly into the room, and saw Gigaku sitting and reciting the scripture, the light coming out of his mouth. Struck with awe and surprise, Egi confessed his offense[9] the next morning, in the congregation of his fellowmen.

Once Dharma Master Gigaku said to his disciple, "One evening I had recited the *Shin-gyō* 心經 about one hundred times and had then opened my eyes when I found I could see right through the four walls of the room and into the middle of the garden. Then I had an extraordinary experience. I went out, walked about in the temple grounds, and came back to my room, but all the walls and doors had remained closed. When I recited the *Shin-gyō* outside, they opened and became passable as before. This is the wonder of the *Shin hannya-gyō*."[10]

The note says: How great is this child of Śākyamuni! He listens to and advocates Buddhist teachings, devotes himself to reciting the scripture, and attains a mind that penetrates everything. It manifests itself in extreme quietness without agitation, but, once in motion, it pierces walls and generates light of its own accord.

15

On a Wicked Man Who Persecuted a Begging Monk and Gained an Immediate Penalty[1]

In the days of an old capital,[2] there was a foolish man who did not believe in the law of karmic causality. Once, when he saw a monk begging food, he grew angry and wanted to restrain the monk. The

6. Founded in 639 by Emperor Jomei (See *Nihon shoki*, XXIII, 11:7) on the bank of the Kudara River, presently Sumiyoshi-ku. Ōsaka-shi 大阪市住吉區. Kudara-dera and Hōkō-ji were considered great (state) temples (*ibid.*, XXIX, Tenmu 9:4). In the reign of Emperor Tenmu its status and function were taken over by Takechi-no-ōtera 高市大寺 or Ōtsukasa-no-ōtera 大官大寺 (see Chap. I(1)c).
7. Also called *Hannya shin-gyō* or *Shin-gyō;* see Chap. II(1)a, n. 17.
8. Otherwise unknown.
9. 悔過 *keka;* see Chap. II(1)a.
10. See Chap. II(3)b.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 25). Similar stories are found in II.1, 11, 35; III.15, etc.
2. See I.1, n. 15.

monk ran into the water of a rice field, but the man chased him and caught him. When the monk could stand this no longer, he cast a spell[3] on the man, who rolled on the ground and ran about[4] hysterically. Then the monk disappeared from the scene.

The man had two sons. In order to break the spell binding their father, they went to the temple and asked a *dhyāna* master to come and see their father. When the master learned what had happened, he at first refused to make a visit. Again and again the two sons begged him earnestly to save their father, and at last the monk came. Hardly had he finished reciting the first passage of the Chapter on the Kannon 觀音品[5] when the man was released from the spell.[6] Thereafter his faith[7] was awakened, and he turned wickedness into good.

16

On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for Skinning a Live Rabbit without Mercy[1]

In Yamato province 大和國[2] there was a man whose name and native place are not identified. He was not benevolent[3] and liked to kill living beings. He caught a rabbit and set it free in the fields after skinning it alive. Before long he contracted a fatal disease; his whole body was covered with scabs that broke out in extremely painful sores. He was never cured and died groaning loudly.

Ah! How soon wicked deeds incur a penalty in this life! We should be considerate[4] and benevolent. Above all, we should show mercy.[5]

3. 咒縛 *juhaku.*
4. 東西 literally means "east and west," that is, in all directions.
5. *Kannon-bon;* Chap. XXV of the *Hoke-kyō*, often used as an independent scripture. See Chap. II(3)b; also, Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 405–415.
6. 解脫 *gedatsu;* a translation of Skt. *mokṣa*, meaning liberation, freedom from the bonds of illusion and suffering. In this passage, however, it means release from the spell.
7. 信心 *shinjin;* a pure heart, free from doubt, which believes in the Three Treasures and the law of karmic causation, the first requisite for following the Buddha's path.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 28). A famous story on skinning a live rabbit is found in the *Kojiki* (I, On Ōkuninushi no kami); see Philippi, trans., *Kojiki*, I, 21, 93–95.
2. Present Nara-ken.
3. 仁 *jin;* the most important Confucian virtue which is the basis for the ideal image of man. See Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, 27–29.
4. 恕 *shu* or *ju;* 夫子之道 忠恕而已矣. See *ibid.*, 105, n. 1.
5. 慈悲 *jihi;* a compound originally formed of two Skt. words, that is, *maitrī* (friendship, love 慈) and *karuṇā* (sympathy, mercy 悲). For a general discussion, see Nakamura Hajime, *Jihi.*

I7

On Suffering War Damage and Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in an Image of Bodhisattva Kannon[1]

Ochi no atae 越智直,[2] ancestor of the governor[3] of Ochi district in Iyo province 伊豫國越知郡,[4] was sent to Paekche in the Japanese expeditionary force[5] and taken prisoner by Chinese soldiers and brought to T'ang China.

In China, he and some other Japanese, eight in all, came to live on an island. They acquired an image of Bodhisattva Kannon,[6] worshiping it together with great devotion. They worked together cutting down a pine tree to make a boat, enshrined the Kannon image in the boat, and, meditating on the image, made their individual vows.[7] Fortunately the boat drifted straight to Tsukushi 筑紫[8] with the help of the west wind.

At this news the court summoned them for an investigation. When the emperor[9] heard them, he was so moved that he granted them a wish. Ochi no atae said, "I would like to serve you by establishing an estate,"[10] and it was granted. Thereupon he established the estate and built a temple in which to consecrate the Kannon image. After that, his descendants followed his example in worshiping the Kannon.

This is nothing but the work of Kannon, and the total maturation of faith. It is said that even a wooden image of Ting-lan's 丁蘭 mother[11] appeared to be alive, and the woman in a picture loved by a monk[12] responded with sympathy. How, then, can it be possible for the Bodhisattva not to respond?

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XV, 2); *Kannon riyaku-shū* (*Kanazawa bunko*, 43).
2. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, the Ochi family descended from kami.
3. 大領 *dairyō;* see I.7, n. 4.
4. Present Ochi-gun, Ehime-ken 愛媛縣越智郡.
5. There seem to be two possible dates for this: one is a war in 660, the sixth year of Empress Saimei; the other is a war in 663, the second year of Emperor Tenchi. See I.7, n. 6.
6. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 12; Chap. II(3)b. Kannon is known for protecting devotees from calamities, and particularly for guarding navigators (See *Hoke-kyō*, XXV).
7. 誓願 *seigan;* see I.6, n. 6.
8. Present Kyūshū 九州.
9. Empress Saimei or Emperor Tenchi; see n. 5, above.
10. 郡 *kōri;* an administrative unit which was instituted at the time of the Taika Reform. District governors often came from the local gentry class. See I.10, n. 2.
11. Refers to a story in the *Hsiao-tzu chuan* 孝子傳 (Biographies of Filial Sons), compiled by Liu Hsiang 劉向. When Ting-lan was fifteen years old, he lost his mother. He made a wooden image of her and cared for it as if it were alive. Out of jealousy, his wife burnt its face; after her hair fell out as if it had been cut, she repented her offense. (*Taishō*, LIV, 74).
12. See II.13, n. 7.

18

On Recollecting and Reciting the Hoke-kyō *and Gaining an Immediate Reward to Show an Extraordinary Sign*[1]

In Kazuraki upper district, Yamato province 大和國葛木上郡,[2] there was once a devotee of the *Hoke-kyō*.[3] He came from the Tajihi 丹治比 family,[4] and, even before he was eight years old, he could recite the *Hoke-kyō* with the exception of one character which always escaped his memory and continued to escape it even when he was in his twenties.

Once he prayed to Kannon, confessing his offenses,[5] and had a dream.[6] A man said to him, "In your previous existence you were the child of Kusakabe no Saru 日下部猴[7] in Wake district, Iyo province 伊豫國別郡.[8] At that time while reciting the scripture you burned one character with a lamp so that you could no longer read it. Now, go and see."

When he awoke, he was filled with wonder, and he said to his parents, "I want to go to Iyo on urgent business." They consented.

Setting forth on his quest, he reached Saru's home at last and knocked at the door. A woman came and reported back to her mistress with a smile, saying, "There is a guest at the door who looks exactly like your deceased son." On hearing this, the mistress went to the door to see the guest, finding him the very image of her deceased son. In wonder, the master asked the guest, "Who are you?" And the latter answered by announcing the name of his home district and province. In turn, the

1. Cf. *Myōhōki* (II, On Ch'an (Yen)-wu 產(彥)武), *Hokke kenki* (I, 31), *Konjaku monogatari-shū* (VII, 20; XIV, 6, 12), etc. The Prince Shōtoku cycle gives one legend on the *Hoke-kyō* which was said to have been brought from China by Ono no Imoko 小野妹子 and used by the prince, Dhyāna Master Hui-ssu 慧思, in his former life. See "*Shichidaiki*" 七代記 in *Nara ibun*, II, 890–895; *Jōgū Shōtoku taishi-den hoketsuki* (*DBZ*, 112). In the late Nara and early Heian periods this legend was formed and became popular. See Iida Mizuho, "Ono no Imoko *Hoke-kyō* shōrai setsuwa," *Nihon kodaishi ronshū*, II, 435–478.

2. Present Minami-kazuraki-gun, Nara-ken.

3. 持經人 *jikyō no hito;* a translation of Skt. *sūtrāntadhāraka;* one who upholds, recollects, reads, recites, and expounds the scriptures.

4. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, the Tajihi family descended from kami.

5. He repented of his past karma, for he thought he could not remember the character because of his evil deeds in the past.

6. Dreams are often occasions for revelation in which the spirit is said to leave the body and travel to the abodes of deities or the land of the dead. See Alex Waymann, "Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet," *History of Religions*, VII (No. 1, August 1967), 1–12.

7. Kusakabe is the name of a large group in the service of the emperor who were descendants of kami; they were probably first organized in Kawachi 河內 and later posted throughout the country. Saru means "monkey"; the name might be given because he was born in the year of the monkey according to the traditional Chinese calendar.

8. Present Onsen-gun, Ehime-ken 愛媛縣溫泉郡.

guest asked the same question, and he was given a detailed answer. It became evident to him that they were his parents in his former life. He knelt down to pay respect to them. Saru affectionately invited him into the house, and, staring at him as he sat in the seat of honor, said, "Aren't you the spirit of my deceased son?" Their guest told them in detail about his dream and announced that the old couple were his parents. Saru, after some reminiscing, motioned to him, saying, "My late son, so and so, lived in this hall, read this scripture, and used this pitcher." The son entered the hall, opened the scripture, and found that the character which he could never remember was missing, for it had been burned with a lamp. When the young man repented of his offense and repaired the text, he could recite it correctly. Parents and son were amazed and delighted, and the son never lost the parent-child relationship and his sense of filial piety.[9]

The note says: How happy is this member of the Kusakabe family who, in pursuit of the path through Buddhist scriptures, recited the *Hoke-kyō* in two lives, present and past, and served two fathers to be renowned in posterity.[10] It is an extraordinary phenomenon, and not commonplace. Indeed, we are sure it is due to the divine influence of the *Hoke-kyō* and the miraculous power of Kannon. In the same spirit, the *Zen'aku inga-kyō* 善惡因果經[11] says, "Look at present effects if you want to know past causes. Look at present deeds if you want to know future effects."[12]

19

On Ridiculing a Reciter of the Hoke-kyō *and Getting a Twisted Mouth as an Immediate Penalty*[1]

In Yamashiro 山背 province[2] there was once a self-ordained novice[3]

9. 孝養 *kōyō;* cf. Michihata, *Tōdai Bukkyōshi*, 271–380.

10. He who remembers his previous births succeeds in freeing himself from the world of samsara, according to Buddhist tradition. See Chap. II(2)c.

11. *Taishō*, LXXXV, No. 2881. The quotation is not found in this scripture.

12. Quoted from the *Shokyō yōshū*, XI (*Taishō*, LIX, 53c). 欲知過去因 見其現在果 欲知未來報 見其現在業.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 9), *Hokke kenki* (III, 96), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 28).

2. Southern part of present Kyoto-fu.

3. 自度 *jido* or 私度 *shido;* a novice or monk without an official permit 度牒. Although the *Sōni-ryō* prescribes punishments for lay people who pretend to be monks and nuns (Article 22), a number of people left home and attempted to obtain immunity from taxation. See Chap. I(1)d; Tsumoto Ryōgaku, "*Nihon ryōiki* ni mieru shido no shami ni tsuite," *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū*, No. 348 (December 1954), 37–46.

whose name is unknown. He used to play *go* 碁[4] all the time. One day when he was playing *go* with a layman,[5] a mendicant came to recite the *Hoke-kyō*[6] and beg for alms. The novice laughed at him, mimicking his accent with a twisted mouth. The layman was greatly shocked at this and exclaimed, "How awful!" at each turn in the game. The layman won the game every time, and the novice lost. Meanwhile the novice's mouth became twisted, and no medicine could cure it.

The gist of this story is stated in the *Hoke-kyō* as follows: "Those who laugh at and slight this scripture will lose many teeth and get a twisted mouth, a flattened nose, crippled limbs and squint eyes."[7] It is better to be possessed by evil spirits and talk in a daze than to abuse the devotees of the *Hoke-kyō*. Remember that evil comes from one's mouth.[8]

20

On a Monk Who Gave away the Firewood Provided to Heat the Bath and Was Reborn as an Ox for Labor, Showing an Extraordinary Sign[1]

Saka Eshō 釋惠勝[2] was a monk[3] of Engō-ji 延興寺.[4] Once he gave away a bundle of firewood to be used for boiling water for the bath,[5] and then he died.

At that time the temple kept a cow which gave birth to a calf. When the calf grew into an ox, it was continually made to draw a cart filled with firewood. One day, as it entered the temple precincts

4. The *Sōni-ryō* (Article 9) prohibits monks and nuns from performing music or games of chance, but they are allowed to play the *koto* 琴 (a string instrument) and the game of *go*. See Sansom, "Early Japanese Laws," Part Two, 129.

5. 白衣 *byakue*, meaning literally "white robe," in contrast to the saffron or black robes of monks.

6. *Hoke-kyō-bon*.

7. *Hoke-kyō*, XXVIII (*Taishō*, IX, 62a). 若有輕笑之者 當世世牙齒踈缺 醜脣平鼻 手脚繚戾 眼目角睞. See Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 438.

8. 惡鬼 *akuki;* when one is possessed by an evil spirit, one's mouth becomes the channel for its message. There was a belief that illness or madness was caused by evil spirits.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 20).

2. For Saka, see I.14, n. 2. Eshō is unknown.

3. 沙門 *shamon;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 4.

4. Unidentified.

5. The practice of taking a steam bath was introduced to Japan by Buddhist monks during the Nara period, and a special room for taking a hot bath, which was almost a luxury, was built in many temples. Cf. *Onjitsu senyoku shūsō-gyō* 溫室洗浴衆僧經 (*Taishō*, XVI, No. 701).

pulling the cart, a strange monk at the gate was heard to say, "Though Dharma Master Eshō could read the *Nehan-gyō* 涅槃經[6] very well, he could not draw a cart." Hearing this, the ox shed tears, sighed, and passed away instantly. The driver of the ox accused the monk, saying, "You killed the ox with a curse," and reported him to the officials. The official who heard the driver's charge turned to question the monk and was surprised at his extraordinarily noble look and radiant body. In secret he invited the monk to a purified room and told painters to paint the monk exactly as he appeared. Presently they brought the portraits of the monk, all of which turned out to be pictures of Bodhiṣattva Kannon.[7] Meanwhile, the monk suddenly disappeared.

We are sure that the monk was none other than an incarnation of Kannon. No matter how hungry you are, it is better to eat dust rather than what belongs to the samgha,[8] which is always present. This is what the *Daihōdō-kyō* 大方等經[9] tells us in the following passage: "I would save those who have committed the four grave sins[10] and the five deadly sins,[11] but not those who have stolen from the samgha."[12]

21

On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for Driving a Heavily Burdened Horse without Mercy[1]

In Kawachi 河內 province[2] there was once a man named Isowake 石別 who used to sell melons. He would saddle a horse[3] with an over-

6. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō* (*Taishō*, XII, No. 375).
7. See I.6, n. 4.
8. 常住僧 *jōjū no sō*, which is a manifestation of one of the Three Treasures for the purpose of maintaining and transmitting Buddha's teachings. See Chap. II(3)b.
9. Probably a shortened title of the *Daihōdō daijik-kyō* 大方等大集經 (*Taishō*, XIII, No. 397).
10. 四重 *shijū*; the four grave sins are killing, stealing, licentious acts, and telling lies; monks and nuns who commit any one of them will be expelled from the samgha.
11. 五逆 *gogyaku*; the five deadly sins are killing one's father, killing one's mother, killing an arhat, injuring the body of Buddha, and causing disunity in the samgha. It is said that those who commit any one of them will fall into hell.
12. 四重五逆我亦能救 盜僧物者我所不救 *Bonmō-kyō koshakki* 梵網經古迹記 (III, 2) gives this passage as a quotation from *Hōdō-kyō* 方等經, but it cannot be located in that text (*Taishō*, XL, No. 1815).

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 29).
2. Present Ōsaka-fu.
3. Although this story does not give any date, the use of a horse may indicate a date later than the seventh century, when horses began to be used widely. See Naoki, *Nihon kodai heiseishi no kenkyū*, 200.

whelming burden and, if it failed to move, would whip it angrily and drive it forward. The horse staggered along with its eyes full of tears. When Isowake had sold all of the melons, he would then kill the horse. After he had killed a number of horses in this way, Isowake happened to look into a kettle of boiling water, whereupon his two eyes fell into the kettle and were boiled.

Swift is the penalty for evil deeds. How can we not believe in the law of karmic causality? Beasts in the present life might have been our parents in a past life. We pass through the six modes of existence[4] and four manners of birth.[5] Reflection shows us that we cannot be without mercy.[6]

22

On Showing an Extraordinary Sign at the Moment of Death Owing to Devotion to Buddhist Studies and Spreading the Teaching for the Benefit of All Beings[1]

The late Dharma Master Dōshō 道照[2] belonged to the Fune 船 family[3] in Kawachi province.[4] Under the emperor's auspices[5] he went abroad for Buddhist studies to T'ang China, where he met and studied with Hsüan-tsang san-tsang 玄奘三藏.[6] This master said to his

4. 六道 *rokudō;* heaven, man, *asura*, animal, hungry ghosts, and hell (being). See Chap. I(2)a, n. 126.

5. 四生 *shishō;* 胎生 (*jarāyuja*) birth from the womb (man, animal), 卵生 (*aṇḍaja*) birth from the egg (bird), 濕生 (*saṃsvedaja*) birth from moisture (insect), and 化生 (*upapāduka*) emanation by the force of karma (heavenly being, hell being).

6. 慈悲 *jihi;* see I.10, n. 5.

1. Cf. *Shoku Nihongi* (I, Monmu 4:3:10), *Fusō ryakki* (IV, V), *Genkō shakusho* (I, 1, i), *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 2), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XI, 4), etc. See Chap. I(1)d.

2. He went to T'ang China in 653, returned in 661, and founded the Hossō School in Japan. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 6, and d, n. 105. His was the first recorded cremation in Japan, in 700.

3. The Fune family is descended from Ō Shin-ni 王辰爾 of Paekche. (See *Nihon shoki*, XIX, Kinmei 14:7; XXIV, Kōgyoku 4:4:12.) In the early history of Japanese Buddhism, immigrants' descendants played a significant role, and many became eminent monks. See Chap. I(1)c, n. 61.

4. The *Shoku Nihongi* says he is of Tajihi district in Kawachi province, that is, present Fujii-dera-shi, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府藤井寺市.

5. Emperor Kōtoku sent envoys to China accompanied by student monks, among whom Dōshō's name is found. See *Nihon shoki* (XXV, Hakuchi 4:5:12); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 242–244.

6. (d. 664) An eminent monk and the most famous T'ang pilgrim to India. He went to China in 629 and came back in 645 with many Buddhist scriptures. He dedicated himself to the task of translating as many as seventy-three items. He is also known as the author of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü chi* 大唐西域記 (Records of the Western Regions). 三藏 *san-tsang* means the Three Baskets of the Buddhist Canon, *tripiṭaka*. In China it is also used as an honorific title for those well-read in the Buddhist scriptures or those who translate them. See Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, 2 vols.

other disciples, "This man will teach many on his return home. You should not slight him but guide him well."

After completing his studies, he came home to establish a meditation hall, called Zen'in-ji 禪院寺,[7] and he lived there. His virtue in keeping the precepts[8] attained perfection, while his wisdom was a constant source of light as clear as a mirror. He traveled far and wide, proclaiming Buddhist teaching to all beings. When he grew older, he remained at the meditation hall and lectured on the essentials of the scriptures he had brought back from China.

At the time of his death, he purified himself in the bath,[9] changed his clothes, and seated himself facing west.[10] Light filled the room, and he opened his eyes and asked his disciple Chichō 知調,[11] "Did you see the light?" Chichō replied, "Yes, I did." Then Master Dōshō asked him not to tell others of it. Very early the next morning [12] a light emanated from the hall and moved round to illuminate the pine trees in the garden. Presently it flew away to the west. All of his disciples were struck with wonder, and it was at that very moment that the Most Venerable Master passed away seated calmly, facing west.

We are sure of his rebirth in the pure land of bliss.[13] The note says: This member of the Fune family is extraordinary and not common, for he exemplified virtue, traveled far to seek for Buddhist scriptures,[14] and ended his life in radiant light.

7. A temple which was built at the southeastern corner of Gangō-ji at Asuka in 662 and later moved to Nara in 711. See Fujino Michio, "Zen'in-ji kō," *Shigaku zasshi*, LXVI (No. 9, September 1957), 1–43.

8. 戒珠 *kaishu;* perfection of virtue is symbolized in a gem.

9. Purification with water is an important rite in the Japanese native tradition as well as in the Buddhist tradition.

10. "The west" indicates the western pure land of Amida. Accordingly, this passage is taken as an indication that Dōshō had faith in rebirth in the pure land, though this fact cannot be proved. Traditionally, the Hossō School was known for its connections with the Maitreya cult, but, among the Buddhist scriptures Dōshō brought back from China, there is one belonging to the Pure Land School, *Ōjō raisan* 往生禮讃 (see Ishida, *Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 24–30). In Kyōkai's lifetime, a tradition developed, even within the circle of the Hossō School, which held that Dōshō and Gyōgi attained rebirth in Amida's pure land. See Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon Jōdokyō seritsushi no kenkyū*, 74–81. For *Ōjō raisan*, see II. 20, n. 1.

11. Unknown.

12. 後夜 *goya;* about 3–5 a.m.

13. 極樂淨土 *gokuraku jōdo;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 16.

14. Kariya's text gives 求法性 instead of 求法藏. In that case it means "seek for the Hossō School teaching." Based on the fact that the usage of 法性 is limited to the period 749–790, Fujino infers that this biography was written independently of the *Shoku Nihongi* during the Nara period. (See his "Zen'in-ji kō.")

23

On an Evil Man Who Was Negligent in Filial Piety to His Mother and Gained an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death[1]

In Sou upper district, Yamato province 大和國添上郡,[2] there once lived a wicked man whose identity is lost except for his nickname, Miyasu 瞻保. In the reign of the emperor residing at the Palace of Naniwa,[3] he became a student of the Confucian classics,[4] but he attained merely book knowledge and did not support his mother.

His mother had borrowed rice from him and could not return it. Miyasu angrily pressed his mother for payment. His friends, who could no longer endure the sight of the mother seated on the ground while the son sat on a mat, asked him, "Good man,[5] why are you not respectful? Some people build pagodas, make Buddha images, copy scriptures, and invite monks to a retreat[6] for their parents' sake. You are rich and fortunate enough to lend much rice.[7] Why do you neglect your dear mother and contradict what you have studied?" Miyasu ignored them, saying, "That's none of your business." Whereupon they paid the debt on her behalf and hurried away.

His mother, for her part, bared her breasts and, in tears, said to her son, "When I reared you, I never rested day or night. I have seen people repaying their parents for their affection,[8] but, when I thought I could rely on my son, I incurred only disgrace. I was wrong in relying upon you. Since you have pressed me for repayment of the rice, I will now demand repayment of my milk. The mother-child tie is from this day broken. Heaven and earth will take cognizance of this. How sad, how pitiful!"

Without a word Miyasu stood up, went into the back room, and,

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 21).
2. See I.10, n. 2.
3. See I.9, n. 5.
4. 學生 *gakushō* is in this case a student of a state college (*daigaku*) who prepares for a career as a government official by studying the Chinese classics. See I.12, n. 3.
5. A respectful address which his friends must have used to ridicule him.
6. 安居 *ango;* see I.11, n. 6.
7. 貸稻 *irashi no ine;* see below, n. 9.
8. 恩 *on;* see Chap. II(2)a.

returning with the bonds,[9] burnt them all in the yard. Then he went into the mountains where he wandered about not knowing what to do, ran wildly this way and that with disheveled hair and a bleeding body, and could not stay in his home. Three days later a fire broke out suddenly, and all of his houses and storehouses in and out of the premises burned. Eventually Miyasu turned his family into the streets, and he himself died of hunger and cold without any shelter.

Now we cannot help believing that a penalty will be imposed, not in the distant future, but in this life.[10] Accordingly, a scripture says, "The unfilial are destined to hell; the filial, to the pure land."[11] This is what Nyorai 如來[12] preaches, the true teaching of Mahayana tradition.[13]

24

On an Evil Daughter Who Was Negligent in Filial Piety to Her Mother and Gained an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death[1]

In an old capital[2] there lived a wicked woman whose name is unknown. She had no sense of filial piety and never loved her mother.

On one fasting day[3] her mother did not cook rice and visited her

9. 出擧 *suiko;* a system whereby the public granary lent rice to farmers in spring and allowed them to repay it after harvest with an interest of 1/16 per month within a limited period of one and a half years. In addition to the public system, various private arrangements for lending rice, rice wine, cloth, money, etc., with interest are documented for the period covered by the *Nihon ryōiki*, as well as several government orders against high interest rates. This story indicates that a bond was in use even in the family. See Sonoda Kōyū, "Suiko," *Ritsuryō kokka no kiso kōzō*, ed. by Ōsaka rekishi gakkai, 397–466; Yoshida Akira, "8, 9 seiki ni okeru shisuiko ni tsuite," *ibid.*, 467–514.

10. 現報 *genpō*, immediate karmic retribution. See Chap. I(2)a.

11. 不孝衆生必堕地獄 孝養父母往生淨土. This quotation cannot be located in the scripture, but one possible source is the *Kan muryōju-kyō* (*Taishō*, XII, 341c). 欲生彼國者當修三福 一者孝養父母 奉事師長 慈心不殺 修十善業.

12. A translation of Skt. Tathāgata.

13. 大乘, Mahayana Buddhism. The virtue of filial piety is particularly emphasized in scriptures forged in China. See I.18, n. 9.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 32).

2. See I.1, n. 15.

3. 齋日 *sainichi;* particular days are set aside for the laity to observe the eight precepts instead of the usual five and to participate in ceremonies at temples. See above, Chap. I(1)d, n. 88, for the ten precepts, the first eight of which were observed on these days. Since the eight precepts include a prohibition against eating after mid-day, *saijiki* 齋食 means the meal taken during designated hours, and hence, the vegetarian meal offered in Buddhist ceremonies.

daughter for the ceremonial meal. Her daughter said, "My husband and I are going to have our meal. We have nothing else to offer you."

Carrying her young child with her, the mother went home and lay down. Looking outside, she saw a package of boiled rice left by the roadside. She filled her empty stomach with that and fell asleep exhausted. Late that night someone knocked at the door, saying, "Your daughter is screaming that she has a nail stuck in her chest. She is about to die. You must go and see her!" The mother, however, was sleeping so soundly from exhaustion that she could not go and help bring her daughter back to life. The daughter finally died without seeing her mother.

It is better for us to give our portion to our mother and starve to death than to die without serving her.

25

On a Loyal and Selfless Minister Who Gained Heaven's Sympathy and Was Rewarded by a Miraculous Event[1]

The late Middle Councillor 中納言,[2] Lord Ōmiwa no Takechimaro 大神高市萬侶,[3] of the Junior Third Rank[4] awarded posthumously, was a loyal minister of Empress Jitō 持統.[5] According to a record[6] in the second month of the ninth year of the dragon, the seventh year of the Akamidori era,[7] an imperial order was given to the officials, telling them to prepare for the empress' visit to Ise 伊勢 on the third of the third month. The Middle Councillor, fearing that the proposed visit would interfere with agricultural work, presented a memorial to dissuade the empress. She did not yield to his remonstrance and demanded to have her own way. Thereupon he took off his official cap[8] and returned it to the empress, saying, "When farmers are most busy in the fields, you should not make a trip," reiterating his remonstrance.

1. Cf. *Nihon shoki* (XXX, Jitō 6:2:11), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 41).
2. *Chūnagon*, one of the high ranking officials under the prime minister.
3. Or 大三輪高市麻呂 (*Nihon shoki*).
4. When he died in 706, his rank was the Upper Junior Fourth Rank.
5. (686–697) Emperor Tenmu's consort.
6. A possible source of the *Nihon shoki*, but not clearly identified. According to the *Nihon shoki*, he resigned his position as the empress eventually proceeded to Ise on a two-week trip.
7. As the era of Akamidori (or Akemidori) ended in one year, its seventh year falls on the sixth year of the reign of Empress Jitō, 692.
8. The cap signifies his court rank, and removing it is a gesture of resignation.

Another time during a drought he had the ditch of his fields closed in order to irrigate the fields of other people.[9] When the water in his fields dried up, the dragon kami[10] sent down rain showing the empathy of all the heavens.[11] It rained only on his fields. Yao 堯 sent clouds and Shun 舜 poured down rain[12] to reward his extreme loyalty and great virtue.

The note says: How praiseworthy is this member of the Ōmiwa family who since infancy has favored studies and been both loyal and benevolent![13] His mind never became unclear, and he conferred benefits on people, irrigating their fields at the expense of his own till he moved the heavens to send the seasonal rains. His fame will last forever.

26

On a Full-fledged Monk Who Kept Precepts, Practiced Austerities, and Attained a Miraculous Power in This Life[1]

In the reign of Empress Jitō, there was a *dhyāna* master of Paekche whose name was Tajō 多常.[2] He lived a life of strict discipline in Hōki-yamadera 法器山寺[3] in Takechi district and made it his chief

9. 百姓 *ōmitakara;* as *ōmi* is an honorific prefix and *takara* is treasure, it means "emperor's treasure." Under the *ritsuryō* government all except slaves were given *kabane* 姓, and, therefore, one hundred *kabane* means people on all social levels and in all occupations.

10. 龍神; see De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan.*

11. 諸天感應.

12. 堯雲更霑 舜雨還霈. The above expression is a metaphor describing how the Chinese ideal sage emperors, Yao and Shun, bestowed benevolence on their subjects.

13. Both the *Nihon ryōiki* and *Nihon shoki* depict him as an ideal Confucian minister and Empress Jitō as a stubborn lady. However, contemporary historians assess her as a shrewd ruler and maintain that she made a trip to Ise, Iga, and Shima in order to appease the local gentry after she had begun to construct the capital of Fujiwara. See Kitayama Shigeo, "Jitō tennō," *Nihon kodai seijishi no kenkyū*, 119–233; Naoki, *Jitō tenmō.*

1. The motif of a stick growing into a tree or a Buddhist monk causing water to spring out of the ground by striking it with a stick is found throughout Japan. The Buddhist tradition gives an anecdote of Śākyamuni: After Buddha chewed on a stick, he stuck it in the ground, and it grew into a tree seven feet high. See *Fa-hsien chuan* 法顯傳 (*Taishō*, LI, No. 2085, 860b); James Legge, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, 54–55, text 17; Hsüan-tsang 玄奘, *Ta-t'ang hsi-yü-chi* 大唐西域記, IV (*Taishō*, LI, No. 2087); Watters, trans., *On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, I, 129.

2. Or Tarajō 多羅常; unknown.

3. Identified with Hokonoki-dera 桙削寺 (later Kojima-dera 子島寺), or Minami-hokke-ji 南法華寺 in Takechi district. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 230–234.

concern to cure diseases.[4] The dying were restored to health by his miraculous works. Whenever he recited formulas for the sick, there was a miraculous event. Once he climbed a tree to get a willow twig,[5] using a monk's stick[6] with another on top of it as a ladder. The two sticks did not fall, but stood as if they had been grafted together. The empress respected him and made offerings to him, and the people put faith in him and revered him. This is the fruit of his disciplined life.[7] His fame and compassionate virtue will be praised forever.

27

On an Evil Anonymous Novice Who Tore Down a Pillar of the Pagoda and Gained a Penalty[1]

The novice[2] of Ishikawa was a self-ordained[3] monk without a clerical name, and his secular name is unknown. The only fact known about his origin is that his wife came from Ishikawa district, Kawachi province 河內國石川郡,[4] which is why he is called the novice Shami of Ishikawa. He had the appearance of a novice monk but the mind of a thief. Once he swindled people out of donations under the pretext of building a pagoda and spent the money for various foods. Or again, when he lived in the Tsukiyone-dera 舂米寺[5] in Shimashimo district, Settsu province 攝津國嶋下郡,[6] he tore down a pillar of the pagoda to burn, and thus he failed to honor dharma. No one could be as wicked as he.

Eventually, he reached the village of Ajiki 味木里 in Shimashimo district,[7] and came down with a fever. He cried aloud, "I am on

4. 看病第一.
5. 楊枝 *yōshi;* Indian monks chewed a piece of a banyan tree to clean their teeth every morning (Skt. *dantakāṣṭha*). The Chinese, not having a banyan tree, substituted a twig from a willow tree to protect them from evil.
6. 錫杖 *shakujō*, the stick with a metal ring on the top used by ascetics and monks.
7. 修行 *shugyō*, self-discipline oriented toward enlightenment, cultivation of the mind by means of disciplining the body. Cf. *Bukkyō ni okeru gyō no mondai*, ed. by Nihon Bukkyō gakkai.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 38).
2. 沙彌 *shami;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 10.
3. 自度 *jido;* see I.19, n. 3.
4. Present Minami-kawachi-gun, Ōsaka-fu.
5. Unidentified; its name suggests that there was a mill in the temple precincts. See Preface, n. 19, above.
6. Present Mishima-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府三島郡.
7. Unidentified.

fire!" and jumped one or two feet off the ground. People gathered around to look and asked, "Why are you screaming like that?" He answered, "Because hell fire has come to devour me, and I am suffering. Why are you asking me such questions?" He breathed his last on that day.

What a pity it is! We should reflect on ourselves since we know that retribution[8] is no idle fancy. This is what the *Nehan-gyō*[9] means when it says: "If a man does good deeds, his name will be noticed among heavenly beings;[10] while, if he does evil deeds, his name will be recorded in hell.[11] For retribution is a real fact."

28

On Practicing the Formula of the Peacock King, and Thereby Gaining an Extraordinary Power to Become a Saint and Fly to Heaven in This Life[1]

E no ubasoku 役優婆塞[2] was of the Kamo-no-enokimi 賀茂役君 family,[3] presently the Takakamo-no-asomi 高賀茂朝臣 family.[4] He came from the village of Chihara, Upper Kazuraki district, Yamato province 大和國葛木上郡茅原村.[5] By nature he was endowed with wisdom; he excelled in learning and attained ultimate knowledge.[6]

8. 罪報 *zaihō*.

9. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XI (*Taishō*, XII, 524b). 若見有人修行善者名見天人修行惡者名見地獄定受報故.

10. 天人 *tenjin*, interpreted as heavenly beings or "heavens and this world."

11. 地獄 *jigoku*. See Chap. I(2)a, n. 127.

1. Cf. *Shoku Nihongi* (I, Monmu 5:5:24), *Fusō ryakki* (V, Monmu), *Sanbō ekotoba* (II), *Genkō shakusho* (XV), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XI, 3), etc. See H. Byron Earhart, "Shugendō, the Traditions of En no Gyōja, and Mikkyō Influence," *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, 297–317.

2. For *E*, his family name, see Chap. I(1)d, n. 118. For *ubasoku*, see Chap. I(1)d, n. 92.

3. *Shoku Nihongi* (VIII, Yōrō 3:7:13). 從六位上賀茂役首石穗 賜賀茂役君姓. A title, Kamo no enokimi, was given to the family in 719.

4. *Ibid.* (XXIX, Jingo keiun 3:5:13) 正六位上賀茂朝臣清濱賜姓高賀茂朝臣; a title, Takamo no asomi, was given in 769.

5. Present Chihara, Ōaza, Ekinoe-mura, Minami-katsuragi-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣南葛城郡掖上村大字茅原.

6. 生知博學得— Kariya Ekisai says 得 may be an error of the compiler or copyist, and later editors interpret this sentence: ". . . with wisdom, and excelled all in learning." However, as — is the beginning of the numbers and end of all phenomena, 得— or 守— refers to the mystical unity of man with the ultimate cosmic principle, tao or dharma. In the early Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures, 守— means *dhyāna* (meditation). See Yoshioka Gihō, "Shoki Dōkyō no shuitsu shisō to Bukkyō," *Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, No. 53 (1968), 61–84.

He lived with reverence and faith in the Three Treasures. His greatest desire was to fly on a five-colored cloud[7] beyond the sky[8] and play in the garden of eternity[9] with the guests of the heavenly palace,[10] lying in the flowering garden and sucking vital force out of the haze to nourish his nature.[11]

Accordingly, in his late forties he went to live in a cave, wore clothing made of vines, drank the dewdrops on pine needles, bathed in pure spring water to rinse away the filth of the world of desire,[12] and learned the formula of the Peacock[13] to attain extraordinary power. Thus he could employ spirits and kami[14] at his command.

Once he summoned them all and ordered them, "Make a bridge between Kane-no-take 金峯[15] and Kazuraki-no-take 葛木峯."[16] They were not happy about this, and in the reign of the emperor residing at Fujiwara Palace 藤原宮,[17] Hitokotonushi no Ōkami 一語主大神[18] of Kazuraki-no-take was possessed and slandered him, saying, "E no ubasoku plans to usurp the throne." The emperor dispatched messengers to capture him, but they found it hard to take him due to his mysterious magical power, so they captured his mother instead. In order that his mother might be freed, he gave himself up.

He was exiled to the island of Izu 伊圖嶋.[19] One time his body went floating on the sea as if he were walking on land. Again, his body perched on a mountain ten thousand feet high and looked like a huge phoenix[20] in flight. In the daytime he stayed on the island in accord with the emperor's command, but at night he went to Fuji-no-take in Suruga 駿河富岻嶺[21] to practice austerities. As he prayed for

7. 五色雲, on the rainbow; see I.5.
8. 飛仲虛之外; see II.Preface, n. 14.
9. 億載庭, meaning the garden which does not change for 100 million years.
10. 仙宮賓. See I.13, n. 5.
11. 養性 *yōjō*; 性 nature means body and spirit.
12. 欲界 *yokukai*; see II.2, n. 6.
13. 孔雀王 Skt. *Mahāmayūrividyārājñī*; several scriptures are related to the Peacock (-hen) King. Śrimitra 帛尸梨密多羅 of fourth-century China translated *K'ung-ch'üeh-wang shen-chou-ching* 孔雀王神咒經 and *K'ung-ch'üeh-wang tsa-shen-chou* 孔雀王雜神咒, which are no longer extant. Kumārajīva translated the *K'ung ch'üeh-wang chou-ching* (*Taishō*, XIX, No. 988), and in T'ang China expanded works appeared. Although it is impossible to identify the formulas E no ubasoku learned, some of them might have been transmitted to Japan quite early.
14. 鬼神.
15. Or Kinpu-san 金峯山 located at present Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken.
16. Or Kazuraki-san 葛木山 on the boundary between Nara-ken and Ōsaka-fu: *Shoku Nihongi* says that E no Ozunu lived on Mt. Kazuraki in the beginning.
17. Emperor Monmu 文武 (r. 697–700).
18. Meaning Lord of One Word. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 119.
19. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 120.
20. 鳳 ōtori; a male Chinese phoenix.
21. Or 富士山; Mt. Fuji, the highest mountain in Japan, located in present Shizuoka-ken 靜岡縣.

pardon from his severe punishment and for permission to return to the capital, he lay down on the blade of an assassin's sword and ascended to Mt. Fuji. Three years passed in ascetic practice after he was exiled to the island. At the turn of the eighth year of the ox, the first year of the Taihō era,[22] he was pardoned and approached the capital, finally becoming a saint[23] and flying to heaven.

Dharma Master Dōshō 道照[24] of our country received an imperial order to go to Great T'ang China in order to search out Buddhist teachings. On the request of five hundred tigers he went to Silla 新羅[25] to lecture in the mountains on the *Hoke-kyō*.[26] At that time there was a man among the tigers who raised a question in Japanese. The monk asked, "Who are you?" and the man answered, "E no ubasoku." The monk thought that the man was a Japanese sage[27] and came down from his high seat to inquire about him, but he was gone.

Hitokotonushi no Ōkami was bound with a spell by E no gyōja 役行者, and he has not escaped[28] even to this day. E no ubasoku did so many miraculous deeds that we cannot enumerate them all. Indeed we learn that Buddhist miraculous arts are comprehensive. Those who have faith will attain them without fail.

29

On Breaking Wickedly the Bowl of a Begging Novice and Gaining an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death[1]

Shiragabe no Imaro白髮部猪麿[2] was a man from Oda district, Bitchū province 備中國少田郡.[3] He was evil[4] by nature and did not believe in the Three Treasures.[5]

22. 701.
23. 仙; Taoist saint.
24. See above, I.22. Since Dōshō died in 700, his encounter with E no ubasoku lacks historical evidence.
25. Silla unified Korea in 668 and flourished for the following century.
26. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 93; Chap. II(3)b.
27. 我國聖人.
28. 解脫; see I.15, n. 6.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 26).
2. The Shiragabe family is well known from early times. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* cites it as an indigenous family (both 神別 and 皇別).
3. Present Oda-gun, Okayama-ken 岡山縣小田郡.
4. 邪見 *jaken*.
5. 三寶 *sanbō*; see Chap. II(3)b.

One day a monk came to him begging for food. Imaro offered him not food but abuse, broke his begging bowl, and chased him away. Then Imaro went on a trip to a strange land. On the way he was caught in a storm and crushed to death when the storehouse in which he had taken shelter collapsed.[6]

Truly we learn that retribution is close at hand in the present life. Why do we not behave ourselves prudently? The *Nehan-gyō* is referring to this when it says: "All evil deeds originate in wicked minds."[7] The *Daijōbu-ron* says: "If you offer alms with compassion, the merit will be as great as earth; if you do so to all for your own sake, the reward will be as tiny as a mustard seed. It is better to save a person in danger than to make all kinds of offerings . . . ."[8]

30

On Taking Others' Possessions Unrighteously, Causing Evil, and Gaining a Penalty Showing an Extraordinary Event[1]

Kashiwade no omi Hirokuni 膳臣廣國[2] was an assistant governor[3] of Miyako district, Buzen province 豐前國宮子郡.[4] In the reign of the emperor at Fujiwara Palace, on the fifteenth of the ninth month in the autumn of the second year of the snake, the second year of the Keiun era,[5] Hirokuni passed away suddenly. On the fourth day after his death, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought back to life and told the following tale:

"There came two messengers, one with an adult's hair style, the other with a child's. I accompanied them for the distance of about two stages,[6] and on our way there was a river with a golden bridge.

6. See I.10, n. 10.
7. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XXXV (*Taishō*, XII, 573c). 如我所說 一切惡行 邪見爲因.
8. *Daijōbu-ron* (*Taishō*, XXX, 257b).

1. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (V, Monmu), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 16). The motif is the visit to the other world; see Chap. II(1)b.
2. Kashiwade is a family name; *omi*, a title; Hirokuni, a given name.
3. 少領 *shōryō*, an official who assists a district governor, *dairyō* 大領.
4. Present Miyako-gun, Fukuoka-ken 福岡縣京都郡.
5. 705, in the reign of Emperor Monmu.
6. One stage (*umaya* 驛) is about twelve miles, the distance between stages which were established to facilitate the transportation of taxed goods and messengers along main roads.

Crossing the bridge, I found myself in a strange land. I asked the messengers, 'What country is this?' They answered, 'It is the land in the southern direction.'[7]

"As we reached the capital, we saw eight armed officials following us. We found ourselves in front of a golden palace. When we entered the palace, a king was seated on the golden throne, and he told me, 'I have summoned you on a complaint by your wife.' Then the king called a woman whom I recognized as my deceased wife. Eight men carried her in: iron nails pierced her from top to bottom and from her forehead to the nape of her neck, while an iron chain tied her limbs. The king asked me, 'Do you know her?' I answered, 'Indeed, she is my wife.' Again the king asked, 'Do you know the sin of which you are accused?' I answered 'No.' When my wife was asked the same question, she answered, 'Yes, indeed. Because he drove me from home, I still bear a grudge and feel envious and hateful.' The king said to me, 'You are really innocent. You may go home. I warn you, however, not to talk thoughtlessly about the land of the dead.[8] If you want to see your father, go to the south.'

"I went south to find my father standing and holding a hot copper pillar. He had thirty-seven nails in his body and was beaten with an iron stick, three hundred times in the morning, three hundred times in the afternoon, three hundred times in the evening, or, altogether, nine hundred times a day. I grieved at this and said, 'I never dreamed that you were suffering such punishment!' Then he spoke to me, saying: 'My son, probably you do not know why I am suffering. In order to support my family I killed living beings, pressed men to repay ten *ryō* on a loan of eight *ryō*[9] of cotton, or lent rice and collected three times the amount.[10] Also, I robbed others of their possessions, committed adultery with the wives of others, neglected filial piety and reverence to my elders, and used foul language to abuse those who were not slaves.[11] Because of such offenses I have thirty-seven iron nails in my small body and receive nine hundred beatings daily with an iron stick. What pain! What suffering! When shall I be excused from my sin? When shall my body find rest? Please hurry to atone for

7. 圖南國 Tonan no kuni; see Chap. II(1)b, n. 33.

8. 黄泉國 Yomi no kuni; see Chap. II(1)b, n. 26.

9. 兩 a *ryō* is a unit of measurement; sixteen *ryō* equal one *gon* 斤.

10. There are two kinds of *gon, daigon* 大斤 and *shōgon* 小斤. The former is three times as much as the latter. See I.12, n. 11. An interest rate higher than 100 percent was prohibited (see *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXL, Hōki 10:9:28). In the decree of 797 the practice of 50 percent interest was banned. See I.23, n. 9.

11. 奴婢*nuhi;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 24. Those who could not pay back their debts often fell into the status of slaves. Therefore, he may have treated his debtors in the same manner as slaves.

my sins by making a Buddha-image and copying scriptures. Never forget this. When I visited you in hunger in the form of a big snake on the seventh[12] of the seventh month and was about to enter the house, you picked up the snake and threw it away. Again, when I went to your home in the form of a small red dog on the fifth[13] of the fifth month, you called a big dog to chase me, and I left hungry and exhausted. However, when I entered your house in the form of a cat on New Year's Day,[14] I filled my stomach with the various offerings and was able to make up for three years' lack of food. Then, I lost my sense of social order and reason and became a dog eating and watering. I am sure to become a small red dog again.'

"If you make an offering of one quart[15] of rice, you will gain a reward of thirty days' food; if you make an offering of one set of clothes, you will gain a reward of one year's clothing. Those who have Buddhist scriptures recited will live in the eastern golden palace[16] and be born in the heaven according to their wish; those who have Buddha-images made will be born in the Western Pure Land of Unlimited Life;[17] those who set living beings free will be born in the Northern Pure Land of Unlimited Life.[18] Or, those who fast for a day[19] will gain a reward of ten years' food.

"Shocked at the sight of so many instances of retribution, I came back to the big bridge. The guards watching the gate checked me and said, 'We cannot let you go out, since you have been in.' I was wandering around when the child appeared. The gatekeepers knelt to greet him. Then the child called me, led me to a side gate, and opened the door. When I was leaving, he said, 'Go quickly.' I asked him, 'Whose child are you?' He answered, 'If you want to know who I am, I am the *Kanzeon-gyō*[20] which you copied in your childhood.' He was gone, whereupon I looked around to find myself in this world again."

As Hirokuni visited the land of the dead and saw the karmic retribution of good and evil, he recorded it for circulation.[21] Who can fail

12. Tanabata 七夕 festival; one of the five popular festivals which originated in China. After transmission to Japan, they were celebrated at court as well as in private homes. This festival is associated with the legend of the cowherd (牽牛 Altair) and the spinning maid (織女 Vega).

13. Tango 端午; one of the five festivals mentioned above, at which prayers for protection from evil were offered.

14. See Chap. II(1)a, for the New Year renewal rite.

15. 升 *shō*.

16. 東方金宮; unidentified. Yakushi-Nyorai's pure land lies in the eastern quarter, but from the following sentence it seems to be a heaven rather than the pure land. Cf. I.5.

17. 西方无量淨土; see above, Chap. I(1)a, n. 16.

18. 北方无量淨土; the abode of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩. See *Hika-kyō*, IV (*Taishō*, III, No. 57b).

19. 齋食 *saijiki*; see I.24, n. 3.

20. *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, XXV; Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, XXV.

21. See Chap. I(2)c.

to believe in the law of karmic retribution, as expounded widely in the Mahayana scriptures? This is what the scripture means when it says: "Honeydew in the present will be an iron ball in the future."[22] Hirokuni made Buddha images, copied scriptures, and made offerings to the Three Treasures to repay his father's love[23] and atone for his sin, thereafter turning evil into righteousness.

31

On Attaining a Great Fortune Immediately Owing to Devotion to Kannon and Praying for a Share of Benefits[1]

In the reign of ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu[2] residing at Nara Palace 諾樂宮, [3] Miteshiro no Azumabito 御手代東人[4] went to Mt. Yoshino 吉野山 [5] to practice Buddhist teachings and seek his fortune. Three years passed during which he worshiped Kannon 觀音, reciting the name,[6] and saying, "Homage to Kannon.[7] Please give me ten thousand *kan*[8] of copper coins, ten thousand *koku*[9] of white rice and many beautiful girls."

At that time, Awata no asomi 粟田朝臣 of the Junior Third Rank[10] had a daughter who was both unmarried and a virgin. She suddenly fell ill in her home in Hirose 廣瀨.[11] Her suffering was so great that there seemed no prospect of a cure. Her father sent messengers in all directions to call Buddhist monks[12] and lay brothers.[13] Azumabito was called and begged to save her by chanting formulas.[14] The power of

22. 現在甘露未來鐵丸. This given as a scriptural passage in this story, but as an ancient proverb in II.9. 甘露 and 鐵丸 are familiar metaphors in scriptures.

23. Gratitude to one's father is one of the four essential kinds of *on*. See Chap. II(2)a, nn. 69, 70.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 14).
2. See I.5, n. 41.
3. Also written 奈良, 平城.
4. The Miteshiro family descended from kami, according to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*.
5. Including mountains located in present Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken. See I.28, n. 15.
6. 稱禮 devotional rite of reciting Kannon's name while prostrated before the image.
7. 南無, a transliteration of Skt. *namas*.
8. 貫; one *kan* consists of one thousand pieces, *mon*.
9. 石; one *koku* equals about five bushels.
10. Unidentified; Awata no asomi Mahito of the Senior Third Rank may be the person referred to, but he died in 719, before the reign of Emperor Shōmu (724–749).
11. Present Kita-kazuraki-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣北葛城郡.
12. 禪師 *zenji; dhyāna* master.
13. 優婆塞 *ubasoku*.
14. 咒 *ju*; see Chap. I(1)d, n. 97.

the formulas cured the illness, and she fell in love with him, eventually giving herself to him. Her family seized him and kept him confined in a room. Out of her affection, she cried and would not leave the place of his confinement. After a conference, her family decided to free Azumabito and let him marry her and inherit the fortune. He was given the Fifth Rank owing to the report to the Throne.[15]

After several years, when she was dying, she called her sister, and said, "I am dying now. I have but one wish; will you listen?" Her sister said, "I will do as you like." Whereupon Azumabito's wife said, "I can never forget my gratitude to Azumabito. I would like to make your daughter his wife and let her be in charge of the household."[16] Faithful to her wish, the sister gave her daughter to Azumabito and put her in charge of the fortune.

Azumabito was richly blessed in this life because of the mysterious power he gained from his devotional practices and the great virtue of Kannon. How can anyone not believe that?

32

On Gaining an Immediate Reward for Faith in the Three Treasures, Reverence to Monks, and Having Scriptures Recited[1]

In the ninth month of the fourth year of the hare, the fourth year of the Jinki era,[2] Emperor Shōmu went hunting with his officers in the mountain at Yamamura in Sou upper district 添上郡山村.[3] A deer ran into a farmer's house in the village of Hosome 納見里,[4] and the family killed and ate it without knowing whose it was. Later, when the emperor heard this, he sent messengers to take them prisoner. More than ten men and women met with this misfortune, and they shuddered in fear without any recourse. Their only thought was that nothing but the divine power[5] of the Three Treasures would save

15. As he became the son-in-law of Awata no asomi, he was given the rank.

16. This story demonstrates the practice of handing down authority for the ancestral cult and the family fortune from the aunt to the niece, which is still common in a priestess' family. See Sakurai Mitsuru, "Mei no chikara: Naka no sumeramikoto o megutte," *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, XLII (No. 12, December 1965), 23–33.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 16).
2. 727.
3. See I.10, n. 2.
4. Present Tenri-shi 天理市, south of Yamamura.
5. 神力.

them from their sad plight. As they heard that the Sixteen-foot Buddha of Daian-ji 大安寺丈六[6] would respond to the people's prayers, they sent a man to visit the temple and have scriptures recited. They made an appeal to the monks, saying, "When we are led to court, please open the southern gate of the temple so that we may pay homage to the Buddha. Also we beg you to ring the bell when we are taken to court so that the sound of the bell may follow us."

According to their wishes, the monks rang the bell, recited scriptures,[7] and opened the gate so that the people might worship. The latter were sent to court by the messengers and confined in a guardroom.[8] Just then a prince was born,[9] and the emperor granted a general amnesty to criminals and did not punish them. Instead, he gave alms to the people, and their happiness and joy could not be measured.

We learn that this is due to the influence of the Sixteen-foot Buddha and the merit of reciting scriptures.

33

On the Miraculous Survival of a Buddha's Picture Offered by a Widow Who Made a Vow to Have It Painted for Her Deceased Husband[1]

There is a painted image of Amida阿彌陀[2] in the Hata-dera八多寺[3] in Ishikawa district, Kawachi province 河內國石川郡.[4] Villagers say that a wise woman once lived in this neighborhood, but her name is

6. Daian-ji was located at theWest Side of Nara, on the way to the court from the southern district. *Jō-roku* means one *jō* 一丈 and six *shaku* 六尺, which is about sixteen feet. One *jō* is ten *shaku* and one *shaku* is about one foot.

7. 轉讀 *tendoku;* a ritual reading of scriptures or portions of lengthy scriptures. Since the *Dai hannya-kyō* is a voluminous scripture, some portions of it are read in a service. When we think of the probable relation between Daian-ji and the study of this scripture (see Chap. II(1)c, n. 65), this passage also may be translated ". . . read portions of the *Dai hannya-kyō*, . . ."

8. 授刀寮 ; an office for the imperial guards which was instituted in 707. Only those who had committed some crime against the emperor were imprisoned there. See *Shoku Nihongi*, IV (Keiun 4:7:21): "The Office of Tachihaki no Toneri was created."

9. See *ibid.*, X (Jinki 4:9:29, 4:10:5).

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 18).

2. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 132.

3. Unidentified; it may be a temple of the Hata family, originally immigrated from China by way of Korea.

4. Present Minami-kawachi-gun, Ōsaka-fu

unknown. On the day her husband was dying, she vowed to make an image of Amida, but many years passed and the vow was not fulfilled because of her poverty.

One autumn she gleaned in the rice fields, commissioned a painter, and made offerings to the dead for the first time, weeping in her sorrow. In sympathy, the painter joined in her devotion and completed a beautiful painting. After a ceremonial feast[5] it was consecrated in the golden hall of the temple, and she paid constant homage to it.

A thief later set fire to the hall, and it was destroyed. Only the Buddha image survived the fire, suffering no damage.

Wasn't it a miraculous work of Buddha to help the woman? The note says: How good a wife she was in holding a memorial rite for her husband![6] Eventually she held it in the autumn. We know indeed how devoted she was. Even blazing flames cannot consume the holy image. Heaven's help is beyond our comprehension.

34

On Taking Back Silk Robes Once Stolen Owing to the Petition to Bodhisattva Myōken[1]

Once there was a house in front of the Kisakibe-dera私部寺[2] in Ate district, Kii province紀伊國安諦郡.[3] As ten silk robes were stolen from the owners, they prayed devotedly through Bodhisattva Myō-ken 妙見菩薩[4] in the temple. The stolen silk robes were sold to a merchant in Kii. Hardly a week passed before a gale hit, and the robes were whisked south on the back of a deer to the original owners' garden; the deer then disappeared in the heavens. The merchant who had bought them, hearing that they were stolen goods, did not ask for them back but kept quiet.

5. 齋會 *saie;* a (dedication) ceremony in which a vegetarian feast is offered. See I.24, n. 3.
6. 追遠報恩 *tsuion hōon; tsuion* means "perform proper rites to pray for the dead," and *hōon* means "repay for the kindness, love given." It is customary during the first year after a person's death to perform various religious acts in the hopes that the merits accumulated by such acts may benefit the deceased.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 4).
2. Unidentified.
3. Present Arita-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣有田郡.
4. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 133.

35

On a Nun Who Painted a Buddha Image out of Gratitude for the Four Kinds of Blessings and Gained a Power to Show an Extraordinary Sign[1]

In a village of Yuge, Wakae district, Kawachi province 河内國若江郡遊宜村,[2] there lived a highly disciplined novice nun 練行沙彌尼.[3] Her name is unknown. She lived in a mountain temple at Heguri 平群,[4] and, organizing a devotees' association,[5] painted a Buddha image with a picture of the six existences[6] in order to give thanks for the four kinds of blessings.[7] When completed, it was enshrined in the temple after the dedication ceremony.

Meanwhile she left the temple, going from place to place on errands. During that time the picture was stolen, and she looked for it in vain, crying pitifully. Still leading the devotees' organization, she wanted to free living beings,[8] and the members went to Naniwa 難破 to visit the market. When they saw a basket in a tree, they heard various animals crying in the basket. They waited for the owner to return, for they thought there must be animals in the basket and they wanted to buy them and set them free. Meanwhile, the owner returned. When they said to him, "We heard some animals in your basket, and we have been waiting to buy them from you," the owner said, "No, there is nothing alive in it." The nun did not give up, however. She continued begging till the merchants around them said to the owner, "You should open the basket." The owner was frightened, and he ran away, leaving the basket. When they opened it, they discovered the stolen image. In joy and tears the devotees cried, "Since we lost this image, we have been longing for it day and night. Now, by chance, we have found it. How happy we are!" When the merchants heard this, they gathered around and praised the nun's perseverance.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 17).
2. The southern part of present Hachio-shi, Ōsaka-fu.
3. 沙彌尼 *shamini*, a transliteration of Skt. *śrāmaṇerikā*, originally a nun under the age of twenty who keeps the ten precepts, but in this case the same as a nun. Cf. Chap. I(1)a, n. 10.
4. Present Heguri-mura, Ikoma-gun, Nara-ken.
5. 知識 *chishiki;* see Chap. I(1)d, nn. 110, 111.
6. 六道 *rokudō;* see Chap. I(2)a, n. 126.
7. 四恩 *shion*, that is, the blessing of the parents, lords, all sentient beings, and the Three Treasures; or mother, father, Tathāgata, and monks. See Chap. II(2)a, nn. 69, 70.
8. 放生 *hōjō;* see I.7, n. 12.

Joyfully the nun and the others set living beings free, held memorial services, and reconsecrated the image in the original temple, where it remained an object of devotion for both clergy and laity. This is indeed a miraculous event.

NIHONKOKU GENPŌ ZEN'AKU RYŌIKI

VOLUME II

by Kyōkai

Monk of Yakushi-ji
on the West Side of Nara

CONTENTS

Forty-two Stories on the Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil

Preface 157
1. On the Death Penalty in This Life for Taking Pride in One's Own Virtue and Hitting a Humble-looking Novice 158
2. On Renouncing the World to Practice Good at the Sight of the Adultery of Crows 160
3. On the Death Penalty in This Life of an Evil Son Who Tried to Kill His Mother out of Love for His Wife 161
4. On a Contest between Women of Extraordinary Strength 163
5. On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for Sacrificing Oxen to a Pagan Deity and the Merit of Good Deeds of Freeing Living Beings 164
6. On Copying the *Hoke-kyō* with Utmost Devotion and Witnessing an Extraordinary Event 166
7. On a Wise Man Who Abused an Incarnated Sage out of Envy, Visited the Palace of King Yama, and Experienced Suffering in Hell 167
8. On the Immediate Reward of Salvaging the Lives of a Crab and a Frog and Setting Them Free 171
9. On Being Born in the Form of an Ox and Made to Work for Usurping the Properties of the Temple of One's Own Dedication 173
10. On the Death Penalty for Constantly Boiling and Eating Birds' Eggs 174
11. On the Penalty of a Fatal Disease for Abusing a Monk and Committing a Lustful Deed 175
12. On the Immediate Reward of Being Saved by Crabs for Saving the Lives of Crabs and a Frog 176
13. On Lustful Love for the Image of Kichijō-tennyo Which Responded with an Extraordinary Sign 178

14. On the Immediate Reward of the Destitute Princess' Devotion to the Image of Kichijō-tennyo 179
15. On the Reward of Copying the *Hoke-kyō* and Holding a Service for a Mother in Revealing the Cause of Her Rebirth as a Cow 180
16. On the Immediate Retribution of Good and Evil because of Giving No Alms and Freeing Living Beings 182
17. On Bronze Kannon Images Which Showed an Extraordinary Sign in Their Transformation into the Form of a Heron 184
18. On the Immediate Penalty of Being Given a Twisted Mouth and Death for Speaking Ill of the Monk, Devotee of the *Hoke-kyō* 185
19. On the Visit to the Palace of King Yama by a Woman Devotee of the *Shin-gyō*, and the Following Extraordinary Event 186
20. On the Mother Who Had a Bad Dream, with the Utmost Faith Had a Scripture Recited, and Saved Her Daughter by an Extraordinary Sign 187
21. On the Clay Divine Image Which Showed an Extraordinary Sign by Emanating Light From Its Legs and Incurred an Immediate Reward 188
22. On the Stolen Bronze Buddha Which Gave an Extraordinary Sign and Identified a Thief 190
23. On the Bronze Bodhisattva Miroku Which was Stolen by a Thief and Revealed His Identity by a Miraculous Sign 191
24. On the Fiends, Messengers of King Yama, Who Canceled Death in Exchange for a Bribe 192
25. On the Fiend, Messenger of King Yama, Who Accepted the Hospitality of the One for Whom He Had Been Sent and Repaid It 194
26. On the Miraculous Sign of the Unfinished Log Which Was Cut Out for Buddha Images but Abandoned 196
27. On a Woman of Great Strength 197
28. On the Destitute Woman Who Prayed to the Sixteen-foot Śākyamuni Buddha for a Share of Benefits and Immediately Attained a Great Fortune Brought by a Miraculous Event 199
29. On the Most Venerable Gyōgi, Who Accused a Woman of Having Smeared Her Hair with Animal Oil Recognized with His Penetrating Eye 201
30. On the Extraordinary Sign of the Most Venerable Gyōgi Who Perceived a Woman with a Child Loaded with Past Enmity and Made Her Throw the Child into the Stream 201
31. On the Birth of a Girl with *Sari* in Her Hand Owing to Her Parents' Vow to Build a Pagoda 203
32. On Rebirth as an Ox to Make up for the Unpaid Debt of Rice Wine for the Temple Fund 203
33. On a Woman Devoured by an Evil Fiend 205

34. On an Orphaned Girl Whose Devotion to the Bronze Kannon Brought Her an Immediate Reward in a Miraculous Event 206
35. On the Penalty of Immediate Death from a Bad Disease for Hitting a Monk 208
36. On the Wooden Image of Kannon Revealing Divine Power 210
37. On the Wooden Image of Kannon Which Revealed Divine Power, and Survived Fire 210
38. On Rebirth as a Snake because of Avarice 211
39. On the Wooden Image of Yakushi Buddha Which Showed an Extraordinary Sign, Washed away in the Water and Buried in the Sand 211
40. On the Evil-loving Man Who Was Killed with Swords and Thus Got an Immediate Death Penalty 212
41. On a Woman Who Survived Violation of a Big Snake Owing to the Power of Drugs 213
42. On the Destitute Woman Whose Devotion to the Image of the Thousand-armed Kannon Brought a Great Fortune in Response to Her Wish for a Share of Benefits 215

Preface to Volume II[1]

After some loyal subjects burned the temple and threw away Buddha images[2] and some built temples to spread the Buddhist teaching,[3] ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu made a huge image of the Buddha for the first time.[4] He established the eternal Buddhist tradition in this country, shaved his head, and wore a surplice. He was ordained and practiced good, ruling the people with justice. His compassion was extended to animals and plants, while his virtue was incomparable in history. On the throne he attained unity,[5] had excellent fortune, and appeased all spirits, taking his stand on the three components of the universe.[6] Owing to this fortune and virtue, even insects flying in the sky brought grasses to thatch a temple, while ants running on the ground gathered golden sands to build a pagoda. Buddhist banners[7] were raised high with their fringes flying in all directions. The boat of Buddhism floated lightly on the water, and the shadow of the sails seemed to send wind into the sky. Flowers of good omen opened in rivalry here and there, and karmic retribution of good and evil was revealed in lights and shadows. This is why he was named ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu, meaning Excellent-treasure-truth-corresponding-sacred-power.

. . . incurred much suffering.[8] Evil deeds bring us to lands of suffering, one after another, while good deeds lead us to a safe place. Great compassion can tame and train tigers to sit on our knees;[9] natural affection can make birds live on our head.[10] The same lesson will be found in the episode of the seven virtues of Meng-ch'ang 孟嘗[11] or the three wonders of Prince Kung of Lu 魯恭.[12]

1. The first part of this preface is missing in the existing manuscripts. The opening paragraph in the *Nihon ryōiki* (*NKBT*) is taken from the *Tōdai-ji yōroku* 東大寺要錄 (II, 2), which gives a quotation probably from this preface (see Nagai Yoshinori, *Nihon Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū*, 139–141).
2. Refers to opponents of Buddhism such as the Monobe family; see I.5.
3. Refers to Buddhists such as the Soga family, Ōtomo no Yasunoko; see I.5.
4. Refers to the Great Buddha of Tōdai-ji; see I.Preface, n. 14. Also see I.5, n. 41.
5. 得一; see I.28, n. 6. Most commentators interpret 一 as the imperial throne.
6. The three are Heaven, man, and earth.
7. 法幢 *hōdō* or *hatahoko;* see I.1, n. 7.
8. The first part of the sentence is lost: . . . 爰萬苦.
9. See *Shokyō yōshū*, X (*Taishō*, LIV, 100 ab) :所以曇光釋子 降孟虎於膝前 螺髻仙人 宿禽於頂上.
10. See *ibid.*
11. Minister of Ch'i during the age of the warring states (403–221 B.C.); "seven virtues" 七善, source unknown.
12. See *Hou-Han shu*, XV Biographies. The three wonders 三異 are that even insects do not transgress the border, that even birds and animals can be taught, and that even children have the benevolent mind.

Kyōkai, however, is neither wise nor eloquent. His mind is as slow and dull as a lead sword, and his writings do not seem beautiful. He is as foolish as the man who marked on the boat,[13] and, in writing, he cannot get his phrases into order. However, I cannot suppress my passion to do good, so I dare to write down oral traditions [at the risk of] soiling clean paper with mistakes. On reflection, I cannot help feeling ashamed of myself, blushing in the face and ears. Therefore I beseech you, the reader of my poor work, to confess, forget worldly matters, and keep your mind lofty, making a master of your mind and never the mind your master. By the help of my humble work I hope we shall fly beyond the firmament on the right wing of fortune and virtue and the left wing of wisdom, climb to the top of the Buddha-nature, and attain the path of Buddha, giving alms to all beings.[14]

I

On the Death Penalty in This Life for Taking Pride in One's Own Virtue and Hitting a Humble-looking Novice[1]

On the eighth of the second month in the spring of the sixth year of the snake, the first year of the Tenpyō era,[2] ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu, who reigned over Ōyashima 大八嶋[3] at Nara Palace, made a great vow and held an impressive service to make offerings to the Three Treasures at Gangō-ji 元興寺 on the East Side of the capital.[4] Prince Nagaya 長屋親王, Chancellor of the Senior Second Rank,[5]

13. See *Lü-shih ch'un ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 (Ch'a chin 察今): A man of Ch'u dropped a sword when he was crossing a river. He marked the spot on the edge of the boat where it had fallen overboard for later identification, never thinking that the boat itself was moving.

14. A bodhisattva is often compared to a bird in Mahayana Buddhist scriptures; see *Daichidoron*, XXXVII (*Taishō*, XXV, 332a). 復次雖有慈悲 般若波羅密 無五神通者 如鳥無兩翼不能高翔; *Ibid.*, XXXVII (*Taishō*, XXV, 566b). 鳥身是菩薩 . . . 無兩翅者是無般若波羅密無方便; *Maka hannya haramitsu-kyō* 摩訶般若波羅密經, XXVI (*Taishō*, XIII, 410c). 譬如鳥無翅不能高翔 菩薩無神通 不能隨意教化衆生.

1. Cf. *Shoku Nihongi*, X (Tenpyō 1:2:10), *Fusō ryakki* (VI, Shōmu), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 27).

2. 729.

3. According to the *Kojiki* (*NKBT*, 54–56), Izanagi and Izanami created the eight islands, namely, Awaji Island 淡路島, Iyo Island 伊豫島 (Shikoku 四國), Oki Island 隱岐島, Tsukushi Island 筑紫島 (Kyūshū 九州), Iki Island 壹岐島, Tsushima Island 津島, Sado Island 佐渡島, and Ōyamato-toyoakitsu Island 大倭豐秋津島 (Honshū 本州).

4. See I.3, n. 9.

5. Although the text gives 太政大臣正二位長屋親王, the right title is 正二位左大臣長屋王 (see *Shoku Nihongi*, IX, Jinki 1:2:22), since 親王 is used only for the emperor's sons.

was appointed by edict to be in charge of serving food to the monks.

At the banquet there was a novice unscrupulous enough to go to the serving place and hold up a bowl for food. The prince, when he saw this, struck the novice on the head with an ivory scepter, and blood came from the wound on the head. Wailing bitterly, the novice rubbed his head, wiped away the blood, and disappeared at once. No one knew where he had gone, but both the clergy and laity present at the service whispered in secret, "An ill omen, it is not good."

In two days an envious man went to the throne to slander the prince, saying, "Prince Nagaya is rising in revolt against the state to usurp the throne."[6] The emperor grew angry and sent an army against the prince. Prince Nagaya thought to himself, "I am falsely charged and surely will be killed. It is better to kill myself than to be killed by others." After making his children take poison and strangling them, the prince took the same poison and killed himself.[7] The emperor ordered their corpses thrown out of the castle, burned to ashes, and cast into the waters.[8] Only the prince's bones were exiled to Tosa province 土佐國,[9] where many people died. In fear the people petitioned the officials, saying, "All of us in this province will die because of the prince's spirit!" At this the emperor moved the bones to an island off the coast of Hajikami, Ama district, Kii province 紀伊國海部郡椒抄[10] so that they might lie closer to the capital.

What a pity! However widely known when his fortune was at its height, the prince perished suddenly when an evil fate befell him. Indeed, we learn that, taking pride in his virtue, he struck a novice, and, because of this, divine guardians of dharma frowned on him and good deities hated him.[11] We should respect those who wear a surplice, even if they look humble, for there is a sage hidden among them. Therefore, the *Kyōman-gyō* 憍慢經[12] speaks of ". . . the sin of those

6. Nuribe no miyatsuko Kimitari 漆部造君足 and Nakatomi no miyatokoro muraji Azumabito 中臣宮處連東人, slandered Prince Nagaya, saying he had secretly studied evil arts and wanted to overthrow the government. See *ibid.*, X (Tenpyō 1:2:10).

7. See *ibid.*, X (Tenpyō 1:2:12).

8. The following passage including this sentence differs from the passage in the *Shoku Nihongi*, which says that Prince Nagaya and Princess Kibi were buried at Ikoma-yama, for she was innocent and he was the grandson of Emperor Tenmu. See *ibid.*, X (Tenpyō 1:2:13).

9. Present Kōchi-ken, Shikoku 四國高知縣.

10. 奥嶋 may be the name of an island, Oki no shima, off the coast of present Kaisō-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣海草郡, or 沖島 *oki no shima* as translated above.

11. 護法善神 *gohō zenjin* means "beneficial deities protecting dharma" but Kyōkai often uses *gohō* without *zenjin*. The *Zenjin* are Brahma, Indra, the Guardians of the Four Quarters, the Twelve Divine Generals, and the Twenty-eight Deities, who vowed to protect dharma after they had heard of it.

12. Unknown source.

who held high social status and of those who stepped on the head of Śākyamuni Buddha . . . ." Needless to say, the sin of those who despise one who wears a surplice is very grave.

2

On Renouncing the World to Practice Good at the Sight of the Adultery of Crows[1]

Dhyāna Master Shingon 信嚴 was Chinu no agatanushi Yamatomaro 血沼縣主倭麻呂,[2] governor of Izumi district, Izumi province 和泉國泉郡,[3] in the reign of Emperor Shōmu. By the gate of his house there stood a big tree in which two crows built a nest, hatched eggs, and sheltered their chicks under their wings. The male crow flew here and there to bring food for his mate who sheltered the chicks. Once when he left the nest for food, another crow flew into the nest and began to flirt. Attracted by the newcomer, the female crow flew high up into the sky toward the north, abandoning her chicks in the nest. When the male crow came back with food in his mouth and could not find his wife, he watched over the chicks affectionately and did not look for food for many days.

The governor noticed this and had someone climb the tree in order to see the nest. The crow and the chicks were dead. Realizing the female crow's adultery, the governor was overcome with pity and his mind was filled with mercy. He renounced the world, leaving his home, family, and rank, and followed the Most Venerable Gyōgi 行基[4] to practice good and seek the path. He was named Shingon.

His wife was also of the Chinu no agatanushi. After her husband left her, she remained faithful to him without bitterness. When her dear son contracted a fatal disease and was dying, he said to her, "It will prolong my life if I drink my mother's milk." The mother gave her breast to her son as he had asked. Sucking the breast, he lamented, saying, "I am abandoning the sweet milk of my mother and dying!" and breathed his last. Sorrowing for her deceased son, she renounced

1. Cf. *Shūchū-shō* (VIII).
2. The Chinu family was of the local gentry, native to Japan, according to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*.
3. Present Sennan- and Senboku-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府泉南, 泉北郡.
4. See Chap. I(1)d, II(2)c, etc.

the world as her husband had done and devoted herself to learning and practicing good dharma.[5]

Dhyāna Master Shingon, however, had little luck and, after short association with the Most Venerable Gyōgi, preceded Gyōgi to the grave. Wailing, the master composed the following poem:

Did you not promise me we would die together?
But, alas! You are gone,
Leaving me behind.
Are you a crow, to be such a great liar?

When man makes a fire, he must gather firewood of pine. When it rains, the slate has been moistened beforehand.[6] The governor renounced the world after seeing the crow's wicked deed. It is the Buddha's work to lead man to enlightenment by showing him the reality of suffering, which is the reality of living beings in the world of desire.[7] Those who do not like this reality renounce such a world, while those who are foolish indulge in it. The note says how praiseworthy it was for Mr. Chinu no agatanushi, who saw the wickedness of a crow, to avoid worldly filth and the transience of fleeting flowers; to purify himself, devote himself to practicing good, and pray for wisdom; and to look forward to birth in the pure land, liberated from this world. He excelled particularly in his wish for liberation from this world.

3

On the Death Penalty in This Life of an Evil Son Who Tried to Kill His Mother out of Love for His Wife[1]

Kishi no Ōmaro 吉志大麻呂[2] came from the village of Kamo, Tama district, Musashi province 武藏國多麻郡鴨里.[3] Ōmaro's mother was

5. For the significance of this episode, see Chap. II(2)b.

6. In some localities in Japan there is a proverb: When the surface of the rock gets moist with dew, it will rain without fail. This may well refer to the rain-making ceremony in which water is poured on the sacred stone to induce a rainfall.

7. 欲界 *yakukai* (Skt. *kāmadhātu*); the sphere of desire, one of the three spheres of the world, which includes the six lowest heavens and five other ways of existence, that is, man, *asura*, animal, hungry fiend, and hell.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 33), *Zōhōzō-kyō*, IX (*Taishō*, IV, 492), *Hōōn jurin*, XXII (*Taishō*, LIII, 448).

2. Or Kishi no Homaro 吉志火麿; life unknown, but the *Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書 gives his name.

3. The village is unidentified. Tama is in Greater Tokyo.

Kusakabe no Matoji 日下部眞百.[4] In the reign of Emperor Shōmu he was appointed a frontier soldier[5] at Tsukushi 筑紫 by Ōtomo 大伴[6] (his name is unknown)[7] and had to spend three years there. His mother accompanied him and lived with him, while his wife stayed behind to take care of the house.

Ōmaro, out of love for his wife who had been left behind, thought up the wicked idea of killing his mother and returning home to his wife, claiming exemption from duty on the pretext of mourning.[8] As his mother's mind was set on doing good, he said to her, "There will be a great meeting for a week's lecture on the *Hoke-kyō* 法華經 in the eastern mountain. Shall we go to hear the teaching?"

His mother, deceived, was eager to go, and, devoutly purifying herself in a hot bath, accompanied her son to the mountain. Then he looked at her fiercely, as though with the eyes of a bull, and said, "You, kneel down on the ground!" Gazing at his face, she said, "Why are you talking like that? Are you possessed by a fiend?" The son, however, drew a sword to kill her. Kneeling down in front of her son, she said to him, "We plant a tree in order to get its fruit and to take shelter in its shade.[9] We bring up children in order to get their help and to depend on them. What on earth has driven you so crazy! I feel as though the tree I have been depending on has suddenly ceased to protect me from the rain." He would not listen to her, so she sorrowfully took off her clothes, put them in three piles, knelt down, and told him her last wish: "Will you wrap up these clothes for me? One pile goes to you, my eldest son, one to my second son, and one to my third son."

When the wicked son stepped forward to cut off his mother's head, the earth opened to swallow him. At that moment his mother grabbed her falling son by the hair and appealed to Heaven, wailing, "My child is possessed by some spirit and driven to such an evil deed. He is out of his mind. I beseech you to forgive his sin." In spite of all her

4. Kusakabe is a family name (see I.18, n. 7), and Matoji is a given name which originated in the common noun, meaning "legal wife."

5. 前守 (崎守, 防人) *sakimori;* soldiers sent to Tsukushi (present-day Kyūshū) to defend the country from a possible invasion by foreign troops from Korea or China. They had three years' duty there and were not allowed to bring any family member. *See Ryō no gige*, "Gunbō-ryō," Articles 8, 27.

6. The Ōtomos were traditionally in charge of military matters and served the emperors as imperial guards. Cf. *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, etc.

7. The compiler's note.

8. The mourning period for parents was one year, during which people were exempted from any labor duties. (See *Ryō no gige*, "Fueki-ryō," Article 21). However, "Gunbō-ryō," Article 28, prescribes that the mourning period should be observed after soldiers have fulfilled their tour of duty.

9. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XXI (*Taishō*, XII, 493). 如人種樹 爲得蔭涼 爲得花果 及以材木.

efforts to pull him up by the hair, he fell down. The merciful mother brought his hair back home to hold funeral rites and put it in a box in front of a Buddha image, asking monks to chant scriptures.[10]

How great was the mother's compassion! So much that she loved an evil son and practiced good on his behalf. Indeed, we know that an unfilial sin is punished immediately and that an evil deed never goes without a penalty.

4

On a Contest Between Women of Extraordinary Strength[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu there was a woman of extraordinary strength in Ogawa Market, Katakata district, Mino province 三野國片縣郡小川市.[2] She was large, and her name was Mino no kitsune 三野狐[3] (the fourth generation of the one whose mother was Mino no kitsune). Her strength equaled that of one hundred men. Living within the marketplace of Ogawa and taking pride in her strength, she used to rob passing merchants of their goods by force.

At that time there was another woman of great strength in the village of Katawa, Aichi district, Owari province 尾張國愛智郡片輪里.[4] She was small (a granddaughter of the Venerable Dōjō who once lived at Gangō-ji).[5] As she heard that Mino no kitsune robbed passersby of their goods, she sought to challenge her by loading two hundred and fifty bushels[6] of clams on a boat, and anchoring next to the market. In addition, she prepared and loaded on a boat twenty pliable vine whips.

Kitsune came to the boat, seized all the clams, and had them sold. "Where did you come from?" she asked the owner of the clams, but she got no reply. She repeated the question, but again got no answer. After Kitsune had repeated the same question four times, the owner answered, "I don't know where I came from." Kitsune, insulted, rose

10. See Chap. II(2)b, for the significance of this story.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XXIII, 17). This is a part of the Venerable Dōjō cycle (see I.2, 3; II.27). See above, Chap. II(2)b, for the significance of women who inherited extraordinary strength.
2. According to Takeda, it is the market located at present Gifu-shi 岐阜市.
3. See I.2.
4. See I.2, n. 9.
5. See I.3, n. 3.
6. In Japanese measurement, fifty *koku* 斛(石). One *koku* is ten *to* 斗, and one hundred *shō* 升.

to hit her. Thereupon the other woman seized Kitsune's two hands and whipped her once. The whip cut the flesh. Then she used another whip which also cut the flesh. Presently ten whips had cut the flesh.

Kitsune said, "I give up! I am sorry for what I have done." The other woman, whose strength was obviously greater than Kitsune's, insisted, "From now on you shall not live in this market. If you dare do so, I will beat you to death." Completely subdued, Kitsune did not live in the market or steal again, and people in the market rejoiced over the restoration of peace.

There has always been someone in the world with great physical power. Indeed, we know such power is attained as a result of causes in past lives.[7]

5

On Gaining an Immediate Penalty for Sacrificing Oxen to a Pagan Deity and the Merit of Good Deeds of Freeing Living Beings[1]

In the village of Nadekubo, Higashinari district, Settsu province 攝津國東生郡撫凹村,[2] there was a wealthy householder, whose name is unknown. In the reign of ex-Emperor Shōmu, the householder, fearful of the evil influence of a Chinese deity,[3] held services for seven years, sacrificing an ox each year until he had killed seven.[4] At the end of seven years he contracted a serious disease, and, during the following seven years, neither doctor nor medicine could cure him. He called diviners[5] to purify and pray for him, but his disease became worse. Then it occurred to him that his serious disease must have been caused by his past deeds of killing; after that he never failed in keeping the precepts and freeing living beings on the six holy days of each month.[6] When he saw someone killing living beings, he would buy

7. The compiler's attempt to make native legends put on Buddhist clothing is obvious in the victory of the Venerable Dōjō's descendants over the descendants of the fox, and in the ascribing of strength to the ancestor's merit.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 15).
2. Present Higashinari-ku, Ōsaka-shi 大阪市東成區.
3. 漢神.
4. Animal sacrifice was foreign to Japan. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XL (Enryaku 10:9:5).
5. 卜者 *kamnagi*; see Chap. II(3)a, n. 124.
6. 六節 *rokusetsu* probably means 六齋日 *rokukusainichi*, six holy days: 8, 14, 15, 23, 29, and 30 of each month, when lay Buddhists keep the first eight of the ten precepts and devote themselves to doing good.

them without asking their price, and he would send for living beings to buy and set them free.

When he was dying at the end of the seven years, he said to his family, "Don't cremate my corpse after I die, but keep it for nine days."[7] After his death they did as he had told them, waiting for the promised day. When nine days had passed, he came back to life and told this story:

"There were seven subhumans,[8] each with the head of an ox and a human body. They bound me by the hair and led me along under guard. In front of us there appeared a towering palace. I asked, 'What palace is this?' but they only gave me a terrifying look and said, 'Go on quickly!'

"When we entered the palace gate, they said, 'We have brought him.' I realized that they were addressing King Yama.[9] He asked them, 'Is this man the enemy who killed you?' In reply, they said, 'Yes, he is the one.' Presently they brought a chopping board and knife and said, 'Hurry and pass sentence on him! We are going to chop him up and eat him the way he did us!'

"At that moment ten million men suddenly appeared to unbind me, saying, 'This man is not accountable for that accusation, for he killed them to make offerings to the evil deity which had haunted him.' Thereupon the seven subhumans and ten million men fought over me every day like water and fire. The king refrained from judging me. The subhumans continued to argue, saying, 'It is evident that this person was the host who cut off our limbs, held the service at the shrine[10] for his own benefit, and chopped us up to eat.' The ten million men, on the other hand, appealed to the king, saying, 'We know very well that the deity is to blame, and not this man. Remember, Your Majesty, that truth has more witnesses.'[11]

"Eight days passed in this way, and on the evening of the eighth day I was told to appear at court the following day. On the ninth day I went to the court as I had been told. Presently the king said to me, 'As most of our judgments are formed by what witnesses say, we side

7. Common people were buried within a day after their death. See Chap. II(3)a. Cf. *Nihon shoki* (Taika 2:3:22); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 219.

8. 非人 *hinin*.

9. 閻羅王 Enraō; see Chap. II(1)c.

10. 廟 *byō* (Ch. *miao*), Chinese temple or shrine.

11. The other possible interpretation is: "We know very well that the deity is to blame, and not this man." The king thought that the truth was on the side of the majority of witnesses. 我等委曲知非此人咎 識鬼神咎 王自思惟 理就多證.

with the majority,' The sentence was thus given. When the seven oxen heard this, they licked their lips and swallowed, pretending to chop up and eat my flesh. Indignantly, they raised their swords, saying severally, 'How can we forget our vengeance? We will have revenge some day.' The ten million men surrounded me and left the palace, carrying me on a palanquin and leading the way with upheld banners; they saw me off with praise, and knelt to salute me. All of them looked alike. I asked them, saying, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the creatures you set free. Because we can never forget your kindness, we have merely come to repay you.'"

After his return from the palace of King Yama, he made more and more vows. After that he never worshiped any deities, but had faith in the Three Treasures, turned his house into a temple by raising a banner[12] and enshrining a Buddha-image, and practiced the teaching and freeing of living beings. The temple was called the Nade-dō 那天堂.[13] Being spared from illness, the man finally died past the age of ninety.

One *Vinaya-kyō*[14] says as follows: "As Kāludāyī[15] was once a priest and sacrificed a sheep, he was killed, revenged by a Brahman wife, even after he had attained arhatship . . . ."[16] The *Saishōō-kyō*[17] gives the following passage to the same effect: "Rusui-chōza 流水長者 set free ten thousand fish, which were reborn in heaven and repaid his kindness by presenting him with forty thousand jewels."

6

On Copying the Hoke-kyō *with Utmost Devotion and Witnessing an Extraordinary Event*[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, there was a man who made a vow in Sagaraka district, Yamashiro province 山背國相樂郡.[2] His name is

12. 幢 *hatahoko*, a symbol of dharma, hence, a temple; see I.1, n. 7; Preface, n. 7, above.
13. It was named after the village Nade-kubo. Private temples were often named after the village; see Chap. I(1)d.
14. *Vinaya-kyō* 毘奈耶經, IX (*Taishō*, XXIV, 893); quoted in the *Shokyō yōshū*, XIV (*Taishō*, LIV, 129).
15. A disciple of Śākyamuni; a Brahman who performed a sacrificial rite.
16. 羅漢 *rakan*, a shortened form of 阿羅漢, transliterated from Skt. *arhat*, which means "one who is free from craving and rebirth."
17. *Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō*, XVI (*Taishō*, XVI, 352b–353c).

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 10), *Hokke kenki* (III, 105), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 26).
2. Present Sōraku-gun, Kyoto-fu 京都府相樂郡.

unknown. He copied the *Hoke-kyō* in order to repay the four kinds of blessing[3] and sent his messengers to the four quarters in search of sandalwood[4] to make a container for the scrolls of the scripture.[5] Eventually he bought it in the capital of Nara for one hundred *kan*[6] and asked a craftsman to measure and make a container. When he tried to put the scrolls in it, he found he could not do so because the chest was too short. He was terribly disappointed, for he did not see how he could acquire such materials again. Therefore he made a vow, held a service as directed in the scripture, invited monks to confess offenses for three weeks, and wailing, he pleaded, "Please let me find such wood again."

After two weeks he tried to put the scrolls in the chest and found that it had stretched a little of its own accord though it was still a little shorter than the scrolls. The man tried harder to discipline himself[7] and to repent, and, at the end of the third week, he could put the scrolls in the chest. Wondering whether the scrolls had become shorter or the chest larger, he compared them with the original and found they were the same length. Indeed, we know that this was a test of the vower's supreme faith and a sign of the miraculous power of the Mahayana scripture. There can be no doubt about it.

7

On a Wise Man Who Abused an Incarnated Sage out of Envy, Visited the Palace of King Yama, and Experienced Suffering in Hell[1]

Saka Chikō[2] was a monk of Sukita-dera 鋤田寺[3] in Asukabe dis-

3. 四恩; see Chap. II(2)a, nn. 69, 70.

4. 白檀紫檀, literally, white sandalwood and purple sandalwood which is solid, lustrous, and fragrant. Brought to Japan by Buddhist monks, it was highly valued and used to make chests for scriptures, Buddhist images, altars, etc. It was rare and very expensive since it had to be imported.

5. 大乘 *daijō*; a Mahayana scripture, in this case the *Hoke-kyō*.

6. 貫; monetary unit consisting of 1,000 *mon* 文, coins.

7. 精進 *shōjin*, a translation of Skt. *vīrya;* the mind and deed to make the utmost effort to attain the path. In the popular understanding it means purifying oneself and abstaining from eating meat and drinking rice wine.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 3), *Hokke kenki* (I, 2), *Fusō ryakki* (II, Shōmu), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XI, 2), *Nihon ōjō gokurakuki*, etc. See Chap. II(2)c.

2. For Saka (or Shaku) 釋, see I.14, n. 2. Chikō (b. 709), an eminent monk of Gangō-ji and the Sanron School 三論宗 in Chi-tsang's tradition (see Chap. I(1)c, n. 66), is also known for his faith in the pure land. See Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon Jōdokyō seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 48–58.

3. Unidentified.

trict, Kawachi province 河內國安宿郡,[4] his native land. His secular name was Sukita no muraji,[5] later changed to Kami no suguri 上村主.[6] (His mother was of the Asukabe-no-miyatsuko 飛鳥部造[7] family.) He was innately intelligent, and no one excelled him in knowledge. He wrote commentaries on the *Urabon-kyō* 盂蘭盆經,[8] *Dai hannya-kyō* 大般若經,[9] *Shin hannya-gyō* 心般若經,[10] and other works and lectured on Buddhist teachings[11] to many students.

There was a monk whose name was Gyōgi.[12] His secular name had been Koshi no fuhito 越史,[13] and he came from Kubiki district, Echigo province 越後國頸城郡.[14] His mother was of the Hachita no kusushi 蜂田藥師[15] in Ōtori district, Izumi province 和泉國大鳥郡.[16] He renounced lay life, attained freedom from desire, and spread dharma to guide the deluded masses. He was innately intelligent, endowed with inborn wisdom. On the outside he had the form of a monk,[17] but within were hidden the deeds of a bodhisattva. Emperor Shōmu was so impressed with his virtue that he had great respect for and belief in Gyōgi. In reverence and praise his contemporaries called him Bodhisattva. In the eleventh month, in the winter of the first year of the monkey, the sixteenth year of the Tenpyō era, Gyōgi was appointed great chief executive.[18] At this, Dharma Master Chikō became envious and abused him, saying, "I am a wise man, and Gyōgi is a mere novice. Why does the emperor admire and use him without any regard for my wisdom?" Being dissatisfied with this situation,

4. Present Minami-kawachi-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府南河內郡.

5. 鋤田連; see *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 10:4:12). Aston, "Nihongi," II, 351. The title of *muraji* was conferred on Sukita no Kurahito 次田倉人 in 681.

6. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, the Kami-no-suguri family immigrated from Korea. *Suguri* 村主 is a title given to an immigrant family.

7. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* says that the family was descended from a king of Paekche.

8. *Urabon-kyō sho* (or *jitsugi*) 盂蘭盆經疏 (述義), no longer extant.

9. *Dai hannya-kyō sho* 大般若經疏 (recorded in the *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄, but extinct).

10. *Hannya shin-gyō jitsugi* 般若心經述義 (*Taishō*, LVII, No. 2202).

11. 佛教 *Bukkyō*.

12. Or Gyōki (668–749); see Chap. I(1)d, nn. 100, 101, 102, 103.

13. 高志; see *Shoku Nihongi* (Wadō 1:3:13; Yōrō 7:1:10; Tenpyō jingo 2:12:4, 4:30). This is a branch of the Fumi family 書(文)氏 who descended from Wani 王仁 (see I.Preface, n. 4). 越 is never found in other documents about Gyōgi.

14. Present Nishi-kubiki-gun, Nīgata-ken 新潟縣西頸城郡. The *Shoku Nihongi* gives Kawachi as his native place. According to Inoue Kaoru, Kyōkai made a mistake by writing his family name 越 instead of 高志, inferring that Gyōgi had come from Echigo 越後. (See his *Gyōki*, 12).

15. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, his mother's family descended from immigrants from Paekche who may have specialized in medicine.

16. Present Senboku-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府泉北郡 and Sakai-shi 堺市.

17. 聲聞 *shōmon*, a translation of Skt. *śrāvaka*, which means "one who is enlightened by hearing Buddha's teachings." See I. Preface, n. 16. This sentence is adapted from the *Myōhōrenge-kyō* (*Taishō*, IX, 28a): 內秘菩薩行 外現是聲聞. See Katō, *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 205.

18. 大僧正 *daisōjō*, the highest clerical rank (see Chap. I(1)d). This date is incorrect, for Gyōgi was made great chief executive in 745, not 744. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XVI (Tenpyō 17:1:21).

he retired to Sukita-dera. Before long, he developed a stomach disease. After a month, when he was dying, he said to his disciples, "When I pass away, do not cremate my corpse, but let it remain for nine days.[19] If a student comes to see me, tell him I have some errands to do here and there, and offer him meals. Do not let others know of my death." Faithful to their master's words, the disciples closed the door of their master's room so as not to let others discover what had happened and, grieving secretly, they stood guard at the door day and night, waiting only for the promised day. If a student came to see the master, they answered as they had been told, asked him to stay, and provided him with food and shelter.

As for the Venerable Chikō, two messengers came from King Yama to take him to his land. They headed west, and Chikō saw a golden pavilion in front of them. He asked them, "What palace is that?" In reply, they said, "You are a famous wise man in the land of Ashihara 葦原國,[20] how is it you do not know? You should know that that is the palace where Bodhisattva Gyōgi will be born."

On both sides of the gate there were two divine men[21] in armor with red headbands.[22] The messengers knelt and said to them, "Here he is." They asked, "Are you the Venerable Chikō in the land of Toyoashihara no mizuho 豐葦原瑞穗國?"[23] Chikō replied, "Yes, I am." Then they pointed north, saying, "Go along this way." So he went, accompanied by the messengers, and his body and face were scorched with a terrible heat though he saw neither fire nor sun. In spite of his suffering from the heat, he had a desire to move forward. When he asked, "Why is it so hot?" they answered, "The heat of hell is broiling you."

In front of them stood an extremely hot iron pillar. The messengers told him to embrace it. When Chikō did so, all his flesh broke out in sores until only his bones were left. After three days the messengers brushed the pillar with a worn broom, saying, "Let him live, let him live," and he regained the same body as before.

Again they started northward, and there was a copper pillar hotter than the former one. Although he knew it was extremely hot, again led by evil, he wanted to embrace it, and he was told to do so. When he did, his body broke out in sores. After three days, when the mes-

19. The text has 九日一日, but 一日 makes no sense in this context.

20. Or Toyoashihara no mizuho no kuni, a complimentary name for Japan, which means the "Land of the Plentiful Reed Plain and of the Fresh Rice-ears." Cf. Philippi, *Kojiki*, 137–138.

21. 神人 *shinjin*, those who look like kami, or who serve kami.

22. See I.1, n. 6.

23. *Ibid.*, n. 20.

sengers said, "Let him live, let him live," and brushed the pillar as before; he regained his former body.

Then they went further to the north. There was such a hazy scorching heat that birds fell from the air. He asked "Where am I?" and the answer was, "This is the Hell of Abi 阿鼻地獄[24] where you will be broiled." On arrival he was caught and broiled. Only when he heard temple bells ringing did the heat cool and allow him a rest. After three days, when the messengers knocked at the gate of hell saying, "Let him live, let him live," he became alive again.

They led him to the gate of the golden pavilion, and said as before, "Here he is." The two men at the gate said to him, "The reason you were called here is that you abused Bodhisattva Gyōgi in the land of Ashihara. You were called here to atone for your sin. The Bodhisattva will be born in this palace after he finishes his life in that land. We are waiting for him, for his arrival is close at hand. Be sure not to eat anything at this place. Go back as quickly as possible." He returned eastward with the messengers and realized that nine days had passed since his death.

When he awoke, he called his disciples. Hearing their master calling, they came to see him, delighted to the point of tears. Chikō, however, was greatly grieved and told his disciples about hell. In great awe he looked for a chance to confess that he had been envious of the Most Venerable Gyōgi.

In the meantime Bodhisattva Gyōgi had bridges made, canals dug, and wharfs built in Naniwa. Hardly had Chikō recovered from exhaustion when he went to see Bodhisattva Gyōgi. At first sight the latter perceived by divine omniscience what the former had in his mind, and out of mercy Gyōgi said to him, "I wonder why we could not see each other before." Chikō confessed his sin, saying, "I was once so envious of you that I remarked, 'I am not only a great monk of a long virtuous life, but I am also endowed with natural wisdom while Gyōgi is a man of superficial knowledge and not ordained. Why does the emperor admire Gyōgi and ignore me?' Because of this sin of my mouth I was called to King Yama to embrace the iron and copper pillars. For nine days I stayed in his land to atone for my sin of abuse. I am confessing this to you, for I am afraid other sins will affect

24. Or 無間地獄. In the Buddhist cosmology hell is divided into eight divisions, that is, Hell of Repetition 等活地獄, Hell of the Black Rope 黑繩地獄, Hell of Assembly (All Living Beings) 衆合地獄, Hell of Lamentations 叫喚地獄, Hell of Great Lamentations 大叫喚地獄, Hell of Scorching Heat 焦熱地獄, Hell of Great Scorching Heat 大焦熱地獄, and Hell of No-interval 無間地獄. For a detailed description of this hell, see A. K. Reischauer, "Genshin's Ojo Yoshu," 40–46.

my future life. I beseech you to help me become free from sins." The Most Venerable Gyōgi, looking compassionate, kept silent. Then Chikō said to him, "I saw a palace built of gold where you will be born." On hearing this, Gyōgi said, "What a delight! What an honor!"

Indeed we learn that the mouth is a gate to invite calamities which hurt us, and the tongue is a sharp axe to chop up the good. Thus the *Fushigikō bosatsu-kyō* 不思議光菩薩經[25] has a passage which refers to this: "Bodhisattva Nyūzai 饒財菩薩 is destined for ninety-one *kalpa*[26] to fall into the wombs of lewd women, to be deserted after birth, and to be eaten by foxes and wolves because he talked about the faults of Bodhisattva Kenten 賢天菩薩."

After that time the Venerable Chikō had faith in Bodhisattva Gyōgi, knowing that the latter was really a sage.[27] On the second day of the second month in the spring of the sixth year of the ox, the twenty-first year of the Tenpyō era, Bodhisattva Gyōgi realized that his life here was completed and left his clerical form on Mt. Ikoma 生馬山,[28] while his compassionate spirit moved on to the golden palace. The Most Venerable Chikō, on the other hand, proclaimed Buddhist teachings and guided the people from illusion to righteousness. In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe 白壁天皇,[29] this storehouse of wisdom left the land of Japan, and nobody knows where his extraordinary spirit has gone.

8

On the Immediate Reward of Salvaging the Lives of a Crab and a Frog and Setting Them Free[1]

Okisome no omi Taime 置染臣鯛女 was the daughter of a nun named Hōni 法邇,[2] the presiding officer[3] of the nunnery of Tomi 富尼寺[4] in the capital of Nara. She was so devoted in her pursuit of the path

25. Quoted in the *Bonmō-kyō koshakki* (*Taishō*, XL, 706b).
26. 劫 *kō*, a Hindu Buddhist cosmological unit of time.
27. 聖人 *shōnin*; see Chap II(2)c.
28. Gyōgi was cremated on the eastern side of Mt. Ikoma on the border of Yamato and Kawachi, according to his wishes.
29. Emperor Kōnin 光仁 (709–781).

1. One of the "grateful animal" tales, similar to II.12. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 13).
2. Unknown.
3. 上座 : see Chap. I(1)d, n. 84.
4. Or 隆福尼院; it was located at present Nara-shi 奈良市. Although Ekisai identifies it with Ryūfuku-ji 隆福寺, Fukuyama maintains that they are different temples founded by Gyōgi, See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 266–267.

of Buddha that she preserved her chastity. She used to collect herbs every day and serve them to the Most Venerable Gyōgi.

One day she went to the mountain to collect herbs and saw a large snake swallowing a big frog. She entreated the snake, "Please set the frog free for my sake." But the snake would not. She entreated again, saying, "I will become your wife if you do me the favor of letting the frog go." On hearing that, the large snake raised its head high to see her face and disgorged the frog. Whereupon she said to the snake, "Come to me in seven days."

On the appointed day, she hid herself in the house with all the openings closed. The snake came as expected and knocked on the wall with its tail. The next morning, terrified, she went to her master, who lived at the mountain temple of Ikoma.[5] He said to her, "You cannot break your promise. Only be strict in observing the precepts." Therefore, she reaffirmed her faith in the Three Treasures and her acceptance of the five precepts,[6] and returned home.

On the way she met a strange old man with a big crab. She said, "Who are you, old man? Will you please set the crab free for me?" He answered, "I am Edoi no Nimaro 畫間邇麻呂 from Uhara district, Settsu province 攝津國兎原郡.[7] At the age of seventy-eight I had neither sons to depend upon nor the means of making a living. In Naniwa I happened to find this crab. I cannot give it to you, for I have promised it to someone." She took off her robe, begging him to sell her the crab in exchange for her robe, but he would not listen. She then took off her skirt to add to its price, and he finally agreed to her offer. Thereupon, she brought the crab back home[8] and invited the Most Venerable Gyōgi to hold a service for it, setting it free with a prayer.[9] Impressed with her deed, the master exclaimed, "How noble! How good!"

That evening the snake came back again, climbed to the roof, and dropped into the house by pulling off part of the thatched roof. The terrified girl heard something jumping and flapping around in her

5. Ikoma-yamadera 生馬山寺 or Chikurin-ji 竹林寺, at present Arisato in Ikoma-chō, Ikoma-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣生駒郡生駒町有里, the site of Gyōgi's tomb.

6. When a man becomes a Buddhist, he professes his faith in the Three Treasures and observes the five precepts, namely, no killing, no stealing, no adultery, no lying, and no drinking. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 88.

7. Present Muko-gun, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣武庫郡.

8. The *Sanbō ekotoba* gives a different reading: ". . . she went back to the temple with the crab . . . ," which makes more sense than going back home and inviting Gyōgi to her home.

9. When a devotee buys and frees captive fish or birds, he usually invites a Buddhist monk to perform proper rites (放生會 *hōjō-e*). This practice was regarded as a deed of great merit and observed in Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines in Japan. See I.7, n. 12. For 咒願 prayer, see III.38, n. 35.

bed, and the next morning she found a big crab and a large snake that had been chopped into pieces. Then she realized that the crab she had liberated had come to her rescue out of gratitude. This was also due to the virtue gained by keeping the precepts. Although she wanted to unravel the mystery and tried to identify the old man, she could not find him. It was evident he was an incarnation of Buddha. This is a miraculous event.

9

On Being Born in the Form of an Ox and Made to Work for Usurping the Properties of the Temple of One's Own Dedication[1]

Ōtomo no Akamaro 大伴赤麻呂[2] was the governor of Tama district, Musashi province 武藏國多磨郡.[3] He died on the nineteenth of the tenth month, in the first year of the Tenpyō shōhō era,[4] and was reborn as a black-spotted calf on the seventh of the fifth month in the second year of the same era, with an inscription on its skin.[5] It could be made out as follows:

"Akamaro dedicated the temple he had built, took liberties with the properties of the temple, and died without paying for them. He was born as an ox to atone for this."

Both his family and friends were led to reflect on themselves and were extremely horrified. They realized how terrible it was to commit such a sin which was bound to be accompanied by retribution. On the first of the sixth month in the same year, this fact was made public for they thought that such an event should be recorded as an example for posterity.[6]

I hope that even those who have nothing of which to repent will read this story, set right their minds, and practice good. Even if you suffer from hunger and drink hot molten copper, never touch the properties of a temple. There is an old saying, "Honeydew in the

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 21).
2. Unknown, but there were a number of Ōtomo families in Musashi.
3. See II.3, n. 3.
4. 749.
5. Probably black spots that looked like an inscription.
6. According to Torao Toshiya, the date falls on the day when Akamaro's family and friends offered the account of this event to the temple. See *Nihon ryōiki* (*NBKT*, 70), 205.

present is an iron ball in the future."[7] Indeed, we learn that the law of karmic causation never fails. We should be ever mindful of that and behave ourselves. Thus the *Daijik-kyō*[8] says: "Those who steal from the samgha commit a sin graver than the five sins . . . ."[9]

10

On the Death Penalty for Constantly Boiling and Eating Birds' Eggs[1]

In the village of Shimoanashi, Izumi district, Izumi province 和泉國和泉郡下痛脚村,[2] there was a youth[3] whose name is unknown. Innately evil, he did not believe in the law of karmic causation and used to hunt birds' eggs to boil and eat.

In the third month in the spring of the first year of the horse, the sixth year of the Tenpyō shōhō era, a strange soldier came to him and said, "I was sent to get you by a provincial official."[4] He had a plate four feet long[5] fastened to his waist. So they went off together, and, when they came to the village of Yamatae in Hitada district 纔郡山直里,[6] they made their way into a field covered with several acres of wheat two feet tall. The youth saw the field all aflame and it was too full of embers for him to put his feet down. Running about in the field, he wailed, "It's hot, it's hot."

It happened that a villager was collecting firewood on the hill. As he saw the boy running and falling down and heard his wailing, he came down from the hill and tried to stop him, but the boy resisted. Nonetheless, the villager tried hard to catch the boy until he was able to pull him out of the enclosure. The boy fell to the ground without a word.

7. See I.30, n. 22.
8. *Daihōdō daijik-kyō* (*Taishō*, XIII, No. 397).
9. This quotation is the preceding line of the quotation in I.20, n. 12.

1. Cf. *Myōhōki* (III, On Emperor Wu of the Chou dynasty 周武帝, and on a boy), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (IX, 24; XX, 30). This story is based on the folk etymology of the local name Anashi 痛脚, which literally means "sore legs," dressed in the Buddhist clothing of karmic retribution.
2. Present Izumi-ōtsu-shi, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府和泉大津市.
3. 中男 *chūnan*, a boy between the ages of seventeen and twenty (*Yōrō-ryō*, "Ko-ryō," Article 6); after 757, between ages eighteen and twenty-one (*Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō hōji 1:4:4).
4. 國司 *kuni no tsukasa*.
5. 札 *funda*, a writ of summons on a wooden plate.
6. In present Kishiwada-shi, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府岸和田市.

After a while he woke up and groaned in pain, saying, "Oh, my sore feet!" The villager asked him, "Why did you behave like that?" He replied, "A soldier came to take me and forced me to step on embers so hot that I felt as if my feet had been boiled. Looking around, I found myself surrounded by mountains of fire without any way out and so I was crying and running about." Hearing this, the villager rolled up the boy's pants and looked at his legs. The flesh was all gone and nothing was left but the bones. He died the next day.

Now we are sure of the existence of hell in this world. We should believe in the law of karmic retribution. We should not behave like a crow which loves its own chicks and eats others. Without compassion man is just like a crow. The *Nehan-gyō* 涅槃經[7] says: "Though there is a distinction in respectability between man and animal, they share the fact that they cherish life and take death gravely . . . ." The *Zen'aku inga-kyō* 善惡因果經[8] contains a passage which gets right to the point: "The one who roasts and boils chickens in this life will fall into the Hell of the River of Ashes[9] after death."

II

On the Penalty of a Fatal Disease for Abusing a Monk and Committing a Lustful Deed[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, nuns of Saya-dera 狭屋寺[2] in Kuwahara, Ito district, Kii province 紀伊國伊刀郡桑原, vowed to hold a service and invited a monk of Yakushi-ji[3] on the West Side of Nara, Dharma Master Daie 題惠 (popularly called Dharma Master Yosami 依網, for his secular name was Yosami no muraji),[4] to perform the rite of repentance[5] devoted to the Eleven-headed Kannon 十一面觀音.[6]

It happened that a wicked man lived in that village. His surname

7. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XX (*Taishō*, XII, 484b); see Chap. II(2)a, n. 65.
8. *Zen'aku inga-kyō* (*Taishō*, LXXXV, 1381). See Chap. II(1)c, n. 61.
9. 灰河地獄 Kega-jigoku, one of the sixteen subhells that belong to the eight Hells of Heat (see II.7, n. 24), in which scorching ashes flow.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 38).
2. A nunnery which once existed at present Saya, Katsuragi-chō, Ito-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣伊都郡葛城町佐野.
3. See Editor's Preface, n. 4; also Chap. I(1)c.
4. The parenthesis is inserted by Kyōkai. Although nothing is known of Daie, the *Shinsen shōjiroku* cites Yosami as a family descended from kami in the capital or an immigrant family in Kawachi.
5. See Chap. II(1)a, nn. 5, 6.
6. See Chap. II(3)b.

was Fumi no imiki 文忌寸[7] (his popular name was Ueda no Saburō 上田三郎).[8] He was evil by nature and had no faith in the Three Treasures. The wife of this wicked man was a daughter of Kamitsuke no kimi Ōhashi 上毛野公大椅.[9] She observed the eight precepts for one day and one night,[10] and went to the temple to participate in the rite of repentance in the congregation. When her husband came home, he could not find her. Having asked where she was, he heard his servant[11] say, "She has gone for the rite of repentance." At this he became angry and immediately went to the temple to bring his wife back. The officiating monk[12] saw him and tried to enlighten him, preaching the Buddhist doctrine. However, he would not listen to the monk, saying, "None of your nonsense! You vulgar monk, you seduced my wife! Watch out or you'll get your head smashed!" His vile speech cannot be described in detail. He called his wife to go home with him, and on their return he violated her. Suddenly an ant bit his penis, and he died in acute pain.

He brought on his own death, immediate retribution, since he was so evil minded as to insult the monk unreservedly and not to refrain from wicked lust.

Even if you have a hundred tongues in your mouth and utter a thousand words, never speak ill of monks. Otherwise you will incur immediate penalties.

12

On the Immediate Reward of Being Saved by Crabs for Saving the Lives of Crabs and a Frog[1]

In Kii district, Yamashiro province 山背國紀伊郡,[2] there lived a woman whose name is unknown. She was born with a compassionate

7. For the Fumi family, see II.7, n. 13. The title of *imiki* was conferred on the Fumi family in 685. See *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 14:6:20); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 369–370.

8. The parenthesis by Kyōkai.

9. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* cites this family as being native Japanese.

10. 八齋戒 *hachi-saikai*; see I.24, n. 3.

11. 家人 *kenin*, domestic servants whose status was hereditary and who were allowed their own dwellings. They differ from slaves who could be bought and sold. *Ryō no gige*, "Ko-ryō," Articles 35, 40; Sansom, "Early Japanese Laws," Part Two, 145-147.

12. 導師 *dōshi*, Dharma Master Daie in this case.

1. See II.8, which shows the same plot of "the grateful animal" repaying a kindness. Cf. D. L. Philippi, "Ancient Tales of Supernatural Marriage," *Today's Japan*, V (No. 3, March-April, 1960), 19–23. Cf. *Hokke kenki* (III, 123), *Genkō shakusho* (XXVIII, 2), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 16), *Kokon chomonshū* (XX), etc.

2. Present Kyoto-fu.

heart, and she believed in the law of karmic causation so she never took life, observing the five precepts[3] and the ten virtues.[4]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, young cowherds in her village caught eight crabs in a mountain brook and were about to roast and eat them. She saw this and begged them, "Will you please be good enough to give them to me?" They would not listen to her, but said, "We will roast and eat them." Repeating her wholehearted entreaty, she removed her robe to pay for the crabs. Eventually they gave the crabs to her. She invited a *dhyāna* master[5] to give a blessing in releasing them.

Afterward she was in the mountain and saw a large snake swallowing a big toad. She implored the large snake, "Please set this frog free for my sake, and I will give you many offerings."[6] The snake did not respond. Then, she collected more offerings and prayed, saying, "I will consecrate you as a kami. Please give it to me." Still without answering, the snake continued to swallow the toad. Again she pleaded, "I will become your wife in exchange for this toad. I implore you to release it to me." Raising its head high, the snake listened and stared at her face, then disgorged the toad. The woman made a promise to the snake, saying, "Come to me in seven days."

She told her parents of the whole affair in detail. They lamented, saying, "Why on earth did you, our only child, make such a promise you cannot fulfill?"

At that time the Most Venerable Gyōgi was staying at Fukaosa-dera 深長寺[7] in Kii district. She went and told him what had happened. When he heard her story, he said, "What an unfathomable story! Just keep a steadfast faith in the Three Treasures." With these instructions she went home, and, on the evening of the appointed day, she tightly closed the house, prepared herself for the ordeal, and made various vows with renewed faith in the Three Treasures. The snake came, crawled round and round the house, knocked on the walls with its tail, climbed onto the top of the roof, tore a hole in the thatch of the roof with its fangs, and dropped in front of her. She merely heard the noise of scuffling, as if there was jumping and biting. The next morning she found the eight crabs assembled and the snake cut to

3. 五戒 *gokai;* see II.8, n. 6.

4. 十善 *jūzen* (Skt. *daśakuśala*); they are: not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to use immoral language, not to slander, not to equivocate, not to covet, not to give way to anger, and not to hold false views. Tradition says that the reward for observing these precepts is rebirth in one of the heavens or among men, depending on the degree of observance.

5. 義禪師 Gi-zenji; see I.8, n. 5.

6. 幣帛 *mitegura;* see Chap. II(1)a, n. 18.

7. Or 深草寺, unidentified.

shreds by them. She then learned that the released crabs had come to repay her kindness to them.

Even an insect which has no means of attaining enlightenment returns a favor. How can a man ever forget kindness he has received? From this time on, people in Yamashiro province have honored big crabs in the mountain streams and, if they were caught, set them free in order to do good.[8]

13

On Lustful Love for the Image of Kichijō-tennyo Which Responded with an Extraordinary Sign[1]

In a mountain temple of Chinu, Izumi district, Izumi province 和泉國泉郡血渟,[2] there was a clay image of Kichijō-tennyo 吉祥天女.[3] In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, a lay brother[4] of Shinano province 信濃國[5] came to live in the temple. Attracted to the female image, he felt desire, fell in love with it, and prayed six times a day,[6] saying, "Please give me a beautiful woman like you."

Once he dreamed of lying with the female deity and the next morning discovered a stain on the skirt of the image. Seeing this, he repented, saying, "I prayed to you to give me a woman like yourself, but what a sacrifice you made to give yourself to me." He was too ashamed to tell others of the event. One disciple, however, heard about it in secret. When he was scolded and expelled from the temple because of disrespect for his teacher, he spoke ill of his teacher and revealed the whole affair. Villagers went to the temple to verify the rumor, and they discovered the stain on the statue. The lay brother could not deceive them and described in detail what had happened.

Indeed, we know that deep faith never fails to gain response. To this effect the *Nehan-gyō* 涅槃經[7] says: "A lewd man feels desire even for a woman in a picture."

8. See Chap. II(2)a, n. 73, for the Kaniman-ji cycle and the grateful crabs.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 45).
2. See II.2, n. 3.
3. Or Kichijō-(Kisshō-)ten, a Hindu female deity adopted into the assembly of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. See Chap. II(1)a, n. 6.
4. 優婆塞; see Chap. I(1)d, n. 91.
5. Present Nagano-ken 長野縣.
6. The twenty-four hours are divided into six units, four hours each, and a service is held in each unit; therefore, six times a day.
7. 多淫之人畫女生欲, unlocated in the *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*.

14

On the Immediate Reward of the Destitute Princess' Devotion to the Image of Kichijō-tennyo[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, twenty-three members of the imperial family[2] agreed to give banquets and provide entertainment by turn. There was a poor princess[3] among them. She had no means to give a banquet when the rest of the group had already done so. Being ashamed of her poverty, the effect of her past deeds, she went to Hatori-dō on the East Side of Nara 諾樂左京服部堂[4] to worship the image of Kichijō-tennyo.[5] In tears she said, "As I planted the seed of poverty in my former existence, I reap the fruit now. I went to the banquets, and, after consuming the food of others, I have no means to invite them in return. I implore you to bring me a fortune."

At that moment her child ran to her in haste and said, "A great amount of food has been sent from the former capital."[6] She ran out and found her former wet nurse saying, "I heard you had received guests and brought you food." The food and drinks were incredibly delicious and fragrant. Nothing was missing. The metal tableware[7] was carried by thirty men.

All the princes invited to the banquet came and were delighted. There was twice as much food as for the preceding banquets, and she was praised as a rich princess. Each one said, "If she were poor, how could she prepare such an extravagant banquet? It is better than the one I made before." The songs and dances were as extraordinary as the heavenly music.[8] Some gave away their robes, some their skirts, and others coins, silk, cloth, cotton, etc. The princess, in her joy, gave the robes to her wet nurse to wear, but later, when she went to the temple to worship the sacred image, she found the statue wearing

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 46). A similar story is found in II.34.
2. 王宗 or 王衆.
3. 女王 *nyoō* or *ōkimi*.
4. Kichijō-tennyo-dō was in Kichijōji-machi, Nara 奈良吉祥寺町. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 304–307.
5. See Chap. II(1)d, n. 91.
6. 故京; see I.1, n. 15.
7. Rare and expensive in those days.
8. 釣天樂 *Kinten no gaku;* the music played at the palace of Shang-ti 上帝, Supreme Lord, located in the center of heaven.

them. Filled with doubt, she went to inquire of her former wet nurse who answered, "I do not know anything about your banquet."

Now it was evident that the bodhisattva[9] had helped the princess out of sympathy. She acquired a fortune and henceforth escaped poverty. This is an unusual event.

15

On the Reward of Copying the Hoke-kyō *and Holding a Service for a Mother in Revealing the Cause of Her Rebirth as a Cow*[1]

Takahashi no muraji Azumabito 高橋連東人[2] was a very wealthy man in the village of Hamishiro, Yamada district, Iga province 伊賀國山田郡噉代里.[3] He copied the *Hoke-kyō* for his mother, making a vow, saying, "I want to invite a monk related to my vow by karma to hold a service for her salvation."[4] When he finished preparing a place for the service on the following day, he called a servant and said, "The first monk you happen to meet I will make the officiating monk. Don't overlook any monk who seems to be able to perform esoteric rites[5] and bring him to me."

The servant went first, in accord with his master's request, to the village of Mitani 御谷 in the same district.[6] There he found a mendicant[7] lying in the road, drunk, with a bag for a begging bowl at his elbow. His name is not known. He was sleeping so soundly that some mischievous person had shaved his head and hung a rope around him

9. Kichijō-tennyo is not exactly a bodhisattva because of its origin in the Hindu tradition, but it is one of Kannon's Tantric variations according to the *Asaba-shō* 阿娑縛抄, VI (*DBZ*, 40, 2087). Kyōkai, as well as lay devotees, perceived it as one of the bodhisattvas that was always ready to save them. Myōken is also identified with Kichijō-tennyo.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 11), *Hokke kenki* (III, 106), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 25). A similar story is found in I.10.
2. Takahashi is the name of a native family, known to have served the Imperial Table Office (内膳司 *Naizenshi*).
3. Present Ayama-gun, Mie-ken 三重縣阿山郡.
4. 濟度 *saido*, to guide people across the sea of samsara and over to the other shore, that is, to salvation.
5. 修法 *shuhō, suhō*, or *zuhō*.
6. Unidentified.
7. 乞者.

like a surplice without waking him. Seeing him, the servant woke him with a greeting and asked him to visit his master.

On his arrival, the master greeted him with respect and faith and kept him inside the house for a day and a night, during which time he made a clerical robe in haste and offered it to the mendicant. The mendicant asked "Why have you treated me like this?" and the host replied, "I would like to ask you to expound the *Hoke-kyō*." Then the mendicant said, "I have no learning. I have simply stayed alive by reciting the *Hannya dharani*[8] and begging food." The host, however, repeated his entreaty. The mendicant thought to himself that the best way for him was a secret escape. Knowing that the mendicant intended to run away, the host had him watched.

That night, the mendicant had a dream. A red cow came to him, saying, "I am the mother of the master of this household. Among his cattle there is a red cow, whose calf is none other than I. Once in my former life, I stole property from my son, and now I am atoning for it in the form of a cow. I have confided this to you with respect and sincerity since you are going to preach on the Mahayana scripture[9] for me tomorrow. If you feel any doubt about my story, please prepare a seat at the back of the hall where you will preach tomorrow. You will find me seated there."

Awaking from this startling dream, the mendicant was very curious. The next morning he went up to the lecturer's seat, saying, "I am ignorant of Buddhist teachings. I came to take this seat in compliance with my host's entreaty. But I have one thing to tell you, which is a revelation that came to me in a dream." Then he told about the dream in detail. Whereupon the host stood up, prepared a seat, and called the cow, which took the seat and lay down. In sorrowful tears he said, "Indeed this is my mother! I had no idea! Now I will forgive her." The cow heard his words and sighed. When the service ended, the cow died suddenly. All the congregation cried so bitterly that there were echoes of weeping in the hall and in the garden. Nothing has ever been so miraculous as this. The son continued to accumulate merits for his mother.

We know that this miraculous event took place as a consequence of the son's extreme faith born of his feeling for his mother, and the mendicant's merits accumulated from reciting the divine dharani.

8. The dharani in the *Hannya shin-gyō*.
9. 大乗, in this case *Hoke-kyō*.

16

On the Immediate Retribution of Good and Evil Because of Giving No Alms and Freeing Living Beings[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, there lived a wealthy man in the village of Sakata, Kagawa district, Sanuki province 讃岐國香川郡坂田里.[2] He and his wife had the same surname Aya no kimi綾君 .[3] Next door to them lived an old widow and an old widower[4] without any family. They were extremely poor, having no clothes to wear nor food to eat. They used to come to the Aya no kimi's home to beg food at every meal. Once, out of curiosity, the husband got up secretly late at night, boiled rice, and fed his family,[5] but even then they appeared. All the family wondered about them.

The mistress said to her husband, "This man and woman are too old to work. I should like to have them in our household just for mercy's sake." Then he said, "If you want to feed them, give them some of your portion. The most meritorious deed of all is to save others by sacrificing one's own flesh. What I recommend to you will bring forth merit."

According to the master's suggestion, people in the household fed the old couple with part of their own portions. Among the household there was one servant who disliked the couple in spite of the master's words, however. Gradually other servants learned to dislike them and did not give them food. The mistress, therefore, fed them secretly from her portion. The troublesome servant falsely represented the matter to the master, saying, "Hungry and exhausted, we cannot work well in the field and are neglectful, for the mistress feeds the old ones by decreasing our portions." The mistress, however, kept them in food, even while the servant continued to slander her.

It happened that the ill-tempered servant went to sea to fish with a fisherman.[6] He saw ten oysters on the fishing rope, and he said to the

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 17).
2. Present Takamatsu-shi, Kagawa-ken 香川縣高松市.
3. *Aya*, a Japanese reading of 漢 Han; an immigrant family. See Aston, "Nihongi," I, 265.
4. 耆 *okina*, a man over sixty-six (*Ryō no gige*, "Koryō," Article 6) or sixty-five (*Shoku Nihongi*, XX, Tenpyō hōji 2:7:3), who was exempted from taxation.
5. 家口 *keku*, all members of the family; 口 is a numerary adjunct applied to men and animals.
6. The text appears to be corrupt at this point, for the subject of this sentence is the servant in the text, but it is likely that the master went out with the servant for fishing.

fisherman, "I would like to free these oysters." But the fisherman would not agree. Whereupon his companion pleaded earnestly, trying to convey Buddhist teachings to the fisherman, and argued, "Pious people build temples, so why do you object so much to freeing the oysters?" Eventually the fisherman yielded and said, "I want two and a half bushels[7] of rice in exchange for the ten oysters." Having paid the fisherman, he invited a monk to give a blessing and had the oysters returned to the sea.

One day the benefactor of the oysters went to the mountain with a servant to collect firewood.[8] He climbed a withered pine tree, fell from a branch, and died. His spirit, which possessed a diviner,[9] said, "Don't cremate me, but leave my corpse for seven days." In accord with this message, his corpse was carried from the mountain and placed outside, waiting for the appointed day.

On the seventh day he awoke and said to his family: "With five monks in front, and five lay brothers in the rear, I was going along a wide flat road as straight as a ruler. On both sides holy banners were raised, and a golden palace was in front. I asked them, 'What palace is this?' The lay brothers looked at each other, saying in whispers, 'This is the palace where your wife will be born. This palace was built as a reward for her merit of supporting the old ones. Do you know who we are?' I answered 'No.' Then, they revealed the fact, saying, 'You should know that the five monks and the five lay brothers are the ten oysters you paid for and set free.'

On either side of the palace gate stood a man with a horn on his forehead. They held up their swords ready to cut off my head, but the monks and lay brothers entreated them not to do so. Fragrant delicious food was served to both gatekeepers and all enjoyed the feast. During my seven days' stay inside I was so hungry and thirsty that my mouth was in flames. Then I was told, 'This is the penalty for your sin of disliking the old ones and not feeding them.' The monks and lay brothers escorted me back, and suddenly I awoke and found myself here."

After that the man gave alms as generously as the water moistens the land. The reward of saving living beings helps you, while the penalty of giving no alms returns to you in the form of hunger and thirst. We cannot help believing in the karmic retribution of good and evil.

7. Five *to* of rice; one *to* is 0.51 bushel. It is an exorbitant price for ten oysters.
8. In this story it is unclear whether the benefactor is the master or the servant.
9. 卜者 *kamnagi;* see Chap. II(3)a, n. 124.

17

On Bronze Kannon Images Which Showed an Extraordinary Sign in Their Transformation into the Form of a Heron[1]

In the nunnery[2] of Okamoto in the village of Ikaruga, Heguri district, Yamato province 大和國平群郡鵤岡本尼寺,[3] there were twelve bronze statues of Kannon. (In the reign of the empress at the Palace of Owarida, it was a residence for Prince Regent Kamitsu-miya 上宮皇太子,[4] who made a vow and turned it into a nunnery.) In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, six bronzes were stolen, and they were sought without success. After that, many days and months passed.

There was a small pond to the west of the stagehouse of Heguri 平群驛.[5] One summer in June, some herdsmen near the pond saw the tip of a stake above the water. There was a heron on it. Seeing the heron, they gathered pebbles and rocks, trying to hit it, but it did not fly away. Tired of throwing stones, they went into the pond to catch it. Hardly did they reach it, when it dived under the water. When they looked closely at the stake on which the heron had rested, they saw golden fingers. When the stake was pulled out of the water, the fingers turned out to be bronze Kannons. The pond was thus named "Pond of the Bodhisattva" because of the discovery, and the herdsmen told the whole affair to the people.

Eventually the rumor reached the nunnery. The nuns came to see the Kannons, which they identified as the stolen ones although the gilding had fallen off. Surrounding the bronzes, the grieving nuns said, "We have missed our sacred images day and night, and now we are fortunate to be reunited by chance. We wonder what offenses caused you, our venerable masters,[6] to be stolen?" Then they prepared a palanquin, enshrined the images, and returned them to the temple. Clergymen and laymen in the crowd said, "They must have been stolen by those who forged coins, but the thieves eventually abandoned them, not knowing how to make use of them."

It was evident that the heron was not a real bird, but an incarnated

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 13).
2. Identified as Hokki-ji 法起寺. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 41–50.
3. See I.4, n. 7.
4. See I.4.
5. Unlocated. For the stage, see I.30, n. 6.
6. 大師; honorific title for Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and eminent monks.

Kannon. There is no room for doubt. The *Nehan-gyō*[7] says: "The dharma-body always exists even after the death of Buddha." This is nothing but the lesson of the present story.

18

On the Immediate Penalty of Being Given a Twisted Mouth and Death for Speaking Ill of the Monk, Devotee of the Hoke-kyō[1]

In the Tenpyō era[2] there once lived a layman[3] in Sagaraka district, Yamashiro province,[4] whose name is unknown. At Koma-dera高麗寺[5] in the same district there was a monk named Eijō 榮常[6] who used to recite the *Hoke-kyō* all the time. It happened that the monk and the layman had been playing *go* 碁[7] for some time. Whenever the monk put down a stone, he said, "This is the Venerable Eijō's hand of *go*." The layman mocked and mimicked him, deliberately twisting his mouth and saying, "This is the Venerable Eijō's hand of *go*." He went on and on this way. Then, all of a sudden, the layman's mouth was distorted. In fear, he left the temple holding his chin with his hands. He had hardly gone any distance before he fell on his back and died immediately. Witnesses said, "Though he did not persecute a monk, mocking and mimicking got him a twisted mouth and sudden death. What, then, must the penalty be if one vengefully persecutes a monk?"

The *Hoke-kyō* gives a passage to this effect: "A wise monk and a foolish monk cannot be discussed in the same breath. Similarly, a long-haired monk and a wise, unshaved layman cannot be treated alike and served with the same dishes. If one dares to do so, he will swallow an iron ball which is heated on red-hot copper and charcoal, and fall into hell."[8]

7. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 148.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 28). Similar to I.19.
2. (729–749).
3. 白衣; see I.19, n. 5.
4. See II.6, n. 2.
5. Once existed at present Kamikoma, Yamashiro-chō, Sōraku-gun, Kyoto-fu 京都府相樂郡山城町上狛.
6. Otherwise unknown.
7. See I.19, n. 4.
8. Unlocated in the *Hoke-kyō*.

19

On the Visit to the Palace of King Yama by a Woman, Devotee of the Shin-gyō, *and the Following Extraordinary Event*[1]

Tokari no ubai 利苅優婆夷[2] came from Kawachi 河内 province. As her surname was Tokari no suguri 利苅村主,[3] she was called Tokari no ubai. With an innately pure heart she had faith in the Three Treasures[4] and used to recite the *Shin-gyō*[5] as a form of religious discipline. Her chanting was so beautiful that she was loved and appreciated by clergy and laity alike.

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, this lay sister died while asleep, a sudden death without suffering, and went to King Yama.[6] Seeing her, the king stood up, made a seat, and spread a mat [for her], saying, "I have heard that you are very good at reciting the *Shin-gyō*. I was longing to hear you, and this is why I have invited you here for a short visit. Will you please recite the scripture? I am listening." She did so, and the king, delighted, rose from his seat and knelt to pay his respects to her, saying, "How noble! The rumor was true."

When three days had passed, the king said to her, "Now it is time for you to go home." When she came out of the palace, there stood three men in yellow robes.[7] They were delighted to see her, saying, "We met you only once before. We have longed to see you since we have not met for so long. What good luck brought you here! Hurry on home, and we will see you without fail in the east market of the capital of Nara[8] three days from today." Then she left them, returned home, and awoke.

On the morning of the third day she decided to go to the east market of the city because of the promise, but though she made her way there and waited all day, the three men did not come. Only a humble man came into the market by the east gate to sell Buddhist scriptures. He displayed them, calling out, "Will anybody buy some

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 31).
2. The name Tokari may have originated with a local name in Kawachi province. *Ubai* is a transliteration of Skt. *upāsikā*, one who keeps the five precepts while remaining in lay status. The male counterpart is *ubasoku*.
3. *Suguri* is a title often conferred on immigrants.
4. 三寶 *sanbō*; see Chap. II(3)b.
5. *Hannya haramitsu shin-gyō* 般若波羅蜜心經; see Chap. II(1)a, n. 19.
6. 閻羅王; see Chap. II(1)c.
7. As it turns out later, they are the spirits of the scriptures she copied. Their yellow robes may signify scriptures which were written on yellow paper.
8. There was a market on each side of the capital.

scriptures?" Passing the sister, he went out of the city by the west gate. As she wanted to buy the scriptures, she sent for him to return, and, on opening them, she discovered that they were the two volumes of the *Bonmō-kyō* 梵網經[9] and the one volume of the *Shin-gyō* she had copied in the past. They had been stolen before the dedication ceremony, and she had looked for them unsuccessfully for many years. With forbearance and great joy in her heart, she asked the price of the man, whom she knew had stolen them, saying, "How much do you want?" He replied, "I want five hundred pieces[10] for each scroll." She bought them at this price.

It occurred to her that the three scrolls were the three men who had promised to meet her at the market. Thereupon she held a service to read these scriptures and deepened her faith in the law of causality. She recited the scriptures with even more devotion, never ceasing the recitation day and night.

How miraculous! Just as the *Nehan-gyō* says: "If a man does good deeds, his name will be noticed among heavenly beings; if he does evil deeds, his name will be recorded in hell."[11]

20

On the Mother Who Had a Bad Dream, with the Utmost Faith[1] Had a Scripture Recited, and Saved Her Daughter by an Extraordinary Sign[2]

In the village of Yamamura in Sou upper district, Yamato province 大和國添上郡山村里,[3] there lived an aged mother[4] whose name is unknown. She had a married daughter who bore two children. Her son-in-law was appointed provincial magistrate,[5] and he took his family to his post. Several years passed.

9. *Bonmō-kyō* (*Brahmajālasūtra*) (*Taishō*, XXIV, No. 1484).
10. 文 *mon*.
11. See I.27, nn. 9, 10.

1. 至誠心; one of the three minds (至誠心, 深心, 廻向發願心) which lead to rebirth in the pure land. The Chinese monk Shan-tao 善導 (613–681) says that by the utmost faith is meant the essential sincerity which generates the physical act of prostration, the oral deed of praising Buddha, and the mental deed of meditating on Buddha with concentration (see the *Nihon ryōiki*, ed. by Kasuga and Endō, 236, n. 2). See his *Ōjō raisan* (*Taishō*, XLVII, 1980); also, I.22, n. 10.
2. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II,12).
3. See I.10, n. 2.
4. 長母; in order to differentiate the mother from her daughter 長 is added to 母.
5. 縣主宰 *agata no mikotomochi*, or 国司 *kuni no tsukasa*.

Once the old mother, who had stayed in the home village to take care of the household, received an omen in a dream concerning her daughter. Surprised and fearful, she wanted to have a scripture recited for her daughter, but she was too poor to ask a monk to do it. As her mind was never free of worry for her daughter, she finally thought of taking off her robe and washing it to offer it to the monk for his service. Then another omen appeared in a dream. In even greater fear she took off her skirt, cleaned it, and, as she had done before, gave it as an offering to the monk for reciting a scripture.

Meanwhile her daughter was living in the official residence for a provincial magistrate at her husband's post. It happened that her children were playing in the court, while she herself was inside the back quarters. The two children saw seven monks seated on the roof reciting a scripture. They called to their mother, saying, "Mother, seven monks are chanting a scripture on the roof. Hurry! Come and see them!" The chanting sounded like bees humming together. Wondering at this, the mother had scarcely come out of the rear building when its wall collapsed. All of a sudden, the seven monks disappeared. Greatly terrified and marveling at this accident, she thought to herself that heaven and earth had saved her from being crushed. Later, however, she heard from her mother who had sent a messenger to tell her about the evil omens and the subsequent services for the recitation of scriptures. She was so impressed with her mother's report that she professed her faith in the Three Treasures with the greatest awe.

Thus we know that the whole sequence of events was generated by the power of reciting scriptures and the determination of the Three Treasures to protect us.

21

On the Clay Divine Image Which Showed an Extraordinary Sign by Emanating Light from Its Legs and Incurred an Immediate Reward[1]

On a hill east of the capital of Nara[2] there was a temple named Konsu 金鷲.[3] In that mountain temple lived a man who was popularly called

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 49), *Fusō ryakki* (Shō II, Shōmu), *Genkō shakusho* (XXVIII, Jizōshi), *Hōbutsu-shū* (V), *Kojidan* (III), etc. A famous story on the foundation of the original Tōdai-ji.

2. Present Kasugayama 春日山 area.

3. Or 金鐘寺 which was the old name of Hokke-dō, Tōdai-ji.

Konsu ubasoku[4] because he made his residence there. That temple has since become Tōdai-ji 東大寺.[5]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, before the establishment of the huge temple,[6] Konsu the Ascetic stayed there and lived a disciplined life. In the temple was enshrined a clay image of Shūkongōjin 執金剛神.[7] The ascetic never ceased to pray day and night, holding a rope tied to the legs of the image.[8]

It happened that light emanated from its legs and reached the imperial palace. In surprise and wonder, the emperor sent a messenger to discover its origin. The imperial messenger[9] traced the light back to the temple, where he found a lay brother prostrating himself before Buddha and confessing his offenses,[10] holding in his hand a rope tied to the legs of the divine image. The messenger went back immediately to report this to the emperor. The emperor sent for the ascetic, and asked, "What have you been praying for?" In reply he said, "I prayed that I might renounce the world and devote myself to the study of Buddhist teachings."[11] Therefore he was ordained[12] by an edict and adopted the name Konsu. The emperor admired his practice and made sufficient offerings to provide the four necessities.[13] People called him Bodhisattva Konsu, praising his discipline.

The image of Shūkongōjin which gave off the light still stands at the north door of Kensaku-dō 羂索堂[14] of Tōdai-ji.

The note says: How good is Konsu the Ascetic! He kindled a fire of faith in spring and made it flare up in the autumn. The light from the legs helped the fire to be recognized, and the emperor reverently revealed the sign of his faith in Buddha.[15] Indeed we learn from this story that no vow is made without obtaining a response.

4. Identified with Rōben 良辨 (689–773), who came from Ōmi province. Tradition says he was caught by an eagle and abandoned in front of Kasuga Shrine in Nara, where Giin 義淵 saved him and taught him the Hossō doctrines. In 733 Emperor Shōmu founded Konshō-ji for him, and after it was expanded into Tōdai-ji, he was in charge of the great temple. He became *sōjō* in 760. See I.9, n. 1, for the story of a child carried away by an eagle.

5. See Chap. I(1)c, for the construction of Tōdai-ji.

6. Its construction started in 747 and was completed in 749. Since the image of Lochana Buddha was dedicated in 752 (see I.Preface, n. 14), that is also taken as the year of the erection of Tōdai-ji.

7. Skt. Vajradhara, the guardian of dharma, originally a Vedic deity that was adopted in the Buddhist tradition; also an incarnation of Kannon.

8. This practice is called 綱引業 *tsunahiki-gyō* which became popular during the Heian period, particularly among those who aspired to rebirth in the pure land.

9. 勅信 *chokushin*.

10. 禮佛悔過 *raibutsu keka;* for *keka*, see Chap. II(1)a.

11. 佛法 *Buppō*.

12. 得度 *tokudo;* see Chap. I(1)d.

13. 四事 *shiji*, a shortened form of 四事供養 *shiji kuyō*, four kinds of offerings; shelter, clothing, food and drink, and flowers and incense.

14. Or 法華堂 Hokke-dō, 三月堂 Sangatsu-dō.

15. Refers to Emperor Shōmu.

22

On the Stolen Bronze Buddha Which Gave an Extraordinary Sign and Identified a Thief[1]

In some part of Hine district, Izumi province 和泉國日根郡,[2] near a highway, there lived a thief whose name is unknown. Evil-natured, he lived by robbery and had no faith in the law of karmic causation. He would steal metal from temples to make into strips and sell.

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, a Buddhist image of Jin'e-ji 盡惠寺[3] in that district was stolen by the robber. One day a man passed on horseback along the north side of the temple. He heard a voice crying, "Ouch! ouch!" The man on horseback, thinking someone was being hit, galloped forward in the direction of the voice, which faded out as he came closer. He stopped the horse to listen, but he heard nothing except the sound of metal being hammered. Therefore he passed on by the place. As he went further along, however, he heard the same cry. He could not bring himself to ride off; he returned but again he heard no cries, only the sound of hammering. Suspecting that there had been a murder or at least some evil scheme, he wandered about for a while and sent his attendant to peer secretly into the house. The attendant saw a man cutting off the limbs and chiseling the neck of a bronze Buddha that had been laid on its back.

On the spot he caught the man and asked him, "To which temple does this Buddha belong?" He said, "This is the Buddha of Jin'e-ji." At that, a messenger was sent to the temple to ask about the Buddha, and he learned that it had been stolen. The messenger reported the whole affair in detail. Both the monks and patrons of the temple came to the spot and, surrounding the broken Buddha, wailed, "How pitiful! How dreadful! What fault caused our great master[4] to suffer such a disaster? If the sacred image were at the temple, we would look up to it as our master. Since it is broken, what shall we revere as our master?"

The monks purified a palanquin to enshrine the broken Buddha, held a tearful funeral service[5] at the temple, and let the thief go with-

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 13).
2. Present Sennan-gun, Ōsaka-fu.
3. Unidentified.
4. *daishi;* see II.17, n. 6.
5. 殯 *mogari*, funeral rite before burial; see Chap. II(3)a. They treated the broken Buddha like a human being.

out punishment. But the man who had caught the thief sent him to court, where he was imprisoned.

We learn indeed that the Buddha performed a miracle in order to stop evil and that the Buddha's spirit responds to utmost devotion! In the twelfth volume of the *Nehan-gyō*[6] there is a passage which runs like this: "I have a high regard for the Mahayana teachings.[7] I killed a Brahman[8] who spoke ill of a Mahayana scripture.[9] Consequently I will not fall into hell hereafter." Another passage in the thirty-third volume of the same scripture[10] speaks to the same effect: "Those of the *ichisendai* 一闡提[11] shall perish forever. If you kill even an ant, you will be accused of the sin of killing; you will not, however, be accused of the sin of killing if you kill the *ichisendai*." (Because the *ichisendai* slanders the Three Treasures, fails to preach for all beings, and lacks a sense of gratitude, killing him is not a sin.)[12]

23

On the Bronze Bodhisattva Miroku Which Was Stolen by a Thief and Revealed His Identity by a Miraculous Sign[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, an imperial messenger went round the city at night. When he was in the city at midnight, he heard wailing in the field covered with smartweed[2] south of the Kazuraki nunnery 葛木尼寺[3] in the capital of Nara. Something cried, "Ouch! Ouch!" On hearing this he proceeded in the direction of the cry, and found a thief breaking a bronze image of Bodhisattva Miroku 彌勒菩薩[4] with a stone. He caught and questioned the thief who confessed,

6. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XII (*Taishō*, XII, 434c). 我 . . . 心重大乘聞婆羅門 誹謗方等 . . . 斷其命根 . . . 以是因緣 從是已來 不墮地獄.
7. 大乘 *daijō;* see I.23, n. 13.
8. A member of the top caste of the Hindu community which was in charge of sacrificial rites. As Buddha denied their spiritual authority, Buddhism was rejected by them.
9. 方等 *hōdō;* equal to *hōkō, daijō.*
10. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XXXIII (*Taishō*, XII, 562b). See Chap. II(2)a. 一闡提輩 永斷滅 故以是義故 殺害蟻子 猶得殺罪 殺一闡提 無有殺罪.
11. Transliterated from Skt. *icchantika;* see Chap. II(2)a.
12. Kyōkai's note.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 25).
2. 蓼原 *tadehara*, the field of smartweed or a local name.
3. Located east of Daian-ji on the East Side of Nara. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXVI (Hōki 11:1:14); also, Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 74–80.
4. Maitreya; see Chap. II(3)b, n. 131.

"This is the bronze of the Kazuraki nunnery." Returning the image to the nunnery, the messenger sent the thief to court, where he was imprisoned.

The dharma-body Buddha of the ultimate reality[5] has neither flesh nor blood. Why then did it suffer from pain? This took place only to show that dharma exists changeless. It is another miraculous event.

24

On the Fiends, Messengers of King Yama, Who Canceled Death in Exchange for a Bribe[1]

Nara no Iwashima 楢磐嶋[2] lived at the Fifth Avenue, the Sixth Street, East Side of Nara 諾樂左京六條五坊,[3] that is, in the village west of Daian-ji 大安寺.[4] In the reign of Emperor Shōmu he got a loan of thirty *kan*[5] from the Sutara 修多羅 fund of Daian-ji,[6] went to the Tsuruga port in Echizen 越前都魯鹿[7] on business, and loaded the goods he had purchased on a boat to bring them home. On the way home he suddenly fell ill and got off the boat. Thinking he would go on alone, he hired a horse and set out.

When he reached Shiga-no-karasaki, Takashima district, Ōmi province 近江[國]高嶋郡磯鹿辛前,[8] he looked around and saw three men half a furlong[9] away running after him. At the Uji Bridge of Yamashiro 山代宇治橋,[10] they caught up and went along with him. Iwashima asked them, "Where are you going?" They replied, "We are messengers from the office of King Yama[11] sent for Nara no Iwashima." Then Iwashima said, "I am the very one you are sent for. But why do you want me?" The fiend messengers[12] answered, "When

5. 理法身 *ri-hosshin;* see Chap. II(3)b.

1. Cf. *Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki* (I, Kyūgohen 13); *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 14), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 19), *Genkō shakusho* (XXIX).
2. Since Iwashima lived in Nara, 楢 may be 諾樂 (奈良).
3. The southeast quarter of the capital.
4. Daian-ji was called Ōtsukasa-no-ōtera or Takechi-no-ōtera before its transfer to the capital of Nara in about 710 (see Chap. I(1)c). It was originally built by Emperor Tenmu 天武 in 674.
5. One *kan* consists of one thousand *mon*, pieces.
6. See Chap. I(1)c, nn. 65, 66, for Sutara-shū 修多羅宗. According to "Daianji garan engi" (*Nara ibun*, ed. by Takeuchi, I, 369), the Sutara fund was 1,668 *kan* and 61 *mon* in 747, the biggest at Daian-ji.
7. Present Tsuruga-shi, Fukui-ken 福井縣敦賀市.
8. The northern part of present Ōtsu-shi, Shiga-ken 滋賀縣大津市.
9. One *chō* 町 equals about 120 yards.
10. Located at present Uji-shi, Kyoto-fu. See I.12, n. 8.
11. 閻羅王闕.
12. 使鬼.

we looked for you at your home, we were told, 'He has gone on a business tour.' Therefore, we went to the port so that we might meet and catch you there, but a messenger from the Four Divine Guardians[13] implored us, saying, 'You should excuse him, since he is engaged in business with a loan from the temple.'[14] So we let you go free for a while. We have spent so many days trying to catch you that we feel hungry and exhausted. Do you have any food with you?" Iwashima answered, "I have only dried rice," and gave it to them to eat. The fiend messengers said, "Don't come any closer to us, or you will be made sick by our spirit.[15] You need not be afraid of us, though."

Eventually Iwashima took them home and gave them a feast. The fiends said to him, "We like the flavor of beef very much.[16] Will you serve us beef? We are the fiends who steal cows." So he told them, "I have two brindled cows. Will you let me go free if I offer them to you?" They said, "Well, we have eaten much of your food. If we release you because of your kind treatment, we shall be accused of a grave sin and be hit one hundred times with an iron stick. Do you by chance know anyone of the same age?" "No, I don't," he answered. Then one of the three fiends, after thinking a while, asked, "In which year were you born?" He answered, "I was born in the fifth year of the tiger."[17] Then the fiend said, "I heard that there is a diviner[18] who was born in the same year at the shrine of Izagawa 率川社.[19] He can be your substitute. We will take him instead. I urge you, however, to recite the *Kongō hannya-kyō*[20] one hundred times,[21]

13. 四王 *Shiō*, four deities who guard the four quarters of the world, that is, Dhṛtarāṣṭra 持國(E), Virūḍhaka 增長 (S), Virūpākṣa 廣目 (W), and Vaiśravaṇa 多聞 (N). See *Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō*, VI (*Taishō*, XVI, 427b–432c).

14. This indicates a belief that business conducted with the temple funds is an act to attain merit. In T'ang and later China, moneylending became a flourishing business of the temple. Michihata explains the presence of many legends on the penalties incurred by stealing the samgha property or not repaying the loan of the temple as one of the measures for self-protection taken by the monks. See his *Tōdai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 539.

15. 氣, vital force.

16. Animal sacrifice is made for an evil foreign deity (II.5) or hungry ghosts such as in this story.

17. 戊寅 *tsuchinoe-tora;* a combination of the Ten Stems and the Twelve Branches used as a device to indicate the year; in this case, the year of birth.

18. 相八卦讀 *sōhakkeyomi;* literally, one who can read the features of a house or man, and the eight trigrams (Ch. *pa kua* 八卦). Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *The History of the Chinese Philosophy*, 378–395.

19. Izagawa is the name of a brook which originates in Mt. Kasuga (see II.31, n. 2) and flows into the Saho River

20. *Kongō hannya haramitsu-kyō* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (*Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*) (*Taishō*, VIII, No. 235). See the *Vagaakkedikā* or *Diamond Cutter, Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, ed. by Cowell (*SBE*, XLIX, 109–144).

21. 百卷 ; literally, one hundred volumes, but translated here as one hundred times for it is a one-volume scripture.

invoking our names, so that we may escape whipping for the sin of accepting your offer of a cow. The first name is Takasamaro 高佐麻呂; the second, Nakachimaro 中知麻呂; the third, Tsuchimaro 槌麻呂." With this, they left him at midnight.

The next morning Iwashima found one of his cows dead. He went to Nantōin 南塔院[22] of Daian-ji and asked Novice Ninyō 仁耀[23] (at that time not yet ordained) to recite the *Kongō hannya-kyō* one hundred times. On his request Ninyō spent two days in reciting it. After three days the fiend messengers came to Iwashima, saying, "Owing to the power of the Mahayana scripture we escaped one hundred whipping strokes; besides, we were given half a bushel[24] more rice than the usual ration. How happy and grateful we are! Please be virtuous and hold services for our sake hereafter on every holy day."[25] Then all of a sudden they disappeared.

Iwashima was over ninety when he died.

As Te-hsüan 德玄[26] of T'ang China escaped the messenger of King Yama owing to the power of the *Hannya-kyō*, so did Iwashima of Japan because he was engaged in business with a loan from the temple fund. The same moral will be found in the story of a flower vendor who was born in Tōriten 忉利天,[27] or of Kikuta 掬多 who had once wanted to poison Buddha but whose good heart was restored by Buddha's omniscience.[28]

25

On the Fiend, Messenger of King Yama, Who Accepted the Hospitality of the One for Whom He Had Been Sent and Repaid It[1]

In Yamada district, Sanuki province 讃岐國山田郡,[2] there lived a

22. Unidentified.

23. 沙彌仁耀 (d. 796) (Shiban, *Honchō kōsōden*, LXVI). He must have been in his late teens then, before ordination.

24. 一斗, 1 *to*.

25. 節 *sechi*, equal to 齋 *sai*; see I.24, n. 3.

26. Tou Te-hsüan 竇德玄, a high minister who lived in the reign of Kao-tsung (650–683) (*Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki*, I).

27. Transliteration of Skt. *Trāyastriṃsa* meaning thirty-three heavens above Mt. Sumeru.

28. *Daishōgonron-kyō* 大莊嚴論經, XIII (*Taishō*, IV, 327c–333a).

1. Cf. *Myōhōki* (III, On Ma Chia-yün 馬嘉運), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 18), *Hōbutsushū* (VI).

2. Present Takamatsu-shi, or Kita-gun, Kagawa-ken 香川縣高松市, 木田郡.

woman whose name was Nunoshiki no omi Kinume 布敷臣衣女.[3] In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, she suddenly fell ill. Therefore, she laid all kinds of delicious offerings on both sides of her gate to give the deity of plagues a banquet as a bribe.[4]

There came a fiend, a messenger of King Yama, to seize her. Exhausted from searching for her, the fiend cast a covetous look at the offerings of delicacies and accepted them. Then he said to her, "As I have accepted your hospitality, I will repay your kindness. Do you know anyone of the same name as yours?" Kinume answered, saying, "Yes, there is another Kinume in Utari 鵜垂 district[5] of the same province." Thereupon, he took her to the other Kinume's home in Utari district to see her, and, taking out a one-foot chisel from his red bag, drove it into the latter's forehead and arrested her. The former Kinume of Yamada district went home in secret.

When King Yama, who had been waiting for them, examined her, he said, "This is not the Kinume I sent for. You have got the wrong person. Kinume, will you stay here for a while? Go and get the Kinume of Yamada district."

As he had failed in trying to conceal her, the fiend again went to Kinume of Yamada district to arrest her and came back with her. King Yama saw her and said, "*This* is the Kinume I sent for."

Meanwhile, Kinume of Utari district went home only to find her corpse had been cremated during her three-day absence. She came back and appealed to the king in grief, saying, "I have no body to enter into." Then, the king asked, "Is there the body of Kinume of Yamada district?" There was, whereupon the king said, "Go and take her body as yours."

In this way Kinume of Utari district came back to life in the body of Kinume of Yamada district. She said, "This is not my home. My home is in Utari district." At that her parents said, "You are our daughter. Why do you say such a thing?" She would not listen to them, however, and visited her own home, saying, "This is my real home." Her real parents disclaimed this, saying, "You are not our daughter. We have already cremated her." Thereupon, she explained in detail what King Yama had told her. Having heard her story, both sets of parents believed her and allowed her to inherit both fortunes. This is why the present Kinume had four parents and two inheritances.

There is sometimes merit in making offerings to a fiend as a bribe.

3. The Nunoshikis is a native family in Kinai.

4. This practice of making offerings of delicacies at the gate is also found in II.16. Its purpose is to bribe the fiends, executioners, or deities not to kill.

5. Present Ayauta-gun, Kagawa-ken 香川縣綾歌郡.

If you have anything, you should offer it.[6] This is another of the miraculous events.

26

On the Miraculous Sign of the Unfinished Log Which Was Cut out for Buddha Images but Abandoned[1]

Dhyāna Master Kōtatsu 廣達,[2] whose secular name was Shimotsuke no asomi 下毛野朝臣,[3] was a man of Muza district, Kazusa province 上總國武射郡.[4] (Some say he was a man of Ahiru 畔蒜 district.)[5] In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, he went to the mountain called Kane no take, in Yoshino 吉野金峯,[6] and recited scriptures while walking around under the trees[7] in pursuit of the Buddha's path.

Now there was a horse-chestnut tree in the village of Tsuki in Yoshino district 吉野郡桃花里.[8] It was cut down to be made into Buddha images, but this was abandoned for many years. In this area there was a river named Akikawa 秋河.[9] It happened that the log was laid over the river so that men and animals could cross it.

Once Kōtatsu went to that village on an errand, and, upon crossing the bridge, heard a voice from under the bridge saying, "Ouch! Don't step on me!" Hearing this, he looked around in wonder, but he could not find anyone. As he did not dare to pass, he wandered around for a while close to the bridge, and, when he lifted it up, he found that it was an abandoned log cut for Buddha images. Struck with awe, he enshrined it in a purified place, paid homage to it in tears, and made a vow,[10] saying, "I will carve you into Buddha images since we have

6. The closing remarks imply that even making offerings as bribes is better than offering nothing, but this does not fit the story, for it was Kinume of Yamada who offered bribes, and Kinume of Utari who got four parents and two fortunes.

2. A monk of Gangō-ji, of the Hossō School. See the *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXII (Hōki 3:3:6). He was appointed as one of the ten *dhyāna* masters.

3. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, the Shimotsuke family is descended from the imperial family.

4. Present Sanbu-gun, Chiba-ken 千葉縣山武郡.

5. Present Kimitsu-gun 君津郡.

6. See Chap. II(1)b; 1.28, n. 15.

7. 經行 *kyōgyō* or *kinhin;* after meditating in a sitting posture, ascetics walk around reciting scriptures.

8. Unlocated.

9. Present Shimoichi-gawa 下市川 which originates in Mt. Yoshino and flows into the Yoshino River.

10. 發誓願.

met by the work of interdependent causation.[11] He took the log to its appointed place, called upon the people to make offerings,[12] and directed the work of carving statues of Amida Buddha 阿彌陀佛,[13] Miroku Buddha 彌勒佛,[14] and Bodhisattva Kannon 觀音菩薩.[15] These are now enshrined in Oka-dō 岡堂,[16] in the village of Koshibe, Yoshino district 吉野郡越部村.[17]

Since a log does not have a mind, how can it cry? Doubtless this was nothing but the work of the Buddha's spirit.[18]

27

On a Woman of Great Strength[1]

Owari no sukune Kukuri 尾張宿禰久玖利[2] was a governor of Nakashima district, Owari province 尾張國中嶋郡,[3] in the reign of Emperor Shōmu. His wife came from the village of Katawa in Aichi district 愛知郡片蔰里[4] of the same province (a granddaughter of the Venerable Dōjō of Gangō-ji).[5] She was faithful to her husband, and as gentle and delicate as glossed silk cloth. Once she wove fine hemp for her husband's robe. Its color and pattern were exquisite.

At that time the lord[6] who ruled that province was Wakasakurabe no Tau 稚櫻部任.[7] When the lord saw the beautiful robe on the district governor, he stripped him of it, saying, "It is too good for you to

11. 因緣 *in'en* or *innen*, the law of cause and effect.
12. He organized a *chishiki* or devotees' organization to carry out this project of making images. See Chap. I(1)d, nn. 110, 111.
13. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 132.
14. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 131. Doctrinally speaking, Maitreya is a bodhisattva, but there are many indications that he was considered a savior Buddha, much like Amida.
15. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 12.
16. Unlocated. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 316.
17. Present Koshibe, Ōyodo-chō, Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣吉野郡大淀町越部.
18. 聖靈 *shōryō*; see Chap. II(3)b.

1. One of the Venerable Dōjō cycle related to I.3, II.4. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XXIII, 18).
2. See the *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 1:12:2); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 367. The title of *sukune* was given to the Owari family.
3. Present Nakashima-gun, Aichi-ken 愛知縣中嶋郡.
4. See I.3, n. 3.
5. Kyōkai's parenthesis. For the Venerable Dōjō, see *ibid.*
6. 國守 a chief provincial magistrate.
7. According to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, Wakasakurabe is the name of a native family, but this provincial magistrate is unknown.

wear," and would not return it. When the district governor's wife asked him what had happened to the robe, he said to her, "My lord took it away." Then the wife asked him, saying, "Do you miss it?" He replied, "Yes, I miss it very much."

Thereupon, the wife went to see the lord and implored, "I beg you to give the robe to me." The lord said, "What a crazy woman! Drive her away." Then, with two fingers, she picked up the bench where the lord was sitting, carried it outside the provincial office[8] with the lord on it, and tore into pieces the hem of his robe, still imploring, "I beg you to give the robe to me!" The lord was so terrified and embarrassed that he returned it to her. She brought it back home and, after cleaning it, folded it and put it away. She could crush a piece of bamboo into strips as fine as silk threads. At that the parents of the district governor were so terrified that they told their son, "Because of your wife you will incur the enmity of the lord and have some trouble," and they continued in panic, "She behaved like that even to the lord. If he decides to punish her for her offense, what shall we do? We cannot make our living." Therefore, they sent her back to her parents and abandoned her.[9]

Some time after that she happened to go out to the Kusatsu River 草津川[10] in the village to wash clothes. A merchant passed in front of her on a big boat heavily loaded with goods. The captain of the boat saw and teased her, treating her lightly. "Be quiet!" she said to him. "Those who play tricks on others get slapped on the cheek!" Angry at that, the captain stopped the boat and hit her, but she did not feel the pain. She drew the boat half way up the beach, leaving its stern sunk in the water. The captain hired men who lived near the ferry to lift the cargo out and then reload it in the boat. She said, "Because he had no manners, I pulled the boat up. Why do you people humiliate a humble woman like me?" She again dragged the loaded boat for about half a furlong. The sailors were struck with such awe that they knelt and said, "We were wrong. We are sorry." Therefore she forgave them. Even five hundred men could not pull the boat, and so it was evident that she had greater strength than five hundred men.

One scripture[11] has a passage to this effect: "If you make and offer

8. 國府 *ko* (*ku*) *fu*, a provincial office under the ritsuryō government which became an administrative, cultural, and military center of the province.

9. The law prescribes seven grounds for divorce of a wife by her husband as follows: childlessness; adultery; disobeying of parents-in-law; excessive talking; stealing; jealousy; serious disease (see *Ryō no gige*, "Ko-ryō," Article 28; Sansom, "Early Japanese Laws," Part Two, 142). In this case, the only possible grounds are disobeying of parents-in-law or excessive talking.

10. Unidentified.

11. Unidentified.

rice cakes to the Three Treasures, you will get the strength of Nārāyaṇa,[12] who was as strong as diamond. . . ." Accordingly we learn that this woman was endowed with such strength because of having made big rice cakes to offer to the monks of the Three Treasures in her past life.

28

On the Destitute Woman Who Prayed to the Sixteen-foot Śākyamuni Buddha for a Share of Benefits and Immediately Attained a Great Fortune Brought by a Miraculous Event[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, there lived a woman on the west side of Daian-ji[2] in the capital of Nara. She was extremely poor and, being without any means of livelihood, suffered from hunger. Having heard that the Sixteen-foot Buddha[3] of Daian-ji was ready to grant wishes immediately, she bought flowers, incense, and lamp oil, and went to make a petition before the Buddha, saying, "As I did not produce good causes in my previous lives, I am suffering from extreme poverty in my present body. Please give me some wealth to save me from dire poverty." She never ceased to pray for days and months.

One day she went as usual to pray to the Buddha for wealth, offered flowers, incense, and oil lamps, and went home to sleep. The next morning she got up to find four *kan* of coins[4] by the gate bridge. Attached was a plate which said that they were the Dai-sutaraku 大修多羅供 fund of Daian-ji.[5] In awe she sent them immediately to the temple. Thereupon, the monks of the Sutara seminar group checked the treasury and found that the seal was not broken but that four *kan* of coins were missing. So they put them back in the safe.

12. In the Buddhist tradition the name is used to refer to a legendary hero of great strength.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 15).
2. See II.24, n. 4.
3. 丈六佛; see I.32, n. 6.
4. 四貫錢; see II.6, n. 6.
5. At Daian-ji there were five seminar groups, namely, Sutara, Sanron, Betsusanron, Ritsu, and Shōron. See II.24, n. 6. Each of them had its own office, treasury, and officers.

Again she went to the Sixteen-foot Buddha, offered flowers, incense, and lamps, and returned home to sleep. The next morning she found the four *kan* of coins in the garden. The attached plate said that they were from the Jō-sutaraku 常修多羅供[6] fund of Daian-ji. Therefore she sent them back to the temple. The monks of that group checked the iron safe, but it was sealed. When they opened it, they discovered that four *kan* of coins were missing. In wonder they sealed the safe.

As usual she went back to the Sixteen-foot Buddha, praying for a share of benefits, and came home to sleep. When she opened the door the next day, there were the four *kan* of coins in front of the threshold. The plate attached to them said they were from the *Jōjitsu-ron* 成實論[7] group fund of Daian-ji, so she sent them back to the temple. The monks of that seminar checked their safe, but it was sealed. When they opened it, they found exactly four *kan* of coins missing.

Accordingly, the treasurers of the six schools[8] got together in wonder, asking her, "Which practice have you been observing?" She answered, "Nothing in particular. As I am extremely poor with no means of livelihood, no one to depend on, and nothing to take recourse to, I have only been asking for a share of benefits." Hearing that, the monks consulted and said, "Since this is the money Buddha gave her, we won't keep it in our safe anymore." They returned the money to her. She made the gift of four *kan* of coins a step for further advancement,[9] attained a great fortune, and enjoyed a long life.

Indeed, we know this took place by the miraculous power of the Sixteen-foot Śākya and the woman's utmost devotion.

6. At both Daian-ji and Gufuku-ji there are Dai-sutara and Jō-sutara groups. According to Tamura, these groups were devoted to the study of the *Dai hannya-kyō;* the prefixes "Dai" and "Jō" are taken from the word 大乘 *daijō*. Since this scripture consists of six hundred volumes, Tamura maintains that the scripture was divided between the two groups (See Tamura, *Asuka Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 129).

7. The group seems to be devoted to the study of the *Jōjitsu-ron* (*Taishō*, XXXII, No. 1616), although the "Daian-ji garan engi" does not have any record of such a group. Inoue Mitsusada infers that Sutara and Jōjitsu are the same and interchangeable ("Nanto rokushū no seiritsu," *Nihon rekishi*, No. 156, 11–12), but they seem to be separate groups with separate offices and treasuries. Since the Sanron group has the second largest fund at Daian-ji, it is possible that Kyōkai may have confused it with the Jōjitsu, since the two are similar in their tenets.

8. The Six Nara Schools came into existence between 747 and 751, from the latter years of Emperor Shōmu's reign to the beginning of Empress Shōtoku's reign. The six schools in this story may mean the Six Nara Schools (see Chap. I(1)c, n. 63), or the seminar groups which existed at Daian-ji at that time, five of which are recorded in the "Daianji garan engi," or in Kyōkai's general statement.

9. 增上緣 *zōjōen*, all causes which contribute to the emergence of a thing.

29

On the Most Venerable Gyōgi, Who Accused a Woman of Having Smeared Her Hair with Animal Oil Recognized with His Penetrating Eye[1]

In the village of Gangō-ji in the old capital,[2] there was once held a service at which the Most Venerable Gyōgi[3] was invited to preach Buddhist teachings for seven days. Accordingly, both clergymen and laymen gathered to listen. In the congregation a woman whose hair was smeared with animal oil, listened to the preaching. He saw and accused her, saying, "That smell is offensive to me. Take the woman whose hair is smeared with blood far away." Greatly ashamed, she left the place.

Although our mediocre eyes[4] see only the hue of oil, the sage's penetrating eye[5] sees real animal blood. He is an incarnation of the Buddha,[6] the sage in disguise.[7]

30

On the Extraordinary Sign of the Most Venerable Gyōgi Who Perceived a Woman with a Child Loaded with Past Enmity and Made Her Throw the Child into the Stream[1]

The Most Venerable Gyōgi opened up a canal from Naniwa, built ferries, and preached Buddhist teachings to convert people. Clerical

1. One of the Venerable Gyōgi cycle. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 3), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 36).
2. See I.3, n. 9.
3. See Chap. I(1)d.
4. 凡夫肉眼 *bonbu no nikugen;* physical eyes of ordinary men.
5. 聖人明眼 *shōnin no myōgen* (天眼 in the heading), sage's clairvoyance; see Chap. II(2)c, n. 109.
6. 化身聖.
7. 隱身聖.

1. One of the Venerable Gyōgi cycle. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVII, 27).

and lay, high and low, all gathered to hear him. One day a woman from the village of Kawamata, Wakae district, Kawachi province 河內國若江郡川派里[2] came to the meeting with a child to hear the teachings. The child fretted and cried so much that she could not hear, and the child could not walk although he was over ten. Fretting and crying, he drank milk and ate incessantly. The venerable master said to her, "Come, my good woman—take your child outside and throw him into the stream!" Hearing that, the congregation whispered, "What causality[3] made such a compassionate sage to speak like that?" But the mother's affection prevented her from abandoning the child; still holding him, she listened to the preaching.

The next day she returned with the child to hear the teachings, and the child again cried so loudly that the audience could not hear. Accusing the mother, the venerable master said to her, "Throw the child into the stream!" Though troubled by doubts, the mother could not stand the loud cries and threw him into the deep stream. The child rose to the surface and, treading water and rubbing his hands together, he stared at her with big shining eyes and said with bitterness, " What a pity! I planned to exploit you by eating for three more years." Bewildered, the mother came back to her seat to hear the preaching. The venerable master asked her, "Did you throw away your child?" Whereupon she told him the whole sequence in detail. Then he explained, "In your previous existence you borrowed his things and did not return them, so he became your child and got back what you owed him by eating. That child was your creditor in your past life."

What a shame! We should not die without paying off our debts. Otherwise we reap the penalty without fail in our future life. Accordingly, the *Shutchō-gyō* says: "Because of a pennyworth debt of salt to the driver he was born as an ox and driven hard to carry a load of salt on his back to make up for his debt by labor."[4] This refers to the same type of thing.

2. Present Kawamata, Fuse, Higashi-ōsaka-shi 東大阪市布施川俣.

3. 因緣.

4. Not an exact quotation but a summary of a passage in the *Shutchō-gyō* (*Taishō*, VI, 425). There were two brothers; one chose to become an arhat, the other remained a layman who would never listen to his brother's preaching. Once the arhat met his brother born as an ox and loaded with burdens. The arhat told the driver of the ox that his brother had been born as an ox because of his debt of salt to the driver.

31

On the Birth of a Girl with Sari *in Her Hand Owing to Her Parents' Vow to Build a Pagoda*[1]

Niu no atae Otokami 丹生直弟上[2] was a man of Iwata district, Tōtōmi province 遠江國磐田郡.[3] Although he made a vow to build a pagoda, he could not fulfill the vow for many years. He always regretted this and tried hard to find a way to do it. In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, a girl was born to Otokami, though he was seventy and his wife was sixty-two. The baby's left hand was clenched. In wonder, the parents tried to open it, but it was clenched more tightly than ever and never opened. Lamenting, they said, "It is a great shame for us to have given untimely birth to a crippled baby. But you are born to us as a result of the work of causality." And they nursed her with great care and never neglected her.

She grew up with fine features. At the age of seven she opened her fist to show it to her mother, saying, "Look at this!" When the mother looked at the child's palm, she found two pieces of *sari*,[4] the sacred ashes of Buddha. In joy and wonder she relayed the news to people everywhere. All were rapturous with joy. Provincial magistrates and district governors rejoiced, organized a devotees' association[5] to build a seven-story pagoda, and enshrined the *sari* in the pagoda during a dedication service. This is the pagoda of Iwata-dera 磐田寺[6] which stands in Iwata district now. At the completion of the pagoda, the child suddenly passed away.

This is what people mean when they say that a vow once made will be achieved and fulfilled without fail.

32

On Rebirth as an Ox to Make up for the Unpaid Debt of Rice Wine for the Temple Fund[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, villagers of Mikami, Nagusa dis-

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 2).
2. Unknown.
3. Present Iwata-gun, Shizuoka-ken 靜岡縣磐田郡.
4. See Chap. II(2)b, n. 98.
5. 知識 *chishiki;* see Chap. I(1)d.
6. Unidentified.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 22). Similar to I.10, 20; II.9, 15; III.26, etc.

trict, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡三上村,[2] organized a devotees' association to rotate the medical fund[3] of Yakuō-ji 藥王寺,[4] (now called Seta-dera 勢多寺). At Okada no suguri Obame's 岡田村主姑女[5] this medical fund was used to gain profits in a brewery.[6]

One day a brindled calf came to the temple and lay at the pagoda. The men of the temple chased it away, but it came back again to lie down and would not leave. In wonder they asked people, saying, "To whom does this calf belong?" But no one claimed it as his own. Therefore the monks caught, tied, and kept it. After it grew up it was driven into the fields of the temple.

After five years, Okada no suguri Iwahito 岡田村主石人, a patron of the temple, had a dream in which he was chased, thrust down, and trampled by the same calf. He screamed in terror. Then the calf asked, "Do you know me?" He answered "No." The calf released him, stepped back, and knelt, saying in tears, "I am Mononobe no Maro 物部麿[7] of the village of Sakura 櫻村.[8] (He was popularly called Shio-tsuki 鹽舂. When he was alive, he shot at a boar and thought he had hit it, though he had missed. Therefore, he ground salt[9] and brought it to the spot to find not a boar but an arrow stuck in the ground. Laughing at him, villagers named him "Shio-tsuki" [salt grinder], which became his popular name). In my previous existence I borrowed ten gallons of rice wine from the medical fund of the temple and died without repaying it. Because of that I was reborn as an ox and driven hard to atone for my debt. My service was set for eight years. As I have worked for five years, I have three more years to go. Men of the temple have driven me so mercilessly, whipping my back, that I have suffered greatly. I am telling you of my sad plight, for you are the only one who has shown me mercy."

Iwahito asked, "How can I know if your story is true?" The ox replied, "Please inquire of Ōomina of Sakura 櫻大娘[10] to find whether or not my story is true. (Ōomina was Iwahito's sister, a mistress in charge of the rice wine brewery.) In great wonder he visited his sister to tell her the whole story in detail. Then she said, "That story is true.

2. Present Kaiso-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣海草郡.

3. 藥分 *yakubun;* the fund used to distribute medicine to people. Capital was accumulated from the proceeds of rice and wine loans.

4. Judging from the name, it may have served as a medical center.

5. Since the title *suguri* was often conferred on immigrants, the Okada family may have emigrated from the continent.

6. The temple made loans of rice and had the people brew wine, which was loaned again to gain interest for medical expenses.

7. Unknown.

8. Unlocated.

9. He prepared the salt for the curing of the boar's flesh.

10. Meaning "Lady of Sakura village."

He did borrow ten gallons of rice wine and died without repaying it." When Jōtatsu 淨達,[11] a monk in charge of the temple household,[12] and patrons of the temple heard the story, they recognized the law of causality, and, moved by compassion, they held a service to recite scriptures for the ox. It disappeared at the end of eight years, and no one ever knew where it had gone; nor did it appear again.

We should remember that failure to pay debts will surely incur a penalty. Can you dare forget that? This is what the *Jōjitsu-ron* 成實論[13] has in mind when it says: "If man does not repay his debts, he will be reborn among such animals as oxen, deer, donkeys, and sheep in order to atone for his debts."

33

On a Woman Devoured by an Evil Fiend[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu a popular song spread all over the country:

Who asked you to be a bride,
Yorozu-no-ko of Amuchi-no-komuchi?
Namu, Namu.
Mountain ascetics inhale the breath,
Chanting formulas
Amashini, amashini.[2]

At that time there was a wealthy man who lived in the eastern part of the village of Amuchi, Tōchi district, Yamato province 大和國十市郡菴知村.[3] Kagamitsukuri no miyatsuko 鏡作造[4] was his surname. He had a daughter whose name was Yorozu-no-ko. She neither married nor made love. She was a beautiful girl, but, though men of

11. See *Shoku Nihongi*, III (Keiun 4:5:28); Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi," *JASJ*, Second Series, XI (December 1934), 239. A student monk who came back from Silla in 707.
12. 知寺僧 *chiji no sō*.
13. *Jōjitsu-ron*, VIII (*Taishō*, XXXII, 301).

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 37).
2. This song is hard to interpret, particularly the second half. Our translation depends on the *Nihon ryōiki* (*NKBT*). Its most interpretive and sensible explication is given by Kimoto Michifusa (*Jōdai kayō shōkai*) and quoted in the *Nihon ryōiki* (*NKBT*, 489).

. . . . . .
Namu, namu
The bridegroom came with decorated horses and oxen loaded with wine,
If Yorozu no ko had been wise, she would not have incurred her death.

3. Present Nikaidō, Tenri-shi Nara-ken 奈良縣天理市二階堂.
4. See *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 12:10:5). The title *muraji* was conferred on the Kagamitsukuri-no-miyatsuko family in 683. See Aston, "Nihongi," II, 361.

high rank proposed to her, she would not accept them. After several years, a man eventually came to propose with a present consisting of three carts loaded with pretty dyed silk cloths. She was happy at this and, becoming friendly with him, accepted his proposal and allowed him to enter the bedroom and consummate the marriage.

That night a voice was heard three times from the bedroom saying "It hurts!" Her parents heard, but ignored it and slept again, saying to each other, "She feels pain because she is not used to it."

The next morning because it grew late and she still did not get up, her mother knocked at the door of the bedroom, calling her daughter but getting no answer. Feeling uneasy, she opened the door and found her daughter completely eaten up except for her skull and one finger. Her parents were horrified and grieved at the sight. When they looked at the silk sent as a betrothal present, they discovered that it had turned into animal bones, and the three wagons into silver-berry wood. People from all quarters came to hear and see what had happened, and all were filled with wonder. Her skull was put into a beautiful imported box, and the box was placed in front of the Three Treasures, where a vegetarian feast[5] was served on the first seventh morning.

Thus we suspect that an omen preceded the calamity. The song noted above was the omen. Some say that it was the mysterious work of a deity;[6] and others say she fell prey to a fiend.[7] On reflection, however, we know that this was a penalty for her past deeds. This is also an extraordinary event.

34

On an Orphaned Girl Whose Devotion to the Bronze Kannon Brought Her an Immediate Reward in a Miraculous Event[1]

In the neighborhood of Uetsuki-dera 殖槻寺[2] on the West Side of Nara there was an orphaned girl. She was unmarried, and her name

5. 齋食 *saijiki;* see I.24, n. 3.
6. 神怪 *shinge.*
7. 鬼啖 *kitan.*

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 8).
2. Or Kenpō-ji 建法寺, Kannon-ji 觀音寺. It was located next to Uetsuki Hachiman Shrine 植槻八幡宮, in present Yamato-kōriyama-shi 大和郡山市. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 221–229.

is unknown. Her parents in their lifetime were very rich, built many houses and storehouses, and made a bronze Bodhisattva Kanzeon 觀世音菩薩,[3] two and a half feet high. They built a detached hall to enshrine the image and perform rites before it.

In Emperor Shōmu's reign the parents passed away, the slaves[4] ran away, and the cattle died. Thereupon, having lost her wealth and suffering from poverty, the girl stayed in the house and cried sorrowfully day and night. When she heard that Bodhisattva Kannon fulfilled the wishes of devotees, she offered flowers, incense, and lamps, holding the rope tied to the image[5] and praying for a good share of fortune, saying, "Since I am the only child, I have been all alone since the death of my parents. I have lost my fortune, and I am poor, lacking any means of livelihood. Will you please bring me a fortune immediately? Please give me a quick response!" Thus she wailed and prayed day and night.

In the same village there was a wealthy widower. He saw the girl and proposed to her through a go-between. She replied, "I am so poor that I am naked and have no clothes. How can I veil my face and go to talk with him?" The go-between reported her words to the widower, who said, "I know very well that she is poor and has no clothes. I only want to know if she accepts me." Therefore, the go-between visited the girl again to tell her the message, but again she said "No." Then the man forced his way in to call on and visit with her. Presently she accepted him and lay with him.

The next day it rained from morning till night. The rain kept him from leaving her, and he stayed for three days. Being hungry, he said, "I am hungry. Will you give me something to eat?" The wife said, "I will prepare a meal soon." She kindled fire in the stove and set an empty pot on the fire, crouching with her chin in her hands. Wandering in her empty house, she sighed sorrowfully, and after she had cleaned her mouth and washed her hands, she entered the sacred hall. In tears, holding the rope tied to the image, she implored, "Will you please save me from shame? Please bring me a fortune immediately." After that, she went out of the hall and crouched with her chin in her hands in front of the empty stove as before.

About four o'clock on that day there was a knock at the door, and somebody called to her. She went out and found the wet nurse of a

3. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 12.
4. 奴婢 *nuhi*; see Chap. I(1)a, n. 24.
5. See II.21, n. 8.

rich neighbor standing there. She had brought a big chest full of all kinds of food and drink, fragrant delicacies with nothing missing in metal bowls and on lacquered plates. She offered it to the wife, saying, "As we heard you have a guest, our master has prepared a present for you. Only please return the vessels when you have finished."

Greatly rejoicing, she was so overwhelmed with happiness that she took off her black robe to give to the messenger, saying, "I have nothing to offer you except my soiled clothes. Please accept this for your use." After the messenger put it on and left, she served the meal. At the sight the man wondered and looked at her face rather than at the feast.

After he had left the next day, ten rolls of silk and ten straw bags[6] of rice were sent from him with the following message: "Make your clothes out of the silk and wine out of the rice promptly." The girl visited the rich neighbors to thank them for their kindness, but the mistress said, "How funny you are! Or are you possessed by a spirit?[7] I do not know what you are talking about." The messenger, too, said, "I do not know either." Scolded by them, she went home and entered the hall to pay homage to the image as usual, and found her black robe draped on it. It was evident that this was a miracle of the Kannon. Therefore, she believed in the law of karmic causality and revered the image with increased faith. After that she gained a fortune as large as before and suffered from neither hunger nor sorrow. The couple enjoyed a long and happy life. This is a miraculous event.

35

On the Penalty of Immediate Death from a Bad Disease for Hitting a Monk[1]

Prince Uji宇遲王[2] was innately evil and had no faith in the Three Treasures. In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, this prince was traveling in Yamashiro 山背[3] on an errand, accompanied by eight attendants.

6. 俵, one *hyō* contains 2.5 bushels of rice.
7. 鬼 *mono*.

1. Cf. *Genkō shakusho* (XXIX, 3).
2. Dates unknown. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XII (Tenpyō 9:9:28, 12:28); XIII (10:12:4). 從五位下宇治王爲中務大輔.
3. Present Kyoto-fu; see I.12, n. 6.

On his way to the capital of Nara, in Tsuzuki district 綴喜郡,[4] he met Taikyō 諦鏡,[5] a monk of Shimotsuke-dera 下毛野寺,[6] who had been traveling from Nara to Yamashiro. Taikyō happened to come upon the prince so suddenly that he could not find any place to which to retire and stood by the road, hiding his face with a hat.[7] Seeing this, the prince stopped his horse to have him whipped. Although the monk and his disciple ran into the rice paddy to escape, the attendants caught them and broke open the chests[8] they were carrying. Whereupon, the monk cried, "Why is there no guardian of dharma?"[9]

The prince had hardly moved on when he was attacked by a serious disease. He groaned loudly and leaped several feet off the ground. Seeing the prince suffering the attendants asked Taikyō to cure him, but Taikyō would not listen to them. They entreated him three times in vain. The monk asked, "Does he have pain?" To which they replied, "Yes, he is in great pain." Taikyō then said, "Let the unworthy prince suffer a thousand times, ten thousand times!"

At this, relatives of the prince addressed the emperor, saying, "Dharma Master Taikyō has cursed Uji," and they wanted to catch and kill him. Learning of their intention, the emperor did not allow them to do so. In three days the prince died, his body as black as ink. Again his relatives went to the emperor, saying, "'An eye for an eye.' We would like to take revenge by killing Taikyō, since Uji is already dead." The emperor addressed them, saying, "I am a monk, and so is Taikyō. How can a monk kill a monk? Taikyō is not responsible for Uji's incurring a calamity." Since the emperor had shaved his head, had been ordained, and followed the path of Buddha, he sided with the monk and would not let him be killed.[10]

The insane Prince Uji was so evil natured that the guardian of dharma punished him. The guardian of dharma is always present. How can we ignore this?

4. Present Tsuzuki-gun, Kyoto-fu 京都府綴喜郡.

5. Unknown.

6. An unlocated temple in Nara; it may be a family temple of the Shimotsuke family. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 194–198. See also II.26, n. 3.

7. The *Sōni-ryō*, Article 19, states that monks and nuns must hide themselves when they meet a person of the Third Rank or higher on the road: they must stop their horse, salute, and pass on in case of meeting a person of the Fifth Rank or above or, if on foot, hide themselves. Monks were considered equal to persons of the Sixth Rank. Since Prince Uji had the Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, Taikyō had to cover himself.

8. 藏; the place to store valuables, or, in this case, Buddhist scriptures.

9. 護法 *gohō;* see II.1, n. 11.

10. Emperor Shōmu received the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts from Ganjin at the newly constructed ordination platform of Tōdai-ji and abdicated in 749. His clerical name is Shōman 勝滿.

36

On the Wooden Image of Kannon Revealing Divine Power[1]

In the reign of ex-Emperor Shōmu, the head of the image of Kannon, the attendant image on the east side of the Amida[2] in the golden hall of Shimotsuke-dera 下毛野寺[3] in the capital of Nara, fell off for no apparent reason. The patron of the temple discovered this and planned to repair it the next day. He came back to find that the head had returned to its place of its own accord, just as it had been before, and that now it gave off light.

Indeed we know that the dharma-body of wisdom[4] exists. This is a miraculous sign to bring the faithless to a realization of this.

37

On the Wooden Image of Kannon Which Revealed Divine Power, and Survived Fire[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, a wooden image of Bodhisattva Shōkanjizai 正觀自在菩薩[2] was enshrined and venerated at a mountain temple of Upper Chinu, Izumi district, Izumi province 泉國泉郡珍努上.[3] Once a fire broke out and consumed the sacred hall. The wooden image of the Bodhisattva Kannon took about twenty steps out of the hall and lay down without sustaining any damage.

Indeed, we know that the Three Treasures shows its divine power although it cannot be recognized visually, having neither form nor mind.[4] This is the first of all wonders.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 11).
2. Kannon is made an attendant of Amida in the scriptures of the pure land school. See *Kanmuryōju-kyō* 觀無量壽經 (*Taishō*, XII, 265c).
3. See II.35, n. 6; Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 194–198.
4. 理智法身 *richi-hosshin; dharmakāya* as embodiment of truth and wisdom. 理 often signifies the *tathatā*, supreme truth, true nature.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 12).
2. Kannon of the *Hoke-kyō, Muryōju-kyō, Kegon-gyō*, etc., in contrast to many Tantric variations of Kannon 變化觀音.
3. See II.2, n. 3.
4. 非色非心.

38

On Rebirth as a Snake Because of Avarice[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shōmu, there was a monk who lived in a mountain temple of Maniwa馬庭山寺[2] in the capital of Nara. When he was on the point of death, he said to his disciples, "After I die, you must not open the door of my room until three years have passed."

Seven times seven days after his death, a huge venomous snake was found lying at the door of the room. As the disciples understood why it had come, they counseled it, opened the door of the room, and found thirty *kan* of coins secretly stored there. With this money they recited scriptures, practiced good, and accumulated merits for the dead man.

Indeed we know that the dead monk returned in the form of a a snake to watch his hidden money because of his strong attachment to it. Here is an apt saying: "Even if you can see the top of Mt. Sumeru,[3] you can never see the top of Mt. Desire."

39

On the Wooden Image of Yakushi Buddha Which Showed an Extraordinary Sign, Washed away in the Water and Buried in the Sand[1]

Between Suruga province 駿河國[2] and Tōtōmi province 遠江國[3] there flowed the river Ōigawa 大井河. Beside the river was the village of Uda 鵜田, which is in Harihara district 榛原郡, Tōtōmi province.[4] In the third month in the spring of the fifth year of the dog, the second

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XX, 24).
2. Fukuyama locates it in the precincts of Tōdai-ji, near Maniwa no saka along the Saho River 佐保川. See his *Narachō jiin*, 277.
3. A cosmic mountain which stands in the center of the world. Taishakuten 帝釋天 resides on its summit.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 12), *Genkō shakusho* (XXVIII).
2. Present Shizuoka-ken 静岡縣.
3. Present Shizuoka-ken.
4. Unidentified.

year of the Tenpyō hōji era, in the reign of Emperor Ōhi 大炊天皇[5] who resided at Nara Palace, a voice crying, "Take me out! Take me out!" was heard from the sand on the beach at the village of Uda.

At that time a monk was traveling in Tōtōmi province, and, when he happened to pass the spot, he heard the voice calling persistently to be let out. The monk answered and could hear the voice coming from under the sand. Suspecting that some dead person buried there might have come to life, he dug and found a wooden image of Yakushi Buddha 藥師佛, six feet five inches high, with both ears missing. In tears, he paid homage to it, saying, "Great Master, what offense caused you to be a victim of flood? As I was destined by karma to find you, will you please let me repair you?"

He organized devotees,[6] invited a sculptor to fix the ears of the Buddha, and built a hall in the village of Uda to enshrine and venerate it. It is now called Uda-dō 鵜田堂. Clergy and laymen all revered this Buddha, for it gave off light, revealing a miraculous sign, and generously granted their wishes.

It was similar to the sandalwood statue made by Uten 優塡[7] which stood up to pay homage to Buddha, or the wooden image of Tinglan's mother[8] which moved as if alive as tradition says.[9]

40

On the Evil-loving Man Who Was Killed with Swords and Thus Got an Immediate Death Penalty[1]

Tachibana no asomi Naramaro 橘朝臣諾樂麻呂[2] was a son of Prince Kazuraki 葛木王.[3] With overweening ambition he planned to usurp

5. Emperor Jun'nin (r. 758–764). This event took place in 758.
6. 知識 *chishiki;* see Chap. I(1)d, nn. 110, 111.
7. Udayana, king of the Kushan Empire, patron of Buddhism.
8. See I.17, n. 11.
9. *Shokyō yōshū*, XV (*Taishō*, LIV, 74). 昔優塡初刻栴檀 . . .皆現寫眞容工圖妙相 故能流光動瑞 . . . 丁蘭溫凊竭誠 木母以之變色 . See Haraguchi, "*Nihon ryōiki* shutten goku kanken," *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō*, No. 34 (December 1966), 53–67.

1. Cf. *Shoku Nihongi*, XX (Tenpyō hōji 1:7:2, 3, 4). Similar to II.1, 35 and III.36 in the sense that men of high status and influence were punished as a consequence of their bad deeds and that none of these events are recorded in court histories.
2. Naramaro planned a rebellion against Fujiwara no Nakamaro (see III.38) with the support of Empress Kōken and Empress dowager Kōmyō. The rebellion failed and he died in 757.
3. (d. 757). In 736 Prince Kazuraki succeeded to his mother's surname and called himself Tachibana no Moroe 橘諸兄. He became Chancellor of the Senior First Rank, but was forced to resign by Fujiwara no Nakamaro in 756 and died in the following year. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XIX (Tenpyō shōhō 8:2:2).

the throne and summoned rebels to consult with him on the possibilities for a rebellion. He painted a monk's figure as a target and tried to shoot out the pupils of its eyes.[4] He loved to do evil deeds, but none was more evil than this.

Once a slave[5] of Naramaro went to Nara hills 諾樂山[6] to hunt birds with a hawk and found many young foxes there. He caught and skewered them with a stick, leaving the stick standing at the opening of the fox hole. Now, this man had a baby. The mother fox, seeking revenge, turned itself into the baby's grandmother. She took the baby in her arms and carried it to the entrance of the hole, threading it on a skewer and leaving it standing at the entrance as the man had done to her children.

Even a humble animal has the means to repay an evil deed. Immediate retribution lies at hand. How can we live without compassion? Merciless deeds will incur merciless revenge. Thus, Naramaro fell into disgrace with the emperor and was put to death not long after. We learn, therefore, that his evil deed in the above story was an omen of his fate of being killed by the sword. This is also a miraculous event.

41

On a Woman Who Survived Violation of a Big Snake Owing to the Power of Drugs[1]

In the village of Umakai, Sarara district, Kawachi province 河內國更荒郡馬甘里,[2] there was a girl from a wealthy family. In Emperor Ōhi's reign, in the fourth month in the summer of the sixth year of the boar, the third year of the Tenpyō hōji era,[3] the girl climbed a mulberry tree to pick leaves. A large snake crawled up the tree after

4. According to Kitayama, the monk may be Gyōgi who sided with Fujiwara no Nakamaro. This is why Kyōkai wrote about the retribution of Naramaro as well as Prince Nagaya who was also opposed to Nakamaro. See Kitayama, *Nihon kodai seijishi*, 269–330.

5. 奴 *yakko*, the same as *nuhi*; see Chap. I(1) a, n. 24.

6. Nara-yama, present Sahosaki kyūryō 佐保佐紀丘陵; hills north of Nara between Nara Basin and Kyoto Basin.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XXIV, 9). Buddhist adaptation of the snake-lover theme which is also found in II.8, 12. According to Fujisawa Morihiko, a similar legend is found in the tradition of a tribe in Taiwan (see his *Nihon densetsu kenkyū*, IV, 43). A condensed translation of this story is given by D. L. Philippi, "Ancient Tales of Supernatural Marriage," *Today's Japan*, V (No. 3, 1960), 19–23.

2. Present Kita-kawachi-gun, Ōsaka-fu.

3. 759.

her. When a passerby saw it and warned her, she was frightened and fell to the ground. The snake, too, dropped down after her, wrapping itself around her and creeping into her vagina while she lay unconscious. Seeing this, her parents sent for a doctor of medicine[4] and brought their daughter home with the snake on the same bedding, placing it in the yard. Then the doctor burned three sheaves (which means a bundle three feet high) of millet stalks[5] and put the ashes into hot water to get fourteen gallons of liquid, which were boiled down to nine gallons and added to ten bunches of chopped-up boar's hair. After that, the people hung her on stakes by her head and two feet, and poured the prepared brew into the vaginal opening. When they had poured in five gallons of the brew, the snake came out and was killed and thrown away. The snake's eggs were white just like frog's eggs, and approximately two and a half gallons of them came out of the vagina, with boar's hairs sticking to them. When the people had poured in nine gallons of brew, all the snake eggs came out.

The girl, who had fainted, woke up and began to speak. At the inquiry of her parents she answered, "I felt I was dreaming, but now I am awake and all right." Since drugs work effectively, we should deal with them very carefully. After three years she died, having been violated by a snake again.

When man dies and leaves his parents, spouse, and children, he will say, "After death I will not fail to see you again in my next life." According to the law of karmic causality, one is reborn as a snake, horse, cow, dog, or bird, or falls in love with a snake[6] because of evil deeds in the past, or is born in the form of a ghostly creature. Sensual attachments are not all the same.

A scripture[7] describes it in this way: Once, when Buddha and Ānanda[8] were passing a cemetery, a man and wife were making offerings at the tomb and wailing their attachment to the dead. The man cried out of his love for his mother[9] while the wife wept.[10] Buddha heard the woman crying and lamented aloud. Ānanda asked Buddha, "Why are you lamenting, Tathāgata?" Buddha said to him, "This

4. 藥師 *kusushi;* see Chap. II(3)a, n. 125; II.7, n. 15.
5. 稷藁三束 *awakibi wara sanzoku.*
6. Or "makes love as a snake."
7. Unidentified.
8. Śākyamuni's favorite disciple. As he accompanied the Master for more than twenty years, he played an important role in relaying Śākyamuni's teachings.
9. There is some confusion in the relationships of the people involved. Although the text depicts a couple and a woman in this passage, the following words of Buddha are about a couple.
10. The woman cried for her present father-in-law and former husband.

woman had a son in her previous existence. She was so attached to him that she kissed his penis. After three years she contracted a serious disease, and at the last moment she caressed him, kissing his penis and saying, "I will see you in my future existences." She was reborn as the daughter of a neighbor, eventually became the wife of her own son, and is now crying over the ashes of her former husband. Since I know the chain of causation,[11] I am lamenting."

Another scripture[12] gives this story: Once there was a child who was very light and could run as fast as a flying bird. His father loved him so much that he cared for him as he would care for his own eyes. Once when the father saw the child's agility, he commented, "Good for you, my child! You run as fast as a fox!" Then the child died, and was later reborn in the form of a fox.

You should think only of good analogies and not bad ones, for you will incur retribution [for what you say].

42

On the Destitute Woman Whose Devotion to the Image of the Thousand-armed Kannon Brought a Great Fortune in Response to Her Wish for a Share of Benefits[1]

Amanotsukai Minome 海使茨女[2] lived at the Ninth Street, Second Avenue, on the East Side of Nara 諾樂左京九條二坊. She had given birth to nine children, and, as she had no means of livelihood, she was extremely poor. She had been praying to the Thousand-armed Kannon[3] of Anaho-dera 穴穂寺[4] for a share of fortune for nearly a year.

In the reign of Emperor Ōhi 大炊, on the tenth of the tenth month in the winter of the tenth year of the hare, the seventh year of the Tenpyō hōji era,[5] her sister happened to visit her and left a chest made of

11. 本末事.
12. Unidentified.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 10). Similar to II.28, 34.
2. Unknown.
3. Senju Kannon 千手觀音; see Chap. II(3)b, nn. 138, 139, 141.
4. Although the text has 向穂寺, Kariya maintains that it is a compiler's or copier's mistake to replace 穴 with 向. However, Fukuyama says it should be read as 向穂積寺 and that 積 has been left out since the *Konjaku* gives this name. The Hozumi-dera existed in the city of Nara. See Fukuyama, *Narachō jiin*, 313–315.
5. 743, in the reign of Emperor Jun'nin.

leather, the legs of which were soiled with horse dung. The sister said, "Will you keep it for awhile? I will be back shortly." Having waited for the sister's return in vain, the woman went to her brother to inquire about it, but he said, "I know nothing about it."

Then she opened the chest out of curiosity and found a hundred *kan* of coins in it. When she bought flowers, incense, and oil, and went to Kannon to offer them as usual, she noticed that its feet were soiled with horse dung. Thereupon, she suspected that the money was given by the Bodhisattva. It was discovered after three years that a hundred *kan* of coins had disappeared from the construction fund donated to Senju-in 千手院.[6] Thus it was evident that the leather chest contained the money of the temple. Indeed, we know that the money was the gift of the Kannon to her.

The note says: Happy was the mother of the Amanotsukai family. In the morning she had looked at her hungry children, shedding tears of blood, while in the evening she had burned incense, praying for Kannon's power. She had been given the money as a reward for her faith and was able to put an end to her worries; Kannon fulfilled her wishes, letting the springs of great fortune flow to allow her to bring up her children with enough food and clothes.

Indeed, we know that the merciful one[7] came to her aid to repay her continual offerings. The *Nehan-gyō* gives this relevant passage: "By loving the child, the mother is reborn into Bonten 梵天."[8] This is a miraculous event.

6. A temple to enshrine Senju Kannon.
7. 慈子, man of mercy.
8. The Brahama's heaven, first and lowest of the four *dhyāna* heavens.

NIHONKOKU GENPŌ ZEN'AKU RYŌIKI

VOLUME III

by Kyōkai

Monk of Yakushi-ji
on the West Side of Nara

CONTENTS

Thirty-nine Stories on the Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil

Preface 221
1. On the Tongues of the Reciters of the *Hoke-kyō* Which Did Not Decay in the Skulls Exposed to the Elements 223
2. On the Mutual Revenge for Killing by Being Reborn as a Fox and a Dog 225
3. On a Monk Who Received an Immediate Reward because of his Devotion to the Eleven-headed Kanzeon Image 226
4. On a Monk Who Was Saved from Drowning in the Sea by Reciting a Mahayana Scripture 227
5. On Bodhisattva Myōken's Incarnation as a Deer to Detect a Thief 229
6. On the Fish Which a Monk Wanted to Eat and Which Turned into the *Hoke-kyō* to Defend Him against Popular Abuse 230
7. On a Narrow Escape from Death with the Protection of the Wooden Kannon Image 231
8. On a Miraculous Appearance of Bodhisattva Miroku in Response to the Vow 232
9. On King Yama Showing an Extraordinary Sign and Advising That People Practice Good 233
10. On the *Hoke-kyō* Copied with Devotion and Reverence Surviving a Fire 235
11. On a Blind Woman Whose Sight Was Restored Owing to Her Devotion to the Wooden Image of Yakushi Buddha 236
12. On a Blind Man Whose Sight Was Restored Owing to His Chanting of the Name of Nichimanishu of the Thousand-armed Kannon 237
13. On a Man Who Made a Vow to Copy the *Hoke-kyō* and

Who Was Saved from a Dark Pit Devoid of Sunlight Owing to the Power of His Vow 238
14. On Receiving an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death because of Hitting the Reciter of the Dharani of the Thousand-armed Kannon 239
15. On Receiving an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death because of Hitting a Begging Novice 241
16. On a Licentious Woman Whose Children Cried for Milk, Receiving an Immediate Penalty 242
17. On an Extraordinary Sign of an Unfinished Clay Image Groaning 244
18. On the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death for a Licentious Scripture Copier Who Copied the *Hoke-kyō* 245
19. On a Girl Born of a Flesh Ball Who Practiced Good and Enlightened People 246
20. On Immediately Getting a Twisted Mouth by Speaking Ill of a Woman Copying the *Hoke-kyō* 248
21. On a Monk Whose Blind Eye Was Cured by Having the *Kongō hannya-kyō* Recited 249
22. On Being Repaid Good and Evil for Copying the *Hoke-kyō* and for Exploiting Others with Heavy Scales 250
23. On the Immediate Repayments of Good and Evil in Return for a Vow to Copy the *Dai hannya-kyō* and for the Use of the Temple Property 252
24. On Being Born as a Monkey for Keeping Men from Seeking the Way 253
25. On Being Saved by Reciting the Name of Śākyamuni Buddha While Drifting on the Ocean 255
26. On Receiving the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death for Collecting Debts by Force and with High Interest 257
27. On an Extraordinary Sign of a Skull Shown to the Man Who Removed a Bamboo Shoot from Its Eye and Prayed for It 259
28. On an Extraordinary Sign Shown by the Sixteen-foot-high Image of Miroku, the Neck of Which Was Bitten by Ants 261
29. On the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death Incurred by an Ignorant Man Who Broke a Wooden Buddha Image a Village Child Had Made in Playing 262
30. On the Monk Who Accumulated Merits by Making Buddhist Images and Showed an Extraordinary Sign at the End of His Life 263
31. On a Woman Who Gave Birth to Stones and Enshrined Them as Kami 265
32. On a Fisherman Netting Fish Who Was Almost Drowned in the Sea but Saved Owing to His Devotion to Bodhisattva Myōken 266
33. On the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death for Persecuting a Humble, Begging Novice 267

34. On Gaining an Immediate Cure of a Bad Disease for Being Ordained and Practicing Good 270
35. On Being Penalized for Abusing an Official's Authority and Ruling Unrighteously 271
36. On Receiving a Penalty for Building a Lower Pagoda and Taking down the Banners of the Temple 273
37. On Receiving a Penalty for Doing Evil because of Ignorance of the Law of Karmic Causation 274
38. On the Appearance of Good and Evil Omens Which Were Later Followed by Their Results 276
39. On the Rebirth as a Prince of a Monk Who Excelled in Both Wisdom and Discipline 283

Preface to Volume III[1]

The Inner Scriptures[2] show how good and evil deeds are repaid, while the Outer Writings[3] show how good and bad fortunes bring merit and demerit. If we study all the discourses Śākyamuni made during his lifetime, we learn that there are three periods: first, the period of the true dharma (*shōbō* 正法), which lasts five hundred years; second, the period of the counterfeit dharma (*zōbō* 像法), lasting a thousand years; and third, the period of the degenerate dharma (*mappō* 末法), which continues for ten thousand years. By the fourth year of the hare, the sixth year of the Enryaku era,[4] seventeen hundred and twenty-two years have passed since Buddha entered nirvana.[5] Accordingly, we live in the age of the degenerate dharma following the first two periods. Now in Japan, by the sixth year of the Enryaku era, two hundred and thirty-six years have elapsed since the arrival of the Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha.[6] Flowers bloom without voice, and cocks cry without tears. In the present world those who practice good are as few as flowers on rocky hills, but those who do evil are as plentiful as weeds in the soil. Without knowing the law of karmic retribution, one offends as easily as a blind man loses his way. A tiger is known by its tail.[7] Those devoted to fame, profit, and killing doubt the immediate repayment of good and evil which occurs as quickly as a mirror reflects. One who is possessed of an evil spirit is like one who holds a poisonous snake; the poison is always there ready to appear.

The great power of karmic retribution reaches us as quickly as sound echoes in a valley.[8] If we call, the echo never fails to answer, and this is the way karmic retribution works in this life. How can we fail to be more careful? It is useless to repent after spending a lifetime in vain. Who can enjoy immortality since you are given a limited life? How can you depend on your transient life as being eternal? We are already in the age of the degenerate dharma.[9] How can we live with-

1. The Shinpukuji manuscript lacks the first ten lines of the preface. The only extant manuscript which has this paragraph is the Maeda manuscript, and thus this portion is called "Unknown Passage of the Maeda Manuscript." For a discussion of it, see Chap. I(1)b. It consists of one hundred and seventy-seven characters, translated as the first paragraph.

2. 内經 *naikyō;* see I.Preface, n. 1.

3. 外典 *geten;* see I. Preface, n. 2.

4. 787.

5. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 36. The date around 480 B.C. is accepted by most modern scholars.

6. 538 or 552. There is an indication that Kyōkai adopts 552 as the year for the official introduction of Buddhism to Japan.

7. The text may be corrupt.

8. See Chap. I(2)a, n. 139; I.Preface, n. 24.

9. 末劫 *matsugō;* 劫 *kō*, an abbreviated transliteration of Skt. *kalpa*, an astronomical length of time.

out doing good? My heart aches for all beings. How can we be saved from calamity in the age of the degenerate dharma? If we offer monks only a handful of food, the merit of our good deed will save us from the calamity of hunger. If we keep a precept of nonkilling for a day, we will be saved from the calamity of sword and battle.

Once there was a full-fledged monk who lived on a mountain and practiced meditation. At every meal he shared his food with a crow which came to him every day. After a vegetarian meal, he chewed a toothpick,[10] cleaned his mouth, washed his hands and played with a stone. The crow was behind the hedge when he threw the stone. He hit the crow without knowing that it was there. The crow died on the spot, its head crushed into pieces, and was reborn as a boar. The boar lived in the same mountain as the monk. It happened to go to the place above his hut, rooting about among the rocks for food, whereupon one of the rocks rolled down and killed the monk. Although the boar had no intention of killing him, the rock rolled down by itself. A sin committed by an action which is neither good nor bad[11] will in turn generate the same kind of action. In the case of intentional murder, how is it possible to escape the penalty? A deluded mind produces the seed and fruit of evil; an enlightened mind produces the seed of good to attain Buddhahood.

I, the mediocre monk Kyōkai, have not studied enough to ask questions in the manner of the Tendai Sage.[12] Nor am I sufficiently enlightened to answer in the manner of holy and eloquent men.[13] My efforts are like bailing water out of the ocean with a shell or looking at the sky through a straw. Though I am not an eminent monk who transmits the light of dharma[14] I try hard to meditate on it, following the path to the pure land and directing the mind toward enlightenment. I repent of my previous misdeeds and pray for future good. By editing these stories of miraculous events I want to pull the people forward by the ears, offer my hand to lead them to good, and show them how to cleanse their feet of evil. My sincere hope is that we may all be reborn in the western land of bliss, leaving no one on the earth, and live together in the jeweled palace in heaven, abandoning our earthly residence.

10. See I.26, n. 5.

11. 無記 *muki*. This story may have originated in the *Bonmō-kyō bosatsukaihon-sho* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 (*Taishō*, XL, 611), according to Haraguchi ("*Nihon ryōiki* shutten goku kanken," *Kuntengo*, No. 34, 61–62).

12. 天台智者 ; see Chap. I(1)b, n. 51.

13. 神人辯者 .

14. 傳燈良匠 .

I

On the Tongues of the Reciters of the Hoke-kyō *Which Did Not Decay in the Skulls Exposed to the Elements*[1]

In the reign of Empress Abe 帝姫阿倍天皇[2] who governed Ōyashima[3] at Nara Palace, there was a monk, Dhyāna Master Eigō 永興[4] in the village of Kumano in Muro district, Kii province 紀伊國牟婁郡熊野村.[5] He taught and guided the people by the sea. His contemporaries revered him as a bodhisattva, respecting his self-discipline.[6] As he lived in a place south of the imperial capital, he was called the Bodhisattva of the South 南菩薩.[7]

Once a *dhyāna* master came to the bodhisattva. He had with him a copy of the *Hoke-kyō* (written with very small characters in one scroll),[8] a pewter pitcher, and a stool made of rope.[9] He used to recite the *Hoke-kyō* constantly. After one year or so, he thought of leaving Dhyāna Master Eigō, and with a bow presented his stool as an offering, saying, "I am leaving you and going into the mountains to cross over to Ise province 伊勢國.[10] Hearing this, the master gave him one bushel of ground dry glutinous rice, and had two lay brothers accompany him to see him on his way. After having been escorted for a day, he gave them his *Hoke-kyō*, bowl, and ground dry rice, and sent them back, while he continued with only twenty yards of hemp rope and a pewter pitcher.

After two years had passed, the villagers of Kumano went up to a mountain by the upper stream of the Kumano to cut down trees

1. This section consists of two independent stories on the same motif of the "singing skull." See Chap. II(1)b, n. 41, and (3)a. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 31), *Genkō shakusho* (XXIX, 3).

2. Teiki Abe no sumeramikoto, that is, Empress Kōken 孝謙 (r. 749–757) or Shōtoku 稱德 (r. 764–770), twice enthroned. It is hard to know whether this story should be dated in her first or second reign.

3. See II.1, n. 3.

4. See III.2, nn. 3, 4, 5. Also see the *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXII (Hōki 3:3:6). He was appointed as one of the ten *dhyāna* masters in 772.

5. In the vicinity of present Shingū-shi, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣新宮市.

6. 行 *gyō*.

7. Minami no bosatsu.

8. Kyōkai's note.

9. Monks are allowed to possess and carry scriptures, a begging bowl, a pitcher of water for drinking and washing, a stick, a toothpick, a stool made of rope, etc. in traveling. In the Mahayana tradition, the number of such items is eighteen (十八物 *jūhachimotsu*).

10. Present Mie-ken 三重縣.

to build a boat. They heard a voice reciting the *Hoke-kyō*, and it did not stop for days and months. Listening to the voice reciting the scripture, the boat builders felt faith and reverence arising, and, with their rationed food as an offering, they looked everywhere for the reciter. Although they could find no trace of him, the voice reciting the scripture went on as before.

After half a year, they returned to the mountain to draw out the boat. Again they heard the voice continuously reciting the scripture. They reported this to Dhyāna Master Eigō, and, as he also wondered about it, he went to the mountain and heard it for himself. After a search he discovered a corpse hanging over a cliff, its feet tied with a hemp rope, that of a man who had jumped to his death. Beside the corpse there was a pewter pitcher. It was evident that the corpse was that of the monk who had left him. At the sight Eigō wailed in sorrow and went back.

After three more years, villagers came to him, saying, "The voice has never ceased to recite the scripture." Eigō went back to collect the bones, and, when he looked at the skull, he found that the tongue was still alive and had not even begun to decay in the course of three years.

Indeed we know that this event occurred because of the mysterious power of the Mahayana scripture, and the merits of the late monk who had recited it.

The note says: What a noble thing it was for the *dhyāna* master to reveal a miraculous sign of the Mahayana scripture in his flesh-and-blood body by reciting the *Hoke-kyō* constantly! Though he flung himself from a cliff and was exposed to the elements, his tongue alone did not decay. Needless to say, he is sacred and not ordinary.

Also, on Kane-no-take 金峯 in Yoshino[11] there was a *dhyāna* master who went from peak to peak reciting the scripture. Once he heard a voice reciting the *Hoke-kyō* and *Kongō hannya-kyō* ahead of him. He stopped to listen to it, and, in searching in the bushes, he found a skull. Though it had been exposed to the elements for a long time, its tongue had not decayed but retained its life. The *dhyāna* master enshrined it in a purified place, saying to the skull, "By the law of causation I met you," and made a shelter above it with grass, living beside it to recite the scripture and hold services six times a day.[12] As he recited the *Hoke-kyō* the skull joined him, and its tongue vibrated. This is also a miraculous event.

11. Or Kinpu-sen in present Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣吉野郡.
12. 六時行道 *rokuji gyōdō*. See II.13, n. 6.

2

On the Mutual Revenge for Killing by Being Reborn as a Fox and a Dog

Dhyāna Master Eigō was a monk[1] of Kōfuku-ji 興福寺[2] on the East Side of Nara. His secular name was Ashiya-no-kimi 葦屋君 family,[3] or Ichiki 市往 family,[4] according to one tradition. He came from Teshima district in Settsu province 攝津國手嶋郡.[5] He lived a disciplined life in the village of Kumano in Muro district, Kii province 紀伊國牟婁郡熊野村.[6]

Once a sick man in the village came to the temple where he lived, and asked him to cure his disease. As long as he chanted a formula, the patient was cured. If he stopped, however, the disease would return at once. Thus many days passed, and the man was not cured. Making a vow to cure the patient at any cost, the monk continued chanting the formula. Then, possessed by a spirit, the patient said, "I am a fox. I won't surrender easily, so don't try to force me!" The monk asked, "Why?" The patient replied, "This man killed me in his previous life, and I am taking revenge on him. If he dies eventually, he will be reborn as a dog and kill me." In amazement, the *dhyāna* master tried to teach and counsel the spirit, but it did not loosen its hold and finally killed the patient.

A year later, one of his disciples lay in the same room where the patient had been. A visitor tied his dog to a post and came to see the *dhyāna* master. Barking, the dog struggled to free itself from the leash and chain and tried to run away. Amazed, the master said to his visitor, "Set him free to find out the cause." As soon as the dog was released, it ran into the room of the sick disciple and came out with a fox in its mouth. Although the visitor tried to restrain the dog, it would not release the fox but bit it to death.

It was evident that the dead person had been reborn as a dog to take revenge on the fox. Ah! Revenge knows no limits. For King

1. 沙門 *shamon;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 4.
2. It stands in the present Nara Park, Nara-shi 奈良市奈良公園. See I.6, n. 10.
3. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* lists it as an immigrant family in Settsu province.
4. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* says that the family is descended from a prince of Paekche.
5. Present Toyono-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府豐能郡.
6. See III.1, n. 5.

Virūḍhaka 毗瑠璃王[7] killed ninety-nine million and nine hundred thousand men of the Śākyas to revenge the past. If vengeance is used to requite vengeance, then vengeance will never end, but will go on rolling like the wheel of a cart. Forbearance[8] is the virtue of the man who restrains himself by taking his enemy as a teacher and not seeking revenge. Accordingly, enmity is nothing but the teacher of forbearance. This is what the scripture[9] means when it says: "Without respect for the virtue of forbearance one would kill even one's own mother."

3

On a Monk Who Received an Immediate Reward Because of His Devotion to the Eleven-headed Kanzeon Image[1]

The Venerable Bensō 辯宗[2] was a monk of Daian-ji.[3] As he was innately eloquent, he used to address the Buddha on behalf of devotees[4] and won many patrons[5] and popularity.

In the reign of Empress Abe, Bensō borrowed thirty *kan* of coins from the Sutaraku fund of the temple[6] for his own use and could not repay them. The officials of the temple[7] pressed him for repayment. As he had no means of repaying, he went up to a mountain temple of Hatsuse 泊瀬[8] and paid homage to the Eleven-headed Bodhisattva Kannon.[9] Holding the rope tied to the hand of the Bodhisattva Kannon, he prayed, saying, "I have spent the money from the Sutara fund of Daian-ji, but have no means to repay it. I beseech

7. The prince of King Prasenajit. Because of his mother's low status, he was humiliated at Kapilavastu, the castle of the Śākyas. Later, when he was enthroned, he gained revenge on the Śākyas by exterminating them. See *Zōitsu agon-gyō* 增一阿含經, XXVI (*Taishō*, II, 692).

8. 忍辱 *ninniku*, a translation of Skt. *kṣānti*, one of the six kinds of bodhisattvas' self-discipline. See I.6, n. 7.

9. Unidentified.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 27), *Hase-dera reigenki* (III).

2. Unknown.

3. See I.32, n. 6.

4. 白堂 *byakudō;* a kind of mediator who verbally formulates the devotees' wishes to the Buddha.

5. 檀越 *taniochi;* see I.7, n. 18.

6. See II.24, n. 6.

7. 維那 *ina*, one of the *sangō* 三綱, samgha officials. See Chap. I(1)d, n. 84.

8. Present Hase-dera, Hatsuse-machi, Shiki-gun, Nara-ken.

9. See Chap. II(3)b, nn. 137, 142.

you to give me the money." He chanted the name of Kannon and prayed. The officials followed him there to ask for repayment. He answered them, saying, "Please wait for a moment. I am praying to the Bodhisattva for the money for repayment. It won't take long."

At that time Prince Fune 船親王,[10] led by a good cause, came to the mountain temple and held a service. Holding the rope tied to the image, Bensō continued praying, "Please give me the money so that I may repay it at once." Hearing this, the prince asked Bensō's disciple, "What makes him pray like that?" The disciple told him about the whole affair. When the prince heard it, he gave the money to repay the debt.

Indeed we know that this was brought about by the great compassion of the Kannon and the utmost devotion of the monk.

4

On a Monk Who Was Saved from Drowning in the Sea by Reciting a Mahayana Scripture

In the capital of Nara there was a fully qualified monk[2] whose name is unknown. He used to recite a Mahayana scripture[3] and lived as a layman, supporting his family by lending money. His only daughter married and lived separately with her husband. In the reign of Empress Abe, her husband was appointed an official in Mutsu province.[4] Therefore, he borrowed twenty *kan* of money from his father-in-law to outfit himself and went off to his new post. After many years, he repaid only the principal but not the interest, which had become as much as the principal in the course of time. Meanwhile the father-in-law asked for repayment. The son developed a secret hatred of him and looked for a chance to kill him. The father-in-law, however, did not know this and urged him, as usual, to repay the debt.

10. Or 船王, son of Prince Toneri 舎人親王, and a grandson of Emperor Tenmu; exiled to Oki because of his involvement in Nakamaro's rebellion. See III.38.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 15), *Fusō ryakki* (VI, Genmyō), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 38).
2. 大僧 *daisō*.
3. 方廣經典; see Chap. II(1)a, n. 8.
4. Mutsu is larger than other provinces, comprising present Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori. *Jō* 掾 is a provincial magistrate of the third class (local magistrates are 守, 介, 掾, 目, 史生).

One day the son said to his father-in-law, "I would like to take you to Mutsu province." The latter agreed and got on board a ship for Mutsu. Plotting with the sailors, the son tied his father-in-law up and threw him into the sea. When he went home, he said to his wife, "As your father wanted to see you, I took him on the ship for the voyage. Before long we ran into a storm at sea, and the ship[5] sank. Your father, being beyond any means of rescue, was drowned. He drifted on the sea before he sank under the water, while I barely saved myself." The wife, greatly dejected by this news, wailed and said, "How unhappy I am to lose my father! Did my idea of inviting him cause me to lose my treasure? It would be easier to find a jewel on the bottom of the sea than to see him and collect his bones. What a pity!"

Meanwhile, the monk sank into the water, reciting a Mahayana scripture with utmost devotion, and found that the water left a hollow space allowing him to crouch safely on the bottom. After two days and nights another ship bound for Mutsu province sailed by. The sailors noticed the tip of a rope drifting on the sea, and, seizing it, pulled up the monk on the other end. He looked as well as ever. The sailors, therefore, wondered greatly and asked him, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am so and so. I met robbers and was thrown into the sea with my limbs bound with a rope." Then they asked him again, "Venerable Master, by what magic could you survive without being drowned in the water?" He said, "I am always reciting a Mahayana scripture. No doubt its mysterious power has saved me." Thus he never revealed his son-in-law's name. He asked then, "Will you take me to a port in Mutsu?" Accordingly, they took him there.

As for the son-in-law in Mutsu province, he held a service for the drowned father, making an offering to the Three Treasures. The father, who had been wandering and begging there, happened to attend the service with a group of self-ordained monks[6] and received an offering of food while his face was covered. When the son-in-law held out offerings for the monks, the drowned father put his hands out to receive them. The startled son-in-law shrank back in horror, his eyes shifting restlessly and his face flushing. He hid himself, stricken with terror. The smiling father-in-law showed no anger but only forbearance, never revealing the evil deed. Owing to the hollow space in the water, he did not drown; nor was he eaten by a poisonous fish, but remained safe in the sea. Indeed we know that this was

5. 驛船 *ekisen;* government boats for transportation. Cf. I.30, n. 6.
6. 自度 *jido.*

caused by the miraculous power of a Mahayana scripture and the protection of various Buddhas.

The note says: How good he was to be tolerant and not to accuse his son-in-law of his evil deed! Indeed he was the very model of fortitude. This is what the *Jōagon-gyō*[7] means when it says: "To requite vengeance with vengeance is like trying to put out a fire with hay, but to requite vengeance with mercy is like putting out a fire with water."

5

On Bodhisattva Myōken's Incarnation as a Deer to Detect a Thief

In Asuka district, Kawachi province 河内國安宿郡,[1] there was a mountain temple of Shidehara 信天原山寺.[2] It was a place to offer lamps to Bodhisattva Myōken 妙見菩薩,[3] and every year lamps were offered from provinces around the capital.[4]

In the reign of Empress Abe, the devotees' association[5] held the usual celebration of offering lamps[6] to the Bodhisattva and made offerings of money and valuables to the monk in charge of the temple.[7] At that time his disciple stole five *kan* of money from the offerings and hid it. Later the disciple went to the spot to retrieve the money and discovered nothing but a dead deer with an arrow in it. Therefore, he went to the village of Inoue-dera 井上寺[8] near the city of Kawachi to get men to help him bring down the deer. When he led them to the spot, there was no deer but the five *kan* of money. In this way the thief was discovered.

Indeed, we know that the deer was not real but had been a temporary manifestation of the Bodhisattva. It is a miraculous event.

7. Kariya says that this passage is found not in the *Jōagon-gyō* but *Bonmō-kyō koshakki*, III (*Taishō*, XL, 712).

1. Present Minami-kawachi-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府南河内郡.
2. Unidentified.
3. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 133.
4. 畿内 Kinai; see Chap. I(1)a, n. 3.
5. 知識 *chishiki*.
6. 燃燈 *nentō*.
7. 室主 *muronushi*.
8. Or Fukō-ji 普光寺, Torisaka-dera 鳥坂寺.

6

On the Fish Which a Monk Wanted to Eat and Which Turned into the Hoke-kyō to Defend Him Against Popular Abuse[1]

On Mt. Yoshino there was a mountain temple called Amabe-no-mine 海部峯.[2] In the reign of Empress Abe, a fully qualified monk lived an ardent life of self-discipline there. When he became too exhausted and weak to move around, he had a desire to eat fish and said to his disciple, "I would like to have fish. Will you go and get some for me to eat?" According to the master's wish, the disciple went to the seacoast of Kii province, bought eight fresh gray mullet,[3] and returned with them in a small chest.

On the way he happened to meet three familiar patrons of the temple who asked him, "What are you carrying in the chest?" The acolyte[4] answered, "This is the *Hoke-kyō*." However, the water from the fish dripped out of the chest, and it smelled. The laymen realized that it was not the scripture. Soon they came to the neighborhood of the market of Uchi in Yamato province大和國內市.[5] They rested beside the acolyte and pressed him, saying, "What you are carrying is not the scripture. It is fish." He replied, "It is not fish. It is nothing but the scripture." Then they forced him to open the chest. Having found it impossible to refuse, he opened it and discovered that the eight fish had turned into eight scrolls of the *Hoke-kyō*. At the sight the laymen were stricken with awe and wonder and left him.

One of them, however, was still suspicious, and, wanting to find out about the whole affair, followed him in secret. When the acolyte returned to the mountain temple, he reported to his master in detail what the laymen had done. Listening to him, the master felt wonder and joy in learning that heaven had protected him, and he ate the fish. Thereupon, the layman who had witnessed the whole series of events, prostrated himself on the ground and said to the *dhyāna* master,

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 16), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 37), *Genkō shakusho* (XII), *Hokke kenki* (I, 10).

2. Located at present Higashi-yoshino-mura, Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣吉野郡東吉野村.

3. 鰤 *nayoshi*, or *bora* in contemporary Japanese. See Sekine Shinryū, *Narachō shokuseikatsu no kenkyū*, 159–160, for its references in other documents.

4. 童子 *warawa;* see I.3, n. 8.

5. Unidentified.

"Fish turn into the *Hoke-kyō* when a sage eats them.[6] Because of our ignorant and wicked minds, we disturbed and accused him without knowing the law of causality. Will you please forgive our sin? From now on I acknowledge you as a great master and will serve you with reverence and offerings." After that he became a great patron of the temple and made offerings to the master.

Indeed, we know that the master saved himself through his devotion to dharma. As to his food, even poison turns into honeydew; eating fish is no offense for him. For fish is turned into a scripture, and heaven in sympathy prepares a way for him. This is also a miraculous event.

7

On a Narrow Escape from Death with the Protection of the Wooden Kannon Image

Ōma Yamatsugi 大眞山繼[1] of the Senior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade, was of the village of Ogawa, Tama district, Musashi province 武藏國多磨郡小河鄕.[2] His wife was a woman of the Shiragabe family.[3] Yamatsugi became a soldier and was sent to the frontier to conquer the hairy men.[4] While he was away, his wife made a wooden image of Kannon and worshipped it with great devotion and reverence, praying for her husband's safety. Untouched by disasters, he came home and served the Kannon with his wife, grateful for its protection.

Several years passed after that time. In the reign of Empress Abe, in the twelfth month of the first year of the dragon, the eighth year of the Tenpyō hōji era, Yamatsugi was involved in the rebellion of Nakamaro 仲麿,[5] and was one of thirteen men sentenced to death.

6. Cf. I.5, n. 20. This means that even a forbidden food is all right for a sage who is free from precepts.

1. Unknown.
2. Present Akita-machi, Nishi-tama-gun, Tokyo-to 東京都西多摩郡秋多町.
3. See I.29, n. 2; also, *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXVIII (Enryaku 4:5:3). The Shiragabe family changed its name to Magabe because of the similarity to Emperor Shirakabe 白壁天皇.
4. 毛人 Emishi, indigenous people of the northeastern part of Japan, ethnically different from the people of the Yamato court.
5. Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麿, later known as Emi no Oshikatsu 惠美押勝 (706–764), who rebelled against ex-Empress Kōken and Dōkyō and was executed. After this event, Kōken was re-enthroned as Empress Shōtoku. See III.38, n. 4.

When twelve of the men had been beheaded, he had a strange vision: the wooden image of Kannon he had worshipped so devotedly accused him, saying, "Oh, why do you stay in such a filthy place?" and transfixed his body with its leg from head to toe, making his body a girdle of its leg.

At the moment when the executioner was about to behead him, after ordering him to stretch out his neck, an imperial messenger hurried in, asking, "Is there a man named Ōma Yamatsugi among these?" "Yes, he is about to be beheaded," was the answer. Whereupon the messenger said, "Don't kill him. He is to be exiled to Shinano province."[6]

He was exiled, but, before long, was recalled and appointed an assistant governor[7] of Tama district. On his neck could still be seen a scar from a cut inflicted by the sword at the moment he was to have been executed. It was Kannon that saved him from being beheaded. For you will be filled with great delight and saved from calamity with Kannon's help if your faith arises and your devotion deepens owing to the merit you have accumulated.

8

On a Miraculous Appearance of Bodhisattva Miroku in Response to the Vow

In the village of Oe, Sakata district, Ōmi province 近江國坂田郡遠江里,[1] there lived a wealthy man, whose name is unknown. Once he made a vow to copy the *Yuga-ron* 瑜伽論,[2] but many years passed, and the vow was not fulfilled. Finally the man fell on bad times and lost his means of livelihood. He left home, abandoning his family, and lived a life of discipline in pursuit of happiness. Remembering his unfulfilled vow, he was always thinking how he might achieve it.

In the reign of Empress Abe, in the ninth month in the autumn of the third year of the horse, the second year of the Tenpyō jingō era,[3]

6. Present Nagano-ken 長野縣.
7. 少領 *shōryō*; see I.30, n. 3.

1. Present Azai-chō, Higashi-azai-gun, Shiga-ken 滋賀縣東淺井郡淺井町.
2. *Yugashiji-ron* 瑜伽師地論 (*Taishō*, XXX, No. 1579). (Skt. *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*). Maitreya's discourse translated by Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 and a major text for the Hossō School.
3. 766, in the reign of Empress Shōtoku.

he went to a mountain temple and stayed for several days. In its precincts there was a bush. All of a sudden, an image of Bodhisattva Miroku 彌勒菩薩[4] appeared[5] on the bark of a branch of the bush. When the ascetic saw it, he walked around the bush and prayed fervently.

At the news people came to see the image. Some donated bags of rice, while others gave money and clothing. With these donations he was able to copy one hundred scrolls of the *Yuga-ron* and hold a dedication ceremony, although the image vanished some time before.

Indeed we know that Miroku high in Tosotsuten 兜率天[6] came down in response to his vow so that he could attain deep faith and happiness here below in this land bound by suffering.[7] How can one doubt it?

9

In the reign of Empress Abe, Fujiwara no asomi Hirotari 藤原朝臣廣足[2] was suddenly taken ill, and, in order to cure the illness, he went to live at a mountain temple of Makihara, Uda district, Yamato province 大和國菟田郡眞木原.[3] He kept the eight precepts and quietly practiced calligraphy with a brush at the desk till the evening of the seventeenth of the second month in the second year of the Jingo keiun era.[4] His young attendant, thinking he was asleep, shook him and tried to waken him, saying, "It is time to worship the Buddha since the sun has set." Still he remained motionless. The attendant shook

4. Maitreya; see Chap. II(3)b, n. 131. The Hossō School traditionally chose Maitreya as the focus of devotion.

5. 化生 *keshō;* one of the four kinds of birth. See I.21, n. 5.

6. A combination of a transliteration of Skt. Tuṣita and a translation of *deva*, 天; the fourth of the six heavens of the world of desire. Tradition says Maitreya resides and preaches in its inner palace waiting to descend to this world at the end of the age of degenerate dharma.

7. 願主下在 苦縛凡地 in contrast to the heavens.

1. Cf. *Jizō reigenki* (VI, 20). *Uji shūi monogatari* (VI, 1). On the theme "visit to the other world," this tale resembles I.30; II.5, 7, 16, 19; III.36, 37. See also Chap. II(1)b, c.

2. Unknown.

3. Kariya says that the remains of the temple are found near Kōsui Pass, north of present Haibara-chō, Uda-gun, Nara-ken 奈良縣宇陀郡榛原町.

4. 768.

him harder, and he dropped his brush and fell flat on his back with his arms and legs folded, not breathing. Upon close inspection he was found to be dead. In awe and terror the attendant ran home to inform his family and relatives of his death. At the news they prepared for a funeral, but they went to the temple three days later and found him restored to life and cured of the illness, waiting for them.

He answered their inquiries in this way: "There came men with moustaches growing straight up, clad in red robes and armor and equipped with swords and halberds. They called to me, saying, 'The Office[5] has suddenly summoned you,' and, with a halberd at my back urged me to accompany them. They forced me to hurry all the way, with one in front and two in the rear escorting me.

"Ahead of us there was a deep river; the water being black as ink, did not run but stood still. A good-sized young branch was placed in the middle of the stream, but it was not long enough to reach both sides of the river. The messenger said to me, 'Follow me into the stream and ford it by following in my footsteps.' Thus he guided me across.

"There was a many-story pavilion in front of us that was shining brightly and gave off light. Curtains made of precious stone beads closed four sides of the building, so that I could not see the face of the person sitting inside. One messenger ran inside and addressed him, saying, 'Here he is.' A voice answered, 'Let him in.'

"When I was led in, the curtain was moved, and the king asked me, 'Do you know the woman standing behind you?' Turning around, I saw my wife who had died in childbirth. I replied, 'This is none other than my wife.' Then the king said to me, 'I have summoned you because of this woman's appeal. She has already suffered three of her six years of punishment, and she has three more years to go. She implored me to let her share the rest of her suffering with you since she died in childbirth.'

"I said, 'I will copy, expound, and recite the *Hoke-kyō* and hold services in order to save her from suffering.' Then my wife addressed the king, saying, 'Please take his word and let him go back to the world at once.' Agreeing with her, the king said to me, 'Go back to the world immediately and practice good.'

"When I reached the gate of the palace, as he had directed me, I was curious to know who had summoned me, and, turning around, asked, 'I would like to know who you are.' Thereupon, he said, 'I am King Yama, also called Bodhisattva Jizō in your country.'[6] Then he stroked

5. 閻 *mikado;* see II.24, n. 11.
6. See Chap. II(1)c, n. 55.

my neck with his right hand, saying, 'You will never meet disaster, since I have marked you with a charm. Lose no time in going home.' One finger of his hand was about ten yards around."[7]

This is the report of Hirotari no asomi. For the sake of his deceased wife, he copied, expounded, and recited the *Hoke-kyō*, held services, and accumulated many posthumous merits in order to atone for her suffering and save her. This is an extraordinary event.

10

On the Hoke-kyō *Copied with Devotion and Reverence Surviving a Fire*[1]

Muro no shami 牟婁沙彌 was of the Enomoto 榎本 family,[2] being self-ordained without a clerical name. He was popularly called the Novice of Muro, for he came from Muro district in Kii province 紀伊國牟婁郡.[3] Living in the village of Arata in Ate district 安諦郡荒田村,[4] he shaved his head and face and wore a surplice, but he led a householder's life, following a vocation to earn his livelihood.[5] He made a vow to copy the *Hoke-kyō* as it should be done, and, in a state of purification, he started copying it by himself.[6] After every bodily function he purified himself by bathing, and, when six months had passed, he finished copying. After the dedication ceremony he put the *Hoke-kyō* in a lacquered leather chest, which he placed in a high niche in his living room for occasional reading.

In the summer of the sixth year of the cock, the third year of the Jingo keiun era,[7] at noon on the twenty-third of the fifth month, a fire broke out and destroyed his whole house. In the raging flames only the chest containing the scripture remained unharmed. When he

7. 十抱餘 ; see Chap. II(1)c, n. 60.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 29), *Myōhōki* (I, On a Nun of Hotung).
2. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* lists the Enomoto family as being descended from kami.
3. Present Higashi- and Nishi-muro-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣 東, 西牟婁郡.
4. Present Arida-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣有田郡.
5. See Chap. I(1)d.
6. Copying the *Hoke-kyō* is one of the five devotional practices recommended in it; upholding, reading, reciting, expounding, and copying it are regarded as adequate means to spread its teaching, although there are evidences that copying was added in the later stage of its compilation. Dedication ceremonies of copied scriptures became a popular means to attain merit. See Kiyota Jakuun, "*Hoke-kyō* no shosha ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, No. 71/72 (April 1965), 160–171.
7. 769.

opened the chest, he found the color of the scripture brilliant and its characters distinct. People came from all quarters to see it and could not help wondering at it.

Indeed, we know that the same manifestations of power took place here as in the case of the scripture being copied properly by a highly disciplined nun of Hotung 河東練行尼, or as in the case of the daughter of Wang Yü 王與女 in the time of the Ch'en dynasty being saved from fire by reciting the scripture.[9]

The note says: How praiseworthy was this member of the Enomoto family for accumulating merits by his great devotion and by copying the Ekayana scripture![10] The guardian deity of dharma performed a miracle in the flames. This is an effective story for converting the minds of nonbelievers and an excellent guide for stopping offenses of the evil-minded.

II

On a Blind Woman Whose Sight Was Restored Owing to Her Devotion to the Wooden Image of Yakushi Buddha[1]

There was a wooden image of Yakushi-nyorai 藥師如來[2] in Tadehara-dō 蓼原堂[3] in the village of Tadehara, south of the pond of Koshida 越田池 in the capital of Nara.[4] In the reign of Empress Abe, a blind woman lived in the village. She was a widow whose only daughter was seven years old. She was so poor that she could not get food, and almost starved to death. She said to herself, "My poverty comes not only from my deeds in this life but from those in my previous lives.[5] I had better practice good with faith rather than die of hunger in vain."

Asking her daughter to lead her, she went to the hall and prayed to

8. See *Myōhōki*, I (*Taishō*, LI, 789).
9. Source unknown.
10. 一乘經, that is, *Hoke-kyō* which expounds the Ekayana teaching that all vehicles are reduced into one vehicle on the ultimate level. See I.Preface, n. 16; III.38, n. 42.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 19), *Genkō shakusho* (XXIX, 3).
2. *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhatathāgata*; see Chap. II(3)b, n. 135.
3. Unidentified.
4. It may be located in the southern outskirts of the capital.
5. 宿業; see I.8, n. 4.

the image of Yakushi Buddha for restoration of her sight, saying, "I do not care for my life, only for my daughter's. Both of us are about to die. I entreat you to give me sight!" A patron of the temple who was present saw her and, in sympathy, opened the door of the hall to let her pay homage to the image and recite its name.[6]

Two days later the daughter saw something pink and as sticky as gum suddenly oozing from the breast of the image. She told her mother about it. The mother, who wanted to eat it, said to her child, "Will you take some and put it in my mouth?" It was delicious, and all at once her eyes were opened.

Indeed we learn that any vow will be fulfilled if made with utmost devotion. This is an extraordinary event.

12

On a Blind Man Whose Sight Was Restored Owing to His Chanting of the Name of Nichimanishu of the Thousand-armed Kannon[1]

In a village east of Yakushi-ji 薬師寺[2] in the capital of Nara, there was a blind man whose eyes were open, but he could not see. He was devoted to Kannon and meditated on Nichimanishu 日摩尼手[3] to restore his eyesight. During the day he used to sit at the eastern gate of Yakushi-ji, spread a handkerchief, and chant the name of Nichimanishu. Passersby and sympathizers put money, rice, and cereal on the handkerchief. At other times he sat in the marketplace doing the same thing. When he heard the temple bell at noon, he would go to the temple to beg food from the monks and in this way he lived for many years.

In the reign of Empress Abe, two strangers came to him, saying, "In sympathy for you we have come to cure your eyes." After they

6. 稱禮 *shōrai.*

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XVI, 23).
2. See Editor's Preface, n. 4.
3. The Thousand-armed Kannon has forty arms in addition to the regular two, and each of them has twenty-five spheres of existence; hence, the figure 1,000 is arrived at. Nichimanishu or Nisshōmanishu 日精摩尼手 is the eighth right arm of the forty, which holds the jewel of the sun, a symbol of Kannon's cosmic significance. It gives off light continuously. *Senju-sengen-kanzeon-bosatsu-daihishin-darani* says, "The blind man should recite [the following *mantra*] in the name of Nisshōmanishu . . ." (*Taishō*, XX, 111a).

had treated both his eyes, they said, "We will come back here without fail in two days. Don't forget to wait for us." Before long both his eyes grew bright and he recovered his eyesight. On the promised day he waited for them, but they never returned.

The note says: How good it was for a blind man to recover his eyesight in this present life and to travel far along the Great Way,[4] having thrown away his cane, seeing clearly and acting firmly. Indeed, we know that it happened because of the power of Kannon and the great devotion of the blind man.

13

On a Man Who Made a Vow to Copy the Hoke-kyō *and Who Was Saved From a Dark Pit Devoid of Sunlight Owing to the Power of His Vow*[1]

In Aita district, Mimasaka province 美作國英多郡,[2] there was a state-owned iron mine. In the reign of Empress Abe, a provincial magistrate drafted ten workmen and had them enter the iron mine to dig out ore. All of a sudden, the entrance to the mine caved in. Surprised and terrified, the workmen made a rush for the exit, and nine of them barely managed to escape. Before the last man got out, the entrance was blocked. The magistrate and people, high and low, grieved for him, for they thought he had been crushed to death in the landslide. Wailing in grief, his family painted an image of Kannon and copied the scriptures to give merits to the dead man, thus completing the seventh day service.[3]

The man, however, was sealed in the pit alone, saying to himself, "I have not yet fulfilled my vow which I made recently to copy the *Hoke-kyō*. If my life is saved, I will fulfill it without fail." In the dark pit he felt regret and sorrow greater than he had ever experienced.

Meanwhile he noticed that the door of the pit opened a little and

4. 太方 *taihō*; the path of Buddha.

1. Cf. *Myōhōki* (I, On a Servant in Yeh 鄴下人), *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 17), *Hokke kenki* (III, 108), *Fusō ryakki* (VI, Genmyō), *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 9).

2. Or Agata district; present Aita-gun, Okayama-ken 岡山縣英多郡.

3. Or "seventh day services" which are usually continued for seven seven-day periods during which the dead person's future existence is decided. But from the following story we choose "seventh day service" as more probable than a longer period.

a ray of sunlight came in. A novice[4] entered through the opening and brought him a bowl filled with delicacies, saying, "Your family made offerings of food and drink so that I might save you. I have come to you since you have been wailing in grief." So saying, he went out. Not long after he had gone, a hole opened above the man's head, and sunlight flooded the pit. The opening was about two feet square and fifty feet high.

At the same time, about thirty men who had come into the mountain to collect vines passed near the hole. The man at the bottom of the pit saw them pass and cried, "Take my hand." The workmen in the mountain heard what sounded like the hum of a mosquito. Out of curiosity they dropped a vine into the pit with a stone at the end of the vine. The man took hold of it and pulled. It was evident that there was someone at the bottom. They made a rope and a basket of vines, tied lengths of vine rope to the four corners of the basket, and lowered it into the pit with a pulley set up at the opening. When the man at the bottom got into the basket, they pulled him up and sent him home.

Nothing could surpass the joy of his family. The provincial magistrate asked him, "What good did you do?" The man told him the whole story. Greatly moved, the magistrate organized a devotees' association[5] to cooperate in copying the *Hoke-kyō* and held a dedication ceremony.

This took place owing to the divine power of the *Hoke-kyō* and the favor of Kannon.[6] There is no doubt about this.

14

On Receiving an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death Because of Hitting the Reciter of the Dharani of the Thousand-armed Kannon[1]

In Kaga district, Echizen province 越前國加賀郡,[2] there was an of-

4. An incarnated Kannon.
5. 知識 *chishiki*.
6. This story is a rare case of Kannon and *Hoke-kyō* combined in one story.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 8).
2. Present Kawakita-gun and Ishikawa-gun, Ishikawa-ken 石川縣河北郡, 石川郡. Since Kaga district became Kaga province in 823, this story offers one evidence for dating the compilation of the *Nihon ryōiki* before 823. See *Ruijū sandai-kyaku*, V (Kōnin 14:2:3).

ficial in charge of vagrants.[3] He hunted for them and made them work on temporary projects, forcing them to pay production and labor taxes. At that time there was a man registered in the capital of Nara, whose name was Ono no asomi Niwamaro 小野朝臣庭麿.[4] He became a lay brother and recited the dharani of the Thousand-armed Kannon. He led a life of self-discipline, wandering in the mountains in that district.

In the spring of the sixth year of the cock, the third year of the Jingo keiun era,[5] on the twenty-seventh of the third month, the official[6] was in the village of Mimakawa 御馬河里[7] in that district about noon. He came across the ascetic and said to him, "Where do you come from?" The man replied, "I am practicing the path; I am not a layman." In anger the official accused him, saying, "No, you are a vagrant. Why didn't you pay your taxes?" Though the official bound and hit him to force him to work, the ascetic refused and sorrowfully quoted a proverb to him, saying, "There is a proverb that says: 'When lice from the clothes climb up to the head, they turn black; when lice from the head go down to the clothes, they turn white.' I carry the dharani on the top of my head and scriptures on my back so that I may not be persecuted by lay people. Why did you hit and humiliate one who upholds Mahayana teachings? They have a miraculous power, as I will now demonstrate."[8]

The official bound the scripture called the *Senju-kyō* 千手經[9] with a rope and dragged it along the ground. His house was about half a mile[10] from the spot where he had hit the ascetic. When he reached his house and wanted to get down from the horse, he was immobilized and could not dismount. At that instant he flew through the sky with his horse until he was suspended over the spot where he had hit the

3. 浮浪人 *ukarebito;* those who left their registered place of birth to evade taxation; no longer under the control of the *ritsuryō* government, they sought the protection of powerful nobles and local gentry or pretended to be monks and nuns. The first prohibition against the practice is recorded in 709. See *Shoku Nihongi* IV (Wadō 2:10:14); VI (Reiki 1:5:1 and Yōrō 1:5:17, 4:3:17, 4:5:21). See Naoki, "Nara jidai ni okeru furō ni tsuite," *Shirin*, XXXIV (No. 3, 1951), 19–39.

4. The Ono family is descended from the imperial family, according to the *Shinsen shōjiroku*. See *Nihon shoki*, XXIX (Tenmu 13:11:1); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 366.

5. 769.

6. The official who hunted vagrants was often of the local gentry, and he made them work for him.

7. Present Mima-machi, Kanazawa-shi 金澤市三馬町

8. This may also be translated as follows: "If you have a miraculous power, please demonstrate it now." In this case, it is addressed to the scriptures and not to the official.

9. See n. 11, below, and also Chap. II(3)b, n. 138.

10. 一里; 1 *ri* was 0.41 mile, although 1 *ri* equals 2.45 miles according to the present standards of measurement.

ascetic. About noon on the following day he fell to the ground after having been in the air for one day and one night. His body was broken into pieces, just like a bagful of scattered needles. Everyone who witnessed it was filled with terror and awe.

The *Senju-kyō*[11] gives a relevant passage: "Great divine dharani[12] can bring branches, blossoms, and fruit even to a dead tree. To speak ill of this dharani means to speak ill of Buddhas as numerous as the grains of sand of the River Ganges. . . ." A Mahayana scripture[13] has a passage to the same effect: "The sin of speaking ill of wise men is equal to that of destroying temples and pagodas in eighty-four thousand counties."[14]

15

On Receiving an Immediate Penalty of Violent Death Because of Hitting a Begging Novice

Inukai no sukune Maoyu 犬養宿禰眞老[1] lived in the village of Saki, north of the Imperial Mausoleum of Ikume 活目陵北之佐岐村[2] in the capital of Nara. Innately evil-minded, he hated mendicants. In the reign of Empress Abe, a novice went to Maoyu's door to beg food. Far from making an offering, Maoyu robbed him of his surplice and accused him, saying, "What kind of monk are you?" The mendicant replied, "I am a self-ordained monk."[3] Maoyu chased him away, and the mendicant left, filled with ill will.

That evening Maoyu cooked some carp in soup and chilled it until it was set.[4] The next morning at about eight o'clock he awoke and tasted the carp while still in bed. When he was about to drink some rice wine, however, he vomited black blood and fell on his side as

11. 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 (*Taishō*, XX, 111).
12. 大神咒 *daishinju;* in this case, Senju dharani or Daihishin dharani.
13. 方廣經 *Hōkō-kyō*.
14. Unlocated.

1. The Inukai family was originally in charge of hunting and guarding public granaries.
2. Emperor Suinin's mausoleum was located on the Third Street, Third Avenue, on the West Side of Nara, and the Village of Saki is at present Saki-machi, Nara-shi 奈良縣佐紀町, not far from Yakushi-ji.
3. 自度 *jido*.
4. When the soup is chilled, it becomes gelatinous.

though in a trance, his breathing stopped; as though asleep, his life came to an end.

Indeed, we learn that an evil mind is a sharp sword which kills the bearer; an angry mind is an evil fiend which incurs calamities; greediness causes the suffering of a hungry fiend; avarice is an impenetrable bush to block the offering of compassion. When you see a mendicant, you should be merciful and happy and make spiritual and material offerings. Therefore, the *Jōbu-ron* 丈夫論[5] gives this passage: "Those who are greedy value even mud more than gold and jewels, while those who are merciful offer gold and jade, caring less for them than grass and trees. At the sight of a mendicant they cannot bear to say they have no alms and wail in sorrow. . . ."

16

On a Licentious Woman Whose Children Cried for Milk, Receiving an Immediate Penalty

Yokoe no omi Naritojime 横江臣成習女[1] was from Kaga district, Echizen province 越前國加賀郡.[2] Innately licentious, she used to keep company with many men. She died before completing the best years of her life,[3] and many years passed.

Dharma Master Jakurin 寂林,[4] who was from the village of Noo, Nagusa district, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡能應里,[5] left his home and traveled to other provinces, practicing the teachings and seeking the path. He came to the village of Uneda in Kaga district 加賀郡畝田村[6] and stayed there for some years. In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe 白壁,[7] who governed Ōyashima 大八嶋[8] at Nara Palace, on the night

5. *Daijōbu-ron*, I (*Taishō*, XXX, 260). This quotation shows more identity with the *Shokyō yōshū* than the original text. See *Shokyō yōshū*, X (*Taishō*, LIX, 93). 又丈夫論云 若慳心多者 雖復泥土重於金玉 若悲心多者 雖施金玉輕於草木 若慳心多者喪失財寶心大憂惱 . . . 富慳貪者 生餓鬼中 受無量苦 . . . 菩薩心念施無有財物 見人乞時 不忍言無 悲苦墮涙 . See also III.33, n. 21.

1. Unknown. Naritojime seems to be her first name.
2. See III.14, n. 2.
3. 丁齡; from twenty-one to sixty. See *Ryō no gige*, "Ko-ryō," Article 6.
4. Unknown.
5. Present Yamaguchi-mura, Kaisō-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣海草郡山口村.
6. Present Ōno, Ishikawa-gun, Ishikawa-ken 石川縣石川郡大野.
7. Emperor Kōnin 光仁 (r. 770–780).
8. See II.1, n. 3.

of the twenty-third of the twelfth month, in the winter of the seventh year of the dog, the Hōki era,[9] he had a dream: He was heading toward the east along the path in front of Prince Shōtoku's palace at Ikaruga, Yamato province.[10] The path was like a mirror, about half a furlong wide,[11] and as straight as a plumb line, with a grove of trees on one side. Jakurin stopped to look into the grove and found a large naked woman crouching there. Both her breasts were swollen as big as a mound oven and hanging down with pus oozing from them. Kneeling, she grasped her knees with her hands, looked at her sick breasts, and said, "How painful my breasts are!"

Jakurin asked her, "Who are you?" She replied, "I am the mother of Yokoe no omi Narihito 横江臣成人 in the village of Uneda in Ōno, Kaga district, Echizen province. In the prime of life I was licentious and used to keep company with many men, abandoning my little ones so that I could lie with men. For days they were hungry for my breasts. Among them, Narihito was the hungriest. I received a penalty of this disease of swollen breasts because of my sin of letting my little ones go hungry for milk." He asked her, "How can you be released from this sin?" She answered, "If Narihito learns of it, he will forgive my sin."

Awaking from the dream, Jakurin was amazed; filled with wonder, he went round the village inquiring about the man. One man answered, "I am the very one you are seeking." Jakurin told him about the dream. On hearing it, he said, "I lost my mother at such a young age that I do not remember her. But I have an elder sister who may know the situation well." When he asked his sister, she said, "The story is true. Our mother had such good features that she was loved by men, kept company with them, and begrudged giving her breasts to us."

Thereupon, all the children grieved and said, "We don't bear her a grudge. Why does our loving mother suffer for this sin?" They made Buddhist images and copied scriptures in order to atone for her sin. After the ceremony was over, she appeared to Jakurin once more in a dream, saying, "I am now released from my sin."

Indeed, we learn that a mother's tender breasts, though capable of bestowing great benefit, can, on the contrary, become a source of sin if she begrudges offering them to her little ones.

9. 770.
10. See I.4, n. 7.
11. 1 *chō;* see II.24, n. 9.

17

On an Extraordinary Sign of an Unfinished Clay Image Groaning[1]

Novice Shingyō 沙彌信行[2] came from the village of Mike, Naka district, Kii province 紀伊國那賀郡彌氣里.[3] His secular name was Ōtomo no muraji Oya 大伴連祖.[4] He renounced the householder's life, ordained himself, shaved his head, and wore a surplice, looking for what might bring happiness.[5] In that village there was a temple,[6] called Yamamuro-dō of Mike 彌氣山室堂 by the villagers who had built it for themselves. (Its formal name was Jishi-zenjō-dō 慈子禪定堂, Maitreya's Meditation Hall.)[7] Inside there were two unfinished clay images. They were the attendants of Bodhisattva Miroku, and their broken limbs were placed in the bell hall. The patrons of the temple discussed the matter and said, "We will keep them in some pure place in the mountain."

Novice Shingyō used to live in that hall and strike the bell. Seeing the unfinished images, he felt uneasy and tied the fallen limbs to the images with threads, stroking their heads and saying again and again, "I hope that some sage[8] will come to complete them."

Many years passed. In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, in the middle of the seventh month in the autumn of the eighth year of the boar, the second year of the Hōki era,[9] a voice was heard after midnight, groaning "How painful! How painful!" It was feeble and hardly audible, sounding like a woman's voice giving a long, drawn out groan. At first Shingyō thought that a traveler going across the mountain had suddenly been taken ill and was staying in the temple. He got up immediately and went around the temple looking for a sick person, but he found no one there. Although wondering at this event, he said nothing about it. The groan of someone suffering, however, did not cease at night. When Shingyō could endure it no longer, he got up and

1. Similar to II.22, 23; III.28, etc. See Chap. II(3)b.
2. Unknown.
3. Present Wakayama-shi 和歌山市.
4. Oya may be the first name or a copyist's error. The Maeda manuscript does not have this script.
5. That is, good deeds, attainment of merit.
6. 道場 *dōjō*.
7. Kyōkai's note.
8. 聖人 *shōnin*, an eminent monk.
9. 771.

searched again, locating the groan in the bell hall. He discovered that it was the images groaning, and Shingyō at once marveled and grieved at the discovery.

At that time Monk Hōkei 豐慶[10] of Gangō-ji[11] on the East Side of Nara was staying in the temple. Shingyō surprised the monk by knocking on the door of his room and saying, "Venerable Master, please get up and listen to me!" Then he described in detail how the images were groaning. Thereupon the two monks, together moved by great wonder and grief, organized a devotees' association and completed the clay images for dedication. A service was held to enshrine them. They are the attendants of Miroku enshrined in Mike-dō. (The one on the left is Bodhisattva Daimyōshō 大妙聲菩薩, while the one on the right is Bodhisattva Hōonrin 法音輪菩薩.)[12]

Indeed, we learn through this event that any vow will be achieved and fulfilled without fail. This is also a miraculous event.

18

On the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death for a Licentious Scripture Copier Who Copied the Hokke-kyō[1]

Tajihi the Scripture Copier came from Tajihi district, Kawachi province 河內國丹治比郡.[2] As his surname was Tajihi, he was given such a popular name. In that district there was a temple[3] called Nonaka-dō 野中堂.

In the sixth month in the summer of the eighth year of the boar, the second year of the Hōki era,[4] a man made a vow to copy the *Hoke-kyō* and invited the copier to the temple. Female devotees gathered in the temple to add purified water to the ink for copying scriptures, and it happened that the sky suddenly clouded over and there was a shower in the afternoon. The temple was so cramped that those who sought

10. Or Hōkyō.
11. See I.3, n. 9.
12. Kyōkai's note.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 26).
2. Present Minami- and Kita-kawachi-gun, Ōsaka-fu 大阪府南, 北河內郡.
3. See III, 17, n. 6.
4. 771.

shelter from the shower filled it, and the copier and the women were sitting in the same place Then the scripture copier, driven by strong lust, crouched behind one of the girls, lifted her skirt, and had intercourse with her. As his penis entered her vagina, they died together embracing each other. The girl died foaming at the mouth.

Indeed, we learn that this was the punishment given by the Guardian of dharma.[5] However intensely your body and heart may burn with the fire of lust, do not, because of the promptings of a lewd heart, commit a filthy deed. A fool indulging in lust is just like a bug jumping into a fire. Therefore, a preceptive scripture[6] says, "A thoughtless youth easily feels lust."[7] Or the *Nehan-gyō*,[8] expressing the same idea, says: "If you know what the five kinds of desire[9] are, you will not find any pleasure in them. Nor will you remain a slave to them even momentarily. It is just like a dog chewing on a meatless bone, never knowing satisfaction."

19

On a Girl Born of a Flesh Ball Who Practiced Good and Enlightened People[1]

The wife of Toyobuku no Hirogimi 豐服廣公,[2] in the village of Toyobuku, Yatsushiro district, Higo province 肥後國八代郡,[3] became pregnant, and, about four o'clock in the morning on the fifteenth of the eleventh month in the winter of the eighth year of the boar, the second year of the Hōki era,[4] she gave birth to a flesh ball.[5] It looked like an egg. Not taking this as a good omen, the man and wife put it in a vessel and stored it in a cave in the mountain.[6] After seven days

5. 護法 *gohō;* see II.1, n. 11.
6. 律 *ritsu*, a translation of Skt. *vinaya*.
7. *Konpon sabatabu-ritsu-sho* 根本薩婆多部律攝. See Haraguchi, "*Nihon ryōiki* shutten goku kanken," *Kuntengo*, No. 34 (December 1966), 53–54.
8. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*, XXII (*Taishō*, XII, 496), *Bonmō-kyō koshakki* (*Taishō*, XL, 705). See Haraguchi, "*Nihon ryōiki*," 54.
9. 五欲 *goyoku*, five kinds of desire which arise out of attachment to the five objects: color/form, sound, smell, taste, and touch.

1. Cf. *Sanbō ekotoba* (II, 4); *Hokke kenki* (III, 98); *Genkō shakusho* (XVIII).
2. Present Toyobuku-mura, Shimomashiki-gun, Kumamoto-ken 熊本縣下益城郡豐服村.
3. Unknown. Hirogimi may be the first name, although *kimi* is originally an honorific title such as Lord.
4. 771.
5. 肉團 *shishimura;* see Chap. II(2)b, n. 96; also, nn. 21, 22, below.
6. "A cave in the mountain" may signify the womb of mother earth to which the dead go back and from which new life comes out.

they returned to the cave and discovered that a girl had been born of the flesh ball, breaking through its covering. The parents took her home, and her mother nursed her. There was no one in the province who did not wonder at this.

After eight months had passed she suddenly grew very large, but her head and neck were joined without any chin, in a form different from other people, and she was three and a half feet high. Endowed with wisdom, she was by nature brilliant. Before she was seven, she recited the *Hoke-kyō* and the Eighty-volume *Kegon-gyō* 八十花嚴.[7] She was reserved and never boasted. Eventually she decided to renounce the world, shaved her head, and wore a surplice. Prompted by her faith, she practiced good and enlightened people. She had such a good voice that it could lead her audience to become merciful. In her deformed body there was no vagina but only an opening for urine. Foolish laymen mocked her, calling her Saru-hijiri 猴聖,[8] False-sage.

On one occasion a monk of the provincial temple in Takuma district 託磨郡,[9] and a monk of Daijin-ji 大神寺 at Yahata, Usa district, Buzen province 豐前國宇佐郡矢羽田,[10] became envious of the nun, and said to her, "Your teachings are false."[11] They looked down at her, mocking and making a fool of her. A divine man[12] flew down from the sky and made as though to impale them with a halberd. They screamed in terror and eventually died.

When the Most Venerable Kaimyō 戒明[13] of Daian-ji[14] was appointed as a superior provincial preceptor[15] of Tsukushi province 筑紫國[16] about the seventh or eighth year of the Hōki era, Sagano kimi Kogimi 佐賀君兒公,[17] of the Senior Seventh Rank, Upper Grade, a governor of Saga district of Hizen province 肥前國佐賀郡,[18] held a

7. There are two major texts of *Avataṃsakasūtra* in Chinese: *Daihōkōbutsu kegon-gyō* (60 vols.) (*Taishō*, IX, No. 278) and *Daihōkōbutsu kegon-gyō* (80 vols.) (*Taishō*, X, No. 279).

8. See Chap. II(2)c.

9. Present Izumi-chō, Kumamoto-shi 熊本市出水町.

10. Or Miroku-dera which was once located in the precincts of Usa Hachiman Shrine, in Usa-machi, Usa-gun, Ōita-ken 大分縣宇佐郡宇佐町.

11. 外道 *gedō;* originally refers to non-Buddhists and their teachings, but it is also used in a pejorative sense, meaning followers of the wrong teachings.

12. 神人 *shinjin;* guardian of dharma in a human form.

13. A monk of Daian-ji who specialized in the *Kekon-gyō*, studied in China in the Hōki era (770–780), and died in the Enryaku era (782–805).

14. See I.32, n. 6.

15. 大國師 *daikokushi; kokushi* is a provincial preceptor who is in charge of the samgha in the province. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 21; d, n. 79. Since Tsukushi (see below) is a big province, *dai* is added to the title.

16. Formally includes Chikuzen and Chikugo 筑前, 筑後, but often means present Kyūshū as a whole.

17. Unknown. Probably of the local gentry.

18. Present Saga-gun, Saga-ken 佐賀縣佐賀郡.

retreat with Dharma Master Kaimyō to lecture on the Eighty-volume *Kengon-gyō*. The nun was seated in the audience, never missing a lecture.

Seeing her, the lecturer said accusingly, "Who is that nun unscrupulously seated among the monks?"[19] In reply she said, "Buddha promulgated the right teaching out of his great compassion for all sentient beings. Why do you restrain me in particular?" Then she asked a question by quoting a verse from the scripture, and the lecturer could not interpret it. In amazement, all the famous wise men questioned and examined her, but she never failed. In that way they could not interpret it. In amazement, all the famous wise men questioned and examined her, but she never failed. In that way they learned that she was an incarnation of Buddha, and named her Bodhisattva Sari.[20] Clergy and laymen revered her and made her their master.

In Buddha's lifetime, ten eggs born from Sumanā, a daughter of Sudatta, a wealthy man of Śrāvastī, opened to produce ten men, all of whom renounced the world to become arhats.[21] The wife of a wealthy man of Kapilavstu became pregnant and gave birth to a flesh ball, which opened after seven days to bring forth one hundred children, all of whom renounced the world to become arhats.[22] Even in a country as small as ours, there is an excellent example which is similar. This is also an extraordinary event.

20

On Immediately Getting a Twisted Mouth by Speaking Ill of a Woman Copying the Hoke-kyō[1]

In the village of Hani, Nakata district, Awa province 粟國名方郡埴村,[2] there was a woman whose surname was Imbe no obito 忌部首.[3]

19. Although the *Sōni-ryō* allows monks to visit a nunnery and nuns to visit a monastery on occasions of religious ceremonies or lecture meetings, this passage is an indication that Buddhist studies were generally confined to monks and institutions were dominated by men.
20. See Chap. II(2)b, n. 98.
21. See *Kengu-kyō* 賢愚經, XIII (*Taishō*, IV, 440).
22. *Senjū hyakuen-gyō* 撰集百緣經, VII (*Taishō*, IV, 237ab).

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 27). Similar to I.19; II.18.
2. Present Ishii-chō, Myōzai-gun, Tokushima-ken 德島縣名西郡石井町.
3. The Awa Imbe 阿波忌部 families, which lived in present-day Oe-gun, were orginally in charge of traditional religious affairs.

(Her name was Tayasuko 多夜須子.)[4] In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe,[5] she was copying the *Hoke-kyō* at Sonoyama-dera 菀山寺[6] in Oe district 麻殖郡[7] when Imbe no muraji Itaya 忌部連板屋[8] of the same district spoke ill of her, pointing out her mistakes. Immediately he was inflicted with a twisted mouth and a distorted face, which never returned to their normal state.

The *Hoke-kyō* says: "If you speak ill of a devotee of this scripture, none of your organs will work well, and you will be dwarfed, ugly, feeble limbed, blind, deaf, and hunchbacked." Speaking to the same effect, it also says: "If you reveal the mistakes of a devotee of this scripture, you will contract leprosy in this world, whether what you say is true or not."[9] Therefore, be reverent and have faith in the *Hoke-kyō*. Praise its power. Do not speak ill of others' faults, for you may incur a great disaster if you do.

21

On a Monk Whose Blind Eye Was Cured by Having the Kongō hannya-kyō *Recited*[1]

The Venerable Chōgi 長義[2] was a monk of Yakushi-ji on the West Side of Nara. In the third year of the Hōki era,[3] Chōgi lost the sight in one of his eyes. Five months elapsed. Day and night he was ashamed and grieved, and he invited many monks to recite the *Kongō hannya-kyō*[4] for three days and nights. His eye was then cured, and he could see as distinctly as before.

How great is the miraculous power of the *Hannya*![5] For, if a vow is made with profound faith, it will never remain unfulfilled.

4. Kyōkai's note. Tayasuko is her first name.
5. Emperor Kōnin.
6. Unlocated.
7. Present Oe-gun, Tokushima-ken.
8. Unknown. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XXIX (Jingo Keiun 2:7:14).
9. *Myōhōrenge-kyō* (*Taishō*, IX, 62). See also I.19, n. 7.

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 33). Similar to I.8; III.11, 12, etc.
2. Unknown.
3. 772, in the reign of Emperor Kōnin.
4. See II.24, n. 20.
5. Refers to the above scriptures.

22

On Being Repaid Good and Evil for Copying the Hoke-kyō *and for Exploiting Others with Heavy Scales*[1]

Osada no toneri Ebisu 他田舍人蝦夷[2] was a man of the village of Atome, Chisagata district, Shinano province 信濃國小縣郡跡目里.[3] He was very rich, and would lend money and rice. He copied the *Hoke-kyō* twice, and each time he held a ceremony to recite it. After further thought, he was not satisfied with this; he reverently copied it once again, but did not hold another ceremony.

At the end of the fourth month in the summer of the tenth year of the ox, the fourth year of the Hōki era,[4] Ebisu died suddenly. His family conferred and said, "Since his birth was in the year of fire,[5] we won't cremate him." Instead they consecrated the ground on which to build a tomb, while providing temporary burial.[6]

Seven days had passed after his death when he was restored to life and related a story as follows: "There were four messengers who accompanied and guided me. At first we crossed in a field and then came to a steep hill. When we had climbed the slope, I saw a tall zelkova tree. Standing there and looking over the path ahead, I saw many men sweeping the road with brooms and heard them saying, 'We are sweeping and purifying the road along which a man who copied the *Hoke-kyō* will pass.' When I reached them, they stood by and bowed to me. In front of me there was a deep river about a hundred and twenty yards wide. There was a bridge over the river. Many men were repairing it, saying, 'We are repairing the bridge which a man who copied the *Hoke-kyō* will cross.' When I reached them, they stood by and bowed to me.

"Having crossed the bridge to the other side, I saw a golden palace, in which a king was seated. Near the bridge, the road was three-

1. Karmic retribution of good and evil is exemplified in one person who visited the land of the dead. Similar to II.5, 16; III.23, 37.

2. The family name Osada is found in Suruga, Shinano, etc. Toneri is used like a *kabane*, and Ebisu is the first name, probably originating from a common noun for people in the eastern part of Japan.

3. Present Chisagata-gun, Nagano-ken 長野縣小縣郡.

4. 733, in the reign of Emperor Kōnin.

5. 丙 *hinoe;* the third of the Ten Stems, which is associated with fire, one of the Five Elements. See Chap. II(3)a, n. 119.

6. 殯 *mogari.*

forked.[7] The first way was wide and flat; the second was somewhat overgrown with grass; the third was obstructed by thick bushes. The messengers forced me to take the third one, and one of them entered the palace, saying, 'We have brought him.' The king saw me, and said, 'This is the man who copied the *Hokke-kyō*.' Pointing to the second way, he said to the messengers, 'Take him that way.'

"The four men accompanied me to a hot iron pillar, which they made me hold while they pushed a scorching iron net against my back. After three nights, they made me hold a copper pillar, pushing a scorching copper net against my back. After three days, the objects were still as hot as burning charcoal. Though the iron and copper were hot, they were not unbearable, merely uncomfortable. Though they were heavy, they were not unbearable, but certainly not light. Led by my past evil deeds, I was attracted to them, only wanting to hold them and bear the burden.

"When six days had passed, I left the place. Three monks asked me, 'Do you know why you suffered?' I replied, 'No, I don't.' Then they asked me, 'What good did you perform?' I said, 'I made three copies of the *Hoke-kyō*, one of which has not yet been dedicated.' They took out three tablets, two made of gold, one of iron.[8] Then they took out two scales; one weighed on the heavy side by one quart of rice,[9] the other on the light side by one quart. Then they said to me, 'Checking our tablets, we have learned that you made three copies of the *Hoke-kyō*. Though you copied a Mahayana scripture, you committed a grave sin. You were summoned here because you used the lighter-weight scale for lending rice,[10] but the heavier-weight scale for collecting debts. Now, go home immediately.'

"On my way back, I saw many men sweeping the road with brooms and repairing the bridge as before and heard them saying, 'The man who copied the *Hoke-kyō* will return from the palace of King Yama.' When I had crossed the bridge, I realized that I had been restored to life."

After that he paid homage to the copied scripture, and recited it with greater faith in the service. Indeed, we learn that doing good brings luck and doing evil brings disaster. The effects of good and evil never disappear, and the repayment of these two takes place at the same time. One should only practice good and never do evil.

7. 衢 *chimata;* for the symbolism of the three paths, see Chap. II(1)c, n. 57. Since Kyōkai never uses *sanzu* 三塗(途), it seems that the term and idea were not familiar to Kyōkai.

8. Merits were recorded on the tablets. Cf. III.22, n. 10; III.38, n. 34.

9. About a quart of rice is obtained from a sheaf of rice stalks.

10. 出擧 *suiko;* see I.23, n. 9.

23

On the Immediate Repayments of Good and Evil in Return for a Vow to Copy the Dai hannya-kyō *and for the Use of the Temple Property*[1]

Ōtomo no muraji Oshikatsu 大伴連忍勝[2] came from the village of Omuna, Chīsagata district, Shinano province 信濃國小縣郡嬢里.[3] The Ōtomo-no muraji family got together and built a hall in the village to serve as the family temple.[4] Because Oshikatsu wanted to copy the *Dai hannya-kyō* 大般若經,[5] he made a vow and collected donations. Having shaved his head and face, put on a surplice, and received the precepts, he lived in the temple, practicing the path.

In the third month in the spring of the first year of the tiger, the fifth year of the Hōki era,[6] he was accused of a crime and beaten to death by the patrons[7] of the temple. (The patrons were of the same family[8] as Oshikatsu.) This family conferred and said, "Since murder is involved, we will wait for a judgment." Accordingly they did not cremate him on the spot but made a tomb and arranged the corpse for a temporary burial. After five days, however, he was restored to life, and told this story to his family:

"Five messengers accompanied me and made me hurry along. Ahead of us there was a very steep slope. Having reached the top of the slope, I stopped to look around and saw three broad paths. The first was flat and wide, the second covered with grass, and the third blocked with thick bushes. In the center of the three-forked road[9] a king was seated, to whom the messengers spoke, saying, 'We have brought him.' Pointing to the flat path, he said to them, 'Take him this way.' Surrounding me, the king's messengers went on that path.

"At the end of the way, there was a big kettle. The steam rose from it like a sheet of flame, and the water boiled with the thunderous

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XIV, 30).
2. Unknown. For the Ōtomo no muraji family, see I.5, n. 2.
3. Present Ueda-shi, Nagano-ken 長野縣 上田市.
4. 氏寺 *uji-dera;* see Chap. I(1)d.
5. *Maka hannya haramita-kyō* (*Taishō*, VIII, No. 223) or *Dai hannya haramita-kyō*, 600 vols. (*Taisho*, V, VI, VII, No. 220).
6. 774, in the reign of Emperor Kōnin.
7. 檀越 *taniochi.*
8. 氏 *uji;* see Chap. I(1)d, n. 112.
9. See III.33, n. 7.

roar of breaking waves. But when they threw me into it alive, the kettle turned cold and broke into four pieces.

"Three monks came out then, and asked me, 'What good have you done?' I answered, 'I haven't practiced any good, but I made a vow once to copy six hundred volumes of the *Dai hannya-kyō*, although I haven't fulfilled it yet.' Then they took out three iron tablets[10] for checking and said to me, 'It is true that you made a vow and renounced the world to practice the way. In spite of those good deeds you brought destruction on yourself by using property belonging to the temple. Now, go back to fulfill the vow and atone for the loss of the temple property.' Suddenly released, I came back by the three-forked broad way, coming down the slope, and I realized at once I had been restored to life. I incurred this karmic retribution because of the effort shown in making the vow and because of my use of temple property, and hell has nothing to be blamed for."

This is what the *Dai hannya-kyō*[11] means when it says: "One *mon*, if multiplied for twenty days, will make 1,740,003,968 *mon*.[12] Therefore, don't steal or use even one *mon*."

24

On Being Born as a Monkey for Keeping Men from Seeking the Way[1]

On the mountain named Mikamu-no-take, in Yasu district, Ōmi province 近江國野州郡御上嶺,[2] there was a shrine called the abode of Taga no Ōkami 阪我大神.[3] It was endowed with six families' holdings as its private property. Near the shrine there was a temple.

During the Hōki era,[4] in the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, the Venerable Eshō 惠勝[5] of Daian-ji was staying at the temple for a

10. See III.22, n. 8.
11. Unlocated.
12. This calculation does not seem to be corrects since it amounts to 524, 288 on the twentieth day, and 536,870,912 on the thirtieth day, which is the reading in the Maeda manuscript.

1. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (Shō II, Kōnin), *Genkō shakusho* (IX).
2. Or Mikami-yama 三上山, Ōmi Fuji 近江富士, located in present Yasu-chō, Yasu-gun, Shiga-ken
3. Taga Shrine located in present Taga-chō, Inukami-gun, Shiga-ken 滋賀縣犬上郡多賀町, although Izanagi and Izanami are enshrined now.
4. (770–780).
5. Unknown.

retreat when he had a dream in which a man appeared, saying, "Please read the scriptures for me." When he awoke from his sleep, he wondered about the dream.

The next day a tiny white monkey appeared and came to him, saying, "Stay at this temple and recite the *Hoke-kyō* for me." The monk asked the monkey, "Who are you?" Whereupon the monkey replied, "I was the king of a state in the eastern part of India. In my state about one thousand men (it means about one thousand and not thousands)[6] became followers of monks, neglecting agricultural matters. Therefore, I suppressed them, saying, 'There should not be so many followers.' At that time I limited the number of followers, but not the acts carried out in pursuit of the path. Even if I did not suppress the practice of the teaching, however, to prevent men from following monks was a sin. This is why I was reborn as a monkey and the kami of this shrine. Please stay here and recite the *Hoke-kyō* so that I may be released from this life."[7]

The monk said, "Then you must make offerings." The monkey answered, "I have nothing to offer." To which the monk replied, "In this village there is a lot of unhulled rice. Give the rice to me as an offering so that I may recite the scripture." The monkey said, "Though the government officials gave the rice to me, the person in charge of it regards it as his own and would never let me have it for my use." ('A person in charge of it' means the priest at the shrine.) The monk said, "How can I recite the scripture without any offering?" The monkey answered, "In that case I will join a group of several monks in Asai district 淺井郡[8] who are going to read the *Rokkan-shō* 六卷抄."[9] (Asai district is in the same province. The *Rokkan-shō* is the title of the preceptual writing.)

This monk, in wonder and doubt, went to the Venerable Manyo 滿預[10] of Yamashina-dera 山階寺,[11] who was a patron, and told him what the monkey had asked. The latter, disbelieving it, said, "These are merely the words of a monkey. I do not believe what you say. Nor will I accept nor admit the monkey into the group."

6. Kyōkai's note.

7. The idea that a kami is a sentient being and needs to hear dharma to be saved is well exemplified in this story. For its significance in Japanese religious history, see Chap. I(1)d.

8. Present Higashi-Azai-gun and Iga-gun, Shiga-ken 滋賀縣 伊賀郡, 東淺井郡.

9. *Shibunritsu sanhan hoketsu gyōji-shō* 四分律刪繁補闕行事抄 (*Taishō*, XL, No. 1804, 1–156), edited by Tao-hsüan 道宣.

10. Unknown. He seems to have been a monk of Yamashina-dera and at the same time a patron of the temple in Ōmi, where he was invited to lecture on the *Rokkan-shō*.

11. Fujiwara no Kamatari founded it in Yamashina in 669, and it was later transferred to the new capital of Nara in 710, where it was renamed Kōfuku-ji 興福寺.

When he was preparing for the recitation of the *Rokkan-shō*, an acolyte and a lay brother came to him in haste, saying, "There was a tiny white monkey at the hall. Then we saw the great hall eighteen yards long[12] fall down in pieces, along with all the Buddha images and residential quarters." He went out to discover that all had been destroyed as reported. Thereupon, Manyo conferred with Eshō, built a hall fourteen yards long,[13] and, believing the words of the monkey which revealed him as the Great Kami of Taga, accepted the monkey among the audience for the recitation of the *Rokkan-shō* according to the request of the Great Kami. From that time until the vow was fulfilled, there was never any trouble.

Those who keep men from practicing good are penalized by being reborn as a monkey. Therefore, you must not prevent monks from telling followers to hold services, for you will be penalized.

When Rahula was a king in his previous existence, he prevented a self-enlightened monk[14] from begging. As the latter could not enter the former's kingdom, he was hungry for seven days. Owing to this sin Rahula had to stay in his mother's womb for six years before his next birth.[15] This story teaches us the same lesson.

25

On Being Saved by Reciting the Name of Śākyamuni Buddha While Drifting on the Ocean[1]

Ki no omi Umakai 紀臣馬養[2] was a man[3] from the village of Kibi, Ate district, Kii province 紀伊國安諦郡吉備郷.[4] Nakatomi no muraji Ojimaro 中臣連祖父麿[5] was a boy[6] from the village of Hamanaka,

12. 九間大堂; since one *ken* is about two yards, nine *ken* is eighteen yards. *Ken* is a basic unit in Japanese architecture, and the size of the hall often becomes its name such as 三十三間堂, Thirty-three *ken* Hall.

13. 七間堂.

14. 獨覺.

15. *Daichido-ron*, XXVIII (*Taishō*, XXV, 182).

1. Cf. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (XII, 14).

2. The Ki family is listed in the *Shinsen shōjiroku* as one descended from the imperial family; residents of Kii province.

3. 長男 *chōnan* may mean 丁, men from twenty-one to sixty (see *Ryō no gige*, "Ko-ryō," Article 6).

4. Present Kibi-chō, Arida-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣有田郡吉備町.

5. The Nakatomi family is a priestly family which traditionally served the kami. The powerful Fujiwara was a branch of this family.

6. 小男 *shōnan* is a boy between four and six (cf. n. 3, above).

Ama district 海部郡濱中鄉[7] in the same province. Kinomaro no asomi 紀萬侶朝臣[8] lived at a port in Hidaka district 日高郡[9] in the same province, using a net to catch fish. Umakai and Ojimaro were given an annual payment for their labor by Maro no asomi, and both were driven hard day and night to catch fish by net.

In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, on the sixth of the sixth month in the summer of the second year of the hare, the sixth year of the Hōki era,[10] it suddenly blew hard and rained in torrents, so that the water flooded the port and floated various timbers and logs into the sea. Maro no asomi sent Umakai and Ojimaro to collect driftwood. Both man and boy made the collected timber into a raft on which they rode, trying to row against the current. The sea was extremely rough, breaking the ropes that held the raft together, and immediately the raft broke apart and drifted out of the port into the sea. The man and the boy each got hold of a piece of wood and drifted to sea on it. Both of them were ignorant, but they never ceased wailing, "Śākyamuni Buddha, please deliver us from this calamity!"

After five days, the boy was eventually cast by the waves onto the beach at a salt makers' village, Tamachino no ura, in the southwestern part of Awaji province 淡路國田町野浦,[11] in the evening. The other man, Umakai, was cast onto the same spot early in the morning on the sixth day. The local people, having asked them why they had been cast by the waves onto the shore, learned what had happened and took care of them out of pity, reporting it to the provincial magistrate.[12] When he heard, he came to see them and gave them food because he was sympathetic.

In grief, the boy said, "As I have followed a man who kills, my suffering is immeasurable. If I go home, I shall be driven to begin killing again and never be able to stop." Thus he stayed at the provincial temple in Awaji province 淡路國,[13] becoming a follower of the monk of that temple.

Umakai, however, went home after two months. When his family saw his face and protruding eyes, they wondered and said, "He was drowned in the sea. The seventh seventh day[14] has passed, and we

7. Present Shimotsu-chō, Kaisō-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣海草郡下津町.
8. Unknown. For the Ki family see n. 2, above.
9. Present Hidaka-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣日高郡.
10. 775, in Emperor Kōnin's reign.
11. Takeda and Itabashi read this "Minami omota no ura, Awaji province" 淡路國南面田野浦, while Endō and Kasuga suggest that 三原 might be replaced with 南西.
12. 國司 *kokushi* or *kuni no tsukasa*.
13. Located at present Mihara-chō, Mihara-gun, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣三原郡三原町.
14. 七々日, that is, the forty-ninth day, the last day of the funeral rites.

have already offered a vegetarian feast[15] to thank the Buddha for his benevolence. How could he come back alive so unexpectedly? Is it a dream, or is he a ghost?" Thereupon, Umakai told his family in detail what had happened, and they were sorrowful as well as happy. Awakened and disillusioned with the world, he entered the mountains to practice dharma. Those who saw or heard of him could not but marvel at the event.

The sea being full of danger, it was owing to the power of Shaka-nyorai[16] and the deep faith of those who drifted on the sea that they could survive the peril. The immediate repayment of our deeds is as sure as in this instance, and how much more certain repayment in future lives will be!

26

On Receiving the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death for Collecting Debts by Force and with High Interest[1]

Tanaka no mahito Hiromushime 田中眞人廣虫女[2] was the wife of Oya no agatanushi Miyate 小屋縣主宮手,[3] of Outer Junior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade, a governor[4] of Miki district, Sanuki province 讃岐國美貴郡.[5] She gave birth to eight children and was very rich. Among her possessions were cattle, slaves, money and rice,[6] and fields. However, she lacked faith and was so greedy that she would never give away anything. She used to make a great profit by selling rice wine diluted with water. On the day when she made a loan, she used a small measuring cup, while on the day she collected, she used a big measuring cup. Or, when she lent rice, she used a lightweight scale, but, when she collected it, she used a heavyweight scale.[7] She did not

15. 齋食 *saijiki;* see I.24, n. 3.
16. 釋迦如來, Śākyamuni Tathāgata.

1. Similar to I.10, 20; II.9, 15, 32, the motif of rebirth in the form of an ox or a cow as a penalty.
2. Unknown.
3. Unknown. *Agatanushi* is a title.
4. 大領 *dairyō.*
5. Present Miki-chō, Kita-gun, Kagawa-ken 香川縣木田郡三木町.
6. 稻錢 loaned with interest.
7. 小斤 *shōgon,* 大斤 *daigon;* see I.23, n. 9; I.30, n. 10.

show any mercy in forcibly collecting interest, sometimes ten times and sometimes a hundred times as much as the original loan. She was strict in collecting debts, never being generous. Because of this, many people worried a great deal and abandoned their homes to escape from her, wandering in other provinces. There has never been anybody so greedy.

On the first of the sixth month in the seventh year of the Hōki era,[8] Hiromushime took to her bed and was confined there for many days. On the twentieth of the seventh month she called her husband and eight sons to her bedside and told them about the dream she had experienced.

"I was summoned to the palace of King Yama, and told of my three sins: the first one consists of using much of the property of the Three Treasures and not repaying it; the second, of making great profits by selling diluted rice wine; the third, of using two kinds of measuring cups and scales, giving seven-tenths for a loan and collecting twelve-tenths for a debt. 'I summoned you because of these sins. I just want to show you that you should receive a penalty in this life,' said the king."

She passed away on the same day she told of the dream. They did not cremate her for seven days, but called thirty-two monks and lay brothers to pray to Buddha for her for nine days. On the evening of the seventh day she was restored to life and opened the lid of the coffin. When they came to look in it, the stench was indescribable. Her body above the waist had already turned into an ox with four inch horns on the forehead; her two hands had become ox hooves, with the nails cracked like the insteps of an ox hoof. The lower body below the waist was human in form. She did not like rice but grass, and, after eating, ruminated. She did not wear any clothes, lying in her filth. Streams of people from the east and west hurried to gather and look at her in wonder. In shame, grief, and pity, her husband and children prostrated themselves on the ground, making numerous vows. In order to atone for her sin, they offered various treasures to Miki-dera 三木寺,[9] and seventy oxen, thirty horses, fifty acres of fields, and four thousand rice bundles to Tōdai-ji 東大寺.[10] They wrote off all debts. At the end of five days she died after the provincial and district magistrates had seen her and were about to send a report to

8. 776, in Emperor Kōnin's reign.

9. Since the temple was named after the local name, it might be founded by local magistrates. She is said to have used the temple property, which may belong to Miki-dera.

10. See Chap. I(1)c.

the central government. All the witnesses in that district and province grieved over and worried about her.

She did not know the law of karmic retribution, being unreasonable and unrighteous. Thus we know that this is an immediate penalty for unreasonable deeds and unrighteous deeds. Since the immediate penalty comes as surely as this, how much more certain will be the penalty in a future life.

One scripture[11] says: "Those who don't repay their debts will atone for them, being reborn as a horse or an ox." The debtor is compared to a slave, the creditor to a master. The former is like a pheasant, the latter a hawk. If you make a loan, don't use excessive force to collect the debt, for, if you are unreasonable, you will be reborn as a horse or an ox and made to work by your debtor.

27

On an Extraordinary Sign of a Skull Shown to the Man Who Removed a Bamboo Shoot from Its Eye and Prayed for It[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, at the end of the twelfth month in the winter of the fifth year of the horse, the ninth year of the Hōki era,[2] Homuchi no Makihito 品知牧人,[3] from the village of Ōyama, Ashida district, Bingo province 備後國葦田郡大山里,[4] traveled to the Fukatsu Market, Fukatsu district 深津郡深津市[5] in the same province, to shop for the new year's celebration.

Since it grew dark while he was still on the road, he slept in the bamboo grove at Ashida in Ashida district.[6]

In the place he chose to spend the night, he heard a plaintive voice say, "How my eye hurts!" Hearing it, he could not sleep all night, though he lay curled up on the ground.

11. A summary of a passage from the *Jōjitsu-ron*. See II.32, n. 12.

1. Similar to I.12, III.1, the motif of the "grateful dead." See Chap. II(2)a.
2. 778, in Emperor Kōnin's reign.
3. Homuchi is the family name; Makihito, the given name.
4. Present Ashina-gun, Hiroshima 廣島縣蘆品郡.
5. Present Fukayasu-gun, Hiroshima-ken 廣島縣深安郡.
6. Present Fuchū-shi, Hiroshima-ken 廣島縣府中市.

The next morning he discovered a skull with a bamboo shoot growing up through the eye socket. He pulled out the bamboo, releasing the skull from suffering, and offered it his dried rice, saying, "May I attain good fortune."

At the market his shopping proceeded as he had wished. He wondered if, in response to his prayer, the skull was repaying his kindness. On the way back from the market he stayed overnight in the same bamboo grove. Then the skull appeared as a live being, saying, "I am Ananokimi no Otogimi 穴君弟君[7] of the village of Yanakuni, Ashida district 葦田郡屋穴國郷,[8] and I was killed by my wicked uncle Akimaru 秋丸. Whenever the wind blew, my eye would hurt terribly. Thanks to your compassion, my suffering has been removed. I have attained immense joy, and I will never forget your kindness. Being overcome with happiness, I would like to repay you for your kindness. On New Year's Eve[9] will you visit my home in the village of Yanakuni where my parents live? That night is the only time I can repay your kindness."

More and more Makihito's wonder increased, and he kept it a secret. On New Year's Eve he went to the house. Taking his hand, the spirit led him into the house where they shared the offerings made there and ate together. The spirit wrapped the rest of the offerings and gave them to Makihito, together with some treasures. Then the spirit suddenly disappeared.

When the parents, who had come to the place to worship the spirits, saw Makihito, they were surprised and asked him why he had come. Whereupon he told them the whole story in detail. They seized Akimaru and asked why he had killed Otogimi, saying to him, "According to your story, on the way to the market with our son you met a creditor and forsook our son because that man pressured you for the return of the debt. You asked, 'Did he come home?' We answered, 'Not yet. We haven't seen him.' Why does the story we have heard differ from your story?"

Shaken to the bottom of his heart, Akimaru the robber could not conceal the facts, and he eventually said, "Toward the end of last year, I went to the market with Otogimi in order to shop for New Year's Day. He brought a horse, cloth, cotton, and salt with him. As it got dark on the way, we stopped at the bamboo grove, where I killed him in secret and took his belongings. I went to the Fukatsu

7. *Kimi* is an honorific title.
8. Unlocated.
9. For cosmic renewal rites at the end of the year, see Chap. II(1)a.

market to sell his horse to a man from Sanuki province 讃岐國,[10] and now I am using the rest of his things myself."

Having heard this, the parents said, "Ah! Our dear son was killed by you and not by robbers!" Since sons of the same parents are as close to them as a reed to a rush, they concealed the brother's sin, banishing him but not making it public. They thanked Makihito and offered him more food and drink. When he returned, he related this story.

Even a skull exposed to the sun is like this! It repays a food offering with good fortune and benevolence with benevolence. Therefore, how could a man forget benevolence? This is what the *Nehan-gyō*[11] means when it says: "Man repays benevolence which he has received with benevolence."[12]

28

On an Extraordinary Sign Shown by the Sixteen-foot-high Image of Miroku, the Neck of Which Was Bitten by Ants[1]

In the village of Kishi, Nagusa district, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡貴志里,[2] there was a temple, called Kishi-dera 貴志寺. It was so named because villagers of Kishi had built it with their donations.

In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe,[3] a lay brother lived in this temple. Once he heard groans and a voice saying, "What pain! What pain!" It sounded like it was an old man. Early in the evening[4] he thought that a traveler had come to stay at the temple because of illness. He got up to make the rounds of the temple, looking for the person, but he could not find him. At that time there was timber for a pagoda, but it had never been used. It had been left to lie on the ground and decay for a long time. The lay brother wondered whether what he had heard had been the groaning sound of the spirit of the

10. Present Kagawa-ken 香川縣.
11. Unlocated in the *Nehan-gyō*.
12. 受恩報恩.

1. Similar to II.17, 22, 23, 26; III.17.
2. In the present city of Wakayama.
3. Emperor Kōnin.
4. From sunset to about eight o'clock.

pagoda, and the painful groan was heard every night. When he could endure no longer, he got up to look for the sufferer, but there was still nobody around. At dawn, however, the groaning was far more intense than usual, echoing through heaven and earth. He wondered again if it were the spirit of the pagoda.

When he arose early the next morning and looked around the temple, he discovered that the head of the sixteen-foot image of Miroku 彌勒[5] had been severed and had fallen to the ground. About a thousand large ants were gathered there, devouring the head. Having seen this, he reported it to the patrons of the temple. In grief, they repaired the image and held a dedication ceremony with reverence.

It is said that the Buddha statue is not alive, so how could it suffer and be sick? Indeed, we learn that this was the manifestation of the Buddha's mind. Even after the death of Buddha, the dharma-body always exists, eternal and unchangeable. You should not doubt any further.

29

On the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death Incurred by an Ignorant Man Who Broke a Wooden Buddha Image a Village Child Had Made in Playing[1]

In the village of Hamanaka, Niki, Ama district, Kii province紀伊國海部郡仁嗜濱中村,[2] there was an ignorant man whose name is unknown. Born ignorant, he did not know the law of causation.

There was a path running along the mountain[3] between Ama海部 and Ate 安諦.[4] It was called Tamasaka 玉坂.[5] If one climbs the mountain from Hamanaka, traveling due south, he will reach the village of Hata 秦里.[6] Once a child of that village went into the mountain to collect firewood and played by that mountain path, carving a piece

5. Maitreya; see Chap. II(3)b, n. 131.

1. Probably written as an illustration for the second chapter of the *Hoke-kyō*, "Hōben-bon" 方便品 (Kern, *Saddharma*, Chap. II, "Skillfulness").

2. In the vicinity of present Shimotsu-shi, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣下津市.

3. One of the Nagamine Mts. 長峰山脈, forming the boundary between Kaisō-gun and Arida-gun.

4. See III.10, n. 4.

5. Unidentified.

6. Present Hata, Shimotsu-shi 下津市畑.

of wood into a Buddha image and piling stones into a pagoda. He placed the image in the stone pagoda and occasionally played there, making offerings.

In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, an ignorant man laughed at the statue carved by the child in his play, chopping and breaking it with an axe. Hardly had he gone any distance when he threw himself on the ground, bleeding from the nose and mouth with both eyes plucked out, dying in an instant like the disappearance of an illusion.

Indeed, we learn that the Guardian of dharma[7] is present. How could we not revere it? The *Hoke-kyō* explains it thus: "If children draw an image of Buddha with a twig, brush, or fingernail in their play, they will all attain Buddhahood. Or if they raise one hand and bow to worship a Buddha-image, they will attain the supreme stage of Buddhahood."[8] Therefore, be pious and faithful.

30

On the Monk Who Accumulated Merits by Making Buddhist Images and Showed an Extraordinary Sign at the End of His Life

Elder Master Kanki's 觀規 secular name was Mimana no Kanuki 三間名干岐.[1] He was from Nagusa district, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡.[2] He was naturally gifted in carving. He was such a learned monk that he fulfilled the role of a speaker in a ceremony[3] and was influential among the people. He supported his family by agricultural work.

In the village of Noo 能應村[4] in Nagusa district, there was a temple which his ancestors had built. It was formerly called Miroku-dera 彌勒寺,[5] but popularly referred to as Noo-dera. In the reign of Em-

7. 護法 *gohō*.
8. See Chap. II(1)c, n. 53; also, Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 57–58.

1. Mimana 任那 is the name of the estate held by the Yamato court from the fourth century to 562. Kanuki is a popular name for ancient Korean royal families. Cf. *Nihon shoki*, XVII (Keitai 23:4); Aston, "Nihongi," II, 19: "Konomata Kanki 己能末多干岐, King of Imna, came to the court."
2. Present Kaisō-gun, Wakayama-ken.
3. 得業 *tokugō*; monks who have accomplished the task in one of the three great ceremonies of the southern capital, that is, Yuima-e and Hokke-e of Kōfuku-ji 興福寺維摩會, 法華會 and Saishō-e of Yakushi-ji 藥師寺最勝會.
4. Present Yamaguchi-mura 山口村.
5. Although the temple is named after Maitreya, it does not seem to be dedicated to Maitreya. However, it may have enshrined Maitreya when founded.

peror Shōmu, he made a vow to carve a sixteen-foot Śākya[6] and its attendants;[7] he completed them in the sixth year of the sheep, the tenth year of the Hōki era, in the reign of Emperor Shirakabe,[8] and placed them in the golden hall of Noo-dera, holding a dedication ceremony. Then he made another vow to carve a ten-foot wooden statue of the Eleven-headed Bodhisattva Kannon,[9] but he did not complete the work. Having spent years without many helpers, he he was too old and weak to carve it himself. When he was over eighty, he passed away in bed at Noo-dera on the eleventh day of the second month, in the spring of the tenth year of the boar, the first year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of Emperor Yamabe 山部[10] who governed Ōyashima at Nagaoka Palace.[12]

After two days he was restored to life and called his disciple Myōki 明規,[13] saying, "I forgot to say one word and, since I could not endure it, I came back to the world." Then he had an elevated seat made on the floor, a rug spread on it, and a meal prepared. He invited Musashi no suguri Tarimaro 武藏村主多利丸[14] of the devotees' organization,[15] had him sit on the seat while he himself served the meal, and ate facing his guest. When it was over, he arose and, leading Myōki and all his relatives, knelt to pay homage to Tarimaro, saying, "I, Kanki, have used up my share of life, dying suddenly without completing the statue of Kannon. Luckily, having this good opportunity, I am wondering how I can express my hope. I beg you in your benevolence to complete the sacred image. If this moderate wish of mine is granted even in part, I will gain great fortune in the future and you will gain the merits for an immediate reward. As I had no control over my sincere wish, I dared to come back to make such a bold request. In awe and fear I am appealing to you in reverence."

Thereupon, Tarimaro as well as Myōki and the others grieved and wailed, saying to him, "We will be sure to complete the work you have told us about." Hearing this, the monk was delighted and stood up, clasping his hands in veneration.

6. 釋迦丈六; see I.32, n. 6.
7. 脇士 *kyōji;* Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra.
8. 779, in the reign of Emperor Kōnin.
9. 十一面觀音; see Chap. II(3)b, n. 137.
10. 782, in the reign of Emperor Kanmu.
11. See II.1, n. 3.
12. Located at present Otokuni-gun, Kyoto-fu 京都府乙訓郡. Nagaoka was the capital from 784 to 794.
13. Unknown.
14. Unknown.
15. 知識 *chishiki;* see Chap. I(1)d, n. 110.

Two days later, on the fifteenth of the same month, he called Myōki and said to him, "Today is the anniversary of Buddha's entry into nirvana,[16] and I, too, will end my life." Myōki was about to say that the master was right, but, out of love for his dear master, he lied, saying, "No, the anniversary has not come yet." Looking at the calendar, the master said, "Today is the fifteenth. How could you lie by saying that the day had not come, my child?"

Having asked for hot water, he washed himself. He changed his clothes, knelt to clasp his hands in veneration, held an incense burner, faced to the west, and died at four in the afternoon of the same day.[17] In accord with his wish, the Buddhist artist Tarimaro had already completed the statue and held the dedication ceremony to report to Buddha how the statue came to be made. It is now found in the pagoda of Noo-dera.

The note says: How praiseworthy the Most Venerable Mimana no Kanuki is for keeping the Buddha's mind inside and manifesting an average form outside, living a mundane, householder's life and yet not defiling his jewel of the precepts.[18] At his last moment he faced to the west, and his devotion to the vow made his spirit work out an extraordinary sign. Indeed, we know that this is sacred and not ordinary.

31

On a Woman Who Gave Birth to Stones and Enshrined Them as Kami[1]

In the village of Kusumi, Mizuno, Katakata district, Mino province 美濃國方縣郡水野鄉楠見村,[2] there was a woman whose surname was

16. 佛涅槃 *Butsu-nehan;* the fifteenth of the second month is regarded as the date of Śākyamuni's entry into nirvana.

17. This is the typical manner of death for those who have faith in rebirth in the western pure land. Cf. I.22.

18. 戒珠 *kaishu*, virtue of self-discipline.

1. One of the legends on the birth and growth of stones. See Yanagita Kunio, "Seiseki densetsu," *Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū*, V, 493–498.

2. Present Nagara, Gifu-shi 岐阜市長良. For the significance of this story, see Chap. II(2)b.

Agata-no-uji 縣氏.[3] She was over twenty but unmarried, and she became pregnant without any sexual intercourse. At the end of the second month in the spring of the tenth year of the boar, the first year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of Emperor Yamabe,[4] she gave birth to two stones after a three-year pregnancy. They measured five inches in diameter. One was blue and white mixed together, while the other was pure blue. They grew year after year.[5]

In Atsumi 淳見 district,[6] next to Katakata district, there was a great kami, whose name was Inaba 伊奈婆.[7] The deity took possession of a diviner[8] and spoke through him, saying, "The two stones which were born are my own children." Therefore, they were enshrined at the girl's residence in a sacred place surrounded with a hedge.[9]

We have never heard a story like this from ancient times until today. This is also a miraculous event in our country.

32

On a Fisherman Netting Fish Who Was Almost Drowned in the Sea but Saved Owing to His Devotion to Bodhisattva Myōken[1]

Kurehara no imiki Nanimomaro 吳原忌寸名妹丸[2] was of the village of Hata, Takechi district, Yamato province 大和國高市郡波多里.[3] From his childhood he used to make nets and catch fish. On the evening of the nineteenth day of the eighth month, in the autumn of the first year of the rat, the second year of the Enryaku era,[4] he went out

3. The *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代實錄 gives the same name as a local gentry family.
4. 782, in the reign of Emperor Kanmu.
5. See Chap. II(2)b.
6. Present Inaba-gun, Gifu-ken 岐阜縣稻葉郡.
7. Inaba Shrine 稻葉神社 is located in this district.
8. 卜者 *kamnagi*.
9. 忌籬 *imigaki*; or *igaki*, the hedge which marks the holy precincts of a shrine.

1. Similar to III.35.
2. Unknown. Since the name *imiki* was often conferred on immigrant families, the Kurehara family may have immigrated from China.
3. Present Hata, Takechi-mura, Takechi-gun 高市郡高市村畑.
4. Enryaku 2 is the tenth year of the boar 癸亥, and Enryaku 3 the first year of the rat 甲子 (784).

upon the sea between Iwataki Island 伊波多岐嶋[5] in Ama district in Kii province 紀伊國海部郡 and Awaji province 淡路國[6] to cast a net and catch fish. There were nine fishermen in three boats. All at once a gale came up, destroying the three boats and drowning all the men except him.

Floating on the water, Nanimomaro devoted his heart to Bodhisattva Myōken,[7] making a vow and saying, "If you save my life, I will make a statue of Myōken as tall as I am." He floated on the sea and battled the waves, exhausting himself and nearly losing consciousness, being more asleep than awake. He awoke on a bright moonlit night to discover himself lying on the grass on the beach of Kata 蚊田浦濱,[8] Ama district, Kii province. Having been saved, he took his own measurements and made a statue as tall as himself.

Ah, how miraculous! When the gale destroyed the boats and waves drowned his friends, he was the only one that survived. Therefore, he made a statue as tall as he was. Indeed, we learn that he was saved by the great help of Myōken and the power of his devotion.

33

On the Immediate Penalty of Violent Death for Persecuting a Humble, Begging Novice[1]

Ki no atae Yoshitari 紀直吉足[2] was popularly called Lord Hashi no iegimi 椅家長[3] in the village of Wake, Hidaka district, Kii province 紀伊國日高郡別里.[4] He was innately evil natured and did not believe in the law of karmic causation. In the fifth month in the summer of the second year of the ox, the fourth year of the Enryaku era,[5] a provincial official who was making the rounds of the district to give out

5. It may be Tomogashima 友島 off the coast of Kada, Kaisō-gun, Wakayama-ken 和歌山縣海草郡加太.
6. Present Awajishima, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣淡路島.
7. See Chap. II(3)b, n. 133.
8. See n. 5, above.

1. Similar to I.29; II.1, 35; III.14, 15; etc.
2. The *Shinsen shōjiroku* lists the Kii family in Kinai as descended from kami.
3. See I.10, n. 3.
4. Present Hidaka-gun, Wakayama-ken.
5. 785, in the reign of Emperor Kanmu.

loans of government rice[6] came to that district to distribute them to all.

There was a self-ordained monk[7] who was called Ise no shami 伊勢沙彌.[8] Reciting the divine names of the Twelve Yakṣa[9] of the *Yakushi-gyō* 藥師經,[10] he went around the village begging. He followed the official who was distributing the rice and came to the gate of the evil man. At the sight of the mendicant, the latter did not offer anything, but persecuted him by scattering the rice he had been carrying and also stripped him of his surplice. The mendicant ran away and hid himself in the residential quarters of Wake-dera 別寺.[11] The evil man gave chase and caught him there, brought him back to his own door, picked up a big stone, took aim at the mendicant's head and said, "Recite the divine names of the Twelve Yakṣa, and bind me with a charm." The mendicant refused, but the evil man pressed him harder. The abuse was so unbearable that the mendicant recited them once and ran away. Not long after that, the evil man fell to the ground and died.

There should be no doubt that the man was punished by the Guardian of dharma. Even a self-ordained monk deserves to be regarded with tolerance, for sages live hidden among ordinary monks.[12] Do not try to pick holes in a person who has no obvious faults as if you were blowing back the hair to search for a scar. If you try to find faults, even those who are in the three preliminary stages[13] or the ten stages[14] in the bodhisattva's ascent have some. If you look for virtues, even those who speak ill of dharma or prevent good have something worthy of praise.

Accordingly, the *Jūrin-gyō* 十輪經[15] says: "As an orchid, even if it has withered, excels other flowers, so monks, even if they violate

6. 正税 *shōzei;* see I.23, n. 9, for the government loan system of rice as one form of taxation.

7. 自度 *jido*.

8. Since self-ordained monks did not have clerical names, they were often called after their native place. See I.27; III.10.

9. 十二藥叉, 十二神將 Jūni yasha or Twelve Divine Generals; attendants of Yakushi-nyorai 藥師如來, who protect ascetics.

10. *Yakushi rurikō nyorai hongan kudoku-kyō* 藥師瑠璃光如來本願功德經 (*Taishō*, XIV, No. 450).

11. Unidentified.

12. 隱身聖人交凡中故. See I.4, n. 14.

13. 三賢 *sangen;* in the Mahayana tradition there are three preliminary stages preceding the ten stages (see n. 14, below) in the practice of bodhisattvas. Although scriptures differ in the details, the most generally accepted theory is found in the fifty-two stages of the *Yōraku hongō-kyō* 瓔珞本業經 (*Taishō*, XXIV, No. 1485).

14. 十地 *jūji;* see I.Preface, n. 15.

15. *Daijō daijū Jizō jūrin-gyō* (*Taishō*, XIII, No. 411).

precepts, excel non-Buddhists. To talk about a monk's faults such as whether he violates or keeps the precepts, whether he recognizes or does not recognize the precepts, or whether he has or has not faults is a graver sin than that of letting the bodies of innumerable Buddhas bleed."[16]

According to a certain commentary,[17] this means: "Even if you cause the Buddha-body to bleed, you cannot block the Buddha's teaching. However, if you talk about a monk's faults, you will destroy many men's faith, arouse their cravings, and block the Buddha's path. Therefore, the bodhisattva desires to look for virtues but not faults."

The *Zōbō ketsugi-kyō* 像法決疑經[18] says, "In the future secular officials should not make monks pay taxes. If they do, they will commit an immeasurable sin. Laymen should not ride on the cattle belonging to the Three Treasures. Nor should they whip slaves[19] and the six kinds of domestic animals belonging to the samgha.[20] Nor should they accept the greetings of the slaves of the Three Treasures. If they do, they will all be punished. . . ."

Or another commentary[21] puts it this way: "Those who are greedy value even mud more than gold and jewels, and misers begrudge a gift, even when they are asked for dirt, never making offerings, being stingy of their wealth, and fearing that their accumulated wealth will become known to others. When they pass away, leaving their bodies, they join the group of hungry fiends who lament their pangs of hunger."

Speaking of wealth, it is shared by five parties: first, government officials who might come and ask for it unreasonably; second, robbers who might come to steal it; third, water which might wash it away; fourth, fire which might destroy it suddenly; fifth, wicked children who might waste it unreasonably.[22] Therefore, a bodhisattva is very happy to make offerings.

16. This quotation is closer to a passage in the *Bonmō-kyō koshakki* (*Taishō*, XL, 706) than to the original text of the *Jūrin-gyō* (*Taishō*, XIII, 741).

17. 義解 *gige;* unidentified.

18. *Zōbō ketsugi-kyō* (*Taishō*, LXXXV, 1337). The quotation differs a little from the original text; the original passage depicts the age of degenerate dharma which is coming, but the quoted passage is changed into a warning to secular officials.

19. 奴婢 *nuhi;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 24.

20. The six domestic animals are the horse, ox, sheep, dog, pig, and fowl.

21. *Daijōbu-ron* (*Taishō*, XXX, 260b). See III.15, n. 5; also Haraguchi, "*Nihon ryōiki*," 59–60.

22. Kariya gives a passage of the *Dai-hōshak-kyō* 大寶積經 (*Taishō*, XII, No. 352) as the possible source of this statement, although there are slight differences. 一切財業五家水火盜賊怨家債主縣官惡子分耳.

34

On Gaining an Immediate Cure of a Bad Disease for Being Ordained and Practicing Good[1]

Kose no Asame 巨勢呰女[2] was a woman from the village of Haniu, Nagusa district, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡埴生里.[3] In the eighth year of the ox, the fifth year of the Tenpyō hōji era,[4] she contracted a serious disease, which caused a growth as big as a melon on her neck. The pain almost killed her, and it was not cured for years. She thought to herself, "This disease was brought to me by my deeds not only in this life, but also in previous lives.[5] In order to be healed, I had better atone for my sins by practicing good." Thus, she shaved her head, was ordained, put on a surplice, and lived in Ōtani-dō 大谷堂[6] in the village, reciting the *Shin-gyō*[7] and practicing the path intently.

When fifteen years had passed, an ascetic named Chūsen 忠仙[8] came to the temple to live with her. In sympathy with her, he tried to cure her disease by reciting a formula, making a vow, and saying: "In order to cure this disease, I will recite the *Yakushi-gyō*[9] and the *Kongō hannya-kyō*[10] three thousand times, the *Kanzeon-gyō*[11] ten thousand times, and the *Kannon sanmai-kyō*[12] one hundred times."

Fourteen years later, he finished reciting the *Yakushi-gyō* two thousand and five hundred times, the *Kongō hannya-kyō* one thousand times, and the *Kanzeon-gyō* two hundred times. He was constantly chanting the Senju dharani.[13] Twenty-eight years passed from the time she contracted the disease, but the scriptures had not yet been recited as many times as had been vowed. About eight o'clock in the morning, on the twenty-seventh of the eleventh month, in the winter

1. The motif is miraculous healing; similar to I.8; III.11, 12, 21.
2. The Kose family is listed in the *Shinsen shōjiroku* as descendants of the imperial family.
3. Present Kaisō-gun, Wakayama-ken. Haniu is unidentified.
4. 761, in the reign of Emperor Jun'nin.
5. 宿業; see I.8, n. 4.
6. A small private temple unidentified.
7. *Hannya haramitsu shin-gyō;* see Chap. II(1)a, n. 19.
8. Unknown.
9. *Yakushi rurikō nyorai hongan kudoku-kyō*, 1 vol. (*Taishō*, XIV, No. 450).
10. *Kongō hannya haramitsu-kyō*, 1 vol.; see II.24, n. 20.
11. Chap. xxv of the *Hoke-kyō* (*Taishō*, IX, 56c–58b).
12. *Kanzeon bosatsu juki-kyō* 觀世音菩薩授記經, 1 vol. (*Taishō*, XII, No. 371).
13. See III.14, n. 11.

of the sixth year of the Enryaku era,[14] her growth opened and discharged the pus of its own accord, and it was healed as she had prayed.

Indeed, we learn that it took place owing to the miraculous power of the Mahayana divine formula and the accumulated merits of the sick person and the ascetic. This is what people mean when they say that the all-embracing compassion[15] brings a miraculous sign to the pious, and mysterious knowledge of the ultimate principles of voidness[16] reveals a clear manifestation to men of deep faith.

35

On Being Penalized for Abusing an Official's Authority and Ruling Unrighteously[1]

In the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, a man by the name of Hi no kimi 火君[2] of Matsura district, Hizen province in Tsukushi 筑紫肥前國松浦郡,[3] died suddenly and reached the land of Yama. When the king checked, it turned out that his death was premature, and he was sent back home.

On his way back he saw a hell which looked like a boiling kettle in the ocean. In it something black like a stump that was sinking and rising as the water boiled called to him, saying, "Wait! I have something to tell you." It sank as the water boiled, and then it came again to the surface, saying, "Wait! I have something to tell you."

After this had happened three times, the object spoke a fourth time, saying "I am Mononobe no Komaro 物部古丸[4] from Harihara district in Tōtōmi province 遠江國榛原郡.[5] During my life I worked as an official[6] for many years in charge of transporting hulled rice and took other people's property unrighteously. Because of this sin, I have been suffering here. I pray that you will copy the *Hoke-kyō* for me so that I may be excused from my sin."

14. 787, in Emperor Kanmu's reign.
15. 無縁大悲 the great mercy of Buddha and the bodhisattvas, Kannon in particular.
16. 無相妙智 as expounded in the *Hannya-kyō*.

1. Cf. *Genkō shakusho* (XXIX).
2. Probably of the local gentry. See *Nihon shoki*, XIX (Kinmei 17:1): "The Lord of Hi in Tsukushi was sent to escort a prince of Paekche."
3. Matsuura-gun is now divided into two parts, one in present Saga-ken, the other in present Nagasaki-ken.
4. Unknown.
5. Present Harihara-gun, Shizuoka-ken.
6. 綱丁 *gōchō*, a transportation master.

When Hi no kimi came back from the Land of the Dead,[7] he wrote a precise report of what he had seen and heard and sent it to the local government.[8] Having received this report, the local government in turn forwarded it to the central government. As the central government did not take it seriously, the grand secretary[9] did not bother to report it to the emperor, ignoring it for twenty years.

When Sugano no asomi Mamichi 菅野朝臣眞道[10] of the Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade, was appointed head secretary,[11] he noticed the report, and presented it to Emperor Yamabe.[12] Having heard this, the emperor inquired of Assistant Executive Sekyō 施皎僧頭,[13] saying, "Are we, living beings in this world, released from suffering after twenty years in hell?" Sekyō answered, "Twenty years on earth is only the beginning of the suffering in hell, because one hundred years in this world corresponds to one day and night in hell.[14] This is why he is not yet released."

Upon hearing this, the emperor made a sign of repentence and sent his messenger to Tōtōmi province to investigate Komaro's case. Having asked about Komaro's deeds, he discovered that the report was true. The emperor grieved over this, believing it, and summoned four scripture copiers to copy the *Hoke-kyō* for Komaro on the seventh of the third month in the beginning of the fifteenth year of the Enryaku era.[15] He organized a devotees' association to support this work, inviting the prince regent, ministers, and officials in number equal to the 69,384 characters of the scripture.[16] Also, the emperor held an elaborate service at a private temple in the capital of Nara,[17] to recite that scripture with the Most Venerable Zenshu 善珠[18] as lecturer[19]

7. See Chap. II(1)b, for 黄泉(國) Yomi (no kuni).

8. 太宰府 Dazaifu; the local government which controlled all of Kyūshū and the islands of Iki and Tsushima.

9. 大辨官 *daiben no tsukasa*, the secretary under *daijō daijin*, of the Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade. See *Ryō no gige*, "Kan'i-ryō," Article 9.

10. Of an immigrant family. The title was conferred on him in 790; he died in 814.

11. The head secretary is called *sadaiben* 左大辨. See *Nihon kōki* (Enryaku 16:3:11).

12. Emperor Kanmu.

13. 施曉僧都 who was appointed junior assistant executive 少僧都 in 797.

14. See Chap. II(1)c, n. 60.

15. 796.

16. The number of all the Chinese characters of the *Hoke-kyō*.

17. 平城宮野寺; unidentified. One theory maintains that it is a private temple in contrast to the state temples of Nara; another, that it is a temple transferred from Nara to Kyoto by Emperor Kanmu.

18. (724–797) a monk of Akishino-dera and Kōfuku-ji who devoted himself to the study of the Yuishiki doctrines. Five out of his twenty writings are extant. See III.39. See also Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon Jōdokyō seiritsushi*, 75–81. Inoue traces Zenshu's faith in the pure land to the Kegon School of Silla.

19. 講師 *kōji*.

and Assistant Executive Sekyō as reciter,[20] giving merits to Komaro to save his spirit from suffering.

Ah! How deplorable he was who, without knowing the law of karmic causation, ruled unrighteously like a fox who borrows a tiger's skin and its power and who was eventually punished for his inordinately mean heart! The law of causation never fails to work.

36

On Receiving a Penalty for Building a Lower Pagoda and Taking down the Banners of the Temple[1]

Fujiwara no asomi Nagate 藤原朝臣永手[2] of the Senior First Rank was Chancellor[3] in the reign of Emperor Shirakabe who resided at Nara Palace. In the first year of the Enryaku era, his son Ieyori 家依[4] of the Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade, had a bad dream about his father, and said to him, "More than thirty soldiers came to summon you, Father. Since this is an ill omen, you should pray to ward off disaster."

In spite of this warning, his father would not follow his advice. Meanwhile, he died. Then Ieyori succumbed to a long disease and invited monks and lay brothers to protect him with formulas, but was not healed. At that time one *dhyāna* master among those attending him made a vow, saying, "I live a life of discipline according to the Buddha's teaching so that I may save other living beings. Now I offer my life in exchange for my patient's. If the Buddha's teaching is true, please let the patient live!" Not caring for his own life, he put hot charcoals on his hand to burn incense, walked round the Buddha, chanting dharani, and suddenly began to run around and roll on the ground.

20. 讀師 *tokuji*.

1. Cf. *Genkō shakusho* (XXIX), *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXI (Hōki 2:2:22).

2. He served Emperor Shōmu, Empress Kōken, Emperor Jun'nin, Empress Shōtoku, and Emperor Kōnin. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXI (Hōki 2:2:22). When he died, he was the Senior Minister of the Senior First Rank. Since, according to the *Ryō no gige*, ministers belong to the Second Rank, there is some confusion in the *Shoku Nihongi* as well as the *Nihon ryōiki*. The title of Chancellor was conferred by Emperor Kōnin posthumously. The *Nihon ryōiki* is incorrect in dating his death in 782 or later.

3. 太政大臣.

4. (? –785).

Then the patient talked, being possessed by a spirit, saying, "I am Nagate. I had the banners of Hokke-ji 法花寺[5] taken down and later was responsible for the pagodas of Saidai-ji 西大寺[6] having four corners instead of eight and five stories instead of seven. Because of this sin, I was summoned to the Office of King Yama, who made me hold a pillar of fire and drove bent nails into my hands, interrogating and beating me. Then the palace filled with smoke. When the king asked, 'What smoke is this?' there was a reply, 'This is the smoke of the incense from the hand of the monk who has been attending Ieyori, Nagate's son, suffering from disease.' Thereupon, the king released me and sent me back to the world. My body, however, has perished, and I have nothing to live in, and must float about in the air." All at once, the patient, who had not been eating, asked for food and recovered from his disease, leaving his sickbed.

Speaking of the banners of the temple, they are good causes for being born as a Buddhist universal king 轉輪王.[7] On the other hand, a pagoda is a treasury to store the Buddha's remains in the past, present and future. Accordingly, this man committed sins by taking down the banners of the temple and lowering the proposed height of the pagoda. How could we not be in awe? This is a recent instance of immediate repayment.[8]

37

On Receiving a Penalty for Doing Evil because of Ignorance of the Law of Karmic Causation[1]

Saheki no sukune Itachi 佐伯宿禰伊太知[2] of the Junior Fourth Rank,

5. Located at present Hokkeji-chō, Nara-shi 奈良市法華寺町. Founded by Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 in 741 as the headquarter of all provincial nunneries.

6. Located at present Saidaiji-chō, Nara-shi 奈良市西大寺町 and founded by Empress Shōtoku in 765. There were two five-storied pagodas at Saidai-ji.

7. See Chap. II(2)a, n. 79. Banners were symbols of royalty in India and later were used as symbols of the Buddhist dharma.

8. As shown (n. 1, above), this story differs greatly from the court history in its assessment of Nagate. In the court history he is a loyal and wise minister, but in the *Nihon ryōiki* he is a destroyer of the Three Treasures and hence made to suffer in hell. This story is intended to show that even a man of great influence and high status is not free from karmic retribution.

1. Similar to III.35 as to the motif of suffering in hell reported by a visitor to hell; similar to III.36 as to the hero politically lauded but religiously criticized.

2. Or 伊多智, 伊達, who won crucial wars against Nakamaro in 764 and was promoted to the Junior Sixth Rank (*Shoku Nihongi*, XXVI, Tenpyō jingo 1:1:7), and Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade (*ibid.*, XXXI, Hōki 2:3:1) in 771.

Upper Grade, lived in the reign of the emperors who resided at Nara Palace.[3]

Once a man from the capital went to Chikuzen 筑前[4] and died of a sudden illness, arriving at the palace of King Yama. Though he did not see anybody, he heard the voice of a man who was being beaten echoing through the earth. At every lash of the whip, he cried, "What pain! What pain!"

The king asked his clerks,[5] saying, "When he was in the world, what good did he do?" The clerks answered, "He made one copy of the *Hoke-kyō*." Then the king said, "Atone for his sins by balancing them against the scrolls of the scripture."[6] When they matched the scrolls with his sins, the scrolls were outnumbered without any comparison. Then they matched the 69,384 characters of the scripture[7] with his sins, but still the latter outnumbered the former, and he could not be saved. Thereupon, the king clapped his hands in surprise, saying "Although I have seen many people who committed sins and suffered, I have never seen a man who committed so many sins."

The man from the capital secretly asked a person beside him, "Who is the man being beaten?" The answer was, "This is Saheki no sukune Itachi." When he returned from the Land of the Dead[8] unexpectedly and was restored to life, he remembered the name very well and sent a report on the Land of the Dead to the local government.[9] The government, however, did not believe it. Therefore, he took an opportunity to go up to the capital by boat and gave a report on how Lord Itachi had labored and suffered in the palace of King Yama. At this news, his family was deeply troubled, saying, "From his death to seven times the seventh day[10] we practiced good and applied the merits to his benevolent spirit. How can we think of him suffering severely, having fallen in an evil state?" Then they made another copy of the *Hoke-kyō*, revered and dedicated it in order to save his spirit from suffering. This is also an extraordinary event.

3. He must have lived in the reigns of Emperor Shōmu, Empress Kōken (Shōtoku), and Emperor Kōnin.
4. Present Fukuoka-ken 福岡縣, the northern part of Tsukushi.
5. 諸史 *shoshi*, probably the same as 書史, clerks in charge of records.
6. The *Hoke-kyō* consists of either seven or eight scrolls or volumes.
7. See III.35, n. 17.
8. See Chap. II(1)b.
9. Dazaifu; see III.35, n. 8.
10. The forty-ninth day, the end of the funeral rites.

38

On the Appearance of Good and Evil Omens Which Were Later Followed by Their Results[1]

It is said that before good and evil events occur they are preceded be some forms of songs which spread throughout the countryside. Thereupon, all the people under heaven hear them and sing them to communicate the message.

Ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu, who had governed the country for twenty-five years at Nara Palace,[2] called High Councilor[3] Fujiwara no asomi Nakamaro 藤原朝臣仲麿[4] close to the throne and decreed, "It is my desire to make my daughter, Princess Abe 阿陪内親王,[5] and Prince Funado 道祖親王[6] rule over the country. What do you think of this? Do you agree with my decree?" In reply Nakamaro said, "It is an excellent idea," thus expressing his consent.

Thereupon the emperor made him drink the divine wine[7] and swear, saying to him, "You must swear an oath that, if you forget my decree, both heaven and earth shall hate you and bring you great disaster." Therefore, Nakamaro swore, saying, "If I do not follow Your Majesty's decree in the future, deities in heaven and earth shall hate and get angry with me, and I shall incur great disaster which will destroy my body and take away my life." After swearing this oath, he drank the divine wine, and the ceremony was over. Later, when the emperor passed away, Nakamaro followed his wish according to the decree and made Prince Funado the Prince Regent.

1. This story consists of two parts; the first part illustrates the mysterious correspondence between natural phenomena and human events, while the second part is an account of Kyōkai's own experience. The latter has an autobiographical quality, although it is more symbolic than factual. The Maeda manuscript omits the first part. For the motif, see Chap. I(1)a; Chap. II(1)a.

2. Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–749).

3. 大納言 *dainagon*.

4. Or 惠美押勝 (706–764). For his biography, see *Shoku Nihongi*, XXV (Tenpyō hōji 8:9:18); Kishi Toshio, *Fujiwara no Nakamaro*. He became Chanellor of the Junior First Rank in 760.

5. (718–770). The eldest daughter of Emperor Shōmu and Empress Kōmyō, and a cousin to Nakamaro; she became Princess Regent at the age of twenty-one. In 749, when she was enthroned as Empress Kōken 孝謙, Nakamaro was made High Councillor of the Senior Third Rank.

6. 道祖王 (d. 757). In 756 ex-Emperor Shōmu died, and, according to his last wishes, Prince Funado was appointed Prince Regent on the same day. However, Empress Kōken and Nakamaro replaced him with Prince Ōhi 大炊 in the next year. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XIX (Tenpyō shōhō 8:5:2, 9:3:29, 9:4:4). He joined in the rebellion against Nakamaro and Empress Kōken and was executed in 757. See II.40.

7. 祈御酒 *ukei no misake*, used in the ritual to swear before the kami.

When the empress dowager[8] and Empress Abe[9] resided at Nara Palace, all the people under heaven sang a song which said:

A young prince, who passes away at such a young age,
Like a dead fish floating on the water:
When will your life be taken? Oh, poor flatfish!
When will your life be taken?

Then, on the eighteenth day of the eighth month, in the ninth year of the Tenpyō shōhō era, the reign of Empress Abe and the empress dowager, the name of the era was changed from Tenpyō shōhō to Tenpyō hōji.[10] In the same year Prince Regent Funado was captured at the palace, imprisoned, and executed. Together with him were killed Prince Kifumi 黄文王,[11] Prince Shioyaki 鹽燒王,[12] and their families.

Again in the tenth month in the eighth year of the Hōji era, Emperor Ōhi 大炊[13] was attacked by ex-Empress Abe and dethroned, retiring to Awaji province 淡路國. Also killed were Nakamaro and his family. The song quoted in the above was an omen of the fatal destiny of these princes.

Also in the reign of the empress dowager there was a song which circulated among the people in the country:

Don't be contemptuous of monks because of their robes.
For under their skirts are hung garters and hammers.[14]
When the hammers erect themselves,
The monks turn out to be awesome lords.

Or, there was another song that went like this:

Lie down along
The dark valley of my thighs
Till you become a man.

In the reign of Empress Abe, in the beginning of the second year of the snake, the first year of the Tenpyō jingo era, Dharma Master

8. Empress Kōmyō (700–760).
9. Empress Kōken.
10. 757. It is said the four characters 天平大平 appeared on the canopy of the empress' bedroom. This event may be interpreted as a political measure to smooth over the replacement of the prince regent.
11. The son of Prince Nagaya (see II.1), he was executed with Prince Funado.
12. Prince Funado's brother, who escaped accusation because he did not participate in the rebellion. In 764, however, Nakamaro supported him as successor to the throne, and he and Nakamaro were executed as rebels against the court. Kyōkai is mistaken in adding his name to those who were killed in Nakamaro's rebellion.
13. (r. 758–764). Grandson of Emperor Tenmu, married to Nakamaro's daughter-in-law and thus supported by Nakamaro. He was exiled to Awaji after Nakamaro's unsuccessful rebellion, but he tried to escape and died an unnatural death in 765.
14. Garters refer to the monks' political involvement; hammers to their love affairs.

Dōkyō 道鏡 of the Yuge 弓削 family[15] had intercourse with the empress on the same pillow, hearing the affairs of state and ruling over the country together. The above songs were a prediction of his relations with the empress and his control over state affairs.

Also in the reign of the empress dowager, there was a song that went like this:

Look straight at the root of the tree,
And you will find the most venerable master
Standing satiated and fat.

It is evident that this was a prediction of the participation in state affairs of Dharma Master Dōkyō as Dharma King 法皇 and Dharma Master Ingō 韻興[16] of the Kamo 鴨 family as spiritual councillor.[17]

Or, in the reign of ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin who governed the country at Nara Palace for twenty-five years, this song was sung by people all over the country:

The morning sun is shining over Sakurai 櫻井,[18]
West of the Toyura-dera 豐浦寺,
A white jewel sinks at Sakurai;
A good jewel sinks at Sakurai.
Therefore, my house will prosper.

Later, in the reign of Empress Abe, on the fourth day of the eighth month in the seventh year of the dog, the fourth year of the Jingo keiun era,[19] Emperor Shirakabe ascended to the throne, and on the first of the tenth month of the same year, when a turtle was presented from Tsukushi province, the era name was once again changed, this time to Hōki, and thus he ruled over the country. Therefore, we learn that the song was a sign of the reign of Emperor Shirakabe.

Or, in the reign of Empress Abe, all over the country, men sang:

Don't trample on the slope of Yabe 山部坂[20]
Which faces the imperial palace,
Though it is the earth.

After the circulation of this song, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month in the eighth year of the cock, the first year of the Ten'ō[21]

15. (705?–772). He came from Wakae district, Kawachi province 河內國若江郡 studied under Giin 義淵 and Rōben 良辨 (see II.21, n. 4), was put in charge of the court chapel, and won the empress' favor. See Yokota Ken'ichi, *Dōkyō*.

16. Or Ongō; appointed senior assistant executive in 766, of the Kamo-no-asomi family.

17. 法臣參議.

18. The name of a well. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXI (Hōki 1:10), for another version of this song.

19. 770 (Jingo keiun 4, Hōki 1).

20. Yabe-saka faces Fujiwara Palace. It implies Prince Yamabe.

21. 781.

era, in the reign of Emperor Shirakabe, Emperor Yamabe ascended to the throne to rule over the country. Therefore, it is clear that the song was a prediction of his reign.

In the reign of Emperor Yamabe, on the night of the eighth of the eleventh month, in the first year of the rat, the third year of the Enryaku era,[22] all heavenly stars moved and flew about wildly from eight in the evening to four in the morning. On the eleventh of the same month, the emperor with Prince Regent Sawara 早良[23] moved the palace from Nara 諾樂 to Nagaoka 長岡.[24] The flight of the heavenly stars was a sign that the imperial palace would be moved.

On the night of the fifteenth day of the ninth month, the second year of the ox, the following year,[25] the moon looked dark all night in the lightless sky. At ten o'clock on the evening of the twenty-third of the same month, Fujiwara no asomi Tanetsugu 藤原朝臣種繼,[26] Minister of Ceremony[27] of the Senior Third Rank, was killed by an arrow in a residential quarter of Nagaoka Palace by Ojika no sukune Kozumi 雄鹿宿禰木積 and Hahaki no Mochimaro 波々岐將丸, imperial guards.[28] The disappearance of the moonlight was an omen of the death of Lord Tanetsugu.

In the reign of the same emperor, at six in the evening on the fourth of the ninth month in the autumn of the fourth year of the hare, the sixth year of the Enryaku era,[29] Monk Kyōkai, stricken with remorse, grieved over himself, lamenting and saying:

"Ah! What a shame! Born in this world, I know no way to make a living. Because of karmic causation[30] I am bound by the net of

22. 784, in the reign of Emperor Kanmu.

23. (d. 785). Emperor Kōnin's second son and Emperor Kanmu's brother, he was made prince regent in 781, but was deposed and exiled to Awaji province, dying on the way (see n. 26, below). As his spirit terrified the imperial family and the Fujiwaras, he was given a posthumous title of emperor and ceremonially reburied.

24. The capital from 784 to 799, located at present Mukō-machi, Otokuni-gun, Kyoto-fu 京都府乙訓郡向日町.

25. 785, in Emperor Kanmu's reign.

26. (737–785). A grandson of Fujiwara no Umakai 藤原宇合, a member of the Shikike 式家 branch of the Fujiwara family and named after the title Shikibukyō (see n. 26, below) conferred on Umakai. He was favored by Emperor Kanmu and was put in charge of the construction of the capital of Nagaoka. Prince Regent Sawara was deposed because of involvement in his assassination. See *Shoku Nihongi*, XXXVIII (Enryaku 4:9:23, 24); *Nihon kiryaku* (Enryaku 4:9:23, 24).

27. 式部卿 the minister of ceremony had charge of court ceremonies, advancement and conferring ranks, appointment and assessment of local officials, qualifying examination of government officials, etc.

28. They are unknown imperial guards 近衛舍人.

29. 787. See Chap. I(1)a, for the following autobiographical passage.

30. 等流果 *tōruka*, the result of a past cause, where the result is of the same quality as the cause, but in this passage it means karmic causation in general.

lust, enveloped in cravings, combining death and life, running in all directions, and burning my body alive. Remaining in the secular life, I have no means to support my family and am without food, salt, clothes, or firewood. My mind is never at rest, worrying about the things I need. As I am hungry and freezing in the daytime, so at night I am hungry and freezing. For in my previous lives I did not practice almsgiving. How mean my heart is! How low my deeds are!"

Then at midnight, while sleeping, he had a dream: a mendicant came to his door, recited the scripture, and preached, saying:

"If you practice the good of the upper grade,[31] you will become seventeen feet tall; if you practice the good of the lower grade,[32] you will become ten feet tall."

Having heard this, Kyōkai looked around to see the mendicant and discovered that he was Novice Kyōnichi of the village of Awa in Kusumi, Nakusa district, Kii province 紀伊國名草郡楠見粟村.[33] Looking at him closely, he found a wooden tablet[34] about twenty feet long and one foot wide. On the tablet there were two marks, one at the height of ten feet, and the other at the height of seventeen feet. Seeing this, Kyōkai asked, "Are they marking the heights of those who practice the good of the upper and lower grades?" The answer was, "Yes, they are."

Thereupon Kyōkai was stricken with remorse, making a sign of repentance, and said, "Thus one gets great height by practicing the good of the upper and lower grades. I am only about five feet tall, for I did not practice the good of even the lower grade before. How foolish I was!" Repenting, he grieved and lamented. Having heard his remark, all who stood by said, "You are right!"

Then Kyōkai made an offering to the mendicant of a few cups of white rice which he was about to cook. The mendicant received it with a blessing[35] and immediately took out a scroll to give to Kyōkai, saying, "Copy this scroll, for it is an excellent scripture to guide people." Kyōkai looked at it and discovered that it was the *Shokyō yōshū*,[36] which is as good as the mendicant had said. In grief, Kyōkai

31. 上品善 *jōbon no zen.*

32. 下品善 *gehon no zen.*

33. Present Nagusa-gun, Wakayama-ken.

34. A provincial magistrate's messenger or King Yama's messenger carries the same type of tablet but not as big as this. See II.10, n. 5; III.22, n. 8; III.23, n. 10.

35. 咒願 *jugan;* a short prayer, blessing, or vow expressed in short phrases. See II.8, n. 9; II.12, 16.

36. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 14.

said, "What shall I do? I have no paper to copy it on." The mendicant took out some used paper and gave it to Kyōkai, saying, "Copy it on this paper. In the meantime I will visit other places for begging and come back here." Then he went away, leaving the tablet and the scripture.

Thereupon Kyōkai said, "This novice does not usually beg food. Why is he doing it now?" Somebody answered, "Because he has many children. As he does not have any way to support them, he is begging."

This is the dream I had, and I am not sure what it means. I suspect it is none other than a revelation of Buddha. The novice may be an incarnation of Kannon. As one who is not yet ordained is called a novice; so is Kannon, who remains in the stage of self-discipline[37] in order to save all sentient beings in spite of having attained enlightenment. Begging shows the thirty-three incarnations of Kannon illustrated in the "Chapter on the All-Sided One."[38] "The seventeen feet of the upper grade" is the result of all virtues in the pure land. Ten feet is a complete number, for it is perfect, while seven feet is incomplete, for it is imperfect. "The ten feet of the lower grade" is the result of the cravings in this world and heaven. "Being stricken with remorse, making a sign of repentance" means that one has been endowed with good causes,[39] and by adding wisdom and practice one may make up for sins in previous lives and gain benefits. Repentance, shaving oneself, wearing a surplice, and showing remorse help destroy sins and gain benefits. "I am only about five feet tall" may be analyzed as follows: "five" refers to the five ways of being, and "about" means tentative orientation[40] to the upper or lower spheres according to the working of the mind. For "about" does not designate a specific number, and it does not give an exact height.[41] Therefore, it is the cause for five different modes of being.

Offering white rice to a mendicant refers to practicing good by vowing to make a Buddha image and copy a scripture in order to

37. 位 *in'i;* literally the stage in which bodhisattvas accumulate causes to become Buddhas. Buddhahood is called 果位 *kai*, the stage of consequences.

38. *Myōhōrenge-kyō*, "Kanzeon bosatsu fumon-bon" (*Taishō*, IX, 57 a–c).

39. 種子 *shushi* or *shuji;* meaning, literally, seeds. As plants grow from seeds, so consequences arise from causes. According to the teaching of the Hossō School, the seeds are stored in the *ālayavijñāna*. See Chap. I(1)a, n. 6.

40. Only the Maeda manuscript has 不定種性 *fujō no shujō*, meaning tentative potentiality. For *shujō*, see Chap. II(2)a, n. 63.

41. 非尺非丈.

get the great white bullock-cart.[42] The mendicant's acceptance of them with a blessing means that Kannon accepted the prayer. Giving a scripture is interpreted as adding wisdom to the path seekers by giving new seeds for good. Taking out used paper implies that good seeds of wisdom covered and hidden for a long time in the past will be revealed by practicing the good dharma. "I will visit other places for begging and come back here" may be paraphrased as "Kannon's boundless compassion will fill the world and save all sentient beings, and Kyōkai's wish will be granted with fortune and benefits given." "He does not usually beg food" means that Kyōkai has not sensed anything till he makes a vow. "Why is he doing it now?" may be interpreted that benefits will finally be given to him according to his wish. "He has many children" means that there are many sentient beings to guide and teach. "He does not have any ways to support them" means that those who lack potentiality are not oriented for enlightenment. "He is begging to support them" means that they are getting seeds in this world and heaven.

Again Kyōkai had another dream on the night of the seventeenth of the third month, in the spring of the second year of the ox, the seventh year of the Enryaku era.[43]

In the dream, Kyōkai died, and his corpse was burned with firewood. Thereupon his spirit watched his corpse burn, but it did not burn as he wished. Therefore, he took a stick to skewer his corpse and broil it. He said to others who were buring their corpses, "Burn as well as I do." His legs, knees, joint bones, elbows, head and other parts were all burned and fell off. Then Kyōkai's spirit cried aloud, putting his mouth to the ear of a bystander to tell him his wish, but his voice sounded hollow and the bystander did not answer. Then Kyōkai thought that he could not hear his voice as the spirit of the dead was voiceless.

42. See *Myōhōrenge-kyō* (*Taishō*, IX, 12b–13c); Katō, trans., *Myōhō-renge-kyō*, 82–100; Kern, *Saddharma*, 72–76. This is the most famous parable of the *Hoke-kyō:* Once there was an old, rich householder who had a great mansion with one door. Suddenly his house was swept by a blaze while he was outside but his children were playing inside. In order to make them run out of the house, the father called them saying that bullock-carts, goat-carts, and deer-carts were ready for them. When they rushed out of the house safely, thanks to the father's skill in means, he gave them only bullock-carts, saying that he would give them only the greatest vehicles. In China this parable gave rise to a debate. One party maintains that the bullock-cart is *bodhisattvayāna*, the goat-cart *pratyekabuddhayāna*, and the deer-cart *śrāvakayāna*. (The house is the world of karma and samsara, and Buddha uses skillful means to save all beings.) Therefore, the bullock-cart is Mahayana, which the *Hoke-kyō* teaches. The other party says the bullock-cart and the great cart are different, and that there are four kinds of carts altogether. The above three are the teachings of skill in means and the fourth cart is the true teaching of Buddha.

43. 788, the year of his second dream.

44. For an interpretation of this dream, see Chap. I(1)a.

This dream has not been interpreted yet.[44] He only suspects that it is a sign of attaining longevity or an official rank. He hopes that by waiting he will learn the meaning of the dream in the future.

Then, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth year in the winter of the second year of the boar, the fourteenth year of the Enryaku era,[45] Kyōkai was given the Junior Rank of Transmission of Light.[46] In the fourth and fifth months in the summer of the sixteenth year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of the same emperor residing at Nara Palace,[47] a fox came to Kyōkai's room to cry every night. The fox also dug a hole in the wall of the hall built by Kyōkai[48] and entered inside the hall, soiling the seat of the Buddha with filth and crying in the daytime. Two hundred and twenty days or so passed, and Kyōkai's son died.[49]

Again, about the eleventh and twelfth months of the sixth year of the hare, the eighteenth year, a fox cried, and at times the sound of a cicada was heard. In the following year, the seventh year of the dragon, on the twelfth of the first month, Kyōkai's horse died, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month another horse died. Accordingly, it is evidnet that an omen of disaster appears first, and disaster comes later. Kyōkai, however, has not studied the *yin-yang tao* 陰陽道 of Huang Ti 黄帝,[50] nor understood the profound truth of the Tendai Sage 天台智者,[51] and he is stricken with disaster without knowing how to evade it, worrying and grieving without looking for the way to do away with disaster. We must work hard for discipline, and maintain a sense of awe.

39

On the Rebirth as a Prince of a Monk Who Excelled in Both Wisdom and Discipline[1]

The secular name of Dhyāna Master Saka Zenshu 尺善珠禪師[2] was

45. 794.
46. 傳燈住位 *Dentō jū-i;* see Chap. I(1)a, n. 5.
47. 797, in Emperor Kanmu's reign. 平城宮 Nara Palace should read Heian Palace.
48. The translation follows the Maeda manuscript which has "wall" 私造堂壁, but other manuscripts lack the last character.
49. See Chap. I(1)a, nn. 22, 23.
50. 軒轅黄帝 Kenioni Kōtei; 軒轅 Hsien-yüan is a name for Huang Ti, or the Yellow Emperor, which probably originated with his home district in Honan. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 52.
51. See Chap. I(1)b, n. 51.

1. Cf. *Fusō ryakki* (Shō II, Kanmu), *Genkō shakusho* (II).
2. See III.35, n. 18.

Ato no muraji 跡連.[3] He was named after his mother's family, Ato no uji. In his childhood he lived with his mother in the village of Shikishima, Yamanobe district, Yamato province 大和國山邊郡磯城嶋村.[4]

After ordination,[5] he worked so hard at study and practice that he excelled in both wisdom and discipline. He was respected by high and low and revered by monks and laity. He made it his vocation to preach dharma and guide people. Thereupon, the emperor appointed him chief executive[6] out of respect for his deeds and virtues. This monk had a large birthmark on the right side of his chin.

In the seventeenth year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of Emperor Yamabe who ruled at Nara Palace,[7] when Dhyāna Master Zenshu was about to pass away, a diviner[8] was called to give an oracle about his life after death, as was the practice of the people at that time, by means of boiling rice.[9] Then the divine spirit, having possessed the diviner, said, "I will enter the womb of Tajihi no omina 丹治比嬢女,[10] a wife of the emperor of Japan, to be reborn as a prince. You shall know his identity owing to the same birthmark as mine on the prince's face."

In the eighteenth year of the Enryaku era, after Dhyāna Master Zenshu had passed away, Tajihi no omina gave birth to a prince. As the prince had the same birthmark as the late Dhyāna Master Zenshu, he was named Prince Daitoku 大德親王, Prince of Great Virtue. He died after three years, however. When the diviner was called, the prince's spirit said through the diviner, "I am none other than Dhyāna Master Zenshu. I have lived as a prince for a while. Hold a service and burn incense for me."

Therefore, it was evident that the Most Venerable Zenshu was born again in the form of a human being, a prince. This is the meaning of the saying in the Buddhist scripture: "Man is born in various families according to his status."[11]

In Kamino district in Iyo province there was a mountain called

3. 阿都 (*Fusō ryakki*), 安部 (*Genkō shakusho*).
4. The northern part of present Sakurai-shi, Nara-ken.
5. 得度 *tokudo;* see Chap. I(1)c, for the ordination system.
6. 僧正 *sōjō;* see Chap. I(1)c.
7. 797, in Emperor Kanmu's reign. Therefore, Nara Palace is incorrect (see III.38, n. 47). *Fusō ryakki* dates his death in 796.
8. 卜者 *kamnagi;* see Chap. II(3)a, n. 124.
9. 飯占 *iura.*
10. A daughter of Tajihi no Nagano of the Junior Second Rank; in 797 (Enryaku 16) the Junior Third Rank was conferred on her, and she was made a wife to Emperor Kanmu.
11. *Abidaruma kusha-ron* (*Taishō*, XXIX, 124a). 人家家 謂於人趣 生二三家 證圓寂.

Iwazuchi-yama 石槌山.[12] The name was derived from that of the Kami of Iwazuchi who lived on the mountain.[13] It was so high that ordinary persons could not reach the summit. Only men pure in mind and deed could climb up and live there.

In the reign of ex-Emperor Shōhō-ōjin-shōmu who ruled over the country for twenty-five years at Nara Palace, and also in the reign of Empress Abe who ruled for nine years at the same palace, there lived a monk of pure deed, studying and disciplining himself. He was named Bodhisattva Jakusen 寂仙菩薩[14] and called Bodhisattva because his contemporaries, clerical and lay, revered his pure life.

In the second year of the Tenpyō hōji era, that is, the fifth year of the dog, the ninth year of the empress' reign, Dhyāna Master Jakusen realized he was about to die and put down his words to give to his disciples, saying, "Twenty-eight years after my death, I shall be reborn as a prince whose name is Kamino 神野; you may know that the prince is I, Jakusen."

Twenty-eight years passed by. In the fifth year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of Emperor Yamabe who ruled over the country at Heian Palace, a prince who was named Prince Kamino was born to the emperor. This is none other than present Emperor Kamino,[15] who has been ruling the country for fourteen years.

Accordingly, we know he is a sage emperor. Then, how do we know he is a sage? People say, "The imperial law does not fail to kill a murderer. This emperor, however, makes us realize what Kōnin 弘仁, 'spreading benevolence,' the name of his era, means; he governs us, saving our lives by replacing killing with exile. Therefore it is evident that he is a sage emperor."

Some speak ill of him, saying that he is not a sage emperor. They say, "We do so because there have been droughts and plagues in the country during his reign.[16] There have also been many disasters of heaven and earth,[17] and famines.[18] And he keeps hunting dogs, going out to hunt birds, boars, and deer. So he does not have compassion."

12. The highest mountain in Shikoku, situated at present Nii- and Shūsō-gun, in Ehime-ken 愛媛縣新居, 周桑郡.

13. On the top of the mountain there is Iwatsuchibiko Shrine where Iwatsuchibiko no kami (deity of rock and earth) who was born of Izanagi and Izanami is enshrined. See *Kojiki*, I (*NKBT*, 56); Philippi, trans., *Kojiki*, 55.

14. *Montoku jitsuroku* (Kashō 3:5). 伊豫國神野郡 昔有高僧 名灼然 稱爲聖人 有弟子名上仙 住止山項 精進練行.

15. Emperor Saga (786–842). A great patron of the arts who composed poems in Chinese, favored Kūkai, and was good in calligraphy. For Kūkai, see Chap. I(1), nn. 8, 89.

16. They occurred in Daidō 4, Kōnin 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, etc. See *Nihon kiryaku, Ruijū kokushi*.

17. Typhoon (Daidō 4, Kōnin 4); flood (Kōnin 4, 5, 6, 7); earthquake (Kōnin 9).

18. (Daidō 5; Kōnin 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14).

Their charge, however, is not right. Everything in the country he reigns over belongs to him, and we cannot claim as our own even a piece of earth the size of a needle point. All are at the will of the emperor. How could we accuse him of such things? Even in the reign of the sage emperors Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, there were also droughts and plagues. So we should refrain from such abuse.[19]

POSTSCRIPT

According to what I had heard, I selected oral traditions and put down miraculous events, dividing them into good and evil. By conferring the merits obtained in writing this work on all beings who are going astray, I pray to be born in the western land of bliss[20] with them all!

DAINIHONKOKU-GENPŌ-ZEN'AKU-RYŌIKI
Volume III
Written by Monk Kyōkai of the Junior Rank of
Transmission of Light at Yakushi-ji
on the West Side of Nara

19. See Chap. II(2)a.
20. 西方安樂國 ; see Chap. I(1)a, n. 16.

Appendixes Bibliography Index

Appendix A

Chronology[a]

Emperor	Reign		Date	Event	Reference
Yūryaku 雄略	456–479?		7 (463)	Chīsakobe no Sugaru catches the thunder	I.1
Kinmei 欽明	539–571		13 (552)?	King Syöng-myöng of Paekche presents a Buddha image and Buddhist scriptures	I.P, 5; III.P
			14 (553)	Strange music heard, Buddha image made	I.5
Bitatsu 敏達	572–585		14 (585)	Mononobe no Moriya burns the temple	I.5
					I.5
Yōmei 用明	585–587		2 (587)	Soga no Umako destroys Mononobe no Moriya	I.5
Sushun 崇峻	587–592				
Suiko 推古	592–628				I.8
			1 (593)	Prince Shōtoku was appointed Prince Regent	I.4, 5
			9 (601)	Prince Shōtoku builds Ikaruga Palace	I.4
			21 (613)	The prince meets a beggar at Kataoka	I.4
			29 (621)	The prince dies	I.5
			32 (624)	The beginning of the *Sōgō system*	I.5
Jomei 舒明	629–641				
Kōgyoku 皇極	642–645		2 (643)	Soga no Iruka destroys Yamashiro no Ōe, Prince Shōtoku's heir	I.5
				An eagle carries away a baby	I.9
Kōtoku 孝德	645–654	Taika 大化	1 (645)	The Soga family destroyed	I.5
			2 (646)	Dōtō builds the Uji Bridge	I.12
		Hakuchi 白雉	4 (653)	Dōshō goes to T'ang China	I.22
			5 (654)	A lay woman becomes a heavenly saint	I.13
Saimei 齊明	655–661		6 (660)	Silla and T'ang China attack Paekche	I.14
				Dōshō returns from study abroad	I.22
			7 (661)	Japan sends a force to support Paekche	I.7
Tenchi 天智	661–671		2 (663)	The Japanese force lost; Paekche destroyed	I.17
			7 (668)	*Ōmi-ryō* promulgated (?)	
Kōbun 弘文	671–672				
Tenmu 天武	673–686		9 (681)	The emperor vows to build Yakushi-ji	

Appendix A—*continued*

Emperor	Reign		Date	Event	Reference
Jitō 持統	686–697		3 (689)	*Asuka-kiyomihara-ryō* promulgated	
			6 (692)	Ōmiwa no Takechimaro admonishes the empress not to make a trip in spring	I.25
			8 (694)	The court moved to the capital of Fujiwara	
Monmu 文武	697–707		3 (699)	E no Ozunu exiled to Izu	I.28
			4 (700)	Dōshō's cremation	I.22
		Taihō 大寶	2 (702)	The *Taihō-ritsuryō* promulgated	
		Keiun 景雲	2 (705)	Kashiwade no omi Hirokuni visits the other world	I.30
Genmei 元明	707–715	Wadō 和銅	3 (710)	The capital shifted to Nara	
			5 (712)	The *Kojiki* completed	
Genshō 元正	715–724	Yōrō 養老	1 (717)	Gyōgi's movement denounced	
			2 (718)	Gyōzen returns from China	I.6
			4 (720)	The *Nihon shoki* completed Government permits given to monks and nuns to authorize their status	
Shōmu 聖武	724–749				II.2–4, 6, 8, 11–14, 16–19, 22–34, 37, 38
		Jinki 神龜	4 (727)	A prince born and an amnesty given but he dies in the following year	I.32
		Tenpyō 天平	1 (729)	Prince Nagaya abused and kills himself	II.1
			10 (738)	Prince Uji appointed Vice-minister of Central Affairs	II.35
			12 (740)	Rōben founds the Kegon School in Japan	II.21
			15 (743)	The emperor vows to build the Lochana Buddha statue	I.P, 5
			17 (745)	Gyōgi is appointed great chief executive	II.7
			21 (749)	Gyōgi dies	II.7
		Tenpyō kanpō 天平感寶	1 (749)	The Lochana Buddha of Tōdai-ji completed	I.P
Kōken 孝謙	749–758	Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝寶	2 (750)	Ōtomo no Akamaro reborn as an ox	II.9
			6 (754)	A wicked man experiences hell Ganjin comes from China	II.10
			8 (756)	Ex-Emperor Shōmu dies Prince Funado appointed Prince Regent	III.38
		Tenpyō hōji 天平寶字	1 (757)	Rebellion of Tachibana no Naramaro The *Yōrō-ritsuryō* promulgated	II.40; III.38

Appendix A—*continued*

Emperor	Reign	Date		Event	Reference
Jun'nin 淳仁	758–764	Tenpyō hōji	2 (758)	Yakushi Buddha's miraculous sign	II.39
			3 (759)	A girl attacked by a snake	II.41
			5 (761)	Healing by reciting scriptures	III.34
			7 (763)	Thousand-armed Kannon's miraculous sign	II.42
			8 (761)	Rebellion of Fujiwara no Nakamaro	III.7
				Emperor Jun'nin exiled to Awaji	III.38
Shōtoku 稱德	764–770				III.1–6, 11–13, 15
		Tenpyō jingo 天平神護	1 (765)	Dōkyō appointed Dhyāna Master Chancellor	III.38
			2 (766)	Dōkyō appointed Dharma King	III.38
				Budhisattva Miroku's miraculous sign	III.8
		Jingo keiun 神護景雲	2 (768)	Fujiwara no Hirotari's visit to the other world in which Jizō is mentioned	III.9
			3 (769)	A miraculous sign of the *Hoke-kyō*	III.10
				An officer persecutes an ascetic	III.14
Kōnin 光仁	770–781				III.20, 24, 28, 29
		Hōki 寶龜	1 (770)	Dōkyō exiled	
				Jakurin saves a licentious woman	III.16
			2 (771)	Fujiwara no Nagate dies	III.37
				A miraculous sign of a Buddhist image	III.17
				A licentious act punished	III.18
				Saru Hijiri born of a ball of flesh	III.19
			3 (772)	A miraculous sign of the *Kongō hannya-kyō*	III.21
			4	Osada no toneri Ebisu visits the other world	III.22
			5	Ōtomo no muraji Oshikatsu visits the other world	III.23
			6	Fishermen saved by an invocation	III.25
			7	Tanaka no mahito Hiromushime dies and changes into an ox	III.26
			9	A skull repays a given favor	III.27
			10	Kanki carves Buddha-images	III.30
Kanmu 桓武	781–806	Ten'ō 天應	1 (781)	Emperor Kanmu enthroned and Prince Sawara, his brother, appointed Prince Regent	III.38
		Enryaku 延曆	1 (782)	Kanki dies	III.30
				A woman gives birth to two stones, descendents of Inaba no Kami	III.31
			2 (783)	Bodhisattva Myōken saves a fisherman	III.32
			3 (784)	The capital shifted to Nagaoka	III.38
				Fujiwara no asomi Tanetsugu assassinated	III.38
			4 (785)	An official punished for persecuting a mendicant	III.33

Appendix A—*continued*

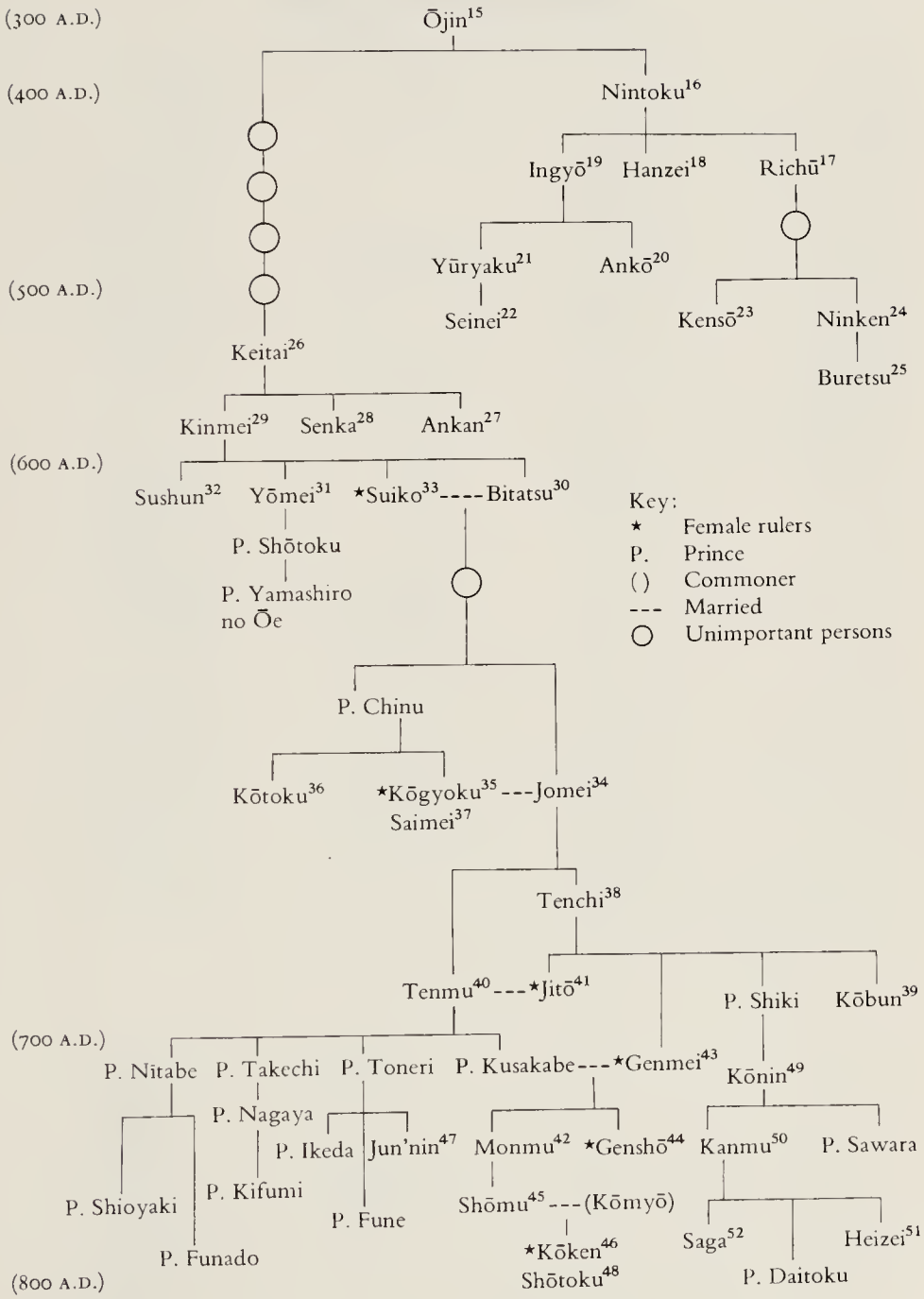
Emperor	Reign		Date	Event	Reference
				Prince Sawara dies violently	III.38
			5 (786)	Jakusen (d. 758) born as Prince Kamino	III.39
			6 (787)	Kyōkai's first dream	III.38
				Saichō establishes a temple on Mt. Hiei	
			7 (788)	Kyōkai's second dream	III.38
			13 (794)	The capital shifted to Kyoto from Nagaoka	III.38
			15 (796)	Emperor Kanmu holds a service for Mononobe no Komaro	III.35
			16 (797)	The *Shoku Nihongi* completed	
				Kyōkai's son dies	III.38
			17 (798)	Zenshu dies	III.39
			18 (799)	Prince Daitoku born	III.39
			19 (800)	Kyōkai's horses die	III.39
			24 (805)	Saichō returns from China	
Heizei 平城	806–809	Daidō 大同	1 (806)	Kūkai returns from China	
Saga 嵯峨	809–823	Kōnin 光仁	5 (814)	The *Shinsen shōjiroku* compiled	
			7 (816)	Kūkai founds a temple on Mt. Kōya	
			13 (822)	The *Nihon ryōiki* completed (?)	III.39
			14 (823)	Saichō dies	

[a] This tabulation makes use of dates cited in the *Nihon shoki* and *Shoku Nihongi* whenever possible, since the dating in the *Nihon ryōiki* is less accurate.

[b] P, here, means Preface.

Appendix B

Imperial Family Lineage[a]



[a] The numbers designate the order of succession to the throne based on the *Nihon shoki*, the only exception being Emperor Kōbun. The absence of a line between names indicates that the same ruler was enthroned twice, using different names each time.

Appendix C

Translated Ranks and Titles

English	Japanese	Sanskrit	Reference
acolyte	*dōji* 童子	*kumāra*	I.3, n.8
ascetic	*gyōja* 行者		I.11, n.9
assistant officer	*sakan* 佐官		Chap. I, n.78
chief executive	*sōjō* 僧正		Chap. I(1)d
dean	*gakutō* 學頭		Chap. I(1)c
dharma king	*hōō* 法王	*dharmarāja*	Chap. I, n.18
dharma master	*hōshi* 法師		I.3, II.35, etc.
dhyāna master	*zenji* 禪師		I.7, n.2
director	*teranushi* or *teraju* 寺主	*vihārasvāmin*	Chap. I, n.84
elder master	*rōsō* 老僧		III.30
full-fledged monk	*biku* 比丘	*bhikṣu*	I.5, n.32
full-fledged nun	*bikuni* 比丘尼	*bhikṣunī*	
great chief executive	*daisōjō* 大僧正		II.7, n.18
lay brother	*ubasoku* 優婆塞	*upāsaka*	Chap. I, n.91
lay sister	*ubai* 優婆夷	*upāsikā*	II.19, n. 2
lecturer	*kōji* 講師		Chap. I. n.21
monk	*shamon* 沙門	*śramaṇa*	Chap. I, n.4
	sō 僧	*saṁgha*	Chap. I, nn.4, 17
(the) Most Venerable	*daitoku* 大德	*bhadanta*	I.5, n.43
novice (monk)	*shami* 沙彌	*śrāmaṇera*	Chap. I, n.10
novice (nun)	*shamini* 沙彌尼	*śramaṇerikā*	I.35, n.3
nun	*ama* 尼		III.10
preceptor	*risshi* 律師		Chap. I(1)c
presiding officer	*jōza* 上座	*sthāvira*	Chap. I, n.84
provincial preceptor	*kokushi* 國師		Chap. I, nn.21, 79
provost	(*tsu*) *ina* (都)維那	*karmadāna*	Chap. I, n.84
scripture copier	*kyōji* 經師		III.18
secretary	*hōzu* 法頭		Chap. I(1)c
supervisor	*sōzu* 僧都		Chap. I(1)c
venerable master	*daishi* 大師		II.17, n.6
(the) Venerable	*-shi* 師		

Appendix D

Buddhist Scriptures Quoted or Referred to in the *Nihon ryōiki*

No.	Title in the *Nihon ryōiki*	Full or correct title	*Taishō* vol.	Where cited	Quoted or referred
1	*Bonmō-kyō* 梵網經	Same	XXIV	II.19	R[a]
2	*Dai hannya-kyō* 大般若經	*Dai hannya haramita-kyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經	V, VI, VII	III.23	R
3	*Dai hannya-kyō shō* 大般若經抄	Same		II.7	R
4	*Dai hōdō-kyō* 大方等經	*Daihōdō daijik-kyō* 大方等大集經	XIII	I.20	IQ[b] (BK)[c]
5	*Daijik-kyō* 大集經	*Daihōdō daijik-kyō*	XIII	II.9	IQ (BK)
6	*(Dai) jōbu-ron* (大)丈夫論	Same	XXX	I.29; III.15	Q[d]
7	*Daijō-kyō* 大乘經	?		I.30	R
8	*Fushigikō bosatsu-kyō* 不思議光菩薩經	*Fushigikō bosatsu shosetsu-gyō* 不思議光菩薩所說經	XIV	II.7	IQ (BK)
9	*Ganshi kakun* 顏氏家訓	Same		I.11	IQ (SY)[e]
10	*Hannya dharani* 般若陀羅尼	in *Hannya haramitsu shin-gyō* 般若波羅蜜心經	VIII	II.15	R
11	*Hannya kenki* 般若檢記	*Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki* 金剛般若經集驗記		I.Preface	R
12	*Hoke-kyō* 法華經	*Myōhōrenge-kyō* 妙法蓮華經	IX	I.11, 18, 28 II.3, 6, 15 III.1, 6, 9, 10, 13, 18, 19, 22, 24, 35, 37 I.19; II.18; III.20, 29	R R R Q
13	*Hoke-kyō sho* 法華經疏	*Hokke gisho* 法華義疏	LXI	I.4	R
14	*Hōkō-kyō* 方廣經	?		I.8, 10;III.4 III.14	R Q
15	*Ichijō-kyō* 一乘經	*Myōhōrenge-kyō* 妙法蓮華經	IX	III.10	R
16	*Jōagon-kyō* 長阿含經	Same	I	III.4	IQ (BK)
17	*Jōjitsu-ron* 成實論	Same	XXXII	II.32	Q
18	*Jūrin-gyō* 十輪經	*Daijō daijū Jizō jūrin-gyō* 大乘大集地藏十輪經	XIII	III.33	IQ (BK)

Appendix D—*continued*

No.	Title in the *Nihon ryōiki*	Full or correct title	*Taishō* vol.	Where cited	Quoted or referred
19	*Jūrin-gyō gige* 十輪經義解	?		III.33	Q
20	*Kannon-bon* 觀音品	*Myōhōrenge-kyō: Fumon-bon* 妙法蓮華經普門品	IX	II.15	R
21	*Kannon sanmai-kyō* 觀音三昧經	*Kanzeon bosatsu juki-kyō* 觀世音菩薩授記經	XI	III.34	R
22	*Kanzeon-kyō* 觀世音經	See title 20	IX	I.30; III.34	R
23	*Kegon-gyō*, 80 vols. 華嚴經	*Daihōkōbutsu kegon-gyō* 大方廣佛華嚴經	X	III.19	R
24	*Kongō hannya-kyō* 金剛般若經	*Kongō hannya haramitsu-kyō* 金剛般若波羅蜜經	VIII	II.24; III.1, 21, 34	R
25	*Kujakuō juhō* 孔雀王咒法	in *Kujakuō ju-kyō* 孔雀王咒經	XIX	I.28	R
26	*Kyōman-gyō* 憍慢經	?		II.1	Q
27	*Kyōron* 經論	*Daijōbu-ron* 大丈夫論	XXX	III.33	Q
28	*Myōhōki* 冥報記	Same	XXX	I.P.	R
29	*Nehan-gyō* 涅槃經	*Daihatsu nehan-gyō* 大般涅槃經	XII	I.20	R
				I.27, 29; II.10, 13, 17, 19, 22, 42; III.18, 27	Q
30	*Ritsu* 律	*Konponsabatabu ritsushō* 根本薩婆多部律攝		III.18	IQ (BK)
31	*Rokkan shō* 六卷抄	*Shibunritsu sanhan hoketsu gyōjishō* 四分律刪繁補闕行事抄	XL	III.24	R
32	*Saishōō-kyō* 最勝王經	*Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō* 金光明最勝王經	XVI	II.5	Q
33	*Senju dharani* 千手陀羅尼	in *Senju sengen kanzeon bosatsu kōdai enman muge daihishin darani-kyō* 千手手眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無凝大悲心陀羅尼經	XX	III.34	R
34	*Senju-kyō* 千手經	See title 33	XX	III.14	Q
35	*Shin-gyō* 心經	*Hannya haramitsu shin-gyō* 般若波羅蜜心經	VIII	II.19	R
36	*Shin hannya-kyō* 心般若經	See title 35	VIII	I.14	R
37	*Shin hannya-kyō sho* 心般若經疏	See title 35	VIII	II.7	R
38	*Shōjin nyomon-kyō* 精進女問經	*Mukushōjin nyomon-kyō* 無垢精進女問經	XIV	I.13	Q
39	*Shokyō yōshū* 諸經要集	Same	LIV	III.38	R

Appendix D—*continued*

No.	Title in the *Nihon ryōiki*	Full or correct title	*Taishō* vol.	Where cited	Quoted or referred
40	*Shōman-gyō sho* 勝鬘經疏	Same	LXI	I.4	R
41	*Shutchō-gyō* 出曜經	Same	IV	II.30	Q
42	*Urabon-kyō sho* 盂蘭盆經疏	?		II.7	R
43	*Vinaya-kyō* 鼻奈耶經	Same 毘奈耶經	XXIV	II.5	IQ (SY)
44	*Yakushi-gyō* 藥師經	*Yakushi nyorai hongan-kyō* 藥師如來本願經	XIV	III.33, 34	R
45	*Yugaron* 瑜伽論	*Yugashijiron* 瑜伽師地論	XXX	III.8	R
46	*Zen'aku inga-kyō* 善惡因果經	Same	LXXXV	I.18	IQ (SY)
				II.10	Q
47	*Zōbō ketsugi-kyō* 像法決疑經	Same	LXXXV	III.33	Q

[a] R: Referred
[b] IQ: Indirect quotation
[c] BK: *Bonmō-kyō koshakki*
[d] Q: Quoted
[e] SY: *Shokyō yōshū*

Appendix E

Chronological List of Major Japanese Works of Legendary Literature during the Heian-Kamakura Periods

Date	Author	Title	Vols.	Tale
810–823	Kyōkai 景戒	*Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記	3	116
848–892	Gishō 義昭	*Nihon kanryōroku* 日本感靈錄	2	73
984	Minamoto no Tamenori 源爲憲	*Sanbō ekotoba* 三寶繪詞	3	62
983–988	Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤	*Nihon ōjō gokurakuki* 日本往生極樂記	1	42
1040–1043	Chingen 鎮源	*Dainihon Hoke-kyō kenki* 大日本法華經驗記 or *Honchō Hokke kenki* 本朝法華驗記	3	129
1094–1169	Kōen 皇圓	*Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記	30	—
1097–1098	Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房	*Honchō shinsenden* 本朝神仙傳	1	?
1101–1111	Ōe no Masafusa	*Zoku honchō ōjōden* 續本朝往生傳	1	42
1106–1110	?	*Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集	31 (8, 18, 21 extinct)	1103 (originally ca. 1200)
1110	?	*Hyakuza hōdan kikigakishō* 百座法談聞書抄		20 (originally ca. 300)
1123	Miyoshi no Tameyasu 三善爲康	*Shūi ōjōden* 拾遺往生傳	3	95
1126–1131	?	*Kohon setsuwashū* 古本說話集	2	70
1134	?	*Uchigikishū* 打聞集	1	27
1137–1139	Miyoshi no Tameyasu	*Goshūi ōjōden* 後拾遺往生傳	3	75
1139	Renzen 蓮禪	*Sange ōjōki* 三多往生記	1	53 (58?)
1151	Fujiwara no Munetomo 藤原宗友	*Honchō shinshū ōjōden* 本朝新修往生傳	1	41
1170–1195	Nakayama no Sadachika 中山定親	*Mizukagami* 水鏡	3	—
1179	Taira no Yasuyori 平康頼	*Hōbutsushū* 寶物集	6 (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9)	?
1185	Fujiwara no Kenshō 藤原顯昭	*Shūchū-shō* 袖中抄	20	—
1200–1212	?	*Hase-dera Kannon kenki* 長谷寺觀音驗記	2	52
1212–1221	?	*Ujishūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語	2 (2, 15)	197

Appendix E—*continued*

Date	Author	Title	Vols.	Tale
1212–1215	Minamoto no Akikane 源顯兼	*Kojidan* 古事談	6	?
1216	Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明	*Hosshinshū* 發心集	3 (3, 5, 8)	102
1219–1220	Jien 慈圓	*Gukanshō* 愚管抄	7	—
1252	Rokuhara no Nirozaemon 六波羅二蔕左衞門	*Jikkinshō* 十訓抄	10	282
1254	Tachibana no Narisue 橘成季	*Kokon chomonshū* 古今著聞集	20	726
1243–1255	Saigyō? 西行	*Senjūshō* 撰集抄	9	117
1283	Mujū 無住	*Shasekishū* 沙石集	10	120
1322	Shiren 師練	*Genkō shakusho* 元享釋書	30	—
1354–1358	(Agui in) 安居院	*Shintōshū* 神道集	10	50

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Index

Abhidharmasārahrdaya, translation of, 31
Amaterasu Ōmikami, 53, 69 and 69 n83
Amida (deity), 55, 71, 85, 88, 89
Ascetics (*gyōja*), 54–55, 84
Asuka-no-tera (Hōkō-ji; temple), 15
Avādana story, 36 and 36 n153
Avalokiteśvara (deity), 5n12, 52, 86–87. See also Kannon

Bitatsu, Emperor, 40
Bodhisattva, 5n12, 33, 53
Bon festival (July 15), 46 and 46n10
Brahmans, 66
Buddha, three bodies of (*trikāya*), 88–89
Buddha-nature, doctrine of (or *Tathāgata-garbha*), 62
Buddhist movements, popular, 18–29

Cakravartin (*tenrin jōō*), idea of, 66
Chanjang (Korean preceptor), 39
Chikō (monk), 13, 76–77, 79
Chinese Buddhist literature, influence of, 34–40
Chuang-tzu (Taoist classic), 52
Confucius, 77
Cosmological theories, 14 and 14n52, 32, 45–49, 55, 62
Cremation, 81–83

Daihōdō daijik-kyō (scripture), 12–13
Daihōkō jūrin-gyō, 58
Daijōbu-ron, 57
Dainihon Hoke-kyō kenki (Records of Wonders Related to the *Hoke-kyō* in Japan), 43
Dead: veneration for, 46–47; belief in spirits of, 80–84. *See also* Hell; Paradise
Decrees, concerning Buddhist temples and monks, 7–8
Dentō jū-i (Kyōkai's clerical rank), 3 and 3n5
Desire and passion, as cause of misery, 63–64
Dharani, 13 and 13n47, 34, 71, 84
Dharma, 7n18, 49, 76, 88–89; three stages of, 9, 11–14
Dharma King, 7 and 7n18
Diviners, 83–84
Dōji (monk), 11–13, 25, 86
Dōjō, Venerable (monk), 73, 74
Dōkyō (monk), 7, 13, 65–66
Dōshō, Venerable (monk), 24, 25, 58, 81
Dōtō (Buddhist scholar), 46–47
Dreams, Kyokai's, and decision to pursue spiritual life, 4–6

E no Ozunu, 27 and 27n118, 39–40, 54, 78, 82
Eigō, Dhyāna Master, 77
Emperor, significance of, in Japanese tradition, 68
Empresses, large number of, 68–69
Enlightenment, 6–7, 14n50, 61, 63
Enryaku era, 9–10
Era names, practice of using, influence of Chinese system on, 47–48
Eschatological ideas, first reference to, in Japan, 9–10, 13, 14

Fudoki (Topographic Records), 41, 50
Fuji, Mt., 54, 55
Fujiwara no asomi Hirotari, 58
Fujiwara no Kamatari, 17
Fusō ryakki (Concise Chronicle of Japan), 44

Gangaku (monk), 77–78, 82
Gangō-ji (temple), 73
Ganjin (Chinese monk), 21, 22, 87
Genbaryō (bureau), 19, 21
Genbō (monk), 86
Gigaku (Korean monk), 78
Gohei hasami, rite of, 49
Golden Peak, Mt. (Kane no take), 54
Gukanshō (Miscellany of Ignorant Views), 44
"Gushi" (A Fool's Idea), 11–12
Gyōgi (monk), 24–25, 40, 43, 78; compared with Chikō, 76–77; legends about, 79–80

Han shu (History of Former Han Dynasty), 34
Hannya kenki (A Collection of Miraculous Stories concerning the *Kongō hannya-kyō*), 36, 37–38
Hannya shin-gyō, 49, 56
Hell, 50–51, 52, 55–60. *See also* Other world
Hijiri, defined, 77–79
Himiko, 69 and 69n84
Hinayana precepts, 22
Hirokuni, 41
Hitokotonushi no kami, 27 and 27n119, 54
Hoke-kyō (Buddhist scripture), 23, 57, 59, 78,

83; power of, to promote welfare of state, 28; references to karma in, 33–34; Kyōkai's familiarity with, 35; popularity of, 37; Records of Wonders Related to, 43; and ascetic practices, 53–54; influence of, on Kyōkai, 62; on salvation for women, 70–71, 73; legends, 84–85, 86, 87–88
Hokke gisho (Prince Shōtoku's commentary on the *Hoke-kyō*), 88
Hokke kenki, 43 and 43n181, 87–88
Honchō kōsō-den (Biographies of Eminent Monks in Japan), 3
Hosshinshū (Collection of Tales for Awakening Faith), 44
Hossō School, 24
Hou-Han shu (History of Later Han Dynasty), 34
Hsi Ch'ao, 30
Hsin-hsing, 10–11
Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor), 14 and 14n52, 77
Hui-yüan, 39–40; "San-pao lun" (Treatise on the Three Ways of Karmic Retribution), 30–31, 32, 33
Hyakuza hōdan kikigakishō (Summary Notes of One Hundred Lectures on Dharma), 43

Ichisendai, concept of, 61, 64, 90
Ienaga Saburō, on the Three Treasures, 89–90
Inoue Mitsusada, 69
Ise, Grand Shrine of, 28, 69n83
Iwazuchi, Mt., or Iwazuchi-yama (mountain), 54, 55
Izanagi, 53
Izanami, 53

Jakusen, Dhyāna Master, 67, 77
Japanese legendary literature, 40–44
Jātaka literature, 30, 36 and 36n153
Jitō, Empress, 15, 19, 65, 81
Jizō (the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha), 58
Judgment after death, 55–56
Jūichimen kanzeon shinju-kyō (scripture), 86

Kamakura period, 44, 65
Kami, 27 and 27nn117–128, 49, 54
Kamnagi (diviner), 83–84
Kaneaki, Prince, 43
Kaniman-ji cycle (legends), 63
Kanki (monk), 58
Kanmu, Emperor, 7, 51
Kannon, 5 and 5n12, 6, 34, 52, 55, 89; acquired feminine features, 76; legends, 84–88; Eleven-headed and Thousand-armed, 86–87
Kannon-gyō (chapter on Kannon of the *Hoke-kyō*), 86
Kanroku (Kwal-leuk; Korean monk), 18–19
Kao-seng chuan (Biographies of Eminent Monks), 31
Karma, doctrine of, 5 and 5n11, 6, 14n50, 50, 60, 91; samsara and, 29–34
Karmic retribution, 30–33, 58, 80; theme of early Chinese works, 36, 38; clarified in the *Nihon ryōiki*, 42, 60
Katayose Masayoshi, on "utmost devotion," 64–65
Kawara-no-tera (Gufuku-ji; temple), 15
Keka (rite of repentance), 45–46, 49
Kichijōten (deity), 46n6, 85
Kii province, 3
Kinai, origin of most legends of *Nihon ryōiki*, 3
Kinmei, Emperor, 40
Kōfukuji manuscript of the *Nihon ryōiki*, 9
Kojiki (historical records), 34, 38, 40, 41, 50
Kongō hannya-kyō jikkenki (collection of stories about *Kongō hannya-kyō*), 37–38
Kōnin, Emperor, 7, 10, 40, 51
Konjaku monogatarishū (Collection of Tales Present and Past), 43, 65
Konsu, the Ascetic, 77
Korea, transmission of Buddhism to Japan from, 16
Kōya(san) manuscript of the *Nihon ryōiki*, 4, 9
Kuan-yin, 5n12, 87. *See also* Kannon
Kūkai (monk), 4, 22, 23
Kumano, Mt., 55
Kumārajīva, his "Treatises on the Past, Present, and Future," 31
Kyōkoku (Keikoku; monk), 8
Kyōnichi (novice monk), 4, 5, 6, 36
Kyoto, capital transferred from Nara to, 7

Lao-tzu, 77
Legends: Korean Buddhist, 39; "non-Buddhist," in *Nihon ryōiki*, 73–74
Literature: Jātaka, 30; influence of Chinese Buddhist, 34–40; Japanese legendary, 40–44
Lochana Buddha, Great, 15, 24
"Lu-shan Yüan-kung hua" (legend), 39

Maeda (-ke) manuscript of the *Nihon ryōiki*, 9, 59–60
"Maeda (-ke) -bon itsubun" (Unknown Passage of the Maeda Manuscript), 9–10, 11–14
Maitreya (deity), 53–54, 55, 85n131, 87–88
Man: what makes him human, 60–68; ideal image of, 76–80. *See also* Woman
"Mandate of Heaven," 30 and n130
Mañjuśrī (deity), 39, 53–54, 55, 67, 77
Mantra, 34, 84
Manyōshū, 40

Mappō consciousness, 10–11
Maro (attendant), 46–47
Meditation, 71
Merit (Skt. *punya*), 61
Minamoto no Tamenori, 43
Miroku (bodhisattva), 85 and 85n131. *See also* Maitreya
Mogari, practice of, 81
Monks and nuns, *see* Samgha
Monmu, Emperor, 15, 51
Motherly love, 75–76
Moto-yakushi-ji (temple), 15
Mountains, ascetic practices in, 51, 53–55
Muryōju-kyō (scripture), 86
Myōhōki (Record of Invisible Work of Karmic Retribution), 10–11, 36–37, 38, 81
Myōken (bodhisattva), 85

Nachi, Mt., 55
Nāga, King, daughter of, 71, 73
Nagaya, Prince, 65, 82–83
Nara, 3, 4, 7–8, 15; Schools, Six, 16–18
Nehan-gyō (scripture), 35, 57, 61–62, 88; influence of, on Kyōkai, 64; on salvation for women, 70–72
Nidāna story, 36 and 36n153
Nihon kanryōroku (Japanese Record of Miraculous Events), 42
Nihon ōjō gokurakuki (Biographies of the Japanese Who Were Born in the Land of Bliss), 43
Nihon shoki (historical records), 34, 41–42; on the official introduction of Buddhism, 11, 40; influence of, on Kyōkai, 38; on Prince Shōtoku, 39, 78; idea of other world in, 50
Ninnō hannya-kyō (Buddhist scripture), 28
Nintoku, Emperor, 67
Nirvana, 6 and 6n13, 33, 53

Odae, Mt., 39
Ōharae (rite of purification), 45, 46, 49
Ōjōden series, 44, 58, 87
On, concept of, 62–63
Onmyōdō, 84 and 84n127
Ordinances concerning monks and nuns, *see Sōni-ryō*
Ordination system, 21–23
Orikuchi Shinobu, 68–69
Other world, symbolism of visit to, 49–55. *See also* Hell; Paradise
Ōtomo family, 26
Ōtsukasa-no-ōtera (Takechi-no-ōtera; temple), 15

Paradise, 50, 51, 55–60. *See also* Other world
Potalaka, Mt. (Ch. Po-t'o-lo shan; Jap. Fudarakusan), 52

Repaying kindness, theme of, 62–63
Rites of cosmic renewal, 45–49

Sacred, versus secular, 79
Saga, Emperor, 9, 67
Sages, 77–79
Saichō (monk), 21, 22, 23, 25; identified, 4; on the eschatological idea, 13; and Mahayana samgha, 28–29; on clergy and laity, 64
Saishōō-kyō (*Kichijō-keka;* Buddhist scripture), 23, 28, 45–46
Śākyamuni, 29, 45, 66, 76, 89; teachings of, 9, 14, 70, 76; and nirvana, 11, 33; on repaying kindness, 62; on enlightenment, 63; power of, 65, 90; as great sage, 77; relics of, 83; stories on, 85; *Hoke-kyō* influential in Japanese understanding of, 88
Samgha, 7 and 7n17, 8; state control of, 18–29
Samghadeva, 31
Samguk yusa, 39
Samsara, doctrine of, 50, 60; karma and, 29–34
San-pao, theory of, 30–31
Sanbō ekotoba (Notes on Pictorial Presentations of the Three Treasures), 43
Śāriputra (Śākyamuni's disciple), 71
Saru-hijiri (bodhisattva), 77
Schools and seminars, Buddhist, 16–18
Sect of the Three Stages, *see* Dharma, three stages of
Senju sengen darani-kyō (scripture), 86
Shakanyorai, 65
Shasekishū (Collection of Sand and Stone), 44
Shiban, 3, 4
Shih chi (Records of the Historian), 34
Shin-gyō, 78
Shingon (monk), 58, 63, 79
Shingon School, 49, 67
Shinji kan-gyō (scripture), 63, 67
Shinpukuji manuscript of the *Nihon ryōiki*, 9
Shōbō nenjo-kyō, 63
Shoku Nihongi (historical work), 12, 38, 40–41, 83
Shokyō yōshū (Chu-ching yao-chi; Essentials of All Sūtras), 6, 36, 38
Shōmu, Emperor, 15–16, 22, 28, 82, 87; and Gyōgi, 24–25; as incarnation of Mañjuśrī, 39, 67; reign of, 51
Shōtoku (Kōken), Empress, 7 and 7n19, 51, 65–66
Shōtoku, Prince, 43, 67, 88; legend about, 39–40, 52, 55; anecdote of his meeting with a beggar, 77–78, 82; on the Three Treasures, 89–90
Shun, Emperor, 67, 77

Soga family, 19, 25
Sōgō-sei (a supervisory system for monks and nuns), 18
Sōgō system, 18–21, 29
Sōni-ryō (Ordinances concerning Monks and Nuns), 8, 18, 29, 37, 84; described, 20, 23–25
Suiko, Empress, 5, 18–19
Suminoe no taisha jindaiki (Ancient History of the Great Shrine of Suminoe), 41–42
Sutara-shū (school), 16–17
Symbolism of visit to other world, 49–55

Taga, Great Kami of, 28, 56
T'ai, Mt., 51
Taika Reform, 69
Tajimamori (legendary hero), 49
Tajō (or Tarajō; Korean monk), 84
Takamagahara (name for other world), 50
Tamura Enchō, 11
T'ang-lin, 32, 37
Tantric scriptures, 86–87
Tao-seng ko (laws concerning Taoist and Buddhist monks), 20
Tao-shih, 36
Tathāgata (Ja. Nyorai), 63
Tathāgatagarbha (doctrine of Buddha-nature), 62
Temples, 15, 25–28
Tendai Sage, 14 and 14n51
Tendai School, 21, 67
Tenmu, Emperor, 15, 19, 25
"Three paths," 59
Three Treasures, 46, 56, 63, 64; and Emperor Shōmu, 15 and 15n59; as theme of *Shokyō yōshū*, 36; offenses against, 41, 62; faith in, essential for leading good life, 57; wonder of, 84–91; defined, 89–90
Tōdai-ji (temple), 15, 23–24
Tokoyo no kuni (name for other world), 50
Trikāya (three bodies of Buddha), 88–89

Uchigikishū (Collection of Sermons), 43
Uematsu Shigeru, 42
Uji, Prince, 65
Uji shūi monogatari (Tales from the Later Gleanings of Uji), 43
"Unknown Passage of the Maeda Manuscript," 9–10, 11–14
Urashima no ko (legendary hero), 49
Usa Hachiman (deity), 28

Woman, as cosmic symbol, 68–76
Wu-t'ai, Mt., 39, 54

Yakushi (Buddha), 85
Yakushi-ji (temple), 3, 4, 7, 15, 24
Yama (lord of the dead), 52, 81–82, 87; and paradise and hell, 56–57, 58, 59, 60
Yanagita Kunio, 73
Yao, Emperor, 67, 77
Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti), 14n52, 77
Yin and *yang*, 47–48, 49
Yomi no kuni (name for other world), 50
Yoshino, Mt., 55
Yoshishige no Yasutane, 43
Yu-hsien-k'u (Chinese novelette), 49–50
Yuishiki School, 3, 4
Yūryaku, Emperor, 40, 54

Zen'aku inga-kyō, 60
Zenshu (monk), 13

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延喜式神名帳頭註

定日本國中大小神社鎮坐事

人皇六十代醍醐天皇治七年延喜五年十二月

廿六日宣下於山城國愛宕郡如意峰神祇齊場

所奉安鎮三千一百三十二座之神休同月廿八日

奉渡神体於六十余劔矣天下諸神奉授神号之

時以神代正印被定神宣事延喜已来聖断也

右京三條

太詔戸命神　本社和名添上郡對尺下縣郡天兒

屋命也

山城乙訓郡

乙訓坐火雷　賀茂建角身命也

向神社　素戔烏孫大歳子也母須治比女

葛野坐月讀　松尾内櫟谷松尾末社

梅宮　仁明帝母大皇大后橘嘉智子也橘妙神也

続日本後記云仁明帝承和三年十月一日奉授

酒解神従五位上若子小若子並従五位下坐山

城梅宮云云貞觀式云梅宮神四座夏冬祭料同

清和帝貞觀元年十一月十日梅宮祭如恒

愛宕郡

別雷神社　山城風土記云賀茂建身角命娶丹波國

神伊賀古夜日女生子名玉依日子次曰玉依姫

玉依姫於石川瀬見小川之邊為遊時丹塗矢自

川上流下乃取挿置床邊遂孕生男子至成人時

外祖父建角身命造八尋殿竪八戸扉釀八腹酒

而神集々而七日七夜樂遊然与子語言汝父將

思人令飲此酒即擧酒杯向天為祭分穿屋甍而

升於天乃回外祖父之名号可茂別雷命所謂丹

塗矢者乙訓郡坐

火雷命

御祖　一社者大已貴子大山咋神一社玉依日女
也
久我　建角身命也
貴船　國史云弘仁九年六月奉授從五位下其後
位階及度々人皇七十五代崇德院治十七年保
延六年七月十日正一位
太田　人皇七十四代鳥羽院治十三年庚子元永
三年官符預案上官幣
三井　三身社也本縁見風土記賀茂武角身命也
又曰葵倉卿三身社称三身者賀茂武角身命冊
波伊可古夜日女玉依姫也三神身坐故名三身
社令漸云三井
紀伊郡
稲荷　本社倉稲魂神也此神素戔烏女也母大山
祇神女大市姫也倉稲魂神播百穀神也故名稲
荷欤伊弉諾御女此名有之一座素戔烏一座大
市姫也秘中之秘也以上三座也人皇四十三代
元明帝和銅四年辛亥二月十一日戊午始顕座
伊奈利山三ケ峯平処風土記云称伊奈利者秦
中家忌寸等遠祖伊侶臣秦公積稲梁有富祐乃

用餅為的者化白鳥飛翔居山峯生子遂為社其
苗裔悔先过而拔社之木殖家禱命也
久世郡
水度神　山城風土記云久世郡水度名天照高弥
牟須比命和多都弥豊玉姫命先師案風土記天
照太神高皇産霊豊玉姫命三神尤有由緒者也
大和添上郡
宂吹　猿田彦命也
宇奈太理坐高御魂　天神弟一天御中主尊弟六
世孫天八十万竟尊長男高皇産霊尊也人皇十
五代神功皇后御宇武内宿称勧請之
率川坐太神御子　大臣贈従一位藤原公卿建立
也其後毎二季之祭日有公家奉幣使云云其社
南又有社号三枝名神即大神御子神也件二社
同在一村相去不幾世俗称率川
春日　人皇四十八代称徳天皇治三年神護景雲
元年丁未六月廿一日伊賀國名張郡复身郷一
瀬川御沐浴以鞭為驗立成樹生付自其復御同
國薦生中山致月御宿時凡秀行等賜焼栗各一
宣汝等子孫無絶可仕我者其栗必生哉即生回

始号中臣殖栗連同年十二月七日大倭國城上
郡安部山御坐同二年垂跡於大倭國添上郡三
笠山同年十月九日宮柱立
平群郡
龍田　或記云伊勢滝祭神廣瀬竜田神則同休異
名水神也故此二神名号天御柱國御柱是天逆
矛守護縁也
往馬坐伊古广都比古　謄駒社也
廣瀬郡
廣瀬　倉稲魂命也谷水神也竜田風神也此兩社
者風水陰陽二神也並伊弉諾尊所生也人皇四
十代天武帝白鳳四年四月祠之貞観元正月廿
七日正三位
葛上郡
葛木御年　舊事本記地神本記云大已貴神女下
照姫妹高照光姫太神命坐倭國葛上郡御神神社
高鴨　大已貴命一男也又名捨籠社
大倉比女　味耜詫彦根妹下照姫也
葛下郡
當麻山口　人皇五十五代文德天皇仁壽三年始之内

藏式夏四月冬十一月並上申日祭之

吉野郡

丹生川上　号雨師社水神罔象女神也伊弉諾尊化生也一座

宇陀郡

八咫烏　賀茂建角身命也古事紀云於是高木大神命以覺白之天神御子自此於奥方莫使入幸荒神甚多今自天遣八咫烏引導従其立後応幸行故隨其教覺従其八咫烏之後幸行云云　新撰姓氏録云神日本磐余彦天皇欲向中州之時山中嶮絶跋渉失路於是神甕命孫鴨建津見命化如大烏翔飛奉導遂達中州天皇嘉其有功特厚褒賞八咫烏之号従此始也

御井　素戔烏子也母稲羽八上姫

城上郡

大神　舊事記云大物主神密通活玉依姫時人無知者姫懐妊父母怪疑問云誰人来到乎姫答云頃者人自屋上夜潜来于吾所共同寝也父母欲知之採針与糸授姫曰令彼神人以此針可著其衣裾此夜神人来卧姫如父母教朝見彼糸自鑰

穴出認跡尋之過節度山吉野山留三諸山其系
繅綰有三輪故名三輪
狹井　疫神也神祇令曰花散之時疾神分散為
癘有鎮花祭旧記云鎮花祭祀大神狹井也字多
帝寛平九年三月七日勅享梅神祇令註云狹井
者大神之荒魂也
城下郡
鏡作伊多神社　石凝姥命
鏡作麻氣神　天糠戸命
高市郡

鴨事代主　旧事記云大巳貴神娶于坐辺津宮
高降姫神生一男都味歯八重事代主神坐倭國
高市郡高市社之甘南備
飛鳥社
牟佗神社　生雷神也
飛鳥社　賀夜奈流美命
十市郡
多坐弥志理都比古　或号大社
天香山坐櫛真命　天照大神之孫饒速日御子天香山命也
山邊郡

大和坐大国魂　大歳神子大歳者素戔子毋須治
比女大和社者大国玉大歳須治比女三座人皇
十代崇神帝六年鎮座五十六代清和帝貞觀元
正月廿七日從一位
河内高安郡
恩智　御食津神也當國二宮
志紀郡
當宗神　新国史云人皇五十八代光孝帝仁和五
年改元己酉四月乙亥朕之外祖母當宗氏神在
河内国自今年始可祭之状御四記云寛平五年
四月七日戊辰奉遣河内国志紀郡當宗氏神幣
帛使當宗社天皇外祖母之氏神也
摂津住吉郡
住吉　底　中　表筒男命　神功皇后也皇后十
一年辛卯住吉垂跡長門豊浦京住吉神顕国賊
皆伏之故杳推大明神是也皇后皈座之後一神
留摂津國住吉郡今住吉大明神也一神奉崇信
濃國　諏訪郡今諏訪大明神是也摂津国風土
記云住吉大神現出而巡天下覓可住国時到於
沼名椋之長岡前今神宮南也乃定神社

東生郡
生魂社
比賣胡曽　下照姫
阿遅速雄　高鴨明神也味耜詫彦根命
西成郡
坐摩　神功皇后也凱旋之日於此所飲食也仍名
誉田天皇三年十一月百濟辰斯王叛遣角宿称
羽田矢代宿称令伐之即日於難波沼中祀之仍
為住吉弟一摂神
武庫郡
廣田　日本紀云神功皇后九年伐新羅之明年春
二月天照大神誨曰我荒魂不可近皇居當居御
心廣田国隨神教以鎮座焉或説云廣田者天照
大神之荒魂也可謂神宮御同体如式文者一座
也其見在内八幡麁尾住吉八祖神（八祖神者八神殿内高皇産霊神也）
八部郡　貞観十二年十月六日從一位
生田　天照太神妹稚日女也
長田　事代主命也日本紀云神功皇后元年事代
主尊誨之曰祠吾于御心長田国則以葉山姫之
弟長媛令祭之

有馬郡
湯泉宮　旧記云三輪明神也
伊賀阿拜郡
敢国　南宮也金山姫命
伊勢度遇郡
太神宮　相殿二座手力雄拷播姫　旧記云大神宮已前
築紫日向天降座神武帝已後九帝宮中座崇神
天皇奉迁大和宇陀郡人皇十一代垂仁九五年
鎮座伊勢是謂磯宮同九六年丁巳十月甲子迁
于度遇宮

度遇宮　豊受太神也相殿三座兒屋称太玉瓊々杵　旧記
云雄畧廿一年依太神詑從丹波与謝郡奥井原
奉迎之朝夕御饌自外宮参内宮人皇四十五代
聖武帝神亀六年正月十日於途中有汚蔵於外
宮御氣殿借進内外宮御饌也
神前　元々集云荒前姫
雷電　又云大歳御祖神
尾張中鳥郡
大神　新式第三名神祭所大神社一座或大作多
丹羽郡

生田天照妹稚日女尊
年魚市郡
熱田人皇十二代景行帝十四男小碓尊後名日
本武此神垂跡也大宮日本武東素戔烏南宮簀
姫今氷上明神是也西伊弉並北倉稲尊中央天
照太神已上六社高藏宮八劔宮日破宮氷上宮
大福殿源太夫御前紀大夫御前尾張風土記
云熱田社者昔日本武命巡歴東国還時娶尾張
連等遠祖宮簀姫命宿於其家夜須向廁以隨身
劔掛於桑木遺之入殿乃驚更往取之劔有光如
神不把得之即謂宮簀姫云此劔神氣宜奉齊之
為吾形影曰以立社熱田郷為名也先師説云熱
田社者日本武尊畨其形影天叢雲劔為御神体
可謂日本武尊垂跡者
日割御子　日本武五男武皷王也母吉備穴戸武
姫吉備武彦女
孫若御子　日本武弟七男稚武彦王也母弟橘媛
穗積氏忍山宿祢女
高座結　日本武第二子仲哀天皇也
火上姉子　両道入姫命也日本武姉也為仲哀母

参河賀茂郡
猿投　人皇十二代景行帝第一皇子大碓命也母
　播广稲目大郎姫
遠江佑野郡
已等乃广知　大已貴命也
蓁原郡
敬滿　一名事任大明神
伊豆賀茂郡
阿波　續日本後記九云三島大社本后也
物忌余　阿波神御子也

武藏足立郡
氷川社　日本武東征之時勸請素戔爲尊也
入間郡
中氷川　日本武東征之時勸請稲田姫
男衾郡
出雲伊波比　大已貴命也
稲乃賣　稲田姫
安房〻〻郡
安房坐神　旧事記云復天冨命於安房国立太玉
命社謂安房社也

上總埴生郡

玉前　高皇產靈孫玉前命也云不審也今案高皇魂弟生產靈子也号前玉命掃部連等祖也

下總香取郡

香取　旧事記云伊弉諾以十握劔斬軻遇槌鋒垂血激越為神走就湯津盤村所成之神名曰磐裂神根裂神兒磐筒男磐筒女二神相生神也兒經津主神今香取大神是也

常陸鹿島郡

鹿島　旧事記云伊弉諾以十握劔斬軻遇槌為八段各化為神八山祇後劔刃垂血激越為神熯速日神今座天安河上兒建甕槌男神今常陸國鹿島大神是也即石上布郡大神是也

大院磯前茱師芹　大己貴命

那賀郡

酒烈磯前茱師芹　少彦名

近江國滋賀郡

那波加　一名苗鹿

栗太郡

印岐志呂

佗久奈度　一名佗久良谷大明神
野洲郡
兵主　名神祭所不載之可尋焉
小津　宇賀魂
蒲生郡
沙〻貴　仁德天皇一說少彦名
高島郡
水尾　彼郡内有大河件河南水尾猿田彦神名河
内社河北天鈿女神也兩社分水尾川勸請也
義濃不破郡

金山彦　風土記云伊弉並尊生火神軻遇槌之時
悶熱懊惱曰為吐此化神曰金山彦神是也一宮
也
飛驒大野郡
水無　大己貴命女高照充姫命母高降姫大和国
葛上郡御歳神社同之
信濃伊那郡
阿智　思兼命
諏訪郡
南方刀美　旧事記云大己貴命娶高志沼河姫生

一男兒建御名方神坐信濃國諏訪郡諏訪上社
是也下社片倉辺命是天手力雄命男也
更級郡
武水別　名神祭所不載之可尋焉
水内郡
美和　三輪大明神也
伊豆毛　素戔烏命也
妻科　稲田姫也
健御名方富命　諏訪一体也名神祭所不載之可
尋焉

上野甘樂郡
賀前　一名拔鋒大明神
郡馬郡
椿名　其所椿名
山田郡
賀茂　大山咋神
美和　大己貴命
下野都賀郡
大神　三輪大明神也
河内郡

二荒山　事代主命
陸奥白川郡
都々古和介　味耜詫彦根
伊和止和介　手力雄命
玉造郡
温泉　大己貴
温泉石　少彦名
會津郡
伊佐沼美（作須非）　伊弉並伊弉諾二座也古老諺云
有二神像不知何時畫筆也畏神威而清寧天皇
御宇辛酉歳造殿奉遷之
蠶養国・稚産霊
小田郡
黄金山　金山彦命也
若狭遠敷郡
若狭比古　火々出見一座豊玉姫一座人皇四十
五代元正天皇御宇霊亀元乙卯九月十日當国
遠敷郡西郷内吳河之源白石上始蚕跡（又云瓊〻杵也）
三方郡
宇波西　新式名神祭不載之

越前氣比郡
氣比　風土記云氣比神宮者宇佐同体也八幡者
　應神天皇之垂跡氣比明神仲哀天皇之鎮座也
天利劔　續日本後記云氣比大神之御子
天比女若子　同上
伊佐奈彦　同上
坂井郡
比古奈　少彦名
枚岡　天子屋命
能登羽咋郡

氣多　大己貴命
越中砺浪郡
氣多　延喜八年八月十六日乙卯以越中氣多大
　神預官幣國史云延暦三年三月三日丁亥氣多
　神正三位社記云天治玉命
佐度羽茂郡
度津　五十猛命
丹波桑田郡
出雲　一作出芋天津彦根一座三穂津姫一座
神野　賀茂建角身命婦伊賀古弥日賣命也玉依

彦玉依姫母也玉依姫鴨御祖神也玉依彦可茂
縣主等遠祖也
松尾　大山咋
大井　月讀命也建治乙亥四月神輿依大井河大
水而流此地故国民祭之云〻
村山　山国内也大山祇也
船井郡
幡日佐　氷大明神神吉氷室件社解云和銅
年中御願向當時斉衡年中被授追從三位宣命
云貢氷非啻暑月貢追知天下之泰平庶民之豊
稔之嘉瑞也
丹後与謝郡
篭神　一名篭守擁現
但馬朝來郡
粟鹿一宮　上社彦火々出見中社篭神女体也下
社豊玉姫勧請女此又云伊弉諾伊弉並相生之
兒大日霊神月讀素盞鳥合三神和銅元年歳次
戊申八月十三日筆取神部八島勘註言上正六
位上新羅將軍神力直根開
養父郡

水谷　名神祭所不載之
屋岡　諏訪同
出石郡
出石（又説一宮也）　古事記云應神天皇多遲摩比多阿
娶其姪申良度美生子葛城高額姫命故其天日
矛持來者玉津□云而誅二頭又振浪比礼振風
比礼切風比礼又奥津鏡辺津鏡并八種者伊豆
志之八前太神也
御出石　名神祭不載之
須義　三輪同体

佗々伎　少彦名
氣多郡
山神　大山祇
因幡法美郡
宇陪一宮　風土記云武内宿禰垂跡也仁德帝治
五十五年春三月御歳三百六十余歳當国御下
向於亀金双履殘御陰所不知六代帝後見也當
国宇陪大和葛城堺美濃国不破関是三ヶ国同
日同時顕座
出霊意宇郡

熊野　伊弉並軻過槌
佐久佐　稲田姫
山代　伊弉諾也
島根郡
加賀
美保　三穂津姫也一座事代主
烽鹿郡
佐陀　伊弉並尊神代岩隠地
惠曇　素戔子磐坂彦命
出雲郡
后神　三穂津姫一云須勢利姫
御碕　天照大神
飯石郡
須佐　素戔嗚
川辺　八破蛇
石見安濃郡
物部　味問乳命
那賀
多鳩　二宮也

隱岐知夫郡
由良比咩　大己貴命嫡后須勢利姬命元名和多
須神
播磨餝摩郡
白国　四宮也
高岳　五宮也
宍粟郡
伊和　一宮也
多可郡
荒田　二宮也
美作苫東郡
高野　二宮也
中山　一宮也大己貴命
備前赤坂郡
鴨　山城同
布都之魂　素戔所持之神劔也武雷命
備中賀夜郡
吉備津彦　人皇第七孝靈天皇御子彦五十狹芹
彦命亦名吉備津彦命此說非也孝靈三世皇子
吉備武彦命也日本記与風土記符合景行天皇

御宇彼御子吉備武彦命罷吉備国如備中国風
土記者賀夜郡伊勢御社東有河名宮瀬川河西
者吉備建日子命之宮造此三世王故之名宮瀬
勸請年紀未分明
安藝佗伯郡
伊都支島　号嚴島大明神天照与素戔嗚所生三
女共一神市杵島姫也
周防佗波郡
玉祖　伊弉諾男玉屋命
長門豊浦郡

住吉　神功皇后十一年垂跡于長門国豊浦住吉
神三座者摂津国住吉郡筑前那珂郡長門国豊
浦郡三所也住吉大神其荒魂在筑紫之小戸和
魂者神功皇后征三韓時顕座摂刀而詑神功皇
后体而循行四方遂到摂州之地宣言曰真住吉
々々々之国也目鎮座其地名曰住吉豊浦之住
吉那珂之住吉由摂刀地名而通称之
紀伊伊都郡
丹生都比女　先師説云高野山天野大明神是也
天照太神之妹稚日女神也高野明神當宮太子

也一說云丹生都姬天照大神也坐和加丹生川之裔故名丹生都姬也後又顯伊勢国名少郡

日前　一名國懸宮又名少宮日本紀云思兼神以石凝姥為冶工採天香山之金以作日矛此奉造之神像是即紀伊國所座日前神也石凝姥命也

伊曽大神　大巳貴子五十猛命也多以木種播殖于大八洲之国為有功神

大屋姫・五十猛命妹

抓津姫　同上

静火　右自伊達之神社至静火社以此三神名紀三所社

有田郡

須佐　伊曽太神末社也

牟婁郡

熊野　崇神天皇十六年始建熊野本宮又景行天皇五十八年建同新宮

淡路津名郡

伊佐奈伎　又曰多賀又天地大明神

阿波板野郡

大麻彦　猿田彦命
麻殖郡
忌部　日鷲命
讃岐香川郡
田村　一宮也名神祭所不載之猿田彦
阿野郡
城山　名神祭所不載之
伊与新居郡
伊曽　名神祭所不載之
越智郡

大山祇　俗称三島大明神伊与風土記云宇智郡御座神御名大山積神一名和多志大神也是神者所顕難波高津宮御宇天皇仁德御世此神自百濟国度来座而津国御島坐云〻謂御島者津国御島名也
多伎　名神祭所不載之
伊与郡
伊与　名神祭所不載之
土佐土佐郡
都佐坐神　一宮也俗号高賀茂大明神土佐國風

土記云土佐郡々家西去四里有土佐高賀茂大
船其神名為一言主尊也其祖未詳一説云大穴
六道子味耜高彦根尊也
朝倉　土佐風土記云土佐郡有朝倉郷〻中有社
神名天津羽〻神天石戸別乎今天石戸別之神
子也先師云天津羽〻神者朝倉社也
筑前宗像郡
宗像　日本紀云天照太神索取素戔烏尊十握剣
折為三段濯于天真井齧然咀嚼而吹垂氣噴之
狭霧所生神号曰田心姫次湍津姫次市杵嶋姫
凡三女矣此三女神悉是尓兒便使授之素戔烏
尊此筑紫胷肩君等所祭神也田心姫命坐宗像
奥津宮中津姫命坐中津宮辺津姫命坐同辺津
宮又在大和国城上郡山城尤京者新宮也
那珂郡
筥崎　一宮人皇六十代醍醐天皇治九四年延喜
九一年六月九一日大神御託云吾社波宮柱三
悪有云〻欲移住筥崎松原其故昔天下国土鎮
護始之時松原也
住吉　日本紀云伊弉諾伊弉冉並住至筑紫日向小戸

橘之檍原而祓除將盪滌身之所汚乃濯於海底
曰以生神号曰底津少童神次底筒男命又潛濯
於潮中曰以生神号曰中津少童命次中筒男命
又浮濯於潮上曰以生神号曰表津少童命次表
筒男命其底筒男命中筒男命表筒男命是即住
吉大神矣

糟屋郡

志賀　是住吉一体也底津少童中津少童表津少
童

御笠郡

竈　延喜九年六月九日八幡大神御詑宣竈門
宮　波我伯母仁御座

夜須郡

於保奈牟智　大巳貴命也筑紫風土記云氣長足
姫欲伐新羅憖理軍士祭行之問道中迩巳占求
其由即有崇神名曰大三輪神所以樹此柳社遂
宇新羅

筑後三井郡

高良玉垂　武内宿禰也人皇四十代天武天皇白
鳳二年二月八日高良神詑云誉田天皇御宇為

農昏武畧之健將未也時古敵新羅禍害発物曽
筥崎松原仁建立新宮可降伏新羅之由宇乎書
天吾座下置天其上石居拄乎立天宮殿乎造向
新羅天自然降伏消除奈年云云件新宮以延長
元年迂御已畢人皇六十代醍醐天皇治九八年
延長三年乙酉五月十八日高良神託云筥崎宮
北望巨海西向絶域為防異賊之來寇也不啻我
朝德及遐方高麗国接境不犯云〻松解云三所
中殿高良左八幡右住吉云〻
豊比咩　因縁在肥前国佐嘉郡与止姫社也

豊前宇佐郡
八幡　三所者一八幡二比女神三大帯姫也豊前
国宇佐郡菱形山廣幡八幡大神坐郡家東馬城
峯頂後亦人皇四十五代聖武帝御宇神亀四年
鞆此山奉造神宮名曰廣幡八幡大神宮
此賣　宇佐使時被獻御装束
大帯姫　杜解云仲哀帝后妃名神天皇聖母神功
皇后也宇佐使時被献御装束
田川郡
辛國息長大姫　豊前国風土記云田川郡鹿春郷

昔者新羅国神自度到來住此川原即名曰鹿春
神安水之豊州比賣語曽社不見神名帳並風土
記也而任那新羅国種也辛篇比女語曽神之垂
跡也

豊姫　註肥前佗嘉郡下

豊後大野郡

西寒多　名祚原大原神　筥崎同躰也

肥前松浦郡

田島　仲哀帝弟稚武王也号上松浦明神也
志〻伎　稚武王弟十城別王也号下松浦明神也

佗嘉郡

与止日女　風土記云人皇卅代欽明天五年甲申
冬十一月朔日甲子肥前國佗嘉郡与止姫神有
鎮座一名豊姫一名淀姫乾元二年記云淀姫大
明神者八幡宗廟之叔母神功皇后之妹也三韓
征伐之昔者得于滿両顆而没異域之凶徒於海
底文永弘安之今者施風雨之神変而摧幾多之
賊船於波濤云〻河上大明神是也

肥後阿蘇郡

健磐龍阿蘇津彦阿蘇都姫　人皇十二代景行帝

十八年巡狩筑紫到阿蘇国曠遠不見人居天皇
此国有人乎時有二神曰阿蘇都彦阿蘇都姫忽
化人以遊詣之曰吾二人在何無人乎故名其國
曰阿蘇

国造

日向兒湯郡

都農　一宮也大已貴命

大隅桑原郡

鹿児嶌　南面應神天皇若宮仁德大御前大比留
女兼右案之神功乎欽明五年顕座云〻

嚼唹郡

大穴持　大已貴命

薩摩頴娃郡

投開　和多都美神

壹岐石田郡

乎長男　思兼命一男也

乎長姫　同子

對馬上縣郡

和多都美　八幡大神也

大鳥　日本後紀作木

奥書云
右一巻或人拔上件神名乞本縁之註記也不得
黙止摘先達之秘記註進畢
文亀三年十二月廿六日
神道長上従二位行神祇大副兼侍従卜部朝臣兼倶

右神名帳頭注一巻以要類本不能校正矣

尾張国内神名牒
正月十一日有座主讀国内神名帳神事
熱田大神宮奉唱王城鎮守諸大明神
伊勢二所梵尊
比叡山王三聖大菩薩
八幡三所大菩薩
宇佑大菩薩
金峯山金剛藏王大菩薩
熊野三所大権現
白山妙理大権現

Nihon Shoki (日本書紀) Trilingual: Selections

in the Original Classical Chinese (*Kanbun*) with English Translation

based on the *Iwanami Bunko* edition (five volumes, 1994-1995)

Transcribed and translated into English by Louis W. Y. Chor (左永業)

February 6 2018 Expanded June 16 2020

The publisher Iwanami Shoten consulted regarding using the original text of *Nihon Shoki* in the *Iwanami Bunko* edition for this translation.

Introduction

Two reasons account for my doing this translation project. Firstly, an article on the Shinto religion in the newspaper *The Japan Times* of May 4th 2016 reported a comment that "[w]hen the [creation] myth was written, in the eighth-century 'Kojiki' ('Records of Ancient Matters') and 'Nihon Shoki' ('The Chronicles of Japan'), the authors were not aware that the world consisted of much more than the islands of Japan. The archipelago was seen as the entire Earth." This is simply not correct. Lively interactions between Japan and the Korean kingdoms, together with occasional reports on Sino-Japanese relations, make up a sizable portion of *Nihon Shoki*, the first official national history of Japan compiled during the late 7th century and the early 8th century. Historian Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光 (Kōnoshi 2016) and calligrapher Ishikawa Kyūyō 石川九楊 (Kojima 2007, vol. 1) both noted the international character of *Nihon Shoki* and indicated that its compilation was an effort to position Japan at its rightful place among the three cultures of East Asia.

Secondly, I am amazed that *Nihon Shoki* was written in classical Chinese, with the exception of some verbal poetic exchanges or ballads that were recorded in Man'yōgana (万葉仮名). Man'yōgana are Chinese characters used only with their phonetic value to represent Japanese spoken contents. The sounds of these characters probably serve well to convey the sentimental Japanese utterances in their original oral form. While the Chinese text does at times exhibit certain influence of "Japanese custom" (和習, washū) in the style of discourse such as the way of expression (Kojima 2007, 2:309), the original is still highly readable for people who are comfortable with classical Chinese. This translation, based

directly on the original text, is an exercise and attempt by a non-native speaker of English to try to make this important historical writing of Japan, which perhaps is comparable to *Shi Ji* (史記) of China, more accessible.

Manuscript version (1540 CE, Important Cultural Property of Japan) of *Nihon Shoki* prepared by Urabe Kanemigi (卜部兼右), on which chapters 3-30 of the *Iwanami Bunko* (岩波文庫) edition are based. The page above is the beginning of chapter 3 on Emperor Jinmu. Reproduced by permission of Tenri Central Library, Tenri University (天理大学付属天理図書館蔵)

Contents of *Nihon Shoki*

Nihon Shoki, commonly called The Chronicle (or Chronicles) of Japan, comprises thirty chapters. The first two chapters describe the Era of the Gods (神代, Jindai) which begins with the spontaneous appearance of heaven and earth and that of the first eleven gods. The last two of these eleven gods – Izanaki no Mikoto (伊奘諾尊) and Izanami no Mikoto (伊奘冉尊) – were creators who, after consummating as a couple, gave birth to the archipelago of Japan and its seas, rivers, mountains and flora. They then wanted to produce the master of "the place under heaven" (天下, amanoshita); so they bore four children, the first and second being the deities of the sun (Amaterasu Ōmikami, 天照大神) and the moon. Later, Amaterasu Ōmikami's grandson, Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto (天津彦彦火瓊瓊杵尊), was sent down from heaven (高天原, Takamagahara) to the archipelago. His great grandson was

Hikohohodemi (彦火々出見), who later led the eastern expedition from his home base in south Kyushu towards eastern Japan. Settling down in the Kashihara (橿原) area in today's Nara Prefecture, Hikohohodemi ascended the throne as the first human-god emperor of Japan known as Jinmu Tennō (神武天皇). According to legend and heritage, the date of his enthronement was Day One in the First Month (lunar calendar) of 660 BCE. The main text of the Era of the Gods is interspersed with numerous alternative accounts, called arufude (一書), of the same stories, hence the various versions of Japanese mythology emanating from *Nihon Shoki*.

Following the first two chapters on the gods are twenty-eight chapters, each recording chronologically the events during the reign of individual emperors, empresses and a queen. There were merciful emperors exemplified by Emperor Suinin (垂仁天皇) who abolished human sacrifice and a cruel Emperor Buretsu (武烈天皇) who took pleasure in seeing people suffer. There was the coming to Japan of the Chinese classics and Buddhism, both from the Korean peninsula (Selections 10 and 14). There were earthquakes; a major one that reportedly resulted in forming a new island near the Izu Peninsula took place in 684, Year Thirteen of Emperor Tenmu (天武天皇). *Nihon Shoki* comes to its conclusion in 697 when Empress Jitō (持統天皇) ceded the throne to the Crown Prince.

A New Name for the Country: Writing "*Yamato*" as 日本 (Yamato)

When *Nihon Shoki* was completed and presented to the royal court in 720 by the compiler-in-chief Prince Toneri Shinnō (舎人親王), a son of Emperor Tenmu, the country name "日本" (Yamato) in written kanji merely had a history of several decades, even though the name of 日本 (read as Yamato, not Nihon) is used constantly in *Nihon Shoki* throughout the entire work. While Japan's encounter with Chinese characters happened very early, its actual use of them, either as Man'yōgana for transliterating spoken Japanese or as a written grammatical script for composing semantic writings, began only in the early 5th century (Okimori 2011, 40-42). The oral appellation that Japan had been using for itself was "Yamato". The initial Chinese character for the people on the Japanese islands was "倭" (read as Wo in Chinese) which came from China. Reading this character as Yamato, Japan adopted "倭" as its written country name too, until it made the name change later on. When and why Japan changed its written name from 倭 to 日本 is never mentioned in *Nihon Shoki*. The clue to answer this question may however be found in Chinese historical writings. *Sui Shu* (隋書), the

official history of the Sui dynasty (581-618) of China, recorded an episode in the year 607 in which Emperor Yangdi was made unhappy by the state memorandum from the Japanese sovereign Empress Suiko who called herself "The Son of Heaven at the place of sunrise" (Tōdō 2010, 468). Here we may sense that, at that point in time in the early 7th century, Japan had already been harbouring some reluctance to accept a country name coined for it by another country.

The first official history of the Tang dynasty (618-907), *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書), mentions that Japan changed its written country name from 倭 to 日本 because Japan disliked the vulgarity of the name 倭, and chose the new name of 日本 – literally, the sun's origin or the sun's roots – because the country is near the place where the sun rises. The later official history of the Tang dynasty, *Xin Tang Shu* (新唐書), says that Japan used a new name for itself some time after 670 (咸亨元年, Xianheng yuan nian, of China). This momentous event of when and why Japan acquired its new name was also recorded in subsequent official histories of China, but never disclosed anywhere in Japan's own official history. It should be noted that the change was only in the written form of the name, and that the verbal form of 日本 remained as Yamato. The definite date of the formal name change was given by Kōnoshi Takamitsu as 701 (Kōnoshi 2016, 20-24) when the Taihō law code (大宝律令, Taihō ritsuryō) was promulgated. Sinologist Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至 mentions the new form 日本 probably was adopted in the Asuka Kiyomihara law code (飛鳥浄御原律令, Asuka Kiyomihara ritsuryō) of 689 (Tomiya 2018, 200-202). Earlier, in spring of 681, Emperor Tenmu ordered his princes and high officials to prepare a definitive record of the sovereigns' reigns and ancient matters (Selection 19). Probably by this time the idea of formulating a brand-new written name for Japan to replace the name of 倭 had been crystallising, or the new name had actually been decided on. Incidentally, *Kojiki* (古事記), the historical and mythological work completed in 712, does not contain the name of 日本 at all.

Extent of This Project

This project comprises twenty short selections taken from the original text of thirty chapters. The scope spans many years, from the appearance of the universe (天地, tenchi), through the coming of the Chinese classics and Buddhism to Japan, and Emperor Tenmu's initiation of the writing of Japan's first national history generally called *Nihon Shoki*, until the reign of Empress Jitō in the concluding years of the 7th century.

Contents

Introduction 1

Index 7

Selection 1 Formation of Heaven-and-Earth and the First Three Gods 8
Selection 2 Birth of the Sun Goddess, the Moon God and Susanoo no Mikoto 10
Selection 3 Birth of Heaven's Grandson and His Descent to Earth 12
Selection 4 Heaven's Grandson Meets His Wife and Has Descendants 15
Selection 5 The First Emperor's Genealogy 17
Selection 6 Emperor Jinmu's Intention for the Eastern Conquest 20
Selection 7 Founding the New Capital at Kashihara 22
Selection 8 Emperor Jinmu Ascends the Throne and Tours the New State 25
Selection 9 Queen Jingū Consults Heaven and Her Ministers in Preparation for the Western Conquest 28
Selection 10 Classics Scholar Wani from Kudara Comes to Japan as Teacher of the Crown Prince 30
Selection 11 Requesting Seamstresses from the Kingdom of Wu in China. The Kingdom of Wu in China Pays Tribute to Japan 32
Selection 12 Ice Cellar for Storing Winter Ice for Summer 34
Selection 13 Collecting Babies Instead of Silkworms for the Emperor 36

Selection 14 The Kingdom of Kudara Officially Introduces Buddhism to Japan 38
Selection 15 The Second Envoy Mission to the Sui Court of China in 607 CE 41
Selection 16 China's Envoy Pei Shiqing Pays Visit to Japan's Empress in 608 CE 44
Selection 17 Ono no Imoko Pays His Second Visit to China in 608 CE, Accompanying Pei Shiqing 46
Selection 18 The Fifth Envoy Mission to Sui China in 614-615 CE, and Survey of Buddhism in Japan 49
Selection 19 Royal Decree of 681 CE to Compile the National History 51
Selection 20 Throne Succession in 697 53

Sources Consulted 55

Acknowledgments 56

Brief self-introduction 56

Index

s: selection n: note

Akizushima (秋津洲), 26 (n5)
Amaterasu Ōmikami (天照大神), 10 (s2), 12 (s3), 20 (s6)
Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto (天津彦彦火瓊瓊杵尊), 12 (s3), 15 (s4), 20 (s6)
Ashihara no Nakatsukuni (葦原中國), 12 (s3), 13 (n2)
babies, 36 (s13)
Buddhism, 38 (s14), 49 (s18)
Buddhist monasteries, 49 (s18)
calendar, Chinese, 23 (n1)
Chinese classics, 30 (s10)
Confucius, 31 (n6), 38 (s14)
dragonfly, 25 (s8), 26 (n4)
Goguryeo (高句麗). *See* Koma
Heaven's Grandson. *See* Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto
Hikohohodemi no Mikoto (彦火火出見尊), 15 (s4)
ice, 34 (s12)
itsu (稜威), 12 (s3), 13 (n5)
Kashihara (橿原), 22 (s7), 26 (n1)
kenzuishi (遣隋使), 40-50 (s15-18)
Kojiki (古事記), 4, 31 (n6)
Koma (高麗), 32 (s11)
Kōson (皇孫). *See* Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto
Kudara (百濟), 30 (s10), 38 (s14)
Kudara's Seimei-ō (百濟聖明王). *See* Seimei-ō
Kure no Kuni (吳國), 32 (s11), 36 (s13)
kusurigari (藥獵), 49 (s18), 50 (n1)
Kyushu, 13 (n7), 14 (n16), 15 (s4)
Mikoto (尊, 命), 9 (n7)
mizura (髻, 角髮, 美豆良), 29 (n3)
Moon God, 10 (s2)
Ninigi no Mikoto (瓊瓊杵尊). *See* Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto
Ōhirume no Muchi (大日孁貴). *See* Amaterasu Ōmikami
Ono no Imoko (小野妹子), 40-50 (s15-18)
Ōyashima no Kuni (大八洲國), 10 (s2)
Paekche (百濟). *See* Kudara
Pei, Qing (裴清). *See* Pei, Shiqing
Pei, Shiqing (裴世清), 44-48 (s16-17)
potter wasps, 37 (n2)
reed, 8 (s1), 12 (s3), 21 (n2)
rice, 21 (n2)
Seimei-ō (聖明王), 38 (s14), 39 (n1)
sericulture, 36 (s13)
Shinto shrines, 33 (n3), 35 (n9)
Shiragi (新羅), 29 (n5), 39 (n1)
silk, 32 (s11), 33 (n1)
silkworms, 36 (s13)
So Inkō (蘇因高). *See* Ono no Imoko
Su, Yin'gao (蘇因高). *See* Ono no Imoko
Sugaru (蜾蠃), 36 (s13), 37 (n2)
Sui Yangdi (隋煬帝), 40-48 (s15-17)
Sun Goddess. *See* Amaterasu Ōmikami
Susanoo no Mikoto (素戔嗚尊), 10 (s2)
Toneri Shinnō (舍人親王), 3, 52 (n1)
Toyoashihara no Mitsuho no Kuni (豐葦原瑞穗國), 20 (s6)
Tsukuyomi no Mikoto (月夜見尊). *See* Moon God
Wang, Ren (王仁). *See* Wani
Wani (王仁), 30 (s10)
Wani Kishi (和邇吉師). *See* Wani
Wo (倭). *See* Yamato
Wu (吳). *See* Kure no Kuni
Xiemataiguo (邪馬臺國). *See* Yemataiguo
Yamataikoku (邪馬臺國). *See* Yemataiguo
Yamato (日本, 大和, 倭), 3-4, 22 (s7), 25 (s8), 26 (n10)
Yamato Oguna (日本童男). *See* Yamato Takeru no Mikoto
Yamato Takeru no Mikoto (日本武尊), 29 (n7)
Yemataiguo (邪(耶)馬臺國), 26 (n10)

Nihon Shoki Chapter One (Selection 1)

Era of the Gods Part I

Formation of Heaven-and-Earth and the First Three Gods[4]

In the remote past heaven and earth were not demarcated; the negative and the positive were not divided. It was an amorphous whole like the inside of a chicken egg, and with natural energy containing omens of genesis. Subsequently clear and bright matters rose and floated, forming the heaven; heavy and murky matters sank and piled up, becoming the earth. The delicate and subtle conglomerated easily; the heavy and murky solidified with difficulty. Therefore the heaven formed first and the earth settled afterwards. Then the sacred came to life in this heaven-and-earth.[5] Thus it was said, "At the beginning of heaven-and-earth, islands and land were floating and drifting like swimming fish floating on water." At this time, something came to life in heaven-and-earth, with the shape of the sprout of reed, and it transformed into a god, named Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto [God of the Everlasting State]. Next was Kuni no Satsuchi no Mikoto[6] [God of the Young (or Narrow) Land]. Next was Toyo Kumunu no Mikoto[7] [God of Abundant Water]. Altogether there were three gods. Only the masculine line transformed, thus forming these pure males. (volume 1, page 423)

日本書紀 巻第一

神代上

古天地未剖、陰陽不分、渾沌如雞子、溟涬[1]而含牙。及其清陽者、薄靡而為天、重濁者、淹滯而為地。精妙之合搏[2]易、重濁之凝竭難、故天先成而地後定、然後神聖生其中焉。故曰、開闢之初、洲壤浮漂、譬猶游魚之浮水上也。于時、天地之中生一物、狀如葦牙、便化為神、號國常立尊、次國狹槌尊、次豐斟渟[3]尊、凡三神矣。乾道獨化、所以成此純男。（第一冊　四二三ページ）

About punctuation and sentence division in the original Chinese/Japanese text

Since the original text is not punctuated, punctuation in this transcription of the text may not exactly follow the practice in the *Iwanami Bunko* edition.

Notes on Selection 1

[1]The character 淬 is pronounced in Cantonese as 幸.

[2]The character 摶 is pronounced in Cantonese as 團.

[3]The character 渟 is pronounced in Cantonese as 亭.

[4]*Nihon Shoki* begins with this passage on the initial appearance of heaven, the earth and the gods.

[5]In the context of *Nihon Shoki*, heaven-and-earth is a literal translation of the two Chinese characters meaning the sky or heaven, and land or the earth.

[6]This god's name "Satsuchi" comprises three Chinese characters. The second and third characters "tsuchi" together have been interpreted as the land. The first character "Sa" literally means narrow. Thus, these three characters together may mean a narrow piece of land, which succinctly reflects the shape of the Japanese archipelago, as geographically known to people of the early 8th century. However, the character "Sa" is also interpreted as rice plants.

[7]"Mikoto" is an honorary suffix to the name of a god. This is the Japanese reading attached to actually two different Chinese characters, 尊 (son) and 命 (mei). When either of these two characters is used in a god's name, the Japanese reading is identical, as Mikoto. However, the character 尊 is for the noblest gods, whereas the character 命 is for gods in ordinary ranks. This linguistic treatment clearly shows that Chinese characters are much more than mere phonetic symbols: their physical and graphic forms by themselves, visible to the human eyes without utterance, serve as a subtle dimension of meaning in its own right.

Nihon Shoki Chapter One (Selection 2)

Era of the Gods Part I

Birth of the Sun Goddess, the Moon God and Susanoo no Mikoto

Then Izanaki no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto discussed, "We already gave birth to Ōyashima no Kuni[3] and also mountains, rivers and plants. Why do we not bear the master of the land under heaven?" So together they bore the Sun Goddess, with the name Ōhirume no Muchi.[4] This child was ablaze with brilliance and sparklingly magnificent, shining thoroughly in heaven-and-earth in all directions. Therefore the two gods said happily, "Although we have many children, none is as wonderful and miraculous as this child. We should send her early to heaven and invest her with authority in heaven's affairs, instead of letting her stay long in this country." Since heaven and earth were still not far apart at the time, they lifted her up to heaven with a heavenly pillar. Next they bore the Moon God.[5] His brilliance was second to the sun and could complement the sun to rule; so they also sent him up to heaven. . . . Next they bore Susanoo no Mikoto.[6] . . . Therefore, to Susanoo no Mikoto the two parent gods decreed, "You are very tyrannical, so cannot reign over the universe. Definitely you should go far away to Ne no Kuni."[7] Subsequently they banished him. (volume 1, pages 428-429)

日本書紀 巻第一

神代上

既而伊弉諾尊・伊弉冉尊共議曰、吾已生大八洲國及山川草木、何不生天下之主者歟。於是共生日神、號大日孁貴[1]、此子光華明彩、照徹於六合之内。故二神喜曰、吾息雖多、未有若此靈異之兒、不宜久留此國、自當早送于天、而授以天上之事。是時天地相去未遠、故以天柱擧於天上也。次生月神、其光彩亞日、可以配日而治、故亦送之于天。・・・次生素戔嗚尊[2]。・・・故其父母二神、勅素戔嗚尊、汝甚無道、不可以君臨宇宙、固當遠適之於根國矣、遂逐之。（第一冊　四二八～四二九ページ）

Notes on Selection 2

[1]The character 靈 is pronounced in Cantonese as 靈. The character 貴 means a noble person; this character may be an honorific term here. 大日靈貴 is Amaterasu Ōmikami (天照大神), the Sun Goddess of Japan. The character 靈, which in Chinese is regarded as a feminine name used in olden times, may be interpreted here as a female shaman or sorcerer. It may also echo the description "靈異之兒" (a wonderful and miraculous child) appearing later in the text.

[2]The character 戔 is pronounced in Cantonese as 煎.

[3]Ōyashima no Kuni literally means the Great State (or Country) of Eight Islands, the first island being the present-day Honshu, Japan's main island. Among these eight places, Koshi-no-shima (越洲) was the northwest coast of Honshu, not really an island. The large northern island of Hokkaido was still not part of this group of eight.

[4]Ōhirume no Muchi (大日靈貴) is the name used in this part of the original text for Amaterasu Ōmikami (天照大神), the Sun Goddess of Japan.

[5]The deity of the moon is regarded as a male god, in contrast to the goddess of the sun.

[6]Actually, Izanaki no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to four children of human form. After the Sun Goddess and the Moon God, and before the mischievous Susanoo no Mikoto, they bore Hiruko（蛭兒). This third child, however, had feet that could not walk even at age three. So the parents abandoned this kid. It is not easy to tell the gender from most names of the gods. Pronouns in both classical Japanese and classical Chinese are usually gender-neutral.

[7]Ne no Kuni may be interpreted as a domain or state underground, or the underworld.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Two (Selection 3)

Era of the Gods Part II

Birth of Heaven's Grandson and His Descent to Earth

Amaterasu Ōmikami's son, Masaka Akatsu Kachihayahi Ama no Oshihomimi no Mikoto, married Takami Musuhi no Mikoto's daughter Takuhata Chizuhime, and gave birth to Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto. So Royal Ancestor Takami Musuhi no Mikoto gave him special concern and love, rearing him respectfully. Subsequently he wanted to appoint his Royal Grandson (Heaven's Grandson) Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto as the overlord of Ashihara no Nakatsukuni, Central Country of the Fields of Reeds. . . .[14] At this time, Takami Musuhi no Mikoto put a quilt on the Royal Grandson Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto and let him descend. The Royal Grandson therefore left the heaven's boulder seat. Pushing apart heaven's many layers of clouds, his heavenly grandeur and mighty aura accompanied by whirling winds,[15] from heaven he descended on the mountain summit Takachiho no Take in the place Himuka no So.[16] Then, as for the manner of the Royal Grandson's touring, from the twin-summit sacred mountain he came down on the heaven's ladder and stood on the flat area of a floating island. Through this barren and empty land, he proceeded from a place with hill upon hill and went forward, looking for a good country. He arrived at the headland of Kasasa in the place Nagaya of the Ata domain.[17] (volume 1, pages 452, 455)

日本書紀 巻第二

神代下

天照大神之子正哉吾勝勝速日天忍穗耳尊、娶高皇產靈尊之女栲幡千千姬[1]、生天津彥彥火瓊瓊杵尊、故皇祖高皇產靈尊特鍾憐愛、以崇養焉、遂欲立皇孫天津彥彥火瓊瓊杵尊、以為葦原中國[2]之主。・・・于時、高皇產靈尊以真床追衾[3]、覆於皇孫天津彥彥火瓊瓊杵尊使降之。皇孫乃離天磐座、且排分天八重雲[4]、稜威[5]之道別道別[6]、而天降於日向襲[7]之高千穗峯[8]矣。既而皇孫遊行之狀也者、則自槵日二上[9]天浮橋[10]、立於浮渚在平處、而膂宍之空國[11]、自頓丘[12]覓國行去、到於吾田長屋笠狹之碕[13]矣。（第一冊　四五二、四五五ページ）

Notes on Selection 3

[1]The character 栲 in this name is a variant of 栲 and is pronounced in Cantonese as 巧.

[2]The name 葦原中國 (Ashihara no Nakatsukuni, the Central Country of the Fields of Reeds) may be interpreted as referring to Japan in general. Of particular interest is the use of the term 中國, literally meaning the central or middle country or kingdom. This term originated in Chinese texts over 2,500 years ago, appearing in the Chinese Classics. In many instances the term was used to juxtapose China, as a cultural and physical entity, with the neighbouring peoples then regarded as barbarians with cultures different from the Chinese. The term however was not regarded as the official name for the Chinese polity. For this very reason that the term 中國 was not official, in *Nihon Shoki* it was also employed as a designation for the Japanese state with the addition of the qualifier 葦原, perhaps to illustrate the abundance of reed fields in Japan. Perhaps this was an effort to give Japan an appropriate status. This is my attempt to understand the use of 中國 in *Nihon Shoki*. It should be clearly understood that the compilers of *Nihon Shoki* were in full awareness of the international situation in their time in the early 8th century and the late 7th century, and that they were well-versed in the Chinese Classics and other Chinese texts.

[3]The term 真床追衾 (makoto ōfusuma) may simply be translated as a quilt to cover the body. According to the *Iwanami Bunko* explanation, 真 means nice, 床 is a raised area in a room for sitting and sleeping, 追 is the same as to cover (覆う), and 衾 is the quilt (*Iwanami Bunko*, vol. 1, p. 371, note 11). In this instance this quilt may be regarded as a regal robe for the Royal Grandson for his descent to earth.

[4]The term 天八重雲 (ama no yaekumo) may mean eight layers, or many layers, of clouds. The number eight appears frequently in *Nihon Shoki*. This number is regarded as a sacred number (聖数，せいすう) in Japan.

[5]The term 稜威 (itsu) here may mean the grandeur and might befitting a high god. The character 稜 is a variant form of 棱 which has the meaning of dignity and mightiness.

[6]This phrase contains the term 道別 repeated once. Generally this term is interpreted as separating the path or finding the right path to proceed, and this action is repeated as one moves forward. But according to another interpretation, the reading of this term — ちわき (chiwaki) — may mean gusts of whirling winds, since the character ち has an archaic meaning of wind, and わき may be interpreted as 湧き, meaning a whirling phenomenon (*Iwanami Bunko*, vol. 1, p. 371-372, note 12). This latter interpretation may be plausible, since the heavenly descent 稜威之道別道別 is really spectacular.

[7]The meaning of 襲 (so) cannot be determined. The place 日向 (ひむか, Himuka) is the eastern part of Kyushu by the sea.

[8]Takachiho no Take (Mine) (高千穂峯) is a volcanic mountain in Kyushu, situated at the border of Miyazaki Prefecture and Kagoshima Prefecture, with a height of about 1,573 metres (about 5,161 feet).

[9]The term 槵日二上 seems very intriguing to interpret. The term 槵日 is read as くしひ (kushihi) and may refer to the term 奇霊 (same reading as くしひ), roughly meaning spiritual dignity. Here it is translated plainly as "sacred". The term following it, 二上 (futagami), means a twin-summit mountain. The character 槵 is pronounced as 幻 in Cantonese.

[10]The term 天浮橋 (ama no ukihashi) actually means heaven's ladder, rather than heaven's floating bridge. The heaven's ladder is a means connecting heaven and earth. (*Iwanami Bunko*, vol. 1, p. 123, note 5)

[11]The term 膂宍之空國 (soshishi no munakuni) means a country or place that is barren and empty, or very sparsely populated. The term 膂宍 originally means the muscle or flesh around the human backbone; the character 宍 is a variant form of 肉 (flesh). The first character 而 in the phrase may mean either (1) arriving at a certain place, or (2) finding himself in a certain place.

[12]The term 頓丘 (hitao) may have come from the early Chinese text 爾雅 (*Er Ya*). In the section 釋丘 in that book, there is an explanation of this term: "丘一成曰頓丘, 一頓而成, 無上下大小之殺也". This may mean that 頓丘 is a hill formed in one making, resulting in a hill of moderate height. In this context, the Royal Grandson may be travelling through a hilly area.

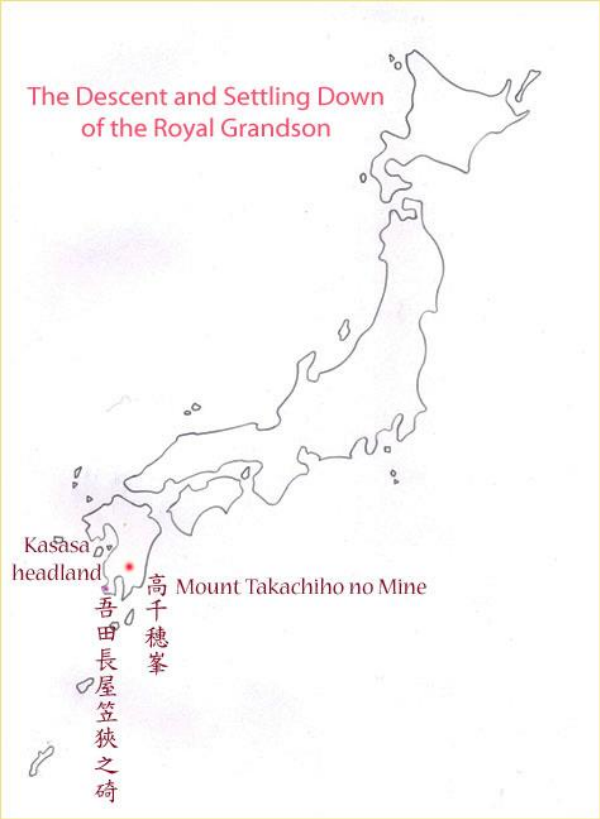
[13]The place 吾田長屋笠狭之碕 (Ata no Nagaya no Kasasa no Misaki) may be Cape Noma (野間岬) in Kagoshima Prefecture in Kyushu. It is the tip of a peninsula west of Minamisatsuma City (南さつま市). The character 碕 (pronounced as 奇 in Cantonese) means a twisting coast. From the summit of Mount Takachiho no Mine, the Royal Grandson travelled southwestwards towards the sea coast at the western tip of Satsuma Peninsula in Kyushu.

[14] Ashihara no Nakatsukuni generally refers to Japan in ancient times.

[15]About the translated term "whirling winds", see note 6 above.

[16]Takachiho no Take, known nowadays as Takachiho no Mine, is a volcanic mountain in Kyushu, at the border of Miyazaki Prefecture and Kagoshima Prefecture, with a height of about 1,573 metres (about 5,161 feet). Himuka is the eastern part of Kyushu by the sea.

[17]This headland of Kasasa is probably Cape Noma, the tip of a peninsula west of Minamisatsuma City (南さつま市) in south Kyushu.



Nihon Shoki Chapter Two (Selection 4)

Era of the Gods Part II

Heaven's Grandson Meets His Wife and Has Descendants

In that place [Kasasa headland, south Kyushu] there was a man who called himself Kotokatsu Kunikatsu Nagasa. The Royal Grandson asked him, "Is there a country or no?" The man replied, "There is a country here. Please feel free to travel around." Therefore the Royal Grandson settled down there. In this country there was a beauty called Kashitsuhime. The Royal Grandson asked this beauty, "Whose child are you?" She replied, "I am the child born by Heaven's God who married Ōyama Tsumi no Kami."[2] So the Royal Grandson slept with her. She became pregnant in one night. The Royal Grandson could not believe and said, "Though I am also Heaven's God, how could I make you pregnant in a night? The child you conceived must not be mine." Kashitsuhime was bitterly angry. She therefore made a doorless room and stayed inside, swearing, "If the baby I conceived is not your progeny, it will be burnt to its demise. If in fact it is your progeny, fire cannot do it any harm." She then set fire to the room. The son she bore when smoke began to rise was called Honosusori no Mikoto. The next son she bore while she was sitting away from the heat was called Hikohohodemi no Mikoto.[3] The next son she bore was called Honoakari no Mikoto.[4] Altogether there were three children. . . . (volume 1, pages 455-456)

日本書紀 卷第二

神代下

其地有一人、自號事勝國勝長狹、皇孫問曰、國在耶以不。對曰、此焉有國、請任意遊之。故皇孫就而留住。時彼國有美人、名曰鹿葦津姫、皇孫問此美人曰、汝誰之子耶。對曰、妾是天神娶大山祇神所生兒也。皇孫因而幸之。即一夜而有娠、皇孫未信之曰、雖復天神、何能一夜之間、令人有娠乎。汝所懷者、必非我子歟。故鹿葦津姫忿恨、乃作無戸室、入居其內、而誓之曰、妾所娠、若非天孫之胤、必當鬞[1]滅、如實天孫之胤、火不能害。即放火燒室、始起烟末生出之兒、號火闌降命、次避熱而居、生出之兒、號彥火火出見尊、次生出之兒、號火明命、凡三子矣。・・・（第一冊　四五五～四五六ページ）

Notes on Selection 4

[1]According to some online dictionary information, this 𤇾 is a variant form of the character 焦 and pronounced as such, meaning to be hurt by fire.

[2] Ōyama Tsumi no Kami (大山祇神) may be interpreted as a mountain god who was female. Kashitsuhime (鹿葦津姫) was therefore the daughter of a male heaven's god and a goddess on earth.

[3] Hikohohodemi no Mikoto (彦火火出見尊) would be the grandfather of Jinmu Tennō (神武天皇) who incidentally also had the same name of 彦火火出見 (Hikohohodemi).

[4]The names of these three children all have a reference to fire.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Three (Selection 5)

Jinmu Tennō

The First Emperor's Genealogy

Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko no Sumera Mikoto [Jinmu Tennō], named Hikohohodemi, was the fourth son of Hikonagisatake Ugayafuki Aezu no Mikoto.[3] His mother was called Tamayoribime who was the younger daughter of the Sea God. The Emperor was wise from birth, and was resolute in character. He was appointed as Crown Prince at age fifteen. When mature he married Ahiratsuhime of the place Ata no Mura in the domain Himuka no Kuni,[4] giving birth to Tagishimimi no Mikoto. (volume 1, page 478)

日本書紀 卷第三

神日本磐余彦天皇　神武天皇

神日本磐余彦天皇、諱彦火々出見、彦波瀲[1]武鸕鷀草葺不合尊第四子也、母曰玉依姫、海童之少女也。天皇生而明達、意確[2]如也。年十五立為太子、長而娶日向國吾田邑吾平津媛為妃、生手研耳命。（第一冊　四七八ページ）

Notes on Selection 5

[1]The character 瀲 is pronounced in Cantonese as 念. A variant pronunciation is 臉. It may mean the seashore or waves.

[2]The character 確 is pronounced in Cantonese as 確. In this context it means having a resolute personal character.

[3]The names of these personages are sometimes descriptive of the background of the individuals. This long name "Hikonagisatake Ugayafuki Aezu no Mikoto" (彦波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊) actually tells the story of the mistrust between the mother and father of this son. As the story goes, the mother asked the father not to see her at the time of her delivery of the baby, but the father did not heed her request and watched her when she transformed into a dragon at the time of delivery. The mother felt very ashamed and, in anguish, wrapped the newborn infant in grass, abandoning him on the seashore and then returned to the sea herself, never to meet her husband again. According to the alternative accounts accompanying the main text of *Nihon Shoki*, the mother asked the father to build a child delivery house thatched with cormorant (鸕鷀, roji, but here read as う, "u") feathers (hence the characters 鸕鷀草葺 (Ugayafuki)). But before the roof of the house was finished she gave birth to the baby; hence the baby's name included the two characters 不合 (Aezu, meaning "not matched" or "not completed"), which refer to the unfinished roof of the delivery house.

[4]Emperor Jinmu's first wife, Ahiratsuhime (吾平津媛), was native to the region where the Royal Grandson descended to at the beginning. Therefore, we may assume that the royal family of Emperor Jinmu, before his Eastern Conquest, was based in south Kyushu throughout all four generations. Emperor Jinmu was the great grandson of the Royal Grandson or Heaven's Grandson who himself was the grandson of Amaterasu Ōmikami.

Izanaki no Mikoto + Izanami no Mikoto
(伊奘諾尊 + 伊奘冉尊)

Amaterasu Ōmikami
(天照大神)

Masaka Akatsu Kachihayahi Ama no Oshihomimi no Mikoto + Takuhata Chizuhime
(正哉吾勝勝速日天忍穗耳尊 + 栲幡千千姫)

Amatsu Hikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto + Kashitsuhime
(天津彦彦火瓊瓊杵尊 + 鹿葦津姫)

Hikohohodemi no Mikoto + Toyotamabime (elder sister of 玉依姫)
(彦火火出見尊 + 豐玉姫)

Hikonagisatake Ugayafuki Aezu no Mikoto + Tamayoribime (younger sister of 豐玉姫)
(彦波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊 + 玉依姫)

Hikohohodemi = Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko no Sumera Mikoto (Jinmu Tennō)
(彦火々出見 = 神日本磐余彦天皇(神武天皇))

It has been over 1,792,470 years between the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto (the Royal Grandson) to south Japan and the time of Emperor Jinmu's Eastern Conquest.

The Genealogy of Emperor Jinmu

Nihon Shoki Chapter Three (Selection 6)

Jinmu Tennō

Emperor Jinmu's Intention for the Eastern Conquest

Upon reaching age forty-five, Emperor Jinmu said to his elder brothers and son, "In the past our heaven's gods Takami Musuhi no Mikoto and Ōhirume no Mikoto selected this Toyoashihara no Mitsuho no Kuni[6] and bestowed it on our Heaven's Grandfather Hikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto. Then Ho no Ninigi no Mikoto, opening heaven's gate and clearing out a path through the clouds, moved his heaven's presence to this place. Back then, fate was at the stage of primordial barrenness, and the times were unenlightened. Therefore our ancestors remained inactive, nurturing the way of rightness while ruling this peripheral region in the west.[7] Our royal grandfathers and fathers are indeed gods and saints. For ages they have been sustaining their benevolent governance that is constantly shining bright and warm. It has been more than 1,792,470 years since Heaven's Grandfather's descent.[8] However, the faraway land has not yet been nourished with our royal beneficence. Consequently over there domains have their own rulers and villages their headmen, carving up territories and struggling for power against one another. Besides, I heard the Old Deity of Sea Currents saying, 'There is beautiful land in the east, with green hills on all sides. Someone also flew and descended there on a heaven's stone ship.' I think that place definitely can let our grand enterprise flourish and our glory brighten up the land under heaven. Certainly it is the centre of the world. The one who flew and descended there should be Nigihayahi. Why not move on and found our capital there?" (volume 1, pages 478-479)

日本書紀 卷第三

神日本磐余彦天皇　神武天皇

及年卅五歲[1]、謂諸兄及子等曰、昔我天神、高皇產靈尊・大日孁尊、擧此豐葦原瑞穗國[2]、而授我天祖彦火瓊々杵尊。於是火瓊々杵尊、闢天關、披雲路、馭[3]仙蹕以戾止。是時、運屬鴻荒、時鍾草昧、故蒙以養正、治此西偏。皇祖皇考、乃神乃聖、積慶重暉、多歷年所。自天祖降跡以逮、于今一百七十九萬二千四百七十餘歲、而遼邈之地、猶未霑於王澤、遂使邑有君、村有長、各自分疆、用相凌躒[4]。抑又聞於鹽土老翁[5]曰、東有美地、青山四周、其中亦有乘天磐船而飛降者。余謂、彼地必當足以恢弘大業、光宅天下、蓋六合之中心乎。厥飛降者、謂是饒速日歟。何不就而都之乎。（第一冊　四七八～四七九ページ）

Notes on Selection 6

[1]The character 卌 is pronounced in Cantonese as 舍. It means forty.

[2]The name 豐葦原瑞穗國 (Toyoashihara no Mitsuho no Kuni) is the ancient name of Japan. With the meaning of The Country of Auspicious Rice Plants and Bountiful Reed Fields, this name connotes a sense of auspiciousness and wellness. The Japanese reading used here for 瑞穗 is "Mitsuho". However, these two characters are more commonly read as "Mizuho".

[3]The character 駈 is a variant of 驅.

[4]The verb 凌躒 as used here means fighting for dominance or bullying others. The character 躒, pronounced as 礫 in Cantonese, might have been used here instead of the more relevant character 轢 which is pronounced as 力.

[5]This name 鹽土老翁 actually is understandable only through its Japanese reading which is "Shiotsuchi no Oji". "Shio" is sea currents or tides, the following "tsu" stands for the connecting particle "no (の)", and the final "chi" refers to supernatural spirit or power (霊). Therefore, "Shiotsuchi no Oji" may be the reading for the name 潮の霊. It is not clear why the Chinese characters 鹽土, meaning salt and soil, are used in this instance, although they match the Japanese reading "Shiotsuchi". Here the name is translated as the Old Deity of Sea Currents.

[6]See note 2 above.

[7]Emperor Jinmu's home base was in south Kyushu. His conquest would be northeastwards, not exactly eastwards. Today, it is customary to mention East Japan and West Japan, while "North Japan" and "South Japan" do not commonly appear in discourse.

[8]There have been four generations since the descent of the Royal Grandson from Takamanohara (高天原). Emperor Jinmu was his great grandson. This span of over 1,792,470 years is of interest.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Three

(Selection 7)

Jinmu Tennō

Founding the New Capital at Kashihara

All the princes replied, "The reasons are very clear. We also have this always in mind. Better proceed soon." This year was the year Kinoe Tora [year Kōin].[4] On Day Five in the Tenth Month in winter of that year,[5] the Emperor himself led the princes to embark on the eastern expedition in a marine fleet. . . .

On Day Seven in the Third Month in the year Tsuchinoto no Hitsuji [year Kibi], he gave the order saying, "It has been six years[6] since we began our eastern conquest. With reliance on the might of Heaven, the villains yielded and perished. Though the frontiers have not been pacified and the remaining demons are still obstacles, the central areas [the Yamato area in today's Nara prefecture] no longer have wars. It is now opportune to establish our royal capital and plan our magnificent palaces. Now that our times are barely enlightened, and the people, their character simple and plain, are living on trees or in caves, clinging to unchanged customs. When those in authority set up institutions, their guiding principle always is to match the needs of the times. Whatever project is beneficial to the people, why would the emperor not undertake it? Therefore we should clear the hills and woods and build our palaces. And I will respectfully ascend the treasured throne to wisely govern the populace. Thus, to heaven above, to repay the gods for their kindness of bestowing the country on us; down on earth, to promulgate the Royal Grandson's way of rightness. Then, amalgamate all six parts of the world and expand our capital, and encompass all eight corners of the world as our house.[7] Would this not be possible? The area of Kashihara which is to the southeast of Mount Unebi looks like a secure place of our country.[8] Our capital can be there." That month, the Emperor promptly ordered officials to begin construction of the royal residence. . . . (volume 1, pages 479, 489)

日本書紀 卷第三

神日本磐余彦天皇　神武天皇

諸皇子對曰、理實灼然、我亦恆以為念、宜早行之。是年也、太歲甲寅。其年冬十月丁巳朔辛酉[1]、天皇親帥諸皇子舟師東征。・・・

〔己未年〕三月辛酉朔丁卯、下令曰、自我東征、於茲六年矣。賴以皇天之威、凶徒就戮、雖邊土未清、餘妖尚梗、而中洲之地、無復風塵、誠宜恢廓皇都、規摹大壯。而今運屬屯蒙、民心朴素、巢棲穴居、習俗惟常、夫大人立制、義必隨時、苟有利民、何妨聖造。且當披拂山林、經營宮室、而恭臨寶位、以鎮元元[2]。上則答乾靈授國之德、下則弘皇孫養正之心。然後、兼六合以開都、掩八紘而為宇、不亦可乎。觀夫畝傍山東南橿原地者、蓋國之奧區[3]乎、可治之。是月、即命有司、經始帝宅。・・・（第一冊　四七九、四八九ページ）

Notes on Selection 7

[1]In the Chinese calendar, years, and days in a month, are represented with a pair of two Chinese characters. Each of these two character is consecutively taken from an established sequence of characters. The first sequence, called 天干 (tian gan (Chinese Mandarin reading, same for other characters in this paragraph)), comprises ten characters: 甲 (jia), 乙 (yi), 丙 (bing), 丁 (ding), 戊 (wu), 己 (ji), 庚 (geng), 辛 (xin), 壬(ren), 癸 (gui). The second sequence, called 地支 (di zhi), comprises twelve characters: 子 (zi), 丑 (chou), 寅 (yin), 卯 (mao), 辰 (chen), 巳 (si), 午 (wu), 未 (wei), 申 (shen), 酉 (you), 戌 (xu), 亥 (hai). There are sixty different combinations of these paired characters, forming a cycle which is perpetually repeatable. Thus, this system is used for naming the progression of years as well as days in a month. The following table may serve to clarify the mechanism:

天干 （てんかん）	甲 こう	乙 いつ・おつ	丙 へい	丁 てい	戊 ぼ	己 き	庚 こう	辛 しん	壬 じん	癸 き	甲	乙	丙	丁	戊
地支 （ちし）	子 し	丑 ちゅう	寅 いん	卯 ぼう	辰 しん	巳 し	午 ご	未 び	申 しん	酉 ゆう	戌 じゅつ	亥 がい	子	丑	寅

In the date designation 十月丁巳朔辛酉 in the text, the character 朔 (tsuitachi) means the first day in the Tenth Month, that is, the day of the new moon. The preceding two characters 丁巳 is the day name representing this first day. By consecutively counting from this day name 丁巳 to the day name 辛酉, we can ascertain that 辛酉 is Day Five in the Tenth Month. This may be illustrated as follows:

	Day 1（朔）	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	**Day 5**
天干	丁	戊	己	庚	辛
地支	巳	午	未	申	酉

As another example, the designation in the second passage 三月辛酉朔丁卯 means Day Seven in the Third Month:

	Day 1（朔）	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	Day 5	Day 6	Day 7
天干	辛	壬	癸	甲	乙	丙	丁
地支	酉	戌	亥	子	丑	寅	卯

Dates (days in the month) in *Nihon Shoki* can be ascertained in the above manner. Incidentally, the twelve chishi (地支) characters also represent the twelve animals in the Chinese zodiac called 十二生肖 (jūni seishō), as shown in the following:

子 鼠	丑 牛	寅 虎	卯 兎	辰 龍	巳 蛇	午 馬	未 羊	申 猿	酉 鶏	戌 犬	亥 猪
ね	うし	とら	う	たつ	み	うま	ひつじ	さる	とり	いぬ	い

[2]The term 元元 (ōmitakara) means the common people.

[3]The character 墺 is pronounced in Cantonese as 澳. Here 墺區 may be interpreted as a secure and suitable place for establishing the capital.

[4]Kinoe Tora is the native Japanese reading (訓読み kun'yomi) of the year name 甲寅, whereas Kōin is the Sino-Japanese reading (音読み on'yomi) of the same name.

[5]For the method of specifying days in the month, see note 1 above.

[6]In fact, the actual expedition, launched in south Kyushu and concluded in the Nara area of Honshu, took about four and a half years, not fully six years.

[7]The sentence ". . . encompass all eight corners of the world as our house" is a translation of the sentence 掩八紘 (ame no shita) 而為宇. This sentence literally means covering or occupying the eight geographical strings (紘, "kō" in Japanese, 弘 in Cantonese) bordering the world which then becomes our house.

[8]Mount Unebi (畝傍山, Unebiyama, height 199 metres, or about 653 feet) is situated in the city of Kashihara, to the south of Nara city.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Three (Selection 8)

Jinmu Tennō

Emperor Jinmu Ascends the Throne and Tours the New State

On Day One in the First Month in spring of the year Kanoto no Tori [year Shin'yū], the Emperor ascended the throne at Kashihara no Miya palace.[11] This year was Year One of Emperor Jinmu.[12] He honoured his principal consort as the Queen. They gave birth to princes Kamu Yai no Mikoto and Kamu Nunakawamimi no Mikoto. . . .

On Day One in the Fourth Month in summer of Year Thirty-one of Emperor Jinmu, the Emperor staged a royal tour. Proceeding up on the hill Hōma no Oka in Wakigami,[13] he observed the panoramic view of the state and said, "How beautiful it is, this country we acquired! A very narrow land notwithstanding, it resembles a dragonfly during mating."[14] This was how the appellation Akizushima, the Dragonfly Island, appeared.[15] In the past when Izanaki no Mikoto looked at this land, he said, "Yamato is the country of the peaceful mind, the country with an abundant supply of well-made spears,[16] the magnificent country." Also Ōanamuchi no Ōkami looked at it and said, "The country with jade walls." To the time when Nigihayahi no Mikoto was flying in space on the heaven's stone ship, he saw this homeland and descended on it, saying, "From up in space I see the Yamato State."[17] (volume 1, page 489, pages 490-491)

日本書紀 卷第三

神日本磐余彦天皇　神武天皇

辛酉年春正月庚辰朔、天皇即帝位於橿原宮[1]、是歲為天皇元年。尊正妃為皇后、生皇子神八井命・神渟名川耳尊。・・・

卅有一年夏四月乙酉朔、皇輿巡幸、因登腋上嗛間丘[2]、而廻望國狀曰、妍哉乎國之獲矣、雖內木綿之真迮國[3]、猶如蜻蛉之臀呫焉[4]。由是始有秋津洲[5]之號也。昔伊奘諾尊目此國曰、日本者浦安國[6]、細戈千足國[7]、磯輪上秀真國[8]。復大己貴大神目之曰、玉牆內國[9]。及至饒速日命、乘天磐船而翔行太虛也、睨是鄉而降之、故因目之曰、虛空見日本國[10]矣。（第一冊　四八九、四九〇～四九一ページ）

Notes on Selection 8

[1]The palace 橿原宮 (Kashihara no Miya) does not exist now. Today's city of Kashihara (橿原市) is situated south of Nara city in Nara Prefecture. The Kashihara Shrine (橿原神宮) in Kashihara city occupies the site supposedly to be where the palace once was.

[2]This hill 嗛間丘 (Hōma no Oka) may be situated in the eastern part of Gose city (御所市) in Nara Prefecture. Gose city is several kilometres to the southwest of Kashihara city (橿原市). The character 嗛 has more than one reading in Cantonese depending on usage: 咸, 協 or 欠.

[3]The introductory term 内木綿 (うつゆふ, utsuyū) is regarded as a makurakotoba (枕詞). This kind of introductory terms are usually used in poetic works and may have no specific meanings except for serving a decorative function. The character 迮 here is interchangeable with 窄 and pronounced the same in Cantonese. The whole sentence may be interpreted simply as "Though this is a very narrow country".

[4]Using mating dragonflies as an analogy of the shape of the country – Japan – seems quite logical, since the Japanese archipelago is of a curved elongate shape, resembling the curled long bodies of mating dragonflies. However, this analogy is also interpreted as reflecting the country of Japan with hills and mountains. The insect 蜻蛉 (akizu, or akitsu) is dragonfly; 臀 is the end part of the body; the character 呫 is pronounced as 貼 in Cantonese, meaning to taste.

[5]The appellation 秋津洲 (Akizushima) may be translated as the Dragonfly Island(s). "Akizu" (あきづ, あきず) or "akitsu" (あきつ) is the name for dragonfly used in the old days. The kanji may either be 秋津 or 蜻蛉. The long archipelago of Japan makes one think of a dragonfly, logically.

[6]The appellation 浦安 (urayasu) means peace of mind. Ura means the heart; yasu means peaceful.

[7]The appellation 細戈千足國 (Kuhashi hoko no chidaru kuni) is translated as the country with an abundant supply of well-made spears (weapons, armament). Chidaru means abundant. The weapon 戈 (hoko), however, is not exactly a spear. Its blade looks like the Arabic numeral "7", instead of being straight as a spear. Like a spear, it has a long shaft.

[8]The appellation 磯輪上秀真國 (Shiwakami hotsuma kuni) may simply be interpreted as the elegant and magnificent country. In the *Iwanami Bunko* edition, the term 磯輪上 is explained as a term with unknown meaning (*Iwanami Bunko*, vol. 1, p. 245, note 2).

[9]The appellation 玉牆内國 (Tamagaki no uchitsu kuni) literally means the country with (or within) walls of jade. The walls of jade, however, may also be interpreted as hills and mountains found in the country.

[10]The name 日本國 is read as Yamato no Kuni (Yamato State), not Nihonkoku or Nipponkoku. Probably the name Yamato was the country name used by the Japanese themselves from a very early date. Thus early Chinese historical records about Japan used the name 邪(耶)馬臺國 (Yemataiguo) for the chief state on the archipelago. Before Japan adopted the name 日本 around the time of the early Tang dynasty in China, China referred to Japan as 倭國 (Wakoku in Japanese), an appellation which Japan later disliked and reportedly made Japan change its written name from 倭 to 日本 (read as Yamato as before).

[11]See note 1 above.

[12]The year of Emperor Jinmu's ascending the throne, that is, Year One of the Emperor, was dated as 660 BCE. This year is the 1,260th year counting backwards from the year 601 CE, Year Nine of Empress Suiko (推古天皇). The Chinese year designation system operates as cycles of 60 years each. Twenty-one cycles constitute one 蔀 (bō), that is, 1,260 years. Year Nine of Empress Suiko and Year One of Emperor Jinmu are both the year Shin'yū (辛酉) which is regarded as an epochal year.

[13]The hill Hōma no Oka might perhaps be in the eastern part of Gose city, Nara Prefecture. See also note 2 above.

[14]The long, curved shape of the Japanese archipelago might have inspired Emperor Jinmu to think of the shape of dragonflies during their mating.

[15]Dragonflies were called akizu or akitsu (秋津, 蜻蛉) in the old days. See also note 4 above.

[16]The word "spears" is used here to translate the Chinese character 戈 (ほこ, hoko). However, this character actually does not exactly mean spears. A spear has a straight blade for forward thrusting or throwing. The weapon called 戈 seems unique to China. It has a blade shaped like the Arabic numeral "7".

[17]See note 10 above.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Nine

(Selection 9)

Jingū Kōgō

Queen Jingū Consults Heaven and Her Ministers in Preparation for the Western Conquest

[In Year Nine[6] of Tarashinakatsuhiko no Sumera Mikoto (Emperor Chūai)], the Queen[7] returned to Kashihi no Ura.[8] Loosening her hair and facing the sea, she said, "Having received the advice of the gods, and relying on the spirits of our royal ancestors, I intend to cross the wide green sea and myself launch the western expedition. So I shall wash my head in the sea. If there is promising omen, my hair would by itself part into two halves." Promptly she went to the sea and washed her hair, and her hair parted by itself. The Queen then coiled her parted hair respectively into mizura knots.[9] Subsequently she said to her ministers, "Mobilising the army to wage a war is a significant matter for the state. Peace or perils, triumph or defeat, surely hinge on it. Now there will be a conquest, and this mission is assigned to you high officials. If the mission fails and the blame is to be borne by the officials, it really hurts. I, being a woman, am thus especially culpable. But for now I adopt the male style and daringly launch this bold plan. With the blessing of the gods' spirits and the assistance of all officials, I am sending troops across the daunting sea and dispatching warships to acquire the land of treasures.[10] If the mission succeeds, all officials will share the merit; if the mission fails, I alone will bear the blame. I already have this intention. Please consider it among yourselves." The officials all said, "Our Queen is thinking for the sake of our country so as to bring peace to the royal ancestral hall and the state. Furthermore, no blame will be shifted onto us. We bow to obey your decree."

On Day Ten in the Ninth Month in autumn, the Queen ordered the domains to muster the ships and train the troops . . . . (volume 2, page 495)

日本書紀 卷第九

氣長足姫尊　神功皇后

〔足仲彦天皇九年〕[1]、皇后還詣橿日浦[2]、解髪臨海曰、吾被神祇之教、賴皇祖之靈、浮涉滄海、躬欲西征、是以令頭滌海水、若有驗者、髪自分為兩。即入海洗之、髪自分也。皇后便結分髪而為髻[3]、因以謂群臣曰、夫興師動衆、國之大事、安危成敗、必在於斯。今有所征伐、以事付群臣、若事不成者、罪有於群臣、是甚傷焉、吾婦女之加以不肖。然暫假男貌、强起雄略、上蒙神祇之靈、下藉群臣之助、振兵甲而度嶮浪[4]、整艫船以求財土[5]。若事成者、群臣共有功、事不就者、吾獨有罪。既有此意、其共議之。群臣皆曰、皇后為天下計、所以安宗廟社稷、且罪不及于臣下、頓首奉詔。

秋九月庚午朔己卯、令諸國集船舶練兵甲。・・・（第二冊　四九五ページ）

Notes on Selection 9

[1]Year Nine of Tarashinakatsuhiko no Sumera Mikoto (足仲彦天皇九年) is interpreted as the year 200 CE. However, this claim is not substantiated.

[2]Kashii no Ura (橿日浦) is in the eastern district of Fukuoka city in Kyushu today. It should be the place where Kashii Palace (橿日宮), one of Emperor Chūai's palaces, was situated.

[3]The hairstyle mizura (髻, 角髮, 美豆良) features a ring-shape knot of hair on either side of the head, beside the ear. The hair is parted into two parts down the middle of the top of the head. It was the style worn by young men in ancient times. The practice probably began during the time of the Yamato court. Earlier in *Nihon Shoki*, before Amaterasu Ōmikami met her younger brother Susanoo no Mikoto in Takamanohara, she also changed her hairstyle to mizura. This stance is therefore a show of masculinity to confront adversaries or to reinforce one's own determination.

[4]The character 嶮 is pronounced in Cantonese as 險, meaning dangerous, or high and steep.

[5]The term 財土 is read as "takara no kuni", literally meaning a land or country of treasures. It refers to the state of Shiraki or Shiragi (新羅), which was on the eastern part of the southern Korean peninsula. Queen Jingū and Emperor Chūai, her husband, both received advice from the gods to conquer Shiragi, where treasures were bountiful.

[6]This Year Nine is claimed to be the year 200 CE. However, since the early part of *Nihon Shoki* may contain a large proportion of fictitious content, this date of 200 CE may be imaginary.

[7]Queen Jingū was the consort of Emperor Chūai, and the daughter-in-law of the famous prince Yamato Takeru no Mikoto (日本武尊). Yamato Takeru no Mikoto's original name was Yamato Oguna (日本童男). After pacifying the Kumaso (熊襲) people in southern Kyushu and conquering the Emishi (蝦夷) people in northeastern Honshu, he contracted an illness probably contrived by a wicked mountain god in Mount Ibuki (伊吹山, Ibukiyama, 1,377 metres, or about 4,518 feet) near Maibara city (米原市), Shiga Prefecture. Later he passed away at the age of thirty in Nobono (能褒野), a place bordering Kameyama city (亀山市) and Suzuka city (鈴鹿市) in Mie Prefecture. The story of Yamato Takeru no Mikoto is recounted in Chapter 7 on Emperor Keikō (景行天皇), his father.

[8]See note 2 above.

[9]See note 3 above.

[10]See note 5 above.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Ten

(Selection 10)

Ōjin Tennō

Classics Scholar Wani from Kudara Comes to Japan as Teacher of the Crown Prince

On Day Six in the Eighth Month in autumn of Year Fifteen [of Emperor Ōjin], the King of Kudara[3] sent Achiki to submit two good horses as tributary gifts. They were then kept in the stall at Karu no Saka.[4] Achiki was assigned the duty of rearing the horses, and the place where they were kept was therefore called Umayasaka. Achiki also could read the classics;[5] so he was the teacher of Crown Prince Ujinowaki Iratsuko. Subsequently, the Emperor asked Achiki, "Would there be scholars better than you?" The reply was, "There is one Wani[6] who is excellent." Then Aratawake and Kamunakiwake, ancestors of Kamitsukeno no Kimi, were sent to Kudara to send for Wani. Achiki was the ancestor of the Achiki no Fubito group.[7] In the Second Month in spring of Year Sixteen,[8] Wani came. Crown Prince Ujinowaki Iratsuko studied various classics with Wani as teacher, and fully understood all the texts. Wani was the ancestor of the groups and clans of Fumi no Obito.[9] (volume 2, pages 512-513)

日本書紀 卷第十

譽田天皇　應神天皇

十五年秋八月壬戌朔丁卯、百濟王遣阿直伎、貢良馬二匹、即養於輕坂上廐[1]、因以阿直岐令掌飼、故號其養馬之處曰廐坂也。阿直岐亦能讀經典、即太子菟道稚郎子師焉。於是、天皇問阿直岐曰、如勝汝博士亦有耶。對曰、有王仁者、是秀也。時遣上毛野君祖、荒田別・巫別於百濟、仍徵王仁也。其阿直岐者、阿直岐史之始祖也。十六年春二月[2]、王仁來之。則太子菟道稚郎子師之、習諸典籍於王仁、莫不通達。所謂王仁者、是書首等之始祖也。（第二冊　五一二～五一三ページ）

Notes on Selection 10

[1] 輕坂 (Karu no Saka) may be a place near Ōgaruchō (大軽町) in today's Kashihara city (橿原市), Nara Prefecture.

[2]There are two possible years that may correspond to Year Sixteen of Emperor Ōjin: either 285 CE or 405 CE, with the latter being more correct. With the year 660 BCE as the starting date of Emperor Jinmu's reign, Year Sixteen of Emperor Ōjin should be 285 CE, and the year 405 CE is 120 years after that. This difference of 120 years is the result of the application of the "kanshi nijun" (干支二巡) calculation. Thus, year 285 becomes year 405 by adding two cycles of the 60-year kanshi cycle used in the Chinese year designation system. This mechanism, first elucidated by historian Naka Michiyo (那珂通世), is generally regarded by historians as a valid interpretation of the chronological treatment in *Nihon Shoki* for the presentation of the relations between Japan and Kudara (百濟) on the Korean peninsula around the 4th and the 5th century. In other words, for events that actually happened in the 5th century, the compilers of *Nihon Shoki* subtracted 120 years and therefore presented them as events of the 3rd century. The year 405 is substantiated by matching years and events in the diplomatic history of Kudara and Japan. Furthermore, according to a Korean historical source, Kudara began to learn Chinese characters and texts only in the late 4th century. The fact that Wani of Kudara came to Japan in 405 as a teacher of Chinese classics is therefore chronologically correct.

Converting dates in *Nihon Shoki* to the western calendar is not straightforward. For instance, given that 405 CE is the year when Chinese characters and texts were adopted for use in Japan, and that 552 or 538 CE is the year when Buddhism was officially introduced to Japan, how can the intervening period of over two hundred years from Emperor Nintoku (仁徳天皇) to Emperor Senka (宣化天皇) fit in?

According to historian Tsuda Sōkichi (津田左右吉), because the Chinese calendar was introduced to Japan from Kudara of Korea during the reign of Emperor Kinmei (欽明天皇) in the 6th century, dates prior to his reign as recorded in *Nihon Shoki* may be fabrications or conjectures and their reliability is questionable.

[3]Kudara (百濟) is more commonly known as Paekche. Its location is roughly at the western half of the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

[4]See note 1 above.

[5]The classics are Chinese texts which were previously introduced into the Korean peninsula. Before Kudara (Paekche) learnt the Chinese texts, Goguryeo (高句麗), the kingdom on the northern part of the peninsula, already had had the opportunity to adopt this written heritage of Chinese culture.

[6]In *Nihon Shoki*, the classics which Wani (王仁) brought to Japan were not specified. However, in *Kojiki* (古事記), the first extant history text of Japan, it was recorded that Confucius' *Analects* and the vocabulary text called *Senjimon* (千字文, *Qian zi wen*) were brought to the royal court by Wani Kishi (和邇吉師) who is regarded to be the same person as Wani.

[7]Fubito was the group mainly responsible for documentation or record keeping. These people were mostly immigrants, that is, the so-called toraijin (渡来人).

[8]See note 2 above.

[9]Fumi no Obito may be the immigrant group originated with the coming of Wani. Since they were well-versed in Chinese characters and texts, they might have played a significant role in the transmission of Chinese learning into Japan.

Nihon Shoki Chapters Ten & Eleven (Selection 11)

Ōjin Tennō

Requesting Seamstresses from the Kingdom of Wu in China

On Day One in the Second Month in spring of Year Thirty-seven [of Emperor Ōjin], Achi no Omi and Tsuka no Omi were dispatched to Wu [kingdom in China],[5] with the order to ask for seamstresses.[6] Then Achi no Omi and his group crossed the sea to go to Koma,[7] intending to reach Wu. However, upon arriving in Koma, they did not know the route forward. There they humbly asked for someone who knew the route, and the King of Koma let Kureha and Kureshi assist them as guides. Thus they established relationship with Wu. The King of Wu therefore gave them four seamstresses, women called Ehime, Otohime, Kurehatori and Anahatori.[8] (volume 2, page 516)

Nintoku Tennō

The Kingdom of Wu in China Pays Tribute to Japan

In the Tenth Month in winter of Year Fifty-eight [of Emperor Nintoku], . . . the Kingdom of Wu and the Kingdom of Koma both paid tribute.[9] (volume 2, page 532)

日本書紀 卷第十・第十一

譽田天皇　應神天皇

卅七年春二月戊午朔、遣阿知使主・都加使主於吳[1]、令求縫工女。爰阿知使主等、渡高麗國[2]、欲達于吳、則至高麗、更不知道路、乞知道者於高麗、々々王乃副久禮波・久禮志二人為導者、由是得通吳。吳王於是與工女兄媛・弟媛、吳織、穴織四婦女[3]。（第二冊　五一六ページ）

大鷦鷯天皇　仁德天皇

五十八年・・・冬十月、吳國・高麗國並朝貢[4]。（第二冊　五三二ページ）

Notes on Selection 11

[1]This state with the name of Wu (吳) should be one of three states of the Three Kingdoms Period of China, the other two states or kingdoms being Wei (魏) and Shu (蜀). Wu's fate ended in 280 CE with the conquest of the new Jin (晋) dynasty. Assuming that Year Thirty-seven of Emperor Ōjin is 306 CE (without adding the 120 years of the kanshi calculation mentioned above in note 2 of Selection 10), this mission of requesting for seamstresses from China might have taken place in the court of another dynastic ruler of China. The Kingdom of Wu was situated in southeast China.

This mission to the state of Wu (呉国, Kure no Kuni) in China in the 4th or 5th century has significant cultural implications for Japan. With the application of certain new technological developments introduced from China, perhaps especially in silk weaving, high-quality fabrics were produced and named gofuku (呉服) which literally means woven materials of the state of Wu. Incidentally, in China elaborate silk fabrics known today as "yun jin" (雲錦) began to be produced in the area of today's Nanjing city – then the capital of the state of Wu and subsequent kingdoms of the North and South Dynasties Period of China – in the early 5th century. Perhaps the Japanese royal court of the time – possibly during the reign of Emperor Ōjin – was aware of these developments and therefore eager to acquire from China talents for advanced silk weaving. Sericulture and silk production began in Japan probably around the 1st or 2nd century CE.

[2]Goguryeo (高句麗), which is called Koma (高麗) in *Nihon Shoki*, was actually an adversary of Japan during the 5th century, when this mission was possibly dispatched.

[3]These four female weavers – probably all specialising in silk – were subsequently deified as Shinto gods in Japan. The first two, Ehime (兄媛) and Otohime (弟媛), are worshipped at Ōsake Jinja (大酒神社) in Kyoto. They are however not the principal deities enshrined in the shrine. One of the three principal deities of Ōsake Jinja is, interestingly, the First Emperor of China (秦始皇帝, Qin Shihuangdi) who is revered as the first ancestor of the influential Hata clan (秦氏, Hata Uji) of Japan. The third weaver, Kurehatori (吳織), is the deity of Gofuku Jinja (呉服神社), while the fourth weaver Anahatori (穴織), also known as Ayahatori (漢織), is enshrined in Ikeda Jinja (伊居太神社). Both of these two Shinto shrines are in Ikeda city (池田市), Osaka Prefecture, the place that is claimed to be where these weavers began their new life in Japan.

[4]It is unimaginable that a state or kingdom of China would ever pay tribute (朝貢, chōkō) to Japan throughout history.

[5]See note 1 above.

[6]It may be understandable that the seamstresses or weavers requested might not be just any category of weavers, but specifically those who were skilled in weaving silk.

[7]See note 2 above.

[8]See note 3 above.

[9]See note 4 above.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Eleven (Selection 12)

Nintoku Tennō

Ice Cellar for Storing Winter Ice for Summer

Year Sixty-two . . ., this year, when Prince Nukata no Ōnakatsuhiko no Miko[6] was hunting in Tsuke,[7] he looked down from a hill and saw something in the shape of a hut in the open meadow. He sent an attendant to take a look. The attendant returned and said, "An underground chamber." The prince then summoned Tsuke no Inaki Ōyamanushi,[8] the local administrator of Tsuke, and asked, "What is that underground chamber in the meadow?" The administrator replied, "It is an ice cellar."[9] The prince asked, "What are the contents? And what are they for?" The administrator said, "Dig more than one chō[10] into the soil and use grass to cover it. Carefully lay down reeds, then put ice on the reeds. The ice will remain unthawed through summer. As for its use, we steep it in wine during the hot months." The prince then fetched the ice and offered it to the royal court. The Emperor liked it. From that time on, every year ice was always stored up in late winter until spring equinox. Then the ice would be distributed.[11] (volume 2, pages 532-533)

日本書紀 巻第十一

大鷦鷯天皇　仁德天皇

六十二年・・・、是歲、額田大中彦皇子獵于鬪雞[1]、時皇子自山上望之、瞻野中有物、其形如廬、乃遣使者令視。還來之曰、窟也。因喚鬪雞稻置大山主[2]、問之曰、有其野中者何窨鄉矣[3]。啟之曰、氷室也。皇子曰、其藏如何、亦奚用焉。曰、掘土丈餘、以草蓋其上、敦敷茅荻、取氷以置其上、既經夏月而不泮[4]。其用之、即當熱月、漬[5]水酒以用也。皇子則將來其氷、獻于御所、天皇歡之、自是以後、每當季冬必藏氷、至于春分、始散氷也。（第二冊　五三二～五三三ページ）

Notes on Selection 12

[1]The name of the place 鬪雞 (Tsuke or Tsuge) is now written as 都祁. Specifically, it was the former Tsugemura village (都祁村) in Nara Prefecture, and has now become part of Nara city. In a broader sense, the Tsuge area also includes the neighbouring Fukusumichō (福住町) in the eastern part of Tenri city (天理市), Nara Prefecture.

[2]The term 稲置 (inaki or inagi) means a local administrator below the rank of 国造 (kuninomiyatsuko).

[3]The character 窨 is pronounced in Cantonese as 蔭, and means an underground chamber or storage. The character 鯽, pronounced as 即, does not seem to have any meaning here, although it means a kind of freshwater fish. Other online text versions of *Nihon Shoki* do not even have this character in this passage.

[4]The character 泮 is pronounced as 判 in Cantonese and means the melting of ice.

[5]The character 漬 means to soak or steep in liquid or water.

[6]Prince Nukata no Ōnakatsuhiko no Miko (額田大中彦皇子) was the son of Emperor Ōjin and brother of Emperor Nintoku but of a different mother.

[7]See note 1 above.

[8]See note 2 above.

[9]Around 1988, in the excavation of the Heijōkyō capital (平城京) site in Nara city, a large quantity of wood tablets (木簡, mokkan) were discovered. Among the over 35,000 tablets related to the high official Nagaya no Ōkimi (長屋王) of the early Nara period, there are three tablets that have detailed information on the ice cellars (氷室, himuro) at Tsuge (都祁). Each of the two ice cellars mentioned on one tablet measured 1 chō (丈, about 3 metres) in depth and had a circumference of 6 chō (about 18 metres, that is, 5.7 metres in diameter). Recent research in the Tsuge area in Tenri city and Nara city has discovered about 30 large bowl-shaped holes that probably were ice cellars of former times. (Kawamura, Kazumasa 川村和正, "Tsuge himuro ni kansuru ichikōsatsu" 都祁氷室に関する一考察 [A study of the ice cellars in Tsuge], *Ryūkoku Daigaku kōkogaku ronshū* 龍谷大学考古学論集 1 (2005): 251-267). In the Fukusumichō (福住町) district of Tenri city, there is a Shinto shrine called Himuro Jinja (氷室神社) dedicated to Emperor Nintoku (仁徳天皇), Prince Nukata no Ōnakatsuhiko no Miko (額田大中彦皇子) and Tsuke no Inaki Ōyamanushi (鬪鶏稲置大山主). A replica of an ice cellar, complete with a hut on top of the cellar, has been constructed near a primary school in Fukusumichō district in Tenri city. Incidentally, there is also a Himuro Jinja (氷室神社) in Nara city. It seems that the ice from these ice cellars was mainly intended for the royal court or high officials.

[10]One chō is equivalent to approximately 3 metres (about 10 feet).

[11]From this episode, it seems that the practice of ice storage and constructing ice cellars did not originate as a custom of the royal court, but had its beginnings in the locality.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Fourteen (Selection 13)

Yūryaku Tennō

Collecting Babies Instead of Silkworms for the Emperor

On Day Seven in the Third Month of Year Six, the Emperor intended to let his queen and consorts perform the ceremony of picking mulberry leaves in order to promote sericulture.[8] He ordered Sugaru[9] to collect silkworms in the state. Then, Sugaru mistakenly gathered babies[10] and presented them to the Emperor. The Emperor broke into big laughter. He bestowed the babies on Sugaru, saying, "It is better that you rear them." Thus Sugaru reared the babies by the palace walls; and the Emperor granted him the hereditary kabane title[11] of Chiisakobe no Muraji.[12] In the Fourth Month in summer, the Kingdom of Wu sent an envoy to offer tributary gifts.[13] (volume 3, page 420)

日本書紀 巻第十四

大泊瀬幼武天皇　雄略天皇

六年・・・、三月辛巳朔丁亥、天皇欲使后妃親桑[1]、以勸蠶事。爰命蜾蠃[2]聚國内蠶、於是蜾蠃誤聚嬰兒[3]、奉獻天皇。々々大咲[4]、賜嬰兒於蜾蠃曰、汝宜自養。蜾蠃即養嬰兒於宮墻之下、仍賜姓[5]為少子部連[6]。夏四月、吳國遣使貢獻也[7]。（第三冊　四二〇ページ）

Notes on Selection 13

[1]This term "親桑" probably refers to the picking of mulberry leaves by the queen and other consorts of the emperor. This was an annual ceremonial gesture in spring to show the people the importance of sericulture. Sericulture has a history of some 5,000 or 6,000 years in China. In Japan, it probably began in the 1st or 2nd century CE. Japan probably also adopted the Chinese court ceremonies for sericulture promotion.

[2]The name 蜾蠃, pronounced as 果螺 in Cantonese, is here used as the name of a person. It is actually the name of a kind of wasps, commonly known as potter wasps. In China, before the fact was clarified around the 6th century CE, the belief had been that potter wasps, which were supposedly all males, caught the larvae of other insects or caterpillars and brought them back to their nests to rear them into mature insects. The fact is that potter wasps catch other insects or larvae to use as food for their own offspring. In this episode of Emperor Yūryaku, his official Sugaru (蜾蠃) who mistakenly gathered babies instead of silkworms for the emperor, acted like a potter wasp which collects young insects and subsequently would rear them. Perhaps at the time of compiling *Nihon Shoki*, the compilers were not yet aware of the real life cycle of the potter wasp. The potter wasp however is regarded as a beneficial insect that feeds on harmful insect pests.

[3]The Japanese reading of the character 蠶 (蚕 is the modern form) usually is "kaiko", but "ko" is another reading of the same character. Emperor Yūryaku must have given a verbal order to Sugaru, who misunderstood that the emperor wanted babies since babies are "ko" (子) too. Therefore he gathered babies in the state and presented them to the court. This is a humorous episode in the otherwise formal history of Japan.

[4]The character 咲 is the old form of the character 笑 and is pronounced the same in Cantonese.

[5]Kabane (姓) is "[a] hereditary title indicating the social rank and specific duty of the *uji no kami*, the chieftain of a lineage group (uji) who served the Yamato Court from the late 5th through the late 7th century." (*Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993) 1:701). The top three ranks – omi (臣), muraji (連) and miyatsuko (造) – were traditionally granted to chieftains serving at the court.

[6]The kabane rank of 少子部連 (Chiisakobe no Muraji) indicates that Sugaru was appointed, with the rank of Muraji (連), as head of the group of young or teenage children who were attendants to the royalty at the court. The term "be" (部) refers to "hereditary occupational groups that supplied labor, goods, and other economic services to the Yamato Court and to powerful lineage groups (uji) from the 5th to the 7th century." (*Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993) 1:102).

[7]This is another instance of mentioning the paying of tribute to Japan by the Kingdom of Wu in China. This is simply unimaginable. Perhaps Japan, in its official history, endeavoured to reverse the tributary relationship between Japan and China in an effort to unilaterally bolster its status internationally. Diplomatic relationship between China and Japan during the 5th and early 6th century was recorded in official Chinese historical texts of the Northern and Southern Dynasties Period of China. In Japan, this period is known as the time of the Five Kings of Wa (倭の五王, Wa no Goō). From 413 CE to 502 CE, Japan's envoys came to China over ten times, mainly to ask for investiture of official titles and recognition of the overlord status of Japan in the Korean peninsula.

[8]See note 1 above.

[9]See note 2 above.

[10]See note 3 above.

[11]See note 5 above.

[12]See note 6 above.

[13]See note 7 above.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Nineteen (Selection 14)

Kinmei Tennō

The Kingdom of Kudara Officially Introduces Buddhism to Japan[9]

In the Tenth Month in winter of Year Thirteen, King Seimei-ō of Kudara[10] sent Seihō Kishi Dachisochi Nurishichikei[11] and others to offer a gilt-bronze statue of Shakyamuni the Buddha,[12] together with some Buddhist parasols and several sutras and treatises. Additionally, there was a memorandum[13] in praise of the virtue of promulgating and worshipping Buddhism, which said, "Among various doctrines, this doctrine is most distinctively excellent, being difficult to explain and difficult to approach. Even the Duke of Zhou and Confucius[14] did not have any knowledge of it. This doctrine can generate boundless and limitless benevolent deeds with their resultant rewards, to the extent of accomplishing ultimate awakening and enlightenment. It can be likened to a person carrying a wish-fulfilling treasure which, whenever it is used, can fully realise one's desire accordingly. This wonderful sacred belief also acts the same way, without fail fulfilling wishes through one's praying. Moreover, this doctrine has come from faraway India to the three kingdoms of Korea,[15] all of which have converted to the religion, and are upholding it with respect. Therefore, your minister Mei, King of Kudara, respectfully sent subordinate minister Nurishichikei to deferentially introduce the doctrine to the Empire, so it may spread across the country. This is exactly what the Buddha has mentioned: My doctrine would flow in the East." That day, upon hearing this, the Emperor jumped for joy. To the envoy the Emperor decreed, "I in the past have not known such profound and intriguing doctrine. However, I do not make a decision myself." (volume 3, pages 492-493)

日本書紀 巻第十九

天國排開廣庭天皇　欽明天皇

十三年・・・、冬十月、百濟聖明王[1]遣西部姫氏達率怒唎斯致契等[2]、獻釋迦佛金銅像[3]一軀・幡蓋若干・經論若干卷、別表、讃流通禮拜功德云、是法於諸法中、最為殊勝、難解難入、周公・孔子[4]、尚不能知。此法能生無量無邊福德果報、乃至成辨無上菩提[5]。譬如人懷隨意寶、逐所須用盡依情、此妙法寶亦復然、祈願依情無所乏。且乎遠自天竺、爰洎[6]三韓[7]、依教奉持、無不尊敬。由是、百濟王臣明、謹遣陪臣怒唎斯致契、奉傳帝國、流通畿内[8]、果佛所記我法東流。是日、天皇聞已、歡喜踊躍、詔使者云、朕從昔來、未曾得聞如是微妙之法、然朕不自決。（第三冊　四九二～四九三ページ）

Notes on Selection 14

[1]King Seimei-ō (聖明王) ruled Kudara (百濟) for some 32 years. Unfortunately, he had a humiliating demise, having been captured in a battle with Shiragi (新羅) and then perishing at the hands of a horse-rearing slave. This happened some time around the Twelve Month of Year Fifteen of Emperor Kinmei, just about two years after the king sent envoys to introduce Buddhism to Japan. The close relationship between Kudara and Japan was based on mutual benefits. Kudara needed Japan's help in dealing with its neighbours on the peninsula, and gifts and envoys – such as the introduction of Chinese texts and Buddhism to Japan – were probably cost-effective.

[2]The name 西部姫氏達率怒唎斯致契 comprises these elements: 西部 (Seihō) refers to one of the five divisions of Kudara's households; 姫氏 (Kishi) may be the family name; 達率 (Dachisochi) is the second rank of the sixteen ranks of Kudara's officials; 怒唎斯致契 (Nurishichikei) may be the given name of this official.

[3]How large was this gilt-bronze statue of the Buddha? To inspire awe, the statue probably was quite sizable so that his facial expression could convey the heavenly aura. About seven years earlier, Kudara had sculpted for itself a statue of the Buddha whose upright height was said to be 1.60 chō (over four metres).

[4]The Duke of Zhou (周公, Shūkō), who lived around the 11th century BCE, was the younger brother of King Wuwang (武王) of the newly established Zhou dynasty of China. The Duke set up an exemplary framework of governance with the use of rites and music. His statesmanship was praised by Confucius (circa 551-circa 479 BCE) who presented his Confucian ethics and philosophy in his education of students. Both the Duke of Zhou and Confucius are regarded as sages of the Confucian system of thought and practice. On this occasion of Kurdara's introduction of Buddhism to Japan, the Buddhist belief was offered as a more subtle and perhaps more superior system than Confucian ethics. However, it has to be clearly understood that while Buddhism is a religion, the Confucian system is plainly this-worldly. Confucius clearly distanced himself from any belief in the supernatural, as evidenced in his *The Analects*.

[5]*Bodhi* (菩提, bodai in Japanese) is a transliteration of the Buddhist term for ultimate awakening through Buddhist practice.

[6]The character 洎 is pronounced in Cantonese as 記. It means "until" but here it may mean "coming to".

[7]The term 三韓 (Mitsu no Karakuni) refers to the three kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, namely, Goguryeo (高句麗), Shiragi (新羅) and Kudara (百濟).

[8]The term 畿内 (Uchitsukuni) here refers to Japan as a whole, not just to the royal capital area as this term commonly means.

[9]This episode describes the official introduction of Buddhism to Japan with the coming of the envoy of Kudara to the royal court of Emperor Kinmei in Year Thirteen (552 CE) of his reign. Another source has it that Buddhism officially – that is, through the diplomatic channel – came to Japan in 538 CE. However, it is also recorded that before that date, around 522 CE, an immigrant from the continent with the name of Shime Dachito (司馬達等, also read as Shima Datto) settled down in today's Nara prefecture and began worshipping Buddhism there. His grandson was the Buddhist sculptor Kuratsukuri no Tori (鞍作止利), the well-known sculptor who made the Buddhist statues in the main worship hall of Hōryūji (法隆寺).

[10]See note 1 above.

[11]See note 2 above.

[12]See note 3 above.

[13]The term memorandum is used here to translate the original character 表 (read "biu" in Cantonese) in the text. Usually his term "biu" is translated as "memorial". However, since memorial may convey the idea of a stone tablet or the like, here it is deemed more advisable to use the term "memorandum" instead. This kind of written communication was usually used by high officials who wanted to submit pleas to the emperor.

[14]See note 4 above.

[15]See note 7 above.

Japan and China: A Matter of Status

The following four selections – Selection 15 to Selection 18 – describe the exchange of diplomatic envoys between Japan and China in the early 7th century, about a hundred years before the completion of *Nihon Shoki*. By the early 8th century, Japan had given itself the written country name of 日本 (read as Yamato, not Nihon or Nippon) and had also named its supreme ruler with the title of 天皇 (Tennō). Hitherto known as Wa (倭, read as "Wo" in Chinese) or Wakoku (倭国, "Wo guo" in Chinese) – a name given to Japan by China – Japan probably started using the written name of 日本 (Yamato) around the Taika (大化) period (645-650 CE) of Emperor Kōtoku (孝徳天皇). The use of the sovereign title of Tennō for the supreme ruler might have begun even earlier, in the first decade of the 7th century.* Therefore, as the following four selections show, Japan was striving hard to bring itself up to the rank of a sovereign nation with its own distinct identity on a par with its western neighbour on the continent. (For information on when the use of the terms 日本 and 天皇 began, see the supplementary notes 9 and 1 for Chapter 16 on Emperor Buretsu (武烈天皇) in the *Iwanami Bunko* text, v. 3, pp. 374-376 and pp. 370-371 respectively. The notes in the *Iwanami Bunko* edition, however, represent scholarship and research before the 1990s.)

*However, Sinologist Tomiya Itaru, in his book of 2018, claims that both the country name of "日本" (read as "Yamato") and the sovereign's title of "天皇" ("Tennō", the emperor or empress) were adopted no earlier than during the reign of Emperor Tenmu (reign 672-686).

Nihon Shoki Chapter Twenty-two (Selection 15)
Sui Shu・Lie Zhuan Chapter Forty-six

The Second Envoy Mission to the Sui Court of China in 607 CE

Nihon Shoki Suiko Tennō

On Day Three in the Seventh Month in autumn of Year Fifteen [607], Ono no Omi Imoko, of the rank of Dairai,[6] was sent to China,[7] with Kuratsukuri no Fukuri as interpreter. (volume 4, page 462)

Sui Shu[8]

In Year Three [607] of Reign Daye,[9] its [Japan's] ruler Duolisibigu[10] sent a mission to pay tribute. The envoy said, "Hearing that the very kind Son of Heaven west of the sea is promoting Buddhism again, our ruler sent us to pay tribute and worship, together with several dozens of monks who came to study Buddhist doctrines." Their state memorandum said, "The Son of Heaven at the place of sunrise writes to the Son of Heaven at the place of sunset.[11] I wish you well and healthy, . . . and so and so." Upon reading this the Emperor [Sui Yangdi] was not pleased, and said to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Should there be impolite letters or memoranda from the barbarians, do not present them to me anymore." (*Wakokuden*, page 468)[12]

日本書紀 卷第廿二 豐御食炊屋姫天皇 推古天皇
隋書・列傳 第四十六 倭國

日本書紀[1]

十五年・・・、秋七月戊申朔庚戌、大禮[2]小野臣妹子遣於大唐[3]、以鞍作福利為通事。（第四冊 四六二ページ）

隋書

大業三年、其王多利思比孤[4]遣使朝貢、使者曰、聞海西菩薩天子重興佛法、故遣朝拜、兼沙門數十人來學佛法。其國書曰、日出處天子致書日沒處天子、無恙、云云。帝覽之不悅、謂鴻臚卿曰、蠻夷書有無禮者、勿復以聞。（『倭国伝』 四六八ページ）[5]

Notes on Selection 15

[1]In this and the following two selections, in addition to the *Nihon Shoki* passage, a passage from the Chinese official history *Sui Shu* (隋書, History of the Sui Dynasty) is included, since this visit of the second mission of Japanese envoys to China in 607 during the Sui dynasty was recorded in both sources. Together, these two sources give a more vivid picture of the interactions by complementing each other.

[2]Dairai (大禮) was the fifth in the 12-rank ranking system of officials set up by Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子) about four years before this mission. Ono no Imoko (小野妹子) was male, not female as his name might have suggested.

[3]Read in Japanese as Morokoshi, 大唐 here actually was China during the Sui dynasty (581-618) which only lasted for 37 years.

[4]This name of the ruler of Japan as rendered in Chinese as 多利思比孤 ("Duolisibigu" in Chinese, "Tarishihiko" in Japanese) has various interpretations. The following interpretations are based on the two main sources (Tōdō 2010, and Sakamoto 1994-1995) used in this project.

Source	**Interpretation of Tarishihiko (多利思比孤), or Tarashihiko (タラシヒコ)**	**Examples**
Wakokuden (倭国伝): p. 187, footnote 24	Perhaps it was a form of auspicious address for the emperor or empress.	
Nihon Shoki (日本書紀, Iwanami Bunko edition): v. 1, pp. 407-412, suppl. note 1 for Chapter 4; v. 2, p. 59, note 1 for Chapter 7	Tarashihiko (タラシヒコ) probably was a generic address for the emperor or empress around the 7th century.	Posthumous titles of emperors and queen: Emperor Keikō (景行天皇): オホタラシヒコオシロワケ Emperor Seimu (成務天皇): ワカタラシヒコ Emperor Chūai (仲哀天皇): タラシナカツヒコ Queen Jingū (神功皇后): オキナガタラシヒメノミコト Emperor Jomei (舒明天皇): reigned 7th century オキナガタラシヒヒロヌカ Empress Kōgyoku (皇極天皇): reigned 7th century アメトヨタカライカシヒタラシヒメ

[5]The text of this passage was taken from Tōdō Akiyasu, Takeda Akira and Kageyama Terukuni 藤堂明保, 竹田晃, 影山輝國, eds. *Wakokuden: Chūgoku seishi ni egakareta Nihon: zen'yakuchū*. Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko 倭国伝: 中国正史に描かれた日本: 全訳注 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 2010.), 468.

[6]See note 2 above.

[7]The original text uses the term Morokoshi (大唐), literally meaning "the great Tang state", to refer to China. Actually this event happened in the Sui dynasty (581-618) which, though short-lived, was a significant era preceding the Tang dynasty.

[8]Since this passage is from the official Chinese source, transliteration of proper names and book titles follows the Chinese pinyin romanisation scheme.

[9]Daye (大業) was the reign name of Emperor Sui Yangdi.

[10]See note 4 above. Although in Japan the sovereign was Empress Suiko, this official Chinese history uses the term "King" (王). Here it is deemed appropriate to translate "王" as ruler.

[11]This well-known opening address of the state memorandum of Japan upset the Chinese emperor, Sui Yangdi (隋煬帝), probably because (1) Japan claimed to be of equal status with China in also having a sovereign called Sun of Heaven, and (2) it represented Japan as equivalent to sunrise while China as equivalent to sunset. Nevertheless, Emperor Yangdi, though indignant, did not close the diplomatic channel. On the contrary, in the following year 608, the emperor sent his envoy, Pei Shiqing (裴世清), to accompany the Japanese envoy, Ono no Imoko, back to Japan and visit the Japanese emperor with China's state memorandum. This Chinese visit was recorded in some detail in both Chinese and Japanese official histories, as the following two selections show.

[12]The passage from *Sui Shu* is translated from the text in *Wakokuden*. For the full citation of this book, see note 5 above.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Twenty-two (Selection 16)
Sui Shu・Lie Zhuan Chapter Forty-six

China's Envoy Pei Shiqing Pays Visit to Japan's Empress in 608 CE

Nihon Shoki In the Fourth Month in summer of Year Sixteen [608], Ono no Imoko returned from China. China called him So Inkō.[9] With Imoko to arrive at Tsukushi were China's envoy Pei Shiqing and his twelve aides. . . . On Day Three in the Eighth Month in autumn, the Chinese guests came to the capital. . . . On Day Twelve the court summoned the Chinese guests to present the purpose of their mission. . . . China's state memorandum read, "The Emperor greets the Emperor[10] of Wakoku, . . . I understand the King, while isolated beyond the sea, governs the people with mercy and the country is peaceful with contentment. . . . From afar you pay us tributes. I commend you for the merit of this genuine sincerity. . . ." (volume 4, pages 462-463)

Sui Shu The next year [608] His Majesty sent an official Pei Qing[11] as envoy to the State of Wakoku. . . . Its King[12] met with Qing upon his arrival at the capital and was very glad, and said, "I heard about the Great Sui country west of the sea. It is a land of propriety and righteousness. Therefore I send tributary envoys there. We eastern barbarians, isolated at the sea's corner, do not know propriety and righteousness; so we are left alone within our boundary and have not met you so far. Now having cleared our avenues and prepared our guest residence, we are awaiting to receive our honoured envoy and look forward to learning the advice of your great country on civilising reforms." Qing replied, "Our Emperor's virtues parallel heaven and earth, his beneficence encompasses the four seas. Since the King is longing for civilisation, our Emperor sent me here as envoy to convey his advice." Afterwards the court guided Qing to his residence. (*Wakokuden*, pages 468-469)

日本書紀 卷第廿二 豐御食炊屋姫天皇 推古天皇
隋書・列傳 第四十六 倭國

日本書紀 十六年夏四月、小野臣妹子、至自大唐、々國號妹子臣曰蘇因高。即大唐使人裴世清、下客十二人、從妹子臣、至於筑紫。・・・秋八月辛丑朔癸卯、唐客入京。・・・壬子、召唐客於朝庭、令奏使旨。・・・其書曰、皇帝問倭皇[1]、・・・知皇介居海表[2]、撫寧民庶、境内安樂、・・・遠脩朝貢、丹款[3]之美、朕有嘉焉。・・・（第四冊 四六二～四六三ページ）

隋書 明年、上遣文林郎[4]裴清[5]使於倭國。・・・既至彼都、其王與清相見、大悅、曰、我聞海西有大隋、禮義之國、故遣朝貢。我夷人、僻在海隅、不聞禮義、是以稽留境内、不即相見。今故清道飾館、以待大使、冀聞大國惟新之化。清答曰、皇帝德竝二儀[6]、澤流四海、以王慕化[7]、特遣行人[8]來此宣諭。既而引清就館。（『倭国伝』 四六八～四六九ページ）

Notes on Selection 16

[1]The Chinese character 皇 (pronounced as "huang" in Chinese) in the address 倭皇 ("Yamato no Sumera Mikoto" in Japanese) most probably should have been 王 ("wang" in Chinese) in the original state memorandum of China. In the text of *Nihon Shoki*, it became 皇 since the compilers probably attempted to reclaim a rightful status for Japan vis-à-vis China. The character 皇 (pronounced as "Sumera Mikoto" in Japanese) means emperor, while 王 (pronounced as "Ō" in Japanese) means king. (*Iwanami Bunko*, vol. 4, p. 115, note 1)

[2]The term 海表 means beyond the sea, or overseas.

[3]Literally the character 丹 means red, and 款 here means sincerity. The term 丹款 may be rendered as pure or genuine sincerity.

[4]The official title of 文林郎 ("wen lin lang" in Chinese) was probably for an official of lower rank.

[5]In the official history 隋書 *(Sui Shu*, History of the Sui Dynasty), which was compiled during the reign of Emperor Taizong of the following Tang dynasty, the character 世 was avoided since this character was part of the given name of Emperor Taizong who was called Li Shimin (李世民). Therefore the envoy 裴世清 (Pei Shiqing) was known as 裴清 (Pei Qing) in *Sui Shu*.

[6]The term 二儀 ("er yi" in Chinese) means heaven and earth.

[7]The phrase 慕化 means longing for becoming more civilised by learning from China.

[8]A Chinese official title for envoys.

[9]So Inkō is the Japanese reading of the name 蘇因高 (read as Su Yin'gao in Chinese), the transliterated name used by the Chinese side for 小野妹子.

[10]In the original Chinese state memorandum, most probably the Japanese sovereign was called King (王, "wang" in Chinese), not Emperor (皇, "huang" in Chinese). In *Nihon Shoki*, 倭王 was probably converted to 倭皇 for the sake of self-respect. Incidentally, it is most probable that Japan began using the title of Tennō (天皇) for the sovereign during the 7th century; but, as Sinologist Tomiya Itaru maintains (Tomiya 2018, chap. 8), the formal adoption of the Tennō title should not be dated earlier than the time of Emperor Tenmu who reigned from 672 to 686.

[11]See note 5 above.

[12]The title "King" is used here for the Chinese title "王" which actually can mean either a female or male ruler. The sovereign of Japan at that time was Empress Suiko.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Twenty-two (Selection 17)
Sui Shu・Lie Zhuan Chapter Forty-six

Ono no Imoko Pays His Second Visit to China in 608 CE, Accompanying Pei Shiqing

Nihon Shoki On Day Five in the Ninth Month of Year Sixteen, a banquet for the guests was held at Ōgōri in Naniwa.[12] On Day Eleven, the Chinese guest Pei Shiqing left for China. On this occasion, a mission was sent to accompany the Chinese guests back, with Ono no Imoko again as chief envoy, Kishi no Onari as vice envoy and Fukuri[13] as interpreter. And the Empress communicated with the Chinese Emperor in these words, "The Eastern Empress respectfully writes to the Western Emperor.[14] Envoy Pei Shiqing, reception officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and his group came, relieving my thinking of you heretofore. In late autumn it is slightly cold. How are you the Honourable? I hope you are fine and joyous. I am as usual and alright. Now I am sending Dairai[15] So Inkō, Dairai Onari[16] and others to come. Sincerely written, though not in detail." This time, being sent to China were students Yamato no Aya no Atai Fukuin, Nara no Osa Emyō, Takamuko no Ayahito Genri[17] and Imaki no Ayahito Ōkuni, as well as novice Buddhist monks Imaki no Ayahito Nichimon, Minabuchi no Ayahito Shōan,[18] Shiga no Ayahito Eon and Imaki no Ayahito Kōsai. Together there were eight people.[19] (volume 4, pages 463-464)

Sui Shu Later Qing [Pei Shiqing] sent his man to tell the ruler, "Our royal order has been accomplished. We would like to request for departure." So the ruler [Empress Suiko] held a send-off banquet for Qing. Also the ruler ordered envoys to come with Qing to present tributary gifts of local products. … (*Wakokuden*, page 469)

日本書紀 卷第廿二　豐御食炊屋姫天皇　推古天皇

隋書・列傳 第四十六　倭國

日本書紀 十六年・・・、九月辛未朔乙亥、饗客等於難波大郡[1]。辛巳、唐客裴世清罷歸。則復以小野妹子臣為大使、吉士雄成為小使、福利[2]為通事、副于唐客而遣之。爰天皇聘[3]唐帝、其辭曰、東天皇敬白西皇帝[4]、使人鴻臚寺掌客裴世清等至、久憶方解。季秋薄冷、尊何如、想清念[5]、此[6]即如常。今遣大禮蘇因高、大禮乎那利[7]等往、謹白不具[8]。是時、遣於唐國學生倭漢直福因・奈羅譯語惠明・高向漢人玄理・新漢人大圓・學問僧新漢人日文・南淵漢人請安・志賀漢人慧隱・新漢人[9]廣濟等[10]、并八人也。（第四册　四六三～四六四ページ）

隋書 其後清遣人謂其王曰、朝命既達、請即戒塗[11]。於是設宴享以遣清、復令使者隨清來貢方物。・・・（『倭国伝』四六九ページ）

Notes on Selection 17

[1]Naniwa (難波) was the old name of today's Osaka city area. Ōgōri (大郡) was probably not a place name, but the name of some buildings in Naniwa for receiving foreign guests.

[2]Fukuri (福利) was the same Kuratsukuri Fukuri (鞍作福利) who went with the chief envoy Ono no Imoko to China as interpreter in the previous year.

[3]This character 聘 means conducting diplomatic visits between states. Here it may have the meaning of communicating in writing between two rulers.

[4]In the previous diplomatic mission of 607, Japan's state memorandum used the opening address of "The Son of Heaven at the place of sunrise writes to the Son of Heaven at the place of sunset" (Selection 15). It is not clear whether Empress Suiko (推古天皇) knew that her words had upset Emperor Sui Yangdi. This time in 608, the Japanese empress used a new but more formalised and unique title for herself by calling herself Tennō (Emperor, or Empress, of the East). This is regarded as one of the earliest instances of the use of the title "Tennō" in Japan. Apparently, Japan was striving to establish itself as a sovereign state in East Asia on an equal footing with continental China. However, as can be seen in the description in *Sui Shu* (Selection 16) of the meeting of the Japanese empress with the Chinese envoy Pei Shiqing, the empress' words were quite submissive. She acknowledged, at least when talking to Pei, the difference in the level of civilisation between the two countries. These significant diplomatic transactions may be illustrated in the following table:

Date & Place	**Japan's State Memorandum to China**	**China's State Memorandum to Japan**	**Effect**
7th Month, 607 in China	"The Son of Heaven at the place of sunrise writes to the Son of Heaven at the place of sunset . . ." 日出處天子致書日沒處天子 …		Emperor Sui Yangdi of China was unhappy.
8th Month, 608 in Japan		"The Emperor [of China] greets the Emperor of Wakoku [Japan] . . ." 皇帝問倭皇(倭王, the King (or ruler) of Wo) …	Sui Yangdi affirmed his superior title of Emperor, and addressed Japan's ruler as Emperor (actually, King) of Wakoku. Upon meeting Pei Shiqing, Japan's ruler was quite submissive.
9th Month, 608 in China	"The Eastern Empress respectfully writes to the Western Emperor . . ." 東天皇敬白西皇帝 …		In her written state memorandum, the sovereign of Japan formally used the new title of Tennō for herself. On this mission to China, Japan was sending eight students and monks, some of them would later become influential people in Japan's cultural and political developments.

[5]The character 悆 is pronounced in Cantonese as 預, and means joyous. The term 清悆 may be translated as joyous and relaxed.

[6]This character 此 refers to the Empress herself.

[7]The name 乎那利 (Hunali in modern Mandarin, Funalei in Cantonese, and Onari in Japanese) was the Chinese transliteration of the name of Kishi no Onari (吉士雄成), the vice envoy. It is of interest to note that this Chinese transliteration was coined by the Japanese side, as it appeared in Japan's state memorandum to China of 608.

[8]The phrase 不具 means that the memorandum was written respectfully yet without going into details.

[9]Imaki no Ayahito (新漢人) refers mainly to immigrants to Japan from the southern Korean peninsula or China after the mid-5th century, as contrast to those who had moved to Japan earlier. Their home base was probably Takaichi district (高市郡) in the northern part of Nara Prefecture today.

[10]Of the eight people sent to China, Takamuko no Genri (高向玄理) and Minabuchi no Shōan (南淵請安) were well-known in history. Also known as Takamuko no Kuromaro (高向黒麻呂), Takamuko returned to Japan in 640, after spending over thirty years in China. At the time of the Taika reforms of Emperor Kōtoku (孝徳天皇), he was appointed 国博士 (kuni no hakase), a position equivalent to chief political advisor to the central government. Upon returning to Japan in 640, Minabuchi no Shōan became the Confucian teacher of Naka no Ōe no Ōji (中大兄皇子) and Nakatomi no Kamatari (中臣鎌足), who were successful in overthrowing the Soga (蘇我) clan in 645 and then began the Taika reforms. Minabuchi, however, did not actually participate in the reforms.

[11]The term 戒塗 means to prepare for departure, or simply, to set off on a journey.

[12]See note 1 above.

[13]See note 2 above.

[14]See note 4 above.

[15]Dairai (大禮) was the fifth in the 12-rank ranking system of officials set up by Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子) several years before this mission.

[16]The name Onari – read as Hunali in modern Mandarin, Funalei in Cantonese – was the Chinese transliteration of the name of Kishi no Onari (吉士雄成), the vice envoy. It is of interest to note that this Chinese transliteration was coined by the Japanese side, as it appeared in Japan's state memorandum to China of 608.

[17]See note 10 above.

[18]See note 10 above.

[19]The designations of Aya, Ayahito, Osa and Imaki no Ayahito in the names of these eight students and novice monks indicate that they were all descendants of immigrants from either the Korean peninsula or China.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Twenty-two (Selection 18)

Suiko Tennō

The Fifth Envoy Mission to Sui China in 614-615 CE, and Survey of Buddhism in Japan

In the Ninth Month in autumn of Year Seventeen [609], Ono no Imoko and his group returned from China. Only interpreter Fukuri did not come back. (volume 4, page 464)

On Day Five in the Fifth Month of Year Twenty-two [614], it was hunting for the velvet antlers of deer.[5] On Day Thirteen in the Sixth Month, the court sent Inukami no Kimi Mitasuki and Yatabe no Miyatsuko (name missing)[6] to China. . . . In the Ninth Month in autumn of Year Twenty-three [615], Inukami no Kimi Mitasuki and Yatabe no Miyatsuko returned from China. (volume 4, page 467)

On Day Three in the Ninth Month in autumn of Year Thirty-two [624], a survey of Buddhist monasteries and monks and nuns was carried out. The origins of the monasteries, the monks' and nuns' reasons for their conversion, and the dates of their ordination were recorded in detail. At that time, there were 46 Buddhist monasteries, 816 monks and 569 nuns. All told, there were 1,385 people. (volume 4, pages 471-472)

日本書紀 卷第廿二

豐御食炊屋姫天皇　推古天皇

十七年・・・、秋九月、小野臣妹子等、至自大唐、唯通事福利不來。（第四册　四六四ページ）

廿二年夏五月五日、藥獵也[1]。六月丁卯朔己卯、遣犬上君御田鍬・矢田部造闕名[2]於大唐。・・・廿三年秋九月、犬上君御田鍬・矢田部造、至自大唐。（第四册　四六七ページ）

卅二年・・・、秋九月甲戌朔丙子、校[3]寺及僧尼、具錄其寺所造之緣、亦僧尼入道之緣、及度[4]之年月日也。當是時、有寺卌六所、僧八百十六人、尼五百六十九人、并一千三百八十五人。（第四册　四七一～四七二ページ）

Notes on Selection 18

[1]Kusurigari (藥獵) is the hunting for the newly grown velvet antlers of deer. In traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) even today these velvet antlers are regarded to have medicinal efficacy. It is of interest to note that TCM was already established for wellness and cure in Japan as early as in the beginning of the 7th century. The date on which this antler hunting was practised is also noteworthy, because in China, annually on Day Five in the Fifth Month of the year, it was common for people to collect medicinal herbs and use them to fight off harmful or poisonous matters.

[2]The name Yatabe no Miyatsuko (矢田部造) comprises probably the clan name "Yatabe" plus the kabana title (姓) of "Miyatsuko". The given name of this envoy was missing or not known; hence the explanatory sidenote of "ketsumei" (闕名), meaning name unknown, below the name 矢田部造 in the text.

[3]The character 校 is pronounced in Cantonese as 教. Here it means to survey the present condition of Buddhism in Japan.

[4]This character 度 means to become a Buddhist monk or nun through ceremonies that typically involve shaving the head and joining a monastery, signifying the forsaking of worldly life.

[5]See note 1 above.

[6]See note 2 above.

Writing of *Nihon Shoki* Begins: A Thirty-nine Year Enterprise, 681-720 CE

It is generally regarded that the effort to write a national history began with Emperor Tenmu (天武天皇) in his tenth year of reign. This event is shown in the selection below. Some four decades later in 720 CE, the completed history was presented to Empress Genshō (元正天皇).

Nihon Shoki Chapter Twenty-nine (Selection 19)

Tenmu Tennō

Royal Decree of 681 CE to Compile the National History

On Day Seventeen in the Third Month of Year Ten [681], the Emperor presided at Ōandono, the main palace, and issued a decree to Prince Kawashima no Miko, Prince Osakabe no Miko, Lord Hirose no Ōkimi, . . . Daisenjō Nakatomi no Muraji Ōshima[2] and Daisenge Heguri no Omi Kobito.[3] He ordered them to establish a chronicle of the sovereigns and a record of ancient legends and stories.[4] Ōshima and Kobito recorded them in writing. (volume 5, page 420)

日本書紀 卷第廿九

天淳中原瀛真人天皇　天武天皇

〔十年〕三月庚午朔・・・丙戌、天皇御于大極殿、以詔川嶋皇子・忍壁皇子・廣瀬王・・・・大山上中臣連大嶋・大山下平群臣子首、令記定帝紀及上古諸事[1]、大嶋・子首親執筆以錄焉。（第五册　四二〇ページ）

Notes on Selection 19

[1]According to historian Sakamoto Tarō (坂本太郎), when Emperor Tenmu met with his three princes, three other royal relatives and six high officials in the Third Month of Year Ten (681 CE) of his reign and ordered them to establish, by collating various versions, a chronicle of the emperors and empresses and a record of ancient matters, he was laying the groundwork of a national history. In 720 eventually, after continual efforts the resulting compilation appeared as *Nihon Shoki* for presentation to the throne by the then compiler-in-chief Prince Toneri Shinnō (舍人親王), one of the sons of Emperor Tenmu.

[2] Daisenjō (大山上) was a rank title of one of the 26 ranks of officials established during the reign of Emperor Tenchi (天智天皇), the elder brother of Emperor Tenmu. It was a middle rank.

[3] Daisenge (大山下) was a rank title among the 26 ranks. It ranked below Daisenjō.

[4]See note 1 above.

The Chronicle of Japan Comes to Its Conclusion with the Year 697

The reign of Empress Jitō (持統天皇), wife of Emperor Tenmu (天武天皇), from 686 to 697 marks the conclusion of the 30-chapter *Nihon Shoki*. The following very short selection therefore also completes this translation project.

Nihon Shoki Chapter Thirty (Selection 20)

Jitō Tennō[4]

Throne Succession in 697

On Day Seven in the First Month in spring of Year Eleven [697], a feast was held for the top and high officials.[5] . . . On Day One in the Eighth Month, the Empress, formalising her decision at the royal palace, ceded the throne to the Crown Prince.[6] (volume 5, pages 461-462)

日本書紀 卷第卅

高天原廣野姫天皇 持統天皇[1]

十一年春正月甲辰、饗公卿大夫等[2]。・・・八月乙丑朔、天皇定策禁中、禪天皇位於皇太子[3]。（第五册 四六一～四六二ページ）

Notes on Selection 20

[1]Empress Jitō (持統天皇) was the queen of Emperor Tenmu. She was the fourth female Tennō of Japan since Empress Suiko (推古天皇, r. 592-628). The second and the third Empress, Empress Kōgyoku (皇極天皇, r. 642-645) and Empress Saimei (斉明天皇, r. 655-661), were actually the same person.

[2]This was the annual celebration event at the palace on Day One in the First Month, called Aouma no Sechie (青馬の節会), or Viewing of the Black or Brown Horses. On this day, the Tennō viewed horses with black, brown or white coats and held a feast with the high officials. Poem 4494 of the 8th century in *Man'yōshū* says that seeing a black-coat horse (青馬) on the seventh day of the new year would bring longevity to the person. The character "ao" (青) literarlly means sky blue, not green or brown. When it applies to the colour of the coat of a horse, however, this character "ao" means black. Nowadays, an "aouma" (青馬) is a horse with black coat which may change to brown with the seasons. In the Heian period around the 10th century, the name of the event became 白馬の節会, but read as "Aouma no Sechie" as before. In China, Day Seven of the new year is the birthday of humans (人日, ren ri), and this belief also went over to Japan.

[3]The Crown Prince thus became Emperor Monmu (文武天皇, r. 697-707) at the age of fifteen. He was the grandson of Empress Jitō and Emperor Tenmu. This sentence about Empress Jitō's ceding her throne concludes the 30-chapter *Nihon Shoki*.

[4]See note 1 above.

[5]See note 2 above.

[6]See note 3 above.

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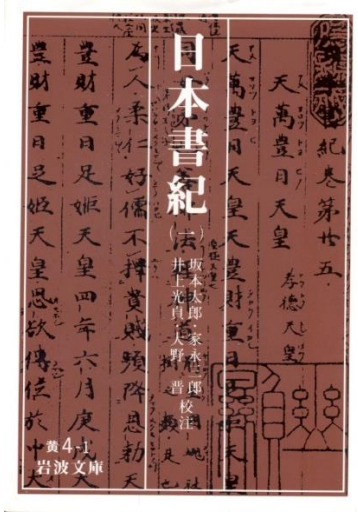
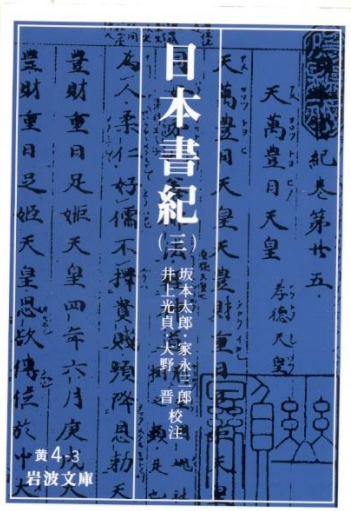
Acknowledgments

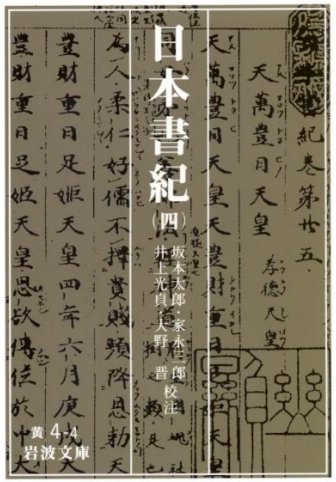
I am thankful to Iwanami Shoten book company in Tokyo and Tenri Central Library of Tenri University in Tenri city, Nara prefecture, for their understanding and permission which enabled me to use the original text of *Nihon Shoki* and related images for this translation. With Cantonese and Chinese as my first spoken language and written language, I acknowledge my limits in presenting an otherwise better translation than this one.

Brief self-introduction

Originally I am from Hong Kong. Formerly as East Asia Librarian at the University of Alberta Libraries, Canada, I have also worked at university libraries (CUHK and HKU) in Hong Kong. While not really being my passion, my undergraduate major in sociology did broaden my horizons and widen my knowledge of society, history and culture. So did my childhood readings.







The five-volume Iwanami Bunko edition of *Nihon Shoki* (paperback, 2015-2017 printing)

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日本協會雜誌

附錄第一

日本記

卷之一

TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME I.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,

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PREFACE.

THE chief object of preparing this translation of the standard native history of Ancient Japan, known as the *Nihongi*, was to make accessible to European scholars the very considerable store of material for the study of mythology, folk-lore, early civilization, and manners and customs which it contains. It may also prove of interest to those numerous Japanese who are acquainted with the English language, and who may have the curiosity to learn in what light their ancient history and traditions are viewed by a Western student.

As only a limited sale of a work of this kind could be expected, the translator was fortunate in being relieved from all pecuniary responsibility for its publication by the Japan Society. His special acknowledgments are due to those members by whose liberality a guarantee fund for this purpose has been provided.

It remains for him to express his indebtedness to other workers, by whose labours in the field of Japanese and Chinese learning he has freely profited. The writings of Messrs. Chamberlain and Satow[1] have been placed under frequent contribution, and for the latter part of the work, the scholarly German translation of the *Nihongi*, by Dr. Florenz, has been of the greatest possible assistance. He should also mention the names of Williams, Giles, Parker, Mayers, Gubbins, Hepburn, Anderson, Legge, and Eitel, whose writings are the indis-

[1] Now Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G., H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

pensable companions of all students of Far-Eastern subjects. Other sources of information are acknowledged in the notes.

Amongst native Japanese writers the chief authorities have been the famous scholars Motoöri and Hirata. Their religious and patriotic prejudices often lead them to take views from which a European reader is forced to dissent, but no Western scholar can hope to rival or even to approach their vast erudition, clothed as it is in an easy and graceful style, undisfigured by pedantry. The translator gladly seizes this opportunity of expressing the strong admiration which he has long entertained for them. For the Notes, the *Shūkai* edition of the *Nihongi* and the *Tsūshō* Commentary have been largely drawn upon. The references to Chinese literature have been usually taken from these last-named sources. It is unnecessary to enumerate more particularly the other native works of reference which have been utilized. A copious list of them will be found in Dr. Florenz's Introduction.

The translator should not omit to express his thanks to Mr. W. Gowland for the use of the drawings and photographs relating to the Imperial Misasagi and sepulchral mounds, from which a number of the illustrations have been reproduced.

The vital importance of a good Index is fully recognized. No pains will be spared to make this part of the work as complete and satisfactory as possible.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

BOOK				PAGE
I.	Age of the Gods		Part I.	1
II.	„ „ „		Part II.	64
			Accession B.C.	
III.	Jimmu Tennō		660	109
IV.	Suizei	„	584	138
„	Annei	„	548	141
„	Itoku	„	510	142
„	Kōshō	„	475	144
„	Kōan	„	392	145
„	Kōrei	„	290	146
„	Kōgen	„	214	147
„	Kaikwa	„	157	148
V.	Sūjin	„	97	150
VI.	Suinin	„	29	164
			A.D.	
VII.	Keikō	„	71	188
„	Seimu	„	131	214
VIII.	Chiuai	„	191	217
IX.	Jingō Kōgu		201	225
X.	Ōjin Tennō		270	255
XI.	Nintoku	„	311	272
XII.	Richiu	„	400	301
„	Hanzei	„	406	310
XIII.	Ingiō	„	412	312
„	Ankō	„	454	328

Contents.

BOOK		Accession A.D.	PAGE
XIV.	Yūriaku Tennō	457	333
XV.	Seinei "	480	373
"	Kenzō "	485	377
"	Ninken "	488	393
XVI.	Muretsu "	499	399

INTRODUCTION.

Writing.—The art of writing is one of the numerous elements of civilization for which Japan is indebted to China. The date of its first introduction is not definitely known. There are indications that some acquaintance with the Chinese written character was possessed by individuals in Japan during the early centuries of the Christian era, but the first positive information on the subject belongs to A.D. 405, for which an erroneous date corresponding to A.D. 285 is given in the *Nihongi*. In this year a Corean named Wani or Wangin was appointed tutor in Chinese to a Japanese Imperial Prince. He was the first of a succession of teachers from that country whose instructions paved the way for a revolution in Japanese institutions and manners, not less profound and far-reaching than that produced in our own time by the influence of European ideas.

From its geographical position, Corea was the natural intermediary by which China became known to Japan. In these early times there was no direct sea communication between the two last-named countries. Travellers crossed the Strait from Japan to Corea, and pursued the rest of their journey by the circuitous overland route. But the Corean national genius seems to have left no impress of its own on the civilization which it received from China and handed on to Japan. Medicine, Buddhism, painting, and the mechanic arts were transmitted, as far as we can see, without modification, and there is little trace of any special Corean character in the knowledge of Chinese literature and science which Coreans communicated to Japan. They had themselves taken up this study only thirty years before Wani's departure.[1]

[1] See a paper on "Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea," in the "J.R.A.S.," July, 1895.

The newly-acquired Chinese characters were soon put to practical use. Wani himself is said to have been employed to keep the accounts of the Treasury. In the reign of Nintoku we are told that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune committed to writing an account of the productions of the Corean kingdom of Pèkché. The date given for this in the *Nihongi* is A.D. 353, to which, as in the case of other events of this period, two cycles or 120 years should probably be added. In the following reign (Richiu's) "recorders were appointed in the provinces in order to note down words and events." But from the specimens of their reports which are preserved in the *Nihongi*, these officials do not seem to have contributed much of importance to historical knowledge. Fabulous stories and accounts of monstrosities and portents form the staple of their compositions. It may be inferred, however, that such functionaries were already in existence at the capital, and indeed we find mention at this time of hereditary corporations of fumi-bito or scribes, known as the Achiki Be and Wani Be, the successors of Atogi and Wani, the Corean scholars who first taught Chinese at the court of the Mikado.

History. The Kiujiki.—The first literary efforts of the Japanese took the direction of history. No doubt the Norito or rituals of the Shinto religion and some poetical compositions date from an earlier period. But they do not seem to have been committed to writing. The earliest book of which we find mention is the *Kiujiki* or *Kujiki* (Chronicle of old matters of former ages), which was compiled in A.D. 620 under high official auspices, as indeed were all the historical works which have come down to us from these ancient times. The writing of history was, and still is, regarded as pre-eminently a matter of State concern in all those Eastern countries where Chinese ideas are predominant. The *Kiujiki* was entrusted to the keeping of the Soga House, but on its downfall in 645, a large portion was destroyed by fire, a part only, described as Kokuki or national annals, having been saved from the flames. Whether this work is or is not identical with the *Kiujiki* of our own day, is a question on which I shall have more to say afterwards. At present it is sufficient to note that the latter work contains nothing which is not also to be found in the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi* except a few passages in the mythological

portion and a list of local governors. The historical part is almost word for word the same as the *Nihongi*, which, however, is very much fuller, and is brought down to a much later period.

The Kojiki.—In A.D. 682 a number of Princes and High Officials were formally commissioned by the Emperor Temmu to prepare a "History of the Emperors and of matters of high antiquity." Nothing is known of the result of their labours, but this measure led eventually to the compilation of the *Kojiki*, as we learn from a passage in the Preface to that work.[1] It was not completed, however, until A.D. 712. The *Kojiki* has fortunately been preserved to us. If the *Kiujiki* is excepted, as of doubtful authenticity, it is the earliest product of the Japanese historical muse, and indeed the oldest monument of Japanese literature. It presents many features of the highest interest, but it is needless to dwell here on a subject which has been so thoroughly dealt with by Chamberlain in the Introduction to his admirable translation of this work.

In 714, or two years after the completion of the *Kojiki*, the Empress Gemmiō gave orders for the preparation of a national history. We hear nothing more of this project, which may or may not have served to provide materials for the *Nihongi*.

The Nihongi—Date and Authorship.—We now come to the *Nihongi* itself. It has no title-page or preface, and our information as to its date and authorship is derived from other sources. The Kōnin Shiki (commentary on the *Nihongi*, of the period 810-824) informs us that it was completed and laid before the Empress Gemmiō in A.D. 720 by Prince Toneri and Yasumaro Futo no Ason. In addition to the thirty books which have come down to us, there was originally a book of genealogies of the Emperors which is no longer extant. The term used by the Shiki in speaking of its preparation is "selected afresh," which points obviously to compilation rather than original composition. An examination of the work itself favours this view. It consists of detached passages linked together by chronological sequence, and some endeavour is visible to shape the materials into a consistent whole, but the result has a more or less patchwork appearance, and falls far short of the stan-

[1] See Ch. K., p. 9.

dard of uniformity of style and method which we are accustomed to look for in historical compositions.

Materials for the Nihongi.—The remains of the *Kiujiki* must have formed a very important element of the authors' material. Indeed I lean to the belief that whether the present *Kiujiki* is authentic or not, much of the earlier part of the *Nihongi* (except the first two books) is practically the composition of the illustrious Shōtoku Daishi, its reputed author. It is recorded that he was a profound student of Buddhism and of Chinese classical literature, and internal evidence shows that the writer of this part of the *Nihongi* was well versed in these subjects. The *Kojiki* is not directly referred to, and little use seems to have been made of it. But it was well known to the authors. Indeed one of them, Yasumaro, was the very person who took down the *Kojiki* from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man (or woman) who had a remarkable memory, well stored with the ancient traditions of the Japanese race. That no community of style can be traced between the two works is easily explained by the circumstance that Yasumaro was in the first case little more than an amanuensis, and in the second a compiler. It is possible, too, that his associate, Prince Toneri, was the guiding spirit of the undertaking, and that Yasumaro simply carried out his directions.

The *Nihongi* contains a few phrases which show that the *Norito* or Rituals of the Shinto cult were familiar to the authors, but nothing of importance is drawn from this source.

Another stock of information which was probably at their disposal is referred to in the History of the reign of Jitō Tennō (A.D. 694), where it is stated that orders were given to eighteen of the principal noble Houses to deliver to the Government their genealogical records. Other historical works, notably a certain *Kana Nihongi*, have been spoken of as in existence before the date of the *Nihongi*, and that there was a copious historical or legendary literature accessible to the authors cannot be doubted. The work itself, as we have it, contains ample evidence of this in the numerous quotations from other writings, added, as most Japanese critics think, by the authors themselves, or, as I prefer to believe, by subsequent scholars soon after its appearance. These extracts are always referred to in later times as if they formed part of the *Nihongi*, and

there can be no harm in accepting them as of equal authority with it. Some are, no doubt, of still greater antiquity.

An institution which must have contributed substantially, though perhaps indirectly, to the collection and conservation of the materials for the more legendary part of the *Nihongi* was the Katari Be, or hereditary corporation of reciters. Unfortunately we know very little about it. Hirata, in his *Koshichō*, states, on what authority does not appear, that the Katari Be came forward and recited "ancient words" before the Emperor at the festival of Ohonihe when he inaugurated his reign by sacrifices to the Gods. It is not probable that their services were confined to this occasion.

Character and Contents of the Nihongi.—The *Nihongi* consists of very heterogeneous elements which by no means all answer to our ideas of history. The earlier part furnishes a very complete assortment of all the forms of the Untrue of which the human mind is capable, whether myth, legend, fable, romance, gossip, mere blundering, or downright fiction. The first two books are manifestly mythological. They are followed by an account of Jimmu's Conquest of Yamato, which has probably a basis of truth, though the legendary character obviously predominates.

Most of the meagre details given us of the reigns of the next eight Emperors have a Chinese stamp, and must, I fear, be pronounced simply fictitious. Nor need this greatly surprise us. There are other countries where

> Mortal men are ever wont to lie,
> Whene'er they speak of sceptre-bearing kings.

A portrait gallery in Holyrood Palace illustrates the same principle, though in a different way.

Then we have a series of legendary stories full of miraculous incidents, but in which grains of truth may here and there be discerned. The value of this early part of the work is enhanced by the numerous poems of great antiquity which have been incorporated into it, and which have considerable antiquarian and philological interest.

The narrative becomes more and more real as it goes on, until about the 5th century we find ourselves in what, without too violent a departure from the truth, may be called genuine

history, while from the beginning of the 6th century until A.D. 697, when it is brought to a close, the *Nihongi* gives us what is to every appearance a trustworthy record of events. We must still, however, be on our guard against the Chinese diction and sentiments which are put into the mouths of the Mikados and their Ministers, and there are some strange stories of a kind not likely to impose on our credulity. This part of the *Nihongi* is of very great value, comprising as it does a period of the highest importance in the life of the Japanese nation. It was at this time that the Japanese adopted and assimilated the civilization of China, material, moral, and political, together with the Buddhist religion, thereby profoundly modifying the entire course of their future history.

The defects of the *Nihongi* are due partly to the uncritical spirit of the age when it was written, but mainly to the circumstance that the authors were accomplished scholars deeply imbued with ideas derived from the classical and historical literature of ancient China. With exceptions to be noticed presently, the work is composed in the Chinese language. This is in itself an obstacle to the faithful representation of things Japanese. But unfortunately it is not all. Chinese ideas and traits of Chinese manners and customs are frequently brought in where they have no business. In the very first paragraph we have an essay spiced with Chinese philosophical terms which reads strangely incongruous as a preface to the native cosmogonic myth. Battle axes are mentioned at a time when no such weapons were in use by the Japanese, stone mallets are converted into swords, and we hear continually of the Temples of the Earth and of Grain, a purely Chinese metaphor for the State. No inconsiderable part of the work consists of speeches and Imperial decrees interlarded with quotations from Chinese literature, and evidently composed for the occasion in imitation of Chinese models. In one case the authors have gone so far as to attribute to the Emperor Yūriaku a dying speech of several pages, which is taken with hardly any alteration from a history of the Chinese Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to an Emperor who died 125 years later.

But what is far more misleading than these naive inventions is the confirmed habit common to the writers both of the *Kojiki* and of the *Nihongi*, though the latter are the greater offenders, of

throwing back, no doubt more or less unconsciously, to more ancient times the ideas of their own age, when the national thought and institutions had become deeply modified by Chinese influences. As Dr. Florenz very justly remarks, "The little which European inquiry has hitherto been able to teach us of the real condition of Japan in the most ancient times shows that the historical representation of this period in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* (upon which rest all the later statements of the Japanese) is most profoundly penetrated by false principles. The newer relations, partly developed from native material, partly influenced by Chinese culture, are reflected back upon the oldest without due distinction, and the result is a confused picture in which the critical inquirer can, it is true, frequently separate what is original from subsequent additions, but must often let fall his hands in despair." A conspicuous instance of this is the way in which the Imperial theory of the universal authority of the Mikados is extended backwards to a time when their sway was really restricted to the provinces round the capital and a few other places. It is also exemplified by the treatment of territorial and official designations in the older part of the history as if they were already family names, which they did not become until a later period.

Chronology.—The *Kojiki* wisely has no chronology. But the authors of the *Nihongi*, or more probably of some of the works on which it is based, thought it necessary, in imitation of their Chinese models, to provide a complete system of dates extending as far back as the middle of the 7th century B.C., and giving the exact years, months, and even days for events which are supposed to have happened in this remote period. When it is remembered that there was no official recognition of the art of writing in Japan until A.D. 405, and that the first mention of calendar-makers belongs to A.D. 553, the historical value of such chronology may be readily estimated. After the Christian epoch there may have been some blundering and unsuccessful endeavours to give the right years, but for several centuries longer the months and days must have been simply supplied from the writers' imagination. Even so late as the beginning of the 5th century the chronology can be shown to be wrong in several cases by no less an interval than 120 years. Abundant proofs of its inaccuracy are revealed by a

comparison with the contemporary histories of Corea and China, and an examination of the *Nihongi* itself yields many more. The impossible lengths attributed to the Emperors' reigns are a well-known example, and some, but by no means all, of the other evidence to this effect is indicated in the notes to the present version.

The first date in the *Nihongi* which is corroborated by external evidence is A.D. 461, but the chronology is not a little vague for some time longer. Perhaps if we take A.D. 500 as the time when the correctness of the *Nihongi* dates begins to be trustworthy, we shall not be very far wrong.

In an essay contributed to a Japanese magazine called *Bun*, in 1888, Mr. Naka has brought together absolutely overwhelming evidence of the utter inaccuracy in matters of chronology of the early part of the *Nihongi*, and I may be allowed to refer the reader to a paper on "Early Japanese History" read before the J.A.S. in December, 1887, in which the same thesis is maintained. Such scholars as Satow, Chamberlain, Bramsen, Griffis and others have expressed themselves to a similar effect, and it may be hoped that we have now heard the last of the thoughtless echoes of old Kaempfer's audacious assertion that since the time of Jimmu Tennō, the Japanese have been "accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country and the lives and reigns of their monarchs."

But enough has been said of the defects of the *Nihongi*. The above strictures apply almost exclusively to the earlier half of the work, and they must not be allowed to blind us to the fact that it after all presents a very full and varied picture of the civilization, manners and customs, and political, moral, and religious ideas of the ancient Japanese. Even the large untrue element which it contains is not without its value. Bad history may be good mythology or folk-lore, and statements the most wildly at variance with fact often throw a useful light on the beliefs or institutions of the age when they became current.

Estimation in which the Nihongi was held.—The importance of the *Nihongi* was at once recognized by the somewhat narrow circle of courtiers and officials for whom it was intended. Subsequent history contains frequent mention of its being publicly read and expounded to the

Mikado's Court, one of these notices belonging to the very next year after its completion. It threw wholly into the shade its predecessor the *Kojiki* and superseded the recitations of the Katari Be and other similar customs. Another testimony to its value is the series of commentaries which began to be written upon it immediately after its appearance. Some of these notes, known as Shiki or "private notes," have been preserved to us in a work called *Shaku-nihongi*, written about the end of the 13th century. They are described as of the periods Yōrō, (714—724), Kōnin (810—824), and Yengi (901—923).

This high estimation for the *Nihongi* has lasted until our own day. Its pre-eminence as a source of knowledge of Japanese antiquity was never contested until quite recent times. Even Motoöri[1] acknowledges its value, although his religious and patriotic prejudices lead him to give a preference to the *Kojiki*, which is less profoundly tainted by an admixture of Chinese ideas.

The Kojiki and the Nihongi.—Both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* present to the eye a series of Chinese characters. A closer examination, however, reveals a marked difference in the way in which they are used by the respective authors. In the *Kojiki*, which was taken down from the mouth of a Japanese by a man with some tincture of Chinese learning, the Chinese construction is every now and then interrupted or rather helped out by Japanese words written phonetically, the result being a very curious style wholly devoid of literary qualities. It is in fact possible to restore throughout the original Japanese words used by Hiyeda no Are with a fair degree of probability, and this has actually been done by Motoöri in his great edition of the work known as the *Kojikiden*. This feature gives the *Kojiki* a far greater philological interest than the *Nihongi*. The

[1] Motoöri has left a poem to the following effect :—

In all their fulness
How should we know
The days of old,
Did the august Yamato writing (the *Nihongi*)
Not exist in the world?

Hirata says ("Kodō Taii," I. 36), "If we put aside the ornaments of style of Chinese fashion, there is none among all the writings in the world so noble and important as this classic."

latter is composed almost wholly in the Chinese language, the chief exception being the poems, for which it was necessary to use the Chinese characters with a phonetic value so as to give the actual words and not simply the sense, as is the case when they are employed as ideographs. The proper names in both works are naturally Japanese.

As a repertory of ancient Japanese myth and legend, there is little to choose between the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The *Kojiki* is on the whole the fuller of the two, and contains legends which the *Nihongi* passes over in [illegible] but the latter work, as we now have it, is enriched by [illegible] of the early myths, the value of which for purposes of [illegible]parison will be recognized by scientific inquirers.

But there can be no comparison between the two works when viewed as history. Hiyeda no Are's memory, however well-stored, could not be expected to compete in fulness and accuracy with the abundant written literature accessible to the writers of the *Nihongi*, and an examination of the two works shows that, in respect to the record of actual events, the latter is far the more useful authority. It should be remembered, too, that the *Nihongi* is double the size of its predecessor, and that whereas the *Kojiki* practically comes to an end with the close of the 5th century, the *Nihongi* continues the narrative as far as the end of the 7th, thus embracing an additional space of two hundred years of the highest importance in the history of Japan.

Text and Editions.—The class of readers for whom the present work is intended would be little interested in an account of the text of the *Nihongi* and of its various manuscripts and printed editions. In any case this subject has been so exhaustively treated by Dr. Florenz in his Introduction as to render research by other inquirers a superfluous labour.

A few words, however, should be said respecting the *Shūkai* (or *Shūge*, i.e. collected interpretations) edition, which has been taken as the basis of the present version. There are a few departures from it, chiefly where the translator has restored passages of the "Original Commentary" which the *Shūkai* editor has struck out or relegated to his notes.

The *Shūkai* edition is on the whole the most useful one, being well printed, and provided with a copious Chinese com-

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Sir E. Satow in his "List of Corean Geographical Names." It is based on the principle of the Royal Geographical Society's method above-mentioned. But the true pronunciation of these names is involved in much obscurity, and the rendering adopted is in many cases merely provisional.

In spelling Chinese proper names, the ordinary authorities have been followed. They do not agree very well among themselves, but it is hoped that the inconsistencies which have resulted will not occasion any difficulty to the reader.

ABBREVIATIONS.

T.A.S.J.—Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Ch. K.—The translation of the "Kojiki" by Basil Hall Chamberlain in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. X. Supp'ement.

J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

N.B.—Attention is drawn to the Table of Errata and Addenda in the second volume

NIHONGI.[1]

BOOK I.[2]

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART I.

OF old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yō[3] not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an

[1] Nihon, otherwise Nippon, the Niphon of our older maps, where it is wrongly limited to the main island of Japan. Japan is merely a Chinese pronunciation of this word, modified in the mouths of Europeans. Nihon, in Chinese 日本, means sun-origin, i.e. sunrise. The country received this name from its position to the east of the Asiatic continent. China being the Great Central Land, other countries were given names with reference to it. Corea, for example, is the Tong-Kuk or East-Country. These Chinese characters are sometimes used to represent Yamato, the true old Japanese name of the country, as in the name of the first Emperor, Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-hoho-demi, better known as Jimmu Tennō. I have little doubt that Nihon, as a name for Japan, was first used by the Corean scholars who came over in numbers during the early part of the seventh century. Perhaps the earliest genuine use of this term occurs in the lament for the death of Shōtoku Daishi by a Corean Buddhist priest in A.D. 620.

In 670 it was formally notified to one of the Corean kingdoms that this would be the name of the country in future, and from about the same time the Chinese also began to use it officially.

There are several cases of its being used retrospectively in places where it has no business, as in a supposed letter from the King of Koryō to the Emperor of Japan quoted in the "Nihongi" under 297 A.D.

"Nihongi," or the Chronicles of Japan, is the proper and original name of this work. But later editors and writers have introduced the syllable sho, writing, styling it the Nihon-shoki, which is its most usual literary designation at the present time. It is also spoken of as the "Shoki."

[2] The first two books of the "Nihongi" contain the myths which form the basis of the Shinto religion. For the further study of this subject, Chamberlain's admirably faithful translation of the Kojiki, and Satow's contributions to the "J.A.S.T." will be found indispensable. Griffis's "Religions of Japan" may also be consulted with advantage.

[3] The Yin and Yang, or female and male principles of Chinese philosophy See "Mayer's Chinese Manual," p. 293.

egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs.

The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.

The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty.

Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently.

Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them.[1]

Hence[2] it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water.

At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this

[1] These opening sentences of the "Nihongi" have been justly condemned by modern Shinto scholars such as Motowori and Hirata as an essay of the Chinese rationalistic type, which has been awkwardly prefixed to the genuine Japanese traditions. Hirata mentions two Chinese works named 淮南子 and 三五曆記, as among the originals from which the author of the "Nihongi" borrowed these ideas. See Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," pp. 19 and 51 (reprint), "Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions," 1875, Appendix. I take this opportunity of referring the reader to this treatise, which is much the most instructive and accurate work that has yet appeared on the ancient Japanese religion and mythology. No serious student of this subject can afford to neglect it.

The corresponding passage of the "Kiujiki" (*vide* Index) is as follows :— "Of old, the original essence was a chaotic mass. Heaven and Earth had not yet been separated, but were like an egg, of ill-defined limits and containing germs. Thereafter, the pure essence, ascending by degrees, became thinly spread out, and formed Heaven. The floating grosser essence sank heavily, and, settling down, became Earth. What we call countries were produced by the opening, splitting up, and dividing of the earth as it floated along. It might be compared to the floating of a fish which sports on the surface of the water. Now Heaven was produced first, and Earth afterwards."

[2] Motowori points out that hence has no meaning here. It is inserted clumsily to make it appear as if there were some connection between the Chinese essay which precedes and the Japanese tradition which follows. The author is fond of this word and frequently brings it in without much meaning.

became transformed into a God, and was called Kuni-toko- I. 2.[1]
tachi no Mikoto.[2]

[*The character* 尊 *is used owing to the extreme dignity of this Deity. For the others the character* 命 *is used. Both are read Mikoto. This rule is followed below.*[3]]

Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto,[4] and next Toyo-kumu nu no Mikoto,[5] in all three deities.[6]

[1] The marginal references are to the Shukai edition of the original.

[2] Land-eternal-stand-of-august-thing.

[3] This distinction is, of course, an invention of the persons who committed the myths to writing, and it is by no means consistently adhered to even in the "Nihongi"

The passage in italics is from what is called the "Original Commentary," for which see introduction.

[4] Land-of-right-soil-of-augustness, i.e. his augustness the true soil of the land. Sa, which I have rendered "right," is a mere honorific. Tsuchi is written with a Chinese character which means "mallet," but it must be taken here as put phonetically for tsuchi, land or soil.

[5] Rich-form-plain-of augustness. The meaning of many of the names of the gods is obscure, and these renderings must be accepted with caution. Compare the notes to Chamberlain's "Kojiki," where much attention has been given to this subject. It may be remarked that there is great and inextricable confusion as to the early deities between the various ancient authorities, the "Kojiki," the "Kiujiki," the "Kogojiui," the various documents quoted in the "Nihongi," and the "Nihongi" itself.

[6] The Chinese 三神 means simply three deities. But the interlinear Kana has mi-bashira no Kami, i.e. Deities, three pillars, hashira or bashira being the usual auxiliary numeral (like our head of cattle, sail of ships, etc.) for gods in the ancient literature. Historical Shinto has no idols, but does not this use of the word hashira suggest a time when the gods of Japan were wooden posts carved at the top into a rude semblance of the human countenance, such as are seen at this day in many savage lands? In Corea, closely related to Japan, there are gods of this kind. The mile-posts there have their upper part fashioned into the shape of an idol, to which some pompous title is given, and at a village not far from Söul, on the Wönsan road, I have seen a group of a dozen or more of these pillar-gods, set up, I was told, as guardians to the inhabitants during an epidemic of small-pox.

The word Kami, deity, has a very wide application in Japanese. It means primarily upper, and hence nobles, the sovereign, gods, and generally any wonderful or mysterious thing. The leopard and wolf are Kami, the peach with which Izanagi put to flight the thunders which pursued him in the land of Yomi, etc. See Hirata's interesting remarks translated by Satow in "Revival of Pure Shinto," "J A.S.T.," p. 42 (reprint).

The Aino ideas regarding Kamui are very similar. See Batchelor in "J.A.S.T.," XVI., Pt. I., p. 17.

These were pure males spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven.[1]

In one writing it is said:[2]—"When Heaven and Earth began, a thing existed in the midst of the Void.[3] Its shape may not be described. Within it a Deity was spontaneously produced, whose name was Kuni-toko-tachi no Mikoto, also called Kuni-soko-tachi[4] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto, also called Kuni no sa-tachi[5] no Mikoto. Next there was Toyo-kuni-nushi[6] no Mikoto, also called Toyo-kumu-nu[7] no Mikoto, Toyo-ka-fushi-no[8] no Mikoto, Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi[9] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuni-no[10] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuhi-no[11] no Mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-no[12] no Mikoto, or Mi-no[13] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Of old, when the land was young and the earth young, it floated about, as it were floating oil. At this time a thing was produced within the land, in shape like a reed-shoot when it sprouts forth. From this there was a Deity developed, whose name was Umashi-
I. 3. ashi-kabi-hiko-ji[14] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto."

[1] The principle of Heaven is the same thing as the Yō or male principle of Chinese philosophy. This again is no part of the old tradition.

[2] These quotations are usually referred to as part of the "Nihongi." They were, in my opinion, added at a somewhat (but not much) later date. They afford some indication of the mass of written literature which existed on this subject

[3] In Japanese *sora*, to be distinguished from *ame* or *ama*, the heaven or firmament, which was regarded as a plain, as in the expression takama no hara, the plain of high heaven.

[4] Soko means bottom.

[5] Tachi means stand

[6] Rich-country-master.

[7] Rich-form-moor.

[8] Rich-perfume-joint-plain.

[9] Float-pass-plain-rich-buy.

[10] Rich-land-plain.

[11] Rich-bite (?) plain.

[12] Leaf-tree-land-plain.

[13] Mino is written with characters which suggest the derivation see-plain. But mi is more probably a honorific, to be rendered "august."

[14] Sweet-reed-shoot-prince-elder. There is some doubt about the precise signification of the word ji here rendered elder. It is the same root which we have in chichi father; wo-ji, uncle; oro-chi, serpent, and tsutsu or tsuchi, which is found in many names of gods. It is probably little more than a mere honorific.

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which a God was developed, called Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto."

The next Deities who came into being were Uhiji-ni[1] no Mikoto and Suhiji-ni no Mikoto, also called Uhiji-ne no
I. 4. Mikoto and Suhiji-ne no Mikoto.

The next Deities which came into being were Oho-to nochi no Mikoto and Oho-to mahe no Mikoto.

One authority says Oho-to no he no Mikoto, otherwise called Oho-to-ma-hiko no Mikoto and Oho-to-ma-hime no Mikoto. Another says Oho-tomu-chi no Mikoto and Oho-tomu-he no Mikoto.[2]

The next Gods which came into being were Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, also called Aya-kashiko-ne no Mikoto, Imi kashiki no Mikoto, or Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto, or Aya-kashiki no Mikoto.[3]

The next Deities which came into being were Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto.[4]

One writing says:—"These two Deities were the children of Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto."

One writing says:—"Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto produced Ame kagami no Mikoto, Ame kagami no Mikoto produced Ame yorodzu no Mikoto, Ame yorodzu

[1] The names of these two Deities are of doubtful meaning. According to the Chinese characters Uhiji should mean mud-earth, and Suhiji sand-earth. Ni or ne is a honorific particle. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 17.

[2] These names are somewhat obscure. Oho-to means great door or house; nochi, after, and mahe, before. He, is place; toma, a coarse kind of mat; tomu, wealthy; and chi, ground. The other elements of these names have occurred above.

[3] Omo-taru means face-pleasing, and Kashiko, awful. Ne is a honorific suffix; aya, an interjection like our ah! Imi means avoidance, religious abstinence, taboo. Kashiki is probably only another form of Kashiko, awful. Awo is green.

[4] Izana is the root of a verb izanafu, to invite; gi, a masculine, and mi, a feminine termination. These two names may therefore be rendered male-who-invites and female-who-invites. But it may be suspected that this is, after all, merely a volks-etymologie, and that Iza or Isa is simply the name of a place, na being another form of no, the genitive particle. Isa is known to Japanese myth. We shall find an Isa well in Heaven spoken of below. There are two places called Isa in Hitachi, and an Isa no Jirja in Idzumo.

no Mikoto produced Aha-nagi no Mikoto, and Aha nagi no Mikoto produced Izanagi no Mikoto." [1]

These make eight Deities in all. Being formed by the mutual action of the Heavenly and Earthly principles, they were made male and female.[2] From Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto to Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto are called the seven generations of the age of the Gods.[3]

[1] Ame-kagami, heaven-mirror ; Ame-yorodzu, heaven-myriad ; Aha-nagi, foam-calm.

[2] This sentence is obviously from the pen of a student of Chinese philosophy.

[3] The eight Gods specially worshipped by the Jingikwan, or Department of the Shinto Religion in the Yengi period—901-922—were Taka-mi-musubi no Kami, Kami-mi-musubi no Kami, Tama-tsume musubi no Kami, Iku musubi no Kami, Taru musubi no Kami, Oho-miya no me no Kami, Mi Ketsu Kami, and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami

For the sake of comparison the Kiujiki scheme of the generations of early Deities is herewith added. It will still further exemplify the confusion of these traditions.

"Therefore a God was developed in the Plain of High Heaven whose name was Ame - yudzuru - hi - ame no sa- giri kuni-yudzuru-tsuki kuni no
heaven transfer sun heaven right mist land transfer moon land of
sa- giri no Mikoto, who was produced alone. After him, were born two
right mist
generations of companion Gods and five generations of mated Deities. These make up what is called the seven generations of the Gods.

GENEALOGY OF THE AGE OF THE GODS.

The Heavenly parent, Ame yudzuru hi ame no sa-giri kuni yudzuru tsuki kuni no sa-giri no Mikoto.

1ST GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Ame no mi-naka-nushi no Mikoto.
heaven middle master

Umashi - ashi-kabi hikoji no Mikoto.
sweet reed-shoot prince elder

2ND GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Kuni no toko tachi no Mikoto.
land eternal stand

Toyo-kuni-nushi no Mikoto.
rich land master

In one writing it is said :—" The gods that were produced in pairs, male and female, were first of all Uhiji ni

A Branch.

Ame - ya - kudari no Mikoto.
heaven eight descend

3RD GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Tsuno - gui no Mikoto.
horn stake (name of place ?)

Iku - gui no Mikoto, his younger sister of wife.
live stake

A Branch.

Ame mi kudari no Mikoto.
heaven three descend

4TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Uhiji - ni no Mikoto.
mud earth (honorific affix)

Suhiji - ni no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
sand earth

A Branch.

Ama - ahi no Mikoto.
heaven meet

5TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Oho-toma-hiko no Mikoto.
great mat prince

Oho - toma - he no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
great mat place

A Branch.

Ame ya - wo - hi no Mikoto.
heaven eight hundred days

6TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Awo - kashiki ne no Mikoto.
green awful (honorific)

Aya-kashiki ne no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
ah! awful

A Branch.

Ame no ya-so-yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
eighty myriads spirits

no Mikoto and Suhiji ni no Mikoto. Next there were Tsuno-guhi no Mikoto and Iku-guhi no Mikoto, next

7TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Izanagi no Mikoto.
Izanami no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.

A Branch.
Taka mi - musubi no Mikoto.
high august growth

Children.
Ama no omohi-gane no Mikoto.
heaven thought-compriser
Ama no futo-dama no Mikoto.
big jewel
Ama no woshi - hi no Mikoto.
endure sun
Ama no kamu-dachi no Mikoto.
god stand

Next there was—

Kamu mi musubi no Mikoto.
above growth

Children.
Ame no mi ke mochi no Mikoto.
august food hold
Ame no michi ne no Mikoto.
road (honorific)
Ame no kami-dama no Mikoto.
god jewel
Iku-dama no Mikoto.
live jewel

Next there was—

Tsu-haya-dama no Mikoto.
port quick jewel

Children.
Ichi - chi - dama no Mikoto.
market thousand jewel
Kogoto-dama no Mikoto.
(?)

Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto."

Izanagi and Izanami on the Floating Bridge of Heaven.

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood on the
I. 5 floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying: "Is there not a country beneath?"

Ama no ko-yane no Mikoto.
child-roof
Takechi - nokori no Mikoto.
brave milk remnant

Next there was—

Furu-dama no Mikoto.
shake jewel

Children.

Saki-dama no Mikoto.
first jewel
Ama no woshi - dachi no Mikoto.
endure stand

Next there was—

Yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
myriad jewel

Child.

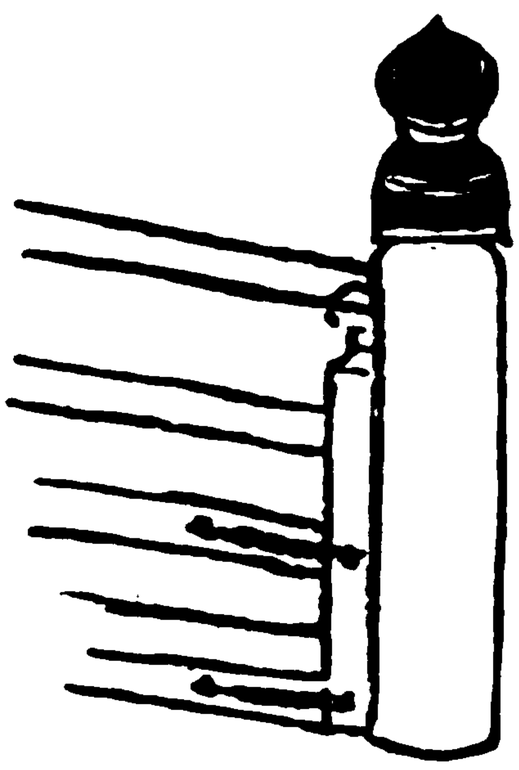
Ama no koha-kaha no Mikoto."
hard river

A number of these Deities are stated to be the ancestors of noble Japanese families. The explanation of the meaning of these names is often

Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven,[1] and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which

very conjectural. Some are probably names of places. Possibly some of the obscurer names are Corean. The "Seishiroku" speaks of a Corean Sagiri no Mikoto, and other known Corean Deities were worshipped in Japan. The reader will do well to consult here Satow's "Japanese Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VI., Pt. II., p. 120, where he makes the pregnant suggestion that the sun was the earliest among the powers of nature to be deified, and that the long series of gods who precede her in the cosmogony of the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi," most of whom are shown by their names to have been mere abstractions, were invented to give her a genealogy.

[1] Hirata conjectures that the jewel-spear (nu-boko or tama-boko) of Heaven was in form like a wo-bashira. Wo-bashira means literally male-pillar. This word is usually applied to the end-posts or pillars of a railing or balustrade, no doubt on account of the shape of the top, which ends in a sort of a ball (the nu or tama), supposed to resemble the glans. That by wo-bashira Hirata means a phallus is clear from his quoting as its equivalent the Chinese expression 玉莖, i.e. jewel-stalk, an ornate word for the penis. A Japanese word for this is wo-hashi, or wo-bashi, which contains nearly the same etymological elements as wo-bashira.



Wo-bashira.

A writer quoted in the Tsū-shō commentary on the "Nihongi," says that the Tama-boko (or nu-boko) is the root of coition.

The late Mr. J. O'Neill, in his "Night of the Gods" (pp. 31, 37, 67), proposed the theory that this spear and other spears of myth "are but symbols of the Earth-axis and its prolongation," an idea which is worked out with much ingenuity and learning in that remarkable work. At p. 88 he argues that this view is not inconsistent with the phallic interpretation.

There are other indications in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" of phallic worship in Ancient Japan, although, probably owing to the influence of Chinese ideas of literary propriety, there are fewer than might have been expected. *Vide* Index—Phallic worship.

All travellers in Japan, especially before the Revolution of 1868, must have observed numerous evidences of a phallic cult. The Government have of recent years done their best to suppress this very gross form of nature worship, but it still exists in out-of-the-way places, as has been shown in an interesting Essay by Dr. Edmund Buckley, of the University of Chicago, who has collected numerous facts relating to this subject. Dr. Griffis, in his "Religions of Japan," has also noticed several evidences of it.

Travelling from Utsunomiya to Nikko, in 1871, I found the road lined at intervals with groups of phalli, connected, no doubt, with the worship of the Sacred Mountain Nan-tai (male-form), which was visited every summer by

dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.[1]

The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.

So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the centre of the land.[2]

Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female[3]

hundreds of pilgrims of the male sex, access to females being at that time rigorously prohibited.

A cave at Kamakura formerly contained scores of phalli carved in stone.

I once witnessed a phallic procession in a town some miles north of Tokio. A phallus several feet high, and painted a bright vermilion colour, was being carried on a sort of a bier by a crowd of shouting, laughing coolies with flushed faces, who zig-zagged along with sudden rushes from one side of the street to another. It was a veritable Bacchic rout. The Dionysia, it will be remembered, had their phalli. A procession of this kind invaded the quiet thoroughfares of the Kobe foreign settlement in 1868, much to the amazement of the European residents.

That there are domestic shrines in the lupanars where these objects of worship are propitiated by having a small lamp kept constantly burning before them is, perhaps, not to be wondered at.

Is it a mere coincidence that wo-bashira, male pillar, should contain the element hashira which is used as a numeral for deities? See above, p. 5.

Some of the Rai-tsui, or thunder-clubs, figured in Kanda's "Ancient Stone Implements," Plate VII., are probably phalli. Their size precludes the view that they were used as weapons.

It may be, however, that both the Earth-axis and the phallic interpretations of the nu-boko are too subtle. The Hoko may after all be a spear and nothing more, and the nu or jewel merely an ornate epithet, as indeed Hirata suggests.

[1] Spontaneously-congeal-island. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 19. Identified with a small island near Ahaji.

[2] The "Kiujiki" mentions a tradition according to which the two gods made the jewel-spear the central pillar of their house.

[3] The words for male and female are in the original Yō and In. It greatly excites the indignation of the Motowori and Hirata school to have these Chinese philosophical terms applied to Japanese deities. I cannot help thinking that some early marriage ceremony is adumbrated by this circumambulation. We have the ceremony of divorce further on. The erection of a house is not merely for practical reasons. It appears from several passages that a special building was a necessary preliminary to the consummation of a marriage in proper form.

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were born as twins. This is the prototype of the twin-births which sometimes take place among mankind.

Next was born the island of Koshi,[1] then the island of Oho-shima, then the island of Kibi no Ko.[2]

Hence first arose the designation of the Oho-ya-shima[3] country.

Then the islands of Tsushima and Iki, with the small islands in various parts, were produced by the coagulation of the foam of the salt-water.

It is also stated that they were produced by the coagulation of the foam of fresh water.

In one writing it is said:—"The Gods of Heaven addressed Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, say-
I. 8. ing: 'There is the country Toyo-ashi-hara-chi-i-wo-aki no midzu-ho.[4] Do ye proceed and bring it into order.' They then gave them the jewel-spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Gods stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and plunging down the spear, sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again, the brine which dripped from the spear-point coagulated and became an island, which was called Ono-goro-jima. The two gods descended, dwelt in this island, and erected there an eight-fathom palace.[5] They also set up the pillar of Heaven."

Then the male Deity asked the female Deity, saying:—"Is there anything formed in thy body?" She answered and said:—"My body has a place completely formed, and called the source of femineity." The male god said:—"My body again has a place completely formed, and called the source of masculinity. I desire to unite my source of

[1] Koshi is not an island. It comprises the present provinces of Ettchiu, Echigo, and Echizen.

[2] These two are not clear. Kibi is now Bingo, Bizen, and Bittchiu. Ko, "child or small," perhaps refers to the small islands of the Inland Sea.

[3] Great-eight-island.

[4] Abundant-reed-plain, thousand-five-hundred-harvest (or autumn) fair-ears.

[5] The "Kiujiki" makes the nu-boko or jewel-spear the central pillar of the house which they erected. Eight-fathom is simply a poetical expression for large. There is no special sacredness attached to the number eight.

masculinity to thy source of femineity." Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the pillar of Heaven, and made a promise, saying:—"Do thou, my younger sister, go round from the left, while I will go round from the right." Having done so, they went round separately and met, when the female Deity spoke first, and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" The male Deity then answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was the

The Leech Child as Yebisu.

leech, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift.[1] Their next was the Island of Ahaji. This also was not included in the number of their children. Wherefore they returned up again to Heaven, and fully reported the circumstances. Then the Heavenly Gods divined this by the greater divination. Upon which they instructed them, saying:—"It was by reason of the woman's having spoken first; ye had best return thither again." Thereupon having divined a time, they went down. The two deities

[1] The leech was identified in after times with the God Yebisu. See Anderson's Catalogue of Paintings in the British Museum, p. 36. Hirata attempts to show that he was the same as Sukuna-bikona, but is not convincing. The reed boat recalls the Accadian legend of Sargon and his ark of rushes, the Biblical story of Moses as an infant and many more, for which the curious reader may consult the late John O'Neill's "Night of the Gods," p. 410.

accordingly went again round the pillar, the male Deity from the left,[1] and the female Deity from the right. When they met, the male Deity spoke first and said :—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" The female Deity next answered and said :—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" Thereafter they dwelt together in the same palace and had children, whose names were Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Ahaji, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsukushi, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Koshi, next the island of Kibi-no-ko. The country was accordingly called the "Great-Eight-Island Country."

In one writing it is said :—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood in the midst of the mist of Heaven, and said :—'We wish to find a country.' So they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven, and groped about till they found the island of Ono-goro. Then they drew back the spear and rejoiced, saying :—'Good! there is a country!'"

In one writing it is said :—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto sat in the Plain of High Heaven, and said :—'There must surely be a country.' So with the jewel-spear of Heaven they scraped together the island of Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said :—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto spoke to one another, saying :—'There is something resembling floating oil. In the midst of this there is perhaps a country.' So they
I. 10. took the jewel-spear of Heaven and groping about formed with it an island which was called Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said :—"The female Deity spoke first and said :—'How pretty! a handsome youth!' Now it was considered unlucky that the female Deity should have spoken first. Accordingly they went round again,

[1] Hirata says that as the left is superior to the right, and the man to the woman, it is proper that the man should go round from the left, and the woman from the right. He strongly condemns the Kojiki version of the story which reverses this order. The notion of the superiority of the left is really Chinese.

when the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Postemo cupiebant coire, sed artis nescii erant. Tum erat motacilla[1] quae advolavit, atque concussit suum caput et suam caudam. Quod cum vidissent duo Dei, imitati sunt eam, et in hoc modo artem coeundi potiti sunt.

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities were united and became husband and wife. First of all, the islands of Ahaji and Aha being considered the placenta,[2] they produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo, next the island of Tsukushi, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, next the island of Koshi, next Oho-shima, and next Kojima."

In one writing it is said:—"First there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Iki, and next the island of Tsushima."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ono-goro being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsu-kushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, and next the island of Koshi."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ahaji being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Oho-yamato Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Aha, next the island of Iyo no futana, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, and next Oho-shima."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a lovely youth!' She

[1] Anglice, wagtail.

[2] The Japanese word for placenta is *ye* or *yena*. *Ye* is also Japanese for elder brother. The Kiujiki has in the corresponding passage 兄 or elder brother.

forthwith took the hand of the male Deity, and they at length became husband and wife. There was born to
I. 11. them the island of Ahaji, and next the leech-child."

They next produced the sea, then the rivers, and then the mountains. Then they produced Ku-ku-no-chi, the ancestor of the trees, and next the ancestor of herbs, Kaya no hime.[1] *Also called Nudzuchi.*

After this Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying:—"We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe?[2] They then together produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Oho-hiru-me no muchi.[3]

Called in one writing Ama-terasu no Oho kami.[4]

In one writing she is called Ama-terasu-oho-hiru-me no Mikoto.[5]

The resplendent lustre of this child shone throughout all the six quarters.[6] Therefore the two Deities rejoiced, saying:—"We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven."

At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated,[7] and therefore they sent her up to Heaven by the ladder of Heaven.

They next produced the Moon-god.

[1] Ku-ku is evidently for ki-ki, trees. Chi is the same root which we have in the modern chichi, father, and kaya is the name of a kind of rush used for thatching. Nu-dzu-chi, moor-of-father.

[2] Universe. In the original, tenka, i.e. that which is under Heaven, subsequently the usual word for the Empire.

[3] Oho-hiru-me no muchi. Great-noon-female-of-possessor.

[4] Heaven-illumine-of-great-deity.

[5] Heaven-illumine-great-noon-female-of-augustness.

[6] North, South, East, West, Above, Below.

[7] "In the beginning the Heaven, Rangi, and the Earth, Papa, were the father and mother of all things. In those days the Heaven lay upon the Earth, and all was darkness. They had never been separated."

Maori myth, quoted by Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 45.

Called in one writing Tsuki-yumi[1] no Mikoto, or Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. I. 12.

His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendour. This God was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

Next they produced the leech-child, which even at the age of three years could not stand upright. They therefore placed it in the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven, and abandoned it to the winds.

Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[2]

Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[3]

This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed[4]

[1] Yumi means bow, yomi darkness. Neither is inappropriate as applied to the moon.

[2] This name is written indifferently Sosa no wo and Susa no wo. The accepted derivation refers *Susa* to *Susamu*, a verb which means "to be impetuous." Hence the "Impetuous Male" of Chamberlain's and Satow's translations. I am disposed to prefer a derivation suggested by the "Idzumo Fudoki," a very old book, which states :—

"Village of Susa. Nineteen ri due west of the Town-house of the district. Kamu Susa no wo no Mikoto said :—'This is only a small country, but it is a Kuni-dokoro (local capital ?). Therefore my name shall not be affixed to wood or stone.' This was accordingly the place where he allowed his august spirit to repose. There were, therefore, established by him the Greater Susa rice-lands and the Lesser Susa rice-lands."

Susa no wo is therefore simply the "male of Susa." It will be remembered that by one Japanese tradition, Idzumo is the home of the Gods, and that several of the legends respecting them relate to this locality. It is, however, probable that the older derivation is really a volks-etymologie, which has given colour to the stories told of this deity. Idzumo is a chief home of the worship of Susa no wo at the present day. His wife's mother was called Susa no Yatsu-mimi, but it has not occurred to anybody to make her an "impetuous female." Hirata rejects the modern identification of this God with Godzu Tennō.

[3] Kami, deity ; haya, quick.

[4] The character used is that appropriate to a sovereign addressing his subjects.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether-Land."[1] So they at length expelled him.

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.' He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror,[2] upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced
I. 13. from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head and looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hirume no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine down upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land."

In one writing it is said:—"After the sun and moon, the next child which was born was the leech-child. When this child had completed his third year, he was nevertheless still unable to stand upright. The reason why the leech-child was born was that in the beginning, when Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto went round the pillar, the female Deity was the first to utter an exclamation of pleasure, and the law of male and female was therefore broken. They next procreated Sosa no wo no Mikoto. This God was of a wicked nature, and was always fond of wailing and wrath. Many of the people of the land died, and the green mountains withered. Therefore his parents addressed him, saying: 'Supposing that thou wert to rule this country, much destruction of life would surely ensue. Thou must govern the far-distant Nether Land.' Their next child was the bird-rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven. They forthwith took this

[1] Ne no kuni, lit. the root-country, by which Hades or Yomi is no doubt meant.

[2] See Index—Copper.

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flowers. They also worship her with drums, flutes, flags,
I. 15. singing and dancing."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, having together procreated the Great-eight-island Land, Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'Over the country which we have produced there is naught but morning mists which shed a perfume everywhere!' So he puffed them away with a breath, which became changed into a God, named Shina tohe no Mikoto. He is also called Shina[1] tsu hiko no Mikoto. This is the God of the Wind. Moreover, the child which they procreated when they were hungry was called Uka no mi-tama[2] no Mikoto. Again they produced the Sea-Gods, who were called Wata[3] tsu mi no Mikoto, and the Mountain-Gods, who were called Yama tsu mi, the Gods of the River-mouths, who were called Haya-aki[4]-tsubi no Mikoto, the Tree-Gods, who were called Ku-ku no chi, and the Earth-Goddess, who was called Hani-yasu[5] no Kami. Thereafter they produced all manner of things whatsoever. When the time came for the Fire-God Kagu tsuchi to
I. 16. be born, his mother Izanami no Mikoto was burnt, and suffered change and departed.[6] Then Izanagi no Mikoto was wroth, and said: 'Oh, that I should have given my beloved younger sister[7] in exchange for a single child!

[1] Shina is said to be derived from shi, wind or breath, and na, a short form of naga, long. See Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 27. The worship of this God is frequently referred to in the last two books of the Nihongi. See also Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," where a prayer to him is given. Tohe means chief.

[2] Food august-spirit. The Chinese characters transliterated Uka mean storehouse rice.

[3] Wata is an old word for sea; mi is probably "body."

[4] Haya-aki means swift-autumn; tsu, of, and bi (or mi) perhaps person or body.

[5] Clay-easy. [6] i.e. died.

[7] The ancient Japanese word for younger sister was imo, which is also applied to a wife. It may be doubted whether this justifies any adverse inference as to the morals of the Japanese in early times. "Sister" is used as an endearing epithet in the Song of Solomon where the relation is certainly not that of brother and sister. It is true, however, that marriages were allowed between brothers and sisters when of different mothers.

So while he crawled at her head, and crawled at her feet, weeping and lamenting, the tears which he shed fell down and became a Deity. It is this Deity who dwells at Unewo no Konomoto, and who is called Naki-saha-me[1] no Mikoto. At length he drew the ten-span sword with which he was girt, and cut Kagu tsuchi into three pieces, each of which became changed into a God. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the edge of the sword[2] became the multitudinous[3] rocks which are in the bed of the Easy-River[4] of Heaven. This God was the father of Futsu-nushi no Kami. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the hilt-ring of the sword spurted out and became deities, whose names were Mika no Haya-hi[5] no Kami and next Hi no Haya-hi no[6] Kami. This Mika no Haya-hi no Kami was the parent of Take-mika-suchi[7] no Kami." I. 17.

Another version is:—"Mika no haya-hi no Mikoto, next Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto, and next Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the point of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Iha-saku[8] no Kami, after him Ne-saku no Kami,[9] and next Iha-tsutsu-wo[10] no Mikoto. This Iha-saku no Kami was the father of Futsu-nushi[11] no Kami."

One account says:—"Iha-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and next Iha-tsutsu-me no Mikoto."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the head of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Kura o Kami no Kami,[12] next Kura-yamatsumi no Kami,[13] and next Kura-midzu-ha no Kami.[14]

[1] Weep-abundant-female. [2] Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32.

[3] Literally, five hundred.

[4] i.e. The Milky Way. Yasu, easy, is probably in error for ya-so, eighty, i.e. manifold, having many reaches.

[5] Jar-swift-sun. So written, but mika is probably a word meaning very or mighty.

[6] Fire-swift-sun. See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32. [7] Brave-jar-father.

[8] Rock-splitting-god. [9] Root-splitting-god. [10] Rock-elder-male-god.

[11] Futsu is interpreted as "a snapping sound"; nushi is master.

[12] Dark-god. [13] Dark-mountain-body-god. [14] Dark-water-goddess.

I. 18. Thereafter, Izanagi no Mikoto went after Izanami no Mikoto, and entered the land of Yomi.[1] When he reached her they conversed together, and Izanami no Mikoto said: 'My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking-furnace of Yomi.[2] Nevertheless, I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look on me.' Izanami no Mikoto did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and, breaking off its end tooth,[3] made of it a torch, and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up, and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb[4] at night. Izanagi no Mikoto was greatly shocked, and said: 'Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous and polluted land.' So he speedily ran away back again. Then Izanami no Mikoto was angry, and said:

[1] The original has "yellow springs," a Chinese expression. Yomi or Yomo is Hades. It is no doubt connected with yo or yoru, night.

[2] This is a feature of many old-world and savage myths. In the legend of the rape of Proserpine by Pluto, as told by Ovid, Jupiter replies to Ceres, who demanded back her daughter—

> ". . . Repetat Proserpina caelum,
> Lege tamen certâ: si nullos contiget illic
> Ore cibos."

But Proserpine already—

> "Puniceum curvâ decerpserat arbore pomum
> Sumta que pallenti septem de cortice grana
> Presserat ore suo."

Compare also the story of Nachikétas from the Taittiríya Brāhmana, and the Katha Upanishad:—

> "Three nights within his (Yama's) mansion stay,
> But taste not, though a guest, his food."
> Muir's Sanskrit texts, Vol. V., p. 329.

The resemblance of the name Yama of the Indian God of the Lower World to the Japanese Yomi has been noted, and also some points of similarity in the myth of Yami and Yama to that of Izanagi and Izanami. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 171.

[3] End-tooth is in Japanese wo-bashira, i e. male-pillar, for which see above, note to p. 11.

[4] The "Adzuma Kagami" mentions a superstition that any one who picks up a comb which has been thrown away is transformed into another person.

'Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now am I put to shame.' So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi[1] (*Shikome, called by some Hisame*) to pursue and stay him. Izanagi no Mikoto therefore drew his sword, and, flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress and flung it down. I. 19. It became changed into grapes, which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi no Mikoto. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when they had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards, Izanami no Mikoto came herself and pursued him.[2] By this time Izanagi no Mikoto had reached the Even Pass of Yomi."

According to one account, Izanagi no Mikoto made water against a large tree, which water at once turned into a great river. While the Ugly Females of Yomi were preparing to cross this river, Izanagi no Mikoto had already reached the Even Pass of Yomi. So he took a thousand-men-pull-rock, and having blocked up the path with it, stood face to face with Izanami no Mikoto, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. Upon this, Izanami no Mikoto said: "My dear Lord and husband, if thou sayest so, I will strangle to death the people of the country which thou dost govern, a thousand in one day." Then Izanagi no Mikoto replied, saying, "My beloved younger sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said, "Come no further, and threw down his staff, which was called Funado[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his girdle,

[1] The "Wamiōsho" mentions a statement that these were used as bogeys to frighten children with under the name of Gogo-me.

[2] The student of folk-lore will at once recognize this pursuit. Cf. Lang's "Custom and Myth," pp. 88 and 92: "A common incident is the throwing behind of a comb, which turns into a thicket."

[3] Or Kunado, come-not-place. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 39. This was the God of roads.

I. 20. which was called Naga-chi-ha[1] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his upper garment, which was called Wadzurahi[2] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his trowsers, which were called Aki-gui[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his shoes, which were called Chi-shiki[4] no Kami.

Some say that the Even Pass of Yomi is not any place in particular, but means only the space of time when the breath fails on the approach of death.[5]

Now the rock with which the Even Pass of Yomi was blocked is called Yomi-do ni fusagaru Oho-kami.[6] Another name for it is Chi-gayeshi[7] no Oho-kami.

When Izanagi no Mikoto had returned, he was seized with regret, and said, "Having gone to Nay! a hideous and filthy place, it is meet that I should cleanse my body
I 21. from its pollutions." He accordingly went to the plain of Ahagi at Tachibana in Wodo in Hiuga of Tsukushi, and purified himself. When at length he was about to wash away the impurities[8] of his body, he lifted up his voice and said, "The upper stream is too rapid and the lower stream is too sluggish, I will wash in the middle stream." The God which was thereby produced was called Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi[9] no Kami, and then to remedy these evils

[1] Long-road-rock.

[2] Disease or trouble.

[3] This might mean open-bite, but the derivation is very doubtful.

[4] Road-spread-out.

[5] Motoöri treats this suggestion with supreme contempt. He prefers to accept the identification of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K. p. 39) with a place in Idzumo. Other parts of the world also boast entrances to the lower regions. The Chinese have one at Têng-chow, and the Roman and Greek legends need not be more particularly referred to.

[6] Yomi-gate-block-great-God

[7] Road-turn-back.

[8] Izanagi's ablutions are typical of the ceremonial lustration required after contact with death. A Chinese traveller to Japan in the early centuries of the Christian era noted that "when the funeral is over the whole family go into the water and wash." Ovid makes Juno undergo lustration after a visit to the lower regions, and Dante is washed in Lethe when he passes out of Purgatory. For lustration as a widespread practice, consult Dr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p 435, *et seqq.*

[9] Eighty-evils-of-body. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 41.

there were produced Deities named Kami-nawo-bi no Kami, and after him Oho-nawo-bi[1] no Kami.

Moreover, the Deities which were produced by his plunging down and washing in the bottom of the sea were called Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi[2] no Mikoto and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. Moreover, when he plunged and washed in the mid-tide, there were Gods produced who were called Naka[3] tsu wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and next Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto.[4] Moreover, when he washed floating on the surface of the water, Gods were produced, who were called Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto and next Uha[5]-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. There were in all nine Gods. The Gods Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto are the three great Gods of Suminoye. The Gods Soko-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, Naka-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto are the Gods worshipped[6] by the Muraji of Adzumi.[7]

Thereafter, a Deity was produced by his washing his

[1] Nawo is the root of a verb nawosu, to remedy.

[2] Bottom-sea-of-body. [3] Middle-sea-god.

[4] Middle-elder-male. [5] Uha means upper.

[6] As appears from the parallel passage of the "Kojiki," this is a case of ancestor worship, not, it will be observed, of the immediate ancestors, as in China, but of a remote mythical ancestor who is a Deity, as his name indicates.

[7] Adzumi no Muraji is a title corresponding exactly to such English titles as "Duke of Wellington," Adzumi being the name of a place and Muraji a title of honour. It is derived from mura, a village or assemblage, and ushi, master. These titles, called Uji or Kabane, though Kabane is properly the second or honorary element, were in their origin simply official designations, and in the "Nihongi" we frequently meet with cases where the office and the title are united in the same person. They were, however, hereditary, and by degrees the mere honorary element prevailed. It too, ultimately vanished, these titles becoming simply surnames to which no particular distinction was attached. Japanese writers, the author of the "Nihongi" with the rest, have, for want of a more appropriate character, identified them with the Chinese 姓 or surname, which is only true of a period later than the time covered by the "Nihongi." There was also a personal name (na), but the ancient Japanese seem to have had no proper surnames, although the Uji answered the same purpose in a rough way.

I. 22. left eye, which was called Ama-terasu-no-oho-Kami.[1] Then he washed his right eye, producing thereby a Deity who was called Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto.[2] Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a God who was called Sosa no wo no Mikoto. In all there were three Deities. Then Izanagi no Mikoto gave charge to his three children, saying, "Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule the plain of High Heaven: do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the ocean plain: do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, rule the world." At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was already of full age. He had, moreover, grown a beard eight spans long. Nevertheless, he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Therefore Izanagi no Mikoto inquired of him, saying, "Why dost thou continually weep in this way?" He answered and said, "I wish to follow my mother to the Nether Land, and it is simply for that reason that I weep." Then Izanagi no Mikoto was filled with detestation of him, and said, "Go, even as thy heart bids thee." So he forthwith drove him away.

I. 23. In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto drew his sword and cut Kagutsuchi into three pieces. One of these

[1] The Sun-Goddess.

[2] The Moon-God. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku: "P'an-ku came into being in the Great Waste, his beginning is unknown. In dying, he gave birth to the existing material universe. His breath was transmuted into the wind and clouds, his voice into thunder, his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon: his four limbs and five extremities into the four quarters of the globe and the five great mountains, his blood into the rivers, his muscles and veins into the strata of the earth, his flesh into the soil etc."—Mayer's "Chinese Manual," p. 174. Note here that the Japanese myth gives precedence to the left over the right. This is a Chinese characteristic. Hirata rejects any identification of the two myths, pointing out that the sun is masculine in China and feminine in Japan. This is not conclusive. Such closely related nations as the English and Germans differ as to the sex which they ascribe to the sun, and Lang in his "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," points out that among the Australians, different tribes of the same race have different views of the sex of the sun and moon.

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Now by the roadside there grew a large peach tree,[1] at the foot of which Izanagi no Mikoto concealed himself. He accordingly took its fruit and flung it to the thunders, upon which the thunders all ran away. This was the origin of the practice of keeping off evil spirits by means of peaches. Then Izanagi flung down his staff, saying: 'The thunders may not come beyond this.' It (the staff) was called Funado no Kami, and was originally called Kunado no Ohoji.[2]

Of the so-called Eight Thunders, that which was on her head was called the Great Thunder; that which was on her breast was called the Fire-Thunder; that which was on her belly was called the Earth-Thunder; that which was on her back was called the Young-Thunder; that which was on her posteriors was called the Black-Thunder; that which was on her hand was called the Mountain-Thunder; that which was on her foot was called the Moor-Thunder; and that which was on her genitals was called the Cleaving-Thunder."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto followed after Izanami no Mikoto, and, arriving at the place where she was, spoke to her and said: 'I have come because I sorrowed for thee.' She answered and said, 'We are relations.[3] Do not thou look upon me.' Izanagi no Mikoto would not obey, but continued to look on her. Wherefore Izanami no Mikoto was ashamed and angry, and said, 'Thou hast seen my nakedness. Now I will in turn see thine.' Then Izanagi no Mikoto was ashamed, and prepared to depart. He did not, however, merely go away in silence, but said solemnly, 'Our relationship is severed.'[4] Again he said, 'I will not submit to be beaten

[1] Chinese legend also ascribes magical properties to the peach. Si Wang Mu, a fabulous being of the female sex, possessed a peach tree whose fruit conferred the gift of immortality. It has also the virtue of driving off the demons of disease. Staves and bows of peach-tree wood were used in the ceremony of oni-yarahi (sending away demons), performed on the last day of the year.

[2] Come-not-place-great-elder (or ancestor).

[3] Relations. The interlinear kana has *ugara*, i.e. the same uji or house.

[4] From the "Kiujiki" it would appear that this was the formula of divorce.

by a relation.'[1] And the God of the Spittle[2] which he thereupon spat out was called Haya-tama no wo.[3] Next the God of his purification was called Yomo-tsu-koto-saka no wo;[4] two gods in all. And when he came to contend with his younger sister at the Even Pass of Yomi, Izanagi no Mikoto said, 'It was weak of me at first to sorrow and mourn on account of a relation.'

Then said the Road-wardens of Yomi, 'We have a message for thee, as follows: 'I and thou have produced countries. Why should we seek to produce more? I shall stay in this land, and will not depart along with thee.' At this time Kukuri[5]-hime no Kami said something which Izanagi no Mikoto heard and approved, and she then vanished away.

But, having visited in person the Land of Yomi, he had I. 26.
brought on himself ill-luck. In order, therefore, to wash away the defilement, he visited the Aha gate[6] and the Haya-sufu-na[7] gate. But the tide in these two gates was exceeding strong. So he returned and took his way towards Wodo[8] in Tachibana. There he did his ablutions. At this time, entering the water, he blew out and produced Iha-tsu-tsu[9] no Mikoto; coming out of the water, he blew forth and produced Oho-nawo-bi[10] no Kami. Entering a second time, he blew out and produced Soko-tsutsu[11] no Mikoto; coming out he blew forth and produced Oho-aya-tsu-bi[12] no Kami. Entering again, he blew forth

[1] Referring to the threat of slaying 1000 people in one day, and the counter-threat of making 1500 children to be born in one day.

[2] A Japanese authority says that at the present time spitting is essential in the purification ceremony. Another says, "This is the reason why at the present day people spit when they see anything impure." Cf. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 103; Vol. II., p. 441.

[3] Quick-jewel-male. [4] Yomi-of-thing-divide-male.

[5] Hirata derives this from *kiki*, hear, and *iri*, enter, the meaning being that of mediation.

[6] Now known as the Naruto passage, a strait famous for its rapid tides.

[7] Quick suck-name. In the Bungo Channel.

[8] Little-gate. [9] Rock-of-elder.

[10] Great-remedy-person. [11] Bottom-elder.

[12] Great-pattern-of-person

and produced Aka-tsutsu[1] no Mikoto, and coming out he blew out and produced the various deities of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea-plain."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto charged his three children, saying, 'Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule over the plain of High Heaven; do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, be associated with her in the charge of Heavenly matters; do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, govern the plain of Ocean.'

Now when Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was already in Heaven, she said:—'I hear that in the Central country of reed-plains there is the Deity Uke-mochi no Kami.[2] Do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, go and wait upon her.' Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, on receiving this command, descended and went to the place where Uke-mochi no Kami was. Thereupon Uke-mochi no Kami turned her head towards the land, and forthwith from her mouth there came boiled rice: she faced the sea, and again there came from her
I. 27. mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. She faced the mountains and again there came from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. These things were all prepared and set out on one hundred tables for his entertainment. Then Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto became flushed with anger, and said:—'Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth.' So he drew his sword and slew her, and then returned and made his report, relating all the circumstances. Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was exceedingly angry, and said:—'Thou art a wicked Deity. I must not see thee face to face.' So they were separated by one day and one night, and dwelt apart.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami sent a second time Ame-kuma-bito[3] to go and see her. At this time Uke-mochi no Kami was truly dead already. But on the crown of her head there had been produced the ox and the horse;

[1] Red-elder. [2] The Goddess of food.

[3] Written "Heaven-bear-man." The real meaning is supposed to be Heaven-cloud (kumo)-man, the clouds being regarded as messengers of the Gods.

on the top of her forehead there had been produced millet; over her eyebrows there had been produced the silk-worm; within her eyes there had been produced panic; in her belly there had been produced rice; in her genitals there had been produced wheat, large beans[1] and small beans.[2]

Ame-kuma-bito carried all these things and delivered them to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, who was rejoiced, and said:—'These are the things which the race of visible[3] men will eat and live.' So she made the millet, the panic, the I. 28.
wheat, and the beans the seed for the dry fields, and the rice she made the seed for the water-fields. Therefore she appointed a Mura-gimi[4] of Heaven, and forthwith sowed for the first time the rice-seed in the narrow fields and in the long fields of Heaven. That autumn, drooping ears bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on.

Moreover she took the silkworms in her mouth, and succeeded in reeling thread from them. From this began the art of silkworm rearing."[5]

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made petition, saying:—"I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever." Permission was granted him, and he therefore ascended to Heaven.

After this, Izanagi no Mikoto, his divine task having been

[1] Soja hispida. Hepburn.

[2] Phaseolus radiatus. Hepburn. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku quoted above. There are Indian and Iranian myths of a similar character. See "T.R.A.S.," Jan., 1895, p. 202. "Creation from the fragments of a fabulous anthropomorphic being is common to Chaldæans, Iroquois, Egyptians, Greeks, Tinnehs, Mangaians, and Aryan Indians." Lang, "Myth, Religion, Ritual," I. 246.

[3] As opposed to the unseen gods. [4] Village-chief.

[5] The "Kojiki" makes Susa no wo to slay Uke-mochi no Mikoto, but the "Kiujiki" agrees with the version just given, which is more likely to be the original form of the story, as it is an explanation of the reason why the sun and moon are not seen together, and has parallels in myths of other countries. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami (now called Ten-shō-dai-jin) and Ukemochi no Kami are the two principal Deities worshipped at Ise. See Satow's "Handbook of Japan," pp. 175, 176.

accomplished, and his spirit-career about to suffer a change, built himself an abode of gloom in the island of Ahaji, where he dwelt for ever in silence and concealment.

Another account says:—"Izanagi no Mikoto, his task having been accomplished, and his power great, ascended to Heaven and made report of his mission. There he dwelt
I. 29. in the smaller palace of the Sun." (*By smaller palace is meant the palace of a prince.*)

Now at first when Sosa no wo no Mikoto went up to Heaven, by reason of the fierceness of his divine nature there was a commotion in the sea, and the hills and mountains groaned aloud. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, knowing the violence and wickedness of this Deity, was startled and changed countenance, when she heard the manner of his coming. She said (to herself):—"Is my younger brother coming with good intentions? I think it must be his purpose to rob me of my kingdom. By the charge which our parents gave to their children, each of us has his own allotted limits. Why, therefore, does he reject the kingdom to which he should proceed, and make bold to come spying here?" So she bound up her hair into knots[1] and tied up her skirts into the form of trowsers. Then she took an
I. 30. august string of five hundred Yasaka[2] jewels, which she entwined around her hair and wrists. Moreover, on her back she slung a thousand-arrow quiver and a five-hundred-arrow quiver. On her lower arm she drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad.[3] Brandishing her bow end upwards,[4] she firmly grasped her

[1] In male fashion.

[2] This word has given much difficulty to the commentators. It is written with characters which mean "eight feet," and this is accepted by some as the true derivation. Hirata makes it ya, very, sa, a honorific, and aka, bright. Perhaps the best interpretation is simply that which makes it the name of the place where the jewels, or rather beads, were made. Ya-saka would then mean eight-slopes. A place of this name is mentioned more than once in the "Nihongi." See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 46, and Satow's "Rituals."

[3] In Japanese, tomo. This was partly for the protection of the arm against the recoil of the bow-string, and partly in order to produce a terrifying sound when struck by it. Its shape (like a comma) is familiar to us from the well-known tomoye, the symbol so constantly met with in Japanese art, in which two or three tomo are joined together. There it represents the in and yô, or the in, yō and taiki.

[4] In the position for shooting.

sword-hilt, and stamping on the hard earth of the courtyard, sank her thighs into it as if it had been foam-snow,[1] and kicked it in all directions. Having thus put forth her dread manly valour, she uttered a mighty cry of defiance, and questioned him in a straightforward manner. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—"From the beginning my heart has no been black. But as in obedience to the stern behest of our parents, I am about to proceed for ever to the Nether Land, how could I bear to depart without having seen face to face thee my elder sister? It is for this reason that I have traversed on foot the clouds and mists and have come hither I. 31.
from afar. I am surprised that my elder sister should, on the contrary, put on so stern a countenance."

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?"[2] He answered and said:—"Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure."

Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked for Sosa no wo no Mikoto's ten-span sword, which she broke into three pieces, and rinsed in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing them with a crunching noise, she blew them away, and from the true-mist of her breath Gods were born. The first was named Ta-gori-bime, the next Tagi-tsu-bime, and the next Ichiki-shima-bime,[3] three daughters in all.

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto begged from Ama-terasu no Oho-kami the august string of 500 Yasaka jewels which was entwined in her hair and round her wrists, and rinsed it in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing it with a crunching noise, he blew it away, and from the true-mist of his breath there were Gods produced. The first was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-

[1] i.e. snow of as little consistence as foam.

[2] i. e. The purity of thine intentions.

[3] The first two of these three names are of doubtful meaning. The third is the name of a sacred island in the Inland Sea, near Hiroshima, better known as Miya-jima. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48.

kachi-hayabi-ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto,[1] and the next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto.[2] This is the ancestor of the Idzumo
I. 32. no Omi, and of the Hashi no Muraji.[3] The next was Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto.[4] He was the ancestor of the Ohoshi-kafuchi no Atahe, and of the Yamashiro no Atahe.[5] The next was Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto,[6] and the next Kumano no kusu-bi[7] no Mikoto—in all five males.[8]

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami said:—"Their seed was in the beginning the august necklace of 500 Yasaka jewels which belonged to me. Therefore these five male Deities are all my children." So she took these children and brought them up. Moreover she said:—"The ten-span sword belonged to thee, Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Therefore these three female Deities are all thy children." So she delivered them to Sosa no wo no
I. 33. Mikoto. These are the deities which are worshipped by the Munagata no Kimi of Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess, aware from the beginning of the fierce and relentless purpose of Sosa no wo no Mikoto, said (to herself) when he ascended: 'The coming of my younger brother is not for a good object. He surely means to rob me of my Plain of Heaven.' So she made manly warlike preparation, girding upon her a ten-span sword, a nine-span sword, and an eight-span sword. Moreover, on her back she slung a quiver, and on her fore-arm drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad. In

Truly-I-conquer-conquer-swiftness-heaven-of-great-great-august-person. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48. I take mimi to be composed of mi the honorific, and mi, body, person, which is also the termination of abstract nouns, as fukami, depth, and in this meaning frequently becomes *bi*, as in several names of Deities.

[2] Heaven-great-sun?

[3] Idzumo no Omi. Omi is a title of rank, probably derived from o, for oho, great, and mi, person. The Chinese character with which it is written means minister or vassal. Hashi no Muraji. Muraji is explained above, p. 27. Hashi, which is also read Hanishi, Hase, or Haji, means clay-worker. For the origin of this title see below, reign of Suinin, 32nd year.

[4] Heaven prince—honorific particle.

[5] Atahe is a title of nobility, like Omi, Muraji, etc., but lower.

[6] Live-of-prince—honorific particle. [7] Name of place-of-wondrous-ness.

[8] These five, with the three female children mentioned above, are now worshipped under the name of Hachi-ō-ji, or the Eight Princes.

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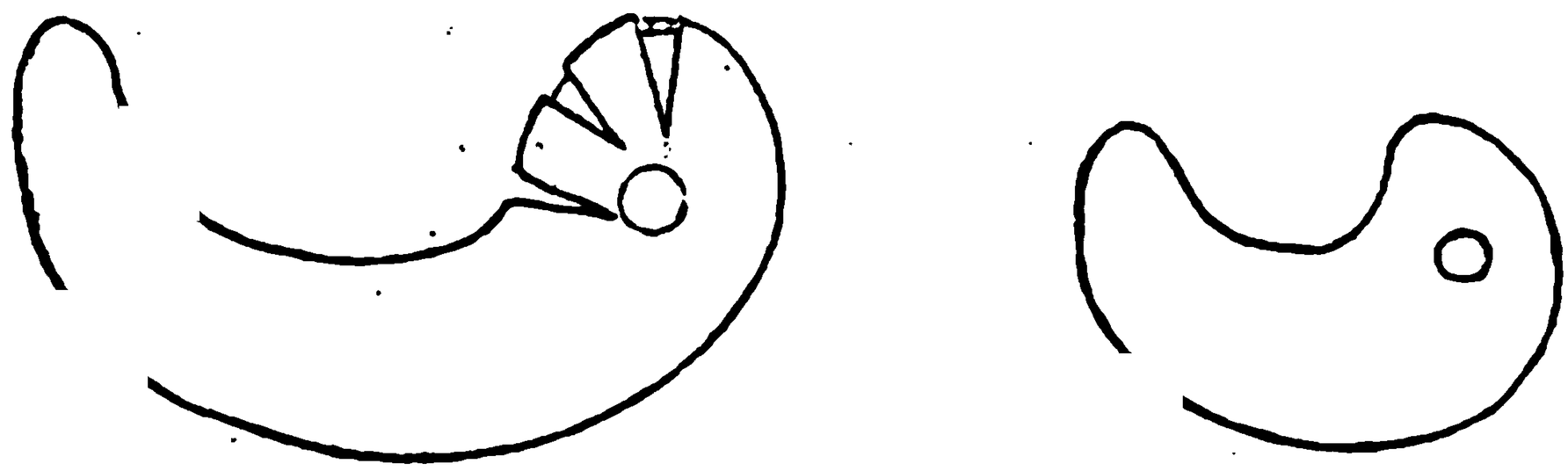
meet him and presented to him beautiful maga-tama[1] of Yasaka jewels. So Sosa no wo no Mikoto took these gems and went up to Heaven. At this time Ama-terasu



Magatama.

no Oho-kami, suspecting that the intentions of her younger brother were evil, prepared war and questioned him. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—'Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gem. I dare not have any other purpose.' Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked
L. 35. him again, saying:—'Wherewithal wilt thou prove to me whether thy words are true or false?' He answered and said:—'Let thee and me bind ourselves by an oath. If while we are bound by this oath, the children produced are females, my heart is to be accounted black, but if they are males, it is to be thought red.' So they dug three true-wells of Heaven and stood opposite to one another. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said:—'I am now about to give thee the sword which is in my girdle; do thou give me the curved jewels of Yasaka gem which thou hast.' Having thus covenanted they made a mutual exchange. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took the curved jewels of Yasaka gem, and having made them float on the true-well of Heaven, bit off the heads of the jewels and blew them away. The Deity which was produced from amidst her breath was called Ichiki-shima-hime no Mikoto. This is the Goddess who dwells in Oki-tsu miya. Again, a Deity was produced

[1] Maga-tama, curved jewels, are the comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones frequently seen in museums in Japan.

from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the middle parts of the jewels. This Deity was called Ta-gori-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in Naka-tsu miya. Again a Deity was produced from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the tails of the jewels. This Deity was called Tagi-tsu-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in He-tsu miya.[1] In all there were three female Deities.

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto, taking the sword which he held, and having made it to float on the surface of the True-Well of Heaven, bit off the end of the sword and blew it away. The Deities which were produced from amidst his breath were called Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, next Masa-ya-a katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi-ama-no oshi-ho-ne-no Mikoto, next Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Kumano no kusu-hi no Mikoto. In all there were five male Deities. Such is the story."

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess stood opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, separated from him by the Tranquil River of Heaven,[2] and established a covenant with him, saying, 'If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the I. 36
children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I will consider them my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven.' Hereupon the Sun-Goddess first ate her ten-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Oki-tsu-shima hime no Mikoto, also called Ichiki-shima hime no Mikoto. Next she ate her nine-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Tagi-tsu hime no Mikoto. Again she ate her eight-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Ta-giri hime no Mikoto. Upon this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto took in his mouth the string of 500 jewels which was entwined in the left knot of his hair, and placed it on the palm of his left hand, whereupon it became converted into a male child. He then said:—'Truly

[1] Oki-tsu miya means the "shrine of the offing;" Naka-tsu miya, the "middle shrine;" He-tsu miya, the "shrine of the shore." Ichiki-shima is the same as Itsuku shima, the sacred island near Hiroshima in the Inland Sea.

[2] The Milky Way.

I have won.' And the child was therefore called Katsu no haya-hi ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels of the right knot of his hair, and placed them on the palm of his right hand, when they became changed and produced the God Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels which hung round his neck and laid them on his left fore-arm, when they became changed and produced the God Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Moreover, from his right fore-arm there was produced the God Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Again from his left foot was produced the God Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto. Again from his right leg was produced Kumano no oshi-homi-no Mikoto, also called Kumano no oshi-sumi no Mikoto. The children produced by Sosa no wo no Mikoto were all male children. Therefore the Sun-Goddess knew exactly that Sosa no wo no Mikoto's intentions had been from the first honest. So these six male children were taken and made the children of the Sun-Goddess, and were caused to govern the Plain of Heaven. The three female Deities born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land.[1] They are now in the middle of the Northern Sea province, and are styled the Michi-nushi no
I. 37. Muchi.[2] These are the Deities which are worshipped by the Kimi of Minuma in Tsukushi."

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Ama-terasu no Oho-kami had made august rice-fields of Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts,[3] and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields. Again, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement

[1] Ashihara no Naka tsu kuni, i.e. Japan. The phrase Central Land is suspiciously like Chinese.

[2] Province-master—honoured ones or possessors.

[3] Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars. It is doubtful whether colt should be singular or plural.

in the New[1] Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred[2] weaving hall, engaged in weaving the garments of the Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant at this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.[3] I. 38.

[1] For the sake of greater purity in celebrating the festival.

[2] The Chinese character here translated sacred is 齋, the primary meaning of which is abstinence, fasting. In the "Nihongi," however, it represents the Japanese word ihahi (pronounced iwai). According to Hirata this contains the same root as imi, avoidance, especially religious avoidance of impurity, and had originally the same meaning. The yu of yu-niha, or sacred plot of ground where rice for the festival of first-fruits was grown, is the same root. But as a strict observance of conditions of ceremonial purity was a chief feature of the Shinto services, this word came to be put for religious rites generally, and the Chinese character is even used, if we may believe the interlinear gloss which renders it by ogami, for Buddhist celebrations. The usual modern meaning of ihahi is blessing, well-wishing, congratulation, where we have got a long way from the original sense of tabu, avoidance.

Ritual purity is of the very essence of Shinto. It applies to food, clothing, and language. There was in later times a special set of terms for certain Buddhist objects and ideas. It was probably to avoid contamination to the ordinary dwelling that special huts were erected for the consummation of marriage, and for childbirth. Death contaminated a house, and therefore a new one had to be erected on the decease of the owner, a practice which was long continued in the case of Imperial Palaces.

[3] Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is throughout the greater part of this narrative an anthropomorphic Deity, with little that is specially characteristic of her solar functions. Here, however, it is plainly the sun itself which withholds its light and leaves the world to darkness. This inconsistency, which has greatly exercised the native theologians (see Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," p. 50, reprint), is not peculiar to Japanese myth. Muir, in the introduction to Vol. V. of his "Sanskrit Texts," says :—"The same visible object was at different times regarded diversely as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being and a cosmical power. Thus in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth are severally considered, sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings." But this difficulty is inherent in all mythologies.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly Omohi-kane[1] no Kami, with profound device and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds[2] of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover he made Ta-jikara-wo[3] no Kami to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ame no Koyane[4] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji,[5] and Futo-dama no Mikoto,[6] ancestor of the Imibe[7]

[1] Thought-combining or thought-including.

[2] The cock is meant. [3] Hand-strength-male.

[4] Ko-yane is written with two characters which mean child and roof. Hirata ("Koshiden," Vol. XIII., p. 1) identifies this Deity with Omohi-kane no Mikoto, and endeavours to show that ko is for kokoro, heart. Ya, he thinks, is many, and ne a honorific. See also Ch. K., p. 56. I agree with Ch. that the meaning is obscure.

[5] Hirata and Motowori have written many pages on the derivation of Nakatomi. The former takes it to be for Naka-tori-mochi, which would give the meaning mediator, these officials being regarded as go-betweens for the Kimi, or sovereign, in his intercourse with the Kami. Perhaps it is safest to follow the Chinese characters which mean "middle-minister," in Japanese Naka-tsu-omi, tsu being a genitive particle. The Nakatomi would then be the ministers of middle rank, as opposed to Prime Ministers on the one hand, and underlings on the other. In historical times their duties were of a priestly character. Worship and government were closely associated in ancient times in more countries than Japan. Matsurigoto, government, is derived from matsuri, worship. It was they who recited the Harahi or purification rituals.

[6] Futo-dama, big-jewel.

[7] Imi-be or imbe is derived from imi, root of imu, to avoid, to shun, to practise religious abstinence, and *be*, a hereditary corporation. The original function of the Imibe will be understood from the following extract from a Chinese book written not long after the Christian Epoch:—"They (i.e. the Japanese) appoint a man whom they call an 'abstainer.' He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women. When they are fortunate they make him presents, but if they fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the 'abstainer's' failure to keep his vows, and together they put him to death." Compare with this the following paragraph from a recent American newspaper.

"AN UNLUCKY MEDICINE MAN.

Big Bob was a prominent member of the tribe, and claimed to be a "tenanimous" man, which, translated from the Chinook, means an Indian doctor. By Indian superstition a "tenanimous" man is held responsible if

no Obito, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki[1] I. 39.
tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu.[2] On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand[3] mirror.

any general calamity befalls the tribe. Things had not been going well with the Swinomish Indians for some time. There was much sickness among them, and Big Bob was regarded as responsible for it. So at a meeting of the tribe four Indians were appointed to execute him. The day upon which the murder took place Big Bob was waylaid by four assassins, who seized him, held him, and cut his throat from ear to ear. The red men were arrested and bound over for murder by the Justice of the Peace of Laconner."

In the "Nihongi" times the Imibe occupied a subordinate position in performing the ceremonies of Shinto, and at a still later period this term became a mere surname. *Vide* Satow, "Ancient Rituals," in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VII, Pt. II., p. 126'

The Be, or hereditary corporations, were a peculiar institution of Old Japan. This term has been rather inadequately rendered by clan, tribe, or guild. But they differed from clans, as it was not even supposed that there was any tie of blood-relationship between the various classes of members. And if we call them guilds we lose sight of their hereditary character, and of the fact that they were essentially branches of the Government. Perhaps if we imagine the staff of one of our dockyards in which the director and officials should be drawn from the governing class, the artisans being serfs, and the whole having a more or less hereditary character, we shall have a tolerable idea of a Be. The origin of some, as of the Imibe, is lost in antiquity, but many were instituted in historical times, and for all manner of objects. There were Be of weavers (Oribe), of figured-stuff weavers (Ayabe), of executioners (Osakabe), of fishers (Amabe), of farmers (Tanabe), of clay-workers (Hasebe or Hashibe), and many more. The sole function of some was to perpetuate the name of a childless Emperor or Empress. The local habitation of these corporations was also called Be, just as our word admiralty may mean either a body of officials or the building where they discharge their duties. This accounts for the frequency with which this termination occurs in names of places. A familiar example is Kobe, the open port in the Inland Sea. Kobe is for Kami-be, and meant originally the group of peasants allotted to the service of a Deity (of Ikuta?), and hence the village where they lived. A good number of Japanese surnames contain the same termination.

O-bito is a title of nobility, perhaps for Oho-bito, great man. It is represented by a Chinese character which means head or chief.

[1] The Sakaki or Cleyera Japonica, is the sacred tree of the Shinto religion. It is used in Shinto religious ceremonies at the present day.

[2] Mt. Kagu is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It is here supposed to have a counterpart in Heaven.

[3] In Japanese yata-kagami, which is literally "eight-hand mirror." The

One writing says Ma-futsu no Kagami.

On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings.[1] Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover Ama no Uzume[2] no Mikoto, ancestress of the
I. 40. Sarume[3] no Kimi, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance.[4] She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took club-moss and made of it braces,[5] she kindled fires,[6] she placed a tub bottom upwards,[7] and gave forth a divinely-inspired utterance.[8]

word ta (for te, hand) may here be a measure of length, an explanation which is favoured by the Chinese character used for it in the "Nihongi." The hand is a hand's length, not a hand's breadth, as with us. The yata-kagami would therefore be "a mirror of large size."

There are ancient mirrors in Japan with a number of suzu or bells projecting round them, or of an octagonal shape, and I am disposed to think that the epithet yata has reference to this peculiarity, the corners or projections being taken for handles. Compare the analogous word Yatagarasu (Index).

It is said to be this mirror which is worshipped at Ise as an emblem of the Sun-Goddess. See Satow's "Handbook," second edit., p. 176.

[1] The blue were of hempen cloth, and the white of the paper-mulberry cloth. By blue probably the colour of undyed hempen stuff is meant. The Japanese word awo, blue, is used very loosely. Some take soft in the metaphorical sense of "propitiatory." These offerings are the originals of the Gohei, or strips of paper wreathed round a wand, which are now seen set up in every Shinto shrine.

[2] Terrible female of Heaven. [3] Monkey-female.

[4] This is said to be the origin of the Kagura or pantomimic dance now performed at Shinto festivals.

[5] The braces or shoulder straps were to support a tray for carrying things, and so assist the arms. The Japanese word is tasuki, which means assistance.

[6] A prototype of the nihabi (courtyard fires) of later Shinto worship.

[7] The "Nihongi" strangely omits to say that, as we learn from the "Kojiki," she danced on this and made it give out a sound.

[8] In Hirata's version of the ancient mythical narrative, he introduces here an incantation said in the "Kiujiki" to have been taught by the Sun-Goddess to Ninigi no Mikoto, but stated in the "Ko-go-jiui" to have come down originally from Uzume no Mikoto. It consists of the syllables Hito-futa-mi-yo-itsu-mu-nana-ya-kokono-tari, which Hirata has tried hard to extract some meaning out of. Hito, he says, is man, futa, the lid, i.e. the door of the rock-cave, miyo is the imperative of miru, to see, this phrase meaning "Look! ye Gods at the door!" and so on. That these words are now

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shut the Rock-door. Hereupon all under Heaven was in continual darkness, and there was no difference of day and night. Therefore the eighty myriads of Gods met in the
I. 42. High-market-place of Heaven and made inquiry. Now

there was Omohi-kane no Kami, son of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, who had a talent for devising plans. He accordingly considered the matter, and spoke, saying, 'Let there be made an image of this Goddess, and let prayer

be addressed to it.' They therefore proceeded to appoint Ishi-kori-dome,[1] as artisan, who, taking copper of the Mt. Kagu of Heaven, made therefrom a Sun-spear. Moreover, he stripped off in one piece the hide of a true stag, and made of it Heavenly bellows. The Goddess which he fashioned by this means is the Goddess Hi no mahe no Kami, who dwells in the province of Kiï."

In one writing it is said:—"The august Sun Goddess took an enclosed rice-field and made it her Imperial rice-field. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto, in spring, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions, and in autumn, when the grain was formed, he forthwith stretched round them division ropes.[2] Again when the Sun-Goddess was in her Weaving-Hall, he flayed alive a piebald colt and flung it into the Hall. In all these various matters his conduct was rude in the highest degree. Nevertheless, the Sun-Goddess, out of her friendship for him, was not indignant or resentful, but took everything calmly and with forbearance. I. 43.

When the time came for the Sun-Goddess to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, Sosa no wo no Mikoto secretly voided excrement under her august seat in the New Palace.[3] The Sun-Goddess, not knowing this, went straight there and took her seat. Accordingly the Sun-Goddess drew herself up, and was sickened. She therefore was enraged, and straightway took up her abode in the Rock-cave of Heaven, and fastened its Rock-door.

Then all the Gods were grieved at this, and forthwith caused Ama no nuka-do no Kami, the ancestor of the Be of mirror-makers, to make a mirror, Futo-dama, the ancestor of the Imibe, to make offerings,[4] and Toyo-tama,[5] the ancestor of the Be of jewel-makers, to make jewels. They also caused Yama-tsuchi[6] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched true sakaki tree, and Nu-dzuchi[7] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched suzuki grass. When all these various

[1] The meaning is doubtful, as also whether this Deity is a God or a Goddess.

[2] i.e. ropes drawn along the divisions of the rice-fields in token of ownership.

[3] See above, p. 41.

[4] Of cloth. [5] Rich-jewel. [6] Mountain-god. [7] Moor-god.

objects were collected, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the
I. 44. ancestor of the Nakatomi, recited a liturgy in honour of the Deity. Then the Sun-Goddess opened the Rock-door and came out. At this time, when the mirror was put into the Rock-cave, it struck against the door and received a slight flaw, which remains until this day. This is the great Deity worshipped at Ise. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto was convicted, and fined in the articles required for the ceremony of purification. Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck of the tips of his fingers, and the things abhorrent of calamity of the tips of his toes.[1] Again, of his spittle he made white soft offerings, and of his nose-mucus he made blue soft offerings, with which the purification service was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine banishment."

I. 45. In one writing it is said:—"After this the Sun-Goddess had three rice-fields, which were called the Easy[2] Rice-field of Heaven, the Level Rice-field of Heaven, and the Village-join[3] Rice-field of Heaven. All these were good rice-fields, and never suffered even after continuous rain or drought. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto had also three rice-fields, which were called the Pile-field of Heaven,[4] the River-border[5] Field of Heaven, and the Mouth-Sharp[6] Field of Heaven. All these were barren places. In the rains, the soil was swept away, and in droughts it was parched up. Therefore, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was jealous and destroyed his elder sister's rice-fields. In spring, he knocked away the pipes and troughs, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions. He also sowed seed over again. In autumn, he set up combs,[7] and

[1] No very satisfactory explanation is given by the commentators of this sentence. Hirata understands the things abhorrent of luck, etc., to be things required for the purification service.

[2] Easy to cultivate, says the "Shukai" editor.

[3] Mura-ahase, a term of doubtful meaning. Motowori suggests that for ahase we should read yori. The meaning then would be rice-fields adjoining the village. Accommodation land, as we should say.

[4] Obstructed with stumps of wood.

[5] Exposed to inundation. [6] Exposed to drought?

[7] The "Shiki" explains that combs were stuck up in the rice-fields with

made horses lie down in the rice-fields. Notwithstanding all these wicked doings, which went on incessantly, the Sun-Goddess was not indignant, but treated him always with calmness and forbearance, etc., etc.

When the Sun-Goddess came to shut herself up in the Rock-cave of Heaven, all the Gods sent the child of Kogoto Musubi, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, and made him recite a liturgy. Hereupon Ama no Koyane no Mikoto rooted up a true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu and hung upon its upper branches a mirror of eight hands, made by the ancestor of the mirror-makers, Ono-kori-dome, a child of Ama no Nukado; on the middle branches he hung curved[1] jewels of Yasaka gem made by the ancestor of the jewel-makers, Ama no Akaru-dama, a child of Izanagi no Mikoto. On the lower branches he hung tree-fibre[2] made by Ama-no Hi-washi, the ancestor of the Imbe of the province of Aha. Futo-dama no Mikoto, ancestor of the Imbe no Obito, was thereupon made to take these things in his hand, and, with lavish and earnest words of praise, to recite a liturgy. I. 46.

When the Sun-Goddess heard this, she said:—'Though of late many prayers have been addressed to me, of none has the language been so beautiful as this.' So she opened a little the Rock-door and peeped out. Thereupon the God Ama no Tajikara-wo no Kami, who was waiting beside the Rock-door, forthwith pulled it open, and the radiance of the Sun-Goddess filled the universe. Therefore all the Gods rejoiced greatly, and imposed on Sosa no wo no Mikoto a fine of a thousand tables of (articles of) purification.[3] Of the nails of his hands they made things abhorrent I. 47

words of incantation, so that if anyone wrongly claimed the fields he might be destroyed. "The present custom of setting up combs in rice-fields whose ownership is disputed arose perhaps from this."

[1] The curved jewels are the well-known maga-tama, numbers of which have been preserved. They are made of chalcedony, jasper, nephrite, chrysophrase, serpentine, steatite, crystal, etc. Some of these materials are not found in Japan.

[2] Made of the bark of the paper-mulberry.

[3] The word *harahi* or *harahe* not only means purification, but an in-

of luck, and of the nails of his feet they made things abhorrent of calamity. Then they caused Ama no Koyane no Mikoto to take charge of his Great Purification Liturgy, and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the world are careful in the disposal of their own nails.[1]

After this, all the Gods upbraided Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Thy conduct has been in the highest degree improper. Thou must, therefore, not dwell in Heaven. Nor must thou dwell in the Central Reed-Plain Land. Thou must go speedily to the Bottom Nether Land.'[2] So together they drove him away downwards. Now this was at the time of continuous rains. Sosa no wo no Mikoto bound together green grass, and made of it a broad hat and rain-coat, and in this garb asked a lodging of the assembled Gods. They said:—'Thy behaviour has been filthy and wicked, and therefore thou hast been banished. How canst thou ask of us a lodging?' In the end they unanimously repulsed him. Therefore, although the wind and rain were very violent, he was unable to find a resting-place, and went downwards, suffering bitterly. Ever since that time all the world has avoided entering the house of another wearing a broad hat and a grass rain-coat, or bearing a bundle of grass on the back. For a breach of
I. 48. these rules an expiatory fine is certainly imposed. This is an institution which has come down to us from remote antiquity.

After this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'All the Gods have banished me, and I am now about to depart for ever. Why should I not see my elder sister face to face; and why take it on me of my own accord to depart without more ado?' So he again ascended to Heaven, disturbing Heaven and disturbing Earth. Now Ame no Uzume, seeing this, reported it to the Sun-Goddess. The Sun-Goddess said:—'My younger brother has no good purpose in coming up.

demnity or "damages" paid by an offender. "Expiatory fine" would, perhaps, be a good rendering here. See Index—Purgation.

[1] Referring to a superstition, not confined to Japan, as to cutting the nails on particular days and burying the parings.

[2] Yomi, or Hades.

It is surely because he wishes to rob me of my kingdom. Though I am a woman, why should I shrink?' So she arrayed herself in martial garb, etc., etc.

Thereupon Sosa no wo no Mikoto swore to her, and said:—'If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must be sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in that case they must be made to rule the Heavens. The same oath will also hold good as to the children produced by my elder sister.' In this way the Sun-Goddess first of all chewed her ten-span sword, etc., etc.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto straightway unwound, coil after coil, the complete string of five hundred jewels entwined in the right knot of his hair. The jewels chinked as he rinsed them on the surface of the true well of Heaven. Then he chewed their ends, and laid them on his left palm, thus producing a child, who was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-haya-hi-ama-no-oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. After this he chewed the left jewels, and placing them on his right palm, produced a child, who was called Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, of the Musashi no Miyakko,[1] and of the Hashi no Muraji. There was next produced Ama tsu hikone no Mikoto, the ancestor of the I. 49.
Mubaraki[2] no Miyakko and of the Nukada Be no Muraji. Next was produced Iku-me tsu hikone no Mikoto, and next Kumano no Oho-sumi no Mikoto—in all six male Deities. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto spoke to the Sun-Goddess, and said:—'The reason why I came up a second time was that, having been condemned by the assembled Gods to banishment to the Nether Land, and being about to take my departure thither, I could never bear to become separated from my elder sister without having seen her face to face. Therefore it is truly with a pure heart, and not otherwise, that I came up again. Now that our interview is over, I must return hence for ever to the Nether

[1] Or Miya-tsu-ko, originally provincial governors, afterwards hereditary local nobles.

[2] In Hitachi.

Land, in obedience to the Divine behest of the assembled Deities. I pray that my elder sister may illuminate the Land of Heaven, and that it may spontaneously enjoy tranquillity. Moreover, I deliver to my elder sister the children which, with a pure heart, I have produced.' Having done so, he returned downwards."

Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto descended from Heaven and proceeded to the head-waters of the River Hi, in the province
I. 50. of Idzumo. At this time he heard a sound of weeping at the head-waters of the river, and he therefore went in search of the sound. He found there an old man and an old woman. Between them was set a young girl, whom they were caressing and lamenting over. Sosa no wo no Mikoto asked them, saying:—"Who are ye, and why do ye lament thus?" The answer was:—"I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Ashi-nadzuchi.[1] My wife's name is Te-nadzuchi.[2] This girl is our daughter, and her name is Kushi-nada-hime.[3] The reason of our weeping is that formerly we had eight children, daughters. But they have been devoured year after year by an eight[4]-forked serpent, and now the time approaches for this girl to be devoured. There is no means of escape for her, and
I 51. therefore do we grieve." Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"If that is so, wilt thou give me thy daughter?" He replied, and said:—"I will comply with thy behest and give her to thee." Therefore Sosa no wo no Mikoto on the spot changed Kushi-nada-hime into a many-toothed close-comb, which he stuck in the august knot of his hair. Then he made Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-nadzuchi to brew eight-fold sake, to make eight cupboards, in each of them to set a tub filled with sake,[5] and so to

[1] Foot-stroke-elder.

[2] Hand-stroke-elder. These names refer to the caressing of the young girl by her parents.

[3] Kushi-nada-hime. Wondrous Inada-princess.

[4] Eight—in Japanese yatsu. This word is here used as a numeral. But in many places in the old Japanese literature it must be taken in what I regard as its primary sense of "many," "several," as in the word yatagarasu—the many-handed crow—which had really only three claws. In Corean the word yörö, which means many, is, I think, the same root that we have in yöl, ten—words which are probably identical with the Japanese yatsu. The Japanese word yorodzu, myriad, belongs to the same group.

[5] Sake is an intoxicating liquor brewed from rice.

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They form a manifold fence—
Ah ! that manifold fence ! "[1]

Thereupon they had intercourse together,[2] and a child was born named Oho-na-muchi[3] no Kami.

He (Sosa no wo) accordingly spake, and said:—"The masters of my son's Palace[4] are Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-

[1] In the original—

Ya-kumo tatsu
Idzu-mo ya-he-gaki :
Tsuma-gome ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru—
Sono ya-he-gaki wo !

This poem is also given in the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 64), with the slight variant of tsuma-gomi for tsuma-gome in the third line, which makes it intransitive instead of transitive. Idzumo is written with two characters which mean "issuing clouds," as if it were idzuru kumo. The poem no doubt alludes to this meaning and also to the name of the province, but it seems probable that the primary signification of idzumo here is that given in the translation. The true derivation of Idzumo, as the name of the province, is probably idzu, sacred, and mo, quarter. Idzu-mo is for idzure-mo, as so-mo is for sore-mo. It has the same meaning, I think, in a poem given below ("Reign of Kenzō," xv. 11).

This verse of poetry is undoubtedly old, but the regularity of the metre which is a tanka (short poetry) of thirty-one syllables, and its allusive character, point to a somewhat later date than many of the other poems contained in the "Nihongi." The fact that it is here relegated to a note is some corroboration of this view.

The poems in this work are translated so that a line of the English version corresponds to a line of Japanese, but it has not always been possible to preserve the original order of the lines.

[2] The interlinear version has kumi-do ni mito no makuai shite. Kumi-do is no doubt the special nuptial hut above referred to. Mito is "august-place" according to Hirata, and is another word for the kumi-do. This phrase, which is taken from the "Kojiki," probably denotes legitimate nuptial, as opposed to casual intercourse. But the Chinese original has nothing of the sort.

It has been already observed that the erection of a special building for the consummation of the marriage had a ceremonial as well as a practical significance.

[3] Or Oho-na-muji, or Oho-na-mochi, Great-name-possessor. This Deity, one of the most prominent of the Japanese Pantheon, has numerous names (Hirata mentions seven). The derivation is not quite clear. See Ch. K., p. 67.

[4] The same word (miya) means also shrine.

nadzuchi. I therefore grant to these two Deities the designation of Inada no Miya-nushi[1] no Kami."

Having done so, Sosa no wo no Mikoto at length proceeded to the Nether Land.

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto, having descended from Heaven, came to the head-waters of the river Hi, in Idzumo. There he saw Inada-hime, the daughter of Susa no yatsu-mimi,[2] Master of the Shrine of Inada. He had connubial relations with her, and a child was born, styled Suga no yu-yama-nushi[3] Mitsu-na-saro-hiko-yama-shino."[4]

One version has Suga no Kake-na Saka-karu-hiko-ya-shima[5] no Mikoto.

Another has:—"Suga no yu-yama-nushi Mitsu-na-saro-hiko ya-shima-no.[6] The descendant of this God in the fifth generation was Oho-kuni-nushi no Kami."[7]

In one writing it is said:—"At this time Sosa no wo no Mikoto went down and came to the head-waters of the River Ye, in the province of Aki. There was there a God whose name was Ashi-nadzu-te-nadzu.[8] His wife's name was Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi. This Deity was just then pregnant, and the husband and wife sorrowed together. So they informed Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Though we have had born to us many children, whenever one is born, an eight-forked serpent comes and devours it, and we have not been able to save one. We are now about to have another, and we fear that it also will be devoured. Therefore do we grieve.' Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith instructed them, saying:—'You I. 54.

[1] Shrine } Master.
Palace }

[2] Susa, name of place; yatsu, eight or many; mi, august; mi, body or abstract termination.

[3] Master of the hot-spring mountain of Suga.

[4] Three name-monkey (?) prince-mountain-bamboo-grass.

[5] Suga-of-attach-name-pass-light-prince-eight-island.

[6] Eight-island-moor.

[7] Great-country-master-god. Identified by Hirata with Oho-na-muji, also with one of the Shichi-fuku-jin, or Seven Gods of Happiness, named Dai-koku-sama.

[8] Foot-stroke-hand-stroke.

must take fruit of all kinds, and brew from it eight jars of sake, and I will kill the serpent for you.' The two Gods, in accordance with his instructions, prepared sake. When the time came for the child to be born, the serpent came indeed to the door, and was about to devour the child. But Sosa no wo no Mikoto addressed the serpent, and said:—'Thou art an Awful Deity. Can I dare to neglect to feast thee?' So he took the eight jars of sake, and poured one into each of its mouths. The serpent drank it up and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew his sword and slew it. When he came to sever its tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched. He split the tail open and examined it, when he found that inside it there was a sword. This sword is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi. It is now in the village of Ayuchi, in the province
I. 55. of Ohari. It is this Deity which is in the charge of the Hafuri[1] of Atsuta. The sword which slew the serpent is called Worochi no Ara-masa.[2] It is now at Isonokami.[3]

Afterwards the child who was born of Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi, namely Ina-gami Furu-kushi-nada-hime,[4] was removed to the upper waters of the river Hi, in the province of Idzumo, and brought up there. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made her his consort, and had by her a child, whose descendant in the sixth generation was Oho-na-muchi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto wished to favour[5] Kushi-nada-hime, and asked her of Ashinadzuchi and Tenadzuchi,[6] who replied, saying:—'We pray thee first to slay the serpent, and thereafter it will be good that thou shouldst favour her. This serpent has rock-firs growing on each of its heads; on each of its sides there is a mountain; it is a very fearful beast. How wilt thou set about to slay it?' Sosa no wo no Mikoto thereupon devised a plan. He brewed a poisonous

[1] Shintō priests. Atsuta is near Nagoya.
[2] Worochi means serpent; ara, rough; masa, true.
[3] In Bizen.
[4] True-hair-touch-wondrous-Inada-princess.
[5] I.e. to take to wife.
[6] Note that the mother as well as the father was consulted.

sake, which he gave it to drink. The serpent became drunk, and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith took his sword, called Worochi no Kara-sabi,[1] and severed I. 56.
its head and severed its belly. When he severed its tail, the edge of the sword was slightly notched, so he split the tail open and made examination. He found there another sword, which he called Kusa-nagi no Tsurugi. This sword was formerly with Sosa no wo no Mikoto. It is now in the province of Ohari. The sword with which Sosa no wo no Mikoto slew the serpent is now with the Kambe[2] of Kibi. The place where the serpent was slain is the mountain at the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was unmannerly. A fine was therefore imposed on him by all the Gods of a thousand tables, and he was driven into banishment. At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, accompanied by his son Iso-takeru[3] no Kami, descended to the Land of Silla,[4] where he dwelt at Soshi-mori.[5] There he lifted up his voice and said:—'I will not dwell in this land.' He at length took clay and made of it a boat, in which he embarked, and crossed over eastwards until he arrived at Mount Tori-kamu no Take, which is by the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo. Now there was in this place a serpent which devoured men. Sosa no wo no Mikoto accordingly took his sword, called Ama no Haye-kiri,[6] and slew this serpent. Now when he I. 57.

[1] Serpent's Kara-blade. Kara is that part of the present province of Kyöng-syang-do in Corea which lies S.W. of the Naktong River. But the word is used loosely for all Corea, and in modern times even for China. See Early Japanese History in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. XVI. Pt I., p. 43. It was called Mimana by the Japanese.

[2] The Kambe or Kami-be were the group of peasants charged with the care of a Shintō shrine.

[3] Fifty-courageous.

[4] The eastern of the three kingdoms into which Corea was formerly divided.

[5] This is the traditional Kana pronunciation. It is not clear whether this is the name of a person or a place. Mori may be the Corean moi, mountain.

[6] Fly-cutter.

cut the serpent's tail, the edge of his sword was notched. Thereupon he split open the tail, and on examination, found within it a divine sword. Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'I must not take this for my private use.' So he sent Ama no Fuki-ne no Kami, his descendant in the fifth generation, to deliver it up to Heaven. This is the sword now called Kusa-nagi.

Before this, when Iso-takeru no Kami descended from Heaven, he took down with him the seeds of trees in great quantity. However, he did not plant them in the land of Han,[1] but brought them all back again, and finally sowed them every one throughout the Great Eight-island-country, beginning with Tsukushi. Thus green mountains were produced. For this reason Iso-takeru no Mikoto was styled Isaoshi no Kami.[2] He is the Great Deity who dwells in the Land of Kiï."[3]

In one writing it is stated:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'In the region[4] of the Land of Han there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches. So he plucked out his beard and scattered it. Thereupon Cryptomerias were
I. 58. produced. Moreover, he plucked out the hairs of his breast, which became Thuyas.[5] The hairs of his buttocks became Podocarpi.[6] The hairs of his eye-brows became Camphor-trees. Having done so, he determined their uses. These two trees, viz. the Cryptomeria and the Camphor-tree, were to be made into floating riches;[7] the Thuya was to be used as timber for building fair palaces;[8] the Podocarpus was to form receptacles in which the visible race of man was to be laid in secluded burial-places. For their food he well sowed and made to grow all the eighty kinds of fruit.

Now the children of Sosa no wo no Mikoto were named Iso-takeru no Mikoto, with Oho-ya[9] tsu hime, his younger

[1] Corea. [2] The meritorious God. [3] Kiï or Ki means tree.
[4] Shima usually means island, but in this and other places must be rendered "region."
[5] A kind of pine. [6] Maki, a kind of pine.
[7] Ships. [8] Or Shintō shrines. [9] Great-house.

sister, and next Tsuma[1]-tsu-hime no Mikoto. All these three Deities also dispersed well the seeds of trees, and forthwith crossed over to the Land of Kiï.

Thereafter Sosa no wo no Mikoto dwelt on the Peak of Kuma-nari,[2] and eventually entered the Nether Land." I. 59.

In one writing it is said:—"Oho-kuni-nushi[3] no Kami is also called Oho-mono-nushi no Kami,[4] or else Kuni-dzukuri Oho-na-mochi[5] no Mikoto, or again Ashi-hara no Shiko-wo,[6] or Ya-chi-hoko[7] no Kami, or Oho-kuni-dama[8] no Kami, or Utsushi-kuni-dama[9] no Kami. His children were in all one hundred and eighty-one Deities.

Now Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto and Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, with united strength and one heart, constructed this sub-celestial world. Then, for the sake of the visible race of man as well as for beasts, they determined the method of healing diseases. They also, in order to do away with the calamities of birds, beasts, and creeping things, established means for their prevention and control.[10]

[1] Written with a Chinese character which means nail or hoof.

[2] Probably Mount Kumano in Idzumo. It adjoins the Suga mentioned above as the residence of Sosa no wo. See Index—Kuma-nari.

[3] Great-country-master.

[4] Great-thing-master.

[5] Country-make great-name-possessor.

[6] The ugly male of the reed-plain.

[7] Eight thousand spears.

[8] Great-country-jewel.

[9] Apparent-country-jewel.

[10] Calamities (wazahahi) are defined by Hirata as injuries which come to us from the unseen world.

By beasts wild beasts are meant. In addition to the real injuries caused by them, we must remember that in Japan all manner of imaginary effects are attributed to the enchantments of foxes and badgers.

One of the Norito (rituals) mentions calamities of birds flying in by the smoke-hole in the roof—perhaps because their droppings polluted the food which was being cooked.

The term hafu mushi (creeping things) includes both insects and reptiles. The stings of wasps, centipedes, and vipers are doubtless meant. The ancient Japanese houses, slight structures often built in pits, would be especially obnoxious to such calamities. Possibly also the injury to the crops and to domestic animals by insects and snakes may be referred to. It should be remembered, too, that the Japanese suppose many ailments, such as toothache and children's convulsions, to be owing to mushi, and these are no doubt to be included in the hafu mushi no wazahahi. Hirata remarks that it is the opinion of the men of the Western Ocean that by

The people enjoy the protection of these universally until the present day.

Before this Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto spake to Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, and said:—'May we not say that the country which we have made is well made?' Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto answered and said:—'In some parts it is complete and in others it is incomplete.' This conversation had doubtless a mysterious purport.

I. 60. Thereafter Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto went to Cape Kumano,[1] and eventually proceeded to the Everlasting Land.[2]

Another version is that he went to the island of Aha, where he climbed up a millet-stalk, and was thereupon jerked off, and went to the Everlasting Land.

After this, wherever there was in the land a part which was imperfect, Oho-na-mochi no Kami visited it by himself, and succeeded in repairing it. Coming at last to the province of Idzumo, he spake, and said:—'This Central Land of Reed-plains had been always waste and wild. The very rocks, trees and herbs were all given to violence. But I have now reduced them to submission, and there is none that is not compliant.' Therefore he said finally:—'It is I, and I alone, who now govern this Land. Is

examining ringworm (called in Japanese ta-mushi, i.e. rice-field insect), itch and other diseases under a microscope, it would appear that they are due to the presence of exceedingly small insects. It would also appear, he says, from a work recently published, that the human body is full of such animalcules.

The words "prevention and control" are rendered in the interlinear kana by Majinahi, i.e. witchcraft, including incantations, etc. Possibly the author had in mind the Oho-harahi, which deprecates "calamities of creeping things" and of "high birds." Here is a modern majinahi directed against hafu mushi. If you wish to keep your house free from ants, all you have to do is to put up a notice at the place where they come in, "Admittance, one cash each person." The economical ant goes no further.

Yamada in his dictionary defines majinahi as "the keeping off of calamity by the aid of the supernatural power of Gods and Buddhas."

[1] In Idzumo.

[2] Toko-yo no kuni. The Japanese scholar Arawi identifies this with a province in the East of Japan, now called Hitachi.

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had intercourse with Mizo-kuhi[1] hime of the island of Mishima (some call her Tama-kushi-hime), and had by her a child named Hime-tatara I-suzu-hime no Mikoto, who became the Empress of the Emperor Kami-Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi.[2]

Before this time, when Oho-na-mochi no Kami was pacifying the land, he went to Wobama in Isasa, in the province of Idzumo. He was just having some food and drink, when of a sudden there was heard a human voice from the surface of the sea. He was astonished, but on seeking for it there was nothing at all to be seen. After a while a dwarf appeared, who had made a boat of the rind of a kagami[3] and clothing of the feathers of a
I. 63. wren.[4] He came floating towards him on the tide, and Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto taking him up, placed him on the palm of his hand. He was playing with him, when the dwarf leaped up, and bit him on the cheek. He wondered at his appearance, and sent a messenger to report the matter to the Gods of Heaven. Now when Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto heard this, he said :—'The children whom I have produced number in all one thou-

cassia-tree mentioned in it is certainly Chinese." Is it possible that wani is for the Corean wang-i, i.e. "the King," *i* being the Corean definite particle, as in zeni, fumi, yagi, and other Chinese words which reached Japan *viâ* Corea? We have the same change of *ng* into *n* in the name of the Corean who taught Chinese to the Japanese Prince Imperial in Ojin Tennō's reign. It is Wang-in in Corean, but was pronounced Wani by the Japanese. Wani occurs several times as a proper name in the "Nihongi." Bear (in Japanese kuma) is no doubt an epithet indicating size, as in kuma-bachi, bear-bee or bear-wasp, i.e. a hornet; kuma-gera, a large kind of wood-pecker, etc.

[1] Mizo-kuhi means water-channel pile. Tama-kushi is jewel-comb.

[2] Otherwise called Jimmu Tennō. See below, beginning of Book III.

[3] Some plant, very likely having gourd-shaped fruit. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 85.

[4] The "Kojiki" says goose skins. The wren was no doubt substituted as more in accordance with the dwarfish stature of Sukuna-bikona.

Dr. Schlegel in his "Problèmes Géographiques" mentions a Chinese notice of a Han-ming-kuo, the inhabitants of which sew together skins of birds for clothing He identifies this country with the Kuriles, where modern travellers have found this to be the custom. The bird whose skins are thus used is the Procellaria gracilis (petrel).

sand and five hundred. Amongst them one was very wicked, and would not yield compliance to my instructions. He slipped through between my fingers and fell. This must be that child, let him be loved and nurtured.' This was no other than Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto." [1]

[1] Sukuna-bikona is a popular God at the present day. Hirata has devoted two volumes (the "Shidzu no ihaya") to a glorification of him as the inventor of medicine and of the art of brewing sake under the name of Kushi no Kami. The "Kojiki" relates his legend somewhat differently. See Ch. K., p. 85. Sukuna means small (in modern Japanese few) and bikona is honorific.

Hirata identifies Sukuna-bikona with Yebisu and Oho-na-mochi with Daikoku. See Anderson's B. M. Catalogue, p. 36. All these identifications, of which Hirata is profuse, are somewhat problematical.

BOOK II.

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART II.

MASA-YA-A-KATSU-KATSU-HAYA-HI AMA NO OSHI-HO-MI-MI NO MIKOTO, the son of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, took to wife Taku-hata[1]-chi-chi-hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. A child was born to them named Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto.[2] Therefore his august grandparent, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, treated him with special affection, and nurtured him with great regard. Eventually he desired to establish his august grandchild Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-ho-ninigi no Mikoto as the Lord of the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But in that Land there were numerous Deities which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which buzzed
II. 2. like flies. There were also trees and herbs all of which could speak. Therefore Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto assembled all the eighty Gods, and inquired of them, saying:—"I desire to have the evil Gods of the Central Land of Reed-Plains expelled and subdued. Whom is it meet that we should send for this purpose? I pray you, all ye Gods, conceal not your opinion." They all said:—"Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto is the most heroic among the Gods. Ought not he to be tried?"

Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto thereupon complied with the general advice, and made Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto to go and subdue them. This Deity, however, curried favour with Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, and three years passed without his making any report. Therefore his son Oho-se-ihi no Mikuma no ushi[3] (also called Take[4]-mikuma no ushi) was sent.

[1] Taku-hata, paper-mulberry loom (cloth).

[2] The interpretation of this name is doubtful. See Ch. K., p. 106.

[3] Great-husband-boiled-rice-of-Mikuma of master.

[4] Take, brave, is merely a honorific. It is prefixed to several names of Deities.

He, too, yielded compliance to his father, and never made II. 3.
any report. Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto therefore again summoned together all the Gods and inquired of them who should be sent. They all said:—"Ame-waka-hiko,[1] son of Ame no Kuni-dama.[2] He is a valorous person. Let him be tried." Hereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave Ame-waka-hiko a heavenly deer-bow and heavenly feathered arrows, and so despatched him. This God also was disloyal, and as soon as he arrived took to wife Shita-teru-hime,[3] the daughter of Utsushi-kuni-dama[4] (*also called Taka-hime or Waka-kuni-dama*). Accordingly he remained, and said:—"I, too, wish to govern the Central Land of Reed-Plains." He never reported the result of his mission. At this time, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, wondering why he was so long in coming and making his report, sent the pheasant Na-naki[5] to observe. The pheasant flew down and perched on the top of a many-branched cassia-tree which grew before Ame-waka-hiko's gate. Now Ama-no Sagu-me[6] saw this and told Ame-waka-hiko, saying:— II. 4.
"A strange bird has come and is perched on the top of the cassia-tree." Then Ame-waka-hiko took the heavenly deer-bow and the heavenly feathered arrows which had been given him by Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and shot the pheasant, so that it died. The arrow having passed through the pheasant's breast, came before where Taka-mi-musubi no Kami was sitting. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Kami seeing this arrow, said:—"This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. It is stained with blood, it may be because he has been fighting with the Earthly Deities." Thereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took up the arrow and flung it back down (to earth). This arrow, when it

[1] Heaven-young-prince. [2] Heaven-of-country-jewel.
[3] Lower-shine-princess. [4] Real-country-jewel.
[5] Na-naki. This word is written here as if the meaning were "nameless." But in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 95), characters are used which give it the sense of name-crying, i.e. calling out its own name. The old Japanese for pheasant is kigishi or kigisu. Comparing this with uguhisu (the Japanese nightingale), kakesu (the jay), kirigirisu (the grasshopper), karasu (the crow), and hototogisu (a kind of cuckoo), it becomes evident that kigisu is an onomatopoetic word. Su is for suru, to do. The Corean for a pheasant is kiong, no doubt also an onomatope.
[6] Heavenly-spying-woman.

fell, hit Ame-waka-hiko on the top of his breast. At this time Ame-waka-hiko was lying down after the feast of first-fruits, and when hit by the arrow died immediately. This was the origin of the general saying, "Fear a returning arrow."

The sound of the weeping and mourning of Ame-waka-hiko's
II. 5. wife Shita-teru-hime reached Heaven. At this time, Ame no Kuni-dama, hearing the voice of her crying, straightway knew that her husband, Ame-waka-hiko, was dead, and sent down a swift wind to bring the body up to Heaven. Forthwith a mortuary house was made, in which it was temporarily deposited. The river-geese were made the head-hanging bearers and broom-bearers.

One version is:—"The barn-door fowls were made head-hanging bearers, and the river-geese were made broom-bearers."

The sparrows were made pounding-women.

One version is:—"The river-geese were made head-hanging bearers and also broom-bearers, the kingfisher was made the representative of the deceased, the sparrows were made the pounding-women, and the wrens the mourners. Alto-
II. 6. gether the assembled birds were entrusted with the matter."

For eight days and eight nights they wept and sang dirges.[1]

[1] We have here a glimpse of the ancient Japanese funeral ceremonies.

"Head-hanging bearers" is a literal translation of the Chinese characters. The interlinear Kana renders them by the obsolete word kisari-mochi, of obscure meaning. An ancient commentator says that these were persons who accompanied the funeral, bearing on their heads food for the dead, which is perhaps correct. The brooms were probably for sweeping the road before the procession. The pounding-women pounded the rice for the guests, and perhaps also for the offerings to the deceased. By mourners are meant paid mourners.

To these Hirata adds from old books the wata-dzukuri or tree-fibre carders, the kites (the fibre being to fill up the vacant space in the coffin), and the fleshers (for food offered to the deceased), an office given to the crow. Compare also Ch. K., p. 97.

The student of folk-lore will not think it frivolous of me to cite here the English story of the Death and Burial of Cock Robin, where the birds officiate in various capacities at a funeral.

"Sang dirges." Hirata condemns this as a Chinese importation. He prefers the "Kojiki" version, which says that "they made merry," and explains that this was with the object of recalling the dead to life, perhaps in

Before this, when Ame-waka-hiko was in the Central Land of Reed-Plains, he was on terms of friendship with Aji-suki [1]-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and offered condolence on his decease. Now this God was exactly like in appearance to Ame-waka-hiko when he was alive, and therefore Ame-waka-hiko's parents, relations, wife, and children all said :—" Our Lord is still alive," and clung to his garments and to his girdle, partly rejoiced and partly distracted. Then Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami became flushed with anger and said :—" The way of friends is such that it is right that mutual condolence should be made. Therefore I have not been daunted by the pollution, but have come from afar to make mourning. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead person ? " So he drew his sword, Oho-hakari,[2] which he had in his girdle, and cut down the mortuary house, which fell to earth and became a mountain. It is now in the province of Mino, by the upper waters of the River Ayumi. This is the mountain of Moyama (mourning mountain). This is why people take care not to mistake a living for a dead person. II. 7.

After this, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto again assembled all the Gods that they might select some one to send to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. They all said :—" It will be well to send Futsu-nushi[3] no Kami, son of Iha-tsutsu no wo[4] and Iha-tsutsu no me, the children of Iha-saku-ne-saku[5] no Kami."

imitation of the Gods dancing and making merry in order to entice the Sun-Goddess from her rock-cave. Compare the following passage from a Chinese History of the Han (A.D. 25-220) Dynasty.

In Japan " Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come singing, dancing and making music."

The mortuary house was required for the temporary disposal of the dead, while the sepulchral mound with its megalithic chamber was being constructed. *Vide* Index—Misasagi.

[1] No satisfactory explanation of this name. [2] Great-leaf-mower.

[3] Futsu is explained by Hirata as an onomatopoetic word like the modern futtsuri for the abrupt snapping sound produced when anything is cleanly cut or broken off. Nushi means master.

[4] Iha-tsutsu. Iha is rock, tsutsu probably a honorific=elder. Wo is male ; me, female.

[5] Iha-saku means rock-split ; ne-saku, root-split.

Now there were certain Gods dwelling in the Rock-cave of Heaven, viz. Mika no Haya-hi[1] no Kami, son of Idzu no wo-bashiri[2] no Kami, Hi no Haya-hi no Kami, son of Mika no Haya-hi no Kami, and Take-mika-dzuchi no Kami,[3] son of Hi no Haya-hi no Kami. The latter God came forward and said:—"Is Futsu-nushi no Kami alone to be reckoned a hero? And am I not a hero?" His words were animated by a spirit of indignation. He was therefore associated with Futsu-nushi no Kami and made to subdue the Central Land of Reed-Plains. The two Gods thereupon descended and arrived at the Little Shore[4] of Itasa, in the Land of Idzumo. Then they drew their ten-span swords, and stuck them upside down in the earth, and sitting on their points questioned Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—"Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto wishes to send down his August Grandchild to preside over this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Gods to clear out and pacify it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?" Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—"I must ask my son before I reply to you." At this time his son Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami was absent on an excursion to Cape Miho in the Land of Idzumo, where he was amusing himself by angling for fish.

II. 8. Some say:—"He was amusing himself by catching birds."

He therefore took the many-handed boat of Kumano,

[Another name is the Heavenly Pigeon-boat.]

and placing on board of it his messenger, Inase-hagi,[5] he despatched him, and announced to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami the declaration of Taka-mi-musubi no Kami. He also inquired what language he should use in answer. Now Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami spoke to the messenger, and said:—"The Heavenly Deity has now addressed us this inquiry.[6] My father

[1] Mika is explained by Hirata as the same as ika, terrible; haya-hi means swift sun.

[2] Idzu no wo-bashiri, lit. dread-of-male-run.

[3] Take-mika-dzuchi. Take is brave. Mika-dzuchi is identified with ika-dzuchi, thunder.

[4] Wobama.

[5] Hirata points out the appropriateness of this name, which means "Yes or no?—shanks," to a messenger sent to ask a question.

[6] The Chinese character indicates a communication from an Emperor.

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fore they sent the Weaver-God Take-ha-dzuchi no Mikoto also, upon which he rendered submission. The two Gods therefore ascended to Heaven."

Ultimately they reported the result of their mission.

Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on his true couch, and casting it over his August Grandchild, Amatsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto, made him to descend. So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly Rock-seat, and with an awful[1] path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of
II. 10. So[2] in Hiuga.

After this the manner of the progress of the August Grandchild was as follows:—From the Floating Bridge of Heaven on the twin summits of Kushibi, he took his stand on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Then he traversed the desert land of Sojishi from the Hill of Hitawo in his search for a country, until he came to Cape Kasasa, in Ata-no-nagaya. A certain man of that land appeared and gave his name as Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa.[3] The August Grandchild inquired of him,
II. 11. saying:—"Is there a country, or not?" He answered, and said:—"There is here a country. I pray thee roam through it at thy pleasure." The August Grandchild therefore went there and took up his abode. Now there was a fair maid in that land whose name was Ka-ashi-tsu-hime.

[Also called Kami Ata-tsu-hime or Ko no hana no saku-ya-hime.[4]]

Take-ha-dzuchi is brave-leaf-elder. It is not clear that this Weaver-God is the same as the Weaver star.

[1] The interlinear gloss has idzu, an obsolete word which means awful, holy, sacred. It is, I would suggest, the same root which appears in the name of the province Idzu-mo and in Idzu-shi in Tajima, also a seat of Shintō worship. Mo means quarter, as in yomo, the four quarters, everywhere, and shi is for ishi, stone. See Index—Idzu.

[2] It is this word which forms the second part of Kumaso, the general name of the tribes which inhabited the south of Kiushiu.

[3] Thing-excel-country-excel. Long-narrow.

[4] These names mean respectively Deer-reed-of-princess, Deity (or upper) Ata-of-princess and Tree-of-flower-of-blossom-princess, i e. blossoming like the flowers of the trees. The last name is that by which she is called in the "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 115), and is the one best known.

The August Grandchild inquired of this fair maid, saying:—"Whose daughter art thou?" She answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden[1] is the child of a Heavenly Deity by his marriage with Oho-yama-tsu-mi Kami."

The August Grandchild accordingly favoured[2] her, whereupon in one night she became pregnant. But the August Grandchild was slow to believe this, and said:—"Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I cause any one to become pregnant in the space of one night? That which thou hast in thy bosom is assuredly not my child." Therefore Ka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth. She prepared a doorless[3] muro[4] (*called utsumuro*), and

[1] The use of the character meaning concubine as a pronoun of the first person fem. is a Chinese idiom. The interlinear Kana version has yakko, i.e. slave. Oho-yama-tsu-mi means the Great-mountain-body. Possibly it should be taken here as a common noun, a mountain Deity.

[2] i.e. married her.

[3] It appears from the "Kojiki" that after going in she plastered up the entrance.

[4] The character 室 which in Chinese means a house, a chamber, is, in the older Japanese literature, generally, if not invariably, used to represent the Japanese word muro. Another character used for this purpose is 窖, a cellar. The muro is distinguished from the ihe, or ordinary dwelling. What was the muro? This term is nowadays applied to a gardener's forcing-house, which in Japan consists of a pit four or five feet deep and roofed over. Hi-muro means an ice-house. If the ice-houses in Japan (see drawing in "San-sai-dzu-ye," IV., 19), so denominated, resemble those which I have seen at Yang-hwa-chin in Corea, they were pits sunk several feet below the surface of the ground and covered with a heavy thatched roof. At the foot of Mount Ohoyama there was to be seen, some years ago, a large rectangular pit, three or four feet in depth, with a thatched roof sloping to the ground, and no walls, which was occupied as a dwelling by the pilgrims to that mountain. There are also pits in Corea covered with thatch or strong oil-paper, which are used by the poorest classes as shelters. These are called um, or um-mak. Pit-dwellers are also mentioned in the old Chinese literature. The references to the muro in the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" show that the muro of those days had a similar character. We read of Tsuchi-gumo (earth-hiders, see Index) living in muro, of a muro being dug, and of steps (down) to a muro. That they were sometimes of considerable size is shown by the legend of Jimmu Tennō's reign, which speaks of 160 persons being in a muro at the same time. The pit was (at least in some cases) not simply roofed over, but contained a house with a wooden frame lashed together with cords of a creeping vine (dolichos), the walls having sedges or reeds for laths, and plastered with a mixture of grass and clay. The roof was

entering, dwelt therein. Then she made a solemn declaration, saying:—" If that which is in my bosom is not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, it will assuredly be destroyed by fire, but if it is really the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, fire

thatched with reeds. The muro had a door opening inwards, and contained a raised platform for sleeping on. A dwelling closely answering this description was actually unearthed near Akita in Dewa in 1807.

Muro were used in ancient times by the higher as well as by the poorest classes. Sosa no wo no Mikoto is said by the Idzumo Fudoki to have made himself a muro, and Jimmu Tennō's son is represented as sleeping in a great muro. In modern times muro sometimes means simply chamber.

Some writers confound the muro with the ihaya. So far as I am aware, the latter is used only of caverns in the rock, or of the artificial megalithic chambers contained in sepulchral mounds.

Mr. J. Milne, in an extremely interesting paper on the pit-dwellers of Yezo, read before the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1882, argues that certain pits discovered by him in large numbers in the islands of Yezo and Itorup were the dwellings of a pre-Aino race, whose modern representatives are to be found amongst the Kurilsky or their neighbours in Kamschatka and Saghalin. To these he gives the name of Koro-pok-guru, following an Aino tradition communicated to him by Mr. Batchelor.

On the other hand, I am informed by Baron A. von Siebold, who visited several of these groups of pits in Kusiro and the Kurile Islands, that,—

1. Their appearance is, in his opinion, not consonant with the great antiquity assigned to them by Mr. Milne's theory. It was especially noticeable that no large trees or even deep-rooted brushwood were found growing in or between the square pits.

2. They are arranged in a regular order more suggestive of a military encampment than of the abodes of a tribe of savages. They are all of the same size, except a few larger ones, which may have been occupied by officers. An earthwork near one of them was also suggestive of a military occupation.

3. The pits were carefully dug and found to contain fragments of burned wood, unglazed pottery, and what is more remarkable, a small Japanese sword (tantō) of comparatively modern manufacture.

4. The most important evidence, however, is the fact that the sites of these pits correspond in all the cases which Baron von Siebold was able to examine with those of the military encampments established in Yezo and the Kuriles by the Japanese Government about the beginning of the present century as a defence against the Russians. These encampments are marked on a Japanese map presented to Ph. Fr. von Siebold (the father) by a Court astronomer named Mogami Toknai, and published in Siebold's Atlas. The inference is obvious. In fact pit-dwelling in northern climates affords no indication of race. It has been seen that Chinese, Japanese, and Coreans may all be pit-dwellers on occasion, and the practice is by no means confined to this part of the world.

cannot harm it." So she set fire to the muro. The child which was born from the extremity of the smoke which first arose was called Ho no Susori no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Hayato*); next the child which was born when she drew back and remained away from the heat was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto; the child which was next born was called Ho no akari no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Wohari no Muraji*)—in all three children.[1] II. 12.

A long time after, Ama-tsu-hiko hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi[2] of Hiuga no ye in Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command unto Ame-waka-hiko, saying:—'The Central Land of Reed-Plains is a region which it is for my child to rule over. Considering, however, that there are there certain rebellious, violent and wicked Deities, do thou therefore go first and subdue it.' Accordingly she gave him the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true-deer-arrows, and so despatched him. Ame-waka-hiko, having received this command, went down and forthwith married many daughters of the Earthly Deities. Eight years passed, during which he made no report of his mission. Therefore Ama-terasu-no Oho-kami summoned Omohi-kane no Kami (the Thought-combiner) and inquired the reason why he did not come. Now the Thought-combining Deity reflected and informed her, saying:—'It will be well to send the pheasant to inquire into this.' Hereupon, in accordance with this God's device, the pheasant was caused to go and spy out the reason. The pheasant flew down and perched on the II. 13.
top of a many-branched cassia-tree before Ame-waka-hiko's

[1] The "Kojiki" gives these names differently. Ho no akari means fire-light. The other two are of doubtful interpretation. Perhaps Susori is from the word suso, skirt, and ho-ho-de may mean "go out from flames." This passage shows that the muro was used as an ubu-ya or parturition-house. It was the custom in ancient Japan for women to retire for their confinement to a temporary hut constructed for the purpose. Satow and Dickins found this practice still in vogue in the Island of Hachijō when they visited it in 1878. See "J. A. S. T.," vi. 3.

[2] See Index.

gate, where it uttered a cry, saying:—'Ama-waka-hiko! wherefore for the space of eight years hast thou still not made a report of thy mission?' Now a certain Earthly Goddess, named Ama-no-sagu-me, saw the pheasant, and said:—'A bird of evil cry is sitting on the top of this tree. It will be well to shoot it and kill it.' So Ame-waka-hiko took the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true deer-arrow given him by the Heavenly Deity and shot it, upon which the arrow went through the pheasant's breast, and finally reached the place where the Heavenly Deity was. Now the Heavenly Deity seeing the arrow, said:—'This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. Why has it come here?' So she took the arrow, and pronouncing a curse over it, said:—'If it has been shot with evil intent, let mischief surely come upon Ama-waka-hiko; but if it has been shot with a tranquil heart, let no harm befall him.' So she flung it back. It fell down and struck Ame-waka-hiko on the top of the breast, so that he straightway died. This is the reason why people at the present day say, 'Fear a returning arrow.' Now Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children came down from Heaven and went away upwards taking with them the dead body. Then they made a mourning house in Heaven, in which they deposited it and lamented over it. Before this Ame-waka-hiko was on friendly terms with Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and condoled with them on the mourning, lamenting greatly. Now this God had by nature an exact resemblance to Ame-waka-hiko in appearance. Therefore Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children, when they saw him, rejoiced, and said:—'Our Lord is still alive.' And they clung to his robe and to his girdle, and could not be thrust away. Now Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Kami became angry, and said:—'My friend is dead, therefore have I come to make condolence. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead man?' So he drew his ten-span sword and cut down the mourning house, which fell to earth and became
II. 14 a mountain. This is Moyama (Mount Mourning) in the province of Mino. This is the reason why people dislike to be mistaken for a dead person.

Now the glory of Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto was so effulgent that it illuminated the space of two hills and two valleys, and those assembled for the mourning celebrated it in song, saying :—

[Another version is that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami's younger sister, Shita-teru-hime, wishing to make known to the company that it was Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto who illuminated the hills and valleys therefore made a song, saying :—]

Like the string of jewels
Worn on the neck
Of the Weaving-maiden,
That dwells in Heaven—
Oh ! the lustre of the jewels
Flung across two valleys
From Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne ![1]

Again they sang, saying :—

To the side-pool—
The side-pool
Of the rocky stream
Whose narrows are crossed
By the country wenches
Afar from Heaven,
Come hither, come hither !
(The women are fair)
And spread across thy net
In the side-pool
Of the rocky stream ![2]

These two poems are in what is now called a Rustic[3] measure.

[1] The metre is irregular. The "Kojiki" version (see Ch. K., p. 99) is somewhat different. The Weaving-maiden of Heaven is a Chinese personification of the Star *a* Lyrae. See Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 97. This affords some indication of the date of this poem. It must have been written after the Japanese became familiar with Chinese astronomy.

[2] The metre is irregular, the text doubtful, and the meaning and application obscure. I agree with the Japanese critics who think that this poem has no business here. The "Kojiki," which gives the previous one, omits it.

Afar from Heaven is a mere epithet (makura-kotoba) of the country. Heaven here stands for the capital.

[3] Probably because hina, country or rustic, is a prominent word in the latter of these two poems.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami united Yorodzu-hata Toyo-aki-tsu-hime, the younger sister of Omohi-kane no Kami to Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-
II. 15. ho-mimi no Mikoto, and making her his consort, caused them to descend to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. At this time Katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and glancing downwards, said:—'Is that country tranquillized yet? No! it is a tumble-down land, hideous to look upon.' So he ascended, and reported why he had not gone down. Therefore, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami further sent Taka-mika-tsuchi no Kami and Futsu-nushi no Kami first to clear it. Now these two Gods went down and arrived at Idzumo, where they inquired of Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity or not?' He answered and said:—'My son, Koto-shiro-nushi is at Cape Mitsu for the sport of bird-shooting. I will ask him, and then give you an answer.' So he sent a messenger to make inquiry, who brought answer and said:—'How can we refuse to deliver up what is demanded by the Heavenly Deity?' Therefore Oho-na-mochi no Kami replied to the two Gods in the words of his son. The two Gods thereupon ascended to Heaven and reported the result of their mission, saying:—'All the Central Land of Reed-Plains is now completely tranquillized.' Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command, saying:—'If that be so, I will send down my child.' She was about to do so, when in the meantime, an August Grandchild was born, whose name was called Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto. Her son represented to her that he wished the August Grandchild to be sent down in his stead. Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave to Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto the three treasures, viz. the curved jewel of Yasaka gem, the eight-hand mirror, and the sword Kusanagi, and joined to him
II. 16. as his attendants Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Naka-tomi, Futo-dama no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Imbe, Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Sarume,[1] Ishi-kori-dome no Mikoto,

[1] Lit. monkey-eye.

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Heavenly Deity will proceed to the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga in the Land of Tsukushi, and I will
II. 18. go to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise. He accordingly said:—'Thou art the person who didst discover me. Thou must therefore escort me and com-

plete thy task.' Ame no Uzume returned and reported these circumstances. Thereupon the August Grandchild, leaving the Heavenly rock-seat, and thrusting apart the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, clove his way with an awful way-cleaving, and descended from Heaven. Finally, as

had been arranged, the August Grandchild arrived at the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga, in the land of Tsukushi. And Saruta-hiko no Kami forthwith proceeded to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise. Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, in accordance with the request made by Saruta[1] hiko no Kami, attended upon him. Now the August Grandchild commanded Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, saying:—'Let the name of the Deity whom thou didst discover be made thy title.' Therefore he conferred on her the designation of Sarume no Kimi.[2] So this was the origin of the male and female Lords of Sarume being both styled Kimi."[3]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Deity sent II. 19.
Futsu-nushi no Kami and Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami to tranquillize the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Now these two Gods said:—'In Heaven there is an Evil Deity called Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi, or Ame no Kagase-wo. We pray that this Deity may be executed before we go down to make clear the Central Land of Reed-Plains.' At this time Iwahi-nushi[4] no Kami received the designation of Iwahi no Ushi. This is the God which now dwells in the land of

[1] Monkey-field. [2] Lord of Sarume.

[3] The "Kojiki" says that it was the females alone who had this title. In either case, the inference is that it was unusual for women to have such names or titles, Motowori's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Sarume were primarily women who performed comic dances (sarumahi or monkey-dances) in honour of the Gods. They are mentioned along with the Nakatomi and Imbe as taking part in the festival of first-fruits and other Shintō ceremonies. These dances were the origin of the Kagura and Nō performances. Another function of the Sarume is that indicated in the part taken by Uzume no Mikoto when the Gods enticed the Sun-Goddess out of her rock-cave. She is there said to have been divinely inspired. This divine inspiration has always been common in Japan. The inspired person falls into a trance, or hypnotic state, in which he or she speaks in the character of some God. Such persons are now known as Miko, defined by Hepburn as 'a woman who, dancing in a Miya, pretends to hold communication with the Gods and the spirits of the dead,' in short a medium. There are also strolling mediums, as in England, women of a low class, who pretend to deliver messages from deceased friends or relatives. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shinto," in the "J. A. S. T.," and Index—Inspiration.

[4] Master of religious abstinence or worship.

Katori in Adzuma.[1] After this the two Deities descended and arrived at the Little Shore of Itasa in Idzumo, and asked Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity, or no?' He answered and said:—'I suspected that ye two gods were coming to my place. Therefore I will not allow it.' Thereupon Futsu-nushi no Kami forthwith returned upwards, and made his report. Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto sent the two Gods back again, and commanded Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Having now heard what thou hast said, I find that there is profound reason in thy words. Therefore again I issue my commands to thee more circumstantially, that is to say:—Let the public matters which thou hast charge of be conducted by my grandchild, and do thou rule divine affairs. Moreover, if thou wilt dwell in the palace of Ama no Hi-sumi,[2] I will now build it for thee. I will take a thousand fathom rope[3] of the (bark of the) paper mulberry, and tie it in 180 knots. As to the dimensions of the building of the palace,[4] its pillars shall be high and massy, and its planks broad and thick. I will
II. 20. also cultivate thy rice-fields for thee, and, for thy provision when thou goest to take pleasure on the sea, I will make for thee a high bridge, a floating bridge, and also a Heavenly bird-boat. Moreover, on the Tranquil River of Heaven I will make a flying-bridge. I will also make for thee white shields[5] of 180 seams, and Ame no Ho-hi no Mikoto shall be the president of the festivals in thy honour.' Hereupon Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—'The instructions of the Heavenly Deity are so courteous that I may not presume to disobey his commands. Let the August Grandchild direct the public affairs of which I have charge. I will retire and direct secret matters.' So he introduced Kunado no Kami to the two Gods, saying:—

[1] A general name for the eastern part of Japan.

[2] Heaven-sun-corner.

[3] The rope was for measuring the site, say some. Or it may have been for lashing together the timbers of the building.

[4] Or shrine.

[5] Shields are frequently mentioned in the "Norito" among offerings to the Gods.

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Heavenly rock-boundary wherein to practise religious abstinence[1] on behalf of my descendants. Do ye, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama[2] no Mikoto, take with you the Heavenly divine fence, and go down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Moreover, ye will there practise abstinence[3] on behalf of my descendants.' So she attached the two Deities to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto and sent them down. It was when Futo-dama no Mikoto was sent that the custom first began of worshipping this Deity with stout straps[4] flung over weak shoulders when taking the place of the Imperial hand. From this, too, the custom had its origin, by which Ame no Koyane no Mikoto had charge of divine matters. Therefore he was

planted round the enclosure consecrated for Shintō worship. But this interpretation is not without difficulty. In Suinin Tennō's reign we hear of a himorogi which was brought over from Corea and preserved as a sacred treasure. This could hardly have been a hedge. Another interpretation makes the himorogi an offering, and interprets the "Kuma" himorogi of the passage just referred to as an offering of bear's paws, one of the eight dainties of ancient Chinese literature. But it is not easy to see how this should be preserved as a sacred treasure.

The derivation does not help us much. Hi is no doubt sun, used metaphorically, as in hi-kagami, sun-mirror or sacred-mirror; hiko, sun-child (prince); hime, sun-female (princess). This is fairly well represented by the Chinese character 神 in the text. The remainder of the word, viz. morogi, is probably moro, a word of multitude, all, many, and gi (for ki), wood. There is a proper name, Take-morogi, where morogi is written with characters which imply this derivation. Hi-moro-gi is therefore a sacred row or group of sticks of some sort or another.

I may mention a suspicion that the himorogi may be connected, perhaps by way of a survival, with a time when the Japanese Deities were a row of posts roughly carved into human shape. See above, p. 3.

[1] This and other passages show that the Shintō place of worship might be merely a piece of ground enclosed for the purpose. The modern word for a Shintō shrine, viz. ya-shiro, house-enclosure or house-area, suggests the same inference. See Satow, "Japanese Rituals," in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 115. It will be remembered that the Roman templum and the Greek τέμενος had originally a similar signification.

[2] The ancestor of the Imbe, or abstainers.

[3] Including avoidance of ceremonial impurities, and hence used for religious worship generally. See above, note to p. 41.

[4] For supporting a tray on which the offerings were placed. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., p. 112.

made to divine by means of the Greater Divination, and thus to do his service.[1]

At this time Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took in her hand II. 23. the precious mirror, and, giving it to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto, uttered a prayer, saying:—'My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with thee on thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy[2] mirror.' Moreover, she gave command to Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto and to Futo-dama no Mikoto, saying:—'Attend to me, ye two Gods! Do ye also remain together in attendance and guard it well.' She further gave command, saying:—'I will give over to my child the rice-ears of the sacred garden,[3] of which I partake in the Plain of High Heaven.' And she straightway took the daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, by name Yorodzu-hata-hime, and uniting her to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto as his consort, sent her down. Therefore while she was still in the Void of Heaven,[4] she gave birth to a child, who was called Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. She accordingly desired to send down this grandchild instead of his parents. Therefore on him she bestowed Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto, Futo-dama no Mikoto, and the Deities of the various Be,[5] all without exception. She gave him, moreover, the things belonging to his person,[6] just as above stated.

After this, Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto went back again to Heaven. Therefore Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no

[1] The Greater Divination was by observing the cracks in a deer's shoulder-blade which had been exposed to fire. This is also a practice of the Chinese and Mongols, but in China it is more common to use the shell of a tortoise for this purpose, as is sometimes done in Japan also. See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. IIL, p. 335, 336. Ban Nobutomo has devoted a work in two volumes to this subject, entitled 正卜考.

[2] The same word as is used above for religious abstinence.

[3] The yu-niha, in which rice was grown under conditions of strict ceremonial purity for the festival of first-fruits.

[4] Not the Takama no hara, or Plain of High Heaven, but the Oho-sora or Great Void, the space between Heaven and Earth. She was on her way downwards.

[5] The hatter, shield-maker, etc., mentioned above.

[6] The regalia, or mirror, sword and jewel are doubtless meant.

Mikoto descended to the peak of Takachiho of Kushibi in
II. 24. Hiuga. Then he passed through the Land of Munasohi,[1] in Sojishi, by way of the Hill of Hitawo, in search of a country, and stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Thereupon he called to him Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa, the Lord of that country, and made inquiry of him. He answered and said:—'There is a country here. I will in any case obey thy commands.' Accordingly the August Grandchild erected a palace-hall and rested here. Walking afterwards by the sea-shore, he saw a beautiful woman. The August Grandchild inquired of her, saying:—'Whose child art thou?' She answered and said:—'Thy handmaiden is the child of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. My name is Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, and I am also called Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime.' Then she said:—'I have also an elder sister named Iha-naga-hime.'[2] The August Grandchild said:—'I wish to make thee my wife. How will this be?' She answered and said:—'I have a father, Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, I pray thee ask him. The August Grandchild accordingly spake to Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, saying:—'I have seen thy daughter and wish to make her my wife.' Hereupon Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami sent his two daughters with one hundred tables of food and drink to offer them respectfully. Now the August Grandchild thought the elder sister ugly, and would not take her. So she went away. But the younger sister was a noted beauty. So he took her with him and favoured her, and in one night she became pregnant. Therefore Iha-naga-hime was greatly ashamed, and cursed him, saying:—'If the August Grandchild had taken me and not rejected me, the children born to him would have been long-lived, and would have endured for ever like the massy rocks. But seeing that he has not done so, but has married my younger sister only, the children born to him will surely be decadent like the flowers of the trees.'"

One version is:—"Iha-naga-hime, in her shame and

[1] Above, p. 70, we have Muna-kuni or desert land.

[2] Rock-long-princess. Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime is the "Princess who blossoms like the flowers of the trees."

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sprang up a bamboo grove. Therefore that place was called Taka-ya.[1]

II. 26. Now Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime by divination fixed upon a rice-field to which she gave the name Sanada, and from the rice grown there brewed Heavenly sweet sake, with which she entertained him. Moreover, with the rice from the Nunada rice-field she made boiled rice and entertained him therewith."[2]

In one writing it is said :—" Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on the true couch and wrapped in it Ama-tsu-hiko-kuni-teru-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, who forthwith drew open the rock-door of Heaven, and thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, descended. At this time Ama-no-oshi-hi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Oho-tomo[3] no Muraji, taking with him Ame-kushi-tsu Oho-kume, the ancestor of the Kume Be,[4] placed on his back the rock-quiver of Heaven, drew on his

a knife, but to bite it through, a thin garment being interposed. It should be breathed on seven times with warm breath before being tied.

Superstition and Ritual have a preference for knives of some more primitive material than iron. Medea shears her magic herbs "curvamine falcis ahenæ," and Zipporah performs the rite of circumcision with a sharp stone. But a more prosaic explanation of the present passage is suggested by a surgeon friend. There is less hæmorrhage when a blunt instrument is used.

[1] Bamboo-house.

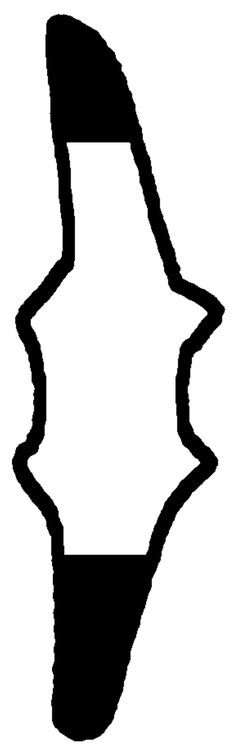
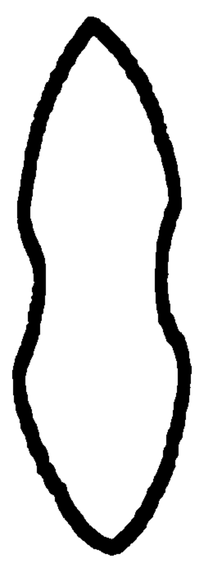
[2] This incident is the mythical counterpart of the annual festival of Nihi-nahe or nihi-name, now celebrated on November 23rd, when the new season's rice is offered to the Gods and partaken of by the Emperor for the first time. It was grown in plots of ground (yu-niha), the position of which was fixed upon by divination and prepared under strict conditions of ceremonial purity. Nihi means new, n represents no, the genitive particle, and ahe means feast. Name means to taste.

The modern name of this festival is Shin-jō-sai. There is a similar one in China. In ancient times there was no distinction made between this and the Oho-nihe or Oho-name, when the Emperor at his accession offered rice to the Gods (now called the Daijōye), both being called Oho-nihe. The prayer read at the Nihi-name is given among the norito in the Yengishiki, and Hirata devotes the last three vols. of the " Koshiden " to this subject.

[3] Great escort, i.e. of the Emperor.

[4] I quite endorse Chamberlain's shrewd suggestion that this Kume is " nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word chün (軍), the modern Japanese gun, army, troops." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 112.

forearm a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad,[1] and grasped in his hand a Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow and a Heavenly feathered arrow, to which he added an eight-eyed sounding-arrow.[2] Moreover he girt on his mallet-headed sword,[3] and taking his place before the Heavenly Grand- II. 27.
child, proceeded downwards as far as the floating bridge of Heaven, which is on the two peaks of Kushibi of Takachiho in So in Hiuga. Then he stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank and passed through the desert land

Stone Mallets.

of Sojishi by way of Hitawo in search of a country until he came to Cape Kasasa in Ata no Nagaya. Now at this place there was a God named Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa. Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild inquired of this God, saying:—'Is there a country?' He answered and said:—'There is.' Accordingly he said:—'I will yield it up to thee in obedience to thy commands.' Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild abode in that place. This Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu no Kami

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] Or nari-kabura. Giles says they were discharged by bandits as a signal to begin an attack. "Eight-eyed" means that there were several holes in the head, the air passing through which produced a humming sound. Parker says that the nari-kabura is not Chinese, but an invention of the Huns.

[3] From the way in which these swords are associated with "stone-mallet" swords in the Jimmu Tennō narrative (see also Ch. K., pp. 112, 142), I am disposed to think that they were of stone, and probably identical with the mallet-shaped objects called raiko shown in Plate XI. of Kanda's "Stone Implements of Japan," from which the illustration is taken. They were, no doubt, lashed to wooden handles, and used as weapons.

was the child of Izanagi no Mikoto, and his other name is Shiho-tsu-tsu-no oji."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Grandchild favoured Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, the daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. In one night she became pregnant, and eventually gave birth to four children. Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime took the children in her arms, and, coming forward, said:—'Ought the children of the Heavenly Grandchild to be privately nurtured? Therefore do I announce to thee the fact for thy information.' At this time the Heavenly Grandchild looked upon the children, and, with a mocking laugh, said:—'Excellent—these princes of mine! Their birth is a delightful piece of news!' Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth, and said:—'Why dost thou mock thy handmaiden?' The Heavenly Grandchild said:—'There is surely some doubt of this, and therefore did I mock. How is it possible for me, Heavenly God though I am, in the space of one night to cause anyone to become pregnant? Truly they are not my children.' On this account Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was more and more resentful. She made a doorless muro, into which she entered, and made a vow, saying:—'If the children which I have conceived are not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them surely perish. But if they are the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them
II. 28. suffer no hurt.' So she set fire to the muro and burnt it. When the fire first became bright, a child sprang forth and announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Where is my father?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the fire was at its height also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-susumi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brother?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the flames were becoming extinguished also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-ori no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' Next, when she recoiled from the heat, a child sprang forth, and

[1] Old man of the sea.

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Plains, the rocks, tree-stems and herbage have still the power of speech. At night, they make a clamour like that of flames of fire; in the day-time they swarm up like the flies in the fifth month, etc., etc." Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave command, saying:—"I formerly sent Ame-waka-hiko to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, but he has been long absent, and until now has not returned, perhaps being forcibly prevented by some of the Gods of the Land." She therefore sent the cock-pheasant Na-naki to go thither and spy out the reason. This pheasant went down, but when he saw the fields of millet and the fields of pulse he remained there, and did not come back. This was the origin of the modern saying, "The pheasant special messenger." Therefore she afterwards sent the hen-pheasant Na-naki, and this bird came down and was hit by an arrow shot by Ame-waka-hiko, after which she came up and made her report, etc., etc. At this time Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was upon the true couch, and having clothed therewith the Heavenly Grandchild Ama-tsu-hikone Ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto, sent him downwards, thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven. Therefore this God was styled Ame-kuni-nigishi-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto. Now the place at which he arrived on his descent is called the Peakof Sohori-yama of Takachiho
I. 30. in So in Hiuga. When he proceeded therefore on his way, etc., etc.,[1] he arrived at Cape Kasasa in Ata, and finally ascended the Island of Takashima in Nagaya. He went round inspecting that land, and found there a man whose name was Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa. The Heavenly Grandchild accordingly inquired of him, saying:—"Whose land is this?" He answered and said:—"This is the land where Nagasa dwells. I will, however, now offer it to the Heavenly Grandchild." The Heavenly Grandchild again inquired of him, saying:—"And the maidens who have built an eight-fathom palace on the highest crest of the waves and tend the loom with jingling wrist jewels, whose daughters are they?" He answered and said:—"They are the daughters of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. The elder is named Iha-naga-hime, and the younger is named Kono-

[1] These etc's mark intentional omissions.

hana saku-ya-hime, also called Toyo-ata-tsu hime, etc., etc." The August Grandchild accordingly favoured Toyo-ata-tsu hime, and after one night she became pregnant. The August Grandchild doubting this, etc., etc. Eventually she gave birth to Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next she bore Ho-no-ori no Mikoto, also called Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto. Proof having been given by the mother's vow, it was known exactly that they were truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. Toyo-ata-tsu hime however was incensed at the Heavenly Grandchild, and would not speak to him. The Heavenly Grandchild, grieved at this, made a song, saying:—

The sea-weed of the offing—
Though it may reach the shore:
The true couch
Is, alas! impossible.
Ah! ye dotterels of the beach![1]

In one writing it is said:—"The daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Ama-yorodzu-taku-hata chi-hata hime." II. 31.

One version is:—"Yorodzu-hata-hime ko-dama-yori-hime no Mikoto was the child of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. This Goddess became the consort of Ame no Oshi-hone no Mikoto, and bore to him a child named Ama-no Ki-ho-ho-oki-se no Mikoto."

One version is:—"Katsu no haya-hi no Mikoto's child was Ama no Oho-mimi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Nigutsu hime, and had by her a child named Ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is:—"The daughter of Kami-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Taku-hata chi-hata hime, bore a child named Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is:—"Ama no Kise no Mikoto took to wife Ata-tsu hime, and had children, first Ho-no-akari no Mikoto, next Ho-no-yo-wori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto took to wife Ama

[1] A regular tanka (short poem) of 31 syllables. The meaning is: "The weeds of the deep sea may drift to the shore, but between thy couch and mine an impassable gulf is fixed. I appeal to you, ye dotterels of the beach! Is it not so?"

no yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and by her as consort had a child named Ama-teru-kuni-teru Hiko-ho no akari no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. The next child was Ama-no-nigishi-kuni-no-nigishi Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-no ninigi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Kono hana saku-ya-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, and by her as consort had first a child named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto."

The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had by nature a sea-gift; the younger brother Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto had by nature a mountain-gift.[1] In the beginning the two brothers, the elder and the younger, conversed together, saying:—"Let us for a trial exchange gifts." They eventually exchanged them, but neither of them gained aught by doing so. The elder brother repented his bargain, and returned to the younger brother his bow and arrows, asking for his fish-hook to be given back to him. But the younger brother had already lost the elder brother's fish-hook, and there was no means of finding it. He accordingly made another new hook which he offered to his elder brother. But his elder brother refused to accept it, and
II. 32. demanded the old hook. The younger brother, grieved at this, forthwith took his cross-sword[2] and forged[3] from it new fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his brother. But his elder brother was wroth, and said:—"These are not my old fish-hook: though they are many, I will not take them." And he continued repeatedly to demand it vehemently. Therefore Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto's grief was exceedingly profound, and he went and made moan by the shore of the sea. There he met Shiho-tsutsu[4] no Oji.[5] The old man inquired of him saying:—"Why dost thou grieve here?" He answered and told him the matter from first to last. The old man said:—"Grieve no more. I will arrange this matter for thee." So he made a basket without interstices, and placing

[1] A talent for fishing and a talent for hunting.

[2] The interlinear gloss has tachi, or simply sword.

[3] This points to iron as the material of both swords and fish-hooks at the time when this story became current. The Homeric fish-hook was of horn —βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο. See Index—Bronze Age.

[4] Salt-sea-elder.

[5] Grandfather or old-man.

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Mikoto, and addressing him in an easy, familiar way, said:—"If the Heavenly Grandchild desires to return to his country I will send him back." So he gave him the fish-hook which he had found, and in doing so instructed him, saying:—"When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, before giving to him call to it secretly, and say, "A poor hook." He further presented to him the jewel of the flowing tide and the jewel of the ebbing tide, and instructed him, saying:—"If thou dost dip the tide-flowing jewel, the tide will suddenly flow, and therewithal thou shalt drown thine elder brother. But in case thy elder brother should repent and beg forgiveness, if, on the contrary, thou dip the tide-ebbing jewel, the tide will spontaneously ebb, and therewithal thou shalt save him. If thou harass him in this way, thy elder brother will of his own accord render submission."

When the Heavenly Grandchild was about to set out on his return journey, Toyo-tama-hime addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden is already pregnant, and the time of her delivery is not far off. On a day when the winds and waves are raging, I will surely come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee that thou wilt make for me a parturition house,[1] and await me there."

When Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto returned to his palace, he complied implicitly with the instructions of the Sea-God, and the elder brother, Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, finding himself in the utmost straits, of his own accord admitted his offence, and
II. 35. said:—"Henceforward I will be thy subject to perform mimic dances for thee. I beseech thee mercifully to spare my life." Thereupon he at length yielded his petition, and spared him.[2] This Ho-no-susori no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wobashi in Ata.

After this Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise, and, bringing with her her younger sister, Tama-yori-hime, bravely confronted the winds and waves, and came to the sea-shore. When the time of her delivery was at hand, she besought Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—"When thy handmaiden is in travail, I

[1] See above, p. 73.

[2] Ever since the time of Cain and Abel, folk-lore has had a curious partiality for the younger of two brothers. The Jimmu legend contains several instances of this.

pray thee do not look upon her." However, the Heavenly Grandchild could not restrain himself, but went secretly and peeped in. Now Toyo-tama-hime was just in childbirth, and had changed into a dragon.[1] She was greatly ashamed, and said:—"Hadst thou not disgraced me, I would have made the sea and land communicate with each other, and for ever pre-

vented them from being sundered. But now that thou hast disgraced me, wherewithal shall friendly feelings be knit together?" So she wrapped the infant in rushes, and abandoned it on the sea-shore. Then she barred the sea-path, and passed away.[2] Accordingly the child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-fuki-ahezu[3] no Mikoto.

A long time after, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi on the summit of Mount Takaya in Hiuga.

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had acquired a mountain-gift. Now the elder and younger brothers wished to exchange gifts, and therefore the elder brother took the bow which was of the gift of the younger brother, and went to the mountain in quest II. 36.

[1] In the accompanying illustration from a Japanese book (printed 1746), the Sea-King and his daughter are represented as combining the Dragon with the human form. See above, p. 61.

[2] "There are many examples of the disappearance of the bride or bridegroom in consequence of the infringement of various mystic rules." Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 81.

[3] Prince-beach-brave-cormorant-rush-thatch-unfinished. The application of the latter part of the name will appear from one of the variant myths given below. See also Ch. K., p. 127.

of wild animals. But never a trace of game did he see. The younger brother took the fish-hook of his elder brother's gift, and with it went a-fishing on the sea, but caught none at all, and finally lost his fish-hook. Then the elder brother restored his younger brother's bow and arrows, and demanded his own fish-hook. The younger brother was sorry, and of the cross-sword which he had in his girdle made fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his elder brother. But the elder brother refused to receive them, saying:—'I still wish to get the fish-hook of my gift.' Hereupon Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, not knowing where to look for it, only grieved and made moan. He went to the sea-shore, where he wandered up and down lamenting. Now there was an old man, who suddenly came forward, and gave his name as Shiho-tsuchi no Oji. He asked him, saying:—'Who art thou, my lord, and why dost thou grieve here?' Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto told him all that had happened. Whereupon the old man took from a bag a black comb, which he flung upon the ground. It straightway became changed into a multitudinous[1] clump of bamboos. Accordingly he took these bamboos and made of them a coarse basket with wide meshes, in which he placed Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and cast him into the sea."

One version says:—"He took a katama without interstices, and made of it a float, to which he attached Hoho-demi by a cord and sunk him." [*The term katama means what is now called a bamboo-basket.*]

Now there is in the bottom of the sea a natural "Little-shore of delight." Proceeding onwards, along this shore, he arrived of a sudden at the palace of Toyo-tama-hiko, the God of the Sea. This palace had magnificent gates and towers of exceeding beauty. Outside the gate there was a well, and beside the well was a cassia-tree. He approached
II. 32. the foot of this tree, and stood there. After a while a beautiful woman, whose countenance was such as is not anywhere to be seen, came out from within, followed by a bevy of attendant maidens. She was drawing water in a

[1] Lit. 500.

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'When thou givest the fish-hook to thy elder brother, thou must use this imprecation: "The origin of poverty: the beginning of starvation: the root of wretchedness." Give it not to him until thou hast said this. Again, if thy brother cross the sea, I will then assuredly stir up the blasts and billows, and make them overwhelm and vex him.' Thereupon he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto on the back of a great sea-monster, and so sent him back to his own country.

At another time, before this, Toyo-tama-hime spoke in an easy, familiar way, and said:—'Thy handmaid is with child. Some day, when the winds and waves are boisterous, I will come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee to construct for me a parturition-house, and to await me there.'

After this, Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise to come, and spake to Hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—'To-night thy handmaiden will be delivered. I pray thee, look not on her.' Hoho-demi no Mikoto would not hearken to her, but with a comb[1] he made a light, and looked at her. At this time Toyo-tama-hime had become changed into an enormous sea-monster of eight fathoms, and was wriggling about on her belly. She at last was angry that she was put to shame, and forthwith went straight back again to her native sea, leaving behind her younger sister Tama-yori-
II. 39. hime as nurse to her infant. The child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ayezu no Mikoto, because the parturition-house by the sea-shore was all thatched with cormorants' feathers, and the child was born before the tiles had met. It was for this reason that he received this name."[2]

One version says:—"Before the gate there was a beautiful well, and over the well there grew a cassia-tree with an hundred branches. Accordingly Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto sprang up into that tree and stood there. At this time, Toyo-tama-hime, the daughter of the God of the Sea, came with a jewel-bowl in her hand and was about to draw water, when she saw in the well the reflection of a

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] There is a superstition that a woman in childbirth gained relief by holding a cormorant's feather in her hand. A cowrie (ko-yasu-gai) is used for the same purpose, no doubt on account of its shape. See above, p. 95.

man. She looked up and was startled, so that she let fall the bowl, which was broken to pieces. But without regard for it, she returned within and told her parents, saying:—'I have seen a man on the tree which is beside the well. His countenance is very beautiful, and his form comely. He is surely no ordinary person.' When the God, her father, heard this, he wondered. Having prepared an eight-fold cushion, he went to meet him, and brought him in. When they were seated, he asked the reason of his coming, upon which he answered and told him all his case. Now the God of the Sea at once conceived pity for him, and summoning all the broad of fin and narrow of fin, made inquiry of them. They all said:—'We know not. Only the Red-woman has an ailment of the mouth and has not come.' [Another version is:—'The Kuchi-me[1] has an ailment of the mouth.'] So she was sent for in all haste, and on searching her mouth, the lost fish-hook was at once found. Upon this the God of the Sea chid her, saying:—'Thou Kuchime! Henceforward thou shalt not be able to swallow a bait, nor shalt thou be allowed to have a place at the table of the Heavenly Grandchild.' This is the reason why the fish kuchime is not among the articles of food set before the Emperor.

When the time came for Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto to take his departure, the God of the Sea spake to him, saying:—'I am rejoiced in my inmost heart that the Heavenly Grandchild has now been graciously pleased to visit me. When shall I ever forget it?' So he took the jewel which II. 40.
when thought of makes the tide to flow, and the jewel which when thought of makes the tide to ebb, and joining them to the fish-hook, presented them, saying:—'Though the Heavenly Grandchild may be divided from me by eight-fold windings (of road), I hope that we shall think of each other from time to time. Do not therefore throw them away.' And he taught him, saying:—'When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, call it thus:—'A hook of poverty, a hook of ruin, a hook of downfall.' When thou hast said all this, fling it away to him with thy back turned, and deliver it not to him face to face. If thy elder

[1] Kuchi-me means "mouth-female."

brother is angry, and has a mind to do thee hurt, then produce the tide-flowing jewel and drown him therewith. As soon as he is in peril and appeals for mercy, bring forth the tide-ebbing jewel and therewith save him. If thou dost vex him in this way, he will of his own accord become thy submissive vassal.' Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, having received the jewels and the fish-hook, came back to his original palace, and followed implicitly the teaching of the Sea-God. First of all he offered his elder brother the fish-hook. His elder brother was angry and would not receive it. Accordingly the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, upon which the tide rose with a mighty overflow, and the elder brother was drowning. Therefore he besought his younger brother, saying:—'I will serve thee as thy slave. I beseech thee, spare my life.' The younger brother then produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ebbed of its own accord, and the elder brother was restored to tranquillity. After this the elder brother changed his former words, and said:—'I am thy elder brother. How can an elder brother serve a younger brother?' Then the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, which his elder brother seeing, fled up to a high mountain. Thereupon the tide also submerged the mountain. The elder brother climbed a lofty tree, and thereupon the tide also submerged the tree. The elder brother was now at an extremity, and had nowhere to
II. 41. flee to. So he acknowledged his offence, saying:—'I have been in fault. In future my descendants for eighty generations shall serve thee as thy mimes in ordinary. [One version has 'dog-men.'] I pray thee, have pity on me.' Then the younger brother produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ceased of its own accord. Hereupon the elder brother saw that the younger brother was possessed of marvellous powers, and at length submitted to serve him.

On this account the various Hayato descended from Ho no susori no Mikoto to the present time do not leave the vicinity of the enclosure of the Imperial Palace, and render service instead of barking dogs.[1]

[1] The Hayato constituted the Imperial Guard. The literal meaning of the

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there was there a river wild-goose which had become entangled in a snare, and was in distress. He took pity on it, and loosing it, let it go. Shortly after there appeared Shiho tsutsu no Oji. He came and made a skiff of basket-work without interstices, in which he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto and pushed it off into the sea, when it sank down of its own accord, till of a sudden there appeared the Pleasant Road. So he went on along this road, which in due course led him to the palace of the Sea-God. Then the Sea-God came out himself to meet him, and invited him to enter. He spread eight layers of sea-asses'[1] skins, on which he made him to sit, and with a banquet of tables of a hundred, which was already prepared, he fulfilled the rites of hospitality. Then he inquired of him in an easy manner:—'Wherefore has the Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity been graciously pleased to come hither?'"

[One version has:—"A little while ago my child came and told me that the Heavenly Grandchild was mourning by the sea-shore. Whether this be true or false I know not, but perhaps it may be so."]

Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto related to him all that had happened from first to last. So he remained there, and the Sea-God gave him his daughter Toyo-tama-hime to wife. At length, when three years had passed in close and
II. 43. warm affection, the time came for him to depart. So the Sea-God sent for the tahi, and on searching her mouth found there the fish-hook. Thereupon he presented the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him thus:—'When thou givest this to thy elder brother thou must recite the following:—"A big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook." After saying all this, fling it to him with a back-handed motion.' Then he summoned together the sea-monsters, and inquired of them, saying:—'The Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity is now about to take his departure homewards. In how many days will you accomplish this service?' Then all the sea-monsters fixed each a number of days according to his own length. Those of

[1] The interlinear gloss has michi. One of the marine carnivora is meant, probably the seal.

them which were one fathom long of their own accord said: —'In the space of one day we will accomplish it.' The one-fathom sea-monsters were accordingly sent with him as his escort. Then he gave him two precious objects, the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, and taught him how to use them. He further instructed him, saying:—'If thy elder brother should make high fields, do thou make puddle fields; if thy elder brother make puddle fields, do thou make high fields. In this manner did the Sea-God in all sincerity lend him his aid. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, when he returned home, followed implicitly the God's instructions, and acted accordingly. When the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, the elder brother forthwith flung up his hands in the agony of drowning. But when, on the other hand, he produced the tide-ebbing jewel, he was relieved, and recovered. After that Hi no susori no Mikoto pined away from day to day, and lamented, saying:—'I have become impoverished.' So he yielded submission to his younger brother.

Before this Toyo-tama-hime spake to the Heavenly II. 44.
Grandchild, saying:—'That which thy handmaid has conceived is the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. How could I give birth to it in the midst of the ocean? Therefore when the time of my delivery comes, I will surely betake myself to my lord's abode, and it is my prayer that thou shouldst build me a house by the sea-side and await me there.' Therefore Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto, as soon as he returned to his own country, took cormorants' feathers, and with them as thatch, made a parturition-house. But before the tiling of the house was completed, Toyo-tama-hime herself arrived, riding on a great tortoise, with her younger sister Tama-yori-hime, and throwing a splendour over the sea. Now the months of her pregnancy were already fulfilled, and the time of her delivery was urgent. On this account she did not wait till the thatching of the house was completed, but went straight in and remained there. Then she spake quietly to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'Thy handmaid is about to be delivered. I pray thee do not look on her.' The Heavenly Grandchild wondered at these words, and

peeped in secretly, when behold, she had become changed into a great sea-monster of eight fathoms. Now she was aware that the Heavenly Grandchild had looked in upon her privacy, and was deeply ashamed and resentful. When the child was born, the Heavenly Grandchild approached and made inquiry, saying:—'By what name ought the child to be called?' She answered and said:—'Let him be called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto.'[1] Having said so, she took her departure straight across the sea. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto made a song, saying:—

Whatever befals me,
Ne'er shall I forget my love
With whom I slept
In the island of wild-ducks—
The birds of the offing."[2]

II. 45. Another account says:—"Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto took other women and made them wet-nurses, bathing-women, boiled-rice-chewers, and washerwomen.[3] All these various Be were provided for the respectful nurture of the infant. The provision at this time, by means of other women, of milk for the nurture of the august child was the origin of the present practice of engaging temporarily wet-nurses to bring up infants.

After this, when Toyo-tama-hime heard what a fine boy her child was, her heart was greatly moved with affection, and she wished to come back and bring him up herself. But she could not rightly do so, and therefore she sent her younger sister Tama-yori-hime to nurture him. Now when Toyo-tama-hime sent Tama-yori-hime, she offered (to Hoho-demi no Mikoto) the following verse in answer:—

Some may boast
Of the splendour
Of red jewels,

---

[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] The order of the lines in the original is exactly the reverse of the above. Metre, regular tanka.

The word for "my love" is imo, which in ancient Japanese is used indifferently for wife and younger sister. See above, p. 22.

[3] Evidently the narrator is here describing the staff of the Imperial nursery of the day.

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which she was about to draw water from the well, when she espied in the bottom of the water the shadow of a man. She could not draw water, and looking up saw the Heavenly Grandchild. Thereupon she went in and informed the King, saying:—'I had thought that my Lord alone was supremely handsome, but now a stranger has appeared who far excels him in beauty.' When the Sea-God heard this, he said:—'I will try him and see.' So he prepared a threefold dais. Thereupon the Heavenly Grandchild wiped both his feet at the first step of the dais. At the middle one he placed both his hands to the ground; at the inner one he sat down at his ease[1] upon the cushion covering the true couch. When the Sea-God saw this, he knew that this was the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity, and treated
II: 47. him with more and more respect, etc., etc.

The Sea-God summoned the Akame and the Kuchime, and made inquiry of them. Then the Kuchime drew a fish-hook from her mouth and respectfully delivered it to him. [*The Akame is the Red Tahi and the Kuchime is the Nayoshi.*][2] The Sea-God then gave the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him, saying:—'When thy elder brother's fish-hook is returned to him, let the Heavenly Grandchild say:—"Let it be to all thy descendants, of whatever degree of relationship, a poor hook, a paltry poor hook." When thou hast thus spoken, spit thrice, and give it to him. Moreover, when thy elder brother goes to sea a-fishing, let the Heavenly Grandchild stand on the sea-shore and do that which raises the wind. Now that which raises the wind is whistling. If thou doest so, I will forthwith stir up the wind of the offing and the wind of the shore, and will overwhelm and vex him with the scurrying waves.' Ho no ori no Mikoto returned, and obeyed implicitly the instructions of the God. When a day came on which the elder brother went a-fishing, the younger brother stood on the shore of the sea, and whistled. Then there arose a sudden tempest, and the elder brother was forthwith overwhelmed and harassed. Seeing no means of

[1] i.e. with legs crossed, which is less respectful than the usual squatting posture.

[2] Mullet.

saving his life, he besought his younger brother from afar, saying:—'Thou hast dwelt long in the ocean-plain, and must possess some excellent art. I pray thee teach it to me. If thou save my life, my descendants of all degrees of relationship shall not leave the neighbourhood of thy precinct, but shall act as thy mime-vassals.' Thereupon the younger brother left off whistling, and the wind again returned to rest. So the elder brother recognized the younger brother's power, and freely admitted his fault. But the younger brother was wroth, and would hold no converse with him. Hereupon the elder brother, with nothing but his waistcloth on, and smearing the palms of his hands and his face with red earth, said to his younger brother:— II. 48.
'Thus do I defile my body, and make myself thy mime for ever.' So kicking up his feet, he danced along and practised the manner of his drowning struggles. First of all, when the tide reached his feet, he did the foot-divination;[1] when it reached his knees, he raised up his feet; when it reached his thighs, he ran round in a circle; when it reached his loins, he rubbed his loins; when it reached his sides, he placed his hands upon his breast; when it reached his neck, he threw up his hands, waving his palms. From that time until now, this custom has never ceased.

Before this, Toyo-tama-hime came forth, and when the time came for her delivery, she besought the Heavenly Grandchild, saying, etc., etc.

The Heavenly Grandchild did not comply with her request, and Toyo-tama-hime resented it greatly, saying:—'Thou didst not attend to my words, but didst put me to shame. Therefore from this time forward, do not send back again any of the female servants of thy handmaid who may go to thy place, and I will not send back any of thy servants who may come to my place.' At length she took the coverlet of the true couch and rushes, and wrapping her child in them, laid him on the beach. She then entered the sea and went away. This is the reason why there is no communication between land and sea." II. 49.

One version says:—"The statement that she placed the

[1] i.e. shuffled with his feet, as when performing this kind of divination.

child on the beach is wrong. Toyo-tama-hime no Mikoto departed with the child in her own arms. Many days after, she said :—' It is not right that the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild should be left in the sea,' so she made Tama-yori-hime to take him, and sent him away. At first, when Toyo-tama-hime left, her resentment was extreme, and Ho no ori no Mikoto therefore knew that they would never meet again, so he sent her the verse of poetry which is already given above."

Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto took his aunt Tama-yori-hime as his consort, and had by her in all four male children, namely, Hiko-itsu-se[1] no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi[2] no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no[3] no Mikoto, and next Kamu-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Long after, Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto died, in the palace of the western country, and was buried in the Misasagi on the top of Mount Ahira in Hiuga.

One writing says :—" His first child was Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, the next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto, and the next Sano no Mikoto, also styled Kamu[4]-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Sano was the name by which he was called when young. Afterwards when he had cleared and subdued the realm, and had control of the
II. 50. eight islands, the title was added of Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" His first child was Itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Mikeno no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, and the next Ihare-biko no Mikoto, also styled Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsuse no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Kamu-yamato Ihare biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Waka-mi-ke-no no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, next Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Hiko Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto."

[1] Prince-five-reaches.
[2] Boiled rice.
[3] Three-hairs-enter-moor.
[4] Or Kami.

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Hiko-hoho-demi. He was the fourth child[1] of Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto. His mother's name was Tama-yori-hime, daughter of the Sea-God. From his birth, this Emperor was of clear intelligence and resolute will. At the
III. 2. age of fifteen he was made heir to the throne. When he grew up, he married Ahira-tsu-hime, of the district of Ata in the province of Hiuga, and made her his consort. By her he had Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto and Kisu-mimi no Mikoto.

When he reached the age of forty-five, he addressed his elder brothers and his children, saying:—"Of old, our Heavenly Deities Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto, pointing to this land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain, gave it to our Heavenly ancestor, Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. Thereupon Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, throwing open the barrier of Heaven and clearing a cloud-path, urged on his superhuman course until he came to rest. At this time the world was given over to widespread desolation. It was an age of darkness and disorder. In this gloom, therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border.[2] Our Imperial ancestors and Imperial parent, like gods, like sages, accumulated happiness and amassed glory. Many years elapsed. From the date when our Heavenly ancestor descended until now it is over
III. 3. 1,792,470 years.[3] But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practises mutual aggression and conflict.

Now I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea,[4] that in the East there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. Moreover, there is there one who flew down riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat. I think that this land will undoubtedly

in this part of Japan, and I think it very probable that the first Japanese who settled here drove out a population of Aino race.

[1] Primogeniture was evidently not recognized in Japan at the time this story was written.

[2] i.e. Kiushiu.

[3] This is in imitation of the great number of years ascribed to the reigns of the early Chinese monarchs.

[4] Shiho tsutsu no oji.

be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task,[1] so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the centre of the world.[2] The person who flew down was, I believe, Nigi-haya-hi.[3] Why should we not proceed thither, and make it the capital?"

All the Imperial Princes answered, and said:—"The truth of this is manifest. This thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly." This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Great Year.[4] III. 4. B.C. 667.

In that year, in winter, on the Kanoto Tori day (the 5th) of the 10th month, the new moon of which was on the day Hinoto Mi, the Emperor in person led the Imperial Princes and a naval force on an expedition against the East. When he arrived at the Haya-suhi gate,[6] there was there a fisherman who came riding in a boat. The Emperor summoned him, and then inquired of him, saying:—"Who art thou?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant is a Country-God, and his name is Utsu-hiko.[7] I angle for fish in the bays of ocean. Hearing that the son of the Heavenly Deity was coming, therefore I forthwith came to receive him." Again he inquired of him, saying:—"Canst thou act as my guide?" He answered and said:—"I will do so." The Emperor ordered the end of a pole of shihi wood[8] to be given to the fisher, and caused him to be taken and pulled into the Imperial vessel, of which he was made pilot.

[1] i.e. for the further development of the Imperial power.

[2] The world is here the six quarters, N., S., E., W., Zenith, Nadir. This is, of course, Chinese, as indeed is this whole speech.

[3] Nigi-haya-hi means soft-swift-sun.

[4] The great year is the Chinese cycle of sixty years. This system of reckoning time is described in Legge's "Classics," Chalmers' "Essay in prolegomena to Shooking," "Japanese Chronological Tables," by E.M.S., Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," Mayers' "Chinese Manual," etc. It was not in use to record years before the Christian era even in China, and could hardly have been known in Japan before the introduction of writing in the 5th century, A.D. It is needless to add that such dates are, in this part of the "Nihongi," purely fictitious.

[5] The days of the month are throughout the "Nihongi" given in this clumsy fashion. I have not thought it necessary to follow the example, except in this one instance.

[6] The Quick-suck-gate or Bungo Channel, so called from its rapid tides.

[7] Rare-prince. [8] Quercus cuspidata.

A name was specially granted him, and he was called Shihi-ne-
III. 5. tsu-hiko.[1] He was the first ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe.

Proceeding on their voyage, they arrived at Usa[2] in the Land of Tsukushi. At this time there appeared the ancestors of the Kuni-tsu-ko[3] of Usa, named Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime. They built a palace raised on one pillar[4] on the banks of the River Usa, and offered them a banquet. Then, by Imperial command, Usa-tsu-hime was given in marriage to the Emperor's attendant minister Ama no tane[5] no Mikoto. Now Ama no tane no Mikoto was the remote ancestor of the Nakatomi Uji.[6]

11th month, 9th day. The Emperor arrived at the harbour of Oka[7] in the Land of Tsukushi.

III. 6. 12th month, 27th day. He arrived at the province of Aki, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ye.

B.C. 666. The year Kinoto U, Spring, 3rd month, 6th day. Going onwards, he entered the land of Kibi,[8] and built a temporary palace, in which he dwelt. It was called the Palace of Takashima. Three years passed, during which time he set in order the helms[9] of his ships, and prepared a store of provisions. It was his desire by a single effort to subdue the Empire.

B.C. 663. The year Tsuchinoye Muma, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Imperial forces at length proceeded eastwards, the prow of one ship touching the stern of another. Just when they reached Cape Naniha they encountered a current of great swiftness. Whereupon that place was called Nami-haya (wave-swift) or

[1] Prince of shihi root.

[2] Usa is now a district (kōri) in the province of Buzen. Tsukushi is used by old writers both for the whole island of Kiushiu and for the northern part of it.

[3] Or Kuni no miyakko, local hereditary nobles.

[4] Vide Ch. K., p. 130, and "Night of the Gods," p. 224, where a curious coincidence with an Irish legend is noted. "In Mailduin's voyage he came to an island called Aenchoss, that is One-foot, so called because it was supported by a single pillar in the middle." The "Kojiki" and a note to the "Nihongi" have for one pillar, "one foot." Possibly there is here a reminiscence of a nomadic tent life.

[5] Heavenly seed.

[6] i.e. house, or noble family.

[7] In Chikuzen.

[8] Including the present provinces of Bizen, Bittchiu, and Bingo.

[9] Or oars.

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hid in a great tree, and by so doing escaped danger. So pointing to this tree, he said :—" I am grateful to it, as to my mother." Therefore the people of the day called that place Omo no ki no Mura.[1]

5th month, 8th day. The army arrived at the port of Yamaki in Chinu [*also called Port Yama no wi*]. Now Itsuse no Mikoto's arrow wound was extremely painful. He grasped his sword, and striking a martial attitude, said :—" How exasperating it is that a *man* should die of a wound received at the hands of slaves, and should not revenge it ! " The people of that
III. 9. day therefore called the place Wo no minato.[2]

Proceeding onwards, they reached Mount Kama in the Land of Kiï, where Itsuse no Mikoto died in the army, and was therefore buried at Mount Kama.

6th month, 23rd day. The army arrived at the village of Nagusa, where they put to death the Tohe[3] of Nagusa. Finally they crossed the moor of Sano, and arrived at the village of Kami[4] in Kumano. Here he embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and leading his army, proceeded onwards by slow degrees. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind, and the Imperial vessel was tossed about. Then Ina-ihi no Mikoto exclaimed and said :—" Alas ! my ancestors were Heavenly Deities, and my mother was a Goddess of the Sea. Why do they harass me by land, and why moreover do they harass me by sea ? " When he had said this, he drew his sword and plunged into the sea, where he became changed into the God Sabi-mochi.[5]

III. 10. Mike Irino no Mikoto, also indignant at this, said :— " My mother and my aunt are both Sea-Goddesses : why do they raise great billows to overwhelm us ? " So treading upon the waves, he went to the Eternal Land.[6] The Emperor was now alone with the Imperial Prince Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. Leading his army forward, he arrived at Port Arazaka in Kumano [*also called Nishiki Bay*], where he put to death the Tohe of Nishiki. At this time the Gods belched up

[1] Mother-tree-village. [2] Port Man (vir).
[3] Tohe seems to have been a word for chieftain.
[4] Or it may be of the Deity of Kumano.
[5] i.e. the blade-holder. [6] Toko-yo no Kuni.

a poisonous vapour, from which everyone suffered. For this reason the Imperial army was again unable to exert itself. Then there was there a man by name Kumano no Takakuraji, who unexpectedly had a dream, in which Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami,[1] saying:—"I still hear a sound of disturbance from the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Do thou again go and chastise it." Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami answered and said:—"Even if I go not, I can send down my sword, with which I subdued the land, upon which the country will of its own accord become peaceful." To this Ama-terasu no Kami assented. Thereupon Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami addressed Takakuraji, saying:—"My sword, which is called Futsu no Mitama, I will now place in thy storehouse. Do thou take it and present it to the Heavenly Grandchild." III. 11. Takakuraji said "Yes," and thereupon awoke. The next morning, as instructed in his dream, he opened the storehouse, and on looking in, there was indeed there a sword which had fallen down (from Heaven), and was standing upside down[2] on the plank floor of the storehouse. So he took it and offered it to the Emperor. At this time the Emperor happened to be asleep. He awoke suddenly, and said:—"What a long time I have slept!" On inquiry he found that the troops who had been affected by the poison had all recovered their senses and were afoot. The Emperor then endeavoured to advance into the interior, but among the mountains it was so precipitous that there was no road by which they could travel, and they wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed the Emperor in a dream of the night, saying:—"I will now send thee the Yata-garasu,[3] make it thy guide through the land." Then there did

[1] The Thunder-God. [2] i.e. point upwards.

[3] Yata-garasu. The Chinese characters used here mean "The crow with a head eight feet long." But this is a case where we must put aside the Chinese characters, and attend solely to the Japanese word which they are meant to represent. This is undoubtedly yata-garasu, as we know from the "Kojiki" and from the traditional Kana rendering. Much has been written about this bird by Motowori and other Shintō scholars, which is, I venture to think, wholly wide of the mark. The clue to its meaning is afforded by the "Wamiō-shō," a Chinese-Japanese vocabulary of the tenth century, which says, on the authority of the "Shiki," still more ancient commentaries on the "Nihongi,"

indeed appear the Yata-garasu flying down from the Void. The Emperor said:—"The coming of this crow is in due accordance with my auspicious dream. How grand! How splendid! My Imperial ancestor, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, desires therewith to assist me in creating the hereditary institution."[1]

At this time Hi no Omi[2] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Oho-
III. 12. tomo[3] House, taking with him Oho-kume[4] as commander of the main body, guided by the direction taken by the crow, looked up to it and followed after, until at length they arrived at the district of Lower Uda. Therefore they named the place which they reached the village of Ukechi[5] in Uda.

that the Yang-wu or Sun-crow is in Japanese yata-garasu. The Yang-wu is a bird with three claws, and of a red colour, which, according to Chinese myth, inhabits the sun. If we accept this identification, the meaning of the epithet yata becomes clear. It means eight hands, or, as ya in ancient Japanese meant also many or several, many hands, a sufficiently accurate description for popular myth of the Yang-wu with its three claws. The late M. Terrien de La-Couperie, in his "Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilization," says that "the first allusion to the three-legged crow supposed to roost in the sun occurs in the "Li Sao" of Kiü-yuen, the poet of Ts'u, 314 B.C. in China. A three-legged bird in various forms was figured on coins of Pamphylia and Lycia of older times. Comte Goblet d'Alviella has reproduced some of them in his interesting work on "La Migration des Symboles," 1891, p. 222. See a paper on the Hi no maru in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII., p. 27, and Ch. K., p. 136. The guidance of conquerors or colonists to their destination by a supernatural bird or beast is a familiar feature of old-world story. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," II, 71.

Sun-crow.

[1] The sovereignty. [2] Hi means sun; Omi, minister.

[3] Oho-tomo means "great companion." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards.

[4] Oho-kume, as Chamberlain points out, probably means simply a great force. But when the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" were written, this meaning was forgotten, and it was supposed to be a man's name.

[5] Ugatsu means to pierce, and the name was given because they penetrated the mountains to this place. All these derivations are very fanciful.

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Imperial army. The Emperor distributed this flesh and sake to the common soldiers, upon which they sang the following verses :—

In the high { castle / tree } of Uda
I set a snare for woodcock,
And waited,
But no woodcock came to it ;
III. 14. A valiant whale came to it.[1]
* * * *
* * * *

This is called a Kume[2] song. At the present time, when the Department of Music performs this song, there is still the[3] measurement of great and small by the hand, as well as a distinction of coarse and fine in the notes of the voice. This is by a rule handed down from antiquity.

After this the Emperor wished to inspect the Land of Yoshino, so taking personal command of the light troops, he
III. 15. made a progress round by way of Ukechi mura in Uda.

When he came to Yoshino, there was a man who came out of a well. He shone, and had a tail. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is a local Deity, and his name is Wi-hikari."[4] He it is who was the first ancestor of the Yoshino no Obito. Proceeding a little further, there was another man with a tail, who burst open a rock and came forth from it. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is the child of Iha-oshi-

[1] Ki in the first line of this poem means probably both tree and castle. The words are put into the mouth of Ukeshi the Elder, who found a whale (the Emperor) in his springe instead of the harmless woodcock he expected. The wild boar is now called the yama-kujira or mountain-whale, and is perhaps the animal intended here.

I confess that I can make no satisfactory sense of the remainder of this poem. The version given by Chamberlain (Ch. K., p. 140), following Moribe, is as good as any, but it seems to me very conjectural. It should be noted, however, that this part of the poem contains an indication of the polygamous customs of the Japanese at this time in the use of two words signifying respectively elder wife (konami) and younger wife (uhanari). The " Nihongi " omits the interjectional refrain given in the " Kojiki."

[2] Kume means no doubt " soldier " in this passage.

[3] Beating time is perhaps meant. [4] Well-brightness.

wake."[1] It is he who was the first ancestor of the Kuzu[2] of Yoshino.

Then skirting the river, he proceeded westward, when there appeared another man, who had made a fish trap and was catching fish. On the Emperor making inquiry of him, he answered and said :—"Thy servant is the son of Nihe-motsu."[3] He it is who was the first ancestor of the U-kahi of Ata.[4]

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor ascended to the peak of Mount Takakura in Uda, whence he had a prospect over all III. 16.
the land. On Kuni-mi[5] Hill there were descried eighty bandits. Moreover at the acclivity of Me-zaka[6] there was posted an army of women, and at the acclivity of Wo-zaka[7] there was stationed a force of men. At the acclivity of Sumi-zaka[8] was placed burning charcoal. This was the origin of the names Me-zaka, Wo-zaka and Sumi-zaka.

Again there was the army of Ye-shiki,[9] which covered all the village of Ihare. All the places occupied by the enemy[10] were strong positions, and therefore the roads were cut off and obstructed, so that there was no room for passage. The Emperor, indignant at this, made prayer on that night in person, and then fell asleep. The Heavenly Deity appeared to him in a dream, and instructed him, saying:—"Take earth from within the shrine[11] of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and of it make eighty Heavenly platters. Also make sacred jars[12] and III. 17.
therewith sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover pronounce a solemn imprecation. If thou doest so, the

[1] Rock-push-divide.

[2] Kuzu were local chiefs. They are mentioned again in Ōjin's reign.

[3] Food-holder or purveyor.

[4] U-kahi means cormorant-keepers. Fishing with cormorants is still practised in Japan.

[5] Land-view. [6] Women's acclivity.

[7] Men's acclivity. The terms Me-zaka and Wo-zaka are now applied to two roads or stairs leading up to the same place, one of which (the women's) is less precipitous than the other.

[8] Sumi-zaka means charcoal acclivity.

[9] Shiki the Elder. [10] Lit. Robber-slaves or prisoners.

[11] A shrine, like a templum, might be merely a consecrated plot of ground. Kagu-yama is a mountain in Yamato.

[12] Idzube. The platters were for rice, the jars for sake. See Satow's "Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," VII., ii., p. 109.

enemy will render submission of their own accord." The Emperor received with reverence the directions given in his dream, and proceeded to carry them into execution.

Now Ukeshi the Younger again addressed the Emperor, saying :—" There are in the province of Yamato, in the village of Shiki, eighty Shiki bandits. Moreover, in the village of Taka-wohari [*some say Katsuraki*] there are eighty Akagane[1] bandits. All these tribes intend to give battle to the Emperor, and thy servant is anxious in his own mind on his account. It were now good to take clay from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and therewith to make Heavenly platters with which to sacrifice to the Gods of the Heavenly shrines and of the Earthly shrines. If after doing so, thou dost attack the enemy, they may be easily driven off." The Emperor, who had already taken the words of his dream for a good omen, when he now heard the words of Ukeshi the Younger, was still more pleased in his heart. He caused Shihi-netsu-hiko[2] to put on ragged garments and a grass hat, and to disguise himself as an old man. He also caused Ukeshi the Younger to cover himself with a winnowing tray, so as to assume the appearance of an old woman, and then addressed them, saying :—" Do ye two proceed to the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and secretly take earth from its summit. Having done so, return hither. By means of you I shall then divine whether my undertaking will be successful or not. Do your utmost and be watchful."

III. 18. Now the enemy's army filled the road, and made all passage impossible. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko prayed, and said :—" If it will be possible for our Emperor to conquer this land, let the road by which we must travel become open. But if not, let the brigands surely oppose our passage." Having thus spoken they set forth, and went straight onwards. Now the hostile band, seeing the two men, laughed loudly, and said :—" What an uncouth old man and old woman !" So with one accord they left the road, and allowed the two men to pass and proceed to the mountain, where they took the clay and returned with it. Hereupon the Emperor was greatly pleased, and with this

[1] Akagane means red metal, i.e. copper, but the text is doubtful. The " Kiujiki " has a different reading.

[2] See above, p. 111.

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upper waters of the River Nifu, he did worship therewith to all the Gods. It was with this that the custom began of setting sacred jars.[1]

At this time he commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"We are now in person[2] about to celebrate a public[3] festival to Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and I appoint thee Ruler of the festival, and grant thee the title of Idzu-hime.[4] The earthen jars which are set up shall be called the Idzube or sacred jars, the fire shall be called Idzu no Kagu-tsuchi or sacred-fire-elder, the water shall be called Idzu no Midzu-ha no me or sacred-water-female, the food shall be called Idzu-uka no me or sacred-food-female, the firewood shall be called Idzu no Yama-tsuchi or sacred-mountain-elder, and the grass shall be called Idzu no No-tsuchi or sacred-moor-elder."

III. 20. Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor tasted[5] the food of the Idzube, and arraying his troops set forth upon his march. He first of all attacked the eighty bandits at Mount Kunimi, routed and slew them. It was in this campaign that the Emperor, fully resolved on victory, made these verses, saying:—

Like the Shitadami
Which creep around
The great rock
Of the Sea of Ise
Where blows the divine wind —
Like the Shitadami,
My boys! my boys!
We will creep around,
And smite them utterly,
And smite them utterly.[6]

---

[1] A note says that they were set up in the courtyard.

[2] The Mikado deputed most of his priestly functions to the Nakatomi.

[3] The ancient commentary gives the Japanese word utsushi, i.e. manifest, visible. This suggests that there was a distinction between esoteric and exoteric in the Shintō rites of this time.

[4] Idzu-hime means dread or sacred princess. The "Tsūshō" commentator says that the persons entrusted with this function were usually women, as may be seen in the case of the priestesses of Ise, Kamo, and Kasuga. But as no women were available at this time, Michi-no-Omi was given a feminine title for the occasion.

[5] The interlinear Kana has tatematsuri, i.e. offered. The reference is to the feast of Nihiname described above. See p. 86.

[6] The shitadami is a small shell of the turbinidæ class. Its introduction

In this poem, by the great rock is intended the Hill of Kunimi.

After this the band which remained was still numerous, and their disposition could not be fathomed. So the Emperor privately commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Do thou take with thee the Oho-kume, and make a great muro at the village of Osaka.[1] Prepare a copious banquet, invite the enemy to it, and then capture them." Michi no Omi no Mikoto thereupon, in obedience to the Emperor's secret behest, dug a muro at Osaka, and having selected his bravest soldiers, stayed therein mingled with the enemy. He secretly arranged with them, saying:—"When they have got tipsy with sake, I will strike up a song. Do you, when you hear the sound of my song, all at the same time stab the enemy." Having III. 21.
made this arrangement they took their seats, and the drinking-bout proceeded. The enemy, unaware that there was any plot, abandoned themselves to their feelings, and promptly became intoxicated. Then Michi no Omi no Mikoto struck up the following song:—

At Osaka
In the great muro-house,
Though men in plenty
Enter and stay,
We the glorious
Sons of warriors,
Wielding our mallet-heads.
Wielding our stone-mallets,
Will smite them utterly.[2]

Now when our troops heard this song, they all drew at the

here does not seem very appropriate. Perhaps the meaning is "in number like the turbinidæ." Cf. Ch. K., p. 143. The "Shukai" editor thinks that the shitadami represent the bandits. The great rock is, perhaps, the Miyôto-seki at Futami, so often represented in Japanese pictures. See Anderson's Catalogue, p. 320, or Satow and Hawes' Handbook, p. 150.

[1] In Yamato. To be distinguished from the city of Ohosaka.

[2] The muro-ya is a pit-dwelling (see above, p. 71). The poem speaks of mallet-heads, but the text which follows of mallet-headed swords. I have little doubt that the former is the true phrase, and that stone weapons are referred to. The stone-mallets are unmistakably the weapons figured above (p. 87). The mallet-heads and stone-mallets are perhaps the same thing under different names.

same time their mallet-headed swords, and simultanously slew the enemy, so that there were no eaters left.[1] The Imperial army were greatly delighted; they looked up to Heaven and laughed. Therefore he made a song, saying:—

Though folk say
That one Yemishi
Is a match for one hundred men,
They do not so much as resist.[2]

The practice according to which at the present time the Kume sing this and then laugh loud, had this origin.

Again he sang, saying:—

Ho! now is the time;
Ho! now is the time;
Ha! Ha! Psha!
Even now
My boys!
Even now
My boys![3]

All these songs were sung in accordance with the secret behest of the Emperor. He had not presumed to compose
III. 22. them of his own motion.

Then the Emperor said:—"It is the part of a good general when victorious to avoid arrogance. The chief brigands have now been destroyed, but there are ten bands of villains of a similar stamp, who are disputatious. Their disposition cannot

[1] That is, none were left alive.

The Yemishi are the Ainos, or more correctly Ainus, of whom a remnant of some ten thousand souls now inhabit the island of Yezo. When the "Nihongi" was written they still occupied a large part of the main island of Japan, and in earlier times, as we gather from the evidence of place-names (See Chamberlain's Essay published by the Imperial University), they extended west even of Yamato. But it would not be safe to draw any conclusion from their mention in this poem. The writer of the "Nihongi" is in the habit of fitting ancient poetry into his narrative in a very arbitrary manner. The "Kojiki" omits it. Yemishi or Yebisu is also applied to barbarous tribes generally, and this is probably its primary meaning. It ought, perhaps, to be added to the group of onomatopoetic words ending in *su* or *shi*, mentioned at p. 65, the *b* or *m* having the same function as these letters in the words barbarian, babble, murmur, etc. See Index—Yemishi.

[2] Nothing could well be more primitive than this. The metre is irregular, and, like all Japanese poetry, there is no rhyme, quantity or regular recurrence of accent to distinguish it from prose.

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their interests. But Shiki the Elder and the others adhered to their foolish design, and would not consent to submit. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko advised as follows:—"Let us first send out our feebler troops by the Osaka road. When the enemy sees them he will assuredly proceed thither with all his best troops. We should then straightway urge forward our robust troops, and make straight for Sumi-zaka.[1] Then with the water of the River Uda we should sprinkle the burning charcoal, and suddenly take them unawares, when they cannot fail to be routed." The Emperor approved this plan, and sent out the feebler troops towards the enemy, who, thinking that a powerful force was approaching, awaited them with all their power. Now up to this time, whenever the Imperial army attacked, they invariably captured, and when they fought they were invariably victorious, so that the fighting men were all wearied
III. 24. out. Therefore the Emperor, to comfort the hearts of his leaders and men, struck off this verse:—

As we fight,
Going forth and watching
From between the trees
Of Mount Inasa,
We are famished.
Ye keepers of cormorants
(Birds of the island),
Come now to our aid.[2]

In the end he crossed Sumi-zaka with the stronger troops, and, going round by the rear, attacked them from two sides and put them to the rout, killing their chieftains Shiki the Elder and the others.

12th month, 4th day. The Imperial army at length attacked Naga-sune-hiko and fought with him repeatedly, but was unable to gain the victory. Then suddenly the sky became overcast, and hail fell. There appeared a wondrous kite of a golden colour which came flying and perched on the end of the Emperor's bow. The lustre of this kite was of dazzling

[1] The charcoal acclivity.

[2] The metre is nearly regular naga-uta, which consists of alternate lines of five and seven syllables, with an additional line of seven syllables at the end. The cormorant-keepers were appealed to to supply fish for the army's food.

brightness, so that its appearance was like that of lightning. In consequence of this all Naga-sune-hiko's soldiers were dazzled and bewildered so that they could not fight stoutly. III. 25.

Nagasune was the original name of the village, whence it became the name of a man. But in consequence of the Imperial army obtaining the favourable omen of the Kite, the men of that time called it Tobi no mura.[1] It is now called Tomi, which is a corruption of this.

Ever since Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by an arrow at the battle of Kusaka and died, the Emperor bore this in mind, and constantly cherished resentment for it. On this campaign it was his desire to put all to death, and therefore he composed these verses, saying:—

My mouth tingles
With the ginger planted
At the bottom of the hedge
By the glorious
Sons of warriors—
I cannot forget it;
Let us smite them utterly.

Again he sang, saying:—

In the millet-field
Is one stem of odorous garlic:—
The glorious
Sons of warriors
Binding its stem
And binding its shoots
Will smite it utterly.

Then again letting loose his army, he suddenly attacked him. In general, all these songs composed by the Emperor are termed *kume uta*, in allusion to the persons who took and sang them.

Now Naga-sune-hiko sent a foot-messenger, who addressed the Emperor, saying:—"There was formerly a child of the

1 Kite-village.

2 "As the taste of ginger remains in the mouth for a long time after it is eaten, so do my feelings of resentment for my brother's death remain present to my mind. I cannot forget it, so let us revenge it by destroying the enemy utterly."

The word for shoots is me, which also means females. This is no doubt intentional. Naga-sune-hiko is to be destroyed with all his family.

Heavenly Deity, who came down from Heaven to dwell here, riding in a Rock-boat of Heaven. His name was Kushi-dama Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto. He took to wife my younger sister
III. 26 Mi-kashiki-ya-bime[1] [*also called Naga-sune-hime, or Tomi-ya-hime*][2] of whom he at length had a child, named Umashi-ma-te[3] no Mikoto. Therefore did I take Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto for my Lord, and did service to him. Can it be that there are two seeds of the children of the Heavenly Deity? Why should any one else take the name of Child of the Heavenly Deity and therewith rob people of their dominions? I have pondered this in my heart, but have as yet failed utterly to believe it." The Emperor said:—"There are many other children of the Heavenly Deity. If he whom thou has taken as thy Lord were truly a child of the Heavenly Deity, there would be surely some object which thou couldst show to us by way of proof." Naga-sune-hiko accordingly brought a single Heavenly-feathered-arrow of Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, and a foot-quiver,[4] and exhibited them respectfully to the Emperor. The Emperor examined them, and said:—"These are genuine." Then in his turn he showed to Naga-sune-hiko the single Heavenly-feathered-arrow and quiver which he wore. When Naga-sune-hiko saw the Heavenly token he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he was unable to pause in his career. Therefore he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose.

Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Deity had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly Grandchild, and that in view of the perverse disposition of Naga-sune it would be useless to instruct him
III. 27. in the relation of Heaven to Man,[5] put him to death. He then came with his army and made submission. The Emperor, who from the first had heard that Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto had come down from Heaven, finding that he now had actually performed faithful service, accordingly praised him, and was gracious to him. He was the ancestor of the Mono no Be House.[6]

1 Three-cook-house-princess. 2 Wealth-house. 3 Sweet-true-hand.
4 A foot-soldier's quiver is meant. 5 i.e. of Lord and Vassal.
6 The Mononobe were soldiers. Here, however, the hereditary chiefs only are meant, the Mononobe no Muraji.

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trusting to their valour, refused to present themselves at Court. The Emperor therefore sent detachments separately, and put them all to death. There were, moreover, Tsuchi-gumo at the village of Taka-wohari, whose appearance was as follows:—They had short bodies, and long arms and legs. They were of the same class as the pigmies. The Imperial troops wove nets of dolichos, which they flung over them and then slew
III. 28. them. Wherefore the name of that village was changed to Katsuraki.[1] It is in the land of Ihare. Its ancient name was Kataru, or Katatachi. When our Imperial forces routed the enemy, a great army assembled and filled that country. Its name was accordingly changed to Ihare.[2]

Another account says that when the Emperor on a previous occasion tasted the food of the sacred jars, he moved forward his army on an expedition towards the West. At this time the eighty bandits of Katsuraki were encamped together there. A great battle with the Emperor followed, and they were at length destroyed by the Imperial army. Therefore that place was called the village of Ihare.[3] Again, the place where the Imperial troops made a warlike stand was called Takeda.[4] The place where he built a castle was named Kita.[5] Moreover, the place where the enemy fell in battle, their dead bodies prostrate, with their forearms for pillows, was called Tsura-maki-da.[6]

The Emperor, in Autumn, the 9th month of the previous year, secretly took clay of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, with which he made eighty platters, and thereafter performing abstinence in person, sacrificed to all the Gods. He was thereby at length enabled to establish the world[7] in peace. Therefore he called the place where the clay was taken Hani-yasu.[8]

[1] Dolichos Castle.

[2] The interlinear Kana gives for "fill," ihameri, a word which I do not know.

[3] The "original commentary" says that the Japanese word corresponding to the Chinese characters rendered "encamp" is ihami, a word not otherwise known to me.

[4] Brave-field. [5] Castle-field. [6] Face-pillow-field.

[7] "World" is not quite a merely rhetorical expression for the Empire of Japan. Hirata justifies Hideyoshi's invasion of Corea on the grounds that the sovereigns of Japan are de jure lords of the whole earth.

[8] Clay-easy or clay-peace.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor made an order,[1] saying:—"During the six years that our expedition against the East has lasted, owing to my reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evil is still refractory. But in the region of the Central Land there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong.[2] III. 29

At present things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people's minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests or dwell in caves.[3] Their manners are simply what is customary. Now if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish. And even if some gain should accrue to the people, in what way would this interfere with the Sage's[4] action? Moreover, it will be well to open up and clear the mountains and forests, and to construct a palace. Then I may reverently assume the Precious Dignity, and so give peace to III. 30
my good subjects. Above, I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting me the Kingdom, and below, I should extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster rightmindedness. Thereafter the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof.[5] Will this not be well?

When I observe the Kashiha-bara[6] plain, which lies

[1] This whole speech is thoroughly Chinese in every respect, and it is preposterous to put it in the mouth of an Emperor who is supposed to have lived more than a thousand years before the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan. The strange thing is that it is necessary to make this remark. Yet there are still writers who regard this part of the "Nihongi" as historical.

[2] The Kana rendering is mi-araka, "an august shrine" or "an august palace." This would imply a different reading, 社 instead of 壯.

[3] The reader must not take this as any evidence of the manners and customs of the Ancient Japanese. It is simply a phrase suggested by the author's Chinese studies.

[4] Meaning the Emperor's action.

[5] The character for roof 宇 also means the universe. The eight cords, or measuring tapes, simply mean "everywhere."

[6] Kashiha is an evergreen oak, the Quercus dentata. Hara means plain.

S.W. of Mount Unebi, it seems the Centre of the Land. I must set it in order."

Accordingly he in this month commanded officers to set about the construction of an Imperial Residence.

B.C. 661. Year Kanoye Saru, Autumn, 8th month, 16th day. The Emperor, intending to appoint a wife, sought afresh[1] children of noble families. Now there was a man who made representation to him, saying:—"There is a child who was
III. 31. born to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami by his union with Tama-kushi-hime, daughter of Mizo-kuhi-ni no Kami of Mishima. Her name is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto. She is a woman of remarkable beauty." The Emperor was rejoiced, and on the 24th day of the 9th month he received Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto and made her his wife.

B.C. 660. Year Kanoto Tori, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara. This year is reckoned the first year of his reign.[2] He honoured his wife by making her Empress. The children born to him by her were Kami-ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto and Kami-nunagaha mimi no Mikoto.

Therefore[3] there is an ancient saying in praise of this, as follows:—"In Kashiha-bara in Unebi, he mightily established his palace-pillars on the foundation of the bottom-rock, and
III. 32. reared aloft the cross roof-timbers to the Plain of High Heaven.[4]

This afterwards became a proper name. Here it is perhaps simply a description.

[1] He had already a consort, but she was apparently not considered a wife.

[2] Japanese History is often said to begin with this year. The fact is that nothing which really deserves the name of history existed for nearly a thousand years more. This date is very much like that given for the foundation of Rome by Romulus, B.C. 753. The very calendar by which the reckoning was made was not invented or known in Japan until many centuries after. See Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," and "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J."

[3] As above remarked, the author often introduces this word without much reason.

[4] It was a mark of Shrines or Imperial Palaces to have the rafters at each end of the roof projecting upwards for several feet beyond the roof-tree, as in the illustration. These were called Chigi. See Ch. K., p. 311. Shintō temples at the present day are thus distinguished. What would those Japanese

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nushi[1] of Takeda. He was the ancestor of the Mohi-tori[2] of Uda. Shiki the younger, whose personal name was Kuro-haya, was made Agata-nushi of Shiki. Moreover, he appointed a man called Tsune to be Miyakko of the Land of Katsuraki. The Yata-garasu was also included in the ranks of those who received rewards. His descendants are the Agata-nushi of Katsurano and the Tonomori[3] Be.

B.C. 657. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. The Emperor issued the following decree :—" The spirits of our Imperial ancestors reflecting their radiance down from Heaven, illuminate and III. 34. assist us. All our enemies have now been subdued, and there is peace within the seas. We ought to take advantage of this to perform sacrifice to the Heavenly Deities, and therewith develop filial duty."

He accordingly established spirit-terraces amongst the Tomi hills, which were called Kami-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara and Shimo-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara.[4] There he worshipped his Imperial ancestors, the Heavenly Deities.[5]

B.C. 630. 31st year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Imperial palanquin[6] made a circuit, in the course of which the Emperor ascended the Hill Waki Kamu no Hotsuma. Here, having viewed the shape of the land on all sides, he said :—" Oh ! what a beautiful country we have become possessed of ! Though a blessed land of inner-tree-fibre,[7] yet it resembles a dragon-fly licking its hinder parts." From this it first received the name of Akitsu-shima.[8]

[1] Ruler of district.

[2] The Mohi-tori, afterwards mondori or mondo, were originally the officials charged with the water supply of the Palace. The designation Mondo no Kami remained until quite recent times.

[3] Tonomori, guardian of a palace or shrine.

[4] These names mean respectively the Persimmon plain of Upper Little-moor and the Persimmon plain of Lower Little-moor. The " spirit terraces " (a Chinese phrase) seems meant for the plots of ground consecrated for Shintō worship. See above, p. 81.

[5] The union of the offices of priest and king is to be noted all through this narrative.

[6] It is considered respectful to speak of the Imperial car or palanquin when the Emperor himself is meant.

[7] The inner-tree-fibre is the inner bark of the paper mulberry, used for weaving into cloth. It is here an ornamental epithet.

[8] The real meaning of Aki-tsu-shima is the " region of harvests." See

Of old, Izanagi no Mikoto, in naming this country, said:—"Yamato is the Land of Ura-yasu:[1] it is the Land of Hoso-hoko no Chi-taru:[2] it is the Land of Shiwa-Kami-Ho-tsu-ma."[3]

Afterwards Oho-namuchi no Oho-kami named it the Land of Tama-gaki no Uchi-tsu-kuni.[4] III. 35.

Finally, when Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto soared across the Great Void in a Heaven-rock-boat, he espied this region and descended upon it. Therefore he gave it a name and called it Sora-mitsu-Yamato.[5]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. He appointed Prince Kami-nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto Prince Imperial. B.C. 61

76th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kashiha-bara. His age was then 127.[6] The following year, Autumn, the 12th day of the 9th month, he was buried in the Misasagi[7] N.E. of Mount Unebi. B.C. 58

above, p. 13. It has nothing to do with akitsu, the dragon-fly. This insect may often be seen with its tail touching its mouth, so that its body forms a ring. The appearance of the province of Yamato, which is a plain surrounded by a ring of mountains, suggested the simile in the text. Later historians have converted this into a comparison of Japan to a dragon-fly with outstretched wings.

[1] Bay-easy. Explained to mean "which has peace within its coasts."

[2] Slender-spears-thousand-good. "Well supplied with weapons," say the commentators.

[3] Rock-ring-upper-pre-eminent-true (land).

[4] Jewel-fence-within-land.

[5] Sky-saw-Yamato. But Sora-mitsu really means "that fills the sky," i.e. that reaches to the farthest horizon. These names are merely poetical inventions. They were never in actual use.

[6] The "Kojiki" makes him 137.

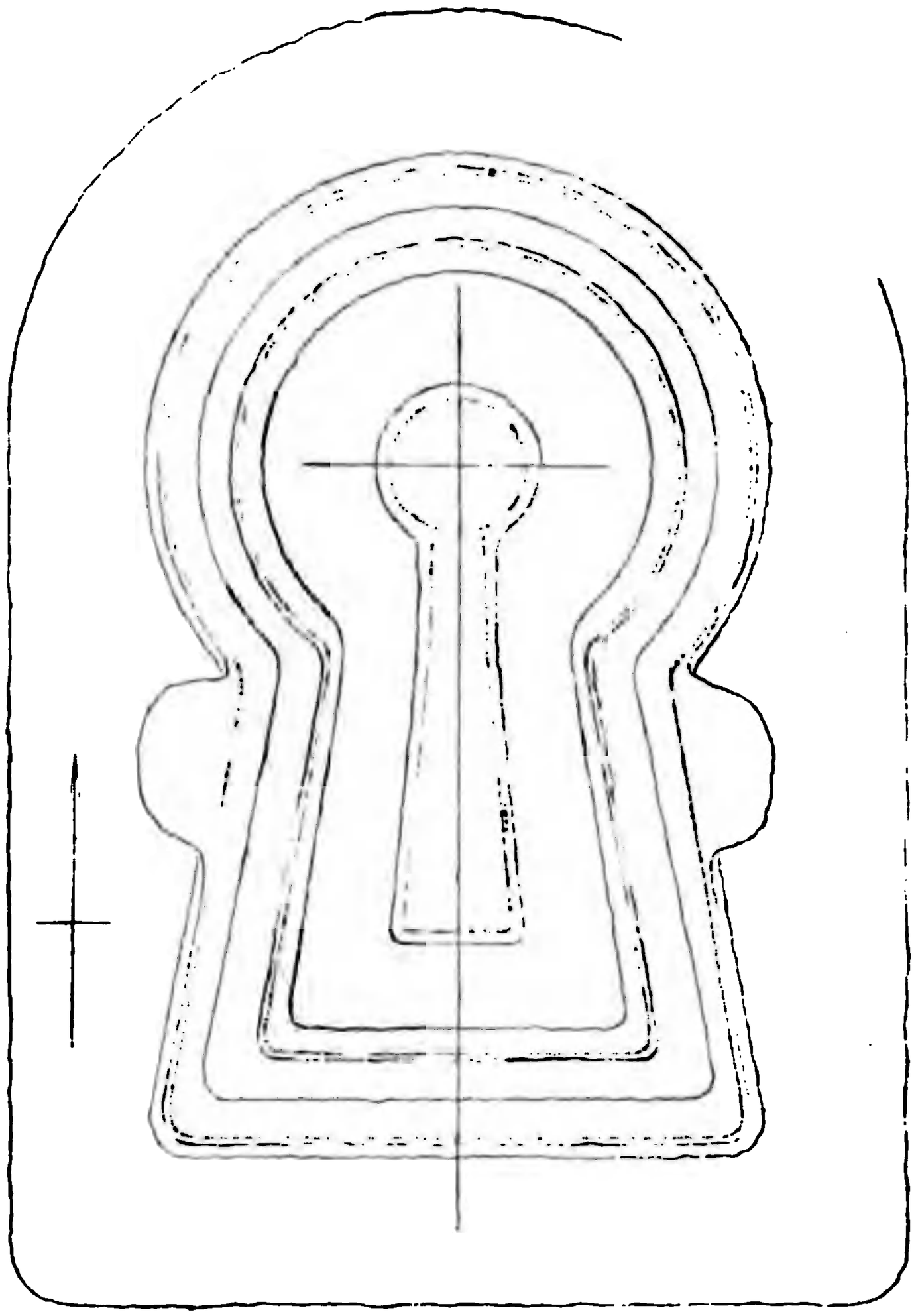
[7] The Misasagi are still to be seen in large numbers in Japan, especially in the Gokinai or five metropolitan provinces. They are particularly numerous in Kahachi and Yamato.

In the most ancient times, say the Japanese antiquarians, the Misasagi or tombs of the Mikados were simple mounds. At some unknown period,

Misasagi, side view.

however, perhaps a few centuries before the Christian epoch, a highly specialized form of tumulus came into use for this purpose, and continued for several hundreds of years without much change. It consists of two

mounds, one having a circular, the other a triangular base, merging into each other after the manner shown in the illustration, the whole being surrounded by a moat, or sometimes by two concentric moats with a narrow strip of land between. The interment took place n the circular mound, the other probably serving as a platform on which were performed the rites in honour of the deceased. Seen from the side the appearance is that of a saddle-hill, the circular mound being somewhat higher than the other. There are sometimes two smaller mounds at the base of the larger ones, filling up the angle where they meet. The slope of the tumulus is not



Ground plan of Misasagi.

regular, but is broken up by terraces, on which are placed in rows, a few inches apart, curious cylinders made of baked clay shaped in a mould, and measuring from 1 to 2 feet in height, and from 6 to 14 inches in diameter. They are buried in the earth, their upper rims being just level with the surface.

In some, perhaps in most cases, the Misasagi contains a large vault of great unhewn stones without mortar. The walls of the vault converge

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state. Therefore he was again charged with the conduct of affairs, and the Emperor treated him as an intimate friend. This prince, however, was of a perverse disposition, and his natural bent was opposed to justice. During the period of sincere seclusion[1] his authority at last became independent, and concealing his malicious purposes, he plotted the destruction of his two younger brothers.

Now in the year Tsuchinoto U of the cycle, Winter, the 11th month, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto and his elder brother Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto learnt privately his intentions and effectively prevented him. When the business of the misasagi was ended, they caused Yumi Be no Waka-hiko to make a bow, and Yamato no Kanuchi[2] Ama-tsu-ma-ura[3] to make a true-deer arrow-point, and the Ya[4] Be to prepare arrows. When the bow and arrows were ready, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto wished therewith to shoot IV. 3.
to death Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, who happened just then to be in a great muro at Kataoka, lying alone on a great couch. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto spake to Kami-Ya-wi

may suppose that he was at that time twenty years of age at least. We are now in B.C. 585, so that he must have been over 100.

[1] i.e. of mourning.

[2] Yumi-be is the Be of bow-makers; Kanuchi, smith.

[3] Ama-tsu-ma-ura. This name is obviously identical with that of the smith-god, Ama-tsu-mara, mentioned in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 55), upon which Chamberlain remarks, "Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret 'Cælestis Penis.'" Ma-ura means literally true-heart, or inwards, and hence came to be used as a decent term for penis, corresponding somewhat to our word "nakedness." In modern times it is a very vulgar word. This is Hirata's view. Another derivation connects it with Mâra, the Indian God of lust, sin, and death.

If Ama-tsu-ma-ura or mara stood alone, we might be disposed with Motowori to pass it by as a proper name of doubtful derivation. But Hirata ("Koshiden" v. 48) quotes from old books three other names of deities which contain this element, viz. Oho (great) mara no Mikoto, Ama-tsu-aka (red) mara no Mikoto and Ama-teru (shining) mara take-wo (brave male) no Mikoto. He thinks it sufficient to say that as these are the names of Gods, a phallic interpretation is inadmissible, but in this European scholars will hardly agree with him. There is a Mara no Sukune in the Japanese peerage of the ninth century, known as the Seishiroku. See Index—Phallic worship.

[4] Ya, arrow.

no Mikoto, saying:—"The right time has now arrived. In words, secrecy is to be prized: in deeds, caution is advisable. Therefore, we have never had any partner in our conspiracy, and the enterprise of to-day is to be carried out by thee and me alone. I will first open the door of the muro. Do thou then shoot him." They accordingly went forward and entered in together.

Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto pushed open the door, while Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto's arms and legs trembled so that he was unable to let fly the arrow. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto snatched the bow and arrows which his elder brother held and shot Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. The first shot struck him on the breast, the second on the back, and so at length he killed him. Hereupon Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto was troubled and submitted himself, yielding the sovereignty to Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto, saying:—"I am thy elder brother.[1] But I am timid and weak, and unfit for effective action. On the present occasion thou hast specially displayed divine valour, and hast thyself put to death our chief enemy. Is it not expedient that thou shouldst illuminate the Celestial station[2] and take over the functions of
IV. 4. our Imperial ancestors? I will be thy assistant and will attend to the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth." He was the first ancestor of the Oho no Omi.

B.C. 581. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto assumed the rank of Emperor. He made his capital at Katsuraki. It was called the palace[3] of Takaoka. He honoured the Empress by granting her the title of Kwō-dai-gō or Grand Empress.[4] This was the year Kanoye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 580. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month. Isuzu-yori-bime was appointed Empress.

One writing says:—"Kaha-mata-bime, daughter of the Agata-nushi of Shiki."

[1] In this and other passages of the "Nihongi," there is a sort of recognition of a right of primogeniture, but cases are numerous where the eldest son is ignored or set aside without very strong reason in favour of a brother, widow, or younger son of the deceased sovereign.

[2] i.e. the rank of Emperor.

[3] Capital and palace are interchangeable terms in this narrative.

[4] Equivalent to Empress Dowager. This is a Chinese title.

One writing says:—"Itori-hime, daughter of Ohohimoro, Agata-nushi of Kasuga."

She was the Emperor's aunt. The Empress bore a son, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto died, and was buried on the Northern side of Mount Unebi. B.

25th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi no Mikoto was made heir to the Imperial throne. B I

33rd year, Summer, 5th month. The Emperor took ill, and on the 10th day of the same month, he died, at the age of eighty-four. B

THE EMPEROR SHIKI-TSU-HIKO-TAMA-DEMI.

(*ANNEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was the eldest child of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. His mother's name was Isuzu-yori-bime no Mikoto, the younger daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. This Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in the 25th year of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. He was then twenty-one[2] years of age. In the 5th month, Summer, of the 33rd year of his reign, the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi died. In the 7th month of that year, on the 3rd day of the month, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year,[3] Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was buried in the Misasagi on Tsukida Hill in Yamato.

The Emperor honoured the Empress with the title of Kwō-dai-gō.

[1] Annei means peace.

[2] The editor of the Shukai edition alters this to eleven, in order to agree with other passages. But when the whole chronology is utterly fanciful, there is no use attempting to make it consistent.

[3] For purposes of chronology, these reigns begin with the next year following the previous Emperor's death. The first year of Annei's reign is therefore B.C. 548, although his predecessor died B.C. 549.

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THE EMPEROR MI-MATSU-HIKO-KAYESHINE.

(*KŌSHŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine was the eldest son of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The name of the Empress, his mother, was Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in Spring, the second month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo died in autumn, the ninth month of the 34th year of his reign. On the 13th day of the 10th month of the following year, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was buried in the Misasagi over the Masago Valley to the south of Mount Unebi.

IV. 9. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Prince Imperial
B.C. 475. assumed the Imperial Dignity.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.[2]

7th month. The capital was removed to Wakigami.[3] It was called the Palace of Ikegokoro. This year was the year Hinoye Tora of the cycle.

B.C. 447. 29th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Yoso-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress.

One version says:—"Nunaki-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Oho-wi-hime, daughter of Toyo-aki-sata-wo of the Land of Yamato."

The Empress gave birth to Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto, and to the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito.

B.C. 408. 68th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He

[1] Filial piety manifested.

[2] Kwō-dai- ō.

[3] In Yamato.

was twenty years of age. Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wani no Omi.

83rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 393.

THE EMPEROR YAMATO-TARASHI-HIKO-KUNI-OSHI-BITO.

(*KŌAN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was the second child of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. His mother's name was Yoso-tarashi-hime. She was the younger sister of Okitsu Yoso, the ancestor of the Ohari no[2] Muraji. IV. 10.

The Emperor was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 68th year of the reign of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine died in Autumn, the 8th month of the 83rd year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 392.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Tsuchi no to Ushi of the cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Muro. It was called the Palace of Akitsushima. B.C. 391.

26th year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. The Emperor appointed his niece,[3] Oshi-bime, Empress. B.C. 367.

One version has:—"Naga-hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Isaka-hime, daughter of Isaka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni.

38th year, Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine was buried in the Misasagi on Mount Hakata in Wakigami. B.C. 355.

76th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Oho-Yamato-neko- IV. 11. B.C. 317.

[1] Filial piety-peace. [2] Or Owari. [3] A brother's daughter.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO[1]-HIKO-FUTO-NI.

(*KŌREI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was the eldest child of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. His mother's name was Oshi-bime. He had been appointed Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 76th year of the reign of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. In Spring, the 1st month of the 102nd year of his reign, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito died. In Autumn, the 9th month, 13th day, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was buried in the Misasagi on Tamade Hill.

Winter, 12th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial removed the capital to Kuroda.[3] It was called the Palace of Ihodo.

B.C. 290. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji of the cycle.

IV. 12. B.C. 289. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. Hoso-bime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

One version has:—"Kasuga no Chichi-haya-yamaka-hime."

One version has:—"Mashita-bime, daughter of Toso, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. A concubine named Yamato no kuni-ka-hime [*also called Haye-irone*] was the mother of Yamato-to-to-

[1] Several of the Emperors' names have the element Yamato-neko (neko is a honorific), and one Emperor styles himself Yamato-neko in an edict, although this was not his name. It may be suspected that Yamato-neko was at one time a general title for the sovereigns of Japan.

[2] Filial piety-spirit.

[3] In Yamato.

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The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru died in Autumn, the 9th month of the 57th year of his reign.

In Winter, the 11th month, 12th day, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Kasuga. It was called the Palace of Isa-kaha. This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was buried in the Misasagi on the island of Tsurugi-ike.[1]

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. [*She was his father's concubine.*] The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-i-niye.

The Emperor had previously taken to himself as concubine Tamiha no Takano-hime. She was the mother of Hiko-yumusumi no Mikoto. [*Also called Hiko-komosu no Mikoto.*] There was a subordinate concubine named Oke-tsu-hime, younger sister of Oke-tsu no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi. She was the mother of Prince[2] Hiko-imasu.

28th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Mimaki-iri-hiko no Mikoto was created Prince Imperial. He was nineteen years of age.

60th year, Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Emperor died.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. He was buried in the Saka-moto Misasagi at Isa-kaha in Kasuga.

One version has:—"The Misasagi of Saka no kami."[3] His age was then 115.

[1] Ike means a pond or artificial lake.

[2] Where Prince stands alone without the word Imperial before or after it, it represents the Chinese character 王, which in the "Nihongi" is applied sometimes to the kings or princes of Corea, but more usually to Japanese princes who did not belong to the family of the reigning sovereign.

[3] It is difficult to say whether Saka-moto and Saka no kami are proper names or merely descriptions. They mean respectively the "bottom of the acclivity" and the "top of the acclivity."

BOOK V.

THE EMPEROR MIMAKI-IRI-BIKO-I-NIYE.

(*SŪJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Mimaki-iri-biko-i-niye was the second child of the Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hi-hi. His mother's name was Ika-shiko-me, daughter of Oho-he-so-ki no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Mononobe House.[2]

The Emperor was created Prince Imperial at the age of nineteen. He was of a quick intelligence, and in his boyhood was fond of manly devices. When he grew up to manhood, he was of wide culture and circumspect in his behaviour. He honoured profoundly the Gods of Heaven and Earth. His mind was constantly directed to the management of the Celestial Institution.[3]

The Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi died in Summer, the 4th month of the 60th year of his reign.

B.C. 97. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress.

2nd month, 16th day. Mimaki-hime was appointed Empress. Before this she had given birth to the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-i-sachi, Kuni-kata-hime no Mikoto, Chichi-tsuku Yamato-hime no Mikoto, Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, and Ika-tsuru-
V. 2. hiko no Mikoto. By a concubine, Tohotsu Ayume ma-kuwashi-hime, daughter of Araka, the Tohe of the Land of Kiï, he had Toyo-suki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, and a subordinate concubine named Ohari no Oho-ama.

One version has :—" Ya-saka-furu-ama-irohe, daughter of Oho-umi no-Sukune."

[1] Sūjin means "honouring the Gods."

[2] In Japanese Uji.

[3] The sovereignty.

bore to him Ya-saka-iri-hiko no Mikoto, Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto, and Toho-chi-ni-iri-bime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle.

3rd year, Autumn, 9th month. The capital was removed to Shiki. It was called the Palace of Midzu-gaki. B.C. 95.

4th year, Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"When our Imperial ancestors gloriously assumed the Supreme Rank, was it for the benefit of themselves alone? It was doubtless in order that they might thereby shepherd men and spirits,[1] and regulate the Empire. Therefore it was that from generation to generation they were able to extend their unfathomable merit, and in their day to spread abroad their perfect virtue. B.C. 94.

We, having now received at their hands the mighty inheritance, lovingly nourish our good subjects. In so doing, let us follow obediently in the footsteps of our Imperial ancestors, and long preserve the unbounded felicity. And ye too, Our Ministers and functionaries, should you not co-operate with all loyalty in giving peace to the Empire?"[2] V. 3.

5th year. There was much pestilence throughout the country, and more than one half the people died. B.C. 93.

6th year. The people took to vagabondage, and there was rebellion, the violence of which was such that by worth alone it could not be assuaged.[3] B.C. 92.

Therefore, rising early in the morning and being full of awe until the evening, the Emperor requested punishment[4] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

Before this the two Gods Ama-terasu no Oho-kami and Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama[5] were worshipped together within the Emperor's Great Hall. He dreaded, however, the power of these Gods, and did not feel secure in their dwelling together. Therefore he entrusted Ama-terasu no Oho-kami to Toyo-suki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped at the village

[1] The Kana has simply hito, men.

[2] This decree is a mere cento of Chinese phrases.

[3] i.e., by the virtues of the Sovereign commanding the respect and obedience of the people.

[4] In accordance with the Chinese notion that national calamities are owing to the faults of the Emperor.

[5] The numen of the great land of Yamato.

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Emperor grieve no more for the disorder of the country. This is my will. If thou wilt cause me to be worshipped by my child, Oho-tata-neko, then will there be peace at once. Moreover the lands beyond the sea will of their own accord render submission."

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. Yamato-to-to-kami-asachi-hara-ma-guhashi-hime, Oho-mina-kuchi-no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and the Kimi of Wo-umi in Ise had all three the same dream, which they reported to the Emperor, saying:—"Last night we had a dream in which there appeared a man of noble aspect, who admonished us, saying:—'Let Oho-tata-neko no Mikoto be appointed master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi-no-oho-kami, and let Ichi-shi no V. Naga-ochi be appointed master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami. Then assuredly the Empire will have profound peace.'"

The Emperor, when he learned the words of the dream, was more and more delighted in his heart. By a proclamation to the Empire he sought for Oho-tata-neko, who was accordingly found in the village of Suye, in the district of Chinu,[1] and sent to the Emperor, who forthwith proceeded in person to the plain of Kami-asachi, and assembled all the Princes and Ministers, and the eighty Be. He then inquired of Oho-tata-neko, saying:—"Whose child art thou?" He answered and said:—"My father's name is Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. My mother's name is Ikudama-yori-bime, daughter of Suye-tsu mimi."

Also called Kushi-hi-kata-ame-hi-kata, daughter of Take-chinu-tsumi.

The Emperor said:—"Now we shall be prosperous." So he ascertained by divination that it would be lucky to send Ika-shiko-wo to distribute offerings to the Gods. He also divined that it would be unlucky to take advantage of this opportunity to worship other Gods.[2]

11th month, 8th day.[3] The Emperor took the articles[4] for

[1] In Idzumi. [2] Than the two above mentioned.

[3] The original has cyclical characters which would make it the 56th day of the month. I have adopted an emendation which does not make obvious nonsense. But where the whole series of dates is fictitious, it is hardly worth while noticing minor inaccuracies of this kind.

[4] Of pottery.

the worship of the Gods which he ordered Ika-shiko-wo to have made by the hands of the eighty Mononobe, and appointed Oho-tata-neko Master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. Moreover he made Nagaochi Master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami.

After that, he divined that it would be lucky to worship the other Gods. So he took the opportunity of separately worshipping the assemblage of eighty myriads of Deities. He also settled which were to be Heavenly shrines and which Earthly shrines, and allotted land and houses for the service of the Gods. Thereupon the pestilence first ceased; the country at length had peace, the five kinds of grain were produced, and the peasantry enjoyed abundance.

B.C. 90. 8th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. A man of the village of Takahashi, named Ikuhi, was appointed Brewer to the Great Deity.

Winter, 12th month, 20th day. The Emperor caused Oho-tata-neko to worship the Great Deity. On this day, Ikuhi, in person, presented to the Emperor sacred sake, with a song, as follows:—

This sacred sake
Is not my sacred sake:
'Tis sacred sake brewed
By Oho-mono-nushi,
Of Yamato,
How long ago!
How long ago![1]

Having thus sung, they feasted in the Shrine of the God. As soon as the feast was over, the various high officials sang as follows:—

V. 8. The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning door
We would go forth from—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.

Hereupon the Emperor sang as follows:—

[1] "How long ago" is in Japanese Ikuhisa, an obvious allusion to the Brewer's name, Ikuhi, in short a pun.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning-door
I would push open—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.[1]

So the door of the Shrine of the God was thrown open, and the Emperor proceeded on his way.

He who was called Oho-tata-neko was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Miwa.

9th year, Spring, 3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor had a dream in which a divine person appeared to him and instructed him, saying:—"Take eight red shields and eight red spears and do worship to the God of Sumi-zaka. Take moreover eight black shields and eight black spears and do worship to the God of Oho-zaka." B.C. 8

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. In accordance with the instruction he had received in the dream, he worshipped the Gods of Sumi-zaka and Oho-zaka.[2]

10th year, Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. He proclaimed to the company of Ministers, saying:—"For the guidance of the people, the chief thing is education. Now that I have performed due rites to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, all calamity has become spent. The distant savages, however, do not receive our calendar because they are yet unaccustomed to the civilizing influences of our rule. We will, therefore, select some of our company of Ministers and despatch them to the four quarters, so that they may cause our Will to be known." B.C. 8 V. 9.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor sent Oho-hiko no Mikoto to the northern region, he sent Takenu-kaha wake to the Eastern Sea,[3] he sent Kibi[4]-tsu-hiko to the Western road,

[1] The sentiment of these poems seems to be the same as that of our own "We won't go home till morning."
Metre irregular.

[2] However unhistorical all this may be, one thing clearly appears from it, viz., that in the early days of Japan the king and high priest were identical. Both the civil and religious functions, however, might be equally delegated.

[3] In the original Tō-kai, whence Tōkaidō, East-sea-road, the great highway from Kioto to the East and also the provinces lying to each side of it.

[4] Kibi is the ancient name for Bizen, Bingo, and Bittchiu, which lie west of Yamato.

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from Mount Kako[1] in Yamato, which she wrapped in her neckerchief and prayed, saying:—'This earth represents the Land of Yamato,' and turned it upside down. By this I know that there will be troubles. If thou dost not speedily take measures, it will assuredly be too late." Hereupon he recalled all the generals and consulted with them. No long time after, Take-hani-yasu-hiko and his wife Ata-bime conspired to revolt, and arrived suddenly with an army which they had raised. They came each by different roads, the husband by way of Yamashiro, the wife by Oho-saka. They intended to join their forces and attack the capital. Then the Emperor sent Isaseri-hiko no Mikoto to attack the force led by Ata-bime. He accordingly intercepted it at Oho-saka and put it all to a great rout. Ata-bime was killed, and her troops were all slain. Afterwards he sent Oho-hiko and Hiko-kuni-fuku, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, towards Yamashiro to attack Take-hani-yasu. Here they took sacred jars and planted them at the top of the acclivity of Takasuki in Wani.[2] Then they advanced with their best troops and ascended Mount Nara and occupied it. Now when the Imperial forces were encamping, they trod level the herbs and trees, whence that mountain was given the name of Mount Nara.[3] Then abandoning Mount Nara, they proceeded as far as the River Wakara. Hani-yasu-hiko was encamped on both sides of the river, and the two armies challenged each other. Therefore the men of that time changed the name of the river, and called it the River Idomi,[4] which is now corrupted into Idzumi. V. 11. V. 12.

Hani-yasu-hiko, standing on the bank of this river, inquired of Hiko-kuni-fuku, saying:—"Why hast thou raised an army and come hither?" He answered and said:—"Thou, in opposition to Heaven, and regardless of right, dost intend to overturn the Royal chamber.[5] Therefore I have raised a loyal army to punish thy revolt. This is the Emperor's command." Hereupon there was a struggle who should shoot first. Hani-yasu-hiko shot first at Hiko-kuni-fuku, but missed him. Then

[1] The same as Mount Kagu above referred to.
[2] i.e. they sacrificed to the Gods before entering on the campaign.
[3] Narasu means to make level.
[4] Challenge River.
[5] We would say the throne.

Hiko-kuni-fuku aimed at Hani-yasu-hiko, hit him in the breast, and killed him. His troops lost courage and retreated. They were consequently pursued and driven in rout to the north of the river. More than half had their heads cut off, and of dead bodies there was a plentiful overflow. Therefore that place was named Hafu-sono.[1]

Again the troops fled in fear and their excrements were voided on their breeches. So they took off their armour and ran. Knowing that they could not escape, they bowed their heads to the ground, and said, "Our Lord." Therefore the men of that time called the place where the armour was taken off "Ka-wara,"[2] and the place where the breeches were defiled they called Kuso-bakama.[3] It is now called Kusuba, which is a corruption of this word.

V. 13. Moreover the place where they bowed their heads was called A-gimi.[4]

After tkis Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto became the wife of Oho-mono-nushi no Kami. This God, however, was never seen in the day-time, but came at night. Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto said to her husband:—"As my Lord is never seen in the day-time, I am unable to view his august countenance distinctly; I beseech him therefore to delay a while, that in the morning I may look upon the majesty of his beauty." The Great God answered and said:—"What thou sayest is clearly right. To-morrow morning I will enter thy toilet-case and stay there. I pray thee be not alarmed at my form." Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto wondered secretly in her heart at this. Waiting until daybreak, she looked into her toilet-case. There was there a beautiful little snake,[5] of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment. Thereupon she was frightened, and uttered an exclamation. The Great God was ashamed, and changing suddenly into human form, spake to his wife, and

[1] Afureru is "to overflow," sono means garden. Hafu is more probably for hafuri, sacrifice.

[2] An old word for "armour."

[3] "Excrement-breeches."

[4] Our Lord. See above.

[5] This is one of numerous evidences of serpent-worship in Ancient Japan. The interlinear Kana for snake is worochi, where the last syllable is a honorific.

said:—"Thou didst not contain thyself, but hast caused me shame: I will in my turn put thee to shame." So treading the Great Void, he ascended to Mount Mimoro. Hereupon Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto looked up and had remorse. She flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda so that she died. She was buried at Oho-chi. Therefore the men of that time called her tomb the Hashi no haka.[1] This tomb was made by men in the day-time, V. 14.
and by Gods at night. It was built of stones carried from Mount Oho-saka. Now the people standing close to each other passed the stones from hand to hand, and thus transported them from the mountain to the tomb. The men of that time made a song about this, saying:—

If one passed from hand to hand
The rocks
Built up
On Oho-saka,[2]
How hard 'twould be to send them![3]

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to his Ministers, saying:—"The rebels have now all yielded themselves to execution and there is peace in the home district.[4] But the savage tribes abroad[5] continue to be tumultuous. Let the generals of the four roads now make haste to set out." On the 22nd day, the four generals set out on their journeys simultaneously.

[1] The Chopstick Tomb.

[2] The great acclivity.

[3] The tombs of men of rank at this period of Japanese History consisted of a round mound of earth varying in size according to the station of the person interred, and containing a vault of megalithic stones, with an entrance gallery similar to those of the Imperial Misasagi, but of much smaller size. Many of these are still to be seen in Japan, especially in the provinces near Yamato. Of course it is utterly impossible to pass from hand to hand stones of the size used in constructing these tombs.

[4] The original is Kinai, more familiarly known as Gokinai, and comprising the provinces of Yamato, Yamashiro, Settsu, Kawachi, and Idzumi.

[5] Lit. outside the sea. This is a Chinese expression which must not be taken too literally. The Ainos may be referred to. But the whole passage seems inspired by recollections from Chinese literature, and is probably entirely fictitious.

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and rain came in their season, the hundred kinds of grain formed duly. Families did not become extinct, population was sufficient. Profound peace prevailed in the Empire. Therefore he received the title of "The Emperor, the august founder of the country."

17th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The following decree was issued:— B.C. 81. V. 16.

"Ships are of cardinal importance to the Empire. At present the people of the coast, not having ships, suffer grievously by land-transport. Therefore, let every province be caused to have ships built."

Winter, 10th month. The building of ships was begun.

48th year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. The Emperor gave command to Toyoki no Mikoto and Ikume no Mikoto, saying:—"Ye, my two children, are alike in Our affection, and We know not which of you to make Our successor. Do each of you dream, and We will form an augury from your dreams." B.C. 50. Hereupon the two princes, having received this command, performed their ablutions and prayed. In their sleep each of them had a dream. The next dawn the elder brother, Toyoki no Mikoto, reported to the Emperor the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended Mount Mimoro, and turning to the East, eight times I flourished a spear, and eight times dealt blows with a sword."

The younger brother, Ikume no Mikoto, reported the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended to the summit of Mount Mimoro, and stretched a cord to the four quarters with which to drive away the sparrows which fed upon the grain."

The Emperor compared the dreams, and spake to his two sons, saying:—"The elder of you turned to the East only, and it is therefore meet that he should rule the Eastern Land. But the younger looked down generally over the four quarters, and he ought therefore to succeed to Our Dignity."

Summer, 4th month, 19th day. Ikume no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial, and Toyoki no Mikoto was made ruler of the Eastern Land. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Kami-tsuke[1] and of the Kimi of Shimotsuke.

[1] Now Kōdzuke.

B.C. 38. V. 17. 60th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Take-hi-teru no Mikoto

Another version is Take-hina-tori or Ama-no-hina-tori.

brought from Heaven the divine treasures and stored them in the Temple of the Great God at Idzumo. I wish to see them." Accordingly Take-moro-sumi, the ancestor of the Yata-be no Miyakko, was sent for them

One writing says:—"Also called Oho-moro-sumi."

that he might lay them before the Emperor. Now at this time Idzumo Furune, the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, held charge of the divine treasures. He had gone to the Land of Tsukushi and did not come to meet him. His younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, accordingly received the Imperial command and entrusted them to his younger brother, Umashi-Kara[1]-hisa and his son Uka-tsuku-nu, and so rendered them up to the Emperor. Now when Idzumo Furune returned from Tsukushi and heard that the divine treasures had been rendered up to the Court, he rebuked his younger brother Ihi-iri-ne, saying:—"Thou shouldst have waited for some days. What wert thou afraid of that thou didst so lightly part with the divine treasures?" On this account

V. 18. he still, after years and months had passed, cherished wrath against his younger brother and had a mind to slay him. So he deceived his younger brother, saying:—"Of late the *mo*[2] plant grows plentifully in the Yamiya pool. Pray let us go together and see it." So he followed his elder brother and went there. Before this, the elder brother had secretly made a wooden sword, in appearance like a real sword, which at this time he himself wore. The younger brother was girt with a real sword. When they both came to the head of the pool, the elder brother said to the younger:—"The water of the pool is limpid and cool; pray let us both bathe in it." The younger brother agreed to his elder brother's proposal, and they each took off the sword which he wore and laid it on

[1] Note the occurrence of Kara, the name of a Corean Kingdom, in a proper name at a time when it was not supposed that Japan had relations with Corea.

[2] Defined as "a water plant with round leaves and stems which vary in length according to the depth of the water." It is edible.

the bank of the pool. Having bathed in the water, the elder brother came first to land, and taking the younger brother's real sword, girded it on himself. Afterwards the younger brother, surprised, took up his elder brother's wooden sword, but on coming to mutual blows, the younger brother was unable to draw the wooden sword. So the elder brother smote his younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, and killed him. Therefore the men of that day made a song, saying,—

The sword girt on
By the warrior of Idzumo
(Where many clouds arise [1])—
There is the sheath enwound with creepers,
But, alas! there is no blade.

Hereupon Umashi-Kara-hisa and Uka-tsuku-nu proceeded to Court, where they reported this affair in detail. Accordingly, Kibi-tsu-hiko and Takenu-kaha-wake were sent to put to death Idzumo Furune. Therefore the Omi of Idzumo, in dread of this, desisted for a while from the worship of the Great God.

Now a man of Higami, in Tamba, named Hika-tohe, made a representation to the Prince Imperial, Iku-me no Mikoto, saying:—"One of my children is a young infant. Yet of his own V. 19.
accord he has said this:—'These are the Gods worshipped by the men of Idzumo—Idzumo of the gem-like water-plant [2] and the sunken stone [3]—viz. the true-kind-beautiful-august-mirror, the pinion-flapping-beautiful-august-God, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master; the august-spirit-plunged-in-the-water-of-the-mountain-stream, the peacefully-wearing (jewels?)-august-deity, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master.' [4] These do not seem like the words of a young infant. May they have been spoken by divine inspiration?"

Hereupon the Prince Imperial reported to the Emperor, who accordingly caused them to be worshipped.

62nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The following B.C. 36.
edict was issued:—

"Agriculture is the great foundation of the Empire. It is

[1] See above, p. 54.
[2] The *mo*, above referred to.
[3] Perhaps a precious stone found at the bottom of rivers.
[4] The Shiki says that this is the description of two deities only.

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BOOK VI.

THE EMPEROR IKU-ME-IRI-HIKO-I-SACHI.

(*SUININ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-i-sachi was the third child of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye. The Empress his mother was called Mimaki-hime. She was the daughter of Oho-hiko no Mikoto. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Midzugaki in the 29th year of the Emperor Mimaki, the 50th year of the cycle, Spring, the 1st month, the 1st day. From his birth he was of a distinguished appearance; when he grew to manhood, he had superior talent and large principles. His disposition was to be guided implicitly by truth and to avoid dissimulation.

The Emperor loved him, and retained him near his own person. At the age of twenty-four,[2] in accordance with the prognostic of a dream, he made him Prince Imperial.

The Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye died in Winter, the 12th month of the 68th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 2nd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 29.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day.[3] The Emperor Mimaki was buried in the Misasagi over the road at Yamanobe. VI. 2.

11th month, 2nd day. The Empress was granted the

[1] Dispense-benevolence.

[2] This does not agree with what precedes. He was born in the 29th year of his father's reign, and made Prince Imperial in the 48th. He would therefore be only twenty, and not twenty-four. Note that the Japanese always count both the year of birth and the current year in their calculations of age.

[3] This does not agree with the date on the previous page.

honorary title of Grand Empress. This was the year Midzu-noye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 28. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. Saho-hime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to Homu-tsu-wake no Mikoto. From his birth the Emperor loved him, and kept him near his own person. When he grew to manhood, he could not speak.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Maki-muku. It was called the Palace of Tamaki. In this year the man of Imna, Sonaka cheulchi,[1] asked permission to return to his country. Therefore gifts were liberally bestowed on him, and there were entrusted to him as a present for the King of Imna 100 pieces of red silk. But the Silla people waylaid and robbed him, and at this time began the enmity between the two countries.[2]

One account says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Mimaki, there was a man with horns on his forehead[3] who came riding in a ship and anchored in the Bay of Kebi in the land of Koshi. Therefore that place was called Tsunoga.[4] He was asked what countryman he was. He replied, saying:—'I am the son of the King of Great Kara.
VI. 3. My name is Tsunoga árashito, and I am also called Ushiki arishichi kanki.[5] It having come to my ears that there is in the Land of Japan a sage Emperor, I wished to offer

[1] Corean pronunciation. The Japanese would be Sonaka shichi.

[2] There is probably some historical foundation for this. But the chronology must be wrong. According to the Tongkam, Kara (Imna) was not formed into a kingdom until A.D. 42, and hostilities between Kara and Silla are first mentioned in that work in A.D. 94. They were also at war in 97, 115, 116, and 203. See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 44.

[3] The ancient Chinese Emperors are so depicted.

[4] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. A derivation from Tsuno-nuka (horn-forehead) seems intended.

[5] The Chinese characters in the text are probably intended to be read with their Japanese pronunciation, and I have accordingly in this instance followed the traditional Kana rendering. If the Corean pronunciation were followed, we should read Tonoka Arasăteung and Usaki ari cheulchi kanki. The Shiki says that kanki is a Silla rank equal to the Japanese senior 3rd rank. From a passage in Keidai Tennō's reign, year 23, it would appear that Arashito, or Arasăteung, was the name of some office or dignity.

him my allegiance and came to Anato.'[1] Now in that land there was a man named Itsutsu-hiko, who spoke to thy servant, saying:—'I am the King of this land, and there is no other king but me. Do not thou therefore proceed further.' But when I observed him closely and saw what manner of man he was, I knew surely that he was not a king. So I departed again from that place, and not knowing the road, anchored at one island and bay after another, going round by way of the Northern Sea and passing the Land of Idzumo until I arrived here."

It so happened that at this time the Emperor died, so he was detained and served the Emperor Ikume for three years.

Then the Emperor inquired of Arashito, saying:—"Dost thou wish to return to thy country?" He answered and said:—"I earnestly desire to do so." The Emperor then addressed Arashito, saying:—"If thou hadst not lost thy way, thou wouldst certainly have arrived here sooner—in time to serve the late Emperor. Do thou, therefore, change the name of thy country. In future take the august name VI. 4.
of the Emperor Mimaki and make it the name of thy country. So he gave Arashito red silk stuffs and sent him back to his native land. This was the reason why the name of that country is called Mimana.[2] Hereupon Arashito took the red silk which had been given him, and stored it in the magazine of his country. The people of Silla hearing this, raised an army and proceeding thither robbed him of all the red silk. This was the beginning of the enmity between these two countries."

One writing says:—"In the beginning, when Tsunoga Arashito was still in his own land, he went into the country with an ox loaded with implements of husbandry. The ox suddenly disappeared, and seeking for it by its tracks, he found that the foot-prints ceased in a certain village. Now there was here an old man who said:—'The ox which thou art in search of entered this village, and the

[1] Anato, lit. hole-door, is the ancient name of Nagato (long-door) or Chōshiu. The door is the Strait of Shimonoseki.

[2] Imna, according to the Corean pronunciation of the characters.

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fixed his dwelling-place. Therefore the potters of Kagami no hasama,[1] in the province of Ohomi, are the servants of
VI. 7. Ama no hi-hoko. Accordingly Ama no hi-hoko took to wife Matawo, the daughter of Futomimi, a man of Idzushi in Tajima, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, who was the father of Tajima no Hinaraki, who was the father of Kiyohiko, who was the father of Tajima-mori."

B.C. 26. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 23rd day. The Empress's elder brother by the mother's side, Prince Sahohiko, plotted treason and tried to endanger the State. Therefore he watched for an occasion when the Empress was enjoying her leisure, and addressing her, said as follows:—"Whom dost thou love best—thy elder brother or thy husband?" Upon this, the Empress, ignorant of his object in making this inquiry, straightway answered and said:—"I love my elder brother." Then he enticed the Empress, saying:—"If one serves a man by beauty, when the beauty fades, his affection will cease.[2] There are now many beautiful women in the Empire. They will come one after another and seek affection. How, then, canst thou trust always to thy beauty? It is my wish, therefore, to ascend to the immense felicity,[3] and of a certainty to rule over the Empire along with thee. So making high our pillows,[4] we shall complete a long hundred years. Would not this be
VI. 8. delightful? I beg thee, therefore, to slay the Emperor for me." So he took a dagger, and giving it to the Empress, said:—"Gird on this dagger among thy garments, and when the Emperor goes to sleep, do thou stab him in the neck, and thus kill him." Upon this the Empress trembled in her heart within, and knew not what she should do. But in view of the determination of the Prince, her elder brother, she felt that remonstrance would be useless. Therefore she took the dagger, and having herself nowhere to deposit it, she placed it in her garments, intending all the while to remonstrate with her elder brother.

B.C. 25. 5th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor pro-

[1] Mirror-valley.
[2] A Chinese saying.
[3] i.e. to take possession of the throne.
[4] A Chinese metaphor meaning "in security."

ceeded to Kume, where he dwelt in Taka-miya."[1] Now the Emperor took his noon-day sleep with the Empress's knees as his pillow. Up to this time the Empress had accomplished nothing, but thought vainly to herself:—"This would be the time to do that which the Prince, my elder brother, plotted." And she wept tears which fell on the Emperor's face. The Emperor woke up and addressed the Empress, saying:—"To-day We have had a dream. A small brocade-coloured snake coiled itself round Our neck and a great rain arose from Saho, which coming hither wet Our face. What does this portend?" The Empress thereupon, knowing that she could not concea the plot, in fear and awe bowed herself to the earth, and informed the Emperor fully of the circumstances of the Prince, her elder brother's, treason. Accordingly she addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden was unable to resist the purpose of the Prince, her elder brother, and yet could not be false to the gratitude due to the Emperor. If I confessed I destroyed the Prince, my elder brother. If I said nothing, I overturned the temples of the earth and of grain,[2] so that on the one hand there was fear, and on the other there was grief. Whether I looked up or down there was lamenta- VI. 9.
tion, whether I advanced or retired there was weeping and wailing. Night and day I was disturbed in mind, and could find no way to give information. Only to-day when Your Majesty went to sleep with his handmaiden's knee as a pillow, she thought—'If I were mad enough to accomplish the purpose of my elder brother, at this very time the deed could be done without difficulty.' With this thought still in my mind, the tears flowed spontaneously. So I raised my sleeve to wipe away the tears, and they overflowed from the sleeve and moistened Your Majesty's face. Therefore the dream of to-day must have been an effect of this thing. The small brocade-coloured snake is nothing else than the dagger which was given me: the great rain which arose suddenly is nothing else than thy handmaiden's tears." Then the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This is not thy crime," and raising a force from the neighbouring district, he commanded Yatsunada, the

[1] Taka-miya means high-palace or shrine.
[2] A Chinese expression for the State.

remote ancestor of the Kimi of Kôdzuke, to slay Saho-hiko. Now Saho-hiko withstood him with an army, and hastily piling up rice-stalks made thereof a castle, which was so solid that it could not be breached. This is what was called a "rice-castle."[1] A month passed, and yet it did not surrender. Hereupon the Empress, grieved at this, said:—"Even though I am Empress, with what countenance can I preside over the Empire, after bringing to ruin the Prince, my elder brother?" Accordingly, she took in her arms the Imperial Prince Homutsu wake no Mikoto, and entered the rice-castle of the Prince, her elder brother. The Emperor increased his army still more, and having surrounded the castle on all sides, proclaimed to those within it, saying:—"Send forth quickly the Empress and the Imperial Prince." But they would not send them out. So the
VI. 10. General Yatsunada set fire to the castle. Then the Empress, taking in her bosom the Imperial child, crossed over the castle and came out from it. Therewithal she besought the Emperor, saying:—"The reason why thy handmaiden at first fled into her elder brother's castle was in the hope that her elder brother might be absolved from guilt for the sake of her and of her child. But now he has not been absolved, and I know that I am guilty. Shall I have my hands tied behind my back? There is nothing left for me but to strangle myself. But even though I, thy handmaiden, die, I cannot bear to forget the favour shown me by the Emperor. I pray, therefore, that the Empress's palace, which I had charge of, may be granted to fair mates for thee. In the land of Tamba there are five ladies, all of virtuous minds, the daughters of the Prince, who is Michi no Ushi[2] of Tamba.

Prince Michi no Ushi was a grandson of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-Neko oho-hi-hi, and son of Prince Hiko-imasu.

[1] The Japanese word for rice-castle is inaki. It may be doubted whether there ever was any such castle as that described here. Artless attempts at derivation furnish a considerable portion of the old myths and legends of Japan. Inaki is the term used for the Imperial granaries in the provinces, and was also applied to their custodians. It therefore became a title of nobility which is frequently met with in the later history.

[2] Lit. master of the road.

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the cause why there is in that village a place called Koshi-ore-da, i.e. the field of the broken loins.

VI. 12. Nomi no Sukune remained and served the Emperor.

B.C. 15. 15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The five women of Tamba were sent for and placed in the side-court. The name of the first was Hibasu-hime, of the second Nuba-tani-iri-hime, of the third Matonu-hime, of the fourth Azami-ni-iri-hime, and of the fifth Takano-hime.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Hibasu-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress, and the Empress's three younger sisters were made concubines. Only Takano-hime, on account of the ugliness of her form, was sent back to her own country. Accordingly in her shame at being sent back, when she came to Kadono, she purposely tumbled from the carriage and was killed. Therefore that place received the name of Ochi-kuni.[2] The present name, Oto-kuni, is a corruption of this. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto had three sons and two daughters. The eldest was called Ini-shiki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, the second Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the third Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto, the fourth Yamato-hime no Mikoto, and the fifth Wakaki-ni-iri-biko no Mikoto. The concubine Nuba-tani-iri-hime gave birth to Nuteshi-wake no Mikoto and Ika-tarashi-bime no Mikoto. The next concubine Azami-ni-iri-bime gave
VI. 13. birth to Ike-haya-wake no Mikoto and Waka-asa-tsu-hime no Mikoto.

B.C. 7. 23rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Prince Homutsu-wake is now thirty years of age.[3] His beard is eight span long, yet he weeps like an infant, and never speaks. What can be the reason of this?" So he caused Commissioners to consider the matter.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Emperor stood before the Great Hall, with the Imperial Prince Homutsu-wake in attendance on him. Now there was a swan which crossed the Great Void, uttering its cry. The Imperial Prince looked up,

[1] The "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 197) makes only four princesses, and in another passage only two.

[2] Fall-country.

[3] The "Kojiki" makes this Prince born at the time of Saho-hiko's rebellion, i.e. in the fifth year of Suinin Tennō's reign. The "Nihongi" is less precise, but it is plain from the narrative that he cannot have been thirty at this time.

and seeing the swan, said:—"What thing is this?" The Emperor, observing that the Imperial Prince had gained his speech on seeing the swan, was rejoiced, and commanded his courtiers, saying:—"Which of you will catch this bird and present it to me?" Thereupon, Amano Yukaha Tana, the ancestor of the Tottori[1] no Miyakko, addressed his Majesty, saying:—"Thy servant will surely catch it, and present it to thee." So the Emperor declared to Yukaha Tana, saying:—"If thou present this bird to me, I will certainly reward thee liberally." Now, Yukaha Tana, looking from afar towards the quarter whither the swan had flown, followed in search of it to Idzumo and there captured it.

Some say "To the land of Tajima."

VI. 14 11th month, 2nd day. Yukaha Tana presented the swan to the Emperor. Homutsu-wake no Mikoto played with this swan and at last learned to speak. Therefore, Yukaha Tana was liberally rewarded, and was granted the title of Tottori no Miyakko.[2] In consequence there was further established the Be of bird-catchers, the Be of bird-feeders,[3] and the Homu-tsu Be.

B.C. 5. 25th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor commanded the five Daibu,[4] Takenu Kaha-wake, ancestor of the Abe no Omi, Hiko-kuni-fuku,[5] ancestor of the Wani no Omi, Oho-kashima, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, Tochine, ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji, and Take-hi, ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, saying:—"The sagacity of our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye, was displayed in wisdom: he was reverential, intelligent and capable. He was profoundly unassuming, and his disposition was to cherish self-abnegation. He adjusted the machinery of Government, and did solemn worship to the Gods of Heaven VI. 1 and Earth. He practised self-restraint and was watchful as to

[1] Tottori for tori-tori, i.e. bird-catcher, is the name of a number of places in Japan, notably of the capital of the province of Inaba.

[2] Lord of the bird-catchers. The Chinese character for title is 姓, which means properly family name, surname. But, as this instance shows, such appellations were primarily official designations. Then they became hereditary titles, and in the last place were attenuated into mere surnames.

[3] Tori-kahi-be. [4] Daibu, great man, is a general term for high officials.

[5] Both these men are named in Sūjin Tennō's reign, 10th year, eighty-five years before.

his personal conduct. Every day he was heedful for that day. Thus the weal of the people was sufficient, and the Empire was at peace. And now, under Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth?"[1]

3rd month, 10th day. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was taken from Toyo-suki-iri-hime no Mikoto,[2] and entrusted to Yamato-hime no Mikoto. Now Yamato-hime no Mikoto sought for a place where she might enshrine the Great Goddess. So she proceeded to Sasahata in Uda. Then turning back from thence, she entered the land of Ohomi, and went round eastwards to Mino, whence she arrived in the province of Ise.

l. 16. Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed Yamato-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"The province of Ise, of the divine wind,[3] is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this land I wish to dwell." In compliance, therefore, with the instruction of the Great Goddess, a shrine was erected to her in the province of Ise. Accordingly an Abstinence Palace was built at Kaha-kami in Isuzu. This was called the palace of Iso. It was there that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami first descended from Heaven.

One story is that the Emperor made Yamato-hime no Mikoto to be his august staff,[5] and offered her to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami. Thereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, and having enshrined her at Idzu-kashi no Moto in Shiki,[6] offered sacrifice to her. Thereafter, in compliance with the Goddess's instructions, she, in Winter, the 10th month of the year Hinoto

[1] This speech is thoroughly Chinese. It contains numerous phrases borrowed from the Chinese classics.

[2] She had been appointed B.C. 92, eighty-seven years before.

[3] This is a stock epithet (makura kotoba) of this province.

[4] Abstinence Palace or Worship Palace. "On the accession of an Emperor, an unmarried Princess of the Imperial House was selected for the service of the Shrine of Ise, or if there was no such unmarried Princess, then another Princess was fixed upon by divination and appointed worship-princess (齋王). The Worship-Palace was for her residence." Shintō mionoku ruijiushô, III. 23. See above, note to p. 41.

[5] i.e. assistant or deputy.

[6] In Yamato. Idzu means sacred; kashi is the name of a tree; moto means bottom.

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commanded the Mononobe, Tochine no Oho-muraji,[1] saying:—

VI. 18. "We have repeatedly despatched messengers to the Land of Idzumo to inspect the divine treasures of that Land, but we have had no clear report. Do thou go thyself to Idzumo, and having made inspection, attest them." So Tochine no Oho-muraji, having examined and attested the divine treasures, made a clear report thereof to His Majesty. He was accordingly appointed to the charge of the divine treasures.

B.C. 3. 27th year, Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Department of Worship was made to ascertain by divination what implements of war would be lucky as offerings to the Gods. Consequently bows, arrows, and cross-swords were deposited in the shrines of all the Gods. The land and houses consecrated to their service were fixed anew, and they were sacrificed to in due season. The practice of offering weapons in sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth probably had its origin at this time. This year granaries were erected in the village of Kume.[2]

B.C. 2. 28th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, the Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side, died.

11th month, 2nd day. Yamato-hiko was buried at Tsukizaka in Musa. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the misasagi. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them.

VI. 19. The Emperor, hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved in heart, and commanded his high officers, saying:—"It is a very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it, if it is bad? From this time forward, take counsel so as to put a stop to the following of the dead."[3]

[1] Great-village-elder. This word is nearly equivalent to Prime Minister.

[2] As explained above, Kume is probably a variant of the Chinese word for army. There is at present a village of this name in Yamato, but it was no doubt originally the barrack quarter, and the storehouses here referred to were to contain grain for the food of the army. The original commentary gives miyake as the Japanese name for these granaries. At a later period the miyake were local government offices.

[3] The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 174) says that this was the first time a hedge of

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Emperor A.D. 1.
commanded Inishiki no Mikoto and Oho-tarashi-hiko no

men was set up round a tumulus. But the "Nihongi's" statement that it was an old custom must be correct.

This custom is too much in accordance with what we know of other races in the barbaric stage of culture to allow us to doubt that we have here a genuine bit of history, though perhaps the details may be inaccurate, and the chronology is certainly wrong. In an ancient Chinese notice of Japan we read that "at this time (A.D. 247) Queen Himeko died. A great mound was raised over her, and more than a hundred of her male and female attendants followed her in death."

Funeral human sacrifice for the service of the dead is described by Dr. Tylor ("Primitive Culture," i. 458) as "one of the most wide-spread, distinct, and intelligible rites of animistic religion. Arising in the lower barbaric stage, it develops itself in the higher, and thenceforth continues or dwindles in survival." He proceeds to quote numerous examples of it from all parts of the world, and from many ages of history.

It is well known to have existed among the Manchu Tartars and other races of North-Eastern Asia until modern times. The Jesuit missionary Du Halde relates that the Emperor Shunchi, of the T'sing dynasty (died 1662), inconsolable for the loss of his wife and infant child, "signified by his will that thirty men should kill themselves to appease her manes, which ceremony the Chinese look upon with horror, and was abolished by the care of his successor"—the famous Kanghi.

Another missionary, Alvarez Semedo, in his history of the Tartar invasion, says :—"The Tartarian King vowed to celebrate his Father's Funerals with the lives of two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of China. For it is the custome of the Tartars, when any man of quality dieth, to cast into that fire which consumes the dead corpse as many Servants, Women and Horses with Bows and Arrows as may be fit to atend and serve them in the next life."

This custom was also practised in China in the most ancient times, though long condemned as barbarous. Confucius disapproved of it. An ode in the "Sheking" (Legge, iv. i. 198) laments the death of three brothers who were sacrificed at the funeral of Duke Muh, B.C. 621. When the Emperor She Hwang-ti died, B.C. 209, his son Urh said, "My father's palace ladies who have no children must not leave the tomb," and compelled them all to follow him in death. Their number was very great. For other cases see a paper by Mayers in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society, new Series, xii.

A King of Kokuryö in Corea died A.D. 248. He was beloved for his virtues, and many of his household wished to die with him. His successor forbade them to do so, saying that it was not a proper custom. Many of them, however, committed suicide at the tomb. "Tongkam," iii. 20.

In A.D. 502, Silla prohibited the custom of burying people alive at the

Mikoto, saying:—"Do ye each tell me the thing ye would dearly like to have." The elder Prince said:—"I should like to have a bow and arrows." The younger Prince said:—"I should like to have the Imperial Dignity." Thereupon the Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let the desire of each of you be complied with." So a bow and arrows were given to Inishiki no Mikoto, and a decree was addressed to Oho-tarashi hiko no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou must succeed to Our Dignity."

A.D. 3. 32nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto died.

One version has Hibasu ne no Mikoto.

Some time before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"We have already recognized that the practice of following the dead is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial?" Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came forward and said:—"It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an expedient which I will submit to Your Majesty." So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Idzumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' Be. He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' Be to take clay and form therewith
VI. 20. shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he presented to the Emperor, saying:—"Henceforward let it be the law for future ages to substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up at tumuli." Then the Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying:—"Thy expedient hath greatly pleased Our heart." So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. And a

funerals of the sovereigns. Before this time five men and five women were put to death at the King's tomb. "Tongkam," v. 5.

Cases of suicide at the tomb of a beloved lord or sovereign have not been uncommon in Japan even in modern times. There was one in 1868.

The Japanese, like the Chinese, make no distinction between voluntary deaths and human sacrifices. Both are called jun-shi, a term which means "following in death." Indeed, as we may see by the Indian Suttee, it is often hard to draw the line between these two forms of what is really the same custom.

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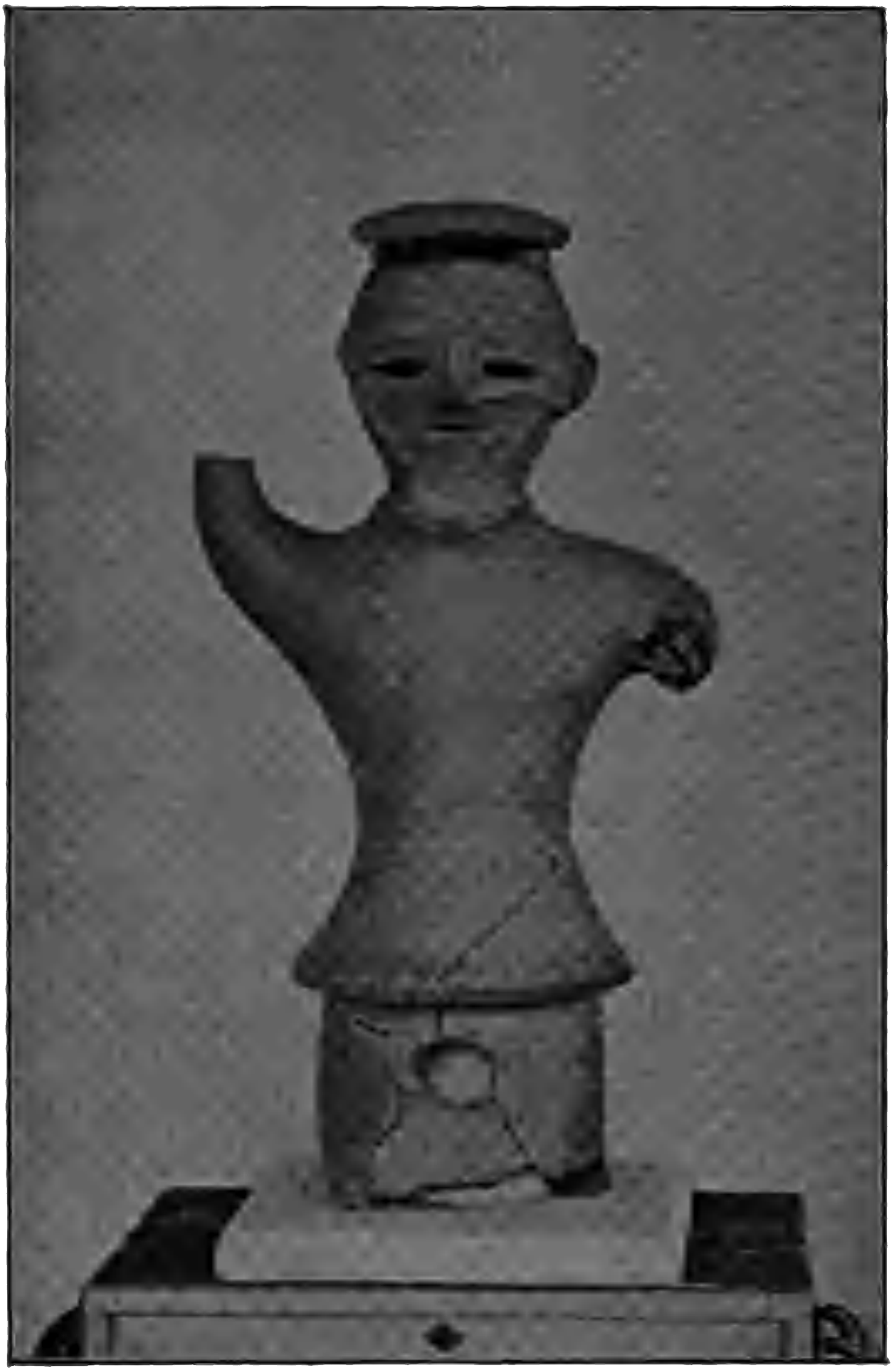
When he was arriving at his lodging,[1] a large tortoise came out from the river. The Emperor raised his spear and thrust at



Tsuchi-ningiô. (Gowland Collection, British Museum.)

the tortoise, when it suddenly became changed into a white stone. Then the courtiers said:—"If one were only to think

[1] Literally, travelling-palace.

this out, it must prognosticate something." So Kambata no Tohe was sent for, and lodged in the hinder palace. She was the mother of Iha-tsuku-wake no Mikoto, who was the ancestor of the Kimi of Miho. Before this he had taken to wife Kari-hata-tohe, who bore him three sons. The first was called Oji-wake no Mikoto, the second Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, and the third I-take-wake no Mikoto.

Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ishida. VI. 2

35th year, Autumn, 9th month. Inishiki no Mikoto was sent to the province of Kahachi to construct the pond of Takashi, and the pond of Chinu. A.D.

Winter, 10th month. He made the pond of Saki in Yamato, and the pond of Tomi. In this year, the various provinces were commanded extensively to excavate ponds and channels,[1] to the number of eight hundred and more. Much attention was thus paid to husbandry. Therefore the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

37th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. A.D.

39th year, Winter, 10th month. Inishiki no Mikoto, while dwelling in the palace at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, made a thousand swords. Therefore those swords were called the Kahakami set. A.D.

Another name was the Naked[2] Companions.

They were deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. After this the Emperor gave orders to Inishiki no Mikoto, and made him to have charge of the divine treasures of the shrine of Iso no kami. VI.

One version is:—"Whilst the Imperial Prince Inishiki dwelt at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, he sent for a smith by name Kahakami, and made a thousand swords. At this time, the shield-makers' Be, the Japanese-figured-cloth-workers' Be, the sacred-bow-shavers' Be, the sacred-arrow-makers' Be,[3] the Oho-anashi Be, the Hatsu-kashi[4]

[1] For irrigation.

[2] So called because worn without a sheath.

[3] See above, p. 178.

[4] These are the names of villages. The "Shukai" editor suggests that they were allotted to the Prince for his support.

Be, the jewel-workers' Be, the Kami-osaka Be,[1] the Hi-oki[2] Be, and the sword-wearers' Be—the Be of ten articles altogether—were granted to the Imperial Prince Inishiki.

These thousand swords were deposited in the village of Osaka. They were afterwards removed from Osaka and deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. At this time the God made a request, saying:—'Let the person named Ichikaha, of the family of the Omi of Kasuga, be made to attend to them.' Therefore by the Emperor's command,
VI. 24. Ichikaha was caused to attend to them. He was the first ancestor of the Mononobe[3] no Obito."

A.D. 58. 87th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Inishiki no Mikoto spake to his younger sister, Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"I am old, and unable to have charge of the divine treasures. Henceforward thou must have charge of them." Oho-naka-tsu-hime refused, saying:—"I am a feeble woman. How can I ascend to the divine storehouse of Heaven?"

Inishiki no Mikoto said:—"Although the divine storehouse[4] is high, I can make for the divine storehouse a ladder. How, then, should it be hard to ascend to the storehouse?" Hence the proverbial saying, "You can ascend even to the divine storehouse of Heaven, if you only plant a ladder." This was its origin. Ultimately Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto gave them to Mononobe no Tochine no Oho-muraji, and made him to have charge of them. Therefore the Mononobe no Muraji retain charge of the divine treasures of Iso no kami up to the present time. The above was the origin of this practice.

Formerly in the Land of Tamba, in the village of Kuwada, there was a man whose name was Mikaso. Now, in Mikaso's house there was a dog, by name Ayuki. This dog bit a wild animal called the *mujina*,[5] and killed it. In the animal's belly there was found a magatama of Yasaka gem. This gem was

[1] Osaka was the place where the swords were stored.

[2] Hi-oki means "daily offerings."

[3] The Mononobe were Imperial life guards.

[4] One of these storehouses, dating from the 8th century, may still be seen at Tōdaiji, Nara. It is raised on pillars some ten feet above the ground.

[5] A kind of badger.

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appeared." The Emperor was struck with awe, and made no further endeavour to find it. Afterwards the Idzushi short sword went of its own accord to the Island of Ahaji, where the people of the island considered it a God, and erected for the short sword a shrine, in which it is worshipped until this day.

Formerly there was a man, who riding in a ship, cast anchor in the land of Tajima. He was therefore asked, saying:—"Of what country art thou?" He answered and said:—"I am a son of the king of Silla, and my name is Ama no hihoko. So he dwelt in Tajima, and took to wife Mata no wo, daughter of Mahetsu mimi [One version has Mahetsu mi and another Futo-mimi] of that province, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, the grandfather of Kiyo-hiko.

A.D. 61. 90th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded Tajima Mori to go to the Eternal Land[1] and get the fragrant fruit that grows out of season, now called the Tachibana.[2]

A.D. 70. 99th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Maki-muku at the age of 140,[3] and in Winter, the 12th month, the 10th day, was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi, in Suga-hara.

VI. 27. The next year, Spring, the 3rd month, the 12th day, Tajima Mori arrived from the Eternal Land, bringing of the fragrant fruit that grows out of season eight sticks and eight bundles.[4]

Thereupon Tajima Mori wept and lamented, saying:—

"Receiving the Celestial Court's command,
Afar I went to a remote region:

---

[1] Tajima Mori was apparently selected for this mission on account of his descent from a king of Silla. But the Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, can hardly have been Corea, where the Orange is little, if at all, grown in the present day. It was more likely China.

[2] The Orange, *vide* Ch. K., p. 198.

[3] The chronology, as usual, will not bear investigation.

[4] The meaning of the characters which I have thus rendered is doubtful. The corresponding passage in the "Kojiki" is corrupt and equally obscure. I do not feel sure that Motoöri has cleared it up quite satisfactorily, in spite of the amount of recondite learning he has brought to bear on it.

Cf. Ch K., p. 199.

Ten thousand ri I crossed the waves,
Distantly I passed over the weak water.[1]
This Eternal Land
Is no other than the mysterious realm of Gods and Genii
To which ordinary mortals cannot attain;
Therefore in going thither and returning
Ten years have naturally passed.
Beyond my expectation, I braved alone the towering billows,
Turning my way again towards my own land.
Thus, trusting in the spirits of the Emperors,
I hardly accomplished my return.
But now the Emperor is dead,
I am unable to report my mission.
Though I should remain alive,
What more would it avail me?"[2]

Then turning his face towards the misasagi of the Emperor, he wept aloud, and so of himself he died. When the ministers heard of it they all shed tears.

Tajima Mori was the first ancestor of the Miyake[3] no Muraji.

[1] Said by the Chinese to be north of Fuyu (in Manchooria). It does not support ships.

[2] The sentiment and diction of this speech are thoroughly Chinese. It is not exactly poetry, but nearly so.

[3] Miyake, written with characters which mean "three storehouses." Mi, however, is more probably the honorific prefix.

BOOK VII.

THE EMPEROR OHO-TARASHI-HIKO-OSHIRO-WAKE.

(*KEIKŌ*[1] *TENNO.*)

THE Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake was the third child of the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi. The Empress his mother was named Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Prince Michi no ushi of Tamba. The Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi, in the 37th year of his reign, raised him to the rank of Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-one years of age. In the 99th year of his reign, Spring, the second month, the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi died.

A.D. 71. 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The chronological epoch was altered accordingly. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 72. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The elder lady[2] of Inabi in Harima was appointed Empress.

Another version has:—"The younger lady of Inabi in Harima."

VII. 2. She had two sons, the first of whom was named the Imperial Prince Oho-usu, and the second Wo-usu no Mikoto.

In one writing it is said:—"The Empress bore three sons. The third was named the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko."

The Imperial Prince Oho-usu and Wo-usu no Mikoto were born as twins[3] on the same day with the same placenta. The

[1] Great road or great conduct. [2] Oho-iratsume.

[3] There seems to have been a question which of twins was to be considered the elder. One idea was that the last born should be senior, because he occupied the higher place in the womb.

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no Mikoto [one version has Take-wi-goro] was sent and caused
VII. 3. to do sacrifice. Hereupon Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro no Mikoto went thither, and stayed at Kashihara in Abi, where he sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. He lived here for nine years, and took to wife Kage-hime, the daughter of Uji-hiko, who was the ancestor of the Ki no Atahe.[1] She was the mother of Takechi no Sukune.

A.D. 74. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mino. His courtiers represented to him, saying :—"In this province there is a handsome woman named Oto-hime, of perfect beauty. She is the daughter of the Imperial Prince Yasaka Irihiko." The Emperor wished to obtain her to be his consort, and went to the house of Oto-hime.[2] Oto-hime, hearing that the Emperor was coming in his carriage, straightway concealed herself in a bamboo-grove. Hereupon the Emperor provisionally caused Oto-hime to go and reside in the Kuguri Palace, and letting loose carp in a pond, amused himself by looking at them morning and evening. Now Oto-hime wished to see the carp sporting, so she came secretly and stood over the pond. The Emperor forthwith detained her, and had intercourse with her. Hereupon Oto-hime thought :—"The way of a husband and wife is the prevailing rule both now and of old time. But for me it is not convenient." So she besought the Emperor, saying :—"Thy handmaiden's disposition is averse to the way of conjugal
VII. 4. intercourse. Unable to withstand the awe of the Imperial commands, she has been placed for a while within the curtain. But it gives her no pleasure. Her face too is hideous, and she is unworthy of being added to the side courts. Thy handmaiden, however, has an elder sister, by name Yasaka Iri-hime, of a beautiful countenance, and also of a virtuous disposition. Let her be placed in the hinder palace." The Emperor assented, and having summoned Yasaka Iri-hime, made her his consort. She bore to him seven sons and six daughters. The name of

[1] In this passage the province now known as Kii is called indifferently *Ki* or *Kii*.

[2] Oto-hime means simply "younger lady." There are frequent cases in the "Nihongi" where a woman seems to have no other name than "elder lady" or "younger lady."

the first was the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, of the second the Imperial Prince Iho-ki Iri-hiko, of the third the Imperial Prince Oshi-wake, of the fourth the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko, of the fifth the Imperial Prince Oho-su-wake, of the sixth the Imperial Princess Nunoshi, of the seventh the Imperial Princess Nunaki, of the eighth the Imperial Princess Ihoki no Iri-hime, of the ninth the Imperial Princess Kako-yori-hime, of the tenth the Imperial Prince Isaki no Iri-hiko, of the eleventh the Imperial Prince Kibi no Ye-hiko, of the twelfth the Imperial Princess Takaki no Iri-hime, and of the thirteenth the Imperial Princess Oto-hime.

Again he took as consort the Lady[1] Midzuha, younger sister of Ihaki-wake, of the Miho House, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Ihono. His next consort, named Ikaha-hime, bore to him the Imperial Prince Kami-kushi[2] and the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko. The elder of these two, the Imperial Prince VII
Kami-kushi, was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of Sanuki. The younger, the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko, was the first ancestor of the Harima no Wake.[3] His next consort was named Takada-hime, daughter of Kogoto of the Abe House, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Take-kuni Kori-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Wake of Mimura, in the Province of Iyo. His next consort, named Oho-tane-hime, of Kami-naga in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Prince Hiuga no Sotsu-hiko. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Amu.[4] His next consort, named Sotake-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, the Imperial Prince Kuni-se-wake [one version has the Imperial Prince Miya-chi-wake] and the Imperial Prince Toyoto-wake. The elder of these, the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of Minuma. The youngest brother, the Imperial Prince Toyo-to-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of the Province of Hi.[5]

Now the children of the Emperor, male and female, from VII.
first to last, numbered eighty in all. With the exception, however, of Yamato-dake no Mikoto, the Emperor Waka-

[1] Iratsume. [2] Divine-comb.

[3] Wake, separation, branch, was a title which implied descent from the Imperial line.

[4] In Nagato. [5] Now Hizen and Higo in Kiushiu.

tarashi-hiko and the Imperial Prince Ihoki no Iri-hiko, the other seventy and odd children were all granted fiefs[1] of provinces and districts, and each proceeded to his own province. Therefore, those who at the present time are called Wake of the various provinces are the descendants of these separated (wakare) Princes.[2]

In this month, the Emperor, hearing that the daughters of Kambone, Mino no Miyakko, the elder's name being Ane-toho-ko, and the younger's being Oto-toho-ko, were both of distinguished beauty, sent Oho-usu no Mikoto with orders to examine the countenance of these women. Now Oho-usu no Mikoto had secret intercourse with them, and did not report his mission. For this reason the Emperor was wrath with Oho-usu no Mikoto.

Winter, the 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor returned from Mino and removed the capital to Maki-muku. This was called the palace of Hi-shiro.

A.D. 82. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Kumaso[3] rebelled, and did not bring tribute.

VII. 7. 8th month, 15th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsukushi.[4]

9th month, 5th day. On arriving at Saha in Suwo, the Emperor, standing with his face to the south,[5] addressed his Ministers, saying:—"To the southwards, smoke rises abundantly. There must certainly be brigands there." So he halted, and sending in advance Take-moro-gi, ancestor of the Omi of Oho, Unade, ancestor of the Omi of Kusaki, and Natsu-bana, ancestor of the Kimi of the Mononobe, made them to reconnoitre. Now there was here a woman, by name

[1] This points to something like a feudal system. But the analogy to European feudalism must not be too closely pressed. Cf. Ch K., p. 203.

[2] This omits to notice that *Wake* is a much older term.

[3] The country of the Kumaso was the southern part of the island of Kiushiu corresponding to the present provinces of Hiuga, Ohosumi, and Satsuma. Kuma and So are the names of two tribes.

[4] Tsukushi is used in two senses. It sometimes stands for the whole island of Kiushiu, sometimes for only the northern part of it, viz. the two provinces of Chikugo and Chikuzen.

[5] The Emperor of China stands with his face to the south on state occasions. But here it seems only to mean that the Emperor looked southwards.

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where he erected a travelling palace and dwelt there. Therefore the name of that place was called Miyako.[1]

Winter, 10th month. He arrived in the Land of Ohokida. The form of this region is wide and beautiful. Therefore it was called Ohokida.[2]

When he came to the village of Hayami, there was there a woman named Haya-tsu-hime. She was chieftain[3] of one place. When she heard that the Imperial car was coming, she went out in person to meet the Emperor, and reported to him, saying:—"In this mountain there is a great cavern called the Rat's Cave. There are two Tsuchi-gumo[4] who dwell in this cave. One is called Awo,[5] and the other Shira.[6] Again
VII. 9. at Negino, in the district of Nawori, there are three Tsuchi-gumo. The name of the first is Uchi-zaru,[7] of the second Yata,[8] and of the third Kunimaro.[9] These five men are alike mighty of frame, and moreover have numerous followers. They all say that they will not obey the Imperial command. If their coming is insisted on, they will raise an army and offer resistance." The Emperor, provoked by this, could not advance on his journey. So he halted at the village of Kutami, where he erected a temporary palace muro, and dwelt therein. Then he consulted with his Ministers, saying:—"Let us now put in motion a numerous army and slay the Tsuchi-gumo. If, fearing the might of our arms, they should conceal themselves in the mountains and moors, they will assuredly do future mischief." Accordingly he gathered camellia trees, and made of them mallets for weapons. Then selecting his bravest soldiers, he gave them the mallet-weapons. Therewith they pierced through the mountains, cleared away the grass, and attacking the Tsuchi-gumo of the cave,[10] defeated them at Kahakami in Inaba. The whole band were killed, and their blood flowing reached to the ancle. Therefore the men of that day called

[1] Capital. [2] Great field.

[3] The reader will observe that there are numerous cases of the "monstrous regiment of women" in these old legends.

[4] See above, p. 129. [5] Green or blue. [6] White.

[7] Strike-monkey. [8] Eight-fields.

[9] Country-fellow. Note again that the Tsuchi-gumo have Japanese names, and inhabit old-settled parts of Japan.

[10] The interlinear gloss has iha-muro, rock-muro.

the place where the camellia mallets were made Tsubaki-no-ichi,[1] and the place where the blood flowed they called Chida.[2] Then, in order to attack Uchi-zaru, he crossed straight over Mount Negi. At this time the arrows of the enemy, shot cross- VII.
wise from the mountain, fell like rain in front of the Imperial army. The Emperor retreated to Shiro-hara, where he made divination on the river-bank, and accordingly arraying his troops, he first attacked Yata on the moor of Negi, and defeated him. Upon this Uchi-zaru felt that he could not gain the victory, and prayed that his submission should be accepted. This, however, was refused, and they all flung themselves into a ravine and were killed. In the beginning, when the Emperor was about to attack the enemy, he made a station on the great moor of Kashihawo. On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot five inches in thickness. The Emperor prayed, saying:—"If we are to succeed in destroying the Tsuchi-gumo, when we kick this stone, may we make it mount up like a Kashiha leaf." Accordingly he kicked it, upon which, like a Kashiha leaf, it arose to the Great Void. Therefore that stone was called Homishi.[3] The Gods whom he prayed to at this time were the God of Shiga, the God of the Mononobe of Nawori, and the God of the Nakatomi of Nawori—these three Gods.

11th month. He arrived at the Land of Hiuga, and erected a travelling palace, wherein he took up his residence. This was called the palace of Takaya.

12th month, 5th day. Counsel was held how they should attack the Kumaso. Hereupon the Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"We have heard that in the Land of the Kumaso there are two men named Atsukaya and Sakaya, who are the leaders of the Kumaso. Their followers are exceedingly VII.
numerous, and are called the eighty Kumaso braves. It will be better not to touch their spear-points. For if we raise a small force, it will be insufficient to exterminate the brigands, while if a large army is put in motion, the people will suffer harm. Is there no means of subduing this country without active measures, and without resorting to the might of arms?" Then

[1] Camellia market. [2] Blood-field.
[3] For fumi-ishi, i.e. kicking-stone.

one of the ministers stood forward and said:—"A Kumaso brave has two daughters, the elder named Ichi-fukaya, and the younger Ichi-kaya. Their beauty is perfect, and their hearts are brave. Offer valuable presents, and under the pretence of bestowing them beneath thy standard, take advantage of this to gain intelligence of the enemy, and attack them unawares. So without ever a sword-edge being stained with blood, the enemy will surely yield themselves up." The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let it be so." Thereupon the presents were offered, and the two women, deceived by them, were bestowed beneath the tent. The Emperor straightway had intercourse with Ichi-fukaya, and made a show of affection for her. Then Ichi-fukaya told the Emperor, saying:—"Be not anxious lest the Kumaso should not submit. Thy handmaiden has an excellent plan. Let me have one or two soldiers to follow me." She then returned to her home, and prepared much strong sake, which she made her father drink. He became drunk and lay down to sleep. Ichi-fukaya then secretly cut her father's bowstring. Thereupon one of the soldiers who had escorted her came up and killed the Kumaso brave. The Emperor was provoked by such excessively unfilial conduct and put Ichi-fukaya to death. But Ichi-kaya he gave to the
VII. 12. Miyakko of the Land of Ki.

A.D. 83. 13th year, Summer, 5th month. The Kumaso country having been all subdued, the Emperor accordingly dwelt in the palace of Takaya. When he had lived there six years, there was a beautiful woman in that country named Mihakashi-hime.[1] So he took her and made her his concubine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Toyo-kuni-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of the Land of Hiuga.

A.D. 87. 17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 12th day. The Emperor made a progress to the district of Koyu,[2] where he visited the little moor of Nimo. Then looking down towards the east, he said to his courtiers:—"This country faces directly the quarter of the Rising Sun." Therefore he named that country Hiuga.[3] On this day he mounted upon a great stone in the middle of the moor, and feeling a longing for the capital, made this poetry:—

[1] The lady of the august sword. [2] In Hiuga.
[3] For Hi-muka, i.e sun-fronting.

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11th day. Proceeding by the sea route, he anchored at a small island in Ashikita, where he partook of food. Then he told Wo-hidari, ancestor of the Yama no Ahiko,[1] to give him some cold water. Just at this time there was no water in the island, and he did not know what to do. So looking up, he prayed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth, when suddenly a cool spring bubbled forth from the side of a cliff. This he drew and put before the Emperor. Therefore that island was called Midzushima.[2] That spring still exists in the cliff of Midzushima.

5th month, 1st day. Setting sail from Ashikita, he proceeded to the Land of Hi.[3] Here the sun went down, and the night being dark, they did not know how to reach the shore. A fire was seen shining afar off, and the Emperor commanded the helmsman, saying:—"Make straight for the place where the fire
VII. 15. is." So he proceeded towards the fire, and thus was enabled to reach the shore. The Emperor made inquiry respecting the place where the fire was, saying:—"What is the name of this village?" The people of the land answered and said:—"Toyomura, in the district of Yatsushiro." Again he made inquiry respecting the fire:—"Whose fire is this?" But no owner could be found, and thereupon it was known that it was not a fire made by man. Therefore that country was called Hi no Kuni.[4]

6th month, 3rd day. He crossed over from the district of Takaku to the village of Tamakina. At this time he killed a Tsuchi-gumo of that place called Tsudzura.

16th day. He arrived at the Land of Aso.[5] The level tracts of that Land were wide and far-reaching, but no dwellings of men were to be seen. The Emperor said:—"Are there any people in this country?" Now there were two Deities, one called Aso-tsu-hiko, and the other Aso-tsu-hime, who suddenly assuming human form, sauntered forward and said:—"We

[1] Ahiko appears to be a title similar to Atahe, Sukune, etc. It is derived by the Japanese commentators from a, I, my, and hiko, prince.

[2] Water-island.

[3] Now Hizen and Higo.

[4] The Land of Fire.

[5] The name Aso is preserved in Mount Aso, a very curious volcanic mountain in the province of Higo.

two are here. How can it be said that there are no men?" Therefore that place was called Aso.[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. He arrived at Mike[2] in the further Land of Tsukushi,[3] where he dwelt in the temporary Palace of Takata. Now there was here a fallen tree 970 rods in length. The hundred functionaries passed backwards and VII. 16.
forwards stepping on this tree. The people of that day made a song, saying:—

The morning hoar-frost[4]
August tree pole-bridge!
The Lords of the Presence
Pass over it—
The august tree pole-bridge!

The Emperor inquired, saying:—"What tree is this?" There was there an old man who said:—"This tree is a Kunugi tree.[5] Before it fell down, when the rays of the morning sun fell on it, it overshadowed the Hill of Kishima; when the rays of the evening sun fell on it, it covered Mount Aso." The Emperor said:—"This tree is a divine tree. Therefore let this country be called the Land of Mike."[6]

7th day. He reached the district of Yame, where, crossing VII. 17.
Mount Mahe, he looked down to the south upon Aha no Saki, and spake, saying:—"The peaks and glens of this mountain follow each other fold upon fold. They are exceedingly beautiful. May it be that a God dwells in this mountain?" Then Saru-ohomi,[7] the Agata-nushi of Minuma, represented to the Emperor, saying:—"There is a female Deity named Yame-tsu hime, who dwells always among these mountains." This is therefore the reason why this country is called the Land of Yame.

8th month. He arrived at the village of Ikuha,[8] where he

[1] Aso is a dialectical variation for nanzo or nazo, how or why.
[2] August tree.
[3] Now Chikugo.
[4] Morning hoar-frost is a makura-kotoba. The only connection between it and the rest of the poem is that hoar-frost melts, and that ke (for ki) tree is also the first syllable of kesu, to melt. The Presence is of course the Imperial Presence.
[5] Quercus Serrata, Hepburn.
[6] August tree.
[7] Monkey-great-sea.
[8] In Chikugo.

partook of food. On this day the stewards left behind the drinking cup. Wherefore the men of that day called the place where the drinking cup had been forgotten Ukuha. The present name Ikuha is a corruption of this. In old times the common people of Tsukushi called a drinking-cup Ukuha.

A.D. 89. 19th year, Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The Emperor arrived from Hiuga.

A.D. 90. 20th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Princess Ihono was made to sacrifice to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami.

A.D. 95. 25th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Takechi no Sukune was commissioned to inquire into the geography of the various provinces of the Northern[1] and Eastern[2] circuits and the condition of the people.

A.D. 97. 27th year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Takechi no Sukune returned from the East Country and informed the Emperor, saying:—"In the Eastern wilds there is a country
VII. 18. called Hitakami.[3] The people of this country, both men and women, tie up their hair in the form of a mallet, and tattoo their bodies. They are of fierce temper, and their general name is Yemishi. Moreover, their land is wide and fertile. We should attack them and take it."

Autumn, 8th month. The Kumaso again rebelled, and made unceasing inroads on the frontier districts.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto was sent to attack the Kumaso. He was at this time sixteen years of age. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said:—"I desire to take with me some good archers. Where are there any good archers?" Some one told him, saying:—"In the province of Mino there is a good archer named Oto-hiko-gimi." Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto sent Miyado-hiko, a man of Katsuraki, and summoned to him Oto-hiko-gimi. Therefore Oto-hiko-gimi came and brought with him Ishiura no Yokotachi, Tako no Inaki,[4] and Chichika no Inaki of the province of Ohari, and followed Yamato-dake no Mikoto on his expedition.

[1] Including Mutsu and Dewa.

[2] Or Adzuma, the region round what is now Tokio.

[3] Sun-height. So called from its eastern position. Hi-tachi, sun-rise, is a name of similar purport.

[4] One of the lower ranks of the local nobility.

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Afterwards he despatched Oto-hiko and the others, who slew all that band, leaving not a chewer,[1] and when this was
VII. 20. done, he returned by sea to Yamato. Arriving at Kibi, he crossed the Ana Sea. In this place there was a malignant Deity, whom he forthwith slew. Again, turning northwards, he arrived at Naniha,[2] where he killed the malignant Deity of the Kashiha ferry.

A.D. 98. 28th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto reported to the Emperor how he had subdued the Kumaso, saying:—"Thy servant, trusting in the Emperor's Divine Spirit,[3] by force of arms, at one blow, suddenly slew the Kumaso chieftain and reduced that whole country to peace. In this way the Western Land is now quiet, and the people are undisturbed. Only the God of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi and the God of the Ferry of Kashiha at Naniha, both, with mischievous intent, sent forth a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued. Both of them formed centres of calamity. Therefore I killed all those evil Deities, and have thrown open the roads by land and water alike." The Emperor upon this commended the good service done by Yamato-dake no Mikoto, and bestowed extraordinary affection on him.

A.D. 110. 40th year, Summer, 6th month. There was wide rebellion of the Eastern wilds, and the frontier was in a state of tumult.

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"The Eastern country is now in an unquiet state, and turbulent Deities have sprung up in numbers. Moreover the Yemishi have rebelled to a man and frequently carry off the people. Whom shall I send to still this disturbance?" But none of the Ministers knew whom to send. Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant it was who formerly performed the labour of the expedition to the West. This campaign must be the business of the Imperial Prince Oho-usu." But the Imperial Prince Oho-usu was afraid, and ran to conceal himself among the grass. Accordingly a messenger was sent to fetch him. Hereupon the Emperor chid him, saying:—"If thou dost not

[1] i e. a living soul. [2] The modern Ohosaka.
[3] Very nearly the Latin *numen*.

wish it, shall We insist on sending thee? Why all this alarm, VI
whilst thou hast not yet confronted the enemy?" Accordingly he eventually granted him Mino as a fief, and so he went to his government. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Kimi of Muketsu and the Kimi of Mori. Upon this Yamato-dake no Mikoto, striking a martial attitude, said:—"Not many years have passed since I subdued the Kumaso. Now the Yemishi of the East have made a fresh rebellion. When shall we arrive at a universal peace? Thy servant, notwithstanding that it is a labour to him, will speedily quell this disturbance." So the Emperor took a battle-axe,[1] and giving it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, said:—"We hear that the Eastern savages are of a violent disposition, and are much given to oppression: their hamlets have no chiefs, their villages no leaders, each is greedy of territory, and they plunder one another. Moreover, there are in the mountains malignant Deities, on the moors there are malicious demons, who beset the highways and bar the roads, causing men much annoyance. Amongst these Eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful, their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father and child. In winter they dwell in holes, in summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs, and they drink blood.[2] Brothers are suspicious of one another. In ascending mountains they are like flying birds; in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds. When they receive a favour, they forget it, but if an injury is done them they never fail to revenge it. Therefore they keep arrows in their top-knots and carry swords VII
within their clothing. Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier. At other times they take the opportunity of the harvest to plunder the people. If attacked, they conceal themselves in the herbage; if pursued, they flee into the mountains. Therefore ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilizing influences.

[1] Motoöri points out this as an instance where the desire to imitate his Chinese models has caused the author of the "Nihongi" to introduce Chinese things which have no business in a Japanese narrative. The "Kojiki" says it was a spear of holly eight fathoms long.

[2] The "*Liki*" speaks of the ancient Chinese living on fruits and the flesh of wild beasts and drinking their blood.

Now We mark that thou art mighty of stature and thy countenance is of perfect beauty, thou hast strength sufficient to raise tripods, thy fierceness is like thunder and lightning, wherever thou dost turn thy face, there is none to stand before thee; whenever thou dost attack thou dost surely conquer. This we know, that whereas in outward form thou art Our child, in reality thou art a God. Truly Heaven, commiserating Our want of intelligence and the disturbed condition of the country, has ordained that thou shouldst order the Heavenly institution, and save the monarchy from extinction. Moreover, this Empire is thy Empire, and this Dignity is thy Dignity. I adjure thee to exercise profound policy and far-reaching foresight in searching out iniquity and watching against crises. Admonish with majesty; comfort with kindness. Avoid having recourse to arms, and thou wilt naturally inspire loyal obedience. So by cunning words thou mayst moderate the violent Deities, and by a display of armed force sweep away malignant demons."[1]

Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto received the battle-axe, and, bowing twice, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"But few years have elapsed since my former expedition to the West, when, trusting in the might of the Imperial spirit, I, with a sword three feet in length, conquered the land of Kumaso, and
VII. 23. the rebel chiefs yielded themselves to punishment. Now again, trusting in the spirits[2] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and in reliance on the Imperial might, I am proceeding to the frontier. I will admonish them by gentle teaching, and if any remain unsubmissive, I will smite them with arms." So he again bowed twice. Then the Emperor commanded Kibi no Take-hiko and Ohotomo no Take-hi no Muraji to follow Yamato-dake no Mikoto. He also appointed Nana-tsuka-hagi[3] his steward.

[1] This speech cannot be received as a document of Japanese history. It is a cento of reminiscences of Chinese literature.

[2] Numina.

[3] Hirata says that Japanese surnames were taken from offices or avocations, names of places, parents' names, circumstances, or objects. I suppose he would have included under circumstances such personal peculiarities as that which suggested the name Nana-tsuka-hagi, literally "Seven-span-shanks."

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jump over it." But when he came to the middle of the sea a storm suddenly arose, and the Prince's ship was tossed about, so that he could not cross over. At this time there was a concubine in the Prince's suite, named Oto-tachibana-hime. She was the daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune of the Hodzumi House. She addressed the Prince, saying:—"This present uprising of the winds and rushing of the waves, so that the Prince's ship is like to sink, must be due to the wishes of the God of the Sea. I pray thee let me go into the sea, and so let the person of thy mean handmaiden be given to redeem the life of the Prince's Augustness." Having finished speaking, she plunged into the billows. The storm forthwith ceased, and the ship was enabled to reach the shore. Therefore the people of that time called that sea Hashiri-midzu.[1]

VII. 25. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikotō, going by way of Kadzusa, changed his route, and entered the Land of Michi no oku.

At this time a great mirror was hung upon the Prince's ship. Proceeding by the sea route, he went round to Ashi no ura and crossed aslant to Tama no ura.[2] When he arrived at the Yemishi frontier, the chiefs of the Yemishi, Shima-tsu-kami and Kuni-tsu-kami,[3] encamped at the harbour of Take, with the intention of making resistance. But when they saw the Prince's ship from afar, they feared his majesty and power, and knew in their hearts that they could not gain the victory over him. They all flung away their bows and arrows, bowed down towards him, and said:—"When we look upon thy face, we see that it is more than human. Art thou perchance a Deity? We desire to know thy name." The Prince answered and said:—"I am the son of a Deity of visible men." Hereupon the Yemishi were all filled with awe. They gathered up their skirts and, plunging into the waves, of their own accord assisted the Prince's ship to reach the shore. Then, with their hands bound behind them, they submitted themselves for punishment. He therefore pardoned their offence, and having made prisoners their chieftains, caused them to be his personal attendants. The Yemishi having been

[1] Running-water. [2] In Shimōsa.
[3] Literally, Gods of the Islands and Gods of the Continent.

subdued, he returned from the country of Hitakami, and proceeding to the south-west, passed through Hitachi, and arrived at the Land of Kahi, where he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori. VII. At this time a light was kindled and he partook of food. On this night he made a song, in which he inquired of those in attendance on him, saying :—

Since I passed Tsukuba,
And Nihibari,
How many nights have I slept?

None of his attendants was able to answer him. Now there was a man who had charge of the lights, who made a song, in continuation of the Prince's, saying :—

Counting the days—
Of nights there are nine nights,
Of days there are ten days.

Therefore the Prince commended his intelligence and liberally rewarded him.[1]

Now while he was residing in this palace, he granted to Take-hi, the ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, the Yuki[2] Be. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said :—"All the wicked chiefs of the Yemishi have submitted to the punishment of their crimes. Only in the Land of Shinano and the Land of Koshi there are a considerable number who are not yet obedient to the civilizing influence." So from Kahi he turned towards the north, and passing through Musashi and Kōdzuke, he went westward as far as the Usuhi-saka.[3] Now Yamato-dake no VII. Mikoto always thought with regret of Oto-tachibana-hime. Therefore, when he ascended to the summit of Usuhi and looked down towards the south-east, he sighed three times, and said, "Alas! my wife!" Therefore the provinces east of the mountains were given the name of Adzuma.[4]

Here he sent Kibi no Takehiko by a different road to the Land of Koshi, and caused him to examine the character of the country as regards means of access, and also whether the people were tractable or not. So Yamato-dake no Mikoto advanced

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 214. [2] Quiver.
[3] Now known as the Usuhi Tōge (pass) on the Nakasendō road.
[4] Aga tsuma means my wife.

into the province of Shinano. This is a Land of high mountains and profound valleys. Verdant summits are piled up ten thousand fold, so that for men with staff in hand they are hard to ascend. The cliffs are precipitous, and are girt with flying bridges.[1] Many thousand are the hill-ranges, where even with slackened reins the horse makes no progress. Yet Yamato-dake no Mikoto, bursting through the smoke, and braving the mists, distantly crossed Mount Oho-yama. He had already reached the summit when he became hungry and had food on the mountain. The God of the mountain plagued the Prince. He assumed the form of a white deer and stood before him. The Prince, wondering at this, took a stick of garlic, and jerked it
VII. 28. at the white deer, striking it in the eye and killing it.[2] Here the Prince suddenly lost his way and could find no issue. Then a white dog came of its own accord, and made a show of guiding the Prince. Following the dog, he proceeded on his way, and succeeded in coming out into Mino. Kibi no Takehiko, coming out from Koshi, met him. Before this when any one crossed the Shinano pass, he inhaled so much of the breath of the Deity that he became ill and lay down. But after the white deer was killed, the travellers who crossed that mountain chewed garlic,[3] and smearing with it men, kine, and horses, preserved them from being affected by the Deity's breath.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, having returned back again to Ohari, straightway took to wife a daughter of the Ohari House, by name Miyazu-hime, and tarried there until the next month. Here he heard that on Mount Ibuki in Afumi there was a savage Deity. So he took off his sword, and leaving it in the house of Miyazu-hime, went on afoot. When he arrived at Mount Ibuki, the God of the mountain took the shape of a
VII. 29. great serpent, and posted himself on the road. Hereupon

[1] Kake-hashi, a bridge supported on poles driven into the side of a cliff. Common in some mountainous parts of Japan.

[2] Ch. K., 213.

[3] "Another popular device (in Scotland) for frightening away witches and fairies was to hang bunches of garlic about the farms." "Auld Licht Idylls," by J. M. Barrie.

Dennys, in his "Folk-lore of China," mentions several cases of the use of garlic or onions to keep away evil spirits.

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by the favour of the Gods, and trusting in the mighty power of the Emperor, I made the rebellious to submit themselves for punishment, and the violent deities to become moderate. Therefore I rolled up my armour, laid aside my weapons, and was returning peacefully. It was my hope on such a day at such an hour to report my mission to the Celestial Court.[1] But the life allotted me by Heaven has unexpectedly approached an end. Passing swiftly as a four-horse carriage passes a crack in the road, it may not be stayed. Alone I lay me down on the waste moor with none to say a word to me. But why should I regret the loss of this body? My only grief is that I cannot meet thee."

Having said so, he died on the moor of Nobo. He was then thirty years of age. When the Emperor heard it, he could not sleep peacefully on his couch, nor was the taste of food sweet to him. Night and day his voice was choked with grief: with tears and lamentations he beat his breast. Therefore he exclaimed aloud, saying:—"Oh! Our son, Prince Wo-usu!
VII. 31. Formerly when the Kumaso revolted he was still a boy. But for a long time he bore the labour of campaigning. Afterwards he was constantly at Our side, supplying Our deficiencies. Then when the troubles with the Eastern savages arose, there was no one else whom We could send to smite them, so in spite of Our affection for him, We sent him into the country of the enemy. No day passed that we did not think of him. Therefore morning and evening We longingly awaited the day of his return. Oh! what a calamity! Oh! what a crime! While We least expected it, we suddenly lost Our child. Henceforth with whom to help us shall we manage the vast institution?"

So he commanded his ministers and through them instructed the functionaries[2] to bury him in the misasagi of Nobo Moor in the Land of Ise.

Now Yamato-dake no Mikoto, taking the shape of a white bird, came forth from the misasagi, and flew towards the Land of Yamato. The Ministers accordingly opened the coffin, and looking in, saw that only the empty clothing remained, and

[1] This sentence is in the "Shukai" edition introduced at the end of this speech.

[2] Lit. the hundred bureaus.

that there was no corpse. Thereupon messengers were sent to follow in search of the white bird. It stopped on the plain of Kotobiki in Yamato. Accordingly in that place a misasagi was erected. The white bird flew on again until it reached Kahachi, where it rested in the village of Furuchi, and in this place also a misasagi[1] was erected. Therefore the men of VII. 32.
that day called these three misasagi "the white bird misasagi."[2] At last it soared aloft to Heaven, and there was nothing buried but his clothing and official cap. The Emperor, wishing to perpetuate the fame of his services, established the Takeru[3] Be. This was in the 43rd year of the Emperor's reign.

51st year, Spring, 1st month; 7th day. The Emperor A.D. 121.
summoned his Ministers, and feasted them for several days. Now the Imperial Prince Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto and Takechi no Sukune did not come to the Banqueting Court. The Emperor sent for them and asked the reason. Therefore they represented to the Emperor, saying:—"On a day of festival, the Ministers and functionaries must have their minds bent on jollity, and they do not think of the State. In view of the possibility of there being madmen, who might watch for an unprotected space in the ramparts, we remain on guard beneath the Gate[4] and provide against emergencies." Then the Emperor spake and said:—"Splendid!" So he showed them an extraordinary affection.

Autumn, 8th month, 4th day. Waka-tarashi-hikō no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. On this day Takechi no Sukune was appointed Prime Minister.

The cross-sword Kusanagi, which was at first worn by VII. 33.
Yamato-dake no Mikoto, is now in the shrine of Atsuta in the district of Ayuchi, in the province of Ohari. Now the Yemishi who had been presented to the shrine brawled day and night, and were disrespectful in their goings out and comings in. Then Yamato-hime no Mikoto said:—"These Yemishi should not be allowed near the shrine." Accordingly she sent them up

[1] I have seen this tumulus. It is a very large double mound surrounded by a moat.

[2] Shira-tori no Misasagi. Many of the tumuli are favourite resorts of the white egret, whence doubtless the name.

[3] Or Take, brave.

[4] Mikado means "august gate."

to the Court, where they were made to settle beside Mount Mimoro. Ere long they cut down all the trees of the sacred mountain. They shouted and bawled in the neighbouring villages and threatened the people. The Emperor, hearing this, summoned his Ministers, and said :—" The Yemishi who were placed beside the sacred mountain have by nature the hearts of beasts. They cannot be allowed to dwell in the inner country." So he caused them to be stationed without the home provinces, in any places which they pleased. They were the ancestors of the present Saheki[1] Be of the five provinces of Harima, Sanuki, Iyo, Aki, and Aha.

VII. 34. In the beginning Yamato-dake no Mikoto took the Imperial Princess Futachi-iri-hime, and made her his consort.[2] She bore Prince Ineyori-wake, next the Emperor Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko,[3] next Nuno oshi-iri-hime no Mikoto, and next Prince Waka-take. The eldest of these, Prince Ineyori-wake, was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Inu-gami and of the Kimi of Takebe. Another consort, named Kibi no Anato no Take-hime, daughter of Kibi no Take-hiko, bore to him Prince Take-miko and Prince Towoki-wake. The elder of these, Prince Take-miko, was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Aya in Sanuki. Prince Towoki-wake was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wake in Iyo. His next consort, Oto-tachibana hime, daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune, of the Hodzumi House, bore to him Prince Waka-take-hiko.

VII. 35. A.D. 122. 52nd year, Summer, 5th month, 4th day. The Empress Harima no Oho-iratsume died.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

A.D. 123. 53rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—" When will Our longing for Our son cease? We desire to make a tour of inspection to the region subdued by Prince Wo-usu." In this month he

[1] The Chinese characters for Saheki mean "Assistant-Chief." It is apparently a Chinese word and not Japanese, and therefore it seems out of place in the history of a period long previous to the introduction of Chinese learning. But, however unhistorical this narrative may be, it goes to prove that there is an Aino element in the Japanese nation.

[2] She was his aunt.

[3] Chiuai Tennô.

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good administration when the Yemishi made a disturbance. So he raised an army and attacked them. Then the Yemishi chieftains, Ashi-furi-he, Oho-ha-furi-he, and Tohotsu Kura-ho-he bowed their heads to the ground and came; they made deep obeisance and accepted punishment, offering him all their territory without exception. Therefore he pardoned those who surrendered, and put to death those who would not submit. On this account the Eastern Land was for a long time free from trouble. Therefore his descendants are to this day in the Eastern Land.

A.D. 127. VII. 37. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month. The Pool of Sakate was constructed, and the embankment planted with bamboos.

Winter, 10th month. It was commanded that every province should erect granaries of the labourers' Be.[1]

A.D. 128. 58th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Land of Ohomi, and dwelt in Shiga for three years. This was called the Palace of Taka-Anaho.

A.D. 130. 60th year, Winter, 11th month, 7th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Taka-Anaho at the age of 106.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-TARASHI-HIKO.

(*SEIMU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko was the fourth child of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake. The name of the Empress his mother was Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto, daughter of the Imperial Prince Ya-saka-iri-hiko. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the 46th year of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, being then aged twenty-four years. In the 60th year of his reign, Winter, the 11th month, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko died.

A.D. 131. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 132. 2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 10th day. The Emperor

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 205.

[2] Accomplish-functions.

Oho-tarashi-hiko was buried in the misasagi over the road at Yamanobe in the province of Yamato.

The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. VII. 38.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. Takechi no Sukune was made Prime Minister. In the beginning the Emperor was born on the same day with Takechi no Sukune, and he therefore had an extraordinary affection for him. A.D. 133.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, was clear-sighted and of divine valour. When he became subject to the scheme[1] and received over the plan he ruled Heaven and was in accordance with Man. He swept away the banditti, and restored right. His virtue was like a canopy, his path harmonized with development. Therefore in all the land under Universal Heaven there was none who did not recognize him as Sovereign. VII. 39. Of all things endowed with life and possessed of soul were there any which did not find their place? A.D. 134.

We have now succeeded him in the occupation of the precious felicity. Morning and night we tremble and fear. But the people are like wriggling worms, and will not reform the savagery of their hearts. In the provinces and districts there are no Lords, in the villages there are no Chiefs.[2] Henceforward let there be established Lords in the provinces, and let there be Chiefs placed in the villages. Accordingly let men of ability of the provinces be taken and appointed Chiefs over provinces and districts, so as to form a defence for the Inner Country."[3]

5th year, Autumn, 9th month. A decree was issued to all the provinces establishing Miyakko (governors) in the provinces and districts, and Inaki[4] in the villages. All were granted A.D. 135.

[1] The scheme of the permutations of the five elements. "Thus water is said to overcome fire and so forth. Each dynasty is believed to be subject to the influence of the element which overcomes that prevailing with the previous dynasty, and all human affairs are referable to the same occult influence." Mayers' Manual, p. 317. This whole speech is intensely Chinese.

[2] This cannot be correct.

[3] i.e. the Gokinai.

[4] Inaki is literally rice-castle, i.e. granary. The office seems to be something like mayor. It subsequently became a mere title, and eventually a surname.

shields and spears as emblems of authority. So the mountains and rivers were made boundaries for the separation of one province and district from another, whilst the bounds of townships and villages were established by means of lanes. In this way East and West were reckoned as in a line with the sun,
VII. 40. while North and South were reckoned as athwart the sun.[1] The sunny side of the mountains was called the light-face and the shady side of the mountains the back-face.[2]

In this way the people had tranquil possession of their dwellings, and the Empire was at peace.

A.D. 178. 48th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor appointed his nephew Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko no Mikoto Prince Imperial.[3]

A.D. 190. 60th year, Summer, 6th month, 11th day. The Emperor died, aged 107.

[1] Meaning lanes running N. and S. and lanes running E. and W.

[2] The modern division of the provinces between Kiôto and Shimonoseki, the Sanyōdo and Sanindo, rests on this distinction.

[3] His own son had perhaps died.

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therefore sent to the various provinces to send tribute of white birds.

Intercalary 11th month, 4th day. The province of Koshi sent tribute of four white birds. Now the messengers who were sent with the birds stayed for the night on the bank of the river Uji. Then Prince Gama-mi-wake, of Ashigami, seeing the white birds, made inquiry, saying:—"Whither are you taking these white birds?" The men of Koshi answered and said:—"The Emperor, out of his longing for the Prince, his father, intends to keep them as pets. Therefore do we bring them as tribute." Prince Gama-mi-wake spake to the men of Koshi, saying:—"These may be white birds, but when they are roasted they will become black birds." So he forcibly seized the white birds and carried them away. Hereupon the men of Koshi came and reported to the Emperor, who was indignant at the affront offered by Prince Gama-mi-wake to the late Prince, and sending troops, put him to death.

Prince Gama-mi-Wake was the younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother. The people of that time said: —"A father is Heaven, an elder brother is a Lord; how can he escape execution who is wanting in respect to Heaven, and who thwarts his Lord?"[1]

This year was the year Midzunoye Saru (9th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 193. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Oki-naga-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as consort Oho-nakatsu-hime, daughter of his uncle Hiko-bito Ohine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince
VIII. 3. Kakosaka and the Imperial Prince Oshikuma. Next he took to him as consort Oto-hime, daughter of Oho-saka-nushi,[2] the ancestor of the Miyakko of Kukumada. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Homuya wake.

2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsunoga,[3] where he erected a temporary palace and dwelt in it. This was called the Palace of Kehi. In the same month the granary of Ahaji was established.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor made a tour of inspec-

[1] These phrases are Chinese, and therefore an anachronism in a history of this period.

[2] Great-sake-master.

[3] Tsuruga.

tion to the Southern provinces. Hereupon he left behind the Empress and the functionaries, and with two or three High officials[1] and several hundred officers in attendance, he proceeded, thus lightly equipped, as far as the land of Kiï, where he dwelt in the Palace of Tokorotsu. At this time the Kumaso rebelled and did not bring tribute. The Emperor thereupon prepared to smite the Land of Kumaso, and starting from Tokorotsu, borne over the sea, he made a progress to Anato. On the same day he sent messengers to Tsunoga and commanded the Empress, saying:—"Set out straightway from that harbour and meet me at Anato."

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. The Emperor anchored in the harbour of Toyora, while the Empress, who had set out from Tsunoga on her way there, arrived at the Strait of Nuta, and partook of food on board her ship. A great many tahi assembled beside the ship. The Empress sprinkled sake upon the tahi, which forthwith became drunk VIII and floated to the surface. Then the fishermen, having caught numbers of these tahi, were delighted, and said:—"They are the fish given us by our wise sovereign." Therefore the fish of that place, when the sixth month comes, are in the habit of floating belly upwards as if they were drunk. This was the origin of it.

Autumn, 7th month, 5th day. The Empress anchored in the harbour of Toyora. On this day the Empress found in the sea a Nyoi[2] pearl.

9th month. The Emperor erected a Palace in Anato, and dwelt in it. It was called the Palace of Toyora in Anato.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Emperor proceeded to Tsukushi. At this time Kuma-wani,[3] the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Oka, hearing of the Emperor's arrival, pulled up beforehand a 500-branched Sakaki tree, which he set

[1] Daibu.

[2] The Nyoi (如意) is a sort of sceptre seen in the hands of Buddhist idols. It contains the Mani, one of the Sapta ratna, a fabulous pearl which is ever bright and luminous, and therefore a symbol of Buddha and of his doctrines.

A Buddhist term is of course an anachronism in this narrative.

[3] Bear (*i.e.* enormous), sea-monster, a fit name for a personage of a legendary narrative. See p. 61, note 3.

up on the bows of a nine-fathom ship. On the upper branches he hung a white-copper mirror, on the middle branches he hung a ten-span sword, and on the lower branches he hung Yasaka jewels. With these he went out to meet him at the Bay of
VIII. 5. Saha in Suwo, and presented to him a fish-salt-place.[1] In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Let the Great Ferry from Anato to Mukatsuno be its Eastern Gate and the Great Ferry of Nagoya[2] be its Western Gate. Let the Islands of Motori and Abe and none else be the august baskets: let the Island of Shiba be divided and made the august pans: let the Sea of Sakami be the salt-place." He then acted as the Emperor's pilot. Going round Cape Yamaga, he entered the Bay of Oka.

But in entering the harbour, the ship was unable to go forward. So he inquired of Kuma-wani, saying:—"We have heard that thou, Kuma-wani, hast come to us with an honest heart. Why does the ship not proceed?" Kuma-wani addressed the Emperor, saying:—"It is not the fault of thy servant that the august ship is unable to advance. At the entrance to this bay there are two Deities, one male and the other female. The male Deity is called Oho-kura-nushi,[3] the female Deity is called Tsubura-hime. It must be owing to the wish of these Deities." The Emperor accordingly prayed to them, and caused them to be sacrificed to, appointing his steersman Iga-hiko, a man of Uda in the province of Yamato, as priest.[4] So the ship was enabled to proceed. The Empress entered in a different ship by the Sea of Kuki. As the tide was out, she
VIII. 6. was unable to go on. Then Kuma-wani went back and met the Empress by way of Kuki. Thereupon he saw that the august ship made no progress, and he was afraid. He hastily made a fish-pond and a bird-pond, into which he collected all the fishes and birds. When the Empress saw these fishes and birds sporting, her anger was gradually appeased, and with the flowing tide she straightway anchored in the harbour of Oka.

[1] A salt-pan.

[2] Near Karatsu. It was from Nagoya that Hideyoshi's expedition sailed for Corea. By the salt-place is evidently meant the whole northern coast of Kiushiu. Salt is still made here, though the chief seat of this manufacture is now the shores of the Inland Sea. See Wileman in "T.A S.J." XVII. 1.

[3] Great-magazine-lord.

[4] Hafuri.

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Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as offerings, namely, the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields[1] called Ohota,[2] presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato." When the Emperor heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no land. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said:—"We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void?[3] Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperors Our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted." Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying:—"I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that
VIII. 8. there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shalt not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it."

The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated without having gained a victory.

A.D. 200. 9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor took suddenly ill, and died on the following day, at the age of 52.

One version says:—"The Emperor having gone in person to smite the Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain."

Thereupon the Empress and the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune suppressed the mourning for the Emperor, and did not allow it to be known to the Empire.

Accordingly the Empress commanded the Prime Minister, the Nakatomi[4] Ikatsu no Muraji, Oho-miwa no Ohotomo-

[1] i.e., rice lands. [2] Great fields.

[3] The sky. Corea is visible from the Japanese island of Tsushima, and must have been well known to the Japanese at this time. There has already been frequent mention of it in the "Nihongi" itself.

[4] Probably here used in its original signification of Middle Minister.

nushi no Kimi, Mononobe no Ikuhi no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Takemotsu no Muraji, saying:—"The Empire is still ignorant of the Emperor's decease. If the people were to know of it, there would be negligence." So she instructed the four high officials to cause the functionaries to keep watch within the Palace while the body of the Emperor was secretly taken up and entrusted to Takechi no Sukune. He removed it by sea to Anato, and buried it temporarily in the Palace of Toyora, giving it a fireless temporary burial.[1] VIII. 9.

22nd day. The Prime Minister, Takechi no Sukune, returned from Anato, and made his report to the Empress. This year, owing to the expedition against Silla, it was impossible to bury the Emperor.[2]

[1] The commentators say that for the sake of secrecy there were no lights used.

[2] An army of labourers was needed to build one of the enormous tumuli which were the fashion at this time.

BOOK IX.

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO.

(*JINGŌ*[1] *KŌGU.*)

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO was the great-grandchild of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Ohohihi[2] and the daughter of Prince Okinaga[3] no Sukune. Her mother's name was Katsuraki no Taka-nuka-hime. She was made Empress in the second year of the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko. Whilst still young, she was intelligent and shrewd, and her countenance was of such blooming beauty that the Prince her father wondered at it.

In his 9th year, Spring, the 2nd month, the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko died in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi. At this time the Empress was grieved that the Emperor would not follow the Divine instructions, and had consequently died
IX. 2. a premature death. She thought she would find out what God had sent the curse, so that she might possess herself of the land of treasures. She therefore commanded her Ministers and functionaries to purge offences[4] and to rectify transgres-

[1] Divine merit or success. [2] Kaikwa Tennō.

[3] Name of a place in Ohomi. This is hardly consistent with the statement at the end of this reign that Oki-naga (long life) was a posthumous name given her, apparently owing to the great age to which she attained.

[4] The ceremony of purification (harahi) is referred to.

Motowori observes on the parallel passage of the "Kojiki" that tsumi, offence, includes kegare, pollutions, ashiki waza, ill-deeds, and wazawahi, calamities. The offences for which the ceremony of purification was required are enumerated in the "Kojiki" as flaying alive, flaying backwards, breaking down the divisions between rice-fields, filling up irrigating channels, committing nuisances, incest, and bestiality. The Oho-harahi, or Great Purification Ritual, gives a similar but more detailed description. See Ch. K., p. 230.

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She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"It is not known whether there are others or not." Hereupon the Saniha[1] said:—"There is no answer now, but they will speak again afterwards." So there was an answer, saying:—"There are the Gods who have settled to the bottom of the water of the Little Strait of Tachibana[2] in the Land of Hiuga, and who are produced and dwell there like fresh water plants. Their names are Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo.[3]

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"Whether there are or not is unknown." And nothing more was ever said as to the existence of other Gods.

Now that the Divine words[4] had been obtained, the Gods were worshipped in accordance with their instructions. Thereafter, Kamo no Wake, the ancestor of the Kibi no Omi, was sent to attack the Kumaso. Before many days had elapsed they freely submitted.

IX 4. Moreover, there was in the village of Notorita a man named Hashiro Kuma-washi.[5] He was a fellow of powerful frame, and had wings on his body, so that he could fly, and with them soar aloft. Therefore he would not obey the Imperial commands, but habitually plundered the people.

17th day. The Empress desired to attack Kuma-washi. So from the Palace of Kashihi she returned to the Palace of Matsunowo. At this time a whirlwind suddenly arose, and her august hat was blown off by the wind. Therefore the men of the time called that place Mikasa.[6]

20th day. She arrived at the Moor of Sosoki, where she took up arms and smote Hashiro Kuma-washi, and destroyed him. Then she addressed her courtiers, saying:—"My mind is at peace now that we have taken Kuma-washi." Therefore the name of that place was called Yasu.[7]

25th day. Going on from thence, she arrived at the district of Yamato,[8] where she put to death a Tsuchi-gumo named

[1] See above, p. 225.

[2] Little Strait is in the original Wodo: the Bungo Channel.

[3] See Ch. K., p. 41, also above, p. 27.

[4] The term "divine words" probably means the proper names and titles of the Deities.

[5] Feather-white bear-eagle. [6] August hat. [7] Peaceful.

[8] In Chikugo.

Tabura-tsu-hime. Now Tabura-tsu-hime's elder brother Natsuha had raised an army and advanced against the Empress, but on hearing that his younger sister had been already put to death, he took to flight.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Proceeding northwards, she arrived at the district of Matsura in the Land of Hizen, and partook of food on the bank of the river Wogawa,[1] in the village of Tamashima. Here the Empress bent a needle and made of it a hook. She took grains of rice and used them as bait. Pulling out the threads of her garment, she made of them a line. Then mounting upon a stone in the middle of the river, and casting the hook, she prayed, saying:—"We are IX. 5. proceeding westward, where we desire to gain possession of the Land of Treasure. If we are to succeed, let the fish of the river bite the hook." Accordingly, raising up her fishing-rod, she caught a trout. Then the Empress said:—"It is a strange thing." Wherefore the men of the day called that place the Land of Medzura. The present name Matsura[2] is a corruption of this. For this reason, whenever the 1st decade of the 4th month comes round, the women of that land take hooks, which they cast into the river and catch trout—a custom which has not ceased unto this day. The men may angle for fish, but they cannot catch any.

This having been done, the Empress knew that there was virtue in the teaching of the Gods, and she made sacrifice anew to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. As it was her purpose in person to chastise the West, she set apart a sacred rice-field, and tilled it. Then, in order to divert water from the Naka-gaha with which to irrigate it, she dug a channel as far as the Hill of Todoroki. But a great rock stood in the way, and she was unable to pierce a channel through it. Then the Empress sent for Takechi no Sukune, and offering a sword and a mirror made him pray to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and ask them to allow the channel to be completed. Straightway there came thunder and lightning, and stamped that rock asunder, so that the water passed through. Therefore the men of the time called that channel the Channel of Sakuta.[3]

[1] Little river.

[2] Medzurashiki means "strange." Matsura is really Matsu-ura, fir-bay.

[3] Sundered field.

The Empress returned to the Bay of Kashihi, and loosing her hair, looked over the sea, saying:—"I, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the Spirits of the Imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do
IX. 6. I now lave my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously into two." Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches.[1]

Then she addressed her ministers, saying:—"To make war and move troops is a matter of the greatest concern to a country. Peace and danger, success and failure must depend on it. If I now entrusted to you, my ministers, the duties of the expedition we are about to undertake, the blame, in case of ill-success, would rest with you. This would be very grievous to me. Therefore, although I am a woman, and a feeble woman too, I will for a while borrow the outward appearance of a man, and force myself to adopt manly counsels. Above, I shall receive support from the Spirits of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, while below I shall avail myself of the assistance of you, my ministers. Brandishing our weapons, we shall cross the towering billows: preparing an array of ships, we shall take possession of the Land of Treasure. If the enterprise succeeds, all of you, my ministers, will have the credit, while if it is unsuccessful, I alone shall be to blame. Such have been my intentions, do ye deliberate together regarding them." The ministers all said:—"The object of the measure which the Empress has devised for the Empire is to tranquillize the ancestral shrines and the Gods of the Earth and Grain, and also to protect her servants from blame. With heads bowed to the ground we receive thy commands."[2]

Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. The various provinces were ordered to collect ships and to practise the use of weapons. But an army could not be assembled. The Empress said:—"This is surely the will of a God." So she erected the Shrine of Oho-miwa, and offered there a sword and a spear. Then the troops assembled freely. Hereupon a fisherman of Ahe, by

[1] In manly fashion.
[2] This speech is copied from a Chinese book.

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Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Sail was set from the harbour of Wani.[1] Then the Wind-God made a breeze to spring up, and the Sea-God[2] uplifted the billows. The great fishes of the ocean, every one, came to the surface and encompassed the
IX. 9. ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country. Hereupon the King of Silla feared and trembled, and knew not what to do, so he assembled all his people and said to them:—"Since the State of Silla was founded, it has never yet been heard that the water of the sea has encroached upon the land. Is it possible that the term of existence granted to it by Heaven has expired, and that our country is to become a part of the ocean?" Scarce had he spoken when a warlike fleet overspread the sea. Their banners were resplendent in the sunlight. The drums and fifes raised up their voices, and the mountains and rivers all thrilled to the sound. The King of Silla beholding this from afar felt that his country was about to be destroyed by this extraordinary force, and was terrified out of his senses. But presently coming to himself, he said:—"I have heard that in the East there is a divine country named Nippon, and also that there is there a wise sovereign called the Tennō. This divine force must belong to that country. How
IX. 10. could we resist them by force of arms?" So he took a white flag, and of his own accord rendered submission, tying his hands behind his back with a white rope. He sealed up the maps and registers, and going down before the Royal vessel bowed his head to the ground, and said:—"Henceforward, as long as Heaven and Earth endure, we will obediently act as thy forage-providers. Not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry, every spring and every autumn we will send tribute of horse-combs and whips. And, without thinking the sea-distance a trouble, we will pay annual dues of male and female slaves." He confirmed this by repeated oaths, saying:—"When the sun no longer rises in the East, but comes forth

[1] In Tsushima.

[2] The words used here for Wind-God and Sea-God are purely Chinese. "Æolus" and "Neptune" would be just as appropriate in a Saga.

in the West; when the River Arinare[1] turns its course backward, and when the river pebbles ascend and become stars—if before this we fail to pay homage every spring and every autumn, or neglect to send tribute of combs and whips, may the Gods of Heaven and Earth both together punish us."

Then someone said:—"Let us put to death the King of Silla." Hereupon the Empress said:—"When I first received the Divine instructions, promising to bestow on me the Land of Gold and Silver, I gave orders to the three divisions of the army, saying:—'Slay not the submissive.' Now that we have taken the Land of Treasure, and its people have freely offered submission, it would be unlucky to slay them." So she loosed the cords with which he was bound, and made him her forage-provider.

Ultimately she proceeded to the interior of that country, placed seals on the magazines of precious treasure, and took possession of the books of maps and registers.[2] The spear on which the Empress leant[3] was planted at the gate of the King of Silla as a memorial to after ages. Therefore that spear even now remains planted at the King of Silla's gate.

Now Phasa Mikeun,[4] King of Silla, gave as a hostage Micheul-kwi-chi Pha-chin Kan-ki,[5] and with gold and silver, bright colours, figured gauzes and silks, he loaded eighty vessels, which he made to follow after the Imperial forces. This was the origin of the King of Silla always sending eighty ships of tribute.

Hereupon the kings of the two countries of Koryö and Pèkché[6]

[1] Supposed to be the Am-nok-kang.

[2] The Cadastral records.

[3] As a staff.

[4] The traditional kana rendering is Hasa Mukin. Phasa was the 6th King of Silla. He reigned from A.D. 80 to A.D. 112. Mikeun or Mukin is not clear. The last syllable corresponds with the last syllable of ni-sä-keun (尼師今), an old Silla word for king, mentioned in the Introduction to the "Tongkam."

[5] The traditional kana has Mi-shi-ko-chi Ha-tori Kamu-ki. Pha-chin was the fourth official rank in Silla (see "Tongkam," I. 31), and Kanki is said by the Shiki to be a title. A Silla Prince named Misăheun (in Japanese Mishikin) was sent as hostage to Japan A.D. 402. It is clear from what follows (A.D. 205) that this is the same person.

[6] The original name of this country is Kokuryö. It did not become officially known as Koryö until A.D. 936, but the contracted form was in use

IX. 12. hearing that Silla had rendered up its maps and registers,[1] and made submission, secretly caused the warlike power (of the Empress) to be spied out. Finding then that they could not be victorious, they came of themselves without the camp, and bowing their heads to the ground, and sighing, said:—"Henceforth for ever, these lands shall be styled thy western frontier provinces, and will not cease to offer tribute." Accordingly interior Governments were instituted. This is what is termed the three Han.[2]

The Empress returned from Silla.

12th month, 14th day. She gave birth to the Emperor Homuda in Tsukushi. Therefore the men of that time called the place where he was born Umi.[3]

long before, and there are examples of it in Chinese literature as early as A.D. 500 (Parker, "Race Struggles in Corea," "T.A.S.J.," XVIII., Pt. II.). The capital was Phyöngyang, at least at one time.

The Japanese name for this kingdom was Koma, a word of doubtful derivation. I think it possible that it means bear (in Corean kom), and that the Koma of Corea and the Kuma of Japan were the same race—like the Saxons of Germany and the Saxons of England. Parker, in the article just referred to (p. 216), suggests that Koma was really a part of Pèkché, and not Koryö. The town of Koma or Kuma was certainly in Pèkché territory, and was for a while the capital. But I cannot think that the Japanese could have been mistaken on this point. They were far too well acquainted with Corean matters, and with them Koryö and Koma are the same thing. It is probable nevertheless that Koma or Kumanari was at some time the seat of the race of that name, as Kumamoto in Japan was of the Japanese Kuma. It is now Ung-chhön (bear-river), near the mouth of the R. Nak-tong, and a convenient port for crossing over to Japan.

Pèkché, known to the Japanese as Kudara, was the S.-W. kingdom of Corea.

[1] i.e. the territory described in them.

[2] Corea at one time was divided into three kingdoms, called Ma-han, Sin-han, and Pyön-han, corresponding respectively to Pèkché, Silla, and Koryö. But there is some doubt on the subject.

The three Han are rendered in the kana gloss mitsu no Kara-kuni. But although Kara is sometimes used loosely for all Corea, and even to include China, I doubt much whether there ever was such a phrase as the three Karas. It looks like a mere literal translation of Samhan.

For an estimate of the historical value of this narrative of the conquest of Corea, I would refer the reader to my paper on Early Japanese History in the "T.A.S.J.," XVI. Pt. I.

[3] Birth.

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directions of the Gods.[1] Then the Empress, clad in male attire, went on the expedition against Silla, and the Gods guided her. Accordingly the wave which followed the ship reached far into the interior of the Land of Silla. Hereupon the Silla Prince Urusohorichiu[2] came to meet the Empress, and kneeling down, took hold of the Royal vessel. Bowing his head to the ground, he said:—'Henceforward thy servant will act as an interior Government for the child of the Gods who dwells in Japan, and will not cease to furnish tribute.'"

One version says:—"She took prisoner the Prince of Silla, and going to the sea-side, plucked out his knee-caps,[3] and causing him to crawl on the rocks, suddenly slew him, and buried him in the sand. Accordingly she stationed there one man as Governor of Silla, and departed. Afterwards, the wife of the Prince of Silla, not knowing where the body of her husband was buried, all by herself conceived the thought of deluding the Governor. So, enticing him, she said:—'If thou wilt let me know the place where the Prince's body is buried, I will surely reward thee liberally, and will become thy wife.' Hereupon the Governor believed these deluding words, and secretly made known to her the place where the body was buried. Then the Prince's wife and the people of the country, having consulted together, slew the Governor, and having disinterred the Prince's body, buried it in another place. Then they took the Governor's body, and buried it in the earth under the Prince's tomb, and taking up the coffin, deposited it on the top of the Governor's body, saying:—'This is as it ought necessarily to be, according to the order of things exalted and things base.'

Hereupon the Empress,[4] when she heard of this, was

[1] i.e. offering the ship and lands.

[2] This transliteration follows the traditional Japanese pronunciation. The Corean would be U-ryu-cho-pu-ri-chi-u. It may be suspected that the final u 于 is a mistake for 干 kan, a frequent element of Corean titles, perhaps = khan, kami? See Parker's "Race Struggles in Corea," p. 220.

[3] A Chinese punishment.

[4] The original has Tennō, a word which, strictly speaking, is either masculine or feminine, but which is not usually applied to this Empress.

mightily incensed, and raised a large army, with which it was her intent utterly to destroy Silla. So, with war- IX. 15.
ships filling the sea, she proceeded thither. At this time the people of Silla were all afraid, and knew not what to do. Having assembled, they consulted together, and slew the Prince's wife by way of apology for their crime."[1]

Hereupon the three Gods who accompanied the expedition, *viz.* Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished the Empress, saying:—"Let our rough spirits be worshipped at the village of Yamada in Anato." Now

[1] The "Tongkam," Vol. III. p. 21, has the following under the date A.D. 249, Summer, 4th month:—"The Was invaded Silla, and killed Uro. Before this the Was had sent Kalyako as Ambassador to Silla. The King made Uro entertain him. Uro said, jesting:—"Sooner or later we shall make your King our salt-slave, and your Queen our cook-wench." When the King of Wa heard this, he sent his General Uto-chiu to invade Silla. The King went out and dwelt at Yuchhon. Uro said:—"To-day's attack is owing to the words of thy servant. I pray thee let me deal with it." So he went eventually to the Wa army, and said:—"My words on a former day were a jest, and nothing more. Who would have thought that war should be waged, and that things should come to this extremity?" The men of Wa took him, and made a pile of firewood, on which they burnt him to death, and then went away. Afterwards an Ambassador came from Wa. Uro's wife begged leave from the King to entertain him on her own score. Accordingly she made the Ambassador drunk, seized him, and burnt him. The Was, enraged at this, besieged Keumsyöng,* but had to retire unsuccessful."

Notwithstanding the difference of date—A.D. 200 and A.D. 249—and other discrepancies, I believe these two narratives relate to the same events. The Prince Urusohorichiu of the Japanese account is the Uro of the Corean history. The word which I have translated Prince is 王, which might also be rendered King. But there is no King of this name in Corean history, and, as appears from a Corean authority quoted in the "Ishōnihonden," XIV. 11, Syök Uro was the son of King Nahè of Silla. The "Tongkam" relates several other events of his life, among others his appointment as Sö-pul-han (or Sö-pul-ya), whence probably the sohori of the name given him in the Japanese narrative.

Kalyako is no doubt the same person as the Katsuraki no Sotsu-hiko mentioned below as having been sent on a mission to Silla. Kal is written 葛, which is katsura in Japanese.

In "Early Japanese History" I have given reasons for thinking that, for this period, Corean history is much more in accordance with facts than that of Japan.

* The Silla capital.

Homutate, the ancestor of the Atahe of Anato, and Tamomi no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Tsumori, represented to the Empress, saying:—"Surely thou wilt set apart unto the Gods the lands where they desire to dwell." So Homutate was appointed master of the worship of the rough spirits, and a shrine was erected in the village of Yamada in Anato.

Now in Spring, the second month of the year following the expedition against Silla, the Empress removed with her ministers and functionaries to the palace of Toyora in Anato, where she took up the Emperor's remains, and proceeded towards the capital by the sea-route. Now Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma, hearing of the Emperor's decease, as well as of the Empress's expedition to the West, and of the recent birth of an Imperial Prince, plotted secretly, saying:—"The Empress has now a child, and all the ministers obey her. They will certainly consult together and establish an infant sovereign. But shall we, the elders, obey our younger brother?" So, pretending that it was in order to build a misasagi for the Emperor, they went to Harima, and raised a misasagi at Akashi.[1] Accordingly they joined boats together in a string across to the island of Ahaji, and so transported the
IX. 16. stones of that island to build it. Now they made every man take a weapon, and so they awaited the Empress. Hereupon Kurami-wake, the ancestor of the Kimi of Inugami, and Isachi no Sukune, ancestor of the Kishi,[2] together joined them-

[1] Two or three miles to the east of Maiko, on the bluff above the village of West Tarumi, there is a very large double mound, which local tradition has associated with the name of Chiuai Tennō. It is surrounded by the usual circles of clay cylinders, known in the neighbourhood as "Chiuai no sen-tsubo," i.e. "the thousand jars of Chiuai."

There is a smaller mound of circular shape close to the other, also surrounded by a circle of clay cylinders. This is no doubt the tomb of a wife, son, or minister of the personage buried in the main tumulus. The "Nihongi" tradition does not account for it.

The stones were to build the megalithic chamber.

[2] Kishi (吉 師) is obviously the same as the Silla fourteenth official grade kilsă (吉 士). See "Tongkam," I. 31. Ason, so frequently met with in later times, is also a Corean official grade. Has sukune anything to do with the Silla word for king, isăkeun?

The "Kojiki" has "Kishi of Naniha" in this passage, no doubt r ghtly. Ch. K., p. 235.

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kura in Ohotsu, so that they may look upon the ships passing back and forward." Hereupon these Gods were enshrined in
IX. 18. accordance with their instructions, and the Empress was enabled to cross the sea in peace.

Prince Oshikuma, again withdrawing his troops, retreated as far as Uji, where he encamped. The Empress proceeded southwards to the land of Kiï, and met the Prince Imperial at Hitaka. Having consulted with her Ministers, she at length desired to attack Prince Oshikuma, and removed to the Palace of Shinu. It so happened that at this time the day was dark like night. Many days passed in this manner, and the men of that time said:—"This is the Eternal Night." The Empress inquired of Toyomimi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Ki, saying:—"Wherefore is this omen?" Then there was an old man who said:—"I have heard by tradition that this kind of omen is called Atsunahi no tsumi."[1] She inquired:—"What does it mean?" He answered and said:—"The priests[2] of the two shrines have been buried together." Therefore she made strict investigation in the village. There was a man who said:—"The priest of Shinu and the priest of Amano were good friends. The priest of Shinu fell ill, and died. The priest of Amano wept and wailed, saying:—'We have been friends together since our birth. Why in our death should there not be the same grave for both?' So he lay down beside the corpse and died of himself, so that they were buried together. This is perhaps the reason." So they opened the tomb, and on examination found that it was true. Therefore they again changed their coffins and interred them separately, upon which the sunlight shone forth, and there was a difference between day and night.

3rd month, 5th day. The Empress commanded Takechi no Sukune and Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, to lead an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack
IX. 19. Prince Oshikuma. Hereupon, Takechi no Sukune and his colleague, having taken picked men, went out by way of Yamashiro as far as Uji, where they encamped north of the river. Prince Oshikuma came out from his camp, and offered

[1] The calamity of there being no sun.

[2] Hafuri.

battle. Now there was a man called Kuma[1] no Kori, who formed the vanguard of Prince Oshikuma's army.

One version says:—"Ancestor of the Obito of Katsurano no ki." Another says:—"The remote ancestor of the Kishi of Tako."

Accordingly, in order to encourage his men, he sang with a loud voice, saying:—

Beyond the river
Is the rough pine-clad plain—
To that pine-clad plain
Let us cross over,
With bows of *tsuki*,
And store of sounding arrows.
My dear fellow!
My dear fellows!
My cousin too!
My cousins!
Come! let us join battle
With Uchi no Aso![2]
(Within a tile
Is there any sand?)[3]
Come! let us join battle! IX

Then Takechi no Sukune, giving command to the three divisions of the army, made them all bind up their hair mallet-wise. Accordingly he made an order, saying:—"Let every one of you have spare bow-strings concealed in your top-knots, and gird on wooden swords." Having done so, in accordance with the commands of the Empress, he deluded Prince Oshikuma, saying:—"I am not greedy to possess the Empire. Only, while cherishing the infant Prince, we will obey my Lord the Prince. Why should I contend with thee in battle?

[1] The reader will have noticed how frequently Kuma, bear, occurs in proper names. It is, I think, the race Kuma (in Corean, Koma) to which they should be referred.

[2] Aso is the same as Ason or 'Asomi, probably derived from Ason (阿飡), the 6th Silla official rank. This is the first mention of this title. The reference is to Takechi (Take-uchi) no Sukune. Uchi has a pillow-word (tamaki haru) prefixed, which is quite untranslatable. Cf. Ch. K., p. 283.

[3] These two lines are, of course, utterly irrelevant. They are brought in for the sake of a play of words, with which it is not worth while troubling the reader.

I pray thee let us both cut our bow-strings, fling away our weapons, and be in harmony together. Then mayest thou, my Lord the Prince, mount to the Heavenly office, and sit a peace, making high thy pillow, and wielding at thy will the ten thousand appliances."[1]

So he openly gave orders to his army that they should all cut their bow-strings, and ungirding their swords, fling them into the river-water. Prince Oshikuma believed these deluding words, and ordered all his troops to ungird their weapons and fling them into the water of the river, and also to cut their bow-strings. Upon this, Takechi no Sukune commanded the three divisions of his army to produce their spare bow-strings, and to string their bows again, and, girt with their real swords, to advance across the river. Prince Oshikuma, seeing that he had been deceived, spake to Kurami-wake and Isachi no Sukune, saying:—"We have been deceived, and have now no spare weapons. How shall we be able to fight?" So he withdrew his forces and gradually retreated. Then Takechi no Sukune sent forth his choice troops and pursued him, and having come up to him just at Afusaka, put him to the rout. Therefore that place was called Afusaka.[2] The army took to flight, and ran as far as Kurusu in Sasanami. Many were slain.
IX. 21. Hereupon the blood overflowed into Kurusu. Therefore in horror of this, until this day, the fruit of Kurusu[3] is not offered to the Imperial Palace. Prince Oshikuma, not knowing whither to betake himself in his flight, called to him Isachi no Sukune and made a song, saying:—

Come! my child,
Isachi Sukune!
Rather than receive a severe wound
From the mallet[4]
OfUchi no Aso,
Like unto the grebe
Let us make a plunge!

---

[1] i.e. all the machinery of Government.

[2] Pronounced Ôsaka, i.e. the hill of meeting. The pass on the road from Kiôto to Ôtsu. A railway tunnel now goes under it.

[3] Kurusu means chestnut-village.

[4] Kabu-tsuchi. See p. 123.

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them slaves. I pray thee, let me return for a while to my own country and learn whether this be true or false." The Emperor forthwith gave him leave to go, and accordingly sent him away, accompanied by Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. They
IX. 23. reached Tsushima together, and stayed for the night at the harbour of Sabi no umi. Then the Silla envoys Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi and the others secretly provided a separate ship and sailors, on board of which they put Mi-cheul Han-ki and made him escape to Silla. They also made a straw figure which they put in Mi-cheul Hö-chi's berth, and making it appear like a sick man, they informed Sotsuhiko, saying :—" Mi-cheul Hö-chi has taken suddenly ill, and is on the point of death." Sotsuhiko sent men to nurse him, and so discovered the deception. Having seized the three Silla envoys, he placed them in a cage which he burnt with fire and so killed them. Then he proceeded to Silla, where he touched at the harbour of Tatara. He took the Castle of Chhora, and returned. The captives taken on this occasion were the first ancestors of the Han[1]
IX. 24. people of the four villages of Kuhabara, Sabi, Takamiya, and Oshinomi.[2]

[1] The Chinese character is 漢, i.e. the Chinese Han dynasty. The interlinear kana has ayabito, which also means Chinese. Possibly they were descendants of Chinese emigrants to Corea.

[2] Under the date A.D. 418, Autumn, the "Tongkam" (Vol. IV. 18) has the following :—

" Pak Ché-syang of Silla went to Wa and died there. The king's younger brother Misăheun came from Wa. Before this Pok-ho (another brother of the King, who had been sent as hostage to Kokuryo) had returned. The King addressed Ché-syang, saying :—' My love for my two younger brothers is like my left and right arms. Now I have got only one arm. What does it avail ?' Ché-syang said :—' Though my abilities are those of a broken down horse, I have devoted myself to my country's service. What reason could I have for declining ? Kokuryo, however, is a great country, and the king also is wise. Thy servant was able to make him understand with one word. But in dealing with the Was it will be meet to use stratagem to deceive them, and not by mouth and tongue to reason with them. I will pretend that I have committed a crime and absconded. After I have gone I pray thee arrest thy servant's family.' So he swore upon his life not to see again his wife and children, and went to Nyul-pho. The cable was already loosed when his wife came after him, lamenting loudly. Ché-syang said :— ' I have already taken my life in my hands, and am leaving for a certain death.'

At length he went to the Wa country, where he gave out that he was a

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Takechi no Sukune A.D. 2

rebel. The Lord of Wa doubted this. Before this time men of Pèkché had gone to the Wa country, and made a false report, saying :—'Silla and Kokuryö are about to plot together to attack Wa.' The Lord at length sent troops to guard the frontier. And when Kokuryö, having invaded Silla, slew those guards also, the Lord of Wa believed that the story told by the Pèkché men was true. But when he heard that the King of Silla had imprisoned the family of Misăheun and Ché-syang, he thought that Ché-syang was really a rebel. Hereupon he sent forth an army in order to attack Silla, and made Ché-syang and Misăheun guides. Coming to an island in the sea, all the generals consulted secretly how they should destroy Silla and return with Ché-syang and Misăheun's wives and children. Ché-syang, knowing this, sailed with Misăheun every day in a boat, under the pretence of making pleasure excursions. The Was had no suspicion. Ché-syang advised Misăheun to return secretly to his country. Misăheun said :—'How could I have the heart to abandon thee, my lord, and return alone?' Ché-syang said :—'Supposing that I succeed in saving my Prince's life, and thus gratify the feelings of the Great King, it will be enough, Why should I be so fond of living?' Misăheun wept, and taking his leave, made his escape back to his country. Ché-syang alone slept in the boat. He got up towards evening and waited until Misăheun was far on his way. The Was, when they found that Misăheun had disappeared, bound Ché-syang, and pursued Misăheun, but mist and darkness coming on, they could not overtake him. The Lord of Wa was enraged. He flung Ché-syang into prison, and questioned him, saying :—'Why didst thou secretly send away Misăheun?' Ché-syang said :—'As a subject of Kélin (Silla), I simply wished to carry out the desires of my Lord.' The Lord of Wa was wroth, and said :—'As thou hast now become a vassal of mine, if thou callest thyself a vassal of Kélin, thou shalt surely be subjected to the five punishments. But if thou callest thyself a vassal of the Wa country, I will certainly reward thee liberally.' Ché-syang said :—'I had rather be a puppy-dog of Kélin, than a vassal of the Wa country. I had rather be flogged in Kélin than have dignities and revenues in the Wa country.' The Lord of Wa was wroth. He flayed Ché-syang's feet, cut sedge, and made him walk on it (perhaps on the stubble left after the sedge was cut). Then he asked him, saying :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' He also made him stand on hot iron, and asked him :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' The Lord of Wa, seeing that he could not bend him, put him to death by burning.

The King, hearing of this at the island of Mokto, was much grieved, and conferred on Ché-syang the posthumous title of Great Ason. He also bestowed rewards on his family, and made Misăheun marry his second daughter; and afterwards Ché-syang's wife, taking with her her three daughters, went up to a mountain whence she had a view of the Wa country,

was commanded to go with the Prince Imperial and worship the Great God of Kebi in Tsunoga.[1]

17th day. The Prince Imperial returned from Tsunoga. On this day the Grand Empress gave a banquet to the Prince Imperial in the Great Hall. The Grand Empress raising her cup wished long life to the Prince Imperial. Accordingly she made a song, saying:—

This august liquor
Is not my august liquor:
This prince of liquors[2]
He that dwells in the Eternal land
Firm as a rock—
The august God Sukuna,
With words of plenteous blessing,
Blessing all around—
With words of divine blessing
IX. 25. Blessing again and again—
Hath sent as an offering to thee.
Drink of it deeply.
Sa! Sa![3]

---

and having wailed bitterly, she died. She was made the Goddess-mother of this mountain, and there is now a shrine there."

This, no doubt, relates to the same events as the above passage in the "Nihongi." Ché-syang is Mo-ma-ri and Misă-heun is Mi-cheul-Hö-chi.

The Corean names present much difficulty. I have given the Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters with which they are written, but there is much room for doubt whether the Japanese pronunciation would not sometimes be better. The text cannot be relied on.

The interlinear kana gives as the names of the three envoys, Ureshi-hotsu, Momari Shichi, and Furamochi, and of the hostage, Mishi Kochi hotsu-kan. Here shichi is probably for 舍知 (sya-chi), the 13th official rank in Silla.

A Chinese authority quoted by Parker, in "Race Struggles in Corea," gives one or two examples of Kilin (Kélin or Silla), words which show that 1000 years ago the language was the same as modern Corean. But I cannot recognize anything of the modern language in the Corean names of the "Nihongi." Later, all proper names in Corea are of Chinese derivation. Many of the Corean words in the "Nihongi" are names of offices, all of which are replaced in modern Corean by words of Chinese derivation.

[1] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. See Ch. K., p. 237.

[2] In the original "Kushi no Kami." The interpretation given above is Motowori's. This line might also mean "the wondrous deity" or the "God of liquor or sake."

[3] An interjection of encouragement or incitement.

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A.D. 243. 43rd year.

The Ruler[1] of Wa again sent high officers as envoys with tribute, named I Shing-ché, Yih-Ye-yoh,[2] and others —eight persons in all.

A.D. 246. 46th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Shima no Sukune was sent to the Land of Thak-syun.[3] Hereupon Malkeum Kanki,[4] King of Thak-syun, informed Shima no Sukune, saying:—"In the course of the year Kinoye Ne,[5] three men of Pèkché named Kutyö, Mi-chyu-nyu, and Moko[6] came to my country and said:—'The King of Pèkché, hearing that in the Eastern quarter there is an honourable country, has sent thy servants to this honourable country's court. Therefore we beg of thee a passage so that we may go to that Land. If thou wilt be good enough to instruct thy servants and cause us to pass along the roads, our King will certainly show profound kindness to my Lord the King.'[7] I then said to Kutyö and his
IX. 26. fellows:—'I have always heard that there is an honourable country in the East, but I have had no communication with it, and do not know the way. There is nothing but far seas and towering billows, so that in a large ship, one can hardly communicate. Even if there were a regular crossing-place, how could you arrive there?' Hereupon Kutyö and the others said:—'Well, then, for the present we cannot communicate. Our best plan will be to go back again, and prepare a ship with which to communicate later.' They also said:—'If envoys should come from the honourable country, thou oughtest surely to inform our country.' Thus they went back. Hereupon

[1] 王.

[2] It is doubtful whether these six syllables represent the names of one, two, or three men. I cannot guess what Japanese names are meant. The "Ishōnihonden" gives some of the characters differently.

The "Shukai" edition rejects these extracts from Chinese History. They were doubtless added at a later date.

[3] The Chinese characters are 卓淳, of which the traditional kana rendering is Toku-shiu. The "Shukai" editor says it was part of Imna (or Mimana). Its destruction by Silla is recorded below—5th year of Kimmei Tennō.

[4] The Japanese traditional rendering is Makin Kănki.

[5] A.D. 244.

[6] The Japanese kana gloss has Kutei, Mitsuru, and Mako.

[7] This is quite inconsistent with the story of Pèkché offering homage to the Empress in the early part of her reign.

Shima no Sukune sent one of his followers named Nihaya, and a Thak-syun man named Kwa-ko to the Land of Pèkché to make friendly inquiries of the King's health.

King Syo-ko[1] of Pèkché was profoundly pleased, and received them cordially. He presented to Nihaya a roll each of five kinds of dyed silk, a horn-bow[2] and arrows, together with forty bars of iron.[3] Thereafter he opened his treasure-house, and pointing to his various rare objects, said:—"In my country there is great store of these rare treasures. I have wished to pay tribute of them to the honourable country, but not knowing the way I was unable to carry out my intention. I shall now entrust them to envoys, who will visit your country IX. 27.
in order to offer them." Nihaya took charge of this message, and on his return informed Shima no Sukune, who thereupon came back from Thak-syun.

47th year, Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent A.D. 247.
Kutyö, Mi-chu-nyu and Ma-ko with tribute. Now a tribute envoy from Silla came along with Kutyö. Hereupon the Grand Empress and the Prince Imperial Homuda wake no Mikoto were greatly delighted and said:—"People from the countries wished for[4] by our late Sovereign have now come to Court. Alas! that they cannot meet the Emperor!" There was not one of all the ministers who did not shed tears. But when the articles of tribute of the two countries were examined, the Silla tribute was of rare objects in very great number, while the Pèkché tribute articles were few and mean, and of no value. So inquiry was made of Kutyö and the others, saying:—"How is it that the Pèkché tribute is inferior to that of Silla?" They answered, and said;—"We lost our way and arrived at Sabi.[5]

[1] There are two kings of this name in Corean history. The first died A.D. 214. This is the second, who reigned from A.D. 346 to A.D. 375. The Japanese chronology is, as usual, at fault.

[2] The Corean bow is to this day the Tatar bow described in Tylor's Anthropology as "formed of several pieces of wood or horn united with glue or sinews. Shorter than the long-bow, it gets its spring by being bent outside to string it." The Japanese bow is a variety of the ordinary long-bow.

[3] Iron is plentiful in Corea at the present day, and its quality is much esteemed.

[4] On the contrary, Chiuai Tennō would have nothing to do with them.

[5] A Sabi in Tsushima is mentioned above. But this may be a place in Corea, in which case it should be read Sapi.

Here thy servants were captured by men of Silla and confined in a gaol. After three months had passed, they wished to kill us. Then Kutyö and the rest looked up towards Heaven, and pronounced a curse. The men of Silla, fearing this curse, refrained from killing us, but robbed us of our tribute. Then they gave us the tribute of Silla in exchange for our tribute, and made it the tribute of thy servants' country, and they spake to thy servants, saying:—'Be careful what ye say, or else, as soon as we return, we will kill you.' Therefore we, Kutyö and the rest, were afraid, and made no objection. For this reason we have hardly been able to reach the Heavenly Court." Then the Grand Empress and Homuda wake no Mikoto charged the Silla envoys with this deed, and accordingly prayed to the Gods of Heaven, saying:—"Whom is it meet that we send to Pèkché to examine this matter whether it be true or false; whom is it meet that we send to Silla to investigate this charge?" Therewith the Gods of Heaven admonished them, saying:—"Let Takechi no Sukune prepare a plan, and let Chikuma Nagahiko be the envoy. Then it will be as you desire."

IX. 28. Chikuma Nagahiko's title (姓) is unknown. One account says:—"Chikuma Nagahiko was a man of the province of Musashi, the first ancestor of the present Obito of Tsukimoto of the Nukada Be."

The Pèkché record[1] says:—"Shimananaga hiko was perhaps this man."

Hereupon Chikuma Nagahiko was sent to Silla to call that country to an account for meddling with the Pèkché tribute.

A.D. 249. 49th year, Spring, 3rd month. Areda wake and Kaga wake were made generals. Along with Kutyö and the others they prepared a force with which they crossed over and came to Thak-syun. They were accordingly about to invade Silla, when some one said:—"Your troops are too few. You cannot defeat Silla." They respectfully sent back again Sya-pèk Kè-ro

[1] This Pèkché record is frequently quoted from. From the circumstance that the character 貴, honourable, is used by the author or authors before the word country in speaking of Japan, it may be inferred that it was compiled by Pèkché Coreans from their own records for the information of the Japanese. I have not much doubt that it was the work of some of the Corean scholars who visited Japan in numbers during the seventh century.

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forward, therefore, for a thousand autumns and for ten thousand years, without pause and without limit, we shall bear the regular title of 'The Western Frontier Province,' and every spring and every autumn will attend your Court with tribute." So he took with him Chikuma Nagahiko to his capital, where he treated him with the most cordial courtesy. He also made Kutyö and the others escort him home.

A.D. 250. 50th year, Spring, 2nd month. Areda wake and his companions returned.

Summer, 5th month. Chikuma Nagahiko, Kutyö and the rest arrived from Pèkché. Thereupon the Grand Empress was delighted, and inquired of Kutyö, saying:—"The various Han[1] countries west of the sea have been already granted to thy country. Wherefore dost thou come again repeatedly?" Kutyö and the others said to the Empress:—"The vast
IX. 30. blessings of the Celestial Court reached afar to our mean village, and our king capered with delight. Out of the fulness of his heart he has sent a return mission in token of his great sincerity. Though it come to the ten thousandth year, in what year shall we fail to attend thy Court?" The Grand Empress gave command, saying:—"Good are thy words. These are Our intentions. We grant in addition the Castle of Tasya to serve as a station in going and returning."

A.D. 251. 51st year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché again sent Kutyö to the Court with tribute. Hereupon the Grand Empress addressed the Prince Imperial and Takechi no Sukune, saying:—"We owe it to Heaven and not to man that we have a friendly country like Corea. Therefore it brings constantly, without missing a year, tribute of trinkets and rarities such as there have never been before. We, seeing this true affection, are always rejoiced at it, and so long as we live will heartily bestow on it Our favour."

That same year she despatched Chikuma Nagahiko to the Land of Pèkché in company with Kutyö and the others. Accordingly, in the most gracious manner, she said:—"We, in accordance with the divine testimony, having for the first time laid open a road, subdued the lands west of the sea and granted them to Pèkché, would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship and make lasting our loving bounty."

[1] Corean.

At this time the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, both together knocked their foreheads on the ground and made representation, saying:—"The immense bounty of the honourable country is more weighty than Heaven and Earth. What day, what hour shall we presume to forget it? The sage sovereign IX. 3
dwells above, illustrious as the sun and moon; thy servants now dwell below, solid as a mountain or hill, and will always be thy western frontier land, never to the last showing double hearts."

52nd year, Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. Kutyö and the A.D. 2
others came along with Chikuma Nagahiko and presented a seven-branched[1] sword and a seven-little-one[2]-mirror, with various other objects of great value. They addressed the Empress, saying:—"West of thy servants' country there is a river-source which issues from Mount Chölsan[3] in Kong-na. It is distant seven days' journey. It need not be approached, but one should drink of this water, and so having gotten the iron of this mountain, wait upon the sage Court for all ages." Moreover, he[4] addressed his grandson, Prince Chhim-nyu,[5] saying:—"The honourable country east of the sea with which we are now in communication has been opened to us by Heaven. Therefore does it bestow on us Celestial bounty, and dividing off the land west of the sea, has granted it to us. Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou shouldst cultivate well its friendship, and having collected our national products, wait on it with tribute without ceasing. Henceforth, grudging not even our lives, let us continue to send yearly tribute."

55th year. Syoko, King of Pèkché, died.[6] A.D. 2 IX. 3

56th year. Kusyu, son of the King of Pèkché, was set up as king.[7] A.D. 2

[1] The traditional kana rendering is nana-saya, i.e. a "seven-sheathed sword," which is nonsense. Seven-branched is not much better.

[2] It is not clear what is meant by nanatsuko (七子), perhaps with seven projections round the rim. See above, p. 44.

[3] Iron mountain. All this about iron is merely symbolical of constancy.

[4] The King of Pèkché. [5] Came to the throne A.D. 384.

[6] The "Tongkam" places his death in A.D. 375.

[7] The traditional kana rendering of 王 is Kokishi, a word I do not recognize as Corean. But nearly all Corean words relating to official matters have become obsolete, being replaced by Chinese terms.

A.D. 262. 62nd year. Silla did not attend the Court. The same year Sotsuhiko was sent to chastise Silla.

The Pèkché record says:—"The year Midzunoye Mŭma.[1] Silla did not wait upon the honourable country. The honourable country sent Sachihiko to attack it. The men of Sìlla dressed up two beautiful women whom they sent to meet Sachihiko at the port and inveigle him. Sachihiko accepted them, and turning aside, attacked the land of Kara. Kwi-pon[2] Kanki, King of Kara, and his sons, Pèk-ku-chi, A-syu-chi, Ik-sya-ri, I-ra-ma-chyu, and I-mun-chi, fled to Pèkché, taking with them their subjects. Pèkché received them cordially, and Kwi-chön-chi, younger sister of the King of Kara, went to Great Wa and addressed the Empress, saying:—'Your majesty sent Sachihiko to attack Silla. But he has accepted beautiful women of Silla, and abandoned the invasion. On the contrary he has destroyed our country. My brothers and our people have all been driven into exile. Unable to bear my grief, I have come hither to make this representation.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and forthwith sent Mongna Keunchă in command of an army to bring them together in Kara and to restore the temples of the Earth and of Grain."

One account says:—"Sachihiko, when he learnt that the Empress was wroth with him, did not dare to return openly, but hid himself. He had a younger sister who was in the service of the Imperial Palace. Hiko secretly sent a messenger to inquire of her whether or no the Empress's wrath had abated. She, pretending a dream, said to the Empress:—'To-night, in a dream, I saw Sachihiko.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and
IX. 33. said:—'How should Hiko dare to come?' The Empress's[3] words were reported to Sachihiko, who seeing that he would not be pardoned, went into a cave of a rock and died."

[1] 19th year of the Cycle, corresponding to A.D. 382.

[2] I Si-Pheum was the name of the King of Kara at this time, according to the "Tongkam."

[3] The word for Empress is Tennô, which may also mean Emperor, and indeed this suits the narrative better.

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BOOK X.

THE EMPEROR HOMUDA.

(*ŌJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Homuda[2] was the 4th child of the Emperor Tarashi Nakatsu-hiko. His mother's name was Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto. The Emperor was born at Kata in Tsukushi in the 12th month, Winter, of the year Kanoye Tatsu,[3] being the year in which the Empress smote Silla. From a child he was intelligent, penetrating, and far-sighted. In his bearing and conduct there were amazing indications of sageness. In the third year of the Grand Empress's administration of the Government, he was raised to the rank of Prince Imperial. Before this time, when the Emperor was in the womb, the Gods of Heaven and Earth granted to him the three Han.[4] When he was born there was flesh growing on his arm in shape like an elbow-pad.[5] As to this resemblance, the Empress judged that it was the elbow-pad worn as a manly accoutrement. Therefore he was styled by this name, and called the Emperor Homuda.

In the earliest antiquity, the tomo was commonly called Homuda.

One account says:—"In the beginning, when the Emperor was made Heir to the Throne, he went to the

[1] Responding to the Gods.

[2] The "Kojiki" calls him Homuda wake. Homuda or Honda is the name of a place.

[3] 17th of the Cycle.

[4] Corea.

[5] The *tomo* or leather shield worn on the fore-arm by archers as a protection against the recoil of the bow-string.

Land of Koshi, and did worship to the Great God of Tsu-tsuhi in Tsunoga. At this time the Great God and the Heir to the Throne exchanged names. Accordingly the Great God was called the God Isasa-wake and the Heir to the Throne Homuda wake no Mikoto.[1]

In the 69th year of her administration of the Government, Summer, the 4th month, the Grand Empress died.

X. 2.
1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial A.D. 270
assumed the Dignity. This year was the year Kanoye Tora (27th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. Nakatsuhime was A.D. 271.
appointed Empress. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Arata, to the Emperor Oho-sazaki, and to the Imperial Prince Netori. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as concubine the Empress's younger sister, Takaki Iribime, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-hiko, the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, the Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka, the Imperial Princess Oho-hara, and the Imperial Princess Komida. Another concubine, a younger sister of the Empress, named Otohime, bore to him the Imperial Princess Ahe, the Imperial Princess Ahaji no Mihara, and the Imperial Princess Ki no Uno. The next concubine, daughter of Hifure no Omi, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, by name Miya-nushi-yaka-hime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no Waka-iratsuko, the Imperial Princess Yata, and the Imperial Princess Medori. The next concubine, named Oname-hime, the younger sister of Yaka-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no waka-iratsu-me. The next concubine, named Oto-hime, daughter of Kaha-mata Nakatsu hiko, bore the Imperial Prince Wakanoke Futa-mata. The next concubine, named X. 3.
Mago-hime, younger sister of Osabi, Muraji of the Sakurawi-da Be, bore the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake. The next concubine, named Naga-hime, of Idzumi in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Princes Oho-haye and Wo-haye.

In all the sons and daughters of this Emperor were together twenty Princes and Princesses.[2] The Imperial Prince Netori was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ohota. The Imperial Prince

[1] There is a Semitic practice of men adopting Gods' names.

[2] Cf. Ch. K., p. 243, which makes 26 children, and differs in some details.

Oho-yama-mori was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Hiji-kata and the Kimi of Haibara. The Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka was the first ancestor of the Wake of Fukagaha.

A.D. 272. 3rd year, 10th month, 3rd day. The Eastern Yemishi all attended the Court with tribute. They were employed to make the Mŭma-zaka road.

11th month. The fishermen of several places clamoured noisily, and would not obey the Imperial command. So Oho-hama no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Adzumi, was sent to subdue this clamour. He was accordingly made controller of the fishermen. This was the origin of the proverbial saying of the people of that time, viz. Sawa-ama or "clamorous fishermen."

This year King Sinsă of Pèkché was disrespectful to the Celestial Court. Therefore Ki no Tsuno no Sukune, Hata no
X. 4. Yashiro no Sukune, Ishikaha no Sukune and Tsuku no Sukune were sent to call him to an account for his rudeness. Here-upon the people of Pèkché slew Sinsă by way of apology. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and the others accordingly established Ahwa as king, and returned (to Japan).[1]

A.D. 274. 5th year, Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. The various provinces were directed to establish Be of fishermen and Be of mountain wardens.[2]

Winter, 10th month. The province of Idzu was charged with the duty of constructing a ship 10 rods[3] in length. As soon as it was completed, it was launched on the sea for a trial. It floated lightly, and was as swift as a racer. Therefore that ship was called *Karano*.

[*It is a mistake to make the ship called Karano because it was*

[1] The "Tongkam," under date A.D. 392, has the following :—"10th month. The king of Pèkché went to hunt on Ku-won (dog-moor). Ten days elapsed without his returning. 11th month. King Sinsă of Pèkché died in his travelling palace on Dog-moor. Ahwa, son of King Chhim-nyu, came to the throne." Note that the Corean and Japanese chronologies differ by exactly 120 years, or two cycles. But the two stories are apparently irreconcilable. See below, XI. 26.

[2] Gamekeepers or huntsmen, whose business it was to supply the Imperial table.

[3] Of ten feet.

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plotting to that end, saying (to himself), 'Alone I will cut off Tsukushi, and will invite the three Han to come and do homage to me, so that finally I may possess the Empire.'"

Hereupon the Emperor straightway sent messengers to slay Takechi no Sukune. Now Takechi no Sukune cried out,
X. 6. saying:—"I have not two hearts, but serve my prince with loyalty. What a calamity is this that I should die without a crime!"

Now there was a man named Maneko, ancestor of the Atahe of Iki, who in appearance strongly resembled Takechi no Sukune. All by himself he grudged that Takechi no Sukune's innocent life should be vainly thrown away. So he spoke to Takechi no Sukune and said:—"Now the Great Minister[1] serves his Prince with loyalty, and has not had a black heart. All the Empire knows this. I pray thee leave this place secretly, and, proceeding to the Court, personally unfold thine innocence. After this it will not be too late to die. Moreover the people of this time are always saying that thy slave resembles the Great Minister in appearance. Therefore I will now die in the place of the Great Minister, and so make clear the Great Minister's redness of heart."[2] So he threw himself on his sword, and slew himself. Then Takechi no Sukune, alone, grieving greatly for him, secretly left Tsukushi, and embarking on the sea, went round by way of the Southern Ocean. Anchoring in the harbour of Ki, he hardly succeeded in making his way to the Court, where he explained his innocence. The Emperor forthwith questioned Takechi no Sukune along with Umashi no Sukune, upon which these two men were each obstinate, and wrangled with one another, so that it was impossible to ascertain the right and the wrong. The Emperor then gave orders to ask of the Gods of Heaven and Earth the ordeal by boiling water. Hereupon Takechi no Sukune and Umashi no Sukune went out together to the bank of the Shiki river, and underwent the ordeal of boiling water. Takechi no Sukune was victorious. Taking his cross-sword, he threw down Umashi no Sukune, and was at length about to slay him, when the Emperor ordered him to let him go. So he gave him to the ancestor of the Atahe of Kiï.

[1] i.e. you.

[2] Sincerity.

11th year, Winter, 10th month. The Tsurugi, Kakaki, and Mumaya-zaka ponds were made. A.D. 280. X. 7.

This year there was a man who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"There is in the land of Hiuga a maiden whose name is Kami-naga-hime.[1] She is the daughter of Ushi-morowi, the Kimi of Muragata. She is distinguished for beauty over all the Land." The Emperor was pleased, and wished in his heart to obtain her.

13th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor sent a special messenger to summon Kami-naga-hime. A.D. 282.

Autumn, 9th month. Kami-naga-hime arrived from Hiuga, and was straightway settled at the village of Kuhadzu. Now the Imperial Prince, Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, when he saw Kami-naga-hime, was struck with the beauty of her form, and had a constant love for her. Hereupon the Emperor became aware of Oho-sazaki no Mikoto's passion for Kami-naga-hime, and wished to unite her to him. Therewith the Emperor, on the day that he gave a banquet in the hinder palace,[2] sent for Kami-naga-hime for the first time, and so gave her the upper seat in the banqueting-room. Then he brought in Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and pointing to Kami-naga-hime, made a song, saying:—

Come! my son!
On the moor, garlic to gather,
Garlic to gather
On the way as I went,
Pleasing of perfume
Was the orange in flower.
Its branches beneath
Men had all plundered,
Its branches above
Birds perching had withered. X 8.
[Of three chestnuts][3]
Midmost, its branches
Held in their hiding
A blushing maiden.
Come! and for thee, my son,
Let her burst into blossom.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, being favoured with this

[1] The long-haired lady.
[2] i.e. the women's apartments.
[3] This is a mere makura-kotoba of little or no meaning.

poetry, forthwith understood that he was receiving Kami-naga-hime as a gift; and, greatly delighted, made a song in reply, saying:—

In the pond of Yosami
Where the water collects,
The marsh-rope coils
Were growing, but I knew not of them:
In the river-fork stream,
The water-caltrops shells
Were pricking me, but I knew not of them.
Oh, my heart!
How very ridiculous thou wert![1]

Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, after the consummation of his union with Kami-naga-hime, was very attentive to her, and when he was alone with her, made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province!
As of a God
Though I had heard of her,
We are folded in each other's arms.

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province—
Oh! how I love her
As she lies
X. 9. Unresisting!

One account says:—"Ushi, the Kimi of Mórogata in Hiuga, was in the service of the Court. But having become old in years, he was unable to serve, and so, having ceased his service, he retired to his own land. Thereupon he offered the Emperor his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime. When she first arrived at Harima, the Emperor had made a progress to the island of Ahaji, and was hunting there. Hereupon the Emperor, looking towards the west, saw several tens of stags swimming

[1] In the "Kojiki" this poem is attributed to the Emperor. See Ch. K., p. 249. The marsh-rope is the Brasenia peltata, according to Chamberlain. The general meaning of the poem seems to be: "What a fool I was to be in such despair as to be unconscious of bodily suffering, while happiness was all the while near me!"

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Therefore the place where the horses were kept was named Mumaya-saka.[1] Moreover, A-chik-ki was able to read the classics, and so the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko,[2] made him his teacher. Hereupon the Emperor inquired of A-chik-ki, saying :—" Are there other learned men superior to thee ? " He answered and said :—" There is Wang-in,[3] who is superior." Then Areda wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, and Kamu nagi wake were sent to Pèkché to summon Wang-in.

X. 11. This A-chik-ki was the first ancestor of the A-chik-ki (or Atogi) no Fumi-bito.[4]

A.D. 285. 16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Wang-in[5] arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, took him

[1] Stable-hill.

[2] But he was not the heir. Oho-sazaki was heir. See Ch. K., pp. 254 and 257.

[3] The traditional reading is Wani, which is also found in the " Kojiki."

[4] Scribes.

[5] There are clear indications that the Chinese language and character were not wholly unknown in Japan from a time which may be roughly put as coinciding with the Christian epoch. But this knowledge was probably confined to a few interpreters. There were no schools, and no official records. The arrival of Wangin was therefore a most important event in Japanese history. It was the beginning of a training in Chinese ideas which has exercised a profound influence on the whole current of Japanese thought and civilization up to our own day.

The date given for it in the " Nihongi," however, cannot be correct. As I have endeavoured to show in a paper on " Early Japanese History " contributed to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Wangin's arrival must be placed 120 years later, i.e. in 405 instead of in 285. Whether the whole chronology of this period requires to be altered accordingly, as I am disposed to believe, or only the dates of those events which relate to Corea, is a question which has not yet received an adequate answer. It is curious that the " Kiujiki " omits all mention of them.

Corea preceded Japan by only a very short time in the establishment of schools of Chinese learning and in the institution of official records. Kokuryö established a High School in 372, and Pèkché appointed a Professor of Chinese two years later. Before this time, says the " Tongkam," Pèkché had no written records. See " Writing, Printing, and Alphabet in Corea," " J.R.A.S.," 1895.

Á-chik-ki is the Corean pronunciation of the characters 阿直岐. The traditional rendering in kana is Achiki or Atogi. The " Kojiki " calls him Achi-Kishi, where Kishi is written 吉師, the name of a Corean rank of no great eminence.

as teacher, and learnt various books from him. There was none which he did not thoroughly understand. Therefore the man called Wang-in was the first ancestor of the Fumi no Obito.[1]

In this year King Ahwa of Pèkché died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Työn-chi,[2] and addressed him, saying:—"Do thou return to thy country and succeed to the (royal) Dignity." Accordingly he further granted to him the territory of Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.[3]

Eastern Han comprises Kam-na-syöng, Ko-nan-syöng, and I-rim-syöng.[4]

8th month. Kidzu no Sukune of Heguri and Tada no Sukune of Ikuba were sent to Kara. Choice troops were granted them, and the Emperor commanded them, saying:—
"The long delay in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his X. 12.
being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla. Do you go speedily, assail Silla, and open a way for him." Hereupon

[1] Fumi no obito, chiefs of writing.

[2] Prince Työn-chi. The "Nihongi" has 直支 here and below (25th year), which would be in Corean Chik-chi. But 直 is a mistake for 腆, the former character having slipped in from the name of the horse-keeper mentioned above.

[3] The following are the notices in the "Tongkam" relating to Prince Työnchi's being sent to Japan:—

"Reign of Ahwa, 6th year, Summer, 5th month. Pèkché made friends A.D. 397
with Wa. Työnchi, the Heir Apparent, was sent as a hostage."

"Reign of Ahwa, 14th year, Autumn, 9th month. King Ahwa of Pèkché A.D. 405.
died. The Heir Apparent Työnchi had not returned from Wa, whither he had gone as a hostage. Tyonchi's next younger brother, Hunhê, administered the Government in expectation of the Heir Apparent's return. The youngest brother, Syöl-lyé, slew Hunhè, and set himself up as King. When Työnchi heard of the King's death, he wept bitterly, and asked permission to return. The Lord of Wa gave Tyonchi one hundred soldiers as an escort. When he arrived at the frontier, a man of Hansyöng[1] named Hè-chhung came to meet him, and said:—'The Great King (Ahwa) having left this world, Syöl-lyé slew his elder brother and set up himself as King. I pray that the Heir Apparent will promptly take measures for this.' Työnchi, guarded by the Wa soldiers, repaired to an island in the sea, and made provision there while the people of the land killed Syöl-lyé, and going to meet (Työnchi), established him as King." "Tongkam," III. 14.

[4] Syong means a walled city.

---

[1] The present capital of Söul.

Kidzu no Sukune and his colleague moved forward their choice troops and arrived at the Silla frontier. The King of Silla was afraid, and confessed his guilt, so they brought away with them the people of Kungwöl[1] and Sotsuhiko.

A.D. 288. 19th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.[2] At this time the Kuzu[3] came to his Court, and presenting to the Emperor newly-brewed sake, made a song, saying:—

At Kashinofu
A cross-mortar[4] we made:
In that cross-mortar
The great august sake that we have brewed
Sweetly
Do thou partake of it
Oh! our father![5]

When the song was finished, they drummed on their mouths and looked up laughing. At the present time, on the day that the Kuzu[6] present their country's produce to the Emperor, when their song is finished they drum on their mouths and look up laughing. This custom is probably a relic of antiquity. Now the Kuzu are very plain and honest in character. They commonly gather wild berries for food, and they also boil frogs,
X. 13. which they reckon a great dainty, calling them kebi. Their country lies to the south-east of the capital, on the other side of a mountain. There they dwell by the River Yoshino (amid) steep cliffs and deep ravines. The roads are narrow, with deep hollows. Therefore, although the distance from the capital is not great, their visits to Court had been rare. However, from this time forward they came frequently, bringing the produce of their country to present to the Emperor. This produce consists of such things as chestnuts, mushrooms, and trout.

A.D. 289. 20th year, Autumn, 9th month. Achi no Omi, ancestor of

[1] Or Yutsuki. [2] In the south of Yamato.

[3] Local chieftains.

[4] It is not clear what a cross-mortar was. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 251.

[5] The word translated father is *chi*, which is also used more generally as a term of respect. Perhaps "Lord" might be better here.

[6] Seventeen was their number in later times, according to the Yengi Shiki.

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and visit them." So he granted her permission, and summoning eighty fishermen of Mihara in Ahaji and making sailors of them, sent her to Kibi.

Summer, 4th month. Yehime set sail from Ohotsu[1] and departed.

X. 15. The Emperor, standing on the high tower, looked towards Yehime's ship and made a song, saying:—

Thou Island of Ahaji
With thy double ranges;[2]
Thou Island of Adzuki
With thy double ranges—
Ye good islands
* * * *[3]
Ye have seen face to face
My spouse of Kibi.

Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor hunted in the Island of Ahaji. This island lies beyond the sea to the west of Naniha. There is a confusion of peaks and cliffs; hills and valleys succeed to one another. Fragrant herbs grow luxuriantly; it is washed by the long billows. Moreover, great deer, wild ducks, and wild geese are abundant in that island. Therefore the Emperor made frequent excursions thither.[4] Now the Emperor, going round by way of Ahaji, made a progress to Kibi and went on an excursion to the Island of Adzuki.

11th day. He again removed his dwelling to the Palace of
X. 16. Ashimori in Hata. Then Mitomo wake presented himself and entertained the Emperor, employing his brother, children and grandchildren as stewards. Hereupon the Emperor, observing the reverential fear with which Mitomo wake waited on him, was pleased, and accordingly, having divided the province of Kibi, granted it in fee to his children; that is to say, dividing off the district of Kahashima, he granted it to the eldest son, Inehaya wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Shimo-

[1] Ohotsu is literally "great port." Perhaps Ohosaka is meant.
[2] Showing a double row of mountain peaks.
[3] The sixth line of the original is unintelligible.
[4] Riding in his carriage, says the original, a Chinese expression which is not meant to be taken literally.

tsu-michi.[1] Next he took the district of Kamu-tsu-michi and granted it to the middle son, Nakatsuhiko.[2] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kamu-tsu-michi and of the Omi of Kaya. Next he took the district of Mino and granted it to Otohiko.[3] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Mino. Afterwards he took the district of Hakuke and granted it to Ahiru wake, the younger brother of Mitomo wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kasa. Accordingly he took the district of Sono X. 17.
and granted it to his elder brother, Urakori wake. He was the first ancestor of the Atahe of Sono. And taking the district of Hatori-be,[4] he granted it to Yehime. Wherefore his descendants dwell to this day in the Land of Kibi. This is the reason of it.[5]

25th year. King Työn-chi of Pèkché died.[6] Accordingly A.D. 294.
his son Ku-ni-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi of Yamato[7] took the administration of the State. He had an intrigue with the King's mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper. The Emperor hearing this, sent for him.

The Pèkché record says:—"Mong-man-chi was the son of Mong-na Keunchă,[8] born to him of a Silla woman

[1] Shimo-tsu-michi means the lower road, i.e. the part of the province furthest from the capital. Kamu-tsu-michi, on the other hand, is the higher road—the part nearest the capital.

[2] Middle prince. [3] Younger prince. [4] Weavers.

[5] If we take a broad view of Japanese History we shall recognize in it a constant oscillation between two forms of government. At one time there is a strong central authority with local governors removable at pleasure or at short intervals. By degrees the latter offices become hereditary and more independent of the throne, so that eventually a sort of feudal system is the result. Then the pendulum swings back again, and under a strong ruler the old centralized government is restored, while the local nobles, deprived of effective authority, retain their titles only.

Notwithstanding the numerous imperfections of the record, it is clear that in Ōjin's reign the feudal system prevailed. Towards the end of the seventh century, again, we find a much more centralized form of government. The Revolution of 1868 is a remarkable example of a rapid change from a feudal system to a strong central government. The converse process is always far more gradual.

[6] The "Tongkam" gives A.D. 420 as the year of Työn-chi's death. The usual difference of 120 years is therefore not exactly realized in this case.

[7] Or Great Wa. 大倭.

[8] See above, p. 249. This does not look like a Japanese name.

when he invaded that country. The great services of his father gave him absolute authority in Imna. He came into our country and went back and forward to the honourable country,[1] accepting the control of the Celestial Court. He seized the administration of our country, and his power was supreme in that day. The Emperor, hearing of his violence, recalled him."

A.D. 297. 28th year, Autumn, 9th month. The King of Koryö sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address, in which it was said :—" The King of Koryö instructs the Land of
X. 18 Nippon." Now the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, read this address and was enraged. He reproached the Koryö envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up.[2]

A.D. 300. 31st year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded his ministers,[3] saying :—" The Government ship named *Karano* was sent as tribute by the Land of Idzu. It is rotten, and unfit for use. It has, however, been in Government use for a long time, and its services should not be forgotten. Shall we not keep the name of that ship from being lost, and hand it down to after ages?" The ministers, on receiving this command, made the functionaries take the timber of that ship and use it as firewood for roasting salt. Herewith they got five hundred baskets of salt, which were freely given away to the various provinces, and the latter were accordingly caused to build ships. Upon this, all the provinces at the same time sent up ships as tribute, to the number of five hundred, which all assembled in the harbour of Muko. At this time the Silla

[1] Japan.

[2] If this story were true, it would have to be dated 120 years later. But even then Koryö was still Kokuryö. The name Koryö did not come into official use till A.D. 918, though as a literary designation examples of it may be found as early as A.D. 500. Koryö, however, is out of place in an ostensible quotation from a formal official document of this period, and shows that this story is untrue or much garbled.

The term Nippon for Japan is also an anachronism. It was not officially notified to Corea until A.D. 670, though there are examples of its use earlier in the same century.

Waka-iratsuko did not become Heir Apparent until A.D. 309 (of the "Nihongi" chronology), and as he is there alluded to as being of tender years, he must have been at this time a somewhat precocious prince.

[3] See above, p. 257.

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Koryö to give them persons who knew the road. The King of Koryö sent with them as guides two men called Kureha and Kureshi.[1] In this way they were enabled to reach Wu. The King[2] of Wu thereupon gave them four women as workwomen, namely Ye-hime, Oto-hime, Kure-hatori and Ana-hatori.[3]

A.D. 308. 39th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent his younger sister, the Lady Sin-chă-to,[4] to wait upon (the Emperor as his concubine). Now the Lady Sin-chă-to came over, bringing in her train seven women.

X. 20. A.D. 309. 40th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor summoned to him Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto[5] and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and inquired of them, saying:—"Do ye love your children?" They answered and said:—"We love them exceedingly." Again he inquired:—"Which are most dear—the elder ones or the younger?" Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto answered and said:—"There is none like the elder." On this the Emperor showed displeasure. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, who had previously observed the Emperor's expression of face, answered and said:—"The older has experienced many colds and heats, and has already become a man, so that there is no reason for anxiety about him. But in the case of a young child one knows not whether he will reach manhood or not, and for that reason he is very pitiable." The Emperor was greatly pleased and said:—"Thy words are truly in accordance with my feelings." At this time it was the Emperor's constant

[1] The Chinese characters given in the text seem to be only Japanese phonetic renderings of the names, and I have therefore not given them their Corean sounds, which would be Ku-nyé-pha and Ku-nyé-chi. But they do not look like real names. They appear to be made up of Kure, the name of the dynasty, or rather of the country ruled by it, and a termination.

[2] Some local authority must be intended.

[3] These names mean respectively "elder lady," "younger lady," "Kure weaver," and "hole weaver." But Ana, hole, is probably a mistake for Aya, the Japanese name of the Chinese Han dynasty. Wu (or Kure) and Han (or Aya) weavers are mentioned together below, year 14 of Yuriaku's reign. See also above, p. 265.

[4] The Japanese traditional reading is Shi-se-tsu. The "Shukai" edition rejects the name Chikchi, which in the older editions follows Pèkché. It is not in the old books, and besides his death has been already recorded above.

[5] He was the son of an inferior consort.

desire to establish Uji no Waka-iratsuko as Prince Imperial, and so he wished to conciliate the minds of the two Imperial Princes. Therefore he started this inquiry. On this account he was displeased with Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto's answer.

24th day. Uji no Waka-iratsuko was established as successor (to the throne). On the same day Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto [1] was appointed to the charge of the mountains, rivers, woods, and moors, while Oho-sazaki no Mikoto was made Assistant to the Prince Imperial, and caused to administer affairs of State.

41st year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Toyo-Akira at the age of 110.[2] A.D. 31

One account says:—"He died in the Palace of Oho-kuma."

In this month Achi no Omi and his companions arrived in Tsukushi from Wu. Now the Great God of Muna-gata [3] asked for workwomen. Therefore Ane-hime was offered to the Great God of Muna-gata. She was the ancestor of the Mitsukahi [4] no Kimi, who now dwell in the Land of Tsukushi. He then took with him the three women, and proceeded to the Land of Tsu.[5] But when he reached Muko the Emperor was dead and he was too late. Accordingly he offered them to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. The descendants of these women are the present seamstresses of Kure and the seamstresses of Kaya.[6]

[1] His name, Great-mountain-warden, already indicates this office. There is a distinction between the characters for Mikoto applied to the elder and younger brothers, the latter having the more honorific character no doubt because he afterwards became Emperor. See above, p. 2.

[2] The "Kojiki" says 130. He was deified at a later period under the name of Yahata or Hachiman as the God of War, and there are many shrines in his honour standing at this day.

[3] In Chikuzen.

[4] Mitsukahi means "august messenger."

[5] Settsu.

[6] Kaya is written with the characters for "Musquito-net." There is a place in Bittchiu of this name, but written with different characters.

BOOK XI.

THE EMPEROR OHO-SAZAKI.[1]

(*NINTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-sazaki was the fourth child of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was a granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ihoki-iri-hiko. The Emperor from his childhood was intelligent and sagacious, and his face was fair to look upon. When he grew to manhood he was indulgent and humane. The Emperor Homuda died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 41st year of his reign. Now the Prince Imperial offered to cede the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. He would not assume the Imperial Dignity, but advised with Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—" He that shall rule over the Empire and govern the myriad subjects, should overspread them like Heaven, and comprehend them like Earth. If there is above a cheerful heart with which to employ the people, the people are happy and the Empire tranquil. But here am I, a younger brother, and moreover wanting in talent. How shall I presume to succeed to the Dignity and to enter upon the Celestial task? But thou, O great Prince, art distinguished in appearance and of a far-reaching benevolence. Thou art also of ripe years and art fit to become Lord of the Empire. The late Emperor established me as his Heir: But was this for my abilities? No, it was simply because he loved me. Moreover, there is the weighty matter of the service of the Ancestral shrines and of the Gods of the Earth and of Grain.[3] For this thy servant is wanting in ready tact and is unmeet to

[1] Great-wren. See below, XI. 7. [2] Benevolence-virtue.

[3] These expressions are simply borrowed from Chinese books, and have no bearing on Japanese ancient institutions or ideas.

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Mikoto spake to Oü, saying:—"Do thou go thyself to the Han country and summon Akoko. Go quickly, travelling day and night." So he assigned to him eighty fishermen of Ahaji as sailors. Hereupon Oü proceeded to the Han country, and straightway came accompanied by Akoko. Accordingly he was asked about the Yamato official rice-lands. He replied, saying: —"I have heard by tradition that, in the time of the Emperor who reigned in the palace of Tamaki at Makimuku,[1] the official rice-fields of Yamato were settled in the charge of Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the Prince Imperial. At that time there was an Imperial Decree to the effect that the official rice-lands of Yamato were always to be the official rice-lands of the reigning Sovereign, and could not be held by anyone who was not the reigning Sovereign, even an Emperor's child. It is therefore wrong to say that this is Mountain-warden-land."

Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto sent Akoko to the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, and made him acquaint him with these circumstances. The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko knew not at all what to do, and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, recognizing that he was in the wrong, forgave him and did not punish him.

XI. 4. Thereafter Prince Oho-yama-mori[2] was full of resentment that he was passed over by the late Emperor and not established as Prince Imperial. In addition he had this cause of hatred. So he plotted, saying:—"I will kill the Prince Imperial and will ultimately ascend to the Imperial Dignity." Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, having heard beforehand of his plot, secretly advised the Prince Imperial to prepare soldiers for his protection. Then the Prince Imperial got ready troops and awaited him. The Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, not knowing that soldiers had been prepared, took with him only a few hundred fighting men, and starting in the middle of the night, proceeded thither. At dawn he arrived at Uji, and was about to cross the river when the Prince Imperial, having put on

[1] Suinin Tennō.

[2] Clearly Oho-yama-mori is the same person who is spoken of above as Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko. Either Nukada all through the above passage is a mistake, or the genealogy (p. 255) which makes two persons of them is wrong. I think the latter more likely, Oho-yama-mori being an official designation, and Nukada, etc., the name.

hempen garments, took the helm, and secretly mingled with the ferrymen. He then took the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori on board and ferried him over as far as the middle of the river, where he induced the ferrymen to step on the (side of the) boat and make it heel over. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori fell into the river and sank. But he rose to the surface again, and while floating down the stream made a song, saying,—

At the ferry of Uji
* * *[1]
Among the pole-men
Those who are nimblest
Will come to me.

But a large number of ambushed soldiers sprang up, so that he was unable to reach the bank, and he finally sank and died. Search was caused to be made for his dead body, and it came to the surface at the ferry of Kahara. Then the Prince Imperial seeing the dead body, made a song, saying,—

O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows
That growest by the ferry—
The ferry of Uji!
* * *
In my heart I thought
To cut thee,
In my heart I thought
To take thee,
But at the bottom, XI. 5.
Of my lord I bethought me,
But at the top,
Of thy spouse I bethought me.
There I thought pitifully,
Here I thought mournfully—
Uncut I leave thee,
O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows![2]

---

[1] The asterisks represent an untranslatable pillow-word. See Ch. K, p. 255.

[2] Mayumi is the Euonymus. Adzusa is the Catalpa, a tree suitable for making bows. It has no particular meaning here. There is much differ-

So he was buried at Mount Nara. Afterwards the Prince Imperial built a palace at Uji, wherein he dwelt. Moreover in consequence of his ceding the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, he remained for a long time without assuming the Imperial rank. Now three years passed during which the Imperial rank was vacant. Then there was a fisherman who brought a mat-basket of fresh fish, which he offered as a present at the Uji Palace. The Prince Imperial commanded the fisherman, saying:—"I am not the Emperor," and sent him away, telling him to present it at Naniha. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto also sent him away, telling him to present it at Uji. Hereupon the fisherman's mat-basket became putrid on his journeys back and forward. So he sent it away again and procured other fresh fish, which he presented, and which were declined as on the previous day. The fresh fish again became putrid. The fisherman was grieved at his frequent returning, so he flung away the fresh fish and wept. Therefore the proverbial saying, "There is a fisherman who weeps on account of his own things," which had its origin in this.

The Prince Imperial said:—"I know that the Prince, my elder brother, is not to be moved from his resolution. Why then should I prolong my life and give trouble to the Empire?" So he died by his own hand. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, hearing of the Prince Imperial's death, was greatly shocked,
XI. 6. and hastening from Naniha arrived at the Palace of Uji. Now three days had passed since the Prince Imperial's death. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto beat his breast, wept aloud, and knew not what to do. He loosed out his hair, and bestriding the corpse, called upon him thrice, saying:—"Oh, my younger brother, the Imperial Prince!" In course of time he came to life, raised himself up, and remained in a sitting posture. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto addressed the Heir Apparent, saying:—"Oh, what grief! Oh, what regret! Why didst thou pass away of thine own accord? If the dead had any

ence of opinion among native commentators as to the meaning of this poem. It would seem as if the Prince, having thrown his brother overboard, could hardly claim much credit for clemency. But probably this is a genuine ancient poem, which the author has inserted here without much regard to fitness. The asterisks represent the untranslatable pillow-word Chihay-bito, an epithet of Uji.

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In the case of both there are omens. This is an indication from Heaven. Let us take the names of these birds, and each exchanging them, call our children after them as a covenant to future generations." So he took the name "wren" (sazaki) and called the Prince Imperial by it, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-sazaki."[1] And he took the name "owl" (Dzuku) and called the Prime Minister's child by it, saying:—"Dzuku
XI. 8. no Sukune." He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Heguri.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 314. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 8th day. Iha no hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She was the mother of the Emperor Ohi-ne[2] Iza-ho-wake, of the Imperial Prince Suminohe no Nakatsu, of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake, and of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsu-ma-waku-go no Sukune. Another consort, Kami-naga-hime of Hiuga, bore to him the Imperial Prince Oho-kusaka and the Imperial Princess Hatahi.

A.D. 316. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity, from every one was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty, 'How happy are we.' But now when we observe the people, for three years past, no voice of
XI. 9. eulogy is heard; the smoke of cooking has become rarer and rarer. By this we know that the five grains[3] do not come up, and that the people are in extreme want. Even in the Home provinces[4] there are some who are not supplied; what must it be in the provinces outside of our domain?"

3rd month, 21st day. The following decree was issued:—

[1] I have elsewhere suggested that the name of the Emperor Oho-sazaki was a posthumous title given him owing to the great size of the mound (sasagi) under which he is buried near Sakai. And although there is much to be said on the other side, I am not sure that this may not after all be correct. The difference in spelling between sasagi and sazaki is immaterial.

[2] Ohi-ne or Oho-ye means great-elder-brother. It is hardly a name.

[3] Hemp, millet, rice, wheat and barley, pulse.

[4] The territory round the capital ruled immediately by the Emperor. This is a Chinese phrase, not properly applicable to Japan at this period.

"From this time forward, for the space of three years, let forced labour be entirely abolished, and let the people have rest from toil." From this day forth his robes of state and shoes did not wear out, and none were made. The warm food and hot broths did not become sour or putrid, and were not renewed. He disciplined his heart and restrained his impulses so that he discharged his functions without effort.

Therefore the Palace enclosure fell to ruin and was not rebuilt; the thatch decayed, and was not repaired; the wind and rain entered by the chinks and soaked the coverlets; the starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed-mats. After this the wind and rain came in due season,[1] the five grains produced in abundance. For the space of three autumns the people had plenty, the praises of his virtue filled the land, and the smoke of cooking was also thick. XI. 10.

7th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor was on his tower, and looking far and wide, saw smoke arising plentifully. On this day he addressed the Empress, saying:— "We are now prosperous. What can there be to grieve for?" The Empress answered and said:—"What dost thou mean by prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"It is doubtless when the smoke fills the land, and the people freely attain to wealth." The Empress went on to say:—"The Palace enclosure is crumbling down, and there are no means of repairing it; the buildings are dilapidated so that the coverlets are exposed. Can this be called prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is no other than Our poverty; the people's prosperity is none other than Our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people's being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty."[2] A.D. 319.

[1] The notion that the virtues of the Emperor have a direct influence on the weather is, of course, Chinese.

[2] This whole episode is the composition of some one well acquainted with Chinese literature. The sentiments are throughout characteristically Chinese, and in several cases whole sentences are copied verbatim from Chinese works.

Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. For the Imperial Prince Ohine Izaho-wake there was established the Mibu Be,[1] and again for the Empress there was established the Katsuraki Be.[2]

9th month. The provinces, without exception, petitioned, saying:—"Three years have now elapsed since forced labour was altogether remitted. The Palace buildings have therefore become decayed, and the Treasury empty. The black-headed
XI. 11. people have now abundance, and remnants are not picked up. Therefore in the villages there are no men without wives or women without husbands, in the houses there is store of spare provisions. If at such a time there was no payment of taxes with which to repair the Palace buildings, we fear that we should incur guilt in the sight of Heaven." The Emperor, however, continued to be patient, and would not grant their petition.

A.D. 322. 10th year, Winter, 10th month. Forced labour for the building of a Palace was imposed for the first time. Hereupon the people, without superintendence, supporting the aged and leading by the hand the young, transported timber, carried baskets[3] on their backs, and worked their hardest without distinction of night or day, vying with one another in the construction. In this manner, ere long the Palace buildings were every one completed. Therefore up to the present day he is styled the Sage Emperor.

A.D. 323. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor commanded his ministers, saying:—"Viewing this land, the moors and marshes extend far and wide, and the cultivated fields are few and rare. Moreover, the river waters spread out to each side, so that the lower streams flow sluggishly. Should there

[1] This Be is also called the Nibu Be. There are several places in Japan of this name. It was originally the group of peasants whose duty it was to provide wet nurses, etc., for infant princes. See Ch. K., p. 268, and Motowori in "Kojikiden," xxxv. 12.

[2] The "Kojiki" says that these two Be were instituted as "miōdai" of the Prince and the Empress, i.e. in order to perpetuate their memory, the Be in such cases taking the name of the person or of his or her residence. The last explanation might apply to the Empress, but it is not clear how the name Mibu could perpetuate the memory of this Prince.

[3] Of earth.

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dancing on the waves, would not sink, and floated far away over the wide waters. In this way that embankment was completed, although Koromo no ko did not die. Accordingly
XI. 13. Koromo no ko's cleverness saved his life. Therefore the men of that time gave a name to these two places, calling them "Kohakubi's Gap" and "Koromo no ko's Gap."

This year men of Silla came to the Court with tribute, and were made to labour at this public work.

A.D. 324. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Land of Koryö sent tribute of iron shields and iron targets.

8th month, 10th day. The Koryö guests were entertained at Court. On this day the ministers and functionaries were assembled and made to shoot at the iron shields and targets presented by Koryö. Nobody could pierce the targets except Tatebito no Sukune, the ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba,[1] who shot at the iron targets and pierced them. Then the guests from Koryö, when they saw this, were struck with awe by his excellent skill in archery, and, standing up together, did obeisance to the Emperor. The next day the Emperor commended Tatebito no Sukune and gave him a title, calling him Ikuba no Toda no Sukune. On the same day a title was given to Sukune no Omi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, and he was called Sakashi-nokori[2] no Omi.

Winter, 10th month. The Great Canal was dug in the district of Kurikuma in Yamashiro for the irrigation of the rice-fields. By this means the peasants of that district had always years of abundance.

A.D. 325. 13th year, Autumn, 9th month. Now for the first time official granaries were established at Mamuta. The Usu-me[3] Be was accordingly instituted.

Winter, 10th month. The Pond of Wani[4] was made. In
XI. 14. the same month the Yokono Embankment was constructed.

A.D. 326. 14th year, Winter, 11th month. A bridge was made at the Wikahi ferry. It was this place which was called Wo-bashi.[5] In this year a highway was constructed and laid down within the capital from the South Gate extending in a straight line as

[1] Tatebito means shield-man, and Ikuba, target.
[2] Clever-remainder. [3] Millers. [4] In Kahachi.
[5] Small-bridge.

far as the village of Tajihi. Moreover, a great canal was dug in Konku[1] by which the water of the Ishikaha River was brought to irrigate the four waste plains of Upper Suzuka and Lower Suzuka, Upper Toyora and Lower Toyora. By bringing these under cultivation there were gained more than 40,000 K'iüng[2] of rice-land. Therefore the peasants of those places enjoyed abundance, and there was no longer the plague of bad years.

16th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor, indicating Kuhada no Kugahime, a lady of the Palace, to his personal attendants, said:—"It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have XI. 15. passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom?" So he made a song, saying:—

Who will nourish
The daughter of the Omi
That sweeps along the bottom of the water?[3]

Then Hayamachi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of the province of Harima, advanced alone and made a song, saying:—

I, Hayamachi of Harima,
(Where the dreadful tides are)
Though full of awe,
Like rocks tumbling down,
I will nourish her.[4]

That same day Kugahime was given to Hayamachi. On the evening of the next day Hayamachi went to Kugahime's house. Now Kugahime would not comply with his wishes, but he persisted in approaching the curtained space. Then Kugahime

[1] In Kahachi.

[2] A Chinese measure of land equal to 100 mo, or more than fifteen English acres. This exact number of K'iüng occurs in a Chinese book of the Han period as the extent of land reclaimed by a similar operation.

[3] The last line is a makura kotoba not in the least suitable as an epithet of Omi, a minister. But Omi is somewhat like ami, a net, for which it is satisfactory enough. The text is doubtful.

[4] This stanza is in the ordinary 31-syllable metre, and the previous one in the same, minus the first two lines. The second line is a makura kotoba.

said:—"Thy handmaiden will end her years husbandless. How can she become my Lord's wife?" Now the Emperor, when he heard this, wished to accomplish Hayamachi's desires, so he sent Kugahime along with Hayamachi to Kuhada. But Kugahime straightway became ill and died on the journey. Therefore there is to this day the tomb of Kugahime.

A.D. 329. 17th year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute.

Autumn, 9th month. Toda no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, and Sakashi-nokori no Omi, ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, were sent to inquire the reason of the failure to send tribute. Hereupon the Silla people were afraid, and

XI. 16. presented 1460 pieces of tribute, fine silks, and miscellaneous objects of all kinds—in all eighty ship-loads.

A.D. 334. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"I have taken to me the Imperial Princess Yata, and am about to make her my concubine." But the Empress would not allow it. Hereupon the Emperor made a song, in which he besought the Empress, saying:—

As a means of raising up
Dear ones:
As a spare bowstring
To supply a vacancy
I would place (her) along with (thee).

The Empress made a song in reply, saying:—

In the case of garments
To double them is well,
But my Lord who would set in a row
The couches of night—
I wonder if he is wise.

The Emperor again made a song, saying:—

Like the shore of Narabi [1]
Of Cape Naniha
That projects (into the sea)
It must have been solely to be thy comrade
That that child came into being.

---

[1] Narabi means to be associated with, to be a companion.

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Ye men of Naniha,
Haul along the bell-(hung) ship,
Soaked as to your loins,
Haul along that ship.
Haul along the great august ship.

Now the Empress did not anchor at the Great Harbour, but drew onwards again, and, ascending the river, went round by way of Yamashiro, in the direction of Yamato.[1] The next day the Emperor sent an attendant named Toriyama to bring the Empress back, and made a song, saying:—

In Yamashiro
Overtake her, Toriyama.
Overtake her, overtake her,
My beloved spouse—
I wonder wilt thou overtake and join her.

The Empress would not come back, but continued her journey as far as the River of Yamashiro, where she made a song, saying:—

Ascending the river—
The River of Yamashiro—
(Peak upon peak[2]—)
As I ascend it,
By the river bend
There stands luxuriant
(Less-than-a-hundred)[3]
An eighty-leaved tree.
Is it the Great Lord?

So she crossed over Mount Nara, and looking on Katsuraki,
XI. 19. she made a song, saying:—

Going up to Miya,[4]
As I ascend

---

[1] Ch. K., p. 276.

[2] Peak upon peak refers to yama, mountain, the first part of Yamashiro. It is a mere ornamental epithet.

[3] Less than a hundred is a makura-kotoba of eighty. The luxuriant tree, with its plentiful foliage, reminds her of the Emperor.

[4] Miya is probably short for Takamiya in the last line of the poem but one.

The River of Yamashiro
(—Peak upon peak—)
Nara I pass
Of fertile soil ;
Yamato I pass,
Shielded by its mountains ;
The land I long to see
Is Takamiya of Katsuraki,
For there is my home.[1]

Returning again to Yamashiro, she built a Palace on the south side of the Hill of Tsutsuki, and dwelt there.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, was sent to fetch the Empress.

One version says :—"Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Wani."

Now Kuchi no Omi went to the Palace of Tsutsuki, and wished to have audience of the Empress, but she remained silent and answered not. Then Kuchi no Omi prostrated himself before the Empress's hall, and remained there day and night drenched by the rain and snow, and did not move. Hereupon Kuchi no Omi's younger sister, Kuniyori-hime, who was in the service of the Empress, and happened just then to be in attendance upon her, saw her elder brother wet with the rain, and shed tears and made a song, saying :—

In the Palace of Tsutsuki,
In Yamashiro,
When I see my elder brother
Delivering his message,
My eyes fill with tears.

Then the Empress addressed Kuniyori-hime, saying :— "Why weepest thou ?" She answered and said :—"He that lies prostrate in the courtyard and begs an audience is thy handmaiden's elder brother. He is wet with the rain, and XI. 20.
does not flinch, but still lies prostrate in the hope of an audience of thee. This is why I weep and am sorrowful." Then the Empress addressed her, saying :—"Tell thy elder brother to return with all speed. I will never go back." Kuchi accordingly returned, and made his report to the Emperor.

11th month, 7th day. The Emperor made a progress by

[1] Much of this poem is of doubtful interpretation. Compare Ch. K. p. 275.

river to Yamashiro. At this time there was a mulberry branch floating down the stream. The Emperor looked at the mulberry branch, and made a song, saying:—

The mulberry tree[1]
* * * *
Which Iha[2] no hime
Will not listen to even absently
May not reach (the bank),
But by the bends of the river
It seems to go tossing on—
Oh! that mulberry tree!

On the next day the Imperial cortege arrived at the Palace of Tsutsuki. The Empress was sent for, but she refused to appear before the Emperor. Then the Emperor made a song, saying:—

Like the radishes[3] dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
{ Purely, purely,
{ Clamorously, clamorously,
Because thou hast spoken
I have come hither
Like the flourishing trees
Which I look over at.

---

[1] Mulberry is ura-kuha. In modern Japanese kuha alone means mulberry. Ura also means heart, and as koha means hard, there seems an allusion to the Empress's hard-heartedness.

The Emperor compares his condition to that of the mulberry branch drifting down the stream, and finding no rest anywhere. The metre is irregular.

[2] Iha means rock. It has here a makura-kotoba prefixed to it, viz. tsuno-sahafu, creeper-clad, which is inappropriate to Iha, when taken as the Empress's name, though suitable to it in its original meaning.

[3] Radishes are at this day a staple food of the Japanese. When freshly washed they look very white and clean. The first four lines are a mere introduction to saha-saha, i.e. purely, and the author immediately goes on to exchange this meaning for another meaning of the same word, viz., clamorously, by a play of words common in Japanese poetry. The only bond of connection between the first and second halves of the poem is this double sense of saha-saha. "The flourishing trees" represent the Emperor's brilliant suite. The interpretation of this poem is more or less conjectural. Compare Ch. K., p. 279.

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had belled, and he accordingly addressed the Empress, saying: —"We have been soothed in the anxious thoughts which have of late possessed us by listening to the belling of a deer. Now when the day or night, and the mountain or moor of the deer which has been caught are considered, they correspond to the deer which belled. It is true that that man was not aware of our feelings of affection, and that it was by chance that he came to take it. We nevertheless cannot resist a feeling of resentment. It is therefore our wish that the Saheki Be shall not approach the Imperial Palace." So he made the officials remove his residence to Nuta in Aki. He was the ancestor of the present Saheki Be of Nuta in Aki.

There is a popular story that a long time ago there was a man who went to Toga, and spent the night on the moor. Now there were two deer which lay down beside him. When it was on the point of cock-crow, the male deer addressed the female, saying:—"This night I had a dream in which I saw a white mist come down copiously and cover my body. What
XI. 23. may this portend?" The female deer answered and said:— "If thou goest out, thou wilt certainly be shot by men and die, and so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." Now the man who was spending the night there wondered at this in his heart. Before it was yet dawn, there came a hunter, who shot the male deer, and killed it. Hence the proverbial saying of the men of that day—"Even the belling male deer follows the interpretation of a dream."

A.D. 352 40th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor wished to take to himself the Imperial Princess Medori[1] as concubine, and made the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake[2] his middle man. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa secretly wedded her himself, and for a long time made no report of his mission. Hereupon the Emperor, not knowing that she had a husband, went in person to the Imperial Princess Medori's chamber. At

[1] Princess Medori was half-sister of the Emperor by a different mother, and full sister of the Empress.

[2] Hayabusa wake was half-brother to both Princess Medori and the Emperor by a different mother.

this time the Imperial Princess was weaving, and her women made a song, saying:—

The metal loom of Heaven—
The everlasting—[1]
The metal-loom where
Medori is weaving
Stuff for an august cloak
For Hayabusa wake!

Upon this the Emperor saw that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had secretly wedded her, and was angry. But out XI. 24.
of regard for what the Empress might say, and also from respect for the principle which governs the relation of stem and branches,[2] he was patient and did not punish him. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake was lying down for a little with his head pillowed on the Imperial Princess's knee. Whereupon he addressed her, saying:—"Which is the swiftest, the wren or the falcon?"[3] She said, "The falcon." Then the Imperial Prince said:—"That means that I shall be first." The Emperor heard these words, and his wrath was aroused again. At this time the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake's attendants made a song, saying:—

The falcon
Ascending to Heaven
With soaring flight—
Let him seize the wren
On the top of the Tsuki trees.[4]

When the Emperor heard this song, he flew into a great rage, and said:—"We were unwilling for a private cause of hate to destroy one related to us, and we were patient. Why should a private cause of quarrel be converted into a matter which affects the State?"

So he wished to kill the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake.

[1] The word translated everlasting is hisakata, lit. long-hard, an epithet involving a similar conception of the sky to our word "firmament." By metal is probably meant "adorned with metal fittings."

[2] i.e. the head of the family and the junior members.

[3] Hayabusa means "falcon."

[4] In the original itsuki or idzuki. This the commentators explain as fifty (i) tsuki trees. But how would "sacred (idzu) tree" do—in allusion to the Emperor's rank?

Now the Imperial Prince fled with the Imperial Princess Medori, intending to place her in the Shrine of Ise. Hereupon the Emperor, hearing that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had run away, straightway sent Wofuna of the Honchi Be of Kibi
XI. 25. and Aganoko, Atahe of Saheki in Harima, saying:—"Pursue them, and when you overtake them, slay them forthwith." Hereupon the Empress addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Truly the Imperial Princess Medori is liable to severe punishment. But when she is killed I hope her body may not be exposed." Accordingly he gave orders to Wofuna and his colleague not to take the Imperial Princess's leg-jewels or arm-jewels. Wofuna and his colleague pursued them as far as Uda, and closed on them at Mount Soni. Here they hid in the herbage, and escaping by only a little, fled hastily, and crossed the mountain. Then the Imperial Prince made a song, saying:—

Even this mountain, steep
As a ladder,
When I cross over it
With thee, my love,
Seems a restful couch.

Hereupon Wofuna and the rest, seeing that they had escaped, followed after hastily, and when they came to the moor of Komoshiro in Ise, slew them. Then Wofuna and the others searched for the Imperial Princess's jewels, and took them from within her undergarments. So they buried the bodies of the Prince and Princess on the bank of the River Ihoki, and then made their report to the Emperor. The Empress caused inquiry to be made of Wofuna and the others, saying:—"Did you see the Imperial Princess's jewels?" They answered and said, "We did not see them."

That year during the month[1] of the festival of tasting the first rice on the day of the banquet, sake was given to the princesses and ladies of the inner and outer circle. Thereupon,
XI. 26. on the hands of two women, viz., the wife of Waka-mori-yama, Kimi of the mountains of Afumi, and Ihasakihime, one of the Uneme,[2] there were entwined excellent jewels. The Empress,

[1] The 11th month.

[2] Probably for yone-me, i.e. rice-woman, women attendants of the palace. They were selected for their good looks.

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of Yosami, caught a strange bird and presented it to the Emperor, saying:—"I am constantly spreading nets and catching birds in them, but never before have I caught a bird of this kind. I therefore thought it curious, and offer it to His Majesty." The Emperor sent for Lord Chyu and, pointing to the bird, said:—"What bird is this?" Lord Chyu answered and said:—"Birds of this kind are numerous in Pèkché. They can be tamed so as to be quite obedient to man. Moreover they are swift of flight and prey upon all kinds of birds. The common people in Pèkché call them *Kuchi*." So it was given to Lord Chyu to be fed and tamed. In no long time he succeeded in taming it. Lord Chyu accordingly fastened to its leg a soft leather strap, and attached to its tail a small bell.[1] Then, placing it on his forearm, he presented it to the Emperor. On this day he went to the moor of Mozu and hunted. At this
XI. 28. time a large number of hen pheasants got up, and the falcon[2] was let loose and made to catch them. It speedily caught several tens of pheasants. In this month the Be of Taka-ama (falcon-sweet) was first established. Therefore the men of that time called the place where the falcon was brought up the village of Taka-ama.

A.D. 362. 50th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. A man of Kahachi informed the Emperor, saying:—"A wild goose has laid an egg on the Mamuta embankment." That same day a messenger was sent to see. He said:—"It is true." The Emperor hereupon made a song, in which he inquired of Takechi no Sukune, saying:—

O Aso of Uchi!
* * * *[3]
Thou, beyond all others,[4]
A man distant of age—

---

[1] Fr. grêlot.

[2] The taka or goshawk. The hayabusa mentioned above is a smaller bird, probably the peregrine falcon. The best hawks for hunting were formerly imported to Japan from Corea.

[3] An untranslatable makura-kotoba comes in here.

[4] Takechi no Sukune's death is not mentioned in the "Nihongi." A later authority says that he died in this year, having held office for 240 years, and lived 295 (or 299) years. Another authority states that he died in the 55th year of Nintoku Tennō, at the age of 280. Still another says that he died in

Thou, beyond all others,
A man long in the land—
Hast thou not heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg
In Akitsushima,
The land of Yamato?[1]

Takechi no Sukune made a song in reply, saying:—

Our great Lord
Who rules tranquilly,
Right is he, right is he
To ask me.
For in Akitsushima,
In the land of Yamato,
Never have I heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg.

53rd year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute. A.D. 365. XI. 29.

5th month. Takahase, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, was sent to ask the reason of the failure to send tribute. On his way he took a white deer, and returning with it, presented it to the Emperor. He then chose another day and started on his journey. Shortly after, the Emperor sent in addition Takahase's younger brother Tamichi, and commanded him, saying:— "If Silla is recalcitrant, raise an army and invade that land." So he gave him chosen troops. Silla raised an army and made opposition. Now the Silla men offered battle daily. But Tamichi made strong his barriers, and would not go out. Now a Silla soldier who had been let out from the camp was taken prisoner. So being questioned as to the condition of affairs, he answered, saying:—"There are mighty men, called the 'Hundred Thrusters,'[2] nimble and valorous, who always form the right van of the army. Therefore if you observe this and attack the left, it will be routed." Now Silla allowed the left to

the 78th year of Nintoku Tennō's reign, which, as one account says that he was born in the 9th year of Keikō Tennō, would make him 312 years of age at his death. It has been suggested that there were several persons of this name who succeeded each other as hereditary prime ministers But the simpler explanation is that the chronology at this period is wildly inaccurate, as there is plenty of other evidence to show.

[1] See Ch. K., p. 283. Wild geese do not nest in Japan.

[2] It may be only one man of this name.

be vacant, and filled up the numbers of the right. Hereupon Tamichi, drawing up his picked cavalry,[1] attacked their left,
XI. 30. upon which the Silla troops were defeated. Accordingly letting go his men, he bore down on the enemy and slew several hundreds of them. So he took prisoners the people of four villages, with whom he returned to Japan.[2]

A.D. 367. 55th year. The Yemishi rebelled. Tamichi was sent to attack them. He was worsted by the Yemishi, and slain at the Harbour of Ishimi.[3] Now one of his followers obtained Tamichi's armlet and gave it to his wife, who embraced the armlet and strangled herself. When the men of that time heard of this they shed tears. After this the Yemishi again made an incursion and carried off some of the people. Accordingly they dug up Tamichi's tomb, upon which a great serpent started up with glaring eyes, and came out of the tomb. It bit the Yemishi, who were everyone affected by the serpent's poison, so that many of them died, and only one or two escaped. Therefore the men of that time said: "Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?"

A.D. 370. 58th year, Summer, 5th month. By the road which passes to the south of the grove of firs at Arehaka,[4] there suddenly sprang up two kunugi[5] trees, which joined over the road so that the ends of their branches met.

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Wu and the Land of Koryö together attended the Court with tribute.[6]

A.D. 372. 60th year, Winter, 10th month. The guardians of the

[1] I do not regard this as any proof that the Japanese had cavalry at this time. The author is, I think, only using a Chinese phrase which suggested itself to his memory.

[2] The "Tongkam" mentions descents by Japanese in 440 in which a number of Coreans were carried off.

[3] In Kadzusa. This is the traditional kana for 伊寺. How the last character came to be read *Shimi* is not clear.

[4] Arehaka means ruined tumulus. The well-known temple of Tennōji at Osaka now stands here.

[5] Quercus serrata, Hepburn.

[6] It is not to be supposed that China or even Koryö ever sent "tribute" to Japan. Presents were no doubt exchanged, which both sides very likely represented to their subjects as "tribute."

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come it is placed in water or sake and thus used." The Imperial Prince straightway brought some of that ice, and presented it to the Palace. The Emperor was delighted with it, and from that time forward it became the rule always to store up ice from the last month of winter until the second month of spring when the ice melts.

A.D. 377. 65th year. In the province of Hida there was a man called Sukuna, who was so formed that on one trunk he had two faces. The faces were turned away from each other. The crowns met, and there was no nape of the neck. Each had hands and feet. There were knees, but no popliteal spaces or heels.

XI. 33. He was strong and nimble. He carried swords on his right and on his left side, and used bow and arrow with all four hands at once. On this account he was disobedient to the Imperial command, and took a pleasure in plundering the people. Hereupon the Emperor sent Naniha-neko Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, who put him to death.

A.D. 379. 67th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the plain of Ishitsu in Kahachi, where he fixed upon a site for a misasagi.

18th day. The building of the misasagi was commenced. On this day there was a deer which suddenly got up in the moor and ran in among the labourers, where it lay down and died. Now, its sudden death appearing strange, they looked to see where it was hurt, upon which a shrike came out of its ear and flew away. Accordingly they looked into its ear, and found that the skin was all bitten off. So this was the reason why they called that place the plain of Mozu no mimi.[1]

This year, at a fork of the River Kahashima, in the central division of the Province of Kibi, there was a great water-snake which harassed the people. Now when travellers were passing that place on their journey, they were surely affected by its poison, so that many died. Hereupon Agata-mori,[2] the ances-

[1] Shrike-ear. This plain lies inland from Sakai, near Osaka. The misasagi is still intact, and is, perhaps, the largest of its kind in Japan. Richiu Tennō and Hanzei Tennō are buried one on each side of Nintoku.

[2] District-warden.

tor of the Omi of Kasa, a man of fierce temper and of great bodily strength, stood over the pool of the river-fork and flung into the water three whole calabashes, saying:—"Thou art XI. 34. continually belching up poison and therewithal plaguing travellers. I will kill thee, thou water-snake. If thou canst sink these calabashes, then will I take myself away, but if thou canst not sink them, then will I cut up thy body." Now the water-snake changed itself into a deer and tried to draw down the calabashes, but the calabashes would not sink. So with upraised sword he entered the water and slew the water-snake. He further sought out the water-snake's fellows. Now the tribe of all the water-snakes filled a cave in the bottom of the pool. He slew them every one, and the water of the river became changed to blood. Therefore that water was called "The pool of Agata-mori." [1]

At this time pestilential vapours arose more and more, and there were one or two cases of rebellion. Hereupon [2] the Emperor, rising early in the morning and going to bed (late) at night, lightened the taxes, reduced the imposts, and so was generous to the people. He dispensed virtue and practised kindness, therewithal encouraging the indigent. He showed sympathy for the dead, and inquired after the sick, providing for the orphan and the widow. In this way the decrees of his Government were diffused into wide operation, and the Empire was at peace, so that for over twenty years nothing untoward happened.

87th year, Spring, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor A.D. 3 died.

[1] The traditional kana rendering of the Chinese character translated "water-snake" is midzuchi. Midzu is water, and chi a honorific term meaning "elder." Midzuchi means indifferently water-snake or water-god, the two ideas being intimately associated in the Japanese mind. Dennys, in his "Folk Lore of China," quotes from the *North China Herald* as follows:—"The River-God is in every case (where the waters of inundations were abated by them) a small water-snake, which popular fancy has converted into a deity." The poisonous breath of serpents is an article of popular faith in many countries.

[2] From "Hereupon" down to "operation" is taken almost verbatim from a Chinese book.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. He was buried in the misasagi on Mozu moor.[1]

[1] The Emperor's age is not given here. The "Kojiki" makes him eighty-three years of age at his death. Others say 110. But if we allow him to have been at least sixteen when he fell in love with Kami-naga-hime (see above, p. 259) in A.D. 282, he cannot have been less than 132 at the time of his death.

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Kurohime, saying :—" What bells are these ? " She answered and said :—" Are they not the bells which thou didst bring last night ? Wherefore dost thou ask thy handmaiden any more about them ? " The Heir naturally concluded that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had assumed his name and by this means seduced Kurohime, so he retired in silence.

Now the Imperial Prince Nakatsu, fearing that trouble would come of this, was about to kill the Heir to the Throne, and secretly raising a force, surrounded his Palace. Then Heguri no Tsuka no Sukune, Mononobe no Ohomahe no Sukune, and Achi no Omi, the ancestor of the Aya no Atahe, these three men, gave information to the Heir, but he would not believe them.

One version says :—" The Heir was drunk and would not get up."

Therefore the three men assisted the Heir, and making him mount on horseback, caused him to escape.

One account says :—" Ohomahe no Sukune took the Heir to the Throne in his arms and mounted him on a horse."

The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, not knowing that he was absent, set fire to his Palace. The fire lasted all night without being extinguished. When the Heir arrived at the Hanifu Hill in the Province of Kahachi he became sober, and looking back to Naniha, he saw the blaze of fire. He was greatly alarmed, and fled hastily by way of Ohosaka in the direction of Yamato.

XII. 3. When he got as far as Mount Asuka, he met a girl at the entrance of the mountain, of whom he inquired, saying :— " Are there any men on this mountain ? " She answered and said :—" This mountain is full of many armed men. Thou hadst better go round and cross over by the Tagima road." Hereupon the Heir thought to himself :—" By listening to the words of this girl I have been enabled to escape calamity." So he made a song, saying :—

At Ohosaka,
The girl that I met—
When I asked her the way,
She said not, " right on,"
She said, " Tagima way."

So he turned aside again, and having raised the troops of that district, made them follow him, and crossed over by way of Mount Tatsuta. At this time several tens of armed men came in pursuit of him. The Heir, looking at them from a distance, said:—"Who are those men who are coming? And why is their pace so hurried? Can they be an enemy?" Accordingly they hid themselves on the mountain, and waited. When they approached, one man was sent to inquire of them, saying:—"What men are ye, and whither go ye?" They answered and said:—"We are fishermen of Nojima in Ahaji. XII.
Hamako, the Muraji of Adzumi,[1] on behalf of the Imperial Prince Nakatsu [One account says Sato-tomo, Muraji of Adzumi], has sent us in pursuit of the Heir to the Throne." Hereupon he brought out the troops which were in ambush, and surrounding them, captured[2] them every one. At this time Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, who from the first had loved Prince Nakatsu, and was privy to his conspiracy, secretly assembled choice troops to the number of several hundred at Kurusu in Kakibami, and on behalf of Prince Nakatsu withstood the Heir. Now the Heir, not knowing that he was beset with troops, went out for several ri from the mountain. He was stopped by a large force of armed men, and was unable to advance. So he sent a messenger and inquired of them, saying:—"What men are ye?" They answered and said:—"Akoko, Atahe of Yamato." And in their turn they questioned the messenger, saying:—"Who has sent thee?" He said:—"The Prince Imperial has sent me." Then Akoko, fearing lest there might be a numerous army there, said to the messenger:—"Information has reached me that something unusual has happened to the Prince Imperial, and in order to assist him I am waiting upon him with this force that I have prepared." The Heir, however, doubted his intentions, and tried to kill him. Whereupon Akoko was afraid, and offering as a present his own younger sister Hinohime,[3] through her begged that his capital offence might be pardoned. He was pardoned

[1] See above, p. 256, where his ancestor was made prefect of the fishermen.

[2] As usual, "captured" stands for "slew."

[3] The Princess of the Sun.

accordingly. It was prolably at this time that the custom began of the Atahe of Yamato sending tribute of ladies of the Palace.[1]

The Heir took up his abode in the shrine of Furu no Iso no Kami. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, discovering the absence of the Heir, sought him out and followed him. The Heir, however, suspected the intentions of the Prince, his younger brother, and would not send for him. Then the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake sent a message to the Heir, saying:—"Thy servant has not a black heart. Only, distressed at the absence of the Heir, he has come hither." Hereupon the Heir sent a message to the Prince, his younger brother, saying:—"I have escaped hither alone in fear of the rebellion
XII. 5. of Prince Nakatsu. Why should I not suspect thee? So long as the Imperial Prince Nakatsu lives his sole endeavour will still be to do me a mischief, and I wish sooner or later to get rid of him. Therefore, if thou hast really not a black heart, return again to Naniha, and kill the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. After that I will see thee." The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake represented to the Heir, saying:—"Is not the Great Man's[2] anxiety excessive? At present the Imperial Prince Nakatsu's unprincipled conduct is detested by the officials and the people alike. His own household, moreover, are against him, and think him a brigand. He stands alone, and there is nobody whom he can consult. I knew of his rebellion, but I had not received the commands of the Heir, and was therefore merely indignant at it. Now that I have received an order, why should I make any difficulty about killing the Imperial Prince Nakatsu? All that I fear is that when I have killed him thou mayest still suspect thy servant.[3] I pray that a trusty person may be selected, and I desire that he should make clear my loyalty." Accordingly the Heir joined to him Dzuku no Sukune and so despatched him. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake made lament, saying:—"The Heir and the Imperial Prince Nakatsu are both my elder brothers: which shall I obey? Which shall I oppose? If, however, I destroy the unprincipled and adhere to the righteous, who can suspect

[1] Uneme.

[2] A Chinese honorific for "you."

[3] Ch. K, p. 289.

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Accordingly the men of that time spoke of the "Adzumi eye." The fishermen of Nojima who had been Hamako's followers were also pardoned their offence, and employed as labourers at the official granaries of Komoshiro in Yamato.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Kurohime, daughter of Hata no Sukune, was appointed Imperial concubine. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe in Ihazaka,
XII. 7. of the Imperial Prince Mima, and of the Imperial Princess Awomi.

One account says:—"The Imperial Princess Ihi-toyo."

His next concubine, the Imperial Princess Hatahi, was the mother of the Imperial Princess Nakashi.

This year was the year Kanoye Ne (37th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 401 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake was appointed Heir [1] to the Throne.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Ihare. At this time Heguri no Dsuku no Sukune, Soga no Manchi no Sukune, Mononobe no Ikofutsu no Ohomuraji, and Tsubura no Oho-omi together administered the affairs of the country.

11th month. The Ihare pond was made.

A.D. 402. 3rd year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor launched the two-forked boat [2] on the pond of Ichishi at Ihare, and went on board with the Imperial concubine, each separately, and feasted.[3] The Lord Steward [4] Areshi set sake before the Emperor. At this time a cherry flower fell into the Emperor's cup. The Emperor wondered at this, and sending for Mononobe no Nagamake no Muraji, commanded him, saying:—"This flower has come out of season. Whence does it come? Do thou thyself seek." Hereupon Nagamake no Muraji went himself and sought for the flowers. He found
XII. 8. them on Mount Wakikamunomuro and presented them to the Emperor. The Emperor was delighted to get such a rare thing, and so made them the name of the Palace. Therefore

[1] Note that the brother was made heir, though there were children.

[2] See above, p. 297.

[3] i.e. one in one fork of the boat, the other in the other.

[4] Kashihade no Omi. The context shows that this is here an official designation, and not a mere title, much less a surname.

it was called the Palace of Ihare no Wakazakura.[1] This was the origin of the name.

In this month the original title of "Nagamake no Muraji" was altered to "Wakazakura Be no Miyakko," and the Lord Steward, Areshi, was styled Wakazakura Be no Omi.

4th year,[2] Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Local Recorders were appointed for the first time in the various provinces, who noted down statements, and communicated the writings of the four quarters. A.D. 403.

Winter, 10th month. The Iso no kami conduit was excavated.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The three Deities[3] who dwell in Tsukushi appeared within the palace and said:—"Why are we robbed of our people? We will now disgrace thee." Hereupon the Emperor prayed, but his prayer was not answered. A.D. 404.

Autumn, 9th month, 18th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to the Island of Ahaji. On this day the Kahachi Horse-keepers' Be were in attendance on the Emperor, and held the bit. Before this the Horse-keepers' Be had been branded[4] on the face, and none of their wounds had yet healed. Now the God Izanagi, who dwells in the island, spoke by the mouth of a hafuri, saying:—"I cannot endure the stench of blood." Accordingly divination was made, and the answer was, "The God dislikes the smell of the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be." Therefore from that time forward the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be was utterly discontinued. XII. 9.

19th day. There was a sound as of a blast of wind which cried aloud in the Great Void, saying:—"O thou Prince, inheritor of The Sword!"[5] Again there was a voice which

[1] i.e. young cherry. This cannot be correct. See above, 3rd year of Jingō Kōgu, whose capital was also at Ihare, and was called Wakazakura.

[2] We have not yet got down to times of accurate chronology. Wani's arrival was in 405, and it is not likely that recorders were appointed till a good many years later. Examples of these "statements" occur frequently below. Most of them fall under the description of folk-lore.

[3] Probably the three children of the Sun-Goddess mentioned at p. 37.

[4] The branding here is not a criminal punishment, but only a distinctive mark.

[5] The sword was one of the Regalia.

said:—"Thy younger sister[1] of bird-frequented Hata has gone to be buried at Hasa. [Another version is:—"Sanakita no Komotsu[2] no Mikoto has gone to be buried at Hasa."] Suddenly a messenger arrived in haste, who said:—"The Imperial concubine is dead." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway ordering his carriage,[3] returned.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived from Ahaji.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Imperial concubine was buried. After this the Emperor, vexed with himself that he had not appeased the divine curse, and had so caused the death of the Imperial concubine, again sought to ascertain where the fault lay. Some one said:—"The Kimi of the Cart-keepers[4] went to the Land of Tsukushi, where he held a review of all the
XII. 10. Cart-keepers' Be, and he took along with them the men allotted to the service of the Deities. This must surely be the offence." The Emperor straightway summoned to him the Kimi of the Cart-keepers and questioned him. The facts having been ascertained, the Emperor enumerated his offences, saying:—"Thou, although only Kimi of the Cart-keepers, hast arbitrarily appropriated the subjects of the Son of Heaven.[5] This is one offence. Thou didst wrongfully take them, comprising them in the Cart-keepers' Be after they had been allotted to the service of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. This is a second offence." So he imposed on him the expiation of evil and the expiation of good,[6] and sent him away to Cape Nagasa, there to perform the rites of expiation. After he had done so, the Emperor commanded him, saying:—"Henceforward thou mayest not have charge of the Cart-keepers' Be of Tsukushi." So he confiscated them all, and allotted them anew, giving them to the three Deities.

A.D. 405 6th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Hatahi of Kusaka was appointed Empress.[7]

[1] Kurohime, the Imperial concubine, is meant.

[2] Apparently another name for Princess Hata.

[3] The word carriage is not to be taken too literally. The kana interlinear gloss has Ohon mŭma ni tatematsurite, which means "mounted his horse."

[4] Kuruma-mochi. [5] The Emperor.

[6] i.e. a fine of the articles required in the ceremony of purgation or expiation. See above, p. 48.

[7] She was the Emperor's half-sister.

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Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the Plain of Mozu no Mimi.

THE EMPEROR MIDZUHAWAKE.[1]

(*HANZEI TENNŌ*[2]

OR

XII. 12. *HANSHŌ TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Midzuhawake was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Izaho-wake. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the second year of the Emperor Izaho-wake. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Ahaji. At his birth his teeth were like one bone,[3] and his appearance was beautiful. Now there was a well called Midzu no wi (the beautiful well) from which water was drawn to wash the Heir[4] to the Throne. A tajihi[5] flower had fallen into this well and it was accordingly made the name of the Heir to the Throne. The tajihi flower is what is now the itadori flower. Therefore he was styled the Emperor Tajihi[6] no Midzuha-wake.

The Emperor Izaho-wake died in Spring, the 3rd month of the 6th year of his reign.

A.D 406. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Heir Apparent assumed the Imperial Dignity.

[1] Midzu ha means beautiful teeth.

[2] This is explained to mean "the Emperor who turned matters into the right path," han meaning turn, and sei or shō "right."

[3] In the Bamboo Books ("Legge's Chinese Classics"), p. 143, there is mention of an ancient Chinese king whose teeth were one piece of bone. The "Kojiki" says (Ch. K., p. 292):—"The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung [together]"

[4] He was not Heir at this time.

[5] The Polygonum Cuspidatum. Hepburn.

[6] The "Seishi roku" states that in consequence of this incident Tajihi Be were established in all the provinces to be the villages for the hot baths of the Imperial Princes.

Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. Tsuno hime, daughter of Kogoto, ancestor of the Omi of Ohoyake, was appointed XII. 13.
Imperial concubine.[1] She was the mother of the Imperial Princess Kahihime, and of the Imperial Princess Tsubura. Moreover, he took to him the Imperial concubine's younger sister Otohime, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Takara and the Imperial Prince Takabe.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Tajihi[2] in Kahachi. It was called the Palace of Shibagaki.

At this time the rain and wind were seasonable, and the five kinds of grain reached maturity; the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

6th[3] year, Spring, 1st month, 29th day. The Emperor died[4] A.D. 410.
in the chief sleeping-chamber.

[1] The word for concubine here is 夫人. We have now had three ranks of concubines mentioned, showing that Chinese customs were coming in. In the older reigns the only distinction made is that of the Empress and other consorts.

[2] This is hardly consistent with the story of the tajihi flower on the previous page.

[3] The original reading is 6th. The "Shukai" editor would correct it into 5th from the "Kiujiki" It signifies extremely little which reading we take, as no reliance can yet be placed on any of the dates given.

[4] The age of this Emperor is not stated here. The "Kojiki" says sixty.

BOOK XIII.

THE EMPEROR WO-ASA-TSUMA WAKUGO NO SUKUNE.[1]

(*INGIŌ*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Midzuha wake.

From infancy to puberty,[3] the Emperor was kind and unassuming. When he attained to manhood, he became very ill and lost the free use of his limbs.

The Emperor Midzuha wake died in Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign. Hereupon the Ministers held counsel, saying :—" There are at the present time the Imperial Princes Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune and Oho-Kusaka, children of the Emperor Oho-sazaki. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune, however, is the elder, and of an affectionate, dutiful disposition." So they chose a lucky day, and kneeling down, offered him the Imperial signet. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune declined it, saying :—" I am an unlucky man, long afflicted with a grievous disease, which I cannot shake off. I am unable to walk. Of myself, without informing the Emperor, I have secretly treated
XIII. 2. my disease by self-mutilation,[4] in the hope of getting rid of it, but still I am not healed. Therefore the former Emperor chid me, saying :—' What greater extreme of unfilialness can there be than this conduct of thine, in wantonly mutilating thy body

[1] Wo, male ; Asa-tsuma (morning-wife) is the name of a place ; wakugo, young child ; Sukune, name of dignity.

[2] Ingiō is from the "Shooking," the Canon of Yaou, § 1, where Legge translates "sincerely courteous."

[3] The words translated infancy and puberty are in the original descriptive of the mode of dressing the hair at these periods of life in China.

[4] The precise meaning is doubtful.

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was loath to consent, and turning his back upon her, sat without saying a word. Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto was afraid, and not knowing how to retire, remained in attendance on the Prince for four or five half-hours. It was then the 12th month, and the wind was blowing fierce and chill. The water in the basin which Oho-nakatsu hime had brought overflowed and became frozen on her arm. Unable to endure the cold, she was almost dying. The Imperial Prince looked round, and was shocked. He helped her to her feet, and said to her :—"The succession to the Dignity is so weighty a matter that I could not abruptly assume it. Therefore I have not complied up to the present. Now, however, the request of the Ministers is manifestly just. Why should I persist in my refusal?" Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime looked up delighted, and told all the Ministers, saying :—"The Imperial Prince is about to give ear to the request of the Ministers. Now is the time to offer him the Imperial signet." Thereupon the
XIII. 4. Ministers were much rejoiced, and on that same day delivered up to him the Imperial signet with repeated obeisances. The Imperial Prince said :—"Ye Ministers have, on behalf of the Empire, made a joint request of unworthy me. How can I presume to persist in refusing it?" So he assumed the Imperial Dignity.

This year was the year Midzunoye Ne (49th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 413. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime was appointed Empress. On this day there was established on behalf of the Empress the Osaka Be.[1]

The Empress was the mother of the Imperial Prince Kinashi Karu, of the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kuro-hiko, of the Emperor Anaho, of the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial

[1] The "Kojiki" says that the Osaka Be was established as the Empress's na-shiro, which Chamberlain renders by "proxy." I would prefer to call it "name-sake." The object was to perpetuate the name of the Empress—at least, if this account is correct. But there was an Osaka Be already in existence. It is mentioned in the 39th year of Suinin's reign. Besides, the Osaka Be were the executioners, a circumstance with which it is difficult to reconcile the statement in the text. It is true, however, that the Empress's full name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime, Osaka being the name of her residence.

Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko, of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take, of the Imperial Princess Tajima no Tachibana no Oho-iratsume, and of the Imperial Princess Sakami.

At an earlier period, when the Empress was at home with her mother, she was walking alone in the garden, when the Miyakko of the Land of Tsuke passed along the road which was beside the garden. He was on horseback, and looking over the hedge, he addressed the Empress, and said mockingly: —"What an excellent gardener thou art." He also said:— "Pray, madam, let me have one of those orchids." The Empress accordingly plucked an orchid root, and gave it to the XIII. 5. man on horseback, asking him for what purpose he wanted the orchid. The man on horseback answered and said:—"I am going to the mountain, and it is to brush away the midges." Then the Empress reflected on this within her mind, and recognized the want of respect in the words of the man on horseback. So she addressed him, saying:—"Sir,[1] I shall not forget this."

Afterwards, in the year in which the Empress attained the felicitous rank, she sought out the man on horseback who had asked her for an orchid, and having stated his former offence, wished to have him put to death. Hereupon the man who had asked for the orchid knocked his forehead on the ground, and making a deep obeisance,[2] said:—"Truly thy servant's guilt is deserving of ten thousand deaths. At that time, however, I did not know that thou wert of high rank." Hereupon the Empress remitted the penalty of death, but deprived him of his title and called him Inaki.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An envoy was sent to A.D. 414. Silla to procure a good physician.

Autumn, 8th month. The physician arrived from Silla, and was forthwith made to treat the Emperor's disease. No long time after, he was healed of his disease. The Emperor was

[1] The Chinese character translated "sir" means literally head or chief. The Japanese word intended is probably Obito or Obuto, which, I take it, is an abbreviation of Oho-bito, great man. In Chinese Tajen (in Corean Tain), i.e. great man, is used as a personal pronoun in addressing men of rank. Our own word "master" (magister, magnus) has a somewhat similar history.

[2] Kowtow in Chinese.

[3] Inaki was a lower title than Miyakko.

rejoiced, and having rewarded the physician liberally, sent him back to his own country.

XIII. 6. A.D. 415. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"In the most ancient times, good government consisted in the subjects having each one his proper place, and in names[1] being correct. It is now four years since We entered on the auspicious office. Superiors and inferiors dispute with one another: the hundred surnames[2] are not at peace. Some by mischance lose their proper surnames; others purposely lay claim to high family. This is perhaps the reason why good government is not attained to. Deficient in wisdom although We are, how can We omit to rectify these irregularities? Let the Ministers take counsel, and inform me of their determination." All the Ministers said:—"If Your Majesty, restoring that which is lost and correcting that which is perverted, will thus determine Houses and surnames, your servants will stake their lives in recommending the adoption of such a measure."

28th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The ministers, functionaries, and the Miyakko of the various provinces each and all describe themselves, some as descendants of Emperors, others attributing to their race a miraculous origin, and saying that their ancestors came down from Heaven.[3] However, since the three Powers of Nature[4] assumed distinct forms,[5] many tens of thousands of years have elapsed, so that single Houses[6] have multiplied and have formed anew ten thousand surnames of doubtful authenticity. Therefore let the people of the various Houses and surnames wash themselves and practise abstinence, and let them, each one calling the

XIII. 7. Gods to witness, plunge their hands in boiling water." The caldrons of the ordeal by boiling water were therefore placed on the "Evil Door of Words" spur of the Amagashi Hill. Every-

[1] Literally surnames and personal names. What is really meant is titles. There were no proper surnames at this time. See above, p. 27.

[2] The word for "hundred surnames" is 百姓, which is also used for the nation generally, and in later times in Japan for the peasantry. Here its original meaning must be kept in view.

[3] The "Sei-shi-roku" contains numerous instances of this.

[4] Heaven, Earth, and Man. *Vide* Mayers, p. 302.

[5] Since the creation, as we would say.

[6] Uji.

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Tamada no Sukune was suspicious, and put on armour under his clothing and so presented himself. The border of the armour projected from within his garment. The Emperor, in order to ascertain clearly how this was, made an Uneme, named Woharida, present sake to Tamada no Sukune. Now the Uneme observing distinctly that there was armour underneath his clothing, reported this particularly to the Emperor. The Emperor got ready soldiers and was about to kill Tamada no Sukune, when he secretly ran away and hid in his house. The Emperor again despatched soldiers, who surrounded Tamada's house, took him, and put him to death.

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Emperor Midzu-hawake was buried in the Mimihara Misasagi.

A.D. 418. XIII. 9. 7th year, Winter, 12th month, 1st day. There was a banquet in the new Palace.[1] The Emperor in person played on the lute,[2] and the Empress stood up and danced. When the dance was ended, she did not repeat the compliment. At that time it was the custom at a banquet for the dancer, when the dance was ended, to turn to the person who occupied the highest place, and say, "I offer thee a woman." Now the Emperor said to the Empress:—"Why hast thou failed to say the usual compliment?" The Empress was afraid. She stood up again and danced, and when the dance was over, she said:—"I offer thee a woman." The Emperor forthwith inquired of the Empress, saying:—"Who is the woman whom thou offerest me? I wish to know her name." The Empress could not help herself, and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"It is thy handmaiden's younger sister, whose name is Otohime."[3] Otohime's countenance was of surpassing and peerless beauty. Her brilliant colour shone out through her raiment, so that the men of that time gave her the designation of Sotohori Iratsume.[4] The Emperor's wishes had dwelt upon

[1] The interlinear kana has miya, palace, for 室, oftener rendered muro. But nihi-muro, new muro, is probably the word really meant.

[2] Koto.

[3] Otohime means simply "the younger lady."

[4] Clothing-pass-maiden. The "Kojiki" makes her the Emperor's daughter. Cf. Shelley's—

"Child of Light! thy limbs are burning,
Through the vest which seems to hide them."

Sotohori Iratsume, and therefore it was that he insisted on the Empress's offering her to him, while the Empress, knowing this, was reluctant to make the compliment. Now the Emperor was delighted, and the very next day he despatched a messenger to summon Otohime. At this time Otohime dwelt with her mother at Sakata in the land of Afumi. But she feared the feelings of the Empress and therefore refused to come. Again seven times she was sent for, and yet she obstinately refused and did not come. Upon this the Emperor was displeased, and again gave command to one of the Toneri, a Nakatomi named Ikatsu[1] no Omi, saying:—"The damsel Otohime, who was given to me by the Empress, has not come although sent for. Do thou go thyself and bring Otohime here with thee, and I will surely reward thee liberally." Hereupon Ikatsu no Omi, having received the Imperial command, withdrew, and having concealed a stock of provisions in his clothing, went to Sakata, where he prostrated himself in Otohime's courtyard, and said:—"By command of the Emperor, I summon thee." Otohime answered and said:—"Far be it from me not to fear the Emperor's command. But I am unwilling to hurt the Empress's feelings. Thy handmaiden will not come, though XIII. 10. it should cost her her life to refuse." Then Ikatsu no Omi answered and said:—"As thy servant has received the Emperor's commands, I must bring thee back with me. If I bring thee not back, I shall surely incur punishment. Therefore it is better to die lying prostrate in this courtyard than to return and undergo the extreme penalty." So for seven days he lay prostrate in the courtyard, and although food and drink were offered to him, he refused to taste them, but secretly ate the provisions in his bosom. Hereupon Otohime said:—"By reason of the Empress's jealousy, thy handmaiden has already disobeyed the Emperor's commands. To be the ruin of my Lord, who art his faithful servant, would be another crime on my part." Accordingly she came along with Ikatsu no Omi. When they reached Kasuga in Yamato they had food by the well of Ichihi. Otohime herself gave sake to the Omi, and soothed his spirit. The Omi that same day arrived at the

[1] As he was Toneri, the Ikatsu no Omi is clearly a mere title, like the no Kami's of recent times.

capital, and having lodged Otohime at the house of Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, made his report to the Emperor. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced. He commended Ikatsu no Omi, and showed him liberal favour. The Empress, however, showed her vexation, and Otohime could therefore not approach the interior of the Palace. Accordingly, a separate building was erected for her at Fujihara, and she dwelt there.[1] On the night that the Empress gave birth to the Emperor Ohohatsuse, the Emperor for the first time went to the Fujihara Palace. The Empress hearing this, was angry, and said:—"Many years have passed since I first bound up my hair and became thy companion in the hinder palace. It is too cruel of thee, O Emperor. Wherefore, just on this night when I am in childbirth and hanging between life and death, must thou go to Fujihara?" So she went out, set fire to the parturition house, and was about to kill herself. The Emperor, hearing this, was greatly shocked, and said:—"We are wrong." So with explanations he soothed the mind of the Empress.

A.D. 419. 8th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went to Fujihara and secretly observed how matters were with Sotohori
XIII. 11. Iratsume. That night Sotohori Iratsume was sitting alone, thinking fondly of the Emperor. Unaware of his approach, she made a song, saying:—

This is the night
My husband will come.
The little crab—
The spider's action
To-night is manifest.[2]

The Emperor, when he heard this song, was touched by it, and made a song, saying:—

[1] Hence perhaps the name Soto-wori-hime, or the Lady who lives without, as opposed to Oho-nakatsu hime, the dame of the Great Interior.

[2] It was considered that when a spider clung to one's garments, it was a sign that an intimate friend would arrive. Little crab is another name for spider. Sotohori hime was in after times looked on as the "Muse of poetry." This poem is a regular Tanka, as are the others in this passage.

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A.D. 422. 11th year, Spring, 3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Chinu. Sotohori Iratsume made a song, saying :—

For ever and ever,
Oh ! that I might meet my Lord !
As often as drift beachward
The weeds of the shore of ocean
(Where whales are caught).

Then the Emperor spake to Sotohori Iratsume, saying :— "No other person must hear this song. For if the Empress heard it, she would surely be greatly wroth." Therefore the men of that time gave a name to the shore-weed and called it Na-nori-ahi-mo.[1]

XIII. 13. Before this time, when Sotohori Iratsume dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo Muruya no Muraji, saying :—"Of late we have gotten a beautiful woman, the younger sister of the Empress by the same mother.[2] In Our heart we dearly love her, and it is Our desire that her name should be handed down to after ages. How can this be done ?" In accordance with the Imperial command, Muruya no Muraji proposed a plan for the Emperor's approval. Consequently the Miyakko of the various provinces were charged to establish Fujihara Be on behalf of Sotohori hime.

A.D. 425. 14th year, Autumn, 9th month, 12th day. The Emperor hunted in the island of Ahaji. Now the deer, monkeys, and wild boar, like dust-clouds, confusedly, filled the mountains and valleys. They sprang up like flames of fire, they were dispersed like flies. And yet all day long not a single beast was caught. Herewith the hunt was suspended, and divination was made anew. Then the God of the Island[3] gave an oracular utterance,

[1] Na-nori-ahi means "mutually to tell one's name," and mo is the general word for seaweed. There is a seaweed so called, but what this circumstance has to do with the story is not clear.

[2] The traditional kana has haha-hara-kara. As hara-kara by its derivation means "of the same womb," it is needless to prefix haha, mother. But this shows that when these kana glosses were written, hara-kara had come to mean simply brother or sister, as it does at present.

[3] Izanagi.

saying:—"It was by my intent that no beast was caught. In the bottom of the sea of Akashi there is a pearl. If this pearl is sacrificed to me, ye shall be able to catch all the beasts." Hereupon they proceeded to assemble the fishermen of the various places, and made them search the bottom of the sea of Akashi. When they dived into the sea, however, they were unable to reach the bottom. But there was one fisherman named XIII. 14. Wosashi, a fisher of Naga-zato in the province of Aha, who excelled all the fishers. He tied a rope to his loins, and went down to the bottom of the sea. After some time he came forth, and said:—"In the bottom of the sea there is a great sea-ear,[1] and this place is shining." Everybody said:—"Probably the pearl which the God of the Island has asked for is in this sea-ear's belly." Again he went in and searched for it. Hereupon Wosashi came to the surface with the great sea-ear in his arms, but his breath had ceased, and he died on the surface of the waves. Afterwards a rope was let down and the bottom of the sea was measured. The depth was found to be sixty fathoms. When the sea-ear was split open, a true pearl was found in its belly, in size like a peach. This was offered to the God of the Island, and a hunt being made, they caught many beasts. But they grieved that Wosashi had met his death by entering the sea, and made a tomb, in which they reverently interred him. That tomb exists at the present day.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince A.D. 434. Kinashi Karu was made Heir to the Throne. He was fair to look upon, and those who saw him spontaneously loved him. His sister by the same mother,[2] the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, was also beautiful. The Heir Apparent's thoughts were constantly bent on becoming united to the

[1] The ahabi or Haliotis tuberculata.

[2] The prominence given to brotherhood and sisterhood by the same mother in the "Nihongi," as in Homer, has not, it appears to me, the significance attributed to it by McLennan's theory, which would trace back such terms to a time when the mother was the only parent as to whom there could be no doubt. It seems to me that the father's parentage is here taken for granted, the phrase really meaning brother or sister by the mother's side *as well as* by the father's, and that such phrases are merely indications of polygamous customs, not necessarily of promiscuity or polyandry.

Imperial Princess Oho-iratsume, but he dreaded the guilt,[1] and was silent. But his passion had become so violent that he was well-nigh on the point of death. Hereupon he thought to himself, "I will not die for nothing. It may be a crime, but how can I endure?" At last he became secretly united to her, and so his desperate passion became somewhat abated. Accordingly he made a song, saying:—

On the foot-dragging mountain,
Rice-fields are made;
So high is the mountain,
The water-pipes are run beneath—
Like them the hidden tears
That I wept for my spouse,
The unshared tears
XIII. 15. That I wept for my spouse,
But to-day, this very day,
Freely our bodies touch.[2]

A.D. 435. 24th year, Summer, 6th month. The soup for the Emperor's meal froze, and became ice. The Emperor wondered, and had divination made in order to learn the meaning of it. The diviner said:—"There is domestic disorder,[3] perhaps the illicit intercourse of near relations with one another." Then some one said:—"The Heir Apparent, Kinashi Karu, has seduced his younger sister by the same mother, the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume." So examination was made, and it was found that these words were true. The Heir Apparent being the successor to the Throne, it was impossible to punish him,

[1] See Ch. K., Introd., p. xxxviii. I do not feel sure that Chamberlain is right in attributing to Chinese influence the stigma attached to unions of brothers and sisters of the full blood. See a paper on "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan," in the "Transactions of the Japan Society," 1892-93.

[2] A somewhat different version of this poem is given in the "Kojiki." See Ch. K., p. 296. I have adopted one or two of Motowori's emendations. See "Kojikiden," xxxix. 23. "Foot-dragging" is a makura-kotoba or conventional epithet of mountain, used because in ascending a mountain we drag one foot painfully after the other. At least, that is the common interpretation. The metre is somewhat irregular naga-uta.

[3] i.e. incest.

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Now the King of Silla, when he heard that the Emperor had died, was shocked and grieved, and sent up eighty tribute ships with eighty musicians of all kinds. They anchored at Tsushima, and made great wail. When they arrived in Tsukushi they again made great wail. Anchoring in the harbour of Naniha, they all put on plain white garments, and bringing all the articles of tribute, and stringing their musical instruments of all kinds, they proceeded from Naniha to the capital.[1] Sometimes they wept and wailed, sometimes they sang and danced, until at length they assembled at the Shrine of temporary interment.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Naga-no no hara in Kahachi.

XIII. 17. 11th month. The Silla messengers of condolence, when the funeral ceremonies were concluded, returned home.

Now the men of Silla had always loved Mount Miminashi and Mount Unebi, which are hard by the capital city. Accordingly, when they arrived at the Kotobiki Hill, they looked back, and said:—"Uneme haya! Mimi haya!" This was simply because they were unpractised in the common speech, and therefore corrupted Mount Unebi, calling it Uneme, and corrupted Mount Miminashi, calling it Mimi. Now the Yamato no Mŭma-kahi[2] Be, who were in attendance on the men of Silla, heard these words, and conceived a suspicion that the Silla men had had intercourse with the Uneme. So they made them go back, and gave information to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse. The Imperial Prince straightway threw the Silla messengers every one into prison, and put them to an examination. Then the Silla messengers made a statement, saying:—"We have done the Uneme no harm. Our words were simply expressive of our love for the two mountains close to the capital." Upon this it was recognized that the charge was groundless, and they were all released. But the people of Silla resented it greatly, and further reduced the kinds of articles sent as tribute and the number of ships.

[1] Anaho in Yamato.

[2] Horse-keepers.

Misasagi of Ingiō Tennō.

THE EMPEROR ANAHO.

(*ANKŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Anaho was the second child of the Emper Wo-asa-tsuma waku-go no Sukune.

One account says:—"The third child."

XIII. 18. His mother's name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu-hime Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Imperial Prince Waka nuke-futa-mata.[2]

The Emperor died in the 42nd year of his reign, Spring, the 1st month. In Winter, the 10th month, the funeral cere monies were completed. At this time the Heir Apparent wa guilty of a barbarous outrage in debauching a woman. Tl nation censured him, and the Ministers would not follow hin but all without exception gave their allegiance to the Imperia Prince Anaho. Hereupon the Heir Apparent wished to attac the Imperial Prince Anaho, and to that end secretly got read an army. The Imperial Prince Anaho also raised a force, an prepared to give battle. It was at this time that the term "Anaho arrow-notch" and "Karu arrow-notch"[3] began. No the Heir Apparent, knowing that the Ministers would not follo him, and that the people were uncompliant, went away and h in the house of the Mononobe, Ohomahe no Sukune. Tl Imperial Prince Anaho, hearing this, forthwith surrounded i Ohomahe no Sukune came forth from the gate to meet hir upon which the Imperial Prince Anaho made a song, saying:

To Oho-mahe
Wo-mahe[4] Sukune's
Metal-gate's shelter,
Thus let us repair,
And wait till the rain stops.

---

[1] Ankō means peace. [2] A son of Ōjin. See Ch. K., p. 242.

[3] The parallel passage of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 298) has "inside" f "notch," and an ancient note explains that in the case of Prince Karu arrows, the "notch" or "inside" was of copper, whereas those of Prin Anaho were "like those of the present time," i.e. presumably of iron. Moto wori thinks that the arrow-points are intended.

[4] It is a question whether Oho-mahe and Wo-mahe are one person two brothers. The metre of this poem is imperfect Tanka.

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mands." To the last they kept out of his way, and would not give ear to him.[1]

A.D. 454. 1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. On behalf of the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse the Emperor desired to betroth to
XIII. 20. him the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, a younger sister of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka,[2] and for this purpose sent Ne no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Sakamoto, to request her of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, saying:—"I beseech thee let me have the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, whom I desire to espouse unto the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse." Hereupon the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka answered and said:—"Thy servant has for some time suffered from a severe illness, which cannot be healed. He may be compared to a ship which has taken in its cargo and is waiting for the tide. Death, however, is our destiny; and there is no sufficient reason for regret. Only I cannot die in peace because my younger sister, the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, will be left alone and unprotected. If now Your Majesty will not loathe her for her ugliness, and will allow her to complete the number of the duckweed flowers,[3] it will be a matter for the deepest gratitude. How should I decline the favour of thy commands? In order, therefore, to show my

[1] This and many other stories in the "Nihongi" show that the position of women in these times was by no means one of abject dependence on their male relatives.

[2] They were children of the Emperor Nintoku, who died A.D. 399, aged 122. The "Shukai" suggests that the Prince and Princess here named were grandchildren, and not children of Nintoku, but the more obvious explanation of the difficulty is that the chronology is entirely untrustworthy.

[3] "An aquatic plant with peltate floating leaves, probably a Lemnanthemum, or marsh-flower." Williams. The allusion is to the opening stanzas of the first ode of the She-king, translated by Dr. Legge as follows:—

Kwan, Kwan go the ospreys
On the islet in the river.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
For our prince a good mate is she.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed
To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
Waking and sleeping he sought her.

sincerity, I offer thee my private treasure, called the Oshiki[1] jewel head-dress [others say 'standing head-dress,' and others, again, Ihaki (rock-tree) head-dress], which I make so bold as to present to thee by the hand of Ne no Omi, the minister whom thou didst send to me. I beg thee to accept of it, although it is an object of no value, as a token of my good faith."

Hereupon Ne no Omi, when he saw the Oshiki jewel head-dress, was struck with its beauty, and the thought occurred to him of stealing it and making it his own treasure. So he falsely represented to the Emperor, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka refused to obey thy orders, and spake to thy servant, saying:—'Shall he, though of the same house, have my XIII. 21.
younger sister to wife?'" Having done so, he retained the jewel head-dress, and did not present it to the Emperor, but made it his own.

Hereupon the Emperor believed Ne no Omi's slanderous words, and was greatly wroth. He raised an armed force, with which he surrounded the house of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and slew him.

At this time the Hikakas, Kishi of Naniha, father and sons, were all in the service of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, and they were all grieved that their lord should die without a crime. Accordingly the father took in his arms the Prince's head and the two sons took up each one of the Prince's legs and cried aloud, saying:—"Alas! Our Lord has died without a crime. Were we three, father and sons, who served him in life, not to follow him in death, we should be no true retainers." So they cut their throats, and died beside the Imperial corpse. The army, to a man, all wept tears. Upon this the Emperor took Nakashi hime,[2] the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka's wife, and bestowing her within the Palace, made her his concubine. Ultimately he sent for the Imperial Princess Hata-hi and gave her to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse to wife.

This year was the year Kinoye Mŭma (31st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. Nakashi hime no A.D. 455.

[1] Oshiki means literally "push-wood" or "push-tree." Its application here is uncertain.

[2] The "Kojiki" gives here a different name.

Mikoto was appointed Empress. The Emperor loved her exceedingly.

Before this time Nakashi hime no Mikoto bore Prince Mayuwa to the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka. On his mother's account he escaped punishment, and was always brought up within the Palace.

A.D. 456. XIII. 22. 3rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. The Emperor was assassinated by Prince Mayuwa [a detailed account is given in the history of the Emperor Ohohatsuse's reign]. After three years he was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi at Sugahara.

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Anaho, giving heed to the slander of Ne no Omi, put to death the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and appointed the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime Empress. An account of this is given in the history of the reign of Anaho Tennō.]

"Our younger sister" [it seems to have been the ancient custom to address one's wife as "younger sister"], "although thou art Our friend, We fear Prince Mayuwa." Now Prince Mayuwa —who was only a boy—was playing below the tower, and heard everything that was said. Afterwards the Emperor Anaho, making a pillow of the Empress's knees, fell asleep in daylight
XIV. 2. drunkenness. Hereupon Prince Mayuwa, watching the time when he was sound asleep, stabbed and murdered him. On this day one of the Oho-toneri ran [his name and surname are wanting[1]], and said to the Emperor[2]:—"The Emperor Anaho has been murdered by Prince Mayuwa." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway being suspicious of his elder brothers, put on his armour and girded himself with his sword. Taking command of his troops in person, he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko. The Imperial Prince, seeing that he wished to do him a mischief, sat silent and said not a word. So the Emperor drew his sword and slew him. Next he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko. But this Imperial Prince also knew that he was about to do him a mischief, and sat silent, saying not a word.[3] The Emperor's rage became still more violent, so with the further object of killing Prince Mayuwa as well, he examined him as to the reason of his conduct. Prince Mayuwa said:—"Thy servant has never sought the Celestial Dignity. He has only revenged himself on his father's enemy." The Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko, who feared profoundly the suspicion in which he was held, communicated secretly with Prince Mayuwa, and they at last found an oppor-
XIV. 3. tunity of getting away together. They fled to the house of the Oho-omi[4] Tsubura. The Emperor sent a messenger to ask

[1] This note is rejected by the "Shukai" edition. It is certainly frivolous.

[2] i.e. to the Emperor Yūriaku.

[3] The "Kojiki" relates these events quite differently.

[4] Oho-omi is written with the characters read in later times Daijin, i.e. Great Minister or Prime Minister.

for them. The Oho-omi replied by a messenger, saying:—"I may possibly have heard of a vassal in time of trouble taking refuge in a Royal chamber, but I had never seen Princes conceal themselves in the house of a vassal. At this very time the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa, trusting profoundly in thy servant's heart, have come to thy servant's house. How can I have the heart to send them to thee?" In consequence of this the Emperor raised a still greater army and surrounded the Oho-omi's house. The Oho-omi came out, and standing in the courtyard, tied his garters. At this time the Oho-omi's wife brought the garters, and heart-broken, alas! made a song, saying[1]:—

The Omi child
Cloth trousers
Nine-fold having put on—
Standing in the courtyard
His garters he adjusts!

The Oho-omi, when he had finished dressing, advanced to the gate of the camp, where he knelt down and said:—"Thy servant cannot obey thy orders, even though his refusal costs him his life. There is a saying of a man of old, 'The will of even a common man cannot be taken from him.'[2] This is precisely thy servant's case. I humbly beseech the Great Prince to allow thy servant's daughter, Kara-hime, and the seven buildings[3] of Katsuraki, which I now offer thee, to be received as a ransom for their offences." The Emperor would not permit XIV. 4.
it, but set fire to the houses and burnt them. Hereupon the Oho-omi with the Imperial Prince Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa were all burnt to death together. Now Nihe no Sukune, Muraji of the Sakahi Be, took in his arms the Imperial Prince's dead body and so was burnt to death. His household [the names are wanting[4]] took up that which was burnt, but were never able to sort out the bones. They were deposited in one coffin and

[1] This poem seems intended to express wonder at her husband's care for his appearance at a moment when his life was at stake.

[2] "Confucian Analects," Book IX. chap. xxv. 1.

[3] Granaries, as the "Kojiki" informs us.

[4] A silly note. No wonder the "Shukai" edition rejects it.

buried together on the hill south of Tsukimoto in Imaki no Aya.[1]

Winter 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor resented the Emperor Anaho's having formerly wished to transfer the kingdom to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha,[2] and to commit the succession definitively to his charge. So he sent a man to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha, and treacherously arranged with him to go a-hunting. Inviting him to go on an excursion to the moors, he said:—Karabukuro,[3] the Kimi of the Sasaki mountain in Ohomi, tells me
XIV. 5. that now on the Kaya moor in Kutawata in Ohomi, there are wild boars and deer in plenty. The horns they bear are like the twigs of withered trees, their legs are thick together like a grove of bushes, the breath which they breathe resembles the mists of morning. Along with the Imperial Prince, I wish in the first month of winter, when the sky is cloudy and the cold wind blows keenly, to go for an excursion to the moors, where we may somewhat divert our minds by running archery."[4] The Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha accordingly followed the hunt. Hereupon the Emperor Ohohatsuse drew his bow and putting his horse to a gallop, called out falsely, saying, "There is a wild boar!" and shot the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha dead. A man of the Imperial Prince's household named Uruwa, of the Saheki Be [another name is Nakachiko], took the dead body in his arms. In his consternation he knew not what to do, but writhed on the ground and called aloud upon his master, going to and fro. The Emperor put him to death also.

In this month the Imperial Prince Mimŭma,[5] who had formerly been pleased with Musa, a place belonging to the
XIV. 6. Kimi of Miwa, and wishing to shake off his cares, went thither. While on his way he unexpectedly fell in with a force which had been sent against him.[6] He joined battle with them at the

[1] This means literally the new-comer Aya or Han See below, xix. 22.

[2] The eldest son of Richiu Tennō. See p. 306. He was, no doubt, thought too young to succeed to the throne at his father's death in 405.

[3] Kara bag. There is also a name Yamato-bukuro.

[4] i.e. shooting animals with the bow and arrow while one's horse is at a gallop.

[5] The Prince of the august horses. A son of Richiu Tennō.

[6] By the Emperor.

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crossed the courtyard. Me, the Ohomuraji, looking round, said to the Ministers :—" What a pretty girl ! There is a saying of the men of old, ' Thou art like thy mother.'[1] [This ancient saying is not clear.] Whose little girl is she said to be who is walking with leisurely pace in the pure court ? " The Emperor said :—" Why dost thou ask ? " Me no Ohomuraji answered and said :—" When thy servant looks at this little girl walking, she appears to him strongly to resemble the Emperor." The Emperor said :—" Every one who sees her makes the same remark. Sed insolitum est, quum ei unam solum noctem dederim, eam concepisse et filiam peperisse. Quam ob rem suspiciones mihi excitatae sunt." Ohomuraji dixit :—" Sed in hac unâ nocte quoties cum eâ rem habuisti ? " " Septies," in-
XIV. 8. quit Imperator. Ohomuraji loquitur :—" Si haec femina puro corpore et purâ mente recepit unam noctem quam ei dedisti, cur tam facile concipis suspiciones et nolis fidere alterius castitati ? Servus tuus audivit feminas quae facile praegnantes fiant vel tactu braccarum concipere. Multo magis, quum totam noctem dederis, sine justâ ratione non debes suspiciones concipere."

The Emperor, by order to the Ohomuraji, made the little girl an Imperial Princess, and appointed her mother to be a concubine.

This year was the year Hinoto Tori (34th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 458. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month. Iketsu hime of Pèkché,[2] in despite of the Emperor's intention to favour[3] her, had an amour with Tate of Ishikaha.

In an old book it is said :—" Tate, the ancestor of the Obito of Momoahi in Ishikaha."

The Emperor was greatly enraged, and giving his commands to the Ohomuraji Muruya, of the Ohotomo House, sent some Kume Be who stretched the four limbs of the woman on a tree. The tree was placed over a cupboard, which was set fire to, and she was burnt to death.

The " Shinsen "[4] of Pèkché says :—" In the 6th year of

[1] These words are in Japanese.

[2] Corea has been hardly mentioned for fifty years or so. Probably some of the events allotted to the previous period really belong to this interval.

[3] i.e. wed.

[4] i.e. new compilation, the name of a book.

the Cycle [1] King Kèro ascended the throne. The Emperor sent Aretoku hither to ask for a nyörang. Pèkché adorned the daughter of the Lady Moni, called the Nyörang Chökké, and sent her as tribute to the Emperor." [2]

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino, and on the 6th he proceeded to Mimase. Giving orders to the wardens, he indulged in the chase. They climbed the towering peaks, they crossed the wide jungles. Before the shadows fell, out of ten, seven or XIV. 9. eight had been caught. Every time they hunted, they caught many, so that the birds and beasts were almost exhausted. At length they rested by the springs and groves, and sauntered together in the thickets and meadows. Halting his footmen, the Emperor counted the chariots and horses. Then he inquired of the Ministers, saying:—" It is a pleasure of the hunting-field to make the stewards cut up the fresh meat. Suppose that you and We cut it up ourselves?" The Ministers were taken aback and could find no answer. Hereupon the Emperor became very wroth, and drawing his sword, slew one of the stewards named Mumakahi of Ohotsu. On this day the Imperial cortège arrived from the Yoshino Palace. The people of the province all shook with fear. In consequence the Grand Empress and the Empress, hearing of this, were full of apprehension, and sent to meet him Hi-no-hime, the Uneme of Yamato,[3] to offer him sake. The Emperor, seeing the beauty of the Uneme's countenance,[4] and the elegance of her appearance, softened his looks, and with a pleased expression, said:—" How should I not wish to behold thy pleasing smile?" So

[1] Corresponding to A.D. 429. The "Tongkam" places this event in A.D. 455.

[2] The use of the words "Emperor" and "tribute" shows that this "new compilation," like the "Pèkché record" already mentioned, was probably the work of Corean literati domiciled in Japan. Nyörang is in the Chinese 女郎 (lady), which in modern Japanese means a harlot. The Interlinear Kana is Yehashito, which probably means "beautiful person." The nyörang were no doubt concubines of inferior rank. The word rendered lady is 夫人, a title of the wives of officials above a certain rank. Aretoku is not like a Japanese name.

[3] The Atahe of Yamato was her father.

[4] She was of a marriageable age before the accession of Richiu Tennō in A.D. 400, and we are now at 458.

XIV. 10. hand in hand with her, he entered the hinder palace, where he addressed the Empress Dowager, saying:—"In to-day's hunt we took many birds and beasts. We wished along with the Ministers to cut up the fresh meat and to have a banquet on the moor. But having proposed this to them, not one of them gave us an answer. Therefore did We get angry." The Empress Dowager, knowing the feeling which dictated these words of the Emperor, mollified him, saying:—"The Ministers did not understand that your Majesty, in connection with the sport on the hunting-field, was establishing a Fleshers' Be, and therefore did condescend to ask their opinion, so that their silence was reasonable, and it was hard for them to reply. But even now it is not too late to offer them.[1] I will make a beginning with myself. My steward Nagano is good at making mince meat.[2] I beg permission to present him to thee." The Emperor knelt down and accepted him, saying:—"It is good." This is what the rustic means when he says:—"The nobles understand each other's hearts." The Empress Dowager saw the Emperor's gratification, and pleasure filled her bosom. She further wished to offer men, and said:—"There are my two scullions, Masakida and Takame,[3] of the Mito Be of Uda. I beg leave to add these two men to the others to form a Fleshers' Be." From this time forward Akoko no Sukune, the Miyakko of the province of Yamato, sends some of the
XIV. 11. Kotori Wake of Saho to form the Fleshers' Be. The Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, and the Kuni no Miyakko also, following (the Empress's example), presented some, one after another.

In this month the Fumubito[4] Be, and the Toneri[5] Be of Kahakami, were instituted.

The Emperor, taking his heart for guide, wrongfully slew many men. The Empire censured him, and called him "The greatly wicked Emperor." The only persons who loved him

[1] Men to serve as fleshers.

[2] It must be remembered that the Japanese having no table-knives, all flesh is cut up small before it is served.

[3] A curious name! It means "High Heaven." Uda is the name of a Kōri of Yamato. There is a village there called Mitobe, which means Imperial House Be. It probably was an appanage of the Empress.

[4] Scribes.

[5] Palace attendants.

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In face and demeanour he resembled the Emperor. The Emperor knew that he was a God, and therefore proceeded to inquire of him, saying:—"Of what place art thou Lord?" The tall man answered and said:—"I am a God of visible men.[1] Do thou first tell thy princely name, and then in turn I will inform thee of mine." The Emperor answered and said:—"We are Wake-take no Mikoto." The tall man next gave his name, saying:—"Thy servant is the God Hito-koto-nushi."[2] He finally joined him in the diversion of the chase. They pursued a deer, and each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to bit, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company of genii. Herewith the sun went down, and the hunt came to an end. The God attended on the Emperor and escorted him as far as the Water of Kume. At this time the people all said:—"An Emperor of great virtue!"

Autumn, 8th month, 18th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.

28th day. He made a progress to Kahakami no Ono,[3] where he commanded the forest wardens to drive the wild beasts. He lay in wait hoping to shoot them himself, when a gad-fly came swiftly flying. Then a dragon-fly flew thither suddenly, bit the gad-fly, and went away with it. The Emperor was pleased at its attention, and commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Do ye on Our behalf compose an ode in praise of this
XIV. 14. dragon-fly." As none of the Ministers made so bold as to compose an ode, the Emperor forthwith composed a short piece,[4] saying:—

These tidings some one
Told in the Great Presence,
How in Yamato
On the Peak of Womura
Four-footed game was lying ·

---

[1] i.e. who has assumed mortal form.

[2] Lit. one-word-master. The "Kojiki" expands this into "The Deity who dispels with a word the evil, and with a word the good." See Ch. K., p. 319. The "Kiujiki" makes him a son of Susanowo.

[3] The little moor of the upper stream.

[4] 口號. This was the name of a particular kind of Chinese poetry of four or eight lines.

The Great Lord,
When he heard this,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with jewels,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with cloth :
Waiting for the game
Whilst I [1] remained :
Waiting for the wild-boar
Whilst I was standing,
My arm in the fleshy part,
Was stung by a gad-fly :
But soon a dragon-fly
That gad-fly did bite.
Even a creeping insect
Waits upon the Great Lord.
Thy form it will bear,
O Yamato, land of the dragon-fly ! [2]

One book has, instead of "the great presence," "the great Lord."

One book has, instead of "stood at his throne," "remained in his throne."

One book has, instead of from "even a creeping insect" (inclusive) to the end, the following :—

That in this wise
It should be famous,
The Heaven-filling [3]
Land of Yamato
Was called the Land of the Dragon-fly.[4]

Therefore in honour of the Dragon-fly this place was called Akitsu no.[5] XIV. 15.

[1] The change from the third to the first person is much less marked in the Japanese. It is not to be supposed that the Emperors actually composed these verses themselves, nor perhaps any others ascribed to them in the "Nihongi." The hand of the Court-poet is plain in the honorific epithets and forms given to him therein.

[2] The word for throne is agura. It was no doubt something of the nature of a camp-stool.

[3] Heaven-filling. See above, p. 135, note 5. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[4] This is the "Kojiki" version.

[5] The moor of the Dragon-fly. See above, p. 134, note 8.

A.D. 461. 5th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor hunted on Mount Katsuraki. Suddenly there came a supernatural bird, in size like a sparrow, with a long tail which trailed upon the ground. Now this bird chirruped, saying:—"Have a care! Have a care!" Then suddenly there appeared, issuing furiously from the herbage, a raging wild boar of which they had been in chase, and pursued the men. The huntsmen in great terror climbed up into trees. The Emperor commanded his attendants, saying:—"When a savage beast meets with man, it straightway halts. Encounter it with a shot from your bows, and then stab it." The attendants were of an effeminate nature. They climbed up trees, and changed countenance, and their five senses were masterless. The raging wild boar came straight on, and tried to bite the Emperor. But the Emperor with his bow pierced it and stayed its course. Then, raising his foot, he killed it with a kick. Hereupon, when the chase was over, he wanted to cut down the attendants. The attendants, when about to be executed, made a song, saying:—

Oh! my elder brother,
Thou alder-tree branch—
Over Ariwo,
To which I climbed up in flight,
Dreading
XIV. 16. The snorting of the wild-boar,
That was shot
By Our great Lord
Who rules peacefully![1]

The Empress, hearing their lament, was sorry for them, and tried to stay (the execution). The Emperor said:—"The

[1] This translation exactly reverses the order of the lines of the original. The "Kojiki" version (*vide* Ch. K., p. 318) varies somewhat. Ariwo I take (doubtfully) to be a proper name. The "Kojiki" says that it was the Emperor who climbed into the tree, and Motoori takes this view. I agree with Chamberlain that this won't do. Perhaps something has been omitted in the "Kojiki" narrative. The insertion of the single word Toneri in one place would make it agree with the "Nihongi." It is not likely that a poem should have been composed to commemorate the Emperor's ascent into a tree.

The alder-tree branch is addressed as "elder brother" in gratitude for its protection.

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6th month, 1st day. The pregnant consort realized the words of Lord Kasyuni, and gave birth to a child in the island of Kahara in Tsukushi. So this child was given the name of Lord Shima.[1] Upon this Lord Kun straightway took a ship and sent Lord Shima to his country. He became King Munyöng. The people of Pèkché call this island Chuto.[2]

Autumn, 7th month. Lord Kun entered the capital. After this he had five children.

The Pèkché Shinsen says:—"In the year Kanoto ushi (A.D. 461[3]) King Kèro sent his younger brother, Lord Konchi, to Great Wa, to wait upon the Emperor and to confirm the friendship of former sovereigns."

A.D 462. 6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Emperor made an excursion to the small moor of Hatsuse. There, viewing the aspect of the hills and moors, in an outburst of feeling, he made a song, saying:—

The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
They stand out
Excellent mountains!
They run out
Excellent mountains!
The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
Are full of various beauties!
Are full of various beauties![4]

Hereupon he gave a name to the small moor, and called it Michi no Ono.[5]

[1] Shima is the Japanese for island. The Corean is syöm, the two words being no doubt identical. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XVI. i. p. 68.

[2] Master-island.

[3] This date is noteworthy as being the first in the "Nihongi" which is confirmed by Corean history. It is true that it occurs only in a note, which was probably added by a later hand. But the narrative of the text no doubt refers to the same event. From this time forward the "Nihongi" chronology is never grossly inaccurate, though it would be too much to say that it can yet be depended on. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," XVI. i. p. 67.

[4] Metre irregular.

[5] i.e. the small moor of the road.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor wished to make the Empress and his concubines plant mulberry trees with their own hands, in order to encourage the silk industry. Hereupon he gave orders to Sukaru [This is a personal name] to make a collection of silkworms throughout the country. Now Sukaru made a mistake and collected babies,[1] which he presented to the Emperor. The Emperor laughed greatly, and gave the babies to Sukaru, saying:—"Do thou bring them up thyself." Accordingly Sukaru brought them up hard by the Palace enclosure. So he was granted a title, and was called Chihisako Be[2] no Muraji. XIV. 1

Summer, 4th month. The Land of Wu[3] sent envoys with tribute.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Emperor commanded Sukaru Chihisako Be no Muraji, saying:—"It is our desire to see the form of the Deity of Mimuro Hill. [*Some say that the Deity of this mountain is Oho-mono-shiro-nushi no Kami. Others say Uda no Sumi-zaka no Kami.*] Thou dost excel in strength of body. Go thyself, seize him, and bring him here." Sukaru answered and said:—"I will make the attempt, and go to seize him." So he ascended the Hill of Mimuro and caught a great serpent, which he showed the Emperor, who had not practised (religious) abstinence. Its thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The Emperor was afraid, and, covering his eyes, would not look upon it, but fled into the interior of the Palace. Then he caused it to be let loose on the Hill, and giving it a new name, called it Ikadzuchi.[4] A.D. 46

8th month. One of the Toneri named Oho-sora,[5] of the Bow- XIV. 1

[1] The Japanese for silkworm is Kahiko. Kahi means to keep, to nurture, and ko is "little one;" so there was some excuse for Sukaru's mistake.

[2] Chihisako means "little child." The title and office seem merged in one here.

[3] The Wu dynasty came to an end A.D. 280, and at this time the Sung dynasty held rule, but, as Mr. E. H. Parker has pointed out, Wu was also a territorial designation of that part of China about Nanking. Of course, by tribute is meant presents. The Japanese early adopted the Chinese arrogant way of speaking of foreign nations.

[4] Thunderbolt.

[5] Oho-sora means The Great Void (of Heaven). We have had above a name Takama, i.e. High Heaven.

makers' Be of Kibi, went home on some urgency. Sakitsuya Omi of Lower Kibi [In one book it says:—"The Kuni no Miyakko, Yama, Kibi no Omi"], detained Oho-sora, and for several months would not consent to allow him to go up to the capital. The Emperor sent Mike no Kimi, a man of valour, to fetch him. Oho-sora came in obedience to the summons, and said:—"Sakitsuya took young girls to represent the Emperor's men, and grown-up women to represent his own men. Then he made them fight with one another, and on seeing that the young girls were victorious, drew his sword and slew them. At another time he took a small cock, which he called the Emperor's cock, and pulled out its feathers and clipped its wings. Then he took a large cock, which he called his own cock, attached to it a bell,[1] and armed its spurs with metal. Then he matched them together, and when the naked bird got the better of the other, he again took out his sword and killed it." When the Emperor heard this story, he sent thirty soldiers of the Monono Be, who put Sakitsuya to death, with seventy persons of his household.

This year Tasa, Omi of Upper Kibi, while on duty beside the Palace, praised Waka-hime, abundantly to his friends,
XIV. 20. saying:—"Of all the beautiful women in the Empire, there is none to compare with my wife. How blooming! How gentle! How graced with various charms! How radiant! How genial! What perfection in every feature! She uses not flower of lead:[2] she adds not oil of orchids. Through the wide ages her equals are but few: in the present day she stands alone and peerless." The Emperor inclined his ear, and listening from a distance, rejoiced in his heart. So with the object of obtaining Waka-hime for himself, and making her one of his concubines, he appointed Tasa Governor of Imna,[3] and promptly favoured Waka-hime. When Tasa ~~no Omi~~ the Elder wedded Waka-hime, she bore to him Ye-kimi and Oto-kimi."[4]

Another book says:—"Tasa no Omi's wife, by name

[1] Small bells like the French grêlots were used as ornaments to the wrist or attached to garters.

[2] White lead ceruse.

[3] Mimana or Kara in Corea, where there was a Japanese resident.

[4] Elder lord and younger lord.

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Ke-hime, was the daughter of Tamado no Sukune, son of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. The Emperor, hearing of the serene beauty of her form, slew her husband, and wedded her himself."

After Tasa had arrived at his post, he learnt that the Emperor had married his wife, and with the object of obtaining succour, he went to Silla, which at that time did not do service to the Central Land.[1] The Emperor gave orders to Tasa no Omi's son Otokimi, and also to Akawo Kibi no Ama[2] no Atahe, saying:—"Do ye go and chastise Silla." At this time a skilled artisan of Western Aya named Kwan-in Chiri,[3] who XIV. was near the Emperor, came forward and represented to him, saying:—"There are in the Land of Han[4] many who are more skilful than thy slave. Let them be sent for and made to serve thee." The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Then let Kwan-in Chiri be joined to Otokimi and the others, and let him get instructions from Pèkché; at the same time let an Imperial rescript be delivered directing Pèkché to offer skilled men."

Hereupon Otokimi, in execution of these commands, took with him a body of men and proceeded as far as Pèkché. When he entered that land, a God of the country,[5] assuming the form of an old woman, suddenly met him on the road. Otokimi inquired of her whether the country was far or near. The old woman answered and said:—"If thou goest on for one day more, thou wilt then arrive there." Otokimi thought to himself that the way was too far, and returned without having chastised it. He got together the Imaki[6] skilled artisans who had been given as tribute by Pèkché on a large island, and under the pretence of awaiting a fair wind, tarried there for several months. Tasa no Omi, the Governor of Imna, pleased that Otokimi had gone away without chas-

[1] The "Central Land" is evidently Japan. The Kana has "Mikado."

[2] Fishermen.

[3] Possibly these are the names of two men. The Western Aya were the Aya of Kahachi.

[4] Corea.

[5] This must refer to Silla.

[6] Imaki is the name of a place in Yoshino in Yamato. It means "newcomer," and the term may have been applied in the first place to this batch of emigrants to distinguish them from previous ones.

tising Silla, secretly sent a man to Pèkché, to warn Otokimi, saying:—"Is thine own head so firm that thou canst chastise others? A report has reached me that the Emperor has wedded my wife, with the result that he has had children by her. [The children are mentioned above.[1]] As I now fear that calamity may reach my own person, it is well that I should
IV. 22. wait with foot uplifted. Do thou, my son, come over and betake thyself to Pèkché, and prevent it from communicating with Japan, while I will repair to and hold Imna, and will also hold no communication with Japan." Otokimi's wife Kusu-hime had profound patriotic sentiment; the sense of duty between lord and vassal was strong in her; her loyalty surpassed the bright sun; her principles excelled the evergreen fir. She abominated such treason, and having stealthily killed her husband, secretly buried him in the chamber. Then she remained in the large island with Akawo, Ama no Atahe, in charge of the skilled artisans presented by Pèkché. The Emperor, hearing that Otokimi was missing, sent Katashiha, Hitaka no Kishi, and Ko An-chön.[2] These messengers together made their report to the Emperor. They[3] were accordingly ultimately settled in the village of Hirokitsu in Ato in the province of Yamato, where many of them died of disease. In consequence of this, the Emperor commanded Muruya, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, to instruct Tsukami, Yamato no Aya[4]
IV. 23. no Atahe to remove Ko-kwi, of the Potters' Be, Kyön-kwi, of the Saddlers' Be, In-să-ra-ka, of the Painters'[5] Be, Chöng-an-na, of the Brocade-weavers' Be, and Myo-an-na, the Interpreter, all belonging to the New Aya,[6] to other residences at the following three places, viz., Upper Momohara, Lower Momohara, and Magami no Hara.

[1] As a matter of fact, they are not; the "Shukai" rejects this note. As the "Shukai" editor points out, all this cannot belong to the same year of Yūriaku's reign.

[2] Ko An-chön. Probably a Corean. Chön means copper cash, which were unknown in Japan at this time.

[3] This must refer to the Pèkché artisans.

[4] Otherwise called the Eastern Aya.

[5] The first mention of the art of painting.

[6] The Aya or Han would now appear to have three branches—the Eastern or Yamato Aya, the Western or Kahachi Aya, and the New or Imaki Aya, whose introduction is here related. They all consisted of skilled men from Corea.

A certain book says :—" Otokimi, Kibi no Omi, returned from Pèkché, and presented a Be of Aya workmen, a Be of tailors, and a Be of fleshers."

8th year, Spring, 2nd month. Awo, Musa no Suguri, and Haka-toko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi, were sent to the Country of Wu. A.D. 464.

From the accession of the Emperor up to this year eight years had now passed, during which the Land of Silla was refractory and given to vain talk, and did not send presents. Therefore they feared the intentions of the Central Land,[1] and cemented friendship with Koryò. Consequently the King of Koryö sent one hundred picked soldiers to guard Silla. After a while, one of these Koryö soldiers returned to his own country on furlough. Now he took with him a Silla man as XIV. 24. groom. Turning to him, he addressed him, saying:—" Thy country will be conquered by my country ere long." [One book says :—Thy country will in the end become our territory, and that ere long.] When the groom heard this, he pretended a pain in his belly, and retiring, remained behind. At length he made his escape to his own country, and told what had been said. Hereupon the King of Silla knew that Koryö's guard was mere pretence, and sent messengers to run and tell the people to kill the cocks kept in their houses. The people knew his meaning, and killed all the men of Koryö[2] resident in the country. Only one Koryö man was left, who seized an opportunity to effect his escape and flee to his own country, when he told the whole story. The king of Koryö accordingly raised an army and encamped by the city of Chhyuk-chong-nyu. [*One book says the city of Tokushiki.*] At length they made music, with song and dance. Hereupon the King of Silla, hearing in the night the Koryö army singing and dancing on all sides, became aware that the enemy had occupied the whole land of Silla. So he sent a man to the King of Imna, saying :—" The King of Koryö has attacked our country. At this present time, like the fringes sewn on a flag,[3] the condi-

[1] Japan.

[2] Kokuryö, the proper name of this country, resembles the onomatopoetic word for the crowing of a cock: English, cock-a-doodle-doo; French, kokeriko; Japanese, Bekkakō.

[3] Which are always wobbling about.

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9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Katabu,[1] Ofushi Kahachi no Atahe, and an Uneme were sent to sacrifice to the Deity of Munagata.[2] Katabu and the Uneme, having arrived at the altar-place,[3] were about to perform the rites, when Katabu debauched the Uneme. When the Emperor heard this, he said:—"When we sacrifice to the Gods and invoke from them blessings, should we not be watchful over our conduct?" So he sent Naniha no Hidaka no Kishi to put him to death. But Katabu straightway took to flight, and was not to be found. The Emperor again sent Toyoho, Yuge[4] no Muraji, who searched the districts of that province far and wide, and at length caught and slew him at Awi[5] no hara, in the district of Mishima. A.D. 465. XIV. 26.

3rd month. The Emperor desired to chastise Silla in person, but a God warned him, saying:—"Go not." For this reason the Emperor did not carry out his intention of going, but gave orders to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, Soga no Karako no Sukune, Ohotomo no Katari[6] no Muraji, and Wokahi no Sukune, saying:—"Silla occupies the Western Land: age after age he has done us homage: he did not neglect visits of ceremony: his payment of tribute was duly discharged. But since We have come to rule the Empire, he has betaken himself beyond Tsushima, and concealed his traces outside of Chamna. He prevents Koryö from sending tribute, he devours the walled cities of Pèkché. Nay, more—his missions of ceremony to this court have been neglected and his tribute remains unpaid. With the savage XIV. 27.

"Tongkam." Nor does this narrative square very well with what is related below, xiv. 26, 27. I am inclined, nevertheless, to believe that it has a solid foundation of fact, only that the dates must be wrong.

From "having pierced" to "great rout" is copied mutatis mutandis from a Chinese history of the Wei period, reign of Wu Ti, and Kashihade no Omi's speech to the King of Silla is extracted from the same source.

[1] This curious name means "fragrance-giver."

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Kana rendering is Kamu-niha (divine courtyard), which is not exactly an altar, but a plot of ground set apart for the worship of the Gods. See above, p. 81, note 9.

[4] Bow-makers.

Awi is indigo, the Polygonum tinctorium.

[6] The Katari were reciters attached to the Court. Unfortunately we know very little about them, or what the subjects of their recitations were.

heart of the wolf he flies away when satiated, and sticks fast when starving. I appoint you four ministers to be generals. Take a royal army and chastise him. Let the punishment of Heaven be reverently executed."

Hereupon Ki no Woyumi no Sukune laid a complaint before the Emperor through Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy servant, although feeble and incompetent, will respectfully obey the Emperor's orders. But now thy servant's wife has departed this life, and there is nobody to take care of thy servant. Do Thou, my Lord, I beseech Thee, represent this matter fully to the Emperor." Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji represented it fully. When the Emperor heard this complaint, he uttered a sigh of pity. He took an Uneme from the hither province of Kibi, Ohomi[1] by name, and giving her to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, attached her to his person to take care of him. So at length he sent him off with a shove to his axle.

Ki no Woyumi no Sukune and the rest accordingly entered Silla, butchering as they went the districts along their way.

XIV. 28. The King of Silla heard by night on all sides the drums of the Government army, and becoming aware that they had completely conquered the land of Tok,[2] fled in confusion with several hundred cavalry. Thereby ensued a great defeat. Woyumi no Sukune pursued and slew the enemy's general in the midst of his army. The whole land of Tok was reduced to order, but there was a remainder which would not submit. Ki no Woyumi no Sukune again withdrew his troops, and having effected a junction with Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and the others, they again, with a great display of forces, fought with the remaining band. This evening Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and Ki no Okazaki no Kume no Muraji were both slain while fighting with all their might. Tsumaro, a follower of Katari no Muraji, of the same surname,[3] afterwards came amongst the army and asked for his master. He went along the ranks and sought for him, making inquiry, and saying:—"Where is my master, Lord Ohotomo?" Then some one informed him, saying:—

[1] Great sea.

[2] See above, p. 249, where it would seem that Tok was a part of Kara.

[3] Or title.

"Thy masters[1] have, indeed, been slain by the enemy," and pointed out to him the place where the dead bodies were. Tsumaro hearing this, leaped and exclaimed, saying:—"My master has fallen. What avails it that I alone should remain unhurt?" Accordingly he too went against the enemy, and in the same hour perished. Soon after, the rest of the band retired of their own accord, and the Government army also followed their example, and fell back. The general-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, fell ill and died.

Summer, 5th month. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, when he heard that his father was dead, forthwith proceeded to Silla, and taking from Wokahi no Sukune his command of horse, foot and ships, with the various lesser offices, exercised absolute XIV. 29. authority. Hereupon Wokahi no Sukune had a profound resentment towards Ohiha no Sukune and made a false report to Karako no Sukune, saying:—"Ohiha no Sukune has told thy servant, saying:—'Ere long I will take the command of Karako no Sukune from him too.' I pray thee be well on thy guard." In consequence of this there was a coolness between Karako no Sukune and Ohiha no Sukune. Upon this the King of Pèkché, hearing that there was a coolness between the commanders arising out of trifling causes, sent a man to Karako no Sukune and the others, saying:—"I wish to view the frontier of the land. I pray you be so kind as to come and join me." Herewith Karako no Sukune and the rest went on with bridle-bits in a line until they came to a river, when Ohiha no Sukune let his horse drink from the river. Then Karako no Sukune shot at Ohiha no Sukune from behind, and hit the hinder part of his saddle frame. Ohiha no Sukune looked round startled, and shot Karako no Sukune down into the mid stream, so that he died. So the three Omi, having from before this time been rivals with one another, fell out by the way, and returned back without having reached the Palace of the King of Silla.

Hereupon the Uneme, Ohomi, following the dead body of Woyumi no Sukune, arrived in Japan. She at length complained to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy handmaiden knows not where to bury him. I beseech thee let a good place be selected by divination." The Oho-

[1] *Sic* in original.

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a dragon, with splendid high springing action, darting off like a wild goose.[1] His strange form was of lofty mould; his remarkable aspect was of extreme distinction. Hiakŭson approached and looked at him. In his heart he wished to possess him, so he whipped up the piebald horse which he rode and brought him alongside of the other, head by head and bit by bit. But
XIV. 32. the red horse shot ahead, spurning the earth, and, galloping on, speedily vanished in the distance. Hereupon the piebald horse lagged behind, and, slow of foot, could not overtake the other. But the rider of the courser, knowing Hiakŭson's wish, stopped and exchanged horses with him, upon which they took leave of each other and separated. Hiakŭson, greatly rejoiced at obtaining such a steed, hastened home and placed him in the stable, where he took off his saddle, foddered him, and went to sleep. The next morning the red courser had become changed into a horse of clay. Hiakŭson, wondering at this in his heart, went back, and, making search at the Homuda misasagi, found the piebald horse standing among the clay horses. So he took it, and left in its stead the clay horse which he had received in exchange.[2]

A.D. 466. 10th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others arrived in Tsukushi with two geese presented by Wu. These geese were bitten by Minuma no Kimi's dog and died.

Another book says:—"These geese were bitten by a dog
XIV. 33. belonging to Nimaro, Tsukushi no Mine no Agata nushi, and died."

Hereupon Minuma no Kimi, unable to contain himself for fear and sorrow, presented to the Emperor ten large wild geese with bird-keepers, and begged that his offence might thus be compounded for. The Emperor granted his petition.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The bird-keepers presented by Minuma no Kimi were settled in two places, viz. the villages of Karu and Ihare.

[1] As usual, this *purpureus pannus* is copied from a Chinese author.

[2] The clay horses here referred to were of the kind described at p. 181 as having been substituted for the living horses previously sacrificed at the tomb. Some of these have been preserved, and specimens may be seen in the Museum at Uyeno, Tōkiō. The illustration represents one of these.

11th year, Summer, 5th month, 1st day. It was reported A.D. 467.
from the district of Kurimoto in the province of Ohomi that white cormorants dwelt on the shore at Tanagami. Orders were therefore given to establish toneri[1] of Kahase.

Autumn, 7th month. There was a refugee from Pèkché who gave his name as Kwisin. It was also stated that Kwisin was a man of the Land of Wu. The Ihare no Kure[2] no Kotobiki and the Sakate no Yakata-maro are his descendants.

Winter, 10th month. A bird of the Bird-department was bitten by a dog belonging to a man of Uda and died. The Emperor was angry, and, branding him on the face, made him one of the Bird-keepers' Be. Hereupon some office coolies from the provinces of Shinano and Musashi, who were on night duty at the Palace, talked to one another, saying:—"Ah! In our country we pile up birds as high as a small tumulus and eat of them morning and evening, but still some are left. Now, for XIV. 34.
the sake of one bird, the Emperor has branded a man on the face. He is a very unjust and wicked master." The Emperor, hearing this, ordered them to gather and make a heap (of birds), and as the office coolies were unable to complete it on the spot, he commanded that they should be enlisted in the Bird-keepers' Be.[3]

12th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no A.D. 468.
Sukuri, and Haka-toko Hinokuma no Tamitsukahi went on a mission to Wu.

Autumn, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor commanded the carpenter Mita of Tsuke ["Mita of Winabe,"[4] says one book—probably erroneously] to commence the erection of a lofty edifice. Hereupon Mita ascended this high building, and ran about nimbly on all sides as if he were flying. An Uneme of Ise looked up to the top of this high edifice and marvelled at his nimble movements, so that she fell down on her face in the courtyard, and upset a dish of meat which she was serving

[1] No doubt to take charge of the cormorants. Kahase, which means river-reach, may or may not be a proper name.

[2] Kure is the same as Wu, a part of China. Kotobiki means lute-player. It came to be a proper name.

[3] From which it would seem that the office coolies were of higher rank than the Bird-keepers.

[4] Winabe is the name of a place in Settsu. Tsuke is in Yamato.

to the Emperor. The Emperor forthwith suspected that Mita had debauched this Uneme, and conceiving to himself the thought of executing him, charged the Mononobe with this duty. At this time Hada no Sake[1] no Kimi was in attendance. He wished by the voice of his lute to make the Emperor understand, so placing his lute crosswise, and playing upon it, he said :—

XIV. 35.

Be there for five hundred years
Prosperity
To the maid of Ise
Of Ise
(Of the divine wind),
And until it is spent
Let me attend
With faithful service
On the Great Lord.
Let my life, too,
Be as long,
Said the carpenter,
The poor carpenter ![2]

Hereupon the Emperor understood the voice of the lute, and pardoned the offence.

A.D. 469. 13th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hadane no Mikoto, great-great-grandson of Saho-hiko,[3] secretly seduced the Uneme Yamanobe no Koshimako. When this came to the Emperor's ears, he gave Hadane no Mikoto in charge to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji, and made him call him to account for it. Hadane no Mikoto purged his offence by the payment of eight horses and eight swords, and then made a song, saying :—

For the sake of Koshimako,
Of Yamanobe,

---

[1] Sake is 酒 rice-beer. This person was, perhaps, a descendant of the Corean Prince Chhyu mentioned above, A.D. 353, and whose name is written with the same character. The word Hada, however, points to a Chinese ancestry. Hada is the Japanese traditional rendering of the character for T'sin, the Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Some commentators explain part of this poem differently. The metre is irregular.

[3] It is not clear why so remote a descendant of a Mikado should be called Mikoto.

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of his tool. The Emperor accordingly rebuked him, saying :— "Where does this fellow come from that, without respect to us, he gives such heedless answers with unchastened heart?" So he handed him over to the Mononobe to be executed on the moor.

Now amongst his comrades there was a carpenter who lamented for Mane, and made a song, saying :—

The much to be regretted
Carpenter of Winabe—
The ink-cord he applied,—
When he is no more,
Who will apply it?
Alas! that ink-cord![1]

When the Emperor heard this song, his feelings changed to remorse, and he said with a sigh of regret :—"How many men I have destroyed!" So he mounted a messenger of mercy on a black horse of Kahi, and made him gallop to the place of execution to stop it and pardon him. The cords with which he was tied were unbound, and he, too, made a song, saying :—

As the night[2]
Black was the horse of Kahi—
Had they but saddled him,
XIV. 38 My life were lost—
Ah! that horse of Kahi!

Instead of "My life were lost," one book has, "He would not have arrived (in time)."

A.D. 470. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others, in company with envoys from the Land

[1] The ink-cord is a contrivance for ruling lines on wood, used to this day by Japanese carpenters. A cord is passed through a pot of ink and then drawn taut, and let go so as to strike the wood. A chalked line is sometimes used in the same way in this country. See illustration in "Transactions of Japan Society," Vol. II. p. 217. The metre of this poem is irregular, being a tanka with an additional line of seven syllables between the second and third.

[2] This is one of many explanations of the conventional epithet nubatama, applied to dark or black things.

of Wu, and bringing with them skilled workmen presented by Wu, viz. Aya weavers and Kure[1] weavers, as well as the seamstresses Ane-hime and Oto-hime, anchored in the harbour of Suminoye. In this month the Shihatsu highway was carried through as a road for the guests from Wu. It was called the Kure-saka.[2]

3rd month. The Emperor commanded the Omi and Muraji to go to receive the envoys from Wu. The men of Wu were accordingly settled on the moor of Hinokuma, which was therefore called Kure-hara.[3] The seamstress Ane-hime was presented to the God of Oho-Miwa, and Oto-hime was appointed to the Be of Aya seamstresses. The Aya weavers, the Kure weavers and the seamstresses—these were the founders of the Asuka Seamstresses' Be and of the Ise Seamstresses' Be.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor, wishing to make a feast for the men of Wu, asked the ministers, one after another, saying:—"Who will be the best man to keep them company at table?" The ministers all said:—"Ne no Omi will be the proper person." The Emperor accordingly gave command to Ne no Omi, and appointed him to keep them company in eating. Ultimately the men of Wu were entertained at Taka-nukuhara in Iso no Kami.[4] Now a Toneri was sent secretly XIV. 39.
to observe the ornamentation. The Toneri reported to the Emperor, saying:—"The jewel head-dress worn by Ne no Omi is very noble, and extremely lovely." Moreover, everybody said, "He also wore it before when he went to receive the men of Wu." Hereupon the Emperor, wishing to see it himself, gave orders to the Omi and Muraji, and made them present themselves before the hall in the dress which they wore at the banquet. The Empress looked up to Heaven and, with sobs and tears, lamented bitterly. The Emperor inquired of her, saying:—"Why weepest thou?" The Empress, leaving the

[1] For Aya and Kure the Chinese characters are 漢 and 吳, i.e. Han and Wu, the Chinese dynasties so called. But in this connection the Japanese render these names by Aya and Kure.

The "Shukai" editor has a note here to the effect that Han is Chang-an and Loh-yang, formerly capitals of Han; Wu is Chien-kang (Chien-yeh?), the Wu capital, near the present Nanking.

[2] Wu acclivity.

[3] The plain of Wu. It is in Yamato.

[4] Yamato.

couch, answered him, saying:—"This jewel head-dress was presented on behalf of thy handmaiden by her elder brother, Prince Oho-kusaka, when, in obedience to the orders of the Emperor Anaho, he offered her to Your Majesty.[1] Therefore I conceived suspicion of Ne no Omi, and unawares shed tears and wept for grief." When the Emperor heard this he was astonished, and was very wroth. He pressed it sharply home to Ne no Omi, who replied, saying:—"I have deserved to die! I have deserved to die! Truly it is thy servant's fault." The Emperor commanded, saying:—"From this time forward let Ne no Omi, his children, his descendants, and his eighty connections have no concern with the order of Ministers of State." He was about to put Ne no Omi to death, but he ran away and hid himself. Arriving at Hine, he made a rice-castle, in which he stood on the defensive, but was ultimately slain by the Government forces. The Emperor ordered the officials to divide his descendants into two parts, one of which was constituted common people of the Oho-kusaka Be, and
XIV. 40. was allotted in fief to the Empress; the other part was given to the Chinu no Agata-nushi, and made sack-bearers. So having sought out a descendant of Hikaka, Naniha no Kishi,[2] a title was granted to him, and he was made Oho-kusaka Be no Kishi.

After matters had become quiet, Wone[3] no Omi [Wone no Omi was the son of Ne no Omi], when lying down at night, said to some one:—"The Emperor's castle is not strong; my father's castle is strong." These words came to the Emperor's ears. He sent a man to see Ne no Omi's house. It was really as had been said. Therefore he seized him and put him to death. Ne no Omi's descendants were made Sakamoto no Omi. From this they had their beginning.

A.D. 471. 15th year. The Hada House[4] was dispersed. The Omi and Muraji each enforced their services at pleasure, and would not allow the Hada no Miyakko to control them. Consequently Sake, Hada no Miyakko, made a great grievance of

[1] See above, p. 330. [2] See above, p. 331. [3] Wo means little.

[4] Hada. Several families of this name are mentioned in the "Seishiroku." They were believed to be descended from She Hwang-Ti, the celebrated Chinese Emperor of the T'sin dynasty, who reigned B.C. 221 to 209.

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is a match for the hand of Asahi no Iratsuko? The arrow which he lets fly will pierce two thicknesses of armour." The Government troops were all afraid, and Ushiro no Sukune did not dare to advance to the combat. They awaited each other for two days and one night. Hereupon the Mononobe Me no Muraji armed himself with his sword, and making Oho-wono-te,[1] of the Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, take his shield and call out in the midst of the army, advanced along with him. Asahi no Iratsuko saw them from afar off, and shot an arrow through Oho-wono-te's shield and two-fold armour which at the same time entered the flesh of his body to the depth of
XIV. 43. an inch. Oho-wono-te screened with his shield the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, and Me no Muraji caught Asahi no Iratsuko and slew him. Accordingly Ushiro no Sukune, beside himself with shame, for seven days did not make his report to the Emperor. But the Emperor inquired of his Ministers in attendance, saying:—"Why does not Ushiro no Sukune make his report?" Now there was a man named Sanuki no Tamushi Wake who came forward and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Ushiro no Sukune is a coward. For the space of two days and one night he was unable to seize Asahi no Iratsuko. Then the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, taking with him Oho-wono-te, a Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, caught and slew Asahi no Iratsuko." When the Emperor heard this he was angry, and promptly taking away from Ushiro no Sukune his Be of Wina,[2] gave it to the Mononobe Me no Muraji.

A.D. 475. 19th year, Spring, 3rd month, 13th day. By Imperial command, the Anaho Be was established.[3]

A.D. 476. 20th year,[4] Winter. The "King of Koryö raised a great army and utterly smote Pèkché. There was but a small remnant left, which assembled and occupied Chhang-ha.[5] Their victuals became exhausted, and deep was hereupon the

[1] Great-axe-hand.

[2] The village of Wina-Be, in Ise, with its inhabitants.

[3] In memory of the Emperor Anaho.

[4] The "Tongkam" date is 475. We have now arrived at pretty exact chronology.

[5] 倉下. The traditional Kana renders this Hesu-oto—perhaps an attempt to reproduce the native Corean name.

weeping and lamentation. Upon this the Koryö generals addressed their King, saying:—"There is something extraordinary in the temper of Pèkché. Whenever thy servants observe them, they seem unaware of their own ruin. It is to be feared that they will again spread forth and revive. We pray that they may be at length got rid of." The King said:—"No! I, the unworthy one, have heard that the Land XIV. 44.
of Pèkché is under the jurisdiction of the Country of Japan, and that this connection is of old standing. It is also known to all the neighbouring countries that their King repairs to Japan and serves the Emperor." Ultimately it (the proposal to exterminate the Pèkché people) was abandoned.

The Pèkché record says:—"King Kèro, year Kinoto U (475), Winter. A large army from Koryö came and besieged the great castle for seven days and seven nights. The Royal castle surrendered, and at length they destroyed Wi-nyé. The King, Queen, and Princes all fell into the hands of the enemy."

21st year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, hearing that XIV. 45.
Pèkché had been conquered by Koryö, gave Kuma-nari to A.D. 477.
King Munchu, and so lent aid to his country. The men of that day all said:—"The Land of Pèkché, though their race was destroyed, assembled and lamented at Chhang-ha. They with true hearts appealed to the Emperor, who restored their country."

King Munchu was King Kèro's younger brother by the mother's side. An ancient Japanese record says:—"The statement that Kumanari was given to King Mata[1] is probably an error. Kumanari is a separate village of the district of Lower Takori[2] in Imna."

[1] 末多. The Coreans call him 牟大, i.e. Mu-tè. He was Munchu's successor. The Traditional Kana has Arushi for 下, lower. The Corean for Lower is arè.

The syllable ko in this name is probably an error, as below (reign of Keidai), Upper Tari and Lower Tari are mentioned as districts. National vanity is a powerful stimulus to the mythopœic faculty, and the above narrative must be taken with a few grains of salt. But it is no doubt true in the main. The "Tongkam," which gives a short account of the war, says that Silla sent an army of 10,000 men to the assistance of Pèkché. Under the year 475 it records the removal of the Pèkché capital to Ung-

.D. 478. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Shiraga was made Heir Apparent.

Autumn, 7th month. A man of Tsutsukaha in the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba, the child of Urashima of Midzunoye, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise,[1] which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached Hōrai San,[2] where they saw the genii. The story is in another Book.[3]

.D. 479. IV. 47. 23rd year, Summer, 4th month. King Munkeun[4] of Pèkché died.

chin. Now Ung-chin or Ung-chhön (熊津 or 熊川) was a town in Kyong-syang-do, near the present Keumhè, and the meaning is Bear-port or Bear-river, evidently, therefore, the same with the Kuma-nari of the text. Kuma is for koma, the Corean word for bear, and nari is a dialectical or ancient form of nǎi (pronounced nè), river. It occurs above in the name of the river which the King of Silla swears by at p. 231. Ung-chin or Kuma-nari was in the Imna territory, the capital of which was Keumhè, then controlled by Japan, and it is not at all improbable that it should be ceded to Pèkché on this occasion.

The "Tongkam" mentions a Japanese descent on the eastern coast of Silla in 476. They were driven off with a loss of 200 men.

[1] Or turtle.

[2] "Mount Hōrai is the P'êng-Lai-Shan of the Chinese, one of the Three Isles of the Genii, which were believed to lie in the Eastern Sea, opposite to the coast of China. This happy group was the paradise of the Genii, who there maintained a sempiternal vigour by quaffing the waters of the fountain of life which flowed for them in a perpetual stream. The pine, the plum, the peach-tree, and the sacred fungus grow for ever upon its rocky shores; and the ancient crane builds its nest upon the giant limbs of its never-dying pine." Catalogue of Japanese paintings in the British Museum, Anderson, p. 224. See also Dickins' "Taketori-Monogatari," in the "R.A.S. Transactions." The "Manyōshiu," an ancient collection of Japanese poems, contains a beautiful version of this legend, which has been rendered into English verse by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," and of which a prose version may be found in my grammar of the Japanese written language. The Chinese and Japanese legendary lore associated with Hōrai San is of boundless extent.

The Interlinear Kana renders Hōrai San by Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, which is quite inadequate.

[3] The "Shukai" editor rejects this as an unauthorized addition.

[4] There is no Pèkché king of this name. King Sam-Keun (三斤), who died in this year (the month differs), is doubtless meant. The first

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the land. Therefore with careful mind inciting myself, I have been every day watchful for that day, for the sake of the people. The Omi, the Muraji and the Tomo no Miyakko daily attend the court: the Governors of provinces and of districts in due season assemble in court. How shall they not with their whole hearts diligently observe the Imperial decrees? In principle our relation is that of Prince and vassal, but in feeling it is also that of father and child. It was my hope that
XIV. 49 by the help of the wisdom of the Omi and Muraji the hearts of the people both in the capital and elsewhere might be rejoiced, and I desired long to preserve peace throughout the Empire. But unexpectedly disease has come upon me. It has rooted itself deeper and deeper, and has greatly increased. This is the common lot of humanity, and is not worth wasting words over.

But in the capital and in the country the clothing and caps have not yet attained to freshness and neatness: civilization and Government still remain short of perfection. When I begin to reflect on this, I am simply lost in chagrin. But it is now many years since I could be described as in the vigour of youth. My strength of body and of mind have together become worn out. What I now do is of course not for my own benefit, but solely from a desire to facilitate the nourishment of the people. Therefore is it that I do this. What one of the descendants of mankind is absent from my thought? For the sake of the Empire, private feelings should be severed. At the present time[1] Prince Hoshikaha cherishes treason in his heart. His conduct is wanting in friendliness towards (his brethren).[2] It has been said by a man of old:—'There is no one who knows the minister so well as his Lord: there is no one who knows the child so well as his father.' Even supposing that Hoshikaha should make up his mind to unite (with his brethren) in ruling the State, certain disgrace would come universally upon the Omi and Muraji, and a cruel poison overflow the nation. Now a bad
XIV. 50. descendant is to be dreaded for the people's sake: a good

[1] See p. 337.

[2] "His brethren" is not in the original, but there is an allusion to the Shooking (Legge, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 535), where the complete phrase is found.

descendant is sufficient to sustain the burden of the Great Task.[1] Although this is a matter concerning Our House, in principle it does not admit of concealment. The Ohomuraji and the officials of the Home Department are widespread and pervade the whole country: the Prince Imperial, who is in the position of becoming my successor, is known to the world for his benevolence and filial piety. His conduct is such that he is a sufficient person to carry out Our ideas. If along with him ye administer the Empire, even although Our eyes are closed, what room is there for repining?"[2]

In one book it is said:—"It is known to all the world that Prince Hoshikaha is of an evil disposition and of a violent heart. If unfortunately after Our death he should attempt to harm the Prince Imperial, ye and the officials of the Home Department are very numerous. Strive your utmost to render each other mutual aid, and let there be no contemptuousness."

At this time Oshiro, Kibi no Omi, General of the expedition against Silla, arrived at the province of Kibi, and passed by his house. Afterwards 500 Yemishi under his command, hearing of the Emperor's death, spoke to one another, saying:—"The Emperor who controls our country is dead. The opportunity should not be lost." So assembling themselves into a band, they invaded the neighbouring districts. Hereupon Oshiro came from his house, and meeting the Yemishi at Port Saba,[3] fought with them, and shot at the Yemishi. But some skipped and others lay down, thereby succeeding in avoiding the arrows. In the end he was unable to shoot them. Therewith Oshiro twanged his empty bow by the sea-shore, and of the skippers and skulkers two companies were shot to death.[4] Two cases of arrows were all used up. So he called to boatmen and asked them for arrows. But they were afraid, and of their own accord retired. Then XIV. 51.

[1] The sovereignty.

[2] This speech is copied, with some unimportant changes, from a passage in a Chinese History of the Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to the Emperor Kaotsu, who died A D. 604, i.e. 125 years *after* the death of Yūriaku.

[3] In Suwō.

[4] Chinese legend mentions archers so skilful that they could shoot birds and beasts without any arrows whatever.

Oshiro set up his bow, and taking it by the end, made a song, saying:—

On the way he met them,
The Boy of Oshiro!
It is in Heaven only that
Unheard of he will be,
For on Earth at least
He will be heard of.

Having finished this song, he slew many men with his own hand and pursued them on as far as Port Uragake in the Land
XIV. 52. of Tamba, where they were all massacred.

One book says:—"He pursued them as far as Uragake, and then sent men who slew them all."

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disaster. He exercised arbitrary authority, and squandered the official property. Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji spake to Yamato no Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"The time has now come when the dying injunctions of the Emperor Ohohatsuse are to be fulfilled. It is meet that we should comply with them and do service to the Prince Imperial." So they raised an armed force and besieged the Treasury. They blockaded it from without, and setting fire to it, roasted to death the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha. At this time Kibi no Waka-hime, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, Anikimi,[1] his elder brother by a different father, and Ki no Okazaki no Kume[2] were roasted to death along with him. Then Wone, the Agata-nushi of Mino in Kahachi, in trepidation and alarm, burst away from the fire and made his escape. He embraced the legs of Ayahiko, Kishi of Kusakabe, and through him begged his life of the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, saying:—"Thy slave Wone, the Agata-nushi, was the faithful servant of the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, but yet he was not rebellious towards the Prince Imperial. He prays that a generous mercy be accorded him, and a human life spared. Accordingly Ayahiko represented this fully to Ohotomo, the Ohomuraji, on his behalf, and he was not entered in the rank of those who were executed. Wone thereupon made representation to the Ohomuraji through Ayahiko, saying:—"My Lord Ohotomo the Ohomuraji, owing to thy great mercy bestowed on me, my life, which was in imminent danger, has been continued and lengthened so that I can see the light of day." So he hastened to present to the Ohomuraji ten chō of
XV. 3. rice-land at Ohowido in the village of Kume in Naniha. He also presented rice-land to Ayahiko as a return for the favour shown him.

In this month, the Omi of the upper province of Kibi, hearing of the disturbances at the Court, wished to aid their uterine brother, the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, and came floating over the sea with a fleet of forty war vessels. When they arrived they heard of the roasting to death, and went away again without landing. The Emperor straightway sent

[1] Or Ye-kimi. This name means elder Lord.

[2] Probably for Kume no Muraji.

messengers to call the Omi[1] of Upper Kibi to an account, and to deprive them of the mountain Be of which they had control.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, attended by the Omi and Muraji, delivered to the Prince Imperial the Seal.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Emperor, by command to the officials, prepared an arena at Mikakuri in Ihare, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity. He at length established his Palace, and honoured Katsuraki no Kara-hime with the title of Grand Consort.[2] The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, was made Ohomuraji, and the Oho-omi of Matori in Heguri was made Oho-omi, so that both were continued in their former positions. The Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko each took the rank belonging to their several offices. A.D. 480

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor Ohohatsuse was buried in the misasagi on the Takawashi plain in Tajihi. At this time the Hayato lamented night and day beside the misasagi, and refused the food which was offered them. Seven days passed, and then they died. The officials constructed a mound to the north of the tumulus, where they were buried with due ceremony. This was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle. XV. 4.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor, vexed that he had no children, sent the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, to the provinces, and established the Be of Shiraga no Toneri,[3] the Be of Shiraga no Kashihade,[4] and the Be of Shiraga no Yugehi,[5] in the hope of leaving a trace which might be seen of posterity. A.D. 481.

Winter, 11th month. For the purpose of the offerings of the feast of first-fruits, Wodate, of the Be of Kume of Iyo, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji and Governor of Harima, was sent thither. In the new muro of Hosome, Miyakko

[1] No doubt the Yamamori Be or Mountain wardens mentioned in the reign of Ōjin

[2] Kara-hime, not having been Empress, could not be appointed Grand Empress like other Imperial relicts.

[3] Attendants. [4] Stewards.

[5] Lit. quiver-bearers, or archers, a part of the Imperial Guard. The "Kojiki" mentions only a Shiraga Be.

of the Oshinomi Be and Obito of the granary of Shijimi in the district of Akashi, he saw Ohoke and Woke, sons of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe. He took them together reverently to his bosom, recognized them as his lords, and attended to their nurture with extreme care. From his own private income he arranged for the construction of a palace of brushwood, in which he lodged them temporarily, and
XV. 5. mounting a swift steed, hastened to inform the Emperor. The Emperor was astonished, and after exclaiming for a good while, he said with emotion:—"Admirable! Delightful! Heaven in its bountiful love has bestowed on us two children." In this month he sent Wodate with a token of authority, and some of the Toneri in attendance on him, to Akashi to meet them (and escort them back).

The story[1] is given in the history of the Emperor Woke.

A.D. 482. 3rd year, 1st month, 1st day. Wodate and his companions arrived in the province of Settsu, escorting Ohoke and Woke. Then Omi and Muraji were sent, with emblems of authority and a royal green-canopied carriage,[2] to meet them and bring them into the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and Prince Woke was made an Imperial Prince.

Autumn, 7th month. Regina (princess) Ihitoyo primum coivit cum marito in Palatio Tsunuzashi. Dixit alicui:—"Nunc aliquantum cognovi viam feminarum. Quid habet mirum in se? Non sum cupida unquam rursus coëundi cum viro." [It is not clear that she had a husband at this time.]

9th month, 2nd day. The Omi and Muraji were sent on circuit to inspect the manners and customs.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. An edict was made prohibiting dogs, horses, and playthings from being offered to the Emperor.[3]

XV. 6. 11th month, 18th day. The Omi and Muraji were feasted in the Great Court, and received presents of floss-silk. They

[1] See below, XV. 8, also Ch. K., p. 328.

[2] This is purely Chinese. Motowori says that no such vehicles were ever known in Japan.

[3] These same words are found in a History of the Chinese Sui Dynasty, under the year 581 A.D.

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In the 'Genealogy' it is said:—"The Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe took to wife Hayehime, daughter of Ari no Omi, and at length had by her three sons and two daughters. The first was named Winatsu hime, the second Prince Ohoke, also called Shima no Wakako, also called Ohoshi no Mikoto, the third was named Prince Woke, also called Kume no Wakako, the fourth was named Princess Ihitoyo, also called Princess Oshinomibe, and the fifth Prince Tachibana. In one book Princess Ihitoyo is ranked above Prince Ohoke. Ari no Omi was the son of Hada no Sukune."

The Emperor, having lived for a long time on the borders, was thoroughly acquainted with the miseries of the people, and whenever he saw them oppressed, he felt as if his own four members were plunged in a ditch. He dispensed virtuous influence, he bestowed blessings; the regulations of government were everywhere enforced; charity was shown to the poor, and the husbandless were supported. The Empire rendered him cordial allegiance.

In the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Emperor Anaho, the Emperor's father,[1] the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha was slain, together with the Toneri, Saheki be no Nakachiko,
XV. 8. by the Emperor Ohohatsuse on the moor of Kaya.[2] They were accordingly buried in the same grave. Thereupon the Emperor[3] and Prince Ohoke, hearing that their father had been shot to death, were afraid, and both escaped and hid themselves. The Toneri, Omi, Kusakabe no Muraji [Omi is the personal name of Kusakabe no Muraji], with his son Adahiko, secretly served the Emperor and Prince Woke, so that they avoided disaster by fleeing to the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. Omi at length changed his name and called himself Tatoku, but being still afraid of being put to death, he fled from this place to a cave in Mount Shijimi in the province of Harima. There he strangled himself. The Emperor, being still ignorant whither Omi had gone, urged his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, to turn his steps towards the district of Akashi in the province of Harima. There they both changed their names to Tamba

[1] i.e. Emperor Woke's father.

[2] See above, p. 336.

[3] Woke is meant.

no Waraha,[1] and entered the service of the Obito of the Shijimi granaries.

The Obito of the Shijimi granaries was Hosome Oshinomi Be no Miyakko.

Adahiko at this time did not leave them, but remained constant to his duty as their vassal.

In Winter, the 11th month of the 2nd year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, the Governor of the province of Harima, Wodate Iyo no Kumebe, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji, went to the district of Akashi to make arrangements in person for the offerings of the festival of first-fruits.

One writing says:—"Went on a circuit to the kohori and agata[2] to collect the land tax."

It so happened that he arrived just when the Obito of the XV. 9.
granaries of Shijimi was holding a house-warming for a new muro and was extending the day by adding to it the night. Hereupon the Emperor spake to his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, saying:—"Many years have passed since we fled hither to escape ruin. It belongs to this very evening to reveal our names and to disclose our high rank." Prince Ohoke exclaimed with pity:—"To make such an announcement ourselves would be fatal. Which of us could keep safe his person and avoid danger?" The Emperor said:—"We, the grandsons of the Emperor Izahowake, are a man's drudges, and feed his horses and kine. What better can we do than make known our names and be slain?" At length he and Prince Ohoke fell into each other's arms and wept, being unable to contain their emotion. Prince Ohoke said:—"In that case who else but thou, my younger brother, is capable of making a heroic effort, and is therefore fit to make this disclosure?" The Emperor refused firmly, saying:—"Thy servant has no ability. How can he make so bold as to display virtuous action?" Prince Ohoke said:—"There are here none to excel my younger brother in ability and wisdom." And in this way they mutually held back each in favour of the other for two or three times. It was ultimately arranged, with the Emperor's consent, that he should make the announcement. Together they XV. 10.
went to the outside of the muro and sat down in the lowest

[1] The boys of Tamba. [2] Districts.

place. The Obito of the granary ordered them to sit beside the cooking-place and hold lights to right and left. When the night had become profound, and the revel was at its height, and every one had danced in turn, the Obito of the granary addressed Wodate, saying:—"Thy servant observes that these light-holders honour others, and abase themselves; they put others before, and themselves behind. By their respectfulness they show their observance of just principles; by their retiring behaviour they illustrate courtesy. They are worthy of the name of gentlemen." Upon this Wodate played on the lute and gave orders to the light-holders, saying:—"Get up and dance." Then the elder and younger brothers declined in each other's favour for a good while and did not get up. Wodate urged them, saying:—"Wherefore all this delay? Get up quickly and dance." Prince Ohoke got up and danced. When he had done, the Emperor stood up in his turn, and having adjusted his dress and girdle, proposed a health for the Muro, saying:—

The Dolichos roots[1] of the new muro which he has upbuilt;
The pillars which he has upbuilt—
These are[2] the calm of the august heart of the master of the house:
The ridge-poles which he has raised aloft—
These are the grove[3] of the august heart of the master of the house:
The rafters which he has set—
These are the perfect order of the august heart of the master of the house:
The laths which he has placed—
These are the fairness of the august heart of the master of the house:

---

[1] The Dolichos roots present a difficulty. They are better known for yielding a starchy food like arrowroot than as material for house-building. The stems are mentioned below. Another objection is that their introduction here spoils the symmetry of the composition, which though not exactly poetry, is something closely verging on it. I would prefer to omit the words "Katsura ne tsuki-tatsuru" of the original, so that the first two lines would become only one, viz.—

"The pillars of the new muro which he has upbuilt."

[2] i.e. represent.

[3] Grove. The commentators say this means shigeki, thick, which in Japanese is a metaphor for cordial, hearty, kind.

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When the water has gone,
It raises up (its stem that was) bent down,
And its roots perish not.

Wodate addressed him, saying:—"Capital! Pray let us hear something more."

The Emperor at length made a special dance,

This is what was anciently called a Tatsutsu (stand out) dance. The manner of it was that it was danced while standing up and sitting down.

and striking an attitude, said:—

Of Yamato,
Soso chihara
Asachihara[1]
The younger Prince am I.

XV. 12. Hereupon Wodate thought this profoundly strange, and asked him to say more. The Emperor, striking an attitude, said:—

The sacred cedar[2]
Of Furu in Isonokami—[3]
Its stem is severed,
Its branches are stripped off.
Of him who in the Palace of Ichinobe
Governed all under Heaven,[4]
The myriad Heavens,
The myriad lands—
Of Oshiha no Mikoto
The august children are we.[5]

---

ing-mat" (a rice straw mat), a conventional epithet or makura-kotoba of kaha, skin, perhaps because the Japanese used skins for sleeping on at one time. It has, properly speaking, nothing to do with kaha, river, but the unexpected conjunction is witty—from a Japanese point of view. The allusion to the position of the two Princes is plain.

[1] Chihara, or as it may be read Ashihara, means reed plain, a poetical term for Japan. *So so* is interpreted as an onomatope representing the rustling of reeds. *Asa* is shallow, and asachihara is said to be a plain on which the reeds grow short. The speech (or poem) is a (no doubt with intention) mysteriously worded announcement of Woke's rank as an Imperial Prince.

[2] The sugi or Cryptomeria Japonica.

[3] In Yamato. [4] He never reigned. See above, p. 336.

[5] There is hardly any metre here. This passage is just on the border line between poetry and prose.

Wodate was greatly astonished. He left his seat, and, vexed with himself,[1] made repeated obeisance to them. He undertook to provide for them, and brought his people to prostrate themselves reverently. Then he levied all the inhabitants of that district, and in a few days built a palace, in which the Princes were temporarily lodged. Going up to the capital, he asked that some one should be sent to meet the two Princes. The Emperor Shiraga was rejoiced to hear this, and exclaimed, saying:—"We have no children; we must make them our successors." Along with the Oho-omi and the Ohomuraji, he settled on a plan within the forbidden precinct.[2] So Kumebe no Wodate, the Governor of Harima, was sent with emblems of authority, and accompanied by personal attendants of the Emperor, to go to meet them at Akashi. In Spring, the 1st month of the third year of the Emperor Shiraga, the Emperor,[3] with Prince Ohoke, arrived at the province of Settsu, where Omi and Muraji were sent with emblems of authority XV. 13.
and a Royal green-canopied carriage to meet them and bring them into the Palace. In Summer, the 4th month, Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and the Emperor was raised to the rank of Imperial Prince.

In Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign, the Emperor Shiraga died. In this month the Prince Imperial Ohoke and the Emperor ceded to each other the Dignity, and for a long time did not occupy it. Therefore the Emperor's elder sister,[4] the Imperial Princess Awo of Ihi-toyo, held a Court and carried on the Government in the Palace of Tsunuzashi in Oshinomi, styling herself Oshinomi no Ihitoyo no Awo no Mikoto. A poet of that day made a song, saying:—

In Yamato
What I long to see
Is the Tsunuzashi Palace
In this Takaki[5]
Of Oshinomi.

Winter, 11th month. Ihitoyo, Awo no Mikoto died. She was buried in the misasagi on the Hill of Haniguchi in Katsuraki.

[1] For the neglect shown to the Princes.
[2] A Chinese term for the Palace.
[3] Viz. Woke.
The "Kojiki" makes her his maternal aunt.
Takaki means high castle, but is here the name of a place.

12th month. There was a great assembly of the officials, at which the Prince Imperial Ohoke took the Imperial Seal, and placing it on the seat occupied by the Emperor, did him repeated obeisance. He then took his place among the Ministers, and said :—" This rank of Emperor should be occupied by a man possessed of merit. The disclosure of our rank, and our being sent for by the late Emperor, is all a result of the policy of my younger brother. I resign the Empire in his favour." The Emperor, on the other hand, resigned it on the grounds that as a younger brother he might not presume to assume the Dignity, and also because he was aware that the Emperor Shiraga had appointed his elder brother Prince Imperial with the previous purpose of transmitting it to him.
XV. 14. For these two reasons he firmly declined, saying :—" When the sun and moon appear, is it not impossible that a candle should not give way before their radiance? When a seasonable rain falls, is it not superfluous trouble to go on watering from a pond?[1] The conduct which should be esteemed by him who is in the position of a younger brother is to serve his elder brother by devising methods of averting from him disaster, to illustrate virtue, and to unravel complications without putting himself forward. For if he puts himself forward, he will be wanting in the reverence which is due from a younger brother. Woke cannot bear to put himself forward.[2] It is an immutable law that the elder brother should be affectionate and the younger brother reverent. So I have heard from our elders. How can I of myself alone make light of it?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke said :—" The Emperor Shiraga, by reason of my being the elder brother, at first assigned to me all the affairs of the Empire. But I am ashamed to accept it. Now the great Prince's conduct is established in beneficial retirement,[3] so that those who hear him utter sighs of admiration.

[1] From " When " to " pond " is taken from a Chinese book.

[2] From " The conduct " to " forward " is imitated from a passage in the " Liki."

[3] He probably makes allusion to the Yih-king, Diagram xxxiii. Sect. 6, which is thus translated by Legge: " The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect." This means, perhaps, that his modest behaviour proves that his reign will be beneficial to the people.

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to you by the will of Heaven, and has been ceded to you by the Prince Imperial. Your wisdom is abundant, and your good fortune conspicuous. While young you were diligent, humble, respectful, affectionate and docile. May it please you to comply with the command of your elder brother, and take over the conduct of the great undertaking." The Emperor made an order, saying :—" Be it so." Accordingly he summoned the Ministers of State and the functionaries to the Yatsuri Palace in Hither Asuka, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the functionaries entered upon office, to the great delight of all.

XV. 17. One book says the Emperor Woke had two palaces, one at Wono, the other at Ikeno. Another book says that he made his palace at Mikakuri.

In this month, Princess Wono of Naniha was appointed Empress, and a general amnesty was made.

Princess Wono of Naniha was the daughter of Prince Wakugo of Oka, grandson of Prince Ihaki, who was the great-grandson of the Emperor Wo-asatsuma-wakugo no Sukune.

2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor spoke, saying:—" The late Prince, having met with much misfortune, lost his life on a desert moor. We were then a child, and fled away and concealed Ourselves. Then, by a piece of undeserved good fortune, We were sought out and sent for, and were raised up to continue the Great Work. We have searched for his honoured bones far and wide, but there is no one who can tell where they are." Having finished speaking, the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke burst into tears of passionate emotion, which they could not control.

In this month the Emperor summoned together the old people, and in person made inquiry of them one after another. Now there was one old woman who came forward and said :— " Okime knows where the honoured bones were buried, and begs permission to point out the place to the Emperor."

Okime was the old woman's name. It is stated below that the younger sister of Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, ancestor of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki in the province of Ohomi, was called Okime.

Thereupon the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke,

taking with them the old woman, made a progress to the moor of Kaya in Kutawata in the province of Ohomi, where they dug them up, and found that it was really as the old woman had said. Looking down into the grave, they made lament, and their words showed deep and passionate feeling. From antiquity until now never was there anything so cruel. The XV. 18.
body of Nakachiko[1] lay across the honoured bones, and were mixed with them so that it was impossible to distinguish them from one another. Then there appeared the nurse of the Imperial Prince Ihazaka, who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"The upper teeth of Nakachiko had fallen out, so that by this they can be distinguished." But although they were able, in accordance with the nurse's words, to distinguish the skulls, they never succeeded in separating the bones of the four members. Accordingly a pair of misasagi were erected on the moor of Kaya resembling each other, so that they seemed but one. The funeral rites also were alike. The Emperor ordered the old woman, Okime, to live in the neighbourhood of the palace, where he treated her with respect and showed her kindness, not allowing her to be in want.

In this month he made an order, saying:—"Old woman! thou art desolate and infirm, and walking is not convenient for thee. Let there be a rope stretched across to support thee when thou goest out and comest in. And let there be a bell attached to the end of the rope, so that there may be no need for any one to announce thee. When thou comest, ring this bell, and we shall know that thou art coming." Herewith the old woman, in obedience to the Imperial order, rang the bell before she came forward. The Emperor, hearing from afar the sound of the bell, made a song, saying:—

Past Wosone,
In Asajihara,
The far-extending { moor ! / bell
There the bell tinkles !
Okime must be coming ![2]

[1] See above, XIV. 5.

[2] The point of this poem is not to be expressed in English. It rests on the similarity of the first syllable of nute, bell, with nu, a moor, which must be read twice in different senses. The first half of the poem takes nu in the latter sense. With the latter half it is only the first syllable of *nute*.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent[1] (the 2nd). The Emperor went to the Park, and there held revel by the winding streams.

XV. 19. Summer, 4th month, 11th day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"The means by which a sovereign encourages the people is no other than the granting of office: that by which a country is exalted is naught else but the granting of rewards for merit. Now the former Governor of Harima, Kumebe no Wodate [his other name was Ihadate], sought Us out, came to meet Us, and raised Us up. His merit is manifold. Let him not hesitate to express his wishes." Wodate thanked the Emperor, saying:—"The mountain office[2] has always been my desire." He was appointed to the mountain office, and a new title was granted him, viz. the House of the Yamabe no Muraji.[3] Kibi no Omi was associated with him, and the Yamamori Be were made their serfs. The Emperor praised his good qualities, made conspicuous his deserts, showed gratitude for his services, requited his kindness, and treated him with the utmost affection. His prosperity was unequalled.

5th month. Karabukuro no Sukune, Kimi of Mount Sasaki, who was implicated in the assassination of the Imperial Prince Oshiha, when about to be executed, bowed down his head to the ground, and his words expressed extreme sorrow. The Emperor could not bear to put him to death, so he added him to the misasagi guardians, making him at the same time mountain-warden,[4] and erasing his name from the census registers. He was then handed over to the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.[5]

[1] This unusual way of designating the day of the month suggests that a different document is here quoted from.

[2] i.e, Warden of the Mountains, or, as we should say, "Woods and Forests." It included the charge of game.

[3] Muraji of the Mountain Be. [4] Game-keeper

[5] The erasure of his name from the register was on account of his being attached to the service of the misasagi; the mountain wardenship placed him under the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.

May not these guardians of the Imperial tombs have been among the ancestors of the Eta or Hinin, a pariah caste (abolished by the revolution of 1868), who lived in villages by themselves, and did not intermarry with or have any social intercourse with other Japanese? They followed the occupations of leather-dressers, shoemakers, burners of dead animals,

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to crush his bones, and fling them broadcast. Would it not be a filial act to take revenge in this way?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke could hardly answer for sighing and sobbing. He remonstrated with the Emperor, saying:—"It is not well to do so. The Emperor Oho-hatsuse presided over the Empire as the rightful director of the myriad machinery of Government. Court and country looked up to him with joy. He was an Emperor, whereas the late Prince our father, although an Emperor's son, met with obstacles in his career, and never rose to the Imperial Dignity. Looking on the matter in this light, there is the difference of exalted and base. And if thou hadst the heart to demolish the misasagi, who would recognize as Lord and do service to the Soul of Heaven? This is one reason why the tomb should not be destroyed. Moreover, had it not been for the warm affection and special favour bestowed on the Emperor and Ohoke by the Emperor Shiraga, wouldst thou ever have attained to the precious Dignity? But the Emperor Oho-hatsuse was the father of the Emperor Shiraga. Ohoke has heard that it has been said by all the ancient sages, 'Without words there can be no response; without virtue there is no requital.'[1] If there is cause for gratitude, and no return is made, this is profoundly prejudicial to good morals. Your Majesty feasts the Country, and his virtuous conduct is felt far and wide over the Empire. But if he pulls down the misasagi, and shows himself in an opposite light to Court and Country, Ohoke fears that it will become impossible to govern the land and to bring up the people as
XV. 22. his children. This is a second reason why it should not be destroyed." The Emperor said, "It is well," and countermanded the work.[2]

[1] Virtue is in Chinese active, not merely the negation of vice.

[2] The "Kojiki" tells a somewhat different story. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 336. This misasagi (which I have visited) is at the present day a round single mound, encircled by a moat, but there are sufficient remains of the second mound and of the original moat to show that it was once a double-topped misasagi of the ordinary type. See above, p. 136. A large quantity of earth must have been removed in order thus to deprive this tomb of its distinctive character as an Imperial tumulus, and to give it the appearance of the tomb of a mere subject. It appears as if both the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" regarded the demolition of a misasagi as an impious action, and tried to minimize it.

9th month. Okime, being decrepit from old age, asked leave to return to her home, saying:—"My vigour has decayed. I am old, infirm, and emaciated. Even with the help of the rope I am unable to walk. I pray thee let me return to my native place,[1] so that there I may spend my last days." When the Emperor heard this he was moved with pity. He gave her a present of a thousand pieces, and grieving in anticipation at the divergence of their paths, he repeatedly lamented that they could no longer meet. So he gave her a song, saying:—

Oh! Okime!
Okime of Afumi!
From to-morrow,
Hidden by the deep mountains,
Thou wilt no more be seen!

Winter, 10th month, 6th day. The Emperor entertained his Ministers. At this time the Empire was at peace; the people were not subjected to forced labour, the crops reached maturity, and the peasantry were prosperous. A measure of rice was sold for one piece of silver,[2] and horses and kine covered the moors.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Kotoshiro Ahe no Omi, acting by Imperial command, went on a mission to Imna. Hereupon the Moon-God, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed him, saying:—"My ancestor Taka-mimusubi had the merit in conjunction (with other Deities) of creating Heaven and Earth. Let him be worshipped by dedicating to him people and land. I am the Moon-God, and I shall be pleased if an offering is made according to his desire." Kotoshiro accordingly returned to the capital, and reported these A.D. 487. XV. 23.

[1] Lit., The Mulberry and Euphorbia trees. There is an allusion to a verse in the "Chinese Book of Odes" (Legge, Vol. IV. p. 337):—

"Even the mulberry trees and the tsze (of one's home)
Must be regarded with reverence."

[2] This is the first mention of coin in the "Nihongi." It is impossible to say what the measure of rice was, or what the value of the coin. Indeed, I take the whole passage to be a flight of the author's fancy, stimulated by his recollections of Chinese literature. It contains several phrases borrowed from Chinese works. See Index—Currency.

things fully to the Emperor. The Utaarasu rice-fields were dedicated to the God, and Oshimi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Agatanushi of Yuki, was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (8th). The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Sun-Goddess, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed Kotoshiro, Ahe no Omi, saying:—"Let the Ihare rice-fields be dedicated to my ancestor Taka-mimusubi." Kotoshiro accordingly reported the matter to the Emperor, and in compliance with the Goddess's request, fourteen chō[1] of rice-land were dedicated to him. The Atahe of Shimo no agata in Tsushima was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

XV. 24. 13th day. The Saki-kusa Be[2] was established.

25th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Yatsuri.

In this year, Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, bestriding and making a base of Imna, held communication with Koryö. In order to rule the three Han on the west, he established a government, and styled himself a Deity. By means of a plan laid by Cha-ro-na-kwi and Tha-kap-syo of Imna he slew Mak-ni-kè, the heir to the throne of Pèkché, at Irin.[3] [This is a place in Koryö.] He built the castle of Tè-san,[4] and then stood on the defensive as regards the Eastern province, cutting off the harbour by which supplies were transported, and causing the army to suffer from famine. The King of Pèkché was greatly enraged, and despatched General Ko-ni-kè and an officer of the military store department, named Mak-ko-kè, in command of troops to Tè-san, to lay siege to it. Upon this, Ohiha no Sukune moved forward his army, and attacked them

[1] See below, XXV. 18.

[2] Saki-kusa is literally the herb of happiness. It is also called man-nen-gusa, or the "herb of 10,000 years." It was said to grow in the Court of the Temple to the sovereign's ancestors. The "Seishiroku" says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Kenzō, the officials were summoned to a banquet. At this time, a herb of three stems was growing in the courtyard of the palace. One of these was plucked up and presented to the Emperor, who thereupon conferred on the donor the title of Saki Be no Miyakko."

[3] Irin is called in Ōjin's reign, year 16, a place in Imna.

[4] The Kana rendering is Shitoromo or Shitoromure.

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district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, Winter, 11th month, Wodate, Yamabe no Muraji, Governor of Harima, went to the Capital and requested permission to go to fetch him. The Emperor Shiraga accordingly caused Wodate, provided with symbols of authority, and accompanied by his own personal attendants, to proceed to Akashi, and respectfully to go to meet him. Ultimately, in the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial.[1] In his fifth year, the Emperor Shiraga died, and the Emperor abdicated the Empire in favour of the Emperor Woke, becoming Prince Imperial as before. In the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Woke died.

.r. 488. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial rank in the Palace of Hirotaka in Isonokami.

One book says:—"There were two palaces of the Emperor Ohoke, the first at Kahamura,[2] the second at Takano in Shijimi. The pillars of the Hall remain undecayed until this day."

XV. 26. 2nd month, 2nd day. His former consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume,[3] was appointed Empress.

The Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume was the daughter of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse by Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Wani no Omi.

She at length bore to him one son and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Takahashi no Oho-iratsume; the second was called the Imperial Princess Asatsuma; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tashiraga; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Kusuhi; the fifth was called the Imperial Princess Tachibana; the sixth was called the Emperor Wo-hatsuse no Waka-sazaki. When he came to possess the Empire, he made his capital at Namiki in Hatsuse. The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Mawaka.[4]

[1] This is a curious way of putting it, but the original is so.
[2] This is the temporary palace built by Wodate. See above, XV. 5.
[3] See above, XIV. 7, for an account of her birth.
[4] The "Kojiki" makes Mawaka a Prince.

One book has a different arrangement, the Imperial Princess Kusuhi taking the third place and the Imperial Princess Tashiraga the fourth.

Next there was Nuka-kimi no Iratsume, daughter of Hiuri, Wani no Omi, who bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada.

One book says:—"Ohonuka no Iratsume, daughter of Hifure, Wani no Omi, bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Yamada no Oho-iratsume, also called the Imperial Princess Akami." Notwithstanding the trifling difference of the documents, the facts are the same.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor Woke was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Ihatsuki at Kataoka.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Tatsu (5th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Empress Naniha no Wono, fearful on account of her long-standing want of respect (for the Emperor), died by her own hand. A.D. 489. XV. 27.

One authority says:—"In the time of the Emperor Woke, the Prince Imperial Ohoke was present at a banquet. He took up a melon to eat, but there was no knife. The Emperor Woke himself took a knife and commanded his wife Wono to carry it and present it to the Prince Imperial. She came before him, and, in a standing position, laid the knife on the melon tray. Moreover, on the same day, she poured out sake, and, in a standing position, gave it to the Prince Imperial to drink. In consequence of this disrespect, she feared to be put to death, and died by her own hand."

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Isonokami Be of palace attendants[1] was established. A.D. 490.

4th year, Summer, 5th month. Kashima Ikuba no Omi and Hohe no Kimi, being guilty of crimes, were both thrown into prison, where they died. A.D. 491.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. General search was made in the provinces and districts for the dispersed Saheki Be, and a descendant of Nakachiko of the Saheki Be was made Saheki no Miyakko. A.D. 492

[1] Toneri.

Nakachiko of the Saheki Be is mentioned in the history of the reign of Woke Tennō.

A.D. 493. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Hitaka no Kishi was sent to Corea to fetch skilled artizans. This autumn, after
XV. 28. Hitaka no Kishi was despatched, there was a woman dwelling at Mitsu[1] in Naniha who made lament, saying:—

Woes me, my youthful[2] spouse!
For to me he is an elder brother,
And to my mother too an elder brother.

The sound of her lament was exceeding pathetic, even to the rending of men's bowels.[3] A man of the village of Hishiki, named Kaso, hearing it, came in front of her, and said:—"Why is thy lamentation so exceedingly sorrowful?" The woman answered and said:—"Think of the autumn garlic's ever clustering growth."[4] Kaso said:—"Thou art right. Now I understand what thou hast said." But a companion of his, not comprehending her meaning, inquired, saying:—"By what dost thou understand?" He answered and said:—
XV. 29. "Funame of the Naniha Jewellers' Be was wedded to Karama no Hataye[5] and bore to him Nakume,[6] who was wedded to a man of Sumuchi named Yamaki and bore to him Akitame. Karama no Hataye and his daughter Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had illicit intercourse with Funame[7] of the Jewellers' Be, and had by her a son named Araki, who took to wife Akitame. Upon this Araki set out for Koryō in the suite of Hitaka no Kishi. Therefore his wife Akitame, restless and full of longing, has lost her wits and become distraught, and the sound of her lamentation is very touching, even to the rending of men's bowels."

Funame of the Jewellers' Be and Karama no Hataye became husband and wife, and had a daughter named

[1] The august harbour. [2] Literally young herb or grass.
[3] Cf. the Biblical expression "bowels of compassion."
[4] By the clusters of the garlic bulbs in autumn she indicates the somewhat complicated family relations described below.
[5] Kara-fisher's-field. [6] The (professional) weeping woman.
[7] His wife's mother. This union was regarded as incestuous.

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Far and near there was purity and calm, and the population multiplied.

A.D. 498. 11th year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Chief Bedchamber.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi at the foot of the Hanifu acclivity.

BOOK XVI.

THE EMPEROR WOHATSUSE WAKA-SAZAKI.[1]

(*MURETSU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohatsuse waka-sazaki was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohoke. His mother was called the Empress Kasuga no Iratsume. He was made Prince Imperial in the seventh year of the Emperor Ohoke. When he grew to manhood, he was fond of criminal law, and was well versed in the statutes. He would remain in Court until the sun went down, so that hidden wrong was surely penetrated. In deciding cases he attained to the facts.[3] But he worked much evil, and accomplished no good thing. He never omitted to witness in person cruel punishments of all kinds, and the people of the whole land were all in terror of him.

In the 11th year, the 8th month of his reign, the Emperor Ohoke died. The Minister of State Heguri no Matori no Omi usurped the government of the country and tried to reign over Japan. Pretending that it was for the Emperor's eldest son, he built a palace, and ultimately dwelt in it himself. On all occasions he was arrogant, and was utterly devoid of loyal principle. Now the eldest son wished to betroth to himself Kagehime, the daughter of Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, and sent a middleman to Kagehime's house to arrange for their union. But Kagehime had already formed an illicit connection with XVI. 2.
Shibi, son of Matori, the Minister of State. Fearing, however, to offer opposition to the eldest son's proposal, she answered

[1] Wo, little; hatsuse, name of place; waka-sazaki, young-wren.

[2] Muretsu, martial ardour.

[3] This description from "When" down to "facts" is taken from the history of the Chinese Emperor Mingti of the Later Han Dynasty.

him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden wishes to wait upon thee on the street of Tsubaki-ichi." Accordingly the eldest son, in order to go to the place of assignation, sent one of his personal attendants to the house of the Oho-omi Heguri to ask for official horses, saying that he did so by his command. The Oho-omi mocked him, pretending that he would send them, and said:—"For whom (else) are official horses kept? Of course his orders shall be obeyed." But for a long time he did not send them. The eldest son cherished resentment at this, but controlled himself, and did not let it appear on his countenance. Ultimately he went to the place of assignation, and taking a place among the song-makers,[1] took hold of Kage-hime's sleeve, and was loitering about unconcernedly, when suddenly Shibi no Omi came, and pushing away the eldest son from Kagehime, got between them. Hereupon the eldest son let go Kagehime's sleeve, and turning round, confronted Shibi no Omi, and addressing him straight in the face, made a song, saying:—

XVI. 3.

Of the briny current,[2]
The breakers as I view,
By the fin of the Tunny
That comes sporting
I see my spouse standing.

[One book has "harbour" instead of "briny current."]

Shibi no Om answered with a song, saying:—

Dost thou tell me, O Prince! to yield to thee
The eight-fold bamboo fence[3]
Of the Omi's child?

---

[1] In Japanese uta-gaki, i.e. poetry-hedge. The utagaki seems to have been a sort of poetical tournament. The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 330) gives a different and not very intelligible account of this war of verses. That work places it at the beginning of an earlier reign, and makes the Emperor Woke the hero. The whole story is no doubt the work of some romancist. It would be a mere waste of time to try to sift out what grains of truth it may contain. It indicates, however, very different and much more unrestricted social relations between the sexes than that which prevailed in China and other Eastern countries. Of this there is abundant other evidence.

[2] Shibi means tunny-fish. This suggests the introduction of the "briny current" of the first line.

[3] The fence in this and the following verses is the enclosure of the bridal chamber. See above, pp. 13, 54.

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Hangs down in a bow.[1]
Whosoever it may be—
There is no one (but me) whose love she requites.

The eldest son then for the first time saw that Shibi had already possessed Kagehime, and became conscious of all the disrespect shown him by the father and the son. He blazed out into a great rage, and forthwith, on that same night, proceeded to the house of Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji, where he levied troops and concerted his plans. Ohotomo no Muraji waylaid Shibi no Omi with a force of several thousand men. He slew him at Mount Nara.

One book says:—"Shibi was spending the night in Kagehime's house, and that same night he was slain."

At this time Kagehime followed on to the place where he had been slain, and seeing that he had already been put to death, was shocked, so that she did not know what she was doing, and tears of sorrow filled her eyes. At length she made a song, saying:—

Passing Furu
In Iso no Kami,
Passing Takahashi
In Komo-makura,
Passing Oho-yake
Where things are in plenty
Passing Kasuga
Of the spring-day,
Passing Wosaho
XVI. 5. The spouse-retiring,
In a precious casket,
Placing boiled rice,
In a precious vase,
Placing water also,
She lets fall tears as she goes.
Alas! for Kagehime.[2]

---

[1] The sole reason why the second and third lines are introduced is to bring in tare, "to hang down." The same word is repeated in the fourth line with the meaning "who," thus producing a word-play, of which Japanese poets are fond.

[2] This poem contains a succession of plays on words, some of which are very obscure, and all are lost in an English version. Komo-makura means a matting pillow, i.e. a roll of matting used as a pillow. Makura is frequently followed by takaku, high, in the phrase makura takaku suru, "to make high

not curse. Therefore the Emperor eats salt from Tsunoga, and avoids eating the salt of other seas."[1]

12th month. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji having completely suppressed the insurrection, and restored the Government to the eldest son, asked permission to offer him the August Title, saying:—"Now there are no sons left of the Emperor Ohoke but Your Majesty, nor is there any second person to whom the people can give allegiance. Moreover, relying on the support of Supreme Heaven,[2] thou hast cleared away the wicked bands. By thy wise counsels and thy manly determination thou hast made the Celestial authority and the Celestial revenues to flourish. Japan must have a ruler, and who is there but thee to rule over Japan? I humbly pray
XVI. 7. Your Majesty reverently to respond to the Divine Spirit of Earth by giving development to the luminous commands, casting a lustre on Japan, and widely taking over charge of the silver region."[3]

Hereupon the eldest son commanded the functionaries to prepare a sacred terrace at Namiki[4] in Hatsuse, where he ascended to the Imperial Dignity, and at length established his capital. On this day, Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji was made Ohomuraji.

A.D. 499. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. Kasuga no Iratsume was appointed Empress. [It is not clear who her father was.]

This year was the year Tsuchinoto U (16th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 500. 2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Emperor ripped up the belly of a pregnant woman and inspected the pregnant womb.[5]

A.D. 501. 3rd year, Winter, 10th month. He plucked out men's nails. and made them dig up yams.[6]

11th month. He commanded Ohotomo no Muruya[7] no

[1] Compare above, p. 337, where the water of a well was cursed.

[2] Motoori objects to this phrase as Chinese. [3] Viz. Corea.

[4] Namiki means a row of trees, an avenue lined with trees.

[5] This is a charge made against Show, King of Shang, in the "Shooking." See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III. p. 285.

[6] Dioscorea Japonica.

[7] There is something wrong here. Ohotomo no Muruya was Prime Minister (see p. 322) in the 7th year of Ingiō Tennō (A.D. 418). Muruya is no doubt a slip for Kanamura.

Ohomuraji to make a levy of labourers of the province of Shinano, in order to build a castle in the village of Minomata. It was called Kinouhe.

In this month, Wi-ta-nang[1] of Pèkché died and was buried on the top of the hill of Takada.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. He pulled out the hair of men's heads, made them climb to the tops of trees, and then cut down the trees, so that the men who had climbed were killed by the fall. This he took a delight in. A.D. 502. XVI. 8.

In this year, King Malta[2] of Pékchè, for his lawless oppression of his subjects, was at length deposed by the people of that country and King Shima raised to the throne. He was made King Munyöng.

The Pèkché "Shinsen" says:—"King Malta lawlessly oppressed the subjects, and the people united to remove him. Munyöng was set up. His sobriquet was King Shima. He was the son of Prince Konchi, and therefore the elder brother of King Malta by a different mother. When Konchi went to Wa, he arrived at an island in Tsukushi where King Shima was born to him. He was sent back from the island, and did not reach the capital (of Japan). Owing to his having been born on an island, he received the name of Shima. There is now in the sea of Kawara[3] an island called Nirim Shima[4] which is the King's birthplace. Therefore the Pèkché people call this island Nirim Shima. Considering that King Shima was King Kèro's son, and King Malta King Konchi's son, the expression 'elder brother by a different mother' is not clear."[5]

[1] This is the Corean pronunciation of the characters given, but very likely these are not the proper characters for his name, and are only a phonetic Japanese rendering of the sound. The traditional Kana rendering is Otara.

[2] Or Mata if the Japanese pronunciation is taken. His real name was Mutè.

[3] The traditional Kana pronunciation.

[4] The traditional Kana has sema, for the Corean syom, island. Nirim means Lord.

[5] The "Tongkam" (Vol. V. 4) account of these events is as follows:—"Autumn, 8th month (A.D. 501). Pèkché built the Castle of Karim (in Chollado), which was occupied by a garrison under a military officer named Chak Ka.

Winter, 11th month. Chak Ka of Pèkché slew his Lord Mutè. Before

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tabulas imposuit et, equis adhibitis, fecit ut coirent cum eis. Tum, examinatione habitâ, quarum pudenda madida erant, eas interfecit, quarum autem madida non erant, eas fecit servas publicas. These things he took a pleasure in.

At this time he dug a pond and made a park which he filled with birds and beasts. Here he was fond of hunting, and of racing dogs and trying horses. He went out and in at all times, taking no care to avoid storms and torrents of rain. Being warmly clad himself, he forgot that the people were starving from cold; eating dainty food, he forgot that the Empire was famishing. He gave great encouragement to dwarfs and performers, making them execute riotous music. He prepared strange diversions, and gave licence to lewd voices. Night and day he constantly indulged to excess in sake in the company of the women of the Palace. His cushions were of brocade, and many of his garments were of damask and fine white silk. XVI. 10.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Namiki.

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C

日本協會雜誌

附錄第一

日本記

卷之二

TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.,

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME II.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK			Accession A.D.	PAGE
XVII.	KEIDAI TENNŌ		507	1
XVIII.	ANKAN	„	534	26
„	SENKWA	„	536	33
XIX.	KIMMEI	„	540	36
XX.	BIDATSU	„	572	90
XXI.	YŌMEI	„	586	106
„	SUJUN	„	588	112
XXII.	SUIKO	„	593	121
XXIII.	JOMEI	„	629	157
XXIV.	KŌGYOKU	„	642	171
XXV.	KŌTOKU	„	645	195
XXVI.	SAIMEI	„	655	248
XXVII.	TENCHI	„	662	274
XXVIII.	TEMMU	„ (Part I.)	673	301
XXIX.	TEMMU	„ (Part II.)	„	321
XXX.	JITŌ	„	687	382

ERRATA ET ADDENDA 425

INDEX 433

NIHONGI.

BOOK XVII.

THE EMPEROR WOHODO.

(*KEIDAI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohodo [otherwise called Hiko-futo no Mikoto] was the son of Prince Hiko nushi-bito, a descendant in the fifth generation of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Furuhime. She was a descendant in the seventh generation of the Emperor Ikume. The Emperor's father, hearing at his country-house at Miwo, in the district of Takashima, in the province of Ohomi, of the extreme and resplendent beauty of Furuhime's countenance, sent a messenger to Sakanawi in Mikuni to ask for her in marriage. He took her to him as his consort, and she eventually gave birth to the Emperor.

The Prince, the Emperor's father, died while the Emperor was yet a child. Furuhime thereupon made lament, saying:—"I am now far removed from my native place: how could I bring him up (here)? I will return to my parents at Takamuku [Takamuku is a village in Echizen], and there respectfully bring up the Emperor." XVII. 2.

When the Emperor attained to manhood, he loved the people, and was courteous to men of worth. He was of a generous disposition.

The Emperor Wohatsuse died in the 8th year of his reign, in Winter, the 12th month, 8th day, at the age of fifty-seven. He had never had any children, either sons or daughters, and there was no one to succeed him.

[1] Succeed-body.

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remained, and for a good while he did not consent. Just then he chanced to learn that Arako, Kahachi no Mŭmakahi no Obito had sent a messenger secretly to inform him minutely of the real intentions of the Oho-omi and Ohomuraji in sending to escort him. After a delay of two days and three nights, he at length set out. Then he exclaimed, admiringly:—"Well done, Mŭmakahi no Obito! Had it not been for the information given by thy messenger, I ran a great risk of being made a laughing-stock to the Empire. The proverbial saying, 'Be not a respecter of rank, but value the heart,' was doubtless meant for men like Arako." When he came to the throne, he treated Arako with special favour.

12th day. The Emperor arrived at the Palace of Kusuba.

2nd month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, went on his knees, and, with repeated obeisances, presented the Mirror, the Sword, and the Imperial Signet. The XVII. 5.
Emperor Wohodo declined them, saying:—"It is no light matter to be a father to the people and to rule the State. I, the unworthy one, am deficient in ability, and do not deserve to be thought fit for it. I pray thee, alter thy purpose, and select some wise person, for I, the unworthy one, do not dare to accept." Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, bowing down to the ground, persisted in his request. Then the Emperor Wohodo, facing the west, declined three times, and facing the south,[1] declined twice. Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and the rest all said:—"In the humble judgment of thy servants, the Great Prince is excellently fitted to be a father to the people and to rule the State. On behalf of the ancestral temples and the temples of the Earth and of Grain, thy servants' judgment dares not be hasty. Availing ourselves of the general desire, we pray that thou wilt graciously be pleased to grant thy acceptance." The Emperor Wohodo said:—"Ye Oho-omi and Ohomuraji, and all ye high officials! Since you all urge me, the unworthy one, I, the unworthy one, do not presume to oppose you." So he accepted the Imperial Signet.[2]

On this day he assumed the Imperial dignity. Ohotomo,

[1] The Imperial position.

[2] Was this Signet the Signet given the Japanese Emperor by China ("Early Japanese History," p. 70)? Or is it merely a Chinese expression for the gem 玉, which was one of the three regalia?

Kanamura no Ohomuraji was appointed Ohomuraji, Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi was made Oho-omi, and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji was made Ohomuraji, all being confirmed in their previous offices. Thereupon the Oho-omi and Ohomuraji each entered on their respective offices and ranks.

10th day. Ohotomo no Ohomuraji petitioned the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant has been informed that it was a principle of government with former sovereigns that without the confirmation of an heir to the throne, it is impossible to give security to heaven and earth. Without the intimacy of the
XVII. 6. side-courts, it is impossible to continue the calices.[1] For this reason, the Emperor Shiraga, having no heir, sent thy servant's grandfather, Ohomuraji Muruya, to all the provinces to establish three kinds of Shiraga Be [These three kinds were, first, Shiraga Be no Toneri; second, Shiraga Be no Kashihade; third, Shiraga Be no Yugehi, by which his name might remain to after ages. Alas! was not this painful? I pray thee, therefore, to establish the Imperial Princess Tashiraka[2] and take her to thee as Empress. Then send the officials charged with the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth to make reverent sacrifice to them, and ask of them an Imperial scion, who shall fully respond to the hopes of thy people." The Emperor said:—"Be it so."

3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The Gods of Heaven and Earth must not want a master of their worship; the universe must not fail of a Lord. Heaven produces the nation, and establishes it by means of a supreme ruler, whom it causes to superintend its supply of food, so that each man's life may be preserved. The Ohomuraji, grieving for Our childlessness, has displayed his loyalty towards the State, showing generation after generation a devoted fidelity. Is this simply for the sake of Our own reign?

Let the Imperial Princess Tashiraka be brought to meet me with all due ceremony."

5th day. The Imperial Princess Tashiraka was made Empress, and took the government of the interior (of the

[1] The calyx is that which supports the flower. Hence it is put for an heir to the throne.

[2] Daughter of the Emperor Ninken.

Palace). She eventually gave birth to a son, who became Ame-kuni-oshi-harani[1]-hiro-niha no Mikoto.[2] He was the rightful heir, but as he was young in years, he held the Empire after his two elder brothers [The two elder brothers were Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kanahi no Mikoto and Take-o-hiro-kuni-oshi- XVII. 7.
tate no Mikoto. See below.] had ruled it.

9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We have heard that if men are of fit age and do not cultivate, the Empire may suffer famine; if women are of fit age and do not spin, the Empire may suffer cold. Therefore is it that the sovereigns cultivate with their own hands, so as to give encouragement to agriculture, while their consorts rear silk-worms themselves, so as to encourage the mulberry season. How, then, shall there be prosperity if all, from the functionaries down to the ten thousand families, neglect agriculture and spinning? Let the officials publish this to all the Empire, so that our sentiments may be made known."

14th day. The Emperor took to him eight concubines.

Some of the eight concubines whom he took to him were earlier, others later. When it is said that they were taken on this day (the 14th), it is meant that then for the first time they were lodged in the after palace, a lucky day having been selected by divination, in consequence of the accession to the Imperial Dignity. Thus the facts are glossed over. Other cases are to be understood similarly.

The senior concubine's name was Menoko [otherwise called Irohe], daughter of Kusaka, Wohari no Muraji. She gave birth to two children, both of whom possessed the Empire. The first was called the Imperial Prince Magari no Ohine,[3] who became Oshi-kuni-oshi-take-kanahi no Mikoto.[4] The second was called the Imperial Prince Hinokuma Takada, who became Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate no Mikoto.[5] The next concubine was Wakugohime, younger sister of Miho no Tsuno-wori no Kimi. She gave birth to the Imperial Prince Oho-iratsuko and the Imperial Princess Idzumo. The next was called XVII. 8.
Hirohime, the daughter of Prince Ohomata of Sakata. She gave birth to three daughters, the eldest of whom was called

[1] The "Kojiki" has haruki. Another rendering is hiraki.
[2] The Emperor Kimmei.
[3] Or Ohoye.
[4] Ankan Tennō.
[5] Senkwa Tennō.

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Southern Sea first had communication with the Land of Pèkché.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month. Envoys were sent to Pèkché. A.D. 509.

The statement in the Pèkché "Original Record" that Lord Kuramachi came from Japan (Nippon) is unclear.

The subjects of Pèkché, who during three or four generations had made their escape and were living as refugees in the villages of the Japanese domain of Imna, having lost their place in the register of population, were all removed to Pèkché and replaced on the registers. XVII. 10.

5th year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was transferred to Tsutsuki in Yamashiro. A.D. 511.

6th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, was sent on a mission to Pèkché with a present of 44 horses of the Land of Tsukushi. A.D. 512.

Winter, 12th month. Pèkché sent an envoy with tribute. In a separate memorial Pèkché asked for four districts of the Land of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Syata, and Muro. Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of the Land of Tari, made a representation to the Emperor, saying:—"These four districts border on Pèkché and are far separated from the Japanese Residency. Morning and evening they (i.e. Pèkché and Tari) exchange communications: their fowls and dogs cannot be kept apart. If they are now ceded to Pèkché and

Tamna is in the midst of the Southern Sea. In ancient times there were no inhabitants. Then there were three divine men who bubbled up from the earth. The eldest was called Nang-eul-la, the next was called Ko-eul-la, and the third Pu-eul-la. One day these three, having gone out to hunt by the sea-side, found a stone coffer. On opening it, they discovered three women, with cattle of various sorts and seeds of the five kinds of grain. They eventually shared between them, taking the women as wives. Then each betook himself to a well-watered fertile spot and selected by divination a residence. Nang-eul-la's dwelling was called First City, Ko-eul-la's Second City, and Pu-eul-la's Third City Then they sowed the five grains and pastured the cattle, and prospered and multiplied from day to day. Tamna is also called Tam-mu-ra."—"Tongkam," IV. 31.

"A.D. 498. The King of Pèkché, because Tamna did not pay tribute, set out himself on an expedition against it. He got as far as Muchinchiu, when the Tamna people heard of it and sent messengers to beg for pardon. So they were let off."—"Tongkam," V. 3.

There is no mention of Tamna in the "Tongkam" under the year 508.

united to it so as to form one country, no better measure of conservation can be adopted. It is true, no doubt, that even if ceded and united to Pèkché there will still be a danger for future generations. Much more how many years could they be defended if they became foreign territory?"[1]

Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, having thoroughly comprehended this report, adopted this policy and laid it before the Emperor. Accordingly Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, was appointed Imperial envoy. Mononobe no Ohomuraji was on the point of leaving for the official inn at Naniha in order to make known the Emperor's commands to the Pèkché guests, when his wife expostulated with him, saying:—"Originally the Deities[2] of Sumiyoshi bestowed on the Emperor Homuda while in the womb the gold and silver lands beyond the sea, namely Koryö, Pèkché, Silla, and Imna. Therefore did the Great Empress[3] Okinaga-tarashihime no
XVII. 11. Mikoto and the Oho-omi Takechi no Sukune first establish Government Houses[4] in each of these countries and constitute them our screen territory beyond the sea. So that this has not come to pass without reason. If now we were to divide off (a part) and grant it to others, we should be acting contrary to the interests of our own land. How, in that case, during the long ages should reproach be sundered from men's mouths?" The Ohomuraji answered and said:—"Thy advice is reasonable, but I fear to disobey the Celestial command." His wife remonstrated with him earnestly, saying:—"Pretend that thou art ill, and do not make communication." The Ohomuraji was guided by this remonstrance, and therefore another envoy was appointed to make known the Imperial will. Presents were given, and an Imperial decree granting four districts of Imna in accordance with the petition. The Imperial Prince Ohine, owing to certain business, had not heard of the cession of territory. When it was too late he learnt that the decree had been issued. He was surprised and dissatisfied, and endeavoured to have it altered, saying:—

[1] The meaning is that Pèkché will be better able to prevent these provinces from falling into the hands of Silla than Japan. All Imna was conquered by Silla in A.D. 562. See below, XIX. 51.

[2] See above, Vol. I. pp. 233-235, and "Satow's Handbook," p. 192.

[3] The word used does not mean a reigning Empress. [4] Miyake.

"Since the days of the Emperor in the womb[1] there has been established the land of our Government House. Shall we lightly yield to the request of a frontier land and grant it away without difficulty?" Accordingly he sent Hiwashi[2] no Kishi to make a fresh intimation to the Pèkché guests. The Envoys, however, replied, saying:—"The Emperor, the father, has already, for considerations of expediency, consummated a grant by Imperial decree. How can the Imperial Prince, his son, act contrary to the Emperor's expressed will, and unauthorizedly make to us a different intimation? Surely he cannot be in earnest. But granting that it were true, which is the more painful—to be beaten with the large end of a staff or with the small one?" At length they took their departure. Upon this it was rumoured that Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of the Land of Tari, had received bribes from Pèkché.

7th year, Summer, 6th month. Pèkché sent General Chya- A D. 513.
mi Mun-kwi and General Chyu-ri Cheung-ni along with Oshi-
yama, Hodzumi no Omi [the Pèkché "Original Record" says,
"Commissioning Lord Oshiyama"], to bring as tribute a
scholar of the five classics named Tan Yang-ni. They XVII. 12.
separately addressed the Emperor, saying:—"The land of Pan-phi[3] has seized thy servants' territory of I-mun.[4] I humbly pray that the Celestial favour may decide that it be restored to its original jurisdiction."

Autumn, 8th month, 26th day. Syun-ta, the eldest son of the King of Pekché, died.[5]

9th month. The Imperial Prince Magari no Ohine in person[6] betrothed to himself the Imperial Princess Kasuga. Thereupon all through the moonlit night they held sweet con-

Ōjin Tennō.

[2] This name means sun-eagle. There is a god called Ama-no Hiwashi mentioned in the "Kogojiui."

[3] The traditional Kana is Hahe. It is doubtful here which rendering to follow.

[4] It seems to have been Japanese at this time. The "Seishiroku" says that in the reign of Mimaki-irihiko the Imna people asked Japan to annex I-mun, as the inhabitants were in constant strife with Silla. I-mun was a district on the north-east frontier of Imna.

[5] The "Tongkam" says nothing of this.

[6] i.e. without a middle-man. She was Ninken's daughter.

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Down the river of Hatsuse
(The secluded)
A bamboo comes floating—
Close-jointed, long-jointed; [1]
The bottom part
Making into a lute,
The upper part
Making into a flute,
Blowing into it (the flute), playing on it (the lute),
Were I to ascend and stand
On the top of Mimoro,
And publish it [2] there,
The very fishes
That pass under the water
Of the pond of Ihare
(The creeper-clad) [3]
Would come to the surface and lament:
The august girdle of small pattern,[4]
Girded on XVII. 1
By our Great Lord
Who rules peacefully,
Hangs down in a knot—
Not a man is there whoever he may be
But would come up and lament.

Winter, 11th month, 5th day. General Chya-mi Mun-kwi of Pèkché, Mun-tok-chi of Silla, Sin-i-hyé and Pun-pha-wi-sa of Ara and Kwi-chon-hyé and Chyung-mun-chi of Pan-phi were sent for to attend Court in a body, and received communication of a gracious Imperial order, giving I-mun and Tè-sa to the Land of Pèkché.

In this month the Land of Pan-phi sent Cheup-chi with

[1] Close-jointed at the bottom, long-jointed at the top. At least so one commentator. There are other equally unsatisfactory explanations of this line.

[2] Viz. the sadness of the coming of the dawn under the circumstances above described.

[3] Iha means "rock." Therefore the epithet in parentheses.

[4] This and the next four lines are introduced solely because tarè, "to hang down," also means "who." I have endeavoured to imitate this by "knot" and "not." See above, Vol. I. p. 402.

This poem amounts to this:—

"If to the accompaniment of music I were to express the sadness of our parting, the very fishes would lament, and all men who heard me would lament."

presents of rare and valuable objects, asking for the Land of I-mun. Eventually it was refused them.

12th month, 8th day. An Imperial decree was made, saying:—"We, having taken over the Celestial succession, have been watchful to preserve the Ancestral Temples, and have been wary and fearful. For a while the Empire has been at peace; within the seas there has been serenity and calm. Years of abundance have been frequent, redounding to the prosperity of the Land. Admirable! Maroko,[1] thou hast made known our sentiments to the eight quarters. Magnificent! Magari no Ohine! thou hast cast a lustre on our authority amongst all countries. Japan[2] is harmonious, and each man may do as he pleases in the Empire. Akitsu is glorified, and the Royal territory raised to high honour. Thou prizest nought but wisdom: in nothing dost thou take greater pleasure than in doing good. Depending on this, the sagely
XVII. 15. influences undulate afar: leaning upon this, the profound virtue is permanently supported. Truly, such is thy virtue that thou art fit to occupy the Spring Palace,[3] to aid Us in dispensing benevolence, and to assist Us by supplementing our deficiencies."

A.D. 514. 8th year, 1st month. The eldest Prince's Consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga, was late in coming out one morning, and was not in her ordinary state. The eldest Prince's suspicions were aroused. He went into the Palace, and found his Consort lying on her couch weeping and sobbing. Her passion was such that she could not control it. The eldest Prince, thinking it strange, inquired of her, saying:—"What cause of grief hast thou, that thou sobbest and weepest this morning?" His Consort said:—"Thy handmaiden's sorrow hath no other cause but this. The heaven-soaring birds, in order lovingly to nurture their young, build nests on the tree-tops, so deep is their affection for them. The creeping things that crawl upon the ground, in order to guard their offspring, make holes in the ground, so careful is their guardianship of them. How then should mankind be wanting in foresight?

[1] Ankan Tennō.

[2] "Japan" is probably an anachronism. The whole speech has every appearance of being an invention of later times.

[3] The Palace of the Heir to the Throne.

The grief of childlessness having befallen the eldest Prince, thy handmaiden's name also becomes extinct." The Heir Apparent sympathized with her in her sorrow, and informed the Emperor, who made a decree, saying:—"Our son, Maroko![1] thy Consort's words are in profound accordance with reason. It is impossible that they should remain void, and without a consolatory response. Let her be granted the granary[2] of Saho, to bear her name for ten thousand generations."

3rd month. Panphi built castles at Chă-thŭn[3] and Tè-sa, thus bringing itself in line with Manhyé. They also established beacon-towers, as a defensive measure against Japan. XVII. 16
Moreover, they built castles at Ni-nyöl-pi and Masupi, and so connected with Ma-chò-hyé and Chhyu-pu; they brought together troops and weapons, wherewith they harassed Silla, making booty of women and children, and fleecing the villages. Their violence increasing, scarce any inhabitants remained. Their deeds of outrage, profligacy, injury, oppression, and murder were too numerous to set down in detail.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. General Mun-kwi, A.D. 515.
the Pèkché envoy, and his party asked leave to go away. By an Imperial decree Mononobe no Muraji [his personal name is not given] was attached to them, and they were allowed to go back.

The Pèkché "Original Record" says:—"Mononobe no chichi[4] no Muraji."

In this month they came to the Island of Sa-to,[5] where they learned by report that men of Pan-phi, with hate in their bosoms and venom in their mouths, were committing wanton outrage, trusting in brute force. Therefore Mononobe no Muraji, in command of a fleet of five hundred war-ships, made straight for the estuary of Tè-sa, and General Mun-kwi departed by way of Silla.

Summer, 4th month. Mononobe no Muraji remained at anchor in the estuary of Tè-sa.

[1] I should like to find some authority for omitting "our son" and translating maro-ko thus See above, Vol. I. p. 264, where maro ga chi is rendered "our father."

[2] Miyake.

[3] 子 呑. See below, XVII. 18, where 巳 呑 (Kwithăn) is probably this place, one of the two being a mistake.

[4] i.e. "the father."

[5] Sand-island.

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18th year, Spring, 1st month. The Pèkché Heir Apparent, Myöng,[1] assumed the (Royal) dignity. A.D. 524.

20th year, Autumn, 9th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Tamaho in Ihare.[2] [In one book it says 7th year.] A.D. 526 XVII. 18

21st year, Summer, 6th month, 3rd day. Afumi no Kena no Omi, in command of an army of 60,000 men, was about to proceed to Imna, in order to re-establish and unite to Imna South Kara and Tök-să-thăn, which had been conquered by Silla, when Ihawi, Tsukushi no Kuni no Miyakko, secretly plotted rebellion, so that there was a delay of several years. Fearing that the matter would be hard to accomplish, he was constantly watching a favourable opportunity. Silla, knowing this, secretly practised bribery with Ihawi, and encouraged him to oppose the passage of Kena no Omi's army. Hereupon Ihawi occupied the two provinces of Hi[3] and Toyo,[4] and would not allow the taxes to be paid. Abroad he intercepted the route by sea, and led astray the yearly tribute ships from the countries of Koryö, Pèkché, Silla, and Imna, while at home he blocked the way for Kena no Omi's army which was being sent to Imna. He lifted up his voice in abusive language, saying:—"Thou who hast now become an envoy wast formerly my companion. We rubbed shoulders and touched elbows; we ate the same food from the same vessels. How canst thou lightly be made an envoy, and make me come freely XVII. 19 and prostrate myself before thee?" He at length fought and would not receive him; he was haughty and self-conceited. For this reason Kena no Omi was prevented midways from proceeding on his journey, and was detained. The Emperor addressed Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, and Wobito, Kose no Oho-omi, saying:—"Ihawi of Tsukushi has rebelled, and has occupied the territory of the western wilds. Whom shall we now make general?" Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and the others all said:—"For uprightness, humane bravery, and acquaintance with military matters there is at present no one who goes out to the right of[5] Arakahi." The Emperor said:—"Be it so."

[1] His name was Myongnye 明禮.
[2] Back again to Yamato.
[3] Now Hizen and Higo.
[4] Buzen and Bungo.
[5] i.e. excels. This is a Chinese phrase. The left is now the honourable side; at one time the right was so.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Ah, Ohomuraji![1] here is this Ihawi who will not obey us. Do thou go and chastise him." The Ohomuraji, Mononobe no Arakahi, with repeated obeisances, said:—"Ah! Ihawi, that unprincipled knave of the western wilds, relies on the impediments of rivers, and does not appear at Court. He trusts to the steepness of the mountains, and stirs up disorder. He subverts virtue and acts contrary to principle; he is insolent and wise in his own conceit. From Michi no Omi in ancient times down to Muruya[3] at present (there have been ministers who) have fought at the same time both for their Emperor and to rescue the people from misery. This is
XVII. 20 simply owing to the help of Heaven, and thy servant has always been impressed with its importance. How should he fail reverently to smite them?"

The Emperor charged him, saying:—"The generalship of a good commander consists in dispensing kindness and exercising forbearance: he rules others with the leniency he shows to himself. In attack he is like the bursting forth of a river, in combat he resembles the rising of the storm." Again he charged him, saying:—"On a great commander depends the lives of the people and the existence of the State. Be earnest, and reverently execute the Celestial punishment." The Emperor took up the battle-axe[4] in his own hands, and delivered it to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"We will control the country from Anato eastward; do thou hold sway over the land from Tsukushi westwards. Dispense rewards and punishments absolutely, and trouble not thyself to make frequent reference to Us."

A.D. 528. 22nd year, Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Commander-in-chief Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, taking personal command, engaged battle with the rebel leader, Ihawi, in the district of Miwi in Tsukushi. The flags and drums approached close to each other, the dust (from both armies) became mingled. The critical moment for the two armies arrived, and the position was such that ten thousand deaths seemed

[1] i.e. Arakahi.
[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 117.
[3] Muruya was Kanamura's father.
[4] An emblem of authority.

unavoidable. At length he slew Ihawi, and eventually subdued the frontier land.[1]

12th month. Kuzu, Kimi of Tsukushi, fearing to be involved in his father's execution, offered to the Emperor the Granary[2] of Kasuya, asking to be allowed to ransom his life.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché addressed Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of Lower Tari, saying:—"Now our tribute envoys have always to avoid the headlands and expose themselves to the winds and waves. In consequence of this the goods they bear become wet and wholly spoiled and unsightly. I pray that thou wilt make the Port of Tasa in Kara the crossing route by which to send thy servant's tribute." Oshiyama no Omi made application to the Emperor accordingly.

This month Kasone, Mononobe no Ise no Muraji, Kishi no Okina,[3] and others were sent to make over the Port to the King of Pèkché. Hereupon the King of Kara spoke to the Imperial Envoys, saying:—"This Port ever since the establishment of the (Japanese) Government House has been the port of passage for your servant's tribute. How can you without grave reason change this state of things and grant it to a neighbouring country, contrary to the original definitive enfeoffment of this territory?" The Imperial Envoy Kasone and his colleagues were accordingly unable to make the grant

[1] According to the "Tsukushi Fudoki," the tomb of Ihawi was, at the time of writing, to be seen two ri to the south of Kami-tsuma no agata "The height of the mound was seven rods (of ten feet, no doubt measured along the slope), and its circuit six rods (something wrong here). The ground belonging to the tomb was sixty rods from north to south, and forty from east to west. (This looks like a double mound) On all four sides there are sixty stone men, with stone shields, arrayed against each other in order of battle. At the north-east corner there is a separate plot of ground, called the kitchen. In this there is one stone man, in a standing position, who is called 'the carver,' and in front of him a naked figure prostrate on the ground, called 'the thief.' On the side there are four stone pigs, called 'the plunder.' In that place, moreover, there are three stone horses, three stone halls, and two stone warehouses. The oldest inhabitants say that Ihawi had this place constructed in his lifetime."

Some of these remains are still in existence, and I rather think that it is one of the stone figures which is now in the Uyeno Museum at Tokio.

[2] Miyake.

[3] Kishi was originally a Corean rank; Okina means old man.

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Kara[1] and Tök-să-than. Pèkché sent the Lord-General Yun-kwi Ma-na, Kap-pè Ma-ro and others to Ara respectfully to hear the Emperor's decree. Silla, fearing lest the Government which he had established in the frontier provinces should be destroyed, did not send a grandee. He only sent Pu-chi-na-ma-nyé and Hyé-na-ma-nyé to Ara respectfully to listen to the Imperial decree. Hereupon Ara built a new High-Hall, into which the Imperial Ambassador was led up, the ruler of the country ascending the staircase behind him. One or two of the local grandees had already ascended the Hall, but the Pèkché envoys, the Lord-General, and the others remained below. The consultations were repeated for many months[2] in the Hall above, until the Lord-General and the others grew angry at having to remain in the Courtyard. XVII. 23.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Kwi-neung-ma-ta[3] Kanki, King of Imna,[4] came to Court. [Kwi-neung-ma-ta was doubtless the Arasăteung.] He addressed Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, saying:—"The several frontier provinces beyond the sea, ever since the time of the Emperor in the womb, have had Interior Government Houses placed in them. My land has not been abandoned, but the territory has been enfeoffed to me, not without good reason. But now Silla, in defiance of this original definitive enfeoffment, has frequently crossed the borders and invaded us. I pray, therefore, that thou wilt represent this to the Emperor, so that he may come to the assistance of his servant's country." The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo, in accordance with his request, laid the matter before the Emperor.

In this month an envoy was sent to escort Kwi-neung-ma-ta Kanki, and at the same time to convey to Afumi no Kena no Omi, who was resident in Imna, the instructions of the Emperor to investigate thoroughly the matter represented to him, and in a friendly way to dissipate their mutual suspicions. Hereupon Kena no Omi lodged at Kumanare[5] [one book

[1] See above, p. 15. [2] The "Shukai" corrects this to "days."

[3] The traditional Kana is Konomatta.

[4] The "Shukai" has a note that Imna is Kara. The name given here is not that of the King of Kara at this time. He may have been only a prince.

[5] Or Eung-chön, i.e. Bear-river. See Vol. I. pp. 232, 368.

XVII. 24. says he lodged at Kusă-mura in Imna], whither he summoned together the kings of the two countries, Silla and Pèkché. Cha-ri-chi,[1] King of Silla, sent Ku-chi-pu-nyé[2] [one book says Ku-nyé-ni-să-chi and (?) U-na-să-ma-ri], and Pèkché the Eunsol[3] Mi-teung-ni, to proceed to meet together at the place where Kena no Omi was. But the two kings did not attend in person. Kena no Omi was much incensed, and called the two envoys to an account for it, saying:—"It is the law of Heaven that the Small should wait upon the Great. [One book says:—'To the end of a great tree, you join a great tree; to the end of a small tree, you join a small tree.'] Why do the kings of the two countries send envoys in this disrespectful way instead of coming in person to the meeting and receiving the Emperor's commands? But now, even if your kings came themselves to hear the Imperial commands, I would not consent to deliver them, but would surely drive them away." Ku-chi-pu-nyé and the Eunsol Mi-teung-ni, with dread in their hearts, returned each to his own country to call his king. Accordingly, Silla sent another envoy, the Chief Minister, I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi Kanki, with a following of three thousand men, to come and ask leave to hear the Imperial commands. Kena no Omi, seeing from afar that he was being encompassed by several thousand armed men, left Kumanare and entered the castle of Kwi-cheul-kwi-ri[4] in Imna. I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi Kanki took up his lodging on the plain of Tatara,
XVII. 25. and, not daring to go back, waited for three months, requesting leave repeatedly to hear the Imperial message. But to the last its communication was not vouchsafed him. Some men under I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi's command were begging for food in the villages when they passed Mikari, Kahachi Mumakahi no Obito, a retainer of Kena no Omi. Mikari went in and hid behind somebody's gate, and, waiting till the beggars were passing, clenched his fists and struck at them from afar. The beggars, seeing this, said:—"We have waited patiently for

[1] The "Tongkam" calls the King of Silla at this time Pöp-hung. This is the posthumous name. His name in life was Won-chong. Neither agrees with the name given here.

[2] Ku-chi-pu-nyé. The Japanese pronunciation is Kuchi-fune.

[3] The Eunchol were the third class of Pèkché dignitaries.

[4] Koshikori is the traditional Kana pronunciation.

three months in hopes of hearing the Emperor's will. But you still refuse to communicate it, and harass the envoys who have been sent to listen to the Imperial message. Hence, we see that your object is to befool and put to death the Chief Minister." So they reported to the Chief Minister all that they had seen, and he thereupon seized four villages, Keum-kwan,[1] Hè-mu, A-ta, and Wi-tha [one book says Tatara, Sunara, A-ta, and Pi-chi were the four villages], took possession of all the people and their goods, and withdrew to his own country. Some said that it was the fault of Kena no Omi that these four villages, Tatara and the rest, were plundered.

Autumn, 9th month. The Oho-omi, Kose no Obito, died.

24th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"From the Emperor Ihare-hiko[2] until King Mimaki,[3] all (the sovereigns) put their trust in learned Ministers and enlightened assistants. Therefore Michi[4] no Omi propounded the policy, and divine Japan[5] flourished. Ohohiko enounced plans, and Inihe[6] was exalted. Among those Princes of succeeding generations who were successful in re- XVII. 26. establishing what had fallen into decay, what one has there ever been who did not rely upon wise counsels? Now, coming down to the time when the Emperor Wohatsuse ruled the Empire, auspiciously receiving it over from the previous sages, there was long peace and prosperity, during which morals became gradually deteriorated, and there was no awakening, while the Government became gradually steeped in decay, and there was no reform. But he looked out for (proper) men, and each had advancement after his kind. If a man had great capacity, his shortcomings were not inquired into; if he had high abilities, his failures were not found fault with. It was for this reason that this Emperor was enabled to serve the ancestral shrines, and not to endanger the Temples of the Land and of Grain. Judging from this, could he have been wanting in enlightened assistants?

A.D. 530.

[1] The present Keumhè, then capital of Kara. [2] Jimmu Tennō.

[3] Sūjin Tennō. There seems no particular reason why one should be called a King 王, and the other an Emperor 帝.

[4] Michi means "path," "moral principle." *Vide* Vol. I. p. 117.

[5] Or Yamato.

[6] i.e. Sūjin Tennō, says the "Tsū-shō" commentary.

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his mortification? He humbly beseeches Your Majesty to await the execution of the national instructions. He will then proceed to Court and confess his faults." After sending off this messenger, he further took counsel with himself, saying:— "That Mitsugi[1] no Kishi is also an Imperial envoy. If he arrives back before me, and represents my offences to the Emperor as they really are, they will certainly be aggravated." So he sent Mitsugi no Kishi at the head of a force to guard the Castle of Isăchi mura. Hereupon the Arisăteung, seeing that a trivial matter was being made of great importance, would not apply himself to what was expected of him, but repeatedly urged his[2] returning to Court. But he persisted in his refusal to let him return. By this all his conduct was understood, and in their hearts a spirit of revolt was begotten. So he[3] sent XVII. 28
Kunyésăkwimo to Silla to ask for troops, and Nosukuri to Pèkché to ask for troops. Kena no Omi, hearing of the arrival of the Pèkché forces, went out against them and attacked Pè-phyöng. [Pè-phyöng is the name of a place—also called Ung-pi-kwi-puri.[4]] Half were killed or wounded. Pèkché accordingly seized Nosukuri, punished him with handcuffs, and put him in the cangue and chains. Then, along with Silla they laid siege to the castle, and demanded of the Arisăteung with imprecations that Kena no Omi should be produced. But Kena no Omi clung to his castle and made a vigorous defence. His strength was such that he could not be taken prisoner. Upon this the two countries measured out a suitable piece of ground, where they settled down for a month and built a castle. They then retired. This castle was called Kunyé mura. On their way home they captured the five fortified places of Teung-ni-ki-mura, Puna-mura, Mu-chă-ki-mura, A-pu-ra-mura, and Ku-chi-pha-ta-ki.[5]

Winter, 10th month. Mitsugi no Kishi arrived from Imna

[1] Mitsugi means tribute or taxes. Kishi is a title, originally Corean.

[2] Mitsugi no Kishi's. [3] The Arisăteung.

[4] Perhaps the last three syllables are meant for the Corean word *Ko eul*, a district, the Japanese kôri. The first syllable Ung means bear.

[5] These names are written with Chinese characters, used phonetically in a way which conveys the idea that the author of the "Nihongi" considered them to be Corean words. But *mura* is unmistakably the Japanese word for village, and the names too are probably Japanese, viz. Toriki-mura, Funa-mura, Mushiki-mura, Abura-mura, and Kuchihataki.

and informed the Emperor of Kena no Omi's arrogant and perverse disposition. "He was inexperienced (he said) in the administration of government, and never brought about amicable solutions. He disturbed Kara. Moreover he followed his own impulses in a high-handed manner, while he at the same time put up with evils and did not prevent them." Therefore Medzurako was sent to recall him.

In this year, Kena no Omi, having received the summons, [illegible] proceeded as far as Tsushima, where he fell ill, and died. His funeral followed up the course of the river,[1] and so entered Afumi.

His wife made a song, saying:—

To Hirakata
With the music of flutes he goes up—
The youth of Kena
Of Afumi,
With the music of flutes goes up.[2]

When Medzurako first arrived in Imna his[3] people who remained in that country sent a song, saying:—

The land of Kara,
How should it be called so?
Medzurako has come!
By the crossing of Iki—
Opposite and afar,
Medzurako has come![4]

[illegible] 7th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor took very ill. [illegible] 4th day. The Emperor died in the Tamaho Palace at Ihare, at the age of 82.[5]

[1] The Uji River.

Hirakata is the name of a place in the province of Afumi or Ōmi. The word Wakugo, youth, has here a suffix *i*, which is now wholly obsolete. It is found, however, occasionally in the "Manyoshiu," and may be identical with the Corean suffix *i*, a sort of definite article.

Funerals were accompanied by the music of flutes, as appears from other ancient notices.

[3] i.e. Kena no Omi's.

[4] Kara means "acrid, cruel, hard," as well as the country. In Medzurako there is an allusion to the adjective Medzurashiki, "strange, rare." The song expresses the satisfaction of the people of Kena no Omi's household in having Medzurako set over them instead of their own master.

[5] The "Kojiki" has forty-three, no doubt wrongly.

Winter, 12th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi on the Awi plain.[1]

A certain book says:—"The Emperor died in the 28th year of his reign, namely the year Kinoye Tora. The statement in the text that he died in the 25th year of his reign, viz. the year Kanoto I, is taken from a passage in the 'Original Record' of Pèkché. This passage runs as follows: 'In the year Kanoto I of the Cycle, the 3rd month, an army advanced to Ara and constructed the fortified place of Kwi-tök. In this month Koryò slew their king An. It is said, moreover, that the Emperor of Japan with the Prince Imperial died at the same time and were buried.' This was the authority on which the statement was made. The year Kanoto I corresponds to the 25th year of the reign. Later inquirers may ascertain which is correct."[2]

[1] In Settsu. This misasagi is visible from the railway, on the left as one goes from Osaka to Kioto.

[2] The uncertainty about this date shows how imperfect the chronological records must have been even at this late period.

There is this difficulty about making Keidai die in the 28th year of his reign. He was then 82, and his son died the following year, aged 70, which would make him born when his father was only 13. One chronological work suggests that there was an interregnum. But this is contrary to the positive statement in the "Nihongi."

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Akami]. There were, besides, three consorts appointed, viz., Satehime, daughter of Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi, Satehime's younger sister, Kagarihime, and Yakahime, daughter of Mononobe no Itahi no Ohomuraji.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The High Steward, Ohomaro Kashihade no Omi,[1] by command of the Emperor, sent a messenger to Ishimi[2] to get pearls. The Kuni no Miyakko of Ishimi delayed coming to the capital, and the time passed without their delivering them. Ohomaro Kashihade no Omi was greatly incensed, and, having seized and bound the Kuni no Miyakko, interrogated them as to the reason. Wakugo no Atahe and the other Kuni no Miyakko were afraid, and ran away, and concealed themselves in an inner chamber of the hinder-palace.[3] The Empress Kasuga, unaware that they had come straight in,[4] was startled, and fell down deeply ashamed. Wakugo no Atahe and the others, being already convicted of the crime of intrusion, and having become liable to severe punishment, humbly offered the Empress the Miyake[5] of Ishimi to be her absolute property, praying her to accept it by way of atonement for their offence of intrusion. A settlement was therefore made of the Miyake of Ishimi. It was now XVIII. 3.
divided and made into districts, which were attached to the province of Kadzusa.

[1] Kashihade no Omi means "steward minister," so that here the name and the office coincided, as they frequently did at this time.

[2] In Kadzusa.

[3] i.e. the Empresses' apartments.

[4] Without warning or introduction.

[5] The Miyake are frequently mentioned below. The word is defined in Yamada's Dictionary as follows;—"Mi means august; yake, house. The Miyake were granaries, in which was stored the rice which the peasants were made to cultivate on lands belonging to the government in the various provinces. The term was also applied to the government buildings belonging to them."

This word is written in two ways in Chinese. One rendering means store-house or granary, the other government house. The Miyake has two aspects corresponding to this distinction. They were primarily granaries to which were attached cultivated lands and serfs, and they were also local centres of government. But the present and other passages show that they were frequently private property. The Japanese Residency in Imna is called a Miyake, and even the kingdoms of Pèkché and Silla are so termed. The Miyake are evidently the older Be somewhat modified. Cf. Vol. I. p. 214.

5th month. Pèkché sent the Ha-pu Syu-tök, Työk Tök-son, and the Syang-pu[1] To-tok, Kwi Chyukwiru, to come and render the Imperial tribute, and separately to present a memorial.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The Empress, it is true, is of one body with the Emperor, but their designations, one being outer and the other inner, are quite distinct. Moreover let there be assigned a tract of Miyake land from (the revenues of) which to erect a Pepper[2] Court, so that after generations may hand down its memory." Imperial Commissioners were accordingly appointed to select good rice-land. The Imperial Commissioners, having received this charge, addressed Ajihari [otherwise called Satohi], Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahè, saying:—"Thou shouldst now offer to the Emperor the fat rice-land of Kiji." Ajihari conceived a sudden grudging, and deceived the Imperial Commissioners, saying:—"This rice-land is subject to drought, and hard to irrigate. The surface water percolates readily, so that the expenditure of labour would be enormous, and the harvest very small." The Imperial Commissioners, in accordance with these words, made their report to the Emperor without reserve.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. The Emperor commanded Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Although we have taken to us four wives there has been up till now no heir. When ten thousand years have passed,[3] Our name will be extinct. What dost thou propose should now be done, Our uncle[4] of Ohotomo? Whenever we think of this, Our anxiety knows no rest."

Kanamura, Ohotomo no Muraji, addressed the Emperor,
XVIII. 4. saying:—"This is also a subject of anxiety to thy servant. It is necessary that all the sovereigns of this country who rule the Empire, whether they have heirs or not, should have something

[1] Official ranks. Ha-pu and Syang-pu mean respectively Lower and Upper Division.

[2] "The private apartments of the Empress, so called because (1) an Empress of the Han had the walls of her palace smeared with pepper in order to generate warmth, or (2) because she always had a supply of pepper flowers about her, hoping to be fruitful like them."—Giles.

[3] i.e. when I am dead.

[4] Uncle, like cousin or brother in the mouths of European sovereigns, is only a term of friendly greeting.

by which they should have a name. I pray, therefore, that on behalf of the Empress and thy other consorts Miyake lands may be established, and made to remain unto future generations, so that relics of the past may be manifested."

The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Be it so; let them be speedily established." Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, recommended to the Emperor that the Miyake of Oharida with serfs[1] from every province should be granted to Satehime, that the Miyake of Sakurawi [one book says, "And in addition the Miyake of Chinuyama"] with serfs from every province should be granted to Kagarihime, and that the Miyake of Naniha with spade-labourers from every district should be granted to Yakahime as an indication to posterity, and an example by which to view the past. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let it be done as proposed."

Intercalary 12th month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mishima. Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, was in attendance.

The Emperor, through Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, made inquiry as to good rice-land of the Agata-nushi[2] Ihi-bo. The Agata-nushi Ihi-bo was delighted beyond measure, and with the utmost reverence and loyalty offered as a present Upper Mino and Lower Mino, Upper Kuhabara and Lower Kuhabara, as well as land in Takefu, 40 chô in all. Ohotomo no XVIII. 5.
Ohomuraji, by command of the Emperor, addressed him,[3] saying:—"Of the entire surface of the soil, there is no part which is not a Royal grant in fee; under the wide Heavens there is no place which is not royal territory. The previous Emperors therefore[4] established an illustrious designation and handed down a vast fame: in magnanimity they were a match with Heaven and Earth: in glory they resembled the sun and moon. They rode afar and dispensed their mollifying influence to a distance; in breadth it extended beyond the bounds of the capital and cast a bright reflection throughout the boundaries of the land, pervading everywhere without a limit. Above they

[1] Tana-be. See above, Vol. I. p. 214.

[2] District-lord

[3] i.e. Ajihari.

[4] From this point to the end of the paragraph is taken from the monument of a personage named 湘東王, of the Liang Dynasty of China.

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Uneme.[1]] He also presented (to the Emperor) the Miyake of Ihokibe in Koshibe in the province of Aki, and therewith redeemed his daughter's crime. Okoshi, Mononobe no Oho- XVIII. 7
muraji, fearing that he might become implicated in the matter, could not feel secure, and presented to the Emperor Towochi Be, with Kusasa, Toi [Kusasa and Toi are names of two villages], and Nihe no Hasebe, in the province of Ise, and also Wisayamabe, in the Land of Tsukushi.

The Kuni no Miyakko of the province of Musashi, Omi, Kasahara no Atahe, had a dispute with a relation named Wogi as to who should be Kuni no Miyakko. This went on for years and could not be settled. Wogi was of an obstructive and rebellious disposition; he had a high spirit, unapt for compliance. He secretly sought support from Wokuma, the Kuni of Kamitsukenu,[2] and conspired with him to kill Omi. Omi became aware of this, and made his escape to the capital, where he informed the Court. When the matter came to be decided, Omi was made Kuni no Miyakko, and Wogi was executed. Omi, Kuni no Miyakko, his breast filled with mingled awe and gladness, could not restrain himself, but reverently offered to the State the four Miyake of Yokonu, Tachibana, Ohohi, and Kurasu.

This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st Month, 5th day. The Emperor made A.D. 535.
a decree, saying:—"Of late, for several successive years, the crops have produced well; there have been no frontier anxieties: the people take pleasure in their husbandry: my black-headed subjects of every calling are free from famine: benign influences extend agreeably over the universe: cries of admiration fill Heaven and Earth: within and without serenity is everywhere diffused: the commonwealth is flourishing: Our joy is extreme: let there be a Great Revel for five days, to the delight of the Empire."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Be of the Toneri of XVIII. 8.
Magari was established, and the Be of the Yuki of Magari.[3]

5th month, 9th day. There were established the Miyake of

[1] i.e. The Empress's waiting-women. [2] i.e. Kôdzuke.

[3] These Be were evidently intended to commemorate the Emperor's name. The Yuki were archers.

Funami and Kama in Tsukushi, the Miyake of Tosa, Kuhabara, Kato, Ohonuku and Aka in the province of Toyo, the Miyake of Kasuga be, in the province of Hi, the Miyake of Koshibe and Ushika in the province of Harima, the Miyake of Shidzuki, Tane, Kukutsu, Hawaka, and Kaha-oto, in the further province of Kibi, the Miyake of Iye and Itoshibe in the province of Ata,[1] the Miyake of Kasuga be in the province of Aha, the Miyake of Fuse and Kahabe in the province of Ki, the Miyake of Soshiki in the province of Tamba, the Miyake of Ashiura in the province of Afumi, the Miyake of Mashiki and Iruka in the province of Wohari, the Miyake of Midono
XVIII. 9. in the province of Kamitsukenu, and the Miyake of Wakanihe in the province of Suruga.[2]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. By Imperial command Be of dog-keepers[3] were established in every province.

9th month, 3rd day. The Emperor appointed Sakurawi Tanabe no Muraji, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, and Naniha no Kishi, to the charge of the revenues from the Miyake.

13th day. The Emperor specially commanded the Ohomuraji, saying:—"Let cattle be let loose on Ohosumi-jima, and in the fir-plain of Hime-jima at Naniha. By this we hope that a name will be handed down to after times."[4]

Winter, 12th month, 17th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kanabashi at Magari, at the age of seventy.

In this month the Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Takaya at Furuichi in the province of Kahachi. In this misasagi there were buried along with the Emperor the Empress, who was the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada, and the Emperor's younger sister, the Princess Kamisaki.[5]

[1] Now part of Satsuma.

[2] This institution of Miyake seems to show that the Central Government was vigorously extending its power in the provinces. The Imperial theory was being translated into practice.

[3] Inukahi, a frequent surname in old Japan. The "Shukai" says:—"They had probably charge of the dogs to guard the Miyake against thieves."

[4] In 717 A.D. an order was given to discontinue the cattle-breeding establishments of Ohosumi-jima and Hime-jima, and to allow the peasantry to till the land.

[5] Or Kanzaki.

THE EMPEROR TAKE-WO HIRO-KUNI OSHITATE.[1]

(*SENKWA*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Take-wo Hiro-kuni Oshitate was the second child of the Emperor Wohodo, and the younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hiro-kuni XVIII. I
Oshitake Kanahi.

The Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hirokuni Oshitake Kanahi died in the 12th month of the second year of his reign, leaving no heir. The Ministers in a body delivered up the sword and mirror[3] to Takewo Hirokuni Oshitate no Mikoto, and made him assume the Imperial Dignity. As to his character, his capacity was unalloyed throughout, his intelligence surpassingly bright, and he did not play the ruler, making a boast to people of his abilities. Superior men gave him their allegiance.

1st year, Spring, 1st month. The capital was transferred to A.D. 536.
Ihorino in Hinokuma,[4] whence the palace took its name.

2nd month, 1st day. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji were appointed Ohomuraji, both as before. Moreover, Soga no Iname no Sukune was made Oho-omi and Abe no Ohomaro no Omi Daibu.

3rd month, 1st day. The functionaries petitioned that an Empress might be appointed.

8th day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let her who is already my proper[5] consort, viz. the Imperial Princess Tachibana no Nakatsu, daughter of the Emperor Ohoke, be appointed Empress." She bore to him one son and three daughters. The eldest was called the Imperial Princess Ishi hime,[6] the next was called the Imperial Princess Koishi hime,[7] the next was called the Imperial Princess Kura no Wakaya hime, and the next the Imperial Prince Kamu-uye-ha [other- XVIII. II.

[1] The elements of this Emperor's name are literally "valiant-small-wide-country-push-shield."

[2] Senkwa means "diffuse-civilization." [3] The Regalia.

[4] In Yamato. [5] i.e. not a concubine [6] Stone-princess.

[7] Little-stone-princess.

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Speedily go down to the districts (in question) and make known to them Our behests."

Autumn, 7th month. Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji died.

This year was the year Hinoye Tatsu (53rd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. By reason of Silla's hostility towards Imna, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji to send his sons Iha and Sadehiko to the assistance of Imna. At this time Iha staid in Tsukushi, where he took charge of the local Government, and made preparations against the three Han.[1] Sadehiko went to Imna and restored peace there. He also lent aid to Pèkché. A.D. 537. XVIII. 13.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Ihorino in Hinokuma at the age of seventy-three. A.D. 539.

Winter, 11th month, 17th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi at the top of the acclivity of Tsukijima, in Musa, in the province of Yamato.

There were buried with him in the same misasagi the Empress, viz. the Imperial Princess Tachibana and her infant child.[2]

There is no mention in the records of the year of the Empress's death. Probably the infant child had died before reaching manhood.

[1] i.e. Silla, Pèkché, and Koryö.

[2] In Japanese wakugo. This word is also found as a proper name, which would account for the strange remark of the "Original Commentary."

BOOK XIX.

THE EMPEROR AME-KUNI OSHI-HIRAKI HIRO-NIHA.[1]

(*KIMMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ame-kuni Oshi-hiraki Hiro-niha was the rightful heir of the Emperor Wohodo. His mother's name was the Empress Tashiraka. The Emperor loved him, and kept him constantly at his side. When the Emperor was young he had a dream, in which a man appeared to him, saying:—"If thou makest a favourite of a man called Hada no Ohotsuchi, thou wilt surely possess the Empire when thou dost attain to manhood." When he awoke, he sent messengers to search everywhere. They got from the province of Yamashiro, the district of Kii and the township of Fukakusa, a man whose name and surname were actually as in the dream. Upon this joy pervaded his whole frame. "A dream without precedent!" he exclaimed, and addressed him, saying:—"Has anything happened thee?" He answered and said:—"Nothing. Only when thy servant was on his way back from Ise, whither he had gone to trade, he fell in with two wolves[3] on a mountain, who were fighting with one another, and were defiled with blood. Thy servant got down from his horse, and, having rinsed his mouth and hands, made prayer to them, saying:—'Ye are august deities, and yet ye take delight in violence.

[1] Heaven-land push-open wide-court.

[2] Kimmei. Legge renders this by "reverential, intelligent." *Vide* "Shooking," p. 15.

[3] "No true wolf exists in Japan, but Canis hodophylax is a sort of lame counterfeit of the European beast."—Dickins, in Satow and Hawes' "Handbook of Japan," p. [40]. Of the Ohokami, lit. "Great God," by which the Chinese character for wolf is rendered, Dickins says, "If it exists, nothing is known of it to science."

If ye were to fall in with a hunter, very speedily ye should be taken.' So thy servant restrained them from fighting together, and having wiped them and cleansed their blood-stained hair, eventually let them go, thus saving both their lives." The Emperor said:—"This is undoubtedly your reward."[1] So he made him to serve near his own person, and treated him with a favour which was daily renewed, so that he arrived at the height of great wealth. When the Emperor came to the throne, he appointed him to the Treasury. XIX. 2.

In Winter, the 10th month of the 4th year of his reign, the Emperor Takewo hiro-kuni oshi-tate died. The Imperial Prince, the Emperor[2] Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha, addressed the Ministers, saying:—"I am young[3] in years, and of shallow knowledge. I have not yet had experience of the affairs of government. The Empress Yamada has a clear acquaintance with all matters of administration, and I pray you to apply to her and then decide."

The Empress Yamada rendered humble thanks, saying:—"Your handmaiden has been treated with favour, far beyond seas and mountains. But the manifold machinery of government is much too difficult a charge for a woman to undertake it. Now the Imperial Prince honours age, and shows affection to the young. He treats the wise with courtesy, and all day long neglects his food while he attends to others. Not only so, but young as he is, the point comes through.[4] Already he has at his disposal an auspicious reputation, he is of a mild disposition and earnest in compassionate care. I pray the Ministers that they will, without delay, cause him to ascend to the Dignity, and preside gloriously over the Empire."[5]

12th month, 5th day. The Imperial Prince Ame-kuni oshi-

[1] i.e. his being recommended to the Emperor in a dream.

[2] *Sic.*

[3] A brother had died four years before, aged seventy, and another had just died, aged seventy-three. Kimmei is said to have died A.D. 571, at the age of sixty-three, or eighty-one, by another account. Evidently the chronology is not yet quite satisfactory.

[4] An allusion to the Chinese saying, "Talent will show itself: like an awl in a bag, the point comes through." *Vide* Giles, p. 1309.

[5] The Empress's speech is composed almost wholly of sentences from Chinese authors.

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in all 7053 houses. The Director of the Treasury was made Hada[1] no Tomo no Miyakko.

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the shrine of Hafuritsu[2] at Naniha. He was accompanied by Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, Inamochi, Kose no Omi, and Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji. The Emperor inquired of the Ministers, saying:—"How many troops would be required to conquer Silla?" Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji and the rest addressed the Emperor, saying:—"With only a few soldiers it would not be easy to chastise Silla. Formerly, in the sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Wohodo, Pèkché sent envoys petitioning that the four districts of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Syata and Muro might be granted to him.[3] Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji readily agreed with the request contained in this petition, and granted the demand. In consequence of this, Silla has cherished resentment for many years. Its chastisement should not be lightly undertaken." Now Ohotomo no Kanamura staid in his house at Sumiyoshi,[4] and, on the pretence of illness, did not attend Court. The Emperor sent Magariko, Awomi no Ohotoshi, courteously to make kind inquiries. The Ohomuraji humbly thanked the Emperor, and said:—"That which ails me is nought else than this. The Ministers now say that it was I who lost Imna. Therefore I was afraid, and did not come to Court." So he made a present to the messenger of a saddle-horse, and showed him great friendliness and honour. Awomi no Ohotoshi made a faithful report to the Emperor, who commanded, saying:—"Thou hast long shown the utmost fidelity: be not moved by what people may say." He acquitted him of all guilt, and showed him increasing favour.

This year was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor took to him five concubines. The senior concubine was the Imperial Princess Kurawakaya hime, younger sister of the Empress. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Iso no kami. The next was also a younger sister of the Empress, named the Imperial Princess Hikage. A.D. 541. XIX. 5.

[1] T'sin is called Hada in Japanese.

[2] Hafuri means a Shinto priest, tsu is probably the genitive particle.

[3] See above, p. 7.

[4] Or Suminoye, near Sakai.

The statement made here that she was the Empress's younger sister is clear. This is the daughter of the Emperor Hinokuma no Takada.[1] And yet in enumerating the consorts the name of her consort-mother and the name of the Imperial Princess do not appear. I do not know what writing it is taken from. Some future inquirer may discover.[2]

She bore to the Emperor the Imperial Prince Kura. The next was the daughter of Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune. Her name was Kitashi hime. She had seven sons and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Ohoye. He became Tachibana no Toyohi no Mikoto.[3] The second was called the Imperial Princess Ihane. [Also called the Imperial Princess Ime.] At first she was priestess to the great Deity of Ise, but was afterwards dismissed, being convicted of an intrigue with the Imperial Prince Mubaragi.[4] The third was called the Imperial Prince Atori. The fourth was called Toyomike Kashikiya no Mikoto.[5] The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Mariko. The sixth was called the Imperial Princess Ohoyake. The seventh was called the Imperial Prince Iso no Kami-be. The eighth was called the Imperial Prince Yamashiro. The ninth was called the Imperial Princess Ohotomo. The tenth was called the Imperial Prince Sakurawi. The eleventh was called the Imperial Princess Katano. The twelfth
XIX. 6. was called the Young Imperial Prince Tachibana ga moto. The thirteenth was called the Imperial Princess Toneri. The next (concubine) was a younger sister of Kitashi hime by the same mother, named Wonane-gimi. She bore four sons and one daughter. The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Prince Katsuraki. The third was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe

[1] Senkwa Tennō.

[2] These genealogies present much that is obscure and contradictory. The "Kojiki" varies. One thing, however, is clear, that the Emperors at this time married their own half-sisters and other near relations.

[3] Yōmei Tennō.

[4] Or Ibaragi, or Uberagi. He was her half-brother by the father's side, and cousin by the mother's side.

[5] Suiko Tennō.

Anahobe. [Otherwise called the Imperial Prince Amatsuka no ko: one writing has, "otherwise called the Imperial Prince Sumuto."] The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe.

One writing has:—"The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The third was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe Anahobe, otherwise called the Imperial Prince Sumuto. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Katsuraki. The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe." One writing says:—"The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Prince Sumuto. The third was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe Anahobe, also called the Imperial Prince Amatsuka no ko. The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe." In the original record of the Emperors there are many old characters, which underwent frequent alterations in the hands of the compilers. Later men, in learning to read them, modified them to suit the meaning, and, owing to their being handed down by repeated copying, errors eventually arose, by which the order was disturbed, and elder and younger mistaken for one another We have now investigated old and new, and restored the truth. In cases where it was difficult to ascertain it, we have selected and followed one (MS. ?) and noted down carefully the variants. All other (passages) follow the same rule.[1]

The next (consort) was the daughter of Kasuga no Hifuri no Omi, by name Nukako. She bore the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada, and the Imperial Prince Tachibana no Maro.

[1] It is difficult to say anything of the authorship of this note. It is clearly not from the pen of the compiler of the "Nihongi." The word I have rendered "modified" is engrave (or carve)—alter (刊 改), which looks rather as if block-printing were referred to. This would bring the writer down to the thirteenth century or thereabouts. The "original record of the Emperors" is very like the title of one of the parts of Shōtoku Daishi's "Kiujiki." See below, XXII. 32 The Japanese commentators give no help here.

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is conterminous with Silla, and it is to be feared that this will prove disastrous to Chhak-syun, etc.

By etc. is meant Tök-kwi-than and Kara. The reference is to the disaster of the conquest of Chhak-syun and the other provinces.

King Syöng-myöng said:—"In former times, during the reigns of my ancestors, King Sok-ko[1] and King Kwi-syu,[2] the Kanki of Ara, Kara, and Chhak-syun first sent envoys and entered into communication. We became knitted together by a cordial friendship, and they were treated as children or younger brothers. It was my hope that they should flourish continuously. But now they have been deceived by Silla and have caused the Emperor to be wroth, and Imna to be angry. This is the fault of me, the incompetent one, for which I am profoundly sorry. I therefore sent Maro,[3] the Ha-pu Chung-cha-phyöng, and Mèno, the Syöng-pang Kap-syo, to Kara to meet the Imna authorities, and, having sworn together, thereafter earnestly and perseveringly to concert measures for the establishment of Imna, without forgetfulness either morning or evening. Now the terms of the Emperor's commands are—'Let Imna be at once established.' I therefore wish to consult XIX. 9.
with you as to the means of setting up Imna and the other provinces. Let this matter be well weighed by you. Moreover I shall send for Silla to the Imna frontier, and ask whether he means to obey or not. Upon receiving his answer we can send envoys together to report to the Emperor and humbly receive his instructions. If, however, before the return of the envoys, Silla watches an opportunity and invades Imna, I will go to its assistance, so that there is no need for anxiety. Let us, however, make good preparation to defend ourselves; let us be watchful and not forgetful. As to what you specially tell me, viz. that you fear disaster for Chhak-syun, etc., it is not (merely) the aggressiveness of Silla which has made this possible. Tök-kwi-than lies on the border between Kara and Silla, and for several successive years has been harassed

[1] Probably King Syoko. [2] Kusyu.

[3] From this it would appear that Maro is a Corean name as well as Japanese. It also occurs in Keidai Tennō's reign Ha-pu means "lower division." Chung-cha-phyöng is the name of a high office in Corea.

and defeated. Imna has not been able to render it assistance, and it has therefore suffered ruin. South Kara, being a very small place, was unable promptly to make defence, and knew not whom to rely upon. Therefore it has come to ruin. As to Chhak-syun, the upper and lower classes practise double-dealing so much so as to wish voluntarily to join Silla and to hold secret communication with that object. Therefore it has come to ruin. Viewed in this light, the downfall of these three provinces had very sufficient causes.

Formerly Silla asked help from Koryö, and with its assistance invaded Imna and Pèkché, but to this day without conquering them. How then could Silla alone destroy Imna? If you and
XIX. 10. I, the incompetent one, now join our powers, and with united hearts place our inward trust in the Emperor, Imna will assuredly be established."

Each received presents according to his station, and they took their way homewards joyfully.

Autumn, 7th month. Pèkché, hearing that the (Japanese) authorities of Ara were intriguing with Silla, sent Pirimakko, Nasol of the Senior division, the Nasol Syön-mun, the Nasol of the middle division, Mok-hiöp Mè-syun, and Ki no Omi,

The Nasol Ki no Omi was probably the son of Ki no Omi by a marriage with a Corean woman, who therefore remained in the country and was made Nasol by Pèkché. It is not clear who his father was. Other cases all follow this rule.

the Nasol Mimasya, on a mission to Ara, to summon to them the agents of Silla and Imna, and to concert measures for the establishment of Imna. He separately reproved Kahachi no Atahe, the chief Japanese authority of Ara, roundly for intriguing with Silla.

The Pèkché "Original Record" has Kapuchipi Atahe Akyoninasăcharomato. This is not clear.

Addressing Imna, he said:—"In past times, my ancestors, Kings Sokko and Kwisyu,[1] were first joined in amity with the former Kanki. They became as it were brethren. I therefore look upon you as my children or younger brothers, and you regard me as a father or elder brother. Together we serve the

[1] See above, p. 43.

Emperor, and unitedly repel hostile violence, procuring up till now the peace of the country and the integrity of the State. When I think of the friendly language of my ancestors and the former Kanki, it seems to me like the shining sun. From that XIX. 11. time to this, I have sedulously maintained friendship with my neighbours and have always dealt honestly with the allied countries. My affection for them passes that of flesh and bones.[1] It was the constant prayer of me, the inept one, that such a fair beginning might have a fitting end. I cannot understand why people should lightly give credit to vague rumours and for a space of several years should have impulsively abandoned their purpose. It may be said of such, in the words of the men of old, that 'they repent when it is too late.' But if, as regards the present, they swear to the gods as far as the cloud-spaces above, and down to the region within the springs[2] below, and amend their faults so as to accord with the past, revealing all that they do without the least reserve, so that their loyalty penetrates to the spirits, and if they take themselves severely to task, this may again be accepted. We are told that of those who stand in the position of successors, honour is to him who keeps well in the rut made by his predecessors, and makes the hall and roof to prosper, thereby accomplishing a meritorious service.[3] I therefore wish to go back and reverence the kindly feeling of the friendship of former ages, and, in respectful obedience to the terms of the Emperor's decree, rescue from Silla the provinces torn off by it, viz. South Kara, Tök-kwi-than, etc., and restoring them to their original connection and making them transfer to Imna their substance, XIX. 12. strive to play the part to them of father or elder brother, constantly doing homage to Japan. It is this which deprives my food of flavour, and robs me of peaceful slumber, my mind being full of anxious thought while I regret the past and practise self-discipline for the present.

Now all the world knows Silla's blandishing words and subtle deceptions. You, out of an indiscriminating confidence

[1] i.e. I love them more than a brother.

[2] i.e. the yellow springs, or Hades.

[3] "When a deceased father, wishing to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof!"—Legge's "Shooking," p. 371.

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what is in the future, and then let us take repose. If you, the Japanese authority, in full reliance on the Imperial decree, lend aid to Imna, this will assuredly be attended by the Emperor's approval, and you personally will reap rewards.

Moreover, the high Japanese officials, having been long resident in the Land of Imna, close to the Silla frontier, are acquainted with the state of affairs in that country. They have not only for this year, but long been poisoning Imna, and devising means of defence against Japan. The reason they have not made up their minds to more active measures is that near, they are ashamed in the eyes of Pèkche, and afar, they fear the Emperor. So they beguile the Court with feigned service, and maintain a false appearance of amity with Imna.

In thus stimulating to action (you) the (Japanese) authorities of Imna, it is my desire that before they have annexed Imna, and while they still maintain a feigned appearance of submissiveness, you should now seize the opportunity of their being unprepared, and raising all your forces conquer them. The Imperial decree urging us to establish South Kara and Tök-kwi-thăn does not date merely from a few tens of years ago, and yet Silla has not once listened to this order, as is well known to you. Now, can anything be better than, in respectful faith in the Emperor, to endeavour to establish Imna? I fear, however, lest you, too readily trusting to blandishing speeches and lightly accepting false statements, may cause the ruin of the land of Imna and bring dishonour on the Emperor. Be XIX. 14.
warned against this, and do not be deceived by others."

3rd year,[1] Autumn, 7th month. Pèkché sent Ki no Omi A.D. 542.
Nasol Mimasa and Kwi-nyon, Nasol of the middle division to come and report to the Emperor on the administration of Imna in Lower Kara,[2] and to present at the same time a memorial.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Ki no Omi, Nasol Mimasa[3] A.D. 543.
of Pekché and the rest took their departure.

Autumn, 9th month. King Syòng-myong of Pèkché sent

[1] "Third year" is not in the original. The "Shūkai" inserts it, no doubt rightly.

[2] 下韓. The interlinear Kana has Arushi Kara Kuni. Arushi is meant for the Corean word arē, "below,"

[3] Ki no Omi was a Japanese with a Corean title. See above, p. 44.

Chin-mu Kwi-mun, Nasol of the Former Division, the Hotök Kwi-chu Kwi-nu and Makamu, Sitök of the Mononobe, with a present of Punam[1] products and two slaves.

Winter, 11th month, 8th day. Tsumori no Muraji was sent to Pèkché with a message from the Emperor to the following effect:—"Let the Pèkché prefects and governors of castles resident in that part of Lower Kara which belongs to Imna be joined to the Japanese jurisdiction." He also bore an Imperial decree, which commanded as follows:—

"For more than ten years past you have presented memorials saying that Imna should be established. But notwithstanding these representations the matter still remains unaccomplished. Now Imna is the roof-tree of your country. If the roof-tree is broken, who shall erect a house with it? Our reflections rest
XIX. 15. in this. You ought speedily to establish Imna. If you establish Imna speedily, it is necessary to say that Kahachi no Atahe[2] and his followers will of their own accord retire."

On this day King Syöng-myöng, having heard the Imperial decree, asked the opinion in succession of his three Chief Ministers, his Treasurer, and his high officials, saying:—"The Imperial edict runs so: What is now to be done?" The three Chief Ministers and the rest answered and said:—"Our prefects and governors of castles in Lower Kara should not leave our jurisdiction. As to establishing the country (of Imna), the Imperial decree should be at once complied with."

12th month. King Syong-myong of Pèkché again published the former Imperial decree to all his officials, saying:—"The Emperor's decree is to this effect. Now what is next to be done?" The senior Minister Sa-chhek-kwi-nu, the middle Minister Mok-hyöp-ma-na, the junior Minister Mok-yun-kwi, the Tok-sol Pi-ri-mak-ko, the Tok-sol Tong-syöng-to-thyön, the Tok-sol Mok-hyöp-me-syun, the Tok-sol Kuk-syu-ta and the Na-sol Yön-pi-chyon-na counselled alike, saying:—"Thy servants are by nature stupid, and have no good scheme at all to propose. It is best to carry out the Imperial instructions for the establishment of Imna. Thou shouldst now summon the

[1] Described as Namban, or southern barbarians, i.e. the Malay Archipelago.

[2] See above, XIX. 10. He was the Japanese authority of Ara who was intriguing with Silla.

agents of Imna and the Kanki of the various provinces, and concert along with them a common policy, which should be laid before the Emperor in proof of thy good intentions. Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato are still resident in Ara-Imna, and (while this is so) it is to be feared that it will be hard to establish it. Add therefore a further memorial, praying that they may be removed to their original place."

King Syöng-myöng said:—"Your advice, my Ministers, is thoroughly in accordance with my feelings."

Accordingly, in this month he sent the Si-tök, Ko-pun to summon the Agent of Imna and the Agent of the Japanese authority. They both answered and said:—"When New Year's Day has passed, we will go and hear (what the King of Pèkché has to say)." XIX. 16.

5th year, Spring, 1st month. The Land of Pèkché sent messengers to summon the Agents of Imna and of the Japanese authorities. They both answered and said:—"The season has come for worshipping the Gods: when the festival is over we will go." A.D. 544.

This month Pèkché sent messengers a second time to summon the Agents of Imna and of the Japanese authorities. Neither the Japanese authorities nor Imna sent their Agents, but sent mean persons, so that Pèkché was unable to concert with them measures for the establishment of Imna.

2nd month. Pèkché sent the Si-tök, Ma-mu, the Si-tök Ko-pun-ok and the Si-tok, Să-na-no-chhă-chyu to Imna with the following message to the Japanese authorities and the Kanki of Imna:—"I sent Ki no Omi, the Nasol, Mi-ma-sa,[1] the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and Mononobe no Muraji, the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta, to have an audience of the Emperor. Mi-ma-sa and his colleagues returned from Japan with a decree which declared as follows:—'Do ye, in concert with the Japanese authorities residing there, speedily prepare a good plan such as may meet our wishes. See that you are vigilant, and be not imposed upon by the wiles of others.'

Moreover Tsumori no [the 'Original Pekché Record' has 'Tsumori no Muraji Kwi-ma-nu-kwé.' There is here a corruption, and the name cannot be made clear] Muraji,

[1] Ki no Omi *was* the Nasol Mimasa.

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west of the sea will become unable permanently to render service to the Emperor. I am now sending an address to the Emperor praying that he may remove thee and thy people, and send thee back to thy former place. Thou also wilt go and hear (the Emperor's decision)."

Further, addressing the chief Japanese authority of Imna and the Kanki of Imna, he said:—"In regard to the matter of establishing Imna, how could any one do so without borrowing the Emperor's power? It was therefore my intention to apply to the Emperor and request of him an army with which to succour the Land of Imna. The provisions for this army would be supplied by me. Whilst the number of the troops was still undecided, it was naturally impossible to make any fixed arrangements for the transport of provisions. It was therefore my request that we should meet and consider together what was best to be done, and having selected the most advantageous course, to report to the Emperor accordingly. Therefore I sent repeated summonses to you, but since you steadily refused to come, it was impossible to advise with you." XIX. 18.

The chief Japanese authority answered and said:—"The reason why the Imna Agent did not go in compliance with thy summons was because I would not allow him to do so. When I sent a report to the Emperor, the return messenger brought the following instructions from His Majesty:—'We are about to send Ika no Omi [corrupt—not clear] to Silla and Tsumori no Muraji to Pèkché. Do thou await the Imperial message which they will bring, and meanwhile refrain from taking the trouble of going to Silla or Pèkché.' Such were the Imperial instructions. When I heard of Ika no Omi's embassy to Silla, I sent after him to inquire the Emperor's message. He said, 'Let the Japanese Omi and the Agent of Imna proceed to Silla, and apply to Silla to receive communication of the Emperor's orders.' Nothing was said about going to Pèkché to learn his commands. Afterwards Tsumori no Muraji eventually arrived, and when passing through this place, mentioned this subject, and said, 'My present mission to Pèkché is for the purpose of getting rid of the Pekché prefects and governors of castles resident in Lower Kara. I have only heard of this question, and know nothing of any instructions to Imna and the

Japanese authorities to meet Pèkché, in order to hear the Emperor's commands.' This is why we have not gone, and Imna is not responsible."

Hereupon the Kanki of Imna said:—"In accordance with the summons of thy messenger, it was our desire to proceed (to Pèkché). But the chief Japanese authority would not allow us to be despatched, and that was why we did not do so. As for the instructions which the Great King, prompted by his feelings, has addressed to us, with the object of establishing Imna, it is impossible for us adequately to express our joy at seeing them."

3rd month. Pèkché sent the Nasol, A-mang-teung-mun, Kama, the Nasol of Hö-syé,[1] and Kapi, the Nasol of Mononobe, to present a memorial to the Emperor, as follows:—

"The Nasol, Mi-ma-sa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyon, and their colleagues came to thy servant's frontier state bearing an Imperial decree, which said:—'You should concert a good plan along with the Japanese authorities resident there, and speedily establish Imna. Be on your guard, and do not allow yourselves to be deceived by others.' Moreover Tsumori no Muraji and his colleagues came to thy servant's frontier state, bearing an Imperial message in which inquiry was made as to the estab-
XIX. 19. lishment of Imna. I received the Imperial command with reverence, and without presuming to delay, desired to concert measures along with them. I therefore sent messengers to summon the Japanese authorities [the Pekché 'Original Record' has, 'Sent to summon Wi-ho-phi no Omi.' This is, perhaps, Iku-ba no Omi] and Imna. They all answered and said:—'The new year has come. Please let it pass, and then we will go.' A long time elapsed, and yet they did not arrive. I again sent messengers to summon them. They all answered and said:—'The festival time has come. Please let it pass, and then we will go.' A long time elapsed, and yet they did not arrive. I again sent messengers to summon them. But inasmuch as they sent mean men, it was impossible to concert plans. Now Imna's failure to come in answer to my summons was not

[1] This may be Japanese, in which case Kose is the pronunciation. Mononobe is Japanese. The frequency with which Japanese names occur in the names of Pèkché officials is significant of the influence exercised by Japan in the peninsula at this period.

their own idea, it was the work of the unprincipled sycophancy of Ahyön-Ya-na-sa and Cha-ro-ma-to [two men's names: they have already occurred above [1]]. Now Imna treats Ara as an elder brother, and simply follows its wishes, while the people of Ara regard the Japanese authority as Heaven, and are implicitly guided by its wishes. [The Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Treats Ara as a father, and regards the Japanese authority as the origin.] Now Ikuba no Omi, Kibi no Omi, and Kahachi no Atahe are all simply at the beck and nod of Yanasa and Mato. Yanasa and Mato are only mean persons of no family, yet they exercise absolute authority over the Japanese administration. Moreover they restrain Imna and prevent it from sending envoys. For these reasons I was unable to concert measures with them and make answer to Your Majesty. I therefore detained Kwi-ma-nu-ki [probably Tsumori no Muraji] and sent another messenger, swift as a flying bird, with this report to Your Majesty. But if you allowed those two men [Yanasa and Mato] to remain in Ara, they would carry on their manifold intrigues, making it impossible for Imna to be established, and assuredly preventing the states west of the sea from doing their service. It was my humble petition that these two men might be removed and sent home, and that you should take measures for the establishment of Imna by instructions to the Japanese authorities and to Imna. Therefore thy servants sent the Nasol, Mimasa and the Nasol, Kwinyön along with XIX. 20.
Kwi-ma-nu-ki to present this memorial and to hear Your Majesty's answer. Hereupon Your Majesty gave command, saying:—'It was not by our wishes that Ikuba no Omi and the others [by the others are meant Kibi, Otokimi no Omi and Kahachi no Atahe] went to Silla. Formerly, when In-chi-mi [not clear] and the Kanki of Aro were in office, that country was harassed by Silla, and the people were unable to attend to their husbandry. Pèkché is so far distant that it was unable to help them in their need. Ikuba no Omi and the others therefore went to Silla, and just obtained leave for them to plough and sow. Is it necessary to repeat what We have already told thee, viz., that if Imna is established, Yanasa and Mato will withdraw of their own accord.'

[1] See above, p. 54. They are intended for Japanese names, but I do not recognize them.

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now wears the cap of the Silla official rank of Namanyé,[1] from which it may be readily seen that he is devoted to that country body and soul. When his conduct is maturely observed, there is no sign at all of awe or dread. Therefore I formerly reported to Your Majesty his evil deeds, setting them out fully for your information. Now he still wears a foreign dress and daily goes to the Silla borders, journeying back and forward publicly or privately without any fear whatever. The downfall of the Tök[2] country was owing to no other cause than this. Hamphi, Kanki of the Tök country, was false to the XIX 22. Land of Kara, and had a secret understanding with Silla, so that Kara fought from without. Hence its (Tök's) downfall. Now supposing that the Kanki, Hamphi had been prevented from entering into a secret understanding with Silla, the Tök country, small as it is, would certainly not have come to ruin. In regard to Chhăk-syun again, the case is the same. If the Ruler of Chhăk-syun had been prevented from holding secret understandings with Silla, and inviting aggression, would this State have come to destruction? When I consider one after another the disasters of the downfall of these various provinces, all are owing to men with secret understandings and double hearts. Now Mato and the others are on terms of great intimacy with Silla. They have at last put on their dress, and frequent Silla morning and evening, secretly preparing treason. I fear, therefore, that Imna will, on this account, come to permanent ruin. If Imna is ruined, thy servant's country stands alone and exposed to danger, and though I am desirous of continuing my allegiance, how will this be possible? It is my humble prayer that Your Majesty, in the exercise of your profound reflection and distant foresight, will promptly remove them to their former place and thus give peace to Imna."

Winter, 10th month. The Pèkché envoys, the Nasol, Teung-mun, the Nasol, Kama, and the rest took their departure.

The Pekché "Original Record" has, "Winter, 10th month. The Nasol, Teung-mun and the Nasol, Kama returned from Japan. They said there was no Imperial

[1] Nama was a Silla official rank.

[2] The Tok country is doubtless the same as Tok-kwi-than frequently named above, e.g. XVII. 18.

reply in respect to the matter of Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato, which they had represented to the Emperor.

11th month. Pèkché sent messengers to summon the Omi of the Japanese Residency and the Agents of Imna, saying:—"The Nasol Teung-mun, Kama, the Nasol of Kose, and Kapi, the Mononobe Nasol, whom I sent on a mission to the Emperor's Court, have returned from Japan. Now let the chief Japanese authority, with the Agents of the Land of Imna, come and hear the Emperor's orders, and let us consult together respecting Imna." Accordingly, Kibi no Omi, the chief Japanese authority, the lower Kanki of Ara, the Tè-pu-son Ku-chhyu-yu-ni, the Syong-syu-wi [1] of Kara, named Ko-chyön-hyé, the Lord of Sol-ma, the Lord of Să-i-ki, the son of the Lord of San-pan-hyé, the I-syu-wi [2] of Tara, named Heul-kön-
XIX. 23. chi, the Kanki of Chă-tha, and the Kanki of Ku-chha [3] proceeded to Pèkché. Hereupon, King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché notified to them the general purport of the Emperor's decree, saying:—"I sent the Nasol, Mimasa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta to the Court of Japan, upon which the Emperor gave command that Imna was to be speedily established. Moreover, Tsumori no Muraji, by the Emperor's order, inquired what was to be done with Imna. I have, therefore, sent for you, and I beg of you each to give your advice as to the best further means of establishing Imna." Kibi no Omi and the Kanki [4] of Imna said:—"The establishment of the land of Imna rests simply with the Great King. It is our desire and hope, in obedience to Your Majesty,[5] to join in making a representation to the Emperor and hearing his instructions." To this King Syöng-myöng said:—"The land of Imna has, from of old time, bound itself to be to our Pèkché as a son or younger brother.[6] Now, Inchimi, of the Japanese Miyake [the name of the Japanese Omi resident in Imna], has already smitten [7] Silla, and is now preparing to

[1] This means Upper-head-rank, and is probably a Corean title.
[2] Second-head-rank, probably a title.
[3] Called Ko-chha below, year 23 of this reign.
[4] This term apparently includes all the personages above described.
[5] 王.
[6] This phrase is used loosely for "a dependant."
[7] The "Shukai" thinks we should read for "smitten," "conspired with."

send an expedition against me. This, again, is a result of his fondness for listening to Silla's empty boasts and vaunting language. Now the object of sending Inchimi[1] to Imna was never that it should be invaded and destroyed [not clear]. From old time until now Silla has been without principle, eating its words and breaking its faith. In this way it has brought our faithful ally, the Land of Chhăk-syun, to ruin. I hope to have the satisfaction of making it repent it, and I have therefore sent for you. Let us all take to heart the Emperor's gracious message. It is my hope and desire that the Land of Imna may thus be set up and continued as in XIX. former days, and that we may long be brethren. I have been informed that on the frontier between the two countries of Silla and Ara there is a great river,[2] which makes it easily defensible. I intend to take advantage of this to construct six fortresses along it, and humbly to petition the Emperor for 3000 troops—500 for each fortress. Adding to these my own soldiers, we shall make it impossible (for the Silla people) to cultivate the rice-fields. By harassing them in this way, it is to be hoped that the five fortresses of Mount Kunyé will fling down their arms and surrender of their own accord, while the Land of Chhăk-syun will be restored again. For the troops which I shall request of the Emperor, I will provide clothing and food. This is the first part of the plan which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Moreover, in respect to the stationing of prefects and governors of castles in South Kara, is it that I wish to oppose the Emperor, and cut off the channel of paying tribute? I only hope to render effective aid against manifold disaster, and to overthrow a powerful enemy. But who is there who does not contrive to attach himself to these bands of violent men? The Northern[3] enemy is great and strong, and my country is small and weak. If I did not station in South Kara prefects and governors of castles for its government and protection, it could not be defended against such a powerful foe, and it would

[1] Probably Isumi was his name. The interlinear Kana gives this rendering.

[2] The Naktong gang.

[3] Koryŏ is meant. The old reading for "northern" is "this," the Chinese characters for these two words strongly resembling each other.

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preparing to cook them for eating, and having covered them over with ashes, were roasting them, when the shells turned into two men, which hovered over the fire at a distance of more than a foot. After a time they fought together, to the great wonder of the villagers. They took them and placed them in the courtyard, when they flew as before, and went on fighting. A certain man divined from this, saying:—'We shall assuredly be enchanted by devils.' Not long after, as he had said, they were plundered by them.[1] Thereupon the men of Su-shēn removed to Segaha Bay. The God of this bay is a dreadful God, and no one dares to approach him. Half of those who drink of that water when thirsty die, and their bones are piled up on the rocky steeps. The common people call this God Mishihase[2] no Kuma."

6th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hasuhi, Kashihade no Omi, was sent on a mission to Pèkché.

Summer, 5th month. Pèkché sent the Nasol, Ki-neung,[3] the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta, and the Sitök, Chhă-chyu with a memorial to the Emperor.

Autumn, 9th month. Pèkché sent Po-ché,[4] Ho-tök of the Middle Division, and others to Imna with a present of valuable products of Wu for the Omi of the Japanese Government there, and for all the Kanki, each in proportion to his rank.

This month Pèkché made an image of Buddha sixteen feet high,[5] and drew up a written prayer, saying:—"I understand that it is extremely meritorious to make a Buddha sixteen feet high. By the merit which I have now acquired in reverentially constructing one, I pray that the Emperor may obtain exceed-

[1] Apparently by the Manchus.

[2] Mishihase is the Japanese rendering of Su-shēn. Kuma means bear.

[3] Perhaps identical with the Kwi-nyŏn mentioned above.

[4] Written with the same characters as are used for the Sanskrit Bôdhi, wisdom.

[5] The "Shukai" quotes from a Chinese author:—"Ming Ti, an Emperor of the Later Han Dynasty, saw in a dream a man of gold of great stature with a nimbus round his head. One of his Ministers explained that there was a God in the western quarter whose name was Buddha. He was sixteen feet high and of a yellow golden colour. Upon this the Emperor sent to India to make inquiries respecting the Buddhist doctrine, which resulted in paintings (of Buddha) being made in China." Numerous other cases are found of Buddhas of this height.

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[illegible] Omi, return[illegible] when sent on his [illegible] arrived at the shore [illegible] The sun went down [illegible] One of my children [illegible] could not tell where he had gone [illegible] a great fall of snow, and we could [illegible] Then we found the footprints [illegible] Thy servant accordingly, [illegible] and put on his armour, went out in [illegible] he drew his sword, and said :—' I, [illegible] charge of the silken threads and [illegible] toil by land and sea, my hair combed by [illegible] hath the [illegible] with the grass for my mat and [illegible] my carpet, came hither, all because I loved my child, [illegible] wished to make him succeed to his father's office. Thou [illegible] O Dread Deity! hast parental love as one feature of thy character. Now to-night my child disappeared. Following up his traces, I sought for him as far as this place, and without fear of losing my life I intend to have my revenge. For this I have come. Upon this that tiger advanced before me and opened his mouth in order to devour me. But I, Hasuhi, swiftly stretched out my left hand and seized that tiger by the tongue, while with my right I stabbed it to death. Then I stripped off its skin and returned with it.' "

This year Koryō was greatly troubled by civil disturbances, and large numbers of people suffered execution.

The "Pèkché Original Record" says:—" 12th month, 20th day. The Syé faction and the Chhu faction of the Land of Koryō fought at the King's Court with beat of drum. The Syé party were beaten, but did not disband their troops. On the third day, all the Syé party's children and grandchildren were taken and put to death.

[1] i.e. the Japanese territory in Corea.
[2] Vimokcha. See Eitel's "Handbook of Buddhism," 2nd edition, p. 201.
[3] i.e. the Emperor's missive.

24th, King Hyang-kang, of the land of Koma,[1]

, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The envoys from A.D. 546.
Kwi-nyön, Nasol of the Middle Division, and his
ions took their departure. They received a present
enty-four good[2] horses and ten ships.
mmer, 6th month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Nyang-Yöp-
, Nasol of the Middle Division, and others, to present
ribute.

Autumn, 7th month. A report was received from the district of Imaki in the province of Yamato, saying:—"In the spring of the 5th year (of the reign), Miya [this is a personal name], Kahara Tami no Atahe, went up to an upper story to XIX. 29. view the prospect. He saw a good horse, bred from the mares which carry the food for the Emperor's table sent by the fishermen of the Land of Kiï. When it saw a shadow it neighed loudly: it nimbly sprang over its mother's back. He approached and bought it. He kept it for several years. When it grew up, its action was like that of the startled wild goose or the soaring dragon. It differed from the flock and excelled the crowd. It was obedient to control, and its paces were in due proportion.[3] It leaped over the ravine at the Hill of Ohochi, which is eighteen rods[4] in width. Miya, Kahara Tami no Atahe, is a man of the village of Hinokuma."

This year Koryö was greatly disturbed: more than 2000 people were killed in battle.

The "Pekché Original Record" has:—"Koryö on the 3rd day of the 1st month established as king the son of the second queen. He was eight years of age. The King of Koma[5] had three wives. The true queen had no children, and the heir to the throne was the son of the second consort, whose father's family was of the Chhu faction. The junior wife had also a child. Her father's family was of the Syé faction. When the King of Koma

[1] Written 高句麗. Koryö is meant. A king of Koryö named Anwön died in this year, according to the "Tongkam." The interlinear Kana has "Nuta," which I can make nothing of.

[2] i e. broken in. [3] i e. it had a good mouth and easy paces

[4] The rod is usually of ten feet.

[5] The Chinese character is 高句麗, as before. See above.

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On the 24th, King Hyang-kang, of the land of Koma,[1] died."

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The envoys from Pèkché, Kwi-nyön, Nasol of the Middle Division, and his companions took their departure. They received a present of seventy-four good[2] horses and ten ships. A.D. 546

Summer, 6th month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Nyang-Yöp-nyé, Nasol of the Middle Division, and others, to present tribute.

Autumn, 7th month. A report was received from the district of Imaki in the province of Yamato, saying:—"In the spring of the 5th year (of the reign), Miya [this is a personal name], Kahara Tami no Atahe, went up to an upper story to view the prospect. He saw a good horse, bred from the mares which carry the food for the Emperor's table sent by the fishermen of the Land of Kiï. When it saw a shadow it neighed loudly: it nimbly sprang over its mother's back. He approached and bought it. He kept it for several years. When it grew up, its action was like that of the startled wild goose or the soaring dragon. It differed from the flock and excelled the crowd. It was obedient to control, and its paces were in due proportion.[3] It leaped over the ravine at the Hill of Ohochi, which is eighteen rods[4] in width. Miya, Kahara Tami no Atahe, is a man of the village of Hinokuma." XIX. 29

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[2] i.e. broken in.

[3] i.e. it had a good mouth and easy paces

[4] The rod is usually of ten feet.

[5] The Chinese character is 高句麗, as before. See above.

took ill, the Syé faction and the Chhu faction each tried to set up the son of the respective consorts. The result was that of the Syé faction more than two thousand men were slain."

A.D. 547. 8th year, Spring, 4th month. Pèkché sent Chin-mo-syön-mun, Tök-sol of the Former Division, the Nasol, Kama and others to ask for auxiliaries, and offered (as hostage) Wön, son of Tong-syöng, (Nasol?) of the Lower Division, exchanging him for the Tök-sol, Mun-hyu-ma-na.

A.D. 548. XIX. 30. 9th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Pèkché ambassador, Chin-mo-syön-mun, Tök-sol of the Former Division, and his colleagues, asked leave to depart. Accordingly an Imperial command was given, saying:—"In regard to the auxiliaries asked for by you, help will be assuredly sent you. Hasten to carry back this answer to your king."

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Pèkché sent the Han-sol of the Middle Division, Nyang Yöp-nyé and others with a message to the Emperor, saying:—"The Tök-sol, Syön-mun and his colleagues have arrived at thy servant's frontier state with an Imperial message, informing me that the auxiliary force which I asked for would be sent when occasion demanded. I have humbly received this gracious pronouncement, and my joy is unbounded. Now, a prisoner taken in the expedition of the Castle of Ma-chin [1st month, 3rd day. Koryö led an army and laid siege to the Castle of Ma-chin] [1] has reported thus:—'It was on the invitation and at the instigation of the Land of Ara and of the Japanese authorities (in Corea) that this expedition against Pèkché was undertaken.' Judging from the facts, this appears likely. I wished, however, to examine thoroughly this statement, and three times sent to summon them. But neither of them came, and I am therefore profoundly anxious. I humbly pray the August Emperor [the western frontier states all style the Emperor of Japan the August (lit. to be feared) Emperor] first to consider this, and for the time being to

[1] The "Tongkam" mentions an invasion of Pèkché by Koryö in this year. Koryō was driven back with great loss by the help of an auxiliary force from Silla. The last statement sounds rather strange in view of the relations of Pèkché and Silla described in the above pages.

delay the auxiliaries[1] which I asked for until thy servant sends an answer."

The Emperor's command was as follows:—"We have listened attentively to thy representation. When we consider what thou dost complain of, we, too, are vexed that the Japanese authorities and Ara should not have come to the assistance of a neighbour in his difficulty. But it is incredible that they should have gone so far as to send a secret message to Koryö. If we had ordered it so, of course they would have sent one, but in the absence of any order from us, how could they find it possible to do so? I beg that the king, loosing his collar and slackening his girdle, will possess his soul in peace and avoid profound suspicions and fears. In accord- XIX. 31
ance with our former instructions, let him join forces with Imna, and let them together each defend the territory which they hold in fee against the northern enemy.[2]

We are about to send a number of men to re-people the territory of Ara, left vacant by the fugitives."

6th month, 3rd day. An envoy was sent to Pèkché with an Imperial message, saying:—"What is the news since the Tök-sol, Syön-mun took his departure? We are informed that thy country has suffered from the Koma brigands. It would be well earnestly to take measures in concert with Imna, and defend yourselves as heretofore."

Intercalary 7th month. 12th day. Nyang-Yöp-nyé, the Pèkché envoy, and his colleagues took their departure.

Winter, 10th month, Three hundred and seventy men were sent to Pèkché to assist in constructing a fortress[3] at Tök-i-sin.

10th year, 6th month, 7th day. The Syang-tok, Mun-kwi A.D. 549
and the Ko-tök, Ma-chha-mun asked permission to take their departure. Accordingly the Emperor commanded, saying:—"We are about to send to inquire into the truth of the statement that Yanasa and Mato have been privately sending emissaries to Koryö. The army asked for will be countermanded as requested."

[1] If, as the "Tongkam" states, an invasion of Pèkché by Koryö had been repulsed by the help of Silla auxiliaries, there was a still better reason why Pèkché should no longer require a Japanese force for operations against Silla

[2] Koryo.

[3] Or fortresses.

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Division, and Chyak-kan-na, Si-tök of the Lower Division, with a present for the Emperor of ten Koma captives.

12th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor gave the king of Pèkché a present of 1000 bushels of seed-wheat. A.D. 551.

This year, King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché, commanding an army in person, together with troops from the two countries, [by the two countries Silla and Imna are meant], invaded Koryö, and conquered the territory of Hansyöng.[1] Thence he again moved forward his army and attacked Phyöng-yang.[2] Six districts in all were eventually restored to their former territorial dependence. XIX. 33.

13th year, Summer, 4th month. The Imperial Prince, Yata no Tama-katsu no Ohoye, died. A.D. 552.

5th month, 8th day. Pèkché, Kara, and Ara sent the Tök-sol of the Middle Division, Mok-hyöp-keum-ton, and Asăpita, of the Kahachi Be,[3] to make representation to the Emperor, saying:—"Koryö and Silla, having established friendly relations and joined their powers, design to overthrow thy servants' countries, together with Imna. Therefore we humbly request an auxiliary force, so that we may first attack them unawares. The number of the troops is left to the Emperor's decision."

The Emperor commanded, saying:—"We have now heard all that the King of Pèkché, the King of Ara, the King of Kara, and the Omi of the Japanese Government[4] have conjointly by their envoys represented to Us with regard to the state of affairs. Let them continue, along with Imna, to unite their hearts and strength as heretofore, and they will be undoubtedly blessed with the protection of High Heaven, and can, moreover, place their trust in the spirits of the August Emperors."

Winter, 10th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché [also called King Syöng] sent Kwi-si of the Western Division, and the Tal-sol, Nu-ri Sa-chhi-hyé, with a present to the Emperor of an image of Shaka[5] Butsu in gold and copper,[6] several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of "Sutras."

[1] The present capital, commonly called Söul. This expedition is mentioned in the "Tongkam."

[2] Phyöng-yang was the capital of Koryö.

[3] Apparently a Japanese. The Interlinear Kana has Ashihita.

[4] In Corea.

[5] Sakyamuni.

[6] Copper with a small admixture of gold.

XIX. 34. Separately he presented a memorial in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying:—"This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chow[1] and Confucius had not attained to a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit[2] and retribution[3] without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom.[4] Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it
XIX. 35. is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han,[5] where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them.

Thy servant, therefore, Myöng,[6] King of Pèkché, has humbly despatched his retainer,[7] Nu-ri Sa-chhi, to transmit it to the Imperial Country, and to diffuse it abroad throughout the home provinces, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of Buddha: 'My law shall spread to the East.'"

This day the Emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the Envoys, saying:—"Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. We are unable, however, to decide of ourselves." Accordingly he inquired of his Ministers one after another, saying:—"The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented by the Western frontier State is of a severe dignity, such as we have never at all seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?" Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"All the Western frontier lands without exception do it worship. Shall Akitsu Yamato alone refuse to do so?" Okoshi, Mononobe no Oho-

[1] See "Mayers' Handbook," p. 21. [2] Sanskrit, Punya.—Giles.

[3] Either good or bad. Here in a good sense. [4] Bôdhi.

[5] Buddhism had been introduced into Koryo A.D. 372, from the Ch'in country in Western China. It penetrated to Pèkché in 384.– "Tongkam," Vol. IV. pp. 4-7.

[6] This is the right name.

[7] The character used means the vassal of a vassal, and implies an acknowledgment of Japan's suzerainty.

muraji, and Kamako, Nakatomi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor jointly, saying:—"Those who have ruled the Empire in this our State have always made it their care to worship in Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter the 180 Gods of Heaven and Earth, and the Gods of the Land and of Grain. If just at this time we were to worship in their stead foreign Deities, it may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our National Gods."

The Emperor said:—"Let it be given to Iname no Sukune, who has shown his willingness to take it, and, as an experiment, make him to worship it." XIX. 36

The Oho-omi knelt down and received it with joy. He enthroned it in his house at Oharida, where he diligently carried out the rites of retirement from the world, and on that score purified his house at Muku-hara and made it a Temple. After this a pestilence was rife in the Land, from which the people died prematurely. As time went on it became worse and worse, and there was no remedy. Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, and Kamako, Nakatomi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor jointly, saying:—"It was because thy servants' advice on a former day was not approved that the people are dying thus of disease. If thou dost now retrace thy steps before matters have gone too far, joy will surely be the result! It will be well promptly to fling it away, and diligently to seek happiness in the future."

The Emperor said:—"Let it be done as you advise." Accordingly officials took the image of Buddha and abandoned it to the current of the Canal of Naniha. They also set fire to the Temple, and burnt it so that nothing was left. Hereupon, there being in the Heavens neither clouds nor wind, a sudden conflagration consumed the Great Hall (of the Palace).

This year Pèkché abandoned Han-syöng and Phyöng-yang. Silla took advantage of this to make an entrance and to settle in Han-syöng. These are the present Silla towns of U-to-pang[1] and Ni-mi-pang [these names of places are unclear].

14th year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Kwa- A.D. 553. XIX. 37.

[1] 牛頭方 and 尼彌方. Uto means Ox-head, and was no doubt taken from the name of the Mountain U-to-san. A commentator says:—"Silla and Koryö together attacked Pèkché and took Han-syöng and Phyöng-yang. Han-syöng was made Utopang, and Phyöng-yang Ni-mi-pang."

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Sukune, charged Ô-shin-mi[1] to keep an account of the shipping-tax. He was accordingly made Chief over the ships, and the style[2] was granted him of Funa no Fumibito. He was the ancestor of the present Funa no Muraji.[3]

8th month, 7th day. Pèkché sent Kwa-ya, Nasol of the Higher Division, with a man of Silla named Mun-hyu-thè-san, Ko-tök of the Lower Division, and others, who presented a memorial to the Emperor, saying:—"Last year thy servants jointly sent Uchi no Omi, the Tök-sol Chhă-chyu, with a High Official of Imna, to report to Your Majesty on the various Miyake beyond the sea. I have humbly awaited Your Majesty's gracious commands as the herbs in spring look up for the refreshing showers. This year there is the unexpected news that Silla and Koma have made a common plan, saying:—'Pèkché and Imna resort frequently to Japan, doubtless in order to ask for troops wherewith to invade our territories. If XIX. 39. this be true, it will be the ruin of our country. We must be on the alert and watch. It may be hoped that we shall anticipate the Japanese troops and conquer Ara before they have started. We can then cut off their communications with Japan.' Such is their plan. When thy servant heard this he was profoundly alarmed, and straightway dispatched a swift messenger and a light-sailing vessel speedily with a memorial informing you of this. I would humbly implore of the Celestial bounty that there may be speedily sent to our assistance in time for the autumn season, an army in two divisions, front and rear, one after the other, wherewith to make secure the Miyake beyond the sea. If they are later than this, our efforts will be as vain as the endeavour to bite one's navel.

Thy servant will bear the expense of providing food and clothing for the troops which are sent, from the time of their arrival in his country. A similar arrangement would hold good on their arrival in Imna. But if their provisions are insufficient, thy servant will assuredly send supplies in aid and prevent there being any deficiency."

A separate memorial said:—"Ikuba no Omi, having reverently received the Imperial commands, came and com-

[1] Of Corean extraction. [2] Lit. surname.
[3] Secretary of Shipping.

forted thy servant's frontier state. Ever attentive morning and evening, he sedulously discharged his various functions. Therefore the frontier States beyond the sea all celebrated his goodness, and wished that he might live for ten thousand years to give peace to the lands beyond the sea. Unfortunately he died, to our deep regret. And now who is there to direct the affairs of Imna? I humbly beg of the Celestial bounty that some one be sent to replace him and continue his service, so that Imna may have peace.

XIX. 40. Moreover, the lands beyond the sea are very scarce of bows and horses. From old times until now, they have received them from the Emperor, and have therewith defended themselves against their powerful enemies. I humbly pray the Celestial bounty to bestow on us a large supply of bows and horses."

Winter, 10th month, 20th day. Yö-chhyang, son of the King of Pèkché [King Wi-tök, son of King Myöng], led forth all the troops of the kingdom against the land of Koryö. Having thrown up entrenchments on the Pèk-hap[1] plain, he allowed his soldiers to sleep and eat. Looking out that evening over the great and fertile plain, with its level surface extending far and wide, where few traces of man were to be seen, and not a dog was heard to bark, he all at once heard a sudden sound of fife and drum. Yö-chhyang was greatly astonished, and having beat his drums in response, kept strict watch all that night. At early dawn he got up and saw the broad plain covered everywhere with flags and banners, as a hill is covered with green foliage. When it became clear, a horseman appeared, wearing a gorget, two others carrying cymbals, and two with leopards'[2] tails stuck on them—in all five horsemen. They advanced bit alongside of bit, and inquired, saying:—"Some boys told us that in our plain strangers were staying. How could we avoid going out courteously to receive them? We now wish that you should speedily become acquainted with us, and therefore, according to etiquette, we would ask your name,
XIX. 41. age and rank." Yö-chhyang answered and said:—"My name

[1] Pèk-hap means "lily."

[2] The Interlinear Kana has naka tsu kami, i.e. the God of the middle. The wolf and tiger are also called Gods.

is the same name;[1] my rank is that of Han-sol, and my age is twenty-nine." Pèkché having in turn made inquiry, an answer was given after the same manner. Finally marks[2] were set up, and they fought together. Thereupon Pèkché, with his spear, thrust down from his horse the Koryö warrior, and having cut off his head, raised it aloft on the point of his spear, returned to camp, and showed it to the troops. The Koryö generals were very indignant, while the shouts of joy of the Pèkché men were like to rend asunder Heaven and Earth. Next some of the generals of auxiliary troops beat their drums, and engaging quickly in the fight, drove back the King of Koryö to the top of Mount Tong-syöng.

15th year, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince, Nunakura Futo-dama-shiki no Mikoto, was raised to the position of Prince Imperial. A.D. 554.

9th day. Pèkché sent Mok-hyöp Mun-chhă, Si-tök of the Middle Division, and Wal-cha Pun-ok, Si-tök of the Former Division, to Tsukushi, to communicate with Uchi no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and his colleagues. They said:—"The Tök-sol, Chhă-chyu, with the Han-sol, Sè-ton, and the rest, arrived on the 4th day of the Intercalary month of last year and stated that the Omi [i.e. Uchi no Omi] and his colleagues would come in the first month of this year. But although they said so, it is still doubtful whether you are coming or not. Moreover, what of the number of the troops? We pray that you will inform us of their number, so that we may prepare cantonments in advance." XIX. 42.

In a separate communication, they said:—"We have just heard that thou, by command of the August Emperor, hast arrived in Tsukushi in charge of the troops bestowed on us by him. Nothing could compare with our joy when we heard this. The campaign of this year is a much more dangerous one than the last; and we beg that the force granted to us may not be allowed to be later than the first month."

Hereupon Uchi no Omi answered in accordance with the commands of the Emperor:—"Accordingly there is being

[1] i.e. as your own. The Koryö and Pèkché kings were of the same family originally.

[2] Flags to indicate the field of combat—the lists.

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wherewith to make war on Silla. Accordingly the Emperor sent Uchi no Omi in command of a force, which arrived in the sixth month. Thy servants were profoundly rejoiced, and on the ninth day of the twelfth month sent an expedition to attack Silla. Before this thy servant had sent Mononobe no Mak-ka-mu no Muraji,[1] Governor of the Eastern Quarter, in command of the troops of that Quarter, to lay siege to the castle of Ham-san. The people brought over by Uchi no Omi, along with Mak-ka Wi-sa-kwi, Tsukushi no Mononobe, who were skilled in shooting fire-arrows, under the protection of the August spirits of the Emperors, set fire to the castle and took it at sunset on the ninth day of the month. Therefore I have sent a special envoy in a swift ship to make this report to Your Majesty."[2] XIX. 43.

In a separate address he said:—"If it were Silla alone, the troops under the command of Uchi no Omi would be sufficient. But now Koma and Silla have joined their hearts and united their strength, so that success will be difficult. I humbly pray that all the troops of the Island of Tsukushi may be at once sent to the assistance of thy servant's country, and also to the assistance of Imna. In that case we shall be successful."

He further represented as follows:—"Thy servant despatched a separate force of 10,000 men to the assistance of Imna, and at the same time sent information of this to Your Majesty. Now matters are in a critical condition, and I report them by a fast-sailing[3] vessel. I beg moreover to present to Your Majesty two rolls of brocade of superior quality, one of woollen carpet, 300 axes, with two men and five women belonging to the captured castle,[4] of such trifling value that I fear to look back on them."[5]

When Yo-chhyang was considering his plan of campaign against Silla, an old man[6] remonstrated with him, saying:—"Heaven does not yet grant it. Disaster is to be feared."

[1] A curious mixture of Japanese and Corean in this name. In the rest of these messages it seems to be the King alone who is speaking.

[2] The "Tongkam" says:—"Silla and Koryö having formed an alliance, the King of Pèkché was angry, and in person led a force of infantry and cavalry with which he laid siege to the Castle of Kosan-san."

[3] I take 草, grass, to be a mistake for 早, fast. [4] See above, p. 64

[5] The "Tsū-shō" commentator suspects a lacuna here. [6] Or plural

Yö-chhyang said:—"Old man! why be so timid? I serve a
XIX. 44. great country. How can there be any cause for apprehension?" So he eventually invaded the Land of Silla, and built the fortress of Kuta-mura.[1] His father, King Myöng, was distressed that Yö-chhyang should have so long to bear the sufferings of the campaign, deprived for lengthened intervals of sleep and food, his own parental affection feeling many a want, while his son's filial care was reduced to scanty limits. Accordingly he went out to join him and comfort him in his toil. Silla, hearing that King Myöng was coming in person, set on foot the whole armed force of the kingdom, intercepted him by the way, and crushed him. At this time Silla said to Koto [also called Kokchi] a groom-slave of Sachi-mura:[2]—"Thou Koto art a vile slave: King Myöng is a famous Prince. If now the mean slave were made to slay the famous Prince, he might hope to transmit his name to posterity, and not be forgotten in the mouths of men."

27th day. Koto accordingly took King Myöng, and with repeated obeisances, said to him:—"I beg leave to cut off Your Majesty's head." King Myong answered and said:—"A king's head should not pass into the hands of a slave." Koto said:—"By our country's law, those who break their oaths, even were they called kings, must fall into the hands of slaves."

One book has:—"King Myong sat down on a chair, and having taken off the sword which hung at his girdle, gave it to Kokchi to slay him therewith."

King Myong looked up to Heaven, sighed deeply, and with tears gave his consent, saying:—"Whatever way I turn my thoughts, pain always enters my marrow. Nor on reflection is there any means by which there is a possibility of my life being saved." So he held forward his head, and submitted to have it cut off. Koto cut off his head and so killed him. He then dug a grave and buried him.

XIX. 45. One book says:—"Silla buried King Myong's skull, but the other bones were sent with due ceremony to Pèkché.

[1] Apparently a Japanese name.

[2] A Japanese name. For mura the Interlinear Kana has Sukiri or Sukur, apparently a rendering of a Corean word meaning village-master. But this would require the addition of 主, master. Perhaps this character has been accidentally omitted.

Now the King of Silla buried King Myöng's bones[1] at the bottom of the stairs of the Northern Hall of his Palace, and gave this Hall the name of To-tang."[2]

Yo-chhyang, finding at last that he was surrounded, attempted to make his way through, but could not. His troops were taken with consternation, and knew not what to do. Now there was a skilful archer, a Miyakko of the Land of Tsukushi. He advanced, bent his bow, and taking aim, shot down one of the bravest of the Silla horsemen. The penetration of the arrow which he shot was such that it went through the bow of the saddle on which he rode, both before and behind, and reached the joining of the armour[3] he had on. Then he went on shooting arrows one after another like rain, more and more fiercely, without any remission, and shot to the ground the troops by whom they were surrounded. By this means Yo-chhyang and his generals were enabled to escape back by a by-road. Yo-chhyang complimented the Kuni no XIX. 46
Miyakko on having shot down the troops who had encompassed them, and conferred on him the honorary name of Kurani no Kimi.[4]

Upon this the Silla generals, satisfied that Pèkché was completely worn out, wished at length to take measures for the destruction of the remainder. But there was one general who said:—"This would be a mistake. The Emperor of Japan has frequently attacked our country on account of Imna: much more should we certainly invite upon ourselves future mischief if we should proceed to take steps for the destruction of the Miyake of Pèkché." This project was therefore dropped.

16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Yö-chhyang, son of the King A.D. 555.
of Pèkché, sent Prince Hyé [Prince Hyé was the younger brother of Wi-tok,[5] with a message to the Emperor, saying:—"King Syöng-myöng has been slain by brigands" [slain by

[1] The skull is no doubt meant.

[2] Tang means hall. To is apparently in allusion to Koto, the King's executioner. The "Tongkam" has also an account of these events. But it makes the King of Pèkché to have been killed in battle.

[3] The Interlinear Kana has kabuto, helmet, which is manifestly absurd.

[4] The Knight of the Saddle-bow.

[5] Wi-tok is the historical name of Yo-chhyang. He was succeeded by his second son, Hyé-chang, who is probably the Prince here referred to.

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Land,[1] thou goest to the assistance of the Ruler who is threatened with destruction, there will surely be tranquillity to the State and peace to the people.' Prayer was therefore offered to the God, aid was rendered, and the peace of the country was consequently assured. Now the God who originally founded this country is the God who descended from Heaven and established this State in the period when Heaven and Earth became separated, and when trees and herbs had speech.[2] I have recently been informed that your country has XIX. 48.
ceased to worship him.[3] But if you now repent your former errors, if you build a shrine to the God and perform sacrifice in honour of his divine spirit, your country will prosper. Thou must not forget this."

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Iname no Sukune Soga no Oho-omi and Hodzumi no Ihayumi no Omi were despatched to the five districts of Kibi to establish the Miyake of Shirawi.

8th month. Yö-chhyang of Pèkché addressed his Ministers, saying:—"I[4] now desire, for the sake of the King, my deceased father, to leave the world and practise religion." The Ministers and the people answered and said:—"We have now received the instructions intimating to us Your Majesty's wish to be allowed to retire from the world and to practise religion. Ah! whose fault was it that firm plans were not made in the first place, of which neglect so great evils have been the consequence? From the foundation of this kingdom until the

[1] Oho-na-mochi no Kami. [2] See Vol. I. p. 64.

[3] The "Tsū-shō" commentator here quotes the following curious statement from a work called the "Sei-to-ki":—"In the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (782—806) we and Corea had writings of the same kind. The Emperor, disliking this, burnt them and said:—'These speak of the God who founded the country, and do not mention the Gods our ancestors.'" But possibly this only refers to the legend of 檀君, Tan-kun, which the "Tongkam" gives as follows:—"In the Eastern region (i.e. Corea) there was at first no chief. Then there was a divine man who descended under a sandal tree. The people of the Land established him as their Lord. He was called Tan-kun (Sandal-lord), while the country received the name of Chosön (morning freshness). This was in the reign of (the Chinese Emperor) T'ang-Yao (B.C. 2357—2258), the year Mon-shên. The capital was at first Phyöng-yang; it was afterwards removed to Pèk-ak (the white hill). In the 8th year (B.C. 1317) of the reign of Wu Ting, of the Shang Dynasty, he entered Mount Asătal (Asita?) and became a God."

[4] Lit. "the small child."

present year Koryö and Silla have vied with each other in their efforts to destroy it. To what country, therefore, could our national line of sovereigns now be entrusted? In principle Your Majesty's instructions ought unquestionably to be complied with. For if the words of the old man had been attended to, how should we have arrived at our present condition? We beseech Your Majesty, therefore, to repent your former errors. But do not take the trouble to retire from the world. If you wish to fulfil your vow, let a number of the people of the Land be made to enter religion." Yö-chhyang answered and said:—"Be it so." Accordingly he applied to his Ministers for advice. They at length consulted together upon the matter, and caused one hundred persons to enter religion. They also made a large number of banners and umbrellas and meritorious things of all kinds, etc., etc.

A.D. 556. 17th year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Hyé of Pekché asked leave to return home. He was accordingly presented with a very large supply of weapons and good horses. Moreover, gifts were liberally bestowed (on his followers), so that they uttered respectful exclamations (of gratitude).

Hereupon Abe no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and Harima no Atahe were sent in command of a naval force of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. The Lord of Hi[1] in Tsukushi was sent separately [the Pèkché "Original Record" says:—"Son of the Lord of Tsukushi and younger brother of
XIX. 49. the Middle Lord of Hi"] in command of 1000 valiant soldiers to escort him to Mite [name of a port], and he was accordingly made to guard the strong positions on the way to the port.

Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune[2] and others were sent to the district of Kojima in Hither Kibi[3] to establish a Miyake, of which Midzuko, Katsuraki no Yamada no Atahe, was made Tadzukahi.[4]

Winter, 10th month. Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune and others were sent to the district of Takechi in Yamato to

[1] Another reading is Tsukushi no Oho-Kimi, i.e. the Great Lord of Tsukushi.

[2] Only one person.

[3] This rendering follows the "Original Commentary."

[4] The Chinese characters mean "rural or rice-field governor."

establish the Miyake of Ohomusa of Coreans [by Coreans is meant Pèkché people] and the Miyake of Womusa[1] of Koryö men. The Miyake of Ama in the Land of Ki was established in the Land of Ki. [One writing says:—"The Coreans of various places were made serfs of the Miyake of Ohomusa and the Koryö men were made serfs of the Miyake of Womusa. It was in consequence of the appointment of the Coreans and Koryö men as serfs that these places were styled Miyake."[2]]

18th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Prince Yö-chhyang of Pèkché succeeded to the throne. He was styled King Wi-tök. A.D. 557.

21st year, Autumn, 9th month. Silla sent the Namal[3] Michi Kwichi with an offering of tribute. His entertainment was unusually liberal. The Namal was rejoiced thereat, and so took his departure. It was said:—"In the case of tribute Envoys the State is all-important and private considerations are despised. On an ambassador depend the lives of the people, and it is a governmental abuse when a mean person is selected for this position. Such a course is quite unjustifiable. It is desired that sons of good families should be selected as ambassadors, and not persons of mean extraction."[4] A.D. 560. XIX. 50.

22nd year. Silla sent the Keup-pöl-kan,[5] Ku-nyé-cheul, with an offering of tribute. He was entertained by the official charged with the reception of strangers on a lower scale of ceremony than usual. The Keup-pöl-kan was enraged, and took his departure. A.D. 561.

This year the Te-sa,[6] Notyö, was sent again to present the former tribute at Oho-kuni in Naniha. In arranging the precedence of the various frontier States, the entertainers, Nukadabe no Muraji and Katsuraki no Atahe, made him take rank below Pèkché and introduced him in this order. The

[1] Ohomusa and Womusa are respectively Great Musa and Little Musa.

[2] It would appear from this that it was essential to a Miyake to have a number of serfs attached to it. Possibly 韓人 in this passage should be rendered Kara men instead of Coreans.

[3] The "Tongkam" has 奈麻, i.e. Nama, 11th official rank. The Shoku "Nihongi" has also Nama, which is doubtless correct.

[4] This is apparently a remonstrance addressed to Silla for sending as ambassador a man of the eleventh rank.

[5] Seventeenth rank. [6] Twelfth rank.

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"The Silla people, a tribe of wretches in the West, have, in defiance of Heaven and devoid of right feeling, disregarded the favour We have shown them. They have broken Our Miyake, poisoned Our black-haired people, and massacred the population of Our districts. When Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto,[1] a wonderful sage of clear intelligence, made a tour throughout the Empire, showing her anxiety on behalf of all the people and nourishing her myriad subjects, she pitied the condition of Silla, which was then reduced to an extremity, and XIX. 52. spared the head of its king, which was about to fall. She granted to Silla strong positions, and bestowed on it honours it was not entitled to. In what respect did Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto, show a want of consideration for Silla, or Our people an unfriendly feeling towards that country? Yet Silla with long spears and strong bows has oppressed Imna. With serrated tusks and hooked talons they have committed ravage amongst the living souls, rending their livers and hacking off their feet with insatiable delight, scorching their bones in the sun, and burning their dead bodies without saying to themselves that it was cruel. From the Noble House down to the people of Imna, using all their knives and expending their last chopping-block, they have butchered and made mince-meat of them. Within the shores of the land, who is now left to be called a servant of the King?[2] Who is there that eats grain, the food of man, or drinks water, his beverage, who can bear to hear these things without being grieved in his heart? Much more the heir to the Throne and the Oho-omi! For the former, bound as he is by hereditary friendship, it is an occasion to weep tears of blood and cherish feelings of revenge. In the case of the latter, there is towards officials charged with the frontier screen the gratitude due to those who rub themselves smooth[3] from crown to heel (in their country's service). Heirs in their generation to the virtues of previous governments, and themselves destined to hold high dignity in a later

[1] Jingō Kōgu. [2] See Legge's "Sheking," p. 360.

[3] An allusion to Mencius's saying, "The philosopher Mih loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the Empire, he would have done it."—Legge's "Mencius," p. 340. This, again, refers to the great Yu, who wrought and waded till he had worn away all the hair on his legs.

reign, if they cannot, by making drip their gall and drawing out their bowels,[1] join with Us in slaying the traitors, thus wiping off this bitter outrage against Heaven and Earth, and doing vengeance on the enemies of a Lord and father, even in my grave I shall be indignant that the right rule of conduct of vassal and child has not been realized."[2]

XIX. 53. In this month, a certain person slandered Uta-yori, Mumakahi no Omi, saying:—"Uta-yori's wife met me at Sanuki.[3] Her saddle-pad was different from ordinary ones. When I examined it closely, I saw that it was the Empress's saddle." He was accordingly handed over to the judicial authority, who put him to the most severe examination. Uta-yori, Mumakahi no Omi, accordingly declared upon oath, saying:—"This is false, and not true. If this is true, let calamity from Heaven surely befall me." At last he fell prostrate on the ground under the torture, and died. No long time after his death, there were sudden misfortunes in the Palace. The judicial officer then arrested his sons, Morishi and Nasehi [Morishi and Nasehi are personal names], and when about to cast them into the fire [Casting into the fire was no doubt the ancient mode of punishment], uttered a charm, saying:—"Not by my hand are they cast." Having uttered this charm, he was about to fling them into the fire, when Morishi's mother made a prayer, saying:—"If my child is flung into the fire, a great calamity will indeed follow.
XIX. 54. I beseech thee, let him be given over to the Hafuri, to be a slave in the service of the Gods." In accordance, therefore,

[1] i.e. by the exercise of the most devoted loyalty.

[2] European scholars will readily endorse the opinion of Motoöri, that such Imperial edicts as the above are inventions of the writers of the "Nihongi," or perhaps of some predecessor. They are not State papers, but rhetorical exercises, and smell unmistakably of the lamp. The "Shoku-nihongi," which continues the history of Japan from the point where the "Nihongi" leaves off, contains a number of genuine edicts of the ancient Emperors. These are very different documents, written, of course, with Chinese characters, but, like the "Norito" and much of the "Kojiki," in such a way as to suggest the Japanese words in the writer's mind, and without any endeavour to make a display of Chinese learning or elegance of style.

Motoöri has collected these edicts and published them with a commentary under the title 歴朝詔詞解.

The present edict is composed almost entirely of phrases taken from Chinese books.

Not the province of that name, but a place in Yamato.

with his mother's supplication, he was permitted to be confiscated to the service of the Gods.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Silla sent envoys to offer tribute. These envoys knew of the destruction of Imna by Silla, but, ashamed of the offence against national gratitude, they did not dare to ask leave to depart. Eventually they remained, and did not return to their own land, but were made to take rank as subjects of the State. They were the ancestors of the Silla men of the village of Uno in the district of Sarara in the province of Kahachi.

In this month, the General-in-Chief, Ki no Womaro no Sukune, was sent forth in command of an army by way of Tari, and the Associate General, Ṇihe, Ḳahabe no Omi, by way of Mount Kȯ-cheung, to demand of Silla its reasons for attacking Imna. At length they arrived at Imna. Toni, Komo-tsume Be no Obito, was sent to Pèkché to concert a plan of military operations. Toni accordingly lodged in his wife's house, and lost a letter and a bow and arrows by the way. Silla thus gained a thorough knowledge of the military plans, and having promptly raised a large army, brought on itself overthrow, and rendered submission and allegiance. Ki no Womaro no Sukune, having gained the victory, marched his army into the Pèkché camp, where he addressed an order to the troops, saying:—"It is the excellent advice of antiquity that in victory one should not forget defeat: that in safety it is necessary to bethink oneself of danger. On the frontier which we now hold, wolves meet in mutual intercourse. Such being the case, ought we to be heedless and not to think of disaster? Even in times of peace, the sword should not be laid aside. For a wise man's warlike preparation ought not to be relaxed. I pray you, XIX. 55.
be very watchful, and zealously observe this command."[1] The soldiery all entrusted their hearts to him, and applied themselves to their duties. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, advanced alone, and in successive engagements captured all that opposed him. The Silla men again raised the white flag, flung down their arms, and bowed their heads in submission. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, never having had any skill in military matters, raised the white flag in reply, as a simple intimation to advance alone. The

[1] Most of this speech is copied from a passage in a Chinese author.

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with a loud voice," Let the Japanese generals bite[1] — ——! " But he cried out, saying :—" Let the King of Silla bite — ——! " No matter how much they tortured him, he went on shouting as before, and he was accordingly put to death. Moreover his son Wojiko embraced his father, and so died. So hard it always was to shake Ikina's determination to stick to his own language. Accordingly, he alone was lamented by all the generals. Moreover, his wife Ohobako[2] was taken captive at the same time. In her grief she made a song, saying[3] :—

Standing by the fortress
Of the Land of Kara,
Ohobako XIX. 57.
Waves her head-scarf,
Turning towards Yamato.

Someone composed a song in response, saying :—

Standing by the fortress
Of the Land of Kara,
Ohobako
Is seen to wave her head-scarf,
Turning towards Naniha.

---

[1] We should expect to find here the word " kiss " instead of " bite." But the fact is that neither the Chinese nor the Japanese have the thing or the word, at least quite in our sense. Kissing, or what we may call so, is in these countries not considered a proper subject of conversation, and does not figure in their literatures. The nearest Japanese equivalent is kuchi suu, i.e. " mouth-sucking." The only instance I can recollect of the use of this phrase is in a letter from Hideyoshi to his son Hideyori, then five years of age. He promises that he will soon come to see him and give him a kiss (kuchi-sui-mōsu-beku sōrō), expressing at the same time a playful jealousy of his allowing other people to kiss him. The Japanese editor of this letter finds it necessary to explain that kissing, or rather mouth-sucking, is a sign of affection.

Dr. Schlegel, of the University of Leiden, informs me that " a Chinese boy never kisses his mother—they rub their respective noses over the cheeks. Kissing the hand is totally unknown in China "

The use of the word bite for kiss by the Chinese suggests that the kiss may be a modification of a playful bite, just as the smile may have had its origin in a sportive showing of the canine teeth. See Darwin's " Expression of the Emotions," p. 255.

[2] The name of a plant.

[3] Another rendering is : " In grief for her, they (i.e. the generals) made a song, saying :—"

8th month. The Emperor sent Sadehiko, Ohotomo no Muraji as general-in-chief in command of an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack Koryö. Accordingly Sadehiko, acting on plans laid by Pèkché, routed Koryò. Their King climbed over a wall, and so made his escape. Sadehiko at length followed up his victory, and entered the palace, where he took possession of and brought away with him all the valuables, presents, curtains of seven-fold woof, and an iron house.[1]

An old book says :—" The iron house was on the top of the western storied building of Koryö : the woven curtains were hung in the private chamber of the Koryo King.

The curtains of seven-fold woof were offered as a present to the Emperor ; while to the Oho-omi, Soga, Iname no Sukune, there were sent two suits of armour, two swords mounted in gold, three copper bells with chasings, two flags variously coloured, a beautiful woman called Hime[2] [Hime is a name], and also her attendant, Atako. Hereupon the Oho-omi at length took to him these two women and made them his wives, lodging them in the palace of Karu no Magari.

The iron house is in the Temple of Chōanji, but we do not know in what province this temple is. One book says :—" 11th year.[3] Ohotomo no Sadehiko, along with the Land of Pèkché, repulsed Yang-hyang, King of
XIX. 58 Koryo, at the capital city of Pi-chin-nyu."

Winter, 11th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer presents and at the same time to bring tribute. The Envoys found out all about the Government being indignant against Silla on account of the destruction of Imna, and did not dare to ask leave to depart, fearing lest they might be executed.[4] They did not return to their own country, and were made to rank as (Japanese) subjects. These men were the ancestors of the present Silla men of Hani-iho in the district of Mishima in the province of Settsu.

[1] Probably a shrine in the shape of a small pagoda, used as a receptacle for relics, says the " Shūkai " editor.

[2] Or Yome.

[3] No doubt an error for 21st year. The " Tongkam " does not mention this war.

[4] See above, XIX. 54.

26th year, Summer, 5th month. Some Koryö men, Tu-mu-ri-ya-phyé and others, emigrated to Tsukushi. They were settled in the province of Yamashiro, and were the ancestors of the present Koryö men of Une-hara, Nara, and Yamamura. A.D. 565.

28th year. There were floods in the districts and provinces, with famine. In some cases men ate each other. Mutual assistance was rendered by transporting grain from the neighbouring districts. A.D. 567.

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An edict was issued as follows:—"The institution of serfs[1] is a custom of old standing. But for more than ten years past, there have been many whose names have been omitted from the lists, and who have avoided their tasks. Let Itsu [Itsu was nephew of Ō Chin-ni[2]] be sent to revise the lists of the serfs of Shirawi." A.D. 569.

Summer, 4th month. Itsu revised the serfs of Shirawi, and in accordance with the edict, settled the lists, so that land-families[3] were formed. The Emperor, by way of compliment to Itsu on his success in settling the lists, gave him the title of Shirawi no Obito, and moreover appointed him Tadzukahi under Midzuko [Midzuko is mentioned above].[4]

31st year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Iname no Sukune, Soga no Oho-omi, died. A.D. 570.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Shibagaki in Hatsuse. XIX. 59.

Moshiro, Yenuno no Omi, a man of Koshi, came to the capital and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Envoys from Koryo, suffering by reason of the winds and waves, lost their way, and missing their harbour, drifted at the mercy of the current, until they suddenly reached the shore. This was concealed by the ruler of the district. Therefore I make it known to Your Majesty."

The Emperor made an order, saying:—"This is the first time since our taking over the Imperial functions, now many years ago, that men of Koryö, losing their way, have reached the coast of Koshi. Though suffering from being cast away and submerged, yet their lives have been preserved. Is not this an

[1] Lit. Rice-field Be.

[2] Apparently a Corean or Chinese name.

[3] 田戸 or field-house, i.e. families or groups of cultivators.

[4] XIX. 49.

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but several tens of days elapsed without their having an opportunity of presenting it. They were compelled to await a lucky day.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Emperor took to his bed, sick and ill at ease. The Prince Imperial had gone away, and was not present, but was summoned by a messenger on a swift horse, and introduced into the bed-chamber. The Emperor took him by the hand, and gave command to him, saying:—"Our illness is very grave. That which comes after devolves on thee. Thou must make war on Silla, and establish Imna as a feudal dependency, renewing a relationship like that of a husband and wife just at it was in former days. If this be done, in my grave I shall rest contented."

On this day the Emperor at length died in the inner chamber. XIX. 61.
His years were many.[1]

5th month. He was temporarily interred at Furuichi in Kahachi.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Silla sent as Envoys of condolence Mi-cheul-chă-sil-syo and others to make lament at the place of temporary interment.

This month Mi-cheul-chă-sil-syo and the rest took their departure.

9th month. The Emperor was buried in the Misasagi of Sakahi at Hinokuma.

[1] Some say 62, others 63 or 81.

BOOK XX.

THE EMPEROR NUNAKURA FUTO-TAMA-SHIKI.[1]

(*BI-DATSU*[2] *TENNŌ*

OR

BIN-DATSU TENNŌ.)

THE Emperor Nunakura Futo-tama-shiki was the second child of the Emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niha. His mother was called the Empress Consort Iha no hime [the Empress Consort Iha no hime was a daughter of the Emperor Take-o-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate]. The Emperor was not a believer in Buddhism, but was fond of literature.[3] At the age of twenty-nine he was raised to the position of Prince Imperial. In the fourth month of the thirty-second year of his reign the Emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niha died.

A.D. 572 1st year, Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.

In this month the Emperor made his palace at Oho-wi in Kudara.[4] Mononobe no Yuge no Moriya no Ohomuraji was continued in his office of Ohomuraji, and Soga no Mumako no Sukune was made Oho-omi.

5th month, 1st day. The Emperor inquired of the Imperial Prince and the Oho-omi, saying:—"Where are the Koryō Envoys now?" The Oho-omi answered His Majesty, saying:—"They are in the official residence of Sagaraka."

[1] Nunakura is the name of a place; the rest is literally big-jewel-spread.

[2] Clever.

[3] i.e. Chinese.

[4] Written with the Chinese characters for Pékchè, viz. 百濟. It is here the name of a place in Kahachi.

The Emperor hearing this was exceedingly vexed, and flushing up, exclaimed, saying:—"How sorry I am! The names of these Envoys were already announced to the Emperor, my deceased father." So he despatched the Ministers to the official residence of Sagaraka to inspect and take note of the XX. 2. tribute offered by them, and to cause them to be sent on to the capital.

15th day. The Emperor took the Koryō memorial, and passing it on to the Oho-omi, assembled all the scribes and directed them to read and explain it. At this time all the scribes for the space of three days were unable to read it. Now there was one Ō Chin-ni, founder of the family of the Funa no fubito,[1] who was able to read it and explain its meaning to the Emperor. Consequently the Emperor and the Oho-omi, both together, complimented him, saying:—"What diligence, Chin-ni! Well done, Chin-ni! If thou hadst not been fond of learning, who could have done the interpretation? From this time forward let thy attendance be near Us in the Palace." After this, an edict was issued to the scribes of East and West,[2] saying:—"How is it that the art which ye practise has come to naught? Though ye are many, none of you is equal to Chin-ni." Nor was this all. The memorial presented by Koryo was written on crow's feathers, and the characters, like the feathers, being black, nobody had been able to read them. Chin-ni accordingly steamed the feathers in the vapour from boiled rice, and took an impression of them on a piece of silk, whereupon all the characters were transferred to it, to the wonder of the Court.

6th month. The Chief Koryo Envoy addressed the Associate Envoys, saying:—"In the time of the Emperor of Shikishima,[3] ye, contrary to my advice, allowed yourselves to be deceived by others. You unauthorizedly shared the national tribute, and without due consideration granted it to mean persons. Were you not to blame in this? If the King of our country were to hear of it, he would certainly have you executed." The Associate Envoys then said to one another:—"If on our return

[1] i.e. recorders of ships. His name shows that he was of Chinese or Corean origin.

[2] East means here Yamato; West, Kahachi.

[3] Kimmei Tennō, so called from his place of residence.

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Koryo Envoys' ship, while two Koryö men were made to embark in the escort Envoy's ship. Having in this manner exchanged ships, as a precaution against treachery, they both set sail together. They had only gone a few ri, when the escort Envoy, Naniha, fearing the waves, took the two Koryö men and flung them into the sea.

8th month, 14th day. The escort Envoy, Naniha, returned and reported the result of his mission, saying:—"The whale-fish of the sea assemble in great numbers and intercept and devour the ships with their sculls and oars. Naniha and his companions fearing to be swallowed up by these fishes were unable to go upon the sea." The Emperor hearing this saw that his language was untruthful, and employed him in one of the public offices,[1] not allowing him to return to his own province. XX. 4.

3rd year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Koryö Envoys anchored on the sea-coast of Koshi. A.D. 574.

Autumn, 7th month, 20th day. The Koryö Envoys entered the capital and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Last year thy servants departed, in company with the escort Envoy, in order to return to their own country. Formerly when thy servants arrived at their frontier State,[2] thy servants' frontier State entertained Ihahi, Ohoshima no Obito, and his companions in accordance with the ceremony due to Envoys, and the King of Koryo treated them with specially cordial civility. Notwithstanding this, the ship of the escort Envoy had not arrived up till now, and therefore he has respectfully again sent Envoys along with Ihahi and his companions to request information as to why our Envoys[3] have not come." When the Emperor heard this he enumerated Naniha's offences, saying:—"Thou art doubly guilty, first for having deceived the Court, and secondly, for having drowned the Envoys of a neighbouring State. These are heinous crimes, and thou canst not be released." He was therefore sentenced to punishment.[4]

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako, was sent to the province of Kibi to extend the Shirawi

[1] As a slave.

[2] Note the fiction of Koryö being a dependency of Japan.

[3] This must be taken as referring to the two men whom Naniha threw overboard

[4] No doubt of death.

Miyake and the staff of serfs attached to it. He accordingly took the register of serfs and handed it over to Itsu, Shirawi no Fubito.

11th day. By an Imperial order, the title of Tsu no Fubito[1] was granted to Ushi,[2] younger brother of Ō Chin-ni, Funa no Fubito.[3]

XX. 5. 11th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer tribute.

A.D. 575. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Hirohime, daughter of Prince Mate of Okinaga, was raised to the rank of Empress Consort. She had one son and two daughters. The eldest was called the Imperial Prince Oshizaka Hikohito no Ohine [otherwise the Imperial Prince Maroko]. The second was called the Imperial Princess Sakanobori. The third was called the Imperial Princess Uji no Shitsukahi.

In this month a consort was appointed named Womuna gimi no Otoshi,[4] the daughter of Nakatsu kimi, Kasuga no Omi. [She was otherwise called Kusu-kimi no Iratsuko.] She bore three sons and one daughter. The first was called the Imperial Prince Naniha; the second was called the Imperial Prince Kasuga; the third was called the Imperial Princess Kuwada; the fourth was called the Imperial Prince Ohomata. The next, an Uneme named Unako no Otoshi, daughter of Wokuma, Ise no Ohoka no Obito, gave birth to the Imperial Princess Futo hime [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Sakurawi] and the Imperial Princess Nukade hime [also called the Imperial Princess Tamura].

XX. 6. 2nd month, 7th day. The Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, returned to the capital and reported the result of his mission respecting the Miyake.

3rd month, 11th day. Pèkché sent envoys to offer tribute, more in quantity than in ordinary years. The Emperor, inasmuch as Silla had not yet established Imna, gave orders to the Imperial Prince and to the Oho-omi, saying:—"Be not remiss in the matter of Imna."

Summer, 4th month, 6th day. The Kishi, Kanako, was sent on a mission to Silla, the Kishi, Itahiko, to Imna, and the Kishi, Wosa-hiko,[5] to Pèkché.

[1] Port-recorder. [2] The ox. [3] i.e. Shipping-recorder.
[4] This is the rendering of the Interlinear Kana version.
[5] Wosa means interpreter. Kishi was originally a Corean title.

6th month. Silla sent envoys to offer tribute, more in quantity than usual. They also sent tribute for the four townships of Ta-ta-ra, Su-na-ra, Hwa-tha, and Pal-kwi.

In this year, by command, the diviners divined a site for the dwellings of Prince Amabe and Prince Itowi. The divination was propitious, and eventually a palace was constructed at Wosada,[1] which was called the Palace of Sakidama.

Winter, 11th month. The Empress Consort Hirohime died.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 10th day. The functionaries petitioned that an Empress Consort should be appointed. By the Emperor's command Toyomike Kashikiya hime no Mikoto[2] was appointed Empress Consort. She bore two sons and five daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Uji no Kahitako [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Uji no Shitsukahi]. She was wedded to Shō-toku, the heir to the throne. The second was called the Imperial Prince Takeda; the third was called the Imperial Princess Woharida. She was wedded to the Imperial Prince Hiko-hito no Ohine.[3] The fourth was called the Imperial Princess Umori [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Karu no mori]; the fifth was called the Imperial Prince Wohari; the sixth was called the Imperial Princess Tame. She was wedded to the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka.[4] The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Sakurawi no Yumibari.

6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. By Imperial command there were established a Sun-worship Be and a private Be.[5]

Summer, 5th month, 5th day. Prince Ohowake and Woguro no Kishi were sent to govern the Land of Pèkché.

The representatives of the Crown, who by Imperial command were sent on service to the three Han, called themselves 幸, meaning that they governed Corea. This was doubtless an ancient rule. They resembled what are now called Envoys. This explanation applies to all other passages also. It is not clear what was the extraction of Prince Ohowake.

[1] The Interpreter's field.
[2] Afterwards the reigning Empress Suiko Tennō.
[3] Her half-brother.
[4] Jomei Tennō.
[5] This is explained to mean "for the Empress's service."

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dren of our body eighty times continued'] will serve the Celestial Gate with sincerity of heart. If we break this oath, may all the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and also the spirits of the Emperors, destroy our race."

11th year, Winter, 10th month. Silla sent Ato Nami and Sil-syo Nami to render tribute. They were dismissed, their tribute not being accepted.

12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"In the reign of the late Emperor, my father, Silla destroyed our inner Miyake State.

In the 23rd year of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha, Imna was destroyed by Silla. Therefore it is said that Silla destroyed our inner Miyake State.

Our father, the late Emperor, devised measures for restoring Imna, but he died without carrying them out, and did not fulfil his purpose. It therefore devolves on Us to render assistance to his divinely admirable policy, and to restore Imna again. The Talsol, Illa, son of the Arisăteung, Miyakko of the Province of Ashigita in Hi,[1] now resident in Pèkché, is a wise and brave man. Therefore we wish to consult with him." Accordingly he sent Oshikatsu, Ki no kuni no Miyakko, and Hashima, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, to summon him from Pèkché.

Winter, 10th month. Oshikatsu, Ki no Kuni no Miyakko, and his colleague returned from Pèkché and reported the result of their mission to the Court, saying:—"The King of the Land of Pèkché grudged Illa and would not consent to allow him to come up."

This year, Hashima, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, was again sent to summon Illa from Pèkché. Hashima, having gone to Pèkché, wished first of all to see Illa privately. He was standing all by himself facing the door of his house, when there suddenly came from within the house a Corean woman who addressed him in the Corean language, saying:—"Radix tua ineat in meam radicem," and then went away into the house. Hashima perceived her meaning, and followed in after her. Upon this Illa came to meet him, and taking him by the hand, made him take his place on a seat. He then secretly

[1] Includes Higo and Hizen.

informed him, saying:—"I have received private information that the King of the Land of Pèkché is suspicious of the Celestial Court, fearing that if I were sent, I might afterwards be detained and not allowed to return. He is therefore reluctant, and will not consent to offer me. It would be well, when the Imperial commands are delivered, to make a show of severity, and to insist peremptorily on summoning me." Hashima accordingly followed this plan, and required Illa from the King of the Land of Pèkché. He stood in awe of the Celestial Court, and, not daring to disobey the Imperial message, sent Illa to the Emperor. The Eun-sol,[1] Tök-ni, Yö-no, and Kanochi, the Associate Official the Tok-sol,[2] Chhă-kan-tök, with a good number of steersmen and sailors, together with Illa and his companions, arrived at the Miyake of Kojima in Kibi. The Court sent Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji to express sympathy for their fatigues. Afterwards Daibu[3] were sent to the official residence at Naniha to wait upon Illa. At this time Illa, clad in armour, and riding on horseback, came up to the gate.[4] Then advancing in front of the Hall of Audience, he did his obeisances when advancing and retiring in a kneeling posture, and sighing bitterly, said:—"In the reign of the Emperor who ruled the world from the Palace of Hinokuma,[5] my Lord Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji sent Arisăteung, Hi no Ashigita no Miyakko, and Yugehi[6] of the Osaka Be,[7] beyond the sea, on the service of the State. Thy servant, the son of the Arisăteung, the Talsol Illa, having heard the Imperial summons, with fear and awe presents himself at thy Court." He accordingly took off his armour and delivered it to the Emperor. An official lodging was built for him at Kuha no ichi in Ato, where he was made to dwell, and provided with everything which he desired. Afterwards Abe no Me no Omi,

XX. 11. Mononobe no Niheko no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji were sent to inquire of Illa respecting the government of the country. Illa answered and said:—"The Emperor's aim in governing the Empire is to ensure the

[1] 3rd rank. [2] 4th rank. [3] A general term for high officials.
[4] Leading to the Hall of Audience.
[5] Senkwa Tennō. [6] Archer.
[7] The executioners.

protection and nourishment of the people. Why should he hastily stir up warfare which will redound to their destruction? Therefore now having made all, from his counsellors, viz. the Omi, Muraji, and Miyakko of both kinds [the Kuni no Miyakko and the Tomo no Miyakko], whose duty it is to serve the Court, down to the people, without exception, to enjoy prosperity, let him cause them to want for nothing. When this has been continued for three years, when food has been made abundant, and arms plentiful, the people being dealt with by means of gladness, will fear neither water nor fire, and will join with the Emperor in commiserating the troubles of the country. Thereafter let ships be built in numbers and stationed in order at all the ports, so that visitors from abroad may view them and be filled with dread. There should then be sent a capable Envoy to Pèkché to summon the King of that country. If he does not come, let his Prime Minister or a Prince be summoned to appear. Their hearts will in that case naturally be filled with submissive reverence, and they ought then to be called to an account for their misconduct" [the crime of delaying to establish Imna].

Moreover he addressed (a message to) the Emperor, saying:—"The people of Pèkché talk of a plan according to which it is intended to request (a settlement in) Tsukushi for 300 ships (of emigrants?). If they really make this request, I advise Your Majesty to pretend to grant it. Pèkché will then wish to create a new country, and will certainly put the women and children on ship-board and come with them in advance. The Government, when this time is at hand, should place in ambush in Iki and Tsushima plenty of troops, and, awaiting their arrival, slay them. On the other hand, guard against being yourselves over-reached, and solidly build fortresses in all the strong positions."[1]

Hereupon one of the Eun-sol and the Associate, on the eve of their departure for their own country [an old book says:—"One Eun-sol and one Associate"] held secret communication with Tök-ni and others, saying:—"If you, having allowed sufficient time for us to get past Tsukushi, will secretly

[1] All this seems great nonsense. It has puzzled the native commentators.

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removed for interment at Ashigita. Later the coast people reported that the Eun-sol's ship had met with a storm and foundered, and that the Associate's ship had not been able to return until it had first drifted to Tsushima.

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Kitahiko, Naniha no Kishi, was sent to Silla. He at length arrived at Imna. A.D. 5

Autumn, 9th month. Kafuka no Omi [the personal name is wanting], who had come from Pèkché, had a stone image of Miroku,[1] and Saheki no Muraji [the personal name is wanting] an image of Buddha This year Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, having asked for these two Buddhist images, sent Shiba Tattō,[2] Kurabe no Sukuri, and Hida, Ikenobe no Atahe, in all directions to search out persons who practised (Buddhism). Upon this he only found in the province of Harima a man named Hyé-phyòn of Koryó,[3] who from a Buddhist priest had become a layman again. So the Oho-omi made him teacher, and caused him to receive Shima, the daughter of Shiba Tattō, into religion. She took the name of Nun Zen-shin [twelve years of age]. Moreover he received into religion two pupils of the Nun Zen-shin. One was Toyome, the daughter of Ayabito[4] no Yaho. She took the name of Nun Sen-zō. The other was Ishime, daughter of Nishikori Tsubu. She took the name of Nun Kei-zen. Mŭmako no Sukune, still in accordance with the Law of Buddha, reverenced the three nuns, and gave them to Hida no Atahe and Tattō, with orders to provide them with food and clothing. He erected a Buddhist Temple on the east side of his dwelling, in which he enshrined the stone image of Miroku. He insisted on the three nuns holding a general meeting to partake of maigre fare.[5] At this time Tattō found a Buddhist XX. 1

[1] In Sanskrit Maitrêya, the expected Messiah of the Buddhists. *Vide* Eitel, p. 92.

[2] A Chinese or Corean name. [3] In Japanese Koma no Keibin.

[4] Ayabito is written 漢人, i.e. a man of Han (China). Here it is a proper name, though no doubt indicating a Chinese ancestry.

[5] The Chinese character for "maigre fare" is 齋. This the Interlinear Kana renders here and below in many places by Ogami, i.e. prayer. That the meetings here referred to were practically for religious services is unquestionable, and we have seen above, Vol. I. p. 41, that this character when used in connection with Shintō, is equivalent to "worship," although primarily meaning "religious abstinence." Here the proper meaning is, I submit, "the vegetable diet of Buddhist priests." A few lines further down

relic on the food of abstinence, and presented it to Mŭmako no Sukune. Mŭmako no Sukune, by way of experiment, took the relic, and placing it on the middle of a block of iron, beat it with an iron sledge-hammer, which he flourished aloft. The block and the sledge-hammer were shattered to atoms, but the
XX. 15. relic could not be crushed. Then the relic was cast into water, when it floated on the water or sank as one desired. In consequence of this, Mŭmako no Sukune, Ikenobe no Hida, and Shiba Tattō held faith in Buddhism and practised it unremittingly. Mŭmako no Sukune built another Buddhist Temple at his house in Ishikaha. From this arose the beginning of Buddhism.

A.D 585. 14th year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. Soga no Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, erected a pagoda north of the Hill of Ohono, and having held a general meeting to partake of maigre food, deposited the relic obtained by Tattō on the top of the pillar.[1]

24th day. Soga no Oho-omi took ill. Having made inquiry of a diviner,[2] the diviner answered and said :—"It is a curse sent by will of the Buddha[3] worshipped in thy father's time." Soga no Oho-omi accordingly sent a young man of his family to report to the Emperor the nature of the divination. The Emperor gave orders, saying :—"In accordance with the words of the diviner, let thy father's Gods be worshipped." The Oho-omi, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, worshipped the stone image, and prayed that his life might be prolonged. At this time there was a pestilence rife in the land, and many of the people died.

3rd month, 1st day. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji and Nakatomi no Katsumi no Daibu addressed the Emperor, saying :—"Why hast thou not consented to follow thy servants' counsel? Is not the prevalence of pestilence from the reign of the late Emperor thy father down to thine, so that

we have 齋食, "abstinence food," Lenten fare, as we should say, and Giles (p. 18) renders 齋僧 "to give meals to priests." This is a well-known duty of pious Buddhists. In the history of Corea there is frequent mention of large numbers of priests being entertained by the kings from time to time.

[1] i.e. the central pillar round which a pagoda is built.

[2] Urabe, or native augurs.

[3] The word for Buddha is 佛神, Buddha-Kami.

the nation is in danger of extinction, owing absolutely to the establishment of the exercise of the Buddhist religion by Soga no Omi?" The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Manifestly so: let Buddhism be discontinued."

30th day. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji went himself to the Temple, and sitting on a chair,[1] cut down XX. 16.
the pagoda,[2] which he then set fire to and burnt. He likewise burnt the image of Buddha and the Temple of Buddha. Having done so, he took the remains of the image of Buddha which were left from the burning and had them flung into the Naniha canal. On this day there was wind and rain without any clouds, and the Ohomuraji had on his rain-coat. He upbraided Mŭmako no Sukune and those who followed him in the exercise of religion, and made them feel shame and contrition of heart. Moreover he sent

Agura.

Mimoro [also called Oruke], Saheki no Miyakko, to summon Zen-shin and the other nuns provided for by Mŭmako no Sukune. So Mŭmako no Sukune did not dare to disobey this command, but with grief and lamentation called forth the nuns and delivered them to Mimoro. The officials accordingly took away from the nuns their three garments,[3] imprisoned them and flogged them at the road-station of Tsubaki no ichi.

The Emperor, with the view of establishing Imna, appointed as his Envoy Prince Mimiko of Sakata. Just at this

[1] Chair here and elsewhere is in the original represented by two Chinese characters which mean "Tartar couch." The Japanese word which the writer had in mind was no doubt agura, "leg-seat," which is the rendering of the Interlinear Kana.

[2] The meaning may be that he sat on a chair to superintend the workmen who were employed for this purpose.

[3] The three priestly garments, viz. the Saṁghâṭi, reaching from the shoulders to the knees, the Uttara Saṁghâṭi, a sort of overcoat, and the Kachâya (*Kesa* in Japanese), a coloured mantle. *Vide* Eitel, *sub vocibus.*

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like a sparrow pierced by a hunting-shaft." Next Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji, with trembling hands and legs, delivered his funeral oration. The Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, laughed and said :—" He ought to have bells hung upon him." From this small beginning the two Ministers conceived a hatred of each other. Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi sent Hayato for the protection of the Courtyard of the temporary tomb. The Imperial Prince Anahobe,[1] who wished to possess himself of the empire, flew into a rage, and declared, saying :—" Why do ye serve the Court of a dead King, and do no service where the living King is ? "

[1] Younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother.

BOOK XXI.

THE EMPEROR TACHIBANA NO TOYOHI.[1]

(*YŌMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi was the fourth child of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha.[3] His mother's name was Kitashi hime. The Emperor believed in the Law of Buddha and reverenced the Way of the Gods.[4] In the fourteenth year of his reign, Autumn, the 8th month, the Emperor Nunakura futo-tama-shiki died.

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial dignity, and made his capital at Ihare, calling it the Palace of Namitsuki in Ikenobe.[5] Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune was made Oho-omi, and Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji was made Ohomuraji, both as before.

19th day. The Emperor made command, saying:—etc., etc.[6]—appointing the Imperial Princess Nukade hime to the charge of the Shrine of Ise and to attend to the worship of the Sun-goddess.

This Imperial Princess, from the time of this Emperor until the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime,[7] attended to the divine service of the Sun-goddess. She then retired

[1] This name means orange abundance-sun. Tachibana is, however, here the name of a village in Yamato.

[2] Yō means to use, employ; mei, brightness. [3] Kimmei Tennō.

[4] Shintō. 神道. The first time this phrase is found. The "Yih-king" has, "The sage frames his doctrine by the Way of the Gods, and the Empire accepts it."

[5] Province of Yamato.

[6] The author omits the words of the edict, and only gives its general purport.

[7] Suiko Tennō.

of her own accord to Katsuraki, and there died. See the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime. One book says:—"Having attended to the worship of the Sun-goddess for the space of thirty-seven years, she then retired of her own accord and died."

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito was appointed Empress Consort.[1] She bore four sons. The first was called the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado[2] [also called Mimito[3] Shōtoku,[4] or as some have it Toyoto-mimi, Great King of the Law, or again Master King of the Law]. This Imperial Prince at first lived at Kamitsu miya.[5] Afterwards he removed to Ikaruga in the reign of the Empress Toyomike Kashikiya hime, where he occupied the Eastern Palace,[6] and discharged the duties of Emperor, being associated with her in the management of all matters of administration, as is stated in the history of the Empress Toyomike Kashikiya hime. The second was called the Imperial Prince Kume; the third was called the Imperial Prince Yeguri; the fourth was called the Imperial Prince Mamuta.[7] Ishikina, daughter of Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, was appointed a Consort. She bore the Imperial Prince Tame [also called the Imperial Prince Toyora]. Hiroko, daughter of Ihamura, Katsuraki no Atahe, bore one son and one daughter. The son was called the Imperial Prince Maroko; he was the ancestor of the Kimi of Tahema. The daughter was called the Imperial Princess Nukade hime. She was during three generations in the service of the Sun-goddess. A.D. 586. XXI. 2. XXI. 3.

Summer, 5th month. The Imperial Prince Anahobe tried to force his way into the Palace of temporary interment in order to ravish the Empress Consort Kashikiya hime.[8] But the favourite Minister, Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, called out the

[1] She was also a daughter of Kimmei Tennō, by a different mother.

[2] See below, 1st year of Suiko's reign, for the reason of this name.

[3] Quick-ear.

[4] Sagely-virtue. This is the renowned Shōtoku Daishi, the real founder of Buddhism in Japan.

[5] The Upper Palace. [6] i.e. the Heir Apparent's quarters.

[7] Or Mata.

[8] The Empress Dowager. The motive was probably not lust, but ambition. Compare the similar case of Jimmu Tennō's widow.

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no Mŭmako no Sukune, having heard from an outside source of this conspiracy, went to the place where the Imperial Prince was. He accordingly arrived before the gate [the gate of the Imperial Prince's house is meant], and finding him on the point of going to the place where the Ohomuraji was, remonstrated with him, saying:—"A ruler does not approach a criminal. Thou shouldst not go thyself." The Imperial Prince would not listen to him, but went. Mŭmako no Sukune forthwith departed in his train, and arrived at Ihare. There he urgently remonstrated with him, and the Prince yielded to his remonstrances and stopped. In this place, accordingly, he remained seated on a chair and waited for the Ohomuraji. A good while later the latter arrived with his troops and reported the result of his commission, saying:—"I have executed Sakahe and the others." [One books says:—"The Imperial Prince went in person and shot them dead."] Hereupon Mŭmako no Sukune broke into bitter lamentations, saying:—"Civil disorder in the Empire is not far off." The Ohomuraji hearing this, answered and said:—"Thy position is that of a small minister;[1] thou dost not know."

This Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, was a favourite of the Emperor Wosada,[2] and he was charged with all matters both internal and external. In consequence of this the Empress-consort Kashikiya hime and Mŭmako no Sukune both conceived enmity against the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 4th month, 2nd day. The Emperor performed the ceremony of tasting the new rice[3] on the river-bank of Ihare. On this day the Emperor took ill and returned to the Palace. All the Ministers were in attendance. The Emperor addressed them, saying:—"It is Our desire to give our adherence to the three precious things. Do ye Our Ministers advise upon this." All the Ministers entered the Court and consulted together. Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji and Nakatomi no Katsumi no Muraji opposed the A.D. 587. XXI. S

[1] Alluding to his title of Oho-omi or Great Minister.

[2] Bidatsu Tennō.

[3] Nihi-name. See above, Vol. I. p. 86. It was unusual to celebrate this festival in spring.

Imperial proposal, and advised, saying:—"Why should we reverence strange deities, and turn our backs upon the gods of our country? Of course we know naught of any such thing." The Oho-omi Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune said:—"Let us render assistance in compliance with the Imperial command. Who shall offer advice to the contrary?" Hereupon the Imperial Prince the Emperor's younger brother [the Imperial Prince Anahobe is meant.[1] He was the Emperor's younger brother, born of a concubine], introduced into the interior (of the Palace) a priest of the Land of Toyo[2] [the personal name is wanting]. Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji glared at them in great wrath. Then Kekuso, Oshi-sakabe no Fubito, came hastily and spoke secretly to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"All the Ministers are now plotting against thee, and moreover are about to waylay thee." When the Ohomuraji heard this, he retired to Ato [Ato is the name of a place where the Ohomuraji had a country house] and assembled a body of men. Nakatomi no Katsumi no Muraji assembled troops at his house and went with them to the assistance of the Ohomuraji. At length he prepared figures of the Imperial Prince Hikobito, the Heir Apparent, and of the Imperial Prince Takeda, and loathed them.[3] But presently finding that success was impossible, he repaired to the Palace of the Imperial Prince Hikobito at Mimata. One of the attendants[4] (of the Prince) named Ichihi,
XXI. 6. Tomi no Obito [Tomi is the family name, and Ichihi the personal name], watched till Katsumi no Muraji was withdrawing from the place where the Imperial Prince Hikobito was, and drawing his sword, slew him. The Ohomuraji from his house at Ato sent a message to Mŭmako no Oho-omi by Wosaka, Mononobe no Yasaka no Oho-ichi no Miyakko, and Ani, Urushibe[5]

[1] The "Shukai" editor thinks we should understand here the Emperor's younger brother *and* the Imperial Prince.

[2] Or perhaps Toyokuni was his name.

[3] i.e. practised witchcraft on them.

[4] Toneri.

[5] This name may be read either Urushibe no Miyakko or Nuribe no Miyakko. Urushi is "varnish," and nuri means "to smear," so that the difference is not very material. This is the first mention of lacquer in Japanese literature, and although it indicates that the art was already known, we may safely set aside as later inventions the statements referring it to a much earlier period which are quoted, with a reserve amply justified by the

no Miyakko, saying:—"Hearing that the Ministers have designs against me, I am keeping out of the way." Mŭmako no Oho-omi accordingly sent Hashi no Yajima no Muraji to the place where Ohotomo no Hirafu no Muraji was, and told him all that the Ohomuraji had said. Hirafu no Muraji, therefore, took in his hand his bow and arrows and his leathern shield and went to the house at Tsukikuma [the Oho-omi's house], where he remained guarding the Oho-omi, and did not leave him by night or by day.

The Emperor's sores became worse and worse, and when the end was approaching, Tasuna of the Kuratsukuri [1] Be [son of Shiba Tattō] came forward and addressed him, saying:—"Thy servant, on behalf of the Emperor, will renounce the world and exercise religion. Moreover, he will make an image of Buddha sixteen feet high, and a Temple." The Emperor was deeply moved. This is the 16-foot wooden image of Buddha which with its attendant Bosatsu [2] now stands in the Temple of Sakata at Minabuchi.

9th day. The Emperor died in the Great Hall.

Autumn, 7th month, 21st day. He was buried in the Misasagi above the pond of Ihare.[3]

facts, in an essay on Lacquer in the "Catalogue of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work in the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894."

The Urushibe (or Nuribe) no Muraji (a higher rank than Miyakko) were promoted to be Urushibe no Sukune in 685.

An ancient note to the "Kiujiki," III. 16, traces the descent of the Urushibe no Muraji from a deity.

[1] Saddle-makers.

[2] i.e. Boddhisattwa. The two Bosatsu here alluded to are probably Ji-zō Bosatsu (Kshidi-garbha) and Monju Bosatsu, the Sanskrit Mañdjus'rî. *Vide* Eitel, *sub vocc.* Also *vide* "Satow's Handbook," 2nd ed. introduction, p. 87.

[3] Afterwards re-interred at Shinaga in Kahachi.

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Hinokuma[1] and father of Princess Kamutsu hime. This is not clear.

He was put to death because he approved the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

9th day. The nun Zen-shin and the others addressed the Oho-omi, saying:—"Discipline is the basis of the method of XXI. 8.
those who renounce the world; we pray thee to let us go to Pèkché to receive instruction in the Law of Discipline." This month tribute Envoys from Pèkché arrived at Court. The Oho-omi addressed the Envoys, saying:—"Take these nuns with you, and when you are about to cross over to your country, make them learn the Law of Discipline. When they have done, send them off." The Envoys answered and said:—"When we return to our frontier State, we shall first of all inform the King of our country, and it will afterwards be not too late to send them off."[2]

Autumn, 7th month. The Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, incited the Imperial Princes and the Ministers to plot the destruction of the Ohomuraji, Mononobe no Moriya. The Imperial Prince Hatsusebe, the Imperial Prince Takeda, the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado, the Imperial Prince Naniha, the Imperial Prince Kasuga, the Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, Womaro no Sukune, Ki no Omi, Hirafu, Kose no Omi, Katafu, Kashihade no Omi, and Wonara, Katsuraki no Omi, together led an army, and advanced to attack the Ohomuraji. Kurafu, Ohotomo no Muraji, Hito, Abe no Omi, Ite, Heguri no Omi, Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, and Kasuga no Omi [the personal name is not given , together led a force from the district of Shiki[3] as far as the house of Shibukaha.[4] The Ohomuraji, in personal command of the young men of his family and of a slave-army, built a rice-fort and gave battle. Then the Ohomuraji climbed up into the fork of an elm[5] at Kisuri, from which he shot down arrows like rain. His troops XXI. 9.
were full of might. They filled the house and overflowed into the plain. The army of the Imperial Princes and the troops of the Ministers were timid and afraid, and fell back three times. At this time the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado, his hair

[1] Senkwa Tennō. [2] See below, XXI. 13. [3] In Kahachi.
[4] i.e. the Ohomuraji's house at Shibukaha.
[5] The yenoki or Celtis sinensis.

being tied up on the temples[1] [the ancient custom was for boys of the age of fifteen or sixteen to tie up their hair on the temples; at the age of seventeen or eighteen it was divided, and made into tufts, as is the case even now], followed in the rear of the army. He pondered in his own mind, saying to himself:—"Are we not going to be beaten? Without prayer we cannot succeed." So he cut down a nuride tree,[2] and swiftly fashioned images of the four Heavenly Kings.[3] Placing them on his top-knot, he uttered a vow:—"If we are now made to gain the victory over the enemy, I promise faithfully to honour the four Heavenly Kings, guardians of the world, by erecting to them a temple with a pagoda." The Oho-omi Soga no Mŭmako also uttered a vow:—"Oh! all ye Heavenly Kings and great Spirit King,[4] aid and protect us, and make us to gain the advantage. If this prayer is granted, I will erect a temple with a pagoda in honour of the Heavenly Kings and the great Spirit King, and will propagate everywhere the three precious things." When they had made this vow, they urged their troops of all arms sternly forward to the attack. Now there was a man named Ichihi, Tomi no Obito, who shot down
XXI. 10. the Ohomuraji from his branch and killed him and his children. The Ohomuraji's troops accordingly gave way suddenly. Joining their forces, they every one put on black clothes, and going hunting on the plain of Magari in Hirose, so dispersed.[5] In this war some of the children and relatives of the Ohomuraji made their escape, and concealing themselves on the plain of Ashihara, changed their personal names and altered their titles,[6] while others fled away nobody knew where.

[1] The interlinear version calls this style hisago-hana, i.e. gourd-flower; the manly style is called age-maki, or rolling up.

[2] It is doubtful what kind of tree is intended. Nuride is the interlinear gloss. The nuride or nurude resembles the lacquer tree (nuri means lacquer). Hepburn calls it Rhus semialata.

[3] Shi-ten-ō or Chatur Mahārādjas. Four demon kings who guard the world against Asuras. *Vide* Eitel, p 174, 2nd ed.; also "Satow's Handbook," p. 556.

[4] Daijinnō or Mahākalā. *Vide* Eitel, pp. 85 and 91. Identified with the modern Daikoku Sama. *Vide* "Anderson's B. M. Catalogue," p. 33.

[5] It is explained here that "black" was the colour of underlings' clothes, and that the chiefs put on this colour for disguise. The "hunting" was only a pretence.

[6] Or surnames.

The people of that time said of them to one another:—"The wife of Soga no Oho-omi is the younger sister of the Oho-muraji Mononobe no Moriya, and the Oho-omi, injudiciously acting on his wife's advice, slew the Ohomuraji."[1]

When the civil troubles had been quieted, a Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings[2] was built in the province of Settsu. Half of the Ohomuraji's slaves, together with his house, were constituted the slaves and farm-house of the Great Temple, and ten thousand shiro[3] of rice-land were given to Ichihi, Tomi no Obito. Moreover, Soga no Oho-omi, in fulfilment of his XXI. vow, erected the Temple of Hōkōji[4] in Asuka. A dependant of the Ohomuraji Mononobe no Moriya named Yorodzu, [the personal name], of the Tottori-be, in command of one hundred men, guarded the house[5] at Naniha, but hearing of the Ohomuraji's downfall, he urged his horse into a gallop, and made his escape by night in the direction of the village of Arimaka in the district of Chinu, where, having passed his wife's house, he at length concealed himself among the hills. The Court took counsel together, saying:—"Yorodzu cherishes traitorous feelings, and therefore has concealed himself among these hills. Let his kindred be extirpated promptly, and no remissness shown." Yorodzu, in tattered and filthy raiment, and with a wretched countenance, came forth alone, of his own accord, bow in hand and girt with a sword. The officials sent several hundred guardsmen to surround him. Yorodzu, accordingly, was afraid, and hid himself in a bamboo thicket, where he tied cords to the bamboos and pulled them so as to shake the bamboos, and thus make the people to doubt where he had gone in. The guardsmen were deceived, and pointing to the quivering bamboos, ran forward, saying:—"Yorodzu is here!" Yorodzu forthwith shot his arrows, not one of which missed its mark, so that the guardsmen were afraid, and did not dare to approach. Yorodzu then unstrung his bow, and

[1] She wished to appropriate to herself his property.

[2] At Osaka. Still known as Tennōji. *Vide* "Murray's Handbook of Japan," 3rd ed. p. 285.

[3] The 頃 (shiro) is equal 100 畝 or mow, a measure which, according to present Chinese reckoning, is equal to 15.13 acres. *Vide* Giles.

[4] Near Nara. It is no longer in existence.

[5] Of the Ohomuraji.

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ingly assembled together, and raised a tomb in the village of Arimaka, where they buried Yorodzu and his dog.

It was reported from the province of Kahachi that on the plain [1] of the River of Yega there were slain men to the number it might be of several hundreds. Their corpses had become putrefied, so that their names could not be ascertained, but by the colour of the clothing their bodies were taken up (by their friends) for burial. Now there was a dog, kept by Inu, Sakurawi no Tanabe no Muraji, who held on by his teeth to the dead body (of his master), and lying beside it, guarded it closely, not getting up to go away until he had caused it to be taken up for burial. XXI. 13.

8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor, upon the advice of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto and the Ministers, assumed the Imperial Dignity. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune was made Oho-omi as before. The Ministers and Daibu were also confirmed in their previous ranks.

In this month the Palace was made at Kurahashi.[2]

1st year, Spring, 3rd month. Woteko, daughter of Ohotomo no Nukade no Muraji, was appointed Consort. She bore the Imperial Prince Hachiko and the Imperial Princess Nishikide. A.D. 588.

This year, the Land of Pèkché sent Envoys, and along with them the Buddhist priests Hyé-song, Nyöng-Keun, and Hyé-sik,[3] with a present of Buddhist relics. The Land of Pèkché sent the Eun-sol, Syu-sin, the Tök-sol, Kè-mun, and the Na-sol, Pok-pu-mè-sin, with tribute, and also with a present of Buddhist relics, the Buddhist priest Nyöng-chyo, the ascetics Nyöng-wi, Hyé-chyung, Hyé-syuk and To-om, the Temple carpenters Ta-nyang Mi-ta and Mun-ko-ko-chă, a man learned in the art of making braziers and chargers,[4] the Chyang-tök Pèng-mè-syun, men learned in pottery named Mạna Puno, Yang Kwi-mun, Neung Kwi-mun and Syök-ma Tyé-mi, and a painter [5] named Pèk-ka.

[1] The dry bed of a river is frequently so called in Japan. They were often used as execution grounds.

[2] In Yamato. [3] In Japanese Ye-sō, Ryō-kin, and Ye-shoku.

[4] Metal-founders. These artizans had a defined rank and are called Hakase, or doctor.

[5] Probably of Buddhist pictures, says the "Shukai" editor.

Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune inquired of the Pèkché priests the method of receiving discipline, and handing over to the Eun-sol, Syu-sin, and the other Pèkché Envoys the nuns Zen-shin and her companions, despatched them (to Corea) for study. Having pulled down the house of Konoha, ancestor of the Asuka no Kinunuhi no Miyakko, he began to build the Temple of Hōkōji. The name of this place was Asuka no
XXI. 14. Magami no Hara. It was also called Asuka no Tomada.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Saru (45th) of the Cycle.
A.D. 589. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Kamafu, Afumi no Omi, was sent to the Tōsandō[1] to inspect the frontier of the territory of the Yemishi, Kari, Shishibito no Omi, to the Tōkaidō[2] to inspect the frontier of the provinces bordering on the Eastern ocean, and Abe no Omi to the Hokurikudō to inspect the frontier of the province of Koshi, etc.[3]

A.D. 590. 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The student nuns, Zen-shin and her companions, returned from Pèkché, and took up their abode in the Temple at Sakurawi.

Autumn, 10th month. People went to the hills to get timber for building Buddhist temples. In this year there entered religion as nuns, Zentoku, daughter of Ohotomo no Sadehiko no Muraji, and his Koma wives Shiraki hime and Kudara hime,[4] under the names of Zem-myō and Myō-kwō. Moreover men of Han[5] named Zen-sō, Zen-tsū, Hō Jō-shō, Zen Chi-sō, Zen Chi-kei, and Zen-kwō, with Tasuna, a son of Kuratsukuri be no Shiba Tattō, at the same time renounced the world, the latter taking the name of Tokusai Hōshi.[6]

A.D. 591. 4th year, Spring, 4th month, 12th day. The Emperor Wosada was buried in the Misasagi of Shinaga.[7] This is the Misasagi where the Empress-consort, his mother, was buried.

[1] i.e. East-mountain-circuit, including the inland provinces eastwards from Afumi (Ōmi). The Interlinear Kana has Adzuma, which is not quite the same.

[2] East-sea-circuit, including the provinces along the East Coast from Iga to Hitachi.

[3] Viz. Etchiu, Echizen, and Echigo.

[4] i.e. the Silla lady and the Pèkché lady.

[5] China. No doubt we should understand the Ayabito family of Chinese descent. The names are Chinese, but as the persons who bore them had probably never been in China, I have not given the Chinese pronunciation.

[6] Hōshi is a priestly title. [7] In Kahachi.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"It is our desire to establish Imna. What do ye think?" The Ministers said to him:—"The Miyake of Imna should be established. We are all of the same opinion as Your Majesty." XXI 15.

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. Ki no Womaro no Sukune, Hirafu, Kose no Omi, Kashihade no Omi, Ohotomo no Kuhi no Muraji, and Katsuraki no Wonara no Omi were appointed as Generals. Taking with them the Omi and Muraji of the various Houses as Adjutant-Generals of the divisions of the army, they marched out in command of over 20,000 men and stationed themselves in Tsukushi. Kishi no Kana was sent to Silla and Kishi[1] no Itahiko to Imna to make inquiry respecting Imna.

5th year, Winter, 10th month, 4th day. A wild boar was presented to the Emperor. Pointing to it, he said:—"When shall those to whom We have an aversion be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut?" An abundance of weapons was provided beyond what was customary. A.D. 592.

10th day. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, having been told of the pronouncement of the Emperor, and alarmed at his detestation of himself, called together his people and conspired with them to assassinate the Emperor.

In this month, the Hall of Worship and the covered gallery of the great Hōkōji Temple were built.

11th month, 3rd day. Mŭmako no Sukune lied to the Ministers, saying:—"To-day I present the taxes of the Eastern provinces," and sent Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, who killed the Emperor.

One book says:—"Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was the son of Ihawi, Yamato no Aya no Atahe."

On this day the Emperor was buried in the Misasagi on the hill of Kurahashi.

One book says:—The Imperial concubine Ohotomo no Koteko, incensed at her declining favour, sent a man to Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune with a message, saying:—"Recently a wild boar was presented to the Emperor. He pointed to it and said:—'When shall the man We XXI. 16.

[1] It seems doubtful whether Kishi is here part of the name or a title.

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BOOK XXII.[1]

THE EMPRESS TOYO-MIKE KASHIKI-YA-HIME.[2]

(*SUIKO TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Toyo-mike Kashiki-ya-hime was the second[4] daughter of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha[5] and a younger sister by the same mother of the Emperor Tachibana no toyo-hi.[6] In her childhood she was called the Princess Nukada-be. Her appearance was beautiful, and her conduct was marked by propriety. At the age of eighteen, she was appointed Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki.[7] When she was thirty-four years of age, the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki died. When she was thirty-nine years of age, in the 5th year and the 11th month of the reign of the Emperor Hatsuse-be,[8] the Emperor was murdered by the Oho-omi Mŭmako no Sukune, and the succession to the Dignity being vacant, the Ministers besought the Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki, viz. the Princess Nukada-be, to ascend the throne. The Empress refused, but the public functionaries urged her in memorials three times until she consented, and they accordingly delivered to her the Imperial Seal.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Empress-consort assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Toyora.[9]

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. Relics of Buddha

[1] From this point to the end of the work I have had the great advantage of consulting Dr. Florenz's German translation.

[2] *Toyo*, abundant; *mi*, august; *ke*, food; *Kashikiya*, cook-house; hime, princess.

[3] Suiko means "to reason from antiquity."

[4] Literally middle. [5] Kimmei. [6] Yōmei. [7] Bidatsu.

[8] Sujun. [9] In Yamato.

were deposited in the foundation-stone of the pillar of the pagoda[1] of the Temple of Hōkōji.

16th day. The Pagoda-pillar was erected.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Imperial Prince Mŭma-
XXII. 2. yado no Toyotomimi was appointed Prince Imperial. He had general control of the Government, and was entrusted with all the details of administration. He was the second child of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyo-hi. The Empress-consort his mother's name was the Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito. The Empress-consort, on the day of the dissolution of her pregnancy, went round the forbidden precinct, inspecting the different offices. When she came to the Horse Department, and had just reached the door of the stables,[2] she was suddenly delivered of him without effort. He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error. He knew beforehand what was going to happen. Moreover he learnt the Inner Doctrine[3] from a Koryŏ Priest named Hyé-cha, and studied the Outer Classics[4] with a doctor called Hak-ka.[5] In both of these branches of study he became thoroughly proficient. The Emperor his father loved him, and made him occupy the Upper Hall South of the

[1] The Chinese character here translated "pagoda" is 刹, pronounced *setsu* in Japanese. This words means (with the pronunciation *chŏl*) in Corean Buddhist temples generally, and it is the same word which we have in the Japanese *tera*, temple. But in the present passage it would seem that one of the subsidiary buildings of a Buddhist temple is intended, no doubt something in the form of a pagoda, corresponding to either 6 or 14 in the drawing in "Murray's Handbook of Japan" (Introduction, p. 26). A pagoda in Japan is built round a solid central pillar (referred to in the text) which runs up to the topmost story. Shari, relics, is the Japanese form of the Sanskrit śarîra, body. The shari at Ikegami near Tokio is said to be part of the shoulder-blade of Saint Nichiren.

The Pagoda is the Chinese and Japanese counterpart of the Indian stupa and an essentially sepulchral monument. The stories, of which there is always an odd number, represent umbrellas of honour. *Vide* an instructive article by Miss Gordon Cumming in the "English Illustrated Magazine."

[2] Hence his name, Mŭma-ya-do, which means stable door.

[3] i.e. Buddhism.

[4] i.e. the Chinese Classics. Inner and Outer have here something of the force of our words sacred and secular.

[5] The Corean pronunciation.

Palace. Therefore he was styled the Senior Prince Kamu-tsu-miya,[1] Muma-ya-do Toyotomimi.

Autumn, 9th month. The remains of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi were removed and re-interred in the Misasagi of Shinaga in Kahachi.

In this year the building of the Temple of Shi-ten-ō-ji[2] at Arahaka in Naniha was begun.

This year was the year Midzunoto Ushi (50th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Empress instructed the Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi to promote the prosperity of the Three Precious Things. At this time, all the Omi and Muraji vied each with one another in erecting Buddhist shrines for the benefit of their Lords and parents. These were called Temples.[4] A.D. 594.

3rd year, Summer, 4th month. Lign-aloes[5] wood drifted ashore on the Island of Ahaji. It was a fathom round. The people of the island, being unacquainted with aloes wood, used it with other firewood to burn in their cooking range, when the smoky vapour spread a perfume far and wide. Wondering at this, they presented it to the Empress. A.D. 595. XXII. 3.

5th month, 10th day. A priest of Koryö, named Hyé-chă, emigrated to Japan, and was taken as teacher by the Prince Imperial. In the same year a Pèkché priest, named Hyé-chhong, arrived. These two priests preached the Buddhist religion widely, and were together the mainstay of the Three Precious Things.

Autumn, 7th month. The General and his followers arrived from Tsukushi.

[1] Kamu-tsu-miya means upper palace.

[2] Shi-ten-ō-ji means the Temple of the Four (Dêva) Kings. This Temple is still in existence—not the original building, however. Arahaka is the name of the place where it stands. It means ruined tomb.

[3] See above, p. 104.

[4] The Chinese character used here is 寺, but whether the author refers to the use of this character (with the sound *ji*) at the end of names of Buddhist temples, or whether he was thinking of the Japanese word *tera*, temple, is not very clear. Tera, though always written 寺, is really, as already pointed out, derived from the Chinese 刹 through the Corean *chöl*.

[5] Aquilaria agallochum.

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Kara, and Ara.[1] Then the Generals took counsel together, saying:—"Silla, conscious of guilt, makes his submission; it would be wrong to insist on chastising him." Accordingly they reported to the Empress. Hereupon the Empress further sent Miwa, Naniha no Kishi, to Silla, and also Itahiko, Naniha no Kishi, to Imna. Both were to examine the state of affairs. Hereupon the Kings of the two countries of Silla and Imna sent Envoys with tribute, and delivered a memorial to the Empress, saying:—"In Heaven above there are Gods; on Earth there are Emperors. Besides these two classes of Gods, what else is there which we should fear? Henceforward we will refrain from making war on one another, and will every year attend the Court without fail, not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry." Accordingly the Empress sent XXII. 6.
messengers to recall the Generals, but no sooner had they arrived from Silla than Silla again invaded Imna.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month. The building of a Palace in A.D. 601.
Ikaruga[2] was begun by the Prince Imperial.

3rd month, 5th day. Kurafu,[3] Ohotomo no Muraji, was sent on a mission to Koryö, and Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, to Pekché, ordering them to proceed instantly to the assistance of Imna.

Summer, 5th month. The Empress dwelt in the temporary Palace of Miminashi. At this time there were heavy rains, and the river overflowed its banks, filling the Court of the Palace.

Autumn, 9th month, 8th day. A spy from Silla named Kamata came to Tsushima. He was forthwith arrested, and delivered up[4] to the Government, who banished him to Kamitsukenu.[5]

Winter, 11th month, 5th day. The question of making war on Silla was considered.

10th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Imperial A.D. 602.
Prince Kume[6] was appointed General for the invasion of Silla, and was granted the various Be of the service of the Gods,[7]

[1] These places are in Imna.

[2] Near where the Temple of Hōriuji now stands.

[3] Or Kuhi.

[4] Literally sent as tribute.

[5] Kōdzuke.

[6] If Kume is 軍, war, as is probable, there is an obvious propriety in this appointment.

[7] Such as the Nakatomi, the Imbe, etc.

together with the Kuni no Miyakko and the Tomo no Miyakko, and an army of 25,000 men.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. General the Imperial Prince Kume arrived in Tsukushi, and proceeded to the district of Shima, where he encamped, and assembled ships for the transport of provisions for his army.

XXII. 7. 6th month, 3rd day. Kurafu, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, arrived together from Pèkché. At this time the Imperial Prince Kume fell ill, and was unable to carry out the expedition.

Winter, 10th month. A Pèkché priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of Calendar-making, of Astronomy, and of Geography,[1] and also books of the art of invisibility and of magic. At this time three or four pupils were selected, and made to study under Kwal-leuk. Ōchin,[2] the ancestor of the Yako no Fumibito, studied the art of Calendar-making. Kōsō,[3] Otomo no Suguri, studied Astronomy and the art of invisibility. Hinamitatsu, Yamashiro no Omi, studied magic. They all studied so far as to perfect themselves in these arts.

Intercalary 10th month, 15th day. Two Buddhist priests of Koryö named Seung-nyung and Un-chhong emigrated here together.

A.D. 603. 11th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Kume died in Tsukushi. A mounted courier was despatched to report the news to the Empress. Now when the Empress heard it, she was greatly shocked, and straightway sending for the Prince Imperial and Soga no Oho-omi, spoke to them, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Kume, the General-
XXII. 8. in-Chief for the chastisement of Sjilla, has died. On the point of undertaking a great project, he has failed to accomplish it. Is not this much to be lamented?" So he was temporarily interred at Saba in the Province of Suwo, and Wite, Hashi no Muraji,[4] was sent to superintend the temporary burial. There-

[1] The term used would include Geomancy.

[2] Ōchin is a name of Chinese or Corean origin, but as it is borne by a Japanese, I give it the Japanese pronunciation. Fumibito or fubito means scribes.

[3] Or Takatoshi.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 181. It would appear from this that Hashi no Muraji was still an office with specific duties, and not a mere title.

fore the descendants of Wite no Muraji were called Saba no Muraji. This was the reason of it.

He (the Prince) was afterwards buried on the top of Mount Hanifu in Kahachi.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. A new appointment was made of the Imperial Prince Tahema,[1] the elder brother of the Imperial Prince Kume, as General for the chastisement of Silla.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Tahema sailed from Naniha.

6th day. The Imperial Prince Tahema arrived at Harima. Now his wife, Princess Toneri, who accompanied him, died at Akashi, and was buried on the top of the Hill of Higasa. So Prince Tahema returned, and never accomplished his expedition of chastisement.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. There was a removal (of the Imperial residence) to the Palace of Woharida.

11th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial addressed all the high functionaries,[2] saying:—"I have an image of the venerable Buddha. Which of you will receive this image and worship it reverently?" Now Kahakatsu, Hada no Miyakko, came forward and said:—"Thy servant will worship it." So he received the image of Buddha, and built for it the Temple of Hachi-woka.[3]

In this month, the Prince Imperial having asked permission of the Empress, made great shields and quivers. Moreover he painted banners.[4] XXII. 9.

12th month, 5th day. Cap-ranks[5] were first instituted, viz.:—

[1] Or Taima.

[2] Daibu.

[3] The present Temple of Kwō-riu-ji in Yamashiro, district of Kadono. The Temple tradition says that this image was of Miroku, i.e. Māitreya, Buddha, the merciful one, expected to appear and open a new era about 3000 years hence. Miroku is probably identical with the Corean *miryök*, the general term in that country for Buddhist images.

[4] As offerings to temples. The banners were for display at Court ceremonies. See a paper on the "Hi no Maru," "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII. 1893, for some account of these banners. See also Dr. Florenz's note on this passage.

[5] The Chinese custom of distinguishing rank by the form and materials of the official cap. In modern times a button on the top of the cap serves this purpose.

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I. Harmony is to be valued,[1] and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honoured. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighbouring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

II. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures, viz. Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood, are the final refuge of the four generated beings,[2] and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to reverence this law? Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not betake them to the three treasures, wherewithal shall their crookedness be made straight?

III. When you receive the Imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the Imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

IV. The Ministers and functionaries should make decorous behaviour their leading principle, for the leading principle of XXII. II.
the government of the people consists in decorous behaviour.[3] If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behaviour, there

[1] From the "Lunyu," or "Analects" of Confucius.

[2] That is, the beings produced in transmigration by the four processes of being born from eggs, from a womb, moisture-bred, or formed by metamorphosis (as butterflies from caterpillars). Some editions omit the phrase Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood.

[3] The Chinese 禮, *li*, decorum, courtesy, proper behaviour, ceremony, gentlemanly conduct as we should say.

must necessarily be offences. Therefore it is that when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with propriety, the Government of the Commonwealth proceeds of itself.

V. Ceasing from gluttony and abandoning covetous desires, deal impartially with the suits which are submitted to you. Of complaints brought by the people there are a thousand in one day. If in one day there are so many, how many will there be in a series of years? If the man who is to decide suits at law makes gain his ordinary motive, and hears causes with a view to receiving bribes, then will the suits of the rich man be like a stone flung into water,[1] while the plaints of the poor will resemble water cast upon a stone. Under these circumstances the poor man will not know whither to betake himself. Here too there is a deficiency in the duty of the Minister.

VI. Chastise, that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of dilating to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence towards the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

VII. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men
XXII. 12. hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man.

[1] i.e. they meet with no resistance.

VIII. Let the Ministers and functionaries attend the Court early in the morning, and retire late. The business of the State does not admit of remissness, and the whole day is hardly enough for its accomplishment. If, therefore, the attendance at Court is late, emergencies cannot be met: if officials retire soon, the work cannot be completed.

IX. Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for in it there surely consists the good and the bad, success and failure. If the lord and the vassal observe good faith one with another, what is there which cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not observe good faith towards one another, everything without exception ends in failure.

X. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no XXII. 13.
end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like them.

XI. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. Ye high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments.

XII. Let not the provincial authorities[1] or the Kuni no Miyakko levy exactions on the people. In a country there are not two lords; the people have not two masters. The sovereign is the master of the people of the whole country. The officials to whom he gives charge are all his vassals. How can they, as well as the Government, presume to levy taxes on the people?

XIII. Let all persons entrusted with office attend equally to

[1] The Interlinear Kana has Mikoto mochi. The Kuni no Miyakko were the old local nobles, whose power was at this time giving way to that of the Central Government, represented in the provinces by the 國司, or local Governors.

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they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

Autumn, 9th month. The Court ceremonies were reformed. In connection with this measure, the following edict was issued:—

"On entering or leaving the Palace Gate, one must kneel on both knees, with both hands pressed on the ground, but it is permitted to stand up and walk when the threshold is passed."

In this month there were first established the Kibumi[1] painters and the Yamashiro painters.

13th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Empress commanded the Prince Imperial, the Oho-omi, and also the Princes and Ministers, all to make a vow together, and therewithal to begin to make copper[2] and embroidery images of Buddha, sixteen feet high, one of each. She also commanded Kuratsukuri no Tori[3] to be the engineer for the construction of A.D. 605.

[1] The "Daishiden" ("History of Shōtoku Daishi") states that the Kibumi, Yamashiro and other painters were instituted for the painting of Buddhist pictures. They were relieved from certain taxes and allowed to make this their profession. There is some doubt whether Kibumi is the name of a place or not. It means literally yellow writing, and some think this is a description of the Buddhist Sutras which were written on tinted paper. Kibumi is also applied to Chinese books.

The Shukai quotes here a passage from a Chinese History of the Liang dynasty to the following effect:—"In A.D. 541 Pèkché sent frequent Envoys with offerings of their national products. They also asked for a treatise on the Nirvana Sutra, doctors of (ancient) Chinese poetry, and also artizans and painters. These were granted by Imperial command." This is not the only evidence of the fact that simultaneously with the stream of Chinese civilizing influences which flowed from Corea to Japan at this period, there was a corresponding current from China to Corea. The frequency of Chinese names among the Corean emigrants to Japan is a proof of this. The "Seishiroku," a sort of peerage of Japan, compiled A.D. 814, shows that at that time nearly a third of the Japanese nobility traced their descent to Corean or Chinese ancestors in something like equal proportions. The members are: China (Han), 162 families; Pèkché, 104; Koryö, 50; Imna, 9, and Silla, 9; doubtful, 47. Total, 381 foreign families out of a grand total of 1177. Many of these were descended from teachers of various kinds, and all must have contributed to the spread of Chinese civilization in the country of their adoption.

[2] From the "Daishiden" we learn that the "copper" was an amalgam of copper and gold in the proportion of 23,000 kin (pounds) of the former to 759 riō (ounces) of the latter.

[3] i.e. Tori of the Saddlers' Be.

the Buddhas. At this time King Tè-hung[1] of Koryo, hearing that the Empress was making images of Buddha, sent tribute of 300 riō of the yellow metal.

Intercalary 7th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial
XXII 15. ordered all the Princes and Ministers to put on the outer garments called *hirâhi*.

Winter, 10th month. The Prince Imperial took up his abode in the Palace of Ikaruga.

A.D. 606. 14th year, Summer, 4th month, 8th day. Both the sixteen-foot images of Buddha, viz. that of copper and that of embroidery, were finished, and on the same day the sixteen-foot copper image was enshrined in the Golden Hall[2] of Gangōji.

Now this image of Buddha was too high for the door of the Golden Hall, and it could not be got into it. Hereupon the workmen consulted together and proposed to break down the door of the Hall, and so bring in the image. By the skill, however, of Kuratsukuri no Tori they succeeded in bringing it into the Hall without breaking down the door. On the same day a maigre entertainment[3] was given, at which there assembled an innumerable multitude of people.

Beginning with this year, festivals were held in all the temples on the 8th day of the 4th month and on the 15th day of the 7th month.

5th month, 5th day. The Imperial commands were given to Kuratsukuri no Tori, saying:—"It being my desire to encourage the Inner doctrines, I was about to erect a Buddhist Temple, and for this purpose sought for relics. Then thy
XXII. 16. grandfather, Shiba Tattō, offered me relics. Moreover, there were no monks or nuns in the land. Thereupon thy father, Tasuna, for the sake of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi, took priestly orders[4] and reverenced the Buddhist law. Also thine aunt Shimame was the first to leave her home and, becoming the forerunner of all nuns, to practise the religion of Shaka. Now, We desired to make a sixteen-foot Buddha, and to that end sought for a good image of Buddha. Thou didst provide a model which met Our wishes. Moreover,

[1] This was not the name of the Koryō king who reigned at this time.
[2] The Great Hall of the Temple where the chief image is installed.
[3] This means practically a religious service. See above, XX. 14.
[4] Lit. left his house.

when the image of Buddha was completed, it could not be brought into the Hall, and none of the workmen could suggest a plan of doing so. They were, therefore, on the point of breaking down the doorway, when thou didst manage to admit it without breaking down the doorway. For all these services of thine, We grant thee the rank of Dainin, and We also bestow on thee twenty chō of water-fields [1] in the district of Sakata in the province of Afumi." With the revenue derived from this land, Tori built for the Empress the Temple of Kongō-ji,[2] now known as the nunnery of Sakata in Minabuchi.

Autumn, 7th month. The Empress requested the Prince Imperial to lecture on the Shō-man-giō.[3] He completed his explanation of it in three days.

In this year the Prince Imperial also lectured on the Hokke-kiō [4] in the Palace of Okamoto. The Empress was XXII. 17.
greatly pleased, and bestowed on the Prince Imperial one hundred chō of water-fields in the Province of Harima. They were therefore added to the Temple of Ikaruga.

15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. A Mibu Be [5] was A.D. 607.
established.

9th day. The following edict was made:—"We hear that Our Imperial ancestors, in their government of the world, bending lowly under the sky and treading delicately on the ground, paid deep reverence to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. They everywhere dedicated temples to the mountains and rivers, and held mysterious communion with the powers of Nature. Hence the male and female elements became harmoniously developed, and civilizing influences blended together. And now in Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth? Therefore let Our Ministers with their whole hearts do reverence to the Gods of Heaven and Earth." [6]

[1] i.e. rice-land.

[2] Diamond-temple.

[3] A Sutra or Buddhist Scripture called in Sanskrit the Çrīmālādevī-simhanāda.

[4] The Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 280. Also Florenz, Part III. p. 24.

[6] This edict is pure Chinese, and sounds very strangely from an Empress who was devoted to Buddhism.

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toko no Muraji, Nukade, Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe and Ō-hei, Fune no Fumibito, were appointed their official entertainers.

Now Imoko no Omi represented to the Empress, saying:—"When I was leaving, the Thang Emperor gave me a letter. But while passing through the Land of Pèkché, the men of Pèkché searched me and took it from me. Therefore I am unable to present it." Hereupon the Ministers advised, saying:—"An Envoy, though he lose his life, should not lose his message. Such is (the duty of) an Envoy! How can any one be so remiss in it as to lose the letter of the Great Country?" And they accordingly condemned him to banishment. Now the Empress made an order, saying:—"Although Imoko is guilty of losing the letter, We cannot easily punish him, for in that case the guest of the Great Country would hear of it, and this is undesirable." So he was pardoned and left unpunished. XXII. 19.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Thang guests entered the capital. On this day seventy-five caparisoned horses were sent to meet the Thang guests on the Tsubaki no ichi highway, where Hirafu, Nukada be no Muraji, delivered a message of welcome to them.

12th day. The Thang guests were summoned to Court, and caused to state the object of their mission. Abe no Tori no Omi and Idaku, Mononobe no Yosami no Muraji, acted as introducers of the guests.

Now the presents from the Land of Great Thang were placed in the courtyard. Then the Chief Envoy, P'ei-Shih-ch'ing, bearing in his own hands the letter (of credence), made obeisance twice, and declared the purport of his mission. He then stood up.

This letter was as follows:—"The Emperor greets the Sovereign of Wa.[1] Your Envoy, the provincial governor, the

[1] There is here a distinction made. Emperor is written 皇帝. But the latter of these characters is omitted in describing the Sovereign of Japan. Wa was the ordinary name for Japan, both in China and Corea, and in the latter country it is in use to this day. The Japanese object to it, and have never called their country by this name. The "Shaku-nihongi" says:—"Wono no Imoko, the Envoy who visited China, (proposed to) alter this term into Nippon, but the Sui Emperor ignored his reasons and would not allow it. The term Nippon was first used in the period Wu-Tēh, under the Thang Dynasty (618-626)." Another Chinese authority gives 670 as

XII. 20. Dairai, So In-ko, and his suite have arrived, and have given us full information.

We having reverently received the precious command[1] (of Heaven), rule over the universe. It is Our desire to diffuse abroad Our civilizing influences, so as to cover all living things, and Our sentiment of loving nurture knows no distinction of distance.

Now We learn that Your Majesty, dwelling separately beyond the sea, bestows the blessings of peace on your subjects, that there is tranquillity within your borders, and that the manners and customs are mild.

With the most profound loyalty, you have sent Us tribute from afar, and We are delighted at this admirable token of your sincerity.

Our health is as usual, notwithstanding the increasing warmth of the weather.

Therefore We have sent P'ei-Shih-ch'ing, Official Entertainer of the Department charged with the Ceremonial for the reception of Foreign Ambassadors, and his suite, to notify to you the preceding. We also transmit to you the products of which a list is given separately."

Then Abe no Omi came forward, received the letter, and advanced with it. Ohotomo no Kurafu no Muraji came out to meet him, and received the letter, which he laid on a table before the Great Gate, and reported to the Empress. When the ceremony was over, they (the Chinese Ambassador and his suite) retired.[2]

On this occasion, the Imperial Princes, the other Princes, and the Ministers all wore golden hair ornaments on their heads, and their clothing was all of brocade, purple, and embroidery, with various-coloured figured thin silks.

In one writing it is stated that the colour of the garments corresponded in all cases with that of the official caps.

the date when Nippon began to be officially used in China. The "Tong-kam" gives the same date as that in which the Japanese officially notified this term to the Corean Government as the proper appellation of their country.

[1] The Dei gratiâ of European Sovereigns.

[2] It appears from this and other passages that at this period the Court was literally the courtyard in front of the Emperor's Hall of Audience. None but the principal Ministers entered the Hall itself.

16th day. The Thang guests were entertained at Court.

9th month, 5th day. The guests were entertained at Ohokohori in Naniha.

11th day. The Thang guest, P'ei Shih-ch'ing, took his departure. Accordingly, Wono no Imoko no Omi was appointed Chief Envoy, Kishi no Wonari Second Envoy, and Fukuri Interpreter. They were despatched in company with the Thang guests. Now the Emperor addressed the Thang Emperor in the following terms:—

"The Emperor of the East respectfully addresses the Emperor of the West.[1] Your Envoy, P'ei Shih-ch'ing, Official XXII. 21. Entertainer of the Department of foreign receptions, and his suite, having arrived here, my long-harboured cares were dissolved. This last month of autumn is somewhat chilly. How is Your Majesty? We trust well. We are in our usual health. We now send the Dairai, So In-ko, the Dairai, Wonari, and others to you. This is respectfully presented, but informal."

At this time there were sent to the Land of Thang the students Fukuin, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, Emyō, Nara no Wosa,[2] Kuromaro, Takamuku no Ayabito, and Ohokuni, Imaki no Ayabito, together with the student-priests Hifumi (or Nichibun), Imaki no Ayabito, Shōan, Minabuchi no Ayabito, Eon, Shiga no Ayabito, and Kōsai, Imaki no Ayabito, in all eight persons.

In this year many persons from Silla came to settle in Japan.

17th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. The Viceroy[3] of A.D. 609.

[1] Emperor is here in the first case 天皇 (Tennō); in the second 皇帝 (Kō-tei).

A Chinese History of the Thang dynasty gives a different version of the opening words of this letter. It says: "The Emperor (天子) of the place where the sun comes forth addresses a letter to the Emperor (天子) of the place where the sun sets." The Chinese Emperor complained of the rudeness of this barbarian letter. It is pretty clear from this incident that the word Nippon (sun-origin) for Japan was not yet in use officially. Cf. "Ishōnihonden," I. 22.

[2] Wosa means interpreter. No doubt the name and office here coincided.

[3] From very early times Kiushiu, or such part of it as submitted to the Tennō's rule, was governed by a viceroy, as I have ventured to translate Dazai 大宰. *Vide* "Early Japanese History," p. 56. Hereditary kings

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syé-să, Nama[1] of Satök-pu, and an Imna Envoy named Syu Chi-mè, Tè-sya[2] of Tök-pu, arrived in Tsukushi. XXII. 23.

9th month. Messengers were sent to fetch the Envoys from Silla and Imna.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Envoys from Silla and Imna arrived in the capital. On this day Hirafu, Nukadabe no Muraji, was made Chief Officer over the caparisoned horses sent to meet the Silla guests, and Ohotomo, Kashihade no Omi, Chief Officer over the caparisoned horses sent to meet the Imna guests. Accordingly they were lodged in the official building at Kahabe in Ato.

9th day. The Envoys paid their respects at Court. On this occasion Kahakatsu, Hada no Miyakko, and Usagi, Hashi no Muraji, were ordered to act as introducers for Silla, and Shiwo-futa, Hashibito no Muraji, and Ohoko, Abe no Omi, as introducers for Imna. They brought them in together by the South Gate, and made them stand in the middle of the Court. Now, Ohotomo no Kurafu[3] no Muraji, Soga no Toyora no Yemishi no Omi, Sakamoto no Nukade no Omi and Abe no Toriko no Omi got up together from their places, and going forward, prostrated themselves in the Court. Hereupon the guests of the two countries each made repeated obeisance, and declared the purport of their mission. Then the four Daibu stood up, and going forward, informed the Oho-omi. The Oho-omi got up from his place, and standing before the Hall, listened to their statement. When this was done, all the guests were given presents, each according to his rank.

17th day. The guests were entertained at Court. Nihe, Kahachi no Aya no Atahe was made table-companion for Silla, and Kusō, Nishikori no Obito, table-companion for Imna.

23rd day. The ceremonies of the reception of the guests having come to a close, they went away.

19th year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Empress went to gather medicinal herbs on the plain of Uda.[4] A.D. 611.

[1] Nama is a Silla official title—the 13th rank. The original has Nami, wrongly, I think. Satok-pu is the name of a place.

[2] Tè-sya was the 12th official rank in Silla.

[3] Or Kuhi.

[4] This was the day fixed for this purpose by the Calendar. The custom is frequently mentioned by later writers. The herbs gathered were mushrooms,

XXII. 24. At cockcrow they assembled by the pond of Fujihara, and at daybreak they set out. Ahata no Hosome no Omi was made to lead the van, while Nukadabe no Hirafu no Muraji brought up the rear. On this day the colour of the clothing of the various Ministers agreed with the colour of their official caps. They each wore hair ornaments, which in the case both of the Daitoko and Shōtoko were made of gold, of the Dainin and Shōnin of leopards' tails, and of the Dairai and lower ranks of birds' tails.[1]

Autumn, 8th month. Silla sent Peuk-cheul-chi,[2] Nama of Satök-pu, and Imna sent Chhin-chi and Chu-chi, the Tè-sya of Seup-pu together, with tribute.

A.D. 612. 20th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. A banquet, with sake, was given to all the high functionaries. On this day, the Oho-omi proposed the health of the Empress, and sang a song, saying:—

When I look on the august sky,[3]
Whence there stands forth,
From its manifold fence (of clouds)
Which conceals her,
The Great Sovereign
Who rules us tranquilly,
For myriads of ages (say we)
May it ever be thus!
For thousands of ages too
May it ever be thus!
With deep reverence
We would serve her;
With profound obeisance
XXII. 25. We would serve her;
And so ends my song.

---

fungus for moxa or scented flag for making the perfumed and gaily-ornamented balls called Kusu-dama, hung up by the Japanese in their temples and houses. Also various other herbs.

[1] In Loochoo at the present day rank is indicated by the material of the hair-pin. See Chamberlain in "J.A.S.T."

[2] The traditional transliteration is Horinchi.

[3] The Empress's appearance among her courtiers is compared to the sun (from whom she is descended) issuing from among the clouds. The metre is regular *naga-uta*.

The Empress replied, saying:—

My good Soga!
The sons of Soga—
Were they horses,
They would be steeds of Hiuga:
Were they swords,
They would be good blades of Kure.[1]
Right indeed
Seems the Great Sovereign
To have in her service
The sons of Soga!

2nd month, 28th day. The body of the former Empress-consort Katashi-hime[2] was removed and re-interred in the Great Misasagi of Hinokuma.

On this day funeral orations were pronounced on the Karu[3] highway. First of all, Tori, Abe no Uchi no Omi, pronounced an eulogistic decree of the Empress, and made offerings to the spirit of the deceased of such things as sacred utensils and sacred garments,[4] fifteen thousand kinds in all.

Secondly, the Imperial Princes, each in the order of their rank, pronounced funeral orations. Thirdly, Womaro, Nakatomi no Miyatokoro no Muraji, pronounced the eulogistic address of the Oho-omi. Fourthly, the Oho-omi, at the head of the Omi of the eight families,[5] caused Marise, Sakahibe no XXII. 26
Omi, to read the written eulogiums of the nobility.[6] The people of that time said that Marise and Womaro delivered their eulogiums well, but that Tori no Omi delivered his badly.

5th month, 5th day. An excursion was made to gather medicinal herbs. They assembled at Hada and proceeded together to the Court. The dress was the same as for the Uda excursion.

[1] Kure is Wu in China. See above, XXII. 22. The "Shiki" says this is the name of a good sword.

[2] Wife of Kimmei Tennō and mother of Yōmei Tenno and Suiko Tennō. The Misasagi named was that of her husband. This is a case of double interment. Two stone coffins have been found in some misasagi.

[3] Or Karo.

[4] The "Shukai" gives what appears to me a violent and unnecessary emendation of this passage.

[5] Lit. bellies. Eight is here used loosely for a great number, all.

[6] 氏姓. In Japanese Uji and Kabane, i.e. noble houses and titles or surnames.

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(The sunshiny).
Art thou become
Parentless?
Hast thou no lord
Flourishing as a bamboo?
Alas! for
The wayfarer lying
An hungered for rice![1]

2nd day. The Prince Imperial sent a messenger to see the starving man. The messenger returned and said:—"The starving man is already dead." Hereupon the Prince Imperial was greatly grieved, and accordingly caused him to be buried at that place, a mound erected, and firmly closed.[2]

Many days after, the Prince Imperial called for his personal attendants, and said to them:—"The starving man who was lying on a former day on the road was no ordinary man. He must have been an upright man." A messenger was sent to see. On his return he reported that when he went to the mound and made inspection, the heaped-up earth had not been disturbed, but on opening the tomb and looking in, there was no corpse. It was empty, and there was nothing but the garment folded up and laid on the coffin. Thereupon the Prince Imperial sent the messenger back a second time to fetch the garment, which he continued wearing as before. XXII. 28.

The people of that time wondered much at this, and said:—"How true it is that a sage knoweth a sage." And they stood more and more in awe of him.

22nd year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. An excursion for medicinal herbs was made. A.D. 614.

6th month, 13th day. Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, and Yatabe no Miyakko were sent to the Land of Great Thang.

Autumn, 8th month. The Oho-omi fell ill. For his sake a thousand persons, men and women, entered religion.

23rd year, Autumn, 7th month. Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, A.D. 615.

[1] Metre, irregular naga-uta.

[2] There was a passage leading to the interior of burial mounds of persons of some rank, which was closed with earth and stones after the interment. It is possibly this process which is intended by the term 封, which means both to seal and to pile up earth. In the case of the burial of a vagrant, however, it is more probable that there was no vault, but simply a heap of earth raised over the grave.

and Yatabe no Miyakko arrived from the Land of Great Thang. An envoy from Pèkché accompanied Inugami no Kimi to our Court.

11th month, 2nd day. A banquet was given to the Pèkché guest.

11th day. The Koryö Buddhist priest Hyé-Chă returned to his country.

A.D. 616. 24th year, Spring, 1st month. Peach trees and plum trees bore fruit.[1]

3rd month. Three men from the Island of Yaku[2] came hither as emigrants.

XXII. 29. Summer, 5th month. Seven persons from Yaku arrived.

Autumn, 7th month. Twenty more persons arrived from Yaku. There were first and last in all thirty persons. They were all settled in Enowi. They never went away again, but all died there.

Autumn, 7th month. Silla sent the Nama, Chuk Syé-să, with tribute of an image of Buddha.[3]

A.D. 617. 25th year, Summer, 6th month. It was reported from the province of Idzumo that there was in the district of Kando a gourd of the size of an amphora.[4]

In this year there were good crops of the five kinds of grain.

A.D. 618. 26th year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Koryö sent envoys with tribute of local productions, and reported that Yang-Ti[5] of the Sui dynasty had invaded that country with a force of 300,000 men, but had, on the contrary, been beaten by them.[6]

XXII. 30. They therefore sent a present of two captives, named Chên-kung and P'u-t'ung, with such things as flutes, cross-bows, and catapults—ten in all. They also sent one camel, bred in their country.

[1] In a similar notice below, XXII. 39, the author is satisfied with the more probable statement that they blossomed.

[2] Off the south coast of Satsuma.

[3] A later work informs us that this image was of gold, two feet high. It was set up in Hōkōji. It sent forth rays of light, and worked miracles from time to time.

[4] Some understand here a musical instrument, the body of which was of earthenware.

[5] Reigned 605—617.

[6] This statement is corroborated both by Chinese and Corean history. The events referred to took place in A.D. 612.

This year Kahabe no Omi[1] was sent to the province of Aki with orders to build ships. On arriving at the mountain, he sought for ship timber. Having found good timber, he marked it and was about to cut it, when a man appeared, and said:—"This is a thunder-tree, and must not be cut." Kahabe no Omi said:—"Shall even the Thunder-god oppose the Imperial commands?" So having offered many mitegura,[2] he sent workmen to cut down the timber. Straightway a great rain fell, and it thundered and lightened. Hereupon Kahabe no Omi drew his sword, and said:—"O Thunder-god, harm not the workmen; it is my person that thou shouldst injure." So he looked up and waited. But although the God thundered more than ten times, he could not harm Kahabe no Omi. Then he changed himself into a small fish, which stuck between the XXII. 31
branches of the tree. Kahabe no Omi forthwith took the fish, and burnt it. So at last the ships were built.

27th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. It was reported A.D. 619.
from the province of Afumi that in the river Gamafu[3] there was a creature in the shape of a man.[4]

Autumn, 7th month. There was a fisherman of the province of Settsu, who cast his net in the Horiye.[5] Something entered his net formed like a child, which was neither a fish nor a man. Its name was unknown.

28th year, Autumn, 8th month. Two men of Yaku were A.D. 620.
cast away on the island of Idzu.[6]

Autumn, 10th month. The top of the Misasagi[7] of Hinokuma was covered with pebbles. Outside the boundary the earth was piled up into a hill, and each of the noble houses[8]

[1] I have omitted here and in several other places a frivolous note of the "Original Commentary," to the effect that "the personal name is wanting."

[2] Offerings of cloth.

[3] Gamō. [4] A bad omen.

[5] Hori-ye is literally an artificial canal. Here it is the name of a branch of the river at Osaka, no doubt originally artificially excavated.

[6] Probably Vries Island, or one of the adjacent islands. Or Shima may here mean promontory.

[7] At this day several of the misasagi are thickly covered with a layer of paving-stones, loosely put down, probably in order to prevent the earth from being washed away by rains. An example may be seen at Tarumi, near Kobe, and another on the hill above Nara.

[8] Uji.

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Prince Kamitsumiya Toyotomimi. Certainly Heaven has freely endowed him with the virtues of a sage.[1] Born in the Land of Nippon,[2] he thoroughly possessed the three fundamental principles,[3] he continued the great plans of the former sages. He reverencéd the Three Precious Things,[4] and assisted the people in their distress. He was truly a great sage. And now the Prince Imperial is dead. I, although a foreigner, was in heart closely united to him. Now what avails it that I alone should survive? I have determined to die on the 5th day of the 2nd month of next year.[5] So shall I meet the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya in the Pure Land, and together with him pass through the metempsychosis of all living creatures." Now when the appointed day came, Hyé-chă died, and all the people of that day said one to another :— XXII. 34.
"Prince Kamitsumiya is not the only sage, Hyé-chă is also a sage."[6]

This year Silla sent the Nama, Imimè, with tribute and a memorial, stating to the Empress the object of his mission. It was perhaps from this time that Silla began to present memorials.

30th year, Autumn, 7th month. Silla sent as ambassador A.D. 622.
the Nama, Chi-syön-i, and Imna sent the Talsol Nama, Chi. They came to Court together, and brought tribute of a golden image of Buddha, a golden pagoda, and relics, also a great baptismal flag,[7] with twelve smaller ones. Now the image of

[1] See Legge's "Confucian Analects," p. 82.

[2] Whether or not the previous examples of the use of the characters 日本 (Nippon) for Japan are authentic, or merely introduced retrospectively by later compilers, the present instance is probably a genuine case of its use. It is natural to suppose that it was used in an informal way for some time before it was used officially.

There is here, no doubt, an allusion to the meaning of Nippon, viz. "Origin of the sun."

[3] Viz. Heaven, Earth, and Man. The meaning is that he was a philosopher.

[4] Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha.

[5] The anniversary of the Prince's death.

[6] The "Kiujiki" ends here.

[7] The Buddhist baptism consists in washing the top of the head with perfumed water. The baptismal flags were so called because they had the same efficacy, raising those who passed under them first to the status of a

Buddha was placed in the Hada[1] Temple at Kadono. The other articles, namely the relics, the golden pagoda, and the baptismal flags, were all deposited in Shitenōji.[2] At this time, the Buddhist priests E-sai and E-kō, with the physicians E-jitsu and Fuku-in, students of the learning of Great Thang, arrived in company with Chi-syön-i and the others. Now E-jitsu and the rest made together a representation to the Empress, saying:—"Those who have resided in Thang for study[3] have all completed their courses, and ought to be sent for. Moreover, the Land of Great Thang is an admirable country, whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it."

This year Silla invaded Imna,[4] and Imna became a depen-
XXII. 35. dency of Silla. The Empress thought of invading Silla, and consulted with the Oho-omi. She also asked the opinion of all the Ministers. Then Tanaka no Omi answered and said:—"An invasion should not be too hastily undertaken. It will not be too late to attack when we have first learnt the condition of affairs and ascertained that they are (really) mutinous. I pray that the experiment be made of sending an envoy thither to view the state of things."

Kuni, Nakatomi no Muraji, said:—"Imna is originally an inner Miyake of ours. The Silla people have now attacked and taken possession of it. I pray that our troops be disciplined, that Silla be chastised, and Imna taken from it and given to Pèkché. Would not this be better than that it should be possessed by Silla?" Tanaka no Omi said:—"Not so!

Tchakra Râdja (*vide* Eitel), and ultimately of a Buddha. Fishes were benefited by such flags being floated down a river.

There is at the present day a survival of this practice in the Nagare-kanjō (kanjō means baptism, or head-sprinkling), described in Yamada's Dictionary as follows:—"Four posts are set up near water, on which white cloth is hung. To this are attached leaves of lign-aloes, etc., as offerings for the benefit of the souls of the friendless dead, of drowned persons, or of still-born children." There is an interesting account of the nagare-kanjō in a little book called "Our Neighbourhood," by T. A. P. (the late Dr. Purcell, of Tokio).

[1] Called the Hachiwoka Temple above.

[2] At Osaka. See above, 1st year of reign. [3] See above, XXII. 21.

[4] The "Tongkam" says nothing of this. Pèkché and Silla were on hostile terms about this time. Besides, the downfall of Imna is already mentioned above.

Pèkché is a very changeable country.[1] Even on the roads they lie. Everything they ask for is unjust. Therefore (Imna) should not be given over to Pèkché." So the expedition was not carried out. Hereupon Kishi no Ihakane was sent to Silla, and Kishi no Kuranoshita to Imnà, to inquire into the Imna affairs.

Now the Lord of Silla sent eight Daibu to inform Ihakane of the affairs of Silla and Kuranoshita of the affairs of Imna. Therefore they promised as follows:—"Imna, though a small country, is a dependency of the Empress. Why should Silla unceremoniously take possession of it? Let it be once for all recognized to be, as always, an inner Miyake (of Japan), and we pray let there be no more trouble about it."

So the Nama, Chi-syön-i, was sent along with Kishi no Ihakane and an Imna man, the Talsol Nama named Chi, along with Kishi no Kuranoshita to bring tribute from both XXII. 36. countries. But that same year, before Ihakane and the other had returned, the Daitoko, Womaro, Sakahibe no Omi, and the Shōtoko, Kuni, Nakatomi no Muraji, were appointed generals of the first rank; the Shōtoko, Nedzu, Kahabe no Omi, the Shōtoko, Itto, Mononobe no Yosami no Muraji, the Shōtoko, Hironiha, Hada no Omi, the Shōtoko Ihifuta, Afumi no Ashimi no Omi, the Shōtoko, Ushi, Heguri no Omi, the Shōtoko, Ohotomo no Muraji, and the Shōtoko, Ikusa, Ohoyake no Omi, were made assistant-generals.

They invaded Silla with an army of several tens of thousands of men. Now Ihakane and the others had assembled at the port, and were waiting for a fair wind and smooth sea in order to embark. Hereupon a numerous naval force arrived, filling the sea. The Envoys of the two countries, gazing upon it, were struck with alarm, and returned home.

In their stead, Kamchi Tè-chhang[2] was made tribute-bearer for Imna, and came with an offering of tribute. Hereupon Ihakane and his colleague said to one another:—"The outbreak of this war is contrary to the previous agreement, therefore the Imna affairs cannot now be settled." So they put to sea, and crossed over to Japan. The generals, how-

[1] Pèkché is so described in the "Tongkam."

[2] Tè-chhang, as the "Shukai" suggests, is probably a mistake for Tè-sya, a Silla official title.

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sent for the Oho-omi, and gave command, saying:—"The man who has entered religion should be devoted to the Three Precious Things, and should cherish devoutly the prohibitions of the Buddhist law. How can he without compunction be readily guilty of crime? We now hear that there is a priest who has struck his grandfather. Therefore, let all the priests and nuns of the various temples be assembled, and investigation made. Let severe punishment be inflicted on any who are convicted of offences." Hereupon the priests and nuns were all assembled, and an examination held. The wicked priests and nuns were all about to be punished, when Kwal-leuk, a Buddhist priest of Pèkché, presented a memorial, as follows:—"The law of Buddha came from the Western Country to Han.[1] Three hundred years later it was handed on to Pèkché, since which time barely one hundred years had elapsed, when Our King, hearing that the Emperor of Nippon XXII. 38. was a wise man, sent him tribute of an image of Buddha and of Buddhist Sutras. Since that time, less than one hundred years have passed, and consequently the priests and nuns have not yet learned the Buddhist laws, and readily commit wickedness. On this account all the priests and nuns are afraid, and do not know what to do. I humbly pray that with the exception of the wicked (priest who struck his grandfather) all the other priests and nuns may be pardoned and not punished. That would be a work of great merit."

Accordingly the Empress granted (his petition).

13th day. A decree was made as follows:—"If even the priests continue to offend against the law, wherewithal shall the laymen be admonished? Therefore from this time forward we appoint a Sōjō and a Sōdzu for the superintendence of the priests and nuns."

17th day. The priest Kwal-leuk was appointed Sōjō, and Kurabe no Tokuseki was made Sōdzu. On the same day Adzumi no Muraji was made Hōto.[2]

Autumn, 9th month, 3rd day. There was an inspection of the temples, and of the priests and nuns, and an accurate record made of the circumstances of the building of the

[1] The Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Lit. head of the law (of Buddha). This was the chief official of the Department of the Buddhist religion.

temples, and also of the circumstances under which the priests and nuns embraced religion, with the year, month and day of their taking orders. There were at this time 46 temples, 816 priests, and 569 nuns—in all, 1385 persons.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Oho-omi sent the two Ministers, Adzumi no Muraji and Maro, Abe no Omi, to inform the Empress, saying:—"The district of Katsuraki is my
XXII. 39. original residence, and I have therefore taken my name from it. I pray accordingly that I may have this district permanently, and I desire that it should be constituted my fief." Hereupon the Empress made an order, saying:—

"We are sprung from the Soga family. Moreover the Oho-omi is Our uncle by the mother's side. Therefore the words of the Oho-omi, if spoken at night, (are carried into effect by us) before the night has given way to morning; if spoken in the daytime, (they are carried into effect) before the day has become dark. What speech of his have We not attended to? But if now in this Our reign, We were rashly to part with this district, future sovereigns would say, 'A foolish woman ruled the Empire, and rashly lost this district.' Not only should We be accounted unwise, but the Oho-omi would be thought disloyal. Such would be Our ill-fame in ages to come." So she refused.

A.D. 624. 32nd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The King of Koryö sent tribute of a Buddhist priest, named Hyé-kwan. He was appointed Sōjō.

A.D. 626. 34th year, Spring, 1st month. Peach and plum trees blossomed.

3rd month. It was cold, and hoar-frost fell.

Summer, 5th month, 20th day. The Oho-omi died. He was buried in the tomb at Momohara. The Oho-omi was the son of Iname no Sukune. He had a talent for military tactics, and was also gifted with eloquence. He reverenced deeply the Three Precious Things. His house stood on the bank of the river Asuka. A small pond had been dug in the courtyard, and there was a little island in the middle of the pond. Therefore the men of that time called him Shima no Oho-omi.[1]

XXII. 40. 6th month. Snow fell. This year from the 3rd to the 7th

[1] The Island Premier.

month there were continual rains, and great famine in the Empire. The old ate the roots of herbs, and died by the roadside. Infants at the breast died with their mothers. Thieves and robbers sprang up in great numbers, and could not be put down.

35th year, Spring, 2nd month. In the province of Michinoku there was a mujina[1] which changed into a man and sang. A.D

Summer, 5th month. Flies gathered together in great numbers. They clustered together for ten rods, and floated away in the air across the Shinano pass[2] with a sound like thunder. They reached as far east as the province of Kamitsuke, and then spontaneously dispersed.

36th year, Spring, 2nd month, 27th day. The Empress took to her sick bed. A.D

3rd month, 2nd day. There was a total eclipse of the sun.

6th day. The Empress's illness became very grave, and (death) was unmistakably near. So she sent for the Imperial Prince Tamura, and addressed him, saying:—"To ascend to the Celestial Dignity, and therewith to regulate the vast foundation, to direct the manifold machinery of government, and thereby to nourish the people—this is not a matter to be lightly spoken of, but one which demands constant and serious attention. Do thou therefore be careful and observant, and let no hasty words escape thee." On the same day she summoned to her Tamashiro no Ohoye, and instructed him, saying:—"Thy heart is young. Whatever thou mayst wish in thy bosom, do not utter it in speech, but be sure to await the expression of general opinion, and act accordingly." XX

7th day. The Empress died at the age of seventy-five.[3] She was temporarily interred in the Southern Court (of the Palace).

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. Hail fell, of the size of peaches.

16th day. Hail fell, of the size of plums. There was a drought, which lasted from spring till summer.

Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The rites of mourning for the Empress began. At this time all the Ministers each pro-

[1] A kind of badger. [2] The present Usui Tōge.

[3] The "Kojiki" ends here.

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BOOK XXIII.

THE EMPEROR OKINAGA TARASHI-HI HIRO-NUKA.[1]

(*JOMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was the grandson of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki,[3] and the son of the Imperial Prince Hikobito no Ohoye. His mother's name was the Imperial Princess Nukade hime.

In the 29th year of the reign of the Empress Toyo-mike Kashikiya hime[4] the Prince Imperial Toyotomimi no Mikoto died. No successor to him had been appointed. In the 3rd month of the 36th year the Empress died. In the 9th month the funeral ceremonies were completed, but no decision as to who should succeed to the throne had yet been come to. At this time Soga no Yemishi no Omi was Oho-omi. He wished to decide the matter of the succession on his sole authority. But apprehending that the Ministers generally would not acquiesce in this, he consulted Abe no maro no Omi, and having assembled all the Ministers, they entertained them in the Oho-omi's house. When the feast was over, and they were about to disperse, the Oho-omi through Abe no Omi addressed the Ministers, saying:—"The Empress is dead, leaving no successor. If measures are not taken promptly, civil disturbances are to be feared. Which, therefore, of the Princes is to be her successor? When the Empress took ill, she commanded the Imperial Prince Tamura, saying:—'The Empire is a great charge, and, of course, not to be lightly spoken of. Do thou

[1] Okinaga is the name of a place; tarashi-hi, suffice-sun, a honorific; hiro-nuke, broad forehead, is no doubt descriptive of the Emperor's appearance.

[2] Extend-brightness. [3] Bidatsu Tennō. [4] Suiko Tennō.

the Imperial Prince Tamura be watchful and observant, and not remiss.' She next sent for Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, and said to him :—' Do thou avoid brawling speech of thine own, and fail not to follow the words of the many. Be self-restrained, and not contentious.' These were the dying injunctions of the Empress. Whom now shall we make Emperor ?" The Ministers were silent, and made no answer.
XXIII. 2. Again he asked them, but there was no reply. He persisted in questioning them, and thereupon Ohotomo no Kujira no Muraji advanced and said :—" Let us simply obey the Empress's dying injunctions. There is no need to go beyond them, and consult general opinion." Abe no Omi straightway inquired, saying :—" What does this mean ? Explain thy opinion." He answered and said :—" What was the Empress's intention when she gave command to the Imperial Prince Tamura, saying : ' The Empire is a great charge ; be not remiss' ? Judging by this, the Imperial Dignity is already decided. And who shall gainsay this decision ?" Then the four Ministers, Mareshi. Uneme no Omi, Uma, Taka-muku no Omi, Mike, Nakatomi no Omi, and Musashi, Naniha no Kishi, said :—" Let us comply with the advice of Ohotomo no Muraji ; there is no more objection to be made." Ohomaro, Kose no Omi, Adzumōdo, Saheki no Muraji, and Shihote, Ki no Omi, these three, stood forward and said :—" It is Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye who should be made Emperor." But Soga no Kuramaro no Omi [also called Womasa] alone said :—" I am unable to say anything at this moment, but I will think further over the matter and declare myself later." Upon this the Oho-omi, seeing that the Ministers were inharmonious, and that the matter could not be accomplished, retired.

Before this, the Oho-omi had by himself inquired of Sakahibe no Marise no Omi, saying :—" The Empress has died, leaving no heir. Whom shall we make Emperor ?" He answered and said :—" Let us raise up Yamashiro no Ohoye, and make him Emperor." At this time Yamashiro no Ohoye was living in the Palace of Ikaruga. This consultation having come to his ears, he sent Prince Mikuni and Wajiko, Sakurawi no Omi, these two, with a secret message to the Oho-omi,
XXIII. 3. saying :—" It has come to my knowlege that (thou) my maternal uncle art desirous of making the Imperial Prince

Tamura Emperor. On hearing this report, I have thought of it standing and have thought of it sitting, but without being able to see on what just grounds it rests. I beg that I may be clearly informed of my uncle's intentions." Hereupon the Oho-omi, when he received this message from Yamashiro no Ohoye, was unable of himself to give an answer. So he sent for Abe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Ki no Omi, Kahabe no Omi, Takamuku no Omi, Uneme no Omi, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Kose no Omi, to whom he communicated fully Yamashiro no Ohoye's message. He then proceeded to address these Daibu, saying:—"Go, ye Daibu, in a body to the Palace of Ikaruga, and say to Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, 'How should his humble servant[1] be so rash as of his own authority to decide the succession to the Dignity? All that he has done is to take up the Empress's dying commands, and communicate them to the Ministers.' The Ministers said with one voice, 'In accordance with the dying instructions of the Empress, the Imperial Prince Tamura is the natural successor to the Dignity. Who has any further objection?' Such were the words of the Ministers. They are not specially my sentiments. Although I have a private opinion of my own, out of respect I refrain from communicating it by message, and await the opportunity of an interview in order to inform thee personally." Hereupon the Daibu, having received the words of the Oho-omi, proceeded together to the Palace of Ikaruga, where Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi were made to deliver to Yamashiro no Ohoye the message of the Oho-omi. Now Prince Ohoye made them go and ask the Daibu what were the dying commands of the Empress. They answered and said:—"We do not know the depth of the matter. Only we gathered from the account given us of the circumstance by the Oho-omi that on the day in which the Empress took to her sick bed, she gave command to the Imperial Prince Tamura, and said to him, 'The future government of the country is not to be lightly spoken of. Therefore do thou the Imperial Prince Tamura speak of it with self-restraint, and be not remiss.' She next gave command to Prince Ohoye, and said to him, 'Thy heart is young; avoid

[1] The interlinear Kana version has yakkora, making the humble servant plural, and to refer to the Daibu.

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knew not what to do. Then I bethought me:—'The Spirits of the land and of grain and the ancestral shrines are weighty matters. I am young and devoid of wisdom: how can I presume to accept this charge?' Just at this time I desired to converse with my maternal uncle and the Ministers on the subject, but there was no (fit) opportunity for me to speak, and it is for this reason only that I have been silent up to the present. On a former occasion I went to the capital in order to pay a visit of inquiry to my sick maternal uncle, and lodged in the Temple of Toyora. On this day the Empress sent Shibime, Yakuchi no Uneme, to me with an Imperial message, saying:—'Thy maternal uncle, the Oho-omi, constantly expresses anxiety on thy account. After a hundred years,[1] is it not to thee that the succession to the Dignity will fall? Be, therefore, watchful, and spare thyself.' This matter is clear. What doubt can there be about it? But am I covetous of the Empire? I am simply declaring what I have heard, and I call to witness to its truth the Gods both of Heaven and Earth. Therefore it is my desire to ascertain accurately the dying commands of the Empress. Moreover, ye, the Ministers sent to me by the Oho-omi, are men who have always addressed the sovereign as it were holding the sacred spear by the middle.[2] Will you be so good, therefore, as to inform my uncle?"

After this Prince Hatsuse, the second son (of Prince Ohoye[3]), sent for Nakatomi no Muraji and Kahabe no Omi separately, and said to them:—"Both my father and I spring from the Soga family, as is well known to the world. We, therefore, rely on it as on a high mountain. I pray, therefore, that the succession to the Dignity be not lightly spoken of." So he sent Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi along with the Ministers, saying:—"I desire to receive an answer." Then the Oho-omi x sent Ki no Omi and Ohotomo no Muraji to say to Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi:—"On a former occasion I said all I had to say: there is nothing else. However, how should I presume to despise one prince and honour another?"

Several days after, Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye again sent Sakurawi no Omi to the Oho-omi to say:—"What I repre-

[1] i.e. some day or another: after my death.

[2] Without bias (?).

[3] Prince Ohoye could, therefore, not have been very young.

sented on the former day was only what I heard. Shall I oppose my maternal uncle?"

On this day the Oho-omi was ill, and unable to hold a personal conversation with Sakurawi no Omi.

The next day the Oho-omi sent for Sakurawi no Omi, and straightway despatched Abe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Kahabe no Omi, Oharida no Omi, and Ohotomo no Muraji to address Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, saying:—"From the time of the Emperor[1] who reigned in the Palace of Shikishima until recently, the Ministers have all been wise men. Now I am not wise, yet having happened on a time when men are scarce, I hold rank wrongfully above all the Ministers. This being so, I have been unable to settle the great foundation.[2] This is, however, a grave matter, and cannot well be discussed by intermediaries. Therefore, although my age makes it burdensome to me, I will speak with thee personally. This is merely that there may be no misunderstanding as to the Empress's dying injunctions, and not because I have any private views of my own."

After this the Oho-omi sent Abe no Omi and Nakatomi no Muraji with a message to Sakahibe no Omi to inquire again of him, saying:—"Which Prince shall be made Emperor?" He answered and said:—"When the Oho-omi formerly asked me in person, his slave said all that he had to say on the matter. What need is there now for any further message?" And he was greatly enraged, and got up and went out. Just at this time there was a gathering of all the kinsmen of the Soga House to construct a tumulus for Shima no Oho-omi. They lodged at the place where the tomb was. Hereupon Marise no Omi,[3] having pulled down the sheds at the tomb, retired to the Soga farm-house, and would do no official duty. Upon this, the Oho-omi was angry, and sent Katsushi, Musa no Kimi, and
XXIII. 7. Akawi, Nishikori no Obito, to admonish him, saying:—"I know thy evil speeches, but by reason of our relationship of elder and younger brother I cannot injure thee. But if others are wrong and thou art right, I shall oppose them and follow thee: if others are right and thou art wrong, I shall in that

[1] Kimmei Tennō. [2] That is, the succession to the throne.
[3] The same as Sakahibe no Omi.

case oppose thee and follow them. If, therefore, thou shouldst eventually disagree with me, there will be a breach between us, and there will, moreover, be civil broils in the land. Then posterity will say that thou and I have brought the country to ruin. Such would be our ill-fame with after generations. Do thou be watchful, nor allow a rebellious spirit to arise."

But he still refused compliance, and at length went to Ikaruga, where he dwelt in the Palace of Prince Hatsuse. Hereupon the Oho-omi became more and more wrathful, and sent the Ministers to make a request of Yamashiro no Ohoye, saying:—"Marise has of late been disobedient to me, and has concealed himself in the Palace of Prince Hatsuse. I pray thee, let me have Marise, so that I may examine the reasons." Hereupon, Prince Ohoye answered and said:—"Marise was always a favourite of the wise Empress, and has only come here for a short visit. How should he set himself in opposition to the sentiments of my maternal uncle? I pray thee, do not find fault with him." Accordingly he spoke to Marise, saying:—"It is most kind of thee to come, not forgetting the gratitude which thou owest to the former prince.[1] But the peace of the Empire is now threatened on thy sole account. Moreover, the former Prince, when near his end, addressed his children, saying:—'Avoid wickedness of every kind, practise good of every kind.' I heard this speech, and have made it my constant rule of life. On this account, although I have my private sentiments, I am patient, and not wrathful. Nor can I set myself in opposition to my uncle. I pray thee, henceforward, be not afraid to reform thy views. Yield to the many, and do not withdraw thyself."[2]

At this time, the Daibu also admonished Marise no Omi, saying:—"Thou shouldst not disobey the commands of Prince Ohoye." Hereupon Marise no Omi, having advanced to a point where he had nowhere to turn for support, burst out weeping and went home again. He remained in his house XXIII. 8.
for more than ten days. Prince Hatsuse suddenly took ill and died. Hereupon Marise no Omi said:—"Though I live, on whom shall I place my trust?"

[1] The Japanese commentators explain this expression as referring to Shōtoku Daishi, Prince Ohoye's father.

[2] From duty as a public servant.

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Princess Takara was appointed Empress-consort. She had two sons and one daughter. The name of the eldest was the Imperial Prince Katsuraki [the Emperor who reigned in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi];[1] the second was called the Imperial Princess Hashibito;[2] the third was called the Imperial Prince Oho-ama [the Emperor who reigned in the Palace of Kiyomihara].[3] The Lady Hōde no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi Soga no Shima, bore (to him) the Imperial Prince Furubito [also called the Imperial Prince Ohoye]. He also took to him Kaya[4] no Uneme, of the province of Kibi, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Kaya.

3rd month, 1st day. The senior ambassador from Koryö named Yon Chă-phé, and the junior ambassador Ya-tok, with the senior ambassador from Pèkché, the Eun-sol, Sochă, and the junior ambassador the Tok-sol, Mutok, offered tribute together.

Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Dainin, Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, and the Dainin Kusushi[5] no Ejitsu were sent to Great Thang.[6]

8th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained at Court.

9th month, 4th day. The Koryö and Pekché guests returned to their own country.

In this month Tanabe no Muraji and his companions returned from Yaku.

Winter, 10th month, 12th day. The Emperor removed (the palace) to a place near the Hill of Asuka. This was called the Palace of Okamoto.[7] In this year the official residences of the three Han[8] in Oho-kohori at Naniha were repaired.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. People from Yaku emigrated hither. A

3rd month, 1st day. Wi-chă,[9] King of Pèkché, sent Prince Phung-chyang as hostage. X

[1] Tenchi Tennō. [2] Wife of Kōtoku Tennō. [3] Viz. Temmu Tennō.

[4] Kaya is the name of a place. The Uneme generally were called by the names of the places they came from.

[5] Physician.

[6] This Embassy is mentioned in the Thang annals.

[7] i.e. "bottom of hill." In Yamato. [8] Silla, Koryö and Pèkché.

[9] Wi-chă, according to the "Tongkam," came to the throne in A.D. 641. So there is something wrong here.

Autumn, 9th month, 19th day. The Emperor made a progress to the hot springs of Arima [1] in the Province of Settsu.

Winter, 12th month, 13th day. The Emperor arrived from the hot springs.

A.D. 632. 4th year, Autumn, 8th month. Great Thang sent Kao Piao-jên to escort Mitasuki (on his way back from China to Japan). They anchored together at Tsushima. At this time the student-priests Ryong-un and Bin, together with Suguri no Torikahi and Silla Escort Envoys, came in their train.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Envoys from the Land of Thang, Kao Piao-jên and his companions, arrived in the harbour of Naniha. Accordingly Mŭmakahi no Muraji was sent to meet them at E-guchi.[2] There were thirty-two boats, which, as well as the drums, fifes and flags, were all gaily decorated. He addressed Kao Piao-jên and his companions, saying:—"Hearing that the Envoy appointed by the Son of Heaven has arrived at the Emperor's Court, I have come to receive him." Then Kao Piao-jên answered and said:—"On a day when the wind is so chill, it gives me great pleasure that you have been good enough to come to meet me with these gaily-decked boats." Hereupon Wotsuki, Naniha no Kishi, and Yafushi, Ohoshi-kahachi no Atahe, were appointed to be
XXIII. 11. their guides as far as the front of the official residence. Then Ittō, Iki no Fubito, and Yatsushi, Naniha no Kishi, were sent to introduce the guests into the official residence. On the same day, sacred sake [3] was given them.

A.D. 633. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 26th day. The Envoys from Great Thang, Kao Piao-jên and his companions, returned to their own country. The envoys sent to escort them, viz. the Kishi Womaro, Kuromaro and the rest, went as far as Tsushima, and then came back.

A.D. 634. 6th year, Autumn, 8th month. A long star was seen in the south. The people of that time called it a besom-star.[4]

[1] Well known to residents at the Treaty Port of Kōbe.

[2] River-mouth.

[3] This sake was made under special arrangements from rice grown in certain Temple glebe-lands. *Vide* "Yengishiki." It was customary to offer it to foreign ambassadors.

[4] Hahaki-boshi or hōki-boshi, the present name for a comet.

7th year, Spring, 1st month. The besom-star went round A.I
and was seen in the East.

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. Pèkché sent the Tal-sol, Yu and others with tribute.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The Pèkché guests were entertained at Court. In this month a lotus of auspicious omen grew in the Tsurugi pond. There were two flowers on one stalk.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. There was an A.I
eclipse of the sun. X

3rd month. All those who had had illicit intercourse with the Uneme were put on their trial, and were all punished.[1]

At this time Wosazaki, Miwa no Kimi, by reason of the pain of the examination,[2] committed suicide by stabbing himself in the throat.

Summer, 5th month. There were great rains and floods.

6th month. The Palace of Okamoto having been destroyed by fire, the Emperor removed his residence to the Palace of Tanaka.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Prince Ohomata addressed Toyora no Oho-omi, saying:—"The Ministers and functionaries are remiss in their attendance at Court. Henceforward, let them attend at the beginning of the hour of the Hare,[3] and withdraw after the hour of the Serpent.[4] Regulate this by means of a bell." The Oho-omi, however, did not take this advice.

This year there was a great drought, and there was famine throughout the Empire.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. A great star floated A.
from East to West, and there was a noise like that of thunder. The people of that day said that it was the sound of the falling star. Others said that it was earth-thunder. Hereupon the Buddhist Priest Bin said:—"It is not the falling star, but the Celestial Dog,[5] the sound of whose barking is like thunder."

[1] No doubt capital punishment is meant. [2] By torture.

[3] 5 to 7 a m. To be more exact, the beginning of this hour is an hour before daybreak.

[4] 9 to 11 a m. Such early hours are usual in Eastern Courts. The King of Corea at the present day receives his Ministers before daybreak.

[5] "The Classic of the Mountains and Seas" (a very ancient Chinese book)

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Winter, 10th month. There was an Imperial progress to the Palace of the hot springs of Arima.

This year Pèkché, Silla, and Imna all sent tribute.

11th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Imperial carriage returned from the hot springs.

11th day. The festival of tasting the new rice[1] was held.

12th day. There was thunder without any clouds.[2]

22nd day. There was a storm with thunder.

26th day. A long star appeared in the north-west. Priest Bin said that it was a besom-star. When it appeared, there was famine.[3]

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"This year let there be a great palace and a great temple built." So the bank of the Kudara[4] River was chosen as the site for the palace. Herewith the western population built the palace, and the eastern population[5] built the temple. Agata, Fumi no Atahe, was made architect.

Autumn, 9th month. The priests who had studied in Great Thang, viz. Ye-on and Ye-un, entered the capital in the train of the Silla Escort Envoys.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The Silla Envoys were entertained at Court. Accordingly the Emperor granted them one grade of cap-rank.

12th month, 14th day. There was an Imperial progress to the Palace of the hot springs of Iyo.

In this month a pagoda of nine stories was erected on the bank of the River Kudara.

12th year, Spring, 2nd month, 7th day. A star entered the moon.[6]

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor returned from Iyo, and took up his residence in the Palace of Mŭmaya-zaka.

5th month, 5th day. A great Buddhist maigre entertainment

[1] Nihi-name.

[2] An evil omen, according to the Chinese and Romans.

[3] Bin is the Priest quoted above, XXIII. 12, as an authority on astronomical matters.

[4] The Japanese name for Pèkché.

[5] The west is no doubt Kahachi, the east Yamato.

[6] Chinese history records that Venus entering the moon was looked upon by the diviners as portending mortality among the people.

was given, at which by request the priest Ye-on expounded the Muryō jiu kiō.[1]

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. Shô-an, a priest who had studied in Great Thang, and the student Kuromasa, Takamuku no Ayabito arrived by way of Silla. The tribute-bearing Envoys
XXIII.16. of Pèkché and Silla came in their company. Each of them[2] was granted a grade of cap-rank.

This month (the Emperor) removed to the Palace of Kudara.
A.D. 641. 13th year, Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Kudara.

18th day. He was temporarily interred north of the Palace. This was called the "great temporary tomb" of Kudara. At this time the Heir Apparent, the Imperial Prince Hirakasu wake, was sixteen years old, and pronounced the funeral eulogium.

[1] Florenz, quoting "Bunyu Nanjio," says this is the Amitayu Sutra or Sukhāvatī Vyūha; Muryō jiu means "Everlasting life."

[2] i.e. of the Envoys.

BOOK XXIV.

THE EMPRESS AME TOYO-TAKARA IKASHI-HI TARASHI HIME.[1]

(*KŌGYOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi hime was the great-granddaughter of the Emperor Nuna-kura futo-dama-shiki,[3] granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ohoye, Oshizaka no hiko-bito, and daughter of Prince Chinu. Her mother's name was Princess Kibi.

This Empress conducted the government in conformity with the ancient path.

In the second year of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[4] she was appointed Empress-consort. This Emperor died in the 10th month of the 13th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Empress-consort assumed the Imperial Dignity. Yemishi, Soga no Omi, was made Oho-omi as before. The Oho-omi's son, Iruka [also called Kuratsukuri , took into his own hands the reins of government, and his power was greater than his father's. Therefore thieves and robbers were in dread of him, and things dropped on the highways were not picked up. A.

29th day. The Dainin, Hirafu, Adzumi no Muraji, who had gone as Envoy to Pèkché, returned from Tsukushi, riding on post-horses, and said :—" The Land of Pèkché, hearing of the Emperor's death, has sent Ambassadors of condolence, along with whom I arrived in Tsukushi. But I wished to take part

[1] Heaven-rich-treasure-great-sun-suffice-princess.

[2] This word occurs in the "Shooking," p. 328 of Legge's edition, where it is translated "royal perfection."

[3] Bidatsu Tennō.

[4] Jomei Tennō.

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at the Naniha district (Government office). The Empress commanded the Oho-omi to send Oho-ama, Tsumori no Muraji, as Envoy to Koryö, Kuhina, Naniha no Kishi, to Pèkché, Mato, Kusakabe no Kishi, to Silla, and Nagaye, Sakamoto no Kishi, to Imna.

24th day. Kyoki was sent for and lodged in the house of Adzumi no Yamashiro no Muraji.

25th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained.

27th day. The Koryö and Pèkché Envoys both took their departure.

3rd month, 3rd day. There was rain without any clouds.

Silla sent Envoys of congratulation on the accession, and also Envoys of condolence.

15th day. The Silla Envoys took their departure. This month there were continual rains.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. The Chief Envoy Kyoki and his companions had an audience of the Empress.

10th day. The Oho-omi, Soga, invited Kyoki of Pèkché and his companions to his house at Unebi. He had friendly con- XXIV. 4
versation with them and presented a good[1] horse and twenty bars of iron. But he did not invite Sè-syang.

This month there were continuous rains.

5th month, 5th day. Kyoki and his companions were invited to witness an archery-hunt[2] in front of the Miyake of Yosami in the province of Kahachi.

16th day. The ship of the Envoys of the Land of Pèkché and the ship of the Kishi anchored together in the harbour of Naniha.

18th day. The Pèkché Envoys delivered their tribute, and the Kishi reported their mission.

21st day. One of Kyoki's companions died.

22nd day. A child of Kyoki died. At this time, Kyoki and his wife shrunk with horror from the dead child, and were not present at the funeral ceremonies. It is the general custom in Pekché and Silla when a death occurs that even the parents, brothers, husband or wife, and sisters of the deceased should never look on him again. Judging from this, they are utterly

[1] i.e. well-broken.

[2] The interlinear Kana has uma-yumi, i.e. shooting with bow and arrows from horseback.

wanting in feeling, and not to be distinguished from birds and beasts.

23rd day. Ripe rice was seen.

24th day. Kyoki removed with his wife and children to the house in Ohowi in Kudara, and sent people to bury his child in Ishikaha.[1]

6th month, 16th day. Fine rain fell.

6th month. There was a great drought.

Autumn, 7th month, 9th day. A guest-star entered the moon.[2]

22nd day. The Pèkché Envoys, the Tè-sa-phyöng, Chichyök, and his colleagues were entertained at Court.

One writing has:—"The Tè-sa-phyöng, Chichyök, and his son the Tal-sol—the name is wanting—the Eun-sol Kun-syon."

Therewith stout fellows were commanded to wrestle before Kyoki, Chichyök and the others. When the banquet was over, they retired and went to pay their respects at Kyoki's gate.

XXIV. 5. 23rd day. The pages of Iruka, Soga no Omi, caught a white sparrow.[3] On the same day at the same time there was a man who put a white sparrow (or sparrows) into a cage and sent it as a present to Soga no Omi.

25th day. The Ministers conversed with one another, saying:—"In accordance with the teachings of the village hafuri, there have been in some places horses and cattle killed as a sacrifice to the Gods of the various (Shintō) shrines, in others frequent changes of the market-places,[4] or prayers to the River-

[1] Name of a district in Kahachi.

[2] This is evidently what we call the "occultation" of a star.

[3] A lucky omen.

[4] This is an old custom in China. A Chinese book, 廣州記, says that in a certain village there is a pond. At this pond there is a stone cow. In years of drought, the peasants kill a cow and, mixing its blood with mud, smear it on the back of the stone cow, with prayers.

The "Kogojiui," an ancient Japanese book, speaks of sacrifices of oxen to the Ohotsuchi (great-earth) nushi (master) no Kami. The flesh was eaten by the peasants.

The practice of changing the market-place as a means of averting drought is also an old Chinese custom. The present custom of closing the city gates of Söul, the capital of Corea, to put a stop to excessive rain, may be compared with it.

A modern commentator denounces both these customs (sacrifice of animals and changing the market-place) as contrary to the spirit of Shintoism.

Gods. None of these practices have had hitherto any good result." Then Soga no Oho-omi answered and said:—"The 'Mahāyāna Sutra' ought to be read by way of extract[1] in the temples, our sins repented of, as Buddha teaches, and thus with humility rain should be prayed for."

27th day. In the South Court of the Great Temple, the images of Buddha and of the Bosatsu,[2] and the images of the four Heavenly Kings, were magnificently adorned. A multitude of priests, by humble request, read the "Mahāyāna Sutra." On this occasion Soga no Oho-omi held a censer in his hands, and having burnt incense in it, put up a prayer.

28th day. A slight rain fell.

29th day. The prayers for rain being unsuccessful, the reading of the "Sutra" was discontinued.

8th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the river-source of Minabuchi. Here he knelt down and prayed, worshipping towards the four quarters, and looking up to Heaven.[3] Straightway there was thunder and a great rain, which eventually fell for five days, and plentifully bedewed the Empire. [One writing has:—"For five days there was continuous rain, and the nine grains ripened."]

Hereupon the peasantry throughout the Empire cried with one voice, "Bansai," and said, "An Emperor of exceeding virtue!" XXIV.

6th day. The Pèkché Envoys, viz. the Associate Official and the rest, took their departure. They were given a large ship and three boats.

This day at midnight it thundered in the south-west corner, and there was wind and rain. The ship in which the Associate Official and his companions were embarked ran ashore and was wrecked.

[1] The tendoku (轉讀) is the reading of passages of a book to represent the whole. I have seen a dozen priests each with a pile of books on his right, of which he took one, read a few words at the beginning, made the pages defile rapidly before him, and then reading a few words at the end, passed it to a gradually increasing pile on his left. In this way a volume takes only a few seconds to dispose of, and although the Buddhist scriptures are pretty voluminous, an hour or two of this sort of thing makes some impression on them.

[2] Boddhisatwa.

[3] This is the Chinese as opposed to the Buddhist style, which had been without result.

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11th month, 2nd day. There was great rain, with thunder. X:

5th day. At midnight there was a thunder-clap in the north-west corner.

8th day. It thundered five times in the north-west corner.

9th day. The weather was warm, as in spring.

10th day. Rain fell.

11th day. The weather was warm, as in spring.

13th day. There was a thunder-clap in the northern quarter, and wind sprang up.

16th day. The Empress celebrated the festival of tasting the new rice. On this day the Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi each personally tasted the new rice.[1]

12th month, 1st day. The weather was mild, as in spring.

3rd day. It thundered five times during the day, and twice at night.

9th day. It thundered twice in the east, and there was wind and rain.

13th day. The mourning ceremonies for the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka were begun. On this day, the Shōtoko, Tokudai, Kose no Omi, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of Prince Ohomata. Next the Shōtoko Hosome, Ahata no Omi, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of the Imperial Prince Karu. Next the Shōtoko, Mŭma-kahi, Ohotomo no Muraji, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of the Oho-omi.

14th day. Okinaga no Yamana no Kimi pronounced an eulogium of the Imperial line.

20th day. It thundered three times in the north-east corner.

21st day. The Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was buried on the Hill of Name-hazama.

On this day the Empress removed her residence to the X: Palace of Woharida.

One writing says :—"To the temporary palace in the southern courtyard of the Eastern Palace."

23rd day. It thundered once in the night with a splitting noise.

theory. He may only mean that the weather was unseasonable, without intending to saddle the Empress with the responsibility for it.

[1] They probably celebrated this ceremony in their own houses.

30th day. The weather was mild, as in spring.

This year Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi erected his own ancestral temple at Taka-miya in Katsuraki, and performed an eight-row dance.[1] Finally he made a song, saying :—

In order to ford
The River Hiro-se of Oshi
In Yamato,
I adjust my garters
And gird up my loins ![2]

Moreover he levied all the people of the land as well as the serfs of the 180 Be, and constructed two tombs at Imaki in preparation for his death.[3] One was called the Great Misasagi, and was intended as the tomb of the Oho-omi; one was called the Small Misasagi, and was meant for the tomb of Iruka no Omi. It was his desire that after his death other people might not be troubled. Moreover he assembled all the Mibu people of Kamutsumiya,[4] and made them do forced labour on the precincts of the tombs. Hereupon Princess Kamutsumiya no Oho-iratsume[5] was wroth, and exclaimed, saying :—" Soga no Omi wantonly usurps the Government of the land, and does many outrageous things. In Heaven there
XXIV. 9. are not two suns : in a state there cannot be two sovereigns. Why should he, at his own pleasure, employ, in forced labour, all the people of the fief ?" From this her hate began to gather, and she at length shared in the common downfall.[6]

This year was the year Midzunoye Tora (39th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 643 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. In the morning great clouds of five colours[7] covered all the sky, except in the north-east, where they were wanting. A mist of a uniform blue colour arose from the earth on all sides.

[1] These were assumptions of Imperial rank. *Vide* " Legge's Chinese Classics," Vol. I. p. 18.

[2] Hiro-se means a broad ford. Apparently Soga, in these lines, is supposed to hint at his secret ambition of usurpation.

[3] It was not unusual to build sepulchral mounds during the lifetime of the intended occupant. Nintoku Tennō is an example.

[4] The serfs of the late Prince Shōtoku Daishi.

[5] Shōtoku Daishi's daughter. [6] See below, XXIV. 13.

[7] Rainbow-tinted.

10th day. A great storm.

2nd month, 20th day. Peach-blossoms first appeared.

25th day. The leaves and flowers of herbs and trees were injured by hail.

In this month there were wind, thunder, and ice-rain. Winter ordinances were in force.

3rd month, 13th day. The official quarters of the Pèkché guests at Naniha and the houses of the people took fire.

25th day. The flowers and leaves of the herbs and trees were injured by frost.

In this month there were wind, thunder, rain and ice-rain. Winter ordinances were in force.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. A great storm, with rain.

8th day. A wind sprang up and the weather was chilly.

20th day. There was a west wind[1] and hail. The weather was cold, and people wore three wadded garments.

21st day. The Viceroy[2] of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress, saying:—"The Prince, the younger brother of Kyoki, son of the King of Pèkché, has arrived in company of the tribute Envoys."

25th day. It was reported from the province of Ohomi that hail had fallen there one inch in diameter.

28th day. The Empress removed her residence from the temporary palace to the new Palace of Itabuki in Asuka.

5th month, 16th day. There was an eclipse of the moon.

6th month, 13th day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress, saying:—"Koryö is sending Envoys to our Court." When the Ministers heard this, they said:—"Koryö has not come to XX
Court since the year Kanoto i,[3] and this year they are coming to Court."

23rd day. The Pèkché tribute-ships anchored in the port of Naniha.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Several Daibu were sent to the district (Government house) of Naniha to inspect the Pèkché tribute and presents. Hereupon the Daibu inquired of the tribute Envoys, saying:—"The national tribute offered by

[1] The west wind in Japan comes from North China and Siberia, and resembles our east wind in character.

[2] Dazai.

[3] A.D. 639.

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Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Ministers and Tomo no Miyakko were entertained in the Court of the Imperial Residence, and the matter of bestowing Dignities was considered. Ultimately instructions to the Governors of Provinces were given as before ordered, and no change was made. They were told to proceed to their posts, and to be watchful in respect to their administration.

6th day. Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, was unable from illness to attend at Court. On his own private authority, he granted his son Iruka a purple cap, which made him rank, as it were, with the Oho-omi. He also called the younger brother (of Iruka) Mononobe no Oho-omi. The Oho-omi's grandmother was the younger sister of Mononobe no Yugehi no Ohomuraji. Therefore, by reason of his mother's property, he acquired an influential position in the world.

12th day. Iruka, Soga no Omi, plotted by himself to set aside the Kamutsumiya Princes,[1] and to establish Furubito no Ohoye as Emperor. At this time there was a children's song which said:—

By the cliff,
A little monkey is cooking rice:
Pass on—having stolen
Even the very rice,
O thou mountain-goat[2] old man.

One book says:—"Iruka, Soga no Omi, had a profound repulsion for the prestige and fame of the Kamutsumiya Princes throughout the Empire, and plotted by himself how to become established in their stead."

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond became clear again.

11th month, 1st duy. Iruka, Soga no Omi, sent the Shōtoko, Kose no Tokudai no Omi, and the Dainin, Hashi no Saba no Muraji, to seize Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and the rest at Ikaruga.

One book says:—"With Kose no Tokudai no Omi and Yamato no Mŭma-kahi no Obito as commanders."

[1] The sons of Shōtoku Daishi.

[2] The kama-shishi is probably the animal now known as the kamoshika, a kind of antelope with a shaggy fleece. *Vide* "Satow and Hawes' Handbook," 2nd ed. p. [41]. See below, XXIV. 14, for an interpretation of this poem.

Hereupon the slave Minari and several tens of toneri came forth and fought in their defence. Hashi no Saba no Muraji was hit by an arrow and died, and the troops were afraid, and retreated. They said to one another:—"The saying 'one man as good as a thousand' is applicable to Minari." Yamashiro no Ohoye accordingly took the bones of a horse and flung them into his sleeping-chamber, and eventually, taking with him his consort, and accompanied by the younger members of his family, seized an opportunity to escape, and concealed himself on Mount Ikoma. Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi, a toneri named Tame no Muraji, and his daughter Uda no Morowoshi, and Ise no Abe no Katafu followed him.

Kose no Tokudai no Omi and the others, having burnt the Palace of Ikaruga, found bones among the ashes, and wrongly imagined that the Prince was dead. So they raised the siege and withdrew. Therewith Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions tarried on the mountain for four or five days. They had nothing to eat or drink. Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi advanced, and advised him, saying:—"Let us, I pray thee, go over to the Miyake of Fukakusa, and thence on horseback towards the Eastern provinces. Let us make Mibu our headquarters, and having raised troops, come back and fight. Our success is not doubtful." Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions[1] answered and said:—"If we did as thou sayest, we should certainly succeed. In my heart, however, I desire for ten years not to impose a burden on the people. For the sake of one person only, why should I distress the ten thousand subjects? Moreover, I do not wish it to be said by after generations that for my sake anyone has mourned the loss of a
XXIV. 13. father or mother. Is it only when one has conquered in battle that he is to be called a hero? Is he not also a hero who has made firm his country at the expense of his own life?" There was a man who from afar perceived the Princes of Kamutsumiya on the mountains, and went back and told this to Iruka, Soga no Omi. When Iruka heard this he was much afraid, and immediately set in movement an armed force. Then he informed Kuni-oshi, Takamuku no Omi, where the Prince was, and said:—"Thou must at once proceed to the mountain and arrest the Prince." Kuni-oshi answered and said:—"Thy

[1] The speech itself can be only that of Prince Yamashiro.

slave guards the Imperial Palace, and dares not go elsewhere." Iruka was about to go himself when the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye arrived, panting for breath, and asked whither he was going. Iruka informed him of the whole circumstances. Then the Imperial Prince Furubito said:—"The rat lies down in its hole and lives; it leaves its hole and dies." Accordingly Iruka gave up the idea of going, and sent commanders to make search at Ikoma, but they were never able to find him.

Hereupon Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions returned from the mountain and entered the Temple of Ikaruga. The commanders straightway surrounded the Temple with troops. Then Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye sent Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi with a message to the commanders, saying:—"If I had raised an army, and attacked Iruka, I should certainly have conquered. But for the sake of one person, I was unwilling to destroy the people. Therefore I deliver up myself to Iruka." Finally he and the younger members of his family, with his consorts, strangled themselves at the same time, and died together. At this time five coloured banners and umbrellas shone in the sky, and descending, hung over the Temple to the sound of various music. Every one looked up with cries of admiration. At length they were pointed out to Iruka, upon which the banners and umbrellas were changed into a black cloud, so that Iruka was unable to see them.

Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, hearing that Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his people had all been destroyed by Iruka, chid him angrily, saying:—"Ah! Iruka! Thou are foolish exceedingly, and dost arbitrarily practise outrage. Is not thine own life precarious?"

The people of that day explained the application of the above poem[1] as follows:—

By "the cliff" is meant Kamutsumiya:[2] by the "little monkey" is meant Hayashi no Omi [Hayashi no Omi is Iruka]: by "cooking rice" is intended the burning of Kamutsumiya: by "Pass on, having stolen even the very rice, oh thou mountain-goat old man," Prince Yamashiro's head of hair, which was streaked with grey so as to resemble

[1] See above, XXIV. 11.

[2] i.e. Upper Palace.

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one of a football[1] party in which Naka no Ohoye played at the foot of the keyaki tree of the Temple of Hōkōji, he observed the XXIV. 16.
(Prince's) leathern shoe fall off with the ball. Placing it on the palm of his hand, he knelt before the Prince and humbly offered it to him. Naka no Ohoye in his turn knelt down and respectfully received it. From this time they became mutual friends, and told each other all their thoughts. There was no longer any concealment between them. They feared, however, that jealous suspicions might be caused by their frequent meetings, and they both took in their hands yellow rolls,[2] and studied personally the doctrines of Chow[3] and Confucius with the learned teacher of Minabuchi.[4] Thus they at length while on their way there and back, walking shoulder to shoulder, secretly prepared their plans. On all points they were agreed.

Now Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji counselled him, saying:—"For him who cherishes great projects, nothing is so essential as support. I pray thee, therefore, take to thee the eldest daughter of Soga no Kurayamada no Maro, and make her thy consort. When a friendly marriage relationship has been established, we can then unfold our desire to associate him with us in our plans. There is no shorter way to success than this. Now when Naka no Ohoye heard this, he was much pleased, and acted in accordance with his advice in every particular. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji accordingly went himself, and as go-between conducted the marriage negotiations to a successful result. On the night, however, fixed upon for XXIV. 17.
(the consummation of the marriage with) the eldest daughter, she was stolen away by a relation [his name was Musa no Omi]. In consequence of this, Kurayamada no Omi was

[1] Dakiu, "strike-ball," the word here used, now means "polo," for an account of which see "Things Japanese," p. 350. But here some kind of football is evidently meant. What kind of football—like ours, or in Chinese fashion, knocking the ball from one to another like a shuttle-cock—does not appear.

[2] i.e. Chinese books.

[3] Chow, the supposed author of the Chow-li, a set of rules for the guidance of officials. *Vide* Mayers, p. 20.

[4] No doubt the Shōan above mentioned, XXII. 21. It is often far from clear, as here, whether a proper name is to be understood as a man's name or as the name of his place of residence. The latter meaning fades into the former.

grieved and alarmed. He looked up and looked down, and knew not what to do. His younger daughter, wondering at her father's grief and alarm, went up to him and inquired of him, saying:—"Why art thou sorrowful and in fear?" Her father told her the cause. The younger daughter said:—"I beseech thee, do not grieve, but offer me. It is still not too late." Her father was greatly rejoiced, and at length offered this daughter. She served (the Prince) with sincerity of heart,[1] and without any shyness whatever.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji recommended Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida,[2] Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kahi[3] no Muraji, to Naka no Ohoye, saying, &c., &c.

3rd month. An owl brought forth young in the Miyake of Ohotsu belonging to Toyora no Oho-omi.

It was reported from the Province of Yamato:—"Lately a man of the Uda district, called Oshizaka no Atahe, went with a boy for a walk over the snow. They climbed Mount Uda, and there they saw purple mushrooms growing out of the snow six inches or more in height, and covering about four chō.[4] So he made the boy gather them, and went back and showed them to his neighbours. They all said:—'We do not know them,' and suspected that they were poisonous. Hereupon Oshizaka no Atahe and the boy boiled and ate them. They were very savoury. The next day they went to see, but there were none
XXIV. 18. at all. Oshizaka no Atahe and the boy, from having eaten the mushroom soup, were free from disease, and lived long. Some one said:—'Probably the common people, not knowing the herb of long life,[5] mistakenly called it a mushroom."

Summer, 6th month, 1st day. Ohotomo no Mŭmakahi no Muraji presented to the Empress a lily, the stem of which was eight feet in length, separated as to the lower part, but joined together as to the end.

[1] Lit. a red heart. [2] Net-ricefield. [3] Puppy-keeper.

[4] The chō is at present, according to Hepburn, a land measure of 3000 tsubos, or 108,000 square feet.

[5] The "Yengishiki" describes the 芝草 as a plant resembling coral in shape, with clustering leaves and branches. Some are red, others purple, others black, others golden-coloured, while some change their colour in the four seasons. It blossoms three times a year, and gives long life to the person who eats it.

3rd day. It was reported from the district of Shiki no Kami:—"There was a man on Mount Miwa who, seeing a monkey having its noonday sleep, stealthily took it by the elbow, but without doing it bodily harm. The monkey kept its eyes closed, and sang a song, saying:—

It can be none but the soft hand
Of a friend who stands
On the opposite hill
That has taken my hand:
Whose happy hand is it
—Oh happy, happy hand!—
That hath taken my hand?[1]

The man was amazed at the monkey's song. He set it free and came away. This was a portent, indicating, after many years had passed, the siege of the Kamutsumiya Princes on Mount Ikoma by Soga no Kura-tsukuri."

6th day. Among the lotuses in the Tsurugi pond, there was one which had two flowers on one stem. Toyora no Oho-omi inferred without sufficient reason that this portended the future prosperity of Soga no Omi. So he made a picture[2] with XXIV. 19
golden ink, and presented it to the sixteen feet high Buddha of Great Hōkōji.

In this month the witches and wizards[3] of the whole country, breaking off leafy branches and hanging them with tree fibre,[4] watched the time when the Oho-omi was crossing a bridge and vied with one another in addressing to him subtle interpretations of divine words. They were in great numbers, so that they could not be distinctly heard. Old people said

[1] The metre belongs to no recognized standard. The text of this song is probably corrupt. As it stands it is very obscure, though, perhaps, not more so than we should expect from a drowsy monkey The Japanese commentators vary widely in its interpretation. Dr. Florenz's version will be found to differ from the one given above. I should be sorry to say that mine is any improvement.

[2] Or writing.

[3] The interlinear Kana has Kamunai (for Kamunagi), which Yamada renders by miko. See Vol. I. p. 79, Note.

[4] In the manner of offerings to the Gods. The Chinese characters for tree-fibre now mean cotton, which is a much later introduction into Japan. The fibre was probably that of the inner bark of the paper mulberry.

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and, placing it in a pure place, with song and dance invoked happiness. They threw away their treasures, but to no purpose whatever. The loss and waste was extreme. Hereupon Kahakatsu, Kadono no Hada no Miyakko, was wroth that the people should be so much deluded, and slew[1] Ohofu Be no Oho. The wizards and witches were intimidated, and ceased to persuade people to this worship. The men of that time made a song, saying:—

Udzumasa[2]
Has executed
The God of the Everlasting World
Who we were told
Was the very God of Gods.

This insect is usually bred on orange trees, and sometimes on the Hosoki.[3] It is over four inches in length, and about as XXIV. 21. thick as a thumb. It is of a grass-green colour with black spots, and in appearance entirely resembles the silkworm.[4]

Winter, 11th month. Iruka no Omi, son of Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, built two houses on the Amagashi Hill. The Oho-omi's house was called the Palace-Gate:[5] Iruka's house was called the Valley-Palace-Gate. Their sons and daughters were styled Princes and Princesses. Outside the houses palisades were constructed, and an armoury was erected by the gate. At each gate there was set a tank for water, and several tens of wooden hooks as a provision in case of fire.[6] Stout fellows were constantly employed to guard the houses, with arms in their hands.

The Oho-omi made Osa no Atahe build the Temple of Hokonuki on Mount Ohoniho. Moreover, he built a house on the east side of Mount Unebi and dug a pond,[7] so as to make of it a

[1] The original is 打, strike, which I take to be a euphemism for slay.

[2] i.e. Hada no Miyakko.

[3] The Chinese characters used mean "creeping pepper." I have not been able to identify this plant or tree. It is also called itachi-hajikami, i.e. weasel-ginger.

[4] It was evidently a caterpillar of some kind.

[5] The interlinear Kana version has Uhe no Mikado, Upper Palace, which suggests that a character has been lost here.

[6] A pole with a hook at the end is in use by Japanese firemen at the present day for pulling down houses.

[7] i.e. a moat.

castle. He erected an armoury, and provided store of arrows. In his goings out and comings in he was always surrounded by an attendant company of fifty soldiers. These sturdy fellows were called the Eastern[1] Company. The people of the various Uji[2] came to his gate, and waited upon him. He called himself their father, and them his boys. The Aya no Atahe attended wholly upon the two houses.[3]

A.D. 645 4th year, Spring, 1st month. On mountain-peaks, by river-sides, or among shrines and temples, there was a something visible afar, and there was heard a humming of monkeys, as it were ten or sometimes twenty together. But when one XXIV. 22. approached to see what it might be, nothing was visible. There was still heard the sound of crying and screaming, but no one was able to distinguish any bodily form.

An old book says:—"In this year the capital was removed to Naniha, and this was an indication that the Itabuki palace would become a waste."

The men of that day said:—"These are the messengers of the Great Deity of Ise."[4]

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Koryö student-priests said that their fellow-student Kura-tsukuri no Tokushi had made friends with a tiger, and had learnt from him his arts, such as to make a barren mountain change into a green mountain, or to cause yellow earth to become clear water, and all manner of wonderful arts too many to enumerate. Moreover, the tiger bestowed on him his needle, saying:—"Be watchful! be watchful, and let no one know! Treated with this, there is no disease which may not be cured." Truly, as the tiger had said, there was no disease which was not cured when treated by it.[5] Tokushi always kept the needle concealed in a pillar. Afterwards the tiger broke the pillar and ran away, taking the needle with him. The Land of Koryö, hearing that Tokushi wished to return, put him to death by poison.

6th month, 8th day. (Prince) Naka no Ohoye secretly

[1] Perhaps because his house stood on the eastern side of Mount Unebi. An interlinear gloss has Adzuma or East Country. The Soga family had much to do with the Eastern provinces, as the name of its head, viz. Yemishi (Aino) suggests. Possibly the guard here spoken of consisted of Ainos.

[2] Noble houses.

[3] Of the father and son.

[4] The Sun-goddess.

[5] Acupuncture is no doubt meant.

addressed Kurayamada no Maro no Omi, saying:—"On the day that the three Corean kingdoms present their tribute I will surely cause thee to read aloud their memorial," and went on to inform him of his plan for slaying Iruka no Omi. Maro no Omi respectfully assented.

12th day. The Empress held a Court in the Taikyokuden.[1] XXIV. 23. (Prince) Furubito no Ohoye was in attendance.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, knowing that Soga, Iruka no Omi, was of a very suspicious nature, and wore a sword day and night, showed the performers an expedient to make him lay it aside. Iruka no Omi laughed, and, having ungirded his sword, entered and took his place in attendance by the throne. Kurayamada Maro no Omi advanced and read aloud the memorials of the three kingdoms of Corea. Hereupon (Prince) Naka no Ohoye ordered the Guard of the Gates to fasten all the twelve gates at the same time, and to allow nobody to pass. Then he called together the Guards of the Gates to one place and promised them rewards. (Prince) Naka no Ohoye then took in his own hands a long spear and hid it at one side of the Hall. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji and his people, armed with bows and arrows, lent their aid. Katsumaro, Ama no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to give two swords in a case to Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kahi no Muraji, with the message, "Up! up! make haste to slay him." Komaro and the other tried to send down their rice with water, but were so frightened that they brought it up again.[2] Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji chid and encouraged them. Kurayamada Maro no Omi feared lest the reading of the memorials should come to XXIV. 24. an end before Komaro and his companion arrived. His body was moist with streaming sweat, his voice was indistinct, and his hands shook. Kuratsukuri no Omi wondered at this, and inquired of him, saying:—"Why dost thou tremble?" Yamada Maro answered and said:—It is being near the Empress that makes me afraid, so that unconsciously the perspiration pours from me." Naka no Ohoye, seeing that

[1] The 大極, Taikyoku, is the Absolute or first principle of Chinese philosophy, from which proceed the Yin and Yang. The Taikyokuden was the Great Hall of Audience.

[2] Probably only to be taken metaphorically.

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himself acquainted with the cause of this uprising. Hereupon Kunioshi, Takamuku no Omi, addressed the Aya no Atahe, saying:—"We are bound to receive (capital) punishment on account of our Lord's[1] eldest son. Moreover, it is not doubtful that to-day or to-morrow swift execution awaits the Oho-omi. This being so, for whom should we fight to no purpose, rendering ourselves all liable to be put to death?" When he had finished speaking, he ungirded his sword, flung away his bow, and went away, deserting the cause. The rebel troops, moreover, following his example, dispersed and ran away.

13th day. Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and his people, when about to be executed, burnt the History of the Emperors, the History of the Country, and the objects of value. Yesaka Funa no Fubito straightway hastened to seize the burning History of the Country, and delivered it up to Naka no Ohoye. On this day permission was given for the interment of the bodies of Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and Kuratsukuri in tombs.[2] Lament for them was also allowed.

Upon this, some explained the first of the popular songs,[3] saying:—

The song which says—

From afar off
Something is heard— XXIV. 26.
The jungle-plain of Shima,

prefigured the building of palaces together at the house of Shima no Oho-omi, and the secret conspiracy of Naka no Ohoye and Nakatomi, Kamako no Muraji in the cause of justice, with their plot to kill Iruka.

The second of the popular songs was explained as follows:—

The song which says—

Though I have slept,
Not allowing a noise to be made
By the pheasants of the Ahanu plain
On yonder side,
Others allow them to make a noise,

---

[1] Yemishi. [2] Haka, not misasagi. See above, XXIV. 8.
[3] See above, XXIV. 19.

was ominous of the Kamutsumiya Princes, of gentle disposition, and none of them guilty of a crime, being harmed by Iruka, and of Heaven bringing about his death by the hands of others, though they could not themselves have their revenge.

The third popular song was explained as follows:—

The song which says—

I know not the face,
Nor do I even know the house
Of him who did it,
Having led me
Into the little wood,

was ominous of Iruka no Omi being suddenly slain in the Palace by Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Wakainukahi no Muraji.

14th day. The Dignity was abdicated in favour of the Imperial Prince Karu, and Naka no Ohoye was made Prince Imperial.

BOOK XXV.

THE EMPEROR AME-YORODZU TOYO-HI.[1]

(*KŌTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ*)

THE Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi was a younger brother by the same mother of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime.[3] He honoured the religion of Buddha and despised the Way of the Gods[4] [as is instanced by his cutting down the trees of the shrine of Iku-kuni-dama]. He was of a gentle disposition, and loved men of learning. He made no distinction of noble and mean, and continually dispensed beneficent edicts.

In the fourth year, the sixth month, and the fourteenth day of her reign, the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime wished to transfer the Dignity to Naka no Ohoye, and made order, saying:—"etc., etc." Naka no Ohoye, when he retired (from her presence), informed Nakatomi, Kamako no Muraji, who advised him, saying:—"Furubito no Ohoye is Your Highness's elder brother: the Imperial Prince Karu is Your Highness's maternal uncle. If at present, during the life- XXV. 2.
time of Furubito no Ohoye, Your Highness should ascend to the Imperial Dignity, it would be a transgression against the sentiment of respect and obedience due from younger brothers. Would it not, therefore, be better to raise your maternal uncle to the throne, and so respond to the expectations of the people?" Upon this Naka no Ohoye was profoundly pleased with this advice and reported it privately to the Empress. The

[1] Heaven-myriad-abundant-sun.

[2] Virtue of filial piety. There is much evidence in this reign of the extension and development of the Imperial power in the provinces.

[3] Kōgyoku Tennō.

[4] i.e. Shintō.

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A great brocade cap of honour was given to Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, and he was made Naijin,[1] with an increased feudal revenue of a large number of houses,[2] etc., etc. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji cherished the most sincere loyalty. Trusting to his power as ruling Minister, he took place over the various functionaries. In respect therefore to advancements and dismissals, taking measures or abandoning them, everything was done in accordance with his counsel, etc., etc.[3] The XXV. 4.
Buddhist priest[4] Min Hōshi and Kuromaro Takamuko no Fubito were made national doctors.[5]

15th day. Golden tablets were granted to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and to the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha no Maro. [One book says they were granted refined gold.]

19th day. The Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and the Prince Imperial summoned together the Ministers under the great tsuki[6] tree, and made an oath appealing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and saying:—

"Heaven covers us: Earth upbears us: the Imperial[7] way is but one. But in this last degenerate age, the order of Lord and Vassal was destroyed, until Supreme Heaven by Our hands put to death the traitors. Now, from this XXV. 5.
time forward, both parties shedding their heart's blood, the Lord will eschew double methods of government, and the Vassal will avoid duplicity in his service of the

are here used for daijin. That a change in the mode of reading them took place at some time is certain, but it is impossible to fix it exactly. Oho-omi is retained below, though daijin is possibly more correct. Sadaijin and Udaijin have been in use in our own day.

[1] Minister (Omi) of the Interior, i.e. of the Household, a rank next after that of Prime Minister.

[2] Of serfs.

[3] The "Shukai" editor says the etc., etc. marks a hiatus in the MS. much to be deplored. The previous two sentences are a quotation from a Chinese history.

[4] The word used is Shamon, the equivalent of the Sansk. S'ramana. *Vide* Eitel, p. 157. Min Hōshi is probably the priest who studied in China, and whose astronomical knowledge is above referred to. Hōshi is a priestly rank, the Sansk. Upadhyāya.

[5] Hakase, men of learning—not medical men.

[6] Planera.

[7] Or Divine.

sovereign! On him who breaks this oath, Heaven will send a curse and earth a plague, demons will slay them, and men will smite them. This is as manifest as the sun and moon."[1]

The style 4th year of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime was altered to Daikwa, 1st year.[2]

A.D. 645. Daikwa, 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Imperial Princess Hashibito, daughter of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[3] was made Empress. Two consorts were appointed. The senior was Wo-tarashi-hime, daughter of the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Arima. The junior consort was Chi-iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha no Maro.

10th day. Koryo, Pèkché, and Silla all sent Envoys at the same time bearing tribute. The Pèkché tribute-envoys were also charged with the office of Envoys from Imna and with the Imna tribute. But the Pèkché Chief Envoy, the Cha-phyöng[4] Yön-pok, fell ill, and remained in the official residence of the Port,[5] so that he did not enter the capital. Kose no Tokuda no Omi addressed the Koryo Envoys on the Emperor's behalf, saying:—"This is the mandate of the Emperor of Japan, who rules the world as a God incarnate. 'The Envoys sent by the Emperor and the Envoys sent by the Koryo Sons of the Gods,[6]
XXV. 6. have a brief past, but a long future. Let them, therefore, simply continue to pass backwards and forwards with friendly hearts.'" Next he addressed the Pekché Envoys on the Emperor's behalf, saying:—"This is the mandate of the Emperor of Japan, who rules the world as a God incarnate. 'At first, in the reign of our remote Imperial ancestor, the Land of Pèkché was made an interior Miyake[7] which might be

[1] It may be noted that there is nothing Buddhist or Shintō in this vow. It is pure Chinese. It is not exactly an oath according to our ideas, but an imprecation on rebellion.

[2] This is the first introduction of the nengō, 年號, or year-period, a Chinese chronological device. *Vide* Introduction to "Satow's Chronological Tables." Daikwa means great civilization or development. As a matter of fact very revolutionary changes took place in this reign.

[3] Jomei Tennō. [4] Minister of the Left. [5] Doubtless Osaka.

[6] A polite term for kings.

[7] i.e. immediately dependent on the throne.

compared to a three-fold cord.[1] In more recent times Imna was handed over to be a dependency of Pèkché. After that, Adzumabito, Miwa no Kurikuma no Kimi, was sent to inspect the frontier of the Land of Imna, and the King of Pèkché, in obedience to the Emperor's behest, showed him all the frontier. Yet there is a deficiency in the tribute, and it is therefore returned. The articles which are the produce of Imna are distinctly observed by the Emperor. Now for the future the country should be noted down as well the tribute which comes from it.[2] May you, the Cha-phyong and the others, come back unchanged in appearance,[3] and speedily bring us a clear answer. Adzumabito, Miwa no Kimi, and Mŭmakahi no Miyakko will now be sent again.' "

A further Imperial order was given—"Let the wife and children of Wi-sa, a Talsol of Kwipu, be sent away."[4]

12th day. The Emperor gave command to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and the Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, saying:—"The Empire should be ruled by following in the footsteps of the Emperors of antiquity. Moreover, in your government of the Empire, you should preserve fidelity."

13th day. The Emperor gave command to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and the Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, saying:—"Inquire of the Daibu and the hundred Tomo no Miyakko, one after another, as to the method of making gladness the means of using the people's services.[5]

14th day. The Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"First of all the Gods of Heaven and Earth should be propitiated by worship; thereafter affairs of government ought to be considered."

On this day, Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was sent to

[1] This is explained to mean Pèkché, the Japanese authority in Imna, and the native Kings of Imna.

[2] The meaning seems to be that, as the Emperor takes special notice of the produce of Imna, a list should be prepared showing what tribute is sent by Pèkché and what by Imna, so that any deficiency may be at once recognizable.

[3] By sickness or old age.

[4] They were probably hostages. *Vide* XXIV. 10.

[5] Of reconciling the people to forced labour.

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downwards, who accept bribes a fine shall be imposed of double the amount, and they shall eventually be punished criminally according to the greater or less heinousness of the case. Nine men are allowed as attendants on a Chief Governor, seven on an assistant, and five on a secretary. If this limit is exceeded, and they are accompanied by a greater number, both chief and followers shall be punished criminally.

If there be any persons who lay claim to a title,[1] but who, not being Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko, or Inaki of districts by descent, unscrupulously draw up lying memorials, saying:—'From the time of our forefathers we have had charge of this Miyake or have ruled this district'—in such cases, ye, the Governors, must not readily make application to the Court in acquiescence in such fictions, but must ascertain particularly the true facts before making your report.

Moreover on waste pieces of ground let arsenals be erected, and let the swords and armour, with the bows and arrows of the provinces and districts, be deposited together in them. In the case of the frontier provinces which border close on the Yemishi, let all the weapons be mustered together, and let them remain in the hands of their original owners. In regard to the six districts of the province of Yamato, let the officials who are sent there prepare registers of the population, and also take an account of the acreage of cultivated land.

This means to examine the acreage of the cultivated ground, and the numbers, houses, and ages of the people.

Ye Governors of provinces, take careful note of this and withdraw."[2] Accordingly presents were made them of silk and cloth, which varied in the case of each person.

This day a bell and box were provided in the Court.[3] The XXV. 9.

[1] Lit. name.

[2] It would seem that at this time there was a reorganization of the local governments, giving a more centralized character to the administration temporary Governors superseding in some measure the hereditary titular officials. No clear account is given of this change, but it seems plainly to be inferred from the above passage. Kokushi, 國司, are not now mentioned for the first time, and it is clear that the change was not made all at once. The similar change from the Daimio system to that of local prefectures in 1868 will occur to the reader.

[3] The box was for the purpose of receiving petitions and complaints, like the Me-yasu-bako of later times. This custom was derived from China. See Florenz's note.

Emperor issued an order, saying :—" If there be a complainant, in case the person in question belongs to a Tomo no Miyakko, let the Tomo no Miyakko first make inquiry and then report to Us. In case the person in question has an elder,[1] let the elder first make inquiry and then report to Us. If, however, the Tomo no Miyakko or the elder does not come to a clear decision respecting the complaint, let a document be received and placed in the box, and punishment will be inflicted according to the offence. The person who receives the document should at dawn take it and make report to the Inner Palace, when We will mark on it the year and month, and communicate it to the Ministers. In case there is any neglect to decide it, or if there are malpractices on the part of intriguing persons, let the complainant strike the bell. This is why the bell is hung and box provided in the Court. Let the people of the Empire know and appreciate Our intention.

Moreover the law of men and women shall be that the children born of a free man and a free woman shall belong to the father: if a free man takes to wife a slave woman, her children shall belong to the mother: if a free woman marries a slave man, the children of the marriage shall belong to the father; if they are slaves of two houses, the children shall belong to the mother. The children of temple serfs shall follow the rule for freemen. But in regard to others who become slaves, they shall be treated according to the rule for slaves. Do ye now publish this well to the people as a beginning of regulations."[2]

8th day. A messenger was sent to the Great Temple[3] to
XXV. 10. summon together the Buddhist priests and nuns, and to address them on the part of the Emperor, saying :—" In the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor[4] who ruled the world in the Palace of Shikishima, King Myöng of Pèkché reverently transmitted the Law of Buddha to our great Yamato. At this time the Ministers in a body were opposed to its transmission. Only Soga no Iname no Sukune believed in this Law, and the Emperor accordingly instructed him to receive it with reverence. In the reign of the Emperor who ruled the world in the Palace

[1] The senior member of his family.

[2] The first example of what we should call legislation. Compare the so-called laws of Shōtoku Daishi above, A.D. 604.

[3] Kudara Temple

[4] Kimmei Tennō.

of Wosada,[1] Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, influenced by reverence for his deceased father, continued to prize highly the doctrines of Buddha.[2] But the other Ministers had no faith in it, and its institutes had almost perished when the Emperor instructed Mŭmako no Sukune reverently to receive this Law. In the reign of the Empress who ruled the world in the Palace of Woharida,[3] Mŭmako no Sukune, on behalf of the Empress, made an embroidered figure of Buddha sixteen feet high and a copper image of Buddha sixteen feet high. He exalted the doctrine of Buddha and showed honour to its priests and nuns. It is Our desire anew to exalt the pure doctrine and brilliantly to promulgate great principles. We therefore appoint as professors the following ten persons:—The S'ramana, Pok-nyang, Hyé-un, Syang-an, Nyong-un, and Hyé-chi, Taihōshi[4] of Koma, and Sōbin, Dōto, Yerin, Yemyō and Yeon, chief priests of temples.[5] We separately appoint the Hōshi, Yemyō, XXV. 11.
chief priest of the Temple of Kudara.

Let these ten professors well instruct the priests in general in the practice of the teachings of Shaka. It is needful that they be made to comply with the Law. If there is a difficulty about repairing Temples built by any from the Emperor down to the Tomo no Miyakko, We will in all cases assist in doing so. We shall also cause Temple Commissioners and Chief Priests to be appointed, who shall make a circuit to all the temples, and having ascertained the actual facts respecting the priests and nuns, their male and female slaves, and the acreage of their cultivated lands, report all the particulars clearly to us."

Accordingly Kume no Omi, Miwa no Shikobu no Kimi, and Ohi, Nukadabe no Muraji, were appointed Hōtō.[6]

9th month, 1st day. Officials were sent on a mission to all the provinces to regulate the matter of weapons.

One book says:—"From the 6th to the 9th month

[1] Bindatsu Tennō.

[2] Nō-jin, 能仁, "he who can produce benevolence," i.e. Sakyamuni.

[3] Suiko Tennō.

[4] A rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[5] I give the last five names the Japanese pronunciation. But some of them may have been Coreans. Some editions make "chief priests of temples" part of the original commentary.

[6] i.e. Heads of the Law. See above, XXII 38.

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whom they compel to labour at their arbitrary pleasure. Moreover they cut off the hills and seas, the woods and plains, the ponds and rice-fields belonging to the provinces and districts, and appropriate them to themselves. Their contests are never-ceasing. Some engross to themselves many tens of thousands of shiro[1] of rice-land, while others possess in all patches of ground too small to stick a needle into. When the time comes for the payment of taxes, the Omi, the Muraji, XXV.13. and the Tomo no Miyakko, first collect them for themselves and then hand over a share. In the case of repairs to palaces or the construction of misasagi, they each bring their own vassals, and do the work according to circumstances. The Book of Changes says:—"Diminish that which is above: increase that which is below: if measures are framed according to the regulations, the resources (of the State) suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt."[2]

"At the present time, the people are still few. And yet the powerful cut off portions of land and water,[3] and converting them into private ground, sell it to the people, demanding the price yearly. From this time forward the sale[4] of land is not allowed. Let no man without due authority make himself a landlord, engrossing to himself that which belongs to the helpless."

The people were greatly rejoiced.

Winter, 12th month, 9th day. The Emperor removed the capital to Toyosaki in Nagara at Naniha. Old people, remarking upon this to one another, said:—"The movement of rats towards Naniha from spring until summer was an omen of the removal of the capital."[5]

24th day. It was reported from the land of Koshi:—"Driftwood of the sea shore passed away towards the east, leaving an impression on the sand like a ploughed rice-field in appearance."

This year was the year Kinoto Mi (42nd) of the Cycle.

[1] A land measure of 15·13 acres.

[2] *Vide* Legge's "Yih-King," pp. 247 and 262.

[3] i.e. rice ground and other cultivated land.

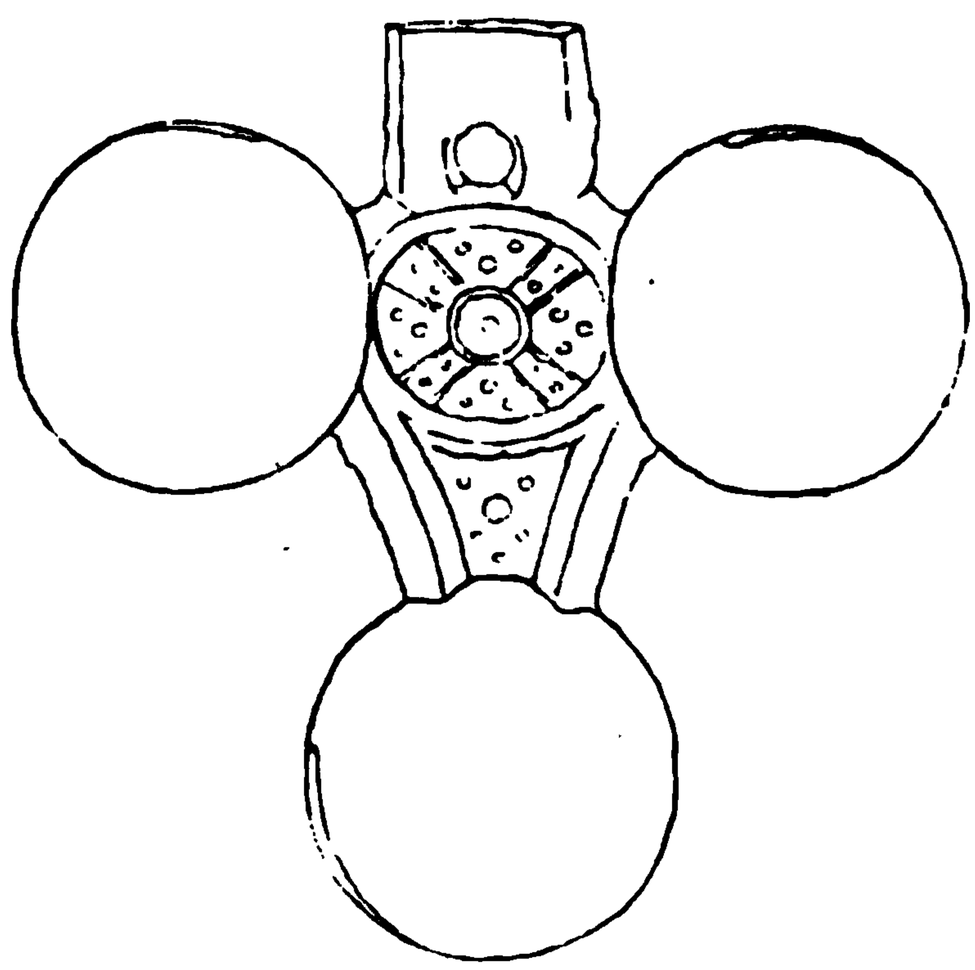
[4] By sale is evidently meant letting. An early example of a "Land Act.

[5] A similar story is related in Chinese History (in the Wei dynasty) of rats indicating a change of capital by their movements.

A.D. 646. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. As soon as the ceremonies of the new year's congratulations were over, the Emperor promulgated an edict of reforms, as follows:—

"I. Let the people established by the ancient Emperors, etc., as representatives of children be abolished, also the Miyake of
XXV. 14. various places and the people owned as serfs by the Wake,[1] the Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, the Kuni no Miyakko and the Mura no Obito.[2] Let the farmsteads[3] in various places be abolished." Consequently fiefs were granted for their sustenance[4] to those of the rank of Daibu and upwards on a descending scale.[5] Presents of cloth and silk stuffs were given to the officials and people, varying in value.

"Further We say. It is the business of the Daibu to govern the people. If they discharge this duty thoroughly, the people have trust in them, and an increase of their revenue is therefore for the good of the people.



Bell-token.

II. The capital is for the first time to be regulated, and Governors appointed for the Home provinces and districts. Let barriers, outposts, guards, and post-horses, both special and ordinary, be provided, bell-tokens[6] made, and mountains and rivers regulated.[7]

[1] See above, Vol. I p 192. [2] Chief men of villages.
[3] Of serfs. [4] Instead of the serfs taken from them.
[5] The "Roku-rei" gives a scale of sustenance-fiefs at a later period. A Prime Minister had 3000 houses, a Junior Prime Minister 2000, a Dainagon 800, etc., etc. These fiefs were hereditary.

[6] I was at first disposed to regard the bells and tokens as different objects, but now agree with Dr. Florenz that they are the same. They were small globular bells, sometimes single, sometimes in groups as in the illustration, and indicated by their shape and number how many horses the bearer was entitled to. This institution was borrowed from China.

[7] By the regulation of mountains and rivers is meant the provision of guards at ferries and mountain passes which serve as boundaries between different provinces.

For each ward in the capital let there be appointed one alderman,[1] and for four wards one chief alderman,[2] who shall XXV. 15. be charged with the superintendence of the population, and the examination of criminal matters. For appointment as chief aldermen of wards let men be taken belonging to the wards, of unblemished character, firm and upright, so that they may fitly sustain the duties of the time. For appointments as aldermen, whether of rural townships or of city wards, let ordinary subjects be taken belonging to the township or ward, of good character and solid capacity. If such men are not to be found in the township or ward in question, it is permitted to select and employ men of the adjoining township or ward.

The Home provinces shall include the region from the River Yokogaha at Nabari[3] on the east, from Mount Senoyama in Kii on the south, from Kushibuchi in Akashi on the west, and from Mount Afusaka-yama in Sasanami in Afumi on the north. Districts of forty townships[4] are constituted Greater Districts, of from thirty to four townships are constituted Middle Districts, and of three or fewer townships are constituted Lesser Districts. For the district authorities, of whatever class, let there be XXV. 16. taken Kuni no Miyakko of unblemished character, such as may fitly sustain the duties of the time, and made Tairei and Shōrei.[5] Let men of solid capacity and intelligence who are skilled in writing and arithmetic be appointed assistants and clerks.

The number of special or ordinary post-horses given shall in all cases follow the number of marks on the posting bell-tokens. When bell-tokens are given to (officials of) the provinces and barriers, let them be held in both cases by the chief official, or in his absence by the assistant official.

III. Let there now be provided for the first time registers of

[1] The interlinear gloss is *wosa*, or chief.

[2] The interlinear gloss is *unagashi*, one who demands.

[3] In Iga.

[4] 里 A ri or sato consisted of 50 houses.

[5] Greater and Lesser Governors. These terms are rendered Kōri no Miyakko and Suke no Miyakko in the interlinear glosses. But I have little doubt that the Chinese words are intended, and that these are mere translations, and not the real titles of these officials.

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the rate is four rods of the same dimensions as the fine and coarse silk, i.e. one tan [1] for each chō. [No rates of weight are anywhere given for silk or floss silk.] Let there be levied separately a commuted house tax.[2] All houses shall pay each one rod and two feet of cloth. The extra articles of this tax, as well as salt and offerings,[3] will depend on what is produced in the locality. For horses for the public service, let every hundred houses contribute one horse of medium quality. Or if the horse is of superior quality, let one be contributed by every two hundred houses. If the horses have to be purchased, the price shall be made up by a payment from each house of one rod and two feet of cloth. As to weapons, each person shall contribute a sword, armour, bow and arrows, a flag, and a drum. For coolies, the old system, by which one coolie was provided by every thirty houses, is altered, and one coolie is to be furnished from every fifty houses [one is for employment as a menial servant] for allotment to the various functionaries. Fifty houses shall be allotted to provide rations for one coolie, and one house shall contribute two rods and two feet of cloth and five masu [4] of rice in lieu of service.

For waiting-women in the Palace,[5] let there be furnished the sisters or daughters of district officials of the rank of Shōrei or upwards—good-looking women [with one male and two female servants to attend on them], and let 100 houses be allotted to provide rations for one waiting-woman. The cloth and rice supplied in lieu of service shall, in every case, follow the same rule as for coolies."[6] XXV. 20.

In this month the Emperor occupied the separate Palace of Koshiro. He sent messengers to command the provinces and districts to repair the arsenals. Yemishi came and did homage.

One book says:—"The Miyake of Koshiro, in the village

[1] There are two tan to the hiki or piece, which now measures about 21½ yards.

[2] The Chinese is 調, rendered in Japanese by mitsugi, or tribute. Here it seems to exclude the rice-tax, but to include various miscellaneous taxes.

[3] Or "salted articles of food for the Emperor's table."

[4] Or shō = 109 cubic inches.

[5] Uneme.

[6] For an account of the modern system of taxation in Japan the reader is referred to a paper in the "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XX., Supplement, p. 121.

of Sayabe, at Naniha, was pulled down, and a temporary Palace erected."

2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Eastern Gate of the Palace, where, by Soga, Oho-omi of the Right,[1] he decreed as follows:—

"The God Incarnate, the Emperor Yamato-neko,[2] who rules the world, gives command to the Ministers assembled in his presence, to the Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko, and subjects of various classes, saying:—

'We are informed that wise rulers of the people hung a bell at their gate, and so took cognizance of the complaints of their subjects; they erected buildings in the thoroughfares, where they listened to the censures of the passers-by. Even the opinions of the grass and firewood gatherers[3] they inquired personally and used for their guidance. We therefore, on a former occasion, made an edict, saying:—"In ancient times the Empire was ruled by having at the Court flags of honour for the encouragement of good, and a board of censure, the object being to diffuse principles of Government and to invite remonstrances." All this served widely to ascertain the opinions
XXV. 21. of those below. Kwan-Tsze[4] said:—"The Emperor Hwang, by establishing the Conferences of the Bright Hall,[5] observed the opinions of the wise on the upper hand, while the Emperor Yao, having the inquiries of the street-houses, listened to the people on the lower hand. Shun again had flags to proclaim merit and thus secure publicity; and Yu set up a drum at his

[1] Or we should perhaps construe Udaijin.

[2] This title is found in the Japanese names of the ancient Emperors Kōrei and his two successors. It also occurs in the Japanese names of the Empresses Gemmei and Genshō in the early part of the eighth century. Here Yamato-neko is used by the Emperor himself, although it was no part of his name. It would appear therefore that it had become, to some extent, a common name, like Pharaoh or Cæsar.

[3] *Vide* Legge's "Shiking," p. 501. The ancients had a saying, "Consult the grass and firewood gatherers." This is the equivalent of our "Man in the street."

[4] One of the most renowned statesmen of Chinese antiquity. Died B.C. 645. *Vide* Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 91. The quotation is by no means accurate.

[5] As this is purely legendary, it is useless to inquire the nature of the institution in question. The term Bright Hall, or Meidō, is now applied to the Imperial University in Japan.

Court, thus providing for the investigation into expectations. T'ang[1] had the Court of the general control of Districts, whereby he observed the faults of the people. King Wu[2] had the park of the Spirit terrace, and therefore the wise had advancement. Thus the sage Emperor and Illustrious Sovereigns of antiquity possessed and did not lose; they gained and did not destroy."

The object of hanging up a bell, of providing a box, and of appointing a man to receive petitions, is to make those who have grievances or remonstrances deposit their petitions in the box. The receivers of petitions are commanded to make their report to Us every morning. When We receive this report We shall draw the attention of the Ministers to it, and cause them to consider it, and We trust that this may be done without delay. But if there should be neglect on the part of the Ministers, and a want of diligence or partizan intrigues, and if We, moreover, should refuse to listen to remonstrance, let the complainant strike the bell. There has been already an Imperial command to this effect. But some time afterwards there was a man of intelligence and uprightness who, cherishing in his heart the spirit of a national patriot, addressed Us a memorial of earnest remonstrance, which he placed in the box prepared for the purpose. We therefore now publish it to the black-haired people here assembled. This memorial runs as follows:—"Those subjects who come to the capital in connection with the discharge of their duty to the Government of the Country, are detained by the various public functionaries and put to forced labour of various kinds, etc., etc." We are still moved with strong sympathy by this. How could the people expect that things would come to this? Now no long time has elapsed since the capital was removed, so that so far from being at home, we are, as it were, strangers. It is therefore impossible to avoid employing the people, and they have therefore been, against Our will, compelled to labour. As often as Our minds dwell on this We have never been able to sleep in peace. When We saw this memorial we could not refrain from a joyous exclamation. We have accordingly complied with the language

[1] Founder of the Shang Dynasty in China, B.C. 1766.

[2] The founder of the Chow Dynasty, B.C. 1169-1116. *Vide* Mayers "Handbook," p. 264.

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himself, and then correct others. If he do not correct himself, how shall he be able to correct others?[1] He therefore who does not correct himself, be he Lord or be he Minister, will meet with calamity. Should one not be watchful? If ye, the leaders, are upright, who shall presume to be otherwise? Do ye now be guided by Our former commands in dispensing your judgments."

19th day. The Emperor made a decree to the Chōshūshi[2] of the Eastern provinces, saying:—

"Hear this, all ye Ministers and Daibu assembled in Our presence, as well as ye Kuni no Miyakko and Tomo no Miyakko, together with the subjects of all classes! In the 8th month of last year, We in person admonished you, saying:—'Do not use your official authority to appropriate public or private property: you should consume food of your own domain, and ride horses of your own domain. Those who disregard this admonition, if of the rank of Assistant Governor or higher, shall be degraded in official rank, if of the rank of Clerk or lower, shall be sentenced to flogging. Those who convert property to their own use shall be mulcted in double its value.' Such was the edict which We issued. Now, when We inquired from the Chōshūshi and the Miyakko of the various provinces whether the local Governors, when they proceeded to their posts, attended to this admonition or not, the Chōshūshi and the others informed Us fully of the facts, to wit:—The offence of Kuhi, Hodzumi no Omi, consists in having made exactions from each family among the people, and though he repented and gave back the things, not doing so completely. His two assistants, Fuse no Omi and Shidamu, Kose no Omi, have offended by not correcting the error of their chief, etc., etc. The inferior officials have all been guilty of offences. The offence of Kose no Tokune no Omi consists in having made exactions from each family among the people, and though he repented and returned the things, not doing so completely. He has moreover taken away the horses of the agricultural

[1] See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. I. p. 221.

[2] The institutes of the T'hang dynasty define Chōshūshi (court-assemble-messenger) as persons sent to the capital bearing tribute from the provinces. Here they seem to have been officials who reported on the conduct of the local officials.

serfs. His two assistants, Yenowi no Muraji and Oshizaka no Muraji, did not correct the faults of their chief, but on the contrary joined with him in prosecuting their own advantage. They have moreover taken away horses belonging to the Kuni no Miyakko Sumi, Utena no Atahe, although at first he remonstrated with his chief, yet at last became corrupt along with him. The inferior officials are all guilty of offences. The offence of Ki no Marikida no Omi consists in having sent men to Asakura no Kimi and Winouhe[1] no Kimi to fetch their horses for him to look at. Further, he made Asakura no Kimi manufacture swords. Further, he got from Asakura no Kimi his bow-cloth.[2] Further, he did not honestly return to their owners the articles sent by the Kuni no Miyakko in lieu of weapons, but delivered them to the Kuni no Miyakko in an irregular manner.[3] Further, in the province committed to his charge, he allowed himself to be robbed of a sword. Further, in
XXV. 25. the province of Yamato he allowed himself to be robbed of a sword. These are the offences of Ki no Omi and of his assistants, Oho-guchi, Miwa no Kimi, and Momoyori, Kahabe no Omi. Their subordinate officials, Shihatsu, Kahabe no Omi, Tajihi no Fukame, Mozu no Nagaye, Katsuraki no Saigusa, Naniha no Kuhikame, Inukahi no Isogimi, Maro, Iki no Fubito, Tajihi no Inume[4]—these eight persons, all are guilty of offences. The offence of Adzumi no Muraji consists in this—that when Wadoku no Fubito was ill, he caused the Kuni no Miyakko to send (him?) government property. Further, he took horses belonging to the Yube.[5] The offence of his assistant Momoyori,

[1] Now pronounced Inouye.

[2] The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear. Cloth was the money of the period, and perhaps the bow-cloth was by way of commutation for bows to be furnished, or an allowance for making bows. Or it may have been one of the articles referred to in the next clause as deposited with the local authorities as a security for arms lent out.

[3] The "Shukai" editor's rendering is—"reported falsely to the Kuni no Miyakko that they had done so."

[4] It may be observed that the higher ranks of the local authorities seem to have been filled from the old nobility. Most of the subordinates, as appears from this passage, had no titles, only a personal name and a name indicative of the locality of their birth or residence.

[5] The Yube was originally a Be for the purpose of providing hot baths for some Emperor or Prince. This term was also applied to the village where

Kashihade no Omi, consists in his having received and stored in his house articles paid in lieu of hay. Further, he took the horses of the Kuni no Miyakko and exchanged them for others. The two brothers, Ihatsutsu and Yumaro, Kahabeno Omi,[1] have also been guilty of offences. Ohochi no Muraji's offence consists in his having disobeyed Our former decree, which was as follows :—' Let not the local Governors personally judge the plaints of the people in the districts placed under their charge.' He has disobeyed this edict in that he has taken it upon himself personally to judge the plaints of the men of Udo, and the matter of the slaves of Nakatomi no Toko. Nakatomi no Toko is equally guilty with him in this matter. The offence of Kishida no Omi consists in his having had his official sword stolen when he was in the province of Yamato. This showed a want of circumspection. As for Womidori nó Omi and Tamba no Omi, they have been simply incompetent, but not guilty of any offence. The two men, Imbe no Konomi and Mutsuki,[2] Nakatomi no Muraji, have also been guilty of offences. Neither of these two men, viz. Hada no Omi and Taguchi no Omi, have committed any offence. The offence of Heguri no Omi consists in his having neglected to investigate the plaints of the men of Mikuni. Upon a review of these facts we find that all this is owing to the neglect and incompetence of you three, viz. Ki no Mariki no Omi, Kose no Tokune no Omi and Hodzumi no Kuhi no Omi. Is it not painful to Us to think of your disobedience to Our edict ? Now if he who has pastoral care of the people, whether as Lord or Minister, gives a personal example of upright conduct, who shall presume to do otherwise ? But if he, whether Lord or Minister, be not upright in heart, it is fit that he should bear the guilt. What avails it to repent afterwards ? We shall therefore consider the cases of all these local Governors and punish them according to the gravity of their offences.

With regard moreover to the Kuni no Miyakko who have disobeyed Our edict by sending presents to the Governors of their provinces, and, at length joining with them in the

the serfs of the Be lived, and subsequently became a mere proper name. It is not easy to decide in which application it is here used.

[1] Both had the title Kahabe no Omi

[2] This name has the curious signification of 1st month.

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and the government has been reformed.[1] I, therefore, filled with joy and veneration, place it on my head,[2] and prostrating myself, address Your Majesty:—'The Emperor who now rules the Land of the Eight Islands as an Incarnate Deity inquired of thy servant, saying:—"Should the Koshiro no Iribe in the possession of Ministers, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, Kuni no Miyakko, and established in the days of former Emperors, the Mina no Iribe in the private possession of Imperial Princes, and the Mina no Iribe belonging to the Imperial Father[3] Ohoye [Hikobito Ohoye is meant], as well as their Miyake, be allowed to remain the same as in former generations, or not?"[4] Thy servant having received this command with reverence, replies respectfully, saying:—"In Heaven there are not two suns: in a country there are not two rulers. It is therefore the Emperor alone who is supreme over all the Empire, and who has a right to the services of the myriad people. Make a special selection of labourers from the Iribe and from the people granted in fee, and follow the former arrangement.[5] For the rest,[6] it may be feared that they will be put to forced labour on private authority. I therefore offer to the Emperor 524 men of the Iribe, and 181 Miyake."'"

22nd day. The Emperor made a decree, as follows:—"We are informed that a Prince of the Western Land[7] admonished his people, saying:—'Those who made interments in ancient times resorted to a high ground which they formed into a tomb. They did not pile up a mound, nor did they plant XXV. 29.

[1] This is the same term (i-shin) as is used of the revolution of 1868.

[2] This is a figurative expression of his respect for the reformed Government. At this day a Japanese often puts a present to his head in token of thanks.

[3] Father of Jomei Tennō.

[4] Ko-shiro means literally "equivalent of children." The Koshiro no Iribe seem to have been communities of serfs (be) instituted (iri) by persons who had no children, to perpetuate their name. This practice is frequently mentioned above. Mina means august name, and the Mina no Iribe were apparently similar communities instituted to perpetuate an Emperor's (or Empress's) name. *Vide* also Chamberlain's "Kojiki," pp. 186, 197, 268, 269, etc.

[5] See above, XXV. 19.

[6] Others than Iribe and people granted in fee.

[7] i.e. China.

trees.[1] The inner and outer coffin were merely enough to last till the bones decayed, the shroud was merely sufficient to last till the flesh decayed. I shall therefore cultivate[2] the unproductive pieces of land occupied by these tombs, to the end that their place may be forgotten after changing generations. Deposit not in them gold or silver or copper or iron, and let earthenware objects alone represent the clay chariots and straw figures[3] of antiquity. Let the interstices of the coffin be varnished. Let the offerings consist of rice presented three times, and let not pearls or jewels be placed in the mouth of the deceased. Bestow not jewel-shirts or jade armour. All these things are practices of the unenlightened vulgar.' Again it is said:—'Burial is putting away, and proceeds from the desire to prevent the dead from being seen by people.' Of late, the poverty of our people is absolutely owing to the construction of tombs.[4] We now issue regulations making distinction of noble and mean.

XXV. 30.

The inner dimensions of tombs of persons of the rank of Princes and upwards[5] shall be nine feet in length by five in width. Their outer limits shall be nine fathoms square and their height five fathoms.[6] The work shall be completed by 1000 labourers in seven days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for the hangings (of the bier), etc. A hearse may be used.

The inner dimensions of tombs of Superior Ministers[7] shall be similar in length, breadth and height to the above.

[1] The trees planted were evergreens, viz. the fir and cryptomeria, for the same reasons as make the yew to be considered a proper churchyard tree in this country.

"When the ancients buried their dead, they covered the body thickly with pieces of wood, having laid it in the open country. They raised no mound over it, nor planted trees around."—Legge's "Yih-King," p. 308.

[2] The "Shūkai" has 勞 in error for 營. [3] See Vol. I. p. 181.

[4] It must be remembered that some of these were of enormous size. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Things Japanese," 2nd Ed. p. 27. Also above, Vol I. p. 135.

[5] This does not apply to Imperial tombs.

[6] The height is probably measured along the slope, not perpendicularly. The fathom is now of about five feet, but may have been more in those days.

[7] i.e. Oho-omi, says the "Shūkai" editor.

Their outer limits shall be seven fathoms square, and they shall be three fathoms in height.[1] The work shall be completed by 500 labourers in five days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for the hangings of the bier, which shall be borne on men's shoulders.

The inner dimensions of a tomb of a Minister of a lower class shall be in every respect similar in length, breadth, and height to the above. Their outer limits shall be five fathoms square, and they shall be two and a half fathoms in height. The work shall be completed by 250 labourers in three days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for hangings. In other matters the same rule as before is to be followed.

The inner dimensions of the tombs of persons of the rank of Dainin and Shōnin shall be nine feet in length and four feet in height and breadth. The ground shall be made level and no mound raised. The work shall be completed by 100 labourers in one day. XX

In the case of persons from the rank of Dairei to that of Shōchi inclusive, the tombs shall in all respects follow the rule of Dainin, but the work shall be completed by fifty labourers in one day.

Let small stones[2] be used for the tombs of all from the rank of Prince down to that of Shōchi, and let white cloth be used for the hangings.

When ordinary persons die, let them be buried in the ground, and let the hangings be of coarse cloth. Let the interment not be delayed for a single day.

The construction of places of temporary interment is not allowed in any case, from Princes down to common people.

Not only in the Home provinces, but in the provinces generally, let plots of ground be set apart for interments.[3] It

[1] Or 24 feet, says the "Shūkai."

[2] The reference is doubtless to the stones covering the roof of the vault, which were of great size, some which I have seen weighing many tons. A note to the "Shukai" says that stones with monumental inscriptions are meant. But no such stones have been found in connection with the tombs of this period.

[3] There are numerous groups of these tombs still to be seen, more especially in the Home provinces, sometimes thirty or forty together, usually on the lower slopes of the hills

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man after the lapse of ten or twenty years and becomes his spouse, or an unmarried girl is married for the first time. Upon this, people, out of envy of the married pair, have made them perform purgation.[1]

Again, there are cases in which women, who have become men's wives and who, being put away owing to their husbands' dislike of them, have, in their mortification at this injury, compelled themselves to become blemished[2] slaves.

Again, there are cases in which the husband, having frequent occasion to be jealous of his wife's illicit intercourse with others, voluntarily appeals to the authorities to decide the matter. Let such persons not lay their information until they have obtained, let us say, three credible witnesses to join with them in making a declaration. Why should they bring forward ill-considered plaints?

Again, there have been cases of men employed on forced labour in border lands who, when the work was over and they were returning to their village, have fallen suddenly ill and lain down to die by the roadside. Upon this the (inmates of XXV. 33
the) houses by the roadside say:—'Why should people be

[1] Harahi, clearing away, purgation, is properly a religious ceremony. The Oho-harahi, or "Great Purgation," was performed every year by the Nakatomi as a general purification of the sins of the people. The ritual used on this occasion has come down to us, and is perhaps the most interesting of the Norito. When harahi was performed in the case of individual offences the necessary offerings to the Gods were provided by the guilty person (see above, Vol. I. p. 49). From this to a penalty the transition is easy, and has parallels in other countries. In the present passage the harahi was evidently what we should now call a "squeeze." The "Tsūshō" commentator quotes here a statement by one Kurokaha, to the following effect:— "During the first month of the year following the marriage of a newly-united couple, their friends assemble at the house bearing pails of water, with which they souse the husband liberally. This is called harahi." It may not be out of place to point out that marriage is in many uncivilized countries considered as an infringement of the rights of the community which calls for some sort of compensation.

[2] The meaning of this term—rendered kotosaka in the "Original Commentary"—is not very clear. It perhaps applies to persons who were made slaves on account of some offence or vice.

Dr. Florenz and some Japanese scholars whom he consulted take this view of this paragraph. I am not sure, however, that the real meaning is not that the husband, mortified that his wife has left him from dislike, sells her as a slave.

allowed to die on our road?' And they have accordingly detained the companions of the deceased and compelled them to do purgation. For this reason it often happens that even if an elder brother lies down and dies on the road, his younger brother will refuse to take up his body (for burial).

Again, there are cases of peasants being drowned in a river. The bystanders say:—'Why should we be made to have anything to do with drowned men?' They accordingly detain the drowned man's companions and compel them to do purgation. For this reason it often happens that even when an elder brother is drowned in a river his younger brother will not render assistance.

Again, there are cases of people who, when employed on forced labour, cook their rice by the roadside. Upon this the (inmates of the) houses by the roadside say:—'Why should people cook rice at their own pleasure on our road?' and have compelled them to do purgation.

Again, there are cases when people have applied to others for the loan of pots in which to boil their rice, and the pots have knocked against something and have been upset. Upon this the owner of the pot compels purgation to be made.

All such practices are habitual among the unenlightened vulgar. Let them now be discontinued without exception, and not permitted again.

Again, there are cases in which peasants, when they are about to proceed to the capital, apprehensive lest their riding horses should be worn out and unable to go, give two fathoms of cloth[1] and two bundles of hemp to men of the two provinces of Mikaha or Wohari, to hire them to feed their horses. After they have been to the capital and are on their way home, they make them a present of a spade, and then find that the men of Mikaha, etc., have not only failed to feed their horses properly, but have allowed them to die of starvation. In the case of horses of a superior class, they conceive covetous desires, and invent lying tales of their having been stolen, while in the case of mares which become pregnant in their house, they cause purgation to be made, and in the end make a plunder of the beast.

Such things having come to our ears, We therefore now establish the following regulation:—

[1] Cloth was evidently used as money.

Whenever horses are left at livery in any of the provinces along the highway, let the owner take with him the man whom he engages for this purpose, and make a full statement to the village elder, handing over (to the latter) at the same time the articles given as remuneration. It is unnecessary for him to make any further payment when he returns home. If he has XXV. 34. caused the horse to suffer harm, he should get nothing.

If anyone disobeys this edict, a severe penalty shall be imposed.

The dues payable to Market Commissioners,[1] for main roads, and to ferrymen, are abolished and lands are granted instead.

Beginning with the Home provinces, and embracing the provinces in all four quarters, during the agricultural months,[2] let everyone apply himself early to the cultivation of the rice-land. It is not meet at such a time to let them eat dainty food or drink sake. Let faithful messengers be appointed to intimate this to the Home provinces. And let the Kuni no Miyakko of the provinces in every quarter choose good messengers to urge (the peasants to work) in accordance with the edict."

Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. An edict was issued, saying :—

"Going back to the origin of things, we find that it is Heaven and Earth with the male and female principles of nature,[3] which guard the four seasons from mutual confusion. We find, moreover, that it is this Heaven and Earth[4] which produces the ten thousand things. Amongst these ten thousand things Man is the most miraculously gifted. Among the most miraculously gifted beings, the sage takes the position of ruler. Therefore the Sage Rulers, viz. the Emperors, take Heaven as their exemplar in ruling the World, and never for a moment dismiss from their breasts the thought of how men shall gain their fit place.

Now as to the names of the early Princes, the Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no Miyakko have divided their

[1] The "Shoku-in-ryō" says the Market Commissioner shall have superintendence of the currency, commerce, the genuineness of wares, the justness of weights and measures, buying and selling prices, and prohibitions and offences (relating thereto.)

[2] i e. of getting in the crops.

[3] The Yin and Yang of Chinese philosophy. The interlinear gloss has samuku-atataka, i.e. "cold and warm," a most inadequate rendering.

[4] i.e. Nature.

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is a truly fearful state of things. The appellations of sovereigns, like the sun and moon, will float afar: the names of those of the Imperial line[1] will last for ever, like unto Heaven and Earth. Such being our opinion, we announce as follows:—'Do ye all, from those of the Imperial line down to the Ministers, the Daibu, Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko, who do Us service, (in short) all persons of whatever Uji[2] [One book has 'royal subjects of whatever name'], give ear to what We say. With regard to the form of your service, We now abolish the former offices and constitute afresh the hundred bureaus. We shall, moreover, grant grades of rank and confer official dignities.[3]

Let the local Governors who are now being despatched, and also the Kuni no Miyakko of the same provinces, give ear to what we say. In regard to the method of administration notified last year to the Court Assembly,[4] let the previous arrangement be followed, and let the rice-lands which are received and measured be granted equally to the people, without distinction of persons.[5] In granting rice-lands the peasants' houses should adjoin the land. Those whose houses lie near the lands must therefore have the preference. In this sense receive Our injunctions.

In regard to commuted taxes,[6] they should be collected from males (only).

Labourers should be supplied at the rate of one for every fifty houses. The boundaries of the provinces should be XXV. 36.
examined and a description or map prepared, which should be brought here and produced for Our inspection. The names of the provinces and districts will be settled when you come.

With respect to the places where embankments are to be constructed, or canals dug, and the extent of rice-land to be

[1] 祖子, lit. ancestors and children. But I strongly suspect that 祖 is a mistake for 皇 imperial.

[2] House of nobles.

[3] This edict seems intended as a final severance of titles of various kinds from the offices they nominally represent. Official rank (位) and grade of office (官) do not invariably correspond, though they do in a general way. A Daijin, for example, is not necessarily first rank, though he will doubtless hold high rank, second or third at least.

[4] Chōshū. The reference is to the Chōshūshi named above, XXV. 23.

[5] See above, XXV. 17.

[6] Of other things than rice.

brought under cultivation, in the various provinces, uniform provision will be made for causing such work to be executed.'

Give ear to and understand these injunctions."

9th month. The Shōtoko, Kuromaro, Takamuko no Hakase, was sent to Silla to cause them to send a hostage. Ultimately the tribute from Imna was discontinued.

In this month the Emperor occupied the temporary Palace of Kahadzu.[1] [Some books have "detached Palace."]

In this year the rats of the province of Koshi drew together in troops by night and day, and took their departure towards the East.

A.D. 647. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. There was archery at the Court.

On this day Koryō and Silla sent messengers together to offer tribute.

Summer, 4th month, 29th day. An edict was issued as follows:—

"The Empire was entrusted (by the Sun-Goddess to her descendants, with the words) 'My children, in their capacity of Deities, shall rule it.' [The phrase 惟神 means to follow the way of the Gods, or again to possess in oneself the way of the Gods.] For this reason, this country, since Heaven and Earth began, has been a monarchy. From the time that Our Imperial ancestor[2] first ruled the land, there has been great concord[3] in the Empire, and there has never been any
XXV. 37. factiousness. In recent times, however, the names, first of the Gods, and then of the Emperors, have in some cases been separated (from their proper application) and converted into the Uji of Omi or Muraji, or they have been separated and made the qualifications of Miyakko,[4] etc. In consequence of this, the minds of the people of the whole country take a strong partisan bias, and conceiving a deep sense of the me and thee, hold firmly each to their names. Moreover the feeble and incompetent Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no

[1] Probably pronounced Kōdzu and identical with 商津 (Kōdzu), where a palace of the Emperor Nintoku stood at Osaka.

[2] Jimmu Tennō.

[3] *Vide* Legge's "Shooking," p. 337.

[4] The "Shūkai" editor gives as instances that the descendants of the God Oho-kuni-nushi are called Oho-kuni-nushi, of Oho-kume no Mikoto are called Kume no Atahe.

Miyakko make of such names their family names; and so the names of Gods and the names of sovereigns are applied to persons and places in an unauthorized manner, in accordance with the bent of their own feelings. Now, by using the names of Gods and the names of sovereigns as bribes, they draw to themselves the slaves of others, and so bring dishonour upon unspotted names. The consequence is that the minds of the people have become unsettled and the government of the country cannot be carried on. The duty has therefore now devolved on Us in Our capacity as Celestial Divinity, to regulate and settle these things. In order to make them understood, and thereby to order the State and to order the people, We shall issue, one after another, a succession of edicts, one earlier, another later, one to-day and another to-morrow. But the people, who have always trusted in the civilizing influence[1] exercised by the Emperors, and who are used to old customs, will certainly find it hard to wait until these edicts are made. We shall therefore remit to all, from Princes and Ministers down to the common people of all classes, the tax in lieu of service."

In this year Wogohori[2] was pulled down and a Palace built.

The Emperor, having taken up his residence in the Palace of Wogohori, established a Law for Ceremonies, the regulations of which were as follows :—

All persons holding official rank must draw up in lines to right and left outside the south gate at the hour of the Tiger,[3] and wait there until the first appearance of the sun. They shall then enter the Court, and having made their obeisances, shall attend in the Hall. Those who come late will not be permitted to enter and take up their attendance. When the hour of the Horse[4] arrives, they shall retire when they hear the sound of the bell. The officer whose business it is to strike the bell shall wear a red apron. The bell-stand shall be set up in the Middle Court.

[1] The interlinear gloss is mi omofu koto, i.e. "august thoughts," which is ludicrously inadequate. It is as impossible to render such phrases in pure Japanese as it would be in Anglo-Saxon.

[2] The small (government house of a) district. It seems to have become a proper name.

[3] 3 to 5 a.m.

[4] 11 to 1, noon.

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embroidered stuff. The border of the cap and the colour of the clothing was the same as for the Shoku-kwan.

The third was called Shi-kwan.[1] Of this there were two XXV. 39. grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of purple material, with a border of woven stuff. The colour of the clothing was light purple.

The fourth was called Kin-kwan.[2] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Kin-kwan was made of Dai-haku-sen[3] brocade, and had the cap-border of woven stuff: the lesser Kin-kwan was made of Shō-haku-sen brocade, and had the cap-border of Dai-haku-sen brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases true dark red.

The fifth was called Sei-kwan,[4] and was made of blue silk. Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Sei-kwan had a border of Dai-haku-sen brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases deep violet.

The sixth was called Kok-kwan,[5] and was made of black silk. Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Kok-kwan had a border of wheel-pattern brocade. The lesser Kok-kwan had a border of diamond-pattern brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases green.[6]

The seventh was called Kembu[7] [the initial (or lowest) rank. It was also called Risshin].[8] It was made of black silk and had a border of dark violet.

In addition to the above there were Tō-kwan,[9] made of black silk. These caps had varnished gauze stretched behind.

[1] Purple-cap. [2] Brocade-cap.

[3] Nothing more is known of this than that Hakusen seems to have been the name of a place.

[4] Blue cap. Neither the Chinese nor Japanese in ordinary speech or writing think it worth while to distinguish between green and blue. 青, the Chinese character used here stands for both colours, and the corresponding Japanese word *awoki* may be either green or blue. It is also used of a pale complexion, and, strange to say, of a black horse. It does not follow that these nations cannot distinguish between green and blue. I have seen a dyer's sample book which contained numerous shades of both, each with an appropriate name.

[5] Black-cap. [6] Especially grass-green.

[7] Kembu means "to establish valour."

[8] Risshin means advancement.

[9] Stirrup-caps, so called no doubt from their shape. The Japanese name is *tsubo-kammuri*, i.e. jar-caps.

Distinctions of rank were indicated by the border and the hair ornaments.[1] The latter were in shape like a cicada. The hair ornaments of the grades from the Lesser Kin-kwan upwards were of a combination of gold and silver: the hair
XXV. 40. ornaments of the Greater and Lesser Seikwan were made of silver: the hair ornaments of the Greater and Lesser Kok-kwan were made of copper. The Kembu caps had no hair ornaments.

These caps were worn at Grand Assemblies,[2] when foreign guests were entertained, and at the (Buddhist) maigre feasts of the fourth[3] month and seventh month.

Silla sent Kim Chhyun-chhyu, a Superior Minister, of the rank of Greater Ason, and others to accompany the Hakase, Takamuko no Kuromaro, of Shōtoko rank, and Oshikuma, Nakatomi no Muraji, of middle Shōsen rank,[4] and bring a present to the Emperor of a peacock and a parrot. Chhyun-chhyu was made a hostage. He was a handsome man, who talked and smiled agreeably.[5]

The Nutari[6] barrier was constructed, and a barrier-settlement established. Old men talked to one another, saying:—"The migration of the rats towards the East some years ago prefigured the making of this barrier."

A.D. 648. 4th year. Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The ceremony of New Year's congratulations took place.

In the evening the Emperor proceeded to the Palace of Toyosaki in Naniha.

2nd month, 1st day. Student priests were sent to Corea.

8th day. The Oho-omi Abe invited the four classes[7] to the Temple of Shitenōji, where, having brought in four images of Buddha, he had them enshrined within the pagoda. He con-

[1] Uzu.

[2] As at the New Year's receptions, the ceremony of accession, etc.

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Buddha and the festival of All-Souls—now known as bon. *Vide* Eitel's "Handbook"—article Ullambana, also "Things Japanese," pp. 155, 156.

[4] See below, XXV. 41, where, however, no middle Shōsen rank is mentioned, only upper and lower.

[5] He is mentioned in the "Tongkam."

[6] In Echigo, as a defence against the Yemishi or Ainos.

[7] Of Buddhists, viz.: Biku (Bhikchu), Bikuni (Bhikchunī), Uhasoku (Upāsaka) and Ubai (Upāsika). Priests, nuns, and lay members, male and female.

structed a figure of the wondrous Vulture Mountain,[1] which he made by piling up drums on one another. XXV. 41.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The old caps were discontinued. The Oho-omi of the Left and Right, however, continued to wear the old caps.

This year Silla sent envoys bearing tribute.

The barrier of Ihabune[2] was put to rights as a precaution against the Yemishi. Eventually subjects from the provinces of Koshi and Shinano were selected, and a barrier-settlement for the first time established.

5th year. Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The New Year's congratulations took place. A.D. 649.

2nd month. Nineteen cap grades were instituted, as follows:—

First	Dai-shiki	(greater-woven-stuff)
Second	Shō-shiki	(lesser-woven-stuff)
Third	Dai-shū	(greater embroidery)
Fourth	Shō-shū	(lesser do.)
Fifth	Dai-shi	(greater purple)
Sixth	Shō-shi	(lesser do.)
Seventh	Upper Dai-kwa	(greater flower)
Eighth	Lower Dai-kwa	(do.)
Ninth	Upper Shō-kwa	(lesser flower)
Tenth	Lower Shō-kwa	(do.)
Eleventh	Upper Dai-sen[3]	(greater mountain)
Twelfth	Lower Dai-sen	(do.)
Thirteenth	Upper Shō-sen	(lesser mountain)
Fourteenth	Lower Shō-sen	(do.)
Fifteenth	Upper Dai-otsu[4]	
Sixteenth	Lower Dai-otsu	
Seventeenth	Upper Shō-otsu	

[1] Gridhrakūta. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.* [2] In Echigo. [3] Or Daisan.

[4] Otsu (乙) is stated by the Japanese commentators to be put for 鵠, which has the same sound. Dai-otsu would then mean Greater Kingfisher, and Shō-otsu Lesser Kingfisher, and it is true that there was a kingfisher cap in China. But does not rather the following extract from Giles apply?—"The 乙 of the tiger,—i.e. its majesty, which is supposed to be in the shape of this character, and concealed under the skin of its ribs. Anyone who gets it and wears it, as an official will be a terror to evil-doers, while as a private individual he will have no enemies."

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and shall then answer to the charge brought against me." The Emperor again sent Mikuni no Maro no Kimi and Hodzumi, Kurafu no Omi, to investigate the circumstances of the treason. The Oho-omi, Maro, again answered as before. The Emperor was therefore about to raise an armed force and surround therewith the Oho-omi's house, when the Oho-omi, taking with him his two sons, Hōshi[1] and Akagoma [also called Mawosu], fled by way of Chinu towards the boundary of the province of Yamato. Before this, Koshi, the Oho-omi's eldest son, was already staying in Yamato, where he was building the Temple. [This means that he was staying in the Yamada house.] Now being suddenly apprised that his father was coming thither in flight, he went out to meet him at the great Tsuki tree in Imaki. Having approached, he took the lead and entered the Temple. Then he looked back to the Oho-omi and said:—"Koshi desires to advance straight on in person, and oppose the army which is coming." But the Oho-omi would not allow it. That night Koshi conceived the idea of burning the Palace [the Palace of Woharida is meant], and went on assembling troops.

25th day. The Oho-omi addressed his eldest son Koshi, saying:—"Dost thou love thy life?" Koshi answered and said:—"I love it not." The Oho-omi thereupon harangued the priests of the Yamada Temple, his eldest son Koshi and some tens of other persons, saying:—"Shall one who is in the position of vassal contrive treason against his Lord? Shall the duty of a son to a father be brought to nothing? This temple was originally built, not for me personally, but under a vow for the sake of the Emperor. I have now been slandered by Musashi, and I fear that I shall be unjustly put to death. With so near a prospect of the yellow springs,[2] I would withdraw (from life) still cherishing fidelity in my bosom, and the object of my coming to this Temple is that my last moments may be made easier." XXV. 43.

When he had done speaking, he opened the door of the Buddha Hall and uttered a vow, saying:—"In all future births and existences, let me not have resentment against my sovereign!" When he had made this vow, he strangled him-

[1] Hōshi means Buddhist priest.

[2] Hades.

self and died. His wife and children, to the number of eight persons, sacrificed[1] themselves with him.

On this day, Oho-tomo no Koma no Muraji and Soga no Hiuga no Omi were sent as Generals in command of a body of troops to pursue the Oho-omi. General Ohotomo no Muraji and his colleague had gone as far as Kuroyama when Mu, Hashi no Muraji, and Omimaro, Uneme no Omi, came running from the Yamada Temple, and brought information that the Oho-omi Soga, with his three sons and one daughter, had already committed suicide together by strangulation. The Generals therefore returned from Tajihi no Saka.

26th day. The wife, children, and personal attendants of the Oho-omi Yamada, who committed suicide by strangulation, were many. Kurafu, Hodzumi no Omi, arrested in a body the Oho-omi's people, viz. Tsukushi, Taguchi no Omi, and others, placed cangues round their necks, and tied their hands behind their backs. That night, Maro, Ki no Omi, Hiuga, Soga no Omi, and Kurafu, Hodzumi no Omi, having surrounded the Temple
XXV. 44. with an armed force, called Shiho, Mononobe no Futsuta no Miyakko, and ordered him to cut off the Oho-omi's head. Upon this Futsuta no Shiho drew his sword, raised up the body on its point, yelled and reviled, and then cut it off.

30th day. There were executed, as implicated with the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada, Tsukushi, Taguchi no Omi, Miminashi no Dōtoko, Takada no Shikowo,[2] Nukadabe no Yumasu no Muraji, Hada no Adera and others, fourteen persons in all. Nine were strangled,[3] and fifteen banished.

In this month, messengers were sent to take over the property of the Oho-omi, Yamada. Among his property was a beautiful book with the inscription "Book belonging to the Prince Imperial," and a valuable object inscribed "Property of the Prince Imperial." When the messengers returned and reported the circumstances of their having taken over the property, the Prince Imperial recognized for the first time that the heart of the Oho-omi had remained pure and unspotted. He was seized with shame and remorse for the past, and bewailed his fate

[1] 殉死, Junshi.

[2] Ugly-man.

[3] Owing to the objection entertained in China and Japan to the mutilation of the body, hanging or strangulation is reckoned a less severe punishment than decapitation.

incessantly. Hiuga no Omi was accordingly appointed Viceroy of Tsukushi. The people of the time said to one another, "Is not this a disguised banishment?" XXV. 45.

When Soga no Miyakko hime, consort of the Prince Imperial, heard that her father the Oho-omi had been decapitated by Shiho, she took it deeply to heart, and grieved bitterly. She detested hearing Shiho's name mentioned, and so her personal attendants, whenever they had occasion to speak of salt (shiho), altered the word and called it Kitashi.[1] At last Miyakko hime died of a broken heart. When the Prince Imperial heard that she had passed away, he was grieved and deeply shocked, and bewailed her loss exceedingly. Upon this Mitsu, Nunaka Kahara no Fubito, came forward and presented verses of poetry as follows:—

On a mountain-stream
Two mandarin-ducks[2] there be,
Well matched together:—
But the wife who was a like mate for me
Who is it that has taken away?

This was the first verse.

Though on every tree
The flowers are blooming,
How can it be that
My darling wife
Does not blossom again?

This was the second verse.

The Prince Imperial, with a sigh of deep despair, praised the verses, saying:—"How beautiful! how pathetic!" So he gave him his lute[3] and made him sing them. He also presented him with four hiki of silk, twenty tan of cloth, and two bags of floss silk.

Summer, 4th month, 20th day. Kose no Tokodako no Omi, of Shōshi rank, was granted the rank of Daishi, and was made Oho-omi of the Left.[4]

Ohotomo no Nagatoko no Muraji [styled Mŭmakahi] of

[1] Hard or coarse salt.

[2] The emblem of conjugal love in China and Japan, like the turtle dove in Europe.

[3] Koto.

[4] Sadaijin in later parlance.

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deer was seen quietly moving, and eventually a Temple was built on this spot. It was called the Temple of the park of the white deer, and the practice of the Buddhist Law was there permanently established. Again, a white sparrow was seen at the farmstead of a certain Temple. The people of the country all said that it was a good omen. Moreover, Envoys sent to Great Thang[1] brought back a dead crow with three legs.[2] The people of the country again said that this was a good omen. Though these things are trifles, yet they are deemed of favourable omen. Much more is this so in the case of a white pheasant."

The Priest Bin said:—"This is to be deemed a lucky omen, and it may reasonably be accounted a rare object. I have respectfully heard that when a Ruler extends his influence to all four quarters, then will white pheasants be seen. They appear, moreover, when a Ruler's sacrifices are not in mutual disaccord, and when his banquets and costumes are in due measure. Again, when a Ruler is of frugal habits, white pheasants are made to come forth on the hills. Again, they appear when the Ruler is sage and humane. In the time of the Emperor Ch'ēng Wang of the Chou Dynasty, the Yüeh-shang[3] family brought and presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying:—'We were told by the old men of our country:—"What a long time it has been since there have been any exceptional storms or long-continued rains, and that the great rivers and the sea have not surged up over the land! Three years have now elapsed. We think that in the Central Land there is a Sage. Would it not be well to go and pay XXV. 48.
your respects at his Court?" We have therefore come, having tripled our interpreters.' Again, in the first year of Hien-ning[4] in the reign of Wu-ti of the Tsin Dynasty, one was seen in Sung-tsze. This is accordingly a favourable omen. A general amnesty ought to be granted."

Upon this the white pheasant was let loose in the garden.

15th day. The array of guards at Court was like that on

[1] China.

[2] We have obviously here an echo of the Chinese myth of a red three-legged crow which inhabits the sun, and which has all manner of mystical significance.

[3] The name of a region lying to the south of China.

[4] A.D. 275.

the occasion of a New Year's reception. The Oho-omi of the Right and Left and all the functionaries formed four lines outside of the purple gate. Ihimushi, Ahata no Omi, and three others were made to take the pheasant's litter and move off ahead, while the Oho-omi of the Right and Left at the head of all the functionaries and Phung-chyang, Lord of Pèkché, his younger brother Sē-syöng, Chhyung-seung,[1] the physician to the King of Koryö, by name Mo-chhi, the scholar attached to the Court of Silla, and others, advanced into the Central Court. These four men, viz. Maro, Mikuni no Kimi, Takami, Wina no Kimi, Mikaho, Miwa no Kimi, and Maro Kida,[2] Ki no Omi, taking up the pheasant's litter in turn, advanced in front of the
XXV. 49. Hall. Then the Oho-omi of the Right and Left approached and held the litter by the forward end. The Prince of Ise, Maro, Mikuni no Kimi, and Woguso, Kura no Omi, took hold of the hinder end of the litter and placed it before the Imperial throne. The Emperor straightway called the Prince Imperial, and they took it and examined it together. The Prince Imperial having retired, made repeated obeisances, and caused the Oho-omi Kose to offer a congratulatory address, saying:—"The Ministers and functionaries offer their congratulations. Inasmuch as Your Majesty governs the Empire with serene virtue, there is here a white pheasant, produced in the western region. This is a sign that Your Majesty will continue for a thousand autumns and ten thousand years peacefully to govern the Great-eight-islands[3] of the four quarters. It is the prayer of the Ministers, functionaries, and people that they may serve Your Majesty with the utmost zeal and fidelity."

Having finished this congratulatory speech, he made repeated obeisances. The Emperor said:—

"When a sage Ruler appears in the world and rules the Empire, Heaven is responsive to him, and manifests favourable omens. In ancient times, during the reign of Ch'ēng-wang of the Chou Dynasty, a ruler of the Western land,[4] and again in the time of Ming Ti of the Han Dynasty, white pheasants were

[1] Phung-chyang's uncle.

[2] So the "Shūkai" edition. But it has been conjectured with some probability that Kida is really the name of the Silla scholar just mentioned, which has come in here by mistake.

[3] Oho-ya-shima. See Vol. I. p. 15.

[4] China.

seen. In this our Land of Japan,[1] during the reign of the Emperor Homuda,[2] a white crow made its nest in the Palace. In the time of the Emperor Oho-sazaki,[3] a Dragon-horse appeared in the West.[4] This shows that from ancient times until now, there have been many cases of auspicious omens appearing in response to virtuous rulers. What we call phœnixes, unicorns,[5] white pheasants, white crows, and such XXV. 50.
like birds and beasts, even including herbs and trees, in short all things having the property of significant response, are favourable omens and auspicious signs produced by Heaven and Earth. Now that wise and enlightened sovereigns should obtain such auspicious omens is meet and proper. But why should We, who are so empty and shallow, have this good fortune? It is no doubt wholly due to our Assistants, the Ministers, Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no Miyakko, each of whom, with the utmost loyalty, conforms to the regulations that are made. For this reason, let all, from the Ministers down to the functionaries, with pure hearts reverence the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and one and all accepting the glad omen, make the Empire to flourish."

Again he commanded, saying:—

"The provinces and districts in the four quarters having been placed in our charge by Heaven, We exercise supreme rule over the Empire. Now in the province of Anato, ruled over by Our divine ancestors, this auspicious omen has appeared. For this reason We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire, and begin a new year-period, to be called Haku-chi.[6] Moreover we prohibit the flying of falcons within the limits of the province of Anato."

Presents were made to the Ministers, Daibu and officials of lower rank down to the clerks, varying in value according to their rank. Hereupon the local Governor, Shikofu, Kusakabe

[1] The characters are 日本, but whether the Emperor actually said *Nippon* or *Yamato* is not quite clear. The interlinear gloss has *Mikado*, which is absurd.

[2] Ōjin Tennō. [3] Nintoku Tennō.

[4] The dragon-horse has wings on its head. It crosses water without sinking. It appears when an illustrious sovereign is on the throne.

[5] Kirin. [6] White pheasant.

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That night over 2700 lights were lit in the courtyard of the Palace, and there were caused to be read the Antaku and Dosoku[1] Sutras, etc. Upon this, the Emperor removed his residence from Oho-gohori to the new Palace. It received the name of the Palace of Naniha no Nagara no Toyosaki. XXV. 52.

This year the Silla tribute-envoys, Chi-man, of Sa-son rank, and his companions anchored at Tsukushi, wearing garments of the Thang country. The Government, disgusted at this wanton change of habit, reproved them and drove them back again. At this time Kose no Oho-omi addressed the Emperor, saying :—"If we do not give a blow to Silla at this present time, we shall certainly have to regret it afterwards. Now as to the manner of giving a blow to Silla, we can do so without raising a sword.[2] From the port of Naniha as far as Tsukushi let the surface of the sea be covered with ships, one touching another. Then if Silla be summoned and called to an account for her offences, it will be easy for us to gain our object."

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. When the New Year's ceremonies were over, the Imperial chariot proceeded to the Palace of Oho-gohori. A.D. 652.

From the 1st month to the 2nd month the distribution of rice-lands[3] had been brought to a close. As to the length[4] of the rice-fields, thirty paces made a tan, and ten tan a chō.

The tax-rice was one sheaf and a half per tan, or fifteen sheaves per chō.

3rd month, 9th day. The Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Shamon,[5] Ye-un, was invited to the interior of the Palace and made to explain the

hundreds of volumes, and was no doubt read by the *tendoku* system, i.e. by reading a few words at the beginning and at the end of each volume, turning rapidly over the intermediate pages by a single motion of the hand.

[1] These are not known as Sutras. Probably they were litanies used as suitable for the occasion of taking up a residence in the new Palace. An-taku means "peaceful-house," and Do-soku "earth-side," or perhaps "earth-survey."

[2] The older reading is "without an effort." I follow the "Shūkai" editor's emendation of 刀 for 力.

[3] See above, XXV. 17.

[4] The breadth is not stated here. From other evidence it appears to have been twelve paces.

[5] Sanskrit S'ramana, Buddhist priests or ascetics. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

Muryōjiu[1] Sutra, the Shamon Ye-ji was made lecturer and 1000 Shamon were constituted the audience.

20th day. The explanations (of the Sutras) was discontinued. From this day forward rain began to fall continually, lasting for nine days. It demolished buildings, and destroyed the young rice-plants in the fields. Many men, horses and oxen were drowned.

XXV. 53. In this month the registers of population were prepared. Fifty houses were made a township, and for each township there was appointed an elder. The senior member of the family[2] was always made the head of the household. The houses were all associated in groups of five for mutual protection, with one elder to supervise them one with another.

Silla and Pèkché sent Envoys to bring tribute and offer presents.

Autumn, 9th month. The building of the Palace was completed. It is impossible adequately to describe the appearance of the Palace Halls.

Winter, 12th month, last day. The priests and nuns of the Empire were invited to the interior of the Palace and entertained with meagre fare. Plentiful alms were given, and lights kindled.

A.D. 653. 4th year, Summer, 5th month, 12th day. There were sent to Great Thang, as Chief Ambassador, Kishi no Nagani, of Upper Shōsen rank, as Associate Ambassador, Kishi no Koma [also called Ito] of Upper Shō-otsu rank, as Student Priests, Dōgen, Dōtsū, Dōkwō, Yese, Gakushō, Benshō, Yeshō, Sōnin,
XXV. 54. Chisō, Dōshō, Jōye[3] Jōye was the eldest son of the Oho-omi of the Middle[4], Adachi Adachi was the son of Nakatomi no

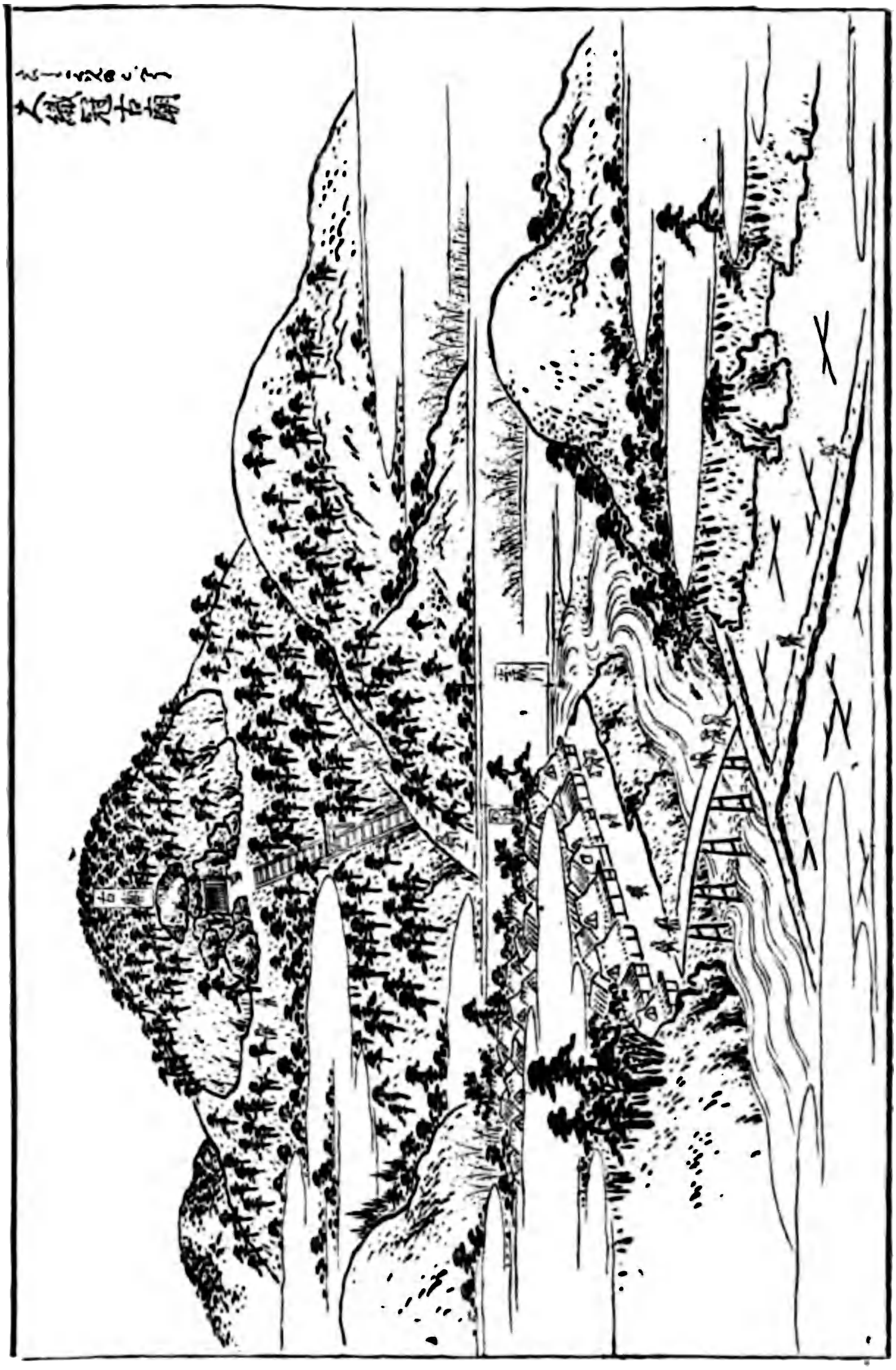
[1] i.e. immortal life, called in Sanskrit the Sukhâvatî Vyûha Sutra.

[2] i.e. the eldest son or heir, to the exclusion of uncles, say the commentators. This would be primogeniture. This principle had not yet become established for the succession to the throne.

[3] There is a biography of Jōye extant He remained for many years studying in China. On his return to Japan he had the body of his father removed from the old-fashioned dolmen-tomb in which he had been interred, and buried under a miniature pagoda of stone. This marks the decline of the old style of interment. The original tomb is still in existence. It is shown in the annexed illustration, which is reproduced with the kind permission of the editor of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," where it appeared, July, 1892.

[4] Naidaijin.

Kome no Muraji] and Dōkwan [Dōkwan was the son of



Tomb of the Minister of State, Kamatari.

Kudara, Kasuga no Ahata no Omi] as students,[1] Kusuri, Kose

[1] i.e. students of Chinese literature.

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floated ashore on the island of Takashima. They knew not what to do, until one of the five, named Kadobe no Kogane, gathered bamboos[1] and made of them a raft, with which they anchored at the island of Shitoji-shima. These five men passed six days and six nights without any food whatever. Thereupon Kogane was complimented (by the Emperor), advanced in rank, and presents given him.

This year the Prince Imperial petitioned the Emperor, saying:—"I wish the Imperial residence were removed to the Yamato capital." The Emperor refused to grant his request. Upon this the Prince Imperial took with him the Empress Dowager, the Empress Hashibito, and the younger Imperial Princes, and went to live in the temporary Palace of Asuka no Kahabe in Yamato. At this time the Ministers and Daibu, with the various functionaries, all followed and changed their residence. The Emperor resented this, and wished to cast away the national Dignity. He had a palace built in Yamazaki and sent a song to the Empress Hashibito, saying:—

The pony which I keep,
I put shackles on
And led it not out:
Can anyone have seen
The pony which I keep?

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. In the night the rats migrated towards the Yamato capital.

Nakatomi no Kamatari no Muraji was granted the Shikwan,[2] and his fief increased by a number of houses.

2nd month. The Controlling Envoys sent to Great Thang, namely, Kuromaro Takamuku no Obito, of Upper Daikin rank [one book says:—"Summer, 5th month. There were sent to Great Thang the Controlling Envoy Takamuku no Kuromaro, of Lower Daikwa rank"], the Chief Ambassador Maro, Kahabe no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, the Associate Ambassador Kusushi[3] Yenichi, of Lower Daisen rank, the two Hangwan, Maro Fumi no Atahe, of Upper Daiotsu rank, and Miyaji no Amida [one book says:—"The Hangwan, Maro, Fumi no Atahe, of Lower Shōsen rank"], Yoroshi, Oka no Kimi, of Upper

[1] Takashima means "bamboo island."

[2] Or purple cap.

[3] Doctor.

XXV. 57. Shō-otsu rank, Daihaku, Okizome no Muraji, Oyu, Nakatomi no Hashibito no Muraji, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, Tori, Tabe no Fubito, and others. They embarked separately on two ships. Having delayed for several months, they proceeded by way of Silla, and anchored at Laichou.[1] At last they reached the capital, where they had an audience of the Emperor. Thereupon Kuo Wēn-chü, superintendent of the guards of the Prince Imperial's Palace, inquired particularly of them regarding the geography of the Land of Japan, and the names of the Gods of the beginning of the country. To all which inquiries suitable answers were given.

The Controlling Envoy Takamuku no Kuromaro died in Great Thang.

Yuki no Hakatoko says:—"The student-priest Yemyō died in Thang; Chisō died at sea; Chikoku died at sea; Chisō[2] returned in a Silla ship in the year Kanoye Tora[3]; Gakushō died in Thang; Gitsū died at sea; Jōye returned in the year Kinoto Ushi[4] in the ship of Liu Teh-kao[5]; Myōi, Hōshō and the students Okina, Hi no Muraji and Kō Wō-gon,[6] twelve persons in all, with Kan Chikō and Cho Gempō, of foreign Japanese birth, came back this year along with the envoys."

Summer, 4th month. Two men and two women of the Land of Tukhāra[7] and one woman of S'râvastî[8] were driven by a storm to Hiuga.

Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. Kishi no Nagani and his colleagues, who had gone as Envoys to the Western Sea,[9]

[1] In Shantung.

[2] Spelt with a different Chinese character to the other.

[3] A.D. 690. [4] A.D. 665. [5] Presumably a Chinese.

[6] A Japanese who had taken a Chinese name.

[7] The region round Badakshan in India. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce*.

[8] An ancient city of India situated near Sirkhee or Fuzabad. *Vide* Eitel. It is absurd to speak of natives of India being cast ashore in Hiuga. It is plain from a comparison of the passage in Book XXVI. 4, in which these persons are again referred to, that the place here called Tukhāra is really the island of Tokara, one of the Loochoo group. The writer of the "Nihongi," however, shows by the characters with which he writes the name, and by his poetic license of associating S'râvastî with it, that he was thinking of the Indian locality. The native commentators follow him in this.

[9] China.

anchored in Tsukushi with Escorting Envoys from Silla and Pèkché. This month the Emperor commended the Envoys to the Western Sea for having had a personal audience of the Emperor of the Thang country, and for having obtained numerous books and precious objects. He bestowed on the Chief Ambassador Kishi no Nagani, of Upper Shōsen rank, the lower grade of Shōkwa rank, and granted him a fief of 200 houses with the name of the Kure House. On the Associate Ambassador, Kishi no Koma, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, there was bestowed the upper grade of the Shōsen rank. XXV. 58.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, being informed that the Emperor had taken ill, proceeded to the Naniha Palace with the Empress Dowager, the Empress Hashibito, and also accompanied by the younger Imperial Princes and the Ministers.

10th day. The Emperor died in the State Bedchamber. He was temporarily interred in the southern courtyard. Dōtoko, Mozu no Hashi no Muraji, of Upper Shōsen rank, superintended the business of the Palace of Temporary Interment.

12th month, 8th day. He was buried in the misasagi of Shinaga at Ohosaka.[1]

On this day, the Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Empress Dowager, changed his residence to the Temporary Palace of Kahabe in Yamato. Old people said:—"The migration of the rats to the Yamato capital was an omen of the transference of the capital thither."

In this year, Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent ambassadors of condolence.

[1] In the province of Kahachi.

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BOOK XXVI.

THE EMPRESS AME-TOYO-TAKARA IKASHI-HI TARASHI-HIME.

(*SAIMEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime first married the Emperor Tachibana no toyohi's[2] grandson, Prince Takamuku, and bore to him the Imperial Prince Aya. She was afterwards married to the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[3] to whom she bore two sons and one daughter. In his second year she was raised to the rank of Empress-consort, as may be seen in the history of the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka. In the thirteenth year of his reign, Winter, the tenth month, the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka died. In the first month of the following year the Empress assumed the Imperial Dignity. In the sixth month of the fourth year of the new reign, she resigned the Dignity to the Emperor Ame-yorodzu-toyo-hi, and was entitled Empress Dowager. The Emperor Ame-yorodzu-toyohi died in the tenth month of the later fifth year.[4]

A.D. 655. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Empress Dowager assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Asuka-no Itabuki.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. In the midst of the Void[5] there was seen one riding on a dragon, who resembled a man

[1] Uniform-bright. The Empress Kōgyoku restored.
[2] Yōmei Tennō. [3] Jomei Tennō.
[4] i.e. the later of the two year-periods of his reign, viz. Hakuchi.
[5] Sora. To be distinguished from Ten, heaven or firmament.

of Thang in appearance. He had on a broad hat of green oiled stuff. He rode fast from the peak of Katsuraki and disappeared on Mount Ikoma. When it became noon, he galloped off over the firs of Sumiyoshi in a westerly direction. XXVI. 2.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. There were entertained at the Court of Naniha of the Northern Yemishi ninety-nine persons, and of the Eastern Yemishi ninety-five persons. At the same time entertainment was provided for 150 persons who came as tribute envoys from Pèkché. Caps of honour, of two grades in each case, were bestowed on nine Yemishi of Kikafu [1] and on six Yemishi of Tsugaru.[2]

8th month, 1st day. Maro, Kahabe no Omi, and others returned from Great Thang.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. There was a Palace in course of construction at Woharida which it was intended to roof with tiles. But in the recesses of the mountains and on the broad valleys, much of the timber with which it was proposed to erect the Palace buildings rotted. In the end the work was put a stop to, and no building was erected.[3]

This winter the Palace of Asuka no Itabuki [4] was burnt, and the Empress therefore removed her residence to the Palace of Asuka no Kahara.[5]

This year Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys together to offer tribute.

The Pèkché Chief Ambassador was Talsol of the Western division, by name Yö-wi-syu; the Associate Ambassador was an Eunsol of the Eastern division, by name Tyo-sin-in. There were over one hundred persons altogether.

Yemishi and Hayato,[6] attended by a large number of followers, offered homage and came to Court with presents for the Empress.

[1] In Mutsu. [2] In Mutsu.

[3] This shows that roofing with tiles was considered an innovation. To this day the shrines of Ise have not tiled roofs.

[4] Ita-buki means shingle-roofed.

[5] This name is written with characters which mean river-bed. But kahara also means tiles, which in this connection does not seem a mere fortuitous coincidence.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 100.

Silla sent specially Mi-mu of Keup-son[1] rank as a hostage, and twelve men as skilled workmen.

Mi-mu fell ill and died.

This year was the year Kinoto U (52nd) of the Cycle.

A.D. 656. XXVI. 3. 2nd year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Koryö sent Tal-sa and others to offer tribute. [The Chief Ambassador was Talsa, and the Associate Ambassador I-li-chi. There were eighty-one persons in all.]

9th month. There were sent to Koryö, as Chief Ambassador, Hatsumi, Kashihade no Omi, and as Associate Ambassador Ihasuki, Sakahibe no Muraji, as Senior Hangwan, Shiromaro, Inugami no Kimi, as Second Class Hangwan, Kahachi no Fumi no Obito, and as Junior[3] Hangwan, Maro, Ohokura no Kinunuhi no Miyakko.

In this year a fresh site for a Palace was fixed upon at Asuka no Wokamoto.

At this time, Koryö, Pèkché and Silla together sent envoys to offer tribute. Dark purple curtains were drawn round this Palace site for them, and they were entertained there. At last the Palace buildings were erected, and the Empress removed into them. This Palace was called the later Palace of Asuka no Wokamoto.

Tamu Peak was crowned with a circular enclosure. Moreover on the summit of the Peak, close by where two tsuki trees grew, a lofty building was erected to which the name was given of the Palace of Futa-tsuki.[4] It was also called Amatsu[5] miya.

At this time public works were in favour. Navvies[6] were employed to dig a canal from the western end of Mount Kagu yama as far as the Mountain of Iso no kami. Two hundred

[1] Ninth of the seventeen grades. [2] Including artists.

[3] For Junior (少) the interlinear gloss is Sunai. Ohoi and Sunai were respectively the Japanese terms applied to Senior and Junior degrees of rank. Sunai would therefore appear to be abbreviated from sukunaki, which now means few, scanty, but which anciently meant also small, as in the case of the dwarf god Sukuna-bikona. Cf. Corean chak-eun, small. From this it would appear that the colloquial abbreviation of the termination of the adjective had already come into use when these glosses were added—ong after the time of the "Nihongi."

[4] i.e. the two tsuki trees. [5] Palace of Heaven.

Lit. "water workmen," a closely parallel expression to our "navigators" "navvies," whose original business it was to dig canals.

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sage :—" We wish to send to Great Thang under the charge of your country's envoys the Buddhist priest Chitatsu, Mimŭmaya, Hashibito no Muraji, and Wakugo, Yozami no Muraji." Silla refused to grant such escort, and therefore the Buddhist priest Chitatsu and his colleagues returned.

The Ambassadors to the Western Sea, Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shō-kwa rank, and Kutsuma, Tsu no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank, returned from Pèkché. They brought presents for the Empress of one camel and two asses.

The people of Ihami said that a white fox[1] had been seen.

A.D. 658. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Kose no Tokuda no Omi, Oho-omi of the Left, died.

Summer, 4th month. Abe no Omi went on an expedition against the Yemishi in command of a fleet of 180 ships. The Yemishi of the two districts of Aita[2] and Nushiro[2] were struck with fear, and tendered their submission. Hereupon the ships were drawn up in order of battle in the bay of Aita. A Yemishi of Aita named Omuka came forward and made an oath, saying :—" It is not by reason of the arrival of the Imperial forces that we slaves carry bows and arrows, but because it is our nature to live upon animal food. If we have provided bows and arrows against the Imperial forces, may the Gods of the bay of Aita take note of it! We will serve the Government with pure hearts."

Omuka was accordingly granted the rank of Upper Shō-otsu, and local governors were established in the two districts of Nushiro and Tsugaru. Ultimately the Yemishi of Watari no Shima[3] were summoned together at the shore of Arima and a
XXVI. 6. great feast provided them, after which they were dismissed home.

5th month. A grandson of the Empress named Prince Takeru died. He was eight years of age. His remains were deposited in a temporary tomb which was raised for him over

[1] A good omen. Perhaps they expected a remission of their taxes, as was the case when a white pheasant was reported from the adjoining province of Anato.

[2] District of Akita, province of Deha. The former place is also read Agida. It is probably identical with the present Akita.

[3] By Watari no Shima, "the island of the crossing, or ferry," is no doubt meant the island of Yezo. Arima cannot be identified.

the Imaki valley. The Empress had always esteemed her grandson highly for his obedient conduct. She was therefore beside herself with grief, aud her emotion was exceeding great. Sending for the Ministers, she said :—

"After ten thousand years and a thousand autumns[1] he must be interred along with us in our own misasagi."

So she made songs, saying :—

On the Hill of Womure[2]
In Imaki—
If but a cloud
Arose, plain to be seen,
Why should I lament?

This was the first song.

I never thought
That he was young[3]
As the young grass
By the riverside whither one tracks
The deer wounded by an arrow.

This was the second song.

Like the flowing water
Of the River Asuka
Which surges as it flows,
Unceasingly
I long for him!

This was the third song.

The Empress sang these songs from time to time, and lamented bitterly.

[1] A Chinese expression for the date of the death of an Emperor.

[2] A native commentator remarks that mure is the Corean word for mountain. Womure would therefore mean little-mount. There were Corean settlers in Imaki. The modern Corean word for mountain is moi, which is, no doubt, a contraction of mure. Cf. nè (nai) for nari or nare, river. As shown by Chamberlain in his Loochooan Grammar, "T.A.S.J." XXIII. Supplement, Loochooan resembles modern Corean in dropping *r* in words where this letter is retained in Japanese. An example quoted by him is Loochooan mui, a wood, for Japanese mori. I suspect that the Loochooan mui, wood, the Japanese mori, wood, and the Corean moi, mountain, are identical roots.

The sense of the poem is that the Empress would try to console herself with the imagination that a cloud over the young Prince's tomb was hi representative.

[3] He was wise beyond his years.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. More than two hundred Yemishi came to Court with presents for the Empress. The entertainment and largess to them was on a more liberal scale than usual. Two Yemishi of Kikafu received one grade of rank. Saniguna, the Senior Governor of the district of
XXVI. 7 Nushiro, was made Lower Shō-otsu [one book says was granted two steps in rank and given the superintendence of the population (register)], the Junior Governor Ubasa received the rank of Kembu, and two brave men received one grade of rank. In addition there were given to Saniguna and the others twenty cuttle-fish flags,[1] two drums, two sets of bows and arrows, and two suits of armour. Mamu, the Senior Governor of the district of Tsugaru, was granted the rank of Upper Dai-otsu, Awohiru, the Junior Governor, the rank of Lower Shō-otsu, and two brave men received a step in rank. In addition there were granted to Mamu and the others twenty cuttle-fish flags, two drums, two sets of bows and arrows, and two suits of armour. Two grades of rank were conferred on the Miyakko of the barrier of Tsukisara, and one grade on the Hangwan. Inadzumi Ohotomo no Kimi, Miyakko of the barrier of Nutari, received the rank of Lower Shō-otsu. Moreover Sanaguna,[2] Senior Governor of the district of Nushiro, was commanded by the Empress to investigate the Yemishi population and the captive population.

In this month, the Buddhist priests Chitsū and Chitatsu went by the Empress's command to Great Thang on board a Silla ship, where they received instruction from the teacher of religion,[3] Hsüan-ts'ang, on the philosophy of things without life and living beings.[4]

[1] So called because the top was in this shape.

[2] Same as Saniguna, mentioned above.

[3] Hōshi = D.D. This is the famous Buddhist priest (also called Yuan-chwan) who left China for India in A.D. 629, in fulfilment of a vow. After an absence of seventeen years he returned in A.D. 645, bringing with him 657 volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, besides numerous sacred relics. The record of his travels has been translated by Stanislas Julien under the title of "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde." Mayers, p. 290.

[4] Another work states that Chitsū went to Thang to obtain instruction respecting the Greater Vehicle (Mahâyanâ). No doubt Buddhism generally is meant by the expression in the text.

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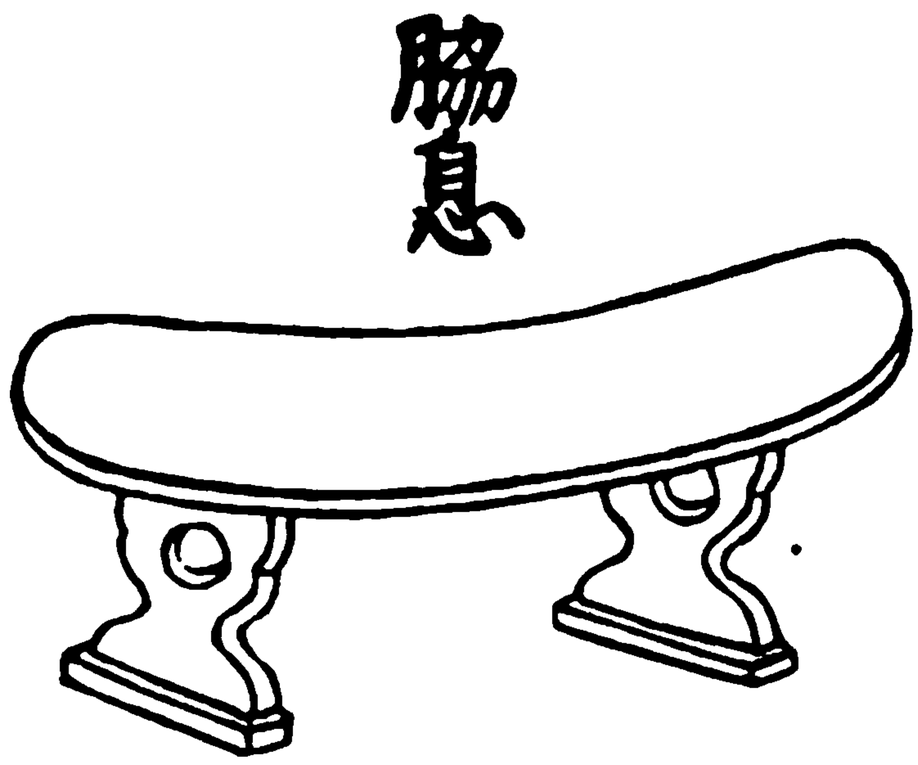
with him. A leg-rest[1] broke of itself. They both recognized that this was a bad omen, and swore to one another to proceed no further. The Imperial Prince returned home, where he was staying for the night, when at midnight Akaye sent Shibi, Mononobe no Yenowi no Muraji, in command of the labourers engaged in building the Palace, to surround the Imperial Prince Arima in his house at Ichifu, and straightway despatched a mounted courier to inform the Empress.

XXVI. 9.



Kyōsoku.

9th day. The Imperial Prince Arima, with Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, and Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, were arrested, and sent to the hot springs of Ki. His toneri Yonemaro, Nihitabe[2] no Muraji, followed him.

Thereupon the Prince Imperial in person questioned the Imperial Prince Arima, saying:—"Why didst thou plot treason?" He answered and said:—"Heaven and Akaye know. I do not at all understand."

11th day. Kuniso, Tajihi no Wosaha no Muraji, was sent to strangle the Imperial Prince Arima at the Fujishiro acclivity. On this day Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, and the toneri Yonemaro, Nihitabe no Muraji, were executed at the Fujishiro acclivity. When Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, was about to be executed, he said:—"I request that my right hand may be made a national treasure." Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, was banished to the province of Kamitsukenu,[3] and Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, to the province of Wohari.

[1] The Chinese characters mean "something inserted between the knees," in hot weather, when in bed, for coolness. A pillow is used for this purpose at Singapore, where it is called "a Dutch wife." The corresponding Chinese term means "a bamboo wife." But the Japanese interlinear gloss has oshimadzuki, something which is usually put for a sort of stool to lean the arm on when sitting on the mats, also called kyōsoku. The "Wamyōshō" has also oshimadzuki, but this word has probably a wider meaning, and includes both objects. See illustration.

[2] Or Nittabe.

[3] Now Kōdzuke.

One book says:—"The Imperial Prince Arima, with Akaye, Soga no Omi, Konoshiro,[1] Shihoya no Muraji, Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, and Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, divined the future of their treasonous conspiracy by drawing slips of paper." One book says:—"The Imperial XXVI. 10.
Prince Arima said:—'First of all we will burn the Palace. Then with five hundred men for a day and two nights we will waylay (the Empress) at the harbour of Muro, and speedily with a fleet cutting off the Land of Ahaji, make as it were a prison. This can be easily accomplished.' Some one objected, saying:—'It cannot be so. For all your plans, the faculty (of carrying them out) is wanting. At the present time, Your Imperial Highness is only nineteen years of age, and has not yet attained to manhood. You must first reach manhood and then you will gain the faculty.'" Another book says:—"When the Imperial Prince Arima was plotting treason along with a judicial officer, the leg of the Imperial Prince's arm-rest broke of itself without cause, but he did not cease from conspiring, and was eventually executed."

In this year, Hirafu, Abe no Hikida no Omi, Warden of the Land of Koshi, went on an expedition against the Su-shēn.[2] He presented to the Emperor two live white bears.[3]

[1] The "Shūkai" is clearly right in thinking that 戈 of the text is a mistake for 代. The name is therefore Konoshiro, as above, and not Wohoko.

[2] See above, Vol. II. p. 58. It may be inferred from the narrative given below, XXVI. 16, that the Manchus here referred to were not resident on the mainland, but occupied a trading-post in Yezo or some of the adjoining islands.

[3] The character used here, viz. 羆, is read shiguma by the Japanese, and the description of this animal given in Yamada's dictionary and in the "Sansaidzuye" refers plainly to the Polar Bear. Dickins, in Murray's "Handbook of Japan," says that the Polar Bear is sometimes found on the shores of the Hokkaido, but it is rare. Seventy 羆 skins are mentioned below (XXVI. 15), a number which makes one suspect that the animal here referred to may be after all not the Polar Bear, but the Ursus Arctos, a large brown bear which abounds in all these northern regions from Yezo to Kamtchatka, and which is quite distinct from the much smaller black bear of the Japanese islands. It is possible, however, that the Polar Bear may have been more abundant in Yezo at this time.

The Buddhist priest Chiyu made a south-pointing chariot.[1]

South-pointing Chariot.

It was reported from the province of Idzumo:—"On the shore of the northern sea the fish are dying in heaps three feet in depth. In size they resemble the globe-fish.[2] They have the beaks of sparrows and thorny scales several inches long. The common people say that they are sparrows which have gone into the sea and become changed into fish, and give them the name of 'sparrow-fish.'"

One book says:—"In the seventh month of the sixth year, Pèkché sent Envoys with the following message to the Empress:—'Great Thang and Silla have
XXVI. 11. joined their powers for an attack upon us. They have taken away as prisoners King Wichă, his Queen,[3] and the Heir to the Throne. Our Government has therefore stationed troops on the north-western frontier and repaired

[1] i.e. a compass. For some curious learning about the compass, *vide* "The Night of the Gods," Vol. I. p. 97, by John O'Neill. Tradition says that a south-pointing chariot was made in the days of the Emperor Hoang, so that his troops might find their way surely in foggy weather. *Vide* Mayers, p 21, where the tradition of a south-pointing chariot being made in B.C. 1110 is referred to.

[2] The Tetraodon Hyxtris, or fugu, a poisonous fish, which has the power of puffing out its belly, a kind of globe-fish. There is a pretty conflict of authority as to the fish intended by 鮐, the character here used. One Japanese dictionary gives same or shark, and hata, the terranus moara, while the interlinear gloss is yebi or prawn.

[3] The interlinear version has Koniworu for Queen, and Konikishi for Heir to the Throne. I cannot identify these with any modern Corean words.

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In this month, Abe no Omi was sent in command of 180 ships on an expedition against the Yemishi country. Abe no Omi assembled a selection of the Yemishi of the two districts of Akita and Nushiro to the number of 241 persons with 31 of
XXVI. 12. their captives, 112 Yemishi of the district of Tsugaru with 4 captives, and 20 Yemishi of Ifurisahe, in one place, feasted them and gave them presents.

Accordingly he made an offering to the Gods of that Land of a boat and silk stuffs of various colours, and proceeded to Shishiriko. Then two Yemishi of Tohiu, named Ikashima and Uhona, came forward and said:—"You ought to make Shiribeshi[1] your seat of Government." In accordance with the advice of Ikashima and his companion, a district-governor was ultimately established there, after which he (Abe no Omi) returned. The provincial governors of Michinoku and Koshi were each granted two grades of rank, while the district-governors and administrators received each one degree.

One book says:—"Hirafu, Abe no Hikida no Omi, fought with the Su-shēn, and on his return presented to the Empress forty-nine captives."

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, and Kiza, Tsumori no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, were sent on a mission to the Land of Thang. They took with them a Yemishi man and woman of Michinoku to show to the Thang Emperor.

In the writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, it is stated:—"In the reign of this Empress, Sakahibe no Ihashiki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, Tsumori no Kiza no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and others, in two ships, received orders to go on a mission to Thang of Wu.[2] In the year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji (659), the 7th month, and the 3rd day of the month, they started from the Bay of Mitsu in Naniha. On the 11th day of the 8th month, they left the Bay of Ohotsu[3] in Tsukushi. On the 13th day of the 9th month, they arrived at an island on the southern border of Pèkché. The name of the island is not
XXVI. 13. known. At four a.m. on the 14th, the two ships put out to sea in company. On the 15th day, at sunset, the ship

[1] On the west coast of Yezo.

[2] Wu is here a geographical designation.

[3] Hakata in Chikuzen.

of Ihashiki no Muraji met crosswise with a contrary wind and was driven to an island in the Southern Sea, named Erh-kia-wei, where it was destroyed by the islanders. Arima, Yamato no Aya no Wosa no Atahe, with Inadzumi, Sakahibe no Muraji, and three others, stole a ship belonging to the islanders, and embarking in it, escaped to Kwa-chow. The officials of this district sent them under escort to the capital, Loh-yang. At midnight on the 16th day, the ship of Kiza no Muraji arrived at Mount Hsu-an near Kuei-chi in the Yueh district,[1] when a north-east wind sprang up and blew with such violence that on the 23rd they reached the district of Yü-yao. The great ship on which they were embarked, with all its gear, was left behind at this place, and on the 1st day of the 11th intercalary month, they arrived at the seat of Government of the Yueh district. On the 15th they entered the capital,[2] riding on post-horses. On the 29th, travelling with all speed, they reached the Eastern capital,[3] where the Emperor had then his residence. On the 30th they had an audience of the Emperor, who inquired of them, saying:—"Is the Empress of your country in good health?" The Envoys answered respectfully:—"Her virtue is in harmony with Heaven and Earth, and she therefore naturally enjoys good health." The Emperor inquired of them:—"And the Ministers in charge of affairs—is it well with them?" The Envoys answered respectfully:—"As they enjoy the favour and esteem of our Empress, it is XXVI. 14. well with them also." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"Is there peace within your country or not?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"The Government accords with Heaven and Earth, and therefore there is nothing untoward among the multitude." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"In what quarter is the Land of these Yemishi situated?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"It lies to the north-east." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"How many tribes of Yemishi are there?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"There are three kinds. The most distant are called Tsugaru, the next Ara-Yemishi, and the nearest

[1] Chekiang. [2] Nanking. [3] Lohyang, near Honanfu.

Nigi-Yemishi.[1] These now here are Nigi-Yemishi—they bring tribute yearly to our country's Court." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"In their country are there the five kinds of grain?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"No, they sustain life by eating flesh?" The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"Have they houses in their country?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"No, they have their dwelling under trees in the recesses of the mountains." The Emperor went on to say:—"When We look at the unusual bodily appearance of these Yemishi, it is strange in the extreme. You Envoys must have suffered greatly on your long voyage hither. Now retire and abide in your official residence. We shall meet again." On the 1st day of the 11th month the festival of the Winter Solstice was celebrated at Court. On the festival day, they again saw the Emperor. Amongst the various frontier states who attended the Court, the Japanese[2] visitors were the most distinguished. Thereafter, by reason of the confusion caused by a conflagration, the matter was neglected and not further attended to. On the 3rd day of the 12th month, Kahachi no Aya no Ohomaro, a servant of Han Chi-hung, slandered our visitors, who were found guilty by the Court of Thang, and were already condemned to banishment. Previously Chi-hung was banished to a distance of 3000 li. Among the visitors was one, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, who made representations to the Emperor in consequence of which their punishment was remitted. When everything was concluded, the Emperor decreed as follows:—"This Government has determined next year to take administrative measures in regard to the lands east of the sea,[3] and you, the visitors from Wa, may not return to the east." In the end they
XXVI. 15. were detained in the Western capital.[4] They were placed

[1] Ara and Nigi mean respectively rough and soft or gentle. The reference is to their greater or less degree of civilization. The Yezo Ainos are not mentioned.

[2] The character used is 倭, i.e. Wa, but possibly the writer meant it to be read Yamato.

[3] The campaign against Pèkché is no doubt meant.

[4] Fēng-hsiang, in the province of Shensi.

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thousand Yemishi of Watari-shima[1] assembled on the sea-shore and made a camp facing the river. Two men of this camp came forward and called out hurriedly, saying:—"The Su-shēn fleet has arrived in great force and threatens to slay us. We pray, therefore, to be allowed to cross the river and to serve the Government. Abe no Omi sent a boat to go and fetch these two Yemishi, and inquired from them where the enemy were concealed and the number of their ships. The two Yemishi accordingly pointed out the place of their concealment, saying:—"There are over twenty ships." Thereupon he sent messengers to summon them, but they refused to come. Abe no Omi accordingly heaped up on the beach coloured silk stuffs, weapons, iron, etc., to excite their cupidity. The Su-shēn people thereupon drew up their fleet in order, and tying feathers to poles, raised them aloft by way of flags. They approached with equal oars and came to a pause in a shallow place. Then from one of the ships they sent forth two old men who went round the coloured silk stuffs and other articles which had been piled up, examining them closely. They then changed the single garments they had on, and each taking up one piece of cloth in his hand, went on board their ship and departed. Presently the old men came back again, took off the exchanged garments, and laying them down along with the cloth they had taken away, went on board their ship and departed.[2] Abe no Omi sent several ships to fetch them, but they refused to come, and returned to the island of Herobe. [Herobe is a separate part of Watari-shima.] After some time they asked for peace, but Abe no Omi refused altogether to listen to them. So they betook themselves to their own palisades and fought. At this time Mamukatsu, Noto no Omi, was slain by the enemy. While the battle was still going on, and was not yet fought out, the enemy, finding that they were being beaten, put to death their own wives and children.

Summer, 5th month, 8th day. The Koryö Envoy, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite arrived at the official residence of Naniha.

XXVI. 17. In this month, the officials, by order of the Empress, prepared

[1] Yezo.

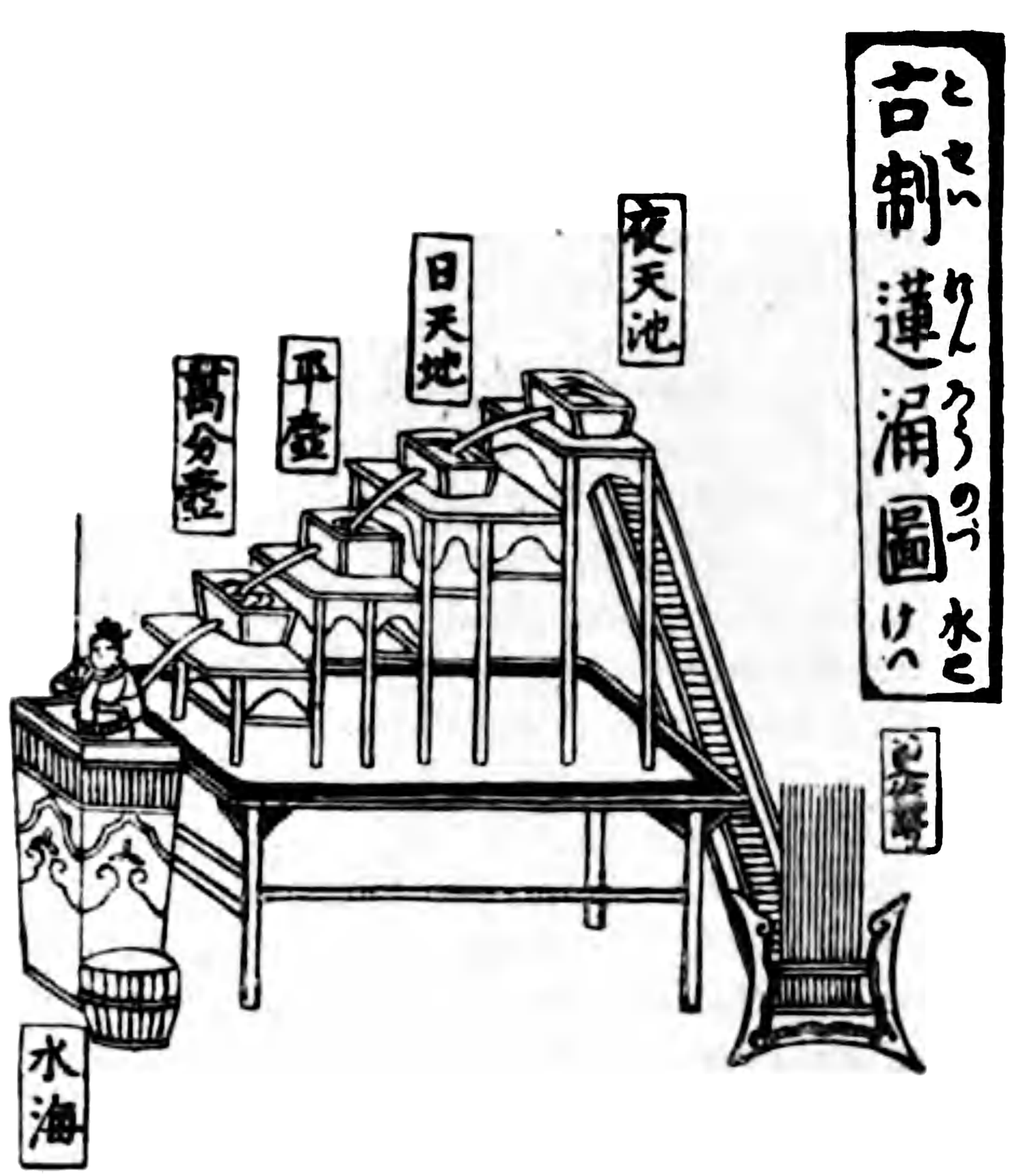
[2] This passage reads like a distorted account of the "unseen trade" which was carried on in these parts up till a comparatively recent period.

one hundred raised seats[1] and one hundred Nōkesa,[2] and held a Ninwo Hanya[3] meeting.

Moreover, the Prince Imperial for the first time made a clepsydra,[4] by which he caused the people to know the hours.

Again, Abe no Hikida no Omi presented to the Empress more than fifty savages.[5]

Again, a Mount Sumi was built near the pond of Iso no



Clepsydra.

Kami, as high as a pagoda. On this occasion forty-seven men of Su-shēn were entertained.

[1] A sort of square dais from which the priests delivered their lectures.

[2] A kind of Buddhist priestly garment.

[3] Hanya is the Sanskrit Pradjña, defined by Eitel as the "highest of the six Pâramita (cardinal virtues), intelligence, the principal means of attaining to Nirvâna." The meeting was to hear the reading of the Ninwō Hanya Sutra. Ninwō means "benevolent king."

[4] *Vide* Florenz for particulars as to clepsydra.

[5] No doubt Ainos or Yemishi are meant.

Again, the people of the whole country carried arms without reason when passing to and fro on the highways. The old people of the country said:—"This perhaps denotes the destruction of the Land of Pèkché."[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Koryö Envoy, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite took their departure.

Again, the man of Tukhāra, Kendzuhashi Tatsua, desired to return to his native country, and asked for an escort officer, saying:—"I intend later to pay my respects to the Court of
XXVI. 18. the Great Country, and therefore, in token of this, I leave my wife behind. Accordingly, he took the way of the Western Sea with several tens of men.

In the "Record of the reigns of Japan,"[2] written by the Koryö priest To-hyön, it is said:—"In the seventh month, etc., Chhyun-chhyu-chi,[3] by the aid of the General-in-Chief, Su Ting-fang, caused Pèkché to be invaded and destroyed." One account says:—"Pèkché brought ruin upon itself, owing to the feminine want of principle of the Royal Consort, who arbitrarily usurped the helm of Government and slew the wise and good, thus inviting the calamity which came upon them. Ought one not to be watchful? Ought one not to be watchful?" In a note it is stated:—"Chhyun-chhyu-chi, of Silla, was unable to accomplish his wishes by the Minister Kè-kim.[4] Therefore he again served Thang, and, putting off the national garb, made a fawning appeal to the Son of Heaven, with the object of bringing disaster on a neighbouring kingdom and preparing the accomplishment of his ends."

XXVI. 19. The writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, says:—"In the year Kanoye Saru, the 8th month, Pèkché was reduced to submission. After this, on the 12th day of the 9th month, the visitors[5] were dismissed to their own country. On the 19th day they started from the Western capital. On the 16th day of the 10th month, they arrived back at the Eastern capital, and then for the first time met

[1] Which took place in this year.
[2] 日本.
[3] King of Silla. His historical name is Thè-chong.
[4] A Koryö statesman.
[5] i.e. the Japanese Envoys to Thang. See above, XXVI. 15.

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campaign, and therefore they fought with flails.[1] The Silla army was beaten, and Pèkché made booty of their arms, so that the Pèkché weapons were as efficient as ever, and Thang
XXVI. 21. did not dare to come in. Pok-sin and the others at length got together their countrymen, and with them held the Royal city. The people of the land paid honour to them, saying:—"The Minister Pok-sin! The Minister Chă-chin!" It was only Pok-sin who, by the admirable military expedients which he invented, raised up the country, which was already ruined.

Winter, 10th month. Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, sent the Minister Kwi-chi and others with a present to the Empress of over one hundred Thang prisoners. These are now the men of Thang of the two districts of Fuha and Kata-agata in the province of Mino. They also asked for troops and requested assistance. At the same time they prayed that the Prince Yö Phung-chyang[2] might be given back [one book says:—"Minister Kwi-chi is the Talsol, Chyöng-chin"], saying:—"The men of Thang, leading after them our maggot-pests,[3] came and wasted and harassed our territory. They overturned our Government and took prisoners our Sovereign and his Ministers.

King Wichă, of Pèkché, his wife Eun-ko, his son Nyung, etc., and his Ministers, viz. the Prime Minister, Chhyön Pok-kuk, Pyön-syöng, Son-teung, and others, over fifty persons in all, were captured by General Su on the 13th day of the 7th month, autumn, and sent away to the Land of Thang. This was perhaps what was denoted
XXVI. 22. by the causeless bearing of arms.[4]

Now the people of the Land of Pèkché, putting their trust afar off in the Emperor's protecting care, have assembled together anew, and formed a kingdom. We now humbly beg that we may be allowed to wait upon the Prince Phung-chyang, who was sent by Pèkché to be in attendance at the Celestial Court, and to make him the Ruler of the Country, etc., etc."

The Empress made an order, saying:—"We learn that in

[1] Or clubs. [2] See above, A.D. 631.

[3] The "maggot pest" is a kind of grub destructive to grain. But the word for pest also means "enemy." Silla is obviously intended.

[4] See above, XXVI. 17.

ancient times there have been cases of troops being asked for and assistance requested: to render help in emergencies, and to restore that which has been interrupted, is a manifestation of ordinary principles of right. The Land of Pèkché, in its extremity, has come to us and placed itself in our hands. Their own country having been brought to ruin, having nowhere to betake themselves for help and none to apply to, making spears their pillows, tasting gall,[1] and holding firmly to the hope of aid, they have come from afar and made a memorial to us. Our[2] resolution in this matter is unshakeable. We shall give separate orders to Our generals to advance at the same time by a hundred routes, and then, like gathering clouds with thunderous commotion, meeting together at Satòk, to massacre the monsters, and afford relief to the sufferers. Let the proper officials supply them with everything they require, and let them be dismissed with all due ceremony, etc., etc."

Prince Phung-chyang, with his wife and children, and his uncle, Chhyung-seung, etc., were dismissed home. The actual time of their being sent off may be seen in Year VII. One book says:—"The Empress established Phung-chyang as King, and made Sè-syang his assistant. They were sent off with all due ceremony."

12th month, 24th day. The Empress proceeded to the Palace of Naniha. The Empress, in order to comply with the request of Pok-sin, thought of going to Tsukushi and thence despatching a force in aid, and she therefore went there[3] in the first place and made provision of weapons of all kinds.

This year, with a view to the invasion of Silla in the interest X
of Pékchè, an order was given to the province of Suruga to build a ship. When it was finished, and had been hauled as far as Womino, that ship, during the night, without cause, changed its bow for its stern. By this people knew that in the end there would be defeat.[4]

[1] To taste gall at every meal or to be always looking at gall—as the Prince of Yueh did in order not to forget his grievance against the Wu State. Giles. Gall in China does not represent bitterness, as with us, but courage.

[2] Or their. [3] To Naniha.

[4] The commentators suggest that Womino was a place in Shinano, but Shinano is an exclusively inland province, and it is not probable that a vessel destined for use in an invasion of Corea should have been dragged overland.

It was reported from the province of Shinano:—"A swarm of flies has flown in a westerly direction, crossing the Ohosaka hill. It was ten fathoms in thickness, and in height reached the azure sky." Some people gathered that this portended the defeat of the army of relief. There was a popular song which said:—

The little rice-field
Cultivated by my wife
The wild geese devour—
The wild geese of Mitowada—
The woman's rice-field
The wild geese devour:
My eldest son and I make a noise
(But still) the woman's rice-field
The wild geese devour.[1]

A.D. 661. XXVI. 24. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial ship first put to sea for the expedition against the West.

8th day. The Imperial ship arrived at the sea of Ohoku.[2] At this time the Imperial Princess Ohota-hime[3] gave birth to a daughter, to whom accordingly the name was given of the Imperial Princess Ohoku.

14th day. The Imperial ship came to an anchor at the temporary Palace of Nigitatsu no Ishiyu in the province of Iyo.

3rd month, 25th day. The Imperial ship returned to Una no Ohotsu, where the Empress occupied the temporary Palace of Ihase, the name of which the Empress altered to Nagatsu.

[1] The text of this poem is extremely corrupt and obscure, and the above interpretation is highly conjectural. I have followed pretty closely the "Shiki" version, the writer of which had before him a somewhat different text from that now given in editions of the "Nihongi." To arrive at the meaning he transposes a number of syllables, which may appear a rather violent proceeding, his idea apparently being that the original author of the poems had purposely transposed these syllables so as to render his composition unintelligible to those who had not the clue. The wild geese are the Chinese and Silla men, who, in spite of the protests of Japan, continue to lay waste the Land of Pékchè, whose weakness is alluded to by the words wife and woman. Dr. Florenz gives a detailed critical examination of the various versions of this poem.

[2] In Bizen.

[3] Daughter of Tenchi Tennō, and consort of Temmu Tennō.

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might present them to the Imperial Court. On the 23rd day of the 5th month, we presented them to the Imperial Court at Asakura. This was the first time that Tamna was received at Court. Moreover, the Envoys, who had been slandered by Tarushima, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, a follower of Chihung, received no gracious command.[1] These Envoys were wroth, and their anger penetrated to the Gods of High Heaven, who with a thunderbolt killed Tarushima." The men of that day said of this:—"The divine vengeance of Yamato is near."

6th month. Prince Ise died.

Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. The Empress died in the Palace of Asakura.

8th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, in attendance on the Empress's remains, returned as far as the Palace of Ihase. That evening, on the top of Mount Asakura, there was a demon[2] wearing a great hat, who looked down on the funeral proceedings. All the people uttered exclamations of wonder.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The Empress's funeral train returning, put to sea. Hereupon the Prince Imperial, having come to an anchor in the same place, was filled with grief and longing for the Empress. So he sung to himself, saying:—

XXVI. 26.

Longing as I do
For a sight of thee,
Now that I have arrived here,
Even thus do I long
Desirous of a sight of thee!

23rd day. The funeral of the Empress, returning, anchored at Naniha.

11th month, 7th day. The Empress's remains were temporarily interred at Asuka-gahara.

Mourning began on this day, and lasted for nine days.

[1] It is not clear whether the "gracious command" was that of the Emperor of China or the Empress of Japan. It appears to me that the writer is here going back to the slander of the Envoys, while in China, by another follower of Chihung (XXVI. 14), and that the gracious command, the want of which enraged them, was a courteous message from the Chinese Emperor to the Empress of Japan.

[2] Or spirit.

The "Record of the reigns of Japan" says:—"The men of Thang, Hsü Shou-yen and others, who were taken prisoners by Pok-sin, arrived in Tsukushi." One book says:—"In the year Kanoto Tori (A.D. 661), the one hundred and six Thang prisoners presented by Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, took up their abode at Harita in the province of Afumi. Under the year Kanoye Saru (A.D. 660), it is already stated that Pok-sin presented Thang prisoners. Therefore it is now explained what was done with them."

BOOK XXVII.

THE EMPEROR AME MIKOTO HIRAKASU WAKE.[1]

(*TENCHI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake was the eldest son of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka.[3] His mother was called the Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime.[4] In the fourth year of her reign, the Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime resigned the Dignity to the Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi,[5] and established the Emperor[6] as Prince Imperial. The Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi died in the tenth month of his later fifth year.[7] In the following year the Empress Dowager assumed the Imperial Dignity. She died in the seventh year of her reign, on the 24th day of the 7th month. The Prince Imperial, clad in white garments,[8] discharged the functions of government.[9]

In this month General Su, the Turkic Prince Ch'ipichiali[10] and others proceeded by two routes—land and sea—as far as
XXVII. the Koryo walled city.[11]
2. The Prince Imperial removed his residence to the Palace of

[1] Ame, heaven; mikoto, behest; hirakasu, throw open. Wake is connected with wakaki, young. It is nearly equal to our word prince.

[2] Heavenly intelligence. [3] Jomei Tennō. [4] Kōgioku Tennō.

[5] Kōtoku Tennō. [6] i.e. the present Emperor Tenchi.

[7] i.e. of the period Hakuchi, the second of the two year-periods into which his reign was divided.

[8] Mourning. Giles says "half-mourning;" but the phrase has here a more general application. Unbleached hempen cloth was probably the material.

[9] The phrase 帮制 is rendered in the interlinear gloss by matsurigoto kikoshimesu, i.e "attended to the Government." Giles and Williams give another explanation, which does not suit the present passage. But are not the 制 here the mourning regulations? and does not the phrase mean "announced the mourning for the Empress"?

[10] Chinese pronunciation. [11] Now Phyöng-syang.

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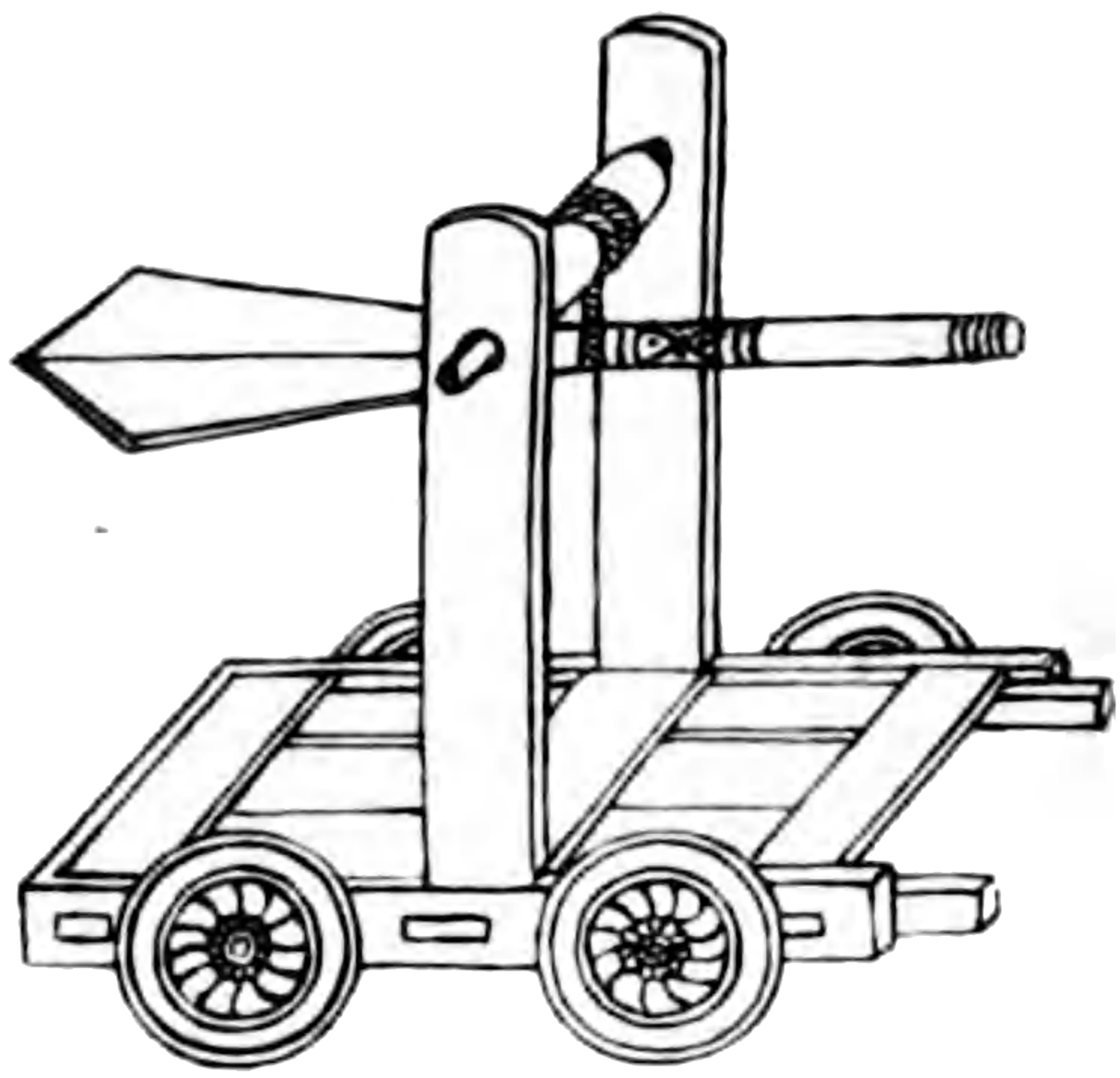
battering-engines. The Koryö troops were brave and stalwart, and therefore re-took two of the Thang forts. There were only two left, which they prepared to take by a night attack. The Thang soldiers, nursing their knees, wept aloud. But their (the Koryö men's?) arms were blunted and their strength exhausted, so that they were unable to take them.[1] If this is not a case of navel-biting[2] disgrace, what is?

The priest To-hyön says:—"To describe the intentions of Chhyun-chhyu[3]—He was really about to begin with



Battering-engine.

Koryo, and he first made it known to Pèkché. The close attack of Pèkché was exceedingly urgent and distressing, therefore it is so stated."[4]

In this year Maro, Kishida no Omi, Governor of the province of Harima, and others, presented a precious sword, saying:—"It was found in a hole in the millet-field of a man of the district of Saya."

Moreover, when the generals for assisting Koryo cast anchor at the beach of Kaphari in Pèkché, they lit a fire. The ashes became changed and formed a hole, from which there issued a

[1] The two forts above mentioned.
[2] i.e. helpless disgrace. To bite one's navel is impossible.
[3] King of Silla.
[4] All this is most unclear.

thin noise like that of a sounding arrow.[1] Some said that this was an omen of the ultimate downfall of Koryö and Pêkché.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 27th day. A grant was made to the Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, of 100,000 arrows, 500 kin of raw silk, 1000 kin of floss silk, 1000 tan of cloth, 1000 hides of leather, and 3000 koku[2] of seed-rice. A.D. 662.

3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor presented to the King of Pèkché 300 tan of cloth. XXVII. 4.

In this month the men of Thang and the men of Silla invaded Koryö. Koryö asked aid from our Government, and generals were sent, who occupied the walled city of Sonyu. Owing to this, the men of Thang were unable to conquer the southern territory, while Silla was prevented from overthrowing the fortresses to the west.

Summer, 4th month. A rat brought forth young in a horse's tail. The Buddhist priest Tohyön divined, saying:—"The men of the North are about to attach themselves to the Southern Country." Perhaps (he meant) that Koryö, being beaten, would become a vassal of Japan.

5th month. The General-in-Chief, Adzumi no Hirafu no Muraji, of Lower Daikin rank, and others, in command of a fleet of 170 ships, escorted Phung-chhyang and his people to the Land of Pèkché, where, by an Imperial edict, he was made to take up the succession to the (royal) Dignity. Moreover a golden tablet was conferred on Pok-sin, his back was stroked, and he was praised and an honorary grant made to him. At this time Phung-chhyang and his people, and also Pok-sin, received the Imperial decree with their heads bowed to the ground, so that everybody shed tears.

6th month, 28th day. Pèkché sent the Talsol, Manchi, and others to offer tribute and bring presents.

Winter, 12th month, 1st day. Phung-chhyang of Pèkché, his Minister Pok-sin, and others held counsel with Sawi no Muraji and Yechi no Takutsu, saying:—"This Chyu-yu[3] is far away from cultivated lands. The soil is unfertile, and there is no land suitable for agriculture or for the mulberry tree. It is simply a stronghold for defensive warfare. If we were to XXVII. 5.

[1] Nari-kabura. See above, Vol I. p. 87.

[2] A measure now equal to 5·13 bushels.

[3] No doubt the same place as the Sonyu above mentioned.

remain here long, the people would starve. We should remove to Phi-syöng. Phi-syöng is girt on the north and west by the Rivers Ko-nyön and Tan-kyong, while on the south and east it is protected by deep mud and high earthworks. It is encompassed on all sides by rice-fields, to which the rain-water is drawn down by cutting canals. Its produce of flowers and fruit is the fairest of all the three Kingdoms of Corea. A source of food and clothing, it is a choice situation favoured by the two first principles.[1] It may be said that it lies low, but why should this prevent us from removing thither?" Upon this Yechi no Takutsu alone stood forward and objected, saying:—"The distance between Phi-syöng and the position occupied by the enemy can be covered in one night's march. This is extremely near. Should a surprise take place, regrets would be useless. Now starvation is a secondary matter; destruction demands our first attention. The reason why the enemy do not now rashly approach is that Chyu-yu has taken advantage of a scarped hill by which it is thoroughly well fortified. The cliffs are high and the ravines narrow. This makes it easy to defend and difficult to attack. But if we occupied the low ground, how should the country have remained undisturbed up to this day?" In the end, they refused to listen to his remonstrances and made Phi-syong the capital.

This year, in order to assist Pèkché, arms were put in order,
XXVII. 6. ships fitted out, and stores of army provisions prepared.

This year was the year Midzunoye Inu (59th) of the Cycle.

A D. 663. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Pekché sent the Talsol, Kim-syu, and others to offer tribute. Silla men wasted by fire four districts of the southern border of Pèkché. They also captured Antök and other strong positions. This being so, the enemy were not far from Phi-syöng,[2] and this position became therefore untenable, so they came back again and occupied Chyu-yu, in accordance with Takutsu's policy.

In this month, the Minister Pok-sin sent up (to the Emperor) Hsü Shou-yen and other Thang prisoners.

3rd month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, and Ohobuta,

[1] The Yin and Yang.

[2] I cannot identify Phi-syöng or Antök, but they must have been in the southern part of the present province of Kyöngsyangdo. The Coreans were fond of changing the names of their cities.

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Pèkchon river.[1] The Japanese warships which first arrived engaged the Thang fleet, but had not the advantage, and therefore retired. Great Thang stood on its guard in strict order of battle.

27th day. The Japanese generals and the Pèkché King, regardless of the aspect of affairs, said to one another:—"If we struggle which shall get first, they will naturally retire of themselves." So they again led forward the routed Japanese ranks, and the troops of the Middle Division of their force, to attack the Great Thang fleet. But Thang closed upon their vessels from right and left, and engaged them from all sides. In a short space of time the Imperial force was defeated, and many fell into the water and were drowned. The ships were
XXVII. 8. unable to manœuvre either astern or ahead. Yechi no Takutsu looked up to heaven and made oaths; he gnashed his teeth, and in his rage slew several tens of men. He then fell fighting. At this time King Phung-chhyang of Pèkché with a number of others, embarked in a ship and fled to Koryö.

9th month, 7th day. Not until now did the Pèkché city of Chyu-yu surrender to Thang. Then the people of that country said to one another:—"Chyu-yu has fallen; there is nothing more to be done; this day the name of Pèkché has become extinct. Shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs (of our ancestors) are? Let us, however, repair to the city of Ho-nyé, and meet there with the Japanese generals, so as to concert with them the measures required by the circumstances." In the end the wives and children, who had from the first remained in the walled town of Chhim-pok-ki, were informed of their intention to quit the country.

11th day. They set out for Muho.

13th day. They arrived at Ho-nyé.[2]

24th day. The Japanese fleet, with the (Pèkché) Minister Yo Chă-sin, and the Talsol, Mok-so Kwi-chă, Kong-na Chin-syu, and Öng-nyé Pong-nyu, along with the people of the country, arrived at the city of Ho-nyé. The next day they
XXVII. 9. set sail, and at length bent their course towards Japan.

A.D. 664 3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. The Emperor,[3] by

[1] I take this to be the river now called Naktong, in the south of Corea.

[2] The Interlinear Kana has Tere.

[3] He is called Prince Imperial both above and below.

orders to the Prince Imperial, his younger brother, announced an augmentation and revision of the caps denoting official rank, and also an increase in the designations of the grades, as well as matters relating to the senior members of families, their vassals and domestic retainers.

There were twenty-six grades of caps, viz. :—

Dai-shiki	(greater woven stuff)
Shō-shiki	(lesser do.)
Dai-shu	(greater embroidery)
Shō-shu	(lesser do.)
Dai-shi	(greater purple)
Shō-shi	(lesser do.)
Upper Dai-kin	(greater brocade)
Middle Dai-kin	(do.)
Lower Dai-kin	(do.)
Upper Shō-kin	(lesser brocade)
Middle Shō-kin	(do.)
Lower Shō-kin	(do.)
Upper Dai-sen	(greater mountain)
Middle Dai-sen	(do.)
Lower Dai-sen	(do.)
Upper Dai-otsu	(greater kingfisher[1])
Middle Dai-otsu	(do.)
Lower Dai-otsu	(do.)
Upper Shō-otsu	(lesser kingfisher)
Middle Shō-otsu	(do.)
Lower Shō-otsu	(do.
Dai-ken	(greater ken)
Shō-ken	(lesser ken)[2]

These made in all twenty-six grades. The former kwa (flower) was changed to kin (brocade), and six grades were added, beginning with Kin and ending with Otsu. There was also an augmentation and alteration by which the single grade of initial rank was changed to the two grades of Daiken and Shōken. These were made different, but in all other respects the former rule was followed.

To the senior members of the great families long swords

[1] See above, XXV. 41.

[2] Ken means to set up, to establish. These two grades correspond to the Risshin or Kembu named above, XXV. 41.

were granted, and to the senior members of lesser families short swords were granted, while to the senior members of the Tomo no Miyakko, etc., shields and bows and arrows were given. Moreover, their vassals and domestic retainers were settled.

XXVII. 10. 3rd month. Prince Syön-kwang[1] of Pèkché and his people were given a residence at Naniha.

There was a star which fell north of the capital.

This spring there was an earthquake.

Summer, 5th month, 17th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) general for Pèkché, sent the Chao-san-ta-fu[2] Kuo Wu-ts'ung to present a letter-box[3] and gifts.

In this month the Oho-omi, Soga no Muraji, of Tai-shi rank, died.

One book says:—"The Oho-omi died in the intercalary fifth month."

6th month. The Empress Dowager[4] Shima died.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his companions were dismissed home. On this day the Emperor ordered Nakatomi no Naijin[5] to send the Buddhist priest Chi-sho with presents for Kuo Wu-ts'ung.

4th day.[6] An entertainment was given to Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his suite.

In this month Kè-kim, Prime Minister of Koryö, died in that country. He left dying injunctions to his children, saying:—"Ye brethren, live together in harmony, as a fish and water, and do not compete with one another for rank. If you do not so, you will surely become a laughing-stock to your neighbours."

12th month, 12th day. Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his suite took their departure.

[1] The history of Pèkché in the "Tongkam" ends with the previous King Wichă. Syön-kwang was his son.

[2] Lower fifth rank under the Thang dynasty.

[3] Of course, a box containing a letter is meant.

[4] The original might be more literally translated Empress grandmother, and this Empress was really Tenchi's grandmother, but as this term is used elsewhere simply as an honorary appellation, I prefer to render it by Empress Dowager.

[5] Viz. Kamatari Kō.

[6] This is the same date as the last. There is something wrong here.

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were sent to the Land of Tsukushi, where they built the two castles of Ohono and Woyogi.

Tamna sent ambassadors to the Court.

9th month, 23rd day. The Land of Thang sent Liu Tê-kao Chao-san-ta-fu,[1] Sub-prefect[2] of Ichou, and Shang-chu-kuo[3] and others.

By others is meant a General of the Right Division of the Guards, of the rank of Shang-chu-kuo, a General for Pèkché, who was a Chao-ta-fu of Chu-kuo rank, by name Kuo Wu-Ts'ung, and others, 254 persons in all. 7th month, 28th day. They arrived at Tsushima. 9th month, 20th day. They arrived at Tsukushi. 22nd day. They forwarded a letter-case.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. A great review was held at Uji.

11th month, 13th day. A banquet was given to Liu Tê-kao and the others.

12th month, 14th day. Presents were made to Liu Tê-kao and the rest.

In this month Liu Tê-kao and his people took their departure.

In this year Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, of Shōkin rank, and others were sent to Great Thang, etc., etc.

By others is meant Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Shōsen rank, and Harima, Kimi no Kishi, of Daiotsu rank. They no doubt went to escort the Thang Envoys.

A.D. 666. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Koryö sent Neung-nu, of the Former Division,[4] and others to offer tribute.

On this day Tamna sent Prince Si-yö and others to offer presents.

3rd month. The Prince Imperial went in person to the house of Saheki no Komaro no Muraji to inquire of his illness.

XXVII. 13. He lamented him on account of his loyal service from the beginning.

[1] See above, XXVII. 10. [2] Sze-ma.

[3] Upper-pillar Country. A title.

[4] There were in Koryö five Divisions. The first was the Inner or Yellow Division; the second was the Northern or After Division; the third was the Eastern or Left Division; the Fourth was the Southern or Former Division; the fifth was the Western or Right Division.

Summer, 6th month, 4th day. Neung-nu of Koryö, of the Former Division, and his people took their departure.

Autumn, 7th month. There were great floods.

This autumn the land-tax and commuted taxes were remitted.

Winter, 10th month, 26th day. Koryö sent the Minister Eul-syang[1] Öm-chhu and others to offer tribute.

The Chief Envoy, the Minister Eulsyang Öm-chhu, the Associate Envoy Tun, of the rank of Talsyang, Ya-kwang Hyön-mu, of the Second Rank, and others.

This winter the rats of the capital migrated towards Afumi.

Over 2000 Pèkché people, men and women, were settled in the East country. Without distinction of black and white,[2] they were all maintained at Government expense for three years beginning with the year Midzunoto I.[3]

Chiyu, a Buddhist priest of the Yamato no Aya, presented to the Emperor a south-pointing chariot.[4]

6th Year, Spring, 2nd month, 27th day. The Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime[5] and the Imperial Princess Hashibito[6] were buried together in the misasagi on the Hill of Wochi. On this day the Imperial granddaughter the Imperial Princess Ohota was buried in a tomb[7] in front of the misasagi. A.D. 667.

Koryö, Pèkché and Silla all made mourning along the Imperial highway.[8]

The Prince Imperial addressed the Ministers, saying:—"In obedience to the commands of the Empress Dowager and the Empress, I have compassion on the myriad people, and therefore have not undertaken the work of constructing a stone sarcophagus.[9] I trust that this may be taken as a mirror and a lesson for all time."

3rd month, 19th day. The capital was removed to Afumi.

[1] An official rank. [2] i.e. of priests and laymen. [3] A.D. 663.

[4] A compass. See above, XXVI. 10.

[5] Saimei Tennō. [6] Kōtoku Tennō's Consort.

[7] Several of the misasagi have just outside the moat circular mounds of much smaller size. These have a small moat and one or two rows of clay cylinders round them. The tomb in question is still pointed out and known as the Ishidzuka or stone mound.

[8] By which the Imperial funeral procession passed.

[9] This is the literal translation, and it is true that stone sarcophagi were used in burial. But I am disposed to think that the vault is intended. Not

XXVII. 14. At this time the common people of the Empire did not desire the removal of the capital. Many made satirical remonstrance, and there were also many popular songs. Every day and every night there were numerous conflagrations.

6th month. The district of Kadono[1] presented to the Emperor a white swallow.[2]

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. Tamna sent the Minister Chön-ma and others to offer presents.

8th month. The Prince Imperial proceeded to the Yamato capital.

Winter, 10th month. Namsèng,[3] of Koryö, the elder brother, left the city[4] for a tour in the provinces. Upon this, his two younger brothers, who remained in the city, listening to the evil speeches of the gentry and nobles associated with them, opposed him and would not allow him to enter. Hereupon Namsèng ran away to Great Thang and laid plans for the destruction of his country.

11th month, 9th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) General for Pèkché, sent the Prefect of Ungsan,[5] in the Governorship of Ungchin,[6] Szema Fats'ung, of Shang-chu-kuo rank, and others to escort Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and his companions to the Governor-General's residence in Tsukushi.[7]

13th day. Szema Fats'ung and his companions took their departure homewards. Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Lower Shōsen rank, and Moroshi, Kasa no Omi, of Lower Daiotsu rank, were made Escort Envoys.

In this month there were built the castle of Takayasu in the province of Yamato, the castle of Yashima in the district of
XXVII. 15. Yamada in the province of Sanuki, and the castle[8] of Kanada in the province of Tsushima.

to make a sarcophagus would afford a very trifling relief to the people. The vault on the other hand was a very considerable work, owing to the enormous stones of which it was built.

[1] In Yamashiro. [2] A good omen. [3] He was Chief Minister.

[4] Phyöngyang, the capital, is meant. [5] Bear-hill. Bear-port.

[6] The "Tongkam" says:—"In the year 660, Thang divided the former territory of Pèkché into five provinces, viz., Ungchin, Mahan, Tongmyöng, Keumnyön and Tökan.

[7] The Dazaifu or Viceroyalty.

[8] We hear in this reign for the first time of the building of castles

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Imperial Princess Abe possessed the Empire, she dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara. She afterwards removed the capital to Nara.

One book says:—"The name Sakurawi no Iratsume was given to Mehi no Iratsume."

Next there was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi Maro, named Tachibana no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Asuka, and the Imperial Princess Nittabe.

Next there was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Akaye, named Hitachi no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Yamabe.

There were also four Palace women who bore (to the Emperor) sons and daughters. One was the daughter of Wotatsu, Woshiumi no Miyakko, named Shikobuko no Iratsume. She had one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Ohoye; the second was called the Imperial Prince Kahajima; the third was called the Imperial Princess Idzumi.

XXVII. 17.

Further there was the daughter of Tokoma, Kurikuma no Obito, named Kurohime no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Momutori.

Further there was Michi no Kimi Iratsume, who was the mother of the Imperial Prince Shiki.

Further there was Yakako, Iga no Uneme, who was the mother of the Imperial Prince Iga. He subsequently received the cognomen of the Imperial Prince Ohotomo.

Summer, 4th month, 6th day. Pèkché[1] sent Mi-to-să-pu and others to offer tribute.

16th day. Mi-to-să-pu and his companions took their departure.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor hunted[2] on the Moor of Kamafu. At this time the Prince Imperial, being the Emperor's younger brother, all the Princes, the Inner Minister[3] and the other Ministers were all without exception in his train.

[1] There was no Kingdom of Pèkché at this time.

[2] Any excursion of the Emperor's was called hunting. The hunt on this occasion was no doubt for medicinal herbs (kusurigari), for which this was the appointed day.

[3] Naijin.

6th month. The Prince of Ise and the Prince his younger brother died on consecutive days. Their official rank is not clear.[1] XXVII. 18.

Autumn, 7th month. Koryö sent Envoys by way of Koshi to offer tribute. The winds and waves were high, and they were therefore unable to return.

Prince Kurikuma was appointed Governor of Tsukushi.

At this time the province of Afumi practised military exercises.

Again, pasture farms were largely provided, and horses were let loose there.

Again, the province of Koshi presented to the Emperor burning earth and burning water.[2]

Again, by the shore-pavilion,[3] fish of various kinds came, covering the water.

Again, the Yemishi were entertained.

Again, the Toneri, by Imperial command, held banquets in various places.

The people of that time said:—"Is the Emperor's life drawing to a close?"

9th month, 12th day. Silla sent Kim Tong-wön, of the rank of Sason, and others to offer tribute.

26th day. Nakatomi no Naijin sent the Buddhist priests Hōben and Shimpitsu to present a ship to the Tè-kak-u[4] Yu-sin, Prime Minister of Silla. It was delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

29th day. Mimimaro, Fuse no Omi, was sent with a present for the King of Silla of a ship for the conveyance of tribute. It was delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

Winter, 10th month. The Duke[5] of Ying, the Thang Commander-in-Chief, destroyed Koryö. When King Chyung-mu of Koryö first established that kingdom, he wished his government to last for a thousand years. His mother said:—"If thou governest the country well, thou mayst accomplish XXVII. 19.

[1] This sentence is no doubt an interpolation, as the "Shūkai" points out.

[2] No doubt coal (or peat) and crude petroleum are meant. The latter is worked at the present day in Echigo, which forms part of the ancient province of Koshi.

[3] The shore of Lake Biwa.

[4] An official rank.

[5] His name was Li Tsi. See Mayers, p. 124.

this. However, it will last for just 700 years."[1] The downfall of this kingdom at this time took place just at the end of its existence for 700 years.

11th month, 1st day. There were presented to the King of Silla 50 pieces of fine silk, 500 kin of floss silk, and 100 hides of leather. These were delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

Presents were given to Tong-wön and his companions, the value of which varied in each case.

5th day. Maro, Chimori no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank,
XXVII. 20. and Kishi no Woshibi were sent to Silla. On this day, Kim Tong-wön and his people took their departure.

In this year the Buddhist priest Dōgiō stole the Kusanagi[2] sword and escaped with it, making for Silla. But wind and rain so perplexed him on his way, that he came back again.[3]

A.D. 669. 8th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Soga no Akaye no Omi was appointed Governor of Tsukushi.

3rd month, 11th day. Tamna sent Prince Kumaki and others with tribute.[4]

18th day. A present of seed-grain was made to the King of Tamna. On this day Prince Kumaki and his people took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Emperor went hunting on the plain of Yamashina.[5] The Prince Imperial, who was the Emperor's younger brother, Fujihara no Naidaijin, and all the Ministers without exception followed in his train.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Emperor ascended the peak of Takayasu. He took counsel as to a project of repairing[6] the castle there, but in pity for the labour which it would entail on the people, he abandoned this idea, and did not go on with

[1] The "Tongkam" gives Ko Chyung-mu as the name of the founder of the Kingdom of Kokuryö. The prediction is not given in this work.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 205.

[3] This story has been considerably developed by later writers.

[4] Tamna, known to us as Quelpaert, and to modern Coreans as Ché-ju, was for a long time more or less independent of the rest of Corea. In the 13th century the inhabitants were in continual rebellion.

[5] Now a station on the railway between Kiōto and Ōtsu. See above, XXVII. 17.

[6] See above, XXVII. 14, and below, XXVII. 22.

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16th day. Fujihara no Naidaijin died.

The "Nihon Seiki" says:—"The Naidaijin died at the age of fifty in his private residence. He was removed for temporary burial to the south of the mountain. Oh! cruel Heaven! that could not bring itself to leave this aged man! Alas! what sorrow!" The inscription on his tomb says that he died at the age of fifty-six.[1]

XXVII. 22.

19th day. The Emperor went to the house of Fujihara no Naidaijin, where he gave orders to Soga no Akaye no Omi, of Upper Daikin rank, and declared to him his gracious will. He accordingly bestowed on him a golden incense-burner.

12th month. There was a fire in the Treasury. This winter the Castle of Takayasu was repaired. The Land-tax of the home provinces was collected. At this time the Temple of Ikaruga was burnt.

This year Kujira,[2] Kahachi no Atahe, of Middle Shōkin rank, and others were sent on a mission to the Land of Great Thang.

Moreover, the Minister Yö Chă-sin, the Minister Kwisil Chip-să, and others, men and women, to the number of over 700 persons, were removed and settled in the district of Kamafu in the province of Afumi.

Moreover, Great Thang sent Kuo Ya-ts'ung and others, more than 2000 men.

A.D. 670. XXVII. 23.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Emperor, by command to the gentry and Daibu, held a great archery meeting within the Palace Gate.

14th day. The Emperor promulgated Court ceremonial regulations, and rules for people to give way to each other when passing along the roads.[3] He also prohibited heedless slanders and foul falsehoods.

2nd month. Registers of population were prepared. Robbers and vagabonds were suppressed.

[1] This is the first mention of such inscriptions. They were engraved on erect slabs of stone, or on wooden posts set up on the mound. None belonging to this early period have remained to our day.

[2] This personal name means "whale."

[3] In the Giseirei it is said:—"In passing along the highways, the mean should get out of the way of the noble, the young of the old, and the light of the heavy."

At this time the Emperor visited the plain of Himo in the district of Kamafu, and inspected a site for a Palace.

Moreover, the Castle of Takayasu was repaired, and stores of grain and salt collected.

Moreover, one castle was built in Nagato, and two in Tsukushi.

3rd month, 9th day. Close to Miwi,[1] on the mountain, Shintō places of worship were laid out, and offerings of cloth distributed to them. The litany was pronounced by Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji.[2]

Summer, 4th month, 30th day. After midnight a fire broke out in Hōriuji.[3] Not a single building was left.

There was great rain, with thunder.

5th month. There was a popular ditty, as follows:—

To sport by the end
Of the bridge thrown across[4] XXVII.
Come forth, my boy ! 24.
To the eight-fold wooden doors
Of the house of Tamate
If thou comest forth
Thou shalt not repent it.
Come forth, my boy !
To the eight-fold wooden doors
Of the house of Tamate.[5]

6th month. Within the capital a tortoise was caught. On its back was written the character for Saru.[6] It was

[1] Where the well-known Temple of Miwidera now stands—not far from Ōtsu. Miwi means august well. It was with water from this well that the Emperors Tenchi and Temmu and the Empress Jitō were washed at birth. Hence the name.

[2] It was the province of the Nakatomi to read the *norito*, or Shintō prayers, while the Imbe laid out the offerings.

[3] The same as the Ikaruga Temple mentioned above, XXVII. 22. *Vide* "Murray's Handbook," 2nd ed. p. 394.

[4] i.e. a slight, temporary bridge.

[5] By the house of Tamate one commentator understands the Temple of Hōriuji. Another thinks the poem may, perhaps, be an advice to the Emperor Temmu to enter religion, and avoid the Imperial Dignity. To me its application is wholly obscure. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[6] The monkey, one of the years of the Duodenary Cycle. It recurred two years later, and was marked by civil disturbances, of which this was supposed to be an omen.

yellow above and black beneath,[1] and was about six inches in length.

Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, was sent to Silla.

In this year water-mills were made; and therewith iron smelted.[2]

A.D. 671. 10th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. Soga no Akaye no Omi, of Upper Daikin rank, and Kose no Hito no Omi, of Lower Daikin rank, advanced in front of the Palace and offered their congratulations on the New Year.

5th day. Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, of Upper Daikin rank, made an announcement of Kami matters.[3]

On this day the Imperial Prince Ohotomo was appointed Dajōdaijin,[4] Soga no Akaye no Omi was made Prime Minister of the Left:[5] Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji was made Prime Minister of the Right.[6] Soga no Hatayasu no Omi, Kose no
XXVII. 25. Hito no Omi, and Ki no Ushi no Omi were made Daibu of the Censorate.[7]

[1] The colours of Heaven and Earth, according to the Chinese. In this tortoise they were inverted, the yellow (Earth) being above, and the black (Heaven) beneath. This was regarded as a sign of a change of reign.

[2] The briefness of this notice is very tantalizing to any one interested in the history of Japanese metallurgy. The word for mill does not mean merely a water wheel, but something for pounding or grinding. Perhaps the trituration of the ore is intended. The character for smelt is 冶, which might also be rendered fuse. Florenz has "gesmiedet," i.e. "forged," and one Japanese dictionary has kitafu, which has the same meaning. But no such meaning is given in Giles, and as the Interlinear Kana has wakasu, "to melt," I have little doubt that smelting is intended. Evidently the writer was familiar with the process of smelting. It is the use of a mill in connection with it that is deemed worthy of record.

[3] It is not quite clear what this means—probably some kind of Shintō religious celebration.

[4] i.e. Prime Minister. The Wamiōshō gives for this the Japanese phrase, Oho-matsuri-goto no Oho-matsu-kimi, the great lord who attends to matters of the great government, but it is difficult to believe that so clumsy an expression was ever in general use. Dajōdaijin is sufficiently cumbersome.

[5] Sadaijin.

[6] Udaijin. It will be observed that the Left takes precedence of the Right.

[7] Censors, whose duty it is to keep the Emperor informed on all matters of public importance. Giles.

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When strung as pearls,
Are strung on the same string.[1]

2nd month, 22nd day. Pèkché sent Tè-ku Yong-syön and others with tribute.[2]

3rd month, 3rd day. Honjitsu, Kibumi no Miyakko,[3] presented to the Emperor a water-level.

17th day. The province of Hitachi presented as tribute Nakatomibe no Wakako. He was one foot six inches in height, and was born in the year Hinoye Tatsu (656), so that he was in this year sixteen[4] years of age.

Summer, 4th month, 25th day. A clepsydra was placed in the new pavilion, and for the first time the hours were struck, and bells and drums sounded. For the first time the clepsydra
XXVII. 27. was used. This clepsydra was the one first constructed by the Emperor himself when he was Prince Imperial, etc., etc.[5]

In this month Tsukushi reported that a deer had been born with eight legs, but that it had died immediately.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor occupied the Little Western Palace. The Prince Imperial and all the Ministers attended on him at a banquet. On this occasion, rustic dances were twice performed before him.

6th month, 4th day. An announcement was made in regard to the military measures requested by the messengers from the three departments of Pèkché.[6]

15th day. Pèkché sent Yé Chin-chă and others to bring tribute.

In this month Prince Kurikuma was made Governor of Tsukushi.

Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute.

[1] The allusion is to the Coreans, who, although foreigners, received the same honours as Japanese. The Tachibana, or orange, was a foreign fruit.

[2] The "Shūkai" editor says that this was a remnant of the Pèkché Ministers.

[3] Of Corean extraction.

[4] According to the Japanese reckoning, which includes both the year of birth and the year to which the reckoning is made. We should say fifteen.

[5] See above, XXVI. 17.

[6] It appears from a passage in the "Tongkam" that in the year 673 some of the Pèkché cities still held out against the Chinese.

In addition they presented to the Emperor a water buffalo and a copper pheasant.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. Li Shou-chèn of Thang and his companions and the Pèkché Envoys took their departure together.

8th month, 3rd day. Karu, Tè-syang of the Upper Division of Koryö, and his people took their departure.

18th day. An entertainment was given to the Yemishi. The Emperor took to his bed and was ill. [One book says:—"In the 8th month the Emperor took ill."]

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. Silla sent the Sason, Kim Manmol and others to bring tribute.

8th day. The ceremony of opening the eyes[1] of 100 Buddhas took place in the interior of the Palace.

In this month, the Emperor sent messengers to offer to the Buddha of Hōkōji a kesa, a golden begging-bowl, a tusk of ivory, aloes wood, sandal wood and various objects of value. XXVII. 28.

17th day. The Emperor's disease became more grave. He sent for the Prince Imperial to come into the chamber where he was lying and addressed him, saying:—"Our condition is desperate: what remains after belongs to thee," etc., etc. Hereupon the Prince Imperial with repeated obeisances declined firmly to receive (the succession), giving ill-health as his reason. He said:—"I pray thee let the mighty task be entrusted to the Empress, and let Prince Ohotomo undertake the promulgation of measures of Government. It is thy servant's request, for the Emperor's sake, to renounce the world and practise religion." The Emperor gave his consent, and the Heir to the Throne got up and bowed repeatedly. He straightway proceeded to the south of the Buddhist Hall in the interior of the Palace, and sitting upon a chair, shaved off his hair and became a priest. Upon this the Emperor sent him a present of a kesa by Sugita no Ikuiha.

19th day. The Prince Imperial visited the Emperor and asked leave to go to Yoshino and practise the religion of Buddha. The Emperor granted him permission to do so. The Prince Imperial accordingly went to Yoshino. The Ohoomi and others escorted him as far as Uji, and then returned.

11th month, 10th day. The Governor[2] of the province of

[1] Corresponding to consecration.

[2] Kokushi.

Tsushima sent a messenger to the Viceroy[1] of Tsukushi, saying:—"On the day after the moon's birth these four persons, viz., the Buddhist priest Dōku,[2] Satsuyama, Tsukushi no Kimi, Sasa, Karashima no Suguri, and Iha, Nunoshi no Obito, arrived from Thang and reported that the Thang Envoys, Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his suite, numbering 600 persons, escorting
XXVII. 29. Sa-thèk Son-teung and his companions, who numbered 1400 persons, the total number being 2000, had embarked in forty-seven ships which came to an anchor together at the island of Hijishima,[3] where they said to one another:—'The ships of our people are numerous, and if they suddenly arrived thither,' it is to be feared that their guards would be alarmed, and engage us in a battle of archery.' So they have sent on Dōbun and others to give some notice in advance of their intention of proceeding to the court."

23rd day. The Imperial Prince Ohotomo took his place in front of the embroidery figure of Buddha in the Western Hall of the inner precinct, with Soga no Akaye no Omi, the Prime Minister of the Left, Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, the Prime Minister of the Right, Soga no Hatayasu no Omi, Kose no Hito no Omi and Ki no Ushi no Omi in attendance on him. He then took in his hands an incense-burner, and standing up first, made a vow, saying:—"We six men, with like minds, will obey the Emperor's commands. If any of us disregard them, surely he will incur punishment from Heaven," etc., etc. Upon this, Soga no Akaye no Omi, the Prime Minister of the Left, and the others took the incense-burner in their hands, and standing up in order, one after another, made a vow with tears of blood, saying:—"We, your five servants, will follow Your Highness's example and obey the Emperor's commands. If any of us should disregard them, let the Four Heavenly Kings smite him, and let the Gods of Heaven and Earth moreover
XXVII. 30. punish his offence. Let the thirty-three Devas[5] bear witness to this. May his line become extinct and his house come to certain ruin," etc., etc.[6]

[1] Dazaifu. [2] Called Dōbun below. One of these readings is an error.

[3] Not to be identified.

[4] i.e. in Japan. [5] Traiyastrims'as. *Vide* Eitel, p. 178.

[6] There is here a curious mixture of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Chinese religion. Curiously no reference is made to the Shintō Gods, although there is a notice of their official worship not many years before.

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17th day. The Sason, Kim Manmol, and his companions, the tribute-envoys sent by Silla, took their departure.

This year, in the house of a man of the district of Yamada, in the province of Sanuki, there was a chicken with four legs.

Moreover, in the Imperial kitchen, there were eight pots which gave out a sound. Sometimes one pot sounded, sometimes two, and sometimes three together. Sometimes all eight sounded together.

last is, perhaps, not the name of a place, but simply "true dolichos"—the plain where the true dolichos plant grows. The nagi in No. I. is a kind of edible water-plant. The application of these poems to the political events of the day is obscure, and I see no advantage in discussing the interpretations offered by the Japanese commentators.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE EMPEROR AMA NO NUNAHARA OKI NO MABITO.[1]—PART I.

(*TEMMU TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ama no Nunahara oki no mabito was the younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake. In his childhood he was called the Imperial Prince Oho-ama.[2] From his birth he had a majestic and intelligent appearance: when he grew to manhood, he was virile and martial. He was skilled in astronomy and the art of becoming invisible. He took to him the Imperial Princess Uno, daughter of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake,[3] and made her his wife. In the first year of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, he was made Heir Apparent.[4] In the fourth year of his reign, winter, the tenth month, and the seventeenth day, the Emperor took to his sick-bed. His sufferings were very severe. Upon this he sent Yasumaro Soga no Omi to fetch the Heir Apparent, and to introduce him to the Great Hall. Now Yasumaro had been always a favourite of the Heir Apparent, and secretly taking thought for him, said:—"Think

[1] Heaven-of-marsh-middle-plain (Nunahara is the name of a place), offing-of-true-man (i.e. noble). Temmu means "Heavenly valour."

This book contains the history of the civil war which resulted in establishing Temmu Tennō on the throne. It is therefore wrongly entitled the "History of Temmu." It should rather be called the "History of Kōbun," the posthumous name by which some historians designate his predecessor, Prince Ohotomo.

The Preface to the "Kojiki" gives a highly imaginative account of the events related in this book. See Ch. K., pp. 7, 8, 9.

[2] This is not the same ama (heaven) as the previous one, but is written with the characters for "fisherman."

[3] Tenchi Tennō.

[4] Literally "Eastern Palace."

before you speak." Upon this the Heir Apparent suspected a secret plot and was cautious. When the Emperor gave him his commands and bestowed on him the vast undertaking,[1] he declined, saying:—"Thy servant has unfortunately always had bad health: how could he maintain the State? I beseech Your Majesty, bestow the entire Empire on the Empress-consort, and let the Imperial Prince Ohotomo be established as successor to the throne. I will to-day renounce the world, and it is my desire for Your Majesty's sake to perform acts of merit." The Emperor gave his consent, and on the same day he renounced the world and put on the priestly garb. He accordingly collected his private weapons and deposited them every one in the Department.

19th day. He went to the Palace of Yoshino. At this time, Soga no Akaye no Omi, Prime Minister of the Left, Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, Prime Minister of the Right, and Soga no
XXVIII. 2. Hatayasu no Omi, the Dainagon, etc., escorted him. They returned from Uji. Some one said:—"Give a tiger wings and let him go."[2] This evening he occupied the Palace of Shima.

20th day. He arrived at Yoshino and took up his abode there.[3]

At this time he assembled his toneri, and addressed them, saying:—"I am now entering religion, and will carry out its practices. Let those therefore who wish to follow my example and practise religion remain here. If any of you wish by serving the Government to gain a name, let them return and do so." But there were none who would go away.

He again assembled the toneri and addressed them as before. Upon this one half of the toneri stayed with him, and one half withdrew.

12th month. The Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake died.

A.D. 672. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 18th day. Inashiki, Adzumi no Muraji, of Inner Lesser seventh rank, was sent to Tsukushi to announce the mourning for the Emperor to Kuo Ya-ts'ung and the others. Upon this Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his people all put on

[1] The succession to the throne.

[2] A Chinese saying. "You will have to bear the consequences," is understood.

[3] The previous day's entry can only refer to his starting on the journey.

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"The reason why We renounced the Dignity and retired from the world was simply in order to heal Our disease, and make whole Our body so that We might live for a hundred years. But now, if, owing to circumstances over which We have no control, We are to be exposed to calamity, why should We quietly allow the destruction of Our person?"

6th month, 22nd day. The Emperor gave orders to Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, Kimide, Wanibe no Omi, and Hiro, Muketsu no Kimi, saying:—"We are now informed that the Ministers of the Court of Afumi are plotting mischief against Us. Do ye three therefore hasten to the province of Mino and give information to Honji, Oho no Omi, the Governor of the
XXVIII. hot baths of the district of Yasuhama. Explain to him the
4. necessities of the position of affairs. Let him first of all levy the soldiers of his own district, and then by means of the Governors of provinces set on foot the troops of all kinds and quickly beset the Fuha road. We are now starting."

24th day. He was about to proceed to the East when one of his Ministers made representation to him, saying:—"Can the Afumi Ministers have no intention of conspiring? If they have, they will certainly notify it to the Empire, and the roads will in consequence become impassable. Why should we proceed to the East unarmed, without a single soldier? (If we do,) thy servant fears that our enterprise will fail of success." The Emperor followed this advice. He wished to summon back to him Woyori and the others, and therefore despatched Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, Ohotomo, Kibumi no Muraji, and Shima, Afu no Omi, to Prince Takasaka, who had charge in his absence,[1] directing them to apply to him for posting bells.[2] Accordingly he said to Yesaka and the others:—"If you cannot get the bells, let Shima come back and report to me. Let Yesaka hasten to Afumi, and summon the Imperial Princes Takechi and Ohotsu[3] to meet me in Ise." Yesaka and his companions then went to the official charged with the care of the Palace in the Emperor's absence, and putting forward the orders of the Heir Apparent,[4] asked Prince Takasaka for

[1] Of the Palace of Okamoto in Asuka, says the "Shūkai" editor.
[2] The bells conveyed a right to post-horses. See above, p. 206.
[3] Sons of Temmu Tennō.
[4] Temmu Tennō is meant. The original is literally "Eastern Palace."

posting-bells, which were refused. Then Yesaka went to Afumi, and Shima returned and reported to the Emperor, saying:—"We did not get the bells."

On this day, they started on their journey to the East Country. So great was the urgency that the Emperor did not wait to ride, but went on foot. Suddenly he fell in with a saddle-horse belonging to Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji. The Emperor accordingly mounted him. The Empress-consort followed in a palanquin. It was not until they had gone as far as the River Tsufuri that the Emperor's carriage[1] came up, so he got into it. The original followers of the Emperor at this time were the Imperial Princes Kusakabe and Osakabe, with the toneri Wogimi, Yenowi no Muraji, Ohotomo Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, Ohome, Saheki no Muraji, Tomokuni, Ohotomo no Muraji, Ihose, Waka-zakura-be no Omi, Nemaro, Fumi no Obito, Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, Wobayashi, Yamashiro no Atahe, Yamashirobe no Woda, Chitoko, Ato no Muraji, Afumi, Mitsugi no Obito, and the like, more than twenty persons in all. There were more than ten women. The same day they arrived at Aki in Uda,[2] where they were overtaken by Makuda, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Ohotomo, Kibumi no Muraji, from the Palace of Yoshino. At this time Mate, Hashi no Muraji, a toneri of the Department of the official rice-fields, supplied food to those who followed the Imperial carriage. Passing the village of Kammura, there were there more than twenty hunters, with Ohokuni, Yenomoto no Muraji, at their head. These were all summoned to follow the Imperial carriage. Moreover, Prince Mino was called. He forthwith came and joined the Emperor's suite. At the Town Hall of the district of Uda they were met by fifty pack-horses of the province of Ise which were carrying the rice of the hot-baths. All the rice was thrown away, and thus mounts were provided for those who were going afoot. When they reached Ohono, the sun went down, the mountains were dark, and they were unable to proceed. Accordingly they pulled down the fences of the houses of that village, by which they provided lights and so reached the district of Nabari at midnight. They set fire to the posting-station of Nabari, and made proclamation to the people of that village, saying:—"The Emperor is on his

XXVIII. 5.

XXVIII. 6.

[1] A palanquin is probably meant.

[2] In Yamato

way to the East Country. Therefore let all the people flock to join him." However, not a single man would come. When they were just arriving at the River Yokogaha, a dark cloud overspread the sky to the breadth of more than ten rods. Now the Emperor wondering at this, forthwith kindled a light, and holding in his own hand the Rule,[1] divined, saying:—"This is
XXVIII. 7. an omen of the division of the Empire into two parts. However, in the end We shall probably acquire the Empire. So they hastened onwards and arrived at the district of Iga, where they set fire to the posting-station. Going round to Nakayama in Iga, they were joined by the district governors of that province in command of a body of several hundred men. At dawn they reached the plain of Tara, where a short halt was made and food partaken of. On arriving at Yamaguchi[2] in Tsumuye they were joined by the Imperial Prince Takechi, who came across by way of Kafuka. He was followed by Ohohi, Tami no Atahe, Tokotari, Akazome no Miyakko, Hiro-sumi, Ohokura no Atahe, Kunimaro, Sakanohe no Atahe, Furuichi no Kuromaro, Takeda no Ohotoko, and Abe, Ikago no Omi. They crossed Mount Miyama and arrived at Suzuka in Ise. Here Ihatoko, Miyake no Muraji, Governor of the province, with the Vice-Governor, Kobuto, Miwa no Kimi, Tarumaro,
XXVIII. 8. Tanaka no Omi, magistrate of the hot-baths,[3] Nihinomi, Takata no Obito, and others joined the Emperor at the district of Suzuka. So in the morning a body of 500 troops were despatched to block the road over the mountain of Suzuka. When they arrived at the foot of the Hill of Kahawa the sun went down, and as the Empress-consort was fatigued, her palanquin was stayed for a while until she rested. But the night closed in gloomily, and it threatened rain, so that a prolonged halt was impossible, and they proceeded on their way. Hereupon it became cold, and there was a violent thunderstorm, with rain, so that the clothing of those in the Emperor's train was drenched and they could not bear the cold. When they arrived at the Town Hall of the district of Mihe, they set

[1] An instrument used in divination. It is described as round above to represent Heaven and square below to represent the Earth.

[2] Or, "the foot of the hill of Tsumuye."

[3] A village for the supply of things needful for the Emperor's hot baths is probably meant. The hot baths above, pp. 304 and 305, are no doubt similar.

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marshes. Upon this, the Imperial Prince Ohotomo addressed the Ministers, saying:—"What measures shall we take?" One of the Ministers stood forward and said:—"If we are slow to take measures, we shall certainly be too late. The best plan is with all speed to assemble our choice cavalry and to pursue in their track."

The Imperial Prince did not take this advice, but sent Ihasuki,[1] Ina no Kimi, Kusuri, Fumi no Atahe, and Ohomaro, Wosaka no Atahe, to the East Country, and Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi, with his younger brother, Ihoye, and Hiuga, Mononobe no Obito, to the Yamato capital. Moreover, he sent Wotoko, Saheki no Muraji, to Tsukushi, and Ihate, Kusu no Omi, to the province of Kibi, all of them with orders to levy troops. He said further to Wotoko and Ihate:—"These two,
XXVIII. viz. Prince Kurikuma, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and Hiroshima,
10. Tahema no Kimi, Governor of the province of Kibi, were originally dependants of the Imperial younger brother the Heir Apparent, and I suspect them of treason. If there is any sign of disobedience, slay them forthwith." Now when Ihate arrived at the province of Kibi, on the day on which he presented his token of authority,[2] he deceived Hiroshima, and got him to ungird his sword. Ihate then drew his sword and slew him.

When Wotoko reached Tsukushi, Prince Kurikuma received his token of authority, and said to him in reply:—"The province of Tsukushi has always been a defence against the calamity of foreign raids. Were these lofty battlements and deep moats overlooking the sea meant as a protection from an internal enemy? If, in awe of this command, I should now despatch troops, this province would be left unprotected, and if troubles were suddenly to arrive unexpectedly, the State would soon be overturned. What good would it then do to put me to death a hundred times? How can I dare to disregard my duty? This is my reason for refusing to set the troops in movement hastily."

Now the two sons of Prince Kurikuma, Prince Mino and Prince Takebe, stood beside him, girt with their swords, and did not withdraw. Hereupon Wotoko grasped his sword as about to rush forward. But he feared lest on the contrary he

[1] This name means rock or stone mattock. [2] Lit. tally.

might himself see destruction, and being therefore unable to accomplish his purpose, went away empty.

Ihasuki and his companions, the couriers to the East, were approaching Fuha when Ihasuki alone, suspecting that there were troops among the mountains, fell behind, and went on at a leisurely pace. Then some ambushed soldiers came out from the mountain and intercepted Kusuri and the others. Ihasuki, seeing this, felt sure that Kusuri and his companions would be captured, so he turned and fled, barely succeeding in making his escape.

Just at this time Makuda, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, both saw that the time was unfavourable, so they pretended illness, and withdrew to their house in Yamato. Learning, however, that the successor to the throne was certainly the Prince Imperial, the (late) Emperor's younger brother, resident at Yoshino, Makuda first followed the Emperor. But Wofukehi remained behind, saying:—"I will establish my fame all at once, and it is my purpose to allay calamity." So he called to him one or two families of relations, and all the stout fellows he could find, but could only get a few tens of men. XXVIII. II.

27th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi sent a messenger to the Town Hall of Kuhana with a message for the Emperor, saying:—"It is inconvenient to carry on the Government with Your Majesty residing at a distance: I would advise that some nearer place should be occupied." That same day the Emperor proceeded to Fuha, leaving the Empress-consort behind. By the time he reached the Town Hall, Sabichi, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Governor of the province of Wohari, joined him with a force of 20,000 men. The Emperor forthwith commended him. These troops were divided, and beset the roads to various places. When he arrived at Nogami, the Imperial Prince Takechi came to meet him from Wasami, and forthwith addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Last night couriers came in haste from the Court of Afumi. I therefore laid an ambush and captured them. They are Kusuri, Fumi no Atahe, and Ohomaro, Wosaka no Atahe. When I asked them where they were going, they answered and said that they belonged to the suite of Ihasuki, Wina no Kimi, who was sent on behalf of the Prince Imperial, the Emperor's younger

brother, resident at Yoshino, to mobilize the army of the East Country. Ihasuki, however, seeing the troops burst out, had run away back again.

After this the Emperor addressed the Imperial Prince Takechi, saying :—" At the Court of Afumi there are the Ohoomi of the Right and Left, and a body of shrewd Ministers, with whom to conclude counsel. Now We have no one to advise with except young children. What is to be done ? " The Imperial Prince having bared his arms and grasped his sword, addressed the Emperor, saying :—" However numerous the Afumi Ministers may be, how shall they dare to oppose the Emperor's divine spirit ? Though thou, the Emperor, art but one, thy servant Takechi, in reliance on the spiritual help of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and requesting the Imperial orders, will put himself at the head of all the generals, and will inflict chastisement on them. Shall he meet with any resistance ? " The Emperor commended him. He took him by the hand and stroked his back, saying :—" Be prudent, and not neglectful." He accordingly presented to him a saddle-horse, and delivered to him the entire conduct of military matters. The Imperial Prince straightway returned to Wasami. Upon this the Emperor established his temporary Palace at Nogami and took up his residence there. That night there was a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain. The Emperor put up a prayer, saying :—" Ye Gods of Heaven and Earth, if ye will help Us, make the thunder and rain to cease." As soon as he had done speaking, the thunder and rain stopped.

XXVIII. 12.

28th day. The Emperor went to Wasami. He returned after having inspected the military arrangements.

29th day. The Emperor went to Wasami and issued his commands to the troops through the Imperial Prince Takechi. The Emperor then went back again to Nogami, and abode there.

On this day Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, had secret conference with Kumage, Sakanohe no Atahe, the officer in charge during absence.[1] Addressing himself to one or two of the Aya no Atahe, he said :—" I shall pretend that I am the Imperial

[1] In charge of the Palace of Okamoto during the Emperor's absence, along with Prince Takazaka.

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no Kimi, and others, together with a body of valiant men, all joined the general's standard like an echo.[1] A plan was drawn up for invading Afumi, and the bravest among the troops were selected and made lieutenants, generals, and judges.[2] First of all they marched towards Nara.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Emperor sent Abemaro, Ki no Omi, Honji, Oho no Omi, Ko-ūdo,[3] Miwa no Kimi, and Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, in command of several tens of thousands of men, to cross over to Yamato by way of Mount Miyama in Ise. Moreover he sent Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, Nemaro, Fumi no Obito, Kimite, Wanibe no Omi, and Abe, Ikago no Omi, in command of several tens of thousands of men, with orders to set forth from Fuha and to proceed direct to Afumi. Fearing that these troops might be difficult to distinguish from the army of Afumi, he placed a red (mark) on their clothing. When this was done, he gave separate orders to Honji, Oho no Omi, to take 3000 men and encamp on the plain of Tara. Tarumaro, Tanaka no Omi, was sent with instructions to guard the road to Kurafu.

XXVIII 15. Now Afumi[4] ordered Prince Yamabe, Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, and Hito, Kose no Omi, to take command of several tens of thousands of men and proceed to attack Fuha. They encamped on the bank of the River Inugami.[5] Here Prince Yamabe was killed by Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, and Hito, Kose no Omi. The troubles which ensued prevented the army from advancing, and Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, returned from Inugami and stabbed himself in the throat so that he died. At this time, Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, an Afumi general, with his son Ushi and others, came and surrendered with their people. Accordingly he was granted the battle axe and halberd, and was appointed general. Forthwith he proceeded northwards to Koshi. Before this time, Afumi had sent picked troops to make a sudden incursion to the village of Tamakurabe, so Koma, Idzumo no Omi, was sent to attack them and drive them off.

[1] As the prompt result of Wofukehi's brilliant exploit.

[2] Gunkan, a term applied to military officers of high rank and experience whose duty it was to watch closely the behaviour of the troops in battle. Gubbins.

[3] Or Kobito. [4] i.e. the Court of Afumi. [5] In Afumi.

3rd day. General Wofukehi encamped on the top of Mount Narayama. Now Akamaro, Aredawo no Atahe, addressed the general, saying:—"The old capital is our headquarters. Let it be well guarded." The general took this advice and accordingly sent Akamaro and Kobito, Imbe no Obito, to guard the ancient capital.[1] Upon this, Akamaro and the others went to the ancient capital. They removed the planks of the bridges on the roads and made of them breastworks, which they set up on the highways in the neighbourhood of the capital, and so kept guard.

4th day. General Wofukehi fought a battle with Hatayasu, Ohono no Kimi, the Afumi general, at Mount Narayama. He was defeated by Hatayasu, and his men all ran away. General Wofukehi barely escaped with his life. Thereupon Hatayasu pursued him as far as Yada, where he went up and viewed the capital, but as there were breastworks set up on all the highways, he suspected an ambush, and by degrees withdrew and retreated. XXVIII. 16.

5th day. Tanabe no Wosumi, a lieutenant-general of the Afumi party, crossed Mount Kafuka and marched to Kurafu with their flags rolled up and dragging[2] their drums. At midnight, with gags in the soldiers' mouths,[3] they broke through the fortifications and suddenly entered the encampment. Accordingly, fearing that it might be difficult to distinguish between his own men and those of Tarumaro, he gave each of them the watchword "Kane."[4] Then they drew their swords and charged, when those who had not the watchword "Kane" were cut down without more ado. Upon this Tarumaro's troops were all thrown into confusion, and in this sudden emergency knew not what to do. Only Tarumaro cleverly noted the watchword, and he alone, by saying "Kane," effected his escape with difficulty.

6th day. Wosumi again advanced in order to attack the encampment on the plain of Tara. He arrived there unexpectedly. Hereupon General Honji, Oho no Omi, intercepted

[1] Saimei Tennō's Palace of Okamoto, frequently referred to above.

[2] Without beat of drum.

[3] "Chinese soldiers making a night attack are gagged with a piece of wood, fastened like a bit, to prevent talking in the ranks."—Giles.

[4] Kane, metal.

him, and pursuing him with picked troops, smote him. Wosumi alone made his escape and fled. He never came again afterwards.

7th day. Woyori and his men fought with the Afumi troops at the River Yokugaha in Okinaga and defeated them, killing their General Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji.

9th day. Woyori and his men attacked the Afumi general, Hada no Tomotari, at Mount Tokoyama, and slew him.

XXVIII. 17. On this day, Abemaro, Ki no Omi, and his colleagues, the generals for the Eastern provinces, hearing that Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, general for the Yamato capital, had been defeated by the Afumi men, divided their army and dispatched Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, at the head of more than one thousand cavalry in haste to the Yamato capital.

13th day. Woyori and his men fought a battle on the banks of the River Yasukaha, and suffered a great defeat. Ohoguchi, Kosobe no Omi, and Chishima, Hashi no Muraji, were taken prisoners.

17th day. The Kurimoto army was attacked and repulsed.

22nd day. Woyori and his men arrived at Seta. Now the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and his Ministers were encamped together west of the bridge, where they formed a great array. Their rear could not be seen. Their banners covered the plain, the dust reached to the sky: the sound of their drums and gongs could be heard for several tens of ri, their ranged crossbows were discharged confusedly, and the arrows fell like rain. Their General Chison defended it (the bridge) at the head of an advanced body of picked troops. He cut the bridge in the middle for a space of three rods,[1] and over the gap he placed a long plank. If any one attempted to cross over by this plank, it could be pulled away, and he would fall. In this way it was impossible to advance to the attack. Now, there was one daring soldier, named Waka-omi, Ohokida no Kimi. He laid aside his long spear and, donning double armour, drew his sword, suddenly rushed across the plank, and cut the rope which was fastened to it. In spite of the arrows, he entered their array. The troops were all thrown into confusion and dispersed in flight. It was not possible to prevent them. General Chison drew his sword and cut down the fugitives,

[1] Or thirty feet.

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and his colleagues descended from the Castle of Takayasu, and, crossing the River Yegagaha, gave battle to Karakuni on the west side of the river. But the troops of Takara and his colleagues were few, and they were unable to maintain the defence. Before this, Oho-oto, Ki no Omi, had been sent with orders to guard the Kashikozaka road. Upon this, Takara and his colleagues retreated to Kashikozaka, and took up their
XXVIII. 20. position in Oho-oto's camp. At this time Shihoko, Kume no Omi, Governor of Kahachi, intending to join himself to the Fuha Palace, had assembled an army. Now, when Karakuni arrived, he secretly discovered his plans, and was about to slay Shihoko. Shihoko, finding that the matter had leaked out, committed suicide.

After the lapse of one day, the Afumi army arrived in great force by several roads.[1] (Takara and Oho-oto), finding that with their joint force they were unable to meet them in battle, broke up their camp and retreated.

On this day General Wofukehi was defeated by the Afumi troops and fled with only one or two mounted men. Coming to Sumizaka, he chanced to fall in with Usagi's division, which then came up. So he turned again and encamped at Kanatsunawi, where he rallied his dispersed troops. Thereupon, he heard that the Afumi army was coming by the Ohosaka road, and, leading his troops westward as far as Chimata in Tahema, gave battle to Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, by the pond of Ashi-ike.[1] Now there was a brave soldier named Kume, who, with drawn sword, rushed straight into the midst of the (enemy's) army. The cavalry advanced close upon his heels, and so the Afumi troops all took to flight. They were pursued, and a very large number slain. Upon this, the general gave orders to his army, saying:—"This war was originally undertaken, not with the object of killing the common people, but against the ring-leaders. Therefore let there be no indiscriminate slaughter." Upon this, Karakuni got separated from his army and fled alone. The general saw him from a distance, and made Kume shoot an arrow at him, but he missed, and Karakuni succeeded at last in making his escape by flight. The general then went back again to his headquarters.

Now the Eastern (Afumi) army was constantly approaching

[1] In Yamato.

in force. So the army was divided, the divisions taking up positions respectively on the Upper, Middle, and Lower roads.[1] But General Wofukehi took charge in person on the Middle road. Hereupon Isogimi, Inukahi no Muraji, the Afumi general, came up by the Middle road. He halted at Muraya, and despatched his Lieutenant-General Kujira, Ihoriwi no Miyakko, with 200 picked soldiers to attack the general's camp. At this time the troops under his standard were but few, and could offer no resistance. Now there was a slave of the Temple of Ohowidera, named Tokumaro, who, with four others, followed the army. Tokumaro and his companions, forming an advanced guard, went forward and shot their arrows, so that Kujira's army was unable to advance. XXVIII. 21.

On this day Takechimaro, Miwa no Kimi, and Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, who were stationed on the Upper road, fought with the Afumi army at the Hashi Misasagi, and greatly defeated them. Following up their victory, they also cut off the retreat of Kujira's army, upon which Kujira's men all broke and fled. Many of the common soldiers were killed. Kujira made off, mounted on a white horse, but his horse tumbled into a muddy rice-field and could make no progress. Then General Wofukehi said to a brave soldier of Kahi:—"The man on the white horse is Ihoriwi no Kujira. Hasten after him and shoot him." Upon this the brave soldier of Kahi hurried in pursuit and came up to Kujira. Kujira whipped his horse vigorously, and it succeeded in extricating itself and getting out of the mud. Then he galloped off and made his escape. The general went back again a second time to headquarters, and encamped his men there. From this time forward the Afumi troops never came again.

Before this time, when the army was at Kanatsunawi, Kome, Takechi no Agata-nushi,[2] Governor of the district of Takechi, suddenly had his mouth closed so that he could not speak. After three days, a divine inspiration came over him,

[1] "Shūkai" editor's note:—"I gather from what is stated below that the Upper road was that of the district of Shiki no Kami, the Middle road that of the district of Shiki no Shimo, and the Lower road that of the district of Takechi" (in Yamato).

[2] Here we have an example of an old territorial noble holding the office mplied by his ancestral title.

and he said:—"I am the God who dwells in the Shrine of Takechi, and my name is Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.[1] Again, 'I am the God who dwells in the Shrine of Musa, and my name is Iku-ikadzuchi[2] no Kami.' This was their revelation:—'Let offerings of horses and weapons of all kinds be made at the misasagi of the Emperor Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko.[3] Further
XXVIII. 22. they said:—'We stood in front and rear of the Imperial descendant and escorted him to Fuha, whence we returned. We have now again taken our stand in the midst of the Imperial army for its protection.' Further they said:—'An army is about to arrive by the Western road. Be on your guard.'" When he had done speaking, he awoke (from his trance). For this reason, therefore, Kome was sent to worship at the Imperial misasagi and to make offerings of horses and weapons. He also made offerings of cloth[4] and worshipped the gods of the Shrines of Takechi and Musa.

After this Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, arrived from Ohosaka. Therefore the people of that day said:—"The words of the instructions of the Gods of the two Shrines are in accordance with the fact."[5]

Moreover the Goddess of Muraya[6] said by the mouth of a priest:—"An army is now about to arrive by the middle road of my shrine. Therefore let the middle road of my shrine be blocked." Accordingly, not many days after, the army of Kujira, Ihoriwi no Miyakko, arrived by the middle road. The men of that day said:—"So the words of the teaching of the god were right." When the war was over, the Generals reported the monitions of these three gods to the Emperor, who straightway commanded that the three gods should be raised in rank[7] and worshipped accordingly.

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 76.

[2] Live-thunder. Another reading is Ikudama, live-jewel. This is not one of the eight thunder-deities enumerated as having been born from the putrefying body of the Goddess Izanami. See above, Vol. I. p. 30. Kome was apparently inspired by two gods at once.

[3] Jimmu Tennō.

[4] Nusa or mitegura, now represented by the paper gohei.

[5] Referring to the prediction that the Army of the West was approaching.

[6] Named Mifuto hime.

[7] There were three classes of shrines, Greater, Middle and Lesser. The Greater Shrines included those from the senior division of the first rank to

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10th day. It stayed the night at Abe.

11th day. It stayed the night at Nabari.

12th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Yamato capital and took up his residence in the Palace of Shima.

15th day. He removed his residence from the Palace of Shima to the Palace of Okamoto.

In this year a Palace was erected south of the Palace of Okamoto, and the Emperor removed his residence thither that same winter. This was called the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka.

XXVIII. 24. Winter, 11th month, 24th day. Kim Ap-sil and other Silla guests were entertained in Tsukushi. The same day presents were made them, varying in the case of each.

12th month, 4th day. All those who had rendered good service were chosen out, and higher cap-ranks conferred on them, from that of Shōsen upwards, varying according to circumstances.

15th day. A ship was given to the Silla guests.

26th day. Kim Ap-sil and his companions took their departure.

In this month Takami, Wina no Kimi, of Daishi rank, died.

BOOK XXIX.

THE EMPEROR AMA NO NUNA-HARA OKI NO MABITO.—PART II.

(*TEMMU TENNŌ.*)

2ND year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Ministers were entertained at a banquet at which sake was provided. A.D. 673.

2nd month, 27th day. The Emperor commanded the functionaries to prepare an arena, in which he assumed the Imperial Dignity at the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka. He raised his wife to the rank of Empress-consort.[1] She bore to him His Highness[2] the Imperial Prince Kusakabe. Before this he had taken to him the Empress-consort's elder sister, the Imperial Princess Ohota,[3] and made her his consort. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Ohoki, and the Imperial Prince Ohotsu. His next consort was the Imperial Princess Ohoye.[4] She gave birth to the Imperial Prince Naga, and the Imperial Prince Yuge. His next consort, the Imperial Princess Nittabe,[5] gave birth to the Imperial Prince Toneri. Moreover the Lady Higami no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi, Fujihara, bore to him the Imperial Princess Tajima. Another lady, named Ihohe no Iratsume, younger sister of Higami no Iratsume, bore to him the Imperial Prince Nittabe. Next the lady[6] Ohonu no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi Soga no Akaye, bore to him one son and two XXIX. 2.
daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Hodzumi;

[1] Afterwards Jitō Tennō.
[2] Mikoto.
[3] Daughter of Tenchi, therefore his niece.
[4] Another daughter of Tenchi Tennō.
[5] Another daughter of Tenchi Tennō.
[6] In Japanese otoji, in Sinico-Japanese fujin, a term applied to the Imperial concubines of lower rank.

the second was called the Imperial Princess Ki; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tagata. The Emperor before this had taken to him Princess Nukada no Iratsume, daughter of Prince Kagami,[1] who gave birth to the Imperial Princess Towochi. Next he took to him Amako no Iratsume, daughter of Tokuse, Munagata no Kimi, who bore to him His Highness[2] the Imperial Prince Takechi; next a daughter of Ohomaro, Shishibito no Omi, named Kaji-hime no Iratsume, who bore to him two sons and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Osakabe; the second was called the Imperial Prince Shiki; the third was called the Imperial Princess Hatsusebe; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Taki.

29th day. Cap-ranks were conferred on those who had rendered good service, varying according to circumstances.

3rd month, 17th day. The Governor of the province of Bingo caught a white pheasant in the district of Kameshi and sent it as tribute. Accordingly the forced labour due from that district was entirely remitted, and a general amnesty granted throughout the Empire.

In this month scribes were brought together who began to copy out the "Issaikio"[3] in the Temple of Kaharadera.

XXIX. 3. Summer, 4th month, 14th day. With the view of sending the Imperial Princess Ohoki to attend upon the Shrine of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, she was made to dwell in the Abstinence-palace[4] of Hatsuse. This was that she might first purify herself before she by-and-by approached the place where the Goddess was.

5th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to the Ministers of State, the Daibu, as well as to the Omi and Muraji, and also the Tomo no Miyakko, saying:—"Let those who first take service (under Government) be at the outset employed by the Ohotoneri.[5] Afterwards let them be allotted to suitable offices, selection being made according to their

[1] These and the following concubines seem to have had no special rank or position.

[2] Mikoto.

[3] The Buddhist canon or Tripitaka. A copy presented to the Bodleian Library or British Museum by a Japanese nobleman was brought to the British Legation, Tokio, in two carts.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 176, note.

[5] High Chamberlain.

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20th day. Koryo sent the Tè-hyöng Han-chă, Witu[1] of the Upper Division, the Tè-hyong Syök-u of the Former Division, and others with tribute. Accordingly Silla sent Kim Ni-ik, of Han Na-ma rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.[2]

25th day. Kim Seung-won and the other Envoys sent to congratulate the Emperor on his accession—twenty-seven guests of middle and upper rank—were summoned to the capital. Accordingly the Emperor instructed the Viceroy (of Tsukushi) to declare his wishes to the Tamna Envoys, saying:—"The Emperor has newly reduced the Empire to peace, and has only just now assumed the Imperial Dignity. For this reason he does not invite to his Court any other Envoys than those who bring congratulations, as you yourselves have observed. Moreover the weather is cold, and the waves are mountainous. To detain you longer here would be rather distressing to you than otherwise. You would therefore do well to take your departure without delay." Accordingly the King resident in that country and his Envoys, Kumayé and his colleagues, were for the first time granted the cap-rank of Upper Dai-otsu,[3] which moreover was adorned with brocade and embroidery, and corresponded to the rank of Cha-phyöng (Minister) in that country. So they returned home from Tsukushi.

9th month, 28th day. Kim Seung-wön and his colleagues were entertained at Naniha. There was a performance of music of all kinds, and they received presents varying in the case of each person.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. Kim Seung-wön took his departure.

21st day. Han-chă of Koryö, Sal-yu of Silla, and their
XXIX. 5. people, were entertained at Oho-gohori[4] in Tsukushi, and received presents varying in the case of each.

12th month, 5th day. Presents were given to all those who were in attendance on the Emperor at the feast of first-fruits,[5] viz. the Nakatomi and Imbe, with the officials of the Shintō department, the district governors of the two provinces of

[1] A title.

[2] Koryö had at this time been overthrown by China.

[3] This was apparently the rank conferred on the Envoys, that bestowed on the King not being mentioned. Cha-phyöng was a Pèkché rank.

[4] Or Ohokuni.

[5] Ohonihe.

Harima and Tamba,[1] and also to the labourers under them. A grade of cap-rank was accordingly conferred on each of the district governors.

17th day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, and Katamaro, Ki no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, were appointed Commissioners for the erection of the great Temple of Takechi [now Ohomiya no Ohodera]. Now Fukurin, the priest appointed as superintendent, declined this office on account of age, but he was not allowed to refuse.

27th day. The Buddhist Priest Gisei was made Junior Sōdzu.[2] On this day there were conjoined two additional priests as clerks. It was at this time that the practice of having four clerks first began.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. Prince Chhyang-syöng of Pèkché died. He was granted the rank of Outer Shōshi.[3] A.D. 674.

2nd month, 28th day. Abemaro, Ki no Omi, died. The Emperor was much grieved, and in consideration of his services in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru bestowed on him the rank of Daishi.

3rd month, 7th day. Ohokuni, Woshiumi no Miyakko, Governor of the province of Tsushima, reported that silver had been produced for the first time in that province, and sent some as tribute. Ohokuni was accordingly awarded the rank XXIX. 6.
of Lower Shōkin. It was at this time that silver was first produced in Japan. Offerings were therefore made of it to all the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and presents of it were likewise given to the Daibu, etc., of the rank of Shōkin and above.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Wosakabe was sent to the shrine of Isonokami to brighten up the Divine precious things with oil. On the same day, the Emperor decreed, saying:—"Let all the precious things originally deposited in the Sacred Treasuries by the various Houses be returned to their descendants."

[1] Whence the rice for the ceremony was provided. See Florenz's instructive note on this passage.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 153.

[3] Chhyang-syöng was a grandson of Wi-chă, the last king of Pèkché His father took refuge in Japan on the downfall of the dynasty.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Imperial Princess Ohoki left the Abstinence-palace of Hatsuse and proceeded to the shrine of Ise.[1]

A.D. 675 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The various students of the Department of Education, the Department of the Yin and Yang,[2] the Outer Apothecaries' Department, the woman of S'ravastī,[3] the woman of Tara, Prince Syön-kwang of Pèkché, and the Silla labourers offered presents of drugs and rarities.

2nd day. From the Imperial Princes downwards all the public functionaries presented their respects to the Emperor.

3rd day. All the public functionaries, from the initial rank upwards, presented firewood.[4]

5th day. A platform was for the first time erected from which to divine by means of the stars.[5]

7th day. A banquet was given at Court to the Ministers.

17th day. The Ministers of State, Daibu, and all the public functionaries from the initial rank upwards had an archery meeting in the Court of the Western Gate.

XXIX. 7. On this day, moreover, the province of Yamato presented an auspicious barn-door fowl, the Eastern provinces presented a white falcon, and the province of Afumi presented a white owl.[6]

23rd day. Offerings[7] (of cloth) were made at the various shrines.

2nd month, 9th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces of Yamato, Kahachi, Settsu, Yamashiro, Harima, Ahaji, Tamba, Tajima, Afumi, Wakasa, Ise, Mino, and Wohari, saying:—"Seek out in your jurisdiction men and women of the common people who can sing well, and also dwarfs and jugglers,[8] etc., and send them as tribute."

[1] See above, XXIX 3.

[2] This Department had charge of astronomy and calendar-making, with observations on the weather.

[3] See above, XXV. 57.

[4] A regular yearly practice first mentioned here.

[5] The close association of astronomy and divination may be inferred from this.

[6] The interlinear Kana has tobi, i.e. kite.

[7] Mitegura.

[8] The word used includes jugglers, acrobats, *et hoc genus omne.*

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In this month Koryö sent the Tè-hyöng[1] Pok-kan, the Tè-hyöng Tamu and others with tribute. Silla sent the Keupson, Pak Keun-syu, and the Tè-na-ma, Kim Mika, to offer tribute.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. More than 2400 priests and nuns were invited to a great feast of vegetable fare.

8th day. Hiromaro, Tahema no Kimi, of Upper Shōkin rank, and Maro, Kunu no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, were forbidden by the Emperor to attend at Court.

9th day. The Emperor decreed as follows:—"In regard to lending out the tax-rice, henceforward let the circumstances of the peasants be clearly ascertained, and their condition as to poverty or wealth having been learned in advance, let them be arranged in three classes, to the lower two of which such loans may be made."

10th day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, and Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, were sent to offer prayers to the Wind-Gods at Tateno in Tatsuta.[2] Ohobuta,
XXIX. 9. Hashibito no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, and Karainu,[3] Sone no Muraji, of Middle Daisen rank, were sent to worship the Oho-imi Deity at Kahawa in Hirose.[4]

14th day. Maro, Kunu no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was convicted of offering resistance to an Imperial messenger, and stripped of all his offices and dignities.

17th day. The Emperor issued a decree to the provinces, saying:—"Henceforth the fishermen and hunters are to be restrained from making pitfalls or using spear-traps and such
XXIX. 10. like contrivances. Moreover, from the 1st day of the 4th month until the 13th day of the 9th month, let no one

[1] Tè-hyöng (great elder-brother) is an official rank, Pok-kan his name.

[2] In Yamato. This is the first of a regular series of such notices. The litany to the Wind-Gods is preserved in the "Yengishiki," and has been translated by Satow. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII. p. 416. I refrain from quotation, as the study of this treatise is indispensable to any one who is at all interested in the study of Shintō.

[3] This name means "Corean dog."

[4] In Yamato. Oho-imi means great religious abstinence. The Deity's proper name was Waka-uka-hime, i.e. the young-food-lady. For a full account of this service see Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," in the "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII. p. 412. It will be observed that neither Buddhist nor Shintō worship was neglected by this Emperor.

set fish-traps, closing the space.[1] Further, let no one eat the flesh of kine, horses, dogs, monkeys, or barn-door fowls.[2] This prohibition does not extend to other kinds of meat. Offenders against this regulation will be punished."

18th day. Prince Womi, of the third rank, was guilty of an offence and was banished to Inaba. One of his children was banished to the island of Idzu,[3] and another to the island of Chika.[4]

23rd day. A selection was made of persons possessed of accomplishments. They were granted presents, which varied in each case.

In this month Prince Chhyung-Won of Silla arrived at Naniha.

6th month, 23rd day. Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, was ill, and was about to die. The Emperor was greatly shocked, and made an order, saying:—"Thou, Yesaka, hast devoted thyself to the public service, neglecting thy private affairs. Without sparing thy life, prompted by thy manly spirit, thou hast laboured in the great campaign. It has been my constant desire to show thee affection, and therefore, even when thou art gone, thy descendants will receive liberal rewards." He accordingly raised him to the rank of Outer Shōshi. Not many days after he died in his private dwelling.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Kunimaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Upper Shōkin rank, was sent to Silla in the capacity of Chief Envoy. Irishi, Miyake no Kishi, of Lower Shōkin rank, accompanied him as Associate Ambassador.

8th month, 1st day. Prince Kumaki, the tribute Envoy of Tamna, anchored at Tsukushi. XXIX. 11.

22nd day. There was a storm which made the sand to fly, and damaged houses.

25th day. Chhyung-wön, the ceremonies being completed, took his departure. He set sail from Naniha.

28th day. The Tribute-Envoys of the two countries, Silla

[1] Hima-sakiri. Apparently a particular kind of fish-trap is meant. The "Shūkai" editor omits this word, considering it a gloss which has crept in from the margin.

[2] Buddhist influence is obvious here.

[3] Probably Ohoshima (called by foreigners Vries Island) is meant.

[4] In Hizen.

and Koryō, were entertained in Tsukushi, and given presents which varied in each case.

9th month, 27th day. Prince Ko-yō of Tamna arrived at Naniha.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Messengers were despatched in all directions to seek for the Issaikio.[1]

10th day. The Ministers were entertained at a banquet with sake.

16th day. Thirty men of Thang were forwarded as tribute from Tsukushi. They were forthwith sent to the province of Tōtōmi and settled there.[2]

20th day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"Let everyone, from the Princes down to those of initial rank, provide himself with weapons." On this day there was a report received from the province of Sagami that in the district of Takakura a woman had given birth to three male children.[3]

11th month, 3rd day. A certain man ascended the hill east of the Palace, and having uttered words of evil omen,[4] cut his throat and died. Those who were on duty on that night received everyone a step in rank. There was a great earthquake in this month.

A.D. 676. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Ministers and public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

4th day. There were granted to all, from the Imperial Prince Takechi down to the Daibu of Shōkin rank, upper garments, trousers, lined garments, girdles, garters, staffs, and arm-rests.[5] But to the three grades of Shōkin rank arm-rests were not granted.

XXIX. 12. 7th day. Grants were made to the Daibu of Shōkin rank and upwards, varying in each case.

15th day. The functionaries from the initial rank upwards presented firewood. On the same day they all assembled in the Court, and were entertained at a banquet.

[1] See above, XXIX. 2.

[2] The Chinese were at war with Silla at this time.

[3] No stigma seems to have been attached to this. On the contrary, there are instances of the Emperor giving presents to women who had borne a multiplicity of children.

[4] No doubt abusive language towards the Emperor is meant.

[5] See above, p. 256.

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removed to the East country and become peasants of that country."

5th month, 3rd day. A decree was promulgated respecting the offences of Governors of provinces who had failed to pay over their commuted taxes at the limited time,[1] etc., etc.

7th day. The Governor of the province of Shimotsuke represented to the Emperor that, owing to a bad year, the peasantry in his domain were starving and wished to sell their children. The Court refused permission.

In the course of this month the Emperor forbade the cutting of grass or firewood on Mount Minabuchi and Mount Hosokaha. Moreover, indiscriminate burning and cutting were forbidden on all mountains and plains in the Home provinces as to which a prohibition had always existed.

6th month. Prince Kurikuma, of the fourth rank, died of disease.

Mononobe no Wogimi no Muraji took suddenly ill and died. When the Emperor heard this he was greatly shocked. In the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he had followed the Imperial carriage to the East country. In consideration of his great services the Emperor showed him favour by conferring on him the rank of Inner Daishi. He also granted him the seniority among those of his House.[2]

This summer there was great drought. Messengers were sent to all quarters to make offerings of cloth and to pray to all the gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover, the priests and nuns were invited to offer supplications to the Three Precious Things. Still there was no rain, and therefore the five grains did not grow, and the peasants were starving.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Ministers, Daibu and
XXIX. 14. public functionaries received an increase of rank, each according to his deserts.

8th day. The Tamna guests returned to their own country.

16th day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.

[1] The taxes (not the grain tax) due in the middle decade of the 8th month were payable into the exchequer, for near provinces before the end of the 10th month, for provinces of medium distance before the end of the 11th month, for more distant provinces before the end of the 12th month.

[2] Uji.

In the course of this month, Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, died. In consideration of the services rendered by him in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Outer Shōshi.

A star appeared in the East, seven or eight feet in length. In the 9th month it at length disappeared from the sky.

8th month, 2nd day. Sustenance fiefs, varying in each case, were granted to all from the rank of Prince of the Blood down to Daibu of Shōkin rank, and also to Imperial Princesses, Princesses and lady officials of the Palace.

16th day. The Emperor commanded, saying :—" Let a Great Purification be held in all quarters. The articles needed for this purpose are to be forwarded to the shrines of purification by the Kuni no Miyakko of each province, to wit, one horse and one piece of cloth. The other things are to be supplied by the governors of districts, viz., each one sword, one deerskin, one mattock, one smaller sword, one sickle, one set of arrows, and one sheaf of rice in the ear. Further, let each house provide a bundle of hemp."[1]

17th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying :—" Let all sentences of death, confiscation, or the three classes of banishment be mitigated one degree.[2] As for crimes punishable by removal to another part of the same province or lesser offences, let them all be pardoned whether they have been detected or not. XXIX. 15.

This pardon, however, does not apply to persons who have already proceeded to their place of banishment."

[1] "The Oho-barahi or Great Purification was the most solemn ceremony of the Shintō religion. It was performed twice a year, on the 30th day of the 6th and 12th months, by the Princes of the Blood and the Ministers, who assembled for the purpose at the Gate of the Scarlet Bird. The urabe or diviners read the norito or formula, which had the effect of dissipating (harai) demoniac influences."—Yamada's Dictionary.

The litany used on this occasion is commonly called the Nakatomi no Oho-barahi. It has been preserved, but is unfortunately not one of those translated by Satow. Dr. Florenz promises us a translation of all the norito.

[2] The three classes of banishment are :—1st, to near provinces, as Echizen or Aki ; 2nd, to provinces of medium distance, as Suwo or Iyo ; 3rd, to distant provinces, as Idzu, Aha, Hitachi, Sado, Iki, or Tosa. The confiscation is of the persons of the criminals and their families into slavery in public offices. This practice is still followed in Corea.

On this day the Emperor commanded the various provinces to let loose living things.[1]

In this month, Oho-miwa no Makamuta no Kobito no Kimi died. When the Emperor heard this, he was much grieved, and in view of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru granted him the posthumous rank of Inner Shōshi with the posthumous title of Ohomiwa no Makamuta no Mukahe-gimi.

9th month, 1st day. Owing to the rain, the beginning of the month was not announced.[2]

10th day. The Princes and Ministers sent agents to the capital and to the Home provinces and gave out weapons for (man of each the population).

12th day. Prince Yagaki, of the third rank, Viceroy of Tsukushi, was guilty of an offence, and was banished to Tosa.

13th day. Presents were made to the public functionaries and to men of the frontier states, varying in the case of each.

21st day. The Department of the Shintō religion represented to the Emperor as follows:—"We have ascertained by divination the provinces and districts which are to supply the rice for the festival of the first-fruits. There respond to the divination the district of Yamada, in the province of Wohari, for the Yuki, and the district of Kasa, in the province of Tamba, for the Sugi."[3]

In the course of this month Ikadzuchi,[4] Sakata no Kimi, died. In view of his services during the year Midzunoye Saru he was granted the posthumous rank of Daishi.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Ministers were entertained at a wine-feast.

[1] A Buddhist practice. At the present day beggars may be seen at the gates of Buddhist temples with vessels containing small lampreys or cages of sparrows, which the faithful are allowed to release on paying a small sum.

[2] There was an old custom in China of announcing the beginning of the month to the ancestral temples of the Emperors. But the practice in Japan seems to have been different. There are notices of Japanese Emperors "viewing the announcement of the new month from a balcony," etc.

[3] Yuki means "ceremonially pure," and sugi means "next." These terms are applied to two qualities of rice used for this festival. Various explanations are given. One is that the yuki was for sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven, the sugi for the Gods of Earth. Yuki is etymologically connected with imi, religious abstinence. The divination was by burning a tortoise-shell.

[4] Thunder or thunder-bolt.

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In this month an entertainment was given to men of Tanegashima[1] under the tsuki tree west of the Asuka Temple.

3rd month, 19th day. The Silla Envoys, Chhyöng-phyöng and the guests of lower rank to the number of thirteen, were invited to the capital.

Summer, 4th month, 11th day. Nagura Saita no Fubito, was convicted of scoffing at the Imperial[2] car, and was accordingly banished to the island of Idzu.

14th day. The Escort-Envoys, Chinna and the rest, were entertained in Tsukushi, and straightway returned home from there.

5th month, 1st day. The ceremony of announcing the first day of the month was omitted.

3rd day. The Emperor granted to the Oho-hakase,[3] a man of Pekché named Sol-tan, the rank of Lower Daisen, and accordingly bestowed on him a fief of 30 houses. On this day Otokashi, the Yamato no Yeshi,[4] was granted the rank of Lower Shōsen and a fief of 20 houses.

7th day. A man of Silla named Pak Chăpha, of Ason rank, accompanied by three attendants and three Buddhist priests, was driven by stress of weather to the island of Chikashima.[5]

28th day. The Emperor gave orders to the Shrines of Heaven and the Shrines of Earth that the sacred rice-tax should be divided into three shares, one of which was to be set apart for the offerings to the Gods and the other two given to the Kannushi.[6]

In this month there was drought in the capital and the Home provinces, and prayers were made for rain.

6th month, 14th day. There was a great earthquake.

In this month the Emperor commanded the Yamato no Aya no Atahe, saying:—" Your family has from the beginning been
XXIX. 18 guilty of the seven misdemeanours. From the Woharida[7] reign down to the Court of Afumi it has been the Emperor's constant

[1] An island off the south coast of Satsuma. It is notable as the place visited by Mendez Pinto and his companions in 1542, and where they first taught the inhabitants the use of firearms. Tanegashima means a pistol in Japanese at the present day.

[2] The Emperor is meant, but the writer does not dare to introduce him in such a connection.

[3] Great Doctor. [4] Yamato painter. [5] In Hizen.

[6] Shintō priests. [7] Suiko Tennō.

business to take measures against you. Now in this Our reign you deserve to be called to an account for your misconduct, and to receive condign punishment. We are very reluctant, however, to extirpate the House[1] of Aya no Atahe, and we therefore extend to you great clemency and pardon you. But henceforth if any of you offend his crime shall surely be ranked among unpardonable offences."

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.

8th month, 15th day. A great feast of Buddhist fare was given at the Asuka Temple, at which the "Issaikio"[2] was read. The Emperor stood at the South Gate of the Temple, and did obeisance to the Three Precious Things. At this time he commanded the Princes of the Blood and the other Princes as well as the Ministers each to furnish one person to renounce the world. These persons were chosen without distinction of age or sex, and all entered religion in accordance with their wishes. They therefore took part in this great feast.

27th day. Kim Chhyöng-phyöng returned to his own country. Accordingly Pak Chă-pha and the other who had been driven by stress of weather to Japan were delivered to Chhyöng-phyöng and the rest, and sent back to their native land.

28th day. Tamna sent Prince Tora with tribute.

9th month, 30th day. A decree was made, saying:—"Let vagabonds who come back again after having been sent to their native places be, one and all, set to forced labour."

Winter, 10th month, 14th day. Momoye, Kahabe no Omi, of Inner Upper Shōkin rank, was appointed Minister of the Interior,[3] and Maro, Tajihi no Kimi, of Inner Lower Daikin rank, was made Daibu[4] of the province of Settsu.

11th month, 1st day. Owing to rain the ceremony of announcing the 1st day of the month was not observed.

The Viceroy of Tsukushi presented to the Emperor a red crow.[5] The Viceroy's officials accordingly received presents, XXIX. 19.

[1] Uji. [2] The books of the Buddhist canon, Tripitaka.

[3] Mimbukiō, or in Japanese Kakibe no Kimi.

[4] From the enumeration of his functions in the "Shokuinriō," this official seems to have been a governor with very comprehensive powers.

[5] A red crow with three legs was supposed to inhabit the sun. The appearance of one on earth was accounted the most favourable of omens. See above, Vol. I. p. 116, note.

each according to his rank. Moreover the person who specially caught the red crow was granted five steps in rank. Also the local officials of the district in question had their rank raised. Consequently the taxes were remitted to the peasants of this district for the space of one year. On this day a general amnesty was proclaimed to the Empire.

21st day. The festival of first-fruits was held.

23rd day. A meal was given to all the public functionaries who possessed a definite rank.

27th day. Presents were given to the officials of the Shintō Department and to the local governors who had assisted in the offering of first-fruits.

12th month, 1st day. Owing to the snow the ceremony of announcing the 1st day of the month was not observed.

A.D. 678. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. There was archery at the South Gate.

22nd day. The Tamna people set out for the capital.

This spring, as a preparation for worshipping the Gods of Heaven and Earth, a purification was held throughout the Empire. An Abstinence-palace was erected on the bank of the Kurahashi river.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor wished to proceed to the Abstinence-palace, and held divination for this purpose. The response fell upon the 7th day. Accordingly, at the hour of sunrise the officers whose business it was to clear the road having already started, and the public functionaries being formed in line of procession, the Emperor took his seat in his palanquin, and ordered his canopy, but had not yet set out, when the Imperial Princess Towochi suddenly took ill, and died within the Palace. For this reason the cortège was
XXIX. 20. stopped, and the Emperor was unable to proceed. The result was that the Sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth did not take place.

13th day. A pillar of the Western Hall of the New Palace was struck by lightning.

14th day. The Imperial Princess Towochi was buried at Akaho. The Emperor was present, and was graciously pleased to raise lament for her.

Autumn, 9th month. Yoshimaro, Oshinomi no Miyakko, presented to the Emperor five auspicious stalks of rice. Each

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not destroyed, and the inmates did not know that the hill had come down and that their house had moved away. When it became daylight, however, they discovered what had happened, to their great amazement.

In this year the Silla Escort-Envoys, Ka-ryang Chyöng-san, of Nama rank, and Kim Hong-syé, of Nama rank, came to Tsukushi, and said:—"The King of Silla having despatched Kim Syo-mul, of Keup-son rank, Kim Syé-syé, of Tè-nama rank, etc., as Envoys to bring this year's tribute, I, Chyöng-san, was sent to escort Syo-mul and his colleagues. In mid-ocean, however, we chanced to meet with a storm, in which Syo-mul
XXIX. 22 and the others became all dispersed, and I know not what has become of them. I, Chyöng-san, alone have with difficulty succeeded in reaching the shore." Syo-mul and his colleagues never arrived.

A.D. 679. 8th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Silla Escort-Envoys Ka-ryang Chyöng-san and Kim Hong-syé, etc., proceeded to the capital.

7th day. The Emperor issued a decree as follows:—"At the New Year let the Princes, Ministers, and public functionaries refrain from paying their respects to any persons except relatives of the grade of elder brothers or elder sisters and above, or to the senior members of the House. The Princes must not pay their respects even to their mothers, when the latter have not the title of Princess; nor must Ministers pay their respects to their mothers when the latter are of mean rank. Even on other ceremonial occasions than the New Year the same rule is to be observed, and those who infringe it shall be punished according to circumstances."

8th day. There was archery at the West Gate.

2nd month, 1st day. Koryö sent Hwan-heum, Tè-syang of the Upper Division, Sa Syu-lu, Tè-syang of the Lower Division, and others to offer tribute. Accordingly, Silla sent Kam Mul-la, of Nama rank, to escort Hwan-heum and his colleagues to Tsukushi.

3rd day. Katamaro, Ki no Omi, died. In consideration of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru,[1] he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

4th day. The Emperor issued an edict, saying:—"When

[1] 672.

the year Kanoto Mi[1] is reached, let there be a review[2] of the weapons and horses belonging to the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers, and the public functionaries. Therefore let provision be made in advance."

In this month the Emperor was most graciously pleased to extend his charity to the poor and needy, and to give alms to those starving from cold and hunger.

3rd month, 6th day. Wakami, Ohokida no Kimi, of the Imperial guard, died.[3] During the great campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he led the van in breaking the camp of Seta.[4] For this service he was granted the posthumous rank of Outer Upper Shōkin.

7th day. The Emperor proceeded to Wochi,[5] where he did reverence to the Misasagi of the Later Okamoto Empress.[6] XXIX. 23.

9th day. Prince Ishikaha, Viceroy of Kibi, took ill and died in Kibi. When the Emperor heard this he was deeply grieved, and was most graciously pleased, etc., etc., to confer on him the posthumous honour of Prince of the second class.

22nd day. Alms of floss silk and cloth were given to poor priests and nuns.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Let the history of those temples which have sustenance-fiefs attached to them be considered, and where addition is desirable, let addition be made; where they should be done away with, let them be done away with."

On this day the names of the temples were fixed.

9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Palace of Yoshino.

6th day. The Emperor addressed the Empress Consort, the Imperial Prince Kusakabe, the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, the Imperial Prince Takechi, the Imperial Prince Kahashima, the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and the Imperial Prince Shiki,

[1] A.D. 681.

[2] A wapenshaw.

[3] There is a scale of Chinese characters for death, according to the rank of the person. Here the character 死 is used, which, as the "Tsūshō" commentator points out, is improper, this character being employed only in the case of men of the 6th or lower ranks.

[4] See above, XXVIII. 17. He is there called Waka-omi.

[5] In Yamato.

[6] Saimei Tennō.

saying:—"We wish to-day to unite with you in making a vow in the Court, so that after a thousand years[1] there may be no trouble. What think ye?" The Imperial Princes answered together, saying:—"The reasonableness of this is manifest." Accordingly, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe stood forward first and made oath, saying:—"Ye gods of Heaven and Earth, and ye Emperors, bear witness! We, elder and younger brothers, young or of mature age, more than ten Princes in all, born each of different mothers, without respect of birth from the same or different mothers, together comply with the Emperor's behest, and will give each other mutual support and avoid contention. If, from this time forward, any of us should not keep this vow, may he himself perish and may his line become extinct! There will be no forgetfulness or failure."

The (other) five Imperial Princes took oath together in the above terms in order one after another, and thereupon the Emperor said:—"Ye, my sons, though each born of different mothers, are now in affection as if born of one mother." Accordingly, loosening out his collar,[2] he took the six Imperial Princes to his bosom, and made oath, saying:—"If We contravene this oath, may Our body perish instantly!" The Empress-consort's oath was like that of the Emperor.

7th day. The Emperor's car returned to the Palace.[3]

10th day. The six Imperial Princes together paid their respects to the Emperor before the Great Hall.

6th month, 1st day. Hail fell as big as peaches.

23rd day. Prayer was made for rain.

XXIX. 24 26th day. Ohotomo no Moriya no Muraji, of Upper Daikin rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. Prayer was made for rain.

14th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. Prince Katsuraki, of the 4th rank, died.

8th month, 1st day. The Emperor ordered that the various Houses should send tribute of women.[4]

[1] i.e. after my death.

[2] A Chinese metaphorical expression equivalent to "giving vent to his feelings."

[3] From Yoshino.

[4] For the service of the Palaces no doubt.

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the character of their suites of men and horses when passing
XXIX. 25. along the streets.[1]

17th day. Silla sent Kim Hang-na, of Ason rank, and Sal Nyu-seng, of Sason rank, with tribute. The tribute consisted of such things as gold, silver, iron, sacrificial cauldrons with three feet, brocade, cloth, hides, horses, dogs, mules, and camels—more than ten kinds in all. There were also, distinct from these, presents for the Emperor, the Empress-consort, and the Prince Imperial, of gold, silver, swords, flags and the like—a certain number of each.

In the course of this month, the Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Ordinarily priests and nuns reside within their temples, and observe the Three Precious Things. In the case of aged persons, however, or those who by disease are permanently confined to bed in a narrow chamber, of those in short whose old age or ill-health allows them no facility of movement, places which should be pure are made impure. For this reason, let all such persons in future apply each to relations or friends to build for them in vacant spaces one or two dwellings where the aged can be nourished and the sick take medicine."

11th month, 14th day. There was an earthquake.

23rd day. Tsura, Yamato no Umakahibe no Miyakko, of Lower Dai-otsu rank, was sent to Tanegashima as Chief Envoy, and Kō-kan, Kami no Sukuri, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, as Junior Envoy. Accordingly one grade of rank was bestowed on them.

In this month barriers were constructed for the first time on Mount Tatsuta and Mount Ohosaka. Moreover Naniha built an outer line of fortifications.

XXIX. 26. 12th month, 2nd day. In consequence of the auspicious stalks of grain,[2] presents were made to the Princes of the Blood, the Princes, the Ministers, and the public functionaries, each according to his rank. There was an amnesty for all offences from capital crimes downwards.

In this year the district of Ito, in the province of Kiï, sent tribute of the herb of long life. It resembled a mushroom in appearance. Its stem was one foot long, and its crown two

[1] The "Yengishiki" contains regulations for the numbers of men by which priests of various ranks might be attended in public.

[2] See above, XXIX. 24.

spans in circumference. Moreover, the province of Inaba sent tribute of auspicious rice, each stem of which had branches.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor occupied the Little Opposite Palace, where he gave a banquet to the Princes and Ministers in the Court of the Great Hall. On this day he granted a surname[1] to Kobito, Imbe no Obito, and called him Muraji. Accordingly he presented his joyful acknowledgments along with his younger brother Shikobuchi. A.D. 680.

17th day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the officials of Shōken rank engaged in archery at the South Gate.

20th day. It was reported from the Province of Settsu that at the village of Ikuta, peach trees and plum trees had borne fruit.

2nd month, 18th day. A sound resembling that of drums was heard in the Eastern quarter.

26th day. There was a man who said:—"I got a deer's horn on Mount Katsuraki. This horn branches into two at the root. It is united at the end, and has flesh, over which flesh there is hair. The hair is one inch in length. Thinking this wonderful, I offer it as a present to the Emperor." It was, perhaps, the horn of a Lin.[2]

27th day. Eight Silla labourers were sent back to their own country. The Emperor graciously bestowed presents on them, varying in the case of each.

3rd month, 10th day. The Province of Settsu sent tribute of a white shitodo.[3] XXIX. 27

23rd day. The Emperor went to Aki in Uda.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

11th day. A fire broke out in the nuns' quarters of the Tachibana Temple.[4] Ten rooms were burnt.

[1] This is not really a grant of a surname, but a step in the ranks of the nobility, as from an earl to a marquis.

[2] One of the four supernatural creatures of Chinese tradition, and regarded as a happy portent, on its alleged appearance, of the advent of good government. It has the body of a deer, the tail of an ox, and a single horn.

[3] Described as a small bird of a reddish colour, resembling a sparrow. It has a ring round the eyes, and black spots on the wings. It frequents mountains.

[4] In Yamato, founded by Shōtoku Daishi.

25th day. The Silla Envoys Hang-na and his companions were entertained in Tsukushi, and received presents each according to his rank.

In this month an Imperial decree was issued as follows:—"Henceforward let all temples, with the exception of the two or three great national temples, cease to be administered by officials. But for those which hold a sustenance-fief, a limit from first to last of thirty years is fixed. This will be discontinued when, upon calculating the years, the number of thirty is completed. Moreover the Temple of Asukadera ought not to be included in those administered by officials, but as it was originally a Great Temple, always administered by officials, and has also done good service formerly,[1]—for these reasons it is still retained in the class of officially administered temples.

5th month, 1st day. By order of the Emperor coarse silk, floss silk, raw silk, and cloth were bestowed on the twenty-four temples within the capital, the amount varying in each case.

On this day the expounding of the "Kon-kwō-myō Sutra" was begun in the Palace and in the various temples.

13th day. Koryö sent Myo-mun of the Southern Division as Chief Envoy, Chyun-tök, who was Tè-kyöng of the Western Division, and others with tribute. Accordingly Silla sent Ko-na, of Tè-nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys Myo-mun and the others to Tsukushi.

21st day. Tsunade, Hada no Miyakko, of Lower Daikin rank, died. On account of his services during the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

27th day. Maro, Hoshikaha no Omi, of Middle Shōkin rank, died. On account of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Daishi.

XXIX. 28. 6th month, 5th day. The Silla guests, Hang-na and his colleagues, returned to their own country.

8th day. There was a rain of ashes.[2]

14th day. There was a great thunderstorm.

[1] No doubt in the civil war of 672, one of the battles of which took place close to this temple.

[2] A later history mentions another rain of something like ashes. The old peasants called it "Flowers of rice."

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Accordingly he inspected the horses of the officials from the rank of Daisen downwards at Nagara no mori.[1] He also had archery practised on horseback.

23rd day. There was an earthquake.

27th day. Prince Kuhachi died in his private residence.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor commiserated the needy common people and also the monks and nuns of the temples within the capital and gave them alms. Each monk and nun received four hiki of coarse silk, four bundles of floss silk, and six tan of cloth, while the Shami[2] and those in white garments[3] received each two hiki of coarse silk, two bundles of floss silk, and four tan of cloth.

11th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse[4] of the sun.

3rd day. There was a brightness in the East from the hour of the Dog to the hour of the Rat.[5]

4th day. Nineteen men of Koryö returned to their own country. These were condolence envoys who came over on the occasion of the mourning for the later Okamoto Empress.[6] They had been detained and had not yet taken their departure.

7th day. The Emperor issued an edict to the officials, saying:—"If any one knows of any means of benefiting the state or of increasing the welfare of the people, let him appear in Court and make a statement in person. If what he says is reasonable, his ideas will be adopted and embodied in regulations."

10th day. There was thunder in the West.

12th day. The Empress-consort was unwell. (The Emperor,) having made a vow on her behalf, began the erection of the Temple of Yakushiji,[7] and made one hundred persons enter religion as priests. In consequence of this she recovered her health.

On this day an amnesty was granted.

[1] Grove of Nagara. [2] S'ramanêra or Buddhist novices.

[3] i.e. the laity, a Buddhist expression.

[4] The "Shūkai" quotes a statement that this eclipse was of 9½ tenths, or nearly total.

[5] 8 p.m. to 12 midnight. An aurora (?). [6] Saimei.

[7] Yakushi niorai is in Sanskrit Bhêchadjyaguru, the genius of medicine. This temple was afterwards removed to a site near Nara. *Vide* Satow's Handbook, p. 383.

16th day. There was an eclipse of the moon.[1]

The Imperial Prince Kusakabe was sent to pay a visit of inquiry to the Priest Yemiō. On the following day Priest Yemiō died, and the three Imperial Princes were sent to make a visit of condolence.

24th day. Silla sent Kim Ya-phil, of Sason rank, and Kim Wön-seung, of Tè-nama rank, to offer tribute. Three student interpreters arrived in the suite of Ya-phil. XXIX 30

26th day. The Emperor took ill. For this reason one hundred persons were made to enter religion as priests, and he presently recovered.

30th day. Bramblings covered the sky, flying from south-east to north-west.

10th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. Offerings were A.D. 681. distributed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

3rd day. The various functionaries paid their respects at Court.

7th day. The Emperor occupied the Opposite Little Hall, and gave a banquet there. On this day the Princes of the Blood and the Princes were introduced into the inner reception Chamber while the Ministers were all in attendance in the outer reception Chamber. For both alike sake was provided and a musical performance given. On this occasion Oho-gata, Kusakabe no Kishi, of Upper Daisen rank, was granted the rank of Lower Daikin, and the title was bestowed on him of Naniha no Muraji.

11th day. By an Imperial decree, Ihadzumi Sakahibe no Muraji was granted a fief of sixty houses and received a present of thirty pieces of coarse silk, a hundred and fifty kin of floss silk, one hundred and fifty tan of cloth, and a hundred mattocks.

17th day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the rank of Shōken [2] had archery in the Court.

19th day. Orders were given to the Home and other provinces to repair the Heavenly and Earthly (Shintō) shrines.

25th day. The Emperor and Empress-consort took their places together in the Great Hall of Audience,[3] and having summoned before them the Princes of the Blood, the Princes and the Ministers, addressed them as follows:—"It is Our

[1] Of 7½ tenths. [2] The initial or lowest rank.
[3] The Taikyokuden. See above, p. 191.

desire now anew to enact regulations and to reform the laws. Do ye therefore join with us in executing this enterprise. But if we were to proceed suddenly with this business, affairs of state would suffer. It will therefore be proper to make a division of men before going on."

On this day, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe was made Prince Imperial and was accordingly associated with the Emperor in the conduct of the myriad machinery of state.

29th day. The Lady Abe died.

30th day. Toyohama Tahema no Kimi, of Shōshi rank, died.

3rd month, 3rd day. The Lady Abe was buried.

16th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience, and there gave orders to the Imperial Princes Kaha-
XXIX 31. shima and Osakabe, to Prince Hirose, Prince Takeda, Prince Kuhada, and Prince Mino, to Michichi, Kamitsukenu[1] no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, Kobito, Imbe no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, Inashiki, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, Ohogata, Naniha no Muraji, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, of Upper Daisen rank, and Kobito Heguri no Omi, of Lower Daisen rank, to commit to writing a chronicle of the Emperors, and also of matters of high antiquity. Ohoshima and Kobito took the pen in hand themselves, and made notes.[2]

20th day. There was an earthquake.

24th day. The Emperor took his place by the well of the New Palace, made trial of the sounds of drums and flutes and caused them to be practised in harmony.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

3rd day. A prohibitory law in 92 articles was established, and was accordingly promulgated with the following words:—

"The costumes of all from the Princes of the Blood down to the common people, and the wearing of gold and silver, pearls and jewels, purple, brocade, embroidery, fine silks, together
XXIX. 32. with woollen carpets, head-dresses and girdles, as well as all kinds of coloured stuffs, are regulated according to a scale the details of which are given in the written edict."

[1] Now Kōdzuke. Michichi has the curious meaning of 3000.

[2] This command led ultimately to the compilation of the "Kojiki." *Vide* Ch. K., p. 9 *et seqq*

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30th day. Orders were given to the whole Empire to hold a great Purification ceremony.[1] At this time the Miyakko of each province supplied one slave to the Shrine of Purification, and thus did purification.

Intercalary 7th month, 15th day. In fulfilment of a vow of the Empress-consort a great feast of vegetable fare was given, and the Sutras were expounded in all the Temples of the capital.

8th month, 11th day. A notification was made to the people of the three Han,[2] saying:—"On a former day, your taxes were remitted for a period of ten years, which have now come to an end. In addition to this, all forced labour is remitted for a period of ten years to you who accepted our rule, and also to your children and grandchildren who accompanied you in the first year."

11th day. Michichi, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, died.

16th day. The province of Ise sent tribute of a white owl.

20th day. The Envoys sent to Tanegashima presented a map of that island. This country is more than 5000 ri distant from the capital, and lies in the middle of the sea south of Tsukushi. The inhabitants cut off their hair and wear garments of grass. Rice is always abundant. With one sowing, there are two harvests. The products of the island are Cape jasmine and bulrushes.[3] There are also numerous marine products of different kinds.

XXIX. 34. On this day, Ya-phil took his departure for his own country.

9th month, 3rd day. The Envoys sent to Koryō and Silla arrived together and paid their respects to the Emperor.

5th day. The province of Suwō presented a red tortoise, which was let loose in the pond of the Palace of Shima.

9th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"Let all Houses in which a senior member has not yet been fixed, each decide upon a senior member and report to the controlling department."[4]

14th day. An entertainment was given to the men of Tanegashima on the river bank west of the Temple of Asuka. Various kinds of music were performed.

[1] Ohoharahi. [2] The Coreans settled in Japan. [3] For matting.
[4] i.e. the Jibushō; in Japanese, *wosamuru tsukasa*.

16th day. A comet appeared.

17th day. The planet Mars entered the Moon.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

18th day. There was an earthquake.

20th day. Silla sent Kim Chhyung-phyöng, an Il-kil-son[1] of Sa-tök, and Kim Il-syé, of the rank of Tè-nama, to bring tribute, which consisted of such things as gold, silver, copper, iron, brocade, thin silk, deer skins and fine cloth—a certain quantity of each. Separately they brought presents for the Emperor, the Empress-consort, and for the senior Prince of such things as gold, silver, flags of haze[2]-brocade and skins, a certain quantity of each.

25th day. The Emperor issued a decree as follows:—"Let all, from those of Daisen rank down to Shōken, each declare their views." XXIX. 35.

In this month the Emperor intended to hunt on the plain of Hirose. A temporary palace had been constructed, and his baggage made ready, but in the end the Imperial car did not proceed thither. Only those from the rank of Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers all stayed at Karunoichi and inspected the equipage and the saddle-horses. The Daibu from the rank of Shōkin upwards all sat in order under a tree, while those of the rank of Daisen and under mounted on horseback themselves and passed together along the highway from south to north.

Silla Envoys came and announced the death of the king of that country.

11th month, 2nd day. There was an earthquake.

12th month, 10th day. Kobito, Kahabe no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent to Tsukushi to entertain Chhyung-phyöng, the Silla guest.

29th day. Kanuchi, Tanaka no Omi, Saru, Kakimoto no Omi, Kuniwoshi, Tanabe no Muraji, Maro, Takamuku no Omi, Mabito, Ahata no Omi, Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, Karainu, Sone no Muraji, and Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, ten[3] persons in all, received the rank of Lower Shōkin.

[1] Name of rank.

[2] The reference is to the rosy colour of the morning hazes.

[3] There are really only nine.

XXIX. 36. On this day, Nukamushi, Toneri no Miyakko, and Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, were granted the title of Muraji.

A.D. 682. 11th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Nukamushi,[1] Toneri no Miyakko, of Daisen rank, was given the rank of Lower Shōkin.

11th day. Kim Chhyung-phyöng was entertained in Tsukushi.

18th day. The Lady Higami[2] died within the Palace.

19th day. There was an earthquake.

27th day. The Lady Higami was buried at Akaho.

2nd month, 12th day. Kim Chhyung-phyöng returned to his own country.

In this month, Nukamushi, Toneri no Miyakko, of Lower Shōkin rank, died. In view of his services in the year Midzu-noye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

3rd month, 1st day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, the Daibu of the Household Department and others were sent to Nihiki[3] to examine the conformation of the ground. It was accordingly resolved to have the capital there.

2nd day. Twenty-two Yemishi of the province of Michinoku were granted dignities.

7th day. There was an earthquake.

13th day. By command of the Emperor, Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, invented afresh new characters—one book in forty-four volumes.[4]

16th day. The Emperor visited Nihiki.

28th day. The Emperor issued a decree forbidding henceforward all from the Princes of the Blood down to the public functionaries to wear caps of rank, aprons, lined garments,[5] and

[1] A curious personal name. It means bran-maggot. Many of the personal names are by no means complimentary, e.g. Saru, or monkey; Kara-inu, or Corean dog; Shikowo, or ugly man. These are obviously what we should call nicknames.

[2] One of the Emperor's consorts.

[3] Nihiki means new castle.

[4] The "Shiki" says that this book was still preserved in the Imperial Library, and that the letters were very like Sanskrit characters. If this was an attempt to introduce an alphabetic script into Japan, nothing came of it. For information respecting ancient forms of writing in Japan, Hirata's "Hifumiden" may be consulted.

[5] The interlinear Kana has hira obi, i.e. broad girdles. Habaki are leggings.

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Mo-chöl and Tè-ko-myo-ka, of the Lower Division, with tribute of the products of the country. Accordingly, Silla sent Kim Syök-kwi, of Tè-nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.

XXIX. 38 6th day. Men and women began to tie up their hair. They accordingly wore caps of varnished gauze.[1]

12th day. Prince Yeguri, of the 5th rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Hayato came in numbers with tribute of the productions of their country. On this day, the Hayato of Ohosumi and the Hayato of Ata[2] wrestled in the Court. The Ohosumi Hayato had the victory.

9th day. Maro, Kashihade no Omi, of middle Shōkin rank, took ill. His Highness[3] the Imperial Prince Kusakabe and the Imperial Prince Takechi were sent to make kind inquiry as to his illness.

11th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. There was an earthquake.

18th day. Maro, Kashihade no Omi, died. The Emperor was shocked, and lamented greatly.

21st day. For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, Maro no Omi[4] was granted the posthumous rank of Daishi and presents were given. The Empress-consort also bestowed gifts, which moreover were similar to those granted by the government.

25th day. Presents of various values were given to men of Tane,[5] of Yaku and of Amami.[5]

27th day. The Hayato were entertained west of the Asuka Temple. Music of various kinds was performed, and presents given them varying in value in the case of each. The Buddhist priests and laity all came to look on.

On this day it was reported from the provinces both of Shinano and Kibi that hoar-frost had fallen, moreover that owing to storms the five grains had not formed.

[1] Gauze hats were in use in China under the Tang and Ming dynasties. They are said to have been first worn by Wu Ti, of the Liang dynasty. Probably the statement in the text applies only to men and to officials.

[2] A district of Satsuma. [3] Mikoto.

[4] He was properly Maro, Kashihade no Omi. But the personal name is sometimes joined to the title in this way.

[5] Or Tanegashima. [6] All these are islands off the south coast of Kiushiu.

8th month, 1st day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers were each[1] made to bring forward matters suitable for framing regulations.

3rd day. The Koryō guests were entertained in Tsukushi.

On this evening at twilight a great star passed from the East to the West.[2]

5th day. Laws were drawn up. There was a great rainbow within the Palace.

11th day. A thing appeared in shape like a Buddhist baptismal flag, and of a flame colour. It floated through the void towards the north and was seen by all the provinces. Some said that it sank into the Sea of Koshi. On this day a white vapour arose on the Eastern Mountain, four fathoms in size.

12th day. There was a great earthquake. XXIX. 39

—th[3] day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi reported that there was a sparrow with three legs.

17th day. There was another earthquake. On this day there was a rainbow at dawn right in the middle of the sky and opposite to the sun.

22nd day. The Emperor issued an edict (prescribing) the character of ceremonies and[4] language.

He decreed further, saying:—"Let the lineage and character of all candidates for office be always inquired into before a selection is made. None whose lineage is insufficient are eligible for appointment, even although their character, conduct and capacity may be unexceptionable."

28th day. On account of the illness of the Imperial Princess Hidaka[5] [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Nihiya], an Imperial command was given for the pardon of 190 persons of both sexes who were guilty of capital or lesser crimes.

29th day. More than 140 persons renounced the world in the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

9th month, 2nd day. By Imperial command ceremonial kneeling and crawling were both abolished from this time for-

[1] Referring probably to the division of labour mentioned above, XXIX. 30.

[2] A falling star is no doubt meant. The "Tsūshō" editor talks of the planet Venus, which cannot be right.

[3] The date given here by the cyclical characters is an impossible one.

[4] Or of the language to be used on occasions of ceremony.

[5] Afterwards Genshō Tennō.

ward, and the ceremonial custom of standing of the Naniha Court[1] was again practised.

11th day. At mid-day, several hundreds of cranes appeared in the quarter of the Great Palace, and soared aloft in the void. After two hours they all dispersed.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. A great revel was held.

11th month, 16th day. The Emperor made a decree, say-
XXIX 40. ing:—"Hear this, all ye Princes of the Blood, Princes and Ministers, as well as ye common people! In regard to trials for offences against the law, whether within the Palace or in the Court, let examination be made at the place where the offence has been committed as soon as seen or heard of, and let there be no concealment. In the case of grave crimes, let those which should be referred to a superior be so referred, and when arrest is proper let the offender be seized. If any resist and are not arrested, raise the soldiers of the place and arrest them. To those judged deserving of flogging there may be administered not more than a hundred blows, to be determined according to a scale. Moreover, when the facts of a crime are undeniable and the accused falsely states that he is innocent, and does not admit the justice of the charge, but disputes with the prosecutor, let his original offence be superadded to this."

12th month, 3rd day. A decree was issued as follows:—"Let the people of every House[2] each determine who shall be the Senior member of the House, and make report accordingly. Moreover, in cases where there are numerous members of the same House, let them divide and each part determine who shall be its own Senior member, all reporting at the same time to the proper officials, who shall thereupon weigh the facts and deal with the matter. Such official decisions must be accepted. And let no one for trifling reasons hastily include in his House persons who do not belong to it."[3]

A.D. 683. 12th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The functionaries paid their respects at Court.

[1] Kōtoku Tennō. The Annals of the Thang dynasty state that it was the custom in Japan for suitors to advance crawling. Standing was the Thang custom.

[2] The Uji or noble families are meant.

[3] "Such as relations by the mother's side, or by marriage, or distant relations."—"Shūkai."

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saying:—"Henceforth copper coins must be used, and not silver coins."[1]

18th day. A decree was issued, saying:—"Let the use of silver be not discontinued."

21st day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

6th month, 3rd day. Umakuta, Ohotomo no Muraji, died. The Emperor was much shocked, and sent Prince Hatsuse on a visit of condolence. The Emperor manifested a loving recognition of his zeal during the year Midzunoye Saru and of the services of his ancestors at all times, and granted him the posthumous title of Daishi, and burial with beat of drum and blowing of horns.[2]

6th day. Prince Takazaka, of the 3rd rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor went to the house of the Princess Kagami-hime and made kind inquiry as
XXIX. 42. to her illness.

5th day. Princess Kagami-hime died.

In this summer priests and nuns were for the first time invited to the Palace for a "retreat." Accordingly thirty persons of pure conduct were selected, who renounced the world.

15th day. Prayer was made for rain.

18th day. The Emperor made a tour in the capital.

20th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

From this month a drought began which lasted till the eighth month. A Buddhist priest of Pèkché named Dōzō[3] prayed for rain and obtained it.

8th month, 5th day. A general amnesty was ordered throughout the Empire.

Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, died. For his services in the

[1] Silver coins are mentioned in the reign of Kenzō Tennō, A.D. 486. But see note to this passage. Vol. I. p. 391. Copper coins were first made in Japan in the reign of Gemmei Tennō, in the first year (A.D. 708) of the period Wadō. The coins referred to in the text were therefore probably Chinese or Corean. Their use was exceptional at this period, the ordinary medium of exchange being hempen cloth or other textiles.

[2] Officials of the third rank were allowed at their funeral one hearse, forty drums, twenty great horns, forty little horns, 200 flags, one metal gong, and one hand-bell, with lamentation for one day.

[3] Probably a priest of the Temple called Kudaradera.

year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Middle Daikin.

9th month, 2nd day. There was a great storm.

23rd day. The title of Muraji was granted to thirty-eight Houses, viz. Yamato no Atahe, Kurikuma no Obito, Motori[1] no Miyakko, Yatabe no Miyakko, Fujiharabe no Miyakko, Osakabe no Miyakko, Saigusabe no Miyakko, Ofuchi Kahachi XXIX. 43. no Atahe, Kahachi no Aya no Atahe, Mononobe no Obito, Yamashiro no Atahe, Katsuraki no Atahe, Tonohatori no Miyakko, Kadobe no Atahe, Nishikori no Miyakko, Katsura no Miyakko, Tottori no Miyakko, Kume no Toneri no Miyakko, Hinokuma no Toneri no Miyakko, Ohokoma no Miyakko, Hada no Miyakko, Kahase no Toneri no Miyakko, Yamato no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Kahachi no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Kibumi no Miyakkô, Komotsume no Miyakko, Magari Hako-dzukuri no Miyakko, Isonokamibe no Miyakko, Takara Hi-matsuri no Miyakko, Hasetsukabe no Miyakko, Anahobe no Miyakko, Shiragabe no Miyakko, Oshinomi no Miyakko, Hat- XXIX. 44. sukase no Miyakko, Fumi no Obito, Wohatsuse no Miyakko, Kudara no Miyakko and Katarahi no Miyakko.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The title of Muraji was granted to fourteen houses, viz., Miyake no Kishi, Kusakabe no Kishi, Hōki no Miyakko, Fune no Fubito, Iki no Fubito, Sarara no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Uno no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Yoshino no Obito, Ki no Sakabito no Atahe, Uneme no Miyakko, Atogi no Fubito, Takechi no Agatanushi, Shiki no Agatanushi and Kagami-dzukuri no Miyakko.[2]

13th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to Kurahashi.

11th month, 4th day. An Imperial command was given to all the provinces to engage in military training.

13th day. Silla sent Kim Chu-san, of Sason rank, and Kim Chang-chi, of Tè-nama rank, to offer tribute.

12th month, 23rd day. The Emperor sent Prince Ise, of XXIX. 45 the fifth rank of Princes, Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, Homuchi, Ohoshi no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank,

[1] Or Mondori.

[2] Previous promotions in rank have been of individuals. In this case the whole Uji (House) was raised at once. This accounts for no personal names being given.

with Hangwan, clerks, and artizans, to make a tour through the Empire and determine the boundaries of the provinces. They were unable, however, to determine them all this year.

17th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Let all civil and military officials, and all persons of rank[1] in the Home provinces, not fail to present themselves at Court in the four first months.[2] If owing to mortal disease they cannot attend, let the officials whose duty it is to do so prepare a full report and forward it to the judicial authorities."

He further made a decree, saying:—"The Capital and Palace should not be in one place only. They must be constructed in several places. We therefore wish first of all to make the Capital at Naniha. Let the public functionaries therefore each proceed thither, and apply for sites for houses."

A.D. 684. 13th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. The title of Muraji was granted to the two Houses of Mino no Agatanushi and Kurando no Kinunuhi no Miyakko.

23rd day. The Emperor, taking his place in the Eastern Court with the Ministers in attendance, sent for men skilled in archery, with dwarfs and palace attendants, and made them shoot.

2nd month, 24th day. Kim Chu-san was entertained in Tsukushi.

28th day. The Emperor sent Prince Hirose of Jō-kwō-shi rank,[3] and Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, with Hangwan, clerks, professors of the In and Yō, and artizans to the Home provinces, to determine by divination a site suitable for the capital.

On this day Prince Mino, Tsukura, Uneme no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, and others were sent to Shinano to inspect the conformation of the ground, perhaps with the object of having a capital there.

3rd month, 8th day. Yumi, Ube no Atahe, a man of Yoshino, sent tribute of a white camellia.

XXIX. 46. 9th day. The Emperor made a visit to the capital, and decided on the site for a palace.

23rd day. Kim Chu-san returned to his own country.

[1] Possessed of one of the grades of rank mentioned above, p. 281.

[2] Of each quarter.

[3] This rank was not instituted until later. See below, XXIX. 53.

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But on the occasion of (state) assemblies, those who wear susotsuki should also have tassels. In the case of men, however, those who have yebūshi[1] should wear them, and at the same time laced[2] trousers. Women of forty years of age or upwards are allowed to tie up their hair or not, and to ride astride or side-saddle, just as they please. A distinction is made in the case of practisers of magic, who are excepted from the rule for tying up the hair."[3]

11th day. Prince Mino and his colleagues presented a map of the province of Shinano.

16th day. A vegetarian feast was prepared within the Palace. A pardon was accordingly given to the Toneri who had been guilty of offences.

24th day. The Buddhist priest Fukuyō of Asukadera was condemned and thrown into prison.

29th day. Fukuyō committed suicide by cutting his throat.

5th month, 14th day. The priests, nuns and laity who had emigrated from Pèkché, men and women, altogether twenty-three persons, were all settled in the province of Musashi.

28th day. Nanihamaro, Miwa no Hiketa no Kimi, was sent to Koryö as Chief Envoy, and Hitotari, Kuhabara no Muraji, as Junior Envoy.

6th month, 4th day. Prayer was offered for rain.

XXIX. 48. Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor visited Hirose.

9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

23rd day. A comet appeared in the North-west, more than ten feet long.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—

"The hereditary titles of all the families[4] are again reformed,

[1] A kind of cap. *Vide* illustration in "Sansaidzuye," XXIX. 5.

[2] Gathered in at the bottom with a lace, like Turkish trousers. Now called nubakama.

[3] No doubt this exception was prompted by the conservatism associated with religious practices, and of which the use of the fire-drill in Japan at the present day is a striking example.

[4] Noble families are of course meant. Here as elsewhere the word I translate title is 姓 or surname. The Japanese had no proper surnames at this time.

and eight titles of eight classes instituted. By this means the multitudinous titles of the Empire are amalgamated. The first is Mabito,[1] the second Ason,[2] the third Sukune,[3] the fourth Imiki,[4] the fifth Michi no Shi,[5] the sixth Omi,[6] the seventh Muraji,[7] and the eighth Inaki." [8]

On this day thirteen houses received the title of Mabito, viz. Moriyama no Kimi, Michi no Kimi, Takahashi no Kimi, Mikuni no Kimi, Tahema no Kimi, Ibaraki no Kimi, Tajihi no Kimi, Wina no Kimi, Sakata no Kimi, Hata no Kimi, Okinaga no Kimi, Sakabito no Kimi, and Yamaji no Kimi.

3rd day. Prince Ise and his colleagues were sent to determine the boundaries of the provinces.

On this day, Tasuki, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to Tamna as Chief Envoy, and Kane, Kahabara no Muraji, as Junior Envoy.

14th day. At the hour of the boar (10 p.m.) there was a great earthquake. Throughout the country men and women shrieked aloud, and knew not East from West. Mountains fell down and rivers gushed forth; the official buildings of the provinces XXIX. 49
and districts, the barns and houses of the common people, the temples, pagodas and shrines were destroyed in numbers which surpass all estimate. In consequence many of the people and of domestic animals were killed or injured. The hot springs of Iyo were dried up at this time and ceased to flow. In the province of Tosa more than 500,000 shiro of cultivated land were swallowed up and became sea.[9] Old men said that never before had there been such an earthquake. On this

[1] True man, given chiefly to persons of Imperial lineage.

[2] This is written 朝臣, and is derived by some from asa, morning, and omi, Minister. I suspect that it is the Corean title 阿飡.

[3] No satisfactory explanation of this title is given. It had fallen out of use at this time, and was now revived.

[4] This title was specially given to immigrants from Corea, and is said to be for ima-ki or new-comer.

[5] Or Dōshi, professor.

[6] Minister or vassal.

[7] The original meaning is village-elder.

[8] Usually written with characters which mean rice-castle. They were perhaps originally the keepers of the public granaries.

[9] The line of the southern coast of Tosa is said to have been materially altered by this earthquake.

night a rumbling noise like that of drums was heard in the East. Some said that the island of Idzu[1] had increased of itself on two sides, the north and west, to the extent of more than 300 rods, and that a new island had been formed. The noise like that of drums was the sound made by the gods in constructing this island.

16th day. Presents were made to the Princes and Ministers.

11th month, 1st day. The title of Ason was granted to fifty-two houses,[2] viz. Oho-miha no Kimi, Oho-Kasuga no Omi, Abe no Omi, Kose no Omi, Kashihade no Omi, Ki no Omi, Hata no Omi, Mononobe no Muraji, Heguri no Omi, Sazakibe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Ohoyake no Omi, Ahata no Omi, Ishikaha no Omi, Sakarawi no Omi, Uneme no Omi,
XXIX. 50. Tanaka no Omi, Woharida no Omi, Hodzumi no Omi, Yamashiro no Omi, Kamo no Kimi, Wono no Omi, Kahahe no Omi, Iwi no Omi, Kakimoto no Omi, Karobe no Omi, Waka-zakurabe no Omi, Kishida no Omi, Takamuko no Omi, Shishi-bito no Omi, Kume no Omi, Inugami no Kimi, Kamidzukenu no Kimi, Tsunu no Omi, Hoshikaha no Omi, Oho no Omi, Munagata no Kimi, Kuruma-mochi no Kimi, Aya no Kimi, Shimoji no Omi, Iga no Omi, Abe no Omi, Hayashi no Omi, Hami no Omi, Shimodzukenu no Kimi, Sami no Kimi, Chi-mori no Omi, Ohono no Kimi, Sakamoto no Omi, Ikeda no Kimi, Tamate no Omi, and Kasa no Omi.

3rd day. The Governor of the province of Tosa reported that owing to a great tide which rose high, and an overflowing rush of sea-water, many of the ships used for conveying tribute had been sunk and lost.[3]

21st day. At dusk the seven stars drifted together to the North-east and sank.[4]

23rd day. At sunset a star fell in the quarter of the East as

[1] The volcanic island off the entrance to Yedo Bay, known to foreigners as Vries Island.

[2] A considerable step. Ason was the 2nd class, Omi the 6th, and Muraji the 7th.

[3] A tidal wave is no doubt referred to, perhaps an accompaniment of the earthquake above described.

[4] The seven stars are the stars of the Northern Bushel, as the Chinese call Charles' Wain.

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In this year it was notified to the four provinces of Iga, Ise, Mino, and Wohari, that for the future in years of payment of commuted taxes,[1] forced labour would be remitted, and in years of forced labour, the commuted taxes would be remitted.

The lower district of Katsuraki in Yamato reported that there was a fowl with four legs.[2]

Moreover the district of Higami in the province of Tamba reported that there was a calf with twelve horns.

A.D. 685. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

21st day. The styles of official ranks were reformed, and new grades added. There were two grades of *Myō-i* (bright-rank) and four grades of *Jō-i* (pure-rank), each grade being distinguished into *Dai* (great) and *Kwō* (broad), so as to form twelve grades in all. The above were for persons not below the rank of Princes.

Next there were four grades of *Shō-i* (true or first rank), four grades of *Jiki-i* (straight or direct rank), four grades of *Gon-i* (diligent-rank), four grades of *Mu-i* (earnest-rank), four grades of *Tsui-i* (following-rank), and four grades of *Shin-i* (advancing-rank). Each grade was divided into *Dai* and *Kwō*, so that there were in all forty-eight grades. The above were the ranks of high officials.

XXIX 54. On this day, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe was granted the rank of Jō-kwō-ichi (pure-broad-first-rank), the Imperial Prince Ohotsu the rank of Jō-dai-ni (pure-great-second-rank), the Imperial Prince Takechi the rank of Jō-kwō-ni, the Imperial Prince Kahashima and the Imperial Prince Osakabe the rank of Jō-dai-san. The Princes of inferior rank and the high officials received steps in rank varying in each case.

2nd month, 4th day. Degrees of rank were granted to men of Great Thang, of Pèkché, and of Koryö, 147 persons in all.

3rd month, 14th day. Kim Mul-yu was entertained in Tsukushi, and straightway took his departure from there.

[1] Not the land-tax of rice, but cloth and other things paid in lieu of service, etc.

[2] "Such monstrosities denoted that the Sovereign and his Ministers pay attention to the sayings of nuns and old women and show them excessive kindness."—"Shūkai."

Accordingly seven men of Silla who had been cast away on our coast were delivered to Mul-yu and sent back.

16th day. Shitanu, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-dai-san rank, the Mayor of the capital, died.

27th day. Orders were sent to all the provinces that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures placed there. Worship was to be paid and offerings of food made at these shrines.[1]

In this month there was a rain of ashes in the province of Shinano. The herbs and trees all withered up.[2]

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. The Governor of the province of Kiï reported that the hot springs of Muro had dried up and ceased to flow.

12th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. Kim Chu-san of Silla took his departure.

25th day. Priests and nuns were for the first time invited to come to the Palace for a "retreat."[3]

5th month, 5th day. There was archery at the South Gate.

The Emperor visited the Temple of Asuka, presented to the Buddha precious objects, and paid him reverence.

19th day. Mabito, Ahada no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, offered to transfer his rank to his father, but by an Imperial order this was disallowed.

On this day, Hiromaro, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, died. For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi.

26th day. Maro, Takamuku no Ason, Ushi-kahi, Tsunu no Ason, and their people arrived back from Silla. Along with them arrived the student priests Kwanjō and Unkwan. The King of Silla sent presents of two horses, three dogs, two parrots, two magpies, and a variety of valuable objects. XXIX. 55

6th month, 20th day. Eleven houses were granted the title of Imiki, viz. Yamato no Muraji, Katsuraki no Muraji,

[1] These domestic shrines (butsudan) are still to be seen in Japan.

[2] No doubt a fall of volcanic ashes is referred to, perhaps from Asama-yama. I have seen a forest at the foot of this mountain all withered, probably from the same cause.

[3] There has been already a notice to the same effect.

Ofushi-kahachi no Muraji, Yamashiro no Muraji, Naniha no Muraji, Ki no Sakabito no Muraji, Higashi Aya no Muraji, Nishi Aya no Muraji, Hada no Muraji, Ohosumi no Atahe, and Fumi no Muraji.

Autumn, 7th month, 21st day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

26th day. The colours of the Court costumes for persons of the rank of Myō-i down to that of Shin-i were now settled for the first time. All persons of the rank of Jō-i and above wore red, those of Shō-i rank deep purple, those of Jiki-i rank light purple, those of Gon-i rank dark green, those of Mu-i rank light green, those of Tsui-i rank deep grape-colour, and those of Shin-i rank light grape-colour.

27th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"All persons of rank[1] in the provinces of the Tō-san-dō from Mino eastwards, and of the Tō-kai-dō from Ise eastwards, are absolved from rendering forced labour."

8th month, 12th day. The Emperor visited the Temple of Jōdoji.[2]

13th day. The Emperor visited the Temple of Kahara, and gave alms of rice to the company of priests.

20th day. The Envoys sent to Tamna returned.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor gave a banquet in the Court of the Audience Hall of the old Palace.[3]

On this day presents of cloth of various values were given to everyone from the Prince Imperial down to the Imperial Prince Osakabe.

XXIX. 56. 11th day. Prince Miyatoko, Prince Hirose, Prince Naniha, Prince Takeda, and Prince Mino were sent to the capital and to the Home provinces, each to hold an examination of the arms of the militia.[4]

15th day. Ushikahi, Tsunu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, was appointed Commissioner for the Tōkaido, Mushina, Ishikaha no Ason, of Jiki kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the Tō-san-do, Sukunamaro, Sami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the Sanyō-do, Ahaji, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the San-in-do, Tomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Commissioner for the Nan-

[1] Of one of the official ranks just mentioned.

[2] The same as the Asukadera so often mentioned above.

[3] Of Okamoto.

[4] Nimbu, a word usually applied to coolies.

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Masuda no Atahe, a lay member of the Buddhist Church,[1] were sent to Mino to make an infusion of Wokera.[2] They were accordingly given presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth.

10th day. Tarise, Karobe no Ason, Nihinomi, Takada no Obito,[3] and Maro, Aredawo no Murâji, were sent to Shinano with instructions to prepare a temporary Palace. The intention probably was that the Emperor should visit the hot springs of Tsukama.

12th day. Prince Hatsuse of Jō-dai-shi rank, Uma-kahi, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, with Hangwan and inferior officers to the number of twenty persons in all, were appointed to carry out the works[4] in the Home provinces.

17th day. Prince Ise and his colleagues went again to the Eastern provinces. They accordingly received presents of upper garments and trousers.

In this month the "Kongō-hanya[5] Sutra" was expounded in the Palace.

11th month, 2nd day. Ten thousand kin of store-iron were
XXIX. 58. sent to the prefecture[6] of Suwo. On the demand of the Viceroy of Tsukushi the following store[7] articles were sent down to Tsukushi, viz. 100 hiki of coarse silk, 100 kin of raw silk, 300 tan of cloth, 400 pieces of tax-cloth, 10,000 kin of iron, and 2000 bundles of bamboos for making arrows.

4th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces in all quarters, saying:—"All such things as great and small horns, drums, fifes, flags, crossbows,[8] and stone-throwing engines should not be kept in private houses; they should all be stored in the Government house of the district."

[1] Ubasoku, the Sanskrit Upâsaka. The title of Atahe seems to have been abolished by the edict given, XXIX. 48, and it is not found in the original text. The "Shūkai" editor has inserted it here, and something of the kind is evidently required.

[2] A medicinal plant, the Atractylis Ovata. Hepburn.

[3] Another title abolished by the edict on XXIX. 48.

[4] The construction of a temporary palace, says the "Shūkai."

[5] Sanskrit, "Vadjra Pradjñâ."

[6] The term used means "the place of general control." It occurs here for the first time.

[7] From the Government stores. The use of coin was still very restricted, and remittances took such forms as this.

[8] Large crossbows are meant, which it required several men to handle.

6th day. The Emperor visited the park of Shira-nishiki.

The priests Pöp-chang and Gonju presented to the Emperor an infusion of Wokera.[1]

On this day the ceremony of "calling on the spirit" was performed for the Emperor's sake.[2]

27th day. Silla sent Kim Chi-syang, of Pha-chin-son rank, and Kim Kön-hun, of Tè-ason rank, to request governance and to bring tribute.

12th month, 4th day. The frontier guards sent to Tsukushi were tossed about in mid ocean, and all lost their clothing. Accordingly 450 tan of cloth were sent to Tsukushi to make clothing for them.

10th day. There was an earthquake. It began from the West.

16th day. Alms of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth were given to the priests of the Great Temple in the Great Palace. XXIX. 59.

19th day. The Empress-consort presented the Princes and high officials, to the number of fifty-five persons, with Court costume, one suit to each.

Shuchō,[3] 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience and gave a banquet to the Princes and High Officials. A.D. 686.

[1] See above, XXIX. 57.

[2] When the Sun-goddess sent down Ninigi no Mikoto to rule the lower world, she gave him, according to the "Kiujiki" (II. 2), ten auspicious Heavenly treasures, viz. one mirror of the offing, one mirror of the shore, one eight-span sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one sufficing jewel, one jewel of the returning path, one dragon's fin, one bee's fin, and one fin of various articles. The Heavenly ancestor then instructed him, saying:—"In case of ailment, say to these ten treasures, '*Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari*' [or according to another version, 'Hi, fu, mi, yo, i, mu, na, ya, ko, to'] (i.e. one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten), and shake them yura-yura (an onomatopoetic word). If thou dost so, the dead will come to life again." This was the origin of the ceremony of *furu* (shaking).

The interlinear Kana calls this ceremony mitama-furishiki (shaking the august jewels). The Chinese characters mean "invitation of the spirit." It was performed with the object of renewing the Emperor's vigour and prolonging his life.

[3] Shuchō means red-bird. The "Nihongi" has no year-periods for the early part of the reign of Temmu, but some chronologists give Shujaku for 672 and Hakuhō for 673-685.

On this day the Emperor decreed, saying:—"We shall now propose conundrums[1] to the Princes and High Officials, and we promise prizes to those who give the right answers."

Upon this the Imperial Prince Takechi gave the right answers to the questions and received a present of 3 suits of Imperial garments of hari-suri,[2] 2 pairs of brocade trousers, with 20 hiki of coarse silk, 50 kin of raw silk, 100 kin of floss silk, and 100 tan of cloth. Prince Ise also gave right answers, and was presented with 3 suits of black Imperial garments, 2 pairs of purple trousers, 7 hiki of coarse silk, 20 kin of raw silk, 40 kin of floss silk, and 40 tan of cloth.

On this day Kudara no Nihiki, a man of the province of Settsu, presented to the Emperor a white agate.

9th day. An invitation was given to the three higher ecclesiastics, the Risshi,[3] and also to the director and clerks of the Great Temple of the Great Palace, nine priests in all, and they
XXIX.60. were entertained at a lay[4] banquet. Moreover alms were given them of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth, varying in value in the case of each.

10th day. The Princes and High Officials received a present of upper garments and trousers, one suit each.

13th day. Men of talent, scholars, professors of Philosophy,[5] and physicians, more than twenty persons in all, were summoned to the Palace. Food was given them and presents made to them.

14th day At the hour of the cock[6] the Treasury Department at Naniha took fire and all the Palace was burnt. Some said that the fire broke out in the house of Kusuri, Ato no Muraji, and that it spread from there to the Palace. But the Arsenal offices were not burnt.

16th day. The Emperor invited the Princes and High Officials to a banquet in the Great Audience Hall, and made

[1] Literally things with no end, i.e. without head or tail—nonsensical questions. Here is a specimen. "Why does a horse, after a rapid run, listen to the earth? Why does a dog, when he goes slowly, raise his leg?"

[2] A dye.

[3] A rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[4] Not confined to vegetarian dishes.

[5] Of the Yin and Yang system of Chinese philosophy.

[6] 6 p.m.

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the Empress-consort's Palace, were paid to the Temple of Kahara.[1]

19th day. The Silla tribute was brought up from Tsukushi. It consisted of more than 100 articles, including one good horse, one mule, two dogs, vessels of chased gold as well as gold and silver, rose-tinted brocades, silk gauze, tiger and leopard skins, and drugs. Moreover Chi-syang and Kön-hun presented separately such things as gold and silver, rose-tinted brocades, silk gauze, vessels of gold, screens, saddle-skins, thin cloth stuffs, and drugs, of each more than sixty kinds. There were separate presents for the Empress-consort, the Prince Imperial, and the Princes of the Blood, a certain number of articles for each.

27th day. The Imperial Princess Taki, the Princess Yamashiro no hime, and the Lady Ishikaha were sent to the Shrine of Ise.

5th month, 9th day. The Imperial Princess Taki and her companions returned from Ise.

On this day Ök-in,[2] a man of Pèkché, the body-physician of the Emperor, took ill. When he was on the point of death, he was granted the rank of Gon-dai-ichi and a fief of 100 houses.

14th day. By Imperial command, a fief of 700 houses was granted to the Great Temple of the Great Palace, and taxes given it to the amount of 30,000 sheaves (of rice).

17th day. Promotion in rank was granted to the officials of the Palace.

24th day. The Emperor's body was ill at ease. Accordingly the "Sutra of Yakushi"[3] was expounded in the Temple of
XXIX. 62. Kahara, and a "retreat" was held within the Palace.

29th day. Kim Chi-syang and his colleagues were entertained in Tsukushi. Each having received presents of various amounts, they took their departure from Tsukushi.

In this month, by Imperial command, the Ohotoneri of the Right and Left were sent to cleanse the Halls and Pagodas of

[1] One reading has fifty sheaves of rice. The interlinear Kana has Kure-gaku, i.e. music of Kure, the Japanese name for the province of Wu in China.

[2] The interlinear Kana has Wokuni.

[3] "Bhēchadjya Rādja," i.e. the medical King. Eitel.

the Temples. Accordingly a general pardon throughout the Empire was proclaimed, and the prisons were empty.

6th month, 1st day. Kachimaro, Tsukimoto no Sukuri, was granted the title of Muraji, raised to the rank of Gon-dai-ichi, and given a fief of twenty houses.

2nd day. Official rank was bestowed on thirty-four persons, including architects, professors of philosophy, body-physicians of the Emperor, students of Great Thang, and one or two officials.

7th day. A selection was made of twenty-eight functionaries who had rendered good service, and they were promoted in rank.

10th day. It was ascertained by divination that the Emperor's disease was owing to a curse from the Kusa-nagi sword.[1] The same day it was sent to the shrine of Atsuta, in Wohari, and deposited there.

12th day. Prayer was made for rain.

16th day. Prince Ise and a number of officials were sent to the Temple of Asuka, to communicate to the priests the Emperor's commands, as follows:—"Of late Our body is ill at ease, and We request that the dread power of the Three Precious Things may be invoked, in order to obtain repose for Our person. Let the Sōjō, the Sōdzu, and the general body of priests therefore put up prayers." Offerings of rare and valuable things were accordingly made to the Three Precious Things. On this day the three higher ecclesiastics, with the Risshi and the abbots[2] of the four temples, the directors, and the priests of professorial rank then in residence, received each alms of one suit of Imperial garments and one Imperial coverlet.

19th day. Public functionaries were sent to the Temple of XXIX. 63.
Kahara to exhibit lanterns and make offerings of food. So there was a great vegetarian feast, and repentance was made for sin.

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 205, Vol. II. p. 290.

[2] The Sinico-Japanese is Oshō, the equivalent of the Sanskrit Upashâya Oshō is the polite word for a priest in Japan at the present day. The four temples were doubtless the great temples which remained under official administration after the disendowment measure described above, XXIX. 27.

20th day. The priests Hōjin and Gishō were granted fiefs of thirty houses each, to support them in their old age.

22nd day.[1] The kitchen office[2] at Nabari was burnt.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Emperor commanded that men should again wear leggings, and that women should let down their hair on their backs, as was formerly the practice.

On this day the Sōjō and Sōdzu came into the Palace, and performed a penitential service.

3rd day. The Emperor commanded the provinces to perform the ceremony of Oho-barahi.[3]

4th day. Half the commuted taxes were remitted throughout the Empire, and all forced labour was dispensed with.

5th day. Offerings were made to Kuni-gakari no Kami,[4] who dwells in the province of Kiï, to the four shrines of Asuka, and to the Great God of Sumiyoshi.

8th day. One hundred priests were invited into the Palace, and made to read the Kon-kwō-myō Sutra.

10th day. There was lightning in the south, with a great clap of thunder. The buildings used by the Department of the Interior, for the storage of tax-cloth, met with destruction from Heaven. Some said that the fire broke out in the Palace of the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and that it spread to the Department of the Interior.

15th day. The Emperor gave orders that all matters of the Empire, without distinction of great and small, should be referred to the Empress-consort and the Prince Imperial.

On this day a general amnesty was granted.

16th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

19th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"Let all common people throughout the Empire who, owing to poverty, have contracted debts in rice or in valuables, whether to the State or to private persons, on or before the 30th day of

[1] Something is wrong with the dates here.

[2] An agency for the supply of victuals for the Imperial table. These offices seem to have taken the place of some of the Be of more ancient times. The "Yengishiki" mentions such offices in Idzumi, Kiï, Ahaji, Afumi, and Wakasa.

[3] Great purification.

[4] Said by the "Shiki" to be a Corean deity.

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23rd day. A fief of 200 houses was granted to the Temple of Kose.

9th month, 4th day. All, from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers, assembled in the Temple of Kahara, and put up vows for the Emperor's illness, etc., etc.

9th day. The Emperor's disease having shown no sign of abatement, he died in the principal Palace.

11th day. Lament was begun for him, and a temporary burial Palace erected in the South Court.

24th day. The Emperor was temporarily interred in the South Court and mourning began.

At this time the Imperial Prince Ohotsu conspired against
XXIX. 65. the Prince Imperial.

27th day. At dawn, all the priests and nuns having made lament in the Court of Temporary Interment, retired.

On this day, for the first time, offerings were made at the tomb and eulogies pronounced.

First of all, Aragama, Ohomi no Sukune, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Imperial Princes; next, Prince Ise, of Jō-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the other Princes; next, Ohotomo, Agata no Mukahi no Sukune, of Jiki-dai-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the officials of the Household generally; next, Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Ohotoneri of the right and left; next, Kunimi, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Guards of the right and left; next, Tsukura, Uneme no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the lady officials of the Palace; and next, Mabito, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Stewards of the Palace.

28th day. All the priests and nuns again made lament in the Court of Temporary Interment.

On this day, Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Council of State; next, Maro, Isonokami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the judicial officers; next, Takechi-maro, Oho-miwa no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the administrative officials; next, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-san rank,

pronounced a eulogy regarding the Treasury; and next, Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the war officials.

29th day. The priests and nuns again raised lament.

On this day, Maro, Abe no Kunu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Board of Punishments; next, Yumibari, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Department of the Interior; next, Mushi-maro, Hodzumi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Governors of Provinces; next, the Ohosumi no Ata no Hayato, and the two Muma-kahi-be no Miyakko of Yamato and Kahachi each pronounced eulogies. XXIX. 66.

30th day. The priests and nuns made lament.

On this day, the Pèkché prince Nyang-u pronounced a eulogium on behalf of his father, Prince Chön-kwang. Next, the Miyakko of the various provinces, as they came, each pronounced his eulogy. There were also performances of all manner of singing and dancing.

BOOK XXX.

THE EMPRESS TAKAMA NO HARA HIRO-NO NO HIME.[1]

(*JITŌ*[2] *TENNŌ*)

THE Empress Takama no hara hiro-no no hime's name as a child was the Imperial Princess Uno no Sarara. She was the second daughter of the Emperor Ame-mikoto hirakasu wake.[3] Her mother's name was Wochi no Iratsume. [Also called Minodzuko hime.] She was of reserved manners and a liberal disposition. In the third year of the Empress Ame-toyo takara ikashihi tarashi hime, she was united to the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito as his consort. Although the daughter of an Emperor, she loved courtesy and economy, and was possessed of motherly virtues. In the first year of the Emperor Ame-mikoto hirakasu wake, she gave birth to His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe in the palace of Ohotsu. In the tenth month of the tenth year (of the same reign) she followed the Shamon the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito to Yoshino in order to avoid the suspicious dislike of the Court, as has been related in the history of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito, summer, the sixth month, she followed the Emperor when he took refuge in the Eastern provinces. She addressed the troops and mingled with the throng, until at length they together formed a plan by which several tens of thousands of fearless men were separately ordered to take up their posts in all the most defensible positions. In autumn, the seventh month, the Mino generals acting in concert with the Yamato heroes slew the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and sent his head to

[1] High-Heaven broad-plain princess.

[2] Jitō means "holding supreme control."

[3] Tenchi Tennō.

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Prince, but We pardon them all. Toki no Michi-dzukuri is however, banished to Idzu." It was further decreed, saying: —"We cannot bring ourselves to inflict punishment on the Silla priest Hèng-sin, who was an accomplice in the Imperial Prince Ohotsu's treason. He is therefore exiled to the temple of the province of Hida."

11th month, 16th day. The Imperial Princess Ohoku, who had been sent to attend at the shrine of Ise, returned to the capital.

17th day. There was an earthquake.

12th month, 19th day. On behalf of the Emperor Ame no
XXX. 4. Nunahara oki no Mabito, a universal great assembly was held in the following five Temples, viz., of the Great Palace, of Asuka, of Kahara, of Toyora in Woharida, and of Sakata.

26th day. Presents of cloth and silk stuffs of various values were made to the orphans, to the childless and widowed, and to the aged people of the capital.

Intercalary 12th month. The Viceroy of Tsukushi sent as tribute common people, both men and women, of the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché, and Silla, and also sixty-two priests and nuns.

In this year a serpent and a dog copulated. Presently they both died together.

A.D. 687. 1st year,[1] Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary interment and made lament. The Nagon[2] Miaruji Fuse no Ason performed the ceremony of pronouncing a eulogy. When the eulogy was over they all raised a lament. Next the common people made lament. Upon this Mabito, Ki no Ason, and others of the High Stewards of the Palace, made offerings of food. When this was done, the Uneme of the Steward's Department raised a lament. Then music was performed by the officials of the Department of Music.

5th day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary

[1] The nengo or year periods are dropped again and the old method of reckoning by the year of the reign reverted to.

[2] More familiar in the combinations Dainagon and Chunagon. The word means Speaker, not inappropriate to his function on the present occasion.

interment and made lament. The common people followed and raised lamentation.

15th day. Presents of various values, of coarse silk and floss silk, were given to those residents of the capital who were eighty years of age or more, to invalids whose cases were grave, and to poor persons who were unable to support themselves.

19th day. Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, with Karita, Mori no kimi, of Tsui-dai-ni rank, and others were sent to Silla to announce the Emperor's decease. XXX. 5.

3rd month, 15th day. Fifty-six immigrants from Koryō were settled in the province of Hitachi. They were given lands, received an allowance of grain, and made to pursue their avocations in peace.

20th day. An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. This was called Mikage.[1]

On this day, Maro, Tajihi no Mabito, performed the ceremony of pronouncing a eulogy.

22nd day. Fourteen immigrants from Silla were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu. They were given land and received an allowance of grain, and made to pursue their avocations in peace.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi presented priests, nuns and common people, men and women, twenty-two persons, immigrants from Silla. They were settled in the province of Musashi, where they were granted lands and an allowance of grain, and were made to follow their avocations in peace.

5th month, 22nd day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. On this occasion, the chiefs of the Hayato and of Ata in Ohosumi, each accompanied by his people, advanced in turn and pronounced a eulogy.

6th month, 28th day. Criminals were pardoned.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. A decree was issued as follows:—"Interest may not be received on any debts contracted

[1] Mikage means "august shade." The wreath was supposed to represent the deceased Emperor. In a poem composed by the Empress at this time there occurs the phrase "tama-kadzura kage ni mietsutsu," i.e. "while looking on the jewel-wreath as thy shadow or representative."

during or previous to the year Kinoto Tori.[1] In cases where creditors have already the personal service of their debtors, they may not exact (additional) service (by way of) interest.[2]

9th day. Presents of various values were given to the chiefs of the Hayato and of Ata in Ohosumi, 337 persons in all.

8th month, 5th day. Offerings[3] of food were made at the Palace of temporary interment. On this day (nothing but) fine boiled rice[4] was offered.

6th day. The aged people of the capital, both men and
XXX. 6. women, all drew near and made lamentation west of the bridge.

28th day. The Empress sent Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, and Ohotomo Kibumi no Muraji, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, to invite together 300 Riu-zō and Dai-toku[5] to the Temple of Asuka, and to present to each a priestly robe,[6] saying:—"This was made of the august garments of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito." The language of the Imperial message was so pathetic that it may not be set forth in full.

9th month, 9th day. A national feast of vegetable food[7] was given in the Temples of the capital.

10th day. A maigre entertainment was given at the Palace of temporary interment.

22nd day. Silla sent Prince Kim Sang-nim, Kim Sal-mo, of Keupson rank, Kim In-syul, of Keupson rank, and the Tè-sya So Yang-sin to petition the Emperor (for advice) regarding the Government of that country and to offer tribute. The student-priest Chi-ryu arrived along with them. The Viceroy of Tsukushi having informed Sang-nim and his colleagues of the Emperor's decease, they all on that same day put on mourning,

[1] A.D. 685.

[2] The first mention of interest on loans.

[3] The character used denotes specially the autumnal offerings to ancestors.

[4] Cooked down to one-third its original bulk Glles. The 'Shūkai" explains this to mean "without fish or flesh." The older reading is "green food," for which the interlinear Kana is hijiki-oho, a dish prepared with hijiki, a kind of sea-weed.

[5] Riu-zō is literally Dragon-elephant (Naga in Sanskrit), and Dai-toku great virtue, corresponding to the Sanskrit Bhadanta. Both are complimentary expressions for Buddhist dignitaries.

[6] Kesa, in Sanskrit kachâya.

[7] This was the anniversary of Temmu Tennō's death.

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3rd month, 22nd day. An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, pronounced a eulogy.

5th month, 8th day. Tök-na-ri, Kyöng-su of Pèkché was transferred to the province of Kahi.

6th month, 11th day. There was an Imperial decree, ordering that all prisoners throughout the Empire who had been guilty of capital crimes should have their punishment mitigated by one degree, and that those who were in prison for lighter offences should be all pardoned. Orders were given to the Empire that for this year (only) half the commuted taxes should be levied.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. By reason of the drought, there was great praying for rain.

20th day. The Pèkché priest Dōzō was commanded to pray for rain. Before a morning had passed, rain fell plentifully throughout the Empire.

8th month, 10th day. Offerings of food were made, and lament raised at the Palace of temporary interment. On this occasion Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, pronounced a eulogy.

XXX. 8. 11th day. Prince Ise, of Jō-dai-shi rank, was commanded to announce the state to be observed at the funeral.

25th day. The King of Tamna sent his Minister Kara with tribute of the productions of the country.

9th month, 23rd day. Kara, Minister of Tamna, and his companions were entertained at the Government House of Tsukushi, and received presents of various values.

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, as well as by the guests from the frontier lands, went to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. On this occasion offerings of food were made, and the Tate-fushi[1] dance performed.

The Ministers each advanced in turn and pronounced a eulogy, setting forth the circumstances of the services rendered by their ancestors.

[1] Shield-measure. So called because danced with shields (and swords) in the hands of the performers. Ten persons took part in it.

5th day. More than 190 Yemishi brought tribute on their backs, and in this fashion pronounced a eulogy.

11th day. Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, pronounced eulogies alternately.

Chitoko, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, in a eulogy recited the succession to the throne of the Imperial ancestors. When this ceremony was finished, the Emperor was buried in the Ohouchi[1] Misasagi.

12th month, 12th day. Two hundred and thirteen Yemishi, men and women, were entertained under the tsuki tree west of the Temple of Asuka. Ranks were bestowed on them, and they received presents varying in value.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Empress gave audience to the ten-thousand lands[2] in the Front Hall. A.D. 689.

2nd day. The Department of Great Learning presented eighty staves.[3] XXX. 9.

3rd day. Maro and Kanawori, sons of Shiriko, of Mu-dai-shi rank, Yemishi of Kikafu in the district of Utamu in the

[1] In the district of Takechi in Yamato, at the village of Gojō no mura. The site is five chō in length by four in width. Five houses for caretakers are allotted to it. The vault is eight feet wide and nine feet deep, and contains two stone sarcophagi. It has been plundered, like many others.

[2] "Ten-thousand lands or provinces" seems put for "everybody," "all the world," as we might say.

[3] The staves were for the purpose of driving out evil spirits, a ceremony which was performed on the first day of the Hare in each year. The "Yengishiki" mentions camellia, holly, peach, plum, etc., among the woods used for this purpose. This custom is of Chinese origin. The later custom of driving out evil spirits was by scattering beans, and was known as oni-yarahi, tsuina, or mame maki. This was practised on the last day of the year.

Yamada, in his Dictionary, says that a man was dressed up as the demon of pestilence; he describes the ceremony gone through of driving him away, and gives other particulars which are worth consulting. See also "Sansai-dzuye," iv. 27.

Tylor quotes several examples of allied superstitious practices in his 'Primitive Culture," ii. p. 199, to which may be added the following from the "Life of Sir R. Burton":—"On Sylvester night the servants went through a very usual ceremony in Trieste of forming procession and chevying the evil spirits with sticks and brooms out of the house, and inviting the good spirits and good luck to come and dwell with us.' This reminds one strongly of the Japanese formula used on this occasion:—"Oni wa soto, fuku wa uchi"—"Devils out, luck in." The ceremony too is performed on the same day of the year.

province of Michinoku, begged permission to shave off their hair and become priests. The Empress gave order, saying:—"Maro and the other, although young, are of refined tastes, and their wishes are limited; so much so that they desire nothing but vegetable food and to observe the precepts.[1] In accordance with their request, let them renounce the world and practise religion."

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers, and presents of raiment were bestowed on them.

8th day. Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, and his companions, who were sent as Envoys to Silla, returned from thence.

9th day. The Empress gave orders to the Governor of the province of Idzumo to send up to the capital men of the frontier lands who had met with stress of weather.

On this day there were presented to Dōshin, a Yemishi of Koshi, who was a Buddhist priest, an image of Buddha, one baptismal banner, one bell and one begging bowl, coloured silks, five feet of each kind, five bundles of floss silk, ten tan of cloth, ten mattocks, and one saddle.

Ahada no Mabito no Ason, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and others presented to the Empress 174 Hayato,[2] with fifty fathoms of cloth, six ox hides, and fifty deer-skins.

15th day. The civil and military officials brought presents of firewood.

16th day. A meal was given to the public functionaries.

18th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

20th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

2nd month, 13th day. The Empress gave orders that reliefs should be sent for the Barrier Wardens of Tsukushi who had completed their term of years.

26th day. Prince Takeda, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Nemaro, Hashi no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Maro, Ohoyake no
XXX. 1c. Ason, Fubito, Fujihara no Ason, Sakurawi, Tahema no Mabito, of Mu-dai-shi rank, Yamamori, Hodzumi no Ason, Omimaro,

[1] The ten Buddhist commandments. *Vide* Eitel, S'ikchâpada.

[2] I suspect that the use of the Hayato as an Imperial Guard began at this time; if this be so, the legend related of the reason why the Hayato were vassals of the Emperor (see Vol. I. p. 107) must be of comparatively recent origin.

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the Imperial message, so that if it is said that an official of the rank of So-phan should receive the Imperial commands, this would be at variance with former precedent.

Again, when the Emperor who ruled the Empire from the Palace of Afumi[1] died, Kim Sal-yu, of Il-kil-son rank, was sent to offer condolence. But now an official of the rank of Keupson offers condolence, which again is contrary to precedent. Moreover Silla has always addressed the Emperor saying:—'Our country, since the reigns of the remote Imperial ancestors of Japan, is a land which does service, never allowing the oars of its ordered ships to become dry.' Yet now but one ship is sent, which is contrary to the ancient rule. And further in addressing the Emperor Silla has said:—'Since the reign of the remote Imperial ancestor of Japan, we have done service with pure hearts.' But you have not been careful to be thoroughly faithful in the performance of the functions originally entrusted to you. You have broken your true faith and have had wilful recourse to arts of flattery. Therefore your tribute and the separate presents are sealed up together and returned to you. However, the generous affection shown to you since the reign of the remote Imperial ancestor of this country will not be discontinued. Be therefore more and more diligent, more and more watchful, and discharge the duties entrusted to you with fear and trembling. The Celestial Court will have a still more generous affection in case the laws are honoured and observed. Do you, Tona and the rest, receive this Imperial message and deliver it to your King."

6th month, 1st day. Garments were presented to the Viceroy of Tsukushi and others.

2nd day. The Imperial Prince Shiki, Sukuna-maro, Sami
XXX. 12. no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Mugohe, Hata no Ason, Mumakahi, Iyobe no Muraji, of Gon-kwō-shi rank, Okina, Mitsugi no Imiki, Ta-uchi, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Mu-dai-san rank, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, and others were appointed Commissioners for the choice of good words.[2]

19th day. Presents of rice, varying in value in each case,

[1] Tenchi Tennō.

[2] Explained to be the selection of specimens of auspicious language of ancient and modern times to serve as models for addresses to the Empress. This office soon fell into abeyance.

were given to Hsü Shou-yen, Sa Hung-k'o, and others of the Land of Great Thang.

20th day. The Empress commanded the Viceroy Ahada no Mabito no Ason and others to give the student-priests Mei-sō and Kwan-chi each 140 kin of floss silk to send to their teachers and friends in Silla.

23rd day. The Silla Condolence Envoys Tona and his colleagues were entertained at Wo-gohori [1] in Tsukushi and were given presents, varying in the case of each.

29th day. A book of legal enactments [2] in twenty-two volumes was distributed to all the Local Governors.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. In accordance with his request, the Buddhist priest Jitoku, Yemishi of Michinoku, was granted a gold-copper image of Yakushi Butsu and a gold-copper image of Kwanze-on Bosatsu, a bell, a dish,[3] a precious curtain, an incense burner, and a banner.

On this day, the Silla Condolence Envoys Kim Tona and his colleagues took their departure.

15th day. Orders were given to the Mayors of the Right and Left divisions of the capital and to the Governors of the XXX. 13
provinces to build places for the practice of archery.[4]

20th day. The false Palace guard, Kashihabara no Hiroyama by name, a man of the district of Shibukaha in the province of Kahachi, was banished to the province of Tosa. The rank of Tsui-kwō-san was conferred on Tora, Mibu no Muraji, the Palace guard who arrested the false Palace guard Hiroyama.

[1] Wo-gohori means "small district," and probably means here the smaller of the two Government establishments. There was also an Oho-gohori or great district in Tsukushi.

[2] An authority quoted by the "Shŭkai" states that in the first year of Tenchi's reign there was prepared a collection of enactments in twenty-two volumes, which were known to the public as the "laws of the Afumi Court." The same authority states that there was a revision of these laws in the 2nd month of the 10th year of Temmu Tennō. It is these revised regulations which are referred to in the text. The "Yengishiki," which is still extant, gives us some idea of the character of these compilations.

[3] A begging bowl is meant. The word used is sara, which is written phonetically with the characters commonly used to represent the Sanskrit Sâla, the large timber tree under which Sâkyamuni died.

[4] The interlinear Kana gives here ikusa, "war," as the equivalent of the Chinese 射, archery. Perhaps ikusa is derived from i, root of iru, to shoot, and kusa, a kind

23rd day. Presents were given to Yatsurina and others, Yemishi of Koshi, varying in value in the case of each.

8th month, 2nd day. The public functionaries assembled in the Department of the Shintō religion, where an Imperial message was communicated to them respecting matters of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

4th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. Hunting and fishing were prohibited in the sea of Muko in the province of Settsu for a distance of 1000 paces, for a space of 20,000 shiro on the plain of Nagino in the district of Ate in the province of Kiï, and for a space of 20,000 shiro on the plains of Minono in the district of Iga in the province of Iga. Keepers were attached to these places in the same way as to the Sea of Takashi in the district of Ohotori in the province of Kahachi.

17th day. The Ministers received rewards, varying in the case of each.

21st day. The Empress gave orders to the Governor-General[1] of Iyo, Norimaro Tanaka no Ason, and his colleagues, saying:—"Let the white swallow caught in the district of Mike in the province of Sanuki be set at liberty."

23rd day. The Empress witnessed archery.

Intercalary 8th month, 10th day. The Empress gave orders to the Local Governors, saying:—"This winter the registers of population are to be made up. Not later than the 9th month, let vagabonds be sought out and arrested. As to the militia, let those of each province be divided into four parts, and
XXX. 14. having selected one of these, cause the men to be trained in warlike exercises."

27th day. Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, was made Viceroy of Tsukushi. He was granted arms and received presents. The rank of Jiki-kwō-ichi was bestowed on Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-ni rank. His fief was increased by 100 houses, which were added to his former grant.

9th month, 10th day. Maro, Iso no Kami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Mushina, Ishikaha no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and others were sent to Tsukushi to deliver patents of rank and also to inspect the new castle.

[1] He seems to have had control over the whole island of Shikoku.

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2nd day. The Ministers and public functionaries presented their respects at Court with the same state as at the New Year's audience.

Tajihi no Shima no Mabito and Fuse no Miaruji no Ason[1] presented their congratulations to the Empress on her accession to the throne.

3rd day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the inner precinct.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the inner precinct, and presents of clothing given them.

15th day. The public functionaries presented firewood.

17th day. There was a general amnesty throughout the Empire. It did not apply, however, to those criminals who are excepted from ordinary pardons.

One grade of rank was granted to all persons who already held official rank.

Widows, orphans, lone persons, sufferers from grave illness, and those who from poverty were unable to support themselves were granted presents of rice, and exempted from commuted taxes and forced labour.

20th day. One hundred tokibe[2] were appointed to the Department of Justice.

23rd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth in the Home provinces. Moreover, the lands and houses allotted for their service were augmented.

2nd month, 5th day. The Empress went to the embankment of Wakinokami and inspected the horses of the Ministers and Daibu.

11th day. A Buddhist priest of Silla named Chön-kil, Peuk

(eight-open-hand). The Prince Imperial claps his hands first and then retires. Next officials of the fifth rank and upwards clap hands, and finally those of the sixth or lower ranks in turn." A Chinese authority states that the Japanese showed their respect for men of distinction by clapping their hands. The number of obeisances varied at different times from one up. The "tablet-position" is probably something like what I have seen in the Court in front of the Audience Hall in Soul, where slabs of stone are let into the ground with inscriptions indicating the positions to be taken up by the officials of each rank.

[1] Shima and Miaruji are the personal names.

[2] Tokibe were officers who held preliminary examinations and committed prisoners for trial.

Cho-chi, of Keupson rank, and others, fifty persons in all, immigrated to Japan. XXX. 16.

17th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. A feast of vegetarian food was given within the inner precinct.

25th day. Hö-man, of Han Nama rank, and other Silla men, twelve persons in all, who had come as immigrants, were settled in the province of Musashi.

3rd month, 20th day. Rice of the Shima Palace was given to those inhabitants of the capital and the Home provinces who were eighty years of age and upwards. Each person had twenty sheaves, and those who had official rank received in addition two tan of cloth.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Envoys were sent to worship the great abstinence Deity of Hirose and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

7th day. Presents of rice were made to 5031 old men and old women of the capital and Home provinces. Each person had twenty sheaves.

14th day. An edict was issued, as follows :—" Let all public functionaries and people of the Home provinces be divided into nine classes according to the number of days in which they have done service. In the case of those who have official rank, reckoning is to be made for six years, and not longer, and in the case of those of no rank, for seven years only. In accordance with the regulations for the examination of public service, let those of the first four classes receive cap-rank in proportion to their merits, their services, and the importance of the House to which they belong. Their court costume shall be dark purple for those from the rank of Jō-dai-ichi down to that of Kwō-ni, bright purple for those from the rank of Jō-dai-san to that of Kwō-shi, for the eight Shō [1] grades bright purple, for the eight Jiki grades dark red, for the eight Gon grades dark green, for the eight Mu grades light green, for the eight Tsui grades deep blue, and for the eight Shin grades light blue. Apart from this, those of Jō-kwō-ni or higher rank may wear all manner of thin silk gauzes, etc., of one breadth and one kind, while those from the rank of Jō-dai-san to that of Jiki-kwō-shi may wear all manner of thin silk gauzes, etc., of

[1] See above, p 368.

one breadth and two kinds. Both the higher and lower ranks should ordinarily wear girdles of variegated silk and white
XXX. 17. trousers. Other matters to remain as usual."

22nd day. By reason of a drought, rain was begun to be prayed for in various places.

5th month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

10th day. Twenty-one immigrants from Pèkché, men and women, arrived.

15th day. Discourses on "dwelling in peace"[1] were begun in the inner precinct.

6th month, 6th day. The Empress visited Hatsuse.

25th day. All persons whatever, possessed of official rank, were summoned, and the order of their rank and their ages proclaimed.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Ministers and public functionaries put on the new Court costume for the first time.

3rd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth.

5th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was made Dajō-daijin, the rank of Shō-kwō-san was granted to Tajihi no Mabito, and he was made Udaijin. New appointments were also made to all the eight Departments of State and the bureaus.

6th day. New appointments were made of viceroys and governors of provinces.

7th day. An Imperial Order was made that the Ministers, public functionaries, and all persons holding official rank should in future put on their Court costumes in their own houses, and so present themselves before the opening of the gate.

9th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows :—"When those occupying the higher places at a Court assembly see a Prince of the Blood, the usual ceremony is to be observed; when a Daijin and a Prince appear, every one should stand up before the Hall; if two or more Princes appear, every one should get down from his seat and kneel."

14th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows :—"When

[1] The Buddhist retirement for meditation during the rainy season, a sort of Lenten retreat. See above, p. 360.

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22nd day. An Imperial order was given to Ohotomobe no Hakama, a private soldier of the district of Upper Yame in the province of Tsukushi, saying :—" You were taken prisoner by the Thang troops in the seventh year of the reign of the Empress Ame toyo-takara-ikashi-hi-tarashi-hime during the campaign undertaken for the assistance of Pèkché. At length, in the third year of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wakè, the four men Hoto Hashi, no Muraji, Oyu, Kohori no Muraji,
XXX. 19. Satsuyama, Tsukushi no Kimi, and Gen Jitsu-ni,[1] Yuge no Muraji, wished to inform the Emperor of the designs of the men of Thang, but, as they had neither clothing nor provisions, they were, to their sorrow, unable to carry out their purpose. Upon this you, Hakama, said to Hashi no Hoto and the others, 'I should like to return to our own Court along with you, but for want of clothing and provisions we cannot all depart together. I pray you, sell me as a slave, and use the money to buy food and clothing.' Acting on your proposal, Hoto and his companions were enabled to communicate with the Celestial Court, and you alone remained in a foreign land for the space of thirty years until now. We are pleased with the loyalty and patriotism which led you to sell yourself, and thus display your fidelity. As a mark of distinction for this meritorious service We therefore grant you the rank of Mu-dai-shi, with five pieces of coarse silk, ten bundles of floss silk, thirty tan of cloth, 1000 sheaves of rice, and four chō of rice-land, to be continued to your great-grandchildren, and your relations of the three classes[2] are exempted from forced labour."

29th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi inspected the site for the Palace of Fujihara. He was accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries.

11th month, 7th day. Presents were given to the Escort Envoy Kim Ko-hun and his colleagues, of varying value in the case of each.

11th day. In compliance with an Imperial order, the use of the Yüan-kia and I-fêng calendars was begun.[3]

[1] Apparently a Chinese name which he had taken to himself.

[2] His father and mother, brothers and sisters, and wife and children.

[3] Yuan-kia is the Chinese period from 424 to 453; I-fêng from 676 to 678. The "Sandai jitsu roku" says: "First the Yüan-kia calendar was used, and

12th month, 3rd day. The Escort Envoy Kim Ko-hun and his colleagues took their departure.

12th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. The Empress went to Fujihara, and inspected the site for the Palace. All the Ministers and public functionaries accompanied her. XXX. 20.

23rd day. Presents were given to the Ministers and officials of lower rank, varying in value in the case of each.

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Ranks were bestowed on the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers,[1] the Princesses of the Blood, the Princesses, and the lady officials of the Palace. A.D. 691.

7th day. Presents of eatables, drinkables, and clothing were given to the Ministers. Rich presents varying in value in the case of each were made to Yō Syön-kwang, of Shō-kwō-shi rank, and to Wön-pong, Nyang-no, and Nam-chyon, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Princes of Pèkché.

13th day. An increase of 2000 houses was made to the fief of the Imperial Prince Takechi, which, added to his previous fief, made 3000 houses. To the Imperial Prince Hodzumi, of Jō-kwō-ni rank, there were given 500 houses; to the Imperial Prince Kahashima, of Jō-dai-san rank, 100 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 500 houses; to the Udaijin, Tajihi no Shima Mabito, of Shō-kwō-san rank, 300 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 500 houses; to the Pèkché Prince Chyön-kwang, of Shō-kwō-shi rank, 100 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 200 houses; to Fuse no Miaruji no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ichi rank, and to Ohotomo no Miyuki no Sukune, 80 houses, which, added to their previous fiefs, made 300 houses. Others received additions to their fiefs which varied in amount for each.

14th day. An edict was made, as follows:—"Masaru, Tsukushi no Fubito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, ever since his appointment twenty-nine years ago as Secretary to the Viceroy of Tsukushi, has been upright and faithful, and has not been guilty of any

next the I-fêng calendar. The I-fêng calendar is the same as the Lin-têh calendar (664-665). For details respecting the ancient Japanese calendar consult "Bramsen's Chronological Tables."

[1] Probably Ministers is a mistake for Princes.

remissness. He is, therefore, granted a sustenance-fief of 5000[1] houses, fifteen pieces of coarse silk, twenty-five bundles of floss silk, fifty tan of cloth, and 5000 sheaves of rice.

16th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

23rd day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

2nd month, 1st day. The Empress addressed a decree to
XXX. 21 the Ministers, saying :—" In the reigns of the former Emperors ye erected Buddhist Halls and Scripture (Sutra) Treasuries, and practised the six monthly fasts.[2] The Emperors from time to time sent Ohotoneri to inquire after the welfare of the priests, and the same has also been done in Our own reign. Let us therefore with zealous hearts continue to uphold the Buddhist faith."

On this day patents of rank were bestowed on officials.

3rd month, 3rd day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the Western Hall.

5th day. The Empress inspected the horses both of the State and of private persons in the Imperial park.

22nd day. An edict was issued, as follows :—" If a younger brother of the common people is sold by his elder brother, he should be classed with freemen : if a child is sold by his parents, he should be classed with slaves: persons confiscated into slavery by way of payment of interest on debts are to be classed with freemen, and their children, though born of a union with a slave, are also to be all classed with freemen."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. An edict was issued, as follows: —" Slaves who have been manumitted in the time of the ancestor of a House, and already struck off the register of slaves, may not be claimed again as slaves by members of that House."

Kudara, Kami no Sukuri, Doctor of the University, was granted 1000 sheaves of the greater tax-rice, as an encouragement to his learning.

11th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

16th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

[1] No doubt a mistake for fifty, as the " Shūkai " suggests.

[2] On the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th, nothing was eaten after noon. On these days the Shitennō (Tchatur Mahârâdjas) visit the earth and take note of the good and evil actions of mankind.

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23rd day. Envoys were sent to worship the Wind-gods of Tatsuta, and the Gods of Suha [1] and Minuchi, in Shinano.

9th month, 4th day. Hsü Shou-yen and Sa Hung-k'o, of
XXX. 23. Great Thang, Professors of pronunciation, and Mal-să and Chyön-sin, of Pékchè, Professors of writing, received presents of twenty riō of silver each.

9th day. The Imperial Prince Kahashima, of Jō-dai-san rank, died.

23rd day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ni was granted to Ohome, Saheki no Sukune, and also a contribution made for his funeral expenses.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

8th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"Let the houses set apart for the care of the misasagi of former Emperors be five or more in number; in the case of others, viz. princes of distinguished merit, let three houses be allotted. If the misasagi houses are insufficient, let the want be supplied by peasants, whose forced labour shall be remitted, and who shall be changed once in three years."

13th day. Long-life places,[2] each of 1000 paces, were instituted in the Home and other provinces.

On this day the Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

20th day. The Empress returned from Yoshino.

27th day. Envoys were sent to perform a service for the tranquillity of the new capital.[3]

11th month, 24th day. The festival of first-fruits [4] was held. Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Ason, Minister of the Department of the Shintō religion, recited the (prayer invoking the) blessing of the Heavenly Deities.

25th day. Bed-clothes [5] were presented to the Ministers.

28th day. Thin silks were given to all from the rank of Minister down to that of Secretary. They varied in value for each.

30th day. An entertainment was given to the officials of

[1] Ya-saka-iri hime. Satow's "Handbook," p. 234.

[2] Places within which the taking of animal life was prohibited—a Buddhist institution.

[3] At Fujihara. [4] Ohonihe.

[5] Thickly wadded garments with sleeves, worn at night instead of blankets. The practice of making presents of this kind continued up to the Revolution of 1868.

the Shintō Department from the Chief down to the Kamibe, and also to the Governors and others, including common people, both men and women, of the districts of the provinces of Harima and Inaba which had furnished (the rice used at the festival). They received presents of thin silk of various values for each.

12th month, 2nd day. Toku Ji-chin,[1] of Mu-dai-san rank, Doctor of Medicine, and Mokuso, Chō-mu, Shataku, and Manjiu, Professors of exorcism, were given presents of twenty riō of silver each.

8th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"To the Udaijin let there be given four chō of land as a site[2] for a house, to those of the rank of Jiki-kwō-ni and above, two chō, to those of the rank of Jiki-dai-san and below, one chō. From the Gon grades down to officials who have no rank, let the number of inhabitants of their fiefs be taken as a guide, first class fiefs having one chō, second class half a chō, and third class a quarter of a chō. Princes shall fo low the same rule." XXX. 24.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was granted an additional fief of 2000 houses, making, along with his previous one, a total of 5000 houses. A.D. 692.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers, and they received presents of garments.

12th day. The Empress inspected the road to[3] the new capital.

16th day. An entertainment was given to officials from the Ministers down to those of initial rank.

27th day. The Empress visited Takamiya.

28th day. The Empress returned from Takamiya.

2nd month, 11th day. Orders were given to the officials, saying:—"It is Our intention to proceed to Ise on the third day of the third month. Take note of this Our purpose, and get ready all the necessary clothing."

The priests Hō-zō and Dō-ki, Professors of the Yin and Yang, received presents of twenty riō of silver each.

[1] A Chinese name. But whether the bearer was a Chinaman or not is not clear. I have given the Japanese pronunciation of the characters. The other names are not Japanese.

[2] Presumably these sites were in the new capital of Fujihara referred to above.

[3] Or "the roads of."

19th day. Orders were given to the Board of Punishments to release short-sentence prisoners.

On this day, the Chunagon, Takechi-maro, Miwa no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ni rank, presented a memorial in which he made bold to remonstrate roundly with the Empress for her proposed visit to Ise, which he said would interfere with the time for agricultural operations.

3rd month, 3rd day. Prince Hirose, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Chitoko, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, and Yumibari, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, were appointed to take charge of the Palace during the Empress's absence. Upon this the Chunagon, Takechi-maro, Miwa no Ason, divested
XXX. 25. himself of his cap-rank and delivered it up to the Court, reiterating his remonstrance, and saying:—"During the season of agricultural operations the (Imperial) chariot should not be moved."

6th day. The Empress did not yield to his remonstrances, but at length proceeded to Ise.

17th day. The Empress bestowed cap-rank on the Miyakko of the sacred districts[1] through which she had passed, and on the Miyakko of the provinces of Iga, Ise, and Shima. These places were also released from commuted taxes and forced labour for this year. Moreover the commuted taxes and forced labour for the year were remitted in the case of the horsemen provided for the Empress's service, the baggage-coolies of her officials, and the labourers employed in constructing temporary Palaces. There was a general pardon for the Empire, which, however, did not comprise thieves and robbers.

19th day. Fifty sheaves of rice for each person were presented to men and women of eighty years of age and upwards, common people of the province of Shima, through which the Empress passed.

20th day. The Imperial chariot[2] returned to the Palace. Wherever it had reached, the officials and people of the district were assembled, and care was taken to reward their diligence and to have musical performances.

30th day. By an Imperial decree, the commuted taxes and

[1] Viz. Ihino, Take and Watarahi, where there were shrines.

[2] The Empress may or may not have travelled in a chariot. This phrase is simply put respectfully for the Imperial cortège, or the Empress.

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mountains, and to the hills and rivers, to pray to them for rain.

20th day. Chitoko, Fumi no Imiki, was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi, and a contribution made towards the expenses of his funeral.

23rd day. Prince Naniha, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, and others were sent to perform a service for the tranquillity of the site of the Palace of Fujihara.

26th day. Envoys were sent to make offerings to the Great Gods of the following four places, viz.: Ise, Yamato, Sumiyoshi, and Kiï, and to announce to them the erection of the new Palace.

Intercalary 5th month, 3rd day. Great floods. Commissioners were sent to visit the districts and provinces, one after another, making loans to those who, having met with disaster, were unable to support themselves, and allowing them to fish and cut wood in the hills and forests, the ponds and marshes.

An Imperial order was given that the Kin-kwō-miō Sutra should be expounded in the capital and in the four Home provinces.

4th day. The Buddhist priest Kwan-sei was given a present of fifteen hiki of coarse silk, thirty bundles of floss silk, and fifty tan of cloth, and he was commended for having made white lead.[1]

XXX. 27. 13th day. The Great Gods of Ise addressed the Empress, saying:—"Let the commuted taxes and forced labour for the province of Ise be remitted for this year. That being so, the thirty-five kin of red silk yarn forwarded by the two districts of the Gods should be reduced in value from next year."[2]

15th day. An Imperial order was given to Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and the rest, saying:—"Let priests be sent to Ohosumi and Ata to propagate the Buddhist religion." He was further made to send up to the capital the image of Amida, made by the Great Thang Chief Envoy Kuo Wu-

[1] Used as a cosmetic.

[2] The highly respectful character 奏 is used for the address of the Gods to the Empress. The interlinear Kana puts the respectful term tamaye in the mouths of the Gods. The districts referred to are Take and Watarahi.

ts'ung, for the Emperor who lived in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi.

6th month, 9th day. The senior officials of the districts and provinces were commanded each to pray to the celebrated mountains, and to the hills and rivers for rain.

11th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to the four Home provinces to pray for rain.

21st day. Official rank was granted to eight labourers, and they were commended for their diligence and absence of remissness in the construction of the Ohouchi Misasagi.[1]

30th day. The Empress inspected the site of the Fujihara Palace.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. A general amnesty was granted throughout the Empire. But this pardon did not apply to those guilty of the ten[2] crimes, nor to thieves and robbers.

Shikofuchi, Fuse no Ason, Governor of the province of Sagami, and others, with the Vice-Governor of the district of Miura, and Kusu, Kashima no Omi, who had caught the red crows, had rank and presents bestowed on them. Moreover the commuted taxes and forced labour were remitted to the district of Miura for three years.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers.

9th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta.

28th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

On this night Mars and Jupiter approached and receded XXX. 28. from one another four times in the room of one pace, alternately shining and disappearing.

8th month, 3rd day. Criminals were pardoned.

17th day. The Empress visited the country-house of the Imperial Princess Asuka, and on the same day returned to the Palace.

9th month, 9th day. Daibu were despatched to the four Home provinces, to attend to the distribution of rice-lands.

[1] Of Temmu Tennō.

[2] Rebellion, conspiracy against the sovereign's person, treason, parricide, inhumanity (including murder and mutilation for nefarious purposes), sacrilege, unfilial conduct, discord, insubordination, and incest. Mayers, p. 350.

14th day. The Department of the Shintō religion laid before the Empress four volumes of sacred treasures,[1] nine keys, and one wooden stamp.

21st day. The Governor of the province of Ise presented two auspicious stalks of rice.

The Governor of the province of Echizen presented a white moth.

26th day. An Imperial decree was made, saying:—"Whereas a white moth has been caught on the shore at Uragami in the district of Tsunuga, the fief of the God of Kebi is increased by twenty houses, making a total, with those already attached to his shrine, of ——.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. Mikata, Yamada no Fubito, was granted the rank of Mu-kwō-shi. He had formerly gone to study in Silla as a priest.

12th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

11th month, 8th day. Silla sent Pak Ök-tök, and Kim Sim-sal, of Keupson rank, etc., as tribute-bearers. Presents
XXX. 29. were made of various values to Oyu, Okinaga no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and to Tsura, Kahachi no Imiki, of Mu-dai-ni rank, etc., whom it was proposed to send as Envoys to Silla.

11th day. Pak Ök-tök, of Silla, was entertained, and received presents in the official building of Naniha.

12th month, 14th day. Hsü Shou-yen and Sa Hung-k'o, Professors of (Chinese) pronunciation, received grants of rice-land, four chō being given to each.

24th day. Daibu were sent to deliver the tribute from Silla to the five shrines of Ise, Sumiyoshi, Kii, Yamato, and Unatari.[2]

A.D. 693. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The rank of Jō-kwō-ichi was bestowed on the Imperial Prince Takechi, and that of Jō-kwō-ni on the Imperial Princes Naga and Yuge.

On this day an Imperial edict was issued directing that the common people of the Empire should wear yellow clothing and that slaves should wear black.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu.

[1] Probably lists of the contents of the treasuries of the Shintō temples. "Shukai."

[2] In Yamato. The God worshipped was Taka-mi-dama no Mikoto.

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Moreover, a present was made for the funeral expenses of the King of Silla.

17th day. An Imperial decree was issued directing that the cultivation throughout the Empire of such vegetable productions as the mulberry tree, hemp, pears, chestnuts, and greens,[1] should be encouraged, as auxiliaries to the five grains.

Summer, 4th month, 17th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the shrines and to pray for rain. Moreover, Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

XXX. 31. 22nd day. Ohotomo no Wobito, Vice-President of the Inner Treasury, was by an Imperial decree convicted of dishonest practices, reduced two grades in rank, and dismissed from the office he then held. Two clerks named Oisome no Ohoku and Uno no Ohotomo were also convicted of dishonest practices, reduced one grade in rank, and dismissed from the office which they then held. An auditor named Kose no Muraharu, who, although he derived no personal advantage from it, was privy to the theft, and allowed it to be committed, was therefore reduced in rank by two grades and dismissed from his office. Oisome no Ohoku, however, was pardoned, on account of his zealous services during the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru. But the proceeds of the dishonest practices were confiscated according to law.

5th month, 1st day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

7th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

15th day. A public (Buddhist) great-congregation was held within the inner precinct.

6th month, 1st day. By an Imperial order the Koryö priest Pok-ka was restored to the laity.

4th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was bestowed on Hirome,
XXX. 32. Hikeda no Ason, Karita, Mori no Kimi, Maro, Kose no Ason, Omi-maro, Fujihara no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, Ikemori, Tajihi no Mabito, and Maro, Ki no Ason, in all seven persons.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

[1] Giles has Brassica rapa or rape-turnip. The interlinear Kana has awona, which I have followed.

12th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

14th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain.

16th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain. On this day the Empress arrived from Yoshino.

8th month, 1st day. The Empress went to the site of the Palace of Fujihara.

17th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

21st day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

9th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

5th day. The Empress went to the Peak of Tamu no Mine.

6th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

10th day. On behalf of the Kiyomibara[1] Emperor a public great-congregation was held within the inner precincts. All prisoners were released.

16th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-san was granted to Konoma, Kaya no Imiki, and a contribution made for his funeral expenses. In this way his services in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru were rewarded.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. It was decreed that from this year onwards there should be inspections of the arms kept in store by all, beginning with the Princes of the Blood down to persons of initial rank. Those of Jō cap-rank down to Jiki cap-rank were each to have one suit of armour, one sword, one bow, one set of arrows, one elbow-pad,[2] and one saddle-horse. Those of Gon cap-rank to Shin or initial cap-rank were each XXX. to have one sword, one bow, one set of arrows, and one elbow-pad. Such were to be their provision.

23rd day. The Jin-nō[3] Sutra was begun to be expounded in the hundred provinces. This came to a close after four days.

11th month, 5th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

7th day. Presents were given to the Prince and Prime Minister, etc., of Tamna, of various values.

10th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

[1] Temmu Tennō. [2] See Vol. I., note to p. 34.

[3] Benevolent king.

14th day. The Priests Hō-yen, Zen-ō, and Shin-gi were sent to the district of Yasu in the province of Afumi, to try the spring of cordial[1] waters.

23rd day. The rank of Jiki-dai-shi was bestowed on Sukunamaro, Hikeda no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and he was granted a sustenance-fief of fifty houses.

12th month, 21st day. Professors of the art of war were sent to give instruction and training in the various provinces.

A.D. 694. 8th year, 1st month, 2nd day. The rank of Shō-kwō-shi was granted to Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ichi rank, and to Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, with an increase of 200 houses to the fiefs of each, amounting with those held by them previously to five hundred houses. They were also constituted the senior members of their Houses.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers.

15th day. The Empress received presents of firewood.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the public functionaries.

17th day. The men of Aya gave a performance of Ararebashiri.

Those of the fifth rank and upwards had archery.

18th day. Those of the sixth rank and downwards had archery. After four days it came to an end.

19th day. The men of Thang gave a performance of Ararebashiri.

21st day. The Empress visited the Palace of Fujihara, and returned to the Palace on the same day.

XXX. 34. 23rd day. The ranks of Mu-kwō-shi, etc., were conferred on seven men of Great Thang and two Sushen (Manchus).

24th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

3rd month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

2nd day. Maro, Ohoyake no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Yashima, Utena no Imiki, of Gon-dai-ni rank, and Honjitsu, Kibumi no Muraji, were appointed Governors of the mint for (copper ?) cash.[2]

[1] The interlinear Kana has ko-zake, a kind of sweet liquor made from rice. A natural spring is meant, perhaps with some medicinal qualities. See below, XXX 34.

[2] The appointment of two mint officials with a nearly similar title is recorded in the "Shoku Nihongi" under the year 708, 2nd month. It is

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16th day. The Empress made an edict, as follows :—"In the seventh year of our reign, the year Midzunoto Mi of the Cycle, a spring of cordial waters bubbled up at Mount Tsuga-yama in the district of Yasu in the province of Afumi. Persons afflicted with all manner of diseases went to stay at the Temple of Yasudera, and great numbers were healed. Therefore four chō of rice-land and sixty tan of cloth are granted to it, and the district of Yasu is exempted for this year from commuted taxes and forced labour, and from miscellaneous corvées. The local authorities, from the chief down to the clerks, are advanced one grade in rank. To those who first made proof of the spring of cordial waters, viz. Kadono no Hatsuki and the daughter of Kudara no Tsurara, these are given two hiki of coarse silk each, ten tan of cloth, and ten mattocks."

22nd day. Offerings were presented at the various shrines.

23rd day. Presents of coarse silks and cloth, varying in value in the case of each, were made to the officials of the Department of the Shintō religion from the chief down to the Hafuri, in all 164 persons.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The posthumous rank of Jō-dai-shi was conferred on Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

7th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

XXX. 35. 14th day. The Empress arrived back from the Palace of Yoshino.

17th day. A contribution was sent towards the funeral expenses of the Doctor of Law[1] Dō-yen.

5th month, 6th day. The Ministers and Daibu were entertained within the inner precincts (of the Palace).

11th day. One hundred copies of the Kin-kwō-myō Sutra were sent and deposited in the various provinces, to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests) were to be defrayed from the public revenues[2] of the province.

6th month, 8th day. A white copper-pheasant was presented

[1] Risshi, a rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[2] There is no question of money here, everything was in kind.

by the district of Sarara in the province of Kahachi. The Governor and Vice-Governor of the district of Sarara received each a grade of rank and presents, and the rank of Shin-kwō-ni was granted to Karakuni, Osakabe no Miyakko, who had caught it. He also received presents.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Inspectors[1] were sent to the provinces.

15th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

8th month, 17th day. One hundred and four priests were made to enter religion for the sake of the Imperial Princess Asuka.

9th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

4th day. The Empress proceeded to the Palace of Yoshino.

22nd day. Prince Mino, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, was appointed Viceroy of Tsukushi.

Winter, 10th month, 20th day. The rank of Shin-dai-shi was bestowed on a man of the district of Araki, in the province XXX. 36.
of Hida, named Otokunibe no Otohi, who had caught a white bat. He also received a present of four hiki of coarse silk, four bundles of floss silk, and ten tan of cloth, and his house was exempted from all forced labour whatever during his life.

11th month, 26th day. There was an amnesty for criminals, from those guilty of capital crimes downwards.

12th month, 6th day. The Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Fujihara.

9th day. The public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

10th day. Presents of various values were made to all from the Princes of the Blood down to the Governors of districts, consisting of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth.

12th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers and Daibu.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The rank of Jō-kwō- A.D. 695.
ni was conferred on the toneri of Imperial Princes.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu within the inner precinct (of the Palace).

15th day. Firewood was presented to the Empress.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the public functionaries.

[1] Jun-satsu-shi.

17th day. There was archery lasting for four days.

Intercalary 2nd month, 8th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

15th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

3rd month, 2nd day. Silla sent Prince Kim Nyang-nim, the Po-nyöng[1] Pak Kang-kuk, of Sal-son[2] rank, and Kim Chyu-han and Kim Chhyung-syön, of Han-na-ma rank, to present a memorial regarding the government of their country, to offer tribute and to bring presents.

11th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

22nd day. Hakase, Fumi no Imiki, of Mu-kwō-ni rank, Shimo-osa[3] no Morota, of Shin-kwō-san rank, and others were sent to Tane[4] to obtain the barbarians' dwelling-place.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods
XXX. 37. of Tatsuta.

17th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-san was conferred on Yemishi, Kamo no Ason, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses. [His original rank was Gon-dai-ichi.] The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-shi was conferred on Akamaro, Fumi no Imiki, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses. [His original rank was Dai-san-chiu.]

5th month, 13th day. An entertainment was given to the Hayato of Oho-sumi.

21st day. The Empress witnessed wrestling by the Hayato at West[5] Tsuki no moto.

6th month, 3rd day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the shrines of the capital and the four Home provinces and pray for rain.

16th day. Honorary gifts of various values were made to all high officials who were eighty years of age or more, or who were affected by chronic disease.

[1] Apparently the name of an office. [2] The proper word is Chap-son.

[3] Shimo-osa means junior interpreter. There was a family of this name, but it is not quite clear that the name and function did not go together in this case.

[4] Viz. Tanegashima, an island off the south coast of Satsuma.

[5] Referring to its position West of the Temple of Asuka. Tsuki is the name of a tree, the Planera.

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brocade, of dark red and deep purple coarse silks, of axes, etc., to Inari and Mushi, Yemishi of Watarijima of Koshi, and to Shirasu and Yesō, men of Sushen.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

27th day. The rank of Tsui-dai-ni was conferred on Mononobe no Kusuri, of the district of Kazehaya in the province of Iyo, and to Mibu no Moroshi, of the district of Kahashi in the province of Higo. Moreover, each of them received presents of 4 hiki of coarse silk, 10 bundles of raw silk, 20 tan of cloth, 20 mattocks, 1000 sheaves of rice, and 4 chō of rice-land. They were excused from the commuted taxes and forced labour due from their houses. This was by way of consolation for their long sufferings in the Thang country.[1]

28th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

5th month, 2nd day. By Imperial command the title of Imiki was conferred[2] on Tsunade, Hada no Miyakko, of Daikin-jō rank.

XXX. 39. 4th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

8th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was conferred on Ohosumi, Wohari no Sukune, and he was also given forty chō of rice-land.

13th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was granted to Momoye, Oho-koma no Muraji, and a contribution given towards his funeral expenses.

6th month, 18th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

26th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

2nd day. Criminals were pardoned.

8th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

10th day. His Highness the after[3] Imperial Prince died.

[1] They were taken prisoners in the campaign undertaken for the support of Pèkché. See above, XXVII. 7.

[2] This was a posthumous honour.

[3] The "Shūkai" thinks that we should read Prince Imperial here. Prince Takechi is meant, who stood second in the line of succession. Hence the epithet "after."

8th month, 25th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-ichi was conferred on Homuchi, Oho no Omi, and presents given him as a reward for his services from the beginning, and for his strict guardianship of the barrier.[1]

9th month, 15th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi was conferred on Ihose, Waka-zakurabe no Ason, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses, in honour of his services from the beginning.

Winter, 10th month, 17th day. The Udaijin, Tajihi no Mabito, was granted (permission [2] to use) a carriage and a staff, and so in this way sympathy was shown on his retirement from office.

22nd day. One hundred and twenty retainers were granted to the Udaijin, Tajihi no Mabito, of Shō-kwō-san rank; eighty each to the Dainagon, Miaruji, Abe no Ason, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, both of Shō-kwō-shi rank, and fifty each to Maro, Iso no Kami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-ichi rank, and Fubito, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-ni rank.

11th month, 10th day. Thirty houses were granted as a sustenance-fief to Bendō, a priest of the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

12th month, 1st day. An Imperial order was given that the Kin-kwō-myō Sutra should be expounded, and that every year on the last day of the twelfth month ten persons of a pure life should be made to enter religion.

11th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu. A.D. 697.

11th day. Presents of rice in ear of various values were given to all widowers, widows, orphans, and childless persons, to those suffering from grave disease, and to those who from poverty were unable to support themselves, throughout the Empire. XXX. 40.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and public functionaries.

2nd month, 28th day. Kunimi, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-ichi rank, was appointed Grand Tutor of the Heir

[1] He was warden of the Suzuka barrier, on the road to Fuha, during the civil war.

[2] On account of his age.

Apparent,[1] Atomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, was appointed Director of the Spring Palace,[2] and Ahamochi, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Assistant Director.

3rd month, 8th day. A public great-congregation was held at the Eastern Palace.[3]

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Ranks, from that of Jō to that of Jiki, were conferred on the selected persons (for office), discrimination being made in the case of each.

7th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta. On this day the Empress arrived from Yoshino.

5th month, 8th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to the various shrines to pray for rain.

6th month, 2nd day. Criminals were pardoned.

6th day. An Imperial order was made that Sutras should be read in the temples of the Home provinces.

15th day. Persons of the fifth and lower ranks were sent to cleanse out the temples of the capital.

19th day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.[4]

26th day. The Ministers and public functionaries began to make votive images of Buddha for the sake of the Empress's illness.

28th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. At midnight, one hundred and nine habitual[5] thieves were pardoned, and four pieces of cloth given to each. But those from the outer provinces received twenty sheaves of rice each.

12th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta.

29th day. The Ministers and public functionaries prepared

[1] The recognition in this capacity of Prince Aru, grandson of Temmu Tennō and son of the Prince Imperial Kusakabe, afterwards Mommu Tennō, on the sixteenth day of this month, is recorded by other authors, but is somehow omitted in the "Nihongi."

[2] The Heir-Apparent's Palace.

[3] The Heir-Apparent's Palace.

[4] Shintō.

[5] There is probably something wrong with the text here. The "Shukai" offers an emendation which would mean "thieves who habitually wore the cangue."

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ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

Page 2, line 3. For 'drawn out' read 'diffused.'

„ 4. The character 野 is sometimes transliterated no and sometimes nu—a confusion common with the Japanese themselves.

„ 5, l. 15. For 'it had' read 'which has.'

„ 6, note 2. For Oho-to nochi Florenz plausibly suggests Oho-tono-ji, i. e. 'the elder of the august palace.'

note 3. Omotaru. Better 'face-perfect.'

note 3. Florenz suggests with great probability that awo is here only an interjection like aya.

last line of notes. For 'Jirja' read 'Jinja.'

„ 8, line 14 from bottom. For 'place' better 'female.'

„ 9, l. 11. For 'game' read 'gane.'

„ 10, note. For 'first jewel' read 'lucky jewel.'

„ 14, l. 14. For 'Chi-iwo-aki' read 'Chi-i-ho-aki.'

near bottom. For 'has a place,' etc., read 'is completely formed and has a place called.'

„ 15, near bottom. Read 'To think of the words of the woman having been spoken first!'

„ 18, near bottom of text. For 'ladder' read 'pillar.'

„ 23, l. 15, 18. For 'suchi' read 'dzuchi.'

l. 29. Omit 'no Kami' after 'Kura o Kami.'

note 4. Read 'in error for yase, having many reaches.'

„ 24, l. 7. For 'Izanami' read 'Izanagi.'

„ 26, l. 3 from bottom. For 'I will wash' read 'So he washed.'

„ 27, l. 14. For 'Soko' read 'Uha.'

„ 31, note 7. Na is here probably for no, the genitive particle.

„ 40, line 5 from bottom. For 'when the seed,' etc., read 'in spring sowed seed over again, and broke down,' etc.

„ 42, add to note 2:—'Here and at p. 186 the Eternal Land is probably the continent of Asia. The cock is called Kuda-kake in the "Ise-Monogatari" (Mabuchi's Edition II. 44), where Mabuchi explains Kuda as put for Kudara, the name of a Corean kingdom.'

„ 47, l. 24. For 'drew herself up,' etc., read 'felt ill all over.'

near bottom, add note:—'This is the literal translation, but, as we learn from the "Shiki," the "combs" here mentioned were really

Sakaki branches stuck in the ground with tree-fibre hung from them as offerings.'

Page 48, l. 12, 13. For 'he' read 'were.'

„ 49, l. 12. For 'Ono-kori-dome' read 'Ishi-kori-dome.'

„ 51, l. 16 and 21. Transpose 'right' and 'left' in these lines.

„ 55, l. 10, 14. For 'Mitsu' read 'Mi.'

l. 13. After 'yashima' add 'de,' and at the end of note 5 the word 'hand.'

„ 56, l. 20. For 'Ina' read 'Ma.'

„ 57, l. 18 et seqq. For 'Iso' read 'I.'

„ 60, l. 4. Read 'can we say,' etc.

„ 64, l. 8. For 'hoho ninigi' read 'ho no ninigi.'

„ 66, l. 16. 'The sparrows,' etc., should not be indented.

„ 67, l. 6. Omit 'parents.'

l. 9. Better 'abhor mistaking.'

„ 69, note 5. Mars and Jupiter are also mentioned.

„ 71, l. 4. Read 'Oho-yama tsu mi no Kami.'

note 4. After 'muro' insert 'except in composition.'

„ 72, add to note :—'Blackmore, in "Lorna Doone," mentions a practice in the West of England "of keeping all rooms underground. We say that thus we keep them warmer, both for cattle and men in the time of winter, and cooler in the summer time."'

„ 74, l. 22. Read 'the coffined corpse.'

„ 81, l. 13. For 'loyal behaviour' read 'extreme loyalty.'

l. 6 from bottom. Before 'Ma-hitotsu' insert 'Ame no.'

„ 83, l. 11. After 'attendance' add 'in the hall.'

„ 85, l. 10. Read 'Now I suspect that it is not my child.'

„ 89, l. 23. Read 'Chichi hime no Mikoto, daughter of Honohata hime, daughter of,' etc.

l. 6 from bottom. Add 'Ama no' before 'Kaguyama.'

last line but one et seqq. For 'she' read 'he.'

„ 91, l. 19. Read 'Tama-yori hime no Mikoto, child of Yorodzu hata hime, child of Taka mimusubi no Mikoto.'

l. 24. Read 'Kachi-haya-bi.'

l. 26. Add 'Hono' before 'Ninigi.'

„ 93, l. 1. Before 'Hoho-demi' add 'Hiko.'

„ 95, l. 4 from bottom. After 'acquired' insert 'a sea-gift while the younger brother Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto had acquired.'

„ 96, margin. For '32' read '37.'

l. 3. Omit 'Cassia.'

„ 97, l. 7. Filth of earth. The human body is meant. A Buddhist idea.

„ 100, note. There are earlier mentions of the Hayato, but their institution as an Imperial guard probably belongs to the latter end of the seventh century. There are numerous indications that this legend is of recent date.

„ 103, l. 16 For 'Hi' read 'Ho.'

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Page 129, l. 4. For 'Tada' read 'Hata.'
l. 5. The Japanese have indifferently hafuri or hofuri. Hafuri is the proper spelling, hofuri being meant to represent the contracted form hōri.
„ 130, l. 9. After 'Katsuraki' read 'Now the ancient name of the land of Ihare was Kataru or Katatachi.'
„ 131, note 6. For 'evergreen' read 'deciduous.'
„ 133, l. 6. Better read 'to use allusive verses and topsy-turvy words so as,' etc.
„ 134, l. 6. For 'Katsurano' read 'Kadono.'
„ 138, l. 2. Omit 'Hohodemi.'
l. 3. Add 'hime' after 'Isuzu.'
l. 10. For 'Kama' read 'Kami.'
„ 142, l. 9. Before 'daughter' insert 'Howi-hime.'
„ 148, l. 6. After 'Emperor's' insert 'younger.'
l. 10. After 'Awotama' insert 'Kake.'
l. 11. After 'yasu' add 'hiko.'
l. 6 from bottom. 'Ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi' should come in at the end of the sentence.
„ 150, l. 8. For 'of wide culture' read 'broad-minded.'
l. 5 from bottom. Read 'daughter of the Tohe of Araka (or Arakaha) in the land of Ki.'
l. 4 from bottom. Add after 'had' 'Toyo-ki-iri-hiko.' Omit period after 'Oho-ama.'
„ 152, l. 6 from bottom. Read 'Is not this non-acceptance cruel?'
„ 153, l. 4 from bottom. Add after 'Shiko-wo' 'the ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji.'
„ 161, l. 2. Read 'Families were well supplied.'
„ 164, note 2. Read 'in Japanese Keirin.'
„ 168. Read 'Judging from the implements which this ox is carrying, he is surely intended to be killed and eaten.'
„ 172, l. 2. For 'slay' read 'attack.'
„ 178, l. 9. After 'land' read 'and that I should personally conduct the government of the great earth. The covenant was already completed. But although,' etc.
l. 22. For 'Kuka' read 'Fukayu.'
„ 181, last two lines. Read 'If I am to be united to this beautiful person I shall surely see a happy omen on the way.'
„ 182, last line. Read 'Then he said to the courtiers.'
„ 183, l. 5. After 'Tohe' insert 'of Yamashiro.'
„ 189, last line. For 'goro' read 'gokoro.'
„ 191, l. 1 and 2. For 'goro' read 'gokoro.'
„ 193, l. 4. For 'hard' read 'sakaki.'
„ 194, l. 21. Omit 'muro.'
„ 195, l. 6 from bottom. For 'It will be,' etc., read 'Their spear points are not to be matched,' and omit 'For.'
„ 196, l. 27. For 'Ki' read 'Hi.'

Page 197, l. 18. For 'to' read 'through.'
l. 9 from bottom. For 'people' read 'their tribe.'
„ 206, l. 8 from bottom. Add note, 'i.e. a Deity incarnate in human form.'
„ 208, l. 8. For 'Mount Ohoyama' read 'the great mountains.'
„ 209, l. 17. Read 'But he got up with difficulty and returned,' etc.
„ 221, l. 5 from bottom. 'Dazzling to the eyes' is better construed with 'gold and silver,' etc.
„ 224, l. 5 and 10. Read 'Tarashi-nakatsu hiko.'
„ 225, l. 1. Woyamada.
„ 226, l. 19. For 'powerful frame' read 'stubborn nature.'
l. 24. For 'returned' read 'removed.'
„ 228, l. 22. For 'take possession of' read 'seek.'
„ 237, l. 7. For 'So on a later day,' etc., read 'Again they said "Bring a lute and give it to the Empress."'
note 7. Mikokoro is a makura-kotoba of Hirota.
l. 8. Read 'What ill-sounding things the woman says!'
„ 239, l. 3. For 'Katsurano' read 'Kadono.'
l. 14-17. Read—

'Noble with nobles,
Cousin with cousins.'

„ 240, l. 19. For 'Midzunoto,' etc., read 'Kanoto Mi' (18th).
„ 242, l. 3. For 'Emperor' read 'Grand Empress.'
„ 246, l. 8. Read 'In the course of the seventh month of,' etc.
„ 248, l. 5. After 'tribute' add 'which they made the tribute of their own country.'
l. 6. After 'Silla' add 'mean articles.'
„ 250, l. 12 from bottom. For 'Corea' read 'Pèkché.'
, 251, l. 16. Read 'It is so distant that it cannot be reached in seven days' journey.'
„ 254, l. 13. Read 'This agreed with the elbow-pad worn by the Empress as a manly accoutrement.'
„ 255, l. 1. For 'Tsutsuhi' read 'Kebi.'
l. 15. For 'younger' read 'elder.'
l. 11 from bottom. For 'Prince' read 'Princess.'
l. 7 from bottom. For 'Mago' read 'Ito.'
„ 257, l. 7. For 'Kadzu' read 'Kadono.' Chiba, 'thousand leaves,' is a makura-kotoba of Kadono, Kado (or Kadzura) meaning a creeper.
l. 5, and in p. 258. After 'Umashi' add 'uchi.'
„ 259, l. 1. After 'Tsurugi' add 'Karu.'
l. 19. For 'the upper' read 'a.'
„ 260, l. 5 of poetry. 'River fork' is perhaps better 'Kahamata,' the name of a river.
„ 264, l. 10 from bottom. For 'kebi' better read 'momi.'
„ 265, note. For 奏 read 桑.

Page 266. Poetry. Dr. Florenz interprets the last three lines as follows—

'Yield to one side
(In order that) I may see
My departing spouse of Kibi.'

„ 267. For 'Ahiru' read 'Kamo.'
„ 271, l. 12. For 'Oho-kuma' read 'Oho-sumi.'
„ 276. For 'sent it' read 'went.'
„ 277, l. 6. For 'my abdication' read 'his self-abnegation.
note. Read 'Chihaya-bito.'
„ 278, l. 8 from bottom. Read 'But for the three years that We have now reigned over the people,' etc.
„ 279, l. 3. Read 'no robes of state or shoes were made for him except when worn out.'
l. 5. Read after 'broths' 'were not renewed except when they became sour or putrid.'
„ 284. Poetry. For first two lines read—

'By the rule established
For nobles.'

„ 293, l. 5 from bottom. For 'Empress' read 'Emperor.'
„ 294, l. 21. For 'Taka-ama' better 'Taka-kahi' (falcon-feed).
„ 298, l. 6. For 'melts' read 'is distributed.'
„ 304, l. 4. For 'Furu no' read 'Furu in.'
„ 305, l. 4. Before 'Hayato' insert 'an attendant.'
„ 322, note 1. 'Na-nori-ahi' should be 'na-nori-so,' 'tell it not.'
„ 323, l. 6. Read 'But the sea was deep and they,' etc.
„ 326, l. 3 from bottom. For 'made them go back' read 'returned.
„ 329, l. 3 from bottom. Read 'one whit disagreeable.'
„ 335. Poetry. For 'nine-fold' read 'seven-fold.'
„ 336, l. 4 from bottom. Omit 'a place belonging to.'
note 3. Add 'Fukuro probably means mother here.'
„ 338, l. 4. Before 'woman' insert 'man and.'
Last line but one, read 'they were' for 'she was.'
„ 340, last line. Read 'The only persons whom he favoured.'
„ 341, l. 7. After Princess add 'and has made her pregnant.'
„ 342, l. 12. After 'flying' add 'and bit the Emperor's elbow.'
„ 349, l. 17. For 'get instructions' read 'proceed by way of.'
„ 351, note 2. For 'Bekkakō' read 'Kokkekō' or 'Kakero.'
„ 359, l. 26. For 'Autumn' read 'Winter.'
„ 362, l. 15. Read 'How nearly I had destroyed the man!'
„ 366, l. 14. For 'beside himself with shame' read 'for shame at his unsuccess.'
l. 7 from bottom. For 'who' read 'and.'
„ 369, note 2. Better to take smoke and fire as signs of plenty, which extend for 10,000 ri.
„ 370, l. 5. Read 'How should not we, with our whole hearts, address them decrees of cordial warning?'

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does justice to the amount of original matter in the mythological chapters, and the similarities between it and the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" may be accounted for by supposing that all three drew their materials from a common stock, viz. the recitals of the "Kataribe" and the written documents compiled from them. It is quite true that the "Kiujiki" gives in many cases two versions of the same legend, but the clumsiness with which they have been dovetailed together is rather a proof that the writer could not have had the more consistent narrative of the "Nihongi" before him This part ought to be translated. It contains material which is necessary for a complete study of Shintoism.

From Jimmu Tennō on the question assumes a different aspect. Here either the author of the "Nihongi" has incorporated the whole "Kiujiki," or the author of the "Kiujiki" has made a selection from the "Nihongi." So far as the former goes it is identical word for word with the latter. From the circumstance that the additional matter contained in the "Nihongi" is very largely of a romantic or poetical nature, it seems more probable that the "Kiujiki" is the original work. Its general style is eminently consistent with the statement ("Nihongi," vol. ii. p. 122) that the reputed author was a thorough proficient in both Chinese and Buddhist learning.

Without a more exhaustive examination it is impossible to say more, but there is, I feel sure, sufficient internal evidence available to solve the question with certainty. It would afford an interesting subject of critical inquiry to some of our younger students.'

Page 352, l. 9. For '11th' read '10th.'

l. 12. Omit 'you who accepted our rule and also to,' and add at end of sentence 'of your emigration hither.'

For most of the above corrections I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Florenz, Professor of Philology in the Imperial University of Tokio.

INDEX.

ABSTINENCE (religious), I. 41, 42, 82, 152, 316, 325, 347; II. 101, 387.
Abstinence Palace, I. 176, 225; II. 322, 326, 338.
Acupuncture, II. 190.
Adoption, II. 2.
Adultery, II. 221.
Adzuma, I. 81, 207.
Adzuma Koto, I. 225.
Agata-nushi, I. 134.
Age of the Gods. Books I. and II.
Agura, II. 103.
Ahaji (island, birth of), I. 13.
Ahimbe, II. 335.
Aino or Ainu. See Yemishi.
Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne, I. 67, 75.
Akakagachi, I. 77.
Akitsushima, I. 13, 134, 343; II. 12, 66.
Aloes wood, II. 123.
Altar, I. 353.
Ama or Ame, heaven. *passim*.
Ama no hihoko, I. 169, 185, 186.
Ama no Nunahara .oki no Mabito, II. 301.
Ama no mi-naka-nushi, I. 5.
Ama terasu no Ohokami. See Sun-goddess.
Ama tsu mara. See Smith-god.
Ambassadors (should be of good family), II. 79.
Ame (malt extract), I. 121.
Ame-kuni-oshi-harani-hiro-niha, II. 5, 36.
Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, II. 275.
Ame no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto, I. 83.
Ame no Uzume. See Uzume.
Ame-toyo-takara ikashihi tarashi hime, I. 171, 248.
Ame-waka-hiko, I. 65.
Ame-yorodzu toyohi, II. 195.
Amnesty, II. 322, and frequently after this.
Anaho, I. 328.
Anahobe (Prince), II. 107, 112.
Anato, I. 167.
Ancestor-worship, I. 27; II. 351.
Ango. See Retreat.
Ankan Tennō, II. 12, 26.
Ankō Tennō, I. 328, 332.
Annei Tennō, I. 141, 142.
Anthropomorphism, I. 41.
Arakahi, II. 2, 8, 15, etc.
Arare-bashiri, II. 411, 414.
Arashito or Arasateung, I. 166; II. 18, 19, 23.
Archery, I. 282, 336, 377; II. 226, 393, etc.
Arima (Prince), II. 251.
Arinari (river), I. 231.
Arrow. See Nari-kabura, Bow, Archery.
Artizans (from Corea), I. 349, 396, etc.
Ashihara, I. 40.
Ashinadzuchi, I. 52, 56.
Aso (Mount), I. 198.
Aso or Ason (title), I. 236, 239; II. 365, etc.
Astronomy, II. 76, 126, 301, 326. See also Comet, Eclipse, Occultation, Mars, Pleiades.
Ass, II. 252.
Atahe or Atahi (title), I. 36.
Ataka-ashi tsu hime, I. 88.
Aya, I. 265, 270, 336, 350, 363; II. 118, 190, 192, etc.
Augury. See Divination.
Axe, I. 301; II. 14, 73, 420.

BALDNESS as an incapacity for service of gods, I. 152.
Banishment, II. 333, 339.
Banzai or Bansai, I. 389; II. 175, 411.
Baptismal flag, II. 149.
Be, I. 43, 47, 104, 139, 175, 280, 307, 314, 322, 340, 350, 359, 365, 375; II. 4, 27, 31, 95, 125, 129, 224. See also Nashiro.
Beacons, II. 13.
Bear (polar), II. 257, 263, 371.
Bed of absent person, Superstition regarding, I. 325.
Bees, II. 184.
Bellows, I. 47.
Bells, I. 286, 294, 301, 329, 348, 387; II. 86, 105, 167, 201, 206, 211, 227, 302, 335.
Bhèchadjya Radja. See Yakushi.
Bidatsu (or Bindatsu) Tennō, II. 90-105.
Bosatsu (or Bodhisattwa), II. 111, 175.

Bow and arrows, I. 34, 37, 139, 247, etc.
Box for petitions, II. 211.
Bramblings (bird), II. 339, 349.
Branding of criminals, etc., I. 305, 307, 359.
Bronze, II. 415.
Buddhism, I. 219; II. 59, 65, 66, 68, 72, 78, 90, 96, 101, and frequently during the remainder of Vol. II. See also Hōshi, Image, Kesa, Nuns, Shamon, Sutra, Sōdzu, Kwannon, Temples, Retreat.
Buffalo, II. 297.
Butsudan, II. 369.

CALENDAR, Introduction xvii.; II. 68, 72, 126, 400.
Camel, II. 124, 146, 252.
Cap-rank, II. 127, 228, 231, 281, 370. See also Rank.
Cash, II. 34, 414.
Castles, building of, II. 283, *et seqq.*, 286.
Cattle-breeding, II. 32.
Caterpillar, worship of, II. 188, *et seqq.*
Celestial dog, II. 167.
Censorate, II. 294.
Ceremonies, court, II. 227, 357, 398, etc.
Chair, II. 102.
Chaos, I. 1.
Charms, I. 94; II. 82, 373. See also Incantation, Mantras.
Chésyang, I. 243.
Chhimnyu (King), I. 253.
Chi or chichi, I. 4, 264.
Chigi, I. 132.
Childbirth, superstitions connected with, I. 85, 98, 103, 104.
China, relations with, Introduction xi.; II. 138. See Thang, Wu, Tsin, Han.
Chinese civilization, spread of, II. 133.
Chinese customs, I. 311.
Chinese learning, first introduction of, I. 262.
Chiuai Tennō, I. 217-223.
Chō (land measure), II. 208.
Chopstick, I. 159.
Chōshushi, II. 213, 225.
Chronology, Introduction xvi.; I. 111, 132, 141, 153, 165, 177, 205, 247, 256, 262, 293, 300, 307, 330, 332, 346, 366; II. 25, 37. See also Calendar, Nengo.
Circumambulation, II. 259.
Clapping hands by way of respect, II. 395.
Clay figures at tombs, I. 181, 357.
Clay-workers, I. 180, 356. See also Hashi.
Clepsydra, II. 265, 296.
Cloth, I. 44; II. 180, 208.
Cloud-chariot, II. 275.
Cock, I. 42; II. 425.
Cock-fighting, I. 348.
Coin, I. 391; II 304. See also Copper, Currency.
Combs, superstitions regarding, I. 24, 25, 47, 48, 52, 96, 98; II. 425.
Comets, II. 166, 167, 169, 333, 353, 364, 367.
Compass (mariner's), II. 258, 285.
Concubines (Imperial), I. 311, etc.
Confiscation, I. 293; II. 83.
Confucius, II. 129.
Consecration (of Buddhist images), II. 297, 423.
Conundrums, II. 374, 375.
Copper, I. 20, 47, 120, 220, 221, 328, 350, 355; II. 65, 86, 133, 360, 387, 415.
Corea, Introduction xi. See Han, Imna, Kara, Koryō, Pèkché, Silla.
Corean deities worshipped in Japan, I. 11, 169, 225, 378.
Corean names, Introduction xxii.; I. 244.
Cormorant-fishing, I. 119, 126, 341.
Cosmogony, I. 2, *et seqq.*
Costume, II. 18, 304, 307, 397, 410.
Court, II. 138.
Cremation, II. 423.
Crow, three-legged. See Yatagarasu.
Currency, I. 89, 391; II. 34, 222, 360, 372, 414.
Curses, I. 249, 337, 403; II. 102.
Cycle, Chinese, I. 111.

DAIBU, I. 175; II. 98.
Daijin, I. 334; II. 196.
Daijinnō, II. 114.
Daijōye, I. 86.
Daikoku, I. 55, 63.
Dainagon, II. 347.
Dai Nippon, II. 279.
Dajōdaijin, II. 294.
Dakiu, II. 185.
Dancing (religious), I. 44, 79; (other), 318, 381, 382, etc.
Dazaifu, II. 139.
Debts discharged, II. 378, 385.
Deer, cry of, I. 289.
Deer, dream of, I. 290.
Deification of Emperors, II. 226, 227. See also Incarnation.
Departments of State, II. 232.
Distribution of lands to peasants. See Kōbunden.
Divination, I. 83, 107, 121, 152, 153, 176, 177, 178, 189, 195, 227, 228, 229, 237, 281, 290, 307, 324, 355; II. 59, 68, 72, 95, 102, 257, 306. See also Omens.
Divorce, I. 25, 30.
Dog-keepers, II. 32.
Dog stories, II. 116, 117.
Dragon, II. 240, 248.
Dragon-fly, I. 134, 342.
Dragon-king, I. 61, 95.
Dreams, I. 115, 152, 155, 161, 165, 290; II. 36.
Dwarf-god. See Sukuna-bikona.
Dwarfs, II. 296.

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ICE-HOUSE, I. 297.
Ichinobe no Oshiwa, I. 336, 378.
Idols, I. 3. See Images.
Idzu, I. 70, 122, 176.
Idzube. See Sacred jars.
Idzuhime, I. 122.
Idzuki, I. 291.
Idzumo, I. 52, 54, 109, 381.
Idzushi sword, I. 168, 169, 185.
Ihanagahime, I. 84.
Ihawi, II. 15.
Ihaya, I. 72.
Ihitoyo (Princess), I. 383.
Ikadzuchi, I. 347.
Ike (a pond), I. 149. See Irrigation.
Ikina, II. 84.
Ikuhi, I. 154.
Ikume-iri-hiko isachi, I. 161, 163, 165.
Illa (Corean statesman), II. 97, *et seqq.*
Images (Buddhist), II. 65, 67, 98, 101, 111, 127, 133, 150, 230, 240, 387, 391, 422.
Imaki, I. 349, 350.
Imi (avoidance of religious impurity), I. 41.
Imibe (or Imbe), I. 42, 45, 47.
Imiki (title), II. 365.
Immigration to Japan, I. 166, 169, 242, 261, 264, 265, 296, 359; II. 38, 83, 86, 87, 99, 123, 126, 139, 140, 144, 146, 273, 285, 292, 330, 364, 384, 385, 391, 397, 398, 399.
Imna, I. 164, 166, 167, 249, 253, 257, 348, 392; II. 7, 19, 35, 39, 42, 80, 119, 124, 226.
Imo, younger sister or wife, I. 22, 104, 397.
Imperial theory, II. 29, 30.
Imun (part of Corea), II. 9, 12.
In and Yō, I. 1, 4, 12. See also Yin and Yang.
Inaki, I. 172, 215, 315, 364; II. 113, 365.
Iname no Sukune, II. 66, 78, 87, 112.
Incantations, I. 60, 94, 98, 99, 102, 133. See Mantras.
Incarnation, II. 198, 210, 217.
Incest, I. 324, 396.
Indigo, I. 353.
Ingiō Tennō, I. 312.
Ink-cord, I. 362.
Inspiration, I. 79, 163, 221, 225, 391, 392; II. 76, 317.
Interlinear Kana, Introduction xxi.; II. 200.
Inukahi, II. 32.
Iron, I. 92, 247, 251, 282, 328; II. 14, 86, 102, 173, 294, 344, 387.
Irrigation, I. 164, 183, 214, 227, 257, 259, 283, 306, 307; II. 136.
Iruka no Omi. Book xxiv., *passim.*
Ise, I. 44, 176, 205, 225.
Issaikio, II. 322, 330, 337.
Itoku Tennō, I. 142.
Itsukushima, I. 35.
Itsuse no Mikoto, I. 113, 127.
Izahowake, I. 301.
Izanami and Izanagi (Creator deities), I. 6-34, *passim*, also I. 307, 322.

JAPAN, names of. See Nippon, Yamato, Akitsu, Wa, Ashihara, Eight-island-land.
Jewel-spear of Heaven, I. 11.
Ji or chi (elder), I. 4, 18.
Jimmu Tennō, I. 62, 109-137; II. 21.
Jingikwan (department of Shinto religion), Eight gods of, I. 7.
Jingō Kōgu, I. 224-253.
Jitō Tennō, II. 382-423.
Jomei Tennō, II. 95-157.
Junshi (self-sacrifice at tomb of a lord or husband), I. 180, 331; II. 183, 220, 234, 383.
Jupiter (planet), II. 409.

KABANE (title), I. 27.
Kachaya. See Kesa.
Kagase-wo (star-god), I. 69, 79.
Kagehime, I. 402.
Kagura. See Dancing.
Kagutsuchi. See Fire-god.
Kaguyama (mount), I. 43, 119, 120.
Kaha (river), frequently in names of places.
Kahabe no Omi, II. 83.
Kahachi no Atahe, II. 44, 48.
Kaikwa Tennō, I. 148.
Kakosaka (Prince), I. 2 6, *et seqq.*
Kamako no Muraji or Kamatari Kō, II. 184, 191, 193, 194, 197, 243, 282, 291.
Kama-shishi, II. 181, 371.
Kami, deity, I. 3.
Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, I. 85.
Kamibe (or Kambe), I. 57.
Kami Mi Musubi (deity), I. 5, 9.
Kami-naga-hime, I. 259.
Kami Nunagaha mimi. See Suizei.
Kami yamato Ihare-biko. See Jimmu.
Kami ya-wi mimi no Mikoto, I. 139.
Kamo-shika. See Kama-shishi.
Kamu-niha, I. 353.
Kamu tsu miya See Shōtoku Daishi
Kanamura no Muraji, I. 404; II. 8.
Kana glosses, Introd. xxi.
Kana Nihongi, Introd. xiv.
Kanki (Corean title), I. 166, 231; II. 19, 42, 51.
Kanro (sweet dew), II. 339.
Kara, I. 57, 162, 166, 232, 252, 261, 263; II. 18. See also Imna.
Karakane (bronze), II. 415.
Karako, II. 22.
Karano (name of ship), I. 256. 268.
Karu (Prince), I. 323.
Karu (Prince), II. 184, 194.
Kashikiya hime, II. 95.
Kasuga (Princess), II. 9.
Katari be, Introd. xv.; I. 353.

Kaya, II. 80. See Imna.
Keidai Tennō, II. 1-25.
Keiko Tennō, I. 188-214.
Kena no Omi, II. 15, 19, etc.
Kenzō Tennō, I. 377-393.
Kesa (Buddhist priest's garment), II. 196, 297, 386.
Kibi (province), I. 14, 112, 155.
Kibi no Omi, II. 58.
Kibumi, i.e. yellow books, II. 133, 185.
Kilin, I. 164, 244.
Kimi (lord), I. 38. *et passim*.
Kimmei Tennō, II. 36-89.
Kinai. See Gokinai.
Ki no tsuno no Sukune, I. 293.
Ki no woyumi no Sukune, I. 354.
Kishi (title), I. 236.
Kissing, II. 85.
Kite (golden), I. 126.
Kiujiki, Introd. xii.; II. 148, 193; Addenda.
Kiushiu, I. 109, 112. See Tsukushi.
Kōan Tennō, I. 145.
Kōbunden, II. 208, 225, 409.
Kōbun Tennō, II. 301, 303.
Kōgen Tennō, I. 146.
Kōgioku Tennō, II. 171-194.
Kojiki (history), Introd. xiii. xix.; I. 2, 350, 393.
Kokishi (Corean word for king), I. 251.
Kokuryo. See Koryo.
Kokushi (governor), II. 201.
Koma, I. 232; II. 61. See Koryo.
Konohana sakuya hime, I. 70-85.
Kōrei Tennō, I. 146.
Koro-pok-guru, I. 72.
Koryo, or Kokuryo (kingdom of Corea), I. 231, 262, 268, 282, 296, 351, 366, 392; II. 38, 44, 60, 77, 86, 93. 134; downfall of, 289.
Koshi, I. 14.
Koshiro, II. 217. See Nashiro.
Kōshō Tennō, I. 144.
Kōsobō, II. 196.
Koto (lute), I. 225, 268, 269, 351, 380; II. 235.
Kōtoku Tennō, II. 195.
Kotoshiro nushi, I. 61, 76, 225, 237; II. 318.
Koyane no Mikoto, I. 82, etc.
Kudara (kingdom of Corea), I. 232. See Pèkché.
Kukunochi. See Tree-god.
Kuma, I. 62, 82, 197, 232, 239, 368; II. 59. See also Kumaso.
Kuma-himorogi, I. 82, 168, 169, 185.
Kuma-nari, I. 59, 232, 367; II. 19, 286.
Kuma-wani, I. 219.
Kuma-washi, I. 226.
Kumaso, I. 192, 196, 201, 219, 221. See also Kuma and Koma.
Kume, I. 80, 118, 127, 133, 178.
Kuni no Miyakko, or Kuni'tsuko (local governor), I. 112. See also Miyakko.
Kuni no satsuchi no Mikoto, I. 3.
Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto, I. 3, 4.
Kure, I. 265, 269, 362. See Go, Wu.
Kuro hime, I. 301.
Kusaka no hatahi-hime, I. 337.
Kusanagi (sword), I. 52-58, 76, 205, 211; II. 290, 377.
Kushi-nada-hime, I. 52, 56.
Kusuri-gari. See Herb-gathering.
Kusyu (King of Pèkché), I. 251.
Kuzu (local chiefs), I. 119, 266.
Kwannon (Buddhist), II. 379, 391.
Kyōsoku, II. 256.

LACQUER, II. 110, 367.
Laws, II. 128, 202, 220, 350, 358, 393, 402.
Leaves used as platters, I. 125, 285.
Leech-god, I. 15, 18, 19, 20.
Legends, *passim* in earlier part of work.
Leopard as deity, II. 70.
Living things released, II. 334, 335.
Loans of rice, II. 328.
Local authorities, II. 206, 207, 213, 214, 242, etc.
Long-life places (Buddhist), II. 394, 404.
Loom. See Weaving.
Lustration, I. 26.

MAGARI NO OHINE (Prince), II. 5, 12, 26.
Maga-tama (curved jewels), I. 38, 49, 184, 221.
Magic, I. 157, 361; II. 126, 190, 301. See Incantation, Witchcraft.
Magpies, II. 124.
Mahakala, II. 114.
Maitrêya, II. 101, 127.
Majinahi, I. 60.
Makura kotoba, I. 176, 403, etc.
Mallet weapons, stone or wood, I. 123, 124, 194, 240.
Manchus. See Sushen.
Mantras, II. 96.
Market commissioners, II. 223.
Marriage ceremony, I. 12, 14-18, 54.
Marriage to near relations, I. 22, 145, 212, 277, 290; II. 26, 38, 40, 107, 185, 220, 221. See Nuptial hut.
Marriage presents, I. 301.
Mars (planet), II. 353, 409.
Masaya-a-katsu kachi hayathi-ama no oshi ho mimi, I. 36, 37, 64, 76.
Masu (measure of capacity), II 209.
Mato, II. 53.
Matori no Ohomi, I. 403.
Mayuwa (Prince), I. 334.
Medicine, I. 59, 63; II. 68. See also Physician.
Medicine men, I. 42.
Mediums, I. 79.
Metals, I. 21, 291, 328. See also Bronze, Copper, Gold, Iron, Mint, Silver.
Metal workers, I. 81; II. 117, 376.
Metamorphosis, I. 209, 210, 296, 361; II. 155.

Metempsychosis, II. 149.
Mibu be, I. 280; II. 135.
Micheul Hòchi pölhan, I. 241, 244.
Michi no Omi, I. 117, 122, 133; II. 16, 21.
Midzuchi (water-snake or water-god), I. 299.
Midzuha nome, I. 21, 122.
Midzuha wake (Prince and Emperor), I. 305, 310.
Mikage, II. 385.
Miko, I. 79.
Mikoto, I. 3.
Mikoto-mochi, II. 116, 131.
Milky Way, I. 23, 39, 42.
Mill, II. 140, 294.
Millet, I. 33.
Mimaki irihiko iniye, I. 150.
Mimana, I. 167. See Imna.
Mimatsu hiko kayeshine, I. 144.
Mimuma, I. 336.
Mint, II. 414.
Miroku, image of, II. 101, 127.
Mirror, I. 20, 43. 47, 49. 76, 83, 168, 185, 193, 251, 341; II. 3, 33.
Misaheun, I. 242.
Misaki (spur of hill or promontory), I. 177.
Misasagi (Imperial tomb), I. 135, 139, 211, 217, 236, 297, 298, 327, 357, 389, 390; II. 35, 143, 147, 156, 178, 235, 341, 389, 404.
Mitama-furishiki, II. 373.
Mitegura, II. 147.
Mitsugi (tribute), II. 23.
Miyake (granary), I. 178; II. 8, 13, 17, 27, 28, 32, 60, 78, 79, 136.
Miyakko (local governor), I. 51, 133, 215, etc.
Mohitori, I. 134.
Momari Cheulchi, I. 241, 244.
Mononobe, I. 128, 184.
Mononobe no Ohomuraji, II. 90, 112.
Monstrosities, I. 298; II. 147, 296, 300, 368.
Moon-god, I. 18-20, 28, 32, 391.
Moriya no Ohomuraji, II. 90, 112.
Mortar, I. 189.
Motoori, Preface, Introd. xix.
Mounds, sepulchral, I. 72; II. 17. See also Haka, Misasagi, Tomb.
Mountain-goat. See Kama-shishi.
Mountain-god, I. 22.
Mourning, I. 277; II. 232. See Funeral ceremonies.
Mujina (animal like badger), I. 184.
Mulberry (paper), I. 49; (silk), I. 347, 366.
Mules, II. 344.
Mumayado (Prince). See Shōtoku Daishi.
Mumako no Sukune, II. 90, 101-103, 106, 112, 119. See Soga.
Munchu (King of Pèkché), I. 367.
Munyöng (King of Pèkché), I. 405.
Mura (village), II. 18.
Muraji (title), I. 27.
Mura-kumo (sword), I. 53.
Murder of an Emperor, I. 334; II. 119.
Mure (Corean word for mountain), II. 54, 153.
Muretsu Tennō, I. 399-407.
Muro, I. 71, 85, 123, 134, 201, 297, 376, 379; II. 375, 380, 426.
Music, I. 326; II. 30, 72, 144, 324, 350, 359, 371, 376, 406. See Flute, Koto.
Musubu no Kami, I. 5.
Mutè (Corean Prince), I. 405.
Myöng (King of Pèkché), II. 15, 66, 74.
Mythology, Books I. and II.

NA (name). See Names.
Nagare-kanjō, II. 151.
Naga-sune-hiko, I. 113, 126, 127.
Naijin, II. 197.
Nails, superstitions regarding, I. 50.
Nakatomi, I. 42, 45, 48, 79.
Nakatsu (Prince), I. 301.
Nama (Corean official rank), II. 55, 79, etc.
Names (proper), I. 27, 175, 190, 204, 255, 316, 393; II. 185, 223, 224, 225, 220, 354, 393. See also Title.
Naniha (city of Ohosaka), I. 113.
Naniha (person), II. 92, *et seqq.*
Nara Museum, II. 128.
Nari-kabura (sounding arrow), I. 87; II. 277.
Nashiro, I. 314, 322, 375, 406; II. 4, 13, 29, 31, 32, 204, 217. See Be, Koshiro.
Nengō (year-period), II. 198, 236.
Ne no Kuni, I. 20. See Yomi.
Ne no Omi, I. 331, 363.
Nether land, I. 20, 32, 51. See Yomi.
Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, I. 111, 128; II. 427.
Nihabi (courtyard-fire), I. 44.
Nihi-name (festival of first-fruits), I. 86, 122, 292, 375, 379; II. 109, 169, 177. See Oho-nihe, Ahimbe.
Nihon. See Nippon.
Ninken Tennō, I. 393-398.
Nintoku Tennō, I. 272-300.
Nippon, I. 1, 13, 268, 345; II. 7, 12, 42, 137, 139, 149, 303.
No (genitive particle), frequent in proper names.
Nō dance, origin of, I. 79.
Nomi no Sukune, I. 175, 181.
Norito (Shinto rituals). Introd. xii. xiv.; I. 80; II. 333.
Nuhoko or jewel-spear, I. 11.
Nunakura futo-damashiki, II. 90.
Nuns, II. 96, 101, 103, 104, 113, 118, 135, etc.
Nuptial hut, I. 12, 41, 54, 400.

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QUELPAERT. See Tamna.
Quiver, I. 34.

RAIN of ashes, II. 346, 369.
Rain, prayers for, II. 174 175, etc.
Raitsui (stone weapons), I. 12.
Rank, official, II. 127, 225, 228, 231, 368. See Cap-rank.
Recorders, I. 307, 357.
Red bird, II. 347, 351.
Red crow, II 337, 407, 409. See Yata-garasu.
Red tortoise, II. 352.
Regalia, I. 76, 83, 307; II. 3, 33.
Relics (Buddhist), II. 102, 117, 121.
Religion. See Buddhism, Mythology, Shinto.
Retreat (religious), II. 360, 369, 398.
Rice, creation of, I. 33.
Rice-castle. See Inaki.
Richiu Tennō, I. 301.
Riddle, I. 396. See Conundrum.
Right and left, precedence of, I. 16; II. 15.
Risshi (Buddhist rank), II. 359, 416, etc.
River-god, I 22, 281, 299; II. 174. See Midzuchi, Serpent-worship.
Rock-cave of Heaven, I. 41-50.

SA (honorific prefix), I. 3.
Sachihiko (envoy to Corea), I. 252, etc.
Sacred jars, I. 122, 130, 157.
Sacrifices, I. 220, 228, 281; II. 174. See Offerings.
Sacrifices, human, I. 178, 181.
Sadaijin, II. 196, 294.
Saheki Be, I. 212.
Sahohiko, I. 172.
Saimei Tennō, II. 248-273.
Saka (an acclivity), frequent in names of places.
Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, II. 107, *et seqq.*
Sakaki (sacred tree), I. 43, 47, 81, 219.
Sake (rice-beer), I. 52, 56, 154, 244, 245, 264; II. 166.
Sakitsuya, I. 348.
Sakyamuni. See Shaka.
Salt-pans, I. 220, 268.
Saniha, I. 225.
Sarcophagus, I. 137; II. 285, 389.
Sarume, I. 44, 76, 79.
Saruta-hiko, I. 77.
Scribes. See Recorders, Fumibito.
Sea-gods, I. 22, 93, 95, 106.
Sea monster, I. 61, 95, 98, 102.
Seamstresses imported, I. 261, 269, 271, 363.
Seimu Tennō, I. 214-216.
Seinei Tennō, I. 373-377.
Senkwa Tennō, II. 33-35.
Sepulchral mounds, I. 72; II. 17. See Misasagi, Haka, Tomb.
Serfs, I. 388; II. 29, 30, 79, 87, 94, 178, 206, 217, 327, 371, 431.
Serpents, I. 52, 296, 299, 347.
Serpent-worship, I. 158, 208, 299, 347. See Midzuchi.
Seta, battle of, II. 314.
Seven stars, II. 366.
Shaka, II. 65.
Shamon, II. 197, 241, etc.
Shari. See Relics.
Sheep, II. 124, 188.
Shibi no Omi, I. 400, *et seqq.*
Shields, I. 80, 155, 282; II. 395.
Shiguma, II. 257. See Bear.
Shihi-netsu-hiko, I. 111, 120, 121, 126.
Shiho-tsu no oji, I. 92, 110.
Shiki (rebel), I. 125.
Shiki (Commentary on "Nihongi"), Introd. xiii. xix.
Shiki tsu hiko tami demi. See Annei.
Shikome (ugly woman of Yomi), I. 25.
Shinjōsai (festival), I. 86.
Shinto (religion), Introd. xii. xxiv.; I. 41, 43; II. 106, 195, 293. See Mythology. Sun-goddess, Nakatomi, Imbe, Offerings, Wind-god, etc.
Shinto priests, I. 56 See Hafuri.
Shinto shrines, I. 58; II. 76.
Shinra. See Silla.
Shipping tax, II. 69.
Ships, I. 58, 161, 256, 268, etc.
Shiraga take-hiro-kuni-oshi-waka-Yamato-neko, I. 373.
Shiratori no Misasagi, I. 211.
Shiri-kume-naha, I. 45.
Shiro, a land measure, II. 115, 205, 394.
Shitennō, II 114, 482.
Shitenōji, II. 115, 123, 150.
Shōgun, I. 156.
Shoki, I. 1.
Shōtoku Daishi, Introd. xiv; II. 95, 107, 114, 122, 133, 144, 148, 431.
Shrines, I. 132; II. 318.
Shūchō (year-period), II. 373, 379.
Shūkai (or Shuge) edition of "Nihongi," Introd. xx.
Shuttle, I. 41.
Signet (Imperial), I. 314; II. 3. See Regalia.
Silk, I. 166, *et passim* in Vol. II.
Silkworm, I. 21, 33, 347; II. 5. See Mulberry.
Silla (Kingdom of Corea), I. 57, 166, 221, 230, 231, 234, 249, 257, 269, 284, 295, 315, 326, 349, 354; II. 15, 18, 35, 38, and frequently after this.
Silver, II. 172, 325, 360, 387, 403, 404, 405.
Slaves, I. 209, 356; II. 48, 64, 73, 74, 82, 93, 100, 113, 115, 182, 202, 220, 221, 402.
Smith-god, I. 81, 139.
Snake-worship. See Serpent-worship
Sōdzu, II. 153, 325, 359, 377, 378.
Soga family, II. 148, 189.
Soga no Oho-omi, II. 78, 87.

Soga no Mumako, II. 90-119.
So In-ko, II. 136.
Sōjō, II. 153, 359, 377, 378.
Sonaka Cheulchi, I. 164, 166.
Sora (the void of Heaven), I. 4 83, 347.
Sosa no wo (deity), I. 19, 28, 32, 34-59.
Soto-ori-hime, I. 318.
Soul, I. 263.
South, Emperor faces, on official occasions, II. 3.
Spear, I. 44, 47, 155.
Spelling, Introd. xxi.
Spider, superstition regarding, I. 320.
Spittle, I. 31, 48, 106.
S'ramana, II. 197.
S'ramanera, II. 348.
Star-god. See Kagase-wo.
Stone implements, I. 189.
Stone weapons, I. 87, 123, 169; II. 308.
Stone worship, I. 1, 168, 183. See Idzushi.
Storehouse, I. 184. See Miyake, Inaki.
Suguri. See Sukuri.
Suguroku (backgammon), II. 395.
Suicide. See Junshi.
Suiko Tennō, II. 121-156.
Suinin Tennō, I. 165-187.
Suizei Tennō, I. 138-141.
Sūjin Tennō, I. 150, 164.
Sujun Tennō, II. 112-120.
Sukuna-bikona (god), I. 59-63, 244.
Sukune (title), I. 142, 236.
Sukuri (title), I. 341; II. 74.
Sumera Mikoto, I. 109.
Sumeru or Sumi, Mount, II. 144, 251, 259, 265.
Sumptuary Laws, II. 343, 350.
Sun and moon, sex of, I. 28.
Sunai (junior), II. 250.
Sun-crow, I. 116. See Yatagarasu.
Sun-goddess, I. 18, 20, 28, 32, 33, 41-49, 73, 115, 151, 176, 392; II. 95, 107, 307.
Sun-mirror, I. 82, 168, 169. See Mirror.
Superstitions, I. 325. See Comb, Spider, Child-birth, Spittle, Caterpillar, Fetish, Omens, Divination, Bed, Garlic, Incantations, Magic, Nails, Peach, Ordeal, Red animals, White animals.
Surnames, origin of, I. 27, 204, 316. See Names, Titles.
Susa no wo. See Sosa no wo.
Sushēn (Manchus), II. 58, 257, 260, 263, 265, 335, 420.
Sutras, II. 65, 96, 133, 135, 170, 175, 240, 241, 263, 265, 335, 346, 352, 371, 372, 376, 378, 379, 403, 408, 413, 416, 421, 422. See also Issaikio.
Swan, I. 174.
Sword, I. 35, 53, 87, 92, 115, 123, 162, 183, 360; II. 3, etc.
Syoko (King of Pèkché), I. 247, 251.
Syong-myöng (King of Pèkché), II. 42, 43, 66.

TACHIBANA, I. 186.
Tachibana no Toyohi. See Yōmei Tennō.
Tadzukai (office), II. 87.
Tagishi mimi, son of Jimmu, I. 138.
Tai (fish), I. 93.
Taikyoku, II. 191.
Tajihi no Midzuha-wake, I. 310.
Tajima Mori (mission to fetch the orange-tree), I. 186.
Takakuraji, I. 115.
Takama no hara (plain of High Heaven), I. 16, 33, 83, 133.
Takama no hara hiro-nu no hime. See Jitō.
Taka mi musubi (god), I. 5, 64, 81, 86, 90, 110, 122, 392.
Takayasu, castle of, II. 290, etc.
Take (brave), I. 64, frequent in names.
Takechi (Prince), II. 309, *et seqq.*
Takechi no Sukune (statesman), I. 200, 211, 215, 223, 238, 245, 248, 257, 294, 317; II. 8.
Take ha dzuchi (god), I. 70.
Take-hani-yasu-hiko (rebel), I. 156, *et seqq.*
Take-mika-dzuchi (deity), I. 68, 115.
Take-wo-hiro-kuni oshi-tate. See Sen-kwa.
Taku-hata, I. 341.
Talsol (Corean title), II. 98, 283.
Tama (jewel, spirit), frequent in names.
Tama-boko (jewel-spear of Heaven), I. 11.
Tama-yori-hime, I. 94, 104, 108.
Tamna, II. 6, 271, 284, 286, 290, 323, etc.
Tan, land measure, II. 208; cloth measure, II. 209.
Tanegashima (island), II. 336, 344, 352, 356, 359, 418.
Tanka (poetry), I. 91, etc.
Tankun, legend of, II. 77.
Tanners, I. 397.
Tarashi-naka-tsu hiko. See Chiuai.
Targets, I. 282.
Tasuke (shoulder straps or braces), I. 44.
Tatami (mats), I. 325.
Tatemono, I. 181.
Tattooing, I. 200, 305.
Taxation, I. 160, 365; II. 68, 208, 209, 225, etc.
Temmu Tennō, II. 301-381.
Temples (Buddhist), II. 67, 101, 111, 341, 346, etc.
Temples of the Earth and Grain, Introd. xvi.; I. 171, etc.
Tenchi Tennō, II. 274-300.
Tendoku (mode of reading Sutras), II. 175.
Tengu (celestial dog), II. 167.
Tennō (Emperor), I 109, 234.
Tennōji, temple of, II. 115, 296.
Tenshōdaijin. See Sun-goddess.
Tera (temple), II. 122, 123.
Thang (China), II 136, 145, 150, 165, 166, 242, 245, 260, 280, 298, 393, etc.

Three Buddhist garments, II. 203. See Kesa.
Three-legged crow, II. 237. See Yata-garasu.
Three-legged sparrow, II. 359.
Three precious things, II. 104, 109, 123, 129, 149, 337, 377.
Thunder-god, I. 29, 115; II. 147. See Take-mika-dzuchi.
Tidal wave, II. 366.
Tiger stories, II. 60, 190.
Tiles, II. 164.
Titles, I. 27, 175, 316; II. 201, 225 228, 361, 364.
Tohe or tobe, I. 114, 129.
Tok, I. 354.
Tōk, II. 55.
Tōkaidō, I. 155.
Tokibe (magistrates), II. 396.
Tōkni, II. 100.
Tokoyo or tokoyo no kuni (Eternal Land), I. 42, 60, 114, 176, 186, 368; II. 188, 425.
Tombs, I. 159, 180, 213; II. 17, 145, 162, 178, 193, 217, 242, 292. See Misasagi.
Tomo, I. 254.
Tomoye, I. 34.
Toneri (chamberlain), I. 319, 359, 395, etc.
Toneri (Prince), Introd. xiii.
Tortoise-shell (used in divination), I. 152.
Toyo (rich, abundant); frequent in proper names.
Toyo (province of Kiushiu), II. 15.
Toyo-ata-tsu hime, I. 91.
Toyoki no Mikoto, I. 161.
Toyo-kumu-nu (deity), I. 4.
Toyo-kuni nushi (deity), I. 4.
Toyo-mike-kashikiya See Suiko.
Toyo-tama-hime, I. 93-108.
Treasury, I. 309, 373; II. 37.
Tree-god, I. 22.
Trees created, I. 58.
Tribute to Japan from Corea, I. 231, 296, *et passim*.
Tribute from Japan to China, I. 245.
Tripitaka, II. 322. See Issaikio.
Triratna, II. 104. See Three precious things.
T'sin (Chinese dynasty), II. 38.
Tsu (archaic genitive particle), frequent in proper names.
Tsuchi (in names of deities), I. 3, 4.
Tsuchigumo (pit-dwellers), I. 129, 194, 195, 198.
Tsuchi-ningio, I. 181.
Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. See Moon-god.
Tsukushi, I. 13, 109, 112, 192, etc.
Tsumori no Muraji, II. 49.
Tukhāra, in India, II. 246, 259, 266.
Tumulus. See Tomb, Misasagi, Sepulchral mound.
Tyonchi (Corean Prince), I. 263.

UBUYA. See Parturition house.
Udaijin, II. 196, 294.
Uji (noble House), I. 27, 316; II. 143, 190, etc.
Ujino waka-iratsuko, I. 171, 276.
Ukemochi no Kami. See Food-goddess.
Ukeshi, I. 117, 120.
Ullambana, II. 230, 251, 263.
Umashi-ashi-kabi, I. 4.
Umbilical cord, superstition regarding, I. 85.
Uneme (palace waiting-women), I. 292, 304, 326, 345; II. 31, 209.
Unicorn, II. 239.
Unseen trade, II. 264.
Upasaka, II. 372.
Upashâya, II. 377.
Urabe (diviners), II. 102.
Urashima, legend of, I. 368.
Uro, I. 235.
Urosohorichiu, I. 234.
Urushi. See Lacquer.
Usu (mill), I. 189.
Utagaki (poetical tournament), I. 400.
Uzu (ornament), II. 128. See Hair ornaments.
Uzume no Mikoto, I. 44, 50, 77.

VENUS (planet), I. 69.
Vimokcha, II. 60.
Vinaya, II. 96.
Void of Heaven. See Sora.

WA (name for Japan), I. 242, 245; II. 72, 137, 303, etc.
Wagtail, I. 17.
Waka (young), frequent in proper names.
Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto, I. 45, 237.
Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hibi, I. 148.
Waka-tarashi-hiko, I. 214.
Wake (Prince), I. 190, 192; II. 206.
Wangin or Wani (Corean scholar), Introd. xi.; I. 262, 309.
Wani (sea-monster), I 61, 156, 262.
War-god. See Hachiman.
Watarishima (Yezo), II. 252, 264.
Watchword, II. 313.
Water deity, I. 22, 299. See Midzuha-nome.
Water-level, II. 296.
Water-snake, I. 299. See Serpent-worship.
Weavers, Corean, I. 265 270.
Weaver-god, I. 70.
Weaving, I. 41, 45, 90, 183, 265, 291, 350, 363, etc.
Weaving maiden (a star), I. 75.
Wet-nurses, I. 104.
Wheat, I. 33.
White animals (favourable omens), I. 297; II. 124, 174, 236, 237, 239, 252, 286, 322, 326, 352, 394, 410, 416.
Wind-deities, I. 22, 230; II. 328, etc.
Witchcraft, I. 60; II. 110, 187, 190. See Magic, Incantation.
Wo-asatsuma wakugo no Sukune, I. 312.

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NOTE.—The Orthography adopted in the Society's "Transactions and Proceedings" for the transliteration of Japanese words into Roman character is that of the "Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary" by J. C. Hepburn, M.D., LL.D. (The vowels as in Italian, the consonants as in English.)

Where two names of a Japanese person are given, the name in BOLDER TYPE is the Family Name.

In April, 1895, the following CIRCULAR was issued to Members, by order of the Council:—

"The Council of the Japan Society desire to inform you that Mr. W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., M.R.A.S., an Honorary Member of this Society, and late Japanese Secretary of H.B.M. Legation at Tōkio, has completed the first Translation into English, with Commentaries, of the celebrated Japanese work known as the '*Nihongi*,' or 'Chronicles of Japan.' This treatise was written in 720 A.D. and contains a most valuable record of the ancient Mythology and early History of the Japanese from the 'Divine Age' to 700 A.D.; it also throws a flood of light on the ancient institutions, customs, and ideas of the country. Mr. Aston has honoured the Japan Society by offering to it the manuscript of his Translation with Commentaries, on the sole condition that the Society will publish it. The Council, after careful consideration, have unanimously resolved to accept the offer, being strongly of opinion that, in view of the importance of the Translation and of the well-known qualifications of the scholar who has undertaken it,—in view, also, of the elaborate Commentaries with which the Translation will be furnished at his hands, the best interests of the Society render it eminently desirable that it should identify itself with the undertaking, and be the means of rendering these valuable Chronicles accessible to scholars and those interested in Japan in every part of the world."

In order to enable the Society to accept Mr. Aston's generous offer, without encroaching on the amount of the Society's funds available for the purposes of the publication of its "Transactions and Proceedings," Members were invited to form a Guarantee Fund, the amount of each individual guarantee not to exceed five pounds, or be less than one pound.

The Guarantee Fund was quickly formed, and amounted, on 1st March, 1896, to £324 8*s*. One hundred and twenty Members, whose names appear in the List on the next page, signed as Guarantors. It has not been found necessary to make any call upon the Guarantors.

The work extends to two volumes, of 432 and 450 pages respectively, and is uniform in size and type with the Society's "Transactions and Proceedings," with the issue of which its publication has not in any way interfered. The first volume was issued to Members in March, 1896, and the second volume later on in the year. By order of the Council a copy of each volume was presented to every Member of the Society at the time of publication. Surplus copies of the whole work are for sale to non-Members, through the Society's Publishers, at one guinea each, and, through the Hon. Secretaries, to Members elected after its publication, at fifteen shillings.

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附錄第一

日本記

卷之一

TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME I.

Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D. C.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,

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PREFACE.

THE chief object of preparing this translation of the standard native history of Ancient Japan, known as the *Nihongi*, was to make accessible to European scholars the very considerable store of material for the study of mythology, folk-lore, early civilization, and manners and customs which it contains. It may also prove of interest to those numerous Japanese who are acquainted with the English language, and who may have the curiosity to learn in what light their ancient history and traditions are viewed by a Western student.

As only a limited sale of a work of this kind could be expected, the translator was fortunate in being relieved from all pecuniary responsibility for its publication by the Japan Society. His special acknowledgments are due to those members by whose liberality a guarantee fund for this purpose has been provided.

It remains for him to express his indebtedness to other workers, by whose labours in the field of Japanese and Chinese learning he has freely profited. The writings of Messrs. Chamberlain and Satow[1] have been placed under frequent contribution, and for the latter part of the work, the scholarly German translation of the *Nihongi*, by Dr. Florenz, has been of the greatest possible assistance. He should also mention the names of Williams, Giles, Parker, Mayers, Gubbins, Hepburn, Anderson, Legge, and Eitel, whose writings are the indis-

[1] Now Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G., H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

pensable companions of all students of Far-Eastern subjects. Other sources of information are acknowledged in the notes.

Amongst native Japanese writers the chief authorities have been the famous scholars Motoöri and Hirata. Their religious and patriotic prejudices often lead them to take views from which a European reader is forced to dissent, but no Western scholar can hope to rival or even to approach their vast erudition, clothed as it is in an easy and graceful style, undisfigured by pedantry. The translator gladly seizes this opportunity of expressing the strong admiration which he has long entertained for them. For the Notes, the *Shūkai* edition of the *Nihongi* and the *Tsūshō* Commentary have been largely drawn upon. The references to Chinese literature have been usually taken from these last-named sources. It is unnecessary to enumerate more particularly the other native works of reference which have been utilized. A copious list of them will be found in Dr. Florenz's Introduction.

The translator should not omit to express his thanks to Mr. W. Gowland for the use of the drawings and photographs relating to the Imperial Misasagi and sepulchral mounds, from which a number of the illustrations have been reproduced.

The vital importance of a good Index is fully recognized. No pains will be spared to make this part of the work as complete and satisfactory as possible.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

BOOK			PAGE
I.	Age of the Gods	Part I.	1
II.	" " "	Part II.	64
		Accession B.C.	
III.	Jimmu Tennō	660	109
IV.	Suizei "	584	138
"	Annei "	548	141
"	Itoku "	510	142
"	Kōshō "	475	144
"	Kōan "	392	145
"	Kōrei "	290	146
"	Kōgen "	214	147
"	Kaikwa "	157	148
V.	Sūjin "	97	150
VI.	Suinin "	29	164
		A.D.	
VII.	Keikō "	71	188
"	Seimu "	131	214
VIII.	Chiuai "	191	217
IX.	Jingō Kōgu	201	225
X.	Ōjin Tennō	270	255
XI.	Nintoku "	311	272
XII.	Richiu "	400	301
"	Hanzei "	406	310
XIII.	Ingiō "	412	312
"	Ankō "	454	328

BOOK		Accession A.D.	PAGE
XIV.	YŪRIAKU TENNŌ	457	333
XV.	SEINEI ,,	480	373
,,	KENZŌ ,,	485	377
,,	NINKEN ,,	488	393
XVI.	MURETSU ,,	499	399

INTRODUCTION.

Writing.—The art of writing is one of the numerous elements of civilization for which Japan is indebted to China. The date of its first introduction is not definitely known. There are indications that some acquaintance with the Chinese written character was possessed by individuals in Japan during the early centuries of the Christian era, but the first positive information on the subject belongs to A.D. 405, for which an erroneous date corresponding to A.D. 285 is given in the *Nihongi*. In this year a Corean named Wani or Wangin was appointed tutor in Chinese to a Japanese Imperial Prince. He was the first of a succession of teachers from that country whose instructions paved the way for a revolution in Japanese institutions and manners, not less profound and far-reaching than that produced in our own time by the influence of European ideas.

From its geographical position, Corea was the natural intermediary by which China became known to Japan. In these early times there was no direct sea communication between the two last-named countries. Travellers crossed the Strait from Japan to Corea, and pursued the rest of their journey by the circuitous overland route. But the Corean national genius seems to have left no impress of its own on the civilization which it received from China and handed on to Japan. Medicine, Buddhism, painting, and the mechanic arts were transmitted, as far as we can see, without modification, and there is little trace of any special Corean character in the knowledge of Chinese literature and science which Coreans communicated to Japan. They had themselves taken up this study only thirty years before Wani's departure.[1]

[1] See a paper on "Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea," in the "J.R.A.S.," July, 1895.

The newly-acquired Chinese characters were soon put to practical use. Wani himself is said to have been employed to keep the accounts of the Treasury. In the reign of Nintoku we are told that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune committed to writing an account of the productions of the Corean kingdom of Pèkché. The date given for this in the *Nihongi* is A.D. 353, to which, as in the case of other events of this period, two cycles or 120 years should probably be added. In the following reign (Richiu's) "recorders were appointed in the provinces in order to note down words and events." But from the specimens of their reports which are preserved in the *Nihongi*, these officials do not seem to have contributed much of importance to historical knowledge. Fabulous stories and accounts of monstrosities and portents form the staple of their compositions. It may be inferred, however, that such functionaries were already in existence at the capital, and indeed we find mention at this time of hereditary corporations of fumi-bito or scribes, known as the Achiki Be and Wani Be, the successors of Atogi and Wani, the Corean scholars who first taught Chinese at the court of the Mikado.

History. The Kiujiki.—The first literary efforts of the Japanese took the direction of history. No doubt the Norito or rituals of the Shinto religion and some poetical compositions date from an earlier period. But they do not seem to have been committed to writing. The earliest book of which we find mention is the *Kiujiki* or *Kujiki* (Chronicle of old matters of former ages), which was compiled in A.D. 620 under high official auspices, as indeed were all the historical works which have come down to us from these ancient times. The writing of history was, and still is, regarded as pre-eminently a matter of State concern in all those Eastern countries where Chinese ideas are predominant. The *Kiujiki* was entrusted to the keeping of the Soga House, but on its downfall in 645, a large portion was destroyed by fire, a part only, described as Kokuki or national annals, having been saved from the flames. Whether this work is or is not identical with the *Kiujiki* of our own day, is a question on which I shall have more to say afterwards. At present it is sufficient to note that the latter work contains nothing which is not also to be found in the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi* except a few passages in the mythological

portion and a list of local governors. The historical part is almost word for word the same as the *Nihongi*, which, however, is very much fuller, and is brought down to a much later period.

The Kojiki.—In A.D. 682 a number of Princes and High Officials were formally commissioned by the Emperor Temmu to prepare a "History of the Emperors and of matters of high antiquity." Nothing is known of the result of their labours, but this measure led eventually to the compilation of the *Kojiki*, as we learn from a passage in the Preface to that work.[1] It was not completed, however, until A.D. 712. The *Kojiki* has fortunately been preserved to us. If the *Kiujiki* is excepted, as of doubtful authenticity, it is the earliest product of the Japanese historical muse, and indeed the oldest monument of Japanese literature. It presents many features of the highest interest, but it is needless to dwell here on a subject which has been so thoroughly dealt with by Chamberlain in the Introduction to his admirable translation of this work.

In 714, or two years after the completion of the *Kojiki*, the Empress Gemmiō gave orders for the preparation of a national history. We hear nothing more of this project, which may or may not have served to provide materials for the *Nihongi*.

The Nihongi—Date and Authorship.—We now come to the *Nihongi* itself. It has no title-page or preface, and our information as to its date and authorship is derived from other sources. The Kōnin Shiki (commentary on the *Nihongi*, of the period 810-824) informs us that it was completed and laid before the Empress Gemmiō in A.D. 720 by Prince Toneri and Yasumaro Futo no Ason. In addition to the thirty books which have come down to us, there was originally a book of genealogies of the Emperors which is no longer extant. The term used by the Shiki in speaking of its preparation is "selected afresh," which points obviously to compilation rather than original composition. An examination of the work itself favours this view. It consists of detached passages linked together by chronological sequence, and some endeavour is visible to shape the materials into a consistent whole, but the result has a more or less patchwork appearance, and falls far short of the stan-

[1] See Ch. K., p. 9.

dard of uniformity of style and method which we are accustomed to look for in historical compositions.

Materials for the Nihongi.—The remains of the *Kiujiki* must have formed a very important element of the authors' material. Indeed I lean to the belief that whether the present *Kiujiki* is authentic or not, much of the earlier part of the *Nihongi* (except the first two books) is practically the composition of the illustrious Shōtoku Daishi, its reputed author. It is recorded that he was a profound student of Buddhism and of Chinese classical literature, and internal evidence shows that the writer of this part of the *Nihongi* was well versed in these subjects. The *Kojiki* is not directly referred to, and little use seems to have been made of it. But it was well known to the authors. Indeed one of them, Yasumaro, was the very person who took down the *Kojiki* from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man (or woman) who had a remarkable memory, well stored with the ancient traditions of the Japanese race. That no community of style can be traced between the two works is easily explained by the circumstance that Yasumaro was in the first case little more than an amanuensis, and in the second a compiler. It is possible, too, that his associate, Prince Toneri, was the guiding spirit of the undertaking, and that Yasumaro simply carried out his directions.

The *Nihongi* contains a few phrases which show that the *Norito* or Rituals of the Shinto cult were familiar to the authors, but nothing of importance is drawn from this source.

Another stock of information which was probably at their disposal is referred to in the History of the reign of Jitō Tennō (A.D. 694), where it is stated that orders were given to eighteen of the principal noble Houses to deliver to the Government their genealogical records. Other historical works, notably a certain *Kana Nihongi*, have been spoken of as in existence before the date of the *Nihongi*, and that there was a copious historical or legendary literature accessible to the authors cannot be doubted. The work itself, as we have it, contains ample evidence of this in the numerous quotations from other writings, added, as most Japanese critics think, by the authors themselves, or, as I prefer to believe, by subsequent scholars soon after its appearance. These extracts are always referred to in later times as if they formed part of the *Nihongi*, and

there can be no harm in accepting them as of equal authority with it. Some are, no doubt, of still greater antiquity.

An institution which must have contributed substantially, though perhaps indirectly, to the collection and conservation of the materials for the more legendary part of the *Nihongi* was the Katari Be, or hereditary corporation of reciters. Unfortunately we know very little about it. Hirata, in his *Koshichō*, states, on what authority does not appear, that the Katari Be came forward and recited "ancient words" before the Emperor at the festival of Ohonihe when he inaugurated his reign by sacrifices to the Gods. It is not probable that their services were confined to this occasion.

Character and Contents of the Nihongi.—The *Nihongi* consists of very heterogeneous elements which by no means all answer to our ideas of history. The earlier part furnishes a very complete assortment of all the forms of the Untrue of which the human mind is capable, whether myth, legend, fable, romance, gossip, mere blundering, or downright fiction. The first two books are manifestly mythological. They are followed by an account of Jimmu's Conquest of Yamato, which has probably a basis of truth, though the legendary character obviously predominates.

Most of the meagre details given us of the reigns of the next eight Emperors have a Chinese stamp, and must, I fear, be pronounced simply fictitious. Nor need this greatly surprise us. There are other countries where

> Mortal men are ever wont to lie,
> Whene'er they speak of sceptre-bearing kings.

A portrait gallery in Holyrood Palace illustrates the same principle, though in a different way.

Then we have a series of legendary stories full of miraculous incidents, but in which grains of truth may here and there be discerned. The value of this early part of the work is enhanced by the numerous poems of great antiquity which have been incorporated into it, and which have considerable antiquarian and philological interest.

The narrative becomes more and more real as it goes on, until about the 5th century we find ourselves in what, without too violent a departure from the truth, may be called genuine

history, while from the beginning of the 6th century until A.D. 697, when it is brought to a close, the *Nihongi* gives us what is to every appearance a trustworthy record of events. We must still, however, be on our guard against the Chinese diction and sentiments which are put into the mouths of the Mikados and their Ministers, and there are some strange stories of a kind not likely to impose on our credulity. This part of the *Nihongi* is of very great value, comprising as it does a period of the highest importance in the life of the Japanese nation. It was at this time that the Japanese adopted and assimilated the civilization of China, material, moral, and political, together with the Buddhist religion, thereby profoundly modifying the entire course of their future history.

The defects of the *Nihongi* are due partly to the uncritical spirit of the age when it was written, but mainly to the circumstance that the authors were accomplished scholars deeply imbued with ideas derived from the classical and historical literature of ancient China. With exceptions to be noticed presently, the work is composed in the Chinese language. This is in itself an obstacle to the faithful representation of things Japanese. But unfortunately it is not all. Chinese ideas and traits of Chinese manners and customs are frequently brought in where they have no business. In the very first paragraph we have an essay spiced with Chinese philosophical terms which reads strangely incongruous as a preface to the native cosmogonic myth. Battle axes are mentioned at a time when no such weapons were in use by the Japanese, stone mallets are converted into swords, and we hear continually of the Temples of the Earth and of Grain, a purely Chinese metaphor for the State. No inconsiderable part of the work consists of speeches and Imperial decrees interlarded with quotations from Chinese literature, and evidently composed for the occasion in imitation of Chinese models. In one case the authors have gone so far as to attribute to the Emperor Yūriaku a dying speech of several pages, which is taken with hardly any alteration from a history of the Chinese Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to an Emperor who died 125 years later.

But what is far more misleading than these naive inventions is the confirmed habit common to the writers both of the *Kojiki* and of the *Nihongi*, though the latter are the greater offenders, of

throwing back, no doubt more or less unconsciously, to more ancient times the ideas of their own age, when the national thought and institutions had become deeply modified by Chinese influences. As Dr. Florenz very justly remarks, "The little which European inquiry has hitherto been able to teach us of the real condition of Japan in the most ancient times shows that the historical representation of this period in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* (upon which rest all the later statements of the Japanese) is most profoundly penetrated by false principles. The newer relations, partly developed from native material, partly influenced by Chinese culture, are reflected back upon the oldest without due distinction, and the result is a confused picture in which the critical inquirer can, it is true, frequently separate what is original from subsequent additions, but must often let fall his hands in despair." A conspicuous instance of this is the way in which the Imperial theory of the universal authority of the Mikados is extended backwards to a time when their sway was really restricted to the provinces round the capital and a few other places. It is also exemplified by the treatment of territorial and official designations in the older part of the history as if they were already family names, which they did not become until a later period.

Chronology.—The *Kojiki* wisely has no chronology. But the authors of the *Nihongi*, or more probably of some of the works on which it is based, thought it necessary, in imitation of their Chinese models, to provide a complete system of dates extending as far back as the middle of the 7th century B.C., and giving the exact years, months, and even days for events which are supposed to have happened in this remote period. When it is remembered that there was no official recognition of the art of writing in Japan until A.D. 405, and that the first mention of calendar-makers belongs to A.D. 553, the historical value of such chronology may be readily estimated. After the Christian epoch there may have been some blundering and unsuccessful endeavours to give the right years, but for several centuries longer the months and days must have been simply supplied from the writers' imagination. Even so late as the beginning of the 5th century the chronology can be shown to be wrong in several cases by no less an interval than 120 years. Abundant proofs of its inaccuracy are revealed by a

comparison with the contemporary histories of Corea and China, and an examination of the *Nihongi* itself yields many more. The impossible lengths attributed to the Emperors' reigns are a well-known example, and some, but by no means all, of the other evidence to this effect is indicated in the notes to the present version.

The first date in the *Nihongi* which is corroborated by external evidence is A.D. 461, but the chronology is not a little vague for some time longer. Perhaps if we take A.D. 500 as the time when the correctness of the *Nihongi* dates begins to be trustworthy, we shall not be very far wrong.

In an essay contributed to a Japanese magazine called *Bun*, in 1888, Mr. Naka has brought together absolutely overwhelming evidence of the utter inaccuracy in matters of chronology of the early part of the *Nihongi*, and I may be allowed to refer the reader to a paper on "Early Japanese History" read before the J.A.S. in December, 1887, in which the same thesis is maintained. Such scholars as Satow, Chamberlain, Bramsen, Griffis and others have expressed themselves to a similar effect, and it may be hoped that we have now heard the last of the thoughtless echoes of old Kaempfer's audacious assertion that since the time of Jimmu Tennō, the Japanese have been "accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country and the lives and reigns of their monarchs."

But enough has been said of the defects of the *Nihongi*. The above strictures apply almost exclusively to the earlier half of the work, and they must not be allowed to blind us to the fact that it after all presents a very full and varied picture of the civilization, manners and customs, and political, moral, and religious ideas of the ancient Japanese. Even the large untrue element which it contains is not without its value. Bad history may be good mythology or folk-lore, and statements the most wildly at variance with fact often throw a useful light on the beliefs or institutions of the age when they became current.

Estimation in which the Nihongi was held.—The importance of the *Nihongi* was at once recognized by the somewhat narrow circle of courtiers and officials for whom it was intended. Subsequent history contains frequent mention of its being publicly read and expounded to the

Mikado's Court, one of these notices belonging to the very next year after its completion. It threw wholly into the shade its predecessor the *Kojiki* and superseded the recitations of the Katari Be and other similar customs. Another testimony to its value is the series of commentaries which began to be written upon it immediately after its appearance. Some of these notes, known as Shiki or "private notes," have been preserved to us in a work called *Shaku-nihongi*, written about the end of the 13th century. They are described as of the periods Yōrō, (714—724), Kōnin (810—824), and Yengi (901—923).

This high estimation for the *Nihongi* has lasted until our own day. Its pre-eminence as a source of knowledge of Japanese antiquity was never contested until quite recent times. Even Motoöri[1] acknowledges its value, although his religious and patriotic prejudices lead him to give a preference to the *Kojiki*, which is less profoundly tainted by an admixture of Chinese ideas.

The Kojiki and the Nihongi.—Both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* present to the eye a series of Chinese characters. A closer examination, however, reveals a marked difference in the way in which they are used by the respective authors. In the *Kojiki*, which was taken down from the mouth of a Japanese by a man with some tincture of Chinese learning, the Chinese construction is every now and then interrupted or rather helped out by Japanese words written phonetically, the result being a very curious style wholly devoid of literary qualities. It is in fact possible to restore throughout the original Japanese words used by Hiyeda no Are with a fair degree of probability, and this has actually been done by Motoöri in his great edition of the work known as the *Kojikiden*. This feature gives the *Kojiki* a far greater philological interest than the *Nihongi*. The

[1] Motoöri has left a poem to the following effect :—

In all their fulness
How should we know
The days of old,
Did the august Yamato writing (the *Nihongi*)
Not exist in the world?

Hirata says ("Kodō Taii," I. 36), "If we put aside the ornaments of style of Chinese fashion, there is none among all the writings in the world so noble and important as this classic."

latter is composed almost wholly in the Chinese language, the chief exception being the poems, for which it was necessary to use the Chinese characters with a phonetic value so as to give the actual words and not simply the sense, as is the case when they are employed as ideographs. The proper names in both works are naturally Japanese.

As a repertory of ancient Japanese myth and legend, there is little to choose between the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The *Kojiki* is on the whole the fuller of the two, and contains legends which the *Nihongi* passes over in silence, but the latter work, as we now have it, is enriched by variants of the early myths, the value of which for purposes of comparison will be recognized by scientific inquirers.

But there can be no comparison between the two works when viewed as history. Hiyeda no Are's memory, however well-stored, could not be expected to compete in fulness and accuracy with the abundant written literature accessible to the writers of the *Nihongi*, and an examination of the two works shows that, in respect to the record of actual events, the latter is far the more useful authority. It should be remembered, too, that the *Nihongi* is double the size of its predecessor, and that whereas the *Kojiki* practically comes to an end with the close of the 5th century, the *Nihongi* continues the narrative as far as the end of the 7th, thus embracing an additional space of two hundred years of the highest importance in the history of Japan.

Text and Editions.—The class of readers for whom the present work is intended would be little interested in an account of the text of the *Nihongi* and of its various manuscripts and printed editions. In any case this subject has been so exhaustively treated by Dr. Florenz in his Introduction as to render research by other inquirers a superfluous labour.

A few words, however, should be said respecting the *Shūkai* (or *Shūge*, i.e. collected interpretations) edition, which has been taken as the basis of the present version. There are a few departures from it, chiefly where the translator has restored passages of the "Original Commentary" which the *Shūkai* editor has struck out or relegated to his notes.

The *Shūkai* edition is on the whole the most useful one, being well printed, and provided with a copious Chinese com-

mentary. To facilitate reference to it the book and page of this edition have been noted throughout in the margin of the present translation.

The large black type of the *Shūkai* is the text. The "Original Commentary" and the quotations from other books are printed in a smaller type. Both of these are usually assumed to be part of the *Nihongi*, and are quoted as such. They have been included in the present translation, but they are distinguished from the *Nihongi* proper by being indented, or in the case of some very short passages, enclosed in square brackets. Still smaller characters are used by the editor for his notes. In addition to these, small Katakana characters may be seen at the side of many of the characters of the original text and commentary. They are frequently referred to in the notes of the present version under the description of the "interlinear Kana" or the "traditional Kana rendering," and consist of translations into Japanese of the Chinese characters alongside of which they stand, or add particles which are necessary to complete the sense in a Japanese translation. These glosses are of considerable but unknown antiquity. They are sometimes useful, especially in giving obsolete words and the pronunciation of proper names, but they cannot be implicitly relied on. They are often wrong, and still more frequently inadequate.

Spelling.—In transliterating Japanese words, the method adopted by the Japan Society has been followed pretty closely. It is nearly identical with that which is recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, and which may be briefly described as—"the vowels as in Italian, the consonants as in English." There are no silent letters.

Some inconsistencies will doubtless be observed in the spelling of proper names, in regard to which the Japanese themselves are often very vague. There is a good deal of confusion between the hard and soft consonants *t* and *d*, *ch* or *sh* and *j*, *h* and *b*, and *k* and *g*, which it is difficult for a European scholar always to avoid.

The spelling in the case of words of Japanese derivation follows the Japanese written language in representing an older pronunciation than that now current.

Corean proper names are spelt after the system described by

Sir E. Satow in his "List of Corean Geographical Names." It is based on the principle of the Royal Geographical Society's method above-mentioned. But the true pronunciation of these names is involved in much obscurity, and the rendering adopted is in many cases merely provisional.

In spelling Chinese proper names, the ordinary authorities have been followed. They do not agree very well among themselves, but it is hoped that the inconsistencies which have resulted will not occasion any difficulty to the reader.

ABBREVIATIONS.

T.A.S.J.—Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Ch. K.—The translation of the "Kojiki" by Basil Hall Chamberlain in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. X. Supplement.

J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

N.B.—Attention is drawn to the Table of Errata and Addenda in the second volume

NIHONGI.[1]

BOOK I.[2]

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART I.

OF old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yō[3] not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an

[1] Nihon, otherwise Nippon, the Niphon of our older maps, where it is wrongly limited to the main island of Japan. Japan is merely a Chinese pronunciation of this word, modified in the mouths of Europeans. Nihon, in Chinese 日本, means sun-origin, i.e. sunrise. The country received this name from its position to the east of the Asiatic continent. China being the Great Central Land, other countries were given names with reference to it. Corea, for example, is the Tong-Kuk or East-Country. These Chinese characters are sometimes used to represent Yamato, the true old Japanese name of the country, as in the name of the first Emperor, Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-hoho-demi, better known as Jimmu Tennō. I have little doubt that Nihon, as a name for Japan, was first used by the Corean scholars who came over in numbers during the early part of the seventh century. Perhaps the earliest genuine use of this term occurs in the lament for the death of Shōtoku Daishi by a Corean Buddhist priest in A.D. 620.

In 670 it was formally notified to one of the Corean kingdoms that this would be the name of the country in future, and from about the same time the Chinese also began to use it officially.

There are several cases of its being used retrospectively in places where it has no business, as in a supposed letter from the King of Koryö to the Emperor of Japan quoted in the "Nihongi" under 297 A.D.

"Nihongi," or the Chronicles of Japan, is the proper and original name of this work. But later editors and writers have introduced the syllable sho, writing, styling it the Nihon-shoki, which is its most usual literary designation at the present time. It is also spoken of as the "Shoki."

[2] The first two books of the "Nihongi" contain the myths which form the basis of the Shinto religion. For the further study of this subject, Chamberlain's admirably faithful translation of the Kojiki, and Satow's contributions to the "J.A.S.T." will be found indispensable. Griffis's "Religions of Japan" may also be consulted with advantage.

[3] The Yin and Yang, or female and male principles of Chinese philosophy See "Mayer's Chinese Manual," p. 293.

egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs.

The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.

The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty.

Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently.

Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them.[1]

Hence[2] it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water.

At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this

[1] These opening sentences of the "Nihongi" have been justly condemned by modern Shinto scholars such as Motowori and Hirata as an essay of the Chinese rationalistic type, which has been awkwardly prefixed to the genuine Japanese traditions. Hirata mentions two Chinese works named 淮南子 and 三五暦記, as among the originals from which the author of the "Nihongi" borrowed these ideas. See Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," pp. 19 and 51 (reprint), "Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions," 1875, Appendix. I take this opportunity of referring the reader to this treatise, which is much the most instructive and accurate work that has yet appeared on the ancient Japanese religion and mythology. No serious student of this subject can afford to neglect it.

The corresponding passage of the "Kiujiki" (*vide* Index) is as follows :—"Of old, the original essence was a chaotic mass. Heaven and Earth had not yet been separated, but were like an egg, of ill-defined limits and containing germs. Thereafter, the pure essence, ascending by degrees, became thinly spread out, and formed Heaven. The floating grosser essence sank heavily, and, settling down, became Earth. What we call countries were produced by the opening, splitting up, and dividing of the earth as it floated along. It might be compared to the floating of a fish which sports on the surface of the water. Now Heaven was produced first, and Earth afterwards."

[2] Motowori points out that hence has no meaning here. It is inserted clumsily to make it appear as if there were some connection between the Chinese essay which precedes and the Japanese tradition which follows. The author is fond of this word and frequently brings it in without much meaning.

became transformed into a God, and was called Kuni-toko- I. 2.[1]
tachi no Mikoto.[2]

[*The character* 尊 *is used owing to the extreme dignity of this Deity. For the others the character* 命 *is used. Both are read Mikoto. This rule is followed below.*[3]]

Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto,[4] and next Toyo-kumu-nu no Mikoto,[5] in all three deities.[6]

[1] The marginal references are to the Shukai edition of the original.

[2] Land-eternal-stand-of-august-thing.

[3] This distinction is, of course, an invention of the persons who committed the myths to writing, and it is by no means consistently adhered to even in the "Nihongi"

The passage in italics is from what is called the "Original Commentary," for which see introduction.

[4] Land-of-right-soil-of-augustness, i.e. his augustness the true soil of th land. Sa, which I have rendered "right," is a mere honorific. Tsuchi is written with a Chinese character which means "mallet," but it must be taken here as put phonetically for tsuchi, land or soil.

[5] Rich-form-plain-of-augustness. The meaning of many of the names of the gods is obscure, and these renderings must be accepted with caution. Compare the notes to Chamberlain's "Kojiki," where much attention has been given to this subject. It may be remarked that there is great and inextricable confusion as to the early deities between the various ancient authorities, the "Kojiki," the "Kiujiki," the "Kogojiui," the various documents quoted in the "Nihongi," and the "Nihongi" itself.

[6] The Chinese 三神 means simply three deities. But the interlinear Kana has mi-bashira no Kami, i.e. Deities, three pillars, hashira or bashira being the usual auxiliary numeral (like our head of cattle, sail of ships, etc.) for gods in the ancient literature. Historical Shinto has no idols, but does not this use of the word hashira suggest a time when the gods of Japan were wooden posts carved at the top into a rude semblance of the human countenance, such as are seen at this day in many savage lands? In Corea, closely related to Japan, there are gods of this kind. The mile-posts there have their upper part fashioned into the shape of an idol, to which some pompous title is given, and at a village not far from Söul, on the Wönsan road, I have seen a group of a dozen or more of these pillar-gods, set up, I was told, as guardians to the inhabitants during an epidemic of small-pox.

The word Kami, deity, has a very wide application in Japanese. It means primarily upper, and hence nobles, the sovereign, gods, and generally any wonderful or mysterious thing. The leopard and wolf are Kami, the peach with which Izanagi put to flight the thunders which pursued him in the land of Yomi, etc. See Hirata's interesting remarks translated by Satow in "Revival of Pure Shinto," "J.A.S.T.," p. 42 (reprint).

The Aino ideas regarding Kamui are very similar. See Batchelor in "J.A.S.T.," XVI., Pt. I., p. 17.

These were pure males spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven.[1]

In one writing it is said:[2]—"When Heaven and Earth began, a thing existed in the midst of the Void.[3] Its shape may not be described. Within it a Deity was spontaneously produced, whose name was Kuni-toko-tachi no Mikoto, also called Kuni-soko-tachi[4] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto, also called Kuni no sa-tachi[5] no Mikoto. Next there was Toyo-kuni-nushi[6] no Mikoto, also called Toyo-kumu-nu[7] no Mikoto, Toyo-ka-fushi-no[8] no Mikoto, Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi[9] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuni-no[10] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuhi-no[11] no Mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-no[12] no Mikoto, or Mi-no[13] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Of old, when the land was young and the earth young, it floated about, as it were floating oil. At this time a thing was produced within the land, in shape like a reed-shoot when it sprouts forth. From this there was a Deity developed, whose name was Umashi-
I. 3. ashi-kabi-hiko-ji[14] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto."

[1] The principle of Heaven is the same thing as the Yō or male principle of Chinese philosophy. This again is no part of the old tradition.

[2] These quotations are usually referred to as part of the "Nihongi." They were, in my opinion, added at a somewhat (but not much) later date. They afford some indication of the mass of written literature which existed on this subject

[3] In Japanese *sora*, to be distinguished from *ame* or *ama*, the heaven or firmament, which was regarded as a plain, as in the expression takama no hara, the plain of high heaven.

[4] Soko means bottom.

[5] Tachi means stand

[6] Rich-country-master.

[7] Rich-form-moor.

[8] Rich-perfume-joint-plain.

[9] Float-pass-plain-rich-buy.

[10] Rich-land-plain.

[11] Rich-bite (?) plain.

[12] Leaf-tree-land-plain.

[13] Mino is written with characters which suggest the derivation see-plain. But mi is more probably a honorific, to be rendered "august."

[14] Sweet-reed-shoot-prince-elder. There is some doubt about the precise signification of the word ji here rendered elder. It is the same root which we have in chichi father; wo-ji, uncle; oro-chi, serpent, and tsutsu or tsuchi, which is found in many names of gods. It is probably little more than a mere honorific.

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth were in a state of chaos, there was first of all a deity,[1] whose name was Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni-soko-tachi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth began, there were Deities produced together, whose names were, first, Kuni-no-toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto." It is further stated :—" The names of the Gods which were produced in the Plain of High Heaven were Ama no mi-naka-nushi[2] no Mikoto, next Taka-mi-musubi[3] no Mikoto, next Kami-mi-musubi[4] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" Before Heaven and Earth were produced, there was something which might be compared to a cloud floating over the sea. It had no place of attachment for its root. In the midst of this a thing was generated which resembled a reed-shoot when it is first produced in the mud. This became straightway transformed into human[5] shape and was called Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth began, a thing was produced in the midst of the Void, which resembled a reed-shoot. This became changed into a God, who was called Ama no toko-tachi[6] no Mikoto. There was next Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto." It is further stated :—" There was a thing produced in the midst of the Void like floating oil, from

[1] Lit. a Divine man.

[2] Heaven-of-august-centre-master. The Pole-star god, according to O'Neill. *Vide* " Night of the Gods," pp. 535, 536.

[3] High-august-growth. " Personifications of highly abstract ideas are not unknown in myths of savages. The South Sea islanders have personified 'the very beginning,' and 'space.' " Lang's " Myth, Religion, and Ritual," Vol. I., p. 196. It is not quite clear whether this is the same as the Musubi or Musubu no Kami, a god who unites lovers, and to whom the rags hung on trees by the roadside are offered.

[4] Divine-august-growth. This corresponds nearly with the Kojiki myth.

[5] The Chinese character is 人, which the interlinear Kana coolly renders by Kami, deity.

[6] Heaven-of-eternal-stand.

which a God was developed, called Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto."

The next Deities who came into being were Uhiji-ni[1] no Mikoto and Suhiji-ni no Mikoto, also called Uhiji-ne no
I. 4. Mikoto and Suhiji-ne no Mikoto.

The next Deities which came into being were Oho-to nochi no Mikoto and Oho-to mahe no Mikoto.

One authority says Oho-to no he no Mikoto, otherwise called Oho-to-ma-hiko no Mikoto and Oho-to-ma-hime no Mikoto. Another says Oho-tomu-chi no Mikoto and Oho-tomu-he no Mikoto.[2]

The next Gods which came into being were Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, also called Aya-kashiko-ne no Mikoto, Imi kashiki no Mikoto, or Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto, or Aya-kashiki no Mikoto.[3]

The next Deities which came into being were Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto.[4]

One writing says:—"These two Deities were the children of Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto."

One writing says:—"Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto produced Ame kagami no Mikoto, Ame kagami no Mikoto produced Ame yorodzu no Mikoto, Ame yorodzu

[1] The names of these two Deities are of doubtful meaning. According to the Chinese characters Uhiji should mean mud-earth, and Suhiji sand-earth. Ni or ne is a honorific particle. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 17.

[2] These names are somewhat obscure. Oho-to means great door or house; nochi, after, and mahe, before. He, is place; toma, a coarse kind of mat; tomu, wealthy; and chi, ground. The other elements of these names have occurred above.

[3] Omo-taru means face-pleasing, and Kashiko, awful. Ne is a honorific suffix; aya, an interjection like our ah! Imi means avoidance, religious abstinence, taboo. Kashiki is probably only another form of Kashiko, awful. Awo is green.

[4] Izana is the root of a verb izanafu, to invite; gi, a masculine, and mi, a feminine termination. These two names may therefore be rendered male-who-invites and female-who-invites. But it may be suspected that this is, after all, merely a volks-etymologie, and that Iza or Isa is simply the name of a place, na being another form of no, the genitive particle. Isa is known to Japanese myth. We shall find an Isa well in Heaven spoken of below. There are two places called Isa in Hitachi, and an Isa no Jirja in Idzumo.

no Mikoto produced Aha-nagi no Mikoto, and Aha-nagi no Mikoto produced Izanagi no Mikoto." [1]

These make eight Deities in all. Being formed by the mutual action of the Heavenly and Earthly principles, they were made male and female.[2] From Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto to Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto are called the seven generations of the age of the Gods.[3]

[1] Ame-kagami, heaven-mirror ; Ame-yorodzu, heaven-myriad ; Aha-nagi, foam-calm.

[2] This sentence is obviously from the pen of a student of Chinese philosophy.

[3] The eight Gods specially worshipped by the Jingikwan, or Department of the Shinto Religion in the Yengi period—901-922—were Taka-mi-musubi no Kami, Kami-mi-musubi no Kami, Tama-tsume musubi no Kami, Iku musubi no Kami, Taru musubi no Kami, Oho-miya no me no Kami, Mi Ketsu Kami, and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.

For the sake of comparison the Kiujiki scheme of the generations of early Deities is herewith added. It will still further exemplify the confusion of these traditions.

"Therefore a God was developed in the Plain of High Heaven whose name was Ame - yudzuru - hi - ame no sa- giri kuni-yudzuru-tsuki kuni no
heaven transfer sun heaven right mist land transfer moon land of
sa- giri no Mikoto, who was produced alone. After him were born two
right mist
generations of companion Gods and five generations of mated Deities. These make up what is called the seven generations of the Gods.

GENEALOGY OF THE AGE OF THE GODS.

The Heavenly parent, Ame yudzuru hi ame no sa-giri kuni yudzuru tsuki kuni no sa-giri no Mikoto.

1ST GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Ame no mi-naka-nushi no Mikoto.
heaven middle master
Umashi - ashi-kabi hikoji no Mikoto.
sweet reed-shoot prince elder

2ND GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Kuni no toko tachi no Mikoto.
land eternal stand
Toyo-kuni-nushi no Mikoto.
rich land master

In one writing it is said :—"The gods that were produced in pairs, male and female, were first of all Uhiji ni

A Branch.

Ame - ya - kudari no Mikoto.
heaven eight descend

3RD GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Tsuno - gui no Mikoto.
horn stake (name of place ?)

Iku - gui no Mikoto, his younger sister of wife.
live stake

A Branch.

Ame mi kudari no Mikoto.
heaven three descend

4TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Uhiji - ni no Mikoto.
mud earth (honorific affix)

Suhiji - ni no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
sand earth

A Branch.

Ama - ahi no Mikoto.
heaven meet

5TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Oho-toma-hiko no Mikoto.
great mat prince

Oho - toma - he no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
great mat place

A Branch.

Ame ya - wo - hi no Mikoto.
heaven eight hundred days

6TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Awo - kashiki ne no Mikoto.
green awful (honorific)

Aya-kashiki ne no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
ah ! awful

A Branch.

Ame no ya-so-yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
eighty myriads spirits

no Mikoto and Suhiji ni no Mikoto. Next there were Tsuno-guhi no Mikoto and Iku-guhi no Mikoto, next

7TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Izanagi no Mikoto.
Izanami no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.

A Branch.

Taka mi - musubi no Mikoto.
high august growth

Children.

Ama no omohi-game no Mikoto.
heaven thought-compriser
Ama no futo-dama no Mikoto.
big jewel
Ama no woshi - hi no Mikoto.
endure sun
Ama no kamu-dachi no Mikoto.
god stand

Next there was—

Kamu mi musubi no Mikoto.
above growth

Children.

Ame no mi ke mochi no Mikoto.
august food hold
Ame no michi ne no Mikoto.
road (honorific)
Ame no kami-dama no Mikoto.
god jewel
Iku-dama no Mikoto.
live jewel

Next there was—

Tsu-haya-dama no Mikoto.
port quick jewel

Children.

Ichi - chi - dama no Mikoto.
market thousand jewel
Kogoto-dama no Mikoto.
(?)

Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto."

Izanagi and Izanami on the Floating Bridge of Heaven.

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood on the
I. 5 floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying: "Is there not a country beneath?"

Ama no ko-yane no Mikoto.
child-roof
Takechi - nokori no Mikoto.
brave milk remnant

Next there was—

Furu-dama no Mikoto.
shake jewel

Children.

Saki-dama no Mikoto.
first jewel
Ama no woshi - dachi no Mikoto.
endure stand

Next there was—

Yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
myriad jewel

Child.

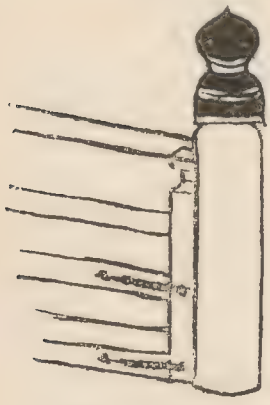
Ama no koha-kaha no Mikoto."
hard river

A number of these Deities are stated to be the ancestors of noble Japanese families. The explanation of the meaning of these names is often

Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven,[1] and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which

very conjectural. Some are probably names of places. Possibly some of the obscurer names are Corean. The "Seishiroku" speaks of a Corean Sagiri no Mikoto, and other known Corean Deities were worshipped in Japan. The reader will do well to consult here Satow's "Japanese Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VI., Pt. II., p. 120, where he makes the pregnant suggestion that the sun was the earliest among the powers of nature to be deified, and that the long series of gods who precede her in the cosmogony of the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi," most of whom are shown by their names to have been mere abstractions, were invented to give her a genealogy.

[1] Hirata conjectures that the jewel-spear (nu-boko or tama-boko) of Heaven was in form like a wo-bashira. Wo-bashira means literally male-pillar. This word is usually applied to the end-posts or pillars of a railing or balustrade, no doubt on account of the shape of the top, which ends in a sort of a ball (the nu or tama), supposed to resemble the glans. That by wo-bashira Hirata means a phallus is clear from his quoting as its equivalent the Chinese expression 玉茎, i.e. jewel-stalk, an ornate word for the penis. A Japanese word for this is wo-hashi, or wo-bashi, which contains nearly the same etymological elements as wo-bashira.



Wo-bashira.

A writer quoted in the Tsū-shō commentary on the "Nihongi," says that the Tama-boko (or nu-boko) is the root of coition.

The late Mr. J. O'Neill, in his "Night of the Gods" (pp. 31, 37, 67), proposed the theory that this spear and other spears of myth "are but symbols of the Earth-axis and its prolongation," an idea which is worked out with much ingenuity and learning in that remarkable work. At p. 88 he argues that this view is not inconsistent with the phallic interpretation.

There are other indications in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" of phallic worship in Ancient Japan, although, probably owing to the influence of Chinese ideas of literary propriety, there are fewer than might have been expected. *Vide* Index—Phallic worship.

All travellers in Japan, especially before the Revolution of 1868, must have observed numerous evidences of a phallic cult. The Government have of recent years done their best to suppress this very gross form of nature worship, but it still exists in out-of-the-way places, as has been shown in an interesting Essay by Dr. Edmund Buckley, of the University of Chicago, who has collected numerous facts relating to this subject. Dr. Griffis, in his "Religions of Japan," has also noticed several evidences of it.

Travelling from Utsunomiya to Nikko, in 1871, I found the road lined at intervals with groups of phalli, connected, no doubt, with the worship of the Sacred Mountain Nan-tai (male-form), which was visited every summer by

dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.[1]

The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.

So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the centre of the land.[2]

Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female[3]

hundreds of pilgrims of the male sex, access to females being at that time rigorously prohibited.

A cave at Kamakura formerly contained scores of phalli carved in stone.

I once witnessed a phallic procession in a town some miles north of Tokio. A phallus several feet high, and painted a bright vermilion colour, was being carried on a sort of a bier by a crowd of shouting, laughing coolies with flushed faces, who zig-zagged along with sudden rushes from one side of the street to another. It was a veritable Bacchic rout. The Dionysia, it will be remembered, had their phalli. A procession of this kind invaded the quiet thoroughfares of the Kobe foreign settlement in 1868, much to the amazement of the European residents.

That there are domestic shrines in the lupanars where these objects of worship are propitiated by having a small lamp kept constantly burning before them is, perhaps, not to be wondered at.

Is it a mere coincidence that wo-bashira, male pillar, should contain the element hashira which is used as a numeral for deities? See above, p. 5.

Some of the Rai-tsui, or thunder-clubs, figured in Kanda's "Ancient Stone Implements," Plate VII., are probably phalli. Their size precludes the view that they were used as weapons.

It may be, however, that both the Earth-axis and the phallic interpretations of the nu-boko are too subtle. The Hoko may after all be a spear and nothing more, and the nu or jewel merely an ornate epithet, as indeed Hirata suggests.

[1] Spontaneously-congeal-island. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 19. Identified with a small island near Ahaji.

[2] The "Kiujiki" mentions a tradition according to which the two gods made the jewel-spear the central pillar of their house.

[3] The words for male and female are in the original Yō and In. It greatly excites the indignation of the Motowori and Hirata school to have these Chinese philosophical terms applied to Japanese deities. I cannot help thinking that some early marriage ceremony is adumbrated by this circumambulation. We have the ceremony of divorce further on. The erection of a house is not merely for practical reasons. It appears from several passages that a special building was a necessary preliminary to the consummation of a marriage in proper form.

deity by the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female deity spoke first and said:—"How delightful! I have met I. 6.
with a lovely youth." The male deity was displeased, and said:—"I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a woman, shouldst have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again." Upon this the two deities went back, and having met anew, this time the male deity spoke first, and said:—"How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden."

Then he inquired of the female deity, saying:—"In thy body is there aught formed?" She answered, and said:—"In my body there is a place which is the source of femineity." The male deity said:—"In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity. I wish to unite this source-place of my body to the source-place of thy body." Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and wife.

Now when the time of birth arrived, first of all the island of Ahaji was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it. Therefore it received the name of Ahaji no Shima.[1]

Next there was produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima.[2]

Here and elsewhere 日本 (*Nippon*) *is to be read Yamato.*[3]

Next they produced the island of Iyo no futa-na,[4] and next I. 7.
the island of Tsukushi.[5] Next the islands of Oki and Sado

[1] "The island which will not meet," i.e. is unsatisfactory. Ahaji may also be interpreted as "my shame." The characters with which this name is written in the text mean "foam-road." Perhaps the true derivation is "millet-land." Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 21.

[2] Rich-harvest (or autumn)-of-island.

[3] Yamato means probably mountain-gate. It is the genuine ancient name for the province which contained Nara and many of the other capitals of Japan for centuries, and it was also used for the whole country. Several of Mikados called themselves Yamato-neko. It is mentioned by the historian of the Later Han dynasty of China (A.D. 25-220) as the seat of rule in Japan at that time. (See above, p. 1.)

[4] Now called Shikoku.

[5] Now called Kiushiu.

were born as twins. This is the prototype of the twin-births which sometimes take place among mankind.

Next was born the island of Koshi,[1] then the island of Oho-shima, then the island of Kibi no Ko.[2]

Hence first arose the designation of the Oho-ya-shima[3] country.

Then the islands of Tsushima and Iki, with the small islands in various parts, were produced by the coagulation of the foam of the salt-water.

It is also stated that they were produced by the coagulation of the foam of fresh water.

In one writing it is said:—"The Gods of Heaven addressed Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, say-
I. 8. ing: 'There is the country Toyo-ashi-hara-chi-i-wo-aki no midzu-ho.[4] Do ye proceed and bring it into order.' They then gave them the jewel-spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Gods stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and plunging down the spear, sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again, the brine which dripped from the spear-point coagulated and became an island, which was called Ono-goro-jima. The two gods descended, dwelt in this island, and erected there an eight-fathom palace.[5] They also set up the pillar of Heaven."

Then the male Deity asked the female Deity, saying:—"Is there anything formed in thy body?" She answered and said:—"My body has a place completely formed, and called the source of femineity." The male god said:—"My body again has a place completely formed, and called the source of masculinity. I desire to unite my source of

[1] Koshi is not an island. It comprises the present provinces of Ettchiu, Echigo, and Echizen.

[2] These two are not clear. Kibi is now Bingo, Bizen, and Bittchiu. Ko, "child or small," perhaps refers to the small islands of the Inland Sea.

[3] Great-eight-island.

[4] Abundant-reed-plain, thousand-five-hundred-harvest (or autumn) fair-ears.

[5] The "Kiujiki" makes the nu-boko or jewel-spear the central pillar of the house which they erected. Eight-fathom is simply a poetical expression for large. There is no special sacredness attached to the number eight.

masculinity to thy source of femineity." Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the pillar of Heaven, and made a promise, saying:—"Do thou, my younger sister, go round from the left, while I will go round from the right." Having done so, they went round separately and met, when the female Deity spoke first, and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" The male Deity then answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was the

The Leech Child as Yebisu.

leech, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift.[1] Their next was the Island of Ahaji. This also was I. 9.
not included in the number of their children. Wherefore they returned up again to Heaven, and fully reported the circumstances. Then the Heavenly Gods divined this by the greater divination. Upon which they instructed them, saying:—"It was by reason of the woman's having spoken first; ye had best return thither again." Thereupon having divined a time, they went down. The two deities

[1] The leech was identified in after times with the God Yebisu. See Anderson's Catalogue of Paintings in the British Museum, p. 36. Hirata attempts to show that he was the same as Sukuna-bikona, but is not convincing. The reed boat recalls the Accadian legend of Sargon and his ark of rushes, the Biblical story of Moses as an infant and many more, for which the curious reader may consult the late John O'Neill's "Night of the Gods," p. 410.

accordingly went again round the pillar, the male Deity from the left,[1] and the female Deity from the right. When they met, the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" The female Deity next answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" Thereafter they dwelt together in the same palace and had children, whose names were Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Ahaji, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsukushi, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Koshi, next the island of Kibi-no-ko. The country was accordingly called the "Great-Eight-Island Country."

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood in the midst of the mist of Heaven, and said:—'We wish to find a country.' So they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven, and groped about till they found the island of Ono-goro. Then they drew back the spear and rejoiced, saying:—'Good! there is a country!'"

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto sat in the Plain of High Heaven, and said:—'There must surely be a country.' So with the jewel-spear of Heaven they scraped together the island of Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto spoke to one another, saying:—'There is something resembling floating oil. In the midst of this there is perhaps a country.' So they
I. 10. took the jewel-spear of Heaven and groping about formed with it an island which was called Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a handsome youth!' Now it was considered unlucky that the female Deity should have spoken first. Accordingly they went round again,

[1] Hirata says that as the left is superior to the right, and the man to the woman, it is proper that the man should go round from the left, and the woman from the right. He strongly condemns the Kojiki version of the story which reverses this order. The notion of the superiority of the left is really Chinese.

when the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Postemo cupiebant coire, sed artis nescii erant. Tum erat motacilla[1] quae advolavit, atque concussit suum caput et suam caudam. Quod cum vidissent duo Dei, imitati sunt eam, et in hoc modo artem coeundi potiti sunt.

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities were united and became husband and wife. First of all, the islands of Ahaji and Aha being considered the placenta,[2] they produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo, next the island of Tsukushi, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, next the island of Koshi, next Oho-shima, and next Kojima."

In one writing it is said:—"First there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Iki, and next the island of Tsushima."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ono-goro being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsu-kushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, and next the island of Koshi."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ahaji being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Oho-yamato Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Aha, next the island of Iyo no futana, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, and next Oho-shima."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a lovely youth!' She

[1] Anglice, wagtail.

[2] The Japanese word for placenta is *ye* or *yena*. *Ye* is also Japanese for elder brother. The Kiujiki has in the corresponding passage 兄 or elder brother.

forthwith took the hand of the male Deity, and they at length became husband and wife. There was born to
I. 11. them the island of Ahaji, and next the leech-child."

They next produced the sea, then the rivers, and then the mountains. Then they produced Ku-ku-no-chi, the ancestor of the trees, and next the ancestor of herbs, Kaya no hime.[1] *Also called Nudzuchi.*

After this Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying:—"We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe?[2] They then together produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Oho-hiru-me no muchi.[3]

Called in one writing Ama-terasu no Oho kami.[4]

In one writing she is called Ama-terasu-oho-hiru-me no Mikoto.[5]

The resplendent lustre of this child shone throughout all the six quarters.[6] Therefore the two Deities rejoiced, saying:—"We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven."

At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated,[7] and therefore they sent her up to Heaven by the ladder of Heaven.

They next produced the Moon-god.

[1] Ku-ku is evidently for ki-ki, trees. Chi is the same root which we have in the modern chichi, father, and kaya is the name of a kind of rush used for thatching. Nu-dzu-chi, moor-of-father.

[2] Universe. In the original, tenka, i.e. that which is under Heaven, subsequently the usual word for the Empire.

[3] Oho-hiru-me no muchi. Great-noon-female-of-possessor.

[4] Heaven-illumine-of-great-deity.

[5] Heaven-illumine-great-noon-female-of-augustness.

[6] North, South, East, West, Above, Below.

[7] "In the beginning the Heaven, Rangi, and the Earth, Papa, were the father and mother of all things. In those days the Heaven lay upon the Earth, and all was darkness. They had never been separated."

Maori myth, quoted by Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 45.

Called in one writing Tsuki-yumi[1] no Mikoto, or Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. I. 12.

His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendour. This God was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

Next they produced the leech-child, which even at the age of three years could not stand upright. They therefore placed it in the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven, and abandoned it to the winds.

Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[2]

Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[3]

This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed[4]

[1] Yumi means bow, yomi darkness. Neither is inappropriate as applied to the moon.

[2] This name is written indifferently Sosa no wo and Susa no wo. The accepted derivation refers *Susa* to *Susamu*, a verb which means "to be impetuous." Hence the "Impetuous Male" of Chamberlain's and Satow's translations. I am disposed to prefer a derivation suggested by the "Idzumo Fudoki," a very old book, which states :—

"Village of Susa. Nineteen ri due west of the Town-house of the district. Kamu Susa no wo no Mikoto said :—'This is only a small country, but it is a Kuni-dokoro (local capital ?). Therefore my name shall not be affixed to wood or stone.' This was accordingly the place where he allowed his august spirit to repose. There were, therefore, established by him the Greater Susa rice-lands and the Lesser Susa rice-lands."

Susa no wo is therefore simply the "male of Susa." It will be remembered that by one Japanese tradition, Idzumo is the home of the Gods, and that several of the legends respecting them relate to this locality. It is, however, probable that the older derivation is really a volks-etymologie, which has given colour to the stories told of this deity. Idzumo is a chief home of the worship of Susa no wo at the present day. His wife's mother was called Susa no Yatsu-mimi, but it has not occurred to anybody to make her an "impetuous female." Hirata rejects the modern identification of this God with Godzu Tennō.

[3] Kami, deity ; haya, quick.

[4] The character used is that appropriate to a sovereign addressing his subjects.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether-Land."[1] So they at length expelled him.

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.' He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror,[2] upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced
I. 13. from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head and looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hirume no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine down upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land."

In one writing it is said:—"After the sun and moon, the next child which was born was the leech-child. When this child had completed his third year, he was nevertheless still unable to stand upright. The reason why the leech-child was born was that in the beginning, when Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto went round the pillar, the female Deity was the first to utter an exclamation of pleasure, and the law of male and female was therefore broken. They next procreated Sosa no wo no Mikoto. This God was of a wicked nature, and was always fond of wailing and wrath. Many of the people of the land died, and the green mountains withered. Therefore his parents addressed him, saying: 'Supposing that thou wert to rule this country, much destruction of life would surely ensue. Thou must govern the far-distant Nether Land.' Their next child was the bird-rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven. They forthwith took this

[1] Ne no kuni, lit. the root-country, by which Hades or Yomi is no doubt meant.

[2] See Index—Copper.

boat and, placing the leech-child in it, abandoned it to the current. Their next child was Kagu tsuchi."[1] I. 14.

Now Izanami no Mikoto was burnt by Kagu tsuchi, so that she died.[2] When she was lying down to die, she gave birth to the Earth-Goddess, Hani-yama-hime,[3] and the Water-Goddess, Midzu-ha-no-me. Upon this Kagu tsuchi took to wife Hani-yama-hime, and they had a child named Waka-musubi.[4] On the crown of this Deity's head were produced the silkworm and the mulberry tree, and in her navel the five kinds of grain.[5]

In one writing it is said :—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to Ho-no-musubi,[6] she was burnt by the child, and died.[7] When she was about to die, she brought forth the Water-Goddess, Midzu-ha-no-me, and the Earth-Goddess, Hani-yama-hime. She also brought forth the gourd[8] of Heaven."

In one writing it is said :—"When about to give birth to the Fire-God, Kagu tsuchi, Izanami no Mikoto became feverish and ill. In consequence she vomited, and the vomit became changed into a God, who was called Kana-yama-hiko.[9] Next her urine became changed into a Goddess, who was called Midzu-ha-no-me. Next her excrement was changed into a Goddess, who was called Hani-yama-hime.

In one writing it is said :—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to the Fire-God, she was burnt, and died. She was, therefore, buried at the village of Arima in Kumano, in the province of Kiï. In the time of flowers, the inhabitants worship the spirit of this Goddess by offerings of

[1] Kagu tsuchi was the God of Fire. Tsu is here probably the genitive particle, and chi the same honorific word as appears in several other names of Gods. He was worshipped at Nagusa in Kiï.

[2] Lit. ended. [3] Clay-mountain-lady.

[4] Young-growth.

[5] Hemp, millet, rice, corn, pulse. This is a Chinese form of speech, and with the mention of the silkworm betrays a recent origin of this tradition.

[6] Fire-growth. [7] Lit. retired.

[8] The gourd was to hold water to subdue the Fire-God with when he became violent.

[9] Metal-mountain prince. This legend indicates an acquaintance with mining.

flowers. They also worship her with drums, flutes, flags,
I. 15. singing and dancing."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, having together procreated the Great-eight-island Land, Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'Over the country which we have produced there is naught but morning mists which shed a perfume everywhere!' So he puffed them away with a breath, which became changed into a God, named Shina tohe no Mikoto. He is also called Shina[1] tsu hiko no Mikoto. This is the God of the Wind. Moreover, the child which they procreated when they were hungry was called Uka no mi-tama[2] no Mikoto. Again they produced the Sea-Gods, who were called Wata[3] tsu mi no Mikoto, and the Mountain-Gods, who were called Yama tsu mi, the Gods of the River-mouths, who were called Haya-aki[4]-tsubi no Mikoto, the Tree-Gods, who were called Ku-ku no chi, and the Earth-Goddess, who was called Hani-yasu[5] no Kami. Thereafter they produced all manner of things whatsoever. When the time came for the Fire-God Kagu tsuchi to
I. 16. be born, his mother Izanami no Mikoto was burnt, and suffered change and departed.[6] Then Izanagi no Mikoto was wroth, and said: 'Oh, that I should have given my beloved younger sister[7] in exchange for a single child!

[1] Shina is said to be derived from shi, wind or breath, and na, a short form of naga, long. See Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 27. The worship of this God is frequently referred to in the last two books of the Nihongi. See also Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," where a prayer to him is given. Tohe means chief.

[2] Food august-spirit. The Chinese characters transliterated Uka mean storehouse rice.

[3] Wata is an old word for sea; mi is probably "body."

[4] Haya-aki means swift-autumn; tsu, of, and bi (or mi) perhaps person or body.

[5] Clay-easy.

[6] i.e. died.

[7] The ancient Japanese word for younger sister was imo, which is also applied to a wife. It may be doubted whether this justifies any adverse inference as to the morals of the Japanese in early times. "Sister" is used as an endearing epithet in the Song of Solomon where the relation is certainly not that of brother and sister. It is true, however, that marriages were allowed between brothers and sisters when of different mothers.

So while he crawled at her head, and crawled at her feet, weeping and lamenting, the tears which he shed fell down and became a Deity. It is this Deity who dwells at Unewo no Konomoto, and who is called Naki-saha-me[1] no Mikoto. At length he drew the ten-span sword with which he was girt, and cut Kagu tsuchi into three pieces, each of which became changed into a God. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the edge of the sword[2] became the multitudinous[3] rocks which are in the bed of the Easy-River[4] of Heaven. This God was the father of Futsu-nushi no Kami. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the hilt-ring of the sword spurted out and became deities, whose names were Mika no Haya-hi[5] no Kami and next Hi no Haya-hi no[6] Kami. This Mika no Haya-hi no Kami was the parent of Take-mika-suchi[7] no I. 17.
Kami."

Another version is:—"Mika no haya-hi no Mikoto, next Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto, and next Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the point of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Iha-saku[8] no Kami, after him Ne-saku no Kami,[9] and next Iha-tsutsu-wo[10] no Mikoto. This Iha-saku no Kami was the father of Futsu-nushi[11] no Kami."

One account says:—"Iha-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and next Iha-tsutsu-me no Mikoto."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the head of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Kura o Kami no Kami,[12] next Kura-yamatsumi no Kami,[13] and next Kura-midzu-ha no Kami.[14]

[1] Weep-abundant-female. [2] Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32.
[3] Literally, five hundred.
[4] i.e. The Milky Way. Yasu, easy, is probably in error for ya-so, eighty, i.e. manifold, having many reaches.
[5] Jar-swift-sun. So written, but mika is probably a word meaning very or mighty.
[6] Fire-swift-sun. See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32. [7] Brave-jar-father.
[8] Rock-splitting-god. [9] Root-splitting-god. [10] Rock-elder-male-god.
[11] Futsu is interpreted as "a snapping sound"; nushi is master.
[12] Dark-god. [13] Dark-mountain-body-god. [14] Dark-water-goddess.

I. 18. Thereafter, Izanagi no Mikoto went after Izanami no Mikoto, and entered the land of Yomi.[1] When he reached her they conversed together, and Izanami no Mikoto said: 'My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking-furnace of Yomi.[2] Nevertheless, I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look on me.' Izanami no Mikoto did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and, breaking off its end tooth,[3] made of it a torch, and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up, and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb[4] at night. Izanagi no Mikoto was greatly shocked, and said: 'Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous and polluted land.' So he speedily ran away back again. Then Izanami no Mikoto was angry, and said:

[1] The original has "yellow springs," a Chinese expression. Yomi or Yomo is Hades. It is no doubt connected with yo or yoru, night.

[2] This is a feature of many old-world and savage myths. In the legend of the rape of Proserpine by Pluto, as told by Ovid, Jupiter replies to Ceres, who demanded back her daughter—

> ". . . Repetat Proserpina caelum,
> Lege tamen certâ: si nullos contiget illic
> Ore cibos."

But Proserpine already—

> "Puniceum curvâ decerpserat arbore pomum
> Sumta que pallenti septem de cortice grana
> Presserat ore suo."

Compare also the story of Nachikétas from the Taittiríya Brāhmana, and the Katha Upanishad:—

> "Three nights within his (Yama's) mansion stay,
> But taste not, though a guest, his food."
> Muir's Sanskrit texts, Vol. V., p. 329.

The resemblance of the name Yama of the Indian God of the Lower World to the Japanese Yomi has been noted, and also some points of similarity in the myth of Yami and Yama to that of Izanagi and Izanami. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 171.

[3] End-tooth is in Japanese wo-bashira, i e. male-pillar, for which see above, note to p. 11.

[4] The "Adzuma Kagami" mentions a superstition that any one who picks up a comb which has been thrown away is transformed into another person.

'Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now am I put to shame.' So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi[1] (*Shikome, called by some Hisame*) to pursue and stay him. Izanagi no Mikoto therefore drew his sword, and, flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress and flung it down. I. 19. It became changed into grapes, which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi no Mikoto. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when they had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards, Izanami no Mikoto came herself and pursued him.[2] By this time Izanagi no Mikoto had reached the Even Pass of Yomi."

According to one account, Izanagi no Mikoto made water against a large tree, which water at once turned into a great river. While the Ugly Females of Yomi were preparing to cross this river, Izanagi no Mikoto had already reached the Even Pass of Yomi. So he took a thousand-men-pull-rock, and having blocked up the path with it, stood face to face with Izanami no Mikoto, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. Upon this, Izanami no Mikoto said: "My dear Lord and husband, if thou sayest so, I will strangle to death the people of the country which thou dost govern, a thousand in one day." Then Izanagi no Mikoto replied, saying, "My beloved younger sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said, "Come no further, and threw down his staff, which was called Funado[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his girdle,

[1] The "Wamiōsho" mentions a statement that these were used as bogeys to frighten children with under the name of Gogo-me.

[2] The student of folk-lore will at once recognize this pursuit. Cf. Lang's "Custom and Myth," pp. 88 and 92: "A common incident is the throwing behind of a comb, which turns into a thicket."

[3] Or Kunado, come-not-place. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 39. This was the God of roads.

I. 20. which was called Naga-chi-ha[1] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his upper garment, which was called Wadzurahi[2] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his trowsers, which were called Aki-gui[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his shoes, which were called Chi-shiki[4] no Kami.

Some say that the Even Pass of Yomi is not any place in particular, but means only the space of time when the breath fails on the approach of death.[5]

Now the rock with which the Even Pass of Yomi was blocked is called Yomi-do ni fusagaru Oho-kami.[6] Another name for it is Chi-gayeshi[7] no Oho-kami.

When Izanagi no Mikoto had returned, he was seized with regret, and said, "Having gone to Nay! a hideous and filthy place, it is meet that I should cleanse my body
I 21. from its pollutions." He accordingly went to the plain of Ahagi at Tachibana in Wodo in Hiuga of Tsukushi, and purified himself. When at length he was about to wash away the impurities[8] of his body, he lifted up his voice and said, "The upper stream is too rapid and the lower stream is too sluggish, I will wash in the middle stream." The God which was thereby produced was called Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi[9] no Kami, and then to remedy these evils

[1] Long-road-rock. [2] Disease or trouble.

[3] This might mean open-bite, but the derivation is very doubtful.

[4] Road-spread-out.

[5] Motoöri treats this suggestion with supreme contempt. He prefers to accept the identification of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K. p. 39) with a place in Idzumo. Other parts of the world also boast entrances to the lower regions. The Chinese have one at Têng-chow, and the Roman and Greek legends need not be more particularly referred to.

[6] Yomi-gate-block-great-God.

[7] Road-turn-back.

[8] Izanagi's ablutions are typical of the ceremonial lustration required after contact with death. A Chinese traveller to Japan in the early centuries of the Christian era noted that "when the funeral is over the whole family go into the water and wash." Ovid makes Juno undergo lustration after a visit to the lower regions, and Dante is washed in Lethe when he passes out of Purgatory. For lustration as a widespread practice, consult Dr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 435, *et seqq.*

[9] Eighty-evils-of-body. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 41.

there were produced Deities named Kami-nawo-bi no Kami, and after him Oho-nawo-bi[1] no Kami.

Moreover, the Deities which were produced by his plunging down and washing in the bottom of the sea were called Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi[2] no Mikoto and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. Moreover, when he plunged and washed in the mid-tide, there were Gods produced who were called Naka[3] tsu wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and next Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto.[4] Moreover, when he washed floating on the surface of the water, Gods were produced, who were called Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto and next Uha[5]-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. There were in all nine Gods. The Gods Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto are the three great Gods of Suminoye. The Gods Soko-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, Naka-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto are the Gods worshipped[6] by the Muraji of Adzumi.[7]

Thereafter, a Deity was produced by his washing his

[1] Nawo is the root of a verb nawosu, to remedy.

[2] Bottom-sea-of-body.

[3] Middle-sea-god.

[4] Middle-elder-male.

[5] Uha means upper.

[6] As appears from the parallel passage of the "Kojiki," this is a case of ancestor worship, not, it will be observed, of the immediate ancestors, as in China, but of a remote mythical ancestor who is a Deity, as his name indicates.

[7] Adzumi no Muraji is a title corresponding exactly to such English titles as "Duke of Wellington," Adzumi being the name of a place and Muraji a title of honour. It is derived from mura, a village or assemblage, and ushi, master. These titles, called Uji or Kabane, though Kabane is properly the second or honorary element, were in their origin simply official designations, and in the "Nihongi" we frequently meet with cases where the office and the title are united in the same person. They were, however, hereditary, and by degrees the mere honorary element prevailed. It too, ultimately vanished, these titles becoming simply surnames to which no particular distinction was attached. Japanese writers, the author of the "Nihongi" with the rest, have, for want of a more appropriate character, identified them with the Chinese 姓 or surname, which is only true of a period later than the time covered by the "Nihongi." There was also a personal name (na), but the ancient Japanese seem to have had no proper surnames, although the Uji answered the same purpose in a rough way.

I. 22. left eye, which was called Ama-terasu-no-oho-Kami.[1] Then he washed his right eye, producing thereby a Deity who was called Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto.[2] Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a God who was called Sosa no wo no Mikoto. In all there were three Deities. Then Izanagi no Mikoto gave charge to his three children, saying, "Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule the plain of High Heaven: do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the ocean plain: do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, rule the world." At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was already of full age. He had, moreover, grown a beard eight spans long. Nevertheless, he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Therefore Izanagi no Mikoto inquired of him, saying, "Why dost thou continually weep in this way?" He answered and said, "I wish to follow my mother to the Nether Land, and it is simply for that reason that I weep." Then Izanagi no Mikoto was filled with detestation of him, and said, "Go, even as thy heart bids thee." So he forthwith drove him away.

I. 23. In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto drew his sword and cut Kagutsuchi into three pieces. One of these

[1] The Sun-Goddess.

[2] The Moon-God. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku: "P'an-ku came into being in the Great Waste, his beginning is unknown. In dying, he gave birth to the existing material universe. His breath was transmuted into the wind and clouds, his voice into thunder, his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon: his four limbs and five extremities into the four quarters of the globe and the five great mountains, his blood into the rivers, his muscles and veins into the strata of the earth, his flesh into the soil etc."—Mayer's "Chinese Manual," p. 174. Note here that the Japanese myth gives precedence to the left over the right. This is a Chinese characteristic. Hirata rejects any identification of the two myths, pointing out that the sun is masculine in China and feminine in Japan. This is not conclusive. Such closely related nations as the English and Germans differ as to the sex which they ascribe to the sun, and Lang in his "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," points out that among the Australians, different tribes of the same race have different views of the sex of the sun and moon.

became Ikadzuchi no Kami,[1] one became Oho-yama-tsu-mi[2] no Kami, and one became Taka-wo-Kami.[3] Moreover, it is said: "When he slew Kagutsuchi, the blood gushed out and stained the five hundred[4] rocks which are in the midst of the eighty rivers of Heaven, forming thereby Gods who were called Iha-saku[5] no Kami; next Ne-saku[6] no Kami's child, Iha-tsutsu-wo[7] no Kami; and next, Iha-tsutsu-me no Kami's child, Futsu-nushi no Kami."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto cut Kagutsuchi no Mikoto into five pieces, which were each changed, and became the five Mountain-Gods. The first piece, viz., the head, became Oho-yama-tsu-mi;[8] the second, viz. the trunk, became Naka[9]-yama-tsu-mi; the third, viz. the hands, became Ha[10]-yama-tsu mi; the fourth, viz. the loins, became Masa-katsu-yama-tsu-mi;[11] and the fifth, viz. the feet, became Shiki[12]-yama-tsu-mi. I. 24.

At this time the blood from the wounds spurted out and stained the rocks, trees and herbage. This is the reason that herbs, trees, and pebbles naturally contain the element of fire."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto, wishing to see his younger sister, went to the temporary burial-place. At this time, Izanami no Mikoto being still as she was when alive came forth to meet him, and they talked together. She spoke to Izanagi no Mikoto and said, 'My august Lord and husband, I beseech thee not to look at me.' When she had done speaking, she suddenly became invisible. It was then dark, so Izanagi no Mikoto lit a single light, and looked at her. Izanami no Mikoto was then swollen and festering, and eight kinds of Thunder-Gods rested on her. Izanagi no Mikoto was shocked, and ran away. Then the thunders all arose and pursued him.

[1] The Thunder-God.
[2] Great-mountain-of-person.
[3] High male-God.
[4] The numbers 500, 80, 8, 180, 10,000 are often put vaguely for a large number.
[5] Rock-split.
[6] Root-split.
[7] Rock-elder-male.
[8] Great-mountain-of-person.
[9] Middle.
[10] Spur, *vide* Ch. K., p. 33.
[11] True-conquer or excel.
[12] Foundation.

Now by the roadside there grew a large peach tree,[1] at the foot of which Izanagi no Mikoto concealed himself. He accordingly took its fruit and flung it to the thunders, upon which the thunders all ran away. This was the origin of the practice of keeping off evil spirits by means of peaches. Then Izanagi flung down his staff, saying: 'The thunders may not come beyond this.' It (the staff) was called Funado no Kami, and was originally called Kunado no Ohoji.[2]

Of the so-called Eight Thunders, that which was on her head was called the Great Thunder; that which was on her breast was called the Fire-Thunder; that which was on her belly was called the Earth-Thunder; that which was on her back was called the Young-Thunder; that which was on her posteriors was called the Black-Thunder; that which was on her hand was called the Mountain-Thunder; that which was on her foot was called the Moor-Thunder; and that which was on her genitals was called the Cleaving-Thunder."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto followed after Izanami no Mikoto, and, arriving at the place where she was, spoke to her and said: 'I have come because I sorrowed for thee.' She answered and said, 'We are relations.[3] Do not thou look upon me.' Izanagi no Mikoto would not obey, but continued to look on her. Wherefore Izanami no Mikoto was ashamed and angry, and said, 'Thou hast seen my nakedness. Now I will in turn see thine.' Then Izanagi no Mikoto was ashamed, and prepared to depart. He did not, however, merely go away in silence, but said solemnly, 'Our relationship is severed.'[4] Again he said, 'I will not submit to be beaten

[1] Chinese legend also ascribes magical properties to the peach. Si Wang Mu, a fabulous being of the female sex, possessed a peach tree whose fruit conferred the gift of immortality. It has also the virtue of driving off the demons of disease. Staves and bows of peach-tree wood were used in the ceremony of oni-yarahi (sending away demons), performed on the last day of the year.

[2] Come-not-place-great-elder (or ancestor).

[3] Relations. The interlinear kana has *ugara*, i.e. the same uji or house.

[4] From the "Kiujiki" it would appear that this was the formula of divorce.

by a relation.'[1] And the God of the Spittle[2] which he thereupon spat out was called Haya-tama no wo.[3] Next the God of his purification was called Yomo-tsu-koto-saka no wo;[4] two gods in all. And when he came to contend with his younger sister at the Even Pass of Yomi, Izanagi no Mikoto said, 'It was weak of me at first to sorrow and mourn on account of a relation.'

Then said the Road-wardens of Yomi, 'We have a message for thee, as follows: 'I and thou have produced countries. Why should we seek to produce more? I shall stay in this land, and will not depart along with thee.' At this time Kukuri[5]-hime no Kami said something which Izanagi no Mikoto heard and approved, and she then vanished away.

But, having visited in person the Land of Yomi, he had I. 26.
brought on himself ill-luck. In order, therefore, to wash away the defilement, he visited the Aha gate[6] and the Haya-sufu-na[7] gate. But the tide in these two gates was exceeding strong. So he returned and took his way towards Wodo[8] in Tachibana. There he did his ablutions. At this time, entering the water, he blew out and produced Iha-tsu-tsu[9] no Mikoto; coming out of the water, he blew forth and produced Oho-nawo-bi[10] no Kami. Entering a second time, he blew out and produced Soko-tsutsu[11] no Mikoto; coming out he blew forth and produced Oho-aya-tsu-bi[12] no Kami. Entering again, he blew forth

[1] Referring to the threat of slaying 1000 people in one day, and the counter-threat of making 1500 children to be born in one day.

[2] A Japanese authority says that at the present time spitting is essential in the purification ceremony. Another says, "This is the reason why at the present day people spit when they see anything impure." Cf. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 103; Vol. II., p. 441.

[3] Quick-jewel-male. [4] Yomi-of-thing-divide-male.

[5] Hirata derives this from *kiki*, hear, and *iri*, enter, the meaning being that of mediation.

[6] Now known as the Naruto passage, a strait famous for its rapid tides.

[7] Quick suck-name. In the Bungo Channel.

[8] Little-gate. [9] Rock-of-elder.

[10] Great-remedy-person. [11] Bottom-elder.

[12] Great-pattern-of-person

and produced Aka-tsutsu[1] no Mikoto, and coming out he blew out and produced the various deities of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea-plain."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto charged his three children, saying, 'Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule over the plain of High Heaven; do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, be associated with her in the charge of Heavenly matters; do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, govern the plain of Ocean.'

Now when Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was already in Heaven, she said:—'I hear that in the Central country of reed-plains there is the Deity Uke-mochi no Kami.[2] Do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, go and wait upon her.' Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, on receiving this command, descended and went to the place where Uke-mochi no Kami was. Thereupon Uke-mochi no Kami turned her head towards the land, and forthwith from her mouth there came boiled rice: she faced the sea, and again there came from her
I. 27. mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. She faced the mountains and again there came from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. These things were all prepared and set out on one hundred tables for his entertainment. Then Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto became flushed with anger, and said:—'Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth.' So he drew his sword and slew her, and then returned and made his report, relating all the circumstances. Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was exceedingly angry, and said:—'Thou art a wicked Deity. I must not see thee face to face.' So they were separated by one day and one night, and dwelt apart.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami sent a second time Ame-kuma-bito[3] to go and see her. At this time Uke-mochi no Kami was truly dead already. But on the crown of her head there had been produced the ox and the horse;

[1] Red-elder. [2] The Goddess of food.

[3] Written "Heaven-bear-man." The real meaning is supposed to be Heaven-cloud (kumo)-man, the clouds being regarded as messengers of the Gods.

on the top of her forehead there had been produced millet; over her eyebrows there had been produced the silkworm; within her eyes there had been produced panic; in her belly there had been produced rice; in her genitals there had been produced wheat, large beans[1] and small beans.[2]

Ame-kuma-bito carried all these things and delivered them to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, who was rejoiced, and said:—'These are the things which the race of visible[3] men will eat and live.' So she made the millet, the panic, the I. 28.
wheat, and the beans the seed for the dry fields, and the rice she made the seed for the water-fields. Therefore she appointed a Mura-gimi[4] of Heaven, and forthwith sowed for the first time the rice seed in the narrow fields and in the long fields of Heaven. That autumn, drooping ears bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on.

Moreover she took the silkworms in her mouth, and succeeded in reeling thread from them. From this began the art of silkworm rearing."[5]

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made petition, saying:—"I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever." Permission was granted him, and he therefore ascended to Heaven.

After this, Izanagi no Mikoto, his divine task having been

[1] Soja hispida. Hepburn.

[2] Phaseolus radiatus. Hepburn. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku quoted above. There are Indian and Iranian myths of a similar character. See "T.R.A.S.," Jan., 1895, p. 202. "Creation from the fragments of a fabulous anthropomorphic being is common to Chaldæans, Iroquois, Egyptians, Greeks, Tinnehs, Mangaians, and Aryan Indians." Lang, "Myth, Religion, Ritual," I. 246.

[3] As opposed to the unseen gods. [4] Village-chief.

[5] The "Kojiki" makes Susa no wo to slay Uke-mochi no Mikoto, but the "Kiujiki" agrees with the version just given, which is more likely to be the original form of the story, as it is an explanation of the reason why the sun and moon are not seen together, and has parallels in myths of other countries. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami (now called Ten-shō-dai-jin) and Ukemochi no Kami are the two principal Deities worshipped at Ise. See Satow's "Handbook of Japan," pp. 175, 176.

accomplished, and his spirit-career about to suffer a change, built himself an abode of gloom in the island of Ahaji, where he dwelt for ever in silence and concealment.

Another account says:—"Izanagi no Mikoto, his task having been accomplished, and his power great, ascended to Heaven and made report of his mission. There he dwelt
I. 29. in the smaller palace of the Sun." (*By smaller palace is meant the palace of a prince.*)

Now at first when Sosa no wo no Mikoto went up to Heaven, by reason of the fierceness of his divine nature there was a commotion in the sea, and the hills and mountains groaned aloud. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, knowing the violence and wickedness of this Deity, was startled and changed countenance, when she heard the manner of his coming. She said (to herself):—"Is my younger brother coming with good intentions? I think it must be his purpose to rob me of my kingdom. By the charge which our parents gave to their children, each of us has his own allotted limits. Why, therefore, does he reject the kingdom to which he should proceed, and make bold to come spying here?" So she bound up her hair into knots[1] and tied up her skirts into the form of trowsers. Then she took an
I. 30. august string of five hundred Yasaka[2] jewels, which she entwined around her hair and wrists. Moreover, on her back she slung a thousand-arrow quiver and a five-hundred-arrow quiver. On her lower arm she drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad.[3] Brandishing her bow end upwards,[4] she firmly grasped her

[1] In male fashion.

[2] This word has given much difficulty to the commentators. It is written with characters which mean "eight feet," and this is accepted by some as the true derivation. Hirata makes it ya, very, sa, a honorific, and aka, bright. Perhaps the best interpretation is simply that which makes it the name of the place where the jewels, or rather beads, were made. Ya-saka would then mean eight-slopes. A place of this name is mentioned more than once in the "Nihongi." See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 46, and Satow's "Rituals."

[3] In Japanese, tomo. This was partly for the protection of the arm against the recoil of the bow-string, and partly in order to produce a terrifying sound when struck by it. Its shape (like a comma) is familiar to us from the well-known tomoye, the symbol so constantly met with in Japanese art, in which two or three tomo are joined together. There it represents the in and yô, or the in, yō and taiki.

[4] In the position for shooting.

sword-hilt, and stamping on the hard earth of the courtyard, sank her thighs into it as if it had been foam-snow,[1] and kicked it in all directions. Having thus put forth her dread manly valour, she uttered a mighty cry of defiance, and questioned him in a straightforward manner. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—"From the beginning my heart has no been black. But as in obedience to the stern behest of our parents, I am about to proceed for ever to the Nether Land, how could I bear to depart without having seen face to face thee my elder sister? It is for this reason that I have traversed on foot the clouds and mists and have come hither I. 31.
from afar. I am surprised that my elder sister should, on the contrary, put on so stern a countenance."

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?"[2] He answered and said:—"Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure."

Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked for Sosa no wo no Mikoto's ten-span sword, which she broke into three pieces, and rinsed in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing them with a crunching noise, she blew them away, and from the true-mist of her breath Gods were born. The first was named Ta-gori-bime, the next Tagi-tsu-bime, and the next Ichiki-shima-bime,[3] three daughters in all.

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto begged from Ama-terasu no Oho-kami the august string of 500 Yasaka jewels which was entwined in her hair and round her wrists, and rinsed it in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing it with a crunching noise, he blew it away, and from the true-mist of his breath there were Gods produced. The first was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-

[1] i.e. snow of as little consistence as foam.

[2] i. e. The purity of thine intentions.

[3] The first two of these three names are of doubtful meaning. The third is the name of a sacred island in the Inland Sea, near Hiroshima, better known as Miya-jima. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48.

kachi-hayabi-ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto,[1] and the next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto.[2] This is the ancestor of the Idzumo
I. 32. no Omi, and of the Hashi no Muraji.[3] The next was Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto.[4] He was the ancestor of the Ohoshi-kafuchi no Atahe, and of the Yamashiro no Atahe.[5] The next was Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto,[6] and the next Kumano no kusu-bi[7] no Mikoto—in all five males.[8]

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami said:—"Their seed was in the beginning the august necklace of 500 Yasaka jewels which belonged to me. Therefore these five male Deities are all my children." So she took these children and brought them up. Moreover she said:—"The ten-span sword belonged to thee, Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Therefore these three female Deities are all thy children." So she delivered them to Sosa no wo no
I. 33. Mikoto. These are the deities which are worshipped by the Munagata no Kimi of Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess, aware from the beginning of the fierce and relentless purpose of Sosa no wo no Mikoto, said (to herself) when he ascended: 'The coming of my younger brother is not for a good object. He surely means to rob me of my Plain of Heaven.' So she made manly warlike preparation, girding upon her a ten-span sword, a nine-span sword, and an eight-span sword. Moreover, on her back she slung a quiver, and on her fore-arm drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad. In

[1] Truly-I-conquer-conquer-swiftness-heaven-of-great-great-august-person. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48. I take mimi to be composed of mi the honorific, and mi, body, person, which is also the termination of abstract nouns, as fukami, depth, and in this meaning frequently becomes *bi*, as in several names of Deities.

[2] Heaven-great-sun?

[3] Idzumo no Omi. Omi is a title of rank, probably derived from o, for oho, great, and mi, person. The Chinese character with which it is written means minister or vassal. Hashi no Muraji. Muraji is explained above, p. 27. Hashi, which is also read Hanishi, Hase, or Haji, means clay-worker. For the origin of this title see below, reign of Suinin, 32nd year.

[4] Heaven prince—honorific particle.

[5] Atahe is a title of nobility, like Omi, Muraji, etc., but lower.

[6] Live-of-prince—honorific particle. [7] Name of place-of-wondrous-ness.

[8] These five, with the three female children mentioned above, are now worshipped under the name of Hachi-ō-ji, or the Eight Princes.

her hand she took a bow and arrow, and going forth to meet him in person, stood on her defence. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto declared to her, saying:—'From the beginning I have had no evil intentions. All that I wished was to see thee, my elder sister, face to face. It is only for a brief space that I have come.' Thereupon the Sun-Goddess, standing opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, swore an oath, saying:—'If thy heart is pure, and thou hast no purpose of relentless robbery, the children born to thee will surely be males.' When she had finished speaking, she ate first the ten-span sword which she had girded on, and produced a child which was called Oki-tsu-shima-bime.[1] Moreover she ate the nine-span sword, and produced a child which was called Tagi-tsu-hime. Moreover she ate the eight-span sword, and produced a child which was called Tagori-hime—in all three female Deities. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto took the august five-hundred I 34.
string of jewels which hung upon his neck, and having rinsed them in the Nuna[2] well of Heaven, another name for which is the true-well of Isa, and ate them. So he produced a child, which was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-kachi-haya-bi-ame no oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. Next he produced Ama-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, and next Kumano no oshi homi no Mikoto—in all five male Deities. Therefore as Sosa no wo no Mikoto had thus acquired proof of his victory, the Sun-Goddess learnt exactly that his intentions were wholly free from guilt. The three female Deities which the Sun-Goddess had produced were accordingly sent down to the Land of Tsukushi. She therefore instructed them, saying:—'Do ye, three Deities, go down and dwell in the centre of the province, where you will assist the descendants of Heaven,[3] and receive worship from them.'"

In one writing it is said:—"When Sosa no wo no Mikoto was about to ascend to Heaven, there was a Deity whose name was Ha-akaru-tama.[4] This Deity came to

[1] Lady of the island of the offing.
[2] Nuna-wi,—perhaps for mana-wi, i.e. true well.
[3] i.e. the Emperors.
[4] Feather-bright-gem.

meet him and presented to him beautiful maga-tama[1] of Yasaka jewels. So Sosa no wo no Mikoto took these gems and went up to Heaven. At this time Ama-terasu

Magatama.

no Oho-kami, suspecting that the intentions of her younger brother were evil, prepared war and questioned him. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—'Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gem. I dare not have any other purpose.' Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked
I. 35. him again, saying:—'Wherewithal wilt thou prove to me whether thy words are true or false?' He answered and said:—'Let thee and me bind ourselves by an oath. If while we are bound by this oath, the children produced are females, my heart is to be accounted black, but if they are males, it is to be thought red.' So they dug three true-wells of Heaven and stood opposite to one another. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said:—'I am now about to give thee the sword which is in my girdle; do thou give me the curved jewels of Yasaka gem which thou hast.' Having thus covenanted they made a mutual exchange. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took the curved jewels of Yasaka gem, and having made them float on the true-well of Heaven, bit off the heads of the jewels and blew them away. The Deity which was produced from amidst her breath was called Ichiki-shima-hime no Mikoto. This is the Goddess who dwells in Oki-tsu miya. Again, a Deity was produced

[1] Maga-tama, curved jewels, are the comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones frequently seen in museums in Japan.

from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the middle parts of the jewels. This Deity was called Ta-gori-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in Naka-tsu miya. Again a Deity was produced from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the tails of the jewels. This Deity was called Tagi-tsu-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in He-tsu miya.[1] In all there were three female Deities.

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto, taking the sword which he held, and having made it to float on the surface of the True-Well of Heaven, bit off the end of the sword and blew it away. The Deities which were produced from amidst his breath were called Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, next Masa-ya-a katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi-ama-no oshi-ho-ne-no Mikoto, next Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Kumano no kusu-hi no Mikoto. In all there were five male Deities. Such is the story."

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess stood opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, separated from him by the Tranquil River of Heaven,[2] and established a covenant with him, saying, 'If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the I. 36.
children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I will consider them my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven.' Hereupon the Sun-Goddess first ate her ten-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Oki-tsu-shima hime no Mikoto, also called Ichiki-shima hime no Mikoto. Next she ate her nine-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Tagi-tsu hime no Mikoto. Again she ate her eight-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Ta-giri hime no Mikoto. Upon this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto took in his mouth the string of 500 jewels which was entwined in the left knot of his hair, and placed it on the palm of his left hand, whereupon it became converted into a male child. He then said:—'Truly

[1] Oki-tsu miya means the "shrine of the offing;" Naka-tsu miya, the "middle shrine;" He-tsu miya, the "shrine of the shore." Ichiki-shima is the same as Itsuku shima, the sacred island near Hiroshima in the Inland Sea.

[2] The Milky Way.

I have won.' And the child was therefore called Katsu no haya-hi ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels of the right knot of his hair, and placed them on the palm of his right hand, when they became changed and produced the God Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels which hung round his neck and laid them on his left fore-arm, when they became changed and produced the God Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Moreover, from his right fore-arm there was produced the God Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Again from his left foot was produced the God Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto. Again from his right leg was produced Kumano no oshi-homi-no Mikoto, also called Kumano no oshi-sumi no Mikoto. The children produced by Sosa no wo no Mikoto were all male children. Therefore the Sun-Goddess knew exactly that Sosa no wo no Mikoto's intentions had been from the first honest. So these six male children were taken and made the children of the Sun-Goddess, and were caused to govern the Plain of Heaven. The three female Deities born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land.[1] They are now in the middle of the Northern Sea province, and are styled the Michi-nushi no
I. 37. Muchi.[2] These are the Deities which are worshipped by the Kimi of Minuma in Tsukushi."

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Ama-terasu no Oho-kami had made august rice-fields of Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts,[3] and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields. Again, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement

[1] Ashihara no Naka tsu kuni, i.e. Japan. The phrase Central Land is suspiciously like Chinese.

[2] Province-master—honoured ones or possessors.

[3] Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars. It is doubtful whether colt should be singular or plural.

in the New[1] Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred[2] weaving hall, engaged in weaving the garments of the Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant at this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.[3] I. 38.

[1] For the sake of greater purity in celebrating the festival.

[2] The Chinese character here translated sacred is 齋, the primary meaning of which is abstinence, fasting. In the "Nihongi," however, it represents the Japanese word ihahi (pronounced iwai). According to Hirata this contains the same root as imi, avoidance, especially religious avoidance of impurity, and had originally the same meaning. The yu of yu-niha, or sacred plot of ground where rice for the festival of first-fruits was grown, is the same root. But as a strict observance of conditions of ceremonial purity was a chief feature of the Shinto services, this word came to be put for religious rites generally, and the Chinese character is even used, if we may believe the interlinear gloss which renders it by ogami, for Buddhist celebrations. The usual modern meaning of ihahi is blessing, well-wishing, congratulation, where we have got a long way from the original sense of tabu, avoidance.

Ritual purity is of the very essence of Shinto. It applies to food, clothing, and language. There was in later times a special set of terms for certain Buddhist objects and ideas. It was probably to avoid contamination to the ordinary dwelling that special huts were erected for the consummation of marriage, and for childbirth. Death contaminated a house, and therefore a new one had to be erected on the decease of the owner, a practice which was long continued in the case of Imperial Palaces.

[3] Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is throughout the greater part of this narrative an anthropomorphic Deity, with little that is specially characteristic of her solar functions. Here, however, it is plainly the sun itself which withholds its light and leaves the world to darkness. This inconsistency, which has greatly exercised the native theologians (see Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," p. 50, reprint), is not peculiar to Japanese myth. Muir, in the introduction to Vol. V. of his "Sanskrit Texts," says :—"The same visible object was at different times regarded diversely as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being and a cosmical power. Thus in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth are severally considered, sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings." But this difficulty is inherent in all mythologies.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly Omohi-kane[1] no Kami, with profound device and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds[2] of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover he made Ta-jikara-wo[3] no Kami to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ame no Koyane[4] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji,[5] and Futo-dama no Mikoto,[6] ancestor of the Imibe[7]

[1] Thought-combining or thought-including.

[2] The cock is meant. [3] Hand-strength-male.

[4] Ko-yane is written with two characters which mean child and roof. Hirata ("Koshiden," Vol. XIII., p. 1) identifies this Deity with Omohi-kane no Mikoto, and endeavours to show that ko is for kokoro, heart. Ya, he thinks, is many, and ne a honorific. See also Ch. K., p. 56. I agree with Ch. that the meaning is obscure.

[5] Hirata and Motowori have written many pages on the derivation of Nakatomi. The former takes it to be for Naka-tori-mochi, which would give the meaning mediator, these officials being regarded as go-betweens for the Kimi, or sovereign, in his intercourse with the Kami. Perhaps it is safest to follow the Chinese characters which mean "middle-minister," in Japanese Naka-tsu-omi, tsu being a genitive particle. The Nakatomi would then be the ministers of middle rank, as opposed to Prime Ministers on the one hand, and underlings on the other. In historical times their duties were of a priestly character. Worship and government were closely associated in ancient times in more countries than Japan. Matsurigoto, government, is derived from matsuri, worship. It was they who recited the Harahi or purification rituals.

[6] Futo-dama, big-jewel.

[7] Imi-be or imbe is derived from imi, root of imu, to avoid, to shun, to practise religious abstinence, and *be*, a hereditary corporation. The original function of the Imibe will be understood from the following extract from a Chinese book written not long after the Christian Epoch:—"They (i.e. the Japanese) appoint a man whom they call an 'abstainer.' He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women. When they are fortunate they make him presents, but if they fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the 'abstainer's' failure to keep his vows, and together they put him to death." Compare with this the following paragraph from a recent American newspaper.

"AN UNLUCKY MEDICINE MAN.

Big Bob was a prominent member of the tribe, and claimed to be a "tenanimous" man, which, translated from the Chinook, means an Indian doctor. By Indian superstition a "tenanimous" man is held responsible if

no Obito, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki[1] tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu.[2] On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand[3] mirror. I. 39.

any general calamity befalls the tribe. Things had not been going well with the Swinomish Indians for some time. There was much sickness among them, and Big Bob was regarded as responsible for it. So at a meeting of the tribe four Indians were appointed to execute him. The day upon which the murder took place Big Bob was waylaid by four assassins, who seized him, held him, and cut his throat from ear to ear. The red men were arrested and bound over for murder by the Justice of the Peace of Laconner."

In the "Nihongi" times the Imibe occupied a subordinate position in performing the ceremonies of Shinto, and at a still later period this term became a mere surname. *Vide* Satow, "Ancient Rituals," in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 126.

The Be, or hereditary corporations, were a peculiar institution of Old Japan. This term has been rather inadequately rendered by clan, tribe, or guild. But they differed from clans, as it was not even supposed that there was any tie of blood-relationship between the various classes of members. And if we call them guilds we lose sight of their hereditary character, and of the fact that they were essentially branches of the Government. Perhaps if we imagine the staff of one of our dockyards in which the director and officials should be drawn from the governing class, the artisans being serfs, and the whole having a more or less hereditary character, we shall have a tolerable idea of a Be. The origin of some, as of the Imibe, is lost in antiquity, but many were instituted in historical times, and for all manner of objects. There were Be of weavers (Oribe), of figured-stuff weavers (Ayabe), of executioners (Osakabe), of fishers (Amabe), of farmers (Tanabe), of clay-workers (Hasebe or Hashibe), and many more. The sole function of some was to perpetuate the name of a childless Emperor or Empress. The local habitation of these corporations was also called Be, just as our word admiralty may mean either a body of officials or the building where they discharge their duties. This accounts for the frequency with which this termination occurs in names of places. A familiar example is Kobe, the open port in the Inland Sea. Kobe is for Kami-be, and meant originally the group of peasants allotted to the service of a Deity (of Ikuta?), and hence the village where they lived. A good number of Japanese surnames contain the same termination.

O-bito is a title of nobility, perhaps for Oho-bito, great man. It is represented by a Chinese character which means head or chief.

[1] The Sakaki or Cleyera Japonica, is the sacred tree of the Shinto religion. It is used in Shinto religious ceremonies at the present day.

[2] Mt. Kagu is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It is here supposed to have a counterpart in Heaven.

[3] In Japanese yata-kagami, which is literally "eight-hand mirror." The

One writing says Ma-futsu no Kagami.

On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings.[1] Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover Ama no Uzume[2] no Mikoto, ancestress of the
I. 40. Sarume[3] no Kimi, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance.[4] She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took club-moss and made of it braces,[5] she kindled fires,[6] she placed a tub bottom upwards,[7] and gave forth a divinely-inspired utterance.[8]

word ta (for te, hand) may here be a measure of length, an explanation which is favoured by the Chinese character used for it in the "Nihongi." The hand is a hand's length, not a hand's breadth, as with us. The yata-kagami would therefore be "a mirror of large size."

There are ancient mirrors in Japan with a number of suzu or bells projecting round them, or of an octagonal shape, and I am disposed to think that the epithet yata has reference to this peculiarity, the corners or projections being taken for handles. Compare the analogous word Yatagarasu (Index).

It is said to be this mirror which is worshipped at Ise as an emblem of the Sun-Goddess. See Satow's "Handbook," second edit., p. 176.

[1] The blue were of hempen cloth, and the white of the paper-mulberry cloth. By blue probably the colour of undyed hempen stuff is meant. The Japanese word awo, blue, is used very loosely. Some take soft in the metaphorical sense of "propitiatory." These offerings are the originals of the Gohei, or strips of paper wreathed round a wand, which are now seen set up in every Shinto shrine.

[2] Terrible female of Heaven. [3] Monkey-female.

[4] This is said to be the origin of the Kagura or pantomimic dance now performed at Shinto festivals.

[5] The braces or shoulder straps were to support a tray for carrying things, and so assist the arms. The Japanese word is tasuki, which means assistance.

[6] A prototype of the nihabi (courtyard fires) of later Shinto worship.

[7] The "Nihongi" strangely omits to say that, as we learn from the "Kojiki," she danced on this and made it give out a sound.

[8] In Hirata's version of the ancient mythical narrative, he introduces here an incantation said in the "Kiujiki" to have been taught by the Sun-Goddess to Ninigi no Mikoto, but stated in the "Ko-go-jiui" to have come down originally from Uzume no Mikoto. It consists of the syllables Hito-futa-mi-yo-itsu-mu-nana-ya-kokono-tari, which Hirata has tried hard to extract some meaning out of. Hito, he says, is man, futa, the lid, i.e. the door of the rock-cave, miyo is the imperative of miru, to see, this phrase meaning "Look! ye Gods at the door!" and so on. That these words are now

Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami heard this, and said :—" Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-cave, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of fertile reed-plains. How then can Ama no Uzume no Mikoto be so jolly?" So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the Rock-door and peeped out. Then Ta-jikara-wo no Kami forthwith took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami by the hand, and led her out. Upon this the Gods Nakatomi no Kami and Imibe no Kami[1] at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope[2] (*also called a left-hand rope*) and begged her not to return again (into the cave). I. 41.

After this all the Gods put the blame on Sosa no wo no Mikoto, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables,[3] and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair plucked out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt.

Another version is :—They made him expiate it by plucking out the nails of his hands and feet.

When this was done, they at last banished him downwards.

In one writing it is said :—" After this Waka-hiru-me[4] no Mikoto was in the sacred weaving-hall, weaving the garments of the Deities. Sosa no wo no Mikoto saw this, and forthwith flaying a piebald colt with a backward flaying, flung it into the interior of the hall. Then Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto was startled, and fell down from the loom, wounding herself with the shuttle which she held in her hand, and divinely departed.[5] Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said :—'Thou hast still evil intentions.[6] I do not wish to see thee face to face.' So she entered the Rock-cave of Heaven and

simply the numerals from one to ten cannot be denied, but this, he argues, is a later application. The "Kojiki" gives other details of the conduct of this Goddess which the "Nihongi" draws a veil over.

[1] These Gods' names were properly Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama no Mikoto (see above), but here the names of their human descendants are substituted.

[2] Shiri-kume-naha, now called shime-naha, a rope made of straw of rice which has been pulled up by the roots. See Ch. K., p. 59.

[3] By tables are meant tables of offerings, as in the illustrations.

[4] Young-Sun-female, a younger sister of the Sun-Goddess.

[5] i.e. died.

[6] Lit. a black heart.

shut the Rock-door. Hereupon all under Heaven was in continual darkness, and there was no difference of day and night. Therefore the eighty myriads of Gods met in the
I. 42. High-market-place of Heaven and made inquiry. Now

there was Omohi-kane no Kami, son of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, who had a talent for devising plans. He accordingly considered the matter, and spoke, saying, 'Let there be made an image of this Goddess, and let prayer

be addressed to it.' They therefore proceeded to appoint Ishi-kori-dome[1] as artisan, who, taking copper of the Mt. Kagu of Heaven, made therefrom a Sun-spear. Moreover, he stripped off in one piece the hide of a true stag, and made of it Heavenly bellows. The Goddess which he fashioned by this means is the Goddess Hi no mahe no Kami, who dwells in the province of Kiï."

In one writing it is said:—"The august Sun Goddess took an enclosed rice-field and made it her Imperial rice-field. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto, in spring, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions, and in autumn, when the grain was formed, he forthwith stretched round them division ropes.[2] Again when the Sun-Goddess was in her Weaving-Hall, he flayed alive a piebald colt and flung it into the Hall. In all these various matters his conduct was rude in the highest degree. Nevertheless, the Sun-Goddess, out of her friendship for him, was not indignant or resentful, but took everything calmly and with forbearance. I. 43.

When the time came for the Sun-Goddess to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, Sosa no wo no Mikoto secretly voided excrement under her august seat in the New Palace.[3] The Sun-Goddess, not knowing this, went straight there and took her seat. Accordingly the Sun-Goddess drew herself up, and was sickened. She therefore was enraged, and straightway took up her abode in the Rock-cave of Heaven, and fastened its Rock-door.

Then all the Gods were grieved at this, and forthwith caused Ama no nuka-do no Kami, the ancestor of the Be of mirror-makers, to make a mirror, Futo-dama, the ancestor of the Imibe, to make offerings,[4] and Toyo-tama,[5] the ancestor of the Be of jewel-makers, to make jewels. They also caused Yama-tsuchi[6] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched true sakaki tree, and Nu-dzuchi[7] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched suzuki grass. When all these various

[1] The meaning is doubtful, as also whether this Deity is a God or a Goddess.

[2] i.e. ropes drawn along the divisions of the rice-fields in token of ownership.

[3] See above, p. 41.

[4] Of cloth. [5] Rich-jewel. [6] Mountain-god. [7] Moor-god.

objects were collected, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the
I. 44. ancestor of the Nakatomi, recited a liturgy in honour of the Deity. Then the Sun-Goddess opened the Rock-door and came out. At this time, when the mirror was put into the Rock-cave, it struck against the door and received a slight flaw, which remains until this day. This is the great Deity worshipped at Ise. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto was convicted, and fined in the articles required for the ceremony of purification. Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck of the tips of his fingers, and the things abhorrent of calamity of the tips of his toes.[1] Again, of his spittle he made white soft offerings, and of his nose-mucus he made blue soft offerings, with which the purification service was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine banishment."

I. 45. In one writing it is said:—"After this the Sun-Goddess had three rice-fields, which were called the Easy[2] Rice-field of Heaven, the Level Rice-field of Heaven, and the Village-join[3] Rice-field of Heaven. All these were good rice-fields, and never suffered even after continuous rain or drought. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto had also three rice-fields, which were called the Pile-field of Heaven,[4] the River-border[5] Field of Heaven, and the Mouth-Sharp[6] Field of Heaven. All these were barren places. In the rains, the soil was swept away, and in droughts it was parched up. Therefore, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was jealous and destroyed his elder sister's rice-fields. In spring, he knocked away the pipes and troughs, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions. He also sowed seed over again. In autumn, he set up combs,[7] and

[1] No very satisfactory explanation is given by the commentators of this sentence. Hirata understands the things abhorrent of luck, etc., to be things required for the purification service.

[2] Easy to cultivate, says the "Shukai" editor.

[3] Mura-ahase, a term of doubtful meaning. Motowori suggests that for ahase we should read yori. The meaning then would be rice-fields adjoining the village. Accommodation land, as we should say.

[4] Obstructed with stumps of wood.

[5] Exposed to inundation. [6] Exposed to drought?

[7] The "Shiki" explains that combs were stuck up in the rice-fields with

made horses lie down in the rice-fields. Notwithstanding all these wicked doings, which went on incessantly, the Sun-Goddess was not indignant, but treated him always with calmness and forbearance, etc., etc.

When the Sun-Goddess came to shut herself up in the Rock-cave of Heaven, all the Gods sent the child of Kogoto Musubi, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, and made him recite a liturgy. Hereupon Ama no Koyane no Mikoto rooted up a true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu and hung upon its upper branches a mirror of eight hands, made by the ancestor of the mirror-makers, Ono-kori-dome, a child of Ama no Nukado; on the middle branches he hung curved[1] jewels of Yasaka gem made by the ancestor of the jewel-makers, Ama no Akaru-dama, a child of Izanagi no Mikoto. On the lower branches he hung tree-fibre[2] made by Ama-no Hi-washi, the ancestor of the Imbe of the province of Aha. Futo-dama no Mikoto, ancestor of the Imbe no Obito, was thereupon made to take these things in his hand, and, with lavish and earnest words of praise, to recite a liturgy. I. 46.

When the Sun-Goddess heard this, she said:—'Though of late many prayers have been addressed to me, of none has the language been so beautiful as this.' So she opened a little the Rock-door and peeped out. Thereupon the God Ama no Tajikara-wo no Kami, who was waiting beside the Rock-door, forthwith pulled it open, and the radiance of the Sun-Goddess filled the universe. Therefore all the Gods rejoiced greatly, and imposed on Sosa no wo no Mikoto a fine of a thousand tables of (articles of) purification.[3] Of the nails of his hands they made things abhorrent I. 47

words of incantation, so that if anyone wrongly claimed the fields he might be destroyed. "The present custom of setting up combs in rice-fields whose ownership is disputed arose perhaps from this."

[1] The curved jewels are the well-known maga-tama, numbers of which have been preserved. They are made of chalcedony, jasper, nephrite, chrysophrase, serpentine, steatite, crystal, etc. Some of these materials are not found in Japan.

[2] Made of the bark of the paper-mulberry.

[3] The word *harahi* or *harahe* not only means purification, but an in-

of luck, and of the nails of his feet they made things abhorrent of calamity. Then they caused Ama no Koyane no Mikoto to take charge of his Great Purification Liturgy, and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the world are careful in the disposal of their own nails.[1]

After this, all the Gods upbraided Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Thy conduct has been in the highest degree improper. Thou must, therefore, not dwell in Heaven. Nor must thou dwell in the Central Reed-Plain Land. Thou must go speedily to the Bottom Nether Land.'[2] So together they drove him away downwards. Now this was at the time of continuous rains. Sosa no wo no Mikoto bound together green grass, and made of it a broad hat and rain-coat, and in this garb asked a lodging of the assembled Gods. They said:—'Thy behaviour has been filthy and wicked, and therefore thou hast been banished. How canst thou ask of us a lodging?' In the end they unanimously repulsed him. Therefore, although the wind and rain were very violent, he was unable to find a resting-place, and went downwards, suffering bitterly. Ever since that time all the world has avoided entering the house of another wearing a broad hat and a grass rain-coat, or bearing a bundle of grass on the back. For a breach of
I. 48. these rules an expiatory fine is certainly imposed. This is an institution which has come down to us from remote antiquity.

After this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'All the Gods have banished me, and I am now about to depart for ever. Why should I not see my elder sister face to face; and why take it on me of my own accord to depart without more ado?' So he again ascended to Heaven, disturbing Heaven and disturbing Earth. Now Ame no Uzume, seeing this, reported it to the Sun-Goddess. The Sun-Goddess said:—'My younger brother has no good purpose in coming up.

demnity or "damages" paid by an offender. "Expiatory fine" would, perhaps, be a good rendering here. See Index—Purgation.

[1] Referring to a superstition, not confined to Japan, as to cutting the nails on particular days and burying the parings.

[2] Yomi, or Hades.

It is surely because he wishes to rob me of my kingdom. Though I am a woman, why should I shrink?' So she arrayed herself in martial garb, etc., etc.

Thereupon Sosa no wo no Mikoto swore to her, and said:—'If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must be sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in that case they must be made to rule the Heavens. The same oath will also hold good as to the children produced by my elder sister.' In this way the Sun-Goddess first of all chewed her ten-span sword, etc., etc.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto straightway unwound, coil after coil, the complete string of five hundred jewels entwined in the right knot of his hair. The jewels chinked as he rinsed them on the surface of the true well of Heaven. Then he chewed their ends, and laid them on his left palm, thus producing a child, who was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-haya-hi-ama-no-oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. After this he chewed the left jewels, and placing them on his right palm, produced a child, who was called Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, of the Musashi no Miyakko,[1] and of the Hashi no Muraji. There was next produced Ama tsu hikone no Mikoto, the ancestor of the I. 49.
Mubaraki[2] no Miyakko and of the Nukada Be no Muraji. Next was produced Iku-me tsu hikone no Mikoto, and next Kumano no Oho-sumi no Mikoto—in all six male Deities. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto spoke to the Sun-Goddess, and said:—'The reason why I came up a second time was that, having been condemned by the assembled Gods to banishment to the Nether Land, and being about to take my departure thither, I could never bear to become separated from my elder sister without having seen her face to face. Therefore it is truly with a pure heart, and not otherwise, that I came up again. Now that our interview is over, I must return hence for ever to the Nether

[1] Or Miya-tsu-ko, originally provincial governors, afterwards hereditary local nobles.

[2] In Hitachi.

Land, in obedience to the Divine behest of the assembled Deities. I pray that my elder sister may illuminate the Land of Heaven, and that it may spontaneously enjoy tranquillity. Moreover, I deliver to my elder sister the children which, with a pure heart, I have produced.' Having done so, he returned downwards."

Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto descended from Heaven and proceeded to the head-waters of the River Hi, in the province
I. 50. of Idzumo. At this time he heard a sound of weeping at the head-waters of the river, and he therefore went in search of the sound. He found there an old man and an old woman. Between them was set a young girl, whom they were caressing and lamenting over. Sosa no wo no Mikoto asked them, saying:—"Who are ye, and why do ye lament thus?" The answer was:—"I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Ashi-nadzuchi.[1] My wife's name is Te-nadzuchi.[2] This girl is our daughter, and her name is Kushi-nada-hime.[3] The reason of our weeping is that formerly we had eight children, daughters. But they have been devoured year after year by an eight[4]-forked serpent, and now the time approaches for this girl to be devoured. There is no means of escape for her, and
I 51. therefore do we grieve." Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"If that is so, wilt thou give me thy daughter?" He replied, and said:—"I will comply with thy behest and give her to thee." Therefore Sosa no wo no Mikoto on the spot changed Kushi-nada-hime into a many-toothed close-comb, which he stuck in the august knot of his hair. Then he made Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-nadzuchi to brew eight-fold sake, to make eight cupboards, in each of them to set a tub filled with sake,[5] and so to

[1] Foot-stroke-elder.

[2] Hand-stroke-elder. These names refer to the caressing of the young girl by her parents.

[3] Kushi-nada-hime. Wondrous Inada-princess.

[4] Eight—in Japanese yatsu. This word is here used as a numeral. But in many places in the old Japanese literature it must be taken in what I regard as its primary sense of "many," "several," as in the word yatagarasu—the many-handed crow—which had really only three claws. In Corean the word yörö, which means many, is, I think, the same root that we have in yöl, ten—words which are probably identical with the Japanese yatsu. The Japanese word yorodzu, myriad, belongs to the same group.

[5] Sake is an intoxicating liquor brewed from rice.

await its coming. When the time came, the serpent actually appeared. It had an eight-forked head and an eight-forked tail; its eyes were red, like the winter-cherry;[1] and on its back firs and cypresses were growing. As it crawled it extended over a space of eight hills and eight valleys. Now when it came and found the sake, each head drank up one tub, and it became drunken and fell asleep. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew the ten-span sword which he wore, and chopped the serpent into small pieces. When he came to the tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched, and he therefore split open the tail and examined it. In the inside there was a sword. I. 52.
This is the sword which is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.[2]

In one writing it is said:—"Its original name was Ama no Mura-kumo no tsurugi."[3]

[*It perhaps received this name from the clouds constantly gathering over the place where the serpent was. In the time of the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake its name was changed to Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.*]

Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"This is a divine sword. How can I presume to appropriate it to myself?" So he gave it up to the Gods of Heaven.[4]

After this he went in search of a place where he might celebrate his marriage, and at length came to Suga, in the province of Idzumo. Then he spoke, and said:—"My heart is refreshed." Therefore that place is now called Suga.[5] There he built a palace.

One version says:—"Now Take[6] Sosa no wo no Mikoto composed a verse of poetry, saying:—

Many clouds arise, I. 53.
On all sides a manifold fence,
To receive within it the spouses,

[1] Hirata thinks that the akakagachi, here translated, on the authority of the "Original Commentary," by "red winter-cherry," was really a kind of snake.

[2] The grass-mower. See Index—Kusa-nagi.

[3] The sword of the gathering clouds of Heaven.

[4] It is hardly necessary to point out the resemblance of this story to that of Perseus and Andromeda, and many others.

[5] Suga means pure, fresh. [6] Fierce.

They form a manifold fence—
Ah ! that manifold fence ! "[1]

Thereupon they had intercourse together,[2] and a child was born named Oho-na-muchi[3] no Kami.

He (Sosa no wo) accordingly spake, and said :—"The masters of my son's Palace[4] are Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-

[1] In the original—

Ya-kumo tatsu
Idzu-mo ya-he-gaki :
Tsuma-gome ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru—
Sono ya-he-gaki wo !

This poem is also given in the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 64), with the slight variant of tsuma-gomi for tsuma-gome in the third line, which makes it intransitive instead of transitive. Idzumo is written with two characters which mean "issuing clouds," as if it were idzuru kumo. The poem no doubt alludes to this meaning and also to the name of the province, but it seems probable that the primary signification of idzumo here is that given in the translation. The true derivation of Idzumo, as the name of the province, is probably idzu, sacred, and mo, quarter. Idzu-mo is for idzure-mo, as so-mo is for sore-mo. It has the same meaning, I think, in a poem given below ("Reign of Kenzō," xv. 11).

This verse of poetry is undoubtedly old, but the regularity of the metre which is a tanka (short poetry) of thirty-one syllables, and its allusive character, point to a somewhat later date than many of the other poems contained in the "Nihongi." The fact that it is here relegated to a note is some corroboration of this view.

The poems in this work are translated so that a line of the English version corresponds to a line of Japanese, but it has not always been possible to preserve the original order of the lines.

[2] The interlinear version has kumi-do ni mito no makuai shite. Kumi-do is no doubt the special nuptial hut above referred to. Mito is "august-place" according to Hirata, and is another word for the kumi-do. This phrase, which is taken from the "Kojiki," probably denotes legitimate nuptial, as opposed to casual intercourse. But the Chinese original has nothing of the sort.

It has been already observed that the erection of a special building for the consummation of the marriage had a ceremonial as well as a practical significance.

[3] Or Oho-na-muji, or Oho-na-mochi, Great-name-possessor. This Deity, one of the most prominent of the Japanese Pantheon, has numerous names (Hirata mentions seven). The derivation is not quite clear. See Ch. K., p. 67.

[4] The same word (miya) means also shrine.

nadzuchi. I therefore grant to these two Deities the designation of Inada no Miya-nushi[1] no Kami."

Having done so, Sosa no wo no Mikoto at length proceeded to the Nether Land.

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto, having descended from Heaven, came to the head-waters of the river Hi, in Idzumo. There he saw Inada-hime, the daughter of Susa no yatsu-mimi,[2] Master of the Shrine of Inada. He had connubial relations with her, and a child was born, styled Suga no yu-yama-nushi[3] Mitsu-na-saro-hiko-yama-shino."[4]

One version has Suga no Kake-na Saka-karu-hiko-ya-shima[5] no Mikoto.

Another has:—"Suga no yu-yama-nushi Mitsu-na-saro-hiko ya-shima-no.[6] The descendant of this God in the fifth generation was Oho-kuni-nushi no Kami."[7]

In one writing it is said:—"At this time Sosa no wo no Mikoto went down and came to the head-waters of the River Ye, in the province of Aki. There was there a God whose name was Ashi-nadzu-te-nadzu.[8] His wife's name was Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi. This Deity was just then pregnant, and the husband and wife sorrowed together. So they informed Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Though we have had born to us many children, whenever one is born, an eight-forked serpent comes and devours it, and we have not been able to save one. We are now about to have another, and we fear that it also will be devoured. Therefore do we grieve.' Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith instructed them, saying:—'You I. 54.

[1] Shrine / Palace } Master.

[2] Susa, name of place; yatsu, eight or many; mi, august; mi, body or abstract termination.

[3] Master of the hot-spring mountain of Suga.

[4] Three name-monkey (?) prince-mountain-bamboo-grass.

[5] Suga-of-attach-name-pass-light-prince-eight-island.

[6] Eight-island-moor.

[7] Great-country-master-god. Identified by Hirata with Oho-na-muji, also with one of the Shichi-fuku-jin, or Seven Gods of Happiness, named Dai-koku-sama.

[8] Foot-stroke-hand-stroke.

must take fruit of all kinds, and brew from it eight jars of sake, and I will kill the serpent for you.' The two Gods, in accordance with his instructions, prepared sake. When the time came for the child to be born, the serpent came indeed to the door, and was about to devour the child. But Sosa no wo no Mikoto addressed the serpent, and said:—'Thou art an Awful Deity. Can I dare to neglect to feast thee?' So he took the eight jars of sake, and poured one into each of its mouths. The serpent drank it up and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew his sword and slew it. When he came to sever its tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched. He split the tail open and examined it, when he found that inside it there was a sword. This sword is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi. It is now in the village of Ayuchi, in the province
I. 55. of Ohari. It is this Deity which is in the charge of the Hafuri[1] of Atsuta. The sword which slew the serpent is called Worochi no Ara-masa.[2] It is now at Isonokami.[3]

Afterwards the child who was born of Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi, namely Ina-gami Furu-kushi-nada-hime,[4] was removed to the upper waters of the river Hi, in the province of Idzumo, and brought up there. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made her his consort, and had by her a child, whose descendant in the sixth generation was Oho-na-muchi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto wished to favour[5] Kushi-nada-hime, and asked her of Ashinadzuchi and Tenadzuchi,[6] who replied, saying:—'We pray thee first to slay the serpent, and thereafter it will be good that thou shouldst favour her. This serpent has rock-firs growing on each of its heads; on each of its sides there is a mountain; it is a very fearful beast. How wilt thou set about to slay it?' Sosa no wo no Mikoto thereupon devised a plan. He brewed a poisonous

[1] Shintō priests. Atsuta is near Nagoya.
[2] Worochi means serpent; ara, rough; masa, true.
[3] In Bizen.
[4] True-hair-touch-wondrous-Inada-princess.
[5] I.e. to take to wife.
[6] Note that the mother as well as the father was consulted.

sake, which he gave it to drink. The serpent became drunk, and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith took his sword, called Worochi no Kara-sabi,[1] and severed I. 56.
its head and severed its belly. When he severed its tail, the edge of the sword was slightly notched, so he split the tail open and made examination. He found there another sword, which he called Kusa-nagi no Tsurugi. This sword was formerly with Sosa no wo no Mikoto. It is now in the province of Ohari. The sword with which Sosa no wo no Mikoto slew the serpent is now with the Kambe[2] of Kibi. The place where the serpent was slain is the mountain at the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was unmannerly. A fine was therefore imposed on him by all the Gods of a thousand tables, and he was driven into banishment. At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, accompanied by his son Iso-takeru[3] no Kami, descended to the Land of Silla,[4] where he dwelt at Soshi-mori.[5] There he lifted up his voice and said:—'I will not dwell in this land.' He at length took clay and made of it a boat, in which he embarked, and crossed over eastwards until he arrived at Mount Tori-kamu no Take, which is by the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo. Now there was in this place a serpent which devoured men. Sosa no wo no Mikoto accordingly took his sword, called Ama no Haye-kiri,[6] and slew this serpent. Now when he I. 57.

[1] Serpent's Kara-blade. Kara is that part of the present province of Kyöng-syang-do in Corea which lies S.W. of the Naktong River. But the word is used loosely for all Corea, and in modern times even for China. See Early Japanese History in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. XVI. Pt. I., p. 43. It was called Mimana by the Japanese.

[2] The Kambe or Kami-be were the group of peasants charged with the care of a Shintō shrine.

[3] Fifty-courageous.

[4] The eastern of the three kingdoms into which Corea was formerly divided.

[5] This is the traditional Kana pronunciation. It is not clear whether this is the name of a person or a place. Mori may be the Corean moi, mountain.

[6] Fly-cutter.

cut the serpent's tail, the edge of his sword was notched. Thereupon he split open the tail, and on examination, found within it a divine sword. Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'I must not take this for my private use.' So he sent Ama no Fuki-ne no Kami, his descendant in the fifth generation, to deliver it up to Heaven. This is the sword now called Kusa-nagi.

Before this, when Iso-takeru no Kami descended from Heaven, he took down with him the seeds of trees in great quantity. However, he did not plant them in the land of Han,[1] but brought them all back again, and finally sowed them every one throughout the Great Eight-island-country, beginning with Tsukushi. Thus green mountains were produced. For this reason Iso-takeru no Mikoto was styled Isaoshi no Kami.[2] He is the Great Deity who dwells in the Land of Kiï."[3]

In one writing it is stated:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'In the region[4] of the Land of Han there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches. So he plucked out his beard and scattered it. Thereupon Cryptomerias were
I. 58. produced. Moreover, he plucked out the hairs of his breast, which became Thuyas.[5] The hairs of his buttocks became Podocarpi.[6] The hairs of his eye-brows became Camphor-trees. Having done so, he determined their uses. These two trees, viz. the Cryptomeria and the Camphor-tree, were to be made into floating riches;[7] the Thuya was to be used as timber for building fair palaces;[8] the Podocarpus was to form receptacles in which the visible race of man was to be laid in secluded burial-places. For their food he well sowed and made to grow all the eighty kinds of fruit.

Now the children of Sosa no wo no Mikoto were named Iso-takeru no Mikoto, with Oho-ya[9] tsu hime, his younger

[1] Corea. [2] The meritorious God. [3] Kiï or Ki means tree.
[4] Shima usually means island, but in this and other places must be rendered "region."
[5] A kind of pine. [6] Maki, a kind of pine.
[7] Ships. [8] Or Shintō shrines. [9] Great-house.

sister, and next Tsuma[1]-tsu-hime no Mikoto. All these three Deities also dispersed well the seeds of trees, and forthwith crossed over to the Land of Kiï.

Thereafter Sosa no wo no Mikoto dwelt on the Peak of Kuma-nari,[2] and eventually entered the Nether Land." I. 59.

In one writing it is said:—"Oho-kuni-nushi[3] no Kami is also called Oho-mono-nushi no Kami,[4] or else Kuni-dzukuri Oho-na-mochi[5] no Mikoto, or again Ashi-hara no Shiko-wo,[6] or Ya-chi-hoko[7] no Kami, or Oho-kuni-dama[8] no Kami, or Utsushi-kuni-dama[9] no Kami. His children were in all one hundred and eighty-one Deities.

Now Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto and Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, with united strength and one heart, constructed this sub-celestial world. Then, for the sake of the visible race of man as well as for beasts, they determined the method of healing diseases. They also, in order to do away with the calamities of birds, beasts, and creeping things, established means for their prevention and control.[10]

[1] Written with a Chinese character which means nail or hoof.

[2] Probably Mount Kumano in Idzumo. It adjoins the Suga mentioned above as the residence of Sosa no wo. See Index—Kuma-nari.

[3] Great-country-master.

[4] Great-thing-master.

[5] Country-make great-name-possessor.

[6] The ugly male of the reed-plain.

[7] Eight thousand spears.

[8] Great-country-jewel.

[9] Apparent-country-jewel.

[10] Calamities (wazahahi) are defined by Hirata as injuries which come to us from the unseen world.

By beasts wild beasts are meant. In addition to the real injuries caused by them, we must remember that in Japan all manner of imaginary effects are attributed to the enchantments of foxes and badgers.

One of the Norito (rituals) mentions calamities of birds flying in by the smoke-hole in the roof—perhaps because their droppings polluted the food which was being cooked.

The term hafu mushi (creeping things) includes both insects and reptiles. The stings of wasps, centipedes, and vipers are doubtless meant. The ancient Japanese houses, slight structures often built in pits, would be especially obnoxious to such calamities. Possibly also the injury to the crops and to domestic animals by insects and snakes may be referred to. It should be remembered, too, that the Japanese suppose many ailments, such as toothache and children's convulsions, to be owing to mushi, and these are no doubt to be included in the hafu mushi no wazahahi. Hirata remarks that it is the opinion of the men of the Western Ocean that by

The people enjoy the protection of these universally until the present day.

Before this Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto spake to Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, and said:—'May we not say that the country which we have made is well made?' Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto answered and said:—'In some parts it is complete and in others it is incomplete.' This conversation had doubtless a mysterious purport.

I. 60. Thereafter Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto went to Cape Kumano,[1] and eventually proceeded to the Everlasting Land.[2]

Another version is that he went to the island of Aha, where he climbed up a millet-stalk, and was thereupon jerked off, and went to the Everlasting Land.

After this, wherever there was in the land a part which was imperfect, Oho-na-mochi no Kami visited it by himself, and succeeded in repairing it. Coming at last to the province of Idzumo, he spake, and said:—'This Central Land of Reed-plains had been always waste and wild. The very rocks, trees and herbs were all given to violence. But I have now reduced them to submission, and there is none that is not compliant.' Therefore he said finally:—'It is I, and I alone, who now govern this Land. Is

examining ringworm (called in Japanese ta-mushi, i.e. rice-field insect), itch and other diseases under a microscope, it would appear that they are due to the presence of exceedingly small insects. It would also appear, he says, from a work recently published, that the human body is full of such animalcules.

The words "prevention and control" are rendered in the interlinear kana by Majinahi, i.e. witchcraft, including incantations, etc. Possibly the author had in mind the Oho-harahi, which deprecates "calamities of creeping things" and of "high birds." Here is a modern majinahi directed against hafu mushi. If you wish to keep your house free from ants, all you have to do is to put up a notice at the place where they come in, "Admittance, one cash each person." The economical ant goes no further.

Yamada in his dictionary defines majinahi as "the keeping off of calamity by the aid of the supernatural power of Gods and Buddhas."

[1] In Idzumo.

[2] Toko-yo no kuni. The Japanese scholar Arawi identifies this with a province in the East of Japan, now called Hitachi.

there perchance any one who could join with me in governing the world?' Upon this a Divine radiance illuminated the sea, and of a sudden there was something which floated towards him and said:—'Were I not here, how couldst thou subdue this Land? It is because I am here that thou hast been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking.' Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami inquired, saying:—'Then who art thou?' It replied and said:—'I am thy guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit.' I. 61.
Then said Oho-na-mochi no Kami:—'True, I know therefore that thou art my guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit. Where dost thou now wish to dwell?' The spirit answered and said:—'I wish to dwell on Mount Mimoro, in the province of Yamato.' Accordingly he built a shrine in that place and made the spirit to go and dwell there. This is the God of Oho-miwa.

The children of this Deity were the Kimi of Kamo and of Oho-miwa,[1] and also Hime-tatara[2] I-suzu-hime no I. 62.
Mikoto.

Another version is that Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami, having become transformed into an eight-fathom bear-sea-monster,[3]

[1] Descendants are here meant. Kimi is simply Lord.

[2] Tatara is said to be the name of a plant. Isuzu (fifty bells) is the name of the site of the Inner Shrine at Ise.

[3] Sea-monster is in Japanese wani. It is written with a Chinese character which means, properly, crocodile, but that meaning is inadmissible in these old legends, as the Japanese who originated them can have known nothing of this animal. The wani, too, inhabits the sea and not rivers, and is plainly a mythical creature.

Satow and Anderson have noted that the wani is usually represented in art as a dragon, and Toyo-tama-hime (see Index), who in one version of the legend changes into a wani, as her true form, at the moment of child-birth, according to another changes into a dragon. Now Toyo-tama-hime was the daughter of the God of the Sea. This suggests that the latter is one of the Dragon-Kings familiar to Chinese (see Mayers' Manual, p. 142) and Corean fable who inhabit splendid palaces at the bottom of the sea. It is unnecessary here to follow the Dragon-Kings into Indian myth, where they appear under the form of the Nâga Râdja or Cobra-Kings. The reader who wishes to do so should consult Anderson's British Museum Catalogue, p. 50. Chamberlain has remarked that "the whole story of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the

had intercourse with Mizo-kuhi[1] hime of the island of Mishima (some call her Tama-kushi-hime), and had by her a child named Hime-tatara I-suzu-hime no Mikoto, who became the Empress of the Emperor Kami-Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi.[2]

Before this time, when Oho-na-mochi no Kami was pacifying the land, he went to Wobama in Isasa, in the province of Idzumo. He was just having some food and drink, when of a sudden there was heard a human voice from the surface of the sea. He was astonished, but on seeking for it there was nothing at all to be seen. After a while a dwarf appeared, who had made a boat of the rind of a kagami[3] and clothing of the feathers of a
I. 63. wren.[4] He came floating towards him on the tide, and Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto taking him up, placed him on the palm of his hand. He was playing with him, when the dwarf leaped up, and bit him on the cheek. He wondered at his appearance, and sent a messenger to report the matter to the Gods of Heaven. Now when Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto heard this, he said :—'The children whom I have produced number in all one thou-

cassia-tree mentioned in it is certainly Chinese." Is it possible that wani is for the Corean wang-i, i.e. "the King," *i* being the Corean definite particle, as in zeni, fumi, yagi, and other Chinese words which reached Japan *viâ* Corea? We have the same change of *ng* into *n* in the name of the Corean who taught Chinese to the Japanese Prince Imperial in Ojin Tennō's reign. It is Wang-in in Corean, but was pronounced Wani by the Japanese. Wani occurs several times as a proper name in the "Nihongi." Bear (in Japanese kuma) is no doubt an epithet indicating size, as in kuma-bachi, bear-bee or bear-wasp, i.e. a hornet; kuma-gera, a large kind of wood-pecker, etc.

[1] Mizo-kuhi means water-channel pile. Tama-kushi is jewel-comb.

[2] Otherwise called Jimmu Tennō. See below, beginning of Book III.

[3] Some plant, very likely having gourd-shaped fruit. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 85.

[4] The "Kojiki" says goose skins. The wren was no doubt substituted as more in accordance with the dwarfish stature of Sukuna-bikona.

Dr. Schlegel in his "Problèmes Géographiques" mentions a Chinese notice of a Han-ming-kuo, the inhabitants of which sew together skins of birds for clothing. He identifies this country with the Kuriles, where modern travellers have found this to be the custom. The bird whose skins are thus used is the Procellaria gracilis (petrel).

sand and five hundred. Amongst them one was very wicked, and would not yield compliance to my instructions. He slipped through between my fingers and fell. This must be that child, let him be loved and nurtured.' This was no other than Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto." [1]

[1] Sukuna-bikona is a popular God at the present day. Hirata has devoted two volumes (the "Shidzu no ihaya") to a glorification of him as the inventor of medicine and of the art of brewing sake under the name of Kushi no Kami. The "Kojiki" relates his legend somewhat differently. See Ch. K., p. 85. Sukuna means small (in modern Japanese few) and bikona is honorific.

Hirata identifies Sukuna-bikona with Yebisu and Oho-na-mochi with Daikoku. See Anderson's B. M. Catalogue, p. 36. All these identifications, of which Hirata is profuse, are somewhat problematical.

BOOK II.

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART II.

MASA-YA-A-KATSU-KATSU-HAYA-HI AMA NO OSHI-HO-MI-MI NO MIKOTO, the son of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, took to wife Taku-hata[1]-chi-chi-hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. A child was born to them named Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto.[2] Therefore his august grandparent, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, treated him with special affection, and nurtured him with great regard. Eventually he desired to establish his august grandchild Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-ho-ninigi no Mikoto as the Lord of the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But in that Land there were numerous Deities which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which buzzed
II. 2. like flies. There were also trees and herbs all of which could speak. Therefore Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto assembled all the eighty Gods, and inquired of them, saying:—"I desire to have the evil Gods of the Central Land of Reed-Plains expelled and subdued. Whom is it meet that we should send for this purpose? I pray you, all ye Gods, conceal not your opinion." They all said:—"Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto is the most heroic among the Gods. Ought not he to be tried?"

Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto thereupon complied with the general advice, and made Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto to go and subdue them. This Deity, however, curried favour with Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, and three years passed without his making any report. Therefore his son Oho-se-ihi no Mikuma no ushi[3] (also called Take[4]-mikuma no ushi) was sent.

[1] Taku-hata, paper-mulberry loom (cloth).

[2] The interpretation of this name is doubtful. See Ch. K., p. 106.

[3] Great-husband-boiled-rice-of-Mikuma of master.

[4] Take, brave, is merely a honorific. It is prefixed to several names of Deities.

He, too, yielded compliance to his father, and never made II. 3.
any report. Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto therefore again summoned together all the Gods and inquired of them who should be sent. They all said:—"Ame-waka-hiko,[1] son of Ame no Kuni-dama.[2] He is a valorous person. Let him be tried." Hereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave Ame-waka-hiko a heavenly deer-bow and heavenly feathered arrows, and so despatched him. This God also was disloyal, and as soon as he arrived took to wife Shita-teru-hime,[3] the daughter of Utsushi-kuni-dama[4] (*also called Taka-hime or Waka-kuni-dama*). Accordingly he remained, and said:—"I, too, wish to govern the Central Land of Reed-Plains." He never reported the result of his mission. At this time, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, wondering why he was so long in coming and making his report, sent the pheasant Na-naki[5] to observe. The pheasant flew down and perched on the top of a many-branched cassia-tree which grew before Ame-waka-hiko's gate. Now
Ama-no Sagu-me[6] saw this and told Ame-waka-hiko, saying:— II. 4.
"A strange bird has come and is perched on the top of the cassia-tree." Then Ame-waka-hiko took the heavenly deer-bow and the heavenly feathered arrows which had been given him by Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and shot the pheasant, so that it died. The arrow having passed through the pheasant's breast, came before where Taka-mi-musubi no Kami was sitting. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Kami seeing this arrow, said:—"This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. It is stained with blood, it may be because he has been fighting with the Earthly Deities." Thereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took up the arrow and flung it back down (to earth). This arrow, when it

[1] Heaven-young-prince. [2] Heaven-of-country-jewel.
[3] Lower-shine-princess. [4] Real-country-jewel.
[5] Na-naki. This word is written here as if the meaning were "nameless." But in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 95), characters are used which give it the sense of name-crying, i.e. calling out its own name. The old Japanese for pheasant is kigishi or kigisu. Comparing this with uguhisu (the Japanese nightingale), kakesu (the jay), kirigirisu (the grasshopper), karasu (the crow), and hototogisu (a kind of cuckoo), it becomes evident that kigisu is an onomatopoetic word. Su is for suru, to do. The Corean for a pheasant is kiöng, no doubt also an onomatope.
[6] Heavenly-spying-woman.

fell, hit Ame-waka-hiko on the top of his breast. At this time Ame-waka-hiko was lying down after the feast of first-fruits, and when hit by the arrow died immediately. This was the origin of the general saying, "Fear a returning arrow."

The sound of the weeping and mourning of Ame-waka-hiko's
II. 5. wife Shita-teru-hime reached Heaven. At this time, Ame no Kuni-dama, hearing the voice of her crying, straightway knew that her husband, Ame-waka-hiko, was dead, and sent down a swift wind to bring the body up to Heaven. Forthwith a mortuary house was made, in which it was temporarily deposited. The river-geese were made the head-hanging bearers and broom-bearers.

One version is:—"The barn-door fowls were made head-hanging bearers, and the river-geese were made broom-bearers."

The sparrows were made pounding-women.

One version is:—"The river-geese were made head-hanging bearers and also broom-bearers, the kingfisher was made the representative of the deceased, the sparrows were made the pounding-women, and the wrens the mourners. Alto-
II. 6. gether the assembled birds were entrusted with the matter."

For eight days and eight nights they wept and sang dirges.[1]

[1] We have here a glimpse of the ancient Japanese funeral ceremonies.

"Head-hanging bearers" is a literal translation of the Chinese characters. The interlinear Kana renders them by the obsolete word kisari-mochi, of obscure meaning. An ancient commentator says that these were persons who accompanied the funeral, bearing on their heads food for the dead, which is perhaps correct. The brooms were probably for sweeping the road before the procession. The pounding-women pounded the rice for the guests, and perhaps also for the offerings to the deceased. By mourners are meant paid mourners.

To these Hirata adds from old books the wata-dzukuri or tree-fibre carders, the kites (the fibre being to fill up the vacant space in the coffin), and the fleshers (for food offered to the deceased), an office given to the crow. Compare also Ch. K., p. 97.

The student of folk-lore will not think it frivolous of me to cite here the English story of the Death and Burial of Cock Robin, where the birds officiate in various capacities at a funeral.

"Sang dirges." Hirata condemns this as a Chinese importation. He prefers the "Kojiki" version, which says that "they made merry," and explains that this was with the object of recalling the dead to life, perhaps in

Before this, when Ame-waka-hiko was in the Central Land of Reed-Plains, he was on terms of friendship with Aji-suki [1]-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and offered condolence on his decease. Now this God was exactly like in appearance to Ame-waka-hiko when he was alive, and therefore Ame-waka-hiko's parents, relations, wife, and children all said :—" Our Lord is still alive," and clung to his garments and to his girdle, partly rejoiced and partly distracted. Then Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami became flushed with anger and said :—" The way of friends is such that it is right that mutual condolence should be made. Therefore I have not been daunted by the pollution, but have come from afar to make mourning. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead person ? " So he drew his sword, Oho-ha-kari,[2] which he had in his girdle, and cut down the mortuary house, which fell to earth and became a mountain. It is now in the province of Mino, by the upper waters of the River Ayumi. This is the mountain of Moyama (mourning moun- II. 7.
tain). This is why people take care not to mistake a living for a dead person.

After this, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto again assembled all the Gods that they might select some one to send to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. They all said :—" It will be well to send Futsu-nushi [3] no Kami, son of Iha-tsutsu no wo [4] and Iha-tsutsu no me, the children of Iha-saku-ne-saku [5] no Kami."

imitation of the Gods dancing and making merry in order to entice the Sun-Goddess from her rock-cave. Compare the following passage from a Chinese History of the Han (A.D. 25-220) Dynasty.

In Japan " Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come singing, dancing and making music."

The mortuary house was required for the temporary disposal of the dead, while the sepulchral mound with its megalithic chamber was being constructed. *Vide* Index—Misasagi.

[1] No satisfactory explanation of this name. [2] Great-leaf-mower.

[3] Futsu is explained by Hirata as an onomatopoetic word like the modern futtsuri for the abrupt snapping sound produced when anything is cleanly cut or broken off. Nushi means master.

[4] Iha-tsutsu. Iha is rock, tsutsu probably a honorific=elder. Wo is male ; me, female.

[5] Iha-saku means rock-split ; ne-saku, root-split.

Now there were certain Gods dwelling in the Rock-cave of Heaven, viz. Mika no Haya-hi[1] no Kami, son of Idzu no wo-bashiri[2] no Kami, Hi no Haya-hi no Kami, son of Mika no Haya-hi no Kami, and Take-mika-dzuchi no Kami,[3] son of Hi no Haya-hi no Kami. The latter God came forward and said:—"Is Futsu-nushi no Kami alone to be reckoned a hero? And am I not a hero?" His words were animated by a spirit of indignation. He was therefore associated with Futsu-nushi no Kami and made to subdue the Central Land of Reed-Plains. The two Gods thereupon descended and arrived at the Little Shore[4] of Itasa, in the Land of Idzumo. Then they drew their ten-span swords, and stuck them upside down in the earth, and sitting on their points questioned Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—"Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto wishes to send down his August Grandchild to preside over this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Gods to clear out and pacify it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?" Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—"I must ask my son before I reply to you." At this time his son Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami was absent on an excursion to Cape Miho in the Land of Idzumo, where he was amusing himself by angling for fish.

II. 8. Some say:—"He was amusing himself by catching birds."

He therefore took the many-handed boat of Kumano,

[Another name is the Heavenly Pigeon-boat.]

and placing on board of it his messenger, Inase-hagi,[5] he despatched him, and announced to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami the declaration of Taka-mi-musubi no Kami. He also inquired what language he should use in answer. Now Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami spoke to the messenger, and said:—"The Heavenly Deity has now addressed us this inquiry.[6] My father

[1] Mika is explained by Hirata as the same as ika, terrible; haya-hi means swift sun.

[2] Idzu no wo-bashiri, lit. dread-of-male-run.

[3] Take-mika-dzuchi. Take is brave. Mika-dzuchi is identified with ika-dzuchi, thunder.

[4] Wobama.

[5] Hirata points out the appropriateness of this name, which means "Yes or no?—shanks," to a messenger sent to ask a question.

[6] The Chinese character indicates a communication from an Emperor.

ought respectfully to withdraw, nor will I make any opposition." So he made in the sea an eight-fold fence of green branches, and stepping on the bow of the boat, went off.[1] The messenger returned and reported the result of his mission. Then Oho-namochi no Kami said to the two Gods, in accordance with the words of his son:—"My son, on whom I rely, has already departed. I, too, will depart. If I were to make resistance all the Gods of this Land would certainly resist also. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission?" So he took the broad spear which he had used as a staff when he was pacifying the land and gave it to the two Gods, saying:—"By means of this spear I was at last successful. If the Heavenly Grandchild will use this spear to II. 9.
rule the land, he will undoubtedly subdue it to tranquillity. I am now about to withdraw to the concealment of the short-of-a-hundred[2]-eighty road-windings."[3] Having said these words, he at length became concealed.[4] Thereupon the two Gods put to death all the rebellious spirits and Deities.

One version says:—"The two Gods at length put to death the malignant Deities and the tribes of herbs, trees and rocks. When all had been subdued, the only one who refused submission was the Star-God Kagase-wo.[5] There-

"Went off" is the same character as is translated "withdraw" above. Hirata understands this of his death. The whole episode is related quite differently in the "Kojiki." *Vide* Ch. K., p. 101.

Enclosures of bamboo are used at the present day to trap fishes, but it is not very clear why one is introduced here.

[2] A mere epithet or pillow-word (makura-kotoba) of eighty.

[3] The eighty-road-windings are put for a long journey, i.e. to Yomi or Hades, or rather for Yomi itself.

[4] i.e. died.

[5] Kagase-wo. Wo means male. Kaga is obviously connected with kagayaku, to shine. This is the only Star-God mentioned in Japanese myth, and it may be noted that little honour is shown him. He is described as a conquered rebel, and has neither Kami nor Mikoto affixed to his name. The only stars mentioned in the "Kojiki" or "Nihongi" are Venus, the Pleiades, and the Weaver or Star *a* Lyrae, the latter being connected with a Chinese legend.

The Weaver-God is literally, if we follow the Chinese character, the God of Japanese striped stuffs. The interlinear "Kana" gives Shidzuri or Shidori, from shidzu, cloth, and ori, weave, which is doubtless correct.

fore they sent the Weaver-God Take-ha-dzuchi no Mikoto also, upon which he rendered submission. The two Gods therefore ascended to Heaven."

Ultimately they reported the result of their mission.

Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on his true couch, and casting it over his August Grandchild, Amatsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto, made him to descend. So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly Rock-seat, and with an awful[1] path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of
II. 10. So[2] in Hiuga.

After this the manner of the progress of the August Grandchild was as follows:—From the Floating Bridge of Heaven on the twin summits of Kushibi, he took his stand on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Then he traversed the desert land of Sojishi from the Hill of Hitawo in his search for a country, until he came to Cape Kasasa, in Ata-no-nagaya. A certain man of that land appeared and gave his name as Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa.[3] The August Grandchild inquired of him,
II. 11. saying:—"Is there a country, or not?" He answered, and said:—"There is here a country. I pray thee roam through it at thy pleasure." The August Grandchild therefore went there and took up his abode. Now there was a fair maid in that land whose name was Ka-ashi-tsu-hime.

[Also called Kami Ata-tsu-hime or Ko no hana no saku-ya-hime.[4]]

Take-ha-dzuchi is brave-leaf-elder. It is not clear that this Weaver-God is the same as the Weaver star.

[1] The interlinear gloss has idzu, an obsolete word which means awful, holy, sacred. It is, I would suggest, the same root which appears in the name of the province Idzu-mo and in Idzu-shi in Tajima, also a seat of Shintō worship. Mo means quarter, as in yomo, the four quarters, everywhere, and shi is for ishi, stone. See Index—Idzu.

[2] It is this word which forms the second part of Kumaso, the general name of the tribes which inhabited the south of Kiushiu.

[3] Thing-excel-country-excel. Long-narrow.

[4] These names mean respectively Deer-reed-of-princess, Deity (or upper) Ata-of-princess and Tree-of-flower-of-blossom-princess, i.e. blossoming like the flowers of the trees. The last name is that by which she is called in the "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 115), and is the one best known.

The August Grandchild inquired of this fair maid, saying:—"Whose daughter art thou?" She answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden[1] is the child of a Heavenly Deity by his marriage with Oho-yama-tsu-mi Kami."

The August Grandchild accordingly favoured[2] her, whereupon in one night she became pregnant. But the August Grandchild was slow to believe this, and said:—"Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I cause any one to become pregnant in the space of one night? That which thou hast in thy bosom is assuredly not my child." Therefore Ka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth. She prepared a doorless[3] muro[4] (*called utsumuro*), and

[1] The use of the character meaning concubine as a pronoun of the first person fem. is a Chinese idiom. The interlinear Kana version has yakko, i.e. slave. Oho-yama-tsu-mi means the Great-mountain-body. Possibly it should be taken here as a common noun, a mountain Deity.

[2] i.e. married her.

[3] It appears from the "Kojiki" that after going in she plastered up the entrance.

[4] The character 室 which in Chinese means a house, a chamber, is, in the older Japanese literature, generally, if not invariably, used to represent the Japanese word muro. Another character used for this purpose is 窖, a cellar. The muro is distinguished from the ihe, or ordinary dwelling. What was the muro? This term is nowadays applied to a gardener's forcing-house, which in Japan consists of a pit four or five feet deep and roofed over. Hi-muro means an ice-house. If the ice-houses in Japan (see drawing in "San-sai-dzu-ye," IV., 19), so denominated, resemble those which I have seen at Yang-hwa-chin in Corea, they were pits sunk several feet below the surface of the ground and covered with a heavy thatched roof. At the foot of Mount Ohoyama there was to be seen, some years ago, a large rectangular pit, three or four feet in depth, with a thatched roof sloping to the ground, and no walls, which was occupied as a dwelling by the pilgrims to that mountain. There are also pits in Corea covered with thatch or strong oil-paper, which are used by the poorest classes as shelters. These are called um, or um-mak. Pit-dwellers are also mentioned in the old Chinese literature. The references to the muro in the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" show that the muro of those days had a similar character. We read of Tsuchi-gumo (earth-hiders, see Index) living in muro, of a muro being dug, and of steps (down) to a muro. That they were sometimes of considerable size is shown by the legend of Jimmu Tennō's reign, which speaks of 160 persons being in a muro at the same time. The pit was (at least in some cases) not simply roofed over, but contained a house with a wooden frame lashed together with cords of a creeping vine (dolichos), the walls having sedges or reeds for laths, and plastered with a mixture of grass and clay. The roof was

entering, dwelt therein. Then she made a solemn declaration, saying:—"If that which is in my bosom is not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, it will assuredly be destroyed by fire, but if it is really the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, fire

thatched with reeds. The muro had a door opening inwards, and contained a raised platform for sleeping on. A dwelling closely answering this description was actually unearthed near Akita in Dewa in 1807.

Muro were used in ancient times by the higher as well as by the poorest classes. Sosa no wo no Mikoto is said by the Idzumo Fudoki to have made himself a muro, and Jimmu Tennō's son is represented as sleeping in a great muro. In modern times muro sometimes means simply chamber.

Some writers confound the muro with the ihaya. So far as I am aware, the latter is used only of caverns in the rock, or of the artificial megalithic chambers contained in sepulchral mounds.

Mr. J. Milne, in an extremely interesting paper on the pit-dwellers of Yezo, read before the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1882, argues that certain pits discovered by him in large numbers in the islands of Yezo and Itorup were the dwellings of a pre-Aino race, whose modern representatives are to be found amongst the Kurilsky or their neighbours in Kamschatka and Saghalin. To these he gives the name of Koro-pok-guru, following an Aino tradition communicated to him by Mr. Batchelor.

On the other hand, I am informed by Baron A. von Siebold, who visited several of these groups of pits in Kusiro and the Kurile Islands, that,—

1. Their appearance is, in his opinion, not consonant with the great antiquity assigned to them by Mr. Milne's theory. It was especially noticeable that no large trees or even deep-rooted brushwood were found growing in or between the square pits.

2. They are arranged in a regular order more suggestive of a military encampment than of the abodes of a tribe of savages. They are all of the same size, except a few larger ones, which may have been occupied by officers. An earthwork near one of them was also suggestive of a military occupation.

3. The pits were carefully dug and found to contain fragments of burned wood, unglazed pottery, and what is more remarkable, a small Japanese sword (tantō) of comparatively modern manufacture.

4. The most important evidence, however, is the fact that the sites of these pits correspond in all the cases which Baron von Siebold was able to examine with those of the military encampments established in Yezo and the Kuriles by the Japanese Government about the beginning of the present century as a defence against the Russians. These encampments are marked on a Japanese map presented to Ph. Fr. von Siebold (the father) by a Court astronomer named Mogami Toknai, and published in Siebold's Atlas. The inference is obvious. In fact pit-dwelling in northern climates affords no indication of race. It has been seen that Chinese, Japanese, and Coreans may all be pit-dwellers on occasion, and the practice is by no means confined to this part of the world.

cannot harm it." So she set fire to the muro. The child which was born from the extremity of the smoke which first arose was called Ho no Susori no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Hayato*); next the child which was born when she drew back and remained away from the heat was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto; the child which was next born was called Ho no akari no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Wohari no Muraji*)—in all three children.[1] II. 12.

A long time after, Ama-tsu-hiko hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi[2] of Hiuga no ye in Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command unto Ame-waka-hiko, saying:—'The Central Land of Reed-Plains is a region which it is for my child to rule over. Considering, however, that there are there certain rebellious, violent and wicked Deities, do thou therefore go first and subdue it.' Accordingly she gave him the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true-deer-arrows, and so despatched him. Ame-waka-hiko, having received this command, went down and forthwith married many daughters of the Earthly Deities. Eight years passed, during which he made no report of his mission. Therefore Ama-terasu-no Oho-kami summoned Omohi-kane no Kami (the Thought-combiner) and inquired the reason why he did not come. Now the Thought-combining Deity reflected and informed her, saying:—'It will be well to send the pheasant to inquire into this.' Hereupon, in accordance with this God's device, the pheasant was caused to go and spy out the reason. The pheasant flew down and perched on the II. 13.
top of a many-branched cassia-tree before Ame-waka-hiko's

[1] The "Kojiki" gives these names differently. Ho no akari means fire-light. The other two are of doubtful interpretation. Perhaps Susori is from the word suso, skirt, and ho-ho-de may mean "go out from flames." This passage shows that the muro was used as an ubu-ya or parturition-house. It was the custom in ancient Japan for women to retire for their confinement to a temporary hut constructed for the purpose. Satow and Dickins found this practice still in vogue in the Island of Hachijō when they visited it in 1878. See "J. A. S. T.," vi. 3.

[2] See Index.

gate, where it uttered a cry, saying:—'Ama-waka-hiko! wherefore for the space of eight years hast thou still not made a report of thy mission?' Now a certain Earthly Goddess, named Ama-no-sagu-me, saw the pheasant, and said:—'A bird of evil cry is sitting on the top of this tree. It will be well to shoot it and kill it.' So Ame-waka-hiko took the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true deer-arrow given him by the Heavenly Deity and shot it, upon which the arrow went through the pheasant's breast, and finally reached the place where the Heavenly Deity was. Now the Heavenly Deity seeing the arrow, said:—'This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. Why has it come here?' So she took the arrow, and pronouncing a curse over it, said:—'If it has been shot with evil intent, let mischief surely come upon Ama-waka-hiko; but if it has been shot with a tranquil heart, let no harm befall him.' So she flung it back. It fell down and struck Ame-waka-hiko on the top of the breast, so that he straightway died. This is the reason why people at the present day say, 'Fear a returning arrow.' Now Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children came down from Heaven and went away upwards taking with them the dead body. Then they made a mourning house in Heaven, in which they deposited it and lamented over it. Before this Ame-waka-hiko was on friendly terms with Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and condoled with them on the mourning, lamenting greatly. Now this God had by nature an exact resemblance to Ame-waka-hiko in appearance. Therefore Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children, when they saw him, rejoiced, and said:—'Our Lord is still alive.' And they clung to his robe and to his girdle, and could not be thrust away. Now Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Kami became angry, and said:—'My friend is dead, therefore have I come to make condolence. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead man?' So he drew his ten-span sword and cut down the mourning house, which fell to earth and became
II. 14 a mountain. This is Moyama (Mount Mourning) in the province of Mino. This is the reason why people dislike to be mistaken for a dead person.

Now the glory of Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto was so effulgent that it illuminated the space of two hills and two valleys, and those assembled for the mourning celebrated it in song, saying :—

[Another version is that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami's younger sister, Shita-teru-hime, wishing to make known to the company that it was Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto who illuminated the hills and valleys therefore made a song, saying :—]

Like the string of jewels
Worn on the neck
Of the Weaving-maiden,
That dwells in Heaven—
Oh ! the lustre of the jewels
Flung across two valleys
From Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne ![1]

Again they sang, saying :—

To the side-pool—
The side-pool
Of the rocky stream
Whose narrows are crossed
By the country wenches
Afar from Heaven,
Come hither, come hither !
(The women are fair)
And spread across thy net
In the side-pool
Of the rocky stream.[2]

These two poems are in what is now called a Rustic[3] measure.

[1] The metre is irregular. The "Kojiki" version (see Ch. K., p. 99) is somewhat different. The Weaving-maiden of Heaven is a Chinese personification of the Star *a* Lyrae. See Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 97. This affords some indication of the date of this poem. It must have been written after the Japanese became familiar with Chinese astronomy.

[2] The metre is irregular, the text doubtful, and the meaning and application obscure. I agree with the Japanese critics who think that this poem has no business here. The "Kojiki," which gives the previous one, omits it.

Afar from Heaven is a mere epithet (makura-kotoba) of the country. Heaven here stands for the capital.

[3] Probably because hina, country or rustic, is a prominent word in the latter of these two poems.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami united Yorodzu-hata Toyo-aki-tsu-hime, the younger sister of Omohi-kane no Kami to Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-
II. 15. ho-mimi no Mikoto, and making her his consort, caused them to descend to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. At this time Katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and glancing downwards, said:—'Is that country tranquillized yet? No! it is a tumble-down land, hideous to look upon.' So he ascended, and reported why he had not gone down. Therefore, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami further sent Taka-mika-tsuchi no Kami and Futsu-nushi no Kami first to clear it. Now these two Gods went down and arrived at Idzumo, where they inquired of Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity or not?' He answered and said:—'My son, Koto-shiro-nushi is at Cape Mitsu for the sport of bird-shooting. I will ask him, and then give you an answer.' So he sent a messenger to make inquiry, who brought answer and said:—'How can we refuse to deliver up what is demanded by the Heavenly Deity?' Therefore Oho-na-mochi no Kami replied to the two Gods in the words of his son. The two Gods thereupon ascended to Heaven and reported the result of their mission, saying:—'All the Central Land of Reed-Plains is now completely tranquillized.' Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command, saying:—'If that be so, I will send down my child.' She was about to do so, when in the meantime, an August Grandchild was born, whose name was called Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto. Her son represented to her that he wished the August Grandchild to be sent down in his stead. Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave to Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto the three treasures, viz. the curved jewel of Yasaka gem, the eight-hand mirror, and the sword Kusanagi, and joined to him
II. 16. as his attendants Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Naka-tomi, Futo-dama no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Imbe, Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Sarume,[1] Ishi-kori-dome no Mikoto,

[1] Lit. monkey-eye.

the first ancestor of the mirror-makers, and Tamaya no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the jewel-makers, in all Gods of five Be. Then she commanded her August Grandchild, saying:—'This Reed-plain-1500-autumns-fair-rice-ear Land is the region which my descendants shall be lords of. Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go! and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure for ever.' When he was about to descend, one, who had been sent in advance to clear the way, returned and said:—'There is one God who dwells at the eight-cross-roads of Heaven, the length of whose nose is seven hands, the length of whose back is more than seven fathoms. Moreover, a light shines from his mouth and from his posteriors. His eye-balls are like an eight-hand mirror and have a ruddy glow like the Aka-kagachi.' Thereupon he sent one of his attendant Deities II. 17.
to go and make inquiry. Now among all the eighty myriads of Deities there was not one who could confront him and make inquiry. Therefore he specially commanded Ame no Uzume, saying:—'Thou art superior to others in the power of thy looks. Thou hadst better go and question him.' So Ame no Uzume forthwith bared her breasts and, pushing down the band of her garment below her navel, confronted him with a mocking laugh. Then the God of the cross-ways asked her, saying:—'Ame no Uzume! What meanest thou by this behaviour?' She answered and said:—'I venture to ask who art thou that dost thus remain in the road by which the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is to make his progress?' The God of the cross-ways answered and said:—'I have heard that the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is now about to descend, and therefore I have come respectfully to meet and attend upon him. My name is Saruta-hiko no Oho-kami.'[1] Then Ame no Uzume again inquired of him, saying:—'Wilt thou go before me, or shall I go before thee?' He answered and said:—"I will go before and be his harbinger.' Ame no Uzume asked again, saying:—"Whither wilt thou go and whither will the August Grandchild go?' He answered and said:—'The child of the

[1] In later times a phallic Deity.

Heavenly Deity will proceed to the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga in the Land of Tsukushi, and I will
II. 18. go to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise.' He accordingly said:—'Thou art the person who didst discover me. Thou must therefore escort me and com-

Saruta-hiko and Uzume.

plete thy task.' Ame no Uzume returned and reported these circumstances. Thereupon the August Grandchild, leaving the Heavenly rock-seat, and thrusting apart the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, clove his way with an awful way-cleaving, and descended from Heaven. Finally, as

had been arranged, the August Grandchild arrived at the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga, in the land of Tsukushi. And Saruta-hiko no Kami forthwith proceeded to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise. Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, in accordance with the request made by Saruta[1] hiko no Kami, attended upon him. Now the August Grandchild commanded Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, saying:—'Let the name of the Deity whom thou didst discover be made thy title.' Therefore he conferred on her the designation of Sarume no Kimi.[2] So this was the origin of the male and female Lords of Sarume being both styled Kimi."[3]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Deity sent II. 19.
Futsu-nushi no Kami and Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami to tranquillize the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Now these two Gods said:—'In Heaven there is an Evil Deity called Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi, or Ame no Kagase-wo. We pray that this Deity may be executed before we go down to make clear the Central Land of Reed-Plains.' At this time Iwahi-nushi[4] no Kami received the designation of Iwahi no Ushi. This is the God which now dwells in the land of

[1] Monkey-field. [2] Lord of Sarume.

[3] The "Kojiki" says that it was the females alone who had this title. In either case, the inference is that it was unusual for women to have such names or titles, Motowori's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Sarume were primarily women who performed comic dances (sarumahi or monkey-dances) in honour of the Gods. They are mentioned along with the Nakatomi and Imbe as taking part in the festival of first-fruits and other Shintō ceremonies. These dances were the origin of the Kagura and Nō performances. Another function of the Sarume is that indicated in the part taken by Uzume no Mikoto when the Gods enticed the Sun-Goddess out of her rock-cave. She is there said to have been divinely inspired. This divine inspiration has always been common in Japan. The inspired person falls into a trance, or hypnotic state, in which he or she speaks in the character of some God. Such persons are now known as Miko, defined by Hepburn as 'a woman who, dancing in a Miya, pretends to hold communication with the Gods and the spirits of the dead,' in short a medium. There are also strolling mediums, as in England, women of a low class, who pretend to deliver messages from deceased friends or relatives. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shinto," in the "J. A. S. T.," and Index—Inspiration.

[4] Master of religious abstinence or worship.

Katori in Adzuma.[1] After this the two Deities descended and arrived at the Little Shore of Itasa in Idzumo, and asked Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity, or no?' He answered and said:—'I suspected that ye two gods were coming to my place. Therefore I will not allow it.' Thereupon Futsu-nushi no Kami forthwith returned upwards, and made his report. Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto sent the two Gods back again, and commanded Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Having now heard what thou hast said, I find that there is profound reason in thy words. Therefore again I issue my commands to thee more circumstantially, that is to say:—Let the public matters which thou hast charge of be conducted by my grandchild, and do thou rule divine affairs. Moreover, if thou wilt dwell in the palace of Ama no Hi-sumi,[2] I will now build it for thee. I will take a thousand fathom rope[3] of the (bark of the) paper mulberry, and tie it in 180 knots. As to the dimensions of the building of the palace,[4] its pillars shall be high and massy, and its planks broad and thick. I will
II. 20. also cultivate thy rice-fields for thee, and, for thy provision when thou goest to take pleasure on the sea, I will make for thee a high bridge, a floating bridge, and also a Heavenly bird-boat. Moreover, on the Tranquil River of Heaven I will make a flying-bridge. I will also make for thee white shields[5] of 180 seams, and Ame no Ho-hi no Mikoto shall be the president of the festivals in thy honour.' Hereupon Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—'The instructions of the Heavenly Deity are so courteous that I may not presume to disobey his commands. Let the August Grandchild direct the public affairs of which I have charge. I will retire and direct secret matters.' So he introduced Kunado no Kami to the two Gods, saying:—

[1] A general name for the eastern part of Japan.

[2] Heaven-sun-corner.

[3] The rope was for measuring the site, say some. Or it may have been for lashing together the timbers of the building.

[4] Or shrine.

[5] Shields are frequently mentioned in the "Norito" among offerings to the Gods.

'He will take my place and will yield respectful obedience. I will withdraw and depart from here.' He forthwith invested him with the pure Yasaka jewels, and then became concealed for ever.[1] Therefore Futsu-nushi no Kami appointed Kunado no Kami[2] as guide, and went on a circuit II. 21.
of pacification. Any who were rebellious to his authority he put to death, while those who rendered obedience were rewarded. The chiefs of those who at this time rendered obedience were Oho-mono-nushi[3] no Kami and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. So they assembled the eighty myriads of Gods in the High Market-place of Heaven, and taking them up to Heaven with them, they declared their loyal behaviour. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto commanded Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, saying:—'If thou dost take to wife one of the Deities of Earth, I shall still consider that thy heart is disaffected. I will therefore now give thee my daughter Mi-ho-tsu hime to be thy wife. Take with thee the eighty myriads of Deities to be the guards of my August Grandchild to all ages. So she sent him down again. Thereupon Ta-oki-ho-ohi no Kami, ancestor of the Imbe of the Land of Kii, was appointed hatter,[4] Hiko-sachi no Kami was made shield-maker,[5] Ma-hitotsu no Kami[6] was made metal-worker, Ame no Hi-washi[7] no Kami was appointed tree-fibre maker, and Kushi-akaru-dama no Kami ewel-maker.[8] II. 22.

Taka-mi-musubi no Kami accordingly gave command, saying:—'I will set up a Heavenly divine fence[9] and a

[1] i.e. died. [2] The Deity of roads. [3] Great-thing-master.

[4] Kasa-nuhi, i.e. broad-hat-sewer.

[5] Tate-nuhi, lit. shield-sewer.

[6] The one-eyed God. It is curious that the Smith-God of Japan, like the Cyclops of Greek fable, should have but one eye. The "Kojiki" calls him Ama-tsu Mara, as to which see Index. Also Ch. K., p. 55.

[7] Sun-eagle. Tree-fibre is yufu. It was the fibre for weaving made of the inner bark of the paper-mulberry, and perhaps also included hemp. All these objects were used in Shintō ceremonies.

[8] Kushi means comb; akaru, shining; dama (for tama), jewel.

[9] In Japanese, himorogi. The "Shiki" says that this is the same thing which is now called a shrine, but admits that its meaning is not clear. The usual interpretation is that the himorogi is a fence of sakaki (the sacred tree)

Heavenly rock-boundary wherein to practise religious abstinence[1] on behalf of my descendants. Do ye, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama[2] no Mikoto, take with you the Heavenly divine fence, and go down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Moreover, ye will there practise abstinence[3] on behalf of my descendants.' So she attached the two Deities to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto and sent them down. It was when Futo-dama no Mikoto was sent that the custom first began of worshipping this Deity with stout straps[4] flung over weak shoulders when taking the place of the Imperial hand. From this, too, the custom had its origin, by which Ame no Koyane no Mikoto had charge of divine matters. Therefore he was

planted round the enclosure consecrated for Shintō worship. But this interpretation is not without difficulty. In Suinin Tennō's reign we hear of a himorogi which was brought over from Corea and preserved as a sacred treasure. This could hardly have been a hedge. Another interpretation makes the himorogi an offering, and interprets the "Kuma" himorogi of the passage just referred to as an offering of bear's paws, one of the eight dainties of ancient Chinese literature. But it is not easy to see how this should be preserved as a sacred treasure.

The derivation does not help us much. Hi is no doubt sun, used metaphorically, as in hi-kagami, sun-mirror or sacred-mirror; hiko, sun-child (prince); hime, sun-female (princess). This is fairly well represented by the Chinese character 神 in the text. The remainder of the word, viz. morogi, is probably moro, a word of multitude, all, many, and gi (for ki), wood. There is a proper name, Take-morogi, where morogi is written with characters which imply this derivation. Hi-moro-gi is therefore a sacred row or group of sticks of some sort or another.

I may mention a suspicion that the himorogi may be connected, perhaps by way of a survival, with a time when the Japanese Deities were a row of posts roughly carved into human shape. See above, p. 3.

[1] This and other passages show that the Shintō place of worship might be merely a piece of ground enclosed for the purpose. The modern word for a Shintō shrine, viz. ya-shiro, house-enclosure or house-area, suggests the same inference. See Satow, "Japanese Rituals," in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 115. It will be remembered that the Roman templum and the Greek τέμενος had originally a similar signification.

[2] The ancestor of the Imbe, or abstainers.

[3] Including avoidance of ceremonial impurities, and hence used for religious worship generally. See above, note to p. 41.

[4] For supporting a tray on which the offerings were placed. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., p. 112.

made to divine by means of the Greater Divination, and thus to do his service.[1]

At this time Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took in her hand II. 23. the precious mirror, and, giving it to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto, uttered a prayer, saying:—'My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with thee on thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy[2] mirror.' Moreover, she gave command to Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto and to Futo-dama no Mikoto, saying:—'Attend to me, ye two Gods! Do ye also remain together in attendance and guard it well.' She further gave command, saying:—'I will give over to my child the rice-ears of the sacred garden,[3] of which I partake in the Plain of High Heaven.' And she straightway took the daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, by name Yorodzu-hata-hime, and uniting her to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto as his consort, sent her down. Therefore while she was still in the Void of Heaven,[4] she gave birth to a child, who was called Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. She accordingly desired to send down this grandchild instead of his parents. Therefore on him she bestowed Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto, Futo-dama no Mikoto, and the Deities of the various Be,[5] all without exception. She gave him, moreover, the things belonging to his person,[6] just as above stated.

After this, Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto went back again to Heaven. Therefore Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no

[1] The Greater Divination was by observing the cracks in a deer's shoulder-blade which had been exposed to fire. This is also a practice of the Chinese and Mongols, but in China it is more common to use the shell of a tortoise for this purpose, as is sometimes done in Japan also. See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III., p. 335, 336. Ban Nobutomo has devoted a work in two volumes to this subject, entitled 正卜考.

[2] The same word as is used above for religious abstinence.

[3] The yu-niha, in which rice was grown under conditions of strict ceremonial purity for the festival of first-fruits.

[4] Not the Takama no hara, or Plain of High Heaven, but the Oho-sora or Great Void, the space between Heaven and Earth. She was on her way downwards.

[5] The hatter, shield-maker, etc., mentioned above.

[6] The regalia, or mirror, sword and jewel are doubtless meant.

Mikoto descended to the peak of Takachiho of Kushibi in
II. 24. Hiuga. Then he passed through the Land of Munasohi,[1] in Sojishi, by way of the Hill of Hitawo, in search of a country, and stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Thereupon he called to him Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa, the Lord of that country, and made inquiry of him. He answered and said:—'There is a country here. I will in any case obey thy commands.' Accordingly the August Grandchild erected a palace-hall and rested here. Walking afterwards by the sea-shore, he saw a beautiful woman. The August Grandchild inquired of her, saying:—'Whose child art thou?' She answered and said:—'Thy handmaiden is the child of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. My name is Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, and I am also called Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime.' Then she said:—'I have also an elder sister named Iha-naga-hime.'[2] The August Grandchild said:—'I wish to make thee my wife. How will this be?' She answered and said:—'I have a father, Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, I pray thee ask him. The August Grandchild accordingly spake to Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, saying:—'I have seen thy daughter and wish to make her my wife.' Hereupon Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami sent his two daughters with one hundred tables of food and drink to offer them respectfully. Now the August Grandchild thought the elder sister ugly, and would not take her. So she went away. But the younger sister was a noted beauty. So he took her with him and favoured her, and in one night she became pregnant. Therefore Iha-naga-hime was greatly ashamed, and cursed him, saying:—'If the August Grandchild had taken me and not rejected me, the children born to him would have been long-lived, and would have endured for ever like the massy rocks. But seeing that he has not done so, but has married my younger sister only, the children born to him will surely be decadent like the flowers of the trees.'"

One version is:—"Iha-naga-hime, in her shame and

[1] Above, p. 70, we have Muna-kuni or desert land.

[2] Rock-long-princess. Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime is the "Princess who blossoms like the flowers of the trees."

resentment, spat and wept. She said:—'The race of visible mankind shall change swiftly like the flowers of the trees, and shall decay and pass away.' This is the reason why the life of man is so short. II. 25.

After this, Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime saw the August Grandchild, and said:—'Thy handmaiden has conceived a child by the August Grandchild. It is not meet that it should be born privately.' The August Grandchild said:—'Child of the Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I in one night cause anyone to be with child? Now it cannot be my child.' Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime was exceedingly ashamed and angry. She straightway made a doorless muro, and thereupon made a vow, saying:—'If the child which I have conceived is the child of another Deity, may it surely be unfortunate. But if it is truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, may it surely be alive and unhurt.' So she entered the muro, and burnt it with fire. At this time, when the flames first broke out, a child was born who was named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto; next when the flame reached its height, a child was born who was named Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. The next child which was born was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto,[1] and also Ho-no-wori no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"When the flames first bebecame bright, a child was born named Ho-no-akari no Mikoto; next, when the blaze was at its height, a child was born named Ho-no-susumi[2] no Mikoto, also called Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next, when she recoiled from the blaze, a child was born named Ho-no-ori-hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto—three children in all. The fire failed to harm them, and the mother, too, was not injured in the least. Then with a bamboo knife she cut their navel-strings.[3] From the bamboo knife which she threw away, there eventually

[1] Ho-ho-demi no Mikoto. The word Mikoto is here written with a different and more honourable character than in the case of his two brothers, for the reason that this Deity was the direct ancestor of the Mikados. See above, p. 3.

[2] Flame-advance.

[3] A note to the Shukai edition mentions a local custom of severing the umbilical cord with a bamboo or copper knife. Another custom is not to use

sprang up a bamboo grove. Therefore that place was called Taka-ya.[1]

II. 26. Now Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime by divination fixed upon a rice-field to which she gave the name Sanada, and from the rice grown there brewed Heavenly sweet sake, with which she entertained him. Moreover, with the rice from the Nunada rice-field she made boiled rice and entertained him therewith."[2]

In one writing it is said :—" Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on the true couch and wrapped in it Ama-tsu-hiko-kuni-teru-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, who forthwith drew open the rock-door of Heaven, and thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, descended. At this time Ama-no-oshi-hi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Oho-tomo[3] no Muraji, taking with him Ame-kushi-tsu Oho-kume, the ancestor of the Kume Be,[4] placed on his back the rock-quiver of Heaven, drew on his

a knife, but to bite it through, a thin garment being interposed. It should be breathed on seven times with warm breath before being tied.

Superstition and Ritual have a preference for knives of some more primitive material than iron. Medea shears her magic herbs "curvamine falcis ahenæ," and Zipporah performs the rite of circumcision with a sharp stone. But a more prosaic explanation of the present passage is suggested by a surgeon friend. There is less hæmorrhage when a blunt instrument is used.

[1] Bamboo-house.

[2] This incident is the mythical counterpart of the annual festival of Nihi-nahe or nihi-name, now celebrated on November 23rd, when the new season's rice is offered to the Gods and partaken of by the Emperor for the first time. It was grown in plots of ground (yu-niha), the position of which was fixed upon by divination and prepared under strict conditions of ceremonial purity. Nihi means new, n represents no, the genitive particle, and ahe means feast. Name means to taste.

The modern name of this festival is Shin-jō-sai. There is a similar one in China. In ancient times there was no distinction made between this and the Oho-nihe or Oho-name, when the Emperor at his accession offered rice to the Gods (now called the Daijōye), both being called Oho-nihe. The prayer read at the Nihi-name is given among the norito in the Yengishiki, and Hirata devotes the last three vols. of the "Koshiden" to this subject.

[3] Great escort, i.e. of the Emperor.

[4] I quite endorse Chamberlain's shrewd suggestion that this Kume is "nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word chün (軍), the modern Japanese gun, army, troops." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 112.

forearm a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad,[1] and grasped in his hand a Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow and a Heavenly feathered arrow, to which he added an eight-eyed sounding-arrow.[2] Moreover he girt on his mallet-headed sword,[3] and taking his place before the Heavenly Grand- II. 27.
child, proceeded downwards as far as the floating bridge of Heaven, which is on the two peaks of Kushibi of Takachiho in So in Hiuga. Then he stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank and passed through the desert land

Stone Mallets.

of Sojishi by way of Hitawo in search of a country until he came to Cape Kasasa in Ata no Nagaya. Now at this place there was a God named Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa. Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild inquired of this God, saying:—'Is there a country?' He answered and said:—'There is.' Accordingly he said:—'I will yield it up to thee in obedience to thy commands.' Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild abode in that place. This Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu no Kami

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] Or nari-kabura. Giles says they were discharged by bandits as a signal to begin an attack. "Eight-eyed" means that there were several holes in the head, the air passing through which produced a humming sound. Parker says that the nari-kabura is not Chinese, but an invention of the Huns.

[3] From the way in which these swords are associated with "stone-mallet" swords in the Jimmu Tennō narrative (see also Ch. K., pp. 112, 142), I am disposed to think that they were of stone, and probably identical with the mallet-shaped objects called raiko shown in Plate XI. of Kanda's "Stone Implements of Japan," from which the illustration is taken. They were, no doubt, lashed to wooden handles, and used as weapons.

was the child of Izanagi no Mikoto, and his other name is Shiho-tsu-tsu-no oji."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Grandchild favoured Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, the daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. In one night she became pregnant, and eventually gave birth to four children. Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime took the children in her arms, and, coming forward, said:—'Ought the children of the Heavenly Grandchild to be privately nurtured? Therefore do I announce to thee the fact for thy information.' At this time the Heavenly Grandchild looked upon the children, and, with a mocking laugh, said:—'Excellent—these princes of mine! Their birth is a delightful piece of news!' Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth, and said:—'Why dost thou mock thy handmaiden?' The Heavenly Grandchild said:—'There is surely some doubt of this, and therefore did I mock. How is it possible for me, Heavenly God though I am, in the space of one night to cause anyone to become pregnant? Truly they are not my children.' On this account Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was more and more resentful. She made a doorless muro, into which she entered, and made a vow, saying:—'If the children which I have conceived are not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them surely perish. But if they are the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them
II. 28. suffer no hurt.' So she set fire to the muro and burnt it. When the fire first became bright, a child sprang forth and announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Where is my father?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the fire was at its height also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-susumi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brother?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the flames were becoming extinguished also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-ori no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' Next, when she recoiled from the heat, a child sprang forth, and

[1] Old man of the sea.

also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' After that, their mother, Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, came forth from amidst the embers, and approaching, told him, saying:—'The children which thy handmaiden has brought forth, and thy handmaiden herself, have of our own accord undergone the danger of fire,[1] and yet have suffered not the smallest hurt. Will the Heavenly Grandchild not look on them?' He answered and said:—'I knew from the first that they were my children, only, as they were conceived in one night, I thought that there might be suspicions, and I wished to let everybody know that they are my children, and also that a Heavenly Deity can cause pregnancy in one night. Moreover, I wished to make it evident that thou dost possess a wonderful and extraordinary dignity, and also that our children have surpassing spirit. Therefore it was that on a former day I used words of mockery.'"

In one writing it is said:—"Ame no Oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto took to wife Taku-hata-chichi-hime Yorodzu-hata[2] hime no Mikoto, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto."

Another version says:—"Honoto-hata-hime-ko-chichi-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto." She bore to him a child named Ama-no-ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Next she bore Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto. The child of Ama-no-ho-no-akari no Mikoto was called Kaguyama no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. II. 29.

When Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto was sending down the Heavenly Grandchild Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, she commanded the eighty myriads of Gods, saying:—"In the Central Land of Reed-

[1] The ordeal by fire is here alluded to. In later times the ordeal of boiling water was also practised. Both customs are kept up by Shintō devotees in modern times. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shintō," in the "T.A.S.J." A picture in Hokusai's "Mangwa" represents two in persons the garb of Buddhist priests passing through the ordeal of fire.

[2] Myriad looms, or rather webs. The currency of ancient Japan consisted of pieces of cloth. Hence Yorodzu-hata means wealthy.

Plains, the rocks, tree-stems and herbage have still the power of speech. At night, they make a clamour like that of flames of fire; in the day-time they swarm up like the flies in the fifth month, etc., etc." Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave command, saying:—"I formerly sent Ame-waka-hiko to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, but he has been long absent, and until now has not returned, perhaps being forcibly prevented by some of the Gods of the Land." She therefore sent the cock-pheasant Na-naki to go thither and spy out the reason. This pheasant went down, but when he saw the fields of millet and the fields of pulse he remained there, and did not come back. This was the origin of the modern saying, "The pheasant special messenger." Therefore she afterwards sent the hen-pheasant Na-naki, and this bird came down and was hit by an arrow shot by Ame-waka-hiko, after which she came up and made her report, etc., etc. At this time Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was upon the true couch, and having clothed therewith the Heavenly Grandchild Ama-tsu-hikone Ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto, sent him downwards, thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven. Therefore this God was styled Ame-kuni-nigishi-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto. Now the place at which he arrived on his descent is called the Peakof Sohori-yama of Takachiho
II. 30. in So in Hiuga. When he proceeded therefore on his way, etc., etc.,[1] he arrived at Cape Kasasa in Ata, and finally ascended the Island of Takashima in Nagaya. He went round inspecting that land, and found there a man whose name was Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa. The Heavenly Grandchild accordingly inquired of him, saying:—"Whose land is this?" He answered and said:—"This is the land where Nagasa dwells. I will, however, now offer it to the Heavenly Grandchild." The Heavenly Grandchild again inquired of him, saying:—"And the maidens who have built an eight-fathom palace on the highest crest of the waves and tend the loom with jingling wrist jewels, whose daughters are they?" He answered and said:—"They are the daughters of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. The elder is named Iha-naga-hime, and the younger is named Kono-

[1] These etc's mark intentional omissions.

hana saku-ya-hime, also called Toyo-ata-tsu hime, etc., etc." The August Grandchild accordingly favoured Toyo-ata-tsu hime, and after one night she became pregnant. The August Grandchild doubting this, etc., etc. Eventually she gave birth to Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next she bore Ho-no-ori no Mikoto, also called Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto. Proof having been given by the mother's vow, it was known exactly that they were truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. Toyo-ata-tsu hime however was incensed at the Heavenly Grandchild, and would not speak to him. The Heavenly Grandchild, grieved at this, made a song, saying :—

The sea-weed of the offing—
Though it may reach the shore :
The true couch
Is, alas ! impossible.
Ah ! ye dotterels of the beach ![1]

In one writing it is said :—" The daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Ama-yorodzu-taku-hata chi-hata hime." II. 31.

One version is :—" Yorodzu-hata-hime ko-dama-yori-hime no Mikoto was the child of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. This Goddess became the consort of Ame no Oshi-hone no Mikoto, and bore to him a child named Ama-no Ki-ho-ho-oki-se no Mikoto."

One version is :—" Katsu no haya-hi no Mikoto's child was Ama no Oho-mimi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Nigutsu hime, and had by her a child named Ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is :—" The daughter of Kami-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Taku-hata chi-hata hime, bore a child named Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is :—" Ama no Kise no Mikoto took to wife Ata-tsu hime, and had children, first Ho-no-akari no Mikoto, next Ho-no-yo-wori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto took to wife Ama

[1] A regular tanka (short poem) of 31 syllables. The meaning is : " The weeds of the deep sea may drift to the shore, but between thy couch and mine an impassable gulf is fixed. I appeal to you, ye dotterels of the beach! Is it not so ?"

no yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and by her as consort had a child named Ama-teru-kuni-teru Hiko-ho no akari no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. The next child was Ama-no-nigishi-kuni-no-nigishi Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-no ninigi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Kono hana saku-ya-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, and by her as consort had first a child named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto."

The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had by nature a sea-gift; the younger brother Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto had by nature a mountain-gift.[1] In the beginning the two brothers, the elder and the younger, conversed together, saying:—"Let us for a trial exchange gifts." They eventually exchanged them, but neither of them gained aught by doing so. The elder brother repented his bargain, and returned to the younger brother his bow and arrows, asking for his fish-hook to be given back to him. But the younger brother had already lost the elder brother's fish-hook, and there was no means of finding it. He accordingly made another new hook which he offered to his elder brother. But his elder brother refused to accept it, and
II. 32. demanded the old hook. The younger brother, grieved at this, forthwith took his cross-sword[2] and forged[3] from it new fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his brother. But his elder brother was wroth, and said:—"These are not my old fish-hook: though they are many, I will not take them." And he continued repeatedly to demand it vehemently. Therefore Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto's grief was exceedingly profound, and he went and made moan by the shore of the sea. There he met Shiho-tsutsu[4] no Oji.[5] The old man inquired of him saying:—"Why dost thou grieve here?" He answered and told him the matter from first to last. The old man said:—"Grieve no more. I will arrange this matter for thee." So he made a basket without interstices, and placing

[1] A talent for fishing and a talent for hunting.

[2] The interlinear gloss has tachi, or simply sword.

[3] This points to iron as the material of both swords and fish-hooks at the time when this story became current. The Homeric fish-hook was of horn —*βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο.* See Index—Bronze Age.

[4] Salt-sea-elder.

[5] Grandfather or old-man.

in it Hoho-demi no Mikoto, sank it in the sea. Forthwith he found himself at a pleasant strand, where he abandoned the basket, and, proceeding on his way, suddenly arrived at the palace of the Sea-God. This palace was provided with battlements and turrets, and had stately towers. Before the gate there was a well, and over the well there grew a many-branched cassia-tree,[1] with wide-spreading boughs and leaves. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto went up to the foot of this tree and loitered about. After some time a beautiful woman appeared, and, pushing open the door, came forth. She at length took a II. 33.
jewel-vessel and approached. She was about to draw water, when, raising her eyes, she saw him, and was alarmed. Returning within, she spoke to her father and mother, saying:—"There is a rare stranger at the foot of the tree before the gate." The God of the Sea thereupon prepared an eight-fold cushion and led him in. When they had taken their seats, he inquired of him the object of his coming. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto explained to him in reply all the circumstances. The Sea-God accordingly assembled the fishes, both great and small, and required of them an answer. They all said:—"We know not. Only the Red-woman[2] has had a sore mouth for some time past and has not come." She was therefore peremptorily summoned to appear, and on her mouth being examined the lost hook was actually found.

After this, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto took to wife the Sea-God's daughter, Toyo-tama[3]-hime, and dwelt in the sea-palace. For three years he enjoyed peace and pleasure, but still had a longing for his own country, and therefore sighed deeply from time to time. Toyo-tama-hime heard this and told her father, II. 34.
saying:—"The Heavenly Grandchild often sighs as if in grief. It may be that it is the sorrow of longing for his country." The God of the Sea thereupon drew to him Hiko-hoho-demi no

[1] A castle-gate with a tree growing before it, and a well at its bottom which serves as a mirror, are the stock properties of several old-world stories. The following is from Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 91:—"Then the Giant's dochter came to the palace where Nicht Nought Nothing was, and she went up into a tree to watch for him. The gardener's dochter going to draw water in the well, saw the shadow," etc.

[2] Aka-me, a name of the Tai (pagrus).

[3] Rich-jewel.

Mikoto, and addressing him in an easy, familiar way, said:—"If the Heavenly Grandchild desires to return to his country I will send him back." So he gave him the fish-hook which he had found, and in doing so instructed him, saying:—"When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, before giving to him call to it secretly, and say, "A poor hook." He further presented to him the jewel of the flowing tide and the jewel of the ebbing tide, and instructed him, saying:—"If thou dost dip the tide-flowing jewel, the tide will suddenly flow, and therewithal thou shalt drown thine elder brother. But in case thy elder brother should repent and beg forgiveness, if, on the contrary, thou dip the tide-ebbing jewel, the tide will spontaneously ebb, and therewithal thou shalt save him. If thou harass him in this way, thy elder brother will of his own accord render submission."

When the Heavenly Grandchild was about to set out on his return journey, Toyo-tama-hime addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden is already pregnant, and the time of her delivery is not far off. On a day when the winds and waves are raging, I will surely come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee that thou wilt make for me a parturition house,[1] and await me there."

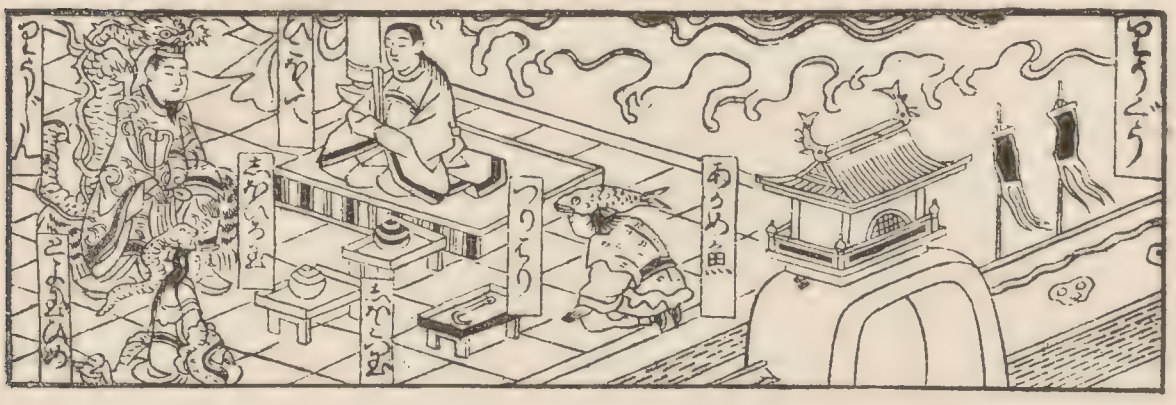
When Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto returned to his palace, he complied implicitly with the instructions of the Sea-God, and the elder brother, Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, finding himself in the utmost straits, of his own accord admitted his offence, and
II. 35. said:—"Henceforward I will be thy subject to perform mimic dances for thee. I beseech thee mercifully to spare my life." Thereupon he at length yielded his petition, and spared him.[2] This Ho-no-susori no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wobashi in Ata.

After this Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise, and, bringing with her her younger sister, Tama-yori-hime, bravely confronted the winds and waves, and came to the sea-shore. When the time of her delivery was at hand, she besought Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—"When thy handmaiden is in travail, I

[1] See above, p. 73.

[2] Ever since the time of Cain and Abel, folk-lore has had a curious partiality for the younger of two brothers. The Jimmu legend contains several instances of this.

pray thee do not look upon her." However, the Heavenly Grandchild could not restrain himself, but went secretly and peeped in. Now Toyo-tama-hime was just in childbirth, and had changed into a dragon.[1] She was greatly ashamed, and said:—"Hadst thou not disgraced me, I would have made the sea and land communicate with each other, and for ever pre-



vented them from being sundered. But now that thou hast disgraced me, wherewithal shall friendly feelings be knit together?" So she wrapped the infant in rushes, and abandoned it on the sea-shore. Then she barred the sea-path, and passed away.[2] Accordingly the child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-fuki-ahezu[3] no Mikoto.

A long time after, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi on the summit of Mount Takaya in Hiuga.

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had acquired a mountain-gift. Now the elder and younger brothers wished to exchange gifts, and therefore the elder brother took the bow which was of the gift of the younger brother, and went to the mountain in quest II. 36.

[1] In the accompanying illustration from a Japanese book (printed 1746), the Sea-King and his daughter are represented as combining the Dragon with the human form. See above, p. 61.

[2] "There are many examples of the disappearance of the bride or bridegroom in consequence of the infringement of various mystic rules." Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 81.

[3] Prince-beach-brave-cormorant-rush-thatch-unfinished. The application of the latter part of the name will appear from one of the variant myths given below. See also Ch. K., p. 127.

of wild animals. But never a trace of game did he see. The younger brother took the fish-hook of his elder brother's gift, and with it went a-fishing on the sea, but caught none at all, and finally lost his fish-hook. Then the elder brother restored his younger brother's bow and arrows, and demanded his own fish-hook. The younger brother was sorry, and of the cross-sword which he had in his girdle made fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his elder brother. But the elder brother refused to receive them, saying:—'I still wish to get the fish-hook of my gift.' Hereupon Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, not knowing where to look for it, only grieved and made moan. He went to the sea-shore, where he wandered up and down lamenting. Now there was an old man, who suddenly came forward, and gave his name as Shiho-tsuchi no Oji. He asked him, saying:—'Who art thou, my lord, and why dost thou grieve here?' Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto told him all that had happened. Whereupon the old man took from a bag a black comb, which he flung upon the ground. It straightway became changed into a multitudinous[1] clump of bamboos. Accordingly he took these bamboos and made of them a coarse basket with wide meshes, in which he placed Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and cast him into the sea."

One version says:—"He took a katama without interstices, and made of it a float, to which he attached Hoho-demi by a cord and sunk him." [*The term katama means what is now called a bamboo-basket.*]

Now there is in the bottom of the sea a natural "Little-shore of delight." Proceeding onwards, along this shore, he arrived of a sudden at the palace of Toyo-tama-hiko, the God of the Sea. This palace had magnificent gates and towers of exceeding beauty. Outside the gate there was a well, and beside the well was a cassia-tree. He approached
II. 32. the foot of this tree, and stood there. After a while a beautiful woman, whose countenance was such as is not anywhere to be seen, came out from within, followed by a bevy of attendant maidens. She was drawing water in a

[1] Lit. 500.

jewel-urn, when she looked up and saw Hoho-demi no Mikoto. She was startled, and returning, told the God, her father, saying:—'At the foot of the cassia-tree without the gate, there is a noble stranger of no ordinary build. If he had come down from Heaven, he would have had on him the filth of Heaven; if he had come from Earth, he would have had on him the filth of Earth. Could he be really the beautiful prince of the sky?'

One version says:—"An attendant of Toyo-tama-hime was drawing water in a jewel-pitcher, but she could not manage to fill it. She looked down into the well, when there shone inverted there the smiling face of a man. She looked up and there was a beautiful God leaning against a cassia-tree. She accordingly returned within, and informed her mistress.

Hereupon Toyo-tama-hiko sent a man to inquire, saying:—'Who art thou, O stranger, and why hast thou come here?' Hoho-demi no Mikoto answered and said:—'I am the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity,' and ultimately went on to give the reason of his coming.

Then the God of the Sea went out to meet him. He made him obeisance, and led him within, where he inquired courteously of his welfare, and gave him to wife his daughter, Toyo-tama-hime. Therefore he remained and dwelt in the palace of the sea. Three years passed, after which Hoho-demi no Mikoto sighed frequently, and Toyo-tama-hime asked him, saying:—'Does the Heavenly Grandchild perchance wish to return to his native land?' He answered and said:—'It is so.' Toyo-tama-hime forthwith told the God her father, and said:—'The noble guest who is here wishes to return to the upper country.' Hereupon the God of the Sea assembled all the II. 38.
fishes of the sea, and asked of them the fish-hook. Then one fish answered and said:—'The Red-woman[1] (*also called the Red Tahi*) has long had an ailment of the mouth. I suspect that she has swallowed it.' So the Red-woman was forthwith summoned, and on looking into her mouth, the hook was still there. It was at once taken and delivered to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, with these instructions:—

[1] See above, p. 93.

'When thou givest the fish-hook to thy elder brother, thou must use this imprecation: "The origin of poverty: the beginning of starvation: the root of wretchedness." Give it not to him until thou hast said this. Again, if thy brother cross the sea, I will then assuredly stir up the blasts and billows, and make them overwhelm and vex him.' Thereupon he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto on the back of a great sea-monster, and so sent him back to his own country.

At another time, before this, Toyo-tama-hime spoke in an easy, familiar way, and said:—'Thy handmaid is with child. Some day, when the winds and waves are boisterous, I will come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee to construct for me a parturition-house, and to await me there.'

After this, Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise to come, and spake to Hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—'To-night thy handmaiden will be delivered. I pray thee, look not on her.' Hoho-demi no Mikoto would not hearken to her, but with a comb[1] he made a light, and looked at her. At this time Toyo-tama-hime had become changed into an enormous sea-monster of eight fathoms, and was wriggling about on her belly. She at last was angry that she was put to shame, and forthwith went straight back again to her native sea, leaving behind her younger sister Tama-yori-
II. 39. hime as nurse to her infant. The child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ayezu no Mikoto, because the parturition-house by the sea-shore was all thatched with cormorants' feathers, and the child was born before the tiles had met. It was for this reason that he received this name."[2]

One version says:—"Before the gate there was a beautiful well, and over the well there grew a cassia-tree with an hundred branches. Accordingly Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto sprang up into that tree and stood there. At this time, Toyo-tama-hime, the daughter of the God of the Sea, came with a jewel-bowl in her hand and was about to draw water, when she saw in the well the reflection of a

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] There is a superstition that a woman in childbirth gained relief by holding a cormorant's feather in her hand. A cowrie (ko-yasu-gai) is used for the same purpose, no doubt on account of its shape. See above, p. 95.

man. She looked up and was startled, so that she let fall the bowl, which was broken to pieces. But without regard for it, she returned within and told her parents, saying:—'I have seen a man on the tree which is beside the well. His countenance is very beautiful, and his form comely. He is surely no ordinary person.' When the God, her father, heard this, he wondered. Having prepared an eight-fold cushion, he went to meet him, and brought him in. When they were seated, he asked the reason of his coming, upon which he answered and told him all his case. Now the God of the Sea at once conceived pity for him, and summoning all the broad of fin and narrow of fin, made inquiry of them. They all said:—'We know not. Only the Red-woman has an ailment of the mouth and has not come.' [Another version is:—'The Kuchi-me[1] has an ailment of the mouth.'] So she was sent for in all haste, and on searching her mouth, the lost fish-hook was at once found. Upon this the God of the Sea chid her, saying:—'Thou Kuchime! Henceforward thou shalt not be able to swallow a bait, nor shalt thou be allowed to have a place at the table of the Heavenly Grandchild.' This is the reason why the fish kuchime is not among the articles of food set before the Emperor.

When the time came for Hiko-hoho-demi. no Mikoto to take his departure, the God of the Sea spake to him, saying:—'I am rejoiced in my inmost heart that the Heavenly Grandchild has now been graciously pleased to visit me. When shall I ever forget it?' So he took the jewel which II. 40.
when thought of makes the tide to flow, and the jewel which when thought of makes the tide to ebb, and joining them to the fish-hook, presented them, saying:—'Though the Heavenly Grandchild may be divided from me by eight-fold windings (of road), I hope that we shall think of each other from time to time. Do not therefore throw them away.' And he taught him, saying:—'When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, call it thus:—'A hook of poverty, a hook of ruin, a hook of downfall.' When thou hast said all this, fling it away to him with thy back turned, and deliver it not to him face to face. If thy elder

[1] Kuchi-me means "mouth-female."

brother is angry, and has a mind to do thee hurt, then produce the tide-flowing jewel and drown him therewith. As soon as he is in peril and appeals for mercy, bring forth the tide-ebbing jewel and therewith save him. If thou dost vex him in this way, he will of his own accord become thy submissive vassal.' Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, having received the jewels and the fish-hook, came back to his original palace, and followed implicitly the teaching of the Sea-God. First of all he offered his elder brother the fish-hook. His elder brother was angry and would not receive it. Accordingly the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, upon which the tide rose with a mighty overflow, and the elder brother was drowning. Therefore he besought his younger brother, saying:—'I will serve thee as thy slave. I beseech thee, spare my life.' The younger brother then produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ebbed of its own accord, and the elder brother was restored to tranquillity. After this the elder brother changed his former words, and said:—'I am thy elder brother. How can an elder brother serve a younger brother?' Then the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, which his elder brother seeing, fled up to a high mountain. Thereupon the tide also submerged the mountain. The elder brother climbed a lofty tree, and thereupon the tide also submerged the tree. The elder brother was now at an extremity, and had nowhere to
II. 41. flee to. So he acknowledged his offence, saying:—'I have been in fault. In future my descendants for eighty generations shall serve thee as thy mimes in ordinary. [One version has 'dog-men.'] I pray thee, have pity on me.' Then the younger brother produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ceased of its own accord. Hereupon the elder brother saw that the younger brother was possessed of marvellous powers, and at length submitted to serve him.

On this account the various Hayato descended from Ho no susori no Mikoto to the present time do not leave the vicinity of the enclosure of the Imperial Palace, and render service instead of barking dogs.[1]

[1] The Hayato constituted the Imperial Guard. The literal meaning of the

This was the origin of the custom which now prevails of not pressing a man to return a lost needle."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother, Ho no susori no Mikoto, was endowed with a sea-gift, and was therefore called Umi no sachi-hiko:[2] the younger brother, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, was endowed with a mountain-gift, and was therefore called Yama no sachi-hiko. Whenever the wind blew and the rain fell, the elder brother lost his gain, but in spite of wind and rain the younger brother's gain did not fail him. Now the elder brother spoke to the younger brother, saying:—'I wish to make trial of an exchange of gifts with thee.' The younger brother consented, and the exchange was accordingly made. Thereupon the elder brother took the younger brother's bow and arrows, and went a-hunting to the mountain: the younger brother took the elder brother's fish-hook, and went on the sea a-fishing. But neither of them got anything, and they came back empty-handed. The elder brother accordingly restored to the younger brother his bow and arrows, and demanded back his own fish-hook. Now the younger brother had lost the fish-hook in the sea, and he knew not how to find it. Therefore he made other new fish-hooks, several thousands in number, which he offered to his elder brother. The elder brother was angry, and would not receive them, but demanded importunately the old fish-hook, etc., etc. Then the younger brother went to the sea-shore and wandered about, grieving and making moan. Now II. 42.

name (for haya-bito) is falcon-man. They were from the provinces of Satsuma and Ohosumi. The Hayato are mentioned repeatedly in the reigns of Temmu and Jitō, not, I think, before that time.

The Yengi-shiki (regulations of the Yengi, 901-923 period) says that on the first day of the year, at coronations, and when foreign envoys were received, twenty upper class hayato were to attend, twenty "new-comer" hayato, and 132 ordinary hayato. These were to take their posts in detachments to right and left outside the Palace Gate. When the officials first entered, or got up from their seats, the "new-comer" hayato raised three barks, and there was more barking or howling, sometimes loud and sometimes low, at other stages of the ceremony.

[1] The Japanese word hari means both needle and fish-hook. There is no such ambiguity in the Chinese characters used here.

[2] Sea-gift-prince.

there was there a river wild-goose which had become entangled in a snare, and was in distress. He took pity on it, and loosing it, let it go. Shortly after there appeared Shiho tsutsu no Oji. He came and made a skiff of basket-work without interstices, in which he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto and pushed it off into the sea, when it sank down of its own accord, till of a sudden there appeared the Pleasant Road. So he went on along this road, which in due course led him to the palace of the Sea-God. Then the Sea-God came out himself to meet him, and invited him to enter. He spread eight layers of sea-asses'[1] skins, on which he made him to sit, and with a banquet of tables of a hundred, which was already prepared, he fulfilled the rites of hospitality. Then he inquired of him in an easy manner:—'Wherefore has the Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity been graciously pleased to come hither?'"

[One version has:—"A little while ago my child came and told me that the Heavenly Grandchild was mourning by the sea-shore. Whether this be true or false I know not, but perhaps it may be so."]

Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto related to him all that had happened from first to last. So he remained there, and the Sea-God gave him his daughter Toyo-tama-hime to wife. At length, when three years had passed in close and
II. 43. warm affection, the time came for him to depart. So the Sea-God sent for the tahi, and on searching her mouth found there the fish-hook. Thereupon he presented the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him thus:—'When thou givest this to thy elder brother thou must recite the following:—"A big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook." After saying all this, fling it to him with a back-handed motion.' Then he summoned together the sea-monsters, and inquired of them, saying:—'The Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity is now about to take his departure homewards. In how many days will you accomplish this service?' Then all the sea-monsters fixed each a number of days according to his own length. Those of

[1] The interlinear gloss has michi. One of the marine carnivora is meant, probably the seal.

them which were one fathom long of their own accord said: —'In the space of one day we will accomplish it.' The one-fathom sea-monsters were accordingly sent with him as his escort. Then he gave him two precious objects, the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, and taught him how to use them. He further instructed him, saying:—'If thy elder brother should make high fields, do thou make puddle fields; if thy elder brother make puddle fields, do thou make high fields. In this manner did the Sea-God in all sincerity lend him his aid. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, when he returned home, followed implicitly the God's instructions, and acted accordingly. When the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, the elder brother forthwith flung up his hands in the agony of drowning. But when, on the other hand, he produced the tide-ebbing jewel, he was relieved, and recovered. After that Hi no susori no Mikoto pined away from day to day, and lamented, saying:—'I have become impoverished.' So he yielded submission to his younger brother.

Before this Toyo-tama-hime spake to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'That which thy handmaid has conceived is the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. How could I give birth to it in the midst of the ocean? Therefore when the time of my delivery comes, I will surely betake myself to my lord's abode, and it is my prayer that thou shouldst build me a house by the sea-side and await me there.' Therefore Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto, as soon as he returned to his own country, took cormorants' feathers, and with them as thatch, made a parturition-house. But before the tiling of the house was completed, Toyo-tama-hime herself arrived, riding on a great tortoise, with her younger sister Tama-yori-hime, and throwing a splendour over the sea. Now the months of her pregnancy were already fulfilled, and the time of her delivery was urgent. On this account she did not wait till the thatching of the house was completed, but went straight in and remained there. Then she spake quietly to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'Thy handmaid is about to be delivered. I pray thee do not look on her.' The Heavenly Grandchild wondered at these words, and II. 44.

peeped in secretly, when behold, she had become changed into a great sea-monster of eight fathoms. Now she was aware that the Heavenly Grandchild had looked in upon her privacy, and was deeply ashamed and resentful. When the child was born, the Heavenly Grandchild approached and made inquiry, saying:—'By what name ought the child to be called?' She answered and said:—'Let him be called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto.'[1] Having said so, she took her departure straight across the sea. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto made a song, saying:—

Whatever befals me,
Ne'er shall I forget my love
With whom I slept
In the island of wild-ducks—
The birds of the offing."[2]

II. 45. Another account says:—"Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto took other women and made them wet-nurses, bathing-women, boiled-rice-chewers, and washerwomen.[3] All these various Be were provided for the respectful nurture of the infant. The provision at this time, by means of other women, of milk for the nurture of the august child was the origin of the present practice of engaging temporarily wet-nurses to bring up infants.

After this, when Toyo-tama-hime heard what a fine boy her child was, her heart was greatly moved with affection, and she wished to come back and bring him up herself. But she could not rightly do so, and therefore she sent her younger sister Tama-yori-hime to nurture him. Now when Toyo-tama-hime sent Tama-yori-hime, she offered (to Hoho-demi no Mikoto) the following verse in answer:—

Some may boast
Of the splendour
Of red jewels,

---

[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] The order of the lines in the original is exactly the reverse of the above. Metre, regular tanka.

The word for "my love" is imo, which in ancient Japanese is used indifferently for wife and younger sister. See above, p. 22.

[3] Evidently the narrator is here describing the staff of the Imperial nursery of the day.

But those worn by my Lord—
It is they which are admirable.[1]

These two stanzas, one sent, and one in reply, are what are termed age-uta."[2]

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother, Ho no susori no Mikoto had a sea-gift, while the younger brother, Ho no ori no Mikoto, had a mountain gift, etc., etc.

The younger brother remained by the sea-shore grieving II. 46.
and making moan, when he met with Shiho-tsutsu no Oji, who inquired of him, saying:—'Why dost thou grieve in this way?' Ho no ori no Mikoto answered and said, etc., etc.

The old man said:—'Grieve no longer. I will devise a plan.' So he unfolded his plan, saying:—'The courser on which the Sea-God rides is a sea-monster eight fathoms in length, who with fins erect stays in the small orange-tree house. I will consult with him.' So he took Ho no ori no Mikoto with him, and went to see the sea-monster. The sea-monster then suggested a plan, saying:—'I could bring the Heavenly Grandchild to the Sea-Palace after a journey of eight days, but my King has a courser, a sea-monster of one fathom, who will without doubt bring him thither in one day. I will therefore return and make him come to thee. Thou shouldst mount him, and enter the sea. When thou enterest the sea, thou wilt in due course find there "the Little-shore of delight." Proceed along this shore and thou wilt surely arrive at the palace of my King. Over the well at the palace gate there is a multitudinous branching cassia-tree. Do thou climb up on to this tree and stay there.' Having so said, he entered into the sea, and departed. Accordingly the Heavenly Grandchild, in compliance with the sea-monster's words, remained there, and waited for eight days, when there did indeed appear to him a sea-monster of one fathom. He mounted on it, and entered the sea, where he followed in every particular the former sea-monster's advice. Now there appeared an attendant of Toyo-tama-hime, carrying a jewel-vessel, with

[1] The "Kojiki" gives a different version of this poem. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 128.
[2] Ageru means to exalt, hence to praise, and age-uta may be rendered "complimentary poetry."

which she was about to draw water from the well, when she espied in the bottom of the water the shadow of a man. She could not draw water, and looking up saw the Heavenly Grandchild. Thereupon she went in and informed the King, saying:—'I had thought that my Lord alone was supremely handsome, but now a stranger has appeared who far excels him in beauty.' When the Sea-God heard this, he said:—'I will try him and see.' So he prepared a threefold dais. Thereupon the Heavenly Grandchild wiped both his feet at the first step of the dais. At the middle one he placed both his hands to the ground; at the inner one he sat down at his ease[1] upon the cushion covering the true couch. When the Sea-God saw this, he knew that this was the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity, and treated
II. 47. him with more and more respect, etc., etc.

The Sea-God summoned the Akame and the Kuchime, and made inquiry of them. Then the Kuchime drew a fish-hook from her mouth and respectfully delivered it to him. [*The Akame is the Red Tahi and the Kuchime is the Nayoshi.*][2] The Sea-God then gave the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him, saying:—'When thy elder brother's fish-hook is returned to him, let the Heavenly Grandchild say:—"Let it be to all thy descendants, of whatever degree of relationship, a poor hook, a paltry poor hook." When thou hast thus spoken, spit thrice, and give it to him. Moreover, when thy elder brother goes to sea a-fishing, let the Heavenly Grandchild stand on the sea-shore and do that which raises the wind. Now that which raises the wind is whistling. If thou doest so, I will forthwith stir up the wind of the offing and the wind of the shore, and will overwhelm and vex him with the scurrying waves.' Ho no ori no Mikoto returned, and obeyed implicitly the instructions of the God. When a day came on which the elder brother went a-fishing, the younger brother stood on the shore of the sea, and whistled. Then there arose a sudden tempest, and the elder brother was forthwith overwhelmed and harassed. Seeing no means of

[1] i.e. with legs crossed, which is less respectful than the usual squatting posture.

[2] Mullet.

saving his life, he besought his younger brother from afar, saying:—'Thou hast dwelt long in the ocean-plain, and must possess some excellent art. I pray thee teach it to me. If thou save my life, my descendants of all degrees of relationship shall not leave the neighbourhood of thy precinct, but shall act as thy mime-vassals.' Thereupon the younger brother left off whistling, and the wind again returned to rest. So the elder brother recognized the younger brother's power, and freely admitted his fault. But the younger brother was wroth, and would hold no converse with him. Hereupon the elder brother, with nothing but his waistcloth on, and smearing the palms of his hands and his face with red earth, said to his younger brother:— II. 48.
'Thus do I defile my body, and make myself thy mime for ever.' So kicking up his feet, he danced along and practised the manner of his drowning struggles. First of all, when the tide reached his feet, he did the foot-divination;[1] when it reached his knees, he raised up his feet; when it reached his thighs, he ran round in a circle; when it reached his loins, he rubbed his loins; when it reached his sides, he placed his hands upon his breast; when it reached his neck, he threw up his hands, waving his palms. From that time until now, this custom has never ceased.

Before this, Toyo-tama-hime came forth, and when the time came for her delivery, she besought the Heavenly Grandchild, saying, etc., etc.

The Heavenly Grandchild did not comply with her request, and Toyo-tama-hime resented it greatly, saying:—'Thou didst not attend to my words, but didst put me to shame. Therefore from this time forward, do not send back again any of the female servants of thy handmaid who may go to thy place, and I will not send back any of thy servants who may come to my place.' At length she took the coverlet of the true couch and rushes, and wrapping her child in them, laid him on the beach. She then entered the sea and went away. This is the reason why there is no communication between land and sea." II. 49.

One version says:—"The statement that she placed the

[1] i e. shuffled with his feet, as when performing this kind of divination.

child on the beach is wrong. Toyo-tama-hime no Mikoto departed with the child in her own arms. Many days after, she said :—'It is not right that the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild should be left in the sea,' so she made Tama-yori-hime to take him, and sent him away. At first, when Toyo-tama-hime left, her resentment was extreme, and Ho no ori no Mikoto therefore knew that they would never meet again, so he sent her the verse of poetry which is already given above."

Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto took his aunt Tama-yori-hime as his consort, and had by her in all four male children, namely, Hiko-itsu-se[1] no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi[2] no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no[3] no Mikoto, and next Kamu-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Long after, Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto died, in the palace of the western country, and was buried in the Misasagi on the top of Mount Ahira in Hiuga.

One writing says :—" His first child was Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, the next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto, and the next Sano no Mikoto, also styled Kamu[4]-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Sano was the name by which he was called when young. Afterwards when he had cleared and subdued the realm, and had control of the
II. 50. eight islands, the title was added of Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" His first child was Itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Mikeno no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, and the next Ihare-biko no Mikoto, also styled Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsuse no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Kamu-yamato Ihare biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Waka-mi-ke-no no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, next Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Hiko Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto."

[1] Prince-five-reaches.
[2] Boiled rice.
[3] Three-hairs-enter-moor.
[4] Or Kami.

BOOK III.

THE EMPEROR KAMI-YAMATO IHARE-BIKO.[1]

(*JIMMU TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Kami Yamato Ihare-biko's personal name was

[1] Emperor is as near an equivalent as possible of the Chinese 天皇. Both are foreign words. The Japanese interlinear gloss is Sumera Mikoto "supreme majesty," sumera having the same root as suberu, "to unite as a whole"; hence, "to have general control of." See Satow, "Rituals," "T.A.S.J.," VII., ii., p. 113.

Yamato, see above, note to p. 13.

Ihare is the name of a district of Yamato; Hiko means prince.

Jimmu (divine valour) is a posthumous name. These names for the earlier Mikados were invented in the reign of Kwammu (782—806), after the "Nihongi" was written, but it is necessary to mention them, as they are in universal use by Japanese writers.

In this narrative we have probably a legendary echo of a real movement of population from Kiushiu eastwards to Yamato, at some time before the Christian epoch, but it is not safe to go further than this. The details are manifestly fictitious, some of them, as the quotations from Chinese books put into the mouth of Jimmu Tennō, demonstrably so.

Granting for a moment that the narrative of the Conquest of Yamato by Jimmu Tennō is substantially true, the question arises, Of what race were the tribes whom he found there? I would suggest that they may have been the Southern Wa mentioned in the "Shan hai king," a very ancient Chinese book, as being, along with the Northern Wa, subject to the kingdom of Yen. The Chinese in ancient times had a notion that Yamato lay to the south of Kiushiu. Yen, a kingdom of Northern China, had an independent existence from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 265.[1] Chamberlain has pointed out that the ancient legends of Japan are connected with three distinct centres—Idzumo, Yamato, and Tsukushi, which is some indication that these places were also centres of governmental authority. The names given to the chieftains subdued by Jimmu Tennō are unmistakably Japanese, as are also those of the places which they inhabited. I cannot agree with Chamberlain in deriving Yamato, Ki, Shima, etc., from Aino words, when obvious Japanese explanations are available. There is another Yamato in Chikugo, where the Aino derivation is surely out of place. I have no desire, however, to dispute all his Aino derivations of place names

Hiko-hoho-demi. He was the fourth child [1] of Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto. His mother's name was Tama-yori-hime, daughter of the Sea-God. From his birth, this Emperor was of clear intelligence and resolute will. At the
III. 2. age of fifteen he was made heir to the throne. When he grew up, he married Ahira-tsu-hime, of the district of Ata in the province of Hiuga, and made her his consort. By her he had Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto and Kisu-mimi no Mikoto.

When he reached the age of forty-five, he addressed his elder brothers and his children, saying:—"Of old, our Heavenly Deities Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto, pointing to this land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain, gave it to our Heavenly ancestor, Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. Thereupon Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, throwing open the barrier of Heaven and clearing a cloud-path, urged on his superhuman course until he came to rest. At this time the world was given over to widespread desolation. It was an age of darkness and disorder. In this gloom, therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border.[2] Our Imperial ancestors and Imperial parent, like gods, like sages, accumulated happiness and amassed glory. Many years elapsed. From the date when our Heavenly ancestor descended until now it is over
III. 3. 1,792,470 years.[3] But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practises mutual aggression and conflict.

Now I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea,[4] that in the East there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. Moreover, there is there one who flew down riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat. I think that this land will undoubtedly

in this part of Japan, and I think it very probable that the first Japanese who settled here drove out a population of Aino race.

[1] Primogeniture was evidently not recognized in Japan at the time this story was written.

[2] i.e. Kiushiu.

[3] This is in imitation of the great number of years ascribed to the reigns of the early Chinese monarchs.

[4] Shiho tsutsu no oji.

be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task,[1] so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the centre of the world.[2] The person who flew down was, I believe, Nigi-haya-hi.[3] Why should we not proceed thither, and make it the capital?"

All the Imperial Princes answered, and said:—"The truth of this is manifest. This thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly." This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Great Year.[4] III. 4. B.C. 667.

In that year, in winter, on the Kanoto Tori day (the 5th) of the 10th month, the new moon of which was on the day Hinoto Mi, the Emperor in person led the Imperial Princes and a naval force on an expedition against the East. When he arrived at the Haya-suhi gate,[6] there was there a fisherman who came riding in a boat. The Emperor summoned him, and then inquired of him, saying:—"Who art thou?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant is a Country-God, and his name is Utsu-hiko.[7] I angle for fish in the bays of ocean. Hearing that the son of the Heavenly Deity was coming, therefore I forthwith came to receive him." Again he inquired of him, saying:—"Canst thou act as my guide?" He answered and said:—"I will do so." The Emperor ordered the end of a pole of shihi wood[8] to be given to the fisher, and caused him to be taken and pulled into the Imperial vessel, of which he was made pilot.

[1] i.e. for the further development of the Imperial power.

[2] The world is here the six quarters, N., S., E., W., Zenith, Nadir. This is, of course, Chinese, as indeed is this whole speech.

[3] Nigi-haya-hi means soft-swift-sun.

[4] The great year is the Chinese cycle of sixty years. This system of reckoning time is described in Legge's "Classics," Chalmers' "Essay in prolegomena to Shooking," "Japanese Chronological Tables," by E.M.S., Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," Mayers' "Chinese Manual," etc. It was not in use to record years before the Christian era even in China, and could hardly have been known in Japan before the introduction of writing in the 5th century, A.D. It is needless to add that such dates are, in this part of the "Nihongi," purely fictitious.

[5] The days of the month are throughout the "Nihongi" given in this clumsy fashion. I have not thought it necessary to follow the example, except in this one instance.

[6] The Quick-suck-gate or Bungo Channel, so called from its rapid tides.

[7] Rare-prince. [8] Quercus cuspidata.

A name was specially granted him, and he was called Shihi-ne-
III. 5. tsu-hiko.[1] He was the first ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe.

Proceeding on their voyage, they arrived at Usa[2] in the Land of Tsukushi. At this time there appeared the ancestors of the Kuni-tsu-ko[3] of Usa, named Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime. They built a palace raised on one pillar[4] on the banks of the River Usa, and offered them a banquet. Then, by Imperial command, Usa-tsu-hime was given in marriage to the Emperor's attendant minister Ama no tane[5] no Mikoto. Now Ama no tane no Mikoto was the remote ancestor of the Nakatomi Uji.[6]

11th month, 9th day. The Emperor arrived at the harbour of Oka[7] in the Land of Tsukushi.

III. 6. 12th month, 27th day. He arrived at the province of Aki, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ye.

B.C. 666. The year Kinoto U, Spring, 3rd month, 6th day. Going onwards, he entered the land of Kibi,[8] and built a temporary palace, in which he dwelt. It was called the Palace of Takashima. Three years passed, during which time he set in order the helms[9] of his ships, and prepared a store of provisions. It was his desire by a single effort to subdue the Empire.

B.C. 663. The year Tsuchinoye Muma, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Imperial forces at length proceeded eastwards, the prow of one ship touching the stern of another. Just when they reached Cape Naniha they encountered a current of great swiftness. Whereupon that place was called Nami-haya (wave-swift) or

[1] Prince of shihi root.

[2] Usa is now a district (kōri) in the province of Buzen. Tsukushi is used by old writers both for the whole island of Kiushiu and for the northern part of it.

[3] Or Kuni no miyakko, local hereditary nobles.

[4] Vide Ch. K., p. 130, and "Night of the Gods," p. 224, where a curious coincidence with an Irish legend is noted. "In Mailduin's voyage he came to an island called Aenchoss, that is One-foot, so called because it was supported by a single pillar in the middle." The "Kojiki" and a note to the "Nihongi" have for one pillar, "one foot." Possibly there is here a reminiscence of a nomadic tent life.

[5] Heavenly seed.

[6] i.e. house, or noble family.

[7] In Chikuzen.

[8] Including the present provinces of Bizen, Bittchiu, and Bingo.

[9] Or oars.

Nami-hana (wave-flower). It is now called Naniha,[1] which is a corruption of this.

3rd month, 10th day. Proceeding upwards against the stream, they went straight on, and arrived at the port of Awokumo no Shira-date, in the township of Kusaka, in the province of Kafuchi.[2] III. 7.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Imperial forces in martial array marched on to Tatsuta. The road was narrow and precipitous, and the men were unable to march abreast, so they returned and again endeavoured to go eastward, crossing over Mount Ikoma. In this way they entered the inner country.[3]

Now when Naga-sune-hiko[4] heard this, he said:—"The object of the children of the Heavenly Deity in coming hither is assuredly to rob me of my country." So he straightway levied all the forces under his dominion, and intercepted them at the Hill of Kusaka. A battle was engaged, and Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by a random arrow on the elbow. The Imperial forces were unable to advance against the enemy. The Emperor was vexed, and revolved in his inmost heart a divine plan, saying:—"I am the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, and if I proceed against the Sun to attack the enemy, I shall act contrary to the way of Heaven. Better to retreat and make a show of weakness. Then sacrificing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and bringing on our backs the might of the Sun-Goddess, let us III. 8. follow her rays and trample them down. If we do so, the enemy will assuredly be routed of themselves, and we shall not stain our swords with blood." They all said:—"It is good." Thereupon he gave orders to the army, saying:—"Wait a while, and advance no further." So he withdrew his forces, and the enemy also did not dare to attack him. He then retired to the port of Kusaka, where he set up shields, and made a warlike show. Therefore the name of this port was changed to Tatetsu,[5] which is now corrupted into Tadetsu.

Before this, at the battle of Kusaka, there was a man who

[1] Naniha is now a poetical name for Ohosaka. The current referred to is no doubt the tide on the bar at the river-mouth, a most dangerous place for small craft in bad weather.

[2] Pronounced Kawachi. [3] Yamato.

[4] Prince Longshanks. Naga-sune is the name of a place.

[5] Shield-port or shield-ferry.

hid in a great tree, and by so doing escaped danger. So pointing to this tree, he said :—" I am grateful to it, as to my mother." Therefore the people of the day called that place Omo no ki no Mura.[1]

5th month, 8th day. The army arrived at the port of Yamaki in Chinu [*also called Port Yama no wi*]. Now Itsuse no Mikoto's arrow wound was extremely painful. He grasped his sword, and striking a martial attitude, said :—" How exasperating it is that a *man* should die of a wound received at the hands of slaves, and should not revenge it !" The people of that
III. 9. day therefore called the place Wo no minato.[2]

Proceeding onwards, they reached Mount Kama in the Land of Kiï, where Itsuse no Mikoto died in the army, and was therefore buried at Mount Kama.

6th month, 23rd day. The army arrived at the village of Nagusa, where they put to death the Tohe[3] of Nagusa. Finally they crossed the moor of Sano, and arrived at the village of Kami[4] in Kumano. Here he embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and leading his army, proceeded onwards by slow degrees. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind, and the Imperial vessel was tossed about. Then Ina-ihi no Mikoto exclaimed and said :—" Alas ! my ancestors were Heavenly Deities, and my mother was a Goddess of the Sea. Why do they harass me by land, and why moreover do they harass me by sea ?" When he had said this, he drew his sword and plunged into the sea, where he became changed into the God Sabi-mochi.[5]

III. 10. Mike Irino no Mikoto, also indignant at this, said :—" My mother and my aunt are both Sea-Goddesses : why do they raise great billows to overwhelm us ?" So treading upon the waves, he went to the Eternal Land.[6] The Emperor was now alone with the Imperial Prince Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. Leading his army forward, he arrived at Port Arazaka in Kumano [*also called Nishiki Bay*], where he put to death the Tohe of Nishiki. At this time the Gods belched up

[1] Mother-tree-village. [2] Port Man (vir).
[3] Tohe seems to have been a word for chieftain.
[4] Or it may be of the Deity of Kumano.
[5] i.e. the blade-holder. [6] Toko-yo no Kuni.

a poisonous vapour, from which everyone suffered. For this reason the Imperial army was again unable to exert itself. Then there was there a man by name Kumano no Takakuraji, who unexpectedly had a dream, in which Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami,[1] saying:—"I still hear a sound of disturbance from the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Do thou again go and chastise it." Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami answered and said:—"Even if I go not, I can send down my sword, with which I subdued the land, upon which the country will of its own accord become peaceful." To this Ama-terasu no Kami assented. Thereupon Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami addressed Takakuraji, saying:—"My sword, which is called Futsu no Mitama, I will now place in thy storehouse. Do thou take it and present it to the Heavenly Grandchild." III. 11. Takakuraji said "Yes," and thereupon awoke. The next morning, as instructed in his dream, he opened the storehouse, and on looking in, there was indeed there a sword which had fallen down (from Heaven), and was standing upside down[2] on the plank floor of the storehouse. So he took it and offered it to the Emperor. At this time the Emperor happened to be asleep. He awoke suddenly, and said:—"What a long time I have slept!" On inquiry he found that the troops who had been affected by the poison had all recovered their senses and were afoot. The Emperor then endeavoured to advance into the interior, but among the mountains it was so precipitous that there was no road by which they could travel, and they wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed the Emperor in a dream of the night, saying:—"I will now send thee the Yata-garasu,[3] make it thy guide through the land." Then there did

[1] The Thunder-God. [2] i.e. point upwards.

[3] Yata-garasu. The Chinese characters used here mean "The crow with a head eight feet long." But this is a case where we must put aside the Chinese characters, and attend solely to the Japanese word which they are meant to represent. This is undoubtedly yata-garasu, as we know from the "Kojiki" and from the traditional Kana rendering. Much has been written about this bird by Motowori and other Shintō scholars, which is, I venture to think, wholly wide of the mark. The clue to its meaning is afforded by the "Wamiō-shō," a Chinese-Japanese vocabulary of the tenth century, which says, on the authority of the "Shiki," still more ancient commentaries on the "Nihongi,"

indeed appear the Yata-garasu flying down from the Void. The Emperor said:—"The coming of this crow is in due accordance with my auspicious dream. How grand! How splendid! My Imperial ancestor, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, desires therewith to assist me in creating the hereditary institution."[1]

At this time Hi no Omi[2] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Oho-
III. 12. tomo[3] House, taking with him Oho-kume[4] as commander of the main body, guided by the direction taken by the crow, looked up to it and followed after, until at length they arrived at the district of Lower Uda. Therefore they named the place which they reached the village of Ukechi[5] in Uda.

that the Yang-wu or Sun-crow is in Japanese yata-garasu. The Yang-wu is a bird with three claws, and of a red colour, which, according to Chinese myth, inhabits the sun. If we accept this identification, the meaning of the epithet yata becomes clear. It means eight hands, or, as ya in ancient Japanese meant also many or several, many hands, a sufficiently accurate description for popular myth of the Yang-wu with its three claws. The late M. Terrien de La-Couperie, in his "Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilization," says that "the first allusion to the three-legged crow supposed to roost in the sun occurs in the "Li Sao" of Kiü-yuen, the poet of Ts'u, 314 B.C. in China. A three-legged bird in various forms was figured on coins of Pamphylia and Lycia of older times. Comte Goblet d'Alviella has reproduced some of them in his interesting work on "La Migration des Symboles," 1891, p. 222. See a paper on the Hi no maru in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII., p. 27, and Ch. K., p. 136. The guidance of conquerors or colonists to their destination by a supernatural bird or beast is a familiar feature of old-world story. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," II, 71.

Sun-crow.

[1] The sovereignty. [2] Hi means sun; Omi, minister.

[3] Oho-tomo means "great companion." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards.

[4] Oho-kume, as Chamberlain points out, probably means simply a great force. But when the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" were written, this meaning was forgotten, and it was supposed to be a man's name.

[5] Ugatsu means to pierce, and the name was given because they penetrated the mountains to this place. All these derivations are very fanciful.

At this time, by an Imperial order, he commended Hi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art faithful and brave, and art moreover a successful guide. Therefore will I give thee a new name, and will call thee Michi no Omi."[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor sent to summon Ukeshi the Elder and Ukeshi the Younger. These two were chiefs of the district of Uda. Now Ukeshi the Elder did not come. But Ukeshi the Younger came, and making obeisance at the gate of the camp, declared as follows:—"Thy servant's elder brother, Ukeshi the Elder, shows signs of resistance. Hearing that the descendant of Heaven was about to arrive, he forthwith raised an army with which to make an attack. But having seen from afar the might of the Imperial army, he was afraid, and did not dare to oppose it. Therefore he has secretly placed his troops in ambush, and has built for the occasion a new palace, in the hall of which he has prepared engines. It is his intention to invite the Emperor to a banquet there, and then to do him a mischief. I pray that his treachery be noted, and that good care be taken III. 13.
to make preparation against it." The Emperor straightway sent Michi no Omi no Mikoto to observe the signs of his opposition. Michi no Omi no Mikoto clearly ascertained his hostile intentions, and being greatly enraged, shouted at him in a blustering manner:—"Wretch! thou shalt thyself dwell in the house which thou hast made." So grasping his sword, and drawing his bow, he urged him and drove him within it. Ukeshi the Elder being guilty before Heaven, and the matter not admitting of excuse, of his own accord trod upon the engine and was crushed to death. His body was then brought out and decapitated, and the blood which flowed from it reached above the ankle. Therefore that place was called Uda no Chi-hara.[2] After this Ukeshi the Younger prepared a great feast of beef and sake,[3] with which he entertained the

[1] The Minister of the Road. [2] The bloody plain of Uda.

[3] We might be inclined to infer from this (what was probably the case) that the Ancient Japanese lived more on animal food than their descendants in modern times. But there is much room for suspicion that this statement s nothing more than a reminiscence of a passage in a history of the Later Han dynasty of China, which speaks of beef and sake being presented to the Emperor Kwang Wu Ti, who came to the throne A.D. 25.

Imperial army. The Emperor distributed this flesh and sake to the common soldiers, upon which they sang the following verses :—

In the high { castle / tree } of Uda
I set a snare for woodcock,
And waited,
But no woodcock came to it ;
III. 14. A valiant whale came to it.[1]
* * * *
* * * *

This is called a Kume[2] song. At the present time, when the Department of Music performs this song, there is still the[3] measurement of great and small by the hand, as well as a distinction of coarse and fine in the notes of the voice. This is by a rule handed down from antiquity.

After this the Emperor wished to inspect the Land of Yoshino, so taking personal command of the light troops, he
III. 15. made a progress round by way of Ukechi mura in Uda.

When he came to Yoshino, there was a man who came out of a well. He shone, and had a tail. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is a local Deity, and his name is Wi-hikari."[4] He it is who was the first ancestor of the Yoshino no Obito. Proceeding a little further, there was another man with a tail, who burst open a rock and came forth from it. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is the child of Iha-oshi-

[1] Ki in the first line of this poem means probably both tree and castle. The words are put into the mouth of Ukeshi the Elder, who found a whale (the Emperor) in his springe instead of the harmless woodcock he expected. The wild boar is now called the yama-kujira or mountain-whale, and is perhaps the animal intended here.

I confess that I can make no satisfactory sense of the remainder of this poem. The version given by Chamberlain (Ch. K., p. 140), following Moribe, is as good as any, but it seems to me very conjectural. It should be noted, however, that this part of the poem contains an indication of the polygamous customs of the Japanese at this time in the use of two words signifying respectively elder wife (konami) and younger wife (uhanari). The " Nihongi " omits the interjectional refrain given in the " Kojiki."

[2] Kume means no doubt " soldier " in this passage.

[3] Beating time is perhaps meant. [4] Well-brightness.

wake."[1] It is he who was the first ancestor of the Kuzu[2] of Yoshino.

Then skirting the river, he proceeded westward, when there appeared another man, who had made a fish trap and was catching fish. On the Emperor making inquiry of him, he answered and said :—"Thy servant is the son of Nihe-motsu."[3] He it is who was the first ancestor of the U-kahi of Ata.[4]

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor ascended to the peak of Mount Takakura in Uda, whence he had a prospect over all III. 16.
the land. On Kuni-mi[5] Hill there were descried eighty bandits. Moreover at the acclivity of Me-zaka[6] there was posted an army of women, and at the acclivity of Wo-zaka[7] there was stationed a force of men. At the acclivity of Sumi-zaka[8] was placed burning charcoal. This was the origin of the names Me-zaka, Wo-zaka and Sumi-zaka.

Again there was the army of Ye-shiki,[9] which covered all the village of Ihare. All the places occupied by the enemy[10] were strong positions, and therefore the roads were cut off and obstructed, so that there was no room for passage. The Emperor, indignant at this, made prayer on that night in person, and then fell asleep. The Heavenly Deity appeared to him in a dream, and instructed him, saying :—"Take earth from within the shrine[11] of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and of it make eighty Heavenly platters. Also make sacred jars[12] and III. 17.
therewith sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover pronounce a solemn imprecation. If thou doest so, the

[1] Rock-push-divide.

[2] Kuzu were local chiefs. They are mentioned again in Ōjin's reign.

[3] Food-holder or purveyor.

[4] U-kahi means cormorant-keepers. Fishing with cormorants is still practised in Japan.

[5] Land-view. [6] Women's acclivity.

[7] Men's acclivity. The terms Me-zaka and Wo-zaka are now applied to two roads or stairs leading up to the same place, one of which (the women's) is less precipitous than the other.

[8] Sumi-zaka means charcoal acclivity.

[9] Shiki the Elder. [10] Lit. Robber-slaves or prisoners.

[11] A shrine, like a templum, might be merely a consecrated plot of ground. Kagu-yama is a mountain in Yamato.

[12] Idzube. The platters were for rice, the jars for sake. See Satow's "Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," VII., ii., p. 109.

enemy will render submission of their own accord." The Emperor received with reverence the directions given in his dream, and proceeded to carry them into execution.

Now Ukeshi the Younger again addressed the Emperor, saying:—"There are in the province of Yamato, in the village of Shiki, eighty Shiki bandits. Moreover, in the village of Taka-wohari [*some say Katsuraki*] there are eighty Akagane[1] bandits. All these tribes intend to give battle to the Emperor, and thy servant is anxious in his own mind on his account. It were now good to take clay from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and therewith to make Heavenly platters with which to sacrifice to the Gods of the Heavenly shrines and of the Earthly shrines. If after doing so, thou dost attack the enemy, they may be easily driven off." The Emperor, who had already taken the words of his dream for a good omen, when he now heard the words of Ukeshi the Younger, was still more pleased in his heart. He caused Shihi-netsu-hiko[2] to put on ragged garments and a grass hat, and to disguise himself as an old man. He also caused Ukeshi the Younger to cover himself with a winnowing tray, so as to assume the appearance of an old woman, and then addressed them, saying:—"Do ye two proceed to the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and secretly take earth from its summit. Having done so, return hither. By means of you I shall then divine whether my undertaking will be successful or not. Do your utmost and be watchful."

III. 18. Now the enemy's army filled the road, and made all passage impossible. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko prayed, and said:—"If it will be possible for our Emperor to conquer this land, let the road by which we must travel become open. But if not, let the brigands surely oppose our passage." Having thus spoken they set forth, and went straight onwards. Now the hostile band, seeing the two men, laughed loudly, and said:—"What an uncouth old man and old woman!" So with one accord they left the road, and allowed the two men to pass and proceed to the mountain, where they took the clay and returned with it. Hereupon the Emperor was greatly pleased, and with this

[1] Akagane means red metal, i.e. copper, but the text is doubtful. The "Kiujiki" has a different reading.

[2] See above, p. 111.

clay he made eighty platters, eighty Heavenly small jars and sacred jars,[1] with which he went up to the upper waters of the River Nifu and sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and of Earth. Immediately, on the Asa-hara plain by the river of Uda, it became as it were like foam on the water, the result of the curse cleaving to them.[2]

Moreover the Emperor went on to utter a vow, saying:—"I will now make ame[3] in the eighty platters without using water. If the ame is formed, then shall I assuredly without effort and without recourse to the might of arms reduce the Empire to peace." So he made ame, which forthwith became formed of itself.[4]

Again he made a vow, saying:—"I will now take the sacred jars and sink them in the River Nifu. If the fishes, whether great or small, become every one drunken and are carried down the stream, like as it were to floating maki[5] leaves, then shall I assuredly succeed in establishing this land. But if this be not so, there will never be any result." Thereupon he sank III. 19.
the jars in the river with their mouths downward. After a while the fish all came to the surface, gaping and gasping as they floated down the stream. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko, seeing this, represented it to the Emperor, who was greatly rejoiced, and plucking up a five-hundred-branched masakaki tree of the

[1] The reader who wishes to realize what the ancient pottery of Japan was like should visit the British Museum and inspect the Gowland collection. There is also a collection in the Uyeno Museum in Tokio. Ninagawa Noritane's work entitled "Kwan-ko-dzu-setsu" gives very good drawings of ancient pottery. The common Japanese name for this ware is Giōgi-yaki, Giōgi being the name of a Buddhist priest who lived 670-749, and who is credited with the invention of the potter's wheel. But the wheel was certainly known in Japan long before his time. This very passage contains an evidence of this fact. Both the Chinese characters and the Japanese word ta-kujiri given in the ancient commentary for the small jars here mentioned mean "hand-made," leading to the conclusion that this was exceptional. Indeed, nearly all the pottery of the Nihongi period which has come down to us is wheel-made.

[2] Foam on water is a favourite emblem of the transitoriness of human life.

[3] Ame (sweetness) is usually made of millet, malted, and is nearly identical in composition with what our chemists call "malt extract." It is a favourite sweetmeat in the far East.

[4] Cf. Judges vi. 36.

[5] Podocarpus macrophylla.

upper waters of the River Nifu, he did worship therewith to all the Gods. It was with this that the custom began of setting sacred jars.[1]

At this time he commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"We are now in person[2] about to celebrate a public[3] festival to Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and I appoint thee Ruler of the festival, and grant thee the title of Idzu-hime.[4] The earthen jars which are set up shall be called the Idzube or sacred jars, the fire shall be called Idzu no Kagu-tsuchi or sacred-fire-elder, the water shall be called Idzu no Midzu-ha no me or sacred-water-female, the food shall be called Idzu-uka no me or sacred-food-female, the firewood shall be called Idzu no Yama-tsuchi or sacred-mountain-elder, and the grass shall be called Idzu no No-tsuchi or sacred-moor-elder."

III. 20. Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor tasted[5] the food of the Idzube, and arraying his troops set forth upon his march. He first of all attacked the eighty bandits at Mount Kunimi, routed and slew them. It was in this campaign that the Emperor, fully resolved on victory, made these verses, saying:—

Like the Shitadami
Which creep around
The great rock
Of the Sea of Ise
Where blows the divine wind —
Like the Shitadami,
My boys! my boys!
We will creep around,
And smite them utterly,
And smite them utterly.[6]

---

[1] A note says that they were set up in the courtyard.

[2] The Mikado deputed most of his priestly functions to the Nakatomi.

[3] The ancient commentary gives the Japanese word utsushi, i.e. manifest, visible. This suggests that there was a distinction between esoteric and exoteric in the Shintō rites of this time.

[4] Idzu-hime means dread or sacred princess. The "Tsūshō" commentator says that the persons entrusted with this function were usually women, as may be seen in the case of the priestesses of Ise, Kamo, and Kasuga. But as no women were available at this time, Michi-no-Omi was given a feminine title for the occasion.

[5] The interlinear Kana has tatematsuri, i.e. offered. The reference is to the feast of Nihiname described above. See p. 86.

[6] The shitadami is a small shell of the turbinidæ class. Its introduction

In this poem, by the great rock is intended the Hill of Kunimi.

After this the band which remained was still numerous, and their disposition could not be fathomed. So the Emperor privately commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Do thou take with thee the Oho-kume, and make a great muro at the village of Osaka.[1] Prepare a copious banquet, invite the enemy to it, and then capture them." Michi no Omi no Mikoto thereupon, in obedience to the Emperor's secret behest, dug a muro at Osaka, and having selected his bravest soldiers, stayed therein mingled with the enemy. He secretly arranged with them, saying:—"When they have got tipsy with sake, I will strike up a song. Do you, when you hear the sound of my song, all at the same time stab the enemy." Having III. 21.
made this arrangement they took their seats, and the drinking-bout proceeded. The enemy, unaware that there was any plot, abandoned themselves to their feelings, and promptly became intoxicated. Then Michi no Omi no Mikoto struck up the following song:—

At Osaka
In the great muro-house,
Though men in plenty
Enter and stay,
We the glorious
Sons of warriors,
Wielding our mallet-heads,
Wielding our stone-mallets,
Will smite them utterly.[2]

Now when our troops heard this song, they all drew at the

here does not seem very appropriate. Perhaps the meaning is "in number like the turbinidæ." Cf. Ch. K., p. 143. The "Shukai" editor thinks that the shitadami represent the bandits. The great rock is, perhaps, the Miyôto-seki at Futami, so often represented in Japanese pictures. See Anderson's Catalogue, p. 320, or Satow and Hawes' Handbook, p. 150.

[1] In Yamato. To be distinguished from the city of Ohosaka.

[2] The muro-ya is a pit-dwelling (see above, p. 71). The poem speaks of mallet-heads, but the text which follows of mallet-headed swords. I have little doubt that the former is the true phrase, and that stone weapons are referred to. The stone-mallets are unmistakably the weapons figured above (p. 87). The mallet-heads and stone-mallets are perhaps the same thing under different names.

same time their mallet-headed swords, and simultanously slew the enemy, so that there were no eaters left.[1] The Imperial army were greatly delighted; they looked up to Heaven and laughed. Therefore he made a song, saying :—

Though folk say
That one Yemishi
Is a match for one hundred men,
They do not so much as resist.[2]

The practice according to which at the present time the Kume sing this and then laugh loud, had this origin.

Again he sang, saying :—

Ho ! now is the time ;
Ho ! now is the time ;
Ha ! Ha ! Psha !
Even now
My boys !
Even now
My boys ![3]

All these songs were sung in accordance with the secret behest of the Emperor. He had not presumed to compose
III. 22. them of his own motion.

Then the Emperor said :—" It is the part of a good general when victorious to avoid arrogance. The chief brigands have now been destroyed, but there are ten bands of villains of a similar stamp, who are disputatious. Their disposition cannot

[1] That is, none were left alive.

The Yemishi are the Ainos, or more correctly Ainus, of whom a remnant of some ten thousand souls now inhabit the island of Yezo. When the " Nihongi " was written they still occupied a large part of the main island of Japan, and in earlier times, as we gather from the evidence of place-names (See Chamberlain's Essay published by the Imperial University), they extended west even of Yamato. But it would not be safe to draw any conclusion from their mention in this poem. The writer of the " Nihongi " is in the habit of fitting ancient poetry into his narrative in a very arbitrary manner. The " Kojiki " omits it. Yemishi or Yebisu is also applied to barbarous tribes generally, and this is probably its primary meaning. It ought, perhaps, to be added to the group of onomatopoetic words ending in *su* or *shi*, mentioned at p. 65, the *b* or *m* having the same function as these letters in the words barbarian, babble, murmur, etc. See Index—Yemishi.

[3] Nothing could well be more primitive than this. The metre is irregular, and, like all Japanese poetry, there is no rhyme, quantity or regular recurrence of accent to distinguish it from prose.

be ascertained. Why should we remain for a long time in one place? By so doing we could not have control over emergencies." So he removed his camp to another place.

11th month, 7th day. The Imperial army proceeded in great force to attack the Hiko[1] of Shiki. First of all the Emperor sent a messenger to summon Shiki the Elder, but he refused to obey. Again the Yata-garasu was sent to bring him. When the crow reached his camp it cried to him, saying:—"The child of the Heavenly Deity sends for thee. Haste! haste!" Shiki the Elder was enraged at this, and said:—"Just when I heard that the conquering Deity of Heaven was coming and was indignant at this, why shouldst thou, a bird of the crow tribe, utter such an abominable cry?" So he drew his bow and aimed at it. The crow forthwith fled away, and next proceeded to the house of Shiki the Younger, where it cried, saying:—"The child of the Heavenly Deity summons thee. Haste! haste!" Then Shiki the Younger was afraid, and, changing countenance, said:—"Thy servant, hearing of the approach of the conquering Deity of Heaven, is full of dread morning and evening. Well hast thou cried to me, O crow." He straightway made eight leaf-platters,[2] on which he disposed food, and entertained the crow. Accordingly, in obedience to the crow, he proceeded to the Emperor and informed him, saying:—"My elder brother, Shiki the Elder, hearing of the approach of the child of the Heavenly Deity, forthwith assembled eighty bandits III. 23.
and provided arms, with which he is about to do battle with thee. It will be well to take measures against him without delay." The Emperor accordingly assembled his generals and inquired of them, saying:—"It appears that Shiki the Elder has now rebellious intentions. I summoned him, but again he will not come. What is to be done?" The generals said:—"Shiki the Elder is a crafty knave. It will be well, first of all, to send Shiki the Younger to make matters clear to him, and at the same time to make explanations to Kuraji the Elder and Kuraji the Younger. If after that they still refuse submission, it will not be too late to take warlike measures against them." Shiki the Younger was accordingly sent to explain to them

[1] Princes.

[2] Or trays, made of the leaves of Kashiha, a kind of evergreen oak.

their interests. But Shiki the Elder and the others adhered to their foolish design, and would not consent to submit. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko advised as follows:—"Let us first send out our feebler troops by the Osaka road. When the enemy sees them he will assuredly proceed thither with all his best troops. We should then straightway urge forward our robust troops, and make straight for Sumi-zaka.[1] Then with the water of the River Uda we should sprinkle the burning charcoal, and suddenly take them unawares, when they cannot fail to be routed." The Emperor approved this plan, and sent out the feebler troops towards the enemy, who, thinking that a powerful force was approaching, awaited them with all their power. Now up to this time, whenever the Imperial army attacked, they invariably captured, and when they fought they were invariably victorious, so that the fighting men were all wearied
III. 24. out. Therefore the Emperor, to comfort the hearts of his leaders and men, struck off this verse:—

As we fight,
Going forth and watching
From between the trees
Of Mount Inasa,
We are famished.
Ye keepers of cormorants
(Birds of the island),
Come now to our aid.[2]

In the end he crossed Sumi-zaka with the stronger troops, and, going round by the rear, attacked them from two sides and put them to the rout, killing their chieftains Shiki the Elder and the others.

12th month, 4th day. The Imperial army at length attacked Naga-sune-hiko and fought with him repeatedly, but was unable to gain the victory. Then suddenly the sky became overcast, and hail fell. There appeared a wondrous kite of a golden colour which came flying and perched on the end of the Emperor's bow. The lustre of this kite was of dazzling

[1] The charcoal acclivity.

[2] The metre is nearly regular naga-uta, which consists of alternate lines of five and seven syllables, with an additional line of seven syllables at the end. The cormorant-keepers were appealed to to supply fish for the army's food.

brightness, so that its appearance was like that of lightning. In consequence of this all Naga-sune-hiko's soldiers were dazzled and bewildered so that they could not fight stoutly. III. 25.

Nagasune was the original name of the village, whence it became the name of a man. But in consequence of the Imperial army obtaining the favourable omen of the Kite, the men of that time called it Tobi no mura.[1] It is now called Tomi, which is a corruption of this.

Ever since Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by an arrow at the battle of Kusaka and died, the Emperor bore this in mind, and constantly cherished resentment for it. On this campaign it was his desire to put all to death, and therefore he composed these verses, saying :—

My mouth tingles
With the ginger planted
At the bottom of the hedge
By the glorious
Sons of warriors—
I cannot forget it ;
Let us smite them utterly.

Again he sang, saying :—

In the millet-field
Is one stem of odorous garlic :—
The glorious
Sons of warriors
Binding its stem
And binding its shoots
Will smite it utterly.

Then again letting loose his army, he suddenly attacked him. In general, all these songs composed by the Emperor are termed *kume uta*, in allusion to the persons who took and sang them.

Now Naga-sune-hiko sent a foot-messenger, who addressed the Emperor, saying :—" There was formerly a child of the

[1] Kite-village.

[2] "As the taste of ginger remains in the mouth for a long time after it is eaten, so do my feelings of resentment for my brother's death remain present to my mind. I cannot forget it, so let us revenge it by destroying the enemy utterly."

The word for shoots is me, which also means females. This is no doubt intentional. Naga-sune-hiko is to be destroyed with all his family.

Heavenly Deity, who came down from Heaven to dwell here, riding in a Rock-boat of Heaven. His name was Kushi-dama Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto. He took to wife my younger sister
III. 26 Mi-kashiki-ya-bime[1] [*also called Naga-sune-hime, or Tomi-ya-hime*][2] of whom he at length had a child, named Umashi-ma-te[3] no Mikoto. Therefore did I take Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto for my Lord, and did service to him. Can it be that there are two seeds of the children of the Heavenly Deity? Why should any one else take the name of Child of the Heavenly Deity and therewith rob people of their dominions? I have pondered this in my heart, but have as yet failed utterly to believe it." The Emperor said:—"There are many other children of the Heavenly Deity. If he whom thou has taken as thy Lord were truly a child of the Heavenly Deity, there would be surely some object which thou couldst show to us by way of proof." Naga-sune-hiko accordingly brought a single Heavenly-feathered-arrow of Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, and a foot-quiver,[4] and exhibited them respectfully to the Emperor. The Emperor examined them, and said:—"These are genuine." Then in his turn he showed to Naga-sune-hiko the single Heavenly-feathered-arrow and quiver which he wore. When Naga-sune-hiko saw the Heavenly token he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he was unable to pause in his career. Therefore he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose.

Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Deity had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly Grandchild, and that in view of the perverse disposition of Naga-sune it would be useless to instruct him
III. 27. in the relation of Heaven to Man,[5] put him to death. He then came with his army and made submission. The Emperor, who from the first had heard that Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto had come down from Heaven, finding that he now had actually performed faithful service, accordingly praised him, and was gracious to him. He was the ancestor of the Mono no Be House.[6]

[1] Three-cook-house-princess. [2] Wealth-house. [3] Sweet-true-hand.

[4] A foot-soldier's quiver is meant. [5] i.e. of Lord and Vassal.

[6] The Mononobe were soldiers. Here, however, the hereditary chiefs only are meant, the Mononobe no Muraji.

The year Tsuchi no to Hitsuji, Spring, 2nd month, 20th day. The Emperor commanded his generals to exercise the troops. At this time there were Tsuchi-gumo [1] in three places, viz.:—The Tohe [2] of Nihiki at Tada no Oka-zaki [3] in the district of Sofu, the Kose Hofuri at Wani no Saka-moto,[4] and the Wi-Hofuri [5] at Hosomi no Nagara no Oka-zaki. All of these, B.C. 662.

[1] The Tsuchi-gumo are mentioned in four or five passages of the "Nihongi" and one passage of the "Kojiki," all of which belong to the highly legendary period of Japanese history. We gather from them that the Tsuchi-gumo were usually, though not invariably, outlaws who defied the Imperial authority. They had Japanese names, and inhabited such long-settled parts of Japan as Yamato, Harima, and even Kiushiu. There is nothing, if we put aside the mention of Yemishi at p. 124, to suggest that they were not of Japanese race. The "short bodies," etc., of the "Nihongi" description I take to be nothing more than a product of the popular imagination working on the hint contained in the name Tsuchi-gumo, which is literally "earth spider." Some etymologists prefer the derivation which connects *kumo* (or *gumo*) with *komori*, to hide, thus making tsuchi-gumo the "earth-hiders." But this is probably a distinction without a difference, these two words containing the same root, and the animal which we call the spider, i.e. spinner, being in Japan termed the "hider," an epithet of which no one who has observed its habits will dispute the appropriateness. An ancient Japanese book says Tsuchi-gumo is a mere nickname, to be compared therefore with our clod-hopper or bog-trotter.

In one of the passages above referred to, the Tsuchi-gumo are described as inhabiting a rock-cave, but in others they are said to live in muro or pit-dwellings, and this is obviously the origin of the name.

There are several notices of Tsuchi-gumo in the ancient "Fudoki," or "County Histories," but they are probably mere echoes of the older legends related in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki," and in any case they add nothing of importance to our information about them. It may be noted, however, that Hiuga and Higo are mentioned in them as habitats of bands of these outlaws.

An amusing expansion by a modern writer of the spider conception of the Tsuchi-gumo will be found at p. 140 of Anderson's B.M. Catalogue. See also Ch. K., p. 141, and Index.

A little work called "Kek-kio-kō," in a collection entitled "Haku-butsu-sō-sho," published by the Japanese Imperial Museum, has brought together all the available information respecting Muro and Tsuchi-gumo.

[2] Chiefs.

[3] Oka-zaki means hill-spur, and is perhaps to be so understood here, and not as a proper name.

[4] Saka-moto (acclivity bottom) may be also a description and not a proper name.

[5] Hofuri is a kind of Shintō priest. It is unlikely that persons not of Japanese race should be so called.

trusting to their valour, refused to present themselves at Court. The Emperor therefore sent detachments separately, and put them all to death. There were, moreover, Tsuchi-gumo at the village of Taka-wohari, whose appearance was as follows:—They had short bodies, and long arms and legs. They were of the same class as the pigmies. The Imperial troops wove nets of dolichos, which they flung over them and then slew
III. 28. them. Wherefore the name of that village was changed to Katsuraki.[1] It is in the land of Ihare. Its ancient name was Kataru, or Katatachi. When our Imperial forces routed the enemy, a great army assembled and filled that country. Its name was accordingly changed to Ihare.[2]

Another account says that when the Emperor on a previous occasion tasted the food of the sacred jars, he moved forward his army on an expedition towards the West. At this time the eighty bandits of Katsuraki were encamped together there. A great battle with the Emperor followed, and they were at length destroyed by the Imperial army. Therefore that place was called the village of Ihare.[3] Again, the place where the Imperial troops made a warlike stand was called Takeda.[4] The place where he built a castle was named Kita.[5] Moreover, the place where the enemy fell in battle, their dead bodies prostrate, with their forearms for pillows, was called Tsura-maki-da.[6]

The Emperor, in Autumn, the 9th month of the previous year, secretly took clay of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, with which he made eighty platters, and thereafter performing abstinence in person, sacrificed to all the Gods. He was thereby at length enabled to establish the world[7] in peace. Therefore he called the place where the clay was taken Hani-yasu.[8]

[1] Dolichos Castle.

[2] The interlinear Kana gives for "fill," ihameri, a word which I do not know.

[3] The "original commentary" says that the Japanese word corresponding to the Chinese characters rendered "encamp" is ihami, a word not otherwise known to me.

[4] Brave-field. [5] Castle-field. [6] Face-pillow-field.

[7] "World" is not quite a merely rhetorical expression for the Empire of Japan. Hirata justifies Hideyoshi's invasion of Corea on the grounds that the sovereigns of Japan are de jure lords of the whole earth.

[8] Clay-easy or clay-peace.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor made an order,[1] saying:—"During the six years that our expedition against the East has lasted, owing to my reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evil is still refractory. But in the region of the Central Land there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong.[2] III. 29.

At present things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people's minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests or dwell in caves.[3] Their manners are simply what is customary. Now if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish. And even if some gain should accrue to the people, in what way would this interfere with the Sage's[4] action? Moreover, it will be well to open up and clear the mountains and forests, and to construct a palace. Then I may reverently assume the Precious Dignity, and so give peace to III. 30.
my good subjects. Above, I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting me the Kingdom, and below, I should extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster rightmindedness. Thereafter the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof.[5] Will this not be well?

When I observe the Kashiha-bara[6] plain, which lies

[1] This whole speech is thoroughly Chinese in every respect, and it is preposterous to put it in the mouth of an Emperor who is supposed to have lived more than a thousand years before the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan. The strange thing is that it is necessary to make this remark. Yet there are still writers who regard this part of the "Nihongi" as historical.

[2] The Kana rendering is mi-araka, "an august shrine" or "an august palace." This would imply a different reading, 社 instead of 壯.

[3] The reader must not take this as any evidence of the manners and customs of the Ancient Japanese. It is simply a phrase suggested by the author's Chinese studies.

[4] Meaning the Emperor's action.

[5] The character for roof 宇 also means the universe. The eight cords, or measuring tapes, simply mean "everywhere."

[6] Kashiha is an evergreen oak, the Quercus dentata. Hara means plain.

S.W. of Mount Unebi, it seems the Centre of the Land. I must set it in order."

Accordingly he in this month commanded officers to set about the construction of an Imperial Residence.

B.C. 661. Year Kanoye Saru, Autumn, 8th month, 16th day. The Emperor, intending to appoint a wife, sought afresh[1] children of noble families. Now there was a man who made representation to him, saying:—"There is a child who was
III. 31. born to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami by his union with Tama-kushi-hime, daughter of Mizo-kuhi-ni no Kami of Mishima. Her name is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto. She is a woman of remarkable beauty." The Emperor was rejoiced, and on the 24th day of the 9th month he received Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto and made her his wife.

B.C. 660. Year Kanoto Tori, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara. This year is reckoned the first year of his reign.[2] He honoured his wife by making her Empress. The children born to him by her were Kami-ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto and Kami-nunagaha mimi no Mikoto.

Therefore[3] there is an ancient saying in praise of this, as follows:—"In Kashiha-bara in Unebi, he mightily established his palace-pillars on the foundation of the bottom-rock, and
III. 32. reared aloft the cross roof-timbers to the Plain of High Heaven.[4]

This afterwards became a proper name. Here it is perhaps simply a description.

[1] He had already a consort, but she was apparently not considered a wife.

[2] Japanese History is often said to begin with this year. The fact is that nothing which really deserves the name of history existed for nearly a thousand years more. This date is very much like that given for the foundation of Rome by Romulus, B.C. 753. The very calendar by which the reckoning was made was not invented or known in Japan until many centuries after. See Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," and "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J."

[3] As above remarked, the author often introduces this word without much reason.

[4] It was a mark of Shrines or Imperial Palaces to have the rafters at each end of the roof projecting upwards for several feet beyond the roof-tree, as in the illustration. These were called Chigi. See Ch. K., p. 311. Shintō temples at the present day are thus distinguished. What would those Japanese

The name of the Emperor who thus began to rule the Empire was Kami Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi."

On the day on which he first began the Heavenly institution, Michi no Omi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Ohotomo House, accompanied by the Oho-kume Be, was enabled, by means of a secret device received from the Emperor, to use incantations and magic formulæ so as to dissipate evil influences. The use of magic formulæ had its origin from this.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. The Emperor ascer- B.C. 659.
tained merit and dispensed rewards. To Michi no Omi no

Shrine at Ise.

Mikoto he granted a site for a house in which to dwell at the village of Tsuki-zaka, thereby showing him special favour.

Moreover, he caused the Oho-kume to dwell at a place on the river-bank, west of Mount Unebi, now called Kume no mura.[1] Such was the origin of this name. Utsu-hiko was made Miyakko of the land of Yamato. Moreover, he gave to Ukeshi III. 33.
the younger the village of Takeda, constituting him Agata-

Euhemerists who think Takama ga hara (the Plain of High Heaven) to be the name of a country, make of this passage?

[1] i.e. the village of the kume or soldiers.

nushi[1] of Takeda. He was the ancestor of the Mohi-tori[2] of Uda. Shiki the younger, whose personal name was Kuro-haya, was made Agata-nushi of Shiki. Moreover, he appointed a man called Tsune to be Miyakko of the Land of Katsuraki. The Yata-garasu was also included in the ranks of those who received rewards. His descendants are the Agata-nushi of Katsurano and the Tonomori[3] Be.

B.C. 657. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. The Emperor issued the following decree :—"The spirits of our Imperial ancestors reflecting their radiance down from Heaven, illuminate and III. 34. assist us. All our enemies have now been subdued, and there is peace within the seas. We ought to take advantage of this to perform sacrifice to the Heavenly Deities, and therewith develop filial duty."

He accordingly established spirit-terraces amongst the Tomi hills, which were called Kami-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara and Shimo-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara.[4] There he worshipped his Imperial ancestors, the Heavenly Deities.[5]

B.C. 630. 31st year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Imperial palanquin[6] made a circuit, in the course of which the Emperor ascended the Hill Waki Kamu no Hotsuma. Here, having viewed the shape of the land on all sides, he said :—"Oh! what a beautiful country we have become possessed of! Though a blessed land of inner-tree-fibre,[7] yet it resembles a dragon-fly licking its hinder parts." From this it first received the name of Akitsu-shima.[8]

[1] Ruler of district.

[2] The Mohi-tori, afterwards mondori or mondo, were originally the officials charged with the water supply of the Palace. The designation Mondo no Kami remained until quite recent times.

[3] Tonomori, guardian of a palace or shrine.

[4] These names mean respectively the Persimmon plain of Upper Little-moor and the Persimmon plain of Lower Little-moor. The "spirit terraces" (a Chinese phrase) seems meant for the plots of ground consecrated for Shintō worship. See above, p. 81.

[5] The union of the offices of priest and king is to be noted all through this narrative.

[6] It is considered respectful to speak of the Imperial car or palanquin when the Emperor himself is meant.

[7] The inner-tree-fibre is the inner bark of the paper mulberry, used for weaving into cloth. It is here an ornamental epithet.

[8] The real meaning of Aki-tsu-shima is the "region of harvests." See

Of old, Izanagi no Mikoto, in naming this country, said:— "Yamato is the Land of Ura-yasu:[1] it is the Land of Hoso-hoko no Chi-taru:[2] it is the Land of Shiwa-Kami-Ho-tsu-ma."[3]

Afterwards Oho-namuchi no Oho-kami named it the Land of Tama-gaki no Uchi-tsu-kuni.[4] III. 35.

Finally, when Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto soared across the Great Void in a Heaven-rock-boat, he espied this region and descended upon it. Therefore he gave it a name and called it Sora-mitsu-Yamato.[5]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. He appointed Prince Kami-nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto Prince Imperial. B.C. 619.

76th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kashiha-bara. His age was then 127.[6] The following year, Autumn, the 12th day of the 9th month, he was buried in the Misasagi[7] N.E. of Mount Unebi. B.C. 585.

above, p. 13. It has nothing to do with akitsu, the dragon-fly. This insect may often be seen with its tail touching its mouth, so that its body forms a ring. The appearance of the province of Yamato, which is a plain surrounded by a ring of mountains, suggested the simile in the text. Later historians have converted this into a comparison of Japan to a dragon-fly with outstretched wings.

[1] Bay-easy. Explained to mean "which has peace within its coasts."

[2] Slender-spears-thousand-good. "Well supplied with weapons," say the commentators.

[3] Rock-ring-upper-pre-eminent-true (land).

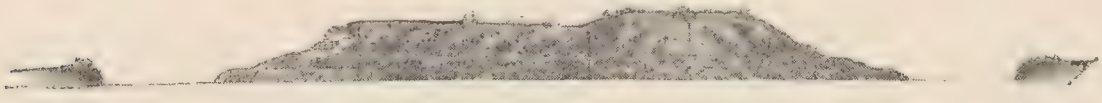
[4] Jewel-fence-within-land.

[5] Sky-saw-Yamato. But Sora-mitsu really means "that fills the sky," i.e. that reaches to the farthest horizon. These names are merely poetical inventions. They were never in actual use.

[6] The "Kojiki" makes him 137.

[7] The Misasagi are still to be seen in large numbers in Japan, especially in the Gokinai or five metropolitan provinces. They are particularly numerous in Kahachi and Yamato.

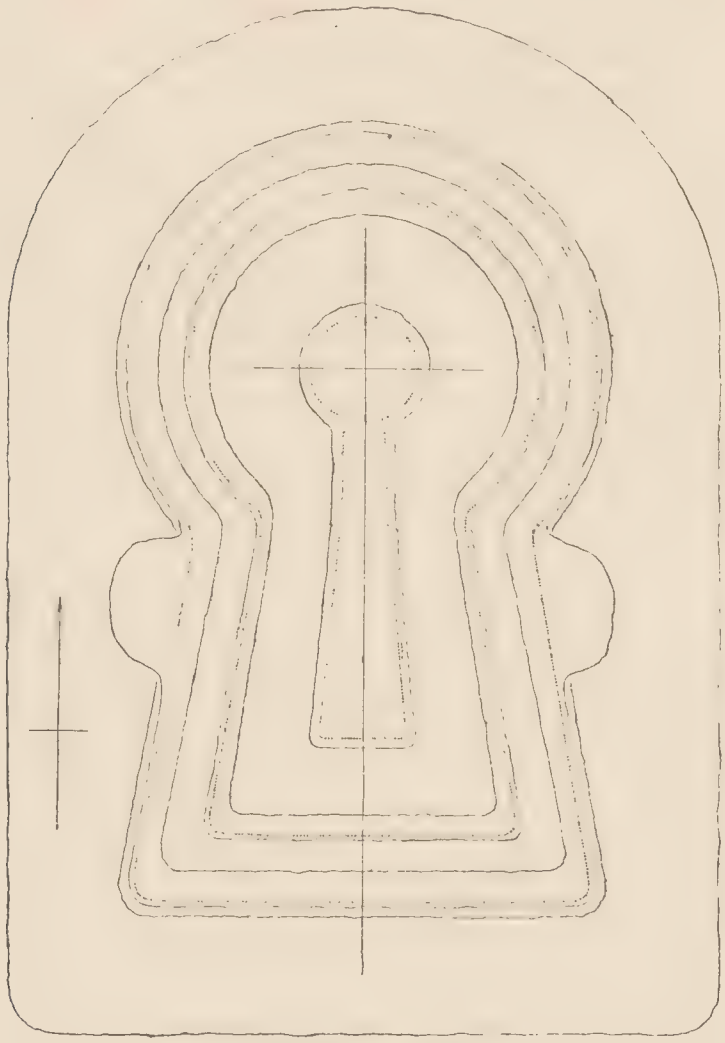
In the most ancient times, say the Japanese antiquarians, the Misasagi or tombs of the Mikados were simple mounds. At some unknown period,



Misasagi, side view.

however, perhaps a few centuries before the Christian epoch, a highly specialized form of tumulus came into use for this purpose, and continued for several hundreds of years without much change. It consists of two

mounds, one having a circular, the other a triangular base, merging into each other after the manner shown in the illustration, the whole being surrounded by a moat, or sometimes by two concentric moats with a narrow strip of land between. The interment took place n the circular mound, the other probably serving as a platform on which were performed the rites in honour of the deceased. Seen from the side the appearance is that of a saddle-hill, the circular mound being somewhat higher than the other. There are sometimes two smaller mounds at the base of the larger ones, filling up the angle where they meet. The slope of the tumulus is not



Ground plan of Misasagi.

regular, but is broken up by terraces, on which are placed in rows, a few inches apart, curious cylinders made of baked clay shaped in a mould, and measuring from 1 to 2 feet in height, and from 6 to 14 inches in diameter. They are buried in the earth, their upper rims being just level with the surface.

In some, perhaps in most cases, the Misasagi contains a large vault of great unhewn stones without mortar. The walls of the vault converge

gradually towards the top, which is roofed in by enormous slabs of stone weighing many tons each. The entrance was by means of a gallery roofed with similar stones.

Sarcophagi of stone or pottery have been found in some Misasagi.

The above description is quoted from an article by the present writer in Chamberlain's "Things Japanese." I would ask travellers in China and Corea to compare with it any ancient tumuli which they may discover in those countries.

I learn from Mr. W. Gowland, who has visited the spot recognized officially as the Misasagi of Jimmu Tennō, that there are here two enclosures, the inner of which contains two low mounds each about 18 feet in diameter and 2 feet in height. A Chokushi or Imperial Envoy visits this Misasagi annually on the 3rd April with offerings of products of mountain, river, and sea, viz., tahi, carp, sea-weed, salt, water, sake, mochi (a preparation of rice), warabi (fern flour?), pheasants and wild ducks.

The site of Jimmu's tomb is a question even with Japanese antiquaries, and European scholars may be pardoned if they are somewhat sceptical about it. *Vide* "San-rio-shi" (山陵志), p. 9.

BOOK IV.

THE EMPEROR KAMI-NUNAGAHA-MIMI.

(*SUIZEI TENNŌ.*[1])

THE Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was the third child of the Emperor Kami-Yamato-Ihare-biko Hohodemi. His mother's name was Hime-tatara-Isuzu no Mikoto, the eldest daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.

This Emperor was of distinguished manners and appearance. As a child he possessed the vigour of manhood; when he grew to manhood, his form was gigantic. He excelled in warlike accomplishments, and his will was resolute in the extreme.

IV. 2. When he reached the age of forty-eight, the Emperor Kami-Yamato-Ihare-biko died. Now Kama-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto's disposition was profoundly filial, and his grief and longing knew no bounds. He made the funeral ceremonies his especial care.

His elder half-brother,[2] Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, was now advanced in years,[3] and had a long experience of matters of

[1] This book contains the reigns of eight emperors, and covers a period of 483 years, giving an average of over sixty years for each reign. This is far too much for real history, especially when we consider the ages to which these sovereigns are said to have reached. Kôshô lived to the age of 114, Kôan to 137, and so on. Most of it is not even legendary. The account of the period previous to the accession of Suizei seems to contain a genuine ancient tradition, but the rest is plainly fictitious and the invention of some one imbued with Chinese ideas.

Kami means upper or lord; Nunagaha is the name of a river; mimi means august body.

Suizei means quiet, tranquil.

[2] The word employed indicates that the mother of this prince was not of full rank, but there is no such stigma as is implied by our word "bastard."

[3] As he was present with his younger brother at a council held by the Emperor Jimmu before starting on his expedition to the East, B.C. 667, we

state. Therefore he was again charged with the conduct of affairs, and the Emperor treated him as an intimate friend. This prince, however, was of a perverse disposition, and his natural bent was opposed to justice. During the period of sincere seclusion[1] his authority at last became independent, and concealing his malicious purposes, he plotted the destruction of his two younger brothers.

Now in the year Tsuchinoto U of the cycle, Winter, the 11th month, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto and his elder brother Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto learnt privately his intentions and effectively prevented him. When the business of the misasagi was ended, they caused Yumi Be no Waka-hiko to make a bow, and Yamato no Kanuchi[2] Ama-tsu-ma-ura[3] to make a true-deer arrow-point, and the Ya[4] Be to prepare arrows. When the bow and arrows were ready, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto wished therewith to shoot IV. 3.
to death Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, who happened just then to be in a great muro at Kataoka, lying alone on a great couch. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto spake to Kami-Ya-wi

may suppose that he was at that time twenty years of age at least. We are now in B.C. 585, so that he must have been over 100.

[1] i.e. of mourning.

[2] Yumi-be is the Be of bow-makers; Kanuchi, smith.

[3] Ama-tsu-ma-ura. This name is obviously identical with that of the smith-god, Ama-tsu-mara, mentioned in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 55), upon which Chamberlain remarks, "Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret 'Cælestis Penis.'" Ma-ura means literally true-heart, or inwards, and hence came to be used as a decent term for penis, corresponding somewhat to our word "nakedness." In modern times it is a very vulgar word. This is Hirata's view. Another derivation connects it with Mâra, the Indian God of lust, sin, and death.

If Ama-tsu-ma-ura or mara stood alone, we might be disposed with Motowori to pass it by as a proper name of doubtful derivation. But Hirata ("Koshiden" v. 48) quotes from old books three other names of deities which contain this element, viz. Oho (great) mara no Mikoto, Ama-tsu-aka (red) mara no Mikoto and Ama-teru (shining) mara take-wo (brave male) no Mikoto. He thinks it sufficient to say that as these are the names of Gods, a phallic interpretation is inadmissible, but in this European scholars will hardly agree with him. There is a Mara no Sukune in the Japanese peerage of the ninth century, known as the Seishiroku. See Index—Phallic worship.

[4] Ya, arrow.

no Mikoto, saying:—"The right time has now arrived. In words, secrecy is to be prized: in deeds, caution is advisable. Therefore, we have never had any partner in our conspiracy, and the enterprise of to-day is to be carried out by thee and me alone. I will first open the door of the muro. Do thou then shoot him." They accordingly went forward and entered in together.

Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto pushed open the door, while Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto's arms and legs trembled so that he was unable to let fly the arrow. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto snatched the bow and arrows which his elder brother held and shot Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. The first shot struck him on the breast, the second on the back, and so at length he killed him. Hereupon Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto was troubled and submitted himself, yielding the sovereignty to Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto, saying:—"I am thy elder brother.[1] But I am timid and weak, and unfit for effective action. On the present occasion thou hast specially displayed divine valour, and hast thyself put to death our chief enemy. Is it not expedient that thou shouldst illuminate the Celestial station[2] and take over the functions of
IV. 4. our Imperial ancestors? I will be thy assistant and will attend to the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth." He was the first ancestor of the Oho no Omi.

B.C. 581. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto assumed the rank of Emperor. He made his capital at Katsuraki. It was called the palace[3] of Takaoka. He honoured the Empress by granting her the title of Kwō-dai-gō or Grand Empress.[4] This was the year Kanoye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 580. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month. Isuzu-yori-bime was appointed Empress.

One writing says:—"Kaha-mata-bime, daughter of the Agata-nushi of Shiki."

[1] In this and other passages of the "Nihongi," there is a sort of recognition of a right of primogeniture, but cases are numerous where the eldest son is ignored or set aside without very strong reason in favour of a brother, widow, or younger son of the deceased sovereign.

[2] i.e. the rank of Emperor.

[3] Capital and palace are interchangeable terms in this narrative.

[4] Equivalent to Empress Dowager. This is a Chinese title.

One writing says:—"Itori-hime, daughter of Ohohimoro, Agata-nushi of Kasuga."

She was the Emperor's aunt. The Empress bore a son, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto died, and was buried on the Northern side of Mount Unebi. B.C. 578.

25th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi no Mikoto was made heir to the Imperial throne. B.C. 557. IV. 5

33rd year, Summer, 5th month. The Emperor took ill, and on the 10th day of the same month, he died, at the age of eighty-four. B.C. 549.

THE EMPEROR SHIKI-TSU-HIKO-TAMA-DEMI.

(*ANNEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was the eldest child of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. His mother's name was Isuzu-yori-bime no Mikoto, the younger daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. This Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in the 25th year of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. He was then twenty-one[2] years of age. In the 5th month, Summer, of the 33rd year of his reign, the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi died. In the 7th month of that year, on the 3rd day of the month, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year,[3] Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was buried in the Misasagi on Tsukida Hill in Yamato. B.C. 548.

The Emperor honoured the Empress with the title of Kwō-dai-gō.

[1] Annei means peace.

[2] The editor of the Shukai edition alters this to eleven, in order to agree with other passages. But when the whole chronology is utterly fanciful, there is no use attempting to make it consistent.

[3] For purposes of chronology, these reigns begin with the next year following the previous Emperor's death. The first year of Annei's reign is therefore B.C. 548, although his predecessor died B.C. 549.

This was the year Midzunoto Ushi of the cycle.

B.C. 547. 2nd year. The capital was removed to Katashiho. It was called the Palace of Ukiana.

B.C. 546. IV. 6. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Nuna-soko-naka-tsu hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

Others call her Nuna-so hime.

One writing says :—" Kaha-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One writing says :—" Daughter of Ohoma no Sukune." [1]

Before this, his consort had given birth to two Imperial princes. The first was called Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto, the second, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo.

One version says :—" She bore three princes, the first of whom was called Toko-tsu-hiko-iro-ne; the second, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo; and the third, Shiki-tsu-hiko no Mikoto."

B.C. 538. 11th year, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. His younger brother, Shiki-tsu-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wi-tsu-kahi no Muraji.

B.C. 511. 38th year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor died at the age of 57.[2]

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-HIKO-SUKI-TOMO.

(*ITOKU*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

IV. 7. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was the second child of the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi. His mother's name was Nuna-soko-naka-tsu-hime, grandchild of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami, and daughter of the Prince[4] of Kamo. He was made Prince Imperial in the 11th year, Spring, the 1st month

[1] A title, derived by Yamada from Sukuna, small, and e or ye, elder brother.

[2] The "Kojiki" makes him 49.

[3] Admirable virtue.

[4] Prince is here 王, a lower rank than 皇子 or Imperial Prince.

of the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi's reign. He was then 16 years of age. In the 38th year of that reign, Winter, the 12th month, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi died.[1]

1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 510.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was buried in the Misasagi above Mihodo no wi, south of Mount Unebi.

9th month, 14th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This was the year Kanoto U of the cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The capital was removed to Karu.[2] It was called the Palace of Magariwo. B.C. 509.

2nd month, 11th day. Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto was made Empress.

One version has:—"Idzumi hime, daughter of Oto-wite, son of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Ihi-hime, daughter of Futo-ma-waka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Shiki." IV. 8.

This Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine.

One version has:—"The Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side,[3] Takeshi-hiko-kushi-tomo se no Mikoto."[4]

22nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was then 18 years of age. B.C. 489.

34th year, Autumn, 9th month, 8th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 477

[1] These repetitions seem intended to conceal the want of any real information about this period.

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Japanese word for brother by the mother's side is hara-kara, "of the same belly," as to which a paper by the present writer on the "Family in Ancient Japan," contributed to the Japan Society's Journal, may be consulted.

[4] It is not clear what is meant by this.

THE EMPEROR MI-MATSU-HIKO-KAYESHINE.

(*KŌSHŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine was the eldest son of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The name of the Empress, his mother, was Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in Spring, the second month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo died in autumn, the ninth month of the 34th year of his reign. On the 13th day of the 10th month of the following year, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was buried in the Misasagi over the Masago Valley to the south of Mount Unebi.

IV. 9. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Prince Imperial
B.C. 475. assumed the Imperial Dignity.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.[2]

7th month. The capital was removed to Wakigami.[3] It was called the Palace of Ikegokoro. This year was the year Hinoye Tora of the cycle.

B.C. 447. 29th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Yoso-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress.

One version says:—"Nunaki-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Oho-wi-hime, daughter of Toyo-aki-sata-wo of the Land of Yamato."

The Empress gave birth to Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto, and to the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito.

B.C. 408. 68th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He

[1] Filial piety manifested. [2] Kwō-dai- ō.
[3] In Yamato.

was twenty years of age. Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wani no Omi.

83rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 393.

THE EMPEROR YAMATO-TARASHI-HIKO-KUNI-OSHI-BITO.

(*KŌAN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was the second child of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. His mother's name was Yoso-tarashi-hime. She was the younger sister of Okitsu Yoso, the ancestor of the Ohari no[2] Muraji. IV. 10.

The Emperor was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 68th year of the reign of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine died in Autumn, the 8th month of the 83rd year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 392.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Tsuchi no to Ushi of the cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Muro. It was called the Palace of Akitsushima. B.C. 391.

26th year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. The Emperor appointed his niece,[3] Oshi-bime, Empress. B.C. 367.

One version has:—"Naga-hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Isaka-hime, daughter of Isaka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni.

38th year, Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine was buried in the Misasagi on Mount Hakata in Wakigami. B.C. 355.

76th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Oho-Yamato-neko- IV. 11. B.C. 317.

[1] Filial piety-peace. [2] Or Owari. [3] A brother's daughter.

hiko-futo-ni no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-six years of age.

B.C. 291. 102nd year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Emperor died.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO[1]-HIKO-FUTO-NI.

(*KŌREI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was the eldest child of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. His mother's name was Oshi-bime. He had been appointed Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 76th year of the reign of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. In Spring, the 1st month of the 102nd year of his reign, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito died. In Autumn, the 9th month, 13th day, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was buried in the Misasagi on Tamade Hill.

Winter, 12th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial removed the capital to Kuroda.[3] It was called the Palace of Ihodo.

B.C. 290. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji of the cycle.

IV. 12. B.C. 289. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. Hoso-bime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

One version has:—"Kasuga no Chichi-haya-yamaka-hime."

One version has:—"Mashita-bime, daughter of Toso, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. A concubine named Yamato no kuni-ka-hime [*also called Haye-irone*] was the mother of Yamato-to-to-

[1] Several of the Emperors' names have the element Yamato-neko (neko is a honorific), and one Emperor styles himself Yamato-neko in an edict, although this was not his name. It may be suspected that Yamato-neko was at one time a general title for the sovereigns of Japan.

[2] Filial piety-spirit. [3] In Yamato.

hi-momo-so bime no Mikoto and of Hiko-i-saseri-hiko no Mikoto [*also called Kibi-tsu-hiko no Mikoto*], and Yamato-toto-waka-ya-bime no Mikoto.

Another concubine Haye-iroto was the mother of Hiko-sajima no Mikoto and of Waka-take-hiko no Mikoto. The younger of these, namely, Waka-take-hiko no Mikoto, was the first ancestor of the Kibi no Omi.[1]

36th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Hiko-kuni-kuru no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. B.C. 255.

76th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 215.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO-HIKO-KUNI-KURU. IV. 13.

(*KŌGEN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was the eldest child of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. His mother's name was Hoso-bime, daughter of Oho-me,[3] Agata-nushi of Shiki. He had been created Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 36th year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. He was then nineteen years of age. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 76th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Hinoto I of the cycle. B.C. 214.

4th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The capital was removed to Karu. It was called the Palace of Sakahibara. B.C. 211.

6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was buried in the Misasagi on Muma-zaka[4] at Kataoka. B.C. 209.

[1] The "Kojiki" genealogies differ a good deal. One must be wrong; and both, doubtless, leave much to be desired in accuracy.

[2] Filial-duty-origin.

[3] Great-eyes.

[4] The horse-acclivity.

B.C. 208. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Uchi-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She had three children, two boys and one girl. The name of the eldest was Oho-hiko no Mikoto; of the second, the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Oho-hihi; and of the third, Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto.

One version has:—"The Emperor's brother by the mother's side was Sukuna-biko-wo-kokoro[1] no Mikoto."

IV. 14. A concubine named Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was the mother of Hiko-futo-woshi-makoto no Mikoto. The next concubine, named Hani-yasu-hime, daughter of Awotama of Kahachi, was the mother of Take-hani-yasu no Mikoto.

The elder brother Oho-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Abe no Omi, the Kashihade[2] no Omi, the Ahe no Omi, the Sasaki-yama no Kimi, the Tsukushi no Miyakko, the Koshi no Miyakko and the Iga no Omi, in all seven families.

IV. 15. Hiko-futo-woshi-makoto no Mikoto was the grandfather of Takechi no Sukune.

B.C. 193. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was sixteen years of age.

B.C. 158. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor died.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-YAMATO-NEKO-HIKO-OHO-HIHI.

(*KAIKWA*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi was the second child of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. His mother's name was Uchi-shikome, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and younger sister of Uchi-shiko-wo no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been created Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. He was then sixteen years of age.

[1] Small-prince-manly-heart. [2] This word means steward.
[3] Civilization.

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru died in Autumn, the 9th month of the 57th year of his reign.

In Winter, the 11th month, 12th day, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. B.C. 157.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Kasuga. It was called the Palace of Isa-kaha. This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle. IV. 16.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was buried in the Misasagi on the island of Tsurugi-ike.[1] B.C. 153.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. [*She was his father's concubine.*] The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-i-niye. B.C. 152.

The Emperor had previously taken to himself as concubine Taniha no Takano-hime. She was the mother of Hiko-yumusumi no Mikoto. [*Also called Hiko-komosu no Mikoto.*] There was a subordinate concubine named Oke-tsu-hime, younger sister of Oke-tsu no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi. She was the mother of Prince[2] Hiko-imasu.

28th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Mimaki-iri-hiko no Mikoto was created Prince Imperial. He was nineteen years of age. IV. 17. B.C. 130

60th year, Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 98.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. He was buried in the Saka-moto Misasagi at Isa-kaha in Kasuga.

One version has:—"The Misasagi of Saka no kami."[3]

His age was then 115.

[1] Ike means a pond or artificial lake.

[2] Where Prince stands alone without the word Imperial before or after it, it represents the Chinese character 王, which in the "Nihongi" is applied sometimes to the kings or princes of Corea, but more usually to Japanese princes who did not belong to the family of the reigning sovereign.

[3] It is difficult to say whether Saka-moto and Saka no kami are proper names or merely descriptions. They mean respectively the "bottom of the acclivity" and the "top of the acclivity."

BOOK V.

THE EMPEROR MIMAKI-IRI-BIKO-I-NIYE.

(*SŪJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Mimaki-iri-biko-i-niye was the second child of the Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hi-hi. His mother's name was Ika-shiko-me, daughter of Oho-he-so-ki no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Mononobe House.[2]

The Emperor was created Prince Imperial at the age of nineteen. He was of a quick intelligence, and in his boyhood was fond of manly devices. When he grew up to manhood, he was of wide culture and circumspect in his behaviour. He honoured profoundly the Gods of Heaven and Earth. His mind was constantly directed to the management of the Celestial Institution.[3]

The Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi died in Summer, the 4th month of the 60th year of his reign.

B.C. 97. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress.

2nd month, 16th day. Mimaki-hime was appointed Empress. Before this she had given birth to the Emperor Ikume-iri-hiko-i-sachi, Kuni-kata-hime no Mikoto, Chichi-tsuku Yamato-hime no Mikoto, Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, and Ika-tsuru-
V. 2. hiko no Mikoto. By a concubine, Tohotsu Ayume ma-kuwashi-hime, daughter of Araka, the Tohe of the Land of Kiï, he had Toyo-suki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, and a subordinate concubine named Ohari no Oho-ama.

One version has :—" Ya-saka-furu-ama-irohe, daughter of Oho-umi no-Sukune."

[1] Sūjin means "honouring the Gods." [2] In Japanese Uji.
[3] The sovereignty.

bore to him Ya-saka-iri-hiko no Mikoto, Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto, and Toho-chi-ni-iri-bime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle.

3rd year, Autumn, 9th month. The capital was removed to Shiki. It was called the Palace of Midzu-gaki. B.C. 95.

4th year, Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"When our Imperial ancestors gloriously assumed the Supreme Rank, was it for the benefit of themselves alone? It was doubtless in order that they might thereby shepherd men and spirits,[1] and regulate the Empire. Therefore it was that from generation to generation they were able to extend their unfathomable merit, and in their day to spread abroad their perfect virtue. B.C. 94.

We, having now received at their hands the mighty inheritance, lovingly nourish our good subjects. In so doing, let us follow obediently in the footsteps of our Imperial ancestors, and long preserve the unbounded felicity. And ye too, Our Ministers and functionaries, should you not co-operate with all loyalty in giving peace to the Empire?"[2] V. 3.

5th year. There was much pestilence throughout the country, and more than one half the people died. B.C. 93.

6th year. The people took to vagabondage, and there was rebellion, the violence of which was such that by worth alone it could not be assuaged.[3] B.C. 92.

Therefore, rising early in the morning and being full of awe until the evening, the Emperor requested punishment[4] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

Before this the two Gods Ama-terasu no Oho-kami and Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama[5] were worshipped together within the Emperor's Great Hall. He dreaded, however, the power of these Gods, and did not feel secure in their dwelling together. Therefore he entrusted Ama-terasu no Oho-kami to Toyo-suki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped at the village

[1] The Kana has simply hito, men.

[2] This decree is a mere cento of Chinese phrases.

[3] i.e., by the virtues of the Sovereign commanding the respect and obedience of the people.

[4] In accordance with the Chinese notion that national calamities are owing to the faults of the Emperor.

[5] The numen of the great land of Yamato.

of Kasanuhi in Yamato, where he established the sacred en-
V. 4. closure of Shiki. Moreover, he entrusted Yamato-oho-kuni-dama no Kami to Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped. But Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto was bald and lean, and therefore unfit to perform the rites of worship.

B.C. 91. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor decreed as follows:—"Of old our Imperial ancestors greatly extended the vast foundation, and under the later Emperors the institution became more and more exalted. The royal influence spread and flourished. But now that it has devolved upon Us, numerous calamities have unexpectedly befallen it. It is to be feared that from the absence of good Government in the Court, We have incurred the blame of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Would it not be well to commit the matter to the Sacred Tortoise[1] and thereby ascertain the cause of the calamity?"

Accordingly, the Emperor hereupon proceeded to the plain of Kami-asachi, where he assembled the 80 myriads of Deities, and inquired of them by means of divination. At this time the Gods inspired Yamato-to-to-hi-momoso-hime no Mikoto to say as follows:—"Why is the Emperor grieved at the disordered state of the country? If he duly did us reverent worship it would assuredly become pacified of itself." The Emperor in-
V. 5. quired, saying:—"What God is it that thus instructs me?" The answer was:—"I am the God who dwells within the borders of the land of Yamato, and my name is Oho-mono-nushi no Kami."

Now, having obtained this divine message, the Emperor worshipped as he was told, but without effect. Then, having bathed and practised abstinence, and purified the interior of the Hall, he prayed, saying:—"Is Our observance of due ceremonies towards the Gods not yet complete? This non-acceptance is cruel. We pray that We may be further instructed in a dream, and the divine favour thereby consummated."

That night he had a dream. A man of noble appearance stood opposite to him in the door of the hall, and, announcing himself as Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, said:—"Let the

[1] The ancient Japanese divination was by roasting deer's shoulder-blades and observing the cracks thus caused, not by the shell of a tortoise, which is the Chinese practice.

Emperor grieve no more for the disorder of the country. This is my will. If thou wilt cause me to be worshipped by my child, Oho-tata-neko, then will there be peace at once. Moreover the lands beyond the sea will of their own accord render submission."

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. Yamato-to-to-kami-asachi-hara-ma-guhashi-hime, Oho-mina-kuchi-no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and the Kimi of Wo-umi in Ise had all three the same dream, which they reported to the Emperor, saying :—" Last night we had a dream in which there appeared a man of noble aspect, who admonished us, saying :— 'Let Oho-tata-neko no Mikoto be appointed master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi-no-oho-kami, and let Ichi-shi no V. 6.
Naga-ochi be appointed master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami. Then assuredly the Empire will have profound peace.' "

The Emperor, when he learned the words of the dream, was more and more delighted in his heart. By a proclamation to the Empire he sought for Oho-tata-neko, who was accordingly found in the village of Suye, in the district of Chinu,[1] and sent to the Emperor, who forthwith proceeded in person to the plain of Kami-asachi, and assembled all the Princes and Ministers, and the eighty Be. He then inquired of Oho-tata-neko, saying :— "Whose child art thou ?" He answered and said :—" My father's name is Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. My mother's name is Ikudama-yori-bime, daughter of Suye-tsu mimi."

Also called Kushi-hi-kata-ame-hi-kata, daughter of Take-chinu-tsumi.

The Emperor said :—" Now we shall be prosperous." So he ascertained by divination that it would be lucky to send Ika-shiko-wo to distribute offerings to the Gods. He also divined that it would be unlucky to take advantage of this opportunity to worship other Gods.[2]

11th month, 8th day.[3] The Emperor took the articles[4] for

[1] In Idzumi. [2] Than the two above mentioned.

[3] The original has cyclical characters which would make it the 56th day of the month. I have adopted an emendation which does not make obvious nonsense. But where the whole series of dates is fictitious, it is hardly worth while noticing minor inaccuracies of this kind.

[4] Of pottery.

the worship of the Gods which he ordered Ika-shiko-wo to have made by the hands of the eighty Mononobe, and appointed Oho-tata-neko Master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. Moreover he made Nagaochi Master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami.

After that, he divined that it would be lucky to worship the other Gods. So he took the opportunity of separately worshipping the assemblage of eighty myriads of Deities. He also settled which were to be Heavenly shrines and which Earthly shrines, and allotted land and houses for the service of the Gods. Thereupon the pestilence first ceased; the country at length had peace, the five kinds of grain were produced, and the peasantry enjoyed abundance.

B.C. 90. 8th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. A man of the village of Takahashi, named Ikuhi, was appointed Brewer to the Great Deity.

Winter, 12th month, 20th day. The Emperor caused Oho-tata-neko to worship the Great Deity. On this day, Ikuhi, in person, presented to the Emperor sacred sake, with a song, as follows:—

This sacred sake
Is not my sacred sake:
'Tis sacred sake brewed
By Oho-mono-nushi,
Of Yamato,
How long ago!
How long ago![1]

Having thus sung, they feasted in the Shrine of the God. As soon as the feast was over, the various high officials sang as follows:—

V. 8.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning door
We would go forth from—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.

Hereupon the Emperor sang as follows:—

[1] "How long ago" is in Japanese Ikuhisa, an obvious allusion to the Brewer's name, Ikuhi, in short a pun.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning-door
I would push open—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.[1]

So the door of the Shrine of the God was thrown open, and the Emperor proceeded on his way.

He who was called Oho-tata-neko was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Miwa.

9th year, Spring, 3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor had a dream in which a divine person appeared to him and instructed him, saying:—"Take eight red shields and eight red spears and do worship to the God of Sumi-zaka. Take moreover eight black shields and eight black spears and do worship to the God of Oho-zaka." B.C. 89.

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. In accordance with the instruction he had received in the dream, he worshipped the Gods of Sumi-zaka and Oho-zaka.[2]

10th year, Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. He proclaimed to the company of Ministers, saying:—"For the guidance of the people, the chief thing is education. Now that I have performed due rites to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, all calamity has become spent. The distant savages, however, do not receive our calendar because they are yet unaccustomed to the civilizing influences of our rule. We will, therefore, select some of our company of Ministers and despatch them to the four quarters, so that they may cause our Will to be known." B.C. 88. V. 9.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor sent Oho-hiko no Mikoto to the northern region, he sent Takenu-kaha wake to the Eastern Sea,[3] he sent Kibi[4]-tsu-hiko to the Western road,

[1] The sentiment of these poems seems to be the same as that of our own "We won't go home till morning."
Metre irregular.

[2] However unhistorical all this may be, one thing clearly appears from it, viz., that in the early days of Japan the king and high priest were identical. Both the civil and religious functions, however, might be equally delegated.

[3] In the original Tō-kai, whence Tōkaidō, East-sea-road, the great highway from Kioto to the East and also the provinces lying to each side of it.

[4] Kibi is the ancient name for Bizen, Bingo, and Bittchiu, which lie west of Yamato.

he sent Tamba no chi-nushi no Mikoto to Tamba. On this occasion he addressed them, saying:—"If there be any who do not receive our instructions, prepare war and smite them." Having said so, he granted them all alike seals and ribbons,[1] and appointed them generals.

27th day. Oho-hiko no Mikoto arrived at the top of the Wani acclivity. Now there was there a maiden who sang as follows:—

One version has:—"Oho-hiko-no Mikoto arrived at the Hira-zaka acclivity, in Yamashiro. Now there was by the road-side a young woman who sang as follows:"—

Ah! Prince Mimaki-iri!
Unaware that some are stealthily
Preparing to cut
The thread of thine own life,
Thou amusest thyself like a lady!

V. 10. Another version is:—

Unaware that some are preparing
To slay thee,
On the watch
At the great gate,
Thou amusest thyself like a lady![2]

Wondering at this, Oho-hiko inquired of the maiden, saying:—"What are these words that thou sayest?" She answered and said:—"I was saying nothing: I was only singing." So she sang over again the above song, and suddenly disappeared. Oho-hiko accordingly returned and reported these circumstances to the Emperor. Upon this Yamato-toto-hi momo so bime no Mikoto, the Emperor's aunt by the father's side, a shrewd and intelligent person, who could foresee the future, understood what was portended by this song, and told the Emperor that it was a sign that Take-hani-yasu-hiko[3] was about to plot treason against him. "I have heard," she said, "that Ata-bime, Take-hani-yasu-hiko's wife, came secretly and took earth

[1] The seals and ribbons are Chinese, and could not have been used as emblems of office in Japan at this time. The word for general is Shōgun, so familiar at a later period of Japanese History.

[2] The text of this poem is very doubtful. The "Kojiki" has a third version. Prince Mimaki-iri is the Emperor.

[3] A half-brother of the Emperor. He lived in Yamashiro.

from Mount Kako[1] in Yamato, which she wrapped in her neckerchief and prayed, saying:—'This earth represents the Land of Yamato,' and turned it upside down. By this I know that there will be troubles. If thou dost not speedily take measures, it will assuredly be too late." Hereupon he recalled all the generals and consulted with them. No long time after, Take-hani-yasu-hiko and his wife Ata-bime conspired to revolt, and arrived suddenly with an army which they had raised. They came each by different roads, the husband by way of Yamashiro, the wife by Oho-saka. They intended to join their forces and attack the capital. Then the Emperor sent Isaseri-hiko no Mikoto to attack the force led by Ata-bime. He accordingly intercepted it at Oho-saka and put it all to a great rout. Ata-bime was killed, and her troops were all slain. Afterwards he sent Oho-hiko and Hiko-kuni-fuku, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, towards Yamashiro to attack Take-hani-yasu. Here they took sacred jars and planted them at the top of the acclivity of Takasuki in Wani.[2] Then they advanced with their best troops and ascended Mount Nara and occupied it. Now when the Imperial forces were encamping, they trod level the herbs and trees, whence that mountain was given the name of Mount Nara.[3] Then abandoning Mount Nara, they proceeded as far as the River Wakara. Hani-yasu-hiko was encamped on both sides of the river, and the two armies challenged each other. Therefore the men of that time changed the name of the river, and called it the River Idomi,[4] which is now corrupted into Idzumi.

V. 11.

V. 12.

Hani-yasu-hiko, standing on the bank of this river, inquired of Hiko-kuni-fuku, saying:—"Why hast thou raised an army and come hither?" He answered and said:—"Thou, in opposition to Heaven, and regardless of right, dost intend to overturn the Royal chamber.[5] Therefore I have raised a loyal army to punish thy revolt. This is the Emperor's command." Hereupon there was a struggle who should shoot first. Hani-yasu-hiko shot first at Hiko-kuni-fuku, but missed him. Then

[1] The same as Mount Kagu above referred to.

[2] i.e. they sacrificed to the Gods before entering on the campaign.

[3] Narasu means to make level.

[4] Challenge River.

[5] We would say the throne.

Hiko-kuni-fuku aimed at Hani-yasu-hiko, hit him in the breast, and killed him. His troops lost courage and retreated. They were consequently pursued and driven in rout to the north of the river. More than half had their heads cut off, and of dead bodies there was a plentiful overflow. Therefore that place was named Hafu-sono.[1]

Again the troops fled in fear and their excrements were voided on their breeches. So they took off their armour and ran. Knowing that they could not escape, they bowed their heads to the ground, and said, "Our Lord." Therefore the men of that time called the place where the armour was taken off "Kawara,"[2] and the place where the breeches were defiled they called Kuso-bakama.[3] It is now called Kusuba, which is a corruption of this word.

V. 13. Moreover the place where they bowed their heads was called A-gimi.[4]

After tkis Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto became the wife of Oho-mono-nushi no Kami. This God, however, was never seen in the day-time, but came at night. Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto said to her husband:—"As my Lord is never seen in the day-time, I am unable to view his august countenance distinctly; I beseech him therefore to delay a while, that in the morning I may look upon the majesty of his beauty." The Great God answered and said:—"What thou sayest is clearly right. To-morrow morning I will enter thy toilet-case and stay there. I pray thee be not alarmed at my form." Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto wondered secretly in her heart at this. Waiting until daybreak, she looked into her toilet-case. There was there a beautiful little snake,[5] of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment. Thereupon she was frightened, and uttered an exclamation. The Great God was ashamed, and changing suddenly into human form, spake to his wife, and

[1] Afureru is "to overflow," sono means garden. Hafu is more probably for hafuri, sacrifice.

[2] An old word for "armour."

[3] "Excrement-breeches."

[4] Our Lord. See above.

[5] This is one of numerous evidences of serpent-worship in Ancient Japan. The interlinear Kana for snake is worochi, where the last syllable is a honorific.

said:—"Thou didst not contain thyself, but hast caused me shame: I will in my turn put thee to shame." So treading the Great Void, he ascended to Mount Mimoro. Hereupon Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto looked up and had remorse. She flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda so that she died. She was buried at Oho-chi. Therefore the men of that time called her tomb the Hashi no haka.[1] This tomb was made by men in the day-time, V. 14.
and by Gods at night. It was built of stones carried from Mount Oho-saka. Now the people standing close to each other passed the stones from hand to hand, and thus transported them from the mountain to the tomb. The men of that time made a song about this, saying:—

If one passed from hand to hand
The rocks
Built up
On Oho-saka,[2]
How hard 'twould be to send them![3]

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to his Ministers, saying:—"The rebels have now all yielded themselves to execution and there is peace in the home district.[4] But the savage tribes abroad[5] continue to be tumultuous. Let the generals of the four roads now make haste to set out." On the 22nd day, the four generals set out on their journeys simultaneously.

[1] The Chopstick Tomb.

[2] The great acclivity.

[3] The tombs of men of rank at this period of Japanese History consisted of a round mound of earth varying in size according to the station of the person interred, and containing a vault of megalithic stones, with an entrance gallery similar to those of the Imperial Misasagi, but of much smaller size. Many of these are still to be seen in Japan, especially in the provinces near Yamato. Of course it is utterly impossible to pass from hand to hand stones of the size used in constructing these tombs.

[4] The original is Kinai, more familiarly known as Gokinai, and comprising the provinces of Yamato, Yamashiro, Settsu, Kawachi, and Idzumi.

[5] Lit. outside the sea. This is a Chinese expression which must not be taken too literally. The Ainos may be referred to. But the whole passage seems inspired by recollections from Chinese literature, and is probably entirely fictitious.

B.C. 87. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 28th day. The generals of the four roads reported to the Emperor the circumstances of their pacification of the savages. This year strange tribes came in great numbers and there was tranquillity throughout the land.

B.C. 86. 12th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The following decree was issued:—"Ever since we received the Celestial Dignity and undertook the guardianship of the ancestral shrines, Our light has been subject to obscuration, and Our influence has been wanting in placidity. Consequently there has been disaccord in the action of the male and female principles of nature, heat and cold have mixed their due order, epidemic disease has been rife, and calamities have befallen
V. 15. the people. But now in order to be absolved from Our offences and to rectify Our errors, we have reverently worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth. We have also dispensed Our instructions and thus pacified the savage tribes, and by force of arms have chastised those who refused submission. In this way authority has been maintained, while below there are no retired people.[1] Education[2] is widespread; the multitude take delight in their industries;[3] strange tribes come employing several interpreters; the countries beyond the sea offer allegiance. At this time We think it fit to make a new recension of the people, and to acquaint them with grades of seniority, and the order of forced labour."

Autumn, 9th month, 16th day. A census of the people was begun and taxes were imposed anew. These are called the men's bow-end tax and the women's finger-end tax.[4] Therefore the Gods of Heaven and Earth were harmonious. The wind

[1] By "retired people" are probably meant those who have concealed themselves in order to escape from oppression. The phrase occurs in the "Confucian Analects" (Legge, p. 200), where, however, it is used of a voluntary retirement from the world.

[2] The "education" is not juvenile education, but the education of the people by the good example of the monarch, with, perhaps, an occasional discourse from the throne.

[3] From "authority" to "industries" is copied from a Chinese History of the Han Dynasty. The whole decree is utterly impossible as a document of Japanese History at this period. It is as Chinese as it can be.

[4] That is, a tax of animals' skins and game to be paid by the men, and of textile fabrics to be levied on women. See Ch. K., p. 182.

and rain came in their season, the hundred kinds of grain formed duly. Families did not become extinct, population was sufficient. Profound peace prevailed in the Empire. Therefore he received the title of "The Emperor, the august founder of the country."

17th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The following decree was issued:— B.C. 81. V. 16.

"Ships are of cardinal importance to the Empire. At present the people of the coast, not having ships, suffer grievously by land-transport. Therefore, let every province be caused to have ships built."

Winter, 10th month. The building of ships was begun.

48th year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. The Emperor gave command to Toyoki no Mikoto and Ikume no Mikoto, saying:—"Ye, my two children, are alike in Our affection, and We know not which of you to make Our successor. Do each of you dream, and We will form an augury from your dreams." Hereupon the two princes, having received this command, performed their ablutions and prayed. In their sleep each of them had a dream. The next dawn the elder brother, Toyoki no Mikoto, reported to the Emperor the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended Mount Mimoro, and turning to the East, eight times I flourished a spear, and eight times dealt blows with a sword." B.C. 50.

The younger brother, Ikume no Mikoto, reported the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended to the summit of Mount Mimoro, and stretched a cord to the four quarters with which to drive away the sparrows which fed upon the grain."

The Emperor compared the dreams, and spake to his two sons, saying:—"The elder of you turned to the East only, and it is therefore meet that he should rule the Eastern Land. But the younger looked down generally over the four quarters, and he ought therefore to succeed to Our Dignity."

Summer, 4th month, 19th day. Ikume no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial, and Toyoki no Mikoto was made ruler of the Eastern Land. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Kami-tsuke[1] and of the Kimi of Shimotsuke.

[1] Now Kōdzuke.

B.C. 38. V. 17. 60th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Take-hi-teru no Mikoto

Another version is Take-hina-tori or Ama-no-hina-tori.

brought from Heaven the divine treasures and stored them in the Temple of the Great God at Idzumo. I wish to see them." Accordingly Take-moro-sumi, the ancestor of the Yata-be no Miyakko, was sent for them

One writing says:—"Also called Oho-moro-sumi."

that he might lay them before the Emperor. Now at this time Idzumo Furune, the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, held charge of the divine treasures. He had gone to the Land of Tsukushi and did not come to meet him. His younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, accordingly received the Imperial command and entrusted them to his younger brother, Umashi-Kara[1]-hisa and his son Uka-tsuku-nu, and so rendered them up to the Emperor. Now when Idzumo Furune returned from Tsukushi and heard that the divine treasures had been rendered up to the Court, he rebuked his younger brother Ihi-iri-ne, saying:—"Thou shouldst have waited for some days. What wert thou afraid of that thou didst so lightly part with the divine treasures?" On this account V. 18. he still, after years and months had passed, cherished wrath against his younger brother and had a mind to slay him. So he deceived his younger brother, saying:—"Of late the *mo*[2] plant grows plentifully in the Yamiya pool. Pray let us go together and see it." So he followed his elder brother and went there. Before this, the elder brother had secretly made a wooden sword, in appearance like a real sword, which at this time he himself wore. The younger brother was girt with a real sword. When they both came to the head of the pool, the elder brother said to the younger:—"The water of the pool is limpid and cool; pray let us both bathe in it." The younger brother agreed to his elder brother's proposal, and they each took off the sword which he wore and laid it on

[1] Note the occurrence of Kara, the name of a Corean Kingdom, in a proper name at a time when it was not supposed that Japan had relations with Corea.

[2] Defined as "a water plant with round leaves and stems which vary in length according to the depth of the water." It is edible.

the bank of the pool. Having bathed in the water, the elder brother came first to land, and taking the younger brother's real sword, girded it on himself. Afterwards the younger brother, surprised, took up his elder brother's wooden sword, but on coming to mutual blows, the younger brother was unable to draw the wooden sword. So the elder brother smote his younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, and killed him. Therefore the men of that day made a song, saying,—

> The sword girt on
> By the warrior of Idzumo
> (Where many clouds arise [1])—
> There is the sheath enwound with creepers,
> But, alas! there is no blade.

Hereupon Umashi-Kara-hisa and Uka-tsuku-nu proceeded to Court, where they reported this affair in detail. Accordingly, Kibi-tsu-hiko and Takenu-kaha-wake were sent to put to death Idzumo Furune. Therefore the Omi of Idzumo, in dread of this, desisted for a while from the worship of the Great God.

Now a man of Higami, in Tamba, named Hika-tohe, made a representation to the Prince Imperial, Iku-me no Mikoto, saying:—"One of my children is a young infant. Yet of his own V. 19.
accord he has said this:—'These are the Gods worshipped by the men of Idzumo—Idzumo of the gem-like water-plant [2] and the sunken stone [3]—viz. the true-kind-beautiful-august-mirror, the pinion-flapping-beautiful-august-God, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master; the august-spirit-plunged-in-the-water-of-the-mountain-stream, the peacefully-wearing (jewels?)-august-deity, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master.' [4] These do not seem like the words of a young infant. May they have been spoken by divine inspiration?"

Hereupon the Prince Imperial reported to the Emperor, who accordingly caused them to be worshipped.

62nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The following B.C. 36.
edict was issued:—

"Agriculture is the great foundation of the Empire. It is

[1] See above, p. 54.
[2] The *mo*, above referred to.
[3] Perhaps a precious stone found at the bottom of rivers.
[4] The Shiki says that this is the description of two deities only.

that upon which the people depend for their subsistence.[1] At present the water of Hanida of Sayama in Kahachi is scarce, and therefore the peasants of that province are remiss in their husbandry. Open up therefore abundance of ponds and runnels, and so develop the industry of the people."

Winter, 10th month. The Yosami pond was made.

11th month. The Karusaka pond and the Sakahori pond were made.

One version has:—"These three ponds were made when the Emperor dwelt in the Palace of Kuhama."

B.C. 33. V. 20. 65th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Land of Imna[2] sent Sonaka-cheulchi and offered tribute. Imna is more than 2000 ri to the north of Tsukushi, from which it is separated by the sea. It lies to the south-west of Ké-rin.

In the 68th year of his reign, Winter, the 12th month, 5th day, the Emperor died at the age of 120.[3]

In the following year, Autumn, the 8th month, 11th day, he was buried in the Misasagi above the road at Yamanobe.

[1] The above two sentences are copied word for word from a Chinese history.

[2] The traditional Japanese pronunciation of this name is Mimana. I have followed here, as elsewhere, the Corean pronunciation of Corean proper names. On any estimate of the length of the ri, the distance given is far too great.

Imna or Mimana is also known as Kara. It is a small kingdom lying to the S.W. of the River Naktong.

Kérin, in Japanese Kirin, is another name for Silla (in Japanese Shinra or Shiragi). See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 43.

Sonaka-cheulchi looks like a genuine Corean name.

[3] The age given here is inconsistent with other data found in the "Nihongi" itself, and with the "Kojiki," which makes him 168 at the time of his death.

BOOK VI.

THE EMPEROR IKU-ME-IRI-HIKO-I-SACHI.

(*SUININ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-i-sachi was the third child of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye. The Empress his mother was called Mimaki-hime. She was the daughter of Oho-hiko no Mikoto. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Midzu-gaki in the 29th year of the Emperor Mimaki, the 50th year of the cycle, Spring, the 1st month, the 1st day. From his birth he was of a distinguished appearance; when he grew to manhood, he had superior talent and large principles. His disposition was to be guided implicitly by truth and to avoid dissimulation.

The Emperor loved him, and retained him near his own person. At the age of twenty-four,[2] in accordance with the prognostic of a dream, he made him Prince Imperial.

The Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye died in Winter, the 12th month of the 68th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 2nd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 29.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day.[3] The Emperor Mimaki was buried in the Misasagi over the road at Yamanobe. VI. 2.

11th month, 2nd day. The Empress was granted the

[1] Dispense-benevolence.

[2] This does not agree with what precedes. He was born in the 29th year of his father's reign, and made Prince Imperial in the 48th. He would therefore be only twenty, and not twenty-four. Note that the Japanese always count both the year of birth and the current year in their calculations of age.

[3] This does not agree with the date on the previous page.

honorary title of Grand Empress. This was the year Midzu-noye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 28. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. Saho-hime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to Homu-tsu-wake no Mikoto. From his birth the Emperor loved him, and kept him near his own person. When he grew to manhood, he could not speak.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Maki-muku. It was called the Palace of Tamaki. In this year the man of Imna, Sonaka cheulchi,[1] asked permission to return to his country. Therefore gifts were liberally bestowed on him, and there were entrusted to him as a present for the King of Imna 100 pieces of red silk. But the Silla people waylaid and robbed him, and at this time began the enmity between the two countries.[2]

One account says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Mimaki, there was a man with horns on his forehead[3] who came riding in a ship and anchored in the Bay of Kebi in the land of Koshi. Therefore that place was called Tsunoga.[4] He was asked what countryman he was. He replied, saying:—'I am the son of the King of Great Kara.
VI. 3. My name is Tsunoga arashito, and I am also called Ushiki arishichi kanki.[5] It having come to my ears that there is in the Land of Japan a sage Emperor, I wished to offer

[1] Corean pronunciation. The Japanese would be Sonaka shichi.

[2] There is probably some historical foundation for this. But the chronology must be wrong. According to the Tongkam, Kara (Imna) was not formed into a kingdom until A.D. 42, and hostilities between Kara and Silla are first mentioned in that work in A.D. 94. They were also at war in 97, 115, 116, and 203. See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 44.

[3] The ancient Chinese Emperors are so depicted.

[4] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. A derivation from Tsuno-nuka (horn-forehead) seems intended.

[5] The Chinese characters in the text are probably intended to be read with their Japanese pronunciation, and I have accordingly in this instance followed the traditional Kana rendering. If the Corean pronunciation were followed, we should read Tonoka Arasăteung and Usaki ari cheulchi kanki. The Shiki says that kanki is a Silla rank equal to the Japanese senior 3rd rank. From a passage in Keidai Tennō's reign, year 23, it would appear that Arashito, or Arasăteung, was the name of some office or dignity.

him my allegiance and came to Anato.'[1] Now in that land there was a man named Itsutsu-hiko, who spoke to thy servant, saying:—'I am the King of this land, and there is no other king but me. Do not thou therefore proceed further.' But when I observed him closely and saw what manner of man he was, I knew surely that he was not a king. So I departed again from that place, and not knowing the road, anchored at one island and bay after another, going round by way of the Northern Sea and passing the Land of Idzumo until I arrived here."

It so happened that at this time the Emperor died, so he was detained and served the Emperor Ikume for three years.

Then the Emperor inquired of Arashito, saying:—"Dost thou wish to return to thy country?" He answered and said:—"I earnestly desire to do so." The Emperor then addressed Arashito, saying:—"If thou hadst not lost thy way, thou wouldst certainly have arrived here sooner—in time to serve the late Emperor. Do thou, therefore, change the name of thy country. In future take the august name VI. 4.
of the Emperor Mimaki and make it the name of thy country. So he gave Arashito red silk stuffs and sent him back to his native land. This was the reason why the name of that country is called Mimana.[2] Hereupon Arashito took the red silk which had been given him, and stored it in the magazine of his country. The people of Silla hearing this, raised an army and proceeding thither robbed him of all the red silk. This was the beginning of the enmity between these two countries."

One writing says:—"In the beginning, when Tsunoga Arashito was still in his own land, he went into the country with an ox loaded with implements of husbandry. The ox suddenly disappeared, and seeking for it by its tracks, he found that the foot-prints ceased in a certain village. Now there was here an old man who said:—'The ox which thou art in search of entered this village, and the

[1] Anato, lit. hole-door, is the ancient name of Nagato (long-door) or Chōshiu. The door is the Strait of Shimonoseki.

[2] Imna, according to the Corean pronunciation of the characters.

village chiefs said:—"With the implements which he is carrying let us fell the ox. We must surely prepare to slay and eat him. If the owner comes in search of him, we shall indemnify him with something." So they slew and ate him. If thou art asked what thing thou desirest as the price of the ox, do not ask for treasures, but say that thou wishest to have the God worshipped by the village. Tell them so.' Presently the village chiefs came and said:—'What dost thou desire as the price of thy ox?' And he replied as the old man had instructed him. Now the God whom they worshipped was a white stone. So they gave the white stone to the owner of the ox, and he accordingly brought it away with him and placed it in his bed-chamber. This divine stone became changed into
VI. 5. a beautiful maiden, upon which Arashito was greatly rejoiced, and wished to be united to her. But while he was away in another place, the maiden suddenly disappeared. Arashito was greatly alarmed, and inquired of his wife, saying:—'Whither has the maiden gone?' She replied and said:—'She has gone towards the East.' So he went in search of her, and at length, drifting far over the sea, he thus arrived in our country. The maiden whom he sought came to Naniha, where she became the Deity of the Himegoso shrine. Then proceeding to the district of Kusaki, in the Land of Toyo, she afterwards became the Deity of the Himegoso shrine. She is worshipped in both these places."

B.C. 27. 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The Silla prince, Ama no hi-hoko,[1] arrived. The objects which he brought were—one Ha-buto gem, one Ashi-daka gem, one red-stone Ukaka gem, one Idzushi short sword, one Idzushi spear, one sun-mirror, one Kuma-himorogi,[2] seven things in all. These were stored in the Land of Tajima,[3] and made divine things for ever.

[1] This means "The sun-spear of Heaven," and is purely Japanese. It cannot be a Corean name.

[2] Kuma-himorogi. See above, p. 82.

[3] In the district of Idzu-shi (which I take to be for Idzu-ishi, sacred stone), a name which is suggestive of stone-worship. The "Kojiki" mentions eight objects, not at all the same, however, and calls them the Eight Great

One version says:—"In the beginning, Ama no hi-hoko, riding in a ship, anchored at the land of Harima, where he dwelt in the village of Shisaha. Then the Emperor sent to Harima Ohotomo nushi, the ancestor of the Miwa no Kimi, and Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe, and inquired of Ama no hi-hoko, saying:—'Who art thou, and to what country dost thou belong?' Ama no hi-hoko answered and said:—'I am the son of the King of Silla. Hearing that in the Land of Japan there was a sage monarch, I gave my country to my younger brother, Chiko,[1] and have come to offer my allegiance and to bring tribute of the following objects, viz.—a Ha-boso[2] gem, an Ashi-daka gem, an Ukaka red-stone (or Akashi) gem, an Idzushi short sword, an Idzushi spear, a sun-mirror, a Kuma-himorogi, and an Isasa sword—eight objects in all.' So the Emperor gave orders to Ama no hi-hoko, saying:—'Do thou dwell in either of these two villages—Shisaha in the land of Harima, or Idesa in the island of Ahaji, at thy pleasure.' Then Ama no hi-hoko addressed the Emperor, saying:—'In regard to a dwelling-place for thy servant, if the celestial favour is bestowed on him so far as to grant thy servant the place of his desire, thy servant will himself proceed to and visit the various provinces, and he hopes that he may be granted the place which is agreeable to his mind.' This was agreed to. Thereupon Ama no hi-hoko, ascending the river Uji, went northwards, until he arrived at the village of Ana, in the province of Ohomi. VI. 6.

Afterwards, he proceeded onwards, from the province of Ohomi, through the province of Wakasa, and going westward arrived at the province of Tajima. So there he

Deities of Idzushi. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 261. Possibly the Idzushi short sword and the Idzushi spear were stone weapons. This passage is one of several evidences that Japan owes to Corea one element of the Shintō religion. The "Yengi-shiki" mentions several Corean Gods as being worshipped in Japan. The "Kojiki" mixes up this legend with that of Arashito given above. Indeed both are probably founded on the same occurrence.

[1] I can't find any king of this name in Silla History.

[2] Ha-boso means leaf-slender and Ashi-daka leg-high. They are probably names of places.

fixed his dwelling-place. Therefore the potters of Kagami no hasama,[1] in the province of Ohomi, are the servants of
VI. 7. Ama no hi-hoko. Accordingly Ama no hi-hoko took to wife Matawo, the daughter of Futomimi, a man of Idzushi in Tajima, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, who was the father of Tajima no Hinaraki, who was the father of Kiyohiko, who was the father of Tajima-mori."

B.C. 26. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 23rd day. The Empress's elder brother by the mother's side, Prince Sahohiko, plotted treason and tried to endanger the State. Therefore he watched for an occasion when the Empress was enjoying her leisure, and addressing her, said as follows:—"Whom dost thou love best—thy elder brother or thy husband?" Upon this, the Empress, ignorant of his object in making this inquiry, straightway answered and said:—"I love my elder brother." Then he enticed the Empress, saying:—"If one serves a man by beauty, when the beauty fades, his affection will cease.[2] There are now many beautiful women in the Empire. They will come one after another and seek affection. How, then, canst thou trust always to thy beauty? It is my wish, therefore, to ascend to the immense felicity,[3] and of a certainty to rule over the Empire along with thee. So making high our pillows,[4] we shall complete a long hundred years. Would not this be
VI. 8. delightful? I beg thee, therefore, to slay the Emperor for me." So he took a dagger, and giving it to the Empress, said:—"Gird on this dagger among thy garments, and when the Emperor goes to sleep, do thou stab him in the neck, and thus kill him." Upon this the Empress trembled in her heart within, and knew not what she should do. But in view of the determination of the Prince, her elder brother, she felt that remonstrance would be useless. Therefore she took the dagger, and having herself nowhere to deposit it, she placed it in her garments, intending all the while to remonstrate with her elder brother.

B.C. 25. 5th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor pro-

[1] Mirror-valley. [2] A Chinese saying.
[3] i.e. to take possession of the throne.
[4] A Chinese metaphor meaning "in security."

ceeded to Kume, where he dwelt in Taka-miya."[1] Now the Emperor took his noon-day sleep with the Empress's knees as his pillow. Up to this time the Empress had accomplished nothing, but thought vainly to herself:—"This would be the time to do that which the Prince, my elder brother, plotted." And she wept tears which fell on the Emperor's face. The Emperor woke up and addressed the Empress, saying:—"To-day We have had a dream. A small brocade-coloured snake coiled itself round Our neck and a great rain arose from Saho, which coming hither wet Our face. What does this portend?" The Empress thereupon, knowing that she could not conceal the plot, in fear and awe bowed herself to the earth, and informed the Emperor fully of the circumstances of the Prince, her elder brother's, treason. Accordingly she addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden was unable to resist the purpose of the Prince, her elder brother, and yet could not be false to the gratitude due to the Emperor. If I confessed I destroyed the Prince, my elder brother. If I said nothing, I overturned the temples of the earth and of grain,[2] so that on the one hand there was fear, and on the other there was grief. Whether I looked up or down there was lamenta- VI. 9.
tion, whether I advanced or retired there was weeping and wailing. Night and day I was disturbed in mind, and could find no way to give information. Only to-day when Your Majesty went to sleep with his handmaiden's knee as a pillow, she thought—'If I were mad enough to accomplish the purpose of my elder brother, at this very time the deed could be done without difficulty.' With this thought still in my mind, the tears flowed spontaneously. So I raised my sleeve to wipe away the tears, and they overflowed from the sleeve and moistened Your Majesty's face. Therefore the dream of to-day must have been an effect of this thing. The small brocade-coloured snake is nothing else than the dagger which was given me: the great rain which arose suddenly is nothing else than thy handmaiden's tears." Then the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This is not thy crime," and raising a force from the neighbouring district, he commanded Yatsunada, the

[1] Taka-miya means high-palace or shrine.

[2] A Chinese expression for the State.

remote ancestor of the Kimi of Kôdzuke, to slay Saho-hiko. Now Saho-hiko withstood him with an army, and hastily piling up rice-stalks made thereof a castle, which was so solid that it could not be breached. This is what was called a "rice-castle."[1] A month passed, and yet it did not surrender. Hereupon the Empress, grieved at this, said:—"Even though I am Empress, with what countenance can I preside over the Empire, after bringing to ruin the Prince, my elder brother?" Accordingly, she took in her arms the Imperial Prince Homutsu wake no Mikoto, and entered the rice-castle of the Prince, her elder brother. The Emperor increased his army still more, and having surrounded the castle on all sides, proclaimed to those within it, saying:—"Send forth quickly the Empress and the Imperial Prince." But they would not send them out. So the
VI. 10. General Yatsunada set fire to the castle. Then the Empress, taking in her bosom the Imperial child, crossed over the castle and came out from it. Therewithal she besought the Emperor, saying:—"The reason why thy handmaiden at first fled into her elder brother's castle was in the hope that her elder brother might be absolved from guilt for the sake of her and of her child. But now he has not been absolved, and I know that I am guilty. Shall I have my hands tied behind my back? There is nothing left for me but to strangle myself. But even though I, thy handmaiden, die, I cannot bear to forget the favour shown me by the Emperor. I pray, therefore, that the Empress's palace, which I had charge of, may be granted to fair mates for thee. In the land of Tamba there are five ladies, all of virtuous minds, the daughters of the Prince, who is Michi no Ushi[2] of Tamba.

Prince Michi no Ushi was a grandson of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-Neko oho-hi-hi, and son of Prince Hiko-imasu.

[1] The Japanese word for rice-castle is inaki. It may be doubted whether there ever was any such castle as that described here. Artless attempts at derivation furnish a considerable portion of the old myths and legends of Japan. Inaki is the term used for the Imperial granaries in the provinces, and was also applied to their custodians. It therefore became a title of nobility which is frequently met with in the later history.

[2] Lit. master of the road.

One version has:—"Son of Prince Hiko-yu-musubi-kuma."

Let them be placed in the side courts to complete the number of the consort chambers." To this the Emperor agreed.[1] Then the fire blazed up, and the castle was destroyed. The troops all ran away, and Saho-hiko and his younger sister died together inside the castle. Thereupon the Emperor commended the good service of General Yatsunada, and granted him the name of Yamato-hi-muke take-hi-muke-hiko[2] Yatsunada.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The courtiers represented to the Emperor as follows:—"In the village of Taima[3] there is a valiant man called Kuyehaya of Taima. He is of great bodily strength, so that he can break horns and straighten out hooks. He is always saying to the people:—'You may search the four quarters, but where is there one to compare with me in strength? O that I could meet with a man of might, with whom to have a trial of strength, regardless of life or death.'" B.C. 23. VI. 11.

The Emperor, hearing this, proclaimed to his ministers, saying:—"We hear that Kuyehaya of Taima is the champion of the Empire. Might there be any one to compare with him?"

One of the ministers came forward and said:—"Thy servant hears that in the Land of Idzumo there is a valiant man named Nomi no Sukune. It is desirable that thou shouldst send for him, by way of trial, and match him with Kuyehaya."

That same day the Emperor sent Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, to summon Nomi no Sukune. Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came from Idzumo, and straightway he and Taima no Kuyehaya were made to wrestle together. The two men stood opposite to one another. Each raised his foot and kicked at the other,[4] when Nomi no Sukune broke with a kick the ribs of Kuyehaya and also kicked and broke his loins and thus killed him. Therefore the land of Taima no Kuyehaya was seized, and was all given to Nomi no Sukune. This was

But did not act on it till nine years later!

[2] Yamato-sun-facing brave-sun-facing prince.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] The wrestling seems to have been of the nature of a Greek παγκράτιον, or the French savate.

the cause why there is in that village a place called Koshi-ore-da, i.e. the field of the broken loins.

VI. 12. Nomi no Sukune remained and served the Emperor.

B.C. 15. 15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The five women of Tamba were sent for and placed in the side-court. The name of the first was Hibasu-hime, of the second Nuba-tani-iri-hime, of the third Matonu-hime, of the fourth Azami-ni-iri-hime, and of the fifth Takano-hime.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Hibasu-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress, and the Empress's three younger sisters were made concubines. Only Takano-hime, on account of the ugliness of her form, was sent back to her own country. Accordingly in her shame at being sent back, when she came to Kadono, she purposely tumbled from the carriage and was killed. Therefore that place received the name of Ochi-kuni.[2] The present name, Oto-kuni, is a corruption of this. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto had three sons and two daughters. The eldest was called Ini-shiki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, the second Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the third Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto, the fourth Yamato-hime no Mikoto, and the fifth Wakaki-ni-iri-biko no Mikoto. The concubine Nuba-tani-iri-hime gave birth to Nuteshi-wake no Mikoto and Ika-tarashi-bime no Mikoto. The next concubine Azami-ni-iri-bime gave
VI. 13. birth to Ike-haya-wake no Mikoto and Waka-asa-tsu-hime no Mikoto.

B.C. 7. 23rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Prince Homutsu-wake is now thirty years of age.[3] His beard is eight span long, yet he weeps like an infant, and never speaks. What can be the reason of this?" So he caused Commissioners to consider the matter.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Emperor stood before the Great Hall, with the Imperial Prince Homutsu-wake in attendance on him. Now there was a swan which crossed the Great Void, uttering its cry. The Imperial Prince looked up,

[1] The "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 197) makes only four princesses, and in another passage only two. [2] Fall-country.

[3] The "Kojiki" makes this Prince born at the time of Saho-hiko's rebellion, i.e. in the fifth year of Suinin Tennō's reign. The "Nihongi" is less precise, but it is plain from the narrative that he cannot have been thirty at this time.

and seeing the swan, said:—"What thing is this?" The Emperor, observing that the Imperial Prince had gained his speech on seeing the swan, was rejoiced, and commanded his courtiers, saying:—"Which of you will catch this bird and present it to me?" Thereupon, Amano Yukaha Tana, the ancestor of the Tottori[1] no Miyakko, addressed his Majesty, saying:—"Thy servant will surely catch it, and present it to thee." So the Emperor declared to Yukaha Tana, saying:—"If thou present this bird to me, I will certainly reward thee liberally." Now, Yukaha Tana, looking from afar towards the quarter whither the swan had flown, followed in search of it to Idzumo and there captured it.

Some say "To the land of Tajima."

VI. 14. 11th month, 2nd day. Yukaha Tana presented the swan to the Emperor. Homutsu-wake no Mikoto played with this swan and at last learned to speak. Therefore, Yukaha Tana was liberally rewarded, and was granted the title of Tottori no Miyakko.[2] In consequence there was further established the Be of bird-catchers, the Be of bird-feeders,[3] and the Homu-tsu Be.

B.C. 5. 25th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor commanded the five Daibu,[4] Takenu Kaha-wake, ancestor of the Abe no Omi, Hiko-kuni-fuku,[5] ancestor of the Wani no Omi, Oho-kashima, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, Tochine, ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji, and Take-hi, ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, saying:—"The sagacity of our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye, was displayed in wisdom: he was reverential, intelligent and capable. He was profoundly unassuming, and his disposition was to cherish self-abnegation. He adjusted the machinery of Government, and did solemn worship to the Gods of Heaven VI. 15. and Earth. He practised self-restraint and was watchful as to

[1] Tottori for tori-tori, i.e. bird-catcher, is the name of a number of places in Japan, notably of the capital of the province of Inaba.

[2] Lord of the bird-catchers. The Chinese character for title is 姓, which means properly family name, surname. But, as this instance shows, such appellations were primarily official designations. Then they became hereditary titles, and in the last place were attenuated into mere surnames.

[3] Tori-kahi-be. [4] Daibu, great man, is a general term for high officials.

[5] Both these men are named in Sūjin Tennō's reign, 10th year, eighty-five years before.

his personal conduct. Every day he was heedful for that day. Thus the weal of the people was sufficient, and the Empire was at peace. And now, under Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth?"[1]

3rd month, 10th day. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was taken from Toyo-suki-iri-hime no Mikoto,[2] and entrusted to Yamato-hime no Mikoto. Now Yamato-hime no Mikoto sought for a place where she might enshrine the Great Goddess. So she proceeded to Sasahata in Uda. Then turning back from thence, she entered the land of Ohomi, and went round eastwards to Mino, whence she arrived in the province of Ise.

VI. 16. Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed Yamato-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"The province of Ise, of the divine wind,[3] is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this land I wish to dwell." In compliance, therefore, with the instruction of the Great Goddess, a shrine was erected to her in the province of Ise. Accordingly an Abstinence Palace was built at Kaha-kami in Isuzu. This was called the palace of Iso. It was there that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami first descended from Heaven.

One story is that the Emperor made Yamato-hime no Mikoto to be his august staff,[5] and offered her to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami. Thereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, and having enshrined her at Idzu-kashi no Moto in Shiki,[6] offered sacrifice to her. Thereafter, in compliance with the Goddess's instructions, she, in Winter, the 10th month of the year Hinoto

[1] This speech is thoroughly Chinese. It contains numerous phrases borrowed from the Chinese classics.

[2] She had been appointed B.C. 92, eighty-seven years before.

[3] This is a stock epithet (makura kotoba) of this province.

[4] Abstinence Palace or Worship Palace. "On the accession of an Emperor, an unmarried Princess of the Imperial House was selected for the service of the Shrine of Ise, or if there was no such unmarried Princess, then another Princess was fixed upon by divination and appointed worship-princess (齋王). The Worship-Palace was for her residence." Shintō miômoku ruijiushô, III. 23. See above, note to p. 41.

[5] i e. assistant or deputy.

[6] In Yamato. Idzu means sacred; kashi is the name of a tree; moto means bottom.

Mi,[1] on the 18th day, removed to the Palace[2] of Watarahi in the province of Ise. At this time the Great God of Yamato inspired Ohominakuchi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and admonished (the Emperor by his mouth), saying:—"At the time of the Great Beginning, it was covenanted that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami should govern all the Plain of Heaven, and that her august Imperial descendants should hold absolute rule over the eighty spiritual beings of the Central Reed-plain Land. My personal tenure of the governance of the great land is already at an end. But although the worship of the Gods in Heaven and Earth was maintained by the late Emperor Mimaki, he failed to search out the root of the matter in its details; he was wanting in thoroughness, and stopped short at the leaves and branches. Therefore that Emperor was short-lived.[3] For this reason do thou, our august descendant, now show regret for the shortcomings of the late Emperor and be watchful in regard to the ceremonies of worship. If thou dost so, the life of thine augustness will be long, and moreover the Empire will have peace." VI. 17.

Now when the Emperor heard these words, he caused Fukayu nushi, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, to use divination in order to discover who should be appointed to conduct the worship of the Great God of Yamato. Thereupon Nunaki-waka-hime no Mikoto answered to the divination, and was consequently appointed. A sacred plot of ground was fixed on in the village of Anashi, and worship performed at Point[4] Naga-oka of Oho-chi. But this Nunaki-waka-hime no Mikoto's body was already all emaciated, so that she was unable to do sacrifice, and therefore Nagaochi no Sukune, ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe, was made to offer the sacrifices.

26th year, Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Emperor B.C. 4.

[1] Corresponding to the 26th year of Suinin Tennō's reign, or B.C. 4.

[2] Or shrine.

[3] He died at the age of 120, or 168 if we take the "Kojiki" as an authority. This is one of numerous indications that the chronology of this period is worthless.

[4] The word misaki (point) is used both of a promontory and of a spur of a hill. Naga-oka is long-hill.

commanded the Mononobe, Tochine no Oho-muraji,[1] saying:—

VI. 18. "We have repeatedly despatched messengers to the Land of Idzumo to inspect the divine treasures of that Land, but we have had no clear report. Do thou go thyself to Idzumo, and having made inspection, attest them." So Tochine no Oho-muraji, having examined and attested the divine treasures, made a clear report thereof to His Majesty. He was accordingly appointed to the charge of the divine treasures.

B.C. 3. 27th year, Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Department of Worship was made to ascertain by divination what implements of war would be lucky as offerings to the Gods. Consequently bows, arrows, and cross-swords were deposited in the shrines of all the Gods. The land and houses consecrated to their service were fixed anew, and they were sacrificed to in due season. The practice of offering weapons in sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth probably had its origin at this time. This year granaries were erected in the village of Kume.[2]

B.C. 2. 28th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, the Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side, died.

11th month, 2nd day. Yamato-hiko was buried at Tsukizaka in Musa. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the misasagi. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them.

VI. 19. The Emperor, hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved in heart, and commanded his high officers, saying:—"It is a very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it, if it is bad? From this time forward, take counsel so as to put a stop to the following of the dead."[3]

[1] Great-village-elder. This word is nearly equivalent to Prime Minister.

[2] As explained above, Kume is probably a variant of the Chinese word for army. There is at present a village of this name in Yamato, but it was no doubt originally the barrack quarter, and the storehouses here referred to were to contain grain for the food of the army. The original commentary gives miyake as the Japanese name for these granaries. At a later period the miyake were local government offices.

[3] The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 174) says that this was the first time a hedge of

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Emperor commanded Inishiki no Mikoto and Oho-tarashi-hiko no A.D. 1.

men was set up round a tumulus. But the "Nihongi's" statement that it was an old custom must be correct.

This custom is too much in accordance with what we know of other races in the barbaric stage of culture to allow us to doubt that we have here a genuine bit of history, though perhaps the details may be inaccurate, and the chronology is certainly wrong. In an ancient Chinese notice of Japan we read that "at this time (A.D. 247) Queen Himeko died. A great mound was raised over her, and more than a hundred of her male and female attendants followed her in death."

Funeral human sacrifice for the service of the dead is described by Dr. Tylor ("Primitive Culture," i. 458) as "one of the most wide-spread, distinct, and intelligible rites of animistic religion. Arising in the lower barbaric stage, it develops itself in the higher, and thenceforth continues or dwindles in survival." He proceeds to quote numerous examples of it from all parts of the world, and from many ages of history.

It is well known to have existed among the Manchu Tartars and other races of North-Eastern Asia until modern times. The Jesuit missionary Du Halde relates that the Emperor Shunchi, of the T'sing dynasty (died 1662), inconsolable for the loss of his wife and infant child, "signified by his will that thirty men should kill themselves to appease her manes, which ceremony the Chinese look upon with horror, and was abolished by the care of his successor"—the famous Kanghi.

Another missionary, Alvarez Semedo, in his history of the Tartar invasion, says :—"The Tartarian King vowed to celebrate his Father's Funerals with the lives of two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of China. For it is the custome of the Tartars, when any man of quality dieth, to cast into that fire which consumes the dead corpse as many Servants, Women and Horses with Bows and Arrows as may be fit to atend and serve them in the next life."

This custom was also practised in China in the most ancient times, though long condemned as barbarous. Confucius disapproved of it. An ode in the "Sheking" (Legge, iv. i. 198) laments the death of three brothers who were sacrificed at the funeral of Duke Muh, B.C. 621. When the Emperor She Hwang-ti died, B.C. 209, his son Urh said, "My father's palace ladies who have no children must not leave the tomb," and compelled them all to follow him in death. Their number was very great. For other cases see a paper by Mayers in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society, new Series, xii.

A King of Kokuryö in Corea died A.D. 248. He was beloved for his virtues, and many of his household wished to die with him. His successor forbade them to do so, saying that it was not a proper custom. Many of them, however, committed suicide at the tomb. "Tongkam," iii. 20.

In A.D. 502, Silla prohibited the custom of burying people alive at the

Mikoto, saying:—"Do ye each tell me the thing ye would dearly like to have." The elder Prince said:—"I should like to have a bow and arrows." The younger Prince said:—"I should like to have the Imperial Dignity." Thereupon the Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let the desire of each of you be complied with." So a bow and arrows were given to Inishiki no Mikoto, and a decree was addressed to Oho-tarashi hiko no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou must succeed to Our Dignity."

A.D. 3. 32nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto died.

One version has Hibasu ne no Mikoto.

Some time before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"We have already recognized that the practice of following the dead is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial?" Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came forward and said:—"It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an expedient which I will submit to Your Majesty." So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Idzumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' Be. He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' Be to take clay and form therewith
VI. 20. shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he presented to the Emperor, saying:—"Henceforward let it be the law for future ages to substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up at tumuli." Then the Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying:—"Thy expedient hath greatly pleased Our heart." So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. And a

funerals of the sovereigns. Before this time five men and five women were put to death at the King's tomb. "Tongkam," v. 5.

Cases of suicide at the tomb of a beloved lord or sovereign have not been uncommon in Japan even in modern times. There was one in 1868.

The Japanese, like the Chinese, make no distinction between voluntary deaths and human sacrifices. Both are called jun-shi, a term which means "following in death." Indeed, as we may see by the Indian Suttee, it is often hard to draw the line between these two forms of what is really the same custom.

name was given to these clay objects. They were called *Hani-wa*.[1]

Another name is *Tatemono*.[2]

Then a decree was issued, saying:—"Henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli: let not men be harmed." The Emperor bountifully rewarded Nomi no Sukune for this service, and also bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the official charge of the clay-workers' Be. His original title was therefore changed, and he was called Hashi no Omi. This was how it came to pass that the Hashi no Muraji superintend the burials of the Emperors.[3]

The said Nomi no Sukune was the first ancestor of the Hashi no Muraji.[4] VI. 21.

34th year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a progress to Yamashiro. At this time his courtiers represented to him that there was in that country a beautiful person named Kambata no Tohe.[5] She was very handsome, and was the daughter of Fuchi of Ohokuni in Yamashiro. Hereupon the Emperor, spear in hand, made a vow, saying:—"I must be united to this beautiful person." On his way he saw an omen. A.D. 5.

[1] Clay-rings. [2] Things set up.

[3] The date ascribed to this incident cannot be depended on. At least Chinese accounts speak of the custom of human sacrifices at the burial of a sovereign as in full force in Japan so late as A.D. 247. Probably all the events of this part of Japanese history are very much antedated. But of the substantial accuracy of the narrative there can be no doubt. Some of these clay figures (known as tsuchi-ningiô) are still in existence, and one may be seen in the British Museum, where it constitutes the chief treasure of the Gowland collection. The Uyeno Museum in Tokio also possesses specimens, both of men and horses. None, however, remain in situ at the tombs. The hani-wa (clay-ring) cylinders which may now be seen embedded in the earth round all the principal misasagi are so numerous that they can hardly have all been surmounted by figures. But they are of the same workmanship and of the same date, and no doubt some of them are the pedestals of images, the above-ground part of which has been long ago destroyed by the weather or by accident.

A similar substitution of straw or wooden images for living men took place in China in ancient times, though by a curious inversion of ideas, the former practice is described as leading to the latter. See Legge's "Chinese Classics, Mencius," p. 9.

[4] Hashi (clay-worker) is also read hanishi, hashibe, or hasebe.

[5] As above stated, Tohe means chief.

When he was arriving at his lodging,[1] a large tortoise came out from the river. The Emperor raised his spear and thrust at

Tsuchi-ningiô. (Gowland Collection, British Museum.)

the tortoise, when it suddenly became changed into a white stone. Then the courtiers said:—" If one were only to think

[1] Literally, travelling-palace.

this out, it must prognosticate something." So Kambata no Tohe was sent for, and lodged in the hinder palace. She was the mother of Iha-tsuku-wake no Mikoto, who was the ancestor of the Kimi of Miho. Before this he had taken to wife Kari-hata-tohe, who bore him three sons. The first was called Oji-wake no Mikoto, the second Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, and the third I-take-wake no Mikoto.

Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ishida. VI. 22.

35th year, Autumn, 9th month. Inishiki no Mikoto was sent to the province of Kahachi to construct the pond of Takashi, and the pond of Chinu. A.D. 6.

Winter, 10th month. He made the pond of Saki in Yamato, and the pond of Tomi. In this year, the various provinces were commanded extensively to excavate ponds and channels,[1] to the number of eight hundred and more. Much attention was thus paid to husbandry. Therefore the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

37th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. A.D. 8.

39th year, Winter, 10th month. Inishiki no Mikoto, while dwelling in the palace at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, made a thousand swords. Therefore those swords were called the Kahakami set. A.D. 10.

Another name was the Naked[2] Companions.

They were deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. After this the Emperor gave orders to Inishiki no Mikoto, and made him to have charge of the divine treasures of the shrine of Iso no kami. VI. 23.

One version is:—"Whilst the Imperial Prince Inishiki dwelt at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, he sent for a smith by name Kahakami, and made a thousand swords. At this time, the shield-makers' Be, the Japanese-figured-cloth-workers' Be, the sacred-bow-shavers' Be, the sacred-arrow-makers' Be,[3] the Oho-anashi Be, the Hatsu-kashi[4]

[1] For irrigation.

[2] So called because worn without a sheath.

[3] See above, p. 178.

[4] These are the names of villages. The "Shukai" editor suggests that they were allotted to the Prince for his support.

Be, the jewel-workers' Be, the Kami-osaka Be,[1] the Hi-oki[2] Be, and the sword-wearers' Be—the Be of ten articles altogether—were granted to the Imperial Prince Inishiki.

These thousand swords were deposited in the village of Osaka. They were afterwards removed from Osaka and deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. At this time the God made a request, saying:—'Let the person named Ichikaha, of the family of the Omi of Kasuga, be made to attend to them.' Therefore by the Emperor's command,
VI. 24. Ichikaha was caused to attend to them. He was the first ancestor of the Mononobe[3] no Obito."

A.D. 58. 87th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Inishiki no Mikoto spake to his younger sister, Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"I am old, and unable to have charge of the divine treasures. Henceforward thou must have charge of them." Oho-naka-tsu-hime refused, saying:—"I am a feeble woman. How can I ascend to the divine storehouse of Heaven?"

Inishiki no Mikoto said:—"Although the divine storehouse[4] is high, I can make for the divine storehouse a ladder. How, then, should it be hard to ascend to the storehouse?" Hence the proverbial saying, "You can ascend even to the divine storehouse of Heaven, if you only plant a ladder." This was its origin. Ultimately Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto gave them to Mononobe no Tochine no Oho-muraji, and made him to have charge of them. Therefore the Mononobe no Muraji retain charge of the divine treasures of Iso no kami up to the present time. The above was the origin of this practice.

Formerly in the Land of Tamba, in the village of Kuwada, there was a man whose name was Mikaso. Now, in Mikaso's house there was a dog, by name Ayuki. This dog bit a wild animal called the *mujina*,[5] and killed it. In the animal's belly there was found a magatama of Yasaka gem. This gem was

[1] Osaka was the place where the swords were stored.

[2] Hi-oki means "daily offerings."

[3] The Mononobe were Imperial life guards.

[4] One of these storehouses, dating from the 8th century, may still be seen at Tōdaiji, Nara. It is raised on pillars some ten feet above the ground.

[5] A kind of badger.

accordingly offered to the Emperor, and is now in the shrine of Iso no kami. VI. 25.

88th year, Autumn, 7th month, 10th day. The Emperor A.D. 59. commanded the Ministers, saying:—"We hear that the divine treasures which the Silla Prince Ama no hihoko brought with him when he first came here are now in Tajima. They were originally made divine treasures because the people of that province saw that they were admirable. We desire to see these treasures." That same day messengers were despatched with the Imperial commands to Kiyo-hiko, great-grandson of Ama no hihoko, directing him to present them to the Emperor. Thereupon, Kiyo-hiko, when he received the Imperial orders, brought the divine treasures himself, and laid them before His Majesty. There was one Ha-buto gem, one Ashi-daka gem, one Uka no Akashi (red-stone) gem, one sun-mirror, and one Kuma-himorogi.[1] But there was one short sword called Idzushi,[2] which it suddenly occurred to Kiyo-hiko not to offer to the Emperor; so he concealed it in his clothing, and wore it himself. The Emperor, unaware of the circumstance of the concealment of the short sword, and wishing to be gracious to Kiyo-hiko, sent for him and gave him sake in the palace. Then the short sword appeared from among his garments and became visible. The Emperor saw it, and himself asked Kiyo-hiko, saying:—"What short sword is that in thy clothing?" Then Kiyo-hiko, seeing that he was unable to conceal the short sword, explained that it belonged to the divine treasures which he was laying before the Emperor. So the Emperor said to Kiyo-hiko:—"How is it possible for this divine treasure to be separated from its kind?" So he took it out and presented it to the Emperor, and all were deposited in the Sacred Treasury. Afterwards, when the Sacred Treasury was opened and inspected, the short sword had spontaneously disappeared. Accordingly, a messenger was sent to Kiyo-hiko, who inquired of him, saying:—"The short sword which thou hast presented to the Emperor has suddenly disappeared. Has it perchance come to thy place?" Kiyo-hiko answered, VI. 26. and said:—"Last night the short sword came of its own accord to thy servant's house; but this morning it has dis-

[1] Cf. above, p. 168. [2] Sacred-stone.

appeared." The Emperor was struck with awe, and made no further endeavour to find it. Afterwards the Idzushi short sword went of its own accord to the Island of Ahaji, where the people of the island considered it a God, and erected for the short sword a shrine, in which it is worshipped until this day.

Formerly there was a man, who riding in a ship, cast anchor in the land of Tajima. He was therefore asked, saying:—"Of what country art thou?" He answered and said:—"I am a son of the king of Silla, and my name is Ama no hihoko. So he dwelt in Tajima, and took to wife Mata no wo, daughter of Mahetsu mimi [One version has Mahetsu mi and another Futo-mimi] of that province, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, the grandfather of Kiyo-hiko.

A.D. 61. 90th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded Tajima Mori to go to the Eternal Land[1] and get the fragrant fruit that grows out of season, now called the Tachibana.[2]

A.D. 70. 99th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Maki-muku at the age of 140,[3] and in Winter, the 12th month, the 10th day, was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi, in Suga-hara.

VI. 27. The next year, Spring, the 3rd month, the 12th day, Tajima Mori arrived from the Eternal Land, bringing of the fragrant fruit that grows out of season eight sticks and eight bundles.[4]

Thereupon Tajima Mori wept and lamented, saying:—

"Receiving the Celestial Court's command,
Afar I went to a remote region:

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[1] Tajima Mori was apparently selected for this mission on account of his descent from a king of Silla. But the Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, can hardly have been Corea, where the Orange is little, if at all, grown in the present day. It was more likely China.

[2] The Orange, *vide* Ch. K., p. 198.

[3] The chronology, as usual, will not bear investigation.

[4] The meaning of the characters which I have thus rendered is doubtful. The corresponding passage in the "Kojiki" is corrupt and equally obscure. I do not feel sure that Motoöri has cleared it up quite satisfactorily, in spite of the amount of recondite learning he has brought to bear on it.

Cf. Ch. K., p. 199.

Ten thousand ri I crossed the waves,
Distantly I passed over the weak water.[1]
This Eternal Land
Is no other than the mysterious realm of Gods and Genii
To which ordinary mortals cannot attain;
Therefore in going thither and returning
Ten years have naturally passed.
Beyond my expectation, I braved alone the towering billows,
Turning my way again towards my own land.
Thus, trusting in the spirits of the Emperors,
I hardly accomplished my return.
But now the Emperor is dead,
I am unable to report my mission.
Though I should remain alive,
What more would it avail me?"[2]

Then turning his face towards the misasagi of the Emperor, he wept aloud, and so of himself he died. When the ministers heard of it they all shed tears.

Tajima Mori was the first ancestor of the Miyake[3] no Muraji.

[1] Said by the Chinese to be north of Fuyu (in Manchooria). It does not support ships.

[2] The sentiment and diction of this speech are thoroughly Chinese. It is not exactly poetry, but nearly so.

[3] Miyake, written with characters which mean "three storehouses." Mi, however, is more probably the honorific prefix.

BOOK VII.

THE EMPEROR OHO-TARASHI-HIKO-OSHIRO-WAKE.

(*KEIKŌ*[1] *TENNO.*)

THE Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake was the third child of the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi. The Empress his mother was named Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Prince Michi no ushi of Tamba. The Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi, in the 37th year of his reign, raised him to the rank of Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-one years of age. In the 99th year of his reign, Spring, the second month, the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi died.

A.D. 71. 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The chronological epoch was altered accordingly. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 72. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The elder lady[2] of Inabi in Harima was appointed Empress.

Another version has:—"The younger lady of Inabi in Harima."

VII. 2. She had two sons, the first of whom was named the Imperial Prince Oho-usu, and the second Wo-usu no Mikoto.

In one writing it is said:—"The Empress bore three sons. The third was named the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko."

The Imperial Prince Oho-usu and Wo-usu no Mikoto were born as twins[3] on the same day with the same placenta. The

[1] Great road or great conduct. [2] Oho-iratsume.

[3] There seems to have been a question which of twins was to be considered the elder. One idea was that the last born should be senior, because he occupied the higher place in the womb.

Emperor, wondering at this, informed the mortar.[1] Therefore he gave these two Princes the names of Great Mortar (Oho-usu) and Little Mortar (Wo-usu). Now this Wo-usu no Mikoto was also called Yamato Woguna and again Yamato-dake no Mikoto.[2] Whilst a child he had a manly spirit; when he arrived at manhood his beauty was extraordinary. He was a rod in height, and his strength was such that he could lift a tripod.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Divination was made as to whether the Emperor should make a progress to the Land of Kii to perform sacrifices to all the Gods of Heaven and Earth. It was found to be unlucky, and the Imperial car was accordingly countermanded. Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro A.D. 73.

[1] The Chinese character used here is 碓, which properly means a pestle, and is more particularly applied to that arrangement of a mortar and pestle in which the latter is set on a pivot and worked by the foot. This is called the Kara-usu in Japan. Here, however, is one of those cases where we must put aside the Chinese character and be guided by the Japanese word, which is unquestionably *usu*, a term applied to any arrangement for hulling or grinding grain. The usu is properly the mortar rather than the pestle (*kine*), but it is used for the combination of both, and for querns or hand-mills, which are also in use in Japan.

The usu here referred to is probably of the kind shown in the annexed illustration. Stone pestles resembling in shape that in the right hand upper corner are among the stone implements figured in Kanda's work on this subject.

Pestle and Mortar.

Hardy, in his "Manual of Buddhism," p. 158, says:—"The eastern pestle is found in every house, and is connected with as many superstitions and ceremonies as the besom among the old wives of Europe."

The "Shukai" editor suggests that by Great Mortar and Little Mortar the lower and upper stones of the hand-mill were meant. But there is no reason to doubt the statement below (A.D. 610) that hand-mills were first introduced in Suiko's reign.

[2] Woguna means boy, Yamato-dake means hero of Yamato. It is by the last of these names that he is best known to posterity.

[3] A Chinese phrase.

no Mikoto [one version has Take-wi-goro] was sent and caused
VII. 3. to do sacrifice. Hereupon Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro no Mikoto went thither, and stayed at Kashihara in Abi, where he sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. He lived here for nine years, and took to wife Kage-hime, the daughter of Uji-hiko, who was the ancestor of the Ki no Atahe.[1] She was the mother of Takechi no Sukune.

A.D. 74. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mino. His courtiers represented to him, saying :—"In this province there is a handsome woman named Oto-hime, of perfect beauty. She is the daughter of the Imperial Prince Yasaka Irihiko." The Emperor wished to obtain her to be his consort, and went to the house of Oto-hime.[2] Oto-hime, hearing that the Emperor was coming in his carriage, straightway concealed herself in a bamboo-grove. Hereupon the Emperor provisionally caused Oto-hime to go and reside in the Kuguri Palace, and letting loose carp in a pond, amused himself by looking at them morning and evening. Now Oto-hime wished to see the carp sporting, so she came secretly and stood over the pond. The Emperor forthwith detained her, and had intercourse with her. Hereupon Oto-hime thought :—"The way of a husband and wife is the prevailing rule both now and of old time. But for me it is not convenient." So she besought the Emperor, saying :—"Thy handmaiden's disposition is averse to the way of conjugal
VII. 4. intercourse. Unable to withstand the awe of the Imperial commands, she has been placed for a while within the curtain. But it gives her no pleasure. Her face too is hideous, and she is unworthy of being added to the side courts. Thy handmaiden, however, has an elder sister, by name Yasaka Iri-hime, of a beautiful countenance, and also of a virtuous disposition. Let her be placed in the hinder palace." The Emperor assented, and having summoned Yasaka Iri-hime, made her his consort. She bore to him seven sons and six daughters. The name of

[1] In this passage the province now known as Kii is called indifferently *Ki* or *Kiï*.

[2] Oto-hime means simply "younger lady." There are frequent cases in the "Nihongi" where a woman seems to have no other name than "elder lady" or "younger lady."

the first was the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, of the second the Imperial Prince Iho-ki Iri-hiko, of the third the Imperial Prince Oshi-wake, of the fourth the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko, of the fifth the Imperial Prince Oho-su-wake, of the sixth the Imperial Princess Nunoshi, of the seventh the Imperial Princess Nunaki, of the eighth the Imperial Princess Ihoki no Iri-hime, of the ninth the Imperial Princess Kako-yori-hime, of the tenth the Imperial Prince Isaki no Iri-hiko, of the eleventh the Imperial Prince Kibi no Ye-hiko, of the twelfth the Imperial Princess Takaki no Iri-hime, and of the thirteenth the Imperial Princess Oto-hime.

Again he took as consort the Lady[1] Midzuha, younger sister of Ihaki-wake, of the Miho House, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Ihono. His next consort, named Ikaha-hime, bore to him the Imperial Prince Kami-kushi[2] and the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko. The elder of these two, the Imperial Prince VII 5.
Kami-kushi, was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of Sanuki. The younger, the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko, was the first ancestor of the Harima no Wake.[3] His next consort was named Takada-hime, daughter of Kogoto of the Abe House, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Take-kuni Kori-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Wake of Mimura, in the Province of Iyo. His next consort, named Oho-tane-hime, of Kami-naga in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Prince Hiuga no Sotsu-hiko. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Amu.[4] His next consort, named Sotake-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, the Imperial Prince Kuni-se-wake [one version has the Imperial Prince Miya-chi-wake] and the Imperial Prince Toyoto-wake. The elder of these, the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of Minuma. The youngest brother, the Imperial Prince Toyo-to-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of the Province of Hi.[5]

Now the children of the Emperor, male and female, from VII. 6.
first to last, numbered eighty in all. With the exception, however, of Yamato-dake no Mikoto, the Emperor Waka-

[1] Iratsume. [2] Divine-comb.

[3] Wake, separation, branch, was a title which implied descent from the Imperial line.

[4] In Nagato. [5] Now Hizen and Higo in Kiushiu.

tarashi-hiko and the Imperial Prince Ihoki no Iri-hiko, the other seventy and odd children were all granted fiefs[1] of provinces and districts, and each proceeded to his own province. Therefore, those who at the present time are called Wake of the various provinces are the descendants of these separated (wakare) Princes.[2]

In this month, the Emperor, hearing that the daughters of Kambone, Mino no Miyakko, the elder's name being Ane-toho-ko, and the younger's being Oto-toho-ko, were both of distinguished beauty, sent Oho-usu no Mikoto with orders to examine the countenance of these women. Now Oho-usu no Mikoto had secret intercourse with them, and did not report his mission. For this reason the Emperor was wrath with Oho-usu no Mikoto.

Winter, the 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor returned from Mino and removed the capital to Maki-muku. This was called the palace of Hi-shiro.

A.D. 82. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Kumaso[3] rebelled, and did not bring tribute.

VII. 7. 8th month, 15th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsukushi.[4]

9th month, 5th day. On arriving at Saha in Suwo, the Emperor, standing with his face to the south,[5] addressed his Ministers, saying:—"To the southwards, smoke rises abundantly. There must certainly be brigands there." So he halted, and sending in advance Take-moro-gi, ancestor of the Omi of Oho, Unade, ancestor of the Omi of Kusaki, and Natsu-bana, ancestor of the Kimi of the Mononobe, made them to reconnoitre. Now there was here a woman, by name

[1] This points to something like a feudal system. But the analogy to European feudalism must not be too closely pressed. Cf. Ch. K., p. 203.

[2] This omits to notice that *Wake* is a much older term.

[3] The country of the Kumaso was the southern part of the island of Kiushiu corresponding to the present provinces of Hiuga, Ohosumi, and Satsuma. Kuma and So are the names of two tribes.

[4] Tsukushi is used in two senses. It sometimes stands for the whole island of Kiushiu, sometimes for only the northern part of it, viz. the two provinces of Chikugo and Chikuzen.

[5] The Emperor of China stands with his face to the south on state occasions. But here it seems only to mean that the Emperor looked southwards.

Kamu-nashi-hime, whose followers were exceedingly numerous. She was the chieftain of that whole country. When she heard that the Emperor's messengers had arrived, she broke off branches of the hard wood of Mount Shitsu. On the upper branch[1] she hung an eight-span sword, on the middle branch she hung an eight-hand mirror, and on the lower branch a Yasaka jewel. She also hoisted a white flag on the bow of her ship, and having come to meet them, addressed them, saying:—"I beseech you, do not have recourse to arms. None of my people, I assure you, are rebellious. They will presently submit themselves to virtue.[2] But there are mischievous brigands. The name of one is Hanatari.[3] He has assumed an unauthorized title. In the mountains and valleys he has called men together, and is encamped at Kahakami in Usa. Another is called Mimi-tari.[4] He is a mischievous brigand, rapacious, frequently plundering the people. He dwells at Kahakami in Mike. The third is called Asa-hagi. He has VII. 8.
secretly assembled a following, and dwells at Kahakami in Takaha. The name of the fourth is Tsuchi-wori-wi-wori.[5] He lives concealed at Kahakami[6] in Midori no, and relying solely on the difficulties of the mountains and rivers, plunders the people greatly. All the places to which these four have betaken themselves are strong places. Each of them therefore makes his relations chiefs of one place, and they all say they will not obey the Imperial command. I pray you attack them suddenly, and fail not."

Hereupon Take-moro-gi and the others first enticed the followers of Asa-hagi, and gave them presents of trowsers of red material and all manner of curious objects. Then having made them beckon to the four unsubmissive men, who came accompanied by their followers, they seized them and put them all to death.

The Emperor ultimately pursued his journey to Tsukushi, and arrived at the district of Nagawo in the province of Buzen,

[1] It was the ancient custom in Japan to deliver letters or presents fastened to branches of trees.

[2] To the Emperor's virtuous influence.

[3] Nose-depend.

[4] Ear-depend.

[5] Earth-break-well-break.

[6] Kaha-kami means the upper course of a river.

where he erected a travelling palace and dwelt there. Therefore the name of that place was called Miyako.[1]

Winter, 10th month. He arrived in the Land of Ohokida. The form of this region is wide and beautiful. Therefore it was called Ohokida.[2]

When he came to the village of Hayami, there was there a woman named Haya-tsu-hime. She was chieftain[3] of one place. When she heard that the Imperial car was coming, she went out in person to meet the Emperor, and reported to him, saying:—"In this mountain there is a great cavern called the Rat's Cave. There are two Tsuchi-gumo[4] who dwell in this cave. One is called Awo,[5] and the other Shira.[6] Again
VII. 9. at Negino, in the district of Nawori, there are three Tsuchi-gumo. The name of the first is Uchi-zaru,[7] of the second Yata,[8] and of the third Kunimaro.[9] These five men are alike mighty of frame, and moreover have numerous followers. They all say that they will not obey the Imperial command. If their coming is insisted on, they will raise an army and offer resistance." The Emperor, provoked by this, could not advance on his journey. So he halted at the village of Kutami, where he erected a temporary palace muro, and dwelt therein. Then he consulted with his Ministers, saying:—"Let us now put in motion a numerous army and slay the Tsuchi-gumo. If, fearing the might of our arms, they should conceal themselves in the mountains and moors, they will assuredly do future mischief." Accordingly he gathered camellia trees, and made of them mallets for weapons. Then selecting his bravest soldiers, he gave them the mallet-weapons. Therewith they pierced through the mountains, cleared away the grass, and attacking the Tsuchi-gumo of the cave,[10] defeated them at Kahakami in Inaba. The whole band were killed, and their blood flowing reached to the ancle. Therefore the men of that day called

[1] Capital. [2] Great field.

[3] The reader will observe that there are numerous cases of the "monstrous regiment of women" in these old legends.

[4] See above, p. 129. [5] Green or blue. [6] White.

[7] Strike-monkey. [8] Eight-fields.

[9] Country-fellow. Note again that the Tsuchi-gumo have Japanese names, and inhabit old-settled parts of Japan.

[10] The interlinear gloss has iha-muro, rock-muro.

the place where the camellia mallets were made Tsubaki-no-ichi,[1] and the place where the blood flowed they called Chida.[2] Then, in order to attack Uchi-zaru, he crossed straight over Mount Negi. At this time the arrows of the enemy, shot cross- VII. 10.
wise from the mountain, fell like rain in front of the Imperial army. The Emperor retreated to Shiro-hara, where he made divination on the river-bank, and accordingly arraying his troops, he first attacked Yata on the moor of Negi, and defeated him. Upon this Uchi-zaru felt that he could not gain the victory, and prayed that his submission should be accepted. This, however, was refused, and they all flung themselves into a ravine and were killed. In the beginning, when the Emperor was about to attack the enemy, he made a station on the great moor of Kashihawo. On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot five inches in thickness. The Emperor prayed, saying:—"If we are to succeed in destroying the Tsuchi-gumo, when we kick this stone, may we make it mount up like a Kashiha leaf." Accordingly he kicked it, upon which, like a Kashiha leaf, it arose to the Great Void. Therefore that stone was called Homishi.[3] The Gods whom he prayed to at this time were the God of Shiga, the God of the Mononobe of Nawori, and the God of the Nakatomi of Nawori—these three Gods.

11th month. He arrived at the Land of Hiuga, and erected a travelling palace, wherein he took up his residence. This was called the palace of Takaya.

12th month, 5th day. Counsel was held how they should attack the Kumaso. Hereupon the Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"We have heard that in the Land of the Kumaso there are two men named Atsukaya and Sakaya, who are the leaders of the Kumaso. Their followers are exceedingly VII. 11.
numerous, and are called the eighty Kumaso braves. It will be better not to touch their spear-points. For if we raise a small force, it will be insufficient to exterminate the brigands, while if a large army is put in motion, the people will suffer harm. Is there no means of subduing this country without active measures, and without resorting to the might of arms?" Then

[1] Camellia market. [2] Blood-field.
[3] For fumi-ishi, i.e. kicking-stone.

one of the ministers stood forward and said:—"A Kumaso brave has two daughters, the elder named Ichi-fukaya, and the younger Ichi-kaya. Their beauty is perfect, and their hearts are brave. Offer valuable presents, and under the pretence of bestowing them beneath thy standard, take advantage of this to gain intelligence of the enemy, and attack them unawares. So without ever a sword-edge being stained with blood, the enemy will surely yield themselves up." The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let it be so." Thereupon the presents were offered, and the two women, deceived by them, were bestowed beneath the tent. The Emperor straightway had intercourse with Ichi-fukaya, and made a show of affection for her. Then Ichi-fukaya told the Emperor, saying:—"Be not anxious lest the Kumaso should not submit. Thy handmaiden has an excellent plan. Let me have one or two soldiers to follow me." She then returned to her home, and prepared much strong sake, which she made her father drink. He became drunk and lay down to sleep. Ichi-fukaya then secretly cut her father's bowstring. Thereupon one of the soldiers who had escorted her came up and killed the Kumaso brave. The Emperor was provoked by such excessively unfilial conduct and put Ichi-fukaya to death. But Ichi-kaya he gave to the
VII. 12. Miyakkò of the Land of Ki.

A.D. 83. 13th year, Summer, 5th month. The Kumaso country having been all subdued, the Emperor accordingly dwelt in the palace of Takaya. When he had lived there six years, there was a beautiful woman in that country named Mihakashi-hime.[1] So he took her and made her his concubine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Toyo-kuni-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of the Land of Hiuga.

A.D. 87. 17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 12th day. The Emperor made a progress to the district of Koyu,[2] where he visited the little moor of Nimo. Then looking down towards the east, he said to his courtiers:—"This country faces directly the quarter of the Rising Sun." Therefore he named that country Hiuga.[3] On this day he mounted upon a great stone in the middle of the moor, and feeling a longing for the capital, made this poetry:—

[1] The lady of the august sword. [2] In Hiuga.
[3] For Hi-muka, i.e. sun-fronting.

Oh! how sweet!
From the quarter of my home, VII. 13.
Clouds arising come hither!
Yamato
Is the most secluded of lands.
Yamato
Retired behind Mount Awo-gaki,
Which encompasses it in its folds,
Is beautiful.
Let those whose lives are sound
Stick (in their hair) by way of headdress
Branches of the white evergreen oak
Of Mount Heguri—
(Fold within fold).
This child![1]

This is called a song of longing for one's country.

18th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, when about to A.D. 88. turn his way towards the capital, made a tour of inspection to the Land of Tsukushi.[2] He first arrived at Hina-mori. There was at this time on the bank of the River Ihase a crowd of men assembled. The Emperor, looking down on them from afar, addressed his courtiers, saying:—"Who are these men who are assembled? Are they an enemy?" So he sent two men, Hinamori the Elder and Hinamori the Younger, to see. Now Hinamori the Younger returned and reported, saying:—"Idzumi-hime, the Kimi of Muro-kata, is about to VII. 14 offer your Majesty a banquet, and therefore have people gathered together."

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Emperor arrived at the district of Kuma. In this place there were two brothers called Kuma-tsu-hiko.[3] The Emperor first sent to summon Kuma the Elder to him. Accordingly he came along with the messenger. Then he summoned Kuma the Younger, but he would not come. Therefore he sent soldiers and put him to death.

[1] The text and interpretation of this poem present considerable difficulty, and the above rendering is in parts only tentative. The "Kojiki" makes three distinct poems of it, and attributes them to Yamato-dake no Mikoto. Cf. Ch. K., p. 219. Awo-gaki means green-fence. "Fold within fold" is a mere epithet, or makura-kotoba, of Mount Heguri.

[2] Tsukushi is here evidently the northern part of the island.

[3] Prince of Kuma.

11th day. Proceeding by the sea route, he anchored at a small island in Ashikita, where he partook of food. Then he told Wo-hidari, ancestor of the Yama no Ahiko,[1] to give him some cold water. Just at this time there was no water in the island, and he did not know what to do. So looking up, he prayed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth, when suddenly a cool spring bubbled forth from the side of a cliff. This he drew and put before the Emperor. Therefore that island was called Midzushima.[2] That spring still exists in the cliff of Midzushima.

5th month, 1st day. Setting sail from Ashikita, he proceeded to the Land of Hi.[3] Here the sun went down, and the night being dark, they did not know how to reach the shore. A fire was seen shining afar off, and the Emperor commanded the helmsman, saying:—"Make straight for the place where the fire
VII. 15. is." So he proceeded towards the fire, and thus was enabled to reach the shore. The Emperor made inquiry respecting the place where the fire was, saying:—"What is the name of this village?" The people of the land answered and said:—"Toyomura, in the district of Yatsushiro." Again he made inquiry respecting the fire:—"Whose fire is this?" But no owner could be found, and thereupon it was known that it was not a fire made by man. Therefore that country was called Hi no Kuni.[4]

6th month, 3rd day. He crossed over from the district of Takaku to the village of Tamakina. At this time he killed a Tsuchi-gumo of that place called Tsudzura.

16th day. He arrived at the Land of Aso.[5] The level tracts of that Land were wide and far-reaching, but no dwellings of men were to be seen. The Emperor said:—"Are there any people in this country?" Now there were two Deities, one called Aso-tsu-hiko, and the other Aso-tsu-hime, who suddenly assuming human form, sauntered forward and said:—"We

[1] Ahiko appears to be a title similar to Atahe, Sukune, etc. It is derived by the Japanese commentators from a, I, my, and hiko, prince.

[2] Water-island.

[3] Now Hizen and Higo.

[4] The Land of Fire.

[5] The name Aso is preserved in Mount Aso, a very curious volcanic mountain in the province of Higo.

two are here. How can it be said that there are no men?" Therefore that place was called Aso.[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. He arrived at Mike[2] in the further Land of Tsukushi,[3] where he dwelt in the temporary Palace of Takata. Now there was here a fallen tree 970 rods in length. The hundred functionaries passed backwards and VII. 16.
forwards stepping on this tree. The people of that day made a song, saying:—

The morning hoar-frost[4]
August tree pole-bridge!
The Lords of the Presence
Pass over it—
The august tree pole-bridge!

The Emperor inquired, saying:—"What tree is this?" There was there an old man who said:—"This tree is a Kunugi tree.[5] Before it fell down, when the rays of the morning sun fell on it, it overshadowed the Hill of Kishima; when the rays of the evening sun fell on it, it covered Mount Aso." The Emperor said:—"This tree is a divine tree. Therefore let this country be called the Land of Mike."[6]

7th day. He reached the district of Yame, where, crossing VII. 17.
Mount Mahe, he looked down to the south upon Aha no Saki, and spake, saying:—"The peaks and glens of this mountain follow each other fold upon fold. They are exceedingly beautiful. May it be that a God dwells in this mountain?" Then Saru-ohomi,[7] the Agata-nushi of Minuma, represented to the Emperor, saying:—"There is a female Deity named Yame-tsu hime, who dwells always among these mountains." This is therefore the reason why this country is called the Land of Yame.

8th month. He arrived at the village of Ikuha,[8] where he

[1] Aso is a dialectical variation for nanzo or nazo, how or why.
[2] August tree. [3] Now Chikugo.
[4] Morning hoar-frost is a makura-kotoba. The only connection between it and the rest of the poem is that hoar-frost melts, and that ke (for ki) tree is also the first syllable of kesu, to melt. The Presence is of course the Imperial Presence.
[5] Quercus Serrata, Hepburn. [6] August tree.
[7] Monkey-great-sea. [8] In Chikugo.

partook of food. On this day the stewards left behind the drinking cup. Wherefore the men of that day called the place where the drinking cup had been forgotten Ukuha. The present name Ikuha is a corruption of this. In old times the common people of Tsukushi called a drinking-cup Ukuha.

A.D. 89. 19th year, Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The Emperor arrived from Hiuga.

A.D. 90. 20th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Princess Ihono was made to sacrifice to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami.

A.D. 95. 25th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Takechi no Sukune was commissioned to inquire into the geography of the various provinces of the Northern[1] and Eastern[2] circuits and the condition of the people.

A.D. 97. 27th year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Takechi no Sukune returned from the East Country and informed the Emperor, saying:—"In the Eastern wilds there is a country
VII. 18. called Hitakami.[3] The people of this country, both men and women, tie up their hair in the form of a mallet, and tattoo their bodies. They are of fierce temper, and their general name is Yemishi. Moreover, their land is wide and fertile. We should attack them and take it."

Autumn, 8th month. The Kumaso again rebelled, and made unceasing inroads on the frontier districts.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto was sent to attack the Kumaso. He was at this time sixteen years of age. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said:—"I desire to take with me some good archers. Where are there any good archers?" Some one told him, saying:—"In the province of Mino there is a good archer named Oto-hiko-gimi." Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto sent Miyado-hiko, a man of Katsuraki, and summoned to him Oto-hiko-gimi. Therefore Oto-hiko-gimi came and brought with him Ishiura no Yokotachi, Tako no Inaki,[4] and Chichika no Inaki of the province of Ohari, and followed Yamato-dake no Mikoto on his expedition.

[1] Including Mutsu and Dewa.

[2] Or Adzuma, the region round what is now Tokio.

[3] Sun-height. So called from its eastern position. Hi-tachi, sun-rise, is a name of similar purport.

[4] One of the lower ranks of the local nobility.

12th month. Having arrived at the Land of Kumaso, he inquired into the state of things, and the character of the country in respect of facilities of access. Now the Kumaso had a leader named Torishi-kaya, also called the Brave of Kahakami, who assembled all his relations in order to give them a banquet. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto let down his hair, and disguising himself as a young girl, secretly waited until the banquet should be given by the Brave of Kahakami. Then with a sword girded on him underneath his inner garment, he entered the banqueting muro of the Brave of Kahakami and remained among the women. The Brave of Kahakami, enchanted with the beauty of the young girl, forthwith took her by the hand, and made her sit beside him. He also offered her the cup, and made her drink, and thus amused himself with her. By and by the night grew late, and the company fewer. Also the Brave of Kahakami became intoxicated. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto drew the sword which he had in his inner garments, and stabbed the Brave of Kahakami in the breast, but did not kill him outright. The Brave of Kahakami, bowing down his head to the ground, said:—"Wait a little. I have something to say." Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto stayed his sword and waited. The Brave of Kahakami addressed him, saying:—"Who is thine Augustness?" He answered and said:—"I am the child of the Emperor Ohotarashi-hiko, and my name is Yamato Woguna." The Brave of Kahakami again spake to him, saying:—"I am the strongest man in all this land, and therefore none of the men of this time can excel me in might, and none refuses to be my follower. I have met with many valiant men, but none as yet could match the Prince. Therefore this despicable robber, from his filthy mouth, offers thine Augustness a title. Wilt thou accept it?" He said:—"I will accept it." So he spake to him, saying:—"Henceforward in speaking of the Imperial Prince, let him be styled the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake."[1] When he had done speaking Yamato-dake pierced his breast through and killed him. Therefore up to the present day he is styled Yamato-dake no Mikoto. This was the origin of it. VII. 19.

[1] The champion of Japan.

Afterwards he despatched Oto-hiko and the others, who slew all that band, leaving not a chewer,[1] and when this was
VII. 20. done, he returned by sea to Yamato. Arriving at Kibi, he crossed the Ana Sea. In this place there was a malignant Deity, whom he forthwith slew. Again, turning northwards, he arrived at Naniha,[2] where he killed the malignant Deity of the Kashiha ferry.

A.D. 98. 28th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto reported to the Emperor how he had subdued the Kumaso, saying:—"Thy servant, trusting in the Emperor's Divine Spirit,[3] by force of arms, at one blow, suddenly slew the Kumaso chieftain and reduced that whole country to peace. In this way the Western Land is now quiet, and the people are undisturbed. Only the God of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi and the God of the Ferry of Kashiha at Naniha, both, with mischievous intent, sent forth a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued. Both of them formed centres of calamity. Therefore I killed all those evil Deities, and have thrown open the roads by land and water alike." The Emperor upon this commended the good service done by Yamato-dake no Mikoto, and bestowed extraordinary affection on him.

A.D. 110. 40th year, Summer, 6th month. There was wide rebellion of the Eastern wilds, and the frontier was in a state of tumult.

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"The Eastern country is now in an unquiet state, and turbulent Deities have sprung up in numbers. Moreover the Yemishi have rebelled to a man and frequently carry off the people. Whom shall I send to still this disturbance?" But none of the Ministers knew whom to send. Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant it was who formerly performed the labour of the expedition to the West. This campaign must be the business of the Imperial Prince Oho-usu." But the Imperial Prince Oho-usu was afraid, and ran to conceal himself among the grass. Accordingly a messenger was sent to fetch him. Hereupon the Emperor chid him, saying:—"If thou dost not

[1] i.e. a living soul. [2] The modern Ohosaka.
[3] Very nearly the Latin *numen*.

wish it, shall We insist on sending thee? Why all this alarm, VII. 21.
whilst thou hast not yet confronted the enemy?" Accordingly he eventually granted him Mino as a fief, and so he went to his government. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Kimi of Muketsu and the Kimi of Mori. Upon this Yamato-dake no Mikoto, striking a martial attitude, said:—"Not many years have passed since I subdued the Kumaso. Now the Yemishi of the East have made a fresh rebellion. When shall we arrive at a universal peace? Thy servant, notwithstanding that it is a labour to him, will speedily quell this disturbance." So the Emperor took a battle-axe,[1] and giving it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, said:—"We hear that the Eastern savages are of a violent disposition, and are much given to oppression: their hamlets have no chiefs, their villages no leaders, each is greedy of territory, and they plunder one another. Moreover, there are in the mountains malignant Deities, on the moors there are malicious demons, who beset the highways and bar the roads, causing men much annoyance. Amongst these Eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful, their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father and child. In winter they dwell in holes, in summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs, and they drink blood.[2] Brothers are suspicious of one another. In ascending mountains they are like flying birds; in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds. When they receive a favour, they forget it, but if an injury is done them they never fail to revenge it. Therefore they keep arrows in their top-knots and carry swords VII. 22.
within their clothing. Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier. At other times they take the opportunity of the harvest to plunder the people. If attacked, they conceal themselves in the herbage; if pursued, they flee into the mountains. Therefore ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilizing influences.

[1] Motoöri points out this as an instance where the desire to imitate his Chinese models has caused the author of the "Nihongi" to introduce Chinese things which have no business in a Japanese narrative. The "Kojiki" says it was a spear of holly eight fathoms long.

[2] The "Liki" speaks of the ancient Chinese living on fruits and the flesh of wild beasts and drinking their blood.

Now We mark that thou art mighty of stature and thy countenance is of perfect beauty, thou hast strength sufficient to raise tripods, thy fierceness is like thunder and lightning, wherever thou dost turn thy face, there is none to stand before thee; whenever thou dost attack thou dost surely conquer. This we know, that whereas in outward form thou art Our child, in reality thou art a God. Truly Heaven, commiserating Our want of intelligence and the disturbed condition of the country, has ordained that thou shouldst order the Heavenly institution, and save the monarchy from extinction. Moreover, this Empire is thy Empire, and this Dignity is thy Dignity. I adjure thee to exercise profound policy and far-reaching foresight in searching out iniquity and watching against crises. Admonish with majesty; comfort with kindness. Avoid having recourse to arms, and thou wilt naturally inspire loyal obedience. So by cunning words thou mayst moderate the violent Deities, and by a display of armed force sweep away malignant demons." [1]

Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto received the battle-axe, and, bowing twice, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"But few years have elapsed since my former expedition to the West, when, trusting in the might of the Imperial spirit, I, with a sword three feet in length, conquered the land of Kumaso, and
VII. 23. the rebel chiefs yielded themselves to punishment. Now again, trusting in the spirits [2] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and in reliance on the Imperial might, I am proceeding to the frontier. I will admonish them by gentle teaching, and if any remain unsubmissive, I will smite them with arms." So he again bowed twice. Then the Emperor commanded Kibi no Take-hiko and Ohotomo no Take-hi no Muraji to follow Yamato-dake no Mikoto. He also appointed Nana-tsuka-hagi his steward.

[1] This speech cannot be received as a document of Japanese history. It is a cento of reminiscences of Chinese literature.

[2] Numina.

[3] Hirata says that Japanese surnames were taken from offices or avocations, names of places, parents' names, circumstances, or objects. I suppose he would have included under circumstances such personal peculiarities as that which suggested the name Nana-tsuka-hagi, literally "Seven-span-shanks."

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto set out on his journey.

7th day. He turned aside from his way to worship at the shrine of Ise. Here he took leave of Yamato-hime[1] no Mikoto, saying:—"By order of the Emperor, I am now proceeding on an expedition against the East to put to death the rebels, therefore I am taking leave of thee." Hereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took the sword Kusa-nagi and gave it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, saying:—"Be cautious, and yet not remiss."

This year Yamato-dake no Mikoto first reached Suruga. The brigands of this place made a show of obedience, and said, deceivingly:—"On this moor there are large deer in very great plenty. Their breath is like the morning mist, their legs are like a dense wood. Do thou go and hunt them." Yamato-dake no Mikoto believed these words, and, going into the middle of the moor, sought for game. The brigands, desiring to kill the Prince, set fire to the moor. But the Prince, seeing VII. 24.
that he had been deceived, produced fire by means of a fire-drill,[2] and, kindling a counter-fire, succeeded in making his escape.

> One version says:—"The sword Mura-kumo,[3] which the Prince wore, wielded itself, and mowed away the herbage near the Prince, thus enabling him to escape. Therefore that sword was called Kusa-nagi."[4]

The Prince said:—"I was almost betrayed." So he burnt all that robber-band and exterminated them. Therefore that place was called Yaketsu.[5]

Next he marched on to Sagami, whence he desired to proceed to Kadzusa. Looking over the sea, he spake with a loud voice, and said:—"This is but a little sea:[6] one might even

[1] She was appointed priestess B.C. 5, and we are now at A.D. 110, by the common chronology.

[2] The interlinear gloss and the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 211) have hi-uchi, or fire-striker, by which a flint and steel is doubtless meant. A fire-drill was known to the ancient Japanese, as appears from the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 104) and other authorities, and it is actually in use at present to produce fire for sacred purposes. See a paper by Satow, in "J.A.S.T.," VI. 223.

[3] Assembled-clouds.

[4] The herbage mower.

[5] Port or ferry of burning.

[6] The bay of Yedo.

jump over it." But when he came to the middle of the sea a storm suddenly arose, and the Prince's ship was tossed about, so that he could not cross over. At this time there was a concubine in the Prince's suite, named Oto-tachibana-hime. She was the daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune of the Hodzumi House. She addressed the Prince, saying:—"This present uprising of the winds and rushing of the waves, so that the Prince's ship is like to sink, must be due to the wishes of the God of the Sea. I pray thee let me go into the sea, and so let the person of thy mean handmaiden be given to redeem the life of the Prince's Augustness." Having finished speaking, she plunged into the billows. The storm forthwith ceased, and the ship was enabled to reach the shore. Therefore the people of that time called that sea Hashiri-midzu.[1]

VII. 25. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto, going by way of Kadzusa, changed his route, and entered the Land of Michi no oku.

At this time a great mirror was hung upon the Prince's ship. Proceeding by the sea route, he went round to Ashi no ura and crossed aslant to Tama no ura.[2] When he arrived at the Yemishi frontier, the chiefs of the Yemishi, Shima-tsu-kami and Kuni-tsu-kami,[3] encamped at the harbour of Take, with the intention of making resistance. But when they saw the Prince's ship from afar, they feared his majesty and power, and knew in their hearts that they could not gain the victory over him. They all flung away their bows and arrows, bowed down towards him, and said:—"When we look upon thy face, we see that it is more than human. Art thou perchance a Deity? We desire to know thy name." The Prince answered and said:—"I am the son of a Deity of visible men." Hereupon the Yemishi were all filled with awe. They gathered up their skirts and, plunging into the waves, of their own accord assisted the Prince's ship to reach the shore. Then, with their hands bound behind them, they submitted themselves for punishment. He therefore pardoned their offence, and having made prisoners their chieftains, caused them to be his personal attendants. The Yemishi having been

[1] Running-water. [2] In Shimōsa.
[3] Literally, Gods of the Islands and Gods of the Continent.

subdued, he returned from the country of Hitakami, and proceeding to the south-west, passed through Hitachi, and arrived at the Land of Kahi, where he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori. VII. 26. At this time a light was kindled and he partook of food. On this night he made a song, in which he inquired of those in attendance on him, saying :—

> Since I passed Tsukuba,
> And Nihibari,
> How many nights have I slept?

None of his attendants was able to answer him. Now there was a man who had charge of the lights, who made a song, in continuation of the Prince's, saying :—

> Counting the days—
> Of nights there are nine nights,
> Of days there are ten days.

Therefore the Prince commended his intelligence and liberally rewarded him.[1]

Now while he was residing in this palace, he granted to Take-hi, the ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, the Yuki[2] Be. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said :—"All the wicked chiefs of the Yemishi have submitted to the punishment of their crimes. Only in the Land of Shinano and the Land of Koshi there are a considerable number who are not yet obedient to the civilizing influence." So from Kahi he turned towards the north, and passing through Musashi and Kōdzuke, he went westward as far as the Usuhi-saka.[3] Now Yamato-dake no VII. 27. Mikoto always thought with regret of Oto-tachibana-hime. Therefore, when he ascended to the summit of Usuhi and looked down towards the south-east, he sighed three times, and said, "Alas! my wife!" Therefore the provinces east of the mountains were given the name of Adzuma.[4]

Here he sent Kibi no Takehiko by a different road to the Land of Koshi, and caused him to examine the character of the country as regards means of access, and also whether the people were tractable or not. So Yamato-dake no Mikoto advanced

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 214. [2] Quiver.
[3] Now known as the Usuhi Tōge (pass) on the Nakasendō road.
[4] Aga tsuma means my wife.

into the province of Shinano. This is a Land of high mountains and profound valleys. Verdant summits are piled up ten thousand fold, so that for men with staff in hand they are hard to ascend. The cliffs are precipitous, and are girt with flying bridges.[1] Many thousand are the hill-ranges, where even with slackened reins the horse makes no progress. Yet Yamato-dake no Mikoto, bursting through the smoke, and braving the mists, distantly crossed Mount Oho-yama. He had already reached the summit when he became hungry and had food on the mountain. The God of the mountain plagued the Prince. He assumed the form of a white deer and stood before him. The Prince, wondering at this, took a stick of garlic, and jerked it
VII. 28. at the white deer, striking it in the eye and killing it.[2] Here the Prince suddenly lost his way and could find no issue. Then a white dog came of its own accord, and made a show of guiding the Prince. Following the dog, he proceeded on his way, and succeeded in coming out into Mino. Kibi no Take-hiko, coming out from Koshi, met him. Before this when any one crossed the Shinano pass, he inhaled so much of the breath of the Deity that he became ill and lay down. But after the white deer was killed, the travellers who crossed that mountain chewed garlic,[3] and smearing with it men, kine, and horses, preserved them from being affected by the Deity's breath.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, having returned back again to Ohari, straightway took to wife a daughter of the Ohari House, by name Miyazu-hime, and tarried there until the next month. Here he heard that on Mount Ibuki in Afumi there was a savage Deity. So he took off his sword, and leaving it in the house of Miyazu-hime, went on afoot. When he arrived at Mount Ibuki, the God of the mountain took the shape of a
VII. 29. great serpent, and posted himself on the road. Hereupon

[1] Kake-hashi, a bridge supported on poles driven into the side of a cliff. Common in some mountainous parts of Japan.

[2] Ch. K., 213.

[3] "Another popular device (in Scotland) for frightening away witches and fairies was to hang bunches of garlic about the farms." "Auld Licht Idylls," by J. M. Barrie.

Dennys, in his "Folk-lore of China," mentions several cases of the use of garlic or onions to keep away evil spirits.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, not knowing that it was the master God who had become a serpent, said to himself:—"This serpent must be the Savage Deity's messenger. Having already slain a master God, is a messenger worth hunting after?" Accordingly he strode over the serpent and passed on. Then the God of the mountain raised up the clouds, and made an icy rain to fall. The tops of the hills became covered with mist, and the valleys involved in gloom. There was no path which he could follow. He was checked and knew not whither to turn his steps. However, braving the mist, he forced his way onwards, and barely succeeded in finding an issue. He was still beside himself like a drunken man. He therefore sat down beside a spring at the foot of the mountain, and, having drunk of the water, recovered his senses. Therefore that spring was called the Wi-same[1] spring.

It was at this time that Yamato-dake no Mikoto first became ill. The disease gradually increased and he returned to Ohari. Here he did not enter the house of Miyazu-hime, but passed on to Ise and reached Otsu.[2] Formerly, in the year when Yamato-date no Mikoto was proceeding eastwards, he halted on the shore at Otsu and partook of food. At that time he took off a sword which he laid down at the foot of a fir-tree. Eventually he went away forgetting it. When he now came to this place, the sword was still there. Therefore he made a song, saying:—

Oh! thou single pine-tree!
That art right opposite
To Ohari—
Ah me—thou single pine-tree!
If thou wert a man,
Garments I would clothe thee with,
A sword I would gird on thee.

When he came to the moor of Nobo, his sufferings became very severe. So he made an offering of the Yemishi whom he had captured to the Shrine of the God.[3] He therefore sent Kibi no Take-hiko to report to the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant having received the command of the Celestial Court, undertook a distant expedition to the wilds of the East, where VII. 30.

[1] Sit-sober.

[2] Not Ôtsu on the southern shore of Lake Biwa, but a place in Ise.

[3] As slaves.

by the favour of the Gods, and trusting in the mighty power of the Emperor, I made the rebellious to submit themselves for punishment, and the violent deities to become moderate. Therefore I rolled up my armour, laid aside my weapons, and was returning peacefully. It was my hope on such a day at such an hour to report my mission to the Celestial Court.[1] But the life allotted me by Heaven has unexpectedly approached an end. Passing swiftly as a four-horse carriage passes a crack in the road, it may not be stayed. Alone I lay me down on the waste moor with none to say a word to me. But why should I regret the loss of this body? My only grief is that I cannot meet thee."

Having said so, he died on the moor of Nobo. He was then thirty years of age. When the Emperor heard it, he could not sleep peacefully on his couch, nor was the taste of food sweet to him. Night and day his voice was choked with grief: with tears and lamentations he beat his breast. Therefore he exclaimed aloud, saying:—"Oh! Our son, Prince Wo-usu!
VII. 31. Formerly when the Kumaso revolted he was still a boy. But for a long time he bore the labour of campaigning. Afterwards he was constantly at Our side, supplying Our deficiencies. Then when the troubles with the Eastern savages arose, there was no one else whom We could send to smite them, so in spite of Our affection for him, We sent him into the country of the enemy. No day passed that we did not think of him. Therefore morning and evening We longingly awaited the day of his return. Oh! what a calamity! Oh! what a crime! While We least expected it, we suddenly lost Our child. Henceforth with whom to help us shall we manage the vast institution?"

So he commanded his ministers and through them instructed the functionaries[2] to bury him in the misasagi of Nobo Moor in the Land of Ise.

Now Yamato-dake no Mikoto, taking the shape of a white bird, came forth from the misasagi, and flew towards the Land of Yamato. The Ministers accordingly opened the coffin, and looking in, saw that only the empty clothing remained, and

[1] This sentence is in the "Shukai" edition introduced at the end of this speech.

[2] Lit. the hundred bureaus.

that there was no corpse. Thereupon messengers were sent to follow in search of the white bird. It stopped on the plain of Kotobiki in Yamato. Accordingly in that place a misasagi was erected. The white bird flew on again until it reached Kahachi, where it rested in the village of Furuchi, and in this place also a misasagi[1] was erected. Therefore the men of VII. 32. that day called these three misasagi "the white bird misasagi."[2] At last it soared aloft to Heaven, and there was nothing buried but his clothing and official cap. The Emperor, wishing to perpetuate the fame of his services, established the Takeru[3] Be. This was in the 43rd year of the Emperor's reign.

51st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Emperor A.D. 121. summoned his Ministers, and feasted them for several days. Now the Imperial Prince Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto and Takechi no Sukune did not come to the Banqueting Court. The Emperor sent for them and asked the reason. Therefore they represented to the Emperor, saying:—"On a day of festival, the Ministers and functionaries must have their minds bent on jollity, and they do not think of the State. In view of the possibility of there being madmen, who might watch for an unprotected space in the ramparts, we remain on guard beneath the Gate[4] and provide against emergencies." Then the Emperor spake and said:—"Splendid!" So he showed them an extraordinary affection.

Autumn, 8th month, 4th day. Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. On this day Takechi no Sukune was appointed Prime Minister.

The cross-sword Kusanagi, which was at first worn by VII. 33. Yamato-dake no Mikoto, is now in the shrine of Atsuta in the district of Ayuchi, in the province of Ohari. Now the Yemishi who had been presented to the shrine brawled day and night, and were disrespectful in their goings out and comings in. Then Yamato-hime no Mikoto said:—"These Yemishi should not be allowed near the shrine." Accordingly she sent them up

[1] I have seen this tumulus. It is a very large double mound surrounded by a moat.

[2] Shira-tori no Misasagi. Many of the tumuli are favourite resorts of the white egret, whence doubtless the name.

[3] Or Take, brave.

[4] Mikado means "august gate."

to the Court, where they were made to settle beside Mount Mimoro. Ere long they cut down all the trees of the sacred mountain. They shouted and bawled in the neighbouring villages and threatened the people. The Emperor, hearing this, summoned his Ministers, and said :—" The Yemishi who were placed beside the sacred mountain have by nature the hearts of beasts. They cannot be allowed to dwell in the inner country." So he caused them to be stationed without the home provinces, in any places which they pleased. They were the ancestors of the present Saheki[1] Be of the five provinces of Harima, Sanuki, Iyo, Aki, and Aha.

VII. 34. In the beginning Yamato-dake no Mikoto took the Imperial Princess Futachi-iri-hime, and made her his consort.[2] She bore Prince Ineyori-wake, next the Emperor Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko,[3] next Nuno oshi-iri-hime no Mikoto, and next Prince Waka-take. The eldest of these, Prince Ineyori-wake, was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Inu-gami and of the Kimi of Takebe. Another consort, named Kibi no Anato no Take-hime, daughter of Kibi no Take-hiko, bore to him Prince Take-miko and Prince Towoki-wake. The elder of these, Prince Take-miko, was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Aya in Sanuki. Prince Towoki-wake was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wake in Iyo. His next consort, Oto-tachibana hime, daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune, of the Hodzumi House, bore to him Prince Waka-take-hiko.

VII. 35. A.D. 122. 52nd year, Summer, 5th month, 4th day. The Empress Harima no Oho-iratsume died.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

A.D. 123. 53rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying :—" When will Our longing for Our son cease? We desire to make a tour of inspection to the region subdued by Prince Wo-usu." In this month he

[1] The Chinese characters for Saheki mean "Assistant-Chief." It is apparently a Chinese word and not Japanese, and therefore it seems out of place in the history of a period long previous to the introduction of Chinese learning. But, however unhistorical this narrative may be, it goes to prove that there is an Aino element in the Japanese nation.

[2] She was his aunt.

[3] Chiuai Tennô.

mounted into his carriage and made a progress to Ise; where, turning aside, he entered the East Sea provinces.

Winter, 10th month. He arrived at the province of Kadzusa, whence by the sea-route he crossed over to the harbour of Aha.

At this time the Emperor, hearing the cry of a fish-hawk, wished to see the bird's form. So he went out upon the sea in search of it, and caught clams. Hereupon the ancestor of the Kashihade no Omi,[1] by name Ihaka Mutsukari, made shoulder-straps of bulrushes, and preparing a hash of the clams, put it before the Emperor. Therefore he commended the service rendered by the Omi Ihaka Mutsukari, and granted him the Stewards' Ohotomo Be.

12th month. The Emperor returned from the Eastern country and dwelt in Ise. This was called the Kambata Palace.

54th year, Autumn, 9th month, 19th day. From Ise the Emperor returned to Yamato, and dwelt in the Palace of Makimuku. VII. 36. A.D. 124.

55th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Prince Hiko-sajima was appointed Governor-general of the fifteen provinces of the Tô-san-dô.[2] He was a grandson of Toyoki no Mikoto. But when he arrived at the village of Anashi in Kasuga he fell ill and died. A.D. 125.

At this time the people of the Eastern Land, grieved that the Prince did not arrive, secretly purloined his body, and buried it in the land of Kōdzuke.[3]

56th year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded Prince Mimoro-wake, saying:—"Thy father, Prince Hiko-sajima, was unable to proceed to his governorship and died prematurely. Therefore do thou undertake the absolute rule of the Eastern Land." So Mimoro-wake no Mikoto, having received the Emperor's commands, and being also desirous of accomplishing his father's work, straightway proceeded thither, and undertook the government. He had already attained to a A.D. 126.

[1] Stewards. [2] East-mountain-road.

[3] Several ancient tumuli near the village of Ohomuro in this province are perhaps the tombs of this dynasty of governors. They are described in a paper by Satow, in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VIII., p. 327.

good administration when the Yemishi made a disturbance. So he raised an army and attacked them. Then the Yemishi chieftains, Ashi-furi-he, Oho-ha-furi-he, and Tohotsu Kura-ho-he bowed their heads to the ground and came; they made deep obeisance and accepted punishment, offering him all their territory without exception. Therefore he pardoned those who surrendered, and put to death those who would not submit. On this account the Eastern Land was for a long time free from trouble. Therefore his descendants are to this day in the Eastern Land.

A.D. 127. VII. 37. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month. The Pool of Sakate was constructed, and the embankment planted with bamboos.

Winter, 10th month. It was commanded that every province should erect granaries of the labourers' Be.[1]

A.D. 128. 58th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Land of Ohomi, and dwelt in Shiga for three years. This was called the Palace of Taka-Anaho.

A.D. 130. 60th year, Winter, 11th month, 7th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Taka-Anaho at the age of 106.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-TARASHI-HIKO.

(*SEIMU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko was the fourth child of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake. The name of the Empress his mother was Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto, daughter of the Imperial Prince Ya-saka-iri-hiko. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the 46th year of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, being then aged twenty-four years. In the 60th year of his reign, Winter, the 11th month, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko died.

A.D. 131. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 132. 2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 10th day. The Emperor

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 205.

[2] Accomplish-functions.

Oho-tarashi-hiko was buried in the misasagi over the road at Yamanobe in the province of Yamato.

The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. VII. 38.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. Takechi no Sukune was made Prime Minister. In the beginning the Emperor was born on the same day with Takechi no Sukune, and he therefore had an extraordinary affection for him. A.D. 133.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, was clear-sighted and of divine valour. When he became subject to the scheme[1] and received over the plan he ruled Heaven and was in accordance with Man. He swept away the banditti, and restored right. His virtue was like a canopy, his path harmonized with development. Therefore in all the land under Universal Heaven there was none who did not recognize him as Sovereign. Of all things endowed with life and possessed of soul were there any which did not find their place? A.D. 134. VII. 39.

We have now succeeded him in the occupation of the precious felicity. Morning and night we tremble and fear. But the people are like wriggling worms, and will not reform the savagery of their hearts. In the provinces and districts there are no Lords, in the villages there are no Chiefs.[2] Henceforward let there be established Lords in the provinces, and let there be Chiefs placed in the villages. Accordingly let men of ability of the provinces be taken and appointed Chiefs over provinces and districts, so as to form a defence for the Inner Country."[3]

5th year, Autumn, 9th month. A decree was issued to all the provinces establishing Miyakko (governors) in the provinces and districts, and Inaki[4] in the villages. All were granted A.D. 135.

[1] The scheme of the permutations of the five elements. "Thus water is said to overcome fire and so forth. Each dynasty is believed to be subject to the influence of the element which overcomes that prevailing with the previous dynasty, and all human affairs are referable to the same occult influence." Mayers' Manual, p. 317. This whole speech is intensely Chinese.

[2] This cannot be correct.

[3] i.e. the Gokinai.

[4] Inaki is literally rice-castle, i.e. granary. The office seems to be something like mayor. It subsequently became a mere title, and eventually a surname.

shields and spears as emblems of authority. So the mountains and rivers were made boundaries for the separation of one province and district from another, whilst the bounds of townships and villages were established by means of lanes. In this way East and West were reckoned as in a line with the sun,
VII. 40. while North and South were reckoned as athwart the sun.[1] The sunny side of the mountains was called the light-face and the shady side of the mountains the back-face.[2]

In this way the people had tranquil possession of their dwellings, and the Empire was at peace.

A.D. 178. 48th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor appointed his nephew Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko no Mikoto Prince Imperial.[3]

A.D. 190. 60th year, Summer, 6th month, 11th day. The Emperor died, aged 107.

[1] Meaning lanes running N. and S. and lanes running E. and W.

[2] The modern division of the provinces between Kiôto and Shimonoseki, the Sanyōdo and Sanindo, rests on this distinction.

[3] His own son had perhaps died.

BOOK VIII.

THE EMPEROR TARASHI-NAKATSU-HIKO.

(*CHIUAI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko was the second child of Yamato-dake no Mikoto. The Empress[2] his mother was called Futachi-iri-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Emperor Ikume-iri-hiko isachi. The Emperor's countenance was of perfect beauty, and his stature was ten feet. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the forty-eighth year of the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, being at this time thirty-one years of age. The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko having no male offspring, appointed him as his successor. In the sixtieth year of his reign the Emperor died, and in the following year, Autumn, the 9th month, 6th day, was buried in the Tatanami misasagi in Saki, in the province of Yamato.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. A.D. 192.

Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. The Empress-mother was granted the honorary title of Grand Empress.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"The Prince, Our father, died before We reached the status of a youth. His divine spirit became changed into a white bird and ascended to Heaven. Our longing re- VIII. 2. gard for him knows not a day's intermission. Therefore it is Our wish to procure white birds and to keep them in the pond[3] within the precincts of the misasagi, so that, looking on these birds, we may comfort our feelings of longing." Orders were

[1] Chiu means the middle one of three sons; ai, to be sad, to grieve.

[2] She was not Empress.

[3] The misasagi are surrounded with a moat.

therefore sent to the various provinces to send tribute of white birds.

Intercalary 11th month, 4th day. The province of Koshi sent tribute of four white birds. Now the messengers who were sent with the birds stayed for the night on the bank of the river Uji. Then Prince Gama-mi-wake, of Ashigami, seeing the white birds, made inquiry, saying:—"Whither are you taking these white birds?" The men of Koshi answered and said:—"The Emperor, out of his longing for the Prince, his father, intends to keep them as pets. Therefore do we bring them as tribute." Prince Gama-mi-wake spake to the men of Koshi, saying:—"These may be white birds, but when they are roasted they will become black birds." So he forcibly seized the white birds and carried them away. Hereupon the men of Koshi came and reported to the Emperor, who was indignant at the affront offered by Prince Gama-mi-wake to the late Prince, and sending troops, put him to death.

Prince Gama-mi-Wake was the younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother. The people of that time said:—"A father is Heaven, an elder brother is a Lord; how can he escape execution who is wanting in respect to Heaven, and who thwarts his Lord?"[1]

This year was the year Midzunoye Saru (9th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 193. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Oki-naga-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as consort Oho-nakatsu-hime, daughter of his uncle Hiko-bito Ohine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince
VIII. 3. Kakosaka and the Imperial Prince Oshikuma. Next he took to him as consort Oto-hime, daughter of Oho-saka-nushi,[2] the ancestor of the Miyakko of Kukumada. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Homuya wake.

2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsunoga,[3] where he erected a temporary palace and dwelt in it. This was called the Palace of Kehi. In the same month the granary of Ahaji was established.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor made a tour of inspec-

[1] These phrases are Chinese, and therefore an anachronism in a history of this period.

[2] Great-sake-master.

[3] Tsuruga.

tion to the Southern provinces. Hereupon he left behind the Empress and the functionaries, and with two or three High officials[1] and several hundred officers in attendance, he proceeded, thus lightly equipped, as far as the land of Kiï, where he dwelt in the Palace of Tokorotsu. At this time the Kumaso rebelled and did not bring tribute. The Emperor thereupon prepared to smite the Land of Kumaso, and starting from Tokorotsu, borne over the sea, he made a progress to Anato. On the same day he sent messengers to Tsunoga and commanded the Empress, saying:—"Set out straightway from that harbour and meet me at Anato."

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. The Emperor anchored in the harbour of Toyora, while the Empress, who had set out from Tsunoga on her way there, arrived at the Strait of Nuta, and partook of food on board her ship. A great many tahi assembled beside the ship. The Empress sprinkled sake upon the tahi, which forthwith became drunk VIII. 4.
and floated to the surface. Then the fishermen, having caught numbers of these tahi, were delighted, and said:—"They are the fish given us by our wise sovereign." Therefore the fish of that place, when the sixth month comes, are in the habit of floating belly upwards as if they were drunk. This was the origin of it.

Autumn, 7th month, 5th day. The Empress anchored in the harbour of Toyora. On this day the Empress found in the sea a Nyoi[2] pearl.

9th month. The Emperor erected a Palace in Anato, and dwelt in it. It was called the Palace of Toyora in Anato.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Emperor proceeded to Tsukushi. At this time Kuma-wani,[3] the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Oka, hearing of the Emperor's arrival, pulled up beforehand a 500-branched Sakaki tree, which he set

[1] Daibu.

[2] The Nyoi (如意) is a sort of sceptre seen in the hands of Buddhist idols. It contains the Mani, one of the Sapta ratna, a fabulous pearl which is ever bright and luminous, and therefore a symbol of Buddha and of his doctrines.

A Buddhist term is of course an anachronism in this narrative.

[3] Bear (i.e. enormous), sea-monster, a fit name for a personage of a legendary narrative. See p. 61, note 3.

up on the bows of a nine-fathom ship. On the upper branches he hung a white-copper mirror, on the middle branches he hung a ten-span sword, and on the lower branches he hung Yasaka jewels. With these he went out to meet him at the Bay of
VIII. 5. Saha in Suwo, and presented to him a fish-salt-place.[1] In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying :—" Let the Great Ferry from Anato to Mukatsuno be its Eastern Gate and the Great Ferry of Nagoya[2] be its Western Gate. Let the Islands of Motori and Abe and none else be the august baskets: let the Island of Shiba be divided and made the august pans : let the Sea of Sakami be the salt-place." He then acted as the Emperor's pilot. Going round Cape Yamaga, he entered the Bay of Oka.

But in entering the harbour, the ship was unable to go forward. So he inquired of Kuma-wani, saying :—" We have heard that thou, Kuma-wani, hast come to us with an honest heart. Why does the ship not proceed?" Kuma-wani addressed the Emperor, saying :—" It is not the fault of thy servant that the august ship is unable to advance. At the entrance to this bay there are two Deities, one male and the other female. The male Deity is called Oho-kura-nushi,[3] the female Deity is called Tsubura-hime. It must be owing to the wish of these Deities." The Emperor accordingly prayed to them, and caused them to be sacrificed to, appointing his steersman Iga-hiko, a man of Uda in the province of Yamato, as priest.[4] So the ship was enabled to proceed. The Empress entered in a different ship by the Sea of Kuki. As the tide was out, she
VIII. 6. was unable to go on. Then Kuma-wani went back and met the Empress by way of Kuki. Thereupon he saw that the august ship made no progress, and he was afraid. He hastily made a fish-pond and a bird-pond, into which he collected all the fishes and birds. When the Empress saw these fishes and birds sporting, her anger was gradually appeased, and with the flowing tide she straightway anchored in the harbour of Oka.

[1] A salt-pan.

[2] Near Karatsu. It was from Nagoya that Hideyoshi's expedition sailed for Corea. By the salt-place is evidently meant the whole northern coast of Kiushiu. Salt is still made here, though the chief seat of this manufacture is now the shores of the Inland Sea. See Wileman in "T.A.S.J." XVII. 1.

[3] Great-magazine-lord.

[4] Hafuri.

Moreover, Itote, the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Ito[1] in Tsukushi, hearing of the Emperor's coming, pulled up sakaki trees of 500 branches, which he set up in the bow and stern of his ship. On the upper branches he hung Yasaka jewels, on the middle branches white-copper mirrors, and on the lower branches ten-span swords, and coming to meet the Emperor at Hikejima in Anato, presented them to him. In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying:—"As to these things which thy servant dares to offer, mayst thou govern the universe with subtlety tortuous as the curvings of the Yasaka jewels;[2] may thy glance survey mountain, stream and sea-plain bright as the mirror of white copper; mayst thou, wielding this ten-span sword, maintain peace in the Empire." Thereupon the Emperor commended Itote, and called him Isoshi. Wherefore the men of that time called the native place of Itote the Land of Iso. The present name Ito is a corruption of this.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived in the district of Naka. VIII. 7.
Here he dwelt in the palace of Kashihi.

Autumn, 9th month, 5th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, and consulted with them as to attacking the Kumaso. At this time a certain God inspired the Empress and instructed her, saying:—"Why should the Emperor be troubled because the Kumaso do not yield submission? It is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worth while raising an army to attack it? There is a better land than this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman—the land of Mukatsu,[3] dazzling to the eyes. In that land there are gold and silver and bright colours in plenty. It is called the Land of Silla of the coverlets of paper-mulberry.[4] If thou worshippest me aright, that land will assuredly yield submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood.

[1] This place is mentioned by a Chinese traveller to Japan in the third century of our era. "There are" (he says) "hereditary kings in Ito, who all owe allegiance to the Queen country."

[2] No doubt Maga-tama are meant.

[3] Opposite.

[4] Taku-fusuma in Japanese. This is a pillow-word, prefixed to Silla, not in the least because coverlets of cloth woven from the inner bark of the paper-mulberry were in use in that country, but because Silla (in Japanese Shiraki) suggests Shira, white, and textiles of paper-mulberry were white. By "bright colours" is probably meant dyed textile goods.

Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as offerings, namely, the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields[1] called Ohota,[2] presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato." When the Emperor heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no land. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said:—"We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void?[3] Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperors Our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted." Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying:—"I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that
VIII. 8. there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shalt not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it."

The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated without having gained a victory.

A.D. 200. 9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor took suddenly ill, and died on the following day, at the age of 52.

One version says:—"The Emperor having gone in person to smite the Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain."

Thereupon the Empress and the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune suppressed the mourning for the Emperor, and did not allow it to be known to the Empire.

Accordingly the Empress commanded the Prime Minister, the Nakatomi[4] Ikatsu no Muraji, Oho-miwa no Ohotomo-

[1] i.e., rice lands. [2] Great fields.

[3] The sky. Corea is visible from the Japanese island of Tsushima, and must have been well known to the Japanese at this time. There has already been frequent mention of it in the "Nihongi" itself.

[4] Probably here used in its original signification of Middle Minister.

nushi no Kimi, Mononobe no Ikuhi no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Takemotsu no Muraji, saying:—"The Empire is still ignorant of the Emperor's decease. If the people were to know of it, there would be negligence." So she instructed the four high officials to cause the functionaries to keep watch within the Palace while the body of the Emperor was secretly taken up and entrusted to Takechi no Sukune. He removed it by sea to Anato, and buried it temporarily in the Palace of Toyora, giving it a fireless temporary burial.[1] VIII. 9.

22nd day. The Prime Minister, Takechi no Sukune, returned from Anato, and made his report to the Empress. This year, owing to the expedition against Silla, it was impossible to bury the Emperor.[2]

[1] The commentators say that for the sake of secrecy there were no lights used.

[2] An army of labourers was needed to build one of the enormous tumuli which were the fashion at this time.

BOOK IX.

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO.

(*JINGŌ*[1] *KŌGU.*)

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO was the great-grandchild of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Ohohihi[2] and the daughter of Prince Okinaga[3] no Sukune. Her mother's name was Katsuraki no Taka-nuka-hime. She was made Empress in the second year of the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko. Whilst still young, she was intelligent and shrewd, and her countenance was of such blooming beauty that the Prince her father wondered at it.

In his 9th year, Spring, the 2nd month, the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko died in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi. At this time the Empress was grieved that the Emperor would not follow the Divine instructions, and had consequently died
IX. 2. a premature death. She thought she would find out what God had sent the curse, so that she might possess herself of the land of treasures. She therefore commanded her Ministers and functionaries to purge offences[4] and to rectify transgres-

[1] Divine merit or success. [2] Kaikwa Tennō.

[3] Name of a place in Ohomi. This is hardly consistent with the statement at the end of this reign that Oki-naga (long life) was a posthumous name given her, apparently owing to the great age to which she attained.

[4] The ceremony of purification (harahi) is referred to.

Motowori observes on the parallel passage of the "Kojiki" that tsumi, offence, includes kegare, pollutions, ashiki waza, ill-deeds, and wazawahi, calamities. The offences for which the ceremony of purification was required are enumerated in the "Kojiki" as flaying alive, flaying backwards, breaking down the divisions between rice-fields, filling up irrigating channels, committing nuisances, incest, and bestiality. The Oho-harahi, or Great Purification Ritual, gives a similar but more detailed description. See Ch. K., p. 230.

sions, also to construct a Palace of worship[1] in the village of Wayamada.

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress, having selected a lucky day,[2] entered the Palace of worship, and discharged in person the office of priest.[3] She commanded Takechi no Sukune to play on the lute,[4] and the Nakatomi, Igatsu no Omi, was designated as Saniha.[5] Then placing one thousand pieces of cloth, high pieces of cloth, on the top and bottom of the lute, she prayed saying:—"Who is the God who on a former day instructed the Emperor? I pray that I may know his name." After seven days and seven nights there came an answer, saying:—"I am the Deity who dwells in the Shrine of split-bell Isuzu in the district of hundred-transmit Watarahi in the province of divine-wind Ise,[6] and my name is Tsuki-sakaki idzu no mi-tama ama-zakaru Muka-tsu hime[7] no Mikoto.

Again she inquired:—"Other than this Deity, are there any Deities present?" The answer was:—"I am the Deity who comes forth on the ears of the flag-like Eulalia,[8] and my dwelling is in the district of Aha in Ada-fushi in Oda." She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"There is the Deity who rules in Heaven, who rules in the Void, the gem-casket-entering-prince, the awful Koto-shiro-nushi."[9] IX. 3.

[1] Lit. religious abstinence. See above, p. 176.

[2] "Lucky day" is probably a Chinese trait. [3] Kannushi.

[4] The Japanese or Adzuma koto, described as an instrument five or six feet long, with six strings.

[5] Saniha is explained as the official who examines the utterances prompted by the Deity. The literal meaning is "pure court," from the place in which he stood during the ceremony. See Ch. K., p. 229.

[6] The epithets split-bell, hundred-transmit and divine-wind are makura-kotoba or pillow-words, which have no meaning to us. Split-bell is put before Isuzu because suzu means bell (Fr. grêlot). Wataru, "to cross over," suggests the phrase momo-tsutahe (hundred-transmit). See Ch. K., p. 247.

[7] The awful spirit of the planted Cleyera, the lady of sky-distant Mukatsu. Mukatsu, as appears from p. 221, is Corea. The Deity who dwells at Ise is the Sun-Goddess. But she chooses (apparently) to represent herself as a Corean Deity. Sakaki (Cleyera Japonica) is the sacred tree of Shintō.

[8] A tall grass, like pampas grass, hence the epithet flag-like.

[9] Koto-shiro-nushi, thing-know-master. Thing-know is a Chinese idiom for "to rule," and it is the same word which is rendered rule just above.

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"It is not known whether there are others or not." Hereupon the Saniha[1] said:—"There is no answer now, but they will speak again afterwards." So there was an answer, saying:—"There are the Gods who have settled to the bottom of the water of the Little Strait of Tachibana[2] in the Land of Hiuga, and who are produced and dwell there like fresh water plants. Their names are Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo.[3]

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"Whether there are or not is unknown." And nothing more was ever said as to the existence of other Gods.

Now that the Divine words[4] had been obtained, the Gods were worshipped in accordance with their instructions. Thereafter, Kamo no Wake, the ancestor of the Kibi no Omi, was sent to attack the Kumaso. Before many days had elapsed they freely submitted.

IX 4. Moreover, there was in the village of Notorita a man named Hashiro Kuma-washi.[5] He was a fellow of powerful frame, and had wings on his body, so that he could fly, and with them soar aloft. Therefore he would not obey the Imperial commands, but habitually plundered the people.

17th day. The Empress desired to attack Kuma-washi. So from the Palace of Kashihi she returned to the Palace of Matsunowo. At this time a whirlwind suddenly arose, and her august hat was blown off by the wind. Therefore the men of the time called that place Mikasa.[6]

20th day. She arrived at the Moor of Sosoki, where she took up arms and smote Hashiro Kuma-washi, and destroyed him. Then she addressed her courtiers, saying:—"My mind is at peace now that we have taken Kuma-washi." Therefore the name of that place was called Yasu.[7]

25th day. Going on from thence, she arrived at the district of Yamato,[8] where she put to death a Tsuchi-gumo named

[1] See above, p. 225.

[2] Little Strait is in the original Wodo: the Bungo Channel.

[3] See Ch. K., p. 41, also above, p. 27.

[4] The term "divine words" probably means the proper names and titles of the Deities.

[5] Feather-white bear-eagle. [6] August hat. [7] Peaceful.

[8] In Chikugo.

Tabura-tsu-hime. Now Tabura-tsu-hime's elder brother Natsuha had raised an army and advanced against the Empress, but on hearing that his younger sister had been already put to death, he took to flight.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Proceeding northwards, she arrived at the district of Matsura in the Land of Hizen, and partook of food on the bank of the river Wogawa,[1] in the village of Tamashima. Here the Empress bent a needle and made of it a hook. She took grains of rice and used them as bait. Pulling out the threads of her garment, she made of them a line. Then mounting upon a stone in the middle of the river, and casting the hook, she prayed, saying:—"We are IX. 5. proceeding westward, where we desire to gain possession of the Land of Treasure. If we are to succeed, let the fish of the river bite the hook." Accordingly, raising up her fishing-rod, she caught a trout. Then the Empress said:—"It is a strange thing." Wherefore the men of the day called that place the Land of Medzura. The present name Matsura[2] is a corruption of this. For this reason, whenever the 1st decade of the 4th month comes round, the women of that land take hooks, which they cast into the river and catch trout—a custom which has not ceased unto this day. The men may angle for fish, but they cannot catch any.

This having been done, the Empress knew that there was virtue in the teaching of the Gods, and she made sacrifice anew to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. As it was her purpose in person to chastise the West, she set apart a sacred rice-field, and tilled it. Then, in order to divert water from the Naka-gaha with which to irrigate it, she dug a channel as far as the Hill of Todoroki. But a great rock stood in the way, and she was unable to pierce a channel through it. Then the Empress sent for Takechi no Sukune, and offering a sword and a mirror made him pray to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and ask them to allow the channel to be completed. Straightway there came thunder and lightning, and stamped that rock asunder, so that the water passed through. Therefore the men of the time called that channel the Channel of Sakuta.[3]

[1] Little river.

[2] Medzurashiki means "strange." Matsura is really Matsu-ura, fir-bay.

[3] Sundered field.

The Empress returned to the Bay of Kashihi, and loosing her hair, looked over the sea, saying :—" I, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the Spirits of the Imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do
IX. 6. I now lave my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously into two." Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches.[1]

Then she addressed her ministers, saying :—" To make war and move troops is a matter of the greatest concern to a country. Peace and danger, success and failure must depend on it. If I now entrusted to you, my ministers, the duties of the expedition we are about to undertake, the blame, in case of ill-success, would rest with you. This would be very grievous to me. Therefore, although I am a woman, and a feeble woman too, I will for a while borrow the outward appearance of a man, and force myself to adopt manly counsels. Above, I shall receive support from the Spirits of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, while below I shall avail myself of the assistance of you, my ministers. Brandishing our weapons, we shall cross the towering billows : preparing an array of ships, we shall take possession of the Land of Treasure. If the enterprise succeeds, all of you, my ministers, will have the credit, while if it is unsuccessful, I alone shall be to blame. Such have been my intentions, do ye deliberate together regarding them." The ministers all said :—" The object of the measure which the Empress has devised for the Empire is to tranquillize the ancestral shrines and the Gods of the Earth and Grain, and also to protect her servants from blame. With heads bowed to the ground we receive thy commands." [2]

Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. The various provinces were ordered to collect ships and to practise the use of weapons. But an army could not be assembled. The Empress said :—" This is surely the will of a God." So she erected the Shrine of Oho-miwa, and offered there a sword and a spear. Then the troops assembled freely. Hereupon a fisherman of Ahe, by

[1] In manly fashion.

[2] This speech is copied from a Chinese book.

name Womaro, was sent out into the Western Sea, to spy if IX. 7.
there was any land there. He came back and said:—"There is no land to be seen." Again a fisherman of Shika, named Nagusa, was sent to look. After several days he returned, and said:—"To the north-west, there is a mountain girt with clouds and extending crosswise. This is perhaps a country." Hereupon a lucky day was fixed upon by divination. There was yet an interval before they should set out. Then the Empress in person, grasping her battle-axe, commanded the three divisions of her army, saying:—"If the drums are beaten out of time, and the signal-flags are waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved among the troops: if greedy of wealth, and eager for much, you cherish self and have regard for your own interests, you will surely be taken prisoners by the enemy. Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him, though his numbers may be many. Spare not the violent, slay not the submissive. There will surely be rewards for those who ultimately conquer in battle, and of course punishments for those who turn their backs and flee."

After this a God gave instructions, saying:—"A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life: a rough spirit will form the vanguard, and be a guide to the squadron." So when she had received the divine IX. 8.
instructions she did worship, and for this purpose appointed Otarimi,[1] Yosami no Ahiko to be the Director of the ceremonies in honour of the God.

The time had now come for the Empress's delivery. So she took a stone which she inserted in her loins, and prayed, saying:—"Let my delivery be in this land on the day that I return after our enterprise is at an end." That stone is now on the road-side in the district of Ito.[2]

After this the rough spirit was told to act as vanguard of the forces, and the gentle spirit requested to act as guardian of the Royal vessel.

[1] Otarimi is the na, or personal name; Yosami the uji, or name of the House; Ahiko is the Kabane, or title.

[2] Tradition pointed out *two* white egg-shaped stones a little over a foot long as those used on this occasion. They were afterwards stolen.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Sail was set from the harbour of Wani.[1] Then the Wind-God made a breeze to spring up, and the Sea-God[2] uplifted the billows. The great fishes of the ocean, every one, came to the surface and encompassed the
IX. 9. ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country. Hereupon the King of Silla feared and trembled, and knew not what to do, so he assembled all his people and said to them:—"Since the State of Silla was founded, it has never yet been heard that the water of the sea has encroached upon the land. Is it possible that the term of existence granted to it by Heaven has expired, and that our country is to become a part of the ocean?" Scarce had he spoken when a warlike fleet overspread the sea. Their banners were resplendent in the sunlight. The drums and fifes raised up their voices, and the mountains and rivers all thrilled to the sound. The King of Silla beholding this from afar felt that his country was about to be destroyed by this extraordinary force, and was terrified out of his senses. But presently coming to himself, he said:—"I have heard that in the East there is a divine country named Nippon, and also that there is there a wise sovereign called the Tennō. This divine force must belong to that country. How
IX. 10. could we resist them by force of arms?" So he took a white flag, and of his own accord rendered submission, tying his hands behind his back with a white rope. He sealed up the maps and registers, and going down before the Royal vessel bowed his head to the ground, and said:—"Henceforward, as long as Heaven and Earth endure, we will obediently act as thy forage-providers. Not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry, every spring and every autumn we will send tribute of horse-combs and whips. And, without thinking the sea-distance a trouble, we will pay annual dues of male and female slaves." He confirmed this by repeated oaths, saying:—"When the sun no longer rises in the East, but comes forth

[1] In Tsushima.

[2] The words used here for Wind-God and Sea-God are purely Chinese. "Æolus" and "Neptune" would be just as appropriate in a Saga.

in the West; when the River Arinare[1] turns its course backward, and when the river pebbles ascend and become stars—if before this we fail to pay homage every spring and every autumn, or neglect to send tribute of combs and whips, may the Gods of Heaven and Earth both together punish us."

Then someone said:—"Let us put to death the King of Silla." Hereupon the Empress said:—"When I first received the Divine instructions, promising to bestow on me the Land of Gold and Silver, I gave orders to the three divisions of the army, saying:—'Slay not the submissive.' Now that we have taken the Land of Treasure, and its people have freely offered submission, it would be unlucky to slay them." So she loosed the cords with which he was bound, and made him her forage-provider.

Ultimately she proceeded to the interior of that country, placed seals on the magazines of precious treasure, and took possession of the books of maps and registers.[2] The spear on which the Empress leant[3] was planted at the gate of the King of Silla as a memorial to after ages. Therefore that spear even now remains planted at the King of Silla's gate.

Now Phasa Mikeun,[4] King of Silla, gave as a hostage Mi-cheul-kwi-chi Pha-chin Kan-ki,[5] and with gold and silver, bright colours, figured gauzes and silks, he loaded eighty vessels, which he made to follow after the Imperial forces. This was the origin of the King of Silla always sending eighty ships of tribute.

Hereupon the kings of the two countries of Koryö and Pèkché[6]

[1] Supposed to be the Am-nok-kang.

[2] The Cadastral records.

[3] As a staff.

[4] The traditional kana rendering is Hasa Mukin. Phasa was the 6th King of Silla. He reigned from A.D. 80 to A.D. 112. Mikeun or Mukin is not clear. The last syllable corresponds with the last syllable of ni-sä-keun (尼師今), an old Silla word for king, mentioned in the Introduction to the "Tongkam."

[5] The traditional kana has Mi-shi-ko-chi Ha-tori Kamu-ki. Pha-chin was the fourth official rank in Silla (see "Tongkam," I. 31), and Kanki is said by the Shiki to be a title. A Silla Prince named Misäheun (in Japanese Mishikin) was sent as hostage to Japan A.D. 402. It is clear from what follows (A.D. 205) that this is the same person.

[6] The original name of this country is Kokuryö. It did not become officially known as Koryö until A.D. 936, but the contracted form was in use

IX. 12. hearing that Silla had rendered up its maps and registers,[1] and made submission, secretly caused the warlike power (of the Empress) to be spied out. Finding then that they could not be victorious, they came of themselves without the camp, and bowing their heads to the ground, and sighing, said:—"Henceforth for ever, these lands shall be styled thy western frontier provinces, and will not cease to offer tribute." Accordingly interior Governments were instituted. This is what is termed the three Han.[2]

The Empress returned from Silla.

12th month, 14th day. She gave birth to the Emperor Homuda in Tsukushi. Therefore the men of that time called the place where he was born Umi.[3]

long before, and there are examples of it in Chinese literature as early as A.D. 500 (Parker, "Race Struggles in Corea," "T.A.S.J.," XVIII., Pt. II.). The capital was Phyöngyang, at least at one time.

The Japanese name for this kingdom was Koma, a word of doubtful derivation. I think it possible that it means bear (in Corean kom), and that the Koma of Corea and the Kuma of Japan were the same race—like the Saxons of Germany and the Saxons of England. Parker, in the article just referred to (p. 216), suggests that Koma was really a part of Pèkché, and not Koryö. The town of Koma or Kuma was certainly in Pèkché territory, and was for a while the capital. But I cannot think that the Japanese could have been mistaken on this point. They were far too well acquainted with Corean matters, and with them Koryö and Koma are the same thing. It is probable nevertheless that Koma or Kumanari was at some time the seat of the race of that name, as Kumamoto in Japan was of the Japanese Kuma. It is now Ung-chhön (bear-river), near the mouth of the R. Nak-tong, and a convenient port for crossing over to Japan.

Pèkché, known to the Japanese as Kudara, was the S.-W. kingdom of Corea.

[1] i.e. the territory described in them.

[2] Corea at one time was divided into three kingdoms, called Ma-han, Sin-han, and Pyön-han, corresponding respectively to Pèkché, Silla, and Koryö. But there is some doubt on the subject.

The three Han are rendered in the kana gloss mitsu no Kara-kuni. But although Kara is sometimes used loosely for all Corea, and even to include China, I doubt much whether there ever was such a phrase as the three Karas. It looks like a mere literal translation of Samhan.

For an estimate of the historical value of this narrative of the conquest of Corea, I would refer the reader to my paper on Early Japanese History in the "T.A.S.J.," XVI. Pt. I.

[3] Birth.

One version says:—"When the Emperor Tarashi- IX. 13.
nakatsu-hiko dwelt in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, there were Deities who spake by the mouth of Uchi-saru-taka, Kuni-saru-taka, and Matsu-ya-tane, ancestors of the Agata-nushi of Saha, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'If the august descendant wishes to gain the Land of Treasure, we will presently bestow it on him.' So on a later day, a lute was brought and given to the Empress. And the Empress played upon the lute, in accordance with the word of the Gods. Hereupon the Gods spake by the mouth of the Empress, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'The land which the august descendant wishes for is, as it were, a stag's horn, and not a real country. But if the august descendant now makes due offering to us of the ship in which he sails, and of the water-field[1] called Ohota given him as tribute by Homutate, the Atahe of Anato, we will bestow on the august descendant a dazzling land, a land of plenteous treasures, fair to look upon as a beautiful woman.' Then the Emperor answered the Gods, saying:—'Gods though ye may be, why these deceiving words? Where is there any country? Moreover, when the ship in which We sail has been offered to you Deities, in what ship shall We sail? Nor do I know what Gods ye are. I pray you, let me know your names.' Then the Gods gave their names, saying:—'Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, Soko-tsutsu no wo.' Such were the names of the three Gods given by them. And again one said:—'I am Mukahitsu no wo, Kiki-so-ofu-itsuno mitama, Hayasa-nobori no Mikoto.' Then the Emperor spake to the Empress, and said:—'What ill-sounding things they say! Is it a woman? What is meant by Hayasa-nobori?'[2] Then the
Gods addressed the Emperor, saying:—'O King, since IX. 14.
thou art thus unbelieving, thou shalt not possess that country. But the child which is now in the Empress's womb, he will doubtless take possession of it.' On that night the Emperor took suddenly ill, and died. Afterwards the Empress performed worship in accordance with the

[1] Rice-field. Speed-ascend.

directions of the Gods.[1] Then the Empress, clad in male attire, went on the expedition against Silla, and the Gods guided her. Accordingly the wave which followed the ship reached far into the interior of the Land of Silla. Hereupon the Silla Prince Urusohorichiu[2] came to meet the Empress, and kneeling down, took hold of the Royal vessel. Bowing his head to the ground, he said:—'Henceforward thy servant will act as an interior Government for the child of the Gods who dwells in Japan, and will not cease to furnish tribute.'"

One version says:—"She took prisoner the Prince of Silla, and going to the sea-side, plucked out his knee-caps,[3] and causing him to crawl on the rocks, suddenly slew him, and buried him in the sand. Accordingly she stationed there one man as Governor of Silla, and departed. Afterwards, the wife of the Prince of Silla, not knowing where the body of her husband was buried, all by herself conceived the thought of deluding the Governor. So, enticing him, she said:—'If thou wilt let me know the place where the Prince's body is buried, I will surely reward thee liberally, and will become thy wife.' Hereupon the Governor believed these deluding words, and secretly made known to her the place where the body was buried. Then the Prince's wife and the people of the country, having consulted together, slew the Governor, and having disinterred the Prince's body, buried it in another place. Then they took the Governor's body, and buried it in the earth under the Prince's tomb, and taking up the coffin, deposited it on the top of the Governor's body, saying:—'This is as it ought necessarily to be, according to the order of things exalted and things base.' Hereupon the Empress,[4] when she heard of this, was

[1] i.e. offering the ship and lands.

[2] This transliteration follows the traditional Japanese pronunciation. The Corean would be U-ryu-cho-pu-ri-chi-u. It may be suspected that the final u 于 is a mistake for 干 kan, a frequent element of Corean titles, perhaps = khan, kami? See Parker's "Race Struggles in Corea," p. 220.

[3] A Chinese punishment.

[4] The original has Tennō, a word which, strictly speaking, is either masculine or feminine, but which is not usually applied to this Empress.

mightily incensed, and raised a large army, with which it was her intent utterly to destroy Silla. So, with war- IX. 15.
ships filling the sea, she proceeded thither. At this time the people of Silla were all afraid, and knew not what to do. Having assembled, they consulted together, and slew the Prince's wife by way of apology for their crime." [1]

Hereupon the three Gods who accompanied the expedition, viz. Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished the Empress, saying:—"Let our rough spirits be worshipped at the village of Yamada in Anato." Now

[1] The "Tongkam," Vol. III. p. 21, has the following under the date A.D. 249, Summer, 4th month:—"The Was invaded Silla, and killed Uro. Before this the Was had sent Kalyako as Ambassador to Silla. The King made Uro entertain him. Uro said, jesting:—"Sooner or later we shall make your King our salt-slave, and your Queen our cook-wench." When the King of Wa heard this, he sent his General Uto-chiu to invade Silla. The King went out and dwelt at Yuchhon. Uro said:—"To-day's attack is owing to the words of thy servant. I pray thee let me deal with it." So he went eventually to the Wa army, and said:—"My words on a former day were a jest, and nothing more. Who would have thought that war should be waged, and that things should come to this extremity?" The men of Wa took him, and made a pile of firewood, on which they burnt him to death, and then went away. Afterwards an Ambassador came from Wa. Uro's wife begged leave from the King to entertain him on her own score. Accordingly she made the Ambassador drunk, seized him, and burnt him. The Was, enraged at this, besieged Keumsyöng,* but had to retire unsuccessful."

Notwithstanding the difference of date—A.D. 200 and A.D. 249—and other discrepancies, I believe these two narratives relate to the same events. The Prince Urusohorichiu of the Japanese account is the Uro of the Corean history. The word which I have translated Prince is 王, which might also be rendered King. But there is no King of this name in Corean history, and, as appears from a Corean authority quoted in the "Ishōnihonden," XIV. 11, Syök Uro was the son of King Nahè of Silla. The "Tongkam" relates several other events of his life, among others his appointment as Sö-pul-han (or Sö-pul-ya), whence probably the sohori of the name given him in the Japanese narrative.

Kalyako is no doubt the same person as the Katsuraki no Sotsu-hiko mentioned below as having been sent on a mission to Silla. Kal is written 葛, which is katsura in Japanese.

In "Early Japanese History" I have given reasons for thinking that, for this period, Corean history is much more in accordance with facts than that of Japan.

* The Silla capital.

Homutate, the ancestor of the Atahe of Anato, and Tamomi no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Tsumori, represented to the Empress, saying:—"Surely thou wilt set apart unto the Gods the lands where they desire to dwell." So Homutate was appointed master of the worship of the rough spirits, and a shrine was erected in the village of Yamada in Anato.

Now in Spring, the second month of the year following the expedition against Silla, the Empress removed with her ministers and functionaries to the palace of Toyora in Anato, where she took up the Emperor's remains, and proceeded towards the capital by the sea-route. Now Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma, hearing of the Emperor's decease, as well as of the Empress's expedition to the West, and of the recent birth of an Imperial Prince, plotted secretly, saying:—"The Empress has now a child, and all the ministers obey her. They will certainly consult together and establish an infant sovereign. But shall we, the elders, obey our younger brother?" So, pretending that it was in order to build a misasagi for the Emperor, they went to Harima, and raised a misasagi at Akashi.[1] Accordingly they joined boats together in a string across to the island of Ahaji, and so transported the
IX. 16. stones of that island to build it. Now they made every man take a weapon, and so they awaited the Empress. Hereupon Kurami-wake, the ancestor of the Kimi of Inugami, and Isachi no Sukune, ancestor of the Kishi,[2] together joined them-

[1] Two or three miles to the east of Maiko, on the bluff above the village of West Tarumi, there is a very large double mound, which local tradition has associated with the name of Chiuai Tennō. It is surrounded by the usual circles of clay cylinders, known in the neighbourhood as "Chiuai no sen-tsubo," i.e. "the thousand jars of Chiuai."

There is a smaller mound of circular shape close to the other, also surrounded by a circle of clay cylinders. This is no doubt the tomb of a wife, son, or minister of the personage buried in the main tumulus. The "Nihongi" tradition does not account for it.

The stones were to build the megalithic chamber.

[2] Kishi (吉師) is obviously the same as the Silla fourteenth official grade kilsă (吉士). See "Tongkam," I. 31. Ason, so frequently met with in later times, is also a Corean official grade. Has sukune anything to do with the Silla word for king, isăkeun?

The "Kojiki" has "Kishi of Naniha" in this passage, no doubt rightly. Ch. K., p. 235.

selves unto Prince Kakosaka, who made them his generals, and directed them to raise troops from the Eastern Land. Then Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma went forth together to the moor of Toga, and made a "hunt-prayer,"[1] saying:—"If our project is to be successful, then surely let us take some good game." The two Princes sat each in his shelter, when a wild-boar[2] sprang out suddenly, and climbing on to the shelter, bit Prince Kakosaka and killed him. The soldiers every one shuddered with fear. Then Prince Oshikuma addressed Kurami-wake, saying:—"This is a very ominous thing. We ought not to await the enemy here." So he withdrew his troops, and retreating again, encamped at Sumiyoshi.[3] At this time, the Empress heard that Prince Oshikuma had raised an army, and was awaiting her. She commanded Takechi no Sukune to take in his bosom the Imperial Prince, and going out across by way of the south-sea provinces,[4] to anchor in the harbour of Kiï, while the Empress's ship made straight for Naniha. At this time the Empress's ship swerved towards the midst of the sea, and was unable to proceed. She returned again to the harbour of Muko,[5] where she made divination as to this.

Hereupon Ama-terasu no Oho-kami admonished her, saying: IX. 17.
—"My rough spirit may not approach the Imperial residence. Let him dwell in the land of Hirota in Mikokoro." So Ha-yama-hime, daughter of Yamashiro-neko, was appointed to worship him. Moreover, Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto admonished the Empress, saying:—"I wish to dwell in the land of Nagawo in Ikuta."[6] So Una-gami no Isachi was appointed to worship her. Again, Koto-shiro-nushi no Mikoto admonished her, saying:—"Worship me in the land of Nakata in Mi-kokoro."[7] So Naga-hime, younger sister of Ha-yama-hime, was appointed to worship him. Again the three Gods, Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished her, saying:—"Let our gentle spirits dwell at Nagawo[8] in Nuna-

[1] Ukehi-gari, a kind of divination.

[2] Lit. a red pig, so called from its flesh being red. The domestic pig is the white pig.

[3] Near Kōbe. [4] Now called Shikoku. [5] Now Hiōgo.

[6] Just behind the foreign settlement of Kōbe.

[7] Mikokoro here and above may mean "after my august heart."

[8] Sumiyoshi, near Kōbe.

kura in Ohotsu, so that they may look upon the ships passing back and forward." Hereupon these Gods were enshrined in
IX. 18. accordance with their instructions, and the Empress was enabled to cross the sea in peace.

Prince Oshikuma, again withdrawing his troops, retreated as far as Uji, where he encamped. The Empress proceeded southwards to the land of Kiï, and met the Prince Imperial at Hitaka. Having consulted with her Ministers, she at length desired to attack Prince Oshikuma, and removed to the Palace of Shinu. It so happened that at this time the day was dark like night. Many days passed in this manner, and the men of that time said:—"This is the Eternal Night." The Empress inquired of Toyomimi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Ki, saying:—"Wherefore is this omen?" Then there was an old man who said:—"I have heard by tradition that this kind of omen is called Atsunahi no tsumi."[1] She inquired:—"What does it mean?" He answered and said:—"The priests[2] of the two shrines have been buried together." Therefore she made strict investigation in the village. There was a man who said:—"The priest of Shinu and the priest of Amano were good friends. The priest of Shinu fell ill, and died. The priest of Amano wept and wailed, saying:—'We have been friends together since our birth. Why in our death should there not be the same grave for both?' So he lay down beside the corpse and died of himself, so that they were buried together. This is perhaps the reason." So they opened the tomb, and on examination found that it was true. Therefore they again changed their coffins and interred them separately, upon which the sunlight shone forth, and there was a difference between day and night.

3rd month, 5th day. The Empress commanded Takechi no Sukune and Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, to lead an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack
IX. 19. Prince Oshikuma. Hereupon, Takechi no Sukune and his colleague, having taken picked men, went out by way of Yamashiro as far as Uji, where they encamped north of the river. Prince Oshikuma came out from his camp, and offered

[1] The calamity of there being no sun. [2] Hafuri.

battle. Now there was a man called Kuma[1] no Kori, who formed the vanguard of Prince Oshikuma's army.

One version says :—" Ancestor of the Obito of Katsurano no ki." Another says :—" The remote ancestor of the Kishi of Tako."

Accordingly, in order to encourage his men, he sang with a loud voice, saying :—

Beyond the river
Is the rough pine-clad plain—
To that pine-clad plain
Let us cross over,
With bows of *tsuki*,
And store of sounding arrows.
My dear fellow !
My dear fellows !
My cousin too !
My cousins !
Come ! let us join battle
With Uchi no Aso ![2]
(Within a tile
Is there any sand ?)[3]
Come ! let us join battle ! IX. 20.

Then Takechi no Sukune, giving command to the three divisions of the army, made them all bind up their hair mallet-wise. Accordingly he made an order, saying :—" Let every one of you have spare bow-strings concealed in your top-knots, and gird on wooden swords." Having done so, in accordance with the commands of the Empress, he deluded Prince Oshikuma, saying :—" I am not greedy to possess the Empire. Only, while cherishing the infant Prince, we will obey my Lord the Prince. Why should I contend with thee in battle ?

[1] The reader will have noticed how frequently Kuma, bear, occurs in proper names. It is, I think, the race Kuma (in Corean, Koma) to which they should be referred.

[2] Aso is the same as Ason or 'Asomi, probably derived from Ason (阿飡), the 6th Silla official rank. This is the first mention of this title. The reference is to Takechi (Take-uchi) no Sukune. Uchi has a pillow-word (tamaki haru) prefixed, which is quite untranslatable. Cf. Ch. K., p. 283.

[3] These two lines are, of course, utterly irrelevant. They are brought in for the sake of a play of words, with which it is not worth while troubling the reader.

I pray thee let us both cut our bow-strings, fling away our weapons, and be in harmony together. Then mayest thou, my Lord the Prince, mount to the Heavenly office, and sit a peace, making high thy pillow, and wielding at thy will the ten thousand appliances."[1]

So he openly gave orders to his army that they should all cut their bow-strings, and ungirding their swords, fling them into the river-water. Prince Oshikuma believed these deluding words, and ordered all his troops to ungird their weapons and fling them into the water of the river, and also to cut their bow-strings. Upon this, Takechi no Sukune commanded the three divisions of his army to produce their spare bow-strings, and to string their bows again, and, girt with their real swords, to advance across the river. Prince Oshikuma, seeing that he had been deceived, spake to Kurami-wake and Isachi no Sukune, saying:—"We have been deceived, and have now no spare weapons. How shall we be able to fight?" So he withdrew his forces and gradually retreated. Then Takechi no Sukune sent forth his choice troops and pursued him, and having come up to him just at Afusaka, put him to the rout. Therefore that place was called Afusaka.[2] The army took to flight, and ran as far as Kurusu in Sasanami. Many were slain.
IX. 21. Hereupon the blood overflowed into Kurusu. Therefore in horror of this, until this day, the fruit of Kurusu[3] is not offered to the Imperial Palace. Prince Oshikuma, not knowing whither to betake himself in his flight, called to him Isachi no Sukune and made a song, saying:—

Come! my child,
Isachi Sukune!
Rather than receive a severe wound
From the mallet[4]
Of Uchi no Aso,
Like unto the grebe
Let us make a plunge!

---

[1] i.e. all the machinery of Government.

[2] Pronounced Ôsaka, i.e. the hill of meeting. The pass on the road from Kiôto to Ôtsu. A railway tunnel now goes under it.

[3] Kurusu means chestnut-village.

[4] Kabu-tsuchi. See p. 123.

So they sank together in the crossing-place of Seta, and died. Then Takechi no Sukune made a song, saying :—

The birds that dived,
At the ferry of Seta,
By the sea of Afumi.[1]
Since with my eyes I cannot see them,
Can they be still alive?

Hereupon they searched for their dead bodies, and were unable to find them. But several days after, they came out on the river-bank at Uji.[2] Then Takechi no Sukune again made a song, saying :—

In the sea of Afumi,
At the ferry of Seta,
The birds that dived—
Passing Tanakami,[3]
Have been caught at Uji.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The ministers honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Midzunoto I (60th) of the Cycle. It was reckoned the first year of her administration of the Government.

2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 8th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Nagano, in the province of Kahachi. IX. 22. A.D. 202.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Homuda-wake was appointed Prince Imperial. Accordingly, the capital was made at Ihare. It was called the Palace of Wakazakura. A.D. 203.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The King of Silla sent O-nyé-să-pöl, Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi and Pu-ra-mo-chi with tribute. It was their desire to get back Mi-cheul Hö-chi pöl-han, who had formerly come as a hostage. With this object they tampered with Hö-chi pöl-han and caused him to use deceit, telling him to make petition and say :—"The envoys O-nyé-să-pol, Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi, and the other have informed me that my king, on account of my long failure to return, has wholly confiscated my wife and family and made A.D. 205.

[1] Now called Lake Biwa, in the province of Afumi or Ômi.

[2] Uji is some miles further down the river issuing from Lake Biwa than Seta. Seta is just where it leaves the lake.

[3] The name of the upper part of the Uji River.

them slaves. I pray thee, let me return for a while to my own country and learn whether this be true or false." The Emperor forthwith gave him leave to go, and accordingly sent him away, accompanied by Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. They
IX. 23. reached Tsushima together, and stayed for the night at the harbour of Sabi no umi. Then the Silla envoys Mo-ṃa-ri Cheul-chi and the others secretly provided a separate ship and sailors, on board of which they put Mi-cheul Han-ki and made him escape to Silla. They also made a straw figure which they put in Mi-cheul Hö-chi's berth, and making it appear like a sick man, they informed Sotsuhiko, saying :—" Mi-cheul Hö-chi has taken suddenly ill, and is on the point of death." Sotsuhiko sent men to nurse him, and so discovered the deception. Having seized the three Silla envoys, he placed them in a cage which he burnt with fire and so killed them. Then he proceeded to Silla, where he touched at the harbour of Tatara. He took the Castle of Chhora, and returned. The captives taken on this occasion were the first ancestors of the Han[1]
IX. 24. people of the four villages of Kuhabara, Sabi, Takamiya, and Oshinomi.[2]

[1] The Chinese character is 漢, i.e. the Chinese Han dynasty. The interlinear kana has ayabito, which also means Chinese. Possibly they were descendants of Chinese emigrants to Corea.

[2] Under the date A.D. 418, Autumn, the "Tongkam" (Vol. IV. 18) has the following :—

"Pak Ché-syang of Silla went to Wa and died there. The king's younger brother Misăkeun came from Wa. Before this Pok-ho (another brother of the King, who had been sent as hostage to Kokuryö) had returned. The King addressed Ché-syang, saying :—'My love for my two younger brothers is like my left and right arms. Now I have got only one arm. What does it avail?' Ché-syang said :—'Though my abilities are those of a broken down horse, I have devoted myself to my country's service. What reason could I have for declining? Kokuryö, however, is a great country, and the king also is wise. Thy servant was able to make him understand with one word. But in dealing with the Was it will be meet to use stratagem to deceive them, and not by mouth and tongue to reason with them. I will pretend that I have committed a crime and absconded. After I have gone I pray thee arrest thy servant's family.' So he swore upon his life not to see again his wife and children, and went to Nyul-pho. The cable was already loosed when his wife came after him, lamenting loudly. Ché-syang said :—'I have already taken my life in my hands, and am leaving for a certain death.'

At length he went to the Wa country, where he gave out that he was a

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Takechi no Sukune A.D. 213.

rebel. The Lord of Wa doubted this. Before this time men of Pèkché had gone to the Wa country, and made a false report, saying :—'Silla and Kokuryö are about to plot together to attack Wa.' The Lord at length sent troops to guard the frontier. And when Kokuryö, having invaded Silla, slew those guards also, the Lord of Wa believed that the story told by the Pèkché men was true. But when he heard that the King of Silla had imprisoned the family of Misăheun and Ché-syang, he thought that Ché-syang was really a rebel. Hereupon he sent forth an army in order to attack Silla, and made Ché-syang and Misăheun guides. Coming to an island in the sea, all the generals consulted secretly how they should destroy Silla and return with Ché-syang and Misăheun's wives and children. Ché-syang, knowing this, sailed with Misăheun every day in a boat, under the pretence of making pleasure excursions. The Was had no suspicion. Ché-syang advised Misăheun to return secretly to his country. Misăheun said :—'How could I have the heart to abandon thee, my lord, and return alone?' Ché-syang said :—'Supposing that I succeed in saving my Prince's life, and thus gratify the feelings of the Great King, it will be enough, Why should I be so fond of living?' Misăheun wept, and taking his leave, made his escape back to his country. Ché-syang alone slept in the boat. He got up towards evening and waited until Misăheun was far on his way. The Was, when they found that Misăheun had disappeared, bound Ché-syang, and pursued Misăheun, but mist and darkness coming on, they could not overtake him. The Lord of Wa was enraged. He flung Ché-syang into prison, and questioned him, saying :—'Why didst thou secretly send away Misăheun?' Ché-syang said :—'As a subject of Kélin (Silla), I simply wished to carry out the desires of my Lord.' The Lord of Wa was wroth, and said :—'As thou hast now become a vassal of mine, if thou callest thyself a vassal of Kélin, thou shalt surely be subjected to the five punishments. But if thou callest thyself a vassal of the Wa country, I will certainly reward thee liberally.' Ché-syang said :—'I had rather be a puppy-dog of Kélin, than a vassal of the Wa country. I had rather be flogged in Kélin than have dignities and revenues in the Wa country.' The Lord of Wa was wroth. He flayed Ché-syang's feet, cut sedge, and made him walk on it (perhaps on the stubble left after the sedge was cut). Then he asked him, saying :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' He also made him stand on hot iron, and asked him :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' The Lord of Wa, seeing that he could not bend him, put him to death by burning.

The King, hearing of this at the island of Mokto, was much grieved, and conferred on Ché-syang the posthumous title of Great Ason. He also bestowed rewards on his family, and made Misăheun marry his second daughter; and afterwards Ché-syang's wife, taking with her her three daughters, went up to a mountain whence she had a view of the Wa country,

was commanded to go with the Prince Imperial and worship the Great God of Kebi in Tsunoga.[1]

17th day. The Prince Imperial returned from Tsunoga. On this day the Grand Empress gave a banquet to the Prince Imperial in the Great Hall. The Grand Empress raising her cup wished long life to the Prince Imperial. Accordingly she made a song, saying:—

This august liquor
Is not my august liquor:
This prince of liquors [2]
He that dwells in the Eternal land
Firm as a rock—
The august God Sukuna,
With words of plenteous blessing,
Blessing all around—
With words of divine blessing
IX. 25. Blessing again and again—
Hath sent as an offering to thee.
Drink of it deeply.
Sa! Sa![3]

---

and having wailed bitterly, she died. She was made the Goddess-mother of this mountain, and there is now a shrine there."

This, no doubt, relates to the same events as the above passage in the "Nihongi." Ché-syang is Mo-ma-ri and Misă-heun is Mi-cheul-Hö-chi.

The Corean names present much difficulty. I have given the Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters with which they are written, but there is much room for doubt whether the Japanese pronunciation would not sometimes be better. The text cannot be relied on.

The interlinear kana gives as the names of the three envoys, Ureshi-hotsu, Momari Shichi, and Furamochi, and of the hostage, Mishi Kochi hotsu-kan. Here shichi is probably for 舍知 (sya-chi), the 13th official rank in Silla.

A Chinese authority quoted by Parker, in "Race Struggles in Corea," gives one or two examples of Kilin (Kélin or Silla), words which show that 1000 years ago the language was the same as modern Corean. But I cannot recognize anything of the modern language in the Corean names of the "Nihongi." Later, all proper names in Corea are of Chinese derivation. Many of the Corean words in the "Nihongi" are names of offices, all of which are replaced in modern Corean by words of Chinese derivation.

[1] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. See Ch. K., p. 237.

[2] In the original "Kushi no Kami." The interpretation given above is Motowori's. This line might also mean "the wondrous deity" or the "God of liquor or sake."

[3] An interjection of encouragement or incitement.

Takechi no Sukune, on behalf of the Prince Imperial, made an answering song, saying:—

The man who brewed[1]
This august liquor,
Setting up on the mortar
His drum,
Singing all the while,
He must have brewed it.
This august liquor
Is exquisitely more and more delightful.
Sa! Sa!

39th year. This year was the year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji (56th) of the Cycle. A.D. 239.

The History of Wei says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Ming Ti, in the third year of the period King-ch'u (A.D. 239) the Queen of Wa sent the high officer Nan-teu-mi and others to the province, where they begged permission to proceed to the Emperor and offer tribute. The T'ai-sheu,[2] Tăng-hia, sent an officer to escort them to the capital."

40th year. A.D. 240.

The History of Wei says:—"In the first year of Chêng-Shih, Kien Chung-kiao, Wéi T'i-hi and others proceeded to the Wa country charged with an Imperial rescript and a seal and ribbon."[3]

[1] The Japanese word for brew is kamu, which also means to chew. Was chewing ever a part of the process of making strong drink in Japan as it is in some of the South Sea islands at the present time? The last line of this poem is of very doubtful interpretation.

[2] T'ai-sheu means governor. Thé-pang (in Chinese Tai-fang) was at one time a district of the Chinese province of Lolang in Corea. A map of China under the Tsin dynasty, however, makes Thé-pang a separate district further to the north. But the Governor of Thé-pang mentioned in the Wei history under the name of 劉夏 and the Governor of Lolang called by the "Tongkam" 劉茂 are probably the same person.

Another authority makes Thé-pang identical with Namwön in Chöllato.

[3] These officials, as we learn from other sources, were sent by the Chinese authorities of Sakpang in Corea, not far from the present Treaty Port of Wönsan. See "Early Japanese History," p. 58; "Ishōnihonden," I. 11; "Tongkam," III. 17.

A.D. 243. 43rd year.

The Ruler[1] of Wa again sent high officers as envoys with tribute, named I Shing-ché, Yih-Ye-yoh,[2] and others —eight persons in all.

A.D. 246. 46th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Shima no Sukune was sent to the Land of Thak-syun.[3] Hereupon Malkeum Kanki,[4] King of Thak-syun, informed Shima no Sukune, saying:—"In the course of the year Kinoye Ne,[5] three men of Pèkché named Kutyö, Mi-chyu-nyu, and Moko[6] came to my country and said:—'The King of Pèkché, hearing that in the Eastern quarter there is an honourable country, has sent thy servants to this honourable country's court. Therefore we beg of thee a passage so that we may go to that Land. If thou wilt be good enough to instruct thy servants and cause us to pass along the roads, our King will certainly show profound kindness to my Lord the King.'[7] I then said to Kutyö and his
IX. 26. fellows:—'I have always heard that there is an honourable country in the East, but I have had no communication with it, and do not know the way. There is nothing but far seas and towering billows, so that in a large ship, one can hardly communicate. Even if there were a regular crossing-place, how could you arrive there?' Hereupon Kutyö and the others said:—'Well, then, for the present we cannot communicate. Our best plan will be to go back again, and prepare a ship with which to communicate later.' They also said:—'If envoys should come from the honourable country, thou oughtest surely to inform our country.' Thus they went back. Hereupon

[1] 王.

[2] It is doubtful whether these six syllables represent the names of one, two, or three men. I cannot guess what Japanese names are meant. The "Ishōnihonden" gives some of the characters differently.

The "Shukai" edition rejects these extracts from Chinese History. They were doubtless added at a later date.

[3] The Chinese characters are 卓淳, of which the traditional kana rendering is Toku-shiu. The "Shukai" editor says it was part of Imna (or Mimana). Its destruction by Silla is recorded below—5th year of Kimmei Tennō.

[4] The Japanese traditional rendering is Makin Kănki.

[5] A.D. 244.

[6] The Japanese kana gloss has Kutei, Mitsuru, and Mako.

[7] This is quite inconsistent with the story of Pèkché offering homage to the Empress in the early part of her reign.

Shima no Sukune sent one of his followers named Nihaya, and a Thak-syun man named Kwa-ko to the Land of Pèkché to make friendly inquiries of the King's health.

King Syo-ko[1] of Pèkché was profoundly pleased, and received them cordially. He presented to Nihaya a roll each of five kinds of dyed silk, a horn-bow[2] and arrows, together with forty bars of iron.[3] Thereafter he opened his treasure-house, and pointing to his various rare objects, said:—"In my country there is great store of these rare treasures. I have wished to pay tribute of them to the honourable country, but not knowing the way I was unable to carry out my intention. I shall now entrust them to envoys, who will visit your country IX. 27.
in order to offer them." Nihaya took charge of this message, and on his return informed Shima no Sukune, who thereupon came back from Thak-syun.

47th year, Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent A.D. 247.
Kutyö, Mi-chu-nyu and Ma-ko with tribute. Now a tribute envoy from Silla came along with Kutyö. Hereupon the Grand Empress and the Prince Imperial Homuda wake no Mikoto were greatly delighted and said:—"People from the countries wished for[4] by our late Sovereign have now come to Court. Alas! that they cannot meet the Emperor!" There was not one of all the ministers who did not shed tears. But when the articles of tribute of the two countries were examined, the Silla tribute was of rare objects in very great number, while the Pèkché tribute articles were few and mean, and of no value. So inquiry was made of Kutyö and the others, saying:—"How is it that the Pèkché tribute is inferior to that of Silla?" They answered, and said;—"We lost our way and arrived at Sabi.[5]

[1] There are two kings of this name in Corean history. The first died A.D. 214. This is the second, who reigned from A.D. 346 to A.D. 375. The Japanese chronology is, as usual, at fault.

[2] The Corean bow is to this day the Tatar bow described in Tylor's Anthropology as "formed of several pieces of wood or horn united with glue or sinews. Shorter than the long-bow, it gets its spring by being bent outside to string it." The Japanese bow is a variety of the ordinary long-bow.

[3] Iron is plentiful in Corea at the present day, and its quality is much esteemed.

[4] On the contrary, Chiuai Tennō would have nothing to do with them.

[5] A Sabi in Tsushima is mentioned above. But this may be a place in Corea, in which case it should be read Sapi.

Here thy servants were captured by men of Silla and confined in a gaol. After three months had passed, they wished to kill us. Then Kutyö and the rest looked up towards Heaven, and pronounced a curse. The men of Silla, fearing this curse, refrained from killing us, but robbed us of our tribute. Then they gave us the tribute of Silla in exchange for our tribute, and made it the tribute of thy servants' country, and they spake to thy servants, saying:—'Be careful what ye say, or else, as soon as we return, we will kill you.' Therefore we, Kutyö and the rest, were afraid, and made no objection. For this reason we have hardly been able to reach the Heavenly Court." Then the Grand Empress and Homuda wake no Mikoto charged the Silla envoys with this deed, and accordingly prayed to the Gods of Heaven, saying:—"Whom is it meet that we send to Pèkché to examine this matter whether it be true or false; whom is it meet that we send to Silla to investigate this charge?" Therewith the Gods of Heaven admonished them, saying:—"Let Takechi no Sukune prepare a plan, and let Chikuma Nagahiko be the envoy. Then it will be as you desire."

IX. 28. Chikuma Nagahiko's title (姓) is unknown. One account says:—"Chikuma Nagahiko was a man of the province of Musashi, the first ancestor of the present Obito of Tsukimoto of the Nukada Be."

The Pèkché record[1] says:—"Shimananaga hiko was perhaps this man."

Hereupon Chikuma Nagahiko was sent to Silla to call that country to an account for meddling with the Pèkché tribute.

A.D. 249. 49th year, Spring, 3rd month. Areda wake and Kaga wake were made generals. Along with Kutyö and the others they prepared a force with which they crossed over and came to Thak-syun. They were accordingly about to invade Silla, when some one said:—"Your troops are too few. You cannot defeat Silla." They respectfully sent back again Sya-pèk Kè-ro

[1] This Pèkché record is frequently quoted from. From the circumstance that the character 貴, honourable, is used by the author or authors before the word country in speaking of Japan, it may be inferred that it was compiled by Pèkché Coreans from their own records for the information of the Japanese. I have not much doubt that it was the work of some of the Corean scholars who visited Japan in numbers during the seventh century.

to ask for reinforcements. Mong-na Keun-chă and Sya-sya Nokwé[1]

These two men's surname is unknown. But Mongna Keunchă was a Pèkché general.

were forthwith ordered to take command of choice troops which were sent along with Sya-pèk Kè-ro. They all assembled at Thak-syun, invaded Silla, and conquered it. Seven provinces were accordingly subdued, viz. Pi-chă-pun, South Kara, Tok-kuk, Ara, Tara, Thak-syun, and Kara.[2] Then they moved their forces, and turning westward, arrived at Ko-hyé-chin, where they slaughtered the southern savages of Chim-mi-ta-nyé and granted their country to Pèkché. Hereupon their King, Syoko,[3] together with Prince Kusyu, came to meet them with IX. 29.
more troops. Then four villages, viz. Pi-ri, Phi-chung, Pho-mi-ki, and Pan-ko, spontaneously surrendered. Thereupon the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, met Areda wake, Mong-na Keunchă, and the rest at the village of Wi-niu [*now called Tsurusugi*],[4] and at an interview offered their congratulations and dismissed them with cordial courtesy. But Chikuma Nagahiko remained in the Land of Pèkché with the King of Pèkché, where they ascended Mount Phi-ki and made a solemn declaration. Afterwards they ascended Mount[5] Ko-sya, where they sat together upon a rock, and the King of Pèkché made a solemn declaration, saying:—"If I spread grass for us to sit upon, it might be burnt with fire; and if I took wood for a seat, it might be washed away by water. Therefore, sitting on a rock, I make this solemn declaration of alliance to show that it will remain undecayed to distant ages. From this time

[1] In Japanese Mokura Konshi and Sasa Toki.

[2] These places, in so far as they can be identified, did not belong to Silla, but to Imna. The identification of Corean names of places presents great difficulties, owing to the Corean mania for giving new names. The "Chôsen Zenzu furoku," a little book published by the Japanese War Office, gives as many as eight aliases for some towns. Nearly all have several.

[3] Reigned 346 to 375, when he was succeeded by Kusyu. The "Nihongi" names are nearly correct.

[4] Japanese pronunciation.

[5] Mountain is in the interlinear kana mure, no doubt the modern Corean moi. Similarly, nare, river, which occurs in Kuma-nare, is in modern Corean năi, pronounced nè.

forward, therefore, for a thousand autumns and for ten thousand years, without pause and without limit, we shall bear the regular title of 'The Western Frontier Province,' and every spring and every autumn will attend your Court with tribute." So he took with him Chikuma Nagahiko to his capital, where he treated him with the most cordial courtesy. He also made Kutyö and the others escort him home.

A.D. 250. 50th year, Spring, 2nd month. Areda wake and his companions returned.

Summer, 5th month. Chikuma Nagahiko, Kutyö and the rest arrived from Pèkché. Thereupon the Grand Empress was delighted, and inquired of Kutyö, saying:—"The various Han[1] countries west of the sea have been already granted to thy country. Wherefore dost thou come again repeatedly?" Kutyö and the others said to the Empress:—"The vast
IX. 30. blessings of the Celestial Court reached afar to our mean village, and our king capered with delight. Out of the fulness of his heart he has sent a return mission in token of his great sincerity. Though it come to the ten thousandth year, in what year shall we fail to attend thy Court?" The Grand Empress gave command, saying:—"Good are thy words. These are Our intentions. We grant in addition the Castle of Tasya to serve as a station in going and returning."

A.D. 251. 51st year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché again sent Kutyö to the Court with tribute. Hereupon the Grand Empress addressed the Prince Imperial and Takechi no Sukune, saying:—"We owe it to Heaven and not to man that we have a friendly country like Corea. Therefore it brings constantly, without missing a year, tribute of trinkets and rarities such as there have never been before. We, seeing this true affection, are always rejoiced at it, and so long as we live will heartily bestow on it Our favour."

That same year she despatched Chikuma Nagahiko to the Land of Pèkché in company with Kutyö and the others. Accordingly, in the most gracious manner, she said:—"We, in accordance with the divine testimony, having for the first time laid open a road, subdued the lands west of the sea and granted them to Pèkché, would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship and make lasting our loving bounty."

[1] Corean.

At this time the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, both together knocked their foreheads on the ground and made representation, saying:—"The immense bounty of the honourable country is more weighty than Heaven and Earth. What day, what hour shall we presume to forget it? The sage sovereign IX. 31.
dwells above, illustrious as the sun and moon; thy servants now dwell below, solid as a mountain or hill, and will always be thy western frontier land, never to the last showing double hearts."

52nd year, Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. Kutyö and the A.D. 252.
others came along with Chikuma Nagahiko and presented a seven-branched[1] sword and a seven-little-one[2]-mirror, with various other objects of great value. They addressed the Empress, saying:—"West of thy servants' country there is a river-source which issues from Mount Chölsan[3] in Kong-na. It is distant seven days' journey. It need not be approached, but one should drink of this water, and so having gotten the iron of this mountain, wait upon the sage Court for all ages." Moreover, he[4] addressed his grandson, Prince Chhim-nyu,[5] saying:—"The honourable country east of the sea with which we are now in communication has been opened to us by Heaven. Therefore does it bestow on us Celestial bounty, and dividing off the land west of the sea, has granted it to us. Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou shouldst cultivate well its friendship, and having collected our national products, wait on it with tribute without ceasing. Henceforth, grudging not even our lives, let us continue to send yearly tribute."

55th year. Syoko, King of Pèkché, died.[6] A.D. 255. IX. 32.

56th year. Kusyu, son of the King of Pèkché, was set up as A.D. 256.
king.[7]

[1] The traditional kana rendering is nana-saya, i.e. a "seven-sheathed sword," which is nonsense. Seven-branched is not much better.

[2] It is not clear what is meant by nanatsuko (七子), perhaps with seven projections round the rim. See above, p. 44.

[3] Iron mountain. All this about iron is merely symbolical of constancy.

[4] The King of Pèkché. [5] Came to the throne A.D. 384.

[6] The "Tongkam" places his death in A.D. 375.

[7] The traditional kana rendering of 王 is Kokishi, a word I do not recognize as Corean. But nearly all Corean words relating to official matters have become obsolete, being replaced by Chinese terms.

A.D. 262. 62nd year. Silla did not attend the Court. The same year Sotsuhiko was sent to chastise Silla.

The Pèkché record says:—"The year Midzunoye Mŭma.[1] Silla did not wait upon the honourable country. The honourable country sent Sachihiko to attack it. The men of Silla dressed up two beautiful women whom they sent to meet Sachihiko at the port and inveigle him. Sachihiko accepted them, and turning aside, attacked the land of Kara. Kwi-pon[2] Kanki, King of Kara, and his sons, Pèk-ku-chi, A-syu-chi, Ik-sya-ri, I-ra-ma-chyu, and I-mun-chi, fled to Pèkché, taking with them their subjects. Pèkché received them cordially, and Kwi-chön-chi, younger sister of the King of Kara, went to Great Wa and addressed the Empress, saying:—'Your majesty sent Sachihiko to attack Silla. But he has accepted beautiful women of Silla, and abandoned the invasion. On the contrary he has destroyed our country. My brothers and our people have all been driven into exile. Unable to bear my grief, I have come hither to make this representation.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and forthwith sent Mongna Keunchă in command of an army to bring them together in Kara and to restore the temples of the Earth and of Grain."

One account says:—"Sachihiko, when he learnt that the Empress was wroth with him, did not dare to return openly, but hid himself. He had a younger sister who was in the service of the Imperial Palace. Hiko secretly sent a messenger to inquire of her whether or no the Empress's wrath had abated. She, pretending a dream, said to the Empress:—'To-night, in a dream, I saw Sachihiko.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and
IX. 33. said:—'How should Hiko dare to come?' The Empress's[3] words were reported to Sachihiko, who seeing that he would not be pardoned, went into a cave of a rock and died."

[1] 19th year of the Cycle, corresponding to A.D. 382.

[2] I Si-Pheum was the name of the King of Kara at this time, according to the "Tongkam."

[3] The word for Empress is Tennô, which may also mean Emperor, and indeed this suits the narrative better.

64th year.[1] Kusyu, King of Pèkché, died, and his son Chhim-nyu was set up as king. A.D. 264.

65th year. King Chhim-nyu of Pèkché died.[2] His son Ahwa was a child, and his father's younger brother, Sinsă, by usurpation was set up and made king.[3] A.D. 265.

66th year. A.D. 266.

This year was the second year of the period T'ai She of the Emperor Wu Ti of the Tsin Dynasty. K'i Kü-chu of Tsin says:—"In the 10th month of the 2nd year of the period T'ai-she of Wu Ti, the Queen of Wa sent interpreters with tribute."

69th year, Summer, 4th month, 17th day. The Grand Empress died in the Palace of Waka-zakura at the age of 100. A.D. 269.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. She was buried in the misasagi of Tatanami in Saki. On this day, by way of posthumous honour to the Grand Empress, she was called Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Tsuchinoto Ushi (26th) of the Cycle.

[1] The "Tongkam" has A.D. 384.

[2] This is mentioned almost in the same words by the "Tongkam" under date A.D. 385—just two cycles later.

[3] The narrative from p. 246 down to this point contains a solid nucleus of fact. There can be no doubt that Japan at an early period formed an alliance with Pèkché and laid the foundation of a controlling power over the territory known as Imna or Mimana which lasted for several centuries. But the Japanese chronology cannot be right. See "Early Japanese History," p. 62.

BOOK X.

THE EMPEROR HOMUDA.

(*ŌJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Homuda[2] was the 4th child of the Emperor Tarashi Nakatsu-hiko. His mother's name was Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto. The Emperor was born at Kata in Tsukushi in the 12th month, Winter, of the year Kanoye Tatsu,[3] being the year in which the Empress smote Silla. From a child he was intelligent, penetrating, and far-sighted. In his bearing and conduct there were amazing indications of sageness. In the third year of the Grand Empress's administration of the Government, he was raised to the rank of Prince Imperial. Before this time, when the Emperor was in the womb, the Gods of Heaven and Earth granted to him the three Han.[4] When he was born there was flesh growing on his arm in shape like an elbow-pad.[5] As to this resemblance, the Empress judged that it was the elbow-pad worn as a manly accoutrement. Therefore he was styled by this name, and called the Emperor Homuda.

In the earliest antiquity, the tomo was commonly called Homuda.

One account says:—"In the beginning, when the Emperor was made Heir to the Throne, he went to the

[1] Responding to the Gods.

[2] The "Kojiki" calls him Homuda wake. Homuda or Honda is the name of a place.

[3] 17th of the Cycle.

[4] Corea.

[5] The *tomo* or leather shield worn on the fore-arm by archers as a protection against the recoil of the bow-string.

Land of Koshi, and did worship to the Great God of Tsutsuhi in Tsunoga. At this time the Great God and the Heir to the Throne exchanged names. Accordingly the Great God was called the God Isasa-wake and the Heir to the Throne Homuda wake no Mikoto.[1]

In the 69th year of her administration of the Government, Summer, the 4th month, the Grand Empress died.

X. 2. A.D. 270

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Dignity. This year was the year Kanoye Tora (27th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 271.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. Nakatsuhime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Arata, to the Emperor Oho-sazaki, and to the Imperial Prince Netori. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as concubine the Empress's younger sister, Takaki Iribime, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-hiko, the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, the Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka, the Imperial Princess Oho-hara, and the Imperial Princess Komida. Another concubine, a younger sister of the Empress, named Otohime, bore to him the Imperial Princess Ahe, the Imperial Princess Ahaji no Mihara, and the Imperial Princess Ki no Uno. The next concubine, daughter of Hifure no Omi, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, by name Miya-nushi-yaka-hime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no Waka-iratsuko, the Imperial Princess Yata, and the Imperial Princess Medori. The next concubine, named Oname-hime, the younger sister of Yaka-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no waka-iratsu-me. The next concubine, named Oto-hime, daughter of Kaha-mata Nakatsu hiko, bore the Imperial Prince Wakanoke Futa-mata. The next concubine, named Mago-hime, younger sister of Osabi, Muraji of the Sakurawida Be, bore the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake. The next concubine, named Naga-hime, of Idzumi in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Princes Oho-haye and Wo-haye.

X. 3.

In all the sons and daughters of this Emperor were together twenty Princes and Princesses.[2] The Imperial Prince Netori was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ohota. The Imperial Prince

[1] There is a Semitic practice of men adopting Gods' names.

[2] Cf. Ch. K., p. 243, which makes 26 children, and differs in some details.

Oho-yama-mori was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Hiji-kata and the Kimi of Haibara. The Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka was the first ancestor of the Wake of Fukagaha.

A.D. 272. 3rd year, 10th month, 3rd day. The Eastern Yemishi all attended the Court with tribute. They were employed to make the Mŭma-zaka road.

11th month. The fishermen of several places clamoured noisily, and would not obey the Imperial command. So Oho-hama no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Adzumi, was sent to subdue this clamour. He was accordingly made controller of the fishermen. This was the origin of the proverbial saying of the people of that time, viz. Sawa-ama or "clamorous fishermen."

This year King Sinsă of Pèkché was disrespectful to the Celestial Court. Therefore Ki no Tsuno no Sukune, Hata no
X. 4. Yashiro no Sukune, Ishikaha no Sukune and Tsuku no Sukune were sent to call him to an account for his rudeness. Hereupon the people of Pèkché slew Sinsă by way of apology. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and the others accordingly established Ahwa as king, and returned (to Japan).[1]

A.D. 274. 5th year, Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. The various provinces were directed to establish Be of fishermen and Be of mountain wardens.[2]

Winter, 10th month. The province of Idzu was charged with the duty of constructing a ship 10 rods[3] in length. As soon as it was completed, it was launched on the sea for a trial. It floated lightly, and was as swift as a racer. Therefore that ship was called *Karano*.

[*It is a mistake to make the ship called Karano because it was*

[1] The "Tongkam," under date A.D. 392, has the following :—"10th month. The king of Pèkché went to hunt on Ku-wön (dog-moor). Ten days elapsed without his returning. 11th month. King Sinsă of Pèkché died in his travelling palace on Dog-moor. Ahwa, son of King Chhim-nyu, came to the throne." Note that the Corean and Japanese chronologies differ by exactly 120 years, or two cycles. But the two stories are apparently irreconcilable. See below, XI. 26.

[2] Gamekeepers or huntsmen, whose business it was to supply the Imperial table.

[3] Of ten feet.

light and swift. Perhaps this is a corruption by men of later times of Karuno.[1]]

6th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor made a progress to the province of Afumi. When he arrived near the Moor of Uji, he made a song, saying :— A.D. 275 X. 5.

When I look upon the moor of Kadzu
In Chiba,
Both the hundred thousand fold abundant
House-places are visible,
And the land's acme is visible.[2]

7th year, Autumn, 9th month. Men of Koryö, men of Pèkché, men of Imna, and men of Silla[3] all together attended the Court. Orders were then given to Takechi no Sukune to take these various men of Han and make them dig a pond. Therefore the pond was given a name, and was called the pond of the men of Han.[4] A.D. 276.

8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Men of Pèkché attended Court. A.D. 277.

The Pèkché record says :—"King Ahwa came to the throne and was disrespectful[5] to the honourable country. Therefore we were despoiled of Chhim-mi-ta-ryö, Hyön-nam, Chi-chhim, Kong-na, and Eastern Han. Herewith Prince Chik-chi[6] was sent to the Celestial Court in order to restore the friendship of former kings.

9th year, Summer, 4th month. Takechi no Sukune was sent to Tsukushi to inspect the people. Now Umashi no Sukune, Takechi no Sukune's younger brother, setting aside his elder brother, slandered him to the Emperor, (saying that) Takechi no Sukune had always designs upon the Empire. "I now hear," said he, "that while he is in Tsukushi, he is secretly A.D. 278.

[1] *Kara* means withered, and *no*, moor, or the latter may be put phonetically for *no* the genitive particle. Karu means light. The "Shukai" editor rejects this note.

[2] From Ch. K., p. 245, q.v.

[3] The traditional kana rendering has Koma, Kudara, Mimana and Shiraki.

[4] Or "men of Kara." Compare Ch. K., p. 252.

[5] See above, p. 256, where it is said that it was King Sinsă who was disrespectful.

[6] The "Tongkam" calls him Työnchi, and places this event in 397.

plotting to that end, saying (to himself), 'Alone I will cut off Tsukushi, and will invite the three Han to come and do homage to me, so that finally I may possess the Empire.'"

Hereupon the Emperor straightway sent messengers to slay Takechi no Sukune. Now Takechi no Sukune cried out,
X. 6. saying:—"I have not two hearts, but serve my prince with loyalty. What a calamity is this that I should die without a crime!"

Now there was a man named Maneko, ancestor of the Atahe of Iki, who in appearance strongly resembled Takechi no Sukune. All by himself he grudged that Takechi no Sukune's innocent life should be vainly thrown away. So he spoke to Takechi no Sukune and said:—"Now the Great Minister[1] serves his Prince with loyalty, and has not had a black heart. All the Empire knows this. I pray thee leave this place secretly, and, proceeding to the Court, personally unfold thine innocence. After this it will not be too late to die. Moreover the people of this time are always saying that thy slave resembles the Great Minister in appearance. Therefore I will now die in the place of the Great Minister, and so make clear the Great Minister's redness of heart."[2] So he threw himself on his sword, and slew himself. Then Takechi no Sukune, alone, grieving greatly for him, secretly left Tsukushi, and embarking on the sea, went round by way of the Southern Ocean. Anchoring in the harbour of Ki, he hardly succeeded in making his way to the Court, where he explained his innocence. The Emperor forthwith questioned Takechi no Sukune along with Umashi no Sukune, upon which these two men were each obstinate, and wrangled with one another, so that it was impossible to ascertain the right and the wrong. The Emperor then gave orders to ask of the Gods of Heaven and Earth the ordeal by boiling water. Hereupon Takechi no Sukune and Umashi no Sukune went out together to the bank of the Shiki river, and underwent the ordeal of boiling water. Takechi no Sukune was victorious. Taking his cross-sword, he threw down Umashi no Sukune, and was at length about to slay him, when the Emperor ordered him to let him go. So he gave him to the ancestor of the Atahe of Kiï.

[1] i.e. you. [2] Sincerity.

11th year, Winter, 10th month. The Tsurugi, Kakaki, and Mumaya-zaka ponds were made. A.D. 280. X. 7.

This year there was a man who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"There is in the land of Hiuga a maiden whose name is Kami-naga-hime.[1] She is the daughter of Ushi-morowi, the Kimi of Muragata. She is distinguished for beauty over all the Land." The Emperor was pleased, and wished in his heart to obtain her.

13th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor sent a special messenger to summon Kami-naga-hime. A.D. 282.

Autumn, 9th month. Kami-naga-hime arrived from Hiuga, and was straightway settled at the village of Kuhadzu. Now the Imperial Prince, Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, when he saw Kami-naga-hime, was struck with the beauty of her form, and had a constant love for her. Hereupon the Emperor became aware of Oho-sazaki no Mikoto's passion for Kami-naga-hime, and wished to unite her to him. Therewith the Emperor, on the day that he gave a banquet in the hinder palace,[2] sent for Kami-naga-hime for the first time, and so gave her the upper seat in the banqueting-room. Then he brought in Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and pointing to Kami-naga-hime, made a song, saying:—

Come! my son!
On the moor, garlic to gather,
Garlic to gather
On the way as I went,
Pleasing of perfume
Was the orange in flower.
Its branches beneath
Men had all plundered,
Its branches above
Birds perching had withered. X 8.
[Of three chestnuts][3]
Midmost, its branches
Held in their hiding
A blushing maiden.
Come! and for thee, my son,
Let her burst into blossom.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, being favoured with this

[1] The long-haired lady. [2] i.e. the women's apartments.
[3] This is a mere makura-kotoba of little or no meaning.

poetry, forthwith understood that he was receiving Kami-naga-hime as a gift; and, greatly delighted, made a song in reply, saying:—

In the pond of Yosami
Where the water collects,
The marsh-rope coils
Were growing, but I knew not of them:
In the river-fork stream,
The water-caltrops shells
Were pricking me, but I knew not of them.
Oh, my heart!
How very ridiculous thou wert![1]

Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, after the consummation of his union with Kami-naga-hime, was very attentive to her, and when he was alone with her, made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province!
As of a God
Though I had heard of her,
We are folded in each other's arms.

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province—
Oh! how I love her
As she lies
X. 9. Unresisting!

One account says:—"Ushi, the Kimi of Morogata in Hiuga, was in the service of the Court. But having become old in years, he was unable to serve, and so, having ceased his service, he retired to his own land. Thereupon he offered the Emperor his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime. When she first arrived at Harima, the Emperor had made a progress to the island of Ahaji, and was hunting there. Hereupon the Emperor, looking towards the west, saw several tens of stags swimming

[1] In the "Kojiki" this poem is attributed to the Emperor. See Ch. K., p. 249. The marsh-rope is the Brasenia peltata, according to Chamberlain. The general meaning of the poem seems to be: "What a fool I was to be in such despair as to be unconscious of bodily suffering, while happiness was all the while near me!"

towards him over the sea. Presently they entered the harbour of Kako in Harima. The Emperor addressed his courtiers, saying :—'What stags are these which come in numbers swimming over the great sea ?' Then the courtiers all looked at them and wondered. So a messenger was sent to make examination. The messenger, when he came there, saw that they were all men, only they had for clothing deer-skins with the horns attached. He inquired of them, saying :—'What men are ye ?' They replied, saying :—'Ushi, the Kimi of Morogata, being old in years, has ceased his service, but he cannot forget the Court. Therefore he offers his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime.' The Emperor was delighted, and sending for her, made her follow the Imperial ship. For this reason, the men of that time called the place where they reached the shore the harbour of Kako.[1] It was perhaps at this time that the practice began of using the word kako as a general name for sailors."

14th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent as tribute a seamstress named Maketsu.[2] She was the first ancestress of the present seamstresses of Kume.[3] This year the Lord of Yutsuki[4] came from Pèkché and offered his allegiance. Accordingly he addressed the Emperor, saying :—"Thy servant was coming to offer allegiance with one hundred and twenty districts of the people of his own land, when the men of Silla prevented them, and they were all forced to remain in the land of Kara." Hereupon Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko was sent to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kara. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come. A.D. 283. X. 10.

15th year, Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. The King of Pèkché sent A-chik-ki with two quiet horses as tribute. So they were fed in stables on the acclivity of Karu. Accordingly A-chik-ki was appointed to have charge of their foddering. A.D. 284.

[1] Kako is written with characters which mean deer-little-one.

[2] I have here followed the traditional kana pronunciation. The Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters would be Chin-mo-chin. Another reading makes two women.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] Yutsuki is the traditional rendering of the characters 弓月. This in Corean would be Kung-wöl.

Therefore the place where the horses were kept was named Mumaya-saka.[1] Moreover, A-chik-ki was able to read the classics, and so the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko,[2] made him his teacher. Herèupon the Emperor inquired of A-chik-ki, saying :—"Are there other learned men superior to thee?" He answered and said :—"There is Wang-in,[3] who is superior." Then Areda wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, and Kamu nagi wake were sent to Pèkché to summon Wang-in.

X. 11. This A-chik-ki was the first ancestor of the A-chik-ki (or Atogi) no Fumi-bito.[4]

A.D. 285. 16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Wang-in[5] arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, took him

[1] Stable-hill.

[2] But he was not the heir. Oho-sazaki was heir. See Ch. K., pp. 254 and 257.

[3] The traditional reading is Wani, which is also found in the "Kojiki."

[4] Scribes.

[5] There are clear indications that the Chinese language and character were not wholly unknown in Japan from a time which may be roughly put as coinciding with the Christian epoch. But this knowledge was probably confined to a few interpreters. There were no schools, and no official records. The arrival of Wangin was therefore a most important event in Japanese history. It was the beginning of a training in Chinese ideas which has exercised a profound influence on the whole current of Japanese thought and civilization up to our own day.

The date given for it in the "Nihongi," however, cannot be correct. As I have endeavoured to show in a paper on "Early Japanese History" contributed to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Wangin's arrival must be placed 120 years later, i.e. in 405 instead of in 285. Whether the whole chronology of this period requires to be altered accordingly, as I am disposed to believe, or only the dates of those events which relate to Corea, is a question which has not yet received an adequate answer. It is curious that the "Kiujiki" omits all mention of them.

Corea preceded Japan by only a very short time in the establishment of schools of Chinese learning and in the institution of official records. Kokuryö established a High School in 372, and Pèkché appointed a Professor of Chinese two years later. Before this time, says the "Tongkam," Pèkché had no written records. See "Writing, Printing, and Alphabet in Corea," "J.R.A.S.," 1895.

Á-chik-ki is the Corean pronunciation of the characters 阿 直 岐. The traditional rendering in kana is Achiki or Atogi. The "Kojiki" calls him Achi-Kishi, where Kishi is written 吉 師, the name of a Corean rank of no great eminence.

as teacher, and learnt various books from him. There was none which he did not thoroughly understand. Therefore the man called Wang-in was the first ancestor of the Fumi no Obito.[1]

In this year King Ahwa of Pèkché died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Työn-chi,[2] and addressed him, saying:—"Do thou return to thy country and succeed to the (royal) Dignity." Accordingly he further granted to him the territory of Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.[3]

Eastern Han comprises Kam-na-syöng, Ko-nan-syöng, and I-rim-syöng.[4]

8th month. Kidzu no Sukune of Heguri and Tada no Sukune of Ikuba were sent to Kara. Choice troops were granted them, and the Emperor commanded them, saying:—"The long delay in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his X. 12.
being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla. Do you go speedily, assail Silla, and open a way for him." Hereupon

[1] Fumi no obito, chiefs of writing.

[2] Prince Työn-chi. The "Nihongi" has 直支 here and below (25th year), which would be in Corean Chik-chi. But 直 is a mistake for 腆, the former character having slipped in from the name of the horse-keeper mentioned above.

[3] The following are the notices in the "Tongkam" relating to Prince Työnchi's being sent to Japan:—

"Reign of Ahwa, 6th year, Summer, 5th month. Pèkché made friends A.D. 397
with Wa. Työnchi, the Heir Apparent, was sent as a hostage."

"Reign of Ahwa, 14th year, Autumn, 9th month. King Ahwa of Pèkché A.D. 405.
died. The Heir Apparent Työnchi had not returned from Wa, whither he had gone as a hostage. Työnchi's next younger brother, Hunhê, administered the Government in expectation of the Heir Apparent's return. The youngest brother, Syöl-lyé, slew Hunhè, and set himself up as King. When Työnchi heard of the King's death, he wept bitterly, and asked permission to return. The Lord of Wa gave Työnchi one hundred soldiers as an escort. When he arrived at the frontier, a man of Hansyöng[1] named Hè-chhung came to meet him, and said:—'The Great King (Ahwa) having left this world, Syöl-lyé slew his elder brother and set up himself as King. I pray that the Heir Apparent will promptly take measures for this.' Työnchi, guarded by the Wa soldiers, repaired to an island in the sea, and made provision there while the people of the land killed Syöl-lyé, and going to meet (Työnchi), established him as King." "Tongkam," III. 14.

[4] Syöng means a walled city.

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[1] The present capital of Söul.

Kidzu no Sukune and his colleague moved forward their choice troops and arrived at the Silla frontier. The King of Silla was afraid, and confessed his guilt, so they brought away with them the people of Kungwöl[1] and Sotsuhiko.

A.D. 288. 19th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.[2] At this time the Kuzu[3] came to his Court, and presenting to the Emperor newly-brewed sake, made a song, saying:—

At Kashinofu
A cross-mortar[4] we made:
In that cross-mortar
The great august sake that we have brewed
Sweetly
Do thou partake of it
Oh! our father![5]

When the song was finished, they drummed on their mouths and looked up laughing. At the present time, on the day that the Kuzu[6] present their country's produce to the Emperor, when their song is finished they drum on their mouths and look up laughing. This custom is probably a relic of antiquity. Now the Kuzu are very plain and honest in character. They commonly gather wild berries for food, and they also boil frogs,
X. 13. which they reckon a great dainty, calling them kebi. Their country lies to the south-east of the capital, on the other side of a mountain. There they dwell by the River Yoshino (amid) steep cliffs and deep ravines. The roads are narrow, with deep hollows. Therefore, although the distance from the capital is not great, their visits to Court had been rare. However, from this time forward they came frequently, bringing the produce of their country to present to the Emperor. This produce consists of such things as chestnuts, mushrooms, and trout.

A.D. 289. 20th year, Autumn, 9th month. Achi no Omi, ancestor of

[1] Or Yutsuki.
[2] In the south of Yamato.
[3] Local chieftains.
[4] It is not clear what a cross-mortar was. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 251.
[5] The word translated father is *chi*, which is also used more generally as a term of respect. Perhaps "Lord" might be better here.
[6] Seventeen was their number in later times, according to the Yengi Shiki.

the Atahe of the Aya[1] of Yamato, and his son Tsuga no Omi X. 14.
immigrated to Japan, bringing with them a company of their people of seventeen districts.

22nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. The Emperor made A.D. 291.
a progress to Naniha, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ohosumi.

10th day. He ascended a lofty tower and had a distant prospect. Now he was attended by his concubine Yehime, who, looking towards the west, lamented loudly. Hereupon the Emperor inquired of Yehime, saying:—"Why dost thou lament so bitterly?" She answered and said:—"Of late thy handmaiden has been thinking fondly of her father and mother, and so, looking towards the west, unawares she made lament. I pray thee let me return for a while that I may see my parents." Hereupon the Emperor loved Yehime's tender thought for the warmth and coolness[2] of her parents, and addressing her, said:—"Many years have passed since thou hast seen thy parents. It is clearly right that thou shouldst wish to return

[1] Aya is the traditional Japanese rendering of 漢, i.e. Han, the name of a Chinese dynasty. No satisfactory explanation of the reason why this character should be read aya has been given. As a mere guess, I would suggest that Hada or hata for 秦 (Ts'in), Kure for Wu 吳 and Aya for Han may have been names given from the textile products with which these three Chinese dynasties, or the emigrants, may have been associated; Hada or Hata meaning loom or cloth generally, Kure, dyed stuffs (for Kurenawi, pink or scarlet), and Aya, figured stuffs. There were numerous weavers among the Corean (or Chinese) emigrants to Japan. See below, A.D. 306. For Kure, another derivation is that which makes it mean "distant," a sense in which it occurs more than once in the "Manyōshiu," and in a poem in the "Nihongi," Reign of Saimei, year 4.

This family was called the Aya of Yamato to distinguish it from another family of the same name in Kahachi. These two families were also known respectively as the Higashi no Aya, or Eastern Aya, and the Nishi no Aya, or Western Aya.

Motoōri ("Kojikiden," XXXIII. 39) shows that, like other events relating to Corea in this part of the "Nihongi," this immigration must be dated 120 years later.

The Yamato Aya claimed descent from the Emperor Ling-ti of the Later Han dynasty, who reigned A.D. 168 to 190. We are told that on the fall of that dynasty in 221, Prince Achi fled to Corea, whence he subsequently emigrated to Japan; but how much of this is true it is impossible to say. Cf. Ch. K., p. 253.

[2] i.e. thoughtfulness for her parents' comfort.

and visit them." So he granted her permission, and summoning eighty fishermen of Mihara in Ahaji and making sailors of them, sent her to Kibi.

Summer, 4th month. Yehime set sail from Ohotsu[1] and departed.

X. 15. The Emperor, standing on the high tower, looked towards Yehime's ship and made a song, saying:—

Thou Island of Ahaji
With thy double ranges;[2]
Thou Island of Adzuki
With thy double ranges—
Ye good islands
* * * *[3]
Ye have seen face to face
My spouse of Kibi.

Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor hunted in the Island of Ahaji. This island lies beyond the sea to the west of Naniha. There is a confusion of peaks and cliffs; hills and valleys succeed to one another. Fragrant herbs grow luxuriantly; it is washed by the long billows. Moreover, great deer, wild ducks, and wild geese are abundant in that island. Therefore the Emperor made frequent excursions thither.[4] Now the Emperor, going round by way of Ahaji, made a progress to Kibi and went on an excursion to the Island of Adzuki.

11th day. He again removed his dwelling to the Palace of
X. 16. Ashimori in Hata. Then Mitomo wake presented himself and entertained the Emperor, employing his brother, children and grandchildren as stewards. Hereupon the Emperor, observing the reverential fear with which Mitomo wake waited on him, was pleased, and accordingly, having divided the province of Kibi, granted it in fee to his children; that is to say, dividing off the district of Kahashima, he granted it to the eldest son, Inehaya wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Shimo-

[1] Ohotsu is literally "great port." Perhaps Ohosaka is meant.

[2] Showing a double row of mountain peaks.

[3] The sixth line of the original is unintelligible.

[4] Riding in his carriage, says the original, a Chinese expression which is not meant to be taken literally.

tsu-michi.[1] Next he took the district of Kamu-tsu-michi and granted it to the middle son, Nakatsuhiko.[2] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kamu-tsu-michi and of the Omi of Kaya. Next he took the district of Mino and granted it to Otohiko.[3] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Mino. Afterwards he took the district of Hakuke and granted it to Ahiru wake, the younger brother of Mitomo wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kasa. Accordingly he took the district of Sono X. 17.
and granted it to his elder brother, Urakori wake. He was the first ancestor of the Atahe of Sono. And taking the district of Hatori-be,[4] he granted it to Yehime. Wherefore his descendants dwell to this day in the Land of Kibi. This is the reason of it.[5]

25th year. King Työn-chi of Pèkché died.[6] Accordingly A.D. 294.
his son Ku-ni-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi of Yamato[7] took the administration of the State. He had an intrigue with the King's mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper. The Emperor hearing this, sent for him.

The Pèkché record says:—"Mong-man-chi was the son of Mong-na Keunchă,[8] born to him of a Silla woman

[1] Shimo-tsu-michi means the lower road, i.e. the part of the province furthest from the capital. Kamu-tsu-michi, on the other hand, is the higher road—the part nearest the capital.

[2] Middle prince. [3] Younger prince. [4] Weavers.

[5] If we take a broad view of Japanese History we shall recognize in it a constant oscillation between two forms of government. At one time there is a strong central authority with local governors removable at pleasure or at short intervals. By degrees the latter offices become hereditary and more independent of the throne, so that eventually a sort of feudal system is the result. Then the pendulum swings back again, and under a strong ruler the old centralized government is restored, while the local nobles, deprived of effective authority, retain their titles only.

Notwithstanding the numerous imperfections of the record, it is clear that in Ôjin's reign the feudal system prevailed. Towards the end of the seventh century, again, we find a much more centralized form of government. The Revolution of 1868 is a remarkable example of a rapid change from a feudal system to a strong central government. The converse process is always far more gradual.

[6] The "Tongkam" gives A.D. 420 as the year of Työn-chi's death. The usual difference of 120 years is therefore not exactly realized in this case.

[7] Or Great Wa. 大倭.

[8] See above, p. 249. This does not look like a Japanese name.

when he invaded that country. The great services of his father gave him absolute authority in Imna. He came into our country and went back and forward to the honourable country,[1] accepting the control of the Celestial Court. He seized the administration of our country, and his power was supreme in that day. The Emperor, hearing of his violence, recalled him."

A.D. 297. 28th year, Autumn, 9th month. The King of Koryö sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address, in which it was said :—"The King of Koryö instructs the Land of
X. 18 Nippon." Now the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, read this address and was enraged. He reproached the Koryö envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up.[2]

A.D. 300. 31st year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded his ministers,[3] saying :—"The Government ship named *Karano* was sent as tribute by the Land of Idzu. It is rotten, and unfit for use. It has, however, been in Government use for a long time, and its services should not be forgotten. Shall we not keep the name of that ship from being lost, and hand it down to after ages?" The ministers, on receiving this command, made the functionaries take the timber of that ship and use it as firewood for roasting salt. Herewith they got five hundred baskets of salt, which were freely given away to the various provinces, and the latter were accordingly caused to build ships. Upon this, all the provinces at the same time sent up ships as tribute, to the number of five hundred, which all assembled in the harbour of Muko. At this time the Silla

[1] Japan.

[2] If this story were true, it would have to be dated 120 years later. But even then Koryö was still Kokuryö. The name Koryö did not come into official use till A.D. 918, though as a literary designation examples of it may be found as early as A.D. 500. Koryö, however, is out of place in an ostensible quotation from a formal official document of this period, and shows that this story is untrue or much garbled.

The term Nippon for Japan is also an anachronism. It was not officially notified to Corea until A.D. 670, though there are examples of its use earlier in the same century.

Waka-iratsuko did not become Heir Apparent until A.D. 309 (of the "Nihongi" chronology), and as he is there alluded to as being of tender years, he must have been at this time a somewhat precocious prince.

[3] See above, p. 257.

tribute-envoys were stopping along with them at Muko.[1] Hereupon, of a sudden, fire broke out in the Silla lodgings. It presently spread to the fleet of ships, so that many of them were burnt. In consequence of this, the Silla men were called to an account. The King of Silla, when he heard of it, was afraid, and, greatly alarmed, sent tribute of skilful workmen. They were the first ancestors of the Wina[2] Be. In the beginning, when the ship *Karano* was burnt as firewood for making salt, some was left over from the burning. It was thought strange that it did not burn, and it was accordingly presented to the Emperor. The Emperor wondered at it, and had it made into a koto, which had a ringing note, and could be heard afar off. Then the Emperor made a song, saying :—

(The ship) *Karano* X. 19.
Was burnt for salt :
Of the remainder
A koto was made.
When it is played on,
(One hears) the saya-saya[3]
Of the summer trees
Brushing against, as they stand,
The rocks of the mid-harbour—
The harbour of Yura.

37th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Achi no Omi and Tsuga no Omi[4] were sent to Wu,[5] to procure seamstresses. Now Achi no Omi and his companions crossed over to the Land of Koryö, and endeavoured to reach Wu. But on arriving at Koryö they knew not the road at all, and begged A.D. 306.

Hiōgo, or some place in the vicinity, is meant.

[2] A place in Settsu.

[3] Saya-saya is an onomatopoetic word for rustling, equivalent to the French frou-frou.

Yura is in Ahaji. Cf. Ch. K., 285.

[4] They were Coreans. See above, p. 264.

[5] Wu 吳, called by the Japanese Go or Kure, was a Chinese dynasty, the last sovereign of which was deposed A.D. 280, long before the despatch of these envoys. We learn, however, from a note to the "Shukai" edition that this appellation was applied (perhaps popularly) to all the six dynasties established at Nanking or the neighbourhood from Wu to Chên inclusive, i.e. from A.D. 229 to 589. To this day a draper's shop is called in Japan a Go-fuku-ya, or "house for Go-clothing."

Koryö to give them persons who knew the road. The King of Koryö sent with them as guides two men called Kureha and Kureshi.[1] In this way they were enabled to reach Wu. The King[2] of Wu thereupon gave them four women as workwomen, namely Ye-hime, Oto-hime, Kure-hatori and Ana-hatori.[3]

A.D. 308. 39th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent his younger sister, the Lady Sin-chă-to,[4] to wait upon (the Emperor as his concubine). Now the Lady Sin-chă-to came over, bringing in her train seven women.

X. 20. A.D. 309. 40th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor summoned to him Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto[5] and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and inquired of them, saying:—"Do ye love your children?" They answered and said:—"We love them exceedingly." Again he inquired:—"Which are most dear—the elder ones or the younger?" Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto answered and said:—"There is none like the elder." On this the Emperor showed displeasure. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, who had previously observed the Emperor's expression of face, answered and said:—"The older has experienced many colds and heats, and has already become a man, so that there is no reason for anxiety about him. But in the case of a young child one knows not whether he will reach manhood or not, and for that reason he is very pitiable." The Emperor was greatly pleased and said:—"Thy words are truly in accordance with my feelings." At this time it was the Emperor's constant

[1] The Chinese characters given in the text seem to be only Japanese phonetic renderings of the names, and I have therefore not given them their Corean sounds, which would be Ku-nyé-pha and Ku-nyé-chi. But they do not look like real names. They appear to be made up of Kure, the name of the dynasty, or rather of the country ruled by it, and a termination.

[2] Some local authority must be intended.

[3] These names mean respectively "elder lady," "younger lady," "Kure weaver," and "hole weaver." But Ana, hole, is probably a mistake for Aya, the Japanese name of the Chinese Han dynasty. Wu (or Kure) and Han (or Aya) weavers are mentioned together below, year 14 of Yuriaku's reign. See also above, p. 265.

[4] The Japanese traditional reading is Shi-se-tsu. The "Shukai" edition rejects the name Chikchi, which in the older editions follows Pèkché. It is not in the old books, and besides his death has been already recorded above.

[5] He was the son of an inferior consort.

desire to establish Uji no Waka-iratsuko as Prince Imperial, and so he wished to conciliate the minds of the two Imperial Princes. Therefore he started this inquiry. On this account he was displeased with Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto's answer.

24th day. Uji no Waka-iratsuko was established as successor (to the throne). On the same day Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto [1] was appointed to the charge of the mountains, rivers, woods, and moors, while Oho-sazaki no Mikoto was made Assistant to the Prince Imperial, and caused to administer affairs of State.

41st year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Toyo-Akira at the age of 110.[2] A.D. 310

One account says:—"He died in the Palace of Oho-kuma."

In this month Achi no Omi and his companions arrived in Tsukushi from Wu. Now the Great God of Muna-gata [3] asked for workwomen. Therefore Ane-hime was offered to the Great God of Muna-gata. She was the ancestor of the Mitsukahi [4] no Kimi, who now dwell in the Land of Tsukushi. He then took with him the three women, and proceeded to the Land of Tsu.[5] But when he reached Muko the Emperor was dead and he was too late. Accordingly he offered them to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. The descendants of these women are the present seamstresses of Kure and the seamstresses of Kaya.[6]

[1] His name, Great-mountain-warden, already indicates this office. There is a distinction between the characters for Mikoto applied to the elder and younger brothers, the latter having the more honorific character no doubt because he afterwards became Emperor. See above, p. 2.

[2] The "Kojiki" says 130. He was deified at a later period under the name of Yahata or Hachiman as the God of War, and there are many shrines in his honour standing at this day.

[3] In Chikuzen.

[4] Mitsukahi means "august messenger."

[5] Settsu.

[6] Kaya is written with the characters for "Musquito-net." There is a place in Bittchiu of this name, but written with different characters.

BOOK XI.

THE EMPEROR OHO-SAZAKI.[1]

(*NINTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-sazaki was the fourth child of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was a granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ihoki-iri-hiko. The Emperor from his childhood was intelligent and sagacious, and his face was fair to look upon. When he grew to manhood he was indulgent and humane. The Emperor Homuda died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 41st year of his reign. Now the Prince Imperial offered to cede the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. He would not assume the Imperial Dignity, but advised with Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—" He that shall rule over the Empire and govern the myriad subjects should overspread them like Heaven, and comprehend them like Earth. If there is above a cheerful heart with which to employ the people, the people are happy and the Empire tranquil. But here am I, a younger brother, and moreover wanting in talent. How shall I presume to succeed to the Dignity and to enter upon the Celestial task? But thou, O great Prince, art distinguished in appearance and of a far-reaching benevolence. Thou art also of ripe years and art fit to become Lord of the Empire. The late Emperor established me as his Heir. But was this for my abilities? No, it was simply because he loved me. Moreover, there is the weighty matter of the service of the Ancestral shrines and of the Gods of the Earth and of Grain.[3] For this thy servant is wanting in ready tact and is unmeet to

[1] Great-wren. See below, XI. 7. [2] Benevolence-virtue.

[3] These expressions are simply borrowed from Chinese books, and have no bearing on Japanese ancient institutions or ideas.

fill the office. Now, there is a general principle admitted by XI. 2.
both ancient and modern times that the elder brother should be above and the younger brother below, that the wise man should be Lord and the stupid man a vassal. Let the Prince therefore unhesitatingly assume the Imperial Dignity, and I will be simply his servant and assistant." Oho-sazaki no Mikoto answered and said:—"It was the intention of the late Emperor that the Imperial Dignity should not be vacant for a single day. Therefore he made choice beforehand of an illustrious virtue and established the Prince as his duplicate. The succession he bestowed on thee and the people he granted to thee. Let us honour his preference, and publish it throughout the land. Wanting in wisdom though I am, shall I disregard the command of the late Emperor, and without consideration comply with the request of the Prince, my younger brother?"

He firmly declined and would not receive it, and each of them wished to transfer (the sovereignty) to the other.

At this time the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, intending to take charge of the official rice-lands and granary of Yamato, addressed Oü no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Idzumo, who was the officer charged with these official rice-lands, saying:—"These official rice-lands were originally XI. 3
Mountain-warden-land, and therefore I will now take the management of them. Thou oughtest not to hold them."

Now Oü no Sukune reported the matter to the Prince Imperial, who spake to him, saying:—"Do thou represent the matter to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto." Hereupon Oü no Sukune made representation to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko will not allow thy servant to manage the official rice-fields which were placed in his charge." Oho-sazaki no Mikoto inquired of Maro, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, saying:—"It is stated that the official rice-lands of Yamato were originally Mountain-warden-land. How is this?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant knows not. But thy servant's younger brother, Akoko, knows." It happened that at this time Akoko had been sent to the Han[1] country and had not yet returned. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no

[1] Corea.

Mikoto spake to Oü, saying:—"Do thou go thyself to the Han country and summon Akoko. Go quickly, travelling day and night." So he assigned to him eighty fishermen of Ahaji as sailors. Hereupon Oü proceeded to the Han country, and straightway came accompanied by Akoko. Accordingly he was asked about the Yamato official rice-lands. He replied, saying:—"I have heard by tradition that, in the time of the Emperor who reigned in the palace of Tamaki at Makimuku,[1] the official rice-fields of Yamato were settled in the charge of Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the Prince Imperial. At that time there was an Imperial Decree to the effect that the official rice-lands of Yamato were always to be the official rice-lands of the reigning Sovereign, and could not be held by anyone who was not the reigning Sovereign, even an Emperor's child. It is therefore wrong to say that this is Mountain-warden-land."

Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto sent Akoko to the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, and made him acquaint him with these circumstances. The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko knew not at all what to do, and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, recognizing that he was in the wrong, forgave him and did not punish him.

XI. 4. Thereafter Prince Oho-yama-mori[2] was full of resentment that he was passed over by the late Emperor and not established as Prince Imperial. In addition he had this cause of hatred. So he plotted, saying:—"I will kill the Prince Imperial and will ultimately ascend to the Imperial Dignity." Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, having heard beforehand of his plot, secretly advised the Prince Imperial to prepare soldiers for his protection. Then the Prince Imperial got ready troops and awaited him. The Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, not knowing that soldiers had been prepared, took with him only a few hundred fighting men, and starting in the middle of the night, proceeded thither. At dawn he arrived at Uji, and was about to cross the river when the Prince Imperial, having put on

[1] Suinin Tennō.

[2] Clearly Oho-yama-mori is the same person who is spoken of above as Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko. Either Nukada all through the above passage is a mistake, or the genealogy (p. 255) which makes two persons of them is wrong. I think the latter more likely, Oho-yama-mori being an official designation, and Nukada, etc., the name.

hempen garments, took the helm, and secretly mingled with the ferrymen. He then took the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori on board and ferried him over as far as the middle of the river, where he induced the ferrymen to step on the (side of the) boat and make it heel over. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori fell into the river and sank. But he rose to the surface again, and while floating down the stream made a song, saying,—

At the ferry of Uji
* * *[1]
Among the pole-men
Those who are nimblest
Will come to me.

But a large number of ambushed soldiers sprang up, so that he was unable to reach the bank, and he finally sank and died. Search was caused to be made for his dead body, and it came to the surface at the ferry of Kahara. Then the Prince Imperial seeing the dead body, made a song, saying,—

O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows
That growest by the ferry—
The ferry of Uji!
* * *
In my heart I thought
To cut thee,
In my heart I thought
To take thee,
But at the bottom, XI. 5.
Of my lord I bethought me,
But at the top,
Of thy spouse I bethought me.
There I thought pitifully,
Here I thought mournfully—
Uncut I leave thee,
O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows![2]

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[1] The asterisks represent an untranslatable pillow-word. See Ch. K, p. 255.

[2] Mayumi is the Euonymus. Adzusa is the Catalpa, a tree suitable for making bows. It has no particular meaning here. There is much differ-

So he was buried at Mount Nara. Afterwards the Prince Imperial built a palace at Uji, wherein he dwelt. Moreover in consequence of his ceding the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, he remained for a long time without assuming the Imperial rank. Now three years passed during which the Imperial rank was vacant. Then there was a fisherman who brought a mat-basket of fresh fish, which he offered as a present at the Uji Palace. The Prince Imperial commanded the fisherman, saying:—"I am not the Emperor," and sent him away, telling him to present it at Naniha. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto also sent him away, telling him to present it at Uji. Hereupon the fisherman's mat-basket became putrid on his journeys back and forward. So he sent it away again and procured other fresh fish, which he presented, and which were declined as on the previous day. The fresh fish again became putrid. The fisherman was grieved at his frequent returning, so he flung away the fresh fish and wept. Therefore the proverbial saying, "There is a fisherman who weeps on account of his own things," which had its origin in this.

The Prince Imperial said:—"I know that the Prince, my elder brother, is not to be moved from his resolution. Why then should I prolong my life and give trouble to the Empire?" So he died by his own hand. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, hearing of the Prince Imperial's death, was greatly shocked,
XI. 6. and hastening from Naniha arrived at the Palace of Uji. Now three days had passed since the Prince Imperial's death. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto beat his breast, wept aloud, and knew not what to do. He loosed out his hair, and bestriding the corpse, called upon him thrice, saying:—"Oh, my younger brother, the Imperial Prince!" In course of time he came to life, raised himself up, and remained in a sitting posture. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto addressed the Heir Apparent, saying:—"Oh, what grief! Oh, what regret! Why didst thou pass away of thine own accord? If the dead had any

ence of opinion among native commentators as to the meaning of this poem. It would seem as if the Prince, having thrown his brother overboard, could hardly claim much credit for clemency. But probably this is a genuine ancient poem, which the author has inserted here without much regard to fitness. The asterisks represent the untranslatable pillow-word Chihaybito, an epithet of Uji.

knowledge, what would the late Emperor think of me?" So the Prince Imperial addressed the Prince his elder brother, saying:—"It is the command of Heaven. Who may stay it? If I should go to the place where the Emperor is, I will tell him of all the Prince, my elder brother's wisdom, and also of my abdication. But the sage Prince must surely be fatigued after the long and hurried journey which he undertook on hearing of my death." So he presented to him the Imperial Princess Yata,[1] his younger sister by the same mother, saying:—"Though she is unworthy of thy nuptials, she may in some small measure serve to be entered in the number of the side Courts." So he lay down again in his coffin and died.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto put on plain unbleached garments and began mourning for him, and his lamentation was exceedingly pathetic. He was buried on the top of the hill of Uji.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto A.D. 313.
assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. He made his capital at Naniha. It was called the Palace of Takatsu. The Palace
enclosure and buildings were not plastered, the gable rafters XI. 7.
and ridgepoles, the posts and pillars were devoid of ornament; the covering of thatch was not evenly trimmed.[2] This was that he might not delay the season of agricultural operations for the sake of his own personal caprices.

Before this time, on the day that the Emperor was born, an owl entered the parturition house. The next morning the Emperor Homuda called to him the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune, and addressed him, saying:—"What may this portend?" The Prime Minister answered and said:—"It is a lucky omen. Moreover yesterday when thy servant's wife was in labour, a wren entered the parturition house. This also is strange!" Hereupon the Emperor said:—"Now our child and the Prime Minister's child have been born on the same day.

[1] She was also a daughter of the late Emperor. This shows that marriages of sisters *by the father's side only* were allowed. The Prince Imperial was able to give his sister by the mother's side in marriage. He would have had no control over his sisters by the father's side only.

[2] It should be remembered that at this period every Mikado built himself a new palace in a new locality.

In the case of both there are omens. This is an indication from Heaven. Let us take the names of these birds, and each exchanging them, call our children after them as a covenant to future generations." So he took the name "wren" (sazaki) and called the Prince Imperial by it, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-sazaki."[1] And he took the name "owl" (Dzuku) and called the Prime Minister's child by it, saying:—"Dzuku
XI. 8. no Sukune." He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Heguri.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 314. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 8th day. Iha no hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She was the mother of the Emperor Ohi-ne[2] Iza-ho-wake, of the Imperial Prince Suminohe no Nakatsu, of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake, and of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsu-ma-waku-go no Sukune. Another consort, Kami-naga-hime of Hiuga, bore to him the Imperial Prince Oho-kusaka and the Imperial Princess Hatahi.

A.D. 316. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity, from every one was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty, 'How happy are we.' But now when we observe the people, for three years past, no voice of
XI. 9. eulogy is heard; the smoke of cooking has become rarer and rarer. By this we know that the five grains[3] do not come up, and that the people are in extreme want. Even in the Home provinces[4] there are some who are not supplied; what must it be in the provinces outside of our domain?"

3rd month, 21st day. The following decree was issued:—

[1] I have elsewhere suggested that the name of the Emperor Oho-sazaki was a posthumous title given him owing to the great size of the mound (sasagi) under which he is buried near Sakai. And although there is much to be said on the other side, I am not sure that this may not after all be correct. The difference in spelling between sasagi and sazaki is immaterial.

[2] Ohi-ne or Oho-ye means great-elder-brother. It is hardly a name.

[3] Hemp, millet, rice, wheat and barley, pulse.

[4] The territory round the capital ruled immediately by the Emperor. This is a Chinese phrase, not properly applicable to Japan at this period.

"From this time forward, for the space of three years, let forced labour be entirely abolished, and let the people have rest from toil." From this day forth his robes of state and shoes did not wear out, and none were made. The warm food and hot broths did not become sour or putrid, and were not renewed. He disciplined his heart and restrained his impulses so that he discharged his functions without effort.

Therefore the Palace enclosure fell to ruin and was not rebuilt; the thatch decayed, and was not repaired; the wind and rain entered by the chinks and soaked the coverlets; the starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed-mats. After this the wind and rain came in due season,[1] the five grains produced in abundance. For the space of three autumns the people had plenty, the praises of his virtue filled the land, and the smoke of cooking was also thick. XI. 10.

7th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor was on his tower, and looking far and wide, saw smoke arising plentifully. On this day he addressed the Empress, saying:— "We are now prosperous. What can there be to grieve for?" The Empress answered and said:—"What dost thou mean by prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"It is doubtless when the smoke fills the land, and the people freely attain to wealth." The Empress went on to say:—"The Palace enclosure is crumbling down, and there are no means of repairing it; the buildings are dilapidated so that the coverlets are exposed. Can this be called prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is no other than Our poverty; the people's prosperity is none other than Our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people's being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty."[2] A.D. 319.

[1] The notion that the virtues of the Emperor have a direct influence on the weather is, of course, Chinese.

[2] This whole episode is the composition of some one well acquainted with Chinese literature. The sentiments are throughout characteristically Chinese, and in several cases whole sentences are copied verbatim from Chinese works.

Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. For the Imperial Prince Ohine Izaho-wake there was established the Mibu Be,[1] and again for the Empress there was established the Katsuraki Be.[2]

9th month. The provinces, without exception, petitioned, saying:—"Three years have now elapsed since forced labour was altogether remitted. The Palace buildings have therefore become decayed, and the Treasury empty. The black-headed
XI. 11. people have now abundance, and remnants are not picked up. Therefore in the villages there are no men without wives or women without husbands, in the houses there is store of spare provisions. If at such a time there was no payment of taxes with which to repair the Palace buildings, we fear that we should incur guilt in the sight of Heaven." The Emperor, however, continued to be patient, and would not grant their petition.

A.D. 322. 10th year, Winter, 10th month. Forced labour for the building of a Palace was imposed for the first time. Hereupon the people, without superintendence, supporting the aged and leading by the hand the young, transported timber, carried baskets[3] on their backs, and worked their hardest without distinction of night or day, vying with one another in the construction. In this manner, ere long the Palace buildings were every one completed. Therefore up to the present day he is styled the Sage Emperor.

A.D. 323. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor commanded his ministers, saying:—"Viewing this land, the moors and marshes extend far and wide, and the cultivated fields are few and rare. Moreover, the river waters spread out to each side, so that the lower streams flow sluggishly. Should there

[1] This Be is also called the Nibu Be. There are several places in Japan of this name. It was originally the group of peasants whose duty it was to provide wet nurses, etc., for infant princes. See Ch. K., p. 268, and Motowori in "Kojikiden," xxxv. 12.

[2] The "Kojiki" says that these two Be were instituted as "miōdai" of the Prince and the Empress, i.e. in order to perpetuate their memory, the Be in such cases taking the name of the person or of his or her residence. The last explanation might apply to the Empress, but it is not clear how the name Mibu could perpetuate the memory of this Prince.

[3] Of earth.

happen to be continuous rains, the tide from the sea flows up against them so that one may ride in boats through the villages: and the highways, too, are covered with mud. Therefore do ye our ministers examine this together, and having ascertained the source of the divergence, make a channel for them to the sea, and, staying the contrary flow (of the tide), preserve the fields and houses."

Winter, 10th month. The plain north of the Palace was excavated, and the water from the south diverted into the Western Sea. Therefore that water was called by the name Hori-ye.[1]

Moreover, in order to prevent the overflowing of the Northern river the Mamuta embankment was constructed. At this time there were two parts of the construction which gave way and could not be stopped up. Then the Emperor had a dream in which he was admonished by a God, saying:—"There is a man of Musashi named Koha-kubi[2] and a man of Kahachi named Koromo no ko,[3] the Muraji of Mamuta. Let these two men be sacrificed to the River-God, and thou wilt surely be enabled to close the gaps." So he sought for these two men, and having found them, sacrificed them to the River-God. Hereupon Koha-kubi wept and lamented, and plunging into the water, died. So that embankment was completed. Koromo no ko, however, took two whole calabashes, and standing over the water which could not be dammed, plunged the two calabashes into the mid-stream and prayed, saying:—"O thou River-God, who hast sent the curse (to remove which) I have now come hither as a sacrifice. If thou dost persist in thy desire to have me, sink these calabashes and let them not rise to the surface. Then shall I know that thou art a true God, and will enter the water of my own accord. But if thou canst not sink the calabashes, I shall, of course, know that thou art a false God, for whom, why should I spend my life in vain?" Hereupon a whirlwind arose suddenly which drew with it the calabashes and tried to submerge them in the water. But the calabashes, XI. 12.

[1] Excavated estuary, or canal.

[2] Strong-neck.

[3] Garment-child. These are personal names. Such names are in the original put after titles, but I have reversed this order, in accordance with European practice.

dancing on the waves, would not sink, and floated far away over the wide waters. In this way that embankment was completed, although Koromo no ko did not die. Accordingly
XI. 13. Koromo no ko's cleverness saved his life. Therefore the men of that time gave a name to these two places, calling them "Kohakubi's Gap" and "Koromo no ko's Gap."

This year men of Silla came to the Court with tribute, and were made to labour at this public work.

A.D. 324. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Land of Koryö sent tribute of iron shields and iron targets.

8th month, 10th day. The Koryö guests were entertained at Court. On this day the ministers and functionaries were assembled and made to shoot at the iron shields and targets presented by Koryö. Nobody could pierce the targets except Tatebito no Sukune, the ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba,[1] who shot at the iron targets and pierced them. Then the guests from Koryö, when they saw this, were struck with awe by his excellent skill in archery, and, standing up together, did obeisance to the Emperor. The next day the Emperor commended Tatebito no Sukune and gave him a title, calling him Ikuba no Toda no Sukune. On the same day a title was given to Sukune no Omi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, and he was called Sakashi-nokori[2] no Omi.

Winter, 10th month. The Great Canal was dug in the district of Kurikuma in Yamashiro for the irrigation of the rice-fields. By this means the peasants of that district had always years of abundance.

A.D. 325. 13th year, Autumn, 9th month. Now for the first time official granaries were established at Mamuta. The Usu-me[3] Be was accordingly instituted.

Winter, 10th month. The Pond of Wani[4] was made. In
XI. 14. the same month the Yokono Embankment was constructed.

A.D. 326. 14th year, Winter, 11th month. A bridge was made at the Wikahi ferry. It was this place which was called Wo-bashi.[5] In this year a highway was constructed and laid down within the capital from the South Gate extending in a straight line as

[1] Tatebito means shield-man, and Ikuba, target.
[2] Clever-remainder. [3] Millers. [4] In Kahachi.
[5] Small-bridge.

far as the village of Tajihi. Moreover, a great canal was dug in Konku[1] by which the water of the Ishikaha River was brought to irrigate the four waste plains of Upper Suzuka and Lower Suzuka, Upper Toyora and Lower Toyora. By bringing these under cultivation there were gained more than 40,000 K'iüng[2] of rice-land. Therefore the peasants of those places enjoyed abundance, and there was no longer the plague of bad years.

16th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor, indicating Kuhada no Kugahime, a lady of the Palace, to his personal attendants, said :—" It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have XI. 15. passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom ? " So he made a song, saying :—

Who will nourish
The daughter of the Omi
That sweeps along the bottom of the water ?[3]

Then Hayamachi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of the province of Harima, advanced alone and made a song, saying :—

I, Hayamachi of Harima,
(Where the dreadful tides are)
Though full of awe,
Like rocks tumbling down,
I will nourish her.[4]

That same day Kugahime was given to Hayamachi. On the evening of the next day Hayamachi went to Kugahime's house. Now Kugahime would not comply with his wishes, but he persisted in approaching the curtained space. Then Kugahime

[1] In Kahachi.

[2] A Chinese measure of land equal to 100 mo, or more than fifteen English acres. This exact number of K'iüng occurs in a Chinese book of the Han period as the extent of land reclaimed by a similar operation.

[3] The last line is a makura kotoba not in the least suitable as an epithet of Omi, a minister. But Omi is somewhat like ami, a net, for which it is satisfactory enough. The text is doubtful.

[4] This stanza is in the ordinary 31-syllable metre, and the previous one in the same, minus the first two lines. The second line is a makura kotoba.

said :—" Thy handmaiden will end her years husbandless. How can she become my Lord's wife ?" Now the Emperor, when he heard this, wished to accomplish Hayamachi's desires, so he sent Kugahime along with Hayamachi to Kuhada. But Kugahime straightway became ill and died on the journey. Therefore there is to this day the tomb of Kugahime.

A.D. 329. 17th year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute.

Autumn, 9th month. Toda no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, and Sakashi-nokori no Omi, ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, were sent to inquire the reason of the failure to send tribute. Hereupon the Silla people were afraid, and
XI. 16. presented 1460 pieces of tribute, fine silks, and miscellaneous objects of all kinds—in all eighty ship-loads.

A.D. 334. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor addressed the Empress, saying :—" I have taken to me the Imperial Princess Yata, and am about to make her my concubine." But the Empress would not allow it. Hereupon the Emperor made a song, in which he besought the Empress, saying :—

As a means of raising up
Dear ones :
As a spare bowstring
To supply a vacancy
I would place (her) along with (thee).

The Empress made a song in reply, saying :—

In the case of garments
To double them is well,
But my Lord who would set in a row
The couches of night—
I wonder if he is wise.

The Emperor again made a song, saying :—

Like the shore of Narabi [1]
Of Cape Naniha
That projects (into the sea)
It must have been solely to be thy comrade
That that child came into being.

---

[1] Narabi means to be associated with, to be a companion.

The Empress made a song in reply, saying :—

Like the summer insect,
The insect that seeks the fire
Wearing double garments,[1]
That the palace precinct should be thus,
Nay ! it is not good.[2] XI. 17

The Emperor again made a song, saying :—

Even the traveller,
Who with unshared tears
Toils over the little pass of Hika
In Asatsuma[3]—
Well for him had he a companion !

The Empress finally refused her consent. Therefore she was silent, and answered not again.

30th year, Autumn, 9th month, 11th day. The Empress A.D. 342. made an excursion to the land of Kiï. She went as far as Cape[4] Kumano, and was coming back with leaves of the mitsuna,[5] which she had gathered there. On this day the Emperor, espying the Empress's absence, wedded the Imperial Princess Yata, and placed her in the Palace. Now the Empress, when she arrived at the Naniha ferry, heard that the Emperor had become united to the Imperial Princess Yata, and was very wroth. She flung into the sea the mitsuna leaves which she had gathered, and would not land. Wherefore the men of that day called the sea where the leaves were scattered XI. 18. Kashiha no Watari, or the Kashiha ferry. Now the Emperor, unaware that the Empress was angry and would not land, went in person to the Great Harbour,[6] and while awaiting the Empress's ship, made a song, saying :—

[1] Wings ? [2] The meaning is here somewhat doubtful.

[3] Asatsuma is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It means "morning-wife."

[4] This is properly not a cape, but only a spur of a hill.

[5] In the original mitsuna-kashiha. Kashiha is the Quercus dentata, a kind of evergreen oak, the leaves of which were used as drinking-cups. But this term was also applied to any leaves used for this purpose. Here the leaves of another tree—the mitsuna—seem to be intended. Chamberlain makes it the aralia. See Ch. K., pp. 248-273.

[6] No doubt Naniha or Osaka.

Ye men of Naniha,
Haul along the bell-(hung) ship,
Soaked as to your loins,
Haul along that ship.
Haul along the great august ship.

Now the Empress did not anchor at the Great Harbour, but drew onwards again, and, ascending the river, went round by way of Yamashiro, in the direction of Yamato.[1] The next day the Emperor sent an attendant named Toriyama to bring the Empress back, and made a song, saying:—

In Yamashiro
Overtake her, Toriyama.
Overtake her, overtake her,
My beloved spouse—
I wonder wilt thou overtake and join her.

The Empress would not come back, but continued her journey as far as the River of Yamashiro, where she made a song, saying:—

Ascending the river—
The River of Yamashiro—
(Peak upon peak[2]—)
As I ascend it,
By the river bend
There stands luxuriant
(Less-than-a-hundred)[3]
An eighty-leaved tree.
Is it the Great Lord?

So she crossed over Mount Nara, and looking on Katsuraki,
XI. 19. she made a song, saying:—

Going up to Miya,[4]
As I ascend

---

[1] Ch. K., p. 276.

[2] Peak upon peak refers to yama, mountain, the first part of Yamashiro. It is a mere ornamental epithet.

[3] Less than a hundred is a makura-kotoba of eighty. The luxuriant tree, with its plentiful foliage, reminds her of the Emperor.

[4] Miya is probably short for Takamiya in the last line of the poem but one.

The River of Yamashiro
(—Peak upon peak—)
Nara I pass
Of fertile soil ;
Yamato I pass,
Shielded by its mountains ;
The land I long to see
Is Takamiya of Katsuraki,
For there is my home.[1]

Returning again to Yamashiro, she built a Palace on the south side of the Hill of Tsutsuki, and dwelt there.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, was sent to fetch the Empress.

One version says :—"Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Wani."

Now Kuchi no Omi went to the Palace of Tsutsuki, and wished to have audience of the Empress, but she remained silent and answered not. Then Kuchi no Omi prostrated himself before the Empress's hall, and remained there day and night drenched by the rain and snow, and did not move. Hereupon Kuchi no Omi's younger sister, Kuniyori-hime, who was in the service of the Empress, and happened just then to be in attendance upon her, saw her elder brother wet with the rain, and shed tears and made a song, saying :—

In the Palace of Tsutsuki,
In Yamashiro,
When I see my elder brother
Delivering his message,
My eyes fill with tears.

Then the Empress addressed Kuniyori-hime, saying :—"Why weepest thou ?" She answered and said :—"He that lies prostrate in the courtyard and begs an audience is thy handmaiden's elder brother. He is wet with the rain, and XI. 20.
does not flinch, but still lies prostrate in the hope of an audience of thee. This is why I weep and am sorrowful." Then the Empress addressed her, saying :—"Tell thy elder brother to return with all speed. I will never go back." Kuchi accordingly returned, and made his report to the Emperor.

11th month, 7th day. The Emperor made a progress by

[1] Much of this poem is of doubtful interpretation. Compare Ch. K. p. 275.

river to Yamashiro. At this time there was a mulberry branch floating down the stream. The Emperor looked at the mulberry branch, and made a song, saying :—

The mulberry tree [1]
* * * *
Which Iha [2] no hime
Will not listen to even absently
May not reach (the bank),
But by the bends of the river
It seems to go tossing on—
Oh ! that mulberry tree !

On the next day the Imperial cortège arrived at the Palace of Tsutsuki. The Empress was sent for, but she refused to appear before the Emperor. Then the Emperor made a song, saying :—

Like the radishes [3] dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
{ Purely, purely,
{ Clamorously, clamorously,
Because thou hast spoken
I have come hither
Like the flourishing trees
Which I look over at.

---

[1] Mulberry is ura-kuha. In modern Japanese kuha alone means mulberry. Ura also means heart, and as koha means hard, there seems an allusion to the Empress's hard-heartedness.

The Emperor compares his condition to that of the mulberry branch drifting down the stream, and finding no rest anywhere. The metre is irregular.

[2] Iha means rock. It has here a makura-kotoba prefixed to it, viz. tsuno-sahafu, creeper-clad, which is inappropriate to Iha, when taken as the Empress's name, though suitable to it in its original meaning.

[3] Radishes are at this day a staple food of the Japanese. When freshly washed they look very white and clean. The first four lines are a mere introduction to saha-saha, i.e. purely, and the author immediately goes on to exchange this meaning for another meaning of the same word, viz., clamorously, by a play of words common in Japanese poetry. The only bond of connection between the first and second halves of the poem is this double sense of saha-saha. "The flourishing trees" represent the Emperor's brilliant suite. The interpretation of this poem is more or less conjectural. Compare Ch. K., p. 279.

Again he made a song, saying:— XI. 21.

Had I not had for my pillow
Thine arm
White as the whiteness of the roots
Of the radishes dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
Then mightest thou say that thou knowest me not.

Then the Empress sent a message to the Emperor, saying:—"My lord has taken the Imperial Princess Yata and made her his concubine. Now I do not wish to be associated with the Princess as Consort." So she refused to enter his presence, and the Imperial carriage returned to the Palace. The Emperor hereupon resented the Empress's great indignation, but yet continued to love her.

31st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. Ohine-izaho-wake no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. A.D. 343.

35th year, Summer, 6th month. The Empress Iha no hime no Mikoto died in the Palace of Tsutsuki. A.D. 347.

37th year, Winter, 11th month, 12th day. The Empress was buried on Mount Nara. A.D. 349.

38th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Yata was appointed Empress. A.D. 350.

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor and Empress dwelt in a high tower to escape from the heat. At this time there was heard every night from the moor of Toga the cry of deer with a musical, yet melancholy sound, so that a feeling of pity arose in them both. But when the interlune came, the cry of the deer XI. 22. was no longer heard. Hereupon the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This evening the deer does not bell. Wherefore is this?" "The next day, a Saheki Be of the district of Wina presented a basket. The Emperor caused a steward to make inquiry of him, saying:—"What is this basket?" The answer was, "A buck." He inquired—"A deer of what place?" and was told, "Of Toga moor." The Emperor considered that this basket[1] must be the deer which

[1] The basket is put for the contents (like the Latin sportula), and the word is used even when there may have been no basket at all.

had belled, and he accordingly addressed the Empress, saying:—"We have been soothed in the anxious thoughts which have of late possessed us by listening to the belling of a deer. Now when the day or night, and the mountain or moor of the deer which has been caught are considered, they correspond to the deer which belled. It is true that that man was not aware of our feelings of affection, and that it was by chance that he came to take it. We nevertheless cannot resist a feeling of resentment. It is therefore our wish that the Saheki Be shall not approach the Imperial Palace." So he made the officials remove his residence to Nuta in Aki. He was the ancestor of the present Saheki Be of Nuta in Aki.

There is a popular story that a long time ago there was a man who went to Toga, and spent the night on the moor. Now there were two deer which lay down beside him. When it was on the point of cock-crow, the male deer addressed the female, saying:—"This night I had a dream in which I saw a white mist come down copiously and cover my body. What
XI. 23. may this portend?" The female deer answered and said:—"If thou goest out, thou wilt certainly be shot by men and die, and so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." Now the man who was spending the night there wondered at this in his heart. Before it was yet dawn, there came a hunter, who shot the male deer, and killed it. Hence the proverbial saying of the men of that day—"Even the belling male deer follows the interpretation of a dream."

A.D. 352. 40th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor wished to take to himself the Imperial Princess Medori[1] as concubine, and made the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake[2] his middle man. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa secretly wedded her himself, and for a long time made no report of his mission. Hereupon the Emperor, not knowing that she had a husband, went in person to the Imperial Princess Medori's chamber. At

[1] Princess Medori was half-sister of the Emperor by a different mother, and full sister of the Empress.

[2] Hayabusa wake was half-brother to both Princess Medori and the Emperor by a different mother.

this time the Imperial Princess was weaving, and her women made a song, saying:—

The metal loom of Heaven—
The everlasting—[1]
The metal-loom where
Medori is weaving
Stuff for an august cloak
For Hayabusa wake!

Upon this the Emperor saw that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had secretly wedded her, and was angry. But out XI. 24.
of regard for what the Empress might say, and also from respect for the principle which governs the relation of stem and branches,[2] he was patient and did not punish him. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake was lying down for a little with his head pillowed on the Imperial Princess's knee. Whereupon he addressed her, saying:—"Which is the swiftest, the wren or the falcon?"[3] She said, "The falcon." Then the Imperial Prince said:—"That means that I shall be first." The Emperor heard these words, and his wrath was aroused again. At this time the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake's attendants made a song, saying:—

The falcon
Ascending to Heaven
With soaring flight—
Let him seize the wren
On the top of the Tsuki trees.[4]

When the Emperor heard this song, he flew into a great rage, and said:—"We were unwilling for a private cause of hate to destroy one related to us, and we were patient. Why should a private cause of quarrel be converted into a matter which affects the State?"

So he wished to kill the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake.

[1] The word translated everlasting is hisakata, lit. long-hard, an epithet involving a similar conception of the sky to our word "firmament." By metal is probably meant "adorned with metal fittings."

[2] i.e. the head of the family and the junior members.

[3] Hayabusa means "falcon."

[4] In the original itsuki or idzuki. This the commentators explain as fifty (i) tsuki trees. But how would "sacred (idzu) tree" do—in allusion to the Emperor's rank?

Now the Imperial Prince fled with the Imperial Princess Medori, intending to place her in the Shrine of Ise. Hereupon the Emperor, hearing that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had run away, straightway sent Wofuna of the Honchi Be of Kibi
XI. 25. and Aganoko, Atahe of Saheki in Harima, saying:—"Pursue them, and when you overtake them, slay them forthwith." Hereupon the Empress addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Truly the Imperial Princess Medori is liable to severe punishment. But when she is killed I hope her body may not be exposed." Accordingly he gave orders to Wofuna and his colleague not to take the Imperial Princess's leg-jewels or arm-jewels. Wofuna and his colleague pursued them as far as Uda, and closed on them at Mount Soni. Here they hid in the herbage, and escaping by only a little, fled hastily, and crossed the mountain. Then the Imperial Prince made a song, saying:—

Even this mountain, steep
As a ladder,
When I cross over it
With thee, my love,
Seems a restful couch.

Hereupon Wofuna and the rest, seeing that they had escaped, followed after hastily, and when they came to the moor of Komoshiro in Ise, slew them. Then Wofuna and the others searched for the Imperial Princess's jewels, and took them from within her undergarments. So they buried the bodies of the Prince and Princess on the bank of the River Ihoki, and then made their report to the Emperor. The Empress caused inquiry to be made of Wofuna and the others, saying:—"Did you see the Imperial Princess's jewels?" They answered and said, "We did not see them."

That year during the month[1] of the festival of tasting the first rice on the day of the banquet, sake was given to the princesses and ladies of the inner and outer circle. Thereupon,
XI. 26. on the hands of two women, viz., the wife of Waka-mori-yama, Kimi of the mountains of Afumi, and Ihasakihime, one of the Uneme,[2] there were entwined excellent jewels. The Empress,

[1] The 11th month.

[2] Probably for yone-me, i.e. rice-woman, women attendants of the palace. They were selected for their good looks.

observing that these jewels resembled those of the Imperial Princess Medori, straightway became suspicious, and commanded an official to inquire under what circumstances they had come by these jewels. They answered and said :—"They are the jewels of the wife of Aganoko, the Atahe of Saheki." So Aganoko, being interrogated, answered and said :—"On the day that the Imperial Princess was put to death I searched her and took them." So they were about to put Aganoko to death. But he offered to the Emperor all his private lands, and prayed to escape from death. Therefore his land was confiscated, and the death penalty remitted. On this account that land was called Tama-de.[1]

41st year, Spring, 3rd month. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune was A.D. 353.
sent to Pèkché. He was the first to distinguish the boundaries of provinces and districts, and to commit to writing in detail the productions of the soil in each locality. At this time Lord Chyu,[2] the grandson of the King of Pèkché, was disrespectful,
and accordingly Ki no Tsuno no Sukune remonstrated with XI. 27.
the King of Pèkché. The King of Pèkché was afraid, and binding Lord Chyu in iron chains, delivered him up in charge of Sotsuhiko. Now Lord Chyu, when he came to Japan, straightway ran away, and concealed himself in the house of Koroshi, Obito of Nishikori in Ishikaha, deceiving him by saying :—"The Empress has pardoned thy servant's offence. Therefore have I betaken myself to thee for maintenance." A long time after the Emperor ultimately forgave him his offence.[3]

43rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Tsuchigura, Ahiko A.D. 355.

[1] i.e. the price of jewels.

[2] The original has 酒, i.e. sake. Chyu is the Corean pronunciation, but it is doubtful what his name really was.

[3] We are told above, p. 256, A.D. 272 of the "Nihongi" Chronology, that King Sinsă of Pékchè was disrespectful, and that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and others were sent to call him to an account. At p. 257, A.D. 277, we hear of King Ahwa being disrespectful, and a Pèkché Prince being sent to Japan as a hostage in consequence. Sotsuhiko is a name which has already occurred (p. 242, A.D. 205 of the "Nihongi" Chronology) in connection with Corean matters. But, as shown above (p. 256), King Sinsă really died in 392, and was succeeded by Ahwa. I strongly suspect that we have in the present passage only another version of the same incident, and that all three versions are much antedated.

of Yosami, caught a strange bird and presented it to the Emperor, saying:—"I am constantly spreading nets and catching birds in them, but never before have I caught a bird of this kind. I therefore thought it curious, and offer it to His Majesty." The Emperor sent for Lord Chyu and, pointing to the bird, said:—"What bird is this?" Lord Chyu answered and said:—"Birds of this kind are numerous in Pèkché. They can be tamed so as to be quite obedient to man. Moreover they are swift of flight and prey upon all kinds of birds. The common people in Pèkché call them *Kuchi*." So it was given to Lord Chyu to be fed and tamed. In no long time he succeeded in taming it. Lord Chyu accordingly fastened to its leg a soft leather strap, and attached to its tail a small bell.[1] Then, placing it on his forearm, he presented it to the Emperor. On this day he went to the moor of Mozu and hunted. At this
XI. 28. time a large number of hen pheasants got up, and the falcon[2] was let loose and made to catch them. It speedily caught several tens of pheasants. In this month the Be of Taka-ama (falcon-sweet) was first established. Therefore the men of that time called the place where the falcon was brought up the village of Taka-ama.

A.D. 362. 50th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. A man of Kahachi informed the Emperor, saying:—"A wild goose has laid an egg on the Mamuta embankment." That same day a messenger was sent to see. He said:—"It is true." The Emperor hereupon made a song, in which he inquired of Takechi no Sukune, saying:—

O Aso of Uchi!
* * * *[3]
Thou, beyond all others,[4]
A man distant of age—

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[1] Fr. grêlot.

[2] The taka or goshawk. The hayabusa mentioned above is a smaller bird, probably the peregrine falcon. The best hawks for hunting were formerly imported to Japan from Corea.

[3] An untranslatable makura-kotoba comes in here.

[4] Takechi no Sukune's death is not mentioned in the "Nihongi." A later authority says that he died in this year, having held office for 240 years, and lived 295 (or 299) years. Another authority states that he died in the 55th year of Nintoku Tennō, at the age of 280. Still another says that he died in

Thou, beyond all others,
A man long in the land—
Hast thou not heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg
In Akitsushima,
The land of Yamato?[1]

Takechi no Sukune made a song in reply, saying:—

Our great Lord
Who rules tranquilly,
Right is he, right is he
To ask me.
For in Akitsushima,
In the land of Yamato,
Never have I heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg.

53rd year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute. A.D. 365. XI. 29.

5th month. Takahase, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, was sent to ask the reason of the failure to send tribute. On his way he took a white deer, and returning with it, presented it to the Emperor. He then chose another day and started on his journey. Shortly after, the Emperor sent in addition Takahase's younger brother Tamichi, and commanded him, saying:—"If Silla is recalcitrant, raise an army and invade that land." So he gave him chosen troops. Silla raised an army and made opposition. Now the Silla men offered battle daily. But Tamichi made strong his barriers, and would not go out. Now a Silla soldier who had been let out from the camp was taken prisoner. So being questioned as to the condition of affairs, he answered, saying:—"There are mighty men, called the 'Hundred Thrusters,'[2] nimble and valorous, who always form the right van of the army. Therefore if you observe this and attack the left, it will be routed." Now Silla allowed the left to

the 78th year of Nintoku Tennō's reign, which, as one account says that he was born in the 9th year of Keikō Tennō, would make him 312 years of age at his death. It has been suggested that there were several persons of this name who succeeded each other as hereditary prime ministers. But the simpler explanation is that the chronology at this period is wildly inaccurate, as there is plenty of other evidence to show.

[1] See Ch. K., p. 283. Wild geese do not nest in Japan.

[2] It may be only one man of this name.

be vacant, and filled up the numbers of the right. Hereupon Tamichi, drawing up his picked cavalry,[1] attacked their left,
XI. 30. upon which the Silla troops were defeated. Accordingly letting go his men, he bore down on the enemy and slew several hundreds of them. So he took prisoners the people of four villages, with whom he returned to Japan.[2]

A.D. 367. 55th year. The Yemishi rebelled. Tamichi was sent to attack them. He was worsted by the Yemishi, and slain at the Harbour of Ishimi.[3] Now one of his followers obtained Tamichi's armlet and gave it to his wife, who embraced the armlet and strangled herself. When the men of that time heard of this they shed tears. After this the Yemishi again made an incursion and carried off some of the people. Accordingly they dug up Tamichi's tomb, upon which a great serpent started up with glaring eyes, and came out of the tomb. It bit the Yemishi, who were everyone affected by the serpent's poison, so that many of them died, and only one or two escaped. Therefore the men of that time said: "Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?"

A.D. 370. 58th year, Summer, 5th month. By the road which passes to the south of the grove of firs at Arehaka,[4] there suddenly sprang up two kunugi[5] trees, which joined over the road so that the ends of their branches met.

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Wu and the Land of Koryö together attended the Court with tribute.[6]

A.D. 372. 60th year, Winter, 10th month. The guardians of the

[1] I do not regard this as any proof that the Japanese had cavalry at this time. The author is, I think, only using a Chinese phrase which suggested itself to his memory.

[2] The "Tongkam" mentions descents by Japanese in 440 in which a number of Coreans were carried off.

[3] In Kadzusa. This is the traditional kana for 伊寺. How the last character came to be read *Shimi* is not clear.

[4] Arehaka means ruined tumulus. The well-known temple of Tennōji at Osaka now stands here.

[5] Quercus serrata, Hepburn.

[6] It is not to be supposed that China or even Koryö ever sent "tribute" to Japan. Presents were no doubt exchanged, which both sides very likely represented to their subjects as "tribute."

Shiratori misasagi[1] were told off as labourers on the public works. Now the Emperor approached the place of the works. Hereupon Meki, one of the guardians of the misasagi, became suddenly changed into a white deer, and ran away. Upon this the Emperor commanded, saying:—"This misasagi has always XI. 31.
been empty, and therefore I meant to abolish its guardians and for the first time to employ them as labourers. But now that I see this portent, I am filled with profound awe. Let not the guardians of the misasagi be disturbed." So he gave them to the Hashi no Muraji.[2]

62nd year, Summer, 5th month. The Governor[3] of the A.D. 374.
province of Tōtomi presented a memorial, saying:—"There is a great tree which has floated down the Ohowigaha until it was stopped in a bend of the river. It is ten girths[4] in size. It has one stem which divides into two at the extremity." Now Akoko, Atahe of Yamato, was sent to make a boat of it. He conveyed it by way of the Southern Sea, and brought it to the Harbour of Naniha, where it was enrolled among the number of the Imperial vessels.

This year the Imperial Prince Nukada no Ohonakatsu hiko hunted in Tsuke. Now the Imperial Prince, looking down over the moor from a mountain-top, espied something in shape like a hut. So he sent a messenger to look at it. The messenger returned and said:—"It is a muro." Accordingly he sent for Ohoyama-nushi, the Inaki of Tsuke, and inquired of him, saying:—"That thing which is on the moor—what kind of muro is it?" He informed him, saying:—"It is an ice-muro." The Imperial Prince said:—"How is the ice stored? Moreover, for what is it used?" He said:—"The ground is excavated to a depth of over ten feet. The top is then covered with a roof of thatch. A thick layer of reed grass is then spread, upon XI. 32.
which the ice is laid. The months of summer have passed and yet it has not melted. As to its use—when the hot months

[1] The tomb, or rather cenotaph, of Yamato dake.

[2] Who were charged with matters connected with the misasagi. Se above, p. 181.

[3] Provincial governors 國司 are now mentioned for the first time.

[4] The character rendered "girth" is 圍, which is a measure of half a cubit according to some, of three feet by others. However, a ten-girth tree is merely a loose expression for a large tree.

come it is placed in water or sake and thus used." The Imperial Prince straightway brought some of that ice, and presented it to the Palace. The Emperor was delighted with it, and from that time forward it became the rule always to store up ice from the last month of winter until the second month of spring when the ice melts.

A.D. 377. 65th year. In the province of Hida there was a man called Sukuna, who was so formed that on one trunk he had two faces. The faces were turned away from each other. The crowns met, and there was no nape of the neck. Each had hands and feet. There were knees, but no popliteal spaces or heels.

XI. 33. He was strong and nimble. He carried swords on his right and on his left side, and used bow and arrow with all four hands at once. On this account he was disobedient to the Imperial command, and took a pleasure in plundering the people. Hereupon the Emperor sent Naniha-neko Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, who put him to death.

A.D. 379. 67th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the plain of Ishitsu in Kahachi, where he fixed upon a site for a misasagi.

18th day. The building of the misasagi was commenced. On this day there was a deer which suddenly got up in the moor and ran in among the labourers, where it lay down and died. Now, its sudden death appearing strange, they looked to see where it was hurt, upon which a shrike came out of its ear and flew away. Accordingly they looked into its ear, and found that the skin was all bitten off. So this was the reason why they called that place the plain of Mozu no mimi.[1]

This year, at a fork of the River Kahashima, in the central division of the Province of Kibi, there was a great water-snake which harassed the people. Now when travellers were passing that place on their journey, they were surely affected by its poison, so that many died. Hereupon Agata-mori,[2] the ances-

[1] Shrike-ear. This plain lies inland from Sakai, near Osaka. The misasagi is still intact, and is, perhaps, the largest of its kind in Japan. Richiu Tennō and Hanzei Tennō are buried one on each side of Nintoku.

[2] District-warden.

tor of the Omi of Kasa, a man of fierce temper and of great bodily strength, stood over the pool of the river-fork and flung into the water three whole calabashes, saying:—"Thou art continually belching up poison and therewithal plaguing travellers. I will kill thee, thou water-snake. If thou canst sink these calabashes, then will I take myself away, but if thou canst not sink them, then will I cut up thy body." Now the water-snake changed itself into a deer and tried to draw down the calabashes, but the calabashes would not sink. So with upraised sword he entered the water and slew the water-snake. He further sought out the water-snake's fellows. Now the tribe of all the water-snakes filled a cave in the bottom of the pool. He slew them every one, and the water of the river became changed to blood. Therefore that water was called "The pool of Agata-mori." [1] XI. 34.

At this time pestilential vapours arose more and more, and there were one or two cases of rebellion. Hereupon [2] the Emperor, rising early in the morning and going to bed (late) at night, lightened the taxes, reduced the imposts, and so was generous to the people. He dispensed virtue and practised kindness, therewithal encouraging the indigent. He showed sympathy for the dead, and inquired after the sick, providing for the orphan and the widow. In this way the decrees of his Government were diffused into wide operation, and the Empire was at peace, so that for over twenty years nothing untoward happened.

87th year, Spring, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor died. A.D. 399.

[1] The traditional kana rendering of the Chinese character translated "water-snake" is midzuchi. Midzu is water, and chi a honorific term meaning "elder." Midzuchi means indifferently water-snake or water-god, the two ideas being intimately associated in the Japanese mind. Dennys, in his "Folk Lore of China," quotes from the *North China Herald* as follows:—"The River-God is in every case (where the waters of inundations were abated by them) a small water-snake, which popular fancy has converted into a deity." The poisonous breath of serpents is an article of popular faith in many countries.

[2] From "Hereupon" down to "operation" is taken almost verbatim from a Chinese book.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. He was buried in the misasagi on Mozu moor.[1]

[1] The Emperor's age is not given here. The "Kojiki" makes him eighty-three years of age at his death. Others say 110. But if we allow him to have been at least sixteen when he fell in love with Kami-naga-hime (see above, p. 259) in A.D. 282, he cannot have been less than 132 at the time of his death.

BOOK XII.

THE EMPEROR IZA-HO-WAKE.

(*RICHIU*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iza-ho-wake was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohosazaki. His mother's name was Iha no hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. He was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 31st year of the reign of the Emperor Ohosazaki. He was then fifteen years of age. The Emperor Ohosazaki died in Spring, the 1st month of the 87th year of his reign.

After the period of mourning, and in the interval before he assumed the exalted Dignity, he wished to take Kurohime,[2] the daughter of the Hata no Yashiro no Sukune, to him as concubine. The wedding presents[3] having been already given, he sent the Imperial Prince Nakatsu of Suminoye to give notice of the lucky day. Now Prince Nakatsu having assumed the elder Prince's name, by this means seduced Kurohime. On this night the Imperial Prince Nakatsu[4] came away, having forgotten his wrist-bells in Kurohime's house. On the following night, the Heir to the Throne, not knowing that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had himself seduced her, went there. He entered the chamber, drew aside the curtain, and sat down upon the jewel-couch. Then there was a sound of bells at the head of the couch. The Heir wondering at this, inquired of XII. 2.

[1] That is, "He who treads in the middle" (the right path).

[2] Black lady. [3] Probably a trait of Chinese manners.

[4] Nakatsu means "of the middle," tsu in this and similar words being the genitive particle.

Kurohime, saying :—" What bells are these ? " She answered and said :—" Are they not the bells which thou didst bring last night ? Wherefore dost thou ask thy handmaiden any more about them ? " The Heir naturally concluded that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had assumed his name and by this means seduced Kurohime, so he retired in silence.

Now the Imperial Prince Nakatsu, fearing that trouble would come of this, was about to kill the Heir to the Throne, and secretly raising a force, surrounded his Palace. Then Heguri no Tsuka no Sukune, Mononobe no Ohomahe no Sukune, and Achi no Omi, the ancestor of the Aya no Atahe, these three men, gave information to the Heir, but he would not believe them.

One version says :—" The Heir was drunk and would not get up."

Therefore the three men assisted the Heir, and making him mount on horseback, caused him to escape.

One account says :—" Ohomahe no Sukune took the Heir to the Throne in his arms and mounted him on a horse."

The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, not knowing that he was absent, set fire to his Palace. The fire lasted all night without being extinguished. When the Heir arrived at the Hanifu Hill in the Province of Kahachi he became sober, and looking back to Naniha, he saw the blaze of fire. He was greatly alarmed, and fled hastily by way of Ohosaka in the direction of Yamato.

XII. 3. When he got as far as Mount Asuka, he met a girl at the entrance of the mountain, of whom he inquired, saying :—" Are there any men on this mountain ? " She answered and said :—" This mountain is full of many armed men. Thou hadst better go round and cross over by the Tagima road." Hereupon the Heir thought to himself :—" By listening to the words of this girl I have been enabled to escape calamity." So he made a song, saying :—

At Ohosaka,
The girl that I met—
When I asked her the way,
She said not, "right on,"
She said, " Tagima way."

So he turned aside again, and having raised the troops of that district, made them follow him, and crossed over by way of Mount Tatsuta. At this time several tens of armed men came in pursuit of him. The Heir, looking at them from a distance, said:—"Who are those men who are coming? And why is their pace so hurried? Can they be an enemy?" Accordingly they hid themselves on the mountain, and waited. When they approached, one man was sent to inquire of them, saying:—"What men are ye, and whither go ye?" They answered and said:—"We are fishermen of Nojima in Ahaji. XII. 4.
Hamako, the Muraji of Adzumi,[1] on behalf of the Imperial Prince Nakatsu [One account says Sato-tomo, Muraji of Adzumi], has sent us in pursuit of the Heir to the Throne." Hereupon he brought out the troops which were in ambush, and surrounding them, captured[2] them every one. At this time Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, who from the first had loved Prince Nakatsu, and was privy to his conspiracy, secretly assembled choice troops to the number of several hundred at Kurusu in Kakibami, and on behalf of Prince Nakatsu withstood the Heir. Now the Heir, not knowing that he was beset with troops, went out for several ri from the mountain. He was stopped by a large force of armed men, and was unable to advance. So he sent a messenger and inquired of them, saying:—"What men are ye?" They answered and said:—"Akoko, Atahe of Yamato." And in their turn they questioned the messenger, saying:—"Who has sent thee?" He said:—"The Prince Imperial has sent me." Then Akoko, fearing lest there might be a numerous army there, said to the messenger:—"Information has reached me that something unusual has happened to the Prince Imperial, and in order to assist him I am waiting upon him with this force that I have prepared." The Heir, however, doubted his intentions, and tried to kill him. Whereupon Akoko was afraid, and offering as a present his own younger sister Hinohime,[3] through her begged that his capital offence might be pardoned. He was pardoned

[1] See above, p. 256, where his ancestor was made prefect of the fishermen.

[2] As usual, "captured" stands for "slew."

[3] The Princess of the Sun.

accordingly. It was prolably at this time that the custom began of the Atahe of Yamato sending tribute of ladies of the Palace.[1]

The Heir took up his abode in the shrine of Furu no Iso no Kami. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, discovering the absence of the Heir, sought him out and followed him. The Heir, however, suspected the intentions of the Prince, his younger brother, and would not send for him. Then the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake sent a message to the Heir, saying:—"Thy servant has not a black heart. Only, distressed at the absence of the Heir, he has come hither." Hereupon the Heir sent a message to the Prince, his younger brother, saying:—"I have escaped hither alone in fear of the rebellion
XII. 5. of Prince Nakatsu. Why should I not suspect thee? So long as the Imperial Prince Nakatsu lives his sole endeavour will still be to do me a mischief, and I wish sooner or later to get rid of him. Therefore, if thou hast really not a black heart, return again to Naniha, and kill the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. After that I will see thee." The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake represented to the Heir, saying:—"Is not the Great Man's[2] anxiety excessive? At present the Imperial Prince Nakatsu's unprincipled conduct is detested by the officials and the people alike. His own household, moreover, are against him, and think him a brigand. He stands alone, and there is nobody whom he can consult. I knew of his rebellion, but I had not received the commands of the Heir, and was therefore merely indignant at it. Now that I have received an order, why should I make any difficulty about killing the Imperial Prince Nakatsu? All that I fear is that when I have killed him thou mayest still suspect thy servant.[3] I pray that a trusty person may be selected, and I desire that he should make clear my loyalty." Accordingly the Heir joined to him Dzuku no Sukune and so despatched him. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake made lament, saying:—"The Heir and the Imperial Prince Nakatsu are both my elder brothers: which shall I obey? Which shall I oppose? If, however, I destroy the unprincipled and adhere to the righteous, who can suspect

[1] Uneme. [2] A Chinese honorific for "you."
[3] Ch. K., p. 289.

me?" So he went to Naniha and observed the state of things with the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, thinking that the Heir had fled away and disappeared, had made no preparation. Now he had a Hayato[1] named Sashihire. Prince Midzuha wake sent for Sashihire secretly and tampered with him, saying:—"If thou wilt kill the Imperial Prince for me, then will I surely reward thee liberally." So he took off his coat and trousers of brocade and gave them to him. Sashihire, relying on his words of allurement, all by himself took his spear, and watching the time when the Imperial Prince Nakatsu went into the privy, stabbed him to death, and entered the service of Prince Midzuha wake. Hereupon Dsuku no Tsukune made representation to the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, saying:—"Sashihire has killed his own lord for the sake of another, and although for us he has done a great service, yet towards his own lord his conduct has been heartless in the extreme. Shall he be allowed to live?" So he killed Sashihire. XII. 6.

That same day the Prince proceeded towards Yamato, and at midnight arrived at Iso no Kami, and made his report. Hereupon the Heir summoned to him the Prince his younger brother, and was liberal of his favour to him, granting him the Mura-ahase official granaries. On this day Hamako, Muraji of Adzumi, was arrested.

1st year, 2nd month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Dignity in the Palace of Waka-zakura at Ihare. A.D. 400.

Summer, 4th month, 17th day. The Emperor summoned before him Hamako, Muraji of Adzumi, and commanded him, saying:—"Thou didst plot rebellion with the Imperial Prince Nakatsu in order to overturn the State, and thy offence is deserving of death. I will, however, exercise great bounty, and remitting the penalty of death, sentence thee to be branded."[2] The same day he was branded near the eye.

[1] See above, p. 100. In this passage it seems used as a general name for retainer. Chamberlain renders it "man-at-arms" in the corresponding passage of the "Kojiki."

[2] Literally "inked." The branding consisted in tattooing a mark on the face or other part of the person. Until quite recently criminals were branded on the arm with ink, each prison having its own special mark. Branding was originally one of the "five punishments" of China.

Accordingly the men of that time spoke of the "Adzumi eye." The fishermen of Nojima who had been Hamako's followers were also pardoned their offence, and employed as labourers at the official granaries of Komoshiro in Yamato.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Kurohime, daughter of Hata no Sukune, was appointed Imperial concubine. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe in Ihazaka,
XII. 7. of the Imperial Prince Mima, and of the Imperial Princess Awomi.

One account says:—"The Imperial Princess Ihi-toyo."

His next concubine, the Imperial Princess Hatahi, was the mother of the Imperial Princess Nakashi.

This year was the year Kanoye Ne (37th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 401 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake was appointed Heir [1] to the Throne.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Ihare. At this time Heguri no Dsuku no Sukune, Soga no Manchi no Sukune, Mononobe no Ikofutsu no Ohomuraji, and Tsubura no Oho-omi together administered the affairs of the country.

11th month. The Ihare pond was made.

A.D. 402. 3rd year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor launched the two-forked boat [2] on the pond of Ichishi at Ihare, and went on board with the Imperial concubine, each separately, and feasted.[3] The Lord Steward [4] Areshi set sake before the Emperor. At this time a cherry flower fell into the Emperor's cup. The Emperor wondered at this, and sending for Mononobe no Nagamake no Muraji, commanded him, saying:—"This flower has come out of season. Whence does it come? Do thou thyself seek." Hereupon Nagamake no Muraji went himself and sought for the flowers. He found
XII. 8. them on Mount Wakikamunomuro and presented them to the Emperor. The Emperor was delighted to get such a rare thing, and so made them the name of the Palace. Therefore

[1] Note that the brother was made heir, though there were children.

[2] See above, p. 297.

[3] i.e. one in one fork of the boat, the other in the other.

[4] Kashihade no Omi. The context shows that this is here an official designation, and not a mere title, much less a surname.

it was called the Palace of Ihare no Wakazakura.[1] This was the origin of the name.

In this month the original title of "Nagamake no Muraji" was altered to "Wakazakura Be no Miyakko," and the Lord Steward, Areshi, was styled Wakazakura Be no Omi.

4th year,[2] Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Local Recorders were appointed for the first time in the various provinces, who noted down statements, and communicated the writings of the four quarters. A.D. 403.

Winter, 10th month. The Iso no kami conduit was excavated.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The three Deities[3] who dwell in Tsukushi appeared within the palace and said:—"Why are we robbed of our people? We will now disgrace thee." Hereupon the Emperor prayed, but his prayer was not answered. A.D. 404.

Autumn, 9th month, 18th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to the Island of Ahaji. On this day the Kahachi Horse-keepers' Be were in attendance on the Emperor, and held the bit. Before this the Horse-keepers' Be had been branded[4] on the face, and none of their wounds had yet healed. Now the God Izanagi, who dwells in the island, spoke by the mouth of a hafuri, saying:—"I cannot endure the stench of blood." Accordingly divination was made, and the answer was, "The God dislikes the smell of the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be." Therefore from that time forward the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be was utterly discontinued. XII. 9.

19th day. There was a sound as of a blast of wind which cried aloud in the Great Void, saying:—"O thou Prince, inheritor of The Sword!"[5] Again there was a voice which

[1] i.e. young cherry. This cannot be correct. See above, 3rd year of Jingō Kōgu, whose capital was also at Ihare, and was called Wakazakura.

[2] We have not yet got down to times of accurate chronology. Wani's arrival was in 405, and it is not likely that recorders were appointed till a good many years later. Examples of these "statements" occur frequently below. Most of them fall under the description of folk-lore.

[3] Probably the three children of the Sun-Goddess mentioned at p. 37.

[4] The branding here is not a criminal punishment, but only a distinctive mark.

[5] The sword was one of the Regalia.

said :—"Thy younger sister[1] of bird-frequented Hata has gone to be buried at Hasa. [Another version is :—"Sanakita no Komotsu[2] no Mikoto has gone to be buried at Hasa."] Suddenly a messenger arrived in haste, who said :—"The Imperial concubine is dead." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway ordering his carriage,[3] returned.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived from Ahaji.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Imperial concubine was buried. After this the Emperor, vexed with himself that he had not appeased the divine curse, and had so caused the death of the Imperial concubine, again sought to ascertain where the fault lay. Some one said :—"The Kimi of the Cart-keepers[4] went to the Land of Tsukushi, where he held a review of all the
XII. 10. Cart-keepers' Be, and he took along with them the men allotted to the service of the Deities. This must surely be the offence." The Emperor straightway summoned to him the Kimi of the Cart-keepers and questioned him. The facts having been ascertained, the Emperor enumerated his offences, saying :—"Thou, although only Kimi of the Cart-keepers, hast arbitrarily appropriated the subjects of the Son of Heaven.[5] This is one offence. Thou didst wrongfully take them, comprising them in the Cart-keepers' Be after they had been allotted to the service of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. This is a second offence." So he imposed on him the expiation of evil and the expiation of good,[6] and sent him away to Cape Nagasa, there to perform the rites of expiation. After he had done so, the Emperor commanded him, saying :—"Henceforward thou mayest not have charge of the Cart-keepers' Be of Tsukushi." So he confiscated them all, and allotted them anew, giving them to the three Deities.

A.D. 405 6th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Hatahi of Kusaka was appointed Empress.[7]

[1] Kurohime, the Imperial concubine, is meant.

[2] Apparently another name for Princess Hata.

[3] The word carriage is not to be taken too literally. The kana interlinea-gloss has Ohon mŭma ni tatematsurite, which means "mounted his horse."

[4] Kuruma-mochi. [5] The Emperor.

[6] i.e. a fine of the articles required in the ceremony of purgation or expiation. See above, p. 48.

[7] She was the Emperor's half-sister.

9th day. A Treasury was instituted and a Treasury[1] Be established.

2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor sent for Futohime no Iratsume and Takatsuru no Iratsume, daughters of Prince Funashi wake, and having bestowed them in the Empress's palace,[2] made them both his concubines.[3] Upon this the two XII. 11.
concubines lamented continually, saying:—"Alas! Whither has the Prince, our elder brother, gone?" The Emperor heard their lamentation, and inquired of them, saying:—"Why do ye lament?" They answered and said:—"Thy handmaidens' elder brother, Prince Washizumi, is strong and nimble. Alone he has taken a running leap over an eight-fathom house, and gone away. Many days have passed that we have not spoken to him face to face. Therefore do we lament." The Emperor was pleased to hear of his great strength, and sent for him. But he would not come. Again messenger after messenger was sent to summon him, but still he would not come, and continued to reside in the village of Suminoye. After this the Emperor ceased to demand his presence. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Miyakko of Sanuki and the Wake of Ashikuhi in Aha.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor's precious body became ill at ease, and, the elements of water and earth being inharmonious, he died in the Palace of Waka-zakura, at the age of seventy.[4]

[1] The Treasury means the office, the Be the staff. The "Kogo-jui" says:—"Until the reign of the latter Ihare no Waka-zakura (i.e. Richiu Tennō) the three Han failed not to send tribute for many generations. Beside the Sacred Treasury, there was erected an Inner Treasury, where the official property was classified and deposited. Achi no Omi and Wang-in (or Wani), the learned men of Pèkché, were made to record the ingoings and outcomings. A Treasury Be was first established." If we allow for the error of two cycles, this year, A.D. 405, is the very year in which Wang-in arrived. But the "Nihongi" chronology cannot yet be depended on.

The "Shoku-in-rei" says:—"The Interior Treasury Department has one Chief, who has control of gold and silver, jewels, precious utensils, brocade and satin, sarsnet, rugs and mattresses, and the rare objects sent as tribute by the various barbarians."

[2] Women's apartments.

[3] The character used implies a subordinate rank.

[4] Other calculations make him sixty-four, seventy-seven, eighty-five, and eighty-seven. It is obvious that none of them can be relied on.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the Plain of Mozu no Mimi.

THE EMPEROR MIDZUHAWAKE.[1]

(*HANZEI TENNŌ*[2]

OR

XII. 12. *HANSHŌ TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Midzuhawake was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Izaho-wake. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the second year of the Emperor Izaho-wake. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Ahaji. At his birth his teeth were like one bone,[3] and his appearance was beautiful. Now there was a well called Midzu no wi (the beautiful well) from which water was drawn to wash the Heir[4] to the Throne. A tajihi[5] flower had fallen into this well and it was accordingly made the name of the Heir to the Throne. The tajihi flower is what is now the itadori flower. Therefore he was styled the Emperor Tajihi[6] no Midzuha-wake.

The Emperor Izaho-wake died in Spring, the 3rd month of the 6th year of his reign.

A.D 406. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Heir Apparent assumed the Imperial Dignity.

[1] Midzu ha means beautiful teeth.

[2] This is explained to mean "the Emperor who turned matters into the right path," han meaning turn, and sei or shō "right."

[3] In the Bamboo Books ("Legge's Chinese Classics"), p. 143, there is mention of an ancient Chinese king whose teeth were one piece of bone. The "Kojiki" says (Ch. K., p. 292):—"The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung [together]."

[4] He was not Heir at this time.

[5] The Polygonum Cuspidatum. Hepburn.

[6] The "Seishi roku" states that in consequence of this incident Tajihi Be were established in all the provinces to be the villages for the hot baths of the Imperial Princes.

Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. Tsuno hime, daughter of Kogoto, ancestor of the Omi of Ohoyake, was appointed XII. 13.
Imperial concubine.[1] She was the mother of the Imperial Princess Kahihime, and of the Imperial Princess Tsubura. Moreover, he took to him the Imperial concubine's younger sister Otohime, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Takara and the Imperial Prince Takabe.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Tajihi[2] in Kahachi. It was called the Palace of Shibagaki.

At this time the rain and wind were seasonable, and the five kinds of grain reached maturity; the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

6th[3] year, Spring, 1st month, 29th day. The Emperor died[4] A.D. 410.
in the chief sleeping-chamber.

[1] The word for concubine here is 夫人. We have now had three ranks of concubines mentioned, showing that Chinese customs were coming in. In the older reigns the only distinction made is that of the Empress and other consorts.

[2] This is hardly consistent with the story of the tajihi flower on the previous page.

[3] The original reading is 6th. The "Shukai" editor would correct it into 5th from the "Kiujiki." It signifies extremely little which reading we take, as no reliance can yet be placed on any of the dates given.

[4] The age of this Emperor is not stated here. The "Kojiki" says sixty.

BOOK XIII.

THE EMPEROR WO-ASA-TSUMA WAKUGO NO SUKUNE.[1]

(*INGIŌ*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Midzuha wake.

From infancy to puberty,[3] the Emperor was kind and unassuming. When he attained to manhood, he became very ill and lost the free use of his limbs.

The Emperor Midzuha wake died in Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign. Hereupon the Ministers held counsel, saying :—" There are at the present time the Imperial Princes Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune and Oho-Kusaka, children of the Emperor Oho-sazaki. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune, however, is the elder, and of an affectionate, dutiful disposition." So they chose a lucky day, and kneeling down, offered him the Imperial signet. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune declined it, saying :—" I am an unlucky man, long afflicted with a grievous disease, which I cannot shake off. I am unable to walk. Of myself, without informing the Emperor, I have secretly treated
XIII. 2. my disease by self-mutilation,[4] in the hope of getting rid of it, but still I am not healed. Therefore the former Emperor chid me, saying :—' What greater extreme of unfilialness can there be than this conduct of thine, in wantonly mutilating thy body

[1] Wo, male ; Asa-tsuma (morning-wife) is the name of a place ; wakugo, young child ; Sukune, name of dignity.

[2] Ingiō is from the " Shooking," the Canon of Yaou, § 1, where Legge translates " sincerely courteous."

[3] The words translated infancy and puberty are in the original descriptive of the mode of dressing the hair at these periods of life in China.

[4] The precise meaning is doubtful.

because thou sufferest from disease? However long thou mayst live, thou must never succeed to the throne.' Moreover, the two Emperors, my elder brothers, despised me and thought me a fool, as is known to all the Ministers. Now the Empire is a great organization: the Imperial Dignity is a vast institution: and to be the father and mother of the people is the office of a sage. How can such a charge be given to a fool? Make another choice of some wise Prince, and let him be established as Emperor. I, the unworthy one, may not presume to fill the office." The Ministers bowed down twice, and said:—"The Imperial Dignity should not be long vacant; the command of Heaven should not be modestly refused. We, thy servants, fear that if thou, the Great Prince, dost delay the time, and in opposition to the general desire dost refuse to rectify the name and dignity, the nation's hopes will be disappointed. We pray therefore that the Great Prince, notwithstanding his sufferings, will yet assume the Imperial Dignity." The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune said:—"It is a weighty matter to take charge of the ancestral temples and the temples of the earth and of grain.[1] I, the unworthy one, am grievously ill, and am incompetent to fill this office worthily." He continued to decline it, and would not give his consent. Hereupon all the Ministers persisted in their petition, saying:—"In the humble opinion of thy servants, thou, the XIII. 3.
Great Prince, art eminently worthy to take over charge of the Temples of thy Imperial Ancestors. Even the myriad people of the Empire all deem thee fit. We pray thee, O Great Prince, to give thy consent."

1st year, Winter, 12th month. The Prince's concubine, A.D. 412.
Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto, was grieved at the mutterings of vexation of the Ministers, and taking in her own person water for washing the hands, came before the Imperial Prince and addressed him, saying:—"Thou, O Great Prince, having declined to assume the Dignity, it has remained vacant for years and months. The Ministers and functionaries are grieved, and know not what to do. I pray thee, O Great Prince, comply with the general wish, and, however reluctantly, assume the Imperial Dignity." The Imperial Prince, however,

[1] i.e. "the state."

was loath to consent, and turning his back upon her, sat without saying a word. Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto was afraid, and not knowing how to retire, remained in attendance on the Prince for four or five half-hours. It was then the 12th month, and the wind was blowing fierce and chill. The water in the basin which Oho-nakatsu hime had brought overflowed and became frozen on her arm. Unable to endure the cold, she was almost dying. The Imperial Prince looked round, and was shocked. He helped her to her feet, and said to her :—"The succession to the Dignity is so weighty a matter that I could not abruptly assume it. Therefore I have not complied up to the present. Now, however, the request of the Ministers is manifestly just. Why should I persist in my refusal?" Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime looked up delighted, and told all the Ministers, saying :—"The Imperial Prince is about to give ear to the request of the Ministers. Now is the time to offer him the Imperial signet." Thereupon the
XIII. 4. Ministers were much rejoiced, and on that same day delivered up to him the Imperial signet with repeated obeisances. The Imperial Prince said :—"Ye Ministers have, on behalf of the Empire, made a joint request of unworthy me. How can I presume to persist in refusing it?" So he assumed the Imperial Dignity.

This year was the year Midzunoye Ne (49th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 413. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime was appointed Empress. On this day there was established on behalf of the Empress the Osaka Be.[1]

The Empress was the mother of the Imperial Prince Kinashi Karu, of the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kuro-hiko, of the Emperor Anaho, of the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial

[1] The "Kojiki" says that the Osaka Be was established as the Empress's na-shiro, which Chamberlain renders by "proxy." I would prefer to call it "name-sake." The object was to perpetuate the name of the Empress—at least, if this account is correct. But there was an Osaka Be already in existence. It is mentioned in the 39th year of Suinin's reign. Besides, the Osaka Be were the executioners, a circumstance with which it is difficult to reconcile the statement in the text. It is true, however, that the Empress's full name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime, Osaka being the name of her residence.

Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko, of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take, of the Imperial Princess Tajima no Tachibana no Oho-iratsume, and of the Imperial Princess Sakami.

At an earlier period, when the Empress was at home with her mother, she was walking alone in the garden, when the Miyakko of the Land of Tsuke passed along the road which was beside the garden. He was on horseback, and looking over the hedge, he addressed the Empress, and said mockingly: —"What an excellent gardener thou art." He also said:— "Pray, madam, let me have one of those orchids." The Empress accordingly plucked an orchid root, and gave it to the man on horseback, asking him for what purpose he wanted the orchid. The man on horseback answered and said:—"I am going to the mountain, and it is to brush away the midges." Then the Empress reflected on this within her mind, and recognized the want of respect in the words of the man on horseback. So she addressed him, saying:—"Sir,[1] I shall not forget this." XIII. 5.

Afterwards, in the year in which the Empress attained the felicitous rank, she sought out the man on horseback who had asked her for an orchid, and having stated his former offence, wished to have him put to death. Hereupon the man who had asked for the orchid knocked his forehead on the ground, and making a deep obeisance,[2] said:—"Truly thy servant's guilt is deserving of ten thousand deaths. At that time, however, I did not know that thou wert of high rank." Hereupon the Empress remitted the penalty of death, but deprived him of his title and called him Inaki.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An envoy was sent to Silla to procure a good physician. A D. 414.

Autumn, 8th month. The physician arrived from Silla, and was forthwith made to treat the Emperor's disease. No long time after, he was healed of his disease. The Emperor was

[1] The Chinese character translated "sir" means literally head or chief. The Japanese word intended is probably Obito or Obuto, which, I take it, is an abbreviation of Oho-bito, great man. In Chinese Tajen (in Corean Tain), i.e. great man, is used as a personal pronoun in addressing men of rank. Our own word "master" (magister, magnus) has a somewhat similar history.

[2] Kowtow in Chinese.

[3] Inaki was a lower title than Miyakko.

rejoiced, and having rewarded the physician liberally, sent him back to his own country.

XIII. 6. A.D. 415. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"In the most ancient times, good government consisted in the subjects having each one his proper place, and in names[1] being correct. It is now four years since We entered on the auspicious office. Superiors and inferiors dispute with one another: the hundred surnames[2] are not at peace. Some by mischance lose their proper surnames; others purposely lay claim to high family. This is perhaps the reason why good government is not attained to. Deficient in wisdom although We are, how can We omit to rectify these irregularities? Let the Ministers take counsel, and inform me of their determination." All the Ministers said:—"If Your Majesty, restoring that which is lost and correcting that which is perverted, will thus determine Houses and surnames, your servants will stake their lives in recommending the adoption of such a measure."

28th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The ministers, functionaries, and the Miyakko of the various provinces each and all describe themselves, some as descendants of Emperors, others attributing to their race a miraculous origin, and saying that their ancestors came down from Heaven.[3] However, since the three Powers of Nature[4] assumed distinct forms,[5] many tens of thousands of years have elapsed, so that single Houses[6] have multiplied and have formed anew ten thousand surnames of doubtful authenticity. Therefore let the people of the various Houses and surnames wash themselves and practise abstinence, and let them, each one calling the
XIII. 7. Gods to witness, plunge their hands in boiling water." The caldrons of the ordeal by boiling water were therefore placed on the "Evil Door of Words" spur of the Amagashi Hill. Every-

[1] Literally surnames and personal names. What is really meant is titles. There were no proper surnames at this time. See above, p. 27.

[2] The word for "hundred surnames" is 百姓, which is also used for the nation generally, and in later times in Japan for the peasantry. Here its original meaning must be kept in view.

[3] The "Sei-shi-roku" contains numerous instances of this.

[4] Heaven, Earth, and Man. *Vide* Mayers, p. 302.

[5] Since the creation, as we would say.

[6] Uji.

body was told to go thither, saying:—"He who tells the truth will be uninjured; he who is false will assuredly suffer harm."

This is called Kuka-tachi. Sometimes mud was put into a caldron and made to boil up. Then the arms were bared, and the boiling mud stirred with them. Sometimes an axe was heated red-hot and placed on the palm of the hand.

Hereupon every one put on straps of tree-fibre, and coming to the caldrons, plunged their hands in the boiling water, when those who were true remained naturally uninjured, and all those who were false were harmed. Therefore those who had falsified (their titles) were afraid, and slipping away beforehand, did not come forward. From this time forward the Houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered, and there was no longer any one who falsified them.[1]

5th year, 7th month, 14th day. There was an earthquake. A.D. 416.
Before this time Tamada no Sukune, grandson[2] of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko, had been commanded to superintend the temporary burial of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake. On the evening after the earthquake, Aso, Ohari no Muraji, was sent to examine the condition of the shrine of temporary burial. Now all the men assembled, and none were absent except Tamada no Sukune, XIII. 8.
who was not present. Aso reported to the Emperor, saying:—"Tamada no Sukune, the High Officer of the Shrine of temporary interment, was not to be seen at the temporary place of interment." Accordingly, Aso was sent again to Katsuraki to see Tamada no Sukune. On this day it so happened that Tamada no Sukune had gathered together men and women and was holding revel. Aso made a statement of all the circumstances to Tamada no Sukune. Tamada no Sukune was afraid that trouble might ensue, and gave Aso a horse as a present. However, he secretly waylaid Aso and killed him on the road. Therefore he ran away and concealed himself within the precinct of the tomb of Takechi no Sukune. When the Emperor heard this, he sent for Tamada no Sukune.

[1] This measure can only have been applicable to a dominant caste. The nation cannot have all been subjected to the ordeal at Amagashi. Doubtless, then as now, the bulk of the people cared little for genealogies, and indeed had none but personal names.

[2] Below, XIV. 20, he is the son of Sotsuhiko.

Tamada no Sukune was suspicious, and put on armour under his clothing and so presented himself. The border of the armour projected from within his garment. The Emperor, in order to ascertain clearly how this was, made an Uneme, named Woharida, present sake to Tamada no Sukune. Now the Uneme observing distinctly that there was armour underneath his clothing, reported this particularly to the Emperor. The Emperor got ready soldiers and was about to kill Tamada no Sukune, when he secretly ran away and hid in his house. The Emperor again despatched soldiers, who surrounded Tamada's house, took him, and put him to death.

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Emperor Midzu-ha-wake was buried in the Mimihara Misasagi.

A.D. 418. XIII. 9. 7th year, Winter, 12th month, 1st day. There was a banquet in the new Palace.[1] The Emperor in person played on the lute,[2] and the Empress stood up and danced. When the dance was ended, she did not repeat the compliment. At that time it was the custom at a banquet for the dancer, when the dance was ended, to turn to the person who occupied the highest place, and say, "I offer thee a woman." Now the Emperor said to the Empress:—"Why hast thou failed to say the usual compliment?" The Empress was afraid. She stood up again and danced, and when the dance was over, she said:—"I offer thee a woman." The Emperor forthwith inquired of the Empress, saying:—"Who is the woman whom thou offerest me? I wish to know her name." The Empress could not help herself, and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"It is thy handmaiden's younger sister, whose name is Otohime."[3] Otohime's countenance was of surpassing and peerless beauty. Her brilliant colour shone out through her raiment, so that the men of that time gave her the designation of Sotohori Iratsume.[4] The Emperor's wishes had dwelt upon

[1] The interlinear kana has miya, palace, for 室, oftener rendered muro. But nihi-muro, new muro, is probably the word really meant.

[2] Koto.

[3] Otohime means simply "the younger lady."

[4] Clothing-pass-maiden. The "Kojiki" makes her the Emperor's daughter. Cf. Shelley's—

"Child of Light! thy limbs are burning,
Through the vest which seems to hide them."

Sotohori Iratsume, and therefore it was that he insisted on the Empress's offering her to him, while the Empress, knowing this, was reluctant to make the compliment. Now the Emperor was delighted, and the very next day he despatched a messenger to summon Otohime. At this time Otohime dwelt with her mother at Sakata in the land of Afumi. But she feared the feelings of the Empress and therefore refused to come. Again seven times she was sent for, and yet she obstinately refused and did not come. Upon this the Emperor was displeased, and again gave command to one of the Toneri, a Nakatomi named Ikatsu[1] no Omi, saying:—"The damsel Otohime, who was given to me by the Empress, has not come although sent for. Do thou go thyself and bring Otohime here with thee, and I will surely reward thee liberally." Hereupon Ikatsu no Omi, having received the Imperial command, withdrew, and having concealed a stock of provisions in his clothing, went to Sakata, where he prostrated himself in Otohime's courtyard, and said:—"By command of the Emperor, I summon thee." Otohime answered and said:—"Far be it from me not to fear the Emperor's command. But I am unwilling to hurt the Empress's feelings. Thy handmaiden will not come, though XIII. 10.
it should cost her her life to refuse." Then Ikatsu no Omi answered and said:—"As thy servant has received the Emperor's commands, I must bring thee back with me. If I bring thee not back, I shall surely incur punishment. Therefore it is better to die lying prostrate in this courtyard than to return and undergo the extreme penalty." So for seven days he lay prostrate in the courtyard, and although food and drink were offered to him, he refused to taste them, but secretly ate the provisions in his bosom. Hereupon Otohime said:—"By reason of the Empress's jealousy, thy handmaiden has already disobeyed the Emperor's commands. To be the ruin of my Lord, who art his faithful servant, would be another crime on my part." Accordingly she came along with Ikatsu no Omi. When they reached Kasuga in Yamato they had food by the well of Ichihi. Otohime herself gave sake to the Omi, and soothed his spirit. The Omi that same day arrived at the

[1] As he was Toneri, the Ikatsu no Omi is clearly a mere title, like the no Kami's of recent times.

capital, and having lodged Otohime at the house of Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, made his report to the Emperor. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced. He commended Ikatsu no Omi, and showed him liberal favour. The Empress, however, showed her vexation, and Otohime could therefore not approach the interior of the Palace. Accordingly, a separate building was erected for her at Fujihara, and she dwelt there.[1] On the night that the Empress gave birth to the Emperor Oho-hatsuse, the Emperor for the first time went to the Fujihara Palace. The Empress hearing this, was angry, and said:—"Many years have passed since I first bound up my hair and became thy companion in the hinder palace. It is too cruel of thee, O Emperor. Wherefore, just on this night when I am in childbirth and hanging between life and death, must thou go to Fujihara?" So she went out, set fire to the parturition house, and was about to kill herself. The Emperor, hearing this, was greatly shocked, and said:—"We are wrong." So with explanations he soothed the mind of the Empress.

A.D. 419. 8th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went to Fuji-
hara and secretly observed how matters were with Sotohori
XIII. 11. Iratsume. That night Sotohori Iratsume was sitting alone, thinking fondly of the Emperor. Unaware of his approach, she made a song, saying:—

This is the night
My husband will come.
The little crab—
The spider's action
To-night is manifest.[2]

The Emperor, when he heard this song, was touched by it, and made a song, saying:—

[1] Hence perhaps the name Soto-wori-hime, or the Lady who lives without, as opposed to Oho-nakatsu hime, the dame of the Great Interior.

[2] It was considered that when a spider clung to one's garments, it was a sign that an intimate friend would arrive. Little crab is another name for spider. Sotohori hime was in after times looked on as the "Muse of poetry." This poem is a regular Tanka, as are the others in this passage.

Loosening and removing
The brocade sash
Of small pattern,
Not often have I slept—
But one night only.

The next morning, the Emperor looked at the cherry flowers beside the well, and made a song, saying:—

As one loves the cherry
Sweet of blossom,
Did I love another,
Then her I should not love—
The girl whom I love.

This came to the Empress's ear, and she was very wroth. Hereupon Sotohori Iratsume addressed the Emperor, saying:— "Thy handmaiden desires to be always near the Royal Palace, and night and day without ceasing to view the glory of Your Majesty. But the Empress, being thy handmaiden's elder sister, is, on her account, continually resentful towards Your Majesty, and is also vexed because of thy handmaiden. I pray therefore that I may be removed far from the Royal dwelling, and I wish to live at a distance. This might perhaps cause the Empress's jealousy somewhat to abate." The Emperor XIII 12.
forthwith built anew a palace in Chinu in Kahachi, and made Sotohori Iratsume to dwell there. And for this reason he frequently went a-hunting to the moor of Hine.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor made a progress A.D. 420.
to the Palace of Chinu.

Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor made a progress to Chinu.

Winter, 10th month. The Emperor made a progress to Chinu.

10th year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor made a progress A.D. 421.
to Chinu. Hereupon the Empress addressed him, saying:— "Thy handmaiden is not a whit jealous of her younger sister. Only she fears that the people may be distressed by Your Majesty's frequent progresses to Chinu. I humbly pray thee to diminish the number of thy visits." Thereafter his excursions thither were infrequent.

A.D. 422. 11th year, Spring, 3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Chinu. Sotohori Iratsume made a song, saying :—

For ever and ever,
Oh ! that I might meet my Lord !
As often as drift beachward
The weeds of the shore of ocean
(Where whales are caught).

Then the Emperor spake to Sotohori Iratsume, saying :— "No other person must hear this song. For if the Empress heard it, she would surely be greatly wroth." Therefore the men of that time gave a name to the shore-weed and called it Na-nori-ahi-mo.[1]

XIII. 13. Before this time, when Sotohori Iratsume dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo Muruya no Muraji, saying :—"Of late we have gotten a beautiful woman, the younger sister of the Empress by the same mother.[2] In Our heart we dearly love her, and it is Our desire that her name should be handed down to after ages. How can this be done ?" In accordance with the Imperial command, Muruya no Muraji proposed a plan for the Emperor's approval. Consequently the Miyakko of the various provinces were charged to establish Fujihara Be on behalf of Sotohori hime.

A.D. 425. 14th year, Autumn, 9th month, 12th day. The Emperor hunted in the island of Ahaji. Now the deer, monkeys, and wild boar, like dust-clouds, confusedly, filled the mountains and valleys. They sprang up like flames of fire, they were dispersed like flies. And yet all day long not a single beast was caught. Herewith the hunt was suspended, and divination was made anew. Then the God of the Island[3] gave an oracular utterance,

[1] Na-nori-ahi means "mutually to tell one's name," and mo is the general word for seaweed. There is a seaweed so called, but what this circumstance has to do with the story is not clear.

[2] The traditional kana has haha-hara-kara. As hara-kara by its derivation means "of the same womb," it is needless to prefix haha, mother. But this shows that when these kana glosses were written, hara-kara had come to mean simply brother or sister, as it does at present.

[3] Izanagi.

saying:—"It was by my intent that no beast was caught. In the bottom of the sea of Akashi there is a pearl. If this pearl is sacrificed to me, ye shall be able to catch all the beasts." Hereupon they proceeded to assemble the fishermen of the various places, and made them search the bottom of the sea of Akashi. When they dived into the sea, however, they were unable to reach the bottom. But there was one fisherman named XIII. 14.
Wosashi, a fisher of Naga-zato in the province of Aha, who excelled all the fishers. He tied a rope to his loins, and went down to the bottom of the sea. After some time he came forth, and said:—"In the bottom of the sea there is a great sea-ear,[1] and this place is shining." Everybody said:—"Probably the pearl which the God of the Island has asked for is in this sea-ear's belly." Again he went in and searched for it. Hereupon Wosashi came to the surface with the great sea-ear in his arms, but his breath had ceased, and he died on the surface of the waves. Afterwards a rope was let down and the bottom of the sea was measured. The depth was found to be sixty fathoms. When the sea-ear was split open, a true pearl was found in its belly, in size like a peach. This was offered to the God of the Island, and a hunt being made, they caught many beasts. But they grieved that Wosashi had met his death by entering the sea, and made a tomb, in which they reverently interred him. That tomb exists at the present day.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince A.D. 434.
Kinashi Karu was made Heir to the Throne. He was fair to look upon, and those who saw him spontaneously loved him. His sister by the same mother,[2] the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, was also beautiful. The Heir Apparent's thoughts were constantly bent on becoming united to the

[1] The ahabi or Haliotis tuberculata.

[2] The prominence given to brotherhood and sisterhood by the same mother in the "Nihongi," as in Homer, has not, it appears to me, the significance attributed to it by McLennan's theory, which would trace back such terms to a time when the mother was the only parent as to whom there could be no doubt. It seems to me that the father's parentage is here taken for granted, the phrase really meaning brother or sister by the mother's side *as well as* by the father's, and that such phrases are merely indications of polygamous customs, not necessarily of promiscuity or polyandry.

Imperial Princess Oho-iratsume, but he dreaded the guilt,[1] and was silent. But his passion had become so violent that he was well-nigh on the point of death. Hereupon he thought to himself, "I will not die for nothing. It may be a crime, but how can I endure?" At last he became secretly united to her, and so his desperate passion became somewhat abated. Accordingly he made a song, saying:—

On the foot-dragging mountain,
Rice-fields are made;
So high is the mountain,
The water-pipes are run beneath—
Like them the hidden tears
That I wept for my spouse,
The unshared tears
XIII. 15. That I wept for my spouse,
But to-day, this very day,
Freely our bodies touch.[2]

A.D. 435. 24th year, Summer, 6th month. The soup for the Emperor's meal froze, and became ice. The Emperor wondered, and had divination made in order to learn the meaning of it. The diviner said:—"There is domestic disorder,[3] perhaps the illicit intercourse of near relations with one another." Then some one said:—"The Heir Apparent, Kinashi Karu, has seduced his younger sister by the same mother, the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume." So examination was made, and it was found that these words were true. The Heir Apparent being the successor to the Throne, it was impossible to punish him,

[1] See Ch. K., Introd., p. xxxviii. I do not feel sure that Chamberlain is right in attributing to Chinese influence the stigma attached to unions of brothers and sisters of the full blood. See a paper on "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan," in the "Transactions of the Japan Society," 1892-93.

[2] A somewhat different version of this poem is given in the "Kojiki." See Ch. K., p. 296. I have adopted one or two of Motowori's emendations. See "Kojikiden," xxxix. 23. "Foot-dragging" is a makura-kotoba or conventional epithet of mountain, used because in ascending a mountain we drag one foot painfully after the other. At least, that is the common interpretation. The metre is somewhat irregular naga-uta.

[3] i.e. incest.

so the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume was banished to Iyo.[1] At this time the Heir Apparent made a song, saying:—

I, the Great Lord,
To an island am banished:
Remaining behind in the ship,
I will certainly come back again. XIII. 16.
Let my bed be respected—
(In words indeed
I shall call it my bed)
Let my spouse be respected.[2]

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maiden of Karu
(The Heaven-soaring),
If she wept violently,
Men would know of it—
Like the doves of Mount Hasa,
She weeps with a suppressed weeping.[3]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. The Emperor died. A.D. 453.
His years were many.[4]

[1] The "Kojiki" makes the Prince to be banished, and Motowori thinks with some reason that this must be the true version of the story. For one thing (he says), women have always been more lightly punished in Japan than men for the same offence, and the particular character of the fault in this case makes such a discrimination all the more reasonable. Moreover, it is hardly possible to construe the poem which follows otherwise than as composed by Prince Karu when about to be banished. An ancient note to the "Nihongi" (see below) speaks of the Prince as having died by his own hand in Iyo.

[2] The word for bed is tatami, now applied to the thick mats used to cover the floor of a Japanese house. At this time the tatami only covered the sleeping-place. There was a superstition forbidding people to meddle with the bed of an absent person, as to do so would bring down calamity on him. The word translated "respect" is yume, taboo, religious abstinence. The third line of this poem is literally "a ship-remainder," by which is understood "one who remains behind in a ship after the other passengers have landed." There are, however, other explanations. See Ch. K., p. 300.

[3] The metre of this poem is irregular. "Heaven soaring" is a conventional epithet applied to Karu, which is the name of a place, because Kari means "a wild goose"—hardly a sufficient reason to our Western minds.

[4] Seventy-eight, says the "Kojiki." Another authority says eighty. But his mother, the Empress Iha no hime, died A.D. 347, and she had ceased to cohabit with her husband A.D. 342 (see above, p. 285), so that he would be at least 110 at the time of his death.

Now the King of Silla, when he heard that the Emperor had died, was shocked and grieved, and sent up eighty tribute ships with eighty musicians of all kinds. They anchored at Tsushima, and made great wail. When they arrived in Tsukushi they again made great wail. Anchoring in the harbour of Naniha, they all put on plain white garments, and bringing all the articles of tribute, and stringing their musical instruments of all kinds, they proceeded from Naniha to the capital.[1] Sometimes they wept and wailed, sometimes they sang and danced, until at length they assembled at the Shrine of temporary interment.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Naga-no no hara in Kahachi.

XIII. 17. 11th month. The Silla messengers of condolence, when the funeral ceremonies were concluded, returned home.

Now the men of Silla had always loved Mount Miminashi and Mount Unebi, which are hard by the capital city. Accordingly, when they arrived at the Kotobiki Hill, they looked back, and said:—"Uneme haya! Mimi haya!" This was simply because they were unpractised in the common speech, and therefore corrupted Mount Unebi, calling it Uneme, and corrupted Mount Miminashi, calling it Mimi. Now the Yamato no Mŭma-kahi[2] Be, who were in attendance on the men of Silla, heard these words, and conceived a suspicion that the Silla men had had intercourse with the Uneme. So they made them go back, and gave information to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse. The Imperial Prince straightway threw the Silla messengers every one into prison, and put them to an examination. Then the Silla messengers made a statement, saying:—"We have done the Uneme no harm. Our words were simply expressive of our love for the two mountains close to the capital." Upon this it was recognized that the charge was groundless, and they were all released. But the people of Silla resented it greatly, and further reduced the kinds of articles sent as tribute and the number of ships.

[1] Anaho in Yamato.

[2] Horse-keepers.

Misasagi of Ingiō Tennō.

THE EMPEROR ANAHO.

(*ANKŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Anaho was the second child of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsuma waku-go no Sukune.

One account says:—"The third child."

XIII. 18. His mother's name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Imperial Prince Waka-nuke-futa-mata.[2]

The Emperor died in the 42nd year of his reign, Spring, the 1st month. In Winter, the 10th month, the funeral ceremonies were completed. At this time the Heir Apparent was guilty of a barbarous outrage in debauching a woman. The nation censured him, and the Ministers would not follow him, but all without exception gave their allegiance to the Imperial Prince Anaho. Hereupon the Heir Apparent wished to attack the Imperial Prince Anaho, and to that end secretly got ready an army. The Imperial Prince Anaho also raised a force, and prepared to give battle. It was at this time that the terms "Anaho arrow-notch" and "Karu arrow-notch"[3] began. Now the Heir Apparent, knowing that the Ministers would not follow him, and that the people were uncompliant, went away and hid in the house of the Mononobe, Ohomahe no Sukune. The Imperial Prince Anaho, hearing this, forthwith surrounded it. Ohomahe no Sukune came forth from the gate to meet him, upon which the Imperial Prince Anaho made a song, saying:—

To Oho-mahe
Wo-mahe[4] Sukune's
Metal-gate's shelter,
Thus let us repair,
And wait till the rain stops.

---

[1] Ankō means peace. [2] A son of Ōjin. See Ch. K., p. 242.

[3] The parallel passage of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 298) has "inside" for "notch," and an ancient note explains that in the case of Prince Karu's arrows, the "notch" or "inside" was of copper, whereas those of Prince Anaho were "like those of the present time," i.e. presumably of iron. Motowori thinks that the arrow-points are intended.

[4] It is a question whether Oho-mahe and Wo-mahe are one person or two brothers. The metre of this poem is imperfect Tanka.

Ohomahe no Sukune made a song in answer, saying :—

Because the courtier's
Garter-bell
Has fallen off,
The courtiers make a noise :
Ye country-folks also beware ! (of making a noise)[1] XIII. 19.

So he addressed the Imperial Prince, saying :—" I beseech thee, harm not the Heir Apparent. Thy servant will advise with him." Accordingly the Heir Apparent died by his own hand in the house of Ohomahe no Sukune.

One account says that he was banished to the Land of Iyo.[2]

12th month, 14th day. The Imperial Prince Anaho assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the Empress was honoured with the title of " Grand Empress." The capital was forthwith removed to Isonokami.[3] It was called the Palace of Anaho.

At this time the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse wished to betroth to him the daughters of the Emperor Midzuha-wake.[4]

[*The names of these daughters are not found in any of the records.*]

Hereupon the Imperial Princesses answered and said :— " Thou, my Lord, art much given to violence, and to sudden fits of anger, so that he who sees thee in the morning is slain in the evening, and he who sees thee in the evening is slain in the morning. Now, thy handmaidens' countenances are not distinguished for beauty, nor their minds for cleverness. If in manners and speech we should be no whit agreeable to the princely expectation, how shouldst thou receive us to thy intimacy ? For this reason we are unable to obey thy com-

[1] This is supposed to contain a remonstrance addressed to Prince Anaho's party for making a fuss about such a small matter as the escape of Prince Karu, which is compared to the loss of the grêlot of a courtier's garter.

[2] This is the " Kojiki " version.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] He died A.D. 411, at the age of 60, so these princesses were now (A.D. 453) not exactly young. They were his cousins by the father's side.

mands." To the last they kept out of his way, and would not give ear to him.[1]

A.D. 454. 1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. On behalf of the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse the Emperor desired to betroth to
XIII. 20. him the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, a younger sister of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka,[2] and for this purpose sent Ne no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Sakamoto, to request her of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, saying:—"I beseech thee let me have the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, whom I desire to espouse unto the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse." Hereupon the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka answered and said:—"Thy servant has for some time suffered from a severe illness, which cannot be healed. He may be compared to a ship which has taken in its cargo and is waiting for the tide. Death, however, is our destiny; and there is no sufficient reason for regret. Only I cannot die in peace because my younger sister, the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, will be left alone and unprotected. If now Your Majesty will not loathe her for her ugliness, and will allow her to complete the number of the duckweed flowers,[3] it will be a matter for the deepest gratitude. How should I decline the favour of thy commands? In order, therefore, to show my

[1] This and many other stories in the "Nihongi" show that the position of women in these times was by no means one of abject dependence on their male relatives.

[2] They were children of the Emperor Nintoku, who died A.D. 399, aged 122. The "Shukai" suggests that the Prince and Princess here named were grandchildren, and not children of Nintoku, but the more obvious explanation of the difficulty is that the chronology is entirely untrustworthy.

[3] "An aquatic plant with peltate floating leaves, probably a Lemnanthemum, or marsh-flower." Williams. The allusion is to the opening stanzas of the first ode of the She-king, translated by Dr. Legge as follows:—

Kwan, *Kwan* go the ospreys
On the islet in the river.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
For our prince a good mate is she.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed
To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
Waking and sleeping he sought her.

sincerity, I offer thee my private treasure, called the Oshiki[1] jewel head-dress [others say 'standing head-dress,' and others, again, Ihaki (rock-tree) head-dress], which I make so bold as to present to thee by the hand of Ne no Omi, the minister whom thou didst send to me. I beg thee to accept of it, although it is an object of no value, as a token of my good faith."

Hereupon Ne no Omi, when he saw the Oshiki jewel head-dress, was struck with its beauty, and the thought occurred to him of stealing it and making it his own treasure. So he falsely represented to the Emperor, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka refused to obey thy orders, and spake to thy servant, saying:—'Shall he, though of the same house, have my XIII. 21.
younger sister to wife?'" Having done so, he retained the jewel head-dress, and did not present it to the Emperor, but made it his own.

Hereupon the Emperor believed Ne no Omi's slanderous words, and was greatly wroth. He raised an armed force, with which he surrounded the house of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and slew him.

At this time the Hikakas, Kishi of Naniha, father and sons, were all in the service of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, and they were all grieved that their lord should die without a crime. Accordingly the father took in his arms the Prince's head and the two sons took up each one of the Prince's legs and cried aloud, saying:—"Alas! Our Lord has died without a crime. Were we three, father and sons, who served him in life, not to follow him in death, we should be no true retainers." So they cut their throats, and died beside the Imperial corpse. The army, to a man, all wept tears. Upon this the Emperor took Nakashi hime,[2] the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka's wife, and bestowing her within the Palace, made her his concubine. Ultimately he sent for the Imperial Princess Hata-hi and gave her to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse to wife.

This year was the year Kinoye Mŭma (31st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. Nakashi hime no A.D. 455.

[1] Oshiki means literally "push-wood" or "push-tree." Its application here is uncertain.

[2] The "Kojiki" gives here a different name.

Mikoto was appointed Empress. The Emperor loved her exceedingly.

Before this time Nakashi hime no Mikoto bore Prince Mayuwa to the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka. On his mother's account he escaped punishment, and was always brought up within the Palace.

A.D. 456. XIII. 22. 3rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. The Emperor was assassinated by Prince Mayuwa [a detailed account is given in the history of the Emperor Ohohatsuse's reign]. After three years he was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi at Sugahara.

BOOK XIV.

THE EMPEROR OHO-HATSUSE WAKATAKE.[1]

(*YŪ-RIAKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take was the fifth child[3] of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsuma Waku-go no Sukune. When the Emperor was born, a supernatural radiance filled the building.[4] When he grew to manhood, he was distinguished for sturdy strength.

In the 8th month of the 3rd year of his reign, the Emperor Anaho went to the Mountain Palace with the intention of taking the hot baths. At length he went up into a lofty tower and was enjoying the prospect. Accordingly he commanded sake to be brought and a banquet to be held. So then, whilst his mind was at ease and his pleasure at its height, in the course of conversation he turned to the Empress and addressed her, saying :—

[The daughter of the Emperor Izahowake was called the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime. She was also called the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume. The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, a child of the Emperor Oho-sazaki, took to wife the Imperial Princess Nagata, who bore to him Prince Mayuwa. Afterwards the Emperor

[1] Hatsuse is the name of a place in Yamato. Waka-take means young brave.

[2] Yū-riaku means manly stratagem or counsel. The events related in this Book read more like genuine history, and the chronology, though it still leaves much to be desired, is not so wildly inaccurate as before.

[3] He was really the fifth son. See above, p. 315.

[4] The same thing in nearly the same words is related of one of the Later Han Emperors of China.

Anaho, giving heed to the slander of Ne no Omi, put to death the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and appointed the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime Empress. An account of this is given in the history of the reign of Anaho Tennō.]

"Our younger sister" [it seems to have been the ancient custom to address one's wife as "younger sister"], "although thou art Our friend, We fear Prince Mayuwa." Now Prince Mayuwa —who was only a boy—was playing below the tower, and heard everything that was said. Afterwards the Emperor Anaho, making a pillow of the Empress's knees, fell asleep in daylight
XIV. 2. drunkenness. Hereupon Prince Mayuwa, watching the time when he was sound asleep, stabbed and murdered him. On this day one of the Oho-toneri ran [his name and surname are wanting [1]], and said to the Emperor [2]:—"The Emperor Anaho has been murdered by Prince Mayuwa." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway being suspicious of his elder brothers, put on his armour and girded himself with his sword. Taking command of his troops in person, he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko. The Imperial Prince, seeing that he wished to do him a mischief, sat silent and said not a word. So the Emperor drew his sword and slew him. Next he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko. But this Imperial Prince also knew that he was about to do him a mischief, and sat silent, saying not a word.[3] The Emperor's rage became still more violent, so with the further object of killing Prince Mayuwa as well, he examined him as to the reason of his conduct. Prince Mayuwa said:—"Thy servant has never sought the Celestial Dignity. He has only revenged himself on his father's enemy." The Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko, who feared profoundly the suspicion in which he was held, communicated secretly with Prince Mayuwa, and they at last found an oppor-
XIV. 3. tunity of getting away together. They fled to the house of the Oho-omi [4] Tsubura. The Emperor sent a messenger to ask

[1] This note is rejected by the "Shukai" edition. It is certainly frivolous.

[2] i.e. to the Emperor Yūriaku.

[3] The "Kojiki" relates these events quite differently.

[4] Oho-omi is written with the characters read in later times Daijin, i.e. Great Minister or Prime Minister.

for them. The Oho-omi replied by a messenger, saying:—"I may possibly have heard of a vassal in time of trouble taking refuge in a Royal chamber, but I had never seen Princes conceal themselves in the house of a vassal. At this very time the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa, trusting profoundly in thy servant's heart, have come to thy servant's house. How can I have the heart to send them to thee?" In consequence of this the Emperor raised a still greater army and surrounded the Oho-omi's house. The Oho-omi came out, and standing in the courtyard, tied his garters. At this time the Oho-omi's wife brought the garters, and heart-broken, alas! made a song, saying[1]:—

The Omi child
Cloth trousers
Nine-fold having put on—
Standing in the courtyard
His garters he adjusts!

The Oho-omi, when he had finished dressing, advanced to the gate of the camp, where he knelt down and said:—"Thy servant cannot obey thy orders, even though his refusal costs him his life. There is a saying of a man of old, 'The will of even a common man cannot be taken from him.'[2] This is precisely thy servant's case. I humbly beseech the Great Prince to allow thy servant's daughter, Kara-hime, and the seven buildings[3] of Katsuraki, which I now offer thee, to be received as a ransom for their offences." The Emperor would not permit XIV. 4.
it, but set fire to the houses and burnt them. Hereupon the Oho-omi with the Imperial Prince Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa were all burnt to death together. Now Nihe no Sukune, Muraji of the Sakahi Be, took in his arms the Imperial Prince's dead body and so was burnt to death. His household [the names are wanting[4]] took up that which was burnt, but were never able to sort out the bones. They were deposited in one coffin and

[1] This poem seems intended to express wonder at her husband's care for his appearance at a moment when his life was at stake.

[2] "Confucian Analects," Book IX. chap. xxv. 1.

[3] Granaries, as the "Kojiki" informs us.

[4] A silly note. No wonder the "Shukai" edition rejects it.

buried together on the hill south of Tsukimoto in Imaki no Aya.[1]

Winter 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor resented the Emperor Anaho's having formerly wished to transfer the kingdom to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha,[2] and to commit the succession definitively to his charge. So he sent a man to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha, and treacherously arranged with him to go a-hunting. Inviting him to go on an excursion to the moors, he said:—Karabukuro,[3] the Kimi of the Sasaki mountain in Ohomi, tells me
XIV. 5. that now on the Kaya moor in Kutawata in Ohomi, there are wild boars and deer in plenty. The horns they bear are like the twigs of withered trees, their legs are thick together like a grove of bushes, the breath which they breathe resembles the mists of morning. Along with the Imperial Prince, I wish in the first month of winter, when the sky is cloudy and the cold wind blows keenly, to go for an excursion to the moors, where we may somewhat divert our minds by running archery."[4] The Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha accordingly followed the hunt. Hereupon the Emperor Ohohatsuse drew his bow and putting his horse to a gallop, called out falsely, saying, "There is a wild boar!" and shot the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha dead. A man of the Imperial Prince's household named Uruwa, of the Saheki Be [another name is Nakachiko], took the dead body in his arms. In his consternation he knew not what to do, but writhed on the ground and called aloud upon his master, going to and fro. The Emperor put him to death also.

In this month the Imperial Prince Mimŭma,[5] who had formerly been pleased with Musa, a place belonging to the
XIV. 6. Kimi of Miwa, and wishing to shake off his cares, went thither. While on his way he unexpectedly fell in with a force which had been sent against him.[6] He joined battle with them at the

[1] This means literally the new-comer Aya or Han. See below, xix. 22.

[2] The eldest son of Richiu Tennō. See p. 306. He was, no doubt, thought too young to succeed to the throne at his father's death in 405.

[3] Kara bag. There is also a name Yamato-bukuro.

[4] i.e. shooting animals with the bow and arrow while one's horse is at a gallop.

[5] The Prince of the august horses. A son of Richiu Tennō.

[6] By the Emperor.

well of Iha in Miwa, but was soon taken prisoner. When about to be executed, he pointed to the well and pronounced a curse, saying:—"This water may be drunk by the people only: royal persons alone may not drink of it."

11th month, 13th day. The Emperor ordered commissioners to erect a lofty pavilion at Asakura in Hatsuse,[1] in which he assumed the Imperial Dignity, and at last established the Palace. He appointed Matori, Heguri no Omi as Oho-omi and Muruya, Oho-tomo no Muraji and Me, Mononobe no Muraji he made Ohomuraji.[2]

1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The Imperial Princess Kusaka no Hatahi hime was appointed Empress. [Another name for her is Tachi-bana-hime.] A.D. 457.

In this month three concubines were appointed. The senior of these, named Kara-hime, daughter of the Oho-omi of Tsubura in Katsuraki, was the mother of the Emperor Shiraga take-hiro-kuni-oshi Waka-Yamato-neko, and of the Imperial Princess Waka-tarashi-hime. [Also called the Imperial Princess Taku-hata no Iratsume.] This Imperial Princess attended to the sacrifices of the Great Deity of Ise.[3] Next XIV. 7.
there was Waka-hime, daughter of the Omi of Kibi no Kamutsumichi.[4] [One book says she was the daughter of Kibi no Kuboya no Omi.] She bore two sons. The elder was called the Imperial Prince Ihashiro, and the younger the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha no Waka-miya. Next there was Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Omi of Wani in Kasuga. She was the mother of Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume [also called Princess Takahashi.] Woguna Kimi was originally an Uneme. The Emperor gave one night to her and she became pregnant. Ultimately she gave birth to a girl. The Emperor had suspicions and would not bring her up. When the girl was able to walk, the Emperor was in the great hall with the Oho-muraji Me, of the Mononobe, in attendance on him. The girl

[1] The interlinear kana gloss has Hase.

[2] The "Shokugenshō" says:—"The Prime Minister (Oho-omi or Daijin) conducts the Government in conjunction with the Ohomuraji." Another authority says that the Oho-omi was a civil and the Ohomuraji a military officer. The titles were hereditary in these Houses. They became extinct towards the end of the sixth century.

[3] The Sun-Goddess.

[4] The upper province of Kibi, now Bizen.

crossed the courtyard. Me, the Ohomuraji, looking round, said to the Ministers :—" What a pretty girl! There is a saying of the men of old, 'Thou art like thy mother.'[1] [This ancient saying is not clear.] Whose little girl is she said to be who is walking with leisurely pace in the pure court?" The Emperor said :—" Why dost thou ask?" Me no Ohomuraji answered and said :—" When thy servant looks at this little girl walking, she appears to him strongly to resemble the Emperor." The Emperor said :—" Every one who sees her makes the same remark. Sed insolitum est, quum ei unam solum noctem dederim, eam concepisse et filiam peperisse. Quam ob rem suspiciones mihi excitatae sunt." Ohomuraji dixit :—" Sed in hac unâ nocte quoties cum eâ rem habuisti?" "Septies," in-
XIV. 8. quit Imperator. Ohomuraji loquitur :—" Si haec femina puro corpore et purâ mente recepit unam noctem quam ei dedisti, cur tam facile concipis suspiciones et nolis fidere alterius castitati? Servus tuus audivit feminas quae facile praegnantes fiant vel tactu braccarum concipere. Multo magis, quum totam noctem dederis, sine justâ ratione non debes suspiciones concipere."

The Emperor, by order to the Ohomuraji, made the little girl an Imperial Princess, and appointed her mother to be a concubine.

This year was the year Hinoto Tori (34th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 458. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month. Iketsu hime of Pèkché,[2] in despite of the Emperor's intention to favour[3] her, had an amour with Tate of Ishikaha.

In an old book it is said :—" Tate, the ancestor of the Obito of Momoahi in Ishikaha."

The Emperor was greatly enraged, and giving his commands to the Ohomuraji Muruya, of the Ohotomo House, sent some Kume Be who stretched the four limbs of the woman on a tree. The tree was placed over a cupboard, which was set fire to, and she was burnt to death.

The "Shinsen"[4] of Pèkché says :—" In the 6th year of

[1] These words are in Japanese.

[2] Corea has been hardly mentioned for fifty years or so. Probably some of the events allotted to the previous period really belong to this interval.

[3] i.e. wed.

[4] i.e. new compilation, the name of a book.

the Cycle [1] King Kèro ascended the throne. The Emperor sent Aretoku hither to ask for a nyörang. Pèkché adorned the daughter of the Lady Moni, called the Nyörang Chökké, and sent her as tribute to the Emperor." [2]

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino, and on the 6th he proceeded to Mimase. Giving orders to the wardens, he indulged in the chase. They climbed the towering peaks, they crossed the wide jungles. Before the shadows fell, out of ten, seven or XIV. 9. eight had been caught. Every time they hunted, they caught many, so that the birds and beasts were almost exhausted. At length they rested by the springs and groves, and sauntered together in the thickets and meadows. Halting his footmen, the Emperor counted the chariots and horses. Then he inquired of the Ministers, saying:—"It is a pleasure of the hunting-field to make the stewards cut up the fresh meat. Suppose that you and We cut it up ourselves?" The Ministers were taken aback and could find no answer. Hereupon the Emperor became very wroth, and drawing his sword, slew one of the stewards named Mumakahi of Ohotsu. On this day the Imperial cortège arrived from the Yoshino Palace. The people of the province all shook with fear. In consequence the Grand Empress and the Empress, hearing of this, were full of apprehension, and sent to meet him Hi-no-hime, the Uneme of Yamato,[3] to offer him sake. The Emperor, seeing the beauty of the Uneme's countenance,[4] and the elegance of her appearance, softened his looks, and with a pleased expression, said:—"How should I not wish to behold thy pleasing smile?" So

[1] Corresponding to A.D. 429. The "Tongkam" places this event in A.D. 455.

[2] The use of the words "Emperor" and "tribute" shows that this "new compilation," like the "Pèkché record" already mentioned, was probably the work of Corean literati domiciled in Japan. Nyörang is in the Chinese 女郎 (lady), which in modern Japanese means a harlot. The Interlinear Kana is Yehashito, which probably means "beautiful person." The nyörang were no doubt concubines of inferior rank. The word rendered lady is 夫人, a title of the wives of officials above a certain rank. Aretoku is not like a Japanese name.

[3] The Atahe of Yamato was her father.

[4] She was of a marriageable age before the accession of Richiu Tennō in A.D. 400, and we are now at 458.

XIV. 10. hand in hand with her, he entered the hinder palace, where he addressed the Empress Dowager, saying:—"In to-day's hunt we took many birds and beasts. We wished along with the Ministers to cut up the fresh meat and to have a banquet on the moor. But having proposed this to them, not one of them gave us an answer. Therefore did We get angry." The Empress Dowager, knowing the feeling which dictated these words of the Emperor, mollified him, saying:—"The Ministers did not understand that your Majesty, in connection with the sport on the hunting-field, was establishing a Fleshers' Be, and therefore did condescend to ask their opinion, so that their silence was reasonable, and it was hard for them to reply. But even now it is not too late to offer them.[1] I will make a beginning with myself. My steward Nagano is good at making mince meat.[2] I beg permission to present him to thee." The Emperor knelt down and accepted him, saying:—"It is good." This is what the rustic means when he says:—"The nobles understand each other's hearts." The Empress Dowager saw the Emperor's gratification, and pleasure filled her bosom. She further wished to offer men, and said:—"There are my two scullions, Masakida and Takame,[3] of the Mito Be of Uda. I beg leave to add these two men to the others to form a Fleshers' Be." From this time forward Akoko no Sukune, the Miyakko of the province of Yamato, sends some of the
XIV. 11. Kotori Wake of Saho to form the Fleshers' Be. The Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, and the Kuni no Miyakko also, following (the Empress's example), presented some, one after another.

In this month the Fumubito[4] Be, and the Toneri[5] Be of Kahakami, were instituted.

The Emperor, taking his heart for guide, wrongfully slew many men. The Empire censured him, and called him "The greatly wicked Emperor." The only persons who loved him

[1] Men to serve as fleshers.

[2] It must be remembered that the Japanese having no table-knives, all flesh is cut up small before it is served.

[3] A curious name! It means "High Heaven." Uda is the name of a Kōri of Yamato. There is a village there called Mitobe, which means Imperial House Be. It probably was an appanage of the Empress.

[4] Scribes. [5] Palace attendants.

were Awo Musa no Suguri[1] of the Scribes' Be and Hakatoko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi.[2]

3rd year, Summer, 4th month. Kunimi, Abe no Omi [His other name was Shikotohi], uttered a slander respecting the Imperial Princess Taku-hata and Takehiko, Ihoki Be no Muraji, the bath-official, saying:—"Takehiko has had illicit intercourse with the Imperial Princess." Takehiko's father, Kikoyu, hearing this rumour, was afraid lest calamity might overtake himself, and persuaded Takehiko to come with him to the River Ihoki. There, pretending to make cormorants dive into the water to catch fish, he took him unawares and slew him. When the Emperor heard this, he sent messengers to question the Imperial Princess. The Imperial Princess answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden knows nothing." Suddenly the Imperial Princess took a divine mirror and went to Isuzu no Kahakami,[3] and watching for a time when no one was passing, buried the mirror, and hanged herself. The Emperor became suspicious on account of the Imperial Princess's absence, and constantly sent persons in the dead of night to search in all directions. When they came to Kahakami, a rainbow appeared, like unto a serpent, four or five rods in length. When they dug the place from which the rainbow sprang they found the divine mirror, and no great distance off, they discovered the Imperial Princess's body. On ripping her open and making examination, there was in her belly something like water, and in the water there was a stone. Kikoyu was thus enabled to establish his son's innocence, but on the other hand he had remorse for having slain him. He revenged him by killing Kunimi, and then fled and hid in the Shrine of Isonokami. A.D. 459. XIV. 12.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went a-hunting with bow and arrows on Mount Katsuraki. Of a sudden a tall man appeared, who came and stood over the vermilion valley.[4] A.D. 460. XIV. 13.

[1] Suguri is written with Chinese characters which mean "village master." It is said to be a Corean word.

[2] Tami-tsukahi means "employer of the people." It seems to be a title of a low class. It may be observed that the "Kojiki" strives to put a favourable construction on Yūriaku's conduct.

[3] Where the Ise shrines are.

[4] Fairy-land. It is perhaps here the name of a place, Tanikahi.

In face and demeanour he resembled the Emperor. The Emperor knew that he was a God, and therefore proceeded to inquire of him, saying:—"Of what place art thou Lord?" The tall man answered and said:—"I am a God of visible men.[1] Do thou first tell thy princely name, and then in turn I will inform thee of mine." The Emperor answered and said:—"We are Wake-take no Mikoto." The tall man next gave his name, saying:—"Thy servant is the God Hito-koto-nushi."[2] He finally joined him in the diversion of the chase. They pursued a deer, and each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to bit, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company of genii. Herewith the sun went down, and the hunt came to an end. The God attended on the Emperor and escorted him as far as the Water of Kume. At this time the people all said:—"An Emperor of great virtue!"

Autumn, 8th month, 18th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.

28th day. He made a progress to Kahakami no Ono,[3] where he commanded the forest wardens to drive the wild beasts. He lay in wait hoping to shoot them himself, when a gad-fly came swiftly flying. Then a dragon-fly flew thither suddenly, bit the gad-fly, and went away with it. The Emperor was pleased at its attention, and commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Do ye on Our behalf compose an ode in praise of this
XIV. 14. dragon-fly." As none of the Ministers made so bold as to compose an ode, the Emperor forthwith composed a short piece,[4] saying:—

These tidings some one
Told in the Great Presence,
How in Yamato
On the Peak of Womura
Four-footed game was lying:

---

[1] i.e. who has assumed mortal form.

[2] Lit. one-word-master. The "Kojiki" expands this into "The Deity who dispels with a word the evil, and with a word the good." See Ch. K., p. 319. The "Kiujiki" makes him a son of Susanowo.

[3] The little moor of the upper stream.

[4] 口號. This was the name of a particular kind of Chinese poetry of four or eight lines.

The Great Lord,
When he heard this,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with jewels,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with cloth :
Waiting for the game
Whilst I [1] remained :
Waiting for the wild-boar
Whilst I was standing,
My arm in the fleshy part,
Was stung by a gad-fly :
But soon a dragon-fly
That gad-fly did bite.
Even a creeping insect
Waits upon the Great Lord.
Thy form it will bear,
O Yamato, land of the dragon-fly ! [2]

One book has, instead of "the great presence," "the great Lord."

One book has, instead of "stood at his throne," "remained in his throne."

One book has, instead of from "even a creeping insect" (inclusive) to the end, the following :—

That in this wise
It should be famous,
The Heaven-filling [3]
Land of Yamato
Was called the Land of the Dragon-fly.[4]

Therefore in honour of the Dragon-fly this place was called Akitsu no.[5] XIV. 15.

[1] The change from the third to the first person is much less marked in the Japanese. It is not to be supposed that the Emperors actually composed these verses themselves, nor perhaps any others ascribed to them in the "Nihongi." The hand of the Court-poet is plain in the honorific epithets and forms given to him therein.

[2] The word for throne is agura. It was no doubt something of the nature of a camp-stool.

[3] Heaven-filling. See above, p. 135, note 5. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[4] This is the "Kojiki" version.

[5] The moor of the Dragon-fly. See above, p. 134, note 8.

A.D. 461. 5th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor hunted on Mount Katsuraki. Suddenly there came a supernatural bird, in size like a sparrow, with a long tail which trailed upon the ground. Now this bird chirruped, saying:—"Have a care! Have a care!" Then suddenly there appeared, issuing furiously from the herbage, a raging wild boar of which they had been in chase, and pursued the men. The huntsmen in great terror climbed up into trees. The Emperor commanded his attendants, saying:—"When a savage beast meets with man, it straightway halts. Encounter it with a shot from your bows, and then stab it." The attendants were of an effeminate nature. They climbed up trees, and changed countenance, and their five senses were masterless. The raging wild boar came straight on, and tried to bite the Emperor. But the Emperor with his bow pierced it and stayed its course. Then, raising his foot, he killed it with a kick. Hereupon, when the chase was over, he wanted to cut down the attendants. The attendants, when about to be executed, made a song, saying:—

Oh! my elder brother,
Thou alder-tree branch—
Over Ariwo,
To which I climbed up in flight,
Dreading
XIV. 16. The snorting of the wild-boar,
That was shot
By Our great Lord
Who rules peacefully![1]

The Empress, hearing their lament, was sorry for them, and tried to stay (the execution). The Emperor said:—"The

[1] This translation exactly reverses the order of the lines of the original. The "Kojiki" version (*vide* Ch. K., p. 318) varies somewhat. Ariwo I take (doubtfully) to be a proper name. The "Kojiki" says that it was the Emperor who climbed into the tree, and Motoöri takes this view. I agree with Chamberlain that this won't do. Perhaps something has been omitted in the "Kojiki" narrative. The insertion of the single word Toneri in one place would make it agree with the "Nihongi." It is not likely that a poem should have been composed to commemorate the Emperor's ascent into a tree.

The alder-tree branch is addressed as "elder brother" in gratitude for its protection.

Empress is taking part, not with the Emperor, but with the attendants." She answered and said:—"The people all say, 'His Majesty is fond of the chase, and loves game. Is not this wrong?' If now Your Majesty, on account of a savage boar, puts to death your attendants, Your Majesty is, as it were, not different from a wolf." The Emperor with the Empress went up into their carriage and returned home. Amid cries of "Long live the Emperor!" he said:—"How delightful is this! Everybody has caught game, and We have caught good words, which We have brought back with us."[1]

Summer, 4th month. Lord Kasyuni [i.e. King Kèro] of Pèkché, having learnt by rumour that Iketsu hime [viz. the Nyörang Chök-ke] had been put to death by burning,[2] held counsel, saying:—"The ancient custom of sending tribute of women to be made Uneme is contrary to decorum, and is injurious to our country's reputation. Henceforward it is unmeet that women be sent as tribute." Accordingly he intimated to his younger brother, Lord Kun[3] [i.e. Lord Kon-chi], saying:—"Do thou go to Japan,[4] and serve the Emperor." Lord Kun answered and said:—"My Lord's commands must not be disobeyed. I pray thee give me one of thy consorts, and then I will undertake this mission." Lord Kasyuni accordingly took one of his consorts who was pregnant, XIV. 17. and having given her in marriage to Lord Kun, said:—"The month for the delivery of this pregnant consort of mine has already arrived. If she should be delivered on the journey, I pray thee place (the child) on board a ship, and whatever place thou mayest have arrived at, cause it to be at once sent back to this country." So at last he took his leave, and went on his mission to the (Japanese) Court.

[1] This passage, from "If now Your Majesty" down to "with us," is copied, with a few trifling alterations, from a Chinese book. Motoöri dismisses the whole incident of the Empress's interference as a silly imitation of Chinese models. He is doubtless right.

[2] See above, p. 338.

[3] The traditional Kana rendering of 軍君 (War-lord) is Komukishi.

[4] Japan is 日本, or Nippon, by which name this country was not known till much later.

6th month, 1st day. The pregnant consort realized the words of Lord Kasyuni, and gave birth to a child in the island of Kahara in Tsukushi. So this child was given the name of Lord Shima.[1] Upon this Lord Kun straightway took a ship and sent Lord Shima to his country. He became King Munyöng. The people of Pèkché call this island Chuto.[2]

Autumn, 7th month. Lord Kun entered the capital. After this he had five children.

The Pèkché Shinsen says:—"In the year Kanoto ushi (A.D. 461[3]) King Kèro sent his younger brother, Lord Konchi, to Great Wa, to wait upon the Emperor and to confirm the friendship of former sovereigns."

A.D 462. 6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Emperor made an excursion to the small moor of Hatsuse. There, viewing the aspect of the hills and moors, in an outburst of feeling, he made a song, saying:—

The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
They stand out
Excellent mountains!
They run out
Excellent mountains!
The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
Are full of various beauties!
Are full of various beauties![4]

Hereupon he gave a name to the small moor, and called it Michi no Ono.[5]

[1] Shima is the Japanese for island. The Corean is syöm, the two words being no doubt identical. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XVI. i. p. 68.

[2] Master-island.

[3] This date is noteworthy as being the first in the "Nihongi" which is confirmed by Corean history. It is true that it occurs only in a note, which was probably added by a later hand. But the narrative of the text no doubt refers to the same event. From this time forward the "Nihongi" chronology is never grossly inaccurate, though it would be too much to say that it can yet be depended on. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," XVI. i. p. 67.

[4] Metre irregular.

[5] i.e. the small moor of the road.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor wished to make the Empress and his concubines plant mulberry trees with their own hands, in order to encourage the silk industry. Hereupon he gave orders to Sukaru [This is a personal name] to make a collection of silkworms throughout the country. Now Sukaru made a mistake and collected babies,[1] which he presented to the Emperor. The Emperor laughed greatly, and gave the babies to Sukaru, saying:—"Do thou bring them up thyself." Accordingly Sukaru brought them up hard by the Palace enclosure. So he was granted a title, and was called Chihisako Be[2] no Muraji. XIV. 18.

Summer, 4th month. The Land of Wu[3] sent envoys with tribute.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Emperor commanded Sukaru Chihisako Be no Muraji, saying:—"It is our desire to see the form of the Deity of Mimuro Hill. [*Some say that the Deiiy of this mountain is Oho-mono-shiro-nushi no Kami. Others say Uda no Sumi-zaka no Kami.*] Thou dost excel in strength of body. Go thyself, seize him, and bring him here." Sukaru answered and said:—"I will make the attempt, and go to seize him." So he ascended the Hill of Mimuro and caught a great serpent, which he showed the Emperor, who had not practised (religious) abstinence. Its thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The Emperor was afraid, and, covering his eyes, would not look upon it, but fled into the interior of the Palace. Then he caused it to be let loose on the Hill, and giving it a new name, called it Ikadzuchi.[4] A.D. 463.

8th month. One of the Toneri named Oho-sora,[5] of the Bow- XIV. 19.

[1] The Japanese for silkworm is Kahiko. Kahi means to keep, to nurture, and ko is "little one;" so there was some excuse for Sukaru's mistake.

[2] Chihisako means "little child." The title and office seem merged in one here.

[3] The Wu dynasty came to an end A.D. 280, and at this time the Sung dynasty held rule, but, as Mr. E. H. Parker has pointed out, Wu was also a territorial designation of that part of China about Nanking. Of course, by tribute is meant presents. The Japanese early adopted the Chinese arrogant way of speaking of foreign nations.

[4] Thunderbolt.

[5] Oho-sora means The Great Void (of Heaven). We have had above a name Takama, i.e. High Heaven.

makers' Be of Kibi, went home on some urgency. Sakitsuya Omi of Lower Kibi [In one book it says:—"The Kuni no Miyakko, Yama, Kibi no Omi"], detained Oho-sora, and for several months would not consent to allow him to go up to the capital. The Emperor sent Mike no Kimi, a man of valour, to fetch him. Oho-sora came in obedience to the summons, and said:—"Sakitsuya took young girls to represent the Emperor's men, and grown-up women to represent his own men. Then he made them fight with one another, and on seeing that the young girls were victorious, drew his sword and slew them. At another time he took a small cock, which he called the Emperor's cock, and pulled out its feathers and clipped its wings. Then he took a large cock, which he called his own cock, attached to it a bell,[1] and armed its spurs with metal. Then he matched them together, and when the naked bird got the better of the other, he again took out his sword and killed it." When the Emperor heard this story, he sent thirty soldiers of the Monono Be, who put Sakitsuya to death, with seventy persons of his household.

This year Tasa, Omi of Upper Kibi, while on duty beside the Palace, praised Waka-hime abundantly to his friends,
XIV. 20. saying:—"Of all the beautiful women in the Empire, there is none to compare with my wife. How blooming! How gentle! How graced with various charms! How radiant! How genial! What perfection in every feature! She uses not flower of lead:[2] she adds not oil of orchids. Through the wide ages her equals are but few: in the present day she stands alone and peerless." The Emperor inclined his ear, and listening from a distance, rejoiced in his heart. So with the object of obtaining Waka-hime for himself, and making her one of his concubines, he appointed Tasa Governor of Imna,[3] and promptly favoured Waka-hime. When Tasa no Omi wedded Waka-hime, she bore to him Ye-kimi and Oto-kimi."[4]

Another book says:—"Tasa no Omi's wife, by name

[1] Small bells like the French grêlots were used as ornaments to the wrist or attached to garters.

[2] White lead ceruse.

[3] Mimana or Kara in Corea, where there was a Japanese resident.

[4] Elder lord and younger lord.

Ke-hime, was the daughter of Tamado no Sukune, son of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. The Emperor, hearing of the serene beauty of her form, slew her husband, and wedded her himself."

After Tasa had arrived at his post, he learnt that the Emperor had married his wife, and with the object of obtaining succour, he went to Silla, which at that time did not do service to the Central Land.[1] The Emperor gave orders to Tasa no Omi's son Otokimi, and also to Akawo Kibi no Ama[2] no Atahe, saying:—"Do ye go and chastise Silla." At this time a skilled artisan of Western Aya named Kwan-in Chiri,[3] who XIV. 21. was near the Emperor, came forward and represented to him, saying:—"There are in the Land of Han[4] many who are more skilful than thy slave. Let them be sent for and made to serve thee." The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Then let Kwan-in Chiri be joined to Otokimi and the others, and let him get instructions from Pèkché; at the same time let an Imperial rescript be delivered directing Pèkché to offer skilled men."

Hereupon Otokimi, in execution of these commands, took with him a body of men and proceeded as far as Pèkché. When he entered that land, a God of the country,[5] assuming the form of an old woman, suddenly met him on the road. Otokimi inquired of her whether the country was far or near. The old woman answered and said:—"If thou goest on for one day more, thou wilt then arrive there." Otokimi thought to himself that the way was too far, and returned without having chastised it. He got together the Imaki[6] skilled artisans who had been given as tribute by Pèkché on a large island, and under the pretence of awaiting a fair wind, tarried there for several months. Tasa no Omi, the Governor of Imna, pleased that Otokimi had gone away without chas-

[1] The "Central Land" is evidently Japan. The Kana has "Mikado."

[2] Fishermen.

[3] Possibly these are the names of two men. The Western Aya were the Aya of Kahachi.

[4] Corea. [5] This must refer to Silla.

[6] Imaki is the name of a place in Yoshino in Yamato. It means "newcomer," and the term may have been applied in the first place to this batch of emigrants to distinguish them from previous ones.

tising Silla, secretly sent a man to Pèkché, to warn Otokimi, saying:—"Is thine own head so firm that thou canst chastise others? A report has reached me that the Emperor has wedded my wife, with the result that he has had children by her. [The children are mentioned above.[1]] As I now fear that calamity may reach my own person, it is well that I should
XIV. 22. wait with foot uplifted. Do thou, my son, come over and betake thyself to Pèkché, and prevent it from communicating with Japan, while I will repair to and hold Imna, and will also hold no communication with Japan." Otokimi's wife Kusu-hime had profound patriotic sentiment; the sense of duty between lord and vassal was strong in her; her loyalty surpassed the bright sun; her principles excelled the evergreen fir. She abominated such treason, and having stealthily killed her husband, secretly buried him in the chamber. Then she remained in the large island with Akawo, Ama no Atahe, in charge of the skilled artisans presented by Pèkché. The Emperor, hearing that Otokimi was missing, sent Katashiha, Hitaka no Kishi, and Ko An-chön.[2] These messengers together made their report to the Emperor. They[3] were accordingly ultimately settled in the village of Hirokitsu in Ato in the province of Yamato, where many of them died of disease. In consequence of this, the Emperor commanded Muruya, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, to instruct Tsukami, Yamato no Aya[4]
XIV. 23. no Atahe to remove Ko-kwi, of the Potters' Be, Kyön-kwi, of the Saddlers' Be, In-să-ra-ka, of the Painters'[5] Be, Chöng-an-na, of the Brocade-weavers' Be, and Myo-an-na, the Interpreter, all belonging to the New Aya,[6] to other residences at the following three places, viz., Upper Momohara, Lower Momohara, and Magami no Hara.

[1] As a matter of fact, they are not; the "Shukai" rejects this note. As the "Shukai" editor points out, all this cannot belong to the same year of Yūriaku's reign.

[2] Ko An-chön. Probably a Corean. Chön means copper cash, which were unknown in Japan at this time.

[3] This must refer to the Pèkché artisans.

[4] Otherwise called the Eastern Aya.

[5] The first mention of the art of painting.

[6] The Aya or Han would now appear to have three branches—the Eastern or Yamato Aya, the Western or Kahachi Aya, and the New or Imaki Aya, whose introduction is here related. They all consisted of skilled men from Corea.

A certain book says :—" Otokimi, Kibi no Omi, returned from Pèkché, and presented a Be of Aya workmen, a Be of tailors, and a Be of fleshers."

8th year, Spring, 2nd month. Awo, Musa no Suguri, and Haka-toko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi, were sent to the Country of Wu. A.D. 464.

From the accession of the Emperor up to this year eight years had now passed, during which the Land of Silla was refractory and given to vain talk, and did not send presents. Therefore they feared the intentions of the Central Land,[1] and cemented friendship with Koryö. Consequently the King of Koryö sent one hundred picked soldiers to guard Silla. After a while, one of these Koryö soldiers returned to his own country on furlough. Now he took with him a Silla man as groom. Turning to him, he addressed him, saying :—" Thy country will be conquered by my country ere long." [One book says :—Thy country will in the end become our territory, and that ere long.] When the groom heard this, he pretended a pain in his belly, and retiring, remained behind. At length he made his escape to his own country, and told what had been said. Hereupon the King of Silla knew that Koryö's guard was mere pretence, and sent messengers to run and tell the people to kill the cocks kept in their houses. The people knew his meaning, and killed all the men of Koryö[2] resident in the country. Only one Koryö man was left, who seized an opportunity to effect his escape and flee to his own country, when he told the whole story. The king of Koryö accordingly raised an army and encamped by the city of Chhyuk-chong-nyu. [*One book says the city of Tokushiki.*] At length they made music, with song and dance. Hereupon the King of Silla, hearing in the night the Koryö army singing and dancing on all sides, became aware that the enemy had occupied the whole land of Silla. So he sent a man to the King of Imna, saying :—" The King of Koryö has attacked our country. At this present time, like the fringes sewn on a flag,[3] the condi- XIV. 24.

[1] Japan.

[2] Kokuryö, the proper name of this country, resembles the onomatopoetic word for the crowing of a cock: English, cock-a-doodle-doo; French, kokeriko; Japanese, Bekkakō.

[3] Which are always wobbling about.

tion of the land is more precarious than that of a pile of eggs.
XIV. 25. The thread of life is short, and may not at all be reckoned. I humbly beg that the Japanese Authorities[1] will assist me with war generals."

Accordingly the King of Imna persuaded Ikaruga, Kashihade no Omi, Wonashi, Kibi no Omi, and Akameko, Naniha no Kishi to go to the assistance of Silla. Kashihade no Omi and the others halted before they reached the camp, and before the Koryö generals had fought with Kashihade no Omi and the others, they were all afraid. So Kashihade no Omi and his colleagues did their best to keep the troops in good heart, and urged them to get ready the means of attack. Then suddenly they advanced and took the offensive. For more than ten days they and the Koryö men kept watch on one another. When night came on they pierced a steep place, and made a hollow way, along which they passed all the baggage wagons and prepared an ambush. At dawn the Koryö men thought to themselves :—"Kashihade no Omi and the others are stealing away." So they came in pursuit with their whole army. Then the troops in ambush, both horse and foot, were let go, and taking them from both sides, put them to a great rout. It was from this that the enmity between the two countries sprang. [By the two countries are meant Silla and Koryö.]

Kashihade no Omi and his colleagues spake to Silla, saying: —"Thou with the utmost weakness wert pitted against the utmost strength, and had it not been for the assistance of the Government[2] troops thou wouldst assuredly have been taken at a disadvantage and thy territory annexed. By this campaign be warned never in future to be disobedient to the Celestial Court."[3]

[1] In the original 日本府. The "Shukai" editor alters this to 官府 or official authorities, for no better reason than that the latter term is the one used in Kimmei's reign. 日本 occurs frequently after this time, no doubt being employed retrospectively. Probably the actual word used by the King of Silla was Wa.

[2] i.e. Japanese.

[3] It is difficult to say how much truth there is in this Corean episode. The "Tongkam" lends no corroboration. On the contrary the only notices of Japan which it contains about this time relate to Japanese descents on the Silla Coast. One is recorded in 459, one in 463, and one in 476. No unusual enmity between Silla and Koryö at this time is mentioned in the

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Katabu,[1] Ofushi Kahachi no Atahe, and an Uneme were sent to sacrifice to the Deity of Munagata.[2] Katabu and the Uneme, having arrived at the altar-place,[3] were about to perform the rites, when Katabu debauched the Uneme. When the Emperor heard this, he said :—"When we sacrifice to the Gods and invoke from them blessings, should we not be watchful over our conduct?" So he sent Naniha no Hidaka no Kishi to put him to death. But Katabu straightway took to flight, and was not to be found. The Emperor again sent Toyoho, Yuge[4] no Muraji, who searched the districts of that province far and wide, and at length caught and slew him at Awi[5] no hara, in the district of Mishima. A.D. 465. XIV. 26.

3rd month. The Emperor desired to chastise Silla in person, but a God warned him, saying :—"Go not." For this reason the Emperor did not carry out his intention of going, but gave orders to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, Soga no Karako no Sukune, Ohotomo no Katari[6] no Muraji, and Wokahi no Sukune, saying :—"Silla occupies the Western Land : age after age he has done us homage : he did not neglect visits of ceremony : his payment of tribute was duly discharged. But since We have come to rule the Empire, he has betaken himself beyond Tsushima, and concealed his traces outside of Chamna. He prevents Koryō from sending tribute, he devours the walled cities of Pèkché. Nay, more—his missions of ceremony to this court have been neglected and his tribute remains unpaid. With the savage XIV. 27.

"Tongkam." Nor does this narrative square very well with what is related below, xiv. 26, 27. I am inclined, nevertheless, to believe that it has a solid foundation of fact, only that the dates must be wrong.

From "having pierced" to "great rout" is copied mutatis mutandis from a Chinese history of the Wei period, reign of Wu Ti, and Kashihade no Omi's speech to the King of Silla is extracted from the same source.

[1] This curious name means "fragrance-giver."

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Kana rendering is Kamu-niha (divine courtyard), which is not exactly an altar, but a plot of ground set apart for the worship of the Gods. See above, p. 81, note 9.

[4] Bow-makers.

Awi is indigo, the Polygonum tinctorium.

[6] The Katari were reciters attached to the Court. Unfortunately we know very little about them, or what the subjects of their recitations were.

heart of the wolf he flies away when satiated, and sticks fast when starving. I appoint you four ministers to be generals. Take a royal army and chastise him. Let the punishment of Heaven be reverently executed."

Hereupon Ki no Woyumi no Sukune laid a complaint before the Emperor through Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy servant, although feeble and incompetent, will respectfully obey the Emperor's orders. But now thy servant's wife has departed this life, and there is nobody to take care of thy servant. Do Thou, my Lord, I beseech Thee, represent this matter fully to the Emperor." Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji represented it fully. When the Emperor heard this complaint, he uttered a sigh of pity. He took an Uneme from the hither province of Kibi, Ohomi[1] by name, and giving her to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, attached her to his person to take care of him. So at length he sent him off with a shove to his axle.

Ki no Woyumi no Sukune and the rest accordingly entered Silla, butchering as they went the districts along their way.
XIV. 28. The King of Silla heard by night on all sides the drums of the Government army, and becoming aware that they had completely conquered the land of Tok,[2] fled in confusion with several hundred cavalry. Thereby ensued a great defeat. Woyumi no Sukune pursued and slew the enemy's general in the midst of his army. The whole land of Tok was reduced to order, but there was a remainder which would not submit. Ki no Woyumi no Sukune again withdrew his troops, and having effected a junction with Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and the others, they again, with a great display of forces, fought with the remaining band. This evening Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and Ki no Okazaki no Kume no Muraji were both slain while fighting with all their might. Tsumaro, a follower of Katari no Muraji, of the same surname,[3] afterwards came amongst the army and asked for his master. He went along the ranks and sought for him, making inquiry, and saying:—"Where is my master, Lord Ohotomo?" Then some one informed him, saying:—

[1] Great sea.

[2] See above, p. 249, where it would seem that Tok was a part of Kara.

[3] Or title.

"Thy masters[1] have, indeed, been slain by the enemy," and pointed out to him the place where the dead bodies were. Tsumaro hearing this, leaped and exclaimed, saying:—"My master has fallen. What avails it that I alone should remain unhurt?" Accordingly he too went against the enemy, and in the same hour perished. Soon after, the rest of the band retired of their own accord, and the Government army also followed their example, and fell back. The general-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, fell ill and died.

Summer, 5th month. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, when he heard that his father was dead, forthwith proceeded to Silla, and taking from Wokahi no Sukune his command of horse, foot and ships, with the various lesser offices, exercised absolute XIV. 29. authority. Hereupon Wokahi no Sukune had a profound resentment towards Ohiha no Sukune and made a false report to Karako no Sukune, saying:—"Ohiha no Sukune has told thy servant, saying:—'Ere long I will take the command of Karako no Sukune from him too.' I pray thee be well on thy guard." In consequence of this there was a coolness between Karako no Sukune and Ohiha no Sukune. Upon this the King of Pèkché, hearing that there was a coolness between the commanders arising out of trifling causes, sent a man to Karako no Sukune and the others, saying:—"I wish to view the frontier of the land. I pray you be so kind as to come and join me." Herewith Karako no Sukune and the rest went on with bridle-bits in a line until they came to a river, when Ohiha no Sukune let his horse drink from the river. Then Karako no Sukune shot at Ohiha no Sukune from behind, and hit the hinder part of his saddle frame. Ohiha no Sukune looked round startled, and shot Karako no Sukune down into the mid stream, so that he died. So the three Omi, having from before this time been rivals with one another, fell out by the way, and returned back without having reached the Palace of the King of Silla.

Hereupon the Uneme, Ohomi, following the dead body of Woyumi no Sukune, arrived in Japan. She at length complained to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy handmaiden knows not where to bury him. I beseech thee let a good place be selected by divination." The Oho-

[1] *Sic* in original.

muraji accordingly reported to the Emperor, who gave command to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"The Commander-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, tossing his head like a dragon, and glaring like a tiger, surveying with extensive view the eight cords,[1] overwhelmed the rebellious, and dashed against the
XIV. 30 four seas.[2] So his body was worn out by ten thousand ri,[3] and his life succumbed in the three Han. To show Our compassion, let there be appointed officials to conduct his funeral. Thou, my Lord Ohotomo, art of the same province and a near neighbour of the Lords of Ki, so that thy connection with him is of old standing." Hereupon the Ohomuraji, having received the Emperor's commands, sent Wotori Hanishi[4] no Muraji to construct a tumulus at the village of Tamuwa, and bury him there. Upon this Ohomi, unable to contain herself for pleasure, sent to the Ohomuraji six Corean slaves named Muro, Te-maro, Oto-maro, Mi-kura, Wogura and Hari.[5] They are the Yake-bito[6] Be of the village of Kashimada in hither Kibi. Wokahi no Sukune came specially in attendance on Ki no Woyumi no Sukune's corpse. He remained, however, himself in the Land of Tsuno[7] and sent Yamato-ko no Muraji [it is not clear what was the surname of this Muraji[8]] with a present of an eight-hand mirror to Ohotomo no Ohomuraji to make a petition, saying:—"Thy servant cannot bear to serve the Celestial Court along with my Lord of Ki.[9] Therefore I beg permission to remain and reside in the Land of Tsuno." Upon this the Ohomuraji laid the matter before the Emperor on his behalf, and he was

[1] The eight cords, or measuring tapes, i.e. the eight quarters of the universe.

[2] The four seas are not put for Japan, but for the universe. All this bombast is copied from a Chinese book.

[3] i.e. by distant campaigning.

[4] The Hanishi were the clay-workers whose office it was to make the clay images which were set up round the tombs of the Emperors. His appointment was therefore an appropriate one. But although the office and the title sometimes coincided, as in this case, they had often nothing to do with each other. A few pages back we had a Katari no Muraji (Chief of the Reciters) and a Kashihade no Omi (Lord Steward) in command of troops in Corea.

[5] These names are Japanese. [6] Domestics. [7] In Suwō.

[8] This is a stupid note which the "Shukai" very properly rejects. In "Nihongi" language Yamato-ko no Muraji *is* the surname.

[9] i.e. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune.

allowed to remain and dwell in the Land of Tsuno. This was the beginning of the Tsuno no Omi first dwelling in the land of Tsuno, and being called Tsuno no Omi.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The province of Kahachi reported:—"The daughter of a man of the district of Asukabe named Hiakŭson, Tanabe no Fubito, was wife to a man named Kariu, Fumi no Obito, of the district of Furuchi. Hiakŭson, XIV. 31.

Clay Horse.

hearing that his daughter had given birth to a child, paid a visit of congratulation to his son-in-law's house. He came home by moonlight, and was passing at the foot of the Homuda[2] misasagi at Ichihiko hill, when he fell in with a horseman mounted on a red courser, which dashed along like the flight of

[1] Both Hiakŭson and Kariu are Chinese words. This story is apparently a report by one of the recorders whose appointment is mentioned above, p. 307.

[2] Ōjin Tennō.

a dragon, with splendid high springing action, darting off like a wild goose.[1] His strange form was of lofty mould; his remarkable aspect was of extreme distinction. Hiakŭson approached and looked at him. In his heart he wished to possess him, so he whipped up the piebald horse which he rode and brought him alongside of the other, head by head and bit by bit. But
XIV. 32. the red horse shot ahead, spurning the earth, and, galloping on, speedily vanished in the distance. Hereupon the piebald horse lagged behind, and, slow of foot, could not overtake the other. But the rider of the courser, knowing Hiakŭson's wish, stopped and exchanged horses with him, upon which they took leave of each other and separated. Hiakŭson, greatly rejoiced at obtaining such a steed, hastened home and placed him in the stable, where he took off his saddle, foddered him, and went to sleep. The next morning the red courser had become changed into a horse of clay. Hiakŭson, wondering at this in his heart, went back, and, making search at the Homuda misasagi, found the piebald horse standing among the clay horses. So he took it, and left in its stead the clay horse which he had received in exchange.[2]

A.D. 466. 10th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others arrived in Tsukushi with two geese presented by Wu. These geese were bitten by Minuma no Kimi's dog and died.

Another book says:—"These geese were bitten by a dog
XIV. 33. belonging to Nimaro, Tsukushi no Mine no Agata nushi, and died."

Hereupon Minuma no Kimi, unable to contain himself for fear and sorrow, presented to the Emperor ten large wild geese with bird-keepers, and begged that his offence might thus be compounded for. The Emperor granted his petition.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The bird-keepers presented by Minuma no Kimi were settled in two places, viz. the villages of Karu and Ihare.

[1] As usual, this *purpureus pannus* is copied from a Chinese author.

[2] The clay horses here referred to were of the kind described at p. 181 as having been substituted for the living horses previously sacrificed at the tomb. Some of these have been preserved, and specimens may be seen in the Museum at Uyeno, Tōkiō. The illustration represents one of these.

11th year, Summer, 5th month, 1st day. It was reported from the district of Kurimoto in the province of Ohomi that white cormorants dwelt on the shore at Tanagami. Orders were therefore given to establish toneri[1] of Kahase. A.D. 467.

Autumn, 7th month. There was a refugee from Pèkché who gave his name as Kwisin. It was also stated that Kwisin was a man of the Land of Wu. The Ihare no Kure[2] no Kotobiki and the Sakate no Yakata-maro are his descendants.

Winter, 10th month. A bird of the Bird-department was bitten by a dog belonging to a man of Uda and died. The Emperor was angry, and, branding him on the face, made him one of the Bird-keepers' Be. Hereupon some office coolies from the provinces of Shinano and Musashi, who were on night duty at the Palace, talked to one another, saying:—"Ah! In our country we pile up birds as high as a small tumulus and eat of them morning and evening, but still some are left. Now, for the sake of one bird, the Emperor has branded a man on the face. He is a very unjust and wicked master." The Emperor, hearing this, ordered them to gather and make a heap (of birds), and as the office coolies were unable to complete it on the spot, he commanded that they should be enlisted in the Bird-keepers' Be.[3] XIV. 34.

12th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and Haka-toko Hinokuma no Tamitsukahi went on a mission to Wu. A.D. 468.

Autumn, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor commanded the carpenter Mita of Tsuke ["Mita of Winabe,"[4] says one book—probably erroneously] to commence the erection of a lofty edifice. Hereupon Mita ascended this high building, and ran about nimbly on all sides as if he were flying. An Uneme of Ise looked up to the top of this high edifice and marvelled at his nimble movements, so that she fell down on her face in the courtyard, and upset a dish of meat which she was serving

[1] No doubt to take charge of the cormorants. Kahase, which means river-reach, may or may not be a proper name.

[2] Kure is the same as Wu, a part of China. Kotobiki means lute-player. It came to be a proper name.

[3] From which it would seem that the office coolies were of higher rank than the Bird-keepers.

[4] Winabe is the name of a place in Settsu. Tsuke is in Yamato.

to the Emperor. The Emperor forthwith suspected that Mita had debauched this Uneme, and conceiving to himself the thought of executing him, charged the Mononobe with this duty. At this time Hada no Sake[1] no Kimi was in attendance. He wished by the voice of his lute to make the Emperor understand, so placing his lute crosswise, and playing upon it, he said :—

XIV. 35.

Be there for five hundred years
Prosperity
To the maid of Ise
Of Ise
(Of the divine wind),
And until it is spent
Let me attend
With faithful service
On the Great Lord.
Let my life, too,
Be as long,
Said the carpenter,
The poor carpenter ![2]

Hereupon the Emperor understood the voice of the lute, and pardoned the offence.

A.D. 469. 13th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hadane no Mikoto, great-great-grandson of Saho-hiko,[3] secretly seduced the Uneme Yamanobe no Koshimako. When this came to the Emperor's ears, he gave Hadane no Mikoto in charge to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji, and made him call him to account for it. Hadane no Mikoto purged his offence by the payment of eight horses and eight swords, and then made a song, saying :—

For the sake of Koshimako,
Of Yamanobe,

---

[1] Sake is 酒 rice-beer. This person was, perhaps, a descendant of the Corean Prince Chhyu mentioned above, A.D. 353, and whose name is written with the same character. The word Hada, however, points to a Chinese ancestry. Hada is the Japanese traditional rendering of the character for T'sin, the Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Some commentators explain part of this poem differently. The metre is irregular.

[3] It is not clear why so remote a descendant of a Mikado should be called Mikoto.

Some one boasts that
The eight horses
Are not even to be grudged.

Me no Ohomuraji, hearing this, reported it to the Emperor, who made Hadane no Mikoto lay out his treasures on the ground at Tachibana moto [1] of Ichinobe in Yega. He ultimately took the village of Nagano in Yega, and gave it to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji.

Autumn, 8th month. There was a man of Miwikuma in the province of Harima called Ayashi no Womaro, who was strong of body and stout of heart, and did wanton outrage, committing robberies on the highways, and preventing traffic. He intercepted the boats of merchants and plundered them every one. He had also disobeyed the laws of the country by neglecting to pay his taxes. XIV. 36.

Hereupon the Emperor sent Ohoki, Kasuga no Wono no Omi, in command of one hundred soldiers who feared not death. They all together took torches, and having surrounded his house, set fire to it. Now from the midst of the flames there came forth furiously a white dog, which pursued Ohoki no Omi. This dog was as big as a horse. But the complexion of Ohoki no Omi's spirit did not change.[2] He drew his sword and slew it, whereupon it became changed into Ayashi no Womaro.

Autumn, 9th month. The carpenter, Mane, of the Wina Be, planed timber with an axe,[3] using a stone as ruler. All day long he planed, and never spoiled the edge by mistake. XIV. 37. The Emperor visited the place, and, wondering, asked of him, saying:—"Dost thou never make a mistake and strike the stone?" Mane answered and said:—"I never make a mistake!" Then the Emperor called together the Uneme, and made them strip off their clothing and wrestle in open view with only their waistcloths on. Hereupon Mane ceased for a while, and looked up at them, and then went on with his planing. But unawares he made a slip of the hand, and spoilt the edge

[1] Tachibana moto means "orange-stem, or orange-bottom," and possibly is to be taken here in this sense, and not as the name of a place.

[2] Here is the magician (world-wide) who can change himself into a beast, but on being wounded or killed is obliged to assume his natural form.

[3] The plane was apparently unknown.

of his tool. The Emperor accordingly rebuked him, saying:—"Where does this fellow come from that, without respect to us, he gives such heedless answers with unchastened heart?" So he handed him over to the Mononobe to be executed on the moor.

Now amongst his comrades there was a carpenter who lamented for Mane, and made a song, saying:—

The much to be regretted
Carpenter of Winabe—
The ink-cord he applied,—
When he is no more,
Who will apply it?
Alas! that ink-cord![1]

When the Emperor heard this song, his feelings changed to remorse, and he said with a sigh of regret:—"How many men I have destroyed!" So he mounted a messenger of mercy on a black horse of Kahi, and made him gallop to the place of execution to stop it and pardon him. The cords with which he was tied were unbound, and he, too, made a song, saying:—

As the night[2]
Black was the horse of Kahi—
Had they but saddled him,
XIV. 38. My life were lost—
Ah! that horse of Kahi!

Instead of "My life were lost," one book has, "He would not have arrived (in time)."

A.D. 470. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others, in company with envoys from the Land

[1] The ink-cord is a contrivance for ruling lines on wood, used to this day by Japanese carpenters. A cord is passed through a pot of ink and then drawn taut, and let go so as to strike the wood. A chalked line is sometimes used in the same way in this country. See illustration in "Transactions of Japan Society," Vol. II. p. 217. The metre of this poem is irregular, being a tanka with an additional line of seven syllables between the second and third.

[2] This is one of many explanations of the conventional epithet nubatama, applied to dark or black things.

of Wu, and bringing with them skilled workmen presented by Wu, viz. Aya weavers and Kure[1] weavers, as well as the seamstresses Ane-hime and Oto-hime, anchored in the harbour of Suminoye. In this month the Shihatsu highway was carried through as a road for the guests from Wu. It was called the Kure-saka.[2]

3rd month. The Emperor commanded the Omi and Muraji to go to receive the envoys from Wu. The men of Wu were accordingly settled on the moor of Hinokuma, which was therefore called Kure-hara.[3] The seamstress Ane-hime was presented to the God of Oho-Miwa, and Oto-hime was appointed to the Be of Aya seamstresses. The Aya weavers, the Kure weavers and the seamstresses—these were the founders of the Asuka Seamstresses' Be and of the Ise Seamstresses' Be.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor, wishing to make a feast for the men of Wu, asked the ministers, one after another, saying:—"Who will be the best man to keep them company at table?" The ministers all said:—"Ne no Omi will be the proper person." The Emperor accordingly gave command to Ne no Omi, and appointed him to keep them company in eating. Ultimately the men of Wu were entertained at Taka-nukuhara in Iso no Kami.[4] Now a Toneri was sent secretly XIV. 39.
to observe the ornamentation. The Toneri reported to the Emperor, saying:—"The jewel head-dress worn by Ne no Omi is very noble, and extremely lovely." Moreover, everybody said, "He also wore it before when he went to receive the men of Wu." Hereupon the Emperor, wishing to see it himself, gave orders to the Omi and Muraji, and made them present themselves before the hall in the dress which they wore at the banquet. The Empress looked up to Heaven and, with sobs and tears, lamented bitterly. The Emperor inquired of her, saying:—"Why weepest thou?" The Empress, leaving the

[1] For Aya and Kure the Chinese characters are 漢 and 呉, i.e. Han and Wu, the Chinese dynasties so called. But in this connection the Japanese render these names by Aya and Kure.

The "Shukai" editor has a note here to the effect that Han is Chang-an and Loh-yang, formerly capitals of Han; Wu is Chien-kang (Chien-yeh?), the Wu capital, near the present Nanking.

[2] Wu acclivity. [3] The plain of Wu. It is in Yamato.

[4] Yamato.

couch, answered him, saying:—"This jewel head-dress was presented on behalf of thy handmaiden by her elder brother, Prince Oho-kusaka, when, in obedience to the orders of the Emperor Anaho, he offered her to Your Majesty.[1] Therefore I conceived suspicion of Ne no Omi, and unawares shed tears and wept for grief." When the Emperor heard this he was astonished, and was very wroth. He pressed it sharply home to Ne no Omi, who replied, saying:—"I have deserved to die! I have deserved to die! Truly it is thy servant's fault." The Emperor commanded, saying:—"From this time forward let Ne no Omi, his children, his descendants, and his eighty connections have no concern with the order of Ministers of State." He was about to put Ne no Omi to death, but he ran away and hid himself. Arriving at Hine, he made a rice-castle, in which he stood on the defensive, but was ultimately slain by the Government forces. The Emperor ordered the officials to divide his descendants into two parts, one of which was constituted common people of the Oho-kusaka Be, and
XIV. 40. was allotted in fief to the Empress; the other part was given to the Chinu no Agata-nushi, and made sack-bearers. So having sought out a descendant of Hikaka, Naniha no Kishi,[2] a title was granted to him, and he was made Oho-kusaka Be no Kishi.

After matters had become quiet, Wone[3] no Omi [Wone no Omi was the son of Ne no Omi], when lying down at night, said to some one:—"The Emperor's castle is not strong; my father's castle is strong." These words came to the Emperor's ears. He sent a man to see Ne no Omi's house. It was really as had been said. Therefore he seized him and put him to death. Ne no Omi's descendants were made Sakamoto no Omi. From this they had their beginning.

A.D. 471. 15th year. The Hada House[4] was dispersed. The Omi and Muraji each enforced their services at pleasure, and would not allow the Hada no Miyakko to control them. Consequently Sake, Hada no Miyakko, made a great grievance of

[1] See above, p. 330. [2] See above, p. 331. [3] Wo means little.

[4] Hada. Several families of this name are mentioned in the "Seishiroku." They were believed to be descended from She Hwang-Ti, the celebrated Chinese Emperor of the T'sin dynasty, who reigned B.C. 221 to 209.

this, and took office with the Emperor. The Emperor loved and favoured him, and commanded that the Hada House should be assembled and given to Lord Sake of Hada. So this Lord, attended by excellent Be workmen of 180[1] kinds, XIV. 41. presented as industrial taxes fine silks, which were piled up so as to fill the Court. Therefore he was granted a title, viz. Udzu-masa. [Some say Udzumori masa, the appearance of all being piled up so as to fill.[2]]

16th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor ordered those A.D. 472. provinces and districts which were suitable for mulberry trees to plant mulberry trees. He again dispersed to other places the Hada House, and made them bring tribute of industrial taxes.

Winter, 10th month. The Emperor ordered the Aya Be to be brought together, and established their Tomo no Miyakko, granting him the title of Atahe.

One book says:—"Granted the Aya no Omi the title of Atahe."

17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. The Hanishi[3] no A.D. 473. Muraji were made to present pure vessels suitable for serving the Emperor's morning and evening meals. Hereupon Ake, the ancestor[4] of the Hanishi no Muraji, presented to the Emperor a Be of his private subjects of the village of Kusasa in the province of Settsu, of the villages of Uchi and Fushimi in the province of Yamashiro, of the village of Fuji-kata in the XIV. 42. province of Ise, and also from Tamba, Tajima and Inaba, and named them the Nihe[5] no Hanishi Be.

18th year, Autumn, 8th month, 10th day. The Mononobe A.D. 474. Ushiro no Sukune and the Mononobe Me no Muraji were sent to smite Ise no Asahi no Iratsuko. Asahi no Iratsuko, hearing of the approach of the Government troops, opposed them in battle at Awohaka[6] in Iga. Priding himself on his skill in archery, he addressed the Government army, saying:—"Who

[1] 180 is, of course, a fancy number.

[2] This is an attempt to connect this name with *tsumoru*, to be piled up.

[3] Potters.

[4] Ancestor here cannot mean founder of the House.

[5] Nihe means food; these potters were for the supply of the Emperor's table utensils.

[6] Green tumulus.

is a match for the hand of Asahi no Iratsuko? The arrow which he lets fly will pierce two thicknesses of armour." The Government troops were all afraid, and Ushiro no Sukune did not dare to advance to the combat. They awaited each other for two days and one night. Hereupon the Mononobe Me no Muraji armed himself with his sword, and making Oho-wono-te,[1] of the Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, take his shield and call out in the midst of the army, advanced along with him. Asahi no Iratsuko saw them from afar off, and shot an arrow through Oho-wono-te's shield and two-fold armour which at the same time entered the flesh of his body to the depth of
XIV. 43. an inch. Oho-wono-te screened with his shield the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, and Me no Muraji caught Asahi no Iratsuko and slew him. Accordingly Ushiro no Sukune, beside himself with shame, for seven days did not make his report to the Emperor. But the Emperor inquired of his Ministers in attendance, saying:—"Why does not Ushiro no Sukune make his report?" Now there was a man named Sanuki no Tamushi Wake who came forward and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Ushiro no Sukune is a coward. For the space of two days and one night he was unable to seize Asahi no Iratsuko. Then the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, taking with him Oho-wono-te, a Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, caught and slew Asahi no Iratsuko." When the Emperor heard this he was angry, and promptly taking away from Ushiro no Sukune his Be of Wina,[2] gave it to the Mononobe Me no Muraji.

A.D. 475. 19th year, Spring, 3rd month, 13th day. By Imperial command, the Anaho Be was established.[3]

A.D. 476. 20th year,[4] Winter. The "King of Koryö raised a great army and utterly smote Pèkché. There was but a small remnant left, which assembled and occupied Chhang-ha.[5] Their victuals became exhausted, and deep was hereupon the

[1] Great-axe-hand.

[2] The village of Wina-Be, in Ise, with its inhabitants.

[3] In memory of the Emperor Anaho.

[4] The "Tongkam" date is 475. We have now arrived at pretty exact chronology.

[5] 倉下. The traditional Kana renders this Hesu-oto—perhaps an attempt to reproduce the native Corean name.

weeping and lamentation. Upon this the Koryö generals addressed their King, saying:—"There is something extraordinary in the temper of Pèkché. Whenever thy servants observe them, they seem unaware of their own ruin. It is to be feared that they will again spread forth and revive. We pray that they may be at length got rid of." The King said:—"No! I, the unworthy one, have heard that the Land of Pèkché is under the jurisdiction of the Country of Japan, and that this connection is of old standing. It is also known to all the neighbouring countries that their King repairs to Japan and serves the Emperor." Ultimately it (the proposal to exterminate the Pèkché people) was abandoned. XIV. 44.

The Pèkché record says:—"King Kèro, year Kinoto U (475), Winter. A large army from Koryö came and besieged the great castle for seven days and seven nights. The Royal castle surrendered, and at length they destroyed Wi-nyé. The King, Queen, and Princes all fell into the hands of the enemy."

21st year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, hearing that Pèkché had been conquered by Koryö, gave Kuma-nari to King Munchu, and so lent aid to his country. The men of that day all said:—"The Land of Pèkché, though their race was destroyed, assembled and lamented at Chhang-ha. They with true hearts appealed to the Emperor, who restored their country." XIV. 45. A.D. 477.

King Munchu was King Kèro's younger brother by the mother's side. An ancient Japanese record says:—"The statement that Kumanari was given to King Mata[1] is probably an error. Kumanari is a separate village of the district of Lower Takori[2] in Imna."

[1] 末多. The Coreans call him 牟大, i.e. Mu-tè. He was Munchu's successor. The Traditional Kana has Arushi for 下, lower. The Corean for Lower is arè.

The syllable ko in this name is probably an error, as below (reign of Keidai), Upper Tari and Lower Tari are mentioned as districts. National vanity is a powerful stimulus to the mythopœic faculty, and the above narrative must be taken with a few grains of salt. But it is no doubt true in the main. The "Tongkam," which gives a short account of the war, says that Silla sent an army of 10,000 men to the assistance of Pèkché. Under the year 475 it records the removal of the Pèkché capital to Ung-

A.D. 478. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Shiraga was made Heir Apparent.

Autumn, 7th month. A man of Tsutsukaha in the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba, the child of Urashima of Midzunoye, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise,[1] which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached Hōrai San,[2] where they saw the genii. The story is in another Book.[3]

A.D. 479. XIV. 47. 23rd year, Summer, 4th month. King Munkeun[4] of Pèkché died.

chin. Now Ung-chin or Ung-chhön (熊津 or 熊川) was a town in Kyöng-syang-do, near the present Keumhè, and the meaning is Bear-port or Bear-river, evidently, therefore, the same with the Kuma-nari of the text. Kuma is for koma, the Corean word for bear, and nari is a dialectical or ancient form of năi (pronounced nè), river. It occurs above in the name of the river which the King of Silla swears by at p. 231. Ung-chin or Kuma-nari was in the Imna territory, the capital of which was Keumhè, then controlled by Japan, and it is not at all improbable that it should be ceded to Pèkché on this occasion.

The "Tongkam" mentions a Japanese descent on the eastern coast of Silla in 476. They were driven off with a loss of 200 men.

[1] Or turtle.

[2] "Mount Hōrai is the P'êng-Lai-Shan of the Chinese, one of the Three Isles of the Genii, which were believed to lie in the Eastern Sea, opposite to the coast of China. This happy group was the paradise of the Genii, who there maintained a sempiternal vigour by quaffing the waters of the fountain of life which flowed for them in a perpetual stream. The pine, the plum, the peach-tree, and the sacred fungus grow for ever upon its rocky shores; and the ancient crane builds its nest upon the giant limbs of its never-dying pine." Catalogue of Japanese paintings in the British Museum, Anderson, p. 224. See also Dickins' "Taketori-Monogatari," in the "R.A.S. Transactions." The "Manyōshiu," an ancient collection of Japanese poems, contains a beautiful version of this legend, which has been rendered into English verse by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," and of which a prose version may be found in my grammar of the Japanese written language. The Chinese and Japanese legendary lore associated with Hōrai San is of boundless extent.

The Interlinear Kana renders Hōrai San by Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, which is quite inadequate.

[3] The "Shukai" editor rejects this as an unauthorized addition.

[4] There is no Pèkché king of this name. King Sam-Keun (三斤), who died in this year (the month differs), is doubtless meant. The first

The Emperor summoned within the Palace Prince Mata (Mutè), the second of Prince Konchi's five sons, who was young in years, but intelligent. He himself stroked the Prince's face and head, and made a gracious decree, appointing him to reign over that country. He also gave him weapons, and at the same time furnished him with 500 soldiers of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. He became King Tong-syöng.[1]

This year, tribute was sent from Pèkché in excess of the regular amount.

Tsukushi no Achi no Omi and Umakahi no Omi, in command of a naval force, attacked Koryö.

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor took to his sick-bed, and was ill at ease. By an Imperial decree he committed rewards and punishments, together with financial matters, great and small alike, to the charge of the Prince Imperial.

8th month, 7th day. The Emperor's disease became more and more grave. He took leave of all the functionaries. He pressed all their hands with sobs and lamentations, and died in the Great Hall, having left command to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji and Yamato-Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"At the present time, the world is one household: smoke and fire are 10,000 ri distant:[2] the people are well-ordered: the four barbarians are submissive. This is by the will of Heaven, which desires to bestow peace throughout XIV. 48.

character 文 came in somehow from the name of the preceding King (文州) Munchu. The following is from the "Tongkam," IV. 32, under the date A.D. 477. "Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché appointed his eldest son Samkeun to be Heir Apparent. Hèku of Pèkché killed his Prince Munchu. The Heir Apparent Samkeun came to the throne. His age was thirteen. The military administration of the country was placed in entire charge of Hèku. Before this Hèku exercised authority in an arbitrary way, and corrupted the laws, cherishing feelings of disloyalty to his Prince. The King (Munchu) was unable to control him. Hereupon the King went hunting and stayed abroad for the night, and Hèku sent a robber who murdered him." Hèku was put to death in the following year.

In 479 we have the following:—"Winter, 11th month. King Samkeun of Pèkché died, and was succeeded by Mutè, son of King Munchu's younger brother Kônchi.

[1] East Castle, probably in allusion to the Eastern situation of Ungchin.

[2] War is far off.

the land. Therefore with careful mind inciting myself, I have been every day watchful for that day, for the sake of the people. The Omi, the Muraji and the Tomo no Miyakko daily attend the court: the Governors of provinces and of districts in due season assemble in court. How shall they not with their whole hearts diligently observe the Imperial decrees? In principle our relation is that of Prince and vassal, but in feeling it is also that of father and child. It was my hope that
XIV. 49 by the help of the wisdom of the Omi and Muraji the hearts of the people both in the capital and elsewhere might be rejoiced, and I desired long to preserve peace throughout the Empire. But unexpectedly disease has come upon me. It has rooted itself deeper and deeper, and has greatly increased. This is the common lot of humanity, and is not worth wasting words over.

But in the capital and in the country the clothing and caps have not yet attained to freshness and neatness: civilization and Government still remain short of perfection. When I begin to reflect on this, I am simply lost in chagrin. But it is now many years since I could be described as in the vigour of youth. My strength of body and of mind have together become worn out. What I now do is of course not for my own benefit, but solely from a desire to facilitate the nourishment of the people. Therefore is it that I do this. What one of the descendants of mankind is absent from my thought? For the sake of the Empire, private feelings should be severed. At the present time[1] Prince Hoshikaha cherishes treason in his heart. His conduct is wanting in friendliness towards (his brethren).[2] It has been said by a man of old:—'There is no one who knows the minister so well as his Lord: there is no one who knows the child so well as his father.' Even supposing that Hoshikaha should make up his mind to unite (with his brethren) in ruling the State, certain disgrace would come universally upon the Omi and Muraji, and a cruel poison overflow the nation. Now a bad
XIV. 50. descendant is to be dreaded for the people's sake: a good

[1] See p. 337.

[2] "His brethren" is not in the original, but there is an allusion to the Shooking (Legge, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 535), where the complete phrase is found.

descendant is sufficient to sustain the burden of the Great Task.[1] Although this is a matter concerning Our House, in principle it does not admit of concealment. The Ohomuraji and the officials of the Home Department are widespread and pervade the whole country: the Prince Imperial, who is in the position of becoming my successor, is known to the world for his benevolence and filial piety. His conduct is such that he is a sufficient person to carry out Our ideas. If along with him ye administer the Empire, even although Our eyes are closed, what room is there for repining?"[2]

In one book it is said:—"It is known to all the world that Prince Hoshikaha is of an evil disposition and of a violent heart. If unfortunately after Our death he should attempt to harm the Prince Imperial, ye and the officials of the Home Department are very numerous. Strive your utmost to render each other mutual aid, and let there be no contemptuousness."

At this time Oshiro, Kibi no Omi, General of the expedition against Silla, arrived at the province of Kibi, and passed by his house. Afterwards 500 Yemishi under his command, hearing of the Emperor's death, spoke to one another, saying:—"The Emperor who controls our country is dead. The opportunity should not be lost." So assembling themselves into a band, they invaded the neighbouring districts. Hereupon Oshiro came from his house, and meeting the Yemishi at Port Saba,[3] fought with them, and shot at the Yemishi. But some skipped and others lay down, thereby succeeding in avoiding the arrows. In the end he was unable to shoot them. Therewith Oshiro twanged his empty bow by the sea-shore, and of the skippers and skulkers two companies were shot to death.[4] Two cases of arrows were all used up. So he called to boatmen and asked them for arrows. But they were afraid, and of their own accord retired. Then XIV. 51.

[1] The sovereignty.

[2] This speech is copied, with some unimportant changes, from a passage in a Chinese History of the Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to the Emperor Kaotsu, who died A.D. 604, i.e. 125 years *after* the death of Yūriaku.

[3] In Suwō.

[4] Chinese legend mentions archers so skilful that they could shoot birds and beasts without any arrows whatever.

Oshiro set up his bow, and taking it by the end, made a song, saying :—

On the way he met them,
The Boy of Oshiro !
It is in Heaven only that
Unheard of he will be,
For on Earth at least
He will be heard of.

Having finished this song, he slew many men with his own hand and pursued them on as far as Port Uragake in the Land
XIV. 52. of Tamba, where they were all massacred.

One book says :—" He pursued them as far as Uragake, and then sent men who slew them all."

BOOK XV.

THE EMPEROR SHIRAGA[1]-TAKE-HIRO-KUNI-OSHI-WAKA-YAMATO-NEKO.

(*SEINEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Shiraga-take-hiro-kuni-oshi-waka-Yamato-neko was the third child of the Emperor Ohohatsuse-waka-take. His mother's name was Katsuraki no Kara-hime. The Emperor's hair was white[3] from his birth. When he grew up to manhood, he loved the people. The Emperor Ohohatsuse had a special admiration for him amongst all his children, and in the 22nd year of his reign appointed him Prince Imperial. The Emperor Ohohatsuse died in the 8th month of the 23rd year of his reign. Then Kibi no Waka-hime secretly addressed the Imperial Prince, the younger son Hoshikaha, saying:—"If thou dost desire to ascend to the Imperial rank, do thou first of all take the office of the Treasury." The eldest son, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, hearing this advice of the Lady his mother to her younger son, said:—"Although the Prince Imperial is my younger brother, why should he be betrayed? This thing should not be done." But Prince Hoshikaha would not give ear. He rashly followed the advice of the Lady his mother. Finally he took possession of the Treasury, and locked the outer door, therewith making provision against XV. 2.

[1] Shiraga means white hair. The "Kojiki" gives his name as Shiraga no oho-Yamato-neko.

[2] Seinei, pure and tranquil.

[3] The same thing is related of the Chinese philosopher Laotze and other Chinese worthies.

disaster. He exercised arbitrary authority, and squandered the official property. Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji spake to Yamato no Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"The time has now come when the dying injunctions of the Emperor Ohohatsuse are to be fulfilled. It is meet that we should comply with them and do service to the Prince Imperial." So they raised an armed force and besieged the Treasury. They blockaded it from without, and setting fire to it, roasted to death the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha. At this time Kibi no Waka-hime, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, Anikimi,[1] his elder brother by a different father, and Ki no Okazaki no Kume[2] were roasted to death along with him. Then Wone, the Agata-nushi of Mino in Kahachi, in trepidation and alarm, burst away from the fire and made his escape. He embraced the legs of Ayahiko, Kishi of Kusakabe, and through him begged his life of the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, saying:—"Thy slave Wone, the Agata-nushi, was the faithful servant of the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, but yet he was not rebellious towards the Prince Imperial. He prays that a generous mercy be accorded him, and a human life spared. Accordingly Ayahiko represented this fully to Ohotomo, the Ohomuraji, on his behalf, and he was not entered in the rank of those who were executed. Wone thereupon made representation to the Ohomuraji through Ayahiko, saying:—"My Lord Ohotomo the Ohomuraji, owing to thy great mercy bestowed on me, my life, which was in imminent danger, has been continued and lengthened so that I can see the light of day." So he hastened to present to the Ohomuraji ten chō of
XV. 3. rice-land at Ohowido in the village of Kume in Naniha. He also presented rice-land to Ayahiko as a return for the favour shown him.

In this month, the Omi of the upper province of Kibi, hearing of the disturbances at the Court, wished to aid their uterine brother, the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, and came floating over the sea with a fleet of forty war vessels. When they arrived they heard of the roasting to death, and went away again without landing. The Emperor straightway sent

[1] Or Ye-kimi. This name means elder Lord.

[2] Probably for Kume no Muraji.

messengers to call the Omi[1] of Upper Kibi to an account, and to deprive them of the mountain Be of which they had control.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, attended by the Omi and Muraji, delivered to the Prince Imperial the Seal.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Emperor, by command to the officials, prepared an arena at Mikakuri in Ihare, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity. He at length established his Palace, and honoured Katsuraki no Kara-hime with the title of Grand Consort.[2] The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, was made Ohomuraji, and the Oho-omi of Matori in Heguri was made Oho-omi, so that both were continued in their former positions. The Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko each took the rank belonging to their several offices. A.D. 480.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor Ohohatsuse was buried in the misasagi on the Takawashi plain in Tajihi. At this time the Hayato lamented night and day beside the misasagi, and refused the food which was offered them. Seven days passed, and then they died. The officials constructed a mound to the north of the tumulus, where they were buried with due ceremony. This was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle. XV. 4.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor, vexed that he had no children, sent the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, to the provinces, and established the Be of Shiraga no Toneri,[3] the Be of Shiraga no Kashihade,[4] and the Be of Shiraga no Yugehi,[5] in the hope of leaving a trace which might be seen of posterity. A.D. 481.

Winter, 11th month. For the purpose of the offerings of the feast of first-fruits, Wodate, of the Be of Kume of Iyo, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji and Governor of Harima, was sent thither. In the new muro of Hosome, Miyakko

[1] No doubt the Yamamori Be or Mountain wardens mentioned in the reign of Ōjin

[2] Kara-hime, not having been Empress, could not be appointed Grand Empress like other Imperial relicts.

[3] Attendants. [4] Stewards.

[5] Lit. quiver-bearers, or archers, a part of the Imperial Guard. The "Kojiki" mentions only a Shiraga Be.

of the Oshinomi Be and Obito of the granary of Shijimi in the district of Akashi, he saw Ohoke and Woke, sons of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe. He took them together reverently to his bosom, recognized them as his lords, and attended to their nurture with extreme care. From his own private income he arranged for the construction of a palace of brushwood, in which he lodged them temporarily, and
XV. 5. mounting a swift steed, hastened to inform the Emperor. The Emperor was astonished, and after exclaiming for a good while, he said with emotion:—"Admirable! Delightful! Heaven in its bountiful love has bestowed on us two children." In this month he sent Wodate with a token of authority, and some of the Toneri in attendance on him, to Akashi to meet them (and escort them back).

The story[1] is given in the history of the Emperor Woke.

A.D. 482. 3rd year, 1st month, 1st day. Wodate and his companions arrived in the province of Settsu, escorting Ohoke and Woke. Then Omi and Muraji were sent, with emblems of authority and a royal green-canopied carriage,[2] to meet them and bring them into the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and Prince Woke was made an Imperial Prince.

Autumn, 7th month. Regina (princess) Ihitoyo primum coivit cum marito in Palatio Tsunuzashi. Dixit alicui:—"Nunc aliquantum cognovi viam feminarum. Quid habet mirum in se? Non sum cupida unquam rursus coëundi cum viro." [It is not clear that she had a husband at this time.]

9th month, 2nd day. The Omi and Muraji were sent on circuit to inspect the manners and customs.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. An edict was made prohibiting dogs, horses, and playthings from being offered to the Emperor.[3]

XV. 6. 11th month, 18th day. The Omi and Muraji were feasted in the Great Court, and received presents of floss-silk. They

[1] See below, XV. 8, also Ch. K., p. 328.

[2] This is purely Chinese. Motowori says that no such vehicles were ever known in Japan.

[3] These same words are found in a History of the Chinese Sui Dynasty, under the year 581 A.D.

were all allowed to take as much as they pleased themselves, and they went forth exerting their utmost strength.

In this month, the various outlying provinces beyond the sea all sent envoys with tribute.

4th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The envoys of the various outlying provinces beyond the sea were feasted in the Audience Hall, and received presents of various values. A.D. 483.

Summer, Intercalary 5th month. There was a national drinking festival, which lasted five days.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Emperor personally held an inspection[2] of prisoners. On this day the Yemishi and Hayato together rendered homage.

9th month, 1st day. The Emperor was present in the Hall of Archery. He invited the functionaries and the envoys from beyond the sea to join in the shooting. Each received presents varying in value.

5th year, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor died in the Palace. His years were many.[3] A.D. 484.

Winter, 11th month, 9th day. He was buried in the misasagi on the Sakato plain in Kahachi.

THE EMPEROR WOKE. XV. 7.

(*KENZŌ*[4] *TENNŌ*.)

The Emperor Woke (otherwise called Kume no Wakako) was the grandchild of the Emperor Ohoye[5] no Izaho-wake and son of the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha. His mother's name was Hayehime.

[1] The History of the Chinese Emperor Ming Ti (58—75 A.D.) has mention of a great drinking festival lasting five days.

[2] Williams says that 錄 in this phrase means "to release." No doubt the object was to release such as were deserving of pardon.

[3] His age is reckoned variously by other authorities at thirty-nine and forty-one.

[4] Illustrious ancestry.

[5] His name is not given elsewhere with the prefix Ohoye, which means "great elder brother."

In the 'Genealogy' it is said:—"The Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe took to wife Hayehime, daughter of Ari no Omi, and at length had by her three sons and two daughters. The first was named Winatsu hime, the second Prince Ohoke, also called Shima no Wakako, also called Ohoshi no Mikoto, the third was named Prince Woke, also called Kume no Wakako, the fourth was named Princess Ihitoyo, also called Princess Oshinomibe, and the fifth Prince Tachibana. In one book Princess Ihitoyo is ranked above Prince Ohoke. Ari no Omi was the son of Hada no Sukune."

The Emperor, having lived for a long time on the borders, was thoroughly acquainted with the miseries of the people, and whenever he saw them oppressed, he felt as if his own four members were plunged in a ditch. He dispensed virtuous influence, he bestowed blessings; the regulations of government were everywhere enforced; charity was shown to the poor, and the husbandless were supported. The Empire rendered him cordial allegiance.

In the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Emperor Anaho, the Emperor's father,[1] the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha was slain, together with the Toneri, Saheki be no Nakachiko,
XV. 8. by the Emperor Ohohatsuse on the moor of Kaya.[2] They were accordingly buried in the same grave. Thereupon the Emperor[3] and Prince Ohoke, hearing that their father had been shot to death, were afraid, and both escaped and hid themselves. The Toneri, Omi, Kusakabe no Muraji [Omi is the personal name of Kusakabe no Muraji], with his son Adahiko, secretly served the Emperor and Prince Woke, so that they avoided disaster by fleeing to the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. Omi at length changed his name and called himself Tatoku, but being still afraid of being put to death, he fled from this place to a cave in Mount Shijimi in the province of Harima. There he strangled himself. The Emperor, being still ignorant whither Omi had gone, urged his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, to turn his steps towards the district of Akashi in the province of Harima. There they both changed their names to Tamba

[1] i.e. Emperor Woke's father. [2] See above, p. 336.
[3] Woke is meant.

no Waraha,[1] and entered the service of the Obito of the Shijimi granaries.

The Obito of the Shijimi granaries was Hosome Oshinomi Be no Miyakko.

Adahiko at this time did not leave them, but remained constant to his duty as their vassal.

In Winter, the 11th month of the 2nd year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, the Governor of the province of Harima, Wodate Iyo no Kumebe, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji, went to the district of Akashi to make arrangements in person for the offerings of the festival of first-fruits.

One writing says:—"Went on a circuit to the kohori and agata[2] to collect the land tax."

It so happened that he arrived just when the Obito of the XV. 9.
granaries of Shijimi was holding a house-warming for a new muro and was extending the day by adding to it the night. Hereupon the Emperor spake to his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, saying:—"Many years have passed since we fled hither to escape ruin. It belongs to this very evening to reveal our names and to disclose our high rank." Prince Ohoke exclaimed with pity:—"To make such an announcement ourselves would be fatal. Which of us could keep safe his person and avoid danger?" The Emperor said:—"We, the grandsons of the Emperor Izahowake, are a man's drudges, and feed his horses and kine. What better can we do than make known our names and be slain?" At length he and Prince Ohoke fell into each other's arms and wept, being unable to contain their emotion. Prince Ohoke said:—"In that case who else but thou, my younger brother, is capable of making a heroic effort, and is therefore fit to make this disclosure?" The Emperor refused firmly, saying:—"Thy servant has no ability. How can he make so bold as to display virtuous action?" Prince Ohoke said:—"There are here none to excel my younger brother in ability and wisdom." And in this way they mutually held back each in favour of the other for two or three times. It was ultimately arranged, with the Emperor's consent, that he should make the announcement. Together they XV. 10.
went to the outside of the muro and sat down in the lowest

[1] The boys of Tamba. [2] Districts.

place. The Obito of the granary ordered them to sit beside the cooking-place and hold lights to right and left. When the night had become profound, and the revel was at its height, and every one had danced in turn, the Obito of the granary addressed Wodate, saying:—"Thy servant observes that these light-holders honour others, and abase themselves; they put others before, and themselves behind. By their respectfulness they show their observance of just principles; by their retiring behaviour they illustrate courtesy. They are worthy of the name of gentlemen." Upon this Wodate played on the lute and gave orders to the light-holders, saying:—"Get up and dance." Then the elder and younger brothers declined in each other's favour for a good while and did not get up. Wodate urged them, saying:—"Wherefore all this delay? Get up quickly and dance." Prince Ohoke got up and danced. When he had done, the Emperor stood up in his turn, and having adjusted his dress and girdle, proposed a health for the Muro, saying:—

The Dolichos roots[1] of the new muro which he has upbuilt;
The pillars which he has upbuilt—
These are[2] the calm of the august heart of the master of the house:
The ridge-poles which he has raised aloft—
These are the grove[3] of the august heart of the master of the house:
The rafters which he has set—
These are the perfect order of the august heart of the master of the house:
The laths which he has placed—
These are the fairness of the august heart of the master of the house:

[1] The Dolichos roots present a difficulty. They are better known for yielding a starchy food like arrowroot than as material for house-building. The stems are mentioned below. Another objection is that their introduction here spoils the symmetry of the composition, which though not exactly poetry, is something closely verging on it. I would prefer to omit the words "Katsura ne tsuki-tatsuru" of the original, so that the first two lines would become only one, viz.—

"The pillars of the new muro which he has upbuilt."

[2] i.e. represent.

[3] Grove. The commentators say this means shigeki, thick, which in Japanese is a metaphor for cordial, hearty, kind.

The Dolichos cords which he has tied—[1]
These are the endurance of the august life of the master of the house :
The reed-leaves it is thatched with—
These are the superabundance of the august wealth of the master of the house : XV. 11.

On all sides [2] (of it) there are fields of fresh culture :
With the ten-span rice-ears,
Of these fresh fields,
In a shallow pan
We have brewed sake.
With gusto let us drink it,
O my boys !
Whenever we dance
Uplifting the horns of a buck [3]
Of these secluded hills
(Weary to the foot)
Sweet sake from Yega market-town
Not buying with a price,
To the clear ring of hand-palms
Ye will revel,[4]
Oh ! my immortal ones ! [5]

When he had ended proposing this health, he sang to the accompaniment of music, saying :—

* * * * [6]

The willow that grows by the river—

---

[1] i.e. tied the laths (of sedge) to the uprights of the walls, which were then plastered with a mixture of mud and straw. The firmness with which they were tied represents the endurance of the master's life.

[2] In this passage, as in the well-known poem attributed to Susa no wo, I have ventured to render idzumo as equal to idzukumo, on all sides, although without native authority.

[3] Animal dances, in which the performer represented a deer, wild boar, butterfly, bird, etc., were common in ancient Japan. The Shishi mai, or lion-dance, danced by two boys, one of whom wears a grotesque mask supposed to represent a lion, and the other supports the body, made of cotton stuff, may still be seen in the streets.

[4] The word for "revel" is uchi-age, which means literally to strike up. But the uchi (strike) must also be taken with "hand-palms" in the sense of "clapping."

[5] A way of saying, "May you live for ever !" In this passage the author had in mind a speech in Japanese, the original language of which, although mainly expressed by Chinese ideographs, can be conjectured with some degree of certainty.

[6] The first line of this poem contains the single word Ina-mushiro, "sleep-

When the water has gone,
It raises up (its stem that was) bent down,
And its roots perish not.

Wodate addressed him, saying:—"Capital! Pray let us hear something more."

The Emperor at length made a special dance,

This is what was anciently called a Tatsutsu (stand out) dance. The manner of it was that it was danced while standing up and sitting down.

and striking an attitude, said:—

Of Yamato,
Soso chihara
Asachihara[1]
The younger Prince am I.

XV. 12. Hereupon Wodate thought this profoundly strange, and asked him to say more. The Emperor, striking an attitude, said:—

The sacred cedar[2]
Of Furu in Isonokami—[3]
Its stem is severed,
Its branches are stripped off.
Of him who in the Palace of Ichinobe
Governed all under Heaven,[4]
The myriad Heavens,
The myriad lands—
Of Oshiha no Mikoto
The august children are we.[5]

---

ing-mat" (a rice straw mat), a conventional epithet or makura-kotoba of kaha, skin, perhaps because the Japanese used skins for sleeping on at one time. It has, properly speaking, nothing to do with kaha, river, but the unexpected conjunction is witty—from a Japanese point of view. The allusion to the position of the two Princes is plain.

[1] Chihara, or as it may be read Ashihara, means reed plain, a poetical term for Japan. *So so* is interpreted as an onomatope representing the rustling of reeds. *Asa* is shallow, and asachihara is said to be a plain on which the reeds grow short. The speech (or poem) is a (no doubt with intention) mysteriously worded announcement of Woke's rank as an Imperial Prince.

[2] The sugi or Cryptomeria Japonica.

[3] In Yamato. [4] He never reigned. See above, p. 336.

[5] There is hardly any metre here. This passage is just on the border line between poetry and prose.

Wodate was greatly astonished. He left his seat, and, vexed with himself,[1] made repeated obeisance to them. He undertook to provide for them, and brought his people to prostrate themselves reverently. Then he levied all the inhabitants of that district, and in a few days built a palace, in which the Princes were temporarily lodged. Going up to the capital, he asked that some one should be sent to meet the two Princes. The Emperor Shiraga was rejoiced to hear this, and exclaimed, saying:—"We have no children; we must make them our successors." Along with the Oho-omi and the Ohomuraji, he settled on a plan within the forbidden precinct.[2] So Kumebe no Wodate, the Governor of Harima, was sent with emblems of authority, and accompanied by personal attendants of the Emperor, to go to meet them at Akashi. In Spring, the 1st month of the third year of the Emperor Shiraga, the Emperor,[3] with Prince Ohoke, arrived at the province of Settsu, where Omi and Muraji were sent with emblems of authority XV. 13. and a Royal green-canopied carriage to meet them and bring them into the Palace. In Summer, the 4th month, Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and the Emperor was raised to the rank of Imperial Prince.

In Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign, the Emperor Shiraga died. In this month the Prince Imperial Ohoke and the Emperor ceded to each other the Dignity, and for a long time did not occupy it. Therefore the Emperor's elder sister,[4] the Imperial Princess Awo of Ihi-toyo, held a Court and carried on the Government in the Palace of Tsunuzashi in Oshinomi, styling herself Oshinomi no Ihitoyo no Awo no Mikoto. A poet of that day made a song, saying:—

In Yamato
What I long to see
Is the Tsunuzashi Palace
In this Takaki[5]
Of Oshinomi.

Winter, 11th month. Ihitoyo, Awo no Mikoto died. She was buried in the misasagi on the Hill of Haniguchi in Katsuraki.

[1] For the neglect shown to the Princes.
[2] A Chinese term for the Palace.
[3] Viz. Woke.
The "Kojiki" makes her his maternal aunt.
Takaki means high castle, but is here the name of a place.

12th month. There was a great assembly of the officials, at which the Prince Imperial Ohoke took the Imperial Seal, and placing it on the seat occupied by the Emperor, did him repeated obeisance. He then took his place among the Ministers, and said :—" This rank of Emperor should be occupied by a man possessed of merit. The disclosure of our rank, and our being sent for by the late Emperor, is all a result of the policy of my younger brother. I resign the Empire in his favour." The Emperor, on the other hand, resigned it on the grounds that as a younger brother he might not presume to assume the Dignity, and also because he was aware that the Emperor Shiraga had appointed his elder brother Prince Imperial with the previous purpose of transmitting it to him.
XV. 14. For these two reasons he firmly declined, saying :—" When the sun and moon appear, is it not impossible that a candle should not give way before their radiance? When a seasonable rain falls, is it not superfluous trouble to go on watering from a pond?[1] The conduct which should be esteemed by him who is in the position of a younger brother is to serve his elder brother by devising methods of averting from him disaster, to illustrate virtue, and to unravel complications without putting himself forward. For if he puts himself forward, he will be wanting in the reverence which is due from a younger brother. Woke cannot bear to put himself forward.[2] It is an immutable law that the elder brother should be affectionate and the younger brother reverent. So I have heard from our elders. How can I of myself alone make light of it?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke said :—" The Emperor Shiraga, by reason of my being the elder brother, at first assigned to me all the affairs of the Empire. But I am ashamed to accept it. Now the great Prince's conduct is established in beneficial retirement,[3] so that those who hear him utter sighs of admiration.

[1] From " When " to " pond " is taken from a Chinese book.

[2] From " The conduct " to " forward " is imitated from a passage in the " Liki."

[3] He probably makes allusion to the Yih-king, Diagram xxxiii. Sect. 6, which is thus translated by Legge: " The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect." This means, perhaps, that his modest behaviour proves that his reign will be beneficial to the people.

He has displayed the qualities of an Imperial scion, so that all who see him let fall tears. The pitiable gentry will rejoice to bear the gladness of sustaining the Heavens: the wretched black-haired people will be delighted to enjoy the happiness of treading the earth. Therewith the four corners of the earth will be made solid, so as to flourish perpetually to ten thousand ages. His meritorious work will approach that of creation; XV. 15
his honest policy will illuminate the age. How pre-eminent! How recondite! Words fail me to describe. How shall I, albeit his elder, put myself forward before him? If, having no merit, I should accept the throne, self-reproach would surely be the result. I have heard that the office of Emperor ought not to remain long vacant, and that the will of Heaven should not be evaded out of humility. Let the Great Prince make the Temples of the Earth and of Grain his thought, and let him make the people his heart." As he uttered these words, his earnest emotion led him to shed tears. Upon this the Emperor saw that if he persisted in his refusal to come forward, he would be[1] acting contrary to his elder brother's wishes, and gave his consent. But he would not take his place on the Imperial throne. The world was rejoiced to see how well they sincerely yielded in each other's favour, and said:—"Excellent! With such good feeling between elder and younger brother, the Empire will tend to virtue: with such love between relations, the people will stimulate benevolence."

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Oho-omi and the A.D. 485.
Ohomuraji made a representation to the Emperor, saying:—
"The Prince Imperial Ohoke, out of the abundance of his XV. 16.
wisdom, has delivered over the Empire. Your Majesty, in his rightful governance, ought to accept the vast inheritance, and thus becoming the Lord of the Temple of Heaven, to continue the infinite line of his ancestors, so as, above, to correspond to the mind of Heaven, and, below, to satisfy the hopes of the people. To refuse to enter upon the Dignity would be to cause the destruction of the hopes of all the Gold and Silver[2] frontier lands, and of all the functionaries both far and near. It belongs

[1] The "Nihongi" introduces a 不 (not) here. The "Kiujiki" reading seems preferable, and I have followed it in the translation.

[2] Corea is called the gold and silver country at p. 221.

to you by the will of Heaven, and has been ceded to you by the Prince Imperial. Your wisdom is abundant, and your good fortune conspicuous. While young you were diligent, humble, respectful, affectionate and docile. May it please you to comply with the command of your elder brother, and take over the conduct of the great undertaking." The Emperor made an order, saying :—" Be it so." Accordingly he summoned the Ministers of State and the functionaries to the Yatsuri Palace in Hither Asuka, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the functionaries entered upon office, to the great delight of all.

XV. 17. One book says the Emperor Woke had two palaces, one at Wono, the other at Ikeno. Another book says that he made his palace at Mikakuri.

In this month, Princess Wono of Naniha was appointed Empress, and a general amnesty was made.

Princess Wono of Naniha was the daughter of Prince Wakugo of Oka, grandson of Prince Ihaki, who was the great-grandson of the Emperor Wo-asatsuma-wakugo no Sukune.

2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor spoke, saying :—" The late Prince, having met with much misfortune, lost his life on a desert moor. We were then a child, and fled away and concealed Ourselves. Then, by a piece of undeserved good fortune, We were sought out and sent for, and were raised up to continue the Great Work. We have searched for his honoured bones far and wide, but there is no one who can tell where they are." Having finished speaking, the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke burst into tears of passionate emotion, which they could not control.

In this month the Emperor summoned together the old people, and in person made inquiry of them one after another. Now there was one old woman who came forward and said :— " Okime knows where the honoured bones were buried, and begs permission to point out the place to the Emperor."

Okime was the old woman's name. It is stated below that the younger sister of Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, ancestor of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki in the province of Ohomi, was called Okime.

Thereupon the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke,

aking with them the old woman, made a progress to the moor of Kaya in Kutawata in the province of Ohomi, where they dug them up, and found that it was really as the old woman had said. Looking down into the grave, they made lament, and their words showed deep and passionate feeling. From antiquity until now never was there anything so cruel. The XV. 18.
body of Nakachiko[1] lay across the honoured bones, and were mixed with them so that it was impossible to distinguish them from one another. Then there appeared the nurse of the Imperial Prince Ihazaka, who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"The upper teeth of Nakachiko had fallen out, so that by this they can be distinguished." But although they were able, in accordance with the nurse's words, to distinguish the skulls, they never succeeded in separating the bones of the four members. Accordingly a pair of misasagi were erected on the moor of Kaya resembling each other, so that they seemed but one. The funeral rites also were alike. The Emperor ordered the old woman, Okime, to live in the neighbourhood of the palace, where he treated her with respect and showed her kindness, not allowing her to be in want.

In this month he made an order, saying:—"Old woman! thou art desolate and infirm, and walking is not convenient for thee. Let there be a rope stretched across to support thee when thou goest out and comest in. And let there be a bell attached to the end of the rope, so that there may be no need for any one to announce thee. When thou comest, ring this bell, and we shall know that thou art coming." Herewith the old woman, in obedience to the Imperial order, rang the bell before she came forward. The Emperor, hearing from afar the sound of the bell, made a song, saying:—

Past Wosone,
In Asajihara,
The far-extending { moor ! / bell }
There the bell tinkles !
Okime must be coming ![2]

---

[1] See above, XIV. 5.

[2] The point of this poem is not to be expressed in English. It rests on the similarity of the first syllable of nute, bell, with nu, a moor, which must be read twice in different senses. The first half of the poem takes nu in the latter sense. With the latter half it is only the first syllable of *nute*.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent[1] (the 2nd). The Emperor went to the Park, and there held revel by the winding streams.

XV. 19. Summer, 4th month, 11th day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"The means by which a sovereign encourages the people is no other than the granting of office: that by which a country is exalted is naught else but the granting of rewards for merit. Now the former Governor of Harima, Kumebe no Wodate [his other name was Ihadate], sought Us out, came to meet Us, and raised Us up. His merit is manifold. Let him not hesitate to express his wishes." Wodate thanked the Emperor, saying:—"The mountain office[2] has always been my desire." He was appointed to the mountain office, and a new title was granted him, viz. the House of the Yamabe no Muraji.[3] Kibi no Omi was associated with him, and the Yamamori Be were made their serfs. The Emperor praised his good qualities, made conspicuous his deserts, showed gratitude for his services, requited his kindness, and treated him with the utmost affection. His prosperity was unequalled.

5th month. Karabukuro no Sukune, Kimi of Mount Sasaki, who was implicated in the assassination of the Imperial Prince Oshiha, when about to be executed, bowed down his head to the ground, and his words expressed extreme sorrow. The Emperor could not bear to put him to death, so he added him to the misasagi guardians, making him at the same time mountain-warden,[4] and erasing his name from the census registers. He was then handed over to the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.[5]

[1] This unusual way of designating the day of the month suggests that a different document is here quoted from.

[2] i.e, Warden of the Mountains, or, as we should say, "Woods and Forests." It included the charge of game.

[3] Muraji of the Mountain Be.

[4] Game-keeper

[5] The erasure of his name from the register was on account of his being attached to the service of the misasagi; the mountain wardenship placed him under the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.

May not these guardians of the Imperial tombs have been among the ancestors of the Eta or Hinin, a pariah caste (abolished by the revolution of 1868), who lived in villages by themselves, and did not intermarry with or have any social intercourse with other Japanese? They followed the occupations of leather-dressers, shoemakers, buriers of dead animals,

But Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, by reason of the good services of his younger sister, Okime, was granted his original title, namely, the House of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki.

6th month. The Emperor visited the Hall of Avoidance of the heat, and had music there. The Ministers were assembled, and a banquet was prepared for them. XV. 20.

This year was the year Kinoto Ushi (2nd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (2nd). A.D. 486. The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams. At this time he assembled in great numbers the Ministers, the High Officials, the Omi, the Muraji, the Kuni no Miyakko, and the Tomo no Miyakko, and made revel. The Ministers uttered reiterated cries of "Long live the Emperor." [1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed the Prince Imperial Ohoke, saying:—"Our father the late Prince was, for no crime, slain with an arrow shot by the Emperor Oho-hatsuse, and his bones cast away on a moor. Even until now, I have been unable to get hold of him, and my bosom is filled with indignation. I lie down to weep, and as I walk abroad I cry aloud. It is my desire to wash away the disgrace cast on us by our enemy. Now, I have heard that no one should live under the same Heaven as his father's enemy, that no one should lay aside arms against the enemy of his brother, that no one should dwell in the same country with the enemy of his comrade. Even the son of a common man, rather than serve with the enemy of his parents, sleeps on a coarse mat, and making a pillow of his buckler, refuses office. He will not dwell in the same country as his enemy, but whenever he meets him, in market or in Court, will not lay aside his weapon until he has encountered him in combat. Much more I who, two years ago, was raised to the rank of XV. 21. Son of Heaven! It is my desire to demolish his misasagi,

executioners, and watchmen of cemeteries. The name Hinin (not-man) accords well with the circumstance mentioned here of their names being erased from the census registers. They were supposed to belong to the service of the dead, and no longer to be reckoned with the living.

Most of the misasagi had from one to five guardians' houses allotted to them.

[1] Ban-zai or Man-zai, lit. 10,000 years. This term is still in use.

to crush his bones, and fling them broadcast. Would it not be a filial act to take revenge in this way?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke could hardly answer for sighing and sobbing. He remonstrated with the Emperor, saying:—"It is not well to do so. The Emperor Oho-hatsuse presided over the Empire as the rightful director of the myriad machinery of Government. Court and country looked up to him with joy. He was an Emperor, whereas the late Prince our father, although an Emperor's son, met with obstacles in his career, and never rose to the Imperial Dignity. Looking on the matter in this light, there is the difference of exalted and base. And if thou hadst the heart to demolish the misasagi, who would recognize as Lord and do service to the Soul of Heaven? This is one reason why the tomb should not be destroyed. Moreover, had it not been for the warm affection and special favour bestowed on the Emperor and Ohoke by the Emperor Shiraga, wouldst thou ever have attained to the precious Dignity? But the Emperor Oho-hatsuse was the father of the Emperor Shiraga. Ohoke has heard that it has been said by all the ancient sages, 'Without words there can be no response; without virtue there is no requital.'[1] If there is cause for gratitude, and no return is made, this is profoundly prejudicial to good morals. Your Majesty feasts the Country, and his virtuous conduct is felt far and wide over the Empire. But if he pulls down the misasagi, and shows himself in an opposite light to Court and Country, Ohoke fears that it will become impossible to govern the land and to bring up the people as
XV. 22. his children. This is a second reason why it should not be destroyed." The Emperor said, "It is well," and countermanded the work.[2]

[1] Virtue is in Chinese active, not merely the negation of vice.

[2] The "Kojiki" tells a somewhat different story. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 336. This misasagi (which I have visited) is at the present day a round single mound, encircled by a moat, but there are sufficient remains of the second mound and of the original moat to show that it was once a double-topped misasagi of the ordinary type. See above, p. 136. A large quantity of earth must have been removed in order thus to deprive this tomb of its distinctive character as an Imperial tumulus, and to give it the appearance of the tomb of a mere subject. It appears as if both the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" regarded the demolition of a misasagi as an impious action, and tried to minimize it.

9th month. Okime, being decrepit from old age, asked leave to return to her home, saying:—"My vigour has decayed. I am old, infirm, and emaciated. Even with the help of the rope I am unable to walk. I pray thee let me return to my native place,[1] so that there I may spend my last days." When the Emperor heard this he was moved with pity. He gave her a present of a thousand pieces, and grieving in anticipation at the divergence of their paths, he repeatedly lamented that they could no longer meet. So he gave her a song, saying:—

Oh! Okime!
Okime of Afumi!
From to-morrow,
Hidden by the deep mountains,
Thou wilt no more be seen!

Winter, 10th month, 6th day. The Emperor entertained his Ministers. At this time the Empire was at peace; the people were not subjected to forced labour, the crops reached maturity, and the peasantry were prosperous. A measure of rice was sold for one piece of silver,[2] and horses and kine covered the moors.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Kotoshiro Ahe no Omi, acting by Imperial command, went on a mission to Imna. Hereupon the Moon-God, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed him, saying:—"My ancestor Taka-mimusubi had the merit in conjunction (with other Deities) of creating Heaven and Earth. Let him be worshipped by dedicating to him people and land. I am the Moon-God, and I shall be pleased if an offering is made according to his desire." Kotoshiro accordingly returned to the capital, and reported these A.D. 487. XV. 23.

[1] Lit., The Mulberry and Euphorbia trees. There is an allusion to a verse in the "Chinese Book of Odes" (Legge, Vol. IV. p. 337):—

"Even the mulberry trees and the tsze (of one's home)
Must be regarded with reverence."

[2] This is the first mention of coin in the "Nihongi." It is impossible to say what the measure of rice was, or what the value of the coin. Indeed, I take the whole passage to be a flight of the author's fancy, stimulated by his recollections of Chinese literature. It contains several phrases borrowed from Chinese works. See Index—Currency.

things fully to the Emperor. The Utaarasu rice-fields were dedicated to the God, and Oshimi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Agatanushi of Yuki, was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (8th). The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Sun-Goddess, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed Kotoshiro, Ahe no Omi, saying:—"Let the Ihare rice-fields be dedicated to my ancestor Taka-mimusubi." Kotoshiro accordingly reported the matter to the Emperor, and in compliance with the Goddess's request, fourteen chō[1] of rice-land were dedicated to him. The Atahe of Shimo no agata in Tsushima was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

XV. 24. 13th day. The Saki-kusa Be[2] was established.

25th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Yatsuri.

In this year, Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, bestriding and making a base of Imna, held communication with Koryö. In order to rule the three Han on the west, he established a government, and styled himself a Deity. By means of a plan laid by Cha-ro-na-kwi and Tha-kap-syo of Imna he slew Mak-ni-kè, the heir to the throne of Pèkché, at Irin.[3] [This is a place in Koryö.] He built the castle of Tè-san,[4] and then stood on the defensive as regards the Eastern province, cutting off the harbour by which supplies were transported, and causing the army to suffer from famine. The King of Pèkché was greatly enraged, and despatched General Ko-ni-kè and an officer of the military store department, named Mak-ko-kè, in command of troops to Tè-san, to lay siege to it. Upon this, Ohiha no Sukune moved forward his army, and attacked them

[1] See below, XXV. 18.

[2] Saki-kusa is literally the herb of happiness. It is also called man-nen-gusa, or the "herb of 10,000 years." It was said to grow in the Court of the Temple to the sovereign's ancestors. The "Seishiroku" says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Kenzō, the officials were summoned to a banquet. At this time, a herb of three stems was growing in the courtyard of the palace. One of these was plucked up and presented to the Emperor, who thereupon conferred on the donor the title of Saki Be no Miyakko."

[3] Irin is called in Ōjin's reign, year 16, a place in Imna.

[4] The Kana rendering is Shitoromo or Shitoromure.

with continually growing valour. All that opposed him were put to the rout. But he was but one against a hundred. Suddenly his weapons ran short, and his power became exhausted. He saw that he could not bring matters to a conclusion, and returned from Imna. Consequently the Land of Pèkché slew Cha-ro-na-kwi, Tha-kap-syo, and their people—more than three hundred men.[1]

THE EMPEROR OHOKE.[2] XV. 25.

(*NINKEN*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Ohoke's personal name was Ohoshi.[4]

Otherwise Ohosu. This is the only instance of an Emperor's personal name[5] or designation being stated. It is taken from an old manuscript.

His designation was Shima no Iratsuko.[6] He was the elder brother by the same mother of the Emperor Woke. In his childhood he was intelligent, of quick parts and great attainments. When he grew to man's estate, he was kind, indulgent and gentle.

At the death of the Emperor Anaho, he took refuge in the

[1] The "Tongkam" does not mention this affair, but there is no reason to doubt that the "Nihongi" narrative is substantially true.

The "Kojiki" practically ends here. Nominally, it is carried down to the death of Suiko in A.D. 628, but all after this is mere genealogy.

[2] Also read Oke. Ohoke is the "Kojiki" reading.

[3] Benevolent-talented.

[4] Big-leg or big-foot. The name is written above, XV. 7, with characters which mean big-stone.

[5] Or taboo name. In China the use of the personal name is not thought respectful except by a chief or parent. Instead of it the designation (字) is used. The latter was assumed at the age of fifteen (or twenty), when the ceremony of capping took place. In writing the personal names of the Emperors of the reigning dynasty, the Chinese are careful to alter one or two strokes of the character.

[6] Shima no Wakako, above, XV. 7.

district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, Winter, 11th month, Wodate, Yamabe no Muraji, Governor of Harima, went to the Capital and requested permission to go to fetch him. The Emperor Shiraga accordingly caused Wodate, provided with symbols of authority, and accompanied by his own personal attendants, to proceed to Akashi, and respectfully to go to meet him. Ultimately, in the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial.[1] In his fifth year, the Emperor Shiraga died, and the Emperor abdicated the Empire in favour of the Emperor Woke, becoming Prince Imperial as before. In the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Woke died.

A.D. 488. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial rank in the Palace of Hirotaka in Isonokami.

One book says:—"There were two palaces of the Emperor Ohoke, the first at Kahamura,[2] the second at Takano in Shijimi. The pillars of the Hall remain undecayed until this day."

XV. 26. 2nd month, 2nd day. His former consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume,[3] was appointed Empress.

The Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume was the daughter of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse by Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Wani no Omi.

She at length bore to him one son and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Takahashi no Oho-iratsume; the second was called the Imperial Princess Asatsuma; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tashiraga; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Kusuhi; the fifth was called the Imperial Princess Tachibana; the sixth was called the Emperor Wo-hatsuse no Waka-sazaki. When he came to possess the Empire, he made his capital at Namiki in Hatsuse. The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Mawaka.[4]

[1] This is a curious way of putting it, but the original is so.

[2] This is the temporary palace built by Wodate. See above, XV. 5.

[3] See above, XIV. 7, for an account of her birth.

[4] The "Kojiki" makes Mawaka a Prince.

One book has a different arrangement, the Imperial Princess Kusuhi taking the third place and the Imperial Princess Tashiraga the fourth.

Next there was Nuka-kimi no Iratsume, daughter of Hiuri, Wani no Omi, who bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada.

One book says:—"Ohonuka no Iratsume, daughter of Hifure, Wani no Omi, bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Yamada no Oho-iratsume, also called the Imperial Princess Akami." Notwithstanding the trifling difference of the documents, the facts are the same.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor Woke was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Ihatsuki at Kataoka.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Tatsu (5th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Empress Naniha no Wono, fearful on account of her long-standing want of respect (for the Emperor), died by her own hand. A.D. 489. XV. 27.

One authority says:—"In the time of the Emperor Woke, the Prince Imperial Ohoke was present at a banquet. He took up a melon to eat, but there was no knife. The Emperor Woke himself took a knife and commanded his wife Wono to carry it and present it to the Prince Imperial. She came before him, and, in a standing position, laid the knife on the melon tray. Moreover, on the same day, she poured out sake, and, in a standing position, gave it to the Prince Imperial to drink. In consequence of this disrespect, she feared to be put to death, and died by her own hand."

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Isonokami Be of palace attendants[1] was established. A.D. 490.

4th year, Summer, 5th month. Kashima Ikuba no Omi and Hohe no Kimi, being guilty of crimes, were both thrown into prison, where they died. A.D. 491.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. General search was made in the provinces and districts for the dispersed Saheki Be, and a descendant of Nakachiko of the Saheki Be was made Saheki no Miyakko. A.D. 492.

[1] Toneri.

Nakachiko of the Saheki Be is mentioned in the history of the reign of Woke Tennō.

A.D. 493. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Hitaka no Kishi was sent to Corea to fetch skilled artizans. This autumn, after
XV. 28. Hitaka no Kishi was despatched, there was a woman dwelling at Mitsu[1] in Naniha who made lament, saying :—

Woes me, my youthful[2] spouse !
For to me he is an elder brother,
And to my mother too an elder brother.

The sound of her lament was exceeding pathetic, even to the rending of men's bowels.[3] A man of the village of Hishiki, named Kaso, hearing it, came in front of her, and said :— "Why is thy lamentation so exceedingly sorrowful ?" The woman answered and said :—"Think of the autumn garlic's ever clustering growth."[4] Kaso said :—"Thou art right. Now I understand what thou hast said." But a companion of his, not comprehending her meaning, inquired, saying :—"By what dost thou understand ?" He answered and said :—
XV. 29. "Funame of the Naniha Jewellers' Be was wedded to Karama no Hataye[5] and bore to him Nakume,[6] who was wedded to a man of Sumuchi named Yamaki and bore to him Akitame. Karama no Hataye and his daughter Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had illicit intercourse with Funame[7] of the Jewellers' Be, and had by her a son named Araki, who took to wife Akitame. Upon this Araki set out for Koryō in the suite of Hitaka no Kishi. Therefore his wife Akitame, restless and full of longing, has lost her wits and become distraught, and the sound of her lamentation is very touching, even to the rending of men's bowels."

Funame of the Jewellers' Be and Karama no Hataye became husband and wife, and had a daughter named

[1] The august harbour. [2] Literally young herb or grass.
[3] Cf. the Biblical expression "bowels of compassion."
[4] By the clusters of the garlic bulbs in autumn she indicates the somewhat complicated family relations described below.
[5] Kara-fisher's-field. [6] The (professional) weeping woman.
[7] His wife's mother. This union was regarded as incestuous.

Nakume. Yamaki, a man of Sumuchi, married Nakume, and had a daughter named Akitame. Yamaki's wife's father Karama no Hataye and the latter's child Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had an amour with his wife's mother, Funame of the Jewellers' Be, the fruit of which was Araki. Araki took to wife Akitame. One book says:—"Funame of the Jewellers' Be bore Nakume to her first husband Karama no Hataye; again to her second husband Yamaki, a man of Sumuchi, she bore Araki, so that Nakume and Araki were sister and brother by a different father. Consequently Nakume's daughter Akitame called Araki [1] her mother's elder brother. Nakume having married Yamaki, bore Akitame. Moreover, Yamaki having had illicit intercourse with Funame had by her Araki, so that Akitame and Araki were sister and brother by a different mother. Consequently Akitame called Araki her elder brother. In ancient times women called their brothers se [2] (elder brother), without distinction of age; while men called their sisters imo (younger sister). Hence the expression, 'To my mother an elder brother, to me an elder brother.'" [3]

In this year Hitaka no Kishi returned from Koryö, and delivered to the Emperor the artizans Sunyuki and Nonyuki.[4] They were the ancestors of the Koryö tanners of the village of Nukada in the district of Yamabe in the province of Yamato.

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Wo-hatsuse Wakasazaki no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. A.D. 494. XV. 30.

8th year, Winter, 10th month. The people said:—"At this time there is peace throughout the land; the officials fill their offices worthily. Everywhere within the seas there is a movement towards good feeling; the subjects pursue peacefully their avocations." This year the five grains were produced in abundance, the silkworm and wheat afforded a rich harvest. A.D. 495.

[1] In the speech above quoted.

[2] Se and imo also mean respectively husband and wife.

[3] This note is from the "Shiki" or "Scholiast."

[4] Possibly the Japanese reading of the characters is preferable, viz. Suruki, Toruki.

Far and near there was purity and calm, and the population multiplied.

A.D. 498. 11th year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Chief Bedchamber.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi at the foot of the Hanifu acclivity.

BOOK XVI.

THE EMPEROR WOHATSUSE WAKA-SAZAKI.[1]

(*MURETSU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohatsuse waka-sazaki was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohoke. His mother was called the Empress Kasuga no Iratsume. He was made Prince Imperial in the seventh year of the Emperor Ohoke. When he grew to manhood, he was fond of criminal law, and was well versed in the statutes. He would remain in Court until the sun went down, so that hidden wrong was surely penetrated. In deciding cases he attained to the facts.[3] But he worked much evil, and accomplished no good thing. He never omitted to witness in person cruel punishments of all kinds, and the people of the whole land were all in terror of him.

In the 11th year, the 8th month of his reign, the Emperor Ohoke died. The Minister of State Heguri no Matori no Omi usurped the government of the country and tried to reign over Japan. Pretending that it was for the Emperor's eldest son, he built a palace, and ultimately dwelt in it himself. On all occasions he was arrogant, and was utterly devoid of loyal principle. Now the eldest son wished to betroth to himself Kagehime, the daughter of Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, and sent a middleman to Kagehime's house to arrange for their union. But Kagehime had already formed an illicit connection with XVI. 2.
Shibi, son of Matori, the Minister of State. Fearing, however, to offer opposition to the eldest son's proposal, she answered

[1] Wo, little ; hatsuse, name of place ; waka-sazaki, young-wren.

[2] Muretsu, martial ardour.

[3] This description from "When" down to "facts" is taken from the history of the Chinese Emperor Mingti of the Later Han Dynasty.

him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden wishes to wait upon thee on the street of Tsubaki-ichi." Accordingly the eldest son, in order to go to the place of assignation, sent one of his personal attendants to the house of the Oho-omi Heguri to ask for official horses, saying that he did so by his command. The Oho-omi mocked him, pretending that he would send them, and said:—"For whom (else) are official horses kept? Of course his orders shall be obeyed." But for a long time he did not send them. The eldest son cherished resentment at this, but controlled himself, and did not let it appear on his countenance. Ultimately he went to the place of assignation, and taking a place among the song-makers,[1] took hold of Kage-hime's sleeve, and was loitering about unconcernedly, when suddenly Shibi no Omi came, and pushing away the eldest son from Kagehime, got between them. Hereupon the eldest son let go Kagehime's sleeve, and turning round, confronted Shibi no Omi, and addressing him straight in the face, made a song, saying:—

XVI. 3.

Of the briny current,[2]
The breakers as I view,
By the fin of the Tunny
That comes sporting
I see my spouse standing.

[One book has "harbour" instead of "briny current."]

Shibi no Omi answered with a song, saying:—

Dost thou tell me, O Prince! to yield to thee
The eight-fold bamboo fence[3]
Of the Omi's child?

---

[1] In Japanese uta-gaki, i.e. poetry-hedge. The utagaki seems to have been a sort of poetical tournament. The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 330) gives a different and not very intelligible account of this war of verses. That work places it at the beginning of an earlier reign, and makes the Emperor Woke the hero. The whole story is no doubt the work of some romancist. It would be a mere waste of time to try to sift out what grains of truth it may contain. It indicates, however, very different and much more unrestricted social relations between the sexes than that which prevailed in China and other Eastern countries. Of this there is abundant other evidence.

[2] Shibi means tunny-fish. This suggests the introduction of the "briny current" of the first line.

[3] The fence in this and the following verses is the enclosure of the bridal chamber. See above, pp. 13, 54.

The eldest son made a song, saying :—

My great sword
Hung at my girdle I will stand ;
Though I may not draw it,
Yet in the last resort
I am resolved to be united to her.

Shibi no Omi answered with a song, saying :—

The great Lord's
Eight-fold retiring-fence
He may try to build,
Still for want of strict care,[1]
The retiring-fence is not built.

The eldest son made a song, saying :—

The eight-fold fastening fence
Of the Omi's child
Should an earthquake come, shaking,
Reverberating below,
'Twill be a ruined fastening fence.

[A various version of the first line is "eight-fold Kara fence."]

The eldest son gave Kagehime a song, saying :—

If Kagehime, who comes and stays
At the head of the lute,[2]
Were a jewel,
She would be a white sea-ear[3] pearl—
The pearl that I love.

Shibi no Omi answered on behalf of Kagehime, and made a song, saying :—

The great Lord's
Girdle of Japanese loom XVI. 4.

---

[1] "For want of strict care" is in the original Ama-shimi. This word contains an allusion to the Omi's name Shibi. Mi and bi are often interchanged in Japanese.

[2] i.e. on my right hand.

[3] The sea-ear is in Japanese ahabi, which may be intended to suggest ahazu, "not to become united to."

Hangs down in a bow.[1]
Whosoever it may be—
There is no one (but me) whose love she requites.

The eldest son then for the first time saw that Shibi had already possessed Kagehime, and became conscious of all the disrespect shown him by the father and the son. He blazed out into a great rage, and forthwith, on that same night, proceeded to the house of Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji, where he levied troops and concerted his plans. Ohotomo no Muraji waylaid Shibi no Omi with a force of several thousand men. He slew him at Mount Nara.

One book says:—"Shibi was spending the night in Kagehime's house, and that same night he was slain."

At this time Kagehime followed on to the place where he had been slain, and seeing that he had already been put to death, was shocked, so that she did not know what she was doing, and tears of sorrow filled her eyes. At length she made a song, saying:—

Passing Furu
In Iso no Kami,
Passing Takahashi
In Komo-makura,
Passing Oho-yake
Where things are in plenty
Passing Kasuga
Of the spring-day,
Passing Wosaho
XVI. 5. The spouse-retiring,
In a precious casket,
Placing boiled rice,
In a precious vase,
Placing water also,
She lets fall tears as she goes.
Alas! for Kagehime.[2]

---

[1] The sole reason why the second and third lines are introduced is to bring in tare, "to hang down." The same word is repeated in the fourth line with the meaning "who," thus producing a word-play, of which Japanese poets are fond.

[2] This poem contains a succession of plays on words, some of which are very obscure, and all are lost in an English version. Komo-makura means a matting pillow, i.e. a roll of matting used as a pillow. Makura is frequently followed by takaku, high, in the phrase makura takaku suru, "to make high

Hereupon Kagehime, when the funeral was over, and she was about to return home, said, with an utterance choked by grief:—"Alas! to-day I have lost my beloved husband." So she burst into tears of sorrow, and in a state of distraction made a song, saying:—

Like a deer
That, drenched with water, hides
In the valley of Nara,—
(Of fertile soil)—
Is the young lord of Shibi—
(The water-besprinkled[1]):—
Make him not thy prey. Oh! thou wild boar!

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji spake to the eldest son, saying:—"The rebel Matori ought to be slain. I pray thee let me attack him." The eldest son said:—"We are about to have civil war in the Empire, and without a rare warrior, we shall be unable to accomplish anything. When I consider this well, I find that thou art the man."[2] So he laid his plans in concert with him. XVI. 6.

Hereupon Ohotomo no Ohomuraji,[3] in personal command of the troops, led them to besiege the house of the Oho-omi, and setting fire to it, burnt it. His style of command was like the scattering of clouds.

Matori no Oho-omi, resenting the failure of his enterprise, and feeling that his life was doomed, that his designs had reached a limit, and that his hopes had vanished, cursed the salt (sea) far and wide, and at length was put to death along with his people. When he uttered the curse, the only place which he forgot was the sea-brine of Tsunoga, and this he did

one's pillow." This is probably why makura is here associated with Takahashi. Oho-yake means great storehouse. Hence the epithet attached to it. "Of the spring-day" is a regular makura-kotoba or pillow-word of Kasuga, because kasuga is like kasumeru, to be hazy, and the weather is hazy in spring. Wosaho contains wo, male, which accounts for the epithet "spouse-retiring" in the next line. The commentators have much more to say about these verses. The metre is irregular.

[1] This line has reference to the meaning of Shibi, viz. tunny-fish.

[2] This speech is adapted from a Chinese author.

[3] He was not Ohomuraji till afterwards. See below.

not curse. Therefore the Emperor eats salt from Tsunoga, and avoids eating the salt of other seas."[1]

12th month. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji having completely suppressed the insurrection, and restored the Government to the eldest son, asked permission to offer him the August Title, saying:—"Now there are no sons left of the Emperor Ohoke but Your Majesty, nor is there any second person to whom the people can give allegiance. Moreover, relying on the support of Supreme Heaven,[2] thou hast cleared away the wicked bands. By thy wise counsels and thy manly determination thou hast made the Celestial authority and the Celestial revenues to flourish. Japan must have a ruler, and who is there but thee to rule over Japan? I humbly pray
XVI. 7. Your Majesty reverently to respond to the Divine Spirit of Earth by giving development to the luminous commands, casting a lustre on Japan, and widely taking over charge of the silver region."[3]

Hereupon the eldest son commanded the functionaries to prepare a sacred terrace at Namiki[4] in Hatsuse, where he ascended to the Imperial Dignity, and at length established his capital. On this day, Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji was made Ohomuraji.

A.D. 499. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. Kasuga no Iratsume was appointed Empress. [It is not clear who her father was.]

This year was the year Tsuchinoto U (16th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 500. 2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Emperor ripped up the belly of a pregnant woman and inspected the pregnant womb.[5]

A.D. 501. 3rd year, Winter, 10th month. He plucked out men's nails, and made them dig up yams.[6]

11th month. He commanded Ohotomo no Muruya[7] no

[1] Compare above, p. 337, where the water of a well was cursed.

[2] Motoöri objects to this phrase as Chinese.

[3] Viz. Corea.

[4] Namiki means a row of trees, an avenue lined with trees.

[5] This is a charge made against Show, King of Shang, in the "Shoo-king." See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III. p. 285.

[6] Dioscorea Japonica.

[7] There is something wrong here. Ohotomo no Muruya was Prime Minister (see p. 322) in the 7th year of Ingiō Tennō (A.D. 418). Muruya is no doubt a slip for Kanamura.

Ohomuraji to make a levy of labourers of the province of Shinano, in order to build a castle in the village of Minomata. It was called Kinouhe.

In this month, Wi-ta-nang[1] of Pèkché died and was buried on the top of the hill of Takada.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. He pulled out the hair of men's heads, made them climb to the tops of trees, and then cut down the trees, so that the men who had climbed were killed by the fall. This he took a delight in. A.D. 502. XVI. 8.

In this year, King Malta[2] of Pékchè, for his lawless oppression of his subjects, was at length deposed by the people of that country and King Shima raised to the throne. He was made King Munyöng.

> The Pèkché "Shinsen" says:—"King Malta lawlessly oppressed the subjects, and the people united to remove him. Munyöng was set up. His sobriquet was King Shima. He was the son of Prince Konchi, and therefore the elder brother of King Malta by a different mother. When Konchi went to Wa, he arrived at an island in Tsukushi where King Shima was born to him. He was sent back from the island, and did not reach the capital (of Japan). Owing to his having been born on an island, he received the name of Shima. There is now in the sea of Kawara[3] an island called Nirim Shima[4] which is the King's birthplace. Therefore the Pèkché people call this island Nirim Shima. Considering that King Shima was King Kèro's son, and King Malta King Konchi's son, the expression 'elder brother by a different mother' is not clear."[5]

[1] This is the Corean pronunciation of the characters given, but very likely these are not the proper characters for his name, and are only a phonetic Japanese rendering of the sound. The traditional Kana rendering is Otara.

[2] Or Mata if the Japanese pronunciation is taken. His real name was Mutè.

[3] The traditional Kana pronunciation.

[4] The traditional Kana has sema, for the Corean syöm, island. Nirim means Lord.

[5] The "Tongkam" (Vol. V. 4) account of these events is as follows:—"Autumn, 8th month (A.D. 501). Pèkché built the Castle of Karim (in Chöllado), which was occupied by a garrison under a military officer named Chak Ka.

Winter, 11th month. Chak Ka of Pèkché slew his Lord Mutè. Before

A.D. 503. 5th year, Summer, 6th month. The Emperor made men lie down on their faces in the sluice of a dam and caused them to be washed away: with a three-bladed lance he stabbed them. In this he took delight.

A.D. 504. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"As a measure for transmitting a kingdom, a son is raised up to honour.[1] But we have no successor: XVI. 9. wherewithal shall we hand down our name to posterity? In accordance, therefore, with old Imperial precedents, we establish the Wohatsuse Toneri and make them assume the designation of this reign, so that it may not be forgotten for ten thousand years."

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Pèkché sent Lord Mana with tribute. The Emperor, considering that for many years Pèkché had not sent tribute, detained him, and would not let him go.

A.D. 505. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month. He made men climb up trees and then shot them down with a bow, upon which he laughed.

Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent Lord Shika with tribute, and a separate memorial, saying:—"Mana, the previous tribute-messenger, was no relation of the Sovereigns of Pèkché. Therefore I humbly send Shika to wait upon the Court." He eventually had a son named Lord Pöp-să. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Yamato.

A.D. 506. 8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Nudas feminas super latas

this when the King appointed Chak Ka commandant of the garrison of Karim, he did not wish to go, and declined on the score of ill-health. The King would not listen to his excuse, and he therefore hated the King. Upon this the King went a-hunting on the plain east of Săchhă. Again he hunted in the plain north of Ung-chhön. Again he hunted in the plain west of Săchhă. Being prevented from returning by a great fall of snow, he stayed for the night at the village of Mapho, where Chak Ka sent a man to assassinate him. A month later he was buried and received the name of Tong-syöng. His son Shima, otherwise called Yöryung, came to the throne.

Spring, 1st month (A.D. 502). Chak Ka of Pèkché was executed. He had taken position in the castle of Karim and rebelled. The King proceeded with an army to the city of Utu and ordered an attack upon him. Chak Ka came out and surrendered. He was put to death and his body flung into the River Pèk-Kang."

[1] Is made Prince Imperial.

tabulas imposuit et, equis adhibitis, fecit ut coirent cum eis. Tum, examinatione habitâ, quarum pudenda madida erant, eas interfecit, quarum autem madida non erant, eas fecit servas publicas. These things he took a pleasure in.

At this time he dug a pond and made a park which he filled with birds and beasts. Here he was fond of hunting, and of racing dogs and trying horses. He went out and in at all times, taking no care to avoid storms and torrents of rain. Being warmly clad himself, he forgot that the people were starving from cold; eating dainty food, he forgot that the Empire was famishing. He gave great encouragement to dwarfs and performers, making them execute riotous music. He prepared strange diversions, and gave licence to lewd voices. Night and day he constantly indulged to excess in sake in the company of the women of the Palace. His cushions were of brocade, and many of his garments were of damask and fine white silk. XVI. 10.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Namiki.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
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卷之一

TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME I.

Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D. C.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

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291
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PREFACE.

THE chief object of preparing this translation of the standard native history of Ancient Japan, known as the *Nihongi*, was to make accessible to European scholars the very considerable store of material for the study of mythology, folk-lore, early civilization, and manners and customs which it contains. It may also prove of interest to those numerous Japanese who are acquainted with the English language, and who may have the curiosity to learn in what light their ancient history and traditions are viewed by a Western student.

As only a limited sale of a work of this kind could be expected, the translator was fortunate in being relieved from all pecuniary responsibility for its publication by the Japan Society. His special acknowledgments are due to those members by whose liberality a guarantee fund for this purpose has been provided.

It remains for him to express his indebtedness to other workers, by whose labours in the field of Japanese and Chinese learning he has freely profited. The writings of Messrs. Chamberlain and Satow[1] have been placed under frequent contribution, and for the latter part of the work, the scholarly German translation of the *Nihongi*, by Dr. Florenz, has been of the greatest possible assistance. He should also mention the names of Williams, Giles, Parker, Mayers, Gubbins, Hepburn, Anderson, Legge, and Eitel, whose writings are the indis-

[1] Now Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G., H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

pensable companions of all students of Far-Eastern subjects. Other sources of information are acknowledged in the notes.

Amongst native Japanese writers the chief authorities have been the famous scholars Motoöri and Hirata. Their religious and patriotic prejudices often lead them to take views from which a European reader is forced to dissent, but no Western scholar can hope to rival or even to approach their vast erudition, clothed as it is in an easy and graceful style, undisfigured by pedantry. The translator gladly seizes this opportunity of expressing the strong admiration which he has long entertained for them. For the Notes, the *Shūkai* edition of the *Nihongi* and the *Tsūshō* Commentary have been largely drawn upon. The references to Chinese literature have been usually taken from these last-named sources. It is unnecessary to enumerate more particularly the other native works of reference which have been utilized. A copious list of them will be found in Dr. Florenz's Introduction.

The translator should not omit to express his thanks to Mr. W. Gowland for the use of the drawings and photographs relating to the Imperial Misasagi and sepulchral mounds, from which a number of the illustrations have been reproduced.

The vital importance of a good Index is fully recognized. No pains will be spared to make this part of the work as complete and satisfactory as possible.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

BOOK			PAGE
I.	Age of the Gods	Part I.	1
II.	" " "	Part II.	64
		Accession B.C.	
III.	Jimmu Tennō	660	109
IV.	Suizei "	584	138
"	Annei "	548	141
"	Itoku "	510	142
"	Kōshō "	475	144
"	Kōan "	392	145
"	Kōrei "	290	146
"	Kōgen "	214	147
"	Kaikwa "	157	148
V.	Sūjin "	97	150
VI.	Suinin "	29	164
		A.D.	
VII.	Keikō "	71	188
"	Seimu "	131	214
VIII.	Chiuai "	191	217
IX.	Jingō Kōgu	201	225
X.	Ōjin Tennō	270	255
XI.	Nintoku "	311	272
XII.	Richiu "	400	301
"	Hanzei "	406	310
XIII.	Ingiō "	412	312
"	Ankō "	454	328

BOOK		Accession A.D.	PAGE
XIV.	YŪRIAKU TENNŌ	457	333
XV.	SEINEI ,,	480	373
,,	KENZŌ ,,	485	377
,,	NINKEN ,,	488	393
XVI.	MURETSU ,,	499	399

INTRODUCTION.

Writing.—The art of writing is one of the numerous elements of civilization for which Japan is indebted to China. The date of its first introduction is not definitely known. There are indications that some acquaintance with the Chinese written character was possessed by individuals in Japan during the early centuries of the Christian era, but the first positive information on the subject belongs to A.D. 405, for which an erroneous date corresponding to A.D. 285 is given in the *Nihongi*. In this year a Corean named Wani or Wangin was appointed tutor in Chinese to a Japanese Imperial Prince. He was the first of a succession of teachers from that country whose instructions paved the way for a revolution in Japanese institutions and manners, not less profound and far-reaching than that produced in our own time by the influence of European ideas.

From its geographical position, Corea was the natural intermediary by which China became known to Japan. In these early times there was no direct sea communication between the two last-named countries. Travellers crossed the Strait from Japan to Corea, and pursued the rest of their journey by the circuitous overland route. But the Corean national genius seems to have left no impress of its own on the civilization which it received from China and handed on to Japan. Medicine, Buddhism, painting, and the mechanic arts were transmitted, as far as we can see, without modification, and there is little trace of any special Corean character in the knowledge of Chinese literature and science which Coreans communicated to Japan. They had themselves taken up this study only thirty years before Wani's departure.[1]

[1] See a paper on "Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea," in the "J.R.A.S.," July, 1895.

The newly-acquired Chinese characters were soon put to practical use. Wani himself is said to have been employed to keep the accounts of the Treasury. In the reign of Nintoku we are told that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune committed to writing an account of the productions of the Corean kingdom of Pèkché. The date given for this in the *Nihongi* is A.D. 353, to which, as in the case of other events of this period, two cycles or 120 years should probably be added. In the following reign (Richiu's) "recorders were appointed in the provinces in order to note down words and events." But from the specimens of their reports which are preserved in the *Nihongi*, these officials do not seem to have contributed much of importance to historical knowledge. Fabulous stories and accounts of monstrosities and portents form the staple of their compositions. It may be inferred, however, that such functionaries were already in existence at the capital, and indeed we find mention at this time of hereditary corporations of fumi-bito or scribes, known as the Achiki Be and Wani Be, the successors of Atogi and Wani, the Corean scholars who first taught Chinese at the court of the Mikado.

History. The Kiujiki.—The first literary efforts of the Japanese took the direction of history. No doubt the Norito or rituals of the Shinto religion and some poetical compositions date from an earlier period. But they do not seem to have been committed to writing. The earliest book of which we find mention is the *Kiujiki* or *Kujiki* (Chronicle of old matters of former ages), which was compiled in A.D. 620 under high official auspices, as indeed were all the historical works which have come down to us from these ancient times. The writing of history was, and still is, regarded as pre-eminently a matter of State concern in all those Eastern countries where Chinese ideas are predominant. The *Kiujiki* was entrusted to the keeping of the Soga House, but on its downfall in 645, a large portion was destroyed by fire, a part only, described as Kokuki or national annals, having been saved from the flames. Whether this work is or is not identical with the *Kiujiki* of our own day, is a question on which I shall have more to say afterwards. At present it is sufficient to note that the latter work contains nothing which is not also to be found in the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi* except a few passages in the mythological

portion and a list of local governors. The historical part is almost word for word the same as the *Nihongi*, which, however, is very much fuller, and is brought down to a much later period.

The Kojiki.—In A.D. 682 a number of Princes and High Officials were formally commissioned by the Emperor Temmu to prepare a "History of the Emperors and of matters of high antiquity." Nothing is known of the result of their labours, but this measure led eventually to the compilation of the *Kojiki*, as we learn from a passage in the Preface to that work.[1] It was not completed, however, until A.D. 712. The *Kojiki* has fortunately been preserved to us. If the *Kiujiki* is excepted, as of doubtful authenticity, it is the earliest product of the Japanese historical muse, and indeed the oldest monument of Japanese literature. It presents many features of the highest interest, but it is needless to dwell here on a subject which has been so thoroughly dealt with by Chamberlain in the Introduction to his admirable translation of this work.

In 714, or two years after the completion of the *Kojiki*, the Empress Gemmiō gave orders for the preparation of a national history. We hear nothing more of this project, which may or may not have served to provide materials for the *Nihongi*.

The Nihongi—Date and Authorship.—We now come to the *Nihongi* itself. It has no title-page or preface, and our information as to its date and authorship is derived from other sources. The Kōnin Shiki (commentary on the *Nihongi*, of the period 810-824) informs us that it was completed and laid before the Empress Gemmiō in A.D. 720 by Prince Toneri and Yasumaro Futo no Ason. In addition to the thirty books which have come down to us, there was originally a book of genealogies of the Emperors which is no longer extant. The term used by the Shiki in speaking of its preparation is "selected afresh," which points obviously to compilation rather than original composition. An examination of the work itself favours this view. It consists of detached passages linked together by chronological sequence, and some endeavour is visible to shape the materials into a consistent whole, but the result has a more or less patchwork appearance, and falls far short of the stan-

[1] See Ch. K., p. 9.

dard of uniformity of style and method which we are accustomed to look for in historical compositions.

Materials for the Nihongi.—The remains of the *Kiujiki* must have formed a very important element of the authors' material. Indeed I lean to the belief that whether the present *Kiujiki* is authentic or not, much of the earlier part of the *Nihongi* (except the first two books) is practically the composition of the illustrious Shōtoku Daishi, its reputed author. It is recorded that he was a profound student of Buddhism and of Chinese classical literature, and internal evidence shows that the writer of this part of the *Nihongi* was well versed in these subjects. The *Kojiki* is not directly referred to, and little use seems to have been made of it. But it was well known to the authors. Indeed one of them, Yasumaro, was the very person who took down the *Kojiki* from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man (or woman) who had a remarkable memory, well stored with the ancient traditions of the Japanese race. That no community of style can be traced between the two works is easily explained by the circumstance that Yasumaro was in the first case little more than an amanuensis, and in the second a compiler. It is possible, too, that his associate, Prince Toneri, was the guiding spirit of the undertaking, and that Yasumaro simply carried out his directions.

The *Nihongi* contains a few phrases which show that the *Norito* or Rituals of the Shinto cult were familiar to the authors, but nothing of importance is drawn from this source.

Another stock of information which was probably at their disposal is referred to in the History of the reign of Jitō Tennō (A.D. 694), where it is stated that orders were given to eighteen of the principal noble Houses to deliver to the Government their genealogical records. Other historical works, notably a certain *Kana Nihongi*, have been spoken of as in existence before the date of the *Nihongi*, and that there was a copious historical or legendary literature accessible to the authors cannot be doubted. The work itself, as we have it, contains ample evidence of this in the numerous quotations from other writings, added, as most Japanese critics think, by the authors themselves, or, as I prefer to believe, by subsequent scholars soon after its appearance. These extracts are always referred to in later times as if they formed part of the *Nihongi*, and

there can be no harm in accepting them as of equal authority with it. Some are, no doubt, of still greater antiquity.

An institution which must have contributed substantially, though perhaps indirectly, to the collection and conservation of the materials for the more legendary part of the *Nihongi* was the Katari Be, or hereditary corporation of reciters. Unfortunately we know very little about it. Hirata, in his *Koshichō*, states, on what authority does not appear, that the Katari Be came forward and recited "ancient words" before the Emperor at the festival of Ohonihe when he inaugurated his reign by sacrifices to the Gods. It is not probable that their services were confined to this occasion.

Character and Contents of the Nihongi.—The *Nihongi* consists of very heterogeneous elements which by no means all answer to our ideas of history. The earlier part furnishes a very complete assortment of all the forms of the Untrue of which the human mind is capable, whether myth, legend, fable, romance, gossip, mere blundering, or downright fiction. The first two books are manifestly mythological. They are followed by an account of Jimmu's Conquest of Yamato, which has probably a basis of truth, though the legendary character obviously predominates.

Most of the meagre details given us of the reigns of the next eight Emperors have a Chinese stamp, and must, I fear, be pronounced simply fictitious. Nor need this greatly surprise us. There are other countries where

> Mortal men are ever wont to lie,
> Whene'er they speak of sceptre-bearing kings.

A portrait gallery in Holyrood Palace illustrates the same principle, though in a different way.

Then we have a series of legendary stories full of miraculous incidents, but in which grains of truth may here and there be discerned. The value of this early part of the work is enhanced by the numerous poems of great antiquity which have been incorporated into it, and which have considerable antiquarian and philological interest.

The narrative becomes more and more real as it goes on, until about the 5th century we find ourselves in what, without too violent a departure from the truth, may be called genuine

history, while from the beginning of the 6th century until A.D. 697, when it is brought to a close, the *Nihongi* gives us what is to every appearance a trustworthy record of events. We must still, however, be on our guard against the Chinese diction and sentiments which are put into the mouths of the Mikados and their Ministers, and there are some strange stories of a kind not likely to impose on our credulity. This part of the *Nihongi* is of very great value, comprising as it does a period of the highest importance in the life of the Japanese nation. It was at this time that the Japanese adopted and assimilated the civilization of China, material, moral, and political, together with the Buddhist religion, thereby profoundly modifying the entire course of their future history.

The defects of the *Nihongi* are due partly to the uncritical spirit of the age when it was written, but mainly to the circumstance that the authors were accomplished scholars deeply imbued with ideas derived from the classical and historical literature of ancient China. With exceptions to be noticed presently, the work is composed in the Chinese language. This is in itself an obstacle to the faithful representation of things Japanese. But unfortunately it is not all. Chinese ideas and traits of Chinese manners and customs are frequently brought in where they have no business. In the very first paragraph we have an essay spiced with Chinese philosophical terms which reads strangely incongruous as a preface to the native cosmogonic myth. Battle axes are mentioned at a time when no such weapons were in use by the Japanese, stone mallets are converted into swords, and we hear continually of the Temples of the Earth and of Grain, a purely Chinese metaphor for the State. No inconsiderable part of the work consists of speeches and Imperial decrees interlarded with quotations from Chinese literature, and evidently composed for the occasion in imitation of Chinese models. In one case the authors have gone so far as to attribute to the Emperor Yūriaku a dying speech of several pages, which is taken with hardly any alteration from a history of the Chinese Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to an Emperor who died 125 years later.

But what is far more misleading than these naive inventions is the confirmed habit common to the writers both of the *Kojiki* and of the *Nihongi*, though the latter are the greater offenders, of

throwing back, no doubt more or less unconsciously, to more ancient times the ideas of their own age, when the national thought and institutions had become deeply modified by Chinese influences. As Dr. Florenz very justly remarks, "The little which European inquiry has hitherto been able to teach us of the real condition of Japan in the most ancient times shows that the historical representation of this period in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* (upon which rest all the later statements of the Japanese) is most profoundly penetrated by false principles. The newer relations, partly developed from native material, partly influenced by Chinese culture, are reflected back upon the oldest without due distinction, and the result is a confused picture in which the critical inquirer can, it is true, frequently separate what is original from subsequent additions, but must often let fall his hands in despair." A conspicuous instance of this is the way in which the Imperial theory of the universal authority of the Mikados is extended backwards to a time when their sway was really restricted to the provinces round the capital and a few other places. It is also exemplified by the treatment of territorial and official designations in the older part of the history as if they were already family names, which they did not become until a later period.

Chronology.—The *Kojiki* wisely has no chronology. But the authors of the *Nihongi*, or more probably of some of the works on which it is based, thought it necessary, in imitation of their Chinese models, to provide a complete system of dates extending as far back as the middle of the 7th century B.C., and giving the exact years, months, and even days for events which are supposed to have happened in this remote period. When it is remembered that there was no official recognition of the art of writing in Japan until A.D. 405, and that the first mention of calendar-makers belongs to A.D. 553, the historical value of such chronology may be readily estimated. After the Christian epoch there may have been some blundering and unsuccessful endeavours to give the right years, but for several centuries longer the months and days must have been simply supplied from the writers' imagination. Even so late as the beginning of the 5th century the chronology can be shown to be wrong in several cases by no less an interval than 120 years. Abundant proofs of its inaccuracy are revealed by a

comparison with the contemporary histories of Corea and China, and an examination of the *Nihongi* itself yields many more. The impossible lengths attributed to the Emperors' reigns are a well-known example, and some, but by no means all, of the other evidence to this effect is indicated in the notes to the present version.

The first date in the *Nihongi* which is corroborated by external evidence is A.D. 461, but the chronology is not a little vague for some time longer. Perhaps if we take A.D. 500 as the time when the correctness of the *Nihongi* dates begins to be trustworthy, we shall not be very far wrong.

In an essay contributed to a Japanese magazine called *Bun*, in 1888, Mr. Naka has brought together absolutely overwhelming evidence of the utter inaccuracy in matters of chronology of the early part of the *Nihongi*, and I may be allowed to refer the reader to a paper on "Early Japanese History" read before the J.A.S. in December, 1887, in which the same thesis is maintained. Such scholars as Satow, Chamberlain, Bramsen, Griffis and others have expressed themselves to a similar effect, and it may be hoped that we have now heard the last of the thoughtless echoes of old Kaempfer's audacious assertion that since the time of Jimmu Tennō, the Japanese have been "accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country and the lives and reigns of their monarchs."

But enough has been said of the defects of the *Nihongi*. The above strictures apply almost exclusively to the earlier half of the work, and they must not be allowed to blind us to the fact that it after all presents a very full and varied picture of the civilization, manners and customs, and political, moral, and religious ideas of the ancient Japanese. Even the large untrue element which it contains is not without its value. Bad history may be good mythology or folk-lore, and statements the most wildly at variance with fact often throw a useful light on the beliefs or institutions of the age when they became current.

Estimation in which the Nihongi was held.—The importance of the *Nihongi* was at once recognized by the somewhat narrow circle of courtiers and officials for whom it was intended. Subsequent history contains frequent mention of its being publicly read and expounded to the

Mikado's Court, one of these notices belonging to the very next year after its completion. It threw wholly into the shade its predecessor the *Kojiki* and superseded the recitations of the Katari Be and other similar customs. Another testimony to its value is the series of commentaries which began to be written upon it immediately after its appearance. Some of these notes, known as Shiki or "private notes," have been preserved to us in a work called *Shaku-nihongi*, written about the end of the 13th century. They are described as of the periods Yōrō, (714—724), Kōnin (810—824), and Yengi (901—923).

This high estimation for the *Nihongi* has lasted until our own day. Its pre-eminence as a source of knowledge of Japanese antiquity was never contested until quite recent times. Even Motoöri[1] acknowledges its value, although his religious and patriotic prejudices lead him to give a preference to the *Kojiki*, which is less profoundly tainted by an admixture of Chinese ideas.

The Kojiki and the Nihongi.—Both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* present to the eye a series of Chinese characters. A closer examination, however, reveals a marked difference in the way in which they are used by the respective authors. In the *Kojiki*, which was taken down from the mouth of a Japanese by a man with some tincture of Chinese learning, the Chinese construction is every now and then interrupted or rather helped out by Japanese words written phonetically, the result being a very curious style wholly devoid of literary qualities. It is in fact possible to restore throughout the original Japanese words used by Hiyeda no Are with a fair degree of probability, and this has actually been done by Motoöri in his great edition of the work known as the *Kojikiden*. This feature gives the *Kojiki* a far greater philological interest than the *Nihongi*. The

[1] Motoöri has left a poem to the following effect :—

In all their fulness
How should we know
The days of old,
Did the august Yamato writing (the *Nihongi*)
Not exist in the world?

Hirata says ("Kodō Taii," I. 36), "If we put aside the ornaments of style of Chinese fashion, there is none among all the writings in the world so noble and important as this classic."

latter is composed almost wholly in the Chinese language, the chief exception being the poems, for which it was necessary to use the Chinese characters with a phonetic value so as to give the actual words and not simply the sense, as is the case when they are employed as ideographs. The proper names in both works are naturally Japanese.

As a repertory of ancient Japanese myth and legend, there is little to choose between the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The *Kojiki* is on the whole the fuller of the two, and contains legends which the *Nihongi* passes over in silence, but the latter work, as we now have it, is enriched by variants of the early myths, the value of which for purposes of comparison will be recognized by scientific inquirers.

But there can be no comparison between the two works when viewed as history. Hiyeda no Are's memory, however well-stored, could not be expected to compete in fulness and accuracy with the abundant written literature accessible to the writers of the *Nihongi*, and an examination of the two works shows that, in respect to the record of actual events, the latter is far the more useful authority. It should be remembered, too, that the *Nihongi* is double the size of its predecessor, and that whereas the *Kojiki* practically comes to an end with the close of the 5th century, the *Nihongi* continues the narrative as far as the end of the 7th, thus embracing an additional space of two hundred years of the highest importance in the history of Japan.

Text and Editions.—The class of readers for whom the present work is intended would be little interested in an account of the text of the *Nihongi* and of its various manuscripts and printed editions. In any case this subject has been so exhaustively treated by Dr. Florenz in his Introduction as to render research by other inquirers a superfluous labour.

A few words, however, should be said respecting the *Shūkai* (or *Shūge*, i.e. collected interpretations) edition, which has been taken as the basis of the present version. There are a few departures from it, chiefly where the translator has restored passages of the "Original Commentary" which the *Shūkai* editor has struck out or relegated to his notes.

The *Shūkai* edition is on the whole the most useful one, being well printed, and provided with a copious Chinese com-

mentary. To facilitate reference to it the book and page of this edition have been noted throughout in the margin of the present translation.

The large black type of the *Shūkai* is the text. The "Original Commentary" and the quotations from other books are printed in a smaller type. Both of these are usually assumed to be part of the *Nihongi*, and are quoted as such. They have been included in the present translation, but they are distinguished from the *Nihongi* proper by being indented, or in the case of some very short passages, enclosed in square brackets. Still smaller characters are used by the editor for his notes. In addition to these, small Katakana characters may be seen at the side of many of the characters of the original text and commentary. They are frequently referred to in the notes of the present version under the description of the "interlinear Kana" or the "traditional Kana rendering," and consist of translations into Japanese of the Chinese characters alongside of which they stand, or add particles which are necessary to complete the sense in a Japanese translation. These glosses are of considerable but unknown antiquity. They are sometimes useful, especially in giving obsolete words and the pronunciation of proper names, but they cannot be implicitly relied on. They are often wrong, and still more frequently inadequate.

Spelling.—In transliterating Japanese words, the method adopted by the Japan Society has been followed pretty closely. It is nearly identical with that which is recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, and which may be briefly described as—"the vowels as in Italian, the consonants as in English." There are no silent letters.

Some inconsistencies will doubtless be observed in the spelling of proper names, in regard to which the Japanese themselves are often very vague. There is a good deal of confusion between the hard and soft consonants *t* and *d*, *ch* or *sh* and *j*, *h* and *b*, and *k* and *g*, which it is difficult for a European scholar always to avoid.

The spelling in the case of words of Japanese derivation follows the Japanese written language in representing an older pronunciation than that now current.

Corean proper names are spelt after the system described by

Sir E. Satow in his "List of Corean Geographical Names." It is based on the principle of the Royal Geographical Society's method above-mentioned. But the true pronunciation of these names is involved in much obscurity, and the rendering adopted is in many cases merely provisional.

In spelling Chinese proper names, the ordinary authorities have been followed. They do not agree very well among themselves, but it is hoped that the inconsistencies which have resulted will not occasion any difficulty to the reader.

ABBREVIATIONS.

T.A.S.J.—Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Ch. K.—The translation of the "Kojiki" by Basil Hall Chamberlain in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. X. Supplement.

J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

N.B.—Attention is drawn to the Table of Errata and Addenda in the second volume

NIHONGI.[1]

BOOK I.[2]

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART I.

OF old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yō[3] not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an

[1] Nihon, otherwise Nippon, the Niphon of our older maps, where it is wrongly limited to the main island of Japan. Japan is merely a Chinese pronunciation of this word, modified in the mouths of Europeans. Nihon, in Chinese 日本, means sun-origin, i.e. sunrise. The country received this name from its position to the east of the Asiatic continent. China being the Great Central Land, other countries were given names with reference to it. Corea, for example, is the Tong-Kuk or East-Country. These Chinese characters are sometimes used to represent Yamato, the true old Japanese name of the country, as in the name of the first Emperor, Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-hoho-demi, better known as Jimmu Tennō. I have little doubt that Nihon, as a name for Japan, was first used by the Corean scholars who came over in numbers during the early part of the seventh century. Perhaps the earliest genuine use of this term occurs in the lament for the death of Shōtoku Daishi by a Corean Buddhist priest in A.D. 620.

In 670 it was formally notified to one of the Corean kingdoms that this would be the name of the country in future, and from about the same time the Chinese also began to use it officially.

There are several cases of its being used retrospectively in places where it has no business, as in a supposed letter from the King of Koryö to the Emperor of Japan quoted in the "Nihongi" under 297 A.D.

"Nihongi," or the Chronicles of Japan, is the proper and original name of this work. But later editors and writers have introduced the syllable sho, writing, styling it the Nihon-shoki, which is its most usual literary designation at the present time. It is also spoken of as the "Shoki."

[2] The first two books of the "Nihongi" contain the myths which form the basis of the Shinto religion. For the further study of this subject, Chamberlain's admirably faithful translation of the Kojiki, and Satow's contributions to the "J.A.S.T." will be found indispensable. Griffis's "Religions of Japan" may also be consulted with advantage.

[3] The Yin and Yang, or female and male principles of Chinese philosophy See "Mayer's Chinese Manual," p. 293.

egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs.

The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.

The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty.

Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently.

Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them.[1]

Hence[2] it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water.

At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this

[1] These opening sentences of the "Nihongi" have been justly condemned by modern Shinto scholars such as Motowori and Hirata as an essay of the Chinese rationalistic type, which has been awkwardly prefixed to the genuine Japanese traditions. Hirata mentions two Chinese works named 淮南子 and 三五暦記, as among the originals from which the author of the "Nihongi" borrowed these ideas. See Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," pp. 19 and 51 (reprint), "Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions," 1875, Appendix. I take this opportunity of referring the reader to this treatise, which is much the most instructive and accurate work that has yet appeared on the ancient Japanese religion and mythology. No serious student of this subject can afford to neglect it.

The corresponding passage of the "Kiujiki" (*vide* Index) is as follows :—"Of old, the original essence was a chaotic mass. Heaven and Earth had not yet been separated, but were like an egg, of ill-defined limits and containing germs. Thereafter, the pure essence, ascending by degrees, became thinly spread out, and formed Heaven. The floating grosser essence sank heavily, and, settling down, became Earth. What we call countries were produced by the opening, splitting up, and dividing of the earth as it floated along. It might be compared to the floating of a fish which sports on the surface of the water. Now Heaven was produced first, and Earth afterwards."

[2] Motowori points out that hence has no meaning here. It is inserted clumsily to make it appear as if there were some connection between the Chinese essay which precedes and the Japanese tradition which follows. The author is fond of this word and frequently brings it in without much meaning.

became transformed into a God, and was called Kuni-toko- I. 2.[1]
tachi no Mikoto.[2]

[*The character* 尊 *is used owing to the extreme dignity of this Deity. For the others the character* 命 *is used. Both are read Mikoto. This rule is followed below.*[3]]

Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto,[4] and next Toyo-kumu-nu no Mikoto,[5] in all three deities.[6]

[1] The marginal references are to the Shukai edition of the original.

[2] Land-eternal-stand-of-august-thing.

[3] This distinction is, of course, an invention of the persons who committed the myths to writing, and it is by no means consistently adhered to even in the "Nihongi"

The passage in italics is from what is called the "Original Commentary," for which see introduction.

[4] Land-of-right-soil-of-augustness, i.e. his augustness the true soil of th land. Sa, which I have rendered "right," is a mere honorific. Tsuchi is written with a Chinese character which means "mallet," but it must be taken here as put phonetically for tsuchi, land or soil.

[5] Rich-form-plain-of-augustness. The meaning of many of the names of the gods is obscure, and these renderings must be accepted with caution. Compare the notes to Chamberlain's "Kojiki," where much attention has been given to this subject. It may be remarked that there is great and inextricable confusion as to the early deities between the various ancient authorities, the "Kojiki," the "Kiujiki," the "Kogojiui," the various documents quoted in the "Nihongi," and the "Nihongi" itself.

[6] The Chinese 三神 means simply three deities. But the interlinear Kana has mi-bashira no Kami, i.e. Deities, three pillars, hashira or bashira being the usual auxiliary numeral (like our head of cattle, sail of ships, etc.) for gods in the ancient literature. Historical Shinto has no idols, but does not this use of the word hashira suggest a time when the gods of Japan were wooden posts carved at the top into a rude semblance of the human countenance, such as are seen at this day in many savage lands? In Corea, closely related to Japan, there are gods of this kind. The mile-posts there have their upper part fashioned into the shape of an idol, to which some pompous title is given, and at a village not far from Söul, on the Wönsan road, I have seen a group of a dozen or more of these pillar-gods, set up, I was told, as guardians to the inhabitants during an epidemic of small-pox.

The word Kami, deity, has a very wide application in Japanese. It means primarily upper, and hence nobles, the sovereign, gods, and generally any wonderful or mysterious thing. The leopard and wolf are Kami, the peach with which Izanagi put to flight the thunders which pursued him in the land of Yomi, etc. See Hirata's interesting remarks translated by Satow in "Revival of Pure Shinto," "J.A.S.T.," p. 42 (reprint).

The Aino ideas regarding Kamui are very similar. See Batchelor in "J.A.S.T.," XVI., Pt. I., p. 17.

These were pure males spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven.[1]

In one writing it is said:[2]—"When Heaven and Earth began, a thing existed in the midst of the Void.[3] Its shape may not be described. Within it a Deity was spontaneously produced, whose name was Kuni-toko-tachi no Mikoto, also called Kuni-soko-tachi[4] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto, also called Kuni no sa-tachi[5] no Mikoto. Next there was Toyo-kuni-nushi[6] no Mikoto, also called Toyo-kumu-nu[7] no Mikoto, Toyo-ka-fushi-no[8] no Mikoto, Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi[9] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuni-no[10] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuhi-no[11] no Mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-no[12] no Mikoto, or Mi-no[13] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Of old, when the land was young and the earth young, it floated about, as it were floating oil. At this time a thing was produced within the land, in shape like a reed-shoot when it sprouts forth. From this there was a Deity developed, whose name was Umashi-
I. 3. ashi-kabi-hiko-ji[14] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto."

[1] The principle of Heaven is the same thing as the Yō or male principle of Chinese philosophy. This again is no part of the old tradition.

[2] These quotations are usually referred to as part of the "Nihongi." They were, in my opinion, added at a somewhat (but not much) later date. They afford some indication of the mass of written literature which existed on this subject

[3] In Japanese *sora*, to be distinguished from *ame* or *ama*, the heaven or firmament, which was regarded as a plain, as in the expression takama no hara, the plain of high heaven.

[4] Soko means bottom.

[5] Tachi means stand

[6] Rich-country-master.

[7] Rich-form-moor.

[8] Rich-perfume-joint-plain.

[9] Float-pass-plain-rich-buy.

[10] Rich-land-plain.

[11] Rich-bite (?) plain.

[12] Leaf-tree-land-plain.

[13] Mino is written with characters which suggest the derivation see-plain. But mi is more probably a honorific, to be rendered "august."

[14] Sweet-reed-shoot-prince-elder. There is some doubt about the precise signification of the word ji here rendered elder. It is the same root which we have in chichi father; wo-ji, uncle; oro-chi, serpent, and tsutsu or tsuchi, which is found in many names of gods. It is probably little more than a mere honorific.

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth were in a state of chaos, there was first of all a deity,[1] whose name was Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni-soko-tachi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth began, there were Deities produced together, whose names were, first, Kuni-no-toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto." It is further stated :—" The names of the Gods which were produced in the Plain of High Heaven were Ama no mi-naka-nushi[2] no Mikoto, next Taka-mi-musubi[3] no Mikoto, next Kami-mi-musubi[4] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" Before Heaven and Earth were produced, there was something which might be compared to a cloud floating over the sea. It had no place of attachment for its root. In the midst of this a thing was generated which resembled a reed-shoot when it is first produced in the mud. This became straightway transformed into human[5] shape and was called Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth began, a thing was produced in the midst of the Void, which resembled a reed-shoot. This became changed into a God, who was called Ama no toko-tachi[6] no Mikoto. There was next Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto." It is further stated :—" There was a thing produced in the midst of the Void like floating oil, from

[1] Lit. a Divine man.

[2] Heaven-of-august-centre-master. The Pole-star god, according to O'Neill. *Vide* " Night of the Gods," pp. 535, 536.

[3] High-august-growth. " Personifications of highly abstract ideas are not unknown in myths of savages. The South Sea islanders have personified 'the very beginning,' and 'space.' " Lang's " Myth, Religion, and Ritual," Vol. I., p. 196. It is not quite clear whether this is the same as the Musubi or Musubu no Kami, a god who unites lovers, and to whom the rags hung on trees by the roadside are offered.

[4] Divine-august-growth. This corresponds nearly with the Kojiki myth.

[5] The Chinese character is 人, which the interlinear Kana coolly renders by Kami, deity.

[6] Heaven-of-eternal-stand.

which a God was developed, called Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto."

The next Deities who came into being were Uhiji-ni[1] no Mikoto and Suhiji-ni no Mikoto, also called Uhiji-ne no
I. 4. Mikoto and Suhiji-ne no Mikoto.

The next Deities which came into being were Oho-to nochi no Mikoto and Oho-to mahe no Mikoto.

One authority says Oho-to no he no Mikoto, otherwise called Oho-to-ma-hiko no Mikoto and Oho-to-ma-hime no Mikoto. Another says Oho-tomu-chi no Mikoto and Oho-tomu-he no Mikoto.[2]

The next Gods which came into being were Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, also called Aya-kashiko-ne no Mikoto, Imi kashiki no Mikoto, or Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto, or Aya-kashiki no Mikoto.[3]

The next Deities which came into being were Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto.[4]

One writing says:—"These two Deities were the children of Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto."

One writing says:—"Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto produced Ame kagami no Mikoto, Ame kagami no Mikoto produced Ame yorodzu no Mikoto, Ame yorodzu

[1] The names of these two Deities are of doubtful meaning. According to the Chinese characters Uhiji should mean mud-earth, and Suhiji sand-earth. Ni or ne is a honorific particle. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 17.

[2] These names are somewhat obscure. Oho-to means great door or house; nochi, after, and mahe, before. He, is place; toma, a coarse kind of mat; tomu, wealthy; and chi, ground. The other elements of these names have occurred above.

[3] Omo-taru means face-pleasing, and Kashiko, awful. Ne is a honorific suffix; aya, an interjection like our ah! Imi means avoidance, religious abstinence, taboo. Kashiki is probably only another form of Kashiko, awful. Awo is green.

[4] Izana is the root of a verb izanafu, to invite; gi, a masculine, and mi, a feminine termination. These two names may therefore be rendered male-who-invites and female-who-invites. But it may be suspected that this is, after all, merely a volks-etymologie, and that Iza or Isa is simply the name of a place, na being another form of no, the genitive particle. Isa is known to Japanese myth. We shall find an Isa well in Heaven spoken of below. There are two places called Isa in Hitachi, and an Isa no Jirja in Idzumo.

no Mikoto produced Aha-nagi no Mikoto, and Aha-nagi no Mikoto produced Izanagi no Mikoto." [1]

These make eight Deities in all. Being formed by the mutual action of the Heavenly and Earthly principles, they were made male and female.[2] From Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto to Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto are called the seven generations of the age of the Gods.[3]

[1] Ame-kagami, heaven-mirror ; Ame-yorodzu, heaven-myriad ; Aha-nagi, foam-calm.

[2] This sentence is obviously from the pen of a student of Chinese philosophy.

[3] The eight Gods specially worshipped by the Jingikwan, or Department of the Shinto Religion in the Yengi period—901-922—were Taka-mi-musubi no Kami, Kami-mi-musubi no Kami, Tama-tsume musubi no Kami, Iku musubi no Kami, Taru musubi no Kami, Oho-miya no me no Kami, Mi Ketsu Kami, and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.

For the sake of comparison the Kiujiki scheme of the generations of early Deities is herewith added. It will still further exemplify the confusion of these traditions.

"Therefore a God was developed in the Plain of High Heaven whose name was Ame - yudzuru - hi - ame no sa- giri kuni-yudzuru-tsuki kuni no
heaven transfer sun heaven right mist land transfer moon land of
sa- giri no Mikoto, who was produced alone. After him were born two
right mist
generations of companion Gods and five generations of mated Deities. These make up what is called the seven generations of the Gods.

GENEALOGY OF THE AGE OF THE GODS.

The Heavenly parent, Ame yudzuru hi ame no sa-giri kuni yudzuru tsuki kuni no sa-giri no Mikoto.

1ST GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Ame no mi-naka-nushi no Mikoto.
heaven middle master
Umashi - ashi-kabi hikoji no Mikoto.
sweet reed-shoot prince elder

2ND GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Kuni no toko tachi no Mikoto.
land eternal stand
Toyo-kuni-nushi no Mikoto.
rich land master

In one writing it is said :—"The gods that were produced in pairs, male and female, were first of all Uhiji ni

A Branch.

Ame - ya - kudari no Mikoto.
heaven eight descend

3RD GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Tsuno - gui no Mikoto.
horn stake (name of place ?)

Iku - gui no Mikoto, his younger sister of wife.
live stake

A Branch.

Ame mi kudari no Mikoto.
heaven three descend

4TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Uhiji - ni no Mikoto.
mud earth (honorific affix)

Suhiji - ni no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
sand earth

A Branch.

Ama - ahi no Mikoto.
heaven meet

5TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Oho-toma-hiko no Mikoto.
great mat prince

Oho - toma - he no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
great mat place

A Branch.

Ame ya - wo - hi no Mikoto.
heaven eight hundred days

6TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Awo - kashiki ne no Mikoto.
green awful (honorific)

Aya-kashiki ne no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
ah ! awful

A Branch.

Ame no ya-so-yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
eighty myriads spirits

no Mikoto and Suhiji ni no Mikoto. Next there were Tsuno-guhi no Mikoto and Iku-guhi no Mikoto, next

7TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Izanagi no Mikoto.
Izanami no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.

A Branch.

Taka mi - musubi no Mikoto.
high august growth

Children.

Ama no omohi-game no Mikoto.
heaven thought-compriser
Ama no futo-dama no Mikoto.
big jewel
Ama no woshi - hi no Mikoto.
endure sun
Ama no kamu-dachi no Mikoto.
god stand

Next there was—

Kamu mi musubi no Mikoto.
above growth

Children.

Ame no mi ke mochi no Mikoto.
august food hold
Ame no michi ne no Mikoto.
road (honorific)
Ame no kami-dama no Mikoto.
god jewel
Iku-dama no Mikoto.
live jewel

Next there was—

Tsu-haya-dama no Mikoto.
port quick jewel

Children.

Ichi - chi - dama no Mikoto.
market thousand jewel
Kogoto-dama no Mikoto.
(?)

Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto."

Izanagi and Izanami on the Floating Bridge of Heaven.

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood on the
I. 5 floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying: "Is there not a country beneath?"

Ama no ko-yane no Mikoto.
child-roof
Takechi - nokori no Mikoto.
brave milk remnant

Next there was—

Furu-dama no Mikoto.
shake jewel

Children.

Saki-dama no Mikoto.
first jewel
Ama no woshi - dachi no Mikoto.
endure stand

Next there was—

Yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
myriad jewel

Child.

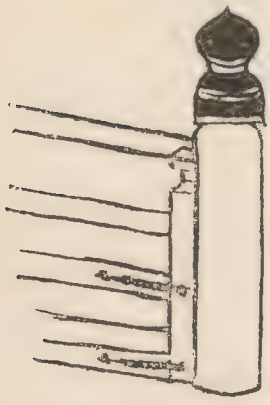
Ama no koha-kaha no Mikoto."
hard river

A number of these Deities are stated to be the ancestors of noble Japanese families. The explanation of the meaning of these names is often

Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven,[1] and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which

very conjectural. Some are probably names of places. Possibly some of the obscurer names are Corean. The "Seishiroku" speaks of a Corean Sagiri no Mikoto, and other known Corean Deities were worshipped in Japan. The reader will do well to consult here Satow's "Japanese Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VI., Pt. II., p. 120, where he makes the pregnant suggestion that the sun was the earliest among the powers of nature to be deified, and that the long series of gods who precede her in the cosmogony of the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi," most of whom are shown by their names to have been mere abstractions, were invented to give her a genealogy.

[1] Hirata conjectures that the jewel-spear (nu-boko or tama-boko) of Heaven was in form like a wo-bashira. Wo-bashira means literally male-pillar. This word is usually applied to the end-posts or pillars of a railing or balustrade, no doubt on account of the shape of the top, which ends in a sort of a ball (the nu or tama), supposed to resemble the glans. That by wo-bashira Hirata means a phallus is clear from his quoting as its equivalent the Chinese expression 玉茎, i.e. jewel-stalk, an ornate word for the penis. A Japanese word for this is wo-hashi, or wo-bashi, which contains nearly the same etymological elements as wo-bashira.



Wo-bashira.

A writer quoted in the Tsū-shō commentary on the "Nihongi," says that the Tama-boko (or nu-boko) is the root of coition.

The late Mr. J. O'Neill, in his "Night of the Gods" (pp. 31, 37, 67), proposed the theory that this spear and other spears of myth "are but symbols of the Earth-axis and its prolongation," an idea which is worked out with much ingenuity and learning in that remarkable work. At p. 88 he argues that this view is not inconsistent with the phallic interpretation.

There are other indications in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" of phallic worship in Ancient Japan, although, probably owing to the influence of Chinese ideas of literary propriety, there are fewer than might have been expected. *Vide* Index—Phallic worship.

All travellers in Japan, especially before the Revolution of 1868, must have observed numerous evidences of a phallic cult. The Government have of recent years done their best to suppress this very gross form of nature worship, but it still exists in out-of-the-way places, as has been shown in an interesting Essay by Dr. Edmund Buckley, of the University of Chicago, who has collected numerous facts relating to this subject. Dr. Griffis, in his "Religions of Japan," has also noticed several evidences of it.

Travelling from Utsunomiya to Nikko, in 1871, I found the road lined at intervals with groups of phalli, connected, no doubt, with the worship of the Sacred Mountain Nan-tai (male-form), which was visited every summer by

dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.[1]

The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.

So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the centre of the land.[2]

Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female[3]

hundreds of pilgrims of the male sex, access to females being at that time rigorously prohibited.

A cave at Kamakura formerly contained scores of phalli carved in stone.

I once witnessed a phallic procession in a town some miles north of Tokio. A phallus several feet high, and painted a bright vermilion colour, was being carried on a sort of a bier by a crowd of shouting, laughing coolies with flushed faces, who zig-zagged along with sudden rushes from one side of the street to another. It was a veritable Bacchic rout. The Dionysia, it will be remembered, had their phalli. A procession of this kind invaded the quiet thoroughfares of the Kobe foreign settlement in 1868, much to the amazement of the European residents.

That there are domestic shrines in the lupanars where these objects of worship are propitiated by having a small lamp kept constantly burning before them is, perhaps, not to be wondered at.

Is it a mere coincidence that wo-bashira, male pillar, should contain the element hashira which is used as a numeral for deities? See above, p. 5.

Some of the Rai-tsui, or thunder-clubs, figured in Kanda's "Ancient Stone Implements," Plate VII., are probably phalli. Their size precludes the view that they were used as weapons.

It may be, however, that both the Earth-axis and the phallic interpretations of the nu-boko are too subtle. The Hoko may after all be a spear and nothing more, and the nu or jewel merely an ornate epithet, as indeed Hirata suggests.

[1] Spontaneously-congeal-island. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 19. Identified with a small island near Ahaji.

[2] The "Kiujiki" mentions a tradition according to which the two gods made the jewel-spear the central pillar of their house.

[3] The words for male and female are in the original Yō and In. It greatly excites the indignation of the Motowori and Hirata school to have these Chinese philosophical terms applied to Japanese deities. I cannot help thinking that some early marriage ceremony is adumbrated by this circumambulation. We have the ceremony of divorce further on. The erection of a house is not merely for practical reasons. It appears from several passages that a special building was a necessary preliminary to the consummation of a marriage in proper form.

deity by the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female deity spoke first and said:—"How delightful! I have met I. 6.
with a lovely youth." The male deity was displeased, and said:—"I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a woman, shouldst have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again." Upon this the two deities went back, and having met anew, this time the male deity spoke first, and said:—"How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden."

Then he inquired of the female deity, saying:—"In thy body is there aught formed?" She answered, and said:—"In my body there is a place which is the source of femineity." The male deity said:—"In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity. I wish to unite this source-place of my body to the source-place of thy body." Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and wife.

Now when the time of birth arrived, first of all the island of Ahaji was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it. Therefore it received the name of Ahaji no Shima.[1]

Next there was produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima.[2]

Here and elsewhere 日本 (*Nippon*) *is to be read Yamato.*[3]

Next they produced the island of Iyo no futa-na,[4] and next I. 7.
the island of Tsukushi.[5] Next the islands of Oki and Sado

[1] "The island which will not meet," i.e. is unsatisfactory. Ahaji may also be interpreted as "my shame." The characters with which this name is written in the text mean "foam-road." Perhaps the true derivation is "millet-land." Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 21.

[2] Rich-harvest (or autumn)-of-island.

[3] Yamato means probably mountain-gate. It is the genuine ancient name for the province which contained Nara and many of the other capitals of Japan for centuries, and it was also used for the whole country. Several of Mikados called themselves Yamato-neko. It is mentioned by the historian of the Later Han dynasty of China (A.D. 25-220) as the seat of rule in Japan at that time. (See above, p. 1.)

[4] Now called Shikoku.

[5] Now called Kiushiu.

were born as twins. This is the prototype of the twin-births which sometimes take place among mankind.

Next was born the island of Koshi,[1] then the island of Oho-shima, then the island of Kibi no Ko.[2]

Hence first arose the designation of the Oho-ya-shima[3] country.

Then the islands of Tsushima and Iki, with the small islands in various parts, were produced by the coagulation of the foam of the salt-water.

It is also stated that they were produced by the coagulation of the foam of fresh water.

In one writing it is said:—"The Gods of Heaven addressed Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, say-
I. 8. ing: 'There is the country Toyo-ashi-hara-chi-i-wo-aki no midzu-ho.[4] Do ye proceed and bring it into order.' They then gave them the jewel-spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Gods stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and plunging down the spear, sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again, the brine which dripped from the spear-point coagulated and became an island, which was called Ono-goro-jima. The two gods descended, dwelt in this island, and erected there an eight-fathom palace.[5] They also set up the pillar of Heaven."

Then the male Deity asked the female Deity, saying:—"Is there anything formed in thy body?" She answered and said:—"My body has a place completely formed, and called the source of femineity." The male god said:—"My body again has a place completely formed, and called the source of masculinity. I desire to unite my source of

[1] Koshi is not an island. It comprises the present provinces of Ettchiu, Echigo, and Echizen.

[2] These two are not clear. Kibi is now Bingo, Bizen, and Bittchiu. Ko, "child or small," perhaps refers to the small islands of the Inland Sea.

[3] Great-eight-island.

[4] Abundant-reed-plain, thousand-five-hundred-harvest (or autumn) fair-ears.

[5] The "Kiujiki" makes the nu-boko or jewel-spear the central pillar of the house which they erected. Eight-fathom is simply a poetical expression for large. There is no special sacredness attached to the number eight.

masculinity to thy source of femineity." Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the pillar of Heaven, and made a promise, saying:—"Do thou, my younger sister, go round from the left, while I will go round from the right." Having done so, they went round separately and met, when the female Deity spoke first, and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" The male Deity then answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was the

The Leech Child as Yebisu.

leech, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift.[1] Their next was the Island of Ahaji. This also was I. 9.
not included in the number of their children. Wherefore they returned up again to Heaven, and fully reported the circumstances. Then the Heavenly Gods divined this by the greater divination. Upon which they instructed them, saying:—"It was by reason of the woman's having spoken first; ye had best return thither again." Thereupon having divined a time, they went down. The two deities

[1] The leech was identified in after times with the God Yebisu. See Anderson's Catalogue of Paintings in the British Museum, p. 36. Hirata attempts to show that he was the same as Sukuna-bikona, but is not convincing. The reed boat recalls the Accadian legend of Sargon and his ark of rushes, the Biblical story of Moses as an infant and many more, for which the curious reader may consult the late John O'Neill's "Night of the Gods," p. 410.

accordingly went again round the pillar, the male Deity from the left,[1] and the female Deity from the right. When they met, the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" The female Deity next answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" Thereafter they dwelt together in the same palace and had children, whose names were Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Ahaji, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsukushi, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Koshi, next the island of Kibi-no-ko. The country was accordingly called the "Great-Eight-Island Country."

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood in the midst of the mist of Heaven, and said:—'We wish to find a country.' So they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven, and groped about till they found the island of Ono-goro. Then they drew back the spear and rejoiced, saying:—'Good! there is a country!'"

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto sat in the Plain of High Heaven, and said:—'There must surely be a country.' So with the jewel-spear of Heaven they scraped together the island of Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto spoke to one another, saying:—'There is something resembling floating oil. In the midst of this there is perhaps a country.' So they
I. 10. took the jewel-spear of Heaven and groping about formed with it an island which was called Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a handsome youth!' Now it was considered unlucky that the female Deity should have spoken first. Accordingly they went round again,

[1] Hirata says that as the left is superior to the right, and the man to the woman, it is proper that the man should go round from the left, and the woman from the right. He strongly condemns the Kojiki version of the story which reverses this order. The notion of the superiority of the left is really Chinese.

when the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Postemo cupiebant coire, sed artis nescii erant. Tum erat motacilla[1] quae advolavit, atque concussit suum caput et suam caudam. Quod cum vidissent duo Dei, imitati sunt eam, et in hoc modo artem coeundi potiti sunt.

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities were united and became husband and wife. First of all, the islands of Ahaji and Aha being considered the placenta,[2] they produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo, next the island of Tsukushi, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, next the island of Koshi, next Oho-shima, and next Kojima."

In one writing it is said:—"First there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Iki, and next the island of Tsushima."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ono-goro being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsu-kushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, and next the island of Koshi."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ahaji being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Oho-yamato Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Aha, next the island of Iyo no futana, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, and next Oho-shima."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a lovely youth!' She

[1] Anglice, wagtail.

[2] The Japanese word for placenta is *ye* or *yena*. *Ye* is also Japanese for elder brother. The Kiujiki has in the corresponding passage 兄 or elder brother.

forthwith took the hand of the male Deity, and they at length became husband and wife. There was born to
I. 11. them the island of Ahaji, and next the leech-child."

They next produced the sea, then the rivers, and then the mountains. Then they produced Ku-ku-no-chi, the ancestor of the trees, and next the ancestor of herbs, Kaya no hime.[1] *Also called Nudzuchi.*

After this Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying:—"We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe?[2] They then together produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Oho-hiru-me no muchi.[3]

Called in one writing Ama-terasu no Oho kami.[4]

In one writing she is called Ama-terasu-oho-hiru-me no Mikoto.[5]

The resplendent lustre of this child shone throughout all the six quarters.[6] Therefore the two Deities rejoiced, saying:—"We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven."

At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated,[7] and therefore they sent her up to Heaven by the ladder of Heaven.

They next produced the Moon-god.

[1] Ku-ku is evidently for ki-ki, trees. Chi is the same root which we have in the modern chichi, father, and kaya is the name of a kind of rush used for thatching. Nu-dzu-chi, moor-of-father.

[2] Universe. In the original, tenka, i.e. that which is under Heaven, subsequently the usual word for the Empire.

[3] Oho-hiru-me no muchi. Great-noon-female-of-possessor.

[4] Heaven-illumine-of-great-deity.

[5] Heaven-illumine-great-noon-female-of-augustness.

[6] North, South, East, West, Above, Below.

[7] "In the beginning the Heaven, Rangi, and the Earth, Papa, were the father and mother of all things. In those days the Heaven lay upon the Earth, and all was darkness. They had never been separated."

Maori myth, quoted by Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 45.

Called in one writing Tsuki-yumi[1] no Mikoto, or Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. I. 12.

His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendour. This God was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

Next they produced the leech-child, which even at the age of three years could not stand upright. They therefore placed it in the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven, and abandoned it to the winds.

Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[2]

Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[3]

This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed[4]

[1] Yumi means bow, yomi darkness. Neither is inappropriate as applied to the moon.

[2] This name is written indifferently Sosa no wo and Susa no wo. The accepted derivation refers *Susa* to *Susamu*, a verb which means "to be impetuous." Hence the "Impetuous Male" of Chamberlain's and Satow's translations. I am disposed to prefer a derivation suggested by the "Idzumo Fudoki," a very old book, which states :—

"Village of Susa. Nineteen ri due west of the Town-house of the district. Kamu Susa no wo no Mikoto said :—'This is only a small country, but it is a Kuni-dokoro (local capital ?). Therefore my name shall not be affixed to wood or stone.' This was accordingly the place where he allowed his august spirit to repose. There were, therefore, established by him the Greater Susa rice-lands and the Lesser Susa rice-lands."

Susa no wo is therefore simply the "male of Susa." It will be remembered that by one Japanese tradition, Idzumo is the home of the Gods, and that several of the legends respecting them relate to this locality. It is, however, probable that the older derivation is really a volks-etymologie, which has given colour to the stories told of this deity. Idzumo is a chief home of the worship of Susa no wo at the present day. His wife's mother was called Susa no Yatsu-mimi, but it has not occurred to anybody to make her an "impetuous female." Hirata rejects the modern identification of this God with Godzu Tennō.

[3] Kami, deity ; haya, quick.

[4] The character used is that appropriate to a sovereign addressing his subjects.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether-Land."[1] So they at length expelled him.

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.' He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror,[2] upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced
I. 13. from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head and looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hirume no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine down upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land."

In one writing it is said:—"After the sun and moon, the next child which was born was the leech-child. When this child had completed his third year, he was nevertheless still unable to stand upright. The reason why the leech-child was born was that in the beginning, when Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto went round the pillar, the female Deity was the first to utter an exclamation of pleasure, and the law of male and female was therefore broken. They next procreated Sosa no wo no Mikoto. This God was of a wicked nature, and was always fond of wailing and wrath. Many of the people of the land died, and the green mountains withered. Therefore his parents addressed him, saying: 'Supposing that thou wert to rule this country, much destruction of life would surely ensue. Thou must govern the far-distant Nether Land.' Their next child was the bird-rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven. They forthwith took this

[1] Ne no kuni, lit. the root-country, by which Hades or Yomi is no doubt meant.

[2] See Index—Copper.

boat and, placing the leech-child in it, abandoned it to the current. Their next child was Kagu tsuchi."[1] I. 14.

Now Izanami no Mikoto was burnt by Kagu tsuchi, so that she died.[2] When she was lying down to die, she gave birth to the Earth-Goddess, Hani-yama-hime,[3] and the Water-Goddess, Midzu-ha-no-me. Upon this Kagu tsuchi took to wife Hani-yama-hime, and they had a child named Waka-musubi.[4] On the crown of this Deity's head were produced the silkworm and the mulberry tree, and in her navel the five kinds of grain.[5]

In one writing it is said :—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to Ho-no-musubi,[6] she was burnt by the child, and died.[7] When she was about to die, she brought forth the Water-Goddess, Midzu-ha-no-me, and the Earth-Goddess, Hani-yama-hime. She also brought forth the gourd[8] of Heaven."

In one writing it is said :—"When about to give birth to the Fire-God, Kagu tsuchi, Izanami no Mikoto became feverish and ill. In consequence she vomited, and the vomit became changed into a God, who was called Kana-yama-hiko.[9] Next her urine became changed into a Goddess, who was called Midzu-ha-no-me. Next her excrement was changed into a Goddess, who was called Hani-yama-hime.

In one writing it is said :—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to the Fire-God, she was burnt, and died. She was, therefore, buried at the village of Arima in Kumano, in the province of Kiï. In the time of flowers, the inhabitants worship the spirit of this Goddess by offerings of

[1] Kagu tsuchi was the God of Fire. Tsu is here probably the genitive particle, and chi the same honorific word as appears in several other names of Gods. He was worshipped at Nagusa in Kiï.

[2] Lit. ended. [3] Clay-mountain-lady.

[4] Young-growth.

[5] Hemp, millet, rice, corn, pulse. This is a Chinese form of speech, and with the mention of the silkworm betrays a recent origin of this tradition.

[6] Fire-growth. [7] Lit. retired.

[8] The gourd was to hold water to subdue the Fire-God with when he became violent.

[9] Metal-mountain prince. This legend indicates an acquaintance with mining.

flowers. They also worship her with drums, flutes, flags,
I. 15. singing and dancing."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, having together procreated the Great-eight-island Land, Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'Over the country which we have produced there is naught but morning mists which shed a perfume everywhere!' So he puffed them away with a breath, which became changed into a God, named Shina tohe no Mikoto. He is also called Shina[1] tsu hiko no Mikoto. This is the God of the Wind. Moreover, the child which they procreated when they were hungry was called Uka no mi-tama[2] no Mikoto. Again they produced the Sea-Gods, who were called Wata[3] tsu mi no Mikoto, and the Mountain-Gods, who were called Yama tsu mi, the Gods of the River-mouths, who were called Haya-aki[4]-tsubi no Mikoto, the Tree-Gods, who were called Ku-ku no chi, and the Earth-Goddess, who was called Hani-yasu[5] no Kami. Thereafter they produced all manner of things whatsoever. When the time came for the Fire-God Kagu tsuchi to
I. 16. be born, his mother Izanami no Mikoto was burnt, and suffered change and departed.[6] Then Izanagi no Mikoto was wroth, and said: 'Oh, that I should have given my beloved younger sister[7] in exchange for a single child!

[1] Shina is said to be derived from shi, wind or breath, and na, a short form of naga, long. See Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 27. The worship of this God is frequently referred to in the last two books of the Nihongi. See also Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," where a prayer to him is given. Tohe means chief.

[2] Food august-spirit. The Chinese characters transliterated Uka mean storehouse rice.

[3] Wata is an old word for sea; mi is probably "body."

[4] Haya-aki means swift-autumn; tsu, of, and bi (or mi) perhaps person or body.

[5] Clay-easy.

[6] i.e. died.

[7] The ancient Japanese word for younger sister was imo, which is also applied to a wife. It may be doubted whether this justifies any adverse inference as to the morals of the Japanese in early times. "Sister" is used as an endearing epithet in the Song of Solomon where the relation is certainly not that of brother and sister. It is true, however, that marriages were allowed between brothers and sisters when of different mothers.

So while he crawled at her head, and crawled at her feet, weeping and lamenting, the tears which he shed fell down and became a Deity. It is this Deity who dwells at Unewo no Konomoto, and who is called Naki-saha-me[1] no Mikoto. At length he drew the ten-span sword with which he was girt, and cut Kagu tsuchi into three pieces, each of which became changed into a God. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the edge of the sword[2] became the multitudinous[3] rocks which are in the bed of the Easy-River[4] of Heaven. This God was the father of Futsu-nushi no Kami. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the hilt-ring of the sword spurted out and became deities, whose names were Mika no Haya-hi[5] no Kami and next Hi no Haya-hi no[6] Kami. This Mika no Haya-hi no Kami was the parent of Take-mika-suchi[7] no I. 17.
Kami."

Another version is:—"Mika no haya-hi no Mikoto, next Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto, and next Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the point of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Iha-saku[8] no Kami, after him Ne-saku no Kami,[9] and next Iha-tsutsu-wo[10] no Mikoto. This Iha-saku no Kami was the father of Futsu-nushi[11] no Kami."

One account says:—"Iha-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and next Iha-tsutsu-me no Mikoto."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the head of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Kura o Kami no Kami,[12] next Kura-yamatsumi no Kami,[13] and next Kura-midzu-ha no Kami.[14]

[1] Weep-abundant-female. [2] Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32.
[3] Literally, five hundred.
[4] i.e. The Milky Way. Yasu, easy, is probably in error for ya-so, eighty, i.e. manifold, having many reaches.
[5] Jar-swift-sun. So written, but mika is probably a word meaning very or mighty.
[6] Fire-swift-sun. See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32. [7] Brave-jar-father.
[8] Rock-splitting-god. [9] Root-splitting-god. [10] Rock-elder-male-god.
[11] Futsu is interpreted as "a snapping sound"; nushi is master.
[12] Dark-god. [13] Dark-mountain-body-god. [14] Dark-water-goddess.

I. 18. Thereafter, Izanagi no Mikoto went after Izanami no Mikoto, and entered the land of Yomi.[1] When he reached her they conversed together, and Izanami no Mikoto said: 'My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking-furnace of Yomi.[2] Nevertheless, I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look on me.' Izanami no Mikoto did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and, breaking off its end tooth,[3] made of it a torch, and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up, and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb[4] at night. Izanagi no Mikoto was greatly shocked, and said: 'Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous and polluted land.' So he speedily ran away back again. Then Izanami no Mikoto was angry, and said:

[1] The original has "yellow springs," a Chinese expression. Yomi or Yomo is Hades. It is no doubt connected with yo or yoru, night.

[2] This is a feature of many old-world and savage myths. In the legend of the rape of Proserpine by Pluto, as told by Ovid, Jupiter replies to Ceres, who demanded back her daughter—

> ". . . Repetat Proserpina caelum,
> Lege tamen certâ: si nullos contiget illic
> Ore cibos."

But Proserpine already—

> "Puniceum curvâ decerpserat arbore pomum
> Sumta que pallenti septem de cortice grana
> Presserat ore suo."

Compare also the story of Nachikétas from the Taittiríya Brāhmana, and the Katha Upanishad:—

> "Three nights within his (Yama's) mansion stay,
> But taste not, though a guest, his food."
> Muir's Sanskrit texts, Vol. V., p. 329.

The resemblance of the name Yama of the Indian God of the Lower World to the Japanese Yomi has been noted, and also some points of similarity in the myth of Yami and Yama to that of Izanagi and Izanami. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 171.

[3] End-tooth is in Japanese wo-bashira, i e. male-pillar, for which see above, note to p. 11.

[4] The "Adzuma Kagami" mentions a superstition that any one who picks up a comb which has been thrown away is transformed into another person.

'Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now am I put to shame.' So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi[1] (*Shikome, called by some Hisame*) to pursue and stay him. Izanagi no Mikoto therefore drew his sword, and, flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress and flung it down. I. 19. It became changed into grapes, which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi no Mikoto. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when they had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards, Izanami no Mikoto came herself and pursued him.[2] By this time Izanagi no Mikoto had reached the Even Pass of Yomi."

According to one account, Izanagi no Mikoto made water against a large tree, which water at once turned into a great river. While the Ugly Females of Yomi were preparing to cross this river, Izanagi no Mikoto had already reached the Even Pass of Yomi. So he took a thousand-men-pull-rock, and having blocked up the path with it, stood face to face with Izanami no Mikoto, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. Upon this, Izanami no Mikoto said: "My dear Lord and husband, if thou sayest so, I will strangle to death the people of the country which thou dost govern, a thousand in one day." Then Izanagi no Mikoto replied, saying, "My beloved younger sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said, "Come no further, and threw down his staff, which was called Funado[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his girdle,

[1] The "Wamiōsho" mentions a statement that these were used as bogeys to frighten children with under the name of Gogo-me.

[2] The student of folk-lore will at once recognize this pursuit. Cf. Lang's "Custom and Myth," pp. 88 and 92: "A common incident is the throwing behind of a comb, which turns into a thicket."

[3] Or Kunado, come-not-place. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 39. This was the God of roads.

I. 20. which was called Naga-chi-ha[1] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his upper garment, which was called Wadzurahi[2] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his trowsers, which were called Aki-gui[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his shoes, which were called Chi-shiki[4] no Kami.

Some say that the Even Pass of Yomi is not any place in particular, but means only the space of time when the breath fails on the approach of death.[5]

Now the rock with which the Even Pass of Yomi was blocked is called Yomi-do ni fusagaru Oho-kami.[6] Another name for it is Chi-gayeshi[7] no Oho-kami.

When Izanagi no Mikoto had returned, he was seized with regret, and said, "Having gone to Nay! a hideous and filthy place, it is meet that I should cleanse my body
I 21. from its pollutions." He accordingly went to the plain of Ahagi at Tachibana in Wodo in Hiuga of Tsukushi, and purified himself. When at length he was about to wash away the impurities[8] of his body, he lifted up his voice and said, "The upper stream is too rapid and the lower stream is too sluggish, I will wash in the middle stream." The God which was thereby produced was called Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi[9] no Kami, and then to remedy these evils

[1] Long-road-rock. [2] Disease or trouble.

[3] This might mean open-bite, but the derivation is very doubtful.

[4] Road-spread-out.

[5] Motoöri treats this suggestion with supreme contempt. He prefers to accept the identification of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K. p. 39) with a place in Idzumo. Other parts of the world also boast entrances to the lower regions. The Chinese have one at Têng-chow, and the Roman and Greek legends need not be more particularly referred to.

[6] Yomi-gate-block-great-God.

[7] Road-turn-back.

[8] Izanagi's ablutions are typical of the ceremonial lustration required after contact with death. A Chinese traveller to Japan in the early centuries of the Christian era noted that "when the funeral is over the whole family go into the water and wash." Ovid makes Juno undergo lustration after a visit to the lower regions, and Dante is washed in Lethe when he passes out of Purgatory. For lustration as a widespread practice, consult Dr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 435, *et seqq.*

[9] Eighty-evils-of-body. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 41.

there were produced Deities named Kami-nawo-bi no Kami, and after him Oho-nawo-bi[1] no Kami.

Moreover, the Deities which were produced by his plunging down and washing in the bottom of the sea were called Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi[2] no Mikoto and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. Moreover, when he plunged and washed in the mid-tide, there were Gods produced who were called Naka[3] tsu wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and next Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto.[4] Moreover, when he washed floating on the surface of the water, Gods were produced, who were called Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto and next Uha[5]-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. There were in all nine Gods. The Gods Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto are the three great Gods of Suminoye. The Gods Soko-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, Naka-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto are the Gods worshipped[6] by the Muraji of Adzumi.[7]

Thereafter, a Deity was produced by his washing his

[1] Nawo is the root of a verb nawosu, to remedy.

[2] Bottom-sea-of-body.

[3] Middle-sea-god.

[4] Middle-elder-male.

[5] Uha means upper.

[6] As appears from the parallel passage of the "Kojiki," this is a case of ancestor worship, not, it will be observed, of the immediate ancestors, as in China, but of a remote mythical ancestor who is a Deity, as his name indicates.

[7] Adzumi no Muraji is a title corresponding exactly to such English titles as "Duke of Wellington," Adzumi being the name of a place and Muraji a title of honour. It is derived from mura, a village or assemblage, and ushi, master. These titles, called Uji or Kabane, though Kabane is properly the second or honorary element, were in their origin simply official designations, and in the "Nihongi" we frequently meet with cases where the office and the title are united in the same person. They were, however, hereditary, and by degrees the mere honorary element prevailed. It too, ultimately vanished, these titles becoming simply surnames to which no particular distinction was attached. Japanese writers, the author of the "Nihongi" with the rest, have, for want of a more appropriate character, identified them with the Chinese 姓 or surname, which is only true of a period later than the time covered by the "Nihongi." There was also a personal name (na), but the ancient Japanese seem to have had no proper surnames, although the Uji answered the same purpose in a rough way.

I. 22. left eye, which was called Ama-terasu-no-oho-Kami.[1] Then he washed his right eye, producing thereby a Deity who was called Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto.[2] Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a God who was called Sosa no wo no Mikoto. In all there were three Deities. Then Izanagi no Mikoto gave charge to his three children, saying, "Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule the plain of High Heaven: do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the ocean plain: do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, rule the world." At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was already of full age. He had, moreover, grown a beard eight spans long. Nevertheless, he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Therefore Izanagi no Mikoto inquired of him, saying, "Why dost thou continually weep in this way?" He answered and said, "I wish to follow my mother to the Nether Land, and it is simply for that reason that I weep." Then Izanagi no Mikoto was filled with detestation of him, and said, "Go, even as thy heart bids thee." So he forthwith drove him away.

I. 23. In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto drew his sword and cut Kagutsuchi into three pieces. One of these

[1] The Sun-Goddess.

[2] The Moon-God. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku: "P'an-ku came into being in the Great Waste, his beginning is unknown. In dying, he gave birth to the existing material universe. His breath was transmuted into the wind and clouds, his voice into thunder, his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon: his four limbs and five extremities into the four quarters of the globe and the five great mountains, his blood into the rivers, his muscles and veins into the strata of the earth, his flesh into the soil etc."—Mayer's "Chinese Manual," p. 174. Note here that the Japanese myth gives precedence to the left over the right. This is a Chinese characteristic. Hirata rejects any identification of the two myths, pointing out that the sun is masculine in China and feminine in Japan. This is not conclusive. Such closely related nations as the English and Germans differ as to the sex which they ascribe to the sun, and Lang in his "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," points out that among the Australians, different tribes of the same race have different views of the sex of the sun and moon.

became Ikadzuchi no Kami,[1] one became Oho-yama-tsu-mi[2] no Kami, and one became Taka-wo-Kami.[3] Moreover, it is said: "When he slew Kagutsuchi, the blood gushed out and stained the five hundred[4] rocks which are in the midst of the eighty rivers of Heaven, forming thereby Gods who were called Iha-saku[5] no Kami; next Ne-saku[6] no Kami's child, Iha-tsutsu-wo[7] no Kami; and next, Iha-tsutsu-me no Kami's child, Futsu-nushi no Kami."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto cut Kagutsuchi no Mikoto into five pieces, which were each changed, and became the five Mountain-Gods. The first piece, viz., the head, became Oho-yama-tsu-mi;[8] the second, viz. the trunk, became Naka[9]-yama-tsu-mi; the third, viz. the hands, became Ha[10]-yama-tsu mi; the fourth, viz. the loins, became Masa-katsu-yama-tsu-mi;[11] and the fifth, viz. the feet, became Shiki[12]-yama-tsu-mi. I. 24.

At this time the blood from the wounds spurted out and stained the rocks, trees and herbage. This is the reason that herbs, trees, and pebbles naturally contain the element of fire."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto, wishing to see his younger sister, went to the temporary burial-place. At this time, Izanami no Mikoto being still as she was when alive came forth to meet him, and they talked together. She spoke to Izanagi no Mikoto and said, 'My august Lord and husband, I beseech thee not to look at me.' When she had done speaking, she suddenly became invisible. It was then dark, so Izanagi no Mikoto lit a single light, and looked at her. Izanami no Mikoto was then swollen and festering, and eight kinds of Thunder-Gods rested on her. Izanagi no Mikoto was shocked, and ran away. Then the thunders all arose and pursued him.

[1] The Thunder-God.
[2] Great-mountain-of-person.
[3] High male-God.
[4] The numbers 500, 80, 8, 180, 10,000 are often put vaguely for a large number.
[5] Rock-split.
[6] Root-split.
[7] Rock-elder-male.
[8] Great-mountain-of-person.
[9] Middle.
[10] Spur, *vide* Ch. K., p. 33.
[11] True-conquer or excel.
[12] Foundation.

Now by the roadside there grew a large peach tree,[1] at the foot of which Izanagi no Mikoto concealed himself. He accordingly took its fruit and flung it to the thunders, upon which the thunders all ran away. This was the origin of the practice of keeping off evil spirits by means of peaches. Then Izanagi flung down his staff, saying: 'The thunders may not come beyond this.' It (the staff) was called Funado no Kami, and was originally called Kunado no Ohoji.[2]

Of the so-called Eight Thunders, that which was on her head was called the Great Thunder; that which was on her breast was called the Fire-Thunder; that which was on her belly was called the Earth-Thunder; that which was on her back was called the Young-Thunder; that which was on her posteriors was called the Black-Thunder; that which was on her hand was called the Mountain-Thunder; that which was on her foot was called the Moor-Thunder; and that which was on her genitals was called the Cleaving-Thunder."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto followed after Izanami no Mikoto, and, arriving at the place where she was, spoke to her and said: 'I have come because I sorrowed for thee.' She answered and said, 'We are relations.[3] Do not thou look upon me.' Izanagi no Mikoto would not obey, but continued to look on her. Wherefore Izanami no Mikoto was ashamed and angry, and said, 'Thou hast seen my nakedness. Now I will in turn see thine.' Then Izanagi no Mikoto was ashamed, and prepared to depart. He did not, however, merely go away in silence, but said solemnly, 'Our relationship is severed.'[4] Again he said, 'I will not submit to be beaten

[1] Chinese legend also ascribes magical properties to the peach. Si Wang Mu, a fabulous being of the female sex, possessed a peach tree whose fruit conferred the gift of immortality. It has also the virtue of driving off the demons of disease. Staves and bows of peach-tree wood were used in the ceremony of oni-yarahi (sending away demons), performed on the last day of the year.

[2] Come-not-place-great-elder (or ancestor).

[3] Relations. The interlinear kana has *ugara*, i.e. the same uji or house.

[4] From the "Kiujiki" it would appear that this was the formula of divorce.

by a relation.'[1] And the God of the Spittle[2] which he thereupon spat out was called Haya-tama no wo.[3] Next the God of his purification was called Yomo-tsu-koto-saka no wo;[4] two gods in all. And when he came to contend with his younger sister at the Even Pass of Yomi, Izanagi no Mikoto said, 'It was weak of me at first to sorrow and mourn on account of a relation.'

Then said the Road-wardens of Yomi, 'We have a message for thee, as follows: 'I and thou have produced countries. Why should we seek to produce more? I shall stay in this land, and will not depart along with thee.' At this time Kukuri[5]-hime no Kami said something which Izanagi no Mikoto heard and approved, and she then vanished away.

But, having visited in person the Land of Yomi, he had I. 26.
brought on himself ill-luck. In order, therefore, to wash away the defilement, he visited the Aha gate[6] and the Haya-sufu-na[7] gate. But the tide in these two gates was exceeding strong. So he returned and took his way towards Wodo[8] in Tachibana. There he did his ablutions. At this time, entering the water, he blew out and produced Iha-tsu-tsu[9] no Mikoto; coming out of the water, he blew forth and produced Oho-nawo-bi[10] no Kami. Entering a second time, he blew out and produced Soko-tsutsu[11] no Mikoto; coming out he blew forth and produced Oho-aya-tsu-bi[12] no Kami. Entering again, he blew forth

[1] Referring to the threat of slaying 1000 people in one day, and the counter-threat of making 1500 children to be born in one day.

[2] A Japanese authority says that at the present time spitting is essential in the purification ceremony. Another says, "This is the reason why at the present day people spit when they see anything impure." Cf. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 103; Vol. II., p. 441.

[3] Quick-jewel-male. [4] Yomi-of-thing-divide-male.

[5] Hirata derives this from *kiki*, hear, and *iri*, enter, the meaning being that of mediation.

[6] Now known as the Naruto passage, a strait famous for its rapid tides.

[7] Quick suck-name. In the Bungo Channel.

[8] Little-gate. [9] Rock-of-elder.

[10] Great-remedy-person. [11] Bottom-elder.

[12] Great-pattern-of-person

and produced Aka-tsutsu[1] no Mikoto, and coming out he blew out and produced the various deities of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea-plain."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto charged his three children, saying, 'Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule over the plain of High Heaven; do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, be associated with her in the charge of Heavenly matters; do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, govern the plain of Ocean.'

Now when Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was already in Heaven, she said:—'I hear that in the Central country of reed-plains there is the Deity Uke-mochi no Kami.[2] Do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, go and wait upon her.' Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, on receiving this command, descended and went to the place where Uke-mochi no Kami was. Thereupon Uke-mochi no Kami turned her head towards the land, and forthwith from her mouth there came boiled rice: she faced the sea, and again there came from her
I. 27. mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. She faced the mountains and again there came from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. These things were all prepared and set out on one hundred tables for his entertainment. Then Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto became flushed with anger, and said:—'Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth.' So he drew his sword and slew her, and then returned and made his report, relating all the circumstances. Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was exceedingly angry, and said:—'Thou art a wicked Deity. I must not see thee face to face.' So they were separated by one day and one night, and dwelt apart.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami sent a second time Ame-kuma-bito[3] to go and see her. At this time Uke-mochi no Kami was truly dead already. But on the crown of her head there had been produced the ox and the horse;

[1] Red-elder. [2] The Goddess of food.

[3] Written "Heaven-bear-man." The real meaning is supposed to be Heaven-cloud (kumo)-man, the clouds being regarded as messengers of the Gods.

on the top of her forehead there had been produced millet; over her eyebrows there had been produced the silkworm; within her eyes there had been produced panic; in her belly there had been produced rice; in her genitals there had been produced wheat, large beans[1] and small beans.[2]

Ame-kuma-bito carried all these things and delivered them to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, who was rejoiced, and said:—'These are the things which the race of visible[3] men will eat and live.' So she made the millet, the panic, the I. 28.
wheat, and the beans the seed for the dry fields, and the rice she made the seed for the water-fields. Therefore she appointed a Mura-gimi[4] of Heaven, and forthwith sowed for the first time the rice seed in the narrow fields and in the long fields of Heaven. That autumn, drooping ears bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on.

Moreover she took the silkworms in her mouth, and succeeded in reeling thread from them. From this began the art of silkworm rearing."[5]

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made petition, saying:—"I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever." Permission was granted him, and he therefore ascended to Heaven.

After this, Izanagi no Mikoto, his divine task having been

[1] Soja hispida. Hepburn.

[2] Phaseolus radiatus. Hepburn. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku quoted above. There are Indian and Iranian myths of a similar character. See "T.R.A.S.," Jan., 1895, p. 202. "Creation from the fragments of a fabulous anthropomorphic being is common to Chaldæans, Iroquois, Egyptians, Greeks, Tinnehs, Mangaians, and Aryan Indians." Lang, "Myth, Religion, Ritual," I. 246.

[3] As opposed to the unseen gods. [4] Village-chief.

[5] The "Kojiki" makes Susa no wo to slay Uke-mochi no Mikoto, but the "Kiujiki" agrees with the version just given, which is more likely to be the original form of the story, as it is an explanation of the reason why the sun and moon are not seen together, and has parallels in myths of other countries. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami (now called Ten-shō-dai-jin) and Ukemochi no Kami are the two principal Deities worshipped at Ise. See Satow's "Handbook of Japan," pp. 175, 176.

accomplished, and his spirit-career about to suffer a change, built himself an abode of gloom in the island of Ahaji, where he dwelt for ever in silence and concealment.

Another account says:—"Izanagi no Mikoto, his task having been accomplished, and his power great, ascended to Heaven and made report of his mission. There he dwelt
I. 29. in the smaller palace of the Sun." (*By smaller palace is meant the palace of a prince.*)

Now at first when Sosa no wo no Mikoto went up to Heaven, by reason of the fierceness of his divine nature there was a commotion in the sea, and the hills and mountains groaned aloud. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, knowing the violence and wickedness of this Deity, was startled and changed countenance, when she heard the manner of his coming. She said (to herself):—"Is my younger brother coming with good intentions? I think it must be his purpose to rob me of my kingdom. By the charge which our parents gave to their children, each of us has his own allotted limits. Why, therefore, does he reject the kingdom to which he should proceed, and make bold to come spying here?" So she bound up her hair into knots[1] and tied up her skirts into the form of trowsers. Then she took an
I. 30. august string of five hundred Yasaka[2] jewels, which she entwined around her hair and wrists. Moreover, on her back she slung a thousand-arrow quiver and a five-hundred-arrow quiver. On her lower arm she drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad.[3] Brandishing her bow end upwards,[4] she firmly grasped her

[1] In male fashion.

[2] This word has given much difficulty to the commentators. It is written with characters which mean "eight feet," and this is accepted by some as the true derivation. Hirata makes it ya, very, sa, a honorific, and aka, bright. Perhaps the best interpretation is simply that which makes it the name of the place where the jewels, or rather beads, were made. Ya-saka would then mean eight-slopes. A place of this name is mentioned more than once in the "Nihongi." See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 46, and Satow's "Rituals."

[3] In Japanese, tomo. This was partly for the protection of the arm against the recoil of the bow-string, and partly in order to produce a terrifying sound when struck by it. Its shape (like a comma) is familiar to us from the well-known tomoye, the symbol so constantly met with in Japanese art, in which two or three tomo are joined together. There it represents the in and yô, or the in, yō and taiki.

[4] In the position for shooting.

sword-hilt, and stamping on the hard earth of the courtyard, sank her thighs into it as if it had been foam-snow,[1] and kicked it in all directions. Having thus put forth her dread manly valour, she uttered a mighty cry of defiance, and questioned him in a straightforward manner. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—"From the beginning my heart has no been black. But as in obedience to the stern behest of our parents, I am about to proceed for ever to the Nether Land, how could I bear to depart without having seen face to face thee my elder sister? It is for this reason that I have traversed on foot the clouds and mists and have come hither I. 31.
from afar. I am surprised that my elder sister should, on the contrary, put on so stern a countenance."

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?"[2] He answered and said:—"Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure."

Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked for Sosa no wo no Mikoto's ten-span sword, which she broke into three pieces, and rinsed in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing them with a crunching noise, she blew them away, and from the true-mist of her breath Gods were born. The first was named Ta-gori-bime, the next Tagi-tsu-bime, and the next Ichiki-shima-bime,[3] three daughters in all.

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto begged from Ama-terasu no Oho-kami the august string of 500 Yasaka jewels which was entwined in her hair and round her wrists, and rinsed it in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing it with a crunching noise, he blew it away, and from the true-mist of his breath there were Gods produced. The first was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-

[1] i.e. snow of as little consistence as foam.

[2] i. e. The purity of thine intentions.

[3] The first two of these three names are of doubtful meaning. The third is the name of a sacred island in the Inland Sea, near Hiroshima, better known as Miya-jima. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48.

kachi-hayabi-ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto,[1] and the next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto.[2] This is the ancestor of the Idzumo
I. 32. no Omi, and of the Hashi no Muraji.[3] The next was Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto.[4] He was the ancestor of the Ohoshi-kafuchi no Atahe, and of the Yamashiro no Atahe.[5] The next was Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto,[6] and the next Kumano no kusu-bi[7] no Mikoto—in all five males.[8]

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami said:—"Their seed was in the beginning the august necklace of 500 Yasaka jewels which belonged to me. Therefore these five male Deities are all my children." So she took these children and brought them up. Moreover she said:—"The ten-span sword belonged to thee, Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Therefore these three female Deities are all thy children." So she delivered them to Sosa no wo no
I. 33. Mikoto. These are the deities which are worshipped by the Munagata no Kimi of Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess, aware from the beginning of the fierce and relentless purpose of Sosa no wo no Mikoto, said (to herself) when he ascended: 'The coming of my younger brother is not for a good object. He surely means to rob me of my Plain of Heaven.' So she made manly warlike preparation, girding upon her a ten-span sword, a nine-span sword, and an eight-span sword. Moreover, on her back she slung a quiver, and on her fore-arm drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad. In

[1] Truly-I-conquer-conquer-swiftness-heaven-of-great-great-august-person. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48. I take mimi to be composed of mi the honorific, and mi, body, person, which is also the termination of abstract nouns, as fukami, depth, and in this meaning frequently becomes *bi*, as in several names of Deities.

[2] Heaven-great-sun?

[3] Idzumo no Omi. Omi is a title of rank, probably derived from o, for oho, great, and mi, person. The Chinese character with which it is written means minister or vassal. Hashi no Muraji. Muraji is explained above, p. 27. Hashi, which is also read Hanishi, Hase, or Haji, means clay-worker. For the origin of this title see below, reign of Suinin, 32nd year.

[4] Heaven prince—honorific particle.

[5] Atahe is a title of nobility, like Omi, Muraji, etc., but lower.

[6] Live-of-prince—honorific particle. [7] Name of place-of-wondrous-ness.

[8] These five, with the three female children mentioned above, are now worshipped under the name of Hachi-ō-ji, or the Eight Princes.

her hand she took a bow and arrow, and going forth to meet him in person, stood on her defence. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto declared to her, saying:—'From the beginning I have had no evil intentions. All that I wished was to see thee, my elder sister, face to face. It is only for a brief space that I have come.' Thereupon the Sun-Goddess, standing opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, swore an oath, saying:—'If thy heart is pure, and thou hast no purpose of relentless robbery, the children born to thee will surely be males.' When she had finished speaking, she ate first the ten-span sword which she had girded on, and produced a child which was called Oki-tsu-shima-bime.[1] Moreover she ate the nine-span sword, and produced a child which was called Tagi-tsu-hime. Moreover she ate the eight-span sword, and produced a child which was called Tagori-hime—in all three female Deities. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto took the august five-hundred I 34.
string of jewels which hung upon his neck, and having rinsed them in the Nuna[2] well of Heaven, another name for which is the true-well of Isa, and ate them. So he produced a child, which was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-kachi-haya-bi-ame no oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. Next he produced Ama-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, and next Kumano no oshi homi no Mikoto—in all five male Deities. Therefore as Sosa no wo no Mikoto had thus acquired proof of his victory, the Sun-Goddess learnt exactly that his intentions were wholly free from guilt. The three female Deities which the Sun-Goddess had produced were accordingly sent down to the Land of Tsukushi. She therefore instructed them, saying:—'Do ye, three Deities, go down and dwell in the centre of the province, where you will assist the descendants of Heaven,[3] and receive worship from them.'"

In one writing it is said:—"When Sosa no wo no Mikoto was about to ascend to Heaven, there was a Deity whose name was Ha-akaru-tama.[4] This Deity came to

[1] Lady of the island of the offing.
[2] Nuna-wi,—perhaps for mana-wi, i.e. true well.
[3] i.e. the Emperors.
[4] Feather-bright-gem.

meet him and presented to him beautiful maga-tama[1] of Yasaka jewels. So Sosa no wo no Mikoto took these gems and went up to Heaven. At this time Ama-terasu

Magatama.

no Oho-kami, suspecting that the intentions of her younger brother were evil, prepared war and questioned him. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—'Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gem. I dare not have any other purpose.' Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked
I. 35. him again, saying:—'Wherewithal wilt thou prove to me whether thy words are true or false?' He answered and said:—'Let thee and me bind ourselves by an oath. If while we are bound by this oath, the children produced are females, my heart is to be accounted black, but if they are males, it is to be thought red.' So they dug three true-wells of Heaven and stood opposite to one another. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said:—'I am now about to give thee the sword which is in my girdle; do thou give me the curved jewels of Yasaka gem which thou hast.' Having thus covenanted they made a mutual exchange. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took the curved jewels of Yasaka gem, and having made them float on the true-well of Heaven, bit off the heads of the jewels and blew them away. The Deity which was produced from amidst her breath was called Ichiki-shima-hime no Mikoto. This is the Goddess who dwells in Oki-tsu miya. Again, a Deity was produced

[1] Maga-tama, curved jewels, are the comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones frequently seen in museums in Japan.

from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the middle parts of the jewels. This Deity was called Ta-gori-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in Naka-tsu miya. Again a Deity was produced from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the tails of the jewels. This Deity was called Tagi-tsu-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in He-tsu miya.[1] In all there were three female Deities.

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto, taking the sword which he held, and having made it to float on the surface of the True-Well of Heaven, bit off the end of the sword and blew it away. The Deities which were produced from amidst his breath were called Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, next Masa-ya-a katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi-ama-no oshi-ho-ne-no Mikoto, next Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Kumano no kusu-hi no Mikoto. In all there were five male Deities. Such is the story."

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess stood opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, separated from him by the Tranquil River of Heaven,[2] and established a covenant with him, saying, 'If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the I. 36.
children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I will consider them my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven.' Hereupon the Sun-Goddess first ate her ten-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Oki-tsu-shima hime no Mikoto, also called Ichiki-shima hime no Mikoto. Next she ate her nine-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Tagi-tsu hime no Mikoto. Again she ate her eight-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Ta-giri hime no Mikoto. Upon this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto took in his mouth the string of 500 jewels which was entwined in the left knot of his hair, and placed it on the palm of his left hand, whereupon it became converted into a male child. He then said:—'Truly

[1] Oki-tsu miya means the "shrine of the offing;" Naka-tsu miya, the "middle shrine;" He-tsu miya, the "shrine of the shore." Ichiki-shima is the same as Itsuku shima, the sacred island near Hiroshima in the Inland Sea.

[2] The Milky Way.

I have won.' And the child was therefore called Katsu no haya-hi ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels of the right knot of his hair, and placed them on the palm of his right hand, when they became changed and produced the God Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels which hung round his neck and laid them on his left fore-arm, when they became changed and produced the God Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Moreover, from his right fore-arm there was produced the God Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Again from his left foot was produced the God Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto. Again from his right leg was produced Kumano no oshi-homi-no Mikoto, also called Kumano no oshi-sumi no Mikoto. The children produced by Sosa no wo no Mikoto were all male children. Therefore the Sun-Goddess knew exactly that Sosa no wo no Mikoto's intentions had been from the first honest. So these six male children were taken and made the children of the Sun-Goddess, and were caused to govern the Plain of Heaven. The three female Deities born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land.[1] They are now in the middle of the Northern Sea province, and are styled the Michi-nushi no
I. 37. Muchi.[2] These are the Deities which are worshipped by the Kimi of Minuma in Tsukushi."

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Ama-terasu no Oho-kami had made august rice-fields of Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts,[3] and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields. Again, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement

[1] Ashihara no Naka tsu kuni, i.e. Japan. The phrase Central Land is suspiciously like Chinese.

[2] Province-master—honoured ones or possessors.

[3] Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars. It is doubtful whether colt should be singular or plural.

in the New[1] Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred[2] weaving hall, engaged in weaving the garments of the Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant at this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.[3] I. 38.

[1] For the sake of greater purity in celebrating the festival.

[2] The Chinese character here translated sacred is 齋, the primary meaning of which is abstinence, fasting. In the "Nihongi," however, it represents the Japanese word ihahi (pronounced iwai). According to Hirata this contains the same root as imi, avoidance, especially religious avoidance of impurity, and had originally the same meaning. The yu of yu-niha, or sacred plot of ground where rice for the festival of first-fruits was grown, is the same root. But as a strict observance of conditions of ceremonial purity was a chief feature of the Shinto services, this word came to be put for religious rites generally, and the Chinese character is even used, if we may believe the interlinear gloss which renders it by ogami, for Buddhist celebrations. The usual modern meaning of ihahi is blessing, well-wishing, congratulation, where we have got a long way from the original sense of tabu, avoidance.

Ritual purity is of the very essence of Shinto. It applies to food, clothing, and language. There was in later times a special set of terms for certain Buddhist objects and ideas. It was probably to avoid contamination to the ordinary dwelling that special huts were erected for the consummation of marriage, and for childbirth. Death contaminated a house, and therefore a new one had to be erected on the decease of the owner, a practice which was long continued in the case of Imperial Palaces.

[3] Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is throughout the greater part of this narrative an anthropomorphic Deity, with little that is specially characteristic of her solar functions. Here, however, it is plainly the sun itself which withholds its light and leaves the world to darkness. This inconsistency, which has greatly exercised the native theologians (see Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," p. 50, reprint), is not peculiar to Japanese myth. Muir, in the introduction to Vol. V. of his "Sanskrit Texts," says :—"The same visible object was at different times regarded diversely as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being and a cosmical power. Thus in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth are severally considered, sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings." But this difficulty is inherent in all mythologies.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly Omohi-kane[1] no Kami, with profound device and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds[2] of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover he made Ta-jikara-wo[3] no Kami to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ame no Koyane[4] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji,[5] and Futo-dama no Mikoto,[6] ancestor of the Imibe[7]

[1] Thought-combining or thought-including.

[2] The cock is meant. [3] Hand-strength-male.

[4] Ko-yane is written with two characters which mean child and roof. Hirata ("Koshiden," Vol. XIII., p. 1) identifies this Deity with Omohi-kane no Mikoto, and endeavours to show that ko is for kokoro, heart. Ya, he thinks, is many, and ne a honorific. See also Ch. K., p. 56. I agree with Ch. that the meaning is obscure.

[5] Hirata and Motowori have written many pages on the derivation of Nakatomi. The former takes it to be for Naka-tori-mochi, which would give the meaning mediator, these officials being regarded as go-betweens for the Kimi, or sovereign, in his intercourse with the Kami. Perhaps it is safest to follow the Chinese characters which mean "middle-minister," in Japanese Naka-tsu-omi, tsu being a genitive particle. The Nakatomi would then be the ministers of middle rank, as opposed to Prime Ministers on the one hand, and underlings on the other. In historical times their duties were of a priestly character. Worship and government were closely associated in ancient times in more countries than Japan. Matsurigoto, government, is derived from matsuri, worship. It was they who recited the Harahi or purification rituals.

[6] Futo-dama, big-jewel.

[7] Imi-be or imbe is derived from imi, root of imu, to avoid, to shun, to practise religious abstinence, and *be*, a hereditary corporation. The original function of the Imibe will be understood from the following extract from a Chinese book written not long after the Christian Epoch:—"They (i.e. the Japanese) appoint a man whom they call an 'abstainer.' He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women. When they are fortunate they make him presents, but if they fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the 'abstainer's' failure to keep his vows, and together they put him to death." Compare with this the following paragraph from a recent American newspaper.

"AN UNLUCKY MEDICINE MAN.

Big Bob was a prominent member of the tribe, and claimed to be a "tenanimous" man, which, translated from the Chinook, means an Indian doctor. By Indian superstition a "tenanimous" man is held responsible if

no Obito, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki[1] tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu.[2] On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand[3] mirror. I. 39.

any general calamity befalls the tribe. Things had not been going well with the Swinomish Indians for some time. There was much sickness among them, and Big Bob was regarded as responsible for it. So at a meeting of the tribe four Indians were appointed to execute him. The day upon which the murder took place Big Bob was waylaid by four assassins, who seized him, held him, and cut his throat from ear to ear. The red men were arrested and bound over for murder by the Justice of the Peace of Laconner."

In the "Nihongi" times the Imibe occupied a subordinate position in performing the ceremonies of Shinto, and at a still later period this term became a mere surname. *Vide* Satow, "Ancient Rituals," in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 126.

The Be, or hereditary corporations, were a peculiar institution of Old Japan. This term has been rather inadequately rendered by clan, tribe, or guild. But they differed from clans, as it was not even supposed that there was any tie of blood-relationship between the various classes of members. And if we call them guilds we lose sight of their hereditary character, and of the fact that they were essentially branches of the Government. Perhaps if we imagine the staff of one of our dockyards in which the director and officials should be drawn from the governing class, the artisans being serfs, and the whole having a more or less hereditary character, we shall have a tolerable idea of a Be. The origin of some, as of the Imibe, is lost in antiquity, but many were instituted in historical times, and for all manner of objects. There were Be of weavers (Oribe), of figured-stuff weavers (Ayabe), of executioners (Osakabe), of fishers (Amabe), of farmers (Tanabe), of clay-workers (Hasebe or Hashibe), and many more. The sole function of some was to perpetuate the name of a childless Emperor or Empress. The local habitation of these corporations was also called Be, just as our word admiralty may mean either a body of officials or the building where they discharge their duties. This accounts for the frequency with which this termination occurs in names of places. A familiar example is Kobe, the open port in the Inland Sea. Kobe is for Kami-be, and meant originally the group of peasants allotted to the service of a Deity (of Ikuta?), and hence the village where they lived. A good number of Japanese surnames contain the same termination.

O-bito is a title of nobility, perhaps for Oho-bito, great man. It is represented by a Chinese character which means head or chief.

[1] The Sakaki or Cleyera Japonica, is the sacred tree of the Shinto religion. It is used in Shinto religious ceremonies at the present day.

[2] Mt. Kagu is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It is here supposed to have a counterpart in Heaven.

[3] In Japanese yata-kagami, which is literally "eight-hand mirror." The

One writing says Ma-futsu no Kagami.

On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings.[1] Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover Ama no Uzume[2] no Mikoto, ancestress of the
I. 40. Sarume[3] no Kimi, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance.[4] She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took club-moss and made of it braces,[5] she kindled fires,[6] she placed a tub bottom upwards,[7] and gave forth a divinely-inspired utterance.[8]

word ta (for te, hand) may here be a measure of length, an explanation which is favoured by the Chinese character used for it in the "Nihongi." The hand is a hand's length, not a hand's breadth, as with us. The yata-kagami would therefore be "a mirror of large size."

There are ancient mirrors in Japan with a number of suzu or bells projecting round them, or of an octagonal shape, and I am disposed to think that the epithet yata has reference to this peculiarity, the corners or projections being taken for handles. Compare the analogous word Yatagarasu (Index).

It is said to be this mirror which is worshipped at Ise as an emblem of the Sun-Goddess. See Satow's "Handbook," second edit., p. 176.

[1] The blue were of hempen cloth, and the white of the paper-mulberry cloth. By blue probably the colour of undyed hempen stuff is meant. The Japanese word awo, blue, is used very loosely. Some take soft in the metaphorical sense of "propitiatory." These offerings are the originals of the Gohei, or strips of paper wreathed round a wand, which are now seen set up in every Shinto shrine.

[2] Terrible female of Heaven. [3] Monkey-female.

[4] This is said to be the origin of the Kagura or pantomimic dance now performed at Shinto festivals.

[5] The braces or shoulder straps were to support a tray for carrying things, and so assist the arms. The Japanese word is tasuki, which means assistance.

[6] A prototype of the nihabi (courtyard fires) of later Shinto worship.

[7] The "Nihongi" strangely omits to say that, as we learn from the "Kojiki," she danced on this and made it give out a sound.

[8] In Hirata's version of the ancient mythical narrative, he introduces here an incantation said in the "Kiujiki" to have been taught by the Sun-Goddess to Ninigi no Mikoto, but stated in the "Ko-go-jiui" to have come down originally from Uzume no Mikoto. It consists of the syllables Hito-futa-mi-yo-itsu-mu-nana-ya-kokono-tari, which Hirata has tried hard to extract some meaning out of. Hito, he says, is man, futa, the lid, i.e. the door of the rock-cave, miyo is the imperative of miru, to see, this phrase meaning "Look! ye Gods at the door!" and so on. That these words are now

Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami heard this, and said :—" Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-cave, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of fertile reed-plains. How then can Ama no Uzume no Mikoto be so jolly?" So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the Rock-door and peeped out. Then Ta-jikara-wo no Kami forthwith took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami by the hand, and led her out. Upon this the Gods Nakatomi no Kami and Imibe no Kami[1] at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope[2] (*also called a left-hand rope*) and begged her not to return again (into the cave). I. 41.

After this all the Gods put the blame on Sosa no wo no Mikoto, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables,[3] and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair plucked out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt.

Another version is :—They made him expiate it by plucking out the nails of his hands and feet.

When this was done, they at last banished him downwards.

In one writing it is said :—" After this Waka-hiru-me[4] no Mikoto was in the sacred weaving-hall, weaving the garments of the Deities. Sosa no wo no Mikoto saw this, and forthwith flaying a piebald colt with a backward flaying, flung it into the interior of the hall. Then Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto was startled, and fell down from the loom, wounding herself with the shuttle which she held in her hand, and divinely departed.[5] Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said :—'Thou hast still evil intentions.[6] I do not wish to see thee face to face.' So she entered the Rock-cave of Heaven and

simply the numerals from one to ten cannot be denied, but this, he argues, is a later application. The "Kojiki" gives other details of the conduct of this Goddess which the "Nihongi" draws a veil over.

[1] These Gods' names were properly Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama no Mikoto (see above), but here the names of their human descendants are substituted.

[2] Shiri-kume-naha, now called shime-naha, a rope made of straw of rice which has been pulled up by the roots. See Ch. K., p. 59.

[3] By tables are meant tables of offerings, as in the illustrations.

[4] Young-Sun-female, a younger sister of the Sun-Goddess.

[5] i.e. died.

[6] Lit. a black heart.

shut the Rock-door. Hereupon all under Heaven was in continual darkness, and there was no difference of day and night. Therefore the eighty myriads of Gods met in the
I. 42. High-market-place of Heaven and made inquiry. Now

there was Omohi-kane no Kami, son of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, who had a talent for devising plans. He accordingly considered the matter, and spoke, saying, 'Let there be made an image of this Goddess, and let prayer

be addressed to it.' They therefore proceeded to appoint Ishi-kori-dome[1] as artisan, who, taking copper of the Mt. Kagu of Heaven, made therefrom a Sun-spear. Moreover, he stripped off in one piece the hide of a true stag, and made of it Heavenly bellows. The Goddess which he fashioned by this means is the Goddess Hi no mahe no Kami, who dwells in the province of Kiï."

In one writing it is said:—"The august Sun Goddess took an enclosed rice-field and made it her Imperial rice-field. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto, in spring, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions, and in autumn, when the grain was formed, he forthwith stretched round them division ropes.[2] Again when the Sun-Goddess was in her Weaving-Hall, he flayed alive a piebald colt and flung it into the Hall. In all these various matters his conduct was rude in the highest degree. Nevertheless, the Sun-Goddess, out of her friendship for him, was not indignant or resentful, but took everything calmly and with forbearance. I. 43.

When the time came for the Sun-Goddess to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, Sosa no wo no Mikoto secretly voided excrement under her august seat in the New Palace.[3] The Sun-Goddess, not knowing this, went straight there and took her seat. Accordingly the Sun-Goddess drew herself up, and was sickened. She therefore was enraged, and straightway took up her abode in the Rock-cave of Heaven, and fastened its Rock-door.

Then all the Gods were grieved at this, and forthwith caused Ama no nuka-do no Kami, the ancestor of the Be of mirror-makers, to make a mirror, Futo-dama, the ancestor of the Imibe, to make offerings,[4] and Toyo-tama,[5] the ancestor of the Be of jewel-makers, to make jewels. They also caused Yama-tsuchi[6] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched true sakaki tree, and Nu-dzuchi[7] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched suzuki grass. When all these various

[1] The meaning is doubtful, as also whether this Deity is a God or a Goddess.

[2] i.e. ropes drawn along the divisions of the rice-fields in token of ownership.

[3] See above, p. 41.

[4] Of cloth. [5] Rich-jewel. [6] Mountain-god. [7] Moor-god.

objects were collected, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the
I. 44. ancestor of the Nakatomi, recited a liturgy in honour of the Deity. Then the Sun-Goddess opened the Rock-door and came out. At this time, when the mirror was put into the Rock-cave, it struck against the door and received a slight flaw, which remains until this day. This is the great Deity worshipped at Ise. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto was convicted, and fined in the articles required for the ceremony of purification. Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck of the tips of his fingers, and the things abhorrent of calamity of the tips of his toes.[1] Again, of his spittle he made white soft offerings, and of his nose-mucus he made blue soft offerings, with which the purification service was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine banishment."

I. 45. In one writing it is said:—"After this the Sun-Goddess had three rice-fields, which were called the Easy[2] Rice-field of Heaven, the Level Rice-field of Heaven, and the Village-join[3] Rice-field of Heaven. All these were good rice-fields, and never suffered even after continuous rain or drought. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto had also three rice-fields, which were called the Pile-field of Heaven,[4] the River-border[5] Field of Heaven, and the Mouth-Sharp[6] Field of Heaven. All these were barren places. In the rains, the soil was swept away, and in droughts it was parched up. Therefore, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was jealous and destroyed his elder sister's rice-fields. In spring, he knocked away the pipes and troughs, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions. He also sowed seed over again. In autumn, he set up combs,[7] and

[1] No very satisfactory explanation is given by the commentators of this sentence. Hirata understands the things abhorrent of luck, etc., to be things required for the purification service.

[2] Easy to cultivate, says the "Shukai" editor.

[3] Mura-ahase, a term of doubtful meaning. Motowori suggests that for ahase we should read yori. The meaning then would be rice-fields adjoining the village. Accommodation land, as we should say.

[4] Obstructed with stumps of wood.

[5] Exposed to inundation. [6] Exposed to drought?

[7] The "Shiki" explains that combs were stuck up in the rice-fields with

made horses lie down in the rice-fields. Notwithstanding all these wicked doings, which went on incessantly, the Sun-Goddess was not indignant, but treated him always with calmness and forbearance, etc., etc.

When the Sun-Goddess came to shut herself up in the Rock-cave of Heaven, all the Gods sent the child of Kogoto Musubi, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, and made him recite a liturgy. Hereupon Ama no Koyane no Mikoto rooted up a true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu and hung upon its upper branches a mirror of eight hands, made by the ancestor of the mirror-makers, Ono-kori-dome, a child of Ama no Nukado; on the middle branches he hung curved[1] jewels of Yasaka gem made by the ancestor of the jewel-makers, Ama no Akaru-dama, a child of Izanagi no Mikoto. On the lower branches he hung tree-fibre[2] made by Ama-no Hi-washi, the ancestor of the Imbe of the province of Aha. Futo-dama no Mikoto, ancestor of the Imbe no Obito, was thereupon made to take these things in his hand, and, with lavish and earnest words of praise, to recite a liturgy. I. 46.

When the Sun-Goddess heard this, she said:—'Though of late many prayers have been addressed to me, of none has the language been so beautiful as this.' So she opened a little the Rock-door and peeped out. Thereupon the God Ama no Tajikara-wo no Kami, who was waiting beside the Rock-door, forthwith pulled it open, and the radiance of the Sun-Goddess filled the universe. Therefore all the Gods rejoiced greatly, and imposed on Sosa no wo no Mikoto a fine of a thousand tables of (articles of) purification.[3] Of the nails of his hands they made things abhorrent I. 47

words of incantation, so that if anyone wrongly claimed the fields he might be destroyed. "The present custom of setting up combs in rice-fields whose ownership is disputed arose perhaps from this."

[1] The curved jewels are the well-known maga-tama, numbers of which have been preserved. They are made of chalcedony, jasper, nephrite, chrysophrase, serpentine, steatite, crystal, etc. Some of these materials are not found in Japan.

[2] Made of the bark of the paper-mulberry.

[3] The word *harahi* or *harahe* not only means purification, but an in-

of luck, and of the nails of his feet they made things abhorrent of calamity. Then they caused Ama no Koyane no Mikoto to take charge of his Great Purification Liturgy, and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the world are careful in the disposal of their own nails.[1]

After this, all the Gods upbraided Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Thy conduct has been in the highest degree improper. Thou must, therefore, not dwell in Heaven. Nor must thou dwell in the Central Reed-Plain Land. Thou must go speedily to the Bottom Nether Land.'[2] So together they drove him away downwards. Now this was at the time of continuous rains. Sosa no wo no Mikoto bound together green grass, and made of it a broad hat and rain-coat, and in this garb asked a lodging of the assembled Gods. They said:—'Thy behaviour has been filthy and wicked, and therefore thou hast been banished. How canst thou ask of us a lodging?' In the end they unanimously repulsed him. Therefore, although the wind and rain were very violent, he was unable to find a resting-place, and went downwards, suffering bitterly. Ever since that time all the world has avoided entering the house of another wearing a broad hat and a grass rain-coat, or bearing a bundle of grass on the back. For a breach of
I. 48. these rules an expiatory fine is certainly imposed. This is an institution which has come down to us from remote antiquity.

After this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'All the Gods have banished me, and I am now about to depart for ever. Why should I not see my elder sister face to face; and why take it on me of my own accord to depart without more ado?' So he again ascended to Heaven, disturbing Heaven and disturbing Earth. Now Ame no Uzume, seeing this, reported it to the Sun-Goddess. The Sun-Goddess said:—'My younger brother has no good purpose in coming up.

demnity or "damages" paid by an offender. "Expiatory fine" would, perhaps, be a good rendering here. See Index—Purgation.

[1] Referring to a superstition, not confined to Japan, as to cutting the nails on particular days and burying the parings.

[2] Yomi, or Hades.

It is surely because he wishes to rob me of my kingdom. Though I am a woman, why should I shrink?' So she arrayed herself in martial garb, etc., etc.

Thereupon Sosa no wo no Mikoto swore to her, and said:—'If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must be sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in that case they must be made to rule the Heavens. The same oath will also hold good as to the children produced by my elder sister.' In this way the Sun-Goddess first of all chewed her ten-span sword, etc., etc.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto straightway unwound, coil after coil, the complete string of five hundred jewels entwined in the right knot of his hair. The jewels chinked as he rinsed them on the surface of the true well of Heaven. Then he chewed their ends, and laid them on his left palm, thus producing a child, who was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-haya-hi-ama-no-oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. After this he chewed the left jewels, and placing them on his right palm, produced a child, who was called Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, of the Musashi no Miyakko,[1] and of the Hashi no Muraji. There was next produced Ama tsu hikone no Mikoto, the ancestor of the I. 49.
Mubaraki[2] no Miyakko and of the Nukada Be no Muraji. Next was produced Iku-me tsu hikone no Mikoto, and next Kumano no Oho-sumi no Mikoto—in all six male Deities. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto spoke to the Sun-Goddess, and said:—'The reason why I came up a second time was that, having been condemned by the assembled Gods to banishment to the Nether Land, and being about to take my departure thither, I could never bear to become separated from my elder sister without having seen her face to face. Therefore it is truly with a pure heart, and not otherwise, that I came up again. Now that our interview is over, I must return hence for ever to the Nether

[1] Or Miya-tsu-ko, originally provincial governors, afterwards hereditary local nobles.

[2] In Hitachi.

Land, in obedience to the Divine behest of the assembled Deities. I pray that my elder sister may illuminate the Land of Heaven, and that it may spontaneously enjoy tranquillity. Moreover, I deliver to my elder sister the children which, with a pure heart, I have produced.' Having done so, he returned downwards."

Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto descended from Heaven and proceeded to the head-waters of the River Hi, in the province
I. 50. of Idzumo. At this time he heard a sound of weeping at the head-waters of the river, and he therefore went in search of the sound. He found there an old man and an old woman. Between them was set a young girl, whom they were caressing and lamenting over. Sosa no wo no Mikoto asked them, saying:—"Who are ye, and why do ye lament thus?" The answer was:—"I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Ashi-nadzuchi.[1] My wife's name is Te-nadzuchi.[2] This girl is our daughter, and her name is Kushi-nada-hime.[3] The reason of our weeping is that formerly we had eight children, daughters. But they have been devoured year after year by an eight[4]-forked serpent, and now the time approaches for this girl to be devoured. There is no means of escape for her, and
I 51. therefore do we grieve." Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"If that is so, wilt thou give me thy daughter?" He replied, and said:—"I will comply with thy behest and give her to thee." Therefore Sosa no wo no Mikoto on the spot changed Kushi-nada-hime into a many-toothed close-comb, which he stuck in the august knot of his hair. Then he made Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-nadzuchi to brew eight-fold sake, to make eight cupboards, in each of them to set a tub filled with sake,[5] and so to

[1] Foot-stroke-elder.

[2] Hand-stroke-elder. These names refer to the caressing of the young girl by her parents.

[3] Kushi-nada-hime. Wondrous Inada-princess.

[4] Eight—in Japanese yatsu. This word is here used as a numeral. But in many places in the old Japanese literature it must be taken in what I regard as its primary sense of "many," "several," as in the word yatagarasu—the many-handed crow—which had really only three claws. In Corean the word yörö, which means many, is, I think, the same root that we have in yöl, ten—words which are probably identical with the Japanese yatsu. The Japanese word yorodzu, myriad, belongs to the same group.

[5] Sake is an intoxicating liquor brewed from rice.

await its coming. When the time came, the serpent actually appeared. It had an eight-forked head and an eight-forked tail; its eyes were red, like the winter-cherry;[1] and on its back firs and cypresses were growing. As it crawled it extended over a space of eight hills and eight valleys. Now when it came and found the sake, each head drank up one tub, and it became drunken and fell asleep. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew the ten-span sword which he wore, and chopped the serpent into small pieces. When he came to the tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched, and he therefore split open the tail and examined it. In the inside there was a sword. I. 52.
This is the sword which is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.[2]

In one writing it is said:—"Its original name was Ama no Mura-kumo no tsurugi."[3]

[*It perhaps received this name from the clouds constantly gathering over the place where the serpent was. In the time of the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake its name was changed to Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.*]

Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"This is a divine sword. How can I presume to appropriate it to myself?" So he gave it up to the Gods of Heaven.[4]

After this he went in search of a place where he might celebrate his marriage, and at length came to Suga, in the province of Idzumo. Then he spoke, and said:—"My heart is refreshed." Therefore that place is now called Suga.[5] There he built a palace.

One version says:—"Now Take[6] Sosa no wo no Mikoto composed a verse of poetry, saying:—

Many clouds arise, I. 53.
On all sides a manifold fence,
To receive within it the spouses,

[1] Hirata thinks that the akakagachi, here translated, on the authority of the "Original Commentary," by "red winter-cherry," was really a kind of snake.

[2] The grass-mower. See Index—Kusa-nagi.

[3] The sword of the gathering clouds of Heaven.

[4] It is hardly necessary to point out the resemblance of this story to that of Perseus and Andromeda, and many others.

[5] Suga means pure, fresh. [6] Fierce.

They form a manifold fence—
Ah ! that manifold fence ! "[1]

Thereupon they had intercourse together,[2] and a child was born named Oho-na-muchi[3] no Kami.

He (Sosa no wo) accordingly spake, and said :—"The masters of my son's Palace[4] are Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-

[1] In the original—

Ya-kumo tatsu
Idzu-mo ya-he-gaki :
Tsuma-gome ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru—
Sono ya-he-gaki wo !

This poem is also given in the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 64), with the slight variant of tsuma-gomi for tsuma-gome in the third line, which makes it intransitive instead of transitive. Idzumo is written with two characters which mean "issuing clouds," as if it were idzuru kumo. The poem no doubt alludes to this meaning and also to the name of the province, but it seems probable that the primary signification of idzumo here is that given in the translation. The true derivation of Idzumo, as the name of the province, is probably idzu, sacred, and mo, quarter. Idzu-mo is for idzure-mo, as so-mo is for sore-mo. It has the same meaning, I think, in a poem given below ("Reign of Kenzō," xv. 11).

This verse of poetry is undoubtedly old, but the regularity of the metre which is a tanka (short poetry) of thirty-one syllables, and its allusive character, point to a somewhat later date than many of the other poems contained in the "Nihongi." The fact that it is here relegated to a note is some corroboration of this view.

The poems in this work are translated so that a line of the English version corresponds to a line of Japanese, but it has not always been possible to preserve the original order of the lines.

[2] The interlinear version has kumi-do ni mito no makuai shite. Kumi-do is no doubt the special nuptial hut above referred to. Mito is "august-place" according to Hirata, and is another word for the kumi-do. This phrase, which is taken from the "Kojiki," probably denotes legitimate nuptial, as opposed to casual intercourse. But the Chinese original has nothing of the sort.

It has been already observed that the erection of a special building for the consummation of the marriage had a ceremonial as well as a practical significance.

[3] Or Oho-na-muji, or Oho-na-mochi, Great-name-possessor. This Deity, one of the most prominent of the Japanese Pantheon, has numerous names (Hirata mentions seven). The derivation is not quite clear. See Ch. K., p. 67.

[4] The same word (miya) means also shrine.

nadzuchi. I therefore grant to these two Deities the designation of Inada no Miya-nushi[1] no Kami."

Having done so, Sosa no wo no Mikoto at length proceeded to the Nether Land.

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto, having descended from Heaven, came to the head-waters of the river Hi, in Idzumo. There he saw Inada-hime, the daughter of Susa no yatsu-mimi,[2] Master of the Shrine of Inada. He had connubial relations with her, and a child was born, styled Suga no yu-yama-nushi[3] Mitsu-na-saro-hiko-yama-shino."[4]

One version has Suga no Kake-na Saka-karu-hiko-ya-shima[5] no Mikoto.

Another has:—"Suga no yu-yama-nushi Mitsu-na-saro-hiko ya-shima-no.[6] The descendant of this God in the fifth generation was Oho-kuni-nushi no Kami."[7]

In one writing it is said:—"At this time Sosa no wo no Mikoto went down and came to the head-waters of the River Ye, in the province of Aki. There was there a God whose name was Ashi-nadzu-te-nadzu.[8] His wife's name was Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi. This Deity was just then pregnant, and the husband and wife sorrowed together. So they informed Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Though we have had born to us many children, whenever one is born, an eight-forked serpent comes and devours it, and we have not been able to save one. We are now about to have another, and we fear that it also will be devoured. Therefore do we grieve.' Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith instructed them, saying:—'You I. 54.

[1] Shrine / Palace } Master.

[2] Susa, name of place; yatsu, eight or many; mi, august; mi, body or abstract termination.

[3] Master of the hot-spring mountain of Suga.

[4] Three name-monkey (?) prince-mountain-bamboo-grass.

[5] Suga-of-attach-name-pass-light-prince-eight-island.

[6] Eight-island-moor.

[7] Great-country-master-god. Identified by Hirata with Oho-na-muji, also with one of the Shichi-fuku-jin, or Seven Gods of Happiness, named Dai-koku-sama.

[8] Foot-stroke-hand-stroke.

must take fruit of all kinds, and brew from it eight jars of sake, and I will kill the serpent for you.' The two Gods, in accordance with his instructions, prepared sake. When the time came for the child to be born, the serpent came indeed to the door, and was about to devour the child. But Sosa no wo no Mikoto addressed the serpent, and said:—'Thou art an Awful Deity. Can I dare to neglect to feast thee?' So he took the eight jars of sake, and poured one into each of its mouths. The serpent drank it up and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew his sword and slew it. When he came to sever its tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched. He split the tail open and examined it, when he found that inside it there was a sword. This sword is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi. It is now in the village of Ayuchi, in the province
I. 55. of Ohari. It is this Deity which is in the charge of the Hafuri[1] of Atsuta. The sword which slew the serpent is called Worochi no Ara-masa.[2] It is now at Isonokami.[3]

Afterwards the child who was born of Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi, namely Ina-gami Furu-kushi-nada-hime,[4] was removed to the upper waters of the river Hi, in the province of Idzumo, and brought up there. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made her his consort, and had by her a child, whose descendant in the sixth generation was Oho-na-muchi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto wished to favour[5] Kushi-nada-hime, and asked her of Ashinadzuchi and Tenadzuchi,[6] who replied, saying:—'We pray thee first to slay the serpent, and thereafter it will be good that thou shouldst favour her. This serpent has rock-firs growing on each of its heads; on each of its sides there is a mountain; it is a very fearful beast. How wilt thou set about to slay it?' Sosa no wo no Mikoto thereupon devised a plan. He brewed a poisonous

[1] Shintō priests. Atsuta is near Nagoya.
[2] Worochi means serpent; ara, rough; masa, true.
[3] In Bizen.
[4] True-hair-touch-wondrous-Inada-princess.
[5] I.e. to take to wife.
[6] Note that the mother as well as the father was consulted.

sake, which he gave it to drink. The serpent became drunk, and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith took his sword, called Worochi no Kara-sabi,[1] and severed I. 56.
its head and severed its belly. When he severed its tail, the edge of the sword was slightly notched, so he split the tail open and made examination. He found there another sword, which he called Kusa-nagi no Tsurugi. This sword was formerly with Sosa no wo no Mikoto. It is now in the province of Ohari. The sword with which Sosa no wo no Mikoto slew the serpent is now with the Kambe[2] of Kibi. The place where the serpent was slain is the mountain at the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was unmannerly. A fine was therefore imposed on him by all the Gods of a thousand tables, and he was driven into banishment. At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, accompanied by his son Iso-takeru[3] no Kami, descended to the Land of Silla,[4] where he dwelt at Soshi-mori.[5] There he lifted up his voice and said:—'I will not dwell in this land.' He at length took clay and made of it a boat, in which he embarked, and crossed over eastwards until he arrived at Mount Tori-kamu no Take, which is by the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo. Now there was in this place a serpent which devoured men. Sosa no wo no Mikoto accordingly took his sword, called Ama no Haye-kiri,[6] and slew this serpent. Now when he I. 57.

[1] Serpent's Kara-blade. Kara is that part of the present province of Kyöng-syang-do in Corea which lies S.W. of the Naktong River. But the word is used loosely for all Corea, and in modern times even for China. See Early Japanese History in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. XVI. Pt. I., p. 43. It was called Mimana by the Japanese.

[2] The Kambe or Kami-be were the group of peasants charged with the care of a Shintō shrine.

[3] Fifty-courageous.

[4] The eastern of the three kingdoms into which Corea was formerly divided.

[5] This is the traditional Kana pronunciation. It is not clear whether this is the name of a person or a place. Mori may be the Corean moi, mountain.

[6] Fly-cutter.

cut the serpent's tail, the edge of his sword was notched. Thereupon he split open the tail, and on examination, found within it a divine sword. Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'I must not take this for my private use.' So he sent Ama no Fuki-ne no Kami, his descendant in the fifth generation, to deliver it up to Heaven. This is the sword now called Kusa-nagi.

Before this, when Iso-takeru no Kami descended from Heaven, he took down with him the seeds of trees in great quantity. However, he did not plant them in the land of Han,[1] but brought them all back again, and finally sowed them every one throughout the Great Eight-island-country, beginning with Tsukushi. Thus green mountains were produced. For this reason Iso-takeru no Mikoto was styled Isaoshi no Kami.[2] He is the Great Deity who dwells in the Land of Kiï."[3]

In one writing it is stated:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'In the region[4] of the Land of Han there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches. So he plucked out his beard and scattered it. Thereupon Cryptomerias were
I. 58. produced. Moreover, he plucked out the hairs of his breast, which became Thuyas.[5] The hairs of his buttocks became Podocarpi.[6] The hairs of his eye-brows became Camphor-trees. Having done so, he determined their uses. These two trees, viz. the Cryptomeria and the Camphor-tree, were to be made into floating riches;[7] the Thuya was to be used as timber for building fair palaces;[8] the Podocarpus was to form receptacles in which the visible race of man was to be laid in secluded burial-places. For their food he well sowed and made to grow all the eighty kinds of fruit.

Now the children of Sosa no wo no Mikoto were named Iso-takeru no Mikoto, with Oho-ya[9] tsu hime, his younger

[1] Corea. [2] The meritorious God. [3] Kiï or Ki means tree.
[4] Shima usually means island, but in this and other places must be rendered "region."
[5] A kind of pine. [6] Maki, a kind of pine.
[7] Ships. [8] Or Shintō shrines. [9] Great-house.

sister, and next Tsuma[1]-tsu-hime no Mikoto. All these three Deities also dispersed well the seeds of trees, and forthwith crossed over to the Land of Kiï.

Thereafter Sosa no wo no Mikoto dwelt on the Peak of Kuma-nari,[2] and eventually entered the Nether Land." I. 59.

In one writing it is said:—"Oho-kuni-nushi[3] no Kami is also called Oho-mono-nushi no Kami,[4] or else Kuni-dzukuri Oho-na-mochi[5] no Mikoto, or again Ashi-hara no Shiko-wo,[6] or Ya-chi-hoko[7] no Kami, or Oho-kuni-dama[8] no Kami, or Utsushi-kuni-dama[9] no Kami. His children were in all one hundred and eighty-one Deities.

Now Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto and Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, with united strength and one heart, constructed this sub-celestial world. Then, for the sake of the visible race of man as well as for beasts, they determined the method of healing diseases. They also, in order to do away with the calamities of birds, beasts, and creeping things, established means for their prevention and control.[10]

[1] Written with a Chinese character which means nail or hoof.

[2] Probably Mount Kumano in Idzumo. It adjoins the Suga mentioned above as the residence of Sosa no wo. See Index—Kuma-nari.

[3] Great-country-master.

[4] Great-thing-master.

[5] Country-make great-name-possessor.

[6] The ugly male of the reed-plain.

[7] Eight thousand spears.

[8] Great-country-jewel.

[9] Apparent-country-jewel.

[10] Calamities (wazahahi) are defined by Hirata as injuries which come to us from the unseen world.

By beasts wild beasts are meant. In addition to the real injuries caused by them, we must remember that in Japan all manner of imaginary effects are attributed to the enchantments of foxes and badgers.

One of the Norito (rituals) mentions calamities of birds flying in by the smoke-hole in the roof—perhaps because their droppings polluted the food which was being cooked.

The term hafu mushi (creeping things) includes both insects and reptiles. The stings of wasps, centipedes, and vipers are doubtless meant. The ancient Japanese houses, slight structures often built in pits, would be especially obnoxious to such calamities. Possibly also the injury to the crops and to domestic animals by insects and snakes may be referred to. It should be remembered, too, that the Japanese suppose many ailments, such as toothache and children's convulsions, to be owing to mushi, and these are no doubt to be included in the hafu mushi no wazahahi. Hirata remarks that it is the opinion of the men of the Western Ocean that by

The people enjoy the protection of these universally until the present day.

Before this Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto spake to Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, and said:—'May we not say that the country which we have made is well made?' Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto answered and said:—'In some parts it is complete and in others it is incomplete.' This conversation had doubtless a mysterious purport.

I. 60. Thereafter Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto went to Cape Kumano,[1] and eventually proceeded to the Everlasting Land.[2]

Another version is that he went to the island of Aha, where he climbed up a millet-stalk, and was thereupon jerked off, and went to the Everlasting Land.

After this, wherever there was in the land a part which was imperfect, Oho-na-mochi no Kami visited it by himself, and succeeded in repairing it. Coming at last to the province of Idzumo, he spake, and said:—'This Central Land of Reed-plains had been always waste and wild. The very rocks, trees and herbs were all given to violence. But I have now reduced them to submission, and there is none that is not compliant.' Therefore he said finally:—'It is I, and I alone, who now govern this Land. Is

examining ringworm (called in Japanese ta-mushi, i.e. rice-field insect), itch and other diseases under a microscope, it would appear that they are due to the presence of exceedingly small insects. It would also appear, he says, from a work recently published, that the human body is full of such animalcules.

The words "prevention and control" are rendered in the interlinear kana by Majinahi, i.e. witchcraft, including incantations, etc. Possibly the author had in mind the Oho-harahi, which deprecates "calamities of creeping things" and of "high birds." Here is a modern majinahi directed against hafu mushi. If you wish to keep your house free from ants, all you have to do is to put up a notice at the place where they come in, "Admittance, one cash each person." The economical ant goes no further.

Yamada in his dictionary defines majinahi as "the keeping off of calamity by the aid of the supernatural power of Gods and Buddhas."

[1] In Idzumo.

[2] Toko-yo no kuni. The Japanese scholar Arawi identifies this with a province in the East of Japan, now called Hitachi.

there perchance any one who could join with me in governing the world?' Upon this a Divine radiance illuminated the sea, and of a sudden there was something which floated towards him and said:—'Were I not here, how couldst thou subdue this Land? It is because I am here that thou hast been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking.' Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami inquired, saying:—'Then who art thou?' It replied and said:—'I am thy guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit.' I. 61.
Then said Oho-na-mochi no Kami:—'True, I know therefore that thou art my guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit. Where dost thou now wish to dwell?' The spirit answered and said:—'I wish to dwell on Mount Mimoro, in the province of Yamato.' Accordingly he built a shrine in that place and made the spirit to go and dwell there. This is the God of Oho-miwa.

The children of this Deity were the Kimi of Kamo and of Oho-miwa,[1] and also Hime-tatara[2] I-suzu-hime no I. 62.
Mikoto.

Another version is that Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami, having become transformed into an eight-fathom bear-sea-monster,[3]

[1] Descendants are here meant. Kimi is simply Lord.

[2] Tatara is said to be the name of a plant. Isuzu (fifty bells) is the name of the site of the Inner Shrine at Ise.

[3] Sea-monster is in Japanese wani. It is written with a Chinese character which means, properly, crocodile, but that meaning is inadmissible in these old legends, as the Japanese who originated them can have known nothing of this animal. The wani, too, inhabits the sea and not rivers, and is plainly a mythical creature.

Satow and Anderson have noted that the wani is usually represented in art as a dragon, and Toyo-tama-hime (see Index), who in one version of the legend changes into a wani, as her true form, at the moment of child-birth, according to another changes into a dragon. Now Toyo-tama-hime was the daughter of the God of the Sea. This suggests that the latter is one of the Dragon-Kings familiar to Chinese (see Mayers' Manual, p. 142) and Corean fable who inhabit splendid palaces at the bottom of the sea. It is unnecessary here to follow the Dragon-Kings into Indian myth, where they appear under the form of the Nâga Râdja or Cobra-Kings. The reader who wishes to do so should consult Anderson's British Museum Catalogue, p. 50. Chamberlain has remarked that "the whole story of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the

had intercourse with Mizo-kuhi[1] hime of the island of Mishima (some call her Tama-kushi-hime), and had by her a child named Hime-tatara I-suzu-hime no Mikoto, who became the Empress of the Emperor Kami-Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi.[2]

Before this time, when Oho-na-mochi no Kami was pacifying the land, he went to Wobama in Isasa, in the province of Idzumo. He was just having some food and drink, when of a sudden there was heard a human voice from the surface of the sea. He was astonished, but on seeking for it there was nothing at all to be seen. After a while a dwarf appeared, who had made a boat of the rind of a kagami[3] and clothing of the feathers of a
I. 63. wren.[4] He came floating towards him on the tide, and Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto taking him up, placed him on the palm of his hand. He was playing with him, when the dwarf leaped up, and bit him on the cheek. He wondered at his appearance, and sent a messenger to report the matter to the Gods of Heaven. Now when Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto heard this, he said :—'The children whom I have produced number in all one thou-

cassia-tree mentioned in it is certainly Chinese." Is it possible that wani is for the Corean wang-i, i.e. "the King," *i* being the Corean definite particle, as in zeni, fumi, yagi, and other Chinese words which reached Japan *viâ* Corea? We have the same change of *ng* into *n* in the name of the Corean who taught Chinese to the Japanese Prince Imperial in Ojin Tennō's reign. It is Wang-in in Corean, but was pronounced Wani by the Japanese. Wani occurs several times as a proper name in the "Nihongi." Bear (in Japanese kuma) is no doubt an epithet indicating size, as in kuma-bachi, bear-bee or bear-wasp, i.e. a hornet; kuma-gera, a large kind of wood-pecker, etc.

[1] Mizo-kuhi means water-channel pile. Tama-kushi is jewel-comb.

[2] Otherwise called Jimmu Tennō. See below, beginning of Book III.

[3] Some plant, very likely having gourd-shaped fruit. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 85.

[4] The "Kojiki" says goose skins. The wren was no doubt substituted as more in accordance with the dwarfish stature of Sukuna-bikona.

Dr. Schlegel in his "Problèmes Géographiques" mentions a Chinese notice of a Han-ming-kuo, the inhabitants of which sew together skins of birds for clothing. He identifies this country with the Kuriles, where modern travellers have found this to be the custom. The bird whose skins are thus used is the Procellaria gracilis (petrel).

sand and five hundred. Amongst them one was very wicked, and would not yield compliance to my instructions. He slipped through between my fingers and fell. This must be that child, let him be loved and nurtured.' This was no other than Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto." [1]

[1] Sukuna-bikona is a popular God at the present day. Hirata has devoted two volumes (the "Shidzu no ihaya") to a glorification of him as the inventor of medicine and of the art of brewing sake under the name of Kushi no Kami. The "Kojiki" relates his legend somewhat differently. See Ch. K., p. 85. Sukuna means small (in modern Japanese few) and bikona is honorific.

Hirata identifies Sukuna-bikona with Yebisu and Oho-na-mochi with Daikoku. See Anderson's B. M. Catalogue, p. 36. All these identifications, of which Hirata is profuse, are somewhat problematical.

BOOK II.

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART II.

MASA-YA-A-KATSU-KATSU-HAYA-HI AMA NO OSHI-HO-MI-MI NO MIKOTO, the son of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, took to wife Taku-hata[1]-chi-chi-hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. A child was born to them named Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto.[2] Therefore his august grandparent, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, treated him with special affection, and nurtured him with great regard. Eventually he desired to establish his august grandchild Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-ho-ninigi no Mikoto as the Lord of the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But in that Land there were numerous Deities which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which buzzed
II. 2. like flies. There were also trees and herbs all of which could speak. Therefore Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto assembled all the eighty Gods, and inquired of them, saying:—"I desire to have the evil Gods of the Central Land of Reed-Plains expelled and subdued. Whom is it meet that we should send for this purpose? I pray you, all ye Gods, conceal not your opinion." They all said:—"Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto is the most heroic among the Gods. Ought not he to be tried?"

Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto thereupon complied with the general advice, and made Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto to go and subdue them. This Deity, however, curried favour with Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, and three years passed without his making any report. Therefore his son Oho-se-ihi no Mikuma no ushi[3] (also called Take[4]-mikuma no ushi) was sent.

[1] Taku-hata, paper-mulberry loom (cloth).

[2] The interpretation of this name is doubtful. See Ch. K., p. 106.

[3] Great-husband-boiled-rice-of-Mikuma of master.

[4] Take, brave, is merely a honorific. It is prefixed to several names of Deities.

He, too, yielded compliance to his father, and never made II. 3.
any report. Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto therefore again summoned together all the Gods and inquired of them who should be sent. They all said:—"Ame-waka-hiko,[1] son of Ame no Kuni-dama.[2] He is a valorous person. Let him be tried." Hereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave Ame-waka-hiko a heavenly deer-bow and heavenly feathered arrows, and so despatched him. This God also was disloyal, and as soon as he arrived took to wife Shita-teru-hime,[3] the daughter of Utsushi-kuni-dama[4] (*also called Taka-hime or Waka-kuni-dama*). Accordingly he remained, and said:—"I, too, wish to govern the Central Land of Reed-Plains." He never reported the result of his mission. At this time, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, wondering why he was so long in coming and making his report, sent the pheasant Na-naki[5] to observe. The pheasant flew down and perched on the top of a many-branched cassia-tree which grew before Ame-waka-hiko's gate. Now
Ama-no Sagu-me[6] saw this and told Ame-waka-hiko, saying:— II. 4.
"A strange bird has come and is perched on the top of the cassia-tree." Then Ame-waka-hiko took the heavenly deer-bow and the heavenly feathered arrows which had been given him by Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and shot the pheasant, so that it died. The arrow having passed through the pheasant's breast, came before where Taka-mi-musubi no Kami was sitting. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Kami seeing this arrow, said:—"This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. It is stained with blood, it may be because he has been fighting with the Earthly Deities." Thereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took up the arrow and flung it back down (to earth). This arrow, when it

[1] Heaven-young-prince. [2] Heaven-of-country-jewel.
[3] Lower-shine-princess. [4] Real-country-jewel.
[5] Na-naki. This word is written here as if the meaning were "nameless." But in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 95), characters are used which give it the sense of name-crying, i.e. calling out its own name. The old Japanese for pheasant is kigishi or kigisu. Comparing this with uguhisu (the Japanese nightingale), kakesu (the jay), kirigirisu (the grasshopper), karasu (the crow), and hototogisu (a kind of cuckoo), it becomes evident that kigisu is an onomatopoetic word. Su is for suru, to do. The Corean for a pheasant is kiöng, no doubt also an onomatope.
[6] Heavenly-spying-woman.

fell, hit Ame-waka-hiko on the top of his breast. At this time Ame-waka-hiko was lying down after the feast of first-fruits, and when hit by the arrow died immediately. This was the origin of the general saying, "Fear a returning arrow."

The sound of the weeping and mourning of Ame-waka-hiko's
II. 5. wife Shita-teru-hime reached Heaven. At this time, Ame no Kuni-dama, hearing the voice of her crying, straightway knew that her husband, Ame-waka-hiko, was dead, and sent down a swift wind to bring the body up to Heaven. Forthwith a mortuary house was made, in which it was temporarily deposited. The river-geese were made the head-hanging bearers and broom-bearers.

One version is:—"The barn-door fowls were made head-hanging bearers, and the river-geese were made broom-bearers."

The sparrows were made pounding-women.

One version is:—"The river-geese were made head-hanging bearers and also broom-bearers, the kingfisher was made the representative of the deceased, the sparrows were made the pounding-women, and the wrens the mourners. Alto-
II. 6. gether the assembled birds were entrusted with the matter."

For eight days and eight nights they wept and sang dirges.[1]

[1] We have here a glimpse of the ancient Japanese funeral ceremonies.

"Head-hanging bearers" is a literal translation of the Chinese characters. The interlinear Kana renders them by the obsolete word kisari-mochi, of obscure meaning. An ancient commentator says that these were persons who accompanied the funeral, bearing on their heads food for the dead, which is perhaps correct. The brooms were probably for sweeping the road before the procession. The pounding-women pounded the rice for the guests, and perhaps also for the offerings to the deceased. By mourners are meant paid mourners.

To these Hirata adds from old books the wata-dzukuri or tree-fibre carders, the kites (the fibre being to fill up the vacant space in the coffin), and the fleshers (for food offered to the deceased), an office given to the crow. Compare also Ch. K., p. 97.

The student of folk-lore will not think it frivolous of me to cite here the English story of the Death and Burial of Cock Robin, where the birds officiate in various capacities at a funeral.

"Sang dirges." Hirata condemns this as a Chinese importation. He prefers the "Kojiki" version, which says that "they made merry," and explains that this was with the object of recalling the dead to life, perhaps in

Before this, when Ame-waka-hiko was in the Central Land of Reed-Plains, he was on terms of friendship with Aji-suki [1]-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and offered condolence on his decease. Now this God was exactly like in appearance to Ame-waka-hiko when he was alive, and therefore Ame-waka-hiko's parents, relations, wife, and children all said :—" Our Lord is still alive," and clung to his garments and to his girdle, partly rejoiced and partly distracted. Then Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami became flushed with anger and said :—" The way of friends is such that it is right that mutual condolence should be made. Therefore I have not been daunted by the pollution, but have come from afar to make mourning. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead person ? " So he drew his sword, Oho-ha-kari,[2] which he had in his girdle, and cut down the mortuary house, which fell to earth and became a mountain. It is now in the province of Mino, by the upper waters of the River Ayumi. This is the mountain of Moyama (mourning moun- II. 7.
tain). This is why people take care not to mistake a living for a dead person.

After this, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto again assembled all the Gods that they might select some one to send to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. They all said :—" It will be well to send Futsu-nushi [3] no Kami, son of Iha-tsutsu no wo [4] and Iha-tsutsu no me, the children of Iha-saku-ne-saku [5] no Kami."

imitation of the Gods dancing and making merry in order to entice the Sun-Goddess from her rock-cave. Compare the following passage from a Chinese History of the Han (A.D. 25-220) Dynasty.

In Japan " Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come singing, dancing and making music."

The mortuary house was required for the temporary disposal of the dead, while the sepulchral mound with its megalithic chamber was being constructed. *Vide* Index—Misasagi.

[1] No satisfactory explanation of this name. [2] Great-leaf-mower.

[3] Futsu is explained by Hirata as an onomatopoetic word like the modern futtsuri for the abrupt snapping sound produced when anything is cleanly cut or broken off. Nushi means master.

[4] Iha-tsutsu. Iha is rock, tsutsu probably a honorific=elder. Wo is male ; me, female.

[5] Iha-saku means rock-split ; ne-saku, root-split.

Now there were certain Gods dwelling in the Rock-cave of Heaven, viz. Mika no Haya-hi[1] no Kami, son of Idzu no wo-bashiri[2] no Kami, Hi no Haya-hi no Kami, son of Mika no Haya-hi no Kami, and Take-mika-dzuchi no Kami,[3] son of Hi no Haya-hi no Kami. The latter God came forward and said:—"Is Futsu-nushi no Kami alone to be reckoned a hero? And am I not a hero?" His words were animated by a spirit of indignation. He was therefore associated with Futsu-nushi no Kami and made to subdue the Central Land of Reed-Plains. The two Gods thereupon descended and arrived at the Little Shore[4] of Itasa, in the Land of Idzumo. Then they drew their ten-span swords, and stuck them upside down in the earth, and sitting on their points questioned Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—"Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto wishes to send down his August Grandchild to preside over this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Gods to clear out and pacify it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?" Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—"I must ask my son before I reply to you." At this time his son Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami was absent on an excursion to Cape Miho in the Land of Idzumo, where he was amusing himself by angling for fish.

II. 8. Some say:—"He was amusing himself by catching birds."

He therefore took the many-handed boat of Kumano,

[Another name is the Heavenly Pigeon-boat.]

and placing on board of it his messenger, Inase-hagi,[5] he despatched him, and announced to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami the declaration of Taka-mi-musubi no Kami. He also inquired what language he should use in answer. Now Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami spoke to the messenger, and said:—"The Heavenly Deity has now addressed us this inquiry.[6] My father

[1] Mika is explained by Hirata as the same as ika, terrible; haya-hi means swift sun.

[2] Idzu no wo-bashiri, lit. dread-of-male-run.

[3] Take-mika-dzuchi. Take is brave. Mika-dzuchi is identified with ika-dzuchi, thunder.

[4] Wobama.

[5] Hirata points out the appropriateness of this name, which means "Yes or no?—shanks," to a messenger sent to ask a question.

[6] The Chinese character indicates a communication from an Emperor.

ought respectfully to withdraw, nor will I make any opposition." So he made in the sea an eight-fold fence of green branches, and stepping on the bow of the boat, went off.[1] The messenger returned and reported the result of his mission. Then Oho-namochi no Kami said to the two Gods, in accordance with the words of his son:—"My son, on whom I rely, has already departed. I, too, will depart. If I were to make resistance all the Gods of this Land would certainly resist also. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission?" So he took the broad spear which he had used as a staff when he was pacifying the land and gave it to the two Gods, saying:—"By means of this spear I was at last successful. If the Heavenly Grandchild will use this spear to II. 9.
rule the land, he will undoubtedly subdue it to tranquillity. I am now about to withdraw to the concealment of the short-of-a-hundred[2]-eighty road-windings."[3] Having said these words, he at length became concealed.[4] Thereupon the two Gods put to death all the rebellious spirits and Deities.

One version says:—"The two Gods at length put to death the malignant Deities and the tribes of herbs, trees and rocks. When all had been subdued, the only one who refused submission was the Star-God Kagase-wo.[5] There-

"Went off" is the same character as is translated "withdraw" above. Hirata understands this of his death. The whole episode is related quite differently in the "Kojiki." *Vide* Ch. K., p. 101.

Enclosures of bamboo are used at the present day to trap fishes, but it is not very clear why one is introduced here.

[2] A mere epithet or pillow-word (makura-kotoba) of eighty.

[3] The eighty-road-windings are put for a long journey, i.e. to Yomi or Hades, or rather for Yomi itself.

[4] i.e. died.

[5] Kagase-wo. Wo means male. Kaga is obviously connected with kagayaku, to shine. This is the only Star-God mentioned in Japanese myth, and it may be noted that little honour is shown him. He is described as a conquered rebel, and has neither Kami nor Mikoto affixed to his name. The only stars mentioned in the "Kojiki" or "Nihongi" are Venus, the Pleiades, and the Weaver or Star *a* Lyrae, the latter being connected with a Chinese legend.

The Weaver-God is literally, if we follow the Chinese character, the God of Japanese striped stuffs. The interlinear "Kana" gives Shidzuri or Shidori, from shidzu, cloth, and ori, weave, which is doubtless correct.

fore they sent the Weaver-God Take-ha-dzuchi no Mikoto also, upon which he rendered submission. The two Gods therefore ascended to Heaven."

Ultimately they reported the result of their mission.

Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on his true couch, and casting it over his August Grandchild, Amatsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto, made him to descend. So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly Rock-seat, and with an awful[1] path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of
II. 10. So[2] in Hiuga.

After this the manner of the progress of the August Grandchild was as follows:—From the Floating Bridge of Heaven on the twin summits of Kushibi, he took his stand on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Then he traversed the desert land of Sojishi from the Hill of Hitawo in his search for a country, until he came to Cape Kasasa, in Ata-no-nagaya. A certain man of that land appeared and gave his name as Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa.[3] The August Grandchild inquired of him,
II. 11. saying:—"Is there a country, or not?" He answered, and said:—"There is here a country. I pray thee roam through it at thy pleasure." The August Grandchild therefore went there and took up his abode. Now there was a fair maid in that land whose name was Ka-ashi-tsu-hime.

[Also called Kami Ata-tsu-hime or Ko no hana no saku-ya-hime.[4]]

Take-ha-dzuchi is brave-leaf-elder. It is not clear that this Weaver-God is the same as the Weaver star.

[1] The interlinear gloss has idzu, an obsolete word which means awful, holy, sacred. It is, I would suggest, the same root which appears in the name of the province Idzu-mo and in Idzu-shi in Tajima, also a seat of Shintō worship. Mo means quarter, as in yomo, the four quarters, everywhere, and shi is for ishi, stone. See Index—Idzu.

[2] It is this word which forms the second part of Kumaso, the general name of the tribes which inhabited the south of Kiushiu.

[3] Thing-excel-country-excel. Long-narrow.

[4] These names mean respectively Deer-reed-of-princess, Deity (or upper) Ata-of-princess and Tree-of-flower-of-blossom-princess, i.e. blossoming like the flowers of the trees. The last name is that by which she is called in the "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 115), and is the one best known.

The August Grandchild inquired of this fair maid, saying:—"Whose daughter art thou?" She answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden[1] is the child of a Heavenly Deity by his marriage with Oho-yama-tsu-mi Kami."

The August Grandchild accordingly favoured[2] her, whereupon in one night she became pregnant. But the August Grandchild was slow to believe this, and said:—"Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I cause any one to become pregnant in the space of one night? That which thou hast in thy bosom is assuredly not my child." Therefore Ka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth. She prepared a doorless[3] muro[4] (*called utsumuro*), and

[1] The use of the character meaning concubine as a pronoun of the first person fem. is a Chinese idiom. The interlinear Kana version has yakko, i.e. slave. Oho-yama-tsu-mi means the Great-mountain-body. Possibly it should be taken here as a common noun, a mountain Deity.

[2] i.e. married her.

[3] It appears from the "Kojiki" that after going in she plastered up the entrance.

[4] The character 室 which in Chinese means a house, a chamber, is, in the older Japanese literature, generally, if not invariably, used to represent the Japanese word muro. Another character used for this purpose is 窖, a cellar. The muro is distinguished from the ihe, or ordinary dwelling. What was the muro? This term is nowadays applied to a gardener's forcing-house, which in Japan consists of a pit four or five feet deep and roofed over. Hi-muro means an ice-house. If the ice-houses in Japan (see drawing in "San-sai-dzu-ye," IV., 19), so denominated, resemble those which I have seen at Yang-hwa-chin in Corea, they were pits sunk several feet below the surface of the ground and covered with a heavy thatched roof. At the foot of Mount Ohoyama there was to be seen, some years ago, a large rectangular pit, three or four feet in depth, with a thatched roof sloping to the ground, and no walls, which was occupied as a dwelling by the pilgrims to that mountain. There are also pits in Corea covered with thatch or strong oil-paper, which are used by the poorest classes as shelters. These are called um, or um-mak. Pit-dwellers are also mentioned in the old Chinese literature. The references to the muro in the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" show that the muro of those days had a similar character. We read of Tsuchi-gumo (earth-hiders, see Index) living in muro, of a muro being dug, and of steps (down) to a muro. That they were sometimes of considerable size is shown by the legend of Jimmu Tennō's reign, which speaks of 160 persons being in a muro at the same time. The pit was (at least in some cases) not simply roofed over, but contained a house with a wooden frame lashed together with cords of a creeping vine (dolichos), the walls having sedges or reeds for laths, and plastered with a mixture of grass and clay. The roof was

entering, dwelt therein. Then she made a solemn declaration, saying:—"If that which is in my bosom is not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, it will assuredly be destroyed by fire, but if it is really the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, fire

thatched with reeds. The muro had a door opening inwards, and contained a raised platform for sleeping on. A dwelling closely answering this description was actually unearthed near Akita in Dewa in 1807.

Muro were used in ancient times by the higher as well as by the poorest classes. Sosa no wo no Mikoto is said by the Idzumo Fudoki to have made himself a muro, and Jimmu Tennō's son is represented as sleeping in a great muro. In modern times muro sometimes means simply chamber.

Some writers confound the muro with the ihaya. So far as I am aware, the latter is used only of caverns in the rock, or of the artificial megalithic chambers contained in sepulchral mounds.

Mr. J. Milne, in an extremely interesting paper on the pit-dwellers of Yezo, read before the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1882, argues that certain pits discovered by him in large numbers in the islands of Yezo and Itorup were the dwellings of a pre-Aino race, whose modern representatives are to be found amongst the Kurilsky or their neighbours in Kamschatka and Saghalin. To these he gives the name of Koro-pok-guru, following an Aino tradition communicated to him by Mr. Batchelor.

On the other hand, I am informed by Baron A. von Siebold, who visited several of these groups of pits in Kusiro and the Kurile Islands, that,—

1. Their appearance is, in his opinion, not consonant with the great antiquity assigned to them by Mr. Milne's theory. It was especially noticeable that no large trees or even deep-rooted brushwood were found growing in or between the square pits.

2. They are arranged in a regular order more suggestive of a military encampment than of the abodes of a tribe of savages. They are all of the same size, except a few larger ones, which may have been occupied by officers. An earthwork near one of them was also suggestive of a military occupation.

3. The pits were carefully dug and found to contain fragments of burned wood, unglazed pottery, and what is more remarkable, a small Japanese sword (tantō) of comparatively modern manufacture.

4. The most important evidence, however, is the fact that the sites of these pits correspond in all the cases which Baron von Siebold was able to examine with those of the military encampments established in Yezo and the Kuriles by the Japanese Government about the beginning of the present century as a defence against the Russians. These encampments are marked on a Japanese map presented to Ph. Fr. von Siebold (the father) by a Court astronomer named Mogami Toknai, and published in Siebold's Atlas. The inference is obvious. In fact pit-dwelling in northern climates affords no indication of race. It has been seen that Chinese, Japanese, and Coreans may all be pit-dwellers on occasion, and the practice is by no means confined to this part of the world.

cannot harm it." So she set fire to the muro. The child which was born from the extremity of the smoke which first arose was called Ho no Susori no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Hayato*); next the child which was born when she drew back and remained away from the heat was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto; the child which was next born was called Ho no akari no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Wohari no Muraji*)—in all three children.[1] II. 12.

A long time after, Ama-tsu-hiko hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi[2] of Hiuga no ye in Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command unto Ame-waka-hiko, saying:—'The Central Land of Reed-Plains is a region which it is for my child to rule over. Considering, however, that there are there certain rebellious, violent and wicked Deities, do thou therefore go first and subdue it.' Accordingly she gave him the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true-deer-arrows, and so despatched him. Ame-waka-hiko, having received this command, went down and forthwith married many daughters of the Earthly Deities. Eight years passed, during which he made no report of his mission. Therefore Ama-terasu-no Oho-kami summoned Omohi-kane no Kami (the Thought-combiner) and inquired the reason why he did not come. Now the Thought-combining Deity reflected and informed her, saying:—'It will be well to send the pheasant to inquire into this.' Hereupon, in accordance with this God's device, the pheasant was caused to go and spy out the reason. The pheasant flew down and perched on the II. 13.
top of a many-branched cassia-tree before Ame-waka-hiko's

[1] The "Kojiki" gives these names differently. Ho no akari means fire-light. The other two are of doubtful interpretation. Perhaps Susori is from the word suso, skirt, and ho-ho-de may mean "go out from flames." This passage shows that the muro was used as an ubu-ya or parturition-house. It was the custom in ancient Japan for women to retire for their confinement to a temporary hut constructed for the purpose. Satow and Dickins found this practice still in vogue in the Island of Hachijō when they visited it in 1878. See "J. A. S. T.," vi. 3.

[2] See Index.

gate, where it uttered a cry, saying:—'Ama-waka-hiko! wherefore for the space of eight years hast thou still not made a report of thy mission?' Now a certain Earthly Goddess, named Ama-no-sagu-me, saw the pheasant, and said:—'A bird of evil cry is sitting on the top of this tree. It will be well to shoot it and kill it.' So Ame-waka-hiko took the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true deer-arrow given him by the Heavenly Deity and shot it, upon which the arrow went through the pheasant's breast, and finally reached the place where the Heavenly Deity was. Now the Heavenly Deity seeing the arrow, said:—'This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. Why has it come here?' So she took the arrow, and pronouncing a curse over it, said:—'If it has been shot with evil intent, let mischief surely come upon Ama-waka-hiko; but if it has been shot with a tranquil heart, let no harm befall him.' So she flung it back. It fell down and struck Ame-waka-hiko on the top of the breast, so that he straightway died. This is the reason why people at the present day say, 'Fear a returning arrow.' Now Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children came down from Heaven and went away upwards taking with them the dead body. Then they made a mourning house in Heaven, in which they deposited it and lamented over it. Before this Ame-waka-hiko was on friendly terms with Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and condoled with them on the mourning, lamenting greatly. Now this God had by nature an exact resemblance to Ame-waka-hiko in appearance. Therefore Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children, when they saw him, rejoiced, and said:—'Our Lord is still alive.' And they clung to his robe and to his girdle, and could not be thrust away. Now Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Kami became angry, and said:—'My friend is dead, therefore have I come to make condolence. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead man?' So he drew his ten-span sword and cut down the mourning house, which fell to earth and became
II. 14 a mountain. This is Moyama (Mount Mourning) in the province of Mino. This is the reason why people dislike to be mistaken for a dead person.

Now the glory of Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto was so effulgent that it illuminated the space of two hills and two valleys, and those assembled for the mourning celebrated it in song, saying :—

[Another version is that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami's younger sister, Shita-teru-hime, wishing to make known to the company that it was Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto who illuminated the hills and valleys therefore made a song, saying :—]

Like the string of jewels
Worn on the neck
Of the Weaving-maiden,
That dwells in Heaven—
Oh ! the lustre of the jewels
Flung across two valleys
From Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne ![1]

Again they sang, saying :—

To the side-pool—
The side-pool
Of the rocky stream
Whose narrows are crossed
By the country wenches
Afar from Heaven,
Come hither, come hither !
(The women are fair)
And spread across thy net
In the side-pool
Of the rocky stream.[2]

These two poems are in what is now called a Rustic[3] measure.

[1] The metre is irregular. The "Kojiki" version (see Ch. K., p. 99) is somewhat different. The Weaving-maiden of Heaven is a Chinese personification of the Star *a* Lyrae. See Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 97. This affords some indication of the date of this poem. It must have been written after the Japanese became familiar with Chinese astronomy.

[2] The metre is irregular, the text doubtful, and the meaning and application obscure. I agree with the Japanese critics who think that this poem has no business here. The "Kojiki," which gives the previous one, omits it.

Afar from Heaven is a mere epithet (makura-kotoba) of the country. Heaven here stands for the capital.

[3] Probably because hina, country or rustic, is a prominent word in the latter of these two poems.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami united Yorodzu-hata Toyo-aki-tsu-hime, the younger sister of Omohi-kane no Kami to Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-
II. 15. ho-mimi no Mikoto, and making her his consort, caused them to descend to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. At this time Katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and glancing downwards, said:—'Is that country tranquillized yet? No! it is a tumble-down land, hideous to look upon.' So he ascended, and reported why he had not gone down. Therefore, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami further sent Taka-mika-tsuchi no Kami and Futsu-nushi no Kami first to clear it. Now these two Gods went down and arrived at Idzumo, where they inquired of Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity or not?' He answered and said:—'My son, Koto-shiro-nushi is at Cape Mitsu for the sport of bird-shooting. I will ask him, and then give you an answer.' So he sent a messenger to make inquiry, who brought answer and said:—'How can we refuse to deliver up what is demanded by the Heavenly Deity?' Therefore Oho-na-mochi no Kami replied to the two Gods in the words of his son. The two Gods thereupon ascended to Heaven and reported the result of their mission, saying:—'All the Central Land of Reed-Plains is now completely tranquillized.' Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command, saying:—'If that be so, I will send down my child.' She was about to do so, when in the meantime, an August Grandchild was born, whose name was called Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto. Her son represented to her that he wished the August Grandchild to be sent down in his stead. Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave to Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto the three treasures, viz. the curved jewel of Yasaka gem, the eight-hand mirror, and the sword Kusanagi, and joined to him
II. 16. as his attendants Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Naka-tomi, Futo-dama no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Imbe, Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Sarume,[1] Ishi-kori-dome no Mikoto,

[1] Lit. monkey-eye.

the first ancestor of the mirror-makers, and Tamaya no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the jewel-makers, in all Gods of five Be. Then she commanded her August Grandchild, saying:—'This Reed-plain-1500-autumns-fair-rice-ear Land is the region which my descendants shall be lords of. Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go! and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure for ever.' When he was about to descend, one, who had been sent in advance to clear the way, returned and said:—'There is one God who dwells at the eight-cross-roads of Heaven, the length of whose nose is seven hands, the length of whose back is more than seven fathoms. Moreover, a light shines from his mouth and from his posteriors. His eye-balls are like an eight-hand mirror and have a ruddy glow like the Aka-kagachi.' Thereupon he sent one of his attendant Deities II. 17.
to go and make inquiry. Now among all the eighty myriads of Deities there was not one who could confront him and make inquiry. Therefore he specially commanded Ame no Uzume, saying:—'Thou art superior to others in the power of thy looks. Thou hadst better go and question him.' So Ame no Uzume forthwith bared her breasts and, pushing down the band of her garment below her navel, confronted him with a mocking laugh. Then the God of the cross-ways asked her, saying:—'Ame no Uzume! What meanest thou by this behaviour?' She answered and said:—'I venture to ask who art thou that dost thus remain in the road by which the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is to make his progress?' The God of the cross-ways answered and said:—'I have heard that the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is now about to descend, and therefore I have come respectfully to meet and attend upon him. My name is Saruta-hiko no Oho-kami.'[1] Then Ame no Uzume again inquired of him, saying:—'Wilt thou go before me, or shall I go before thee?' He answered and said:—"I will go before and be his harbinger.' Ame no Uzume asked again, saying:—"Whither wilt thou go and whither will the August Grandchild go?' He answered and said:—'The child of the

[1] In later times a phallic Deity.

Heavenly Deity will proceed to the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga in the Land of Tsukushi, and I will
II. 18. go to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise.' He accordingly said:—'Thou art the person who didst discover me. Thou must therefore escort me and com-

Saruta-hiko and Uzume.

plete thy task.' Ame no Uzume returned and reported these circumstances. Thereupon the August Grandchild, leaving the Heavenly rock-seat, and thrusting apart the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, clove his way with an awful way-cleaving, and descended from Heaven. Finally, as

had been arranged, the August Grandchild arrived at the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga, in the land of Tsukushi. And Saruta-hiko no Kami forthwith proceeded to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise. Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, in accordance with the request made by Saruta[1] hiko no Kami, attended upon him. Now the August Grandchild commanded Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, saying:—'Let the name of the Deity whom thou didst discover be made thy title.' Therefore he conferred on her the designation of Sarume no Kimi.[2] So this was the origin of the male and female Lords of Sarume being both styled Kimi."[3]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Deity sent II. 19.
Futsu-nushi no Kami and Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami to tranquillize the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Now these two Gods said:—'In Heaven there is an Evil Deity called Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi, or Ame no Kagase-wo. We pray that this Deity may be executed before we go down to make clear the Central Land of Reed-Plains.' At this time Iwahi-nushi[4] no Kami received the designation of Iwahi no Ushi. This is the God which now dwells in the land of

[1] Monkey-field. [2] Lord of Sarume.

[3] The "Kojiki" says that it was the females alone who had this title. In either case, the inference is that it was unusual for women to have such names or titles, Motowori's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Sarume were primarily women who performed comic dances (sarumahi or monkey-dances) in honour of the Gods. They are mentioned along with the Nakatomi and Imbe as taking part in the festival of first-fruits and other Shintō ceremonies. These dances were the origin of the Kagura and Nō performances. Another function of the Sarume is that indicated in the part taken by Uzume no Mikoto when the Gods enticed the Sun-Goddess out of her rock-cave. She is there said to have been divinely inspired. This divine inspiration has always been common in Japan. The inspired person falls into a trance, or hypnotic state, in which he or she speaks in the character of some God. Such persons are now known as Miko, defined by Hepburn as 'a woman who, dancing in a Miya, pretends to hold communication with the Gods and the spirits of the dead,' in short a medium. There are also strolling mediums, as in England, women of a low class, who pretend to deliver messages from deceased friends or relatives. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shinto," in the "J. A. S. T.," and Index—Inspiration.

[4] Master of religious abstinence or worship.

Katori in Adzuma.[1] After this the two Deities descended and arrived at the Little Shore of Itasa in Idzumo, and asked Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity, or no?' He answered and said:—'I suspected that ye two gods were coming to my place. Therefore I will not allow it.' Thereupon Futsu-nushi no Kami forthwith returned upwards, and made his report. Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto sent the two Gods back again, and commanded Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Having now heard what thou hast said, I find that there is profound reason in thy words. Therefore again I issue my commands to thee more circumstantially, that is to say:—Let the public matters which thou hast charge of be conducted by my grandchild, and do thou rule divine affairs. Moreover, if thou wilt dwell in the palace of Ama no Hi-sumi,[2] I will now build it for thee. I will take a thousand fathom rope[3] of the (bark of the) paper mulberry, and tie it in 180 knots. As to the dimensions of the building of the palace,[4] its pillars shall be high and massy, and its planks broad and thick. I will
II. 20. also cultivate thy rice-fields for thee, and, for thy provision when thou goest to take pleasure on the sea, I will make for thee a high bridge, a floating bridge, and also a Heavenly bird-boat. Moreover, on the Tranquil River of Heaven I will make a flying-bridge. I will also make for thee white shields[5] of 180 seams, and Ame no Ho-hi no Mikoto shall be the president of the festivals in thy honour.' Hereupon Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—'The instructions of the Heavenly Deity are so courteous that I may not presume to disobey his commands. Let the August Grandchild direct the public affairs of which I have charge. I will retire and direct secret matters.' So he introduced Kunado no Kami to the two Gods, saying:—

[1] A general name for the eastern part of Japan.

[2] Heaven-sun-corner.

[3] The rope was for measuring the site, say some. Or it may have been for lashing together the timbers of the building.

[4] Or shrine.

[5] Shields are frequently mentioned in the "Norito" among offerings to the Gods.

'He will take my place and will yield respectful obedience. I will withdraw and depart from here.' He forthwith invested him with the pure Yasaka jewels, and then became concealed for ever.[1] Therefore Futsu-nushi no Kami appointed Kunado no Kami[2] as guide, and went on a circuit II. 21.
of pacification. Any who were rebellious to his authority he put to death, while those who rendered obedience were rewarded. The chiefs of those who at this time rendered obedience were Oho-mono-nushi[3] no Kami and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. So they assembled the eighty myriads of Gods in the High Market-place of Heaven, and taking them up to Heaven with them, they declared their loyal behaviour. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto commanded Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, saying:—'If thou dost take to wife one of the Deities of Earth, I shall still consider that thy heart is disaffected. I will therefore now give thee my daughter Mi-ho-tsu hime to be thy wife. Take with thee the eighty myriads of Deities to be the guards of my August Grandchild to all ages. So she sent him down again. Thereupon Ta-oki-ho-ohi no Kami, ancestor of the Imbe of the Land of Kii, was appointed hatter,[4] Hiko-sachi no Kami was made shield-maker,[5] Ma-hitotsu no Kami[6] was made metal-worker, Ame no Hi-washi[7] no Kami was appointed tree-fibre maker, and Kushi-akaru-dama no Kami ewel-maker.[8] II. 22.

Taka-mi-musubi no Kami accordingly gave command, saying:—'I will set up a Heavenly divine fence[9] and a

[1] i.e. died. [2] The Deity of roads. [3] Great-thing-master.

[4] Kasa-nuhi, i.e. broad-hat-sewer.

[5] Tate-nuhi, lit. shield-sewer.

[6] The one-eyed God. It is curious that the Smith-God of Japan, like the Cyclops of Greek fable, should have but one eye. The "Kojiki" calls him Ama-tsu Mara, as to which see Index. Also Ch. K., p. 55.

[7] Sun-eagle. Tree-fibre is yufu. It was the fibre for weaving made of the inner bark of the paper-mulberry, and perhaps also included hemp. All these objects were used in Shintō ceremonies.

[8] Kushi means comb; akaru, shining; dama (for tama), jewel.

[9] In Japanese, himorogi. The "Shiki" says that this is the same thing which is now called a shrine, but admits that its meaning is not clear. The usual interpretation is that the himorogi is a fence of sakaki (the sacred tree)

Heavenly rock-boundary wherein to practise religious abstinence[1] on behalf of my descendants. Do ye, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama[2] no Mikoto, take with you the Heavenly divine fence, and go down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Moreover, ye will there practise abstinence[3] on behalf of my descendants.' So she attached the two Deities to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto and sent them down. It was when Futo-dama no Mikoto was sent that the custom first began of worshipping this Deity with stout straps[4] flung over weak shoulders when taking the place of the Imperial hand. From this, too, the custom had its origin, by which Ame no Koyane no Mikoto had charge of divine matters. Therefore he was

planted round the enclosure consecrated for Shintō worship. But this interpretation is not without difficulty. In Suinin Tennō's reign we hear of a himorogi which was brought over from Corea and preserved as a sacred treasure. This could hardly have been a hedge. Another interpretation makes the himorogi an offering, and interprets the "Kuma" himorogi of the passage just referred to as an offering of bear's paws, one of the eight dainties of ancient Chinese literature. But it is not easy to see how this should be preserved as a sacred treasure.

The derivation does not help us much. Hi is no doubt sun, used metaphorically, as in hi-kagami, sun-mirror or sacred-mirror; hiko, sun-child (prince); hime, sun-female (princess). This is fairly well represented by the Chinese character 神 in the text. The remainder of the word, viz. morogi, is probably moro, a word of multitude, all, many, and gi (for ki), wood. There is a proper name, Take-morogi, where morogi is written with characters which imply this derivation. Hi-moro-gi is therefore a sacred row or group of sticks of some sort or another.

I may mention a suspicion that the himorogi may be connected, perhaps by way of a survival, with a time when the Japanese Deities were a row of posts roughly carved into human shape. See above, p. 3.

[1] This and other passages show that the Shintō place of worship might be merely a piece of ground enclosed for the purpose. The modern word for a Shintō shrine, viz. ya-shiro, house-enclosure or house-area, suggests the same inference. See Satow, "Japanese Rituals," in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 115. It will be remembered that the Roman templum and the Greek τέμενος had originally a similar signification.

[2] The ancestor of the Imbe, or abstainers.

[3] Including avoidance of ceremonial impurities, and hence used for religious worship generally. See above, note to p. 41.

[4] For supporting a tray on which the offerings were placed. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., p. 112.

made to divine by means of the Greater Divination, and thus to do his service.[1]

At this time Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took in her hand II. 23. the precious mirror, and, giving it to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto, uttered a prayer, saying:—'My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with thee on thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy[2] mirror.' Moreover, she gave command to Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto and to Futo-dama no Mikoto, saying:—'Attend to me, ye two Gods! Do ye also remain together in attendance and guard it well.' She further gave command, saying:—'I will give over to my child the rice-ears of the sacred garden,[3] of which I partake in the Plain of High Heaven.' And she straightway took the daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, by name Yorodzu-hata-hime, and uniting her to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto as his consort, sent her down. Therefore while she was still in the Void of Heaven,[4] she gave birth to a child, who was called Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. She accordingly desired to send down this grandchild instead of his parents. Therefore on him she bestowed Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto, Futo-dama no Mikoto, and the Deities of the various Be,[5] all without exception. She gave him, moreover, the things belonging to his person,[6] just as above stated.

After this, Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto went back again to Heaven. Therefore Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no

[1] The Greater Divination was by observing the cracks in a deer's shoulder-blade which had been exposed to fire. This is also a practice of the Chinese and Mongols, but in China it is more common to use the shell of a tortoise for this purpose, as is sometimes done in Japan also. See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III., p. 335, 336. Ban Nobutomo has devoted a work in two volumes to this subject, entitled 正卜考.

[2] The same word as is used above for religious abstinence.

[3] The yu-niha, in which rice was grown under conditions of strict ceremonial purity for the festival of first-fruits.

[4] Not the Takama no hara, or Plain of High Heaven, but the Oho-sora or Great Void, the space between Heaven and Earth. She was on her way downwards.

[5] The hatter, shield-maker, etc., mentioned above.

[6] The regalia, or mirror, sword and jewel are doubtless meant.

Mikoto descended to the peak of Takachiho of Kushibi in
II. 24. Hiuga. Then he passed through the Land of Munasohi,[1] in Sojishi, by way of the Hill of Hitawo, in search of a country, and stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Thereupon he called to him Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa, the Lord of that country, and made inquiry of him. He answered and said:—'There is a country here. I will in any case obey thy commands.' Accordingly the August Grandchild erected a palace-hall and rested here. Walking afterwards by the sea-shore, he saw a beautiful woman. The August Grandchild inquired of her, saying:—'Whose child art thou?' She answered and said:—'Thy handmaiden is the child of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. My name is Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, and I am also called Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime.' Then she said:—'I have also an elder sister named Iha-naga-hime.'[2] The August Grandchild said:—'I wish to make thee my wife. How will this be?' She answered and said:—'I have a father, Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, I pray thee ask him. The August Grandchild accordingly spake to Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, saying:—'I have seen thy daughter and wish to make her my wife.' Hereupon Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami sent his two daughters with one hundred tables of food and drink to offer them respectfully. Now the August Grandchild thought the elder sister ugly, and would not take her. So she went away. But the younger sister was a noted beauty. So he took her with him and favoured her, and in one night she became pregnant. Therefore Iha-naga-hime was greatly ashamed, and cursed him, saying:—'If the August Grandchild had taken me and not rejected me, the children born to him would have been long-lived, and would have endured for ever like the massy rocks. But seeing that he has not done so, but has married my younger sister only, the children born to him will surely be decadent like the flowers of the trees.'"

One version is:—"Iha-naga-hime, in her shame and

[1] Above, p. 70, we have Muna-kuni or desert land.

[2] Rock-long-princess. Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime is the "Princess who blossoms like the flowers of the trees."

resentment, spat and wept. She said:—'The race of visible mankind shall change swiftly like the flowers of the trees, and shall decay and pass away.' This is the reason why the life of man is so short. II. 25.

After this, Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime saw the August Grandchild, and said:—'Thy handmaiden has conceived a child by the August Grandchild. It is not meet that it should be born privately.' The August Grandchild said:—'Child of the Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I in one night cause anyone to be with child? Now it cannot be my child.' Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime was exceedingly ashamed and angry. She straightway made a doorless muro, and thereupon made a vow, saying:—'If the child which I have conceived is the child of another Deity, may it surely be unfortunate. But if it is truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, may it surely be alive and unhurt.' So she entered the muro, and burnt it with fire. At this time, when the flames first broke out, a child was born who was named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto; next when the flame reached its height, a child was born who was named Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. The next child which was born was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto,[1] and also Ho-no-wori no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"When the flames first bebecame bright, a child was born named Ho-no-akari no Mikoto; next, when the blaze was at its height, a child was born named Ho-no-susumi[2] no Mikoto, also called Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next, when she recoiled from the blaze, a child was born named Ho-no-ori-hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto—three children in all. The fire failed to harm them, and the mother, too, was not injured in the least. Then with a bamboo knife she cut their navel-strings.[3] From the bamboo knife which she threw away, there eventually

[1] Ho-ho-demi no Mikoto. The word Mikoto is here written with a different and more honourable character than in the case of his two brothers, for the reason that this Deity was the direct ancestor of the Mikados. See above, p. 3.

[2] Flame-advance.

[3] A note to the Shukai edition mentions a local custom of severing the umbilical cord with a bamboo or copper knife. Another custom is not to use

sprang up a bamboo grove. Therefore that place was called Taka-ya.[1]

II. 26. Now Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime by divination fixed upon a rice-field to which she gave the name Sanada, and from the rice grown there brewed Heavenly sweet sake, with which she entertained him. Moreover, with the rice from the Nunada rice-field she made boiled rice and entertained him therewith."[2]

In one writing it is said :—" Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on the true couch and wrapped in it Ama-tsu-hiko-kuni-teru-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, who forthwith drew open the rock-door of Heaven, and thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, descended. At this time Ama-no-oshi-hi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Oho-tomo[3] no Muraji, taking with him Ame-kushi-tsu Oho-kume, the ancestor of the Kume Be,[4] placed on his back the rock-quiver of Heaven, drew on his

a knife, but to bite it through, a thin garment being interposed. It should be breathed on seven times with warm breath before being tied.

Superstition and Ritual have a preference for knives of some more primitive material than iron. Medea shears her magic herbs "curvamine falcis ahenæ," and Zipporah performs the rite of circumcision with a sharp stone. But a more prosaic explanation of the present passage is suggested by a surgeon friend. There is less hæmorrhage when a blunt instrument is used.

[1] Bamboo-house.

[2] This incident is the mythical counterpart of the annual festival of Nihi-nahe or nihi-name, now celebrated on November 23rd, when the new season's rice is offered to the Gods and partaken of by the Emperor for the first time. It was grown in plots of ground (yu-niha), the position of which was fixed upon by divination and prepared under strict conditions of ceremonial purity. Nihi means new, n represents no, the genitive particle, and ahe means feast. Name means to taste.

The modern name of this festival is Shin-jō-sai. There is a similar one in China. In ancient times there was no distinction made between this and the Oho-nihe or Oho-name, when the Emperor at his accession offered rice to the Gods (now called the Daijōye), both being called Oho-nihe. The prayer read at the Nihi-name is given among the norito in the Yengishiki, and Hirata devotes the last three vols. of the "Koshiden" to this subject.

[3] Great escort, i.e. of the Emperor.

[4] I quite endorse Chamberlain's shrewd suggestion that this Kume is "nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word chün (軍), the modern Japanese gun, army, troops." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 112.

forearm a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad,[1] and grasped in his hand a Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow and a Heavenly feathered arrow, to which he added an eight-eyed sounding-arrow.[2] Moreover he girt on his mallet-headed sword,[3] and taking his place before the Heavenly Grand- II. 27.
child, proceeded downwards as far as the floating bridge of Heaven, which is on the two peaks of Kushibi of Takachiho in So in Hiuga. Then he stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank and passed through the desert land

Stone Mallets.

of Sojishi by way of Hitawo in search of a country until he came to Cape Kasasa in Ata no Nagaya. Now at this place there was a God named Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa. Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild inquired of this God, saying:—'Is there a country?' He answered and said:—'There is.' Accordingly he said:—'I will yield it up to thee in obedience to thy commands.' Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild abode in that place. This Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu no Kami

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] Or nari-kabura. Giles says they were discharged by bandits as a signal to begin an attack. "Eight-eyed" means that there were several holes in the head, the air passing through which produced a humming sound. Parker says that the nari-kabura is not Chinese, but an invention of the Huns.

[3] From the way in which these swords are associated with "stone-mallet" swords in the Jimmu Tennō narrative (see also Ch. K., pp. 112, 142), I am disposed to think that they were of stone, and probably identical with the mallet-shaped objects called raiko shown in Plate XI. of Kanda's "Stone Implements of Japan," from which the illustration is taken. They were, no doubt, lashed to wooden handles, and used as weapons.

was the child of Izanagi no Mikoto, and his other name is Shiho-tsu-tsu-no oji."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Grandchild favoured Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, the daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. In one night she became pregnant, and eventually gave birth to four children. Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime took the children in her arms, and, coming forward, said:—'Ought the children of the Heavenly Grandchild to be privately nurtured? Therefore do I announce to thee the fact for thy information.' At this time the Heavenly Grandchild looked upon the children, and, with a mocking laugh, said:—'Excellent—these princes of mine! Their birth is a delightful piece of news!' Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth, and said:—'Why dost thou mock thy handmaiden?' The Heavenly Grandchild said:—'There is surely some doubt of this, and therefore did I mock. How is it possible for me, Heavenly God though I am, in the space of one night to cause anyone to become pregnant? Truly they are not my children.' On this account Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was more and more resentful. She made a doorless muro, into which she entered, and made a vow, saying:—'If the children which I have conceived are not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them surely perish. But if they are the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them
II. 28. suffer no hurt.' So she set fire to the muro and burnt it. When the fire first became bright, a child sprang forth and announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Where is my father?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the fire was at its height also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-susumi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brother?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the flames were becoming extinguished also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-ori no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' Next, when she recoiled from the heat, a child sprang forth, and

[1] Old man of the sea.

also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' After that, their mother, Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, came forth from amidst the embers, and approaching, told him, saying:—'The children which thy handmaiden has brought forth, and thy handmaiden herself, have of our own accord undergone the danger of fire,[1] and yet have suffered not the smallest hurt. Will the Heavenly Grandchild not look on them?' He answered and said:—'I knew from the first that they were my children, only, as they were conceived in one night, I thought that there might be suspicions, and I wished to let everybody know that they are my children, and also that a Heavenly Deity can cause pregnancy in one night. Moreover, I wished to make it evident that thou dost possess a wonderful and extraordinary dignity, and also that our children have surpassing spirit. Therefore it was that on a former day I used words of mockery.'"

In one writing it is said:—"Ame no Oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto took to wife Taku-hata-chichi-hime Yorodzu-hata[2] hime no Mikoto, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto."

Another version says:—"Honoto-hata-hime-ko-chichi-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto." She bore to him a child named Ama-no-ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Next she bore Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto. The child of Ama-no-ho-no-akari no Mikoto was called Kaguyama no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. II. 29.

When Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto was sending down the Heavenly Grandchild Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, she commanded the eighty myriads of Gods, saying:—"In the Central Land of Reed-

[1] The ordeal by fire is here alluded to. In later times the ordeal of boiling water was also practised. Both customs are kept up by Shintō devotees in modern times. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shintō," in the "T.A.S.J." A picture in Hokusai's "Mangwa" represents two in persons the garb of Buddhist priests passing through the ordeal of fire.

[2] Myriad looms, or rather webs. The currency of ancient Japan consisted of pieces of cloth. Hence Yorodzu-hata means wealthy.

Plains, the rocks, tree-stems and herbage have still the power of speech. At night, they make a clamour like that of flames of fire; in the day-time they swarm up like the flies in the fifth month, etc., etc." Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave command, saying:—"I formerly sent Ame-waka-hiko to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, but he has been long absent, and until now has not returned, perhaps being forcibly prevented by some of the Gods of the Land." She therefore sent the cock-pheasant Na-naki to go thither and spy out the reason. This pheasant went down, but when he saw the fields of millet and the fields of pulse he remained there, and did not come back. This was the origin of the modern saying, "The pheasant special messenger." Therefore she afterwards sent the hen-pheasant Na-naki, and this bird came down and was hit by an arrow shot by Ame-waka-hiko, after which she came up and made her report, etc., etc. At this time Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was upon the true couch, and having clothed therewith the Heavenly Grandchild Ama-tsu-hikone Ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto, sent him downwards, thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven. Therefore this God was styled Ame-kuni-nigishi-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto. Now the place at which he arrived on his descent is called the Peakof Sohori-yama of Takachiho
II. 30. in So in Hiuga. When he proceeded therefore on his way, etc., etc.,[1] he arrived at Cape Kasasa in Ata, and finally ascended the Island of Takashima in Nagaya. He went round inspecting that land, and found there a man whose name was Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa. The Heavenly Grandchild accordingly inquired of him, saying:—"Whose land is this?" He answered and said:—"This is the land where Nagasa dwells. I will, however, now offer it to the Heavenly Grandchild." The Heavenly Grandchild again inquired of him, saying:—"And the maidens who have built an eight-fathom palace on the highest crest of the waves and tend the loom with jingling wrist jewels, whose daughters are they?" He answered and said:—"They are the daughters of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. The elder is named Iha-naga-hime, and the younger is named Kono-

[1] These etc's mark intentional omissions.

hana saku-ya-hime, also called Toyo-ata-tsu hime, etc., etc." The August Grandchild accordingly favoured Toyo-ata-tsu hime, and after one night she became pregnant. The August Grandchild doubting this, etc., etc. Eventually she gave birth to Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next she bore Ho-no-ori no Mikoto, also called Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto. Proof having been given by the mother's vow, it was known exactly that they were truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. Toyo-ata-tsu hime however was incensed at the Heavenly Grandchild, and would not speak to him. The Heavenly Grandchild, grieved at this, made a song, saying :—

The sea-weed of the offing—
Though it may reach the shore :
The true couch
Is, alas ! impossible.
Ah ! ye dotterels of the beach ![1]

In one writing it is said :—" The daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Ama-yorodzu-taku-hata chi-hata hime." II. 31.

One version is :—" Yorodzu-hata-hime ko-dama-yori-hime no Mikoto was the child of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. This Goddess became the consort of Ame no Oshi-hone no Mikoto, and bore to him a child named Ama-no Ki-ho-ho-oki-se no Mikoto."

One version is :—" Katsu no haya-hi no Mikoto's child was Ama no Oho-mimi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Nigutsu hime, and had by her a child named Ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is :—" The daughter of Kami-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Taku-hata chi-hata hime, bore a child named Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is :—" Ama no Kise no Mikoto took to wife Ata-tsu hime, and had children, first Ho-no-akari no Mikoto, next Ho-no-yo-wori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto took to wife Ama

[1] A regular tanka (short poem) of 31 syllables. The meaning is : " The weeds of the deep sea may drift to the shore, but between thy couch and mine an impassable gulf is fixed. I appeal to you, ye dotterels of the beach! Is it not so ?"

no yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and by her as consort had a child named Ama-teru-kuni-teru Hiko-ho no akari no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. The next child was Ama-no-nigishi-kuni-no-nigishi Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-no ninigi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Kono hana saku-ya-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, and by her as consort had first a child named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto."

The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had by nature a sea-gift; the younger brother Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto had by nature a mountain-gift.[1] In the beginning the two brothers, the elder and the younger, conversed together, saying:—"Let us for a trial exchange gifts." They eventually exchanged them, but neither of them gained aught by doing so. The elder brother repented his bargain, and returned to the younger brother his bow and arrows, asking for his fish-hook to be given back to him. But the younger brother had already lost the elder brother's fish-hook, and there was no means of finding it. He accordingly made another new hook which he offered to his elder brother. But his elder brother refused to accept it, and
II. 32. demanded the old hook. The younger brother, grieved at this, forthwith took his cross-sword[2] and forged[3] from it new fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his brother. But his elder brother was wroth, and said:—"These are not my old fish-hook: though they are many, I will not take them." And he continued repeatedly to demand it vehemently. Therefore Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto's grief was exceedingly profound, and he went and made moan by the shore of the sea. There he met Shiho-tsutsu[4] no Oji.[5] The old man inquired of him saying:—"Why dost thou grieve here?" He answered and told him the matter from first to last. The old man said:—"Grieve no more. I will arrange this matter for thee." So he made a basket without interstices, and placing

[1] A talent for fishing and a talent for hunting.

[2] The interlinear gloss has tachi, or simply sword.

[3] This points to iron as the material of both swords and fish-hooks at the time when this story became current. The Homeric fish-hook was of horn —*βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο.* See Index—Bronze Age.

[4] Salt-sea-elder.

[5] Grandfather or old-man.

in it Hoho-demi no Mikoto, sank it in the sea. Forthwith he found himself at a pleasant strand, where he abandoned the basket, and, proceeding on his way, suddenly arrived at the palace of the Sea-God. This palace was provided with battlements and turrets, and had stately towers. Before the gate there was a well, and over the well there grew a many-branched cassia-tree,[1] with wide-spreading boughs and leaves. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto went up to the foot of this tree and loitered about. After some time a beautiful woman appeared, and, pushing open the door, came forth. She at length took a II. 33.
jewel-vessel and approached. She was about to draw water, when, raising her eyes, she saw him, and was alarmed. Returning within, she spoke to her father and mother, saying:—"There is a rare stranger at the foot of the tree before the gate." The God of the Sea thereupon prepared an eight-fold cushion and led him in. When they had taken their seats, he inquired of him the object of his coming. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto explained to him in reply all the circumstances. The Sea-God accordingly assembled the fishes, both great and small, and required of them an answer. They all said:—"We know not. Only the Red-woman[2] has had a sore mouth for some time past and has not come." She was therefore peremptorily summoned to appear, and on her mouth being examined the lost hook was actually found.

After this, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto took to wife the Sea-God's daughter, Toyo-tama[3]-hime, and dwelt in the sea-palace. For three years he enjoyed peace and pleasure, but still had a longing for his own country, and therefore sighed deeply from time to time. Toyo-tama-hime heard this and told her father, II. 34.
saying:—"The Heavenly Grandchild often sighs as if in grief. It may be that it is the sorrow of longing for his country." The God of the Sea thereupon drew to him Hiko-hoho-demi no

[1] A castle-gate with a tree growing before it, and a well at its bottom which serves as a mirror, are the stock properties of several old-world stories. The following is from Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 91:—"Then the Giant's dochter came to the palace where Nicht Nought Nothing was, and she went up into a tree to watch for him. The gardener's dochter going to draw water in the well, saw the shadow," etc.

[2] Aka-me, a name of the Tai (pagrus).

[3] Rich-jewel.

Mikoto, and addressing him in an easy, familiar way, said:—"If the Heavenly Grandchild desires to return to his country I will send him back." So he gave him the fish-hook which he had found, and in doing so instructed him, saying:—"When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, before giving to him call to it secretly, and say, "A poor hook." He further presented to him the jewel of the flowing tide and the jewel of the ebbing tide, and instructed him, saying:—"If thou dost dip the tide-flowing jewel, the tide will suddenly flow, and therewithal thou shalt drown thine elder brother. But in case thy elder brother should repent and beg forgiveness, if, on the contrary, thou dip the tide-ebbing jewel, the tide will spontaneously ebb, and therewithal thou shalt save him. If thou harass him in this way, thy elder brother will of his own accord render submission."

When the Heavenly Grandchild was about to set out on his return journey, Toyo-tama-hime addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden is already pregnant, and the time of her delivery is not far off. On a day when the winds and waves are raging, I will surely come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee that thou wilt make for me a parturition house,[1] and await me there."

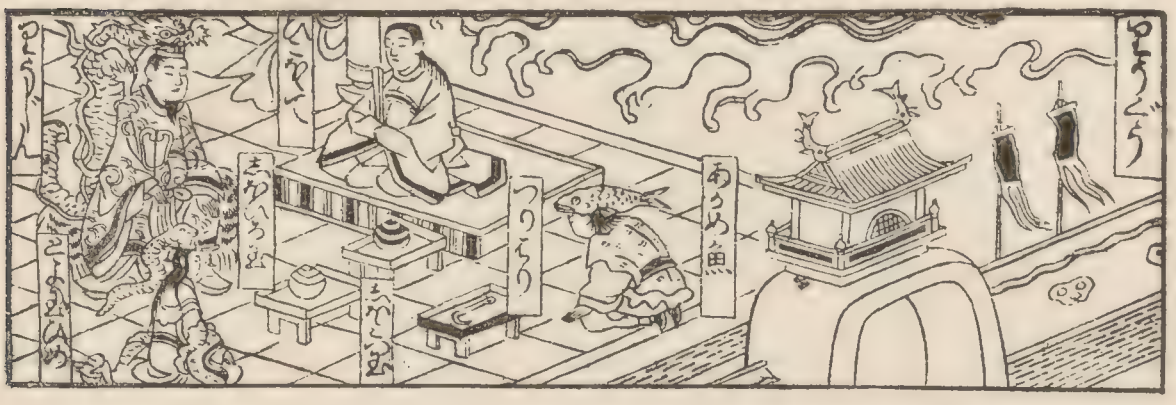
When Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto returned to his palace, he complied implicitly with the instructions of the Sea-God, and the elder brother, Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, finding himself in the utmost straits, of his own accord admitted his offence, and
II. 35. said:—"Henceforward I will be thy subject to perform mimic dances for thee. I beseech thee mercifully to spare my life." Thereupon he at length yielded his petition, and spared him.[2] This Ho-no-susori no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wobashi in Ata.

After this Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise, and, bringing with her her younger sister, Tama-yori-hime, bravely confronted the winds and waves, and came to the sea-shore. When the time of her delivery was at hand, she besought Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—"When thy handmaiden is in travail, I

[1] See above, p. 73.

[2] Ever since the time of Cain and Abel, folk-lore has had a curious partiality for the younger of two brothers. The Jimmu legend contains several instances of this.

pray thee do not look upon her." However, the Heavenly Grandchild could not restrain himself, but went secretly and peeped in. Now Toyo-tama-hime was just in childbirth, and had changed into a dragon.[1] She was greatly ashamed, and said:—"Hadst thou not disgraced me, I would have made the sea and land communicate with each other, and for ever pre-



vented them from being sundered. But now that thou hast disgraced me, wherewithal shall friendly feelings be knit together?" So she wrapped the infant in rushes, and abandoned it on the sea-shore. Then she barred the sea-path, and passed away.[2] Accordingly the child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-fuki-ahezu[3] no Mikoto.

A long time after, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi on the summit of Mount Takaya in Hiuga.

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had acquired a mountain-gift. Now the elder and younger brothers wished to exchange gifts, and therefore the elder brother took the bow which was of the gift of the younger brother, and went to the mountain in quest II. 36.

[1] In the accompanying illustration from a Japanese book (printed 1746), the Sea-King and his daughter are represented as combining the Dragon with the human form. See above, p. 61.

[2] "There are many examples of the disappearance of the bride or bridegroom in consequence of the infringement of various mystic rules." Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 81.

[3] Prince-beach-brave-cormorant-rush-thatch-unfinished. The application of the latter part of the name will appear from one of the variant myths given below. See also Ch. K., p. 127.

of wild animals. But never a trace of game did he see. The younger brother took the fish-hook of his elder brother's gift, and with it went a-fishing on the sea, but caught none at all, and finally lost his fish-hook. Then the elder brother restored his younger brother's bow and arrows, and demanded his own fish-hook. The younger brother was sorry, and of the cross-sword which he had in his girdle made fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his elder brother. But the elder brother refused to receive them, saying:—'I still wish to get the fish-hook of my gift.' Hereupon Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, not knowing where to look for it, only grieved and made moan. He went to the sea-shore, where he wandered up and down lamenting. Now there was an old man, who suddenly came forward, and gave his name as Shiho-tsuchi no Oji. He asked him, saying:—'Who art thou, my lord, and why dost thou grieve here?' Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto told him all that had happened. Whereupon the old man took from a bag a black comb, which he flung upon the ground. It straightway became changed into a multitudinous[1] clump of bamboos. Accordingly he took these bamboos and made of them a coarse basket with wide meshes, in which he placed Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and cast him into the sea."

One version says:—"He took a katama without interstices, and made of it a float, to which he attached Hoho-demi by a cord and sunk him." [*The term katama means what is now called a bamboo-basket.*]

Now there is in the bottom of the sea a natural "Little-shore of delight." Proceeding onwards, along this shore, he arrived of a sudden at the palace of Toyo-tama-hiko, the God of the Sea. This palace had magnificent gates and towers of exceeding beauty. Outside the gate there was a well, and beside the well was a cassia-tree. He approached
II. 32. the foot of this tree, and stood there. After a while a beautiful woman, whose countenance was such as is not anywhere to be seen, came out from within, followed by a bevy of attendant maidens. She was drawing water in a

[1] Lit. 500.

jewel-urn, when she looked up and saw Hoho-demi no Mikoto. She was startled, and returning, told the God, her father, saying:—'At the foot of the cassia-tree without the gate, there is a noble stranger of no ordinary build. If he had come down from Heaven, he would have had on him the filth of Heaven; if he had come from Earth, he would have had on him the filth of Earth. Could he be really the beautiful prince of the sky?'

One version says:—"An attendant of Toyo-tama-hime was drawing water in a jewel-pitcher, but she could not manage to fill it. She looked down into the well, when there shone inverted there the smiling face of a man. She looked up and there was a beautiful God leaning against a cassia-tree. She accordingly returned within, and informed her mistress.

Hereupon Toyo-tama-hiko sent a man to inquire, saying:—'Who art thou, O stranger, and why hast thou come here?' Hoho-demi no Mikoto answered and said:—'I am the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity,' and ultimately went on to give the reason of his coming.

Then the God of the Sea went out to meet him. He made him obeisance, and led him within, where he inquired courteously of his welfare, and gave him to wife his daughter, Toyo-tama-hime. Therefore he remained and dwelt in the palace of the sea. Three years passed, after which Hoho-demi no Mikoto sighed frequently, and Toyo-tama-hime asked him, saying:—'Does the Heavenly Grandchild perchance wish to return to his native land?' He answered and said:—'It is so.' Toyo-tama-hime forthwith told the God her father, and said:—'The noble guest who is here wishes to return to the upper country.' Hereupon the God of the Sea assembled all the II. 38.
fishes of the sea, and asked of them the fish-hook. Then one fish answered and said:—'The Red-woman[1] (*also called the Red Tahi*) has long had an ailment of the mouth. I suspect that she has swallowed it.' So the Red-woman was forthwith summoned, and on looking into her mouth, the hook was still there. It was at once taken and delivered to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, with these instructions:—

[1] See above, p. 93.

'When thou givest the fish-hook to thy elder brother, thou must use this imprecation: "The origin of poverty: the beginning of starvation: the root of wretchedness." Give it not to him until thou hast said this. Again, if thy brother cross the sea, I will then assuredly stir up the blasts and billows, and make them overwhelm and vex him.' Thereupon he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto on the back of a great sea-monster, and so sent him back to his own country.

At another time, before this, Toyo-tama-hime spoke in an easy, familiar way, and said:—'Thy handmaid is with child. Some day, when the winds and waves are boisterous, I will come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee to construct for me a parturition-house, and to await me there.'

After this, Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise to come, and spake to Hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—'To-night thy handmaiden will be delivered. I pray thee, look not on her.' Hoho-demi no Mikoto would not hearken to her, but with a comb[1] he made a light, and looked at her. At this time Toyo-tama-hime had become changed into an enormous sea-monster of eight fathoms, and was wriggling about on her belly. She at last was angry that she was put to shame, and forthwith went straight back again to her native sea, leaving behind her younger sister Tama-yori-
II. 39. hime as nurse to her infant. The child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ayezu no Mikoto, because the parturition-house by the sea-shore was all thatched with cormorants' feathers, and the child was born before the tiles had met. It was for this reason that he received this name."[2]

One version says:—"Before the gate there was a beautiful well, and over the well there grew a cassia-tree with an hundred branches. Accordingly Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto sprang up into that tree and stood there. At this time, Toyo-tama-hime, the daughter of the God of the Sea, came with a jewel-bowl in her hand and was about to draw water, when she saw in the well the reflection of a

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] There is a superstition that a woman in childbirth gained relief by holding a cormorant's feather in her hand. A cowrie (ko-yasu-gai) is used for the same purpose, no doubt on account of its shape. See above, p. 95.

man. She looked up and was startled, so that she let fall the bowl, which was broken to pieces. But without regard for it, she returned within and told her parents, saying:—'I have seen a man on the tree which is beside the well. His countenance is very beautiful, and his form comely. He is surely no ordinary person.' When the God, her father, heard this, he wondered. Having prepared an eight-fold cushion, he went to meet him, and brought him in. When they were seated, he asked the reason of his coming, upon which he answered and told him all his case. Now the God of the Sea at once conceived pity for him, and summoning all the broad of fin and narrow of fin, made inquiry of them. They all said:—'We know not. Only the Red-woman has an ailment of the mouth and has not come.' [Another version is:—'The Kuchi-me[1] has an ailment of the mouth.'] So she was sent for in all haste, and on searching her mouth, the lost fish-hook was at once found. Upon this the God of the Sea chid her, saying:—'Thou Kuchime! Henceforward thou shalt not be able to swallow a bait, nor shalt thou be allowed to have a place at the table of the Heavenly Grandchild.' This is the reason why the fish kuchime is not among the articles of food set before the Emperor.

When the time came for Hiko-hoho-demi. no Mikoto to take his departure, the God of the Sea spake to him, saying:—'I am rejoiced in my inmost heart that the Heavenly Grandchild has now been graciously pleased to visit me. When shall I ever forget it?' So he took the jewel which II. 40.
when thought of makes the tide to flow, and the jewel which when thought of makes the tide to ebb, and joining them to the fish-hook, presented them, saying:—'Though the Heavenly Grandchild may be divided from me by eight-fold windings (of road), I hope that we shall think of each other from time to time. Do not therefore throw them away.' And he taught him, saying:—'When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, call it thus:—'A hook of poverty, a hook of ruin, a hook of downfall.' When thou hast said all this, fling it away to him with thy back turned, and deliver it not to him face to face. If thy elder

[1] Kuchi-me means "mouth-female."

brother is angry, and has a mind to do thee hurt, then produce the tide-flowing jewel and drown him therewith. As soon as he is in peril and appeals for mercy, bring forth the tide-ebbing jewel and therewith save him. If thou dost vex him in this way, he will of his own accord become thy submissive vassal.' Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, having received the jewels and the fish-hook, came back to his original palace, and followed implicitly the teaching of the Sea-God. First of all he offered his elder brother the fish-hook. His elder brother was angry and would not receive it. Accordingly the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, upon which the tide rose with a mighty overflow, and the elder brother was drowning. Therefore he besought his younger brother, saying:—'I will serve thee as thy slave. I beseech thee, spare my life.' The younger brother then produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ebbed of its own accord, and the elder brother was restored to tranquillity. After this the elder brother changed his former words, and said:—'I am thy elder brother. How can an elder brother serve a younger brother?' Then the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, which his elder brother seeing, fled up to a high mountain. Thereupon the tide also submerged the mountain. The elder brother climbed a lofty tree, and thereupon the tide also submerged the tree. The elder brother was now at an extremity, and had nowhere to
II. 41. flee to. So he acknowledged his offence, saying:—'I have been in fault. In future my descendants for eighty generations shall serve thee as thy mimes in ordinary. [One version has 'dog-men.'] I pray thee, have pity on me.' Then the younger brother produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ceased of its own accord. Hereupon the elder brother saw that the younger brother was possessed of marvellous powers, and at length submitted to serve him.

On this account the various Hayato descended from Ho no susori no Mikoto to the present time do not leave the vicinity of the enclosure of the Imperial Palace, and render service instead of barking dogs.[1]

[1] The Hayato constituted the Imperial Guard. The literal meaning of the

This was the origin of the custom which now prevails of not pressing a man to return a lost needle."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother, Ho no susori no Mikoto, was endowed with a sea-gift, and was therefore called Umi no sachi-hiko:[2] the younger brother, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, was endowed with a mountain-gift, and was therefore called Yama no sachi-hiko. Whenever the wind blew and the rain fell, the elder brother lost his gain, but in spite of wind and rain the younger brother's gain did not fail him. Now the elder brother spoke to the younger brother, saying:—'I wish to make trial of an exchange of gifts with thee.' The younger brother consented, and the exchange was accordingly made. Thereupon the elder brother took the younger brother's bow and arrows, and went a-hunting to the mountain: the younger brother took the elder brother's fish-hook, and went on the sea a-fishing. But neither of them got anything, and they came back empty-handed. The elder brother accordingly restored to the younger brother his bow and arrows, and demanded back his own fish-hook. Now the younger brother had lost the fish-hook in the sea, and he knew not how to find it. Therefore he made other new fish-hooks, several thousands in number, which he offered to his elder brother. The elder brother was angry, and would not receive them, but demanded importunately the old fish-hook, etc., etc. Then the younger brother went to the sea-shore and wandered about, grieving and making moan. Now II. 42.

name (for haya-bito) is falcon-man. They were from the provinces of Satsuma and Ohosumi. The Hayato are mentioned repeatedly in the reigns of Temmu and Jitō, not, I think, before that time.

The Yengi-shiki (regulations of the Yengi, 901-923 period) says that on the first day of the year, at coronations, and when foreign envoys were received, twenty upper class hayato were to attend, twenty "new-comer" hayato, and 132 ordinary hayato. These were to take their posts in detachments to right and left outside the Palace Gate. When the officials first entered, or got up from their seats, the "new-comer" hayato raised three barks, and there was more barking or howling, sometimes loud and sometimes low, at other stages of the ceremony.

[1] The Japanese word hari means both needle and fish-hook. There is no such ambiguity in the Chinese characters used here.

[2] Sea-gift-prince.

there was there a river wild-goose which had become entangled in a snare, and was in distress. He took pity on it, and loosing it, let it go. Shortly after there appeared Shiho tsutsu no Oji. He came and made a skiff of basket-work without interstices, in which he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto and pushed it off into the sea, when it sank down of its own accord, till of a sudden there appeared the Pleasant Road. So he went on along this road, which in due course led him to the palace of the Sea-God. Then the Sea-God came out himself to meet him, and invited him to enter. He spread eight layers of sea-asses'[1] skins, on which he made him to sit, and with a banquet of tables of a hundred, which was already prepared, he fulfilled the rites of hospitality. Then he inquired of him in an easy manner:—'Wherefore has the Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity been graciously pleased to come hither?'"

[One version has:—"A little while ago my child came and told me that the Heavenly Grandchild was mourning by the sea-shore. Whether this be true or false I know not, but perhaps it may be so."]

Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto related to him all that had happened from first to last. So he remained there, and the Sea-God gave him his daughter Toyo-tama-hime to wife. At length, when three years had passed in close and
II. 43. warm affection, the time came for him to depart. So the Sea-God sent for the tahi, and on searching her mouth found there the fish-hook. Thereupon he presented the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him thus:—'When thou givest this to thy elder brother thou must recite the following:—"A big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook." After saying all this, fling it to him with a back-handed motion.' Then he summoned together the sea-monsters, and inquired of them, saying:—'The Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity is now about to take his departure homewards. In how many days will you accomplish this service?' Then all the sea-monsters fixed each a number of days according to his own length. Those of

[1] The interlinear gloss has michi. One of the marine carnivora is meant, probably the seal.

them which were one fathom long of their own accord said: —'In the space of one day we will accomplish it.' The one-fathom sea-monsters were accordingly sent with him as his escort. Then he gave him two precious objects, the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, and taught him how to use them. He further instructed him, saying:—'If thy elder brother should make high fields, do thou make puddle fields; if thy elder brother make puddle fields, do thou make high fields. In this manner did the Sea-God in all sincerity lend him his aid. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, when he returned home, followed implicitly the God's instructions, and acted accordingly. When the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, the elder brother forthwith flung up his hands in the agony of drowning. But when, on the other hand, he produced the tide-ebbing jewel, he was relieved, and recovered. After that Hi no susori no Mikoto pined away from day to day, and lamented, saying:—'I have become impoverished.' So he yielded submission to his younger brother.

Before this Toyo-tama-hime spake to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'That which thy handmaid has conceived is the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. How could I give birth to it in the midst of the ocean? Therefore when the time of my delivery comes, I will surely betake myself to my lord's abode, and it is my prayer that thou shouldst build me a house by the sea-side and await me there.' Therefore Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto, as soon as he returned to his own country, took cormorants' feathers, and with them as thatch, made a parturition-house. But before the tiling of the house was completed, Toyo-tama-hime herself arrived, riding on a great tortoise, with her younger sister Tama-yori-hime, and throwing a splendour over the sea. Now the months of her pregnancy were already fulfilled, and the time of her delivery was urgent. On this account she did not wait till the thatching of the house was completed, but went straight in and remained there. Then she spake quietly to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'Thy handmaid is about to be delivered. I pray thee do not look on her.' The Heavenly Grandchild wondered at these words, and II. 44.

peeped in secretly, when behold, she had become changed into a great sea-monster of eight fathoms. Now she was aware that the Heavenly Grandchild had looked in upon her privacy, and was deeply ashamed and resentful. When the child was born, the Heavenly Grandchild approached and made inquiry, saying:—'By what name ought the child to be called?' She answered and said:—'Let him be called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto.'[1] Having said so, she took her departure straight across the sea. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto made a song, saying:—

Whatever befals me,
Ne'er shall I forget my love
With whom I slept
In the island of wild-ducks—
The birds of the offing."[2]

II. 45. Another account says:—"Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto took other women and made them wet-nurses, bathing-women, boiled-rice-chewers, and washerwomen.[3] All these various Be were provided for the respectful nurture of the infant. The provision at this time, by means of other women, of milk for the nurture of the august child was the origin of the present practice of engaging temporarily wet-nurses to bring up infants.

After this, when Toyo-tama-hime heard what a fine boy her child was, her heart was greatly moved with affection, and she wished to come back and bring him up herself. But she could not rightly do so, and therefore she sent her younger sister Tama-yori-hime to nurture him. Now when Toyo-tama-hime sent Tama-yori-hime, she offered (to Hoho-demi no Mikoto) the following verse in answer:—

Some may boast
Of the splendour
Of red jewels,

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[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] The order of the lines in the original is exactly the reverse of the above. Metre, regular tanka.

The word for "my love" is imo, which in ancient Japanese is used indifferently for wife and younger sister. See above, p. 22.

[3] Evidently the narrator is here describing the staff of the Imperial nursery of the day.

But those worn by my Lord—
It is they which are admirable.[1]

These two stanzas, one sent, and one in reply, are what are termed age-uta."[2]

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother, Ho no susori no Mikoto had a sea-gift, while the younger brother, Ho no ori no Mikoto, had a mountain gift, etc., etc.

The younger brother remained by the sea-shore grieving II. 46.
and making moan, when he met with Shiho-tsutsu no Oji, who inquired of him, saying:—'Why dost thou grieve in this way?' Ho no ori no Mikoto answered and said, etc., etc.

The old man said:—'Grieve no longer. I will devise a plan.' So he unfolded his plan, saying:—'The courser on which the Sea-God rides is a sea-monster eight fathoms in length, who with fins erect stays in the small orange-tree house. I will consult with him.' So he took Ho no ori no Mikoto with him, and went to see the sea-monster. The sea-monster then suggested a plan, saying:—'I could bring the Heavenly Grandchild to the Sea-Palace after a journey of eight days, but my King has a courser, a sea-monster of one fathom, who will without doubt bring him thither in one day. I will therefore return and make him come to thee. Thou shouldst mount him, and enter the sea. When thou enterest the sea, thou wilt in due course find there "the Little-shore of delight." Proceed along this shore and thou wilt surely arrive at the palace of my King. Over the well at the palace gate there is a multitudinous branching cassia-tree. Do thou climb up on to this tree and stay there.' Having so said, he entered into the sea, and departed. Accordingly the Heavenly Grandchild, in compliance with the sea-monster's words, remained there, and waited for eight days, when there did indeed appear to him a sea-monster of one fathom. He mounted on it, and entered the sea, where he followed in every particular the former sea-monster's advice. Now there appeared an attendant of Toyo-tama-hime, carrying a jewel-vessel, with

[1] The "Kojiki" gives a different version of this poem. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 128.
[2] Ageru means to exalt, hence to praise, and age-uta may be rendered "complimentary poetry."

which she was about to draw water from the well, when she espied in the bottom of the water the shadow of a man. She could not draw water, and looking up saw the Heavenly Grandchild. Thereupon she went in and informed the King, saying:—'I had thought that my Lord alone was supremely handsome, but now a stranger has appeared who far excels him in beauty.' When the Sea-God heard this, he said:—'I will try him and see.' So he prepared a threefold dais. Thereupon the Heavenly Grandchild wiped both his feet at the first step of the dais. At the middle one he placed both his hands to the ground; at the inner one he sat down at his ease[1] upon the cushion covering the true couch. When the Sea-God saw this, he knew that this was the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity, and treated
II. 47. him with more and more respect, etc., etc.

The Sea-God summoned the Akame and the Kuchime, and made inquiry of them. Then the Kuchime drew a fish-hook from her mouth and respectfully delivered it to him. [*The Akame is the Red Tahi and the Kuchime is the Nayoshi.*][2] The Sea-God then gave the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him, saying:—'When thy elder brother's fish-hook is returned to him, let the Heavenly Grandchild say:—"Let it be to all thy descendants, of whatever degree of relationship, a poor hook, a paltry poor hook." When thou hast thus spoken, spit thrice, and give it to him. Moreover, when thy elder brother goes to sea a-fishing, let the Heavenly Grandchild stand on the sea-shore and do that which raises the wind. Now that which raises the wind is whistling. If thou doest so, I will forthwith stir up the wind of the offing and the wind of the shore, and will overwhelm and vex him with the scurrying waves.' Ho no ori no Mikoto returned, and obeyed implicitly the instructions of the God. When a day came on which the elder brother went a-fishing, the younger brother stood on the shore of the sea, and whistled. Then there arose a sudden tempest, and the elder brother was forthwith overwhelmed and harassed. Seeing no means of

[1] i.e. with legs crossed, which is less respectful than the usual squatting posture.

[2] Mullet.

saving his life, he besought his younger brother from afar, saying:—'Thou hast dwelt long in the ocean-plain, and must possess some excellent art. I pray thee teach it to me. If thou save my life, my descendants of all degrees of relationship shall not leave the neighbourhood of thy precinct, but shall act as thy mime-vassals.' Thereupon the younger brother left off whistling, and the wind again returned to rest. So the elder brother recognized the younger brother's power, and freely admitted his fault. But the younger brother was wroth, and would hold no converse with him. Hereupon the elder brother, with nothing but his waistcloth on, and smearing the palms of his hands and his face with red earth, said to his younger brother:— II. 48.
'Thus do I defile my body, and make myself thy mime for ever.' So kicking up his feet, he danced along and practised the manner of his drowning struggles. First of all, when the tide reached his feet, he did the foot-divination;[1] when it reached his knees, he raised up his feet; when it reached his thighs, he ran round in a circle; when it reached his loins, he rubbed his loins; when it reached his sides, he placed his hands upon his breast; when it reached his neck, he threw up his hands, waving his palms. From that time until now, this custom has never ceased.

Before this, Toyo-tama-hime came forth, and when the time came for her delivery, she besought the Heavenly Grandchild, saying, etc., etc.

The Heavenly Grandchild did not comply with her request, and Toyo-tama-hime resented it greatly, saying:—'Thou didst not attend to my words, but didst put me to shame. Therefore from this time forward, do not send back again any of the female servants of thy handmaid who may go to thy place, and I will not send back any of thy servants who may come to my place.' At length she took the coverlet of the true couch and rushes, and wrapping her child in them, laid him on the beach. She then entered the sea and went away. This is the reason why there is no communication between land and sea." II. 49.

One version says:—"The statement that she placed the

[1] i e. shuffled with his feet, as when performing this kind of divination.

child on the beach is wrong. Toyo-tama-hime no Mikoto departed with the child in her own arms. Many days after, she said :—'It is not right that the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild should be left in the sea,' so she made Tama-yori-hime to take him, and sent him away. At first, when Toyo-tama-hime left, her resentment was extreme, and Ho no ori no Mikoto therefore knew that they would never meet again, so he sent her the verse of poetry which is already given above."

Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto took his aunt Tama-yori-hime as his consort, and had by her in all four male children, namely, Hiko-itsu-se[1] no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi[2] no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no[3] no Mikoto, and next Kamu-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Long after, Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto died, in the palace of the western country, and was buried in the Misasagi on the top of Mount Ahira in Hiuga.

One writing says :—" His first child was Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, the next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto, and the next Sano no Mikoto, also styled Kamu[4]-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Sano was the name by which he was called when young. Afterwards when he had cleared and subdued the realm, and had control of the
II. 50. eight islands, the title was added of Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" His first child was Itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Mikeno no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, and the next Ihare-biko no Mikoto, also styled Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsuse no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Kamu-yamato Ihare biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Waka-mi-ke-no no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, next Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Hiko Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto."

[1] Prince-five-reaches.
[2] Boiled rice.
[3] Three-hairs-enter-moor.
[4] Or Kami.

BOOK III.

THE EMPEROR KAMI-YAMATO IHARE-BIKO.[1]

(*JIMMU TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Kami Yamato Ihare-biko's personal name was

[1] Emperor is as near an equivalent as possible of the Chinese 天皇. Both are foreign words. The Japanese interlinear gloss is Sumera Mikoto "supreme majesty," sumera having the same root as suberu, "to unite as a whole"; hence, "to have general control of." See Satow, "Rituals," "T.A.S.J.," VII., ii., p. 113.

Yamato, see above, note to p. 13.

Ihare is the name of a district of Yamato; Hiko means prince.

Jimmu (divine valour) is a posthumous name. These names for the earlier Mikados were invented in the reign of Kwammu (782—806), after the "Nihongi" was written, but it is necessary to mention them, as they are in universal use by Japanese writers.

In this narrative we have probably a legendary echo of a real movement of population from Kiushiu eastwards to Yamato, at some time before the Christian epoch, but it is not safe to go further than this. The details are manifestly fictitious, some of them, as the quotations from Chinese books put into the mouth of Jimmu Tennō, demonstrably so.

Granting for a moment that the narrative of the Conquest of Yamato by Jimmu Tennō is substantially true, the question arises, Of what race were the tribes whom he found there? I would suggest that they may have been the Southern Wa mentioned in the "Shan hai king," a very ancient Chinese book, as being, along with the Northern Wa, subject to the kingdom of Yen. The Chinese in ancient times had a notion that Yamato lay to the south of Kiushiu. Yen, a kingdom of Northern China, had an independent existence from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 265.[1] Chamberlain has pointed out that the ancient legends of Japan are connected with three distinct centres—Idzumo, Yamato, and Tsukushi, which is some indication that these places were also centres of governmental authority. The names given to the chieftains subdued by Jimmu Tennō are unmistakably Japanese, as are also those of the places which they inhabited. I cannot agree with Chamberlain in deriving Yamato, Ki, Shima, etc., from Aino words, when obvious Japanese explanations are available. There is another Yamato in Chikugo, where the Aino derivation is surely out of place. I have no desire, however, to dispute all his Aino derivations of place names

Hiko-hoho-demi. He was the fourth child [1] of Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto. His mother's name was Tama-yori-hime, daughter of the Sea-God. From his birth, this Emperor was of clear intelligence and resolute will. At the
III. 2. age of fifteen he was made heir to the throne. When he grew up, he married Ahira-tsu-hime, of the district of Ata in the province of Hiuga, and made her his consort. By her he had Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto and Kisu-mimi no Mikoto.

When he reached the age of forty-five, he addressed his elder brothers and his children, saying:—"Of old, our Heavenly Deities Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto, pointing to this land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain, gave it to our Heavenly ancestor, Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. Thereupon Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, throwing open the barrier of Heaven and clearing a cloud-path, urged on his superhuman course until he came to rest. At this time the world was given over to widespread desolation. It was an age of darkness and disorder. In this gloom, therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border.[2] Our Imperial ancestors and Imperial parent, like gods, like sages, accumulated happiness and amassed glory. Many years elapsed. From the date when our Heavenly ancestor descended until now it is over
III. 3. 1,792,470 years.[3] But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practises mutual aggression and conflict.

Now I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea,[4] that in the East there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. Moreover, there is there one who flew down riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat. I think that this land will undoubtedly

in this part of Japan, and I think it very probable that the first Japanese who settled here drove out a population of Aino race.

[1] Primogeniture was evidently not recognized in Japan at the time this story was written.

[2] i.e. Kiushiu.

[3] This is in imitation of the great number of years ascribed to the reigns of the early Chinese monarchs.

[4] Shiho tsutsu no oji.

be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task,[1] so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the centre of the world.[2] The person who flew down was, I believe, Nigi-haya-hi.[3] Why should we not proceed thither, and make it the capital?"

All the Imperial Princes answered, and said:—"The truth of this is manifest. This thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly." This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Great Year.[4] III. 4. B.C. 667.

In that year, in winter, on the Kanoto Tori day (the 5th) of the 10th month, the new moon of which was on the day Hinoto Mi, the Emperor in person led the Imperial Princes and a naval force on an expedition against the East. When he arrived at the Haya-suhi gate,[6] there was there a fisherman who came riding in a boat. The Emperor summoned him, and then inquired of him, saying:—"Who art thou?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant is a Country-God, and his name is Utsu-hiko.[7] I angle for fish in the bays of ocean. Hearing that the son of the Heavenly Deity was coming, therefore I forthwith came to receive him." Again he inquired of him, saying:—"Canst thou act as my guide?" He answered and said:—"I will do so." The Emperor ordered the end of a pole of shihi wood[8] to be given to the fisher, and caused him to be taken and pulled into the Imperial vessel, of which he was made pilot.

[1] i.e. for the further development of the Imperial power.

[2] The world is here the six quarters, N., S., E., W., Zenith, Nadir. This is, of course, Chinese, as indeed is this whole speech.

[3] Nigi-haya-hi means soft-swift-sun.

[4] The great year is the Chinese cycle of sixty years. This system of reckoning time is described in Legge's "Classics," Chalmers' "Essay in prolegomena to Shooking," "Japanese Chronological Tables," by E.M.S., Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," Mayers' "Chinese Manual," etc. It was not in use to record years before the Christian era even in China, and could hardly have been known in Japan before the introduction of writing in the 5th century, A.D. It is needless to add that such dates are, in this part of the "Nihongi," purely fictitious.

[5] The days of the month are throughout the "Nihongi" given in this clumsy fashion. I have not thought it necessary to follow the example, except in this one instance.

[6] The Quick-suck-gate or Bungo Channel, so called from its rapid tides.

[7] Rare-prince. [8] Quercus cuspidata.

A name was specially granted him, and he was called Shihi-ne-
III. 5. tsu-hiko.[1] He was the first ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe.

Proceeding on their voyage, they arrived at Usa[2] in the Land of Tsukushi. At this time there appeared the ancestors of the Kuni-tsu-ko[3] of Usa, named Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime. They built a palace raised on one pillar[4] on the banks of the River Usa, and offered them a banquet. Then, by Imperial command, Usa-tsu-hime was given in marriage to the Emperor's attendant minister Ama no tane[5] no Mikoto. Now Ama no tane no Mikoto was the remote ancestor of the Nakatomi Uji.[6]

11th month, 9th day. The Emperor arrived at the harbour of Oka[7] in the Land of Tsukushi.

III. 6. 12th month, 27th day. He arrived at the province of Aki, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ye.

B.C. 666. The year Kinoto U, Spring, 3rd month, 6th day. Going onwards, he entered the land of Kibi,[8] and built a temporary palace, in which he dwelt. It was called the Palace of Takashima. Three years passed, during which time he set in order the helms[9] of his ships, and prepared a store of provisions. It was his desire by a single effort to subdue the Empire.

B.C. 663. The year Tsuchinoye Muma, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Imperial forces at length proceeded eastwards, the prow of one ship touching the stern of another. Just when they reached Cape Naniha they encountered a current of great swiftness. Whereupon that place was called Nami-haya (wave-swift) or

[1] Prince of shihi root.

[2] Usa is now a district (kōri) in the province of Buzen. Tsukushi is used by old writers both for the whole island of Kiushiu and for the northern part of it.

[3] Or Kuni no miyakko, local hereditary nobles.

[4] Vide Ch. K., p. 130, and "Night of the Gods," p. 224, where a curious coincidence with an Irish legend is noted. "In Mailduin's voyage he came to an island called Aenchoss, that is One-foot, so called because it was supported by a single pillar in the middle." The "Kojiki" and a note to the "Nihongi" have for one pillar, "one foot." Possibly there is here a reminiscence of a nomadic tent life.

[5] Heavenly seed.

[6] i.e. house, or noble family.

[7] In Chikuzen.

[8] Including the present provinces of Bizen, Bittchiu, and Bingo.

[9] Or oars.

Nami-hana (wave-flower). It is now called Naniha,[1] which is a corruption of this.

3rd month, 10th day. Proceeding upwards against the stream, they went straight on, and arrived at the port of Awokumo no Shira-date, in the township of Kusaka, in the province of Kafuchi.[2] III. 7.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Imperial forces in martial array marched on to Tatsuta. The road was narrow and precipitous, and the men were unable to march abreast, so they returned and again endeavoured to go eastward, crossing over Mount Ikoma. In this way they entered the inner country.[3]

Now when Naga-sune-hiko[4] heard this, he said:—"The object of the children of the Heavenly Deity in coming hither is assuredly to rob me of my country." So he straightway levied all the forces under his dominion, and intercepted them at the Hill of Kusaka. A battle was engaged, and Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by a random arrow on the elbow. The Imperial forces were unable to advance against the enemy. The Emperor was vexed, and revolved in his inmost heart a divine plan, saying:—"I am the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, and if I proceed against the Sun to attack the enemy, I shall act contrary to the way of Heaven. Better to retreat and make a show of weakness. Then sacrificing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and bringing on our backs the might of the Sun-Goddess, let us III. 8. follow her rays and trample them down. If we do so, the enemy will assuredly be routed of themselves, and we shall not stain our swords with blood." They all said:—"It is good." Thereupon he gave orders to the army, saying:—"Wait a while, and advance no further." So he withdrew his forces, and the enemy also did not dare to attack him. He then retired to the port of Kusaka, where he set up shields, and made a warlike show. Therefore the name of this port was changed to Tatetsu,[5] which is now corrupted into Tadetsu.

Before this, at the battle of Kusaka, there was a man who

[1] Naniha is now a poetical name for Ohosaka. The current referred to is no doubt the tide on the bar at the river-mouth, a most dangerous place for small craft in bad weather.

[2] Pronounced Kawachi. [3] Yamato.

[4] Prince Longshanks. Naga-sune is the name of a place.

[5] Shield-port or shield-ferry.

hid in a great tree, and by so doing escaped danger. So pointing to this tree, he said :—" I am grateful to it, as to my mother." Therefore the people of the day called that place Omo no ki no Mura.[1]

5th month, 8th day. The army arrived at the port of Yamaki in Chinu [*also called Port Yama no wi*]. Now Itsuse no Mikoto's arrow wound was extremely painful. He grasped his sword, and striking a martial attitude, said :—" How exasperating it is that a *man* should die of a wound received at the hands of slaves, and should not revenge it !" The people of that
III. 9. day therefore called the place Wo no minato.[2]

Proceeding onwards, they reached Mount Kama in the Land of Kiï, where Itsuse no Mikoto died in the army, and was therefore buried at Mount Kama.

6th month, 23rd day. The army arrived at the village of Nagusa, where they put to death the Tohe[3] of Nagusa. Finally they crossed the moor of Sano, and arrived at the village of Kami[4] in Kumano. Here he embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and leading his army, proceeded onwards by slow degrees. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind, and the Imperial vessel was tossed about. Then Ina-ihi no Mikoto exclaimed and said :—" Alas ! my ancestors were Heavenly Deities, and my mother was a Goddess of the Sea. Why do they harass me by land, and why moreover do they harass me by sea ?" When he had said this, he drew his sword and plunged into the sea, where he became changed into the God Sabi-mochi.[5]

III. 10. Mike Irino no Mikoto, also indignant at this, said :—" My mother and my aunt are both Sea-Goddesses : why do they raise great billows to overwhelm us ?" So treading upon the waves, he went to the Eternal Land.[6] The Emperor was now alone with the Imperial Prince Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. Leading his army forward, he arrived at Port Arazaka in Kumano [*also called Nishiki Bay*], where he put to death the Tohe of Nishiki. At this time the Gods belched up

[1] Mother-tree-village. [2] Port Man (vir).
[3] Tohe seems to have been a word for chieftain.
[4] Or it may be of the Deity of Kumano.
[5] i.e. the blade-holder. [6] Toko-yo no Kuni.

a poisonous vapour, from which everyone suffered. For this reason the Imperial army was again unable to exert itself. Then there was there a man by name Kumano no Takakuraji, who unexpectedly had a dream, in which Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami,[1] saying:—"I still hear a sound of disturbance from the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Do thou again go and chastise it." Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami answered and said:—"Even if I go not, I can send down my sword, with which I subdued the land, upon which the country will of its own accord become peaceful." To this Ama-terasu no Kami assented. Thereupon Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami addressed Takakuraji, saying:—"My sword, which is called Futsu no Mitama, I will now place in thy storehouse. Do thou take it and present it to the Heavenly Grandchild." III. 11. Takakuraji said "Yes," and thereupon awoke. The next morning, as instructed in his dream, he opened the storehouse, and on looking in, there was indeed there a sword which had fallen down (from Heaven), and was standing upside down[2] on the plank floor of the storehouse. So he took it and offered it to the Emperor. At this time the Emperor happened to be asleep. He awoke suddenly, and said:—"What a long time I have slept!" On inquiry he found that the troops who had been affected by the poison had all recovered their senses and were afoot. The Emperor then endeavoured to advance into the interior, but among the mountains it was so precipitous that there was no road by which they could travel, and they wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed the Emperor in a dream of the night, saying:—"I will now send thee the Yata-garasu,[3] make it thy guide through the land." Then there did

[1] The Thunder-God. [2] i.e. point upwards.

[3] Yata-garasu. The Chinese characters used here mean "The crow with a head eight feet long." But this is a case where we must put aside the Chinese characters, and attend solely to the Japanese word which they are meant to represent. This is undoubtedly yata-garasu, as we know from the "Kojiki" and from the traditional Kana rendering. Much has been written about this bird by Motowori and other Shintō scholars, which is, I venture to think, wholly wide of the mark. The clue to its meaning is afforded by the "Wamiō-shō," a Chinese-Japanese vocabulary of the tenth century, which says, on the authority of the "Shiki," still more ancient commentaries on the "Nihongi,"

indeed appear the Yata-garasu flying down from the Void. The Emperor said:—"The coming of this crow is in due accordance with my auspicious dream. How grand! How splendid! My Imperial ancestor, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, desires therewith to assist me in creating the hereditary institution."[1]

At this time Hi no Omi[2] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Oho-
III. 12. tomo[3] House, taking with him Oho-kume[4] as commander of the main body, guided by the direction taken by the crow, looked up to it and followed after, until at length they arrived at the district of Lower Uda. Therefore they named the place which they reached the village of Ukechi[5] in Uda.

that the Yang-wu or Sun-crow is in Japanese yata-garasu. The Yang-wu is a bird with three claws, and of a red colour, which, according to Chinese myth, inhabits the sun. If we accept this identification, the meaning of the epithet yata becomes clear. It means eight hands, or, as ya in ancient Japanese meant also many or several, many hands, a sufficiently accurate description for popular myth of the Yang-wu with its three claws. The late M. Terrien de La-Couperie, in his "Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilization," says that "the first allusion to the three-legged crow supposed to roost in the sun occurs in the "Li Sao" of Kiü-yuen, the poet of Ts'u, 314 B.C. in China. A three-legged bird in various forms was figured on coins of Pamphylia and Lycia of older times. Comte Goblet d'Alviella has reproduced some of them in his interesting work on "La Migration des Symboles," 1891, p. 222. See a paper on the Hi no maru in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII., p. 27, and Ch. K., p. 136. The guidance of conquerors or colonists to their destination by a supernatural bird or beast is a familiar feature of old-world story. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," II, 71.

Sun-crow.

[1] The sovereignty. [2] Hi means sun; Omi, minister.

[3] Oho-tomo means "great companion." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards.

[4] Oho-kume, as Chamberlain points out, probably means simply a great force. But when the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" were written, this meaning was forgotten, and it was supposed to be a man's name.

[5] Ugatsu means to pierce, and the name was given because they penetrated the mountains to this place. All these derivations are very fanciful.

At this time, by an Imperial order, he commended Hi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art faithful and brave, and art moreover a successful guide. Therefore will I give thee a new name, and will call thee Michi no Omi."[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor sent to summon Ukeshi the Elder and Ukeshi the Younger. These two were chiefs of the district of Uda. Now Ukeshi the Elder did not come. But Ukeshi the Younger came, and making obeisance at the gate of the camp, declared as follows:—"Thy servant's elder brother, Ukeshi the Elder, shows signs of resistance. Hearing that the descendant of Heaven was about to arrive, he forthwith raised an army with which to make an attack. But having seen from afar the might of the Imperial army, he was afraid, and did not dare to oppose it. Therefore he has secretly placed his troops in ambush, and has built for the occasion a new palace, in the hall of which he has prepared engines. It is his intention to invite the Emperor to a banquet there, and then to do him a mischief. I pray that his treachery be noted, and that good care be taken III. 13.
to make preparation against it." The Emperor straightway sent Michi no Omi no Mikoto to observe the signs of his opposition. Michi no Omi no Mikoto clearly ascertained his hostile intentions, and being greatly enraged, shouted at him in a blustering manner:—"Wretch! thou shalt thyself dwell in the house which thou hast made." So grasping his sword, and drawing his bow, he urged him and drove him within it. Ukeshi the Elder being guilty before Heaven, and the matter not admitting of excuse, of his own accord trod upon the engine and was crushed to death. His body was then brought out and decapitated, and the blood which flowed from it reached above the ankle. Therefore that place was called Uda no Chi-hara.[2] After this Ukeshi the Younger prepared a great feast of beef and sake,[3] with which he entertained the

[1] The Minister of the Road. [2] The bloody plain of Uda.

[3] We might be inclined to infer from this (what was probably the case) that the Ancient Japanese lived more on animal food than their descendants in modern times. But there is much room for suspicion that this statement s nothing more than a reminiscence of a passage in a history of the Later Han dynasty of China, which speaks of beef and sake being presented to the Emperor Kwang Wu Ti, who came to the throne A.D. 25.

Imperial army. The Emperor distributed this flesh and sake to the common soldiers, upon which they sang the following verses :—

In the high { castle / tree } of Uda
I set a snare for woodcock,
And waited,
But no woodcock came to it ;
III. 14. A valiant whale came to it.[1]
* * * *
* * * *

This is called a Kume[2] song. At the present time, when the Department of Music performs this song, there is still the[3] measurement of great and small by the hand, as well as a distinction of coarse and fine in the notes of the voice. This is by a rule handed down from antiquity.

After this the Emperor wished to inspect the Land of Yoshino, so taking personal command of the light troops, he
III. 15. made a progress round by way of Ukechi mura in Uda.

When he came to Yoshino, there was a man who came out of a well. He shone, and had a tail. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is a local Deity, and his name is Wi-hikari."[4] He it is who was the first ancestor of the Yoshino no Obito. Proceeding a little further, there was another man with a tail, who burst open a rock and came forth from it. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is the child of Iha-oshi-

[1] Ki in the first line of this poem means probably both tree and castle. The words are put into the mouth of Ukeshi the Elder, who found a whale (the Emperor) in his springe instead of the harmless woodcock he expected. The wild boar is now called the yama-kujira or mountain-whale, and is perhaps the animal intended here.

I confess that I can make no satisfactory sense of the remainder of this poem. The version given by Chamberlain (Ch. K., p. 140), following Moribe, is as good as any, but it seems to me very conjectural. It should be noted, however, that this part of the poem contains an indication of the polygamous customs of the Japanese at this time in the use of two words signifying respectively elder wife (konami) and younger wife (uhanari). The " Nihongi " omits the interjectional refrain given in the " Kojiki."

[2] Kume means no doubt " soldier " in this passage.

[3] Beating time is perhaps meant. [4] Well-brightness.

wake."[1] It is he who was the first ancestor of the Kuzu[2] of Yoshino.

Then skirting the river, he proceeded westward, when there appeared another man, who had made a fish trap and was catching fish. On the Emperor making inquiry of him, he answered and said :—"Thy servant is the son of Nihe-motsu."[3] He it is who was the first ancestor of the U-kahi of Ata.[4]

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor ascended to the peak of Mount Takakura in Uda, whence he had a prospect over all III. 16.
the land. On Kuni-mi[5] Hill there were descried eighty bandits. Moreover at the acclivity of Me-zaka[6] there was posted an army of women, and at the acclivity of Wo-zaka[7] there was stationed a force of men. At the acclivity of Sumi-zaka[8] was placed burning charcoal. This was the origin of the names Me-zaka, Wo-zaka and Sumi-zaka.

Again there was the army of Ye-shiki,[9] which covered all the village of Ihare. All the places occupied by the enemy[10] were strong positions, and therefore the roads were cut off and obstructed, so that there was no room for passage. The Emperor, indignant at this, made prayer on that night in person, and then fell asleep. The Heavenly Deity appeared to him in a dream, and instructed him, saying :—"Take earth from within the shrine[11] of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and of it make eighty Heavenly platters. Also make sacred jars[12] and III. 17.
therewith sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover pronounce a solemn imprecation. If thou doest so, the

[1] Rock-push-divide.

[2] Kuzu were local chiefs. They are mentioned again in Ōjin's reign.

[3] Food-holder or purveyor.

[4] U-kahi means cormorant-keepers. Fishing with cormorants is still practised in Japan.

[5] Land-view. [6] Women's acclivity.

[7] Men's acclivity. The terms Me-zaka and Wo-zaka are now applied to two roads or stairs leading up to the same place, one of which (the women's) is less precipitous than the other.

[8] Sumi-zaka means charcoal acclivity.

[9] Shiki the Elder. [10] Lit. Robber-slaves or prisoners.

[11] A shrine, like a templum, might be merely a consecrated plot of ground. Kagu-yama is a mountain in Yamato.

[12] Idzube. The platters were for rice, the jars for sake. See Satow's "Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," VII., ii., p. 109.

enemy will render submission of their own accord." The Emperor received with reverence the directions given in his dream, and proceeded to carry them into execution.

Now Ukeshi the Younger again addressed the Emperor, saying:—"There are in the province of Yamato, in the village of Shiki, eighty Shiki bandits. Moreover, in the village of Taka-wohari [*some say Katsuraki*] there are eighty Akagane[1] bandits. All these tribes intend to give battle to the Emperor, and thy servant is anxious in his own mind on his account. It were now good to take clay from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and therewith to make Heavenly platters with which to sacrifice to the Gods of the Heavenly shrines and of the Earthly shrines. If after doing so, thou dost attack the enemy, they may be easily driven off." The Emperor, who had already taken the words of his dream for a good omen, when he now heard the words of Ukeshi the Younger, was still more pleased in his heart. He caused Shihi-netsu-hiko[2] to put on ragged garments and a grass hat, and to disguise himself as an old man. He also caused Ukeshi the Younger to cover himself with a winnowing tray, so as to assume the appearance of an old woman, and then addressed them, saying:—"Do ye two proceed to the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and secretly take earth from its summit. Having done so, return hither. By means of you I shall then divine whether my undertaking will be successful or not. Do your utmost and be watchful."

III. 18. Now the enemy's army filled the road, and made all passage impossible. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko prayed, and said:—"If it will be possible for our Emperor to conquer this land, let the road by which we must travel become open. But if not, let the brigands surely oppose our passage." Having thus spoken they set forth, and went straight onwards. Now the hostile band, seeing the two men, laughed loudly, and said:—"What an uncouth old man and old woman!" So with one accord they left the road, and allowed the two men to pass and proceed to the mountain, where they took the clay and returned with it. Hereupon the Emperor was greatly pleased, and with this

[1] Akagane means red metal, i.e. copper, but the text is doubtful. The "Kiujiki" has a different reading.

[2] See above, p. 111.

clay he made eighty platters, eighty Heavenly small jars and sacred jars,[1] with which he went up to the upper waters of the River Nifu and sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and of Earth. Immediately, on the Asa-hara plain by the river of Uda, it became as it were like foam on the water, the result of the curse cleaving to them.[2]

Moreover the Emperor went on to utter a vow, saying:—"I will now make ame[3] in the eighty platters without using water. If the ame is formed, then shall I assuredly without effort and without recourse to the might of arms reduce the Empire to peace." So he made ame, which forthwith became formed of itself.[4]

Again he made a vow, saying:—"I will now take the sacred jars and sink them in the River Nifu. If the fishes, whether great or small, become every one drunken and are carried down the stream, like as it were to floating maki[5] leaves, then shall I assuredly succeed in establishing this land. But if this be not so, there will never be any result." Thereupon he sank III. 19.
the jars in the river with their mouths downward. After a while the fish all came to the surface, gaping and gasping as they floated down the stream. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko, seeing this, represented it to the Emperor, who was greatly rejoiced, and plucking up a five-hundred-branched masakaki tree of the

[1] The reader who wishes to realize what the ancient pottery of Japan was like should visit the British Museum and inspect the Gowland collection. There is also a collection in the Uyeno Museum in Tokio. Ninagawa Noritane's work entitled "Kwan-ko-dzu-setsu" gives very good drawings of ancient pottery. The common Japanese name for this ware is Giōgi-yaki, Giōgi being the name of a Buddhist priest who lived 670-749, and who is credited with the invention of the potter's wheel. But the wheel was certainly known in Japan long before his time. This very passage contains an evidence of this fact. Both the Chinese characters and the Japanese word ta-kujiri given in the ancient commentary for the small jars here mentioned mean "hand-made," leading to the conclusion that this was exceptional. Indeed, nearly all the pottery of the Nihongi period which has come down to us is wheel-made.

[2] Foam on water is a favourite emblem of the transitoriness of human life.

[3] Ame (sweetness) is usually made of millet, malted, and is nearly identical in composition with what our chemists call "malt extract." It is a favourite sweetmeat in the far East.

[4] Cf. Judges vi. 36.

[5] Podocarpus macrophylla.

upper waters of the River Nifu, he did worship therewith to all the Gods. It was with this that the custom began of setting sacred jars.[1]

At this time he commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"We are now in person[2] about to celebrate a public[3] festival to Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and I appoint thee Ruler of the festival, and grant thee the title of Idzu-hime.[4] The earthen jars which are set up shall be called the Idzube or sacred jars, the fire shall be called Idzu no Kagu-tsuchi or sacred-fire-elder, the water shall be called Idzu no Midzu-ha no me or sacred-water-female, the food shall be called Idzu-uka no me or sacred-food-female, the firewood shall be called Idzu no Yama-tsuchi or sacred-mountain-elder, and the grass shall be called Idzu no No-tsuchi or sacred-moor-elder."

III. 20. Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor tasted[5] the food of the Idzube, and arraying his troops set forth upon his march. He first of all attacked the eighty bandits at Mount Kunimi, routed and slew them. It was in this campaign that the Emperor, fully resolved on victory, made these verses, saying:—

Like the Shitadami
Which creep around
The great rock
Of the Sea of Ise
Where blows the divine wind —
Like the Shitadami,
My boys! my boys!
We will creep around,
And smite them utterly,
And smite them utterly.[6]

---

[1] A note says that they were set up in the courtyard.

[2] The Mikado deputed most of his priestly functions to the Nakatomi.

[3] The ancient commentary gives the Japanese word utsushi, i.e. manifest, visible. This suggests that there was a distinction between esoteric and exoteric in the Shintō rites of this time.

[4] Idzu-hime means dread or sacred princess. The "Tsūshō" commentator says that the persons entrusted with this function were usually women, as may be seen in the case of the priestesses of Ise, Kamo, and Kasuga. But as no women were available at this time, Michi-no-Omi was given a feminine title for the occasion.

[5] The interlinear Kana has tatematsuri, i.e. offered. The reference is to the feast of Nihiname described above. See p. 86.

[6] The shitadami is a small shell of the turbinidæ class. Its introduction

In this poem, by the great rock is intended the Hill of Kunimi.

After this the band which remained was still numerous, and their disposition could not be fathomed. So the Emperor privately commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Do thou take with thee the Oho-kume, and make a great muro at the village of Osaka.[1] Prepare a copious banquet, invite the enemy to it, and then capture them." Michi no Omi no Mikoto thereupon, in obedience to the Emperor's secret behest, dug a muro at Osaka, and having selected his bravest soldiers, stayed therein mingled with the enemy. He secretly arranged with them, saying:—"When they have got tipsy with sake, I will strike up a song. Do you, when you hear the sound of my song, all at the same time stab the enemy." Having III. 21.
made this arrangement they took their seats, and the drinking-bout proceeded. The enemy, unaware that there was any plot, abandoned themselves to their feelings, and promptly became intoxicated. Then Michi no Omi no Mikoto struck up the following song:—

At Osaka
In the great muro-house,
Though men in plenty
Enter and stay,
We the glorious
Sons of warriors,
Wielding our mallet-heads,
Wielding our stone-mallets,
Will smite them utterly.[2]

Now when our troops heard this song, they all drew at the

here does not seem very appropriate. Perhaps the meaning is "in number like the turbinidæ." Cf. Ch. K., p. 143. The "Shukai" editor thinks that the shitadami represent the bandits. The great rock is, perhaps, the Miyôto-seki at Futami, so often represented in Japanese pictures. See Anderson's Catalogue, p. 320, or Satow and Hawes' Handbook, p. 150.

[1] In Yamato. To be distinguished from the city of Ohosaka.

[2] The muro-ya is a pit-dwelling (see above, p. 71). The poem speaks of mallet-heads, but the text which follows of mallet-headed swords. I have little doubt that the former is the true phrase, and that stone weapons are referred to. The stone-mallets are unmistakably the weapons figured above (p. 87). The mallet-heads and stone-mallets are perhaps the same thing under different names.

same time their mallet-headed swords, and simultanously slew the enemy, so that there were no eaters left.[1] The Imperial army were greatly delighted; they looked up to Heaven and laughed. Therefore he made a song, saying :—

Though folk say
That one Yemishi
Is a match for one hundred men,
They do not so much as resist.[2]

The practice according to which at the present time the Kume sing this and then laugh loud, had this origin.

Again he sang, saying :—

Ho ! now is the time ;
Ho ! now is the time ;
Ha ! Ha ! Psha !
Even now
My boys !
Even now
My boys ![3]

All these songs were sung in accordance with the secret behest of the Emperor. He had not presumed to compose
III. 22. them of his own motion.

Then the Emperor said :—" It is the part of a good general when victorious to avoid arrogance. The chief brigands have now been destroyed, but there are ten bands of villains of a similar stamp, who are disputatious. Their disposition cannot

[1] That is, none were left alive.

The Yemishi are the Ainos, or more correctly Ainus, of whom a remnant of some ten thousand souls now inhabit the island of Yezo. When the " Nihongi " was written they still occupied a large part of the main island of Japan, and in earlier times, as we gather from the evidence of place-names (See Chamberlain's Essay published by the Imperial University), they extended west even of Yamato. But it would not be safe to draw any conclusion from their mention in this poem. The writer of the " Nihongi " is in the habit of fitting ancient poetry into his narrative in a very arbitrary manner. The " Kojiki " omits it. Yemishi or Yebisu is also applied to barbarous tribes generally, and this is probably its primary meaning. It ought, perhaps, to be added to the group of onomatopoetic words ending in *su* or *shi*, mentioned at p. 65, the *b* or *m* having the same function as these letters in the words barbarian, babble, murmur, etc. See Index—Yemishi.

[3] Nothing could well be more primitive than this. The metre is irregular, and, like all Japanese poetry, there is no rhyme, quantity or regular recurrence of accent to distinguish it from prose.

be ascertained. Why should we remain for a long time in one place? By so doing we could not have control over emergencies." So he removed his camp to another place.

11th month, 7th day. The Imperial army proceeded in great force to attack the Hiko[1] of Shiki. First of all the Emperor sent a messenger to summon Shiki the Elder, but he refused to obey. Again the Yata-garasu was sent to bring him. When the crow reached his camp it cried to him, saying:—"The child of the Heavenly Deity sends for thee. Haste! haste!" Shiki the Elder was enraged at this, and said:—"Just when I heard that the conquering Deity of Heaven was coming and was indignant at this, why shouldst thou, a bird of the crow tribe, utter such an abominable cry?" So he drew his bow and aimed at it. The crow forthwith fled away, and next proceeded to the house of Shiki the Younger, where it cried, saying:—"The child of the Heavenly Deity summons thee. Haste! haste!" Then Shiki the Younger was afraid, and, changing countenance, said:—"Thy servant, hearing of the approach of the conquering Deity of Heaven, is full of dread morning and evening. Well hast thou cried to me, O crow." He straightway made eight leaf-platters,[2] on which he disposed food, and entertained the crow. Accordingly, in obedience to the crow, he proceeded to the Emperor and informed him, saying:—"My elder brother, Shiki the Elder, hearing of the approach of the child of the Heavenly Deity, forthwith assembled eighty bandits III. 23.
and provided arms, with which he is about to do battle with thee. It will be well to take measures against him without delay." The Emperor accordingly assembled his generals and inquired of them, saying:—"It appears that Shiki the Elder has now rebellious intentions. I summoned him, but again he will not come. What is to be done?" The generals said:—"Shiki the Elder is a crafty knave. It will be well, first of all, to send Shiki the Younger to make matters clear to him, and at the same time to make explanations to Kuraji the Elder and Kuraji the Younger. If after that they still refuse submission, it will not be too late to take warlike measures against them." Shiki the Younger was accordingly sent to explain to them

[1] Princes.

[2] Or trays, made of the leaves of Kashiha, a kind of evergreen oak.

their interests. But Shiki the Elder and the others adhered to their foolish design, and would not consent to submit. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko advised as follows:—"Let us first send out our feebler troops by the Osaka road. When the enemy sees them he will assuredly proceed thither with all his best troops. We should then straightway urge forward our robust troops, and make straight for Sumi-zaka.[1] Then with the water of the River Uda we should sprinkle the burning charcoal, and suddenly take them unawares, when they cannot fail to be routed." The Emperor approved this plan, and sent out the feebler troops towards the enemy, who, thinking that a powerful force was approaching, awaited them with all their power. Now up to this time, whenever the Imperial army attacked, they invariably captured, and when they fought they were invariably victorious, so that the fighting men were all wearied
III. 24. out. Therefore the Emperor, to comfort the hearts of his leaders and men, struck off this verse:—

As we fight,
Going forth and watching
From between the trees
Of Mount Inasa,
We are famished.
Ye keepers of cormorants
(Birds of the island),
Come now to our aid.[2]

In the end he crossed Sumi-zaka with the stronger troops, and, going round by the rear, attacked them from two sides and put them to the rout, killing their chieftains Shiki the Elder and the others.

12th month, 4th day. The Imperial army at length attacked Naga-sune-hiko and fought with him repeatedly, but was unable to gain the victory. Then suddenly the sky became overcast, and hail fell. There appeared a wondrous kite of a golden colour which came flying and perched on the end of the Emperor's bow. The lustre of this kite was of dazzling

[1] The charcoal acclivity.

[2] The metre is nearly regular naga-uta, which consists of alternate lines of five and seven syllables, with an additional line of seven syllables at the end. The cormorant-keepers were appealed to to supply fish for the army's food.

brightness, so that its appearance was like that of lightning. In consequence of this all Naga-sune-hiko's soldiers were dazzled and bewildered so that they could not fight stoutly. III. 25.

Nagasune was the original name of the village, whence it became the name of a man. But in consequence of the Imperial army obtaining the favourable omen of the Kite, the men of that time called it Tobi no mura.[1] It is now called Tomi, which is a corruption of this.

Ever since Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by an arrow at the battle of Kusaka and died, the Emperor bore this in mind, and constantly cherished resentment for it. On this campaign it was his desire to put all to death, and therefore he composed these verses, saying :—

My mouth tingles
With the ginger planted
At the bottom of the hedge
By the glorious
Sons of warriors—
I cannot forget it ;
Let us smite them utterly.

Again he sang, saying :—

In the millet-field
Is one stem of odorous garlic :—
The glorious
Sons of warriors
Binding its stem
And binding its shoots
Will smite it utterly.

Then again letting loose his army, he suddenly attacked him. In general, all these songs composed by the Emperor are termed *kume uta*, in allusion to the persons who took and sang them.

Now Naga-sune-hiko sent a foot-messenger, who addressed the Emperor, saying :—" There was formerly a child of the

[1] Kite-village.

[2] "As the taste of ginger remains in the mouth for a long time after it is eaten, so do my feelings of resentment for my brother's death remain present to my mind. I cannot forget it, so let us revenge it by destroying the enemy utterly."

The word for shoots is me, which also means females. This is no doubt intentional. Naga-sune-hiko is to be destroyed with all his family.

Heavenly Deity, who came down from Heaven to dwell here, riding in a Rock-boat of Heaven. His name was Kushi-dama Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto. He took to wife my younger sister
III. 26 Mi-kashiki-ya-bime[1] [*also called Naga-sune-hime, or Tomi-ya-hime*][2] of whom he at length had a child, named Umashi-ma-te[3] no Mikoto. Therefore did I take Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto for my Lord, and did service to him. Can it be that there are two seeds of the children of the Heavenly Deity? Why should any one else take the name of Child of the Heavenly Deity and therewith rob people of their dominions? I have pondered this in my heart, but have as yet failed utterly to believe it." The Emperor said:—"There are many other children of the Heavenly Deity. If he whom thou has taken as thy Lord were truly a child of the Heavenly Deity, there would be surely some object which thou couldst show to us by way of proof." Naga-sune-hiko accordingly brought a single Heavenly-feathered-arrow of Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, and a foot-quiver,[4] and exhibited them respectfully to the Emperor. The Emperor examined them, and said:—"These are genuine." Then in his turn he showed to Naga-sune-hiko the single Heavenly-feathered-arrow and quiver which he wore. When Naga-sune-hiko saw the Heavenly token he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he was unable to pause in his career. Therefore he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose.

Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Deity had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly Grandchild, and that in view of the perverse disposition of Naga-sune it would be useless to instruct him
III. 27. in the relation of Heaven to Man,[5] put him to death. He then came with his army and made submission. The Emperor, who from the first had heard that Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto had come down from Heaven, finding that he now had actually performed faithful service, accordingly praised him, and was gracious to him. He was the ancestor of the Mono no Be House.[6]

[1] Three-cook-house-princess. [2] Wealth-house. [3] Sweet-true-hand.

[4] A foot-soldier's quiver is meant. [5] i.e. of Lord and Vassal.

[6] The Mononobe were soldiers. Here, however, the hereditary chiefs only are meant, the Mononobe no Muraji.

The year Tsuchi no to Hitsuji, Spring, 2nd month, 20th day. The Emperor commanded his generals to exercise the troops. At this time there were Tsuchi-gumo [1] in three places, viz.:—The Tohe [2] of Nihiki at Tada no Oka-zaki [3] in the district of Sofu, the Kose Hofuri at Wani no Saka-moto,[4] and the Wi-Hofuri [5] at Hosomi no Nagara no Oka-zaki. All of these, B.C. 662.

[1] The Tsuchi-gumo are mentioned in four or five passages of the "Nihongi" and one passage of the "Kojiki," all of which belong to the highly legendary period of Japanese history. We gather from them that the Tsuchi-gumo were usually, though not invariably, outlaws who defied the Imperial authority. They had Japanese names, and inhabited such long-settled parts of Japan as Yamato, Harima, and even Kiushiu. There is nothing, if we put aside the mention of Yemishi at p. 124, to suggest that they were not of Japanese race. The "short bodies," etc., of the "Nihongi" description I take to be nothing more than a product of the popular imagination working on the hint contained in the name Tsuchi-gumo, which is literally "earth spider." Some etymologists prefer the derivation which connects *kumo* (or *gumo*) with *komori*, to hide, thus making tsuchi-gumo the "earth-hiders." But this is probably a distinction without a difference, these two words containing the same root, and the animal which we call the spider, i.e. spinner, being in Japan termed the "hider," an epithet of which no one who has observed its habits will dispute the appropriateness. An ancient Japanese book says Tsuchi-gumo is a mere nickname, to be compared therefore with our clod-hopper or bog-trotter.

In one of the passages above referred to, the Tsuchi-gumo are described as inhabiting a rock-cave, but in others they are said to live in muro or pit-dwellings, and this is obviously the origin of the name.

There are several notices of Tsuchi-gumo in the ancient "Fudoki," or "County Histories," but they are probably mere echoes of the older legends related in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki," and in any case they add nothing of importance to our information about them. It may be noted, however, that Hiuga and Higo are mentioned in them as habitats of bands of these outlaws.

An amusing expansion by a modern writer of the spider conception of the Tsuchi-gumo will be found at p. 140 of Anderson's B.M. Catalogue. See also Ch. K., p. 141, and Index.

A little work called "Kek-kio-kō," in a collection entitled "Haku-butsu-sō-sho," published by the Japanese Imperial Museum, has brought together all the available information respecting Muro and Tsuchi-gumo.

[2] Chiefs.

[3] Oka-zaki means hill-spur, and is perhaps to be so understood here, and not as a proper name.

[4] Saka-moto (acclivity bottom) may be also a description and not a proper name.

[5] Hofuri is a kind of Shintō priest. It is unlikely that persons not of Japanese race should be so called.

trusting to their valour, refused to present themselves at Court. The Emperor therefore sent detachments separately, and put them all to death. There were, moreover, Tsuchi-gumo at the village of Taka-wohari, whose appearance was as follows:—They had short bodies, and long arms and legs. They were of the same class as the pigmies. The Imperial troops wove nets of dolichos, which they flung over them and then slew
III. 28. them. Wherefore the name of that village was changed to Katsuraki.[1] It is in the land of Ihare. Its ancient name was Kataru, or Katatachi. When our Imperial forces routed the enemy, a great army assembled and filled that country. Its name was accordingly changed to Ihare.[2]

Another account says that when the Emperor on a previous occasion tasted the food of the sacred jars, he moved forward his army on an expedition towards the West. At this time the eighty bandits of Katsuraki were encamped together there. A great battle with the Emperor followed, and they were at length destroyed by the Imperial army. Therefore that place was called the village of Ihare.[3] Again, the place where the Imperial troops made a warlike stand was called Takeda.[4] The place where he built a castle was named Kita.[5] Moreover, the place where the enemy fell in battle, their dead bodies prostrate, with their forearms for pillows, was called Tsura-maki-da.[6]

The Emperor, in Autumn, the 9th month of the previous year, secretly took clay of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, with which he made eighty platters, and thereafter performing abstinence in person, sacrificed to all the Gods. He was thereby at length enabled to establish the world[7] in peace. Therefore he called the place where the clay was taken Hani-yasu.[8]

[1] Dolichos Castle.

[2] The interlinear Kana gives for "fill," ihameri, a word which I do not know.

[3] The "original commentary" says that the Japanese word corresponding to the Chinese characters rendered "encamp" is ihami, a word not otherwise known to me.

[4] Brave-field. [5] Castle-field. [6] Face-pillow-field.

[7] "World" is not quite a merely rhetorical expression for the Empire of Japan. Hirata justifies Hideyoshi's invasion of Corea on the grounds that the sovereigns of Japan are de jure lords of the whole earth.

[8] Clay-easy or clay-peace.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor made an order,[1] saying:—"During the six years that our expedition against the East has lasted, owing to my reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evil is still refractory. But in the region of the Central Land there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong.[2] III. 29.

At present things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people's minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests or dwell in caves.[3] Their manners are simply what is customary. Now if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish. And even if some gain should accrue to the people, in what way would this interfere with the Sage's[4] action? Moreover, it will be well to open up and clear the mountains and forests, and to construct a palace. Then I may reverently assume the Precious Dignity, and so give peace to III. 30.
my good subjects. Above, I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting me the Kingdom, and below, I should extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster rightmindedness. Thereafter the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof.[5] Will this not be well?

When I observe the Kashiha-bara[6] plain, which lies

[1] This whole speech is thoroughly Chinese in every respect, and it is preposterous to put it in the mouth of an Emperor who is supposed to have lived more than a thousand years before the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan. The strange thing is that it is necessary to make this remark. Yet there are still writers who regard this part of the "Nihongi" as historical.

[2] The Kana rendering is mi-araka, "an august shrine" or "an august palace." This would imply a different reading, 社 instead of 壯.

[3] The reader must not take this as any evidence of the manners and customs of the Ancient Japanese. It is simply a phrase suggested by the author's Chinese studies.

[4] Meaning the Emperor's action.

[5] The character for roof 宇 also means the universe. The eight cords, or measuring tapes, simply mean "everywhere."

[6] Kashiha is an evergreen oak, the Quercus dentata. Hara means plain.

S.W. of Mount Unebi, it seems the Centre of the Land. I must set it in order."

Accordingly he in this month commanded officers to set about the construction of an Imperial Residence.

B.C. 661. Year Kanoye Saru, Autumn, 8th month, 16th day. The Emperor, intending to appoint a wife, sought afresh[1] children of noble families. Now there was a man who made representation to him, saying:—"There is a child who was
III. 31. born to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami by his union with Tama-kushi-hime, daughter of Mizo-kuhi-ni no Kami of Mishima. Her name is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto. She is a woman of remarkable beauty." The Emperor was rejoiced, and on the 24th day of the 9th month he received Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto and made her his wife.

B.C. 660. Year Kanoto Tori, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara. This year is reckoned the first year of his reign.[2] He honoured his wife by making her Empress. The children born to him by her were Kami-ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto and Kami-nunagaha mimi no Mikoto.

Therefore[3] there is an ancient saying in praise of this, as follows:—"In Kashiha-bara in Unebi, he mightily established his palace-pillars on the foundation of the bottom-rock, and
III. 32. reared aloft the cross roof-timbers to the Plain of High Heaven.[4]

This afterwards became a proper name. Here it is perhaps simply a description.

[1] He had already a consort, but she was apparently not considered a wife.

[2] Japanese History is often said to begin with this year. The fact is that nothing which really deserves the name of history existed for nearly a thousand years more. This date is very much like that given for the foundation of Rome by Romulus, B.C. 753. The very calendar by which the reckoning was made was not invented or known in Japan until many centuries after. See Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," and "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J."

[3] As above remarked, the author often introduces this word without much reason.

[4] It was a mark of Shrines or Imperial Palaces to have the rafters at each end of the roof projecting upwards for several feet beyond the roof-tree, as in the illustration. These were called Chigi. See Ch. K., p. 311. Shintō temples at the present day are thus distinguished. What would those Japanese

The name of the Emperor who thus began to rule the Empire was Kami Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi."

On the day on which he first began the Heavenly institution, Michi no Omi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Ohotomo House, accompanied by the Oho-kume Be, was enabled, by means of a secret device received from the Emperor, to use incantations and magic formulæ so as to dissipate evil influences. The use of magic formulæ had its origin from this.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. The Emperor ascer- B.C. 659.
tained merit and dispensed rewards. To Michi no Omi no

Shrine at Ise.

Mikoto he granted a site for a house in which to dwell at the village of Tsuki-zaka, thereby showing him special favour.

Moreover, he caused the Oho-kume to dwell at a place on the river-bank, west of Mount Unebi, now called Kume no mura.[1] Such was the origin of this name. Utsu-hiko was made Miyakko of the land of Yamato. Moreover, he gave to Ukeshi III. 33.
the younger the village of Takeda, constituting him Agata-

Euhemerists who think Takama ga hara (the Plain of High Heaven) to be the name of a country, make of this passage?

[1] i.e. the village of the kume or soldiers.

nushi[1] of Takeda. He was the ancestor of the Mohi-tori[2] of Uda. Shiki the younger, whose personal name was Kuro-haya, was made Agata-nushi of Shiki. Moreover, he appointed a man called Tsune to be Miyakko of the Land of Katsuraki. The Yata-garasu was also included in the ranks of those who received rewards. His descendants are the Agata-nushi of Katsurano and the Tonomori[3] Be.

B.C. 657. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. The Emperor issued the following decree :—"The spirits of our Imperial ancestors reflecting their radiance down from Heaven, illuminate and III. 34. assist us. All our enemies have now been subdued, and there is peace within the seas. We ought to take advantage of this to perform sacrifice to the Heavenly Deities, and therewith develop filial duty."

He accordingly established spirit-terraces amongst the Tomi hills, which were called Kami-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara and Shimo-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara.[4] There he worshipped his Imperial ancestors, the Heavenly Deities.[5]

B.C. 630. 31st year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Imperial palanquin[6] made a circuit, in the course of which the Emperor ascended the Hill Waki Kamu no Hotsuma. Here, having viewed the shape of the land on all sides, he said :—"Oh! what a beautiful country we have become possessed of! Though a blessed land of inner-tree-fibre,[7] yet it resembles a dragon-fly licking its hinder parts." From this it first received the name of Akitsu-shima.[8]

[1] Ruler of district.

[2] The Mohi-tori, afterwards mondori or mondo, were originally the officials charged with the water supply of the Palace. The designation Mondo no Kami remained until quite recent times.

[3] Tonomori, guardian of a palace or shrine.

[4] These names mean respectively the Persimmon plain of Upper Little-moor and the Persimmon plain of Lower Little-moor. The "spirit terraces" (a Chinese phrase) seems meant for the plots of ground consecrated for Shintō worship. See above, p. 81.

[5] The union of the offices of priest and king is to be noted all through this narrative.

[6] It is considered respectful to speak of the Imperial car or palanquin when the Emperor himself is meant.

[7] The inner-tree-fibre is the inner bark of the paper mulberry, used for weaving into cloth. It is here an ornamental epithet.

[8] The real meaning of Aki-tsu-shima is the "region of harvests." See

Of old, Izanagi no Mikoto, in naming this country, said:— "Yamato is the Land of Ura-yasu:[1] it is the Land of Hoso-hoko no Chi-taru:[2] it is the Land of Shiwa-Kami-Ho-tsu-ma."[3]

Afterwards Oho-namuchi no Oho-kami named it the Land of Tama-gaki no Uchi-tsu-kuni.[4] III. 35.

Finally, when Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto soared across the Great Void in a Heaven-rock-boat, he espied this region and descended upon it. Therefore he gave it a name and called it Sora-mitsu-Yamato.[5]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. He appointed Prince Kami-nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto Prince Imperial. B.C. 619.

76th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kashiha-bara. His age was then 127.[6] The following year, Autumn, the 12th day of the 9th month, he was buried in the Misasagi[7] N.E. of Mount Unebi. B.C. 585.

above, p. 13. It has nothing to do with akitsu, the dragon-fly. This insect may often be seen with its tail touching its mouth, so that its body forms a ring. The appearance of the province of Yamato, which is a plain surrounded by a ring of mountains, suggested the simile in the text. Later historians have converted this into a comparison of Japan to a dragon-fly with outstretched wings.

[1] Bay-easy. Explained to mean "which has peace within its coasts."

[2] Slender-spears-thousand-good. "Well supplied with weapons," say the commentators.

[3] Rock-ring-upper-pre-eminent-true (land).

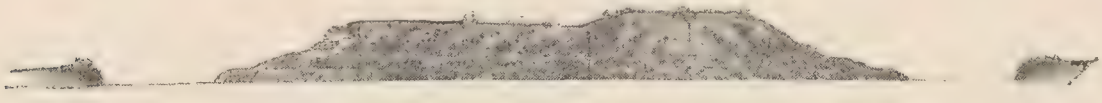
[4] Jewel-fence-within-land.

[5] Sky-saw-Yamato. But Sora-mitsu really means "that fills the sky," i.e. that reaches to the farthest horizon. These names are merely poetical inventions. They were never in actual use.

[6] The "Kojiki" makes him 137.

[7] The Misasagi are still to be seen in large numbers in Japan, especially in the Gokinai or five metropolitan provinces. They are particularly numerous in Kahachi and Yamato.

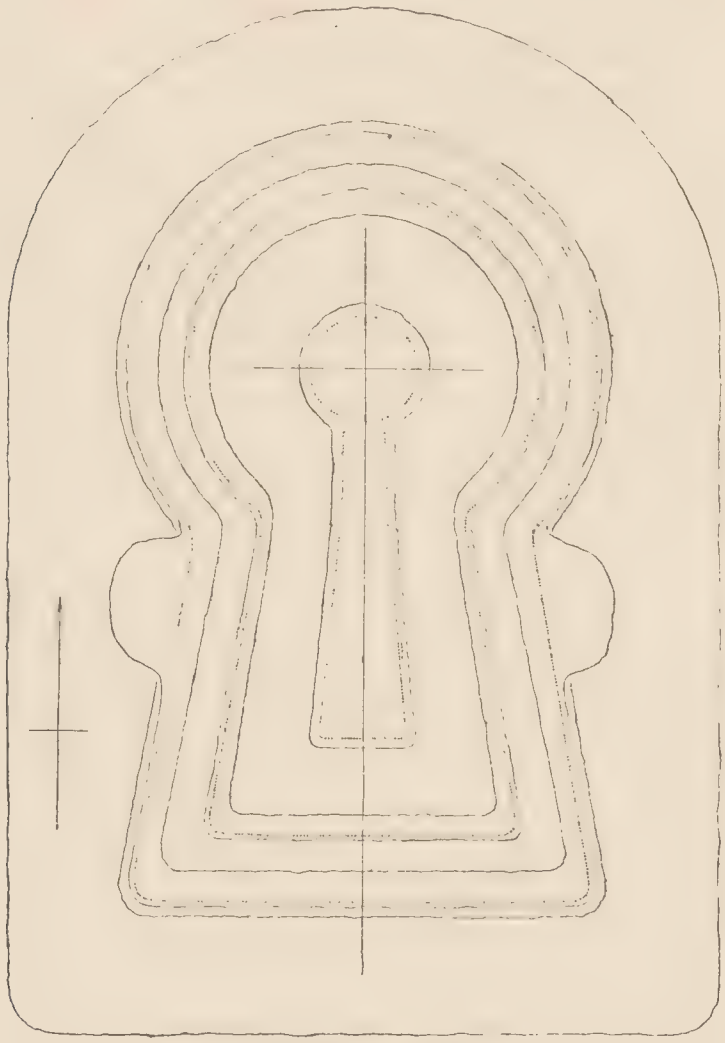
In the most ancient times, say the Japanese antiquarians, the Misasagi or tombs of the Mikados were simple mounds. At some unknown period,



Misasagi, side view.

however, perhaps a few centuries before the Christian epoch, a highly specialized form of tumulus came into use for this purpose, and continued for several hundreds of years without much change. It consists of two

mounds, one having a circular, the other a triangular base, merging into each other after the manner shown in the illustration, the whole being surrounded by a moat, or sometimes by two concentric moats with a narrow strip of land between. The interment took place n the circular mound, the other probably serving as a platform on which were performed the rites in honour of the deceased. Seen from the side the appearance is that of a saddle-hill, the circular mound being somewhat higher than the other. There are sometimes two smaller mounds at the base of the larger ones, filling up the angle where they meet. The slope of the tumulus is not



Ground plan of Misasagi.

regular, but is broken up by terraces, on which are placed in rows, a few inches apart, curious cylinders made of baked clay shaped in a mould, and measuring from 1 to 2 feet in height, and from 6 to 14 inches in diameter. They are buried in the earth, their upper rims being just level with the surface.

In some, perhaps in most cases, the Misasagi contains a large vault of great unhewn stones without mortar. The walls of the vault converge

gradually towards the top, which is roofed in by enormous slabs of stone weighing many tons each. The entrance was by means of a gallery roofed with similar stones.

Sarcophagi of stone or pottery have been found in some Misasagi.

The above description is quoted from an article by the present writer in Chamberlain's "Things Japanese." I would ask travellers in China and Corea to compare with it any ancient tumuli which they may discover in those countries.

I learn from Mr. W. Gowland, who has visited the spot recognized officially as the Misasagi of Jimmu Tennō, that there are here two enclosures, the inner of which contains two low mounds each about 18 feet in diameter and 2 feet in height. A Chokushi or Imperial Envoy visits this Misasagi annually on the 3rd April with offerings of products of mountain, river, and sea, viz., tahi, carp, sea-weed, salt, water, sake, mochi (a preparation of rice), warabi (fern flour?), pheasants and wild ducks.

The site of Jimmu's tomb is a question even with Japanese antiquaries, and European scholars may be pardoned if they are somewhat sceptical about it. *Vide* "San-rio-shi" (山陵志), p. 9.

BOOK IV.

THE EMPEROR KAMI-NUNAGAHA-MIMI.

(*SUIZEI TENNŌ.*[1])

THE Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was the third child of the Emperor Kami-Yamato-Ihare-biko Hohodemi. His mother's name was Hime-tatara-Isuzu no Mikoto, the eldest daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.

This Emperor was of distinguished manners and appearance. As a child he possessed the vigour of manhood; when he grew to manhood, his form was gigantic. He excelled in warlike accomplishments, and his will was resolute in the extreme.

IV. 2. When he reached the age of forty-eight, the Emperor Kami-Yamato-Ihare-biko died. Now Kama-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto's disposition was profoundly filial, and his grief and longing knew no bounds. He made the funeral ceremonies his especial care.

His elder half-brother,[2] Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, was now advanced in years,[3] and had a long experience of matters of

[1] This book contains the reigns of eight emperors, and covers a period of 483 years, giving an average of over sixty years for each reign. This is far too much for real history, especially when we consider the ages to which these sovereigns are said to have reached. Kôshô lived to the age of 114, Kôan to 137, and so on. Most of it is not even legendary. The account of the period previous to the accession of Suizei seems to contain a genuine ancient tradition, but the rest is plainly fictitious and the invention of some one imbued with Chinese ideas.

Kami means upper or lord; Nunagaha is the name of a river; mimi means august body.

Suizei means quiet, tranquil.

[2] The word employed indicates that the mother of this prince was not of full rank, but there is no such stigma as is implied by our word "bastard."

[3] As he was present with his younger brother at a council held by the Emperor Jimmu before starting on his expedition to the East, B.C. 667, we

state. Therefore he was again charged with the conduct of affairs, and the Emperor treated him as an intimate friend. This prince, however, was of a perverse disposition, and his natural bent was opposed to justice. During the period of sincere seclusion[1] his authority at last became independent, and concealing his malicious purposes, he plotted the destruction of his two younger brothers.

Now in the year Tsuchinoto U of the cycle, Winter, the 11th month, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto and his elder brother Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto learnt privately his intentions and effectively prevented him. When the business of the misasagi was ended, they caused Yumi Be no Waka-hiko to make a bow, and Yamato no Kanuchi[2] Ama-tsu-ma-ura[3] to make a true-deer arrow-point, and the Ya[4] Be to prepare arrows. When the bow and arrows were ready, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto wished therewith to shoot IV. 3.
to death Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, who happened just then to be in a great muro at Kataoka, lying alone on a great couch. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto spake to Kami-Ya-wi

may suppose that he was at that time twenty years of age at least. We are now in B.C. 585, so that he must have been over 100.

[1] i.e. of mourning.

[2] Yumi-be is the Be of bow-makers; Kanuchi, smith.

[3] Ama-tsu-ma-ura. This name is obviously identical with that of the smith-god, Ama-tsu-mara, mentioned in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 55), upon which Chamberlain remarks, "Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret 'Cælestis Penis.'" Ma-ura means literally true-heart, or inwards, and hence came to be used as a decent term for penis, corresponding somewhat to our word "nakedness." In modern times it is a very vulgar word. This is Hirata's view. Another derivation connects it with Mâra, the Indian God of lust, sin, and death.

If Ama-tsu-ma-ura or mara stood alone, we might be disposed with Motowori to pass it by as a proper name of doubtful derivation. But Hirata ("Koshiden" v. 48) quotes from old books three other names of deities which contain this element, viz. Oho (great) mara no Mikoto, Ama-tsu-aka (red) mara no Mikoto and Ama-teru (shining) mara take-wo (brave male) no Mikoto. He thinks it sufficient to say that as these are the names of Gods, a phallic interpretation is inadmissible, but in this European scholars will hardly agree with him. There is a Mara no Sukune in the Japanese peerage of the ninth century, known as the Seishiroku. See Index—Phallic worship.

[4] Ya, arrow.

no Mikoto, saying:—"The right time has now arrived. In words, secrecy is to be prized: in deeds, caution is advisable. Therefore, we have never had any partner in our conspiracy, and the enterprise of to-day is to be carried out by thee and me alone. I will first open the door of the muro. Do thou then shoot him." They accordingly went forward and entered in together.

Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto pushed open the door, while Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto's arms and legs trembled so that he was unable to let fly the arrow. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto snatched the bow and arrows which his elder brother held and shot Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. The first shot struck him on the breast, the second on the back, and so at length he killed him. Hereupon Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto was troubled and submitted himself, yielding the sovereignty to Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto, saying:—"I am thy elder brother.[1] But I am timid and weak, and unfit for effective action. On the present occasion thou hast specially displayed divine valour, and hast thyself put to death our chief enemy. Is it not expedient that thou shouldst illuminate the Celestial station[2] and take over the functions of
IV. 4. our Imperial ancestors? I will be thy assistant and will attend to the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth." He was the first ancestor of the Oho no Omi.

B.C. 581. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto assumed the rank of Emperor. He made his capital at Katsuraki. It was called the palace[3] of Takaoka. He honoured the Empress by granting her the title of Kwō-dai-gō or Grand Empress.[4] This was the year Kanoye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 580. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month. Isuzu-yori-bime was appointed Empress.

One writing says:—"Kaha-mata-bime, daughter of the Agata-nushi of Shiki."

[1] In this and other passages of the "Nihongi," there is a sort of recognition of a right of primogeniture, but cases are numerous where the eldest son is ignored or set aside without very strong reason in favour of a brother, widow, or younger son of the deceased sovereign.

[2] i.e. the rank of Emperor.

[3] Capital and palace are interchangeable terms in this narrative.

[4] Equivalent to Empress Dowager. This is a Chinese title.

One writing says:—"Itori-hime, daughter of Ohohimoro, Agata-nushi of Kasuga."

She was the Emperor's aunt. The Empress bore a son, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto died, and was buried on the Northern side of Mount Unebi. B.C. 578.

25th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi no Mikoto was made heir to the Imperial throne. B.C. 557. IV. 5

33rd year, Summer, 5th month. The Emperor took ill, and on the 10th day of the same month, he died, at the age of eighty-four. B.C. 549.

THE EMPEROR SHIKI-TSU-HIKO-TAMA-DEMI.

(*ANNEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was the eldest child of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. His mother's name was Isuzu-yori-bime no Mikoto, the younger daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. This Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in the 25th year of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. He was then twenty-one[2] years of age. In the 5th month, Summer, of the 33rd year of his reign, the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi died. In the 7th month of that year, on the 3rd day of the month, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year,[3] Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was buried in the Misasagi on Tsukida Hill in Yamato. B.C. 548.

The Emperor honoured the Empress with the title of Kwō-dai-gō.

[1] Annei means peace.

[2] The editor of the Shukai edition alters this to eleven, in order to agree with other passages. But when the whole chronology is utterly fanciful, there is no use attempting to make it consistent.

[3] For purposes of chronology, these reigns begin with the next year following the previous Emperor's death. The first year of Annei's reign is therefore B.C. 548, although his predecessor died B.C. 549.

This was the year Midzunoto Ushi of the cycle.

B.C. 547. 2nd year. The capital was removed to Katashiho. It was called the Palace of Ukiana.

B.C. 546. IV. 6. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Nuna-soko-naka-tsu hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

Others call her Nuna-so hime.

One writing says :—" Kaha-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One writing says :—" Daughter of Ohoma no Sukune." [1]

Before this, his consort had given birth to two Imperial princes. The first was called Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto, the second, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo.

One version says :—" She bore three princes, the first of whom was called Toko-tsu-hiko-iro-ne; the second, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo; and the third, Shiki-tsu-hiko no Mikoto."

B.C. 538. 11th year, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. His younger brother, Shiki-tsu-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wi-tsu-kahi no Muraji.

B.C. 511. 38th year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor died at the age of 57.[2]

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-HIKO-SUKI-TOMO.

(*ITOKU*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

IV. 7. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was the second child of the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi. His mother's name was Nuna-soko-naka-tsu-hime, grandchild of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami, and daughter of the Prince[4] of Kamo. He was made Prince Imperial in the 11th year, Spring, the 1st month

[1] A title, derived by Yamada from Sukuna, small, and e or ye, elder brother.

[2] The "Kojiki" makes him 49.

[3] Admirable virtue.

[4] Prince is here 王, a lower rank than 皇子 or Imperial Prince.

of the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi's reign. He was then 16 years of age. In the 38th year of that reign, Winter, the 12th month, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi died.[1]

1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 510.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was buried in the Misasagi above Mihodo no wi, south of Mount Unebi.

9th month, 14th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This was the year Kanoto U of the cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The capital was removed to Karu.[2] It was called the Palace of Magariwo. B.C. 509.

2nd month, 11th day. Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto was made Empress.

One version has:—"Idzumi hime, daughter of Oto-wite, son of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Ihi-hime, daughter of Futo-ma-waka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Shiki." IV. 8.

This Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine.

One version has:—"The Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side,[3] Takeshi-hiko-kushi-tomo se no Mikoto."[4]

22nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was then 18 years of age. B.C. 489.

34th year, Autumn, 9th month, 8th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 477

[1] These repetitions seem intended to conceal the want of any real information about this period.

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Japanese word for brother by the mother's side is hara-kara, "of the same belly," as to which a paper by the present writer on the "Family in Ancient Japan," contributed to the Japan Society's Journal, may be consulted.

[4] It is not clear what is meant by this.

THE EMPEROR MI-MATSU-HIKO-KAYESHINE.

(*KŌSHŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine was the eldest son of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The name of the Empress, his mother, was Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in Spring, the second month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo died in autumn, the ninth month of the 34th year of his reign. On the 13th day of the 10th month of the following year, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was buried in the Misasagi over the Masago Valley to the south of Mount Unebi.

IV. 9. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Prince Imperial
B.C. 475. assumed the Imperial Dignity.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.[2]

7th month. The capital was removed to Wakigami.[3] It was called the Palace of Ikegokoro. This year was the year Hinoye Tora of the cycle.

B.C. 447. 29th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Yoso-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress.

One version says:—"Nunaki-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Oho-wi-hime, daughter of Toyo-aki-sata-wo of the Land of Yamato."

The Empress gave birth to Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto, and to the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito.

B.C. 408. 68th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He

[1] Filial piety manifested. [2] Kwō-dai- ō.
[3] In Yamato.

was twenty years of age. Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wani no Omi.

83rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 393.

THE EMPEROR YAMATO-TARASHI-HIKO-KUNI-OSHI-BITO.

(*KŌAN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was the second child of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. His mother's name was Yoso-tarashi-hime. She was the younger sister of Okitsu Yoso, the ancestor of the Ohari no[2] Muraji. IV. 10.

The Emperor was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 68th year of the reign of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine died in Autumn, the 8th month of the 83rd year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 392.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Tsuchi no to Ushi of the cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Muro. It was called the Palace of Akitsushima. B.C. 391.

26th year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. The Emperor appointed his niece,[3] Oshi-bime, Empress. B.C. 367.

One version has:—"Naga-hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Isaka-hime, daughter of Isaka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni.

38th year, Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine was buried in the Misasagi on Mount Hakata in Wakigami. B.C. 355.

76th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Oho-Yamato-neko- IV. 11. B.C. 317.

[1] Filial piety-peace. [2] Or Owari. [3] A brother's daughter.

hiko-futo-ni no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-six years of age.

B.C. 291. 102nd year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Emperor died.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO[1]-HIKO-FUTO-NI.

(*KŌREI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was the eldest child of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. His mother's name was Oshi-bime. He had been appointed Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 76th year of the reign of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. In Spring, the 1st month of the 102nd year of his reign, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito died. In Autumn, the 9th month, 13th day, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was buried in the Misasagi on Tamade Hill.

Winter, 12th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial removed the capital to Kuroda.[3] It was called the Palace of Ihodo.

B.C. 290. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji of the cycle.

IV. 12. B.C. 289. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. Hoso-bime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

One version has:—"Kasuga no Chichi-haya-yamaka-hime."

One version has:—"Mashita-bime, daughter of Toso, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. A concubine named Yamato no kuni-ka-hime [*also called Haye-irone*] was the mother of Yamato-to-to-

[1] Several of the Emperors' names have the element Yamato-neko (neko is a honorific), and one Emperor styles himself Yamato-neko in an edict, although this was not his name. It may be suspected that Yamato-neko was at one time a general title for the sovereigns of Japan.

[2] Filial piety-spirit. [3] In Yamato.

hi-momo-so bime no Mikoto and of Hiko-i-saseri-hiko no Mikoto [*also called Kibi-tsu-hiko no Mikoto*], and Yamato-toto-waka-ya-bime no Mikoto.

Another concubine Haye-iroto was the mother of Hiko-sajima no Mikoto and of Waka-take-hiko no Mikoto. The younger of these, namely, Waka-take-hiko no Mikoto, was the first ancestor of the Kibi no Omi.[1]

36th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Hiko-kuni-kuru no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. B.C. 255.

76th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 215.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO-HIKO-KUNI-KURU. IV. 13.

(*KŌGEN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was the eldest child of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. His mother's name was Hoso-bime, daughter of Oho-me,[3] Agata-nushi of Shiki. He had been created Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 36th year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. He was then nineteen years of age. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 76th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Hinoto I of the cycle. B.C. 214.

4th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The capital was removed to Karu. It was called the Palace of Sakahibara. B.C. 211.

6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was buried in the Misasagi on Muma-zaka[4] at Kataoka. B.C. 209.

[1] The "Kojiki" genealogies differ a good deal. One must be wrong; and both, doubtless, leave much to be desired in accuracy.

[2] Filial-duty-origin.

[3] Great-eyes.

[4] The horse-acclivity.

B.C. 208. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Uchi-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She had three children, two boys and one girl. The name of the eldest was Oho-hiko no Mikoto; of the second, the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Oho-hihi; and of the third, Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto.

One version has:—"The Emperor's brother by the mother's side was Sukuna-biko-wo-kokoro[1] no Mikoto."

IV. 14. A concubine named Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was the mother of Hiko-futo-woshi-makoto no Mikoto. The next concubine, named Hani-yasu-hime, daughter of Awotama of Kahachi, was the mother of Take-hani-yasu no Mikoto.

The elder brother Oho-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Abe no Omi, the Kashihade[2] no Omi, the Ahe no Omi, the Sasaki-yama no Kimi, the Tsukushi no Miyakko, the Koshi no Miyakko and the Iga no Omi, in all seven families.

IV. 15. Hiko-futo-woshi-makoto no Mikoto was the grandfather of Takechi no Sukune.

B.C. 193. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was sixteen years of age.

B.C. 158. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor died.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-YAMATO-NEKO-HIKO-OHO-HIHI.

(*KAIKWA*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi was the second child of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. His mother's name was Uchi-shikome, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and younger sister of Uchi-shiko-wo no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been created Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. He was then sixteen years of age.

[1] Small-prince-manly-heart. [2] This word means steward.
[3] Civilization.

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru died in Autumn, the 9th month of the 57th year of his reign.

In Winter, the 11th month, 12th day, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. B.C. 157.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Kasuga. It was called the Palace of Isa-kaha. This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle. IV. 16.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was buried in the Misasagi on the island of Tsurugi-ike.[1] B.C. 153.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. [*She was his father's concubine.*] The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-i-niye. B.C. 152.

The Emperor had previously taken to himself as concubine Taniha no Takano-hime. She was the mother of Hiko-yumusumi no Mikoto. [*Also called Hiko-komosu no Mikoto.*] There was a subordinate concubine named Oke-tsu-hime, younger sister of Oke-tsu no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi. She was the mother of Prince[2] Hiko-imasu.

28th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Mimaki-iri-hiko no Mikoto was created Prince Imperial. He was nineteen years of age. IV. 17. B.C. 130

60th year, Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 98.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. He was buried in the Saka-moto Misasagi at Isa-kaha in Kasuga.

One version has:—"The Misasagi of Saka no kami."[3]

His age was then 115.

[1] Ike means a pond or artificial lake.

[2] Where Prince stands alone without the word Imperial before or after it, it represents the Chinese character 王, which in the "Nihongi" is applied sometimes to the kings or princes of Corea, but more usually to Japanese princes who did not belong to the family of the reigning sovereign.

[3] It is difficult to say whether Saka-moto and Saka no kami are proper names or merely descriptions. They mean respectively the "bottom of the acclivity" and the "top of the acclivity."

BOOK V.

THE EMPEROR MIMAKI-IRI-BIKO-I-NIYE.

(*SŪJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Mimaki-iri-biko-i-niye was the second child of the Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hi-hi. His mother's name was Ika-shiko-me, daughter of Oho-he-so-ki no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Mononobe House.[2]

The Emperor was created Prince Imperial at the age of nineteen. He was of a quick intelligence, and in his boyhood was fond of manly devices. When he grew up to manhood, he was of wide culture and circumspect in his behaviour. He honoured profoundly the Gods of Heaven and Earth. His mind was constantly directed to the management of the Celestial Institution.[3]

The Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi died in Summer, the 4th month of the 60th year of his reign.

B.C. 97. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress.

2nd month, 16th day. Mimaki-hime was appointed Empress. Before this she had given birth to the Emperor Ikume-iri-hiko-i-sachi, Kuni-kata-hime no Mikoto, Chichi-tsuku Yamato-hime no Mikoto, Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, and Ika-tsuru-
V. 2. hiko no Mikoto. By a concubine, Tohotsu Ayume ma-kuwashi-hime, daughter of Araka, the Tohe of the Land of Kiï, he had Toyo-suki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, and a subordinate concubine named Ohari no Oho-ama.

One version has :—" Ya-saka-furu-ama-irohe, daughter of Oho-umi no-Sukune."

[1] Sūjin means "honouring the Gods." [2] In Japanese Uji.
[3] The sovereignty.

bore to him Ya-saka-iri-hiko no Mikoto, Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto, and Toho-chi-ni-iri-bime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle.

3rd year, Autumn, 9th month. The capital was removed to Shiki. It was called the Palace of Midzu-gaki. B.C. 95.

4th year, Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"When our Imperial ancestors gloriously assumed the Supreme Rank, was it for the benefit of themselves alone? It was doubtless in order that they might thereby shepherd men and spirits,[1] and regulate the Empire. Therefore it was that from generation to generation they were able to extend their unfathomable merit, and in their day to spread abroad their perfect virtue. B.C. 94.

We, having now received at their hands the mighty inheritance, lovingly nourish our good subjects. In so doing, let us follow obediently in the footsteps of our Imperial ancestors, and long preserve the unbounded felicity. And ye too, Our Ministers and functionaries, should you not co-operate with all loyalty in giving peace to the Empire?"[2] V. 3.

5th year. There was much pestilence throughout the country, and more than one half the people died. B.C. 93.

6th year. The people took to vagabondage, and there was rebellion, the violence of which was such that by worth alone it could not be assuaged.[3] B.C. 92.

Therefore, rising early in the morning and being full of awe until the evening, the Emperor requested punishment[4] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

Before this the two Gods Ama-terasu no Oho-kami and Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama[5] were worshipped together within the Emperor's Great Hall. He dreaded, however, the power of these Gods, and did not feel secure in their dwelling together. Therefore he entrusted Ama-terasu no Oho-kami to Toyo-suki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped at the village

[1] The Kana has simply hito, men.

[2] This decree is a mere cento of Chinese phrases.

[3] i.e., by the virtues of the Sovereign commanding the respect and obedience of the people.

[4] In accordance with the Chinese notion that national calamities are owing to the faults of the Emperor.

[5] The numen of the great land of Yamato.

of Kasanuhi in Yamato, where he established the sacred en-
V. 4. closure of Shiki. Moreover, he entrusted Yamato-oho-kuni-dama no Kami to Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped. But Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto was bald and lean, and therefore unfit to perform the rites of worship.

B.C. 91. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor decreed as follows:—"Of old our Imperial ancestors greatly extended the vast foundation, and under the later Emperors the institution became more and more exalted. The royal influence spread and flourished. But now that it has devolved upon Us, numerous calamities have unexpectedly befallen it. It is to be feared that from the absence of good Government in the Court, We have incurred the blame of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Would it not be well to commit the matter to the Sacred Tortoise[1] and thereby ascertain the cause of the calamity?"

Accordingly, the Emperor hereupon proceeded to the plain of Kami-asachi, where he assembled the 80 myriads of Deities, and inquired of them by means of divination. At this time the Gods inspired Yamato-to-to-hi-momoso-hime no Mikoto to say as follows:—"Why is the Emperor grieved at the disordered state of the country? If he duly did us reverent worship it would assuredly become pacified of itself." The Emperor in-
V. 5. quired, saying:—"What God is it that thus instructs me?" The answer was:—"I am the God who dwells within the borders of the land of Yamato, and my name is Oho-mono-nushi no Kami."

Now, having obtained this divine message, the Emperor worshipped as he was told, but without effect. Then, having bathed and practised abstinence, and purified the interior of the Hall, he prayed, saying:—"Is Our observance of due ceremonies towards the Gods not yet complete? This non-acceptance is cruel. We pray that We may be further instructed in a dream, and the divine favour thereby consummated."

That night he had a dream. A man of noble appearance stood opposite to him in the door of the hall, and, announcing himself as Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, said:—"Let the

[1] The ancient Japanese divination was by roasting deer's shoulder-blades and observing the cracks thus caused, not by the shell of a tortoise, which is the Chinese practice.

Emperor grieve no more for the disorder of the country. This is my will. If thou wilt cause me to be worshipped by my child, Oho-tata-neko, then will there be peace at once. Moreover the lands beyond the sea will of their own accord render submission."

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. Yamato-to-to-kami-asachi-hara-ma-guhashi-hime, Oho-mina-kuchi-no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and the Kimi of Wo-umi in Ise had all three the same dream, which they reported to the Emperor, saying :—" Last night we had a dream in which there appeared a man of noble aspect, who admonished us, saying :— 'Let Oho-tata-neko no Mikoto be appointed master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi-no-oho-kami, and let Ichi-shi no V. 6.
Naga-ochi be appointed master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami. Then assuredly the Empire will have profound peace.' "

The Emperor, when he learned the words of the dream, was more and more delighted in his heart. By a proclamation to the Empire he sought for Oho-tata-neko, who was accordingly found in the village of Suye, in the district of Chinu,[1] and sent to the Emperor, who forthwith proceeded in person to the plain of Kami-asachi, and assembled all the Princes and Ministers, and the eighty Be. He then inquired of Oho-tata-neko, saying :— "Whose child art thou ?" He answered and said :—" My father's name is Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. My mother's name is Ikudama-yori-bime, daughter of Suye-tsu mimi."

Also called Kushi-hi-kata-ame-hi-kata, daughter of Take-chinu-tsumi.

The Emperor said :—" Now we shall be prosperous." So he ascertained by divination that it would be lucky to send Ika-shiko-wo to distribute offerings to the Gods. He also divined that it would be unlucky to take advantage of this opportunity to worship other Gods.[2]

11th month, 8th day.[3] The Emperor took the articles[4] for

[1] In Idzumi. [2] Than the two above mentioned.

[3] The original has cyclical characters which would make it the 56th day of the month. I have adopted an emendation which does not make obvious nonsense. But where the whole series of dates is fictitious, it is hardly worth while noticing minor inaccuracies of this kind.

[4] Of pottery.

the worship of the Gods which he ordered Ika-shiko-wo to have made by the hands of the eighty Mononobe, and appointed Oho-tata-neko Master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. Moreover he made Nagaochi Master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami.

After that, he divined that it would be lucky to worship the other Gods. So he took the opportunity of separately worshipping the assemblage of eighty myriads of Deities. He also settled which were to be Heavenly shrines and which Earthly shrines, and allotted land and houses for the service of the Gods. Thereupon the pestilence first ceased; the country at length had peace, the five kinds of grain were produced, and the peasantry enjoyed abundance.

B.C. 90. 8th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. A man of the village of Takahashi, named Ikuhi, was appointed Brewer to the Great Deity.

Winter, 12th month, 20th day. The Emperor caused Oho-tata-neko to worship the Great Deity. On this day, Ikuhi, in person, presented to the Emperor sacred sake, with a song, as follows:—

This sacred sake
Is not my sacred sake:
'Tis sacred sake brewed
By Oho-mono-nushi,
Of Yamato,
How long ago!
How long ago![1]

Having thus sung, they feasted in the Shrine of the God. As soon as the feast was over, the various high officials sang as follows:—

V. 8.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning door
We would go forth from—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.

Hereupon the Emperor sang as follows:—

[1] "How long ago" is in Japanese Ikuhisa, an obvious allusion to the Brewer's name, Ikuhi, in short a pun.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning-door
I would push open—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.[1]

So the door of the Shrine of the God was thrown open, and the Emperor proceeded on his way.

He who was called Oho-tata-neko was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Miwa.

9th year, Spring, 3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor had a dream in which a divine person appeared to him and instructed him, saying:—"Take eight red shields and eight red spears and do worship to the God of Sumi-zaka. Take moreover eight black shields and eight black spears and do worship to the God of Oho-zaka." B.C. 89.

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. In accordance with the instruction he had received in the dream, he worshipped the Gods of Sumi-zaka and Oho-zaka.[2]

10th year, Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. He proclaimed to the company of Ministers, saying:—"For the guidance of the people, the chief thing is education. Now that I have performed due rites to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, all calamity has become spent. The distant savages, however, do not receive our calendar because they are yet unaccustomed to the civilizing influences of our rule. We will, therefore, select some of our company of Ministers and despatch them to the four quarters, so that they may cause our Will to be known." B.C. 88. V. 9.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor sent Oho-hiko no Mikoto to the northern region, he sent Takenu-kaha wake to the Eastern Sea,[3] he sent Kibi[4]-tsu-hiko to the Western road,

[1] The sentiment of these poems seems to be the same as that of our own "We won't go home till morning."
Metre irregular.

[2] However unhistorical all this may be, one thing clearly appears from it, viz., that in the early days of Japan the king and high priest were identical. Both the civil and religious functions, however, might be equally delegated.

[3] In the original Tō-kai, whence Tōkaidō, East-sea-road, the great highway from Kioto to the East and also the provinces lying to each side of it.

[4] Kibi is the ancient name for Bizen, Bingo, and Bittchiu, which lie west of Yamato.

he sent Tamba no chi-nushi no Mikoto to Tamba. On this occasion he addressed them, saying:—"If there be any who do not receive our instructions, prepare war and smite them." Having said so, he granted them all alike seals and ribbons,[1] and appointed them generals.

27th day. Oho-hiko no Mikoto arrived at the top of the Wani acclivity. Now there was there a maiden who sang as follows:—

One version has:—"Oho-hiko-no Mikoto arrived at the Hira-zaka acclivity, in Yamashiro. Now there was by the road-side a young woman who sang as follows:"—

Ah! Prince Mimaki-iri!
Unaware that some are stealthily
Preparing to cut
The thread of thine own life,
Thou amusest thyself like a lady!

V. 10. Another version is:—

Unaware that some are preparing
To slay thee,
On the watch
At the great gate,
Thou amusest thyself like a lady![2]

Wondering at this, Oho-hiko inquired of the maiden, saying:—"What are these words that thou sayest?" She answered and said:—"I was saying nothing: I was only singing." So she sang over again the above song, and suddenly disappeared. Oho-hiko accordingly returned and reported these circumstances to the Emperor. Upon this Yamato-toto-hi momo so bime no Mikoto, the Emperor's aunt by the father's side, a shrewd and intelligent person, who could foresee the future, understood what was portended by this song, and told the Emperor that it was a sign that Take-hani-yasu-hiko[3] was about to plot treason against him. "I have heard," she said, "that Ata-bime, Take-hani-yasu-hiko's wife, came secretly and took earth

[1] The seals and ribbons are Chinese, and could not have been used as emblems of office in Japan at this time. The word for general is Shōgun, so familiar at a later period of Japanese History.

[2] The text of this poem is very doubtful. The "Kojiki" has a third version. Prince Mimaki-iri is the Emperor.

[3] A half-brother of the Emperor. He lived in Yamashiro.

from Mount Kako[1] in Yamato, which she wrapped in her neckerchief and prayed, saying:—'This earth represents the Land of Yamato,' and turned it upside down. By this I know that there will be troubles. If thou dost not speedily take measures, it will assuredly be too late." Hereupon he recalled all the generals and consulted with them. No long time after, Take-hani-yasu-hiko and his wife Ata-bime conspired to revolt, and arrived suddenly with an army which they had raised. They came each by different roads, the husband by way of Yamashiro, the wife by Oho-saka. They intended to join their forces and attack the capital. Then the Emperor sent Isaseri-hiko no Mikoto to attack the force led by Ata-bime. He accordingly intercepted it at Oho-saka and put it all to a great rout. Ata-bime was killed, and her troops were all slain. Afterwards he sent Oho-hiko and Hiko-kuni-fuku, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, towards Yamashiro to attack Take-hani-yasu. Here they took sacred jars and planted them at the top of the acclivity of Takasuki in Wani.[2] Then they advanced with their best troops and ascended Mount Nara and occupied it. Now when the Imperial forces were encamping, they trod level the herbs and trees, whence that mountain was given the name of Mount Nara.[3] Then abandoning Mount Nara, they proceeded as far as the River Wakara. Hani-yasu-hiko was encamped on both sides of the river, and the two armies challenged each other. Therefore the men of that time changed the name of the river, and called it the River Idomi,[4] which is now corrupted into Idzumi.

V. 11.

V. 12.

Hani-yasu-hiko, standing on the bank of this river, inquired of Hiko-kuni-fuku, saying:—"Why hast thou raised an army and come hither?" He answered and said:—"Thou, in opposition to Heaven, and regardless of right, dost intend to overturn the Royal chamber.[5] Therefore I have raised a loyal army to punish thy revolt. This is the Emperor's command." Hereupon there was a struggle who should shoot first. Hani-yasu-hiko shot first at Hiko-kuni-fuku, but missed him. Then

[1] The same as Mount Kagu above referred to.

[2] i.e. they sacrificed to the Gods before entering on the campaign.

[3] Narasu means to make level.

[4] Challenge River.

[5] We would say the throne.

Hiko-kuni-fuku aimed at Hani-yasu-hiko, hit him in the breast, and killed him. His troops lost courage and retreated. They were consequently pursued and driven in rout to the north of the river. More than half had their heads cut off, and of dead bodies there was a plentiful overflow. Therefore that place was named Hafu-sono.[1]

Again the troops fled in fear and their excrements were voided on their breeches. So they took off their armour and ran. Knowing that they could not escape, they bowed their heads to the ground, and said, "Our Lord." Therefore the men of that time called the place where the armour was taken off "Kawara,"[2] and the place where the breeches were defiled they called Kuso-bakama.[3] It is now called Kusuba, which is a corruption of this word.

V. 13. Moreover the place where they bowed their heads was called A-gimi.[4]

After tkis Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto became the wife of Oho-mono-nushi no Kami. This God, however, was never seen in the day-time, but came at night. Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto said to her husband:—"As my Lord is never seen in the day-time, I am unable to view his august countenance distinctly; I beseech him therefore to delay a while, that in the morning I may look upon the majesty of his beauty." The Great God answered and said:—"What thou sayest is clearly right. To-morrow morning I will enter thy toilet-case and stay there. I pray thee be not alarmed at my form." Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto wondered secretly in her heart at this. Waiting until daybreak, she looked into her toilet-case. There was there a beautiful little snake,[5] of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment. Thereupon she was frightened, and uttered an exclamation. The Great God was ashamed, and changing suddenly into human form, spake to his wife, and

[1] Afureru is "to overflow," sono means garden. Hafu is more probably for hafuri, sacrifice.

[2] An old word for "armour."

[3] "Excrement-breeches."

[4] Our Lord. See above.

[5] This is one of numerous evidences of serpent-worship in Ancient Japan. The interlinear Kana for snake is worochi, where the last syllable is a honorific.

said:—"Thou didst not contain thyself, but hast caused me shame: I will in my turn put thee to shame." So treading the Great Void, he ascended to Mount Mimoro. Hereupon Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto looked up and had remorse. She flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda so that she died. She was buried at Oho-chi. Therefore the men of that time called her tomb the Hashi no haka.[1] This tomb was made by men in the day-time, V. 14.
and by Gods at night. It was built of stones carried from Mount Oho-saka. Now the people standing close to each other passed the stones from hand to hand, and thus transported them from the mountain to the tomb. The men of that time made a song about this, saying:—

If one passed from hand to hand
The rocks
Built up
On Oho-saka,[2]
How hard 'twould be to send them![3]

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to his Ministers, saying:—"The rebels have now all yielded themselves to execution and there is peace in the home district.[4] But the savage tribes abroad[5] continue to be tumultuous. Let the generals of the four roads now make haste to set out." On the 22nd day, the four generals set out on their journeys simultaneously.

[1] The Chopstick Tomb.

[2] The great acclivity.

[3] The tombs of men of rank at this period of Japanese History consisted of a round mound of earth varying in size according to the station of the person interred, and containing a vault of megalithic stones, with an entrance gallery similar to those of the Imperial Misasagi, but of much smaller size. Many of these are still to be seen in Japan, especially in the provinces near Yamato. Of course it is utterly impossible to pass from hand to hand stones of the size used in constructing these tombs.

[4] The original is Kinai, more familiarly known as Gokinai, and comprising the provinces of Yamato, Yamashiro, Settsu, Kawachi, and Idzumi.

[5] Lit. outside the sea. This is a Chinese expression which must not be taken too literally. The Ainos may be referred to. But the whole passage seems inspired by recollections from Chinese literature, and is probably entirely fictitious.

B.C. 87. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 28th day. The generals of the four roads reported to the Emperor the circumstances of their pacification of the savages. This year strange tribes came in great numbers and there was tranquillity throughout the land.

B.C. 86. 12th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The following decree was issued:—"Ever since we received the Celestial Dignity and undertook the guardianship of the ancestral shrines, Our light has been subject to obscuration, and Our influence has been wanting in placidity. Consequently there has been disaccord in the action of the male and female principles of nature, heat and cold have mixed their due order, epidemic disease has been rife, and calamities have befallen
V. 15. the people. But now in order to be absolved from Our offences and to rectify Our errors, we have reverently worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth. We have also dispensed Our instructions and thus pacified the savage tribes, and by force of arms have chastised those who refused submission. In this way authority has been maintained, while below there are no retired people.[1] Education[2] is widespread; the multitude take delight in their industries;[3] strange tribes come employing several interpreters; the countries beyond the sea offer allegiance. At this time We think it fit to make a new recension of the people, and to acquaint them with grades of seniority, and the order of forced labour."

Autumn, 9th month, 16th day. A census of the people was begun and taxes were imposed anew. These are called the men's bow-end tax and the women's finger-end tax.[4] Therefore the Gods of Heaven and Earth were harmonious. The wind

[1] By "retired people" are probably meant those who have concealed themselves in order to escape from oppression. The phrase occurs in the "Confucian Analects" (Legge, p. 200), where, however, it is used of a voluntary retirement from the world.

[2] The "education" is not juvenile education, but the education of the people by the good example of the monarch, with, perhaps, an occasional discourse from the throne.

[3] From "authority" to "industries" is copied from a Chinese History of the Han Dynasty. The whole decree is utterly impossible as a document of Japanese History at this period. It is as Chinese as it can be.

[4] That is, a tax of animals' skins and game to be paid by the men, and of textile fabrics to be levied on women. See Ch. K., p. 182.

and rain came in their season, the hundred kinds of grain formed duly. Families did not become extinct, population was sufficient. Profound peace prevailed in the Empire. Therefore he received the title of "The Emperor, the august founder of the country."

17th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The following decree was issued:— B.C. 81. V. 16.

"Ships are of cardinal importance to the Empire. At present the people of the coast, not having ships, suffer grievously by land-transport. Therefore, let every province be caused to have ships built."

Winter, 10th month. The building of ships was begun.

48th year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. The Emperor gave command to Toyoki no Mikoto and Ikume no Mikoto, saying:—"Ye, my two children, are alike in Our affection, and We know not which of you to make Our successor. Do each of you dream, and We will form an augury from your dreams." Hereupon the two princes, having received this command, performed their ablutions and prayed. In their sleep each of them had a dream. The next dawn the elder brother, Toyoki no Mikoto, reported to the Emperor the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended Mount Mimoro, and turning to the East, eight times I flourished a spear, and eight times dealt blows with a sword." B.C. 50.

The younger brother, Ikume no Mikoto, reported the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended to the summit of Mount Mimoro, and stretched a cord to the four quarters with which to drive away the sparrows which fed upon the grain."

The Emperor compared the dreams, and spake to his two sons, saying:—"The elder of you turned to the East only, and it is therefore meet that he should rule the Eastern Land. But the younger looked down generally over the four quarters, and he ought therefore to succeed to Our Dignity."

Summer, 4th month, 19th day. Ikume no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial, and Toyoki no Mikoto was made ruler of the Eastern Land. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Kami-tsuke[1] and of the Kimi of Shimotsuke.

[1] Now Kōdzuke.

B.C. 38. V. 17. 60th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Take-hi-teru no Mikoto

Another version is Take-hina-tori or Ama-no-hina-tori.

brought from Heaven the divine treasures and stored them in the Temple of the Great God at Idzumo. I wish to see them." Accordingly Take-moro-sumi, the ancestor of the Yata-be no Miyakko, was sent for them

One writing says:—"Also called Oho-moro-sumi."

that he might lay them before the Emperor. Now at this time Idzumo Furune, the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, held charge of the divine treasures. He had gone to the Land of Tsukushi and did not come to meet him. His younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, accordingly received the Imperial command and entrusted them to his younger brother, Umashi-Kara[1]-hisa and his son Uka-tsuku-nu, and so rendered them up to the Emperor. Now when Idzumo Furune returned from Tsukushi and heard that the divine treasures had been rendered up to the Court, he rebuked his younger brother Ihi-iri-ne, saying:—"Thou shouldst have waited for some days. What wert thou afraid of that thou didst so lightly part with the divine treasures?" On this account V. 18. he still, after years and months had passed, cherished wrath against his younger brother and had a mind to slay him. So he deceived his younger brother, saying:—"Of late the *mo*[2] plant grows plentifully in the Yamiya pool. Pray let us go together and see it." So he followed his elder brother and went there. Before this, the elder brother had secretly made a wooden sword, in appearance like a real sword, which at this time he himself wore. The younger brother was girt with a real sword. When they both came to the head of the pool, the elder brother said to the younger:—"The water of the pool is limpid and cool; pray let us both bathe in it." The younger brother agreed to his elder brother's proposal, and they each took off the sword which he wore and laid it on

[1] Note the occurrence of Kara, the name of a Corean Kingdom, in a proper name at a time when it was not supposed that Japan had relations with Corea.

[2] Defined as "a water plant with round leaves and stems which vary in length according to the depth of the water." It is edible.

the bank of the pool. Having bathed in the water, the elder brother came first to land, and taking the younger brother's real sword, girded it on himself. Afterwards the younger brother, surprised, took up his elder brother's wooden sword, but on coming to mutual blows, the younger brother was unable to draw the wooden sword. So the elder brother smote his younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, and killed him. Therefore the men of that day made a song, saying,—

> The sword girt on
> By the warrior of Idzumo
> (Where many clouds arise [1])—
> There is the sheath enwound with creepers,
> But, alas! there is no blade.

Hereupon Umashi-Kara-hisa and Uka-tsuku-nu proceeded to Court, where they reported this affair in detail. Accordingly, Kibi-tsu-hiko and Takenu-kaha-wake were sent to put to death Idzumo Furune. Therefore the Omi of Idzumo, in dread of this, desisted for a while from the worship of the Great God.

Now a man of Higami, in Tamba, named Hika-tohe, made a representation to the Prince Imperial, Iku-me no Mikoto, saying:—"One of my children is a young infant. Yet of his own V. 19.
accord he has said this:—'These are the Gods worshipped by the men of Idzumo—Idzumo of the gem-like water-plant [2] and the sunken stone [3]—viz. the true-kind-beautiful-august-mirror, the pinion-flapping-beautiful-august-God, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master; the august-spirit-plunged-in-the-water-of-the-mountain-stream, the peacefully-wearing (jewels?)-august-deity, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master.' [4] These do not seem like the words of a young infant. May they have been spoken by divine inspiration?"

Hereupon the Prince Imperial reported to the Emperor, who accordingly caused them to be worshipped.

62nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The following B.C. 36.
edict was issued:—

"Agriculture is the great foundation of the Empire. It is

[1] See above, p. 54.
[2] The *mo*, above referred to.
[3] Perhaps a precious stone found at the bottom of rivers.
[4] The Shiki says that this is the description of two deities only.

that upon which the people depend for their subsistence.[1] At present the water of Hanida of Sayama in Kahachi is scarce, and therefore the peasants of that province are remiss in their husbandry. Open up therefore abundance of ponds and runnels, and so develop the industry of the people."

Winter, 10th month. The Yosami pond was made.

11th month. The Karusaka pond and the Sakahori pond were made.

One version has:—"These three ponds were made when the Emperor dwelt in the Palace of Kuhama."

B.C. 33. V. 20. 65th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Land of Imna[2] sent Sonaka-cheulchi and offered tribute. Imna is more than 2000 ri to the north of Tsukushi, from which it is separated by the sea. It lies to the south-west of Ké-rin.

In the 68th year of his reign, Winter, the 12th month, 5th day, the Emperor died at the age of 120.[3]

In the following year, Autumn, the 8th month, 11th day, he was buried in the Misasagi above the road at Yamanobe.

[1] The above two sentences are copied word for word from a Chinese history.

[2] The traditional Japanese pronunciation of this name is Mimana. I have followed here, as elsewhere, the Corean pronunciation of Corean proper names. On any estimate of the length of the ri, the distance given is far too great.

Imna or Mimana is also known as Kara. It is a small kingdom lying to the S.W. of the River Naktong.

Kérin, in Japanese Kirin, is another name for Silla (in Japanese Shinra or Shiragi). See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 43.

Sonaka-cheulchi looks like a genuine Corean name.

[3] The age given here is inconsistent with other data found in the "Nihongi" itself, and with the "Kojiki," which makes him 168 at the time of his death.

BOOK VI.

THE EMPEROR IKU-ME-IRI-HIKO-I-SACHI.

(*SUININ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-i-sachi was the third child of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye. The Empress his mother was called Mimaki-hime. She was the daughter of Oho-hiko no Mikoto. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Midzu-gaki in the 29th year of the Emperor Mimaki, the 50th year of the cycle, Spring, the 1st month, the 1st day. From his birth he was of a distinguished appearance; when he grew to manhood, he had superior talent and large principles. His disposition was to be guided implicitly by truth and to avoid dissimulation.

The Emperor loved him, and retained him near his own person. At the age of twenty-four,[2] in accordance with the prognostic of a dream, he made him Prince Imperial.

The Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye died in Winter, the 12th month of the 68th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 2nd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 29.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day.[3] The Emperor Mimaki was buried in the Misasagi over the road at Yamanobe. VI. 2.

11th month, 2nd day. The Empress was granted the

[1] Dispense-benevolence.

[2] This does not agree with what precedes. He was born in the 29th year of his father's reign, and made Prince Imperial in the 48th. He would therefore be only twenty, and not twenty-four. Note that the Japanese always count both the year of birth and the current year in their calculations of age.

[3] This does not agree with the date on the previous page.

honorary title of Grand Empress. This was the year Midzu-noye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 28. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. Saho-hime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to Homu-tsu-wake no Mikoto. From his birth the Emperor loved him, and kept him near his own person. When he grew to manhood, he could not speak.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Maki-muku. It was called the Palace of Tamaki. In this year the man of Imna, Sonaka cheulchi,[1] asked permission to return to his country. Therefore gifts were liberally bestowed on him, and there were entrusted to him as a present for the King of Imna 100 pieces of red silk. But the Silla people waylaid and robbed him, and at this time began the enmity between the two countries.[2]

One account says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Mimaki, there was a man with horns on his forehead[3] who came riding in a ship and anchored in the Bay of Kebi in the land of Koshi. Therefore that place was called Tsunoga.[4] He was asked what countryman he was. He replied, saying:—'I am the son of the King of Great Kara.
VI. 3. My name is Tsunoga arashito, and I am also called Ushiki arishichi kanki.[5] It having come to my ears that there is in the Land of Japan a sage Emperor, I wished to offer

[1] Corean pronunciation. The Japanese would be Sonaka shichi.

[2] There is probably some historical foundation for this. But the chronology must be wrong. According to the Tongkam, Kara (Imna) was not formed into a kingdom until A.D. 42, and hostilities between Kara and Silla are first mentioned in that work in A.D. 94. They were also at war in 97, 115, 116, and 203. See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 44.

[3] The ancient Chinese Emperors are so depicted.

[4] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. A derivation from Tsuno-nuka (horn-forehead) seems intended.

[5] The Chinese characters in the text are probably intended to be read with their Japanese pronunciation, and I have accordingly in this instance followed the traditional Kana rendering. If the Corean pronunciation were followed, we should read Tonoka Arasăteung and Usaki ari cheulchi kanki. The Shiki says that kanki is a Silla rank equal to the Japanese senior 3rd rank. From a passage in Keidai Tennō's reign, year 23, it would appear that Arashito, or Arasăteung, was the name of some office or dignity.

him my allegiance and came to Anato.'[1] Now in that land there was a man named Itsutsu-hiko, who spoke to thy servant, saying:—'I am the King of this land, and there is no other king but me. Do not thou therefore proceed further.' But when I observed him closely and saw what manner of man he was, I knew surely that he was not a king. So I departed again from that place, and not knowing the road, anchored at one island and bay after another, going round by way of the Northern Sea and passing the Land of Idzumo until I arrived here."

It so happened that at this time the Emperor died, so he was detained and served the Emperor Ikume for three years.

Then the Emperor inquired of Arashito, saying:—"Dost thou wish to return to thy country?" He answered and said:—"I earnestly desire to do so." The Emperor then addressed Arashito, saying:—"If thou hadst not lost thy way, thou wouldst certainly have arrived here sooner—in time to serve the late Emperor. Do thou, therefore, change the name of thy country. In future take the august name VI. 4.
of the Emperor Mimaki and make it the name of thy country. So he gave Arashito red silk stuffs and sent him back to his native land. This was the reason why the name of that country is called Mimana.[2] Hereupon Arashito took the red silk which had been given him, and stored it in the magazine of his country. The people of Silla hearing this, raised an army and proceeding thither robbed him of all the red silk. This was the beginning of the enmity between these two countries."

One writing says:—"In the beginning, when Tsunoga Arashito was still in his own land, he went into the country with an ox loaded with implements of husbandry. The ox suddenly disappeared, and seeking for it by its tracks, he found that the foot-prints ceased in a certain village. Now there was here an old man who said:—'The ox which thou art in search of entered this village, and the

[1] Anato, lit. hole-door, is the ancient name of Nagato (long-door) or Chōshiu. The door is the Strait of Shimonoseki.

[2] Imna, according to the Corean pronunciation of the characters.

village chiefs said:—"With the implements which he is carrying let us fell the ox. We must surely prepare to slay and eat him. If the owner comes in search of him, we shall indemnify him with something." So they slew and ate him. If thou art asked what thing thou desirest as the price of the ox, do not ask for treasures, but say that thou wishest to have the God worshipped by the village. Tell them so.' Presently the village chiefs came and said:—'What dost thou desire as the price of thy ox?' And he replied as the old man had instructed him. Now the God whom they worshipped was a white stone. So they gave the white stone to the owner of the ox, and he accordingly brought it away with him and placed it in his bed-chamber. This divine stone became changed into
VI. 5. a beautiful maiden, upon which Arashito was greatly rejoiced, and wished to be united to her. But while he was away in another place, the maiden suddenly disappeared. Arashito was greatly alarmed, and inquired of his wife, saying:—'Whither has the maiden gone?' She replied and said:—'She has gone towards the East.' So he went in search of her, and at length, drifting far over the sea, he thus arrived in our country. The maiden whom he sought came to Naniha, where she became the Deity of the Himegoso shrine. Then proceeding to the district of Kusaki, in the Land of Toyo, she afterwards became the Deity of the Himegoso shrine. She is worshipped in both these places."

B.C. 27. 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The Silla prince, Ama no hi-hoko,[1] arrived. The objects which he brought were—one Ha-buto gem, one Ashi-daka gem, one red-stone Ukaka gem, one Idzushi short sword, one Idzushi spear, one sun-mirror, one Kuma-himorogi,[2] seven things in all. These were stored in the Land of Tajima,[3] and made divine things for ever.

[1] This means "The sun-spear of Heaven," and is purely Japanese. It cannot be a Corean name.

[2] Kuma-himorogi. See above, p. 82.

[3] In the district of Idzu-shi (which I take to be for Idzu-ishi, sacred stone), a name which is suggestive of stone-worship. The "Kojiki" mentions eight objects, not at all the same, however, and calls them the Eight Great

One version says:—"In the beginning, Ama no hi-hoko, riding in a ship, anchored at the land of Harima, where he dwelt in the village of Shisaha. Then the Emperor sent to Harima Ohotomo nushi, the ancestor of the Miwa no Kimi, and Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe, and inquired of Ama no hi-hoko, saying:—'Who art thou, and to what country dost thou belong?' Ama no hi-hoko answered and said:—'I am the son of the King of Silla. Hearing that in the Land of Japan there was a sage monarch, I gave my country to my younger brother, Chiko,[1] and have come to offer my allegiance and to bring tribute of the following objects, viz.—a Ha-boso[2] gem, an Ashi-daka gem, an Ukaka red-stone (or Akashi) gem, an Idzushi short sword, an Idzushi spear, a sun-mirror, a Kuma-himorogi, and an Isasa sword—eight objects in all.' So the Emperor gave orders to Ama no hi-hoko, saying:—'Do thou dwell in either of these two villages—Shisaha in the land of Harima, or Idesa in the island of Ahaji, at thy pleasure.' Then Ama no hi-hoko addressed the Emperor, saying:—'In regard to a dwelling-place for thy servant, if the celestial favour is bestowed on him so far as to grant thy servant the place of his desire, thy servant will himself proceed to and visit the various provinces, and he hopes that he may be granted the place which is agreeable to his mind.' This was agreed to. Thereupon Ama no hi-hoko, ascending the river Uji, went northwards, until he arrived at the village of Ana, in the province of Ohomi. VI. 6.

Afterwards, he proceeded onwards, from the province of Ohomi, through the province of Wakasa, and going westward arrived at the province of Tajima. So there he

Deities of Idzushi. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 261. Possibly the Idzushi short sword and the Idzushi spear were stone weapons. This passage is one of several evidences that Japan owes to Corea one element of the Shintō religion. The "Yengi-shiki" mentions several Corean Gods as being worshipped in Japan. The "Kojiki" mixes up this legend with that of Arashito given above. Indeed both are probably founded on the same occurrence.

[1] I can't find any king of this name in Silla History.

[2] Ha-boso means leaf-slender and Ashi-daka leg-high. They are probably names of places.

fixed his dwelling-place. Therefore the potters of Kagami no hasama,[1] in the province of Ohomi, are the servants of
VI. 7. Ama no hi-hoko. Accordingly Ama no hi-hoko took to wife Matawo, the daughter of Futomimi, a man of Idzushi in Tajima, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, who was the father of Tajima no Hinaraki, who was the father of Kiyohiko, who was the father of Tajima-mori."

B.C. 26. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 23rd day. The Empress's elder brother by the mother's side, Prince Sahohiko, plotted treason and tried to endanger the State. Therefore he watched for an occasion when the Empress was enjoying her leisure, and addressing her, said as follows:—"Whom dost thou love best—thy elder brother or thy husband?" Upon this, the Empress, ignorant of his object in making this inquiry, straightway answered and said:—"I love my elder brother." Then he enticed the Empress, saying:—"If one serves a man by beauty, when the beauty fades, his affection will cease.[2] There are now many beautiful women in the Empire. They will come one after another and seek affection. How, then, canst thou trust always to thy beauty? It is my wish, therefore, to ascend to the immense felicity,[3] and of a certainty to rule over the Empire along with thee. So making high our pillows,[4] we shall complete a long hundred years. Would not this be
VI. 8. delightful? I beg thee, therefore, to slay the Emperor for me." So he took a dagger, and giving it to the Empress, said:—"Gird on this dagger among thy garments, and when the Emperor goes to sleep, do thou stab him in the neck, and thus kill him." Upon this the Empress trembled in her heart within, and knew not what she should do. But in view of the determination of the Prince, her elder brother, she felt that remonstrance would be useless. Therefore she took the dagger, and having herself nowhere to deposit it, she placed it in her garments, intending all the while to remonstrate with her elder brother.

B.C. 25. 5th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor pro-

[1] Mirror-valley. [2] A Chinese saying.
[3] i.e. to take possession of the throne.
[4] A Chinese metaphor meaning "in security."

ceeded to Kume, where he dwelt in Taka-miya."[1] Now the Emperor took his noon-day sleep with the Empress's knees as his pillow. Up to this time the Empress had accomplished nothing, but thought vainly to herself:—"This would be the time to do that which the Prince, my elder brother, plotted." And she wept tears which fell on the Emperor's face. The Emperor woke up and addressed the Empress, saying:—"To-day We have had a dream. A small brocade-coloured snake coiled itself round Our neck and a great rain arose from Saho, which coming hither wet Our face. What does this portend?" The Empress thereupon, knowing that she could not conceal the plot, in fear and awe bowed herself to the earth, and informed the Emperor fully of the circumstances of the Prince, her elder brother's, treason. Accordingly she addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden was unable to resist the purpose of the Prince, her elder brother, and yet could not be false to the gratitude due to the Emperor. If I confessed I destroyed the Prince, my elder brother. If I said nothing, I overturned the temples of the earth and of grain,[2] so that on the one hand there was fear, and on the other there was grief. Whether I looked up or down there was lamenta- VI. 9.
tion, whether I advanced or retired there was weeping and wailing. Night and day I was disturbed in mind, and could find no way to give information. Only to-day when Your Majesty went to sleep with his handmaiden's knee as a pillow, she thought—'If I were mad enough to accomplish the purpose of my elder brother, at this very time the deed could be done without difficulty.' With this thought still in my mind, the tears flowed spontaneously. So I raised my sleeve to wipe away the tears, and they overflowed from the sleeve and moistened Your Majesty's face. Therefore the dream of to-day must have been an effect of this thing. The small brocade-coloured snake is nothing else than the dagger which was given me: the great rain which arose suddenly is nothing else than thy handmaiden's tears." Then the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This is not thy crime," and raising a force from the neighbouring district, he commanded Yatsunada, the

[1] Taka-miya means high-palace or shrine.

[2] A Chinese expression for the State.

remote ancestor of the Kimi of Kôdzuke, to slay Saho-hiko. Now Saho-hiko withstood him with an army, and hastily piling up rice-stalks made thereof a castle, which was so solid that it could not be breached. This is what was called a "rice-castle."[1] A month passed, and yet it did not surrender. Hereupon the Empress, grieved at this, said:—"Even though I am Empress, with what countenance can I preside over the Empire, after bringing to ruin the Prince, my elder brother?" Accordingly, she took in her arms the Imperial Prince Homutsu wake no Mikoto, and entered the rice-castle of the Prince, her elder brother. The Emperor increased his army still more, and having surrounded the castle on all sides, proclaimed to those within it, saying:—"Send forth quickly the Empress and the Imperial Prince." But they would not send them out. So the
VI. 10. General Yatsunada set fire to the castle. Then the Empress, taking in her bosom the Imperial child, crossed over the castle and came out from it. Therewithal she besought the Emperor, saying:—"The reason why thy handmaiden at first fled into her elder brother's castle was in the hope that her elder brother might be absolved from guilt for the sake of her and of her child. But now he has not been absolved, and I know that I am guilty. Shall I have my hands tied behind my back? There is nothing left for me but to strangle myself. But even though I, thy handmaiden, die, I cannot bear to forget the favour shown me by the Emperor. I pray, therefore, that the Empress's palace, which I had charge of, may be granted to fair mates for thee. In the land of Tamba there are five ladies, all of virtuous minds, the daughters of the Prince, who is Michi no Ushi[2] of Tamba.

Prince Michi no Ushi was a grandson of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-Neko oho-hi-hi, and son of Prince Hiko-imasu.

[1] The Japanese word for rice-castle is inaki. It may be doubted whether there ever was any such castle as that described here. Artless attempts at derivation furnish a considerable portion of the old myths and legends of Japan. Inaki is the term used for the Imperial granaries in the provinces, and was also applied to their custodians. It therefore became a title of nobility which is frequently met with in the later history.

[2] Lit. master of the road.

One version has:—"Son of Prince Hiko-yu-musubi-kuma."

Let them be placed in the side courts to complete the number of the consort chambers." To this the Emperor agreed.[1] Then the fire blazed up, and the castle was destroyed. The troops all ran away, and Saho-hiko and his younger sister died together inside the castle. Thereupon the Emperor commended the good service of General Yatsunada, and granted him the name of Yamato-hi-muke take-hi-muke-hiko[2] Yatsunada.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The courtiers represented to the Emperor as follows:—"In the village of Taima[3] there is a valiant man called Kuyehaya of Taima. He is of great bodily strength, so that he can break horns and straighten out hooks. He is always saying to the people:—'You may search the four quarters, but where is there one to compare with me in strength? O that I could meet with a man of might, with whom to have a trial of strength, regardless of life or death.'" B.C. 23. VI. 11.

The Emperor, hearing this, proclaimed to his ministers, saying:—"We hear that Kuyehaya of Taima is the champion of the Empire. Might there be any one to compare with him?"

One of the ministers came forward and said:—"Thy servant hears that in the Land of Idzumo there is a valiant man named Nomi no Sukune. It is desirable that thou shouldst send for him, by way of trial, and match him with Kuyehaya."

That same day the Emperor sent Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, to summon Nomi no Sukune. Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came from Idzumo, and straightway he and Taima no Kuyehaya were made to wrestle together. The two men stood opposite to one another. Each raised his foot and kicked at the other,[4] when Nomi no Sukune broke with a kick the ribs of Kuyehaya and also kicked and broke his loins and thus killed him. Therefore the land of Taima no Kuyehaya was seized, and was all given to Nomi no Sukune. This was

But did not act on it till nine years later!

[2] Yamato-sun-facing brave-sun-facing prince.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] The wrestling seems to have been of the nature of a Greek παγκράτιον, or the French savate.

the cause why there is in that village a place called Koshi-ore-da, i.e. the field of the broken loins.

VI. 12. Nomi no Sukune remained and served the Emperor.

B.C. 15. 15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The five women of Tamba were sent for and placed in the side-court. The name of the first was Hibasu-hime, of the second Nuba-tani-iri-hime, of the third Matonu-hime, of the fourth Azami-ni-iri-hime, and of the fifth Takano-hime.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Hibasu-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress, and the Empress's three younger sisters were made concubines. Only Takano-hime, on account of the ugliness of her form, was sent back to her own country. Accordingly in her shame at being sent back, when she came to Kadono, she purposely tumbled from the carriage and was killed. Therefore that place received the name of Ochi-kuni.[2] The present name, Oto-kuni, is a corruption of this. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto had three sons and two daughters. The eldest was called Ini-shiki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, the second Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the third Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto, the fourth Yamato-hime no Mikoto, and the fifth Wakaki-ni-iri-biko no Mikoto. The concubine Nuba-tani-iri-hime gave birth to Nuteshi-wake no Mikoto and Ika-tarashi-bime no Mikoto. The next concubine Azami-ni-iri-bime gave
VI. 13. birth to Ike-haya-wake no Mikoto and Waka-asa-tsu-hime no Mikoto.

B.C. 7. 23rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Prince Homutsu-wake is now thirty years of age.[3] His beard is eight span long, yet he weeps like an infant, and never speaks. What can be the reason of this?" So he caused Commissioners to consider the matter.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Emperor stood before the Great Hall, with the Imperial Prince Homutsu-wake in attendance on him. Now there was a swan which crossed the Great Void, uttering its cry. The Imperial Prince looked up,

[1] The "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 197) makes only four princesses, and in another passage only two. [2] Fall-country.

[3] The "Kojiki" makes this Prince born at the time of Saho-hiko's rebellion, i.e. in the fifth year of Suinin Tennō's reign. The "Nihongi" is less precise, but it is plain from the narrative that he cannot have been thirty at this time.

and seeing the swan, said:—"What thing is this?" The Emperor, observing that the Imperial Prince had gained his speech on seeing the swan, was rejoiced, and commanded his courtiers, saying:—"Which of you will catch this bird and present it to me?" Thereupon, Amano Yukaha Tana, the ancestor of the Tottori[1] no Miyakko, addressed his Majesty, saying:—"Thy servant will surely catch it, and present it to thee." So the Emperor declared to Yukaha Tana, saying:—"If thou present this bird to me, I will certainly reward thee liberally." Now, Yukaha Tana, looking from afar towards the quarter whither the swan had flown, followed in search of it to Idzumo and there captured it.

Some say "To the land of Tajima."

VI. 14. 11th month, 2nd day. Yukaha Tana presented the swan to the Emperor. Homutsu-wake no Mikoto played with this swan and at last learned to speak. Therefore, Yukaha Tana was liberally rewarded, and was granted the title of Tottori no Miyakko.[2] In consequence there was further established the Be of bird-catchers, the Be of bird-feeders,[3] and the Homu-tsu Be.

B.C. 5. 25th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor commanded the five Daibu,[4] Takenu Kaha-wake, ancestor of the Abe no Omi, Hiko-kuni-fuku,[5] ancestor of the Wani no Omi, Oho-kashima, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, Tochine, ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji, and Take-hi, ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, saying:—"The sagacity of our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye, was displayed in wisdom: he was reverential, intelligent and capable. He was profoundly unassuming, and his disposition was to cherish self-abnegation. He adjusted the machinery of Government, and did solemn worship to the Gods of Heaven VI. 15. and Earth. He practised self-restraint and was watchful as to

[1] Tottori for tori-tori, i.e. bird-catcher, is the name of a number of places in Japan, notably of the capital of the province of Inaba.

[2] Lord of the bird-catchers. The Chinese character for title is 姓, which means properly family name, surname. But, as this instance shows, such appellations were primarily official designations. Then they became hereditary titles, and in the last place were attenuated into mere surnames.

[3] Tori-kahi-be. [4] Daibu, great man, is a general term for high officials.

[5] Both these men are named in Sūjin Tennō's reign, 10th year, eighty-five years before.

his personal conduct. Every day he was heedful for that day. Thus the weal of the people was sufficient, and the Empire was at peace. And now, under Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth?"[1]

3rd month, 10th day. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was taken from Toyo-suki-iri-hime no Mikoto,[2] and entrusted to Yamato-hime no Mikoto. Now Yamato-hime no Mikoto sought for a place where she might enshrine the Great Goddess. So she proceeded to Sasahata in Uda. Then turning back from thence, she entered the land of Ohomi, and went round eastwards to Mino, whence she arrived in the province of Ise.

VI. 16. Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed Yamato-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"The province of Ise, of the divine wind,[3] is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this land I wish to dwell." In compliance, therefore, with the instruction of the Great Goddess, a shrine was erected to her in the province of Ise. Accordingly an Abstinence Palace was built at Kaha-kami in Isuzu. This was called the palace of Iso. It was there that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami first descended from Heaven.

One story is that the Emperor made Yamato-hime no Mikoto to be his august staff,[5] and offered her to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami. Thereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, and having enshrined her at Idzu-kashi no Moto in Shiki,[6] offered sacrifice to her. Thereafter, in compliance with the Goddess's instructions, she, in Winter, the 10th month of the year Hinoto

[1] This speech is thoroughly Chinese. It contains numerous phrases borrowed from the Chinese classics.

[2] She had been appointed B.C. 92, eighty-seven years before.

[3] This is a stock epithet (makura kotoba) of this province.

[4] Abstinence Palace or Worship Palace. "On the accession of an Emperor, an unmarried Princess of the Imperial House was selected for the service of the Shrine of Ise, or if there was no such unmarried Princess, then another Princess was fixed upon by divination and appointed worship-princess (齋王). The Worship-Palace was for her residence." Shintō miômoku ruijiushô, III. 23. See above, note to p. 41.

[5] i e. assistant or deputy.

[6] In Yamato. Idzu means sacred; kashi is the name of a tree; moto means bottom.

Mi,[1] on the 18th day, removed to the Palace[2] of Watarahi in the province of Ise. At this time the Great God of Yamato inspired Ohominakuchi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and admonished (the Emperor by his mouth), saying:—"At the time of the Great Beginning, it was covenanted that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami should govern all the Plain of Heaven, and that her august Imperial descendants should hold absolute rule over the eighty spiritual beings of the Central Reed-plain Land. My personal tenure of the governance of the great land is already at an end. But although the worship of the Gods in Heaven and Earth was maintained by the late Emperor Mimaki, he failed to search out the root of the matter in its details; he was wanting in thoroughness, and stopped short at the leaves and branches. Therefore that Emperor was short-lived.[3] For this reason do thou, our august descendant, now show regret for the shortcomings of the late Emperor and be watchful in regard to the ceremonies of worship. If thou dost so, the life of thine augustness will be long, and moreover the Empire will have peace." VI. 17.

Now when the Emperor heard these words, he caused Fukayu nushi, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, to use divination in order to discover who should be appointed to conduct the worship of the Great God of Yamato. Thereupon Nunaki-waka-hime no Mikoto answered to the divination, and was consequently appointed. A sacred plot of ground was fixed on in the village of Anashi, and worship performed at Point[4] Naga-oka of Oho-chi. But this Nunaki-waka-hime no Mikoto's body was already all emaciated, so that she was unable to do sacrifice, and therefore Nagaochi no Sukune, ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe, was made to offer the sacrifices.

26th year, Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Emperor B.C. 4.

[1] Corresponding to the 26th year of Suinin Tennō's reign, or B.C. 4.

[2] Or shrine.

[3] He died at the age of 120, or 168 if we take the "Kojiki" as an authority. This is one of numerous indications that the chronology of this period is worthless.

[4] The word misaki (point) is used both of a promontory and of a spur of a hill. Naga-oka is long-hill.

commanded the Mononobe, Tochine no Oho-muraji,[1] saying:—

VI. 18. "We have repeatedly despatched messengers to the Land of Idzumo to inspect the divine treasures of that Land, but we have had no clear report. Do thou go thyself to Idzumo, and having made inspection, attest them." So Tochine no Oho-muraji, having examined and attested the divine treasures, made a clear report thereof to His Majesty. He was accordingly appointed to the charge of the divine treasures.

B.C. 3. 27th year, Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Department of Worship was made to ascertain by divination what implements of war would be lucky as offerings to the Gods. Consequently bows, arrows, and cross-swords were deposited in the shrines of all the Gods. The land and houses consecrated to their service were fixed anew, and they were sacrificed to in due season. The practice of offering weapons in sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth probably had its origin at this time. This year granaries were erected in the village of Kume.[2]

B.C. 2. 28th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, the Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side, died.

11th month, 2nd day. Yamato-hiko was buried at Tsukizaka in Musa. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the misasagi. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them.

VI. 19. The Emperor, hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved in heart, and commanded his high officers, saying:—"It is a very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it, if it is bad? From this time forward, take counsel so as to put a stop to the following of the dead."[3]

[1] Great-village-elder. This word is nearly equivalent to Prime Minister.

[2] As explained above, Kume is probably a variant of the Chinese word for army. There is at present a village of this name in Yamato, but it was no doubt originally the barrack quarter, and the storehouses here referred to were to contain grain for the food of the army. The original commentary gives miyake as the Japanese name for these granaries. At a later period the miyake were local government offices.

[3] The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 174) says that this was the first time a hedge of

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Emperor commanded Inishiki no Mikoto and Oho-tarashi-hiko no A.D. 1.

men was set up round a tumulus. But the "Nihongi's" statement that it was an old custom must be correct.

This custom is too much in accordance with what we know of other races in the barbaric stage of culture to allow us to doubt that we have here a genuine bit of history, though perhaps the details may be inaccurate, and the chronology is certainly wrong. In an ancient Chinese notice of Japan we read that "at this time (A.D. 247) Queen Himeko died. A great mound was raised over her, and more than a hundred of her male and female attendants followed her in death."

Funeral human sacrifice for the service of the dead is described by Dr. Tylor ("Primitive Culture," i. 458) as "one of the most wide-spread, distinct, and intelligible rites of animistic religion. Arising in the lower barbaric stage, it develops itself in the higher, and thenceforth continues or dwindles in survival." He proceeds to quote numerous examples of it from all parts of the world, and from many ages of history.

It is well known to have existed among the Manchu Tartars and other races of North-Eastern Asia until modern times. The Jesuit missionary Du Halde relates that the Emperor Shunchi, of the T'sing dynasty (died 1662), inconsolable for the loss of his wife and infant child, "signified by his will that thirty men should kill themselves to appease her manes, which ceremony the Chinese look upon with horror, and was abolished by the care of his successor"—the famous Kanghi.

Another missionary, Alvarez Semedo, in his history of the Tartar invasion, says :—"The Tartarian King vowed to celebrate his Father's Funerals with the lives of two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of China. For it is the custome of the Tartars, when any man of quality dieth, to cast into that fire which consumes the dead corpse as many Servants, Women and Horses with Bows and Arrows as may be fit to atend and serve them in the next life."

This custom was also practised in China in the most ancient times, though long condemned as barbarous. Confucius disapproved of it. An ode in the "Sheking" (Legge, iv. i. 198) laments the death of three brothers who were sacrificed at the funeral of Duke Muh, B.C. 621. When the Emperor She Hwang-ti died, B.C. 209, his son Urh said, "My father's palace ladies who have no children must not leave the tomb," and compelled them all to follow him in death. Their number was very great. For other cases see a paper by Mayers in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society, new Series, xii.

A King of Kokuryö in Corea died A.D. 248. He was beloved for his virtues, and many of his household wished to die with him. His successor forbade them to do so, saying that it was not a proper custom. Many of them, however, committed suicide at the tomb. "Tongkam," iii. 20.

In A.D. 502, Silla prohibited the custom of burying people alive at the

Mikoto, saying:—"Do ye each tell me the thing ye would dearly like to have." The elder Prince said:—"I should like to have a bow and arrows." The younger Prince said:—"I should like to have the Imperial Dignity." Thereupon the Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let the desire of each of you be complied with." So a bow and arrows were given to Inishiki no Mikoto, and a decree was addressed to Oho-tarashi hiko no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou must succeed to Our Dignity."

A.D. 3. 32nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto died.

One version has Hibasu ne no Mikoto.

Some time before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"We have already recognized that the practice of following the dead is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial?" Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came forward and said:—"It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an expedient which I will submit to Your Majesty." So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Idzumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' Be. He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' Be to take clay and form therewith
VI. 20. shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he presented to the Emperor, saying:—"Henceforward let it be the law for future ages to substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up at tumuli." Then the Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying:—"Thy expedient hath greatly pleased Our heart." So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. And a

funerals of the sovereigns. Before this time five men and five women were put to death at the King's tomb. "Tongkam," v. 5.

Cases of suicide at the tomb of a beloved lord or sovereign have not been uncommon in Japan even in modern times. There was one in 1868.

The Japanese, like the Chinese, make no distinction between voluntary deaths and human sacrifices. Both are called jun-shi, a term which means "following in death." Indeed, as we may see by the Indian Suttee, it is often hard to draw the line between these two forms of what is really the same custom.

name was given to these clay objects. They were called *Hani-wa*.[1]

Another name is *Tatemono*.[2]

Then a decree was issued, saying:—"Henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli: let not men be harmed." The Emperor bountifully rewarded Nomi no Sukune for this service, and also bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the official charge of the clay-workers' Be. His original title was therefore changed, and he was called Hashi no Omi. This was how it came to pass that the Hashi no Muraji superintend the burials of the Emperors.[3]

The said Nomi no Sukune was the first ancestor of the Hashi no Muraji.[4] VI. 21.

34th year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a progress to Yamashiro. At this time his courtiers represented to him that there was in that country a beautiful person named Kambata no Tohe.[5] She was very handsome, and was the daughter of Fuchi of Ohokuni in Yamashiro. Hereupon the Emperor, spear in hand, made a vow, saying:—"I must be united to this beautiful person." On his way he saw an omen. A.D. 5.

[1] Clay-rings. [2] Things set up.

[3] The date ascribed to this incident cannot be depended on. At least Chinese accounts speak of the custom of human sacrifices at the burial of a sovereign as in full force in Japan so late as A.D. 247. Probably all the events of this part of Japanese history are very much antedated. But of the substantial accuracy of the narrative there can be no doubt. Some of these clay figures (known as tsuchi-ningiô) are still in existence, and one may be seen in the British Museum, where it constitutes the chief treasure of the Gowland collection. The Uyeno Museum in Tokio also possesses specimens, both of men and horses. None, however, remain in situ at the tombs. The hani-wa (clay-ring) cylinders which may now be seen embedded in the earth round all the principal misasagi are so numerous that they can hardly have all been surmounted by figures. But they are of the same workmanship and of the same date, and no doubt some of them are the pedestals of images, the above-ground part of which has been long ago destroyed by the weather or by accident.

A similar substitution of straw or wooden images for living men took place in China in ancient times, though by a curious inversion of ideas, the former practice is described as leading to the latter. See Legge's "Chinese Classics, Mencius," p. 9.

[4] Hashi (clay-worker) is also read hanishi, hashibe, or hasebe.

[5] As above stated, Tohe means chief.

When he was arriving at his lodging,[1] a large tortoise came out from the river. The Emperor raised his spear and thrust at

Tsuchi-ningiô. (Gowland Collection, British Museum.)

the tortoise, when it suddenly became changed into a white stone. Then the courtiers said:—" If one were only to think

[1] Literally, travelling-palace.

this out, it must prognosticate something." So Kambata no Tohe was sent for, and lodged in the hinder palace. She was the mother of Iha-tsuku-wake no Mikoto, who was the ancestor of the Kimi of Miho. Before this he had taken to wife Kari-hata-tohe, who bore him three sons. The first was called Oji-wake no Mikoto, the second Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, and the third I-take-wake no Mikoto.

Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ishida. VI. 22.

35th year, Autumn, 9th month. Inishiki no Mikoto was sent to the province of Kahachi to construct the pond of Takashi, and the pond of Chinu. A.D. 6.

Winter, 10th month. He made the pond of Saki in Yamato, and the pond of Tomi. In this year, the various provinces were commanded extensively to excavate ponds and channels,[1] to the number of eight hundred and more. Much attention was thus paid to husbandry. Therefore the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

37th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. A.D. 8.

39th year, Winter, 10th month. Inishiki no Mikoto, while dwelling in the palace at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, made a thousand swords. Therefore those swords were called the Kahakami set. A.D. 10.

Another name was the Naked[2] Companions.

They were deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. After this the Emperor gave orders to Inishiki no Mikoto, and made him to have charge of the divine treasures of the shrine of Iso no kami. VI. 23.

One version is:—"Whilst the Imperial Prince Inishiki dwelt at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, he sent for a smith by name Kahakami, and made a thousand swords. At this time, the shield-makers' Be, the Japanese-figured-cloth-workers' Be, the sacred-bow-shavers' Be, the sacred-arrow-makers' Be,[3] the Oho-anashi Be, the Hatsu-kashi[4]

[1] For irrigation.

[2] So called because worn without a sheath.

[3] See above, p. 178.

[4] These are the names of villages. The "Shukai" editor suggests that they were allotted to the Prince for his support.

Be, the jewel-workers' Be, the Kami-osaka Be,[1] the Hi-oki[2] Be, and the sword-wearers' Be—the Be of ten articles altogether—were granted to the Imperial Prince Inishiki.

These thousand swords were deposited in the village of Osaka. They were afterwards removed from Osaka and deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. At this time the God made a request, saying:—'Let the person named Ichikaha, of the family of the Omi of Kasuga, be made to attend to them.' Therefore by the Emperor's command,
VI. 24. Ichikaha was caused to attend to them. He was the first ancestor of the Mononobe[3] no Obito."

A.D. 58. 87th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Inishiki no Mikoto spake to his younger sister, Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"I am old, and unable to have charge of the divine treasures. Henceforward thou must have charge of them." Oho-naka-tsu-hime refused, saying:—"I am a feeble woman. How can I ascend to the divine storehouse of Heaven?"

Inishiki no Mikoto said:—"Although the divine storehouse[4] is high, I can make for the divine storehouse a ladder. How, then, should it be hard to ascend to the storehouse?" Hence the proverbial saying, "You can ascend even to the divine storehouse of Heaven, if you only plant a ladder." This was its origin. Ultimately Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto gave them to Mononobe no Tochine no Oho-muraji, and made him to have charge of them. Therefore the Mononobe no Muraji retain charge of the divine treasures of Iso no kami up to the present time. The above was the origin of this practice.

Formerly in the Land of Tamba, in the village of Kuwada, there was a man whose name was Mikaso. Now, in Mikaso's house there was a dog, by name Ayuki. This dog bit a wild animal called the *mujina*,[5] and killed it. In the animal's belly there was found a magatama of Yasaka gem. This gem was

[1] Osaka was the place where the swords were stored.

[2] Hi-oki means "daily offerings."

[3] The Mononobe were Imperial life guards.

[4] One of these storehouses, dating from the 8th century, may still be seen at Tōdaiji, Nara. It is raised on pillars some ten feet above the ground.

[5] A kind of badger.

accordingly offered to the Emperor, and is now in the shrine of Iso no kami. VI. 25.

88th year, Autumn, 7th month, 10th day. The Emperor A.D. 59. commanded the Ministers, saying:—"We hear that the divine treasures which the Silla Prince Ama no hihoko brought with him when he first came here are now in Tajima. They were originally made divine treasures because the people of that province saw that they were admirable. We desire to see these treasures." That same day messengers were despatched with the Imperial commands to Kiyo-hiko, great-grandson of Ama no hihoko, directing him to present them to the Emperor. Thereupon, Kiyo-hiko, when he received the Imperial orders, brought the divine treasures himself, and laid them before His Majesty. There was one Ha-buto gem, one Ashi-daka gem, one Uka no Akashi (red-stone) gem, one sun-mirror, and one Kuma-himorogi.[1] But there was one short sword called Idzushi,[2] which it suddenly occurred to Kiyo-hiko not to offer to the Emperor; so he concealed it in his clothing, and wore it himself. The Emperor, unaware of the circumstance of the concealment of the short sword, and wishing to be gracious to Kiyo-hiko, sent for him and gave him sake in the palace. Then the short sword appeared from among his garments and became visible. The Emperor saw it, and himself asked Kiyo-hiko, saying:—"What short sword is that in thy clothing?" Then Kiyo-hiko, seeing that he was unable to conceal the short sword, explained that it belonged to the divine treasures which he was laying before the Emperor. So the Emperor said to Kiyo-hiko:—"How is it possible for this divine treasure to be separated from its kind?" So he took it out and presented it to the Emperor, and all were deposited in the Sacred Treasury. Afterwards, when the Sacred Treasury was opened and inspected, the short sword had spontaneously disappeared. Accordingly, a messenger was sent to Kiyo-hiko, who inquired of him, saying:—"The short sword which thou hast presented to the Emperor has suddenly disappeared. Has it perchance come to thy place?" Kiyo-hiko answered, VI. 26. and said:—"Last night the short sword came of its own accord to thy servant's house; but this morning it has dis-

[1] Cf. above, p. 168. [2] Sacred-stone.

appeared." The Emperor was struck with awe, and made no further endeavour to find it. Afterwards the Idzushi short sword went of its own accord to the Island of Ahaji, where the people of the island considered it a God, and erected for the short sword a shrine, in which it is worshipped until this day.

Formerly there was a man, who riding in a ship, cast anchor in the land of Tajima. He was therefore asked, saying:—"Of what country art thou?" He answered and said:—"I am a son of the king of Silla, and my name is Ama no hihoko. So he dwelt in Tajima, and took to wife Mata no wo, daughter of Mahetsu mimi [One version has Mahetsu mi and another Futo-mimi] of that province, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, the grandfather of Kiyo-hiko.

A.D. 61. 90th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded Tajima Mori to go to the Eternal Land[1] and get the fragrant fruit that grows out of season, now called the Tachibana.[2]

A.D. 70. 99th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Maki-muku at the age of 140,[3] and in Winter, the 12th month, the 10th day, was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi, in Suga-hara.

VI. 27. The next year, Spring, the 3rd month, the 12th day, Tajima Mori arrived from the Eternal Land, bringing of the fragrant fruit that grows out of season eight sticks and eight bundles.[4]

Thereupon Tajima Mori wept and lamented, saying:—

"Receiving the Celestial Court's command,
Afar I went to a remote region:

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[1] Tajima Mori was apparently selected for this mission on account of his descent from a king of Silla. But the Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, can hardly have been Corea, where the Orange is little, if at all, grown in the present day. It was more likely China.

[2] The Orange, *vide* Ch. K., p. 198.

[3] The chronology, as usual, will not bear investigation.

[4] The meaning of the characters which I have thus rendered is doubtful. The corresponding passage in the "Kojiki" is corrupt and equally obscure. I do not feel sure that Motoöri has cleared it up quite satisfactorily, in spite of the amount of recondite learning he has brought to bear on it.

Cf. Ch. K., p. 199.

Ten thousand ri I crossed the waves,
Distantly I passed over the weak water.[1]
This Eternal Land
Is no other than the mysterious realm of Gods and Genii
To which ordinary mortals cannot attain;
Therefore in going thither and returning
Ten years have naturally passed.
Beyond my expectation, I braved alone the towering billows,
Turning my way again towards my own land.
Thus, trusting in the spirits of the Emperors,
I hardly accomplished my return.
But now the Emperor is dead,
I am unable to report my mission.
Though I should remain alive,
What more would it avail me?"[2]

Then turning his face towards the misasagi of the Emperor, he wept aloud, and so of himself he died. When the ministers heard of it they all shed tears.

Tajima Mori was the first ancestor of the Miyake[3] no Muraji.

[1] Said by the Chinese to be north of Fuyu (in Manchooria). It does not support ships.

[2] The sentiment and diction of this speech are thoroughly Chinese. It is not exactly poetry, but nearly so.

[3] Miyake, written with characters which mean "three storehouses." Mi, however, is more probably the honorific prefix.

BOOK VII.

THE EMPEROR OHO-TARASHI-HIKO-OSHIRO-WAKE.

(*KEIKŌ*[1] *TENNO.*)

THE Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake was the third child of the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi. The Empress his mother was named Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Prince Michi no ushi of Tamba. The Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi, in the 37th year of his reign, raised him to the rank of Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-one years of age. In the 99th year of his reign, Spring, the second month, the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi died.

A.D. 71. 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The chronological epoch was altered accordingly. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 72. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The elder lady[2] of Inabi in Harima was appointed Empress.

Another version has:—"The younger lady of Inabi in Harima."

VII. 2. She had two sons, the first of whom was named the Imperial Prince Oho-usu, and the second Wo-usu no Mikoto.

In one writing it is said:—"The Empress bore three sons. The third was named the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko."

The Imperial Prince Oho-usu and Wo-usu no Mikoto were born as twins[3] on the same day with the same placenta. The

[1] Great road or great conduct. [2] Oho-iratsume.

[3] There seems to have been a question which of twins was to be considered the elder. One idea was that the last born should be senior, because he occupied the higher place in the womb.

Emperor, wondering at this, informed the mortar.[1] Therefore he gave these two Princes the names of Great Mortar (Oho-usu) and Little Mortar (Wo-usu). Now this Wo-usu no Mikoto was also called Yamato Woguna and again Yamato-dake no Mikoto.[2] Whilst a child he had a manly spirit; when he arrived at manhood his beauty was extraordinary. He was a rod in height, and his strength was such that he could lift a tripod.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Divination was made as to whether the Emperor should make a progress to the Land of Kii to perform sacrifices to all the Gods of Heaven and Earth. It was found to be unlucky, and the Imperial car was accordingly countermanded. Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro A.D. 73.

[1] The Chinese character used here is 碓, which properly means a pestle, and is more particularly applied to that arrangement of a mortar and pestle in which the latter is set on a pivot and worked by the foot. This is called the Kara-usu in Japan. Here, however, is one of those cases where we must put aside the Chinese character and be guided by the Japanese word, which is unquestionably *usu*, a term applied to any arrangement for hulling or grinding grain. The usu is properly the mortar rather than the pestle (*kine*), but it is used for the combination of both, and for querns or hand-mills, which are also in use in Japan.

The usu here referred to is probably of the kind shown in the annexed illustration. Stone pestles resembling in shape that in the right hand upper corner are among the stone implements figured in Kanda's work on this subject.

Pestle and Mortar.

Hardy, in his "Manual of Buddhism," p. 158, says:—"The eastern pestle is found in every house, and is connected with as many superstitions and ceremonies as the besom among the old wives of Europe."

The "Shukai" editor suggests that by Great Mortar and Little Mortar the lower and upper stones of the hand-mill were meant. But there is no reason to doubt the statement below (A.D. 610) that hand-mills were first introduced in Suiko's reign.

[2] Woguna means boy, Yamato-dake means hero of Yamato. It is by the last of these names that he is best known to posterity.

[3] A Chinese phrase.

no Mikoto [one version has Take-wi-goro] was sent and caused
VII. 3. to do sacrifice. Hereupon Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro no Mikoto went thither, and stayed at Kashihara in Abi, where he sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. He lived here for nine years, and took to wife Kage-hime, the daughter of Uji-hiko, who was the ancestor of the Ki no Atahe.[1] She was the mother of Takechi no Sukune.

A.D. 74. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mino. His courtiers represented to him, saying :—"In this province there is a handsome woman named Oto-hime, of perfect beauty. She is the daughter of the Imperial Prince Yasaka Irihiko." The Emperor wished to obtain her to be his consort, and went to the house of Oto-hime.[2] Oto-hime, hearing that the Emperor was coming in his carriage, straightway concealed herself in a bamboo-grove. Hereupon the Emperor provisionally caused Oto-hime to go and reside in the Kuguri Palace, and letting loose carp in a pond, amused himself by looking at them morning and evening. Now Oto-hime wished to see the carp sporting, so she came secretly and stood over the pond. The Emperor forthwith detained her, and had intercourse with her. Hereupon Oto-hime thought :—"The way of a husband and wife is the prevailing rule both now and of old time. But for me it is not convenient." So she besought the Emperor, saying :—"Thy handmaiden's disposition is averse to the way of conjugal
VII. 4. intercourse. Unable to withstand the awe of the Imperial commands, she has been placed for a while within the curtain. But it gives her no pleasure. Her face too is hideous, and she is unworthy of being added to the side courts. Thy handmaiden, however, has an elder sister, by name Yasaka Iri-hime, of a beautiful countenance, and also of a virtuous disposition. Let her be placed in the hinder palace." The Emperor assented, and having summoned Yasaka Iri-hime, made her his consort. She bore to him seven sons and six daughters. The name of

[1] In this passage the province now known as Kii is called indifferently *Ki* or *Kiï*.

[2] Oto-hime means simply "younger lady." There are frequent cases in the "Nihongi" where a woman seems to have no other name than "elder lady" or "younger lady."

the first was the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, of the second the Imperial Prince Iho-ki Iri-hiko, of the third the Imperial Prince Oshi-wake, of the fourth the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko, of the fifth the Imperial Prince Oho-su-wake, of the sixth the Imperial Princess Nunoshi, of the seventh the Imperial Princess Nunaki, of the eighth the Imperial Princess Ihoki no Iri-hime, of the ninth the Imperial Princess Kako-yori-hime, of the tenth the Imperial Prince Isaki no Iri-hiko, of the eleventh the Imperial Prince Kibi no Ye-hiko, of the twelfth the Imperial Princess Takaki no Iri-hime, and of the thirteenth the Imperial Princess Oto-hime.

Again he took as consort the Lady[1] Midzuha, younger sister of Ihaki-wake, of the Miho House, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Ihono. His next consort, named Ikaha-hime, bore to him the Imperial Prince Kami-kushi[2] and the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko. The elder of these two, the Imperial Prince VII 5.
Kami-kushi, was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of Sanuki. The younger, the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko, was the first ancestor of the Harima no Wake.[3] His next consort was named Takada-hime, daughter of Kogoto of the Abe House, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Take-kuni Kori-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Wake of Mimura, in the Province of Iyo. His next consort, named Oho-tane-hime, of Kami-naga in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Prince Hiuga no Sotsu-hiko. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Amu.[4] His next consort, named Sotake-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, the Imperial Prince Kuni-se-wake [one version has the Imperial Prince Miya-chi-wake] and the Imperial Prince Toyoto-wake. The elder of these, the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of Minuma. The youngest brother, the Imperial Prince Toyo-to-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of the Province of Hi.[5]

Now the children of the Emperor, male and female, from VII. 6.
first to last, numbered eighty in all. With the exception, however, of Yamato-dake no Mikoto, the Emperor Waka-

[1] Iratsume. [2] Divine-comb.

[3] Wake, separation, branch, was a title which implied descent from the Imperial line.

[4] In Nagato. [5] Now Hizen and Higo in Kiushiu.

tarashi-hiko and the Imperial Prince Ihoki no Iri-hiko, the other seventy and odd children were all granted fiefs[1] of provinces and districts, and each proceeded to his own province. Therefore, those who at the present time are called Wake of the various provinces are the descendants of these separated (wakare) Princes.[2]

In this month, the Emperor, hearing that the daughters of Kambone, Mino no Miyakko, the elder's name being Ane-toho-ko, and the younger's being Oto-toho-ko, were both of distinguished beauty, sent Oho-usu no Mikoto with orders to examine the countenance of these women. Now Oho-usu no Mikoto had secret intercourse with them, and did not report his mission. For this reason the Emperor was wrath with Oho-usu no Mikoto.

Winter, the 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor returned from Mino and removed the capital to Maki-muku. This was called the palace of Hi-shiro.

A.D. 82. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Kumaso[3] rebelled, and did not bring tribute.

VII. 7. 8th month, 15th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsukushi.[4]

9th month, 5th day. On arriving at Saha in Suwo, the Emperor, standing with his face to the south,[5] addressed his Ministers, saying:—"To the southwards, smoke rises abundantly. There must certainly be brigands there." So he halted, and sending in advance Take-moro-gi, ancestor of the Omi of Oho, Unade, ancestor of the Omi of Kusaki, and Natsu-bana, ancestor of the Kimi of the Mononobe, made them to reconnoitre. Now there was here a woman, by name

[1] This points to something like a feudal system. But the analogy to European feudalism must not be too closely pressed. Cf. Ch. K., p. 203.

[2] This omits to notice that *Wake* is a much older term.

[3] The country of the Kumaso was the southern part of the island of Kiushiu corresponding to the present provinces of Hiuga, Ohosumi, and Satsuma. Kuma and So are the names of two tribes.

[4] Tsukushi is used in two senses. It sometimes stands for the whole island of Kiushiu, sometimes for only the northern part of it, viz. the two provinces of Chikugo and Chikuzen.

[5] The Emperor of China stands with his face to the south on state occasions. But here it seems only to mean that the Emperor looked southwards.

Kamu-nashi-hime, whose followers were exceedingly numerous. She was the chieftain of that whole country. When she heard that the Emperor's messengers had arrived, she broke off branches of the hard wood of Mount Shitsu. On the upper branch[1] she hung an eight-span sword, on the middle branch she hung an eight-hand mirror, and on the lower branch a Yasaka jewel. She also hoisted a white flag on the bow of her ship, and having come to meet them, addressed them, saying:—"I beseech you, do not have recourse to arms. None of my people, I assure you, are rebellious. They will presently submit themselves to virtue.[2] But there are mischievous brigands. The name of one is Hanatari.[3] He has assumed an unauthorized title. In the mountains and valleys he has called men together, and is encamped at Kahakami in Usa. Another is called Mimi-tari.[4] He is a mischievous brigand, rapacious, frequently plundering the people. He dwells at Kahakami in Mike. The third is called Asa-hagi. He has VII. 8.
secretly assembled a following, and dwells at Kahakami in Takaha. The name of the fourth is Tsuchi-wori-wi-wori.[5] He lives concealed at Kahakami[6] in Midori no, and relying solely on the difficulties of the mountains and rivers, plunders the people greatly. All the places to which these four have betaken themselves are strong places. Each of them therefore makes his relations chiefs of one place, and they all say they will not obey the Imperial command. I pray you attack them suddenly, and fail not."

Hereupon Take-moro-gi and the others first enticed the followers of Asa-hagi, and gave them presents of trowsers of red material and all manner of curious objects. Then having made them beckon to the four unsubmissive men, who came accompanied by their followers, they seized them and put them all to death.

The Emperor ultimately pursued his journey to Tsukushi, and arrived at the district of Nagawo in the province of Buzen,

[1] It was the ancient custom in Japan to deliver letters or presents fastened to branches of trees.

[2] To the Emperor's virtuous influence.

[3] Nose-depend.

[4] Ear-depend.

[5] Earth-break-well-break.

[6] Kaha-kami means the upper course of a river.

where he erected a travelling palace and dwelt there. Therefore the name of that place was called Miyako.[1]

Winter, 10th month. He arrived in the Land of Ohokida. The form of this region is wide and beautiful. Therefore it was called Ohokida.[2]

When he came to the village of Hayami, there was there a woman named Haya-tsu-hime. She was chieftain[3] of one place. When she heard that the Imperial car was coming, she went out in person to meet the Emperor, and reported to him, saying:—"In this mountain there is a great cavern called the Rat's Cave. There are two Tsuchi-gumo[4] who dwell in this cave. One is called Awo,[5] and the other Shira.[6] Again
VII. 9. at Negino, in the district of Nawori, there are three Tsuchi-gumo. The name of the first is Uchi-zaru,[7] of the second Yata,[8] and of the third Kunimaro.[9] These five men are alike mighty of frame, and moreover have numerous followers. They all say that they will not obey the Imperial command. If their coming is insisted on, they will raise an army and offer resistance." The Emperor, provoked by this, could not advance on his journey. So he halted at the village of Kutami, where he erected a temporary palace muro, and dwelt therein. Then he consulted with his Ministers, saying:—"Let us now put in motion a numerous army and slay the Tsuchi-gumo. If, fearing the might of our arms, they should conceal themselves in the mountains and moors, they will assuredly do future mischief." Accordingly he gathered camellia trees, and made of them mallets for weapons. Then selecting his bravest soldiers, he gave them the mallet-weapons. Therewith they pierced through the mountains, cleared away the grass, and attacking the Tsuchi-gumo of the cave,[10] defeated them at Kahakami in Inaba. The whole band were killed, and their blood flowing reached to the ancle. Therefore the men of that day called

[1] Capital. [2] Great field.

[3] The reader will observe that there are numerous cases of the "monstrous regiment of women" in these old legends.

[4] See above, p. 129. [5] Green or blue. [6] White.

[7] Strike-monkey. [8] Eight-fields.

[9] Country-fellow. Note again that the Tsuchi-gumo have Japanese names, and inhabit old-settled parts of Japan.

[10] The interlinear gloss has iha-muro, rock-muro.

the place where the camellia mallets were made Tsubaki-no-ichi,[1] and the place where the blood flowed they called Chida.[2] Then, in order to attack Uchi-zaru, he crossed straight over Mount Negi. At this time the arrows of the enemy, shot cross- VII. 10.
wise from the mountain, fell like rain in front of the Imperial army. The Emperor retreated to Shiro-hara, where he made divination on the river-bank, and accordingly arraying his troops, he first attacked Yata on the moor of Negi, and defeated him. Upon this Uchi-zaru felt that he could not gain the victory, and prayed that his submission should be accepted. This, however, was refused, and they all flung themselves into a ravine and were killed. In the beginning, when the Emperor was about to attack the enemy, he made a station on the great moor of Kashihawo. On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot five inches in thickness. The Emperor prayed, saying:—"If we are to succeed in destroying the Tsuchi-gumo, when we kick this stone, may we make it mount up like a Kashiha leaf." Accordingly he kicked it, upon which, like a Kashiha leaf, it arose to the Great Void. Therefore that stone was called Homishi.[3] The Gods whom he prayed to at this time were the God of Shiga, the God of the Mononobe of Nawori, and the God of the Nakatomi of Nawori—these three Gods.

11th month. He arrived at the Land of Hiuga, and erected a travelling palace, wherein he took up his residence. This was called the palace of Takaya.

12th month, 5th day. Counsel was held how they should attack the Kumaso. Hereupon the Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"We have heard that in the Land of the Kumaso there are two men named Atsukaya and Sakaya, who are the leaders of the Kumaso. Their followers are exceedingly VII. 11.
numerous, and are called the eighty Kumaso braves. It will be better not to touch their spear-points. For if we raise a small force, it will be insufficient to exterminate the brigands, while if a large army is put in motion, the people will suffer harm. Is there no means of subduing this country without active measures, and without resorting to the might of arms?" Then

[1] Camellia market. [2] Blood-field.
[3] For fumi-ishi, i.e. kicking-stone.

one of the ministers stood forward and said:—"A Kumaso brave has two daughters, the elder named Ichi-fukaya, and the younger Ichi-kaya. Their beauty is perfect, and their hearts are brave. Offer valuable presents, and under the pretence of bestowing them beneath thy standard, take advantage of this to gain intelligence of the enemy, and attack them unawares. So without ever a sword-edge being stained with blood, the enemy will surely yield themselves up." The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let it be so." Thereupon the presents were offered, and the two women, deceived by them, were bestowed beneath the tent. The Emperor straightway had intercourse with Ichi-fukaya, and made a show of affection for her. Then Ichi-fukaya told the Emperor, saying:—"Be not anxious lest the Kumaso should not submit. Thy handmaiden has an excellent plan. Let me have one or two soldiers to follow me." She then returned to her home, and prepared much strong sake, which she made her father drink. He became drunk and lay down to sleep. Ichi-fukaya then secretly cut her father's bowstring. Thereupon one of the soldiers who had escorted her came up and killed the Kumaso brave. The Emperor was provoked by such excessively unfilial conduct and put Ichi-fukaya to death. But Ichi-kaya he gave to the
VII. 12. Miyakkò of the Land of Ki.

A.D. 83. 13th year, Summer, 5th month. The Kumaso country having been all subdued, the Emperor accordingly dwelt in the palace of Takaya. When he had lived there six years, there was a beautiful woman in that country named Mihakashi-hime.[1] So he took her and made her his concubine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Toyo-kuni-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of the Land of Hiuga.

A.D. 87. 17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 12th day. The Emperor made a progress to the district of Koyu,[2] where he visited the little moor of Nimo. Then looking down towards the east, he said to his courtiers:—"This country faces directly the quarter of the Rising Sun." Therefore he named that country Hiuga.[3] On this day he mounted upon a great stone in the middle of the moor, and feeling a longing for the capital, made this poetry:—

[1] The lady of the august sword. [2] In Hiuga.
[3] For Hi-muka, i.e. sun-fronting.

Oh! how sweet!
From the quarter of my home, VII. 13.
Clouds arising come hither!
Yamato
Is the most secluded of lands.
Yamato
Retired behind Mount Awo-gaki,
Which encompasses it in its folds,
Is beautiful.
Let those whose lives are sound
Stick (in their hair) by way of headdress
Branches of the white evergreen oak
Of Mount Heguri—
(Fold within fold).
This child![1]

This is called a song of longing for one's country.

18th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, when about to A.D. 88. turn his way towards the capital, made a tour of inspection to the Land of Tsukushi.[2] He first arrived at Hina-mori. There was at this time on the bank of the River Ihase a crowd of men assembled. The Emperor, looking down on them from afar, addressed his courtiers, saying:—"Who are these men who are assembled? Are they an enemy?" So he sent two men, Hinamori the Elder and Hinamori the Younger, to see. Now Hinamori the Younger returned and reported, saying:—"Idzumi-hime, the Kimi of Muro-kata, is about to VII. 14 offer your Majesty a banquet, and therefore have people gathered together."

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Emperor arrived at the district of Kuma. In this place there were two brothers called Kuma-tsu-hiko.[3] The Emperor first sent to summon Kuma the Elder to him. Accordingly he came along with the messenger. Then he summoned Kuma the Younger, but he would not come. Therefore he sent soldiers and put him to death.

[1] The text and interpretation of this poem present considerable difficulty, and the above rendering is in parts only tentative. The "Kojiki" makes three distinct poems of it, and attributes them to Yamato-dake no Mikoto. Cf. Ch. K., p. 219. Awo-gaki means green-fence. "Fold within fold" is a mere epithet, or makura-kotoba, of Mount Heguri.

[2] Tsukushi is here evidently the northern part of the island.

[3] Prince of Kuma.

11th day. Proceeding by the sea route, he anchored at a small island in Ashikita, where he partook of food. Then he told Wo-hidari, ancestor of the Yama no Ahiko,[1] to give him some cold water. Just at this time there was no water in the island, and he did not know what to do. So looking up, he prayed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth, when suddenly a cool spring bubbled forth from the side of a cliff. This he drew and put before the Emperor. Therefore that island was called Midzushima.[2] That spring still exists in the cliff of Midzushima.

5th month, 1st day. Setting sail from Ashikita, he proceeded to the Land of Hi.[3] Here the sun went down, and the night being dark, they did not know how to reach the shore. A fire was seen shining afar off, and the Emperor commanded the helmsman, saying:—"Make straight for the place where the fire
VII. 15. is." So he proceeded towards the fire, and thus was enabled to reach the shore. The Emperor made inquiry respecting the place where the fire was, saying:—"What is the name of this village?" The people of the land answered and said:—"Toyomura, in the district of Yatsushiro." Again he made inquiry respecting the fire:—"Whose fire is this?" But no owner could be found, and thereupon it was known that it was not a fire made by man. Therefore that country was called Hi no Kuni.[4]

6th month, 3rd day. He crossed over from the district of Takaku to the village of Tamakina. At this time he killed a Tsuchi-gumo of that place called Tsudzura.

16th day. He arrived at the Land of Aso.[5] The level tracts of that Land were wide and far-reaching, but no dwellings of men were to be seen. The Emperor said:—"Are there any people in this country?" Now there were two Deities, one called Aso-tsu-hiko, and the other Aso-tsu-hime, who suddenly assuming human form, sauntered forward and said:—"We

[1] Ahiko appears to be a title similar to Atahe, Sukune, etc. It is derived by the Japanese commentators from a, I, my, and hiko, prince.

[2] Water-island.

[3] Now Hizen and Higo.

[4] The Land of Fire.

[5] The name Aso is preserved in Mount Aso, a very curious volcanic mountain in the province of Higo.

two are here. How can it be said that there are no men?" Therefore that place was called Aso.[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. He arrived at Mike[2] in the further Land of Tsukushi,[3] where he dwelt in the temporary Palace of Takata. Now there was here a fallen tree 970 rods in length. The hundred functionaries passed backwards and VII. 16.
forwards stepping on this tree. The people of that day made a song, saying:—

The morning hoar-frost[4]
August tree pole-bridge!
The Lords of the Presence
Pass over it—
The august tree pole-bridge!

The Emperor inquired, saying:—"What tree is this?" There was there an old man who said:—"This tree is a Kunugi tree.[5] Before it fell down, when the rays of the morning sun fell on it, it overshadowed the Hill of Kishima; when the rays of the evening sun fell on it, it covered Mount Aso." The Emperor said:—"This tree is a divine tree. Therefore let this country be called the Land of Mike."[6]

7th day. He reached the district of Yame, where, crossing VII. 17.
Mount Mahe, he looked down to the south upon Aha no Saki, and spake, saying:—"The peaks and glens of this mountain follow each other fold upon fold. They are exceedingly beautiful. May it be that a God dwells in this mountain?" Then Saru-ohomi,[7] the Agata-nushi of Minuma, represented to the Emperor, saying:—"There is a female Deity named Yame-tsu hime, who dwells always among these mountains." This is therefore the reason why this country is called the Land of Yame.

8th month. He arrived at the village of Ikuha,[8] where he

[1] Aso is a dialectical variation for nanzo or nazo, how or why.
[2] August tree. [3] Now Chikugo.
[4] Morning hoar-frost is a makura-kotoba. The only connection between it and the rest of the poem is that hoar-frost melts, and that ke (for ki) tree is also the first syllable of kesu, to melt. The Presence is of course the Imperial Presence.
[5] Quercus Serrata, Hepburn. [6] August tree.
[7] Monkey-great-sea. [8] In Chikugo.

partook of food. On this day the stewards left behind the drinking cup. Wherefore the men of that day called the place where the drinking cup had been forgotten Ukuha. The present name Ikuha is a corruption of this. In old times the common people of Tsukushi called a drinking-cup Ukuha.

A.D. 89. 19th year, Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The Emperor arrived from Hiuga.

A.D. 90. 20th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Princess Ihono was made to sacrifice to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami.

A.D. 95. 25th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Takechi no Sukune was commissioned to inquire into the geography of the various provinces of the Northern[1] and Eastern[2] circuits and the condition of the people.

A.D. 97. 27th year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Takechi no Sukune returned from the East Country and informed the Emperor, saying:—"In the Eastern wilds there is a country
VII. 18. called Hitakami.[3] The people of this country, both men and women, tie up their hair in the form of a mallet, and tattoo their bodies. They are of fierce temper, and their general name is Yemishi. Moreover, their land is wide and fertile. We should attack them and take it."

Autumn, 8th month. The Kumaso again rebelled, and made unceasing inroads on the frontier districts.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto was sent to attack the Kumaso. He was at this time sixteen years of age. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said:—"I desire to take with me some good archers. Where are there any good archers?" Some one told him, saying:—"In the province of Mino there is a good archer named Oto-hiko-gimi." Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto sent Miyado-hiko, a man of Katsuraki, and summoned to him Oto-hiko-gimi. Therefore Oto-hiko-gimi came and brought with him Ishiura no Yokotachi, Tako no Inaki,[4] and Chichika no Inaki of the province of Ohari, and followed Yamato-dake no Mikoto on his expedition.

[1] Including Mutsu and Dewa.

[2] Or Adzuma, the region round what is now Tokio.

[3] Sun-height. So called from its eastern position. Hi-tachi, sun-rise, is a name of similar purport.

[4] One of the lower ranks of the local nobility.

12th month. Having arrived at the Land of Kumaso, he inquired into the state of things, and the character of the country in respect of facilities of access. Now the Kumaso had a leader named Torishi-kaya, also called the Brave of Kahakami, who assembled all his relations in order to give them a banquet. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto let down his hair, and disguising himself as a young girl, secretly waited until the banquet should be given by the Brave of Kahakami. Then with a sword girded on him underneath his inner garment, he entered the banqueting muro of the Brave of Kahakami and remained among the women. The Brave of Kahakami, enchanted with the beauty of the young girl, forthwith took her by the hand, and made her sit beside him. He also offered her the cup, and made her drink, and thus amused himself with her. By and by the night grew late, and the company fewer. Also the Brave of Kahakami became intoxicated. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto drew the sword which he had in his inner garments, and stabbed the Brave of Kahakami in the breast, but did not kill him outright. The Brave of Kahakami, bowing down his head to the ground, said:—"Wait a little. I have something to say." Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto stayed his sword and waited. The Brave of Kahakami addressed him, saying:—"Who is thine Augustness?" He answered and said:—"I am the child of the Emperor Ohotarashi-hiko, and my name is Yamato Woguna." The Brave of Kahakami again spake to him, saying:—"I am the strongest man in all this land, and therefore none of the men of this time can excel me in might, and none refuses to be my follower. I have met with many valiant men, but none as yet could match the Prince. Therefore this despicable robber, from his filthy mouth, offers thine Augustness a title. Wilt thou accept it?" He said:—"I will accept it." So he spake to him, saying:—"Henceforward in speaking of the Imperial Prince, let him be styled the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake."[1] When he had done speaking Yamato-dake pierced his breast through and killed him. Therefore up to the present day he is styled Yamato-dake no Mikoto. This was the origin of it. VII. 19.

[1] The champion of Japan.

Afterwards he despatched Oto-hiko and the others, who slew all that band, leaving not a chewer,[1] and when this was
VII. 20. done, he returned by sea to Yamato. Arriving at Kibi, he crossed the Ana Sea. In this place there was a malignant Deity, whom he forthwith slew. Again, turning northwards, he arrived at Naniha,[2] where he killed the malignant Deity of the Kashiha ferry.

A.D. 98. 28th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto reported to the Emperor how he had subdued the Kumaso, saying:—"Thy servant, trusting in the Emperor's Divine Spirit,[3] by force of arms, at one blow, suddenly slew the Kumaso chieftain and reduced that whole country to peace. In this way the Western Land is now quiet, and the people are undisturbed. Only the God of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi and the God of the Ferry of Kashiha at Naniha, both, with mischievous intent, sent forth a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued. Both of them formed centres of calamity. Therefore I killed all those evil Deities, and have thrown open the roads by land and water alike." The Emperor upon this commended the good service done by Yamato-dake no Mikoto, and bestowed extraordinary affection on him.

A.D. 110. 40th year, Summer, 6th month. There was wide rebellion of the Eastern wilds, and the frontier was in a state of tumult.

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"The Eastern country is now in an unquiet state, and turbulent Deities have sprung up in numbers. Moreover the Yemishi have rebelled to a man and frequently carry off the people. Whom shall I send to still this disturbance?" But none of the Ministers knew whom to send. Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant it was who formerly performed the labour of the expedition to the West. This campaign must be the business of the Imperial Prince Oho-usu." But the Imperial Prince Oho-usu was afraid, and ran to conceal himself among the grass. Accordingly a messenger was sent to fetch him. Hereupon the Emperor chid him, saying:—"If thou dost not

[1] i.e. a living soul. [2] The modern Ohosaka.
[3] Very nearly the Latin *numen*.

wish it, shall We insist on sending thee? Why all this alarm, VII. 21.
whilst thou hast not yet confronted the enemy?" Accordingly he eventually granted him Mino as a fief, and so he went to his government. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Kimi of Muketsu and the Kimi of Mori. Upon this Yamato-dake no Mikoto, striking a martial attitude, said:—"Not many years have passed since I subdued the Kumaso. Now the Yemishi of the East have made a fresh rebellion. When shall we arrive at a universal peace? Thy servant, notwithstanding that it is a labour to him, will speedily quell this disturbance." So the Emperor took a battle-axe,[1] and giving it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, said:—"We hear that the Eastern savages are of a violent disposition, and are much given to oppression: their hamlets have no chiefs, their villages no leaders, each is greedy of territory, and they plunder one another. Moreover, there are in the mountains malignant Deities, on the moors there are malicious demons, who beset the highways and bar the roads, causing men much annoyance. Amongst these Eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful, their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father and child. In winter they dwell in holes, in summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs, and they drink blood.[2] Brothers are suspicious of one another. In ascending mountains they are like flying birds; in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds. When they receive a favour, they forget it, but if an injury is done them they never fail to revenge it. Therefore they keep arrows in their top-knots and carry swords VII. 22.
within their clothing. Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier. At other times they take the opportunity of the harvest to plunder the people. If attacked, they conceal themselves in the herbage; if pursued, they flee into the mountains. Therefore ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilizing influences.

[1] Motoöri points out this as an instance where the desire to imitate his Chinese models has caused the author of the "Nihongi" to introduce Chinese things which have no business in a Japanese narrative. The "Kojiki" says it was a spear of holly eight fathoms long.

[2] The "Liki" speaks of the ancient Chinese living on fruits and the flesh of wild beasts and drinking their blood.

Now We mark that thou art mighty of stature and thy countenance is of perfect beauty, thou hast strength sufficient to raise tripods, thy fierceness is like thunder and lightning, wherever thou dost turn thy face, there is none to stand before thee; whenever thou dost attack thou dost surely conquer. This we know, that whereas in outward form thou art Our child, in reality thou art a God. Truly Heaven, commiserating Our want of intelligence and the disturbed condition of the country, has ordained that thou shouldst order the Heavenly institution, and save the monarchy from extinction. Moreover, this Empire is thy Empire, and this Dignity is thy Dignity. I adjure thee to exercise profound policy and far-reaching foresight in searching out iniquity and watching against crises. Admonish with majesty; comfort with kindness. Avoid having recourse to arms, and thou wilt naturally inspire loyal obedience. So by cunning words thou mayst moderate the violent Deities, and by a display of armed force sweep away malignant demons." [1]

Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto received the battle-axe, and, bowing twice, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"But few years have elapsed since my former expedition to the West, when, trusting in the might of the Imperial spirit, I, with a sword three feet in length, conquered the land of Kumaso, and
VII. 23. the rebel chiefs yielded themselves to punishment. Now again, trusting in the spirits [2] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and in reliance on the Imperial might, I am proceeding to the frontier. I will admonish them by gentle teaching, and if any remain unsubmissive, I will smite them with arms." So he again bowed twice. Then the Emperor commanded Kibi no Take-hiko and Ohotomo no Take-hi no Muraji to follow Yamato-dake no Mikoto. He also appointed Nana-tsuka-hagi his steward.

[1] This speech cannot be received as a document of Japanese history. It is a cento of reminiscences of Chinese literature.

[2] Numina.

[3] Hirata says that Japanese surnames were taken from offices or avocations, names of places, parents' names, circumstances, or objects. I suppose he would have included under circumstances such personal peculiarities as that which suggested the name Nana-tsuka-hagi, literally "Seven-span-shanks."

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto set out on his journey.

7th day. He turned aside from his way to worship at the shrine of Ise. Here he took leave of Yamato-hime[1] no Mikoto, saying:—"By order of the Emperor, I am now proceeding on an expedition against the East to put to death the rebels, therefore I am taking leave of thee." Hereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took the sword Kusa-nagi and gave it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, saying:—"Be cautious, and yet not remiss."

This year Yamato-dake no Mikoto first reached Suruga. The brigands of this place made a show of obedience, and said, deceivingly:—"On this moor there are large deer in very great plenty. Their breath is like the morning mist, their legs are like a dense wood. Do thou go and hunt them." Yamato-dake no Mikoto believed these words, and, going into the middle of the moor, sought for game. The brigands, desiring to kill the Prince, set fire to the moor. But the Prince, seeing VII. 24.
that he had been deceived, produced fire by means of a fire-drill,[2] and, kindling a counter-fire, succeeded in making his escape.

> One version says:—"The sword Mura-kumo,[3] which the Prince wore, wielded itself, and mowed away the herbage near the Prince, thus enabling him to escape. Therefore that sword was called Kusa-nagi."[4]

The Prince said:—"I was almost betrayed." So he burnt all that robber-band and exterminated them. Therefore that place was called Yaketsu.[5]

Next he marched on to Sagami, whence he desired to proceed to Kadzusa. Looking over the sea, he spake with a loud voice, and said:—"This is but a little sea:[6] one might even

[1] She was appointed priestess B.C. 5, and we are now at A.D. 110, by the common chronology.

[2] The interlinear gloss and the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 211) have hi-uchi, or fire-striker, by which a flint and steel is doubtless meant. A fire-drill was known to the ancient Japanese, as appears from the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 104) and other authorities, and it is actually in use at present to produce fire for sacred purposes. See a paper by Satow, in "J.A.S.T.," VI. 223.

[3] Assembled-clouds.

[4] The herbage mower.

[5] Port or ferry of burning.

[6] The bay of Yedo.

jump over it." But when he came to the middle of the sea a storm suddenly arose, and the Prince's ship was tossed about, so that he could not cross over. At this time there was a concubine in the Prince's suite, named Oto-tachibana-hime. She was the daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune of the Hodzumi House. She addressed the Prince, saying:—"This present uprising of the winds and rushing of the waves, so that the Prince's ship is like to sink, must be due to the wishes of the God of the Sea. I pray thee let me go into the sea, and so let the person of thy mean handmaiden be given to redeem the life of the Prince's Augustness." Having finished speaking, she plunged into the billows. The storm forthwith ceased, and the ship was enabled to reach the shore. Therefore the people of that time called that sea Hashiri-midzu.[1]

VII. 25. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto, going by way of Kadzusa, changed his route, and entered the Land of Michi no oku.

At this time a great mirror was hung upon the Prince's ship. Proceeding by the sea route, he went round to Ashi no ura and crossed aslant to Tama no ura.[2] When he arrived at the Yemishi frontier, the chiefs of the Yemishi, Shima-tsu-kami and Kuni-tsu-kami,[3] encamped at the harbour of Take, with the intention of making resistance. But when they saw the Prince's ship from afar, they feared his majesty and power, and knew in their hearts that they could not gain the victory over him. They all flung away their bows and arrows, bowed down towards him, and said:—"When we look upon thy face, we see that it is more than human. Art thou perchance a Deity? We desire to know thy name." The Prince answered and said:—"I am the son of a Deity of visible men." Hereupon the Yemishi were all filled with awe. They gathered up their skirts and, plunging into the waves, of their own accord assisted the Prince's ship to reach the shore. Then, with their hands bound behind them, they submitted themselves for punishment. He therefore pardoned their offence, and having made prisoners their chieftains, caused them to be his personal attendants. The Yemishi having been

[1] Running-water. [2] In Shimōsa.
[3] Literally, Gods of the Islands and Gods of the Continent.

subdued, he returned from the country of Hitakami, and proceeding to the south-west, passed through Hitachi, and arrived at the Land of Kahi, where he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori. VII. 26. At this time a light was kindled and he partook of food. On this night he made a song, in which he inquired of those in attendance on him, saying :—

> Since I passed Tsukuba,
> And Nihibari,
> How many nights have I slept?

None of his attendants was able to answer him. Now there was a man who had charge of the lights, who made a song, in continuation of the Prince's, saying :—

> Counting the days—
> Of nights there are nine nights,
> Of days there are ten days.

Therefore the Prince commended his intelligence and liberally rewarded him.[1]

Now while he was residing in this palace, he granted to Take-hi, the ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, the Yuki[2] Be. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said :—"All the wicked chiefs of the Yemishi have submitted to the punishment of their crimes. Only in the Land of Shinano and the Land of Koshi there are a considerable number who are not yet obedient to the civilizing influence." So from Kahi he turned towards the north, and passing through Musashi and Kōdzuke, he went westward as far as the Usuhi-saka.[3] Now Yamato-dake no VII. 27. Mikoto always thought with regret of Oto-tachibana-hime. Therefore, when he ascended to the summit of Usuhi and looked down towards the south-east, he sighed three times, and said, "Alas! my wife!" Therefore the provinces east of the mountains were given the name of Adzuma.[4]

Here he sent Kibi no Takehiko by a different road to the Land of Koshi, and caused him to examine the character of the country as regards means of access, and also whether the people were tractable or not. So Yamato-dake no Mikoto advanced

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 214. [2] Quiver.
[3] Now known as the Usuhi Tōge (pass) on the Nakasendō road.
[4] Aga tsuma means my wife.

into the province of Shinano. This is a Land of high mountains and profound valleys. Verdant summits are piled up ten thousand fold, so that for men with staff in hand they are hard to ascend. The cliffs are precipitous, and are girt with flying bridges.[1] Many thousand are the hill-ranges, where even with slackened reins the horse makes no progress. Yet Yamato-dake no Mikoto, bursting through the smoke, and braving the mists, distantly crossed Mount Oho-yama. He had already reached the summit when he became hungry and had food on the mountain. The God of the mountain plagued the Prince. He assumed the form of a white deer and stood before him. The Prince, wondering at this, took a stick of garlic, and jerked it
VII. 28. at the white deer, striking it in the eye and killing it.[2] Here the Prince suddenly lost his way and could find no issue. Then a white dog came of its own accord, and made a show of guiding the Prince. Following the dog, he proceeded on his way, and succeeded in coming out into Mino. Kibi no Take-hiko, coming out from Koshi, met him. Before this when any one crossed the Shinano pass, he inhaled so much of the breath of the Deity that he became ill and lay down. But after the white deer was killed, the travellers who crossed that mountain chewed garlic,[3] and smearing with it men, kine, and horses, preserved them from being affected by the Deity's breath.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, having returned back again to Ohari, straightway took to wife a daughter of the Ohari House, by name Miyazu-hime, and tarried there until the next month. Here he heard that on Mount Ibuki in Afumi there was a savage Deity. So he took off his sword, and leaving it in the house of Miyazu-hime, went on afoot. When he arrived at Mount Ibuki, the God of the mountain took the shape of a
VII. 29. great serpent, and posted himself on the road. Hereupon

[1] Kake-hashi, a bridge supported on poles driven into the side of a cliff. Common in some mountainous parts of Japan.

[2] Ch. K., 213.

[3] "Another popular device (in Scotland) for frightening away witches and fairies was to hang bunches of garlic about the farms." "Auld Licht Idylls," by J. M. Barrie.

Dennys, in his "Folk-lore of China," mentions several cases of the use of garlic or onions to keep away evil spirits.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, not knowing that it was the master God who had become a serpent, said to himself:—"This serpent must be the Savage Deity's messenger. Having already slain a master God, is a messenger worth hunting after?" Accordingly he strode over the serpent and passed on. Then the God of the mountain raised up the clouds, and made an icy rain to fall. The tops of the hills became covered with mist, and the valleys involved in gloom. There was no path which he could follow. He was checked and knew not whither to turn his steps. However, braving the mist, he forced his way onwards, and barely succeeded in finding an issue. He was still beside himself like a drunken man. He therefore sat down beside a spring at the foot of the mountain, and, having drunk of the water, recovered his senses. Therefore that spring was called the Wi-same[1] spring.

It was at this time that Yamato-dake no Mikoto first became ill. The disease gradually increased and he returned to Ohari. Here he did not enter the house of Miyazu-hime, but passed on to Ise and reached Otsu.[2] Formerly, in the year when Yamato-date no Mikoto was proceeding eastwards, he halted on the shore at Otsu and partook of food. At that time he took off a sword which he laid down at the foot of a fir-tree. Eventually he went away forgetting it. When he now came to this place, the sword was still there. Therefore he made a song, saying:—

Oh! thou single pine-tree!
That art right opposite
To Ohari—
Ah me—thou single pine-tree!
If thou wert a man,
Garments I would clothe thee with,
A sword I would gird on thee.

When he came to the moor of Nobo, his sufferings became very severe. So he made an offering of the Yemishi whom he had captured to the Shrine of the God.[3] He therefore sent Kibi no Take-hiko to report to the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant having received the command of the Celestial Court, undertook a distant expedition to the wilds of the East, where VII. 30.

[1] Sit-sober.

[2] Not Ôtsu on the southern shore of Lake Biwa, but a place in Ise.

[3] As slaves.

by the favour of the Gods, and trusting in the mighty power of the Emperor, I made the rebellious to submit themselves for punishment, and the violent deities to become moderate. Therefore I rolled up my armour, laid aside my weapons, and was returning peacefully. It was my hope on such a day at such an hour to report my mission to the Celestial Court.[1] But the life allotted me by Heaven has unexpectedly approached an end. Passing swiftly as a four-horse carriage passes a crack in the road, it may not be stayed. Alone I lay me down on the waste moor with none to say a word to me. But why should I regret the loss of this body? My only grief is that I cannot meet thee."

Having said so, he died on the moor of Nobo. He was then thirty years of age. When the Emperor heard it, he could not sleep peacefully on his couch, nor was the taste of food sweet to him. Night and day his voice was choked with grief: with tears and lamentations he beat his breast. Therefore he exclaimed aloud, saying:—"Oh! Our son, Prince Wo-usu!
VII. 31. Formerly when the Kumaso revolted he was still a boy. But for a long time he bore the labour of campaigning. Afterwards he was constantly at Our side, supplying Our deficiencies. Then when the troubles with the Eastern savages arose, there was no one else whom We could send to smite them, so in spite of Our affection for him, We sent him into the country of the enemy. No day passed that we did not think of him. Therefore morning and evening We longingly awaited the day of his return. Oh! what a calamity! Oh! what a crime! While We least expected it, we suddenly lost Our child. Henceforth with whom to help us shall we manage the vast institution?"

So he commanded his ministers and through them instructed the functionaries[2] to bury him in the misasagi of Nobo Moor in the Land of Ise.

Now Yamato-dake no Mikoto, taking the shape of a white bird, came forth from the misasagi, and flew towards the Land of Yamato. The Ministers accordingly opened the coffin, and looking in, saw that only the empty clothing remained, and

[1] This sentence is in the "Shukai" edition introduced at the end of this speech.

[2] Lit. the hundred bureaus.

that there was no corpse. Thereupon messengers were sent to follow in search of the white bird. It stopped on the plain of Kotobiki in Yamato. Accordingly in that place a misasagi was erected. The white bird flew on again until it reached Kahachi, where it rested in the village of Furuchi, and in this place also a misasagi[1] was erected. Therefore the men of VII. 32. that day called these three misasagi "the white bird misasagi."[2] At last it soared aloft to Heaven, and there was nothing buried but his clothing and official cap. The Emperor, wishing to perpetuate the fame of his services, established the Takeru[3] Be. This was in the 43rd year of the Emperor's reign.

51st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Emperor A.D. 121. summoned his Ministers, and feasted them for several days. Now the Imperial Prince Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto and Takechi no Sukune did not come to the Banqueting Court. The Emperor sent for them and asked the reason. Therefore they represented to the Emperor, saying:—"On a day of festival, the Ministers and functionaries must have their minds bent on jollity, and they do not think of the State. In view of the possibility of there being madmen, who might watch for an unprotected space in the ramparts, we remain on guard beneath the Gate[4] and provide against emergencies." Then the Emperor spake and said:—"Splendid!" So he showed them an extraordinary affection.

Autumn, 8th month, 4th day. Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. On this day Takechi no Sukune was appointed Prime Minister.

The cross-sword Kusanagi, which was at first worn by VII. 33. Yamato-dake no Mikoto, is now in the shrine of Atsuta in the district of Ayuchi, in the province of Ohari. Now the Yemishi who had been presented to the shrine brawled day and night, and were disrespectful in their goings out and comings in. Then Yamato-hime no Mikoto said:—"These Yemishi should not be allowed near the shrine." Accordingly she sent them up

[1] I have seen this tumulus. It is a very large double mound surrounded by a moat.

[2] Shira-tori no Misasagi. Many of the tumuli are favourite resorts of the white egret, whence doubtless the name.

[3] Or Take, brave.

[4] Mikado means "august gate."

to the Court, where they were made to settle beside Mount Mimoro. Ere long they cut down all the trees of the sacred mountain. They shouted and bawled in the neighbouring villages and threatened the people. The Emperor, hearing this, summoned his Ministers, and said :—" The Yemishi who were placed beside the sacred mountain have by nature the hearts of beasts. They cannot be allowed to dwell in the inner country." So he caused them to be stationed without the home provinces, in any places which they pleased. They were the ancestors of the present Saheki[1] Be of the five provinces of Harima, Sanuki, Iyo, Aki, and Aha.

VII. 34. In the beginning Yamato-dake no Mikoto took the Imperial Princess Futachi-iri-hime, and made her his consort.[2] She bore Prince Ineyori-wake, next the Emperor Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko,[3] next Nuno oshi-iri-hime no Mikoto, and next Prince Waka-take. The eldest of these, Prince Ineyori-wake, was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Inu-gami and of the Kimi of Takebe. Another consort, named Kibi no Anato no Take-hime, daughter of Kibi no Take-hiko, bore to him Prince Take-miko and Prince Towoki-wake. The elder of these, Prince Take-miko, was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Aya in Sanuki. Prince Towoki-wake was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wake in Iyo. His next consort, Oto-tachibana hime, daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune, of the Hodzumi House, bore to him Prince Waka-take-hiko.

VII. 35. A.D. 122. 52nd year, Summer, 5th month, 4th day. The Empress Harima no Oho-iratsume died.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

A.D. 123. 53rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying :—" When will Our longing for Our son cease? We desire to make a tour of inspection to the region subdued by Prince Wo-usu." In this month he

[1] The Chinese characters for Saheki mean "Assistant-Chief." It is apparently a Chinese word and not Japanese, and therefore it seems out of place in the history of a period long previous to the introduction of Chinese learning. But, however unhistorical this narrative may be, it goes to prove that there is an Aino element in the Japanese nation.

[2] She was his aunt.

[3] Chiuai Tennô.

mounted into his carriage and made a progress to Ise; where, turning aside, he entered the East Sea provinces.

Winter, 10th month. He arrived at the province of Kadzusa, whence by the sea-route he crossed over to the harbour of Aha.

At this time the Emperor, hearing the cry of a fish-hawk, wished to see the bird's form. So he went out upon the sea in search of it, and caught clams. Hereupon the ancestor of the Kashihade no Omi,[1] by name Ihaka Mutsukari, made shoulder-straps of bulrushes, and preparing a hash of the clams, put it before the Emperor. Therefore he commended the service rendered by the Omi Ihaka Mutsukari, and granted him the Stewards' Ohotomo Be.

12th month. The Emperor returned from the Eastern country and dwelt in Ise. This was called the Kambata Palace.

54th year, Autumn, 9th month, 19th day. From Ise the Emperor returned to Yamato, and dwelt in the Palace of Makimuku. VII. 36. A.D. 124.

55th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Prince Hiko-sajima was appointed Governor-general of the fifteen provinces of the Tô-san-dô.[2] He was a grandson of Toyoki no Mikoto. But when he arrived at the village of Anashi in Kasuga he fell ill and died. A.D. 125.

At this time the people of the Eastern Land, grieved that the Prince did not arrive, secretly purloined his body, and buried it in the land of Kōdzuke.[3]

56th year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded Prince Mimoro-wake, saying:—"Thy father, Prince Hiko-sajima, was unable to proceed to his governorship and died prematurely. Therefore do thou undertake the absolute rule of the Eastern Land." So Mimoro-wake no Mikoto, having received the Emperor's commands, and being also desirous of accomplishing his father's work, straightway proceeded thither, and undertook the government. He had already attained to a A.D. 126.

[1] Stewards. [2] East-mountain-road.

[3] Several ancient tumuli near the village of Ohomuro in this province are perhaps the tombs of this dynasty of governors. They are described in a paper by Satow, in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VIII., p. 327.

good administration when the Yemishi made a disturbance. So he raised an army and attacked them. Then the Yemishi chieftains, Ashi-furi-he, Oho-ha-furi-he, and Tohotsu Kura-ho-he bowed their heads to the ground and came; they made deep obeisance and accepted punishment, offering him all their territory without exception. Therefore he pardoned those who surrendered, and put to death those who would not submit. On this account the Eastern Land was for a long time free from trouble. Therefore his descendants are to this day in the Eastern Land.

A.D. 127. VII. 37. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month. The Pool of Sakate was constructed, and the embankment planted with bamboos.

Winter, 10th month. It was commanded that every province should erect granaries of the labourers' Be.[1]

A.D. 128. 58th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Land of Ohomi, and dwelt in Shiga for three years. This was called the Palace of Taka-Anaho.

A.D. 130. 60th year, Winter, 11th month, 7th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Taka-Anaho at the age of 106.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-TARASHI-HIKO.

(*SEIMU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko was the fourth child of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake. The name of the Empress his mother was Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto, daughter of the Imperial Prince Ya-saka-iri-hiko. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the 46th year of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, being then aged twenty-four years. In the 60th year of his reign, Winter, the 11th month, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko died.

A.D. 131. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 132. 2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 10th day. The Emperor

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 205.

[2] Accomplish-functions.

Oho-tarashi-hiko was buried in the misasagi over the road at Yamanobe in the province of Yamato.

The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. VII. 38.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. Takechi no Sukune was made Prime Minister. In the beginning the Emperor was born on the same day with Takechi no Sukune, and he therefore had an extraordinary affection for him. A.D. 133.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, was clear-sighted and of divine valour. When he became subject to the scheme[1] and received over the plan he ruled Heaven and was in accordance with Man. He swept away the banditti, and restored right. His virtue was like a canopy, his path harmonized with development. Therefore in all the land under Universal Heaven there was none who did not recognize him as Sovereign. Of all things endowed with life and possessed of soul were there any which did not find their place? A.D. 134. VII. 39.

We have now succeeded him in the occupation of the precious felicity. Morning and night we tremble and fear. But the people are like wriggling worms, and will not reform the savagery of their hearts. In the provinces and districts there are no Lords, in the villages there are no Chiefs.[2] Henceforward let there be established Lords in the provinces, and let there be Chiefs placed in the villages. Accordingly let men of ability of the provinces be taken and appointed Chiefs over provinces and districts, so as to form a defence for the Inner Country."[3]

5th year, Autumn, 9th month. A decree was issued to all the provinces establishing Miyakko (governors) in the provinces and districts, and Inaki[4] in the villages. All were granted A.D. 135.

[1] The scheme of the permutations of the five elements. "Thus water is said to overcome fire and so forth. Each dynasty is believed to be subject to the influence of the element which overcomes that prevailing with the previous dynasty, and all human affairs are referable to the same occult influence." Mayers' Manual, p. 317. This whole speech is intensely Chinese.

[2] This cannot be correct.

[3] i.e. the Gokinai.

[4] Inaki is literally rice-castle, i.e. granary. The office seems to be something like mayor. It subsequently became a mere title, and eventually a surname.

shields and spears as emblems of authority. So the mountains and rivers were made boundaries for the separation of one province and district from another, whilst the bounds of townships and villages were established by means of lanes. In this way East and West were reckoned as in a line with the sun,
VII. 40. while North and South were reckoned as athwart the sun.[1] The sunny side of the mountains was called the light-face and the shady side of the mountains the back-face.[2]

In this way the people had tranquil possession of their dwellings, and the Empire was at peace.

A.D. 178. 48th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor appointed his nephew Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko no Mikoto Prince Imperial.[3]

A.D. 190. 60th year, Summer, 6th month, 11th day. The Emperor died, aged 107.

[1] Meaning lanes running N. and S. and lanes running E. and W.

[2] The modern division of the provinces between Kiôto and Shimonoseki, the Sanyōdo and Sanindo, rests on this distinction.

[3] His own son had perhaps died.

BOOK VIII.

THE EMPEROR TARASHI-NAKATSU-HIKO.

(*CHIUAI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko was the second child of Yamato-dake no Mikoto. The Empress[2] his mother was called Futachi-iri-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Emperor Ikume-iri-hiko isachi. The Emperor's countenance was of perfect beauty, and his stature was ten feet. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the forty-eighth year of the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, being at this time thirty-one years of age. The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko having no male offspring, appointed him as his successor. In the sixtieth year of his reign the Emperor died, and in the following year, Autumn, the 9th month, 6th day, was buried in the Tatanami misasagi in Saki, in the province of Yamato.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. A.D. 192.

Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. The Empress-mother was granted the honorary title of Grand Empress.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"The Prince, Our father, died before We reached the status of a youth. His divine spirit became changed into a white bird and ascended to Heaven. Our longing re- VIII. 2. gard for him knows not a day's intermission. Therefore it is Our wish to procure white birds and to keep them in the pond[3] within the precincts of the misasagi, so that, looking on these birds, we may comfort our feelings of longing." Orders were

[1] Chiu means the middle one of three sons; ai, to be sad, to grieve.

[2] She was not Empress.

[3] The misasagi are surrounded with a moat.

therefore sent to the various provinces to send tribute of white birds.

Intercalary 11th month, 4th day. The province of Koshi sent tribute of four white birds. Now the messengers who were sent with the birds stayed for the night on the bank of the river Uji. Then Prince Gama-mi-wake, of Ashigami, seeing the white birds, made inquiry, saying:—"Whither are you taking these white birds?" The men of Koshi answered and said:—"The Emperor, out of his longing for the Prince, his father, intends to keep them as pets. Therefore do we bring them as tribute." Prince Gama-mi-wake spake to the men of Koshi, saying:—"These may be white birds, but when they are roasted they will become black birds." So he forcibly seized the white birds and carried them away. Hereupon the men of Koshi came and reported to the Emperor, who was indignant at the affront offered by Prince Gama-mi-wake to the late Prince, and sending troops, put him to death.

Prince Gama-mi-Wake was the younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother. The people of that time said:—"A father is Heaven, an elder brother is a Lord; how can he escape execution who is wanting in respect to Heaven, and who thwarts his Lord?"[1]

This year was the year Midzunoye Saru (9th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 193. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Oki-naga-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as consort Oho-nakatsu-hime, daughter of his uncle Hiko-bito Ohine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince
VIII. 3. Kakosaka and the Imperial Prince Oshikuma. Next he took to him as consort Oto-hime, daughter of Oho-saka-nushi,[2] the ancestor of the Miyakko of Kukumada. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Homuya wake.

2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsunoga,[3] where he erected a temporary palace and dwelt in it. This was called the Palace of Kehi. In the same month the granary of Ahaji was established.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor made a tour of inspec-

[1] These phrases are Chinese, and therefore an anachronism in a history of this period.

[2] Great-sake-master.

[3] Tsuruga.

tion to the Southern provinces. Hereupon he left behind the Empress and the functionaries, and with two or three High officials[1] and several hundred officers in attendance, he proceeded, thus lightly equipped, as far as the land of Kiï, where he dwelt in the Palace of Tokorotsu. At this time the Kumaso rebelled and did not bring tribute. The Emperor thereupon prepared to smite the Land of Kumaso, and starting from Tokorotsu, borne over the sea, he made a progress to Anato. On the same day he sent messengers to Tsunoga and commanded the Empress, saying:—"Set out straightway from that harbour and meet me at Anato."

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. The Emperor anchored in the harbour of Toyora, while the Empress, who had set out from Tsunoga on her way there, arrived at the Strait of Nuta, and partook of food on board her ship. A great many tahi assembled beside the ship. The Empress sprinkled sake upon the tahi, which forthwith became drunk VIII. 4.
and floated to the surface. Then the fishermen, having caught numbers of these tahi, were delighted, and said:—"They are the fish given us by our wise sovereign." Therefore the fish of that place, when the sixth month comes, are in the habit of floating belly upwards as if they were drunk. This was the origin of it.

Autumn, 7th month, 5th day. The Empress anchored in the harbour of Toyora. On this day the Empress found in the sea a Nyoi[2] pearl.

9th month. The Emperor erected a Palace in Anato, and dwelt in it. It was called the Palace of Toyora in Anato.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Emperor proceeded to Tsukushi. At this time Kuma-wani,[3] the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Oka, hearing of the Emperor's arrival, pulled up beforehand a 500-branched Sakaki tree, which he set

[1] Daibu.

[2] The Nyoi (如意) is a sort of sceptre seen in the hands of Buddhist idols. It contains the Mani, one of the Sapta ratna, a fabulous pearl which is ever bright and luminous, and therefore a symbol of Buddha and of his doctrines.

A Buddhist term is of course an anachronism in this narrative.

[3] Bear (i.e. enormous), sea-monster, a fit name for a personage of a legendary narrative. See p. 61, note 3.

up on the bows of a nine-fathom ship. On the upper branches he hung a white-copper mirror, on the middle branches he hung a ten-span sword, and on the lower branches he hung Yasaka jewels. With these he went out to meet him at the Bay of
VIII. 5. Saha in Suwo, and presented to him a fish-salt-place.[1] In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying :—" Let the Great Ferry from Anato to Mukatsuno be its Eastern Gate and the Great Ferry of Nagoya[2] be its Western Gate. Let the Islands of Motori and Abe and none else be the august baskets: let the Island of Shiba be divided and made the august pans : let the Sea of Sakami be the salt-place." He then acted as the Emperor's pilot. Going round Cape Yamaga, he entered the Bay of Oka.

But in entering the harbour, the ship was unable to go forward. So he inquired of Kuma-wani, saying :—" We have heard that thou, Kuma-wani, hast come to us with an honest heart. Why does the ship not proceed?" Kuma-wani addressed the Emperor, saying :—" It is not the fault of thy servant that the august ship is unable to advance. At the entrance to this bay there are two Deities, one male and the other female. The male Deity is called Oho-kura-nushi,[3] the female Deity is called Tsubura-hime. It must be owing to the wish of these Deities." The Emperor accordingly prayed to them, and caused them to be sacrificed to, appointing his steersman Iga-hiko, a man of Uda in the province of Yamato, as priest.[4] So the ship was enabled to proceed. The Empress entered in a different ship by the Sea of Kuki. As the tide was out, she
VIII. 6. was unable to go on. Then Kuma-wani went back and met the Empress by way of Kuki. Thereupon he saw that the august ship made no progress, and he was afraid. He hastily made a fish-pond and a bird-pond, into which he collected all the fishes and birds. When the Empress saw these fishes and birds sporting, her anger was gradually appeased, and with the flowing tide she straightway anchored in the harbour of Oka.

[1] A salt-pan.

[2] Near Karatsu. It was from Nagoya that Hideyoshi's expedition sailed for Corea. By the salt-place is evidently meant the whole northern coast of Kiushiu. Salt is still made here, though the chief seat of this manufacture is now the shores of the Inland Sea. See Wileman in "T.A.S.J." XVII. 1.

[3] Great-magazine-lord.

[4] Hafuri.

Moreover, Itote, the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Ito[1] in Tsukushi, hearing of the Emperor's coming, pulled up sakaki trees of 500 branches, which he set up in the bow and stern of his ship. On the upper branches he hung Yasaka jewels, on the middle branches white-copper mirrors, and on the lower branches ten-span swords, and coming to meet the Emperor at Hikejima in Anato, presented them to him. In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying:—"As to these things which thy servant dares to offer, mayst thou govern the universe with subtlety tortuous as the curvings of the Yasaka jewels;[2] may thy glance survey mountain, stream and sea-plain bright as the mirror of white copper; mayst thou, wielding this ten-span sword, maintain peace in the Empire." Thereupon the Emperor commended Itote, and called him Isoshi. Wherefore the men of that time called the native place of Itote the Land of Iso. The present name Ito is a corruption of this.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived in the district of Naka. VIII. 7.
Here he dwelt in the palace of Kashihi.

Autumn, 9th month, 5th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, and consulted with them as to attacking the Kumaso. At this time a certain God inspired the Empress and instructed her, saying:—"Why should the Emperor be troubled because the Kumaso do not yield submission? It is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worth while raising an army to attack it? There is a better land than this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman—the land of Mukatsu,[3] dazzling to the eyes. In that land there are gold and silver and bright colours in plenty. It is called the Land of Silla of the coverlets of paper-mulberry.[4] If thou worshippest me aright, that land will assuredly yield submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood.

[1] This place is mentioned by a Chinese traveller to Japan in the third century of our era. "There are" (he says) "hereditary kings in Ito, who all owe allegiance to the Queen country."

[2] No doubt Maga-tama are meant.

[3] Opposite.

[4] Taku-fusuma in Japanese. This is a pillow-word, prefixed to Silla, not in the least because coverlets of cloth woven from the inner bark of the paper-mulberry were in use in that country, but because Silla (in Japanese Shiraki) suggests Shira, white, and textiles of paper-mulberry were white. By "bright colours" is probably meant dyed textile goods.

Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as offerings, namely, the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields[1] called Ohota,[2] presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato." When the Emperor heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no land. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said:—"We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void?[3] Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperors Our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted." Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying:—"I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that
VIII. 8. there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shalt not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it."

The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated without having gained a victory.

A.D. 200. 9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor took suddenly ill, and died on the following day, at the age of 52.

One version says:—"The Emperor having gone in person to smite the Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain."

Thereupon the Empress and the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune suppressed the mourning for the Emperor, and did not allow it to be known to the Empire.

Accordingly the Empress commanded the Prime Minister, the Nakatomi[4] Ikatsu no Muraji, Oho-miwa no Ohotomo-

[1] i.e., rice lands. [2] Great fields.

[3] The sky. Corea is visible from the Japanese island of Tsushima, and must have been well known to the Japanese at this time. There has already been frequent mention of it in the "Nihongi" itself.

[4] Probably here used in its original signification of Middle Minister.

nushi no Kimi, Mononobe no Ikuhi no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Takemotsu no Muraji, saying:—"The Empire is still ignorant of the Emperor's decease. If the people were to know of it, there would be negligence." So she instructed the four high officials to cause the functionaries to keep watch within the Palace while the body of the Emperor was secretly taken up and entrusted to Takechi no Sukune. He removed it by sea to Anato, and buried it temporarily in the Palace of Toyora, giving it a fireless temporary burial.[1] VIII. 9.

22nd day. The Prime Minister, Takechi no Sukune, returned from Anato, and made his report to the Empress. This year, owing to the expedition against Silla, it was impossible to bury the Emperor.[2]

[1] The commentators say that for the sake of secrecy there were no lights used.

[2] An army of labourers was needed to build one of the enormous tumuli which were the fashion at this time.

BOOK IX.

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO.

(*JINGŌ*[1] *KŌGU.*)

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO was the great-grandchild of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Ohohihi[2] and the daughter of Prince Okinaga[3] no Sukune. Her mother's name was Katsuraki no Taka-nuka-hime. She was made Empress in the second year of the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko. Whilst still young, she was intelligent and shrewd, and her countenance was of such blooming beauty that the Prince her father wondered at it.

In his 9th year, Spring, the 2nd month, the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko died in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi. At this time the Empress was grieved that the Emperor would not follow the Divine instructions, and had consequently died
IX. 2. a premature death. She thought she would find out what God had sent the curse, so that she might possess herself of the land of treasures. She therefore commanded her Ministers and functionaries to purge offences[4] and to rectify transgres-

[1] Divine merit or success. [2] Kaikwa Tennō.

[3] Name of a place in Ohomi. This is hardly consistent with the statement at the end of this reign that Oki-naga (long life) was a posthumous name given her, apparently owing to the great age to which she attained.

[4] The ceremony of purification (harahi) is referred to.

Motowori observes on the parallel passage of the "Kojiki" that tsumi, offence, includes kegare, pollutions, ashiki waza, ill-deeds, and wazawahi, calamities. The offences for which the ceremony of purification was required are enumerated in the "Kojiki" as flaying alive, flaying backwards, breaking down the divisions between rice-fields, filling up irrigating channels, committing nuisances, incest, and bestiality. The Oho-harahi, or Great Purification Ritual, gives a similar but more detailed description. See Ch. K., p. 230.

sions, also to construct a Palace of worship[1] in the village of Wayamada.

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress, having selected a lucky day,[2] entered the Palace of worship, and discharged in person the office of priest.[3] She commanded Takechi no Sukune to play on the lute,[4] and the Nakatomi, Igatsu no Omi, was designated as Saniha.[5] Then placing one thousand pieces of cloth, high pieces of cloth, on the top and bottom of the lute, she prayed saying:—"Who is the God who on a former day instructed the Emperor? I pray that I may know his name." After seven days and seven nights there came an answer, saying:—"I am the Deity who dwells in the Shrine of split-bell Isuzu in the district of hundred-transmit Watarahi in the province of divine-wind Ise,[6] and my name is Tsuki-sakaki idzu no mi-tama ama-zakaru Muka-tsu hime[7] no Mikoto.

Again she inquired:—"Other than this Deity, are there any Deities present?" The answer was:—"I am the Deity who comes forth on the ears of the flag-like Eulalia,[8] and my dwelling is in the district of Aha in Ada-fushi in Oda." She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"There is the Deity who rules in Heaven, who rules in the Void, the gem-casket-entering-prince, the awful Koto-shiro-nushi."[9] IX. 3.

[1] Lit. religious abstinence. See above, p. 176.

[2] "Lucky day" is probably a Chinese trait. [3] Kannushi.

[4] The Japanese or Adzuma koto, described as an instrument five or six feet long, with six strings.

[5] Saniha is explained as the official who examines the utterances prompted by the Deity. The literal meaning is "pure court," from the place in which he stood during the ceremony. See Ch. K., p. 229.

[6] The epithets split-bell, hundred-transmit and divine-wind are makura-kotoba or pillow-words, which have no meaning to us. Split-bell is put before Isuzu because suzu means bell (Fr. grêlot). Wataru, "to cross over," suggests the phrase momo-tsutahe (hundred-transmit). See Ch. K., p. 247.

[7] The awful spirit of the planted Cleyera, the lady of sky-distant Mukatsu. Mukatsu, as appears from p. 221, is Corea. The Deity who dwells at Ise is the Sun-Goddess. But she chooses (apparently) to represent herself as a Corean Deity. Sakaki (Cleyera Japonica) is the sacred tree of Shintō.

[8] A tall grass, like pampas grass, hence the epithet flag-like.

[9] Koto-shiro-nushi, thing-know-master. Thing-know is a Chinese idiom for "to rule," and it is the same word which is rendered rule just above.

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"It is not known whether there are others or not." Hereupon the Saniha[1] said:—"There is no answer now, but they will speak again afterwards." So there was an answer, saying:—"There are the Gods who have settled to the bottom of the water of the Little Strait of Tachibana[2] in the Land of Hiuga, and who are produced and dwell there like fresh water plants. Their names are Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo.[3]

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"Whether there are or not is unknown." And nothing more was ever said as to the existence of other Gods.

Now that the Divine words[4] had been obtained, the Gods were worshipped in accordance with their instructions. Thereafter, Kamo no Wake, the ancestor of the Kibi no Omi, was sent to attack the Kumaso. Before many days had elapsed they freely submitted.

IX 4. Moreover, there was in the village of Notorita a man named Hashiro Kuma-washi.[5] He was a fellow of powerful frame, and had wings on his body, so that he could fly, and with them soar aloft. Therefore he would not obey the Imperial commands, but habitually plundered the people.

17th day. The Empress desired to attack Kuma-washi. So from the Palace of Kashihi she returned to the Palace of Matsunowo. At this time a whirlwind suddenly arose, and her august hat was blown off by the wind. Therefore the men of the time called that place Mikasa.[6]

20th day. She arrived at the Moor of Sosoki, where she took up arms and smote Hashiro Kuma-washi, and destroyed him. Then she addressed her courtiers, saying:—"My mind is at peace now that we have taken Kuma-washi." Therefore the name of that place was called Yasu.[7]

25th day. Going on from thence, she arrived at the district of Yamato,[8] where she put to death a Tsuchi-gumo named

[1] See above, p. 225.

[2] Little Strait is in the original Wodo: the Bungo Channel.

[3] See Ch. K., p. 41, also above, p. 27.

[4] The term "divine words" probably means the proper names and titles of the Deities.

[5] Feather-white bear-eagle. [6] August hat. [7] Peaceful.

[8] In Chikugo.

Tabura-tsu-hime. Now Tabura-tsu-hime's elder brother Natsuha had raised an army and advanced against the Empress, but on hearing that his younger sister had been already put to death, he took to flight.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Proceeding northwards, she arrived at the district of Matsura in the Land of Hizen, and partook of food on the bank of the river Wogawa,[1] in the village of Tamashima. Here the Empress bent a needle and made of it a hook. She took grains of rice and used them as bait. Pulling out the threads of her garment, she made of them a line. Then mounting upon a stone in the middle of the river, and casting the hook, she prayed, saying:—"We are IX. 5. proceeding westward, where we desire to gain possession of the Land of Treasure. If we are to succeed, let the fish of the river bite the hook." Accordingly, raising up her fishing-rod, she caught a trout. Then the Empress said:—"It is a strange thing." Wherefore the men of the day called that place the Land of Medzura. The present name Matsura[2] is a corruption of this. For this reason, whenever the 1st decade of the 4th month comes round, the women of that land take hooks, which they cast into the river and catch trout—a custom which has not ceased unto this day. The men may angle for fish, but they cannot catch any.

This having been done, the Empress knew that there was virtue in the teaching of the Gods, and she made sacrifice anew to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. As it was her purpose in person to chastise the West, she set apart a sacred rice-field, and tilled it. Then, in order to divert water from the Naka-gaha with which to irrigate it, she dug a channel as far as the Hill of Todoroki. But a great rock stood in the way, and she was unable to pierce a channel through it. Then the Empress sent for Takechi no Sukune, and offering a sword and a mirror made him pray to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and ask them to allow the channel to be completed. Straightway there came thunder and lightning, and stamped that rock asunder, so that the water passed through. Therefore the men of the time called that channel the Channel of Sakuta.[3]

[1] Little river.

[2] Medzurashiki means "strange." Matsura is really Matsu-ura, fir-bay.

[3] Sundered field.

The Empress returned to the Bay of Kashihi, and loosing her hair, looked over the sea, saying :—" I, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the Spirits of the Imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do
IX. 6. I now lave my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously into two." Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches.[1]

Then she addressed her ministers, saying :—" To make war and move troops is a matter of the greatest concern to a country. Peace and danger, success and failure must depend on it. If I now entrusted to you, my ministers, the duties of the expedition we are about to undertake, the blame, in case of ill-success, would rest with you. This would be very grievous to me. Therefore, although I am a woman, and a feeble woman too, I will for a while borrow the outward appearance of a man, and force myself to adopt manly counsels. Above, I shall receive support from the Spirits of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, while below I shall avail myself of the assistance of you, my ministers. Brandishing our weapons, we shall cross the towering billows : preparing an array of ships, we shall take possession of the Land of Treasure. If the enterprise succeeds, all of you, my ministers, will have the credit, while if it is unsuccessful, I alone shall be to blame. Such have been my intentions, do ye deliberate together regarding them." The ministers all said :—" The object of the measure which the Empress has devised for the Empire is to tranquillize the ancestral shrines and the Gods of the Earth and Grain, and also to protect her servants from blame. With heads bowed to the ground we receive thy commands." [2]

Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. The various provinces were ordered to collect ships and to practise the use of weapons. But an army could not be assembled. The Empress said :—" This is surely the will of a God." So she erected the Shrine of Oho-miwa, and offered there a sword and a spear. Then the troops assembled freely. Hereupon a fisherman of Ahe, by

[1] In manly fashion.

[2] This speech is copied from a Chinese book.

name Womaro, was sent out into the Western Sea, to spy if IX. 7.
there was any land there. He came back and said:—"There is no land to be seen." Again a fisherman of Shika, named Nagusa, was sent to look. After several days he returned, and said:—"To the north-west, there is a mountain girt with clouds and extending crosswise. This is perhaps a country." Hereupon a lucky day was fixed upon by divination. There was yet an interval before they should set out. Then the Empress in person, grasping her battle-axe, commanded the three divisions of her army, saying:—"If the drums are beaten out of time, and the signal-flags are waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved among the troops: if greedy of wealth, and eager for much, you cherish self and have regard for your own interests, you will surely be taken prisoners by the enemy. Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him, though his numbers may be many. Spare not the violent, slay not the submissive. There will surely be rewards for those who ultimately conquer in battle, and of course punishments for those who turn their backs and flee."

After this a God gave instructions, saying:—"A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life: a rough spirit will form the vanguard, and be a guide to the squadron." So when she had received the divine IX. 8.
instructions she did worship, and for this purpose appointed Otarimi,[1] Yosami no Ahiko to be the Director of the ceremonies in honour of the God.

The time had now come for the Empress's delivery. So she took a stone which she inserted in her loins, and prayed, saying:—"Let my delivery be in this land on the day that I return after our enterprise is at an end." That stone is now on the road-side in the district of Ito.[2]

After this the rough spirit was told to act as vanguard of the forces, and the gentle spirit requested to act as guardian of the Royal vessel.

[1] Otarimi is the na, or personal name; Yosami the uji, or name of the House; Ahiko is the Kabane, or title.

[2] Tradition pointed out *two* white egg-shaped stones a little over a foot long as those used on this occasion. They were afterwards stolen.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Sail was set from the harbour of Wani.[1] Then the Wind-God made a breeze to spring up, and the Sea-God[2] uplifted the billows. The great fishes of the ocean, every one, came to the surface and encompassed the
IX. 9. ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country. Hereupon the King of Silla feared and trembled, and knew not what to do, so he assembled all his people and said to them:—"Since the State of Silla was founded, it has never yet been heard that the water of the sea has encroached upon the land. Is it possible that the term of existence granted to it by Heaven has expired, and that our country is to become a part of the ocean?" Scarce had he spoken when a warlike fleet overspread the sea. Their banners were resplendent in the sunlight. The drums and fifes raised up their voices, and the mountains and rivers all thrilled to the sound. The King of Silla beholding this from afar felt that his country was about to be destroyed by this extraordinary force, and was terrified out of his senses. But presently coming to himself, he said:—"I have heard that in the East there is a divine country named Nippon, and also that there is there a wise sovereign called the Tennō. This divine force must belong to that country. How
IX. 10. could we resist them by force of arms?" So he took a white flag, and of his own accord rendered submission, tying his hands behind his back with a white rope. He sealed up the maps and registers, and going down before the Royal vessel bowed his head to the ground, and said:—"Henceforward, as long as Heaven and Earth endure, we will obediently act as thy forage-providers. Not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry, every spring and every autumn we will send tribute of horse-combs and whips. And, without thinking the sea-distance a trouble, we will pay annual dues of male and female slaves." He confirmed this by repeated oaths, saying:—"When the sun no longer rises in the East, but comes forth

[1] In Tsushima.

[2] The words used here for Wind-God and Sea-God are purely Chinese. "Æolus" and "Neptune" would be just as appropriate in a Saga.

in the West; when the River Arinare[1] turns its course backward, and when the river pebbles ascend and become stars—if before this we fail to pay homage every spring and every autumn, or neglect to send tribute of combs and whips, may the Gods of Heaven and Earth both together punish us."

Then someone said:—"Let us put to death the King of Silla." Hereupon the Empress said:—"When I first received the Divine instructions, promising to bestow on me the Land of Gold and Silver, I gave orders to the three divisions of the army, saying:—'Slay not the submissive.' Now that we have taken the Land of Treasure, and its people have freely offered submission, it would be unlucky to slay them." So she loosed the cords with which he was bound, and made him her forage-provider.

Ultimately she proceeded to the interior of that country, placed seals on the magazines of precious treasure, and took possession of the books of maps and registers.[2] The spear on which the Empress leant[3] was planted at the gate of the King of Silla as a memorial to after ages. Therefore that spear even now remains planted at the King of Silla's gate.

Now Phasa Mikeun,[4] King of Silla, gave as a hostage Mi-cheul-kwi-chi Pha-chin Kan-ki,[5] and with gold and silver, bright colours, figured gauzes and silks, he loaded eighty vessels, which he made to follow after the Imperial forces. This was the origin of the King of Silla always sending eighty ships of tribute.

Hereupon the kings of the two countries of Koryö and Pèkché[6]

[1] Supposed to be the Am-nok-kang.

[2] The Cadastral records.

[3] As a staff.

[4] The traditional kana rendering is Hasa Mukin. Phasa was the 6th King of Silla. He reigned from A.D. 80 to A.D. 112. Mikeun or Mukin is not clear. The last syllable corresponds with the last syllable of ni-sä-keun (尼師今), an old Silla word for king, mentioned in the Introduction to the "Tongkam."

[5] The traditional kana has Mi-shi-ko-chi Ha-tori Kamu-ki. Pha-chin was the fourth official rank in Silla (see "Tongkam," I. 31), and Kanki is said by the Shiki to be a title. A Silla Prince named Misäheun (in Japanese Mishikin) was sent as hostage to Japan A.D. 402. It is clear from what follows (A.D. 205) that this is the same person.

[6] The original name of this country is Kokuryö. It did not become officially known as Koryö until A.D. 936, but the contracted form was in use

IX. 12. hearing that Silla had rendered up its maps and registers,[1] and made submission, secretly caused the warlike power (of the Empress) to be spied out. Finding then that they could not be victorious, they came of themselves without the camp, and bowing their heads to the ground, and sighing, said:—"Henceforth for ever, these lands shall be styled thy western frontier provinces, and will not cease to offer tribute." Accordingly interior Governments were instituted. This is what is termed the three Han.[2]

The Empress returned from Silla.

12th month, 14th day. She gave birth to the Emperor Homuda in Tsukushi. Therefore the men of that time called the place where he was born Umi.[3]

long before, and there are examples of it in Chinese literature as early as A.D. 500 (Parker, "Race Struggles in Corea," "T.A.S.J.," XVIII., Pt. II.). The capital was Phyöngyang, at least at one time.

The Japanese name for this kingdom was Koma, a word of doubtful derivation. I think it possible that it means bear (in Corean kom), and that the Koma of Corea and the Kuma of Japan were the same race—like the Saxons of Germany and the Saxons of England. Parker, in the article just referred to (p. 216), suggests that Koma was really a part of Pèkché, and not Koryö. The town of Koma or Kuma was certainly in Pèkché territory, and was for a while the capital. But I cannot think that the Japanese could have been mistaken on this point. They were far too well acquainted with Corean matters, and with them Koryö and Koma are the same thing. It is probable nevertheless that Koma or Kumanari was at some time the seat of the race of that name, as Kumamoto in Japan was of the Japanese Kuma. It is now Ung-chhön (bear-river), near the mouth of the R. Nak-tong, and a convenient port for crossing over to Japan.

Pèkché, known to the Japanese as Kudara, was the S.-W. kingdom of Corea.

[1] i.e. the territory described in them.

[2] Corea at one time was divided into three kingdoms, called Ma-han, Sin-han, and Pyön-han, corresponding respectively to Pèkché, Silla, and Koryö. But there is some doubt on the subject.

The three Han are rendered in the kana gloss mitsu no Kara-kuni. But although Kara is sometimes used loosely for all Corea, and even to include China, I doubt much whether there ever was such a phrase as the three Karas. It looks like a mere literal translation of Samhan.

For an estimate of the historical value of this narrative of the conquest of Corea, I would refer the reader to my paper on Early Japanese History in the "T.A.S.J.," XVI. Pt. I.

[3] Birth.

One version says:—"When the Emperor Tarashi- IX. 13.
nakatsu-hiko dwelt in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, there were Deities who spake by the mouth of Uchi-saru-taka, Kuni-saru-taka, and Matsu-ya-tane, ancestors of the Agata-nushi of Saha, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'If the august descendant wishes to gain the Land of Treasure, we will presently bestow it on him.' So on a later day, a lute was brought and given to the Empress. And the Empress played upon the lute, in accordance with the word of the Gods. Hereupon the Gods spake by the mouth of the Empress, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'The land which the august descendant wishes for is, as it were, a stag's horn, and not a real country. But if the august descendant now makes due offering to us of the ship in which he sails, and of the water-field[1] called Ohota given him as tribute by Homutate, the Atahe of Anato, we will bestow on the august descendant a dazzling land, a land of plenteous treasures, fair to look upon as a beautiful woman.' Then the Emperor answered the Gods, saying:—'Gods though ye may be, why these deceiving words? Where is there any country? Moreover, when the ship in which We sail has been offered to you Deities, in what ship shall We sail? Nor do I know what Gods ye are. I pray you, let me know your names.' Then the Gods gave their names, saying:—'Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, Soko-tsutsu no wo.' Such were the names of the three Gods given by them. And again one said:—'I am Mukahitsu no wo, Kiki-so-ofu-itsuno mitama, Hayasa-nobori no Mikoto.' Then the Emperor spake to the Empress, and said:—'What ill-sounding things they say! Is it a woman? What is meant by Hayasa-nobori?'[2] Then the
Gods addressed the Emperor, saying:—'O King, since IX. 14.
thou art thus unbelieving, thou shalt not possess that country. But the child which is now in the Empress's womb, he will doubtless take possession of it.' On that night the Emperor took suddenly ill, and died. Afterwards the Empress performed worship in accordance with the

[1] Rice-field. Speed-ascend.

directions of the Gods.[1] Then the Empress, clad in male attire, went on the expedition against Silla, and the Gods guided her. Accordingly the wave which followed the ship reached far into the interior of the Land of Silla. Hereupon the Silla Prince Urusohorichiu[2] came to meet the Empress, and kneeling down, took hold of the Royal vessel. Bowing his head to the ground, he said:—'Henceforward thy servant will act as an interior Government for the child of the Gods who dwells in Japan, and will not cease to furnish tribute.'"

One version says:—"She took prisoner the Prince of Silla, and going to the sea-side, plucked out his knee-caps,[3] and causing him to crawl on the rocks, suddenly slew him, and buried him in the sand. Accordingly she stationed there one man as Governor of Silla, and departed. Afterwards, the wife of the Prince of Silla, not knowing where the body of her husband was buried, all by herself conceived the thought of deluding the Governor. So, enticing him, she said:—'If thou wilt let me know the place where the Prince's body is buried, I will surely reward thee liberally, and will become thy wife.' Hereupon the Governor believed these deluding words, and secretly made known to her the place where the body was buried. Then the Prince's wife and the people of the country, having consulted together, slew the Governor, and having disinterred the Prince's body, buried it in another place. Then they took the Governor's body, and buried it in the earth under the Prince's tomb, and taking up the coffin, deposited it on the top of the Governor's body, saying:—'This is as it ought necessarily to be, according to the order of things exalted and things base.' Hereupon the Empress,[4] when she heard of this, was

[1] i.e. offering the ship and lands.

[2] This transliteration follows the traditional Japanese pronunciation. The Corean would be U-ryu-cho-pu-ri-chi-u. It may be suspected that the final u 于 is a mistake for 干 kan, a frequent element of Corean titles, perhaps = khan, kami? See Parker's "Race Struggles in Corea," p. 220.

[3] A Chinese punishment.

[4] The original has Tennō, a word which, strictly speaking, is either masculine or feminine, but which is not usually applied to this Empress.

mightily incensed, and raised a large army, with which it was her intent utterly to destroy Silla. So, with war- IX. 15.
ships filling the sea, she proceeded thither. At this time the people of Silla were all afraid, and knew not what to do. Having assembled, they consulted together, and slew the Prince's wife by way of apology for their crime." [1]

Hereupon the three Gods who accompanied the expedition, viz. Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished the Empress, saying:—"Let our rough spirits be worshipped at the village of Yamada in Anato." Now

[1] The "Tongkam," Vol. III. p. 21, has the following under the date A.D. 249, Summer, 4th month:—"The Was invaded Silla, and killed Uro. Before this the Was had sent Kalyako as Ambassador to Silla. The King made Uro entertain him. Uro said, jesting:—"Sooner or later we shall make your King our salt-slave, and your Queen our cook-wench." When the King of Wa heard this, he sent his General Uto-chiu to invade Silla. The King went out and dwelt at Yuchhon. Uro said:—"To-day's attack is owing to the words of thy servant. I pray thee let me deal with it." So he went eventually to the Wa army, and said:—"My words on a former day were a jest, and nothing more. Who would have thought that war should be waged, and that things should come to this extremity?" The men of Wa took him, and made a pile of firewood, on which they burnt him to death, and then went away. Afterwards an Ambassador came from Wa. Uro's wife begged leave from the King to entertain him on her own score. Accordingly she made the Ambassador drunk, seized him, and burnt him. The Was, enraged at this, besieged Keumsyöng,* but had to retire unsuccessful."

Notwithstanding the difference of date—A.D. 200 and A.D. 249—and other discrepancies, I believe these two narratives relate to the same events. The Prince Urusohorichiu of the Japanese account is the Uro of the Corean history. The word which I have translated Prince is 王, which might also be rendered King. But there is no King of this name in Corean history, and, as appears from a Corean authority quoted in the "Ishōnihonden," XIV. 11, Syök Uro was the son of King Nahè of Silla. The "Tongkam" relates several other events of his life, among others his appointment as Sö-pul-han (or Sö-pul-ya), whence probably the sohori of the name given him in the Japanese narrative.

Kalyako is no doubt the same person as the Katsuraki no Sotsu-hiko mentioned below as having been sent on a mission to Silla. Kal is written 葛, which is katsura in Japanese.

In "Early Japanese History" I have given reasons for thinking that, for this period, Corean history is much more in accordance with facts than that of Japan.

* The Silla capital.

Homutate, the ancestor of the Atahe of Anato, and Tamomi no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Tsumori, represented to the Empress, saying:—"Surely thou wilt set apart unto the Gods the lands where they desire to dwell." So Homutate was appointed master of the worship of the rough spirits, and a shrine was erected in the village of Yamada in Anato.

Now in Spring, the second month of the year following the expedition against Silla, the Empress removed with her ministers and functionaries to the palace of Toyora in Anato, where she took up the Emperor's remains, and proceeded towards the capital by the sea-route. Now Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma, hearing of the Emperor's decease, as well as of the Empress's expedition to the West, and of the recent birth of an Imperial Prince, plotted secretly, saying:—"The Empress has now a child, and all the ministers obey her. They will certainly consult together and establish an infant sovereign. But shall we, the elders, obey our younger brother?" So, pretending that it was in order to build a misasagi for the Emperor, they went to Harima, and raised a misasagi at Akashi.[1] Accordingly they joined boats together in a string across to the island of Ahaji, and so transported the
IX. 16. stones of that island to build it. Now they made every man take a weapon, and so they awaited the Empress. Hereupon Kurami-wake, the ancestor of the Kimi of Inugami, and Isachi no Sukune, ancestor of the Kishi,[2] together joined them-

[1] Two or three miles to the east of Maiko, on the bluff above the village of West Tarumi, there is a very large double mound, which local tradition has associated with the name of Chiuai Tennō. It is surrounded by the usual circles of clay cylinders, known in the neighbourhood as "Chiuai no sen-tsubo," i.e. "the thousand jars of Chiuai."

There is a smaller mound of circular shape close to the other, also surrounded by a circle of clay cylinders. This is no doubt the tomb of a wife, son, or minister of the personage buried in the main tumulus. The "Nihongi" tradition does not account for it.

The stones were to build the megalithic chamber.

[2] Kishi (吉師) is obviously the same as the Silla fourteenth official grade kilsă (吉士). See "Tongkam," I. 31. Ason, so frequently met with in later times, is also a Corean official grade. Has sukune anything to do with the Silla word for king, isăkeun?

The "Kojiki" has "Kishi of Naniha" in this passage, no doubt rightly. Ch. K., p. 235.

selves unto Prince Kakosaka, who made them his generals, and directed them to raise troops from the Eastern Land. Then Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma went forth together to the moor of Toga, and made a "hunt-prayer,"[1] saying:—"If our project is to be successful, then surely let us take some good game." The two Princes sat each in his shelter, when a wild-boar[2] sprang out suddenly, and climbing on to the shelter, bit Prince Kakosaka and killed him. The soldiers every one shuddered with fear. Then Prince Oshikuma addressed Kurami-wake, saying:—"This is a very ominous thing. We ought not to await the enemy here." So he withdrew his troops, and retreating again, encamped at Sumiyoshi.[3] At this time, the Empress heard that Prince Oshikuma had raised an army, and was awaiting her. She commanded Takechi no Sukune to take in his bosom the Imperial Prince, and going out across by way of the south-sea provinces,[4] to anchor in the harbour of Kiï, while the Empress's ship made straight for Naniha. At this time the Empress's ship swerved towards the midst of the sea, and was unable to proceed. She returned again to the harbour of Muko,[5] where she made divination as to this.

Hereupon Ama-terasu no Oho-kami admonished her, saying: IX. 17.
—"My rough spirit may not approach the Imperial residence. Let him dwell in the land of Hirota in Mikokoro." So Ha-yama-hime, daughter of Yamashiro-neko, was appointed to worship him. Moreover, Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto admonished the Empress, saying:—"I wish to dwell in the land of Nagawo in Ikuta."[6] So Una-gami no Isachi was appointed to worship her. Again, Koto-shiro-nushi no Mikoto admonished her, saying:—"Worship me in the land of Nakata in Mi-kokoro."[7] So Naga-hime, younger sister of Ha-yama-hime, was appointed to worship him. Again the three Gods, Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished her, saying:—"Let our gentle spirits dwell at Nagawo[8] in Nuna-

[1] Ukehi-gari, a kind of divination.

[2] Lit. a red pig, so called from its flesh being red. The domestic pig is the white pig.

[3] Near Kōbe. [4] Now called Shikoku. [5] Now Hiōgo.

[6] Just behind the foreign settlement of Kōbe.

[7] Mikokoro here and above may mean "after my august heart."

[8] Sumiyoshi, near Kōbe.

kura in Ohotsu, so that they may look upon the ships passing back and forward." Hereupon these Gods were enshrined in
IX. 18. accordance with their instructions, and the Empress was enabled to cross the sea in peace.

Prince Oshikuma, again withdrawing his troops, retreated as far as Uji, where he encamped. The Empress proceeded southwards to the land of Kiï, and met the Prince Imperial at Hitaka. Having consulted with her Ministers, she at length desired to attack Prince Oshikuma, and removed to the Palace of Shinu. It so happened that at this time the day was dark like night. Many days passed in this manner, and the men of that time said:—"This is the Eternal Night." The Empress inquired of Toyomimi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Ki, saying:—"Wherefore is this omen?" Then there was an old man who said:—"I have heard by tradition that this kind of omen is called Atsunahi no tsumi."[1] She inquired:—"What does it mean?" He answered and said:—"The priests[2] of the two shrines have been buried together." Therefore she made strict investigation in the village. There was a man who said:—"The priest of Shinu and the priest of Amano were good friends. The priest of Shinu fell ill, and died. The priest of Amano wept and wailed, saying:—'We have been friends together since our birth. Why in our death should there not be the same grave for both?' So he lay down beside the corpse and died of himself, so that they were buried together. This is perhaps the reason." So they opened the tomb, and on examination found that it was true. Therefore they again changed their coffins and interred them separately, upon which the sunlight shone forth, and there was a difference between day and night.

3rd month, 5th day. The Empress commanded Takechi no Sukune and Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, to lead an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack
IX. 19. Prince Oshikuma. Hereupon, Takechi no Sukune and his colleague, having taken picked men, went out by way of Yamashiro as far as Uji, where they encamped north of the river. Prince Oshikuma came out from his camp, and offered

[1] The calamity of there being no sun. [2] Hafuri.

battle. Now there was a man called Kuma[1] no Kori, who formed the vanguard of Prince Oshikuma's army.

One version says :—" Ancestor of the Obito of Katsurano no ki." Another says :—" The remote ancestor of the Kishi of Tako."

Accordingly, in order to encourage his men, he sang with a loud voice, saying :—

Beyond the river
Is the rough pine-clad plain—
To that pine-clad plain
Let us cross over,
With bows of *tsuki*,
And store of sounding arrows.
My dear fellow !
My dear fellows !
My cousin too !
My cousins !
Come ! let us join battle
With Uchi no Aso ![2]
(Within a tile
Is there any sand ?)[3]
Come ! let us join battle ! IX. 20.

Then Takechi no Sukune, giving command to the three divisions of the army, made them all bind up their hair mallet-wise. Accordingly he made an order, saying :—" Let every one of you have spare bow-strings concealed in your top-knots, and gird on wooden swords." Having done so, in accordance with the commands of the Empress, he deluded Prince Oshikuma, saying :—" I am not greedy to possess the Empire. Only, while cherishing the infant Prince, we will obey my Lord the Prince. Why should I contend with thee in battle ?

[1] The reader will have noticed how frequently Kuma, bear, occurs in proper names. It is, I think, the race Kuma (in Corean, Koma) to which they should be referred.

[2] Aso is the same as Ason or 'Asomi, probably derived from Ason (阿飡), the 6th Silla official rank. This is the first mention of this title. The reference is to Takechi (Take-uchi) no Sukune. Uchi has a pillow-word (tamaki haru) prefixed, which is quite untranslatable. Cf. Ch. K., p. 283.

[3] These two lines are, of course, utterly irrelevant. They are brought in for the sake of a play of words, with which it is not worth while troubling the reader.

I pray thee let us both cut our bow-strings, fling away our weapons, and be in harmony together. Then mayest thou, my Lord the Prince, mount to the Heavenly office, and sit a peace, making high thy pillow, and wielding at thy will the ten thousand appliances."[1]

So he openly gave orders to his army that they should all cut their bow-strings, and ungirding their swords, fling them into the river-water. Prince Oshikuma believed these deluding words, and ordered all his troops to ungird their weapons and fling them into the water of the river, and also to cut their bow-strings. Upon this, Takechi no Sukune commanded the three divisions of his army to produce their spare bow-strings, and to string their bows again, and, girt with their real swords, to advance across the river. Prince Oshikuma, seeing that he had been deceived, spake to Kurami-wake and Isachi no Sukune, saying:—"We have been deceived, and have now no spare weapons. How shall we be able to fight?" So he withdrew his forces and gradually retreated. Then Takechi no Sukune sent forth his choice troops and pursued him, and having come up to him just at Afusaka, put him to the rout. Therefore that place was called Afusaka.[2] The army took to flight, and ran as far as Kurusu in Sasanami. Many were slain.
IX. 21. Hereupon the blood overflowed into Kurusu. Therefore in horror of this, until this day, the fruit of Kurusu[3] is not offered to the Imperial Palace. Prince Oshikuma, not knowing whither to betake himself in his flight, called to him Isachi no Sukune and made a song, saying:—

Come! my child,
Isachi Sukune!
Rather than receive a severe wound
From the mallet[4]
Of Uchi no Aso,
Like unto the grebe
Let us make a plunge!

---

[1] i.e. all the machinery of Government.

[2] Pronounced Ôsaka, i.e. the hill of meeting. The pass on the road from Kiôto to Ôtsu. A railway tunnel now goes under it.

[3] Kurusu means chestnut-village.

[4] Kabu-tsuchi. See p. 123.

So they sank together in the crossing-place of Seta, and died. Then Takechi no Sukune made a song, saying :—

The birds that dived,
At the ferry of Seta,
By the sea of Afumi.[1]
Since with my eyes I cannot see them,
Can they be still alive?

Hereupon they searched for their dead bodies, and were unable to find them. But several days after, they came out on the river-bank at Uji.[2] Then Takechi no Sukune again made a song, saying :—

In the sea of Afumi,
At the ferry of Seta,
The birds that dived—
Passing Tanakami,[3]
Have been caught at Uji.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The ministers honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Midzunoto I (60th) of the Cycle. It was reckoned the first year of her administration of the Government.

2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 8th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Nagano, in the province of Kahachi. IX. 22. A.D. 202.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Homuda-wake was appointed Prince Imperial. Accordingly, the capital was made at Ihare. It was called the Palace of Wakazakura. A.D. 203.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The King of Silla sent O-nyé-să-pöl, Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi and Pu-ra-mo-chi with tribute. It was their desire to get back Mi-cheul Hö-chi pöl-han, who had formerly come as a hostage. With this object they tampered with Hö-chi pöl-han and caused him to use deceit, telling him to make petition and say :—"The envoys O-nyé-să-pol, Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi, and the other have informed me that my king, on account of my long failure to return, has wholly confiscated my wife and family and made A.D. 205.

[1] Now called Lake Biwa, in the province of Afumi or Ômi.

[2] Uji is some miles further down the river issuing from Lake Biwa than Seta. Seta is just where it leaves the lake.

[3] The name of the upper part of the Uji River.

them slaves. I pray thee, let me return for a while to my own country and learn whether this be true or false." The Emperor forthwith gave him leave to go, and accordingly sent him away, accompanied by Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. They
IX. 23. reached Tsushima together, and stayed for the night at the harbour of Sabi no umi. Then the Silla envoys Mo-ṃa-ri Cheul-chi and the others secretly provided a separate ship and sailors, on board of which they put Mi-cheul Han-ki and made him escape to Silla. They also made a straw figure which they put in Mi-cheul Hö-chi's berth, and making it appear like a sick man, they informed Sotsuhiko, saying :—" Mi-cheul Hö-chi has taken suddenly ill, and is on the point of death." Sotsuhiko sent men to nurse him, and so discovered the deception. Having seized the three Silla envoys, he placed them in a cage which he burnt with fire and so killed them. Then he proceeded to Silla, where he touched at the harbour of Tatara. He took the Castle of Chhora, and returned. The captives taken on this occasion were the first ancestors of the Han[1]
IX. 24. people of the four villages of Kuhabara, Sabi, Takamiya, and Oshinomi.[2]

[1] The Chinese character is 漢, i.e. the Chinese Han dynasty. The interlinear kana has ayabito, which also means Chinese. Possibly they were descendants of Chinese emigrants to Corea.

[2] Under the date A.D. 418, Autumn, the "Tongkam" (Vol. IV. 18) has the following :—

"Pak Ché-syang of Silla went to Wa and died there. The king's younger brother Misăkeun came from Wa. Before this Pok-ho (another brother of the King, who had been sent as hostage to Kokuryö) had returned. The King addressed Ché-syang, saying :—'My love for my two younger brothers is like my left and right arms. Now I have got only one arm. What does it avail?' Ché-syang said :—'Though my abilities are those of a broken down horse, I have devoted myself to my country's service. What reason could I have for declining? Kokuryö, however, is a great country, and the king also is wise. Thy servant was able to make him understand with one word. But in dealing with the Was it will be meet to use stratagem to deceive them, and not by mouth and tongue to reason with them. I will pretend that I have committed a crime and absconded. After I have gone I pray thee arrest thy servant's family.' So he swore upon his life not to see again his wife and children, and went to Nyul-pho. The cable was already loosed when his wife came after him, lamenting loudly. Ché-syang said :—'I have already taken my life in my hands, and am leaving for a certain death.'

At length he went to the Wa country, where he gave out that he was a

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Takechi no Sukune A.D. 213.

rebel. The Lord of Wa doubted this. Before this time men of Pèkché had gone to the Wa country, and made a false report, saying :—'Silla and Kokuryö are about to plot together to attack Wa.' The Lord at length sent troops to guard the frontier. And when Kokuryö, having invaded Silla, slew those guards also, the Lord of Wa believed that the story told by the Pèkché men was true. But when he heard that the King of Silla had imprisoned the family of Misăheun and Ché-syang, he thought that Ché-syang was really a rebel. Hereupon he sent forth an army in order to attack Silla, and made Ché-syang and Misăheun guides. Coming to an island in the sea, all the generals consulted secretly how they should destroy Silla and return with Ché-syang and Misăheun's wives and children. Ché-syang, knowing this, sailed with Misăheun every day in a boat, under the pretence of making pleasure excursions. The Was had no suspicion. Ché-syang advised Misăheun to return secretly to his country. Misăheun said :—'How could I have the heart to abandon thee, my lord, and return alone?' Ché-syang said :—'Supposing that I succeed in saving my Prince's life, and thus gratify the feelings of the Great King, it will be enough, Why should I be so fond of living?' Misăheun wept, and taking his leave, made his escape back to his country. Ché-syang alone slept in the boat. He got up towards evening and waited until Misăheun was far on his way. The Was, when they found that Misăheun had disappeared, bound Ché-syang, and pursued Misăheun, but mist and darkness coming on, they could not overtake him. The Lord of Wa was enraged. He flung Ché-syang into prison, and questioned him, saying :—'Why didst thou secretly send away Misăheun?' Ché-syang said :—'As a subject of Kélin (Silla), I simply wished to carry out the desires of my Lord.' The Lord of Wa was wroth, and said :—'As thou hast now become a vassal of mine, if thou callest thyself a vassal of Kélin, thou shalt surely be subjected to the five punishments. But if thou callest thyself a vassal of the Wa country, I will certainly reward thee liberally.' Ché-syang said :—'I had rather be a puppy-dog of Kélin, than a vassal of the Wa country. I had rather be flogged in Kélin than have dignities and revenues in the Wa country.' The Lord of Wa was wroth. He flayed Ché-syang's feet, cut sedge, and made him walk on it (perhaps on the stubble left after the sedge was cut). Then he asked him, saying :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' He also made him stand on hot iron, and asked him :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' The Lord of Wa, seeing that he could not bend him, put him to death by burning.

The King, hearing of this at the island of Mokto, was much grieved, and conferred on Ché-syang the posthumous title of Great Ason. He also bestowed rewards on his family, and made Misăheun marry his second daughter; and afterwards Ché-syang's wife, taking with her her three daughters, went up to a mountain whence she had a view of the Wa country,

was commanded to go with the Prince Imperial and worship the Great God of Kebi in Tsunoga.[1]

17th day. The Prince Imperial returned from Tsunoga. On this day the Grand Empress gave a banquet to the Prince Imperial in the Great Hall. The Grand Empress raising her cup wished long life to the Prince Imperial. Accordingly she made a song, saying:—

This august liquor
Is not my august liquor:
This prince of liquors [2]
He that dwells in the Eternal land
Firm as a rock—
The august God Sukuna,
With words of plenteous blessing,
Blessing all around—
With words of divine blessing
IX. 25. Blessing again and again—
Hath sent as an offering to thee.
Drink of it deeply.
Sa! Sa![3]

---

and having wailed bitterly, she died. She was made the Goddess-mother of this mountain, and there is now a shrine there."

This, no doubt, relates to the same events as the above passage in the "Nihongi." Ché-syang is Mo-ma-ri and Misă-heun is Mi-cheul-Hö-chi.

The Corean names present much difficulty. I have given the Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters with which they are written, but there is much room for doubt whether the Japanese pronunciation would not sometimes be better. The text cannot be relied on.

The interlinear kana gives as the names of the three envoys, Ureshi-hotsu, Momari Shichi, and Furamochi, and of the hostage, Mishi Kochi hotsu-kan. Here shichi is probably for 舍知 (sya-chi), the 13th official rank in Silla.

A Chinese authority quoted by Parker, in "Race Struggles in Corea," gives one or two examples of Kilin (Kélin or Silla), words which show that 1000 years ago the language was the same as modern Corean. But I cannot recognize anything of the modern language in the Corean names of the "Nihongi." Later, all proper names in Corea are of Chinese derivation. Many of the Corean words in the "Nihongi" are names of offices, all of which are replaced in modern Corean by words of Chinese derivation.

[1] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. See Ch. K., p. 237.

[2] In the original "Kushi no Kami." The interpretation given above is Motowori's. This line might also mean "the wondrous deity" or the "God of liquor or sake."

[3] An interjection of encouragement or incitement.

Takechi no Sukune, on behalf of the Prince Imperial, made an answering song, saying:—

The man who brewed[1]
This august liquor,
Setting up on the mortar
His drum,
Singing all the while,
He must have brewed it.
This august liquor
Is exquisitely more and more delightful.
Sa! Sa!

39th year. This year was the year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji (56th) of the Cycle. A.D. 239.

The History of Wei says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Ming Ti, in the third year of the period King-ch'u (A.D. 239) the Queen of Wa sent the high officer Nan-teu-mi and others to the province, where they begged permission to proceed to the Emperor and offer tribute. The T'ai-sheu,[2] Tăng-hia, sent an officer to escort them to the capital."

40th year. A.D. 240.

The History of Wei says:—"In the first year of Chêng-Shih, Kien Chung-kiao, Wéi T'i-hi and others proceeded to the Wa country charged with an Imperial rescript and a seal and ribbon."[3]

[1] The Japanese word for brew is kamu, which also means to chew. Was chewing ever a part of the process of making strong drink in Japan as it is in some of the South Sea islands at the present time? The last line of this poem is of very doubtful interpretation.

[2] T'ai-sheu means governor. Thé-pang (in Chinese Tai-fang) was at one time a district of the Chinese province of Lolang in Corea. A map of China under the Tsin dynasty, however, makes Thé-pang a separate district further to the north. But the Governor of Thé-pang mentioned in the Wei history under the name of 劉夏 and the Governor of Lolang called by the "Tongkam" 劉茂 are probably the same person.

Another authority makes Thé-pang identical with Namwön in Chöllato.

[3] These officials, as we learn from other sources, were sent by the Chinese authorities of Sakpang in Corea, not far from the present Treaty Port of Wönsan. See "Early Japanese History," p. 58; "Ishōnihonden," I. 11; "Tongkam," III. 17.

A.D. 243. 43rd year.

The Ruler[1] of Wa again sent high officers as envoys with tribute, named I Shing-ché, Yih-Ye-yoh,[2] and others —eight persons in all.

A.D. 246. 46th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Shima no Sukune was sent to the Land of Thak-syun.[3] Hereupon Malkeum Kanki,[4] King of Thak-syun, informed Shima no Sukune, saying:—"In the course of the year Kinoye Ne,[5] three men of Pèkché named Kutyö, Mi-chyu-nyu, and Moko[6] came to my country and said:—'The King of Pèkché, hearing that in the Eastern quarter there is an honourable country, has sent thy servants to this honourable country's court. Therefore we beg of thee a passage so that we may go to that Land. If thou wilt be good enough to instruct thy servants and cause us to pass along the roads, our King will certainly show profound kindness to my Lord the King.'[7] I then said to Kutyö and his
IX. 26. fellows:—'I have always heard that there is an honourable country in the East, but I have had no communication with it, and do not know the way. There is nothing but far seas and towering billows, so that in a large ship, one can hardly communicate. Even if there were a regular crossing-place, how could you arrive there?' Hereupon Kutyö and the others said:—'Well, then, for the present we cannot communicate. Our best plan will be to go back again, and prepare a ship with which to communicate later.' They also said:—'If envoys should come from the honourable country, thou oughtest surely to inform our country.' Thus they went back. Hereupon

[1] 王.

[2] It is doubtful whether these six syllables represent the names of one, two, or three men. I cannot guess what Japanese names are meant. The "Ishōnihonden" gives some of the characters differently.

The "Shukai" edition rejects these extracts from Chinese History. They were doubtless added at a later date.

[3] The Chinese characters are 卓淳, of which the traditional kana rendering is Toku-shiu. The "Shukai" editor says it was part of Imna (or Mimana). Its destruction by Silla is recorded below—5th year of Kimmei Tennō.

[4] The Japanese traditional rendering is Makin Kănki.

[5] A.D. 244.

[6] The Japanese kana gloss has Kutei, Mitsuru, and Mako.

[7] This is quite inconsistent with the story of Pèkché offering homage to the Empress in the early part of her reign.

Shima no Sukune sent one of his followers named Nihaya, and a Thak-syun man named Kwa-ko to the Land of Pèkché to make friendly inquiries of the King's health.

King Syo-ko[1] of Pèkché was profoundly pleased, and received them cordially. He presented to Nihaya a roll each of five kinds of dyed silk, a horn-bow[2] and arrows, together with forty bars of iron.[3] Thereafter he opened his treasure-house, and pointing to his various rare objects, said:—"In my country there is great store of these rare treasures. I have wished to pay tribute of them to the honourable country, but not knowing the way I was unable to carry out my intention. I shall now entrust them to envoys, who will visit your country IX. 27.
in order to offer them." Nihaya took charge of this message, and on his return informed Shima no Sukune, who thereupon came back from Thak-syun.

47th year, Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent A.D. 247.
Kutyö, Mi-chu-nyu and Ma-ko with tribute. Now a tribute envoy from Silla came along with Kutyö. Hereupon the Grand Empress and the Prince Imperial Homuda wake no Mikoto were greatly delighted and said:—"People from the countries wished for[4] by our late Sovereign have now come to Court. Alas! that they cannot meet the Emperor!" There was not one of all the ministers who did not shed tears. But when the articles of tribute of the two countries were examined, the Silla tribute was of rare objects in very great number, while the Pèkché tribute articles were few and mean, and of no value. So inquiry was made of Kutyö and the others, saying:—"How is it that the Pèkché tribute is inferior to that of Silla?" They answered, and said;—"We lost our way and arrived at Sabi.[5]

[1] There are two kings of this name in Corean history. The first died A.D. 214. This is the second, who reigned from A.D. 346 to A.D. 375. The Japanese chronology is, as usual, at fault.

[2] The Corean bow is to this day the Tatar bow described in Tylor's Anthropology as "formed of several pieces of wood or horn united with glue or sinews. Shorter than the long-bow, it gets its spring by being bent outside to string it." The Japanese bow is a variety of the ordinary long-bow.

[3] Iron is plentiful in Corea at the present day, and its quality is much esteemed.

[4] On the contrary, Chiuai Tennō would have nothing to do with them.

[5] A Sabi in Tsushima is mentioned above. But this may be a place in Corea, in which case it should be read Sapi.

Here thy servants were captured by men of Silla and confined in a gaol. After three months had passed, they wished to kill us. Then Kutyö and the rest looked up towards Heaven, and pronounced a curse. The men of Silla, fearing this curse, refrained from killing us, but robbed us of our tribute. Then they gave us the tribute of Silla in exchange for our tribute, and made it the tribute of thy servants' country, and they spake to thy servants, saying:—'Be careful what ye say, or else, as soon as we return, we will kill you.' Therefore we, Kutyö and the rest, were afraid, and made no objection. For this reason we have hardly been able to reach the Heavenly Court." Then the Grand Empress and Homuda wake no Mikoto charged the Silla envoys with this deed, and accordingly prayed to the Gods of Heaven, saying:—"Whom is it meet that we send to Pèkché to examine this matter whether it be true or false; whom is it meet that we send to Silla to investigate this charge?" Therewith the Gods of Heaven admonished them, saying:—"Let Takechi no Sukune prepare a plan, and let Chikuma Nagahiko be the envoy. Then it will be as you desire."

IX. 28. Chikuma Nagahiko's title (姓) is unknown. One account says:—"Chikuma Nagahiko was a man of the province of Musashi, the first ancestor of the present Obito of Tsukimoto of the Nukada Be."

The Pèkché record[1] says:—"Shimananaga hiko was perhaps this man."

Hereupon Chikuma Nagahiko was sent to Silla to call that country to an account for meddling with the Pèkché tribute.

A.D. 249. 49th year, Spring, 3rd month. Areda wake and Kaga wake were made generals. Along with Kutyö and the others they prepared a force with which they crossed over and came to Thak-syun. They were accordingly about to invade Silla, when some one said:—"Your troops are too few. You cannot defeat Silla." They respectfully sent back again Sya-pèk Kè-ro

[1] This Pèkché record is frequently quoted from. From the circumstance that the character 貴, honourable, is used by the author or authors before the word country in speaking of Japan, it may be inferred that it was compiled by Pèkché Coreans from their own records for the information of the Japanese. I have not much doubt that it was the work of some of the Corean scholars who visited Japan in numbers during the seventh century.

to ask for reinforcements. Mong-na Keun-chă and Sya-sya Nokwé[1]

These two men's surname is unknown. But Mongna Keunchă was a Pèkché general.

were forthwith ordered to take command of choice troops which were sent along with Sya-pèk Kè-ro. They all assembled at Thak-syun, invaded Silla, and conquered it. Seven provinces were accordingly subdued, viz. Pi-chă-pun, South Kara, Tok-kuk, Ara, Tara, Thak-syun, and Kara.[2] Then they moved their forces, and turning westward, arrived at Ko-hyé-chin, where they slaughtered the southern savages of Chim-mi-ta-nyé and granted their country to Pèkché. Hereupon their King, Syoko,[3] together with Prince Kusyu, came to meet them with IX. 29.
more troops. Then four villages, viz. Pi-ri, Phi-chung, Pho-mi-ki, and Pan-ko, spontaneously surrendered. Thereupon the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, met Areda wake, Mong-na Keunchă, and the rest at the village of Wi-niu [*now called Tsurusugi*],[4] and at an interview offered their congratulations and dismissed them with cordial courtesy. But Chikuma Nagahiko remained in the Land of Pèkché with the King of Pèkché, where they ascended Mount Phi-ki and made a solemn declaration. Afterwards they ascended Mount[5] Ko-sya, where they sat together upon a rock, and the King of Pèkché made a solemn declaration, saying:—"If I spread grass for us to sit upon, it might be burnt with fire; and if I took wood for a seat, it might be washed away by water. Therefore, sitting on a rock, I make this solemn declaration of alliance to show that it will remain undecayed to distant ages. From this time

[1] In Japanese Mokura Konshi and Sasa Toki.

[2] These places, in so far as they can be identified, did not belong to Silla, but to Imna. The identification of Corean names of places presents great difficulties, owing to the Corean mania for giving new names. The "Chôsen Zenzu furoku," a little book published by the Japanese War Office, gives as many as eight aliases for some towns. Nearly all have several.

[3] Reigned 346 to 375, when he was succeeded by Kusyu. The "Nihongi" names are nearly correct.

[4] Japanese pronunciation.

[5] Mountain is in the interlinear kana mure, no doubt the modern Corean moi. Similarly, nare, river, which occurs in Kuma-nare, is in modern Corean năi, pronounced nè.

forward, therefore, for a thousand autumns and for ten thousand years, without pause and without limit, we shall bear the regular title of 'The Western Frontier Province,' and every spring and every autumn will attend your Court with tribute." So he took with him Chikuma Nagahiko to his capital, where he treated him with the most cordial courtesy. He also made Kutyö and the others escort him home.

A.D. 250. 50th year, Spring, 2nd month. Areda wake and his companions returned.

Summer, 5th month. Chikuma Nagahiko, Kutyö and the rest arrived from Pèkché. Thereupon the Grand Empress was delighted, and inquired of Kutyö, saying:—"The various Han[1] countries west of the sea have been already granted to thy country. Wherefore dost thou come again repeatedly?" Kutyö and the others said to the Empress:—"The vast
IX. 30. blessings of the Celestial Court reached afar to our mean village, and our king capered with delight. Out of the fulness of his heart he has sent a return mission in token of his great sincerity. Though it come to the ten thousandth year, in what year shall we fail to attend thy Court?" The Grand Empress gave command, saying:—"Good are thy words. These are Our intentions. We grant in addition the Castle of Tasya to serve as a station in going and returning."

A.D. 251. 51st year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché again sent Kutyö to the Court with tribute. Hereupon the Grand Empress addressed the Prince Imperial and Takechi no Sukune, saying:—"We owe it to Heaven and not to man that we have a friendly country like Corea. Therefore it brings constantly, without missing a year, tribute of trinkets and rarities such as there have never been before. We, seeing this true affection, are always rejoiced at it, and so long as we live will heartily bestow on it Our favour."

That same year she despatched Chikuma Nagahiko to the Land of Pèkché in company with Kutyö and the others. Accordingly, in the most gracious manner, she said:—"We, in accordance with the divine testimony, having for the first time laid open a road, subdued the lands west of the sea and granted them to Pèkché, would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship and make lasting our loving bounty."

[1] Corean.

At this time the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, both together knocked their foreheads on the ground and made representation, saying:—"The immense bounty of the honourable country is more weighty than Heaven and Earth. What day, what hour shall we presume to forget it? The sage sovereign IX. 31.
dwells above, illustrious as the sun and moon; thy servants now dwell below, solid as a mountain or hill, and will always be thy western frontier land, never to the last showing double hearts."

52nd year, Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. Kutyö and the A.D. 252.
others came along with Chikuma Nagahiko and presented a seven-branched[1] sword and a seven-little-one[2]-mirror, with various other objects of great value. They addressed the Empress, saying:—"West of thy servants' country there is a river-source which issues from Mount Chölsan[3] in Kong-na. It is distant seven days' journey. It need not be approached, but one should drink of this water, and so having gotten the iron of this mountain, wait upon the sage Court for all ages." Moreover, he[4] addressed his grandson, Prince Chhim-nyu,[5] saying:—"The honourable country east of the sea with which we are now in communication has been opened to us by Heaven. Therefore does it bestow on us Celestial bounty, and dividing off the land west of the sea, has granted it to us. Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou shouldst cultivate well its friendship, and having collected our national products, wait on it with tribute without ceasing. Henceforth, grudging not even our lives, let us continue to send yearly tribute."

55th year. Syoko, King of Pèkché, died.[6] A.D. 255. IX. 32.

56th year. Kusyu, son of the King of Pèkché, was set up as A.D. 256.
king.[7]

[1] The traditional kana rendering is nana-saya, i.e. a "seven-sheathed sword," which is nonsense. Seven-branched is not much better.

[2] It is not clear what is meant by nanatsuko (七子), perhaps with seven projections round the rim. See above, p. 44.

[3] Iron mountain. All this about iron is merely symbolical of constancy.

[4] The King of Pèkché. [5] Came to the throne A.D. 384.

[6] The "Tongkam" places his death in A.D. 375.

[7] The traditional kana rendering of 王 is Kokishi, a word I do not recognize as Corean. But nearly all Corean words relating to official matters have become obsolete, being replaced by Chinese terms.

A.D. 262. 62nd year. Silla did not attend the Court. The same year Sotsuhiko was sent to chastise Silla.

The Pèkché record says:—"The year Midzunoye Mŭma.[1] Silla did not wait upon the honourable country. The honourable country sent Sachihiko to attack it. The men of Silla dressed up two beautiful women whom they sent to meet Sachihiko at the port and inveigle him. Sachihiko accepted them, and turning aside, attacked the land of Kara. Kwi-pon[2] Kanki, King of Kara, and his sons, Pèk-ku-chi, A-syu-chi, Ik-sya-ri, I-ra-ma-chyu, and I-mun-chi, fled to Pèkché, taking with them their subjects. Pèkché received them cordially, and Kwi-chön-chi, younger sister of the King of Kara, went to Great Wa and addressed the Empress, saying:—'Your majesty sent Sachihiko to attack Silla. But he has accepted beautiful women of Silla, and abandoned the invasion. On the contrary he has destroyed our country. My brothers and our people have all been driven into exile. Unable to bear my grief, I have come hither to make this representation.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and forthwith sent Mongna Keunchă in command of an army to bring them together in Kara and to restore the temples of the Earth and of Grain."

One account says:—"Sachihiko, when he learnt that the Empress was wroth with him, did not dare to return openly, but hid himself. He had a younger sister who was in the service of the Imperial Palace. Hiko secretly sent a messenger to inquire of her whether or no the Empress's wrath had abated. She, pretending a dream, said to the Empress:—'To-night, in a dream, I saw Sachihiko.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and
IX. 33. said:—'How should Hiko dare to come?' The Empress's[3] words were reported to Sachihiko, who seeing that he would not be pardoned, went into a cave of a rock and died."

[1] 19th year of the Cycle, corresponding to A.D. 382.

[2] I Si-Pheum was the name of the King of Kara at this time, according to the "Tongkam."

[3] The word for Empress is Tennô, which may also mean Emperor, and indeed this suits the narrative better.

64th year.[1] Kusyu, King of Pèkché, died, and his son Chhim-nyu was set up as king. A.D. 264.

65th year. King Chhim-nyu of Pèkché died.[2] His son Ahwa was a child, and his father's younger brother, Sinsă, by usurpation was set up and made king.[3] A.D. 265.

66th year. A.D. 266.

This year was the second year of the period T'ai She of the Emperor Wu Ti of the Tsin Dynasty. K'i Kü-chu of Tsin says:—"In the 10th month of the 2nd year of the period T'ai-she of Wu Ti, the Queen of Wa sent interpreters with tribute."

69th year, Summer, 4th month, 17th day. The Grand Empress died in the Palace of Waka-zakura at the age of 100. A.D. 269.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. She was buried in the misasagi of Tatanami in Saki. On this day, by way of posthumous honour to the Grand Empress, she was called Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Tsuchinoto Ushi (26th) of the Cycle.

[1] The "Tongkam" has A.D. 384.

[2] This is mentioned almost in the same words by the "Tongkam" under date A.D. 385—just two cycles later.

[3] The narrative from p. 246 down to this point contains a solid nucleus of fact. There can be no doubt that Japan at an early period formed an alliance with Pèkché and laid the foundation of a controlling power over the territory known as Imna or Mimana which lasted for several centuries. But the Japanese chronology cannot be right. See "Early Japanese History," p. 62.

BOOK X.

THE EMPEROR HOMUDA.

(*ŌJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Homuda[2] was the 4th child of the Emperor Tarashi Nakatsu-hiko. His mother's name was Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto. The Emperor was born at Kata in Tsukushi in the 12th month, Winter, of the year Kanoye Tatsu,[3] being the year in which the Empress smote Silla. From a child he was intelligent, penetrating, and far-sighted. In his bearing and conduct there were amazing indications of sageness. In the third year of the Grand Empress's administration of the Government, he was raised to the rank of Prince Imperial. Before this time, when the Emperor was in the womb, the Gods of Heaven and Earth granted to him the three Han.[4] When he was born there was flesh growing on his arm in shape like an elbow-pad.[5] As to this resemblance, the Empress judged that it was the elbow-pad worn as a manly accoutrement. Therefore he was styled by this name, and called the Emperor Homuda.

In the earliest antiquity, the tomo was commonly called Homuda.

One account says:—"In the beginning, when the Emperor was made Heir to the Throne, he went to the

[1] Responding to the Gods.

[2] The "Kojiki" calls him Homuda wake. Homuda or Honda is the name of a place.

[3] 17th of the Cycle.

[4] Corea.

[5] The *tomo* or leather shield worn on the fore-arm by archers as a protection against the recoil of the bow-string.

Land of Koshi, and did worship to the Great God of Tsutsuhi in Tsunoga. At this time the Great God and the Heir to the Throne exchanged names. Accordingly the Great God was called the God Isasa-wake and the Heir to the Throne Homuda wake no Mikoto.[1]

In the 69th year of her administration of the Government, Summer, the 4th month, the Grand Empress died.

X. 2. A.D. 270

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Dignity. This year was the year Kanoye Tora (27th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 271.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. Nakatsuhime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Arata, to the Emperor Oho-sazaki, and to the Imperial Prince Netori. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as concubine the Empress's younger sister, Takaki Iribime, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-hiko, the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, the Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka, the Imperial Princess Oho-hara, and the Imperial Princess Komida. Another concubine, a younger sister of the Empress, named Otohime, bore to him the Imperial Princess Ahe, the Imperial Princess Ahaji no Mihara, and the Imperial Princess Ki no Uno. The next concubine, daughter of Hifure no Omi, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, by name Miya-nushi-yaka-hime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no Waka-iratsuko, the Imperial Princess Yata, and the Imperial Princess Medori. The next concubine, named Oname-hime, the younger sister of Yaka-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no waka-iratsu-me. The next concubine, named Oto-hime, daughter of Kaha-mata Nakatsu hiko, bore the Imperial Prince Wakanoke Futa-mata. The next concubine, named Mago-hime, younger sister of Osabi, Muraji of the Sakurawida Be, bore the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake. The next concubine, named Naga-hime, of Idzumi in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Princes Oho-haye and Wo-haye.

X. 3.

In all the sons and daughters of this Emperor were together twenty Princes and Princesses.[2] The Imperial Prince Netori was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ohota. The Imperial Prince

[1] There is a Semitic practice of men adopting Gods' names.

[2] Cf. Ch. K., p. 243, which makes 26 children, and differs in some details.

Oho-yama-mori was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Hiji-kata and the Kimi of Haibara. The Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka was the first ancestor of the Wake of Fukagaha.

A.D. 272. 3rd year, 10th month, 3rd day. The Eastern Yemishi all attended the Court with tribute. They were employed to make the Mŭma-zaka road.

11th month. The fishermen of several places clamoured noisily, and would not obey the Imperial command. So Oho-hama no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Adzumi, was sent to subdue this clamour. He was accordingly made controller of the fishermen. This was the origin of the proverbial saying of the people of that time, viz. Sawa-ama or "clamorous fishermen."

This year King Sinsă of Pèkché was disrespectful to the Celestial Court. Therefore Ki no Tsuno no Sukune, Hata no
X. 4. Yashiro no Sukune, Ishikaha no Sukune and Tsuku no Sukune were sent to call him to an account for his rudeness. Hereupon the people of Pèkché slew Sinsă by way of apology. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and the others accordingly established Ahwa as king, and returned (to Japan).[1]

A.D. 274. 5th year, Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. The various provinces were directed to establish Be of fishermen and Be of mountain wardens.[2]

Winter, 10th month. The province of Idzu was charged with the duty of constructing a ship 10 rods[3] in length. As soon as it was completed, it was launched on the sea for a trial. It floated lightly, and was as swift as a racer. Therefore that ship was called *Karano*.

[*It is a mistake to make the ship called Karano because it was*

[1] The "Tongkam," under date A.D. 392, has the following :—"10th month. The king of Pèkché went to hunt on Ku-wön (dog-moor). Ten days elapsed without his returning. 11th month. King Sinsă of Pèkché died in his travelling palace on Dog-moor. Ahwa, son of King Chhim-nyu, came to the throne." Note that the Corean and Japanese chronologies differ by exactly 120 years, or two cycles. But the two stories are apparently irreconcilable. See below, XI. 26.

[2] Gamekeepers or huntsmen, whose business it was to supply the Imperial table.

[3] Of ten feet.

light and swift. Perhaps this is a corruption by men of later times of Karuno.[1]]

6th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor made a progress to the province of Afumi. When he arrived near the Moor of Uji, he made a song, saying :— A.D. 275 X. 5.

When I look upon the moor of Kadzu
In Chiba,
Both the hundred thousand fold abundant
House-places are visible,
And the land's acme is visible.[2]

7th year, Autumn, 9th month. Men of Koryö, men of Pèkché, men of Imna, and men of Silla[3] all together attended the Court. Orders were then given to Takechi no Sukune to take these various men of Han and make them dig a pond. Therefore the pond was given a name, and was called the pond of the men of Han.[4] A.D. 276.

8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Men of Pèkché attended Court. A.D. 277.

The Pèkché record says :—"King Ahwa came to the throne and was disrespectful[5] to the honourable country. Therefore we were despoiled of Chhim-mi-ta-ryö, Hyön-nam, Chi-chhim, Kong-na, and Eastern Han. Herewith Prince Chik-chi[6] was sent to the Celestial Court in order to restore the friendship of former kings.

9th year, Summer, 4th month. Takechi no Sukune was sent to Tsukushi to inspect the people. Now Umashi no Sukune, Takechi no Sukune's younger brother, setting aside his elder brother, slandered him to the Emperor, (saying that) Takechi no Sukune had always designs upon the Empire. "I now hear," said he, "that while he is in Tsukushi, he is secretly A.D. 278.

[1] *Kara* means withered, and *no*, moor, or the latter may be put phonetically for *no* the genitive particle. Karu means light. The "Shukai" editor rejects this note.

[2] From Ch. K., p. 245, q.v.

[3] The traditional kana rendering has Koma, Kudara, Mimana and Shiraki.

[4] Or "men of Kara." Compare Ch. K., p. 252.

[5] See above, p. 256, where it is said that it was King Sinsă who was disrespectful.

[6] The "Tongkam" calls him Työnchi, and places this event in 397.

plotting to that end, saying (to himself), 'Alone I will cut off Tsukushi, and will invite the three Han to come and do homage to me, so that finally I may possess the Empire.'"

Hereupon the Emperor straightway sent messengers to slay Takechi no Sukune. Now Takechi no Sukune cried out,
X. 6. saying:—"I have not two hearts, but serve my prince with loyalty. What a calamity is this that I should die without a crime!"

Now there was a man named Maneko, ancestor of the Atahe of Iki, who in appearance strongly resembled Takechi no Sukune. All by himself he grudged that Takechi no Sukune's innocent life should be vainly thrown away. So he spoke to Takechi no Sukune and said:—"Now the Great Minister[1] serves his Prince with loyalty, and has not had a black heart. All the Empire knows this. I pray thee leave this place secretly, and, proceeding to the Court, personally unfold thine innocence. After this it will not be too late to die. Moreover the people of this time are always saying that thy slave resembles the Great Minister in appearance. Therefore I will now die in the place of the Great Minister, and so make clear the Great Minister's redness of heart."[2] So he threw himself on his sword, and slew himself. Then Takechi no Sukune, alone, grieving greatly for him, secretly left Tsukushi, and embarking on the sea, went round by way of the Southern Ocean. Anchoring in the harbour of Ki, he hardly succeeded in making his way to the Court, where he explained his innocence. The Emperor forthwith questioned Takechi no Sukune along with Umashi no Sukune, upon which these two men were each obstinate, and wrangled with one another, so that it was impossible to ascertain the right and the wrong. The Emperor then gave orders to ask of the Gods of Heaven and Earth the ordeal by boiling water. Hereupon Takechi no Sukune and Umashi no Sukune went out together to the bank of the Shiki river, and underwent the ordeal of boiling water. Takechi no Sukune was victorious. Taking his cross-sword, he threw down Umashi no Sukune, and was at length about to slay him, when the Emperor ordered him to let him go. So he gave him to the ancestor of the Atahe of Kiï.

[1] i.e. you. [2] Sincerity.

11th year, Winter, 10th month. The Tsurugi, Kakaki, and Mumaya-zaka ponds were made. A.D. 280. X. 7.

This year there was a man who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"There is in the land of Hiuga a maiden whose name is Kami-naga-hime.[1] She is the daughter of Ushi-morowi, the Kimi of Muragata. She is distinguished for beauty over all the Land." The Emperor was pleased, and wished in his heart to obtain her.

13th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor sent a special messenger to summon Kami-naga-hime. A.D. 282.

Autumn, 9th month. Kami-naga-hime arrived from Hiuga, and was straightway settled at the village of Kuhadzu. Now the Imperial Prince, Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, when he saw Kami-naga-hime, was struck with the beauty of her form, and had a constant love for her. Hereupon the Emperor became aware of Oho-sazaki no Mikoto's passion for Kami-naga-hime, and wished to unite her to him. Therewith the Emperor, on the day that he gave a banquet in the hinder palace,[2] sent for Kami-naga-hime for the first time, and so gave her the upper seat in the banqueting-room. Then he brought in Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and pointing to Kami-naga-hime, made a song, saying:—

Come! my son!
On the moor, garlic to gather,
Garlic to gather
On the way as I went,
Pleasing of perfume
Was the orange in flower.
Its branches beneath
Men had all plundered,
Its branches above
Birds perching had withered. X 8.
[Of three chestnuts][3]
Midmost, its branches
Held in their hiding
A blushing maiden.
Come! and for thee, my son,
Let her burst into blossom.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, being favoured with this

[1] The long-haired lady. [2] i.e. the women's apartments.
[3] This is a mere makura-kotoba of little or no meaning.

poetry, forthwith understood that he was receiving Kami-naga-hime as a gift; and, greatly delighted, made a song in reply, saying:—

In the pond of Yosami
Where the water collects,
The marsh-rope coils
Were growing, but I knew not of them:
In the river-fork stream,
The water-caltrops shells
Were pricking me, but I knew not of them.
Oh, my heart!
How very ridiculous thou wert![1]

Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, after the consummation of his union with Kami-naga-hime, was very attentive to her, and when he was alone with her, made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province!
As of a God
Though I had heard of her,
We are folded in each other's arms.

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province—
Oh! how I love her
As she lies
X. 9. Unresisting!

One account says:—"Ushi, the Kimi of Morogata in Hiuga, was in the service of the Court. But having become old in years, he was unable to serve, and so, having ceased his service, he retired to his own land. Thereupon he offered the Emperor his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime. When she first arrived at Harima, the Emperor had made a progress to the island of Ahaji, and was hunting there. Hereupon the Emperor, looking towards the west, saw several tens of stags swimming

[1] In the "Kojiki" this poem is attributed to the Emperor. See Ch. K., p. 249. The marsh-rope is the Brasenia peltata, according to Chamberlain. The general meaning of the poem seems to be: "What a fool I was to be in such despair as to be unconscious of bodily suffering, while happiness was all the while near me!"

towards him over the sea. Presently they entered the harbour of Kako in Harima. The Emperor addressed his courtiers, saying :—'What stags are these which come in numbers swimming over the great sea ?' Then the courtiers all looked at them and wondered. So a messenger was sent to make examination. The messenger, when he came there, saw that they were all men, only they had for clothing deer-skins with the horns attached. He inquired of them, saying :—'What men are ye ?' They replied, saying :—'Ushi, the Kimi of Morogata, being old in years, has ceased his service, but he cannot forget the Court. Therefore he offers his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime.' The Emperor was delighted, and sending for her, made her follow the Imperial ship. For this reason, the men of that time called the place where they reached the shore the harbour of Kako.[1] It was perhaps at this time that the practice began of using the word kako as a general name for sailors."

14th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent as tribute a seamstress named Maketsu.[2] She was the first ancestress of the present seamstresses of Kume.[3] This year the Lord of Yutsuki[4] came from Pèkché and offered his allegiance. Accordingly he addressed the Emperor, saying :—"Thy servant was coming to offer allegiance with one hundred and twenty districts of the people of his own land, when the men of Silla prevented them, and they were all forced to remain in the land of Kara." Hereupon Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko was sent to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kara. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come. A.D. 283. X. 10.

15th year, Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. The King of Pèkché sent A-chik-ki with two quiet horses as tribute. So they were fed in stables on the acclivity of Karu. Accordingly A-chik-ki was appointed to have charge of their foddering. A.D. 284.

[1] Kako is written with characters which mean deer-little-one.

[2] I have here followed the traditional kana pronunciation. The Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters would be Chin-mo-chin. Another reading makes two women.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] Yutsuki is the traditional rendering of the characters 弓月. This in Corean would be Kung-wöl.

Therefore the place where the horses were kept was named Mumaya-saka.[1] Moreover, A-chik-ki was able to read the classics, and so the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko,[2] made him his teacher. Herèupon the Emperor inquired of A-chik-ki, saying :—"Are there other learned men superior to thee?" He answered and said :—"There is Wang-in,[3] who is superior." Then Areda wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, and Kamu nagi wake were sent to Pèkché to summon Wang-in.

X. 11. This A-chik-ki was the first ancestor of the A-chik-ki (or Atogi) no Fumi-bito.[4]

A.D. 285. 16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Wang-in[5] arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, took him

[1] Stable-hill.

[2] But he was not the heir. Oho-sazaki was heir. See Ch. K., pp. 254 and 257.

[3] The traditional reading is Wani, which is also found in the "Kojiki."

[4] Scribes.

[5] There are clear indications that the Chinese language and character were not wholly unknown in Japan from a time which may be roughly put as coinciding with the Christian epoch. But this knowledge was probably confined to a few interpreters. There were no schools, and no official records. The arrival of Wangin was therefore a most important event in Japanese history. It was the beginning of a training in Chinese ideas which has exercised a profound influence on the whole current of Japanese thought and civilization up to our own day.

The date given for it in the "Nihongi," however, cannot be correct. As I have endeavoured to show in a paper on "Early Japanese History" contributed to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Wangin's arrival must be placed 120 years later, i.e. in 405 instead of in 285. Whether the whole chronology of this period requires to be altered accordingly, as I am disposed to believe, or only the dates of those events which relate to Corea, is a question which has not yet received an adequate answer. It is curious that the "Kiujiki" omits all mention of them.

Corea preceded Japan by only a very short time in the establishment of schools of Chinese learning and in the institution of official records. Kokuryö established a High School in 372, and Pèkché appointed a Professor of Chinese two years later. Before this time, says the "Tongkam," Pèkché had no written records. See "Writing, Printing, and Alphabet in Corea," "J.R.A.S.," 1895.

Á-chik-ki is the Corean pronunciation of the characters 阿 直 岐. The traditional rendering in kana is Achiki or Atogi. The "Kojiki" calls him Achi-Kishi, where Kishi is written 吉 師, the name of a Corean rank of no great eminence.

as teacher, and learnt various books from him. There was none which he did not thoroughly understand. Therefore the man called Wang-in was the first ancestor of the Fumi no Obito.[1]

In this year King Ahwa of Pèkché died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Työn-chi,[2] and addressed him, saying:—"Do thou return to thy country and succeed to the (royal) Dignity." Accordingly he further granted to him the territory of Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.[3]

Eastern Han comprises Kam-na-syöng, Ko-nan-syöng, and I-rim-syöng.[4]

8th month. Kidzu no Sukune of Heguri and Tada no Sukune of Ikuba were sent to Kara. Choice troops were granted them, and the Emperor commanded them, saying:—"The long delay in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his X. 12.
being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla. Do you go speedily, assail Silla, and open a way for him." Hereupon

[1] Fumi no obito, chiefs of writing.

[2] Prince Työn-chi. The "Nihongi" has 直支 here and below (25th year), which would be in Corean Chik-chi. But 直 is a mistake for 腆, the former character having slipped in from the name of the horse-keeper mentioned above.

[3] The following are the notices in the "Tongkam" relating to Prince Työnchi's being sent to Japan:—

"Reign of Ahwa, 6th year, Summer, 5th month. Pèkché made friends A.D. 397
with Wa. Työnchi, the Heir Apparent, was sent as a hostage."

"Reign of Ahwa, 14th year, Autumn, 9th month. King Ahwa of Pèkché A.D. 405.
died. The Heir Apparent Työnchi had not returned from Wa, whither he had gone as a hostage. Työnchi's next younger brother, Hunhê, administered the Government in expectation of the Heir Apparent's return. The youngest brother, Syöl-lyé, slew Hunhè, and set himself up as King. When Työnchi heard of the King's death, he wept bitterly, and asked permission to return. The Lord of Wa gave Työnchi one hundred soldiers as an escort. When he arrived at the frontier, a man of Hansyöng[1] named Hè-chhung came to meet him, and said:—'The Great King (Ahwa) having left this world, Syöl-lyé slew his elder brother and set up himself as King. I pray that the Heir Apparent will promptly take measures for this.' Työnchi, guarded by the Wa soldiers, repaired to an island in the sea, and made provision there while the people of the land killed Syöl-lyé, and going to meet (Työnchi), established him as King." "Tongkam," III. 14.

[4] Syöng means a walled city.

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[1] The present capital of Söul.

Kidzu no Sukune and his colleague moved forward their choice troops and arrived at the Silla frontier. The King of Silla was afraid, and confessed his guilt, so they brought away with them the people of Kungwöl[1] and Sotsuhiko.

A.D. 288. 19th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.[2] At this time the Kuzu[3] came to his Court, and presenting to the Emperor newly-brewed sake, made a song, saying:—

At Kashinofu
A cross-mortar[4] we made:
In that cross-mortar
The great august sake that we have brewed
Sweetly
Do thou partake of it
Oh! our father![5]

When the song was finished, they drummed on their mouths and looked up laughing. At the present time, on the day that the Kuzu[6] present their country's produce to the Emperor, when their song is finished they drum on their mouths and look up laughing. This custom is probably a relic of antiquity. Now the Kuzu are very plain and honest in character. They commonly gather wild berries for food, and they also boil frogs,
X. 13. which they reckon a great dainty, calling them kebi. Their country lies to the south-east of the capital, on the other side of a mountain. There they dwell by the River Yoshino (amid) steep cliffs and deep ravines. The roads are narrow, with deep hollows. Therefore, although the distance from the capital is not great, their visits to Court had been rare. However, from this time forward they came frequently, bringing the produce of their country to present to the Emperor. This produce consists of such things as chestnuts, mushrooms, and trout.

A.D. 289. 20th year, Autumn, 9th month. Achi no Omi, ancestor of

[1] Or Yutsuki.
[2] In the south of Yamato.
[3] Local chieftains.
[4] It is not clear what a cross-mortar was. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 251.
[5] The word translated father is *chi*, which is also used more generally as a term of respect. Perhaps "Lord" might be better here.
[6] Seventeen was their number in later times, according to the Yengi Shiki.

the Atahe of the Aya[1] of Yamato, and his son Tsuga no Omi X. 14.
immigrated to Japan, bringing with them a company of their people of seventeen districts.

22nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. The Emperor made A.D. 291.
a progress to Naniha, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ohosumi.

10th day. He ascended a lofty tower and had a distant prospect. Now he was attended by his concubine Yehime, who, looking towards the west, lamented loudly. Hereupon the Emperor inquired of Yehime, saying:—"Why dost thou lament so bitterly?" She answered and said:—"Of late thy handmaiden has been thinking fondly of her father and mother, and so, looking towards the west, unawares she made lament. I pray thee let me return for a while that I may see my parents." Hereupon the Emperor loved Yehime's tender thought for the warmth and coolness[2] of her parents, and addressing her, said:—"Many years have passed since thou hast seen thy parents. It is clearly right that thou shouldst wish to return

[1] Aya is the traditional Japanese rendering of 漢, i.e. Han, the name of a Chinese dynasty. No satisfactory explanation of the reason why this character should be read aya has been given. As a mere guess, I would suggest that Hada or hata for 秦 (Ts'in), Kure for Wu 吳 and Aya for Han may have been names given from the textile products with which these three Chinese dynasties, or the emigrants, may have been associated; Hada or Hata meaning loom or cloth generally, Kure, dyed stuffs (for Kurenawi, pink or scarlet), and Aya, figured stuffs. There were numerous weavers among the Corean (or Chinese) emigrants to Japan. See below, A.D. 306. For Kure, another derivation is that which makes it mean "distant," a sense in which it occurs more than once in the "Manyōshiu," and in a poem in the "Nihongi," Reign of Saimei, year 4.

This family was called the Aya of Yamato to distinguish it from another family of the same name in Kahachi. These two families were also known respectively as the Higashi no Aya, or Eastern Aya, and the Nishi no Aya, or Western Aya.

Motoōri ("Kojikiden," XXXIII. 39) shows that, like other events relating to Corea in this part of the "Nihongi," this immigration must be dated 120 years later.

The Yamato Aya claimed descent from the Emperor Ling-ti of the Later Han dynasty, who reigned A.D. 168 to 190. We are told that on the fall of that dynasty in 221, Prince Achi fled to Corea, whence he subsequently emigrated to Japan; but how much of this is true it is impossible to say. Cf. Ch. K., p. 253.

[2] i.e. thoughtfulness for her parents' comfort.

and visit them." So he granted her permission, and summoning eighty fishermen of Mihara in Ahaji and making sailors of them, sent her to Kibi.

Summer, 4th month. Yehime set sail from Ohotsu[1] and departed.

X. 15. The Emperor, standing on the high tower, looked towards Yehime's ship and made a song, saying:—

Thou Island of Ahaji
With thy double ranges;[2]
Thou Island of Adzuki
With thy double ranges—
Ye good islands
* * * *[3]
Ye have seen face to face
My spouse of Kibi.

Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor hunted in the Island of Ahaji. This island lies beyond the sea to the west of Naniha. There is a confusion of peaks and cliffs; hills and valleys succeed to one another. Fragrant herbs grow luxuriantly; it is washed by the long billows. Moreover, great deer, wild ducks, and wild geese are abundant in that island. Therefore the Emperor made frequent excursions thither.[4] Now the Emperor, going round by way of Ahaji, made a progress to Kibi and went on an excursion to the Island of Adzuki.

11th day. He again removed his dwelling to the Palace of
X. 16. Ashimori in Hata. Then Mitomo wake presented himself and entertained the Emperor, employing his brother, children and grandchildren as stewards. Hereupon the Emperor, observing the reverential fear with which Mitomo wake waited on him, was pleased, and accordingly, having divided the province of Kibi, granted it in fee to his children; that is to say, dividing off the district of Kahashima, he granted it to the eldest son, Inehaya wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Shimo-

[1] Ohotsu is literally "great port." Perhaps Ohosaka is meant.

[2] Showing a double row of mountain peaks.

[3] The sixth line of the original is unintelligible.

[4] Riding in his carriage, says the original, a Chinese expression which is not meant to be taken literally.

tsu-michi.[1] Next he took the district of Kamu-tsu-michi and granted it to the middle son, Nakatsuhiko.[2] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kamu-tsu-michi and of the Omi of Kaya. Next he took the district of Mino and granted it to Otohiko.[3] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Mino. Afterwards he took the district of Hakuke and granted it to Ahiru wake, the younger brother of Mitomo wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kasa. Accordingly he took the district of Sono X. 17.
and granted it to his elder brother, Urakori wake. He was the first ancestor of the Atahe of Sono. And taking the district of Hatori-be,[4] he granted it to Yehime. Wherefore his descendants dwell to this day in the Land of Kibi. This is the reason of it.[5]

25th year. King Työn-chi of Pèkché died.[6] Accordingly A.D. 294.
his son Ku-ni-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi of Yamato[7] took the administration of the State. He had an intrigue with the King's mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper. The Emperor hearing this, sent for him.

The Pèkché record says:—"Mong-man-chi was the son of Mong-na Keunchă,[8] born to him of a Silla woman

[1] Shimo-tsu-michi means the lower road, i.e. the part of the province furthest from the capital. Kamu-tsu-michi, on the other hand, is the higher road—the part nearest the capital.

[2] Middle prince. [3] Younger prince. [4] Weavers.

[5] If we take a broad view of Japanese History we shall recognize in it a constant oscillation between two forms of government. At one time there is a strong central authority with local governors removable at pleasure or at short intervals. By degrees the latter offices become hereditary and more independent of the throne, so that eventually a sort of feudal system is the result. Then the pendulum swings back again, and under a strong ruler the old centralized government is restored, while the local nobles, deprived of effective authority, retain their titles only.

Notwithstanding the numerous imperfections of the record, it is clear that in Ôjin's reign the feudal system prevailed. Towards the end of the seventh century, again, we find a much more centralized form of government. The Revolution of 1868 is a remarkable example of a rapid change from a feudal system to a strong central government. The converse process is always far more gradual.

[6] The "Tongkam" gives A.D. 420 as the year of Työn-chi's death. The usual difference of 120 years is therefore not exactly realized in this case.

[7] Or Great Wa. 大倭.

[8] See above, p. 249. This does not look like a Japanese name.

when he invaded that country. The great services of his father gave him absolute authority in Imna. He came into our country and went back and forward to the honourable country,[1] accepting the control of the Celestial Court. He seized the administration of our country, and his power was supreme in that day. The Emperor, hearing of his violence, recalled him."

A.D. 297. 28th year, Autumn, 9th month. The King of Koryö sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address, in which it was said :—"The King of Koryö instructs the Land of
X. 18 Nippon." Now the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, read this address and was enraged. He reproached the Koryö envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up.[2]

A.D. 300. 31st year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded his ministers,[3] saying :—"The Government ship named *Karano* was sent as tribute by the Land of Idzu. It is rotten, and unfit for use. It has, however, been in Government use for a long time, and its services should not be forgotten. Shall we not keep the name of that ship from being lost, and hand it down to after ages?" The ministers, on receiving this command, made the functionaries take the timber of that ship and use it as firewood for roasting salt. Herewith they got five hundred baskets of salt, which were freely given away to the various provinces, and the latter were accordingly caused to build ships. Upon this, all the provinces at the same time sent up ships as tribute, to the number of five hundred, which all assembled in the harbour of Muko. At this time the Silla

[1] Japan.

[2] If this story were true, it would have to be dated 120 years later. But even then Koryö was still Kokuryö. The name Koryö did not come into official use till A.D. 918, though as a literary designation examples of it may be found as early as A.D. 500. Koryö, however, is out of place in an ostensible quotation from a formal official document of this period, and shows that this story is untrue or much garbled.

The term Nippon for Japan is also an anachronism. It was not officially notified to Corea until A.D. 670, though there are examples of its use earlier in the same century.

Waka-iratsuko did not become Heir Apparent until A.D. 309 (of the "Nihongi" chronology), and as he is there alluded to as being of tender years, he must have been at this time a somewhat precocious prince.

[3] See above, p. 257.

tribute-envoys were stopping along with them at Muko.[1] Hereupon, of a sudden, fire broke out in the Silla lodgings. It presently spread to the fleet of ships, so that many of them were burnt. In consequence of this, the Silla men were called to an account. The King of Silla, when he heard of it, was afraid, and, greatly alarmed, sent tribute of skilful workmen. They were the first ancestors of the Wina[2] Be. In the beginning, when the ship *Karano* was burnt as firewood for making salt, some was left over from the burning. It was thought strange that it did not burn, and it was accordingly presented to the Emperor. The Emperor wondered at it, and had it made into a koto, which had a ringing note, and could be heard afar off. Then the Emperor made a song, saying :—

(The ship) *Karano* X. 19.
Was burnt for salt :
Of the remainder
A koto was made.
When it is played on,
(One hears) the saya-saya[3]
Of the summer trees
Brushing against, as they stand,
The rocks of the mid-harbour—
The harbour of Yura.

37th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Achi no Omi and Tsuga no Omi[4] were sent to Wu,[5] to procure seamstresses. Now Achi no Omi and his companions crossed over to the Land of Koryö, and endeavoured to reach Wu. But on arriving at Koryö they knew not the road at all, and begged A.D. 306.

Hiōgo, or some place in the vicinity, is meant.

[2] A place in Settsu.

[3] Saya-saya is an onomatopoetic word for rustling, equivalent to the French frou-frou.

Yura is in Ahaji. Cf. Ch. K., 285.

[4] They were Coreans. See above, p. 264.

[5] Wu 吳, called by the Japanese Go or Kure, was a Chinese dynasty, the last sovereign of which was deposed A.D. 280, long before the despatch of these envoys. We learn, however, from a note to the "Shukai" edition that this appellation was applied (perhaps popularly) to all the six dynasties established at Nanking or the neighbourhood from Wu to Chên inclusive, i.e. from A.D. 229 to 589. To this day a draper's shop is called in Japan a Go-fuku-ya, or "house for Go-clothing."

Koryö to give them persons who knew the road. The King of Koryö sent with them as guides two men called Kureha and Kureshi.[1] In this way they were enabled to reach Wu. The King[2] of Wu thereupon gave them four women as workwomen, namely Ye-hime, Oto-hime, Kure-hatori and Ana-hatori.[3]

A.D. 308. 39th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent his younger sister, the Lady Sin-chă-to,[4] to wait upon (the Emperor as his concubine). Now the Lady Sin-chă-to came over, bringing in her train seven women.

X. 20. A.D. 309. 40th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor summoned to him Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto[5] and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and inquired of them, saying:—"Do ye love your children?" They answered and said:—"We love them exceedingly." Again he inquired:—"Which are most dear—the elder ones or the younger?" Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto answered and said:—"There is none like the elder." On this the Emperor showed displeasure. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, who had previously observed the Emperor's expression of face, answered and said:—"The older has experienced many colds and heats, and has already become a man, so that there is no reason for anxiety about him. But in the case of a young child one knows not whether he will reach manhood or not, and for that reason he is very pitiable." The Emperor was greatly pleased and said:—"Thy words are truly in accordance with my feelings." At this time it was the Emperor's constant

[1] The Chinese characters given in the text seem to be only Japanese phonetic renderings of the names, and I have therefore not given them their Corean sounds, which would be Ku-nyé-pha and Ku-nyé-chi. But they do not look like real names. They appear to be made up of Kure, the name of the dynasty, or rather of the country ruled by it, and a termination.

[2] Some local authority must be intended.

[3] These names mean respectively "elder lady," "younger lady," "Kure weaver," and "hole weaver." But Ana, hole, is probably a mistake for Aya, the Japanese name of the Chinese Han dynasty. Wu (or Kure) and Han (or Aya) weavers are mentioned together below, year 14 of Yuriaku's reign. See also above, p. 265.

[4] The Japanese traditional reading is Shi-se-tsu. The "Shukai" edition rejects the name Chikchi, which in the older editions follows Pèkché. It is not in the old books, and besides his death has been already recorded above.

[5] He was the son of an inferior consort.

desire to establish Uji no Waka-iratsuko as Prince Imperial, and so he wished to conciliate the minds of the two Imperial Princes. Therefore he started this inquiry. On this account he was displeased with Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto's answer.

24th day. Uji no Waka-iratsuko was established as successor (to the throne). On the same day Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto [1] was appointed to the charge of the mountains, rivers, woods, and moors, while Oho-sazaki no Mikoto was made Assistant to the Prince Imperial, and caused to administer affairs of State.

41st year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Toyo-Akira at the age of 110.[2] A.D. 310

One account says:—"He died in the Palace of Oho-kuma."

In this month Achi no Omi and his companions arrived in Tsukushi from Wu. Now the Great God of Muna-gata [3] asked for workwomen. Therefore Ane-hime was offered to the Great God of Muna-gata. She was the ancestor of the Mitsukahi [4] no Kimi, who now dwell in the Land of Tsukushi. He then took with him the three women, and proceeded to the Land of Tsu.[5] But when he reached Muko the Emperor was dead and he was too late. Accordingly he offered them to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. The descendants of these women are the present seamstresses of Kure and the seamstresses of Kaya.[6]

[1] His name, Great-mountain-warden, already indicates this office. There is a distinction between the characters for Mikoto applied to the elder and younger brothers, the latter having the more honorific character no doubt because he afterwards became Emperor. See above, p. 2.

[2] The "Kojiki" says 130. He was deified at a later period under the name of Yahata or Hachiman as the God of War, and there are many shrines in his honour standing at this day.

[3] In Chikuzen.

[4] Mitsukahi means "august messenger."

[5] Settsu.

[6] Kaya is written with the characters for "Musquito-net." There is a place in Bittchiu of this name, but written with different characters.

BOOK XI.

THE EMPEROR OHO-SAZAKI.[1]

(*NINTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-sazaki was the fourth child of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was a granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ihoki-iri-hiko. The Emperor from his childhood was intelligent and sagacious, and his face was fair to look upon. When he grew to manhood he was indulgent and humane. The Emperor Homuda died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 41st year of his reign. Now the Prince Imperial offered to cede the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. He would not assume the Imperial Dignity, but advised with Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—" He that shall rule over the Empire and govern the myriad subjects should overspread them like Heaven, and comprehend them like Earth. If there is above a cheerful heart with which to employ the people, the people are happy and the Empire tranquil. But here am I, a younger brother, and moreover wanting in talent. How shall I presume to succeed to the Dignity and to enter upon the Celestial task? But thou, O great Prince, art distinguished in appearance and of a far-reaching benevolence. Thou art also of ripe years and art fit to become Lord of the Empire. The late Emperor established me as his Heir. But was this for my abilities? No, it was simply because he loved me. Moreover, there is the weighty matter of the service of the Ancestral shrines and of the Gods of the Earth and of Grain.[3] For this thy servant is wanting in ready tact and is unmeet to

[1] Great-wren. See below, XI. 7. [2] Benevolence-virtue.

[3] These expressions are simply borrowed from Chinese books, and have no bearing on Japanese ancient institutions or ideas.

fill the office. Now, there is a general principle admitted by XI. 2.
both ancient and modern times that the elder brother should be above and the younger brother below, that the wise man should be Lord and the stupid man a vassal. Let the Prince therefore unhesitatingly assume the Imperial Dignity, and I will be simply his servant and assistant." Oho-sazaki no Mikoto answered and said:—"It was the intention of the late Emperor that the Imperial Dignity should not be vacant for a single day. Therefore he made choice beforehand of an illustrious virtue and established the Prince as his duplicate. The succession he bestowed on thee and the people he granted to thee. Let us honour his preference, and publish it throughout the land. Wanting in wisdom though I am, shall I disregard the command of the late Emperor, and without consideration comply with the request of the Prince, my younger brother?"

He firmly declined and would not receive it, and each of them wished to transfer (the sovereignty) to the other.

At this time the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, intending to take charge of the official rice-lands and granary of Yamato, addressed Oü no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Idzumo, who was the officer charged with these official rice-lands, saying:—"These official rice-lands were originally XI. 3
Mountain-warden-land, and therefore I will now take the management of them. Thou oughtest not to hold them."

Now Oü no Sukune reported the matter to the Prince Imperial, who spake to him, saying:—"Do thou represent the matter to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto." Hereupon Oü no Sukune made representation to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko will not allow thy servant to manage the official rice-fields which were placed in his charge." Oho-sazaki no Mikoto inquired of Maro, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, saying:—"It is stated that the official rice-lands of Yamato were originally Mountain-warden-land. How is this?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant knows not. But thy servant's younger brother, Akoko, knows." It happened that at this time Akoko had been sent to the Han[1] country and had not yet returned. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no

[1] Corea.

Mikoto spake to Oü, saying:—"Do thou go thyself to the Han country and summon Akoko. Go quickly, travelling day and night." So he assigned to him eighty fishermen of Ahaji as sailors. Hereupon Oü proceeded to the Han country, and straightway came accompanied by Akoko. Accordingly he was asked about the Yamato official rice-lands. He replied, saying:—"I have heard by tradition that, in the time of the Emperor who reigned in the palace of Tamaki at Makimuku,[1] the official rice-fields of Yamato were settled in the charge of Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the Prince Imperial. At that time there was an Imperial Decree to the effect that the official rice-lands of Yamato were always to be the official rice-lands of the reigning Sovereign, and could not be held by anyone who was not the reigning Sovereign, even an Emperor's child. It is therefore wrong to say that this is Mountain-warden-land."

Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto sent Akoko to the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, and made him acquaint him with these circumstances. The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko knew not at all what to do, and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, recognizing that he was in the wrong, forgave him and did not punish him.

XI. 4. Thereafter Prince Oho-yama-mori[2] was full of resentment that he was passed over by the late Emperor and not established as Prince Imperial. In addition he had this cause of hatred. So he plotted, saying:—"I will kill the Prince Imperial and will ultimately ascend to the Imperial Dignity." Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, having heard beforehand of his plot, secretly advised the Prince Imperial to prepare soldiers for his protection. Then the Prince Imperial got ready troops and awaited him. The Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, not knowing that soldiers had been prepared, took with him only a few hundred fighting men, and starting in the middle of the night, proceeded thither. At dawn he arrived at Uji, and was about to cross the river when the Prince Imperial, having put on

[1] Suinin Tennō.

[2] Clearly Oho-yama-mori is the same person who is spoken of above as Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko. Either Nukada all through the above passage is a mistake, or the genealogy (p. 255) which makes two persons of them is wrong. I think the latter more likely, Oho-yama-mori being an official designation, and Nukada, etc., the name.

hempen garments, took the helm, and secretly mingled with the ferrymen. He then took the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori on board and ferried him over as far as the middle of the river, where he induced the ferrymen to step on the (side of the) boat and make it heel over. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori fell into the river and sank. But he rose to the surface again, and while floating down the stream made a song, saying,—

At the ferry of Uji
* * *[1]
Among the pole-men
Those who are nimblest
Will come to me.

But a large number of ambushed soldiers sprang up, so that he was unable to reach the bank, and he finally sank and died. Search was caused to be made for his dead body, and it came to the surface at the ferry of Kahara. Then the Prince Imperial seeing the dead body, made a song, saying,—

O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows
That growest by the ferry—
The ferry of Uji!
* * *
In my heart I thought
To cut thee,
In my heart I thought
To take thee,
But at the bottom, XI. 5.
Of my lord I bethought me,
But at the top,
Of thy spouse I bethought me.
There I thought pitifully,
Here I thought mournfully—
Uncut I leave thee,
O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows![2]

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[1] The asterisks represent an untranslatable pillow-word. See Ch. K, p. 255.

[2] Mayumi is the Euonymus. Adzusa is the Catalpa, a tree suitable for making bows. It has no particular meaning here. There is much differ-

So he was buried at Mount Nara. Afterwards the Prince Imperial built a palace at Uji, wherein he dwelt. Moreover in consequence of his ceding the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, he remained for a long time without assuming the Imperial rank. Now three years passed during which the Imperial rank was vacant. Then there was a fisherman who brought a mat-basket of fresh fish, which he offered as a present at the Uji Palace. The Prince Imperial commanded the fisherman, saying:—"I am not the Emperor," and sent him away, telling him to present it at Naniha. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto also sent him away, telling him to present it at Uji. Hereupon the fisherman's mat-basket became putrid on his journeys back and forward. So he sent it away again and procured other fresh fish, which he presented, and which were declined as on the previous day. The fresh fish again became putrid. The fisherman was grieved at his frequent returning, so he flung away the fresh fish and wept. Therefore the proverbial saying, "There is a fisherman who weeps on account of his own things," which had its origin in this.

The Prince Imperial said:—"I know that the Prince, my elder brother, is not to be moved from his resolution. Why then should I prolong my life and give trouble to the Empire?" So he died by his own hand. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, hearing of the Prince Imperial's death, was greatly shocked,
XI. 6. and hastening from Naniha arrived at the Palace of Uji. Now three days had passed since the Prince Imperial's death. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto beat his breast, wept aloud, and knew not what to do. He loosed out his hair, and bestriding the corpse, called upon him thrice, saying:—"Oh, my younger brother, the Imperial Prince!" In course of time he came to life, raised himself up, and remained in a sitting posture. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto addressed the Heir Apparent, saying:—"Oh, what grief! Oh, what regret! Why didst thou pass away of thine own accord? If the dead had any

ence of opinion among native commentators as to the meaning of this poem. It would seem as if the Prince, having thrown his brother overboard, could hardly claim much credit for clemency. But probably this is a genuine ancient poem, which the author has inserted here without much regard to fitness. The asterisks represent the untranslatable pillow-word Chihaybito, an epithet of Uji.

knowledge, what would the late Emperor think of me?" So the Prince Imperial addressed the Prince his elder brother, saying:—"It is the command of Heaven. Who may stay it? If I should go to the place where the Emperor is, I will tell him of all the Prince, my elder brother's wisdom, and also of my abdication. But the sage Prince must surely be fatigued after the long and hurried journey which he undertook on hearing of my death." So he presented to him the Imperial Princess Yata,[1] his younger sister by the same mother, saying:—"Though she is unworthy of thy nuptials, she may in some small measure serve to be entered in the number of the side Courts." So he lay down again in his coffin and died.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto put on plain unbleached garments and began mourning for him, and his lamentation was exceedingly pathetic. He was buried on the top of the hill of Uji.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto A.D. 313.
assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. He made his capital at Naniha. It was called the Palace of Takatsu. The Palace
enclosure and buildings were not plastered, the gable rafters XI. 7.
and ridgepoles, the posts and pillars were devoid of ornament; the covering of thatch was not evenly trimmed.[2] This was that he might not delay the season of agricultural operations for the sake of his own personal caprices.

Before this time, on the day that the Emperor was born, an owl entered the parturition house. The next morning the Emperor Homuda called to him the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune, and addressed him, saying:—"What may this portend?" The Prime Minister answered and said:—"It is a lucky omen. Moreover yesterday when thy servant's wife was in labour, a wren entered the parturition house. This also is strange!" Hereupon the Emperor said:—"Now our child and the Prime Minister's child have been born on the same day.

[1] She was also a daughter of the late Emperor. This shows that marriages of sisters *by the father's side only* were allowed. The Prince Imperial was able to give his sister by the mother's side in marriage. He would have had no control over his sisters by the father's side only.

[2] It should be remembered that at this period every Mikado built himself a new palace in a new locality.

In the case of both there are omens. This is an indication from Heaven. Let us take the names of these birds, and each exchanging them, call our children after them as a covenant to future generations." So he took the name "wren" (sazaki) and called the Prince Imperial by it, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-sazaki."[1] And he took the name "owl" (Dzuku) and called the Prime Minister's child by it, saying:—"Dzuku
XI. 8. no Sukune." He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Heguri.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 314. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 8th day. Iha no hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She was the mother of the Emperor Ohi-ne[2] Iza-ho-wake, of the Imperial Prince Suminohe no Nakatsu, of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake, and of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsu-ma-waku-go no Sukune. Another consort, Kami-naga-hime of Hiuga, bore to him the Imperial Prince Oho-kusaka and the Imperial Princess Hatahi.

A.D. 316. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity, from every one was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty, 'How happy are we.' But now when we observe the people, for three years past, no voice of
XI. 9. eulogy is heard; the smoke of cooking has become rarer and rarer. By this we know that the five grains[3] do not come up, and that the people are in extreme want. Even in the Home provinces[4] there are some who are not supplied; what must it be in the provinces outside of our domain?"

3rd month, 21st day. The following decree was issued:—

[1] I have elsewhere suggested that the name of the Emperor Oho-sazaki was a posthumous title given him owing to the great size of the mound (sasagi) under which he is buried near Sakai. And although there is much to be said on the other side, I am not sure that this may not after all be correct. The difference in spelling between sasagi and sazaki is immaterial.

[2] Ohi-ne or Oho-ye means great-elder-brother. It is hardly a name.

[3] Hemp, millet, rice, wheat and barley, pulse.

[4] The territory round the capital ruled immediately by the Emperor. This is a Chinese phrase, not properly applicable to Japan at this period.

"From this time forward, for the space of three years, let forced labour be entirely abolished, and let the people have rest from toil." From this day forth his robes of state and shoes did not wear out, and none were made. The warm food and hot broths did not become sour or putrid, and were not renewed. He disciplined his heart and restrained his impulses so that he discharged his functions without effort.

Therefore the Palace enclosure fell to ruin and was not rebuilt; the thatch decayed, and was not repaired; the wind and rain entered by the chinks and soaked the coverlets; the starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed-mats. After this the wind and rain came in due season,[1] the five grains produced in abundance. For the space of three autumns the people had plenty, the praises of his virtue filled the land, and the smoke of cooking was also thick. XI. 10.

7th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor was on his tower, and looking far and wide, saw smoke arising plentifully. On this day he addressed the Empress, saying:— "We are now prosperous. What can there be to grieve for?" The Empress answered and said:—"What dost thou mean by prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"It is doubtless when the smoke fills the land, and the people freely attain to wealth." The Empress went on to say:—"The Palace enclosure is crumbling down, and there are no means of repairing it; the buildings are dilapidated so that the coverlets are exposed. Can this be called prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is no other than Our poverty; the people's prosperity is none other than Our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people's being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty."[2] A.D. 319.

[1] The notion that the virtues of the Emperor have a direct influence on the weather is, of course, Chinese.

[2] This whole episode is the composition of some one well acquainted with Chinese literature. The sentiments are throughout characteristically Chinese, and in several cases whole sentences are copied verbatim from Chinese works.

Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. For the Imperial Prince Ohine Izaho-wake there was established the Mibu Be,[1] and again for the Empress there was established the Katsuraki Be.[2]

9th month. The provinces, without exception, petitioned, saying:—"Three years have now elapsed since forced labour was altogether remitted. The Palace buildings have therefore become decayed, and the Treasury empty. The black-headed
XI. 11. people have now abundance, and remnants are not picked up. Therefore in the villages there are no men without wives or women without husbands, in the houses there is store of spare provisions. If at such a time there was no payment of taxes with which to repair the Palace buildings, we fear that we should incur guilt in the sight of Heaven." The Emperor, however, continued to be patient, and would not grant their petition.

A.D. 322. 10th year, Winter, 10th month. Forced labour for the building of a Palace was imposed for the first time. Hereupon the people, without superintendence, supporting the aged and leading by the hand the young, transported timber, carried baskets[3] on their backs, and worked their hardest without distinction of night or day, vying with one another in the construction. In this manner, ere long the Palace buildings were every one completed. Therefore up to the present day he is styled the Sage Emperor.

A.D. 323. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor commanded his ministers, saying:—"Viewing this land, the moors and marshes extend far and wide, and the cultivated fields are few and rare. Moreover, the river waters spread out to each side, so that the lower streams flow sluggishly. Should there

[1] This Be is also called the Nibu Be. There are several places in Japan of this name. It was originally the group of peasants whose duty it was to provide wet nurses, etc., for infant princes. See Ch. K., p. 268, and Motowori in "Kojikiden," xxxv. 12.

[2] The "Kojiki" says that these two Be were instituted as "miōdai" of the Prince and the Empress, i.e. in order to perpetuate their memory, the Be in such cases taking the name of the person or of his or her residence. The last explanation might apply to the Empress, but it is not clear how the name Mibu could perpetuate the memory of this Prince.

[3] Of earth.

happen to be continuous rains, the tide from the sea flows up against them so that one may ride in boats through the villages: and the highways, too, are covered with mud. Therefore do ye our ministers examine this together, and having ascertained the source of the divergence, make a channel for them to the sea, and, staying the contrary flow (of the tide), preserve the fields and houses."

Winter, 10th month. The plain north of the Palace was excavated, and the water from the south diverted into the Western Sea. Therefore that water was called by the name Hori-ye.[1]

Moreover, in order to prevent the overflowing of the Northern river the Mamuta embankment was constructed. At this time there were two parts of the construction which gave way and could not be stopped up. Then the Emperor had a dream in which he was admonished by a God, saying:—"There is a man of Musashi named Koha-kubi[2] and a man of Kahachi named Koromo no ko,[3] the Muraji of Mamuta. Let these two men be sacrificed to the River-God, and thou wilt surely be enabled to close the gaps." So he sought for these two men, and having found them, sacrificed them to the River-God. Hereupon Koha-kubi wept and lamented, and plunging into the water, died. So that embankment was completed. Koromo no ko, however, took two whole calabashes, and standing over the water which could not be dammed, plunged the two calabashes into the mid-stream and prayed, saying:—"O thou River-God, who hast sent the curse (to remove which) I have now come hither as a sacrifice. If thou dost persist in thy desire to have me, sink these calabashes and let them not rise to the surface. Then shall I know that thou art a true God, and will enter the water of my own accord. But if thou canst not sink the calabashes, I shall, of course, know that thou art a false God, for whom, why should I spend my life in vain?" Hereupon a whirlwind arose suddenly which drew with it the calabashes and tried to submerge them in the water. But the calabashes, XI. 12.

[1] Excavated estuary, or canal.

[2] Strong-neck.

[3] Garment-child. These are personal names. Such names are in the original put after titles, but I have reversed this order, in accordance with European practice.

dancing on the waves, would not sink, and floated far away over the wide waters. In this way that embankment was completed, although Koromo no ko did not die. Accordingly
XI. 13. Koromo no ko's cleverness saved his life. Therefore the men of that time gave a name to these two places, calling them "Kohakubi's Gap" and "Koromo no ko's Gap."

This year men of Silla came to the Court with tribute, and were made to labour at this public work.

A.D. 324. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Land of Koryö sent tribute of iron shields and iron targets.

8th month, 10th day. The Koryö guests were entertained at Court. On this day the ministers and functionaries were assembled and made to shoot at the iron shields and targets presented by Koryö. Nobody could pierce the targets except Tatebito no Sukune, the ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba,[1] who shot at the iron targets and pierced them. Then the guests from Koryö, when they saw this, were struck with awe by his excellent skill in archery, and, standing up together, did obeisance to the Emperor. The next day the Emperor commended Tatebito no Sukune and gave him a title, calling him Ikuba no Toda no Sukune. On the same day a title was given to Sukune no Omi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, and he was called Sakashi-nokori[2] no Omi.

Winter, 10th month. The Great Canal was dug in the district of Kurikuma in Yamashiro for the irrigation of the rice-fields. By this means the peasants of that district had always years of abundance.

A.D. 325. 13th year, Autumn, 9th month. Now for the first time official granaries were established at Mamuta. The Usu-me[3] Be was accordingly instituted.

Winter, 10th month. The Pond of Wani[4] was made. In
XI. 14. the same month the Yokono Embankment was constructed.

A.D. 326. 14th year, Winter, 11th month. A bridge was made at the Wikahi ferry. It was this place which was called Wo-bashi.[5] In this year a highway was constructed and laid down within the capital from the South Gate extending in a straight line as

[1] Tatebito means shield-man, and Ikuba, target.
[2] Clever-remainder. [3] Millers. [4] In Kahachi.
[5] Small-bridge.

far as the village of Tajihi. Moreover, a great canal was dug in Konku[1] by which the water of the Ishikaha River was brought to irrigate the four waste plains of Upper Suzuka and Lower Suzuka, Upper Toyora and Lower Toyora. By bringing these under cultivation there were gained more than 40,000 K'iüng[2] of rice-land. Therefore the peasants of those places enjoyed abundance, and there was no longer the plague of bad years.

16th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor, indicating Kuhada no Kugahime, a lady of the Palace, to his personal attendants, said :—" It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have XI. 15. passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom ? " So he made a song, saying :—

Who will nourish
The daughter of the Omi
That sweeps along the bottom of the water ?[3]

Then Hayamachi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of the province of Harima, advanced alone and made a song, saying :—

I, Hayamachi of Harima,
(Where the dreadful tides are)
Though full of awe,
Like rocks tumbling down,
I will nourish her.[4]

That same day Kugahime was given to Hayamachi. On the evening of the next day Hayamachi went to Kugahime's house. Now Kugahime would not comply with his wishes, but he persisted in approaching the curtained space. Then Kugahime

[1] In Kahachi.

[2] A Chinese measure of land equal to 100 mo, or more than fifteen English acres. This exact number of K'iüng occurs in a Chinese book of the Han period as the extent of land reclaimed by a similar operation.

[3] The last line is a makura kotoba not in the least suitable as an epithet of Omi, a minister. But Omi is somewhat like ami, a net, for which it is satisfactory enough. The text is doubtful.

[4] This stanza is in the ordinary 31-syllable metre, and the previous one in the same, minus the first two lines. The second line is a makura kotoba.

said :—" Thy handmaiden will end her years husbandless. How can she become my Lord's wife ?" Now the Emperor, when he heard this, wished to accomplish Hayamachi's desires, so he sent Kugahime along with Hayamachi to Kuhada. But Kugahime straightway became ill and died on the journey. Therefore there is to this day the tomb of Kugahime.

A.D. 329. 17th year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute.

Autumn, 9th month. Toda no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, and Sakashi-nokori no Omi, ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, were sent to inquire the reason of the failure to send tribute. Hereupon the Silla people were afraid, and
XI. 16. presented 1460 pieces of tribute, fine silks, and miscellaneous objects of all kinds—in all eighty ship-loads.

A.D. 334. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor addressed the Empress, saying :—" I have taken to me the Imperial Princess Yata, and am about to make her my concubine." But the Empress would not allow it. Hereupon the Emperor made a song, in which he besought the Empress, saying :—

As a means of raising up
Dear ones :
As a spare bowstring
To supply a vacancy
I would place (her) along with (thee).

The Empress made a song in reply, saying :—

In the case of garments
To double them is well,
But my Lord who would set in a row
The couches of night—
I wonder if he is wise.

The Emperor again made a song, saying :—

Like the shore of Narabi [1]
Of Cape Naniha
That projects (into the sea)
It must have been solely to be thy comrade
That that child came into being.

---

[1] Narabi means to be associated with, to be a companion.

The Empress made a song in reply, saying :—

Like the summer insect,
The insect that seeks the fire
Wearing double garments,[1]
That the palace precinct should be thus,
Nay ! it is not good.[2] XI. 17

The Emperor again made a song, saying :—

Even the traveller,
Who with unshared tears
Toils over the little pass of Hika
In Asatsuma[3]—
Well for him had he a companion !

The Empress finally refused her consent. Therefore she was silent, and answered not again.

30th year, Autumn, 9th month, 11th day. The Empress A.D. 342. made an excursion to the land of Kiï. She went as far as Cape[4] Kumano, and was coming back with leaves of the mitsuna,[5] which she had gathered there. On this day the Emperor, espying the Empress's absence, wedded the Imperial Princess Yata, and placed her in the Palace. Now the Empress, when she arrived at the Naniha ferry, heard that the Emperor had become united to the Imperial Princess Yata, and was very wroth. She flung into the sea the mitsuna leaves which she had gathered, and would not land. Wherefore the men of that day called the sea where the leaves were scattered XI. 18. Kashiha no Watari, or the Kashiha ferry. Now the Emperor, unaware that the Empress was angry and would not land, went in person to the Great Harbour,[6] and while awaiting the Empress's ship, made a song, saying :—

[1] Wings ? [2] The meaning is here somewhat doubtful.

[3] Asatsuma is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It means "morning-wife."

[4] This is properly not a cape, but only a spur of a hill.

[5] In the original mitsuna-kashiha. Kashiha is the Quercus dentata, a kind of evergreen oak, the leaves of which were used as drinking-cups. But this term was also applied to any leaves used for this purpose. Here the leaves of another tree—the mitsuna—seem to be intended. Chamberlain makes it the aralia. See Ch. K., pp. 248-273.

[6] No doubt Naniha or Osaka.

Ye men of Naniha,
Haul along the bell-(hung) ship,
Soaked as to your loins,
Haul along that ship.
Haul along the great august ship.

Now the Empress did not anchor at the Great Harbour, but drew onwards again, and, ascending the river, went round by way of Yamashiro, in the direction of Yamato.[1] The next day the Emperor sent an attendant named Toriyama to bring the Empress back, and made a song, saying:—

In Yamashiro
Overtake her, Toriyama.
Overtake her, overtake her,
My beloved spouse—
I wonder wilt thou overtake and join her.

The Empress would not come back, but continued her journey as far as the River of Yamashiro, where she made a song, saying:—

Ascending the river—
The River of Yamashiro—
(Peak upon peak[2]—)
As I ascend it,
By the river bend
There stands luxuriant
(Less-than-a-hundred)[3]
An eighty-leaved tree.
Is it the Great Lord?

So she crossed over Mount Nara, and looking on Katsuraki,
XI. 19. she made a song, saying:—

Going up to Miya,[4]
As I ascend

---

[1] Ch. K., p. 276.

[2] Peak upon peak refers to yama, mountain, the first part of Yamashiro. It is a mere ornamental epithet.

[3] Less than a hundred is a makura-kotoba of eighty. The luxuriant tree, with its plentiful foliage, reminds her of the Emperor.

[4] Miya is probably short for Takamiya in the last line of the poem but one.

The River of Yamashiro
(—Peak upon peak—)
Nara I pass
Of fertile soil ;
Yamato I pass,
Shielded by its mountains ;
The land I long to see
Is Takamiya of Katsuraki,
For there is my home.[1]

Returning again to Yamashiro, she built a Palace on the south side of the Hill of Tsutsuki, and dwelt there.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, was sent to fetch the Empress.

One version says :—"Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Wani."

Now Kuchi no Omi went to the Palace of Tsutsuki, and wished to have audience of the Empress, but she remained silent and answered not. Then Kuchi no Omi prostrated himself before the Empress's hall, and remained there day and night drenched by the rain and snow, and did not move. Hereupon Kuchi no Omi's younger sister, Kuniyori-hime, who was in the service of the Empress, and happened just then to be in attendance upon her, saw her elder brother wet with the rain, and shed tears and made a song, saying :—

In the Palace of Tsutsuki,
In Yamashiro,
When I see my elder brother
Delivering his message,
My eyes fill with tears.

Then the Empress addressed Kuniyori-hime, saying :—"Why weepest thou ?" She answered and said :—"He that lies prostrate in the courtyard and begs an audience is thy handmaiden's elder brother. He is wet with the rain, and XI. 20.
does not flinch, but still lies prostrate in the hope of an audience of thee. This is why I weep and am sorrowful." Then the Empress addressed her, saying :—"Tell thy elder brother to return with all speed. I will never go back." Kuchi accordingly returned, and made his report to the Emperor.

11th month, 7th day. The Emperor made a progress by

[1] Much of this poem is of doubtful interpretation. Compare Ch. K. p. 275.

river to Yamashiro. At this time there was a mulberry branch floating down the stream. The Emperor looked at the mulberry branch, and made a song, saying :—

The mulberry tree [1]
* * * *
Which Iha [2] no hime
Will not listen to even absently
May not reach (the bank),
But by the bends of the river
It seems to go tossing on—
Oh ! that mulberry tree !

On the next day the Imperial cortège arrived at the Palace of Tsutsuki. The Empress was sent for, but she refused to appear before the Emperor. Then the Emperor made a song, saying :—

Like the radishes [3] dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
{ Purely, purely,
{ Clamorously, clamorously,
Because thou hast spoken
I have come hither
Like the flourishing trees
Which I look over at.

---

[1] Mulberry is ura-kuha. In modern Japanese kuha alone means mulberry. Ura also means heart, and as koha means hard, there seems an allusion to the Empress's hard-heartedness.

The Emperor compares his condition to that of the mulberry branch drifting down the stream, and finding no rest anywhere. The metre is irregular.

[2] Iha means rock. It has here a makura-kotoba prefixed to it, viz. tsuno-sahafu, creeper-clad, which is inappropriate to Iha, when taken as the Empress's name, though suitable to it in its original meaning.

[3] Radishes are at this day a staple food of the Japanese. When freshly washed they look very white and clean. The first four lines are a mere introduction to saha-saha, i.e. purely, and the author immediately goes on to exchange this meaning for another meaning of the same word, viz., clamorously, by a play of words common in Japanese poetry. The only bond of connection between the first and second halves of the poem is this double sense of saha-saha. "The flourishing trees" represent the Emperor's brilliant suite. The interpretation of this poem is more or less conjectural. Compare Ch. K., p. 279.

Again he made a song, saying:— XI. 21.

Had I not had for my pillow
Thine arm
White as the whiteness of the roots
Of the radishes dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
Then mightest thou say that thou knowest me not.

Then the Empress sent a message to the Emperor, saying:—"My lord has taken the Imperial Princess Yata and made her his concubine. Now I do not wish to be associated with the Princess as Consort." So she refused to enter his presence, and the Imperial carriage returned to the Palace. The Emperor hereupon resented the Empress's great indignation, but yet continued to love her.

31st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. Ohine-izaho-wake no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. A.D. 343.

35th year, Summer, 6th month. The Empress Iha no hime no Mikoto died in the Palace of Tsutsuki. A.D. 347.

37th year, Winter, 11th month, 12th day. The Empress was buried on Mount Nara. A.D. 349.

38th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Yata was appointed Empress. A.D. 350.

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor and Empress dwelt in a high tower to escape from the heat. At this time there was heard every night from the moor of Toga the cry of deer with a musical, yet melancholy sound, so that a feeling of pity arose in them both. But when the interlune came, the cry of the deer XI. 22. was no longer heard. Hereupon the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This evening the deer does not bell. Wherefore is this?" "The next day, a Saheki Be of the district of Wina presented a basket. The Emperor caused a steward to make inquiry of him, saying:—"What is this basket?" The answer was, "A buck." He inquired—"A deer of what place?" and was told, "Of Toga moor." The Emperor considered that this basket[1] must be the deer which

[1] The basket is put for the contents (like the Latin sportula), and the word is used even when there may have been no basket at all.

had belled, and he accordingly addressed the Empress, saying:—"We have been soothed in the anxious thoughts which have of late possessed us by listening to the belling of a deer. Now when the day or night, and the mountain or moor of the deer which has been caught are considered, they correspond to the deer which belled. It is true that that man was not aware of our feelings of affection, and that it was by chance that he came to take it. We nevertheless cannot resist a feeling of resentment. It is therefore our wish that the Saheki Be shall not approach the Imperial Palace." So he made the officials remove his residence to Nuta in Aki. He was the ancestor of the present Saheki Be of Nuta in Aki.

There is a popular story that a long time ago there was a man who went to Toga, and spent the night on the moor. Now there were two deer which lay down beside him. When it was on the point of cock-crow, the male deer addressed the female, saying:—"This night I had a dream in which I saw a white mist come down copiously and cover my body. What
XI. 23. may this portend?" The female deer answered and said:—"If thou goest out, thou wilt certainly be shot by men and die, and so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." Now the man who was spending the night there wondered at this in his heart. Before it was yet dawn, there came a hunter, who shot the male deer, and killed it. Hence the proverbial saying of the men of that day—"Even the belling male deer follows the interpretation of a dream."

A.D. 352. 40th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor wished to take to himself the Imperial Princess Medori[1] as concubine, and made the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake[2] his middle man. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa secretly wedded her himself, and for a long time made no report of his mission. Hereupon the Emperor, not knowing that she had a husband, went in person to the Imperial Princess Medori's chamber. At

[1] Princess Medori was half-sister of the Emperor by a different mother, and full sister of the Empress.

[2] Hayabusa wake was half-brother to both Princess Medori and the Emperor by a different mother.

this time the Imperial Princess was weaving, and her women made a song, saying:—

The metal loom of Heaven—
The everlasting—[1]
The metal-loom where
Medori is weaving
Stuff for an august cloak
For Hayabusa wake!

Upon this the Emperor saw that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had secretly wedded her, and was angry. But out XI. 24.
of regard for what the Empress might say, and also from respect for the principle which governs the relation of stem and branches,[2] he was patient and did not punish him. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake was lying down for a little with his head pillowed on the Imperial Princess's knee. Whereupon he addressed her, saying:—"Which is the swiftest, the wren or the falcon?"[3] She said, "The falcon." Then the Imperial Prince said:—"That means that I shall be first." The Emperor heard these words, and his wrath was aroused again. At this time the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake's attendants made a song, saying:—

The falcon
Ascending to Heaven
With soaring flight—
Let him seize the wren
On the top of the Tsuki trees.[4]

When the Emperor heard this song, he flew into a great rage, and said:—"We were unwilling for a private cause of hate to destroy one related to us, and we were patient. Why should a private cause of quarrel be converted into a matter which affects the State?"

So he wished to kill the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake.

[1] The word translated everlasting is hisakata, lit. long-hard, an epithet involving a similar conception of the sky to our word "firmament." By metal is probably meant "adorned with metal fittings."

[2] i.e. the head of the family and the junior members.

[3] Hayabusa means "falcon."

[4] In the original itsuki or idzuki. This the commentators explain as fifty (i) tsuki trees. But how would "sacred (idzu) tree" do—in allusion to the Emperor's rank?

Now the Imperial Prince fled with the Imperial Princess Medori, intending to place her in the Shrine of Ise. Hereupon the Emperor, hearing that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had run away, straightway sent Wofuna of the Honchi Be of Kibi
XI. 25. and Aganoko, Atahe of Saheki in Harima, saying:—"Pursue them, and when you overtake them, slay them forthwith." Hereupon the Empress addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Truly the Imperial Princess Medori is liable to severe punishment. But when she is killed I hope her body may not be exposed." Accordingly he gave orders to Wofuna and his colleague not to take the Imperial Princess's leg-jewels or arm-jewels. Wofuna and his colleague pursued them as far as Uda, and closed on them at Mount Soni. Here they hid in the herbage, and escaping by only a little, fled hastily, and crossed the mountain. Then the Imperial Prince made a song, saying:—

Even this mountain, steep
As a ladder,
When I cross over it
With thee, my love,
Seems a restful couch.

Hereupon Wofuna and the rest, seeing that they had escaped, followed after hastily, and when they came to the moor of Komoshiro in Ise, slew them. Then Wofuna and the others searched for the Imperial Princess's jewels, and took them from within her undergarments. So they buried the bodies of the Prince and Princess on the bank of the River Ihoki, and then made their report to the Emperor. The Empress caused inquiry to be made of Wofuna and the others, saying:—"Did you see the Imperial Princess's jewels?" They answered and said, "We did not see them."

That year during the month[1] of the festival of tasting the first rice on the day of the banquet, sake was given to the princesses and ladies of the inner and outer circle. Thereupon,
XI. 26. on the hands of two women, viz., the wife of Waka-mori-yama, Kimi of the mountains of Afumi, and Ihasakihime, one of the Uneme,[2] there were entwined excellent jewels. The Empress,

[1] The 11th month.

[2] Probably for yone-me, i.e. rice-woman, women attendants of the palace. They were selected for their good looks.

observing that these jewels resembled those of the Imperial Princess Medori, straightway became suspicious, and commanded an official to inquire under what circumstances they had come by these jewels. They answered and said :—"They are the jewels of the wife of Aganoko, the Atahe of Saheki." So Aganoko, being interrogated, answered and said :—"On the day that the Imperial Princess was put to death I searched her and took them." So they were about to put Aganoko to death. But he offered to the Emperor all his private lands, and prayed to escape from death. Therefore his land was confiscated, and the death penalty remitted. On this account that land was called Tama-de.[1]

41st year, Spring, 3rd month. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune was A.D. 353.
sent to Pèkché. He was the first to distinguish the boundaries of provinces and districts, and to commit to writing in detail the productions of the soil in each locality. At this time Lord Chyu,[2] the grandson of the King of Pèkché, was disrespectful,
and accordingly Ki no Tsuno no Sukune remonstrated with XI. 27.
the King of Pèkché. The King of Pèkché was afraid, and binding Lord Chyu in iron chains, delivered him up in charge of Sotsuhiko. Now Lord Chyu, when he came to Japan, straightway ran away, and concealed himself in the house of Koroshi, Obito of Nishikori in Ishikaha, deceiving him by saying :—"The Empress has pardoned thy servant's offence. Therefore have I betaken myself to thee for maintenance." A long time after the Emperor ultimately forgave him his offence.[3]

43rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Tsuchigura, Ahiko A.D. 355.

[1] i.e. the price of jewels.

[2] The original has 酒, i.e. sake. Chyu is the Corean pronunciation, but it is doubtful what his name really was.

[3] We are told above, p. 256, A.D. 272 of the "Nihongi" Chronology, that King Sinsă of Pékchè was disrespectful, and that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and others were sent to call him to an account. At p. 257, A.D. 277, we hear of King Ahwa being disrespectful, and a Pèkché Prince being sent to Japan as a hostage in consequence. Sotsuhiko is a name which has already occurred (p. 242, A.D. 205 of the "Nihongi" Chronology) in connection with Corean matters. But, as shown above (p. 256), King Sinsă really died in 392, and was succeeded by Ahwa. I strongly suspect that we have in the present passage only another version of the same incident, and that all three versions are much antedated.

of Yosami, caught a strange bird and presented it to the Emperor, saying:—"I am constantly spreading nets and catching birds in them, but never before have I caught a bird of this kind. I therefore thought it curious, and offer it to His Majesty." The Emperor sent for Lord Chyu and, pointing to the bird, said:—"What bird is this?" Lord Chyu answered and said:—"Birds of this kind are numerous in Pèkché. They can be tamed so as to be quite obedient to man. Moreover they are swift of flight and prey upon all kinds of birds. The common people in Pèkché call them *Kuchi*." So it was given to Lord Chyu to be fed and tamed. In no long time he succeeded in taming it. Lord Chyu accordingly fastened to its leg a soft leather strap, and attached to its tail a small bell.[1] Then, placing it on his forearm, he presented it to the Emperor. On this day he went to the moor of Mozu and hunted. At this
XI. 28. time a large number of hen pheasants got up, and the falcon[2] was let loose and made to catch them. It speedily caught several tens of pheasants. In this month the Be of Taka-ama (falcon-sweet) was first established. Therefore the men of that time called the place where the falcon was brought up the village of Taka-ama.

A.D. 362. 50th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. A man of Kahachi informed the Emperor, saying:—"A wild goose has laid an egg on the Mamuta embankment." That same day a messenger was sent to see. He said:—"It is true." The Emperor hereupon made a song, in which he inquired of Takechi no Sukune, saying:—

O Aso of Uchi!
* * * *[3]
Thou, beyond all others,[4]
A man distant of age—

---

[1] Fr. grêlot.

[2] The taka or goshawk. The hayabusa mentioned above is a smaller bird, probably the peregrine falcon. The best hawks for hunting were formerly imported to Japan from Corea.

[3] An untranslatable makura-kotoba comes in here.

[4] Takechi no Sukune's death is not mentioned in the "Nihongi." A later authority says that he died in this year, having held office for 240 years, and lived 295 (or 299) years. Another authority states that he died in the 55th year of Nintoku Tennō, at the age of 280. Still another says that he died in

Thou, beyond all others,
A man long in the land—
Hast thou not heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg
In Akitsushima,
The land of Yamato?[1]

Takechi no Sukune made a song in reply, saying:—

Our great Lord
Who rules tranquilly,
Right is he, right is he
To ask me.
For in Akitsushima,
In the land of Yamato,
Never have I heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg.

53rd year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute. A.D. 365. XI. 29.

5th month. Takahase, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, was sent to ask the reason of the failure to send tribute. On his way he took a white deer, and returning with it, presented it to the Emperor. He then chose another day and started on his journey. Shortly after, the Emperor sent in addition Takahase's younger brother Tamichi, and commanded him, saying:—"If Silla is recalcitrant, raise an army and invade that land." So he gave him chosen troops. Silla raised an army and made opposition. Now the Silla men offered battle daily. But Tamichi made strong his barriers, and would not go out. Now a Silla soldier who had been let out from the camp was taken prisoner. So being questioned as to the condition of affairs, he answered, saying:—"There are mighty men, called the 'Hundred Thrusters,'[2] nimble and valorous, who always form the right van of the army. Therefore if you observe this and attack the left, it will be routed." Now Silla allowed the left to

the 78th year of Nintoku Tennō's reign, which, as one account says that he was born in the 9th year of Keikō Tennō, would make him 312 years of age at his death. It has been suggested that there were several persons of this name who succeeded each other as hereditary prime ministers. But the simpler explanation is that the chronology at this period is wildly inaccurate, as there is plenty of other evidence to show.

[1] See Ch. K., p. 283. Wild geese do not nest in Japan.

[2] It may be only one man of this name.

be vacant, and filled up the numbers of the right. Hereupon Tamichi, drawing up his picked cavalry,[1] attacked their left,
XI. 30. upon which the Silla troops were defeated. Accordingly letting go his men, he bore down on the enemy and slew several hundreds of them. So he took prisoners the people of four villages, with whom he returned to Japan.[2]

A.D. 367. 55th year. The Yemishi rebelled. Tamichi was sent to attack them. He was worsted by the Yemishi, and slain at the Harbour of Ishimi.[3] Now one of his followers obtained Tamichi's armlet and gave it to his wife, who embraced the armlet and strangled herself. When the men of that time heard of this they shed tears. After this the Yemishi again made an incursion and carried off some of the people. Accordingly they dug up Tamichi's tomb, upon which a great serpent started up with glaring eyes, and came out of the tomb. It bit the Yemishi, who were everyone affected by the serpent's poison, so that many of them died, and only one or two escaped. Therefore the men of that time said: "Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?"

A.D. 370. 58th year, Summer, 5th month. By the road which passes to the south of the grove of firs at Arehaka,[4] there suddenly sprang up two kunugi[5] trees, which joined over the road so that the ends of their branches met.

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Wu and the Land of Koryö together attended the Court with tribute.[6]

A.D. 372. 60th year, Winter, 10th month. The guardians of the

[1] I do not regard this as any proof that the Japanese had cavalry at this time. The author is, I think, only using a Chinese phrase which suggested itself to his memory.

[2] The "Tongkam" mentions descents by Japanese in 440 in which a number of Coreans were carried off.

[3] In Kadzusa. This is the traditional kana for 伊寺. How the last character came to be read *Shimi* is not clear.

[4] Arehaka means ruined tumulus. The well-known temple of Tennōji at Osaka now stands here.

[5] Quercus serrata, Hepburn.

[6] It is not to be supposed that China or even Koryö ever sent "tribute" to Japan. Presents were no doubt exchanged, which both sides very likely represented to their subjects as "tribute."

Shiratori misasagi[1] were told off as labourers on the public works. Now the Emperor approached the place of the works. Hereupon Meki, one of the guardians of the misasagi, became suddenly changed into a white deer, and ran away. Upon this the Emperor commanded, saying:—"This misasagi has always XI. 31.
been empty, and therefore I meant to abolish its guardians and for the first time to employ them as labourers. But now that I see this portent, I am filled with profound awe. Let not the guardians of the misasagi be disturbed." So he gave them to the Hashi no Muraji.[2]

62nd year, Summer, 5th month. The Governor[3] of the A.D. 374.
province of Tōtomi presented a memorial, saying:—"There is a great tree which has floated down the Ohowigaha until it was stopped in a bend of the river. It is ten girths[4] in size. It has one stem which divides into two at the extremity." Now Akoko, Atahe of Yamato, was sent to make a boat of it. He conveyed it by way of the Southern Sea, and brought it to the Harbour of Naniha, where it was enrolled among the number of the Imperial vessels.

This year the Imperial Prince Nukada no Ohonakatsu hiko hunted in Tsuke. Now the Imperial Prince, looking down over the moor from a mountain-top, espied something in shape like a hut. So he sent a messenger to look at it. The messenger returned and said:—"It is a muro." Accordingly he sent for Ohoyama-nushi, the Inaki of Tsuke, and inquired of him, saying:—"That thing which is on the moor—what kind of muro is it?" He informed him, saying:—"It is an ice-muro." The Imperial Prince said:—"How is the ice stored? Moreover, for what is it used?" He said:—"The ground is excavated to a depth of over ten feet. The top is then covered with a roof of thatch. A thick layer of reed grass is then spread, upon XI. 32.
which the ice is laid. The months of summer have passed and yet it has not melted. As to its use—when the hot months

[1] The tomb, or rather cenotaph, of Yamato dake.

[2] Who were charged with matters connected with the misasagi. Se above, p. 181.

[3] Provincial governors 國司 are now mentioned for the first time.

[4] The character rendered "girth" is 圍, which is a measure of half a cubit according to some, of three feet by others. However, a ten-girth tree is merely a loose expression for a large tree.

come it is placed in water or sake and thus used." The Imperial Prince straightway brought some of that ice, and presented it to the Palace. The Emperor was delighted with it, and from that time forward it became the rule always to store up ice from the last month of winter until the second month of spring when the ice melts.

A.D. 377. 65th year. In the province of Hida there was a man called Sukuna, who was so formed that on one trunk he had two faces. The faces were turned away from each other. The crowns met, and there was no nape of the neck. Each had hands and feet. There were knees, but no popliteal spaces or heels.

XI. 33. He was strong and nimble. He carried swords on his right and on his left side, and used bow and arrow with all four hands at once. On this account he was disobedient to the Imperial command, and took a pleasure in plundering the people. Hereupon the Emperor sent Naniha-neko Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, who put him to death.

A.D. 379. 67th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the plain of Ishitsu in Kahachi, where he fixed upon a site for a misasagi.

18th day. The building of the misasagi was commenced. On this day there was a deer which suddenly got up in the moor and ran in among the labourers, where it lay down and died. Now, its sudden death appearing strange, they looked to see where it was hurt, upon which a shrike came out of its ear and flew away. Accordingly they looked into its ear, and found that the skin was all bitten off. So this was the reason why they called that place the plain of Mozu no mimi.[1]

This year, at a fork of the River Kahashima, in the central division of the Province of Kibi, there was a great water-snake which harassed the people. Now when travellers were passing that place on their journey, they were surely affected by its poison, so that many died. Hereupon Agata-mori,[2] the ances-

[1] Shrike-ear. This plain lies inland from Sakai, near Osaka. The misasagi is still intact, and is, perhaps, the largest of its kind in Japan. Richiu Tennō and Hanzei Tennō are buried one on each side of Nintoku.

[2] District-warden.

tor of the Omi of Kasa, a man of fierce temper and of great bodily strength, stood over the pool of the river-fork and flung into the water three whole calabashes, saying:—"Thou art continually belching up poison and therewithal plaguing travellers. I will kill thee, thou water-snake. If thou canst sink these calabashes, then will I take myself away, but if thou canst not sink them, then will I cut up thy body." Now the water-snake changed itself into a deer and tried to draw down the calabashes, but the calabashes would not sink. So with upraised sword he entered the water and slew the water-snake. He further sought out the water-snake's fellows. Now the tribe of all the water-snakes filled a cave in the bottom of the pool. He slew them every one, and the water of the river became changed to blood. Therefore that water was called "The pool of Agata-mori." [1] XI. 34.

At this time pestilential vapours arose more and more, and there were one or two cases of rebellion. Hereupon [2] the Emperor, rising early in the morning and going to bed (late) at night, lightened the taxes, reduced the imposts, and so was generous to the people. He dispensed virtue and practised kindness, therewithal encouraging the indigent. He showed sympathy for the dead, and inquired after the sick, providing for the orphan and the widow. In this way the decrees of his Government were diffused into wide operation, and the Empire was at peace, so that for over twenty years nothing untoward happened.

87th year, Spring, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor died. A.D. 399.

[1] The traditional kana rendering of the Chinese character translated "water-snake" is midzuchi. Midzu is water, and chi a honorific term meaning "elder." Midzuchi means indifferently water-snake or water-god, the two ideas being intimately associated in the Japanese mind. Dennys, in his "Folk Lore of China," quotes from the *North China Herald* as follows:—"The River-God is in every case (where the waters of inundations were abated by them) a small water-snake, which popular fancy has converted into a deity." The poisonous breath of serpents is an article of popular faith in many countries.

[2] From "Hereupon" down to "operation" is taken almost verbatim from a Chinese book.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. He was buried in the misasagi on Mozu moor.[1]

[1] The Emperor's age is not given here. The "Kojiki" makes him eighty-three years of age at his death. Others say 110. But if we allow him to have been at least sixteen when he fell in love with Kami-naga-hime (see above, p. 259) in A.D. 282, he cannot have been less than 132 at the time of his death.

BOOK XII.

THE EMPEROR IZA-HO-WAKE.

(*RICHIU*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iza-ho-wake was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohosazaki. His mother's name was Iha no hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. He was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 31st year of the reign of the Emperor Ohosazaki. He was then fifteen years of age. The Emperor Ohosazaki died in Spring, the 1st month of the 87th year of his reign.

After the period of mourning, and in the interval before he assumed the exalted Dignity, he wished to take Kurohime,[2] the daughter of the Hata no Yashiro no Sukune, to him as concubine. The wedding presents[3] having been already given, he sent the Imperial Prince Nakatsu of Suminoye to give notice of the lucky day. Now Prince Nakatsu having assumed the elder Prince's name, by this means seduced Kurohime. On this night the Imperial Prince Nakatsu[4] came away, having forgotten his wrist-bells in Kurohime's house. On the following night, the Heir to the Throne, not knowing that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had himself seduced her, went there. He entered the chamber, drew aside the curtain, and sat down upon the jewel-couch. Then there was a sound of bells at the head of the couch. The Heir wondering at this, inquired of XII. 2.

[1] That is, "He who treads in the middle" (the right path).

[2] Black lady. [3] Probably a trait of Chinese manners.

[4] Nakatsu means "of the middle," tsu in this and similar words being the genitive particle.

Kurohime, saying :—" What bells are these ? " She answered and said :—" Are they not the bells which thou didst bring last night ? Wherefore dost thou ask thy handmaiden any more about them ? " The Heir naturally concluded that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had assumed his name and by this means seduced Kurohime, so he retired in silence.

Now the Imperial Prince Nakatsu, fearing that trouble would come of this, was about to kill the Heir to the Throne, and secretly raising a force, surrounded his Palace. Then Heguri no Tsuka no Sukune, Mononobe no Ohomahe no Sukune, and Achi no Omi, the ancestor of the Aya no Atahe, these three men, gave information to the Heir, but he would not believe them.

One version says :—" The Heir was drunk and would not get up."

Therefore the three men assisted the Heir, and making him mount on horseback, caused him to escape.

One account says :—" Ohomahe no Sukune took the Heir to the Throne in his arms and mounted him on a horse."

The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, not knowing that he was absent, set fire to his Palace. The fire lasted all night without being extinguished. When the Heir arrived at the Hanifu Hill in the Province of Kahachi he became sober, and looking back to Naniha, he saw the blaze of fire. He was greatly alarmed, and fled hastily by way of Ohosaka in the direction of Yamato.

XII. 3. When he got as far as Mount Asuka, he met a girl at the entrance of the mountain, of whom he inquired, saying :—" Are there any men on this mountain ? " She answered and said :—" This mountain is full of many armed men. Thou hadst better go round and cross over by the Tagima road." Hereupon the Heir thought to himself :—" By listening to the words of this girl I have been enabled to escape calamity." So he made a song, saying :—

At Ohosaka,
The girl that I met—
When I asked her the way,
She said not, "right on,"
She said, " Tagima way."

So he turned aside again, and having raised the troops of that district, made them follow him, and crossed over by way of Mount Tatsuta. At this time several tens of armed men came in pursuit of him. The Heir, looking at them from a distance, said:—"Who are those men who are coming? And why is their pace so hurried? Can they be an enemy?" Accordingly they hid themselves on the mountain, and waited. When they approached, one man was sent to inquire of them, saying:—"What men are ye, and whither go ye?" They answered and said:—"We are fishermen of Nojima in Ahaji. XII. 4.
Hamako, the Muraji of Adzumi,[1] on behalf of the Imperial Prince Nakatsu [One account says Sato-tomo, Muraji of Adzumi], has sent us in pursuit of the Heir to the Throne." Hereupon he brought out the troops which were in ambush, and surrounding them, captured[2] them every one. At this time Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, who from the first had loved Prince Nakatsu, and was privy to his conspiracy, secretly assembled choice troops to the number of several hundred at Kurusu in Kakibami, and on behalf of Prince Nakatsu withstood the Heir. Now the Heir, not knowing that he was beset with troops, went out for several ri from the mountain. He was stopped by a large force of armed men, and was unable to advance. So he sent a messenger and inquired of them, saying:—"What men are ye?" They answered and said:—"Akoko, Atahe of Yamato." And in their turn they questioned the messenger, saying:—"Who has sent thee?" He said:—"The Prince Imperial has sent me." Then Akoko, fearing lest there might be a numerous army there, said to the messenger:—"Information has reached me that something unusual has happened to the Prince Imperial, and in order to assist him I am waiting upon him with this force that I have prepared." The Heir, however, doubted his intentions, and tried to kill him. Whereupon Akoko was afraid, and offering as a present his own younger sister Hinohime,[3] through her begged that his capital offence might be pardoned. He was pardoned

[1] See above, p. 256, where his ancestor was made prefect of the fishermen.

[2] As usual, "captured" stands for "slew."

[3] The Princess of the Sun.

accordingly. It was prolably at this time that the custom began of the Atahe of Yamato sending tribute of ladies of the Palace.[1]

The Heir took up his abode in the shrine of Furu no Iso no Kami. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, discovering the absence of the Heir, sought him out and followed him. The Heir, however, suspected the intentions of the Prince, his younger brother, and would not send for him. Then the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake sent a message to the Heir, saying:—"Thy servant has not a black heart. Only, distressed at the absence of the Heir, he has come hither." Hereupon the Heir sent a message to the Prince, his younger brother, saying:—"I have escaped hither alone in fear of the rebellion
XII. 5. of Prince Nakatsu. Why should I not suspect thee? So long as the Imperial Prince Nakatsu lives his sole endeavour will still be to do me a mischief, and I wish sooner or later to get rid of him. Therefore, if thou hast really not a black heart, return again to Naniha, and kill the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. After that I will see thee." The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake represented to the Heir, saying:—"Is not the Great Man's[2] anxiety excessive? At present the Imperial Prince Nakatsu's unprincipled conduct is detested by the officials and the people alike. His own household, moreover, are against him, and think him a brigand. He stands alone, and there is nobody whom he can consult. I knew of his rebellion, but I had not received the commands of the Heir, and was therefore merely indignant at it. Now that I have received an order, why should I make any difficulty about killing the Imperial Prince Nakatsu? All that I fear is that when I have killed him thou mayest still suspect thy servant.[3] I pray that a trusty person may be selected, and I desire that he should make clear my loyalty." Accordingly the Heir joined to him Dzuku no Sukune and so despatched him. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake made lament, saying:—"The Heir and the Imperial Prince Nakatsu are both my elder brothers: which shall I obey? Which shall I oppose? If, however, I destroy the unprincipled and adhere to the righteous, who can suspect

[1] Uneme. [2] A Chinese honorific for "you."
[3] Ch. K., p. 289.

me?" So he went to Naniha and observed the state of things with the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, thinking that the Heir had fled away and disappeared, had made no preparation. Now he had a Hayato[1] named Sashihire. Prince Midzuha wake sent for Sashihire secretly and tampered with him, saying:—"If thou wilt kill the Imperial Prince for me, then will I surely reward thee liberally." So he took off his coat and trousers of brocade and gave them to him. Sashihire, relying on his words of allurement, all by himself took his spear, and watching the time when the Imperial Prince Nakatsu went into the privy, stabbed him to death, and entered the service of Prince Midzuha wake. Hereupon Dsuku no Tsukune made representation to the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, saying:—"Sashihire has killed his own lord for the sake of another, and although for us he has done a great service, yet towards his own lord his conduct has been heartless in the extreme. Shall he be allowed to live?" So he killed Sashihire. XII. 6.

That same day the Prince proceeded towards Yamato, and at midnight arrived at Iso no Kami, and made his report. Hereupon the Heir summoned to him the Prince his younger brother, and was liberal of his favour to him, granting him the Mura-ahase official granaries. On this day Hamako, Muraji of Adzumi, was arrested.

1st year, 2nd month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Dignity in the Palace of Waka-zakura at Ihare. A.D. 400.

Summer, 4th month, 17th day. The Emperor summoned before him Hamako, Muraji of Adzumi, and commanded him, saying:—"Thou didst plot rebellion with the Imperial Prince Nakatsu in order to overturn the State, and thy offence is deserving of death. I will, however, exercise great bounty, and remitting the penalty of death, sentence thee to be branded."[2] The same day he was branded near the eye.

[1] See above, p. 100. In this passage it seems used as a general name for retainer. Chamberlain renders it "man-at-arms" in the corresponding passage of the "Kojiki."

[2] Literally "inked." The branding consisted in tattooing a mark on the face or other part of the person. Until quite recently criminals were branded on the arm with ink, each prison having its own special mark. Branding was originally one of the "five punishments" of China.

Accordingly the men of that time spoke of the "Adzumi eye." The fishermen of Nojima who had been Hamako's followers were also pardoned their offence, and employed as labourers at the official granaries of Komoshiro in Yamato.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Kurohime, daughter of Hata no Sukune, was appointed Imperial concubine. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe in Ihazaka,
XII. 7. of the Imperial Prince Mima, and of the Imperial Princess Awomi.

One account says:—"The Imperial Princess Ihi-toyo."

His next concubine, the Imperial Princess Hatahi, was the mother of the Imperial Princess Nakashi.

This year was the year Kanoye Ne (37th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 401 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake was appointed Heir [1] to the Throne.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Ihare. At this time Heguri no Dsuku no Sukune, Soga no Manchi no Sukune, Mononobe no Ikofutsu no Ohomuraji, and Tsubura no Oho-omi together administered the affairs of the country.

11th month. The Ihare pond was made.

A.D. 402. 3rd year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor launched the two-forked boat [2] on the pond of Ichishi at Ihare, and went on board with the Imperial concubine, each separately, and feasted.[3] The Lord Steward [4] Areshi set sake before the Emperor. At this time a cherry flower fell into the Emperor's cup. The Emperor wondered at this, and sending for Mononobe no Nagamake no Muraji, commanded him, saying:—"This flower has come out of season. Whence does it come? Do thou thyself seek." Hereupon Nagamake no Muraji went himself and sought for the flowers. He found
XII. 8. them on Mount Wakikamunomuro and presented them to the Emperor. The Emperor was delighted to get such a rare thing, and so made them the name of the Palace. Therefore

[1] Note that the brother was made heir, though there were children.

[2] See above, p. 297.

[3] i.e. one in one fork of the boat, the other in the other.

[4] Kashihade no Omi. The context shows that this is here an official designation, and not a mere title, much less a surname.

it was called the Palace of Ihare no Wakazakura.[1] This was the origin of the name.

In this month the original title of "Nagamake no Muraji" was altered to "Wakazakura Be no Miyakko," and the Lord Steward, Areshi, was styled Wakazakura Be no Omi.

4th year,[2] Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Local Recorders were appointed for the first time in the various provinces, who noted down statements, and communicated the writings of the four quarters. A.D. 403.

Winter, 10th month. The Iso no kami conduit was excavated.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The three Deities[3] who dwell in Tsukushi appeared within the palace and said:—"Why are we robbed of our people? We will now disgrace thee." Hereupon the Emperor prayed, but his prayer was not answered. A.D. 404.

Autumn, 9th month, 18th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to the Island of Ahaji. On this day the Kahachi Horse-keepers' Be were in attendance on the Emperor, and held the bit. Before this the Horse-keepers' Be had been branded[4] on the face, and none of their wounds had yet healed. Now the God Izanagi, who dwells in the island, spoke by the mouth of a hafuri, saying:—"I cannot endure the stench of blood." Accordingly divination was made, and the answer was, "The God dislikes the smell of the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be." Therefore from that time forward the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be was utterly discontinued. XII. 9.

19th day. There was a sound as of a blast of wind which cried aloud in the Great Void, saying:—"O thou Prince, inheritor of The Sword!"[5] Again there was a voice which

[1] i.e. young cherry. This cannot be correct. See above, 3rd year of Jingō Kōgu, whose capital was also at Ihare, and was called Wakazakura.

[2] We have not yet got down to times of accurate chronology. Wani's arrival was in 405, and it is not likely that recorders were appointed till a good many years later. Examples of these "statements" occur frequently below. Most of them fall under the description of folk-lore.

[3] Probably the three children of the Sun-Goddess mentioned at p. 37.

[4] The branding here is not a criminal punishment, but only a distinctive mark.

[5] The sword was one of the Regalia.

said :—"Thy younger sister[1] of bird-frequented Hata has gone to be buried at Hasa. [Another version is :—"Sanakita no Komotsu[2] no Mikoto has gone to be buried at Hasa."] Suddenly a messenger arrived in haste, who said :—"The Imperial concubine is dead." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway ordering his carriage,[3] returned.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived from Ahaji.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Imperial concubine was buried. After this the Emperor, vexed with himself that he had not appeased the divine curse, and had so caused the death of the Imperial concubine, again sought to ascertain where the fault lay. Some one said :—"The Kimi of the Cart-keepers[4] went to the Land of Tsukushi, where he held a review of all the
XII. 10. Cart-keepers' Be, and he took along with them the men allotted to the service of the Deities. This must surely be the offence." The Emperor straightway summoned to him the Kimi of the Cart-keepers and questioned him. The facts having been ascertained, the Emperor enumerated his offences, saying :—"Thou, although only Kimi of the Cart-keepers, hast arbitrarily appropriated the subjects of the Son of Heaven.[5] This is one offence. Thou didst wrongfully take them, comprising them in the Cart-keepers' Be after they had been allotted to the service of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. This is a second offence." So he imposed on him the expiation of evil and the expiation of good,[6] and sent him away to Cape Nagasa, there to perform the rites of expiation. After he had done so, the Emperor commanded him, saying :—"Henceforward thou mayest not have charge of the Cart-keepers' Be of Tsukushi." So he confiscated them all, and allotted them anew, giving them to the three Deities.

A.D. 405 6th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Hatahi of Kusaka was appointed Empress.[7]

[1] Kurohime, the Imperial concubine, is meant.

[2] Apparently another name for Princess Hata.

[3] The word carriage is not to be taken too literally. The kana interlinea-gloss has Ohon mŭma ni tatematsurite, which means "mounted his horse."

[4] Kuruma-mochi. [5] The Emperor.

[6] i.e. a fine of the articles required in the ceremony of purgation or expiation. See above, p. 48.

[7] She was the Emperor's half-sister.

9th day. A Treasury was instituted and a Treasury[1] Be established.

2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor sent for Futohime no Iratsume and Takatsuru no Iratsume, daughters of Prince Funashi wake, and having bestowed them in the Empress's palace,[2] made them both his concubines.[3] Upon this the two XII. 11.
concubines lamented continually, saying:—"Alas! Whither has the Prince, our elder brother, gone?" The Emperor heard their lamentation, and inquired of them, saying:—"Why do ye lament?" They answered and said:—"Thy handmaidens' elder brother, Prince Washizumi, is strong and nimble. Alone he has taken a running leap over an eight-fathom house, and gone away. Many days have passed that we have not spoken to him face to face. Therefore do we lament." The Emperor was pleased to hear of his great strength, and sent for him. But he would not come. Again messenger after messenger was sent to summon him, but still he would not come, and continued to reside in the village of Suminoye. After this the Emperor ceased to demand his presence. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Miyakko of Sanuki and the Wake of Ashikuhi in Aha.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor's precious body became ill at ease, and, the elements of water and earth being inharmonious, he died in the Palace of Waka-zakura, at the age of seventy.[4]

[1] The Treasury means the office, the Be the staff. The "Kogo-jui" says:—"Until the reign of the latter Ihare no Waka-zakura (i.e. Richiu Tennō) the three Han failed not to send tribute for many generations. Beside the Sacred Treasury, there was erected an Inner Treasury, where the official property was classified and deposited. Achi no Omi and Wang-in (or Wani), the learned men of Pèkché, were made to record the ingoings and outcomings. A Treasury Be was first established." If we allow for the error of two cycles, this year, A.D. 405, is the very year in which Wang-in arrived. But the "Nihongi" chronology cannot yet be depended on.

The "Shoku-in-rei" says:—"The Interior Treasury Department has one Chief, who has control of gold and silver, jewels, precious utensils, brocade and satin, sarsnet, rugs and mattresses, and the rare objects sent as tribute by the various barbarians."

[2] Women's apartments.

[3] The character used implies a subordinate rank.

[4] Other calculations make him sixty-four, seventy-seven, eighty-five, and eighty-seven. It is obvious that none of them can be relied on.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the Plain of Mozu no Mimi.

THE EMPEROR MIDZUHAWAKE.[1]

(*HANZEI TENNŌ*[2]

OR

XII. 12. *HANSHŌ TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Midzuhawake was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Izaho-wake. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the second year of the Emperor Izaho-wake. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Ahaji. At his birth his teeth were like one bone,[3] and his appearance was beautiful. Now there was a well called Midzu no wi (the beautiful well) from which water was drawn to wash the Heir[4] to the Throne. A tajihi[5] flower had fallen into this well and it was accordingly made the name of the Heir to the Throne. The tajihi flower is what is now the itadori flower. Therefore he was styled the Emperor Tajihi[6] no Midzuha-wake.

The Emperor Izaho-wake died in Spring, the 3rd month of the 6th year of his reign.

A.D 406. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Heir Apparent assumed the Imperial Dignity.

[1] Midzu ha means beautiful teeth.

[2] This is explained to mean "the Emperor who turned matters into the right path," han meaning turn, and sei or shō "right."

[3] In the Bamboo Books ("Legge's Chinese Classics"), p. 143, there is mention of an ancient Chinese king whose teeth were one piece of bone. The "Kojiki" says (Ch. K., p. 292):—"The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung [together]."

[4] He was not Heir at this time.

[5] The Polygonum Cuspidatum. Hepburn.

[6] The "Seishi roku" states that in consequence of this incident Tajihi Be were established in all the provinces to be the villages for the hot baths of the Imperial Princes.

Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. Tsuno hime, daughter of Kogoto, ancestor of the Omi of Ohoyake, was appointed XII. 13.
Imperial concubine.[1] She was the mother of the Imperial Princess Kahihime, and of the Imperial Princess Tsubura. Moreover, he took to him the Imperial concubine's younger sister Otohime, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Takara and the Imperial Prince Takabe.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Tajihi[2] in Kahachi. It was called the Palace of Shibagaki.

At this time the rain and wind were seasonable, and the five kinds of grain reached maturity; the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

6th[3] year, Spring, 1st month, 29th day. The Emperor died[4] A.D. 410.
in the chief sleeping-chamber.

[1] The word for concubine here is 夫人. We have now had three ranks of concubines mentioned, showing that Chinese customs were coming in. In the older reigns the only distinction made is that of the Empress and other consorts.

[2] This is hardly consistent with the story of the tajihi flower on the previous page.

[3] The original reading is 6th. The "Shukai" editor would correct it into 5th from the "Kiujiki." It signifies extremely little which reading we take, as no reliance can yet be placed on any of the dates given.

[4] The age of this Emperor is not stated here. The "Kojiki" says sixty.

BOOK XIII.

THE EMPEROR WO-ASA-TSUMA WAKUGO NO SUKUNE.[1]

(*INGIŌ*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Midzuha wake.

From infancy to puberty,[3] the Emperor was kind and unassuming. When he attained to manhood, he became very ill and lost the free use of his limbs.

The Emperor Midzuha wake died in Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign. Hereupon the Ministers held counsel, saying :—" There are at the present time the Imperial Princes Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune and Oho-Kusaka, children of the Emperor Oho-sazaki. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune, however, is the elder, and of an affectionate, dutiful disposition." So they chose a lucky day, and kneeling down, offered him the Imperial signet. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune declined it, saying :—" I am an unlucky man, long afflicted with a grievous disease, which I cannot shake off. I am unable to walk. Of myself, without informing the Emperor, I have secretly treated
XIII. 2. my disease by self-mutilation,[4] in the hope of getting rid of it, but still I am not healed. Therefore the former Emperor chid me, saying :—' What greater extreme of unfilialness can there be than this conduct of thine, in wantonly mutilating thy body

[1] Wo, male ; Asa-tsuma (morning-wife) is the name of a place ; wakugo, young child ; Sukune, name of dignity.

[2] Ingiō is from the " Shooking," the Canon of Yaou, § 1, where Legge translates " sincerely courteous."

[3] The words translated infancy and puberty are in the original descriptive of the mode of dressing the hair at these periods of life in China.

[4] The precise meaning is doubtful.

because thou sufferest from disease? However long thou mayst live, thou must never succeed to the throne.' Moreover, the two Emperors, my elder brothers, despised me and thought me a fool, as is known to all the Ministers. Now the Empire is a great organization: the Imperial Dignity is a vast institution: and to be the father and mother of the people is the office of a sage. How can such a charge be given to a fool? Make another choice of some wise Prince, and let him be established as Emperor. I, the unworthy one, may not presume to fill the office." The Ministers bowed down twice, and said:—"The Imperial Dignity should not be long vacant; the command of Heaven should not be modestly refused. We, thy servants, fear that if thou, the Great Prince, dost delay the time, and in opposition to the general desire dost refuse to rectify the name and dignity, the nation's hopes will be disappointed. We pray therefore that the Great Prince, notwithstanding his sufferings, will yet assume the Imperial Dignity." The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune said:—"It is a weighty matter to take charge of the ancestral temples and the temples of the earth and of grain.[1] I, the unworthy one, am grievously ill, and am incompetent to fill this office worthily." He continued to decline it, and would not give his consent. Hereupon all the Ministers persisted in their petition, saying:—"In the humble opinion of thy servants, thou, the XIII. 3.
Great Prince, art eminently worthy to take over charge of the Temples of thy Imperial Ancestors. Even the myriad people of the Empire all deem thee fit. We pray thee, O Great Prince, to give thy consent."

1st year, Winter, 12th month. The Prince's concubine, A.D. 412.
Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto, was grieved at the mutterings of vexation of the Ministers, and taking in her own person water for washing the hands, came before the Imperial Prince and addressed him, saying:—"Thou, O Great Prince, having declined to assume the Dignity, it has remained vacant for years and months. The Ministers and functionaries are grieved, and know not what to do. I pray thee, O Great Prince, comply with the general wish, and, however reluctantly, assume the Imperial Dignity." The Imperial Prince, however,

[1] i.e. "the state."

was loath to consent, and turning his back upon her, sat without saying a word. Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto was afraid, and not knowing how to retire, remained in attendance on the Prince for four or five half-hours. It was then the 12th month, and the wind was blowing fierce and chill. The water in the basin which Oho-nakatsu hime had brought overflowed and became frozen on her arm. Unable to endure the cold, she was almost dying. The Imperial Prince looked round, and was shocked. He helped her to her feet, and said to her :—"The succession to the Dignity is so weighty a matter that I could not abruptly assume it. Therefore I have not complied up to the present. Now, however, the request of the Ministers is manifestly just. Why should I persist in my refusal?" Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime looked up delighted, and told all the Ministers, saying :—"The Imperial Prince is about to give ear to the request of the Ministers. Now is the time to offer him the Imperial signet." Thereupon the
XIII. 4. Ministers were much rejoiced, and on that same day delivered up to him the Imperial signet with repeated obeisances. The Imperial Prince said :—"Ye Ministers have, on behalf of the Empire, made a joint request of unworthy me. How can I presume to persist in refusing it?" So he assumed the Imperial Dignity.

This year was the year Midzunoye Ne (49th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 413. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime was appointed Empress. On this day there was established on behalf of the Empress the Osaka Be.[1]

The Empress was the mother of the Imperial Prince Kinashi Karu, of the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kuro-hiko, of the Emperor Anaho, of the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial

[1] The "Kojiki" says that the Osaka Be was established as the Empress's na-shiro, which Chamberlain renders by "proxy." I would prefer to call it "name-sake." The object was to perpetuate the name of the Empress—at least, if this account is correct. But there was an Osaka Be already in existence. It is mentioned in the 39th year of Suinin's reign. Besides, the Osaka Be were the executioners, a circumstance with which it is difficult to reconcile the statement in the text. It is true, however, that the Empress's full name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime, Osaka being the name of her residence.

Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko, of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take, of the Imperial Princess Tajima no Tachibana no Oho-iratsume, and of the Imperial Princess Sakami.

At an earlier period, when the Empress was at home with her mother, she was walking alone in the garden, when the Miyakko of the Land of Tsuke passed along the road which was beside the garden. He was on horseback, and looking over the hedge, he addressed the Empress, and said mockingly: —"What an excellent gardener thou art." He also said:— "Pray, madam, let me have one of those orchids." The Empress accordingly plucked an orchid root, and gave it to the man on horseback, asking him for what purpose he wanted the orchid. The man on horseback answered and said:—"I am going to the mountain, and it is to brush away the midges." Then the Empress reflected on this within her mind, and recognized the want of respect in the words of the man on horseback. So she addressed him, saying:—"Sir,[1] I shall not forget this." XIII. 5.

Afterwards, in the year in which the Empress attained the felicitous rank, she sought out the man on horseback who had asked her for an orchid, and having stated his former offence, wished to have him put to death. Hereupon the man who had asked for the orchid knocked his forehead on the ground, and making a deep obeisance,[2] said:—"Truly thy servant's guilt is deserving of ten thousand deaths. At that time, however, I did not know that thou wert of high rank." Hereupon the Empress remitted the penalty of death, but deprived him of his title and called him Inaki.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An envoy was sent to Silla to procure a good physician. A D. 414.

Autumn, 8th month. The physician arrived from Silla, and was forthwith made to treat the Emperor's disease. No long time after, he was healed of his disease. The Emperor was

[1] The Chinese character translated "sir" means literally head or chief. The Japanese word intended is probably Obito or Obuto, which, I take it, is an abbreviation of Oho-bito, great man. In Chinese Tajen (in Corean Tain), i.e. great man, is used as a personal pronoun in addressing men of rank. Our own word "master" (magister, magnus) has a somewhat similar history.

[2] Kowtow in Chinese.

[3] Inaki was a lower title than Miyakko.

rejoiced, and having rewarded the physician liberally, sent him back to his own country.

XIII. 6. A.D. 415. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"In the most ancient times, good government consisted in the subjects having each one his proper place, and in names[1] being correct. It is now four years since We entered on the auspicious office. Superiors and inferiors dispute with one another: the hundred surnames[2] are not at peace. Some by mischance lose their proper surnames; others purposely lay claim to high family. This is perhaps the reason why good government is not attained to. Deficient in wisdom although We are, how can We omit to rectify these irregularities? Let the Ministers take counsel, and inform me of their determination." All the Ministers said:—"If Your Majesty, restoring that which is lost and correcting that which is perverted, will thus determine Houses and surnames, your servants will stake their lives in recommending the adoption of such a measure."

28th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The ministers, functionaries, and the Miyakko of the various provinces each and all describe themselves, some as descendants of Emperors, others attributing to their race a miraculous origin, and saying that their ancestors came down from Heaven.[3] However, since the three Powers of Nature[4] assumed distinct forms,[5] many tens of thousands of years have elapsed, so that single Houses[6] have multiplied and have formed anew ten thousand surnames of doubtful authenticity. Therefore let the people of the various Houses and surnames wash themselves and practise abstinence, and let them, each one calling the
XIII. 7. Gods to witness, plunge their hands in boiling water." The caldrons of the ordeal by boiling water were therefore placed on the "Evil Door of Words" spur of the Amagashi Hill. Every-

[1] Literally surnames and personal names. What is really meant is titles. There were no proper surnames at this time. See above, p. 27.

[2] The word for "hundred surnames" is 百姓, which is also used for the nation generally, and in later times in Japan for the peasantry. Here its original meaning must be kept in view.

[3] The "Sei-shi-roku" contains numerous instances of this.

[4] Heaven, Earth, and Man. *Vide* Mayers, p. 302.

[5] Since the creation, as we would say.

[6] Uji.

body was told to go thither, saying:—"He who tells the truth will be uninjured; he who is false will assuredly suffer harm."

This is called Kuka-tachi. Sometimes mud was put into a caldron and made to boil up. Then the arms were bared, and the boiling mud stirred with them. Sometimes an axe was heated red-hot and placed on the palm of the hand.

Hereupon every one put on straps of tree-fibre, and coming to the caldrons, plunged their hands in the boiling water, when those who were true remained naturally uninjured, and all those who were false were harmed. Therefore those who had falsified (their titles) were afraid, and slipping away beforehand, did not come forward. From this time forward the Houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered, and there was no longer any one who falsified them.[1]

5th year, 7th month, 14th day. There was an earthquake. A.D. 416.
Before this time Tamada no Sukune, grandson[2] of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko, had been commanded to superintend the temporary burial of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake. On the evening after the earthquake, Aso, Ohari no Muraji, was sent to examine the condition of the shrine of temporary burial. Now all the men assembled, and none were absent except Tamada no Sukune, XIII. 8.
who was not present. Aso reported to the Emperor, saying:—"Tamada no Sukune, the High Officer of the Shrine of temporary interment, was not to be seen at the temporary place of interment." Accordingly, Aso was sent again to Katsuraki to see Tamada no Sukune. On this day it so happened that Tamada no Sukune had gathered together men and women and was holding revel. Aso made a statement of all the circumstances to Tamada no Sukune. Tamada no Sukune was afraid that trouble might ensue, and gave Aso a horse as a present. However, he secretly waylaid Aso and killed him on the road. Therefore he ran away and concealed himself within the precinct of the tomb of Takechi no Sukune. When the Emperor heard this, he sent for Tamada no Sukune.

[1] This measure can only have been applicable to a dominant caste. The nation cannot have all been subjected to the ordeal at Amagashi. Doubtless, then as now, the bulk of the people cared little for genealogies, and indeed had none but personal names.

[2] Below, XIV. 20, he is the son of Sotsuhiko.

Tamada no Sukune was suspicious, and put on armour under his clothing and so presented himself. The border of the armour projected from within his garment. The Emperor, in order to ascertain clearly how this was, made an Uneme, named Woharida, present sake to Tamada no Sukune. Now the Uneme observing distinctly that there was armour underneath his clothing, reported this particularly to the Emperor. The Emperor got ready soldiers and was about to kill Tamada no Sukune, when he secretly ran away and hid in his house. The Emperor again despatched soldiers, who surrounded Tamada's house, took him, and put him to death.

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Emperor Midzu-ha-wake was buried in the Mimihara Misasagi.

A.D. 418. XIII. 9. 7th year, Winter, 12th month, 1st day. There was a banquet in the new Palace.[1] The Emperor in person played on the lute,[2] and the Empress stood up and danced. When the dance was ended, she did not repeat the compliment. At that time it was the custom at a banquet for the dancer, when the dance was ended, to turn to the person who occupied the highest place, and say, "I offer thee a woman." Now the Emperor said to the Empress:—"Why hast thou failed to say the usual compliment?" The Empress was afraid. She stood up again and danced, and when the dance was over, she said:—"I offer thee a woman." The Emperor forthwith inquired of the Empress, saying:—"Who is the woman whom thou offerest me? I wish to know her name." The Empress could not help herself, and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"It is thy handmaiden's younger sister, whose name is Otohime."[3] Otohime's countenance was of surpassing and peerless beauty. Her brilliant colour shone out through her raiment, so that the men of that time gave her the designation of Sotohori Iratsume.[4] The Emperor's wishes had dwelt upon

[1] The interlinear kana has miya, palace, for 室, oftener rendered muro. But nihi-muro, new muro, is probably the word really meant.

[2] Koto.

[3] Otohime means simply "the younger lady."

[4] Clothing-pass-maiden. The "Kojiki" makes her the Emperor's daughter. Cf. Shelley's—

"Child of Light! thy limbs are burning,
Through the vest which seems to hide them."

Sotohori Iratsume, and therefore it was that he insisted on the Empress's offering her to him, while the Empress, knowing this, was reluctant to make the compliment. Now the Emperor was delighted, and the very next day he despatched a messenger to summon Otohime. At this time Otohime dwelt with her mother at Sakata in the land of Afumi. But she feared the feelings of the Empress and therefore refused to come. Again seven times she was sent for, and yet she obstinately refused and did not come. Upon this the Emperor was displeased, and again gave command to one of the Toneri, a Nakatomi named Ikatsu[1] no Omi, saying:—"The damsel Otohime, who was given to me by the Empress, has not come although sent for. Do thou go thyself and bring Otohime here with thee, and I will surely reward thee liberally." Hereupon Ikatsu no Omi, having received the Imperial command, withdrew, and having concealed a stock of provisions in his clothing, went to Sakata, where he prostrated himself in Otohime's courtyard, and said:—"By command of the Emperor, I summon thee." Otohime answered and said:—"Far be it from me not to fear the Emperor's command. But I am unwilling to hurt the Empress's feelings. Thy handmaiden will not come, though XIII. 10.
it should cost her her life to refuse." Then Ikatsu no Omi answered and said:—"As thy servant has received the Emperor's commands, I must bring thee back with me. If I bring thee not back, I shall surely incur punishment. Therefore it is better to die lying prostrate in this courtyard than to return and undergo the extreme penalty." So for seven days he lay prostrate in the courtyard, and although food and drink were offered to him, he refused to taste them, but secretly ate the provisions in his bosom. Hereupon Otohime said:—"By reason of the Empress's jealousy, thy handmaiden has already disobeyed the Emperor's commands. To be the ruin of my Lord, who art his faithful servant, would be another crime on my part." Accordingly she came along with Ikatsu no Omi. When they reached Kasuga in Yamato they had food by the well of Ichihi. Otohime herself gave sake to the Omi, and soothed his spirit. The Omi that same day arrived at the

[1] As he was Toneri, the Ikatsu no Omi is clearly a mere title, like the no Kami's of recent times.

capital, and having lodged Otohime at the house of Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, made his report to the Emperor. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced. He commended Ikatsu no Omi, and showed him liberal favour. The Empress, however, showed her vexation, and Otohime could therefore not approach the interior of the Palace. Accordingly, a separate building was erected for her at Fujihara, and she dwelt there.[1] On the night that the Empress gave birth to the Emperor Oho-hatsuse, the Emperor for the first time went to the Fujihara Palace. The Empress hearing this, was angry, and said:—"Many years have passed since I first bound up my hair and became thy companion in the hinder palace. It is too cruel of thee, O Emperor. Wherefore, just on this night when I am in childbirth and hanging between life and death, must thou go to Fujihara?" So she went out, set fire to the parturition house, and was about to kill herself. The Emperor, hearing this, was greatly shocked, and said:—"We are wrong." So with explanations he soothed the mind of the Empress.

A.D. 419. 8th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went to Fuji-
hara and secretly observed how matters were with Sotohori
XIII. 11. Iratsume. That night Sotohori Iratsume was sitting alone, thinking fondly of the Emperor. Unaware of his approach, she made a song, saying:—

This is the night
My husband will come.
The little crab—
The spider's action
To-night is manifest.[2]

The Emperor, when he heard this song, was touched by it, and made a song, saying:—

[1] Hence perhaps the name Soto-wori-hime, or the Lady who lives without, as opposed to Oho-nakatsu hime, the dame of the Great Interior.

[2] It was considered that when a spider clung to one's garments, it was a sign that an intimate friend would arrive. Little crab is another name for spider. Sotohori hime was in after times looked on as the "Muse of poetry." This poem is a regular Tanka, as are the others in this passage.

Loosening and removing
The brocade sash
Of small pattern,
Not often have I slept—
But one night only.

The next morning, the Emperor looked at the cherry flowers beside the well, and made a song, saying:—

As one loves the cherry
Sweet of blossom,
Did I love another,
Then her I should not love—
The girl whom I love.

This came to the Empress's ear, and she was very wroth. Hereupon Sotohori Iratsume addressed the Emperor, saying:— "Thy handmaiden desires to be always near the Royal Palace, and night and day without ceasing to view the glory of Your Majesty. But the Empress, being thy handmaiden's elder sister, is, on her account, continually resentful towards Your Majesty, and is also vexed because of thy handmaiden. I pray therefore that I may be removed far from the Royal dwelling, and I wish to live at a distance. This might perhaps cause the Empress's jealousy somewhat to abate." The Emperor XIII 12.
forthwith built anew a palace in Chinu in Kahachi, and made Sotohori Iratsume to dwell there. And for this reason he frequently went a-hunting to the moor of Hine.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor made a progress A.D. 420.
to the Palace of Chinu.

Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor made a progress to Chinu.

Winter, 10th month. The Emperor made a progress to Chinu.

10th year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor made a progress A.D. 421.
to Chinu. Hereupon the Empress addressed him, saying:— "Thy handmaiden is not a whit jealous of her younger sister. Only she fears that the people may be distressed by Your Majesty's frequent progresses to Chinu. I humbly pray thee to diminish the number of thy visits." Thereafter his excursions thither were infrequent.

A.D. 422. 11th year, Spring, 3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Chinu. Sotohori Iratsume made a song, saying :—

For ever and ever,
Oh ! that I might meet my Lord !
As often as drift beachward
The weeds of the shore of ocean
(Where whales are caught).

Then the Emperor spake to Sotohori Iratsume, saying :— "No other person must hear this song. For if the Empress heard it, she would surely be greatly wroth." Therefore the men of that time gave a name to the shore-weed and called it Na-nori-ahi-mo.[1]

XIII. 13. Before this time, when Sotohori Iratsume dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo Muruya no Muraji, saying :—"Of late we have gotten a beautiful woman, the younger sister of the Empress by the same mother.[2] In Our heart we dearly love her, and it is Our desire that her name should be handed down to after ages. How can this be done ?" In accordance with the Imperial command, Muruya no Muraji proposed a plan for the Emperor's approval. Consequently the Miyakko of the various provinces were charged to establish Fujihara Be on behalf of Sotohori hime.

A.D. 425. 14th year, Autumn, 9th month, 12th day. The Emperor hunted in the island of Ahaji. Now the deer, monkeys, and wild boar, like dust-clouds, confusedly, filled the mountains and valleys. They sprang up like flames of fire, they were dispersed like flies. And yet all day long not a single beast was caught. Herewith the hunt was suspended, and divination was made anew. Then the God of the Island[3] gave an oracular utterance,

[1] Na-nori-ahi means "mutually to tell one's name," and mo is the general word for seaweed. There is a seaweed so called, but what this circumstance has to do with the story is not clear.

[2] The traditional kana has haha-hara-kara. As hara-kara by its derivation means "of the same womb," it is needless to prefix haha, mother. But this shows that when these kana glosses were written, hara-kara had come to mean simply brother or sister, as it does at present.

[3] Izanagi.

saying:—"It was by my intent that no beast was caught. In the bottom of the sea of Akashi there is a pearl. If this pearl is sacrificed to me, ye shall be able to catch all the beasts." Hereupon they proceeded to assemble the fishermen of the various places, and made them search the bottom of the sea of Akashi. When they dived into the sea, however, they were unable to reach the bottom. But there was one fisherman named XIII. 14.
Wosashi, a fisher of Naga-zato in the province of Aha, who excelled all the fishers. He tied a rope to his loins, and went down to the bottom of the sea. After some time he came forth, and said:—"In the bottom of the sea there is a great sea-ear,[1] and this place is shining." Everybody said:—"Probably the pearl which the God of the Island has asked for is in this sea-ear's belly." Again he went in and searched for it. Hereupon Wosashi came to the surface with the great sea-ear in his arms, but his breath had ceased, and he died on the surface of the waves. Afterwards a rope was let down and the bottom of the sea was measured. The depth was found to be sixty fathoms. When the sea-ear was split open, a true pearl was found in its belly, in size like a peach. This was offered to the God of the Island, and a hunt being made, they caught many beasts. But they grieved that Wosashi had met his death by entering the sea, and made a tomb, in which they reverently interred him. That tomb exists at the present day.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince A.D. 434.
Kinashi Karu was made Heir to the Throne. He was fair to look upon, and those who saw him spontaneously loved him. His sister by the same mother,[2] the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, was also beautiful. The Heir Apparent's thoughts were constantly bent on becoming united to the

[1] The ahabi or Haliotis tuberculata.

[2] The prominence given to brotherhood and sisterhood by the same mother in the "Nihongi," as in Homer, has not, it appears to me, the significance attributed to it by McLennan's theory, which would trace back such terms to a time when the mother was the only parent as to whom there could be no doubt. It seems to me that the father's parentage is here taken for granted, the phrase really meaning brother or sister by the mother's side *as well as* by the father's, and that such phrases are merely indications of polygamous customs, not necessarily of promiscuity or polyandry.

Imperial Princess Oho-iratsume, but he dreaded the guilt,[1] and was silent. But his passion had become so violent that he was well-nigh on the point of death. Hereupon he thought to himself, "I will not die for nothing. It may be a crime, but how can I endure?" At last he became secretly united to her, and so his desperate passion became somewhat abated. Accordingly he made a song, saying:—

On the foot-dragging mountain,
Rice-fields are made;
So high is the mountain,
The water-pipes are run beneath—
Like them the hidden tears
That I wept for my spouse,
The unshared tears
XIII. 15. That I wept for my spouse,
But to-day, this very day,
Freely our bodies touch.[2]

A.D. 435. 24th year, Summer, 6th month. The soup for the Emperor's meal froze, and became ice. The Emperor wondered, and had divination made in order to learn the meaning of it. The diviner said:—"There is domestic disorder,[3] perhaps the illicit intercourse of near relations with one another." Then some one said:—"The Heir Apparent, Kinashi Karu, has seduced his younger sister by the same mother, the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume." So examination was made, and it was found that these words were true. The Heir Apparent being the successor to the Throne, it was impossible to punish him,

[1] See Ch. K., Introd., p. xxxviii. I do not feel sure that Chamberlain is right in attributing to Chinese influence the stigma attached to unions of brothers and sisters of the full blood. See a paper on "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan," in the "Transactions of the Japan Society," 1892-93.

[2] A somewhat different version of this poem is given in the "Kojiki." See Ch. K., p. 296. I have adopted one or two of Motowori's emendations. See "Kojikiden," xxxix. 23. "Foot-dragging" is a makura-kotoba or conventional epithet of mountain, used because in ascending a mountain we drag one foot painfully after the other. At least, that is the common interpretation. The metre is somewhat irregular naga-uta.

[3] i.e. incest.

so the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume was banished to Iyo.[1] At this time the Heir Apparent made a song, saying:—

I, the Great Lord,
To an island am banished:
Remaining behind in the ship,
I will certainly come back again. XIII. 16.
Let my bed be respected—
(In words indeed
I shall call it my bed)
Let my spouse be respected.[2]

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maiden of Karu
(The Heaven-soaring),
If she wept violently,
Men would know of it—
Like the doves of Mount Hasa,
She weeps with a suppressed weeping.[3]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. The Emperor died. A.D. 453.
His years were many.[4]

[1] The "Kojiki" makes the Prince to be banished, and Motowori thinks with some reason that this must be the true version of the story. For one thing (he says), women have always been more lightly punished in Japan than men for the same offence, and the particular character of the fault in this case makes such a discrimination all the more reasonable. Moreover, it is hardly possible to construe the poem which follows otherwise than as composed by Prince Karu when about to be banished. An ancient note to the "Nihongi" (see below) speaks of the Prince as having died by his own hand in Iyo.

[2] The word for bed is tatami, now applied to the thick mats used to cover the floor of a Japanese house. At this time the tatami only covered the sleeping-place. There was a superstition forbidding people to meddle with the bed of an absent person, as to do so would bring down calamity on him. The word translated "respect" is yume, taboo, religious abstinence. The third line of this poem is literally "a ship-remainder," by which is understood "one who remains behind in a ship after the other passengers have landed." There are, however, other explanations. See Ch. K., p. 300.

[3] The metre of this poem is irregular. "Heaven soaring" is a conventional epithet applied to Karu, which is the name of a place, because Kari means "a wild goose"—hardly a sufficient reason to our Western minds.

[4] Seventy-eight, says the "Kojiki." Another authority says eighty. But his mother, the Empress Iha no hime, died A.D. 347, and she had ceased to cohabit with her husband A.D. 342 (see above, p. 285), so that he would be at least 110 at the time of his death.

Now the King of Silla, when he heard that the Emperor had died, was shocked and grieved, and sent up eighty tribute ships with eighty musicians of all kinds. They anchored at Tsushima, and made great wail. When they arrived in Tsukushi they again made great wail. Anchoring in the harbour of Naniha, they all put on plain white garments, and bringing all the articles of tribute, and stringing their musical instruments of all kinds, they proceeded from Naniha to the capital.[1] Sometimes they wept and wailed, sometimes they sang and danced, until at length they assembled at the Shrine of temporary interment.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Naga-no no hara in Kahachi.

XIII. 17. 11th month. The Silla messengers of condolence, when the funeral ceremonies were concluded, returned home.

Now the men of Silla had always loved Mount Miminashi and Mount Unebi, which are hard by the capital city. Accordingly, when they arrived at the Kotobiki Hill, they looked back, and said:—"Uneme haya! Mimi haya!" This was simply because they were unpractised in the common speech, and therefore corrupted Mount Unebi, calling it Uneme, and corrupted Mount Miminashi, calling it Mimi. Now the Yamato no Mŭma-kahi[2] Be, who were in attendance on the men of Silla, heard these words, and conceived a suspicion that the Silla men had had intercourse with the Uneme. So they made them go back, and gave information to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse. The Imperial Prince straightway threw the Silla messengers every one into prison, and put them to an examination. Then the Silla messengers made a statement, saying:—"We have done the Uneme no harm. Our words were simply expressive of our love for the two mountains close to the capital." Upon this it was recognized that the charge was groundless, and they were all released. But the people of Silla resented it greatly, and further reduced the kinds of articles sent as tribute and the number of ships.

[1] Anaho in Yamato.

[2] Horse-keepers.

Misasagi of Ingiō Tennō.

THE EMPEROR ANAHO.

(*ANKŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Anaho was the second child of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsuma waku-go no Sukune.

One account says:—"The third child."

XIII. 18. His mother's name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Imperial Prince Waka-nuke-futa-mata.[2]

The Emperor died in the 42nd year of his reign, Spring, the 1st month. In Winter, the 10th month, the funeral ceremonies were completed. At this time the Heir Apparent was guilty of a barbarous outrage in debauching a woman. The nation censured him, and the Ministers would not follow him, but all without exception gave their allegiance to the Imperial Prince Anaho. Hereupon the Heir Apparent wished to attack the Imperial Prince Anaho, and to that end secretly got ready an army. The Imperial Prince Anaho also raised a force, and prepared to give battle. It was at this time that the terms "Anaho arrow-notch" and "Karu arrow-notch"[3] began. Now the Heir Apparent, knowing that the Ministers would not follow him, and that the people were uncompliant, went away and hid in the house of the Mononobe, Ohomahe no Sukune. The Imperial Prince Anaho, hearing this, forthwith surrounded it. Ohomahe no Sukune came forth from the gate to meet him, upon which the Imperial Prince Anaho made a song, saying:—

To Oho-mahe
Wo-mahe[4] Sukune's
Metal-gate's shelter,
Thus let us repair,
And wait till the rain stops.

---

[1] Ankō means peace. [2] A son of Ōjin. See Ch. K., p. 242.

[3] The parallel passage of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 298) has "inside" for "notch," and an ancient note explains that in the case of Prince Karu's arrows, the "notch" or "inside" was of copper, whereas those of Prince Anaho were "like those of the present time," i.e. presumably of iron. Motowori thinks that the arrow-points are intended.

[4] It is a question whether Oho-mahe and Wo-mahe are one person or two brothers. The metre of this poem is imperfect Tanka.

Ohomahe no Sukune made a song in answer, saying :—

Because the courtier's
Garter-bell
Has fallen off,
The courtiers make a noise :
Ye country-folks also beware ! (of making a noise)[1] XIII. 19.

So he addressed the Imperial Prince, saying :—" I beseech thee, harm not the Heir Apparent. Thy servant will advise with him." Accordingly the Heir Apparent died by his own hand in the house of Ohomahe no Sukune.

One account says that he was banished to the Land of Iyo.[2]

12th month, 14th day. The Imperial Prince Anaho assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the Empress was honoured with the title of " Grand Empress." The capital was forthwith removed to Isonokami.[3] It was called the Palace of Anaho.

At this time the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse wished to betroth to him the daughters of the Emperor Midzuha-wake.[4]

[*The names of these daughters are not found in any of the records.*]

Hereupon the Imperial Princesses answered and said :— " Thou, my Lord, art much given to violence, and to sudden fits of anger, so that he who sees thee in the morning is slain in the evening, and he who sees thee in the evening is slain in the morning. Now, thy handmaidens' countenances are not distinguished for beauty, nor their minds for cleverness. If in manners and speech we should be no whit agreeable to the princely expectation, how shouldst thou receive us to thy intimacy ? For this reason we are unable to obey thy com-

[1] This is supposed to contain a remonstrance addressed to Prince Anaho's party for making a fuss about such a small matter as the escape of Prince Karu, which is compared to the loss of the grêlot of a courtier's garter.

[2] This is the " Kojiki " version.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] He died A.D. 411, at the age of 60, so these princesses were now (A.D. 453) not exactly young. They were his cousins by the father's side.

mands." To the last they kept out of his way, and would not give ear to him.[1]

A.D. 454. 1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. On behalf of the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse the Emperor desired to betroth to
XIII. 20. him the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, a younger sister of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka,[2] and for this purpose sent Ne no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Sakamoto, to request her of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, saying:—"I beseech thee let me have the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, whom I desire to espouse unto the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse." Hereupon the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka answered and said:—"Thy servant has for some time suffered from a severe illness, which cannot be healed. He may be compared to a ship which has taken in its cargo and is waiting for the tide. Death, however, is our destiny; and there is no sufficient reason for regret. Only I cannot die in peace because my younger sister, the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, will be left alone and unprotected. If now Your Majesty will not loathe her for her ugliness, and will allow her to complete the number of the duckweed flowers,[3] it will be a matter for the deepest gratitude. How should I decline the favour of thy commands? In order, therefore, to show my

[1] This and many other stories in the "Nihongi" show that the position of women in these times was by no means one of abject dependence on their male relatives.

[2] They were children of the Emperor Nintoku, who died A.D. 399, aged 122. The "Shukai" suggests that the Prince and Princess here named were grandchildren, and not children of Nintoku, but the more obvious explanation of the difficulty is that the chronology is entirely untrustworthy.

[3] "An aquatic plant with peltate floating leaves, probably a Lemnanthemum, or marsh-flower." Williams. The allusion is to the opening stanzas of the first ode of the She-king, translated by Dr. Legge as follows:—

Kwan, *Kwan* go the ospreys
On the islet in the river.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
For our prince a good mate is she.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed
To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
Waking and sleeping he sought her.

sincerity, I offer thee my private treasure, called the Oshiki[1] jewel head-dress [others say 'standing head-dress,' and others, again, Ihaki (rock-tree) head-dress], which I make so bold as to present to thee by the hand of Ne no Omi, the minister whom thou didst send to me. I beg thee to accept of it, although it is an object of no value, as a token of my good faith."

Hereupon Ne no Omi, when he saw the Oshiki jewel head-dress, was struck with its beauty, and the thought occurred to him of stealing it and making it his own treasure. So he falsely represented to the Emperor, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka refused to obey thy orders, and spake to thy servant, saying:—'Shall he, though of the same house, have my XIII. 21.
younger sister to wife?'" Having done so, he retained the jewel head-dress, and did not present it to the Emperor, but made it his own.

Hereupon the Emperor believed Ne no Omi's slanderous words, and was greatly wroth. He raised an armed force, with which he surrounded the house of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and slew him.

At this time the Hikakas, Kishi of Naniha, father and sons, were all in the service of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, and they were all grieved that their lord should die without a crime. Accordingly the father took in his arms the Prince's head and the two sons took up each one of the Prince's legs and cried aloud, saying:—"Alas! Our Lord has died without a crime. Were we three, father and sons, who served him in life, not to follow him in death, we should be no true retainers." So they cut their throats, and died beside the Imperial corpse. The army, to a man, all wept tears. Upon this the Emperor took Nakashi hime,[2] the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka's wife, and bestowing her within the Palace, made her his concubine. Ultimately he sent for the Imperial Princess Hata-hi and gave her to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse to wife.

This year was the year Kinoye Mŭma (31st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. Nakashi hime no A.D. 455.

[1] Oshiki means literally "push-wood" or "push-tree." Its application here is uncertain.

[2] The "Kojiki" gives here a different name.

Mikoto was appointed Empress. The Emperor loved her exceedingly.

Before this time Nakashi hime no Mikoto bore Prince Mayuwa to the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka. On his mother's account he escaped punishment, and was always brought up within the Palace.

A.D. 456. XIII. 22. 3rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. The Emperor was assassinated by Prince Mayuwa [a detailed account is given in the history of the Emperor Ohohatsuse's reign]. After three years he was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi at Sugahara.

BOOK XIV.

THE EMPEROR OHO-HATSUSE WAKATAKE.[1]

(*YŪ-RIAKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take was the fifth child[3] of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsuma Waku-go no Sukune. When the Emperor was born, a supernatural radiance filled the building.[4] When he grew to manhood, he was distinguished for sturdy strength.

In the 8th month of the 3rd year of his reign, the Emperor Anaho went to the Mountain Palace with the intention of taking the hot baths. At length he went up into a lofty tower and was enjoying the prospect. Accordingly he commanded sake to be brought and a banquet to be held. So then, whilst his mind was at ease and his pleasure at its height, in the course of conversation he turned to the Empress and addressed her, saying :—

[The daughter of the Emperor Izahowake was called the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime. She was also called the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume. The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, a child of the Emperor Oho-sazaki, took to wife the Imperial Princess Nagata, who bore to him Prince Mayuwa. Afterwards the Emperor

[1] Hatsuse is the name of a place in Yamato. Waka-take means young brave.

[2] Yū-riaku means manly stratagem or counsel. The events related in this Book read more like genuine history, and the chronology, though it still leaves much to be desired, is not so wildly inaccurate as before.

[3] He was really the fifth son. See above, p. 315.

[4] The same thing in nearly the same words is related of one of the Later Han Emperors of China.

Anaho, giving heed to the slander of Ne no Omi, put to death the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and appointed the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime Empress. An account of this is given in the history of the reign of Anaho Tennō.]

"Our younger sister" [it seems to have been the ancient custom to address one's wife as "younger sister"], "although thou art Our friend, We fear Prince Mayuwa." Now Prince Mayuwa —who was only a boy—was playing below the tower, and heard everything that was said. Afterwards the Emperor Anaho, making a pillow of the Empress's knees, fell asleep in daylight
XIV. 2. drunkenness. Hereupon Prince Mayuwa, watching the time when he was sound asleep, stabbed and murdered him. On this day one of the Oho-toneri ran [his name and surname are wanting [1]], and said to the Emperor [2]:—"The Emperor Anaho has been murdered by Prince Mayuwa." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway being suspicious of his elder brothers, put on his armour and girded himself with his sword. Taking command of his troops in person, he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko. The Imperial Prince, seeing that he wished to do him a mischief, sat silent and said not a word. So the Emperor drew his sword and slew him. Next he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko. But this Imperial Prince also knew that he was about to do him a mischief, and sat silent, saying not a word.[3] The Emperor's rage became still more violent, so with the further object of killing Prince Mayuwa as well, he examined him as to the reason of his conduct. Prince Mayuwa said:—"Thy servant has never sought the Celestial Dignity. He has only revenged himself on his father's enemy." The Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko, who feared profoundly the suspicion in which he was held, communicated secretly with Prince Mayuwa, and they at last found an oppor-
XIV. 3. tunity of getting away together. They fled to the house of the Oho-omi [4] Tsubura. The Emperor sent a messenger to ask

[1] This note is rejected by the "Shukai" edition. It is certainly frivolous.

[2] i.e. to the Emperor Yūriaku.

[3] The "Kojiki" relates these events quite differently.

[4] Oho-omi is written with the characters read in later times Daijin, i.e. Great Minister or Prime Minister.

for them. The Oho-omi replied by a messenger, saying:—"I may possibly have heard of a vassal in time of trouble taking refuge in a Royal chamber, but I had never seen Princes conceal themselves in the house of a vassal. At this very time the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa, trusting profoundly in thy servant's heart, have come to thy servant's house. How can I have the heart to send them to thee?" In consequence of this the Emperor raised a still greater army and surrounded the Oho-omi's house. The Oho-omi came out, and standing in the courtyard, tied his garters. At this time the Oho-omi's wife brought the garters, and heart-broken, alas! made a song, saying[1]:—

The Omi child
Cloth trousers
Nine-fold having put on—
Standing in the courtyard
His garters he adjusts!

The Oho-omi, when he had finished dressing, advanced to the gate of the camp, where he knelt down and said:—"Thy servant cannot obey thy orders, even though his refusal costs him his life. There is a saying of a man of old, 'The will of even a common man cannot be taken from him.'[2] This is precisely thy servant's case. I humbly beseech the Great Prince to allow thy servant's daughter, Kara-hime, and the seven buildings[3] of Katsuraki, which I now offer thee, to be received as a ransom for their offences." The Emperor would not permit XIV. 4.
it, but set fire to the houses and burnt them. Hereupon the Oho-omi with the Imperial Prince Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa were all burnt to death together. Now Nihe no Sukune, Muraji of the Sakahi Be, took in his arms the Imperial Prince's dead body and so was burnt to death. His household [the names are wanting[4]] took up that which was burnt, but were never able to sort out the bones. They were deposited in one coffin and

[1] This poem seems intended to express wonder at her husband's care for his appearance at a moment when his life was at stake.

[2] "Confucian Analects," Book IX. chap. xxv. 1.

[3] Granaries, as the "Kojiki" informs us.

[4] A silly note. No wonder the "Shukai" edition rejects it.

buried together on the hill south of Tsukimoto in Imaki no Aya.[1]

Winter 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor resented the Emperor Anaho's having formerly wished to transfer the kingdom to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha,[2] and to commit the succession definitively to his charge. So he sent a man to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha, and treacherously arranged with him to go a-hunting. Inviting him to go on an excursion to the moors, he said:—Karabukuro,[3] the Kimi of the Sasaki mountain in Ohomi, tells me
XIV. 5. that now on the Kaya moor in Kutawata in Ohomi, there are wild boars and deer in plenty. The horns they bear are like the twigs of withered trees, their legs are thick together like a grove of bushes, the breath which they breathe resembles the mists of morning. Along with the Imperial Prince, I wish in the first month of winter, when the sky is cloudy and the cold wind blows keenly, to go for an excursion to the moors, where we may somewhat divert our minds by running archery."[4] The Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha accordingly followed the hunt. Hereupon the Emperor Ohohatsuse drew his bow and putting his horse to a gallop, called out falsely, saying, "There is a wild boar!" and shot the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha dead. A man of the Imperial Prince's household named Uruwa, of the Saheki Be [another name is Nakachiko], took the dead body in his arms. In his consternation he knew not what to do, but writhed on the ground and called aloud upon his master, going to and fro. The Emperor put him to death also.

In this month the Imperial Prince Mimŭma,[5] who had formerly been pleased with Musa, a place belonging to the
XIV. 6. Kimi of Miwa, and wishing to shake off his cares, went thither. While on his way he unexpectedly fell in with a force which had been sent against him.[6] He joined battle with them at the

[1] This means literally the new-comer Aya or Han. See below, xix. 22.

[2] The eldest son of Richiu Tennō. See p. 306. He was, no doubt, thought too young to succeed to the throne at his father's death in 405.

[3] Kara bag. There is also a name Yamato-bukuro.

[4] i.e. shooting animals with the bow and arrow while one's horse is at a gallop.

[5] The Prince of the august horses. A son of Richiu Tennō.

[6] By the Emperor.

well of Iha in Miwa, but was soon taken prisoner. When about to be executed, he pointed to the well and pronounced a curse, saying:—"This water may be drunk by the people only: royal persons alone may not drink of it."

11th month, 13th day. The Emperor ordered commissioners to erect a lofty pavilion at Asakura in Hatsuse,[1] in which he assumed the Imperial Dignity, and at last established the Palace. He appointed Matori, Heguri no Omi as Oho-omi and Muruya, Oho-tomo no Muraji and Me, Mononobe no Muraji he made Ohomuraji.[2]

1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The Imperial Princess Kusaka no Hatahi hime was appointed Empress. [Another name for her is Tachi-bana-hime.] A.D. 457.

In this month three concubines were appointed. The senior of these, named Kara-hime, daughter of the Oho-omi of Tsubura in Katsuraki, was the mother of the Emperor Shiraga take-hiro-kuni-oshi Waka-Yamato-neko, and of the Imperial Princess Waka-tarashi-hime. [Also called the Imperial Princess Taku-hata no Iratsume.] This Imperial Princess attended to the sacrifices of the Great Deity of Ise.[3] Next XIV. 7.
there was Waka-hime, daughter of the Omi of Kibi no Kamutsumichi.[4] [One book says she was the daughter of Kibi no Kuboya no Omi.] She bore two sons. The elder was called the Imperial Prince Ihashiro, and the younger the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha no Waka-miya. Next there was Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Omi of Wani in Kasuga. She was the mother of Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume [also called Princess Takahashi.] Woguna Kimi was originally an Uneme. The Emperor gave one night to her and she became pregnant. Ultimately she gave birth to a girl. The Emperor had suspicions and would not bring her up. When the girl was able to walk, the Emperor was in the great hall with the Oho-muraji Me, of the Mononobe, in attendance on him. The girl

[1] The interlinear kana gloss has Hase.

[2] The "Shokugenshō" says:—"The Prime Minister (Oho-omi or Daijin) conducts the Government in conjunction with the Ohomuraji." Another authority says that the Oho-omi was a civil and the Ohomuraji a military officer. The titles were hereditary in these Houses. They became extinct towards the end of the sixth century.

[3] The Sun-Goddess.

[4] The upper province of Kibi, now Bizen.

crossed the courtyard. Me, the Ohomuraji, looking round, said to the Ministers :—" What a pretty girl! There is a saying of the men of old, 'Thou art like thy mother.'[1] [This ancient saying is not clear.] Whose little girl is she said to be who is walking with leisurely pace in the pure court?" The Emperor said :—" Why dost thou ask?" Me no Ohomuraji answered and said :—" When thy servant looks at this little girl walking, she appears to him strongly to resemble the Emperor." The Emperor said :—" Every one who sees her makes the same remark. Sed insolitum est, quum ei unam solum noctem dederim, eam concepisse et filiam peperisse. Quam ob rem suspiciones mihi excitatae sunt." Ohomuraji dixit :—" Sed in hac unâ nocte quoties cum eâ rem habuisti?" "Septies," in-
XIV. 8. quit Imperator. Ohomuraji loquitur :—" Si haec femina puro corpore et purâ mente recepit unam noctem quam ei dedisti, cur tam facile concipis suspiciones et nolis fidere alterius castitati? Servus tuus audivit feminas quae facile praegnantes fiant vel tactu braccarum concipere. Multo magis, quum totam noctem dederis, sine justâ ratione non debes suspiciones concipere."

The Emperor, by order to the Ohomuraji, made the little girl an Imperial Princess, and appointed her mother to be a concubine.

This year was the year Hinoto Tori (34th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 458. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month. Iketsu hime of Pèkché,[2] in despite of the Emperor's intention to favour[3] her, had an amour with Tate of Ishikaha.

In an old book it is said :—" Tate, the ancestor of the Obito of Momoahi in Ishikaha."

The Emperor was greatly enraged, and giving his commands to the Ohomuraji Muruya, of the Ohotomo House, sent some Kume Be who stretched the four limbs of the woman on a tree. The tree was placed over a cupboard, which was set fire to, and she was burnt to death.

The "Shinsen"[4] of Pèkché says :—" In the 6th year of

[1] These words are in Japanese.

[2] Corea has been hardly mentioned for fifty years or so. Probably some of the events allotted to the previous period really belong to this interval.

[3] i.e. wed.

[4] i.e. new compilation, the name of a book.

the Cycle [1] King Kèro ascended the throne. The Emperor sent Aretoku hither to ask for a nyörang. Pèkché adorned the daughter of the Lady Moni, called the Nyörang Chökké, and sent her as tribute to the Emperor." [2]

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino, and on the 6th he proceeded to Mimase. Giving orders to the wardens, he indulged in the chase. They climbed the towering peaks, they crossed the wide jungles. Before the shadows fell, out of ten, seven or XIV. 9. eight had been caught. Every time they hunted, they caught many, so that the birds and beasts were almost exhausted. At length they rested by the springs and groves, and sauntered together in the thickets and meadows. Halting his footmen, the Emperor counted the chariots and horses. Then he inquired of the Ministers, saying:—"It is a pleasure of the hunting-field to make the stewards cut up the fresh meat. Suppose that you and We cut it up ourselves?" The Ministers were taken aback and could find no answer. Hereupon the Emperor became very wroth, and drawing his sword, slew one of the stewards named Mumakahi of Ohotsu. On this day the Imperial cortège arrived from the Yoshino Palace. The people of the province all shook with fear. In consequence the Grand Empress and the Empress, hearing of this, were full of apprehension, and sent to meet him Hi-no-hime, the Uneme of Yamato,[3] to offer him sake. The Emperor, seeing the beauty of the Uneme's countenance,[4] and the elegance of her appearance, softened his looks, and with a pleased expression, said:—"How should I not wish to behold thy pleasing smile?" So

[1] Corresponding to A.D. 429. The "Tongkam" places this event in A.D. 455.

[2] The use of the words "Emperor" and "tribute" shows that this "new compilation," like the "Pèkché record" already mentioned, was probably the work of Corean literati domiciled in Japan. Nyörang is in the Chinese 女郎 (lady), which in modern Japanese means a harlot. The Interlinear Kana is Yehashito, which probably means "beautiful person." The nyörang were no doubt concubines of inferior rank. The word rendered lady is 夫人, a title of the wives of officials above a certain rank. Aretoku is not like a Japanese name.

[3] The Atahe of Yamato was her father.

[4] She was of a marriageable age before the accession of Richiu Tennō in A.D. 400, and we are now at 458.

XIV. 10. hand in hand with her, he entered the hinder palace, where he addressed the Empress Dowager, saying:—"In to-day's hunt we took many birds and beasts. We wished along with the Ministers to cut up the fresh meat and to have a banquet on the moor. But having proposed this to them, not one of them gave us an answer. Therefore did We get angry." The Empress Dowager, knowing the feeling which dictated these words of the Emperor, mollified him, saying:—"The Ministers did not understand that your Majesty, in connection with the sport on the hunting-field, was establishing a Fleshers' Be, and therefore did condescend to ask their opinion, so that their silence was reasonable, and it was hard for them to reply. But even now it is not too late to offer them.[1] I will make a beginning with myself. My steward Nagano is good at making mince meat.[2] I beg permission to present him to thee." The Emperor knelt down and accepted him, saying:—"It is good." This is what the rustic means when he says:—"The nobles understand each other's hearts." The Empress Dowager saw the Emperor's gratification, and pleasure filled her bosom. She further wished to offer men, and said:—"There are my two scullions, Masakida and Takame,[3] of the Mito Be of Uda. I beg leave to add these two men to the others to form a Fleshers' Be." From this time forward Akoko no Sukune, the Miyakko of the province of Yamato, sends some of the
XIV. 11. Kotori Wake of Saho to form the Fleshers' Be. The Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, and the Kuni no Miyakko also, following (the Empress's example), presented some, one after another.

In this month the Fumubito[4] Be, and the Toneri[5] Be of Kahakami, were instituted.

The Emperor, taking his heart for guide, wrongfully slew many men. The Empire censured him, and called him "The greatly wicked Emperor." The only persons who loved him

[1] Men to serve as fleshers.

[2] It must be remembered that the Japanese having no table-knives, all flesh is cut up small before it is served.

[3] A curious name! It means "High Heaven." Uda is the name of a Kōri of Yamato. There is a village there called Mitobe, which means Imperial House Be. It probably was an appanage of the Empress.

[4] Scribes. [5] Palace attendants.

were Awo Musa no Suguri[1] of the Scribes' Be and Hakatoko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi.[2]

3rd year, Summer, 4th month. Kunimi, Abe no Omi [His other name was Shikotohi], uttered a slander respecting the Imperial Princess Taku-hata and Takehiko, Ihoki Be no Muraji, the bath-official, saying:—"Takehiko has had illicit intercourse with the Imperial Princess." Takehiko's father, Kikoyu, hearing this rumour, was afraid lest calamity might overtake himself, and persuaded Takehiko to come with him to the River Ihoki. There, pretending to make cormorants dive into the water to catch fish, he took him unawares and slew him. When the Emperor heard this, he sent messengers to question the Imperial Princess. The Imperial Princess answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden knows nothing." Suddenly the Imperial Princess took a divine mirror and went to Isuzu no Kahakami,[3] and watching for a time when no one was passing, buried the mirror, and hanged herself. The Emperor became suspicious on account of the Imperial Princess's absence, and constantly sent persons in the dead of night to search in all directions. When they came to Kahakami, a rainbow appeared, like unto a serpent, four or five rods in length. When they dug the place from which the rainbow sprang they found the divine mirror, and no great distance off, they discovered the Imperial Princess's body. On ripping her open and making examination, there was in her belly something like water, and in the water there was a stone. Kikoyu was thus enabled to establish his son's innocence, but on the other hand he had remorse for having slain him. He revenged him by killing Kunimi, and then fled and hid in the Shrine of Isonokami. A.D. 459. XIV. 12.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went a-hunting with bow and arrows on Mount Katsuraki. Of a sudden a tall man appeared, who came and stood over the vermilion valley.[4] A.D. 460. XIV. 13.

[1] Suguri is written with Chinese characters which mean "village master." It is said to be a Corean word.

[2] Tami-tsukahi means "employer of the people." It seems to be a title of a low class. It may be observed that the "Kojiki" strives to put a favourable construction on Yūriaku's conduct.

[3] Where the Ise shrines are.

[4] Fairy-land. It is perhaps here the name of a place, Tanikahi.

In face and demeanour he resembled the Emperor. The Emperor knew that he was a God, and therefore proceeded to inquire of him, saying:—"Of what place art thou Lord?" The tall man answered and said:—"I am a God of visible men.[1] Do thou first tell thy princely name, and then in turn I will inform thee of mine." The Emperor answered and said:—"We are Wake-take no Mikoto." The tall man next gave his name, saying:—"Thy servant is the God Hito-koto-nushi."[2] He finally joined him in the diversion of the chase. They pursued a deer, and each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to bit, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company of genii. Herewith the sun went down, and the hunt came to an end. The God attended on the Emperor and escorted him as far as the Water of Kume. At this time the people all said:—"An Emperor of great virtue!"

Autumn, 8th month, 18th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.

28th day. He made a progress to Kahakami no Ono,[3] where he commanded the forest wardens to drive the wild beasts. He lay in wait hoping to shoot them himself, when a gad-fly came swiftly flying. Then a dragon-fly flew thither suddenly, bit the gad-fly, and went away with it. The Emperor was pleased at its attention, and commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Do ye on Our behalf compose an ode in praise of this
XIV. 14. dragon-fly." As none of the Ministers made so bold as to compose an ode, the Emperor forthwith composed a short piece,[4] saying:—

These tidings some one
Told in the Great Presence,
How in Yamato
On the Peak of Womura
Four-footed game was lying:

---

[1] i.e. who has assumed mortal form.

[2] Lit. one-word-master. The "Kojiki" expands this into "The Deity who dispels with a word the evil, and with a word the good." See Ch. K., p. 319. The "Kiujiki" makes him a son of Susanowo.

[3] The little moor of the upper stream.

[4] 口號. This was the name of a particular kind of Chinese poetry of four or eight lines.

The Great Lord,
When he heard this,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with jewels,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with cloth :
Waiting for the game
Whilst I [1] remained :
Waiting for the wild-boar
Whilst I was standing,
My arm in the fleshy part,
Was stung by a gad-fly :
But soon a dragon-fly
That gad-fly did bite.
Even a creeping insect
Waits upon the Great Lord.
Thy form it will bear,
O Yamato, land of the dragon-fly ! [2]

One book has, instead of "the great presence," "the great Lord."

One book has, instead of "stood at his throne," "remained in his throne."

One book has, instead of from "even a creeping insect" (inclusive) to the end, the following :—

That in this wise
It should be famous,
The Heaven-filling [3]
Land of Yamato
Was called the Land of the Dragon-fly.[4]

Therefore in honour of the Dragon-fly this place was called Akitsu no.[5] XIV. 15.

[1] The change from the third to the first person is much less marked in the Japanese. It is not to be supposed that the Emperors actually composed these verses themselves, nor perhaps any others ascribed to them in the "Nihongi." The hand of the Court-poet is plain in the honorific epithets and forms given to him therein.

[2] The word for throne is agura. It was no doubt something of the nature of a camp-stool.

[3] Heaven-filling. See above, p. 135, note 5. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[4] This is the "Kojiki" version.

[5] The moor of the Dragon-fly. See above, p. 134, note 8.

A.D. 461. 5th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor hunted on Mount Katsuraki. Suddenly there came a supernatural bird, in size like a sparrow, with a long tail which trailed upon the ground. Now this bird chirruped, saying:—"Have a care! Have a care!" Then suddenly there appeared, issuing furiously from the herbage, a raging wild boar of which they had been in chase, and pursued the men. The huntsmen in great terror climbed up into trees. The Emperor commanded his attendants, saying:—"When a savage beast meets with man, it straightway halts. Encounter it with a shot from your bows, and then stab it." The attendants were of an effeminate nature. They climbed up trees, and changed countenance, and their five senses were masterless. The raging wild boar came straight on, and tried to bite the Emperor. But the Emperor with his bow pierced it and stayed its course. Then, raising his foot, he killed it with a kick. Hereupon, when the chase was over, he wanted to cut down the attendants. The attendants, when about to be executed, made a song, saying:—

Oh! my elder brother,
Thou alder-tree branch—
Over Ariwo,
To which I climbed up in flight,
Dreading
XIV. 16. The snorting of the wild-boar,
That was shot
By Our great Lord
Who rules peacefully![1]

The Empress, hearing their lament, was sorry for them, and tried to stay (the execution). The Emperor said:—"The

[1] This translation exactly reverses the order of the lines of the original. The "Kojiki" version (*vide* Ch. K., p. 318) varies somewhat. Ariwo I take (doubtfully) to be a proper name. The "Kojiki" says that it was the Emperor who climbed into the tree, and Motoöri takes this view. I agree with Chamberlain that this won't do. Perhaps something has been omitted in the "Kojiki" narrative. The insertion of the single word Toneri in one place would make it agree with the "Nihongi." It is not likely that a poem should have been composed to commemorate the Emperor's ascent into a tree.

The alder-tree branch is addressed as "elder brother" in gratitude for its protection.

Empress is taking part, not with the Emperor, but with the attendants." She answered and said:—"The people all say, 'His Majesty is fond of the chase, and loves game. Is not this wrong?' If now Your Majesty, on account of a savage boar, puts to death your attendants, Your Majesty is, as it were, not different from a wolf." The Emperor with the Empress went up into their carriage and returned home. Amid cries of "Long live the Emperor!" he said:—"How delightful is this! Everybody has caught game, and We have caught good words, which We have brought back with us."[1]

Summer, 4th month. Lord Kasyuni [i.e. King Kèro] of Pèkché, having learnt by rumour that Iketsu hime [viz. the Nyörang Chök-ke] had been put to death by burning,[2] held counsel, saying:—"The ancient custom of sending tribute of women to be made Uneme is contrary to decorum, and is injurious to our country's reputation. Henceforward it is unmeet that women be sent as tribute." Accordingly he intimated to his younger brother, Lord Kun[3] [i.e. Lord Kon-chi], saying:—"Do thou go to Japan,[4] and serve the Emperor." Lord Kun answered and said:—"My Lord's commands must not be disobeyed. I pray thee give me one of thy consorts, and then I will undertake this mission." Lord Kasyuni accordingly took one of his consorts who was pregnant, XIV. 17. and having given her in marriage to Lord Kun, said:—"The month for the delivery of this pregnant consort of mine has already arrived. If she should be delivered on the journey, I pray thee place (the child) on board a ship, and whatever place thou mayest have arrived at, cause it to be at once sent back to this country." So at last he took his leave, and went on his mission to the (Japanese) Court.

[1] This passage, from "If now Your Majesty" down to "with us," is copied, with a few trifling alterations, from a Chinese book. Motoöri dismisses the whole incident of the Empress's interference as a silly imitation of Chinese models. He is doubtless right.

[2] See above, p. 338.

[3] The traditional Kana rendering of 軍君 (War-lord) is Komukishi.

[4] Japan is 日本, or Nippon, by which name this country was not known till much later.

6th month, 1st day. The pregnant consort realized the words of Lord Kasyuni, and gave birth to a child in the island of Kahara in Tsukushi. So this child was given the name of Lord Shima.[1] Upon this Lord Kun straightway took a ship and sent Lord Shima to his country. He became King Munyöng. The people of Pèkché call this island Chuto.[2]

Autumn, 7th month. Lord Kun entered the capital. After this he had five children.

The Pèkché Shinsen says:—"In the year Kanoto ushi (A.D. 461[3]) King Kèro sent his younger brother, Lord Konchi, to Great Wa, to wait upon the Emperor and to confirm the friendship of former sovereigns."

A.D 462. 6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Emperor made an excursion to the small moor of Hatsuse. There, viewing the aspect of the hills and moors, in an outburst of feeling, he made a song, saying:—

The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
They stand out
Excellent mountains!
They run out
Excellent mountains!
The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
Are full of various beauties!
Are full of various beauties![4]

Hereupon he gave a name to the small moor, and called it Michi no Ono.[5]

[1] Shima is the Japanese for island. The Corean is syöm, the two words being no doubt identical. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XVI. i. p. 68.

[2] Master-island.

[3] This date is noteworthy as being the first in the "Nihongi" which is confirmed by Corean history. It is true that it occurs only in a note, which was probably added by a later hand. But the narrative of the text no doubt refers to the same event. From this time forward the "Nihongi" chronology is never grossly inaccurate, though it would be too much to say that it can yet be depended on. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," XVI. i. p. 67.

[4] Metre irregular.

[5] i.e. the small moor of the road.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor wished to make the Empress and his concubines plant mulberry trees with their own hands, in order to encourage the silk industry. Hereupon he gave orders to Sukaru [This is a personal name] to make a collection of silkworms throughout the country. Now Sukaru made a mistake and collected babies,[1] which he presented to the Emperor. The Emperor laughed greatly, and gave the babies to Sukaru, saying:—"Do thou bring them up thyself." Accordingly Sukaru brought them up hard by the Palace enclosure. So he was granted a title, and was called Chihisako Be[2] no Muraji. XIV. 18.

Summer, 4th month. The Land of Wu[3] sent envoys with tribute.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Emperor commanded Sukaru Chihisako Be no Muraji, saying:—"It is our desire to see the form of the Deity of Mimuro Hill. [*Some say that the Deiiy of this mountain is Oho-mono-shiro-nushi no Kami. Others say Uda no Sumi-zaka no Kami.*] Thou dost excel in strength of body. Go thyself, seize him, and bring him here." Sukaru answered and said:—"I will make the attempt, and go to seize him." So he ascended the Hill of Mimuro and caught a great serpent, which he showed the Emperor, who had not practised (religious) abstinence. Its thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The Emperor was afraid, and, covering his eyes, would not look upon it, but fled into the interior of the Palace. Then he caused it to be let loose on the Hill, and giving it a new name, called it Ikadzuchi.[4] A.D. 463.

8th month. One of the Toneri named Oho-sora,[5] of the Bow- XIV. 19.

[1] The Japanese for silkworm is Kahiko. Kahi means to keep, to nurture, and ko is "little one;" so there was some excuse for Sukaru's mistake.

[2] Chihisako means "little child." The title and office seem merged in one here.

[3] The Wu dynasty came to an end A.D. 280, and at this time the Sung dynasty held rule, but, as Mr. E. H. Parker has pointed out, Wu was also a territorial designation of that part of China about Nanking. Of course, by tribute is meant presents. The Japanese early adopted the Chinese arrogant way of speaking of foreign nations.

[4] Thunderbolt.

[5] Oho-sora means The Great Void (of Heaven). We have had above a name Takama, i.e. High Heaven.

makers' Be of Kibi, went home on some urgency. Sakitsuya Omi of Lower Kibi [In one book it says:—"The Kuni no Miyakko, Yama, Kibi no Omi"], detained Oho-sora, and for several months would not consent to allow him to go up to the capital. The Emperor sent Mike no Kimi, a man of valour, to fetch him. Oho-sora came in obedience to the summons, and said:—"Sakitsuya took young girls to represent the Emperor's men, and grown-up women to represent his own men. Then he made them fight with one another, and on seeing that the young girls were victorious, drew his sword and slew them. At another time he took a small cock, which he called the Emperor's cock, and pulled out its feathers and clipped its wings. Then he took a large cock, which he called his own cock, attached to it a bell,[1] and armed its spurs with metal. Then he matched them together, and when the naked bird got the better of the other, he again took out his sword and killed it." When the Emperor heard this story, he sent thirty soldiers of the Monono Be, who put Sakitsuya to death, with seventy persons of his household.

This year Tasa, Omi of Upper Kibi, while on duty beside the Palace, praised Waka-hime abundantly to his friends,
XIV. 20. saying:—"Of all the beautiful women in the Empire, there is none to compare with my wife. How blooming! How gentle! How graced with various charms! How radiant! How genial! What perfection in every feature! She uses not flower of lead:[2] she adds not oil of orchids. Through the wide ages her equals are but few: in the present day she stands alone and peerless." The Emperor inclined his ear, and listening from a distance, rejoiced in his heart. So with the object of obtaining Waka-hime for himself, and making her one of his concubines, he appointed Tasa Governor of Imna,[3] and promptly favoured Waka-hime. When Tasa no Omi wedded Waka-hime, she bore to him Ye-kimi and Oto-kimi."[4]

Another book says:—"Tasa no Omi's wife, by name

[1] Small bells like the French grêlots were used as ornaments to the wrist or attached to garters.

[2] White lead ceruse.

[3] Mimana or Kara in Corea, where there was a Japanese resident.

[4] Elder lord and younger lord.

Ke-hime, was the daughter of Tamado no Sukune, son of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. The Emperor, hearing of the serene beauty of her form, slew her husband, and wedded her himself."

After Tasa had arrived at his post, he learnt that the Emperor had married his wife, and with the object of obtaining succour, he went to Silla, which at that time did not do service to the Central Land.[1] The Emperor gave orders to Tasa no Omi's son Otokimi, and also to Akawo Kibi no Ama[2] no Atahe, saying:—"Do ye go and chastise Silla." At this time a skilled artisan of Western Aya named Kwan-in Chiri,[3] who XIV. 21. was near the Emperor, came forward and represented to him, saying:—"There are in the Land of Han[4] many who are more skilful than thy slave. Let them be sent for and made to serve thee." The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Then let Kwan-in Chiri be joined to Otokimi and the others, and let him get instructions from Pèkché; at the same time let an Imperial rescript be delivered directing Pèkché to offer skilled men."

Hereupon Otokimi, in execution of these commands, took with him a body of men and proceeded as far as Pèkché. When he entered that land, a God of the country,[5] assuming the form of an old woman, suddenly met him on the road. Otokimi inquired of her whether the country was far or near. The old woman answered and said:—"If thou goest on for one day more, thou wilt then arrive there." Otokimi thought to himself that the way was too far, and returned without having chastised it. He got together the Imaki[6] skilled artisans who had been given as tribute by Pèkché on a large island, and under the pretence of awaiting a fair wind, tarried there for several months. Tasa no Omi, the Governor of Imna, pleased that Otokimi had gone away without chas-

[1] The "Central Land" is evidently Japan. The Kana has "Mikado."

[2] Fishermen.

[3] Possibly these are the names of two men. The Western Aya were the Aya of Kahachi.

[4] Corea. [5] This must refer to Silla.

[6] Imaki is the name of a place in Yoshino in Yamato. It means "newcomer," and the term may have been applied in the first place to this batch of emigrants to distinguish them from previous ones.

tising Silla, secretly sent a man to Pèkché, to warn Otokimi, saying:—"Is thine own head so firm that thou canst chastise others? A report has reached me that the Emperor has wedded my wife, with the result that he has had children by her. [The children are mentioned above.[1]] As I now fear that calamity may reach my own person, it is well that I should
XIV. 22. wait with foot uplifted. Do thou, my son, come over and betake thyself to Pèkché, and prevent it from communicating with Japan, while I will repair to and hold Imna, and will also hold no communication with Japan." Otokimi's wife Kusu-hime had profound patriotic sentiment; the sense of duty between lord and vassal was strong in her; her loyalty surpassed the bright sun; her principles excelled the evergreen fir. She abominated such treason, and having stealthily killed her husband, secretly buried him in the chamber. Then she remained in the large island with Akawo, Ama no Atahe, in charge of the skilled artisans presented by Pèkché. The Emperor, hearing that Otokimi was missing, sent Katashiha, Hitaka no Kishi, and Ko An-chön.[2] These messengers together made their report to the Emperor. They[3] were accordingly ultimately settled in the village of Hirokitsu in Ato in the province of Yamato, where many of them died of disease. In consequence of this, the Emperor commanded Muruya, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, to instruct Tsukami, Yamato no Aya[4]
XIV. 23. no Atahe to remove Ko-kwi, of the Potters' Be, Kyön-kwi, of the Saddlers' Be, In-să-ra-ka, of the Painters'[5] Be, Chöng-an-na, of the Brocade-weavers' Be, and Myo-an-na, the Interpreter, all belonging to the New Aya,[6] to other residences at the following three places, viz., Upper Momohara, Lower Momohara, and Magami no Hara.

[1] As a matter of fact, they are not; the "Shukai" rejects this note. As the "Shukai" editor points out, all this cannot belong to the same year of Yūriaku's reign.

[2] Ko An-chön. Probably a Corean. Chön means copper cash, which were unknown in Japan at this time.

[3] This must refer to the Pèkché artisans.

[4] Otherwise called the Eastern Aya.

[5] The first mention of the art of painting.

[6] The Aya or Han would now appear to have three branches—the Eastern or Yamato Aya, the Western or Kahachi Aya, and the New or Imaki Aya, whose introduction is here related. They all consisted of skilled men from Corea.

A certain book says :—" Otokimi, Kibi no Omi, returned from Pèkché, and presented a Be of Aya workmen, a Be of tailors, and a Be of fleshers."

8th year, Spring, 2nd month. Awo, Musa no Suguri, and Haka-toko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi, were sent to the Country of Wu. A.D. 464.

From the accession of the Emperor up to this year eight years had now passed, during which the Land of Silla was refractory and given to vain talk, and did not send presents. Therefore they feared the intentions of the Central Land,[1] and cemented friendship with Koryö. Consequently the King of Koryö sent one hundred picked soldiers to guard Silla. After a while, one of these Koryö soldiers returned to his own country on furlough. Now he took with him a Silla man as groom. Turning to him, he addressed him, saying :—" Thy country will be conquered by my country ere long." [One book says :—Thy country will in the end become our territory, and that ere long.] When the groom heard this, he pretended a pain in his belly, and retiring, remained behind. At length he made his escape to his own country, and told what had been said. Hereupon the King of Silla knew that Koryö's guard was mere pretence, and sent messengers to run and tell the people to kill the cocks kept in their houses. The people knew his meaning, and killed all the men of Koryö[2] resident in the country. Only one Koryö man was left, who seized an opportunity to effect his escape and flee to his own country, when he told the whole story. The king of Koryö accordingly raised an army and encamped by the city of Chhyuk-chong-nyu. [*One book says the city of Tokushiki.*] At length they made music, with song and dance. Hereupon the King of Silla, hearing in the night the Koryö army singing and dancing on all sides, became aware that the enemy had occupied the whole land of Silla. So he sent a man to the King of Imna, saying :—" The King of Koryö has attacked our country. At this present time, like the fringes sewn on a flag,[3] the condi- XIV. 24.

[1] Japan.

[2] Kokuryö, the proper name of this country, resembles the onomatopoetic word for the crowing of a cock: English, cock-a-doodle-doo; French, kokeriko; Japanese, Bekkakō.

[3] Which are always wobbling about.

tion of the land is more precarious than that of a pile of eggs.
XIV. 25. The thread of life is short, and may not at all be reckoned. I humbly beg that the Japanese Authorities[1] will assist me with war generals."

Accordingly the King of Imna persuaded Ikaruga, Kashihade no Omi, Wonashi, Kibi no Omi, and Akameko, Naniha no Kishi to go to the assistance of Silla. Kashihade no Omi and the others halted before they reached the camp, and before the Koryö generals had fought with Kashihade no Omi and the others, they were all afraid. So Kashihade no Omi and his colleagues did their best to keep the troops in good heart, and urged them to get ready the means of attack. Then suddenly they advanced and took the offensive. For more than ten days they and the Koryö men kept watch on one another. When night came on they pierced a steep place, and made a hollow way, along which they passed all the baggage wagons and prepared an ambush. At dawn the Koryö men thought to themselves :—"Kashihade no Omi and the others are stealing away." So they came in pursuit with their whole army. Then the troops in ambush, both horse and foot, were let go, and taking them from both sides, put them to a great rout. It was from this that the enmity between the two countries sprang. [By the two countries are meant Silla and Koryö.]

Kashihade no Omi and his colleagues spake to Silla, saying: —"Thou with the utmost weakness wert pitted against the utmost strength, and had it not been for the assistance of the Government[2] troops thou wouldst assuredly have been taken at a disadvantage and thy territory annexed. By this campaign be warned never in future to be disobedient to the Celestial Court."[3]

[1] In the original 日本府. The "Shukai" editor alters this to 官府 or official authorities, for no better reason than that the latter term is the one used in Kimmei's reign. 日本 occurs frequently after this time, no doubt being employed retrospectively. Probably the actual word used by the King of Silla was Wa.

[2] i.e. Japanese.

[3] It is difficult to say how much truth there is in this Corean episode. The "Tongkam" lends no corroboration. On the contrary the only notices of Japan which it contains about this time relate to Japanese descents on the Silla Coast. One is recorded in 459, one in 463, and one in 476. No unusual enmity between Silla and Koryö at this time is mentioned in the

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Katabu,[1] Ofushi Kahachi no Atahe, and an Uneme were sent to sacrifice to the Deity of Munagata.[2] Katabu and the Uneme, having arrived at the altar-place,[3] were about to perform the rites, when Katabu debauched the Uneme. When the Emperor heard this, he said :—"When we sacrifice to the Gods and invoke from them blessings, should we not be watchful over our conduct?" So he sent Naniha no Hidaka no Kishi to put him to death. But Katabu straightway took to flight, and was not to be found. The Emperor again sent Toyoho, Yuge[4] no Muraji, who searched the districts of that province far and wide, and at length caught and slew him at Awi[5] no hara, in the district of Mishima. A.D. 465. XIV. 26.

3rd month. The Emperor desired to chastise Silla in person, but a God warned him, saying :—"Go not." For this reason the Emperor did not carry out his intention of going, but gave orders to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, Soga no Karako no Sukune, Ohotomo no Katari[6] no Muraji, and Wokahi no Sukune, saying :—"Silla occupies the Western Land : age after age he has done us homage : he did not neglect visits of ceremony : his payment of tribute was duly discharged. But since We have come to rule the Empire, he has betaken himself beyond Tsushima, and concealed his traces outside of Chamna. He prevents Koryō from sending tribute, he devours the walled cities of Pèkché. Nay, more—his missions of ceremony to this court have been neglected and his tribute remains unpaid. With the savage XIV. 27.

"Tongkam." Nor does this narrative square very well with what is related below, xiv. 26, 27. I am inclined, nevertheless, to believe that it has a solid foundation of fact, only that the dates must be wrong.

From "having pierced" to "great rout" is copied mutatis mutandis from a Chinese history of the Wei period, reign of Wu Ti, and Kashihade no Omi's speech to the King of Silla is extracted from the same source.

[1] This curious name means "fragrance-giver."

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Kana rendering is Kamu-niha (divine courtyard), which is not exactly an altar, but a plot of ground set apart for the worship of the Gods. See above, p. 81, note 9.

[4] Bow-makers.

Awi is indigo, the Polygonum tinctorium.

[6] The Katari were reciters attached to the Court. Unfortunately we know very little about them, or what the subjects of their recitations were.

heart of the wolf he flies away when satiated, and sticks fast when starving. I appoint you four ministers to be generals. Take a royal army and chastise him. Let the punishment of Heaven be reverently executed."

Hereupon Ki no Woyumi no Sukune laid a complaint before the Emperor through Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy servant, although feeble and incompetent, will respectfully obey the Emperor's orders. But now thy servant's wife has departed this life, and there is nobody to take care of thy servant. Do Thou, my Lord, I beseech Thee, represent this matter fully to the Emperor." Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji represented it fully. When the Emperor heard this complaint, he uttered a sigh of pity. He took an Uneme from the hither province of Kibi, Ohomi[1] by name, and giving her to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, attached her to his person to take care of him. So at length he sent him off with a shove to his axle.

Ki no Woyumi no Sukune and the rest accordingly entered Silla, butchering as they went the districts along their way.
XIV. 28. The King of Silla heard by night on all sides the drums of the Government army, and becoming aware that they had completely conquered the land of Tok,[2] fled in confusion with several hundred cavalry. Thereby ensued a great defeat. Woyumi no Sukune pursued and slew the enemy's general in the midst of his army. The whole land of Tok was reduced to order, but there was a remainder which would not submit. Ki no Woyumi no Sukune again withdrew his troops, and having effected a junction with Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and the others, they again, with a great display of forces, fought with the remaining band. This evening Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and Ki no Okazaki no Kume no Muraji were both slain while fighting with all their might. Tsumaro, a follower of Katari no Muraji, of the same surname,[3] afterwards came amongst the army and asked for his master. He went along the ranks and sought for him, making inquiry, and saying:—"Where is my master, Lord Ohotomo?" Then some one informed him, saying:—

[1] Great sea.

[2] See above, p. 249, where it would seem that Tok was a part of Kara.

[3] Or title.

"Thy masters[1] have, indeed, been slain by the enemy," and pointed out to him the place where the dead bodies were. Tsumaro hearing this, leaped and exclaimed, saying:—"My master has fallen. What avails it that I alone should remain unhurt?" Accordingly he too went against the enemy, and in the same hour perished. Soon after, the rest of the band retired of their own accord, and the Government army also followed their example, and fell back. The general-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, fell ill and died.

Summer, 5th month. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, when he heard that his father was dead, forthwith proceeded to Silla, and taking from Wokahi no Sukune his command of horse, foot and ships, with the various lesser offices, exercised absolute XIV. 29. authority. Hereupon Wokahi no Sukune had a profound resentment towards Ohiha no Sukune and made a false report to Karako no Sukune, saying:—"Ohiha no Sukune has told thy servant, saying:—'Ere long I will take the command of Karako no Sukune from him too.' I pray thee be well on thy guard." In consequence of this there was a coolness between Karako no Sukune and Ohiha no Sukune. Upon this the King of Pèkché, hearing that there was a coolness between the commanders arising out of trifling causes, sent a man to Karako no Sukune and the others, saying:—"I wish to view the frontier of the land. I pray you be so kind as to come and join me." Herewith Karako no Sukune and the rest went on with bridle-bits in a line until they came to a river, when Ohiha no Sukune let his horse drink from the river. Then Karako no Sukune shot at Ohiha no Sukune from behind, and hit the hinder part of his saddle frame. Ohiha no Sukune looked round startled, and shot Karako no Sukune down into the mid stream, so that he died. So the three Omi, having from before this time been rivals with one another, fell out by the way, and returned back without having reached the Palace of the King of Silla.

Hereupon the Uneme, Ohomi, following the dead body of Woyumi no Sukune, arrived in Japan. She at length complained to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy handmaiden knows not where to bury him. I beseech thee let a good place be selected by divination." The Oho-

[1] *Sic* in original.

muraji accordingly reported to the Emperor, who gave command to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"The Commander-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, tossing his head like a dragon, and glaring like a tiger, surveying with extensive view the eight cords,[1] overwhelmed the rebellious, and dashed against the
XIV. 30 four seas.[2] So his body was worn out by ten thousand ri,[3] and his life succumbed in the three Han. To show Our compassion, let there be appointed officials to conduct his funeral. Thou, my Lord Ohotomo, art of the same province and a near neighbour of the Lords of Ki, so that thy connection with him is of old standing." Hereupon the Ohomuraji, having received the Emperor's commands, sent Wotori Hanishi[4] no Muraji to construct a tumulus at the village of Tamuwa, and bury him there. Upon this Ohomi, unable to contain herself for pleasure, sent to the Ohomuraji six Corean slaves named Muro, Te-maro, Oto-maro, Mi-kura, Wogura and Hari.[5] They are the Yake-bito[6] Be of the village of Kashimada in hither Kibi. Wokahi no Sukune came specially in attendance on Ki no Woyumi no Sukune's corpse. He remained, however, himself in the Land of Tsuno[7] and sent Yamato-ko no Muraji [it is not clear what was the surname of this Muraji[8]] with a present of an eight-hand mirror to Ohotomo no Ohomuraji to make a petition, saying:—"Thy servant cannot bear to serve the Celestial Court along with my Lord of Ki.[9] Therefore I beg permission to remain and reside in the Land of Tsuno." Upon this the Ohomuraji laid the matter before the Emperor on his behalf, and he was

[1] The eight cords, or measuring tapes, i.e. the eight quarters of the universe.

[2] The four seas are not put for Japan, but for the universe. All this bombast is copied from a Chinese book.

[3] i.e. by distant campaigning.

[4] The Hanishi were the clay-workers whose office it was to make the clay images which were set up round the tombs of the Emperors. His appointment was therefore an appropriate one. But although the office and the title sometimes coincided, as in this case, they had often nothing to do with each other. A few pages back we had a Katari no Muraji (Chief of the Reciters) and a Kashihade no Omi (Lord Steward) in command of troops in Corea.

[5] These names are Japanese. [6] Domestics. [7] In Suwō.

[8] This is a stupid note which the "Shukai" very properly rejects. In "Nihongi" language Yamato-ko no Muraji *is* the surname.

[9] i.e. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune.

allowed to remain and dwell in the Land of Tsuno. This was the beginning of the Tsuno no Omi first dwelling in the land of Tsuno, and being called Tsuno no Omi.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The province of Kahachi reported:—"The daughter of a man of the district of Asukabe named Hiakŭson, Tanabe no Fubito, was wife to a man named Kariu, Fumi no Obito, of the district of Furuchi. Hiakŭson, XIV. 31.

Clay Horse.

hearing that his daughter had given birth to a child, paid a visit of congratulation to his son-in-law's house. He came home by moonlight, and was passing at the foot of the Homuda[2] misasagi at Ichihiko hill, when he fell in with a horseman mounted on a red courser, which dashed along like the flight of

[1] Both Hiakŭson and Kariu are Chinese words. This story is apparently a report by one of the recorders whose appointment is mentioned above, p. 307.

[2] Ōjin Tennō.

a dragon, with splendid high springing action, darting off like a wild goose.[1] His strange form was of lofty mould; his remarkable aspect was of extreme distinction. Hiakŭson approached and looked at him. In his heart he wished to possess him, so he whipped up the piebald horse which he rode and brought him alongside of the other, head by head and bit by bit. But
XIV. 32. the red horse shot ahead, spurning the earth, and, galloping on, speedily vanished in the distance. Hereupon the piebald horse lagged behind, and, slow of foot, could not overtake the other. But the rider of the courser, knowing Hiakŭson's wish, stopped and exchanged horses with him, upon which they took leave of each other and separated. Hiakŭson, greatly rejoiced at obtaining such a steed, hastened home and placed him in the stable, where he took off his saddle, foddered him, and went to sleep. The next morning the red courser had become changed into a horse of clay. Hiakŭson, wondering at this in his heart, went back, and, making search at the Homuda misasagi, found the piebald horse standing among the clay horses. So he took it, and left in its stead the clay horse which he had received in exchange.[2]

A.D. 466. 10th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others arrived in Tsukushi with two geese presented by Wu. These geese were bitten by Minuma no Kimi's dog and died.

Another book says:—"These geese were bitten by a dog
XIV. 33. belonging to Nimaro, Tsukushi no Mine no Agata nushi, and died."

Hereupon Minuma no Kimi, unable to contain himself for fear and sorrow, presented to the Emperor ten large wild geese with bird-keepers, and begged that his offence might thus be compounded for. The Emperor granted his petition.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The bird-keepers presented by Minuma no Kimi were settled in two places, viz. the villages of Karu and Ihare.

[1] As usual, this *purpureus pannus* is copied from a Chinese author.

[2] The clay horses here referred to were of the kind described at p. 181 as having been substituted for the living horses previously sacrificed at the tomb. Some of these have been preserved, and specimens may be seen in the Museum at Uyeno, Tōkiō. The illustration represents one of these.

11th year, Summer, 5th month, 1st day. It was reported from the district of Kurimoto in the province of Ohomi that white cormorants dwelt on the shore at Tanagami. Orders were therefore given to establish toneri[1] of Kahase. A.D. 467.

Autumn, 7th month. There was a refugee from Pèkché who gave his name as Kwisin. It was also stated that Kwisin was a man of the Land of Wu. The Ihare no Kure[2] no Kotobiki and the Sakate no Yakata-maro are his descendants.

Winter, 10th month. A bird of the Bird-department was bitten by a dog belonging to a man of Uda and died. The Emperor was angry, and, branding him on the face, made him one of the Bird-keepers' Be. Hereupon some office coolies from the provinces of Shinano and Musashi, who were on night duty at the Palace, talked to one another, saying:—"Ah! In our country we pile up birds as high as a small tumulus and eat of them morning and evening, but still some are left. Now, for the sake of one bird, the Emperor has branded a man on the face. He is a very unjust and wicked master." The Emperor, hearing this, ordered them to gather and make a heap (of birds), and as the office coolies were unable to complete it on the spot, he commanded that they should be enlisted in the Bird-keepers' Be.[3] XIV. 34.

12th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and Haka-toko Hinokuma no Tamitsukahi went on a mission to Wu. A.D. 468.

Autumn, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor commanded the carpenter Mita of Tsuke ["Mita of Winabe,"[4] says one book—probably erroneously] to commence the erection of a lofty edifice. Hereupon Mita ascended this high building, and ran about nimbly on all sides as if he were flying. An Uneme of Ise looked up to the top of this high edifice and marvelled at his nimble movements, so that she fell down on her face in the courtyard, and upset a dish of meat which she was serving

[1] No doubt to take charge of the cormorants. Kahase, which means river-reach, may or may not be a proper name.

[2] Kure is the same as Wu, a part of China. Kotobiki means lute-player. It came to be a proper name.

[3] From which it would seem that the office coolies were of higher rank than the Bird-keepers.

[4] Winabe is the name of a place in Settsu. Tsuke is in Yamato.

to the Emperor. The Emperor forthwith suspected that Mita had debauched this Uneme, and conceiving to himself the thought of executing him, charged the Mononobe with this duty. At this time Hada no Sake[1] no Kimi was in attendance. He wished by the voice of his lute to make the Emperor understand, so placing his lute crosswise, and playing upon it, he said :—

XIV. 35.

Be there for five hundred years
Prosperity
To the maid of Ise
Of Ise
(Of the divine wind),
And until it is spent
Let me attend
With faithful service
On the Great Lord.
Let my life, too,
Be as long,
Said the carpenter,
The poor carpenter ![2]

Hereupon the Emperor understood the voice of the lute, and pardoned the offence.

A.D. 469. 13th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hadane no Mikoto, great-great-grandson of Saho-hiko,[3] secretly seduced the Uneme Yamanobe no Koshimako. When this came to the Emperor's ears, he gave Hadane no Mikoto in charge to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji, and made him call him to account for it. Hadane no Mikoto purged his offence by the payment of eight horses and eight swords, and then made a song, saying :—

For the sake of Koshimako,
Of Yamanobe,

---

[1] Sake is 酒 rice-beer. This person was, perhaps, a descendant of the Corean Prince Chhyu mentioned above, A.D. 353, and whose name is written with the same character. The word Hada, however, points to a Chinese ancestry. Hada is the Japanese traditional rendering of the character for T'sin, the Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Some commentators explain part of this poem differently. The metre is irregular.

[3] It is not clear why so remote a descendant of a Mikado should be called Mikoto.

Some one boasts that
The eight horses
Are not even to be grudged.

Me no Ohomuraji, hearing this, reported it to the Emperor, who made Hadane no Mikoto lay out his treasures on the ground at Tachibana moto [1] of Ichinobe in Yega. He ultimately took the village of Nagano in Yega, and gave it to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji.

Autumn, 8th month. There was a man of Miwikuma in the province of Harima called Ayashi no Womaro, who was strong of body and stout of heart, and did wanton outrage, committing robberies on the highways, and preventing traffic. He intercepted the boats of merchants and plundered them every one. He had also disobeyed the laws of the country by neglecting to pay his taxes. XIV. 36.

Hereupon the Emperor sent Ohoki, Kasuga no Wono no Omi, in command of one hundred soldiers who feared not death. They all together took torches, and having surrounded his house, set fire to it. Now from the midst of the flames there came forth furiously a white dog, which pursued Ohoki no Omi. This dog was as big as a horse. But the complexion of Ohoki no Omi's spirit did not change.[2] He drew his sword and slew it, whereupon it became changed into Ayashi no Womaro.

Autumn, 9th month. The carpenter, Mane, of the Wina Be, planed timber with an axe,[3] using a stone as ruler. All day long he planed, and never spoiled the edge by mistake. XIV. 37. The Emperor visited the place, and, wondering, asked of him, saying:—"Dost thou never make a mistake and strike the stone?" Mane answered and said:—"I never make a mistake!" Then the Emperor called together the Uneme, and made them strip off their clothing and wrestle in open view with only their waistcloths on. Hereupon Mane ceased for a while, and looked up at them, and then went on with his planing. But unawares he made a slip of the hand, and spoilt the edge

[1] Tachibana moto means "orange-stem, or orange-bottom," and possibly is to be taken here in this sense, and not as the name of a place.

[2] Here is the magician (world-wide) who can change himself into a beast, but on being wounded or killed is obliged to assume his natural form.

[3] The plane was apparently unknown.

of his tool. The Emperor accordingly rebuked him, saying:—"Where does this fellow come from that, without respect to us, he gives such heedless answers with unchastened heart?" So he handed him over to the Mononobe to be executed on the moor.

Now amongst his comrades there was a carpenter who lamented for Mane, and made a song, saying:—

The much to be regretted
Carpenter of Winabe—
The ink-cord he applied,—
When he is no more,
Who will apply it?
Alas! that ink-cord![1]

When the Emperor heard this song, his feelings changed to remorse, and he said with a sigh of regret:—"How many men I have destroyed!" So he mounted a messenger of mercy on a black horse of Kahi, and made him gallop to the place of execution to stop it and pardon him. The cords with which he was tied were unbound, and he, too, made a song, saying:—

As the night[2]
Black was the horse of Kahi—
Had they but saddled him,
XIV. 38. My life were lost—
Ah! that horse of Kahi!

Instead of "My life were lost," one book has, "He would not have arrived (in time)."

A.D. 470. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others, in company with envoys from the Land

[1] The ink-cord is a contrivance for ruling lines on wood, used to this day by Japanese carpenters. A cord is passed through a pot of ink and then drawn taut, and let go so as to strike the wood. A chalked line is sometimes used in the same way in this country. See illustration in "Transactions of Japan Society," Vol. II. p. 217. The metre of this poem is irregular, being a tanka with an additional line of seven syllables between the second and third.

[2] This is one of many explanations of the conventional epithet nubatama, applied to dark or black things.

of Wu, and bringing with them skilled workmen presented by Wu, viz. Aya weavers and Kure[1] weavers, as well as the seamstresses Ane-hime and Oto-hime, anchored in the harbour of Suminoye. In this month the Shihatsu highway was carried through as a road for the guests from Wu. It was called the Kure-saka.[2]

3rd month. The Emperor commanded the Omi and Muraji to go to receive the envoys from Wu. The men of Wu were accordingly settled on the moor of Hinokuma, which was therefore called Kure-hara.[3] The seamstress Ane-hime was presented to the God of Oho-Miwa, and Oto-hime was appointed to the Be of Aya seamstresses. The Aya weavers, the Kure weavers and the seamstresses—these were the founders of the Asuka Seamstresses' Be and of the Ise Seamstresses' Be.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor, wishing to make a feast for the men of Wu, asked the ministers, one after another, saying:—"Who will be the best man to keep them company at table?" The ministers all said:—"Ne no Omi will be the proper person." The Emperor accordingly gave command to Ne no Omi, and appointed him to keep them company in eating. Ultimately the men of Wu were entertained at Taka-nukuhara in Iso no Kami.[4] Now a Toneri was sent secretly XIV. 39.
to observe the ornamentation. The Toneri reported to the Emperor, saying:—"The jewel head-dress worn by Ne no Omi is very noble, and extremely lovely." Moreover, everybody said, "He also wore it before when he went to receive the men of Wu." Hereupon the Emperor, wishing to see it himself, gave orders to the Omi and Muraji, and made them present themselves before the hall in the dress which they wore at the banquet. The Empress looked up to Heaven and, with sobs and tears, lamented bitterly. The Emperor inquired of her, saying:—"Why weepest thou?" The Empress, leaving the

[1] For Aya and Kure the Chinese characters are 漢 and 呉, i.e. Han and Wu, the Chinese dynasties so called. But in this connection the Japanese render these names by Aya and Kure.

The "Shukai" editor has a note here to the effect that Han is Chang-an and Loh-yang, formerly capitals of Han; Wu is Chien-kang (Chien-yeh?), the Wu capital, near the present Nanking.

[2] Wu acclivity. [3] The plain of Wu. It is in Yamato.

[4] Yamato.

couch, answered him, saying:—"This jewel head-dress was presented on behalf of thy handmaiden by her elder brother, Prince Oho-kusaka, when, in obedience to the orders of the Emperor Anaho, he offered her to Your Majesty.[1] Therefore I conceived suspicion of Ne no Omi, and unawares shed tears and wept for grief." When the Emperor heard this he was astonished, and was very wroth. He pressed it sharply home to Ne no Omi, who replied, saying:—"I have deserved to die! I have deserved to die! Truly it is thy servant's fault." The Emperor commanded, saying:—"From this time forward let Ne no Omi, his children, his descendants, and his eighty connections have no concern with the order of Ministers of State." He was about to put Ne no Omi to death, but he ran away and hid himself. Arriving at Hine, he made a rice-castle, in which he stood on the defensive, but was ultimately slain by the Government forces. The Emperor ordered the officials to divide his descendants into two parts, one of which was constituted common people of the Oho-kusaka Be, and
XIV. 40. was allotted in fief to the Empress; the other part was given to the Chinu no Agata-nushi, and made sack-bearers. So having sought out a descendant of Hikaka, Naniha no Kishi,[2] a title was granted to him, and he was made Oho-kusaka Be no Kishi.

After matters had become quiet, Wone[3] no Omi [Wone no Omi was the son of Ne no Omi], when lying down at night, said to some one:—"The Emperor's castle is not strong; my father's castle is strong." These words came to the Emperor's ears. He sent a man to see Ne no Omi's house. It was really as had been said. Therefore he seized him and put him to death. Ne no Omi's descendants were made Sakamoto no Omi. From this they had their beginning.

A.D. 471. 15th year. The Hada House[4] was dispersed. The Omi and Muraji each enforced their services at pleasure, and would not allow the Hada no Miyakko to control them. Consequently Sake, Hada no Miyakko, made a great grievance of

[1] See above, p. 330. [2] See above, p. 331. [3] Wo means little.

[4] Hada. Several families of this name are mentioned in the "Seishiroku." They were believed to be descended from She Hwang-Ti, the celebrated Chinese Emperor of the T'sin dynasty, who reigned B.C. 221 to 209.

this, and took office with the Emperor. The Emperor loved and favoured him, and commanded that the Hada House should be assembled and given to Lord Sake of Hada. So this Lord, attended by excellent Be workmen of 180[1] kinds, XIV. 41. presented as industrial taxes fine silks, which were piled up so as to fill the Court. Therefore he was granted a title, viz. Udzu-masa. [Some say Udzumori masa, the appearance of all being piled up so as to fill.[2]]

16th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor ordered those A.D. 472. provinces and districts which were suitable for mulberry trees to plant mulberry trees. He again dispersed to other places the Hada House, and made them bring tribute of industrial taxes.

Winter, 10th month. The Emperor ordered the Aya Be to be brought together, and established their Tomo no Miyakko, granting him the title of Atahe.

One book says:—"Granted the Aya no Omi the title of Atahe."

17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. The Hanishi[3] no A.D. 473. Muraji were made to present pure vessels suitable for serving the Emperor's morning and evening meals. Hereupon Ake, the ancestor[4] of the Hanishi no Muraji, presented to the Emperor a Be of his private subjects of the village of Kusasa in the province of Settsu, of the villages of Uchi and Fushimi in the province of Yamashiro, of the village of Fuji-kata in the XIV. 42. province of Ise, and also from Tamba, Tajima and Inaba, and named them the Nihe[5] no Hanishi Be.

18th year, Autumn, 8th month, 10th day. The Mononobe A.D. 474. Ushiro no Sukune and the Mononobe Me no Muraji were sent to smite Ise no Asahi no Iratsuko. Asahi no Iratsuko, hearing of the approach of the Government troops, opposed them in battle at Awohaka[6] in Iga. Priding himself on his skill in archery, he addressed the Government army, saying:—"Who

[1] 180 is, of course, a fancy number.

[2] This is an attempt to connect this name with *tsumoru*, to be piled up.

[3] Potters.

[4] Ancestor here cannot mean founder of the House.

[5] Nihe means food; these potters were for the supply of the Emperor's table utensils.

[6] Green tumulus.

is a match for the hand of Asahi no Iratsuko? The arrow which he lets fly will pierce two thicknesses of armour." The Government troops were all afraid, and Ushiro no Sukune did not dare to advance to the combat. They awaited each other for two days and one night. Hereupon the Mononobe Me no Muraji armed himself with his sword, and making Oho-wono-te,[1] of the Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, take his shield and call out in the midst of the army, advanced along with him. Asahi no Iratsuko saw them from afar off, and shot an arrow through Oho-wono-te's shield and two-fold armour which at the same time entered the flesh of his body to the depth of
XIV. 43. an inch. Oho-wono-te screened with his shield the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, and Me no Muraji caught Asahi no Iratsuko and slew him. Accordingly Ushiro no Sukune, beside himself with shame, for seven days did not make his report to the Emperor. But the Emperor inquired of his Ministers in attendance, saying:—"Why does not Ushiro no Sukune make his report?" Now there was a man named Sanuki no Tamushi Wake who came forward and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Ushiro no Sukune is a coward. For the space of two days and one night he was unable to seize Asahi no Iratsuko. Then the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, taking with him Oho-wono-te, a Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, caught and slew Asahi no Iratsuko." When the Emperor heard this he was angry, and promptly taking away from Ushiro no Sukune his Be of Wina,[2] gave it to the Mononobe Me no Muraji.

A.D. 475. 19th year, Spring, 3rd month, 13th day. By Imperial command, the Anaho Be was established.[3]

A.D. 476. 20th year,[4] Winter. The "King of Koryö raised a great army and utterly smote Pèkché. There was but a small remnant left, which assembled and occupied Chhang-ha.[5] Their victuals became exhausted, and deep was hereupon the

[1] Great-axe-hand.

[2] The village of Wina-Be, in Ise, with its inhabitants.

[3] In memory of the Emperor Anaho.

[4] The "Tongkam" date is 475. We have now arrived at pretty exact chronology.

[5] 倉下. The traditional Kana renders this Hesu-oto—perhaps an attempt to reproduce the native Corean name.

weeping and lamentation. Upon this the Koryö generals addressed their King, saying:—"There is something extraordinary in the temper of Pèkché. Whenever thy servants observe them, they seem unaware of their own ruin. It is to be feared that they will again spread forth and revive. We pray that they may be at length got rid of." The King said:—"No! I, the unworthy one, have heard that the Land of Pèkché is under the jurisdiction of the Country of Japan, and that this connection is of old standing. It is also known to all the neighbouring countries that their King repairs to Japan and serves the Emperor." Ultimately it (the proposal to exterminate the Pèkché people) was abandoned. XIV. 44.

The Pèkché record says:—"King Kèro, year Kinoto U (475), Winter. A large army from Koryö came and besieged the great castle for seven days and seven nights. The Royal castle surrendered, and at length they destroyed Wi-nyé. The King, Queen, and Princes all fell into the hands of the enemy."

21st year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, hearing that Pèkché had been conquered by Koryö, gave Kuma-nari to King Munchu, and so lent aid to his country. The men of that day all said:—"The Land of Pèkché, though their race was destroyed, assembled and lamented at Chhang-ha. They with true hearts appealed to the Emperor, who restored their country." XIV. 45. A.D. 477.

King Munchu was King Kèro's younger brother by the mother's side. An ancient Japanese record says:—"The statement that Kumanari was given to King Mata[1] is probably an error. Kumanari is a separate village of the district of Lower Takori[2] in Imna."

[1] 末多. The Coreans call him 牟大, i.e. Mu-tè. He was Munchu's successor. The Traditional Kana has Arushi for 下, lower. The Corean for Lower is arè.

The syllable ko in this name is probably an error, as below (reign of Keidai), Upper Tari and Lower Tari are mentioned as districts. National vanity is a powerful stimulus to the mythopœic faculty, and the above narrative must be taken with a few grains of salt. But it is no doubt true in the main. The "Tongkam," which gives a short account of the war, says that Silla sent an army of 10,000 men to the assistance of Pèkché. Under the year 475 it records the removal of the Pèkché capital to Ung-

A.D. 478. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Shiraga was made Heir Apparent.

Autumn, 7th month. A man of Tsutsukaha in the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba, the child of Urashima of Midzunoye, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise,[1] which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached Hōrai San,[2] where they saw the genii. The story is in another Book.[3]

A.D. 479. XIV. 47. 23rd year, Summer, 4th month. King Munkeun[4] of Pèkché died.

chin. Now Ung-chin or Ung-chhön (熊津 or 熊川) was a town in Kyöng-syang-do, near the present Keumhè, and the meaning is Bear-port or Bear-river, evidently, therefore, the same with the Kuma-nari of the text. Kuma is for koma, the Corean word for bear, and nari is a dialectical or ancient form of năi (pronounced nè), river. It occurs above in the name of the river which the King of Silla swears by at p. 231. Ung-chin or Kuma-nari was in the Imna territory, the capital of which was Keumhè, then controlled by Japan, and it is not at all improbable that it should be ceded to Pèkché on this occasion.

The "Tongkam" mentions a Japanese descent on the eastern coast of Silla in 476. They were driven off with a loss of 200 men.

[1] Or turtle.

[2] "Mount Hōrai is the P'êng-Lai-Shan of the Chinese, one of the Three Isles of the Genii, which were believed to lie in the Eastern Sea, opposite to the coast of China. This happy group was the paradise of the Genii, who there maintained a sempiternal vigour by quaffing the waters of the fountain of life which flowed for them in a perpetual stream. The pine, the plum, the peach-tree, and the sacred fungus grow for ever upon its rocky shores; and the ancient crane builds its nest upon the giant limbs of its never-dying pine." Catalogue of Japanese paintings in the British Museum, Anderson, p. 224. See also Dickins' "Taketori-Monogatari," in the "R.A.S. Transactions." The "Manyōshiu," an ancient collection of Japanese poems, contains a beautiful version of this legend, which has been rendered into English verse by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," and of which a prose version may be found in my grammar of the Japanese written language. The Chinese and Japanese legendary lore associated with Hōrai San is of boundless extent.

The Interlinear Kana renders Hōrai San by Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, which is quite inadequate.

[3] The "Shukai" editor rejects this as an unauthorized addition.

[4] There is no Pèkché king of this name. King Sam-Keun (三斤), who died in this year (the month differs), is doubtless meant. The first

The Emperor summoned within the Palace Prince Mata (Mutè), the second of Prince Konchi's five sons, who was young in years, but intelligent. He himself stroked the Prince's face and head, and made a gracious decree, appointing him to reign over that country. He also gave him weapons, and at the same time furnished him with 500 soldiers of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. He became King Tong-syöng.[1]

This year, tribute was sent from Pèkché in excess of the regular amount.

Tsukushi no Achi no Omi and Umakahi no Omi, in command of a naval force, attacked Koryö.

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor took to his sick-bed, and was ill at ease. By an Imperial decree he committed rewards and punishments, together with financial matters, great and small alike, to the charge of the Prince Imperial.

8th month, 7th day. The Emperor's disease became more and more grave. He took leave of all the functionaries. He pressed all their hands with sobs and lamentations, and died in the Great Hall, having left command to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji and Yamato-Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"At the present time, the world is one household: smoke and fire are 10,000 ri distant:[2] the people are well-ordered: the four barbarians are submissive. This is by the will of Heaven, which desires to bestow peace throughout XIV. 48.

character 文 came in somehow from the name of the preceding King (文州) Munchu. The following is from the "Tongkam," IV. 32, under the date A.D. 477. "Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché appointed his eldest son Samkeun to be Heir Apparent. Hèku of Pèkché killed his Prince Munchu. The Heir Apparent Samkeun came to the throne. His age was thirteen. The military administration of the country was placed in entire charge of Hèku. Before this Hèku exercised authority in an arbitrary way, and corrupted the laws, cherishing feelings of disloyalty to his Prince. The King (Munchu) was unable to control him. Hereupon the King went hunting and stayed abroad for the night, and Hèku sent a robber who murdered him." Hèku was put to death in the following year.

In 479 we have the following:—"Winter, 11th month. King Samkeun of Pèkché died, and was succeeded by Mutè, son of King Munchu's younger brother Kônchi.

[1] East Castle, probably in allusion to the Eastern situation of Ungchin.

[2] War is far off.

the land. Therefore with careful mind inciting myself, I have been every day watchful for that day, for the sake of the people. The Omi, the Muraji and the Tomo no Miyakko daily attend the court: the Governors of provinces and of districts in due season assemble in court. How shall they not with their whole hearts diligently observe the Imperial decrees? In principle our relation is that of Prince and vassal, but in feeling it is also that of father and child. It was my hope that
XIV. 49 by the help of the wisdom of the Omi and Muraji the hearts of the people both in the capital and elsewhere might be rejoiced, and I desired long to preserve peace throughout the Empire. But unexpectedly disease has come upon me. It has rooted itself deeper and deeper, and has greatly increased. This is the common lot of humanity, and is not worth wasting words over.

But in the capital and in the country the clothing and caps have not yet attained to freshness and neatness: civilization and Government still remain short of perfection. When I begin to reflect on this, I am simply lost in chagrin. But it is now many years since I could be described as in the vigour of youth. My strength of body and of mind have together become worn out. What I now do is of course not for my own benefit, but solely from a desire to facilitate the nourishment of the people. Therefore is it that I do this. What one of the descendants of mankind is absent from my thought? For the sake of the Empire, private feelings should be severed. At the present time[1] Prince Hoshikaha cherishes treason in his heart. His conduct is wanting in friendliness towards (his brethren).[2] It has been said by a man of old:—'There is no one who knows the minister so well as his Lord: there is no one who knows the child so well as his father.' Even supposing that Hoshikaha should make up his mind to unite (with his brethren) in ruling the State, certain disgrace would come universally upon the Omi and Muraji, and a cruel poison overflow the nation. Now a bad
XIV. 50. descendant is to be dreaded for the people's sake: a good

[1] See p. 337.

[2] "His brethren" is not in the original, but there is an allusion to the Shooking (Legge, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 535), where the complete phrase is found.

descendant is sufficient to sustain the burden of the Great Task.[1] Although this is a matter concerning Our House, in principle it does not admit of concealment. The Ohomuraji and the officials of the Home Department are widespread and pervade the whole country: the Prince Imperial, who is in the position of becoming my successor, is known to the world for his benevolence and filial piety. His conduct is such that he is a sufficient person to carry out Our ideas. If along with him ye administer the Empire, even although Our eyes are closed, what room is there for repining?"[2]

In one book it is said:—"It is known to all the world that Prince Hoshikaha is of an evil disposition and of a violent heart. If unfortunately after Our death he should attempt to harm the Prince Imperial, ye and the officials of the Home Department are very numerous. Strive your utmost to render each other mutual aid, and let there be no contemptuousness."

At this time Oshiro, Kibi no Omi, General of the expedition against Silla, arrived at the province of Kibi, and passed by his house. Afterwards 500 Yemishi under his command, hearing of the Emperor's death, spoke to one another, saying:—"The Emperor who controls our country is dead. The opportunity should not be lost." So assembling themselves into a band, they invaded the neighbouring districts. Hereupon Oshiro came from his house, and meeting the Yemishi at Port Saba,[3] fought with them, and shot at the Yemishi. But some skipped and others lay down, thereby succeeding in avoiding the arrows. In the end he was unable to shoot them. Therewith Oshiro twanged his empty bow by the sea-shore, and of the skippers and skulkers two companies were shot to death.[4] Two cases of arrows were all used up. So he called to boatmen and asked them for arrows. But they were afraid, and of their own accord retired. Then XIV. 51.

[1] The sovereignty.

[2] This speech is copied, with some unimportant changes, from a passage in a Chinese History of the Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to the Emperor Kaotsu, who died A.D. 604, i.e. 125 years *after* the death of Yūriaku.

[3] In Suwō.

[4] Chinese legend mentions archers so skilful that they could shoot birds and beasts without any arrows whatever.

Oshiro set up his bow, and taking it by the end, made a song, saying :—

On the way he met them,
The Boy of Oshiro !
It is in Heaven only that
Unheard of he will be,
For on Earth at least
He will be heard of.

Having finished this song, he slew many men with his own hand and pursued them on as far as Port Uragake in the Land
XIV. 52. of Tamba, where they were all massacred.

One book says :—" He pursued them as far as Uragake, and then sent men who slew them all."

BOOK XV.

THE EMPEROR SHIRAGA[1]-TAKE-HIRO-KUNI-OSHI-WAKA-YAMATO-NEKO.

(*SEINEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Shiraga-take-hiro-kuni-oshi-waka-Yamato-neko was the third child of the Emperor Ohohatsuse-waka-take. His mother's name was Katsuraki no Kara-hime. The Emperor's hair was white[3] from his birth. When he grew up to manhood, he loved the people. The Emperor Ohohatsuse had a special admiration for him amongst all his children, and in the 22nd year of his reign appointed him Prince Imperial. The Emperor Ohohatsuse died in the 8th month of the 23rd year of his reign. Then Kibi no Waka-hime secretly addressed the Imperial Prince, the younger son Hoshikaha, saying:—"If thou dost desire to ascend to the Imperial rank, do thou first of all take the office of the Treasury." The eldest son, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, hearing this advice of the Lady his mother to her younger son, said:—"Although the Prince Imperial is my younger brother, why should he be betrayed? This thing should not be done." But Prince Hoshikaha would not give ear. He rashly followed the advice of the Lady his mother. Finally he took possession of the Treasury, and locked the outer door, therewith making provision against XV. 2.

[1] Shiraga means white hair. The "Kojiki" gives his name as Shiraga no oho-Yamato-neko.

[2] Seinei, pure and tranquil.

[3] The same thing is related of the Chinese philosopher Laotze and other Chinese worthies.

disaster. He exercised arbitrary authority, and squandered the official property. Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji spake to Yamato no Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"The time has now come when the dying injunctions of the Emperor Ohohatsuse are to be fulfilled. It is meet that we should comply with them and do service to the Prince Imperial." So they raised an armed force and besieged the Treasury. They blockaded it from without, and setting fire to it, roasted to death the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha. At this time Kibi no Waka-hime, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, Anikimi,[1] his elder brother by a different father, and Ki no Okazaki no Kume[2] were roasted to death along with him. Then Wone, the Agata-nushi of Mino in Kahachi, in trepidation and alarm, burst away from the fire and made his escape. He embraced the legs of Ayahiko, Kishi of Kusakabe, and through him begged his life of the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, saying:—"Thy slave Wone, the Agata-nushi, was the faithful servant of the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, but yet he was not rebellious towards the Prince Imperial. He prays that a generous mercy be accorded him, and a human life spared. Accordingly Ayahiko represented this fully to Ohotomo, the Ohomuraji, on his behalf, and he was not entered in the rank of those who were executed. Wone thereupon made representation to the Ohomuraji through Ayahiko, saying:—"My Lord Ohotomo the Ohomuraji, owing to thy great mercy bestowed on me, my life, which was in imminent danger, has been continued and lengthened so that I can see the light of day." So he hastened to present to the Ohomuraji ten chō of
XV. 3. rice-land at Ohowido in the village of Kume in Naniha. He also presented rice-land to Ayahiko as a return for the favour shown him.

In this month, the Omi of the upper province of Kibi, hearing of the disturbances at the Court, wished to aid their uterine brother, the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, and came floating over the sea with a fleet of forty war vessels. When they arrived they heard of the roasting to death, and went away again without landing. The Emperor straightway sent

[1] Or Ye-kimi. This name means elder Lord.

[2] Probably for Kume no Muraji.

messengers to call the Omi[1] of Upper Kibi to an account, and to deprive them of the mountain Be of which they had control.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, attended by the Omi and Muraji, delivered to the Prince Imperial the Seal.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Emperor, by command to the officials, prepared an arena at Mikakuri in Ihare, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity. He at length established his Palace, and honoured Katsuraki no Kara-hime with the title of Grand Consort.[2] The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, was made Ohomuraji, and the Oho-omi of Matori in Heguri was made Oho-omi, so that both were continued in their former positions. The Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko each took the rank belonging to their several offices. A.D. 480.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor Ohohatsuse was buried in the misasagi on the Takawashi plain in Tajihi. At this time the Hayato lamented night and day beside the misasagi, and refused the food which was offered them. Seven days passed, and then they died. The officials constructed a mound to the north of the tumulus, where they were buried with due ceremony. This was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle. XV. 4.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor, vexed that he had no children, sent the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, to the provinces, and established the Be of Shiraga no Toneri,[3] the Be of Shiraga no Kashihade,[4] and the Be of Shiraga no Yugehi,[5] in the hope of leaving a trace which might be seen of posterity. A.D. 481.

Winter, 11th month. For the purpose of the offerings of the feast of first-fruits, Wodate, of the Be of Kume of Iyo, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji and Governor of Harima, was sent thither. In the new muro of Hosome, Miyakko

[1] No doubt the Yamamori Be or Mountain wardens mentioned in the reign of Ōjin

[2] Kara-hime, not having been Empress, could not be appointed Grand Empress like other Imperial relicts.

[3] Attendants. [4] Stewards.

[5] Lit. quiver-bearers, or archers, a part of the Imperial Guard. The "Kojiki" mentions only a Shiraga Be.

of the Oshinomi Be and Obito of the granary of Shijimi in the district of Akashi, he saw Ohoke and Woke, sons of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe. He took them together reverently to his bosom, recognized them as his lords, and attended to their nurture with extreme care. From his own private income he arranged for the construction of a palace of brushwood, in which he lodged them temporarily, and
XV. 5. mounting a swift steed, hastened to inform the Emperor. The Emperor was astonished, and after exclaiming for a good while, he said with emotion:—"Admirable! Delightful! Heaven in its bountiful love has bestowed on us two children." In this month he sent Wodate with a token of authority, and some of the Toneri in attendance on him, to Akashi to meet them (and escort them back).

The story[1] is given in the history of the Emperor Woke.

A.D. 482. 3rd year, 1st month, 1st day. Wodate and his companions arrived in the province of Settsu, escorting Ohoke and Woke. Then Omi and Muraji were sent, with emblems of authority and a royal green-canopied carriage,[2] to meet them and bring them into the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and Prince Woke was made an Imperial Prince.

Autumn, 7th month. Regina (princess) Ihitoyo primum coivit cum marito in Palatio Tsunuzashi. Dixit alicui:—"Nunc aliquantum cognovi viam feminarum. Quid habet mirum in se? Non sum cupida unquam rursus coëundi cum viro." [It is not clear that she had a husband at this time.]

9th month, 2nd day. The Omi and Muraji were sent on circuit to inspect the manners and customs.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. An edict was made prohibiting dogs, horses, and playthings from being offered to the Emperor.[3]

XV. 6. 11th month, 18th day. The Omi and Muraji were feasted in the Great Court, and received presents of floss-silk. They

[1] See below, XV. 8, also Ch. K., p. 328.

[2] This is purely Chinese. Motowori says that no such vehicles were ever known in Japan.

[3] These same words are found in a History of the Chinese Sui Dynasty, under the year 581 A.D.

were all allowed to take as much as they pleased themselves, and they went forth exerting their utmost strength.

In this month, the various outlying provinces beyond the sea all sent envoys with tribute.

4th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The envoys of the various outlying provinces beyond the sea were feasted in the Audience Hall, and received presents of various values. A.D. 483.

Summer, Intercalary 5th month. There was a national drinking festival, which lasted five days.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Emperor personally held an inspection[2] of prisoners. On this day the Yemishi and Hayato together rendered homage.

9th month, 1st day. The Emperor was present in the Hall of Archery. He invited the functionaries and the envoys from beyond the sea to join in the shooting. Each received presents varying in value.

5th year, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor died in the Palace. His years were many.[3] A.D. 484.

Winter, 11th month, 9th day. He was buried in the misasagi on the Sakato plain in Kahachi.

THE EMPEROR WOKE. XV. 7.

(*KENZŌ*[4] *TENNŌ*.)

The Emperor Woke (otherwise called Kume no Wakako) was the grandchild of the Emperor Ohoye[5] no Izaho-wake and son of the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha. His mother's name was Hayehime.

[1] The History of the Chinese Emperor Ming Ti (58—75 A.D.) has mention of a great drinking festival lasting five days.

[2] Williams says that 錄 in this phrase means "to release." No doubt the object was to release such as were deserving of pardon.

[3] His age is reckoned variously by other authorities at thirty-nine and forty-one.

[4] Illustrious ancestry.

[5] His name is not given elsewhere with the prefix Ohoye, which means "great elder brother."

In the 'Genealogy' it is said:—"The Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe took to wife Hayehime, daughter of Ari no Omi, and at length had by her three sons and two daughters. The first was named Winatsu hime, the second Prince Ohoke, also called Shima no Wakako, also called Ohoshi no Mikoto, the third was named Prince Woke, also called Kume no Wakako, the fourth was named Princess Ihitoyo, also called Princess Oshinomibe, and the fifth Prince Tachibana. In one book Princess Ihitoyo is ranked above Prince Ohoke. Ari no Omi was the son of Hada no Sukune."

The Emperor, having lived for a long time on the borders, was thoroughly acquainted with the miseries of the people, and whenever he saw them oppressed, he felt as if his own four members were plunged in a ditch. He dispensed virtuous influence, he bestowed blessings; the regulations of government were everywhere enforced; charity was shown to the poor, and the husbandless were supported. The Empire rendered him cordial allegiance.

In the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Emperor Anaho, the Emperor's father,[1] the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha was slain, together with the Toneri, Saheki be no Nakachiko,
XV. 8. by the Emperor Ohohatsuse on the moor of Kaya.[2] They were accordingly buried in the same grave. Thereupon the Emperor[3] and Prince Ohoke, hearing that their father had been shot to death, were afraid, and both escaped and hid themselves. The Toneri, Omi, Kusakabe no Muraji [Omi is the personal name of Kusakabe no Muraji], with his son Adahiko, secretly served the Emperor and Prince Woke, so that they avoided disaster by fleeing to the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. Omi at length changed his name and called himself Tatoku, but being still afraid of being put to death, he fled from this place to a cave in Mount Shijimi in the province of Harima. There he strangled himself. The Emperor, being still ignorant whither Omi had gone, urged his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, to turn his steps towards the district of Akashi in the province of Harima. There they both changed their names to Tamba

[1] i.e. Emperor Woke's father. [2] See above, p. 336.
[3] Woke is meant.

no Waraha,[1] and entered the service of the Obito of the Shijimi granaries.

The Obito of the Shijimi granaries was Hosome Oshinomi Be no Miyakko.

Adahiko at this time did not leave them, but remained constant to his duty as their vassal.

In Winter, the 11th month of the 2nd year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, the Governor of the province of Harima, Wodate Iyo no Kumebe, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji, went to the district of Akashi to make arrangements in person for the offerings of the festival of first-fruits.

One writing says:—"Went on a circuit to the kohori and agata[2] to collect the land tax."

It so happened that he arrived just when the Obito of the XV. 9.
granaries of Shijimi was holding a house-warming for a new muro and was extending the day by adding to it the night. Hereupon the Emperor spake to his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, saying:—"Many years have passed since we fled hither to escape ruin. It belongs to this very evening to reveal our names and to disclose our high rank." Prince Ohoke exclaimed with pity:—"To make such an announcement ourselves would be fatal. Which of us could keep safe his person and avoid danger?" The Emperor said:—"We, the grandsons of the Emperor Izahowake, are a man's drudges, and feed his horses and kine. What better can we do than make known our names and be slain?" At length he and Prince Ohoke fell into each other's arms and wept, being unable to contain their emotion. Prince Ohoke said:—"In that case who else but thou, my younger brother, is capable of making a heroic effort, and is therefore fit to make this disclosure?" The Emperor refused firmly, saying:—"Thy servant has no ability. How can he make so bold as to display virtuous action?" Prince Ohoke said:—"There are here none to excel my younger brother in ability and wisdom." And in this way they mutually held back each in favour of the other for two or three times. It was ultimately arranged, with the Emperor's consent, that he should make the announcement. Together they XV. 10.
went to the outside of the muro and sat down in the lowest

[1] The boys of Tamba. [2] Districts.

place. The Obito of the granary ordered them to sit beside the cooking-place and hold lights to right and left. When the night had become profound, and the revel was at its height, and every one had danced in turn, the Obito of the granary addressed Wodate, saying:—"Thy servant observes that these light-holders honour others, and abase themselves; they put others before, and themselves behind. By their respectfulness they show their observance of just principles; by their retiring behaviour they illustrate courtesy. They are worthy of the name of gentlemen." Upon this Wodate played on the lute and gave orders to the light-holders, saying:—"Get up and dance." Then the elder and younger brothers declined in each other's favour for a good while and did not get up. Wodate urged them, saying:—"Wherefore all this delay? Get up quickly and dance." Prince Ohoke got up and danced. When he had done, the Emperor stood up in his turn, and having adjusted his dress and girdle, proposed a health for the Muro, saying:—

The Dolichos roots[1] of the new muro which he has upbuilt;
The pillars which he has upbuilt—
These are[2] the calm of the august heart of the master of the house:
The ridge-poles which he has raised aloft—
These are the grove[3] of the august heart of the master of the house:
The rafters which he has set—
These are the perfect order of the august heart of the master of the house:
The laths which he has placed—
These are the fairness of the august heart of the master of the house:

[1] The Dolichos roots present a difficulty. They are better known for yielding a starchy food like arrowroot than as material for house-building. The stems are mentioned below. Another objection is that their introduction here spoils the symmetry of the composition, which though not exactly poetry, is something closely verging on it. I would prefer to omit the words "Katsura ne tsuki-tatsuru" of the original, so that the first two lines would become only one, viz.—

"The pillars of the new muro which he has upbuilt."

[2] i.e. represent.

[3] Grove. The commentators say this means shigeki, thick, which in Japanese is a metaphor for cordial, hearty, kind.

The Dolichos cords which he has tied—[1]
These are the endurance of the august life of the master of the house :
The reed-leaves it is thatched with—
These are the superabundance of the august wealth of the master of the house : XV. 11.

On all sides [2] (of it) there are fields of fresh culture :
With the ten-span rice-ears,
Of these fresh fields,
In a shallow pan
We have brewed sake.
With gusto let us drink it,
O my boys !
Whenever we dance
Uplifting the horns of a buck [3]
Of these secluded hills
(Weary to the foot)
Sweet sake from Yega market-town
Not buying with a price,
To the clear ring of hand-palms
Ye will revel,[4]
Oh ! my immortal ones ! [5]

When he had ended proposing this health, he sang to the accompaniment of music, saying :—

* * * * [6]

The willow that grows by the river—

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[1] i.e. tied the laths (of sedge) to the uprights of the walls, which were then plastered with a mixture of mud and straw. The firmness with which they were tied represents the endurance of the master's life.

[2] In this passage, as in the well-known poem attributed to Susa no wo, I have ventured to render idzumo as equal to idzukumo, on all sides, although without native authority.

[3] Animal dances, in which the performer represented a deer, wild boar, butterfly, bird, etc., were common in ancient Japan. The Shishi mai, or lion-dance, danced by two boys, one of whom wears a grotesque mask supposed to represent a lion, and the other supports the body, made of cotton stuff, may still be seen in the streets.

[4] The word for "revel" is uchi-age, which means literally to strike up. But the uchi (strike) must also be taken with "hand-palms" in the sense of "clapping."

[5] A way of saying, "May you live for ever !" In this passage the author had in mind a speech in Japanese, the original language of which, although mainly expressed by Chinese ideographs, can be conjectured with some degree of certainty.

[6] The first line of this poem contains the single word Ina-mushiro, "sleep-

When the water has gone,
It raises up (its stem that was) bent down,
And its roots perish not.

Wodate addressed him, saying:—"Capital! Pray let us hear something more."

The Emperor at length made a special dance,

This is what was anciently called a Tatsutsu (stand out) dance. The manner of it was that it was danced while standing up and sitting down.

and striking an attitude, said:—

Of Yamato,
Soso chihara
Asachihara[1]
The younger Prince am I.

XV. 12. Hereupon Wodate thought this profoundly strange, and asked him to say more. The Emperor, striking an attitude, said:—

The sacred cedar[2]
Of Furu in Isonokami—[3]
Its stem is severed,
Its branches are stripped off.
Of him who in the Palace of Ichinobe
Governed all under Heaven,[4]
The myriad Heavens,
The myriad lands—
Of Oshiha no Mikoto
The august children are we.[5]

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ing-mat" (a rice straw mat), a conventional epithet or makura-kotoba of kaha, skin, perhaps because the Japanese used skins for sleeping on at one time. It has, properly speaking, nothing to do with kaha, river, but the unexpected conjunction is witty—from a Japanese point of view. The allusion to the position of the two Princes is plain.

[1] Chihara, or as it may be read Ashihara, means reed plain, a poetical term for Japan. *So so* is interpreted as an onomatope representing the rustling of reeds. *Asa* is shallow, and asachihara is said to be a plain on which the reeds grow short. The speech (or poem) is a (no doubt with intention) mysteriously worded announcement of Woke's rank as an Imperial Prince.

[2] The sugi or Cryptomeria Japonica.

[3] In Yamato. [4] He never reigned. See above, p. 336.

[5] There is hardly any metre here. This passage is just on the border line between poetry and prose.

Wodate was greatly astonished. He left his seat, and, vexed with himself,[1] made repeated obeisance to them. He undertook to provide for them, and brought his people to prostrate themselves reverently. Then he levied all the inhabitants of that district, and in a few days built a palace, in which the Princes were temporarily lodged. Going up to the capital, he asked that some one should be sent to meet the two Princes. The Emperor Shiraga was rejoiced to hear this, and exclaimed, saying:—"We have no children; we must make them our successors." Along with the Oho-omi and the Ohomuraji, he settled on a plan within the forbidden precinct.[2] So Kumebe no Wodate, the Governor of Harima, was sent with emblems of authority, and accompanied by personal attendants of the Emperor, to go to meet them at Akashi. In Spring, the 1st month of the third year of the Emperor Shiraga, the Emperor,[3] with Prince Ohoke, arrived at the province of Settsu, where Omi and Muraji were sent with emblems of authority XV. 13. and a Royal green-canopied carriage to meet them and bring them into the Palace. In Summer, the 4th month, Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and the Emperor was raised to the rank of Imperial Prince.

In Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign, the Emperor Shiraga died. In this month the Prince Imperial Ohoke and the Emperor ceded to each other the Dignity, and for a long time did not occupy it. Therefore the Emperor's elder sister,[4] the Imperial Princess Awo of Ihi-toyo, held a Court and carried on the Government in the Palace of Tsunuzashi in Oshinomi, styling herself Oshinomi no Ihitoyo no Awo no Mikoto. A poet of that day made a song, saying:—

In Yamato
What I long to see
Is the Tsunuzashi Palace
In this Takaki[5]
Of Oshinomi.

Winter, 11th month. Ihitoyo, Awo no Mikoto died. She was buried in the misasagi on the Hill of Haniguchi in Katsuraki.

[1] For the neglect shown to the Princes.
[2] A Chinese term for the Palace.
[3] Viz. Woke.
The "Kojiki" makes her his maternal aunt.
Takaki means high castle, but is here the name of a place.

12th month. There was a great assembly of the officials, at which the Prince Imperial Ohoke took the Imperial Seal, and placing it on the seat occupied by the Emperor, did him repeated obeisance. He then took his place among the Ministers, and said :—" This rank of Emperor should be occupied by a man possessed of merit. The disclosure of our rank, and our being sent for by the late Emperor, is all a result of the policy of my younger brother. I resign the Empire in his favour." The Emperor, on the other hand, resigned it on the grounds that as a younger brother he might not presume to assume the Dignity, and also because he was aware that the Emperor Shiraga had appointed his elder brother Prince Imperial with the previous purpose of transmitting it to him.
XV. 14. For these two reasons he firmly declined, saying :—" When the sun and moon appear, is it not impossible that a candle should not give way before their radiance? When a seasonable rain falls, is it not superfluous trouble to go on watering from a pond?[1] The conduct which should be esteemed by him who is in the position of a younger brother is to serve his elder brother by devising methods of averting from him disaster, to illustrate virtue, and to unravel complications without putting himself forward. For if he puts himself forward, he will be wanting in the reverence which is due from a younger brother. Woke cannot bear to put himself forward.[2] It is an immutable law that the elder brother should be affectionate and the younger brother reverent. So I have heard from our elders. How can I of myself alone make light of it?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke said :—" The Emperor Shiraga, by reason of my being the elder brother, at first assigned to me all the affairs of the Empire. But I am ashamed to accept it. Now the great Prince's conduct is established in beneficial retirement,[3] so that those who hear him utter sighs of admiration.

[1] From " When " to " pond " is taken from a Chinese book.

[2] From " The conduct " to " forward " is imitated from a passage in the " Liki."

[3] He probably makes allusion to the Yih-king, Diagram xxxiii. Sect. 6, which is thus translated by Legge: " The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect." This means, perhaps, that his modest behaviour proves that his reign will be beneficial to the people.

He has displayed the qualities of an Imperial scion, so that all who see him let fall tears. The pitiable gentry will rejoice to bear the gladness of sustaining the Heavens: the wretched black-haired people will be delighted to enjoy the happiness of treading the earth. Therewith the four corners of the earth will be made solid, so as to flourish perpetually to ten thousand ages. His meritorious work will approach that of creation; XV. 15
his honest policy will illuminate the age. How pre-eminent! How recondite! Words fail me to describe. How shall I, albeit his elder, put myself forward before him? If, having no merit, I should accept the throne, self-reproach would surely be the result. I have heard that the office of Emperor ought not to remain long vacant, and that the will of Heaven should not be evaded out of humility. Let the Great Prince make the Temples of the Earth and of Grain his thought, and let him make the people his heart." As he uttered these words, his earnest emotion led him to shed tears. Upon this the Emperor saw that if he persisted in his refusal to come forward, he would be[1] acting contrary to his elder brother's wishes, and gave his consent. But he would not take his place on the Imperial throne. The world was rejoiced to see how well they sincerely yielded in each other's favour, and said:—"Excellent! With such good feeling between elder and younger brother, the Empire will tend to virtue: with such love between relations, the people will stimulate benevolence."

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Oho-omi and the A.D. 485.
Ohomuraji made a representation to the Emperor, saying:—
"The Prince Imperial Ohoke, out of the abundance of his XV. 16.
wisdom, has delivered over the Empire. Your Majesty, in his rightful governance, ought to accept the vast inheritance, and thus becoming the Lord of the Temple of Heaven, to continue the infinite line of his ancestors, so as, above, to correspond to the mind of Heaven, and, below, to satisfy the hopes of the people. To refuse to enter upon the Dignity would be to cause the destruction of the hopes of all the Gold and Silver[2] frontier lands, and of all the functionaries both far and near. It belongs

[1] The "Nihongi" introduces a 不 (not) here. The "Kiujiki" reading seems preferable, and I have followed it in the translation.

[2] Corea is called the gold and silver country at p. 221.

to you by the will of Heaven, and has been ceded to you by the Prince Imperial. Your wisdom is abundant, and your good fortune conspicuous. While young you were diligent, humble, respectful, affectionate and docile. May it please you to comply with the command of your elder brother, and take over the conduct of the great undertaking." The Emperor made an order, saying :—" Be it so." Accordingly he summoned the Ministers of State and the functionaries to the Yatsuri Palace in Hither Asuka, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the functionaries entered upon office, to the great delight of all.

XV. 17. One book says the Emperor Woke had two palaces, one at Wono, the other at Ikeno. Another book says that he made his palace at Mikakuri.

In this month, Princess Wono of Naniha was appointed Empress, and a general amnesty was made.

Princess Wono of Naniha was the daughter of Prince Wakugo of Oka, grandson of Prince Ihaki, who was the great-grandson of the Emperor Wo-asatsuma-wakugo no Sukune.

2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor spoke, saying :—" The late Prince, having met with much misfortune, lost his life on a desert moor. We were then a child, and fled away and concealed Ourselves. Then, by a piece of undeserved good fortune, We were sought out and sent for, and were raised up to continue the Great Work. We have searched for his honoured bones far and wide, but there is no one who can tell where they are." Having finished speaking, the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke burst into tears of passionate emotion, which they could not control.

In this month the Emperor summoned together the old people, and in person made inquiry of them one after another. Now there was one old woman who came forward and said :— " Okime knows where the honoured bones were buried, and begs permission to point out the place to the Emperor."

Okime was the old woman's name. It is stated below that the younger sister of Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, ancestor of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki in the province of Ohomi, was called Okime.

Thereupon the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke,

aking with them the old woman, made a progress to the moor of Kaya in Kutawata in the province of Ohomi, where they dug them up, and found that it was really as the old woman had said. Looking down into the grave, they made lament, and their words showed deep and passionate feeling. From antiquity until now never was there anything so cruel. The XV. 18.
body of Nakachiko[1] lay across the honoured bones, and were mixed with them so that it was impossible to distinguish them from one another. Then there appeared the nurse of the Imperial Prince Ihazaka, who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"The upper teeth of Nakachiko had fallen out, so that by this they can be distinguished." But although they were able, in accordance with the nurse's words, to distinguish the skulls, they never succeeded in separating the bones of the four members. Accordingly a pair of misasagi were erected on the moor of Kaya resembling each other, so that they seemed but one. The funeral rites also were alike. The Emperor ordered the old woman, Okime, to live in the neighbourhood of the palace, where he treated her with respect and showed her kindness, not allowing her to be in want.

In this month he made an order, saying:—"Old woman! thou art desolate and infirm, and walking is not convenient for thee. Let there be a rope stretched across to support thee when thou goest out and comest in. And let there be a bell attached to the end of the rope, so that there may be no need for any one to announce thee. When thou comest, ring this bell, and we shall know that thou art coming." Herewith the old woman, in obedience to the Imperial order, rang the bell before she came forward. The Emperor, hearing from afar the sound of the bell, made a song, saying:—

Past Wosone,
In Asajihara,
The far-extending { moor ! / bell }
There the bell tinkles !
Okime must be coming ![2]

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[1] See above, XIV. 5.

[2] The point of this poem is not to be expressed in English. It rests on the similarity of the first syllable of nute, bell, with nu, a moor, which must be read twice in different senses. The first half of the poem takes nu in the latter sense. With the latter half it is only the first syllable of *nute*.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent[1] (the 2nd). The Emperor went to the Park, and there held revel by the winding streams.

XV. 19. Summer, 4th month, 11th day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"The means by which a sovereign encourages the people is no other than the granting of office: that by which a country is exalted is naught else but the granting of rewards for merit. Now the former Governor of Harima, Kumebe no Wodate [his other name was Ihadate], sought Us out, came to meet Us, and raised Us up. His merit is manifold. Let him not hesitate to express his wishes." Wodate thanked the Emperor, saying:—"The mountain office[2] has always been my desire." He was appointed to the mountain office, and a new title was granted him, viz. the House of the Yamabe no Muraji.[3] Kibi no Omi was associated with him, and the Yamamori Be were made their serfs. The Emperor praised his good qualities, made conspicuous his deserts, showed gratitude for his services, requited his kindness, and treated him with the utmost affection. His prosperity was unequalled.

5th month. Karabukuro no Sukune, Kimi of Mount Sasaki, who was implicated in the assassination of the Imperial Prince Oshiha, when about to be executed, bowed down his head to the ground, and his words expressed extreme sorrow. The Emperor could not bear to put him to death, so he added him to the misasagi guardians, making him at the same time mountain-warden,[4] and erasing his name from the census registers. He was then handed over to the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.[5]

[1] This unusual way of designating the day of the month suggests that a different document is here quoted from.

[2] i.e, Warden of the Mountains, or, as we should say, "Woods and Forests." It included the charge of game.

[3] Muraji of the Mountain Be.

[4] Game-keeper

[5] The erasure of his name from the register was on account of his being attached to the service of the misasagi; the mountain wardenship placed him under the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.

May not these guardians of the Imperial tombs have been among the ancestors of the Eta or Hinin, a pariah caste (abolished by the revolution of 1868), who lived in villages by themselves, and did not intermarry with or have any social intercourse with other Japanese? They followed the occupations of leather-dressers, shoemakers, buriers of dead animals,

But Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, by reason of the good services of his younger sister, Okime, was granted his original title, namely, the House of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki.

6th month. The Emperor visited the Hall of Avoidance of the heat, and had music there. The Ministers were assembled, and a banquet was prepared for them. XV. 20.

This year was the year Kinoto Ushi (2nd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (2nd). A.D. 486. The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams. At this time he assembled in great numbers the Ministers, the High Officials, the Omi, the Muraji, the Kuni no Miyakko, and the Tomo no Miyakko, and made revel. The Ministers uttered reiterated cries of "Long live the Emperor." [1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed the Prince Imperial Ohoke, saying:—"Our father the late Prince was, for no crime, slain with an arrow shot by the Emperor Oho-hatsuse, and his bones cast away on a moor. Even until now, I have been unable to get hold of him, and my bosom is filled with indignation. I lie down to weep, and as I walk abroad I cry aloud. It is my desire to wash away the disgrace cast on us by our enemy. Now, I have heard that no one should live under the same Heaven as his father's enemy, that no one should lay aside arms against the enemy of his brother, that no one should dwell in the same country with the enemy of his comrade. Even the son of a common man, rather than serve with the enemy of his parents, sleeps on a coarse mat, and making a pillow of his buckler, refuses office. He will not dwell in the same country as his enemy, but whenever he meets him, in market or in Court, will not lay aside his weapon until he has encountered him in combat. Much more I who, two years ago, was raised to the rank of XV. 21. Son of Heaven! It is my desire to demolish his misasagi,

executioners, and watchmen of cemeteries. The name Hinin (not-man) accords well with the circumstance mentioned here of their names being erased from the census registers. They were supposed to belong to the service of the dead, and no longer to be reckoned with the living.

Most of the misasagi had from one to five guardians' houses allotted to them.

[1] Ban-zai or Man-zai, lit. 10,000 years. This term is still in use.

to crush his bones, and fling them broadcast. Would it not be a filial act to take revenge in this way?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke could hardly answer for sighing and sobbing. He remonstrated with the Emperor, saying:—"It is not well to do so. The Emperor Oho-hatsuse presided over the Empire as the rightful director of the myriad machinery of Government. Court and country looked up to him with joy. He was an Emperor, whereas the late Prince our father, although an Emperor's son, met with obstacles in his career, and never rose to the Imperial Dignity. Looking on the matter in this light, there is the difference of exalted and base. And if thou hadst the heart to demolish the misasagi, who would recognize as Lord and do service to the Soul of Heaven? This is one reason why the tomb should not be destroyed. Moreover, had it not been for the warm affection and special favour bestowed on the Emperor and Ohoke by the Emperor Shiraga, wouldst thou ever have attained to the precious Dignity? But the Emperor Oho-hatsuse was the father of the Emperor Shiraga. Ohoke has heard that it has been said by all the ancient sages, 'Without words there can be no response; without virtue there is no requital.'[1] If there is cause for gratitude, and no return is made, this is profoundly prejudicial to good morals. Your Majesty feasts the Country, and his virtuous conduct is felt far and wide over the Empire. But if he pulls down the misasagi, and shows himself in an opposite light to Court and Country, Ohoke fears that it will become impossible to govern the land and to bring up the people as
XV. 22. his children. This is a second reason why it should not be destroyed." The Emperor said, "It is well," and countermanded the work.[2]

[1] Virtue is in Chinese active, not merely the negation of vice.

[2] The "Kojiki" tells a somewhat different story. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 336. This misasagi (which I have visited) is at the present day a round single mound, encircled by a moat, but there are sufficient remains of the second mound and of the original moat to show that it was once a double-topped misasagi of the ordinary type. See above, p. 136. A large quantity of earth must have been removed in order thus to deprive this tomb of its distinctive character as an Imperial tumulus, and to give it the appearance of the tomb of a mere subject. It appears as if both the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" regarded the demolition of a misasagi as an impious action, and tried to minimize it.

9th month. Okime, being decrepit from old age, asked leave to return to her home, saying:—"My vigour has decayed. I am old, infirm, and emaciated. Even with the help of the rope I am unable to walk. I pray thee let me return to my native place,[1] so that there I may spend my last days." When the Emperor heard this he was moved with pity. He gave her a present of a thousand pieces, and grieving in anticipation at the divergence of their paths, he repeatedly lamented that they could no longer meet. So he gave her a song, saying:—

Oh! Okime!
Okime of Afumi!
From to-morrow,
Hidden by the deep mountains,
Thou wilt no more be seen!

Winter, 10th month, 6th day. The Emperor entertained his Ministers. At this time the Empire was at peace; the people were not subjected to forced labour, the crops reached maturity, and the peasantry were prosperous. A measure of rice was sold for one piece of silver,[2] and horses and kine covered the moors.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Kotoshiro Ahe no Omi, acting by Imperial command, went on a mission to Imna. Hereupon the Moon-God, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed him, saying:—"My ancestor Taka-mimusubi had the merit in conjunction (with other Deities) of creating Heaven and Earth. Let him be worshipped by dedicating to him people and land. I am the Moon-God, and I shall be pleased if an offering is made according to his desire." Kotoshiro accordingly returned to the capital, and reported these A.D. 487. XV. 23.

[1] Lit., The Mulberry and Euphorbia trees. There is an allusion to a verse in the "Chinese Book of Odes" (Legge, Vol. IV. p. 337):—

"Even the mulberry trees and the tsze (of one's home)
Must be regarded with reverence."

[2] This is the first mention of coin in the "Nihongi." It is impossible to say what the measure of rice was, or what the value of the coin. Indeed, I take the whole passage to be a flight of the author's fancy, stimulated by his recollections of Chinese literature. It contains several phrases borrowed from Chinese works. See Index—Currency.

things fully to the Emperor. The Utaarasu rice-fields were dedicated to the God, and Oshimi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Agatanushi of Yuki, was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (8th). The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Sun-Goddess, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed Kotoshiro, Ahe no Omi, saying:—"Let the Ihare rice-fields be dedicated to my ancestor Taka-mimusubi." Kotoshiro accordingly reported the matter to the Emperor, and in compliance with the Goddess's request, fourteen chō[1] of rice-land were dedicated to him. The Atahe of Shimo no agata in Tsushima was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

XV. 24. 13th day. The Saki-kusa Be[2] was established.

25th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Yatsuri.

In this year, Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, bestriding and making a base of Imna, held communication with Koryö. In order to rule the three Han on the west, he established a government, and styled himself a Deity. By means of a plan laid by Cha-ro-na-kwi and Tha-kap-syo of Imna he slew Mak-ni-kè, the heir to the throne of Pèkché, at Irin.[3] [This is a place in Koryö.] He built the castle of Tè-san,[4] and then stood on the defensive as regards the Eastern province, cutting off the harbour by which supplies were transported, and causing the army to suffer from famine. The King of Pèkché was greatly enraged, and despatched General Ko-ni-kè and an officer of the military store department, named Mak-ko-kè, in command of troops to Tè-san, to lay siege to it. Upon this, Ohiha no Sukune moved forward his army, and attacked them

[1] See below, XXV. 18.

[2] Saki-kusa is literally the herb of happiness. It is also called man-nen-gusa, or the "herb of 10,000 years." It was said to grow in the Court of the Temple to the sovereign's ancestors. The "Seishiroku" says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Kenzō, the officials were summoned to a banquet. At this time, a herb of three stems was growing in the courtyard of the palace. One of these was plucked up and presented to the Emperor, who thereupon conferred on the donor the title of Saki Be no Miyakko."

[3] Irin is called in Ōjin's reign, year 16, a place in Imna.

[4] The Kana rendering is Shitoromo or Shitoromure.

with continually growing valour. All that opposed him were put to the rout. But he was but one against a hundred. Suddenly his weapons ran short, and his power became exhausted. He saw that he could not bring matters to a conclusion, and returned from Imna. Consequently the Land of Pèkché slew Cha-ro-na-kwi, Tha-kap-syo, and their people—more than three hundred men.[1]

THE EMPEROR OHOKE.[2] XV. 25.

(*NINKEN*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Ohoke's personal name was Ohoshi.[4]

Otherwise Ohosu. This is the only instance of an Emperor's personal name[5] or designation being stated. It is taken from an old manuscript.

His designation was Shima no Iratsuko.[6] He was the elder brother by the same mother of the Emperor Woke. In his childhood he was intelligent, of quick parts and great attainments. When he grew to man's estate, he was kind, indulgent and gentle.

At the death of the Emperor Anaho, he took refuge in the

[1] The "Tongkam" does not mention this affair, but there is no reason to doubt that the "Nihongi" narrative is substantially true.

The "Kojiki" practically ends here. Nominally, it is carried down to the death of Suiko in A.D. 628, but all after this is mere genealogy.

[2] Also read Oke. Ohoke is the "Kojiki" reading.

[3] Benevolent-talented.

[4] Big-leg or big-foot. The name is written above, XV. 7, with characters which mean big-stone.

[5] Or taboo name. In China the use of the personal name is not thought respectful except by a chief or parent. Instead of it the designation (字) is used. The latter was assumed at the age of fifteen (or twenty), when the ceremony of capping took place. In writing the personal names of the Emperors of the reigning dynasty, the Chinese are careful to alter one or two strokes of the character.

[6] Shima no Wakako, above, XV. 7.

district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, Winter, 11th month, Wodate, Yamabe no Muraji, Governor of Harima, went to the Capital and requested permission to go to fetch him. The Emperor Shiraga accordingly caused Wodate, provided with symbols of authority, and accompanied by his own personal attendants, to proceed to Akashi, and respectfully to go to meet him. Ultimately, in the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial.[1] In his fifth year, the Emperor Shiraga died, and the Emperor abdicated the Empire in favour of the Emperor Woke, becoming Prince Imperial as before. In the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Woke died.

A.D. 488. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial rank in the Palace of Hirotaka in Isonokami.

One book says:—"There were two palaces of the Emperor Ohoke, the first at Kahamura,[2] the second at Takano in Shijimi. The pillars of the Hall remain undecayed until this day."

XV. 26. 2nd month, 2nd day. His former consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume,[3] was appointed Empress.

The Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume was the daughter of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse by Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Wani no Omi.

She at length bore to him one son and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Takahashi no Oho-iratsume; the second was called the Imperial Princess Asatsuma; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tashiraga; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Kusuhi; the fifth was called the Imperial Princess Tachibana; the sixth was called the Emperor Wo-hatsuse no Waka-sazaki. When he came to possess the Empire, he made his capital at Namiki in Hatsuse. The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Mawaka.[4]

[1] This is a curious way of putting it, but the original is so.

[2] This is the temporary palace built by Wodate. See above, XV. 5.

[3] See above, XIV. 7, for an account of her birth.

[4] The "Kojiki" makes Mawaka a Prince.

One book has a different arrangement, the Imperial Princess Kusuhi taking the third place and the Imperial Princess Tashiraga the fourth.

Next there was Nuka-kimi no Iratsume, daughter of Hiuri, Wani no Omi, who bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada.

One book says:—"Ohonuka no Iratsume, daughter of Hifure, Wani no Omi, bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Yamada no Oho-iratsume, also called the Imperial Princess Akami." Notwithstanding the trifling difference of the documents, the facts are the same.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor Woke was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Ihatsuki at Kataoka.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Tatsu (5th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Empress Naniha no Wono, fearful on account of her long-standing want of respect (for the Emperor), died by her own hand. A.D. 489. XV. 27.

One authority says:—"In the time of the Emperor Woke, the Prince Imperial Ohoke was present at a banquet. He took up a melon to eat, but there was no knife. The Emperor Woke himself took a knife and commanded his wife Wono to carry it and present it to the Prince Imperial. She came before him, and, in a standing position, laid the knife on the melon tray. Moreover, on the same day, she poured out sake, and, in a standing position, gave it to the Prince Imperial to drink. In consequence of this disrespect, she feared to be put to death, and died by her own hand."

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Isonokami Be of palace attendants[1] was established. A.D. 490.

4th year, Summer, 5th month. Kashima Ikuba no Omi and Hohe no Kimi, being guilty of crimes, were both thrown into prison, where they died. A.D. 491.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. General search was made in the provinces and districts for the dispersed Saheki Be, and a descendant of Nakachiko of the Saheki Be was made Saheki no Miyakko. A.D. 492.

[1] Toneri.

Nakachiko of the Saheki Be is mentioned in the history of the reign of Woke Tennō.

A.D. 493. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Hitaka no Kishi was sent to Corea to fetch skilled artizans. This autumn, after
XV. 28. Hitaka no Kishi was despatched, there was a woman dwelling at Mitsu[1] in Naniha who made lament, saying :—

Woes me, my youthful[2] spouse !
For to me he is an elder brother,
And to my mother too an elder brother.

The sound of her lament was exceeding pathetic, even to the rending of men's bowels.[3] A man of the village of Hishiki, named Kaso, hearing it, came in front of her, and said :— "Why is thy lamentation so exceedingly sorrowful ?" The woman answered and said :—"Think of the autumn garlic's ever clustering growth."[4] Kaso said :—"Thou art right. Now I understand what thou hast said." But a companion of his, not comprehending her meaning, inquired, saying :—"By what dost thou understand ?" He answered and said :—
XV. 29. "Funame of the Naniha Jewellers' Be was wedded to Karama no Hataye[5] and bore to him Nakume,[6] who was wedded to a man of Sumuchi named Yamaki and bore to him Akitame. Karama no Hataye and his daughter Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had illicit intercourse with Funame[7] of the Jewellers' Be, and had by her a son named Araki, who took to wife Akitame. Upon this Araki set out for Koryō in the suite of Hitaka no Kishi. Therefore his wife Akitame, restless and full of longing, has lost her wits and become distraught, and the sound of her lamentation is very touching, even to the rending of men's bowels."

Funame of the Jewellers' Be and Karama no Hataye became husband and wife, and had a daughter named

[1] The august harbour. [2] Literally young herb or grass.
[3] Cf. the Biblical expression "bowels of compassion."
[4] By the clusters of the garlic bulbs in autumn she indicates the somewhat complicated family relations described below.
[5] Kara-fisher's-field. [6] The (professional) weeping woman.
[7] His wife's mother. This union was regarded as incestuous.

Nakume. Yamaki, a man of Sumuchi, married Nakume, and had a daughter named Akitame. Yamaki's wife's father Karama no Hataye and the latter's child Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had an amour with his wife's mother, Funame of the Jewellers' Be, the fruit of which was Araki. Araki took to wife Akitame. One book says:—"Funame of the Jewellers' Be bore Nakume to her first husband Karama no Hataye; again to her second husband Yamaki, a man of Sumuchi, she bore Araki, so that Nakume and Araki were sister and brother by a different father. Consequently Nakume's daughter Akitame called Araki [1] her mother's elder brother. Nakume having married Yamaki, bore Akitame. Moreover, Yamaki having had illicit intercourse with Funame had by her Araki, so that Akitame and Araki were sister and brother by a different mother. Consequently Akitame called Araki her elder brother. In ancient times women called their brothers se [2] (elder brother), without distinction of age; while men called their sisters imo (younger sister). Hence the expression, 'To my mother an elder brother, to me an elder brother.'" [3]

In this year Hitaka no Kishi returned from Koryö, and delivered to the Emperor the artizans Sunyuki and Nonyuki.[4] They were the ancestors of the Koryö tanners of the village of Nukada in the district of Yamabe in the province of Yamato.

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Wo-hatsuse Wakasazaki no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. A.D. 494. XV. 30.

8th year, Winter, 10th month. The people said:—"At this time there is peace throughout the land; the officials fill their offices worthily. Everywhere within the seas there is a movement towards good feeling; the subjects pursue peacefully their avocations." This year the five grains were produced in abundance, the silkworm and wheat afforded a rich harvest. A.D. 495.

[1] In the speech above quoted.

[2] Se and imo also mean respectively husband and wife.

[3] This note is from the "Shiki" or "Scholiast."

[4] Possibly the Japanese reading of the characters is preferable, viz. Suruki, Toruki.

Far and near there was purity and calm, and the population multiplied.

A.D. 498. 11th year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Chief Bedchamber.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi at the foot of the Hanifu acclivity.

BOOK XVI.

THE EMPEROR WOHATSUSE WAKA-SAZAKI.[1]

(*MURETSU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohatsuse waka-sazaki was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohoke. His mother was called the Empress Kasuga no Iratsume. He was made Prince Imperial in the seventh year of the Emperor Ohoke. When he grew to manhood, he was fond of criminal law, and was well versed in the statutes. He would remain in Court until the sun went down, so that hidden wrong was surely penetrated. In deciding cases he attained to the facts.[3] But he worked much evil, and accomplished no good thing. He never omitted to witness in person cruel punishments of all kinds, and the people of the whole land were all in terror of him.

In the 11th year, the 8th month of his reign, the Emperor Ohoke died. The Minister of State Heguri no Matori no Omi usurped the government of the country and tried to reign over Japan. Pretending that it was for the Emperor's eldest son, he built a palace, and ultimately dwelt in it himself. On all occasions he was arrogant, and was utterly devoid of loyal principle. Now the eldest son wished to betroth to himself Kagehime, the daughter of Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, and sent a middleman to Kagehime's house to arrange for their union. But Kagehime had already formed an illicit connection with XVI. 2.
Shibi, son of Matori, the Minister of State. Fearing, however, to offer opposition to the eldest son's proposal, she answered

[1] Wo, little ; hatsuse, name of place ; waka-sazaki, young-wren.

[2] Muretsu, martial ardour.

[3] This description from "When" down to "facts" is taken from the history of the Chinese Emperor Mingti of the Later Han Dynasty.

him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden wishes to wait upon thee on the street of Tsubaki-ichi." Accordingly the eldest son, in order to go to the place of assignation, sent one of his personal attendants to the house of the Oho-omi Heguri to ask for official horses, saying that he did so by his command. The Oho-omi mocked him, pretending that he would send them, and said:—"For whom (else) are official horses kept? Of course his orders shall be obeyed." But for a long time he did not send them. The eldest son cherished resentment at this, but controlled himself, and did not let it appear on his countenance. Ultimately he went to the place of assignation, and taking a place among the song-makers,[1] took hold of Kage-hime's sleeve, and was loitering about unconcernedly, when suddenly Shibi no Omi came, and pushing away the eldest son from Kagehime, got between them. Hereupon the eldest son let go Kagehime's sleeve, and turning round, confronted Shibi no Omi, and addressing him straight in the face, made a song, saying:—

XVI. 3.

Of the briny current,[2]
The breakers as I view,
By the fin of the Tunny
That comes sporting
I see my spouse standing.

[One book has "harbour" instead of "briny current."]

Shibi no Omi answered with a song, saying:—

Dost thou tell me, O Prince! to yield to thee
The eight-fold bamboo fence[3]
Of the Omi's child?

---

[1] In Japanese uta-gaki, i.e. poetry-hedge. The utagaki seems to have been a sort of poetical tournament. The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 330) gives a different and not very intelligible account of this war of verses. That work places it at the beginning of an earlier reign, and makes the Emperor Woke the hero. The whole story is no doubt the work of some romancist. It would be a mere waste of time to try to sift out what grains of truth it may contain. It indicates, however, very different and much more unrestricted social relations between the sexes than that which prevailed in China and other Eastern countries. Of this there is abundant other evidence.

[2] Shibi means tunny-fish. This suggests the introduction of the "briny current" of the first line.

[3] The fence in this and the following verses is the enclosure of the bridal chamber. See above, pp. 13, 54.

The eldest son made a song, saying :—

My great sword
Hung at my girdle I will stand ;
Though I may not draw it,
Yet in the last resort
I am resolved to be united to her.

Shibi no Omi answered with a song, saying :—

The great Lord's
Eight-fold retiring-fence
He may try to build,
Still for want of strict care,[1]
The retiring-fence is not built.

The eldest son made a song, saying :—

The eight-fold fastening fence
Of the Omi's child
Should an earthquake come, shaking,
Reverberating below,
'Twill be a ruined fastening fence.

[A various version of the first line is "eight-fold Kara fence."]

The eldest son gave Kagehime a song, saying :—

If Kagehime, who comes and stays
At the head of the lute,[2]
Were a jewel,
She would be a white sea-ear[3] pearl—
The pearl that I love.

Shibi no Omi answered on behalf of Kagehime, and made a song, saying :—

The great Lord's
Girdle of Japanese loom XVI. 4.

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[1] "For want of strict care" is in the original Ama-shimi. This word contains an allusion to the Omi's name Shibi. Mi and bi are often interchanged in Japanese.

[2] i.e. on my right hand.

[3] The sea-ear is in Japanese ahabi, which may be intended to suggest ahazu, "not to become united to."

Hangs down in a bow.[1]
Whosoever it may be—
There is no one (but me) whose love she requites.

The eldest son then for the first time saw that Shibi had already possessed Kagehime, and became conscious of all the disrespect shown him by the father and the son. He blazed out into a great rage, and forthwith, on that same night, proceeded to the house of Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji, where he levied troops and concerted his plans. Ohotomo no Muraji waylaid Shibi no Omi with a force of several thousand men. He slew him at Mount Nara.

One book says:—"Shibi was spending the night in Kagehime's house, and that same night he was slain."

At this time Kagehime followed on to the place where he had been slain, and seeing that he had already been put to death, was shocked, so that she did not know what she was doing, and tears of sorrow filled her eyes. At length she made a song, saying:—

Passing Furu
In Iso no Kami,
Passing Takahashi
In Komo-makura,
Passing Oho-yake
Where things are in plenty
Passing Kasuga
Of the spring-day,
Passing Wosaho
XVI. 5. The spouse-retiring,
In a precious casket,
Placing boiled rice,
In a precious vase,
Placing water also,
She lets fall tears as she goes.
Alas! for Kagehime.[2]

---

[1] The sole reason why the second and third lines are introduced is to bring in tare, "to hang down." The same word is repeated in the fourth line with the meaning "who," thus producing a word-play, of which Japanese poets are fond.

[2] This poem contains a succession of plays on words, some of which are very obscure, and all are lost in an English version. Komo-makura means a matting pillow, i.e. a roll of matting used as a pillow. Makura is frequently followed by takaku, high, in the phrase makura takaku suru, "to make high

Hereupon Kagehime, when the funeral was over, and she was about to return home, said, with an utterance choked by grief:—"Alas! to-day I have lost my beloved husband." So she burst into tears of sorrow, and in a state of distraction made a song, saying:—

Like a deer
That, drenched with water, hides
In the valley of Nara,—
(Of fertile soil)—
Is the young lord of Shibi—
(The water-besprinkled[1]):—
Make him not thy prey. Oh! thou wild boar!

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji spake to the eldest son, saying:—"The rebel Matori ought to be slain. I pray thee let me attack him." The eldest son said:—"We are about to have civil war in the Empire, and without a rare warrior, we shall be unable to accomplish anything. When I consider this well, I find that thou art the man."[2] So he laid his plans in concert with him. XVI. 6.

Hereupon Ohotomo no Ohomuraji,[3] in personal command of the troops, led them to besiege the house of the Oho-omi, and setting fire to it, burnt it. His style of command was like the scattering of clouds.

Matori no Oho-omi, resenting the failure of his enterprise, and feeling that his life was doomed, that his designs had reached a limit, and that his hopes had vanished, cursed the salt (sea) far and wide, and at length was put to death along with his people. When he uttered the curse, the only place which he forgot was the sea-brine of Tsunoga, and this he did

one's pillow." This is probably why makura is here associated with Takahashi. Oho-yake means great storehouse. Hence the epithet attached to it. "Of the spring-day" is a regular makura-kotoba or pillow-word of Kasuga, because kasuga is like kasumeru, to be hazy, and the weather is hazy in spring. Wosaho contains wo, male, which accounts for the epithet "spouse-retiring" in the next line. The commentators have much more to say about these verses. The metre is irregular.

[1] This line has reference to the meaning of Shibi, viz. tunny-fish.

[2] This speech is adapted from a Chinese author.

[3] He was not Ohomuraji till afterwards. See below.

not curse. Therefore the Emperor eats salt from Tsunoga, and avoids eating the salt of other seas."[1]

12th month. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji having completely suppressed the insurrection, and restored the Government to the eldest son, asked permission to offer him the August Title, saying:—"Now there are no sons left of the Emperor Ohoke but Your Majesty, nor is there any second person to whom the people can give allegiance. Moreover, relying on the support of Supreme Heaven,[2] thou hast cleared away the wicked bands. By thy wise counsels and thy manly determination thou hast made the Celestial authority and the Celestial revenues to flourish. Japan must have a ruler, and who is there but thee to rule over Japan? I humbly pray
XVI. 7. Your Majesty reverently to respond to the Divine Spirit of Earth by giving development to the luminous commands, casting a lustre on Japan, and widely taking over charge of the silver region."[3]

Hereupon the eldest son commanded the functionaries to prepare a sacred terrace at Namiki[4] in Hatsuse, where he ascended to the Imperial Dignity, and at length established his capital. On this day, Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji was made Ohomuraji.

A.D. 499. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. Kasuga no Iratsume was appointed Empress. [It is not clear who her father was.]

This year was the year Tsuchinoto U (16th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 500. 2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Emperor ripped up the belly of a pregnant woman and inspected the pregnant womb.[5]

A.D. 501. 3rd year, Winter, 10th month. He plucked out men's nails, and made them dig up yams.[6]

11th month. He commanded Ohotomo no Muruya[7] no

[1] Compare above, p. 337, where the water of a well was cursed.

[2] Motoöri objects to this phrase as Chinese.

[3] Viz. Corea.

[4] Namiki means a row of trees, an avenue lined with trees.

[5] This is a charge made against Show, King of Shang, in the "Shoo-king." See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III. p. 285.

[6] Dioscorea Japonica.

[7] There is something wrong here. Ohotomo no Muruya was Prime Minister (see p. 322) in the 7th year of Ingiō Tennō (A.D. 418). Muruya is no doubt a slip for Kanamura.

Ohomuraji to make a levy of labourers of the province of Shinano, in order to build a castle in the village of Minomata. It was called Kinouhe.

In this month, Wi-ta-nang[1] of Pèkché died and was buried on the top of the hill of Takada.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. He pulled out the hair of men's heads, made them climb to the tops of trees, and then cut down the trees, so that the men who had climbed were killed by the fall. This he took a delight in. A.D. 502. XVI. 8.

In this year, King Malta[2] of Pékchè, for his lawless oppression of his subjects, was at length deposed by the people of that country and King Shima raised to the throne. He was made King Munyöng.

> The Pèkché "Shinsen" says:—"King Malta lawlessly oppressed the subjects, and the people united to remove him. Munyöng was set up. His sobriquet was King Shima. He was the son of Prince Konchi, and therefore the elder brother of King Malta by a different mother. When Konchi went to Wa, he arrived at an island in Tsukushi where King Shima was born to him. He was sent back from the island, and did not reach the capital (of Japan). Owing to his having been born on an island, he received the name of Shima. There is now in the sea of Kawara[3] an island called Nirim Shima[4] which is the King's birthplace. Therefore the Pèkché people call this island Nirim Shima. Considering that King Shima was King Kèro's son, and King Malta King Konchi's son, the expression 'elder brother by a different mother' is not clear."[5]

[1] This is the Corean pronunciation of the characters given, but very likely these are not the proper characters for his name, and are only a phonetic Japanese rendering of the sound. The traditional Kana rendering is Otara.

[2] Or Mata if the Japanese pronunciation is taken. His real name was Mutè.

[3] The traditional Kana pronunciation.

[4] The traditional Kana has sema, for the Corean syöm, island. Nirim means Lord.

[5] The "Tongkam" (Vol. V. 4) account of these events is as follows:—"Autumn, 8th month (A.D. 501). Pèkché built the Castle of Karim (in Chöllado), which was occupied by a garrison under a military officer named Chak Ka.

Winter, 11th month. Chak Ka of Pèkché slew his Lord Mutè. Before

A.D. 503. 5th year, Summer, 6th month. The Emperor made men lie down on their faces in the sluice of a dam and caused them to be washed away: with a three-bladed lance he stabbed them. In this he took delight.

A.D. 504. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"As a measure for transmitting a kingdom, a son is raised up to honour.[1] But we have no successor: XVI. 9. wherewithal shall we hand down our name to posterity? In accordance, therefore, with old Imperial precedents, we establish the Wohatsuse Toneri and make them assume the designation of this reign, so that it may not be forgotten for ten thousand years."

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Pèkché sent Lord Mana with tribute. The Emperor, considering that for many years Pèkché had not sent tribute, detained him, and would not let him go.

A.D. 505. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month. He made men climb up trees and then shot them down with a bow, upon which he laughed.

Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent Lord Shika with tribute, and a separate memorial, saying:—"Mana, the previous tribute-messenger, was no relation of the Sovereigns of Pèkché. Therefore I humbly send Shika to wait upon the Court." He eventually had a son named Lord Pöp-să. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Yamato.

A.D. 506. 8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Nudas feminas super latas

this when the King appointed Chak Ka commandant of the garrison of Karim, he did not wish to go, and declined on the score of ill-health. The King would not listen to his excuse, and he therefore hated the King. Upon this the King went a-hunting on the plain east of Săchhă. Again he hunted in the plain north of Ung-chhön. Again he hunted in the plain west of Săchhă. Being prevented from returning by a great fall of snow, he stayed for the night at the village of Mapho, where Chak Ka sent a man to assassinate him. A month later he was buried and received the name of Tong-syöng. His son Shima, otherwise called Yöryung, came to the throne.

Spring, 1st month (A.D. 502). Chak Ka of Pèkché was executed. He had taken position in the castle of Karim and rebelled. The King proceeded with an army to the city of Utu and ordered an attack upon him. Chak Ka came out and surrendered. He was put to death and his body flung into the River Pèk-Kang."

[1] Is made Prince Imperial.

tabulas imposuit et, equis adhibitis, fecit ut coirent cum eis. Tum, examinatione habitâ, quarum pudenda madida erant, eas interfecit, quarum autem madida non erant, eas fecit servas publicas. These things he took a pleasure in.

At this time he dug a pond and made a park which he filled with birds and beasts. Here he was fond of hunting, and of racing dogs and trying horses. He went out and in at all times, taking no care to avoid storms and torrents of rain. Being warmly clad himself, he forgot that the people were starving from cold; eating dainty food, he forgot that the Empire was famishing. He gave great encouragement to dwarfs and performers, making them execute riotous music. He prepared strange diversions, and gave licence to lewd voices. Night and day he constantly indulged to excess in sake in the company of the women of the Palace. His cushions were of brocade, and many of his garments were of damask and fine white silk. XVI. 10.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Namiki.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
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TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME I.

Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D. C.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

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PREFACE.

THE chief object of preparing this translation of the standard native history of Ancient Japan, known as the *Nihongi*, was to make accessible to European scholars the very considerable store of material for the study of mythology, folk-lore, early civilization, and manners and customs which it contains. It may also prove of interest to those numerous Japanese who are acquainted with the English language, and who may have the curiosity to learn in what light their ancient history and traditions are viewed by a Western student.

As only a limited sale of a work of this kind could be expected, the translator was fortunate in being relieved from all pecuniary responsibility for its publication by the Japan Society. His special acknowledgments are due to those members by whose liberality a guarantee fund for this purpose has been provided.

It remains for him to express his indebtedness to other workers, by whose labours in the field of Japanese and Chinese learning he has freely profited. The writings of Messrs. Chamberlain and Satow[1] have been placed under frequent contribution, and for the latter part of the work, the scholarly German translation of the *Nihongi*, by Dr. Florenz, has been of the greatest possible assistance. He should also mention the names of Williams, Giles, Parker, Mayers, Gubbins, Hepburn, Anderson, Legge, and Eitel, whose writings are the indis-

[1] Now Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G., H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

pensable companions of all students of Far-Eastern subjects. Other sources of information are acknowledged in the notes.

Amongst native Japanese writers the chief authorities have been the famous scholars Motoöri and Hirata. Their religious and patriotic prejudices often lead them to take views from which a European reader is forced to dissent, but no Western scholar can hope to rival or even to approach their vast erudition, clothed as it is in an easy and graceful style, undisfigured by pedantry. The translator gladly seizes this opportunity of expressing the strong admiration which he has long entertained for them. For the Notes, the *Shūkai* edition of the *Nihongi* and the *Tsūshō* Commentary have been largely drawn upon. The references to Chinese literature have been usually taken from these last-named sources. It is unnecessary to enumerate more particularly the other native works of reference which have been utilized. A copious list of them will be found in Dr. Florenz's Introduction.

The translator should not omit to express his thanks to Mr. W. Gowland for the use of the drawings and photographs relating to the Imperial Misasagi and sepulchral mounds, from which a number of the illustrations have been reproduced.

The vital importance of a good Index is fully recognized. No pains will be spared to make this part of the work as complete and satisfactory as possible.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

BOOK			PAGE
I.	Age of the Gods	Part I.	1
II.	" " "	Part II.	64
		Accession B.C.	
III.	Jimmu Tennō	660	109
IV.	Suizei "	584	138
"	Annei "	548	141
"	Itoku "	510	142
"	Kōshō "	475	144
"	Kōan "	392	145
"	Kōrei "	290	146
"	Kōgen "	214	147
"	Kaikwa "	157	148
V.	Sūjin "	97	150
VI.	Suinin "	29	164
		A.D.	
VII.	Keikō "	71	188
"	Seimu "	131	214
VIII.	Chiuai "	191	217
IX.	Jingō Kōgu	201	225
X.	Ōjin Tennō	270	255
XI.	Nintoku "	311	272
XII.	Richiu "	400	301
"	Hanzei "	406	310
XIII.	Ingiō "	412	312
"	Ankō "	454	328

BOOK		Accession A.D.	PAGE
XIV.	YŪRIAKU TENNŌ	457	333
XV.	SEINEI ,,	480	373
,,	KENZŌ ,,	485	377
,,	NINKEN ,,	488	393
XVI.	MURETSU ,,	499	399

INTRODUCTION.

Writing.—The art of writing is one of the numerous elements of civilization for which Japan is indebted to China. The date of its first introduction is not definitely known. There are indications that some acquaintance with the Chinese written character was possessed by individuals in Japan during the early centuries of the Christian era, but the first positive information on the subject belongs to A.D. 405, for which an erroneous date corresponding to A.D. 285 is given in the *Nihongi*. In this year a Corean named Wani or Wangin was appointed tutor in Chinese to a Japanese Imperial Prince. He was the first of a succession of teachers from that country whose instructions paved the way for a revolution in Japanese institutions and manners, not less profound and far-reaching than that produced in our own time by the influence of European ideas.

From its geographical position, Corea was the natural intermediary by which China became known to Japan. In these early times there was no direct sea communication between the two last-named countries. Travellers crossed the Strait from Japan to Corea, and pursued the rest of their journey by the circuitous overland route. But the Corean national genius seems to have left no impress of its own on the civilization which it received from China and handed on to Japan. Medicine, Buddhism, painting, and the mechanic arts were transmitted, as far as we can see, without modification, and there is little trace of any special Corean character in the knowledge of Chinese literature and science which Coreans communicated to Japan. They had themselves taken up this study only thirty years before Wani's departure.[1]

[1] See a paper on "Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea," in the "J.R.A.S.," July, 1895.

The newly-acquired Chinese characters were soon put to practical use. Wani himself is said to have been employed to keep the accounts of the Treasury. In the reign of Nintoku we are told that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune committed to writing an account of the productions of the Corean kingdom of Pèkché. The date given for this in the *Nihongi* is A.D. 353, to which, as in the case of other events of this period, two cycles or 120 years should probably be added. In the following reign (Richiu's) "recorders were appointed in the provinces in order to note down words and events." But from the specimens of their reports which are preserved in the *Nihongi*, these officials do not seem to have contributed much of importance to historical knowledge. Fabulous stories and accounts of monstrosities and portents form the staple of their compositions. It may be inferred, however, that such functionaries were already in existence at the capital, and indeed we find mention at this time of hereditary corporations of fumi-bito or scribes, known as the Achiki Be and Wani Be, the successors of Atogi and Wani, the Corean scholars who first taught Chinese at the court of the Mikado.

History. The Kiujiki.—The first literary efforts of the Japanese took the direction of history. No doubt the Norito or rituals of the Shinto religion and some poetical compositions date from an earlier period. But they do not seem to have been committed to writing. The earliest book of which we find mention is the *Kiujiki* or *Kujiki* (Chronicle of old matters of former ages), which was compiled in A.D. 620 under high official auspices, as indeed were all the historical works which have come down to us from these ancient times. The writing of history was, and still is, regarded as pre-eminently a matter of State concern in all those Eastern countries where Chinese ideas are predominant. The *Kiujiki* was entrusted to the keeping of the Soga House, but on its downfall in 645, a large portion was destroyed by fire, a part only, described as Kokuki or national annals, having been saved from the flames. Whether this work is or is not identical with the *Kiujiki* of our own day, is a question on which I shall have more to say afterwards. At present it is sufficient to note that the latter work contains nothing which is not also to be found in the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi* except a few passages in the mythological

portion and a list of local governors. The historical part is almost word for word the same as the *Nihongi*, which, however, is very much fuller, and is brought down to a much later period.

The Kojiki.—In A.D. 682 a number of Princes and High Officials were formally commissioned by the Emperor Temmu to prepare a "History of the Emperors and of matters of high antiquity." Nothing is known of the result of their labours, but this measure led eventually to the compilation of the *Kojiki*, as we learn from a passage in the Preface to that work.[1] It was not completed, however, until A.D. 712. The *Kojiki* has fortunately been preserved to us. If the *Kiujiki* is excepted, as of doubtful authenticity, it is the earliest product of the Japanese historical muse, and indeed the oldest monument of Japanese literature. It presents many features of the highest interest, but it is needless to dwell here on a subject which has been so thoroughly dealt with by Chamberlain in the Introduction to his admirable translation of this work.

In 714, or two years after the completion of the *Kojiki*, the Empress Gemmiō gave orders for the preparation of a national history. We hear nothing more of this project, which may or may not have served to provide materials for the *Nihongi*.

The Nihongi—Date and Authorship.—We now come to the *Nihongi* itself. It has no title-page or preface, and our information as to its date and authorship is derived from other sources. The Kōnin Shiki (commentary on the *Nihongi*, of the period 810-824) informs us that it was completed and laid before the Empress Gemmiō in A.D. 720 by Prince Toneri and Yasumaro Futo no Ason. In addition to the thirty books which have come down to us, there was originally a book of genealogies of the Emperors which is no longer extant. The term used by the Shiki in speaking of its preparation is "selected afresh," which points obviously to compilation rather than original composition. An examination of the work itself favours this view. It consists of detached passages linked together by chronological sequence, and some endeavour is visible to shape the materials into a consistent whole, but the result has a more or less patchwork appearance, and falls far short of the stan-

[1] See Ch. K., p. 9.

dard of uniformity of style and method which we are accustomed to look for in historical compositions.

Materials for the Nihongi.—The remains of the *Kiujiki* must have formed a very important element of the authors' material. Indeed I lean to the belief that whether the present *Kiujiki* is authentic or not, much of the earlier part of the *Nihongi* (except the first two books) is practically the composition of the illustrious Shōtoku Daishi, its reputed author. It is recorded that he was a profound student of Buddhism and of Chinese classical literature, and internal evidence shows that the writer of this part of the *Nihongi* was well versed in these subjects. The *Kojiki* is not directly referred to, and little use seems to have been made of it. But it was well known to the authors. Indeed one of them, Yasumaro, was the very person who took down the *Kojiki* from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man (or woman) who had a remarkable memory, well stored with the ancient traditions of the Japanese race. That no community of style can be traced between the two works is easily explained by the circumstance that Yasumaro was in the first case little more than an amanuensis, and in the second a compiler. It is possible, too, that his associate, Prince Toneri, was the guiding spirit of the undertaking, and that Yasumaro simply carried out his directions.

The *Nihongi* contains a few phrases which show that the *Norito* or Rituals of the Shinto cult were familiar to the authors, but nothing of importance is drawn from this source.

Another stock of information which was probably at their disposal is referred to in the History of the reign of Jitō Tennō (A.D. 694), where it is stated that orders were given to eighteen of the principal noble Houses to deliver to the Government their genealogical records. Other historical works, notably a certain *Kana Nihongi*, have been spoken of as in existence before the date of the *Nihongi*, and that there was a copious historical or legendary literature accessible to the authors cannot be doubted. The work itself, as we have it, contains ample evidence of this in the numerous quotations from other writings, added, as most Japanese critics think, by the authors themselves, or, as I prefer to believe, by subsequent scholars soon after its appearance. These extracts are always referred to in later times as if they formed part of the *Nihongi*, and

there can be no harm in accepting them as of equal authority with it. Some are, no doubt, of still greater antiquity.

An institution which must have contributed substantially, though perhaps indirectly, to the collection and conservation of the materials for the more legendary part of the *Nihongi* was the Katari Be, or hereditary corporation of reciters. Unfortunately we know very little about it. Hirata, in his *Koshichō*, states, on what authority does not appear, that the Katari Be came forward and recited "ancient words" before the Emperor at the festival of Ohonihe when he inaugurated his reign by sacrifices to the Gods. It is not probable that their services were confined to this occasion.

Character and Contents of the Nihongi.—The *Nihongi* consists of very heterogeneous elements which by no means all answer to our ideas of history. The earlier part furnishes a very complete assortment of all the forms of the Untrue of which the human mind is capable, whether myth, legend, fable, romance, gossip, mere blundering, or downright fiction. The first two books are manifestly mythological. They are followed by an account of Jimmu's Conquest of Yamato, which has probably a basis of truth, though the legendary character obviously predominates.

Most of the meagre details given us of the reigns of the next eight Emperors have a Chinese stamp, and must, I fear, be pronounced simply fictitious. Nor need this greatly surprise us. There are other countries where

> Mortal men are ever wont to lie,
> Whene'er they speak of sceptre-bearing kings.

A portrait gallery in Holyrood Palace illustrates the same principle, though in a different way.

Then we have a series of legendary stories full of miraculous incidents, but in which grains of truth may here and there be discerned. The value of this early part of the work is enhanced by the numerous poems of great antiquity which have been incorporated into it, and which have considerable antiquarian and philological interest.

The narrative becomes more and more real as it goes on, until about the 5th century we find ourselves in what, without too violent a departure from the truth, may be called genuine

history, while from the beginning of the 6th century until A.D. 697, when it is brought to a close, the *Nihongi* gives us what is to every appearance a trustworthy record of events. We must still, however, be on our guard against the Chinese diction and sentiments which are put into the mouths of the Mikados and their Ministers, and there are some strange stories of a kind not likely to impose on our credulity. This part of the *Nihongi* is of very great value, comprising as it does a period of the highest importance in the life of the Japanese nation. It was at this time that the Japanese adopted and assimilated the civilization of China, material, moral, and political, together with the Buddhist religion, thereby profoundly modifying the entire course of their future history.

The defects of the *Nihongi* are due partly to the uncritical spirit of the age when it was written, but mainly to the circumstance that the authors were accomplished scholars deeply imbued with ideas derived from the classical and historical literature of ancient China. With exceptions to be noticed presently, the work is composed in the Chinese language. This is in itself an obstacle to the faithful representation of things Japanese. But unfortunately it is not all. Chinese ideas and traits of Chinese manners and customs are frequently brought in where they have no business. In the very first paragraph we have an essay spiced with Chinese philosophical terms which reads strangely incongruous as a preface to the native cosmogonic myth. Battle axes are mentioned at a time when no such weapons were in use by the Japanese, stone mallets are converted into swords, and we hear continually of the Temples of the Earth and of Grain, a purely Chinese metaphor for the State. No inconsiderable part of the work consists of speeches and Imperial decrees interlarded with quotations from Chinese literature, and evidently composed for the occasion in imitation of Chinese models. In one case the authors have gone so far as to attribute to the Emperor Yūriaku a dying speech of several pages, which is taken with hardly any alteration from a history of the Chinese Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to an Emperor who died 125 years later.

But what is far more misleading than these naive inventions is the confirmed habit common to the writers both of the *Kojiki* and of the *Nihongi*, though the latter are the greater offenders, of

throwing back, no doubt more or less unconsciously, to more ancient times the ideas of their own age, when the national thought and institutions had become deeply modified by Chinese influences. As Dr. Florenz very justly remarks, "The little which European inquiry has hitherto been able to teach us of the real condition of Japan in the most ancient times shows that the historical representation of this period in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* (upon which rest all the later statements of the Japanese) is most profoundly penetrated by false principles. The newer relations, partly developed from native material, partly influenced by Chinese culture, are reflected back upon the oldest without due distinction, and the result is a confused picture in which the critical inquirer can, it is true, frequently separate what is original from subsequent additions, but must often let fall his hands in despair." A conspicuous instance of this is the way in which the Imperial theory of the universal authority of the Mikados is extended backwards to a time when their sway was really restricted to the provinces round the capital and a few other places. It is also exemplified by the treatment of territorial and official designations in the older part of the history as if they were already family names, which they did not become until a later period.

Chronology.—The *Kojiki* wisely has no chronology. But the authors of the *Nihongi*, or more probably of some of the works on which it is based, thought it necessary, in imitation of their Chinese models, to provide a complete system of dates extending as far back as the middle of the 7th century B.C., and giving the exact years, months, and even days for events which are supposed to have happened in this remote period. When it is remembered that there was no official recognition of the art of writing in Japan until A.D. 405, and that the first mention of calendar-makers belongs to A.D. 553, the historical value of such chronology may be readily estimated. After the Christian epoch there may have been some blundering and unsuccessful endeavours to give the right years, but for several centuries longer the months and days must have been simply supplied from the writers' imagination. Even so late as the beginning of the 5th century the chronology can be shown to be wrong in several cases by no less an interval than 120 years. Abundant proofs of its inaccuracy are revealed by a

comparison with the contemporary histories of Corea and China, and an examination of the *Nihongi* itself yields many more. The impossible lengths attributed to the Emperors' reigns are a well-known example, and some, but by no means all, of the other evidence to this effect is indicated in the notes to the present version.

The first date in the *Nihongi* which is corroborated by external evidence is A.D. 461, but the chronology is not a little vague for some time longer. Perhaps if we take A.D. 500 as the time when the correctness of the *Nihongi* dates begins to be trustworthy, we shall not be very far wrong.

In an essay contributed to a Japanese magazine called *Bun*, in 1888, Mr. Naka has brought together absolutely overwhelming evidence of the utter inaccuracy in matters of chronology of the early part of the *Nihongi*, and I may be allowed to refer the reader to a paper on "Early Japanese History" read before the J.A.S. in December, 1887, in which the same thesis is maintained. Such scholars as Satow, Chamberlain, Bramsen, Griffis and others have expressed themselves to a similar effect, and it may be hoped that we have now heard the last of the thoughtless echoes of old Kaempfer's audacious assertion that since the time of Jimmu Tennō, the Japanese have been "accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country and the lives and reigns of their monarchs."

But enough has been said of the defects of the *Nihongi*. The above strictures apply almost exclusively to the earlier half of the work, and they must not be allowed to blind us to the fact that it after all presents a very full and varied picture of the civilization, manners and customs, and political, moral, and religious ideas of the ancient Japanese. Even the large untrue element which it contains is not without its value. Bad history may be good mythology or folk-lore, and statements the most wildly at variance with fact often throw a useful light on the beliefs or institutions of the age when they became current.

Estimation in which the Nihongi was held.—The importance of the *Nihongi* was at once recognized by the somewhat narrow circle of courtiers and officials for whom it was intended. Subsequent history contains frequent mention of its being publicly read and expounded to the

Mikado's Court, one of these notices belonging to the very next year after its completion. It threw wholly into the shade its predecessor the *Kojiki* and superseded the recitations of the Katari Be and other similar customs. Another testimony to its value is the series of commentaries which began to be written upon it immediately after its appearance. Some of these notes, known as Shiki or "private notes," have been preserved to us in a work called *Shaku-nihongi*, written about the end of the 13th century. They are described as of the periods Yōrō, (714—724), Kōnin (810—824), and Yengi (901—923).

This high estimation for the *Nihongi* has lasted until our own day. Its pre-eminence as a source of knowledge of Japanese antiquity was never contested until quite recent times. Even Motoöri[1] acknowledges its value, although his religious and patriotic prejudices lead him to give a preference to the *Kojiki*, which is less profoundly tainted by an admixture of Chinese ideas.

The Kojiki and the Nihongi.—Both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* present to the eye a series of Chinese characters. A closer examination, however, reveals a marked difference in the way in which they are used by the respective authors. In the *Kojiki*, which was taken down from the mouth of a Japanese by a man with some tincture of Chinese learning, the Chinese construction is every now and then interrupted or rather helped out by Japanese words written phonetically, the result being a very curious style wholly devoid of literary qualities. It is in fact possible to restore throughout the original Japanese words used by Hiyeda no Are with a fair degree of probability, and this has actually been done by Motoöri in his great edition of the work known as the *Kojikiden*. This feature gives the *Kojiki* a far greater philological interest than the *Nihongi*. The

[1] Motoöri has left a poem to the following effect :—

In all their fulness
How should we know
The days of old,
Did the august Yamato writing (the *Nihongi*)
Not exist in the world?

Hirata says ("Kodō Taii," I. 36), "If we put aside the ornaments of style of Chinese fashion, there is none among all the writings in the world so noble and important as this classic."

latter is composed almost wholly in the Chinese language, the chief exception being the poems, for which it was necessary to use the Chinese characters with a phonetic value so as to give the actual words and not simply the sense, as is the case when they are employed as ideographs. The proper names in both works are naturally Japanese.

As a repertory of ancient Japanese myth and legend, there is little to choose between the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The *Kojiki* is on the whole the fuller of the two, and contains legends which the *Nihongi* passes over in silence, but the latter work, as we now have it, is enriched by variants of the early myths, the value of which for purposes of comparison will be recognized by scientific inquirers.

But there can be no comparison between the two works when viewed as history. Hiyeda no Are's memory, however well-stored, could not be expected to compete in fulness and accuracy with the abundant written literature accessible to the writers of the *Nihongi*, and an examination of the two works shows that, in respect to the record of actual events, the latter is far the more useful authority. It should be remembered, too, that the *Nihongi* is double the size of its predecessor, and that whereas the *Kojiki* practically comes to an end with the close of the 5th century, the *Nihongi* continues the narrative as far as the end of the 7th, thus embracing an additional space of two hundred years of the highest importance in the history of Japan.

Text and Editions.—The class of readers for whom the present work is intended would be little interested in an account of the text of the *Nihongi* and of its various manuscripts and printed editions. In any case this subject has been so exhaustively treated by Dr. Florenz in his Introduction as to render research by other inquirers a superfluous labour.

A few words, however, should be said respecting the *Shūkai* (or *Shūge*, i.e. collected interpretations) edition, which has been taken as the basis of the present version. There are a few departures from it, chiefly where the translator has restored passages of the "Original Commentary" which the *Shūkai* editor has struck out or relegated to his notes.

The *Shūkai* edition is on the whole the most useful one, being well printed, and provided with a copious Chinese com-

mentary. To facilitate reference to it the book and page of this edition have been noted throughout in the margin of the present translation.

The large black type of the *Shūkai* is the text. The "Original Commentary" and the quotations from other books are printed in a smaller type. Both of these are usually assumed to be part of the *Nihongi*, and are quoted as such. They have been included in the present translation, but they are distinguished from the *Nihongi* proper by being indented, or in the case of some very short passages, enclosed in square brackets. Still smaller characters are used by the editor for his notes. In addition to these, small Katakana characters may be seen at the side of many of the characters of the original text and commentary. They are frequently referred to in the notes of the present version under the description of the "interlinear Kana" or the "traditional Kana rendering," and consist of translations into Japanese of the Chinese characters alongside of which they stand, or add particles which are necessary to complete the sense in a Japanese translation. These glosses are of considerable but unknown antiquity. They are sometimes useful, especially in giving obsolete words and the pronunciation of proper names, but they cannot be implicitly relied on. They are often wrong, and still more frequently inadequate.

Spelling.—In transliterating Japanese words, the method adopted by the Japan Society has been followed pretty closely. It is nearly identical with that which is recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, and which may be briefly described as—"the vowels as in Italian, the consonants as in English." There are no silent letters.

Some inconsistencies will doubtless be observed in the spelling of proper names, in regard to which the Japanese themselves are often very vague. There is a good deal of confusion between the hard and soft consonants *t* and *d*, *ch* or *sh* and *j*, *h* and *b*, and *k* and *g*, which it is difficult for a European scholar always to avoid.

The spelling in the case of words of Japanese derivation follows the Japanese written language in representing an older pronunciation than that now current.

Corean proper names are spelt after the system described by

Sir E. Satow in his "List of Corean Geographical Names." It is based on the principle of the Royal Geographical Society's method above-mentioned. But the true pronunciation of these names is involved in much obscurity, and the rendering adopted is in many cases merely provisional.

In spelling Chinese proper names, the ordinary authorities have been followed. They do not agree very well among themselves, but it is hoped that the inconsistencies which have resulted will not occasion any difficulty to the reader.

ABBREVIATIONS.

T.A.S.J.—Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Ch. K.—The translation of the "Kojiki" by Basil Hall Chamberlain in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. X. Supplement.

J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

N.B.—Attention is drawn to the Table of Errata and Addenda in the second volume

NIHONGI.[1]

BOOK I.[2]

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART I.

OF old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yō[3] not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an

[1] Nihon, otherwise Nippon, the Niphon of our older maps, where it is wrongly limited to the main island of Japan. Japan is merely a Chinese pronunciation of this word, modified in the mouths of Europeans. Nihon, in Chinese 日本, means sun-origin, i.e. sunrise. The country received this name from its position to the east of the Asiatic continent. China being the Great Central Land, other countries were given names with reference to it. Corea, for example, is the Tong-Kuk or East-Country. These Chinese characters are sometimes used to represent Yamato, the true old Japanese name of the country, as in the name of the first Emperor, Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-hoho-demi, better known as Jimmu Tennō. I have little doubt that Nihon, as a name for Japan, was first used by the Corean scholars who came over in numbers during the early part of the seventh century. Perhaps the earliest genuine use of this term occurs in the lament for the death of Shōtoku Daishi by a Corean Buddhist priest in A.D. 620.

In 670 it was formally notified to one of the Corean kingdoms that this would be the name of the country in future, and from about the same time the Chinese also began to use it officially.

There are several cases of its being used retrospectively in places where it has no business, as in a supposed letter from the King of Koryö to the Emperor of Japan quoted in the "Nihongi" under 297 A.D.

"Nihongi," or the Chronicles of Japan, is the proper and original name of this work. But later editors and writers have introduced the syllable sho, writing, styling it the Nihon-shoki, which is its most usual literary designation at the present time. It is also spoken of as the "Shoki."

[2] The first two books of the "Nihongi" contain the myths which form the basis of the Shinto religion. For the further study of this subject, Chamberlain's admirably faithful translation of the Kojiki, and Satow's contributions to the "J.A.S.T." will be found indispensable. Griffis's "Religions of Japan" may also be consulted with advantage.

[3] The Yin and Yang, or female and male principles of Chinese philosophy See "Mayer's Chinese Manual," p. 293.

egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs.

The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.

The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty.

Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently.

Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them.[1]

Hence[2] it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water.

At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this

[1] These opening sentences of the "Nihongi" have been justly condemned by modern Shinto scholars such as Motowori and Hirata as an essay of the Chinese rationalistic type, which has been awkwardly prefixed to the genuine Japanese traditions. Hirata mentions two Chinese works named 淮南子 and 三五暦記, as among the originals from which the author of the "Nihongi" borrowed these ideas. See Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," pp. 19 and 51 (reprint), "Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions," 1875, Appendix. I take this opportunity of referring the reader to this treatise, which is much the most instructive and accurate work that has yet appeared on the ancient Japanese religion and mythology. No serious student of this subject can afford to neglect it.

The corresponding passage of the "Kiujiki" (*vide* Index) is as follows :—"Of old, the original essence was a chaotic mass. Heaven and Earth had not yet been separated, but were like an egg, of ill-defined limits and containing germs. Thereafter, the pure essence, ascending by degrees, became thinly spread out, and formed Heaven. The floating grosser essence sank heavily, and, settling down, became Earth. What we call countries were produced by the opening, splitting up, and dividing of the earth as it floated along. It might be compared to the floating of a fish which sports on the surface of the water. Now Heaven was produced first, and Earth afterwards."

[2] Motowori points out that hence has no meaning here. It is inserted clumsily to make it appear as if there were some connection between the Chinese essay which precedes and the Japanese tradition which follows. The author is fond of this word and frequently brings it in without much meaning.

became transformed into a God, and was called Kuni-toko- I. 2.[1]
tachi no Mikoto.[2]

[*The character* 尊 *is used owing to the extreme dignity of this Deity. For the others the character* 命 *is used. Both are read Mikoto. This rule is followed below.*[3]]

Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto,[4] and next Toyo-kumu-nu no Mikoto,[5] in all three deities.[6]

[1] The marginal references are to the Shukai edition of the original.

[2] Land-eternal-stand-of-august-thing.

[3] This distinction is, of course, an invention of the persons who committed the myths to writing, and it is by no means consistently adhered to even in the "Nihongi"

The passage in italics is from what is called the "Original Commentary," for which see introduction.

[4] Land-of-right-soil-of-augustness, i.e. his augustness the true soil of th land. Sa, which I have rendered "right," is a mere honorific. Tsuchi is written with a Chinese character which means "mallet," but it must be taken here as put phonetically for tsuchi, land or soil.

[5] Rich-form-plain-of-augustness. The meaning of many of the names of the gods is obscure, and these renderings must be accepted with caution. Compare the notes to Chamberlain's "Kojiki," where much attention has been given to this subject. It may be remarked that there is great and inextricable confusion as to the early deities between the various ancient authorities, the "Kojiki," the "Kiujiki," the "Kogojiui," the various documents quoted in the "Nihongi," and the "Nihongi" itself.

[6] The Chinese 三神 means simply three deities. But the interlinear Kana has mi-bashira no Kami, i.e. Deities, three pillars, hashira or bashira being the usual auxiliary numeral (like our head of cattle, sail of ships, etc.) for gods in the ancient literature. Historical Shinto has no idols, but does not this use of the word hashira suggest a time when the gods of Japan were wooden posts carved at the top into a rude semblance of the human countenance, such as are seen at this day in many savage lands? In Corea, closely related to Japan, there are gods of this kind. The mile-posts there have their upper part fashioned into the shape of an idol, to which some pompous title is given, and at a village not far from Söul, on the Wönsan road, I have seen a group of a dozen or more of these pillar-gods, set up, I was told, as guardians to the inhabitants during an epidemic of small-pox.

The word Kami, deity, has a very wide application in Japanese. It means primarily upper, and hence nobles, the sovereign, gods, and generally any wonderful or mysterious thing. The leopard and wolf are Kami, the peach with which Izanagi put to flight the thunders which pursued him in the land of Yomi, etc. See Hirata's interesting remarks translated by Satow in "Revival of Pure Shinto," "J.A.S.T.," p. 42 (reprint).

The Aino ideas regarding Kamui are very similar. See Batchelor in "J.A.S.T.," XVI., Pt. I., p. 17.

These were pure males spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven.[1]

In one writing it is said:[2]—"When Heaven and Earth began, a thing existed in the midst of the Void.[3] Its shape may not be described. Within it a Deity was spontaneously produced, whose name was Kuni-toko-tachi no Mikoto, also called Kuni-soko-tachi[4] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto, also called Kuni no sa-tachi[5] no Mikoto. Next there was Toyo-kuni-nushi[6] no Mikoto, also called Toyo-kumu-nu[7] no Mikoto, Toyo-ka-fushi-no[8] no Mikoto, Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi[9] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuni-no[10] no Mikoto, Toyo-kuhi-no[11] no Mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-no[12] no Mikoto, or Mi-no[13] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Of old, when the land was young and the earth young, it floated about, as it were floating oil. At this time a thing was produced within the land, in shape like a reed-shoot when it sprouts forth. From this there was a Deity developed, whose name was Umashi-
I. 3. ashi-kabi-hiko-ji[14] no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto."

[1] The principle of Heaven is the same thing as the Yō or male principle of Chinese philosophy. This again is no part of the old tradition.

[2] These quotations are usually referred to as part of the "Nihongi." They were, in my opinion, added at a somewhat (but not much) later date. They afford some indication of the mass of written literature which existed on this subject

[3] In Japanese *sora*, to be distinguished from *ame* or *ama*, the heaven or firmament, which was regarded as a plain, as in the expression takama no hara, the plain of high heaven.

[4] Soko means bottom.

[5] Tachi means stand

[6] Rich-country-master.

[7] Rich-form-moor.

[8] Rich-perfume-joint-plain.

[9] Float-pass-plain-rich-buy.

[10] Rich-land-plain.

[11] Rich-bite (?) plain.

[12] Leaf-tree-land-plain.

[13] Mino is written with characters which suggest the derivation see-plain. But mi is more probably a honorific, to be rendered "august."

[14] Sweet-reed-shoot-prince-elder. There is some doubt about the precise signification of the word ji here rendered elder. It is the same root which we have in chichi father; wo-ji, uncle; oro-chi, serpent, and tsutsu or tsuchi, which is found in many names of gods. It is probably little more than a mere honorific.

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth were in a state of chaos, there was first of all a deity,[1] whose name was Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni-soko-tachi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth began, there were Deities produced together, whose names were, first, Kuni-no-toko-tachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto." It is further stated :—" The names of the Gods which were produced in the Plain of High Heaven were Ama no mi-naka-nushi[2] no Mikoto, next Taka-mi-musubi[3] no Mikoto, next Kami-mi-musubi[4] no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" Before Heaven and Earth were produced, there was something which might be compared to a cloud floating over the sea. It had no place of attachment for its root. In the midst of this a thing was generated which resembled a reed-shoot when it is first produced in the mud. This became straightway transformed into human[5] shape and was called Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" When Heaven and Earth began, a thing was produced in the midst of the Void, which resembled a reed-shoot. This became changed into a God, who was called Ama no toko-tachi[6] no Mikoto. There was next Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto." It is further stated :—" There was a thing produced in the midst of the Void like floating oil, from

[1] Lit. a Divine man.

[2] Heaven-of-august-centre-master. The Pole-star god, according to O'Neill. *Vide* " Night of the Gods," pp. 535, 536.

[3] High-august-growth. " Personifications of highly abstract ideas are not unknown in myths of savages. The South Sea islanders have personified 'the very beginning,' and 'space.' " Lang's " Myth, Religion, and Ritual," Vol. I., p. 196. It is not quite clear whether this is the same as the Musubi or Musubu no Kami, a god who unites lovers, and to whom the rags hung on trees by the roadside are offered.

[4] Divine-august-growth. This corresponds nearly with the Kojiki myth.

[5] The Chinese character is 人, which the interlinear Kana coolly renders by Kami, deity.

[6] Heaven-of-eternal-stand.

which a God was developed, called Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto."

The next Deities who came into being were Uhiji-ni[1] no Mikoto and Suhiji-ni no Mikoto, also called Uhiji-ne no
I. 4. Mikoto and Suhiji-ne no Mikoto.

The next Deities which came into being were Oho-to nochi no Mikoto and Oho-to mahe no Mikoto.

One authority says Oho-to no he no Mikoto, otherwise called Oho-to-ma-hiko no Mikoto and Oho-to-ma-hime no Mikoto. Another says Oho-tomu-chi no Mikoto and Oho-tomu-he no Mikoto.[2]

The next Gods which came into being were Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, also called Aya-kashiko-ne no Mikoto, Imi kashiki no Mikoto, or Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto, or Aya-kashiki no Mikoto.[3]

The next Deities which came into being were Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto.[4]

One writing says:—"These two Deities were the children of Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto."

One writing says:—"Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto produced Ame kagami no Mikoto, Ame kagami no Mikoto produced Ame yorodzu no Mikoto, Ame yorodzu

[1] The names of these two Deities are of doubtful meaning. According to the Chinese characters Uhiji should mean mud-earth, and Suhiji sand-earth. Ni or ne is a honorific particle. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 17.

[2] These names are somewhat obscure. Oho-to means great door or house; nochi, after, and mahe, before. He, is place; toma, a coarse kind of mat; tomu, wealthy; and chi, ground. The other elements of these names have occurred above.

[3] Omo-taru means face-pleasing, and Kashiko, awful. Ne is a honorific suffix; aya, an interjection like our ah! Imi means avoidance, religious abstinence, taboo. Kashiki is probably only another form of Kashiko, awful. Awo is green.

[4] Izana is the root of a verb izanafu, to invite; gi, a masculine, and mi, a feminine termination. These two names may therefore be rendered male-who-invites and female-who-invites. But it may be suspected that this is, after all, merely a volks-etymologie, and that Iza or Isa is simply the name of a place, na being another form of no, the genitive particle. Isa is known to Japanese myth. We shall find an Isa well in Heaven spoken of below. There are two places called Isa in Hitachi, and an Isa no Jirja in Idzumo.

no Mikoto produced Aha-nagi no Mikoto, and Aha-nagi no Mikoto produced Izanagi no Mikoto." [1]

These make eight Deities in all. Being formed by the mutual action of the Heavenly and Earthly principles, they were made male and female.[2] From Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto to Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto are called the seven generations of the age of the Gods.[3]

[1] Ame-kagami, heaven-mirror ; Ame-yorodzu, heaven-myriad ; Aha-nagi, foam-calm.

[2] This sentence is obviously from the pen of a student of Chinese philosophy.

[3] The eight Gods specially worshipped by the Jingikwan, or Department of the Shinto Religion in the Yengi period—901-922—were Taka-mi-musubi no Kami, Kami-mi-musubi no Kami, Tama-tsume musubi no Kami, Iku musubi no Kami, Taru musubi no Kami, Oho-miya no me no Kami, Mi Ketsu Kami, and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.

For the sake of comparison the Kiujiki scheme of the generations of early Deities is herewith added. It will still further exemplify the confusion of these traditions.

"Therefore a God was developed in the Plain of High Heaven whose name was Ame - yudzuru - hi - ame no sa- giri kuni-yudzuru-tsuki kuni no
heaven transfer sun heaven right mist land transfer moon land of
sa- giri no Mikoto, who was produced alone. After him were born two
right mist
generations of companion Gods and five generations of mated Deities. These make up what is called the seven generations of the Gods.

GENEALOGY OF THE AGE OF THE GODS.

The Heavenly parent, Ame yudzuru hi ame no sa-giri kuni yudzuru tsuki kuni no sa-giri no Mikoto.

1ST GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Ame no mi-naka-nushi no Mikoto.
heaven middle master
Umashi - ashi-kabi hikoji no Mikoto.
sweet reed-shoot prince elder

2ND GENERATION.

Companion-born heavenly Gods.

Kuni no toko tachi no Mikoto.
land eternal stand
Toyo-kuni-nushi no Mikoto.
rich land master

In one writing it is said :—"The gods that were produced in pairs, male and female, were first of all Uhiji ni

A Branch.

Ame - ya - kudari no Mikoto.
heaven eight descend

3RD GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Tsuno - gui no Mikoto.
horn stake (name of place ?)

Iku - gui no Mikoto, his younger sister of wife.
live stake

A Branch.

Ame mi kudari no Mikoto.
heaven three descend

4TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Uhiji - ni no Mikoto.
mud earth (honorific affix)

Suhiji - ni no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
sand earth

A Branch.

Ama - ahi no Mikoto.
heaven meet

5TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Oho-toma-hiko no Mikoto.
great mat prince

Oho - toma - he no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
great mat place

A Branch.

Ame ya - wo - hi no Mikoto.
heaven eight hundred days

6TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Awo - kashiki ne no Mikoto.
green awful (honorific)

Aya-kashiki ne no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.
ah ! awful

A Branch.

Ame no ya-so-yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
eighty myriads spirits

no Mikoto and Suhiji ni no Mikoto. Next there were Tsuno-guhi no Mikoto and Iku-guhi no Mikoto, next

7TH GENERATION.

Heavenly Gods born as mates.

Izanagi no Mikoto.
Izanami no Mikoto, his younger sister or wife.

A Branch.

Taka mi - musubi no Mikoto.
high august growth

Children.

Ama no omohi-game no Mikoto.
heaven thought-compriser
Ama no futo-dama no Mikoto.
big jewel
Ama no woshi - hi no Mikoto.
endure sun
Ama no kamu-dachi no Mikoto.
god stand

Next there was—

Kamu mi musubi no Mikoto.
above growth

Children.

Ame no mi ke mochi no Mikoto.
august food hold
Ame no michi ne no Mikoto.
road (honorific)
Ame no kami-dama no Mikoto.
god jewel
Iku-dama no Mikoto.
live jewel

Next there was—

Tsu-haya-dama no Mikoto.
port quick jewel

Children.

Ichi - chi - dama no Mikoto.
market thousand jewel
Kogoto-dama no Mikoto.
(?)

Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto."

Izanagi and Izanami on the Floating Bridge of Heaven.

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood on the
I. 5 floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying: "Is there not a country beneath?"

Ama no ko-yane no Mikoto.
child-roof
Takechi - nokori no Mikoto.
brave milk remnant

Next there was—

Furu-dama no Mikoto.
shake jewel

Children.

Saki-dama no Mikoto.
first jewel
Ama no woshi - dachi no Mikoto.
endure stand

Next there was—

Yorodzu-dama no Mikoto.
myriad jewel

Child.

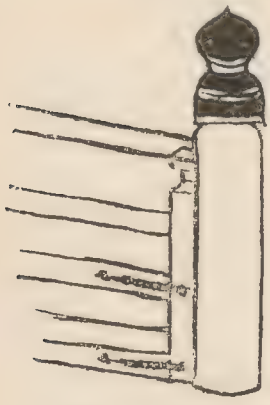
Ama no koha-kaha no Mikoto."
hard river

A number of these Deities are stated to be the ancestors of noble Japanese families. The explanation of the meaning of these names is often

Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven,[1] and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which

very conjectural. Some are probably names of places. Possibly some of the obscurer names are Corean. The "Seishiroku" speaks of a Corean Sagiri no Mikoto, and other known Corean Deities were worshipped in Japan. The reader will do well to consult here Satow's "Japanese Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VI., Pt. II., p. 120, where he makes the pregnant suggestion that the sun was the earliest among the powers of nature to be deified, and that the long series of gods who precede her in the cosmogony of the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi," most of whom are shown by their names to have been mere abstractions, were invented to give her a genealogy.

[1] Hirata conjectures that the jewel-spear (nu-boko or tama-boko) of Heaven was in form like a wo-bashira. Wo-bashira means literally male-pillar. This word is usually applied to the end-posts or pillars of a railing or balustrade, no doubt on account of the shape of the top, which ends in a sort of a ball (the nu or tama), supposed to resemble the glans. That by wo-bashira Hirata means a phallus is clear from his quoting as its equivalent the Chinese expression 玉茎, i.e. jewel-stalk, an ornate word for the penis. A Japanese word for this is wo-hashi, or wo-bashi, which contains nearly the same etymological elements as wo-bashira.



Wo-bashira.

A writer quoted in the Tsū-shō commentary on the "Nihongi," says that the Tama-boko (or nu-boko) is the root of coition.

The late Mr. J. O'Neill, in his "Night of the Gods" (pp. 31, 37, 67), proposed the theory that this spear and other spears of myth "are but symbols of the Earth-axis and its prolongation," an idea which is worked out with much ingenuity and learning in that remarkable work. At p. 88 he argues that this view is not inconsistent with the phallic interpretation.

There are other indications in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" of phallic worship in Ancient Japan, although, probably owing to the influence of Chinese ideas of literary propriety, there are fewer than might have been expected. *Vide* Index—Phallic worship.

All travellers in Japan, especially before the Revolution of 1868, must have observed numerous evidences of a phallic cult. The Government have of recent years done their best to suppress this very gross form of nature worship, but it still exists in out-of-the-way places, as has been shown in an interesting Essay by Dr. Edmund Buckley, of the University of Chicago, who has collected numerous facts relating to this subject. Dr. Griffis, in his "Religions of Japan," has also noticed several evidences of it.

Travelling from Utsunomiya to Nikko, in 1871, I found the road lined at intervals with groups of phalli, connected, no doubt, with the worship of the Sacred Mountain Nan-tai (male-form), which was visited every summer by

dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.[1]

The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.

So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the centre of the land.[2]

Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female[3]

hundreds of pilgrims of the male sex, access to females being at that time rigorously prohibited.

A cave at Kamakura formerly contained scores of phalli carved in stone.

I once witnessed a phallic procession in a town some miles north of Tokio. A phallus several feet high, and painted a bright vermilion colour, was being carried on a sort of a bier by a crowd of shouting, laughing coolies with flushed faces, who zig-zagged along with sudden rushes from one side of the street to another. It was a veritable Bacchic rout. The Dionysia, it will be remembered, had their phalli. A procession of this kind invaded the quiet thoroughfares of the Kobe foreign settlement in 1868, much to the amazement of the European residents.

That there are domestic shrines in the lupanars where these objects of worship are propitiated by having a small lamp kept constantly burning before them is, perhaps, not to be wondered at.

Is it a mere coincidence that wo-bashira, male pillar, should contain the element hashira which is used as a numeral for deities? See above, p. 5.

Some of the Rai-tsui, or thunder-clubs, figured in Kanda's "Ancient Stone Implements," Plate VII., are probably phalli. Their size precludes the view that they were used as weapons.

It may be, however, that both the Earth-axis and the phallic interpretations of the nu-boko are too subtle. The Hoko may after all be a spear and nothing more, and the nu or jewel merely an ornate epithet, as indeed Hirata suggests.

[1] Spontaneously-congeal-island. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 19. Identified with a small island near Ahaji.

[2] The "Kiujiki" mentions a tradition according to which the two gods made the jewel-spear the central pillar of their house.

[3] The words for male and female are in the original Yō and In. It greatly excites the indignation of the Motowori and Hirata school to have these Chinese philosophical terms applied to Japanese deities. I cannot help thinking that some early marriage ceremony is adumbrated by this circumambulation. We have the ceremony of divorce further on. The erection of a house is not merely for practical reasons. It appears from several passages that a special building was a necessary preliminary to the consummation of a marriage in proper form.

deity by the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female deity spoke first and said:—"How delightful! I have met I. 6.
with a lovely youth." The male deity was displeased, and said:—"I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a woman, shouldst have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again." Upon this the two deities went back, and having met anew, this time the male deity spoke first, and said:—"How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden."

Then he inquired of the female deity, saying:—"In thy body is there aught formed?" She answered, and said:—"In my body there is a place which is the source of femineity." The male deity said:—"In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity. I wish to unite this source-place of my body to the source-place of thy body." Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and wife.

Now when the time of birth arrived, first of all the island of Ahaji was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it. Therefore it received the name of Ahaji no Shima.[1]

Next there was produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima.[2]

Here and elsewhere 日本 (*Nippon*) *is to be read Yamato.*[3]

Next they produced the island of Iyo no futa-na,[4] and next I. 7.
the island of Tsukushi.[5] Next the islands of Oki and Sado

[1] "The island which will not meet," i.e. is unsatisfactory. Ahaji may also be interpreted as "my shame." The characters with which this name is written in the text mean "foam-road." Perhaps the true derivation is "millet-land." Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 21.

[2] Rich-harvest (or autumn)-of-island.

[3] Yamato means probably mountain-gate. It is the genuine ancient name for the province which contained Nara and many of the other capitals of Japan for centuries, and it was also used for the whole country. Several of Mikados called themselves Yamato-neko. It is mentioned by the historian of the Later Han dynasty of China (A.D. 25-220) as the seat of rule in Japan at that time. (See above, p. 1.)

[4] Now called Shikoku.

[5] Now called Kiushiu.

were born as twins. This is the prototype of the twin-births which sometimes take place among mankind.

Next was born the island of Koshi,[1] then the island of Oho-shima, then the island of Kibi no Ko.[2]

Hence first arose the designation of the Oho-ya-shima[3] country.

Then the islands of Tsushima and Iki, with the small islands in various parts, were produced by the coagulation of the foam of the salt-water.

It is also stated that they were produced by the coagulation of the foam of fresh water.

In one writing it is said:—"The Gods of Heaven addressed Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, say-
I. 8. ing: 'There is the country Toyo-ashi-hara-chi-i-wo-aki no midzu-ho.[4] Do ye proceed and bring it into order.' They then gave them the jewel-spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Gods stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and plunging down the spear, sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again, the brine which dripped from the spear-point coagulated and became an island, which was called Ono-goro-jima. The two gods descended, dwelt in this island, and erected there an eight-fathom palace.[5] They also set up the pillar of Heaven."

Then the male Deity asked the female Deity, saying:—"Is there anything formed in thy body?" She answered and said:—"My body has a place completely formed, and called the source of femineity." The male god said:—"My body again has a place completely formed, and called the source of masculinity. I desire to unite my source of

[1] Koshi is not an island. It comprises the present provinces of Ettchiu, Echigo, and Echizen.

[2] These two are not clear. Kibi is now Bingo, Bizen, and Bittchiu. Ko, "child or small," perhaps refers to the small islands of the Inland Sea.

[3] Great-eight-island.

[4] Abundant-reed-plain, thousand-five-hundred-harvest (or autumn) fair-ears.

[5] The "Kiujiki" makes the nu-boko or jewel-spear the central pillar of the house which they erected. Eight-fathom is simply a poetical expression for large. There is no special sacredness attached to the number eight.

masculinity to thy source of femineity." Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the pillar of Heaven, and made a promise, saying:—"Do thou, my younger sister, go round from the left, while I will go round from the right." Having done so, they went round separately and met, when the female Deity spoke first, and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" The male Deity then answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was the

The Leech Child as Yebisu.

leech, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift.[1] Their next was the Island of Ahaji. This also was I. 9.
not included in the number of their children. Wherefore they returned up again to Heaven, and fully reported the circumstances. Then the Heavenly Gods divined this by the greater divination. Upon which they instructed them, saying:—"It was by reason of the woman's having spoken first; ye had best return thither again." Thereupon having divined a time, they went down. The two deities

[1] The leech was identified in after times with the God Yebisu. See Anderson's Catalogue of Paintings in the British Museum, p. 36. Hirata attempts to show that he was the same as Sukuna-bikona, but is not convincing. The reed boat recalls the Accadian legend of Sargon and his ark of rushes, the Biblical story of Moses as an infant and many more, for which the curious reader may consult the late John O'Neill's "Night of the Gods," p. 410.

accordingly went again round the pillar, the male Deity from the left,[1] and the female Deity from the right. When they met, the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" The female Deity next answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" Thereafter they dwelt together in the same palace and had children, whose names were Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Ahaji, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsukushi, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Koshi, next the island of Kibi-no-ko. The country was accordingly called the "Great-Eight-Island Country."

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood in the midst of the mist of Heaven, and said:—'We wish to find a country.' So they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven, and groped about till they found the island of Ono-goro. Then they drew back the spear and rejoiced, saying:—'Good! there is a country!'"

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto sat in the Plain of High Heaven, and said:—'There must surely be a country.' So with the jewel-spear of Heaven they scraped together the island of Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto spoke to one another, saying:—'There is something resembling floating oil. In the midst of this there is perhaps a country.' So they
I. 10. took the jewel-spear of Heaven and groping about formed with it an island which was called Ono-goro."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a handsome youth!' Now it was considered unlucky that the female Deity should have spoken first. Accordingly they went round again,

[1] Hirata says that as the left is superior to the right, and the man to the woman, it is proper that the man should go round from the left, and the woman from the right. He strongly condemns the Kojiki version of the story which reverses this order. The notion of the superiority of the left is really Chinese.

when the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Postemo cupiebant coire, sed artis nescii erant. Tum erat motacilla[1] quae advolavit, atque concussit suum caput et suam caudam. Quod cum vidissent duo Dei, imitati sunt eam, et in hoc modo artem coeundi potiti sunt.

In one writing it is said:—"The two Deities were united and became husband and wife. First of all, the islands of Ahaji and Aha being considered the placenta,[2] they produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo, next the island of Tsukushi, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, next the island of Koshi, next Oho-shima, and next Kojima."

In one writing it is said:—"First there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Iki, and next the island of Tsushima."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ono-goro being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Iyo no futa-na, next the island of Tsu-kushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, next, as twins, the islands of Oki and Sado, and next the island of Koshi."

In one writing it is said:—"The island of Ahaji being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Oho-yamato Toyo-aki-tsu, next the island of Aha, next the island of Iyo no futana, next the triplet islands of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Tsukushi, next the island of Kibi no ko, and next Oho-shima."

In one writing it is said:—"The female Deity spoke first and said:—'How pretty! a lovely youth!' She

[1] Anglice, wagtail.

[2] The Japanese word for placenta is *ye* or *yena*. *Ye* is also Japanese for elder brother. The Kiujiki has in the corresponding passage 兄 or elder brother.

forthwith took the hand of the male Deity, and they at length became husband and wife. There was born to
I. 11. them the island of Ahaji, and next the leech-child."

They next produced the sea, then the rivers, and then the mountains. Then they produced Ku-ku-no-chi, the ancestor of the trees, and next the ancestor of herbs, Kaya no hime.[1] *Also called Nudzuchi.*

After this Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying:—"We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe?[2] They then together produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Oho-hiru-me no muchi.[3]

Called in one writing Ama-terasu no Oho kami.[4]

In one writing she is called Ama-terasu-oho-hiru-me no Mikoto.[5]

The resplendent lustre of this child shone throughout all the six quarters.[6] Therefore the two Deities rejoiced, saying:—"We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven."

At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated,[7] and therefore they sent her up to Heaven by the ladder of Heaven.

They next produced the Moon-god.

[1] Ku-ku is evidently for ki-ki, trees. Chi is the same root which we have in the modern chichi, father, and kaya is the name of a kind of rush used for thatching. Nu-dzu-chi, moor-of-father.

[2] Universe. In the original, tenka, i.e. that which is under Heaven, subsequently the usual word for the Empire.

[3] Oho-hiru-me no muchi. Great-noon-female-of-possessor.

[4] Heaven-illumine-of-great-deity.

[5] Heaven-illumine-great-noon-female-of-augustness.

[6] North, South, East, West, Above, Below.

[7] "In the beginning the Heaven, Rangi, and the Earth, Papa, were the father and mother of all things. In those days the Heaven lay upon the Earth, and all was darkness. They had never been separated."

Maori myth, quoted by Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 45.

Called in one writing Tsuki-yumi[1] no Mikoto, or Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. I. 12.

His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendour. This God was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

Next they produced the leech-child, which even at the age of three years could not stand upright. They therefore placed it in the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven, and abandoned it to the winds.

Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[2]

Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto.[3]

This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed[4]

[1] Yumi means bow, yomi darkness. Neither is inappropriate as applied to the moon.

[2] This name is written indifferently Sosa no wo and Susa no wo. The accepted derivation refers *Susa* to *Susamu*, a verb which means "to be impetuous." Hence the "Impetuous Male" of Chamberlain's and Satow's translations. I am disposed to prefer a derivation suggested by the "Idzumo Fudoki," a very old book, which states :—

"Village of Susa. Nineteen ri due west of the Town-house of the district. Kamu Susa no wo no Mikoto said :—'This is only a small country, but it is a Kuni-dokoro (local capital ?). Therefore my name shall not be affixed to wood or stone.' This was accordingly the place where he allowed his august spirit to repose. There were, therefore, established by him the Greater Susa rice-lands and the Lesser Susa rice-lands."

Susa no wo is therefore simply the "male of Susa." It will be remembered that by one Japanese tradition, Idzumo is the home of the Gods, and that several of the legends respecting them relate to this locality. It is, however, probable that the older derivation is really a volks-etymologie, which has given colour to the stories told of this deity. Idzumo is a chief home of the worship of Susa no wo at the present day. His wife's mother was called Susa no Yatsu-mimi, but it has not occurred to anybody to make her an "impetuous female." Hirata rejects the modern identification of this God with Godzu Tennō.

[3] Kami, deity ; haya, quick.

[4] The character used is that appropriate to a sovereign addressing his subjects.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether-Land."[1] So they at length expelled him.

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.' He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror,[2] upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced
I. 13. from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head and looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hirume no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine down upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land."

In one writing it is said:—"After the sun and moon, the next child which was born was the leech-child. When this child had completed his third year, he was nevertheless still unable to stand upright. The reason why the leech-child was born was that in the beginning, when Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto went round the pillar, the female Deity was the first to utter an exclamation of pleasure, and the law of male and female was therefore broken. They next procreated Sosa no wo no Mikoto. This God was of a wicked nature, and was always fond of wailing and wrath. Many of the people of the land died, and the green mountains withered. Therefore his parents addressed him, saying: 'Supposing that thou wert to rule this country, much destruction of life would surely ensue. Thou must govern the far-distant Nether Land.' Their next child was the bird-rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven. They forthwith took this

[1] Ne no kuni, lit. the root-country, by which Hades or Yomi is no doubt meant.

[2] See Index—Copper.

boat and, placing the leech-child in it, abandoned it to the current. Their next child was Kagu tsuchi."[1] I. 14.

Now Izanami no Mikoto was burnt by Kagu tsuchi, so that she died.[2] When she was lying down to die, she gave birth to the Earth-Goddess, Hani-yama-hime,[3] and the Water-Goddess, Midzu-ha-no-me. Upon this Kagu tsuchi took to wife Hani-yama-hime, and they had a child named Waka-musubi.[4] On the crown of this Deity's head were produced the silkworm and the mulberry tree, and in her navel the five kinds of grain.[5]

In one writing it is said :—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to Ho-no-musubi,[6] she was burnt by the child, and died.[7] When she was about to die, she brought forth the Water-Goddess, Midzu-ha-no-me, and the Earth-Goddess, Hani-yama-hime. She also brought forth the gourd[8] of Heaven."

In one writing it is said :—"When about to give birth to the Fire-God, Kagu tsuchi, Izanami no Mikoto became feverish and ill. In consequence she vomited, and the vomit became changed into a God, who was called Kana-yama-hiko.[9] Next her urine became changed into a Goddess, who was called Midzu-ha-no-me. Next her excrement was changed into a Goddess, who was called Hani-yama-hime.

In one writing it is said :—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to the Fire-God, she was burnt, and died. She was, therefore, buried at the village of Arima in Kumano, in the province of Kiï. In the time of flowers, the inhabitants worship the spirit of this Goddess by offerings of

[1] Kagu tsuchi was the God of Fire. Tsu is here probably the genitive particle, and chi the same honorific word as appears in several other names of Gods. He was worshipped at Nagusa in Kiï.

[2] Lit. ended. [3] Clay-mountain-lady.

[4] Young-growth.

[5] Hemp, millet, rice, corn, pulse. This is a Chinese form of speech, and with the mention of the silkworm betrays a recent origin of this tradition.

[6] Fire-growth. [7] Lit. retired.

[8] The gourd was to hold water to subdue the Fire-God with when he became violent.

[9] Metal-mountain prince. This legend indicates an acquaintance with mining.

flowers. They also worship her with drums, flutes, flags,
I. 15. singing and dancing."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, having together procreated the Great-eight-island Land, Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'Over the country which we have produced there is naught but morning mists which shed a perfume everywhere!' So he puffed them away with a breath, which became changed into a God, named Shina tohe no Mikoto. He is also called Shina[1] tsu hiko no Mikoto. This is the God of the Wind. Moreover, the child which they procreated when they were hungry was called Uka no mi-tama[2] no Mikoto. Again they produced the Sea-Gods, who were called Wata[3] tsu mi no Mikoto, and the Mountain-Gods, who were called Yama tsu mi, the Gods of the River-mouths, who were called Haya-aki[4]-tsubi no Mikoto, the Tree-Gods, who were called Ku-ku no chi, and the Earth-Goddess, who was called Hani-yasu[5] no Kami. Thereafter they produced all manner of things whatsoever. When the time came for the Fire-God Kagu tsuchi to
I. 16. be born, his mother Izanami no Mikoto was burnt, and suffered change and departed.[6] Then Izanagi no Mikoto was wroth, and said: 'Oh, that I should have given my beloved younger sister[7] in exchange for a single child!

[1] Shina is said to be derived from shi, wind or breath, and na, a short form of naga, long. See Chamberlain's "Kojiki," p. 27. The worship of this God is frequently referred to in the last two books of the Nihongi. See also Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," where a prayer to him is given. Tohe means chief.

[2] Food august-spirit. The Chinese characters transliterated Uka mean storehouse rice.

[3] Wata is an old word for sea; mi is probably "body."

[4] Haya-aki means swift-autumn; tsu, of, and bi (or mi) perhaps person or body.

[5] Clay-easy.

[6] i.e. died.

[7] The ancient Japanese word for younger sister was imo, which is also applied to a wife. It may be doubted whether this justifies any adverse inference as to the morals of the Japanese in early times. "Sister" is used as an endearing epithet in the Song of Solomon where the relation is certainly not that of brother and sister. It is true, however, that marriages were allowed between brothers and sisters when of different mothers.

So while he crawled at her head, and crawled at her feet, weeping and lamenting, the tears which he shed fell down and became a Deity. It is this Deity who dwells at Unewo no Konomoto, and who is called Naki-saha-me[1] no Mikoto. At length he drew the ten-span sword with which he was girt, and cut Kagu tsuchi into three pieces, each of which became changed into a God. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the edge of the sword[2] became the multitudinous[3] rocks which are in the bed of the Easy-River[4] of Heaven. This God was the father of Futsu-nushi no Kami. Moreover, the blood which dripped from the hilt-ring of the sword spurted out and became deities, whose names were Mika no Haya-hi[5] no Kami and next Hi no Haya-hi no[6] Kami. This Mika no Haya-hi no Kami was the parent of Take-mika-suchi[7] no I. 17.
Kami."

Another version is:—"Mika no haya-hi no Mikoto, next Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto, and next Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the point of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Iha-saku[8] no Kami, after him Ne-saku no Kami,[9] and next Iha-tsutsu-wo[10] no Mikoto. This Iha-saku no Kami was the father of Futsu-nushi[11] no Kami."

One account says:—"Iha-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and next Iha-tsutsu-me no Mikoto."

"Moreover, the blood which dripped from the head of the sword spurted out and became deities, who were called Kura o Kami no Kami,[12] next Kura-yamatsumi no Kami,[13] and next Kura-midzu-ha no Kami.[14]

[1] Weep-abundant-female. [2] Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32.
[3] Literally, five hundred.
[4] i.e. The Milky Way. Yasu, easy, is probably in error for ya-so, eighty, i.e. manifold, having many reaches.
[5] Jar-swift-sun. So written, but mika is probably a word meaning very or mighty.
[6] Fire-swift-sun. See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 32. [7] Brave-jar-father.
[8] Rock-splitting-god. [9] Root-splitting-god. [10] Rock-elder-male-god.
[11] Futsu is interpreted as "a snapping sound"; nushi is master.
[12] Dark-god. [13] Dark-mountain-body-god. [14] Dark-water-goddess.

I. 18. Thereafter, Izanagi no Mikoto went after Izanami no Mikoto, and entered the land of Yomi.[1] When he reached her they conversed together, and Izanami no Mikoto said: 'My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking-furnace of Yomi.[2] Nevertheless, I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look on me.' Izanami no Mikoto did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and, breaking off its end tooth,[3] made of it a torch, and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up, and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb[4] at night. Izanagi no Mikoto was greatly shocked, and said: 'Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous and polluted land.' So he speedily ran away back again. Then Izanami no Mikoto was angry, and said:

[1] The original has "yellow springs," a Chinese expression. Yomi or Yomo is Hades. It is no doubt connected with yo or yoru, night.

[2] This is a feature of many old-world and savage myths. In the legend of the rape of Proserpine by Pluto, as told by Ovid, Jupiter replies to Ceres, who demanded back her daughter—

> ". . . Repetat Proserpina caelum,
> Lege tamen certâ: si nullos contiget illic
> Ore cibos."

But Proserpine already—

> "Puniceum curvâ decerpserat arbore pomum
> Sumta que pallenti septem de cortice grana
> Presserat ore suo."

Compare also the story of Nachikétas from the Taittiríya Brāhmana, and the Katha Upanishad:—

> "Three nights within his (Yama's) mansion stay,
> But taste not, though a guest, his food."
> Muir's Sanskrit texts, Vol. V., p. 329.

The resemblance of the name Yama of the Indian God of the Lower World to the Japanese Yomi has been noted, and also some points of similarity in the myth of Yami and Yama to that of Izanagi and Izanami. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," p. 171.

[3] End-tooth is in Japanese wo-bashira, i e. male-pillar, for which see above, note to p. 11.

[4] The "Adzuma Kagami" mentions a superstition that any one who picks up a comb which has been thrown away is transformed into another person.

'Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now am I put to shame.' So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi[1] (*Shikome, called by some Hisame*) to pursue and stay him. Izanagi no Mikoto therefore drew his sword, and, flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress and flung it down. I. 19. It became changed into grapes, which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi no Mikoto. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when they had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards, Izanami no Mikoto came herself and pursued him.[2] By this time Izanagi no Mikoto had reached the Even Pass of Yomi."

According to one account, Izanagi no Mikoto made water against a large tree, which water at once turned into a great river. While the Ugly Females of Yomi were preparing to cross this river, Izanagi no Mikoto had already reached the Even Pass of Yomi. So he took a thousand-men-pull-rock, and having blocked up the path with it, stood face to face with Izanami no Mikoto, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. Upon this, Izanami no Mikoto said: "My dear Lord and husband, if thou sayest so, I will strangle to death the people of the country which thou dost govern, a thousand in one day." Then Izanagi no Mikoto replied, saying, "My beloved younger sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said, "Come no further, and threw down his staff, which was called Funado[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his girdle,

[1] The "Wamiōsho" mentions a statement that these were used as bogeys to frighten children with under the name of Gogo-me.

[2] The student of folk-lore will at once recognize this pursuit. Cf. Lang's "Custom and Myth," pp. 88 and 92: "A common incident is the throwing behind of a comb, which turns into a thicket."

[3] Or Kunado, come-not-place. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 39. This was the God of roads.

I. 20. which was called Naga-chi-ha[1] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his upper garment, which was called Wadzurahi[2] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his trowsers, which were called Aki-gui[3] no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his shoes, which were called Chi-shiki[4] no Kami.

Some say that the Even Pass of Yomi is not any place in particular, but means only the space of time when the breath fails on the approach of death.[5]

Now the rock with which the Even Pass of Yomi was blocked is called Yomi-do ni fusagaru Oho-kami.[6] Another name for it is Chi-gayeshi[7] no Oho-kami.

When Izanagi no Mikoto had returned, he was seized with regret, and said, "Having gone to Nay! a hideous and filthy place, it is meet that I should cleanse my body
I 21. from its pollutions." He accordingly went to the plain of Ahagi at Tachibana in Wodo in Hiuga of Tsukushi, and purified himself. When at length he was about to wash away the impurities[8] of his body, he lifted up his voice and said, "The upper stream is too rapid and the lower stream is too sluggish, I will wash in the middle stream." The God which was thereby produced was called Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi[9] no Kami, and then to remedy these evils

[1] Long-road-rock. [2] Disease or trouble.

[3] This might mean open-bite, but the derivation is very doubtful.

[4] Road-spread-out.

[5] Motoöri treats this suggestion with supreme contempt. He prefers to accept the identification of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K. p. 39) with a place in Idzumo. Other parts of the world also boast entrances to the lower regions. The Chinese have one at Têng-chow, and the Roman and Greek legends need not be more particularly referred to.

[6] Yomi-gate-block-great-God.

[7] Road-turn-back.

[8] Izanagi's ablutions are typical of the ceremonial lustration required after contact with death. A Chinese traveller to Japan in the early centuries of the Christian era noted that "when the funeral is over the whole family go into the water and wash." Ovid makes Juno undergo lustration after a visit to the lower regions, and Dante is washed in Lethe when he passes out of Purgatory. For lustration as a widespread practice, consult Dr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 435, *et seqq.*

[9] Eighty-evils-of-body. Cf. Ch. "Kojiki," p. 41.

there were produced Deities named Kami-nawo-bi no Kami, and after him Oho-nawo-bi[1] no Kami.

Moreover, the Deities which were produced by his plunging down and washing in the bottom of the sea were called Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi[2] no Mikoto and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. Moreover, when he plunged and washed in the mid-tide, there were Gods produced who were called Naka[3] tsu wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and next Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto.[4] Moreover, when he washed floating on the surface of the water, Gods were produced, who were called Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto and next Uha[5]-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. There were in all nine Gods. The Gods Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto are the three great Gods of Suminoye. The Gods Soko-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, Naka-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto are the Gods worshipped[6] by the Muraji of Adzumi.[7]

Thereafter, a Deity was produced by his washing his

[1] Nawo is the root of a verb nawosu, to remedy.

[2] Bottom-sea-of-body.

[3] Middle-sea-god.

[4] Middle-elder-male.

[5] Uha means upper.

[6] As appears from the parallel passage of the "Kojiki," this is a case of ancestor worship, not, it will be observed, of the immediate ancestors, as in China, but of a remote mythical ancestor who is a Deity, as his name indicates.

[7] Adzumi no Muraji is a title corresponding exactly to such English titles as "Duke of Wellington," Adzumi being the name of a place and Muraji a title of honour. It is derived from mura, a village or assemblage, and ushi, master. These titles, called Uji or Kabane, though Kabane is properly the second or honorary element, were in their origin simply official designations, and in the "Nihongi" we frequently meet with cases where the office and the title are united in the same person. They were, however, hereditary, and by degrees the mere honorary element prevailed. It too, ultimately vanished, these titles becoming simply surnames to which no particular distinction was attached. Japanese writers, the author of the "Nihongi" with the rest, have, for want of a more appropriate character, identified them with the Chinese 姓 or surname, which is only true of a period later than the time covered by the "Nihongi." There was also a personal name (na), but the ancient Japanese seem to have had no proper surnames, although the Uji answered the same purpose in a rough way.

I. 22. left eye, which was called Ama-terasu-no-oho-Kami.[1] Then he washed his right eye, producing thereby a Deity who was called Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto.[2] Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a God who was called Sosa no wo no Mikoto. In all there were three Deities. Then Izanagi no Mikoto gave charge to his three children, saying, "Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule the plain of High Heaven: do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the ocean plain: do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, rule the world." At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was already of full age. He had, moreover, grown a beard eight spans long. Nevertheless, he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Therefore Izanagi no Mikoto inquired of him, saying, "Why dost thou continually weep in this way?" He answered and said, "I wish to follow my mother to the Nether Land, and it is simply for that reason that I weep." Then Izanagi no Mikoto was filled with detestation of him, and said, "Go, even as thy heart bids thee." So he forthwith drove him away.

I. 23. In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto drew his sword and cut Kagutsuchi into three pieces. One of these

[1] The Sun-Goddess.

[2] The Moon-God. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku: "P'an-ku came into being in the Great Waste, his beginning is unknown. In dying, he gave birth to the existing material universe. His breath was transmuted into the wind and clouds, his voice into thunder, his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon: his four limbs and five extremities into the four quarters of the globe and the five great mountains, his blood into the rivers, his muscles and veins into the strata of the earth, his flesh into the soil etc."—Mayer's "Chinese Manual," p. 174. Note here that the Japanese myth gives precedence to the left over the right. This is a Chinese characteristic. Hirata rejects any identification of the two myths, pointing out that the sun is masculine in China and feminine in Japan. This is not conclusive. Such closely related nations as the English and Germans differ as to the sex which they ascribe to the sun, and Lang in his "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," points out that among the Australians, different tribes of the same race have different views of the sex of the sun and moon.

became Ikadzuchi no Kami,[1] one became Oho-yama-tsu-mi[2] no Kami, and one became Taka-wo-Kami.[3] Moreover, it is said: "When he slew Kagutsuchi, the blood gushed out and stained the five hundred[4] rocks which are in the midst of the eighty rivers of Heaven, forming thereby Gods who were called Iha-saku[5] no Kami; next Ne-saku[6] no Kami's child, Iha-tsutsu-wo[7] no Kami; and next, Iha-tsutsu-me no Kami's child, Futsu-nushi no Kami."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto cut Kagutsuchi no Mikoto into five pieces, which were each changed, and became the five Mountain-Gods. The first piece, viz., the head, became Oho-yama-tsu-mi;[8] the second, viz. the trunk, became Naka[9]-yama-tsu-mi; the third, viz. the hands, became Ha[10]-yama-tsu mi; the fourth, viz. the loins, became Masa-katsu-yama-tsu-mi;[11] and the fifth, viz. the feet, became Shiki[12]-yama-tsu-mi. I. 24.

At this time the blood from the wounds spurted out and stained the rocks, trees and herbage. This is the reason that herbs, trees, and pebbles naturally contain the element of fire."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto, wishing to see his younger sister, went to the temporary burial-place. At this time, Izanami no Mikoto being still as she was when alive came forth to meet him, and they talked together. She spoke to Izanagi no Mikoto and said, 'My august Lord and husband, I beseech thee not to look at me.' When she had done speaking, she suddenly became invisible. It was then dark, so Izanagi no Mikoto lit a single light, and looked at her. Izanami no Mikoto was then swollen and festering, and eight kinds of Thunder-Gods rested on her. Izanagi no Mikoto was shocked, and ran away. Then the thunders all arose and pursued him.

[1] The Thunder-God.
[2] Great-mountain-of-person.
[3] High male-God.
[4] The numbers 500, 80, 8, 180, 10,000 are often put vaguely for a large number.
[5] Rock-split.
[6] Root-split.
[7] Rock-elder-male.
[8] Great-mountain-of-person.
[9] Middle.
[10] Spur, *vide* Ch. K., p. 33.
[11] True-conquer or excel.
[12] Foundation.

Now by the roadside there grew a large peach tree,[1] at the foot of which Izanagi no Mikoto concealed himself. He accordingly took its fruit and flung it to the thunders, upon which the thunders all ran away. This was the origin of the practice of keeping off evil spirits by means of peaches. Then Izanagi flung down his staff, saying: 'The thunders may not come beyond this.' It (the staff) was called Funado no Kami, and was originally called Kunado no Ohoji.[2]

Of the so-called Eight Thunders, that which was on her head was called the Great Thunder; that which was on her breast was called the Fire-Thunder; that which was on her belly was called the Earth-Thunder; that which was on her back was called the Young-Thunder; that which was on her posteriors was called the Black-Thunder; that which was on her hand was called the Mountain-Thunder; that which was on her foot was called the Moor-Thunder; and that which was on her genitals was called the Cleaving-Thunder."

In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto followed after Izanami no Mikoto, and, arriving at the place where she was, spoke to her and said: 'I have come because I sorrowed for thee.' She answered and said, 'We are relations.[3] Do not thou look upon me.' Izanagi no Mikoto would not obey, but continued to look on her. Wherefore Izanami no Mikoto was ashamed and angry, and said, 'Thou hast seen my nakedness. Now I will in turn see thine.' Then Izanagi no Mikoto was ashamed, and prepared to depart. He did not, however, merely go away in silence, but said solemnly, 'Our relationship is severed.'[4] Again he said, 'I will not submit to be beaten

[1] Chinese legend also ascribes magical properties to the peach. Si Wang Mu, a fabulous being of the female sex, possessed a peach tree whose fruit conferred the gift of immortality. It has also the virtue of driving off the demons of disease. Staves and bows of peach-tree wood were used in the ceremony of oni-yarahi (sending away demons), performed on the last day of the year.

[2] Come-not-place-great-elder (or ancestor).

[3] Relations. The interlinear kana has *ugara*, i.e. the same uji or house.

[4] From the "Kiujiki" it would appear that this was the formula of divorce.

by a relation.'[1] And the God of the Spittle[2] which he thereupon spat out was called Haya-tama no wo.[3] Next the God of his purification was called Yomo-tsu-koto-saka no wo;[4] two gods in all. And when he came to contend with his younger sister at the Even Pass of Yomi, Izanagi no Mikoto said, 'It was weak of me at first to sorrow and mourn on account of a relation.'

Then said the Road-wardens of Yomi, 'We have a message for thee, as follows: 'I and thou have produced countries. Why should we seek to produce more? I shall stay in this land, and will not depart along with thee.' At this time Kukuri[5]-hime no Kami said something which Izanagi no Mikoto heard and approved, and she then vanished away.

But, having visited in person the Land of Yomi, he had I. 26.
brought on himself ill-luck. In order, therefore, to wash away the defilement, he visited the Aha gate[6] and the Haya-sufu-na[7] gate. But the tide in these two gates was exceeding strong. So he returned and took his way towards Wodo[8] in Tachibana. There he did his ablutions. At this time, entering the water, he blew out and produced Iha-tsu-tsu[9] no Mikoto; coming out of the water, he blew forth and produced Oho-nawo-bi[10] no Kami. Entering a second time, he blew out and produced Soko-tsutsu[11] no Mikoto; coming out he blew forth and produced Oho-aya-tsu-bi[12] no Kami. Entering again, he blew forth

[1] Referring to the threat of slaying 1000 people in one day, and the counter-threat of making 1500 children to be born in one day.

[2] A Japanese authority says that at the present time spitting is essential in the purification ceremony. Another says, "This is the reason why at the present day people spit when they see anything impure." Cf. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 103; Vol. II., p. 441.

[3] Quick-jewel-male. [4] Yomi-of-thing-divide-male.

[5] Hirata derives this from *kiki*, hear, and *iri*, enter, the meaning being that of mediation.

[6] Now known as the Naruto passage, a strait famous for its rapid tides.

[7] Quick suck-name. In the Bungo Channel.

[8] Little-gate. [9] Rock-of-elder.

[10] Great-remedy-person. [11] Bottom-elder.

[12] Great-pattern-of-person

and produced Aka-tsutsu[1] no Mikoto, and coming out he blew out and produced the various deities of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea-plain."

In one writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto charged his three children, saying, 'Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule over the plain of High Heaven; do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, be associated with her in the charge of Heavenly matters; do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, govern the plain of Ocean.'

Now when Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was already in Heaven, she said:—'I hear that in the Central country of reed-plains there is the Deity Uke-mochi no Kami.[2] Do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, go and wait upon her.' Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, on receiving this command, descended and went to the place where Uke-mochi no Kami was. Thereupon Uke-mochi no Kami turned her head towards the land, and forthwith from her mouth there came boiled rice: she faced the sea, and again there came from her
I. 27. mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. She faced the mountains and again there came from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. These things were all prepared and set out on one hundred tables for his entertainment. Then Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto became flushed with anger, and said:—'Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth.' So he drew his sword and slew her, and then returned and made his report, relating all the circumstances. Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was exceedingly angry, and said:—'Thou art a wicked Deity. I must not see thee face to face.' So they were separated by one day and one night, and dwelt apart.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami sent a second time Ame-kuma-bito[3] to go and see her. At this time Uke-mochi no Kami was truly dead already. But on the crown of her head there had been produced the ox and the horse;

[1] Red-elder. [2] The Goddess of food.

[3] Written "Heaven-bear-man." The real meaning is supposed to be Heaven-cloud (kumo)-man, the clouds being regarded as messengers of the Gods.

on the top of her forehead there had been produced millet; over her eyebrows there had been produced the silkworm; within her eyes there had been produced panic; in her belly there had been produced rice; in her genitals there had been produced wheat, large beans[1] and small beans.[2]

Ame-kuma-bito carried all these things and delivered them to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, who was rejoiced, and said:—'These are the things which the race of visible[3] men will eat and live.' So she made the millet, the panic, the I. 28.
wheat, and the beans the seed for the dry fields, and the rice she made the seed for the water-fields. Therefore she appointed a Mura-gimi[4] of Heaven, and forthwith sowed for the first time the rice seed in the narrow fields and in the long fields of Heaven. That autumn, drooping ears bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on.

Moreover she took the silkworms in her mouth, and succeeded in reeling thread from them. From this began the art of silkworm rearing."[5]

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made petition, saying:—"I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever." Permission was granted him, and he therefore ascended to Heaven.

After this, Izanagi no Mikoto, his divine task having been

[1] Soja hispida. Hepburn.

[2] Phaseolus radiatus. Hepburn. Compare with this the Chinese myth of P'an-ku quoted above. There are Indian and Iranian myths of a similar character. See "T.R.A.S.," Jan., 1895, p. 202. "Creation from the fragments of a fabulous anthropomorphic being is common to Chaldæans, Iroquois, Egyptians, Greeks, Tinnehs, Mangaians, and Aryan Indians." Lang, "Myth, Religion, Ritual," I. 246.

[3] As opposed to the unseen gods. [4] Village-chief.

[5] The "Kojiki" makes Susa no wo to slay Uke-mochi no Mikoto, but the "Kiujiki" agrees with the version just given, which is more likely to be the original form of the story, as it is an explanation of the reason why the sun and moon are not seen together, and has parallels in myths of other countries. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami (now called Ten-shō-dai-jin) and Ukemochi no Kami are the two principal Deities worshipped at Ise. See Satow's "Handbook of Japan," pp. 175, 176.

accomplished, and his spirit-career about to suffer a change, built himself an abode of gloom in the island of Ahaji, where he dwelt for ever in silence and concealment.

Another account says:—"Izanagi no Mikoto, his task having been accomplished, and his power great, ascended to Heaven and made report of his mission. There he dwelt
I. 29. in the smaller palace of the Sun." (*By smaller palace is meant the palace of a prince.*)

Now at first when Sosa no wo no Mikoto went up to Heaven, by reason of the fierceness of his divine nature there was a commotion in the sea, and the hills and mountains groaned aloud. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, knowing the violence and wickedness of this Deity, was startled and changed countenance, when she heard the manner of his coming. She said (to herself):—"Is my younger brother coming with good intentions? I think it must be his purpose to rob me of my kingdom. By the charge which our parents gave to their children, each of us has his own allotted limits. Why, therefore, does he reject the kingdom to which he should proceed, and make bold to come spying here?" So she bound up her hair into knots[1] and tied up her skirts into the form of trowsers. Then she took an
I. 30. august string of five hundred Yasaka[2] jewels, which she entwined around her hair and wrists. Moreover, on her back she slung a thousand-arrow quiver and a five-hundred-arrow quiver. On her lower arm she drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad.[3] Brandishing her bow end upwards,[4] she firmly grasped her

[1] In male fashion.

[2] This word has given much difficulty to the commentators. It is written with characters which mean "eight feet," and this is accepted by some as the true derivation. Hirata makes it ya, very, sa, a honorific, and aka, bright. Perhaps the best interpretation is simply that which makes it the name of the place where the jewels, or rather beads, were made. Ya-saka would then mean eight-slopes. A place of this name is mentioned more than once in the "Nihongi." See Ch. "Kojiki," p. 46, and Satow's "Rituals."

[3] In Japanese, tomo. This was partly for the protection of the arm against the recoil of the bow-string, and partly in order to produce a terrifying sound when struck by it. Its shape (like a comma) is familiar to us from the well-known tomoye, the symbol so constantly met with in Japanese art, in which two or three tomo are joined together. There it represents the in and yô, or the in, yō and taiki.

[4] In the position for shooting.

sword-hilt, and stamping on the hard earth of the courtyard, sank her thighs into it as if it had been foam-snow,[1] and kicked it in all directions. Having thus put forth her dread manly valour, she uttered a mighty cry of defiance, and questioned him in a straightforward manner. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—"From the beginning my heart has no been black. But as in obedience to the stern behest of our parents, I am about to proceed for ever to the Nether Land, how could I bear to depart without having seen face to face thee my elder sister? It is for this reason that I have traversed on foot the clouds and mists and have come hither I. 31.
from afar. I am surprised that my elder sister should, on the contrary, put on so stern a countenance."

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?"[2] He answered and said:—"Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure."

Upon this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked for Sosa no wo no Mikoto's ten-span sword, which she broke into three pieces, and rinsed in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing them with a crunching noise, she blew them away, and from the true-mist of her breath Gods were born. The first was named Ta-gori-bime, the next Tagi-tsu-bime, and the next Ichiki-shima-bime,[3] three daughters in all.

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto begged from Ama-terasu no Oho-kami the august string of 500 Yasaka jewels which was entwined in her hair and round her wrists, and rinsed it in the true-well of Heaven. Then chewing it with a crunching noise, he blew it away, and from the true-mist of his breath there were Gods produced. The first was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-

[1] i.e. snow of as little consistence as foam.

[2] i. e. The purity of thine intentions.

[3] The first two of these three names are of doubtful meaning. The third is the name of a sacred island in the Inland Sea, near Hiroshima, better known as Miya-jima. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48.

kachi-hayabi-ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto,[1] and the next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto.[2] This is the ancestor of the Idzumo
I. 32. no Omi, and of the Hashi no Muraji.[3] The next was Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto.[4] He was the ancestor of the Ohoshi-kafuchi no Atahe, and of the Yamashiro no Atahe.[5] The next was Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto,[6] and the next Kumano no kusu-bi[7] no Mikoto—in all five males.[8]

Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami said:—"Their seed was in the beginning the august necklace of 500 Yasaka jewels which belonged to me. Therefore these five male Deities are all my children." So she took these children and brought them up. Moreover she said:—"The ten-span sword belonged to thee, Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Therefore these three female Deities are all thy children." So she delivered them to Sosa no wo no
I. 33. Mikoto. These are the deities which are worshipped by the Munagata no Kimi of Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess, aware from the beginning of the fierce and relentless purpose of Sosa no wo no Mikoto, said (to herself) when he ascended: 'The coming of my younger brother is not for a good object. He surely means to rob me of my Plain of Heaven.' So she made manly warlike preparation, girding upon her a ten-span sword, a nine-span sword, and an eight-span sword. Moreover, on her back she slung a quiver, and on her fore-arm drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad. In

[1] Truly-I-conquer-conquer-swiftness-heaven-of-great-great-august-person. Cf. Ch. K., p. 48. I take mimi to be composed of mi the honorific, and mi, body, person, which is also the termination of abstract nouns, as fukami, depth, and in this meaning frequently becomes *bi*, as in several names of Deities.

[2] Heaven-great-sun?

[3] Idzumo no Omi. Omi is a title of rank, probably derived from o, for oho, great, and mi, person. The Chinese character with which it is written means minister or vassal. Hashi no Muraji. Muraji is explained above, p. 27. Hashi, which is also read Hanishi, Hase, or Haji, means clay-worker. For the origin of this title see below, reign of Suinin, 32nd year.

[4] Heaven prince—honorific particle.

[5] Atahe is a title of nobility, like Omi, Muraji, etc., but lower.

[6] Live-of-prince—honorific particle. [7] Name of place-of-wondrous-ness.

[8] These five, with the three female children mentioned above, are now worshipped under the name of Hachi-ō-ji, or the Eight Princes.

her hand she took a bow and arrow, and going forth to meet him in person, stood on her defence. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto declared to her, saying:—'From the beginning I have had no evil intentions. All that I wished was to see thee, my elder sister, face to face. It is only for a brief space that I have come.' Thereupon the Sun-Goddess, standing opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, swore an oath, saying:—'If thy heart is pure, and thou hast no purpose of relentless robbery, the children born to thee will surely be males.' When she had finished speaking, she ate first the ten-span sword which she had girded on, and produced a child which was called Oki-tsu-shima-bime.[1] Moreover she ate the nine-span sword, and produced a child which was called Tagi-tsu-hime. Moreover she ate the eight-span sword, and produced a child which was called Tagori-hime—in all three female Deities. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto took the august five-hundred I 34.
string of jewels which hung upon his neck, and having rinsed them in the Nuna[2] well of Heaven, another name for which is the true-well of Isa, and ate them. So he produced a child, which was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-kachi-haya-bi-ame no oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. Next he produced Ama-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu-hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, and next Kumano no oshi homi no Mikoto—in all five male Deities. Therefore as Sosa no wo no Mikoto had thus acquired proof of his victory, the Sun-Goddess learnt exactly that his intentions were wholly free from guilt. The three female Deities which the Sun-Goddess had produced were accordingly sent down to the Land of Tsukushi. She therefore instructed them, saying:—'Do ye, three Deities, go down and dwell in the centre of the province, where you will assist the descendants of Heaven,[3] and receive worship from them.'"

In one writing it is said:—"When Sosa no wo no Mikoto was about to ascend to Heaven, there was a Deity whose name was Ha-akaru-tama.[4] This Deity came to

[1] Lady of the island of the offing.
[2] Nuna-wi,—perhaps for mana-wi, i.e. true well.
[3] i.e. the Emperors.
[4] Feather-bright-gem.

meet him and presented to him beautiful maga-tama[1] of Yasaka jewels. So Sosa no wo no Mikoto took these gems and went up to Heaven. At this time Ama-terasu

Magatama.

no Oho-kami, suspecting that the intentions of her younger brother were evil, prepared war and questioned him. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—'Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gem. I dare not have any other purpose.' Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked
I. 35. him again, saying:—'Wherewithal wilt thou prove to me whether thy words are true or false?' He answered and said:—'Let thee and me bind ourselves by an oath. If while we are bound by this oath, the children produced are females, my heart is to be accounted black, but if they are males, it is to be thought red.' So they dug three true-wells of Heaven and stood opposite to one another. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said:—'I am now about to give thee the sword which is in my girdle; do thou give me the curved jewels of Yasaka gem which thou hast.' Having thus covenanted they made a mutual exchange. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took the curved jewels of Yasaka gem, and having made them float on the true-well of Heaven, bit off the heads of the jewels and blew them away. The Deity which was produced from amidst her breath was called Ichiki-shima-hime no Mikoto. This is the Goddess who dwells in Oki-tsu miya. Again, a Deity was produced

[1] Maga-tama, curved jewels, are the comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones frequently seen in museums in Japan.

from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the middle parts of the jewels. This Deity was called Ta-gori-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in Naka-tsu miya. Again a Deity was produced from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the tails of the jewels. This Deity was called Tagi-tsu-hime no Mikoto. It is she who dwells in He-tsu miya.[1] In all there were three female Deities.

Upon this Sosa no wo no Mikoto, taking the sword which he held, and having made it to float on the surface of the True-Well of Heaven, bit off the end of the sword and blew it away. The Deities which were produced from amidst his breath were called Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto, next Masa-ya-a katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi-ama-no oshi-ho-ne-no Mikoto, next Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, next Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto, and next Kumano no kusu-hi no Mikoto. In all there were five male Deities. Such is the story."

In one writing it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess stood opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, separated from him by the Tranquil River of Heaven,[2] and established a covenant with him, saying, 'If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the I. 36.
children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I will consider them my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven.' Hereupon the Sun-Goddess first ate her ten-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Oki-tsu-shima hime no Mikoto, also called Ichiki-shima hime no Mikoto. Next she ate her nine-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Tagi-tsu hime no Mikoto. Again she ate her eight-span sword, which became converted into a child, the Goddess Ta-giri hime no Mikoto. Upon this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto took in his mouth the string of 500 jewels which was entwined in the left knot of his hair, and placed it on the palm of his left hand, whereupon it became converted into a male child. He then said:—'Truly

[1] Oki-tsu miya means the "shrine of the offing;" Naka-tsu miya, the "middle shrine;" He-tsu miya, the "shrine of the shore." Ichiki-shima is the same as Itsuku shima, the sacred island near Hiroshima in the Inland Sea.

[2] The Milky Way.

I have won.' And the child was therefore called Katsu no haya-hi ama no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels of the right knot of his hair, and placed them on the palm of his right hand, when they became changed and produced the God Ama no ho-hi no Mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels which hung round his neck and laid them on his left fore-arm, when they became changed and produced the God Ama-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Moreover, from his right fore-arm there was produced the God Iku-tsu hiko-ne no Mikoto. Again from his left foot was produced the God Hi no haya-hi no Mikoto. Again from his right leg was produced Kumano no oshi-homi-no Mikoto, also called Kumano no oshi-sumi no Mikoto. The children produced by Sosa no wo no Mikoto were all male children. Therefore the Sun-Goddess knew exactly that Sosa no wo no Mikoto's intentions had been from the first honest. So these six male children were taken and made the children of the Sun-Goddess, and were caused to govern the Plain of Heaven. The three female Deities born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land.[1] They are now in the middle of the Northern Sea province, and are styled the Michi-nushi no
I. 37. Muchi.[2] These are the Deities which are worshipped by the Kimi of Minuma in Tsukushi."

After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Ama-terasu no Oho-kami had made august rice-fields of Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts,[3] and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields. Again, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement

[1] Ashihara no Naka tsu kuni, i.e. Japan. The phrase Central Land is suspiciously like Chinese.

[2] Province-master—honoured ones or possessors.

[3] Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars. It is doubtful whether colt should be singular or plural.

in the New[1] Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred[2] weaving hall, engaged in weaving the garments of the Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant at this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.[3] I. 38.

[1] For the sake of greater purity in celebrating the festival.

[2] The Chinese character here translated sacred is 齋, the primary meaning of which is abstinence, fasting. In the "Nihongi," however, it represents the Japanese word ihahi (pronounced iwai). According to Hirata this contains the same root as imi, avoidance, especially religious avoidance of impurity, and had originally the same meaning. The yu of yu-niha, or sacred plot of ground where rice for the festival of first-fruits was grown, is the same root. But as a strict observance of conditions of ceremonial purity was a chief feature of the Shinto services, this word came to be put for religious rites generally, and the Chinese character is even used, if we may believe the interlinear gloss which renders it by ogami, for Buddhist celebrations. The usual modern meaning of ihahi is blessing, well-wishing, congratulation, where we have got a long way from the original sense of tabu, avoidance.

Ritual purity is of the very essence of Shinto. It applies to food, clothing, and language. There was in later times a special set of terms for certain Buddhist objects and ideas. It was probably to avoid contamination to the ordinary dwelling that special huts were erected for the consummation of marriage, and for childbirth. Death contaminated a house, and therefore a new one had to be erected on the decease of the owner, a practice which was long continued in the case of Imperial Palaces.

[3] Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is throughout the greater part of this narrative an anthropomorphic Deity, with little that is specially characteristic of her solar functions. Here, however, it is plainly the sun itself which withholds its light and leaves the world to darkness. This inconsistency, which has greatly exercised the native theologians (see Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," p. 50, reprint), is not peculiar to Japanese myth. Muir, in the introduction to Vol. V. of his "Sanskrit Texts," says :—"The same visible object was at different times regarded diversely as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being and a cosmical power. Thus in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth are severally considered, sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings." But this difficulty is inherent in all mythologies.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly Omohi-kane[1] no Kami, with profound device and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds[2] of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover he made Ta-jikara-wo[3] no Kami to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ame no Koyane[4] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji,[5] and Futo-dama no Mikoto,[6] ancestor of the Imibe[7]

[1] Thought-combining or thought-including.

[2] The cock is meant. [3] Hand-strength-male.

[4] Ko-yane is written with two characters which mean child and roof. Hirata ("Koshiden," Vol. XIII., p. 1) identifies this Deity with Omohi-kane no Mikoto, and endeavours to show that ko is for kokoro, heart. Ya, he thinks, is many, and ne a honorific. See also Ch. K., p. 56. I agree with Ch. that the meaning is obscure.

[5] Hirata and Motowori have written many pages on the derivation of Nakatomi. The former takes it to be for Naka-tori-mochi, which would give the meaning mediator, these officials being regarded as go-betweens for the Kimi, or sovereign, in his intercourse with the Kami. Perhaps it is safest to follow the Chinese characters which mean "middle-minister," in Japanese Naka-tsu-omi, tsu being a genitive particle. The Nakatomi would then be the ministers of middle rank, as opposed to Prime Ministers on the one hand, and underlings on the other. In historical times their duties were of a priestly character. Worship and government were closely associated in ancient times in more countries than Japan. Matsurigoto, government, is derived from matsuri, worship. It was they who recited the Harahi or purification rituals.

[6] Futo-dama, big-jewel.

[7] Imi-be or imbe is derived from imi, root of imu, to avoid, to shun, to practise religious abstinence, and *be*, a hereditary corporation. The original function of the Imibe will be understood from the following extract from a Chinese book written not long after the Christian Epoch:—"They (i.e. the Japanese) appoint a man whom they call an 'abstainer.' He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women. When they are fortunate they make him presents, but if they fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the 'abstainer's' failure to keep his vows, and together they put him to death." Compare with this the following paragraph from a recent American newspaper.

"AN UNLUCKY MEDICINE MAN.

Big Bob was a prominent member of the tribe, and claimed to be a "tenanimous" man, which, translated from the Chinook, means an Indian doctor. By Indian superstition a "tenanimous" man is held responsible if

no Obito, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki[1] tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu.[2] On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand[3] mirror. I. 39.

any general calamity befalls the tribe. Things had not been going well with the Swinomish Indians for some time. There was much sickness among them, and Big Bob was regarded as responsible for it. So at a meeting of the tribe four Indians were appointed to execute him. The day upon which the murder took place Big Bob was waylaid by four assassins, who seized him, held him, and cut his throat from ear to ear. The red men were arrested and bound over for murder by the Justice of the Peace of Laconner."

In the "Nihongi" times the Imibe occupied a subordinate position in performing the ceremonies of Shinto, and at a still later period this term became a mere surname. *Vide* Satow, "Ancient Rituals," in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 126.

The Be, or hereditary corporations, were a peculiar institution of Old Japan. This term has been rather inadequately rendered by clan, tribe, or guild. But they differed from clans, as it was not even supposed that there was any tie of blood-relationship between the various classes of members. And if we call them guilds we lose sight of their hereditary character, and of the fact that they were essentially branches of the Government. Perhaps if we imagine the staff of one of our dockyards in which the director and officials should be drawn from the governing class, the artisans being serfs, and the whole having a more or less hereditary character, we shall have a tolerable idea of a Be. The origin of some, as of the Imibe, is lost in antiquity, but many were instituted in historical times, and for all manner of objects. There were Be of weavers (Oribe), of figured-stuff weavers (Ayabe), of executioners (Osakabe), of fishers (Amabe), of farmers (Tanabe), of clay-workers (Hasebe or Hashibe), and many more. The sole function of some was to perpetuate the name of a childless Emperor or Empress. The local habitation of these corporations was also called Be, just as our word admiralty may mean either a body of officials or the building where they discharge their duties. This accounts for the frequency with which this termination occurs in names of places. A familiar example is Kobe, the open port in the Inland Sea. Kobe is for Kami-be, and meant originally the group of peasants allotted to the service of a Deity (of Ikuta?), and hence the village where they lived. A good number of Japanese surnames contain the same termination.

O-bito is a title of nobility, perhaps for Oho-bito, great man. It is represented by a Chinese character which means head or chief.

[1] The Sakaki or Cleyera Japonica, is the sacred tree of the Shinto religion. It is used in Shinto religious ceremonies at the present day.

[2] Mt. Kagu is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It is here supposed to have a counterpart in Heaven.

[3] In Japanese yata-kagami, which is literally "eight-hand mirror." The

One writing says Ma-futsu no Kagami.

On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings.[1] Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover Ama no Uzume[2] no Mikoto, ancestress of the
I. 40. Sarume[3] no Kimi, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance.[4] She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took club-moss and made of it braces,[5] she kindled fires,[6] she placed a tub bottom upwards,[7] and gave forth a divinely-inspired utterance.[8]

word ta (for te, hand) may here be a measure of length, an explanation which is favoured by the Chinese character used for it in the "Nihongi." The hand is a hand's length, not a hand's breadth, as with us. The yata-kagami would therefore be "a mirror of large size."

There are ancient mirrors in Japan with a number of suzu or bells projecting round them, or of an octagonal shape, and I am disposed to think that the epithet yata has reference to this peculiarity, the corners or projections being taken for handles. Compare the analogous word Yatagarasu (Index).

It is said to be this mirror which is worshipped at Ise as an emblem of the Sun-Goddess. See Satow's "Handbook," second edit., p. 176.

[1] The blue were of hempen cloth, and the white of the paper-mulberry cloth. By blue probably the colour of undyed hempen stuff is meant. The Japanese word awo, blue, is used very loosely. Some take soft in the metaphorical sense of "propitiatory." These offerings are the originals of the Gohei, or strips of paper wreathed round a wand, which are now seen set up in every Shinto shrine.

[2] Terrible female of Heaven. [3] Monkey-female.

[4] This is said to be the origin of the Kagura or pantomimic dance now performed at Shinto festivals.

[5] The braces or shoulder straps were to support a tray for carrying things, and so assist the arms. The Japanese word is tasuki, which means assistance.

[6] A prototype of the nihabi (courtyard fires) of later Shinto worship.

[7] The "Nihongi" strangely omits to say that, as we learn from the "Kojiki," she danced on this and made it give out a sound.

[8] In Hirata's version of the ancient mythical narrative, he introduces here an incantation said in the "Kiujiki" to have been taught by the Sun-Goddess to Ninigi no Mikoto, but stated in the "Ko-go-jiui" to have come down originally from Uzume no Mikoto. It consists of the syllables Hito-futa-mi-yo-itsu-mu-nana-ya-kokono-tari, which Hirata has tried hard to extract some meaning out of. Hito, he says, is man, futa, the lid, i.e. the door of the rock-cave, miyo is the imperative of miru, to see, this phrase meaning "Look! ye Gods at the door!" and so on. That these words are now

Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami heard this, and said :—" Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-cave, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of fertile reed-plains. How then can Ama no Uzume no Mikoto be so jolly?" So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the Rock-door and peeped out. Then Ta-jikara-wo no Kami forthwith took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami by the hand, and led her out. Upon this the Gods Nakatomi no Kami and Imibe no Kami[1] at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope[2] (*also called a left-hand rope*) and begged her not to return again (into the cave). I. 41.

After this all the Gods put the blame on Sosa no wo no Mikoto, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables,[3] and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair plucked out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt.

Another version is :—They made him expiate it by plucking out the nails of his hands and feet.

When this was done, they at last banished him downwards.

In one writing it is said :—" After this Waka-hiru-me[4] no Mikoto was in the sacred weaving-hall, weaving the garments of the Deities. Sosa no wo no Mikoto saw this, and forthwith flaying a piebald colt with a backward flaying, flung it into the interior of the hall. Then Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto was startled, and fell down from the loom, wounding herself with the shuttle which she held in her hand, and divinely departed.[5] Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Sosa no wo no Mikoto and said :—'Thou hast still evil intentions.[6] I do not wish to see thee face to face.' So she entered the Rock-cave of Heaven and

simply the numerals from one to ten cannot be denied, but this, he argues, is a later application. The "Kojiki" gives other details of the conduct of this Goddess which the "Nihongi" draws a veil over.

[1] These Gods' names were properly Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama no Mikoto (see above), but here the names of their human descendants are substituted.

[2] Shiri-kume-naha, now called shime-naha, a rope made of straw of rice which has been pulled up by the roots. See Ch. K., p. 59.

[3] By tables are meant tables of offerings, as in the illustrations.

[4] Young-Sun-female, a younger sister of the Sun-Goddess.

[5] i.e. died.

[6] Lit. a black heart.

shut the Rock-door. Hereupon all under Heaven was in continual darkness, and there was no difference of day and night. Therefore the eighty myriads of Gods met in the
I. 42. High-market-place of Heaven and made inquiry. Now

there was Omohi-kane no Kami, son of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, who had a talent for devising plans. He accordingly considered the matter, and spoke, saying, 'Let there be made an image of this Goddess, and let prayer

be addressed to it.' They therefore proceeded to appoint Ishi-kori-dome[1] as artisan, who, taking copper of the Mt. Kagu of Heaven, made therefrom a Sun-spear. Moreover, he stripped off in one piece the hide of a true stag, and made of it Heavenly bellows. The Goddess which he fashioned by this means is the Goddess Hi no mahe no Kami, who dwells in the province of Kiï."

In one writing it is said:—"The august Sun Goddess took an enclosed rice-field and made it her Imperial rice-field. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto, in spring, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions, and in autumn, when the grain was formed, he forthwith stretched round them division ropes.[2] Again when the Sun-Goddess was in her Weaving-Hall, he flayed alive a piebald colt and flung it into the Hall. In all these various matters his conduct was rude in the highest degree. Nevertheless, the Sun-Goddess, out of her friendship for him, was not indignant or resentful, but took everything calmly and with forbearance. I. 43.

When the time came for the Sun-Goddess to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, Sosa no wo no Mikoto secretly voided excrement under her august seat in the New Palace.[3] The Sun-Goddess, not knowing this, went straight there and took her seat. Accordingly the Sun-Goddess drew herself up, and was sickened. She therefore was enraged, and straightway took up her abode in the Rock-cave of Heaven, and fastened its Rock-door.

Then all the Gods were grieved at this, and forthwith caused Ama no nuka-do no Kami, the ancestor of the Be of mirror-makers, to make a mirror, Futo-dama, the ancestor of the Imibe, to make offerings,[4] and Toyo-tama,[5] the ancestor of the Be of jewel-makers, to make jewels. They also caused Yama-tsuchi[6] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched true sakaki tree, and Nu-dzuchi[7] to procure eighty precious combs of the five-hundred-branched suzuki grass. When all these various

[1] The meaning is doubtful, as also whether this Deity is a God or a Goddess.

[2] i.e. ropes drawn along the divisions of the rice-fields in token of ownership.

[3] See above, p. 41.

[4] Of cloth. [5] Rich-jewel. [6] Mountain-god. [7] Moor-god.

objects were collected, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the
I. 44. ancestor of the Nakatomi, recited a liturgy in honour of the Deity. Then the Sun-Goddess opened the Rock-door and came out. At this time, when the mirror was put into the Rock-cave, it struck against the door and received a slight flaw, which remains until this day. This is the great Deity worshipped at Ise. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto was convicted, and fined in the articles required for the ceremony of purification. Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck of the tips of his fingers, and the things abhorrent of calamity of the tips of his toes.[1] Again, of his spittle he made white soft offerings, and of his nose-mucus he made blue soft offerings, with which the purification service was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine banishment."

I. 45. In one writing it is said:—"After this the Sun-Goddess had three rice-fields, which were called the Easy[2] Rice-field of Heaven, the Level Rice-field of Heaven, and the Village-join[3] Rice-field of Heaven. All these were good rice-fields, and never suffered even after continuous rain or drought. Now Sosa no wo no Mikoto had also three rice-fields, which were called the Pile-field of Heaven,[4] the River-border[5] Field of Heaven, and the Mouth-Sharp[6] Field of Heaven. All these were barren places. In the rains, the soil was swept away, and in droughts it was parched up. Therefore, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was jealous and destroyed his elder sister's rice-fields. In spring, he knocked away the pipes and troughs, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions. He also sowed seed over again. In autumn, he set up combs,[7] and

[1] No very satisfactory explanation is given by the commentators of this sentence. Hirata understands the things abhorrent of luck, etc., to be things required for the purification service.

[2] Easy to cultivate, says the "Shukai" editor.

[3] Mura-ahase, a term of doubtful meaning. Motowori suggests that for ahase we should read yori. The meaning then would be rice-fields adjoining the village. Accommodation land, as we should say.

[4] Obstructed with stumps of wood.

[5] Exposed to inundation. [6] Exposed to drought?

[7] The "Shiki" explains that combs were stuck up in the rice-fields with

made horses lie down in the rice-fields. Notwithstanding all these wicked doings, which went on incessantly, the Sun-Goddess was not indignant, but treated him always with calmness and forbearance, etc., etc.

When the Sun-Goddess came to shut herself up in the Rock-cave of Heaven, all the Gods sent the child of Kogoto Musubi, Ama no Koyane no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, and made him recite a liturgy. Hereupon Ama no Koyane no Mikoto rooted up a true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu and hung upon its upper branches a mirror of eight hands, made by the ancestor of the mirror-makers, Ono-kori-dome, a child of Ama no Nukado; on the middle branches he hung curved[1] jewels of Yasaka gem made by the ancestor of the jewel-makers, Ama no Akaru-dama, a child of Izanagi no Mikoto. On the lower branches he hung tree-fibre[2] made by Ama-no Hi-washi, the ancestor of the Imbe of the province of Aha. Futo-dama no Mikoto, ancestor of the Imbe no Obito, was thereupon made to take these things in his hand, and, with lavish and earnest words of praise, to recite a liturgy. I. 46.

When the Sun-Goddess heard this, she said:—'Though of late many prayers have been addressed to me, of none has the language been so beautiful as this.' So she opened a little the Rock-door and peeped out. Thereupon the God Ama no Tajikara-wo no Kami, who was waiting beside the Rock-door, forthwith pulled it open, and the radiance of the Sun-Goddess filled the universe. Therefore all the Gods rejoiced greatly, and imposed on Sosa no wo no Mikoto a fine of a thousand tables of (articles of) purification.[3] Of the nails of his hands they made things abhorrent I. 47

words of incantation, so that if anyone wrongly claimed the fields he might be destroyed. "The present custom of setting up combs in rice-fields whose ownership is disputed arose perhaps from this."

[1] The curved jewels are the well-known maga-tama, numbers of which have been preserved. They are made of chalcedony, jasper, nephrite, chrysophrase, serpentine, steatite, crystal, etc. Some of these materials are not found in Japan.

[2] Made of the bark of the paper-mulberry.

[3] The word *harahi* or *harahe* not only means purification, but an in-

of luck, and of the nails of his feet they made things abhorrent of calamity. Then they caused Ama no Koyane no Mikoto to take charge of his Great Purification Liturgy, and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the world are careful in the disposal of their own nails.[1]

After this, all the Gods upbraided Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Thy conduct has been in the highest degree improper. Thou must, therefore, not dwell in Heaven. Nor must thou dwell in the Central Reed-Plain Land. Thou must go speedily to the Bottom Nether Land.'[2] So together they drove him away downwards. Now this was at the time of continuous rains. Sosa no wo no Mikoto bound together green grass, and made of it a broad hat and rain-coat, and in this garb asked a lodging of the assembled Gods. They said:—'Thy behaviour has been filthy and wicked, and therefore thou hast been banished. How canst thou ask of us a lodging?' In the end they unanimously repulsed him. Therefore, although the wind and rain were very violent, he was unable to find a resting-place, and went downwards, suffering bitterly. Ever since that time all the world has avoided entering the house of another wearing a broad hat and a grass rain-coat, or bearing a bundle of grass on the back. For a breach of
I. 48. these rules an expiatory fine is certainly imposed. This is an institution which has come down to us from remote antiquity.

After this, Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'All the Gods have banished me, and I am now about to depart for ever. Why should I not see my elder sister face to face; and why take it on me of my own accord to depart without more ado?' So he again ascended to Heaven, disturbing Heaven and disturbing Earth. Now Ame no Uzume, seeing this, reported it to the Sun-Goddess. The Sun-Goddess said:—'My younger brother has no good purpose in coming up.

demnity or "damages" paid by an offender. "Expiatory fine" would, perhaps, be a good rendering here. See Index—Purgation.

[1] Referring to a superstition, not confined to Japan, as to cutting the nails on particular days and burying the parings.

[2] Yomi, or Hades.

It is surely because he wishes to rob me of my kingdom. Though I am a woman, why should I shrink?' So she arrayed herself in martial garb, etc., etc.

Thereupon Sosa no wo no Mikoto swore to her, and said:—'If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must be sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in that case they must be made to rule the Heavens. The same oath will also hold good as to the children produced by my elder sister.' In this way the Sun-Goddess first of all chewed her ten-span sword, etc., etc.

Sosa no wo no Mikoto straightway unwound, coil after coil, the complete string of five hundred jewels entwined in the right knot of his hair. The jewels chinked as he rinsed them on the surface of the true well of Heaven. Then he chewed their ends, and laid them on his left palm, thus producing a child, who was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-haya-hi-ama-no-oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto. After this he chewed the left jewels, and placing them on his right palm, produced a child, who was called Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, of the Musashi no Miyakko,[1] and of the Hashi no Muraji. There was next produced Ama tsu hikone no Mikoto, the ancestor of the I. 49.
Mubaraki[2] no Miyakko and of the Nukada Be no Muraji. Next was produced Iku-me tsu hikone no Mikoto, and next Kumano no Oho-sumi no Mikoto—in all six male Deities. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto spoke to the Sun-Goddess, and said:—'The reason why I came up a second time was that, having been condemned by the assembled Gods to banishment to the Nether Land, and being about to take my departure thither, I could never bear to become separated from my elder sister without having seen her face to face. Therefore it is truly with a pure heart, and not otherwise, that I came up again. Now that our interview is over, I must return hence for ever to the Nether

[1] Or Miya-tsu-ko, originally provincial governors, afterwards hereditary local nobles.

[2] In Hitachi.

Land, in obedience to the Divine behest of the assembled Deities. I pray that my elder sister may illuminate the Land of Heaven, and that it may spontaneously enjoy tranquillity. Moreover, I deliver to my elder sister the children which, with a pure heart, I have produced.' Having done so, he returned downwards."

Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto descended from Heaven and proceeded to the head-waters of the River Hi, in the province
I. 50. of Idzumo. At this time he heard a sound of weeping at the head-waters of the river, and he therefore went in search of the sound. He found there an old man and an old woman. Between them was set a young girl, whom they were caressing and lamenting over. Sosa no wo no Mikoto asked them, saying:—"Who are ye, and why do ye lament thus?" The answer was:—"I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Ashi-nadzuchi.[1] My wife's name is Te-nadzuchi.[2] This girl is our daughter, and her name is Kushi-nada-hime.[3] The reason of our weeping is that formerly we had eight children, daughters. But they have been devoured year after year by an eight[4]-forked serpent, and now the time approaches for this girl to be devoured. There is no means of escape for her, and
I 51. therefore do we grieve." Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"If that is so, wilt thou give me thy daughter?" He replied, and said:—"I will comply with thy behest and give her to thee." Therefore Sosa no wo no Mikoto on the spot changed Kushi-nada-hime into a many-toothed close-comb, which he stuck in the august knot of his hair. Then he made Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-nadzuchi to brew eight-fold sake, to make eight cupboards, in each of them to set a tub filled with sake,[5] and so to

[1] Foot-stroke-elder.

[2] Hand-stroke-elder. These names refer to the caressing of the young girl by her parents.

[3] Kushi-nada-hime. Wondrous Inada-princess.

[4] Eight—in Japanese yatsu. This word is here used as a numeral. But in many places in the old Japanese literature it must be taken in what I regard as its primary sense of "many," "several," as in the word yatagarasu—the many-handed crow—which had really only three claws. In Corean the word yörö, which means many, is, I think, the same root that we have in yöl, ten—words which are probably identical with the Japanese yatsu. The Japanese word yorodzu, myriad, belongs to the same group.

[5] Sake is an intoxicating liquor brewed from rice.

await its coming. When the time came, the serpent actually appeared. It had an eight-forked head and an eight-forked tail; its eyes were red, like the winter-cherry;[1] and on its back firs and cypresses were growing. As it crawled it extended over a space of eight hills and eight valleys. Now when it came and found the sake, each head drank up one tub, and it became drunken and fell asleep. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew the ten-span sword which he wore, and chopped the serpent into small pieces. When he came to the tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched, and he therefore split open the tail and examined it. In the inside there was a sword. I. 52.
This is the sword which is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.[2]

In one writing it is said:—"Its original name was Ama no Mura-kumo no tsurugi."[3]

[*It perhaps received this name from the clouds constantly gathering over the place where the serpent was. In the time of the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake its name was changed to Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.*]

Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—"This is a divine sword. How can I presume to appropriate it to myself?" So he gave it up to the Gods of Heaven.[4]

After this he went in search of a place where he might celebrate his marriage, and at length came to Suga, in the province of Idzumo. Then he spoke, and said:—"My heart is refreshed." Therefore that place is now called Suga.[5] There he built a palace.

One version says:—"Now Take[6] Sosa no wo no Mikoto composed a verse of poetry, saying:—

Many clouds arise, I. 53.
On all sides a manifold fence,
To receive within it the spouses,

[1] Hirata thinks that the akakagachi, here translated, on the authority of the "Original Commentary," by "red winter-cherry," was really a kind of snake.

[2] The grass-mower. See Index—Kusa-nagi.

[3] The sword of the gathering clouds of Heaven.

[4] It is hardly necessary to point out the resemblance of this story to that of Perseus and Andromeda, and many others.

[5] Suga means pure, fresh. [6] Fierce.

They form a manifold fence—
Ah ! that manifold fence ! "[1]

Thereupon they had intercourse together,[2] and a child was born named Oho-na-muchi[3] no Kami.

He (Sosa no wo) accordingly spake, and said :—"The masters of my son's Palace[4] are Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-

[1] In the original—

Ya-kumo tatsu
Idzu-mo ya-he-gaki :
Tsuma-gome ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru—
Sono ya-he-gaki wo !

This poem is also given in the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 64), with the slight variant of tsuma-gomi for tsuma-gome in the third line, which makes it intransitive instead of transitive. Idzumo is written with two characters which mean "issuing clouds," as if it were idzuru kumo. The poem no doubt alludes to this meaning and also to the name of the province, but it seems probable that the primary signification of idzumo here is that given in the translation. The true derivation of Idzumo, as the name of the province, is probably idzu, sacred, and mo, quarter. Idzu-mo is for idzure-mo, as so-mo is for sore-mo. It has the same meaning, I think, in a poem given below ("Reign of Kenzō," xv. 11).

This verse of poetry is undoubtedly old, but the regularity of the metre which is a tanka (short poetry) of thirty-one syllables, and its allusive character, point to a somewhat later date than many of the other poems contained in the "Nihongi." The fact that it is here relegated to a note is some corroboration of this view.

The poems in this work are translated so that a line of the English version corresponds to a line of Japanese, but it has not always been possible to preserve the original order of the lines.

[2] The interlinear version has kumi-do ni mito no makuai shite. Kumi-do is no doubt the special nuptial hut above referred to. Mito is "august-place" according to Hirata, and is another word for the kumi-do. This phrase, which is taken from the "Kojiki," probably denotes legitimate nuptial, as opposed to casual intercourse. But the Chinese original has nothing of the sort.

It has been already observed that the erection of a special building for the consummation of the marriage had a ceremonial as well as a practical significance.

[3] Or Oho-na-muji, or Oho-na-mochi, Great-name-possessor. This Deity, one of the most prominent of the Japanese Pantheon, has numerous names (Hirata mentions seven). The derivation is not quite clear. See Ch. K., p. 67.

[4] The same word (miya) means also shrine.

nadzuchi. I therefore grant to these two Deities the designation of Inada no Miya-nushi[1] no Kami."

Having done so, Sosa no wo no Mikoto at length proceeded to the Nether Land.

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto, having descended from Heaven, came to the head-waters of the river Hi, in Idzumo. There he saw Inada-hime, the daughter of Susa no yatsu-mimi,[2] Master of the Shrine of Inada. He had connubial relations with her, and a child was born, styled Suga no yu-yama-nushi[3] Mitsu-na-saro-hiko-yama-shino."[4]

One version has Suga no Kake-na Saka-karu-hiko-ya-shima[5] no Mikoto.

Another has:—"Suga no yu-yama-nushi Mitsu-na-saro-hiko ya-shima-no.[6] The descendant of this God in the fifth generation was Oho-kuni-nushi no Kami."[7]

In one writing it is said:—"At this time Sosa no wo no Mikoto went down and came to the head-waters of the River Ye, in the province of Aki. There was there a God whose name was Ashi-nadzu-te-nadzu.[8] His wife's name was Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi. This Deity was just then pregnant, and the husband and wife sorrowed together. So they informed Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Though we have had born to us many children, whenever one is born, an eight-forked serpent comes and devours it, and we have not been able to save one. We are now about to have another, and we fear that it also will be devoured. Therefore do we grieve.' Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith instructed them, saying:—'You I. 54.

[1] Shrine / Palace } Master.

[2] Susa, name of place; yatsu, eight or many; mi, august; mi, body or abstract termination.

[3] Master of the hot-spring mountain of Suga.

[4] Three name-monkey (?) prince-mountain-bamboo-grass.

[5] Suga-of-attach-name-pass-light-prince-eight-island.

[6] Eight-island-moor.

[7] Great-country-master-god. Identified by Hirata with Oho-na-muji, also with one of the Shichi-fuku-jin, or Seven Gods of Happiness, named Dai-koku-sama.

[8] Foot-stroke-hand-stroke.

must take fruit of all kinds, and brew from it eight jars of sake, and I will kill the serpent for you.' The two Gods, in accordance with his instructions, prepared sake. When the time came for the child to be born, the serpent came indeed to the door, and was about to devour the child. But Sosa no wo no Mikoto addressed the serpent, and said:—'Thou art an Awful Deity. Can I dare to neglect to feast thee?' So he took the eight jars of sake, and poured one into each of its mouths. The serpent drank it up and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto drew his sword and slew it. When he came to sever its tail, the edge of his sword was slightly notched. He split the tail open and examined it, when he found that inside it there was a sword. This sword is called Kusa-nagi no tsurugi. It is now in the village of Ayuchi, in the province
I. 55. of Ohari. It is this Deity which is in the charge of the Hafuri[1] of Atsuta. The sword which slew the serpent is called Worochi no Ara-masa.[2] It is now at Isonokami.[3]

Afterwards the child who was born of Inada no Miya-nushi Susa no yatsu-mimi, namely Ina-gami Furu-kushi-nada-hime,[4] was removed to the upper waters of the river Hi, in the province of Idzumo, and brought up there. After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto made her his consort, and had by her a child, whose descendant in the sixth generation was Oho-na-muchi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto wished to favour[5] Kushi-nada-hime, and asked her of Ashinadzuchi and Tenadzuchi,[6] who replied, saying:—'We pray thee first to slay the serpent, and thereafter it will be good that thou shouldst favour her. This serpent has rock-firs growing on each of its heads; on each of its sides there is a mountain; it is a very fearful beast. How wilt thou set about to slay it?' Sosa no wo no Mikoto thereupon devised a plan. He brewed a poisonous

[1] Shintō priests. Atsuta is near Nagoya.
[2] Worochi means serpent; ara, rough; masa, true.
[3] In Bizen.
[4] True-hair-touch-wondrous-Inada-princess.
[5] I.e. to take to wife.
[6] Note that the mother as well as the father was consulted.

sake, which he gave it to drink. The serpent became drunk, and fell asleep. Sosa no wo no Mikoto forthwith took his sword, called Worochi no Kara-sabi,[1] and severed I. 56.
its head and severed its belly. When he severed its tail, the edge of the sword was slightly notched, so he split the tail open and made examination. He found there another sword, which he called Kusa-nagi no Tsurugi. This sword was formerly with Sosa no wo no Mikoto. It is now in the province of Ohari. The sword with which Sosa no wo no Mikoto slew the serpent is now with the Kambe[2] of Kibi. The place where the serpent was slain is the mountain at the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo."

In one writing it is said:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was unmannerly. A fine was therefore imposed on him by all the Gods of a thousand tables, and he was driven into banishment. At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, accompanied by his son Iso-takeru[3] no Kami, descended to the Land of Silla,[4] where he dwelt at Soshi-mori.[5] There he lifted up his voice and said:—'I will not dwell in this land.' He at length took clay and made of it a boat, in which he embarked, and crossed over eastwards until he arrived at Mount Tori-kamu no Take, which is by the upper waters of the river Hi in Idzumo. Now there was in this place a serpent which devoured men. Sosa no wo no Mikoto accordingly took his sword, called Ama no Haye-kiri,[6] and slew this serpent. Now when he I. 57.

[1] Serpent's Kara-blade. Kara is that part of the present province of Kyöng-syang-do in Corea which lies S.W. of the Naktong River. But the word is used loosely for all Corea, and in modern times even for China. See Early Japanese History in "J.A.S.T.," Vol. XVI. Pt. I., p. 43. It was called Mimana by the Japanese.

[2] The Kambe or Kami-be were the group of peasants charged with the care of a Shintō shrine.

[3] Fifty-courageous.

[4] The eastern of the three kingdoms into which Corea was formerly divided.

[5] This is the traditional Kana pronunciation. It is not clear whether this is the name of a person or a place. Mori may be the Corean moi, mountain.

[6] Fly-cutter.

cut the serpent's tail, the edge of his sword was notched. Thereupon he split open the tail, and on examination, found within it a divine sword. Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'I must not take this for my private use.' So he sent Ama no Fuki-ne no Kami, his descendant in the fifth generation, to deliver it up to Heaven. This is the sword now called Kusa-nagi.

Before this, when Iso-takeru no Kami descended from Heaven, he took down with him the seeds of trees in great quantity. However, he did not plant them in the land of Han,[1] but brought them all back again, and finally sowed them every one throughout the Great Eight-island-country, beginning with Tsukushi. Thus green mountains were produced. For this reason Iso-takeru no Mikoto was styled Isaoshi no Kami.[2] He is the Great Deity who dwells in the Land of Kiï."[3]

In one writing it is stated:—"Sosa no wo no Mikoto said:—'In the region[4] of the Land of Han there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches. So he plucked out his beard and scattered it. Thereupon Cryptomerias were
I. 58. produced. Moreover, he plucked out the hairs of his breast, which became Thuyas.[5] The hairs of his buttocks became Podocarpi.[6] The hairs of his eye-brows became Camphor-trees. Having done so, he determined their uses. These two trees, viz. the Cryptomeria and the Camphor-tree, were to be made into floating riches;[7] the Thuya was to be used as timber for building fair palaces;[8] the Podocarpus was to form receptacles in which the visible race of man was to be laid in secluded burial-places. For their food he well sowed and made to grow all the eighty kinds of fruit.

Now the children of Sosa no wo no Mikoto were named Iso-takeru no Mikoto, with Oho-ya[9] tsu hime, his younger

[1] Corea. [2] The meritorious God. [3] Kiï or Ki means tree.
[4] Shima usually means island, but in this and other places must be rendered "region."
[5] A kind of pine. [6] Maki, a kind of pine.
[7] Ships. [8] Or Shintō shrines. [9] Great-house.

sister, and next Tsuma[1]-tsu-hime no Mikoto. All these three Deities also dispersed well the seeds of trees, and forthwith crossed over to the Land of Kiï.

Thereafter Sosa no wo no Mikoto dwelt on the Peak of Kuma-nari,[2] and eventually entered the Nether Land." I. 59.

In one writing it is said:—"Oho-kuni-nushi[3] no Kami is also called Oho-mono-nushi no Kami,[4] or else Kuni-dzukuri Oho-na-mochi[5] no Mikoto, or again Ashi-hara no Shiko-wo,[6] or Ya-chi-hoko[7] no Kami, or Oho-kuni-dama[8] no Kami, or Utsushi-kuni-dama[9] no Kami. His children were in all one hundred and eighty-one Deities.

Now Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto and Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, with united strength and one heart, constructed this sub-celestial world. Then, for the sake of the visible race of man as well as for beasts, they determined the method of healing diseases. They also, in order to do away with the calamities of birds, beasts, and creeping things, established means for their prevention and control.[10]

[1] Written with a Chinese character which means nail or hoof.

[2] Probably Mount Kumano in Idzumo. It adjoins the Suga mentioned above as the residence of Sosa no wo. See Index—Kuma-nari.

[3] Great-country-master.

[4] Great-thing-master.

[5] Country-make great-name-possessor.

[6] The ugly male of the reed-plain.

[7] Eight thousand spears.

[8] Great-country-jewel.

[9] Apparent-country-jewel.

[10] Calamities (wazahahi) are defined by Hirata as injuries which come to us from the unseen world.

By beasts wild beasts are meant. In addition to the real injuries caused by them, we must remember that in Japan all manner of imaginary effects are attributed to the enchantments of foxes and badgers.

One of the Norito (rituals) mentions calamities of birds flying in by the smoke-hole in the roof—perhaps because their droppings polluted the food which was being cooked.

The term hafu mushi (creeping things) includes both insects and reptiles. The stings of wasps, centipedes, and vipers are doubtless meant. The ancient Japanese houses, slight structures often built in pits, would be especially obnoxious to such calamities. Possibly also the injury to the crops and to domestic animals by insects and snakes may be referred to. It should be remembered, too, that the Japanese suppose many ailments, such as toothache and children's convulsions, to be owing to mushi, and these are no doubt to be included in the hafu mushi no wazahahi. Hirata remarks that it is the opinion of the men of the Western Ocean that by

The people enjoy the protection of these universally until the present day.

Before this Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto spake to Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto, and said:—'May we not say that the country which we have made is well made?' Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto answered and said:—'In some parts it is complete and in others it is incomplete.' This conversation had doubtless a mysterious purport.

I. 60. Thereafter Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto went to Cape Kumano,[1] and eventually proceeded to the Everlasting Land.[2]

Another version is that he went to the island of Aha, where he climbed up a millet-stalk, and was thereupon jerked off, and went to the Everlasting Land.

After this, wherever there was in the land a part which was imperfect, Oho-na-mochi no Kami visited it by himself, and succeeded in repairing it. Coming at last to the province of Idzumo, he spake, and said:—'This Central Land of Reed-plains had been always waste and wild. The very rocks, trees and herbs were all given to violence. But I have now reduced them to submission, and there is none that is not compliant.' Therefore he said finally:—'It is I, and I alone, who now govern this Land. Is

examining ringworm (called in Japanese ta-mushi, i.e. rice-field insect), itch and other diseases under a microscope, it would appear that they are due to the presence of exceedingly small insects. It would also appear, he says, from a work recently published, that the human body is full of such animalcules.

The words "prevention and control" are rendered in the interlinear kana by Majinahi, i.e. witchcraft, including incantations, etc. Possibly the author had in mind the Oho-harahi, which deprecates "calamities of creeping things" and of "high birds." Here is a modern majinahi directed against hafu mushi. If you wish to keep your house free from ants, all you have to do is to put up a notice at the place where they come in, "Admittance, one cash each person." The economical ant goes no further.

Yamada in his dictionary defines majinahi as "the keeping off of calamity by the aid of the supernatural power of Gods and Buddhas."

[1] In Idzumo.

[2] Toko-yo no kuni. The Japanese scholar Arawi identifies this with a province in the East of Japan, now called Hitachi.

there perchance any one who could join with me in governing the world?' Upon this a Divine radiance illuminated the sea, and of a sudden there was something which floated towards him and said:—'Were I not here, how couldst thou subdue this Land? It is because I am here that thou hast been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking.' Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami inquired, saying:—'Then who art thou?' It replied and said:—'I am thy guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit.' I. 61.
Then said Oho-na-mochi no Kami:—'True, I know therefore that thou art my guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit. Where dost thou now wish to dwell?' The spirit answered and said:—'I wish to dwell on Mount Mimoro, in the province of Yamato.' Accordingly he built a shrine in that place and made the spirit to go and dwell there. This is the God of Oho-miwa.

The children of this Deity were the Kimi of Kamo and of Oho-miwa,[1] and also Hime-tatara[2] I-suzu-hime no I. 62.
Mikoto.

Another version is that Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami, having become transformed into an eight-fathom bear-sea-monster,[3]

[1] Descendants are here meant. Kimi is simply Lord.

[2] Tatara is said to be the name of a plant. Isuzu (fifty bells) is the name of the site of the Inner Shrine at Ise.

[3] Sea-monster is in Japanese wani. It is written with a Chinese character which means, properly, crocodile, but that meaning is inadmissible in these old legends, as the Japanese who originated them can have known nothing of this animal. The wani, too, inhabits the sea and not rivers, and is plainly a mythical creature.

Satow and Anderson have noted that the wani is usually represented in art as a dragon, and Toyo-tama-hime (see Index), who in one version of the legend changes into a wani, as her true form, at the moment of child-birth, according to another changes into a dragon. Now Toyo-tama-hime was the daughter of the God of the Sea. This suggests that the latter is one of the Dragon-Kings familiar to Chinese (see Mayers' Manual, p. 142) and Corean fable who inhabit splendid palaces at the bottom of the sea. It is unnecessary here to follow the Dragon-Kings into Indian myth, where they appear under the form of the Nâga Râdja or Cobra-Kings. The reader who wishes to do so should consult Anderson's British Museum Catalogue, p. 50. Chamberlain has remarked that "the whole story of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the

had intercourse with Mizo-kuhi[1] hime of the island of Mishima (some call her Tama-kushi-hime), and had by her a child named Hime-tatara I-suzu-hime no Mikoto, who became the Empress of the Emperor Kami-Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi.[2]

Before this time, when Oho-na-mochi no Kami was pacifying the land, he went to Wobama in Isasa, in the province of Idzumo. He was just having some food and drink, when of a sudden there was heard a human voice from the surface of the sea. He was astonished, but on seeking for it there was nothing at all to be seen. After a while a dwarf appeared, who had made a boat of the rind of a kagami[3] and clothing of the feathers of a
I. 63. wren.[4] He came floating towards him on the tide, and Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto taking him up, placed him on the palm of his hand. He was playing with him, when the dwarf leaped up, and bit him on the cheek. He wondered at his appearance, and sent a messenger to report the matter to the Gods of Heaven. Now when Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto heard this, he said :—'The children whom I have produced number in all one thou-

cassia-tree mentioned in it is certainly Chinese." Is it possible that wani is for the Corean wang-i, i.e. "the King," *i* being the Corean definite particle, as in zeni, fumi, yagi, and other Chinese words which reached Japan *viâ* Corea? We have the same change of *ng* into *n* in the name of the Corean who taught Chinese to the Japanese Prince Imperial in Ojin Tennō's reign. It is Wang-in in Corean, but was pronounced Wani by the Japanese. Wani occurs several times as a proper name in the "Nihongi." Bear (in Japanese kuma) is no doubt an epithet indicating size, as in kuma-bachi, bear-bee or bear-wasp, i.e. a hornet; kuma-gera, a large kind of wood-pecker, etc.

[1] Mizo-kuhi means water-channel pile. Tama-kushi is jewel-comb.

[2] Otherwise called Jimmu Tennō. See below, beginning of Book III.

[3] Some plant, very likely having gourd-shaped fruit. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 85.

[4] The "Kojiki" says goose skins. The wren was no doubt substituted as more in accordance with the dwarfish stature of Sukuna-bikona.

Dr. Schlegel in his "Problèmes Géographiques" mentions a Chinese notice of a Han-ming-kuo, the inhabitants of which sew together skins of birds for clothing. He identifies this country with the Kuriles, where modern travellers have found this to be the custom. The bird whose skins are thus used is the Procellaria gracilis (petrel).

sand and five hundred. Amongst them one was very wicked, and would not yield compliance to my instructions. He slipped through between my fingers and fell. This must be that child, let him be loved and nurtured.' This was no other than Sukuna-bikona no Mikoto." [1]

[1] Sukuna-bikona is a popular God at the present day. Hirata has devoted two volumes (the "Shidzu no ihaya") to a glorification of him as the inventor of medicine and of the art of brewing sake under the name of Kushi no Kami. The "Kojiki" relates his legend somewhat differently. See Ch. K., p. 85. Sukuna means small (in modern Japanese few) and bikona is honorific.

Hirata identifies Sukuna-bikona with Yebisu and Oho-na-mochi with Daikoku. See Anderson's B. M. Catalogue, p. 36. All these identifications, of which Hirata is profuse, are somewhat problematical.

BOOK II.

THE AGE OF THE GODS.

PART II.

MASA-YA-A-KATSU-KATSU-HAYA-HI AMA NO OSHI-HO-MI-MI NO MIKOTO, the son of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, took to wife Taku-hata[1]-chi-chi-hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. A child was born to them named Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto.[2] Therefore his august grandparent, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, treated him with special affection, and nurtured him with great regard. Eventually he desired to establish his august grandchild Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-ho-ninigi no Mikoto as the Lord of the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But in that Land there were numerous Deities which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which buzzed
II. 2. like flies. There were also trees and herbs all of which could speak. Therefore Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto assembled all the eighty Gods, and inquired of them, saying:—"I desire to have the evil Gods of the Central Land of Reed-Plains expelled and subdued. Whom is it meet that we should send for this purpose? I pray you, all ye Gods, conceal not your opinion." They all said:—"Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto is the most heroic among the Gods. Ought not he to be tried?"

Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto thereupon complied with the general advice, and made Ama-no-ho-hi no Mikoto to go and subdue them. This Deity, however, curried favour with Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, and three years passed without his making any report. Therefore his son Oho-se-ihi no Mikuma no ushi[3] (also called Take[4]-mikuma no ushi) was sent.

[1] Taku-hata, paper-mulberry loom (cloth).

[2] The interpretation of this name is doubtful. See Ch. K., p. 106.

[3] Great-husband-boiled-rice-of-Mikuma of master.

[4] Take, brave, is merely a honorific. It is prefixed to several names of Deities.

He, too, yielded compliance to his father, and never made II. 3.
any report. Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto therefore again summoned together all the Gods and inquired of them who should be sent. They all said:—"Ame-waka-hiko,[1] son of Ame no Kuni-dama.[2] He is a valorous person. Let him be tried." Hereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave Ame-waka-hiko a heavenly deer-bow and heavenly feathered arrows, and so despatched him. This God also was disloyal, and as soon as he arrived took to wife Shita-teru-hime,[3] the daughter of Utsushi-kuni-dama[4] (*also called Taka-hime or Waka-kuni-dama*). Accordingly he remained, and said:—"I, too, wish to govern the Central Land of Reed-Plains." He never reported the result of his mission. At this time, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, wondering why he was so long in coming and making his report, sent the pheasant Na-naki[5] to observe. The pheasant flew down and perched on the top of a many-branched cassia-tree which grew before Ame-waka-hiko's gate. Now
Ama-no Sagu-me[6] saw this and told Ame-waka-hiko, saying:— II. 4.
"A strange bird has come and is perched on the top of the cassia-tree." Then Ame-waka-hiko took the heavenly deer-bow and the heavenly feathered arrows which had been given him by Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and shot the pheasant, so that it died. The arrow having passed through the pheasant's breast, came before where Taka-mi-musubi no Kami was sitting. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Kami seeing this arrow, said:—"This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. It is stained with blood, it may be because he has been fighting with the Earthly Deities." Thereupon Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took up the arrow and flung it back down (to earth). This arrow, when it

[1] Heaven-young-prince. [2] Heaven-of-country-jewel.
[3] Lower-shine-princess. [4] Real-country-jewel.
[5] Na-naki. This word is written here as if the meaning were "nameless." But in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 95), characters are used which give it the sense of name-crying, i.e. calling out its own name. The old Japanese for pheasant is kigishi or kigisu. Comparing this with uguhisu (the Japanese nightingale), kakesu (the jay), kirigirisu (the grasshopper), karasu (the crow), and hototogisu (a kind of cuckoo), it becomes evident that kigisu is an onomatopoetic word. Su is for suru, to do. The Corean for a pheasant is kiöng, no doubt also an onomatope.
[6] Heavenly-spying-woman.

fell, hit Ame-waka-hiko on the top of his breast. At this time Ame-waka-hiko was lying down after the feast of first-fruits, and when hit by the arrow died immediately. This was the origin of the general saying, "Fear a returning arrow."

The sound of the weeping and mourning of Ame-waka-hiko's
II. 5. wife Shita-teru-hime reached Heaven. At this time, Ame no Kuni-dama, hearing the voice of her crying, straightway knew that her husband, Ame-waka-hiko, was dead, and sent down a swift wind to bring the body up to Heaven. Forthwith a mortuary house was made, in which it was temporarily deposited. The river-geese were made the head-hanging bearers and broom-bearers.

One version is:—"The barn-door fowls were made head-hanging bearers, and the river-geese were made broom-bearers."

The sparrows were made pounding-women.

One version is:—"The river-geese were made head-hanging bearers and also broom-bearers, the kingfisher was made the representative of the deceased, the sparrows were made the pounding-women, and the wrens the mourners. Alto-
II. 6. gether the assembled birds were entrusted with the matter."

For eight days and eight nights they wept and sang dirges.[1]

[1] We have here a glimpse of the ancient Japanese funeral ceremonies.

"Head-hanging bearers" is a literal translation of the Chinese characters. The interlinear Kana renders them by the obsolete word kisari-mochi, of obscure meaning. An ancient commentator says that these were persons who accompanied the funeral, bearing on their heads food for the dead, which is perhaps correct. The brooms were probably for sweeping the road before the procession. The pounding-women pounded the rice for the guests, and perhaps also for the offerings to the deceased. By mourners are meant paid mourners.

To these Hirata adds from old books the wata-dzukuri or tree-fibre carders, the kites (the fibre being to fill up the vacant space in the coffin), and the fleshers (for food offered to the deceased), an office given to the crow. Compare also Ch. K., p. 97.

The student of folk-lore will not think it frivolous of me to cite here the English story of the Death and Burial of Cock Robin, where the birds officiate in various capacities at a funeral.

"Sang dirges." Hirata condemns this as a Chinese importation. He prefers the "Kojiki" version, which says that "they made merry," and explains that this was with the object of recalling the dead to life, perhaps in

Before this, when Ame-waka-hiko was in the Central Land of Reed-Plains, he was on terms of friendship with Aji-suki [1]-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and offered condolence on his decease. Now this God was exactly like in appearance to Ame-waka-hiko when he was alive, and therefore Ame-waka-hiko's parents, relations, wife, and children all said :—" Our Lord is still alive," and clung to his garments and to his girdle, partly rejoiced and partly distracted. Then Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami became flushed with anger and said :—" The way of friends is such that it is right that mutual condolence should be made. Therefore I have not been daunted by the pollution, but have come from afar to make mourning. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead person ? " So he drew his sword, Oho-ha-kari,[2] which he had in his girdle, and cut down the mortuary house, which fell to earth and became a mountain. It is now in the province of Mino, by the upper waters of the River Ayumi. This is the mountain of Moyama (mourning moun- II. 7.
tain). This is why people take care not to mistake a living for a dead person.

After this, Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto again assembled all the Gods that they might select some one to send to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. They all said :—" It will be well to send Futsu-nushi [3] no Kami, son of Iha-tsutsu no wo [4] and Iha-tsutsu no me, the children of Iha-saku-ne-saku [5] no Kami."

imitation of the Gods dancing and making merry in order to entice the Sun-Goddess from her rock-cave. Compare the following passage from a Chinese History of the Han (A.D. 25-220) Dynasty.

In Japan " Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come singing, dancing and making music."

The mortuary house was required for the temporary disposal of the dead, while the sepulchral mound with its megalithic chamber was being constructed. *Vide* Index—Misasagi.

[1] No satisfactory explanation of this name. [2] Great-leaf-mower.

[3] Futsu is explained by Hirata as an onomatopoetic word like the modern futtsuri for the abrupt snapping sound produced when anything is cleanly cut or broken off. Nushi means master.

[4] Iha-tsutsu. Iha is rock, tsutsu probably a honorific=elder. Wo is male ; me, female.

[5] Iha-saku means rock-split ; ne-saku, root-split.

Now there were certain Gods dwelling in the Rock-cave of Heaven, viz. Mika no Haya-hi[1] no Kami, son of Idzu no wo-bashiri[2] no Kami, Hi no Haya-hi no Kami, son of Mika no Haya-hi no Kami, and Take-mika-dzuchi no Kami,[3] son of Hi no Haya-hi no Kami. The latter God came forward and said:—"Is Futsu-nushi no Kami alone to be reckoned a hero? And am I not a hero?" His words were animated by a spirit of indignation. He was therefore associated with Futsu-nushi no Kami and made to subdue the Central Land of Reed-Plains. The two Gods thereupon descended and arrived at the Little Shore[4] of Itasa, in the Land of Idzumo. Then they drew their ten-span swords, and stuck them upside down in the earth, and sitting on their points questioned Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—"Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto wishes to send down his August Grandchild to preside over this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Gods to clear out and pacify it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?" Then Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—"I must ask my son before I reply to you." At this time his son Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami was absent on an excursion to Cape Miho in the Land of Idzumo, where he was amusing himself by angling for fish.

II. 8. Some say:—"He was amusing himself by catching birds."

He therefore took the many-handed boat of Kumano,

[Another name is the Heavenly Pigeon-boat.]

and placing on board of it his messenger, Inase-hagi,[5] he despatched him, and announced to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami the declaration of Taka-mi-musubi no Kami. He also inquired what language he should use in answer. Now Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami spoke to the messenger, and said:—"The Heavenly Deity has now addressed us this inquiry.[6] My father

[1] Mika is explained by Hirata as the same as ika, terrible; haya-hi means swift sun.

[2] Idzu no wo-bashiri, lit. dread-of-male-run.

[3] Take-mika-dzuchi. Take is brave. Mika-dzuchi is identified with ika-dzuchi, thunder.

[4] Wobama.

[5] Hirata points out the appropriateness of this name, which means "Yes or no?—shanks," to a messenger sent to ask a question.

[6] The Chinese character indicates a communication from an Emperor.

ought respectfully to withdraw, nor will I make any opposition." So he made in the sea an eight-fold fence of green branches, and stepping on the bow of the boat, went off.[1] The messenger returned and reported the result of his mission. Then Oho-namochi no Kami said to the two Gods, in accordance with the words of his son:—"My son, on whom I rely, has already departed. I, too, will depart. If I were to make resistance all the Gods of this Land would certainly resist also. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission?" So he took the broad spear which he had used as a staff when he was pacifying the land and gave it to the two Gods, saying:—"By means of this spear I was at last successful. If the Heavenly Grandchild will use this spear to II. 9.
rule the land, he will undoubtedly subdue it to tranquillity. I am now about to withdraw to the concealment of the short-of-a-hundred[2]-eighty road-windings."[3] Having said these words, he at length became concealed.[4] Thereupon the two Gods put to death all the rebellious spirits and Deities.

One version says:—"The two Gods at length put to death the malignant Deities and the tribes of herbs, trees and rocks. When all had been subdued, the only one who refused submission was the Star-God Kagase-wo.[5] There-

"Went off" is the same character as is translated "withdraw" above. Hirata understands this of his death. The whole episode is related quite differently in the "Kojiki." *Vide* Ch. K., p. 101.

Enclosures of bamboo are used at the present day to trap fishes, but it is not very clear why one is introduced here.

[2] A mere epithet or pillow-word (makura-kotoba) of eighty.

[3] The eighty-road-windings are put for a long journey, i.e. to Yomi or Hades, or rather for Yomi itself.

[4] i.e. died.

[5] Kagase-wo. Wo means male. Kaga is obviously connected with kagayaku, to shine. This is the only Star-God mentioned in Japanese myth, and it may be noted that little honour is shown him. He is described as a conquered rebel, and has neither Kami nor Mikoto affixed to his name. The only stars mentioned in the "Kojiki" or "Nihongi" are Venus, the Pleiades, and the Weaver or Star *a* Lyrae, the latter being connected with a Chinese legend.

The Weaver-God is literally, if we follow the Chinese character, the God of Japanese striped stuffs. The interlinear "Kana" gives Shidzuri or Shidori, from shidzu, cloth, and ori, weave, which is doubtless correct.

fore they sent the Weaver-God Take-ha-dzuchi no Mikoto also, upon which he rendered submission. The two Gods therefore ascended to Heaven."

Ultimately they reported the result of their mission.

Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on his true couch, and casting it over his August Grandchild, Amatsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto, made him to descend. So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly Rock-seat, and with an awful[1] path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of
II. 10. So[2] in Hiuga.

After this the manner of the progress of the August Grandchild was as follows:—From the Floating Bridge of Heaven on the twin summits of Kushibi, he took his stand on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Then he traversed the desert land of Sojishi from the Hill of Hitawo in his search for a country, until he came to Cape Kasasa, in Ata-no-nagaya. A certain man of that land appeared and gave his name as Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa.[3] The August Grandchild inquired of him,
II. 11. saying:—"Is there a country, or not?" He answered, and said:—"There is here a country. I pray thee roam through it at thy pleasure." The August Grandchild therefore went there and took up his abode. Now there was a fair maid in that land whose name was Ka-ashi-tsu-hime.

[Also called Kami Ata-tsu-hime or Ko no hana no saku-ya-hime.[4]]

Take-ha-dzuchi is brave-leaf-elder. It is not clear that this Weaver-God is the same as the Weaver star.

[1] The interlinear gloss has idzu, an obsolete word which means awful, holy, sacred. It is, I would suggest, the same root which appears in the name of the province Idzu-mo and in Idzu-shi in Tajima, also a seat of Shintō worship. Mo means quarter, as in yomo, the four quarters, everywhere, and shi is for ishi, stone. See Index—Idzu.

[2] It is this word which forms the second part of Kumaso, the general name of the tribes which inhabited the south of Kiushiu.

[3] Thing-excel-country-excel. Long-narrow.

[4] These names mean respectively Deer-reed-of-princess, Deity (or upper) Ata-of-princess and Tree-of-flower-of-blossom-princess, i.e. blossoming like the flowers of the trees. The last name is that by which she is called in the "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 115), and is the one best known.

The August Grandchild inquired of this fair maid, saying:—"Whose daughter art thou?" She answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden[1] is the child of a Heavenly Deity by his marriage with Oho-yama-tsu-mi Kami."

The August Grandchild accordingly favoured[2] her, whereupon in one night she became pregnant. But the August Grandchild was slow to believe this, and said:—"Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I cause any one to become pregnant in the space of one night? That which thou hast in thy bosom is assuredly not my child." Therefore Ka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth. She prepared a doorless[3] muro[4] (*called utsumuro*), and

[1] The use of the character meaning concubine as a pronoun of the first person fem. is a Chinese idiom. The interlinear Kana version has yakko, i.e. slave. Oho-yama-tsu-mi means the Great-mountain-body. Possibly it should be taken here as a common noun, a mountain Deity.

[2] i.e. married her.

[3] It appears from the "Kojiki" that after going in she plastered up the entrance.

[4] The character 室 which in Chinese means a house, a chamber, is, in the older Japanese literature, generally, if not invariably, used to represent the Japanese word muro. Another character used for this purpose is 窖, a cellar. The muro is distinguished from the ihe, or ordinary dwelling. What was the muro? This term is nowadays applied to a gardener's forcing-house, which in Japan consists of a pit four or five feet deep and roofed over. Hi-muro means an ice-house. If the ice-houses in Japan (see drawing in "San-sai-dzu-ye," IV., 19), so denominated, resemble those which I have seen at Yang-hwa-chin in Corea, they were pits sunk several feet below the surface of the ground and covered with a heavy thatched roof. At the foot of Mount Ohoyama there was to be seen, some years ago, a large rectangular pit, three or four feet in depth, with a thatched roof sloping to the ground, and no walls, which was occupied as a dwelling by the pilgrims to that mountain. There are also pits in Corea covered with thatch or strong oil-paper, which are used by the poorest classes as shelters. These are called um, or um-mak. Pit-dwellers are also mentioned in the old Chinese literature. The references to the muro in the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" show that the muro of those days had a similar character. We read of Tsuchi-gumo (earth-hiders, see Index) living in muro, of a muro being dug, and of steps (down) to a muro. That they were sometimes of considerable size is shown by the legend of Jimmu Tennō's reign, which speaks of 160 persons being in a muro at the same time. The pit was (at least in some cases) not simply roofed over, but contained a house with a wooden frame lashed together with cords of a creeping vine (dolichos), the walls having sedges or reeds for laths, and plastered with a mixture of grass and clay. The roof was

entering, dwelt therein. Then she made a solemn declaration, saying:—"If that which is in my bosom is not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, it will assuredly be destroyed by fire, but if it is really the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, fire

thatched with reeds. The muro had a door opening inwards, and contained a raised platform for sleeping on. A dwelling closely answering this description was actually unearthed near Akita in Dewa in 1807.

Muro were used in ancient times by the higher as well as by the poorest classes. Sosa no wo no Mikoto is said by the Idzumo Fudoki to have made himself a muro, and Jimmu Tennō's son is represented as sleeping in a great muro. In modern times muro sometimes means simply chamber.

Some writers confound the muro with the ihaya. So far as I am aware, the latter is used only of caverns in the rock, or of the artificial megalithic chambers contained in sepulchral mounds.

Mr. J. Milne, in an extremely interesting paper on the pit-dwellers of Yezo, read before the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1882, argues that certain pits discovered by him in large numbers in the islands of Yezo and Itorup were the dwellings of a pre-Aino race, whose modern representatives are to be found amongst the Kurilsky or their neighbours in Kamschatka and Saghalin. To these he gives the name of Koro-pok-guru, following an Aino tradition communicated to him by Mr. Batchelor.

On the other hand, I am informed by Baron A. von Siebold, who visited several of these groups of pits in Kusiro and the Kurile Islands, that,—

1. Their appearance is, in his opinion, not consonant with the great antiquity assigned to them by Mr. Milne's theory. It was especially noticeable that no large trees or even deep-rooted brushwood were found growing in or between the square pits.

2. They are arranged in a regular order more suggestive of a military encampment than of the abodes of a tribe of savages. They are all of the same size, except a few larger ones, which may have been occupied by officers. An earthwork near one of them was also suggestive of a military occupation.

3. The pits were carefully dug and found to contain fragments of burned wood, unglazed pottery, and what is more remarkable, a small Japanese sword (tantō) of comparatively modern manufacture.

4. The most important evidence, however, is the fact that the sites of these pits correspond in all the cases which Baron von Siebold was able to examine with those of the military encampments established in Yezo and the Kuriles by the Japanese Government about the beginning of the present century as a defence against the Russians. These encampments are marked on a Japanese map presented to Ph. Fr. von Siebold (the father) by a Court astronomer named Mogami Toknai, and published in Siebold's Atlas. The inference is obvious. In fact pit-dwelling in northern climates affords no indication of race. It has been seen that Chinese, Japanese, and Coreans may all be pit-dwellers on occasion, and the practice is by no means confined to this part of the world.

cannot harm it." So she set fire to the muro. The child which was born from the extremity of the smoke which first arose was called Ho no Susori no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Hayato*); next the child which was born when she drew back and remained away from the heat was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto; the child which was next born was called Ho no akari no Mikoto (*he was the ancestor of the Wohari no Muraji*)—in all three children.[1] II. 12.

A long time after, Ama-tsu-hiko hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi[2] of Hiuga no ye in Tsukushi.

In one writing it is said:—"Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command unto Ame-waka-hiko, saying:—'The Central Land of Reed-Plains is a region which it is for my child to rule over. Considering, however, that there are there certain rebellious, violent and wicked Deities, do thou therefore go first and subdue it.' Accordingly she gave him the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true-deer-arrows, and so despatched him. Ame-waka-hiko, having received this command, went down and forthwith married many daughters of the Earthly Deities. Eight years passed, during which he made no report of his mission. Therefore Ama-terasu-no Oho-kami summoned Omohi-kane no Kami (the Thought-combiner) and inquired the reason why he did not come. Now the Thought-combining Deity reflected and informed her, saying:—'It will be well to send the pheasant to inquire into this.' Hereupon, in accordance with this God's device, the pheasant was caused to go and spy out the reason. The pheasant flew down and perched on the II. 13.
top of a many-branched cassia-tree before Ame-waka-hiko's

[1] The "Kojiki" gives these names differently. Ho no akari means fire-light. The other two are of doubtful interpretation. Perhaps Susori is from the word suso, skirt, and ho-ho-de may mean "go out from flames." This passage shows that the muro was used as an ubu-ya or parturition-house. It was the custom in ancient Japan for women to retire for their confinement to a temporary hut constructed for the purpose. Satow and Dickins found this practice still in vogue in the Island of Hachijō when they visited it in 1878. See "J. A. S. T.," vi. 3.

[2] See Index.

gate, where it uttered a cry, saying:—'Ama-waka-hiko! wherefore for the space of eight years hast thou still not made a report of thy mission?' Now a certain Earthly Goddess, named Ama-no-sagu-me, saw the pheasant, and said:—'A bird of evil cry is sitting on the top of this tree. It will be well to shoot it and kill it.' So Ame-waka-hiko took the Heavenly deer-bow and the Heavenly true deer-arrow given him by the Heavenly Deity and shot it, upon which the arrow went through the pheasant's breast, and finally reached the place where the Heavenly Deity was. Now the Heavenly Deity seeing the arrow, said:—'This arrow I formerly gave to Ame-waka-hiko. Why has it come here?' So she took the arrow, and pronouncing a curse over it, said:—'If it has been shot with evil intent, let mischief surely come upon Ama-waka-hiko; but if it has been shot with a tranquil heart, let no harm befall him.' So she flung it back. It fell down and struck Ame-waka-hiko on the top of the breast, so that he straightway died. This is the reason why people at the present day say, 'Fear a returning arrow.' Now Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children came down from Heaven and went away upwards taking with them the dead body. Then they made a mourning house in Heaven, in which they deposited it and lamented over it. Before this Ame-waka-hiko was on friendly terms with Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami. Therefore Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami ascended to Heaven and condoled with them on the mourning, lamenting greatly. Now this God had by nature an exact resemblance to Ame-waka-hiko in appearance. Therefore Ame-waka-hiko's wife and children, when they saw him, rejoiced, and said:—'Our Lord is still alive.' And they clung to his robe and to his girdle, and could not be thrust away. Now Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Kami became angry, and said:—'My friend is dead, therefore have I come to make condolence. Why then should I be mistaken for a dead man?' So he drew his ten-span sword and cut down the mourning house, which fell to earth and became
II. 14 a mountain. This is Moyama (Mount Mourning) in the province of Mino. This is the reason why people dislike to be mistaken for a dead person.

Now the glory of Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto was so effulgent that it illuminated the space of two hills and two valleys, and those assembled for the mourning celebrated it in song, saying :—

[Another version is that Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Kami's younger sister, Shita-teru-hime, wishing to make known to the company that it was Aji-suki-taka-hiko ne no Mikoto who illuminated the hills and valleys therefore made a song, saying :—]

Like the string of jewels
Worn on the neck
Of the Weaving-maiden,
That dwells in Heaven—
Oh ! the lustre of the jewels
Flung across two valleys
From Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne ![1]

Again they sang, saying :—

To the side-pool—
The side-pool
Of the rocky stream
Whose narrows are crossed
By the country wenches
Afar from Heaven,
Come hither, come hither !
(The women are fair)
And spread across thy net
In the side-pool
Of the rocky stream.[2]

These two poems are in what is now called a Rustic[3] measure.

[1] The metre is irregular. The "Kojiki" version (see Ch. K., p. 99) is somewhat different. The Weaving-maiden of Heaven is a Chinese personification of the Star *a* Lyrae. See Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 97. This affords some indication of the date of this poem. It must have been written after the Japanese became familiar with Chinese astronomy.

[2] The metre is irregular, the text doubtful, and the meaning and application obscure. I agree with the Japanese critics who think that this poem has no business here. The "Kojiki," which gives the previous one, omits it.

Afar from Heaven is a mere epithet (makura-kotoba) of the country. Heaven here stands for the capital.

[3] Probably because hina, country or rustic, is a prominent word in the latter of these two poems.

After this Ama-terasu no Oho-kami united Yorodzu-hata Toyo-aki-tsu-hime, the younger sister of Omohi-kane no Kami to Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-
II. 15. ho-mimi no Mikoto, and making her his consort, caused them to descend to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. At this time Katsu-no-haya-hi no Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and glancing downwards, said:—'Is that country tranquillized yet? No! it is a tumble-down land, hideous to look upon.' So he ascended, and reported why he had not gone down. Therefore, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami further sent Taka-mika-tsuchi no Kami and Futsu-nushi no Kami first to clear it. Now these two Gods went down and arrived at Idzumo, where they inquired of Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity or not?' He answered and said:—'My son, Koto-shiro-nushi is at Cape Mitsu for the sport of bird-shooting. I will ask him, and then give you an answer.' So he sent a messenger to make inquiry, who brought answer and said:—'How can we refuse to deliver up what is demanded by the Heavenly Deity?' Therefore Oho-na-mochi no Kami replied to the two Gods in the words of his son. The two Gods thereupon ascended to Heaven and reported the result of their mission, saying:—'All the Central Land of Reed-Plains is now completely tranquillized.' Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave command, saying:—'If that be so, I will send down my child.' She was about to do so, when in the meantime, an August Grandchild was born, whose name was called Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto. Her son represented to her that he wished the August Grandchild to be sent down in his stead. Therefore Ama-terasu no Oho-kami gave to Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto the three treasures, viz. the curved jewel of Yasaka gem, the eight-hand mirror, and the sword Kusanagi, and joined to him
II. 16. as his attendants Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Naka-tomi, Futo-dama no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Imbe, Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Sarume,[1] Ishi-kori-dome no Mikoto,

[1] Lit. monkey-eye.

the first ancestor of the mirror-makers, and Tamaya no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the jewel-makers, in all Gods of five Be. Then she commanded her August Grandchild, saying:—'This Reed-plain-1500-autumns-fair-rice-ear Land is the region which my descendants shall be lords of. Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go! and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure for ever.' When he was about to descend, one, who had been sent in advance to clear the way, returned and said:—'There is one God who dwells at the eight-cross-roads of Heaven, the length of whose nose is seven hands, the length of whose back is more than seven fathoms. Moreover, a light shines from his mouth and from his posteriors. His eye-balls are like an eight-hand mirror and have a ruddy glow like the Aka-kagachi.' Thereupon he sent one of his attendant Deities II. 17.
to go and make inquiry. Now among all the eighty myriads of Deities there was not one who could confront him and make inquiry. Therefore he specially commanded Ame no Uzume, saying:—'Thou art superior to others in the power of thy looks. Thou hadst better go and question him.' So Ame no Uzume forthwith bared her breasts and, pushing down the band of her garment below her navel, confronted him with a mocking laugh. Then the God of the cross-ways asked her, saying:—'Ame no Uzume! What meanest thou by this behaviour?' She answered and said:—'I venture to ask who art thou that dost thus remain in the road by which the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is to make his progress?' The God of the cross-ways answered and said:—'I have heard that the child of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami is now about to descend, and therefore I have come respectfully to meet and attend upon him. My name is Saruta-hiko no Oho-kami.'[1] Then Ame no Uzume again inquired of him, saying:—'Wilt thou go before me, or shall I go before thee?' He answered and said:—"I will go before and be his harbinger.' Ame no Uzume asked again, saying:—"Whither wilt thou go and whither will the August Grandchild go?' He answered and said:—'The child of the

[1] In later times a phallic Deity.

Heavenly Deity will proceed to the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga in the Land of Tsukushi, and I will
II. 18. go to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise.' He accordingly said:—'Thou art the person who didst discover me. Thou must therefore escort me and com-

Saruta-hiko and Uzume.

plete thy task.' Ame no Uzume returned and reported these circumstances. Thereupon the August Grandchild, leaving the Heavenly rock-seat, and thrusting apart the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, clove his way with an awful way-cleaving, and descended from Heaven. Finally, as

had been arranged, the August Grandchild arrived at the peak of Kushifuru of Takachiho in Hiuga, in the land of Tsukushi. And Saruta-hiko no Kami forthwith proceeded to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise. Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, in accordance with the request made by Saruta[1] hiko no Kami, attended upon him. Now the August Grandchild commanded Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, saying:—'Let the name of the Deity whom thou didst discover be made thy title.' Therefore he conferred on her the designation of Sarume no Kimi.[2] So this was the origin of the male and female Lords of Sarume being both styled Kimi."[3]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Deity sent II. 19.
Futsu-nushi no Kami and Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami to tranquillize the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Now these two Gods said:—'In Heaven there is an Evil Deity called Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi, or Ame no Kagase-wo. We pray that this Deity may be executed before we go down to make clear the Central Land of Reed-Plains.' At this time Iwahi-nushi[4] no Kami received the designation of Iwahi no Ushi. This is the God which now dwells in the land of

[1] Monkey-field. [2] Lord of Sarume.

[3] The "Kojiki" says that it was the females alone who had this title. In either case, the inference is that it was unusual for women to have such names or titles, Motowori's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Sarume were primarily women who performed comic dances (sarumahi or monkey-dances) in honour of the Gods. They are mentioned along with the Nakatomi and Imbe as taking part in the festival of first-fruits and other Shintō ceremonies. These dances were the origin of the Kagura and Nō performances. Another function of the Sarume is that indicated in the part taken by Uzume no Mikoto when the Gods enticed the Sun-Goddess out of her rock-cave. She is there said to have been divinely inspired. This divine inspiration has always been common in Japan. The inspired person falls into a trance, or hypnotic state, in which he or she speaks in the character of some God. Such persons are now known as Miko, defined by Hepburn as 'a woman who, dancing in a Miya, pretends to hold communication with the Gods and the spirits of the dead,' in short a medium. There are also strolling mediums, as in England, women of a low class, who pretend to deliver messages from deceased friends or relatives. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shinto," in the "J. A. S. T.," and Index—Inspiration.

[4] Master of religious abstinence or worship.

Katori in Adzuma.[1] After this the two Deities descended and arrived at the Little Shore of Itasa in Idzumo, and asked Oho-na-mochi no Kami, saying:—'Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Deity, or no?' He answered and said:—'I suspected that ye two gods were coming to my place. Therefore I will not allow it.' Thereupon Futsu-nushi no Kami forthwith returned upwards, and made his report. Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto sent the two Gods back again, and commanded Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying:—'Having now heard what thou hast said, I find that there is profound reason in thy words. Therefore again I issue my commands to thee more circumstantially, that is to say:—Let the public matters which thou hast charge of be conducted by my grandchild, and do thou rule divine affairs. Moreover, if thou wilt dwell in the palace of Ama no Hi-sumi,[2] I will now build it for thee. I will take a thousand fathom rope[3] of the (bark of the) paper mulberry, and tie it in 180 knots. As to the dimensions of the building of the palace,[4] its pillars shall be high and massy, and its planks broad and thick. I will
II. 20. also cultivate thy rice-fields for thee, and, for thy provision when thou goest to take pleasure on the sea, I will make for thee a high bridge, a floating bridge, and also a Heavenly bird-boat. Moreover, on the Tranquil River of Heaven I will make a flying-bridge. I will also make for thee white shields[5] of 180 seams, and Ame no Ho-hi no Mikoto shall be the president of the festivals in thy honour.' Hereupon Oho-na-mochi no Kami answered and said:—'The instructions of the Heavenly Deity are so courteous that I may not presume to disobey his commands. Let the August Grandchild direct the public affairs of which I have charge. I will retire and direct secret matters.' So he introduced Kunado no Kami to the two Gods, saying:—

[1] A general name for the eastern part of Japan.

[2] Heaven-sun-corner.

[3] The rope was for measuring the site, say some. Or it may have been for lashing together the timbers of the building.

[4] Or shrine.

[5] Shields are frequently mentioned in the "Norito" among offerings to the Gods.

'He will take my place and will yield respectful obedience. I will withdraw and depart from here.' He forthwith invested him with the pure Yasaka jewels, and then became concealed for ever.[1] Therefore Futsu-nushi no Kami appointed Kunado no Kami[2] as guide, and went on a circuit II. 21.
of pacification. Any who were rebellious to his authority he put to death, while those who rendered obedience were rewarded. The chiefs of those who at this time rendered obedience were Oho-mono-nushi[3] no Kami and Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. So they assembled the eighty myriads of Gods in the High Market-place of Heaven, and taking them up to Heaven with them, they declared their loyal behaviour. Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto commanded Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, saying:—'If thou dost take to wife one of the Deities of Earth, I shall still consider that thy heart is disaffected. I will therefore now give thee my daughter Mi-ho-tsu hime to be thy wife. Take with thee the eighty myriads of Deities to be the guards of my August Grandchild to all ages. So she sent him down again. Thereupon Ta-oki-ho-ohi no Kami, ancestor of the Imbe of the Land of Kii, was appointed hatter,[4] Hiko-sachi no Kami was made shield-maker,[5] Ma-hitotsu no Kami[6] was made metal-worker, Ame no Hi-washi[7] no Kami was appointed tree-fibre maker, and Kushi-akaru-dama no Kami ewel-maker.[8] II. 22.

Taka-mi-musubi no Kami accordingly gave command, saying:—'I will set up a Heavenly divine fence[9] and a

[1] i.e. died. [2] The Deity of roads. [3] Great-thing-master.

[4] Kasa-nuhi, i.e. broad-hat-sewer.

[5] Tate-nuhi, lit. shield-sewer.

[6] The one-eyed God. It is curious that the Smith-God of Japan, like the Cyclops of Greek fable, should have but one eye. The "Kojiki" calls him Ama-tsu Mara, as to which see Index. Also Ch. K., p. 55.

[7] Sun-eagle. Tree-fibre is yufu. It was the fibre for weaving made of the inner bark of the paper-mulberry, and perhaps also included hemp. All these objects were used in Shintō ceremonies.

[8] Kushi means comb; akaru, shining; dama (for tama), jewel.

[9] In Japanese, himorogi. The "Shiki" says that this is the same thing which is now called a shrine, but admits that its meaning is not clear. The usual interpretation is that the himorogi is a fence of sakaki (the sacred tree)

Heavenly rock-boundary wherein to practise religious abstinence[1] on behalf of my descendants. Do ye, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama[2] no Mikoto, take with you the Heavenly divine fence, and go down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Moreover, ye will there practise abstinence[3] on behalf of my descendants.' So she attached the two Deities to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto and sent them down. It was when Futo-dama no Mikoto was sent that the custom first began of worshipping this Deity with stout straps[4] flung over weak shoulders when taking the place of the Imperial hand. From this, too, the custom had its origin, by which Ame no Koyane no Mikoto had charge of divine matters. Therefore he was

planted round the enclosure consecrated for Shintō worship. But this interpretation is not without difficulty. In Suinin Tennō's reign we hear of a himorogi which was brought over from Corea and preserved as a sacred treasure. This could hardly have been a hedge. Another interpretation makes the himorogi an offering, and interprets the "Kuma" himorogi of the passage just referred to as an offering of bear's paws, one of the eight dainties of ancient Chinese literature. But it is not easy to see how this should be preserved as a sacred treasure.

The derivation does not help us much. Hi is no doubt sun, used metaphorically, as in hi-kagami, sun-mirror or sacred-mirror; hiko, sun-child (prince); hime, sun-female (princess). This is fairly well represented by the Chinese character 神 in the text. The remainder of the word, viz. morogi, is probably moro, a word of multitude, all, many, and gi (for ki), wood. There is a proper name, Take-morogi, where morogi is written with characters which imply this derivation. Hi-moro-gi is therefore a sacred row or group of sticks of some sort or another.

I may mention a suspicion that the himorogi may be connected, perhaps by way of a survival, with a time when the Japanese Deities were a row of posts roughly carved into human shape. See above, p. 3.

[1] This and other passages show that the Shintō place of worship might be merely a piece of ground enclosed for the purpose. The modern word for a Shintō shrine, viz. ya-shiro, house-enclosure or house-area, suggests the same inference. See Satow, "Japanese Rituals," in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., Pt. II., p. 115. It will be remembered that the Roman templum and the Greek τέμενος had originally a similar signification.

[2] The ancestor of the Imbe, or abstainers.

[3] Including avoidance of ceremonial impurities, and hence used for religious worship generally. See above, note to p. 41.

[4] For supporting a tray on which the offerings were placed. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII., p. 112.

made to divine by means of the Greater Divination, and thus to do his service.[1]

At this time Ama-terasu no Oho-kami took in her hand II. 23. the precious mirror, and, giving it to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto, uttered a prayer, saying:—'My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with thee on thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy[2] mirror.' Moreover, she gave command to Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto and to Futo-dama no Mikoto, saying:—'Attend to me, ye two Gods! Do ye also remain together in attendance and guard it well.' She further gave command, saying:—'I will give over to my child the rice-ears of the sacred garden,[3] of which I partake in the Plain of High Heaven.' And she straightway took the daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, by name Yorodzu-hata-hime, and uniting her to Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto as his consort, sent her down. Therefore while she was still in the Void of Heaven,[4] she gave birth to a child, who was called Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. She accordingly desired to send down this grandchild instead of his parents. Therefore on him she bestowed Ame no Ko-yane no Mikoto, Futo-dama no Mikoto, and the Deities of the various Be,[5] all without exception. She gave him, moreover, the things belonging to his person,[6] just as above stated.

After this, Ame no Oshi-ho-mi-mi no Mikoto went back again to Heaven. Therefore Ama-tsu-hiko-ho no ninigi no

[1] The Greater Divination was by observing the cracks in a deer's shoulder-blade which had been exposed to fire. This is also a practice of the Chinese and Mongols, but in China it is more common to use the shell of a tortoise for this purpose, as is sometimes done in Japan also. See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III., p. 335, 336. Ban Nobutomo has devoted a work in two volumes to this subject, entitled 正卜考.

[2] The same word as is used above for religious abstinence.

[3] The yu-niha, in which rice was grown under conditions of strict ceremonial purity for the festival of first-fruits.

[4] Not the Takama no hara, or Plain of High Heaven, but the Oho-sora or Great Void, the space between Heaven and Earth. She was on her way downwards.

[5] The hatter, shield-maker, etc., mentioned above.

[6] The regalia, or mirror, sword and jewel are doubtless meant.

Mikoto descended to the peak of Takachiho of Kushibi in
II. 24. Hiuga. Then he passed through the Land of Munasohi,[1] in Sojishi, by way of the Hill of Hitawo, in search of a country, and stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Thereupon he called to him Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa, the Lord of that country, and made inquiry of him. He answered and said:—'There is a country here. I will in any case obey thy commands.' Accordingly the August Grandchild erected a palace-hall and rested here. Walking afterwards by the sea-shore, he saw a beautiful woman. The August Grandchild inquired of her, saying:—'Whose child art thou?' She answered and said:—'Thy handmaiden is the child of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. My name is Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, and I am also called Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime.' Then she said:—'I have also an elder sister named Iha-naga-hime.'[2] The August Grandchild said:—'I wish to make thee my wife. How will this be?' She answered and said:—'I have a father, Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, I pray thee ask him. The August Grandchild accordingly spake to Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, saying:—'I have seen thy daughter and wish to make her my wife.' Hereupon Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami sent his two daughters with one hundred tables of food and drink to offer them respectfully. Now the August Grandchild thought the elder sister ugly, and would not take her. So she went away. But the younger sister was a noted beauty. So he took her with him and favoured her, and in one night she became pregnant. Therefore Iha-naga-hime was greatly ashamed, and cursed him, saying:—'If the August Grandchild had taken me and not rejected me, the children born to him would have been long-lived, and would have endured for ever like the massy rocks. But seeing that he has not done so, but has married my younger sister only, the children born to him will surely be decadent like the flowers of the trees.'"

One version is:—"Iha-naga-hime, in her shame and

[1] Above, p. 70, we have Muna-kuni or desert land.

[2] Rock-long-princess. Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime is the "Princess who blossoms like the flowers of the trees."

resentment, spat and wept. She said:—'The race of visible mankind shall change swiftly like the flowers of the trees, and shall decay and pass away.' This is the reason why the life of man is so short. II. 25.

After this, Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime saw the August Grandchild, and said:—'Thy handmaiden has conceived a child by the August Grandchild. It is not meet that it should be born privately.' The August Grandchild said:—'Child of the Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I in one night cause anyone to be with child? Now it cannot be my child.' Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime was exceedingly ashamed and angry. She straightway made a doorless muro, and thereupon made a vow, saying:—'If the child which I have conceived is the child of another Deity, may it surely be unfortunate. But if it is truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, may it surely be alive and unhurt.' So she entered the muro, and burnt it with fire. At this time, when the flames first broke out, a child was born who was named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto; next when the flame reached its height, a child was born who was named Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. The next child which was born was called Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto,[1] and also Ho-no-wori no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said:—"When the flames first bebecame bright, a child was born named Ho-no-akari no Mikoto; next, when the blaze was at its height, a child was born named Ho-no-susumi[2] no Mikoto, also called Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next, when she recoiled from the blaze, a child was born named Ho-no-ori-hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto—three children in all. The fire failed to harm them, and the mother, too, was not injured in the least. Then with a bamboo knife she cut their navel-strings.[3] From the bamboo knife which she threw away, there eventually

[1] Ho-ho-demi no Mikoto. The word Mikoto is here written with a different and more honourable character than in the case of his two brothers, for the reason that this Deity was the direct ancestor of the Mikados. See above, p. 3.

[2] Flame-advance.

[3] A note to the Shukai edition mentions a local custom of severing the umbilical cord with a bamboo or copper knife. Another custom is not to use

sprang up a bamboo grove. Therefore that place was called Taka-ya.[1]

II. 26. Now Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime by divination fixed upon a rice-field to which she gave the name Sanada, and from the rice grown there brewed Heavenly sweet sake, with which she entertained him. Moreover, with the rice from the Nunada rice-field she made boiled rice and entertained him therewith."[2]

In one writing it is said :—" Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on the true couch and wrapped in it Ama-tsu-hiko-kuni-teru-hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, who forthwith drew open the rock-door of Heaven, and thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, descended. At this time Ama-no-oshi-hi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Oho-tomo[3] no Muraji, taking with him Ame-kushi-tsu Oho-kume, the ancestor of the Kume Be,[4] placed on his back the rock-quiver of Heaven, drew on his

a knife, but to bite it through, a thin garment being interposed. It should be breathed on seven times with warm breath before being tied.

Superstition and Ritual have a preference for knives of some more primitive material than iron. Medea shears her magic herbs "curvamine falcis ahenæ," and Zipporah performs the rite of circumcision with a sharp stone. But a more prosaic explanation of the present passage is suggested by a surgeon friend. There is less hæmorrhage when a blunt instrument is used.

[1] Bamboo-house.

[2] This incident is the mythical counterpart of the annual festival of Nihi-nahe or nihi-name, now celebrated on November 23rd, when the new season's rice is offered to the Gods and partaken of by the Emperor for the first time. It was grown in plots of ground (yu-niha), the position of which was fixed upon by divination and prepared under strict conditions of ceremonial purity. Nihi means new, n represents no, the genitive particle, and ahe means feast. Name means to taste.

The modern name of this festival is Shin-jō-sai. There is a similar one in China. In ancient times there was no distinction made between this and the Oho-nihe or Oho-name, when the Emperor at his accession offered rice to the Gods (now called the Daijōye), both being called Oho-nihe. The prayer read at the Nihi-name is given among the norito in the Yengishiki, and Hirata devotes the last three vols. of the "Koshiden" to this subject.

[3] Great escort, i.e. of the Emperor.

[4] I quite endorse Chamberlain's shrewd suggestion that this Kume is "nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word chün (軍), the modern Japanese gun, army, troops." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 112.

forearm a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad,[1] and grasped in his hand a Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow and a Heavenly feathered arrow, to which he added an eight-eyed sounding-arrow.[2] Moreover he girt on his mallet-headed sword,[3] and taking his place before the Heavenly Grand- II. 27.
child, proceeded downwards as far as the floating bridge of Heaven, which is on the two peaks of Kushibi of Takachiho in So in Hiuga. Then he stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank and passed through the desert land

Stone Mallets.

of Sojishi by way of Hitawo in search of a country until he came to Cape Kasasa in Ata no Nagaya. Now at this place there was a God named Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-Nagasa. Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild inquired of this God, saying:—'Is there a country?' He answered and said:—'There is.' Accordingly he said:—'I will yield it up to thee in obedience to thy commands.' Therefore the Heavenly Grandchild abode in that place. This Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu no Kami

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] Or nari-kabura. Giles says they were discharged by bandits as a signal to begin an attack. "Eight-eyed" means that there were several holes in the head, the air passing through which produced a humming sound. Parker says that the nari-kabura is not Chinese, but an invention of the Huns.

[3] From the way in which these swords are associated with "stone-mallet" swords in the Jimmu Tennō narrative (see also Ch. K., pp. 112, 142), I am disposed to think that they were of stone, and probably identical with the mallet-shaped objects called raiko shown in Plate XI. of Kanda's "Stone Implements of Japan," from which the illustration is taken. They were, no doubt, lashed to wooden handles, and used as weapons.

was the child of Izanagi no Mikoto, and his other name is Shiho-tsu-tsu-no oji."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The Heavenly Grandchild favoured Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, the daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. In one night she became pregnant, and eventually gave birth to four children. Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime took the children in her arms, and, coming forward, said:—'Ought the children of the Heavenly Grandchild to be privately nurtured? Therefore do I announce to thee the fact for thy information.' At this time the Heavenly Grandchild looked upon the children, and, with a mocking laugh, said:—'Excellent—these princes of mine! Their birth is a delightful piece of news!' Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth, and said:—'Why dost thou mock thy handmaiden?' The Heavenly Grandchild said:—'There is surely some doubt of this, and therefore did I mock. How is it possible for me, Heavenly God though I am, in the space of one night to cause anyone to become pregnant? Truly they are not my children.' On this account Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was more and more resentful. She made a doorless muro, into which she entered, and made a vow, saying:—'If the children which I have conceived are not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them surely perish. But if they are the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them
II. 28. suffer no hurt.' So she set fire to the muro and burnt it. When the fire first became bright, a child sprang forth and announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Where is my father?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the fire was at its height also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-susumi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brother?' Next, the child who sprang forth when the flames were becoming extinguished also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Ho-no-ori no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' Next, when she recoiled from the heat, a child sprang forth, and

[1] Old man of the sea.

also announced himself, saying:—'Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Deity, and my name is Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto. Where are my father and my elder brothers?' After that, their mother, Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, came forth from amidst the embers, and approaching, told him, saying:—'The children which thy handmaiden has brought forth, and thy handmaiden herself, have of our own accord undergone the danger of fire,[1] and yet have suffered not the smallest hurt. Will the Heavenly Grandchild not look on them?' He answered and said:—'I knew from the first that they were my children, only, as they were conceived in one night, I thought that there might be suspicions, and I wished to let everybody know that they are my children, and also that a Heavenly Deity can cause pregnancy in one night. Moreover, I wished to make it evident that thou dost possess a wonderful and extraordinary dignity, and also that our children have surpassing spirit. Therefore it was that on a former day I used words of mockery.'"

In one writing it is said:—"Ame no Oshi-ho-ne no Mikoto took to wife Taku-hata-chichi-hime Yorodzu-hata[2] hime no Mikoto, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto."

Another version says:—"Honoto-hata-hime-ko-chichi-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto." She bore to him a child named Ama-no-ho-no-akari no Mikoto. Next she bore Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto. The child of Ama-no-ho-no-akari no Mikoto was called Kaguyama no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. II. 29.

When Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto was sending down the Heavenly Grandchild Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, she commanded the eighty myriads of Gods, saying:—"In the Central Land of Reed-

[1] The ordeal by fire is here alluded to. In later times the ordeal of boiling water was also practised. Both customs are kept up by Shintō devotees in modern times. See Lowell's "Esoteric Shintō," in the "T.A.S.J." A picture in Hokusai's "Mangwa" represents two in persons the garb of Buddhist priests passing through the ordeal of fire.

[2] Myriad looms, or rather webs. The currency of ancient Japan consisted of pieces of cloth. Hence Yorodzu-hata means wealthy.

Plains, the rocks, tree-stems and herbage have still the power of speech. At night, they make a clamour like that of flames of fire; in the day-time they swarm up like the flies in the fifth month, etc., etc." Now Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto gave command, saying:—"I formerly sent Ame-waka-hiko to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, but he has been long absent, and until now has not returned, perhaps being forcibly prevented by some of the Gods of the Land." She therefore sent the cock-pheasant Na-naki to go thither and spy out the reason. This pheasant went down, but when he saw the fields of millet and the fields of pulse he remained there, and did not come back. This was the origin of the modern saying, "The pheasant special messenger." Therefore she afterwards sent the hen-pheasant Na-naki, and this bird came down and was hit by an arrow shot by Ame-waka-hiko, after which she came up and made her report, etc., etc. At this time Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was upon the true couch, and having clothed therewith the Heavenly Grandchild Ama-tsu-hikone Ho-no-ninigi-ne no Mikoto, sent him downwards, thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven. Therefore this God was styled Ame-kuni-nigishi-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto. Now the place at which he arrived on his descent is called the Peakof Sohori-yama of Takachiho
II. 30. in So in Hiuga. When he proceeded therefore on his way, etc., etc.,[1] he arrived at Cape Kasasa in Ata, and finally ascended the Island of Takashima in Nagaya. He went round inspecting that land, and found there a man whose name was Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa. The Heavenly Grandchild accordingly inquired of him, saying:—"Whose land is this?" He answered and said:—"This is the land where Nagasa dwells. I will, however, now offer it to the Heavenly Grandchild." The Heavenly Grandchild again inquired of him, saying:—"And the maidens who have built an eight-fathom palace on the highest crest of the waves and tend the loom with jingling wrist jewels, whose daughters are they?" He answered and said:—"They are the daughters of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami. The elder is named Iha-naga-hime, and the younger is named Kono-

[1] These etc's mark intentional omissions.

hana saku-ya-hime, also called Toyo-ata-tsu hime, etc., etc." The August Grandchild accordingly favoured Toyo-ata-tsu hime, and after one night she became pregnant. The August Grandchild doubting this, etc., etc. Eventually she gave birth to Ho-no-suseri no Mikoto; next she bore Ho-no-ori no Mikoto, also called Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto. Proof having been given by the mother's vow, it was known exactly that they were truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. Toyo-ata-tsu hime however was incensed at the Heavenly Grandchild, and would not speak to him. The Heavenly Grandchild, grieved at this, made a song, saying :—

The sea-weed of the offing—
Though it may reach the shore :
The true couch
Is, alas ! impossible.
Ah ! ye dotterels of the beach ![1]

In one writing it is said :—" The daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Ama-yorodzu-taku-hata chi-hata hime." II. 31.

One version is :—" Yorodzu-hata-hime ko-dama-yori-hime no Mikoto was the child of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto. This Goddess became the consort of Ame no Oshi-hone no Mikoto, and bore to him a child named Ama-no Ki-ho-ho-oki-se no Mikoto."

One version is :—" Katsu no haya-hi no Mikoto's child was Ama no Oho-mimi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Nigutsu hime, and had by her a child named Ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is :—" The daughter of Kami-mi-musubi no Mikoto, Taku-hata chi-hata hime, bore a child named Ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto."

One version is :—" Ama no Kise no Mikoto took to wife Ata-tsu hime, and had children, first Ho-no-akari no Mikoto, next Ho-no-yo-wori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi Ama no Oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto took to wife Ama

[1] A regular tanka (short poem) of 31 syllables. The meaning is : " The weeds of the deep sea may drift to the shore, but between thy couch and mine an impassable gulf is fixed. I appeal to you, ye dotterels of the beach! Is it not so ?"

no yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata hime, daughter of Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and by her as consort had a child named Ama-teru-kuni-teru Hiko-ho no akari no Mikoto. He is the ancestor of the Ohari no Muraji. The next child was Ama-no-nigishi-kuni-no-nigishi Ama-tsu-hiko-ho-no ninigi no Mikoto. This God took to wife Kono hana saku-ya-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi no Kami, and by her as consort had first a child named Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, and next Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto."

The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had by nature a sea-gift; the younger brother Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto had by nature a mountain-gift.[1] In the beginning the two brothers, the elder and the younger, conversed together, saying:—"Let us for a trial exchange gifts." They eventually exchanged them, but neither of them gained aught by doing so. The elder brother repented his bargain, and returned to the younger brother his bow and arrows, asking for his fish-hook to be given back to him. But the younger brother had already lost the elder brother's fish-hook, and there was no means of finding it. He accordingly made another new hook which he offered to his elder brother. But his elder brother refused to accept it, and
II. 32. demanded the old hook. The younger brother, grieved at this, forthwith took his cross-sword[2] and forged[3] from it new fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his brother. But his elder brother was wroth, and said:—"These are not my old fish-hook: though they are many, I will not take them." And he continued repeatedly to demand it vehemently. Therefore Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto's grief was exceedingly profound, and he went and made moan by the shore of the sea. There he met Shiho-tsutsu[4] no Oji.[5] The old man inquired of him saying:—"Why dost thou grieve here?" He answered and told him the matter from first to last. The old man said:—"Grieve no more. I will arrange this matter for thee." So he made a basket without interstices, and placing

[1] A talent for fishing and a talent for hunting.

[2] The interlinear gloss has tachi, or simply sword.

[3] This points to iron as the material of both swords and fish-hooks at the time when this story became current. The Homeric fish-hook was of horn —*βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο.* See Index—Bronze Age.

[4] Salt-sea-elder.

[5] Grandfather or old-man.

in it Hoho-demi no Mikoto, sank it in the sea. Forthwith he found himself at a pleasant strand, where he abandoned the basket, and, proceeding on his way, suddenly arrived at the palace of the Sea-God. This palace was provided with battlements and turrets, and had stately towers. Before the gate there was a well, and over the well there grew a many-branched cassia-tree,[1] with wide-spreading boughs and leaves. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto went up to the foot of this tree and loitered about. After some time a beautiful woman appeared, and, pushing open the door, came forth. She at length took a II. 33.
jewel-vessel and approached. She was about to draw water, when, raising her eyes, she saw him, and was alarmed. Returning within, she spoke to her father and mother, saying:—"There is a rare stranger at the foot of the tree before the gate." The God of the Sea thereupon prepared an eight-fold cushion and led him in. When they had taken their seats, he inquired of him the object of his coming. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto explained to him in reply all the circumstances. The Sea-God accordingly assembled the fishes, both great and small, and required of them an answer. They all said:—"We know not. Only the Red-woman[2] has had a sore mouth for some time past and has not come." She was therefore peremptorily summoned to appear, and on her mouth being examined the lost hook was actually found.

After this, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto took to wife the Sea-God's daughter, Toyo-tama[3]-hime, and dwelt in the sea-palace. For three years he enjoyed peace and pleasure, but still had a longing for his own country, and therefore sighed deeply from time to time. Toyo-tama-hime heard this and told her father, II. 34.
saying:—"The Heavenly Grandchild often sighs as if in grief. It may be that it is the sorrow of longing for his country." The God of the Sea thereupon drew to him Hiko-hoho-demi no

[1] A castle-gate with a tree growing before it, and a well at its bottom which serves as a mirror, are the stock properties of several old-world stories. The following is from Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 91:—"Then the Giant's dochter came to the palace where Nicht Nought Nothing was, and she went up into a tree to watch for him. The gardener's dochter going to draw water in the well, saw the shadow," etc.

[2] Aka-me, a name of the Tai (pagrus).

[3] Rich-jewel.

Mikoto, and addressing him in an easy, familiar way, said:—"If the Heavenly Grandchild desires to return to his country I will send him back." So he gave him the fish-hook which he had found, and in doing so instructed him, saying:—"When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, before giving to him call to it secretly, and say, "A poor hook." He further presented to him the jewel of the flowing tide and the jewel of the ebbing tide, and instructed him, saying:—"If thou dost dip the tide-flowing jewel, the tide will suddenly flow, and therewithal thou shalt drown thine elder brother. But in case thy elder brother should repent and beg forgiveness, if, on the contrary, thou dip the tide-ebbing jewel, the tide will spontaneously ebb, and therewithal thou shalt save him. If thou harass him in this way, thy elder brother will of his own accord render submission."

When the Heavenly Grandchild was about to set out on his return journey, Toyo-tama-hime addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden is already pregnant, and the time of her delivery is not far off. On a day when the winds and waves are raging, I will surely come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee that thou wilt make for me a parturition house,[1] and await me there."

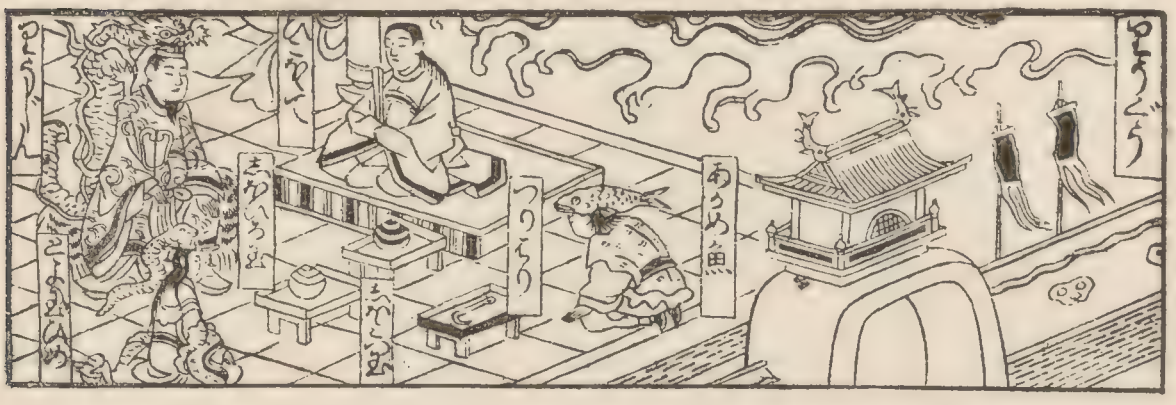
When Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto returned to his palace, he complied implicitly with the instructions of the Sea-God, and the elder brother, Ho-no-susori no Mikoto, finding himself in the utmost straits, of his own accord admitted his offence, and
II. 35. said:—"Henceforward I will be thy subject to perform mimic dances for thee. I beseech thee mercifully to spare my life." Thereupon he at length yielded his petition, and spared him.[2] This Ho-no-susori no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wobashi in Ata.

After this Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise, and, bringing with her her younger sister, Tama-yori-hime, bravely confronted the winds and waves, and came to the sea-shore. When the time of her delivery was at hand, she besought Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—"When thy handmaiden is in travail, I

[1] See above, p. 73.

[2] Ever since the time of Cain and Abel, folk-lore has had a curious partiality for the younger of two brothers. The Jimmu legend contains several instances of this.

pray thee do not look upon her." However, the Heavenly Grandchild could not restrain himself, but went secretly and peeped in. Now Toyo-tama-hime was just in childbirth, and had changed into a dragon.[1] She was greatly ashamed, and said:—"Hadst thou not disgraced me, I would have made the sea and land communicate with each other, and for ever pre-



vented them from being sundered. But now that thou hast disgraced me, wherewithal shall friendly feelings be knit together?" So she wrapped the infant in rushes, and abandoned it on the sea-shore. Then she barred the sea-path, and passed away.[2] Accordingly the child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-fuki-ahezu[3] no Mikoto.

A long time after, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the Misasagi on the summit of Mount Takaya in Hiuga.

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had acquired a mountain-gift. Now the elder and younger brothers wished to exchange gifts, and therefore the elder brother took the bow which was of the gift of the younger brother, and went to the mountain in quest II. 36.

[1] In the accompanying illustration from a Japanese book (printed 1746), the Sea-King and his daughter are represented as combining the Dragon with the human form. See above, p. 61.

[2] "There are many examples of the disappearance of the bride or bridegroom in consequence of the infringement of various mystic rules." Lang's "Custom and Myth," p. 81.

[3] Prince-beach-brave-cormorant-rush-thatch-unfinished. The application of the latter part of the name will appear from one of the variant myths given below. See also Ch. K., p. 127.

of wild animals. But never a trace of game did he see. The younger brother took the fish-hook of his elder brother's gift, and with it went a-fishing on the sea, but caught none at all, and finally lost his fish-hook. Then the elder brother restored his younger brother's bow and arrows, and demanded his own fish-hook. The younger brother was sorry, and of the cross-sword which he had in his girdle made fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his elder brother. But the elder brother refused to receive them, saying:—'I still wish to get the fish-hook of my gift.' Hereupon Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, not knowing where to look for it, only grieved and made moan. He went to the sea-shore, where he wandered up and down lamenting. Now there was an old man, who suddenly came forward, and gave his name as Shiho-tsuchi no Oji. He asked him, saying:—'Who art thou, my lord, and why dost thou grieve here?' Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto told him all that had happened. Whereupon the old man took from a bag a black comb, which he flung upon the ground. It straightway became changed into a multitudinous[1] clump of bamboos. Accordingly he took these bamboos and made of them a coarse basket with wide meshes, in which he placed Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and cast him into the sea."

One version says:—"He took a katama without interstices, and made of it a float, to which he attached Hoho-demi by a cord and sunk him." [*The term katama means what is now called a bamboo-basket.*]

Now there is in the bottom of the sea a natural "Little-shore of delight." Proceeding onwards, along this shore, he arrived of a sudden at the palace of Toyo-tama-hiko, the God of the Sea. This palace had magnificent gates and towers of exceeding beauty. Outside the gate there was a well, and beside the well was a cassia-tree. He approached
II. 32. the foot of this tree, and stood there. After a while a beautiful woman, whose countenance was such as is not anywhere to be seen, came out from within, followed by a bevy of attendant maidens. She was drawing water in a

[1] Lit. 500.

jewel-urn, when she looked up and saw Hoho-demi no Mikoto. She was startled, and returning, told the God, her father, saying:—'At the foot of the cassia-tree without the gate, there is a noble stranger of no ordinary build. If he had come down from Heaven, he would have had on him the filth of Heaven; if he had come from Earth, he would have had on him the filth of Earth. Could he be really the beautiful prince of the sky?'

One version says:—"An attendant of Toyo-tama-hime was drawing water in a jewel-pitcher, but she could not manage to fill it. She looked down into the well, when there shone inverted there the smiling face of a man. She looked up and there was a beautiful God leaning against a cassia-tree. She accordingly returned within, and informed her mistress.

Hereupon Toyo-tama-hiko sent a man to inquire, saying:—'Who art thou, O stranger, and why hast thou come here?' Hoho-demi no Mikoto answered and said:—'I am the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity,' and ultimately went on to give the reason of his coming.

Then the God of the Sea went out to meet him. He made him obeisance, and led him within, where he inquired courteously of his welfare, and gave him to wife his daughter, Toyo-tama-hime. Therefore he remained and dwelt in the palace of the sea. Three years passed, after which Hoho-demi no Mikoto sighed frequently, and Toyo-tama-hime asked him, saying:—'Does the Heavenly Grandchild perchance wish to return to his native land?' He answered and said:—'It is so.' Toyo-tama-hime forthwith told the God her father, and said:—'The noble guest who is here wishes to return to the upper country.' Hereupon the God of the Sea assembled all the II. 38.
fishes of the sea, and asked of them the fish-hook. Then one fish answered and said:—'The Red-woman[1] (*also called the Red Tahi*) has long had an ailment of the mouth. I suspect that she has swallowed it.' So the Red-woman was forthwith summoned, and on looking into her mouth, the hook was still there. It was at once taken and delivered to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, with these instructions:—

[1] See above, p. 93.

'When thou givest the fish-hook to thy elder brother, thou must use this imprecation: "The origin of poverty: the beginning of starvation: the root of wretchedness." Give it not to him until thou hast said this. Again, if thy brother cross the sea, I will then assuredly stir up the blasts and billows, and make them overwhelm and vex him.' Thereupon he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto on the back of a great sea-monster, and so sent him back to his own country.

At another time, before this, Toyo-tama-hime spoke in an easy, familiar way, and said:—'Thy handmaid is with child. Some day, when the winds and waves are boisterous, I will come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee to construct for me a parturition-house, and to await me there.'

After this, Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise to come, and spake to Hoho-demi no Mikoto, saying:—'To-night thy handmaiden will be delivered. I pray thee, look not on her.' Hoho-demi no Mikoto would not hearken to her, but with a comb[1] he made a light, and looked at her. At this time Toyo-tama-hime had become changed into an enormous sea-monster of eight fathoms, and was wriggling about on her belly. She at last was angry that she was put to shame, and forthwith went straight back again to her native sea, leaving behind her younger sister Tama-yori-
II. 39. hime as nurse to her infant. The child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ayezu no Mikoto, because the parturition-house by the sea-shore was all thatched with cormorants' feathers, and the child was born before the tiles had met. It was for this reason that he received this name."[2]

One version says:—"Before the gate there was a beautiful well, and over the well there grew a cassia-tree with an hundred branches. Accordingly Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto sprang up into that tree and stood there. At this time, Toyo-tama-hime, the daughter of the God of the Sea, came with a jewel-bowl in her hand and was about to draw water, when she saw in the well the reflection of a

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] There is a superstition that a woman in childbirth gained relief by holding a cormorant's feather in her hand. A cowrie (ko-yasu-gai) is used for the same purpose, no doubt on account of its shape. See above, p. 95.

man. She looked up and was startled, so that she let fall the bowl, which was broken to pieces. But without regard for it, she returned within and told her parents, saying:—'I have seen a man on the tree which is beside the well. His countenance is very beautiful, and his form comely. He is surely no ordinary person.' When the God, her father, heard this, he wondered. Having prepared an eight-fold cushion, he went to meet him, and brought him in. When they were seated, he asked the reason of his coming, upon which he answered and told him all his case. Now the God of the Sea at once conceived pity for him, and summoning all the broad of fin and narrow of fin, made inquiry of them. They all said:—'We know not. Only the Red-woman has an ailment of the mouth and has not come.' [Another version is:—'The Kuchi-me[1] has an ailment of the mouth.'] So she was sent for in all haste, and on searching her mouth, the lost fish-hook was at once found. Upon this the God of the Sea chid her, saying:—'Thou Kuchime! Henceforward thou shalt not be able to swallow a bait, nor shalt thou be allowed to have a place at the table of the Heavenly Grandchild.' This is the reason why the fish kuchime is not among the articles of food set before the Emperor.

When the time came for Hiko-hoho-demi. no Mikoto to take his departure, the God of the Sea spake to him, saying:—'I am rejoiced in my inmost heart that the Heavenly Grandchild has now been graciously pleased to visit me. When shall I ever forget it?' So he took the jewel which II. 40.
when thought of makes the tide to flow, and the jewel which when thought of makes the tide to ebb, and joining them to the fish-hook, presented them, saying:—'Though the Heavenly Grandchild may be divided from me by eight-fold windings (of road), I hope that we shall think of each other from time to time. Do not therefore throw them away.' And he taught him, saying:—'When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, call it thus:—'A hook of poverty, a hook of ruin, a hook of downfall.' When thou hast said all this, fling it away to him with thy back turned, and deliver it not to him face to face. If thy elder

[1] Kuchi-me means "mouth-female."

brother is angry, and has a mind to do thee hurt, then produce the tide-flowing jewel and drown him therewith. As soon as he is in peril and appeals for mercy, bring forth the tide-ebbing jewel and therewith save him. If thou dost vex him in this way, he will of his own accord become thy submissive vassal.' Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, having received the jewels and the fish-hook, came back to his original palace, and followed implicitly the teaching of the Sea-God. First of all he offered his elder brother the fish-hook. His elder brother was angry and would not receive it. Accordingly the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, upon which the tide rose with a mighty overflow, and the elder brother was drowning. Therefore he besought his younger brother, saying:—'I will serve thee as thy slave. I beseech thee, spare my life.' The younger brother then produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ebbed of its own accord, and the elder brother was restored to tranquillity. After this the elder brother changed his former words, and said:—'I am thy elder brother. How can an elder brother serve a younger brother?' Then the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, which his elder brother seeing, fled up to a high mountain. Thereupon the tide also submerged the mountain. The elder brother climbed a lofty tree, and thereupon the tide also submerged the tree. The elder brother was now at an extremity, and had nowhere to
II. 41. flee to. So he acknowledged his offence, saying:—'I have been in fault. In future my descendants for eighty generations shall serve thee as thy mimes in ordinary. [One version has 'dog-men.'] I pray thee, have pity on me.' Then the younger brother produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ceased of its own accord. Hereupon the elder brother saw that the younger brother was possessed of marvellous powers, and at length submitted to serve him.

On this account the various Hayato descended from Ho no susori no Mikoto to the present time do not leave the vicinity of the enclosure of the Imperial Palace, and render service instead of barking dogs.[1]

[1] The Hayato constituted the Imperial Guard. The literal meaning of the

This was the origin of the custom which now prevails of not pressing a man to return a lost needle."[1]

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother, Ho no susori no Mikoto, was endowed with a sea-gift, and was therefore called Umi no sachi-hiko:[2] the younger brother, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, was endowed with a mountain-gift, and was therefore called Yama no sachi-hiko. Whenever the wind blew and the rain fell, the elder brother lost his gain, but in spite of wind and rain the younger brother's gain did not fail him. Now the elder brother spoke to the younger brother, saying:—'I wish to make trial of an exchange of gifts with thee.' The younger brother consented, and the exchange was accordingly made. Thereupon the elder brother took the younger brother's bow and arrows, and went a-hunting to the mountain: the younger brother took the elder brother's fish-hook, and went on the sea a-fishing. But neither of them got anything, and they came back empty-handed. The elder brother accordingly restored to the younger brother his bow and arrows, and demanded back his own fish-hook. Now the younger brother had lost the fish-hook in the sea, and he knew not how to find it. Therefore he made other new fish-hooks, several thousands in number, which he offered to his elder brother. The elder brother was angry, and would not receive them, but demanded importunately the old fish-hook, etc., etc. Then the younger brother went to the sea-shore and wandered about, grieving and making moan. Now II. 42.

name (for haya-bito) is falcon-man. They were from the provinces of Satsuma and Ohosumi. The Hayato are mentioned repeatedly in the reigns of Temmu and Jitō, not, I think, before that time.

The Yengi-shiki (regulations of the Yengi, 901-923 period) says that on the first day of the year, at coronations, and when foreign envoys were received, twenty upper class hayato were to attend, twenty "new-comer" hayato, and 132 ordinary hayato. These were to take their posts in detachments to right and left outside the Palace Gate. When the officials first entered, or got up from their seats, the "new-comer" hayato raised three barks, and there was more barking or howling, sometimes loud and sometimes low, at other stages of the ceremony.

[1] The Japanese word hari means both needle and fish-hook. There is no such ambiguity in the Chinese characters used here.

[2] Sea-gift-prince.

there was there a river wild-goose which had become entangled in a snare, and was in distress. He took pity on it, and loosing it, let it go. Shortly after there appeared Shiho tsutsu no Oji. He came and made a skiff of basket-work without interstices, in which he placed Hoho-demi no Mikoto and pushed it off into the sea, when it sank down of its own accord, till of a sudden there appeared the Pleasant Road. So he went on along this road, which in due course led him to the palace of the Sea-God. Then the Sea-God came out himself to meet him, and invited him to enter. He spread eight layers of sea-asses'[1] skins, on which he made him to sit, and with a banquet of tables of a hundred, which was already prepared, he fulfilled the rites of hospitality. Then he inquired of him in an easy manner:—'Wherefore has the Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity been graciously pleased to come hither?'"

[One version has:—"A little while ago my child came and told me that the Heavenly Grandchild was mourning by the sea-shore. Whether this be true or false I know not, but perhaps it may be so."]

Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto related to him all that had happened from first to last. So he remained there, and the Sea-God gave him his daughter Toyo-tama-hime to wife. At length, when three years had passed in close and
II. 43. warm affection, the time came for him to depart. So the Sea-God sent for the tahi, and on searching her mouth found there the fish-hook. Thereupon he presented the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him thus:—'When thou givest this to thy elder brother thou must recite the following:—"A big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook." After saying all this, fling it to him with a back-handed motion.' Then he summoned together the sea-monsters, and inquired of them, saying:—'The Grandchild of the Heavenly Deity is now about to take his departure homewards. In how many days will you accomplish this service?' Then all the sea-monsters fixed each a number of days according to his own length. Those of

[1] The interlinear gloss has michi. One of the marine carnivora is meant, probably the seal.

them which were one fathom long of their own accord said: —'In the space of one day we will accomplish it.' The one-fathom sea-monsters were accordingly sent with him as his escort. Then he gave him two precious objects, the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, and taught him how to use them. He further instructed him, saying:—'If thy elder brother should make high fields, do thou make puddle fields; if thy elder brother make puddle fields, do thou make high fields. In this manner did the Sea-God in all sincerity lend him his aid. Now Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, when he returned home, followed implicitly the God's instructions, and acted accordingly. When the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, the elder brother forthwith flung up his hands in the agony of drowning. But when, on the other hand, he produced the tide-ebbing jewel, he was relieved, and recovered. After that Hi no susori no Mikoto pined away from day to day, and lamented, saying:—'I have become impoverished.' So he yielded submission to his younger brother.

Before this Toyo-tama-hime spake to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'That which thy handmaid has conceived is the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. How could I give birth to it in the midst of the ocean? Therefore when the time of my delivery comes, I will surely betake myself to my lord's abode, and it is my prayer that thou shouldst build me a house by the sea-side and await me there.' Therefore Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto, as soon as he returned to his own country, took cormorants' feathers, and with them as thatch, made a parturition-house. But before the tiling of the house was completed, Toyo-tama-hime herself arrived, riding on a great tortoise, with her younger sister Tama-yori-hime, and throwing a splendour over the sea. Now the months of her pregnancy were already fulfilled, and the time of her delivery was urgent. On this account she did not wait till the thatching of the house was completed, but went straight in and remained there. Then she spake quietly to the Heavenly Grandchild, saying:—'Thy handmaid is about to be delivered. I pray thee do not look on her.' The Heavenly Grandchild wondered at these words, and II. 44.

peeped in secretly, when behold, she had become changed into a great sea-monster of eight fathoms. Now she was aware that the Heavenly Grandchild had looked in upon her privacy, and was deeply ashamed and resentful. When the child was born, the Heavenly Grandchild approached and made inquiry, saying:—'By what name ought the child to be called?' She answered and said:—'Let him be called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto.'[1] Having said so, she took her departure straight across the sea. Then Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto made a song, saying:—

Whatever befals me,
Ne'er shall I forget my love
With whom I slept
In the island of wild-ducks—
The birds of the offing."[2]

II. 45. Another account says:—"Hiko-ho-ho-demi no Mikoto took other women and made them wet-nurses, bathing-women, boiled-rice-chewers, and washerwomen.[3] All these various Be were provided for the respectful nurture of the infant. The provision at this time, by means of other women, of milk for the nurture of the august child was the origin of the present practice of engaging temporarily wet-nurses to bring up infants.

After this, when Toyo-tama-hime heard what a fine boy her child was, her heart was greatly moved with affection, and she wished to come back and bring him up herself. But she could not rightly do so, and therefore she sent her younger sister Tama-yori-hime to nurture him. Now when Toyo-tama-hime sent Tama-yori-hime, she offered (to Hoho-demi no Mikoto) the following verse in answer:—

Some may boast
Of the splendour
Of red jewels,

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[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] The order of the lines in the original is exactly the reverse of the above. Metre, regular tanka.

The word for "my love" is imo, which in ancient Japanese is used indifferently for wife and younger sister. See above, p. 22.

[3] Evidently the narrator is here describing the staff of the Imperial nursery of the day.

But those worn by my Lord—
It is they which are admirable.[1]

These two stanzas, one sent, and one in reply, are what are termed age-uta."[2]

In one writing it is said:—"The elder brother, Ho no susori no Mikoto had a sea-gift, while the younger brother, Ho no ori no Mikoto, had a mountain gift, etc., etc.

The younger brother remained by the sea-shore grieving II. 46.
and making moan, when he met with Shiho-tsutsu no Oji, who inquired of him, saying:—'Why dost thou grieve in this way?' Ho no ori no Mikoto answered and said, etc., etc.

The old man said:—'Grieve no longer. I will devise a plan.' So he unfolded his plan, saying:—'The courser on which the Sea-God rides is a sea-monster eight fathoms in length, who with fins erect stays in the small orange-tree house. I will consult with him.' So he took Ho no ori no Mikoto with him, and went to see the sea-monster. The sea-monster then suggested a plan, saying:—'I could bring the Heavenly Grandchild to the Sea-Palace after a journey of eight days, but my King has a courser, a sea-monster of one fathom, who will without doubt bring him thither in one day. I will therefore return and make him come to thee. Thou shouldst mount him, and enter the sea. When thou enterest the sea, thou wilt in due course find there "the Little-shore of delight." Proceed along this shore and thou wilt surely arrive at the palace of my King. Over the well at the palace gate there is a multitudinous branching cassia-tree. Do thou climb up on to this tree and stay there.' Having so said, he entered into the sea, and departed. Accordingly the Heavenly Grandchild, in compliance with the sea-monster's words, remained there, and waited for eight days, when there did indeed appear to him a sea-monster of one fathom. He mounted on it, and entered the sea, where he followed in every particular the former sea-monster's advice. Now there appeared an attendant of Toyo-tama-hime, carrying a jewel-vessel, with

[1] The "Kojiki" gives a different version of this poem. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 128.
[2] Ageru means to exalt, hence to praise, and age-uta may be rendered "complimentary poetry."

which she was about to draw water from the well, when she espied in the bottom of the water the shadow of a man. She could not draw water, and looking up saw the Heavenly Grandchild. Thereupon she went in and informed the King, saying:—'I had thought that my Lord alone was supremely handsome, but now a stranger has appeared who far excels him in beauty.' When the Sea-God heard this, he said:—'I will try him and see.' So he prepared a threefold dais. Thereupon the Heavenly Grandchild wiped both his feet at the first step of the dais. At the middle one he placed both his hands to the ground; at the inner one he sat down at his ease[1] upon the cushion covering the true couch. When the Sea-God saw this, he knew that this was the grandchild of the Heavenly Deity, and treated
II. 47. him with more and more respect, etc., etc.

The Sea-God summoned the Akame and the Kuchime, and made inquiry of them. Then the Kuchime drew a fish-hook from her mouth and respectfully delivered it to him. [*The Akame is the Red Tahi and the Kuchime is the Nayoshi.*][2] The Sea-God then gave the fish-hook to Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto, and instructed him, saying:—'When thy elder brother's fish-hook is returned to him, let the Heavenly Grandchild say:—"Let it be to all thy descendants, of whatever degree of relationship, a poor hook, a paltry poor hook." When thou hast thus spoken, spit thrice, and give it to him. Moreover, when thy elder brother goes to sea a-fishing, let the Heavenly Grandchild stand on the sea-shore and do that which raises the wind. Now that which raises the wind is whistling. If thou doest so, I will forthwith stir up the wind of the offing and the wind of the shore, and will overwhelm and vex him with the scurrying waves.' Ho no ori no Mikoto returned, and obeyed implicitly the instructions of the God. When a day came on which the elder brother went a-fishing, the younger brother stood on the shore of the sea, and whistled. Then there arose a sudden tempest, and the elder brother was forthwith overwhelmed and harassed. Seeing no means of

[1] i.e. with legs crossed, which is less respectful than the usual squatting posture.

[2] Mullet.

saving his life, he besought his younger brother from afar, saying:—'Thou hast dwelt long in the ocean-plain, and must possess some excellent art. I pray thee teach it to me. If thou save my life, my descendants of all degrees of relationship shall not leave the neighbourhood of thy precinct, but shall act as thy mime-vassals.' Thereupon the younger brother left off whistling, and the wind again returned to rest. So the elder brother recognized the younger brother's power, and freely admitted his fault. But the younger brother was wroth, and would hold no converse with him. Hereupon the elder brother, with nothing but his waistcloth on, and smearing the palms of his hands and his face with red earth, said to his younger brother:— II. 48.
'Thus do I defile my body, and make myself thy mime for ever.' So kicking up his feet, he danced along and practised the manner of his drowning struggles. First of all, when the tide reached his feet, he did the foot-divination;[1] when it reached his knees, he raised up his feet; when it reached his thighs, he ran round in a circle; when it reached his loins, he rubbed his loins; when it reached his sides, he placed his hands upon his breast; when it reached his neck, he threw up his hands, waving his palms. From that time until now, this custom has never ceased.

Before this, Toyo-tama-hime came forth, and when the time came for her delivery, she besought the Heavenly Grandchild, saying, etc., etc.

The Heavenly Grandchild did not comply with her request, and Toyo-tama-hime resented it greatly, saying:—'Thou didst not attend to my words, but didst put me to shame. Therefore from this time forward, do not send back again any of the female servants of thy handmaid who may go to thy place, and I will not send back any of thy servants who may come to my place.' At length she took the coverlet of the true couch and rushes, and wrapping her child in them, laid him on the beach. She then entered the sea and went away. This is the reason why there is no communication between land and sea." II. 49.

One version says:—"The statement that she placed the

[1] i e. shuffled with his feet, as when performing this kind of divination.

child on the beach is wrong. Toyo-tama-hime no Mikoto departed with the child in her own arms. Many days after, she said :—'It is not right that the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild should be left in the sea,' so she made Tama-yori-hime to take him, and sent him away. At first, when Toyo-tama-hime left, her resentment was extreme, and Ho no ori no Mikoto therefore knew that they would never meet again, so he sent her the verse of poetry which is already given above."

Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto took his aunt Tama-yori-hime as his consort, and had by her in all four male children, namely, Hiko-itsu-se[1] no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi[2] no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no[3] no Mikoto, and next Kamu-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Long after, Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto died, in the palace of the western country, and was buried in the Misasagi on the top of Mount Ahira in Hiuga.

One writing says :—" His first child was Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, the next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto, and the next Sano no Mikoto, also styled Kamu[4]-yamato-Ihare-biko no Mikoto. Sano was the name by which he was called when young. Afterwards when he had cleared and subdued the realm, and had control of the
II. 50. eight islands, the title was added of Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" His first child was Itsu-se no Mikoto, the next Mikeno no Mikoto, the next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, and the next Ihare-biko no Mikoto, also styled Kamu-yamato Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsuse no Mikoto, next Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Kamu-yamato Ihare biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Waka-mi-ke-no no Mikoto."

In one writing it is said :—" First he had Hiko-itsu-se no Mikoto, next Ihare-biko Hoho-demi no Mikoto, next Hiko Ina-ihi no Mikoto, next Mi-ke-iri-no no Mikoto."

[1] Prince-five-reaches.
[2] Boiled rice.
[3] Three-hairs-enter-moor.
[4] Or Kami.

BOOK III.

THE EMPEROR KAMI-YAMATO IHARE-BIKO.[1]

(*JIMMU TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Kami Yamato Ihare-biko's personal name was

[1] Emperor is as near an equivalent as possible of the Chinese 天皇. Both are foreign words. The Japanese interlinear gloss is Sumera Mikoto "supreme majesty," sumera having the same root as suberu, "to unite as a whole"; hence, "to have general control of." See Satow, "Rituals," "T.A.S.J.," VII., ii., p. 113.

Yamato, see above, note to p. 13.

Ihare is the name of a district of Yamato; Hiko means prince.

Jimmu (divine valour) is a posthumous name. These names for the earlier Mikados were invented in the reign of Kwammu (782—806), after the "Nihongi" was written, but it is necessary to mention them, as they are in universal use by Japanese writers.

In this narrative we have probably a legendary echo of a real movement of population from Kiushiu eastwards to Yamato, at some time before the Christian epoch, but it is not safe to go further than this. The details are manifestly fictitious, some of them, as the quotations from Chinese books put into the mouth of Jimmu Tennō, demonstrably so.

Granting for a moment that the narrative of the Conquest of Yamato by Jimmu Tennō is substantially true, the question arises, Of what race were the tribes whom he found there? I would suggest that they may have been the Southern Wa mentioned in the "Shan hai king," a very ancient Chinese book, as being, along with the Northern Wa, subject to the kingdom of Yen. The Chinese in ancient times had a notion that Yamato lay to the south of Kiushiu. Yen, a kingdom of Northern China, had an independent existence from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 265.[1] Chamberlain has pointed out that the ancient legends of Japan are connected with three distinct centres—Idzumo, Yamato, and Tsukushi, which is some indication that these places were also centres of governmental authority. The names given to the chieftains subdued by Jimmu Tennō are unmistakably Japanese, as are also those of the places which they inhabited. I cannot agree with Chamberlain in deriving Yamato, Ki, Shima, etc., from Aino words, when obvious Japanese explanations are available. There is another Yamato in Chikugo, where the Aino derivation is surely out of place. I have no desire, however, to dispute all his Aino derivations of place names

Hiko-hoho-demi. He was the fourth child [1] of Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no Mikoto. His mother's name was Tama-yori-hime, daughter of the Sea-God. From his birth, this Emperor was of clear intelligence and resolute will. At the
III. 2. age of fifteen he was made heir to the throne. When he grew up, he married Ahira-tsu-hime, of the district of Ata in the province of Hiuga, and made her his consort. By her he had Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto and Kisu-mimi no Mikoto.

When he reached the age of forty-five, he addressed his elder brothers and his children, saying:—"Of old, our Heavenly Deities Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto, pointing to this land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain, gave it to our Heavenly ancestor, Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. Thereupon Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, throwing open the barrier of Heaven and clearing a cloud-path, urged on his superhuman course until he came to rest. At this time the world was given over to widespread desolation. It was an age of darkness and disorder. In this gloom, therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border.[2] Our Imperial ancestors and Imperial parent, like gods, like sages, accumulated happiness and amassed glory. Many years elapsed. From the date when our Heavenly ancestor descended until now it is over
III. 3. 1,792,470 years.[3] But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practises mutual aggression and conflict.

Now I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea,[4] that in the East there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. Moreover, there is there one who flew down riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat. I think that this land will undoubtedly

in this part of Japan, and I think it very probable that the first Japanese who settled here drove out a population of Aino race.

[1] Primogeniture was evidently not recognized in Japan at the time this story was written.

[2] i.e. Kiushiu.

[3] This is in imitation of the great number of years ascribed to the reigns of the early Chinese monarchs.

[4] Shiho tsutsu no oji.

be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task,[1] so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the centre of the world.[2] The person who flew down was, I believe, Nigi-haya-hi.[3] Why should we not proceed thither, and make it the capital?"

All the Imperial Princes answered, and said:—"The truth of this is manifest. This thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly." This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Great Year.[4] III. 4. B.C. 667.

In that year, in winter, on the Kanoto Tori day (the 5th) of the 10th month, the new moon of which was on the day Hinoto Mi, the Emperor in person led the Imperial Princes and a naval force on an expedition against the East. When he arrived at the Haya-suhi gate,[6] there was there a fisherman who came riding in a boat. The Emperor summoned him, and then inquired of him, saying:—"Who art thou?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant is a Country-God, and his name is Utsu-hiko.[7] I angle for fish in the bays of ocean. Hearing that the son of the Heavenly Deity was coming, therefore I forthwith came to receive him." Again he inquired of him, saying:—"Canst thou act as my guide?" He answered and said:—"I will do so." The Emperor ordered the end of a pole of shihi wood[8] to be given to the fisher, and caused him to be taken and pulled into the Imperial vessel, of which he was made pilot.

[1] i.e. for the further development of the Imperial power.

[2] The world is here the six quarters, N., S., E., W., Zenith, Nadir. This is, of course, Chinese, as indeed is this whole speech.

[3] Nigi-haya-hi means soft-swift-sun.

[4] The great year is the Chinese cycle of sixty years. This system of reckoning time is described in Legge's "Classics," Chalmers' "Essay in prolegomena to Shooking," "Japanese Chronological Tables," by E.M.S., Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," Mayers' "Chinese Manual," etc. It was not in use to record years before the Christian era even in China, and could hardly have been known in Japan before the introduction of writing in the 5th century, A.D. It is needless to add that such dates are, in this part of the "Nihongi," purely fictitious.

[5] The days of the month are throughout the "Nihongi" given in this clumsy fashion. I have not thought it necessary to follow the example, except in this one instance.

[6] The Quick-suck-gate or Bungo Channel, so called from its rapid tides.

[7] Rare-prince. [8] Quercus cuspidata.

A name was specially granted him, and he was called Shihi-ne-
III. 5. tsu-hiko.[1] He was the first ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe.

Proceeding on their voyage, they arrived at Usa[2] in the Land of Tsukushi. At this time there appeared the ancestors of the Kuni-tsu-ko[3] of Usa, named Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime. They built a palace raised on one pillar[4] on the banks of the River Usa, and offered them a banquet. Then, by Imperial command, Usa-tsu-hime was given in marriage to the Emperor's attendant minister Ama no tane[5] no Mikoto. Now Ama no tane no Mikoto was the remote ancestor of the Nakatomi Uji.[6]

11th month, 9th day. The Emperor arrived at the harbour of Oka[7] in the Land of Tsukushi.

III. 6. 12th month, 27th day. He arrived at the province of Aki, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ye.

B.C. 666. The year Kinoto U, Spring, 3rd month, 6th day. Going onwards, he entered the land of Kibi,[8] and built a temporary palace, in which he dwelt. It was called the Palace of Takashima. Three years passed, during which time he set in order the helms[9] of his ships, and prepared a store of provisions. It was his desire by a single effort to subdue the Empire.

B.C. 663. The year Tsuchinoye Muma, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Imperial forces at length proceeded eastwards, the prow of one ship touching the stern of another. Just when they reached Cape Naniha they encountered a current of great swiftness. Whereupon that place was called Nami-haya (wave-swift) or

[1] Prince of shihi root.

[2] Usa is now a district (kōri) in the province of Buzen. Tsukushi is used by old writers both for the whole island of Kiushiu and for the northern part of it.

[3] Or Kuni no miyakko, local hereditary nobles.

[4] Vide Ch. K., p. 130, and "Night of the Gods," p. 224, where a curious coincidence with an Irish legend is noted. "In Mailduin's voyage he came to an island called Aenchoss, that is One-foot, so called because it was supported by a single pillar in the middle." The "Kojiki" and a note to the "Nihongi" have for one pillar, "one foot." Possibly there is here a reminiscence of a nomadic tent life.

[5] Heavenly seed.

[6] i.e. house, or noble family.

[7] In Chikuzen.

[8] Including the present provinces of Bizen, Bittchiu, and Bingo.

[9] Or oars.

Nami-hana (wave-flower). It is now called Naniha,[1] which is a corruption of this.

3rd month, 10th day. Proceeding upwards against the stream, they went straight on, and arrived at the port of Awokumo no Shira-date, in the township of Kusaka, in the province of Kafuchi.[2] III. 7.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Imperial forces in martial array marched on to Tatsuta. The road was narrow and precipitous, and the men were unable to march abreast, so they returned and again endeavoured to go eastward, crossing over Mount Ikoma. In this way they entered the inner country.[3]

Now when Naga-sune-hiko[4] heard this, he said:—"The object of the children of the Heavenly Deity in coming hither is assuredly to rob me of my country." So he straightway levied all the forces under his dominion, and intercepted them at the Hill of Kusaka. A battle was engaged, and Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by a random arrow on the elbow. The Imperial forces were unable to advance against the enemy. The Emperor was vexed, and revolved in his inmost heart a divine plan, saying:—"I am the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, and if I proceed against the Sun to attack the enemy, I shall act contrary to the way of Heaven. Better to retreat and make a show of weakness. Then sacrificing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and bringing on our backs the might of the Sun-Goddess, let us III. 8. follow her rays and trample them down. If we do so, the enemy will assuredly be routed of themselves, and we shall not stain our swords with blood." They all said:—"It is good." Thereupon he gave orders to the army, saying:—"Wait a while, and advance no further." So he withdrew his forces, and the enemy also did not dare to attack him. He then retired to the port of Kusaka, where he set up shields, and made a warlike show. Therefore the name of this port was changed to Tatetsu,[5] which is now corrupted into Tadetsu.

Before this, at the battle of Kusaka, there was a man who

[1] Naniha is now a poetical name for Ohosaka. The current referred to is no doubt the tide on the bar at the river-mouth, a most dangerous place for small craft in bad weather.

[2] Pronounced Kawachi. [3] Yamato.

[4] Prince Longshanks. Naga-sune is the name of a place.

[5] Shield-port or shield-ferry.

hid in a great tree, and by so doing escaped danger. So pointing to this tree, he said :—" I am grateful to it, as to my mother." Therefore the people of the day called that place Omo no ki no Mura.[1]

5th month, 8th day. The army arrived at the port of Yamaki in Chinu [*also called Port Yama no wi*]. Now Itsuse no Mikoto's arrow wound was extremely painful. He grasped his sword, and striking a martial attitude, said :—" How exasperating it is that a *man* should die of a wound received at the hands of slaves, and should not revenge it !" The people of that
III. 9. day therefore called the place Wo no minato.[2]

Proceeding onwards, they reached Mount Kama in the Land of Kiï, where Itsuse no Mikoto died in the army, and was therefore buried at Mount Kama.

6th month, 23rd day. The army arrived at the village of Nagusa, where they put to death the Tohe[3] of Nagusa. Finally they crossed the moor of Sano, and arrived at the village of Kami[4] in Kumano. Here he embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and leading his army, proceeded onwards by slow degrees. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind, and the Imperial vessel was tossed about. Then Ina-ihi no Mikoto exclaimed and said :—" Alas ! my ancestors were Heavenly Deities, and my mother was a Goddess of the Sea. Why do they harass me by land, and why moreover do they harass me by sea ?" When he had said this, he drew his sword and plunged into the sea, where he became changed into the God Sabi-mochi.[5]

III. 10. Mike Irino no Mikoto, also indignant at this, said :—" My mother and my aunt are both Sea-Goddesses : why do they raise great billows to overwhelm us ?" So treading upon the waves, he went to the Eternal Land.[6] The Emperor was now alone with the Imperial Prince Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. Leading his army forward, he arrived at Port Arazaka in Kumano [*also called Nishiki Bay*], where he put to death the Tohe of Nishiki. At this time the Gods belched up

[1] Mother-tree-village. [2] Port Man (vir).
[3] Tohe seems to have been a word for chieftain.
[4] Or it may be of the Deity of Kumano.
[5] i.e. the blade-holder. [6] Toko-yo no Kuni.

a poisonous vapour, from which everyone suffered. For this reason the Imperial army was again unable to exert itself. Then there was there a man by name Kumano no Takakuraji, who unexpectedly had a dream, in which Ama-terasu no Oho-kami spoke to Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami,[1] saying:—"I still hear a sound of disturbance from the Central Land of Reed-Plains. Do thou again go and chastise it." Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami answered and said:—"Even if I go not, I can send down my sword, with which I subdued the land, upon which the country will of its own accord become peaceful." To this Ama-terasu no Kami assented. Thereupon Take-mika-tsuchi no Kami addressed Takakuraji, saying:—"My sword, which is called Futsu no Mitama, I will now place in thy storehouse. Do thou take it and present it to the Heavenly Grandchild." III. 11. Takakuraji said "Yes," and thereupon awoke. The next morning, as instructed in his dream, he opened the storehouse, and on looking in, there was indeed there a sword which had fallen down (from Heaven), and was standing upside down[2] on the plank floor of the storehouse. So he took it and offered it to the Emperor. At this time the Emperor happened to be asleep. He awoke suddenly, and said:—"What a long time I have slept!" On inquiry he found that the troops who had been affected by the poison had all recovered their senses and were afoot. The Emperor then endeavoured to advance into the interior, but among the mountains it was so precipitous that there was no road by which they could travel, and they wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed the Emperor in a dream of the night, saying:—"I will now send thee the Yata-garasu,[3] make it thy guide through the land." Then there did

[1] The Thunder-God. [2] i.e. point upwards.

[3] Yata-garasu. The Chinese characters used here mean "The crow with a head eight feet long." But this is a case where we must put aside the Chinese characters, and attend solely to the Japanese word which they are meant to represent. This is undoubtedly yata-garasu, as we know from the "Kojiki" and from the traditional Kana rendering. Much has been written about this bird by Motowori and other Shintō scholars, which is, I venture to think, wholly wide of the mark. The clue to its meaning is afforded by the "Wamiō-shō," a Chinese-Japanese vocabulary of the tenth century, which says, on the authority of the "Shiki," still more ancient commentaries on the "Nihongi,"

indeed appear the Yata-garasu flying down from the Void. The Emperor said:—"The coming of this crow is in due accordance with my auspicious dream. How grand! How splendid! My Imperial ancestor, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, desires therewith to assist me in creating the hereditary institution."[1]

At this time Hi no Omi[2] no Mikoto, ancestor of the Oho-
III. 12. tomo[3] House, taking with him Oho-kume[4] as commander of the main body, guided by the direction taken by the crow, looked up to it and followed after, until at length they arrived at the district of Lower Uda. Therefore they named the place which they reached the village of Ukechi[5] in Uda.

that the Yang-wu or Sun-crow is in Japanese yata-garasu. The Yang-wu is a bird with three claws, and of a red colour, which, according to Chinese myth, inhabits the sun. If we accept this identification, the meaning of the epithet yata becomes clear. It means eight hands, or, as ya in ancient Japanese meant also many or several, many hands, a sufficiently accurate description for popular myth of the Yang-wu with its three claws. The late M. Terrien de La-Couperie, in his "Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilization," says that "the first allusion to the three-legged crow supposed to roost in the sun occurs in the "Li Sao" of Kiü-yuen, the poet of Ts'u, 314 B.C. in China. A three-legged bird in various forms was figured on coins of Pamphylia and Lycia of older times. Comte Goblet d'Alviella has reproduced some of them in his interesting work on "La Migration des Symboles," 1891, p. 222. See a paper on the Hi no maru in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII., p. 27, and Ch. K., p. 136. The guidance of conquerors or colonists to their destination by a supernatural bird or beast is a familiar feature of old-world story. See Lang, "Custom and Myth," II, 71.

Sun-crow.

[1] The sovereignty. [2] Hi means sun; Omi, minister.

[3] Oho-tomo means "great companion." The Oho-tomo were the Imperial guards.

[4] Oho-kume, as Chamberlain points out, probably means simply a great force. But when the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" were written, this meaning was forgotten, and it was supposed to be a man's name.

[5] Ugatsu means to pierce, and the name was given because they penetrated the mountains to this place. All these derivations are very fanciful.

At this time, by an Imperial order, he commended Hi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art faithful and brave, and art moreover a successful guide. Therefore will I give thee a new name, and will call thee Michi no Omi."[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor sent to summon Ukeshi the Elder and Ukeshi the Younger. These two were chiefs of the district of Uda. Now Ukeshi the Elder did not come. But Ukeshi the Younger came, and making obeisance at the gate of the camp, declared as follows:—"Thy servant's elder brother, Ukeshi the Elder, shows signs of resistance. Hearing that the descendant of Heaven was about to arrive, he forthwith raised an army with which to make an attack. But having seen from afar the might of the Imperial army, he was afraid, and did not dare to oppose it. Therefore he has secretly placed his troops in ambush, and has built for the occasion a new palace, in the hall of which he has prepared engines. It is his intention to invite the Emperor to a banquet there, and then to do him a mischief. I pray that his treachery be noted, and that good care be taken III. 13.
to make preparation against it." The Emperor straightway sent Michi no Omi no Mikoto to observe the signs of his opposition. Michi no Omi no Mikoto clearly ascertained his hostile intentions, and being greatly enraged, shouted at him in a blustering manner:—"Wretch! thou shalt thyself dwell in the house which thou hast made." So grasping his sword, and drawing his bow, he urged him and drove him within it. Ukeshi the Elder being guilty before Heaven, and the matter not admitting of excuse, of his own accord trod upon the engine and was crushed to death. His body was then brought out and decapitated, and the blood which flowed from it reached above the ankle. Therefore that place was called Uda no Chi-hara.[2] After this Ukeshi the Younger prepared a great feast of beef and sake,[3] with which he entertained the

[1] The Minister of the Road. [2] The bloody plain of Uda.

[3] We might be inclined to infer from this (what was probably the case) that the Ancient Japanese lived more on animal food than their descendants in modern times. But there is much room for suspicion that this statement s nothing more than a reminiscence of a passage in a history of the Later Han dynasty of China, which speaks of beef and sake being presented to the Emperor Kwang Wu Ti, who came to the throne A.D. 25.

Imperial army. The Emperor distributed this flesh and sake to the common soldiers, upon which they sang the following verses :—

In the high { castle / tree } of Uda
I set a snare for woodcock,
And waited,
But no woodcock came to it ;
III. 14. A valiant whale came to it.[1]
* * * *
* * * *

This is called a Kume[2] song. At the present time, when the Department of Music performs this song, there is still the[3] measurement of great and small by the hand, as well as a distinction of coarse and fine in the notes of the voice. This is by a rule handed down from antiquity.

After this the Emperor wished to inspect the Land of Yoshino, so taking personal command of the light troops, he
III. 15. made a progress round by way of Ukechi mura in Uda.

When he came to Yoshino, there was a man who came out of a well. He shone, and had a tail. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is a local Deity, and his name is Wi-hikari."[4] He it is who was the first ancestor of the Yoshino no Obito. Proceeding a little further, there was another man with a tail, who burst open a rock and came forth from it. The Emperor inquired of him, saying :—" What man art thou ? " He answered and said :—" Thy servant is the child of Iha-oshi-

[1] Ki in the first line of this poem means probably both tree and castle. The words are put into the mouth of Ukeshi the Elder, who found a whale (the Emperor) in his springe instead of the harmless woodcock he expected. The wild boar is now called the yama-kujira or mountain-whale, and is perhaps the animal intended here.

I confess that I can make no satisfactory sense of the remainder of this poem. The version given by Chamberlain (Ch. K., p. 140), following Moribe, is as good as any, but it seems to me very conjectural. It should be noted, however, that this part of the poem contains an indication of the polygamous customs of the Japanese at this time in the use of two words signifying respectively elder wife (konami) and younger wife (uhanari). The " Nihongi " omits the interjectional refrain given in the " Kojiki."

[2] Kume means no doubt " soldier " in this passage.

[3] Beating time is perhaps meant. [4] Well-brightness.

wake."[1] It is he who was the first ancestor of the Kuzu[2] of Yoshino.

Then skirting the river, he proceeded westward, when there appeared another man, who had made a fish trap and was catching fish. On the Emperor making inquiry of him, he answered and said :—"Thy servant is the son of Nihe-motsu."[3] He it is who was the first ancestor of the U-kahi of Ata.[4]

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor ascended to the peak of Mount Takakura in Uda, whence he had a prospect over all III. 16.
the land. On Kuni-mi[5] Hill there were descried eighty bandits. Moreover at the acclivity of Me-zaka[6] there was posted an army of women, and at the acclivity of Wo-zaka[7] there was stationed a force of men. At the acclivity of Sumi-zaka[8] was placed burning charcoal. This was the origin of the names Me-zaka, Wo-zaka and Sumi-zaka.

Again there was the army of Ye-shiki,[9] which covered all the village of Ihare. All the places occupied by the enemy[10] were strong positions, and therefore the roads were cut off and obstructed, so that there was no room for passage. The Emperor, indignant at this, made prayer on that night in person, and then fell asleep. The Heavenly Deity appeared to him in a dream, and instructed him, saying :—"Take earth from within the shrine[11] of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and of it make eighty Heavenly platters. Also make sacred jars[12] and III. 17.
therewith sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover pronounce a solemn imprecation. If thou doest so, the

[1] Rock-push-divide.

[2] Kuzu were local chiefs. They are mentioned again in Ōjin's reign.

[3] Food-holder or purveyor.

[4] U-kahi means cormorant-keepers. Fishing with cormorants is still practised in Japan.

[5] Land-view. [6] Women's acclivity.

[7] Men's acclivity. The terms Me-zaka and Wo-zaka are now applied to two roads or stairs leading up to the same place, one of which (the women's) is less precipitous than the other.

[8] Sumi-zaka means charcoal acclivity.

[9] Shiki the Elder. [10] Lit. Robber-slaves or prisoners.

[11] A shrine, like a templum, might be merely a consecrated plot of ground. Kagu-yama is a mountain in Yamato.

[12] Idzube. The platters were for rice, the jars for sake. See Satow's "Rituals" in "J.A.S.T.," VII., ii., p. 109.

enemy will render submission of their own accord." The Emperor received with reverence the directions given in his dream, and proceeded to carry them into execution.

Now Ukeshi the Younger again addressed the Emperor, saying:—"There are in the province of Yamato, in the village of Shiki, eighty Shiki bandits. Moreover, in the village of Taka-wohari [*some say Katsuraki*] there are eighty Akagane[1] bandits. All these tribes intend to give battle to the Emperor, and thy servant is anxious in his own mind on his account. It were now good to take clay from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and therewith to make Heavenly platters with which to sacrifice to the Gods of the Heavenly shrines and of the Earthly shrines. If after doing so, thou dost attack the enemy, they may be easily driven off." The Emperor, who had already taken the words of his dream for a good omen, when he now heard the words of Ukeshi the Younger, was still more pleased in his heart. He caused Shihi-netsu-hiko[2] to put on ragged garments and a grass hat, and to disguise himself as an old man. He also caused Ukeshi the Younger to cover himself with a winnowing tray, so as to assume the appearance of an old woman, and then addressed them, saying:—"Do ye two proceed to the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and secretly take earth from its summit. Having done so, return hither. By means of you I shall then divine whether my undertaking will be successful or not. Do your utmost and be watchful."

III. 18. Now the enemy's army filled the road, and made all passage impossible. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko prayed, and said:—"If it will be possible for our Emperor to conquer this land, let the road by which we must travel become open. But if not, let the brigands surely oppose our passage." Having thus spoken they set forth, and went straight onwards. Now the hostile band, seeing the two men, laughed loudly, and said:—"What an uncouth old man and old woman!" So with one accord they left the road, and allowed the two men to pass and proceed to the mountain, where they took the clay and returned with it. Hereupon the Emperor was greatly pleased, and with this

[1] Akagane means red metal, i.e. copper, but the text is doubtful. The "Kiujiki" has a different reading.

[2] See above, p. 111.

clay he made eighty platters, eighty Heavenly small jars and sacred jars,[1] with which he went up to the upper waters of the River Nifu and sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and of Earth. Immediately, on the Asa-hara plain by the river of Uda, it became as it were like foam on the water, the result of the curse cleaving to them.[2]

Moreover the Emperor went on to utter a vow, saying:—"I will now make ame[3] in the eighty platters without using water. If the ame is formed, then shall I assuredly without effort and without recourse to the might of arms reduce the Empire to peace." So he made ame, which forthwith became formed of itself.[4]

Again he made a vow, saying:—"I will now take the sacred jars and sink them in the River Nifu. If the fishes, whether great or small, become every one drunken and are carried down the stream, like as it were to floating maki[5] leaves, then shall I assuredly succeed in establishing this land. But if this be not so, there will never be any result." Thereupon he sank III. 19.
the jars in the river with their mouths downward. After a while the fish all came to the surface, gaping and gasping as they floated down the stream. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko, seeing this, represented it to the Emperor, who was greatly rejoiced, and plucking up a five-hundred-branched masakaki tree of the

[1] The reader who wishes to realize what the ancient pottery of Japan was like should visit the British Museum and inspect the Gowland collection. There is also a collection in the Uyeno Museum in Tokio. Ninagawa Noritane's work entitled "Kwan-ko-dzu-setsu" gives very good drawings of ancient pottery. The common Japanese name for this ware is Giōgi-yaki, Giōgi being the name of a Buddhist priest who lived 670-749, and who is credited with the invention of the potter's wheel. But the wheel was certainly known in Japan long before his time. This very passage contains an evidence of this fact. Both the Chinese characters and the Japanese word ta-kujiri given in the ancient commentary for the small jars here mentioned mean "hand-made," leading to the conclusion that this was exceptional. Indeed, nearly all the pottery of the Nihongi period which has come down to us is wheel-made.

[2] Foam on water is a favourite emblem of the transitoriness of human life.

[3] Ame (sweetness) is usually made of millet, malted, and is nearly identical in composition with what our chemists call "malt extract." It is a favourite sweetmeat in the far East.

[4] Cf. Judges vi. 36.

[5] Podocarpus macrophylla.

upper waters of the River Nifu, he did worship therewith to all the Gods. It was with this that the custom began of setting sacred jars.[1]

At this time he commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"We are now in person[2] about to celebrate a public[3] festival to Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and I appoint thee Ruler of the festival, and grant thee the title of Idzu-hime.[4] The earthen jars which are set up shall be called the Idzube or sacred jars, the fire shall be called Idzu no Kagu-tsuchi or sacred-fire-elder, the water shall be called Idzu no Midzu-ha no me or sacred-water-female, the food shall be called Idzu-uka no me or sacred-food-female, the firewood shall be called Idzu no Yama-tsuchi or sacred-mountain-elder, and the grass shall be called Idzu no No-tsuchi or sacred-moor-elder."

III. 20. Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor tasted[5] the food of the Idzube, and arraying his troops set forth upon his march. He first of all attacked the eighty bandits at Mount Kunimi, routed and slew them. It was in this campaign that the Emperor, fully resolved on victory, made these verses, saying:—

Like the Shitadami
Which creep around
The great rock
Of the Sea of Ise
Where blows the divine wind —
Like the Shitadami,
My boys! my boys!
We will creep around,
And smite them utterly,
And smite them utterly.[6]

---

[1] A note says that they were set up in the courtyard.

[2] The Mikado deputed most of his priestly functions to the Nakatomi.

[3] The ancient commentary gives the Japanese word utsushi, i.e. manifest, visible. This suggests that there was a distinction between esoteric and exoteric in the Shintō rites of this time.

[4] Idzu-hime means dread or sacred princess. The "Tsūshō" commentator says that the persons entrusted with this function were usually women, as may be seen in the case of the priestesses of Ise, Kamo, and Kasuga. But as no women were available at this time, Michi-no-Omi was given a feminine title for the occasion.

[5] The interlinear Kana has tatematsuri, i.e. offered. The reference is to the feast of Nihiname described above. See p. 86.

[6] The shitadami is a small shell of the turbinidæ class. Its introduction

In this poem, by the great rock is intended the Hill of Kunimi.

After this the band which remained was still numerous, and their disposition could not be fathomed. So the Emperor privately commanded Michi no Omi no Mikoto, saying:—"Do thou take with thee the Oho-kume, and make a great muro at the village of Osaka.[1] Prepare a copious banquet, invite the enemy to it, and then capture them." Michi no Omi no Mikoto thereupon, in obedience to the Emperor's secret behest, dug a muro at Osaka, and having selected his bravest soldiers, stayed therein mingled with the enemy. He secretly arranged with them, saying:—"When they have got tipsy with sake, I will strike up a song. Do you, when you hear the sound of my song, all at the same time stab the enemy." Having III. 21.
made this arrangement they took their seats, and the drinking-bout proceeded. The enemy, unaware that there was any plot, abandoned themselves to their feelings, and promptly became intoxicated. Then Michi no Omi no Mikoto struck up the following song:—

At Osaka
In the great muro-house,
Though men in plenty
Enter and stay,
We the glorious
Sons of warriors,
Wielding our mallet-heads,
Wielding our stone-mallets,
Will smite them utterly.[2]

Now when our troops heard this song, they all drew at the

here does not seem very appropriate. Perhaps the meaning is "in number like the turbinidæ." Cf. Ch. K., p. 143. The "Shukai" editor thinks that the shitadami represent the bandits. The great rock is, perhaps, the Miyôto-seki at Futami, so often represented in Japanese pictures. See Anderson's Catalogue, p. 320, or Satow and Hawes' Handbook, p. 150.

[1] In Yamato. To be distinguished from the city of Ohosaka.

[2] The muro-ya is a pit-dwelling (see above, p. 71). The poem speaks of mallet-heads, but the text which follows of mallet-headed swords. I have little doubt that the former is the true phrase, and that stone weapons are referred to. The stone-mallets are unmistakably the weapons figured above (p. 87). The mallet-heads and stone-mallets are perhaps the same thing under different names.

same time their mallet-headed swords, and simultanously slew the enemy, so that there were no eaters left.[1] The Imperial army were greatly delighted; they looked up to Heaven and laughed. Therefore he made a song, saying :—

Though folk say
That one Yemishi
Is a match for one hundred men,
They do not so much as resist.[2]

The practice according to which at the present time the Kume sing this and then laugh loud, had this origin.

Again he sang, saying :—

Ho ! now is the time ;
Ho ! now is the time ;
Ha ! Ha ! Psha !
Even now
My boys !
Even now
My boys ![3]

All these songs were sung in accordance with the secret behest of the Emperor. He had not presumed to compose
III. 22. them of his own motion.

Then the Emperor said :—" It is the part of a good general when victorious to avoid arrogance. The chief brigands have now been destroyed, but there are ten bands of villains of a similar stamp, who are disputatious. Their disposition cannot

[1] That is, none were left alive.

The Yemishi are the Ainos, or more correctly Ainus, of whom a remnant of some ten thousand souls now inhabit the island of Yezo. When the " Nihongi " was written they still occupied a large part of the main island of Japan, and in earlier times, as we gather from the evidence of place-names (See Chamberlain's Essay published by the Imperial University), they extended west even of Yamato. But it would not be safe to draw any conclusion from their mention in this poem. The writer of the " Nihongi " is in the habit of fitting ancient poetry into his narrative in a very arbitrary manner. The " Kojiki " omits it. Yemishi or Yebisu is also applied to barbarous tribes generally, and this is probably its primary meaning. It ought, perhaps, to be added to the group of onomatopoetic words ending in *su* or *shi*, mentioned at p. 65, the *b* or *m* having the same function as these letters in the words barbarian, babble, murmur, etc. See Index—Yemishi.

[3] Nothing could well be more primitive than this. The metre is irregular, and, like all Japanese poetry, there is no rhyme, quantity or regular recurrence of accent to distinguish it from prose.

be ascertained. Why should we remain for a long time in one place? By so doing we could not have control over emergencies." So he removed his camp to another place.

11th month, 7th day. The Imperial army proceeded in great force to attack the Hiko[1] of Shiki. First of all the Emperor sent a messenger to summon Shiki the Elder, but he refused to obey. Again the Yata-garasu was sent to bring him. When the crow reached his camp it cried to him, saying:—"The child of the Heavenly Deity sends for thee. Haste! haste!" Shiki the Elder was enraged at this, and said:—"Just when I heard that the conquering Deity of Heaven was coming and was indignant at this, why shouldst thou, a bird of the crow tribe, utter such an abominable cry?" So he drew his bow and aimed at it. The crow forthwith fled away, and next proceeded to the house of Shiki the Younger, where it cried, saying:—"The child of the Heavenly Deity summons thee. Haste! haste!" Then Shiki the Younger was afraid, and, changing countenance, said:—"Thy servant, hearing of the approach of the conquering Deity of Heaven, is full of dread morning and evening. Well hast thou cried to me, O crow." He straightway made eight leaf-platters,[2] on which he disposed food, and entertained the crow. Accordingly, in obedience to the crow, he proceeded to the Emperor and informed him, saying:—"My elder brother, Shiki the Elder, hearing of the approach of the child of the Heavenly Deity, forthwith assembled eighty bandits III. 23.
and provided arms, with which he is about to do battle with thee. It will be well to take measures against him without delay." The Emperor accordingly assembled his generals and inquired of them, saying:—"It appears that Shiki the Elder has now rebellious intentions. I summoned him, but again he will not come. What is to be done?" The generals said:—"Shiki the Elder is a crafty knave. It will be well, first of all, to send Shiki the Younger to make matters clear to him, and at the same time to make explanations to Kuraji the Elder and Kuraji the Younger. If after that they still refuse submission, it will not be too late to take warlike measures against them." Shiki the Younger was accordingly sent to explain to them

[1] Princes.

[2] Or trays, made of the leaves of Kashiha, a kind of evergreen oak.

their interests. But Shiki the Elder and the others adhered to their foolish design, and would not consent to submit. Then Shihi-netsu-hiko advised as follows:—"Let us first send out our feebler troops by the Osaka road. When the enemy sees them he will assuredly proceed thither with all his best troops. We should then straightway urge forward our robust troops, and make straight for Sumi-zaka.[1] Then with the water of the River Uda we should sprinkle the burning charcoal, and suddenly take them unawares, when they cannot fail to be routed." The Emperor approved this plan, and sent out the feebler troops towards the enemy, who, thinking that a powerful force was approaching, awaited them with all their power. Now up to this time, whenever the Imperial army attacked, they invariably captured, and when they fought they were invariably victorious, so that the fighting men were all wearied
III. 24. out. Therefore the Emperor, to comfort the hearts of his leaders and men, struck off this verse:—

As we fight,
Going forth and watching
From between the trees
Of Mount Inasa,
We are famished.
Ye keepers of cormorants
(Birds of the island),
Come now to our aid.[2]

In the end he crossed Sumi-zaka with the stronger troops, and, going round by the rear, attacked them from two sides and put them to the rout, killing their chieftains Shiki the Elder and the others.

12th month, 4th day. The Imperial army at length attacked Naga-sune-hiko and fought with him repeatedly, but was unable to gain the victory. Then suddenly the sky became overcast, and hail fell. There appeared a wondrous kite of a golden colour which came flying and perched on the end of the Emperor's bow. The lustre of this kite was of dazzling

[1] The charcoal acclivity.

[2] The metre is nearly regular naga-uta, which consists of alternate lines of five and seven syllables, with an additional line of seven syllables at the end. The cormorant-keepers were appealed to to supply fish for the army's food.

brightness, so that its appearance was like that of lightning. In consequence of this all Naga-sune-hiko's soldiers were dazzled and bewildered so that they could not fight stoutly. III. 25.

Nagasune was the original name of the village, whence it became the name of a man. But in consequence of the Imperial army obtaining the favourable omen of the Kite, the men of that time called it Tobi no mura.[1] It is now called Tomi, which is a corruption of this.

Ever since Itsuse no Mikoto was hit by an arrow at the battle of Kusaka and died, the Emperor bore this in mind, and constantly cherished resentment for it. On this campaign it was his desire to put all to death, and therefore he composed these verses, saying :—

My mouth tingles
With the ginger planted
At the bottom of the hedge
By the glorious
Sons of warriors—
I cannot forget it ;
Let us smite them utterly.

Again he sang, saying :—

In the millet-field
Is one stem of odorous garlic :—
The glorious
Sons of warriors
Binding its stem
And binding its shoots
Will smite it utterly.

Then again letting loose his army, he suddenly attacked him. In general, all these songs composed by the Emperor are termed *kume uta*, in allusion to the persons who took and sang them.

Now Naga-sune-hiko sent a foot-messenger, who addressed the Emperor, saying :—" There was formerly a child of the

[1] Kite-village.

[2] "As the taste of ginger remains in the mouth for a long time after it is eaten, so do my feelings of resentment for my brother's death remain present to my mind. I cannot forget it, so let us revenge it by destroying the enemy utterly."

The word for shoots is me, which also means females. This is no doubt intentional. Naga-sune-hiko is to be destroyed with all his family.

Heavenly Deity, who came down from Heaven to dwell here, riding in a Rock-boat of Heaven. His name was Kushi-dama Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto. He took to wife my younger sister
III. 26 Mi-kashiki-ya-bime[1] [*also called Naga-sune-hime, or Tomi-ya-hime*][2] of whom he at length had a child, named Umashi-ma-te[3] no Mikoto. Therefore did I take Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto for my Lord, and did service to him. Can it be that there are two seeds of the children of the Heavenly Deity? Why should any one else take the name of Child of the Heavenly Deity and therewith rob people of their dominions? I have pondered this in my heart, but have as yet failed utterly to believe it." The Emperor said:—"There are many other children of the Heavenly Deity. If he whom thou has taken as thy Lord were truly a child of the Heavenly Deity, there would be surely some object which thou couldst show to us by way of proof." Naga-sune-hiko accordingly brought a single Heavenly-feathered-arrow of Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, and a foot-quiver,[4] and exhibited them respectfully to the Emperor. The Emperor examined them, and said:—"These are genuine." Then in his turn he showed to Naga-sune-hiko the single Heavenly-feathered-arrow and quiver which he wore. When Naga-sune-hiko saw the Heavenly token he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he was unable to pause in his career. Therefore he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose.

Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Deity had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly Grandchild, and that in view of the perverse disposition of Naga-sune it would be useless to instruct him
III. 27. in the relation of Heaven to Man,[5] put him to death. He then came with his army and made submission. The Emperor, who from the first had heard that Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto had come down from Heaven, finding that he now had actually performed faithful service, accordingly praised him, and was gracious to him. He was the ancestor of the Mono no Be House.[6]

[1] Three-cook-house-princess. [2] Wealth-house. [3] Sweet-true-hand.

[4] A foot-soldier's quiver is meant. [5] i.e. of Lord and Vassal.

[6] The Mononobe were soldiers. Here, however, the hereditary chiefs only are meant, the Mononobe no Muraji.

The year Tsuchi no to Hitsuji, Spring, 2nd month, 20th day. The Emperor commanded his generals to exercise the troops. At this time there were Tsuchi-gumo [1] in three places, viz.:—The Tohe [2] of Nihiki at Tada no Oka-zaki [3] in the district of Sofu, the Kose Hofuri at Wani no Saka-moto,[4] and the Wi-Hofuri [5] at Hosomi no Nagara no Oka-zaki. All of these, B.C. 662.

[1] The Tsuchi-gumo are mentioned in four or five passages of the "Nihongi" and one passage of the "Kojiki," all of which belong to the highly legendary period of Japanese history. We gather from them that the Tsuchi-gumo were usually, though not invariably, outlaws who defied the Imperial authority. They had Japanese names, and inhabited such long-settled parts of Japan as Yamato, Harima, and even Kiushiu. There is nothing, if we put aside the mention of Yemishi at p. 124, to suggest that they were not of Japanese race. The "short bodies," etc., of the "Nihongi" description I take to be nothing more than a product of the popular imagination working on the hint contained in the name Tsuchi-gumo, which is literally "earth spider." Some etymologists prefer the derivation which connects *kumo* (or *gumo*) with *komori*, to hide, thus making tsuchi-gumo the "earth-hiders." But this is probably a distinction without a difference, these two words containing the same root, and the animal which we call the spider, i.e. spinner, being in Japan termed the "hider," an epithet of which no one who has observed its habits will dispute the appropriateness. An ancient Japanese book says Tsuchi-gumo is a mere nickname, to be compared therefore with our clod-hopper or bog-trotter.

In one of the passages above referred to, the Tsuchi-gumo are described as inhabiting a rock-cave, but in others they are said to live in muro or pit-dwellings, and this is obviously the origin of the name.

There are several notices of Tsuchi-gumo in the ancient "Fudoki," or "County Histories," but they are probably mere echoes of the older legends related in the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki," and in any case they add nothing of importance to our information about them. It may be noted, however, that Hiuga and Higo are mentioned in them as habitats of bands of these outlaws.

An amusing expansion by a modern writer of the spider conception of the Tsuchi-gumo will be found at p. 140 of Anderson's B.M. Catalogue. See also Ch. K., p. 141, and Index.

A little work called "Kek-kio-kō," in a collection entitled "Haku-butsu-sō-sho," published by the Japanese Imperial Museum, has brought together all the available information respecting Muro and Tsuchi-gumo.

[2] Chiefs.

[3] Oka-zaki means hill-spur, and is perhaps to be so understood here, and not as a proper name.

[4] Saka-moto (acclivity bottom) may be also a description and not a proper name.

[5] Hofuri is a kind of Shintō priest. It is unlikely that persons not of Japanese race should be so called.

trusting to their valour, refused to present themselves at Court. The Emperor therefore sent detachments separately, and put them all to death. There were, moreover, Tsuchi-gumo at the village of Taka-wohari, whose appearance was as follows:—They had short bodies, and long arms and legs. They were of the same class as the pigmies. The Imperial troops wove nets of dolichos, which they flung over them and then slew
III. 28. them. Wherefore the name of that village was changed to Katsuraki.[1] It is in the land of Ihare. Its ancient name was Kataru, or Katatachi. When our Imperial forces routed the enemy, a great army assembled and filled that country. Its name was accordingly changed to Ihare.[2]

Another account says that when the Emperor on a previous occasion tasted the food of the sacred jars, he moved forward his army on an expedition towards the West. At this time the eighty bandits of Katsuraki were encamped together there. A great battle with the Emperor followed, and they were at length destroyed by the Imperial army. Therefore that place was called the village of Ihare.[3] Again, the place where the Imperial troops made a warlike stand was called Takeda.[4] The place where he built a castle was named Kita.[5] Moreover, the place where the enemy fell in battle, their dead bodies prostrate, with their forearms for pillows, was called Tsura-maki-da.[6]

The Emperor, in Autumn, the 9th month of the previous year, secretly took clay of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, with which he made eighty platters, and thereafter performing abstinence in person, sacrificed to all the Gods. He was thereby at length enabled to establish the world[7] in peace. Therefore he called the place where the clay was taken Hani-yasu.[8]

[1] Dolichos Castle.

[2] The interlinear Kana gives for "fill," ihameri, a word which I do not know.

[3] The "original commentary" says that the Japanese word corresponding to the Chinese characters rendered "encamp" is ihami, a word not otherwise known to me.

[4] Brave-field. [5] Castle-field. [6] Face-pillow-field.

[7] "World" is not quite a merely rhetorical expression for the Empire of Japan. Hirata justifies Hideyoshi's invasion of Corea on the grounds that the sovereigns of Japan are de jure lords of the whole earth.

[8] Clay-easy or clay-peace.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor made an order,[1] saying:—"During the six years that our expedition against the East has lasted, owing to my reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evil is still refractory. But in the region of the Central Land there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong.[2] III. 29.

At present things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people's minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests or dwell in caves.[3] Their manners are simply what is customary. Now if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish. And even if some gain should accrue to the people, in what way would this interfere with the Sage's[4] action? Moreover, it will be well to open up and clear the mountains and forests, and to construct a palace. Then I may reverently assume the Precious Dignity, and so give peace to III. 30.
my good subjects. Above, I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting me the Kingdom, and below, I should extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster rightmindedness. Thereafter the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof.[5] Will this not be well?

When I observe the Kashiha-bara[6] plain, which lies

[1] This whole speech is thoroughly Chinese in every respect, and it is preposterous to put it in the mouth of an Emperor who is supposed to have lived more than a thousand years before the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan. The strange thing is that it is necessary to make this remark. Yet there are still writers who regard this part of the "Nihongi" as historical.

[2] The Kana rendering is mi-araka, "an august shrine" or "an august palace." This would imply a different reading, 社 instead of 壯.

[3] The reader must not take this as any evidence of the manners and customs of the Ancient Japanese. It is simply a phrase suggested by the author's Chinese studies.

[4] Meaning the Emperor's action.

[5] The character for roof 宇 also means the universe. The eight cords, or measuring tapes, simply mean "everywhere."

[6] Kashiha is an evergreen oak, the Quercus dentata. Hara means plain.

S.W. of Mount Unebi, it seems the Centre of the Land. I must set it in order."

Accordingly he in this month commanded officers to set about the construction of an Imperial Residence.

B.C. 661. Year Kanoye Saru, Autumn, 8th month, 16th day. The Emperor, intending to appoint a wife, sought afresh[1] children of noble families. Now there was a man who made representation to him, saying:—"There is a child who was
III. 31. born to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami by his union with Tama-kushi-hime, daughter of Mizo-kuhi-ni no Kami of Mishima. Her name is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto. She is a woman of remarkable beauty." The Emperor was rejoiced, and on the 24th day of the 9th month he received Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto and made her his wife.

B.C. 660. Year Kanoto Tori, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara. This year is reckoned the first year of his reign.[2] He honoured his wife by making her Empress. The children born to him by her were Kami-ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto and Kami-nunagaha mimi no Mikoto.

Therefore[3] there is an ancient saying in praise of this, as follows:—"In Kashiha-bara in Unebi, he mightily established his palace-pillars on the foundation of the bottom-rock, and
III. 32. reared aloft the cross roof-timbers to the Plain of High Heaven.[4]

This afterwards became a proper name. Here it is perhaps simply a description.

[1] He had already a consort, but she was apparently not considered a wife.

[2] Japanese History is often said to begin with this year. The fact is that nothing which really deserves the name of history existed for nearly a thousand years more. This date is very much like that given for the foundation of Rome by Romulus, B.C. 753. The very calendar by which the reckoning was made was not invented or known in Japan until many centuries after. See Bramsen's "Chronological Tables," and "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J."

[3] As above remarked, the author often introduces this word without much reason.

[4] It was a mark of Shrines or Imperial Palaces to have the rafters at each end of the roof projecting upwards for several feet beyond the roof-tree, as in the illustration. These were called Chigi. See Ch. K., p. 311. Shintō temples at the present day are thus distinguished. What would those Japanese

The name of the Emperor who thus began to rule the Empire was Kami Yamato Ihare-biko Hohodemi."

On the day on which he first began the Heavenly institution, Michi no Omi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Ohotomo House, accompanied by the Oho-kume Be, was enabled, by means of a secret device received from the Emperor, to use incantations and magic formulæ so as to dissipate evil influences. The use of magic formulæ had its origin from this.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. The Emperor ascer- B.C. 659.
tained merit and dispensed rewards. To Michi no Omi no

Shrine at Ise.

Mikoto he granted a site for a house in which to dwell at the village of Tsuki-zaka, thereby showing him special favour.

Moreover, he caused the Oho-kume to dwell at a place on the river-bank, west of Mount Unebi, now called Kume no mura.[1] Such was the origin of this name. Utsu-hiko was made Miyakko of the land of Yamato. Moreover, he gave to Ukeshi III. 33.
the younger the village of Takeda, constituting him Agata-

Euhemerists who think Takama ga hara (the Plain of High Heaven) to be the name of a country, make of this passage?

[1] i.e. the village of the kume or soldiers.

nushi[1] of Takeda. He was the ancestor of the Mohi-tori[2] of Uda. Shiki the younger, whose personal name was Kuro-haya, was made Agata-nushi of Shiki. Moreover, he appointed a man called Tsune to be Miyakko of the Land of Katsuraki. The Yata-garasu was also included in the ranks of those who received rewards. His descendants are the Agata-nushi of Katsurano and the Tonomori[3] Be.

B.C. 657. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. The Emperor issued the following decree :—"The spirits of our Imperial ancestors reflecting their radiance down from Heaven, illuminate and III. 34. assist us. All our enemies have now been subdued, and there is peace within the seas. We ought to take advantage of this to perform sacrifice to the Heavenly Deities, and therewith develop filial duty."

He accordingly established spirit-terraces amongst the Tomi hills, which were called Kami-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara and Shimo-tsu-wono no Kaki-hara.[4] There he worshipped his Imperial ancestors, the Heavenly Deities.[5]

B.C. 630. 31st year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Imperial palanquin[6] made a circuit, in the course of which the Emperor ascended the Hill Waki Kamu no Hotsuma. Here, having viewed the shape of the land on all sides, he said :—"Oh! what a beautiful country we have become possessed of! Though a blessed land of inner-tree-fibre,[7] yet it resembles a dragon-fly licking its hinder parts." From this it first received the name of Akitsu-shima.[8]

[1] Ruler of district.

[2] The Mohi-tori, afterwards mondori or mondo, were originally the officials charged with the water supply of the Palace. The designation Mondo no Kami remained until quite recent times.

[3] Tonomori, guardian of a palace or shrine.

[4] These names mean respectively the Persimmon plain of Upper Little-moor and the Persimmon plain of Lower Little-moor. The "spirit terraces" (a Chinese phrase) seems meant for the plots of ground consecrated for Shintō worship. See above, p. 81.

[5] The union of the offices of priest and king is to be noted all through this narrative.

[6] It is considered respectful to speak of the Imperial car or palanquin when the Emperor himself is meant.

[7] The inner-tree-fibre is the inner bark of the paper mulberry, used for weaving into cloth. It is here an ornamental epithet.

[8] The real meaning of Aki-tsu-shima is the "region of harvests." See

Of old, Izanagi no Mikoto, in naming this country, said:— "Yamato is the Land of Ura-yasu:[1] it is the Land of Hoso-hoko no Chi-taru:[2] it is the Land of Shiwa-Kami-Ho-tsu-ma."[3]

Afterwards Oho-namuchi no Oho-kami named it the Land of Tama-gaki no Uchi-tsu-kuni.[4] III. 35.

Finally, when Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto soared across the Great Void in a Heaven-rock-boat, he espied this region and descended upon it. Therefore he gave it a name and called it Sora-mitsu-Yamato.[5]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. He appointed Prince Kami-nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto Prince Imperial. B.C. 619.

76th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kashiha-bara. His age was then 127.[6] The following year, Autumn, the 12th day of the 9th month, he was buried in the Misasagi[7] N.E. of Mount Unebi. B.C. 585.

above, p. 13. It has nothing to do with akitsu, the dragon-fly. This insect may often be seen with its tail touching its mouth, so that its body forms a ring. The appearance of the province of Yamato, which is a plain surrounded by a ring of mountains, suggested the simile in the text. Later historians have converted this into a comparison of Japan to a dragon-fly with outstretched wings.

[1] Bay-easy. Explained to mean "which has peace within its coasts."

[2] Slender-spears-thousand-good. "Well supplied with weapons," say the commentators.

[3] Rock-ring-upper-pre-eminent-true (land).

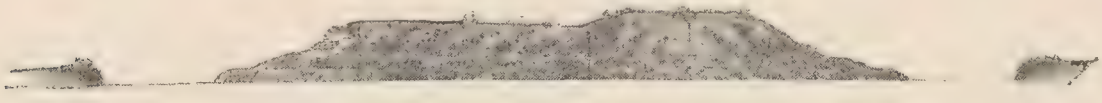
[4] Jewel-fence-within-land.

[5] Sky-saw-Yamato. But Sora-mitsu really means "that fills the sky," i.e. that reaches to the farthest horizon. These names are merely poetical inventions. They were never in actual use.

[6] The "Kojiki" makes him 137.

[7] The Misasagi are still to be seen in large numbers in Japan, especially in the Gokinai or five metropolitan provinces. They are particularly numerous in Kahachi and Yamato.

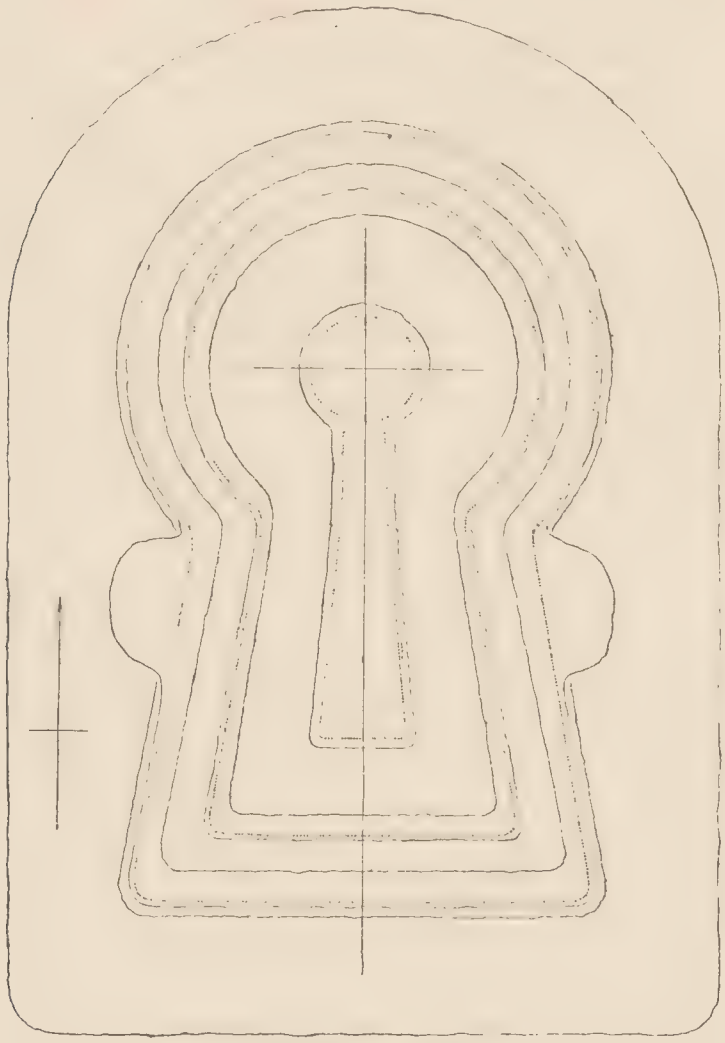
In the most ancient times, say the Japanese antiquarians, the Misasagi or tombs of the Mikados were simple mounds. At some unknown period,



Misasagi, side view.

however, perhaps a few centuries before the Christian epoch, a highly specialized form of tumulus came into use for this purpose, and continued for several hundreds of years without much change. It consists of two

mounds, one having a circular, the other a triangular base, merging into each other after the manner shown in the illustration, the whole being surrounded by a moat, or sometimes by two concentric moats with a narrow strip of land between. The interment took place n the circular mound, the other probably serving as a platform on which were performed the rites in honour of the deceased. Seen from the side the appearance is that of a saddle-hill, the circular mound being somewhat higher than the other. There are sometimes two smaller mounds at the base of the larger ones, filling up the angle where they meet. The slope of the tumulus is not



Ground plan of Misasagi.

regular, but is broken up by terraces, on which are placed in rows, a few inches apart, curious cylinders made of baked clay shaped in a mould, and measuring from 1 to 2 feet in height, and from 6 to 14 inches in diameter. They are buried in the earth, their upper rims being just level with the surface.

In some, perhaps in most cases, the Misasagi contains a large vault of great unhewn stones without mortar. The walls of the vault converge

gradually towards the top, which is roofed in by enormous slabs of stone weighing many tons each. The entrance was by means of a gallery roofed with similar stones.

Sarcophagi of stone or pottery have been found in some Misasagi.

The above description is quoted from an article by the present writer in Chamberlain's "Things Japanese." I would ask travellers in China and Corea to compare with it any ancient tumuli which they may discover in those countries.

I learn from Mr. W. Gowland, who has visited the spot recognized officially as the Misasagi of Jimmu Tennō, that there are here two enclosures, the inner of which contains two low mounds each about 18 feet in diameter and 2 feet in height. A Chokushi or Imperial Envoy visits this Misasagi annually on the 3rd April with offerings of products of mountain, river, and sea, viz., tahi, carp, sea-weed, salt, water, sake, mochi (a preparation of rice), warabi (fern flour?), pheasants and wild ducks.

The site of Jimmu's tomb is a question even with Japanese antiquaries, and European scholars may be pardoned if they are somewhat sceptical about it. *Vide* "San-rio-shi" (山陵志), p. 9.

BOOK IV.

THE EMPEROR KAMI-NUNAGAHA-MIMI.

(*SUIZEI TENNŌ.*[1])

THE Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was the third child of the Emperor Kami-Yamato-Ihare-biko Hohodemi. His mother's name was Hime-tatara-Isuzu no Mikoto, the eldest daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.

This Emperor was of distinguished manners and appearance. As a child he possessed the vigour of manhood; when he grew to manhood, his form was gigantic. He excelled in warlike accomplishments, and his will was resolute in the extreme.

IV. 2. When he reached the age of forty-eight, the Emperor Kami-Yamato-Ihare-biko died. Now Kama-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto's disposition was profoundly filial, and his grief and longing knew no bounds. He made the funeral ceremonies his especial care.

His elder half-brother,[2] Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, was now advanced in years,[3] and had a long experience of matters of

[1] This book contains the reigns of eight emperors, and covers a period of 483 years, giving an average of over sixty years for each reign. This is far too much for real history, especially when we consider the ages to which these sovereigns are said to have reached. Kôshô lived to the age of 114, Kôan to 137, and so on. Most of it is not even legendary. The account of the period previous to the accession of Suizei seems to contain a genuine ancient tradition, but the rest is plainly fictitious and the invention of some one imbued with Chinese ideas.

Kami means upper or lord; Nunagaha is the name of a river; mimi means august body.

Suizei means quiet, tranquil.

[2] The word employed indicates that the mother of this prince was not of full rank, but there is no such stigma as is implied by our word "bastard."

[3] As he was present with his younger brother at a council held by the Emperor Jimmu before starting on his expedition to the East, B.C. 667, we

state. Therefore he was again charged with the conduct of affairs, and the Emperor treated him as an intimate friend. This prince, however, was of a perverse disposition, and his natural bent was opposed to justice. During the period of sincere seclusion[1] his authority at last became independent, and concealing his malicious purposes, he plotted the destruction of his two younger brothers.

Now in the year Tsuchinoto U of the cycle, Winter, the 11th month, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto and his elder brother Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto learnt privately his intentions and effectively prevented him. When the business of the misasagi was ended, they caused Yumi Be no Waka-hiko to make a bow, and Yamato no Kanuchi[2] Ama-tsu-ma-ura[3] to make a true-deer arrow-point, and the Ya[4] Be to prepare arrows. When the bow and arrows were ready, Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto wished therewith to shoot IV. 3.
to death Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto, who happened just then to be in a great muro at Kataoka, lying alone on a great couch. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto spake to Kami-Ya-wi

may suppose that he was at that time twenty years of age at least. We are now in B.C. 585, so that he must have been over 100.

[1] i.e. of mourning.

[2] Yumi-be is the Be of bow-makers; Kanuchi, smith.

[3] Ama-tsu-ma-ura. This name is obviously identical with that of the smith-god, Ama-tsu-mara, mentioned in the "Kojiki" (see Ch. K., p. 55), upon which Chamberlain remarks, "Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret 'Cælestis Penis.'" Ma-ura means literally true-heart, or inwards, and hence came to be used as a decent term for penis, corresponding somewhat to our word "nakedness." In modern times it is a very vulgar word. This is Hirata's view. Another derivation connects it with Mâra, the Indian God of lust, sin, and death.

If Ama-tsu-ma-ura or mara stood alone, we might be disposed with Motowori to pass it by as a proper name of doubtful derivation. But Hirata ("Koshiden" v. 48) quotes from old books three other names of deities which contain this element, viz. Oho (great) mara no Mikoto, Ama-tsu-aka (red) mara no Mikoto and Ama-teru (shining) mara take-wo (brave male) no Mikoto. He thinks it sufficient to say that as these are the names of Gods, a phallic interpretation is inadmissible, but in this European scholars will hardly agree with him. There is a Mara no Sukune in the Japanese peerage of the ninth century, known as the Seishiroku. See Index—Phallic worship.

[4] Ya, arrow.

no Mikoto, saying:—"The right time has now arrived. In words, secrecy is to be prized: in deeds, caution is advisable. Therefore, we have never had any partner in our conspiracy, and the enterprise of to-day is to be carried out by thee and me alone. I will first open the door of the muro. Do thou then shoot him." They accordingly went forward and entered in together.

Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto pushed open the door, while Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto's arms and legs trembled so that he was unable to let fly the arrow. Then Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto snatched the bow and arrows which his elder brother held and shot Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. The first shot struck him on the breast, the second on the back, and so at length he killed him. Hereupon Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto was troubled and submitted himself, yielding the sovereignty to Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto, saying:—"I am thy elder brother.[1] But I am timid and weak, and unfit for effective action. On the present occasion thou hast specially displayed divine valour, and hast thyself put to death our chief enemy. Is it not expedient that thou shouldst illuminate the Celestial station[2] and take over the functions of
IV. 4. our Imperial ancestors? I will be thy assistant and will attend to the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth." He was the first ancestor of the Oho no Omi.

B.C. 581. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. Kami-Nunagaha-mimi no Mikoto assumed the rank of Emperor. He made his capital at Katsuraki. It was called the palace[3] of Takaoka. He honoured the Empress by granting her the title of Kwō-dai-gō or Grand Empress.[4] This was the year Kanoye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 580. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month. Isuzu-yori-bime was appointed Empress.

One writing says:—"Kaha-mata-bime, daughter of the Agata-nushi of Shiki."

[1] In this and other passages of the "Nihongi," there is a sort of recognition of a right of primogeniture, but cases are numerous where the eldest son is ignored or set aside without very strong reason in favour of a brother, widow, or younger son of the deceased sovereign.

[2] i.e. the rank of Emperor.

[3] Capital and palace are interchangeable terms in this narrative.

[4] Equivalent to Empress Dowager. This is a Chinese title.

One writing says:—"Itori-hime, daughter of Ohohimoro, Agata-nushi of Kasuga."

She was the Emperor's aunt. The Empress bore a son, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Kami-Ya-wi-mimi no Mikoto died, and was buried on the Northern side of Mount Unebi. B.C. 578.

25th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi no Mikoto was made heir to the Imperial throne. B.C. 557. IV. 5

33rd year, Summer, 5th month. The Emperor took ill, and on the 10th day of the same month, he died, at the age of eighty-four. B.C. 549.

THE EMPEROR SHIKI-TSU-HIKO-TAMA-DEMI.

(*ANNEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was the eldest child of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. His mother's name was Isuzu-yori-bime no Mikoto, the younger daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. This Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in the 25th year of the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi. He was then twenty-one[2] years of age. In the 5th month, Summer, of the 33rd year of his reign, the Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi died. In the 7th month of that year, on the 3rd day of the month, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year,[3] Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Emperor Kami-Nunagaha-mimi was buried in the Misasagi on Tsukida Hill in Yamato. B.C. 548.

The Emperor honoured the Empress with the title of Kwō-dai-gō.

[1] Annei means peace.

[2] The editor of the Shukai edition alters this to eleven, in order to agree with other passages. But when the whole chronology is utterly fanciful, there is no use attempting to make it consistent.

[3] For purposes of chronology, these reigns begin with the next year following the previous Emperor's death. The first year of Annei's reign is therefore B.C. 548, although his predecessor died B.C. 549.

This was the year Midzunoto Ushi of the cycle.

B.C. 547. 2nd year. The capital was removed to Katashiho. It was called the Palace of Ukiana.

B.C. 546. IV. 6. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Nuna-soko-naka-tsu hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

Others call her Nuna-so hime.

One writing says :—" Kaha-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One writing says :—" Daughter of Ohoma no Sukune." [1]

Before this, his consort had given birth to two Imperial princes. The first was called Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto, the second, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo.

One version says :—" She bore three princes, the first of whom was called Toko-tsu-hiko-iro-ne; the second, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo; and the third, Shiki-tsu-hiko no Mikoto."

B.C. 538. 11th year, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. His younger brother, Shiki-tsu-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wi-tsu-kahi no Muraji.

B.C. 511. 38th year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor died at the age of 57.[2]

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-HIKO-SUKI-TOMO.

(*ITOKU*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

IV. 7. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was the second child of the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi. His mother's name was Nuna-soko-naka-tsu-hime, grandchild of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami, and daughter of the Prince[4] of Kamo. He was made Prince Imperial in the 11th year, Spring, the 1st month

[1] A title, derived by Yamada from Sukuna, small, and e or ye, elder brother.

[2] The "Kojiki" makes him 49.

[3] Admirable virtue.

[4] Prince is here 王, a lower rank than 皇子 or Imperial Prince.

of the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi's reign. He was then 16 years of age. In the 38th year of that reign, Winter, the 12th month, the Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi died.[1]

1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 510.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi was buried in the Misasagi above Mihodo no wi, south of Mount Unebi.

9th month, 14th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This was the year Kanoto U of the cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The capital was removed to Karu.[2] It was called the Palace of Magariwo. B.C. 509.

2nd month, 11th day. Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto was made Empress.

One version has:—"Idzumi hime, daughter of Oto-wite, son of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Ihi-hime, daughter of Futo-ma-waka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Shiki." IV. 8.

This Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine.

One version has:—"The Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side,[3] Takeshi-hiko-kushi-tomo se no Mikoto."[4]

22nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was then 18 years of age. B.C. 489.

34th year, Autumn, 9th month, 8th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 477

[1] These repetitions seem intended to conceal the want of any real information about this period.

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Japanese word for brother by the mother's side is hara-kara, "of the same belly," as to which a paper by the present writer on the "Family in Ancient Japan," contributed to the Japan Society's Journal, may be consulted.

[4] It is not clear what is meant by this.

THE EMPEROR MI-MATSU-HIKO-KAYESHINE.

(*KŌSHŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-Kayeshine was the eldest son of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The name of the Empress, his mother, was Ama-toyo-tsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Ikishi-mimi no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been made Prince Imperial in Spring, the second month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo died in autumn, the ninth month of the 34th year of his reign. On the 13th day of the 10th month of the following year, the Emperor Oho-Yamato-hiko-suki-tomo was buried in the Misasagi over the Masago Valley to the south of Mount Unebi.

IV. 9. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Prince Imperial
B.C. 475. assumed the Imperial Dignity.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.[2]

7th month. The capital was removed to Wakigami.[3] It was called the Palace of Ikegokoro. This year was the year Hinoye Tora of the cycle.

B.C. 447. 29th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Yoso-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress.

One version says:—"Nunaki-tsu hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Oho-wi-hime, daughter of Toyo-aki-sata-wo of the Land of Yamato."

The Empress gave birth to Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto, and to the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito.

B.C. 408. 68th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He

[1] Filial piety manifested. [2] Kwō-dai- ō.
[3] In Yamato.

was twenty years of age. Ama-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Wani no Omi.

83rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 393.

THE EMPEROR YAMATO-TARASHI-HIKO-KUNI-OSHI-BITO.

(*KŌAN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was the second child of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. His mother's name was Yoso-tarashi-hime. She was the younger sister of Okitsu Yoso, the ancestor of the Ohari no[2] Muraji. IV. 10.

The Emperor was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 68th year of the reign of the Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine died in Autumn, the 8th month of the 83rd year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 392.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Tsuchi no to Ushi of the cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Muro. It was called the Palace of Akitsushima. B.C. 391.

26th year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. The Emperor appointed his niece,[3] Oshi-bime, Empress. B.C. 367.

One version has:—"Naga-hime, daughter of Haye, Agata-nushi of Shiki."

One version has:—"Isaka-hime, daughter of Isaka-hiko, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni.

38th year, Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. The Emperor Mi-matsu-hiko-kayeshine was buried in the Misasagi on Mount Hakata in Wakigami. B.C. 355.

76th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Oho-Yamato-neko- IV. 11. B.C. 317.

[1] Filial piety-peace. [2] Or Owari. [3] A brother's daughter.

hiko-futo-ni no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-six years of age.

B.C. 291. 102nd year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. The Emperor died.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO[1]-HIKO-FUTO-NI.

(*KŌREI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was the eldest child of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. His mother's name was Oshi-bime. He had been appointed Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 76th year of the reign of the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito. In Spring, the 1st month of the 102nd year of his reign, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito died. In Autumn, the 9th month, 13th day, the Emperor Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito was buried in the Misasagi on Tamade Hill.

Winter, 12th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial removed the capital to Kuroda.[3] It was called the Palace of Ihodo.

B.C. 290. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji of the cycle.

IV. 12. B.C. 289. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. Hoso-bime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

One version has:—"Kasuga no Chichi-haya-yamaka-hime."

One version has:—"Mashita-bime, daughter of Toso, Agata-nushi of Tohochi."

The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. A concubine named Yamato no kuni-ka-hime [*also called Haye-irone*] was the mother of Yamato-to-to-

[1] Several of the Emperors' names have the element Yamato-neko (neko is a honorific), and one Emperor styles himself Yamato-neko in an edict, although this was not his name. It may be suspected that Yamato-neko was at one time a general title for the sovereigns of Japan.

[2] Filial piety-spirit. [3] In Yamato.

hi-momo-so bime no Mikoto and of Hiko-i-saseri-hiko no Mikoto [*also called Kibi-tsu-hiko no Mikoto*], and Yamato-toto-waka-ya-bime no Mikoto.

Another concubine Haye-iroto was the mother of Hiko-sajima no Mikoto and of Waka-take-hiko no Mikoto. The younger of these, namely, Waka-take-hiko no Mikoto, was the first ancestor of the Kibi no Omi.[1]

36th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Hiko-kuni-kuru no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. B.C. 255.

76th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 215.

THE EMPEROR OHO-YAMATO-NEKO-HIKO-KUNI-KURU. IV. 13.

(*KŌGEN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was the eldest child of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. His mother's name was Hoso-bime, daughter of Oho-me,[3] Agata-nushi of Shiki. He had been created Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 36th year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. He was then nineteen years of age. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 76th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Hinoto I of the cycle. B.C. 214.

4th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The capital was removed to Karu. It was called the Palace of Sakahibara. B.C. 211.

6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni was buried in the Misasagi on Muma-zaka[4] at Kataoka. B.C. 209.

[1] The "Kojiki" genealogies differ a good deal. One must be wrong; and both, doubtless, leave much to be desired in accuracy.

[2] Filial-duty-origin.

[3] Great-eyes.

[4] The horse-acclivity.

B.C. 208. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Uchi-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She had three children, two boys and one girl. The name of the eldest was Oho-hiko no Mikoto; of the second, the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Oho-hihi; and of the third, Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto.

One version has:—"The Emperor's brother by the mother's side was Sukuna-biko-wo-kokoro[1] no Mikoto."

IV. 14. A concubine named Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was the mother of Hiko-futo-woshi-makoto no Mikoto. The next concubine, named Hani-yasu-hime, daughter of Awotama of Kahachi, was the mother of Take-hani-yasu no Mikoto.

The elder brother Oho-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Abe no Omi, the Kashihade[2] no Omi, the Ahe no Omi, the Sasaki-yama no Kimi, the Tsukushi no Miyakko, the Koshi no Miyakko and the Iga no Omi, in all seven families.

IV. 15. Hiko-futo-woshi-makoto no Mikoto was the grandfather of Takechi no Sukune.

B.C. 193. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. He was sixteen years of age.

B.C. 158. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor died.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-YAMATO-NEKO-HIKO-OHO-HIHI.

(*KAIKWA*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi was the second child of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. His mother's name was Uchi-shikome, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and younger sister of Uchi-shiko-wo no Mikoto.

The Emperor had been created Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 22nd year of the reign of the Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru. He was then sixteen years of age.

[1] Small-prince-manly-heart. [2] This word means steward.
[3] Civilization.

The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru died in Autumn, the 9th month of the 57th year of his reign.

In Winter, the 11th month, 12th day, the Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. B.C. 157.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Kasuga. It was called the Palace of Isa-kaha. This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle. IV. 16.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor Oho-Yamato-neko-hiko-kuni-kuru was buried in the Misasagi on the island of Tsurugi-ike.[1] B.C. 153.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. Ika-shiko-me no Mikoto was appointed Empress. [*She was his father's concubine.*] The Empress was the mother of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-i-niye. B.C. 152.

The Emperor had previously taken to himself as concubine Taniha no Takano-hime. She was the mother of Hiko-yumusumi no Mikoto. [*Also called Hiko-komosu no Mikoto.*] There was a subordinate concubine named Oke-tsu-hime, younger sister of Oke-tsu no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi. She was the mother of Prince[2] Hiko-imasu.

28th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. Mimaki-iri-hiko no Mikoto was created Prince Imperial. He was nineteen years of age. IV. 17. B.C. 130

60th year, Summer, 4th month, 9th day. The Emperor died. B.C. 98.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. He was buried in the Saka-moto Misasagi at Isa-kaha in Kasuga.

One version has:—"The Misasagi of Saka no kami."[3]

His age was then 115.

[1] Ike means a pond or artificial lake.

[2] Where Prince stands alone without the word Imperial before or after it, it represents the Chinese character 王, which in the "Nihongi" is applied sometimes to the kings or princes of Corea, but more usually to Japanese princes who did not belong to the family of the reigning sovereign.

[3] It is difficult to say whether Saka-moto and Saka no kami are proper names or merely descriptions. They mean respectively the "bottom of the acclivity" and the "top of the acclivity."

BOOK V.

THE EMPEROR MIMAKI-IRI-BIKO-I-NIYE.

(*SŪJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Mimaki-iri-biko-i-niye was the second child of the Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hi-hi. His mother's name was Ika-shiko-me, daughter of Oho-he-so-ki no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Mononobe House.[2]

The Emperor was created Prince Imperial at the age of nineteen. He was of a quick intelligence, and in his boyhood was fond of manly devices. When he grew up to manhood, he was of wide culture and circumspect in his behaviour. He honoured profoundly the Gods of Heaven and Earth. His mind was constantly directed to the management of the Celestial Institution.[3]

The Emperor Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi died in Summer, the 4th month of the 60th year of his reign.

B.C. 97. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. He honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress.

2nd month, 16th day. Mimaki-hime was appointed Empress. Before this she had given birth to the Emperor Ikume-iri-hiko-i-sachi, Kuni-kata-hime no Mikoto, Chichi-tsuku Yamato-hime no Mikoto, Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, and Ika-tsuru-
V. 2. hiko no Mikoto. By a concubine, Tohotsu Ayume ma-kuwashi-hime, daughter of Araka, the Tohe of the Land of Kiï, he had Toyo-suki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, and a subordinate concubine named Ohari no Oho-ama.

One version has :—" Ya-saka-furu-ama-irohe, daughter of Oho-umi no-Sukune."

[1] Sūjin means "honouring the Gods." [2] In Japanese Uji.
[3] The sovereignty.

bore to him Ya-saka-iri-hiko no Mikoto, Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto, and Toho-chi-ni-iri-bime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Kinoye Saru of the cycle.

3rd year, Autumn, 9th month. The capital was removed to Shiki. It was called the Palace of Midzu-gaki. B.C. 95.

4th year, Winter, 10th month, 13th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"When our Imperial ancestors gloriously assumed the Supreme Rank, was it for the benefit of themselves alone? It was doubtless in order that they might thereby shepherd men and spirits,[1] and regulate the Empire. Therefore it was that from generation to generation they were able to extend their unfathomable merit, and in their day to spread abroad their perfect virtue. B.C. 94.

We, having now received at their hands the mighty inheritance, lovingly nourish our good subjects. In so doing, let us follow obediently in the footsteps of our Imperial ancestors, and long preserve the unbounded felicity. And ye too, Our Ministers and functionaries, should you not co-operate with all loyalty in giving peace to the Empire?"[2] V. 3.

5th year. There was much pestilence throughout the country, and more than one half the people died. B.C. 93.

6th year. The people took to vagabondage, and there was rebellion, the violence of which was such that by worth alone it could not be assuaged.[3] B.C. 92.

Therefore, rising early in the morning and being full of awe until the evening, the Emperor requested punishment[4] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

Before this the two Gods Ama-terasu no Oho-kami and Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama[5] were worshipped together within the Emperor's Great Hall. He dreaded, however, the power of these Gods, and did not feel secure in their dwelling together. Therefore he entrusted Ama-terasu no Oho-kami to Toyo-suki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped at the village

[1] The Kana has simply hito, men.

[2] This decree is a mere cento of Chinese phrases.

[3] i.e., by the virtues of the Sovereign commanding the respect and obedience of the people.

[4] In accordance with the Chinese notion that national calamities are owing to the faults of the Emperor.

[5] The numen of the great land of Yamato.

of Kasanuhi in Yamato, where he established the sacred en-
V. 4. closure of Shiki. Moreover, he entrusted Yamato-oho-kuni-dama no Kami to Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto to be worshipped. But Nunaki-iri-bime no Mikoto was bald and lean, and therefore unfit to perform the rites of worship.

B.C. 91. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor decreed as follows:—"Of old our Imperial ancestors greatly extended the vast foundation, and under the later Emperors the institution became more and more exalted. The royal influence spread and flourished. But now that it has devolved upon Us, numerous calamities have unexpectedly befallen it. It is to be feared that from the absence of good Government in the Court, We have incurred the blame of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. Would it not be well to commit the matter to the Sacred Tortoise[1] and thereby ascertain the cause of the calamity?"

Accordingly, the Emperor hereupon proceeded to the plain of Kami-asachi, where he assembled the 80 myriads of Deities, and inquired of them by means of divination. At this time the Gods inspired Yamato-to-to-hi-momoso-hime no Mikoto to say as follows:—"Why is the Emperor grieved at the disordered state of the country? If he duly did us reverent worship it would assuredly become pacified of itself." The Emperor in-
V. 5. quired, saying:—"What God is it that thus instructs me?" The answer was:—"I am the God who dwells within the borders of the land of Yamato, and my name is Oho-mono-nushi no Kami."

Now, having obtained this divine message, the Emperor worshipped as he was told, but without effect. Then, having bathed and practised abstinence, and purified the interior of the Hall, he prayed, saying:—"Is Our observance of due ceremonies towards the Gods not yet complete? This non-acceptance is cruel. We pray that We may be further instructed in a dream, and the divine favour thereby consummated."

That night he had a dream. A man of noble appearance stood opposite to him in the door of the hall, and, announcing himself as Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, said:—"Let the

[1] The ancient Japanese divination was by roasting deer's shoulder-blades and observing the cracks thus caused, not by the shell of a tortoise, which is the Chinese practice.

Emperor grieve no more for the disorder of the country. This is my will. If thou wilt cause me to be worshipped by my child, Oho-tata-neko, then will there be peace at once. Moreover the lands beyond the sea will of their own accord render submission."

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. Yamato-to-to-kami-asachi-hara-ma-guhashi-hime, Oho-mina-kuchi-no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and the Kimi of Wo-umi in Ise had all three the same dream, which they reported to the Emperor, saying :—" Last night we had a dream in which there appeared a man of noble aspect, who admonished us, saying :— 'Let Oho-tata-neko no Mikoto be appointed master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi-no-oho-kami, and let Ichi-shi no V. 6.
Naga-ochi be appointed master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami. Then assuredly the Empire will have profound peace.' "

The Emperor, when he learned the words of the dream, was more and more delighted in his heart. By a proclamation to the Empire he sought for Oho-tata-neko, who was accordingly found in the village of Suye, in the district of Chinu,[1] and sent to the Emperor, who forthwith proceeded in person to the plain of Kami-asachi, and assembled all the Princes and Ministers, and the eighty Be. He then inquired of Oho-tata-neko, saying :— "Whose child art thou ?" He answered and said :—" My father's name is Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. My mother's name is Ikudama-yori-bime, daughter of Suye-tsu mimi."

Also called Kushi-hi-kata-ame-hi-kata, daughter of Take-chinu-tsumi.

The Emperor said :—" Now we shall be prosperous." So he ascertained by divination that it would be lucky to send Ika-shiko-wo to distribute offerings to the Gods. He also divined that it would be unlucky to take advantage of this opportunity to worship other Gods.[2]

11th month, 8th day.[3] The Emperor took the articles[4] for

[1] In Idzumi. [2] Than the two above mentioned.

[3] The original has cyclical characters which would make it the 56th day of the month. I have adopted an emendation which does not make obvious nonsense. But where the whole series of dates is fictitious, it is hardly worth while noticing minor inaccuracies of this kind.

[4] Of pottery.

the worship of the Gods which he ordered Ika-shiko-wo to have made by the hands of the eighty Mononobe, and appointed Oho-tata-neko Master of the worship of Oho-mono-nushi no Oho-kami. Moreover he made Nagaochi Master of the worship of Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama no Kami.

After that, he divined that it would be lucky to worship the other Gods. So he took the opportunity of separately worshipping the assemblage of eighty myriads of Deities. He also settled which were to be Heavenly shrines and which Earthly shrines, and allotted land and houses for the service of the Gods. Thereupon the pestilence first ceased; the country at length had peace, the five kinds of grain were produced, and the peasantry enjoyed abundance.

B.C. 90. 8th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. A man of the village of Takahashi, named Ikuhi, was appointed Brewer to the Great Deity.

Winter, 12th month, 20th day. The Emperor caused Oho-tata-neko to worship the Great Deity. On this day, Ikuhi, in person, presented to the Emperor sacred sake, with a song, as follows:—

This sacred sake
Is not my sacred sake:
'Tis sacred sake brewed
By Oho-mono-nushi,
Of Yamato,
How long ago!
How long ago![1]

Having thus sung, they feasted in the Shrine of the God. As soon as the feast was over, the various high officials sang as follows:—

V. 8.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning door
We would go forth from—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.

Hereupon the Emperor sang as follows:—

[1] "How long ago" is in Japanese Ikuhisa, an obvious allusion to the Brewer's name, Ikuhi, in short a pun.

The Hall of Miwa
(Of sweet sake fame),
Even its morning-door
I would push open—
The door of the Hall of Miwa.[1]

So the door of the Shrine of the God was thrown open, and the Emperor proceeded on his way.

He who was called Oho-tata-neko was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Miwa.

9th year, Spring, 3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor had a dream in which a divine person appeared to him and instructed him, saying:—"Take eight red shields and eight red spears and do worship to the God of Sumi-zaka. Take moreover eight black shields and eight black spears and do worship to the God of Oho-zaka." B.C. 89.

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. In accordance with the instruction he had received in the dream, he worshipped the Gods of Sumi-zaka and Oho-zaka.[2]

10th year, Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. He proclaimed to the company of Ministers, saying:—"For the guidance of the people, the chief thing is education. Now that I have performed due rites to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, all calamity has become spent. The distant savages, however, do not receive our calendar because they are yet unaccustomed to the civilizing influences of our rule. We will, therefore, select some of our company of Ministers and despatch them to the four quarters, so that they may cause our Will to be known." B.C. 88. V. 9.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor sent Oho-hiko no Mikoto to the northern region, he sent Takenu-kaha wake to the Eastern Sea,[3] he sent Kibi[4]-tsu-hiko to the Western road,

[1] The sentiment of these poems seems to be the same as that of our own "We won't go home till morning."
Metre irregular.

[2] However unhistorical all this may be, one thing clearly appears from it, viz., that in the early days of Japan the king and high priest were identical. Both the civil and religious functions, however, might be equally delegated.

[3] In the original Tō-kai, whence Tōkaidō, East-sea-road, the great highway from Kioto to the East and also the provinces lying to each side of it.

[4] Kibi is the ancient name for Bizen, Bingo, and Bittchiu, which lie west of Yamato.

he sent Tamba no chi-nushi no Mikoto to Tamba. On this occasion he addressed them, saying:—"If there be any who do not receive our instructions, prepare war and smite them." Having said so, he granted them all alike seals and ribbons,[1] and appointed them generals.

27th day. Oho-hiko no Mikoto arrived at the top of the Wani acclivity. Now there was there a maiden who sang as follows:—

One version has:—"Oho-hiko-no Mikoto arrived at the Hira-zaka acclivity, in Yamashiro. Now there was by the road-side a young woman who sang as follows:"—

Ah! Prince Mimaki-iri!
Unaware that some are stealthily
Preparing to cut
The thread of thine own life,
Thou amusest thyself like a lady!

V. 10. Another version is:—

Unaware that some are preparing
To slay thee,
On the watch
At the great gate,
Thou amusest thyself like a lady![2]

Wondering at this, Oho-hiko inquired of the maiden, saying:—"What are these words that thou sayest?" She answered and said:—"I was saying nothing: I was only singing." So she sang over again the above song, and suddenly disappeared. Oho-hiko accordingly returned and reported these circumstances to the Emperor. Upon this Yamato-toto-hi momo so bime no Mikoto, the Emperor's aunt by the father's side, a shrewd and intelligent person, who could foresee the future, understood what was portended by this song, and told the Emperor that it was a sign that Take-hani-yasu-hiko[3] was about to plot treason against him. "I have heard," she said, "that Ata-bime, Take-hani-yasu-hiko's wife, came secretly and took earth

[1] The seals and ribbons are Chinese, and could not have been used as emblems of office in Japan at this time. The word for general is Shōgun, so familiar at a later period of Japanese History.

[2] The text of this poem is very doubtful. The "Kojiki" has a third version. Prince Mimaki-iri is the Emperor.

[3] A half-brother of the Emperor. He lived in Yamashiro.

from Mount Kako[1] in Yamato, which she wrapped in her neckerchief and prayed, saying:—'This earth represents the Land of Yamato,' and turned it upside down. By this I know that there will be troubles. If thou dost not speedily take measures, it will assuredly be too late." Hereupon he recalled all the generals and consulted with them. No long time after, Take-hani-yasu-hiko and his wife Ata-bime conspired to revolt, and arrived suddenly with an army which they had raised. They came each by different roads, the husband by way of Yamashiro, the wife by Oho-saka. They intended to join their forces and attack the capital. Then the Emperor sent Isaseri-hiko no Mikoto to attack the force led by Ata-bime. He accordingly intercepted it at Oho-saka and put it all to a great rout. Ata-bime was killed, and her troops were all slain. Afterwards he sent Oho-hiko and Hiko-kuni-fuku, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, towards Yamashiro to attack Take-hani-yasu. Here they took sacred jars and planted them at the top of the acclivity of Takasuki in Wani.[2] Then they advanced with their best troops and ascended Mount Nara and occupied it. Now when the Imperial forces were encamping, they trod level the herbs and trees, whence that mountain was given the name of Mount Nara.[3] Then abandoning Mount Nara, they proceeded as far as the River Wakara. Hani-yasu-hiko was encamped on both sides of the river, and the two armies challenged each other. Therefore the men of that time changed the name of the river, and called it the River Idomi,[4] which is now corrupted into Idzumi.

V. 11.

V. 12.

Hani-yasu-hiko, standing on the bank of this river, inquired of Hiko-kuni-fuku, saying:—"Why hast thou raised an army and come hither?" He answered and said:—"Thou, in opposition to Heaven, and regardless of right, dost intend to overturn the Royal chamber.[5] Therefore I have raised a loyal army to punish thy revolt. This is the Emperor's command." Hereupon there was a struggle who should shoot first. Hani-yasu-hiko shot first at Hiko-kuni-fuku, but missed him. Then

[1] The same as Mount Kagu above referred to.

[2] i.e. they sacrificed to the Gods before entering on the campaign.

[3] Narasu means to make level.

[4] Challenge River.

[5] We would say the throne.

Hiko-kuni-fuku aimed at Hani-yasu-hiko, hit him in the breast, and killed him. His troops lost courage and retreated. They were consequently pursued and driven in rout to the north of the river. More than half had their heads cut off, and of dead bodies there was a plentiful overflow. Therefore that place was named Hafu-sono.[1]

Again the troops fled in fear and their excrements were voided on their breeches. So they took off their armour and ran. Knowing that they could not escape, they bowed their heads to the ground, and said, "Our Lord." Therefore the men of that time called the place where the armour was taken off "Kawara,"[2] and the place where the breeches were defiled they called Kuso-bakama.[3] It is now called Kusuba, which is a corruption of this word.

V. 13. Moreover the place where they bowed their heads was called A-gimi.[4]

After tkis Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto became the wife of Oho-mono-nushi no Kami. This God, however, was never seen in the day-time, but came at night. Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto said to her husband:—"As my Lord is never seen in the day-time, I am unable to view his august countenance distinctly; I beseech him therefore to delay a while, that in the morning I may look upon the majesty of his beauty." The Great God answered and said:—"What thou sayest is clearly right. To-morrow morning I will enter thy toilet-case and stay there. I pray thee be not alarmed at my form." Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto wondered secretly in her heart at this. Waiting until daybreak, she looked into her toilet-case. There was there a beautiful little snake,[5] of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment. Thereupon she was frightened, and uttered an exclamation. The Great God was ashamed, and changing suddenly into human form, spake to his wife, and

[1] Afureru is "to overflow," sono means garden. Hafu is more probably for hafuri, sacrifice.

[2] An old word for "armour."

[3] "Excrement-breeches."

[4] Our Lord. See above.

[5] This is one of numerous evidences of serpent-worship in Ancient Japan. The interlinear Kana for snake is worochi, where the last syllable is a honorific.

said:—"Thou didst not contain thyself, but hast caused me shame: I will in my turn put thee to shame." So treading the Great Void, he ascended to Mount Mimoro. Hereupon Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto looked up and had remorse. She flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda so that she died. She was buried at Oho-chi. Therefore the men of that time called her tomb the Hashi no haka.[1] This tomb was made by men in the day-time, V. 14.
and by Gods at night. It was built of stones carried from Mount Oho-saka. Now the people standing close to each other passed the stones from hand to hand, and thus transported them from the mountain to the tomb. The men of that time made a song about this, saying:—

If one passed from hand to hand
The rocks
Built up
On Oho-saka,[2]
How hard 'twould be to send them![3]

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to his Ministers, saying:—"The rebels have now all yielded themselves to execution and there is peace in the home district.[4] But the savage tribes abroad[5] continue to be tumultuous. Let the generals of the four roads now make haste to set out." On the 22nd day, the four generals set out on their journeys simultaneously.

[1] The Chopstick Tomb.

[2] The great acclivity.

[3] The tombs of men of rank at this period of Japanese History consisted of a round mound of earth varying in size according to the station of the person interred, and containing a vault of megalithic stones, with an entrance gallery similar to those of the Imperial Misasagi, but of much smaller size. Many of these are still to be seen in Japan, especially in the provinces near Yamato. Of course it is utterly impossible to pass from hand to hand stones of the size used in constructing these tombs.

[4] The original is Kinai, more familiarly known as Gokinai, and comprising the provinces of Yamato, Yamashiro, Settsu, Kawachi, and Idzumi.

[5] Lit. outside the sea. This is a Chinese expression which must not be taken too literally. The Ainos may be referred to. But the whole passage seems inspired by recollections from Chinese literature, and is probably entirely fictitious.

B.C. 87. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 28th day. The generals of the four roads reported to the Emperor the circumstances of their pacification of the savages. This year strange tribes came in great numbers and there was tranquillity throughout the land.

B.C. 86. 12th year, Spring, 3rd month, 11th day. The following decree was issued:—"Ever since we received the Celestial Dignity and undertook the guardianship of the ancestral shrines, Our light has been subject to obscuration, and Our influence has been wanting in placidity. Consequently there has been disaccord in the action of the male and female principles of nature, heat and cold have mixed their due order, epidemic disease has been rife, and calamities have befallen
V. 15. the people. But now in order to be absolved from Our offences and to rectify Our errors, we have reverently worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth. We have also dispensed Our instructions and thus pacified the savage tribes, and by force of arms have chastised those who refused submission. In this way authority has been maintained, while below there are no retired people.[1] Education[2] is widespread; the multitude take delight in their industries;[3] strange tribes come employing several interpreters; the countries beyond the sea offer allegiance. At this time We think it fit to make a new recension of the people, and to acquaint them with grades of seniority, and the order of forced labour."

Autumn, 9th month, 16th day. A census of the people was begun and taxes were imposed anew. These are called the men's bow-end tax and the women's finger-end tax.[4] Therefore the Gods of Heaven and Earth were harmonious. The wind

[1] By "retired people" are probably meant those who have concealed themselves in order to escape from oppression. The phrase occurs in the "Confucian Analects" (Legge, p. 200), where, however, it is used of a voluntary retirement from the world.

[2] The "education" is not juvenile education, but the education of the people by the good example of the monarch, with, perhaps, an occasional discourse from the throne.

[3] From "authority" to "industries" is copied from a Chinese History of the Han Dynasty. The whole decree is utterly impossible as a document of Japanese History at this period. It is as Chinese as it can be.

[4] That is, a tax of animals' skins and game to be paid by the men, and of textile fabrics to be levied on women. See Ch. K., p. 182.

and rain came in their season, the hundred kinds of grain formed duly. Families did not become extinct, population was sufficient. Profound peace prevailed in the Empire. Therefore he received the title of "The Emperor, the august founder of the country."

17th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The following decree was issued:— B.C. 81. V. 16.

"Ships are of cardinal importance to the Empire. At present the people of the coast, not having ships, suffer grievously by land-transport. Therefore, let every province be caused to have ships built."

Winter, 10th month. The building of ships was begun.

48th year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. The Emperor gave command to Toyoki no Mikoto and Ikume no Mikoto, saying:—"Ye, my two children, are alike in Our affection, and We know not which of you to make Our successor. Do each of you dream, and We will form an augury from your dreams." Hereupon the two princes, having received this command, performed their ablutions and prayed. In their sleep each of them had a dream. The next dawn the elder brother, Toyoki no Mikoto, reported to the Emperor the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended Mount Mimoro, and turning to the East, eight times I flourished a spear, and eight times dealt blows with a sword." B.C. 50.

The younger brother, Ikume no Mikoto, reported the story of his dream, saying:—"I myself ascended to the summit of Mount Mimoro, and stretched a cord to the four quarters with which to drive away the sparrows which fed upon the grain."

The Emperor compared the dreams, and spake to his two sons, saying:—"The elder of you turned to the East only, and it is therefore meet that he should rule the Eastern Land. But the younger looked down generally over the four quarters, and he ought therefore to succeed to Our Dignity."

Summer, 4th month, 19th day. Ikume no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial, and Toyoki no Mikoto was made ruler of the Eastern Land. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Kami-tsuke[1] and of the Kimi of Shimotsuke.

[1] Now Kōdzuke.

B.C. 38. V. 17. 60th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Take-hi-teru no Mikoto

Another version is Take-hina-tori or Ama-no-hina-tori.

brought from Heaven the divine treasures and stored them in the Temple of the Great God at Idzumo. I wish to see them." Accordingly Take-moro-sumi, the ancestor of the Yata-be no Miyakko, was sent for them

One writing says:—"Also called Oho-moro-sumi."

that he might lay them before the Emperor. Now at this time Idzumo Furune, the ancestor of the Idzumo no Omi, held charge of the divine treasures. He had gone to the Land of Tsukushi and did not come to meet him. His younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, accordingly received the Imperial command and entrusted them to his younger brother, Umashi-Kara[1]-hisa and his son Uka-tsuku-nu, and so rendered them up to the Emperor. Now when Idzumo Furune returned from Tsukushi and heard that the divine treasures had been rendered up to the Court, he rebuked his younger brother Ihi-iri-ne, saying:—"Thou shouldst have waited for some days. What wert thou afraid of that thou didst so lightly part with the divine treasures?" On this account V. 18. he still, after years and months had passed, cherished wrath against his younger brother and had a mind to slay him. So he deceived his younger brother, saying:—"Of late the *mo*[2] plant grows plentifully in the Yamiya pool. Pray let us go together and see it." So he followed his elder brother and went there. Before this, the elder brother had secretly made a wooden sword, in appearance like a real sword, which at this time he himself wore. The younger brother was girt with a real sword. When they both came to the head of the pool, the elder brother said to the younger:—"The water of the pool is limpid and cool; pray let us both bathe in it." The younger brother agreed to his elder brother's proposal, and they each took off the sword which he wore and laid it on

[1] Note the occurrence of Kara, the name of a Corean Kingdom, in a proper name at a time when it was not supposed that Japan had relations with Corea.

[2] Defined as "a water plant with round leaves and stems which vary in length according to the depth of the water." It is edible.

the bank of the pool. Having bathed in the water, the elder brother came first to land, and taking the younger brother's real sword, girded it on himself. Afterwards the younger brother, surprised, took up his elder brother's wooden sword, but on coming to mutual blows, the younger brother was unable to draw the wooden sword. So the elder brother smote his younger brother, Ihi-iri-ne, and killed him. Therefore the men of that day made a song, saying,—

> The sword girt on
> By the warrior of Idzumo
> (Where many clouds arise [1])—
> There is the sheath enwound with creepers,
> But, alas! there is no blade.

Hereupon Umashi-Kara-hisa and Uka-tsuku-nu proceeded to Court, where they reported this affair in detail. Accordingly, Kibi-tsu-hiko and Takenu-kaha-wake were sent to put to death Idzumo Furune. Therefore the Omi of Idzumo, in dread of this, desisted for a while from the worship of the Great God.

Now a man of Higami, in Tamba, named Hika-tohe, made a representation to the Prince Imperial, Iku-me no Mikoto, saying:—"One of my children is a young infant. Yet of his own V. 19.
accord he has said this:—'These are the Gods worshipped by the men of Idzumo—Idzumo of the gem-like water-plant [2] and the sunken stone [3]—viz. the true-kind-beautiful-august-mirror, the pinion-flapping-beautiful-august-God, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master; the august-spirit-plunged-in-the-water-of-the-mountain-stream, the peacefully-wearing (jewels?)-august-deity, the bottom-treasure-august-treasure-master.' [4] These do not seem like the words of a young infant. May they have been spoken by divine inspiration?"

Hereupon the Prince Imperial reported to the Emperor, who accordingly caused them to be worshipped.

62nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The following B.C. 36.
edict was issued:—

"Agriculture is the great foundation of the Empire. It is

[1] See above, p. 54.
[2] The *mo*, above referred to.
[3] Perhaps a precious stone found at the bottom of rivers.
[4] The Shiki says that this is the description of two deities only.

that upon which the people depend for their subsistence.[1] At present the water of Hanida of Sayama in Kahachi is scarce, and therefore the peasants of that province are remiss in their husbandry. Open up therefore abundance of ponds and runnels, and so develop the industry of the people."

Winter, 10th month. The Yosami pond was made.

11th month. The Karusaka pond and the Sakahori pond were made.

One version has:—"These three ponds were made when the Emperor dwelt in the Palace of Kuhama."

B.C. 33. V. 20. 65th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Land of Imna[2] sent Sonaka-cheulchi and offered tribute. Imna is more than 2000 ri to the north of Tsukushi, from which it is separated by the sea. It lies to the south-west of Ké-rin.

In the 68th year of his reign, Winter, the 12th month, 5th day, the Emperor died at the age of 120.[3]

In the following year, Autumn, the 8th month, 11th day, he was buried in the Misasagi above the road at Yamanobe.

[1] The above two sentences are copied word for word from a Chinese history.

[2] The traditional Japanese pronunciation of this name is Mimana. I have followed here, as elsewhere, the Corean pronunciation of Corean proper names. On any estimate of the length of the ri, the distance given is far too great.

Imna or Mimana is also known as Kara. It is a small kingdom lying to the S.W. of the River Naktong.

Kérin, in Japanese Kirin, is another name for Silla (in Japanese Shinra or Shiragi). See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 43.

Sonaka-cheulchi looks like a genuine Corean name.

[3] The age given here is inconsistent with other data found in the "Nihongi" itself, and with the "Kojiki," which makes him 168 at the time of his death.

BOOK VI.

THE EMPEROR IKU-ME-IRI-HIKO-I-SACHI.

(*SUININ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-i-sachi was the third child of the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye. The Empress his mother was called Mimaki-hime. She was the daughter of Oho-hiko no Mikoto. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Midzu-gaki in the 29th year of the Emperor Mimaki, the 50th year of the cycle, Spring, the 1st month, the 1st day. From his birth he was of a distinguished appearance; when he grew to manhood, he had superior talent and large principles. His disposition was to be guided implicitly by truth and to avoid dissimulation.

The Emperor loved him, and retained him near his own person. At the age of twenty-four,[2] in accordance with the prognostic of a dream, he made him Prince Imperial.

The Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye died in Winter, the 12th month of the 68th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 2nd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. B.C. 29.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day.[3] The Emperor Mimaki was buried in the Misasagi over the road at Yamanobe. VI. 2.

11th month, 2nd day. The Empress was granted the

[1] Dispense-benevolence.

[2] This does not agree with what precedes. He was born in the 29th year of his father's reign, and made Prince Imperial in the 48th. He would therefore be only twenty, and not twenty-four. Note that the Japanese always count both the year of birth and the current year in their calculations of age.

[3] This does not agree with the date on the previous page.

honorary title of Grand Empress. This was the year Midzu-noye Tatsu of the cycle.

B.C. 28. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. Saho-hime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to Homu-tsu-wake no Mikoto. From his birth the Emperor loved him, and kept him near his own person. When he grew to manhood, he could not speak.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was removed to Maki-muku. It was called the Palace of Tamaki. In this year the man of Imna, Sonaka cheulchi,[1] asked permission to return to his country. Therefore gifts were liberally bestowed on him, and there were entrusted to him as a present for the King of Imna 100 pieces of red silk. But the Silla people waylaid and robbed him, and at this time began the enmity between the two countries.[2]

One account says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Mimaki, there was a man with horns on his forehead[3] who came riding in a ship and anchored in the Bay of Kebi in the land of Koshi. Therefore that place was called Tsunoga.[4] He was asked what countryman he was. He replied, saying:—'I am the son of the King of Great Kara.
VI. 3. My name is Tsunoga arashito, and I am also called Ushiki arishichi kanki.[5] It having come to my ears that there is in the Land of Japan a sage Emperor, I wished to offer

[1] Corean pronunciation. The Japanese would be Sonaka shichi.

[2] There is probably some historical foundation for this. But the chronology must be wrong. According to the Tongkam, Kara (Imna) was not formed into a kingdom until A.D. 42, and hostilities between Kara and Silla are first mentioned in that work in A.D. 94. They were also at war in 97, 115, 116, and 203. See "Early Japanese History" in "J.A.S.T.," p. 44.

[3] The ancient Chinese Emperors are so depicted.

[4] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. A derivation from Tsuno-nuka (horn-forehead) seems intended.

[5] The Chinese characters in the text are probably intended to be read with their Japanese pronunciation, and I have accordingly in this instance followed the traditional Kana rendering. If the Corean pronunciation were followed, we should read Tonoka Arasăteung and Usaki ari cheulchi kanki. The Shiki says that kanki is a Silla rank equal to the Japanese senior 3rd rank. From a passage in Keidai Tennō's reign, year 23, it would appear that Arashito, or Arasăteung, was the name of some office or dignity.

him my allegiance and came to Anato.'[1] Now in that land there was a man named Itsutsu-hiko, who spoke to thy servant, saying:—'I am the King of this land, and there is no other king but me. Do not thou therefore proceed further.' But when I observed him closely and saw what manner of man he was, I knew surely that he was not a king. So I departed again from that place, and not knowing the road, anchored at one island and bay after another, going round by way of the Northern Sea and passing the Land of Idzumo until I arrived here."

It so happened that at this time the Emperor died, so he was detained and served the Emperor Ikume for three years.

Then the Emperor inquired of Arashito, saying:—"Dost thou wish to return to thy country?" He answered and said:—"I earnestly desire to do so." The Emperor then addressed Arashito, saying:—"If thou hadst not lost thy way, thou wouldst certainly have arrived here sooner—in time to serve the late Emperor. Do thou, therefore, change the name of thy country. In future take the august name VI. 4.
of the Emperor Mimaki and make it the name of thy country. So he gave Arashito red silk stuffs and sent him back to his native land. This was the reason why the name of that country is called Mimana.[2] Hereupon Arashito took the red silk which had been given him, and stored it in the magazine of his country. The people of Silla hearing this, raised an army and proceeding thither robbed him of all the red silk. This was the beginning of the enmity between these two countries."

One writing says:—"In the beginning, when Tsunoga Arashito was still in his own land, he went into the country with an ox loaded with implements of husbandry. The ox suddenly disappeared, and seeking for it by its tracks, he found that the foot-prints ceased in a certain village. Now there was here an old man who said:—'The ox which thou art in search of entered this village, and the

[1] Anato, lit. hole-door, is the ancient name of Nagato (long-door) or Chōshiu. The door is the Strait of Shimonoseki.

[2] Imna, according to the Corean pronunciation of the characters.

village chiefs said:—"With the implements which he is carrying let us fell the ox. We must surely prepare to slay and eat him. If the owner comes in search of him, we shall indemnify him with something." So they slew and ate him. If thou art asked what thing thou desirest as the price of the ox, do not ask for treasures, but say that thou wishest to have the God worshipped by the village. Tell them so.' Presently the village chiefs came and said:—'What dost thou desire as the price of thy ox?' And he replied as the old man had instructed him. Now the God whom they worshipped was a white stone. So they gave the white stone to the owner of the ox, and he accordingly brought it away with him and placed it in his bed-chamber. This divine stone became changed into
VI. 5. a beautiful maiden, upon which Arashito was greatly rejoiced, and wished to be united to her. But while he was away in another place, the maiden suddenly disappeared. Arashito was greatly alarmed, and inquired of his wife, saying:—'Whither has the maiden gone?' She replied and said:—'She has gone towards the East.' So he went in search of her, and at length, drifting far over the sea, he thus arrived in our country. The maiden whom he sought came to Naniha, where she became the Deity of the Himegoso shrine. Then proceeding to the district of Kusaki, in the Land of Toyo, she afterwards became the Deity of the Himegoso shrine. She is worshipped in both these places."

B.C. 27. 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The Silla prince, Ama no hi-hoko,[1] arrived. The objects which he brought were—one Ha-buto gem, one Ashi-daka gem, one red-stone Ukaka gem, one Idzushi short sword, one Idzushi spear, one sun-mirror, one Kuma-himorogi,[2] seven things in all. These were stored in the Land of Tajima,[3] and made divine things for ever.

[1] This means "The sun-spear of Heaven," and is purely Japanese. It cannot be a Corean name.

[2] Kuma-himorogi. See above, p. 82.

[3] In the district of Idzu-shi (which I take to be for Idzu-ishi, sacred stone), a name which is suggestive of stone-worship. The "Kojiki" mentions eight objects, not at all the same, however, and calls them the Eight Great

One version says:—"In the beginning, Ama no hi-hoko, riding in a ship, anchored at the land of Harima, where he dwelt in the village of Shisaha. Then the Emperor sent to Harima Ohotomo nushi, the ancestor of the Miwa no Kimi, and Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe, and inquired of Ama no hi-hoko, saying:—'Who art thou, and to what country dost thou belong?' Ama no hi-hoko answered and said:—'I am the son of the King of Silla. Hearing that in the Land of Japan there was a sage monarch, I gave my country to my younger brother, Chiko,[1] and have come to offer my allegiance and to bring tribute of the following objects, viz.—a Ha-boso[2] gem, an Ashi-daka gem, an Ukaka red-stone (or Akashi) gem, an Idzushi short sword, an Idzushi spear, a sun-mirror, a Kuma-himorogi, and an Isasa sword—eight objects in all.' So the Emperor gave orders to Ama no hi-hoko, saying:—'Do thou dwell in either of these two villages—Shisaha in the land of Harima, or Idesa in the island of Ahaji, at thy pleasure.' Then Ama no hi-hoko addressed the Emperor, saying:—'In regard to a dwelling-place for thy servant, if the celestial favour is bestowed on him so far as to grant thy servant the place of his desire, thy servant will himself proceed to and visit the various provinces, and he hopes that he may be granted the place which is agreeable to his mind.' This was agreed to. Thereupon Ama no hi-hoko, ascending the river Uji, went northwards, until he arrived at the village of Ana, in the province of Ohomi. VI. 6.

Afterwards, he proceeded onwards, from the province of Ohomi, through the province of Wakasa, and going westward arrived at the province of Tajima. So there he

Deities of Idzushi. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 261. Possibly the Idzushi short sword and the Idzushi spear were stone weapons. This passage is one of several evidences that Japan owes to Corea one element of the Shintō religion. The "Yengi-shiki" mentions several Corean Gods as being worshipped in Japan. The "Kojiki" mixes up this legend with that of Arashito given above. Indeed both are probably founded on the same occurrence.

[1] I can't find any king of this name in Silla History.

[2] Ha-boso means leaf-slender and Ashi-daka leg-high. They are probably names of places.

fixed his dwelling-place. Therefore the potters of Kagami no hasama,[1] in the province of Ohomi, are the servants of
VI. 7. Ama no hi-hoko. Accordingly Ama no hi-hoko took to wife Matawo, the daughter of Futomimi, a man of Idzushi in Tajima, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, who was the father of Tajima no Hinaraki, who was the father of Kiyohiko, who was the father of Tajima-mori."

B.C. 26. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 23rd day. The Empress's elder brother by the mother's side, Prince Sahohiko, plotted treason and tried to endanger the State. Therefore he watched for an occasion when the Empress was enjoying her leisure, and addressing her, said as follows:—"Whom dost thou love best—thy elder brother or thy husband?" Upon this, the Empress, ignorant of his object in making this inquiry, straightway answered and said:—"I love my elder brother." Then he enticed the Empress, saying:—"If one serves a man by beauty, when the beauty fades, his affection will cease.[2] There are now many beautiful women in the Empire. They will come one after another and seek affection. How, then, canst thou trust always to thy beauty? It is my wish, therefore, to ascend to the immense felicity,[3] and of a certainty to rule over the Empire along with thee. So making high our pillows,[4] we shall complete a long hundred years. Would not this be
VI. 8. delightful? I beg thee, therefore, to slay the Emperor for me." So he took a dagger, and giving it to the Empress, said:—"Gird on this dagger among thy garments, and when the Emperor goes to sleep, do thou stab him in the neck, and thus kill him." Upon this the Empress trembled in her heart within, and knew not what she should do. But in view of the determination of the Prince, her elder brother, she felt that remonstrance would be useless. Therefore she took the dagger, and having herself nowhere to deposit it, she placed it in her garments, intending all the while to remonstrate with her elder brother.

B.C. 25. 5th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor pro-

[1] Mirror-valley. [2] A Chinese saying.
[3] i.e. to take possession of the throne.
[4] A Chinese metaphor meaning "in security."

ceeded to Kume, where he dwelt in Taka-miya."[1] Now the Emperor took his noon-day sleep with the Empress's knees as his pillow. Up to this time the Empress had accomplished nothing, but thought vainly to herself:—"This would be the time to do that which the Prince, my elder brother, plotted." And she wept tears which fell on the Emperor's face. The Emperor woke up and addressed the Empress, saying:—"To-day We have had a dream. A small brocade-coloured snake coiled itself round Our neck and a great rain arose from Saho, which coming hither wet Our face. What does this portend?" The Empress thereupon, knowing that she could not conceal the plot, in fear and awe bowed herself to the earth, and informed the Emperor fully of the circumstances of the Prince, her elder brother's, treason. Accordingly she addressed him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden was unable to resist the purpose of the Prince, her elder brother, and yet could not be false to the gratitude due to the Emperor. If I confessed I destroyed the Prince, my elder brother. If I said nothing, I overturned the temples of the earth and of grain,[2] so that on the one hand there was fear, and on the other there was grief. Whether I looked up or down there was lamenta- VI. 9.
tion, whether I advanced or retired there was weeping and wailing. Night and day I was disturbed in mind, and could find no way to give information. Only to-day when Your Majesty went to sleep with his handmaiden's knee as a pillow, she thought—'If I were mad enough to accomplish the purpose of my elder brother, at this very time the deed could be done without difficulty.' With this thought still in my mind, the tears flowed spontaneously. So I raised my sleeve to wipe away the tears, and they overflowed from the sleeve and moistened Your Majesty's face. Therefore the dream of to-day must have been an effect of this thing. The small brocade-coloured snake is nothing else than the dagger which was given me: the great rain which arose suddenly is nothing else than thy handmaiden's tears." Then the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This is not thy crime," and raising a force from the neighbouring district, he commanded Yatsunada, the

[1] Taka-miya means high-palace or shrine.

[2] A Chinese expression for the State.

remote ancestor of the Kimi of Kôdzuke, to slay Saho-hiko. Now Saho-hiko withstood him with an army, and hastily piling up rice-stalks made thereof a castle, which was so solid that it could not be breached. This is what was called a "rice-castle."[1] A month passed, and yet it did not surrender. Hereupon the Empress, grieved at this, said:—"Even though I am Empress, with what countenance can I preside over the Empire, after bringing to ruin the Prince, my elder brother?" Accordingly, she took in her arms the Imperial Prince Homutsu wake no Mikoto, and entered the rice-castle of the Prince, her elder brother. The Emperor increased his army still more, and having surrounded the castle on all sides, proclaimed to those within it, saying:—"Send forth quickly the Empress and the Imperial Prince." But they would not send them out. So the
VI. 10. General Yatsunada set fire to the castle. Then the Empress, taking in her bosom the Imperial child, crossed over the castle and came out from it. Therewithal she besought the Emperor, saying:—"The reason why thy handmaiden at first fled into her elder brother's castle was in the hope that her elder brother might be absolved from guilt for the sake of her and of her child. But now he has not been absolved, and I know that I am guilty. Shall I have my hands tied behind my back? There is nothing left for me but to strangle myself. But even though I, thy handmaiden, die, I cannot bear to forget the favour shown me by the Emperor. I pray, therefore, that the Empress's palace, which I had charge of, may be granted to fair mates for thee. In the land of Tamba there are five ladies, all of virtuous minds, the daughters of the Prince, who is Michi no Ushi[2] of Tamba.

Prince Michi no Ushi was a grandson of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-Neko oho-hi-hi, and son of Prince Hiko-imasu.

[1] The Japanese word for rice-castle is inaki. It may be doubted whether there ever was any such castle as that described here. Artless attempts at derivation furnish a considerable portion of the old myths and legends of Japan. Inaki is the term used for the Imperial granaries in the provinces, and was also applied to their custodians. It therefore became a title of nobility which is frequently met with in the later history.

[2] Lit. master of the road.

One version has:—"Son of Prince Hiko-yu-musubi-kuma."

Let them be placed in the side courts to complete the number of the consort chambers." To this the Emperor agreed.[1] Then the fire blazed up, and the castle was destroyed. The troops all ran away, and Saho-hiko and his younger sister died together inside the castle. Thereupon the Emperor commended the good service of General Yatsunada, and granted him the name of Yamato-hi-muke take-hi-muke-hiko[2] Yatsunada.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The courtiers represented to the Emperor as follows:—"In the village of Taima[3] there is a valiant man called Kuyehaya of Taima. He is of great bodily strength, so that he can break horns and straighten out hooks. He is always saying to the people:—'You may search the four quarters, but where is there one to compare with me in strength? O that I could meet with a man of might, with whom to have a trial of strength, regardless of life or death.'" B.C. 23. VI. 11.

The Emperor, hearing this, proclaimed to his ministers, saying:—"We hear that Kuyehaya of Taima is the champion of the Empire. Might there be any one to compare with him?"

One of the ministers came forward and said:—"Thy servant hears that in the Land of Idzumo there is a valiant man named Nomi no Sukune. It is desirable that thou shouldst send for him, by way of trial, and match him with Kuyehaya."

That same day the Emperor sent Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, to summon Nomi no Sukune. Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came from Idzumo, and straightway he and Taima no Kuyehaya were made to wrestle together. The two men stood opposite to one another. Each raised his foot and kicked at the other,[4] when Nomi no Sukune broke with a kick the ribs of Kuyehaya and also kicked and broke his loins and thus killed him. Therefore the land of Taima no Kuyehaya was seized, and was all given to Nomi no Sukune. This was

But did not act on it till nine years later!

[2] Yamato-sun-facing brave-sun-facing prince.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] The wrestling seems to have been of the nature of a Greek παγκράτιον, or the French savate.

the cause why there is in that village a place called Koshi-ore-da, i.e. the field of the broken loins.

VI. 12. Nomi no Sukune remained and served the Emperor.

B.C. 15. 15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The five women of Tamba were sent for and placed in the side-court. The name of the first was Hibasu-hime, of the second Nuba-tani-iri-hime, of the third Matonu-hime, of the fourth Azami-ni-iri-hime, and of the fifth Takano-hime.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Hibasu-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress, and the Empress's three younger sisters were made concubines. Only Takano-hime, on account of the ugliness of her form, was sent back to her own country. Accordingly in her shame at being sent back, when she came to Kadono, she purposely tumbled from the carriage and was killed. Therefore that place received the name of Ochi-kuni.[2] The present name, Oto-kuni, is a corruption of this. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto had three sons and two daughters. The eldest was called Ini-shiki-iri-hiko no Mikoto, the second Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the third Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto, the fourth Yamato-hime no Mikoto, and the fifth Wakaki-ni-iri-biko no Mikoto. The concubine Nuba-tani-iri-hime gave birth to Nuteshi-wake no Mikoto and Ika-tarashi-bime no Mikoto. The next concubine Azami-ni-iri-bime gave
VI. 13. birth to Ike-haya-wake no Mikoto and Waka-asa-tsu-hime no Mikoto.

B.C. 7. 23rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 2nd day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"Prince Homutsu-wake is now thirty years of age.[3] His beard is eight span long, yet he weeps like an infant, and never speaks. What can be the reason of this?" So he caused Commissioners to consider the matter.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Emperor stood before the Great Hall, with the Imperial Prince Homutsu-wake in attendance on him. Now there was a swan which crossed the Great Void, uttering its cry. The Imperial Prince looked up,

[1] The "Kojiki" (*vide* Ch. K., p. 197) makes only four princesses, and in another passage only two. [2] Fall-country.

[3] The "Kojiki" makes this Prince born at the time of Saho-hiko's rebellion, i.e. in the fifth year of Suinin Tennō's reign. The "Nihongi" is less precise, but it is plain from the narrative that he cannot have been thirty at this time.

and seeing the swan, said:—"What thing is this?" The Emperor, observing that the Imperial Prince had gained his speech on seeing the swan, was rejoiced, and commanded his courtiers, saying:—"Which of you will catch this bird and present it to me?" Thereupon, Amano Yukaha Tana, the ancestor of the Tottori[1] no Miyakko, addressed his Majesty, saying:—"Thy servant will surely catch it, and present it to thee." So the Emperor declared to Yukaha Tana, saying:—"If thou present this bird to me, I will certainly reward thee liberally." Now, Yukaha Tana, looking from afar towards the quarter whither the swan had flown, followed in search of it to Idzumo and there captured it.

Some say "To the land of Tajima."

VI. 14. 11th month, 2nd day. Yukaha Tana presented the swan to the Emperor. Homutsu-wake no Mikoto played with this swan and at last learned to speak. Therefore, Yukaha Tana was liberally rewarded, and was granted the title of Tottori no Miyakko.[2] In consequence there was further established the Be of bird-catchers, the Be of bird-feeders,[3] and the Homu-tsu Be.

B.C. 5. 25th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor commanded the five Daibu,[4] Takenu Kaha-wake, ancestor of the Abe no Omi, Hiko-kuni-fuku,[5] ancestor of the Wani no Omi, Oho-kashima, ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, Tochine, ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji, and Take-hi, ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, saying:—"The sagacity of our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-iniye, was displayed in wisdom: he was reverential, intelligent and capable. He was profoundly unassuming, and his disposition was to cherish self-abnegation. He adjusted the machinery of Government, and did solemn worship to the Gods of Heaven VI. 15. and Earth. He practised self-restraint and was watchful as to

[1] Tottori for tori-tori, i.e. bird-catcher, is the name of a number of places in Japan, notably of the capital of the province of Inaba.

[2] Lord of the bird-catchers. The Chinese character for title is 姓, which means properly family name, surname. But, as this instance shows, such appellations were primarily official designations. Then they became hereditary titles, and in the last place were attenuated into mere surnames.

[3] Tori-kahi-be. [4] Daibu, great man, is a general term for high officials.

[5] Both these men are named in Sūjin Tennō's reign, 10th year, eighty-five years before.

his personal conduct. Every day he was heedful for that day. Thus the weal of the people was sufficient, and the Empire was at peace. And now, under Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth?"[1]

3rd month, 10th day. Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was taken from Toyo-suki-iri-hime no Mikoto,[2] and entrusted to Yamato-hime no Mikoto. Now Yamato-hime no Mikoto sought for a place where she might enshrine the Great Goddess. So she proceeded to Sasahata in Uda. Then turning back from thence, she entered the land of Ohomi, and went round eastwards to Mino, whence she arrived in the province of Ise.

VI. 16. Now Ama-terasu no Oho-kami instructed Yamato-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"The province of Ise, of the divine wind,[3] is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this land I wish to dwell." In compliance, therefore, with the instruction of the Great Goddess, a shrine was erected to her in the province of Ise. Accordingly an Abstinence Palace was built at Kaha-kami in Isuzu. This was called the palace of Iso. It was there that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami first descended from Heaven.

One story is that the Emperor made Yamato-hime no Mikoto to be his august staff,[5] and offered her to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami. Thereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, and having enshrined her at Idzu-kashi no Moto in Shiki,[6] offered sacrifice to her. Thereafter, in compliance with the Goddess's instructions, she, in Winter, the 10th month of the year Hinoto

[1] This speech is thoroughly Chinese. It contains numerous phrases borrowed from the Chinese classics.

[2] She had been appointed B.C. 92, eighty-seven years before.

[3] This is a stock epithet (makura kotoba) of this province.

[4] Abstinence Palace or Worship Palace. "On the accession of an Emperor, an unmarried Princess of the Imperial House was selected for the service of the Shrine of Ise, or if there was no such unmarried Princess, then another Princess was fixed upon by divination and appointed worship-princess (齋王). The Worship-Palace was for her residence." Shintō miômoku ruijiushô, III. 23. See above, note to p. 41.

[5] i e. assistant or deputy.

[6] In Yamato. Idzu means sacred; kashi is the name of a tree; moto means bottom.

Mi,[1] on the 18th day, removed to the Palace[2] of Watarahi in the province of Ise. At this time the Great God of Yamato inspired Ohominakuchi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi, and admonished (the Emperor by his mouth), saying:—"At the time of the Great Beginning, it was covenanted that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami should govern all the Plain of Heaven, and that her august Imperial descendants should hold absolute rule over the eighty spiritual beings of the Central Reed-plain Land. My personal tenure of the governance of the great land is already at an end. But although the worship of the Gods in Heaven and Earth was maintained by the late Emperor Mimaki, he failed to search out the root of the matter in its details; he was wanting in thoroughness, and stopped short at the leaves and branches. Therefore that Emperor was short-lived.[3] For this reason do thou, our august descendant, now show regret for the shortcomings of the late Emperor and be watchful in regard to the ceremonies of worship. If thou dost so, the life of thine augustness will be long, and moreover the Empire will have peace." VI. 17.

Now when the Emperor heard these words, he caused Fukayu nushi, the ancestor of the Nakatomi no Muraji, to use divination in order to discover who should be appointed to conduct the worship of the Great God of Yamato. Thereupon Nunaki-waka-hime no Mikoto answered to the divination, and was consequently appointed. A sacred plot of ground was fixed on in the village of Anashi, and worship performed at Point[4] Naga-oka of Oho-chi. But this Nunaki-waka-hime no Mikoto's body was already all emaciated, so that she was unable to do sacrifice, and therefore Nagaochi no Sukune, ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe, was made to offer the sacrifices.

26th year, Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Emperor B.C. 4.

[1] Corresponding to the 26th year of Suinin Tennō's reign, or B.C. 4.

[2] Or shrine.

[3] He died at the age of 120, or 168 if we take the "Kojiki" as an authority. This is one of numerous indications that the chronology of this period is worthless.

[4] The word misaki (point) is used both of a promontory and of a spur of a hill. Naga-oka is long-hill.

commanded the Mononobe, Tochine no Oho-muraji,[1] saying:—

VI. 18. "We have repeatedly despatched messengers to the Land of Idzumo to inspect the divine treasures of that Land, but we have had no clear report. Do thou go thyself to Idzumo, and having made inspection, attest them." So Tochine no Oho-muraji, having examined and attested the divine treasures, made a clear report thereof to His Majesty. He was accordingly appointed to the charge of the divine treasures.

B.C. 3. 27th year, Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Department of Worship was made to ascertain by divination what implements of war would be lucky as offerings to the Gods. Consequently bows, arrows, and cross-swords were deposited in the shrines of all the Gods. The land and houses consecrated to their service were fixed anew, and they were sacrificed to in due season. The practice of offering weapons in sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth probably had its origin at this time. This year granaries were erected in the village of Kume.[2]

B.C. 2. 28th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, the Emperor's younger brother by the mother's side, died.

11th month, 2nd day. Yamato-hiko was buried at Tsukizaka in Musa. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the misasagi. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them.

VI. 19. The Emperor, hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved in heart, and commanded his high officers, saying:—"It is a very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it, if it is bad? From this time forward, take counsel so as to put a stop to the following of the dead."[3]

[1] Great-village-elder. This word is nearly equivalent to Prime Minister.

[2] As explained above, Kume is probably a variant of the Chinese word for army. There is at present a village of this name in Yamato, but it was no doubt originally the barrack quarter, and the storehouses here referred to were to contain grain for the food of the army. The original commentary gives miyake as the Japanese name for these granaries. At a later period the miyake were local government offices.

[3] The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 174) says that this was the first time a hedge of

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Emperor commanded Inishiki no Mikoto and Oho-tarashi-hiko no A.D. 1.

men was set up round a tumulus. But the "Nihongi's" statement that it was an old custom must be correct.

This custom is too much in accordance with what we know of other races in the barbaric stage of culture to allow us to doubt that we have here a genuine bit of history, though perhaps the details may be inaccurate, and the chronology is certainly wrong. In an ancient Chinese notice of Japan we read that "at this time (A.D. 247) Queen Himeko died. A great mound was raised over her, and more than a hundred of her male and female attendants followed her in death."

Funeral human sacrifice for the service of the dead is described by Dr. Tylor ("Primitive Culture," i. 458) as "one of the most wide-spread, distinct, and intelligible rites of animistic religion. Arising in the lower barbaric stage, it develops itself in the higher, and thenceforth continues or dwindles in survival." He proceeds to quote numerous examples of it from all parts of the world, and from many ages of history.

It is well known to have existed among the Manchu Tartars and other races of North-Eastern Asia until modern times. The Jesuit missionary Du Halde relates that the Emperor Shunchi, of the T'sing dynasty (died 1662), inconsolable for the loss of his wife and infant child, "signified by his will that thirty men should kill themselves to appease her manes, which ceremony the Chinese look upon with horror, and was abolished by the care of his successor"—the famous Kanghi.

Another missionary, Alvarez Semedo, in his history of the Tartar invasion, says :—"The Tartarian King vowed to celebrate his Father's Funerals with the lives of two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of China. For it is the custome of the Tartars, when any man of quality dieth, to cast into that fire which consumes the dead corpse as many Servants, Women and Horses with Bows and Arrows as may be fit to atend and serve them in the next life."

This custom was also practised in China in the most ancient times, though long condemned as barbarous. Confucius disapproved of it. An ode in the "Sheking" (Legge, iv. i. 198) laments the death of three brothers who were sacrificed at the funeral of Duke Muh, B.C. 621. When the Emperor She Hwang-ti died, B.C. 209, his son Urh said, "My father's palace ladies who have no children must not leave the tomb," and compelled them all to follow him in death. Their number was very great. For other cases see a paper by Mayers in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society, new Series, xii.

A King of Kokuryö in Corea died A.D. 248. He was beloved for his virtues, and many of his household wished to die with him. His successor forbade them to do so, saying that it was not a proper custom. Many of them, however, committed suicide at the tomb. "Tongkam," iii. 20.

In A.D. 502, Silla prohibited the custom of burying people alive at the

Mikoto, saying:—"Do ye each tell me the thing ye would dearly like to have." The elder Prince said:—"I should like to have a bow and arrows." The younger Prince said:—"I should like to have the Imperial Dignity." Thereupon the Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let the desire of each of you be complied with." So a bow and arrows were given to Inishiki no Mikoto, and a decree was addressed to Oho-tarashi hiko no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou must succeed to Our Dignity."

A.D. 3. 32nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto died.

One version has Hibasu ne no Mikoto.

Some time before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"We have already recognized that the practice of following the dead is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial?" Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came forward and said:—"It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an expedient which I will submit to Your Majesty." So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Idzumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' Be. He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' Be to take clay and form therewith
VI. 20. shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he presented to the Emperor, saying:—"Henceforward let it be the law for future ages to substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up at tumuli." Then the Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying:—"Thy expedient hath greatly pleased Our heart." So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. And a

funerals of the sovereigns. Before this time five men and five women were put to death at the King's tomb. "Tongkam," v. 5.

Cases of suicide at the tomb of a beloved lord or sovereign have not been uncommon in Japan even in modern times. There was one in 1868.

The Japanese, like the Chinese, make no distinction between voluntary deaths and human sacrifices. Both are called jun-shi, a term which means "following in death." Indeed, as we may see by the Indian Suttee, it is often hard to draw the line between these two forms of what is really the same custom.

name was given to these clay objects. They were called *Hani-wa*.[1]

Another name is *Tatemono*.[2]

Then a decree was issued, saying:—"Henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli: let not men be harmed." The Emperor bountifully rewarded Nomi no Sukune for this service, and also bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the official charge of the clay-workers' Be. His original title was therefore changed, and he was called Hashi no Omi. This was how it came to pass that the Hashi no Muraji superintend the burials of the Emperors.[3]

The said Nomi no Sukune was the first ancestor of the Hashi no Muraji.[4] VI. 21.

34th year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a progress to Yamashiro. At this time his courtiers represented to him that there was in that country a beautiful person named Kambata no Tohe.[5] She was very handsome, and was the daughter of Fuchi of Ohokuni in Yamashiro. Hereupon the Emperor, spear in hand, made a vow, saying:—"I must be united to this beautiful person." On his way he saw an omen. A.D. 5.

[1] Clay-rings. [2] Things set up.

[3] The date ascribed to this incident cannot be depended on. At least Chinese accounts speak of the custom of human sacrifices at the burial of a sovereign as in full force in Japan so late as A.D. 247. Probably all the events of this part of Japanese history are very much antedated. But of the substantial accuracy of the narrative there can be no doubt. Some of these clay figures (known as tsuchi-ningiô) are still in existence, and one may be seen in the British Museum, where it constitutes the chief treasure of the Gowland collection. The Uyeno Museum in Tokio also possesses specimens, both of men and horses. None, however, remain in situ at the tombs. The hani-wa (clay-ring) cylinders which may now be seen embedded in the earth round all the principal misasagi are so numerous that they can hardly have all been surmounted by figures. But they are of the same workmanship and of the same date, and no doubt some of them are the pedestals of images, the above-ground part of which has been long ago destroyed by the weather or by accident.

A similar substitution of straw or wooden images for living men took place in China in ancient times, though by a curious inversion of ideas, the former practice is described as leading to the latter. See Legge's "Chinese Classics, Mencius," p. 9.

[4] Hashi (clay-worker) is also read hanishi, hashibe, or hasebe.

[5] As above stated, Tohe means chief.

When he was arriving at his lodging,[1] a large tortoise came out from the river. The Emperor raised his spear and thrust at

Tsuchi-ningiô. (Gowland Collection, British Museum.)

the tortoise, when it suddenly became changed into a white stone. Then the courtiers said:—" If one were only to think

[1] Literally, travelling-palace.

this out, it must prognosticate something." So Kambata no Tohe was sent for, and lodged in the hinder palace. She was the mother of Iha-tsuku-wake no Mikoto, who was the ancestor of the Kimi of Miho. Before this he had taken to wife Kari-hata-tohe, who bore him three sons. The first was called Oji-wake no Mikoto, the second Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, and the third I-take-wake no Mikoto.

Ika-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ishida. VI. 22.

35th year, Autumn, 9th month. Inishiki no Mikoto was sent to the province of Kahachi to construct the pond of Takashi, and the pond of Chinu. A.D. 6.

Winter, 10th month. He made the pond of Saki in Yamato, and the pond of Tomi. In this year, the various provinces were commanded extensively to excavate ponds and channels,[1] to the number of eight hundred and more. Much attention was thus paid to husbandry. Therefore the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

37th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was made Prince Imperial. A.D. 8.

39th year, Winter, 10th month. Inishiki no Mikoto, while dwelling in the palace at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, made a thousand swords. Therefore those swords were called the Kahakami set. A.D. 10.

Another name was the Naked[2] Companions.

They were deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. After this the Emperor gave orders to Inishiki no Mikoto, and made him to have charge of the divine treasures of the shrine of Iso no kami. VI. 23.

One version is:—"Whilst the Imperial Prince Inishiki dwelt at Kahakami of Udo in Chinu, he sent for a smith by name Kahakami, and made a thousand swords. At this time, the shield-makers' Be, the Japanese-figured-cloth-workers' Be, the sacred-bow-shavers' Be, the sacred-arrow-makers' Be,[3] the Oho-anashi Be, the Hatsu-kashi[4]

[1] For irrigation.

[2] So called because worn without a sheath.

[3] See above, p. 178.

[4] These are the names of villages. The "Shukai" editor suggests that they were allotted to the Prince for his support.

Be, the jewel-workers' Be, the Kami-osaka Be,[1] the Hi-oki[2] Be, and the sword-wearers' Be—the Be of ten articles altogether—were granted to the Imperial Prince Inishiki.

These thousand swords were deposited in the village of Osaka. They were afterwards removed from Osaka and deposited in the shrine of Iso no kami. At this time the God made a request, saying:—'Let the person named Ichikaha, of the family of the Omi of Kasuga, be made to attend to them.' Therefore by the Emperor's command,
VI. 24. Ichikaha was caused to attend to them. He was the first ancestor of the Mononobe[3] no Obito."

A.D. 58. 87th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Inishiki no Mikoto spake to his younger sister, Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto, saying:—"I am old, and unable to have charge of the divine treasures. Henceforward thou must have charge of them." Oho-naka-tsu-hime refused, saying:—"I am a feeble woman. How can I ascend to the divine storehouse of Heaven?"

Inishiki no Mikoto said:—"Although the divine storehouse[4] is high, I can make for the divine storehouse a ladder. How, then, should it be hard to ascend to the storehouse?" Hence the proverbial saying, "You can ascend even to the divine storehouse of Heaven, if you only plant a ladder." This was its origin. Ultimately Oho-naka-tsu-hime no Mikoto gave them to Mononobe no Tochine no Oho-muraji, and made him to have charge of them. Therefore the Mononobe no Muraji retain charge of the divine treasures of Iso no kami up to the present time. The above was the origin of this practice.

Formerly in the Land of Tamba, in the village of Kuwada, there was a man whose name was Mikaso. Now, in Mikaso's house there was a dog, by name Ayuki. This dog bit a wild animal called the *mujina*,[5] and killed it. In the animal's belly there was found a magatama of Yasaka gem. This gem was

[1] Osaka was the place where the swords were stored.

[2] Hi-oki means "daily offerings."

[3] The Mononobe were Imperial life guards.

[4] One of these storehouses, dating from the 8th century, may still be seen at Tōdaiji, Nara. It is raised on pillars some ten feet above the ground.

[5] A kind of badger.

accordingly offered to the Emperor, and is now in the shrine of Iso no kami. VI. 25.

88th year, Autumn, 7th month, 10th day. The Emperor A.D. 59. commanded the Ministers, saying:—"We hear that the divine treasures which the Silla Prince Ama no hihoko brought with him when he first came here are now in Tajima. They were originally made divine treasures because the people of that province saw that they were admirable. We desire to see these treasures." That same day messengers were despatched with the Imperial commands to Kiyo-hiko, great-grandson of Ama no hihoko, directing him to present them to the Emperor. Thereupon, Kiyo-hiko, when he received the Imperial orders, brought the divine treasures himself, and laid them before His Majesty. There was one Ha-buto gem, one Ashi-daka gem, one Uka no Akashi (red-stone) gem, one sun-mirror, and one Kuma-himorogi.[1] But there was one short sword called Idzushi,[2] which it suddenly occurred to Kiyo-hiko not to offer to the Emperor; so he concealed it in his clothing, and wore it himself. The Emperor, unaware of the circumstance of the concealment of the short sword, and wishing to be gracious to Kiyo-hiko, sent for him and gave him sake in the palace. Then the short sword appeared from among his garments and became visible. The Emperor saw it, and himself asked Kiyo-hiko, saying:—"What short sword is that in thy clothing?" Then Kiyo-hiko, seeing that he was unable to conceal the short sword, explained that it belonged to the divine treasures which he was laying before the Emperor. So the Emperor said to Kiyo-hiko:—"How is it possible for this divine treasure to be separated from its kind?" So he took it out and presented it to the Emperor, and all were deposited in the Sacred Treasury. Afterwards, when the Sacred Treasury was opened and inspected, the short sword had spontaneously disappeared. Accordingly, a messenger was sent to Kiyo-hiko, who inquired of him, saying:—"The short sword which thou hast presented to the Emperor has suddenly disappeared. Has it perchance come to thy place?" Kiyo-hiko answered, VI. 26. and said:—"Last night the short sword came of its own accord to thy servant's house; but this morning it has dis-

[1] Cf. above, p. 168. [2] Sacred-stone.

appeared." The Emperor was struck with awe, and made no further endeavour to find it. Afterwards the Idzushi short sword went of its own accord to the Island of Ahaji, where the people of the island considered it a God, and erected for the short sword a shrine, in which it is worshipped until this day.

Formerly there was a man, who riding in a ship, cast anchor in the land of Tajima. He was therefore asked, saying:—"Of what country art thou?" He answered and said:—"I am a son of the king of Silla, and my name is Ama no hihoko. So he dwelt in Tajima, and took to wife Mata no wo, daughter of Mahetsu mimi [One version has Mahetsu mi and another Futo-mimi] of that province, who bore to him Tajima Morosuke, the grandfather of Kiyo-hiko.

A.D. 61. 90th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded Tajima Mori to go to the Eternal Land[1] and get the fragrant fruit that grows out of season, now called the Tachibana.[2]

A.D. 70. 99th year, Autumn, 7th month, 14th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Maki-muku at the age of 140,[3] and in Winter, the 12th month, the 10th day, was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi, in Suga-hara.

VI. 27. The next year, Spring, the 3rd month, the 12th day, Tajima Mori arrived from the Eternal Land, bringing of the fragrant fruit that grows out of season eight sticks and eight bundles.[4]

Thereupon Tajima Mori wept and lamented, saying:—

"Receiving the Celestial Court's command,
Afar I went to a remote region:

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[1] Tajima Mori was apparently selected for this mission on account of his descent from a king of Silla. But the Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, can hardly have been Corea, where the Orange is little, if at all, grown in the present day. It was more likely China.

[2] The Orange, *vide* Ch. K., p. 198.

[3] The chronology, as usual, will not bear investigation.

[4] The meaning of the characters which I have thus rendered is doubtful. The corresponding passage in the "Kojiki" is corrupt and equally obscure. I do not feel sure that Motoöri has cleared it up quite satisfactorily, in spite of the amount of recondite learning he has brought to bear on it.

Cf. Ch. K., p. 199.

Ten thousand ri I crossed the waves,
Distantly I passed over the weak water.[1]
This Eternal Land
Is no other than the mysterious realm of Gods and Genii
To which ordinary mortals cannot attain;
Therefore in going thither and returning
Ten years have naturally passed.
Beyond my expectation, I braved alone the towering billows,
Turning my way again towards my own land.
Thus, trusting in the spirits of the Emperors,
I hardly accomplished my return.
But now the Emperor is dead,
I am unable to report my mission.
Though I should remain alive,
What more would it avail me?"[2]

Then turning his face towards the misasagi of the Emperor, he wept aloud, and so of himself he died. When the ministers heard of it they all shed tears.

Tajima Mori was the first ancestor of the Miyake[3] no Muraji.

[1] Said by the Chinese to be north of Fuyu (in Manchooria). It does not support ships.

[2] The sentiment and diction of this speech are thoroughly Chinese. It is not exactly poetry, but nearly so.

[3] Miyake, written with characters which mean "three storehouses." Mi, however, is more probably the honorific prefix.

BOOK VII.

THE EMPEROR OHO-TARASHI-HIKO-OSHIRO-WAKE.

(*KEIKŌ*[1] *TENNO.*)

THE Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake was the third child of the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi. The Empress his mother was named Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Prince Michi no ushi of Tamba. The Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi, in the 37th year of his reign, raised him to the rank of Prince Imperial. He was then twenty-one years of age. In the 99th year of his reign, Spring, the second month, the Emperor Iku-me-iri-hiko-isachi died.

A.D. 71. 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The chronological epoch was altered accordingly. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 72. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The elder lady[2] of Inabi in Harima was appointed Empress.

Another version has:—"The younger lady of Inabi in Harima."

VII. 2. She had two sons, the first of whom was named the Imperial Prince Oho-usu, and the second Wo-usu no Mikoto.

In one writing it is said:—"The Empress bore three sons. The third was named the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko."

The Imperial Prince Oho-usu and Wo-usu no Mikoto were born as twins[3] on the same day with the same placenta. The

[1] Great road or great conduct. [2] Oho-iratsume.

[3] There seems to have been a question which of twins was to be considered the elder. One idea was that the last born should be senior, because he occupied the higher place in the womb.

Emperor, wondering at this, informed the mortar.[1] Therefore he gave these two Princes the names of Great Mortar (Oho-usu) and Little Mortar (Wo-usu). Now this Wo-usu no Mikoto was also called Yamato Woguna and again Yamato-dake no Mikoto.[2] Whilst a child he had a manly spirit; when he arrived at manhood his beauty was extraordinary. He was a rod in height, and his strength was such that he could lift a tripod.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Divination was made as to whether the Emperor should make a progress to the Land of Kii to perform sacrifices to all the Gods of Heaven and Earth. It was found to be unlucky, and the Imperial car was accordingly countermanded. Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro A.D. 73.

[1] The Chinese character used here is 碓, which properly means a pestle, and is more particularly applied to that arrangement of a mortar and pestle in which the latter is set on a pivot and worked by the foot. This is called the Kara-usu in Japan. Here, however, is one of those cases where we must put aside the Chinese character and be guided by the Japanese word, which is unquestionably *usu*, a term applied to any arrangement for hulling or grinding grain. The usu is properly the mortar rather than the pestle (*kine*), but it is used for the combination of both, and for querns or hand-mills, which are also in use in Japan.

The usu here referred to is probably of the kind shown in the annexed illustration. Stone pestles resembling in shape that in the right hand upper corner are among the stone implements figured in Kanda's work on this subject.

Pestle and Mortar.

Hardy, in his "Manual of Buddhism," p. 158, says:—"The eastern pestle is found in every house, and is connected with as many superstitions and ceremonies as the besom among the old wives of Europe."

The "Shukai" editor suggests that by Great Mortar and Little Mortar the lower and upper stones of the hand-mill were meant. But there is no reason to doubt the statement below (A.D. 610) that hand-mills were first introduced in Suiko's reign.

[2] Woguna means boy, Yamato-dake means hero of Yamato. It is by the last of these names that he is best known to posterity.

[3] A Chinese phrase.

no Mikoto [one version has Take-wi-goro] was sent and caused
VII. 3. to do sacrifice. Hereupon Ya-nushi-oshiho-dake-wo-goro no Mikoto went thither, and stayed at Kashihara in Abi, where he sacrificed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. He lived here for nine years, and took to wife Kage-hime, the daughter of Uji-hiko, who was the ancestor of the Ki no Atahe.[1] She was the mother of Takechi no Sukune.

A.D. 74. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mino. His courtiers represented to him, saying :—"In this province there is a handsome woman named Oto-hime, of perfect beauty. She is the daughter of the Imperial Prince Yasaka Irihiko." The Emperor wished to obtain her to be his consort, and went to the house of Oto-hime.[2] Oto-hime, hearing that the Emperor was coming in his carriage, straightway concealed herself in a bamboo-grove. Hereupon the Emperor provisionally caused Oto-hime to go and reside in the Kuguri Palace, and letting loose carp in a pond, amused himself by looking at them morning and evening. Now Oto-hime wished to see the carp sporting, so she came secretly and stood over the pond. The Emperor forthwith detained her, and had intercourse with her. Hereupon Oto-hime thought :—"The way of a husband and wife is the prevailing rule both now and of old time. But for me it is not convenient." So she besought the Emperor, saying :—"Thy handmaiden's disposition is averse to the way of conjugal
VII. 4. intercourse. Unable to withstand the awe of the Imperial commands, she has been placed for a while within the curtain. But it gives her no pleasure. Her face too is hideous, and she is unworthy of being added to the side courts. Thy handmaiden, however, has an elder sister, by name Yasaka Iri-hime, of a beautiful countenance, and also of a virtuous disposition. Let her be placed in the hinder palace." The Emperor assented, and having summoned Yasaka Iri-hime, made her his consort. She bore to him seven sons and six daughters. The name of

[1] In this passage the province now known as Kii is called indifferently *Ki* or *Kiï*.

[2] Oto-hime means simply "younger lady." There are frequent cases in the "Nihongi" where a woman seems to have no other name than "elder lady" or "younger lady."

the first was the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, of the second the Imperial Prince Iho-ki Iri-hiko, of the third the Imperial Prince Oshi-wake, of the fourth the Imperial Prince Waka-Yamato-neko, of the fifth the Imperial Prince Oho-su-wake, of the sixth the Imperial Princess Nunoshi, of the seventh the Imperial Princess Nunaki, of the eighth the Imperial Princess Ihoki no Iri-hime, of the ninth the Imperial Princess Kako-yori-hime, of the tenth the Imperial Prince Isaki no Iri-hiko, of the eleventh the Imperial Prince Kibi no Ye-hiko, of the twelfth the Imperial Princess Takaki no Iri-hime, and of the thirteenth the Imperial Princess Oto-hime.

Again he took as consort the Lady[1] Midzuha, younger sister of Ihaki-wake, of the Miho House, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Ihono. His next consort, named Ikaha-hime, bore to him the Imperial Prince Kami-kushi[2] and the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko. The elder of these two, the Imperial Prince VII 5.
Kami-kushi, was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of Sanuki. The younger, the Imperial Prince Inase no Iri-hiko, was the first ancestor of the Harima no Wake.[3] His next consort was named Takada-hime, daughter of Kogoto of the Abe House, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Take-kuni Kori-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Wake of Mimura, in the Province of Iyo. His next consort, named Oho-tane-hime, of Kami-naga in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Prince Hiuga no Sotsu-hiko. He was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Amu.[4] His next consort, named Sotake-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, the Imperial Prince Kuni-se-wake [one version has the Imperial Prince Miya-chi-wake] and the Imperial Prince Toyoto-wake. The elder of these, the Imperial Prince Kuni-chi-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of Minuma. The youngest brother, the Imperial Prince Toyo-to-wake, was the first ancestor of the Wake of the Province of Hi.[5]

Now the children of the Emperor, male and female, from VII. 6.
first to last, numbered eighty in all. With the exception, however, of Yamato-dake no Mikoto, the Emperor Waka-

[1] Iratsume. [2] Divine-comb.

[3] Wake, separation, branch, was a title which implied descent from the Imperial line.

[4] In Nagato. [5] Now Hizen and Higo in Kiushiu.

tarashi-hiko and the Imperial Prince Ihoki no Iri-hiko, the other seventy and odd children were all granted fiefs[1] of provinces and districts, and each proceeded to his own province. Therefore, those who at the present time are called Wake of the various provinces are the descendants of these separated (wakare) Princes.[2]

In this month, the Emperor, hearing that the daughters of Kambone, Mino no Miyakko, the elder's name being Ane-toho-ko, and the younger's being Oto-toho-ko, were both of distinguished beauty, sent Oho-usu no Mikoto with orders to examine the countenance of these women. Now Oho-usu no Mikoto had secret intercourse with them, and did not report his mission. For this reason the Emperor was wrath with Oho-usu no Mikoto.

Winter, the 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor returned from Mino and removed the capital to Maki-muku. This was called the palace of Hi-shiro.

A.D. 82. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Kumaso[3] rebelled, and did not bring tribute.

VII. 7. 8th month, 15th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsukushi.[4]

9th month, 5th day. On arriving at Saha in Suwo, the Emperor, standing with his face to the south,[5] addressed his Ministers, saying:—"To the southwards, smoke rises abundantly. There must certainly be brigands there." So he halted, and sending in advance Take-moro-gi, ancestor of the Omi of Oho, Unade, ancestor of the Omi of Kusaki, and Natsu-bana, ancestor of the Kimi of the Mononobe, made them to reconnoitre. Now there was here a woman, by name

[1] This points to something like a feudal system. But the analogy to European feudalism must not be too closely pressed. Cf. Ch. K., p. 203.

[2] This omits to notice that *Wake* is a much older term.

[3] The country of the Kumaso was the southern part of the island of Kiushiu corresponding to the present provinces of Hiuga, Ohosumi, and Satsuma. Kuma and So are the names of two tribes.

[4] Tsukushi is used in two senses. It sometimes stands for the whole island of Kiushiu, sometimes for only the northern part of it, viz. the two provinces of Chikugo and Chikuzen.

[5] The Emperor of China stands with his face to the south on state occasions. But here it seems only to mean that the Emperor looked southwards.

Kamu-nashi-hime, whose followers were exceedingly numerous. She was the chieftain of that whole country. When she heard that the Emperor's messengers had arrived, she broke off branches of the hard wood of Mount Shitsu. On the upper branch[1] she hung an eight-span sword, on the middle branch she hung an eight-hand mirror, and on the lower branch a Yasaka jewel. She also hoisted a white flag on the bow of her ship, and having come to meet them, addressed them, saying:—"I beseech you, do not have recourse to arms. None of my people, I assure you, are rebellious. They will presently submit themselves to virtue.[2] But there are mischievous brigands. The name of one is Hanatari.[3] He has assumed an unauthorized title. In the mountains and valleys he has called men together, and is encamped at Kahakami in Usa. Another is called Mimi-tari.[4] He is a mischievous brigand, rapacious, frequently plundering the people. He dwells at Kahakami in Mike. The third is called Asa-hagi. He has VII. 8.
secretly assembled a following, and dwells at Kahakami in Takaha. The name of the fourth is Tsuchi-wori-wi-wori.[5] He lives concealed at Kahakami[6] in Midori no, and relying solely on the difficulties of the mountains and rivers, plunders the people greatly. All the places to which these four have betaken themselves are strong places. Each of them therefore makes his relations chiefs of one place, and they all say they will not obey the Imperial command. I pray you attack them suddenly, and fail not."

Hereupon Take-moro-gi and the others first enticed the followers of Asa-hagi, and gave them presents of trowsers of red material and all manner of curious objects. Then having made them beckon to the four unsubmissive men, who came accompanied by their followers, they seized them and put them all to death.

The Emperor ultimately pursued his journey to Tsukushi, and arrived at the district of Nagawo in the province of Buzen,

[1] It was the ancient custom in Japan to deliver letters or presents fastened to branches of trees.

[2] To the Emperor's virtuous influence.

[3] Nose-depend.

[4] Ear-depend.

[5] Earth-break-well-break.

[6] Kaha-kami means the upper course of a river.

where he erected a travelling palace and dwelt there. Therefore the name of that place was called Miyako.[1]

Winter, 10th month. He arrived in the Land of Ohokida. The form of this region is wide and beautiful. Therefore it was called Ohokida.[2]

When he came to the village of Hayami, there was there a woman named Haya-tsu-hime. She was chieftain[3] of one place. When she heard that the Imperial car was coming, she went out in person to meet the Emperor, and reported to him, saying:—"In this mountain there is a great cavern called the Rat's Cave. There are two Tsuchi-gumo[4] who dwell in this cave. One is called Awo,[5] and the other Shira.[6] Again
VII. 9. at Negino, in the district of Nawori, there are three Tsuchi-gumo. The name of the first is Uchi-zaru,[7] of the second Yata,[8] and of the third Kunimaro.[9] These five men are alike mighty of frame, and moreover have numerous followers. They all say that they will not obey the Imperial command. If their coming is insisted on, they will raise an army and offer resistance." The Emperor, provoked by this, could not advance on his journey. So he halted at the village of Kutami, where he erected a temporary palace muro, and dwelt therein. Then he consulted with his Ministers, saying:—"Let us now put in motion a numerous army and slay the Tsuchi-gumo. If, fearing the might of our arms, they should conceal themselves in the mountains and moors, they will assuredly do future mischief." Accordingly he gathered camellia trees, and made of them mallets for weapons. Then selecting his bravest soldiers, he gave them the mallet-weapons. Therewith they pierced through the mountains, cleared away the grass, and attacking the Tsuchi-gumo of the cave,[10] defeated them at Kahakami in Inaba. The whole band were killed, and their blood flowing reached to the ancle. Therefore the men of that day called

[1] Capital. [2] Great field.

[3] The reader will observe that there are numerous cases of the "monstrous regiment of women" in these old legends.

[4] See above, p. 129. [5] Green or blue. [6] White.

[7] Strike-monkey. [8] Eight-fields.

[9] Country-fellow. Note again that the Tsuchi-gumo have Japanese names, and inhabit old-settled parts of Japan.

[10] The interlinear gloss has iha-muro, rock-muro.

the place where the camellia mallets were made Tsubaki-no-ichi,[1] and the place where the blood flowed they called Chida.[2] Then, in order to attack Uchi-zaru, he crossed straight over Mount Negi. At this time the arrows of the enemy, shot cross- VII. 10.
wise from the mountain, fell like rain in front of the Imperial army. The Emperor retreated to Shiro-hara, where he made divination on the river-bank, and accordingly arraying his troops, he first attacked Yata on the moor of Negi, and defeated him. Upon this Uchi-zaru felt that he could not gain the victory, and prayed that his submission should be accepted. This, however, was refused, and they all flung themselves into a ravine and were killed. In the beginning, when the Emperor was about to attack the enemy, he made a station on the great moor of Kashihawo. On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot five inches in thickness. The Emperor prayed, saying:—"If we are to succeed in destroying the Tsuchi-gumo, when we kick this stone, may we make it mount up like a Kashiha leaf." Accordingly he kicked it, upon which, like a Kashiha leaf, it arose to the Great Void. Therefore that stone was called Homishi.[3] The Gods whom he prayed to at this time were the God of Shiga, the God of the Mononobe of Nawori, and the God of the Nakatomi of Nawori—these three Gods.

11th month. He arrived at the Land of Hiuga, and erected a travelling palace, wherein he took up his residence. This was called the palace of Takaya.

12th month, 5th day. Counsel was held how they should attack the Kumaso. Hereupon the Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"We have heard that in the Land of the Kumaso there are two men named Atsukaya and Sakaya, who are the leaders of the Kumaso. Their followers are exceedingly VII. 11.
numerous, and are called the eighty Kumaso braves. It will be better not to touch their spear-points. For if we raise a small force, it will be insufficient to exterminate the brigands, while if a large army is put in motion, the people will suffer harm. Is there no means of subduing this country without active measures, and without resorting to the might of arms?" Then

[1] Camellia market. [2] Blood-field.
[3] For fumi-ishi, i.e. kicking-stone.

one of the ministers stood forward and said:—"A Kumaso brave has two daughters, the elder named Ichi-fukaya, and the younger Ichi-kaya. Their beauty is perfect, and their hearts are brave. Offer valuable presents, and under the pretence of bestowing them beneath thy standard, take advantage of this to gain intelligence of the enemy, and attack them unawares. So without ever a sword-edge being stained with blood, the enemy will surely yield themselves up." The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let it be so." Thereupon the presents were offered, and the two women, deceived by them, were bestowed beneath the tent. The Emperor straightway had intercourse with Ichi-fukaya, and made a show of affection for her. Then Ichi-fukaya told the Emperor, saying:—"Be not anxious lest the Kumaso should not submit. Thy handmaiden has an excellent plan. Let me have one or two soldiers to follow me." She then returned to her home, and prepared much strong sake, which she made her father drink. He became drunk and lay down to sleep. Ichi-fukaya then secretly cut her father's bowstring. Thereupon one of the soldiers who had escorted her came up and killed the Kumaso brave. The Emperor was provoked by such excessively unfilial conduct and put Ichi-fukaya to death. But Ichi-kaya he gave to the
VII. 12. Miyakkò of the Land of Ki.

A.D. 83. 13th year, Summer, 5th month. The Kumaso country having been all subdued, the Emperor accordingly dwelt in the palace of Takaya. When he had lived there six years, there was a beautiful woman in that country named Mihakashi-hime.[1] So he took her and made her his concubine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Toyo-kuni-wake. He was the first ancestor of the Miyakko of the Land of Hiuga.

A.D. 87. 17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 12th day. The Emperor made a progress to the district of Koyu,[2] where he visited the little moor of Nimo. Then looking down towards the east, he said to his courtiers:—"This country faces directly the quarter of the Rising Sun." Therefore he named that country Hiuga.[3] On this day he mounted upon a great stone in the middle of the moor, and feeling a longing for the capital, made this poetry:—

[1] The lady of the august sword. [2] In Hiuga.
[3] For Hi-muka, i.e. sun-fronting.

Oh! how sweet!
From the quarter of my home, VII. 13.
Clouds arising come hither!
Yamato
Is the most secluded of lands.
Yamato
Retired behind Mount Awo-gaki,
Which encompasses it in its folds,
Is beautiful.
Let those whose lives are sound
Stick (in their hair) by way of headdress
Branches of the white evergreen oak
Of Mount Heguri—
(Fold within fold).
This child![1]

This is called a song of longing for one's country.

18th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, when about to A.D. 88. turn his way towards the capital, made a tour of inspection to the Land of Tsukushi.[2] He first arrived at Hina-mori. There was at this time on the bank of the River Ihase a crowd of men assembled. The Emperor, looking down on them from afar, addressed his courtiers, saying:—"Who are these men who are assembled? Are they an enemy?" So he sent two men, Hinamori the Elder and Hinamori the Younger, to see. Now Hinamori the Younger returned and reported, saying:—"Idzumi-hime, the Kimi of Muro-kata, is about to VII. 14 offer your Majesty a banquet, and therefore have people gathered together."

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Emperor arrived at the district of Kuma. In this place there were two brothers called Kuma-tsu-hiko.[3] The Emperor first sent to summon Kuma the Elder to him. Accordingly he came along with the messenger. Then he summoned Kuma the Younger, but he would not come. Therefore he sent soldiers and put him to death.

[1] The text and interpretation of this poem present considerable difficulty, and the above rendering is in parts only tentative. The "Kojiki" makes three distinct poems of it, and attributes them to Yamato-dake no Mikoto. Cf. Ch. K., p. 219. Awo-gaki means green-fence. "Fold within fold" is a mere epithet, or makura-kotoba, of Mount Heguri.

[2] Tsukushi is here evidently the northern part of the island.

[3] Prince of Kuma.

11th day. Proceeding by the sea route, he anchored at a small island in Ashikita, where he partook of food. Then he told Wo-hidari, ancestor of the Yama no Ahiko,[1] to give him some cold water. Just at this time there was no water in the island, and he did not know what to do. So looking up, he prayed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth, when suddenly a cool spring bubbled forth from the side of a cliff. This he drew and put before the Emperor. Therefore that island was called Midzushima.[2] That spring still exists in the cliff of Midzushima.

5th month, 1st day. Setting sail from Ashikita, he proceeded to the Land of Hi.[3] Here the sun went down, and the night being dark, they did not know how to reach the shore. A fire was seen shining afar off, and the Emperor commanded the helmsman, saying:—"Make straight for the place where the fire
VII. 15. is." So he proceeded towards the fire, and thus was enabled to reach the shore. The Emperor made inquiry respecting the place where the fire was, saying:—"What is the name of this village?" The people of the land answered and said:—"Toyomura, in the district of Yatsushiro." Again he made inquiry respecting the fire:—"Whose fire is this?" But no owner could be found, and thereupon it was known that it was not a fire made by man. Therefore that country was called Hi no Kuni.[4]

6th month, 3rd day. He crossed over from the district of Takaku to the village of Tamakina. At this time he killed a Tsuchi-gumo of that place called Tsudzura.

16th day. He arrived at the Land of Aso.[5] The level tracts of that Land were wide and far-reaching, but no dwellings of men were to be seen. The Emperor said:—"Are there any people in this country?" Now there were two Deities, one called Aso-tsu-hiko, and the other Aso-tsu-hime, who suddenly assuming human form, sauntered forward and said:—"We

[1] Ahiko appears to be a title similar to Atahe, Sukune, etc. It is derived by the Japanese commentators from a, I, my, and hiko, prince.

[2] Water-island.

[3] Now Hizen and Higo.

[4] The Land of Fire.

[5] The name Aso is preserved in Mount Aso, a very curious volcanic mountain in the province of Higo.

two are here. How can it be said that there are no men?" Therefore that place was called Aso.[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. He arrived at Mike[2] in the further Land of Tsukushi,[3] where he dwelt in the temporary Palace of Takata. Now there was here a fallen tree 970 rods in length. The hundred functionaries passed backwards and VII. 16.
forwards stepping on this tree. The people of that day made a song, saying:—

The morning hoar-frost[4]
August tree pole-bridge!
The Lords of the Presence
Pass over it—
The august tree pole-bridge!

The Emperor inquired, saying:—"What tree is this?" There was there an old man who said:—"This tree is a Kunugi tree.[5] Before it fell down, when the rays of the morning sun fell on it, it overshadowed the Hill of Kishima; when the rays of the evening sun fell on it, it covered Mount Aso." The Emperor said:—"This tree is a divine tree. Therefore let this country be called the Land of Mike."[6]

7th day. He reached the district of Yame, where, crossing VII. 17.
Mount Mahe, he looked down to the south upon Aha no Saki, and spake, saying:—"The peaks and glens of this mountain follow each other fold upon fold. They are exceedingly beautiful. May it be that a God dwells in this mountain?" Then Saru-ohomi,[7] the Agata-nushi of Minuma, represented to the Emperor, saying:—"There is a female Deity named Yame-tsu hime, who dwells always among these mountains." This is therefore the reason why this country is called the Land of Yame.

8th month. He arrived at the village of Ikuha,[8] where he

[1] Aso is a dialectical variation for nanzo or nazo, how or why.
[2] August tree. [3] Now Chikugo.
[4] Morning hoar-frost is a makura-kotoba. The only connection between it and the rest of the poem is that hoar-frost melts, and that ke (for ki) tree is also the first syllable of kesu, to melt. The Presence is of course the Imperial Presence.
[5] Quercus Serrata, Hepburn. [6] August tree.
[7] Monkey-great-sea. [8] In Chikugo.

partook of food. On this day the stewards left behind the drinking cup. Wherefore the men of that day called the place where the drinking cup had been forgotten Ukuha. The present name Ikuha is a corruption of this. In old times the common people of Tsukushi called a drinking-cup Ukuha.

A.D. 89. 19th year, Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The Emperor arrived from Hiuga.

A.D. 90. 20th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Princess Ihono was made to sacrifice to Ama-terasu no Oho-kami.

A.D. 95. 25th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Takechi no Sukune was commissioned to inquire into the geography of the various provinces of the Northern[1] and Eastern[2] circuits and the condition of the people.

A.D. 97. 27th year, Spring, 2nd month, 12th day. Takechi no Sukune returned from the East Country and informed the Emperor, saying:—"In the Eastern wilds there is a country
VII. 18. called Hitakami.[3] The people of this country, both men and women, tie up their hair in the form of a mallet, and tattoo their bodies. They are of fierce temper, and their general name is Yemishi. Moreover, their land is wide and fertile. We should attack them and take it."

Autumn, 8th month. The Kumaso again rebelled, and made unceasing inroads on the frontier districts.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto was sent to attack the Kumaso. He was at this time sixteen years of age. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said:—"I desire to take with me some good archers. Where are there any good archers?" Some one told him, saying:—"In the province of Mino there is a good archer named Oto-hiko-gimi." Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto sent Miyado-hiko, a man of Katsuraki, and summoned to him Oto-hiko-gimi. Therefore Oto-hiko-gimi came and brought with him Ishiura no Yokotachi, Tako no Inaki,[4] and Chichika no Inaki of the province of Ohari, and followed Yamato-dake no Mikoto on his expedition.

[1] Including Mutsu and Dewa.

[2] Or Adzuma, the region round what is now Tokio.

[3] Sun-height. So called from its eastern position. Hi-tachi, sun-rise, is a name of similar purport.

[4] One of the lower ranks of the local nobility.

12th month. Having arrived at the Land of Kumaso, he inquired into the state of things, and the character of the country in respect of facilities of access. Now the Kumaso had a leader named Torishi-kaya, also called the Brave of Kahakami, who assembled all his relations in order to give them a banquet. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto let down his hair, and disguising himself as a young girl, secretly waited until the banquet should be given by the Brave of Kahakami. Then with a sword girded on him underneath his inner garment, he entered the banqueting muro of the Brave of Kahakami and remained among the women. The Brave of Kahakami, enchanted with the beauty of the young girl, forthwith took her by the hand, and made her sit beside him. He also offered her the cup, and made her drink, and thus amused himself with her. By and by the night grew late, and the company fewer. Also the Brave of Kahakami became intoxicated. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto drew the sword which he had in his inner garments, and stabbed the Brave of Kahakami in the breast, but did not kill him outright. The Brave of Kahakami, bowing down his head to the ground, said:—"Wait a little. I have something to say." Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto stayed his sword and waited. The Brave of Kahakami addressed him, saying:—"Who is thine Augustness?" He answered and said:—"I am the child of the Emperor Ohotarashi-hiko, and my name is Yamato Woguna." The Brave of Kahakami again spake to him, saying:—"I am the strongest man in all this land, and therefore none of the men of this time can excel me in might, and none refuses to be my follower. I have met with many valiant men, but none as yet could match the Prince. Therefore this despicable robber, from his filthy mouth, offers thine Augustness a title. Wilt thou accept it?" He said:—"I will accept it." So he spake to him, saying:—"Henceforward in speaking of the Imperial Prince, let him be styled the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake."[1] When he had done speaking Yamato-dake pierced his breast through and killed him. Therefore up to the present day he is styled Yamato-dake no Mikoto. This was the origin of it. VII. 19.

[1] The champion of Japan.

Afterwards he despatched Oto-hiko and the others, who slew all that band, leaving not a chewer,[1] and when this was
VII. 20. done, he returned by sea to Yamato. Arriving at Kibi, he crossed the Ana Sea. In this place there was a malignant Deity, whom he forthwith slew. Again, turning northwards, he arrived at Naniha,[2] where he killed the malignant Deity of the Kashiha ferry.

A.D. 98. 28th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto reported to the Emperor how he had subdued the Kumaso, saying:—"Thy servant, trusting in the Emperor's Divine Spirit,[3] by force of arms, at one blow, suddenly slew the Kumaso chieftain and reduced that whole country to peace. In this way the Western Land is now quiet, and the people are undisturbed. Only the God of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi and the God of the Ferry of Kashiha at Naniha, both, with mischievous intent, sent forth a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued. Both of them formed centres of calamity. Therefore I killed all those evil Deities, and have thrown open the roads by land and water alike." The Emperor upon this commended the good service done by Yamato-dake no Mikoto, and bestowed extraordinary affection on him.

A.D. 110. 40th year, Summer, 6th month. There was wide rebellion of the Eastern wilds, and the frontier was in a state of tumult.

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying:—"The Eastern country is now in an unquiet state, and turbulent Deities have sprung up in numbers. Moreover the Yemishi have rebelled to a man and frequently carry off the people. Whom shall I send to still this disturbance?" But none of the Ministers knew whom to send. Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant it was who formerly performed the labour of the expedition to the West. This campaign must be the business of the Imperial Prince Oho-usu." But the Imperial Prince Oho-usu was afraid, and ran to conceal himself among the grass. Accordingly a messenger was sent to fetch him. Hereupon the Emperor chid him, saying:—"If thou dost not

[1] i.e. a living soul. [2] The modern Ohosaka.
[3] Very nearly the Latin *numen*.

wish it, shall We insist on sending thee? Why all this alarm, VII. 21.
whilst thou hast not yet confronted the enemy?" Accordingly he eventually granted him Mino as a fief, and so he went to his government. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Kimi of Muketsu and the Kimi of Mori. Upon this Yamato-dake no Mikoto, striking a martial attitude, said:—"Not many years have passed since I subdued the Kumaso. Now the Yemishi of the East have made a fresh rebellion. When shall we arrive at a universal peace? Thy servant, notwithstanding that it is a labour to him, will speedily quell this disturbance." So the Emperor took a battle-axe,[1] and giving it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, said:—"We hear that the Eastern savages are of a violent disposition, and are much given to oppression: their hamlets have no chiefs, their villages no leaders, each is greedy of territory, and they plunder one another. Moreover, there are in the mountains malignant Deities, on the moors there are malicious demons, who beset the highways and bar the roads, causing men much annoyance. Amongst these Eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful, their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father and child. In winter they dwell in holes, in summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs, and they drink blood.[2] Brothers are suspicious of one another. In ascending mountains they are like flying birds; in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds. When they receive a favour, they forget it, but if an injury is done them they never fail to revenge it. Therefore they keep arrows in their top-knots and carry swords VII. 22.
within their clothing. Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier. At other times they take the opportunity of the harvest to plunder the people. If attacked, they conceal themselves in the herbage; if pursued, they flee into the mountains. Therefore ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilizing influences.

[1] Motoöri points out this as an instance where the desire to imitate his Chinese models has caused the author of the "Nihongi" to introduce Chinese things which have no business in a Japanese narrative. The "Kojiki" says it was a spear of holly eight fathoms long.

[2] The "Liki" speaks of the ancient Chinese living on fruits and the flesh of wild beasts and drinking their blood.

Now We mark that thou art mighty of stature and thy countenance is of perfect beauty, thou hast strength sufficient to raise tripods, thy fierceness is like thunder and lightning, wherever thou dost turn thy face, there is none to stand before thee; whenever thou dost attack thou dost surely conquer. This we know, that whereas in outward form thou art Our child, in reality thou art a God. Truly Heaven, commiserating Our want of intelligence and the disturbed condition of the country, has ordained that thou shouldst order the Heavenly institution, and save the monarchy from extinction. Moreover, this Empire is thy Empire, and this Dignity is thy Dignity. I adjure thee to exercise profound policy and far-reaching foresight in searching out iniquity and watching against crises. Admonish with majesty; comfort with kindness. Avoid having recourse to arms, and thou wilt naturally inspire loyal obedience. So by cunning words thou mayst moderate the violent Deities, and by a display of armed force sweep away malignant demons." [1]

Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto received the battle-axe, and, bowing twice, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"But few years have elapsed since my former expedition to the West, when, trusting in the might of the Imperial spirit, I, with a sword three feet in length, conquered the land of Kumaso, and
VII. 23. the rebel chiefs yielded themselves to punishment. Now again, trusting in the spirits [2] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and in reliance on the Imperial might, I am proceeding to the frontier. I will admonish them by gentle teaching, and if any remain unsubmissive, I will smite them with arms." So he again bowed twice. Then the Emperor commanded Kibi no Take-hiko and Ohotomo no Take-hi no Muraji to follow Yamato-dake no Mikoto. He also appointed Nana-tsuka-hagi his steward.

[1] This speech cannot be received as a document of Japanese history. It is a cento of reminiscences of Chinese literature.

[2] Numina.

[3] Hirata says that Japanese surnames were taken from offices or avocations, names of places, parents' names, circumstances, or objects. I suppose he would have included under circumstances such personal peculiarities as that which suggested the name Nana-tsuka-hagi, literally "Seven-span-shanks."

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. Yamato-dake no Mikoto set out on his journey.

7th day. He turned aside from his way to worship at the shrine of Ise. Here he took leave of Yamato-hime[1] no Mikoto, saying:—"By order of the Emperor, I am now proceeding on an expedition against the East to put to death the rebels, therefore I am taking leave of thee." Hereupon Yamato-hime no Mikoto took the sword Kusa-nagi and gave it to Yamato-dake no Mikoto, saying:—"Be cautious, and yet not remiss."

This year Yamato-dake no Mikoto first reached Suruga. The brigands of this place made a show of obedience, and said, deceivingly:—"On this moor there are large deer in very great plenty. Their breath is like the morning mist, their legs are like a dense wood. Do thou go and hunt them." Yamato-dake no Mikoto believed these words, and, going into the middle of the moor, sought for game. The brigands, desiring to kill the Prince, set fire to the moor. But the Prince, seeing VII. 24.
that he had been deceived, produced fire by means of a fire-drill,[2] and, kindling a counter-fire, succeeded in making his escape.

> One version says:—"The sword Mura-kumo,[3] which the Prince wore, wielded itself, and mowed away the herbage near the Prince, thus enabling him to escape. Therefore that sword was called Kusa-nagi."[4]

The Prince said:—"I was almost betrayed." So he burnt all that robber-band and exterminated them. Therefore that place was called Yaketsu.[5]

Next he marched on to Sagami, whence he desired to proceed to Kadzusa. Looking over the sea, he spake with a loud voice, and said:—"This is but a little sea:[6] one might even

[1] She was appointed priestess B.C. 5, and we are now at A.D. 110, by the common chronology.

[2] The interlinear gloss and the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 211) have hi-uchi, or fire-striker, by which a flint and steel is doubtless meant. A fire-drill was known to the ancient Japanese, as appears from the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 104) and other authorities, and it is actually in use at present to produce fire for sacred purposes. See a paper by Satow, in "J.A.S.T.," VI. 223.

[3] Assembled-clouds.

[4] The herbage mower.

[5] Port or ferry of burning.

[6] The bay of Yedo.

jump over it." But when he came to the middle of the sea a storm suddenly arose, and the Prince's ship was tossed about, so that he could not cross over. At this time there was a concubine in the Prince's suite, named Oto-tachibana-hime. She was the daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune of the Hodzumi House. She addressed the Prince, saying:—"This present uprising of the winds and rushing of the waves, so that the Prince's ship is like to sink, must be due to the wishes of the God of the Sea. I pray thee let me go into the sea, and so let the person of thy mean handmaiden be given to redeem the life of the Prince's Augustness." Having finished speaking, she plunged into the billows. The storm forthwith ceased, and the ship was enabled to reach the shore. Therefore the people of that time called that sea Hashiri-midzu.[1]

VII. 25. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto, going by way of Kadzusa, changed his route, and entered the Land of Michi no oku.

At this time a great mirror was hung upon the Prince's ship. Proceeding by the sea route, he went round to Ashi no ura and crossed aslant to Tama no ura.[2] When he arrived at the Yemishi frontier, the chiefs of the Yemishi, Shima-tsu-kami and Kuni-tsu-kami,[3] encamped at the harbour of Take, with the intention of making resistance. But when they saw the Prince's ship from afar, they feared his majesty and power, and knew in their hearts that they could not gain the victory over him. They all flung away their bows and arrows, bowed down towards him, and said:—"When we look upon thy face, we see that it is more than human. Art thou perchance a Deity? We desire to know thy name." The Prince answered and said:—"I am the son of a Deity of visible men." Hereupon the Yemishi were all filled with awe. They gathered up their skirts and, plunging into the waves, of their own accord assisted the Prince's ship to reach the shore. Then, with their hands bound behind them, they submitted themselves for punishment. He therefore pardoned their offence, and having made prisoners their chieftains, caused them to be his personal attendants. The Yemishi having been

[1] Running-water. [2] In Shimōsa.
[3] Literally, Gods of the Islands and Gods of the Continent.

subdued, he returned from the country of Hitakami, and proceeding to the south-west, passed through Hitachi, and arrived at the Land of Kahi, where he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori. VII. 26. At this time a light was kindled and he partook of food. On this night he made a song, in which he inquired of those in attendance on him, saying :—

> Since I passed Tsukuba,
> And Nihibari,
> How many nights have I slept?

None of his attendants was able to answer him. Now there was a man who had charge of the lights, who made a song, in continuation of the Prince's, saying :—

> Counting the days—
> Of nights there are nine nights,
> Of days there are ten days.

Therefore the Prince commended his intelligence and liberally rewarded him.[1]

Now while he was residing in this palace, he granted to Take-hi, the ancestor of the Ohotomo no Muraji, the Yuki[2] Be. Thereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto said :—"All the wicked chiefs of the Yemishi have submitted to the punishment of their crimes. Only in the Land of Shinano and the Land of Koshi there are a considerable number who are not yet obedient to the civilizing influence." So from Kahi he turned towards the north, and passing through Musashi and Kōdzuke, he went westward as far as the Usuhi-saka.[3] Now Yamato-dake no VII. 27. Mikoto always thought with regret of Oto-tachibana-hime. Therefore, when he ascended to the summit of Usuhi and looked down towards the south-east, he sighed three times, and said, "Alas! my wife!" Therefore the provinces east of the mountains were given the name of Adzuma.[4]

Here he sent Kibi no Takehiko by a different road to the Land of Koshi, and caused him to examine the character of the country as regards means of access, and also whether the people were tractable or not. So Yamato-dake no Mikoto advanced

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 214. [2] Quiver.
[3] Now known as the Usuhi Tōge (pass) on the Nakasendō road.
[4] Aga tsuma means my wife.

into the province of Shinano. This is a Land of high mountains and profound valleys. Verdant summits are piled up ten thousand fold, so that for men with staff in hand they are hard to ascend. The cliffs are precipitous, and are girt with flying bridges.[1] Many thousand are the hill-ranges, where even with slackened reins the horse makes no progress. Yet Yamato-dake no Mikoto, bursting through the smoke, and braving the mists, distantly crossed Mount Oho-yama. He had already reached the summit when he became hungry and had food on the mountain. The God of the mountain plagued the Prince. He assumed the form of a white deer and stood before him. The Prince, wondering at this, took a stick of garlic, and jerked it
VII. 28. at the white deer, striking it in the eye and killing it.[2] Here the Prince suddenly lost his way and could find no issue. Then a white dog came of its own accord, and made a show of guiding the Prince. Following the dog, he proceeded on his way, and succeeded in coming out into Mino. Kibi no Take-hiko, coming out from Koshi, met him. Before this when any one crossed the Shinano pass, he inhaled so much of the breath of the Deity that he became ill and lay down. But after the white deer was killed, the travellers who crossed that mountain chewed garlic,[3] and smearing with it men, kine, and horses, preserved them from being affected by the Deity's breath.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, having returned back again to Ohari, straightway took to wife a daughter of the Ohari House, by name Miyazu-hime, and tarried there until the next month. Here he heard that on Mount Ibuki in Afumi there was a savage Deity. So he took off his sword, and leaving it in the house of Miyazu-hime, went on afoot. When he arrived at Mount Ibuki, the God of the mountain took the shape of a
VII. 29. great serpent, and posted himself on the road. Hereupon

[1] Kake-hashi, a bridge supported on poles driven into the side of a cliff. Common in some mountainous parts of Japan.

[2] Ch. K., 213.

[3] "Another popular device (in Scotland) for frightening away witches and fairies was to hang bunches of garlic about the farms." "Auld Licht Idylls," by J. M. Barrie.

Dennys, in his "Folk-lore of China," mentions several cases of the use of garlic or onions to keep away evil spirits.

Yamato-dake no Mikoto, not knowing that it was the master God who had become a serpent, said to himself:—"This serpent must be the Savage Deity's messenger. Having already slain a master God, is a messenger worth hunting after?" Accordingly he strode over the serpent and passed on. Then the God of the mountain raised up the clouds, and made an icy rain to fall. The tops of the hills became covered with mist, and the valleys involved in gloom. There was no path which he could follow. He was checked and knew not whither to turn his steps. However, braving the mist, he forced his way onwards, and barely succeeded in finding an issue. He was still beside himself like a drunken man. He therefore sat down beside a spring at the foot of the mountain, and, having drunk of the water, recovered his senses. Therefore that spring was called the Wi-same[1] spring.

It was at this time that Yamato-dake no Mikoto first became ill. The disease gradually increased and he returned to Ohari. Here he did not enter the house of Miyazu-hime, but passed on to Ise and reached Otsu.[2] Formerly, in the year when Yamato-date no Mikoto was proceeding eastwards, he halted on the shore at Otsu and partook of food. At that time he took off a sword which he laid down at the foot of a fir-tree. Eventually he went away forgetting it. When he now came to this place, the sword was still there. Therefore he made a song, saying:—

Oh! thou single pine-tree!
That art right opposite
To Ohari—
Ah me—thou single pine-tree!
If thou wert a man,
Garments I would clothe thee with,
A sword I would gird on thee.

When he came to the moor of Nobo, his sufferings became very severe. So he made an offering of the Yemishi whom he had captured to the Shrine of the God.[3] He therefore sent Kibi no Take-hiko to report to the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant having received the command of the Celestial Court, undertook a distant expedition to the wilds of the East, where VII. 30.

[1] Sit-sober.

[2] Not Ôtsu on the southern shore of Lake Biwa, but a place in Ise.

[3] As slaves.

by the favour of the Gods, and trusting in the mighty power of the Emperor, I made the rebellious to submit themselves for punishment, and the violent deities to become moderate. Therefore I rolled up my armour, laid aside my weapons, and was returning peacefully. It was my hope on such a day at such an hour to report my mission to the Celestial Court.[1] But the life allotted me by Heaven has unexpectedly approached an end. Passing swiftly as a four-horse carriage passes a crack in the road, it may not be stayed. Alone I lay me down on the waste moor with none to say a word to me. But why should I regret the loss of this body? My only grief is that I cannot meet thee."

Having said so, he died on the moor of Nobo. He was then thirty years of age. When the Emperor heard it, he could not sleep peacefully on his couch, nor was the taste of food sweet to him. Night and day his voice was choked with grief: with tears and lamentations he beat his breast. Therefore he exclaimed aloud, saying:—"Oh! Our son, Prince Wo-usu!
VII. 31. Formerly when the Kumaso revolted he was still a boy. But for a long time he bore the labour of campaigning. Afterwards he was constantly at Our side, supplying Our deficiencies. Then when the troubles with the Eastern savages arose, there was no one else whom We could send to smite them, so in spite of Our affection for him, We sent him into the country of the enemy. No day passed that we did not think of him. Therefore morning and evening We longingly awaited the day of his return. Oh! what a calamity! Oh! what a crime! While We least expected it, we suddenly lost Our child. Henceforth with whom to help us shall we manage the vast institution?"

So he commanded his ministers and through them instructed the functionaries[2] to bury him in the misasagi of Nobo Moor in the Land of Ise.

Now Yamato-dake no Mikoto, taking the shape of a white bird, came forth from the misasagi, and flew towards the Land of Yamato. The Ministers accordingly opened the coffin, and looking in, saw that only the empty clothing remained, and

[1] This sentence is in the "Shukai" edition introduced at the end of this speech.

[2] Lit. the hundred bureaus.

that there was no corpse. Thereupon messengers were sent to follow in search of the white bird. It stopped on the plain of Kotobiki in Yamato. Accordingly in that place a misasagi was erected. The white bird flew on again until it reached Kahachi, where it rested in the village of Furuchi, and in this place also a misasagi[1] was erected. Therefore the men of VII. 32. that day called these three misasagi "the white bird misasagi."[2] At last it soared aloft to Heaven, and there was nothing buried but his clothing and official cap. The Emperor, wishing to perpetuate the fame of his services, established the Takeru[3] Be. This was in the 43rd year of the Emperor's reign.

51st year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Emperor A.D. 121. summoned his Ministers, and feasted them for several days. Now the Imperial Prince Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto and Takechi no Sukune did not come to the Banqueting Court. The Emperor sent for them and asked the reason. Therefore they represented to the Emperor, saying:—"On a day of festival, the Ministers and functionaries must have their minds bent on jollity, and they do not think of the State. In view of the possibility of there being madmen, who might watch for an unprotected space in the ramparts, we remain on guard beneath the Gate[4] and provide against emergencies." Then the Emperor spake and said:—"Splendid!" So he showed them an extraordinary affection.

Autumn, 8th month, 4th day. Waka-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. On this day Takechi no Sukune was appointed Prime Minister.

The cross-sword Kusanagi, which was at first worn by VII. 33. Yamato-dake no Mikoto, is now in the shrine of Atsuta in the district of Ayuchi, in the province of Ohari. Now the Yemishi who had been presented to the shrine brawled day and night, and were disrespectful in their goings out and comings in. Then Yamato-hime no Mikoto said:—"These Yemishi should not be allowed near the shrine." Accordingly she sent them up

[1] I have seen this tumulus. It is a very large double mound surrounded by a moat.

[2] Shira-tori no Misasagi. Many of the tumuli are favourite resorts of the white egret, whence doubtless the name.

[3] Or Take, brave.

[4] Mikado means "august gate."

to the Court, where they were made to settle beside Mount Mimoro. Ere long they cut down all the trees of the sacred mountain. They shouted and bawled in the neighbouring villages and threatened the people. The Emperor, hearing this, summoned his Ministers, and said :—" The Yemishi who were placed beside the sacred mountain have by nature the hearts of beasts. They cannot be allowed to dwell in the inner country." So he caused them to be stationed without the home provinces, in any places which they pleased. They were the ancestors of the present Saheki[1] Be of the five provinces of Harima, Sanuki, Iyo, Aki, and Aha.

VII. 34. In the beginning Yamato-dake no Mikoto took the Imperial Princess Futachi-iri-hime, and made her his consort.[2] She bore Prince Ineyori-wake, next the Emperor Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko,[3] next Nuno oshi-iri-hime no Mikoto, and next Prince Waka-take. The eldest of these, Prince Ineyori-wake, was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Inu-gami and of the Kimi of Takebe. Another consort, named Kibi no Anato no Take-hime, daughter of Kibi no Take-hiko, bore to him Prince Take-miko and Prince Towoki-wake. The elder of these, Prince Take-miko, was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Aya in Sanuki. Prince Towoki-wake was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Wake in Iyo. His next consort, Oto-tachibana hime, daughter of Oshiyama no Sukune, of the Hodzumi House, bore to him Prince Waka-take-hiko.

VII. 35. A.D. 122. 52nd year, Summer, 5th month, 4th day. The Empress Harima no Oho-iratsume died.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress.

A.D. 123. 53rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying :—" When will Our longing for Our son cease? We desire to make a tour of inspection to the region subdued by Prince Wo-usu." In this month he

[1] The Chinese characters for Saheki mean "Assistant-Chief." It is apparently a Chinese word and not Japanese, and therefore it seems out of place in the history of a period long previous to the introduction of Chinese learning. But, however unhistorical this narrative may be, it goes to prove that there is an Aino element in the Japanese nation.

[2] She was his aunt.

[3] Chiuai Tennô.

mounted into his carriage and made a progress to Ise; where, turning aside, he entered the East Sea provinces.

Winter, 10th month. He arrived at the province of Kadzusa, whence by the sea-route he crossed over to the harbour of Aha.

At this time the Emperor, hearing the cry of a fish-hawk, wished to see the bird's form. So he went out upon the sea in search of it, and caught clams. Hereupon the ancestor of the Kashihade no Omi,[1] by name Ihaka Mutsukari, made shoulder-straps of bulrushes, and preparing a hash of the clams, put it before the Emperor. Therefore he commended the service rendered by the Omi Ihaka Mutsukari, and granted him the Stewards' Ohotomo Be.

12th month. The Emperor returned from the Eastern country and dwelt in Ise. This was called the Kambata Palace.

54th year, Autumn, 9th month, 19th day. From Ise the Emperor returned to Yamato, and dwelt in the Palace of Makimuku. VII. 36. A.D. 124.

55th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. Prince Hiko-sajima was appointed Governor-general of the fifteen provinces of the Tô-san-dô.[2] He was a grandson of Toyoki no Mikoto. But when he arrived at the village of Anashi in Kasuga he fell ill and died. A.D. 125.

At this time the people of the Eastern Land, grieved that the Prince did not arrive, secretly purloined his body, and buried it in the land of Kōdzuke.[3]

56th year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded Prince Mimoro-wake, saying:—"Thy father, Prince Hiko-sajima, was unable to proceed to his governorship and died prematurely. Therefore do thou undertake the absolute rule of the Eastern Land." So Mimoro-wake no Mikoto, having received the Emperor's commands, and being also desirous of accomplishing his father's work, straightway proceeded thither, and undertook the government. He had already attained to a A.D. 126.

[1] Stewards. [2] East-mountain-road.

[3] Several ancient tumuli near the village of Ohomuro in this province are perhaps the tombs of this dynasty of governors. They are described in a paper by Satow, in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VIII., p. 327.

good administration when the Yemishi made a disturbance. So he raised an army and attacked them. Then the Yemishi chieftains, Ashi-furi-he, Oho-ha-furi-he, and Tohotsu Kura-ho-he bowed their heads to the ground and came; they made deep obeisance and accepted punishment, offering him all their territory without exception. Therefore he pardoned those who surrendered, and put to death those who would not submit. On this account the Eastern Land was for a long time free from trouble. Therefore his descendants are to this day in the Eastern Land.

A.D. 127. VII. 37. 57th year, Autumn, 9th month. The Pool of Sakate was constructed, and the embankment planted with bamboos.

Winter, 10th month. It was commanded that every province should erect granaries of the labourers' Be.[1]

A.D. 128. 58th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Land of Ohomi, and dwelt in Shiga for three years. This was called the Palace of Taka-Anaho.

A.D. 130. 60th year, Winter, 11th month, 7th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Taka-Anaho at the age of 106.

THE EMPEROR WAKA-TARASHI-HIKO.

(*SEIMU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko was the fourth child of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake. The name of the Empress his mother was Ya-saka-iri-hime no Mikoto, daughter of the Imperial Prince Ya-saka-iri-hiko. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the 46th year of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, being then aged twenty-four years. In the 60th year of his reign, Winter, the 11th month, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko died.

A.D. 131. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. This year was the year Kanoto Hitsuji (8th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 132. 2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 10th day. The Emperor

[1] Cf. Ch. K., p. 205.

[2] Accomplish-functions.

Oho-tarashi-hiko was buried in the misasagi over the road at Yamanobe in the province of Yamato.

The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. VII. 38.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. Takechi no Sukune was made Prime Minister. In the beginning the Emperor was born on the same day with Takechi no Sukune, and he therefore had an extraordinary affection for him. A.D. 133.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko, was clear-sighted and of divine valour. When he became subject to the scheme[1] and received over the plan he ruled Heaven and was in accordance with Man. He swept away the banditti, and restored right. His virtue was like a canopy, his path harmonized with development. Therefore in all the land under Universal Heaven there was none who did not recognize him as Sovereign. Of all things endowed with life and possessed of soul were there any which did not find their place? A.D. 134. VII. 39.

We have now succeeded him in the occupation of the precious felicity. Morning and night we tremble and fear. But the people are like wriggling worms, and will not reform the savagery of their hearts. In the provinces and districts there are no Lords, in the villages there are no Chiefs.[2] Henceforward let there be established Lords in the provinces, and let there be Chiefs placed in the villages. Accordingly let men of ability of the provinces be taken and appointed Chiefs over provinces and districts, so as to form a defence for the Inner Country."[3]

5th year, Autumn, 9th month. A decree was issued to all the provinces establishing Miyakko (governors) in the provinces and districts, and Inaki[4] in the villages. All were granted A.D. 135.

[1] The scheme of the permutations of the five elements. "Thus water is said to overcome fire and so forth. Each dynasty is believed to be subject to the influence of the element which overcomes that prevailing with the previous dynasty, and all human affairs are referable to the same occult influence." Mayers' Manual, p. 317. This whole speech is intensely Chinese.

[2] This cannot be correct.

[3] i.e. the Gokinai.

[4] Inaki is literally rice-castle, i.e. granary. The office seems to be something like mayor. It subsequently became a mere title, and eventually a surname.

shields and spears as emblems of authority. So the mountains and rivers were made boundaries for the separation of one province and district from another, whilst the bounds of townships and villages were established by means of lanes. In this way East and West were reckoned as in a line with the sun,
VII. 40. while North and South were reckoned as athwart the sun.[1] The sunny side of the mountains was called the light-face and the shady side of the mountains the back-face.[2]

In this way the people had tranquil possession of their dwellings, and the Empire was at peace.

A.D. 178. 48th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor appointed his nephew Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko no Mikoto Prince Imperial.[3]

A.D. 190. 60th year, Summer, 6th month, 11th day. The Emperor died, aged 107.

[1] Meaning lanes running N. and S. and lanes running E. and W.

[2] The modern division of the provinces between Kiôto and Shimonoseki, the Sanyōdo and Sanindo, rests on this distinction.

[3] His own son had perhaps died.

BOOK VIII.

THE EMPEROR TARASHI-NAKATSU-HIKO.

(*CHIUAI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko was the second child of Yamato-dake no Mikoto. The Empress[2] his mother was called Futachi-iri-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Emperor Ikume-iri-hiko isachi. The Emperor's countenance was of perfect beauty, and his stature was ten feet. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the forty-eighth year of the Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko, being at this time thirty-one years of age. The Emperor Waka-tarashi-hiko having no male offspring, appointed him as his successor. In the sixtieth year of his reign the Emperor died, and in the following year, Autumn, the 9th month, 6th day, was buried in the Tatanami misasagi in Saki, in the province of Yamato.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. A.D. 192.

Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. The Empress-mother was granted the honorary title of Grand Empress.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"The Prince, Our father, died before We reached the status of a youth. His divine spirit became changed into a white bird and ascended to Heaven. Our longing re- VIII. 2. gard for him knows not a day's intermission. Therefore it is Our wish to procure white birds and to keep them in the pond[3] within the precincts of the misasagi, so that, looking on these birds, we may comfort our feelings of longing." Orders were

[1] Chiu means the middle one of three sons; ai, to be sad, to grieve.

[2] She was not Empress.

[3] The misasagi are surrounded with a moat.

therefore sent to the various provinces to send tribute of white birds.

Intercalary 11th month, 4th day. The province of Koshi sent tribute of four white birds. Now the messengers who were sent with the birds stayed for the night on the bank of the river Uji. Then Prince Gama-mi-wake, of Ashigami, seeing the white birds, made inquiry, saying:—"Whither are you taking these white birds?" The men of Koshi answered and said:—"The Emperor, out of his longing for the Prince, his father, intends to keep them as pets. Therefore do we bring them as tribute." Prince Gama-mi-wake spake to the men of Koshi, saying:—"These may be white birds, but when they are roasted they will become black birds." So he forcibly seized the white birds and carried them away. Hereupon the men of Koshi came and reported to the Emperor, who was indignant at the affront offered by Prince Gama-mi-wake to the late Prince, and sending troops, put him to death.

Prince Gama-mi-Wake was the younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother. The people of that time said:—"A father is Heaven, an elder brother is a Lord; how can he escape execution who is wanting in respect to Heaven, and who thwarts his Lord?"[1]

This year was the year Midzunoye Saru (9th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 193. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Oki-naga-tarashi-hime was appointed Empress. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as consort Oho-nakatsu-hime, daughter of his uncle Hiko-bito Ohine. She bore to him the Imperial Prince
VIII. 3. Kakosaka and the Imperial Prince Oshikuma. Next he took to him as consort Oto-hime, daughter of Oho-saka-nushi,[2] the ancestor of the Miyakko of Kukumada. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Homuya wake.

2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor made a progress to Tsunoga,[3] where he erected a temporary palace and dwelt in it. This was called the Palace of Kehi. In the same month the granary of Ahaji was established.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor made a tour of inspec-

[1] These phrases are Chinese, and therefore an anachronism in a history of this period.

[2] Great-sake-master.

[3] Tsuruga.

tion to the Southern provinces. Hereupon he left behind the Empress and the functionaries, and with two or three High officials[1] and several hundred officers in attendance, he proceeded, thus lightly equipped, as far as the land of Kiï, where he dwelt in the Palace of Tokorotsu. At this time the Kumaso rebelled and did not bring tribute. The Emperor thereupon prepared to smite the Land of Kumaso, and starting from Tokorotsu, borne over the sea, he made a progress to Anato. On the same day he sent messengers to Tsunoga and commanded the Empress, saying:—"Set out straightway from that harbour and meet me at Anato."

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. The Emperor anchored in the harbour of Toyora, while the Empress, who had set out from Tsunoga on her way there, arrived at the Strait of Nuta, and partook of food on board her ship. A great many tahi assembled beside the ship. The Empress sprinkled sake upon the tahi, which forthwith became drunk VIII. 4.
and floated to the surface. Then the fishermen, having caught numbers of these tahi, were delighted, and said:—"They are the fish given us by our wise sovereign." Therefore the fish of that place, when the sixth month comes, are in the habit of floating belly upwards as if they were drunk. This was the origin of it.

Autumn, 7th month, 5th day. The Empress anchored in the harbour of Toyora. On this day the Empress found in the sea a Nyoi[2] pearl.

9th month. The Emperor erected a Palace in Anato, and dwelt in it. It was called the Palace of Toyora in Anato.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Emperor proceeded to Tsukushi. At this time Kuma-wani,[3] the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Oka, hearing of the Emperor's arrival, pulled up beforehand a 500-branched Sakaki tree, which he set

[1] Daibu.

[2] The Nyoi (如意) is a sort of sceptre seen in the hands of Buddhist idols. It contains the Mani, one of the Sapta ratna, a fabulous pearl which is ever bright and luminous, and therefore a symbol of Buddha and of his doctrines.

A Buddhist term is of course an anachronism in this narrative.

[3] Bear (i.e. enormous), sea-monster, a fit name for a personage of a legendary narrative. See p. 61, note 3.

up on the bows of a nine-fathom ship. On the upper branches he hung a white-copper mirror, on the middle branches he hung a ten-span sword, and on the lower branches he hung Yasaka jewels. With these he went out to meet him at the Bay of
VIII. 5. Saha in Suwo, and presented to him a fish-salt-place.[1] In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying :—" Let the Great Ferry from Anato to Mukatsuno be its Eastern Gate and the Great Ferry of Nagoya[2] be its Western Gate. Let the Islands of Motori and Abe and none else be the august baskets: let the Island of Shiba be divided and made the august pans : let the Sea of Sakami be the salt-place." He then acted as the Emperor's pilot. Going round Cape Yamaga, he entered the Bay of Oka.

But in entering the harbour, the ship was unable to go forward. So he inquired of Kuma-wani, saying :—" We have heard that thou, Kuma-wani, hast come to us with an honest heart. Why does the ship not proceed?" Kuma-wani addressed the Emperor, saying :—" It is not the fault of thy servant that the august ship is unable to advance. At the entrance to this bay there are two Deities, one male and the other female. The male Deity is called Oho-kura-nushi,[3] the female Deity is called Tsubura-hime. It must be owing to the wish of these Deities." The Emperor accordingly prayed to them, and caused them to be sacrificed to, appointing his steersman Iga-hiko, a man of Uda in the province of Yamato, as priest.[4] So the ship was enabled to proceed. The Empress entered in a different ship by the Sea of Kuki. As the tide was out, she
VIII. 6. was unable to go on. Then Kuma-wani went back and met the Empress by way of Kuki. Thereupon he saw that the august ship made no progress, and he was afraid. He hastily made a fish-pond and a bird-pond, into which he collected all the fishes and birds. When the Empress saw these fishes and birds sporting, her anger was gradually appeased, and with the flowing tide she straightway anchored in the harbour of Oka.

[1] A salt-pan.

[2] Near Karatsu. It was from Nagoya that Hideyoshi's expedition sailed for Corea. By the salt-place is evidently meant the whole northern coast of Kiushiu. Salt is still made here, though the chief seat of this manufacture is now the shores of the Inland Sea. See Wileman in "T.A.S.J." XVII. 1.

[3] Great-magazine-lord.

[4] Hafuri.

Moreover, Itote, the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Ito[1] in Tsukushi, hearing of the Emperor's coming, pulled up sakaki trees of 500 branches, which he set up in the bow and stern of his ship. On the upper branches he hung Yasaka jewels, on the middle branches white-copper mirrors, and on the lower branches ten-span swords, and coming to meet the Emperor at Hikejima in Anato, presented them to him. In doing so, he addressed the Emperor, saying:—"As to these things which thy servant dares to offer, mayst thou govern the universe with subtlety tortuous as the curvings of the Yasaka jewels;[2] may thy glance survey mountain, stream and sea-plain bright as the mirror of white copper; mayst thou, wielding this ten-span sword, maintain peace in the Empire." Thereupon the Emperor commended Itote, and called him Isoshi. Wherefore the men of that time called the native place of Itote the Land of Iso. The present name Ito is a corruption of this.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived in the district of Naka. VIII. 7.
Here he dwelt in the palace of Kashihi.

Autumn, 9th month, 5th day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, and consulted with them as to attacking the Kumaso. At this time a certain God inspired the Empress and instructed her, saying:—"Why should the Emperor be troubled because the Kumaso do not yield submission? It is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worth while raising an army to attack it? There is a better land than this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman—the land of Mukatsu,[3] dazzling to the eyes. In that land there are gold and silver and bright colours in plenty. It is called the Land of Silla of the coverlets of paper-mulberry.[4] If thou worshippest me aright, that land will assuredly yield submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood.

[1] This place is mentioned by a Chinese traveller to Japan in the third century of our era. "There are" (he says) "hereditary kings in Ito, who all owe allegiance to the Queen country."

[2] No doubt Maga-tama are meant.

[3] Opposite.

[4] Taku-fusuma in Japanese. This is a pillow-word, prefixed to Silla, not in the least because coverlets of cloth woven from the inner bark of the paper-mulberry were in use in that country, but because Silla (in Japanese Shiraki) suggests Shira, white, and textiles of paper-mulberry were white. By "bright colours" is probably meant dyed textile goods.

Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as offerings, namely, the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields[1] called Ohota,[2] presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato." When the Emperor heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no land. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said:—"We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void?[3] Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperors Our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted." Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying:—"I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that
VIII. 8. there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shalt not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it."

The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated without having gained a victory.

A.D. 200. 9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor took suddenly ill, and died on the following day, at the age of 52.

One version says:—"The Emperor having gone in person to smite the Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain."

Thereupon the Empress and the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune suppressed the mourning for the Emperor, and did not allow it to be known to the Empire.

Accordingly the Empress commanded the Prime Minister, the Nakatomi[4] Ikatsu no Muraji, Oho-miwa no Ohotomo-

[1] i.e., rice lands. [2] Great fields.

[3] The sky. Corea is visible from the Japanese island of Tsushima, and must have been well known to the Japanese at this time. There has already been frequent mention of it in the "Nihongi" itself.

[4] Probably here used in its original signification of Middle Minister.

nushi no Kimi, Mononobe no Ikuhi no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Takemotsu no Muraji, saying:—"The Empire is still ignorant of the Emperor's decease. If the people were to know of it, there would be negligence." So she instructed the four high officials to cause the functionaries to keep watch within the Palace while the body of the Emperor was secretly taken up and entrusted to Takechi no Sukune. He removed it by sea to Anato, and buried it temporarily in the Palace of Toyora, giving it a fireless temporary burial.[1] VIII. 9.

22nd day. The Prime Minister, Takechi no Sukune, returned from Anato, and made his report to the Empress. This year, owing to the expedition against Silla, it was impossible to bury the Emperor.[2]

[1] The commentators say that for the sake of secrecy there were no lights used.

[2] An army of labourers was needed to build one of the enormous tumuli which were the fashion at this time.

BOOK IX.

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO.

(*JINGŌ*[1] *KŌGU.*)

OKINAGA-TARASHI-HIME NO MIKOTO was the great-grandchild of the Emperor Waka-Yamato-neko-hiko Ohohihi[2] and the daughter of Prince Okinaga[3] no Sukune. Her mother's name was Katsuraki no Taka-nuka-hime. She was made Empress in the second year of the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko. Whilst still young, she was intelligent and shrewd, and her countenance was of such blooming beauty that the Prince her father wondered at it.

In his 9th year, Spring, the 2nd month, the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko died in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi. At this time the Empress was grieved that the Emperor would not follow the Divine instructions, and had consequently died
IX. 2. a premature death. She thought she would find out what God had sent the curse, so that she might possess herself of the land of treasures. She therefore commanded her Ministers and functionaries to purge offences[4] and to rectify transgres-

[1] Divine merit or success. [2] Kaikwa Tennō.

[3] Name of a place in Ohomi. This is hardly consistent with the statement at the end of this reign that Oki-naga (long life) was a posthumous name given her, apparently owing to the great age to which she attained.

[4] The ceremony of purification (harahi) is referred to.

Motowori observes on the parallel passage of the "Kojiki" that tsumi, offence, includes kegare, pollutions, ashiki waza, ill-deeds, and wazawahi, calamities. The offences for which the ceremony of purification was required are enumerated in the "Kojiki" as flaying alive, flaying backwards, breaking down the divisions between rice-fields, filling up irrigating channels, committing nuisances, incest, and bestiality. The Oho-harahi, or Great Purification Ritual, gives a similar but more detailed description. See Ch. K., p. 230.

sions, also to construct a Palace of worship[1] in the village of Wayamada.

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress, having selected a lucky day,[2] entered the Palace of worship, and discharged in person the office of priest.[3] She commanded Takechi no Sukune to play on the lute,[4] and the Nakatomi, Igatsu no Omi, was designated as Saniha.[5] Then placing one thousand pieces of cloth, high pieces of cloth, on the top and bottom of the lute, she prayed saying:—"Who is the God who on a former day instructed the Emperor? I pray that I may know his name." After seven days and seven nights there came an answer, saying:—"I am the Deity who dwells in the Shrine of split-bell Isuzu in the district of hundred-transmit Watarahi in the province of divine-wind Ise,[6] and my name is Tsuki-sakaki idzu no mi-tama ama-zakaru Muka-tsu hime[7] no Mikoto.

Again she inquired:—"Other than this Deity, are there any Deities present?" The answer was:—"I am the Deity who comes forth on the ears of the flag-like Eulalia,[8] and my dwelling is in the district of Aha in Ada-fushi in Oda." She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"There is the Deity who rules in Heaven, who rules in the Void, the gem-casket-entering-prince, the awful Koto-shiro-nushi."[9] IX. 3.

[1] Lit. religious abstinence. See above, p. 176.

[2] "Lucky day" is probably a Chinese trait. [3] Kannushi.

[4] The Japanese or Adzuma koto, described as an instrument five or six feet long, with six strings.

[5] Saniha is explained as the official who examines the utterances prompted by the Deity. The literal meaning is "pure court," from the place in which he stood during the ceremony. See Ch. K., p. 229.

[6] The epithets split-bell, hundred-transmit and divine-wind are makura-kotoba or pillow-words, which have no meaning to us. Split-bell is put before Isuzu because suzu means bell (Fr. grêlot). Wataru, "to cross over," suggests the phrase momo-tsutahe (hundred-transmit). See Ch. K., p. 247.

[7] The awful spirit of the planted Cleyera, the lady of sky-distant Mukatsu. Mukatsu, as appears from p. 221, is Corea. The Deity who dwells at Ise is the Sun-Goddess. But she chooses (apparently) to represent herself as a Corean Deity. Sakaki (Cleyera Japonica) is the sacred tree of Shintō.

[8] A tall grass, like pampas grass, hence the epithet flag-like.

[9] Koto-shiro-nushi, thing-know-master. Thing-know is a Chinese idiom for "to rule," and it is the same word which is rendered rule just above.

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"It is not known whether there are others or not." Hereupon the Saniha[1] said:—"There is no answer now, but they will speak again afterwards." So there was an answer, saying:—"There are the Gods who have settled to the bottom of the water of the Little Strait of Tachibana[2] in the Land of Hiuga, and who are produced and dwell there like fresh water plants. Their names are Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo.[3]

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"Whether there are or not is unknown." And nothing more was ever said as to the existence of other Gods.

Now that the Divine words[4] had been obtained, the Gods were worshipped in accordance with their instructions. Thereafter, Kamo no Wake, the ancestor of the Kibi no Omi, was sent to attack the Kumaso. Before many days had elapsed they freely submitted.

IX 4. Moreover, there was in the village of Notorita a man named Hashiro Kuma-washi.[5] He was a fellow of powerful frame, and had wings on his body, so that he could fly, and with them soar aloft. Therefore he would not obey the Imperial commands, but habitually plundered the people.

17th day. The Empress desired to attack Kuma-washi. So from the Palace of Kashihi she returned to the Palace of Matsunowo. At this time a whirlwind suddenly arose, and her august hat was blown off by the wind. Therefore the men of the time called that place Mikasa.[6]

20th day. She arrived at the Moor of Sosoki, where she took up arms and smote Hashiro Kuma-washi, and destroyed him. Then she addressed her courtiers, saying:—"My mind is at peace now that we have taken Kuma-washi." Therefore the name of that place was called Yasu.[7]

25th day. Going on from thence, she arrived at the district of Yamato,[8] where she put to death a Tsuchi-gumo named

[1] See above, p. 225.

[2] Little Strait is in the original Wodo: the Bungo Channel.

[3] See Ch. K., p. 41, also above, p. 27.

[4] The term "divine words" probably means the proper names and titles of the Deities.

[5] Feather-white bear-eagle. [6] August hat. [7] Peaceful.

[8] In Chikugo.

Tabura-tsu-hime. Now Tabura-tsu-hime's elder brother Natsuha had raised an army and advanced against the Empress, but on hearing that his younger sister had been already put to death, he took to flight.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Proceeding northwards, she arrived at the district of Matsura in the Land of Hizen, and partook of food on the bank of the river Wogawa,[1] in the village of Tamashima. Here the Empress bent a needle and made of it a hook. She took grains of rice and used them as bait. Pulling out the threads of her garment, she made of them a line. Then mounting upon a stone in the middle of the river, and casting the hook, she prayed, saying:—"We are IX. 5. proceeding westward, where we desire to gain possession of the Land of Treasure. If we are to succeed, let the fish of the river bite the hook." Accordingly, raising up her fishing-rod, she caught a trout. Then the Empress said:—"It is a strange thing." Wherefore the men of the day called that place the Land of Medzura. The present name Matsura[2] is a corruption of this. For this reason, whenever the 1st decade of the 4th month comes round, the women of that land take hooks, which they cast into the river and catch trout—a custom which has not ceased unto this day. The men may angle for fish, but they cannot catch any.

This having been done, the Empress knew that there was virtue in the teaching of the Gods, and she made sacrifice anew to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. As it was her purpose in person to chastise the West, she set apart a sacred rice-field, and tilled it. Then, in order to divert water from the Naka-gaha with which to irrigate it, she dug a channel as far as the Hill of Todoroki. But a great rock stood in the way, and she was unable to pierce a channel through it. Then the Empress sent for Takechi no Sukune, and offering a sword and a mirror made him pray to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and ask them to allow the channel to be completed. Straightway there came thunder and lightning, and stamped that rock asunder, so that the water passed through. Therefore the men of the time called that channel the Channel of Sakuta.[3]

[1] Little river.

[2] Medzurashiki means "strange." Matsura is really Matsu-ura, fir-bay.

[3] Sundered field.

The Empress returned to the Bay of Kashihi, and loosing her hair, looked over the sea, saying :—" I, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the Spirits of the Imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do
IX. 6. I now lave my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously into two." Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches.[1]

Then she addressed her ministers, saying :—" To make war and move troops is a matter of the greatest concern to a country. Peace and danger, success and failure must depend on it. If I now entrusted to you, my ministers, the duties of the expedition we are about to undertake, the blame, in case of ill-success, would rest with you. This would be very grievous to me. Therefore, although I am a woman, and a feeble woman too, I will for a while borrow the outward appearance of a man, and force myself to adopt manly counsels. Above, I shall receive support from the Spirits of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, while below I shall avail myself of the assistance of you, my ministers. Brandishing our weapons, we shall cross the towering billows : preparing an array of ships, we shall take possession of the Land of Treasure. If the enterprise succeeds, all of you, my ministers, will have the credit, while if it is unsuccessful, I alone shall be to blame. Such have been my intentions, do ye deliberate together regarding them." The ministers all said :—" The object of the measure which the Empress has devised for the Empire is to tranquillize the ancestral shrines and the Gods of the Earth and Grain, and also to protect her servants from blame. With heads bowed to the ground we receive thy commands." [2]

Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. The various provinces were ordered to collect ships and to practise the use of weapons. But an army could not be assembled. The Empress said :—" This is surely the will of a God." So she erected the Shrine of Oho-miwa, and offered there a sword and a spear. Then the troops assembled freely. Hereupon a fisherman of Ahe, by

[1] In manly fashion.

[2] This speech is copied from a Chinese book.

name Womaro, was sent out into the Western Sea, to spy if IX. 7.
there was any land there. He came back and said:—"There is no land to be seen." Again a fisherman of Shika, named Nagusa, was sent to look. After several days he returned, and said:—"To the north-west, there is a mountain girt with clouds and extending crosswise. This is perhaps a country." Hereupon a lucky day was fixed upon by divination. There was yet an interval before they should set out. Then the Empress in person, grasping her battle-axe, commanded the three divisions of her army, saying:—"If the drums are beaten out of time, and the signal-flags are waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved among the troops: if greedy of wealth, and eager for much, you cherish self and have regard for your own interests, you will surely be taken prisoners by the enemy. Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him, though his numbers may be many. Spare not the violent, slay not the submissive. There will surely be rewards for those who ultimately conquer in battle, and of course punishments for those who turn their backs and flee."

After this a God gave instructions, saying:—"A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life: a rough spirit will form the vanguard, and be a guide to the squadron." So when she had received the divine IX. 8.
instructions she did worship, and for this purpose appointed Otarimi,[1] Yosami no Ahiko to be the Director of the ceremonies in honour of the God.

The time had now come for the Empress's delivery. So she took a stone which she inserted in her loins, and prayed, saying:—"Let my delivery be in this land on the day that I return after our enterprise is at an end." That stone is now on the road-side in the district of Ito.[2]

After this the rough spirit was told to act as vanguard of the forces, and the gentle spirit requested to act as guardian of the Royal vessel.

[1] Otarimi is the na, or personal name; Yosami the uji, or name of the House; Ahiko is the Kabane, or title.

[2] Tradition pointed out *two* white egg-shaped stones a little over a foot long as those used on this occasion. They were afterwards stolen.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Sail was set from the harbour of Wani.[1] Then the Wind-God made a breeze to spring up, and the Sea-God[2] uplifted the billows. The great fishes of the ocean, every one, came to the surface and encompassed the
IX. 9. ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country. Hereupon the King of Silla feared and trembled, and knew not what to do, so he assembled all his people and said to them:—"Since the State of Silla was founded, it has never yet been heard that the water of the sea has encroached upon the land. Is it possible that the term of existence granted to it by Heaven has expired, and that our country is to become a part of the ocean?" Scarce had he spoken when a warlike fleet overspread the sea. Their banners were resplendent in the sunlight. The drums and fifes raised up their voices, and the mountains and rivers all thrilled to the sound. The King of Silla beholding this from afar felt that his country was about to be destroyed by this extraordinary force, and was terrified out of his senses. But presently coming to himself, he said:—"I have heard that in the East there is a divine country named Nippon, and also that there is there a wise sovereign called the Tennō. This divine force must belong to that country. How
IX. 10. could we resist them by force of arms?" So he took a white flag, and of his own accord rendered submission, tying his hands behind his back with a white rope. He sealed up the maps and registers, and going down before the Royal vessel bowed his head to the ground, and said:—"Henceforward, as long as Heaven and Earth endure, we will obediently act as thy forage-providers. Not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry, every spring and every autumn we will send tribute of horse-combs and whips. And, without thinking the sea-distance a trouble, we will pay annual dues of male and female slaves." He confirmed this by repeated oaths, saying:—"When the sun no longer rises in the East, but comes forth

[1] In Tsushima.

[2] The words used here for Wind-God and Sea-God are purely Chinese. "Æolus" and "Neptune" would be just as appropriate in a Saga.

in the West; when the River Arinare[1] turns its course backward, and when the river pebbles ascend and become stars—if before this we fail to pay homage every spring and every autumn, or neglect to send tribute of combs and whips, may the Gods of Heaven and Earth both together punish us."

Then someone said:—"Let us put to death the King of Silla." Hereupon the Empress said:—"When I first received the Divine instructions, promising to bestow on me the Land of Gold and Silver, I gave orders to the three divisions of the army, saying:—'Slay not the submissive.' Now that we have taken the Land of Treasure, and its people have freely offered submission, it would be unlucky to slay them." So she loosed the cords with which he was bound, and made him her forage-provider.

Ultimately she proceeded to the interior of that country, placed seals on the magazines of precious treasure, and took possession of the books of maps and registers.[2] The spear on which the Empress leant[3] was planted at the gate of the King of Silla as a memorial to after ages. Therefore that spear even now remains planted at the King of Silla's gate.

Now Phasa Mikeun,[4] King of Silla, gave as a hostage Mi-cheul-kwi-chi Pha-chin Kan-ki,[5] and with gold and silver, bright colours, figured gauzes and silks, he loaded eighty vessels, which he made to follow after the Imperial forces. This was the origin of the King of Silla always sending eighty ships of tribute.

Hereupon the kings of the two countries of Koryö and Pèkché[6]

[1] Supposed to be the Am-nok-kang.

[2] The Cadastral records.

[3] As a staff.

[4] The traditional kana rendering is Hasa Mukin. Phasa was the 6th King of Silla. He reigned from A.D. 80 to A.D. 112. Mikeun or Mukin is not clear. The last syllable corresponds with the last syllable of ni-sä-keun (尼師今), an old Silla word for king, mentioned in the Introduction to the "Tongkam."

[5] The traditional kana has Mi-shi-ko-chi Ha-tori Kamu-ki. Pha-chin was the fourth official rank in Silla (see "Tongkam," I. 31), and Kanki is said by the Shiki to be a title. A Silla Prince named Misäheun (in Japanese Mishikin) was sent as hostage to Japan A.D. 402. It is clear from what follows (A.D. 205) that this is the same person.

[6] The original name of this country is Kokuryö. It did not become officially known as Koryö until A.D. 936, but the contracted form was in use

IX. 12. hearing that Silla had rendered up its maps and registers,[1] and made submission, secretly caused the warlike power (of the Empress) to be spied out. Finding then that they could not be victorious, they came of themselves without the camp, and bowing their heads to the ground, and sighing, said:—"Henceforth for ever, these lands shall be styled thy western frontier provinces, and will not cease to offer tribute." Accordingly interior Governments were instituted. This is what is termed the three Han.[2]

The Empress returned from Silla.

12th month, 14th day. She gave birth to the Emperor Homuda in Tsukushi. Therefore the men of that time called the place where he was born Umi.[3]

long before, and there are examples of it in Chinese literature as early as A.D. 500 (Parker, "Race Struggles in Corea," "T.A.S.J.," XVIII., Pt. II.). The capital was Phyöngyang, at least at one time.

The Japanese name for this kingdom was Koma, a word of doubtful derivation. I think it possible that it means bear (in Corean kom), and that the Koma of Corea and the Kuma of Japan were the same race—like the Saxons of Germany and the Saxons of England. Parker, in the article just referred to (p. 216), suggests that Koma was really a part of Pèkché, and not Koryö. The town of Koma or Kuma was certainly in Pèkché territory, and was for a while the capital. But I cannot think that the Japanese could have been mistaken on this point. They were far too well acquainted with Corean matters, and with them Koryö and Koma are the same thing. It is probable nevertheless that Koma or Kumanari was at some time the seat of the race of that name, as Kumamoto in Japan was of the Japanese Kuma. It is now Ung-chhön (bear-river), near the mouth of the R. Nak-tong, and a convenient port for crossing over to Japan.

Pèkché, known to the Japanese as Kudara, was the S.-W. kingdom of Corea.

[1] i.e. the territory described in them.

[2] Corea at one time was divided into three kingdoms, called Ma-han, Sin-han, and Pyön-han, corresponding respectively to Pèkché, Silla, and Koryö. But there is some doubt on the subject.

The three Han are rendered in the kana gloss mitsu no Kara-kuni. But although Kara is sometimes used loosely for all Corea, and even to include China, I doubt much whether there ever was such a phrase as the three Karas. It looks like a mere literal translation of Samhan.

For an estimate of the historical value of this narrative of the conquest of Corea, I would refer the reader to my paper on Early Japanese History in the "T.A.S.J.," XVI. Pt. I.

[3] Birth.

One version says:—"When the Emperor Tarashi- IX. 13.
nakatsu-hiko dwelt in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, there were Deities who spake by the mouth of Uchi-saru-taka, Kuni-saru-taka, and Matsu-ya-tane, ancestors of the Agata-nushi of Saha, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'If the august descendant wishes to gain the Land of Treasure, we will presently bestow it on him.' So on a later day, a lute was brought and given to the Empress. And the Empress played upon the lute, in accordance with the word of the Gods. Hereupon the Gods spake by the mouth of the Empress, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'The land which the august descendant wishes for is, as it were, a stag's horn, and not a real country. But if the august descendant now makes due offering to us of the ship in which he sails, and of the water-field[1] called Ohota given him as tribute by Homutate, the Atahe of Anato, we will bestow on the august descendant a dazzling land, a land of plenteous treasures, fair to look upon as a beautiful woman.' Then the Emperor answered the Gods, saying:—'Gods though ye may be, why these deceiving words? Where is there any country? Moreover, when the ship in which We sail has been offered to you Deities, in what ship shall We sail? Nor do I know what Gods ye are. I pray you, let me know your names.' Then the Gods gave their names, saying:—'Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, Soko-tsutsu no wo.' Such were the names of the three Gods given by them. And again one said:—'I am Mukahitsu no wo, Kiki-so-ofu-itsuno mitama, Hayasa-nobori no Mikoto.' Then the Emperor spake to the Empress, and said:—'What ill-sounding things they say! Is it a woman? What is meant by Hayasa-nobori?'[2] Then the
Gods addressed the Emperor, saying:—'O King, since IX. 14.
thou art thus unbelieving, thou shalt not possess that country. But the child which is now in the Empress's womb, he will doubtless take possession of it.' On that night the Emperor took suddenly ill, and died. Afterwards the Empress performed worship in accordance with the

[1] Rice-field. Speed-ascend.

directions of the Gods.[1] Then the Empress, clad in male attire, went on the expedition against Silla, and the Gods guided her. Accordingly the wave which followed the ship reached far into the interior of the Land of Silla. Hereupon the Silla Prince Urusohorichiu[2] came to meet the Empress, and kneeling down, took hold of the Royal vessel. Bowing his head to the ground, he said:—'Henceforward thy servant will act as an interior Government for the child of the Gods who dwells in Japan, and will not cease to furnish tribute.'"

One version says:—"She took prisoner the Prince of Silla, and going to the sea-side, plucked out his knee-caps,[3] and causing him to crawl on the rocks, suddenly slew him, and buried him in the sand. Accordingly she stationed there one man as Governor of Silla, and departed. Afterwards, the wife of the Prince of Silla, not knowing where the body of her husband was buried, all by herself conceived the thought of deluding the Governor. So, enticing him, she said:—'If thou wilt let me know the place where the Prince's body is buried, I will surely reward thee liberally, and will become thy wife.' Hereupon the Governor believed these deluding words, and secretly made known to her the place where the body was buried. Then the Prince's wife and the people of the country, having consulted together, slew the Governor, and having disinterred the Prince's body, buried it in another place. Then they took the Governor's body, and buried it in the earth under the Prince's tomb, and taking up the coffin, deposited it on the top of the Governor's body, saying:—'This is as it ought necessarily to be, according to the order of things exalted and things base.' Hereupon the Empress,[4] when she heard of this, was

[1] i.e. offering the ship and lands.

[2] This transliteration follows the traditional Japanese pronunciation. The Corean would be U-ryu-cho-pu-ri-chi-u. It may be suspected that the final u 于 is a mistake for 干 kan, a frequent element of Corean titles, perhaps = khan, kami? See Parker's "Race Struggles in Corea," p. 220.

[3] A Chinese punishment.

[4] The original has Tennō, a word which, strictly speaking, is either masculine or feminine, but which is not usually applied to this Empress.

mightily incensed, and raised a large army, with which it was her intent utterly to destroy Silla. So, with war- IX. 15.
ships filling the sea, she proceeded thither. At this time the people of Silla were all afraid, and knew not what to do. Having assembled, they consulted together, and slew the Prince's wife by way of apology for their crime." [1]

Hereupon the three Gods who accompanied the expedition, viz. Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished the Empress, saying:—"Let our rough spirits be worshipped at the village of Yamada in Anato." Now

[1] The "Tongkam," Vol. III. p. 21, has the following under the date A.D. 249, Summer, 4th month:—"The Was invaded Silla, and killed Uro. Before this the Was had sent Kalyako as Ambassador to Silla. The King made Uro entertain him. Uro said, jesting:—"Sooner or later we shall make your King our salt-slave, and your Queen our cook-wench." When the King of Wa heard this, he sent his General Uto-chiu to invade Silla. The King went out and dwelt at Yuchhon. Uro said:—"To-day's attack is owing to the words of thy servant. I pray thee let me deal with it." So he went eventually to the Wa army, and said:—"My words on a former day were a jest, and nothing more. Who would have thought that war should be waged, and that things should come to this extremity?" The men of Wa took him, and made a pile of firewood, on which they burnt him to death, and then went away. Afterwards an Ambassador came from Wa. Uro's wife begged leave from the King to entertain him on her own score. Accordingly she made the Ambassador drunk, seized him, and burnt him. The Was, enraged at this, besieged Keumsyöng,* but had to retire unsuccessful."

Notwithstanding the difference of date—A.D. 200 and A.D. 249—and other discrepancies, I believe these two narratives relate to the same events. The Prince Urusohorichiu of the Japanese account is the Uro of the Corean history. The word which I have translated Prince is 王, which might also be rendered King. But there is no King of this name in Corean history, and, as appears from a Corean authority quoted in the "Ishōnihonden," XIV. 11, Syök Uro was the son of King Nahè of Silla. The "Tongkam" relates several other events of his life, among others his appointment as Sö-pul-han (or Sö-pul-ya), whence probably the sohori of the name given him in the Japanese narrative.

Kalyako is no doubt the same person as the Katsuraki no Sotsu-hiko mentioned below as having been sent on a mission to Silla. Kal is written 葛, which is katsura in Japanese.

In "Early Japanese History" I have given reasons for thinking that, for this period, Corean history is much more in accordance with facts than that of Japan.

* The Silla capital.

Homutate, the ancestor of the Atahe of Anato, and Tamomi no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Tsumori, represented to the Empress, saying:—"Surely thou wilt set apart unto the Gods the lands where they desire to dwell." So Homutate was appointed master of the worship of the rough spirits, and a shrine was erected in the village of Yamada in Anato.

Now in Spring, the second month of the year following the expedition against Silla, the Empress removed with her ministers and functionaries to the palace of Toyora in Anato, where she took up the Emperor's remains, and proceeded towards the capital by the sea-route. Now Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma, hearing of the Emperor's decease, as well as of the Empress's expedition to the West, and of the recent birth of an Imperial Prince, plotted secretly, saying:—"The Empress has now a child, and all the ministers obey her. They will certainly consult together and establish an infant sovereign. But shall we, the elders, obey our younger brother?" So, pretending that it was in order to build a misasagi for the Emperor, they went to Harima, and raised a misasagi at Akashi.[1] Accordingly they joined boats together in a string across to the island of Ahaji, and so transported the
IX. 16. stones of that island to build it. Now they made every man take a weapon, and so they awaited the Empress. Hereupon Kurami-wake, the ancestor of the Kimi of Inugami, and Isachi no Sukune, ancestor of the Kishi,[2] together joined them-

[1] Two or three miles to the east of Maiko, on the bluff above the village of West Tarumi, there is a very large double mound, which local tradition has associated with the name of Chiuai Tennō. It is surrounded by the usual circles of clay cylinders, known in the neighbourhood as "Chiuai no sen-tsubo," i.e. "the thousand jars of Chiuai."

There is a smaller mound of circular shape close to the other, also surrounded by a circle of clay cylinders. This is no doubt the tomb of a wife, son, or minister of the personage buried in the main tumulus. The "Nihongi" tradition does not account for it.

The stones were to build the megalithic chamber.

[2] Kishi (吉師) is obviously the same as the Silla fourteenth official grade kilsă (吉士). See "Tongkam," I. 31. Ason, so frequently met with in later times, is also a Corean official grade. Has sukune anything to do with the Silla word for king, isăkeun?

The "Kojiki" has "Kishi of Naniha" in this passage, no doubt rightly. Ch. K., p. 235.

selves unto Prince Kakosaka, who made them his generals, and directed them to raise troops from the Eastern Land. Then Prince Kakosaka and Prince Oshikuma went forth together to the moor of Toga, and made a "hunt-prayer,"[1] saying:—"If our project is to be successful, then surely let us take some good game." The two Princes sat each in his shelter, when a wild-boar[2] sprang out suddenly, and climbing on to the shelter, bit Prince Kakosaka and killed him. The soldiers every one shuddered with fear. Then Prince Oshikuma addressed Kurami-wake, saying:—"This is a very ominous thing. We ought not to await the enemy here." So he withdrew his troops, and retreating again, encamped at Sumiyoshi.[3] At this time, the Empress heard that Prince Oshikuma had raised an army, and was awaiting her. She commanded Takechi no Sukune to take in his bosom the Imperial Prince, and going out across by way of the south-sea provinces,[4] to anchor in the harbour of Kiï, while the Empress's ship made straight for Naniha. At this time the Empress's ship swerved towards the midst of the sea, and was unable to proceed. She returned again to the harbour of Muko,[5] where she made divination as to this.

Hereupon Ama-terasu no Oho-kami admonished her, saying: IX. 17.
—"My rough spirit may not approach the Imperial residence. Let him dwell in the land of Hirota in Mikokoro." So Ha-yama-hime, daughter of Yamashiro-neko, was appointed to worship him. Moreover, Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto admonished the Empress, saying:—"I wish to dwell in the land of Nagawo in Ikuta."[6] So Una-gami no Isachi was appointed to worship her. Again, Koto-shiro-nushi no Mikoto admonished her, saying:—"Worship me in the land of Nakata in Mi-kokoro."[7] So Naga-hime, younger sister of Ha-yama-hime, was appointed to worship him. Again the three Gods, Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished her, saying:—"Let our gentle spirits dwell at Nagawo[8] in Nuna-

[1] Ukehi-gari, a kind of divination.

[2] Lit. a red pig, so called from its flesh being red. The domestic pig is the white pig.

[3] Near Kōbe. [4] Now called Shikoku. [5] Now Hiōgo.

[6] Just behind the foreign settlement of Kōbe.

[7] Mikokoro here and above may mean "after my august heart."

[8] Sumiyoshi, near Kōbe.

kura in Ohotsu, so that they may look upon the ships passing back and forward." Hereupon these Gods were enshrined in
IX. 18. accordance with their instructions, and the Empress was enabled to cross the sea in peace.

Prince Oshikuma, again withdrawing his troops, retreated as far as Uji, where he encamped. The Empress proceeded southwards to the land of Kiï, and met the Prince Imperial at Hitaka. Having consulted with her Ministers, she at length desired to attack Prince Oshikuma, and removed to the Palace of Shinu. It so happened that at this time the day was dark like night. Many days passed in this manner, and the men of that time said:—"This is the Eternal Night." The Empress inquired of Toyomimi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Ki, saying:—"Wherefore is this omen?" Then there was an old man who said:—"I have heard by tradition that this kind of omen is called Atsunahi no tsumi."[1] She inquired:—"What does it mean?" He answered and said:—"The priests[2] of the two shrines have been buried together." Therefore she made strict investigation in the village. There was a man who said:—"The priest of Shinu and the priest of Amano were good friends. The priest of Shinu fell ill, and died. The priest of Amano wept and wailed, saying:—'We have been friends together since our birth. Why in our death should there not be the same grave for both?' So he lay down beside the corpse and died of himself, so that they were buried together. This is perhaps the reason." So they opened the tomb, and on examination found that it was true. Therefore they again changed their coffins and interred them separately, upon which the sunlight shone forth, and there was a difference between day and night.

3rd month, 5th day. The Empress commanded Takechi no Sukune and Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, to lead an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack
IX. 19. Prince Oshikuma. Hereupon, Takechi no Sukune and his colleague, having taken picked men, went out by way of Yamashiro as far as Uji, where they encamped north of the river. Prince Oshikuma came out from his camp, and offered

[1] The calamity of there being no sun. [2] Hafuri.

battle. Now there was a man called Kuma[1] no Kori, who formed the vanguard of Prince Oshikuma's army.

One version says :—" Ancestor of the Obito of Katsurano no ki." Another says :—" The remote ancestor of the Kishi of Tako."

Accordingly, in order to encourage his men, he sang with a loud voice, saying :—

Beyond the river
Is the rough pine-clad plain—
To that pine-clad plain
Let us cross over,
With bows of *tsuki*,
And store of sounding arrows.
My dear fellow !
My dear fellows !
My cousin too !
My cousins !
Come ! let us join battle
With Uchi no Aso ![2]
(Within a tile
Is there any sand ?)[3]
Come ! let us join battle ! IX. 20.

Then Takechi no Sukune, giving command to the three divisions of the army, made them all bind up their hair mallet-wise. Accordingly he made an order, saying :—" Let every one of you have spare bow-strings concealed in your top-knots, and gird on wooden swords." Having done so, in accordance with the commands of the Empress, he deluded Prince Oshikuma, saying :—" I am not greedy to possess the Empire. Only, while cherishing the infant Prince, we will obey my Lord the Prince. Why should I contend with thee in battle ?

[1] The reader will have noticed how frequently Kuma, bear, occurs in proper names. It is, I think, the race Kuma (in Corean, Koma) to which they should be referred.

[2] Aso is the same as Ason or 'Asomi, probably derived from Ason (阿飡), the 6th Silla official rank. This is the first mention of this title. The reference is to Takechi (Take-uchi) no Sukune. Uchi has a pillow-word (tamaki haru) prefixed, which is quite untranslatable. Cf. Ch. K., p. 283.

[3] These two lines are, of course, utterly irrelevant. They are brought in for the sake of a play of words, with which it is not worth while troubling the reader.

I pray thee let us both cut our bow-strings, fling away our weapons, and be in harmony together. Then mayest thou, my Lord the Prince, mount to the Heavenly office, and sit a peace, making high thy pillow, and wielding at thy will the ten thousand appliances."[1]

So he openly gave orders to his army that they should all cut their bow-strings, and ungirding their swords, fling them into the river-water. Prince Oshikuma believed these deluding words, and ordered all his troops to ungird their weapons and fling them into the water of the river, and also to cut their bow-strings. Upon this, Takechi no Sukune commanded the three divisions of his army to produce their spare bow-strings, and to string their bows again, and, girt with their real swords, to advance across the river. Prince Oshikuma, seeing that he had been deceived, spake to Kurami-wake and Isachi no Sukune, saying:—"We have been deceived, and have now no spare weapons. How shall we be able to fight?" So he withdrew his forces and gradually retreated. Then Takechi no Sukune sent forth his choice troops and pursued him, and having come up to him just at Afusaka, put him to the rout. Therefore that place was called Afusaka.[2] The army took to flight, and ran as far as Kurusu in Sasanami. Many were slain.
IX. 21. Hereupon the blood overflowed into Kurusu. Therefore in horror of this, until this day, the fruit of Kurusu[3] is not offered to the Imperial Palace. Prince Oshikuma, not knowing whither to betake himself in his flight, called to him Isachi no Sukune and made a song, saying:—

Come! my child,
Isachi Sukune!
Rather than receive a severe wound
From the mallet[4]
Of Uchi no Aso,
Like unto the grebe
Let us make a plunge!

---

[1] i.e. all the machinery of Government.

[2] Pronounced Ôsaka, i.e. the hill of meeting. The pass on the road from Kiôto to Ôtsu. A railway tunnel now goes under it.

[3] Kurusu means chestnut-village.

[4] Kabu-tsuchi. See p. 123.

So they sank together in the crossing-place of Seta, and died. Then Takechi no Sukune made a song, saying :—

The birds that dived,
At the ferry of Seta,
By the sea of Afumi.[1]
Since with my eyes I cannot see them,
Can they be still alive?

Hereupon they searched for their dead bodies, and were unable to find them. But several days after, they came out on the river-bank at Uji.[2] Then Takechi no Sukune again made a song, saying :—

In the sea of Afumi,
At the ferry of Seta,
The birds that dived—
Passing Tanakami,[3]
Have been caught at Uji.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The ministers honoured the Empress with the title of Grand Empress. This year was the year Midzunoto I (60th) of the Cycle. It was reckoned the first year of her administration of the Government.

2nd year, Winter, 11th month, 8th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Nagano, in the province of Kahachi. IX. 22. A.D. 202.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Homuda-wake was appointed Prince Imperial. Accordingly, the capital was made at Ihare. It was called the Palace of Wakazakura. A.D. 203.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The King of Silla sent O-nyé-să-pöl, Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi and Pu-ra-mo-chi with tribute. It was their desire to get back Mi-cheul Hö-chi pöl-han, who had formerly come as a hostage. With this object they tampered with Hö-chi pöl-han and caused him to use deceit, telling him to make petition and say :—"The envoys O-nyé-să-pol, Mo-ma-ri Cheul-chi, and the other have informed me that my king, on account of my long failure to return, has wholly confiscated my wife and family and made A.D. 205.

[1] Now called Lake Biwa, in the province of Afumi or Ômi.

[2] Uji is some miles further down the river issuing from Lake Biwa than Seta. Seta is just where it leaves the lake.

[3] The name of the upper part of the Uji River.

them slaves. I pray thee, let me return for a while to my own country and learn whether this be true or false." The Emperor forthwith gave him leave to go, and accordingly sent him away, accompanied by Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. They
IX. 23. reached Tsushima together, and stayed for the night at the harbour of Sabi no umi. Then the Silla envoys Mo-ṃa-ri Cheul-chi and the others secretly provided a separate ship and sailors, on board of which they put Mi-cheul Han-ki and made him escape to Silla. They also made a straw figure which they put in Mi-cheul Hö-chi's berth, and making it appear like a sick man, they informed Sotsuhiko, saying :—" Mi-cheul Hö-chi has taken suddenly ill, and is on the point of death." Sotsuhiko sent men to nurse him, and so discovered the deception. Having seized the three Silla envoys, he placed them in a cage which he burnt with fire and so killed them. Then he proceeded to Silla, where he touched at the harbour of Tatara. He took the Castle of Chhora, and returned. The captives taken on this occasion were the first ancestors of the Han[1]
IX. 24. people of the four villages of Kuhabara, Sabi, Takamiya, and Oshinomi.[2]

[1] The Chinese character is 漢, i.e. the Chinese Han dynasty. The interlinear kana has ayabito, which also means Chinese. Possibly they were descendants of Chinese emigrants to Corea.

[2] Under the date A.D. 418, Autumn, the "Tongkam" (Vol. IV. 18) has the following :—

"Pak Ché-syang of Silla went to Wa and died there. The king's younger brother Misăkeun came from Wa. Before this Pok-ho (another brother of the King, who had been sent as hostage to Kokuryö) had returned. The King addressed Ché-syang, saying :—'My love for my two younger brothers is like my left and right arms. Now I have got only one arm. What does it avail?' Ché-syang said :—'Though my abilities are those of a broken down horse, I have devoted myself to my country's service. What reason could I have for declining? Kokuryö, however, is a great country, and the king also is wise. Thy servant was able to make him understand with one word. But in dealing with the Was it will be meet to use stratagem to deceive them, and not by mouth and tongue to reason with them. I will pretend that I have committed a crime and absconded. After I have gone I pray thee arrest thy servant's family.' So he swore upon his life not to see again his wife and children, and went to Nyul-pho. The cable was already loosed when his wife came after him, lamenting loudly. Ché-syang said :—'I have already taken my life in my hands, and am leaving for a certain death.'

At length he went to the Wa country, where he gave out that he was a

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Takechi no Sukune A.D. 213.

rebel. The Lord of Wa doubted this. Before this time men of Pèkché had gone to the Wa country, and made a false report, saying :—'Silla and Kokuryö are about to plot together to attack Wa.' The Lord at length sent troops to guard the frontier. And when Kokuryö, having invaded Silla, slew those guards also, the Lord of Wa believed that the story told by the Pèkché men was true. But when he heard that the King of Silla had imprisoned the family of Misăheun and Ché-syang, he thought that Ché-syang was really a rebel. Hereupon he sent forth an army in order to attack Silla, and made Ché-syang and Misăheun guides. Coming to an island in the sea, all the generals consulted secretly how they should destroy Silla and return with Ché-syang and Misăheun's wives and children. Ché-syang, knowing this, sailed with Misăheun every day in a boat, under the pretence of making pleasure excursions. The Was had no suspicion. Ché-syang advised Misăheun to return secretly to his country. Misăheun said :—'How could I have the heart to abandon thee, my lord, and return alone?' Ché-syang said :—'Supposing that I succeed in saving my Prince's life, and thus gratify the feelings of the Great King, it will be enough, Why should I be so fond of living?' Misăheun wept, and taking his leave, made his escape back to his country. Ché-syang alone slept in the boat. He got up towards evening and waited until Misăheun was far on his way. The Was, when they found that Misăheun had disappeared, bound Ché-syang, and pursued Misăheun, but mist and darkness coming on, they could not overtake him. The Lord of Wa was enraged. He flung Ché-syang into prison, and questioned him, saying :—'Why didst thou secretly send away Misăheun?' Ché-syang said :—'As a subject of Kélin (Silla), I simply wished to carry out the desires of my Lord.' The Lord of Wa was wroth, and said :—'As thou hast now become a vassal of mine, if thou callest thyself a vassal of Kélin, thou shalt surely be subjected to the five punishments. But if thou callest thyself a vassal of the Wa country, I will certainly reward thee liberally.' Ché-syang said :—'I had rather be a puppy-dog of Kélin, than a vassal of the Wa country. I had rather be flogged in Kélin than have dignities and revenues in the Wa country.' The Lord of Wa was wroth. He flayed Ché-syang's feet, cut sedge, and made him walk on it (perhaps on the stubble left after the sedge was cut). Then he asked him, saying :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' He also made him stand on hot iron, and asked him :—'Of what country art thou the vassal?' He said :—'The vassal of Kélin.' The Lord of Wa, seeing that he could not bend him, put him to death by burning.

The King, hearing of this at the island of Mokto, was much grieved, and conferred on Ché-syang the posthumous title of Great Ason. He also bestowed rewards on his family, and made Misăheun marry his second daughter; and afterwards Ché-syang's wife, taking with her her three daughters, went up to a mountain whence she had a view of the Wa country,

was commanded to go with the Prince Imperial and worship the Great God of Kebi in Tsunoga.[1]

17th day. The Prince Imperial returned from Tsunoga. On this day the Grand Empress gave a banquet to the Prince Imperial in the Great Hall. The Grand Empress raising her cup wished long life to the Prince Imperial. Accordingly she made a song, saying:—

This august liquor
Is not my august liquor:
This prince of liquors [2]
He that dwells in the Eternal land
Firm as a rock—
The august God Sukuna,
With words of plenteous blessing,
Blessing all around—
With words of divine blessing
IX. 25. Blessing again and again—
Hath sent as an offering to thee.
Drink of it deeply.
Sa! Sa![3]

---

and having wailed bitterly, she died. She was made the Goddess-mother of this mountain, and there is now a shrine there."

This, no doubt, relates to the same events as the above passage in the "Nihongi." Ché-syang is Mo-ma-ri and Misă-heun is Mi-cheul-Hö-chi.

The Corean names present much difficulty. I have given the Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters with which they are written, but there is much room for doubt whether the Japanese pronunciation would not sometimes be better. The text cannot be relied on.

The interlinear kana gives as the names of the three envoys, Ureshi-hotsu, Momari Shichi, and Furamochi, and of the hostage, Mishi Kochi hotsu-kan. Here shichi is probably for 舍知 (sya-chi), the 13th official rank in Silla.

A Chinese authority quoted by Parker, in "Race Struggles in Corea," gives one or two examples of Kilin (Kélin or Silla), words which show that 1000 years ago the language was the same as modern Corean. But I cannot recognize anything of the modern language in the Corean names of the "Nihongi." Later, all proper names in Corea are of Chinese derivation. Many of the Corean words in the "Nihongi" are names of offices, all of which are replaced in modern Corean by words of Chinese derivation.

[1] Now Tsuruga in Echizen. See Ch. K., p. 237.

[2] In the original "Kushi no Kami." The interpretation given above is Motowori's. This line might also mean "the wondrous deity" or the "God of liquor or sake."

[3] An interjection of encouragement or incitement.

Takechi no Sukune, on behalf of the Prince Imperial, made an answering song, saying:—

The man who brewed[1]
This august liquor,
Setting up on the mortar
His drum,
Singing all the while,
He must have brewed it.
This august liquor
Is exquisitely more and more delightful.
Sa! Sa!

39th year. This year was the year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji (56th) of the Cycle. A.D. 239.

The History of Wei says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Ming Ti, in the third year of the period King-ch'u (A.D. 239) the Queen of Wa sent the high officer Nan-teu-mi and others to the province, where they begged permission to proceed to the Emperor and offer tribute. The T'ai-sheu,[2] Tăng-hia, sent an officer to escort them to the capital."

40th year. A.D. 240.

The History of Wei says:—"In the first year of Chêng-Shih, Kien Chung-kiao, Wéi T'i-hi and others proceeded to the Wa country charged with an Imperial rescript and a seal and ribbon."[3]

[1] The Japanese word for brew is kamu, which also means to chew. Was chewing ever a part of the process of making strong drink in Japan as it is in some of the South Sea islands at the present time? The last line of this poem is of very doubtful interpretation.

[2] T'ai-sheu means governor. Thé-pang (in Chinese Tai-fang) was at one time a district of the Chinese province of Lolang in Corea. A map of China under the Tsin dynasty, however, makes Thé-pang a separate district further to the north. But the Governor of Thé-pang mentioned in the Wei history under the name of 劉夏 and the Governor of Lolang called by the "Tongkam" 劉茂 are probably the same person.

Another authority makes Thé-pang identical with Namwön in Chöllato.

[3] These officials, as we learn from other sources, were sent by the Chinese authorities of Sakpang in Corea, not far from the present Treaty Port of Wönsan. See "Early Japanese History," p. 58; "Ishōnihonden," I. 11; "Tongkam," III. 17.

A.D. 243. 43rd year.

The Ruler[1] of Wa again sent high officers as envoys with tribute, named I Shing-ché, Yih-Ye-yoh,[2] and others —eight persons in all.

A.D. 246. 46th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Shima no Sukune was sent to the Land of Thak-syun.[3] Hereupon Malkeum Kanki,[4] King of Thak-syun, informed Shima no Sukune, saying:—"In the course of the year Kinoye Ne,[5] three men of Pèkché named Kutyö, Mi-chyu-nyu, and Moko[6] came to my country and said:—'The King of Pèkché, hearing that in the Eastern quarter there is an honourable country, has sent thy servants to this honourable country's court. Therefore we beg of thee a passage so that we may go to that Land. If thou wilt be good enough to instruct thy servants and cause us to pass along the roads, our King will certainly show profound kindness to my Lord the King.'[7] I then said to Kutyö and his
IX. 26. fellows:—'I have always heard that there is an honourable country in the East, but I have had no communication with it, and do not know the way. There is nothing but far seas and towering billows, so that in a large ship, one can hardly communicate. Even if there were a regular crossing-place, how could you arrive there?' Hereupon Kutyö and the others said:—'Well, then, for the present we cannot communicate. Our best plan will be to go back again, and prepare a ship with which to communicate later.' They also said:—'If envoys should come from the honourable country, thou oughtest surely to inform our country.' Thus they went back. Hereupon

[1] 王.

[2] It is doubtful whether these six syllables represent the names of one, two, or three men. I cannot guess what Japanese names are meant. The "Ishōnihonden" gives some of the characters differently.

The "Shukai" edition rejects these extracts from Chinese History. They were doubtless added at a later date.

[3] The Chinese characters are 卓淳, of which the traditional kana rendering is Toku-shiu. The "Shukai" editor says it was part of Imna (or Mimana). Its destruction by Silla is recorded below—5th year of Kimmei Tennō.

[4] The Japanese traditional rendering is Makin Kănki.

[5] A.D. 244.

[6] The Japanese kana gloss has Kutei, Mitsuru, and Mako.

[7] This is quite inconsistent with the story of Pèkché offering homage to the Empress in the early part of her reign.

Shima no Sukune sent one of his followers named Nihaya, and a Thak-syun man named Kwa-ko to the Land of Pèkché to make friendly inquiries of the King's health.

King Syo-ko[1] of Pèkché was profoundly pleased, and received them cordially. He presented to Nihaya a roll each of five kinds of dyed silk, a horn-bow[2] and arrows, together with forty bars of iron.[3] Thereafter he opened his treasure-house, and pointing to his various rare objects, said:—"In my country there is great store of these rare treasures. I have wished to pay tribute of them to the honourable country, but not knowing the way I was unable to carry out my intention. I shall now entrust them to envoys, who will visit your country IX. 27.
in order to offer them." Nihaya took charge of this message, and on his return informed Shima no Sukune, who thereupon came back from Thak-syun.

47th year, Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent A.D. 247.
Kutyö, Mi-chu-nyu and Ma-ko with tribute. Now a tribute envoy from Silla came along with Kutyö. Hereupon the Grand Empress and the Prince Imperial Homuda wake no Mikoto were greatly delighted and said:—"People from the countries wished for[4] by our late Sovereign have now come to Court. Alas! that they cannot meet the Emperor!" There was not one of all the ministers who did not shed tears. But when the articles of tribute of the two countries were examined, the Silla tribute was of rare objects in very great number, while the Pèkché tribute articles were few and mean, and of no value. So inquiry was made of Kutyö and the others, saying:—"How is it that the Pèkché tribute is inferior to that of Silla?" They answered, and said;—"We lost our way and arrived at Sabi.[5]

[1] There are two kings of this name in Corean history. The first died A.D. 214. This is the second, who reigned from A.D. 346 to A.D. 375. The Japanese chronology is, as usual, at fault.

[2] The Corean bow is to this day the Tatar bow described in Tylor's Anthropology as "formed of several pieces of wood or horn united with glue or sinews. Shorter than the long-bow, it gets its spring by being bent outside to string it." The Japanese bow is a variety of the ordinary long-bow.

[3] Iron is plentiful in Corea at the present day, and its quality is much esteemed.

[4] On the contrary, Chiuai Tennō would have nothing to do with them.

[5] A Sabi in Tsushima is mentioned above. But this may be a place in Corea, in which case it should be read Sapi.

Here thy servants were captured by men of Silla and confined in a gaol. After three months had passed, they wished to kill us. Then Kutyö and the rest looked up towards Heaven, and pronounced a curse. The men of Silla, fearing this curse, refrained from killing us, but robbed us of our tribute. Then they gave us the tribute of Silla in exchange for our tribute, and made it the tribute of thy servants' country, and they spake to thy servants, saying:—'Be careful what ye say, or else, as soon as we return, we will kill you.' Therefore we, Kutyö and the rest, were afraid, and made no objection. For this reason we have hardly been able to reach the Heavenly Court." Then the Grand Empress and Homuda wake no Mikoto charged the Silla envoys with this deed, and accordingly prayed to the Gods of Heaven, saying:—"Whom is it meet that we send to Pèkché to examine this matter whether it be true or false; whom is it meet that we send to Silla to investigate this charge?" Therewith the Gods of Heaven admonished them, saying:—"Let Takechi no Sukune prepare a plan, and let Chikuma Nagahiko be the envoy. Then it will be as you desire."

IX. 28. Chikuma Nagahiko's title (姓) is unknown. One account says:—"Chikuma Nagahiko was a man of the province of Musashi, the first ancestor of the present Obito of Tsukimoto of the Nukada Be."

The Pèkché record[1] says:—"Shimananaga hiko was perhaps this man."

Hereupon Chikuma Nagahiko was sent to Silla to call that country to an account for meddling with the Pèkché tribute.

A.D. 249. 49th year, Spring, 3rd month. Areda wake and Kaga wake were made generals. Along with Kutyö and the others they prepared a force with which they crossed over and came to Thak-syun. They were accordingly about to invade Silla, when some one said:—"Your troops are too few. You cannot defeat Silla." They respectfully sent back again Sya-pèk Kè-ro

[1] This Pèkché record is frequently quoted from. From the circumstance that the character 貴, honourable, is used by the author or authors before the word country in speaking of Japan, it may be inferred that it was compiled by Pèkché Coreans from their own records for the information of the Japanese. I have not much doubt that it was the work of some of the Corean scholars who visited Japan in numbers during the seventh century.

to ask for reinforcements. Mong-na Keun-chă and Sya-sya Nokwé[1]

These two men's surname is unknown. But Mongna Keunchă was a Pèkché general.

were forthwith ordered to take command of choice troops which were sent along with Sya-pèk Kè-ro. They all assembled at Thak-syun, invaded Silla, and conquered it. Seven provinces were accordingly subdued, viz. Pi-chă-pun, South Kara, Tok-kuk, Ara, Tara, Thak-syun, and Kara.[2] Then they moved their forces, and turning westward, arrived at Ko-hyé-chin, where they slaughtered the southern savages of Chim-mi-ta-nyé and granted their country to Pèkché. Hereupon their King, Syoko,[3] together with Prince Kusyu, came to meet them with IX. 29.
more troops. Then four villages, viz. Pi-ri, Phi-chung, Pho-mi-ki, and Pan-ko, spontaneously surrendered. Thereupon the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, met Areda wake, Mong-na Keunchă, and the rest at the village of Wi-niu [*now called Tsurusugi*],[4] and at an interview offered their congratulations and dismissed them with cordial courtesy. But Chikuma Nagahiko remained in the Land of Pèkché with the King of Pèkché, where they ascended Mount Phi-ki and made a solemn declaration. Afterwards they ascended Mount[5] Ko-sya, where they sat together upon a rock, and the King of Pèkché made a solemn declaration, saying:—"If I spread grass for us to sit upon, it might be burnt with fire; and if I took wood for a seat, it might be washed away by water. Therefore, sitting on a rock, I make this solemn declaration of alliance to show that it will remain undecayed to distant ages. From this time

[1] In Japanese Mokura Konshi and Sasa Toki.

[2] These places, in so far as they can be identified, did not belong to Silla, but to Imna. The identification of Corean names of places presents great difficulties, owing to the Corean mania for giving new names. The "Chôsen Zenzu furoku," a little book published by the Japanese War Office, gives as many as eight aliases for some towns. Nearly all have several.

[3] Reigned 346 to 375, when he was succeeded by Kusyu. The "Nihongi" names are nearly correct.

[4] Japanese pronunciation.

[5] Mountain is in the interlinear kana mure, no doubt the modern Corean moi. Similarly, nare, river, which occurs in Kuma-nare, is in modern Corean năi, pronounced nè.

forward, therefore, for a thousand autumns and for ten thousand years, without pause and without limit, we shall bear the regular title of 'The Western Frontier Province,' and every spring and every autumn will attend your Court with tribute." So he took with him Chikuma Nagahiko to his capital, where he treated him with the most cordial courtesy. He also made Kutyö and the others escort him home.

A.D. 250. 50th year, Spring, 2nd month. Areda wake and his companions returned.

Summer, 5th month. Chikuma Nagahiko, Kutyö and the rest arrived from Pèkché. Thereupon the Grand Empress was delighted, and inquired of Kutyö, saying:—"The various Han[1] countries west of the sea have been already granted to thy country. Wherefore dost thou come again repeatedly?" Kutyö and the others said to the Empress:—"The vast
IX. 30. blessings of the Celestial Court reached afar to our mean village, and our king capered with delight. Out of the fulness of his heart he has sent a return mission in token of his great sincerity. Though it come to the ten thousandth year, in what year shall we fail to attend thy Court?" The Grand Empress gave command, saying:—"Good are thy words. These are Our intentions. We grant in addition the Castle of Tasya to serve as a station in going and returning."

A.D. 251. 51st year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché again sent Kutyö to the Court with tribute. Hereupon the Grand Empress addressed the Prince Imperial and Takechi no Sukune, saying:—"We owe it to Heaven and not to man that we have a friendly country like Corea. Therefore it brings constantly, without missing a year, tribute of trinkets and rarities such as there have never been before. We, seeing this true affection, are always rejoiced at it, and so long as we live will heartily bestow on it Our favour."

That same year she despatched Chikuma Nagahiko to the Land of Pèkché in company with Kutyö and the others. Accordingly, in the most gracious manner, she said:—"We, in accordance with the divine testimony, having for the first time laid open a road, subdued the lands west of the sea and granted them to Pèkché, would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship and make lasting our loving bounty."

[1] Corean.

At this time the Kings of Pèkché, father and son, both together knocked their foreheads on the ground and made representation, saying:—"The immense bounty of the honourable country is more weighty than Heaven and Earth. What day, what hour shall we presume to forget it? The sage sovereign IX. 31.
dwells above, illustrious as the sun and moon; thy servants now dwell below, solid as a mountain or hill, and will always be thy western frontier land, never to the last showing double hearts."

52nd year, Autumn, 9th month, 10th day. Kutyö and the A.D. 252.
others came along with Chikuma Nagahiko and presented a seven-branched[1] sword and a seven-little-one[2]-mirror, with various other objects of great value. They addressed the Empress, saying:—"West of thy servants' country there is a river-source which issues from Mount Chölsan[3] in Kong-na. It is distant seven days' journey. It need not be approached, but one should drink of this water, and so having gotten the iron of this mountain, wait upon the sage Court for all ages." Moreover, he[4] addressed his grandson, Prince Chhim-nyu,[5] saying:—"The honourable country east of the sea with which we are now in communication has been opened to us by Heaven. Therefore does it bestow on us Celestial bounty, and dividing off the land west of the sea, has granted it to us. Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou shouldst cultivate well its friendship, and having collected our national products, wait on it with tribute without ceasing. Henceforth, grudging not even our lives, let us continue to send yearly tribute."

55th year. Syoko, King of Pèkché, died.[6] A.D. 255. IX. 32.

56th year. Kusyu, son of the King of Pèkché, was set up as A.D. 256.
king.[7]

[1] The traditional kana rendering is nana-saya, i.e. a "seven-sheathed sword," which is nonsense. Seven-branched is not much better.

[2] It is not clear what is meant by nanatsuko (七子), perhaps with seven projections round the rim. See above, p. 44.

[3] Iron mountain. All this about iron is merely symbolical of constancy.

[4] The King of Pèkché. [5] Came to the throne A.D. 384.

[6] The "Tongkam" places his death in A.D. 375.

[7] The traditional kana rendering of 王 is Kokishi, a word I do not recognize as Corean. But nearly all Corean words relating to official matters have become obsolete, being replaced by Chinese terms.

A.D. 262. 62nd year. Silla did not attend the Court. The same year Sotsuhiko was sent to chastise Silla.

The Pèkché record says:—"The year Midzunoye Mŭma.[1] Silla did not wait upon the honourable country. The honourable country sent Sachihiko to attack it. The men of Silla dressed up two beautiful women whom they sent to meet Sachihiko at the port and inveigle him. Sachihiko accepted them, and turning aside, attacked the land of Kara. Kwi-pon[2] Kanki, King of Kara, and his sons, Pèk-ku-chi, A-syu-chi, Ik-sya-ri, I-ra-ma-chyu, and I-mun-chi, fled to Pèkché, taking with them their subjects. Pèkché received them cordially, and Kwi-chön-chi, younger sister of the King of Kara, went to Great Wa and addressed the Empress, saying:—'Your majesty sent Sachihiko to attack Silla. But he has accepted beautiful women of Silla, and abandoned the invasion. On the contrary he has destroyed our country. My brothers and our people have all been driven into exile. Unable to bear my grief, I have come hither to make this representation.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and forthwith sent Mongna Keunchă in command of an army to bring them together in Kara and to restore the temples of the Earth and of Grain."

One account says:—"Sachihiko, when he learnt that the Empress was wroth with him, did not dare to return openly, but hid himself. He had a younger sister who was in the service of the Imperial Palace. Hiko secretly sent a messenger to inquire of her whether or no the Empress's wrath had abated. She, pretending a dream, said to the Empress:—'To-night, in a dream, I saw Sachihiko.' The Empress was greatly enraged, and
IX. 33. said:—'How should Hiko dare to come?' The Empress's[3] words were reported to Sachihiko, who seeing that he would not be pardoned, went into a cave of a rock and died."

[1] 19th year of the Cycle, corresponding to A.D. 382.

[2] I Si-Pheum was the name of the King of Kara at this time, according to the "Tongkam."

[3] The word for Empress is Tennô, which may also mean Emperor, and indeed this suits the narrative better.

64th year.[1] Kusyu, King of Pèkché, died, and his son Chhim-nyu was set up as king. A.D. 264.

65th year. King Chhim-nyu of Pèkché died.[2] His son Ahwa was a child, and his father's younger brother, Sinsă, by usurpation was set up and made king.[3] A.D. 265.

66th year. A.D. 266.

This year was the second year of the period T'ai She of the Emperor Wu Ti of the Tsin Dynasty. K'i Kü-chu of Tsin says:—"In the 10th month of the 2nd year of the period T'ai-she of Wu Ti, the Queen of Wa sent interpreters with tribute."

69th year, Summer, 4th month, 17th day. The Grand Empress died in the Palace of Waka-zakura at the age of 100. A.D. 269.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. She was buried in the misasagi of Tatanami in Saki. On this day, by way of posthumous honour to the Grand Empress, she was called Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto.

This year was the year Tsuchinoto Ushi (26th) of the Cycle.

[1] The "Tongkam" has A.D. 384.

[2] This is mentioned almost in the same words by the "Tongkam" under date A.D. 385—just two cycles later.

[3] The narrative from p. 246 down to this point contains a solid nucleus of fact. There can be no doubt that Japan at an early period formed an alliance with Pèkché and laid the foundation of a controlling power over the territory known as Imna or Mimana which lasted for several centuries. But the Japanese chronology cannot be right. See "Early Japanese History," p. 62.

BOOK X.

THE EMPEROR HOMUDA.

(*ŌJIN*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Homuda[2] was the 4th child of the Emperor Tarashi Nakatsu-hiko. His mother's name was Okinaga Tarashi-hime no Mikoto. The Emperor was born at Kata in Tsukushi in the 12th month, Winter, of the year Kanoye Tatsu,[3] being the year in which the Empress smote Silla. From a child he was intelligent, penetrating, and far-sighted. In his bearing and conduct there were amazing indications of sageness. In the third year of the Grand Empress's administration of the Government, he was raised to the rank of Prince Imperial. Before this time, when the Emperor was in the womb, the Gods of Heaven and Earth granted to him the three Han.[4] When he was born there was flesh growing on his arm in shape like an elbow-pad.[5] As to this resemblance, the Empress judged that it was the elbow-pad worn as a manly accoutrement. Therefore he was styled by this name, and called the Emperor Homuda.

In the earliest antiquity, the tomo was commonly called Homuda.

One account says:—"In the beginning, when the Emperor was made Heir to the Throne, he went to the

[1] Responding to the Gods.

[2] The "Kojiki" calls him Homuda wake. Homuda or Honda is the name of a place.

[3] 17th of the Cycle.

[4] Corea.

[5] The *tomo* or leather shield worn on the fore-arm by archers as a protection against the recoil of the bow-string.

Land of Koshi, and did worship to the Great God of Tsutsuhi in Tsunoga. At this time the Great God and the Heir to the Throne exchanged names. Accordingly the Great God was called the God Isasa-wake and the Heir to the Throne Homuda wake no Mikoto.[1]

In the 69th year of her administration of the Government, Summer, the 4th month, the Grand Empress died.

X. 2. A.D. 270

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Dignity. This year was the year Kanoye Tora (27th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 271.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. Nakatsuhime was appointed Empress. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Arata, to the Emperor Oho-sazaki, and to the Imperial Prince Netori. Before this the Emperor had taken to him as concubine the Empress's younger sister, Takaki Iribime, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-hiko, the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, the Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka, the Imperial Princess Oho-hara, and the Imperial Princess Komida. Another concubine, a younger sister of the Empress, named Otohime, bore to him the Imperial Princess Ahe, the Imperial Princess Ahaji no Mihara, and the Imperial Princess Ki no Uno. The next concubine, daughter of Hifure no Omi, the ancestor of the Wani no Omi, by name Miya-nushi-yaka-hime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no Waka-iratsuko, the Imperial Princess Yata, and the Imperial Princess Medori. The next concubine, named Oname-hime, the younger sister of Yaka-bime, bore the Imperial Prince Uji no waka-iratsu-me. The next concubine, named Oto-hime, daughter of Kaha-mata Nakatsu hiko, bore the Imperial Prince Wakanoke Futa-mata. The next concubine, named Mago-hime, younger sister of Osabi, Muraji of the Sakurawida Be, bore the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake. The next concubine, named Naga-hime, of Idzumi in Hiuga, bore the Imperial Princes Oho-haye and Wo-haye.

X. 3.

In all the sons and daughters of this Emperor were together twenty Princes and Princesses.[2] The Imperial Prince Netori was the first ancestor of the Kimi of Ohota. The Imperial Prince

[1] There is a Semitic practice of men adopting Gods' names.

[2] Cf. Ch. K., p. 243, which makes 26 children, and differs in some details.

Oho-yama-mori was the first ancestor of the two families of the Kimi of Hiji-kata and the Kimi of Haibara. The Imperial Prince Iza no mawaka was the first ancestor of the Wake of Fukagaha.

A.D. 272. 3rd year, 10th month, 3rd day. The Eastern Yemishi all attended the Court with tribute. They were employed to make the Mŭma-zaka road.

11th month. The fishermen of several places clamoured noisily, and would not obey the Imperial command. So Oho-hama no Sukune, ancestor of the Muraji of Adzumi, was sent to subdue this clamour. He was accordingly made controller of the fishermen. This was the origin of the proverbial saying of the people of that time, viz. Sawa-ama or "clamorous fishermen."

This year King Sinsă of Pèkché was disrespectful to the Celestial Court. Therefore Ki no Tsuno no Sukune, Hata no
X. 4. Yashiro no Sukune, Ishikaha no Sukune and Tsuku no Sukune were sent to call him to an account for his rudeness. Hereupon the people of Pèkché slew Sinsă by way of apology. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and the others accordingly established Ahwa as king, and returned (to Japan).[1]

A.D. 274. 5th year, Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. The various provinces were directed to establish Be of fishermen and Be of mountain wardens.[2]

Winter, 10th month. The province of Idzu was charged with the duty of constructing a ship 10 rods[3] in length. As soon as it was completed, it was launched on the sea for a trial. It floated lightly, and was as swift as a racer. Therefore that ship was called *Karano*.

[*It is a mistake to make the ship called Karano because it was*

[1] The "Tongkam," under date A.D. 392, has the following :—"10th month. The king of Pèkché went to hunt on Ku-wön (dog-moor). Ten days elapsed without his returning. 11th month. King Sinsă of Pèkché died in his travelling palace on Dog-moor. Ahwa, son of King Chhim-nyu, came to the throne." Note that the Corean and Japanese chronologies differ by exactly 120 years, or two cycles. But the two stories are apparently irreconcilable. See below, XI. 26.

[2] Gamekeepers or huntsmen, whose business it was to supply the Imperial table.

[3] Of ten feet.

light and swift. Perhaps this is a corruption by men of later times of Karuno.[1]]

6th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor made a progress to the province of Afumi. When he arrived near the Moor of Uji, he made a song, saying :— A.D. 275 X. 5.

When I look upon the moor of Kadzu
In Chiba,
Both the hundred thousand fold abundant
House-places are visible,
And the land's acme is visible.[2]

7th year, Autumn, 9th month. Men of Koryö, men of Pèkché, men of Imna, and men of Silla[3] all together attended the Court. Orders were then given to Takechi no Sukune to take these various men of Han and make them dig a pond. Therefore the pond was given a name, and was called the pond of the men of Han.[4] A.D. 276.

8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Men of Pèkché attended Court. A.D. 277.

The Pèkché record says :—"King Ahwa came to the throne and was disrespectful[5] to the honourable country. Therefore we were despoiled of Chhim-mi-ta-ryö, Hyön-nam, Chi-chhim, Kong-na, and Eastern Han. Herewith Prince Chik-chi[6] was sent to the Celestial Court in order to restore the friendship of former kings.

9th year, Summer, 4th month. Takechi no Sukune was sent to Tsukushi to inspect the people. Now Umashi no Sukune, Takechi no Sukune's younger brother, setting aside his elder brother, slandered him to the Emperor, (saying that) Takechi no Sukune had always designs upon the Empire. "I now hear," said he, "that while he is in Tsukushi, he is secretly A.D. 278.

[1] *Kara* means withered, and *no*, moor, or the latter may be put phonetically for *no* the genitive particle. Karu means light. The "Shukai" editor rejects this note.

[2] From Ch. K., p. 245, q.v.

[3] The traditional kana rendering has Koma, Kudara, Mimana and Shiraki.

[4] Or "men of Kara." Compare Ch. K., p. 252.

[5] See above, p. 256, where it is said that it was King Sinsă who was disrespectful.

[6] The "Tongkam" calls him Työnchi, and places this event in 397.

plotting to that end, saying (to himself), 'Alone I will cut off Tsukushi, and will invite the three Han to come and do homage to me, so that finally I may possess the Empire.'"

Hereupon the Emperor straightway sent messengers to slay Takechi no Sukune. Now Takechi no Sukune cried out,
X. 6. saying:—"I have not two hearts, but serve my prince with loyalty. What a calamity is this that I should die without a crime!"

Now there was a man named Maneko, ancestor of the Atahe of Iki, who in appearance strongly resembled Takechi no Sukune. All by himself he grudged that Takechi no Sukune's innocent life should be vainly thrown away. So he spoke to Takechi no Sukune and said:—"Now the Great Minister[1] serves his Prince with loyalty, and has not had a black heart. All the Empire knows this. I pray thee leave this place secretly, and, proceeding to the Court, personally unfold thine innocence. After this it will not be too late to die. Moreover the people of this time are always saying that thy slave resembles the Great Minister in appearance. Therefore I will now die in the place of the Great Minister, and so make clear the Great Minister's redness of heart."[2] So he threw himself on his sword, and slew himself. Then Takechi no Sukune, alone, grieving greatly for him, secretly left Tsukushi, and embarking on the sea, went round by way of the Southern Ocean. Anchoring in the harbour of Ki, he hardly succeeded in making his way to the Court, where he explained his innocence. The Emperor forthwith questioned Takechi no Sukune along with Umashi no Sukune, upon which these two men were each obstinate, and wrangled with one another, so that it was impossible to ascertain the right and the wrong. The Emperor then gave orders to ask of the Gods of Heaven and Earth the ordeal by boiling water. Hereupon Takechi no Sukune and Umashi no Sukune went out together to the bank of the Shiki river, and underwent the ordeal of boiling water. Takechi no Sukune was victorious. Taking his cross-sword, he threw down Umashi no Sukune, and was at length about to slay him, when the Emperor ordered him to let him go. So he gave him to the ancestor of the Atahe of Kiï.

[1] i.e. you. [2] Sincerity.

11th year, Winter, 10th month. The Tsurugi, Kakaki, and Mumaya-zaka ponds were made. A.D. 280. X. 7.

This year there was a man who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"There is in the land of Hiuga a maiden whose name is Kami-naga-hime.[1] She is the daughter of Ushi-morowi, the Kimi of Muragata. She is distinguished for beauty over all the Land." The Emperor was pleased, and wished in his heart to obtain her.

13th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor sent a special messenger to summon Kami-naga-hime. A.D. 282.

Autumn, 9th month. Kami-naga-hime arrived from Hiuga, and was straightway settled at the village of Kuhadzu. Now the Imperial Prince, Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, when he saw Kami-naga-hime, was struck with the beauty of her form, and had a constant love for her. Hereupon the Emperor became aware of Oho-sazaki no Mikoto's passion for Kami-naga-hime, and wished to unite her to him. Therewith the Emperor, on the day that he gave a banquet in the hinder palace,[2] sent for Kami-naga-hime for the first time, and so gave her the upper seat in the banqueting-room. Then he brought in Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and pointing to Kami-naga-hime, made a song, saying:—

Come! my son!
On the moor, garlic to gather,
Garlic to gather
On the way as I went,
Pleasing of perfume
Was the orange in flower.
Its branches beneath
Men had all plundered,
Its branches above
Birds perching had withered. X 8.
[Of three chestnuts][3]
Midmost, its branches
Held in their hiding
A blushing maiden.
Come! and for thee, my son,
Let her burst into blossom.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, being favoured with this

[1] The long-haired lady. [2] i.e. the women's apartments.
[3] This is a mere makura-kotoba of little or no meaning.

poetry, forthwith understood that he was receiving Kami-naga-hime as a gift; and, greatly delighted, made a song in reply, saying:—

In the pond of Yosami
Where the water collects,
The marsh-rope coils
Were growing, but I knew not of them:
In the river-fork stream,
The water-caltrops shells
Were pricking me, but I knew not of them.
Oh, my heart!
How very ridiculous thou wert![1]

Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, after the consummation of his union with Kami-naga-hime, was very attentive to her, and when he was alone with her, made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province!
As of a God
Though I had heard of her,
We are folded in each other's arms.

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maid of Kohada
Of the further province—
Oh! how I love her
As she lies
X. 9. Unresisting!

One account says:—"Ushi, the Kimi of Morogata in Hiuga, was in the service of the Court. But having become old in years, he was unable to serve, and so, having ceased his service, he retired to his own land. Thereupon he offered the Emperor his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime. When she first arrived at Harima, the Emperor had made a progress to the island of Ahaji, and was hunting there. Hereupon the Emperor, looking towards the west, saw several tens of stags swimming

[1] In the "Kojiki" this poem is attributed to the Emperor. See Ch. K., p. 249. The marsh-rope is the Brasenia peltata, according to Chamberlain. The general meaning of the poem seems to be: "What a fool I was to be in such despair as to be unconscious of bodily suffering, while happiness was all the while near me!"

towards him over the sea. Presently they entered the harbour of Kako in Harima. The Emperor addressed his courtiers, saying :—'What stags are these which come in numbers swimming over the great sea ?' Then the courtiers all looked at them and wondered. So a messenger was sent to make examination. The messenger, when he came there, saw that they were all men, only they had for clothing deer-skins with the horns attached. He inquired of them, saying :—'What men are ye ?' They replied, saying :—'Ushi, the Kimi of Morogata, being old in years, has ceased his service, but he cannot forget the Court. Therefore he offers his own daughter, Kami-naga-hime.' The Emperor was delighted, and sending for her, made her follow the Imperial ship. For this reason, the men of that time called the place where they reached the shore the harbour of Kako.[1] It was perhaps at this time that the practice began of using the word kako as a general name for sailors."

14th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent as tribute a seamstress named Maketsu.[2] She was the first ancestress of the present seamstresses of Kume.[3] This year the Lord of Yutsuki[4] came from Pèkché and offered his allegiance. Accordingly he addressed the Emperor, saying :—"Thy servant was coming to offer allegiance with one hundred and twenty districts of the people of his own land, when the men of Silla prevented them, and they were all forced to remain in the land of Kara." Hereupon Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko was sent to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kara. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come. A.D. 283. X. 10.

15th year, Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. The King of Pèkché sent A-chik-ki with two quiet horses as tribute. So they were fed in stables on the acclivity of Karu. Accordingly A-chik-ki was appointed to have charge of their foddering. A.D. 284.

[1] Kako is written with characters which mean deer-little-one.

[2] I have here followed the traditional kana pronunciation. The Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters would be Chin-mo-chin. Another reading makes two women.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] Yutsuki is the traditional rendering of the characters 弓月. This in Corean would be Kung-wöl.

Therefore the place where the horses were kept was named Mumaya-saka.[1] Moreover, A-chik-ki was able to read the classics, and so the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko,[2] made him his teacher. Herèupon the Emperor inquired of A-chik-ki, saying :—"Are there other learned men superior to thee?" He answered and said :—"There is Wang-in,[3] who is superior." Then Areda wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, and Kamu nagi wake were sent to Pèkché to summon Wang-in.

X. 11. This A-chik-ki was the first ancestor of the A-chik-ki (or Atogi) no Fumi-bito.[4]

A.D. 285. 16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Wang-in[5] arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, took him

[1] Stable-hill.

[2] But he was not the heir. Oho-sazaki was heir. See Ch. K., pp. 254 and 257.

[3] The traditional reading is Wani, which is also found in the "Kojiki."

[4] Scribes.

[5] There are clear indications that the Chinese language and character were not wholly unknown in Japan from a time which may be roughly put as coinciding with the Christian epoch. But this knowledge was probably confined to a few interpreters. There were no schools, and no official records. The arrival of Wangin was therefore a most important event in Japanese history. It was the beginning of a training in Chinese ideas which has exercised a profound influence on the whole current of Japanese thought and civilization up to our own day.

The date given for it in the "Nihongi," however, cannot be correct. As I have endeavoured to show in a paper on "Early Japanese History" contributed to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Wangin's arrival must be placed 120 years later, i.e. in 405 instead of in 285. Whether the whole chronology of this period requires to be altered accordingly, as I am disposed to believe, or only the dates of those events which relate to Corea, is a question which has not yet received an adequate answer. It is curious that the "Kiujiki" omits all mention of them.

Corea preceded Japan by only a very short time in the establishment of schools of Chinese learning and in the institution of official records. Kokuryö established a High School in 372, and Pèkché appointed a Professor of Chinese two years later. Before this time, says the "Tongkam," Pèkché had no written records. See "Writing, Printing, and Alphabet in Corea," "J.R.A.S.," 1895.

Á-chik-ki is the Corean pronunciation of the characters 阿 直 岐. The traditional rendering in kana is Achiki or Atogi. The "Kojiki" calls him Achi-Kishi, where Kishi is written 吉 師, the name of a Corean rank of no great eminence.

as teacher, and learnt various books from him. There was none which he did not thoroughly understand. Therefore the man called Wang-in was the first ancestor of the Fumi no Obito.[1]

In this year King Ahwa of Pèkché died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Työn-chi,[2] and addressed him, saying:—"Do thou return to thy country and succeed to the (royal) Dignity." Accordingly he further granted to him the territory of Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.[3]

Eastern Han comprises Kam-na-syöng, Ko-nan-syöng, and I-rim-syöng.[4]

8th month. Kidzu no Sukune of Heguri and Tada no Sukune of Ikuba were sent to Kara. Choice troops were granted them, and the Emperor commanded them, saying:—"The long delay in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his X. 12.
being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla. Do you go speedily, assail Silla, and open a way for him." Hereupon

[1] Fumi no obito, chiefs of writing.

[2] Prince Työn-chi. The "Nihongi" has 直支 here and below (25th year), which would be in Corean Chik-chi. But 直 is a mistake for 腆, the former character having slipped in from the name of the horse-keeper mentioned above.

[3] The following are the notices in the "Tongkam" relating to Prince Työnchi's being sent to Japan:—

"Reign of Ahwa, 6th year, Summer, 5th month. Pèkché made friends A.D. 397
with Wa. Työnchi, the Heir Apparent, was sent as a hostage."

"Reign of Ahwa, 14th year, Autumn, 9th month. King Ahwa of Pèkché A.D. 405.
died. The Heir Apparent Työnchi had not returned from Wa, whither he had gone as a hostage. Työnchi's next younger brother, Hunhê, administered the Government in expectation of the Heir Apparent's return. The youngest brother, Syöl-lyé, slew Hunhè, and set himself up as King. When Työnchi heard of the King's death, he wept bitterly, and asked permission to return. The Lord of Wa gave Työnchi one hundred soldiers as an escort. When he arrived at the frontier, a man of Hansyöng[1] named Hè-chhung came to meet him, and said:—'The Great King (Ahwa) having left this world, Syöl-lyé slew his elder brother and set up himself as King. I pray that the Heir Apparent will promptly take measures for this.' Työnchi, guarded by the Wa soldiers, repaired to an island in the sea, and made provision there while the people of the land killed Syöl-lyé, and going to meet (Työnchi), established him as King." "Tongkam," III. 14.

[4] Syöng means a walled city.

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[1] The present capital of Söul.

Kidzu no Sukune and his colleague moved forward their choice troops and arrived at the Silla frontier. The King of Silla was afraid, and confessed his guilt, so they brought away with them the people of Kungwöl[1] and Sotsuhiko.

A.D. 288. 19th year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.[2] At this time the Kuzu[3] came to his Court, and presenting to the Emperor newly-brewed sake, made a song, saying:—

At Kashinofu
A cross-mortar[4] we made:
In that cross-mortar
The great august sake that we have brewed
Sweetly
Do thou partake of it
Oh! our father![5]

When the song was finished, they drummed on their mouths and looked up laughing. At the present time, on the day that the Kuzu[6] present their country's produce to the Emperor, when their song is finished they drum on their mouths and look up laughing. This custom is probably a relic of antiquity. Now the Kuzu are very plain and honest in character. They commonly gather wild berries for food, and they also boil frogs,
X. 13. which they reckon a great dainty, calling them kebi. Their country lies to the south-east of the capital, on the other side of a mountain. There they dwell by the River Yoshino (amid) steep cliffs and deep ravines. The roads are narrow, with deep hollows. Therefore, although the distance from the capital is not great, their visits to Court had been rare. However, from this time forward they came frequently, bringing the produce of their country to present to the Emperor. This produce consists of such things as chestnuts, mushrooms, and trout.

A.D. 289. 20th year, Autumn, 9th month. Achi no Omi, ancestor of

[1] Or Yutsuki.
[2] In the south of Yamato.
[3] Local chieftains.
[4] It is not clear what a cross-mortar was. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 251.
[5] The word translated father is *chi*, which is also used more generally as a term of respect. Perhaps "Lord" might be better here.
[6] Seventeen was their number in later times, according to the Yengi Shiki.

the Atahe of the Aya[1] of Yamato, and his son Tsuga no Omi X. 14.
immigrated to Japan, bringing with them a company of their people of seventeen districts.

22nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. The Emperor made A.D. 291.
a progress to Naniha, where he dwelt in the Palace of Ohosumi.

10th day. He ascended a lofty tower and had a distant prospect. Now he was attended by his concubine Yehime, who, looking towards the west, lamented loudly. Hereupon the Emperor inquired of Yehime, saying:—"Why dost thou lament so bitterly?" She answered and said:—"Of late thy handmaiden has been thinking fondly of her father and mother, and so, looking towards the west, unawares she made lament. I pray thee let me return for a while that I may see my parents." Hereupon the Emperor loved Yehime's tender thought for the warmth and coolness[2] of her parents, and addressing her, said:—"Many years have passed since thou hast seen thy parents. It is clearly right that thou shouldst wish to return

[1] Aya is the traditional Japanese rendering of 漢, i.e. Han, the name of a Chinese dynasty. No satisfactory explanation of the reason why this character should be read aya has been given. As a mere guess, I would suggest that Hada or hata for 秦 (Ts'in), Kure for Wu 吳 and Aya for Han may have been names given from the textile products with which these three Chinese dynasties, or the emigrants, may have been associated; Hada or Hata meaning loom or cloth generally, Kure, dyed stuffs (for Kurenawi, pink or scarlet), and Aya, figured stuffs. There were numerous weavers among the Corean (or Chinese) emigrants to Japan. See below, A.D. 306. For Kure, another derivation is that which makes it mean "distant," a sense in which it occurs more than once in the "Manyōshiu," and in a poem in the "Nihongi," Reign of Saimei, year 4.

This family was called the Aya of Yamato to distinguish it from another family of the same name in Kahachi. These two families were also known respectively as the Higashi no Aya, or Eastern Aya, and the Nishi no Aya, or Western Aya.

Motoōri ("Kojikiden," XXXIII. 39) shows that, like other events relating to Corea in this part of the "Nihongi," this immigration must be dated 120 years later.

The Yamato Aya claimed descent from the Emperor Ling-ti of the Later Han dynasty, who reigned A.D. 168 to 190. We are told that on the fall of that dynasty in 221, Prince Achi fled to Corea, whence he subsequently emigrated to Japan; but how much of this is true it is impossible to say. Cf. Ch. K., p. 253.

[2] i.e. thoughtfulness for her parents' comfort.

and visit them." So he granted her permission, and summoning eighty fishermen of Mihara in Ahaji and making sailors of them, sent her to Kibi.

Summer, 4th month. Yehime set sail from Ohotsu[1] and departed.

X. 15. The Emperor, standing on the high tower, looked towards Yehime's ship and made a song, saying:—

Thou Island of Ahaji
With thy double ranges;[2]
Thou Island of Adzuki
With thy double ranges—
Ye good islands
* * * *[3]
Ye have seen face to face
My spouse of Kibi.

Autumn, 9th month, 6th day. The Emperor hunted in the Island of Ahaji. This island lies beyond the sea to the west of Naniha. There is a confusion of peaks and cliffs; hills and valleys succeed to one another. Fragrant herbs grow luxuriantly; it is washed by the long billows. Moreover, great deer, wild ducks, and wild geese are abundant in that island. Therefore the Emperor made frequent excursions thither.[4] Now the Emperor, going round by way of Ahaji, made a progress to Kibi and went on an excursion to the Island of Adzuki.

11th day. He again removed his dwelling to the Palace of
X. 16. Ashimori in Hata. Then Mitomo wake presented himself and entertained the Emperor, employing his brother, children and grandchildren as stewards. Hereupon the Emperor, observing the reverential fear with which Mitomo wake waited on him, was pleased, and accordingly, having divided the province of Kibi, granted it in fee to his children; that is to say, dividing off the district of Kahashima, he granted it to the eldest son, Inehaya wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Shimo-

[1] Ohotsu is literally "great port." Perhaps Ohosaka is meant.

[2] Showing a double row of mountain peaks.

[3] The sixth line of the original is unintelligible.

[4] Riding in his carriage, says the original, a Chinese expression which is not meant to be taken literally.

tsu-michi.[1] Next he took the district of Kamu-tsu-michi and granted it to the middle son, Nakatsuhiko.[2] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kamu-tsu-michi and of the Omi of Kaya. Next he took the district of Mino and granted it to Otohiko.[3] He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Mino. Afterwards he took the district of Hakuke and granted it to Ahiru wake, the younger brother of Mitomo wake. He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Kasa. Accordingly he took the district of Sono X. 17.
and granted it to his elder brother, Urakori wake. He was the first ancestor of the Atahe of Sono. And taking the district of Hatori-be,[4] he granted it to Yehime. Wherefore his descendants dwell to this day in the Land of Kibi. This is the reason of it.[5]

25th year. King Työn-chi of Pèkché died.[6] Accordingly A.D. 294.
his son Ku-ni-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi of Yamato[7] took the administration of the State. He had an intrigue with the King's mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper. The Emperor hearing this, sent for him.

The Pèkché record says:—"Mong-man-chi was the son of Mong-na Keunchă,[8] born to him of a Silla woman

[1] Shimo-tsu-michi means the lower road, i.e. the part of the province furthest from the capital. Kamu-tsu-michi, on the other hand, is the higher road—the part nearest the capital.

[2] Middle prince. [3] Younger prince. [4] Weavers.

[5] If we take a broad view of Japanese History we shall recognize in it a constant oscillation between two forms of government. At one time there is a strong central authority with local governors removable at pleasure or at short intervals. By degrees the latter offices become hereditary and more independent of the throne, so that eventually a sort of feudal system is the result. Then the pendulum swings back again, and under a strong ruler the old centralized government is restored, while the local nobles, deprived of effective authority, retain their titles only.

Notwithstanding the numerous imperfections of the record, it is clear that in Ôjin's reign the feudal system prevailed. Towards the end of the seventh century, again, we find a much more centralized form of government. The Revolution of 1868 is a remarkable example of a rapid change from a feudal system to a strong central government. The converse process is always far more gradual.

[6] The "Tongkam" gives A.D. 420 as the year of Työn-chi's death. The usual difference of 120 years is therefore not exactly realized in this case.

[7] Or Great Wa. 大倭.

[8] See above, p. 249. This does not look like a Japanese name.

when he invaded that country. The great services of his father gave him absolute authority in Imna. He came into our country and went back and forward to the honourable country,[1] accepting the control of the Celestial Court. He seized the administration of our country, and his power was supreme in that day. The Emperor, hearing of his violence, recalled him."

A.D. 297. 28th year, Autumn, 9th month. The King of Koryö sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address, in which it was said :—"The King of Koryö instructs the Land of
X. 18 Nippon." Now the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, read this address and was enraged. He reproached the Koryö envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up.[2]

A.D. 300. 31st year, Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor commanded his ministers,[3] saying :—"The Government ship named *Karano* was sent as tribute by the Land of Idzu. It is rotten, and unfit for use. It has, however, been in Government use for a long time, and its services should not be forgotten. Shall we not keep the name of that ship from being lost, and hand it down to after ages?" The ministers, on receiving this command, made the functionaries take the timber of that ship and use it as firewood for roasting salt. Herewith they got five hundred baskets of salt, which were freely given away to the various provinces, and the latter were accordingly caused to build ships. Upon this, all the provinces at the same time sent up ships as tribute, to the number of five hundred, which all assembled in the harbour of Muko. At this time the Silla

[1] Japan.

[2] If this story were true, it would have to be dated 120 years later. But even then Koryö was still Kokuryö. The name Koryö did not come into official use till A.D. 918, though as a literary designation examples of it may be found as early as A.D. 500. Koryö, however, is out of place in an ostensible quotation from a formal official document of this period, and shows that this story is untrue or much garbled.

The term Nippon for Japan is also an anachronism. It was not officially notified to Corea until A.D. 670, though there are examples of its use earlier in the same century.

Waka-iratsuko did not become Heir Apparent until A.D. 309 (of the "Nihongi" chronology), and as he is there alluded to as being of tender years, he must have been at this time a somewhat precocious prince.

[3] See above, p. 257.

tribute-envoys were stopping along with them at Muko.[1] Hereupon, of a sudden, fire broke out in the Silla lodgings. It presently spread to the fleet of ships, so that many of them were burnt. In consequence of this, the Silla men were called to an account. The King of Silla, when he heard of it, was afraid, and, greatly alarmed, sent tribute of skilful workmen. They were the first ancestors of the Wina[2] Be. In the beginning, when the ship *Karano* was burnt as firewood for making salt, some was left over from the burning. It was thought strange that it did not burn, and it was accordingly presented to the Emperor. The Emperor wondered at it, and had it made into a koto, which had a ringing note, and could be heard afar off. Then the Emperor made a song, saying :—

(The ship) *Karano* X. 19.
Was burnt for salt :
Of the remainder
A koto was made.
When it is played on,
(One hears) the saya-saya[3]
Of the summer trees
Brushing against, as they stand,
The rocks of the mid-harbour—
The harbour of Yura.

37th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Achi no Omi and Tsuga no Omi[4] were sent to Wu,[5] to procure seamstresses. Now Achi no Omi and his companions crossed over to the Land of Koryö, and endeavoured to reach Wu. But on arriving at Koryö they knew not the road at all, and begged A.D. 306.

Hiōgo, or some place in the vicinity, is meant.

[2] A place in Settsu.

[3] Saya-saya is an onomatopoetic word for rustling, equivalent to the French frou-frou.

Yura is in Ahaji. Cf. Ch. K., 285.

[4] They were Coreans. See above, p. 264.

[5] Wu 吳, called by the Japanese Go or Kure, was a Chinese dynasty, the last sovereign of which was deposed A.D. 280, long before the despatch of these envoys. We learn, however, from a note to the "Shukai" edition that this appellation was applied (perhaps popularly) to all the six dynasties established at Nanking or the neighbourhood from Wu to Chên inclusive, i.e. from A.D. 229 to 589. To this day a draper's shop is called in Japan a Go-fuku-ya, or "house for Go-clothing."

Koryö to give them persons who knew the road. The King of Koryö sent with them as guides two men called Kureha and Kureshi.[1] In this way they were enabled to reach Wu. The King[2] of Wu thereupon gave them four women as workwomen, namely Ye-hime, Oto-hime, Kure-hatori and Ana-hatori.[3]

A.D. 308. 39th year, Spring, 2nd month. The King of Pèkché sent his younger sister, the Lady Sin-chă-to,[4] to wait upon (the Emperor as his concubine). Now the Lady Sin-chă-to came over, bringing in her train seven women.

X. 20. A.D. 309. 40th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor summoned to him Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto[5] and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, and inquired of them, saying:—"Do ye love your children?" They answered and said:—"We love them exceedingly." Again he inquired:—"Which are most dear—the elder ones or the younger?" Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto answered and said:—"There is none like the elder." On this the Emperor showed displeasure. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, who had previously observed the Emperor's expression of face, answered and said:—"The older has experienced many colds and heats, and has already become a man, so that there is no reason for anxiety about him. But in the case of a young child one knows not whether he will reach manhood or not, and for that reason he is very pitiable." The Emperor was greatly pleased and said:—"Thy words are truly in accordance with my feelings." At this time it was the Emperor's constant

[1] The Chinese characters given in the text seem to be only Japanese phonetic renderings of the names, and I have therefore not given them their Corean sounds, which would be Ku-nyé-pha and Ku-nyé-chi. But they do not look like real names. They appear to be made up of Kure, the name of the dynasty, or rather of the country ruled by it, and a termination.

[2] Some local authority must be intended.

[3] These names mean respectively "elder lady," "younger lady," "Kure weaver," and "hole weaver." But Ana, hole, is probably a mistake for Aya, the Japanese name of the Chinese Han dynasty. Wu (or Kure) and Han (or Aya) weavers are mentioned together below, year 14 of Yuriaku's reign. See also above, p. 265.

[4] The Japanese traditional reading is Shi-se-tsu. The "Shukai" edition rejects the name Chikchi, which in the older editions follows Pèkché. It is not in the old books, and besides his death has been already recorded above.

[5] He was the son of an inferior consort.

desire to establish Uji no Waka-iratsuko as Prince Imperial, and so he wished to conciliate the minds of the two Imperial Princes. Therefore he started this inquiry. On this account he was displeased with Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto's answer.

24th day. Uji no Waka-iratsuko was established as successor (to the throne). On the same day Oho-yama-mori no Mikoto [1] was appointed to the charge of the mountains, rivers, woods, and moors, while Oho-sazaki no Mikoto was made Assistant to the Prince Imperial, and caused to administer affairs of State.

41st year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Toyo-Akira at the age of 110.[2] A.D. 310

One account says:—"He died in the Palace of Oho-kuma."

In this month Achi no Omi and his companions arrived in Tsukushi from Wu. Now the Great God of Muna-gata [3] asked for workwomen. Therefore Ane-hime was offered to the Great God of Muna-gata. She was the ancestor of the Mitsukahi [4] no Kimi, who now dwell in the Land of Tsukushi. He then took with him the three women, and proceeded to the Land of Tsu.[5] But when he reached Muko the Emperor was dead and he was too late. Accordingly he offered them to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. The descendants of these women are the present seamstresses of Kure and the seamstresses of Kaya.[6]

[1] His name, Great-mountain-warden, already indicates this office. There is a distinction between the characters for Mikoto applied to the elder and younger brothers, the latter having the more honorific character no doubt because he afterwards became Emperor. See above, p. 2.

[2] The "Kojiki" says 130. He was deified at a later period under the name of Yahata or Hachiman as the God of War, and there are many shrines in his honour standing at this day.

[3] In Chikuzen.

[4] Mitsukahi means "august messenger."

[5] Settsu.

[6] Kaya is written with the characters for "Musquito-net." There is a place in Bittchiu of this name, but written with different characters.

BOOK XI.

THE EMPEROR OHO-SAZAKI.[1]

(*NINTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-sazaki was the fourth child of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was a granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ihoki-iri-hiko. The Emperor from his childhood was intelligent and sagacious, and his face was fair to look upon. When he grew to manhood he was indulgent and humane. The Emperor Homuda died in Spring, the 2nd month of the 41st year of his reign. Now the Prince Imperial offered to cede the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto. He would not assume the Imperial Dignity, but advised with Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—" He that shall rule over the Empire and govern the myriad subjects should overspread them like Heaven, and comprehend them like Earth. If there is above a cheerful heart with which to employ the people, the people are happy and the Empire tranquil. But here am I, a younger brother, and moreover wanting in talent. How shall I presume to succeed to the Dignity and to enter upon the Celestial task? But thou, O great Prince, art distinguished in appearance and of a far-reaching benevolence. Thou art also of ripe years and art fit to become Lord of the Empire. The late Emperor established me as his Heir. But was this for my abilities? No, it was simply because he loved me. Moreover, there is the weighty matter of the service of the Ancestral shrines and of the Gods of the Earth and of Grain.[3] For this thy servant is wanting in ready tact and is unmeet to

[1] Great-wren. See below, XI. 7. [2] Benevolence-virtue.

[3] These expressions are simply borrowed from Chinese books, and have no bearing on Japanese ancient institutions or ideas.

fill the office. Now, there is a general principle admitted by XI. 2.
both ancient and modern times that the elder brother should be above and the younger brother below, that the wise man should be Lord and the stupid man a vassal. Let the Prince therefore unhesitatingly assume the Imperial Dignity, and I will be simply his servant and assistant." Oho-sazaki no Mikoto answered and said:—"It was the intention of the late Emperor that the Imperial Dignity should not be vacant for a single day. Therefore he made choice beforehand of an illustrious virtue and established the Prince as his duplicate. The succession he bestowed on thee and the people he granted to thee. Let us honour his preference, and publish it throughout the land. Wanting in wisdom though I am, shall I disregard the command of the late Emperor, and without consideration comply with the request of the Prince, my younger brother?"

He firmly declined and would not receive it, and each of them wished to transfer (the sovereignty) to the other.

At this time the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, intending to take charge of the official rice-lands and granary of Yamato, addressed Oü no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Idzumo, who was the officer charged with these official rice-lands, saying:—"These official rice-lands were originally XI. 3
Mountain-warden-land, and therefore I will now take the management of them. Thou oughtest not to hold them."

Now Oü no Sukune reported the matter to the Prince Imperial, who spake to him, saying:—"Do thou represent the matter to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto." Hereupon Oü no Sukune made representation to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko will not allow thy servant to manage the official rice-fields which were placed in his charge." Oho-sazaki no Mikoto inquired of Maro, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, saying:—"It is stated that the official rice-lands of Yamato were originally Mountain-warden-land. How is this?" He answered and said:—"Thy servant knows not. But thy servant's younger brother, Akoko, knows." It happened that at this time Akoko had been sent to the Han[1] country and had not yet returned. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no

[1] Corea.

Mikoto spake to Oü, saying:—"Do thou go thyself to the Han country and summon Akoko. Go quickly, travelling day and night." So he assigned to him eighty fishermen of Ahaji as sailors. Hereupon Oü proceeded to the Han country, and straightway came accompanied by Akoko. Accordingly he was asked about the Yamato official rice-lands. He replied, saying:—"I have heard by tradition that, in the time of the Emperor who reigned in the palace of Tamaki at Makimuku,[1] the official rice-fields of Yamato were settled in the charge of Oho-tarashi-hiko no Mikoto, the Prince Imperial. At that time there was an Imperial Decree to the effect that the official rice-lands of Yamato were always to be the official rice-lands of the reigning Sovereign, and could not be held by anyone who was not the reigning Sovereign, even an Emperor's child. It is therefore wrong to say that this is Mountain-warden-land."

Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto sent Akoko to the Imperial Prince Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, and made him acquaint him with these circumstances. The Imperial Prince Oho-naka-tsu-hiko knew not at all what to do, and Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, recognizing that he was in the wrong, forgave him and did not punish him.

XI. 4. Thereafter Prince Oho-yama-mori[2] was full of resentment that he was passed over by the late Emperor and not established as Prince Imperial. In addition he had this cause of hatred. So he plotted, saying:—"I will kill the Prince Imperial and will ultimately ascend to the Imperial Dignity." Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, having heard beforehand of his plot, secretly advised the Prince Imperial to prepare soldiers for his protection. Then the Prince Imperial got ready troops and awaited him. The Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori, not knowing that soldiers had been prepared, took with him only a few hundred fighting men, and starting in the middle of the night, proceeded thither. At dawn he arrived at Uji, and was about to cross the river when the Prince Imperial, having put on

[1] Suinin Tennō.

[2] Clearly Oho-yama-mori is the same person who is spoken of above as Nukada no Oho-naka-tsu-hiko. Either Nukada all through the above passage is a mistake, or the genealogy (p. 255) which makes two persons of them is wrong. I think the latter more likely, Oho-yama-mori being an official designation, and Nukada, etc., the name.

hempen garments, took the helm, and secretly mingled with the ferrymen. He then took the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori on board and ferried him over as far as the middle of the river, where he induced the ferrymen to step on the (side of the) boat and make it heel over. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Oho-yama-mori fell into the river and sank. But he rose to the surface again, and while floating down the stream made a song, saying,—

At the ferry of Uji
* * *[1]
Among the pole-men
Those who are nimblest
Will come to me.

But a large number of ambushed soldiers sprang up, so that he was unable to reach the bank, and he finally sank and died. Search was caused to be made for his dead body, and it came to the surface at the ferry of Kahara. Then the Prince Imperial seeing the dead body, made a song, saying,—

O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows
That growest by the ferry—
The ferry of Uji!
* * *
In my heart I thought
To cut thee,
In my heart I thought
To take thee,
But at the bottom, XI. 5.
Of my lord I bethought me,
But at the top,
Of thy spouse I bethought me.
There I thought pitifully,
Here I thought mournfully—
Uncut I leave thee,
O thou Mayumi tree
For Adzusa bows![2]

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[1] The asterisks represent an untranslatable pillow-word. See Ch. K, p. 255.

[2] Mayumi is the Euonymus. Adzusa is the Catalpa, a tree suitable for making bows. It has no particular meaning here. There is much differ-

So he was buried at Mount Nara. Afterwards the Prince Imperial built a palace at Uji, wherein he dwelt. Moreover in consequence of his ceding the Dignity to Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, he remained for a long time without assuming the Imperial rank. Now three years passed during which the Imperial rank was vacant. Then there was a fisherman who brought a mat-basket of fresh fish, which he offered as a present at the Uji Palace. The Prince Imperial commanded the fisherman, saying:—"I am not the Emperor," and sent him away, telling him to present it at Naniha. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto also sent him away, telling him to present it at Uji. Hereupon the fisherman's mat-basket became putrid on his journeys back and forward. So he sent it away again and procured other fresh fish, which he presented, and which were declined as on the previous day. The fresh fish again became putrid. The fisherman was grieved at his frequent returning, so he flung away the fresh fish and wept. Therefore the proverbial saying, "There is a fisherman who weeps on account of his own things," which had its origin in this.

The Prince Imperial said:—"I know that the Prince, my elder brother, is not to be moved from his resolution. Why then should I prolong my life and give trouble to the Empire?" So he died by his own hand. Then Oho-sazaki no Mikoto, hearing of the Prince Imperial's death, was greatly shocked,
XI. 6. and hastening from Naniha arrived at the Palace of Uji. Now three days had passed since the Prince Imperial's death. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto beat his breast, wept aloud, and knew not what to do. He loosed out his hair, and bestriding the corpse, called upon him thrice, saying:—"Oh, my younger brother, the Imperial Prince!" In course of time he came to life, raised himself up, and remained in a sitting posture. Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto addressed the Heir Apparent, saying:—"Oh, what grief! Oh, what regret! Why didst thou pass away of thine own accord? If the dead had any

ence of opinion among native commentators as to the meaning of this poem. It would seem as if the Prince, having thrown his brother overboard, could hardly claim much credit for clemency. But probably this is a genuine ancient poem, which the author has inserted here without much regard to fitness. The asterisks represent the untranslatable pillow-word Chihaybito, an epithet of Uji.

knowledge, what would the late Emperor think of me?" So the Prince Imperial addressed the Prince his elder brother, saying:—"It is the command of Heaven. Who may stay it? If I should go to the place where the Emperor is, I will tell him of all the Prince, my elder brother's wisdom, and also of my abdication. But the sage Prince must surely be fatigued after the long and hurried journey which he undertook on hearing of my death." So he presented to him the Imperial Princess Yata,[1] his younger sister by the same mother, saying:—"Though she is unworthy of thy nuptials, she may in some small measure serve to be entered in the number of the side Courts." So he lay down again in his coffin and died.

Hereupon Oho-sazaki no Mikoto put on plain unbleached garments and began mourning for him, and his lamentation was exceedingly pathetic. He was buried on the top of the hill of Uji.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Oho-sazaki no Mikoto A.D. 313.
assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. He made his capital at Naniha. It was called the Palace of Takatsu. The Palace
enclosure and buildings were not plastered, the gable rafters XI. 7.
and ridgepoles, the posts and pillars were devoid of ornament; the covering of thatch was not evenly trimmed.[2] This was that he might not delay the season of agricultural operations for the sake of his own personal caprices.

Before this time, on the day that the Emperor was born, an owl entered the parturition house. The next morning the Emperor Homuda called to him the Prime Minister Takechi no Sukune, and addressed him, saying:—"What may this portend?" The Prime Minister answered and said:—"It is a lucky omen. Moreover yesterday when thy servant's wife was in labour, a wren entered the parturition house. This also is strange!" Hereupon the Emperor said:—"Now our child and the Prime Minister's child have been born on the same day.

[1] She was also a daughter of the late Emperor. This shows that marriages of sisters *by the father's side only* were allowed. The Prince Imperial was able to give his sister by the mother's side in marriage. He would have had no control over his sisters by the father's side only.

[2] It should be remembered that at this period every Mikado built himself a new palace in a new locality.

In the case of both there are omens. This is an indication from Heaven. Let us take the names of these birds, and each exchanging them, call our children after them as a covenant to future generations." So he took the name "wren" (sazaki) and called the Prince Imperial by it, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Oho-sazaki."[1] And he took the name "owl" (Dzuku) and called the Prime Minister's child by it, saying:—"Dzuku
XI. 8. no Sukune." He was the first ancestor of the Omi of Heguri.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 314. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 8th day. Iha no hime no Mikoto was appointed Empress. She was the mother of the Emperor Ohi-ne[2] Iza-ho-wake, of the Imperial Prince Suminohe no Nakatsu, of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake, and of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsu-ma-waku-go no Sukune. Another consort, Kami-naga-hime of Hiuga, bore to him the Imperial Prince Oho-kusaka and the Imperial Princess Hatahi.

A.D. 316. 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying:—"We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity, from every one was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty, 'How happy are we.' But now when we observe the people, for three years past, no voice of
XI. 9. eulogy is heard; the smoke of cooking has become rarer and rarer. By this we know that the five grains[3] do not come up, and that the people are in extreme want. Even in the Home provinces[4] there are some who are not supplied; what must it be in the provinces outside of our domain?"

3rd month, 21st day. The following decree was issued:—

[1] I have elsewhere suggested that the name of the Emperor Oho-sazaki was a posthumous title given him owing to the great size of the mound (sasagi) under which he is buried near Sakai. And although there is much to be said on the other side, I am not sure that this may not after all be correct. The difference in spelling between sasagi and sazaki is immaterial.

[2] Ohi-ne or Oho-ye means great-elder-brother. It is hardly a name.

[3] Hemp, millet, rice, wheat and barley, pulse.

[4] The territory round the capital ruled immediately by the Emperor. This is a Chinese phrase, not properly applicable to Japan at this period.

"From this time forward, for the space of three years, let forced labour be entirely abolished, and let the people have rest from toil." From this day forth his robes of state and shoes did not wear out, and none were made. The warm food and hot broths did not become sour or putrid, and were not renewed. He disciplined his heart and restrained his impulses so that he discharged his functions without effort.

Therefore the Palace enclosure fell to ruin and was not rebuilt; the thatch decayed, and was not repaired; the wind and rain entered by the chinks and soaked the coverlets; the starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed-mats. After this the wind and rain came in due season,[1] the five grains produced in abundance. For the space of three autumns the people had plenty, the praises of his virtue filled the land, and the smoke of cooking was also thick. XI. 10.

7th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor was on his tower, and looking far and wide, saw smoke arising plentifully. On this day he addressed the Empress, saying:— "We are now prosperous. What can there be to grieve for?" The Empress answered and said:—"What dost thou mean by prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"It is doubtless when the smoke fills the land, and the people freely attain to wealth." The Empress went on to say:—"The Palace enclosure is crumbling down, and there are no means of repairing it; the buildings are dilapidated so that the coverlets are exposed. Can this be called prosperity?" The Emperor said:—"When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is no other than Our poverty; the people's prosperity is none other than Our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people's being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty."[2] A.D. 319.

[1] The notion that the virtues of the Emperor have a direct influence on the weather is, of course, Chinese.

[2] This whole episode is the composition of some one well acquainted with Chinese literature. The sentiments are throughout characteristically Chinese, and in several cases whole sentences are copied verbatim from Chinese works.

Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. For the Imperial Prince Ohine Izaho-wake there was established the Mibu Be,[1] and again for the Empress there was established the Katsuraki Be.[2]

9th month. The provinces, without exception, petitioned, saying:—"Three years have now elapsed since forced labour was altogether remitted. The Palace buildings have therefore become decayed, and the Treasury empty. The black-headed
XI. 11. people have now abundance, and remnants are not picked up. Therefore in the villages there are no men without wives or women without husbands, in the houses there is store of spare provisions. If at such a time there was no payment of taxes with which to repair the Palace buildings, we fear that we should incur guilt in the sight of Heaven." The Emperor, however, continued to be patient, and would not grant their petition.

A.D. 322. 10th year, Winter, 10th month. Forced labour for the building of a Palace was imposed for the first time. Hereupon the people, without superintendence, supporting the aged and leading by the hand the young, transported timber, carried baskets[3] on their backs, and worked their hardest without distinction of night or day, vying with one another in the construction. In this manner, ere long the Palace buildings were every one completed. Therefore up to the present day he is styled the Sage Emperor.

A.D. 323. 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor commanded his ministers, saying:—"Viewing this land, the moors and marshes extend far and wide, and the cultivated fields are few and rare. Moreover, the river waters spread out to each side, so that the lower streams flow sluggishly. Should there

[1] This Be is also called the Nibu Be. There are several places in Japan of this name. It was originally the group of peasants whose duty it was to provide wet nurses, etc., for infant princes. See Ch. K., p. 268, and Motowori in "Kojikiden," xxxv. 12.

[2] The "Kojiki" says that these two Be were instituted as "miōdai" of the Prince and the Empress, i.e. in order to perpetuate their memory, the Be in such cases taking the name of the person or of his or her residence. The last explanation might apply to the Empress, but it is not clear how the name Mibu could perpetuate the memory of this Prince.

[3] Of earth.

happen to be continuous rains, the tide from the sea flows up against them so that one may ride in boats through the villages: and the highways, too, are covered with mud. Therefore do ye our ministers examine this together, and having ascertained the source of the divergence, make a channel for them to the sea, and, staying the contrary flow (of the tide), preserve the fields and houses."

Winter, 10th month. The plain north of the Palace was excavated, and the water from the south diverted into the Western Sea. Therefore that water was called by the name Hori-ye.[1]

Moreover, in order to prevent the overflowing of the Northern river the Mamuta embankment was constructed. At this time there were two parts of the construction which gave way and could not be stopped up. Then the Emperor had a dream in which he was admonished by a God, saying:—"There is a man of Musashi named Koha-kubi[2] and a man of Kahachi named Koromo no ko,[3] the Muraji of Mamuta. Let these two men be sacrificed to the River-God, and thou wilt surely be enabled to close the gaps." So he sought for these two men, and having found them, sacrificed them to the River-God. Hereupon Koha-kubi wept and lamented, and plunging into the water, died. So that embankment was completed. Koromo no ko, however, took two whole calabashes, and standing over the water which could not be dammed, plunged the two calabashes into the mid-stream and prayed, saying:—"O thou River-God, who hast sent the curse (to remove which) I have now come hither as a sacrifice. If thou dost persist in thy desire to have me, sink these calabashes and let them not rise to the surface. Then shall I know that thou art a true God, and will enter the water of my own accord. But if thou canst not sink the calabashes, I shall, of course, know that thou art a false God, for whom, why should I spend my life in vain?" Hereupon a whirlwind arose suddenly which drew with it the calabashes and tried to submerge them in the water. But the calabashes, XI. 12.

[1] Excavated estuary, or canal.

[2] Strong-neck.

[3] Garment-child. These are personal names. Such names are in the original put after titles, but I have reversed this order, in accordance with European practice.

dancing on the waves, would not sink, and floated far away over the wide waters. In this way that embankment was completed, although Koromo no ko did not die. Accordingly
XI. 13. Koromo no ko's cleverness saved his life. Therefore the men of that time gave a name to these two places, calling them "Kohakubi's Gap" and "Koromo no ko's Gap."

This year men of Silla came to the Court with tribute, and were made to labour at this public work.

A.D. 324. 12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Land of Koryö sent tribute of iron shields and iron targets.

8th month, 10th day. The Koryö guests were entertained at Court. On this day the ministers and functionaries were assembled and made to shoot at the iron shields and targets presented by Koryö. Nobody could pierce the targets except Tatebito no Sukune, the ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba,[1] who shot at the iron targets and pierced them. Then the guests from Koryö, when they saw this, were struck with awe by his excellent skill in archery, and, standing up together, did obeisance to the Emperor. The next day the Emperor commended Tatebito no Sukune and gave him a title, calling him Ikuba no Toda no Sukune. On the same day a title was given to Sukune no Omi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, and he was called Sakashi-nokori[2] no Omi.

Winter, 10th month. The Great Canal was dug in the district of Kurikuma in Yamashiro for the irrigation of the rice-fields. By this means the peasants of that district had always years of abundance.

A.D. 325. 13th year, Autumn, 9th month. Now for the first time official granaries were established at Mamuta. The Usu-me[3] Be was accordingly instituted.

Winter, 10th month. The Pond of Wani[4] was made. In
XI. 14. the same month the Yokono Embankment was constructed.

A.D. 326. 14th year, Winter, 11th month. A bridge was made at the Wikahi ferry. It was this place which was called Wo-bashi.[5] In this year a highway was constructed and laid down within the capital from the South Gate extending in a straight line as

[1] Tatebito means shield-man, and Ikuba, target.
[2] Clever-remainder. [3] Millers. [4] In Kahachi.
[5] Small-bridge.

far as the village of Tajihi. Moreover, a great canal was dug in Konku[1] by which the water of the Ishikaha River was brought to irrigate the four waste plains of Upper Suzuka and Lower Suzuka, Upper Toyora and Lower Toyora. By bringing these under cultivation there were gained more than 40,000 K'iüng[2] of rice-land. Therefore the peasants of those places enjoyed abundance, and there was no longer the plague of bad years.

16th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor, indicating Kuhada no Kugahime, a lady of the Palace, to his personal attendants, said :—" It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have XI. 15. passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom ? " So he made a song, saying :—

Who will nourish
The daughter of the Omi
That sweeps along the bottom of the water ?[3]

Then Hayamachi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of the province of Harima, advanced alone and made a song, saying :—

I, Hayamachi of Harima,
(Where the dreadful tides are)
Though full of awe,
Like rocks tumbling down,
I will nourish her.[4]

That same day Kugahime was given to Hayamachi. On the evening of the next day Hayamachi went to Kugahime's house. Now Kugahime would not comply with his wishes, but he persisted in approaching the curtained space. Then Kugahime

[1] In Kahachi.

[2] A Chinese measure of land equal to 100 mo, or more than fifteen English acres. This exact number of K'iüng occurs in a Chinese book of the Han period as the extent of land reclaimed by a similar operation.

[3] The last line is a makura kotoba not in the least suitable as an epithet of Omi, a minister. But Omi is somewhat like ami, a net, for which it is satisfactory enough. The text is doubtful.

[4] This stanza is in the ordinary 31-syllable metre, and the previous one in the same, minus the first two lines. The second line is a makura kotoba.

said :—" Thy handmaiden will end her years husbandless. How can she become my Lord's wife ?" Now the Emperor, when he heard this, wished to accomplish Hayamachi's desires, so he sent Kugahime along with Hayamachi to Kuhada. But Kugahime straightway became ill and died on the journey. Therefore there is to this day the tomb of Kugahime.

A.D. 329. 17th year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute.

Autumn, 9th month. Toda no Sukune, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, and Sakashi-nokori no Omi, ancestor of the Miyakko of Ohase, were sent to inquire the reason of the failure to send tribute. Hereupon the Silla people were afraid, and
XI. 16. presented 1460 pieces of tribute, fine silks, and miscellaneous objects of all kinds—in all eighty ship-loads.

A.D. 334. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor addressed the Empress, saying :—" I have taken to me the Imperial Princess Yata, and am about to make her my concubine." But the Empress would not allow it. Hereupon the Emperor made a song, in which he besought the Empress, saying :—

As a means of raising up
Dear ones :
As a spare bowstring
To supply a vacancy
I would place (her) along with (thee).

The Empress made a song in reply, saying :—

In the case of garments
To double them is well,
But my Lord who would set in a row
The couches of night—
I wonder if he is wise.

The Emperor again made a song, saying :—

Like the shore of Narabi [1]
Of Cape Naniha
That projects (into the sea)
It must have been solely to be thy comrade
That that child came into being.

---

[1] Narabi means to be associated with, to be a companion.

The Empress made a song in reply, saying :—

Like the summer insect,
The insect that seeks the fire
Wearing double garments,[1]
That the palace precinct should be thus,
Nay ! it is not good.[2] XI. 17

The Emperor again made a song, saying :—

Even the traveller,
Who with unshared tears
Toils over the little pass of Hika
In Asatsuma[3]—
Well for him had he a companion !

The Empress finally refused her consent. Therefore she was silent, and answered not again.

30th year, Autumn, 9th month, 11th day. The Empress A.D. 342. made an excursion to the land of Kiï. She went as far as Cape[4] Kumano, and was coming back with leaves of the mitsuna,[5] which she had gathered there. On this day the Emperor, espying the Empress's absence, wedded the Imperial Princess Yata, and placed her in the Palace. Now the Empress, when she arrived at the Naniha ferry, heard that the Emperor had become united to the Imperial Princess Yata, and was very wroth. She flung into the sea the mitsuna leaves which she had gathered, and would not land. Wherefore the men of that day called the sea where the leaves were scattered XI. 18. Kashiha no Watari, or the Kashiha ferry. Now the Emperor, unaware that the Empress was angry and would not land, went in person to the Great Harbour,[6] and while awaiting the Empress's ship, made a song, saying :—

[1] Wings ? [2] The meaning is here somewhat doubtful.

[3] Asatsuma is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It means "morning-wife."

[4] This is properly not a cape, but only a spur of a hill.

[5] In the original mitsuna-kashiha. Kashiha is the Quercus dentata, a kind of evergreen oak, the leaves of which were used as drinking-cups. But this term was also applied to any leaves used for this purpose. Here the leaves of another tree—the mitsuna—seem to be intended. Chamberlain makes it the aralia. See Ch. K., pp. 248-273.

[6] No doubt Naniha or Osaka.

Ye men of Naniha,
Haul along the bell-(hung) ship,
Soaked as to your loins,
Haul along that ship.
Haul along the great august ship.

Now the Empress did not anchor at the Great Harbour, but drew onwards again, and, ascending the river, went round by way of Yamashiro, in the direction of Yamato.[1] The next day the Emperor sent an attendant named Toriyama to bring the Empress back, and made a song, saying:—

In Yamashiro
Overtake her, Toriyama.
Overtake her, overtake her,
My beloved spouse—
I wonder wilt thou overtake and join her.

The Empress would not come back, but continued her journey as far as the River of Yamashiro, where she made a song, saying:—

Ascending the river—
The River of Yamashiro—
(Peak upon peak[2]—)
As I ascend it,
By the river bend
There stands luxuriant
(Less-than-a-hundred)[3]
An eighty-leaved tree.
Is it the Great Lord?

So she crossed over Mount Nara, and looking on Katsuraki,
XI. 19. she made a song, saying:—

Going up to Miya,[4]
As I ascend

---

[1] Ch. K., p. 276.

[2] Peak upon peak refers to yama, mountain, the first part of Yamashiro. It is a mere ornamental epithet.

[3] Less than a hundred is a makura-kotoba of eighty. The luxuriant tree, with its plentiful foliage, reminds her of the Emperor.

[4] Miya is probably short for Takamiya in the last line of the poem but one.

The River of Yamashiro
(—Peak upon peak—)
Nara I pass
Of fertile soil ;
Yamato I pass,
Shielded by its mountains ;
The land I long to see
Is Takamiya of Katsuraki,
For there is my home.[1]

Returning again to Yamashiro, she built a Palace on the south side of the Hill of Tsutsuki, and dwelt there.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Ikuba, was sent to fetch the Empress.

One version says :—"Kuchi no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Wani."

Now Kuchi no Omi went to the Palace of Tsutsuki, and wished to have audience of the Empress, but she remained silent and answered not. Then Kuchi no Omi prostrated himself before the Empress's hall, and remained there day and night drenched by the rain and snow, and did not move. Hereupon Kuchi no Omi's younger sister, Kuniyori-hime, who was in the service of the Empress, and happened just then to be in attendance upon her, saw her elder brother wet with the rain, and shed tears and made a song, saying :—

In the Palace of Tsutsuki,
In Yamashiro,
When I see my elder brother
Delivering his message,
My eyes fill with tears.

Then the Empress addressed Kuniyori-hime, saying :—"Why weepest thou ?" She answered and said :—"He that lies prostrate in the courtyard and begs an audience is thy handmaiden's elder brother. He is wet with the rain, and XI. 20.
does not flinch, but still lies prostrate in the hope of an audience of thee. This is why I weep and am sorrowful." Then the Empress addressed her, saying :—"Tell thy elder brother to return with all speed. I will never go back." Kuchi accordingly returned, and made his report to the Emperor.

11th month, 7th day. The Emperor made a progress by

[1] Much of this poem is of doubtful interpretation. Compare Ch. K. p. 275.

river to Yamashiro. At this time there was a mulberry branch floating down the stream. The Emperor looked at the mulberry branch, and made a song, saying :—

The mulberry tree [1]
* * * *
Which Iha [2] no hime
Will not listen to even absently
May not reach (the bank),
But by the bends of the river
It seems to go tossing on—
Oh ! that mulberry tree !

On the next day the Imperial cortège arrived at the Palace of Tsutsuki. The Empress was sent for, but she refused to appear before the Emperor. Then the Emperor made a song, saying :—

Like the radishes [3] dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
{ Purely, purely,
{ Clamorously, clamorously,
Because thou hast spoken
I have come hither
Like the flourishing trees
Which I look over at.

---

[1] Mulberry is ura-kuha. In modern Japanese kuha alone means mulberry. Ura also means heart, and as koha means hard, there seems an allusion to the Empress's hard-heartedness.

The Emperor compares his condition to that of the mulberry branch drifting down the stream, and finding no rest anywhere. The metre is irregular.

[2] Iha means rock. It has here a makura-kotoba prefixed to it, viz. tsuno-sahafu, creeper-clad, which is inappropriate to Iha, when taken as the Empress's name, though suitable to it in its original meaning.

[3] Radishes are at this day a staple food of the Japanese. When freshly washed they look very white and clean. The first four lines are a mere introduction to saha-saha, i.e. purely, and the author immediately goes on to exchange this meaning for another meaning of the same word, viz., clamorously, by a play of words common in Japanese poetry. The only bond of connection between the first and second halves of the poem is this double sense of saha-saha. "The flourishing trees" represent the Emperor's brilliant suite. The interpretation of this poem is more or less conjectural. Compare Ch. K., p. 279.

Again he made a song, saying:— XI. 21.

Had I not had for my pillow
Thine arm
White as the whiteness of the roots
Of the radishes dug up
With the wooden hoes
Of the women of Yamashiro
(Peak upon peak),
Then mightest thou say that thou knowest me not.

Then the Empress sent a message to the Emperor, saying:—"My lord has taken the Imperial Princess Yata and made her his concubine. Now I do not wish to be associated with the Princess as Consort." So she refused to enter his presence, and the Imperial carriage returned to the Palace. The Emperor hereupon resented the Empress's great indignation, but yet continued to love her.

31st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. Ohine-izaho-wake no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. A.D. 343.

35th year, Summer, 6th month. The Empress Iha no hime no Mikoto died in the Palace of Tsutsuki. A.D. 347.

37th year, Winter, 11th month, 12th day. The Empress was buried on Mount Nara. A.D. 349.

38th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Yata was appointed Empress. A.D. 350.

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor and Empress dwelt in a high tower to escape from the heat. At this time there was heard every night from the moor of Toga the cry of deer with a musical, yet melancholy sound, so that a feeling of pity arose in them both. But when the interlune came, the cry of the deer XI. 22. was no longer heard. Hereupon the Emperor addressed the Empress, saying:—"This evening the deer does not bell. Wherefore is this?" "The next day, a Saheki Be of the district of Wina presented a basket. The Emperor caused a steward to make inquiry of him, saying:—"What is this basket?" The answer was, "A buck." He inquired—"A deer of what place?" and was told, "Of Toga moor." The Emperor considered that this basket[1] must be the deer which

[1] The basket is put for the contents (like the Latin sportula), and the word is used even when there may have been no basket at all.

had belled, and he accordingly addressed the Empress, saying:—"We have been soothed in the anxious thoughts which have of late possessed us by listening to the belling of a deer. Now when the day or night, and the mountain or moor of the deer which has been caught are considered, they correspond to the deer which belled. It is true that that man was not aware of our feelings of affection, and that it was by chance that he came to take it. We nevertheless cannot resist a feeling of resentment. It is therefore our wish that the Saheki Be shall not approach the Imperial Palace." So he made the officials remove his residence to Nuta in Aki. He was the ancestor of the present Saheki Be of Nuta in Aki.

There is a popular story that a long time ago there was a man who went to Toga, and spent the night on the moor. Now there were two deer which lay down beside him. When it was on the point of cock-crow, the male deer addressed the female, saying:—"This night I had a dream in which I saw a white mist come down copiously and cover my body. What
XI. 23. may this portend?" The female deer answered and said:—"If thou goest out, thou wilt certainly be shot by men and die, and so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." Now the man who was spending the night there wondered at this in his heart. Before it was yet dawn, there came a hunter, who shot the male deer, and killed it. Hence the proverbial saying of the men of that day—"Even the belling male deer follows the interpretation of a dream."

A.D. 352. 40th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor wished to take to himself the Imperial Princess Medori[1] as concubine, and made the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake[2] his middle man. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa secretly wedded her himself, and for a long time made no report of his mission. Hereupon the Emperor, not knowing that she had a husband, went in person to the Imperial Princess Medori's chamber. At

[1] Princess Medori was half-sister of the Emperor by a different mother, and full sister of the Empress.

[2] Hayabusa wake was half-brother to both Princess Medori and the Emperor by a different mother.

this time the Imperial Princess was weaving, and her women made a song, saying:—

The metal loom of Heaven—
The everlasting—[1]
The metal-loom where
Medori is weaving
Stuff for an august cloak
For Hayabusa wake!

Upon this the Emperor saw that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had secretly wedded her, and was angry. But out XI. 24.
of regard for what the Empress might say, and also from respect for the principle which governs the relation of stem and branches,[2] he was patient and did not punish him. Now the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake was lying down for a little with his head pillowed on the Imperial Princess's knee. Whereupon he addressed her, saying:—"Which is the swiftest, the wren or the falcon?"[3] She said, "The falcon." Then the Imperial Prince said:—"That means that I shall be first." The Emperor heard these words, and his wrath was aroused again. At this time the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake's attendants made a song, saying:—

The falcon
Ascending to Heaven
With soaring flight—
Let him seize the wren
On the top of the Tsuki trees.[4]

When the Emperor heard this song, he flew into a great rage, and said:—"We were unwilling for a private cause of hate to destroy one related to us, and we were patient. Why should a private cause of quarrel be converted into a matter which affects the State?"

So he wished to kill the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake.

[1] The word translated everlasting is hisakata, lit. long-hard, an epithet involving a similar conception of the sky to our word "firmament." By metal is probably meant "adorned with metal fittings."

[2] i.e. the head of the family and the junior members.

[3] Hayabusa means "falcon."

[4] In the original itsuki or idzuki. This the commentators explain as fifty (i) tsuki trees. But how would "sacred (idzu) tree" do—in allusion to the Emperor's rank?

Now the Imperial Prince fled with the Imperial Princess Medori, intending to place her in the Shrine of Ise. Hereupon the Emperor, hearing that the Imperial Prince Hayabusa wake had run away, straightway sent Wofuna of the Honchi Be of Kibi
XI. 25. and Aganoko, Atahe of Saheki in Harima, saying:—"Pursue them, and when you overtake them, slay them forthwith." Hereupon the Empress addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Truly the Imperial Princess Medori is liable to severe punishment. But when she is killed I hope her body may not be exposed." Accordingly he gave orders to Wofuna and his colleague not to take the Imperial Princess's leg-jewels or arm-jewels. Wofuna and his colleague pursued them as far as Uda, and closed on them at Mount Soni. Here they hid in the herbage, and escaping by only a little, fled hastily, and crossed the mountain. Then the Imperial Prince made a song, saying:—

Even this mountain, steep
As a ladder,
When I cross over it
With thee, my love,
Seems a restful couch.

Hereupon Wofuna and the rest, seeing that they had escaped, followed after hastily, and when they came to the moor of Komoshiro in Ise, slew them. Then Wofuna and the others searched for the Imperial Princess's jewels, and took them from within her undergarments. So they buried the bodies of the Prince and Princess on the bank of the River Ihoki, and then made their report to the Emperor. The Empress caused inquiry to be made of Wofuna and the others, saying:—"Did you see the Imperial Princess's jewels?" They answered and said, "We did not see them."

That year during the month[1] of the festival of tasting the first rice on the day of the banquet, sake was given to the princesses and ladies of the inner and outer circle. Thereupon,
XI. 26. on the hands of two women, viz., the wife of Waka-mori-yama, Kimi of the mountains of Afumi, and Ihasakihime, one of the Uneme,[2] there were entwined excellent jewels. The Empress,

[1] The 11th month.

[2] Probably for yone-me, i.e. rice-woman, women attendants of the palace. They were selected for their good looks.

observing that these jewels resembled those of the Imperial Princess Medori, straightway became suspicious, and commanded an official to inquire under what circumstances they had come by these jewels. They answered and said :—"They are the jewels of the wife of Aganoko, the Atahe of Saheki." So Aganoko, being interrogated, answered and said :—"On the day that the Imperial Princess was put to death I searched her and took them." So they were about to put Aganoko to death. But he offered to the Emperor all his private lands, and prayed to escape from death. Therefore his land was confiscated, and the death penalty remitted. On this account that land was called Tama-de.[1]

41st year, Spring, 3rd month. Ki no Tsuno no Sukune was A.D. 353.
sent to Pèkché. He was the first to distinguish the boundaries of provinces and districts, and to commit to writing in detail the productions of the soil in each locality. At this time Lord Chyu,[2] the grandson of the King of Pèkché, was disrespectful,
and accordingly Ki no Tsuno no Sukune remonstrated with XI. 27.
the King of Pèkché. The King of Pèkché was afraid, and binding Lord Chyu in iron chains, delivered him up in charge of Sotsuhiko. Now Lord Chyu, when he came to Japan, straightway ran away, and concealed himself in the house of Koroshi, Obito of Nishikori in Ishikaha, deceiving him by saying :—"The Empress has pardoned thy servant's offence. Therefore have I betaken myself to thee for maintenance." A long time after the Emperor ultimately forgave him his offence.[3]

43rd year, Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Tsuchigura, Ahiko A.D. 355.

[1] i.e. the price of jewels.

[2] The original has 酒, i.e. sake. Chyu is the Corean pronunciation, but it is doubtful what his name really was.

[3] We are told above, p. 256, A.D. 272 of the "Nihongi" Chronology, that King Sinsă of Pékchè was disrespectful, and that Ki no Tsuno no Sukune and others were sent to call him to an account. At p. 257, A.D. 277, we hear of King Ahwa being disrespectful, and a Pèkché Prince being sent to Japan as a hostage in consequence. Sotsuhiko is a name which has already occurred (p. 242, A.D. 205 of the "Nihongi" Chronology) in connection with Corean matters. But, as shown above (p. 256), King Sinsă really died in 392, and was succeeded by Ahwa. I strongly suspect that we have in the present passage only another version of the same incident, and that all three versions are much antedated.

of Yosami, caught a strange bird and presented it to the Emperor, saying:—"I am constantly spreading nets and catching birds in them, but never before have I caught a bird of this kind. I therefore thought it curious, and offer it to His Majesty." The Emperor sent for Lord Chyu and, pointing to the bird, said:—"What bird is this?" Lord Chyu answered and said:—"Birds of this kind are numerous in Pèkché. They can be tamed so as to be quite obedient to man. Moreover they are swift of flight and prey upon all kinds of birds. The common people in Pèkché call them *Kuchi*." So it was given to Lord Chyu to be fed and tamed. In no long time he succeeded in taming it. Lord Chyu accordingly fastened to its leg a soft leather strap, and attached to its tail a small bell.[1] Then, placing it on his forearm, he presented it to the Emperor. On this day he went to the moor of Mozu and hunted. At this
XI. 28. time a large number of hen pheasants got up, and the falcon[2] was let loose and made to catch them. It speedily caught several tens of pheasants. In this month the Be of Taka-ama (falcon-sweet) was first established. Therefore the men of that time called the place where the falcon was brought up the village of Taka-ama.

A.D. 362. 50th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. A man of Kahachi informed the Emperor, saying:—"A wild goose has laid an egg on the Mamuta embankment." That same day a messenger was sent to see. He said:—"It is true." The Emperor hereupon made a song, in which he inquired of Takechi no Sukune, saying:—

O Aso of Uchi!
* * * *[3]
Thou, beyond all others,[4]
A man distant of age—

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[1] Fr. grêlot.

[2] The taka or goshawk. The hayabusa mentioned above is a smaller bird, probably the peregrine falcon. The best hawks for hunting were formerly imported to Japan from Corea.

[3] An untranslatable makura-kotoba comes in here.

[4] Takechi no Sukune's death is not mentioned in the "Nihongi." A later authority says that he died in this year, having held office for 240 years, and lived 295 (or 299) years. Another authority states that he died in the 55th year of Nintoku Tennō, at the age of 280. Still another says that he died in

Thou, beyond all others,
A man long in the land—
Hast thou not heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg
In Akitsushima,
The land of Yamato?[1]

Takechi no Sukune made a song in reply, saying:—

Our great Lord
Who rules tranquilly,
Right is he, right is he
To ask me.
For in Akitsushima,
In the land of Yamato,
Never have I heard
That a wild goose has laid an egg.

53rd year. Silla did not attend the Court with tribute. A.D. 365. XI. 29.

5th month. Takahase, ancestor of the Kimi of Kōdzuke, was sent to ask the reason of the failure to send tribute. On his way he took a white deer, and returning with it, presented it to the Emperor. He then chose another day and started on his journey. Shortly after, the Emperor sent in addition Takahase's younger brother Tamichi, and commanded him, saying:—"If Silla is recalcitrant, raise an army and invade that land." So he gave him chosen troops. Silla raised an army and made opposition. Now the Silla men offered battle daily. But Tamichi made strong his barriers, and would not go out. Now a Silla soldier who had been let out from the camp was taken prisoner. So being questioned as to the condition of affairs, he answered, saying:—"There are mighty men, called the 'Hundred Thrusters,'[2] nimble and valorous, who always form the right van of the army. Therefore if you observe this and attack the left, it will be routed." Now Silla allowed the left to

the 78th year of Nintoku Tennō's reign, which, as one account says that he was born in the 9th year of Keikō Tennō, would make him 312 years of age at his death. It has been suggested that there were several persons of this name who succeeded each other as hereditary prime ministers. But the simpler explanation is that the chronology at this period is wildly inaccurate, as there is plenty of other evidence to show.

[1] See Ch. K., p. 283. Wild geese do not nest in Japan.

[2] It may be only one man of this name.

be vacant, and filled up the numbers of the right. Hereupon Tamichi, drawing up his picked cavalry,[1] attacked their left,
XI. 30. upon which the Silla troops were defeated. Accordingly letting go his men, he bore down on the enemy and slew several hundreds of them. So he took prisoners the people of four villages, with whom he returned to Japan.[2]

A.D. 367. 55th year. The Yemishi rebelled. Tamichi was sent to attack them. He was worsted by the Yemishi, and slain at the Harbour of Ishimi.[3] Now one of his followers obtained Tamichi's armlet and gave it to his wife, who embraced the armlet and strangled herself. When the men of that time heard of this they shed tears. After this the Yemishi again made an incursion and carried off some of the people. Accordingly they dug up Tamichi's tomb, upon which a great serpent started up with glaring eyes, and came out of the tomb. It bit the Yemishi, who were everyone affected by the serpent's poison, so that many of them died, and only one or two escaped. Therefore the men of that time said: "Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?"

A.D. 370. 58th year, Summer, 5th month. By the road which passes to the south of the grove of firs at Arehaka,[4] there suddenly sprang up two kunugi[5] trees, which joined over the road so that the ends of their branches met.

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Wu and the Land of Koryö together attended the Court with tribute.[6]

A.D. 372. 60th year, Winter, 10th month. The guardians of the

[1] I do not regard this as any proof that the Japanese had cavalry at this time. The author is, I think, only using a Chinese phrase which suggested itself to his memory.

[2] The "Tongkam" mentions descents by Japanese in 440 in which a number of Coreans were carried off.

[3] In Kadzusa. This is the traditional kana for 伊寺. How the last character came to be read *Shimi* is not clear.

[4] Arehaka means ruined tumulus. The well-known temple of Tennōji at Osaka now stands here.

[5] Quercus serrata, Hepburn.

[6] It is not to be supposed that China or even Koryö ever sent "tribute" to Japan. Presents were no doubt exchanged, which both sides very likely represented to their subjects as "tribute."

Shiratori misasagi[1] were told off as labourers on the public works. Now the Emperor approached the place of the works. Hereupon Meki, one of the guardians of the misasagi, became suddenly changed into a white deer, and ran away. Upon this the Emperor commanded, saying:—"This misasagi has always XI. 31.
been empty, and therefore I meant to abolish its guardians and for the first time to employ them as labourers. But now that I see this portent, I am filled with profound awe. Let not the guardians of the misasagi be disturbed." So he gave them to the Hashi no Muraji.[2]

62nd year, Summer, 5th month. The Governor[3] of the A.D. 374.
province of Tōtomi presented a memorial, saying:—"There is a great tree which has floated down the Ohowigaha until it was stopped in a bend of the river. It is ten girths[4] in size. It has one stem which divides into two at the extremity." Now Akoko, Atahe of Yamato, was sent to make a boat of it. He conveyed it by way of the Southern Sea, and brought it to the Harbour of Naniha, where it was enrolled among the number of the Imperial vessels.

This year the Imperial Prince Nukada no Ohonakatsu hiko hunted in Tsuke. Now the Imperial Prince, looking down over the moor from a mountain-top, espied something in shape like a hut. So he sent a messenger to look at it. The messenger returned and said:—"It is a muro." Accordingly he sent for Ohoyama-nushi, the Inaki of Tsuke, and inquired of him, saying:—"That thing which is on the moor—what kind of muro is it?" He informed him, saying:—"It is an ice-muro." The Imperial Prince said:—"How is the ice stored? Moreover, for what is it used?" He said:—"The ground is excavated to a depth of over ten feet. The top is then covered with a roof of thatch. A thick layer of reed grass is then spread, upon XI. 32.
which the ice is laid. The months of summer have passed and yet it has not melted. As to its use—when the hot months

[1] The tomb, or rather cenotaph, of Yamato dake.

[2] Who were charged with matters connected with the misasagi. Se above, p. 181.

[3] Provincial governors 國司 are now mentioned for the first time.

[4] The character rendered "girth" is 圍, which is a measure of half a cubit according to some, of three feet by others. However, a ten-girth tree is merely a loose expression for a large tree.

come it is placed in water or sake and thus used." The Imperial Prince straightway brought some of that ice, and presented it to the Palace. The Emperor was delighted with it, and from that time forward it became the rule always to store up ice from the last month of winter until the second month of spring when the ice melts.

A.D. 377. 65th year. In the province of Hida there was a man called Sukuna, who was so formed that on one trunk he had two faces. The faces were turned away from each other. The crowns met, and there was no nape of the neck. Each had hands and feet. There were knees, but no popliteal spaces or heels.

XI. 33. He was strong and nimble. He carried swords on his right and on his left side, and used bow and arrow with all four hands at once. On this account he was disobedient to the Imperial command, and took a pleasure in plundering the people. Hereupon the Emperor sent Naniha-neko Take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Omi of Wani, who put him to death.

A.D. 379. 67th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the plain of Ishitsu in Kahachi, where he fixed upon a site for a misasagi.

18th day. The building of the misasagi was commenced. On this day there was a deer which suddenly got up in the moor and ran in among the labourers, where it lay down and died. Now, its sudden death appearing strange, they looked to see where it was hurt, upon which a shrike came out of its ear and flew away. Accordingly they looked into its ear, and found that the skin was all bitten off. So this was the reason why they called that place the plain of Mozu no mimi.[1]

This year, at a fork of the River Kahashima, in the central division of the Province of Kibi, there was a great water-snake which harassed the people. Now when travellers were passing that place on their journey, they were surely affected by its poison, so that many died. Hereupon Agata-mori,[2] the ances-

[1] Shrike-ear. This plain lies inland from Sakai, near Osaka. The misasagi is still intact, and is, perhaps, the largest of its kind in Japan. Richiu Tennō and Hanzei Tennō are buried one on each side of Nintoku.

[2] District-warden.

tor of the Omi of Kasa, a man of fierce temper and of great bodily strength, stood over the pool of the river-fork and flung into the water three whole calabashes, saying:—"Thou art continually belching up poison and therewithal plaguing travellers. I will kill thee, thou water-snake. If thou canst sink these calabashes, then will I take myself away, but if thou canst not sink them, then will I cut up thy body." Now the water-snake changed itself into a deer and tried to draw down the calabashes, but the calabashes would not sink. So with upraised sword he entered the water and slew the water-snake. He further sought out the water-snake's fellows. Now the tribe of all the water-snakes filled a cave in the bottom of the pool. He slew them every one, and the water of the river became changed to blood. Therefore that water was called "The pool of Agata-mori." [1] XI. 34.

At this time pestilential vapours arose more and more, and there were one or two cases of rebellion. Hereupon [2] the Emperor, rising early in the morning and going to bed (late) at night, lightened the taxes, reduced the imposts, and so was generous to the people. He dispensed virtue and practised kindness, therewithal encouraging the indigent. He showed sympathy for the dead, and inquired after the sick, providing for the orphan and the widow. In this way the decrees of his Government were diffused into wide operation, and the Empire was at peace, so that for over twenty years nothing untoward happened.

87th year, Spring, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor died. A.D. 399.

[1] The traditional kana rendering of the Chinese character translated "water-snake" is midzuchi. Midzu is water, and chi a honorific term meaning "elder." Midzuchi means indifferently water-snake or water-god, the two ideas being intimately associated in the Japanese mind. Dennys, in his "Folk Lore of China," quotes from the *North China Herald* as follows:—"The River-God is in every case (where the waters of inundations were abated by them) a small water-snake, which popular fancy has converted into a deity." The poisonous breath of serpents is an article of popular faith in many countries.

[2] From "Hereupon" down to "operation" is taken almost verbatim from a Chinese book.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. He was buried in the misasagi on Mozu moor.[1]

[1] The Emperor's age is not given here. The "Kojiki" makes him eighty-three years of age at his death. Others say 110. But if we allow him to have been at least sixteen when he fell in love with Kami-naga-hime (see above, p. 259) in A.D. 282, he cannot have been less than 132 at the time of his death.

BOOK XII.

THE EMPEROR IZA-HO-WAKE.

(*RICHIU*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Iza-ho-wake was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohosazaki. His mother's name was Iha no hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. He was made Prince Imperial in Spring, the 1st month of the 31st year of the reign of the Emperor Ohosazaki. He was then fifteen years of age. The Emperor Ohosazaki died in Spring, the 1st month of the 87th year of his reign.

After the period of mourning, and in the interval before he assumed the exalted Dignity, he wished to take Kurohime,[2] the daughter of the Hata no Yashiro no Sukune, to him as concubine. The wedding presents[3] having been already given, he sent the Imperial Prince Nakatsu of Suminoye to give notice of the lucky day. Now Prince Nakatsu having assumed the elder Prince's name, by this means seduced Kurohime. On this night the Imperial Prince Nakatsu[4] came away, having forgotten his wrist-bells in Kurohime's house. On the following night, the Heir to the Throne, not knowing that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had himself seduced her, went there. He entered the chamber, drew aside the curtain, and sat down upon the jewel-couch. Then there was a sound of bells at the head of the couch. The Heir wondering at this, inquired of XII. 2.

[1] That is, "He who treads in the middle" (the right path).

[2] Black lady. [3] Probably a trait of Chinese manners.

[4] Nakatsu means "of the middle," tsu in this and similar words being the genitive particle.

Kurohime, saying :—" What bells are these ? " She answered and said :—" Are they not the bells which thou didst bring last night ? Wherefore dost thou ask thy handmaiden any more about them ? " The Heir naturally concluded that the Imperial Prince Nakatsu had assumed his name and by this means seduced Kurohime, so he retired in silence.

Now the Imperial Prince Nakatsu, fearing that trouble would come of this, was about to kill the Heir to the Throne, and secretly raising a force, surrounded his Palace. Then Heguri no Tsuka no Sukune, Mononobe no Ohomahe no Sukune, and Achi no Omi, the ancestor of the Aya no Atahe, these three men, gave information to the Heir, but he would not believe them.

One version says :—" The Heir was drunk and would not get up."

Therefore the three men assisted the Heir, and making him mount on horseback, caused him to escape.

One account says :—" Ohomahe no Sukune took the Heir to the Throne in his arms and mounted him on a horse."

The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, not knowing that he was absent, set fire to his Palace. The fire lasted all night without being extinguished. When the Heir arrived at the Hanifu Hill in the Province of Kahachi he became sober, and looking back to Naniha, he saw the blaze of fire. He was greatly alarmed, and fled hastily by way of Ohosaka in the direction of Yamato.

XII. 3. When he got as far as Mount Asuka, he met a girl at the entrance of the mountain, of whom he inquired, saying :—" Are there any men on this mountain ? " She answered and said :—" This mountain is full of many armed men. Thou hadst better go round and cross over by the Tagima road." Hereupon the Heir thought to himself :—" By listening to the words of this girl I have been enabled to escape calamity." So he made a song, saying :—

At Ohosaka,
The girl that I met—
When I asked her the way,
She said not, "right on,"
She said, " Tagima way."

So he turned aside again, and having raised the troops of that district, made them follow him, and crossed over by way of Mount Tatsuta. At this time several tens of armed men came in pursuit of him. The Heir, looking at them from a distance, said:—"Who are those men who are coming? And why is their pace so hurried? Can they be an enemy?" Accordingly they hid themselves on the mountain, and waited. When they approached, one man was sent to inquire of them, saying:—"What men are ye, and whither go ye?" They answered and said:—"We are fishermen of Nojima in Ahaji. XII. 4.
Hamako, the Muraji of Adzumi,[1] on behalf of the Imperial Prince Nakatsu [One account says Sato-tomo, Muraji of Adzumi], has sent us in pursuit of the Heir to the Throne." Hereupon he brought out the troops which were in ambush, and surrounding them, captured[2] them every one. At this time Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, who from the first had loved Prince Nakatsu, and was privy to his conspiracy, secretly assembled choice troops to the number of several hundred at Kurusu in Kakibami, and on behalf of Prince Nakatsu withstood the Heir. Now the Heir, not knowing that he was beset with troops, went out for several ri from the mountain. He was stopped by a large force of armed men, and was unable to advance. So he sent a messenger and inquired of them, saying:—"What men are ye?" They answered and said:—"Akoko, Atahe of Yamato." And in their turn they questioned the messenger, saying:—"Who has sent thee?" He said:—"The Prince Imperial has sent me." Then Akoko, fearing lest there might be a numerous army there, said to the messenger:—"Information has reached me that something unusual has happened to the Prince Imperial, and in order to assist him I am waiting upon him with this force that I have prepared." The Heir, however, doubted his intentions, and tried to kill him. Whereupon Akoko was afraid, and offering as a present his own younger sister Hinohime,[3] through her begged that his capital offence might be pardoned. He was pardoned

[1] See above, p. 256, where his ancestor was made prefect of the fishermen.

[2] As usual, "captured" stands for "slew."

[3] The Princess of the Sun.

accordingly. It was prolably at this time that the custom began of the Atahe of Yamato sending tribute of ladies of the Palace.[1]

The Heir took up his abode in the shrine of Furu no Iso no Kami. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, discovering the absence of the Heir, sought him out and followed him. The Heir, however, suspected the intentions of the Prince, his younger brother, and would not send for him. Then the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake sent a message to the Heir, saying:—"Thy servant has not a black heart. Only, distressed at the absence of the Heir, he has come hither." Hereupon the Heir sent a message to the Prince, his younger brother, saying:—"I have escaped hither alone in fear of the rebellion
XII. 5. of Prince Nakatsu. Why should I not suspect thee? So long as the Imperial Prince Nakatsu lives his sole endeavour will still be to do me a mischief, and I wish sooner or later to get rid of him. Therefore, if thou hast really not a black heart, return again to Naniha, and kill the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. After that I will see thee." The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake represented to the Heir, saying:—"Is not the Great Man's[2] anxiety excessive? At present the Imperial Prince Nakatsu's unprincipled conduct is detested by the officials and the people alike. His own household, moreover, are against him, and think him a brigand. He stands alone, and there is nobody whom he can consult. I knew of his rebellion, but I had not received the commands of the Heir, and was therefore merely indignant at it. Now that I have received an order, why should I make any difficulty about killing the Imperial Prince Nakatsu? All that I fear is that when I have killed him thou mayest still suspect thy servant.[3] I pray that a trusty person may be selected, and I desire that he should make clear my loyalty." Accordingly the Heir joined to him Dzuku no Sukune and so despatched him. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake made lament, saying:—"The Heir and the Imperial Prince Nakatsu are both my elder brothers: which shall I obey? Which shall I oppose? If, however, I destroy the unprincipled and adhere to the righteous, who can suspect

[1] Uneme. [2] A Chinese honorific for "you."
[3] Ch. K., p. 289.

me?" So he went to Naniha and observed the state of things with the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. The Imperial Prince Nakatsu, thinking that the Heir had fled away and disappeared, had made no preparation. Now he had a Hayato[1] named Sashihire. Prince Midzuha wake sent for Sashihire secretly and tampered with him, saying:—"If thou wilt kill the Imperial Prince for me, then will I surely reward thee liberally." So he took off his coat and trousers of brocade and gave them to him. Sashihire, relying on his words of allurement, all by himself took his spear, and watching the time when the Imperial Prince Nakatsu went into the privy, stabbed him to death, and entered the service of Prince Midzuha wake. Hereupon Dsuku no Tsukune made representation to the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake, saying:—"Sashihire has killed his own lord for the sake of another, and although for us he has done a great service, yet towards his own lord his conduct has been heartless in the extreme. Shall he be allowed to live?" So he killed Sashihire. XII. 6.

That same day the Prince proceeded towards Yamato, and at midnight arrived at Iso no Kami, and made his report. Hereupon the Heir summoned to him the Prince his younger brother, and was liberal of his favour to him, granting him the Mura-ahase official granaries. On this day Hamako, Muraji of Adzumi, was arrested.

1st year, 2nd month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Dignity in the Palace of Waka-zakura at Ihare. A.D. 400.

Summer, 4th month, 17th day. The Emperor summoned before him Hamako, Muraji of Adzumi, and commanded him, saying:—"Thou didst plot rebellion with the Imperial Prince Nakatsu in order to overturn the State, and thy offence is deserving of death. I will, however, exercise great bounty, and remitting the penalty of death, sentence thee to be branded."[2] The same day he was branded near the eye.

[1] See above, p. 100. In this passage it seems used as a general name for retainer. Chamberlain renders it "man-at-arms" in the corresponding passage of the "Kojiki."

[2] Literally "inked." The branding consisted in tattooing a mark on the face or other part of the person. Until quite recently criminals were branded on the arm with ink, each prison having its own special mark. Branding was originally one of the "five punishments" of China.

Accordingly the men of that time spoke of the "Adzumi eye." The fishermen of Nojima who had been Hamako's followers were also pardoned their offence, and employed as labourers at the official granaries of Komoshiro in Yamato.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Kurohime, daughter of Hata no Sukune, was appointed Imperial concubine. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe in Ihazaka,
XII. 7. of the Imperial Prince Mima, and of the Imperial Princess Awomi.

One account says:—"The Imperial Princess Ihi-toyo."

His next concubine, the Imperial Princess Hatahi, was the mother of the Imperial Princess Nakashi.

This year was the year Kanoye Ne (37th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 401 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Midzuha wake was appointed Heir [1] to the Throne.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Ihare. At this time Heguri no Dsuku no Sukune, Soga no Manchi no Sukune, Mononobe no Ikofutsu no Ohomuraji, and Tsubura no Oho-omi together administered the affairs of the country.

11th month. The Ihare pond was made.

A.D. 402. 3rd year, Winter, 11th month, 6th day. The Emperor launched the two-forked boat [2] on the pond of Ichishi at Ihare, and went on board with the Imperial concubine, each separately, and feasted.[3] The Lord Steward [4] Areshi set sake before the Emperor. At this time a cherry flower fell into the Emperor's cup. The Emperor wondered at this, and sending for Mononobe no Nagamake no Muraji, commanded him, saying:—"This flower has come out of season. Whence does it come? Do thou thyself seek." Hereupon Nagamake no Muraji went himself and sought for the flowers. He found
XII. 8. them on Mount Wakikamunomuro and presented them to the Emperor. The Emperor was delighted to get such a rare thing, and so made them the name of the Palace. Therefore

[1] Note that the brother was made heir, though there were children.

[2] See above, p. 297.

[3] i.e. one in one fork of the boat, the other in the other.

[4] Kashihade no Omi. The context shows that this is here an official designation, and not a mere title, much less a surname.

it was called the Palace of Ihare no Wakazakura.[1] This was the origin of the name.

In this month the original title of "Nagamake no Muraji" was altered to "Wakazakura Be no Miyakko," and the Lord Steward, Areshi, was styled Wakazakura Be no Omi.

4th year,[2] Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Local Recorders were appointed for the first time in the various provinces, who noted down statements, and communicated the writings of the four quarters. A.D. 403.

Winter, 10th month. The Iso no kami conduit was excavated.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. The three Deities[3] who dwell in Tsukushi appeared within the palace and said:—"Why are we robbed of our people? We will now disgrace thee." Hereupon the Emperor prayed, but his prayer was not answered. A.D. 404.

Autumn, 9th month, 18th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to the Island of Ahaji. On this day the Kahachi Horse-keepers' Be were in attendance on the Emperor, and held the bit. Before this the Horse-keepers' Be had been branded[4] on the face, and none of their wounds had yet healed. Now the God Izanagi, who dwells in the island, spoke by the mouth of a hafuri, saying:—"I cannot endure the stench of blood." Accordingly divination was made, and the answer was, "The God dislikes the smell of the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be." Therefore from that time forward the branding of the Horse-keepers' Be was utterly discontinued. XII. 9.

19th day. There was a sound as of a blast of wind which cried aloud in the Great Void, saying:—"O thou Prince, inheritor of The Sword!"[5] Again there was a voice which

[1] i.e. young cherry. This cannot be correct. See above, 3rd year of Jingō Kōgu, whose capital was also at Ihare, and was called Wakazakura.

[2] We have not yet got down to times of accurate chronology. Wani's arrival was in 405, and it is not likely that recorders were appointed till a good many years later. Examples of these "statements" occur frequently below. Most of them fall under the description of folk-lore.

[3] Probably the three children of the Sun-Goddess mentioned at p. 37.

[4] The branding here is not a criminal punishment, but only a distinctive mark.

[5] The sword was one of the Regalia.

said :—"Thy younger sister[1] of bird-frequented Hata has gone to be buried at Hasa. [Another version is :—"Sanakita no Komotsu[2] no Mikoto has gone to be buried at Hasa."] Suddenly a messenger arrived in haste, who said :—"The Imperial concubine is dead." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway ordering his carriage,[3] returned.

22nd day. The Emperor arrived from Ahaji.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Imperial concubine was buried. After this the Emperor, vexed with himself that he had not appeased the divine curse, and had so caused the death of the Imperial concubine, again sought to ascertain where the fault lay. Some one said :—"The Kimi of the Cart-keepers[4] went to the Land of Tsukushi, where he held a review of all the
XII. 10. Cart-keepers' Be, and he took along with them the men allotted to the service of the Deities. This must surely be the offence." The Emperor straightway summoned to him the Kimi of the Cart-keepers and questioned him. The facts having been ascertained, the Emperor enumerated his offences, saying :—"Thou, although only Kimi of the Cart-keepers, hast arbitrarily appropriated the subjects of the Son of Heaven.[5] This is one offence. Thou didst wrongfully take them, comprising them in the Cart-keepers' Be after they had been allotted to the service of the Gods of Heaven and Earth. This is a second offence." So he imposed on him the expiation of evil and the expiation of good,[6] and sent him away to Cape Nagasa, there to perform the rites of expiation. After he had done so, the Emperor commanded him, saying :—"Henceforward thou mayest not have charge of the Cart-keepers' Be of Tsukushi." So he confiscated them all, and allotted them anew, giving them to the three Deities.

A.D. 405 6th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial Princess Hatahi of Kusaka was appointed Empress.[7]

[1] Kurohime, the Imperial concubine, is meant.

[2] Apparently another name for Princess Hata.

[3] The word carriage is not to be taken too literally. The kana interlinea-gloss has Ohon mŭma ni tatematsurite, which means "mounted his horse."

[4] Kuruma-mochi. [5] The Emperor.

[6] i.e. a fine of the articles required in the ceremony of purgation or expiation. See above, p. 48.

[7] She was the Emperor's half-sister.

9th day. A Treasury was instituted and a Treasury[1] Be established.

2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor sent for Futohime no Iratsume and Takatsuru no Iratsume, daughters of Prince Funashi wake, and having bestowed them in the Empress's palace,[2] made them both his concubines.[3] Upon this the two XII. 11.
concubines lamented continually, saying:—"Alas! Whither has the Prince, our elder brother, gone?" The Emperor heard their lamentation, and inquired of them, saying:—"Why do ye lament?" They answered and said:—"Thy handmaidens' elder brother, Prince Washizumi, is strong and nimble. Alone he has taken a running leap over an eight-fathom house, and gone away. Many days have passed that we have not spoken to him face to face. Therefore do we lament." The Emperor was pleased to hear of his great strength, and sent for him. But he would not come. Again messenger after messenger was sent to summon him, but still he would not come, and continued to reside in the village of Suminoye. After this the Emperor ceased to demand his presence. He was the first ancestor of the two houses of the Miyakko of Sanuki and the Wake of Ashikuhi in Aha.

3rd month, 15th day. The Emperor's precious body became ill at ease, and, the elements of water and earth being inharmonious, he died in the Palace of Waka-zakura, at the age of seventy.[4]

[1] The Treasury means the office, the Be the staff. The "Kogo-jui" says:—"Until the reign of the latter Ihare no Waka-zakura (i.e. Richiu Tennō) the three Han failed not to send tribute for many generations. Beside the Sacred Treasury, there was erected an Inner Treasury, where the official property was classified and deposited. Achi no Omi and Wang-in (or Wani), the learned men of Pèkché, were made to record the ingoings and outcomings. A Treasury Be was first established." If we allow for the error of two cycles, this year, A.D. 405, is the very year in which Wang-in arrived. But the "Nihongi" chronology cannot yet be depended on.

The "Shoku-in-rei" says:—"The Interior Treasury Department has one Chief, who has control of gold and silver, jewels, precious utensils, brocade and satin, sarsnet, rugs and mattresses, and the rare objects sent as tribute by the various barbarians."

[2] Women's apartments.

[3] The character used implies a subordinate rank.

[4] Other calculations make him sixty-four, seventy-seven, eighty-five, and eighty-seven. It is obvious that none of them can be relied on.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the Plain of Mozu no Mimi.

THE EMPEROR MIDZUHAWAKE.[1]

(*HANZEI TENNŌ*[2]

OR

XII. 12. *HANSHŌ TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Midzuhawake was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Izaho-wake. He was appointed Prince Imperial in the second year of the Emperor Izaho-wake. The Emperor was born in the Palace of Ahaji. At his birth his teeth were like one bone,[3] and his appearance was beautiful. Now there was a well called Midzu no wi (the beautiful well) from which water was drawn to wash the Heir[4] to the Throne. A tajihi[5] flower had fallen into this well and it was accordingly made the name of the Heir to the Throne. The tajihi flower is what is now the itadori flower. Therefore he was styled the Emperor Tajihi[6] no Midzuha-wake.

The Emperor Izaho-wake died in Spring, the 3rd month of the 6th year of his reign.

A.D 406. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Heir Apparent assumed the Imperial Dignity.

[1] Midzu ha means beautiful teeth.

[2] This is explained to mean "the Emperor who turned matters into the right path," han meaning turn, and sei or shō "right."

[3] In the Bamboo Books ("Legge's Chinese Classics"), p. 143, there is mention of an ancient Chinese king whose teeth were one piece of bone. The "Kojiki" says (Ch. K., p. 292):—"The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung [together]."

[4] He was not Heir at this time.

[5] The Polygonum Cuspidatum. Hepburn.

[6] The "Seishi roku" states that in consequence of this incident Tajihi Be were established in all the provinces to be the villages for the hot baths of the Imperial Princes.

Autumn, 8th month, 6th day. Tsuno hime, daughter of Kogoto, ancestor of the Omi of Ohoyake, was appointed XII. 13.
Imperial concubine.[1] She was the mother of the Imperial Princess Kahihime, and of the Imperial Princess Tsubura. Moreover, he took to him the Imperial concubine's younger sister Otohime, who bore to him the Imperial Princess Takara and the Imperial Prince Takabe.

Winter, 10th month. The capital was established at Tajihi[2] in Kahachi. It was called the Palace of Shibagaki.

At this time the rain and wind were seasonable, and the five kinds of grain reached maturity; the people enjoyed abundance, and the Empire was at peace.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

6th[3] year, Spring, 1st month, 29th day. The Emperor died[4] A.D. 410.
in the chief sleeping-chamber.

[1] The word for concubine here is 夫人. We have now had three ranks of concubines mentioned, showing that Chinese customs were coming in. In the older reigns the only distinction made is that of the Empress and other consorts.

[2] This is hardly consistent with the story of the tajihi flower on the previous page.

[3] The original reading is 6th. The "Shukai" editor would correct it into 5th from the "Kiujiki." It signifies extremely little which reading we take, as no reliance can yet be placed on any of the dates given.

[4] The age of this Emperor is not stated here. The "Kojiki" says sixty.

BOOK XIII.

THE EMPEROR WO-ASA-TSUMA WAKUGO NO SUKUNE.[1]

(*INGIŌ*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune was a younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Midzuha wake.

From infancy to puberty,[3] the Emperor was kind and unassuming. When he attained to manhood, he became very ill and lost the free use of his limbs.

The Emperor Midzuha wake died in Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign. Hereupon the Ministers held counsel, saying :—" There are at the present time the Imperial Princes Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune and Oho-Kusaka, children of the Emperor Oho-sazaki. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune, however, is the elder, and of an affectionate, dutiful disposition." So they chose a lucky day, and kneeling down, offered him the Imperial signet. The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune declined it, saying :—" I am an unlucky man, long afflicted with a grievous disease, which I cannot shake off. I am unable to walk. Of myself, without informing the Emperor, I have secretly treated
XIII. 2. my disease by self-mutilation,[4] in the hope of getting rid of it, but still I am not healed. Therefore the former Emperor chid me, saying :—' What greater extreme of unfilialness can there be than this conduct of thine, in wantonly mutilating thy body

[1] Wo, male ; Asa-tsuma (morning-wife) is the name of a place ; wakugo, young child ; Sukune, name of dignity.

[2] Ingiō is from the " Shooking," the Canon of Yaou, § 1, where Legge translates " sincerely courteous."

[3] The words translated infancy and puberty are in the original descriptive of the mode of dressing the hair at these periods of life in China.

[4] The precise meaning is doubtful.

because thou sufferest from disease? However long thou mayst live, thou must never succeed to the throne.' Moreover, the two Emperors, my elder brothers, despised me and thought me a fool, as is known to all the Ministers. Now the Empire is a great organization: the Imperial Dignity is a vast institution: and to be the father and mother of the people is the office of a sage. How can such a charge be given to a fool? Make another choice of some wise Prince, and let him be established as Emperor. I, the unworthy one, may not presume to fill the office." The Ministers bowed down twice, and said:—"The Imperial Dignity should not be long vacant; the command of Heaven should not be modestly refused. We, thy servants, fear that if thou, the Great Prince, dost delay the time, and in opposition to the general desire dost refuse to rectify the name and dignity, the nation's hopes will be disappointed. We pray therefore that the Great Prince, notwithstanding his sufferings, will yet assume the Imperial Dignity." The Imperial Prince Wo-Asa-tsuma wakugo no Sukune said:—"It is a weighty matter to take charge of the ancestral temples and the temples of the earth and of grain.[1] I, the unworthy one, am grievously ill, and am incompetent to fill this office worthily." He continued to decline it, and would not give his consent. Hereupon all the Ministers persisted in their petition, saying:—"In the humble opinion of thy servants, thou, the XIII. 3.
Great Prince, art eminently worthy to take over charge of the Temples of thy Imperial Ancestors. Even the myriad people of the Empire all deem thee fit. We pray thee, O Great Prince, to give thy consent."

1st year, Winter, 12th month. The Prince's concubine, A.D. 412.
Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto, was grieved at the mutterings of vexation of the Ministers, and taking in her own person water for washing the hands, came before the Imperial Prince and addressed him, saying:—"Thou, O Great Prince, having declined to assume the Dignity, it has remained vacant for years and months. The Ministers and functionaries are grieved, and know not what to do. I pray thee, O Great Prince, comply with the general wish, and, however reluctantly, assume the Imperial Dignity." The Imperial Prince, however,

[1] i.e. "the state."

was loath to consent, and turning his back upon her, sat without saying a word. Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime no Mikoto was afraid, and not knowing how to retire, remained in attendance on the Prince for four or five half-hours. It was then the 12th month, and the wind was blowing fierce and chill. The water in the basin which Oho-nakatsu hime had brought overflowed and became frozen on her arm. Unable to endure the cold, she was almost dying. The Imperial Prince looked round, and was shocked. He helped her to her feet, and said to her :—"The succession to the Dignity is so weighty a matter that I could not abruptly assume it. Therefore I have not complied up to the present. Now, however, the request of the Ministers is manifestly just. Why should I persist in my refusal?" Hereupon Oho-nakatsu hime looked up delighted, and told all the Ministers, saying :—"The Imperial Prince is about to give ear to the request of the Ministers. Now is the time to offer him the Imperial signet." Thereupon the
XIII. 4. Ministers were much rejoiced, and on that same day delivered up to him the Imperial signet with repeated obeisances. The Imperial Prince said :—"Ye Ministers have, on behalf of the Empire, made a joint request of unworthy me. How can I presume to persist in refusing it?" So he assumed the Imperial Dignity.

This year was the year Midzunoye Ne (49th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 413. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 14th day. Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime was appointed Empress. On this day there was established on behalf of the Empress the Osaka Be.[1]

The Empress was the mother of the Imperial Prince Kinashi Karu, of the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kuro-hiko, of the Emperor Anaho, of the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, of the Imperial

[1] The "Kojiki" says that the Osaka Be was established as the Empress's na-shiro, which Chamberlain renders by "proxy." I would prefer to call it "name-sake." The object was to perpetuate the name of the Empress—at least, if this account is correct. But there was an Osaka Be already in existence. It is mentioned in the 39th year of Suinin's reign. Besides, the Osaka Be were the executioners, a circumstance with which it is difficult to reconcile the statement in the text. It is true, however, that the Empress's full name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime, Osaka being the name of her residence.

Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko, of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take, of the Imperial Princess Tajima no Tachibana no Oho-iratsume, and of the Imperial Princess Sakami.

At an earlier period, when the Empress was at home with her mother, she was walking alone in the garden, when the Miyakko of the Land of Tsuke passed along the road which was beside the garden. He was on horseback, and looking over the hedge, he addressed the Empress, and said mockingly: —"What an excellent gardener thou art." He also said:— "Pray, madam, let me have one of those orchids." The Empress accordingly plucked an orchid root, and gave it to the man on horseback, asking him for what purpose he wanted the orchid. The man on horseback answered and said:—"I am going to the mountain, and it is to brush away the midges." Then the Empress reflected on this within her mind, and recognized the want of respect in the words of the man on horseback. So she addressed him, saying:—"Sir,[1] I shall not forget this." XIII. 5.

Afterwards, in the year in which the Empress attained the felicitous rank, she sought out the man on horseback who had asked her for an orchid, and having stated his former offence, wished to have him put to death. Hereupon the man who had asked for the orchid knocked his forehead on the ground, and making a deep obeisance,[2] said:—"Truly thy servant's guilt is deserving of ten thousand deaths. At that time, however, I did not know that thou wert of high rank." Hereupon the Empress remitted the penalty of death, but deprived him of his title and called him Inaki.[3]

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An envoy was sent to Silla to procure a good physician. A D. 414.

Autumn, 8th month. The physician arrived from Silla, and was forthwith made to treat the Emperor's disease. No long time after, he was healed of his disease. The Emperor was

[1] The Chinese character translated "sir" means literally head or chief. The Japanese word intended is probably Obito or Obuto, which, I take it, is an abbreviation of Oho-bito, great man. In Chinese Tajen (in Corean Tain), i.e. great man, is used as a personal pronoun in addressing men of rank. Our own word "master" (magister, magnus) has a somewhat similar history.

[2] Kowtow in Chinese.

[3] Inaki was a lower title than Miyakko.

rejoiced, and having rewarded the physician liberally, sent him back to his own country.

XIII. 6. A.D. 415. 4th year, Autumn, 9th month, 9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"In the most ancient times, good government consisted in the subjects having each one his proper place, and in names[1] being correct. It is now four years since We entered on the auspicious office. Superiors and inferiors dispute with one another: the hundred surnames[2] are not at peace. Some by mischance lose their proper surnames; others purposely lay claim to high family. This is perhaps the reason why good government is not attained to. Deficient in wisdom although We are, how can We omit to rectify these irregularities? Let the Ministers take counsel, and inform me of their determination." All the Ministers said:—"If Your Majesty, restoring that which is lost and correcting that which is perverted, will thus determine Houses and surnames, your servants will stake their lives in recommending the adoption of such a measure."

28th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The ministers, functionaries, and the Miyakko of the various provinces each and all describe themselves, some as descendants of Emperors, others attributing to their race a miraculous origin, and saying that their ancestors came down from Heaven.[3] However, since the three Powers of Nature[4] assumed distinct forms,[5] many tens of thousands of years have elapsed, so that single Houses[6] have multiplied and have formed anew ten thousand surnames of doubtful authenticity. Therefore let the people of the various Houses and surnames wash themselves and practise abstinence, and let them, each one calling the
XIII. 7. Gods to witness, plunge their hands in boiling water." The caldrons of the ordeal by boiling water were therefore placed on the "Evil Door of Words" spur of the Amagashi Hill. Every-

[1] Literally surnames and personal names. What is really meant is titles. There were no proper surnames at this time. See above, p. 27.

[2] The word for "hundred surnames" is 百姓, which is also used for the nation generally, and in later times in Japan for the peasantry. Here its original meaning must be kept in view.

[3] The "Sei-shi-roku" contains numerous instances of this.

[4] Heaven, Earth, and Man. *Vide* Mayers, p. 302.

[5] Since the creation, as we would say.

[6] Uji.

body was told to go thither, saying:—"He who tells the truth will be uninjured; he who is false will assuredly suffer harm."

This is called Kuka-tachi. Sometimes mud was put into a caldron and made to boil up. Then the arms were bared, and the boiling mud stirred with them. Sometimes an axe was heated red-hot and placed on the palm of the hand.

Hereupon every one put on straps of tree-fibre, and coming to the caldrons, plunged their hands in the boiling water, when those who were true remained naturally uninjured, and all those who were false were harmed. Therefore those who had falsified (their titles) were afraid, and slipping away beforehand, did not come forward. From this time forward the Houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered, and there was no longer any one who falsified them.[1]

5th year, 7th month, 14th day. There was an earthquake. A.D. 416.
Before this time Tamada no Sukune, grandson[2] of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko, had been commanded to superintend the temporary burial of the Emperor Midzu-ha-wake. On the evening after the earthquake, Aso, Ohari no Muraji, was sent to examine the condition of the shrine of temporary burial. Now all the men assembled, and none were absent except Tamada no Sukune, XIII. 8.
who was not present. Aso reported to the Emperor, saying:—"Tamada no Sukune, the High Officer of the Shrine of temporary interment, was not to be seen at the temporary place of interment." Accordingly, Aso was sent again to Katsuraki to see Tamada no Sukune. On this day it so happened that Tamada no Sukune had gathered together men and women and was holding revel. Aso made a statement of all the circumstances to Tamada no Sukune. Tamada no Sukune was afraid that trouble might ensue, and gave Aso a horse as a present. However, he secretly waylaid Aso and killed him on the road. Therefore he ran away and concealed himself within the precinct of the tomb of Takechi no Sukune. When the Emperor heard this, he sent for Tamada no Sukune.

[1] This measure can only have been applicable to a dominant caste. The nation cannot have all been subjected to the ordeal at Amagashi. Doubtless, then as now, the bulk of the people cared little for genealogies, and indeed had none but personal names.

[2] Below, XIV. 20, he is the son of Sotsuhiko.

Tamada no Sukune was suspicious, and put on armour under his clothing and so presented himself. The border of the armour projected from within his garment. The Emperor, in order to ascertain clearly how this was, made an Uneme, named Woharida, present sake to Tamada no Sukune. Now the Uneme observing distinctly that there was armour underneath his clothing, reported this particularly to the Emperor. The Emperor got ready soldiers and was about to kill Tamada no Sukune, when he secretly ran away and hid in his house. The Emperor again despatched soldiers, who surrounded Tamada's house, took him, and put him to death.

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Emperor Midzu-ha-wake was buried in the Mimihara Misasagi.

A.D. 418. XIII. 9. 7th year, Winter, 12th month, 1st day. There was a banquet in the new Palace.[1] The Emperor in person played on the lute,[2] and the Empress stood up and danced. When the dance was ended, she did not repeat the compliment. At that time it was the custom at a banquet for the dancer, when the dance was ended, to turn to the person who occupied the highest place, and say, "I offer thee a woman." Now the Emperor said to the Empress:—"Why hast thou failed to say the usual compliment?" The Empress was afraid. She stood up again and danced, and when the dance was over, she said:—"I offer thee a woman." The Emperor forthwith inquired of the Empress, saying:—"Who is the woman whom thou offerest me? I wish to know her name." The Empress could not help herself, and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"It is thy handmaiden's younger sister, whose name is Otohime."[3] Otohime's countenance was of surpassing and peerless beauty. Her brilliant colour shone out through her raiment, so that the men of that time gave her the designation of Sotohori Iratsume.[4] The Emperor's wishes had dwelt upon

[1] The interlinear kana has miya, palace, for 室, oftener rendered muro. But nihi-muro, new muro, is probably the word really meant.

[2] Koto.

[3] Otohime means simply "the younger lady."

[4] Clothing-pass-maiden. The "Kojiki" makes her the Emperor's daughter. Cf. Shelley's—

"Child of Light! thy limbs are burning,
Through the vest which seems to hide them."

Sotohori Iratsume, and therefore it was that he insisted on the Empress's offering her to him, while the Empress, knowing this, was reluctant to make the compliment. Now the Emperor was delighted, and the very next day he despatched a messenger to summon Otohime. At this time Otohime dwelt with her mother at Sakata in the land of Afumi. But she feared the feelings of the Empress and therefore refused to come. Again seven times she was sent for, and yet she obstinately refused and did not come. Upon this the Emperor was displeased, and again gave command to one of the Toneri, a Nakatomi named Ikatsu[1] no Omi, saying:—"The damsel Otohime, who was given to me by the Empress, has not come although sent for. Do thou go thyself and bring Otohime here with thee, and I will surely reward thee liberally." Hereupon Ikatsu no Omi, having received the Imperial command, withdrew, and having concealed a stock of provisions in his clothing, went to Sakata, where he prostrated himself in Otohime's courtyard, and said:—"By command of the Emperor, I summon thee." Otohime answered and said:—"Far be it from me not to fear the Emperor's command. But I am unwilling to hurt the Empress's feelings. Thy handmaiden will not come, though XIII. 10.
it should cost her her life to refuse." Then Ikatsu no Omi answered and said:—"As thy servant has received the Emperor's commands, I must bring thee back with me. If I bring thee not back, I shall surely incur punishment. Therefore it is better to die lying prostrate in this courtyard than to return and undergo the extreme penalty." So for seven days he lay prostrate in the courtyard, and although food and drink were offered to him, he refused to taste them, but secretly ate the provisions in his bosom. Hereupon Otohime said:—"By reason of the Empress's jealousy, thy handmaiden has already disobeyed the Emperor's commands. To be the ruin of my Lord, who art his faithful servant, would be another crime on my part." Accordingly she came along with Ikatsu no Omi. When they reached Kasuga in Yamato they had food by the well of Ichihi. Otohime herself gave sake to the Omi, and soothed his spirit. The Omi that same day arrived at the

[1] As he was Toneri, the Ikatsu no Omi is clearly a mere title, like the no Kami's of recent times.

capital, and having lodged Otohime at the house of Akoko, the Atahe of Yamato, made his report to the Emperor. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced. He commended Ikatsu no Omi, and showed him liberal favour. The Empress, however, showed her vexation, and Otohime could therefore not approach the interior of the Palace. Accordingly, a separate building was erected for her at Fujihara, and she dwelt there.[1] On the night that the Empress gave birth to the Emperor Oho-hatsuse, the Emperor for the first time went to the Fujihara Palace. The Empress hearing this, was angry, and said:—"Many years have passed since I first bound up my hair and became thy companion in the hinder palace. It is too cruel of thee, O Emperor. Wherefore, just on this night when I am in childbirth and hanging between life and death, must thou go to Fujihara?" So she went out, set fire to the parturition house, and was about to kill herself. The Emperor, hearing this, was greatly shocked, and said:—"We are wrong." So with explanations he soothed the mind of the Empress.

A.D. 419. 8th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went to Fuji-
hara and secretly observed how matters were with Sotohori
XIII. 11. Iratsume. That night Sotohori Iratsume was sitting alone, thinking fondly of the Emperor. Unaware of his approach, she made a song, saying:—

This is the night
My husband will come.
The little crab—
The spider's action
To-night is manifest.[2]

The Emperor, when he heard this song, was touched by it, and made a song, saying:—

[1] Hence perhaps the name Soto-wori-hime, or the Lady who lives without, as opposed to Oho-nakatsu hime, the dame of the Great Interior.

[2] It was considered that when a spider clung to one's garments, it was a sign that an intimate friend would arrive. Little crab is another name for spider. Sotohori hime was in after times looked on as the "Muse of poetry." This poem is a regular Tanka, as are the others in this passage.

Loosening and removing
The brocade sash
Of small pattern,
Not often have I slept—
But one night only.

The next morning, the Emperor looked at the cherry flowers beside the well, and made a song, saying:—

As one loves the cherry
Sweet of blossom,
Did I love another,
Then her I should not love—
The girl whom I love.

This came to the Empress's ear, and she was very wroth. Hereupon Sotohori Iratsume addressed the Emperor, saying:— "Thy handmaiden desires to be always near the Royal Palace, and night and day without ceasing to view the glory of Your Majesty. But the Empress, being thy handmaiden's elder sister, is, on her account, continually resentful towards Your Majesty, and is also vexed because of thy handmaiden. I pray therefore that I may be removed far from the Royal dwelling, and I wish to live at a distance. This might perhaps cause the Empress's jealousy somewhat to abate." The Emperor XIII 12.
forthwith built anew a palace in Chinu in Kahachi, and made Sotohori Iratsume to dwell there. And for this reason he frequently went a-hunting to the moor of Hine.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor made a progress A.D. 420.
to the Palace of Chinu.

Autumn, 8th month. The Emperor made a progress to Chinu.

Winter, 10th month. The Emperor made a progress to Chinu.

10th year, Spring, 1st month. The Emperor made a progress A.D. 421.
to Chinu. Hereupon the Empress addressed him, saying:— "Thy handmaiden is not a whit jealous of her younger sister. Only she fears that the people may be distressed by Your Majesty's frequent progresses to Chinu. I humbly pray thee to diminish the number of thy visits." Thereafter his excursions thither were infrequent.

A.D. 422. 11th year, Spring, 3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Chinu. Sotohori Iratsume made a song, saying :—

For ever and ever,
Oh ! that I might meet my Lord !
As often as drift beachward
The weeds of the shore of ocean
(Where whales are caught).

Then the Emperor spake to Sotohori Iratsume, saying :— "No other person must hear this song. For if the Empress heard it, she would surely be greatly wroth." Therefore the men of that time gave a name to the shore-weed and called it Na-nori-ahi-mo.[1]

XIII. 13. Before this time, when Sotohori Iratsume dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo Muruya no Muraji, saying :—"Of late we have gotten a beautiful woman, the younger sister of the Empress by the same mother.[2] In Our heart we dearly love her, and it is Our desire that her name should be handed down to after ages. How can this be done ?" In accordance with the Imperial command, Muruya no Muraji proposed a plan for the Emperor's approval. Consequently the Miyakko of the various provinces were charged to establish Fujihara Be on behalf of Sotohori hime.

A.D. 425. 14th year, Autumn, 9th month, 12th day. The Emperor hunted in the island of Ahaji. Now the deer, monkeys, and wild boar, like dust-clouds, confusedly, filled the mountains and valleys. They sprang up like flames of fire, they were dispersed like flies. And yet all day long not a single beast was caught. Herewith the hunt was suspended, and divination was made anew. Then the God of the Island[3] gave an oracular utterance,

[1] Na-nori-ahi means "mutually to tell one's name," and mo is the general word for seaweed. There is a seaweed so called, but what this circumstance has to do with the story is not clear.

[2] The traditional kana has haha-hara-kara. As hara-kara by its derivation means "of the same womb," it is needless to prefix haha, mother. But this shows that when these kana glosses were written, hara-kara had come to mean simply brother or sister, as it does at present.

[3] Izanagi.

saying:—"It was by my intent that no beast was caught. In the bottom of the sea of Akashi there is a pearl. If this pearl is sacrificed to me, ye shall be able to catch all the beasts." Hereupon they proceeded to assemble the fishermen of the various places, and made them search the bottom of the sea of Akashi. When they dived into the sea, however, they were unable to reach the bottom. But there was one fisherman named XIII. 14.
Wosashi, a fisher of Naga-zato in the province of Aha, who excelled all the fishers. He tied a rope to his loins, and went down to the bottom of the sea. After some time he came forth, and said:—"In the bottom of the sea there is a great sea-ear,[1] and this place is shining." Everybody said:—"Probably the pearl which the God of the Island has asked for is in this sea-ear's belly." Again he went in and searched for it. Hereupon Wosashi came to the surface with the great sea-ear in his arms, but his breath had ceased, and he died on the surface of the waves. Afterwards a rope was let down and the bottom of the sea was measured. The depth was found to be sixty fathoms. When the sea-ear was split open, a true pearl was found in its belly, in size like a peach. This was offered to the God of the Island, and a hunt being made, they caught many beasts. But they grieved that Wosashi had met his death by entering the sea, and made a tomb, in which they reverently interred him. That tomb exists at the present day.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince A.D. 434.
Kinashi Karu was made Heir to the Throne. He was fair to look upon, and those who saw him spontaneously loved him. His sister by the same mother,[2] the Imperial Princess Karu no Oho-iratsume, was also beautiful. The Heir Apparent's thoughts were constantly bent on becoming united to the

[1] The ahabi or Haliotis tuberculata.

[2] The prominence given to brotherhood and sisterhood by the same mother in the "Nihongi," as in Homer, has not, it appears to me, the significance attributed to it by McLennan's theory, which would trace back such terms to a time when the mother was the only parent as to whom there could be no doubt. It seems to me that the father's parentage is here taken for granted, the phrase really meaning brother or sister by the mother's side *as well as* by the father's, and that such phrases are merely indications of polygamous customs, not necessarily of promiscuity or polyandry.

Imperial Princess Oho-iratsume, but he dreaded the guilt,[1] and was silent. But his passion had become so violent that he was well-nigh on the point of death. Hereupon he thought to himself, "I will not die for nothing. It may be a crime, but how can I endure?" At last he became secretly united to her, and so his desperate passion became somewhat abated. Accordingly he made a song, saying:—

On the foot-dragging mountain,
Rice-fields are made;
So high is the mountain,
The water-pipes are run beneath—
Like them the hidden tears
That I wept for my spouse,
The unshared tears
XIII. 15. That I wept for my spouse,
But to-day, this very day,
Freely our bodies touch.[2]

A.D. 435. 24th year, Summer, 6th month. The soup for the Emperor's meal froze, and became ice. The Emperor wondered, and had divination made in order to learn the meaning of it. The diviner said:—"There is domestic disorder,[3] perhaps the illicit intercourse of near relations with one another." Then some one said:—"The Heir Apparent, Kinashi Karu, has seduced his younger sister by the same mother, the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume." So examination was made, and it was found that these words were true. The Heir Apparent being the successor to the Throne, it was impossible to punish him,

[1] See Ch. K., Introd., p. xxxviii. I do not feel sure that Chamberlain is right in attributing to Chinese influence the stigma attached to unions of brothers and sisters of the full blood. See a paper on "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan," in the "Transactions of the Japan Society," 1892-93.

[2] A somewhat different version of this poem is given in the "Kojiki." See Ch. K., p. 296. I have adopted one or two of Motowori's emendations. See "Kojikiden," xxxix. 23. "Foot-dragging" is a makura-kotoba or conventional epithet of mountain, used because in ascending a mountain we drag one foot painfully after the other. At least, that is the common interpretation. The metre is somewhat irregular naga-uta.

[3] i.e. incest.

so the Imperial Princess Karu no Iratsume was banished to Iyo.[1] At this time the Heir Apparent made a song, saying:—

I, the Great Lord,
To an island am banished:
Remaining behind in the ship,
I will certainly come back again. XIII. 16.
Let my bed be respected—
(In words indeed
I shall call it my bed)
Let my spouse be respected.[2]

Again he made a song, saying:—

The maiden of Karu
(The Heaven-soaring),
If she wept violently,
Men would know of it—
Like the doves of Mount Hasa,
She weeps with a suppressed weeping.[3]

42nd year, Spring, 1st month, 14th day. The Emperor died. A.D. 453.
His years were many.[4]

[1] The "Kojiki" makes the Prince to be banished, and Motowori thinks with some reason that this must be the true version of the story. For one thing (he says), women have always been more lightly punished in Japan than men for the same offence, and the particular character of the fault in this case makes such a discrimination all the more reasonable. Moreover, it is hardly possible to construe the poem which follows otherwise than as composed by Prince Karu when about to be banished. An ancient note to the "Nihongi" (see below) speaks of the Prince as having died by his own hand in Iyo.

[2] The word for bed is tatami, now applied to the thick mats used to cover the floor of a Japanese house. At this time the tatami only covered the sleeping-place. There was a superstition forbidding people to meddle with the bed of an absent person, as to do so would bring down calamity on him. The word translated "respect" is yume, taboo, religious abstinence. The third line of this poem is literally "a ship-remainder," by which is understood "one who remains behind in a ship after the other passengers have landed." There are, however, other explanations. See Ch. K., p. 300.

[3] The metre of this poem is irregular. "Heaven soaring" is a conventional epithet applied to Karu, which is the name of a place, because Kari means "a wild goose"—hardly a sufficient reason to our Western minds.

[4] Seventy-eight, says the "Kojiki." Another authority says eighty. But his mother, the Empress Iha no hime, died A.D. 347, and she had ceased to cohabit with her husband A.D. 342 (see above, p. 285), so that he would be at least 110 at the time of his death.

Now the King of Silla, when he heard that the Emperor had died, was shocked and grieved, and sent up eighty tribute ships with eighty musicians of all kinds. They anchored at Tsushima, and made great wail. When they arrived in Tsukushi they again made great wail. Anchoring in the harbour of Naniha, they all put on plain white garments, and bringing all the articles of tribute, and stringing their musical instruments of all kinds, they proceeded from Naniha to the capital.[1] Sometimes they wept and wailed, sometimes they sang and danced, until at length they assembled at the Shrine of temporary interment.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi of Naga-no no hara in Kahachi.

XIII. 17. 11th month. The Silla messengers of condolence, when the funeral ceremonies were concluded, returned home.

Now the men of Silla had always loved Mount Miminashi and Mount Unebi, which are hard by the capital city. Accordingly, when they arrived at the Kotobiki Hill, they looked back, and said:—"Uneme haya! Mimi haya!" This was simply because they were unpractised in the common speech, and therefore corrupted Mount Unebi, calling it Uneme, and corrupted Mount Miminashi, calling it Mimi. Now the Yamato no Mŭma-kahi[2] Be, who were in attendance on the men of Silla, heard these words, and conceived a suspicion that the Silla men had had intercourse with the Uneme. So they made them go back, and gave information to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse. The Imperial Prince straightway threw the Silla messengers every one into prison, and put them to an examination. Then the Silla messengers made a statement, saying:—"We have done the Uneme no harm. Our words were simply expressive of our love for the two mountains close to the capital." Upon this it was recognized that the charge was groundless, and they were all released. But the people of Silla resented it greatly, and further reduced the kinds of articles sent as tribute and the number of ships.

[1] Anaho in Yamato.

[2] Horse-keepers.

Misasagi of Ingiō Tennō.

THE EMPEROR ANAHO.

(*ANKŌ*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Anaho was the second child of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsuma waku-go no Sukune.

One account says:—"The third child."

XIII. 18. His mother's name was Osaka no Oho-nakatsu-hime no Mikoto. She was the daughter of the Imperial Prince Waka-nuke-futa-mata.[2]

The Emperor died in the 42nd year of his reign, Spring, the 1st month. In Winter, the 10th month, the funeral ceremonies were completed. At this time the Heir Apparent was guilty of a barbarous outrage in debauching a woman. The nation censured him, and the Ministers would not follow him, but all without exception gave their allegiance to the Imperial Prince Anaho. Hereupon the Heir Apparent wished to attack the Imperial Prince Anaho, and to that end secretly got ready an army. The Imperial Prince Anaho also raised a force, and prepared to give battle. It was at this time that the terms "Anaho arrow-notch" and "Karu arrow-notch"[3] began. Now the Heir Apparent, knowing that the Ministers would not follow him, and that the people were uncompliant, went away and hid in the house of the Mononobe, Ohomahe no Sukune. The Imperial Prince Anaho, hearing this, forthwith surrounded it. Ohomahe no Sukune came forth from the gate to meet him, upon which the Imperial Prince Anaho made a song, saying:—

To Oho-mahe
Wo-mahe[4] Sukune's
Metal-gate's shelter,
Thus let us repair,
And wait till the rain stops.

---

[1] Ankō means peace. [2] A son of Ōjin. See Ch. K., p. 242.

[3] The parallel passage of the "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 298) has "inside" for "notch," and an ancient note explains that in the case of Prince Karu's arrows, the "notch" or "inside" was of copper, whereas those of Prince Anaho were "like those of the present time," i.e. presumably of iron. Motowori thinks that the arrow-points are intended.

[4] It is a question whether Oho-mahe and Wo-mahe are one person or two brothers. The metre of this poem is imperfect Tanka.

Ohomahe no Sukune made a song in answer, saying :—

Because the courtier's
Garter-bell
Has fallen off,
The courtiers make a noise :
Ye country-folks also beware ! (of making a noise)[1] XIII. 19.

So he addressed the Imperial Prince, saying :—" I beseech thee, harm not the Heir Apparent. Thy servant will advise with him." Accordingly the Heir Apparent died by his own hand in the house of Ohomahe no Sukune.

One account says that he was banished to the Land of Iyo.[2]

12th month, 14th day. The Imperial Prince Anaho assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the Empress was honoured with the title of " Grand Empress." The capital was forthwith removed to Isonokami.[3] It was called the Palace of Anaho.

At this time the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse wished to betroth to him the daughters of the Emperor Midzuha-wake.[4]

[*The names of these daughters are not found in any of the records.*]

Hereupon the Imperial Princesses answered and said :— " Thou, my Lord, art much given to violence, and to sudden fits of anger, so that he who sees thee in the morning is slain in the evening, and he who sees thee in the evening is slain in the morning. Now, thy handmaidens' countenances are not distinguished for beauty, nor their minds for cleverness. If in manners and speech we should be no whit agreeable to the princely expectation, how shouldst thou receive us to thy intimacy ? For this reason we are unable to obey thy com-

[1] This is supposed to contain a remonstrance addressed to Prince Anaho's party for making a fuss about such a small matter as the escape of Prince Karu, which is compared to the loss of the grêlot of a courtier's garter.

[2] This is the " Kojiki " version.

[3] In Yamato.

[4] He died A.D. 411, at the age of 60, so these princesses were now (A.D. 453) not exactly young. They were his cousins by the father's side.

mands." To the last they kept out of his way, and would not give ear to him.[1]

A.D. 454. 1st year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. On behalf of the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse the Emperor desired to betroth to
XIII. 20. him the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, a younger sister of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka,[2] and for this purpose sent Ne no Omi, ancestor of the Omi of Sakamoto, to request her of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, saying:—"I beseech thee let me have the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, whom I desire to espouse unto the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse." Hereupon the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka answered and said:—"Thy servant has for some time suffered from a severe illness, which cannot be healed. He may be compared to a ship which has taken in its cargo and is waiting for the tide. Death, however, is our destiny; and there is no sufficient reason for regret. Only I cannot die in peace because my younger sister, the Imperial Princess Hata-hi, will be left alone and unprotected. If now Your Majesty will not loathe her for her ugliness, and will allow her to complete the number of the duckweed flowers,[3] it will be a matter for the deepest gratitude. How should I decline the favour of thy commands? In order, therefore, to show my

[1] This and many other stories in the "Nihongi" show that the position of women in these times was by no means one of abject dependence on their male relatives.

[2] They were children of the Emperor Nintoku, who died A.D. 399, aged 122. The "Shukai" suggests that the Prince and Princess here named were grandchildren, and not children of Nintoku, but the more obvious explanation of the difficulty is that the chronology is entirely untrustworthy.

[3] "An aquatic plant with peltate floating leaves, probably a Lemnanthemum, or marsh-flower." Williams. The allusion is to the opening stanzas of the first ode of the She-king, translated by Dr. Legge as follows:—

Kwan, *Kwan* go the ospreys
On the islet in the river.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
For our prince a good mate is she.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed
To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady:—
Waking and sleeping he sought her.

sincerity, I offer thee my private treasure, called the Oshiki[1] jewel head-dress [others say 'standing head-dress,' and others, again, Ihaki (rock-tree) head-dress], which I make so bold as to present to thee by the hand of Ne no Omi, the minister whom thou didst send to me. I beg thee to accept of it, although it is an object of no value, as a token of my good faith."

Hereupon Ne no Omi, when he saw the Oshiki jewel head-dress, was struck with its beauty, and the thought occurred to him of stealing it and making it his own treasure. So he falsely represented to the Emperor, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka refused to obey thy orders, and spake to thy servant, saying:—'Shall he, though of the same house, have my XIII. 21.
younger sister to wife?'" Having done so, he retained the jewel head-dress, and did not present it to the Emperor, but made it his own.

Hereupon the Emperor believed Ne no Omi's slanderous words, and was greatly wroth. He raised an armed force, with which he surrounded the house of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and slew him.

At this time the Hikakas, Kishi of Naniha, father and sons, were all in the service of the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, and they were all grieved that their lord should die without a crime. Accordingly the father took in his arms the Prince's head and the two sons took up each one of the Prince's legs and cried aloud, saying:—"Alas! Our Lord has died without a crime. Were we three, father and sons, who served him in life, not to follow him in death, we should be no true retainers." So they cut their throats, and died beside the Imperial corpse. The army, to a man, all wept tears. Upon this the Emperor took Nakashi hime,[2] the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka's wife, and bestowing her within the Palace, made her his concubine. Ultimately he sent for the Imperial Princess Hata-hi and gave her to the Imperial Prince Ohohatsuse to wife.

This year was the year Kinoye Mŭma (31st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. Nakashi hime no A.D. 455.

[1] Oshiki means literally "push-wood" or "push-tree." Its application here is uncertain.

[2] The "Kojiki" gives here a different name.

Mikoto was appointed Empress. The Emperor loved her exceedingly.

Before this time Nakashi hime no Mikoto bore Prince Mayuwa to the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka. On his mother's account he escaped punishment, and was always brought up within the Palace.

A.D. 456. XIII. 22. 3rd year, Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. The Emperor was assassinated by Prince Mayuwa [a detailed account is given in the history of the Emperor Ohohatsuse's reign]. After three years he was buried in the misasagi of Fushimi at Sugahara.

BOOK XIV.

THE EMPEROR OHO-HATSUSE WAKATAKE.[1]

(*YŪ-RIAKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Oho-hatsuse Waka-take was the fifth child[3] of the Emperor Wo-asa-tsuma Waku-go no Sukune. When the Emperor was born, a supernatural radiance filled the building.[4] When he grew to manhood, he was distinguished for sturdy strength.

In the 8th month of the 3rd year of his reign, the Emperor Anaho went to the Mountain Palace with the intention of taking the hot baths. At length he went up into a lofty tower and was enjoying the prospect. Accordingly he commanded sake to be brought and a banquet to be held. So then, whilst his mind was at ease and his pleasure at its height, in the course of conversation he turned to the Empress and addressed her, saying :—

[The daughter of the Emperor Izahowake was called the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime. She was also called the Imperial Princess Nagata no Oho-iratsume. The Imperial Prince Ohokusaka, a child of the Emperor Oho-sazaki, took to wife the Imperial Princess Nagata, who bore to him Prince Mayuwa. Afterwards the Emperor

[1] Hatsuse is the name of a place in Yamato. Waka-take means young brave.

[2] Yū-riaku means manly stratagem or counsel. The events related in this Book read more like genuine history, and the chronology, though it still leaves much to be desired, is not so wildly inaccurate as before.

[3] He was really the fifth son. See above, p. 315.

[4] The same thing in nearly the same words is related of one of the Later Han Emperors of China.

Anaho, giving heed to the slander of Ne no Omi, put to death the Imperial Prince Ohokusaka and appointed the Imperial Princess Nakashi hime Empress. An account of this is given in the history of the reign of Anaho Tennō.]

"Our younger sister" [it seems to have been the ancient custom to address one's wife as "younger sister"], "although thou art Our friend, We fear Prince Mayuwa." Now Prince Mayuwa —who was only a boy—was playing below the tower, and heard everything that was said. Afterwards the Emperor Anaho, making a pillow of the Empress's knees, fell asleep in daylight
XIV. 2. drunkenness. Hereupon Prince Mayuwa, watching the time when he was sound asleep, stabbed and murdered him. On this day one of the Oho-toneri ran [his name and surname are wanting [1]], and said to the Emperor [2]:—"The Emperor Anaho has been murdered by Prince Mayuwa." The Emperor was greatly shocked, and straightway being suspicious of his elder brothers, put on his armour and girded himself with his sword. Taking command of his troops in person, he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Yatsuri no Shiro-hiko. The Imperial Prince, seeing that he wished to do him a mischief, sat silent and said not a word. So the Emperor drew his sword and slew him. Next he urgently questioned the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko. But this Imperial Prince also knew that he was about to do him a mischief, and sat silent, saying not a word.[3] The Emperor's rage became still more violent, so with the further object of killing Prince Mayuwa as well, he examined him as to the reason of his conduct. Prince Mayuwa said:—"Thy servant has never sought the Celestial Dignity. He has only revenged himself on his father's enemy." The Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko, who feared profoundly the suspicion in which he was held, communicated secretly with Prince Mayuwa, and they at last found an oppor-
XIV. 3. tunity of getting away together. They fled to the house of the Oho-omi [4] Tsubura. The Emperor sent a messenger to ask

[1] This note is rejected by the "Shukai" edition. It is certainly frivolous.

[2] i.e. to the Emperor Yūriaku.

[3] The "Kojiki" relates these events quite differently.

[4] Oho-omi is written with the characters read in later times Daijin, i.e. Great Minister or Prime Minister.

for them. The Oho-omi replied by a messenger, saying:—"I may possibly have heard of a vassal in time of trouble taking refuge in a Royal chamber, but I had never seen Princes conceal themselves in the house of a vassal. At this very time the Imperial Prince Sakahi no Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa, trusting profoundly in thy servant's heart, have come to thy servant's house. How can I have the heart to send them to thee?" In consequence of this the Emperor raised a still greater army and surrounded the Oho-omi's house. The Oho-omi came out, and standing in the courtyard, tied his garters. At this time the Oho-omi's wife brought the garters, and heart-broken, alas! made a song, saying[1]:—

The Omi child
Cloth trousers
Nine-fold having put on—
Standing in the courtyard
His garters he adjusts!

The Oho-omi, when he had finished dressing, advanced to the gate of the camp, where he knelt down and said:—"Thy servant cannot obey thy orders, even though his refusal costs him his life. There is a saying of a man of old, 'The will of even a common man cannot be taken from him.'[2] This is precisely thy servant's case. I humbly beseech the Great Prince to allow thy servant's daughter, Kara-hime, and the seven buildings[3] of Katsuraki, which I now offer thee, to be received as a ransom for their offences." The Emperor would not permit XIV. 4.
it, but set fire to the houses and burnt them. Hereupon the Oho-omi with the Imperial Prince Kurohiko and Prince Mayuwa were all burnt to death together. Now Nihe no Sukune, Muraji of the Sakahi Be, took in his arms the Imperial Prince's dead body and so was burnt to death. His household [the names are wanting[4]] took up that which was burnt, but were never able to sort out the bones. They were deposited in one coffin and

[1] This poem seems intended to express wonder at her husband's care for his appearance at a moment when his life was at stake.

[2] "Confucian Analects," Book IX. chap. xxv. 1.

[3] Granaries, as the "Kojiki" informs us.

[4] A silly note. No wonder the "Shukai" edition rejects it.

buried together on the hill south of Tsukimoto in Imaki no Aya.[1]

Winter 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor resented the Emperor Anaho's having formerly wished to transfer the kingdom to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha,[2] and to commit the succession definitively to his charge. So he sent a man to the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha, and treacherously arranged with him to go a-hunting. Inviting him to go on an excursion to the moors, he said:—Karabukuro,[3] the Kimi of the Sasaki mountain in Ohomi, tells me
XIV. 5. that now on the Kaya moor in Kutawata in Ohomi, there are wild boars and deer in plenty. The horns they bear are like the twigs of withered trees, their legs are thick together like a grove of bushes, the breath which they breathe resembles the mists of morning. Along with the Imperial Prince, I wish in the first month of winter, when the sky is cloudy and the cold wind blows keenly, to go for an excursion to the moors, where we may somewhat divert our minds by running archery."[4] The Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha accordingly followed the hunt. Hereupon the Emperor Ohohatsuse drew his bow and putting his horse to a gallop, called out falsely, saying, "There is a wild boar!" and shot the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha dead. A man of the Imperial Prince's household named Uruwa, of the Saheki Be [another name is Nakachiko], took the dead body in his arms. In his consternation he knew not what to do, but writhed on the ground and called aloud upon his master, going to and fro. The Emperor put him to death also.

In this month the Imperial Prince Mimŭma,[5] who had formerly been pleased with Musa, a place belonging to the
XIV. 6. Kimi of Miwa, and wishing to shake off his cares, went thither. While on his way he unexpectedly fell in with a force which had been sent against him.[6] He joined battle with them at the

[1] This means literally the new-comer Aya or Han. See below, xix. 22.

[2] The eldest son of Richiu Tennō. See p. 306. He was, no doubt, thought too young to succeed to the throne at his father's death in 405.

[3] Kara bag. There is also a name Yamato-bukuro.

[4] i.e. shooting animals with the bow and arrow while one's horse is at a gallop.

[5] The Prince of the august horses. A son of Richiu Tennō.

[6] By the Emperor.

well of Iha in Miwa, but was soon taken prisoner. When about to be executed, he pointed to the well and pronounced a curse, saying:—"This water may be drunk by the people only: royal persons alone may not drink of it."

11th month, 13th day. The Emperor ordered commissioners to erect a lofty pavilion at Asakura in Hatsuse,[1] in which he assumed the Imperial Dignity, and at last established the Palace. He appointed Matori, Heguri no Omi as Oho-omi and Muruya, Oho-tomo no Muraji and Me, Mononobe no Muraji he made Ohomuraji.[2]

1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 3rd day. The Imperial Princess Kusaka no Hatahi hime was appointed Empress. [Another name for her is Tachi-bana-hime.] A.D. 457.

In this month three concubines were appointed. The senior of these, named Kara-hime, daughter of the Oho-omi of Tsubura in Katsuraki, was the mother of the Emperor Shiraga take-hiro-kuni-oshi Waka-Yamato-neko, and of the Imperial Princess Waka-tarashi-hime. [Also called the Imperial Princess Taku-hata no Iratsume.] This Imperial Princess attended to the sacrifices of the Great Deity of Ise.[3] Next XIV. 7.
there was Waka-hime, daughter of the Omi of Kibi no Kamutsumichi.[4] [One book says she was the daughter of Kibi no Kuboya no Omi.] She bore two sons. The elder was called the Imperial Prince Ihashiro, and the younger the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha no Waka-miya. Next there was Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Omi of Wani in Kasuga. She was the mother of Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume [also called Princess Takahashi.] Woguna Kimi was originally an Uneme. The Emperor gave one night to her and she became pregnant. Ultimately she gave birth to a girl. The Emperor had suspicions and would not bring her up. When the girl was able to walk, the Emperor was in the great hall with the Oho-muraji Me, of the Mononobe, in attendance on him. The girl

[1] The interlinear kana gloss has Hase.

[2] The "Shokugenshō" says:—"The Prime Minister (Oho-omi or Daijin) conducts the Government in conjunction with the Ohomuraji." Another authority says that the Oho-omi was a civil and the Ohomuraji a military officer. The titles were hereditary in these Houses. They became extinct towards the end of the sixth century.

[3] The Sun-Goddess.

[4] The upper province of Kibi, now Bizen.

crossed the courtyard. Me, the Ohomuraji, looking round, said to the Ministers :—" What a pretty girl! There is a saying of the men of old, 'Thou art like thy mother.'[1] [This ancient saying is not clear.] Whose little girl is she said to be who is walking with leisurely pace in the pure court?" The Emperor said :—" Why dost thou ask?" Me no Ohomuraji answered and said :—" When thy servant looks at this little girl walking, she appears to him strongly to resemble the Emperor." The Emperor said :—" Every one who sees her makes the same remark. Sed insolitum est, quum ei unam solum noctem dederim, eam concepisse et filiam peperisse. Quam ob rem suspiciones mihi excitatae sunt." Ohomuraji dixit :—" Sed in hac unâ nocte quoties cum eâ rem habuisti?" "Septies," in-
XIV. 8. quit Imperator. Ohomuraji loquitur :—" Si haec femina puro corpore et purâ mente recepit unam noctem quam ei dedisti, cur tam facile concipis suspiciones et nolis fidere alterius castitati? Servus tuus audivit feminas quae facile praegnantes fiant vel tactu braccarum concipere. Multo magis, quum totam noctem dederis, sine justâ ratione non debes suspiciones concipere."

The Emperor, by order to the Ohomuraji, made the little girl an Imperial Princess, and appointed her mother to be a concubine.

This year was the year Hinoto Tori (34th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 458. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month. Iketsu hime of Pèkché,[2] in despite of the Emperor's intention to favour[3] her, had an amour with Tate of Ishikaha.

In an old book it is said :—" Tate, the ancestor of the Obito of Momoahi in Ishikaha."

The Emperor was greatly enraged, and giving his commands to the Ohomuraji Muruya, of the Ohotomo House, sent some Kume Be who stretched the four limbs of the woman on a tree. The tree was placed over a cupboard, which was set fire to, and she was burnt to death.

The "Shinsen"[4] of Pèkché says :—" In the 6th year of

[1] These words are in Japanese.

[2] Corea has been hardly mentioned for fifty years or so. Probably some of the events allotted to the previous period really belong to this interval.

[3] i.e. wed.

[4] i.e. new compilation, the name of a book.

the Cycle [1] King Kèro ascended the throne. The Emperor sent Aretoku hither to ask for a nyörang. Pèkché adorned the daughter of the Lady Moni, called the Nyörang Chökké, and sent her as tribute to the Emperor." [2]

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino, and on the 6th he proceeded to Mimase. Giving orders to the wardens, he indulged in the chase. They climbed the towering peaks, they crossed the wide jungles. Before the shadows fell, out of ten, seven or XIV. 9. eight had been caught. Every time they hunted, they caught many, so that the birds and beasts were almost exhausted. At length they rested by the springs and groves, and sauntered together in the thickets and meadows. Halting his footmen, the Emperor counted the chariots and horses. Then he inquired of the Ministers, saying:—"It is a pleasure of the hunting-field to make the stewards cut up the fresh meat. Suppose that you and We cut it up ourselves?" The Ministers were taken aback and could find no answer. Hereupon the Emperor became very wroth, and drawing his sword, slew one of the stewards named Mumakahi of Ohotsu. On this day the Imperial cortège arrived from the Yoshino Palace. The people of the province all shook with fear. In consequence the Grand Empress and the Empress, hearing of this, were full of apprehension, and sent to meet him Hi-no-hime, the Uneme of Yamato,[3] to offer him sake. The Emperor, seeing the beauty of the Uneme's countenance,[4] and the elegance of her appearance, softened his looks, and with a pleased expression, said:—"How should I not wish to behold thy pleasing smile?" So

[1] Corresponding to A.D. 429. The "Tongkam" places this event in A.D. 455.

[2] The use of the words "Emperor" and "tribute" shows that this "new compilation," like the "Pèkché record" already mentioned, was probably the work of Corean literati domiciled in Japan. Nyörang is in the Chinese 女郎 (lady), which in modern Japanese means a harlot. The Interlinear Kana is Yehashito, which probably means "beautiful person." The nyörang were no doubt concubines of inferior rank. The word rendered lady is 夫人, a title of the wives of officials above a certain rank. Aretoku is not like a Japanese name.

[3] The Atahe of Yamato was her father.

[4] She was of a marriageable age before the accession of Richiu Tennō in A.D. 400, and we are now at 458.

XIV. 10. hand in hand with her, he entered the hinder palace, where he addressed the Empress Dowager, saying:—"In to-day's hunt we took many birds and beasts. We wished along with the Ministers to cut up the fresh meat and to have a banquet on the moor. But having proposed this to them, not one of them gave us an answer. Therefore did We get angry." The Empress Dowager, knowing the feeling which dictated these words of the Emperor, mollified him, saying:—"The Ministers did not understand that your Majesty, in connection with the sport on the hunting-field, was establishing a Fleshers' Be, and therefore did condescend to ask their opinion, so that their silence was reasonable, and it was hard for them to reply. But even now it is not too late to offer them.[1] I will make a beginning with myself. My steward Nagano is good at making mince meat.[2] I beg permission to present him to thee." The Emperor knelt down and accepted him, saying:—"It is good." This is what the rustic means when he says:—"The nobles understand each other's hearts." The Empress Dowager saw the Emperor's gratification, and pleasure filled her bosom. She further wished to offer men, and said:—"There are my two scullions, Masakida and Takame,[3] of the Mito Be of Uda. I beg leave to add these two men to the others to form a Fleshers' Be." From this time forward Akoko no Sukune, the Miyakko of the province of Yamato, sends some of the
XIV. 11. Kotori Wake of Saho to form the Fleshers' Be. The Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, and the Kuni no Miyakko also, following (the Empress's example), presented some, one after another.

In this month the Fumubito[4] Be, and the Toneri[5] Be of Kahakami, were instituted.

The Emperor, taking his heart for guide, wrongfully slew many men. The Empire censured him, and called him "The greatly wicked Emperor." The only persons who loved him

[1] Men to serve as fleshers.

[2] It must be remembered that the Japanese having no table-knives, all flesh is cut up small before it is served.

[3] A curious name! It means "High Heaven." Uda is the name of a Kōri of Yamato. There is a village there called Mitobe, which means Imperial House Be. It probably was an appanage of the Empress.

[4] Scribes. [5] Palace attendants.

were Awo Musa no Suguri[1] of the Scribes' Be and Hakatoko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi.[2]

3rd year, Summer, 4th month. Kunimi, Abe no Omi [His other name was Shikotohi], uttered a slander respecting the Imperial Princess Taku-hata and Takehiko, Ihoki Be no Muraji, the bath-official, saying:—"Takehiko has had illicit intercourse with the Imperial Princess." Takehiko's father, Kikoyu, hearing this rumour, was afraid lest calamity might overtake himself, and persuaded Takehiko to come with him to the River Ihoki. There, pretending to make cormorants dive into the water to catch fish, he took him unawares and slew him. When the Emperor heard this, he sent messengers to question the Imperial Princess. The Imperial Princess answered and said:—"Thy handmaiden knows nothing." Suddenly the Imperial Princess took a divine mirror and went to Isuzu no Kahakami,[3] and watching for a time when no one was passing, buried the mirror, and hanged herself. The Emperor became suspicious on account of the Imperial Princess's absence, and constantly sent persons in the dead of night to search in all directions. When they came to Kahakami, a rainbow appeared, like unto a serpent, four or five rods in length. When they dug the place from which the rainbow sprang they found the divine mirror, and no great distance off, they discovered the Imperial Princess's body. On ripping her open and making examination, there was in her belly something like water, and in the water there was a stone. Kikoyu was thus enabled to establish his son's innocence, but on the other hand he had remorse for having slain him. He revenged him by killing Kunimi, and then fled and hid in the Shrine of Isonokami. A.D. 459. XIV. 12.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor went a-hunting with bow and arrows on Mount Katsuraki. Of a sudden a tall man appeared, who came and stood over the vermilion valley.[4] A.D. 460. XIV. 13.

[1] Suguri is written with Chinese characters which mean "village master." It is said to be a Corean word.

[2] Tami-tsukahi means "employer of the people." It seems to be a title of a low class. It may be observed that the "Kojiki" strives to put a favourable construction on Yūriaku's conduct.

[3] Where the Ise shrines are.

[4] Fairy-land. It is perhaps here the name of a place, Tanikahi.

In face and demeanour he resembled the Emperor. The Emperor knew that he was a God, and therefore proceeded to inquire of him, saying:—"Of what place art thou Lord?" The tall man answered and said:—"I am a God of visible men.[1] Do thou first tell thy princely name, and then in turn I will inform thee of mine." The Emperor answered and said:—"We are Wake-take no Mikoto." The tall man next gave his name, saying:—"Thy servant is the God Hito-koto-nushi."[2] He finally joined him in the diversion of the chase. They pursued a deer, and each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to bit, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company of genii. Herewith the sun went down, and the hunt came to an end. The God attended on the Emperor and escorted him as far as the Water of Kume. At this time the people all said:—"An Emperor of great virtue!"

Autumn, 8th month, 18th day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Yoshino.

28th day. He made a progress to Kahakami no Ono,[3] where he commanded the forest wardens to drive the wild beasts. He lay in wait hoping to shoot them himself, when a gad-fly came swiftly flying. Then a dragon-fly flew thither suddenly, bit the gad-fly, and went away with it. The Emperor was pleased at its attention, and commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Do ye on Our behalf compose an ode in praise of this
XIV. 14. dragon-fly." As none of the Ministers made so bold as to compose an ode, the Emperor forthwith composed a short piece,[4] saying:—

These tidings some one
Told in the Great Presence,
How in Yamato
On the Peak of Womura
Four-footed game was lying:

---

[1] i.e. who has assumed mortal form.

[2] Lit. one-word-master. The "Kojiki" expands this into "The Deity who dispels with a word the evil, and with a word the good." See Ch. K., p. 319. The "Kiujiki" makes him a son of Susanowo.

[3] The little moor of the upper stream.

[4] 口號. This was the name of a particular kind of Chinese poetry of four or eight lines.

The Great Lord,
When he heard this,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with jewels,
Stood at his throne
Entwined with cloth :
Waiting for the game
Whilst I [1] remained :
Waiting for the wild-boar
Whilst I was standing,
My arm in the fleshy part,
Was stung by a gad-fly :
But soon a dragon-fly
That gad-fly did bite.
Even a creeping insect
Waits upon the Great Lord.
Thy form it will bear,
O Yamato, land of the dragon-fly ! [2]

One book has, instead of "the great presence," "the great Lord."

One book has, instead of "stood at his throne," "remained in his throne."

One book has, instead of from "even a creeping insect" (inclusive) to the end, the following :—

That in this wise
It should be famous,
The Heaven-filling [3]
Land of Yamato
Was called the Land of the Dragon-fly.[4]

Therefore in honour of the Dragon-fly this place was called Akitsu no.[5] XIV. 15.

[1] The change from the third to the first person is much less marked in the Japanese. It is not to be supposed that the Emperors actually composed these verses themselves, nor perhaps any others ascribed to them in the "Nihongi." The hand of the Court-poet is plain in the honorific epithets and forms given to him therein.

[2] The word for throne is agura. It was no doubt something of the nature of a camp-stool.

[3] Heaven-filling. See above, p. 135, note 5. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[4] This is the "Kojiki" version.

[5] The moor of the Dragon-fly. See above, p. 134, note 8.

A.D. 461. 5th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor hunted on Mount Katsuraki. Suddenly there came a supernatural bird, in size like a sparrow, with a long tail which trailed upon the ground. Now this bird chirruped, saying:—"Have a care! Have a care!" Then suddenly there appeared, issuing furiously from the herbage, a raging wild boar of which they had been in chase, and pursued the men. The huntsmen in great terror climbed up into trees. The Emperor commanded his attendants, saying:—"When a savage beast meets with man, it straightway halts. Encounter it with a shot from your bows, and then stab it." The attendants were of an effeminate nature. They climbed up trees, and changed countenance, and their five senses were masterless. The raging wild boar came straight on, and tried to bite the Emperor. But the Emperor with his bow pierced it and stayed its course. Then, raising his foot, he killed it with a kick. Hereupon, when the chase was over, he wanted to cut down the attendants. The attendants, when about to be executed, made a song, saying:—

Oh! my elder brother,
Thou alder-tree branch—
Over Ariwo,
To which I climbed up in flight,
Dreading
XIV. 16. The snorting of the wild-boar,
That was shot
By Our great Lord
Who rules peacefully![1]

The Empress, hearing their lament, was sorry for them, and tried to stay (the execution). The Emperor said:—"The

[1] This translation exactly reverses the order of the lines of the original. The "Kojiki" version (*vide* Ch. K., p. 318) varies somewhat. Ariwo I take (doubtfully) to be a proper name. The "Kojiki" says that it was the Emperor who climbed into the tree, and Motoöri takes this view. I agree with Chamberlain that this won't do. Perhaps something has been omitted in the "Kojiki" narrative. The insertion of the single word Toneri in one place would make it agree with the "Nihongi." It is not likely that a poem should have been composed to commemorate the Emperor's ascent into a tree.

The alder-tree branch is addressed as "elder brother" in gratitude for its protection.

Empress is taking part, not with the Emperor, but with the attendants." She answered and said:—"The people all say, 'His Majesty is fond of the chase, and loves game. Is not this wrong?' If now Your Majesty, on account of a savage boar, puts to death your attendants, Your Majesty is, as it were, not different from a wolf." The Emperor with the Empress went up into their carriage and returned home. Amid cries of "Long live the Emperor!" he said:—"How delightful is this! Everybody has caught game, and We have caught good words, which We have brought back with us."[1]

Summer, 4th month. Lord Kasyuni [i.e. King Kèro] of Pèkché, having learnt by rumour that Iketsu hime [viz. the Nyörang Chök-ke] had been put to death by burning,[2] held counsel, saying:—"The ancient custom of sending tribute of women to be made Uneme is contrary to decorum, and is injurious to our country's reputation. Henceforward it is unmeet that women be sent as tribute." Accordingly he intimated to his younger brother, Lord Kun[3] [i.e. Lord Kon-chi], saying:—"Do thou go to Japan,[4] and serve the Emperor." Lord Kun answered and said:—"My Lord's commands must not be disobeyed. I pray thee give me one of thy consorts, and then I will undertake this mission." Lord Kasyuni accordingly took one of his consorts who was pregnant, XIV. 17. and having given her in marriage to Lord Kun, said:—"The month for the delivery of this pregnant consort of mine has already arrived. If she should be delivered on the journey, I pray thee place (the child) on board a ship, and whatever place thou mayest have arrived at, cause it to be at once sent back to this country." So at last he took his leave, and went on his mission to the (Japanese) Court.

[1] This passage, from "If now Your Majesty" down to "with us," is copied, with a few trifling alterations, from a Chinese book. Motoöri dismisses the whole incident of the Empress's interference as a silly imitation of Chinese models. He is doubtless right.

[2] See above, p. 338.

[3] The traditional Kana rendering of 軍君 (War-lord) is Komukishi.

[4] Japan is 日本, or Nippon, by which name this country was not known till much later.

6th month, 1st day. The pregnant consort realized the words of Lord Kasyuni, and gave birth to a child in the island of Kahara in Tsukushi. So this child was given the name of Lord Shima.[1] Upon this Lord Kun straightway took a ship and sent Lord Shima to his country. He became King Munyöng. The people of Pèkché call this island Chuto.[2]

Autumn, 7th month. Lord Kun entered the capital. After this he had five children.

The Pèkché Shinsen says:—"In the year Kanoto ushi (A.D. 461[3]) King Kèro sent his younger brother, Lord Konchi, to Great Wa, to wait upon the Emperor and to confirm the friendship of former sovereigns."

A.D 462. 6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Emperor made an excursion to the small moor of Hatsuse. There, viewing the aspect of the hills and moors, in an outburst of feeling, he made a song, saying:—

The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
They stand out
Excellent mountains!
They run out
Excellent mountains!
The mountains of Hatsuse,
  The secluded—
Are full of various beauties!
Are full of various beauties![4]

Hereupon he gave a name to the small moor, and called it Michi no Ono.[5]

[1] Shima is the Japanese for island. The Corean is syöm, the two words being no doubt identical. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XVI. i. p. 68.

[2] Master-island.

[3] This date is noteworthy as being the first in the "Nihongi" which is confirmed by Corean history. It is true that it occurs only in a note, which was probably added by a later hand. But the narrative of the text no doubt refers to the same event. From this time forward the "Nihongi" chronology is never grossly inaccurate, though it would be too much to say that it can yet be depended on. See "Early Japanese History" in "T.A.S.J.," XVI. i. p. 67.

[4] Metre irregular.

[5] i.e. the small moor of the road.

3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor wished to make the Empress and his concubines plant mulberry trees with their own hands, in order to encourage the silk industry. Hereupon he gave orders to Sukaru [This is a personal name] to make a collection of silkworms throughout the country. Now Sukaru made a mistake and collected babies,[1] which he presented to the Emperor. The Emperor laughed greatly, and gave the babies to Sukaru, saying:—"Do thou bring them up thyself." Accordingly Sukaru brought them up hard by the Palace enclosure. So he was granted a title, and was called Chihisako Be[2] no Muraji. XIV. 18.

Summer, 4th month. The Land of Wu[3] sent envoys with tribute.

7th year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Emperor commanded Sukaru Chihisako Be no Muraji, saying:—"It is our desire to see the form of the Deity of Mimuro Hill. [*Some say that the Deiiy of this mountain is Oho-mono-shiro-nushi no Kami. Others say Uda no Sumi-zaka no Kami.*] Thou dost excel in strength of body. Go thyself, seize him, and bring him here." Sukaru answered and said:—"I will make the attempt, and go to seize him." So he ascended the Hill of Mimuro and caught a great serpent, which he showed the Emperor, who had not practised (religious) abstinence. Its thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The Emperor was afraid, and, covering his eyes, would not look upon it, but fled into the interior of the Palace. Then he caused it to be let loose on the Hill, and giving it a new name, called it Ikadzuchi.[4] A.D. 463.

8th month. One of the Toneri named Oho-sora,[5] of the Bow- XIV. 19.

[1] The Japanese for silkworm is Kahiko. Kahi means to keep, to nurture, and ko is "little one;" so there was some excuse for Sukaru's mistake.

[2] Chihisako means "little child." The title and office seem merged in one here.

[3] The Wu dynasty came to an end A.D. 280, and at this time the Sung dynasty held rule, but, as Mr. E. H. Parker has pointed out, Wu was also a territorial designation of that part of China about Nanking. Of course, by tribute is meant presents. The Japanese early adopted the Chinese arrogant way of speaking of foreign nations.

[4] Thunderbolt.

[5] Oho-sora means The Great Void (of Heaven). We have had above a name Takama, i.e. High Heaven.

makers' Be of Kibi, went home on some urgency. Sakitsuya Omi of Lower Kibi [In one book it says:—"The Kuni no Miyakko, Yama, Kibi no Omi"], detained Oho-sora, and for several months would not consent to allow him to go up to the capital. The Emperor sent Mike no Kimi, a man of valour, to fetch him. Oho-sora came in obedience to the summons, and said:—"Sakitsuya took young girls to represent the Emperor's men, and grown-up women to represent his own men. Then he made them fight with one another, and on seeing that the young girls were victorious, drew his sword and slew them. At another time he took a small cock, which he called the Emperor's cock, and pulled out its feathers and clipped its wings. Then he took a large cock, which he called his own cock, attached to it a bell,[1] and armed its spurs with metal. Then he matched them together, and when the naked bird got the better of the other, he again took out his sword and killed it." When the Emperor heard this story, he sent thirty soldiers of the Monono Be, who put Sakitsuya to death, with seventy persons of his household.

This year Tasa, Omi of Upper Kibi, while on duty beside the Palace, praised Waka-hime abundantly to his friends,
XIV. 20. saying:—"Of all the beautiful women in the Empire, there is none to compare with my wife. How blooming! How gentle! How graced with various charms! How radiant! How genial! What perfection in every feature! She uses not flower of lead:[2] she adds not oil of orchids. Through the wide ages her equals are but few: in the present day she stands alone and peerless." The Emperor inclined his ear, and listening from a distance, rejoiced in his heart. So with the object of obtaining Waka-hime for himself, and making her one of his concubines, he appointed Tasa Governor of Imna,[3] and promptly favoured Waka-hime. When Tasa no Omi wedded Waka-hime, she bore to him Ye-kimi and Oto-kimi."[4]

Another book says:—"Tasa no Omi's wife, by name

[1] Small bells like the French grêlots were used as ornaments to the wrist or attached to garters.

[2] White lead ceruse.

[3] Mimana or Kara in Corea, where there was a Japanese resident.

[4] Elder lord and younger lord.

Ke-hime, was the daughter of Tamado no Sukune, son of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko. The Emperor, hearing of the serene beauty of her form, slew her husband, and wedded her himself."

After Tasa had arrived at his post, he learnt that the Emperor had married his wife, and with the object of obtaining succour, he went to Silla, which at that time did not do service to the Central Land.[1] The Emperor gave orders to Tasa no Omi's son Otokimi, and also to Akawo Kibi no Ama[2] no Atahe, saying:—"Do ye go and chastise Silla." At this time a skilled artisan of Western Aya named Kwan-in Chiri,[3] who XIV. 21. was near the Emperor, came forward and represented to him, saying:—"There are in the Land of Han[4] many who are more skilful than thy slave. Let them be sent for and made to serve thee." The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying:—"Then let Kwan-in Chiri be joined to Otokimi and the others, and let him get instructions from Pèkché; at the same time let an Imperial rescript be delivered directing Pèkché to offer skilled men."

Hereupon Otokimi, in execution of these commands, took with him a body of men and proceeded as far as Pèkché. When he entered that land, a God of the country,[5] assuming the form of an old woman, suddenly met him on the road. Otokimi inquired of her whether the country was far or near. The old woman answered and said:—"If thou goest on for one day more, thou wilt then arrive there." Otokimi thought to himself that the way was too far, and returned without having chastised it. He got together the Imaki[6] skilled artisans who had been given as tribute by Pèkché on a large island, and under the pretence of awaiting a fair wind, tarried there for several months. Tasa no Omi, the Governor of Imna, pleased that Otokimi had gone away without chas-

[1] The "Central Land" is evidently Japan. The Kana has "Mikado."

[2] Fishermen.

[3] Possibly these are the names of two men. The Western Aya were the Aya of Kahachi.

[4] Corea. [5] This must refer to Silla.

[6] Imaki is the name of a place in Yoshino in Yamato. It means "newcomer," and the term may have been applied in the first place to this batch of emigrants to distinguish them from previous ones.

tising Silla, secretly sent a man to Pèkché, to warn Otokimi, saying:—"Is thine own head so firm that thou canst chastise others? A report has reached me that the Emperor has wedded my wife, with the result that he has had children by her. [The children are mentioned above.[1]] As I now fear that calamity may reach my own person, it is well that I should
XIV. 22. wait with foot uplifted. Do thou, my son, come over and betake thyself to Pèkché, and prevent it from communicating with Japan, while I will repair to and hold Imna, and will also hold no communication with Japan." Otokimi's wife Kusu-hime had profound patriotic sentiment; the sense of duty between lord and vassal was strong in her; her loyalty surpassed the bright sun; her principles excelled the evergreen fir. She abominated such treason, and having stealthily killed her husband, secretly buried him in the chamber. Then she remained in the large island with Akawo, Ama no Atahe, in charge of the skilled artisans presented by Pèkché. The Emperor, hearing that Otokimi was missing, sent Katashiha, Hitaka no Kishi, and Ko An-chön.[2] These messengers together made their report to the Emperor. They[3] were accordingly ultimately settled in the village of Hirokitsu in Ato in the province of Yamato, where many of them died of disease. In consequence of this, the Emperor commanded Muruya, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, to instruct Tsukami, Yamato no Aya[4]
XIV. 23. no Atahe to remove Ko-kwi, of the Potters' Be, Kyön-kwi, of the Saddlers' Be, In-să-ra-ka, of the Painters'[5] Be, Chöng-an-na, of the Brocade-weavers' Be, and Myo-an-na, the Interpreter, all belonging to the New Aya,[6] to other residences at the following three places, viz., Upper Momohara, Lower Momohara, and Magami no Hara.

[1] As a matter of fact, they are not; the "Shukai" rejects this note. As the "Shukai" editor points out, all this cannot belong to the same year of Yūriaku's reign.

[2] Ko An-chön. Probably a Corean. Chön means copper cash, which were unknown in Japan at this time.

[3] This must refer to the Pèkché artisans.

[4] Otherwise called the Eastern Aya.

[5] The first mention of the art of painting.

[6] The Aya or Han would now appear to have three branches—the Eastern or Yamato Aya, the Western or Kahachi Aya, and the New or Imaki Aya, whose introduction is here related. They all consisted of skilled men from Corea.

A certain book says :—" Otokimi, Kibi no Omi, returned from Pèkché, and presented a Be of Aya workmen, a Be of tailors, and a Be of fleshers."

8th year, Spring, 2nd month. Awo, Musa no Suguri, and Haka-toko, Hinokuma no Tami-tsukahi, were sent to the Country of Wu. A.D. 464.

From the accession of the Emperor up to this year eight years had now passed, during which the Land of Silla was refractory and given to vain talk, and did not send presents. Therefore they feared the intentions of the Central Land,[1] and cemented friendship with Koryö. Consequently the King of Koryö sent one hundred picked soldiers to guard Silla. After a while, one of these Koryö soldiers returned to his own country on furlough. Now he took with him a Silla man as groom. Turning to him, he addressed him, saying :—" Thy country will be conquered by my country ere long." [One book says :—Thy country will in the end become our territory, and that ere long.] When the groom heard this, he pretended a pain in his belly, and retiring, remained behind. At length he made his escape to his own country, and told what had been said. Hereupon the King of Silla knew that Koryö's guard was mere pretence, and sent messengers to run and tell the people to kill the cocks kept in their houses. The people knew his meaning, and killed all the men of Koryö[2] resident in the country. Only one Koryö man was left, who seized an opportunity to effect his escape and flee to his own country, when he told the whole story. The king of Koryö accordingly raised an army and encamped by the city of Chhyuk-chong-nyu. [*One book says the city of Tokushiki.*] At length they made music, with song and dance. Hereupon the King of Silla, hearing in the night the Koryö army singing and dancing on all sides, became aware that the enemy had occupied the whole land of Silla. So he sent a man to the King of Imna, saying :—" The King of Koryö has attacked our country. At this present time, like the fringes sewn on a flag,[3] the condi- XIV. 24.

[1] Japan.

[2] Kokuryö, the proper name of this country, resembles the onomatopoetic word for the crowing of a cock: English, cock-a-doodle-doo; French, kokeriko; Japanese, Bekkakō.

[3] Which are always wobbling about.

tion of the land is more precarious than that of a pile of eggs.
XIV. 25. The thread of life is short, and may not at all be reckoned. I humbly beg that the Japanese Authorities[1] will assist me with war generals."

Accordingly the King of Imna persuaded Ikaruga, Kashihade no Omi, Wonashi, Kibi no Omi, and Akameko, Naniha no Kishi to go to the assistance of Silla. Kashihade no Omi and the others halted before they reached the camp, and before the Koryö generals had fought with Kashihade no Omi and the others, they were all afraid. So Kashihade no Omi and his colleagues did their best to keep the troops in good heart, and urged them to get ready the means of attack. Then suddenly they advanced and took the offensive. For more than ten days they and the Koryö men kept watch on one another. When night came on they pierced a steep place, and made a hollow way, along which they passed all the baggage wagons and prepared an ambush. At dawn the Koryö men thought to themselves :—"Kashihade no Omi and the others are stealing away." So they came in pursuit with their whole army. Then the troops in ambush, both horse and foot, were let go, and taking them from both sides, put them to a great rout. It was from this that the enmity between the two countries sprang. [By the two countries are meant Silla and Koryö.]

Kashihade no Omi and his colleagues spake to Silla, saying: —"Thou with the utmost weakness wert pitted against the utmost strength, and had it not been for the assistance of the Government[2] troops thou wouldst assuredly have been taken at a disadvantage and thy territory annexed. By this campaign be warned never in future to be disobedient to the Celestial Court."[3]

[1] In the original 日本府. The "Shukai" editor alters this to 官府 or official authorities, for no better reason than that the latter term is the one used in Kimmei's reign. 日本 occurs frequently after this time, no doubt being employed retrospectively. Probably the actual word used by the King of Silla was Wa.

[2] i.e. Japanese.

[3] It is difficult to say how much truth there is in this Corean episode. The "Tongkam" lends no corroboration. On the contrary the only notices of Japan which it contains about this time relate to Japanese descents on the Silla Coast. One is recorded in 459, one in 463, and one in 476. No unusual enmity between Silla and Koryö at this time is mentioned in the

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Katabu,[1] Ofushi Kahachi no Atahe, and an Uneme were sent to sacrifice to the Deity of Munagata.[2] Katabu and the Uneme, having arrived at the altar-place,[3] were about to perform the rites, when Katabu debauched the Uneme. When the Emperor heard this, he said :—"When we sacrifice to the Gods and invoke from them blessings, should we not be watchful over our conduct?" So he sent Naniha no Hidaka no Kishi to put him to death. But Katabu straightway took to flight, and was not to be found. The Emperor again sent Toyoho, Yuge[4] no Muraji, who searched the districts of that province far and wide, and at length caught and slew him at Awi[5] no hara, in the district of Mishima. A.D. 465. XIV. 26.

3rd month. The Emperor desired to chastise Silla in person, but a God warned him, saying :—"Go not." For this reason the Emperor did not carry out his intention of going, but gave orders to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, Soga no Karako no Sukune, Ohotomo no Katari[6] no Muraji, and Wokahi no Sukune, saying :—"Silla occupies the Western Land : age after age he has done us homage : he did not neglect visits of ceremony : his payment of tribute was duly discharged. But since We have come to rule the Empire, he has betaken himself beyond Tsushima, and concealed his traces outside of Chamna. He prevents Koryō from sending tribute, he devours the walled cities of Pèkché. Nay, more—his missions of ceremony to this court have been neglected and his tribute remains unpaid. With the savage XIV. 27.

"Tongkam." Nor does this narrative square very well with what is related below, xiv. 26, 27. I am inclined, nevertheless, to believe that it has a solid foundation of fact, only that the dates must be wrong.

From "having pierced" to "great rout" is copied mutatis mutandis from a Chinese history of the Wei period, reign of Wu Ti, and Kashihade no Omi's speech to the King of Silla is extracted from the same source.

[1] This curious name means "fragrance-giver."

[2] In Yamato.

[3] The Kana rendering is Kamu-niha (divine courtyard), which is not exactly an altar, but a plot of ground set apart for the worship of the Gods. See above, p. 81, note 9.

[4] Bow-makers.

Awi is indigo, the Polygonum tinctorium.

[6] The Katari were reciters attached to the Court. Unfortunately we know very little about them, or what the subjects of their recitations were.

heart of the wolf he flies away when satiated, and sticks fast when starving. I appoint you four ministers to be generals. Take a royal army and chastise him. Let the punishment of Heaven be reverently executed."

Hereupon Ki no Woyumi no Sukune laid a complaint before the Emperor through Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy servant, although feeble and incompetent, will respectfully obey the Emperor's orders. But now thy servant's wife has departed this life, and there is nobody to take care of thy servant. Do Thou, my Lord, I beseech Thee, represent this matter fully to the Emperor." Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji represented it fully. When the Emperor heard this complaint, he uttered a sigh of pity. He took an Uneme from the hither province of Kibi, Ohomi[1] by name, and giving her to Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, attached her to his person to take care of him. So at length he sent him off with a shove to his axle.

Ki no Woyumi no Sukune and the rest accordingly entered Silla, butchering as they went the districts along their way.
XIV. 28. The King of Silla heard by night on all sides the drums of the Government army, and becoming aware that they had completely conquered the land of Tok,[2] fled in confusion with several hundred cavalry. Thereby ensued a great defeat. Woyumi no Sukune pursued and slew the enemy's general in the midst of his army. The whole land of Tok was reduced to order, but there was a remainder which would not submit. Ki no Woyumi no Sukune again withdrew his troops, and having effected a junction with Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and the others, they again, with a great display of forces, fought with the remaining band. This evening Ohotomo no Katari no Muraji and Ki no Okazaki no Kume no Muraji were both slain while fighting with all their might. Tsumaro, a follower of Katari no Muraji, of the same surname,[3] afterwards came amongst the army and asked for his master. He went along the ranks and sought for him, making inquiry, and saying:—"Where is my master, Lord Ohotomo?" Then some one informed him, saying:—

[1] Great sea.

[2] See above, p. 249, where it would seem that Tok was a part of Kara.

[3] Or title.

"Thy masters[1] have, indeed, been slain by the enemy," and pointed out to him the place where the dead bodies were. Tsumaro hearing this, leaped and exclaimed, saying:—"My master has fallen. What avails it that I alone should remain unhurt?" Accordingly he too went against the enemy, and in the same hour perished. Soon after, the rest of the band retired of their own accord, and the Government army also followed their example, and fell back. The general-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, fell ill and died.

Summer, 5th month. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, when he heard that his father was dead, forthwith proceeded to Silla, and taking from Wokahi no Sukune his command of horse, foot and ships, with the various lesser offices, exercised absolute XIV. 29. authority. Hereupon Wokahi no Sukune had a profound resentment towards Ohiha no Sukune and made a false report to Karako no Sukune, saying:—"Ohiha no Sukune has told thy servant, saying:—'Ere long I will take the command of Karako no Sukune from him too.' I pray thee be well on thy guard." In consequence of this there was a coolness between Karako no Sukune and Ohiha no Sukune. Upon this the King of Pèkché, hearing that there was a coolness between the commanders arising out of trifling causes, sent a man to Karako no Sukune and the others, saying:—"I wish to view the frontier of the land. I pray you be so kind as to come and join me." Herewith Karako no Sukune and the rest went on with bridle-bits in a line until they came to a river, when Ohiha no Sukune let his horse drink from the river. Then Karako no Sukune shot at Ohiha no Sukune from behind, and hit the hinder part of his saddle frame. Ohiha no Sukune looked round startled, and shot Karako no Sukune down into the mid stream, so that he died. So the three Omi, having from before this time been rivals with one another, fell out by the way, and returned back without having reached the Palace of the King of Silla.

Hereupon the Uneme, Ohomi, following the dead body of Woyumi no Sukune, arrived in Japan. She at length complained to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Thy handmaiden knows not where to bury him. I beseech thee let a good place be selected by divination." The Oho-

[1] *Sic* in original.

muraji accordingly reported to the Emperor, who gave command to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"The Commander-in-chief, Ki no Woyumi no Sukune, tossing his head like a dragon, and glaring like a tiger, surveying with extensive view the eight cords,[1] overwhelmed the rebellious, and dashed against the
XIV. 30 four seas.[2] So his body was worn out by ten thousand ri,[3] and his life succumbed in the three Han. To show Our compassion, let there be appointed officials to conduct his funeral. Thou, my Lord Ohotomo, art of the same province and a near neighbour of the Lords of Ki, so that thy connection with him is of old standing." Hereupon the Ohomuraji, having received the Emperor's commands, sent Wotori Hanishi[4] no Muraji to construct a tumulus at the village of Tamuwa, and bury him there. Upon this Ohomi, unable to contain herself for pleasure, sent to the Ohomuraji six Corean slaves named Muro, Te-maro, Oto-maro, Mi-kura, Wogura and Hari.[5] They are the Yake-bito[6] Be of the village of Kashimada in hither Kibi. Wokahi no Sukune came specially in attendance on Ki no Woyumi no Sukune's corpse. He remained, however, himself in the Land of Tsuno[7] and sent Yamato-ko no Muraji [it is not clear what was the surname of this Muraji[8]] with a present of an eight-hand mirror to Ohotomo no Ohomuraji to make a petition, saying:—"Thy servant cannot bear to serve the Celestial Court along with my Lord of Ki.[9] Therefore I beg permission to remain and reside in the Land of Tsuno." Upon this the Ohomuraji laid the matter before the Emperor on his behalf, and he was

[1] The eight cords, or measuring tapes, i.e. the eight quarters of the universe.

[2] The four seas are not put for Japan, but for the universe. All this bombast is copied from a Chinese book.

[3] i.e. by distant campaigning.

[4] The Hanishi were the clay-workers whose office it was to make the clay images which were set up round the tombs of the Emperors. His appointment was therefore an appropriate one. But although the office and the title sometimes coincided, as in this case, they had often nothing to do with each other. A few pages back we had a Katari no Muraji (Chief of the Reciters) and a Kashihade no Omi (Lord Steward) in command of troops in Corea.

[5] These names are Japanese. [6] Domestics. [7] In Suwō.

[8] This is a stupid note which the "Shukai" very properly rejects. In "Nihongi" language Yamato-ko no Muraji *is* the surname.

[9] i.e. Ki no Ohiha no Sukune.

allowed to remain and dwell in the Land of Tsuno. This was the beginning of the Tsuno no Omi first dwelling in the land of Tsuno, and being called Tsuno no Omi.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The province of Kahachi reported:—"The daughter of a man of the district of Asukabe named Hiakŭson, Tanabe no Fubito, was wife to a man named Kariu, Fumi no Obito, of the district of Furuchi. Hiakŭson, XIV. 31.

Clay Horse.

hearing that his daughter had given birth to a child, paid a visit of congratulation to his son-in-law's house. He came home by moonlight, and was passing at the foot of the Homuda[2] misasagi at Ichihiko hill, when he fell in with a horseman mounted on a red courser, which dashed along like the flight of

[1] Both Hiakŭson and Kariu are Chinese words. This story is apparently a report by one of the recorders whose appointment is mentioned above, p. 307.

[2] Ōjin Tennō.

a dragon, with splendid high springing action, darting off like a wild goose.[1] His strange form was of lofty mould; his remarkable aspect was of extreme distinction. Hiakŭson approached and looked at him. In his heart he wished to possess him, so he whipped up the piebald horse which he rode and brought him alongside of the other, head by head and bit by bit. But
XIV. 32. the red horse shot ahead, spurning the earth, and, galloping on, speedily vanished in the distance. Hereupon the piebald horse lagged behind, and, slow of foot, could not overtake the other. But the rider of the courser, knowing Hiakŭson's wish, stopped and exchanged horses with him, upon which they took leave of each other and separated. Hiakŭson, greatly rejoiced at obtaining such a steed, hastened home and placed him in the stable, where he took off his saddle, foddered him, and went to sleep. The next morning the red courser had become changed into a horse of clay. Hiakŭson, wondering at this in his heart, went back, and, making search at the Homuda misasagi, found the piebald horse standing among the clay horses. So he took it, and left in its stead the clay horse which he had received in exchange.[2]

A.D. 466. 10th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others arrived in Tsukushi with two geese presented by Wu. These geese were bitten by Minuma no Kimi's dog and died.

Another book says:—"These geese were bitten by a dog
XIV. 33. belonging to Nimaro, Tsukushi no Mine no Agata nushi, and died."

Hereupon Minuma no Kimi, unable to contain himself for fear and sorrow, presented to the Emperor ten large wild geese with bird-keepers, and begged that his offence might thus be compounded for. The Emperor granted his petition.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The bird-keepers presented by Minuma no Kimi were settled in two places, viz. the villages of Karu and Ihare.

[1] As usual, this *purpureus pannus* is copied from a Chinese author.

[2] The clay horses here referred to were of the kind described at p. 181 as having been substituted for the living horses previously sacrificed at the tomb. Some of these have been preserved, and specimens may be seen in the Museum at Uyeno, Tōkiō. The illustration represents one of these.

11th year, Summer, 5th month, 1st day. It was reported from the district of Kurimoto in the province of Ohomi that white cormorants dwelt on the shore at Tanagami. Orders were therefore given to establish toneri[1] of Kahase. A.D. 467.

Autumn, 7th month. There was a refugee from Pèkché who gave his name as Kwisin. It was also stated that Kwisin was a man of the Land of Wu. The Ihare no Kure[2] no Kotobiki and the Sakate no Yakata-maro are his descendants.

Winter, 10th month. A bird of the Bird-department was bitten by a dog belonging to a man of Uda and died. The Emperor was angry, and, branding him on the face, made him one of the Bird-keepers' Be. Hereupon some office coolies from the provinces of Shinano and Musashi, who were on night duty at the Palace, talked to one another, saying:—"Ah! In our country we pile up birds as high as a small tumulus and eat of them morning and evening, but still some are left. Now, for the sake of one bird, the Emperor has branded a man on the face. He is a very unjust and wicked master." The Emperor, hearing this, ordered them to gather and make a heap (of birds), and as the office coolies were unable to complete it on the spot, he commanded that they should be enlisted in the Bird-keepers' Be.[3] XIV. 34.

12th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and Haka-toko Hinokuma no Tamitsukahi went on a mission to Wu. A.D. 468.

Autumn, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor commanded the carpenter Mita of Tsuke ["Mita of Winabe,"[4] says one book—probably erroneously] to commence the erection of a lofty edifice. Hereupon Mita ascended this high building, and ran about nimbly on all sides as if he were flying. An Uneme of Ise looked up to the top of this high edifice and marvelled at his nimble movements, so that she fell down on her face in the courtyard, and upset a dish of meat which she was serving

[1] No doubt to take charge of the cormorants. Kahase, which means river-reach, may or may not be a proper name.

[2] Kure is the same as Wu, a part of China. Kotobiki means lute-player. It came to be a proper name.

[3] From which it would seem that the office coolies were of higher rank than the Bird-keepers.

[4] Winabe is the name of a place in Settsu. Tsuke is in Yamato.

to the Emperor. The Emperor forthwith suspected that Mita had debauched this Uneme, and conceiving to himself the thought of executing him, charged the Mononobe with this duty. At this time Hada no Sake[1] no Kimi was in attendance. He wished by the voice of his lute to make the Emperor understand, so placing his lute crosswise, and playing upon it, he said :—

XIV. 35.

Be there for five hundred years
Prosperity
To the maid of Ise
Of Ise
(Of the divine wind),
And until it is spent
Let me attend
With faithful service
On the Great Lord.
Let my life, too,
Be as long,
Said the carpenter,
The poor carpenter ![2]

Hereupon the Emperor understood the voice of the lute, and pardoned the offence.

A.D. 469. 13th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hadane no Mikoto, great-great-grandson of Saho-hiko,[3] secretly seduced the Uneme Yamanobe no Koshimako. When this came to the Emperor's ears, he gave Hadane no Mikoto in charge to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji, and made him call him to account for it. Hadane no Mikoto purged his offence by the payment of eight horses and eight swords, and then made a song, saying :—

For the sake of Koshimako,
Of Yamanobe,

---

[1] Sake is 酒 rice-beer. This person was, perhaps, a descendant of the Corean Prince Chhyu mentioned above, A.D. 353, and whose name is written with the same character. The word Hada, however, points to a Chinese ancestry. Hada is the Japanese traditional rendering of the character for T'sin, the Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Some commentators explain part of this poem differently. The metre is irregular.

[3] It is not clear why so remote a descendant of a Mikado should be called Mikoto.

Some one boasts that
The eight horses
Are not even to be grudged.

Me no Ohomuraji, hearing this, reported it to the Emperor, who made Hadane no Mikoto lay out his treasures on the ground at Tachibana moto [1] of Ichinobe in Yega. He ultimately took the village of Nagano in Yega, and gave it to Mononobe no Me no Ohomuraji.

Autumn, 8th month. There was a man of Miwikuma in the province of Harima called Ayashi no Womaro, who was strong of body and stout of heart, and did wanton outrage, committing robberies on the highways, and preventing traffic. He intercepted the boats of merchants and plundered them every one. He had also disobeyed the laws of the country by neglecting to pay his taxes. XIV. 36.

Hereupon the Emperor sent Ohoki, Kasuga no Wono no Omi, in command of one hundred soldiers who feared not death. They all together took torches, and having surrounded his house, set fire to it. Now from the midst of the flames there came forth furiously a white dog, which pursued Ohoki no Omi. This dog was as big as a horse. But the complexion of Ohoki no Omi's spirit did not change.[2] He drew his sword and slew it, whereupon it became changed into Ayashi no Womaro.

Autumn, 9th month. The carpenter, Mane, of the Wina Be, planed timber with an axe,[3] using a stone as ruler. All day long he planed, and never spoiled the edge by mistake. XIV. 37. The Emperor visited the place, and, wondering, asked of him, saying:—"Dost thou never make a mistake and strike the stone?" Mane answered and said:—"I never make a mistake!" Then the Emperor called together the Uneme, and made them strip off their clothing and wrestle in open view with only their waistcloths on. Hereupon Mane ceased for a while, and looked up at them, and then went on with his planing. But unawares he made a slip of the hand, and spoilt the edge

[1] Tachibana moto means "orange-stem, or orange-bottom," and possibly is to be taken here in this sense, and not as the name of a place.

[2] Here is the magician (world-wide) who can change himself into a beast, but on being wounded or killed is obliged to assume his natural form.

[3] The plane was apparently unknown.

of his tool. The Emperor accordingly rebuked him, saying:—"Where does this fellow come from that, without respect to us, he gives such heedless answers with unchastened heart?" So he handed him over to the Mononobe to be executed on the moor.

Now amongst his comrades there was a carpenter who lamented for Mane, and made a song, saying:—

The much to be regretted
Carpenter of Winabe—
The ink-cord he applied,—
When he is no more,
Who will apply it?
Alas! that ink-cord![1]

When the Emperor heard this song, his feelings changed to remorse, and he said with a sigh of regret:—"How many men I have destroyed!" So he mounted a messenger of mercy on a black horse of Kahi, and made him gallop to the place of execution to stop it and pardon him. The cords with which he was tied were unbound, and he, too, made a song, saying:—

As the night[2]
Black was the horse of Kahi—
Had they but saddled him,
XIV. 38. My life were lost—
Ah! that horse of Kahi!

Instead of "My life were lost," one book has, "He would not have arrived (in time)."

A.D. 470. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Awo, Musa no Sukuri, and the others, in company with envoys from the Land

[1] The ink-cord is a contrivance for ruling lines on wood, used to this day by Japanese carpenters. A cord is passed through a pot of ink and then drawn taut, and let go so as to strike the wood. A chalked line is sometimes used in the same way in this country. See illustration in "Transactions of Japan Society," Vol. II. p. 217. The metre of this poem is irregular, being a tanka with an additional line of seven syllables between the second and third.

[2] This is one of many explanations of the conventional epithet nubatama, applied to dark or black things.

of Wu, and bringing with them skilled workmen presented by Wu, viz. Aya weavers and Kure[1] weavers, as well as the seamstresses Ane-hime and Oto-hime, anchored in the harbour of Suminoye. In this month the Shihatsu highway was carried through as a road for the guests from Wu. It was called the Kure-saka.[2]

3rd month. The Emperor commanded the Omi and Muraji to go to receive the envoys from Wu. The men of Wu were accordingly settled on the moor of Hinokuma, which was therefore called Kure-hara.[3] The seamstress Ane-hime was presented to the God of Oho-Miwa, and Oto-hime was appointed to the Be of Aya seamstresses. The Aya weavers, the Kure weavers and the seamstresses—these were the founders of the Asuka Seamstresses' Be and of the Ise Seamstresses' Be.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor, wishing to make a feast for the men of Wu, asked the ministers, one after another, saying:—"Who will be the best man to keep them company at table?" The ministers all said:—"Ne no Omi will be the proper person." The Emperor accordingly gave command to Ne no Omi, and appointed him to keep them company in eating. Ultimately the men of Wu were entertained at Taka-nukuhara in Iso no Kami.[4] Now a Toneri was sent secretly XIV. 39.
to observe the ornamentation. The Toneri reported to the Emperor, saying:—"The jewel head-dress worn by Ne no Omi is very noble, and extremely lovely." Moreover, everybody said, "He also wore it before when he went to receive the men of Wu." Hereupon the Emperor, wishing to see it himself, gave orders to the Omi and Muraji, and made them present themselves before the hall in the dress which they wore at the banquet. The Empress looked up to Heaven and, with sobs and tears, lamented bitterly. The Emperor inquired of her, saying:—"Why weepest thou?" The Empress, leaving the

[1] For Aya and Kure the Chinese characters are 漢 and 呉, i.e. Han and Wu, the Chinese dynasties so called. But in this connection the Japanese render these names by Aya and Kure.

The "Shukai" editor has a note here to the effect that Han is Chang-an and Loh-yang, formerly capitals of Han; Wu is Chien-kang (Chien-yeh?), the Wu capital, near the present Nanking.

[2] Wu acclivity. [3] The plain of Wu. It is in Yamato.

[4] Yamato.

couch, answered him, saying:—"This jewel head-dress was presented on behalf of thy handmaiden by her elder brother, Prince Oho-kusaka, when, in obedience to the orders of the Emperor Anaho, he offered her to Your Majesty.[1] Therefore I conceived suspicion of Ne no Omi, and unawares shed tears and wept for grief." When the Emperor heard this he was astonished, and was very wroth. He pressed it sharply home to Ne no Omi, who replied, saying:—"I have deserved to die! I have deserved to die! Truly it is thy servant's fault." The Emperor commanded, saying:—"From this time forward let Ne no Omi, his children, his descendants, and his eighty connections have no concern with the order of Ministers of State." He was about to put Ne no Omi to death, but he ran away and hid himself. Arriving at Hine, he made a rice-castle, in which he stood on the defensive, but was ultimately slain by the Government forces. The Emperor ordered the officials to divide his descendants into two parts, one of which was constituted common people of the Oho-kusaka Be, and
XIV. 40. was allotted in fief to the Empress; the other part was given to the Chinu no Agata-nushi, and made sack-bearers. So having sought out a descendant of Hikaka, Naniha no Kishi,[2] a title was granted to him, and he was made Oho-kusaka Be no Kishi.

After matters had become quiet, Wone[3] no Omi [Wone no Omi was the son of Ne no Omi], when lying down at night, said to some one:—"The Emperor's castle is not strong; my father's castle is strong." These words came to the Emperor's ears. He sent a man to see Ne no Omi's house. It was really as had been said. Therefore he seized him and put him to death. Ne no Omi's descendants were made Sakamoto no Omi. From this they had their beginning.

A.D. 471. 15th year. The Hada House[4] was dispersed. The Omi and Muraji each enforced their services at pleasure, and would not allow the Hada no Miyakko to control them. Consequently Sake, Hada no Miyakko, made a great grievance of

[1] See above, p. 330. [2] See above, p. 331. [3] Wo means little.

[4] Hada. Several families of this name are mentioned in the "Seishiroku." They were believed to be descended from She Hwang-Ti, the celebrated Chinese Emperor of the T'sin dynasty, who reigned B.C. 221 to 209.

this, and took office with the Emperor. The Emperor loved and favoured him, and commanded that the Hada House should be assembled and given to Lord Sake of Hada. So this Lord, attended by excellent Be workmen of 180[1] kinds, XIV. 41. presented as industrial taxes fine silks, which were piled up so as to fill the Court. Therefore he was granted a title, viz. Udzu-masa. [Some say Udzumori masa, the appearance of all being piled up so as to fill.[2]]

16th year, Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor ordered those A.D. 472. provinces and districts which were suitable for mulberry trees to plant mulberry trees. He again dispersed to other places the Hada House, and made them bring tribute of industrial taxes.

Winter, 10th month. The Emperor ordered the Aya Be to be brought together, and established their Tomo no Miyakko, granting him the title of Atahe.

One book says:—"Granted the Aya no Omi the title of Atahe."

17th year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. The Hanishi[3] no A.D. 473. Muraji were made to present pure vessels suitable for serving the Emperor's morning and evening meals. Hereupon Ake, the ancestor[4] of the Hanishi no Muraji, presented to the Emperor a Be of his private subjects of the village of Kusasa in the province of Settsu, of the villages of Uchi and Fushimi in the province of Yamashiro, of the village of Fuji-kata in the XIV. 42. province of Ise, and also from Tamba, Tajima and Inaba, and named them the Nihe[5] no Hanishi Be.

18th year, Autumn, 8th month, 10th day. The Mononobe A.D. 474. Ushiro no Sukune and the Mononobe Me no Muraji were sent to smite Ise no Asahi no Iratsuko. Asahi no Iratsuko, hearing of the approach of the Government troops, opposed them in battle at Awohaka[6] in Iga. Priding himself on his skill in archery, he addressed the Government army, saying:—"Who

[1] 180 is, of course, a fancy number.

[2] This is an attempt to connect this name with *tsumoru*, to be piled up.

[3] Potters.

[4] Ancestor here cannot mean founder of the House.

[5] Nihe means food; these potters were for the supply of the Emperor's table utensils.

[6] Green tumulus.

is a match for the hand of Asahi no Iratsuko? The arrow which he lets fly will pierce two thicknesses of armour." The Government troops were all afraid, and Ushiro no Sukune did not dare to advance to the combat. They awaited each other for two days and one night. Hereupon the Mononobe Me no Muraji armed himself with his sword, and making Oho-wono-te,[1] of the Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, take his shield and call out in the midst of the army, advanced along with him. Asahi no Iratsuko saw them from afar off, and shot an arrow through Oho-wono-te's shield and two-fold armour which at the same time entered the flesh of his body to the depth of
XIV. 43. an inch. Oho-wono-te screened with his shield the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, and Me no Muraji caught Asahi no Iratsuko and slew him. Accordingly Ushiro no Sukune, beside himself with shame, for seven days did not make his report to the Emperor. But the Emperor inquired of his Ministers in attendance, saying:—"Why does not Ushiro no Sukune make his report?" Now there was a man named Sanuki no Tamushi Wake who came forward and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Ushiro no Sukune is a coward. For the space of two days and one night he was unable to seize Asahi no Iratsuko. Then the Mononobe, Me no Muraji, taking with him Oho-wono-te, a Mononobe of Kiku in Tsukushi, caught and slew Asahi no Iratsuko." When the Emperor heard this he was angry, and promptly taking away from Ushiro no Sukune his Be of Wina,[2] gave it to the Mononobe Me no Muraji.

A.D. 475. 19th year, Spring, 3rd month, 13th day. By Imperial command, the Anaho Be was established.[3]

A.D. 476. 20th year,[4] Winter. The "King of Koryö raised a great army and utterly smote Pèkché. There was but a small remnant left, which assembled and occupied Chhang-ha.[5] Their victuals became exhausted, and deep was hereupon the

[1] Great-axe-hand.

[2] The village of Wina-Be, in Ise, with its inhabitants.

[3] In memory of the Emperor Anaho.

[4] The "Tongkam" date is 475. We have now arrived at pretty exact chronology.

[5] 倉下. The traditional Kana renders this Hesu-oto—perhaps an attempt to reproduce the native Corean name.

weeping and lamentation. Upon this the Koryö generals addressed their King, saying:—"There is something extraordinary in the temper of Pèkché. Whenever thy servants observe them, they seem unaware of their own ruin. It is to be feared that they will again spread forth and revive. We pray that they may be at length got rid of." The King said:—"No! I, the unworthy one, have heard that the Land of Pèkché is under the jurisdiction of the Country of Japan, and that this connection is of old standing. It is also known to all the neighbouring countries that their King repairs to Japan and serves the Emperor." Ultimately it (the proposal to exterminate the Pèkché people) was abandoned. XIV. 44.

The Pèkché record says:—"King Kèro, year Kinoto U (475), Winter. A large army from Koryö came and besieged the great castle for seven days and seven nights. The Royal castle surrendered, and at length they destroyed Wi-nyé. The King, Queen, and Princes all fell into the hands of the enemy."

21st year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor, hearing that Pèkché had been conquered by Koryö, gave Kuma-nari to King Munchu, and so lent aid to his country. The men of that day all said:—"The Land of Pèkché, though their race was destroyed, assembled and lamented at Chhang-ha. They with true hearts appealed to the Emperor, who restored their country." XIV. 45. A.D. 477.

King Munchu was King Kèro's younger brother by the mother's side. An ancient Japanese record says:—"The statement that Kumanari was given to King Mata[1] is probably an error. Kumanari is a separate village of the district of Lower Takori[2] in Imna."

[1] 末多. The Coreans call him 牟大, i.e. Mu-tè. He was Munchu's successor. The Traditional Kana has Arushi for 下, lower. The Corean for Lower is arè.

The syllable ko in this name is probably an error, as below (reign of Keidai), Upper Tari and Lower Tari are mentioned as districts. National vanity is a powerful stimulus to the mythopœic faculty, and the above narrative must be taken with a few grains of salt. But it is no doubt true in the main. The "Tongkam," which gives a short account of the war, says that Silla sent an army of 10,000 men to the assistance of Pèkché. Under the year 475 it records the removal of the Pèkché capital to Ung-

A.D. 478. 22nd year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Shiraga was made Heir Apparent.

Autumn, 7th month. A man of Tsutsukaha in the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba, the child of Urashima of Midzunoye, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise,[1] which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached Hōrai San,[2] where they saw the genii. The story is in another Book.[3]

A.D. 479. XIV. 47. 23rd year, Summer, 4th month. King Munkeun[4] of Pèkché died.

chin. Now Ung-chin or Ung-chhön (熊津 or 熊川) was a town in Kyöng-syang-do, near the present Keumhè, and the meaning is Bear-port or Bear-river, evidently, therefore, the same with the Kuma-nari of the text. Kuma is for koma, the Corean word for bear, and nari is a dialectical or ancient form of năi (pronounced nè), river. It occurs above in the name of the river which the King of Silla swears by at p. 231. Ung-chin or Kuma-nari was in the Imna territory, the capital of which was Keumhè, then controlled by Japan, and it is not at all improbable that it should be ceded to Pèkché on this occasion.

The "Tongkam" mentions a Japanese descent on the eastern coast of Silla in 476. They were driven off with a loss of 200 men.

[1] Or turtle.

[2] "Mount Hōrai is the P'êng-Lai-Shan of the Chinese, one of the Three Isles of the Genii, which were believed to lie in the Eastern Sea, opposite to the coast of China. This happy group was the paradise of the Genii, who there maintained a sempiternal vigour by quaffing the waters of the fountain of life which flowed for them in a perpetual stream. The pine, the plum, the peach-tree, and the sacred fungus grow for ever upon its rocky shores; and the ancient crane builds its nest upon the giant limbs of its never-dying pine." Catalogue of Japanese paintings in the British Museum, Anderson, p. 224. See also Dickins' "Taketori-Monogatari," in the "R.A.S. Transactions." The "Manyōshiu," an ancient collection of Japanese poems, contains a beautiful version of this legend, which has been rendered into English verse by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," and of which a prose version may be found in my grammar of the Japanese written language. The Chinese and Japanese legendary lore associated with Hōrai San is of boundless extent.

The Interlinear Kana renders Hōrai San by Tokoyo no Kuni, or Eternal Land, which is quite inadequate.

[3] The "Shukai" editor rejects this as an unauthorized addition.

[4] There is no Pèkché king of this name. King Sam-Keun (三斤), who died in this year (the month differs), is doubtless meant. The first

The Emperor summoned within the Palace Prince Mata (Mutè), the second of Prince Konchi's five sons, who was young in years, but intelligent. He himself stroked the Prince's face and head, and made a gracious decree, appointing him to reign over that country. He also gave him weapons, and at the same time furnished him with 500 soldiers of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. He became King Tong-syöng.[1]

This year, tribute was sent from Pèkché in excess of the regular amount.

Tsukushi no Achi no Omi and Umakahi no Omi, in command of a naval force, attacked Koryö.

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor took to his sick-bed, and was ill at ease. By an Imperial decree he committed rewards and punishments, together with financial matters, great and small alike, to the charge of the Prince Imperial.

8th month, 7th day. The Emperor's disease became more and more grave. He took leave of all the functionaries. He pressed all their hands with sobs and lamentations, and died in the Great Hall, having left command to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji and Yamato-Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"At the present time, the world is one household: smoke and fire are 10,000 ri distant:[2] the people are well-ordered: the four barbarians are submissive. This is by the will of Heaven, which desires to bestow peace throughout XIV. 48.

character 文 came in somehow from the name of the preceding King (文州) Munchu. The following is from the "Tongkam," IV. 32, under the date A.D. 477. "Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché appointed his eldest son Samkeun to be Heir Apparent. Hèku of Pèkché killed his Prince Munchu. The Heir Apparent Samkeun came to the throne. His age was thirteen. The military administration of the country was placed in entire charge of Hèku. Before this Hèku exercised authority in an arbitrary way, and corrupted the laws, cherishing feelings of disloyalty to his Prince. The King (Munchu) was unable to control him. Hereupon the King went hunting and stayed abroad for the night, and Hèku sent a robber who murdered him." Hèku was put to death in the following year.

In 479 we have the following:—"Winter, 11th month. King Samkeun of Pèkché died, and was succeeded by Mutè, son of King Munchu's younger brother Kônchi.

[1] East Castle, probably in allusion to the Eastern situation of Ungchin.

[2] War is far off.

the land. Therefore with careful mind inciting myself, I have been every day watchful for that day, for the sake of the people. The Omi, the Muraji and the Tomo no Miyakko daily attend the court: the Governors of provinces and of districts in due season assemble in court. How shall they not with their whole hearts diligently observe the Imperial decrees? In principle our relation is that of Prince and vassal, but in feeling it is also that of father and child. It was my hope that
XIV. 49 by the help of the wisdom of the Omi and Muraji the hearts of the people both in the capital and elsewhere might be rejoiced, and I desired long to preserve peace throughout the Empire. But unexpectedly disease has come upon me. It has rooted itself deeper and deeper, and has greatly increased. This is the common lot of humanity, and is not worth wasting words over.

But in the capital and in the country the clothing and caps have not yet attained to freshness and neatness: civilization and Government still remain short of perfection. When I begin to reflect on this, I am simply lost in chagrin. But it is now many years since I could be described as in the vigour of youth. My strength of body and of mind have together become worn out. What I now do is of course not for my own benefit, but solely from a desire to facilitate the nourishment of the people. Therefore is it that I do this. What one of the descendants of mankind is absent from my thought? For the sake of the Empire, private feelings should be severed. At the present time[1] Prince Hoshikaha cherishes treason in his heart. His conduct is wanting in friendliness towards (his brethren).[2] It has been said by a man of old:—'There is no one who knows the minister so well as his Lord: there is no one who knows the child so well as his father.' Even supposing that Hoshikaha should make up his mind to unite (with his brethren) in ruling the State, certain disgrace would come universally upon the Omi and Muraji, and a cruel poison overflow the nation. Now a bad
XIV. 50. descendant is to be dreaded for the people's sake: a good

[1] See p. 337.

[2] "His brethren" is not in the original, but there is an allusion to the Shooking (Legge, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 535), where the complete phrase is found.

descendant is sufficient to sustain the burden of the Great Task.[1] Although this is a matter concerning Our House, in principle it does not admit of concealment. The Ohomuraji and the officials of the Home Department are widespread and pervade the whole country: the Prince Imperial, who is in the position of becoming my successor, is known to the world for his benevolence and filial piety. His conduct is such that he is a sufficient person to carry out Our ideas. If along with him ye administer the Empire, even although Our eyes are closed, what room is there for repining?"[2]

In one book it is said:—"It is known to all the world that Prince Hoshikaha is of an evil disposition and of a violent heart. If unfortunately after Our death he should attempt to harm the Prince Imperial, ye and the officials of the Home Department are very numerous. Strive your utmost to render each other mutual aid, and let there be no contemptuousness."

At this time Oshiro, Kibi no Omi, General of the expedition against Silla, arrived at the province of Kibi, and passed by his house. Afterwards 500 Yemishi under his command, hearing of the Emperor's death, spoke to one another, saying:—"The Emperor who controls our country is dead. The opportunity should not be lost." So assembling themselves into a band, they invaded the neighbouring districts. Hereupon Oshiro came from his house, and meeting the Yemishi at Port Saba,[3] fought with them, and shot at the Yemishi. But some skipped and others lay down, thereby succeeding in avoiding the arrows. In the end he was unable to shoot them. Therewith Oshiro twanged his empty bow by the sea-shore, and of the skippers and skulkers two companies were shot to death.[4] Two cases of arrows were all used up. So he called to boatmen and asked them for arrows. But they were afraid, and of their own accord retired. Then XIV. 51.

[1] The sovereignty.

[2] This speech is copied, with some unimportant changes, from a passage in a Chinese History of the Sui dynasty, where it is assigned to the Emperor Kaotsu, who died A.D. 604, i.e. 125 years *after* the death of Yūriaku.

[3] In Suwō.

[4] Chinese legend mentions archers so skilful that they could shoot birds and beasts without any arrows whatever.

Oshiro set up his bow, and taking it by the end, made a song, saying :—

On the way he met them,
The Boy of Oshiro !
It is in Heaven only that
Unheard of he will be,
For on Earth at least
He will be heard of.

Having finished this song, he slew many men with his own hand and pursued them on as far as Port Uragake in the Land
XIV. 52. of Tamba, where they were all massacred.

One book says :—" He pursued them as far as Uragake, and then sent men who slew them all."

BOOK XV.

THE EMPEROR SHIRAGA[1]-TAKE-HIRO-KUNI-OSHI-WAKA-YAMATO-NEKO.

(*SEINEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Shiraga-take-hiro-kuni-oshi-waka-Yamato-neko was the third child of the Emperor Ohohatsuse-waka-take. His mother's name was Katsuraki no Kara-hime. The Emperor's hair was white[3] from his birth. When he grew up to manhood, he loved the people. The Emperor Ohohatsuse had a special admiration for him amongst all his children, and in the 22nd year of his reign appointed him Prince Imperial. The Emperor Ohohatsuse died in the 8th month of the 23rd year of his reign. Then Kibi no Waka-hime secretly addressed the Imperial Prince, the younger son Hoshikaha, saying:—"If thou dost desire to ascend to the Imperial rank, do thou first of all take the office of the Treasury." The eldest son, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, hearing this advice of the Lady his mother to her younger son, said:—"Although the Prince Imperial is my younger brother, why should he be betrayed? This thing should not be done." But Prince Hoshikaha would not give ear. He rashly followed the advice of the Lady his mother. Finally he took possession of the Treasury, and locked the outer door, therewith making provision against XV. 2.

[1] Shiraga means white hair. The "Kojiki" gives his name as Shiraga no oho-Yamato-neko.

[2] Seinei, pure and tranquil.

[3] The same thing is related of the Chinese philosopher Laotze and other Chinese worthies.

disaster. He exercised arbitrary authority, and squandered the official property. Hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji spake to Yamato no Aya no Tsuka no Atahe, saying:—"The time has now come when the dying injunctions of the Emperor Ohohatsuse are to be fulfilled. It is meet that we should comply with them and do service to the Prince Imperial." So they raised an armed force and besieged the Treasury. They blockaded it from without, and setting fire to it, roasted to death the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha. At this time Kibi no Waka-hime, the Imperial Prince Ihaki, Anikimi,[1] his elder brother by a different father, and Ki no Okazaki no Kume[2] were roasted to death along with him. Then Wone, the Agata-nushi of Mino in Kahachi, in trepidation and alarm, burst away from the fire and made his escape. He embraced the legs of Ayahiko, Kishi of Kusakabe, and through him begged his life of the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, saying:—"Thy slave Wone, the Agata-nushi, was the faithful servant of the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, but yet he was not rebellious towards the Prince Imperial. He prays that a generous mercy be accorded him, and a human life spared. Accordingly Ayahiko represented this fully to Ohotomo, the Ohomuraji, on his behalf, and he was not entered in the rank of those who were executed. Wone thereupon made representation to the Ohomuraji through Ayahiko, saying:—"My Lord Ohotomo the Ohomuraji, owing to thy great mercy bestowed on me, my life, which was in imminent danger, has been continued and lengthened so that I can see the light of day." So he hastened to present to the Ohomuraji ten chō of
XV. 3. rice-land at Ohowido in the village of Kume in Naniha. He also presented rice-land to Ayahiko as a return for the favour shown him.

In this month, the Omi of the upper province of Kibi, hearing of the disturbances at the Court, wished to aid their uterine brother, the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha, and came floating over the sea with a fleet of forty war vessels. When they arrived they heard of the roasting to death, and went away again without landing. The Emperor straightway sent

[1] Or Ye-kimi. This name means elder Lord.

[2] Probably for Kume no Muraji.

messengers to call the Omi[1] of Upper Kibi to an account, and to deprive them of the mountain Be of which they had control.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, attended by the Omi and Muraji, delivered to the Prince Imperial the Seal.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Emperor, by command to the officials, prepared an arena at Mikakuri in Ihare, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity. He at length established his Palace, and honoured Katsuraki no Kara-hime with the title of Grand Consort.[2] The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, was made Ohomuraji, and the Oho-omi of Matori in Heguri was made Oho-omi, so that both were continued in their former positions. The Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko each took the rank belonging to their several offices. A.D. 480.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor Ohohatsuse was buried in the misasagi on the Takawashi plain in Tajihi. At this time the Hayato lamented night and day beside the misasagi, and refused the food which was offered them. Seven days passed, and then they died. The officials constructed a mound to the north of the tumulus, where they were buried with due ceremony. This was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle. XV. 4.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor, vexed that he had no children, sent the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Muruya, to the provinces, and established the Be of Shiraga no Toneri,[3] the Be of Shiraga no Kashihade,[4] and the Be of Shiraga no Yugehi,[5] in the hope of leaving a trace which might be seen of posterity. A.D. 481.

Winter, 11th month. For the purpose of the offerings of the feast of first-fruits, Wodate, of the Be of Kume of Iyo, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji and Governor of Harima, was sent thither. In the new muro of Hosome, Miyakko

[1] No doubt the Yamamori Be or Mountain wardens mentioned in the reign of Ōjin

[2] Kara-hime, not having been Empress, could not be appointed Grand Empress like other Imperial relicts.

[3] Attendants. [4] Stewards.

[5] Lit. quiver-bearers, or archers, a part of the Imperial Guard. The "Kojiki" mentions only a Shiraga Be.

of the Oshinomi Be and Obito of the granary of Shijimi in the district of Akashi, he saw Ohoke and Woke, sons of the Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe. He took them together reverently to his bosom, recognized them as his lords, and attended to their nurture with extreme care. From his own private income he arranged for the construction of a palace of brushwood, in which he lodged them temporarily, and
XV. 5. mounting a swift steed, hastened to inform the Emperor. The Emperor was astonished, and after exclaiming for a good while, he said with emotion:—"Admirable! Delightful! Heaven in its bountiful love has bestowed on us two children." In this month he sent Wodate with a token of authority, and some of the Toneri in attendance on him, to Akashi to meet them (and escort them back).

The story[1] is given in the history of the Emperor Woke.

A.D. 482. 3rd year, 1st month, 1st day. Wodate and his companions arrived in the province of Settsu, escorting Ohoke and Woke. Then Omi and Muraji were sent, with emblems of authority and a royal green-canopied carriage,[2] to meet them and bring them into the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and Prince Woke was made an Imperial Prince.

Autumn, 7th month. Regina (princess) Ihitoyo primum coivit cum marito in Palatio Tsunuzashi. Dixit alicui:—"Nunc aliquantum cognovi viam feminarum. Quid habet mirum in se? Non sum cupida unquam rursus coëundi cum viro." [It is not clear that she had a husband at this time.]

9th month, 2nd day. The Omi and Muraji were sent on circuit to inspect the manners and customs.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. An edict was made prohibiting dogs, horses, and playthings from being offered to the Emperor.[3]

XV. 6. 11th month, 18th day. The Omi and Muraji were feasted in the Great Court, and received presents of floss-silk. They

[1] See below, XV. 8, also Ch. K., p. 328.

[2] This is purely Chinese. Motowori says that no such vehicles were ever known in Japan.

[3] These same words are found in a History of the Chinese Sui Dynasty, under the year 581 A.D.

were all allowed to take as much as they pleased themselves, and they went forth exerting their utmost strength.

In this month, the various outlying provinces beyond the sea all sent envoys with tribute.

4th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The envoys of the various outlying provinces beyond the sea were feasted in the Audience Hall, and received presents of various values. A.D. 483.

Summer, Intercalary 5th month. There was a national drinking festival, which lasted five days.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 7th day. The Emperor personally held an inspection[2] of prisoners. On this day the Yemishi and Hayato together rendered homage.

9th month, 1st day. The Emperor was present in the Hall of Archery. He invited the functionaries and the envoys from beyond the sea to join in the shooting. Each received presents varying in value.

5th year, 1st month, 16th day. The Emperor died in the Palace. His years were many.[3] A.D. 484.

Winter, 11th month, 9th day. He was buried in the misasagi on the Sakato plain in Kahachi.

THE EMPEROR WOKE. XV. 7.

(*KENZŌ*[4] *TENNŌ*.)

The Emperor Woke (otherwise called Kume no Wakako) was the grandchild of the Emperor Ohoye[5] no Izaho-wake and son of the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha. His mother's name was Hayehime.

[1] The History of the Chinese Emperor Ming Ti (58—75 A.D.) has mention of a great drinking festival lasting five days.

[2] Williams says that 錄 in this phrase means "to release." No doubt the object was to release such as were deserving of pardon.

[3] His age is reckoned variously by other authorities at thirty-nine and forty-one.

[4] Illustrious ancestry.

[5] His name is not given elsewhere with the prefix Ohoye, which means "great elder brother."

In the 'Genealogy' it is said:—"The Imperial Prince Oshiha of Ichinobe took to wife Hayehime, daughter of Ari no Omi, and at length had by her three sons and two daughters. The first was named Winatsu hime, the second Prince Ohoke, also called Shima no Wakako, also called Ohoshi no Mikoto, the third was named Prince Woke, also called Kume no Wakako, the fourth was named Princess Ihitoyo, also called Princess Oshinomibe, and the fifth Prince Tachibana. In one book Princess Ihitoyo is ranked above Prince Ohoke. Ari no Omi was the son of Hada no Sukune."

The Emperor, having lived for a long time on the borders, was thoroughly acquainted with the miseries of the people, and whenever he saw them oppressed, he felt as if his own four members were plunged in a ditch. He dispensed virtuous influence, he bestowed blessings; the regulations of government were everywhere enforced; charity was shown to the poor, and the husbandless were supported. The Empire rendered him cordial allegiance.

In the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Emperor Anaho, the Emperor's father,[1] the Imperial Prince Ichinobe no Oshiha was slain, together with the Toneri, Saheki be no Nakachiko,
XV. 8. by the Emperor Ohohatsuse on the moor of Kaya.[2] They were accordingly buried in the same grave. Thereupon the Emperor[3] and Prince Ohoke, hearing that their father had been shot to death, were afraid, and both escaped and hid themselves. The Toneri, Omi, Kusakabe no Muraji [Omi is the personal name of Kusakabe no Muraji], with his son Adahiko, secretly served the Emperor and Prince Woke, so that they avoided disaster by fleeing to the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. Omi at length changed his name and called himself Tatoku, but being still afraid of being put to death, he fled from this place to a cave in Mount Shijimi in the province of Harima. There he strangled himself. The Emperor, being still ignorant whither Omi had gone, urged his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, to turn his steps towards the district of Akashi in the province of Harima. There they both changed their names to Tamba

[1] i.e. Emperor Woke's father. [2] See above, p. 336.
[3] Woke is meant.

no Waraha,[1] and entered the service of the Obito of the Shijimi granaries.

The Obito of the Shijimi granaries was Hosome Oshinomi Be no Miyakko.

Adahiko at this time did not leave them, but remained constant to his duty as their vassal.

In Winter, the 11th month of the 2nd year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, the Governor of the province of Harima, Wodate Iyo no Kumebe, ancestor of the Yamabe no Muraji, went to the district of Akashi to make arrangements in person for the offerings of the festival of first-fruits.

One writing says:—"Went on a circuit to the kohori and agata[2] to collect the land tax."

It so happened that he arrived just when the Obito of the XV. 9.
granaries of Shijimi was holding a house-warming for a new muro and was extending the day by adding to it the night. Hereupon the Emperor spake to his elder brother, Prince Ohoke, saying:—"Many years have passed since we fled hither to escape ruin. It belongs to this very evening to reveal our names and to disclose our high rank." Prince Ohoke exclaimed with pity:—"To make such an announcement ourselves would be fatal. Which of us could keep safe his person and avoid danger?" The Emperor said:—"We, the grandsons of the Emperor Izahowake, are a man's drudges, and feed his horses and kine. What better can we do than make known our names and be slain?" At length he and Prince Ohoke fell into each other's arms and wept, being unable to contain their emotion. Prince Ohoke said:—"In that case who else but thou, my younger brother, is capable of making a heroic effort, and is therefore fit to make this disclosure?" The Emperor refused firmly, saying:—"Thy servant has no ability. How can he make so bold as to display virtuous action?" Prince Ohoke said:—"There are here none to excel my younger brother in ability and wisdom." And in this way they mutually held back each in favour of the other for two or three times. It was ultimately arranged, with the Emperor's consent, that he should make the announcement. Together they XV. 10.
went to the outside of the muro and sat down in the lowest

[1] The boys of Tamba. [2] Districts.

place. The Obito of the granary ordered them to sit beside the cooking-place and hold lights to right and left. When the night had become profound, and the revel was at its height, and every one had danced in turn, the Obito of the granary addressed Wodate, saying:—"Thy servant observes that these light-holders honour others, and abase themselves; they put others before, and themselves behind. By their respectfulness they show their observance of just principles; by their retiring behaviour they illustrate courtesy. They are worthy of the name of gentlemen." Upon this Wodate played on the lute and gave orders to the light-holders, saying:—"Get up and dance." Then the elder and younger brothers declined in each other's favour for a good while and did not get up. Wodate urged them, saying:—"Wherefore all this delay? Get up quickly and dance." Prince Ohoke got up and danced. When he had done, the Emperor stood up in his turn, and having adjusted his dress and girdle, proposed a health for the Muro, saying:—

The Dolichos roots[1] of the new muro which he has upbuilt;
The pillars which he has upbuilt—
These are[2] the calm of the august heart of the master of the house:
The ridge-poles which he has raised aloft—
These are the grove[3] of the august heart of the master of the house:
The rafters which he has set—
These are the perfect order of the august heart of the master of the house:
The laths which he has placed—
These are the fairness of the august heart of the master of the house:

[1] The Dolichos roots present a difficulty. They are better known for yielding a starchy food like arrowroot than as material for house-building. The stems are mentioned below. Another objection is that their introduction here spoils the symmetry of the composition, which though not exactly poetry, is something closely verging on it. I would prefer to omit the words "Katsura ne tsuki-tatsuru" of the original, so that the first two lines would become only one, viz.—

"The pillars of the new muro which he has upbuilt."

[2] i.e. represent.

[3] Grove. The commentators say this means shigeki, thick, which in Japanese is a metaphor for cordial, hearty, kind.

The Dolichos cords which he has tied—[1]
These are the endurance of the august life of the master of the house :
The reed-leaves it is thatched with—
These are the superabundance of the august wealth of the master of the house : XV. 11.

On all sides [2] (of it) there are fields of fresh culture :
With the ten-span rice-ears,
Of these fresh fields,
In a shallow pan
We have brewed sake.
With gusto let us drink it,
O my boys !
Whenever we dance
Uplifting the horns of a buck [3]
Of these secluded hills
(Weary to the foot)
Sweet sake from Yega market-town
Not buying with a price,
To the clear ring of hand-palms
Ye will revel,[4]
Oh ! my immortal ones ! [5]

When he had ended proposing this health, he sang to the accompaniment of music, saying :—

* * * * [6]

The willow that grows by the river—

---

[1] i.e. tied the laths (of sedge) to the uprights of the walls, which were then plastered with a mixture of mud and straw. The firmness with which they were tied represents the endurance of the master's life.

[2] In this passage, as in the well-known poem attributed to Susa no wo, I have ventured to render idzumo as equal to idzukumo, on all sides, although without native authority.

[3] Animal dances, in which the performer represented a deer, wild boar, butterfly, bird, etc., were common in ancient Japan. The Shishi mai, or lion-dance, danced by two boys, one of whom wears a grotesque mask supposed to represent a lion, and the other supports the body, made of cotton stuff, may still be seen in the streets.

[4] The word for "revel" is uchi-age, which means literally to strike up. But the uchi (strike) must also be taken with "hand-palms" in the sense of "clapping."

[5] A way of saying, "May you live for ever !" In this passage the author had in mind a speech in Japanese, the original language of which, although mainly expressed by Chinese ideographs, can be conjectured with some degree of certainty.

[6] The first line of this poem contains the single word Ina-mushiro, "sleep-

When the water has gone,
It raises up (its stem that was) bent down,
And its roots perish not.

Wodate addressed him, saying:—"Capital! Pray let us hear something more."

The Emperor at length made a special dance,

This is what was anciently called a Tatsutsu (stand out) dance. The manner of it was that it was danced while standing up and sitting down.

and striking an attitude, said:—

Of Yamato,
Soso chihara
Asachihara[1]
The younger Prince am I.

XV. 12. Hereupon Wodate thought this profoundly strange, and asked him to say more. The Emperor, striking an attitude, said:—

The sacred cedar[2]
Of Furu in Isonokami—[3]
Its stem is severed,
Its branches are stripped off.
Of him who in the Palace of Ichinobe
Governed all under Heaven,[4]
The myriad Heavens,
The myriad lands—
Of Oshiha no Mikoto
The august children are we.[5]

---

ing-mat" (a rice straw mat), a conventional epithet or makura-kotoba of kaha, skin, perhaps because the Japanese used skins for sleeping on at one time. It has, properly speaking, nothing to do with kaha, river, but the unexpected conjunction is witty—from a Japanese point of view. The allusion to the position of the two Princes is plain.

[1] Chihara, or as it may be read Ashihara, means reed plain, a poetical term for Japan. *So so* is interpreted as an onomatope representing the rustling of reeds. *Asa* is shallow, and asachihara is said to be a plain on which the reeds grow short. The speech (or poem) is a (no doubt with intention) mysteriously worded announcement of Woke's rank as an Imperial Prince.

[2] The sugi or Cryptomeria Japonica.

[3] In Yamato. [4] He never reigned. See above, p. 336.

[5] There is hardly any metre here. This passage is just on the border line between poetry and prose.

Wodate was greatly astonished. He left his seat, and, vexed with himself,[1] made repeated obeisance to them. He undertook to provide for them, and brought his people to prostrate themselves reverently. Then he levied all the inhabitants of that district, and in a few days built a palace, in which the Princes were temporarily lodged. Going up to the capital, he asked that some one should be sent to meet the two Princes. The Emperor Shiraga was rejoiced to hear this, and exclaimed, saying:—"We have no children; we must make them our successors." Along with the Oho-omi and the Ohomuraji, he settled on a plan within the forbidden precinct.[2] So Kumebe no Wodate, the Governor of Harima, was sent with emblems of authority, and accompanied by personal attendants of the Emperor, to go to meet them at Akashi. In Spring, the 1st month of the third year of the Emperor Shiraga, the Emperor,[3] with Prince Ohoke, arrived at the province of Settsu, where Omi and Muraji were sent with emblems of authority XV. 13. and a Royal green-canopied carriage to meet them and bring them into the Palace. In Summer, the 4th month, Prince Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial, and the Emperor was raised to the rank of Imperial Prince.

In Spring, the 1st month of the 5th year of his reign, the Emperor Shiraga died. In this month the Prince Imperial Ohoke and the Emperor ceded to each other the Dignity, and for a long time did not occupy it. Therefore the Emperor's elder sister,[4] the Imperial Princess Awo of Ihi-toyo, held a Court and carried on the Government in the Palace of Tsunuzashi in Oshinomi, styling herself Oshinomi no Ihitoyo no Awo no Mikoto. A poet of that day made a song, saying:—

In Yamato
What I long to see
Is the Tsunuzashi Palace
In this Takaki[5]
Of Oshinomi.

Winter, 11th month. Ihitoyo, Awo no Mikoto died. She was buried in the misasagi on the Hill of Haniguchi in Katsuraki.

[1] For the neglect shown to the Princes.
[2] A Chinese term for the Palace.
[3] Viz. Woke.
The "Kojiki" makes her his maternal aunt.
Takaki means high castle, but is here the name of a place.

12th month. There was a great assembly of the officials, at which the Prince Imperial Ohoke took the Imperial Seal, and placing it on the seat occupied by the Emperor, did him repeated obeisance. He then took his place among the Ministers, and said :—" This rank of Emperor should be occupied by a man possessed of merit. The disclosure of our rank, and our being sent for by the late Emperor, is all a result of the policy of my younger brother. I resign the Empire in his favour." The Emperor, on the other hand, resigned it on the grounds that as a younger brother he might not presume to assume the Dignity, and also because he was aware that the Emperor Shiraga had appointed his elder brother Prince Imperial with the previous purpose of transmitting it to him.
XV. 14. For these two reasons he firmly declined, saying :—" When the sun and moon appear, is it not impossible that a candle should not give way before their radiance? When a seasonable rain falls, is it not superfluous trouble to go on watering from a pond?[1] The conduct which should be esteemed by him who is in the position of a younger brother is to serve his elder brother by devising methods of averting from him disaster, to illustrate virtue, and to unravel complications without putting himself forward. For if he puts himself forward, he will be wanting in the reverence which is due from a younger brother. Woke cannot bear to put himself forward.[2] It is an immutable law that the elder brother should be affectionate and the younger brother reverent. So I have heard from our elders. How can I of myself alone make light of it?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke said :—" The Emperor Shiraga, by reason of my being the elder brother, at first assigned to me all the affairs of the Empire. But I am ashamed to accept it. Now the great Prince's conduct is established in beneficial retirement,[3] so that those who hear him utter sighs of admiration.

[1] From " When " to " pond " is taken from a Chinese book.

[2] From " The conduct " to " forward " is imitated from a passage in the " Liki."

[3] He probably makes allusion to the Yih-king, Diagram xxxiii. Sect. 6, which is thus translated by Legge: " The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect." This means, perhaps, that his modest behaviour proves that his reign will be beneficial to the people.

He has displayed the qualities of an Imperial scion, so that all who see him let fall tears. The pitiable gentry will rejoice to bear the gladness of sustaining the Heavens: the wretched black-haired people will be delighted to enjoy the happiness of treading the earth. Therewith the four corners of the earth will be made solid, so as to flourish perpetually to ten thousand ages. His meritorious work will approach that of creation; XV. 15
his honest policy will illuminate the age. How pre-eminent! How recondite! Words fail me to describe. How shall I, albeit his elder, put myself forward before him? If, having no merit, I should accept the throne, self-reproach would surely be the result. I have heard that the office of Emperor ought not to remain long vacant, and that the will of Heaven should not be evaded out of humility. Let the Great Prince make the Temples of the Earth and of Grain his thought, and let him make the people his heart." As he uttered these words, his earnest emotion led him to shed tears. Upon this the Emperor saw that if he persisted in his refusal to come forward, he would be[1] acting contrary to his elder brother's wishes, and gave his consent. But he would not take his place on the Imperial throne. The world was rejoiced to see how well they sincerely yielded in each other's favour, and said:—"Excellent! With such good feeling between elder and younger brother, the Empire will tend to virtue: with such love between relations, the people will stimulate benevolence."

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Oho-omi and the A.D. 485.
Ohomuraji made a representation to the Emperor, saying:—
"The Prince Imperial Ohoke, out of the abundance of his XV. 16.
wisdom, has delivered over the Empire. Your Majesty, in his rightful governance, ought to accept the vast inheritance, and thus becoming the Lord of the Temple of Heaven, to continue the infinite line of his ancestors, so as, above, to correspond to the mind of Heaven, and, below, to satisfy the hopes of the people. To refuse to enter upon the Dignity would be to cause the destruction of the hopes of all the Gold and Silver[2] frontier lands, and of all the functionaries both far and near. It belongs

[1] The "Nihongi" introduces a 不 (not) here. The "Kiujiki" reading seems preferable, and I have followed it in the translation.

[2] Corea is called the gold and silver country at p. 221.

to you by the will of Heaven, and has been ceded to you by the Prince Imperial. Your wisdom is abundant, and your good fortune conspicuous. While young you were diligent, humble, respectful, affectionate and docile. May it please you to comply with the command of your elder brother, and take over the conduct of the great undertaking." The Emperor made an order, saying :—" Be it so." Accordingly he summoned the Ministers of State and the functionaries to the Yatsuri Palace in Hither Asuka, and there assumed the Imperial Dignity, and the functionaries entered upon office, to the great delight of all.

XV. 17. One book says the Emperor Woke had two palaces, one at Wono, the other at Ikeno. Another book says that he made his palace at Mikakuri.

In this month, Princess Wono of Naniha was appointed Empress, and a general amnesty was made.

Princess Wono of Naniha was the daughter of Prince Wakugo of Oka, grandson of Prince Ihaki, who was the great-grandson of the Emperor Wo-asatsuma-wakugo no Sukune.

2nd month, 5th day. The Emperor spoke, saying :—" The late Prince, having met with much misfortune, lost his life on a desert moor. We were then a child, and fled away and concealed Ourselves. Then, by a piece of undeserved good fortune, We were sought out and sent for, and were raised up to continue the Great Work. We have searched for his honoured bones far and wide, but there is no one who can tell where they are." Having finished speaking, the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke burst into tears of passionate emotion, which they could not control.

In this month the Emperor summoned together the old people, and in person made inquiry of them one after another. Now there was one old woman who came forward and said :— " Okime knows where the honoured bones were buried, and begs permission to point out the place to the Emperor."

Okime was the old woman's name. It is stated below that the younger sister of Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, ancestor of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki in the province of Ohomi, was called Okime.

Thereupon the Emperor and the Prince Imperial Ohoke,

aking with them the old woman, made a progress to the moor of Kaya in Kutawata in the province of Ohomi, where they dug them up, and found that it was really as the old woman had said. Looking down into the grave, they made lament, and their words showed deep and passionate feeling. From antiquity until now never was there anything so cruel. The XV. 18.
body of Nakachiko[1] lay across the honoured bones, and were mixed with them so that it was impossible to distinguish them from one another. Then there appeared the nurse of the Imperial Prince Ihazaka, who made representation to the Emperor, saying:—"The upper teeth of Nakachiko had fallen out, so that by this they can be distinguished." But although they were able, in accordance with the nurse's words, to distinguish the skulls, they never succeeded in separating the bones of the four members. Accordingly a pair of misasagi were erected on the moor of Kaya resembling each other, so that they seemed but one. The funeral rites also were alike. The Emperor ordered the old woman, Okime, to live in the neighbourhood of the palace, where he treated her with respect and showed her kindness, not allowing her to be in want.

In this month he made an order, saying:—"Old woman! thou art desolate and infirm, and walking is not convenient for thee. Let there be a rope stretched across to support thee when thou goest out and comest in. And let there be a bell attached to the end of the rope, so that there may be no need for any one to announce thee. When thou comest, ring this bell, and we shall know that thou art coming." Herewith the old woman, in obedience to the Imperial order, rang the bell before she came forward. The Emperor, hearing from afar the sound of the bell, made a song, saying:—

Past Wosone,
In Asajihara,
The far-extending { moor ! / bell }
There the bell tinkles !
Okime must be coming ![2]

---

[1] See above, XIV. 5.

[2] The point of this poem is not to be expressed in English. It rests on the similarity of the first syllable of nute, bell, with nu, a moor, which must be read twice in different senses. The first half of the poem takes nu in the latter sense. With the latter half it is only the first syllable of *nute*.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent[1] (the 2nd). The Emperor went to the Park, and there held revel by the winding streams.

XV. 19. Summer, 4th month, 11th day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"The means by which a sovereign encourages the people is no other than the granting of office: that by which a country is exalted is naught else but the granting of rewards for merit. Now the former Governor of Harima, Kumebe no Wodate [his other name was Ihadate], sought Us out, came to meet Us, and raised Us up. His merit is manifold. Let him not hesitate to express his wishes." Wodate thanked the Emperor, saying:—"The mountain office[2] has always been my desire." He was appointed to the mountain office, and a new title was granted him, viz. the House of the Yamabe no Muraji.[3] Kibi no Omi was associated with him, and the Yamamori Be were made their serfs. The Emperor praised his good qualities, made conspicuous his deserts, showed gratitude for his services, requited his kindness, and treated him with the utmost affection. His prosperity was unequalled.

5th month. Karabukuro no Sukune, Kimi of Mount Sasaki, who was implicated in the assassination of the Imperial Prince Oshiha, when about to be executed, bowed down his head to the ground, and his words expressed extreme sorrow. The Emperor could not bear to put him to death, so he added him to the misasagi guardians, making him at the same time mountain-warden,[4] and erasing his name from the census registers. He was then handed over to the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.[5]

[1] This unusual way of designating the day of the month suggests that a different document is here quoted from.

[2] i.e, Warden of the Mountains, or, as we should say, "Woods and Forests." It included the charge of game.

[3] Muraji of the Mountain Be.

[4] Game-keeper

[5] The erasure of his name from the register was on account of his being attached to the service of the misasagi; the mountain wardenship placed him under the jurisdiction of the Yamabe no Muraji.

May not these guardians of the Imperial tombs have been among the ancestors of the Eta or Hinin, a pariah caste (abolished by the revolution of 1868), who lived in villages by themselves, and did not intermarry with or have any social intercourse with other Japanese? They followed the occupations of leather-dressers, shoemakers, buriers of dead animals,

But Yamato-bukuro no Sukune, by reason of the good services of his younger sister, Okime, was granted his original title, namely, the House of the Kimi of Mount Sasaki.

6th month. The Emperor visited the Hall of Avoidance of the heat, and had music there. The Ministers were assembled, and a banquet was prepared for them. XV. 20.

This year was the year Kinoto Ushi (2nd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (2nd). A.D. 486. The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams. At this time he assembled in great numbers the Ministers, the High Officials, the Omi, the Muraji, the Kuni no Miyakko, and the Tomo no Miyakko, and made revel. The Ministers uttered reiterated cries of "Long live the Emperor." [1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed the Prince Imperial Ohoke, saying:—"Our father the late Prince was, for no crime, slain with an arrow shot by the Emperor Oho-hatsuse, and his bones cast away on a moor. Even until now, I have been unable to get hold of him, and my bosom is filled with indignation. I lie down to weep, and as I walk abroad I cry aloud. It is my desire to wash away the disgrace cast on us by our enemy. Now, I have heard that no one should live under the same Heaven as his father's enemy, that no one should lay aside arms against the enemy of his brother, that no one should dwell in the same country with the enemy of his comrade. Even the son of a common man, rather than serve with the enemy of his parents, sleeps on a coarse mat, and making a pillow of his buckler, refuses office. He will not dwell in the same country as his enemy, but whenever he meets him, in market or in Court, will not lay aside his weapon until he has encountered him in combat. Much more I who, two years ago, was raised to the rank of XV. 21. Son of Heaven! It is my desire to demolish his misasagi,

executioners, and watchmen of cemeteries. The name Hinin (not-man) accords well with the circumstance mentioned here of their names being erased from the census registers. They were supposed to belong to the service of the dead, and no longer to be reckoned with the living.

Most of the misasagi had from one to five guardians' houses allotted to them.

[1] Ban-zai or Man-zai, lit. 10,000 years. This term is still in use.

to crush his bones, and fling them broadcast. Would it not be a filial act to take revenge in this way?" The Prince Imperial Ohoke could hardly answer for sighing and sobbing. He remonstrated with the Emperor, saying:—"It is not well to do so. The Emperor Oho-hatsuse presided over the Empire as the rightful director of the myriad machinery of Government. Court and country looked up to him with joy. He was an Emperor, whereas the late Prince our father, although an Emperor's son, met with obstacles in his career, and never rose to the Imperial Dignity. Looking on the matter in this light, there is the difference of exalted and base. And if thou hadst the heart to demolish the misasagi, who would recognize as Lord and do service to the Soul of Heaven? This is one reason why the tomb should not be destroyed. Moreover, had it not been for the warm affection and special favour bestowed on the Emperor and Ohoke by the Emperor Shiraga, wouldst thou ever have attained to the precious Dignity? But the Emperor Oho-hatsuse was the father of the Emperor Shiraga. Ohoke has heard that it has been said by all the ancient sages, 'Without words there can be no response; without virtue there is no requital.'[1] If there is cause for gratitude, and no return is made, this is profoundly prejudicial to good morals. Your Majesty feasts the Country, and his virtuous conduct is felt far and wide over the Empire. But if he pulls down the misasagi, and shows himself in an opposite light to Court and Country, Ohoke fears that it will become impossible to govern the land and to bring up the people as
XV. 22. his children. This is a second reason why it should not be destroyed." The Emperor said, "It is well," and countermanded the work.[2]

[1] Virtue is in Chinese active, not merely the negation of vice.

[2] The "Kojiki" tells a somewhat different story. *Vide* Ch. K., p. 336. This misasagi (which I have visited) is at the present day a round single mound, encircled by a moat, but there are sufficient remains of the second mound and of the original moat to show that it was once a double-topped misasagi of the ordinary type. See above, p. 136. A large quantity of earth must have been removed in order thus to deprive this tomb of its distinctive character as an Imperial tumulus, and to give it the appearance of the tomb of a mere subject. It appears as if both the "Nihongi" and "Kojiki" regarded the demolition of a misasagi as an impious action, and tried to minimize it.

9th month. Okime, being decrepit from old age, asked leave to return to her home, saying:—"My vigour has decayed. I am old, infirm, and emaciated. Even with the help of the rope I am unable to walk. I pray thee let me return to my native place,[1] so that there I may spend my last days." When the Emperor heard this he was moved with pity. He gave her a present of a thousand pieces, and grieving in anticipation at the divergence of their paths, he repeatedly lamented that they could no longer meet. So he gave her a song, saying:—

Oh! Okime!
Okime of Afumi!
From to-morrow,
Hidden by the deep mountains,
Thou wilt no more be seen!

Winter, 10th month, 6th day. The Emperor entertained his Ministers. At this time the Empire was at peace; the people were not subjected to forced labour, the crops reached maturity, and the peasantry were prosperous. A measure of rice was sold for one piece of silver,[2] and horses and kine covered the moors.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. Kotoshiro Ahe no Omi, acting by Imperial command, went on a mission to Imna. Hereupon the Moon-God, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed him, saying:—"My ancestor Taka-mimusubi had the merit in conjunction (with other Deities) of creating Heaven and Earth. Let him be worshipped by dedicating to him people and land. I am the Moon-God, and I shall be pleased if an offering is made according to his desire." Kotoshiro accordingly returned to the capital, and reported these A.D. 487. XV. 23.

[1] Lit., The Mulberry and Euphorbia trees. There is an allusion to a verse in the "Chinese Book of Odes" (Legge, Vol. IV. p. 337):—

"Even the mulberry trees and the tsze (of one's home)
Must be regarded with reverence."

[2] This is the first mention of coin in the "Nihongi." It is impossible to say what the measure of rice was, or what the value of the coin. Indeed, I take the whole passage to be a flight of the author's fancy, stimulated by his recollections of Chinese literature. It contains several phrases borrowed from Chinese works. See Index—Currency.

things fully to the Emperor. The Utaarasu rice-fields were dedicated to the God, and Oshimi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Agatanushi of Yuki, was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

3rd month, 1st day of the Serpent (8th). The Emperor went to the Park, where he held revel by the winding streams.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Sun-Goddess, by the mouth of a certain man, addressed Kotoshiro, Ahe no Omi, saying:—"Let the Ihare rice-fields be dedicated to my ancestor Taka-mimusubi." Kotoshiro accordingly reported the matter to the Emperor, and in compliance with the Goddess's request, fourteen chō[1] of rice-land were dedicated to him. The Atahe of Shimo no agata in Tsushima was appointed to attend upon his shrine.

XV. 24. 13th day. The Saki-kusa Be[2] was established.

25th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Yatsuri.

In this year, Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, bestriding and making a base of Imna, held communication with Koryö. In order to rule the three Han on the west, he established a government, and styled himself a Deity. By means of a plan laid by Cha-ro-na-kwi and Tha-kap-syo of Imna he slew Mak-ni-kè, the heir to the throne of Pèkché, at Irin.[3] [This is a place in Koryö.] He built the castle of Tè-san,[4] and then stood on the defensive as regards the Eastern province, cutting off the harbour by which supplies were transported, and causing the army to suffer from famine. The King of Pèkché was greatly enraged, and despatched General Ko-ni-kè and an officer of the military store department, named Mak-ko-kè, in command of troops to Tè-san, to lay siege to it. Upon this, Ohiha no Sukune moved forward his army, and attacked them

[1] See below, XXV. 18.

[2] Saki-kusa is literally the herb of happiness. It is also called man-nen-gusa, or the "herb of 10,000 years." It was said to grow in the Court of the Temple to the sovereign's ancestors. The "Seishiroku" says:—"In the reign of the Emperor Kenzō, the officials were summoned to a banquet. At this time, a herb of three stems was growing in the courtyard of the palace. One of these was plucked up and presented to the Emperor, who thereupon conferred on the donor the title of Saki Be no Miyakko."

[3] Irin is called in Ōjin's reign, year 16, a place in Imna.

[4] The Kana rendering is Shitoromo or Shitoromure.

with continually growing valour. All that opposed him were put to the rout. But he was but one against a hundred. Suddenly his weapons ran short, and his power became exhausted. He saw that he could not bring matters to a conclusion, and returned from Imna. Consequently the Land of Pèkché slew Cha-ro-na-kwi, Tha-kap-syo, and their people—more than three hundred men.[1]

THE EMPEROR OHOKE.[2] XV. 25.

(*NINKEN*[3] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Ohoke's personal name was Ohoshi.[4]

Otherwise Ohosu. This is the only instance of an Emperor's personal name[5] or designation being stated. It is taken from an old manuscript.

His designation was Shima no Iratsuko.[6] He was the elder brother by the same mother of the Emperor Woke. In his childhood he was intelligent, of quick parts and great attainments. When he grew to man's estate, he was kind, indulgent and gentle.

At the death of the Emperor Anaho, he took refuge in the

[1] The "Tongkam" does not mention this affair, but there is no reason to doubt that the "Nihongi" narrative is substantially true.

The "Kojiki" practically ends here. Nominally, it is carried down to the death of Suiko in A.D. 628, but all after this is mere genealogy.

[2] Also read Oke. Ohoke is the "Kojiki" reading.

[3] Benevolent-talented.

[4] Big-leg or big-foot. The name is written above, XV. 7, with characters which mean big-stone.

[5] Or taboo name. In China the use of the personal name is not thought respectful except by a chief or parent. Instead of it the designation (字) is used. The latter was assumed at the age of fifteen (or twenty), when the ceremony of capping took place. In writing the personal names of the Emperors of the reigning dynasty, the Chinese are careful to alter one or two strokes of the character.

[6] Shima no Wakako, above, XV. 7.

district of Yosa in the province of Tamba. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Shiraga, Winter, 11th month, Wodate, Yamabe no Muraji, Governor of Harima, went to the Capital and requested permission to go to fetch him. The Emperor Shiraga accordingly caused Wodate, provided with symbols of authority, and accompanied by his own personal attendants, to proceed to Akashi, and respectfully to go to meet him. Ultimately, in the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Ohoke was appointed Prince Imperial.[1] In his fifth year, the Emperor Shiraga died, and the Emperor abdicated the Empire in favour of the Emperor Woke, becoming Prince Imperial as before. In the third year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month, the Emperor Woke died.

A.D. 488. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial rank in the Palace of Hirotaka in Isonokami.

One book says:—"There were two palaces of the Emperor Ohoke, the first at Kahamura,[2] the second at Takano in Shijimi. The pillars of the Hall remain undecayed until this day."

XV. 26. 2nd month, 2nd day. His former consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume,[3] was appointed Empress.

The Princess Kasuga no Oho-iratsume was the daughter of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse by Woguna Kimi, daughter of Fukame, Wani no Omi.

She at length bore to him one son and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Takahashi no Oho-iratsume; the second was called the Imperial Princess Asatsuma; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tashiraga; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Kusuhi; the fifth was called the Imperial Princess Tachibana; the sixth was called the Emperor Wo-hatsuse no Waka-sazaki. When he came to possess the Empire, he made his capital at Namiki in Hatsuse. The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Mawaka.[4]

[1] This is a curious way of putting it, but the original is so.

[2] This is the temporary palace built by Wodate. See above, XV. 5.

[3] See above, XIV. 7, for an account of her birth.

[4] The "Kojiki" makes Mawaka a Prince.

One book has a different arrangement, the Imperial Princess Kusuhi taking the third place and the Imperial Princess Tashiraga the fourth.

Next there was Nuka-kimi no Iratsume, daughter of Hiuri, Wani no Omi, who bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada.

One book says:—"Ohonuka no Iratsume, daughter of Hifure, Wani no Omi, bore one daughter who was made the Imperial Princess Yamada no Oho-iratsume, also called the Imperial Princess Akami." Notwithstanding the trifling difference of the documents, the facts are the same.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor Woke was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Ihatsuki at Kataoka.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Tatsu (5th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Empress Naniha no Wono, fearful on account of her long-standing want of respect (for the Emperor), died by her own hand. A.D. 489. XV. 27.

One authority says:—"In the time of the Emperor Woke, the Prince Imperial Ohoke was present at a banquet. He took up a melon to eat, but there was no knife. The Emperor Woke himself took a knife and commanded his wife Wono to carry it and present it to the Prince Imperial. She came before him, and, in a standing position, laid the knife on the melon tray. Moreover, on the same day, she poured out sake, and, in a standing position, gave it to the Prince Imperial to drink. In consequence of this disrespect, she feared to be put to death, and died by her own hand."

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Isonokami Be of palace attendants[1] was established. A.D. 490.

4th year, Summer, 5th month. Kashima Ikuba no Omi and Hohe no Kimi, being guilty of crimes, were both thrown into prison, where they died. A.D. 491.

5th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. General search was made in the provinces and districts for the dispersed Saheki Be, and a descendant of Nakachiko of the Saheki Be was made Saheki no Miyakko. A.D. 492.

[1] Toneri.

Nakachiko of the Saheki Be is mentioned in the history of the reign of Woke Tennō.

A.D. 493. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 4th day. Hitaka no Kishi was sent to Corea to fetch skilled artizans. This autumn, after
XV. 28. Hitaka no Kishi was despatched, there was a woman dwelling at Mitsu[1] in Naniha who made lament, saying :—

Woes me, my youthful[2] spouse !
For to me he is an elder brother,
And to my mother too an elder brother.

The sound of her lament was exceeding pathetic, even to the rending of men's bowels.[3] A man of the village of Hishiki, named Kaso, hearing it, came in front of her, and said :— "Why is thy lamentation so exceedingly sorrowful ?" The woman answered and said :—"Think of the autumn garlic's ever clustering growth."[4] Kaso said :—"Thou art right. Now I understand what thou hast said." But a companion of his, not comprehending her meaning, inquired, saying :—"By what dost thou understand ?" He answered and said :—
XV. 29. "Funame of the Naniha Jewellers' Be was wedded to Karama no Hataye[5] and bore to him Nakume,[6] who was wedded to a man of Sumuchi named Yamaki and bore to him Akitame. Karama no Hataye and his daughter Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had illicit intercourse with Funame[7] of the Jewellers' Be, and had by her a son named Araki, who took to wife Akitame. Upon this Araki set out for Koryō in the suite of Hitaka no Kishi. Therefore his wife Akitame, restless and full of longing, has lost her wits and become distraught, and the sound of her lamentation is very touching, even to the rending of men's bowels."

Funame of the Jewellers' Be and Karama no Hataye became husband and wife, and had a daughter named

[1] The august harbour. [2] Literally young herb or grass.
[3] Cf. the Biblical expression "bowels of compassion."
[4] By the clusters of the garlic bulbs in autumn she indicates the somewhat complicated family relations described below.
[5] Kara-fisher's-field. [6] The (professional) weeping woman.
[7] His wife's mother. This union was regarded as incestuous.

Nakume. Yamaki, a man of Sumuchi, married Nakume, and had a daughter named Akitame. Yamaki's wife's father Karama no Hataye and the latter's child Nakume having both died, Yamaki, the man of Sumuchi, had an amour with his wife's mother, Funame of the Jewellers' Be, the fruit of which was Araki. Araki took to wife Akitame. One book says:—"Funame of the Jewellers' Be bore Nakume to her first husband Karama no Hataye; again to her second husband Yamaki, a man of Sumuchi, she bore Araki, so that Nakume and Araki were sister and brother by a different father. Consequently Nakume's daughter Akitame called Araki [1] her mother's elder brother. Nakume having married Yamaki, bore Akitame. Moreover, Yamaki having had illicit intercourse with Funame had by her Araki, so that Akitame and Araki were sister and brother by a different mother. Consequently Akitame called Araki her elder brother. In ancient times women called their brothers se [2] (elder brother), without distinction of age; while men called their sisters imo (younger sister). Hence the expression, 'To my mother an elder brother, to me an elder brother.'" [3]

In this year Hitaka no Kishi returned from Koryö, and delivered to the Emperor the artizans Sunyuki and Nonyuki.[4] They were the ancestors of the Koryö tanners of the village of Nukada in the district of Yamabe in the province of Yamato.

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. Wo-hatsuse Wakasazaki no Mikoto was appointed Prince Imperial. A.D. 494. XV. 30.

8th year, Winter, 10th month. The people said:—"At this time there is peace throughout the land; the officials fill their offices worthily. Everywhere within the seas there is a movement towards good feeling; the subjects pursue peacefully their avocations." This year the five grains were produced in abundance, the silkworm and wheat afforded a rich harvest. A.D. 495.

[1] In the speech above quoted.

[2] Se and imo also mean respectively husband and wife.

[3] This note is from the "Shiki" or "Scholiast."

[4] Possibly the Japanese reading of the characters is preferable, viz. Suruki, Toruki.

Far and near there was purity and calm, and the population multiplied.

A.D. 498. 11th year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Chief Bedchamber.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi at the foot of the Hanifu acclivity.

BOOK XVI.

THE EMPEROR WOHATSUSE WAKA-SAZAKI.[1]

(*MURETSU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohatsuse waka-sazaki was the eldest son of the Emperor Ohoke. His mother was called the Empress Kasuga no Iratsume. He was made Prince Imperial in the seventh year of the Emperor Ohoke. When he grew to manhood, he was fond of criminal law, and was well versed in the statutes. He would remain in Court until the sun went down, so that hidden wrong was surely penetrated. In deciding cases he attained to the facts.[3] But he worked much evil, and accomplished no good thing. He never omitted to witness in person cruel punishments of all kinds, and the people of the whole land were all in terror of him.

In the 11th year, the 8th month of his reign, the Emperor Ohoke died. The Minister of State Heguri no Matori no Omi usurped the government of the country and tried to reign over Japan. Pretending that it was for the Emperor's eldest son, he built a palace, and ultimately dwelt in it himself. On all occasions he was arrogant, and was utterly devoid of loyal principle. Now the eldest son wished to betroth to himself Kagehime, the daughter of Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, and sent a middleman to Kagehime's house to arrange for their union. But Kagehime had already formed an illicit connection with XVI. 2.
Shibi, son of Matori, the Minister of State. Fearing, however, to offer opposition to the eldest son's proposal, she answered

[1] Wo, little ; hatsuse, name of place ; waka-sazaki, young-wren.

[2] Muretsu, martial ardour.

[3] This description from "When" down to "facts" is taken from the history of the Chinese Emperor Mingti of the Later Han Dynasty.

him, saying:—"Thy handmaiden wishes to wait upon thee on the street of Tsubaki-ichi." Accordingly the eldest son, in order to go to the place of assignation, sent one of his personal attendants to the house of the Oho-omi Heguri to ask for official horses, saying that he did so by his command. The Oho-omi mocked him, pretending that he would send them, and said:—"For whom (else) are official horses kept? Of course his orders shall be obeyed." But for a long time he did not send them. The eldest son cherished resentment at this, but controlled himself, and did not let it appear on his countenance. Ultimately he went to the place of assignation, and taking a place among the song-makers,[1] took hold of Kage-hime's sleeve, and was loitering about unconcernedly, when suddenly Shibi no Omi came, and pushing away the eldest son from Kagehime, got between them. Hereupon the eldest son let go Kagehime's sleeve, and turning round, confronted Shibi no Omi, and addressing him straight in the face, made a song, saying:—

XVI. 3.

Of the briny current,[2]
The breakers as I view,
By the fin of the Tunny
That comes sporting
I see my spouse standing.

[One book has "harbour" instead of "briny current."]

Shibi no Omi answered with a song, saying:—

Dost thou tell me, O Prince! to yield to thee
The eight-fold bamboo fence[3]
Of the Omi's child?

---

[1] In Japanese uta-gaki, i.e. poetry-hedge. The utagaki seems to have been a sort of poetical tournament. The "Kojiki" (Ch. K., p. 330) gives a different and not very intelligible account of this war of verses. That work places it at the beginning of an earlier reign, and makes the Emperor Woke the hero. The whole story is no doubt the work of some romancist. It would be a mere waste of time to try to sift out what grains of truth it may contain. It indicates, however, very different and much more unrestricted social relations between the sexes than that which prevailed in China and other Eastern countries. Of this there is abundant other evidence.

[2] Shibi means tunny-fish. This suggests the introduction of the "briny current" of the first line.

[3] The fence in this and the following verses is the enclosure of the bridal chamber. See above, pp. 13, 54.

The eldest son made a song, saying :—

My great sword
Hung at my girdle I will stand ;
Though I may not draw it,
Yet in the last resort
I am resolved to be united to her.

Shibi no Omi answered with a song, saying :—

The great Lord's
Eight-fold retiring-fence
He may try to build,
Still for want of strict care,[1]
The retiring-fence is not built.

The eldest son made a song, saying :—

The eight-fold fastening fence
Of the Omi's child
Should an earthquake come, shaking,
Reverberating below,
'Twill be a ruined fastening fence.

[A various version of the first line is "eight-fold Kara fence."]

The eldest son gave Kagehime a song, saying :—

If Kagehime, who comes and stays
At the head of the lute,[2]
Were a jewel,
She would be a white sea-ear[3] pearl—
The pearl that I love.

Shibi no Omi answered on behalf of Kagehime, and made a song, saying :—

The great Lord's
Girdle of Japanese loom XVI. 4.

---

[1] "For want of strict care" is in the original Ama-shimi. This word contains an allusion to the Omi's name Shibi. Mi and bi are often interchanged in Japanese.

[2] i.e. on my right hand.

[3] The sea-ear is in Japanese ahabi, which may be intended to suggest ahazu, "not to become united to."

Hangs down in a bow.[1]
Whosoever it may be—
There is no one (but me) whose love she requites.

The eldest son then for the first time saw that Shibi had already possessed Kagehime, and became conscious of all the disrespect shown him by the father and the son. He blazed out into a great rage, and forthwith, on that same night, proceeded to the house of Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji, where he levied troops and concerted his plans. Ohotomo no Muraji waylaid Shibi no Omi with a force of several thousand men. He slew him at Mount Nara.

One book says:—"Shibi was spending the night in Kagehime's house, and that same night he was slain."

At this time Kagehime followed on to the place where he had been slain, and seeing that he had already been put to death, was shocked, so that she did not know what she was doing, and tears of sorrow filled her eyes. At length she made a song, saying:—

Passing Furu
In Iso no Kami,
Passing Takahashi
In Komo-makura,
Passing Oho-yake
Where things are in plenty
Passing Kasuga
Of the spring-day,
Passing Wosaho
XVI. 5. The spouse-retiring,
In a precious casket,
Placing boiled rice,
In a precious vase,
Placing water also,
She lets fall tears as she goes.
Alas! for Kagehime.[2]

---

[1] The sole reason why the second and third lines are introduced is to bring in tare, "to hang down." The same word is repeated in the fourth line with the meaning "who," thus producing a word-play, of which Japanese poets are fond.

[2] This poem contains a succession of plays on words, some of which are very obscure, and all are lost in an English version. Komo-makura means a matting pillow, i.e. a roll of matting used as a pillow. Makura is frequently followed by takaku, high, in the phrase makura takaku suru, "to make high

Hereupon Kagehime, when the funeral was over, and she was about to return home, said, with an utterance choked by grief:—"Alas! to-day I have lost my beloved husband." So she burst into tears of sorrow, and in a state of distraction made a song, saying:—

Like a deer
That, drenched with water, hides
In the valley of Nara,—
(Of fertile soil)—
Is the young lord of Shibi—
(The water-besprinkled[1]):—
Make him not thy prey. Oh! thou wild boar!

Winter, 11th month, 11th day. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji spake to the eldest son, saying:—"The rebel Matori ought to be slain. I pray thee let me attack him." The eldest son said:—"We are about to have civil war in the Empire, and without a rare warrior, we shall be unable to accomplish anything. When I consider this well, I find that thou art the man."[2] So he laid his plans in concert with him. XVI. 6.

Hereupon Ohotomo no Ohomuraji,[3] in personal command of the troops, led them to besiege the house of the Oho-omi, and setting fire to it, burnt it. His style of command was like the scattering of clouds.

Matori no Oho-omi, resenting the failure of his enterprise, and feeling that his life was doomed, that his designs had reached a limit, and that his hopes had vanished, cursed the salt (sea) far and wide, and at length was put to death along with his people. When he uttered the curse, the only place which he forgot was the sea-brine of Tsunoga, and this he did

one's pillow." This is probably why makura is here associated with Takahashi. Oho-yake means great storehouse. Hence the epithet attached to it. "Of the spring-day" is a regular makura-kotoba or pillow-word of Kasuga, because kasuga is like kasumeru, to be hazy, and the weather is hazy in spring. Wosaho contains wo, male, which accounts for the epithet "spouse-retiring" in the next line. The commentators have much more to say about these verses. The metre is irregular.

[1] This line has reference to the meaning of Shibi, viz. tunny-fish.

[2] This speech is adapted from a Chinese author.

[3] He was not Ohomuraji till afterwards. See below.

not curse. Therefore the Emperor eats salt from Tsunoga, and avoids eating the salt of other seas."[1]

12th month. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji having completely suppressed the insurrection, and restored the Government to the eldest son, asked permission to offer him the August Title, saying:—"Now there are no sons left of the Emperor Ohoke but Your Majesty, nor is there any second person to whom the people can give allegiance. Moreover, relying on the support of Supreme Heaven,[2] thou hast cleared away the wicked bands. By thy wise counsels and thy manly determination thou hast made the Celestial authority and the Celestial revenues to flourish. Japan must have a ruler, and who is there but thee to rule over Japan? I humbly pray
XVI. 7. Your Majesty reverently to respond to the Divine Spirit of Earth by giving development to the luminous commands, casting a lustre on Japan, and widely taking over charge of the silver region."[3]

Hereupon the eldest son commanded the functionaries to prepare a sacred terrace at Namiki[4] in Hatsuse, where he ascended to the Imperial Dignity, and at length established his capital. On this day, Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji was made Ohomuraji.

A.D. 499. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 2nd day. Kasuga no Iratsume was appointed Empress. [It is not clear who her father was.]

This year was the year Tsuchinoto U (16th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 500. 2nd year, Autumn, 9th month. The Emperor ripped up the belly of a pregnant woman and inspected the pregnant womb.[5]

A.D. 501. 3rd year, Winter, 10th month. He plucked out men's nails, and made them dig up yams.[6]

11th month. He commanded Ohotomo no Muruya[7] no

[1] Compare above, p. 337, where the water of a well was cursed.

[2] Motoöri objects to this phrase as Chinese.

[3] Viz. Corea.

[4] Namiki means a row of trees, an avenue lined with trees.

[5] This is a charge made against Show, King of Shang, in the "Shoo-king." See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. III. p. 285.

[6] Dioscorea Japonica.

[7] There is something wrong here. Ohotomo no Muruya was Prime Minister (see p. 322) in the 7th year of Ingiō Tennō (A.D. 418). Muruya is no doubt a slip for Kanamura.

Ohomuraji to make a levy of labourers of the province of Shinano, in order to build a castle in the village of Minomata. It was called Kinouhe.

In this month, Wi-ta-nang[1] of Pèkché died and was buried on the top of the hill of Takada.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. He pulled out the hair of men's heads, made them climb to the tops of trees, and then cut down the trees, so that the men who had climbed were killed by the fall. This he took a delight in. A.D. 502. XVI. 8.

In this year, King Malta[2] of Pékchè, for his lawless oppression of his subjects, was at length deposed by the people of that country and King Shima raised to the throne. He was made King Munyöng.

> The Pèkché "Shinsen" says:—"King Malta lawlessly oppressed the subjects, and the people united to remove him. Munyöng was set up. His sobriquet was King Shima. He was the son of Prince Konchi, and therefore the elder brother of King Malta by a different mother. When Konchi went to Wa, he arrived at an island in Tsukushi where King Shima was born to him. He was sent back from the island, and did not reach the capital (of Japan). Owing to his having been born on an island, he received the name of Shima. There is now in the sea of Kawara[3] an island called Nirim Shima[4] which is the King's birthplace. Therefore the Pèkché people call this island Nirim Shima. Considering that King Shima was King Kèro's son, and King Malta King Konchi's son, the expression 'elder brother by a different mother' is not clear."[5]

[1] This is the Corean pronunciation of the characters given, but very likely these are not the proper characters for his name, and are only a phonetic Japanese rendering of the sound. The traditional Kana rendering is Otara.

[2] Or Mata if the Japanese pronunciation is taken. His real name was Mutè.

[3] The traditional Kana pronunciation.

[4] The traditional Kana has sema, for the Corean syöm, island. Nirim means Lord.

[5] The "Tongkam" (Vol. V. 4) account of these events is as follows:—"Autumn, 8th month (A.D. 501). Pèkché built the Castle of Karim (in Chöllado), which was occupied by a garrison under a military officer named Chak Ka.

Winter, 11th month. Chak Ka of Pèkché slew his Lord Mutè. Before

A.D. 503. 5th year, Summer, 6th month. The Emperor made men lie down on their faces in the sluice of a dam and caused them to be washed away: with a three-bladed lance he stabbed them. In this he took delight.

A.D. 504. 6th year, Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"As a measure for transmitting a kingdom, a son is raised up to honour.[1] But we have no successor: XVI. 9. wherewithal shall we hand down our name to posterity? In accordance, therefore, with old Imperial precedents, we establish the Wohatsuse Toneri and make them assume the designation of this reign, so that it may not be forgotten for ten thousand years."

Winter, 10th month. The Land of Pèkché sent Lord Mana with tribute. The Emperor, considering that for many years Pèkché had not sent tribute, detained him, and would not let him go.

A.D. 505. 7th year, Spring, 2nd month. He made men climb up trees and then shot them down with a bow, upon which he laughed.

Summer, 4th month. The King of Pèkché sent Lord Shika with tribute, and a separate memorial, saying:—"Mana, the previous tribute-messenger, was no relation of the Sovereigns of Pèkché. Therefore I humbly send Shika to wait upon the Court." He eventually had a son named Lord Pöp-să. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Yamato.

A.D. 506. 8th year, Spring, 3rd month. Nudas feminas super latas

this when the King appointed Chak Ka commandant of the garrison of Karim, he did not wish to go, and declined on the score of ill-health. The King would not listen to his excuse, and he therefore hated the King. Upon this the King went a-hunting on the plain east of Săchhă. Again he hunted in the plain north of Ung-chhön. Again he hunted in the plain west of Săchhă. Being prevented from returning by a great fall of snow, he stayed for the night at the village of Mapho, where Chak Ka sent a man to assassinate him. A month later he was buried and received the name of Tong-syöng. His son Shima, otherwise called Yöryung, came to the throne.

Spring, 1st month (A.D. 502). Chak Ka of Pèkché was executed. He had taken position in the castle of Karim and rebelled. The King proceeded with an army to the city of Utu and ordered an attack upon him. Chak Ka came out and surrendered. He was put to death and his body flung into the River Pèk-Kang."

[1] Is made Prince Imperial.

tabulas imposuit et, equis adhibitis, fecit ut coirent cum eis. Tum, examinatione habitâ, quarum pudenda madida erant, eas interfecit, quarum autem madida non erant, eas fecit servas publicas. These things he took a pleasure in.

At this time he dug a pond and made a park which he filled with birds and beasts. Here he was fond of hunting, and of racing dogs and trying horses. He went out and in at all times, taking no care to avoid storms and torrents of rain. Being warmly clad himself, he forgot that the people were starving from cold; eating dainty food, he forgot that the Empire was famishing. He gave great encouragement to dwarfs and performers, making them execute riotous music. He prepared strange diversions, and gave licence to lewd voices. Night and day he constantly indulged to excess in sake in the company of the women of the Palace. His cushions were of brocade, and many of his garments were of damask and fine white silk. XVI. 10.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Namiki.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.

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TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.,

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME II.

Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D. C.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

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291
.N69 v
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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK			Accession A.D.	PAGE
XVII.	KEIDAI TENNŌ		507	1
XVIII.	ANKAN	„	534	26
„	SENKWA	„	536	33
XIX.	KIMMEI	„	540	36
XX.	BIDATSU	„	572	90
XXI.	YOMEI	„	586	106
„	SUJUN	„	588	112
XXII.	SUIKO	„	593	121
XXIII.	JOMEI	„	629	157
XXIV.	KŌGYOKU	„	642	171
XXV.	KŌTOKU	„	645	195
XXVI.	SAIMEI	„	655	248
XXVII.	TENCHI	„	662	274
XXVIII.	TEMMU	„ (Part I.)	673	301
XXIX.	TEMMU	„ (Part II.)	„	321
XXX.	JITŌ	„	687	382

ERRATA ET ADDENDA 425

INDEX 433

NIHONGI.

BOOK XVII.

THE EMPEROR WOHODO.

(*KEIDAI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohodo [otherwise called Hiko-futo no Mikoto] was the son of Prince Hiko-nushi-bito, a descendant in the fifth generation of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Furuhime. She was a descendant in the seventh generation of the Emperor Ikume. The Emperor's father, hearing at his country-house at Miwo, in the district of Takashima, in the province of Ohomi, of the extreme and resplendent beauty of Furuhime's countenance, sent a messenger to Sakanawi in Mikuni to ask for her in marriage. He took her to him as his consort, and she eventually gave birth to the Emperor.

The Prince, the Emperor's father, died while the Emperor was yet a child. Furuhime thereupon made lament, saying :— "I am now far removed from my native place: how could I bring him up (here)? I will return to my parents at Takamuku XVII. 2.
[Takamuku is a village in Echizen], and there respectfully bring up the Emperor."

When the Emperor attained to manhood, he loved the people, and was courteous to men of worth. He was of a generous disposition.

The Emperor Wohatsuse died in the 8th year of his reign, in Winter, the 12th month, 8th day, at the age of fifty-seven. He had never had any children, either sons or daughters, and there was no one to succeed him.

[1] Succeed-body.

On the 21st day, the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, counselled, saying:—"At this moment there is no successor whatever to the throne.[1] Where shall the Empire bestow its allegiance? From ancient times even until now this has been a cause of disaster. Now there is in the district of Kuhada, in the province of Tamba, Prince Yamato-hiko, a descendant in the fifth generation of the Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko. Let us make the experiment of preparing an armed force to surround his carriage as a guard, and sending to meet him, establish him as our sovereign." The Oho-omi and Ohomuraji all assented, and sent to meet him in the manner proposed. Upon this, Prince Yamato-hiko, viewing from a distance the troops which were sent to meet him, was alarmed and changed countenance. Accordingly he took refuge in a mountain-valley, and no one could learn whither he had gone.

A.D. 507. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, again counselled, saying:—"Prince Wohodo is of an affectionate and dutiful disposition. He is a
XVII. 3. fit person to take over the Celestial succession. Let us, therefore, courteously offer it to him, and thus continue the prosperity of the Imperial institution." Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, with Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi and others, all said:—"On a careful review of the branch descendants, there is no other worthy person but Prince Wohodo."

6th day. Omi and Muraji were sent to Mikuni with emblems of rank, and provided with a palanquin of state to fetch him. The troops to form his guard arrived suddenly in
XVII. 4. awe-inspiring array, clearing the way before him. Upon this, the Emperor Wohodo remained calm and self-possessed,[2] seated on a chair, with his retainers in order by him, just as if he already occupied the Imperial throne. The envoys, therefore, bearing the emblems of rank, with respect and reverence bowed their hearts, and committed to him the Imperial authority, asking permission to devote to him their loyal service. In the Emperor's mind, however, doubts still

[1] It seems clear, from the fact that on this and a previous similar occasion adoption was not resorted to, that this practice had not yet been introduced from China.

[2] Unlike the other prince, who ran away when he saw the troops approach.

remained, and for a good while he did not consent. Just then he chanced to learn that Arako, Kahachi no Mŭmakahi no Obito had sent a messenger secretly to inform him minutely of the real intentions of the Oho-omi and Ohomuraji in sending to escort him. After a delay of two days and three nights, he at length set out. Then he exclaimed, admiringly:—"Well done, Mŭmakahi no Obito! Had it not been for the information given by thy messenger, I ran a great risk of being made a laughing-stock to the Empire. The proverbial saying, 'Be not a respecter of rank, but value the heart,' was doubtless meant for men like Arako." When he came to the throne, he treated Arako with special favour.

12th day. The Emperor arrived at the Palace of Kusuba.

2nd month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, went on his knees, and, with repeated obeisances, presented the Mirror, the Sword, and the Imperial Signet. The XVII. 5.
Emperor Wohodo declined them, saying:—"It is no light matter to be a father to the people and to rule the State. I, the unworthy one, am deficient in ability, and do not deserve to be thought fit for it. I pray thee, alter thy purpose, and select some wise person, for I, the unworthy one, do not dare to accept." Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, bowing down to the ground, persisted in his request. Then the Emperor Wohodo, facing the west, declined three times, and facing the south,[1] declined twice. Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and the rest all said:—"In the humble judgment of thy servants, the Great Prince is excellently fitted to be a father to the people and to rule the State. On behalf of the ancestral temples and the temples of the Earth and of Grain, thy servants' judgment dares not be hasty. Availing ourselves of the general desire, we pray that thou wilt graciously be pleased to grant thy acceptance." The Emperor Wohodo said:—"Ye Oho-omi and Ohomuraji, and all ye high officials! Since you all urge me, the unworthy one, I, the unworthy one, do not presume to oppose you." So he accepted the Imperial Signet.[2]

On this day he assumed the Imperial dignity. Ohotomo,

[1] The Imperial position.

[2] Was this Signet the Signet given the Japanese Emperor by China ("Early Japanese History," p. 70)? Or is it merely a Chinese expression for the gem 玉, which was one of the three regalia?

Kanamura no Ohomuraji was appointed Ohomuraji, Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi was made Oho-omi, and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji was made Ohomuraji, all being confirmed in their previous offices. Thereupon the Oho-omi and Ohomuraji each entered on their respective offices and ranks.

10th day. Ohotomo no Ohomuraji petitioned the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant has been informed that it was a principle of government with former sovereigns that without the confirmation of an heir to the throne, it is impossible to give security to heaven and earth. Without the intimacy of the
XVII. 6. side-courts, it is impossible to continue the calices.[1] For this reason, the Emperor Shiraga, having no heir, sent thy servant's grandfather, Ohomuraji Muruya, to all the provinces to establish three kinds of Shiraga Be [These three kinds were, first, Shiraga Be no Toneri; second, Shiraga Be no Kashihade; third, Shiraga Be no Yugehi], by which his name might remain to after ages. Alas! was not this painful? I pray thee, therefore, to establish the Imperial Princess Tashiraka[2] and take her to thee as Empress. Then send the officials charged with the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth to make reverent sacrifice to them, and ask of them an Imperial scion, who shall fully respond to the hopes of thy people." The Emperor said:—"Be it so."

3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The Gods of Heaven and Earth must not want a master of their worship; the universe must not fail of a Lord. Heaven produces the nation, and establishes it by means of a supreme ruler, whom it causes to superintend its supply of food, so that each man's life may be preserved. The Ohomuraji, grieving for Our childlessness, has displayed his loyalty towards the State, showing generation after generation a devoted fidelity. Is this simply for the sake of Our own reign?

Let the Imperial Princess Tashiraka be brought to meet me with all due ceremony."

5th day. The Imperial Princess Tashiraka was made Empress, and took the government of the interior (of the

[1] The calyx is that which supports the flower. Hence it is put for an heir to the throne.

[2] Daughter of the Emperor Ninken.

Palace). She eventually gave birth to a son, who became Ame-kuni-oshi-harani[1]-hiro-niha no Mikoto.[2] He was the rightful heir, but as he was young in years, he held the Empire after his two elder brothers [The two elder brothers were Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kanahi no Mikoto and Take-o-hiro-kuni-oshi- XVII. 7.
tate no Mikoto. See below.] had ruled it.

9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We have heard that if men are of fit age and do not cultivate, the Empire may suffer famine; if women are of fit age and do not spin, the Empire may suffer cold. Therefore is it that the sovereigns cultivate with their own hands, so as to give encouragement to agriculture, while their consorts rear silk-worms themselves, so as to encourage the mulberry season. How, then, shall there be prosperity if all, from the functionaries down to the ten thousand families, neglect agriculture and spinning? Let the officials publish this to all the Empire, so that our sentiments may be made known."

14th day. The Emperor took to him eight concubines.

Some of the eight concubines whom he took to him were earlier, others later. When it is said that they were taken on this day (the 14th), it is meant that then for the first time they were lodged in the after palace, a lucky day having been selected by divination, in consequence of the accession to the Imperial Dignity. Thus the facts are glossed over. Other cases are to be understood similarly.

The senior concubine's name was Menoko [otherwise called Irohe], daughter of Kusaka, Wohari no Muraji. She gave birth to two children, both of whom possessed the Empire. The first was called the Imperial Prince Magari no Ohine,[3] who became Oshi-kuni-oshi-take-kanahi no Mikoto.[4] The second was called the Imperial Prince Hinokuma Takada, who became Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate no Mikoto.[5] The next concubine was Wakugohime, younger sister of Miho no Tsuno-wori no Kimi. She gave birth to the Imperial Prince Oho-iratsuko and the Imperial Princess Idzumo. The next was called XVII. 8.
Hirohime, the daughter of Prince Ohomata of Sakata. She gave birth to three daughters, the eldest of whom was called

[1] The "Kojiki" has haruki. Another rendering is hiraki.
[2] The Emperor Kimmei.
[3] Or Ohoye.
[4] Ankan Tennō.
[5] Senkwa Tennō.

the Imperial Princess Kanzaki, the middle one the Imperial Princess Mamuta, and the youngest the Imperial Princess Mŭmakuta. The next was called Womi no Iratsume, daughter of Prince Mate of Okinaga. She was the mother of the Imperial Princess Sasage, who was in attendance on the shrine of the Great Deity of Ise. The next was Sekihime, daughter [some say younger sister] of Womochi, Mamuta no Muraji. She had three daughters, the eldest called the Imperial Princess Mamuta no Oho-iratsume, the middle one the Imperial Princess Shirazaka no Ikuhihime, and the youngest the Imperial Princess Wono no iratsume [otherwise called Nagashihime]. The next was Yamatohime, daughter of Katahi, Miwo no Kimi. She bore two sons and two daughters. The first was named the Imperial Princess Oho-iratsume,[1] and the second the Imperial Prince Mariko. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Mikuni. The third was called the Imperial Prince Mimi, and the fourth the Imperial Princess Akahime. The next was Hayehime, daughter of Kahachi, Wani no Omi. She bore one son and two daughters. The first was called the
XVII. 9. Imperial Princess Wakayahime, the second the Imperial Princess Tsubura no Iratsume, and the third the Imperial Prince Atsu. The next was Hirohime, daughter of Prince Ne. She had two sons, the elder of whom was called the Imperial Prince Usagi. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of the Sake-makers. The younger was called the Imperial Prince Naka. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Sakada.[2]

This year was the year Hinoto I (24th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 508. 2nd year, Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor Wohatsuse waka-sazaki was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Ihatsuki at Katawoka.

12th month. The people of Tamna[3] in the midst of the

[1] Some give iratsuko for the Kana of this and similar names.

[2] The "Kojiki" and "Kiujiki" present some trifling variations in the accounts of these concubines and children.

[3] Tamna is the island now called Chéchu by the Coreans and known to us as Quelpaert. The statement here made is utterly improbable in itself, as Quelpaert is in sight of the Corean mainland. It is contradicted by the following passages of the "Tongkam."

"King Munchiu of Pèkché, 2nd year (A.D. 476), Summer, 4th month. The land of Tamna presented tribute of their national productions to Pèkché. The king was rejoiced, and appointed the ambassadors Eunsol.

Southern Sea first had communication with the Land of Pèkché.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month. Envoys were sent to Pèkché. A.D. 509.

The statement in the Pèkché "Original Record" that Lord Kuramachi came from Japan (Nippon) is unclear.

The subjects of Pèkché, who during three or four generations had made their escape and were living as refugees in the villages of the Japanese domain of Imna, having lost their place in the register of population, were all removed to Pèkché and replaced on the registers. XVII.

5th year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was transferred to Tsutsuki in Yamashiro. A.D. 511.

6th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, was sent on a mission to Pèkché with a present of 44 horses of the Land of Tsukushi. A.D. 512.

Winter, 12th month. Pèkché sent an envoy with tribute. In a separate memorial Pèkché asked for four districts of the Land of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Syata, and Muro. Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of the Land of Tari, made a representation to the Emperor, saying:—"These four districts border on Pèkché and are far separated from the Japanese Residency. Morning and evening they (i.e. Pèkché and Tari) exchange communications: their fowls and dogs cannot be kept apart. If they are now ceded to Pèkché and

Tamna is in the midst of the Southern Sea. In ancient times there were no inhabitants. Then there were three divine men who bubbled up from the earth. The eldest was called Nang-eul-la, the next was called Ko-eul-la, and the third Pu-eul-la. One day these three, having gone out to hunt by the sea-side, found a stone coffer. On opening it, they discovered three women, with cattle of various sorts and seeds of the five kinds of grain. They eventually shared between them, taking the women as wives. Then each betook himself to a well-watered fertile spot and selected by divination a residence. Nang-eul-la's dwelling was called First City, Ko-eul-la's Second City, and Pu-eul-la's Third City Then they sowed the five grains and pastured the cattle, and prospered and multiplied from day to day. Tamna is also called Tam-mu-ra."—"Tongkam," IV. 31.

"A.D. 498. The King of Pèkché, because Tamna did not pay tribute, set out himself on an expedition against it. He got as far as Muchinchiu, when the Tamna people heard of it and sent messengers to beg for pardon. So they were let off."—"Tongkam," V. 3.

There is no mention of Tamna in the "Tongkam" under the year 508.

united to it so as to form one country, no better measure of conservation can be adopted. It is true, no doubt, that even if ceded and united to Pèkché there will still be a danger for future generations. Much more how many years could they be defended if they became foreign territory?"[1]

Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, having thoroughly comprehended this report, adopted this policy and laid it before the Emperor. Accordingly Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, was appointed Imperial envoy. Mononobe no Ohomuraji was on the point of leaving for the official inn at Naniha in order to make known the Emperor's commands to the Pèkché guests, when his wife expostulated with him, saying:—"Originally the Deities[2] of Sumiyoshi bestowed on the Emperor Homuda while in the womb the gold and silver lands beyond the sea, namely Koryö, Pèkché, Silla, and Imna. Therefore did the Great Empress[3] Okinaga-tarashihime no
XVII. 11. Mikoto and the Oho-omi Takechi no Sukune first establish Government Houses[4] in each of these countries and constitute them our screen territory beyond the sea. So that this has not come to pass without reason. If now we were to divide off (a part) and grant it to others, we should be acting contrary to the interests of our own land. How, in that case, during the long ages should reproach be sundered from men's mouths?" The Ohomuraji answered and said:—"Thy advice is reasonable, but I fear to disobey the Celestial command." His wife remonstrated with him earnestly, saying:—"Pretend that thou art ill, and do not make communication." The Ohomuraji was guided by this remonstrance, and therefore another envoy was appointed to make known the Imperial will. Presents were given, and an Imperial decree granting four districts of Imna in accordance with the petition. The Imperial Prince Ohine, owing to certain business, had not heard of the cession of territory. When it was too late he learnt that the decree had been issued. He was surprised and dissatisfied, and endeavoured to have it altered, saying:—

[1] The meaning is that Pèkché will be better able to prevent these provinces from falling into the hands of Silla than Japan. All Imna was conquered by Silla in A.D. 562. See below, XIX. 51.

[2] See above, Vol. I. pp. 233-235, and "Satow's Handbook," p. 192.

[3] The word used does not mean a reigning Empress. [4] Miyake.

"Since the days of the Emperor in the womb[1] there has been established the land of our Government House. Shall we lightly yield to the request of a frontier land and grant it away without difficulty?" Accordingly he sent Hiwashi[2] no Kishi to make a fresh intimation to the Pèkché guests. The Envoys, however, replied, saying:—"The Emperor, the father, has already, for considerations of expediency, consummated a grant by Imperial decree. How can the Imperial Prince, his son, act contrary to the Emperor's expressed will, and unauthorizedly make to us a different intimation? Surely he cannot be in earnest. But granting that it were true, which is the more painful—to be beaten with the large end of a staff or with the small one?" At length they took their departure. Upon this it was rumoured that Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of the Land of Tari, had received bribes from Pèkché.

7th year, Summer, 6th month. Pèkché sent General Chya- A.D. 513.
mi Mun-kwi and General Chyu-ri Cheung-ni along with Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi [the Pèkché "Original Record" says, "Commissioning Lord Oshiyama"], to bring as tribute a scholar of the five classics named Tan Yang-ni. They XVII. 12.
separately addressed the Emperor, saying:—"The land of Pan-phi[3] has seized thy servants' territory of I-mun.[4] I humbly pray that the Celestial favour may decide that it be restored to its original jurisdiction."

Autumn, 8th month, 26th day. Syun-ta, the eldest son of the King of Pèkché, died.[5]

9th month. The Imperial Prince Magari no Ohine in person[6] betrothed to himself the Imperial Princess Kasuga. Thereupon all through the moonlit night they held sweet con-

Ōjin Tennō.

[2] This name means sun-eagle. There is a god called Ama no Hiwashi mentioned in the "Kogojiui."

[3] The traditional Kana is Hahe. It is doubtful here which rendering to follow.

[4] It seems to have been Japanese at this time. The "Seishiroku" says that in the reign of Mimaki-irihiko the Imna people asked Japan to annex I-mun, as the inhabitants were in constant strife with Silla. I-mun was a district on the north-east frontier of Imna.

[5] The "Tongkam" says nothing of this.

[6] i.e. without a middle-man. She was Ninken's daughter.

verse till the dawn came on them unawares. Of a sudden the grace of elegant style was embodied in his speech, and he broke into song, saying:—

In the eight-island land [1]
Vainly a wife I sought
Until in Kasuga
(Of Spring weather)
Hearing that there was
A fair maiden,
Hearing that there was
A good maiden,
Pushing open
The spruce-fir plank door
(Of right-wood [2] cleavage)
Hither have I come.
Taking it by the foot end
I laid hold of the hem [3] (of her garment),
Taking it by the pillow-end
I laid hold of the hem (of her garment);
Then my beloved's [4] arm
Was wound around me
And my arm too
Was wound round my beloved.
XVII. 13. Like a luxuriant vine,
Arm embraced and twined with arm;
As the armlet fits the elbow,[5]
In sweet slumber we lay.
'Tis the bird of the courtyard,
The cock that is crowing:
'Tis the bird of the moor,
The pheasant that is clamouring.
Ere I have uttered
All my mind fully
The dawn has come. Oh my beloved one!

Then his consort replied in song, saying:—

[1] i.e. Japan. See above, Vol. I. p. 15.

[2] Maki, lit. "right-wood," is here a mere honorific epithet applied to the wood of the Chamæcyparis obtusa, which has an even grain, adapting it well for making planks at a time when saws were unknown and the axe was used for that purpose.

[3] Tsuma, "hem," also means "spouse."

[4] Lit. younger sister, which was used much like our "my dear."

[5] The interpretation of this line is very doubtful.

Down the river of Hatsuse
(The secluded)
A bamboo comes floating—
Close-jointed, long-jointed; [1]
The bottom part
Making into a lute,
The upper part
Making into a flute,
Blowing into it (the flute), playing on it (the lute),
Were I to ascend and stand
On the top of Mimoro,
And publish it [2] there,
The very fishes
That pass under the water
Of the pond of Ihare
(The creeper-clad) [3]
Would come to the surface and lament:
The august girdle of small pattern,[4]
Girded on XVII. 14.
By our Great Lord
Who rules peacefully,
Hangs down in a knot—
Not a man is there whoever he may be
But would come up and lament.

Winter, 11th month, 5th day. General Chya-mi Mun-kwi of Pèkché, Mun-tök-chi of Silla, Sin-i-hyé and Pun-pha-wi-sa of Ara and Kwi-chön-hyé and Chyung-mun-chi of Pan-phi were sent for to attend Court in a body, and received communication of a gracious Imperial order, giving I-mun and Tè-sa to the Land of Pèkché.

In this month the Land of Pan-phi sent Cheup-chi with

[1] Close-jointed at the bottom, long-jointed at the top. At least so one commentator. There are other equally unsatisfactory explanations of this line.

[2] Viz. the sadness of the coming of the dawn under the circumstances above described.

[3] Iha means "rock." Therefore the epithet in parentheses.

[4] This and the next four lines are introduced solely because tare, "to hang down," also means "who." I have endeavoured to imitate this by "knot" and "not." See above, Vol. I. p. 402.

This poem amounts to this:—

"If to the accompaniment of music I were to express the sadness of our parting, the very fishes would lament, and all men who heard me would lament."

presents of rare and valuable objects, asking for the Land of I-mun. Eventually it was refused them.

12th month, 8th day. An Imperial decree was made, saying:—"We, having taken over the Celestial succession, have been watchful to preserve the Ancestral Temples, and have been wary and fearful. For a while the Empire has been at peace; within the seas there has been serenity and calm. Years of abundance have been frequent, redounding to the prosperity of the Land. Admirable! Maroko,[1] thou hast made known our sentiments to the eight quarters. Magnificent! Magari no Ohine! thou hast cast a lustre on our authority amongst all countries. Japan[2] is harmonious, and each man may do as he pleases in the Empire. Akitsu is glorified, and the Royal territory raised to high honour. Thou prizest nought but wisdom: in nothing dost thou take greater pleasure than in doing good. Depending on this, the sagely
XVII. 15. influences undulate afar: leaning upon this, the profound virtue is permanently supported. Truly, such is thy virtue that thou art fit to occupy the Spring Palace,[3] to aid Us in dispensing benevolence, and to assist Us by supplementing our deficiencies."

A.D. 514. 8th year, 1st month. The eldest Prince's Consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga, was late in coming out one morning, and was not in her ordinary state. The eldest Prince's suspicions were aroused. He went into the Palace, and found his Consort lying on her couch weeping and sobbing. Her passion was such that she could not control it. The eldest Prince, thinking it strange, inquired of her, saying:—"What cause of grief hast thou, that thou sobbest and weepest this morning?" His Consort said:—"Thy handmaiden's sorrow hath no other cause but this. The heaven-soaring birds, in order lovingly to nurture their young, build nests on the tree-tops, so deep is their affection for them. The creeping things that crawl upon the ground, in order to guard their offspring, make holes in the ground, so careful is their guardianship of them. How then should mankind be wanting in foresight?

[1] Ankan Tennō.

[2] "Japan" is probably an anachronism. The whole speech has every appearance of being an invention of later times.

[3] The Palace of the Heir to the Throne.

The grief of childlessness having befallen the eldest Prince, thy handmaiden's name also becomes extinct." The Heir Apparent sympathized with her in her sorrow, and informed the Emperor, who made a decree, saying:—"Our son, Maroko![1] thy Consort's words are in profound accordance with reason. It is impossible that they should remain void, and without a consolatory response. Let her be granted the granary[2] of Saho, to bear her name for ten thousand generations."

3rd month. Panphi built castles at Chă-thăn[3] and Tè-sa, thus bringing itself in line with Manhyé. They also established beacon-towers, as a defensive measure against Japan. XVII. 16
Moreover, they built castles at Ni-nyöl-pi and Masupi, and so connected with Ma-chö-hyé and Chhyu-pu; they brought together troops and weapons, wherewith they harassed Silla, making booty of women and children, and fleecing the villages. Their violence increasing, scarce any inhabitants remained. Their deeds of outrage, profligacy, injury, oppression, and murder were too numerous to set down in detail.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. General Mun-kwi, A.D. 515.
the Pèkché envoy, and his party asked leave to go away. By an Imperial decree Mononobe no Muraji [his personal name is not given] was attached to them, and they were allowed to go back.

The Pèkché "Original Record" says:—"Mononobe no chichi[4] no Muraji."

In this month they came to the Island of Sa-to,[5] where they learned by report that men of Pan-phi, with hate in their bosoms and venom in their mouths, were committing wanton outrage, trusting in brute force. Therefore Mononobe no Muraji, in command of a fleet of five hundred war-ships, made straight for the estuary of Tè-sa, and General Mun-kwi departed by way of Silla.

Summer, 4th month. Mononobe no Muraji remained at anchor in the estuary of Tè-sa.

[1] I should like to find some authority for omitting "our son" and translating maro-ko thus. See above, Vol. I. p. 264, where maro ga chi is rendered "our father."

[2] Miyake.

[3] 子 呑. See below, XVII. 18, where 已 呑 (Kwithăn) is probably this place, one of the two being a mistake.

[4] i.e. "the father."

[5] Sand-island.

6th day. The Pan-phi people raised an army and came to attack them. They stripped them of their clothing, plundered them of their property, and burnt all their tents.[1] Mononobe no Muraji and his men were frightened, and took to flight,
XVII. 17. saving their lives with difficulty. They anchored at Mun-mo-ra [the name of an island].

A.D. 516. 10th year, Summer, 5th month. Pèkché sent Mok-hiöp, of the former division,[2] and the Pu-ma[3] Kap-hè to entertain Mononobe no Muraji and his men at I-mun, and to escort them into that country. All the (Pèkché) officials brought forth clothing, axe-iron, and woven stuffs, assisting them by presents of their national products, which they piled up in the court. Kind visits of inquiry were made to them, and unusually abundant presents were bestowed on them.

Autumn, 9th month. Pèkché sent General Chyuri Cheuk-chhă,[4] along with Mononobe no Muraji, to come and give thanks for the grant of the territory of I-mun. They also offered tribute of a scholar acquainted with the five classics, named Ko An-mu, of Han,[5] and asked that he should be exchanged for Tan Yang-ni.[6] He was exchanged in accordance with this request.

14th day. Pekché sent General Chyang-mak-ko and two Japanese, named Shinato and Ahita, to accompany Anchyöng, the Koryö envoy, and his party, who came to our Court to cement amicable relations.

A.D. 518. 12th year, Spring, 3rd month, 9th day. The capital was removed to Otokuni.[7]

A.D. 523. 17th year, Summer, 5th month. King Mu-nyöng of Pèkché died.[8]

[1] Or rather screens of cloth to hide off an encampment.

[2] See below, XXVII. 12.

[3] Puma is possibly the modern Corean Puma, i.e. King's son-in-law, but it is perhaps more likely to be a man's name too, thus making three Chyön-pu, or officials of the former division.

[4] Probably the person called Cheung ni above, XVII. 11, the difference being owing to a copyist's error.

[5] The Chinese dynasty of that name. It seems here to form part of the name.

[6] See above, XVII. 12.

[7] In Yamashiro.

[8] This agrees with the "Tongkam" date, even to the month.

18th year, Spring, 1st month. The Pèkché Heir Apparent, Myöng,[1] assumed the (Royal) dignity. A.D. 524.

20th year, Autumn, 9th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Tamaho in Ihare.[2] [In one book it says 7th year.] A.D. 526 XVII. 18

21st year, Summer, 6th month, 3rd day. Afumi no Kena no Omi, in command of an army of 60,000 men, was about to proceed to Imna, in order to re-establish and unite to Imna South Kara and Tök-să-thăn, which had been conquered by Silla, when Ihawi, Tsukushi no Kuni no Miyakko, secretly plotted rebellion, so that there was a delay of several years. Fearing that the matter would be hard to accomplish, he was constantly watching a favourable opportunity. Silla, knowing this, secretly practised bribery with Ihawi, and encouraged him to oppose the passage of Kena no Omi's army. Hereupon Ihawi occupied the two provinces of Hi[3] and Toyo,[4] and would not allow the taxes to be paid. Abroad he intercepted the route by sea, and led astray the yearly tribute ships from the countries of Koryö, Pèkché, Silla, and Imna, while at home he blocked the way for Kena no Omi's army which was being sent to Imna. He lifted up his voice in abusive language, saying:—"Thou who hast now become an envoy wast formerly my companion. We rubbed shoulders and touched elbows; we ate the same food from the same vessels. How canst thou lightly be made an envoy, and make me come freely and prostrate myself before thee?" He at length fought and would not receive him; he was haughty and self-conceited. For this reason Kena no Omi was prevented midways from proceeding on his journey, and was detained. The Emperor addressed Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, and Wobito, Kose no Oho-omi, saying:—"Ihawi of Tsukushi has rebelled, and has occupied the territory of the western wilds. Whom shall we now make general?" Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and the others all said:—"For uprightness, humane bravery, and acquaintance with military matters there is at present no one who goes out to the right of[5] Arakahi." The Emperor said:—"Be it so." A.D. 527. XVII. 19.

[1] His name was Myöngnye 明禮.
[2] Back again to Yamato.
[3] Now Hizen and Higo.
[4] Buzen and Bungo.
[5] i.e. excels. This is a Chinese phrase. The left is now the honourable side; at one time the right was so.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Ah, Ohomuraji![1] here is this Ihawi who will not obey us. Do thou go and chastise him." The Ohomuraji, Mononobe no Arakahi, with repeated obeisances, said:—"Ah! Ihawi, that unprincipled knave of the western wilds, relies on the impediments of rivers, and does not appear at Court. He trusts to the steepness of the mountains, and stirs up disorder. He subverts virtue and acts contrary to principle; he is insolent and wise in his own conceit. From Michi no Omi in ancient times down to Muruya[3] at present (there have been ministers who) have fought at the same time both for their Emperor and to rescue the people from misery. This is
XVII. 20. simply owing to the help of Heaven, and thy servant has always been impressed with its importance. How should he fail reverently to smite them?"

The Emperor charged him, saying:—"The generalship of a good commander consists in dispensing kindness and exercising forbearance: he rules others with the leniency he shows to himself. In attack he is like the bursting forth of a river, in combat he resembles the rising of the storm." Again he charged him, saying:—"On a great commander depends the lives of the people and the existence of the State. Be earnest, and reverently execute the Celestial punishment." The Emperor took up the battle-axe[4] in his own hands, and delivered it to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"We will control the country from Anato eastward; do thou hold sway over the land from Tsukushi westwards. Dispense rewards and punishments absolutely, and trouble not thyself to make frequent reference to Us."

A.D. 528. 22nd year, Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Commander-in-chief Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, taking personal command, engaged battle with the rebel leader, Ihawi, in the district of Miwi in Tsukushi. The flags and drums approached close to each other, the dust (from both armies) became mingled. The critical moment for the two armies arrived, and the position was such that ten thousand deaths seemed

[1] i.e. Arakahi. [2] See above, Vol. I. p. 117.
[3] Muruya was Kanamura's father.
[4] An emblem of authority.

unavoidable. At length he slew Ihawi, and eventually subdued the frontier land.[1]

12th month. Kuzu, Kimi of Tsukushi, fearing to be involved in his father's execution, offered to the Emperor the Granary[2] of Kasuya, asking to be allowed to ransom his life. XVII. 21.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché addressed Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of Lower Tari, saying:—"Now our tribute envoys have always to avoid the headlands and expose themselves to the winds and waves. In consequence of this the goods they bear become wet and wholly spoiled and unsightly. I pray that thou wilt make the Port of Tasa in Kara the crossing route by which to send thy servant's tribute." Oshiyama no Omi made application to the Emperor accordingly. A.D. 529.

This month Kasone, Mononobe no Ise no Muraji, Kishi no Okina,[3] and others were sent to make over the Port to the King of Pèkché. Hereupon the King of Kara spoke to the Imperial Envoys, saying:—"This Port ever since the establishment of the (Japanese) Government House has been the port of passage for your servant's tribute. How can you without grave reason change this state of things and grant it to a neighbouring country, contrary to the original definitive enfeoffment of this territory?" The Imperial Envoy Kasone and his colleagues were accordingly unable to make the grant

[1] According to the "Tsukushi Fudoki," the tomb of Ihawi was, at the time of writing, to be seen two ri to the south of Kami-tsuma no agata. "The height of the mound was seven rods (of ten feet, no doubt measured along the slope), and its circuit six rods (something wrong here). The ground belonging to the tomb was sixty rods from north to south, and forty from east to west. (This looks like a double mound.) On all four sides there are sixty stone men, with stone shields, arrayed against each other in order of battle. At the north-east corner there is a separate plot of ground, called the kitchen. In this there is one stone man, in a standing position, who is called 'the carver,' and in front of him a naked figure prostrate on the ground, called 'the thief.' On the side there are four stone pigs, called 'the plunder.' In that place, moreover, there are three stone horses, three stone halls, and two stone warehouses. The oldest inhabitants say that Ihawi had this place constructed in his lifetime."

Some of these remains are still in existence, and I rather think that it is one of the stone figures which is now in the Uyeno Museum at Tokio.

[2] Miyake.

[3] Kishi was originally a Corean rank; Okina means old man.

XVII. 22. openly. They retired to Ohoshima and sent a clerk specially, by whom the grant to Pu-yö[1] was effected. Owing to this, Kara allied itself to Silla[2] and bred hatred against Japan. The King of Kara married the King of Silla's daughter, who eventually had issue by him. When Silla first sent a daughter, 100 men were sent away with her as her escort. When they were received, they were dispersed throughout the districts of the country, and allowed to wear the Silla costume. But Arasăteung[3] railed at their strange[4] garments and sent messengers to return them secretly. Silla felt greatly insulted. He changed his mind and tried to get his daughter back, saying:—"Formerly, when I received thy marriage proposals, I sanctioned the alliance. But since matters are now so, I request that the Princess may be restored to me." Kwi-pu-ri Chika of Kara [unclear] answered and said:—"How can husband and wife be sundered again when they have once become united? Moreover there are children. What will become of them if they are abandoned?" In the end it came to pass that (Silla) captured the three castles of To-ka, Ko-phi, and Phona mura.[5] He also took five castles on the northern frontier.

In this month Afumi no Kena no Omi was sent to Ara[6] to urge Silla, in the Emperor's name, to re-establish Southern

[1] Puyö or Fuyu is an ancient name of Pèkché. It is properly the name of a region north of Corea whence the Pèkché royal family derived their origin. Southern Puyö was adopted as the official name of Pèkché in A.D. 538, according to the "Tongkam," V. 14.

[2] The "Tongkam" (A.D. 522) speaks of Silla giving a lady of royal blood (though not the king's daughter) in marriage to Kaya. The two kings had a friendly meeting in 527.

[3] A note to the "Shukai" says that Arishito (or Arasăteung, according to the Corean pronunciation of the characters) was the King of Kara. No doubt some high official is intended. See Vol. I. p. 166.

[4] Silla, according to the "Tongkam," first regulated official costume, no doubt on the Chinese model, in A.D. 520. It was apparently these garments that excited the reprobation of Kara.

[5] Mura is apparently the same as the Japanese word mura, village. There is a Corean word muri, assemblage, which seems to be the same root. An old Chinese author says that the Silla word for castle or city is kien-mu-la. Kien, I imagine, is kheun, great, and mula is for mura. See below, XVII. 24.

[6] One of the ten provinces of Imna, says the "Shukai" editor.

Kara[1] and Tŏk-să-than. Pèkché sent the Lord-General Yun-kwi Ma-na, Kap-pè Ma-ro and others to Ara respectfully to hear the Emperor's decree. Silla, fearing lest the Government which he had established in the frontier provinces should be destroyed, did not send a grandee. He only sent Pu-chi-na-ma-nyé and Hyé-na-ma-nyé to Ara respectfully to listen to the Imperial decree. Hereupon Ara built a new High-Hall, into which the Imperial Ambassador was led up, the ruler of the country ascending the staircase behind him. One or two of the local grandees had already ascended the Hall, but the Pèkché envoys, the Lord-General, and the others remained below. The consultations were repeated for many months[2] in the Hall above, until the Lord-General and the others grew angry at having to remain in the Courtyard. XVII. 23.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Kwi-neung-ma-ta[3] Kanki, King of Imna,[4] came to Court. [Kwi-neung-ma-ta was doubtless the Arasăteung.] He addressed Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, saying:—"The several frontier provinces beyond the sea, ever since the time of the Emperor in the womb, have had Interior Government Houses placed in them. My land has not been abandoned, but the territory has been enfeoffed to me, not without good reason. But now Silla, in defiance of this original definitive enfeoffment, has frequently crossed the borders and invaded us. I pray, therefore, that thou wilt represent this to the Emperor, so that he may come to the assistance of his servant's country." The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo, in accordance with his request, laid the matter before the Emperor.

In this month an envoy was sent to escort Kwi-neung-ma-ta Kanki, and at the same time to convey to Afumi no Kena no Omi, who was resident in Imna, the instructions of the Emperor to investigate thoroughly the matter represented to him, and in a friendly way to dissipate their mutual suspicions. Hereupon Kena no Omi lodged at Kumanare[5] [one book

[1] See above, p. 15. [2] The "Shukai" corrects this to "days."

[3] The traditional Kana is Konomatta.

[4] The "Shukai" has a note that Imna is Kara. The name given here is not that of the King of Kara at this time. He may have been only a prince.

[5] Or Eung-chŏn, i.e. Bear-river. See Vol. I. pp. 232, 368.

XVII. 24. says he lodged at Kusă-mura in Imna], whither he summoned together the kings of the two countries, Silla and Pèkché. Cha-ri-chi,[1] King of Silla, sent Ku-chi-pu-nyé[2] [one book says Ku-nyé-ni-să-chi and (?) U-na-să-ma-ri], and Pèkché the Eunsol[3] Mi-teung-ni, to proceed to meet together at the place where Kena no Omi was. But the two kings did not attend in person. Kena no Omi was much incensed, and called the two envoys to an account for it, saying:—"It is the law of Heaven that the Small should wait upon the Great. [One book says:—'To the end of a great tree, you join a great tree; to the end of a small tree, you join a small tree.'] Why do the kings of the two countries send envoys in this disrespectful way instead of coming in person to the meeting and receiving the Emperor's commands? But now, even if your kings came themselves to hear the Imperial commands, I would not consent to deliver them, but would surely drive them away." Ku-chi-pu-nyé and the Eunsol Mi-teung-ni, with dread in their hearts, returned each to his own country to call his king. Accordingly, Silla sent another envoy, the Chief Minister, I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi Kanki, with a following of three thousand men, to come and ask leave to hear the Imperial commands. Kena no Omi, seeing from afar that he was being encompassed by several thousand armed men, left Kumanare and entered the castle of Kwi-cheul-kwi-ri[4] in Imna. I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi Kanki took up his lodging on the plain of Tatara,
XVII. 25. and, not daring to go back, waited for three months, requesting leave repeatedly to hear the Imperial message. But to the last its communication was not vouchsafed him. Some men under I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi's command were begging for food in the villages when they passed Mikari, Kahachi Mumakahi no Obito, a retainer of Kena no Omi. Mikari went in and hid behind somebody's gate, and, waiting till the beggars were passing, clenched his fists and struck at them from afar. The beggars, seeing this, said:—"We have waited patiently for

[1] The "Tongkam" calls the King of Silla at this time Pöp-hung. This is the posthumous name. His name in life was Wön-chong. Neither agrees with the name given here.

[2] Ku-chi-pu-nyé. The Japanese pronunciation is Kuchi-fure.

[3] The Eunchol were the third class of Pèkché dignitaries.

[4] Koshikori is the traditional Kana pronunciation.

three months in hopes of hearing the Emperor's will. But you still refuse to communicate it, and harass the envoys who have been sent to listen to the Imperial message. Hence, we see that your object is to befool and put to death the Chief Minister." So they reported to the Chief Minister all that they had seen, and he thereupon seized four villages, Keum-kwan,[1] Hè-mu, A-ta, and Wi-tha [one book says Tatara, Sunara, A-ta, and Pi-chi were the four villages], took possession of all the people and their goods, and withdrew to his own country. Some said that it was the fault of Kena no Omi that these four villages, Tatara and the rest, were plundered.

Autumn, 9th month. The Oho-omi, Kose no Obito, died.

24th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"From the Emperor Ihare-hiko[2] until King Mimaki,[3] all (the sovereigns) put their trust in learned Ministers and enlightened assistants. Therefore Michi[4] no Omi propounded the policy, and divine Japan[5] flourished. Ohohiko enounced plans, and Inihe[6] was exalted. Among those Princes of succeeding generations who were successful in re-establishing what had fallen into decay, what one has there ever been who did not rely upon wise counsels? Now, coming down to the time when the Emperor Wohatsuse ruled the Empire, auspiciously receiving it over from the previous sages, there was long peace and prosperity, during which morals became gradually deteriorated, and there was no awakening, while the Government became gradually steeped in decay, and there was no reform. But he looked out for (proper) men, and each had advancement after his kind. If a man had great capacity, his shortcomings were not inquired into; if he had high abilities, his failures were not found fault with. It was for this reason that this Emperor was enabled to serve the ancestral shrines, and not to endanger the Temples of the Land and of Grain. Judging from this, could he have been wanting in enlightened assistants?

A.D. 530.

XVII. 26.

[1] The present Keumhè, then capital of Kara. [2] Jimmu Tennō.

[3] Sūjin Tennō. There seems no particular reason why one should be called a King 王, and the other an Emperor 帝.

[4] Michi means "path," "moral principle." *Vide* Vol. I. p. 117.

[5] Or Yamato.

[6] i.e. Sūjin Tennō, says the "Tsū-shō" commentary.

During the twenty-four years which have elapsed since we took over the Imperial office, the Empire has enjoyed prosperity, and there have been no anxieties at home or abroad. The veins of the earth have been fertile and the crops have reached maturity. Our secret fear is that the masses may in consequence of this acquire a habit, and that depending on it they may become proud. Therefore let men be made to practise honest thrift, and let the Great Morality be inculcated, so that a mighty progress may be diffused abroad. From of old it has been hard to appoint the right men to office. Now that this duty has devolved upon Ourselves, ought we not to be watchful?"

Autumn, 9th month. An envoy from Imna made represen-
XVII. 27. tation to the Emperor, saying:—"It is now two years since Kena no Omi proceeded to Kusamura, where he built a house and took up his residence.

The statement in one book that it was three years includes the year of going and coming.

But he is remiss in the discharge of his Governmental duties. Now there are frequent disputes between the people of Japan and the people of Imna respecting children,[1] which are difficult to settle. None of these has ever been decided. Kena no Omi is fond of setting (the caldrons for) the ordeal by boiling water, and saying:—'Those who are in the right will not be scalded: those who are false will certainly be scalded.' Owing to this many persons have been scalded to death by plunging into the hot water. Moreover he has put to death Natari and Săpuri, Corean children of Kibi.

The children born of Japanese marriages with barbarian women were accounted Kara-ko.[2]

He constantly harasses the people, and there is never any amicable solution of difficulties." Hereupon the Emperor, hearing of this conduct, sent a man to recall him. But he would not come. He took the trouble, however, to send Mikari, Kahachi no Mŭma-kahi no Obito up to the capital with a message for the Emperor, saying:—"If thy servant returned to the capital before carrying out the Imperial instructions, his toil of travel would come to nothing. How should he get over

[1] The progeny of mixed unions. [2] i.e. Corean or Kara children.

his mortification? He humbly beseeches Your Majesty to await the execution of the national instructions. He will then proceed to Court and confess his faults." After sending off this messenger, he further took counsel with himself, saying:—"That Mitsugi[1] no Kishi is also an Imperial envoy. If he arrives back before me, and represents my offences to the Emperor as they really are, they will certainly be aggravated." So he sent Mitsugi no Kishi at the head of a force to guard the Castle of Isăchi mura. Hereupon the Arisăteung, seeing that a trivial matter was being made of great importance, would not apply himself to what was expected of him, but repeatedly urged his[2] returning to Court. But he persisted in his refusal to let him return. By this all his conduct was understood, and in their hearts a spirit of revolt was begotten. So he[3] sent XVII. 28.
Kunyésăkwimo to Silla to ask for troops, and Nosukuri to Pèkché to ask for troops. Kena no Omi, hearing of the arrival of the Pèkché forces, went out against them and attacked Pè-phyöng. [Pè-phyöng is the name of a place—also called Ung-pi-kwi-pu-ri.[4]] Half were killed or wounded. Pèkché accordingly seized Nosukuri, punished him with handcuffs, and put him in the cangue and chains. Then, along with Silla they laid siege to the castle, and demanded of the Arisăteung with imprecations that Kena no Omi should be produced. But Kena no Omi clung to his castle and made a vigorous defence. His strength was such that he could not be taken prisoner. Upon this the two countries measured out a suitable piece of ground, where they settled down for a month and built a castle. They then retired. This castle was called Kunyé mura. On their way home they captured the five fortified places of Teung-ni-ki-mura, Puna-mura, Mu-chă-ki-mura, A-pu-ra-mura, and Ku-chi-pha-ta-ki.[5]

Winter, 10th month. Mitsugi no Kishi arrived from Imna

[1] Mitsugi means tribute or taxes. Kishi is a title, originally Corean.

[2] Mitsugi no Kishi's. [3] The Arisăteung.

[4] Perhaps the last three syllables are meant for the Corean word *Ko-eul*, a district, the Japanese kôri. The first syllable Ung means bear.

[5] These names are written with Chinese characters, used phonetically in a way which conveys the idea that the author of the "Nihongi" considered them to be Corean words. But *mura* is unmistakably the Japanese word for village, and the names too are probably Japanese, viz. Toriki-mura, Funa-mura, Mushiki-mura, Abura-mura, and Kuchihataki.

and informed the Emperor of Kena no Omi's arrogant and perverse disposition. "He was inexperienced (he said) in the administration of government, and never brought about amicable solutions. He disturbed Kara. Moreover he followed his own impulses in a high-handed manner, while he at the same time put up with evils and did not prevent them." Therefore Medzurako was sent to recall him.

In this year, Kena no Omi, having received the summons,
XVII. 29. proceeded as far as Tsushima, where he fell ill, and died. His funeral followed up the course of the river,[1] and so entered Afumi.

His wife made a song, saying:—

To Hirakata
With the music of flutes he goes up—
The youth of Kena
Of Afumi,
With the music of flutes goes up.[2]

When Medzurako first arrived in Imna his[3] people who remained in that country sent a song, saying:—

The land of Kara,
How should it be called so?
Medzurako has come!
By the crossing of Iki—
Opposite and afar,
Medzurako has come![4]

A.D. 531. 25th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor took very ill. 7th day. The Emperor died in the Tamaho Palace at Ihare, at the age of 82.[5]

[1] The Uji River.

[2] Hirakata is the name of a place in the province of Afumi or Ōmi. The word Wakugo, youth, has here a suffix *i*, which is now wholly obsolete. It is found, however, occasionally in the "Manyoshiu," and may be identical with the Corean suffix *i*, a sort of definite article.

Funerals were accompanied by the music of flutes, as appears from other ancient notices.

[3] i.e. Kena no Omi's.

[4] Kara means "acrid, cruel, hard," as well as the country. In Medzurako there is an allusion to the adjective Medzurashiki, "strange, rare." The song expresses the satisfaction of the people of Kena no Omi's household in having Medzurako set over them instead of their own master.

[5] The "Kojiki" has forty-three, no doubt wrongly.

Winter, 12th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi on the Awi plain.[1]

A certain book says :—"The Emperor died in the 28th year of his reign, namely the year Kinoye Tora. The statement in the text that he died in the 25th year of his reign, viz. the year Kanoto I, is taken from a passage in the 'Original Record' of Pèkché. This passage runs as follows: 'In the year Kanoto I of the Cycle, the 3rd month, an army advanced to Ara and constructed the fortified place of Kwi-tök. In this month Koryö slew their king An. It is said, moreover, that the Emperor of Japan with the Prince Imperial died at the same time and were buried.' This was the authority on which the statement was made. The year Kanoto I corresponds to the 25th year of the reign. Later inquirers may ascertain which is correct." [2]

[1] In Settsu. This misasagi is visible from the railway, on the left as one goes from Osaka to Kioto.

[2] The uncertainty about this date shows how imperfect the chronological records must have been even at this late period.

There is this difficulty about making Keidai die in the 28th year of his reign. He was then 82, and his son died the following year, aged 70, which would make him born when his father was only 13. One chronological work suggests that there was an interregnum. But this is contrary to the positive statement in the "Nihongi."

BOOK XVIII.

THE EMPEROR MAGARI NO OHOYE (OR OHINE) HIRO-KUNI OSHI-TAKE KANAHI.[1]

(*ANKAN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hiro-kuni Oshi-take was the eldest child of the Emperor Wohodo. His mother's name was Menoko-hime. As to the Emperor's character, the walls were lofty, so that one could not peep in.[3] He was brave and generous, and had the capacity of a ruler of men.

In the 25th year of his reign, Spring, the 2nd month, the 7th day, the Emperor Wohodo established Ohoye as Emperor, and on the same day he died.[4]

In this month Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji were made Ohomuraji, both being continued in their previous offices.

A.D. 534. 1st year, Spring, 1st month. The capital was removed to Magari no Kanahashi, in the province of Yamato, by which name the palace[5] was called.

3rd month, 6th day. On behalf of the Emperor, functionaries took wedding presents to the Imperial Princess Kasuga no
XVIII. 2. Yamada, daughter of the Emperor Ohoke,[6] and made her Empress[7] [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Yamada no

[1] Magari is the name of a place. Ohoye or Ohine means the elder of a family. The rest is literally "wide-country-push-valiant-metal-sun."

[2] Ankan, "easy-space."

[3] An allusion to a passage in the "Analects of Confucius." See Legge's edition, p. 211. The meaning is that he was of a reserved disposition, and not easy to understand and appreciate.

[4] The 25th year of Keidai's reign is A.D. 531. Ankan succeeds him at once, yet his 1st year is A.D. 534. See above, p. 25.

[5] i.e. the Kanahashi Palace.

[6] Ninken Tennō.

[7] This was only a formal installation. The real marriage took place in the 7th year of Keidai's reign.

Akami]. There were, besides, three consorts appointed, viz., Satehime, daughter of Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi, Satehime's younger sister, Kagarihime, and Yakahime, daughter of Mononobe no Itahi no Ohomuraji.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The High Steward, Ohomaro Kashihade no Omi,[1] by command of the Emperor, sent a messenger to Ishimi[2] to get pearls. The Kuni no Miyakko of Ishimi delayed coming to the capital, and the time passed without their delivering them. Ohomaro Kashihade no Omi was greatly incensed, and, having seized and bound the Kuni no Miyakko, interrogated them as to the reason. Wakugo no Atahe and the other Kuni no Miyakko were afraid, and ran away, and concealed themselves in an inner chamber of the hinder-palace.[3] The Empress Kasuga, unaware that they had come straight in,[4] was startled, and fell down deeply ashamed. Wakugo no Atahe and the others, being already convicted of the crime of intrusion, and having become liable to severe punishment, humbly offered the Empress the Miyake[5] of Ishimi to be her absolute property, praying her to accept it by way of atonement for their offence of intrusion. A settlement was therefore made of the Miyake of Ishimi. It was now XVIII. 3.
divided and made into districts, which were attached to the province of Kadzusa.

[1] Kashihade no Omi means "steward minister," so that here the name and the office coincided, as they frequently did at this time.

[2] In Kadzusa.

[3] i.e. the Empresses' apartments.

[4] Without warning or introduction.

[5] The Miyake are frequently mentioned below. The word is defined in Yamada's Dictionary as follows;—"Mi means august; yake, house. The Miyake were granaries, in which was stored the rice which the peasants were made to cultivate on lands belonging to the government in the various provinces. The term was also applied to the government buildings belonging to them."

This word is written in two ways in Chinese. One rendering means store-house or granary, the other government house. The Miyake has two aspects corresponding to this distinction. They were primarily granaries to which were attached cultivated lands and serfs, and they were also local centres of government. But the present and other passages show that they were frequently private property. The Japanese Residency in Imna is called a Miyake, and even the kingdoms of Pèkché and Silla are so termed. The Miyake are evidently the older Be somewhat modified. Cf. Vol. I. p. 214.

5th month. Pèkché sent the Ha-pu Syu-tök, Työk Tök-son, and the Syang-pu[1] To-tök, Kwi Chyukwiru, to come and render the Imperial tribute, and separately to present a memorial.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The Empress, it is true, is of one body with the Emperor, but their designations, one being outer and the other inner, are quite distinct. Moreover let there be assigned a tract of Miyake land from (the revenues of) which to erect a Pepper[2] Court, so that after generations may hand down its memory." Imperial Commissioners were accordingly appointed to select good rice-land. The Imperial Commissioners, having received this charge, addressed Ajihari [otherwise called Satohi], Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe, saying:—"Thou shouldst now offer to the Emperor the fat rice-land of Kiji." Ajihari conceived a sudden grudging, and deceived the Imperial Commissioners, saying:—"This rice-land is subject to drought, and hard to irrigate. The surface water percolates readily, so that the expenditure of labour would be enormous, and the harvest very small." The Imperial Commissioners, in accordance with these words, made their report to the Emperor without reserve.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. The Emperor commanded Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Although we have taken to us four wives there has been up till now no heir. When ten thousand years have passed,[3] Our name will be extinct. What dost thou propose should now be done, Our uncle[4] of Ohotomo? Whenever we think of this, Our anxiety knows no rest."

Kanamura, Ohotomo no Muraji, addressed the Emperor,
XVIII. 4. saying:—"This is also a subject of anxiety to thy servant. It is necessary that all the sovereigns of this country who rule the Empire, whether they have heirs or not, should have something

[1] Official ranks. Ha-pu and Syang-pu mean respectively Lower and Upper Division.

[2] "The private apartments of the Empress, so called because (1) an Empress of the Han had the walls of her palace smeared with pepper in order to generate warmth, or (2) because she always had a supply of pepper flowers about her, hoping to be fruitful like them."—Giles.

[3] i.e. when I am dead.

[4] Uncle, like cousin or brother in the mouths of European sovereigns, is only a term of friendly greeting.

by which they should have a name. I pray, therefore, that on behalf of the Empress and thy other consorts Miyake lands may be established, and made to remain unto future generations, so that relics of the past may be manifested."

The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Be it so; let them be speedily established." Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, recommended to the Emperor that the Miyake of Oharida with serfs[1] from every province should be granted to Satehime, that the Miyake of Sakurawi [one book says, "And in addition the Miyake of Chinuyama"] with serfs from every province should be granted to Kagarihime, and that the Miyake of Naniha with spade-labourers from every district should be granted to Yakahime as an indication to posterity, and an example by which to view the past. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let it be done as proposed."

Intercalary 12th month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mishima. Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, was in attendance.

The Emperor, through Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, made inquiry as to good rice-land of the Agata-nushi[2] Ihi-bo. The Agata-nushi Ihi-bo was delighted beyond measure, and with the utmost reverence and loyalty offered as a present Upper Mino and Lower Mino, Upper Kuhabara and Lower Kuhabara, as well as land in Takefu, 40 chô in all. Ohotomo no XVIII. 5.
Ohomuraji, by command of the Emperor, addressed him,[3] saying:—"Of the entire surface of the soil, there is no part which is not a Royal grant in fee; under the wide Heavens there is no place which is not royal territory. The previous Emperors therefore[4] established an illustrious designation and handed down a vast fame: in magnanimity they were a match with Heaven and Earth: in glory they resembled the sun and moon. They rode afar and dispensed their mollifying influence to a distance; in breadth it extended beyond the bounds of the capital and cast a bright reflection throughout the boundaries of the land, pervading everywhere without a limit. Above they

[1] Tana-be. See above, Vol. I. p. 214.

[2] District-lord. [3] i.e. Ajihari.

[4] From this point to the end of the paragraph is taken from the monument of a personage named 湘東王, of the Liang Dynasty of China.

were the crown of the nine heavens: they passed abroad through all the eight points of the compass: they declared their efficiency by the framing of ceremonial observances: they instituted music,[1] thereby manifesting order. The resulting happiness was truly complete: there was gladness which tallied with that of past years.[2]

Now thou, Ajihari, being an obscure and insignificant subject of the realm, didst suddenly entertain a grudging as regards the lands of the Crown, and hast lightly disregarded the messenger. It is the Imperial will that thou, Ajihari, shalt henceforth cease to hold the office of Local Governor." Hereupon, the Agata-nushi
XVIII. 6. Ihibo's heart was filled with mingled joy and awe. He took his son Toriki and presented him to the Ohomuraji as a servant. Then Ajihari, Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe, was afraid, and had lasting regret. Prostrating himself on the ground, with the perspiration streaming from him, he addressed the Ohomuraji, saying:—"I am an ignorant subject, and my crime deserves ten thousand deaths. I pray humbly that I may be allowed to furnish from each district in spring-time five hundred spade-labourers, and in the time of autumn five hundred, for the Emperor's service. My descendants to all ages will pray for their lives in dependence on this,[3] and they will keep it before them for ever as an exemplary punishment." He separately presented to Ohotomo no Ohomuraji six chô of rice-land in Sawida. This seems to have been the origin of the labourers of the Agata of Kahachi being attached to the Miyake of Takefu in Mishima as serfs.

This month Hatahime, daughter of Kikoyu, Ihoki be no Muraji, stole a necklace belonging to Okoshi, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, and presented it to the Empress Kasuga. The matter was at length discovered, and Kikoyu gave his daughter, Hatahime, to be a servant of the Uneme. [The Kasuga Be

[1] The importance of music as a means of government is often insisted on in the ancient Chinese literature. The interlinear version has here *uta-mai*, "song and dancing," which latter was no doubt included. Ceremony and music are put generally for the pomp and circumstance which are the life of an Imperial Court.

[2] Here we have the Imperial theory formulated in terms, be it noted, which are borrowed entirely from Chinese writings.

[3] i.e. this will be a perpetual ransom for the lives of my descendants.

Uneme.[1]] He also presented (to the Emperor) the Miyake of Ihokibe in Koshibe in the province of Aki, and therewith redeemed his daughter's crime. Okoshi, Mononobe no Oho- XVIII. 7
muraji, fearing that he might become implicated in the matter, could not feel secure, and presented to the Emperor Towochi Be, with Kusasa, Toi [Kusasa and Toi are names of two villages], and Nihe no Hasebe, in the province of Ise, and also Wisayamabe, in the Land of Tsukushi.

The Kuni no Miyakko of the province of Musashi, Omi, Kasahara no Atahe, had a dispute with a relation named Wogi as to who should be Kuni no Miyakko. This went on for years and could not be settled. Wogi was of an obstructive and rebellious disposition; he had a high spirit, unapt for compliance. He secretly sought support from Wokuma, the Kuni of Kamitsukenu,[2] and conspired with him to kill Omi. Omi became aware of this, and made his escape to the capital, where he informed the Court. When the matter came to be decided, Omi was made Kuni no Miyakko, and Wogi was executed. Omi, Kuni no Miyakko, his breast filled with mingled awe and gladness, could not restrain himself, but reverently offered to the State the four Miyake of Yokonu, Tachibana, Ohohi, and Kurasu.

This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st Month, 5th day. The Emperor made A.D. 535.
a decree, saying:—"Of late, for several successive years, the crops have produced well; there have been no frontier anxieties: the people take pleasure in their husbandry: my black-headed subjects of every calling are free from famine: benign influences extend agreeably over the universe: cries of admiration fill Heaven and Earth: within and without serenity is everywhere diffused: the commonwealth is flourishing: Our joy is extreme: let there be a Great Revel for five days, to the delight of the Empire."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Be of the Toneri of XVIII. 8.
Magari was established, and the Be of the Yuki of Magari.[3]

5th month, 9th day. There were established the Miyake of

[1] i.e. The Empress's waiting-women. [2] i.e. Kôdzuke.

[3] These Be were evidently intended to commemorate the Emperor's name. The Yuki were archers.

Funami and Kama in Tsukushi, the Miyake of Tosa, Kuhabara, Kato, Ohonuku and Aka in the province of Toyo, the Miyake of Kasuga be, in the province of Hi, the Miyake of Koshibe and Ushika in the province of Harima, the Miyake of Shidzuki, Tane, Kukutsu, Hawaka, and Kaha-oto, in the further province of Kibi, the Miyake of Iye and Itoshibe in the province of Ata,[1] the Miyake of Kasuga be in the province of Aha, the Miyake of Fuse and Kahabe in the province of Ki, the Miyake of Soshiki in the province of Tamba, the Miyake of Ashiura in the province of Afumi, the Miyake of Mashiki and Iruka in the province of Wohari, the Miyake of Midono
XVIII. 9. in the province of Kamitsukenu, and the Miyake of Wakanihe in the province of Suruga.[2]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. By Imperial command Be of dog-keepers[3] were established in every province.

9th month, 3rd day. The Emperor appointed Sakurawi Tanabe no Muraji, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, and Naniha no Kishi, to the charge of the revenues from the Miyake.

13th day. The Emperor specially commanded the Ohomuraji, saying:—"Let cattle be let loose on Ohosumi-jima, and in the fir-plain of Hime-jima at Naniha. By this we hope that a name will be handed down to after times."[4]

Winter, 12th month, 17th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kanabashi at Magari, at the age of seventy.

In this month the Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Takaya at Furuichi in the province of Kahachi. In this misasagi there were buried along with the Emperor the Empress, who was the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada, and the Emperor's younger sister, the Princess Kamisaki.[5]

[1] Now part of Satsuma.

[2] This institution of Miyake seems to show that the Central Government was vigorously extending its power in the provinces. The Imperial theory was being translated into practice.

[3] Inukahi, a frequent surname in old Japan. The "Shukai" says:—"They had probably charge of the dogs to guard the Miyake against thieves."

[4] In 717 A.D. an order was given to discontinue the cattle-breeding establishments of Ohosumi-jima and Hime-jima, and to allow the peasantry to till the land.

[5] Or Kanzaki.

THE EMPEROR TAKE-WO HIRO-KUNI OSHITATE.[1]

(*SENKWA*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Take-wo Hiro-kuni Oshitate was the second child of the Emperor Wohodo, and the younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hiro-kuni XVIII. 10.
Oshitake Kanahi.

The Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hirokuni Oshitake Kanahi died in the 12th month of the second year of his reign, leaving no heir. The Ministers in a body delivered up the sword and mirror[3] to Takewo Hirokuni Oshitate no Mikoto, and made him assume the Imperial Dignity. As to his character, his capacity was unalloyed throughout, his intelligence surpassingly bright, and he did not play the ruler, making a boast to people of his abilities. Superior men gave him their allegiance.

1st year, Spring, 1st month. The capital was transferred to A.D. 536.
Ihorino in Hinokuma,[4] whence the palace took its name.

2nd month, 1st day. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji were appointed Ohomuraji, both as before. Moreover, Soga no Iname no Sukune was made Oho-omi and Abe no Ohomaro no Omi Daibu.

3rd month, 1st day. The functionaries petitioned that an Empress might be appointed.

8th day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let her who is already my proper[5] consort, viz. the Imperial Princess Tachibana no Nakatsu, daughter of the Emperor Ohoke, be appointed Empress." She bore to him one son and three daughters. The eldest was called the Imperial Princess Ishi hime,[6] the next was called the Imperial Princess Koishi hime,[7] the next was called the Imperial Princess Kura no Wakaya hime, and the next the Imperial Prince Kamu-uye-ha [other- XVIII. 11.

[1] The elements of this Emperor's name are literally "valiant-small-wide-country-push-shield."

[2] Senkwa means "diffuse-civilization." [3] The Regalia.

[4] In Yamato. [5] i.e. not a concubine [6] Stone-princess.

[7] Little-stone-princess.

wise Mariko]. He was the ancestor of the two families[1] of the Tajihi no Kimi and the Ina no Kimi. The concubine whom he already had, viz. Ohoshi Kahachi no Wakugo hime, bore to him one son, named the Imperial Prince Honowo.[2] He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Shihida.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"Food is the basis of the Empire. Yellow gold and ten thousand strings of cash cannot cure hunger.[3] What avails a thousand boxes of pearls to him who is starving of cold? Now the province of Tsukushi is a place reached by visitors to our Court from far and near; it is a barrier passed by travellers going and coming. Therefore the countries beyond the sea, awaiting the water of the ocean,[4] come as our guests: looking up to the clouds of Heaven, they bring us tribute. From the days of the Emperor in the womb[5] down to
XVIII. 12. Ourselves, grain has been stored up and hoards of provisions accumulated as a distant preparation for evil years, and for the cordial entertainment of our good guests. For the peace of our country there is nothing better than this. We therefore send Asomo no Kimi to transport thither a further supply of grain from the Miyake of the district of Mamuta in Kahachi. Let Soga no Oho-omi and Iname no Sukūne send Wohari no Muraji to transport grain of the Miyake of the province of Wohari. Let Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji send Nihinomi no Muraji to transport grain from the Miyake of Nihinomi. Let Abe no Omi send Iga no Omi to transport grain from the Miyake of the province of Iga. Let there be built a Government House at Nanotsu no Kuchi.[6] Moreover, the Miyake of the three provinces of Tsukushi, Hi, and Toyo are dispersed and remote: transport is therefore impeded by distance. In the case of an emergency it would be difficult to provide for sudden needs. Let the various districts therefore be charged each severally to transfer (the Miyake), and to erect one jointly at Nanotsu no Kuchi, thus making provision against extraordinary occasions, and long preserving the lives of the people.

[1] Lit. surnames. [2] Flame of fire.

[3] It must not be inferred from this that the Japanese had coin at this time. It is simply a phrase borrowed from the Chinese.

[4] The tides. [5] Ōjin Tennō. [6] In Chikuzen.

Speedily go down to the districts (in question) and make known to them Our behests."

Autumn, 7th month. Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji died.

This year was the year Hinoye Tatsu (53rd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. By reason of Silla's hostility towards Imna, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji to send his sons Iha and Sadehiko to the assistance of Imna. At this time Iha staid in Tsukushi, where he took charge of the local Government, and made preparations against the three Han.[1] Sadehiko went to Imna and restored peace there. He also lent aid to Pèkché. A.D. 537. XVIII. 13.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Ihorino in Hinokuma at the age of seventy-three. A.D. 539.

Winter, 11th month, 17th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi at the top of the acclivity of Tsukijima, in Musa, in the province of Yamato.

There were buried with him in the same misasagi the Empress, viz. the Imperial Princess Tachibana and her infant child.[2]

There is no mention in the records of the year of the Empress's death. Probably the infant child had died before reaching manhood.

[1] i.e. Silla, Pèkché, and Koryö.

[2] In Japanese wakugo. This word is also found as a proper name, which would account for the strange remark of the "Original Commentary."

BOOK XIX.

THE EMPEROR AME-KUNI OSHI-HIRAKI HIRO-NIHA.[1]

(*KIMMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ame-kuni Oshi-hiraki Hiro-niha was the rightful heir of the Emperor Wohodo. His mother's name was the Empress Tashiraka. The Emperor loved him, and kept him constantly at his side. When the Emperor was young he had a dream, in which a man appeared to him, saying:—"If thou makest a favourite of a man called Hada no Ohotsuchi, thou wilt surely possess the Empire when thou dost attain to manhood." When he awoke, he sent messengers to search everywhere. They got from the province of Yamashiro, the district of Kiï and the township of Fukakusa, a man whose name and surname were actually as in the dream. Upon this joy pervaded his whole frame. "A dream without precedent!" he exclaimed, and addressed him, saying:—"Has anything happened thee?" He answered and said:—"Nothing. Only when thy servant was on his way back from Ise, whither he had gone to trade, he fell in with two wolves[3] on a mountain, who were fighting with one another, and were defiled with blood. Thy servant got down from his horse, and, having rinsed his mouth and hands, made prayer to them, saying:—'Ye are august deities, and yet ye take delight in violence.

[1] Heaven-land push-open wide-court.

[2] Kimmei. Legge renders this by "reverential, intelligent." *Vide* "Shooking," p. 15.

[3] "No true wolf exists in Japan, but Canis hodophylax is a sort of lame counterfeit of the European beast."—Dickins, in Satow and Hawes' "Handbook of Japan," p. [40]. Of the Ohokami, lit. "Great God," by which the Chinese character for wolf is rendered, Dickins says, "If it exists, nothing is known of it to science."

If ye were to fall in with a hunter, very speedily ye should be taken.' So thy servant restrained them from fighting together, and having wiped them and cleansed their blood-stained hair, eventually let them go, thus saving both their lives." The Emperor said:—"This is undoubtedly your reward."[1] So he made him to serve near his own person, and treated him with a favour which was daily renewed, so that he arrived at the height of great wealth. When the Emperor came to the throne, he appointed him to the Treasury. XIX. 2.

In Winter, the 10th month of the 4th year of his reign, the Emperor Takewo hiro-kuni oshi-tate died. The Imperial Prince, the Emperor[2] Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha, addressed the Ministers, saying:—"I am young[3] in years, and of shallow knowledge. I have not yet had experience of the affairs of government. The Empress Yamada has a clear acquaintance with all matters of administration, and I pray you to apply to her and then decide."

The Empress Yamada rendered humble thanks, saying:—"Your handmaiden has been treated with favour, far beyond seas and mountains. But the manifold machinery of government is much too difficult a charge for a woman to undertake it. Now the Imperial Prince honours age, and shows affection to the young. He treats the wise with courtesy, and all day long neglects his food while he attends to others. Not only so, but young as he is, the point comes through.[4] Already he has at his disposal an auspicious reputation, he is of a mild disposition and earnest in compassionate care. I pray the Ministers that they will, without delay, cause him to ascend to the Dignity, and preside gloriously over the Empire."[5]

12th month, 5th day. The Imperial Prince Ame-kuni oshi-

[1] i.e. his being recommended to the Emperor in a dream.

[2] *Sic.*

[3] A brother had died four years before, aged seventy, and another had just died, aged seventy-three. Kimmei is said to have died A.D. 571, at the age of sixty-three, or eighty-one, by another account. Evidently the chronology is not yet quite satisfactory.

[4] An allusion to the Chinese saying, "Talent will show itself: like an awl in a bag, the point comes through." *Vide* Giles, p. 1309.

[5] The Empress's speech is composed almost wholly of sentences from Chinese authors.

hiraki hiro-niha assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. Ohotomo no
XIX. 3. Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Okoshi no Ohomuraji were made Ohomuraji, and Soga no Iname no Sukune no Oho-omi was made Oho-omi, all as before.

A.D. 540. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The officials petitioned for the appointment of an Empress. The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let my proper consort, Ishihime, daughter of the Emperor Take-wo hiro-kuni oshi-tate,[1] be appointed Empress."

She bore him two sons and one daughter. The eldest was called the Imperial Prince Yata no Tama-katsu no Ohoye, the middle one was called Wosada Nunakura Futo-damashiki no Mikoto,[2] the youngest was called the Imperial Princess Kasanuhi [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Satake].

2nd month. A man of Pèkché named Kwi-chi-pu came over as an emigrant. He was settled in Yamamura, in the district of Sofu no Kami, in the province of Yamato. He was the ancestor of the present Kochifu[3] of Yamamura.

3rd month.—The Yemishi and the Hayato, both bringing their people with them, came and rendered allegiance.

Autumn, 7th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Shikishima, in the district of Shiki, in the province of Yamato. It was accordingly called the Palace of Kanazashi in Shikishima.

8th month. Koryö, Pèkché, Silla and Imna all sent envoys together to render tribute. The men of T'sin and of Han, etc., the emigrants from the various frontier nations were assembled together, settled in the provinces and districts, and enrolled
XIX. 4. in the registers of population. The men of T'sin[4] numbered

[1] Senkwa Tennō. She was therefore his niece, daughter of his half-brother by the father's side.

[2] Bindatsu Tennō.

[3] The traditional Japanese rendering of the Corean name Kwichipu.

[4] T'sin and Han are the Chinese dynasties so called. These men must have been recent emigrants from China to Corea, or their near descendants who had not yet been merged in the general population. This statement throws light on Japanese ethnology. It shows that not only the upper classes, as appears from the "Seishiroku," but the common people contained a large foreign (Chinese and Corean) element.

in all 7053 houses. The Director of the Treasury was made Hada[1] no Tomo no Miyakko.

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the shrine of Hafuritsu[2] at Naniha. He was accompanied by Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, Inamochi, Kose no Omi, and Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji. The Emperor inquired of the Ministers, saying:—"How many troops would be required to conquer Silla?" Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji and the rest addressed the Emperor, saying:—"With only a few soldiers it would not be easy to chastise Silla. Formerly, in the sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Wohodo, Pèkché sent envoys petitioning that the four districts of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Syata and Muro might be granted to him.[3] Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji readily agreed with the request contained in this petition, and granted the demand. In consequence of this, Silla has cherished resentment for many years. Its chastisement should not be lightly undertaken." Now Ohotomo no Kanamura staid in his house at Sumiyoshi,[4] and, on the pretence of illness, did not attend Court. The Emperor sent Magariko, Awomi no Ohotoshi, courteously to make kind inquiries. The Ohomuraji humbly thanked the Emperor, and said:—"That which ails me is nought else than this. The Ministers now say that it was I who lost Imna. Therefore I was afraid, and did not come to Court." So he made a present to the messenger of a saddle-horse, and showed him great friendliness and honour. Awomi no Ohotoshi made a faithful report to the Emperor, who commanded, saying:—"Thou hast long shown the utmost fidelity: be not moved by what people may say." He acquitted him of all guilt, and showed him increasing favour.

This year was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor took to him five concubines. The senior concubine was the Imperial Princess Kurawakaya hime, younger sister of the Empress. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Iso no kami. The next was also a younger sister of the Empress, named the Imperial Princess Hikage. A.D. 541. XIX. 5.

[1] T'sin is called Hada in Japanese.

[2] Hafuri means a Shinto priest, tsu is probably the genitive particle.

[3] See above, p. 7.

[4] Or Suminoye, near Sakai.

The statement made here that she was the Empress's younger sister is clear. This is the daughter of the Emperor Hinokuma no Takada.[1] And yet in enumerating the consorts the name of her consort-mother and the name of the Imperial Princess do not appear. I do not know what writing it is taken from. Some future inquirer may discover.[2]

She bore to the Emperor the Imperial Prince Kura. The next was the daughter of Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune. Her name was Kitashi hime. She had seven sons and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Ohoye. He became Tachibana no Toyohi no Mikoto.[3] The second was called the Imperial Princess Ihane. [Also called the Imperial Princess Ime.] At first she was priestess to the great Deity of Ise, but was afterwards dismissed, being convicted of an intrigue with the Imperial Prince Mubaragi.[4] The third was called the Imperial Prince Atori. The fourth was called Toyomike Kashikiya no Mikoto.[5] The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Mariko. The sixth was called the Imperial Princess Ohoyake. The seventh was called the Imperial Prince Iso no Kami-be. The eighth was called the Imperial Prince Yamashiro. The ninth was called the Imperial Princess Ohotomo. The tenth was called the Imperial Prince Sakurawi. The eleventh was called the Imperial Princess Katano. The twelfth
XIX. 6. was called the Young Imperial Prince Tachibana ga moto. The thirteenth was called the Imperial Princess Toneri. The next (concubine) was a younger sister of Kitashi hime by the same mother, named Wonane-gimi. She bore four sons and one daughter. The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Prince Katsuraki. The third was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe

[1] Senkwa Tennō.

[2] These genealogies present much that is obscure and contradictory. The "Kojiki" varies. One thing, however, is clear, that the Emperors at this time married their own half-sisters and other near relations.

[3] Yōmei Tennō.

[4] Or Ibaragi, or Uberagi. He was her half-brother by the father's side, and cousin by the mother's side.

[5] Suiko Tennō.

Anahobe. [Otherwise called the Imperial Prince Amatsuka no ko: one writing has, "otherwise called the Imperial Prince Sumuto."] The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe.

One writing has:—"The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The third was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe Anahobe, otherwise called the Imperial Prince Sumuto. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Katsuraki. The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe." One writing says:—"The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Prince Sumuto. The third was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe Anahobe, also called the Imperial Prince Amatsuka no ko. The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe." In the original record of the Emperors there are many old XIX. 7. characters, which underwent frequent alterations in the hands of the compilers. Later men, in learning to read them, modified them to suit the meaning, and, owing to their being handed down by repeated copying, errors eventually arose, by which the order was disturbed, and elder and younger mistaken for one another. We have now investigated old and new, and restored the truth. In cases where it was difficult to ascertain it, we have selected and followed one (MS. ?) and noted down carefully the variants. All other (passages) follow the same rule.[1]

The next (consort) was the daughter of Kasuga no Hifuri no Omi, by name Nukako. She bore the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada, and the Imperial Prince Tachibana no Maro.

[1] It is difficult to say anything of the authorship of this note. It is clearly not from the pen of the compiler of the "Nihongi." The word I have rendered "modified" is engrave (or carve)—alter (刊 改), which looks rather as if block-printing were referred to. This would bring the writer down to the thirteenth century or thereabouts. The "original record of the Emperors" is very like the title of one of the parts of Shōtoku Daishi's "Kiujiki." See below, XXII. 32. The Japanese commentators give no help here.

Summer, 4th month. The second Kanki[1] of Ara named I-thăn-hyé, and the Té-pu-son Ku-chhyu-yu-ri, the Syang-syu-wi[2] of Kara named Kachyön-hyé, the Kanki of Cholma named San-pan-hyé, the Kanki's son, the junior Kanki of Tara named I-tha, Ko-tha son of the Kanki of Să-i-ki—these Kanki, together with Kibi no Omi, the (Japanese) Commissioner for Imna, proceeded to Pèkché, and together heard the Imperial edict read. Syöng-myöng,[3] King of Pèkché, addressing the Kanki of Imna and the others, said :—

"The Emperor of Japan decrees that Imna shall be wholly
XIX. 8. re-established. Now by what means is this to be done? Why should not each of you with the deepest loyalty develop the sage purpose?"[4]

The Kanki of Imna and the others answered and said:—"Already two or three times proposals have been made to Silla, but no answer has been received. Let the present intention be again communicated to Silla, and if there is still no reply, it will now be well that all of us should send envoys to go and lay the matter before the Emperor. It will then depend on the Great King's will whether Imna is to be established or not. We shall humbly receive his instructions. Who shall dare to offer a word of objection? Now the territory of Imna

[1] The Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters would be Hanki, but here and below Kanki is no doubt the correct word.

[2] Syang-syu-wi means "highest rank."

[3] The "Tongkam" calls him Syöng. It has only a few words under this year, and nothing is said of the events here related.

[4] Notwithstanding the respectful terms in which the King of Pèkché speaks of the Emperor of Japan, it would be a mistake to suppose that their relations were those of suzerainty. The King of Pèkché made war without consulting Japan, and several times during this century received investiture from the reigning Chinese Dynasty, as in 528 and 570. Possibly the Japanese historians may have garbled the documents before them so as to make them read more respectful to the Mikado. But for the period we have now come to it is not necessary to take this view. The kinglets of Corea very likely were not sparing of complimentary phrases which cost them nothing. A Chinese author mentions the fact that at this period the Coreans styled Japan 大國, or the Great Country.

I am inclined to think that the word Japan in this passage has been introduced retrospectively. If this had been the official designation of the country at this time, it would in all probability have been used in the letter addressed to the Emperor of China in Suiko's reign.

is conterminous with Silla, and it is to be feared that this will prove disastrous to Chhak-syun, etc.

By etc. is meant Tök-kwi-than and Kara. The reference is to the disaster of the conquest of Chhak-syun and the other provinces.

King Syöng-myöng said:—"In former times, during the reigns of my ancestors, King Sok-ko [1] and King Kwi-syu,[2] the Kanki of Ara, Kara, and Chhak-syun first sent envoys and entered into communication. We became knitted together by a cordial friendship, and they were treated as children or younger brothers. It was my hope that they should flourish continuously. But now they have been deceived by Silla and have caused the Emperor to be wroth, and Imna to be angry. This is the fault of me, the incompetent one, for which I am profoundly sorry. I therefore sent Maro,[3] the Ha-pu Chung-cha-phyöng, and Mèno, the Syöng-pang Kap-syo, to Kara to meet the Imna authorities, and, having sworn together, thereafter earnestly and perseveringly to concert measures for the establishment of Imna, without forgetfulness either morning or evening. Now the terms of the Emperor's commands are—'Let Imna be at once established.' I therefore wish to consult XIX. 9.
with you as to the means of setting up Imna and the other provinces. Let this matter be well weighed by you. Moreover I shall send for Silla to the Imna frontier, and ask whether he means to obey or not. Upon receiving his answer we can send envoys together to report to the Emperor and humbly receive his instructions. If, however, before the return of the envoys, Silla watches an opportunity and invades Imna, I will go to its assistance, so that there is no need for anxiety. Let us, however, make good preparation to defend ourselves; let us be watchful and not forgetful. As to what you specially tell me, viz. that you fear disaster for Chhak-syun, etc., it is not (merely) the aggressiveness of Silla which has made this possible. Tök-kwi-than lies on the border between Kara and Silla, and for several successive years has been harassed

[1] Probably King Syoko. [2] Kusyu.

[3] From this it would appear that Maro is a Corean name as well as Japanese. It also occurs in Keidai Tennō's reign. Ha-pu means "lower division." Chung-cha-phyöng is the name of a high office in Corea.

and defeated. Imna has not been able to render it assistance, and it has therefore suffered ruin. South Kara, being a very small place, was unable promptly to make defence, and knew not whom to rely upon. Therefore it has come to ruin. As to Chhak-syun, the upper and lower classes practise double-dealing so much so as to wish voluntarily to join Silla and to hold secret communication with that object. Therefore it has come to ruin. Viewed in this light, the downfall of these three provinces had very sufficient causes.

Formerly Silla asked help from Koryö, and with its assistance invaded Imna and Pèkché, but to this day without conquering them. How then could Silla alone destroy Imna? If you and
XIX. 10. I, the incompetent one, now join our powers, and with united hearts place our inward trust in the Emperor, Imna will assuredly be established."

Each received presents according to his station, and they took their way homewards joyfully.

Autumn, 7th month. Pèkché, hearing that the (Japanese) authorities of Ara were intriguing with Silla, sent Pirimakko, Nasol of the Senior division, the Nasol Syön-mun, the Nasol of the middle division, Mok-hiöp Mè-syun, and Ki no Omi,

The Nasol Ki no Omi was probably the son of Ki no Omi by a marriage with a Corean woman, who therefore remained in the country and was made Nasol by Pèkché. It is not clear who his father was. Other cases all follow this rule.

the Nasol Mimasya, on a mission to Ara, to summon to them the agents of Silla and Imna, and to concert measures for the establishment of Imna. He separately reproved Kahachi no Atahe, the chief Japanese authority of Ara, roundly for intriguing with Silla.

The Pèkché "Original Record" has Kapuchipi Atahe Akyöninasăcharomato. This is not clear.

Addressing Imna, he said:—"In past times, my ancestors, Kings Sokko and Kwisyu,[1] were first joined in amity with the former Kanki. They became as it were brethren. I therefore look upon you as my children or younger brothers, and you regard me as a father or elder brother. Together we serve the

[1] See above, p. 43.

Emperor, and unitedly repel hostile violence, procuring up till now the peace of the country and the integrity of the State. When I think of the friendly language of my ancestors and the former Kanki, it seems to me like the shining sun. From that XIX. 11. time to this, I have sedulously maintained friendship with my neighbours and have always dealt honestly with the allied countries. My affection for them passes that of flesh and bones.[1] It was the constant prayer of me, the inept one, that such a fair beginning might have a fitting end. I cannot understand why people should lightly give credit to vague rumours and for a space of several years should have impulsively abandoned their purpose. It may be said of such, in the words of the men of old, that 'they repent when it is too late.' But if, as regards the present, they swear to the gods as far as the cloud-spaces above, and down to the region within the springs[2] below, and amend their faults so as to accord with the past, revealing all that they do without the least reserve, so that their loyalty penetrates to the spirits, and if they take themselves severely to task, this may again be accepted. We are told that of those who stand in the position of successors, honour is to him who keeps well in the rut made by his predecessors, and makes the hall and roof to prosper, thereby accomplishing a meritorious service.[3] I therefore wish to go back and reverence the kindly feeling of the friendship of former ages, and, in respectful obedience to the terms of the Emperor's decree, rescue from Silla the provinces torn off by it, viz. South Kara, Tök-kwi-than, etc., and restoring them to their original connection and making them transfer to Imna their substance, XIX. 12. strive to play the part to them of father or elder brother, constantly doing homage to Japan. It is this which deprives my food of flavour, and robs me of peaceful slumber, my mind being full of anxious thought while I regret the past and practise self-discipline for the present.

Now all the world knows Silla's blandishing words and subtle deceptions. You, out of an indiscriminating confidence

[1] i.e. I love them more than a brother.

[2] i.e. the yellow springs, or Hades.

[3] "When a deceased father, wishing to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof!"—Legge's "Shooking," p. 371.

in them, have already fallen a prey to the designs of others. At the present moment, where the frontier of Imna borders on Silla, let there be permanent defensive preparations. How can your watchfulness be relaxed? Here it is to be feared lest you, having fallen into and become entangled in the nets and pitfalls of slanderous deceit, should ruin your country and overturn your State, becoming yourselves the captives of others. When I, the incompetent one, reflect on this, I am full of anxious thought, and can find no rest.

It has come to my ears that during the meetings at which Silla and Imna concerted their plans, there were manifested portents of trees and serpents. This is notorious to everybody. Now (ill) luck sent by the Powers of Evil[1] is for the sake of making people correct their conduct; natural catastrophes[1] are given for men's instruction. It is just in this way that Bright Heaven communicates to us as a lesson tokens of the former spirits. When misfortune has reached a climax, one may have remorse; when ruin has come, one may think of establishing himself again, but what avails it?

If you will now be guided by me and give obedience to the Emperor's command, Imna may be restored. Why should you apprehend ill-success? If you desire to hold permanently your original territory, and long to rule over your old subjects, here lies the means of doing so. Should you not be watchful?"

XIX. 13. King Syöng-myöng further addressed the Japanese authorities of Imna, saying:—"The Emperor's decree amounts to this:—'If Imna falls, you are left without resources; if Imna is established, you will in that case have succour. You should therefore join us in setting up Imna and restoring it to its former position, so as to provide a help for yourselves and a kindly maintenance for your people.' Receive with respect the Imperial orders; let your hearts be filled with awe and dread, and make a vow to devote your earnest efforts. Thus it may be hoped that Imna may be rendered prosperous, and long serve the Emperor, as in former times. Let us first consider

[1] The Japanese interlinear version has tsuchi no wazawahi and ame no wazawahi, i.e. calamities of earth, and calamities of Heaven. There seems here a confusion between ill omens and the calamities they portend.

what is in the future, and then let us take repose. If you, the Japanese authority, in full reliance on the Imperial decree, lend aid to Imna, this will assuredly be attended by the Emperor's approval, and you personally will reap rewards.

Moreover, the high Japanese officials, having been long resident in the Land of Imna, close to the Silla frontier, are acquainted with the state of affairs in that country. They have not only for this year, but long been poisoning Imna, and devising means of defence against Japan. The reason they have not made up their minds to more active measures is that near, they are ashamed in the eyes of Pèkche, and afar, they fear the Emperor. So they beguile the Court with feigned service, and maintain a false appearance of amity with Imna.

In thus stimulating to action (you) the (Japanese) authorities of Imna, it is my desire that before they have annexed Imna, and while they still maintain a feigned appearance of submissiveness, you should now seize the opportunity of their being unprepared, and raising all your forces conquer them. The Imperial decree urging us to establish South Kara and Tök-kwi-thăn does not date merely from a few tens of years ago, and yet Silla has not once listened to this order, as is well known to you. Now, can anything be better than, in respectful faith in the Emperor, to endeavour to establish Imna? I fear, however, lest you, too readily trusting to blandishing speeches and lightly accepting false statements, may cause the ruin of the land of Imna and bring dishonour on the Emperor. Be XIX. 14.
warned against this, and do not be deceived by others."

3rd year,[1] Autumn, 7th month. Pèkché sent Ki no Omi A.D. 542.
Nasol Mimasa and Kwi-nyön, Nasol of the middle division to come and report to the Emperor on the administration of Imna in Lower Kara,[2] and to present at the same time a memorial.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Ki no Omi, Nasol Mimasa[3] A.D. 543.
of Pekché and the rest took their departure.

Autumn, 9th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché sent

[1] "Third year" is not in the original. The "Shūkai" inserts it, no doubt rightly.

[2] 下韓. The interlinear Kana has Arushi Kara Kuni. Arushi is meant for the Corean word arē, "below,"

[3] Ki no Omi was a Japanese with a Corean title. See above, p. 44.

Chin-mu Kwi-mun, Nasol of the Former Division, the Hotök Kwi-chu Kwi-nu and Makamu, Sitök of the Mononobe, with a present of Punam[1] products and two slaves.

Winter, 11th month, 8th day. Tsumori no Muraji was sent to Pèkché with a message from the Emperor to the following effect:—"Let the Pèkché prefects and governors of castles resident in that part of Lower Kara which belongs to Imna be joined to the Japanese jurisdiction." He also bore an Imperial decree, which commanded as follows:—

"For more than ten years past you have presented memorials saying that Imna should be established. But notwithstanding these representations the matter still remains unaccomplished. Now Imna is the roof-tree of your country. If the roof-tree is broken, who shall erect a house with it? Our reflections rest
XIX. 15. in this. You ought speedily to establish Imna. If you establish Imna speedily, it is necessary to say that Kahachi no Atahe[2] and his followers will of their own accord retire."

On this day King Syöng-myöng, having heard the Imperial decree, asked the opinion in succession of his three Chief Ministers, his Treasurer, and his high officials, saying:—"The Imperial edict runs so: What is now to be done?" The three Chief Ministers and the rest answered and said:—"Our prefects and governors of castles in Lower Kara should not leave our jurisdiction. As to establishing the country (of Imna), the Imperial decree should be at once complied with."

12th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché again published the former Imperial decree to all his officials, saying:—"The Emperor's decree is to this effect. Now what is next to be done?" The senior Minister Sa-chhèk-kwi-nu, the middle Minister Mok-hyöp-ma-na, the junior Minister Mok-yun-kwi, the Tök-sol Pi-ri-mak-ko, the Tök-sol Tong-syöng-to-thyön, the Tök-sol Mok-hyöp-mè-syun, the Tök-sol Kuk-syu-ta and the Na-sol Yön-pi-chyön-na counselled alike, saying:—"Thy servants are by nature stupid, and have no good scheme at all to propose. It is best to carry out the Imperial instructions for the establishment of Imna. Thou shouldst now summon the

[1] Described as Namban, or southern barbarians, i.e. the Malay Archipelago.

[2] See above, XIX. 10. He was the Japanese authority of Ara who was intriguing with Silla.

agents of Imna and the Kanki of the various provinces, and concert along with them a common policy, which should be laid before the Emperor in proof of thy good intentions. Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato are still resident in Ara-Imna, and (while this is so) it is to be feared that it will be hard to establish it. Add therefore a further memorial, praying that they may be removed to their original place."

King Syŏng-myŏng said:—"Your advice, my Ministers, is thoroughly in accordance with my feelings."

Accordingly, in this month he sent the Si-tök, Ko-pun to summon the Agent of Imna and the Agent of the Japanese authority. They both answered and said:—"When New Year's Day has passed, we will go and hear (what the King of Pèkché has to say)." XIX. 16.

5th year, Spring, 1st month. The Land of Pèkché sent messengers to summon the Agents of Imna and of the Japanese authorities. They both answered and said:—"The season has come for worshipping the Gods: when the festival is over we will go." A.D. 544.

This month Pèkché sent messengers a second time to summon the Agents of Imna and of the Japanese authorities. Neither the Japanese authorities nor Imna sent their Agents, but sent mean persons, so that Pèkché was unable to concert with them measures for the establishment of Imna.

2nd month. Pèkché sent the Si-tök, Ma-mu, the Si-tök Ko-pun-ok and the Si-tök, Să-na-no-chhă-chyu to Imna with the following message to the Japanese authorities and the Kanki of Imna:—"I sent Ki no Omi, the Nasol, Mi-ma-sa,[1] the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and Mononobe no Muraji, the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta, to have an audience of the Emperor. Mi-ma-sa and his colleagues returned from Japan with a decree which declared as follows:—'Do ye, in concert with the Japanese authorities residing there, speedily prepare a good plan such as may meet our wishes. See that you are vigilant, and be not imposed upon by the wiles of others.'

Moreover Tsumori no [the 'Original Pèkché Record' has 'Tsumori no Muraji Kwi-ma-nu-kwé.' There is here a corruption, and the name cannot be made clear] Muraji,

[1] Ki no Omi *was* the Nasol Mimasa.

when he returned from Japan, communicated an Imperial message, and inquired respecting the administration of Imna. I therefore desired, in concert with the Japanese authorities and the Imna Agents, to come to a decision regarding the government of Imna, which I might report to the Emperor. I sent for them three times, but until now they have not arrived. For this reason I have been unable to discuss with you a plan for the government of Imna, and make my report to the Emperor. It is now my intention to invite Tsumori no Muraji to remain, and by another quick messenger to send the Emperor a full report of the condition of affairs. This messenger will be despatched to Japan on the
XIX. 17. 10th of the 3rd month. On his arrival the Emperor will undoubtedly ask questions about you. I would therefore recommend you, the chief Japanese authority and the Kanki of Imna, each to despatch messengers in company with my messenger to go and receive such commands as the Emperor may give."

Pèkché separately addressed Kahachi no Atahe [the "Original Pèkché Record" has Kahachi no Atahe Inasămato. There is here a corruption, and the correct name is unclear], saying:—"From former times until now I have heard of nothing but thy misdeeds. Thy ancestors [the 'Original Pèkché Record' has, 'Thy predecessor Na-han-tha-kap-pè-ka-nap-chik-kï-kap-pè, otherwise called Na-ka-tha-kap-pè-eung-ka-ki-mi.'[1] This is a corruption and not clear] have all fostered wicked lies, and, led away by Wi-ka-ka Kimi, have placed implicit faith in his statements. [The Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Wi-ka Kimi's personal name was Yupiki.'] Without sorrow for thy country's disasters or regard for my wishes they recklessly indulged in violence and oppression. Expelled on this account, thou and thy people came to reside in Imna, where thou hast constantly preached evil. The daily increasing ruin of Imna is due to thee. Although but an insignificant person, thou art like the small fire which burns up the hills and moors, and extends to the villages and hamlets. Owing to thy evil deeds, ruin is impending over Imna, with the result that eventually the Miyake of the various provinces

[1] Kimi is probably the Japanese word for "lord."

west of the sea will become unable permanently to render service to the Emperor. I am now sending an address to the Emperor praying that he may remove thee and thy people, and send thee back to thy former place. Thou also wilt go and hear (the Emperor's decision)."

Further, addressing the chief Japanese authority of Imna and the Kanki of Imna, he said:—"In regard to the matter of establishing Imna, how could any one do so without borrowing the Emperor's power? It was therefore my intention to apply to the Emperor and request of him an army with which to succour the Land of Imna. The provisions for this army would be supplied by me. Whilst the number of the troops was still undecided, it was naturally impossible to make any fixed arrangements for the transport of provisions. It was therefore my request that we should meet and consider together what was best to be done, and having selected the most advantageous course, to report to the Emperor accordingly. Therefore I sent repeated summonses to you, but since you steadily refused to come, it was impossible to advise with you." XIX. 18.

The chief Japanese authority answered and said:—"The reason why the Imna Agent did not go in compliance with thy summons was because I would not allow him to do so. When I sent a report to the Emperor, the return messenger brought the following instructions from His Majesty:—'We are about to send Ika no Omi [corrupt—not clear] to Silla and Tsumori no Muraji to Pèkché. Do thou await the Imperial message which they will bring, and meanwhile refrain from taking the trouble of going to Silla or Pèkché.' Such were the Imperial instructions. When I heard of Ika no Omi's embassy to Silla, I sent after him to inquire the Emperor's message. He said, 'Let the Japanese Omi and the Agent of Imna proceed to Silla, and apply to Silla to receive communication of the Emperor's orders.' Nothing was said about going to Pèkché to learn his commands. Afterwards Tsumori no Muraji eventually arrived, and when passing through this place, mentioned this subject, and said, 'My present mission to Pèkché is for the purpose of getting rid of the Pèkché prefects and governors of castles resident in Lower Kara. I have only heard of this question, and know nothing of any instructions to Imna and the

Japanese authorities to meet Pèkché, in order to hear the Emperor's commands.' This is why we have not gone, and Imna is not responsible."

Hereupon the Kanki of Imna said:—"In accordance with the summons of thy messenger, it was our desire to proceed (to Pèkché). But the chief Japanese authority would not allow us to be despatched, and that was why we did not do so. As for the instructions which the Great King, prompted by his feelings, has addressed to us, with the object of establishing Imna, it is impossible for us adequately to express our joy at seeing them."

3rd month. Pèkché sent the Nasol, A-mang-teung-mun, Kama, the Nasol of Hö-syé,[1] and Kapi, the Nasol of Mononobe, to present a memorial to the Emperor, as follows:—

"The Nasol, Mi-ma-sa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and their colleagues came to thy servant's frontier state bearing an Imperial decree, which said:—'You should concert a good plan along with the Japanese authorities resident there, and speedily establish Imna. Be on your guard, and do not allow yourselves to be deceived by others.' Moreover Tsumori no Muraji and his colleagues came to thy servant's frontier state, bearing an Imperial message in which inquiry was made as to the estab-
XIX. 19. lishment of Imna. I received the Imperial command with reverence, and without presuming to delay, desired to concert measures along with them. I therefore sent messengers to summon the Japanese authorities [the Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Sent to summon Wi-ho-phi no Omi.' This is, perhaps, Iku-ba no Omi] and Imna. They all answered and said:—'The new year has come. Please let it pass, and then we will go.' A long time elapsed, and yet they did not arrive. I again sent messengers to summon them. They all answered and said:—'The festival time has come. Please let it pass, and then we will go.' A long time elapsed, and yet they did not arrive. I again sent messengers to summon them. But inasmuch as they sent mean men, it was impossible to concert plans. Now Imna's failure to come in answer to my summons was not

[1] This may be Japanese, in which case Kose is the pronunciation. Mononobe is Japanese. The frequency with which Japanese names occur in the names of Pèkché officials is significant of the influence exercised by Japan in the peninsula at this period.

their own idea, it was the work of the unprincipled sycophancy of Ahyön-Ya-na-sa and Cha-ro-ma-to [two men's names: they have already occurred above [1]]. Now Imna treats Ara as an elder brother, and simply follows its wishes, while the people of Ara regard the Japanese authority as Heaven, and are implicitly guided by its wishes. [The Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Treats Ara as a father, and regards the Japanese authority as the origin.] Now Ikuba no Omi, Kibi no Omi, and Kahachi no Atahe are all simply at the beck and nod of Yanasa and Mato. Yanasa and Mato are only mean persons of no family, yet they exercise absolute authority over the Japanese administration. Moreover they restrain Imna and prevent it from sending envoys. For these reasons I was unable to concert measures with them and make answer to Your Majesty. I therefore detained Kwi-ma-nu-ki [probably Tsumori no Muraji] and sent another messenger, swift as a flying bird, with this report to Your Majesty. But if you allowed those two men [Yanasa and Mato] to remain in Ara, they would carry on their manifold intrigues, making it impossible for Imna to be established, and assuredly preventing the states west of the sea from doing their service. It was my humble petition that these two men might be removed and sent home, and that you should take measures for the establishment of Imna by instructions to the Japanese authorities and to Imna. Therefore thy servants sent the Nasol, Mimasa and the Nasol, Kwinyön along with XIX. 20.
Kwi-ma-nu-ki to present this memorial and to hear Your Majesty's answer. Hereupon Your Majesty gave command, saying:—'It was not by our wishes that Ikuba no Omi and the others [by the others are meant Kibi, Otokimi no Omi and Kahachi no Atahe] went to Silla. Formerly, when In-chi-mi [not clear] and the Kanki of Aro were in office, that country was harassed by Silla, and the people were unable to attend to their husbandry. Pèkché is so far distant that it was unable to help them in their need. Ikuba no Omi and the others therefore went to Silla, and just obtained leave for them to plough and sow. Is it necessary to repeat what We have already told thee, viz., that if Imna is established, Yanasa and Mato will withdraw of their own accord.'

[1] See above, p. 54. They are intended for Japanese names, but I do not recognize them.

I received Your Majesty's Commands with humility. Joy and dread mingled in my bosom. Silla, however, was deceiving the Imperial Court, and knew how to set at naught the Imperial Commands. In spring, Silla seized Chhăk-syun, and having expelled my guards of Mount Kunyé, at length kept possession of it. The part bordering on Ara was cultivated by Ara; the part bordering on Mount Kunyé was cultivated by Silla. Each cultivated for themselves, and there was no mutual encroachment. But Yanasa and Mato passed over and cultivated the territory of others. In the sixth month they ran away to Inchimi. Afterwards, when Kose no Omi came [the Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'After I detained Inchimi, when Kose no Omi came.' All this is not clear], Silla ceased to encroach on and harass the territory of others, and there were no complaints from Ara of being unable to attend to husbandry owing to the harassments of Silla. Thy servant was formerly told that Silla, every spring and autumn, assembled troops in large
XIX. 21. numbers with the object of invading Ara and Hasan,[1] or as some say, to invade Kara. Lately I received a letter, in consequence of which I sent troops for the protection of Imna. This shows that there has been no negligence. I repeatedly despatched resolute soldiers to their help when occasion demanded, and it was owing to this that the Imna people were able to carry on their agricultural operations in due season, and that Silla did not dare to molest them. Yet it was reported to Your Majesty that Pèkché was so far distant that it was unable to help them in their need, and, therefore, Ikuba no Omi and the others went to Silla, and just obtained leave for them to plough and sow. This is deceiving the Celestial Court above, and multiplying wicked intrigues. The deception is here plain enough. There must be many other cases besides of lying in order to deceive the Celestial Court. So long as Ikuba no Omi resides in Ara I fear it will be impossible to establish the land of Imna. He ought speedily to be removed. This state of things is viewed by thy servant with profound apprehension. Cha-ro-ma-to, although the son of a Corean mother, holds the position of Ohomuraji and takes precedence among the Agents of Japan, entering the ranks of the noble and honourable. And yet he

[1] 荷山. The interlinear Kana reading is Nomure, where mure is for the Corean moi, mountain.

now wears the cap of the Silla official rank of Namanyé,[1] from which it may be readily seen that he is devoted to that country body and soul. When his conduct is maturely observed, there is no sign at all of awe or dread. Therefore I formerly reported to Your Majesty his evil deeds, setting them out fully for your information. Now he still wears a foreign dress and daily goes to the Silla borders, journeying back and forward publicly or privately without any fear whatever. The downfall of the Tök[2] country was owing to no other cause than this. Hamphi, Kanki of the Tök country, was false to the XIX 22. Land of Kara, and had a secret understanding with Silla, so that Kara fought from without. Hence its (Tök's) downfall. Now supposing that the Kanki, Hamphi had been prevented from entering into a secret understanding with Silla, the Tök country, small as it is, would certainly not have come to ruin. In regard to Chhăk-syun again, the case is the same. If the Ruler of Chhăk-syun had been prevented from holding secret understandings with Silla, and inviting aggression, would this State have come to destruction? When I consider one after another the disasters of the downfall of these various provinces, all are owing to men with secret understandings and double hearts. Now Mato and the others are on terms of great intimacy with Silla. They have at last put on their dress, and frequent Silla morning and evening, secretly preparing treason. I fear, therefore, that Imna will, on this account, come to permanent ruin. If Imna is ruined, thy servant's country stands alone and exposed to danger, and though I am desirous of continuing my allegiance, how will this be possible? It is my humble prayer that Your Majesty, in the exercise of your profound reflection and distant foresight, will promptly remove them to their former place and thus give peace to Imna."

Winter, 10th month. The Pèkché envoys, the Nasol, Teung-mun, the Nasol, Kama, and the rest took their departure.

The Pèkché "Original Record" has, "Winter, 10th month. The Nasol, Teung-mun and the Nasol, Kama returned from Japan. They said there was no Imperial

[1] Nama was a Silla official rank.

[2] The Tök country is doubtless the same as Tök-kwi-than frequently named above, e.g. XVII. 18.

reply in respect to the matter of Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato, which they had represented to the Emperor.

11th month. Pèkché sent messengers to summon the Omi of the Japanese Residency and the Agents of Imna, saying:—"The Nasol Teung-mun, Kama, the Nasol of Kose, and Kapi, the Mononobe Nasol, whom I sent on a mission to the Emperor's Court, have returned from Japan. Now let the chief Japanese authority, with the Agents of the Land of Imna, come and hear the Emperor's orders, and let us consult together respecting Imna." Accordingly, Kibi no Omi, the chief Japanese authority, the lower Kanki of Ara, the Tè-pu-son Ku-chhyu-yu-ni, the Syong-syu-wi [1] of Kara, named Ko-chyön-hyé, the Lord of Sol-ma, the Lord of Să-i-ki, the son of the Lord of San-pan-hyé, the I-syu-wi [2] of Tara, named Heul-kön-
XIX. 23. chi, the Kanki of Chă-tha, and the Kanki of Ku-chha [3] proceeded to Pèkché. Hereupon, King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché notified to them the general purport of the Emperor's decree, saying:—"I sent the Nasol, Mimasa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta to the Court of Japan, upon which the Emperor gave command that Imna was to be speedily established. Moreover, Tsumori no Muraji, by the Emperor's order, inquired what was to be done with Imna. I have, therefore, sent for you, and I beg of you each to give your advice as to the best further means of establishing Imna." Kibi no Omi and the Kanki [4] of Imna said:—"The establishment of the land of Imna rests simply with the Great King. It is our desire and hope, in obedience to Your Majesty,[5] to join in making a representation to the Emperor and hearing his instructions." To this King Syöng-myöng said:—"The land of Imna has, from of old time, bound itself to be to our Pèkché as a son or younger brother.[6] Now, Inchimi, of the Japanese Miyake [the name of the Japanese Omi resident in Imna], has already smitten [7] Silla, and is now preparing to

[1] This means Upper-head-rank, and is probably a Corean title.
[2] Second-head-rank, probably a title.
[3] Called Ko-chha below, year 23 of this reign.
[4] This term apparently includes all the personages above described.
[5] 王.
[6] This phrase is used loosely for "a dependant."
[7] The "Shukai" thinks we should read for "smitten," "conspired with."

send an expedition against me. This, again, is a result of his fondness for listening to Silla's empty boasts and vaunting language. Now the object of sending Inchimi[1] to Imna was never that it should be invaded and destroyed [not clear]. From old time until now Ṣiila has been without principle, eating its words and breaking its faith. In this way it has brought our faithful ally, the Land of Chhăk-syun, to ruin. I hope to have the satisfaction of making it repent it, and I have therefore sent for you. Let us all take to heart the Emperor's gracious message. It is my hope and desire that the Land of Imna may thus be set up and continued as in XIX. 24. former days, and that we may long be brethren. I have been informed that on the frontier between the two countries of Silla and Ara there is a great river,[2] which makes it easily defensible. I intend to take advantage of this to construct six fortresses along it, and humbly to petition the Emperor for 3000 troops—500 for each fortress. Adding to these my own soldiers, we shall make it impossible (for the Silla people) to cultivate the rice-fields. By harassing them in this way, it is to be hoped that the five fortresses of Mount Kunyé will fling down their arms and surrender of their own accord, while the Land of Chhăk-syun will be restored again. For the troops which I shall request of the Emperor, I will provide clothing and food. This is the first part of the plan which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Moreover, in respect to the stationing of prefects and governors of castles in South Kara, is it that I wish to oppose the Emperor, and cut off the channel of paying tribute? I only hope to render effective aid against manifold disaster, and to overthrow a powerful enemy. But who is there who does not contrive to attach himself to these bands of violent men? The Northern[3] enemy is great and strong, and my country is small and weak. If I did not station in South Kara prefects and governors of castles for its government and protection, it could not be defended against such a powerful foe, and it would

[1] Probably Isumi was his name. The interlinear Kana gives this rendering.

[2] The Naktong gang.

[3] Koryŏ is meant. The old reading for "northern" is "this," the Chinese characters for these two words strongly resembling each other.

also be impossible therewith to restrain Silla. I therefore propose to retain them in their stations for the harassment of Silla, and the preservation of Imna. If this be not done, I fear
XIX. 25. that I shall come to ruin and be unable to render allegiance to the Emperor. This is the second part of the scheme which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Moreover, the Emperor may decree the establishment of Imna, but so long as Kibi no Omi, Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa, and Mato continue to reside in Imna, he will be unable to do so. I shall therefore request that these four men be each sent back to their respective homes. This is the third part of the plan which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Let us all together, you the Omi of the Japanese Miyake, you the Kanki of Imna, and myself, despatch envoys with a joint message to His Majesty, praying to hear his gracious instructions."

Hereupon Kibi no Omi and the Kanki said:—"The triple scheme propounded by the Great King is entirely in accordance with our humble sentiments. We pray that we may be allowed to return and respectfully advise with the Oho-omi[1] [meaning the Oho-omi of the Japanese Administration in Imna] of the Japanese Administration, the King of Ara, the King of Kara, as to their all sending envoys with a joint message to the Emperor. This is truly an occasion such as only comes once in a thousand years. Ought it not to be profoundly considered and maturely planned?"

12th month. The following report[2] was received from the province of Koshi:—"At Cape Minabe, on the northern side of
XIX. 26. the Island of Sado, there arrived men of Su-shēn[3] in a boat, and staid there. During the spring and summer they caught fish, which they used for food. The men of that island said they were not human beings. They also called them devils, and did not dare to go near them. The people of the village of Umu, on the east of the island, having gathered acorns,[4] were

[1] The Omi was therefore only a subordinate officer.

[2] Apparently made by the provincial recorders whose appointment is noted above, p. 307 of Vol. I.

[3] "An old name for the 女 愼, Tungusic ancestors of the Manchus."—Giles. The interlinear Kana has Mishi-hase or Mishi-muse or Mishimu-mase.

[4] The fruit of the shiï, or Quercus Cuspidata.

preparing to cook them for eating, and having covered them over with ashes, were roasting them, when the shells turned into two men, which hovered over the fire at a distance of more than a foot. After a time they fought together, to the great wonder of the villagers. They took them and placed them in the courtyard, when they flew as before, and went on fighting. A certain man divined from this, saying :—' We shall assuredly be enchanted by devils.' Not long after, as he had said, they were plundered by them.[1] Thereupon the men of Su-shēn removed to Segaha Bay. The God of this bay is a dreadful God, and no one dares to approach him. Half of those who drink of that water when thirsty die, and their bones are piled up on the rocky steeps. The common people call this God Mishihase[2] no Kuma."

6th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hasuhi, Kashihade no Omi, was sent on a mission to Pèkché. A.D. 545.

Summer, 5th month. Pèkché sent the Nasol, Ki-neung,[3] the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta, and the Sitök, Chhă-chyu with a memorial to the Emperor.

Autumn, 9th month. Pèkché sent Po-ché,[4] Ho-tök of the Middle Division, and others to Imna with a present of valuable products of Wu for the Omi of the Japanese Government there, and for all the Kanki, each in proportion to his rank.

This month Pèkché made an image of Buddha sixteen feet high,[5] and drew up a written prayer, saying :—" I understand that it is extremely meritorious to make a Buddha sixteen feet high. By the merit which I have now acquired in reverentially constructing one, I pray that the Emperor may obtain exceed- XIX. 27.

[1] Apparently by the Manchus.

[2] Mishihase is the Japanese rendering of Su-shēn. Kuma means bear.

[3] Perhaps identical with the Kwi-nyön mentioned above.

[4] Written with the same characters as are used for the Sanskrit Bôdhi, wisdom.

[5] The " Shukai " quotes from a Chinese author :—" Ming Ti, an Emperor of the Later Han Dynasty, saw in a dream a man of gold of great stature with a nimbus round his head. One of his Ministers explained that there was a God in the western quarter whose name was Buddha. He was sixteen feet high and of a yellow golden colour. Upon this the Emperor sent to India to make inquiries respecting the Buddhist doctrine, which resulted in paintings (of Buddha) being made in China." Numerous other cases are found of Buddhas of this height.

ing virtue, and that all the land of the Miyake[1] belonging to the Emperor may receive blessings. I also pray for the moral enfranchisement[2] of all living creatures under Heaven. Therefore I have made this image."

Winter, 11th month. Hasuhi, Kashihade no Omi, returned from Pèkché, and said:—"Thy servant, when sent on his mission, departed with all his family, and arrived at the shore [shore means the seashore] of Pèkché. The sun went down and we took lodging for the night. One of my children suddenly disappeared, and we could not tell where he had gone to. That night there was a great fall of snow, and we could not search for him until morning. Then we found the footprints of a tiger in a row one after another. Thy servant accordingly, having girded on his sword and put on his armour, went out in search. Coming to a cliff, he drew his sword, and said:—'I, having respectfully taken charge of the silken threads and
XIX. 28. cords,[3] with weary toil by land and sea, my hair combed by the wind, my bath the rain, with the grass for my mat and thorns for my carpet, came hither, all because I loved my child, and wished to make him succeed to his father's office. Thou (too), O Dread Deity! hast parental love as one feature of thy character. Now to-night my child disappeared. Following up his traces, I sought for him as far as this place, and without fear of losing my life I intend to have my revenge. For this I have come. Upon this that tiger advanced before me and opened his mouth in order to devour me. But I, Hasuhi, swiftly stretched out my left hand and seized that tiger by the tongue, while with my right I stabbed it to death. Then I stripped off its skin and returned with it.'"

This year Koryö was greatly troubled by civil disturbances, and large numbers of people suffered execution.

The "Pèkché Original Record" says:—"12th month, 20th day. The Syé faction and the Chhu faction of the Land of Koryö fought at the King's Court with beat of drum. The Syé party were beaten, but did not disband their troops. On the third day, all the Syé party's children and grandchildren were taken and put to death.

[1] i.e. the Japanese territory in Corea.

[2] Vimokcha. See Eitel's "Handbook of Buddhism," 2nd edition, p. 201.

[3] i.e. the Emperor's missive.

On the 24th, King Hyang-kang, of the land of Koma,[1] died."

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The envoys from Pèkché, Kwi-nyön, Nasol of the Middle Division, and his companions took their departure. They received a present of seventy-four good[2] horses and ten ships. A.D. 546.

Summer, 6th month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Nyang-Yöp-nyé, Nasol of the Middle Division, and others, to present tribute.

Autumn, 7th month. A report was received from the district of Imaki in the province of Yamato, saying:—"In the spring of the 5th year (of the reign), Miya [this is a personal name], Kahara Tami no Atahe, went up to an upper story to view the prospect. He saw a good horse, bred from the mares which carry the food for the Emperor's table sent by the fishermen of the Land of Kiï. When it saw a shadow it neighed loudly: it nimbly sprang over its mother's back. He approached and bought it. He kept it for several years. When it grew up, its action was like that of the startled wild goose or the soaring dragon. It differed from the flock and excelled the crowd. It was obedient to control, and its paces were in due proportion.[3] It leaped over the ravine at the Hill of Ohochi, which is eighteen rods[4] in width. Miya, Kahara Tami no Atahe, is a man of the village of Hinokuma." XIX. 29.

This year Koryö was greatly disturbed: more than 2000 people were killed in battle.

The "Pèkché Original Record" has:—"Koryö on the 3rd day of the 1st month established as king the son of the second queen. He was eight years of age. The King of Koma[5] had three wives. The true queen had no children, and the heir to the throne was the son of the second consort, whose father's family was of the Chhu faction. The junior wife had also a child. Her father's family was of the Syé faction. When the King of Koma

[1] Written 狗. Koryö is meant. A king of Koryö named Anwön died in this year, according to the "Tongkam." The interlinear Kana has "Nuta," which I can make nothing of.

[2] i.e. broken in.

[3] i.e. it had a good mouth and easy paces

[4] The rod is usually of ten feet.

[5] The Chinese character is 狗, as before. See above.

took ill, the Syé faction and the Chhu faction each tried to set up the son of the respective consorts. The result was that of the Syé faction more than two thousand men were slain."

A.D. 547. 8th year, Spring, 4th month. Pèkché sent Chin-mo-syön-mun, Tök-sol of the Former Division, the Nasol, Kama and others to ask for auxiliaries, and offered (as hostage) Wön, son of Tong-syöng, (Nasol?) of the Lower Division, exchanging him for the Tök-sol, Mun-hyu-ma-na.

A.D. 548. XIX. 30. 9th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Pèkché ambassador, Chin-mo-syön-mun, Tök-sol of the Former Division, and his colleagues, asked leave to depart. Accordingly an Imperial command was given, saying:—"In regard to the auxiliaries asked for by you, help will be assuredly sent you. Hasten to carry back this answer to your king."

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Pèkché sent the Han-sol of the Middle Division, Nyang Yöp-nyé and others with a message to the Emperor, saying:—"The Tök-sol, Syön-mun and his colleagues have arrived at thy servant's frontier state with an Imperial message, informing me that the auxiliary force which I asked for would be sent when occasion demanded. I have humbly received this gracious pronouncement, and my joy is unbounded. Now, a prisoner taken in the expedition of the Castle of Ma-chin [1st month, 3rd day. Koryö led an army and laid siege to the Castle of Ma-chin] [1] has reported thus:—'It was on the invitation and at the instigation of the Land of Ara and of the Japanese authorities (in Corea) that this expedition against Pèkché was undertaken.' Judging from the facts, this appears likely. I wished, however, to examine thoroughly this statement, and three times sent to summon them. But neither of them came, and I am therefore profoundly anxious. I humbly pray the August Emperor [the western frontier states all style the Emperor of Japan the August (lit. to be feared) Emperor] first to consider this, and for the time being to

[1] The "Tongkam" mentions an invasion of Pèkché by Koryö in this year. Koryō was driven back with great loss by the help of an auxiliary force from Silla. The last statement sounds rather strange in view of the relations of Pèkché and Silla described in the above pages.

delay the auxiliaries[1] which I asked for until thy servant sends an answer."

The Emperor's command was as follows:—"We have listened attentively to thy representation. When we consider what thou dost complain of, we, too, are vexed that the Japanese authorities and Ara should not have come to the assistance of a neighbour in his difficulty. But it is incredible that they should have gone so far as to send a secret message to Koryö. If we had ordered it so, of course they would have sent one, but in the absence of any order from us, how could they find it possible to do so? I beg that the king, loosing his collar and slackening his girdle, will possess his soul in peace and avoid profound suspicions and fears. In accordance with our former instructions, let him join forces with Imna, and let them together each defend the territory which they hold in fee against the northern enemy.[2] XIX. 31.

We are about to send a number of men to re-people the territory of Ara, left vacant by the fugitives."

6th month, 3rd day. An envoy was sent to Pèkché with an Imperial message, saying:—"What is the news since the Tök-sol, Syön-mun took his departure? We are informed that thy country has suffered from the Koma brigands. It would be well earnestly to take measures in concert with Imna, and defend yourselves as heretofore."

Intercalary 7th month. 12th day. Nyang-Yöp-nyé, the Pèkché envoy, and his colleagues took their departure.

Winter, 10th month, Three hundred and seventy men were sent to Pèkché to assist in constructing a fortress[3] at Tök-i-sin.

10th year, 6th month, 7th day. The Syang-tok, Mun-kwi and the Ko-tök, Ma-chha-mun asked permission to take their departure. Accordingly the Emperor commanded, saying:—"We are about to send to inquire into the truth of the statement that Yanasa and Mato have been privately sending emissaries to Koryö. The army asked for will be countermanded as requested." A.D. 549.

[1] If, as the "Tongkam" states, an invasion of Pèkché by Koryö had been repulsed by the help of Silla auxiliaries, there was a still better reason why Pèkché should no longer require a Japanese force for operations against Silla.

[2] Koryö.

[3] Or fortresses.

A.D. 550. 11th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. An envoy was sent with an Imperial message to Pèkché [the "Pèkché Original Record" says:—"3rd month, 12th day. The Japanese Ambassador Apita, with three ships, arrived at the capital"], saying:—"With regard to the purport of the memorial presented by the Syang-tök, Mun-kwi and the Ko-tök, Ma-chha-mun, We have given instructions on each point, so that it is as plain as looking at something on the palm of one's hand. It is Our desire that you should take them thoroughly to heart, and we hope, moreover, that you will give them your whole attention, so that after the envoy's return all may be with you the same as usual. It is Our present wish merely to make plain Our answer, and therefore We send a messenger to you.

XIX. 32. Moreover, We are informed that you have a trusty Minister, the Nasol, Ma-mu, who serves as a channel of communication between you and your people, and who, being a man after Your Majesty's heart, acts as your assistant. If you wish that your State should be undisturbed, that it should permanently occupy the position of a Miyake, and long continue to serve the Emperor, all that is necessary is that Ma-mu be appointed your chief Envoy to Our Court."

The Emperor made a further decree, saying:—"We are informed that your enemies of the North commit outrages, and we therefore send you thirty sets[1] of arrows, which we hope will serve for the defence of one place."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Japanese representative[2] resident in Pèkché being on the point of leaving [the "Pèkché Original Record" says:—"4th month, 1st day. The Japanese Apita went away"], King Syöng-myöng, of Pèkché, addressed him, saying:—"As to the matter of Imna, it shall be vigorously defended, in accordance with the Imperial instructions; as to Yanasa and Mato, whether they are to be called to an account or not, I shall simply obey the Imperial orders." He accordingly sent a present of six Koryö slaves for the Emperor, and to his representative he gave a separate gift of one slave. [All these were slaves captured at the siege of Irim.]

16th day. Pèkché sent Phi-ku-keun, Nasol of the Middle

[1] According to the "Yengishiki" a set of arrows was sometimes ten, sometimes fifty.

[2] 王 人, i.e. royal man.

Division, and Chyak-kan-na, Si-tök of the Lower Division, with a present for the Emperor of ten Koma captives.

12th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor gave the king of Pèkché a present of 1000 bushels of seed-wheat. A.D. 551.

This year, King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché, commanding an army in person, together with troops from the two countries, [by the two countries Silla and Imna are meant], invaded Koryö, and conquered the territory of Hansyöng.[1] Thence he again moved forward his army and attacked Phyöng-yang.[2] Six districts in all were eventually restored to their former territorial dependence. XIX. 33.

13th year, Summer, 4th month. The Imperial Prince, Yata no Tama-katsu no Ohoye, died. A.D. 552.

5th month, 8th day. Pèkché, Kara, and Ara sent the Tök-sol of the Middle Division, Mok-hyöp-keum-ton, and Asăpita, of the Kahachi Be,[3] to make representation to the Emperor, saying:—"Koryö and Silla, having established friendly relations and joined their powers, design to overthrow thy servants' countries, together with Imna. Therefore we humbly request an auxiliary force, so that we may first attack them unawares. The number of the troops is left to the Emperor's decision."

The Emperor commanded, saying:—"We have now heard all that the King of Pèkché, the King of Ara, the King of Kara, and the Omi of the Japanese Government[4] have conjointly by their envoys represented to Us with regard to the state of affairs. Let them continue, along with Imna, to unite their hearts and strength as heretofore, and they will be undoubtedly blessed with the protection of High Heaven, and can, moreover, place their trust in the spirits of the August Emperors."

Winter, 10th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché [also called King Syöng] sent Kwi-si of the Western Division, and the Tal-sol, Nu-ri Sa-chhi-hyé, with a present to the Emperor of an image of Shaka[5] Butsu in gold and copper,[6] several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of "Sutras."

[1] The present capital, commonly called Söul. This expedition is mentioned in the "Tongkam."

[2] Phyöng-yang was the capital of Koryö.

[3] Apparently a Japanese. The Interlinear Kana has Ashihita.

[4] In Corea.

[5] Sakyamuni.

[6] Copper with a small admixture of gold.

XIX. 34. Separately he presented a memorial in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying:—"This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chow[1] and Confucius had not attained to a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit[2] and retribution[3] without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom.[4] Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it
XIX. 35. is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han,[5] where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them.

Thy servant, therefore, Myöng,[6] King of Pèkché, has humbly despatched his retainer,[7] Nu-ri Sa-chhi, to transmit it to the Imperial Country, and to diffuse it abroad throughout the home provinces, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of Buddha: 'My law shall spread to the East.'"

This day the Emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the Envoys, saying:—"Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. We are unable, however, to decide of ourselves." Accordingly he inquired of his Ministers one after another, saying:—"The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented by the Western frontier State is of a severe dignity, such as we have never at all seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?" Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"All the Western frontier lands without exception do it worship. Shall Akitsu Yamato alone refuse to do so?" Okoshi, Mononobe no Oho-

[1] See "Mayers' Handbook," p. 21. [2] Sanskrit, Punya.—Giles.

[3] Either good or bad. Here in a good sense. [4] Bôdhi.

[5] Buddhism had been introduced into Koryö A.D. 372, from the Ch'in country in Western China. It penetrated to Pèkché in 384.—"Tongkam," Vol. IV. pp. 4-7.

[6] This is the right name.

[7] The character used means the vassal of a vassal, and implies an acknowledgment of Japan's suzerainty.

muraji, and Kamako, Nakatomi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor jointly, saying:—"Those who have ruled the Empire in this our State have always made it their care to worship in Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter the 180 Gods of Heaven and Earth, and the Gods of the Land and of Grain. If just at this time we were to worship in their stead foreign Deities, it may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our National Gods."

The Emperor said:—"Let it be given to Iname no Sukune, who has shown his willingness to take it, and, as an experiment, make him to worship it." XIX. 36

The Oho-omi knelt down and received it with joy. He enthroned it in his house at Oharida, where he diligently carried out the rites of retirement from the world, and on that score purified his house at Muku-hara and made it a Temple. After this a pestilence was rife in the Land, from which the people died prematurely. As time went on it became worse and worse, and there was no remedy. Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, and Kamako, Nakatomi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor jointly, saying:—"It was because thy servants' advice on a former day was not approved that the people are dying thus of disease. If thou dost now retrace thy steps before matters have gone too far, joy will surely be the result! It will be well promptly to fling it away, and diligently to seek happiness in the future."

The Emperor said:—"Let it be done as you advise." Accordingly officials took the image of Buddha and abandoned it to the current of the Canal of Naniha. They also set fire to the Temple, and burnt it so that nothing was left. Hereupon, there being in the Heavens neither clouds nor wind, a sudden conflagration consumed the Great Hall (of the Palace).

This year Pèkché abandoned Han-syöng and Phyöng-yang. Silla took advantage of this to make an entrance and to settle in Han-syöng. These are the present Silla towns of U-to-pang[1] and Ni-mi-pang [these names of places are unclear].

14th year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Kwa- A.D. 553. XIX. 37.

[1] 牛頭方 and 尼彌方. Uto means Ox-head, and was no doubt taken from the name of the Mountain U-to-san. A commentator says:—"Silla and Koryö together attacked Pèkché and took Han-syöng and Phyöng-yang. Han-syöng was made Utopang, and Phyöng-yang Ni-mi-pang."

ya Chhă-chyu, Tök-sol of the Higher Division, the Han-sol, Nyé-sè-ton, and others to ask for troops.

15th day. The Pèkché Envoys, Mok-hyöp-keum-ton, Tök-sol of the Middle Division, and Kahachi Be no Asăpita took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 7th day. The following report was received from the province of Kahachi :—"From within the sea at Chinu, in the district of Idzumi, there is heard a voice of Buddhist chants, which re-echoes like the sound of thunder, and a glory shines like the radiance of the sun." In his heart the Emperor wondered at this, and sent Unate[1] no Atahe [here we have only Atahe, and the personal name is not given, probably owing to the error of some copyist] to go upon the sea and investigate the matter.

This month Unate no Atahe went upon the sea, and the result was that he discovered a log of camphor-wood shining brightly as it floated on the surface. At length he took it, and presented it to the Emperor, who gave orders to an artist to make of it two images of Buddha. These are the radiant camphor-wood images now in the Temple of Yoshino.

6th month. Uchi no Omi [the personal name not given] was sent on a mission to Pèkché with a present of two good horses, two travelling barges, fifty bows, fifty sets[2] of arrows, and an Imperial message, saying :—"As to the troops asked for by the King, his wishes shall be complied with." A separate
XIX 38. Imperial order was given, saying :—"The men learned in Medicine, in Divination,[3] and in the calendar,[4] have to take it in turn to come up (to the Japanese Court) and to go down. The year and month having just now come for the above classes of men to be relieved, let them be sent with the Envoy on his return, so that they may be mutually exchanged. Let Us also be furnished with books of divination, calendars, and drugs of various kinds."

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor visited the Palace of Magari in Kusunoki.

By order of the Emperor, Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no

[1] Or Misobe. [2] See above, p. 64.
[3] By the "Yih-King," or Book of Changes.
[4] The first mention of calendars in the "Nihongi."

Sukune, charged Ô-shin-mi[1] to keep an account of the shipping-tax. He was accordingly made Chief over the ships, and the style[2] was granted him of Funa no Fumibito. He was the ancestor of the present Funa no Muraji.[3]

8th month, 7th day. Pèkché sent Kwa-ya, Nasol of the Higher Division, with a man of Silla named Mun-hyu-thè-san, Ko-tök of the Lower Division, and others, who presented a memorial to the Emperor, saying:—"Last year thy servants jointly sent Uchi no Omi, the Tök-sol Chhă-chyu, with a High Official of Imna, to report to Your Majesty on the various Miyake beyond the sea. I have humbly awaited Your Majesty's gracious commands as the herbs in spring look up for the refreshing showers. This year there is the unexpected news that Silla and Koma have made a common plan, saying:—'Pèkché and Imna resort frequently to Japan, doubtless in order to ask for troops wherewith to invade our territories. If XIX. 39. this be true, it will be the ruin of our country. We must be on the alert and watch. It may be hoped that we shall anticipate the Japanese troops and conquer Ara before they have started. We can then cut off their communications with Japan.' Such is their plan. When thy servant heard this he was profoundly alarmed, and straightway dispatched a swift messenger and a light-sailing vessel speedily with a memorial informing you of this. I would humbly implore of the Celestial bounty that there may be speedily sent to our assistance in time for the autumn season, an army in two divisions, front and rear, one after the other, wherewith to make secure the Miyake beyond the sea. If they are later than this, our efforts will be as vain as the endeavour to bite one's navel.

Thy servant will bear the expense of providing food and clothing for the troops which are sent, from the time of their arrival in his country. A similar arrangement would hold good on their arrival in Imna. But if their provisions are insufficient, thy servant will assuredly send supplies in aid and prevent there being any deficiency."

A separate memorial said:—"Ikuba no Omi, having reverently received the Imperial commands, came and com-

[1] Of Corean extraction. [2] Lit. surname.
[3] Secretary of Shipping.

forted thy servant's frontier state. Ever attentive morning and evening, he sedulously discharged his various functions. Therefore the frontier States beyond the sea all celebrated his goodness, and wished that he might live for ten thousand years to give peace to the lands beyond the sea. Unfortunately he died, to our deep regret. And now who is there to direct the affairs of Imna? I humbly beg of the Celestial bounty that some one be sent to replace him and continue his service, so that Imna may have peace.

XIX. 40. Moreover, the lands beyond the sea are very scarce of bows and horses. From old times until now, they have received them from the Emperor, and have therewith defended themselves against their powerful enemies. I humbly pray the Celestial bounty to bestow on us a large supply of bows and horses."

Winter, 10th month, 20th day. Yö-chhyang, son of the King of Pèkché [King Wi-tök, son of King Myöng], led forth all the troops of the kingdom against the land of Koryö. Having thrown up entrenchments on the Pèk-hap[1] plain, he allowed his soldiers to sleep and eat. Looking out that evening over the great and fertile plain, with its level surface extending far and wide, where few traces of man were to be seen, and not a dog was heard to bark, he all at once heard a sudden sound of fife and drum. Yö-chhyang was greatly astonished, and having beat his drums in response, kept strict watch all that night. At early dawn he got up and saw the broad plain covered everywhere with flags and banners, as a hill is covered with green foliage. When it became clear, a horseman appeared, wearing a gorget, two others carrying cymbals, and two with leopards'[2] tails stuck on them—in all five horsemen. They advanced bit alongside of bit, and inquired, saying:—"Some boys told us that in our plain strangers were staying. How could we avoid going out courteously to receive them? We now wish that you should speedily become acquainted with us, and therefore, according to etiquette, we would ask your name,
XIX. 41. age and rank." Yö-chhyang answered and said:—"My name

[1] Pèk-hap means "lily."

[2] The Interlinear Kana has naka tsu kami, i.e. the God of the middle. The wolf and tiger are also called Gods.

is the same name;[1] my rank is that of Han-sol, and my age is twenty-nine." Pèkché having in turn made inquiry, an answer was given after the same manner. Finally marks[2] were set up, and they fought together. Thereupon Pèkché, with his spear, thrust down from his horse the Koryö warrior, and having cut off his head, raised it aloft on the point of his spear, returned to camp, and showed it to the troops. The Koryö generals were very indignant, while the shouts of joy of the Pèkché men were like to rend asunder Heaven and Earth. Next some of the generals of auxiliary troops beat their drums, and engaging quickly in the fight, drove back the King of Koryö to the top of Mount Tong-syöng.

15th year, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince, Nunakura Futo-dama-shiki no Mikoto, was raised to the position of Prince Imperial. A.D. 554.

9th day. Pèkché sent Mok-hyöp Mun-chhă, Si-tök of the Middle Division, and Wal-cha Pun-ok, Si-tök of the Former Division, to Tsukushi, to communicate with Uchi no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and his colleagues. They said:—"The Tök-sol, Chhă-chyu, with the Han-sol, Sè-ton, and the rest, arrived on the 4th day of the Intercalary month of last year and stated that the Omi [i.e. Uchi no Omi] and his colleagues would come in the first month of this year. But although they said so, it is still doubtful whether you are coming or not. Moreover, what of the number of the troops? We pray that you will inform us of their number, so that we may prepare XIX. 42. cantonments in advance."

In a separate communication, they said:—"We have just heard that thou, by command of the August Emperor, hast arrived in Tsukushi in charge of the troops bestowed on us by him. Nothing could compare with our joy when we heard this. The campaign of this year is a much more dangerous one than the last; and we beg that the force granted to us may not be allowed to be later than the first month."

Hereupon Uchi no Omi answered in accordance with the commands of the Emperor:—"Accordingly there is being

[1] i.e. as your own. The Koryö and Pèkché kings were of the same family originally.

[2] Flags to indicate the field of combat—the lists.

sent an auxiliary force to the number of 1000 men, 100 horses, and 40 ships."

2nd month. Pèkché sent General Sam-kwi, Han-sol of the Lower Division, with Mononobe no O,[1] Nasol of the Senior Division, to ask for auxiliaries. They took the opportunity of offering Mak-ko, son of Tong-syöng,[2] in exchange for the Nasol Wön, son of Tong-syöng, whose turn it had previously been,[3] and Wang Yang-kwi, a man learned in the five classics, in exchange for the Ko-tök, Ma Työng-an, and the Buddhist priest Tam-hyé, and eight others in exchange for To-sim and six others.

Separately, in obedience to the Imperial commands, they brought the Si-tök, Wang To-nyang, a man learned in divination, the Ko-tök, Wang Po-son, a man learned in the calendar, the Nasol, Wang-yu-neung-tha, a physician, the Si-tök, Pön-nyang-phung, and the Ko-tök, Pyöng-yu-tha, herbalists, the Si-tök, Sam-keun, the Kyé-tök, Kwi-ma-chhă, the Kyé-tök,[4] Chin-no, and the Té-tök,[5] Chin-tha, musicians, all which persons were exchanged according to request.

3rd month, 1st day. The Pèkché envoys Mok-hyöp Mun-chhă, Si-tök of the Middle Division, and his colleagues took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 3rd day. Uchi no Omi proceeded to Pèkché in command of a naval force.

Winter, 12th month. Pèkché sent Mun-să Kan-no, Han-sol of the Lower Division, who presented a memorial, saying:—"Thy servants, Myöng, King of Pèkché, the various Omi of Wa[6] resident in Ara, and the Kanki of all the provinces of Imna, beg to report to Your Majesty the unprincipled conduct of Silla, who, having no dread of the Emperor, has formed an alliance with Koryö, and designs to destroy the Miyake North of the Sea. Thy servants having consulted together, sent Uchi no Omi and others to ask for troops

[1] O is 烏, i.e. Crow. Mononobe is Japanese. How the Coreans pronounced it is altogether uncertain.

[2] A former King of Pèkché.

[3] To serve as hostage. See above, p. 62.

[4] Tenth rank, green girdle. [5] Eleventh rank, yellow girdle.

[6] The use of Wa for Japan in this passage is curious. If it is genuine, probably the earlier use of Nippon is retrospective.

wherewith to make war on Silla. Accordingly the Emperor sent Uchi no Omi in command of a force, which arrived in the sixth month. Thy servants were profoundly rejoiced, and on the ninth day of the twelfth month sent an expedition to attack Silla. Before this thy servant had sent Mononobe no Mak-ka-mu no Muraji,[1] Governor of the Eastern Quarter, in command of the troops of that Quarter, to lay siege to the castle of Ham-san. The people brought over by Uchi no Omi, along with Mak-ka Wi-sa-kwi, Tsukushi no Mononobe, who were skilled in shooting fire-arrows, under the protection of the August spirits of the Emperors, set fire to the castle and took it at sunset on the ninth day of the month. Therefore I have sent a special envoy in a swift ship to make this report to Your Majesty."[2] XIX. 43.

In a separate address he said:—"If it were Silla alone, the troops under the command of Uchi no Omi would be sufficient. But now Koma and Silla have joined their hearts and united their strength, so that success will be difficult. I humbly pray that all the troops of the Island of Tsukushi may be at once sent to the assistance of thy servant's country, and also to the assistance of Imna. In that case we shall be successful."

He further represented as follows:—"Thy servant despatched a separate force of 10,000 men to the assistance of Imna, and at the same time sent information of this to Your Majesty. Now matters are in a critical condition, and I report them by a fast-sailing[3] vessel. I beg moreover to present to Your Majesty two rolls of brocade of superior quality, one of woollen carpet, 300 axes, with two men and five women belonging to the captured castle,[4] of such trifling value that I fear to look back on them."[5]

When Yō-chhyang was considering his plan of campaign against Silla, an old man[6] remonstrated with him, saying:—"Heaven does not yet grant it. Disaster is to be feared."

[1] A curious mixture of Japanese and Corean in this name. In the rest of these messages it seems to be the King alone who is speaking.

[2] The "Tongkam" says:—"Silla and Koryō having formed an alliance, the King of Pèkché was angry, and in person led a force of infantry and cavalry with which he laid siege to the Castle of Kosan-san."

[3] I take 草, grass, to be a mistake for 早, fast. [4] See above, p. 64

[5] The "Tsū-shō" commentator suspects a lacuna here. [6] Or plural.

Yö-chhyang said:—"Old man! why be so timid? I serve a
XIX. 44. great country. How can there be any cause for apprehension?"
So he eventually invaded the Land of Silla, and built the fortress of Kuta-mura.[1] His father, King Myöng, was distressed that Yö-chhyang should have so long to bear the sufferings of the campaign, deprived for lengthened intervals of sleep and food, his own parental affection feeling many a want, while his son's filial care was reduced to scanty limits. Accordingly he went out to join him and comfort him in his toil. Silla, hearing that King Myöng was coming in person, set on foot the whole armed force of the kingdom, intercepted him by the way, and crushed him. At this time Silla said to Koto [also called Kokchi] a groom-slave of Sachi-mura:[2]—"Thou Koto art a vile slave: King Myöng is a famous Prince. If now the mean slave were made to slay the famous Prince, he might hope to transmit his name to posterity, and not be forgotten in the mouths of men."

27th day. Koto accordingly took King Myöng, and with repeated obeisances, said to him:—"I beg leave to cut off Your Majesty's head." King Myöng answered and said:—"A king's head should not pass into the hands of a slave." Koto said:—"By our country's law, those who break their oaths, even were they called kings, must fall into the hands of slaves."

One book has:—"King Myöng sat down on a chair, and having taken off the sword which hung at his girdle, gave it to Kokchi to slay him therewith."

King Myöng looked up to Heaven, sighed deeply, and with tears gave his consent, saying:—"Whatever way I turn my thoughts, pain always enters my marrow. Nor on reflection is there any means by which there is a possibility of my life being saved." So he held forward his head, and submitted to have it cut off. Koto cut off his head and so killed him. He then dug a grave and buried him.

XIX. 45. One book says:—"Silla buried King Myöng's skull, but the other bones were sent with due ceremony to Pèkché.

[1] Apparently a Japanese name.

[2] A Japanese name. For mura the Interlinear Kana has Sukiri or Sukuri, apparently a rendering of a Corean word meaning village-master. But this would require the addition of 主, master. Perhaps this character has been accidentally omitted.

Now the King of Silla buried King Myöng's bones[1] at the bottom of the stairs of the Northern Hall of his Palace, and gave this Hall the name of To-tang."[2]

Yö-chhyang, finding at last that he was surrounded, attempted to make his way through, but could not. His troops were taken with consternation, and knew not what to do. Now there was a skilful archer, a Miyakko of the Land of Tsukushi. He advanced, bent his bow, and taking aim, shot down one of the bravest of the Silla horsemen. The penetration of the arrow which he shot was such that it went through the bow of the saddle on which he rode, both before and behind, and reached the joining of the armour[3] he had on. Then he went on shooting arrows one after another like rain, more and more fiercely, without any remission, and shot to the ground the troops by whom they were surrounded. By this means Yö-chhyang and his generals were enabled to escape back by a by-road. Yö-chhyang complimented the Kuni no XIX. 46
Miyakko on having shot down the troops who had encompassed them, and conferred on him the honorary name of Kurani no Kimi.[4]

Upon this the Silla generals, satisfied that Pèkché was completely worn out, wished at length to take measures for the destruction of the remainder. But there was one general who said:—"This would be a mistake. The Emperor of Japan has frequently attacked our country on account of Imna: much more should we certainly invite upon ourselves future mischief if we should proceed to take steps for the destruction of the Miyake of Pèkché." This project was therefore dropped.

16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Yö-chhyang, son of the King A.D. 555.
of Pèkché, sent Prince Hyé [Prince Hyé was the younger brother of Wi-tök][5] with a message to the Emperor, saying:—"King Syöng-myöng has been slain by brigands" [slain by

[1] The skull is no doubt meant.

[2] Tang means hall. To is apparently in allusion to Koto, the King's executioner. The "Tongkam" has also an account of these events. But it makes the King of Pèkché to have been killed in battle.

[3] The Interlinear Kana has kabuto, helmet, which is manifestly absurd.

[4] The Knight of the Saddle-bow.

[5] Wi-tök is the historical name of Yö-chhyang. He was succeeded by his second son, Hyé-chang, who is probably the Prince here referred to.

Silla in the 15th year of the reign, and therefore this report to the Emperor]. When the Emperor heard this he was indignant, and sent an envoy to meet him at the port with a message of condolence. Hereupon Kose no Omi inquired of Prince Hyé:—"Dost thou wish to remain here or to proceed to thine own country?" Hyé answered and said:—"Trusting in the influence of the Emperor, it is my hope to revenge myself on the enemies of the King my father. I pray him to bestow his compassion on me and grant me a numerous armed force so that I may wipe out my disgrace, and repay my enemies. Whether I go or whether I remain, how should I dare to do otherwise than simply obey his commands?" Presently Soga no Omi condoled with him, saying:—"King Syöng had a wonderful mastery of the Law of Heaven, and the principles of Earth:[1] his fame was spread abroad through the four quarters
XIX. 47. and the eight points of the compass. We hoped that he would long maintain peace, and rule over the frontier States west of the sea, and that for a thousand, nay for ten thousand years he would render allegiance to our Emperor. But to our surprise, in a morning, he passed upwards and was lost in the infinite. Like flowing water, he returns not again, but remains at rest in the dark dwelling. Oh! what a cruel grief, what a heartrending sorrow! Who is there possessed of feeling who does not lament his death? For what special fault, moreover, has this calamity come? But now what art shall be used to give tranquillity to your country?"

Hyé answered and said:—"Thy servant is by nature foolish, and knows not great counsels, much less the causes of good or ill fortune, or of the ruin or preservation of a State."

The Minister Soga said:—"Formerly, in the reign of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse,[2] thy country was hard pressed by Koryö, and was in an extremely critical position, like that of a pile of eggs. Thereupon the Emperor commanded the minister of the Shintō religion reverently to take counsel of the Gods. Accordingly the priests,[3] by divine inspiration, answered and said:—'If after humble prayer to the Deity, the founder of the

[1] By the former astronomy is meant; under the latter is included geomancy and physical geography.

[2] Yūriaku Tennō. See Vol. I. p. 353.

[3] Hafuri.

Land,[1] thou goest to the assistance of the Ruler who is threatened with destruction, there will surely be tranquillity to the State and peace to the people.' Prayer was therefore offered to the God, aid was rendered, and the peace of the country was consequently assured. Now the God who originally founded this country is the God who descended from Heaven and established this State in the period when Heaven and Earth became separated, and when trees and herbs had speech.[2] I have recently been informed that your country has XIX. 48.
ceased to worship him.[3] But if you now repent your former errors, if you build a shrine to the God and perform sacrifice in honour of his divine spirit, your country will prosper. Thou must not forget this."

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Iname no Sukune Soga no Oho-omi and Hodzumi no Ihayumi no Omi were despatched to the five districts of Kibi to establish the Miyake of Shirawi.

8th month. Yö-chhyang of Pèkché addressed his Ministers, saying:—"I[4] now desire, for the sake of the King, my deceased father, to leave the world and practise religion." The Ministers and the people answered and said:—"We have now received the instructions intimating to us Your Majesty's wish to be allowed to retire from the world and to practise religion. Ah! whose fault was it that firm plans were not made in the first place, of which neglect so great evils have been the consequence? From the foundation of this kingdom until the

[1] Oho-na-mochi no Kami. [2] See Vol. I. p. 64.

[3] The "Tsū-shō" commentator here quotes the following curious statement from a work called the "Sei-to-ki":—"In the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (782—806) we and Corea had writings of the same kind. The Emperor, disliking this, burnt them and said:—'These speak of the God who founded the country, and do not mention the Gods our ancestors.'" But possibly this only refers to the legend of 檀君, Tan-kun, which the "Tongkam" gives as follows:—"In the Eastern region (i.e. Corea) there was at first no chief. Then there was a divine man who descended under a sandal tree. The people of the Land established him as their Lord. He was called Tan-kun (Sandal-lord), while the country received the name of Chosön (morning freshness). This was in the reign of (the Chinese Emperor) T'ang-Yao (B.C. 2357—2258), the year Mon-shên. The capital was at first Phyöng-yang; it was afterwards removed to Pèk-ak (the white hill). In the 8th year (B.C. 1317) of the reign of Wu Ting, of the Shang Dynasty, he entered Mount Asătal (Asita?) and became a God."

[4] Lit. "the small child."

present year Koryö and Silla have vied with each other in their efforts to destroy it. To what country, therefore, could our national line of sovereigns now be entrusted? In principle Your Majesty's instructions ought unquestionably to be complied with. For if the words of the old man had been attended to, how should we have arrived at our present condition? We beseech Your Majesty, therefore, to repent your former errors. But do not take the trouble to retire from the world. If you wish to fulfil your vow, let a number of the people of the Land be made to enter religion." Yö-chhyang answered and said:—"Be it so." Accordingly he applied to his Ministers for advice. They at length consulted together upon the matter, and caused one hundred persons to enter religion. They also made a large number of banners and umbrellas and meritorious things of all kinds, etc., etc.

A.D. 556. 17th year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Hyé of Pèkché asked leave to return home. He was accordingly presented with a very large supply of weapons and good horses. Moreover, gifts were liberally bestowed (on his followers), so that they uttered respectful exclamations (of gratitude).

Hereupon Abe no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and Harima no Atahe were sent in command of a naval force of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. The Lord of Hi[1] in Tsukushi was sent separately [the Pèkché "Original Record" says:—"Son of the Lord of Tsukushi and younger brother of
XIX. 49. the Middle Lord of Hi"] in command of 1000 valiant soldiers to escort him to Mite [name of a port], and he was accordingly made to guard the strong positions on the way to the port.

Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune[2] and others were sent to the district of Kojima in Hither Kibi[3] to establish a Miyake, of which Midzuko, Katsuraki no Yamada no Atahe, was made Tadzukahi.[4]

Winter, 10th month. Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune and others were sent to the district of Takechi in Yamato to

[1] Another reading is Tsukushi no Oho-Kimi, i.e. the Great Lord of Tsukushi.

[2] Only one person.

[3] This rendering follows the "Original Commentary."

[4] The Chinese characters mean "rural or rice-field governor."

establish the Miyake of Ohomusa of Coreans [by Coreans is meant Pèkché people] and the Miyake of Womusa[1] of Koryö men. The Miyake of Ama in the Land of Ki was established in the Land of Ki. [One writing says:—"The Coreans of various places were made serfs of the Miyake of Ohomusa and the Koryö men were made serfs of the Miyake of Womusa. It was in consequence of the appointment of the Coreans and Koryö men as serfs that these places were styled Miyake."[2]]

18th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Prince Yö-chhyang of Pèkché succeeded to the throne. He was styled King Wi-tök. A.D. 557.

21st year, Autumn, 9th month. Silla sent the Namal[3] Michi Kwichi with an offering of tribute. His entertainment was unusually liberal. The Namal was rejoiced thereat, and so took his departure. It was said:—"In the case of tribute Envoys the State is all-important and private considerations are despised. On an ambassador depend the lives of the people, and it is a governmental abuse when a mean person is selected for this position. Such a course is quite unjustifiable. It is desired that sons of good families should be selected as ambassadors, and not persons of mean extraction."[4] A.D. 560. XIX. 50.

22nd year. Silla sent the Keup-pöl-kan,[5] Ku-nyé-cheul, with an offering of tribute. He was entertained by the official charged with the reception of strangers on a lower scale of ceremony than usual. The Keup-pöl-kan was enraged, and took his departure. A.D. 561.

This year the Tè-sa,[6] Notyö, was sent again to present the former tribute at Oho-kuni in Naniha. In arranging the precedence of the various frontier States, the entertainers, Nukadabe no Muraji and Katsuraki no Atahe, made him take rank below Pèkché and introduced him in this order. The

[1] Ohomusa and Womusa are respectively Great Musa and Little Musa.

[2] It would appear from this that it was essential to a Miyake to have a number of serfs attached to it. Possibly 韓人 in this passage should be rendered Kara men instead of Coreans.

[3] The "Tongkam" has 奈麻, i.e. Nama, 11th official rank. The Shoku "Nihongi" has also Nama, which is doubtless correct.

[4] This is apparently a remonstrance addressed to Silla for sending as ambassador a man of the eleventh rank.

[5] Seventeenth rank.

[6] Twelfth rank.

Tè-sa was angry. He went away and refused to enter the
XIX. 51. official residence. He went on board ship and returned to Anato.[1] At this time the official building at Anato was being repaired. The Tè-sa inquired :—" For what guest is this construction ? " The chief builder, Oshikatsu, Kahachi no Mumakahi no Obito, mockingly said :—" It is for the lodging of the ambassador who is being sent to call the Western Land to an account for its rude conduct." The Tè-sa, on returning to his country, reported this speech, and therefore Silla built a fortress on Mount Araphasă as a defence against Japan.

A.D. 562. 23rd year, Spring, 1st month. Silla destroyed the Miyake of Imna.

One writing says :—" 21st year. Imna was destroyed. The general term Imna includes the provinces called separately Kara, Ara, Săiki, Tara, Cholma, Kochhi, Chătha, Sanpanha, Kwison, and Imnyé, in all ten provinces." [2]

Summer, 6th month. An edict was issued, as follows :—

[1] Now Shimonoseki.

[2] The "Tongkam" (Vol. V. p. 21) gives the following account of the downfall of Imna :—

" Autumn, 9th month. (The year is the same, but the month given does not agree with the 'Nihongi' account.)

Silla destroyed Great Kaya. Kaya was refractory, and the King commanded the I-son I-să-pu to attack it. Să-ta-sya was associated with him in the command. Să-ta-sya was a descendant in the 7th generation of King Nè-mil (or Nè-mul). He was sixteen years of age, and was accounted a national hero. More than 1000 men of his followers came and begged that he might join in the campaign, but the King would not allow it on account of his youth. On their persisting in their request, however, he gave his permission. Să-ta-sya went to Great Kaya in command of 5000 horsemen, and was the first to enter the Sandalwood gate, where he set up a white flag. Those in the castle were struck with consternation, and I-să-pu, approaching with his troops, at length destroyed that country, the territory being constituted the district of Great Kaya. When the army returned and the merits were weighed, Sya was reckoned first, and the King rewarded him with good rice-land and 300 of the captives. These he steadfastly refused. The King, however, insisted, and he then accepted, but distributed the land among his troops, reserving only the barren tract of Chhyuk-syön. He released the captives and converted them every one into good subjects (i.e. free men). The nation admired this conduct. He died at the age of seventeen." It will be observed that there is not a word here about Japan.

"The Silla people, a tribe of wretches in the West, have, in defiance of Heaven and devoid of right feeling, disregarded the favour We have shown them. They have broken Our Miyake, poisoned Our black-haired people, and massacred the population of Our districts. When Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto,[1] a wonderful sage of clear intelligence, made a tour throughout the Empire, showing her anxiety on behalf of all the people and nourishing her myriad subjects, she pitied the condition of Silla, which was then reduced to an extremity, and XIX. 52. spared the head of its king, which was about to fall. She granted to Silla strong positions, and bestowed on it honours it was not entitled to. In what respect did Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto, show a want of consideration for Silla, or Our people an unfriendly feeling towards that country? Yet Silla with long spears and strong bows has oppressed Imna. With serrated tusks and hooked talons they have committed ravage amongst the living souls, rending their livers and hacking off their feet with insatiable delight, scorching their bones in the sun, and burning their dead bodies without saying to themselves that it was cruel. From the Noble House down to the people of Imna, using all their knives and expending their last chopping-block, they have butchered and made mince-meat of them. Within the shores of the land, who is now left to be called a servant of the King?[2] Who is there that eats grain, the food of man, or drinks water, his beverage, who can bear to hear these things without being grieved in his heart? Much more the heir to the Throne and the Oho-omi! For the former, bound as he is by hereditary friendship, it is an occasion to weep tears of blood and cherish feelings of revenge. In the case of the latter, there is towards officials charged with the frontier screen the gratitude due to those who rub themselves smooth[3] from crown to heel (in their country's service). Heirs in their generation to the virtues of previous governments, and themselves destined to hold high dignity in a later

[1] Jingō Kōgu. [2] See Legge's "Sheking," p. 360.

[3] An allusion to Mencius's saying, "The philosopher Mih loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the Empire, he would have done it."—Legge's "Mencius," p. 340. This, again, refers to the great Yu, who wrought and waded till he had worn away all the hair on his legs.

reign, if they cannot, by making drip their gall and drawing out their bowels,[1] join with Us in slaying the traitors, thus wiping off this bitter outrage against Heaven and Earth, and doing vengeance on the enemies of a Lord and father, even in my grave I shall be indignant that the right rule of conduct of vassal and child has not been realized."[2]

XIX. 53. In this month, a certain person slandered Uta-yori, Mumakahi no Omi, saying:—"Uta-yori's wife met me at Sanuki.[3] Her saddle-pad was different from ordinary ones. When I examined it closely, I saw that it was the Empress's saddle." He was accordingly handed over to the judicial authority, who put him to the most severe examination. Uta-yori, Mumakahi no Omi, accordingly declared upon oath, saying:—"This is false, and not true. If this is true, let calamity from Heaven surely befall me." At last he fell prostrate on the ground under the torture, and died. No long time after his death, there were sudden misfortunes in the Palace. The judicial officer then arrested his sons, Morishi and Nasehi [Morishi and Nasehi are personal names], and when about to cast them into the fire [Casting into the fire was no doubt the ancient mode of punishment], uttered a charm, saying:—"Not by my hand are they cast." Having uttered this charm, he was about to fling them into the fire, when Morishi's mother made a prayer, saying:—"If my child is flung into the fire, a great calamity will indeed follow.
XIX. 54. I beseech thee, let him be given over to the Hafuri, to be a slave in the service of the Gods." In accordance, therefore,

[1] i.e. by the exercise of the most devoted loyalty.

[2] European scholars will readily endorse the opinion of Motoöri, that such Imperial edicts as the above are inventions of the writers of the "Nihongi," or perhaps of some predecessor. They are not State papers, but rhetorical exercises, and smell unmistakably of the lamp. The "Shoku-nihongi," which continues the history of Japan from the point where the "Nihongi" leaves off, contains a number of genuine edicts of the ancient Emperors. These are very different documents, written, of course, with Chinese characters, but, like the "Norito" and much of the "Kojiki," in such a way as to suggest the Japanese words in the writer's mind, and without any endeavour to make a display of Chinese learning or elegance of style.

Motoöri has collected these edicts and published them with a commentary under the title 歴朝詔訶解.

The present edict is composed almost entirely of phrases taken from Chinese books.

Not the province of that name, but a place in Yamato.

with his mother's supplication, he was permitted to be confiscated to the service of the Gods.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Silla sent envoys to offer tribute. These envoys knew of the destruction of Imna by Silla, but, ashamed of the offence against national gratitude, they did not dare to ask leave to depart. Eventually they remained, and did not return to their own land, but were made to take rank as subjects of the State. They were the ancestors of the Silla men of the village of Uno in the district of Sarara in the province of Kahachi.

In this month, the General-in-Chief, Ki no Womaro no Sukune, was sent forth in command of an army by way of Tari, and the Associate General, Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, by way of Mount Kö-cheung, to demand of Silla its reasons for attacking Imna. At length they arrived at Imna. Toni, Komo-tsume Be no Obito, was sent to Pèkché to concert a plan of military operations. Toni accordingly lodged in his wife's house, and lost a letter and a bow and arrows by the way. Silla thus gained a thorough knowledge of the military plans, and having promptly raised a large army, brought on itself overthrow, and rendered submission and allegiance. Ki no Womaro no Sukune, having gained the victory, marched his army into the Pèkché camp, where he addressed an order to the troops, saying :—" It is the excellent advice of antiquity that in victory one should not forget defeat: that in safety it is necessary to bethink oneself of danger. On the frontier which we now hold, wolves meet in mutual intercourse. Such being the case, ought we to be heedless and not to think of disaster? Even in times of peace, the sword should not be laid aside. For a wise man's warlike preparation ought not to be relaxed. I pray you, XIX. 55.
be very watchful, and zealously observe this command." [1] The soldiery all entrusted their hearts to him, and applied themselves to their duties. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, advanced alone, and in successive engagements captured all that opposed him. The Silla men again raised the white flag, flung down their arms, and bowed their heads in submission. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, never having had any skill in military matters, raised the white flag in reply, as a simple intimation to advance alone. The

[1] Most of this speech is copied from a passage in a Chinese author.

Silla commander said :—" General Kahabe no Omi now wishes to surrender," and advancing his troops, made an onset. With all their pointed weapons they hastened to the attack, and routed the vanguard. The wounded were very numerous. Tahiko, Yamato no Kuni no Miyakko, conscious that help was impossible, abandoned his troops and took to flight. The Silla commander, his hooked spear in hand, pursued as far as the castle-moat, and flourishing his spear, struck at him. But Tahiko, inasmuch as he was mounted on a swift horse, leaped across the castle-moat, and narrowly escaped with his life. The Silla commander stood on the edge of the moat, and exclaimed, saying :—" Kusunichări "[1] [a Silla word of uncertain meaning]. Hereupon Kahabe no Omi at length withdrew his forces, and retreating, hurriedly encamped on the plain. Upon this his troops all held him in contempt, and there was none to yield him obedience. The commander advanced in person within the camp, and took them all prisoners, viz. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, and his men, as well as his
XIX. 56. wife, who accompanied him. At this time, between father and child, husband and wife, there was no mutual commiseration. The commander inquired of Kahabe no Omi, saying :— " Which is more dear to thee—thine own life, or that of thy wife ? " He answered and said :—" Why, for the love of one woman, should I accept disaster ? There is nothing dearer than life," and eventually granted her to be his concubine. The commander at length ravished her in a public place. She afterwards returned, and Kahabe no Omi wished to approach her and talk to her. But she was deeply mortified, and refused to consort with him, saying :—" Thou, my former lord, having for no good reason sold thy handmaiden's person, with what countenance could I now live with thee ? " And she persisted in her refusal to speak to him. This lady was the daughter of Sakamoto no Omi, and her name was Mumashi hime. Ikina, Mitsugi no Kishi, who was captured at the same time, being a man of mettle, utterly refused to submit. The Silla commander drew his sword, and making as if to kill him, compelled him with threats to take off his trousers, and then told him to present his hinder part towards Japan, and call out

[1] I cannot identify this with any modern Corean words.

with a loud voice, "Let the Japanese generals bite[1] — ——!" But he cried out, saying:—"Let the King of Silla bite — ——!" No matter how much they tortured him, he went on shouting as before, and he was accordingly put to death. Moreover his son Wojiko embraced his father, and so died. So hard it always was to shake Ikina's determination to stick to his own language. Accordingly, he alone was lamented by all the generals. Moreover, his wife Ohobako[2] was taken captive at the same time. In her grief she made a song, saying[3]:—

Standing by the fortress
Of the Land of Kara,
Ohobako XIX. 57.
Waves her head-scarf,
Turning towards Yamato.

Someone composed a song in response, saying:—

Standing by the fortress
Of the Land of Kara,
Ohobako
Is seen to wave her head-scarf,
Turning towards Naniha.

---

[1] We should expect to find here the word "kiss" instead of "bite." But the fact is that neither the Chinese nor the Japanese have the thing or the word, at least quite in our sense. Kissing, or what we may call so, is in these countries not considered a proper subject of conversation, and does not figure in their literatures. The nearest Japanese equivalent is kuchi suu, i.e. "mouth-sucking." The only instance I can recollect of the use of this phrase is in a letter from Hideyoshi to his son Hideyori, then five years of age. He promises that he will soon come to see him and give him a kiss (kuchi-sui-mōsu-beku sōrō), expressing at the same time a playful jealousy of his allowing other people to kiss him. The Japanese editor of this letter finds it necessary to explain that kissing, or rather mouth-sucking, is a sign of affection.

Dr. Schlegel, of the University of Leiden, informs me that "a Chinese boy never kisses his mother—they rub their respective noses over the cheeks. Kissing the hand is totally unknown in China."

The use of the word bite for kiss by the Chinese suggests that the kiss may be a modification of a playful bite, just as the smile may have had its origin in a sportive showing of the canine teeth. See Darwin's "Expression of the Emotions," p. 255.

[2] The name of a plant.

[3] Another rendering is: "In grief for her, they (i.e. the generals) made a song, saying:—"

8th month. The Emperor sent Sadehiko, Ohotomo no Muraji as general-in-chief in command of an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack Koryö. Accordingly Sadehiko, acting on plans laid by Pèkché, routed Koryö. Their King climbed over a wall, and so made his escape. Sadehiko at length followed up his victory, and entered the palace, where he took possession of and brought away with him all the valuables, presents, curtains of seven-fold woof, and an iron house.[1]

An old book says :—" The iron house was on the top of the western storied building of Koryö : the woven curtains were hung in the private chamber of the Koryö King.

The curtains of seven-fold woof were offered as a present to the Emperor ; while to the Oho-omi, Soga, Iname no Sukune, there were sent two suits of armour, two swords mounted in gold, three copper bells with chasings, two flags variously coloured, a beautiful woman called Hime[2] [Hime is a name], and also her attendant, Atako. Hereupon the Oho-omi at length took to him these two women and made them his wives, lodging them in the palace of Karu no Magari.

The iron house is in the Temple of Chōanji, but we do not know in what province this temple is. One book says :—" 11th year.[3] Ohotomo no Sadehiko, along with the Land of Pèkché, repulsed Yang-hyang, King of
XIX. 58. Koryö, at the capital city of Pi-chin-nyu."

Winter, 11th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer presents and at the same time to bring tribute. The Envoys found out all about the Government being indignant against Silla on account of the destruction of Imna, and did not dare to ask leave to depart, fearing lest they might be executed.[4] They did not return to their own country, and were made to rank as (Japanese) subjects. These men were the ancestors of the present Silla men of Hani-iho in the district of Mishima in the province of Settsu.

[1] Probably a shrine in the shape of a small pagoda, used as a receptacle for relics, says the " Shūkai " editor.

[2] Or Yome.

[3] No doubt an error for 21st year. The " Tongkam " does not mention this war.

[4] See above, XIX. 54.

26th year, Summer, 5th month. Some Koryö men, Tu-mu-ri-ya-phyé and others, emigrated to Tsukushi. They were settled in the province of Yamashiro, and were the ancestors of the present Koryö men of Une-hara, Nara, and Yamamura. A.D. 565.

28th year. There were floods in the districts and provinces, with famine. In some cases men ate each other. Mutual assistance was rendered by transporting grain from the neighbouring districts. A.D. 567.

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An edict was issued as follows:—"The institution of serfs[1] is a custom of old standing. But for more than ten years past, there have been many whose names have been omitted from the lists, and who have avoided their tasks. Let Itsu [Itsu was nephew of Ō Chin-ni[2]] be sent to revise the lists of the serfs of Shirawi." A.D. 569.

Summer, 4th month. Itsu revised the serfs of Shirawi, and in accordance with the edict, settled the lists, so that land-families[3] were formed. The Emperor, by way of compliment to Itsu on his success in settling the lists, gave him the title of Shirawi no Obito, and moreover appointed him Tadzukahi under Midzuko [Midzuko is mentioned above].[4]

31st year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Iname no Sukune, Soga no Oho-omi, died. A.D. 570.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Shibagaki in Hatsuse. XIX. 59.

Moshiro, Yenuno no Omi, a man of Koshi, came to the capital and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Envoys from Koryö, suffering by reason of the winds and waves, lost their way, and missing their harbour, drifted at the mercy of the current, until they suddenly reached the shore. This was concealed by the ruler of the district. Therefore I make it known to Your Majesty."

The Emperor made an order, saying:—"This is the first time since our taking over the Imperial functions, now many years ago, that men of Koryö, losing their way, have reached the coast of Koshi. Though suffering from being cast away and submerged, yet their lives have been preserved. Is not this an

[1] Lit. Rice-field Be.

[2] Apparently a Corean or Chinese name.

[3] 田戸 or field-house, i.e. families or groups of cultivators.

[4] XIX. 49.

instance of the wide extension of wise counsels, of perfect virtue majestically displayed, of benign influences universally pervasive, of vast blessings far diffused? Let the proper functionaries erect a hall in the district of Sagaraka in the province of Yamashiro, let them cleanse it and render cordial entertainment and help."

In this month the Imperial carriage arrived back from the Palace of Shibagaki in Hatsuse, and Arako, Atahe of the House of Eastern Aya,[1] and Naniha, Katsuraki no Atahe, were sent to meet and bring in the Koryö Envoys.

5th month. Katabeko, Kashihade no Omi, was sent to Koshi to entertain the Koryö Envoys. The Chief Envoy, knowing perfectly well that Kashihade no Omi had been sent by the Emperor, addressed Michi no Ushi, the ruler of the district of Koshi, saying:—"After all, as I suspected, thou art not the Emperor. Thou hast prostrated thyself in doing obeisance to Kashihade no Omi, which is abundant evidence that thou art a subject. And yet before, deceiving me, thou didst take the tribute and appropriate it. Let it be promptly
XIX. 60. given back, and waste no words in palliation of thy conduct." Kashihade no Omi, learning this, sent men to require from him the tribute, which was all given up, and on returning to the capital reported on his mission.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Koryö envoys arrived at Afumi.

This month Saru, Kose no Omi, and Kishi no Akabato were despatched from the Port of Naniha, towing a barge (up the river) to Mount Sasanami, where they decorated a boat and went to meet them at Mount Kita[2] in Afumi. Finally they brought them into the official residence at Komahi in Yamashiro. Accordingly Komaro, Yamato no Aya no Saka no Uhe no Atahe, and Ohoshi, Nishikori no Obito, were sent to escort them. The Koryö envoys were again entertained in the official residence of Sagaraka.

A.D. 571. 32nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. Sakata, Mimiko no Iratsumi was sent on a mission to Silla to demand an explanation of the reasons for the destruction of Imna.

In this month Koryö sent presents and likewise a memorial,

[1] Or Yamato no Aya. [2] Northern mountain.

but several tens of days elapsed without their having an opportunity of presenting it. They were compelled to await a lucky day.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Emperor took to his bed, sick and ill at ease. The Prince Imperial had gone away, and was not present, but was summoned by a messenger on a swift horse, and introduced into the bed-chamber. The Emperor took him by the hand, and gave command to him, saying :—" Our illness is very grave. That which comes after devolves on thee. Thou must make war on Silla, and establish Imna as a feudal dependency, renewing a relationship like that of a husband and wife just at it was in former days. If this be done, in my grave I shall rest contented."

On this day the Emperor at length died in the inner chamber. XIX. 61.
His years were many.[1]

5th month. He was temporarily interred at Furuichi in Kahachi.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Silla sent as Envoys of condolence Mi-cheul-chă-sil-syo and others to make lament at the place of temporary interment.

This month Mi-cheul-chă-sil-syo and the rest took their departure.

9th month. The Emperor was buried in the Misasagi of Sakahi at Hinokuma.

[1] Some say 62, others 63 or 81.

BOOK XX.

THE EMPEROR NUNAKURA FUTO-TAMA-SHIKI.[1]

(*BI-DATSU*[2] *TENNŌ*

OR

BIN-DATSU TENNŌ.)

THE Emperor Nunakura Futo-tama-shiki was the second child of the Emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niha. His mother was called the Empress Consort Iha no hime [the Empress Consort Iha no hime was a daughter of the Emperor Take-o-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate]. The Emperor was not a believer in Buddhism, but was fond of literature.[3] At the age of twenty-nine he was raised to the position of Prince Imperial. In the fourth month of the thirty-second year of his reign the Emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niha died.

A.D. 572 1st year, Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.

In this month the Emperor made his palace at Oho-wi in Kudara.[4] Mononobe no Yuge no Moriya no Ohomuraji was continued in his office of Ohomuraji, and Soga no Mumako no Sukune was made Oho-omi.

5th month, 1st day. The Emperor inquired of the Imperial Prince and the Oho-omi, saying:—"Where are the Koryö Envoys now?" The Oho-omi answered His Majesty, saying:—"They are in the official residence of Sagaraka."

[1] Nunakura is the name of a place; the rest is literally big-jewel-spread.

[2] Clever. [3] i.e. Chinese.

[4] Written with the Chinese characters for Pékchè, viz. 百濟. It is here the name of a place in Kahachi.

The Emperor hearing this was exceedingly vexed, and flushing up, exclaimed, saying:—"How sorry I am! The names of these Envoys were already announced to the Emperor, my deceased father." So he despatched the Ministers to the official residence of Sagaraka to inspect and take note of the XX. 2. tribute offered by them, and to cause them to be sent on to the capital.

15th day. The Emperor took the Koryō memorial, and passing it on to the Oho-omi, assembled all the scribes and directed them to read and explain it. At this time all the scribes for the space of three days were unable to read it. Now there was one Ō Chin-ni, founder of the family of the Funa no fubito,[1] who was able to read it and explain its meaning to the Emperor. Consequently the Emperor and the Oho-omi, both together, complimented him, saying:—"What diligence, Chin-ni! Well done, Chin-ni! If thou hadst not been fond of learning, who could have done the interpretation? From this time forward let thy attendance be near Us in the Palace." After this, an edict was issued to the scribes of East and West,[2] saying:—"How is it that the art which ye practise has come to naught? Though ye are many, none of you is equal to Chin-ni." Nor was this all. The memorial presented by Koryō was written on crow's feathers, and the characters, like the feathers, being black, nobody had been able to read them. Chin-ni accordingly steamed the feathers in the vapour from boiled rice, and took an impression of them on a piece of silk, whereupon all the characters were transferred to it, to the wonder of the Court.

6th month. The Chief Koryō Envoy addressed the Associate Envoys, saying:—"In the time of the Emperor of Shikishima,[3] ye, contrary to my advice, allowed yourselves to be deceived by others. You unauthorizedly shared the national tribute, and without due consideration granted it to mean persons. Were you not to blame in this? If the King of our country were to hear of it, he would certainly have you executed." The Associate Envoys then said to one another:—"If on our return

[1] i.e. recorders of ships. His name shows that he was of Chinese or Corean origin.

[2] East means here Yamato; West, Kahachi.

[3] Kimmei Tennō, so called from his place of residence.

to our country the Chief Envoy reveals our misconduct, it will be unfortunate for us. It is desirable to slay him secretly, and so stop his mouth." The same night their conspiracy
XX. 3. leaked out, and became known to the Chief Envoy. He put on his clothes, and stealing out alone, stood in the inner court of the official residence. He was there not knowing what to do, when one of the ruffians came forward with a club and struck the Chief Envoy on the head, and then went away. Next there came another ruffian, who, facing right opposite to the Chief Envoy, struck him on the head and hands and then went away. The Chief Envoy remained silent, and stood his ground, wiping the blood from his face. Again there came another ruffian, who rushed forward with a sword, and having stabbed the Chief Envoy in the belly, went away. This time the Chief Envoy prostrated himself on the ground in fear, and in an attitude of supplication. Afterwards there came another ruffian, who killed him, and went away. The next morning, the official entertainer Komaro, Yamato no Aya no Saka no Uhe no Atahe, and the others inquired the cause of this. The Associate Envoys got up a false story, and said:—"The Emperor presented a wife to the Chief Envoy. The Chief Envoy was disobedient to the Imperial command and refused to accept her. This was a piece of extreme insolence, and your servants therefore slew him on the Emperor's behalf." The officials buried him with due ceremony.

Autumn, 7th month. The Koryö Envoys took their departure.

This year was the year Midzunoye Tatsu (29th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 573 2nd year, Summer, 5th month, 2nd day. Koryö Envoys anchored on the coast of the Sea of Koshi. Their ship was wrecked and a great many were drowned. The suspicions of the Court were excited by their so frequently losing their way, and they were dismissed without entertainment. Accordingly Naniha, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, was sent by the Emperor's orders to escort home the Koryö Envoys.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Naniha and the Koryö Envoys met in consultation on the coast of the Sea of Koshi. Ihahi, Ohoshima no Obito, and Masa, Saoka no Obito, seamen of Naniha, the escort Envoy, were made to go on board the

Koryö Envoys' ship, while two Koryö men were made to embark in the escort Envoy's ship. Having in this manner exchanged ships, as a precaution against treachery, they both set sail together. They had only gone a few ri, when the escort Envoy, Naniha, fearing the waves, took the two Koryö men and flung them into the sea.

8th month, 14th day. The escort Envoy, Naniha, returned and reported the result of his mission, saying:—"The whale-fish of the sea assemble in great numbers and intercept and devour the ships with their sculls and oars. Naniha and his companions fearing to be swallowed up by these fishes were unable to go upon the sea." The Emperor hearing this saw that his language was untruthful, and employed him in one of the public offices,[1] not allowing him to return to his own province. XX. 4.

3rd year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Koryö Envoys anchored on the sea-coast of Koshi. A.D. 574.

Autumn, 7th month, 20th day. The Koryö Envoys entered the capital and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Last year thy servants departed, in company with the escort Envoy, in order to return to their own country. Formerly when thy servants arrived at their frontier State,[2] thy servants' frontier State entertained Ihahi, Ohoshima no Obito, and his companions in accordance with the ceremony due to Envoys, and the King of Koryö treated them with specially cordial civility. Notwithstanding this, the ship of the escort Envoy had not arrived up till now, and therefore he has respectfully again sent Envoys along with Ihahi and his companions to request information as to why our Envoys[3] have not come." When the Emperor heard this he enumerated Naniha's offences, saying:—"Thou art doubly guilty, first for having deceived the Court, and secondly, for having drowned the Envoys of a neighbouring State. These are heinous crimes, and thou canst not be released." He was therefore sentenced to punishment.[4]

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako, was sent to the province of Kibi to extend the Shirawi

[1] As a slave.

[2] Note the fiction of Koryö being a dependency of Japan.

[3] This must be taken as referring to the two men whom Naniha threw overboard.

[4] No doubt of death.

Miyake and the staff of serfs attached to it. He accordingly took the register of serfs and handed it over to Itsu, Shirawi no Fubito.

11th day. By an Imperial order, the title of Tsu no Fubito[1] was granted to Ushi,[2] younger brother of Ō Chin-ni, Funa no Fubito.[3]

XX. 5. 11th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer tribute.

A.D. 575. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Hirohime, daughter of Prince Mate of Okinaga, was raised to the rank of Empress Consort. She had one son and two daughters. The eldest was called the Imperial Prince Oshizaka Hikohito no Ohine [otherwise the Imperial Prince Maroko]. The second was called the Imperial Princess Sakanobori. The third was called the Imperial Princess Uji no Shitsukahi.

In this month a consort was appointed named Womuna gimi no Otoshi,[4] the daughter of Nakatsu kimi, Kasuga no Omi. [She was otherwise called Kusu-kimi no Iratsuko.] She bore three sons and one daughter. The first was called the Imperial Prince Naniha; the second was called the Imperial Prince Kasuga; the third was called the Imperial Princess Kuwada; the fourth was called the Imperial Prince Ohomata. The next, an Uneme named Unako no Otoshi, daughter of Wokuma, Ise no Ohoka no Obito, gave birth to the Imperial Princess Futo hime [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Sakurawi] and the Imperial Princess Nukade hime [also called the Imperial Princess Tamura].

XX. 6. 2nd month, 7th day. The Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, returned to the capital and reported the result of his mission respecting the Miyake.

3rd month, 11th day. Pèkché sent envoys to offer tribute, more in quantity than in ordinary years. The Emperor, inasmuch as Silla had not yet established Imna, gave orders to the Imperial Prince and to the Oho-omi, saying:—"Be not remiss in the matter of Imna."

Summer, 4th month, 6th day. The Kishi, Kanako, was sent on a mission to Silla, the Kishi, Itahiko, to Imna, and the Kishi, Wosa-hiko,[5] to Pèkché.

[1] Port-recorder. [2] The ox. [3] i.e. Shipping-recorder.
[4] This is the rendering of the Interlinear Kana version.
[5] Wosa means interpreter. Kishi was originally a Corean title.

6th month. Silla sent envoys to offer tribute, more in quantity than usual. They also sent tribute for the four townships of Ta-ta-ra, Su-na-ra, Hwa-tha, and Pal-kwi.

In this year, by command, the diviners divined a site for the dwellings of Prince Amabe and Prince Itowi. The divination was propitious, and eventually a palace was constructed at Wosada,[1] which was called the Palace of Sakidama.

Winter, 11th month. The Empress Consort Hirohime died.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 10th day. The functionaries petitioned that an Empress Consort should be appointed. By the Emperor's command Toyomike Kashikiya hime no Mikoto[2] was appointed Empress Consort. She bore two sons and five daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Uji no Kahitako [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Uji no Shitsukahi]. She was wedded to Shō-toku, the heir to the throne. The second was called the Imperial Prince Takeda; the third was called the Imperial Princess Woharida. She was wedded to the Imperial Prince Hiko-hito no Ohine.[3] The fourth was called the Imperial Princess Umori [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Karu no mori]; the fifth was called the Imperial Prince Wohari; the sixth was called the Imperial Princess Tame. She was wedded to the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka.[4] The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Sakurawi no Yumibari. A.D. 576. XX. 7.

6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. By Imperial command there were established a Sun-worship Be and a private Be.[5] A.D. 577

Summer, 5th month, 5th day. Prince Ohowake and Woguro no Kishi were sent to govern the Land of Pèkché.

The representatives of the Crown, who by Imperial command were sent on service to the three Han, called themselves 幸, meaning that they governed Corea. This was doubtless an ancient rule. They resembled what are now called Envoys. This explanation applies to all other passages also. It is not clear what was the extraction of Prince Ohowake.

[1] The Interpreter's field.

[2] Afterwards the reigning Empress Suiko Tennō.

[3] Her half-brother.

[4] Jomei Tennō.

[5] This is explained to mean "for the Empress's service."

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The King of the Land of Pèkché presented to the Emperor, through the returning Envoys Prince Ohowake and his companions, a number of volumes of religious books,[1] with an ascetic,[2] a meditative monk,[3] a nun, a reciter of mantras,[4] a maker of Buddhist images, and a temple architect, six persons in all. Eventually there was founded the
XX. 8. Temple of Prince Ohowake of Naniha.

A.D. 578. 7th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. The Imperial Princess Uji was made to attend on the shrine of Ise, but an intrigue which she had with the Imperial Prince Ikenobe having come to light, this appointment was cancelled.

A.D. 579. 8th year, Winter, 10th month. Silla sent Chi-cheul-chöng Nami[5] to bring tribute. At the same time he sent a Buddhist image.

A.D. 580. 9th year, Summer, 6th month. Silla sent Ato Nami and Chil-syo Nami to offer tribute, but they were dismissed without its being received.

A.D. 581. 10th year, Spring, Intercalary 2nd month. Several thousand Yemishi showed hostility on the frontier.[6] Accordingly their chiefs [they were very hairy men] Ayakasu[7] and others were sent for, and the Emperor gave them his commands, saying:—"You Yemishi! In the reign of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko[8] those of you whom it was meet to kill were put to death, and those who deserved forgiveness were pardoned. We now, in observance of this precedent, intend to put to death the ring-leaders." Hereupon Ayakasu and the others were filled with fear and awe. They went down into the middle stream of the
XX. 9. Hatsuse river, and with their faces turned towards Mount Mimoro rinsed[9] their mouths and made oath, saying:—"We Yemishi promise that from this time forward, we, our children, and our children's children [there is an old saying, 'The chil-

[1] A later writer says that there were 200 vols., Buddhist Sutras being among them.

[2] Monks who practise vinaya. *Vide* Eitel, p. 202, 2nd edition.

[3] Yogi. *Vide* Eitel, p. 209. [4] Buddhist magic spells.

[5] Here and below Nami may be a mistake for Nama, the Corean title of rank. The characters used for mi and ma closely resemble each other.

[6] It is to be remembered that all the northern part of the main island of Japan, including the province of Mutsu and Dewa, were at this time in Aino possession.

[7] A Japanese name. [8] Keikō Tennō. [9] As a purifying ceremony.

dren of our body eighty times continued'] will serve the Celestial Gate with sincerity of heart. If we break this oath, may all the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and also the spirits of the Emperors, destroy our race."

11th year, Winter, 10th month. Silla sent Ato Nami and Sil-syo Nami to render tribute. They were dismissed, their tribute not being accepted. A.D. 582.

12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"In the reign of the late Emperor, my father, Silla destroyed our inner Miyake State. A.D. 583.

> In the 23rd year of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha, Imna was destroyed by Silla. Therefore it is said that Silla destroyed our inner Miyake State.

Our father, the late Emperor, devised measures for restoring Imna, but he died without carrying them out, and did not fulfil his purpose. It therefore devolves on Us to render assistance to his divinely admirable policy, and to restore Imna again. The Talsol, Illa, son of the Arisăteung, Miyakko of the Province of Ashigita in Hi,[1] now resident in Pèkché, is a wise and brave man. Therefore we wish to consult with him." Accordingly he sent Oshikatsu, Ki no kuni no Miyakko, and Hashima, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, to summon him from Pèkché.

Winter, 10th month. Oshikatsu, Ki no Kuni no Miyakko, and his colleague returned from Pèkché and reported the result of their mission to the Court, saying:—"The King of the Land of Pèkché grudged Illa and would not consent to allow him to come up."

This year, Hashima, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, was again sent to summon Illa from Pèkché. Hashima, having gone to Pèkché, wished first of all to see Illa privately. He was standing all by himself facing the door of his house, when XX. 10. there suddenly came from within the house a Corean woman who addressed him in the Corean language, saying:—"Radix tua ineat in meam radicem," and then went away into the house. Hashima perceived her meaning, and followed in after her. Upon this Illa came to meet him, and taking him by the hand, made him take his place on a seat. He then secretly

[1] Includes Higo and Hizen.

informed him, saying:—"I have received private information that the King of the Land of Pèkché is suspicious of the Celestial Court, fearing that if I were sent, I might afterwards be detained and not allowed to return. He is therefore reluctant, and will not consent to offer me. It would be well, when the Imperial commands are delivered, to make a show of severity, and to insist peremptorily on summoning me." Hashima accordingly followed this plan, and required Illa from the King of the Land of Pèkché. He stood in awe of the Celestial Court, and, not daring to disobey the Imperial message, sent Illa to the Emperor. The Eun-sol,[1] Tök-ni, Yö-no, and Kanochi, the Associate Official the Tök-sol,[2] Chhă-kan-tök, with a good number of steersmen and sailors, together with Illa and his companions, arrived at the Miyake of Kojima in Kibi. The Court sent Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji to express sympathy for their fatigues. Afterwards Daibu[3] were sent to the official residence at Naniha to wait upon Illa. At this time Illa, clad in armour, and riding on horseback, came up to the gate.[4] Then advancing in front of the Hall of Audience, he did his obeisances when advancing and retiring in a kneeling posture, and sighing bitterly, said:—"In the reign of the Emperor who ruled the world from the Palace of Hinokuma,[5] my Lord Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji sent Arisăteung, Hi no Ashigita no Miyakko, and Yugehi[6] of the Osaka Be,[7] beyond the sea, on the service of the State. Thy servant, the son of the Arisăteung, the Talsol Illa, having heard the Imperial summons, with fear and awe presents himself at thy Court." He accordingly took off his armour and delivered it to the Emperor. An official lodging was built for him at Kuha no ichi in Ato, where he was made to dwell, and provided with everything which he desired. Afterwards Abe no Me no Omi,
XX. 11. Mononobe no Niheko no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji were sent to inquire of Illa respecting the government of the country. Illa answered and said:—"The Emperor's aim in governing the Empire is to ensure the

[1] 3rd rank. [2] 4th rank. [3] A general term for high officials.
[4] Leading to the Hall of Audience.
[5] Senkwa Tennō. [6] Archer.
[7] The executioners.

protection and nourishment of the people. Why should he hastily stir up warfare which will redound to their destruction? Therefore now having made all, from his counsellors, viz. the Omi, Muraji, and Miyakko of both kinds [the Kuni no Miyakko and the Tomo no Miyakko], whose duty it is to serve the Court, down to the people, without exception, to enjoy prosperity, let him cause them to want for nothing. When this has been continued for three years, when food has been made abundant, and arms plentiful, the people being dealt with by means of gladness, will fear neither water nor fire, and will join with the Emperor in commiserating the troubles of the country. Thereafter let ships be built in numbers and stationed in order at all the ports, so that visitors from abroad may view them and be filled with dread. There should then be sent a capable Envoy to Pèkché to summon the King of that country. If he does not come, let his Prime Minister or a Prince be summoned to appear. Their hearts will in that case naturally be filled with submissive reverence, and they ought then to be called to an account for their misconduct" [the crime of delaying to establish Imna].

Moreover he addressed (a message to) the Emperor, saying:—"The people of Pèkché talk of a plan according to which it is intended to request (a settlement in) Tsukushi for 300 ships (of emigrants?). If they really make this request, I advise Your Majesty to pretend to grant it. Pèkché will then wish to create a new country, and will certainly put the women and children on ship-board and come with them in advance. The Government, when this time is at hand, should place in ambush in Iki and Tsushima plenty of troops, and, awaiting their arrival, slay them. On the other hand, guard against being yourselves over-reached, and solidly build fortresses in all the strong positions."[1]

Hereupon one of the Eun-sol and the Associate, on the eve of their departure for their own country [an old book says:—"One Eun-sol and one Associate"] held secret communication with Tök-ni and others, saying:—"If you, having allowed sufficient time for us to get past Tsukushi, will secretly

[1] All this seems great nonsense. It has puzzled the native commentators.

kill Illa, we will report the matter fully to the King, who will
XX. 12. confer on you high official rank, so that you and your families will leave prosperity to your descendants." Tök-ni and Yö-no both agreed. The Associate Official and the others at length started on their journey to Chika.[1] Hereupon Illa removed from the village of Kuha-ichi to the official residence of Naniha. Tök-ni and his colleague conspired together day and night how they were to slay him. Now Illa's body was radiant like a flame of fire,[2] and therefore Tök-ni and the others were afraid, and did not kill him. At length, during the interlune of the 12th month, they awaited his loss of radiance and slew him. But Illa came to life again, and said:—"This is the doing of our slaves, and not of Silla." [This is said because there were at this time Silla Envoys (at the Court).] Having thus spoken, he died.

The Emperor gave command to Niheko no Ohomuraji and Nukadeko no Muraji, and had him buried in front of the Hill of the western boundary of Wogohori. His wife, children, and sailors were made to live at Ishikaha.[3] Hereupon Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji counselled, saying:—"If they are made to live all together at one place, I fear it may give rise to trouble." Accordingly the wife and children were made to dwell at Kudara[4]-mura in Ishikaha, and the sailors at Ohotomo no mura in Ishikaha. Tök-ni and the other were arrested and kept at Ada-mura in Lower Kudara, where a number of Daibu were sent to investigate the matter. Tök-ni and the other confessed their guilt, saying:—"Indeed it was the Eun-sol and the Associate who by their instructions made us do this. We, being underlings, did not dare to refuse."
XX. 13. They were accordingly cast into prison, and the Daibu reported the result of their mission to the Court. A messenger was sent to Ashigita[5] to summon all Illa's household, and Tök-ni and the other were delivered to them to fix their punishment at their discretion. Then the Kimi of Ashigita took them, and having slain them all, cast away their bodies on the Island of Mimejima. [Mimejima is perhaps Hime-jima.] Illa was

[1] In Hizen. [2] Il is 日, i.e. sun.
[3] Illa's history resembles somewhat that of Kim Ok-kiun in our own day.
[4] i.e. Pèkché. In Kahachi.
[5] Illa was of the Ashigita family. See above, p. 97.

removed for interment at Ashigita. Later the coast people reported that the Eun-sol's ship had met with a storm and foundered, and that the Associate's ship had not been able to return until it had first drifted to Tsushima.

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Kitahiko, Naniha no Kishi, was sent to Silla. He at length arrived at Imna. A.D. 584.

Autumn, 9th month. Kafuka no Omi [the personal name is wanting], who had come from Pèkché, had a stone image of Miroku,[1] and Saheki no Muraji [the personal name is wanting] an image of Buddha. This year Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, having asked for these two Buddhist images, sent Shiba Tattō,[2] Kurabe no Sukuri, and Hida, Ikenobe no Atahe, in all directions to search out persons who practised (Buddhism). Upon this he only found in the province of Harima a man named Hyé-phyŏn of Koryŏ,[3] who from a Buddhist priest had become a layman again. So the Oho-omi made him teacher, and caused him to receive Shima, the daughter of Shiba Tattō, into religion. She took the name of Nun Zen-shin [twelve years of age]. Moreover he received into religion two pupils of the Nun Zen-shin. One was Toyome, the daughter of Ayabito[4] no Yaho. She took the name of Nun Sen-zō. The other was Ishime, daughter of Nishikori Tsubu. She took the name of Nun Kei-zen. Mŭmako no Sukune, still in accordance with the Law of Buddha, reverenced the three nuns, and gave them to Hida no Atahe and Tattō, with orders to provide them with food and clothing. He erected a Buddhist Temple on the east side of his dwelling, in which he enshrined the stone image of Miroku. He insisted on the three nuns holding a general meeting to partake of maigre fare.[5] At this time Tattō found a Buddhist XX. 14.

[1] In Sanskrit Maitrêya, the expected Messiah of the Buddhists. *Vid* Eitel, p. 92.

[2] A Chinese or Corean name. [3] In Japanese Koma no Keibin.

[4] Ayabito is written 漢 人, i.e. a man of Han (China). Here it is a proper name, though no doubt indicating a Chinese ancestry.

[5] The Chinese character for "maigre fare" is 齋. This the Interlinear Kana renders here and below in many places by Ogami, i.e. prayer. That the meetings here referred to were practically for religious services is unquestionable, and we have seen above, Vol. I. p. 41, that this character when used in connection with Shintō, is equivalent to "worship," although primarily meaning "religious abstinence." Here the proper meaning is, I submit, "the vegetable diet of Buddhist priests." A few lines further down

relic on the food of abstinence, and presented it to Mŭmako no Sukune. Mŭmako no Sukune, by way of experiment, took the relic, and placing it on the middle of a block of iron, beat it with an iron sledge-hammer, which he flourished aloft. The block and the sledge-hammer were shattered to atoms, but the
XX. 15. relic could not be crushed. Then the relic was cast into water, when it floated on the water or sank as one desired. In consequence of this, Mŭmako no Sukune, Ikenobe no Hida, and Shiba Tattō held faith in Buddhism and practised it unremittingly. Mŭmako no Sukune built another Buddhist Temple at his house in Ishikaha. From this arose the beginning of Buddhism.

A.D 585. 14th year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. Soga no Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, erected a pagoda north of the Hill of Ohono, and having held a general meeting to partake of maigre food, deposited the relic obtained by Tattō on the top of the pillar.[1]

24th day. Soga no Oho-omi took ill. Having made inquiry of a diviner,[2] the diviner answered and said :—"It is a curse sent by will of the Buddha[3] worshipped in thy father's time." Soga no Oho-omi accordingly sent a young man of his family to report to the Emperor the nature of the divination. The Emperor gave orders, saying :—"In accordance with the words of the diviner, let thy father's Gods be worshipped." The Oho-omi, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, worshipped the stone image, and prayed that his life might be prolonged. At this time there was a pestilence rife in the land, and many of the people died.

3rd month, 1st day. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji and Nakatomi no Katsumi no Daibu addressed the Emperor, saying :—"Why hast thou not consented to follow thy servants' counsel? Is not the prevalence of pestilence from the reign of the late Emperor thy father down to thine, so that

we have 齋食, "abstinence food," Lenten fare, as we should say, and Giles (p. 18) renders 齋僧 "to give meals to priests." This is a well-known duty of pious Buddhists. In the history of Corea there is frequent mention of large numbers of priests being entertained by the kings from time to time.

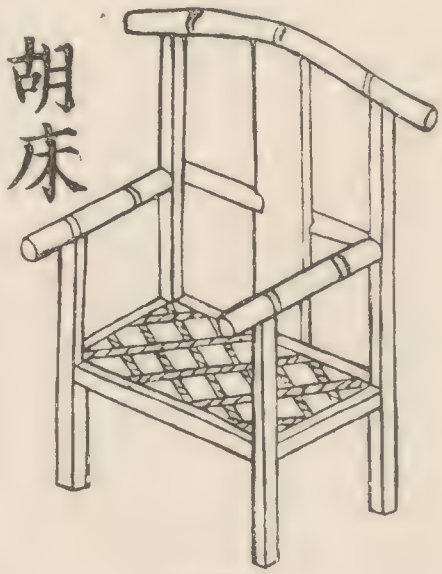
[1] i.e. the central pillar round which a pagoda is built.

[2] Urabe, or native augurs.

[3] The word for Buddha is 佛神, Buddha-Kami.

the nation is in danger of extinction, owing absolutely to the establishment of the exercise of the Buddhist religion by Soga no Omi?" The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Manifestly so: let Buddhism be discontinued."

30th day. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji went himself to the Temple, and sitting on a chair,[1] cut down the pagoda,[2] which he then set fire to and burnt. He likewise burnt the image of Buddha and the Temple of Buddha. Having done so, he took the remains of the image of Buddha which were left from the burning and had them flung into the Naniha canal. On this day there was wind and rain without any clouds, and the Ohomuraji had on his rain-coat. He upbraided Mŭmako no Sukune and those who followed him in the exercise of religion, and made them feel shame and contrition of heart. Moreover he sent Mimoro [also called Oruke], Saheki no Miyakko, to summon Zen-shin and the other nuns provided for by Mŭmako no Sukune. So Mŭmako no Sukune did not dare to disobey this command, but with grief and lamentation called forth the nuns and delivered them to Mimoro. The officials accordingly took away from the nuns their three garments,[3] imprisoned them and flogged them at the road-station of Tsubaki no ichi. XX. 16.



Agura.

The Emperor, with the view of establishing Imna, appointed as his Envoy Prince Mimiko of Sakata. Just at this

[1] Chair here and elsewhere is in the original represented by two Chinese characters which mean "Tartar couch." The Japanese word which the writer had in mind was no doubt agura, "leg-seat," which is the rendering of the Interlinear Kana.

[2] The meaning may be that he sat on a chair to superintend the workmen who were employed for this purpose.

[3] The three priestly garments, viz. the Saṁghâṭi, reaching from the shoulders to the knees, the Uttara Saṁghâṭi, a sort of overcoat, and the Kachâya (*Kesa* in Japanese), a coloured mantle. *Vide* Eitel, *sub vocibus*.

time the Emperor and the Ohomuraji were suddenly afflicted with sores, and he was therefore after all not sent. The Emperor gave command to the Imperial Prince Tachibana no Toyohi, saying :—" The injunctions of the late Emperor my father must not be disregarded: the Government of Imna must be diligently put in order."

Again the Land was filled with those who were attacked with sores and died thereof. The persons thus afflicted with sores said :—" Our bodies are as if they were burnt, as if they were beaten, as if they were broken," and so lamenting, they died. Old and young said privately to one another, " Is this a punishment for the burning of the Image of Buddha ? "

Summer, 6th month. Mŭmako no Sukune addressed the
XX. 17. Emperor, saying :—" Thy servant's disease has not yet been healed ; nor is it possible for succour to be afforded me unless by the power of the three precious things."[1] Hereupon the Emperor commanded Mŭmako no Sukune, saying :—" Thou mayest practise the Buddhist religion alone, but discontinue it in so far as others are concerned." So the three nuns were given back to Mŭmako no Sukune, who received them with rejoicing, lamenting their unexampled misfortunes, and bowing down his head in their honour. He built them a Temple anew, into which he welcomed them, and provided them with sustenance.

> One book says :—" Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji, Oho-miwa no Sakahe no Kimi and Nakatomi no Ihare no Muraji conspired together to destroy the Buddhist religion. They wanted to burn the Temple and pagoda, and also to throw away the Buddhist images. Mŭmako no Sukune opposed this project, and would not agree to it."

Autumn, 8th month, 15th day. The Emperor's disease having become more and more inveterate, he died in the Great Hall. At this time a Palace of temporary interment was erected at Hirose. Mŭmako no Sukune delivered a funeral
XX. 18. oration with his sword girded on. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji burst out laughing, and said :—" He is

[1] The Triratna, i.e. Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

like a sparrow pierced by a hunting-shaft." Next Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji, with trembling hands and legs, delivered his funeral oration. The Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, laughed and said :—" He ought to have bells hung upon him." From this small beginning the two Ministers conceived a hatred of each other. Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi sent Hayato for the protection of the Courtyard of the temporary tomb. The Imperial Prince Anahobe,[1] who wished to possess himself of the empire, flew into a rage, and declared, saying :—" Why do ye serve the Court of a dead King, and do no service where the living King is ? "

[1] Younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother.

BOOK XXI.

THE EMPEROR TACHIBANA NO TOYOHI.[1]

(*YŌMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi was the fourth child of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha.[3] His mother's name was Kitashi hime. The Emperor believed in the Law of Buddha and reverenced the Way of the Gods.[4] In the fourteenth year of his reign, Autumn, the 8th month, the Emperor Nunakura futo-tama-shiki died.

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial dignity, and made his capital at Ihare, calling it the Palace of Namitsuki in Ikenobe.[5] Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune was made Oho-omi, and Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji was made Ohomuraji, both as before.

19th day. The Emperor made command, saying:—etc., etc.[6]—appointing the Imperial Princess Nukade hime to the charge of the Shrine of Ise and to attend to the worship of the Sun-goddess.

This Imperial Princess, from the time of this Emperor until the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime,[7] attended to the divine service of the Sun-goddess. She then retired

[1] This name means orange abundance-sun. Tachibana is, however, here the name of a village in Yamato.

[2] Yō means to use, employ; mei, brightness.

[3] Kimmei Tennō.

[4] Shintō. 神道. The first time this phrase is found. The "Yih-king" has, "The sage frames his doctrine by the Way of the Gods, and the Empire accepts it."

[5] Province of Yamato.

[6] The author omits the words of the edict, and only gives its general purport.

[7] Suiko Tennō.

of her own accord to Katsuraki, and there died. See the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime. One book says:—"Having attended to the worship of the Sun-goddess for the space of thirty-seven years, she then retired of her own accord and died."

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito was appointed Empress Consort.[1] She bore four sons. The first was called the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado[2] [also called Mimito[3] Shōtoku,[4] or as some have it Toyoto-mimi, Great King of the Law, or again Master King of the Law]. This Imperial Prince at first lived at Kamitsu miya.[5] Afterwards he removed to Ikaruga in the reign of the Empress Toyomike Kashikiya hime, where he occupied the Eastern Palace,[6] and discharged the duties of Emperor, being associated with her in the management of all matters of administration, as is stated in the history of the Empress Toyomike Kashikiya hime. The second was called the Imperial Prince Kume; the third was called the Imperial Prince Yeguri; the fourth was called the Imperial Prince Mamuta.[7] Ishikina, daughter of Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, was appointed a Consort. She bore the Imperial Prince Tame [also called the Imperial Prince Toyora]. Hiroko, daughter of Ihamura, Katsuraki no Atahe, bore one son and one daughter. The son was called the Imperial Prince Maroko; he was the ancestor of the Kimi of Tahema. The daughter was called the Imperial Princess Nukade hime. She was during three generations in the service of the Sun-goddess. A.D. 586. XXI. 2. XXI. 3.

Summer, 5th month. The Imperial Prince Anahobe tried to force his way into the Palace of temporary interment in order to ravish the Empress Consort Kashikiya hime.[8] But the favourite Minister, Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, called out the

[1] She was also a daughter of Kimmei Tennō, by a different mother.

[2] See below, 1st year of Suiko's reign, for the reason of this name.

[3] Quick-ear.

[4] Sagely-virtue. This is the renowned Shōtoku Daishi, the real founder of Buddhism in Japan.

[5] The Upper Palace. [6] i.e. the Heir Apparent's quarters.

[7] Or Mata.

[8] The Empress Dowager. The motive was probably not lust, but ambition. Compare the similar case of Jimmu Tennō's widow.

guards, who firmly fastened the Palace Gate, and resisting his entrance, would not let him in. The Imperial Prince Anahobe demanded of them, saying:—"Who is it that is here?" The guards answered and said:—"Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, is here." Seven times he shouted at them to open the gate, but they steadily refused to admit him. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Anahobe addressed the Oho-omi and the Ohomuraji, saying:—"Sakahe is incessantly insulting me. In the funeral eulogy delivered by him at the Court of temporary interment he said:—'Thy Court shall not be left desolate, but shall be kept pure as the surface of a mirror, and thy servant will preserve peace in dutiful service to thee.' This is an insult. At this moment there are many young men of the Emperor's family, and there are two Chief Ministers present. Who has any right wantonly to monopolize talk of dutiful service? Moreover when I wished to see the interior of the place of temporary interment, I was prevented, and not allowed to enter. Seven times I myself called out, 'Open the gate,' but there was no answer. I request that I may be allowed to put him to death." The two Chief Ministers[1] said:—"Be it as thou hast commanded." Upon this, the Imperial Prince Anahobe, while secretly planning to make himself ruler of the Empire, falsely gave out that his object was to kill Sakahe no Kimi. At length, along with Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji, he led troops with which they surrounded Ikenobe in Ihare. This having come to the knowledge of Sakahe no Kimi, he concealed himself on Mount Mimoro. That day, at midnight, he came away stealthily from the mountain and hid in the hinder[2] palace, [meaning the Empress Kashikiya hime's country-house. It was called the Palace of Tsubaki ichi]. Relatives of Sakahe
XXI. 4. named Shiratsutsumi and Yokoyama told where Sakahe no Kimi was, and the Imperial Prince Anahobe straightway sent to Moriya no Ohomuraji [one book says:—"The Imperial Princes Anahobe and Hatsusebe having consulted together, sent to Moriya no Ohomuraji"], saying to him:—"Thou must go and slay Sakahe no Kimi, and likewise his two children." The Ohomuraji at length went off in command of an armed force. Soga

[1] 大臣 is here evidently not Oho-omi, for one of them was not an Oho-omi, but an Ohomuraji. It has the more general sense of Chief Minister.

[2] i.e. the Empress's palace.

no Mŭmako no Sukune, having heard from an outside source of this conspiracy, went to the place where the Imperial Prince was. He accordingly arrived before the gate [the gate of the Imperial Prince's house is meant], and finding him on the point of going to the place where the Ohomuraji was, remonstrated with him, saying:—"A ruler does not approach a criminal. Thou shouldst not go thyself." The Imperial Prince would not listen to him, but went. Mŭmako no Sukune forthwith departed in his train, and arrived at Ihare. There he urgently remonstrated with him, and the Prince yielded to his remonstrances and stopped. In this place, accordingly, he remained seated on a chair and waited for the Ohomuraji. A good while later the latter arrived with his troops and reported the result of his commission, saying:—"I have executed Sakahe and the others." [One books says:—"The Imperial Prince went in person and shot them dead."] Hereupon Mŭmako no Sukune broke into bitter lamentations, saying:—"Civil disorder in the Empire is not far off." The Ohomuraji hearing this, answered and said:—"Thy position is that of a small minister;[1] thou dost not know."

This Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, was a favourite of the Emperor Wosada,[2] and he was charged with all matters both internal and external. In consequence of this the Empress-consort Kashikiya hime and Mŭmako no Sukune both conceived enmity against the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 4th month, 2nd day. The Emperor performed the ceremony of tasting the new rice[3] on the river-bank of Ihare. On this day the Emperor took ill and returned to the Palace. All the Ministers were in attendance. The Emperor addressed them, saying:—"It is Our desire to give our adherence to the three precious things. Do ye Our Ministers advise upon this." All the Ministers entered the Court and consulted together. Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji and Nakatomi no Katsumi no Muraji opposed the A.D. 587. XXI. 5.

[1] Alluding to his title of Oho-omi or Great Minister.

[2] Bidatsu Tennō.

[3] Nihi-name. See above, Vol. I. p. 86. It was unusual to celebrate this festival in spring.

Imperial proposal, and advised, saying:—"Why should we reverence strange deities, and turn our backs upon the gods of our country? Of course we know naught of any such thing." The Oho-omi Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune said:—"Let us render assistance in compliance with the Imperial command. Who shall offer advice to the contrary?" Hereupon the Imperial Prince the Emperor's younger brother [the Imperial Prince Anahobe is meant.[1] He was the Emperor's younger brother, born of a concubine], introduced into the interior (of the Palace) a priest of the Land of Toyo[2] [the personal name is wanting]. Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji glared at them in great wrath. Then Kekuso, Oshi-sakabe no Fubito, came hastily and spoke secretly to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"All the Ministers are now plotting against thee, and moreover are about to waylay thee." When the Ohomuraji heard this, he retired to Ato [Ato is the name of a place where the Ohomuraji had a country house] and assembled a body of men. Nakatomi no Katsumi no Muraji assembled troops at his house and went with them to the assistance of the Ohomuraji. At length he prepared figures of the Imperial Prince Hikobito, the Heir Apparent, and of the Imperial Prince Takeda, and loathed them.[3] But presently finding that success was impossible, he repaired to the Palace of the Imperial Prince Hikobito at Mimata. One of the attendants[4] (of the Prince) named Ichihi,
XXI. 6. Tomi no Obito [Tomi is the family name, and Ichihi the personal name], watched till Katsumi no Muraji was withdrawing from the place where the Imperial Prince Hikobito was, and drawing his sword, slew him. The Ohomuraji from his house at Ato sent a message to Mŭmako no Oho-omi by Wosaka, Mononobe no Yasaka no Oho-ichi no Miyakko, and Ani, Urushibe[5]

[1] The "Shukai" editor thinks we should understand here the Emperor's younger brother *and* the Imperial Prince.

[2] Or perhaps Toyokuni was his name.

[3] i.e. practised witchcraft on them.

[4] Toneri.

[5] This name may be read either Urushibe no Miyakko or Nuribe no Miyakko. Urushi is "varnish," and nuri means "to smear," so that the difference is not very material. This is the first mention of lacquer in Japanese literature, and although it indicates that the art was already known, we may safely set aside as later inventions the statements referring it to a much earlier period which are quoted, with a reserve amply justified by the

no Miyakko, saying:—"Hearing that the Ministers have designs against me, I am keeping out of the way." Mŭmako no Oho-omi accordingly sent Hashi no Yajima no Muraji to the place where Ohotomo no Hirafu no Muraji was, and told him all that the Ohomuraji had said. Hirafu no Muraji, therefore, took in his hand his bow and arrows and his leathern shield and went to the house at Tsukikuma [the Oho-omi's house], where he remained guarding the Oho-omi, and did not leave him by night or by day.

The Emperor's sores became worse and worse, and when the end was approaching, Tasuna of the Kuratsukuri [1] Be [son of Shiba Tattō] came forward and addressed him, saying:—"Thy servant, on behalf of the Emperor, will renounce the world and exercise religion. Moreover, he will make an image of Buddha sixteen feet high, and a Temple." The Emperor was deeply moved. This is the 16-foot wooden image of Buddha which with its attendant Bosatsu [2] now stands in the Temple of Sakata at Minabuchi.

9th day. The Emperor died in the Great Hall.

Autumn, 7th month, 21st day. He was buried in the Misasagi above the pond of Ihare.[3]

facts, in an essay on Lacquer in the "Catalogue of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work in the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894."

The Urushibe (or Nuribe) no Muraji (a higher rank than Miyakko) were promoted to be Urushibe no Sukune in 685.

An ancient note to the "Kiujiki," III. 16, traces the descent of the Urushibe no Muraji from a deity.

[1] Saddle-makers.

[2] i.e. Boddhisattwa. The two Bosatsu here alluded to are probably Ji-zō Bosatsu (Kshidi-garbha) and Monju Bosatsu, the Sanskrit Mañd-jus'rî. *Vide* Eitel, *sub vocc.* Also *vide* "Satow's Handbook," 2nd ed. introduction, p. 87.

[3] Afterwards re-interred at Shinaga in Kahachi.

THE EMPEROR HATSUSEBE.[1]

(*SUJUN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

XXI. 7. The Emperor Hatsusebe was the twelfth child of the Emperor Ame-kuni Oshi-hiraki hiro-niha."[3] His mother's name was Wo-ane[4] no Kimi [daughter of Iname no Sukune, as already stated].

The Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi died in the second year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month. In the 5th month the army of the Mononobe no Ohomuraji made a disturbance thrice. The Ohomuraji from the first wished to set aside the other Imperial Princes and to establish the Imperial Prince Anahobe as Emperor. He now hoped to make use of a hunting party to devise a plan for raising him to the throne instead. So he secretly sent a messenger to the Imperial Prince Anahobe, to say:—"I should like to hunt with the Imperial Prince in Ahaji." The plot leaked out.

6th month, 7th day. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune and other Ministers, on behalf of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto, commissioned[5] Nifute, Saheki no Muraji, Ihamura, Hashi no Muraji, and Makuhi, Ikuba no Omi, saying:—"Do ye with rigorous discipline of arms proceed at once to execute the Imperial Prince Anahobe and the Imperial Prince Yakabe." On this day, at midnight, Nifute, Saheki no Muraji, and his colleagues surrounded the Palace of the Imperial Prince Anahobe. Upon this the guardsmen, having first climbed up into the upper story, smote the Imperial Prince Anahobe on the shoulder. The Imperial Prince fell down from the upper story, and ran away into an outhouse. Then the guardsmen, holding up lights, executed him.

8th day. The Imperial Prince Yakabe was executed.

The Imperial Prince Yakabe was the son of the Emperor

[1] The "Kojiki" calls him Hatsusebe no Waka-sazaki.

[2] Venerable-lofty. Kimmei Tennō.

[4] i.e. little-elder-sister.

[5] The character used is 詔, generally applied to an edict or order of the Emperor.

Hinokuma[1] and father of Princess Kamutsu hime. This is not clear.

He was put to death because he approved the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

9th day. The nun Zen-shin and the others addressed the Oho-omi, saying:—"Discipline is the basis of the method of XXI. 8. those who renounce the world; we pray thee to let us go to Pèkché to receive instruction in the Law of Discipline." This month tribute Envoys from Pèkché arrived at Court. The Oho-omi addressed the Envoys, saying:—"Take these nuns with you, and when you are about to cross over to your country, make them learn the Law of Discipline. When they have done, send them off." The Envoys answered and said:—"When we return to our frontier State, we shall first of all inform the King of our country, and it will afterwards be not too late to send them off."[2]

Autumn, 7th month. The Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, incited the Imperial Princes and the Ministers to plot the destruction of the Ohomuraji, Mononobe no Moriya. The Imperial Prince Hatsusebe, the Imperial Prince Takeda, the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado, the Imperial Prince Naniha, the Imperial Prince Kasuga, the Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, Womaro no Sukune, Ki no Omi, Hirafu, Kose no Omi, Katafu, Kashihade no Omi, and Wonara, Katsuraki no Omi, together led an army, and advanced to attack the Ohomuraji. Kurafu, Ohotomo no Muraji, Hito, Abe no Omi, Ite, Heguri no Omi, Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, and Kasuga no Omi [the personal name is not given], together led a force from the district of Shiki[3] as far as the house of Shibukaha.[4] The Ohomuraji, in personal command of the young men of his family and of a slave-army, built a rice-fort and gave battle. Then the Ohomuraji climbed up into the fork of an elm[5] at Kisuri, from which he shot down arrows like rain. His troops XXI. 9. were full of might. They filled the house and overflowed into the plain. The army of the Imperial Princes and the troops of the Ministers were timid and afraid, and fell back three times. At this time the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado, his hair

[1] Senkwa Tennō. [2] See below, XXI. 13. [3] In Kahachi.
[4] i.e. the Ohomuraji's house at Shibukaha.
[5] The yenoki or Celtis sinensis.

being tied up on the temples[1] [the ancient custom was for boys of the age of fifteen or sixteen to tie up their hair on the temples; at the age of seventeen or eighteen it was divided, and made into tufts, as is the case even now], followed in the rear of the army. He pondered in his own mind, saying to himself:—"Are we not going to be beaten? Without prayer we cannot succeed." So he cut down a nuride tree,[2] and swiftly fashioned images of the four Heavenly Kings.[3] Placing them on his top-knot, he uttered a vow:—"If we are now made to gain the victory over the enemy, I promise faithfully to honour the four Heavenly Kings, guardians of the world, by erecting to them a temple with a pagoda." The Oho-omi Soga no Mŭmako also uttered a vow:—"Oh! all ye Heavenly Kings and great Spirit King,[4] aid and protect us, and make us to gain the advantage. If this prayer is granted, I will erect a temple with a pagoda in honour of the Heavenly Kings and the great Spirit King, and will propagate everywhere the three precious things." When they had made this vow, they urged their troops of all arms sternly forward to the attack. Now there was a man named Ichihi, Tomi no Obito, who shot down
XXI. 10. the Ohomuraji from his branch and killed him and his children. The Ohomuraji's troops accordingly gave way suddenly. Joining their forces, they every one put on black clothes, and going hunting on the plain of Magari in Hirose, so dispersed.[5] In this war some of the children and relatives of the Ohomuraji made their escape, and concealing themselves on the plain of Ashihara, changed their personal names and altered their titles,[6] while others fled away nobody knew where.

[1] The interlinear version calls this style hisago-hana, i.e. gourd-flower the manly style is called age-maki, or rolling up.

[2] It is doubtful what kind of tree is intended. Nuride is the interlinear gloss. The nuride or nurude resembles the lacquer tree (nuri means lacquer). Hepburn calls it Rhus semialata.

[3] Shi-ten-ō or Chatur Mahārādjas. Four demon kings who guard the world against Asuras. *Vide* Eitel, p. 174, 2nd ed.; also "Satow's Handbook," p. 556.

[4] Daijinnō or Mahākalā. *Vide* Eitel, pp. 85 and 91. Identified with the modern Daikoku Sama. *Vide* "Anderson's B. M. Catalogue," p. 33.

[5] It is explained here that "black" was the colour of underlings' clothes, and that the chiefs put on this colour for disguise. The "hunting" was only a pretence.

[6] Or surnames.

The people of that time said of them to one another :—"The wife of Soga no Oho-omi is the younger sister of the Ohomuraji Mononobe no Moriya, and the Oho-omi, injudiciously acting on his wife's advice, slew the Ohomuraji." [1]

When the civil troubles had been quieted, a Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings [2] was built in the province of Settsu. Half of the Ohomuraji's slaves, together with his house, were constituted the slaves and farm-house of the Great Temple, and ten thousand shiro [3] of rice-land were given to Ichihi, Tomi no Obito. Moreover, Soga no Oho-omi, in fulfilment of his XXI. 11. vow, erected the Temple of Hōkōji [4] in Asuka. A dependant of the Ohomuraji Mononobe no Moriya named Yorodzu, [the personal name], of the Tottori-be, in command of one hundred men, guarded the house [5] at Naniha, but hearing of the Ohomuraji's downfall, he urged his horse into a gallop, and made his escape by night in the direction of the village of Arimaka in the district of Chinu, where, having passed his wife's house, he at length concealed himself among the hills. The Court took counsel together, saying :—"Yorodzu cherishes traitorous feelings, and therefore has concealed himself among these hills. Let his kindred be extirpated promptly, and no remissness shown." Yorodzu, in tattered and filthy raiment, and with a wretched countenance, came forth alone, of his own accord, bow in hand and girt with a sword. The officials sent several hundred guardsmen to surround him. Yorodzu, accordingly, was afraid, and hid himself in a bamboo thicket, where he tied cords to the bamboos and pulled them so as to shake the bamboos, and thus make the people to doubt where he had gone in. The guardsmen were deceived, and pointing to the quivering bamboos, ran forward, saying :—"Yorodzu is here!" Yorodzu forthwith shot his arrows, not one of which missed its mark, so that the guardsmen were afraid, and did not dare to approach. Yorodzu then unstrung his bow, and

[1] She wished to appropriate to herself his property.

[2] At Osaka. Still known as Tennōji. *Vide* "Murray's Handbook of Japan," 3rd ed. p. 285.

[3] The 頃 (shiro) is equal 100 畝 or mow, a measure which, according to present Chinese reckoning, is equal to 15.13 acres. *Vide* Giles.

[4] Near Nara. It is no longer in existence.

[5] Of the Ohomuraji.

taking it under his arm, ran off towards the hills. The guardsmen accordingly pursued him, shooting their arrows at him from both sides of a river, but none of them were able to hit
XXI. 12. him. Hereupon one of the guardsmen ran on swiftly, and got before Yorodzu. Lying down by the river's side, he aimed at him, and hit him on the knee. Yorodzu forthwith pulled out the arrow, and stringing his bow, let fly his arrows. Then prostrating himself on the earth, he exclaimed aloud:—"A shield of the Emperor, Yorodzu would have devoted his valour to his service, but no examination was made, and, on the contrary, he has been hard pressed, and is now at an extremity. Let some one come forward and speak with me, for it is my desire to learn whether I am to be slain or to be made a prisoner." The guardsmen raced up and shot at Yorodzu, but he warded off the flying shafts, and slew more than thirty men. Then he took the sword which he wore, and cut his bow into three pieces, and bending back his sword, flung it into the midst of the water of the river. With a dagger which he had besides, he stabbed himself in the throat, and died. The Governor of Kahachi reported the circumstances of Yorodzu's death to the Court, which gave an order by a stamp [1] that his body should be cut into eight pieces and disposed for exposure among the eight provinces. The Governor [2] of Kahachi accordingly, in obedience to the purport of the stamped order, was about to dismember him for exposure, when thunder pealed, and a great rain fell. Now, there was a white dog which had been kept by Yorodzu. Looking up, and looking down, he went round, howling beside the corpse, and at last, taking up the head in his mouth, placed it on an ancient mound. He then lay down close by, and starved to death in front of it. The Governor of Kahachi, thinking that dog's conduct very strange, reported it to the Court. The Court could not bear to hear of it for pity, and issued a stamped order to this effect:—"The case of this dog is one that is rarely heard of in the world, and should be shown to after ages. Let Yorodzu's kindred be made to construct a tomb and bury their remains." The kindred of Yorodzu accord-

[1] Oshide. A stamp of red or black ink on the palm of the hand as token of authority.

[2] 國司. The Interlinear Kana is mikoto-mochi.

ingly assembled together, and raised a tomb in the village of Arimaka, where they buried Yorodzu and his dog.

It was reported from the province of Kahachi that on the plain [1] of the River of Yega there were slain men to the number it might be of several hundreds. Their corpses had become putrefied, so that their names could not be ascertained, but by the colour of the clothing their bodies were taken up (by their friends) for burial. Now there was a dog, kept by Inu, Sakurawi no Tanabe no Muraji, who held on by his teeth to the dead body (of his master), and lying beside it, guarded it closely, not getting up to go away until he had caused it to be taken up for burial. XXI. 13.

8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor, upon the advice of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto and the Ministers, assumed the Imperial Dignity. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune was made Oho-omi as before. The Ministers and Daibu were also confirmed in their previous ranks.

In this month the Palace was made at Kurahashi.[2]

1st year, Spring, 3rd month. Woteko, daughter of Ohotomo no Nukade no Muraji, was appointed Consort. She bore the Imperial Prince Hachiko and the Imperial Princess Nishikide. A.D. 588.

This year, the Land of Pèkché sent Envoys, and along with them the Buddhist priests Hyé-song, Nyöng-Keun, and Hyé-sik,[3] with a present of Buddhist relics. The Land of Pèkché sent the Eun-sol, Syu-sin, the Tök-sol, Kè-mun, and the Na-sol, Pok-pu-mè-sin, with tribute, and also with a present of Buddhist relics, the Buddhist priest Nyöng-chyo, the ascetics Nyöng-wi, Hyé-chyung, Hyé-syuk and To-öm, the Temple carpenters Ta-nyang Mi-ta and Mun-ko-ko-chă, a man learned in the art of making braziers and chargers,[4] the Chyang-tök Pèng-mè-syun, men learned in pottery named Mana Puno, Yang Kwi-mun, Neung Kwi-mun and Syök-ma Tyé-mi, and a painter [5] named Pèk-ka.

[1] The dry bed of a river is frequently so called in Japan. They were often used as execution grounds.

[2] In Yamato. [3] In Japanese Ye-sō, Ryō-kin, and Ye-shoku.

[4] Metal-founders. These artizans had a defined rank and are called Hakase, or doctor.

[5] Probably of Buddhist pictures, says the "Shukai" editor.

Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune inquired of the Pèkché priests the method of receiving discipline, and handing over to the Eun-sol, Syu-sin, and the other Pèkché Envoys the nuns Zen-shin and her companions, despatched them (to Corea) for study. Having pulled down the house of Konoha, ancestor of the Asuka no Kinunuhi no Miyakko, he began to build the Temple of Hōkōji. The name of this place was Asuka no
XXI. 14. Magami no Hara. It was also called Asuka no Tomada.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Saru (45th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 589. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Kamafu, Afumi no Omi, was sent to the Tōsandō[1] to inspect the frontier of the territory of the Yemishi, Kari, Shishibito no Omi, to the Tōkaidō[2] to inspect the frontier of the provinces bordering on the Eastern ocean, and Abe no Omi to the Hokurikudō to inspect the frontier of the province of Koshi, etc.[3]

A.D. 590. 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The student nuns, Zen-shin and her companions, returned from Pèkché, and took up their abode in the Temple at Sakurawi.

Autumn, 10th month. People went to the hills to get timber for building Buddhist temples. In this year there entered religion as nuns, Zentoku, daughter of Ohotomo no Sadehiko no Muraji, and his Koma wives Shiraki hime and Kudara hime,[4] under the names of Zem-myō and Myō-kwō. Moreover men of Han[5] named Zen-sō, Zen-tsū, Hō Jō-shō, Zen Chi-sō, Zen Chi-kei, and Zen-kwō, with Tasuna, a son of Kuratsukuri be no Shiba Tattō, at the same time renounced the world, the latter taking the name of Tokusai Hōshi.[6]

A.D. 591. 4th year, Spring, 4th month, 12th day. The Emperor Wosada was buried in the Misasagi of Shinaga.[7] This is the Misasagi where the Empress-consort, his mother, was buried.

[1] i.e. East-mountain-circuit, including the inland provinces eastwards from Afumi (Ōmi). The Interlinear Kana has Adzuma, which is not quite the same.

[2] East-sea-circuit, including the provinces along the East Coast from Iga to Hitachi.

[3] Viz. Etchiu, Echizen, and Echigo.

[4] i.e. the Silla lady and the Pèkché lady.

[5] China. No doubt we should understand the Ayabito family of Chinese descent. The names are Chinese, but as the persons who bore them had probably never been in China, I have not given the Chinese pronunciation.

[6] Hōshi is a priestly title.

[7] In Kahachi.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying :—" It is our desire to establish Imna. What do ye think ? " The Ministers said to him :—" The Miyake of Imna should be established. We are all of the same opinion as Your Majesty." XXI 15.

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. Ki no Womaro no Sukune, Hirafu, Kose no Omi, Kashihade no Omi, Ohotomo no Kuhi no Muraji, and Katsuraki no Wonara no Omi were appointed as Generals. Taking with them the Omi and Muraji of the various Houses as Adjutant-Generals of the divisions of the army, they marched out in command of over 20,000 men and stationed themselves in Tsukushi. Kishi no Kana was sent to Silla and Kishi[1] no Itahiko to Imna to make inquiry respecting Imna.

5th year, Winter, 10th month, 4th day. A wild boar was presented to the Emperor. Pointing to it, he said :—" When shall those to whom We have an aversion be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut ? " An abundance of weapons was provided beyond what was customary. A.D. 592.

10th day. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, having been told of the pronouncement of the Emperor, and alarmed at his detestation of himself, called together his people and conspired with them to assassinate the Emperor.

In this month, the Hall of Worship and the covered gallery of the great Hōkōji Temple were built.

11th month, 3rd day. Mŭmako no Sukune lied to the Ministers, saying :—" To-day I present the taxes of the Eastern provinces," and sent Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, who killed the Emperor.

One book says :—" Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was the son of Ihawi, Yamato no Aya no Atahe."

On this day the Emperor was buried in the Misasagi on the hill of Kurahashi.

One book says :—The Imperial concubine Ohotomo no Koteko, incensed at her declining favour, sent a man to Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune with a message, saying :—" Recently a wild boar was presented to the Emperor. He pointed to it and said :—' When shall the man We XXI. 16.

[1] It seems doubtful whether Kishi is here part of the name or a title.

think of be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut?' Besides weapons are being made in abundance in the Palace." Now Mŭmako no Sukune, hearing this, was alarmed.

5th day. Mounted messengers were sent to the General's quarters in Tsukushi, saying:—"Do not let foreign matters be neglected in consequence of the internal troubles."

This month, Koma, Yamato Aya no Atahe, had a clandestine amour with the Imperial concubine Kahakami no Iratsume, daughter of Soga, and made her his wife. [Kahakami no Iratsume was the daughter of Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune.] Mŭmako no Sukune did not find out immediately that Kahakami no Iratsume had been clandestinely possessed by Koma, and supposed that she was dead. But when Koma's intrigue with the Imperial concubine became known he was killed by the Oho-omi.

BOOK XXII.[1]

THE EMPRESS TOYO-MIKE KASHIKI-YA-HIME.[2]

(*SUIKO TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Toyo-mike Kashiki-ya-hime was the second[4] daughter of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha[5] and a younger sister by the same mother of the Emperor Tachibana no toyo-hi.[6] In her childhood she was called the Princess Nukada-be. Her appearance was beautiful, and her conduct was marked by propriety. At the age of eighteen, she was appointed Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki.[7] When she was thirty-four years of age, the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki died. When she was thirty-nine years of age, in the 5th year and the 11th month of the reign of the Emperor Hatsuse-be,[8] the Emperor was murdered by the Oho-omi Mŭmako no Sukune, and the succession to the Dignity being vacant, the Ministers besought the Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki, viz. the Princess Nukada-be, to ascend the throne. The Empress refused, but the public functionaries urged her in memorials three times until she consented, and they accordingly delivered to her the Imperial Seal.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Empress-consort assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Toyora.[9]

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. Relics of Buddha A.D. 593.

[1] From this point to the end of the work I have had the great advantage of consulting Dr. Florenz's German translation.

[2] *Toyo*, abundant; *mi*, august; *ke*, food; *Kashikiya*, cook-house; hime, princess.

[3] Suiko means "to reason from antiquity."

[4] Literally middle. [5] Kimmei. [6] Yōmei. [7] Bidatsu.

[8] Sujun. [9] In Yamato.

were deposited in the foundation-stone of the pillar of the pagoda [1] of the Temple of Hōkōji.

16th day. The Pagoda-pillar was erected.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Imperial Prince Mŭma-
XXII. 2. yado no Toyotomimi was appointed Prince Imperial. He had general control of the Government, and was entrusted with all the details of administration. He was the second child of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyo-hi. The Empress-consort his mother's name was the Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito. The Empress-consort, on the day of the dissolution of her pregnancy, went round the forbidden precinct, inspecting the different offices. When she came to the Horse Department, and had just reached the door of the stables,[2] she was suddenly delivered of him without effort. He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error. He knew beforehand what was going to happen. Moreover he learnt the Inner Doctrine [3] from a Koryö Priest named Hyé-cha, and studied the Outer Classics [4] with a doctor called Hak-ka.[5] In both of these branches of study he became thoroughly proficient. The Emperor his father loved him, and made him occupy the Upper Hall South of the

[1] The Chinese character here translated "pagoda" is 刹, pronounced *setsu* in Japanese. This words means (with the pronunciation *chöl*) in Corean Buddhist temples generally, and it is the same word which we have in the Japanese *tera*, temple. But in the present passage it would seem that one of the subsidiary buildings of a Buddhist temple is intended, no doubt something in the form of a pagoda, corresponding to either 6 or 14 in the drawing in "Murray's Handbook of Japan" (Introduction, p. 26). A pagoda in Japan is built round a solid central pillar (referred to in the text) which runs up to the topmost story. Shari, relics, is the Japanese form of the Sanskrit śarîra, body. The shari at Ikegami near Tokio is said to be part of the shoulder-blade of Saint Nichiren.

The Pagoda is the Chinese and Japanese counterpart of the Indian stupa and an essentially sepulchral monument. The stories, of which there is always an odd number, represent umbrellas of honour. *Vide* an instructive article by Miss Gordon Cumming in the "English Illustrated Magazine."

[2] Hence his name, Mŭma-ya-do, which means stable door.

[3] i.e. Buddhism.

[4] i.e. the Chinese Classics. Inner and Outer have here something of the force of our words sacred and secular.

[5] The Corean pronunciation.

Palace. Therefore he was styled the Senior Prince Kamu-tsu-miya,[1] Muma-ya-do Toyotomimi.

Autumn, 9th month. The remains of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi were removed and re-interred in the Misasagi of Shinaga in Kahachi.

In this year the building of the Temple of Shi-ten-ō-ji[2] at Arahaka in Naniha was begun.

This year was the year Midzunoto Ushi (50th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Empress instructed the Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi to promote the prosperity of the Three Precious Things. At this time, all the Omi and Muraji vied each with one another in erecting Buddhist shrines for the benefit of their Lords and parents. These were called Temples.[4] A.D. 594.

3rd year, Summer, 4th month. Lign-aloes[5] wood drifted ashore on the Island of Ahaji. It was a fathom round. The people of the island, being unacquainted with aloes wood, used it with other firewood to burn in their cooking range, when the smoky vapour spread a perfume far and wide. Wondering at this, they presented it to the Empress. A.D. 595. XXII. 3.

5th month, 10th day. A priest of Koryö, named Hyé-chă, emigrated to Japan, and was taken as teacher by the Prince Imperial. In the same year a Pèkché priest, named Hyé-chhong, arrived. These two priests preached the Buddhist religion widely, and were together the mainstay of the Three Precious Things.

Autumn, 7th month. The General and his followers arrived from Tsukushi.

[1] Kamu-tsu-miya means upper palace.

[2] Shi-ten-ō-ji means the Temple of the Four (Dêva) Kings. This Temple is still in existence—not the original building, however. Arahaka is the name of the place where it stands. It means ruined tomb.

[3] See above, p. 104.

[4] The Chinese character used here is 寺, but whether the author refers to the use of this character (with the sound *ji*) at the end of names of Buddhist temples, or whether he was thinking of the Japanese word *tera*, temple, is not very clear. Tera, though always written 寺, is really, as already pointed out, derived from the Chinese 刹 through the Corean *chöl*.

[5] Aquilaria agallochum.

A.D. 596. 4th year, Winter, 11th month. The building of the Temple of Hōkōji was finished. Accordingly Zentoku no Omi, son of the Oho-omi, was appointed Commissioner for the Temple. On this day the two priests Hyé-chă and Hyé-chhong took up their residence in Hōkōji.

A.D. 597. 5th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The King of Pèkché sent Prince A-cha with tribute.

Winter, 11th month, 22nd day. Ihagane no Kishi was sent to Silla.

A.D. 598. 6th year, Summer, 4th month. Ihagane Naniha no Kishi arrived from Silla, and presented to the Empress a pair of
XXII. 4. magpies. They were accordingly made to be kept in the wood of Naniha, where they built their nest on the branch of a tree, and had their young.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Silla sent tribute of a peacock.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Land of Koshi presented a white deer to the Empress.

A.D. 599. 7th year, Summer, 4th month, 27th day. There was an earthquake which destroyed all the houses. So orders were given to all quarters to sacrifice to the God[2] of Earthquakes.

XXII. 5. Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Pèkché sent tribute of one camel, two sheep, and one white pheasant.[3]

A.D. 600. 8th year, Spring, 2nd month. Silla and Imna made war against each other. The Empress wished to assist Imna,[4] and in this year appointed Sakahibe no Omi General-in-Chief, and Hodzumi no Omi Assistant General, in command of over 10,000 men to invade Silla on behalf of Imna. Hereupon they went straight to Silla, and on arriving there by sea, laid siege to five fortresses and captured them. Now the King of Silla was struck with fear, and raising a white flag, came to the General's standard and offered his submission, ceding the six fortified places of Tatara, Sonara, Pulchikwi, Witha, South

[1] Magpies are very plentiful in Corea. In Japan they are a somewhat rare bird. I have seen them near Kurume in the province of Higo.

[2] From a notice in the "Shoku-Nihongi" it appears that in the reign of Shōmu (724-748) there were shrines to this God in all the seven home provinces.

[3] See below, XXV. 46.

[4] Imna was incorporated with Silla A.D. 532, and is not mentioned in the "Tongkam" after that date. The "Nihongi" narrative may have reference to some rebellion of the Imna people.

Kara, and Ara.[1] Then the Generals took counsel together, saying:—"Silla, conscious of guilt, makes his submission; it would be wrong to insist on chastising him." Accordingly they reported to the Empress. Hereupon the Empress further sent Miwa, Naniha no Kishi, to Silla, and also Itahiko, Naniha no Kishi, to Imna. Both were to examine the state of affairs. Hereupon the Kings of the two countries of Silla and Imna sent Envoys with tribute, and delivered a memorial to the Empress, saying:—"In Heaven above there are Gods; on Earth there are Emperors. Besides these two classes of Gods, what else is there which we should fear? Henceforward we will refrain from making war on one another, and will every year attend the Court without fail, not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry." Accordingly the Empress sent XXII. 6.
messengers to recall the Generals, but no sooner had they arrived from Silla than Silla again invaded Imna.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month. The building of a Palace in A.D. 601.
Ikaruga[2] was begun by the Prince Imperial.

3rd month, 5th day. Kurafu,[3] Ohotomo no Muraji, was sent on a mission to Koryö, and Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, to Pèkché, ordering them to proceed instantly to the assistance of Imna.

Summer, 5th month. The Empress dwelt in the temporary Palace of Miminashi. At this time there were heavy rains, and the river overflowed its banks, filling the Court of the Palace.

Autumn, 9th month, 8th day. A spy from Silla named Kamata came to Tsushima. He was forthwith arrested, and delivered up[4] to the Government, who banished him to Kamitsukenu.[5]

Winter, 11th month, 5th day. The question of making war on Silla was considered.

10th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Imperial A.D. 602.
Prince Kume[6] was appointed General for the invasion of Silla, and was granted the various Be of the service of the Gods,[7]

[1] These places are in Imna.

[2] Near where the Temple of Hōriuji now stands.

[3] Or Kuhi.

[4] Literally sent as tribute.

[5] Kōdzuke.

[6] If Kume is 軍, war, as is probable, there is an obvious propriety in this appointment.

[7] Such as the Nakatomi, the Imbe, etc.

together with the Kuni no Miyakko and the Tomo no Miyakko, and an army of 25,000 men.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. General the Imperial Prince Kume arrived in Tsukushi, and proceeded to the district of Shima, where he encamped, and assembled ships for the transport of provisions for his army.

XXII. 7. 6th month, 3rd day. Kurafu, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, arrived together from Pèkché. At this time the Imperial Prince Kume fell ill, and was unable to carry out the expedition.

Winter, 10th month. A Pèkché priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of Calendar-making, of Astronomy, and of Geography,[1] and also books of the art of invisibility and of magic. At this time three or four pupils were selected, and made to study under Kwal-leuk. Ōchin,[2] the ancestor of the Yako no Fumibito, studied the art of Calendar-making. Kōsō,[3] Otomo no Suguri, studied Astronomy and the art of invisibility. Hinamitatsu, Yamashiro no Omi, studied magic. They all studied so far as to perfect themselves in these arts.

Intercalary 10th month, 15th day. Two Buddhist priests of Koryö named Seung-nyung and Un-chhong emigrated here together.

A.D. 603. 11th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Kume died in Tsukushi. A mounted courier was despatched to report the news to the Empress. Now when the Empress heard it, she was greatly shocked, and straightway sending for the Prince Imperial and Soga no Oho-omi, spoke to them, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Kume, the General-
XXII. 8. in-Chief for the chastisement of Silla, has died. On the point of undertaking a great project, he has failed to accomplish it. Is not this much to be lamented?" So he was temporarily interred at Saba in the Province of Suwo, and Wite, Hashi no Muraji,[4] was sent to superintend the temporary burial. There-

[1] The term used would include Geomancy.

[2] Ōchin is a name of Chinese or Corean origin, but as it is borne by a Japanese, I give it the Japanese pronunciation. Fumibito or fubito means scribes.

[3] Or Takatoshi.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 181. It would appear from this that Hashi no Muraji was still an office with specific duties, and not a mere title.

fore the descendants of Wite no Muraji were called Saba no Muraji. This was the reason of it.

He (the Prince) was afterwards buried on the top of Mount Hanifu in Kahachi.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. A new appointment was made of the Imperial Prince Tahema,[1] the elder brother of the Imperial Prince Kume, as General for the chastisement of Silla.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Tahema sailed from Naniha.

6th day. The Imperial Prince Tahema arrived at Harima. Now his wife, Princess Toneri, who accompanied him, died at Akashi, and was buried on the top of the Hill of Higasa. So Prince Tahema returned, and never accomplished his expedition of chastisement.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. There was a removal (of the Imperial residence) to the Palace of Woharida.

11th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial addressed all the high functionaries,[2] saying :—" I have an image of the venerable Buddha. Which of you will receive this image and worship it reverently ? " Now Kahakatsu, Hada no Miyakko, came forward and said :—" Thy servant will worship it." So he received the image of Buddha, and built for it the Temple of Hachi-woka.[3]

In this month, the Prince Imperial having asked permission of the Empress, made great shields and quivers. Moreover he painted banners.[4] XXII. 9.

12th month, 5th day. Cap-ranks[5] were first instituted, viz. :—

[1] Or Taima. [2] Daibu.

[3] The present Temple of Kwō-riu-ji in Yamashiro, district of Kadono. The Temple tradition says that this image was of Miroku, i.e. Māitreya, Buddha, the merciful one, expected to appear and open a new era about 3000 years hence. Miroku is probably identical with the Corean *miryök*, the general term in that country for Buddhist images.

[4] As offerings to temples. The banners were for display at Court ceremonies. See a paper on the " Hi no Maru," " T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII. 1893, for some account of these banners. See also Dr. Florenz's note on this passage.

[5] The Chinese custom of distinguishing rank by the form and materials of the official cap. In modern times a button on the top of the cap serves this purpose.

Dai-toku[1] . . (greater virtue),
Shō-toku . . (lesser virtue),
Dai-nin . . (greater benevolence),
Shō-nin . . (lesser benevolence),
Dai-rai . . (greater propriety),
Shō-rai . . (lesser propriety),
Dai-shin . . (greater faith),
Shō-shin . . (lesser faith),
Dai-gi . . . (greater justice),
Shō-gi . . . (lesser justice),
Dai-chi . . (greater knowledge),
Shō-chi . . (lesser knowledge),

—in all twelve grades.[2]

Each was made of sarcenet of a special colour.[3] They were gathered up on the crown in the shape of a bag, and had a border attached. Only on the first day of the year were hair-flowers[4] worn.

A.D. 604
XXII. 10.

12th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Cap-ranks were for the first time granted to the various Ministers, there being a distinction for each.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial in person prepared for the first time laws.[5] There were seventeen clauses, as follows :—

[1] Or Daitoko.

[2] The last five are the names of the Chinese five cardinal virtues. *Vide* "Mayers' Manual," p. 311. The "Shiki" informs us that these ranks corresponded, the first two to the fourth rank of that day, the next two to the fifth and so on, there being nothing, however, to correspond to the last two (Daichi and Shōchi) above mentioned. It is noticeable that the highest ranks, which comprised but a small number of persons, are not included in this table.

These cap-ranks did not remain long in use. They were subsequently modified, and ultimately abandoned altogether.

[3] In imitation of the contemporary Sui dynasty of China, purple was for officials of the fifth rank and upwards. *Nin* was green, *rai* red, *shin* yellow, *gi* white, and *chi* black. Princes and chief Ministers wore the cap of the highest rank, viz. toku.

[4] Hair ornaments of gold or silver in the shape of flowers. Specimens are preserved in the Nara Museum. They are called Uzu in Japanese.

[5] These so-called laws are evidently rather of the nature of moral maxims. Dr. Florenz has a highly instructive note on this passage, to which I would refer the reader.

I. Harmony is to be valued,[1] and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honoured. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighbouring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

II. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures, viz. Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood, are the final refuge of the four generated beings,[2] and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to reverence this law? Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not betake them to the three treasures, wherewithal shall their crookedness be made straight?

III. When you receive the Imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the Imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

IV. The Ministers and functionaries should make decorous behaviour their leading principle, for the leading principle of XXII. 11.
the government of the people consists in decorous behaviour.[3] If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behaviour, there

[1] From the "Lunyu," or "Analects" of Confucius.

[2] That is, the beings produced in transmigration by the four processes of being born from eggs, from a womb, moisture-bred, or formed by metamorphosis (as butterflies from caterpillars). Some editions omit the phrase Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood.

[3] The Chinese 禮, *li*, decorum, courtesy, proper behaviour, ceremony, gentlemanly conduct as we should say.

must necessarily be offences. Therefore it is that when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with propriety, the Government of the Commonwealth proceeds of itself.

V. Ceasing from gluttony and abandoning covetous desires, deal impartially with the suits which are submitted to you. Of complaints brought by the people there are a thousand in one day. If in one day there are so many, how many will there be in a series of years? If the man who is to decide suits at law makes gain his ordinary motive, and hears causes with a view to receiving bribes, then will the suits of the rich man be like a stone flung into water,[1] while the plaints of the poor will resemble water cast upon a stone. Under these circumstances the poor man will not know whither to betake himself. Here too there is a deficiency in the duty of the Minister.

VI. Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of dilating to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence towards the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

VII. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men
XXII. 12. hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man.

[1] i.e. they meet with no resistance.

VIII. Let the Ministers and functionaries attend the Court early in the morning, and retire late. The business of the State does not admit of remissness, and the whole day is hardly enough for its accomplishment. If, therefore, the attendance at Court is late, emergencies cannot be met: if officials retire soon, the work cannot be completed.

IX. Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for in it there surely consists the good and the bad, success and failure. If the lord and the vassal observe good faith one with another, what is there which cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not observe good faith towards one another, everything without exception ends in failure.

X. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no XXII. 13.
end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like them.

XI. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. Ye high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments.

XII. Let not the provincial authorities[1] or the Kuni no Miyakko levy exactions on the people. In a country there are not two lords; the people have not two masters. The sovereign is the master of the people of the whole country. The officials to whom he gives charge are all his vassals. How can they, as well as the Government, presume to levy taxes on the people?

XIII. Let all persons entrusted with office attend equally to

[1] The Interlinear Kana has Mikoto mochi. The Kuni no Miyakko were the old local nobles, whose power was at this time giving way to that of the Central Government, represented in the provinces by the 國司, or local Governors.

their functions. Owing to their illness or to their being sent on missions, their work may sometimes be neglected. But whenever they become able to attend to business, let them be as accommodating as if they had had cognizance of it from before, and not hinder public affairs on the score of their not having had to do with them.

XIV. Ye ministers and functionaries! Be not envious. For if we envy others, they in turn will envy us. The evils of envy know no limit. If others excel us in intelligence, it gives us no pleasure; if they surpass us in ability, we are envious. Therefore it is not until after a lapse of five hundred years that we at last meet with a wise man, and even in a thousand years we hardly obtain one sage. But if we do not find wise men and sages, wherewithal shall the country be governed?

XV. To turn away from that which is private, and to set our faces towards that which is public—this is the path of a Minister. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will assuredly feel resentments, and if he is influenced by resentful feelings, he will assuredly fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, he will assuredly sacrifice the public interests to his private feelings. When resentment arises, it interferes with order, and is sub-
XXII 14. versive of law. Therefore in the first clause it was said, that superiors and inferiors should agree together. The purport is the same as this.

XVI. Let the people be employed (in forced labour) at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Let them be employed, therefore, in the winter months, when they are at leisure. But from Spring to Autumn, when they are engaged in agriculture or with the mulberry trees, the people should not be so employed. For if they do not attend to agriculture, what will they have to eat? if they do not attend to the mulberry trees, what will they do for clothing?

XVII. Decisions on important matters[1] should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many. But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that

[1] I venture to substitute 大, great, for 夫, the reading of the printed editions.

they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

Autumn, 9th month. The Court ceremonies were reformed. In connection with this measure, the following edict was issued:—

"On entering or leaving the Palace Gate, one must kneel on both knees, with both hands pressed on the ground, but it is permitted to stand up and walk when the threshold is passed."

In this month there were first established the Kibumi[1] painters and the Yamashiro painters.

13th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Empress commanded the Prince Imperial, the Oho-omi, and also the Princes and Ministers, all to make a vow together, and therewithal to begin to make copper[2] and embroidery images of Buddha, sixteen feet high, one of each. She also commanded Kuratsukuri no Tori[3] to be the engineer for the construction of A.D. 605.

[1] The "Daishiden" ("History of Shōtoku Daishi") states that the Kibumi, Yamashiro and other painters were instituted for the painting of Buddhist pictures. They were relieved from certain taxes and allowed to make this their profession. There is some doubt whether Kibumi is the name of a place or not. It means literally yellow writing, and some think this is a description of the Buddhist Sutras which were written on tinted paper. Kibumi is also applied to Chinese books.

The Shukai quotes here a passage from a Chinese History of the Liang dynasty to the following effect:—"In A.D. 541 Pèkché sent frequent Envoys with offerings of their national products. They also asked for a treatise on the Nirvana Sutra, doctors of (ancient) Chinese poetry, and also artizans and painters. These were granted by Imperial command." This is not the only evidence of the fact that simultaneously with the stream of Chinese civilizing influences which flowed from Corea to Japan at this period, there was a corresponding current from China to Corea. The frequency of Chinese names among the Corean emigrants to Japan is a proof of this. The "Seishiroku," a sort of peerage of Japan, compiled A.D. 814, shows that at that time nearly a third of the Japanese nobility traced their descent to Corean or Chinese ancestors in something like equal proportions. The members are: China (Han), 162 families; Pèkché, 104; Koryö, 50; Imna, 9, and Silla, 9; doubtful, 47. Total, 381 foreign families out of a grand total of 1177. Many of these were descended from teachers of various kinds, and all must have contributed to the spread of Chinese civilization in the country of their adoption.

[2] From the "Daishiden" we learn that the "copper" was an amalgam of copper and gold in the proportion of 23,000 kin (pounds) of the former to 759 riō (ounces) of the latter.

[3] i.e. Tori of the Saddlers' Be.

the Buddhas. At this time King Tè-hung[1] of Koryö, hearing that the Empress was making images of Buddha, sent tribute of 300 riō of the yellow metal.

Intercalary 7th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial
XXII. 15. ordered all the Princes and Ministers to put on the outer garments called *hirahi*.

Winter, 10th month. The Prince Imperial took up his abode in the Palace of Ikaruga.

A.D. 606. 14th year, Summer, 4th month, 8th day. Both the sixteen-foot images of Buddha, viz. that of copper and that of embroidery, were finished, and on the same day the sixteen-foot copper image was enshrined in the Golden Hall[2] of Gangōji.

Now this image of Buddha was too high for the door of the Golden Hall, and it could not be got into it. Hereupon the workmen consulted together and proposed to break down the door of the Hall, and so bring in the image. By the skill, however, of Kuratsukuri no Tori they succeeded in bringing it into the Hall without breaking down the door. On the same day a maigre entertainment[3] was given, at which there assembled an innumerable multitude of people.

Beginning with this year, festivals were held in all the temples on the 8th day of the 4th month and on the 15th day of the 7th month.

5th month, 5th day. The Imperial commands were given to Kuratsukuri no Tori, saying:—"It being my desire to encourage the Inner doctrines, I was about to erect a Buddhist Temple, and for this purpose sought for relics. Then thy
XXII. 16. grandfather, Shiba Tattō, offered me relics. Moreover, there were no monks or nuns in the land. Thereupon thy father, Tasuna, for the sake of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi, took priestly orders[4] and reverenced the Buddhist law. Also thine aunt Shimame was the first to leave her home and, becoming the forerunner of all nuns, to practise the religion of Shaka. Now, We desired to make a sixteen-foot Buddha, and to that end sought for a good image of Buddha. Thou didst provide a model which met Our wishes. Moreover,

[1] This was not the name of the Koryö king who reigned at this time.
[2] The Great Hall of the Temple where the chief image is installed.
[3] This means practically a religious service. See above, XX. 14.
[4] Lit. left his house.

when the image of Buddha was completed, it could not be brought into the Hall, and none of the workmen could suggest a plan of doing so. They were, therefore, on the point of breaking down the doorway, when thou didst manage to admit it without breaking down the doorway. For all these services of thine, We grant thee the rank of Dainin, and We also bestow on thee twenty chō of water-fields [1] in the district of Sakata in the province of Afumi." With the revenue derived from this land, Tori built for the Empress the Temple of Kongō-ji,[2] now known as the nunnery of Sakata in Minabuchi.

Autumn, 7th month. The Empress requested the Prince Imperial to lecture on the Shō-man-giō.[3] He completed his explanation of it in three days.

In this year the Prince Imperial also lectured on the Hokke-kiō [4] in the Palace of Okamoto. The Empress was XXII. 17.
greatly pleased, and bestowed on the Prince Imperial one hundred chō of water-fields in the Province of Harima. They were therefore added to the Temple of Ikaruga.

15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. A Mibu Be [5] was A.D. 607.
established.

9th day. The following edict was made:—"We hear that Our Imperial ancestors, in their government of the world, bending lowly under the sky and treading delicately on the ground, paid deep reverence to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. They everywhere dedicated temples to the mountains and rivers, and held mysterious communion with the powers of Nature. Hence the male and female elements became harmoniously developed, and civilizing influences blended together. And now in Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth? Therefore let Our Ministers with their whole hearts do reverence to the Gods of Heaven and Earth." [6]

[1] i.e. rice-land.

[2] Diamond-temple.

[3] A Sutra or Buddhist Scripture called in Sanskrit the Çrīmālādevī-simhanāda.

[4] The Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 280. Also Florenz, Part III. p. 24.

[6] This edict is pure Chinese, and sounds very strangely from an Empress who was devoted to Buddhism.

15th day. The Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi, accompanied by all the functionaries, did worship to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Dairai,[1] Imoko Wono no Omi, was sent to the Land of Great Thang.[2] Kuratsukuri no Fukuri was appointed his interpreter.

In the winter of this year, the pond of Takechi, the pond of
XXII. 18. Fujihara, the pond of Katawoka, and the pond of Sugahara were constructed in the province of Yamato, and a great canal was dug at Kurikuma in the province of Yamashiro. Moreover, in the province of Kahachi, the ponds of Tokari and Yosami were made. Miyake were also erected in all the provinces.

A.D. 608. 16th year, Summer, 4th month. Imoko, Wono no Omi, came back from the Land of Great Thang. The Thang country called him So In-ko.[3]

An envoy from Great Thang named P'ei Shih-ch'ing, with a suite of twelve persons, arrived at Tsukushi in company with Imoko no Omi. Wonari, Naniha no Kishi, was sent to bring the guests of Great Thang, P'ei Shih-ch'ing and the others, and a new official residence was erected for them over the Koryö official residence at Naniha.

6th month, 15th day. The guests anchored in the harbour of Naniha. Thirty gaily decked boats were sent to meet them at Yeguchi (river-mouth), and they were lodged in the new official residence. Hereupon Torimaro, Nakatomi no Miya-

[1] 5th rank. See above, p. 128.

[2] Thang, 唐, is the Chinese dynasty of that name. China is here called Thang retrospectively, as that dynasty did not come into power until 618. The epithet "great" is found in all the older editions, but the "Shukai" editor strikes it out. "Great" is prefixed in China to the name of the reigning dynasty only. Subsequent writers omit it.

Thang is in Japan pronounced Tō, as in Tōjin, which in our own day is (or perhaps I should say, was) a popular word for foreigners of all nationalities.

[3] So In-ko is 蘇因高. The two last characters are meant as a phonetic representation of Imoko. The first is taken, according to Dr. Florenz, from Soga, to which house Dr. Florenz says (on what authority I do not know) that Wono belonged. The Japanese commentators suggest that 蘇 is merely a phonetic equivalent of 小, the first character of Wono (little moor). But this is open to the objection that these two characters are not pronounced alike in China, though they are in Japan.

toko no Muraji, Nukade, Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe and Ō-hei, Fune no Fumibito, were appointed their official entertainers.

Now Imoko no Omi represented to the Empress, saying:—"When I was leaving, the Thang Emperor gave me a letter. But while passing through the Land of Pèkché, the men of Pèkché searched me and took it from me. Therefore I am unable to present it." Hereupon the Ministers advised, saying:—"An Envoy, though he lose his life, should not lose his message. Such is (the duty of) an Envoy! How can any one be so remiss in it as to lose the letter of the Great Country?" And they accordingly condemned him to banishment. Now the Empress made an order, saying:—"Although Imoko is guilty of losing the letter, We cannot easily punish him, for in that case the guest of the Great Country would hear of it, and this is undesirable." So he was pardoned and left unpunished. XXII. 19.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Thang guests entered the capital. On this day seventy-five caparisoned horses were sent to meet the Thang guests on the Tsubaki no ichi highway, where Hirafu, Nukada be no Muraji, delivered a message of welcome to them.

12th day. The Thang guests were summoned to Court, and caused to state the object of their mission. Abe no Tori no Omi and Idaku, Mononobe no Yosami no Muraji, acted as introducers of the guests.

Now the presents from the Land of Great Thang were placed in the courtyard. Then the Chief Envoy, P'ei-Shih-ch'ing, bearing in his own hands the letter (of credence), made obeisance twice, and declared the purport of his mission. He then stood up.

This letter was as follows:—"The Emperor greets the Sovereign of Wa.[1] Your Envoy, the provincial governor, the

[1] There is here a distinction made. Emperor is written 皇帝. But the latter of these characters is omitted in describing the Sovereign of Japan. Wa was the ordinary name for Japan, both in China and Corea, and in the latter country it is in use to this day. The Japanese object to it, and have never called their country by this name. The "Shaku-nihongi" says:—"Wono no Imoko, the Envoy who visited China, (proposed to) alter this term into Nippon, but the Sui Emperor ignored his reasons and would not allow it. The term Nippon was first used in the period Wu-Tēh, under the Thang Dynasty (618-626)." Another Chinese authority gives 670 as

XXII. 20. Dairai, So In-ko, and his suite have arrived, and have given us full information.

We having reverently received the precious command[1] (of Heaven), rule over the universe. It is Our desire to diffuse abroad Our civilizing influences, so as to cover all living things, and Our sentiment of loving nurture knows no distinction of distance.

Now We learn that Your Majesty, dwelling separately beyond the sea, bestows the blessings of peace on your subjects, that there is tranquillity within your borders, and that the manners and customs are mild.

With the most profound loyalty, you have sent Us tribute from afar, and We are delighted at this admirable token of your sincerity.

Our health is as usual, notwithstanding the increasing warmth of the weather.

Therefore We have sent P'ei-Shih-ch'ing, Official Entertainer of the Department charged with the Ceremonial for the reception of Foreign Ambassadors, and his suite, to notify to you the preceding. We also transmit to you the products of which a list is given separately."

Then Abe no Omi came forward, received the letter, and advanced with it. Ohotomo no Kurafu no Muraji came out to meet him, and received the letter, which he laid on a table before the Great Gate, and reported to the Empress. When the ceremony was over, they (the Chinese Ambassador and his suite) retired.[2]

On this occasion, the Imperial Princes, the other Princes, and the Ministers all wore golden hair ornaments on their heads, and their clothing was all of brocade, purple, and embroidery, with various-coloured figured thin silks.

In one writing it is stated that the colour of the garments corresponded in all cases with that of the official caps.

the date when Nippon began to be officially used in China. The "Tong-kam" gives the same date as that in which the Japanese officially notified this term to the Corean Government as the proper appellation of their country.

[1] The Dei gratiâ of European Sovereigns.

[2] It appears from this and other passages that at this period the Court was literally the courtyard in front of the Emperor's Hall of Audience. None but the principal Ministers entered the Hall itself.

16th day. The Thang guests were entertained at Court.

9th month, 5th day. The guests were entertained at Ohokohori in Naniha.

11th day. The Thang guest, P'ei Shih-ch'ing, took his departure. Accordingly, Wono no Imoko no Omi was appointed Chief Envoy, Kishi no Wonari Second Envoy, and Fukuri Interpreter. They were despatched in company with the Thang guests. Now the Emperor addressed the Thang Emperor in the following terms:—

"The Emperor of the East respectfully addresses the Emperor of the West.[1] Your Envoy, P'ei Shih-ch'ing, Official Entertainer of the Department of foreign receptions, and his suite, having arrived here, my long-harboured cares were dissolved. This last month of autumn is somewhat chilly. How is Your Majesty? We trust well. We are in our usual health. We now send the Dairai, So In-ko, the Dairai, Wonari, and others to you. This is respectfully presented, but informal." XXII. 21.

At this time there were sent to the Land of Thang the students Fukuin, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, Emyō, Nara no Wosa,[2] Kuromaro, Takamuku no Ayabito, and Ohokuni, Imaki no Ayabito, together with the student-priests Hifumi (or Nichibun), Imaki no Ayabito, Shōan, Minabuchi no Ayabito, Eon, Shiga no Ayabito, and Kōsai, Imaki no Ayabito, in all eight persons.

In this year many persons from Silla came to settle in Japan.

17th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. The Viceroy[3] of A.D. 609.

[1] Emperor is here in the first case 天皇 (Tennō); in the second 皇帝 (Kō-tei).

A Chinese History of the Thang dynasty gives a different version of the opening words of this letter. It says: "The Emperor (天子) of the place where the sun comes forth addresses a letter to the Emperor (天子) of the place where the sun sets." The Chinese Emperor complained of the rudeness of this barbarian letter. It is pretty clear from this incident that the word Nippon (sun-origin) for Japan was not yet in use officially. Cf. "Ishōnihonden," I. 22.

[2] Wosa means interpreter. No doubt the name and office here coincided.

[3] From very early times Kiushiu, or such part of it as submitted to the Tennō's rule, was governed by a viceroy, as I have ventured to translate Dazai 大宰. *Vide* "Early Japanese History," p. 56. Hereditary kings

Tsukushi reported to the Empress that Buddhist priests from Pèkché, named To-heun and Hyé-mi,[1] at the head of ten others and seventy-five laymen, had anchored in the harbour of Ashigita in the province of Higo. Then Tokomaro, Naniha no Kishi, and Tatsu, Funa no Fumibito, were sent to ask them why they came. They answered and said:—"The
XXII. 22. King of Pèkché commanded us to go on a mission to the Land of Wu.[2] In that country, however, there is civil war. We were not allowed to enter it, and were returning to our own land again when we suddenly met with a storm, and were tossed about upon the sea, until most fortunately we anchored on the Imperial coast. At this we were greatly rejoiced."

5th month, 16th day. Tokomaro and his companion returned, and made their report to the Empress. Tokomaro and Tatsu were straightway sent back to accompany the men of Pèkché, and to escort them to their own country. When they arrived at Tsushima, the ten priests all expressed a wish to remain (in Japan), and the matter having been laid before the Government, they were permitted to do so. Accordingly, they were caused to dwell in the Temple of Gangōji.

Autumn, 9th month. Imoko, Wono no Omi, came back from the Land of Great Thang. Only the Interpreter Fukuri did not return.

A.D. 610. 18th year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Koryö sent tribute of Buddhist priests named Tam-chhi and Pöp-chöng. Tam-chhi knew the five (Chinese) classics.[3] He was moreover skilled in preparing painters' colours, paper, and ink. He also made mills. This was apparently the first time that mills were made.[4]

Autumn, 7th month. An Envoy from Silla named Chuk-

of Ito are mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling in the north of Kiushiu under the sovereign of Yamato in the 3rd century. The Interlinear Kana gives Oho-mikoto-mochi, Great-august-thing-holder, as the Japanese equivalent for Dazai. But I am disposed to think that this is a mere translation, like many of the Kana renderings of Chinese titles, and that this word was not a real title of the viceroy.

[1] In Japanese Dōkin and Emi.

[2] Wu is of course here a mere geographical term. The Honan country is intended.

Vide "Mayers' Chinese Manual," p. 315.

[4] It is not quite clear what sort of mills is intended. Probably hand-mills.

syé-să, Nama[1] of Satök-pu, and an Imna Envoy named Syu Chi-mè, Tè-sya[2] of Tök-pu, arrived in Tsukushi. XXII. 23.

9th month. Messengers were sent to fetch the Envoys from Silla and Imna.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Envoys from Silla and Imna arrived in the capital. On this day Hirafu, Nukadabe no Muraji, was made Chief Officer over the caparisoned horses sent to meet the Silla guests, and Ohotomo, Kashihade no Omi, Chief Officer over the caparisoned horses sent to meet the Imna guests. Accordingly they were lodged in the official building at Kahabe in Ato.

9th day. The Envoys paid their respects at Court. On this occasion Kahakatsu, Hada no Miyakko, and Usagi, Hashi no Muraji, were ordered to act as introducers for Silla, and Shiwo-futa, Hashibito no Muraji, and Ohoko, Abe no Omi, as introducers for Imna. They brought them in together by the South Gate, and made them stand in the middle of the Court. Now, Ohotomo no Kurafu[3] no Muraji, Soga no Toyora no Yemishi no Omi, Sakamoto no Nukade no Omi and Abe no Toriko no Omi got up together from their places, and going forward, prostrated themselves in the Court. Hereupon the guests of the two countries each made repeated obeisance, and declared the purport of their mission. Then the four Daibu stood up, and going forward, informed the Oho-omi. The Oho-omi got up from his place, and standing before the Hall, listened to their statement. When this was done, all the guests were given presents, each according to his rank.

17th day. The guests were entertained at Court. Nihe, Kahachi no Aya no Atahe was made table-companion for Silla, and Kusō, Nishikori no Obito, table-companion for Imna.

23rd day. The ceremonies of the reception of the guests having come to a close, they went away.

19th year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Empress went to gather medicinal herbs on the plain of Uda.[4] A.D. 611.

[1] Nama is a Silla official title—the 13th rank. The original has Nami, wrongly, I think. Satök-pu is the name of a place.

[2] Tè-sya was the 12th official rank in Silla. [3] Or Kuhi.

[4] This was the day fixed for this purpose by the Calendar. The custom is frequently mentioned by later writers. The herbs gathered were mushrooms,

XXII. 24. At cockcrow they assembled by the pond of Fujihara, and at daybreak they set out. Ahata no Hosome no Omi was made to lead the van, while Nukadabe no Hirafu no Muraji brought up the rear. On this day the colour of the clothing of the various Ministers agreed with the colour of their official caps. They each wore hair ornaments, which in the case both of the Daitoko and Shōtoko were made of gold, of the Dainin and Shōnin of leopards' tails, and of the Dairai and lower ranks of birds' tails.[1]

Autumn, 8th month. Silla sent Peuk-cheul-chi,[2] Nama of Satök-pu, and Imna sent Chhin-chi and Chu-chi, the Tè-sya of Seup-pu together, with tribute.

A.D. 612. 20th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. A banquet, with sake, was given to all the high functionaries. On this day, the Oho-omi proposed the health of the Empress, and sang a song, saying:—

When I look on the august sky,[3]
Whence there stands forth,
From its manifold fence (of clouds)
Which conceals her,
The Great Sovereign
Who rules us tranquilly,
For myriads of ages (say we)
May it ever be thus!
For thousands of ages too
May it ever be thus!
With deep reverence
We would serve her;
With profound obeisance
XXII. 25. We would serve her;
And so ends my song.

---

fungus for moxa or scented flag for making the perfumed and gaily-ornamented balls called Kusu-dama, hung up by the Japanese in their temples and houses. Also various other herbs.

[1] In Loochoo at the present day rank is indicated by the material of the hair-pin. See Chamberlain in "J.A.S.T."

[2] The traditional transliteration is Horinchi.

[3] The Empress's appearance among her courtiers is compared to the sun (from whom she is descended) issuing from among the clouds. The metre is regular *naga-uta*.

The Empress replied, saying:—

My good Soga!
The sons of Soga—
Were they horses,
They would be steeds of Hiuga:
Were they swords,
They would be good blades of Kure.[1]
Right indeed
Seems the Great Sovereign
To have in her service
The sons of Soga!

2nd month, 28th day. The body of the former Empress-consort Katashi-hime[2] was removed and re-interred in the Great Misasagi of Hinokuma.

On this day funeral orations were pronounced on the Karu[3] highway. First of all, Tori, Abe no Uchi no Omi, pronounced an eulogistic decree of the Empress, and made offerings to the spirit of the deceased of such things as sacred utensils and sacred garments,[4] fifteen thousand kinds in all.

Secondly, the Imperial Princes, each in the order of their rank, pronounced funeral orations. Thirdly, Womaro, Nakatomi no Miyatokoro no Muraji, pronounced the eulogistic address of the Oho-omi. Fourthly, the Oho-omi, at the head of the Omi of the eight families,[5] caused Marise, Sakahibe no XXII. 26.
Omi, to read the written eulogiums of the nobility.[6] The people of that time said that Marise and Womaro delivered their eulogiums well, but that Tori no Omi delivered his badly.

5th month, 5th day. An excursion was made to gather medicinal herbs. They assembled at Hada and proceeded together to the Court. The dress was the same as for the Uda excursion.

[1] Kure is Wu in China. See above, XXII. 22. The "Shiki" says this is the name of a good sword.

[2] Wife of Kimmei Tennō and mother of Yōmei Tenno and Suiko Tennō. The Misasagi named was that of her husband. This is a case of double interment. Two stone coffins have been found in some misasagi.

[3] Or Karo.

[4] The "Shukai" gives what appears to me a violent and unnecessary emendation of this passage.

[5] Lit. bellies. Eight is here used loosely for a great number, all.

[6] 氏姓. In Japanese Uji and Kabane, i.e. noble houses and titles or surnames.

This year a man emigrated from Pèkché whose face and body were all flecked with white, being perhaps affected with white ringworm. People disliking his extraordinary appearance, wished to cast him away on an island in the sea. But this man said :—"If you dislike my spotted skin, you should not breed horses or kine in this country which are spotted with white. Moreover, I have a small talent. I can make the figures of hills and mountains. If you kept me and made use of me, it would be to the advantage of the country. Why should you waste me by casting me away on an island of the sea?" Hereupon they gave ear to his words and did not cast him away. Accordingly he was made to draw the figures of Mount Sumi [1] and of the Bridge of Wu in the Southern Court. The people of that time called him by the name of Michiko no Takumi, and he was also called Shikomaro.[2]

Another man of Pèkché named Mimachi emigrated to Japan. He said that he had learned from Wu their style of music and dancing. He was accordingly lodged at Sakurawi, and young people collected who were made to learn from him these arts. Hereupon Deshi,[3] Manu no Obito, and Seibun,
XXII 27. Imaki no Ayabito, learned dancing from him, and handed it down (to their pupils).

A.D. 613. 21st year, Winter, 11th month. The ponds of Waki no Kami, Unebi, and Wani were constructed, and a great highway laid from Naniha to the capital.[4]

12th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial took a journey to Katawoka. Now a starving man was lying by the roadside. He asked his name, but there was no answer. The Prince Imperial, seeing this, gave him to eat and to drink, and taking off his own raiment, clothed with it the starving man, saying to him, "Lie in peace." Then he made a song, saying :—

Alas! for
The wayfarer lying
An hungered for rice
On the hill of Katawoka

---

[1] In Sanskrit, Sumêru. The central mountain or axis of every universe, the support of the tiers of heaven, according to the Buddhist system.

[2] Shiko means ugly.

[3] Deshi means pupil.

[4] Which was then at Tachibana in Yamato.

(The sunshiny).
Art thou become
Parentless?
Hast thou no lord
Flourishing as a bamboo?
Alas! for
The wayfarer lying
An hungered for rice![1]

2nd day. The Prince Imperial sent a messenger to see the starving man. The messenger returned and said:—"The starving man is already dead." Hereupon the Prince Imperial was greatly grieved, and accordingly caused him to be buried at that place, a mound erected, and firmly closed.[2]

Many days after, the Prince Imperial called for his personal attendants, and said to them:—"The starving man who was lying on a former day on the road was no ordinary man. He must have been an upright man." A messenger was sent to see. On his return he reported that when he went to the mound and made inspection, the heaped-up earth had not been disturbed, but on opening the tomb and looking in, there was no corpse. It was empty, and there was nothing but the garment folded up and laid on the coffin. Thereupon the Prince Imperial sent the messenger back a second time to fetch the garment, which he continued wearing as before. XXII. 28.

The people of that time wondered much at this, and said:—"How true it is that a sage knoweth a sage." And they stood more and more in awe of him.

22nd year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. An excursion for medicinal herbs was made. A.D. 614.

6th month, 13th day. Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, and Yatabe no Miyakko were sent to the Land of Great Thang.

Autumn, 8th month. The Oho-omi fell ill. For his sake a thousand persons, men and women, entered religion.

23rd year, Autumn, 7th month. Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, A.D. 615.

[1] Metre, irregular naga-uta.

[2] There was a passage leading to the interior of burial mounds of persons of some rank, which was closed with earth and stones after the interment. It is possibly this process which is intended by the term 封, which means both to seal and to pile up earth. In the case of the burial of a vagrant, however, it is more probable that there was no vault, but simply a heap of earth raised over the grave.

and Yatabe no Miyakko arrived from the Land of Great Thang. An envoy from Pèkché accompanied Inugami no Kimi to our Court.

11th month, 2nd day. A banquet was given to the Pèkché guest.

11th day. The Koryö Buddhist priest Hyé-Chă returned to his country.

A.D. 616. 24th year, Spring, 1st month. Peach trees and plum trees bore fruit.[1]

3rd month. Three men from the Island of Yaku[2] came hither as emigrants.

XXII. 29. Summer, 5th month. Seven persons from Yaku arrived.

Autumn, 7th month. Twenty more persons arrived from Yaku. There were first and last in all thirty persons. They were all settled in Enowi. They never went away again, but all died there.

Autumn, 7th month. Silla sent the Namà, Chuk Syé-să, with tribute of an image of Buddha.[3]

A.D. 617. 25th year, Summer, 6th month. It was reported from the province of Idzumo that there was in the district of Kando a gourd of the size of an amphora.[4]

In this year there were good crops of the five kinds of grain.

A.D. 618. 26th year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Koryö sent envoys with tribute of local productions, and reported that Yang-Ti[5] of the Sui dynasty had invaded that country with a force of 300,000 men, but had, on the contrary, been beaten by them.[6]

XXII. 30. They therefore sent a present of two captives, named Chên-kung and P'u-t'ung, with such things as flutes, cross-bows, and catapults—ten in all. They also sent one camel, bred in their country.

[1] In a similar notice below, XXII. 39, the author is satisfied with the more probable statement that they blossomed.

[2] Off the south coast of Satsuma.

[3] A later work informs us that this image was of gold, two feet high. It was set up in Hōkōji. It sent forth rays of light, and worked miracles from time to time.

[4] Some understand here a musical instrument, the body of which was of earthenware.

[5] Reigned 605—617.

[6] This statement is corroborated both by Chinese and Corean history. The events referred to took place in A.D. 612.

This year Kahabe no Omi[1] was sent to the province of Aki with orders to build ships. On arriving at the mountain, he sought for ship timber. Having found good timber, he marked it and was about to cut it, when a man appeared, and said :—"This is a thunder-tree, and must not be cut." Kahabe no Omi said :—"Shall even the Thunder-god oppose the Imperial commands?" So having offered many mitegura,[2] he sent workmen to cut down the timber. Straightway a great rain fell, and it thundered and lightened. Hereupon Kahabe no Omi drew his sword, and said :—"O Thunder-god, harm not the workmen; it is my person that thou shouldst injure." So he looked up and waited. But although the God thundered more than ten times, he could not harm Kahabe no Omi. Then he changed himself into a small fish, which stuck between the branches of the tree. Kahabe no Omi forthwith took the fish, and burnt it. So at last the ships were built. XXII. 31.

27th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. It was reported from the province of Afumi that in the river Gamafu[3] there was a creature in the shape of a man.[4] A.D. 619.

Autumn, 7th month. There was a fisherman of the province of Settsu, who cast his net in the Horiye.[5] Something entered his net formed like a child, which was neither a fish nor a man. Its name was unknown.

28th year, Autumn, 8th month. Two men of Yaku were cast away on the island of Idzu.[6] A.D. 620.

Autumn, 10th month. The top of the Misasagi[7] of Hinokuma was covered with pebbles. Outside the boundary the earth was piled up into a hill, and each of the noble houses[8]

[1] I have omitted here and in several other places a frivolous note of the "Original Commentary," to the effect that "the personal name is wanting."

[2] Offerings of cloth.

[3] Gamō. [4] A bad omen.

[5] Hori-ye is literally an artificial canal. Here it is the name of a branch of the river at Osaka, no doubt originally artificially excavated.

[6] Probably Vries Island, or one of the adjacent islands. Or Shima may here mean promontory.

[7] At this day several of the misasagi are thickly covered with a layer of paving-stones, loosely put down, probably in order to prevent the earth from being washed away by rains. An example may be seen at Tarumi, near Kobe, and another on the hill above Nara.

[8] Uji.

was charged to erect a great pillar[1] on the top of the hill of earth. Now the pillar set up by Yamato no Aya no Saka no Uhe no Atahe was very much higher than the others, and the men of that time gave him the name of Ohohashira (great-pillar) no Atahe.

12th month, 1st day. There was a red appearance in the sky, over a rod in length, and resembling the tail of a fowl in shape.

XXII. 32. This year, the Prince Imperial, in concert with Shima no Oho-omi, drew up a history of the Emperors, a history of the country, and the original record of the Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, the Kuni no Miyakko, the 180 Be, and the free subjects.[2]

A.D. 621. 29th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. In the middle of the night the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado no Toyotomimi no Mikoto died in the Palace of Ikaruga. At this time all the Princes and Omi, as well as the people of the Empire, the old, as if they had lost a dear child, had no taste for salt and vinegar[3] in their mouths, the young, as if they had lost a beloved parent, filled the ways with the sound of their lamenting. The farmer ceased from his plough, and the pounding woman laid down her pestle. They all said :—"The sun and moon have lost their brightness ; heaven and earth
XXII. 33. have crumbled to ruin : henceforward, in whom shall we put our trust ?"

In this month the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya[4] was buried in the Shinaga Misasagi.

At this time Hyé-chă, the Buddhist priest of Koryö, heard of the death of the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya, and was greatly grieved thereat. He invited the priests, and in honour of the Prince Imperial gave them a meal,[5] and explained the sacred books in person. On this day he prayed, saying :—"In the land of Nippon there is a sage, by name the Imperial

[1] These pillars were probably of wood. No trace of them now remains. Dr. Florenz says the custom of erecting pillars was introduced by the Buddhists. This is the first mention of it.

[2] This is the work afterwards known as the "Kiujihonki," "Kiujiki," or "Kujiki." See below, XXIV. 26.

[3] To be understood generally of well-flavoured food.

[4] Prince Mŭmayado.

[5] Of vegetarian food only.

Prince Kamitsumiya Toyotomimi. Certainly Heaven has freely endowed him with the virtues of a sage.[1] Born in the Land of Nippon,[2] he thoroughly possessed the three fundamental principles,[3] he continued the great plans of the former sages. He reverenced the Three Precious Things,[4] and assisted the people in their distress. He was truly a great sage. And now the Prince Imperial is dead. I, although a foreigner, was in heart closely united to him. Now what avails it that I alone should survive? I have determined to die on the 5th day of the 2nd month of next year.[5] So shall I meet the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya in the Pure Land, and together with him pass through the metempsychosis of all living creatures." Now when the appointed day came, Hyé-chă died, and all the people of that day said one to another :— XXII. 34.
"Prince Kamitsumiya is not the only sage, Hyé-chă is also a sage."[6]

This year Silla sent the Nama, Imimè, with tribute and a memorial, stating to the Empress the object of his mission. It was perhaps from this time that Silla began to present memorials.

30th year, Autumn, 7th month. Silla sent as ambassador A.D. 622.
the Nama, Chi-syön-i, and Imna sent the Talsol Nama, Chi. They came to Court together, and brought tribute of a golden image of Buddha, a golden pagoda, and relics, also a great baptismal flag,[7] with twelve smaller ones. Now the image of

[1] See Legge's "Confucian Analects," p. 82.

[2] Whether or not the previous examples of the use of the characters 日本 (Nippon) for Japan are authentic, or merely introduced retrospectively by later compilers, the present instance is probably a genuine case of its use. It is natural to suppose that it was used in an informal way for some time before it was used officially.

There is here, no doubt, an allusion to the meaning of Nippon, viz. "Origin of the sun."

[3] Viz. Heaven, Earth, and Man. The meaning is that he was a philosopher.

[4] Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha.

[5] The anniversary of the Prince's death.

[6] The "Kiujiki" ends here.

[7] The Buddhist baptism consists in washing the top of the head with perfumed water. The baptismal flags were so called because they had the same efficacy, raising those who passed under them first to the status of a

Buddha was placed in the Hada[1] Temple at Kadono. The other articles, namely the relics, the golden pagoda, and the baptismal flags, were all deposited in Shitenōji.[2] At this time, the Buddhist priests E-sai and E-kō, with the physicians E-jitsu and Fuku-in, students of the learning of Great Thang, arrived in company with Chi-syön-i and the others. Now E-jitsu and the rest made together a representation to the Empress, saying:—"Those who have resided in Thang for study[3] have all completed their courses, and ought to be sent for. Moreover, the Land of Great Thang is an admirable country, whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it."

This year Silla invaded Imna,[4] and Imna became a depen-
XXII. 35. dency of Silla. The Empress thought of invading Silla, and consulted with the Oho-omi. She also asked the opinion of all the Ministers. Then Tanaka no Omi answered and said:—"An invasion should not be too hastily undertaken. It will not be too late to attack when we have first learnt the condition of affairs and ascertained that they are (really) mutinous. I pray that the experiment be made of sending an envoy thither to view the state of things."

Kuni, Nakatomi no Muraji, said:—"Imna is originally an inner Miyake of ours. The Silla people have now attacked and taken possession of it. I pray that our troops be disciplined, that Silla be chastised, and Imna taken from it and given to Pèkché. Would not this be better than that it should be possessed by Silla?" Tanaka no Omi said:—"Not so!

Tchakra Râdja (*vide* Eitel), and ultimately of a Buddha. Fishes were benefited by such flags being floated down a river.

There is at the present day a survival of this practice in the Nagare-kanjō (kanjō means baptism, or head-sprinkling), described in Yamada's Dictionary as follows:—"Four posts are set up near water, on which white cloth is hung. To this are attached leaves of lign-aloes, etc., as offerings for the benefit of the souls of the friendless dead, of drowned persons, or of still-born children." There is an interesting account of the nagare-kanjō in a little book called "Our Neighbourhood," by T. A. P. (the late Dr. Purcell, of Tokio).

[1] Called the Hachiwoka Temple above.

[2] At Osaka. See above, 1st year of reign. [3] See above, XXII. 21.

[4] The "Tongkam" says nothing of this. Pèkché and Silla were on hostile terms about this time. Besides, the downfall of Imna is already mentioned above.

Pèkché is a very changeable country.[1] Even on the roads they lie. Everything they ask for is unjust. Therefore (Imna) should not be given over to Pèkché." So the expedition was not carried out. Hereupon Kishi no Ihakane was sent to Silla, and Kishi no Kuranoshita to Imna, to inquire into the Imna affairs.

Now the Lord of Silla sent eight Daibu to inform Ihakane of the affairs of Silla and Kuranoshita of the affairs of Imna. Therefore they promised as follows:—"Imna, though a small country, is a dependency of the Empress. Why should Silla unceremoniously take possession of it? Let it be once for all recognized to be, as always, an inner Miyake (of Japan), and we pray let there be no more trouble about it."

So the Nama, Chi-syön-i, was sent along with Kishi no Ihakane and an Imna man, the Talsol Nama named Chi, along with Kishi no Kuranoshita to bring tribute from both countries. But that same year, before Ihakane and the other had returned, the Daitoko, Womaro, Sakahibe no Omi, and the Shōtoko, Kuni, Nakatomi no Muraji, were appointed generals of the first rank; the Shōtoko, Nedzu, Kahabe no Omi, the Shōtoko, Itto, Mononobe no Yosami no Muraji, the Shōtoko, Hironiha, Hada no Omi, the Shōtoko Ihifuta, Afumi no Ashimi no Omi, the Shōtoko, Ushi, Heguri no Omi, the Shōtoko, Ohotomo no Muraji, and the Shōtoko, Ikusa, Ohoyake no Omi, were made assistant-generals. XXII. 36.

They invaded Silla with an army of several tens of thousands of men. Now Ihakane and the others had assembled at the port, and were waiting for a fair wind and smooth sea in order to embark. Hereupon a numerous naval force arrived, filling the sea. The Envoys of the two countries, gazing upon it, were struck with alarm, and returned home.

In their stead, Kamchi Tè-chhang[2] was made tribute-bearer for Imna, and came with an offering of tribute. Hereupon Ihakane and his colleague said to one another:—"The outbreak of this war is contrary to the previous agreement, therefore the Imna affairs cannot now be settled." So they put to sea, and crossed over to Japan. The generals, how-

[1] Pèkché is so described in the "Tongkam."

[2] Tè-chhang, as the "Shukai" suggests, is probably a mistake for Tè-sya, a Silla official title.

ever, first went to Imna, and having held a consultation, were about to attack Silla. Hereupon the King of the Land of Silla, hearing that a large force had arrived, became apprehensive and tendered his submission. Then the generals consulted together, and forwarded a memorial, which was granted by the Empress.

Winter, 11th month. Ihakane, Kuranoshita, and the rest returned from Silla. Thereupon the Oho-omi inquired the state of affairs there. They answered and said:—"Silla received the Imperial commands with profound respect, and accordingly designated two special Envoys to deliver tribute from the two countries. But when they saw a naval force arrive, the Envoys with tribute for our Court went home again. The tribute, however, has been brought, notwithstanding this." Hereupon the Oho-omi said:—"What a pity that the army was despatched so soon!"

The men of that time said that this war was owing to
XXII. 37. Sakahibe no Omi and Adzumi no Muraji having formerly[1] received many presents from Silla, and that they had again urged the Oho-omi, with the consequence that the expedition was despatched before receiving the Envoy's report.[2]

Before this time, when Ihakane and his colleague crossed over to Silla, a gaily-decorated boat came to meet them at a bay as they were approaching the harbour. Ihakane inquired:—"To what country does this boat sent to meet us belong?" They answered and said:—"It is a Silla boat." Ihakane again said:—"Why is there no boat to meet us from Imna?" A second boat was at once added on behalf of Imna. The practice of Silla sending two boats to meet our Envoys began from this time.

From spring till autumn there were heavy rains and floods, and the five grains did not reach maturity.

A.D. 623. 31st year, Spring, 4th month, 3rd day. There was a Buddhist priest who took an axe and smote therewith his paternal grandfather.[3] Now the Empress, hearing of this,

[1] i.e. in the 8th year of this reign.

[2] So that they might have again an opportunity of levying blackmail on Silla.

[3] The interlinear Kana gives here oya, parent. This may serve as an example of the inaccuracy of these glosses.

sent for the Oho-omi, and gave command, saying:—"The man who has entered religion should be devoted to the Three Precious Things, and should cherish devoutly the prohibitions of the Buddhist law. How can he without compunction be readily guilty of crime? We now hear that there is a priest who has struck his grandfather. Therefore, let all the priests and nuns of the various temples be assembled, and investigation made. Let severe punishment be inflicted on any who are convicted of offences." Hereupon the priests and nuns were all assembled, and an examination held. The wicked priests and nuns were all about to be punished, when Kwal-leuk, a Buddhist priest of Pèkché, presented a memorial, as follows:—"The law of Buddha came from the Western Country to Han.[1] Three hundred years later it was handed on to Pèkché, since which time barely one hundred years had elapsed, when Our King, hearing that the Emperor of Nippon XXII. 38. was a wise man, sent him tribute of an image of Buddha and of Buddhist Sutras. Since that time, less than one hundred years have passed, and consequently the priests and nuns have not yet learned the Buddhist laws, and readily commit wickedness. On this account all the priests and nuns are afraid, and do not know what to do. I humbly pray that with the exception of the wicked (priest who struck his grandfather) all the other priests and nuns may be pardoned and not punished. That would be a work of great merit."

Accordingly the Empress granted (his petition).

13th day. A decree was made as follows:—"If even the priests continue to offend against the law, wherewithal shall the laymen be admonished? Therefore from this time forward we appoint a Sōjō and a Sōdzu for the superintendence of the priests and nuns."

17th day. The priest Kwal-leuk was appointed Sōjō, and Kurabe no Tokuseki was made Sōdzu. On the same day Adzumi no Muraji was made Hōto.[2]

Autumn, 9th month, 3rd day. There was an inspection of the temples, and of the priests and nuns, and an accurate record made of the circumstances of the building of the

[1] The Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Lit. head of the law (of Buddha). This was the chief official of the Department of the Buddhist religion.

temples, and also of the circumstances under which the priests and nuns embraced religion, with the year, month and day of their taking orders. There were at this time 46 temples, 816 priests, and 569 nuns—in all, 1385 persons.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Oho-omi sent the two Ministers, Adzumi no Muraji and Maro, Abe no Omi, to inform the Empress, saying:—"The district of Katsuraki is my
XXII. 39. original residence, and I have therefore taken my name from it. I pray accordingly that I may have this district permanently, and I desire that it should be constituted my fief." Hereupon the Empress made an order, saying:—

"We are sprung from the Soga family. Moreover the Oho-omi is Our uncle by the mother's side. Therefore the words of the Oho-omi, if spoken at night, (are carried into effect by us) before the night has given way to morning; if spoken in the daytime, (they are carried into effect) before the day has become dark. What speech of his have We not attended to? But if now in this Our reign, We were rashly to part with this district, future sovereigns would say, 'A foolish woman ruled the Empire, and rashly lost this district.' Not only should We be accounted unwise, but the Oho-omi would be thought disloyal. Such would be Our ill-fame in ages to come." So she refused.

A.D. 624. 32nd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The King of Koryö sent tribute of a Buddhist priest, named Hyé-kwan. He was appointed Sōjō.

A.D. 626. 34th year, Spring, 1st month. Peach and plum trees blossomed.

3rd month. It was cold, and hoar-frost fell.

Summer, 5th month, 20th day. The Oho-omi died. He was buried in the tomb at Momohara. The Oho-omi was the son of Iname no Sukune. He had a talent for military tactics, and was also gifted with eloquence. He reverenced deeply the Three Precious Things. His house stood on the bank of the river Asuka. A small pond had been dug in the courtyard, and there was a little island in the middle of the pond. Therefore the men of that time called him Shima no Oho-omi.[1]

XXII. 40. 6th month. Snow fell. This year from the 3rd to the 7th

[1] The Island Premier.

month there were continual rains, and great famine in the Empire. The old ate the roots of herbs, and died by the roadside. Infants at the breast died with their mothers. Thieves and robbers sprang up in great numbers, and could not be put down.

35th year, Spring, 2nd month. In the province of Michinoku there was a mujina[1] which changed into a man and sang. A.D. 627.

Summer, 5th month. Flies gathered together in great numbers. They clustered together for ten rods, and floated away in the air across the Shinano pass[2] with a sound like thunder. They reached as far east as the province of Kamitsuke, and then spontaneously dispersed.

36th year, Spring, 2nd month, 27th day. The Empress took to her sick bed. A.D. 628.

3rd month, 2nd day. There was a total eclipse of the sun.

6th day. The Empress's illness became very grave, and (death) was unmistakably near. So she sent for the Imperial Prince Tamura, and addressed him, saying:—"To ascend to the Celestial Dignity, and therewith to regulate the vast foundation, to direct the manifold machinery of government, and thereby to nourish the people—this is not a matter to be lightly spoken of, but one which demands constant and serious attention. Do thou therefore be careful and observant, and let no hasty words escape thee." On the same day she summoned to her Tamashiro no Ohoye, and instructed him, saying:—"Thy heart is young. Whatever thou mayst wish in thy bosom, do not utter it in speech, but be sure to await the expression of general opinion, and act accordingly." XXII. 41.

7th day. The Empress died at the age of seventy-five.[3] She was temporarily interred in the Southern Court (of the Palace).

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. Hail fell, of the size of peaches.

16th day. Hail fell, of the size of plums. There was a drought, which lasted from spring till summer.

Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The rites of mourning for the Empress began. At this time all the Ministers each pro-

[1] A kind of badger. [2] The present Usui Tōge.

[3] The "Kojiki" ends here.

nounced a funeral eulogy at the shrine of the temporary burial-place.

Before this time the Empress had given her dying injunctions to the Ministers, saying:—"Of late years the five grains have not produced well, and there is great famine among the people. Let there be therefore no costly interment[1] by raising
XXII. 42. for me a misasagi, but let me be buried in the misasagi of the Imperial Prince Takeda.

24th day. The Empress was buried in the misasagi of Prince Takeda.

[1] Buddhist influence is traceable in the avoidance of costly forms of burial. It led subsequently to the abolition of misasagi.

BOOK XXIII.

THE EMPEROR OKINAGA TARASHI-HI HIRO-NUKA.[1]

(*JOMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was the grandson of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki,[3] and the son of the Imperial Prince Hikobito no Ohoye. His mother's name was the Imperial Princess Nukade hime.

In the 29th year of the reign of the Empress Toyo-mike Kashikiya hime[4] the Prince Imperial Toyotomimi no Mikoto died. No successor to him had been appointed. In the 3rd month of the 36th year the Empress died. In the 9th month the funeral ceremonies were completed, but no decision as to who should succeed to the throne had yet been come to. At this time Soga no Yemishi no Omi was Oho-omi. He wished to decide the matter of the succession on his sole authority. But apprehending that the Ministers generally would not acquiesce in this, he consulted Abe no maro no Omi, and having assembled all the Ministers, they entertained them in the Oho-omi's house. When the feast was over, and they were about to disperse, the Oho-omi through Abe no Omi addressed the Ministers, saying:—"The Empress is dead, leaving no successor. If measures are not taken promptly, civil disturbances are to be feared. Which, therefore, of the Princes is to be her successor? When the Empress took ill, she commanded the Imperial Prince Tamura, saying:—'The Empire is a great charge, and, of course, not to be lightly spoken of. Do thou

[1] Okinaga is the name of a place; tarashi-hi, suffice-sun, a honorific; hiro-nuke, broad forehead, is no doubt descriptive of the Emperor's appearance.

[2] Extend-brightness. [3] Bidatsu Tennō. [4] Suiko Tennō.

the Imperial Prince Tamura be watchful and observant, and not remiss.' She next sent for Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, and said to him :—' Do thou avoid brawling speech of thine own, and fail not to follow the words of the many. Be self-restrained, and not contentious.' These were the dying injunctions of the Empress. Whom now shall we make Emperor ? " The Ministers were silent, and made no answer.
XXIII. 2. Again he asked them, but there was no reply. He persisted in questioning them, and thereupon Ohotomo no Kujira no Muraji advanced and said :—" Let us simply obey the Empress's dying injunctions. There is no need to go beyond them, and consult general opinion." Abe no Omi straightway inquired, saying :—" What does this mean ? Explain thy opinion." He answered and said :—" What was the Empress's intention when she gave command to the Imperial Prince Tamura, saying : ' The Empire is a great charge ; be not remiss ' ? Judging by this, the Imperial Dignity is already decided. And who shall gainsay this decision ? " Then the four Ministers, Mareshi, Uneme no Omi, Uma, Taka-muku no Omi, Mike, Nakatomi no Omi, and Musashi, Naniha no Kishi, said :—" Let us comply with the advice of Ohotomo no Muraji ; there is no more objection to be made." Ohomaro, Kose no Omi, Adzumōdo, Saheki no Muraji, and Shihote, Ki no Omi, these three, stood forward and said :—" It is Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye who should be made Emperor." But Soga no Kuramaro no Omi [also called Womasa] alone said :—" I am unable to say anything at this moment, but I will think further over the matter and declare myself later." Upon this the Oho-omi, seeing that the Ministers were inharmonious, and that the matter could not be accomplished, retired.

Before this, the Oho-omi had by himself inquired of Sakahibe no Marise no Omi, saying :—" The Empress has died, leaving no heir. Whom shall we make Emperor ? " He answered and said :—" Let us raise up Yamashiro no Ohoye, and make him Emperor." At this time Yamashiro no Ohoye was living in the Palace of Ikaruga. This consultation having come to his ears, he sent Prince Mikuni and Wajiko, Sakurawi no Omi, these two, with a secret message to the Oho-omi,
XXIII. 3. saying :—" It has come to my knowlege that (thou) my maternal uncle art desirous of making the Imperial Prince

Tamura Emperor. On hearing this report, I have thought of it standing and have thought of it sitting, but without being able to see on what just grounds it rests. I beg that I may be clearly informed of my uncle's intentions." Hereupon the Oho-omi, when he received this message from Yamashiro no Ohoye, was unable of himself to give an answer. So he sent for Abe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Ki no Omi, Kahabe no Omi, Takamuku no Omi, Uneme no Omi, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Kose no Omi, to whom he communicated fully Yamashiro no Ohoye's message. He then proceeded to address these Daibu, saying:—"Go, ye Daibu, in a body to the Palace of Ikaruga, and say to Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, 'How should his humble servant[1] be so rash as of his own authority to decide the succession to the Dignity? All that he has done is to take up the Empress's dying commands, and communicate them to the Ministers.' The Ministers said with one voice, 'In accordance with the dying instructions of the Empress, the Imperial Prince Tamura is the natural successor to the Dignity. Who has any further objection?' Such were the words of the Ministers. They are not specially my sentiments. Although I have a private opinion of my own, out of respect I refrain from communicating it by message, and await the opportunity of an interview in order to inform thee personally." Hereupon the Daibu, having received the words of the Oho-omi, proceeded together to the Palace of Ikaruga, where Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi were made to deliver to Yamashiro no Ohoye the message of the Oho-omi. Now Prince Ohoye made them go and ask the Daibu what were the dying commands of the Empress. They answered and said:—"We do not know the depth of the matter. Only we gathered from the account given us of the circumstance by the Oho-omi that on the day in which the Empress took to her sick bed, she gave command to the Imperial Prince Tamura, and said to him, 'The future government of the country is not to be lightly spoken of. Therefore do thou the Imperial Prince Tamura speak of it with self-restraint, and be not remiss.' She next gave command to Prince Ohoye, and said to him, 'Thy heart is young; avoid

[1] The interlinear Kana version has yakkora, making the humble servant plural, and to refer to the Daibu.

brawling words, and fail not to obey the voice of general opinion.' The princesses in immediate attendance on the
XXIII. 4. Empress, and the ladies-in-waiting all know this. Moreover, it is within the direct knowledge of the great Prince." Hereupon Prince Ohoye caused further inquiry to be made, saying: —"Is there any special person who has heard these dying injunctions of the Empress?" The answer was, "We have no knowledge of any secret particulars." After this he sent a fresh message to the Daibu, saying:—"My beloved maternal uncle has been at the pains to send me not simply a single messenger, but a number of high officials for my instruction. For this I am deeply grateful. It appears, however, that the dying commands of the Empress which the Ministers now tell me of are somewhat different from what I heard. As soon as I learnt that the Empress had taken to her sick bed, I hastened to the palace and waited at the gate. Then Mike, Nakatomi no Muraji, came out from the forbidden precinct, and said:— 'I summon thee by command of the Empress.' Accordingly I proceeded to the inner gate. Moreover Kurome, Kurikuma no Uneme, met me in the courtyard, and led me to the Great Hall. Now the Empress's personal attendants, with Princess Kurimoto at their head, and eight ladies-in-waiting, Shibime among the number, several tens of persons in all, were in attendance beside the Empress. The Imperial Prince Tamura was also present. Now the Empress was very ill, and could not see me. Accordingly Princess Kurimoto informed her that Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, whom she had sent for, had arrived. Then the Empress raised herself up and gave command, saying:—'We, with our poor abilities, have long borne the burden of the great institution. But now our destined career is drawing to a close; and this disease admits of no avoidance. Therefore, thou hast always been dear to Our heart, and Our affection for thee has no parallel. Now the great foundation of the State is not a
XXIII. 5. thing of Our reign (alone), but from all time has demanded diligence. Do thou, though thy heart[1] is young, be watchful over thy words.' All those who were in immediate attendance on the Empress at that time know this. Therefore when this great favour was conferred on me, I was on the one hand full of awe, and on the other full of grief. I leaped for joy, and

[1] Lit. liver (kimo). He was thirty-six.

knew not what to do. Then I bethought me :—' The Spirits of the land and of grain and the ancestral shrines are weighty matters. I am young and devoid of wisdom : how can I presume to accept this charge ? ' Just at this time I desired to converse with my maternal uncle and the Ministers on the subject, but there was no (fit) opportunity for me to speak, and it is for this reason only that I have been silent up to the present. On a former occasion I went to the capital in order to pay a visit of inquiry to my sick maternal uncle, and lodged in the Temple of Toyora. On this day the Empress sent Shibime, Yakuchi no Uneme, to me with an Imperial message, saying :—' Thy maternal uncle, the Oho-omi, constantly expresses anxiety on thy account. After a hundred years,[1] is it not to thee that the succession to the Dignity will fall ? Be, therefore, watchful, and spare thyself.' This matter is clear. What doubt can there be about it ? But am I covetous of the Empire ? I am simply declaring what I have heard, and I call to witness to its truth the Gods both of Heaven and Earth. Therefore it is my desire to ascertain accurately the dying commands of the Empress. Moreover, ye, the Ministers sent to me by the Oho-omi, are men who have always addressed the sovereign as it were holding the sacred spear by the middle.[2] Will you be so good, therefore, as to inform my uncle ? "

After this Prince Hatsuse, the second son (of Prince Ohoye[3]), sent for Nakatomi no Muraji and Kahabe no Omi separately, and said to them :—" Both my father and I spring from the Soga family, as is well known to the world. We, therefore, rely on it as on a high mountain. I pray, therefore, that the succession to the Dignity be not lightly spoken of." So he sent Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi along with the Ministers, saying :—" I desire to receive an answer." Then the Oho-omi XXIII. 6.
sent Ki no Omi and Ohotomo no Muraji to say to Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi :—" On a former occasion I said all I had to say : there is nothing else. However, how should I presume to despise one prince and honour another ? "

Several days after, Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye again sent Sakurawi no Omi to the Oho-omi to say :—" What I repre-

[1] i.e. some day or another : after my death.

[2] Without bias (?).

[3] Prince Ohoye could, therefore, not have been very young.

sented on the former day was only what I heard. Shall I oppose my maternal uncle?"

On this day the Oho-omi was ill, and unable to hold a personal conversation with Sakurawi no Omi.

The next day the Oho-omi sent for Sakurawi no Omi, and straightway despatched Abe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Kahabe no Omi, Oharida no Omi, and Ohotomo no Muraji to address Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, saying:—"From the time of the Emperor[1] who reigned in the Palace of Shikishima until recently, the Ministers have all been wise men. Now I am not wise, yet having happened on a time when men are scarce, I hold rank wrongfully above all the Ministers. This being so, I have been unable to settle the great foundation.[2] This is, however, a grave matter, and cannot well be discussed by intermediaries. Therefore, although my age makes it burdensome to me, I will speak with thee personally. This is merely that there may be no misunderstanding as to the Empress's dying injunctions, and not because I have any private views of my own."

After this the Oho-omi sent Abe no Omi and Nakatomi no Muraji with a message to Sakahibe no Omi to inquire again of him, saying:—"Which Prince shall be made Emperor?" He answered and said:—"When the Oho-omi formerly asked me in person, his slave said all that he had to say on the matter. What need is there now for any further message?" And he was greatly enraged, and got up and went out. Just at this time there was a gathering of all the kinsmen of the Soga House to construct a tumulus for Shima no Oho-omi. They lodged at the place where the tomb was. Hereupon Marise no Omi,[3] having pulled down the sheds at the tomb, retired to the Soga farm-house, and would do no official duty. Upon this, the Oho-omi was angry, and sent Katsushi, Musa no Kimi, and
XXIII. 7. Akawi, Nishikori no Obito, to admonish him, saying:—"I know thy evil speeches, but by reason of our relationship of elder and younger brother I cannot injure thee. But if others are wrong and thou art right, I shall oppose them and follow thee: if others are right and thou art wrong, I shall in that

[1] Kimmei Tennō. [2] That is, the succession to the throne.
[3] The same as Sakahibe no Omi.

case oppose thee and follow them. If, therefore, thou shouldst eventually disagree with me, there will be a breach between us, and there will, moreover, be civil broils in the land. Then posterity will say that thou and I have brought the country to ruin. Such would be our ill-fame with after generations. Do thou be watchful, nor allow a rebellious spirit to arise."

But he still refused compliance, and at length went to Ikaruga, where he dwelt in the Palace of Prince Hatsuse. Hereupon the Oho-omi became more and more wrathful, and sent the Ministers to make a request of Yamashiro no Ohoye, saying:—"Marise has of late been disobedient to me, and has concealed himself in the Palace of Prince Hatsuse. I pray thee, let me have Marise, so that I may examine the reasons." Hereupon, Prince Ohoye answered and said:—"Marise was always a favourite of the wise Empress, and has only come here for a short visit. How should he set himself in opposition to the sentiments of my maternal uncle? I pray thee, do not find fault with him." Accordingly he spoke to Marise, saying:—"It is most kind of thee to come, not forgetting the gratitude which thou owest to the former prince.[1] But the peace of the Empire is now threatened on thy sole account. Moreover, the former Prince, when near his end, addressed his children, saying:—'Avoid wickedness of every kind, practise good of every kind.' I heard this speech, and have made it my constant rule of life. On this account, although I have my private sentiments, I am patient, and not wrathful. Nor can I set myself in opposition to my uncle. I pray thee, henceforward, be not afraid to reform thy views. Yield to the many, and do not withdraw thyself."[2]

At this time, the Daibu also admonished Marise no Omi, saying:—"Thou shouldst not disobey the commands of Prince Ohoye." Hereupon Marise no Omi, having advanced to a point where he had nowhere to turn for support, burst out weeping and went home again. He remained in his house XXIII. 8.
for more than ten days. Prince Hatsuse suddenly took ill and died. Hereupon Marise no Omi said:—"Though I live, on whom shall I place my trust?"

[1] The Japanese commentators explain this expression as referring to Shōtoku Daishi, Prince Ohoye's father.

[2] From duty as a public servant.

The Oho-omi, wishing to put to death Sakahibe no Omi, raised troops which he sent against him. Sakahibe no Omi hearing that an armed force was coming, took with him his second son, Aya, and going outside the gate, sat down on a chair and waited. Then the troops arrived, and Ikuhi, Kume no Mononobe, was made to strangle him. Father and son died together and were buried in the same place. But the eldest son, Ketsu, fled and concealed himself in the tiled house [1] of a nunnery, where he had intrigues with one or two of the nuns. Now one of the nuns was jealous and informed on him. The temple was surrounded and he was on the point of being caught, when he got away and went to Mount Unebi. Therefore they searched the mountain. Ketsu had no place to escape to, and committed suicide on the mountain by stabbing himself in the throat. The people of that day made a song, saying :—

On Mount Unebi
  Though thin are the trees,
May there not be trust in them ?
  The youth Ketsu
Seems to have hidden there.[2]

A.D. 629. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Oho-omi together with the Ministers took the Imperial Seal and offered it to the Imperial Prince Tamura. He declined it, saying :—" The ancestral shrines are a weighty matter. I, the inept one, am wanting in wisdom ; how can I presume to undertake their charge ? " The Ministers humbly persisted in their request, saying :—" Thou, great Prince, wert the favourite of the late sovereign. Both the spirit realm and this visible world incline their hearts to thee. It is right that thou shouldst continue the Imperial line, and dispense thy radiance down on the people."

On the same day, he assumed the Imperial Dignity.

XXIII. 9. Summer, 4th month, 1st day. Tanabe no Muraji was sent to Yaku.[3]

This year was the year Tsuchinoto Ushi (26th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 630. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. The Imperial

[1] The "Tsushō" says that at this period the only part of a temple which had a tiled roof was the Hall of Worship.

[2] A Regular Tanka of thirty-one syllables.

[3] See above, XXII. 28.

Princess Takara was appointed Empress-consort. She had two sons and one daughter. The name of the eldest was the Imperial Prince Katsuraki [the Emperor who reigned in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi];[1] the second was called the Imperial Princess Hashibito;[2] the third was called the Imperial Prince Oho-ama [the Emperor who reigned in the Palace of Kiyomihara].[3] The Lady Hōde no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi Soga no Shima, bore (to him) the Imperial Prince Furubito [also called the Imperial Prince Ohoye]. He also took to him Kaya[4] no Uneme, of the province of Kibi, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Kaya.

3rd month, 1st day. The senior ambassador from Koryö named Yön Chă-phé, and the junior ambassador Ya-tök, with the senior ambassador from Pèkché, the Eun-sol, Sochă, and the junior ambassador the Tök-sol, Mutök, offered tribute together.

Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Dainin, Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, and the Dainin Kusushi[5] no Ejitsu were sent to Great Thang.[6]

8th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained at Court.

9th month, 4th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests returned to their own country.

In this month Tanabe no Muraji and his companions returned from Yaku.

Winter, 10th month, 12th day. The Emperor removed (the palace) to a place near the Hill of Asuka. This was called the Palace of Okamoto.[7] In this year the official residences of the three Han[8] in Oho-kohori at Naniha were repaired.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. People from Yaku emigrated hither. A.D. 631.

3rd month, 1st day. Wi-chă,[9] King of Pèkché, sent Prince Phung-chyang as hostage. XXIII. 1c.

[1] Tenchi Tennō. [2] Wife of Kōtoku Tennō. [3] Viz. Temmu Tennō.

[4] Kaya is the name of a place. The Uneme generally were called by the names of the places they came from.

[5] Physician.

[6] This Embassy is mentioned in the Thang annals.

[7] i.e. "bottom of hill." In Yamato. [8] Silla, Koryö and Pèkché.

[9] Wi-chă, according to the "Tongkam," came to the throne in A.D. 641. So there is something wrong here.

Autumn, 9th month, 19th day. The Emperor made a progress to the hot springs of Arima [1] in the Province of Settsu.

Winter, 12th month, 13th day. The Emperor arrived from the hot springs.

A.D. 632. 4th year, Autumn, 8th month. Great Thang sent Kao Piao-jên to escort Mitasuki (on his way back from China to Japan). They anchored together at Tsushima. At this time the student-priests Ryöng-un and Bin, together with Suguri no Torikahi and Silla Escort Envoys, came in their train.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Envoys from the Land of Thang, Kao Piao-jên and his companions, arrived in the harbour of Naniha. Accordingly Mŭmakahi no Muraji was sent to meet them at E-guchi.[2] There were thirty-two boats, which, as well as the drums, fifes and flags, were all gaily decorated. He addressed Kao Piao-jên and his companions, saying:—"Hearing that the Envoy appointed by the Son of Heaven has arrived at the Emperor's Court, I have come to receive him." Then Kao Piao-jên answered and said:—"On a day when the wind is so chill, it gives me great pleasure that you have been good enough to come to meet me with these gaily-decked boats." Hereupon Wotsuki, Naniha no Kishi, and Yafushi, Ohoshi-kahachi no Atahe, were appointed to be
XXIII. 11. their guides as far as the front of the official residence. Then Ittō, Iki no Fubito, and Yatsushi, Naniha no Kishi, were sent to introduce the guests into the official residence. On the same day, sacred sake [3] was given them.

A.D. 633. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 26th day. The Envoys from Great Thang, Kao Piao-jên and his companions, returned to their own country. The envoys sent to escort them, viz. the Kishi Womaro, Kuromaro and the rest, went as far as Tsushima, and then came back.

A.D. 634. 6th year, Autumn, 8th month. A long star was seen in the south. The people of that time called it a besom-star.[4]

[1] Well known to residents at the Treaty Port of Kōbe.

[2] River-mouth.

[3] This sake was made under special arrangements from rice grown in certain Temple glebe-lands. *Vide* "Yengishiki." It was customary to offer it to foreign ambassadors.

[4] Hahaki-boshi or hōki-boshi, the present name for a comet.

7th year, Spring, 1st month. The besom-star went round and was seen in the East. A.D. 635.

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. Pèkché sent the Tal-sol, Yu and others with tribute.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The Pèkché guests were entertained at Court. In this month a lotus of auspicious omen grew in the Tsurugi pond. There were two flowers on one stalk.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun. A.D. 636. XXIII. 12.

3rd month. All those who had had illicit intercourse with the Uneme were put on their trial, and were all punished.[1]

At this time Wosazaki, Miwa no Kimi, by reason of the pain of the examination,[2] committed suicide by stabbing himself in the throat.

Summer, 5th month. There were great rains and floods.

6th month. The Palace of Okamoto having been destroyed by fire, the Emperor removed his residence to the Palace of Tanaka.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Prince Ohomata addressed Toyora no Oho-omi, saying:—"The Ministers and functionaries are remiss in their attendance at Court. Henceforward, let them attend at the beginning of the hour of the Hare,[3] and withdraw after the hour of the Serpent.[4] Regulate this by means of a bell." The Oho-omi, however, did not take this advice.

This year there was a great drought, and there was famine throughout the Empire.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. A great star floated from East to West, and there was a noise like that of thunder. The people of that day said that it was the sound of the falling star. Others said that it was earth-thunder. Hereupon the Buddhist Priest Bin said:—"It is not the falling star, but the Celestial Dog,[5] the sound of whose barking is like thunder." A.D 637.

[1] No doubt capital punishment is meant. [2] By torture.

[3] 5 to 7 a m. To be more exact, the beginning of this hour is an hour before daybreak.

[4] 9 to 11 a.m. Such early hours are usual in Eastern Courts. The King of Corea at the present day receives his Ministers before daybreak.

[5] "The Classic of the Mountains and Seas" (a very ancient Chinese book)

XXIII.13. 3rd month, 2nd day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

In this year the Yemishi rebelled and did not come to Court. The Dainin, Katana, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, was appointed general to smite them. But it was he, on the contrary, who was defeated by the Yemishi, and fled into a fortress, where he was eventually besieged by the enemy. His soldiers all slipped away, and the castle became empty. The general was perplexed and knew not what to do. Then at nightfall he was climbing over the palisade in order to escape, when his wife lamented, saying:—"Oh, what a shame that we should be slain by Yemishi!" And to her husband she spoke, saying:—"Thy ancestors crossed the blue ocean and travelled 10,000 ri to reduce to submission Governments beyond the water, and so hand down to future generations their dread valour. If thou dost now bring disgrace on the name of thy forefathers, thou wilt surely become a laughing-stock to posterity." So she poured out sake for her husband, and compelled him to drink it. Then she girded on herself her husband's sword, and bending ten bows, caused the women, of whom there were several tens, to twang the bow-strings. When this was done, her husband roused himself again, and seizing a weapon which was lying on the ground, advanced. The Yemishi thought that the army was still numerous, and by degrees withdrew. Hereupon the routed troops reassembled, and, re-forming their ranks, attacked the Yemishi, whom they greatly defeated, taking them every one prisoners.

A.D. 638. 10th year, Autumn, 7th month, 19th day. There was a great storm, which broke trees and tore up houses.

9th month. There were continuous rains, and peaches and plums blossomed.

says: "At the Heaven-gate-mountain there is a red dog, called the Celestial Dog. Its lustre flies through Heaven, and as it floats along becomes a star of several tens of rods (10 feet) in length. It is swift as the wind. Its voice is like thunder, and its radiance like lightning."

The Celestial Dog 天狗 is a group of seven stars near the zodiacal constellation 鬼 (Cancer). Giles says that it is in Argo. The interlinear Kana has Ama no Kitsune, or the Celestial Fox.

The Celestial Dog, or Tengu, of modern Japanese superstition is a winged creature in human form with an exceedingly long nose, which haunts mountain-tops and other secluded places. It is a favourite subject of artists. See "Anderson's British Museum Catalogue," p. 410.

Winter, 10th month. There was an Imperial progress to the Palace of the hot springs of Arima. XXIII. 14.

This year Pèkché, Silla, and Imna all sent tribute.

11th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Imperial carriage returned from the hot springs. A.D. 639.

11th day. The festival of tasting the new rice[1] was held.

12th day. There was thunder without any clouds.[2]

22nd day. There was a storm with thunder.

26th day. A long star appeared in the north-west. Priest Bin said that it was a besom-star. When it appeared, there was famine.[3]

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"This year let there be a great palace and a great temple built." So the bank of the Kudara[4] River was chosen as the site for the palace. Herewith the western population built the palace, and the eastern population[5] built the temple. Agata, Fumi no Atahe, was made architect.

Autumn, 9th month. The priests who had studied in Great Thang, viz. Ye-on and Ye-un, entered the capital in the train of the Silla Escort Envoys. XXIII. 15.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The Silla Envoys were entertained at Court. Accordingly the Emperor granted them one grade of cap-rank.

12th month, 14th day. There was an Imperial progress to the Palace of the hot springs of Iyo.

In this month a pagoda of nine stories was erected on the bank of the River Kudara.

12th year, Spring, 2nd month, 7th day. A star entered the moon.[6] A.D. 640.

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor returned from Iyo, and took up his residence in the Palace of Mŭmaya-zaka.

5th month, 5th day. A great Buddhist maigre entertainment

[1] Nihi-name.

[2] An evil omen, according to the Chinese and Romans.

[3] Bin is the Priest quoted above, XXIII. 12, as an authority on astronomical matters.

[4] The Japanese name for Pèkché.

[5] The west is no doubt Kahachi, the east Yamato.

[6] Chinese history records that Venus entering the moon was looked upon by the diviners as portending mortality among the people.

was given, at which by request the priest Ye-on expounded the Muryō jiu kiō.[1]

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. Shō-an, a priest who had studied in Great Thang, and the student Kuromasa, Takamuku no Ayabito arrived by way of Silla. The tribute-bearing Envoys
XXIII.16. of Pèkché and Silla came in their company. Each of them[2] was granted a grade of cap-rank.

This month (the Emperor) removed to the Palace of Kudara.

A.D. 641. 13th year, Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Kudara.

18th day. He was temporarily interred north of the Palace. This was called the "great temporary tomb" of Kudara. At this time the Heir Apparent, the Imperial Prince Hirakasu wake, was sixteen years old, and pronounced the funeral eulogium.

[1] Florenz, quoting "Bunyu Nanjio," says this is the Amitayu Sutra or Sukhāvatī Vyūha; Muryō jiu means "Everlasting life."

[2] i.e. of the Envoys.

BOOK XXIV.

THE EMPRESS AME TOYO-TAKARA IKASHI-HI TARASHI HIME.[1]

(*KŌGYOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi hime was the great-granddaughter of the Emperor Nuna-kura futo-dama-shiki,[3] granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ohoye, Oshizaka no hiko-bito, and daughter of Prince Chinu. Her mother's name was Princess Kibi.

This Empress conducted the government in conformity with the ancient path.

In the second year of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[4] she was appointed Empress-consort. This Emperor died in the 10th month of the 13th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Empress-consort assumed the Imperial Dignity. Yemishi, Soga no Omi, was made Oho-omi as before. The Oho-omi's son, Iruka [also called Kuratsukuri], took into his own hands the reins of government, and his power was greater than his father's. Therefore thieves and robbers were in dread of him, and things dropped on the highways were not picked up. A.D. 642.

29th day. The Dainin, Hirafu, Adzumi no Muraji, who had gone as Envoy to Pèkché, returned from Tsukushi, riding on post-horses, and said :—"The Land of Pèkché, hearing of the Emperor's death, has sent Ambassadors of condolence, along with whom I arrived in Tsukushi. But I wished to take part

[1] Heaven-rich-treasure-great-sun-suffice-princess.

[2] This word occurs in the "Shooking," p. 328 of Legge's edition, where it is translated "royal perfection."

[3] Bidatsu Tennō.

[4] Jomei Tennō.

in the funeral ceremonies, and therefore have come on alone in advance. That country, however, is at present greatly disturbed."

XXIV. 2. 2nd month, 2nd day. Hirafu, Adzumi no Yamashiro no Muraji, Ihakane, Kusakabe no Kishi, and Agata, Yamato no Aya no fumi no Atahe, were sent to the Pèkché Ambassadors of condolence to inquire their news. The Ambassadors of condolence replied, saying:—"The sovereign of Pèkché said to us:—'Sè-syang is always behaving badly. I request that he may be delivered to the Envoys on their return.'" The Empress did not consent.

The servants of the Pèkché Envoys of condolence said:—"In the 11th month of last year, the Tè-sa-phyöng,[1] Chi-chyök, died. Moreover the Pèkché Envoys flung the Kunluen[2] Envoys into the sea. In the first month of this year the King's mother died. Again, Kyoki, the son of the younger Prince, and also his younger sisters by the same mother, four persons in all, with the Lord Nè-sa-phyöng,[3] and over forty notables, were banished to an island."[4]

6th day. Koryö Envoys anchored in the harbour of Naniha.

21st day. The Daibu were sent to the district (government house) of Naniha to inspect the gold and silver sent as tribute
XXIV. 3. by the Land of Koryö, as well as the other things presented by that country. After the Envoys had delivered over all the tribute, they said:—"The younger Prince died in the sixth month of last year. In the autumn, the 9th month, the Prime Minister, Irikasyumi, slew the King, and also put to death Irikö-Iyésă and others to the number of more than 180. Then he took the son of the younger Prince and made him King.[5] He also made his own relation[6] To-syu-ryu Keum-nyu Prime Minister."

22nd day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained

大佐平, Prime Minister.

[2] Kun-luen, 崑崙, may be the Kunluen mountains between the desert of Gobi and Tibet, or it may be Pulo Condore in the China Sea.

[3] 內佐平, a Corean officer, Japanese Naidaijin, says a commentator.

[4] This is servants' gossip—not to be taken without many grains of salt. Chi-chyök is alive later on, and Kyoki appears as chief envoy to Japan. See below, XXIV. 4.

[5] The "Tongkam" places these events in A.D. 642, 10th month.

[6] Lit. of the same surname.

at the Naniha district (Government office). The Empress commanded the Oho-omi to send Oho-ama, Tsumori no Muraji, as Envoy to Koryö, Kuhina, Naniha no Kishi, to Pèkché, Mato, Kusakabe no Kishi, to Silla, and Nagaye, Sakamoto no Kishi, to Imna.

24th day. Kyoki was sent for and lodged in the house of Adzumi no Yamashiro no Muraji.

25th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained.

27th day. The Koryö and Pèkché Envoys both took their departure.

3rd month, 3rd day. There was rain without any clouds.

Silla sent Envoys of congratulation on the accession, and also Envoys of condolence.

15th day. The Silla Envoys took their departure. This month there were continual rains.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. The Chief Envoy Kyoki and his companions had an audience of the Empress.

10th day. The Oho-omi, Soga, invited Kyoki of Pèkché and his companions to his house at Unebi. He had friendly con- XXIV. 4
versation with them and presented a good[1] horse and twenty bars of iron. But he did not invite Sè-syang.

This month there were continuous rains.

5th month, 5th day. Kyoki and his companions were invited to witness an archery-hunt[2] in front of the Miyake of Yosami in the province of Kahachi.

16th day. The ship of the Envoys of the Land of Pèkché and the ship of the Kishi anchored together in the harbour of Naniha.

18th day. The Pèkché Envoys delivered their tribute, and the Kishi reported their mission.

21st day. One of Kyoki's companions died.

22nd day. A child of Kyoki died. At this time, Kyoki and his wife shrunk with horror from the dead child, and were not present at the funeral ceremonies. It is the general custom in Pèkché and Silla when a death occurs that even the parents, brothers, husband or wife, and sisters of the deceased should never look on him again. Judging from this, they are utterly

[1] i.e. well-broken.

[2] The interlinear Kana has uma-yumi, i.e. shooting with bow and arrows from horseback.

wanting in feeling, and not to be distinguished from birds and beasts.

23rd day. Ripe rice was seen.

24th day. Kyoki removed with his wife and children to the house in Ohowi in Kudara, and sent people to bury his child in Ishikaha.[1]

6th month, 16th day. Fine rain fell.

6th month. There was a great drought.

Autumn, 7th month, 9th day. A guest-star entered the moon.[2]

22nd day. The Pèkché Envoys, the Tè-sa-phyöng, Chichyök, and his colleagues were entertained at Court.

> One writing has:—"The Tè-sa-phyöng, Chichyök, and his son the Tal-sol—the name is wanting—the Eun-sol Kun-syön."

Therewith stout fellows were commanded to wrestle before Kyoki, Chichyök and the others. When the banquet was over, they retired and went to pay their respects at Kyoki's gate.

XXIV. 5. 23rd day. The pages of Iruka, Soga no Omi, caught a white sparrow.[3] On the same day at the same time there was a man who put a white sparrow (or sparrows) into a cage and sent it as a present to Soga no Omi.

25th day. The Ministers conversed with one another, saying:—"In accordance with the teachings of the village hafuri, there have been in some places horses and cattle killed as a sacrifice to the Gods of the various (Shintō) shrines, in others frequent changes of the market-places,[4] or prayers to the River-

[1] Name of a district in Kahachi.

[2] This is evidently what we call the "occultation" of a star.

[3] A lucky omen.

[4] This is an old custom in China. A Chinese book, 廣州記, says that in a certain village there is a pond. At this pond there is a stone cow. In years of drought, the peasants kill a cow and, mixing its blood with mud, smear it on the back of the stone cow, with prayers.

The "Kogojiui," an ancient Japanese book, speaks of sacrifices of oxen to the Ohotsuchi (great-earth) nushi (master) no Kami. The flesh was eaten by the peasants.

The practice of changing the market-place as a means of averting drought is also an old Chinese custom. The present custom of closing the city gates of Söul, the capital of Corea, to put a stop to excessive rain, may be compared with it.

A modern commentator denounces both these customs (sacrifice of animals and changing the market-place) as contrary to the spirit of Shintoism.

Gods. None of these practices have had hitherto any good result." Then Soga no Oho-omi answered and said:—"The 'Mahāyāna Sutra' ought to be read by way of extract [1] in the temples, our sins repented of, as Buddha teaches, and thus with humility rain should be prayed for."

27th day. In the South Court of the Great Temple, the images of Buddha and of the Bosatsu,[2] and the images of the four Heavenly Kings, were magnificently adorned. A multitude of priests, by humble request, read the "Mahāyāna Sutra." On this occasion Soga no Oho-omi held a censer in his hands, and having burnt incense in it, put up a prayer.

28th day. A slight rain fell.

29th day. The prayers for rain being unsuccessful, the reading of the "Sutra" was discontinued.

8th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the river-source of Minabuchi. Here he knelt down and prayed, worshipping towards the four quarters, and looking up to Heaven.[3] Straightway there was thunder and a great rain, which eventually fell for five days, and plentifully bedewed the Empire. [One writing has:—"For five days there was continuous rain, and the nine grains ripened."]

Hereupon the peasantry throughout the Empire cried with one voice, "Bansai," and said, "An Emperor of exceeding virtue!" XXIV. 6.

6th day. The Pèkché Envoys, viz. the Associate Official and the rest, took their departure. They were given a large ship and three boats.

This day at midnight it thundered in the south-west corner, and there was wind and rain. The ship in which the Associate Official and his companions were embarked ran ashore and was wrecked.

[1] The tendoku (轉讀) is the reading of passages of a book to represent the whole. I have seen a dozen priests each with a pile of books on his right, of which he took one, read a few words at the beginning, made the pages defile rapidly before him, and then reading a few words at the end, passed it to a gradually increasing pile on his left. In this way a volume takes only a few seconds to dispose of, and although the Buddhist scriptures are pretty voluminous, an hour or two of this sort of thing makes some impression on them.

[2] Boddhisatwa.

[3] This is the Chinese as opposed to the Buddhist style, which had been without result.

13th day. The rank of Shôtoko was conferred on the Pèkché hostage, the Tal-sol, Chyang-pok. One grade of rank was conferred on the guests of middle and lower condition, and they each received presents according to their station.

15th day. A ship was given to the Associate Official of Pèkche and his companions, in which they were sent off.

16th day. The Koryò Envoys returned to their country.

26th day. The Pèkché Envoys returned to their country.

9th month, 3rd day. The Empress commanded the Oho-omi, saying:—"It is our wish to build a great temple. Let labourers be levied from Afumi and Koshi." Moreover, charge was given to the various provinces to have ships built.

19th day. The Empress commanded the Oho-omi, saying:—"I wish the building of a palace to be begun in this month, and completed not later than the 12th month. Let building-timber be taken from the various provinces. Accordingly, workmen for building the palace were levied from Tôtomi on the east, as far as Aki on the west.

21st day. The Yemishi of the Koshi neighbourhood, several thousand in number, made their submission.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. There was an earthquake, with rain.

9th day. There was an earthquake. This night there was an earthquake, with wind.

12th day. The Yemishi were entertained at Court.

15th day. Soga no Oho-omi entertained the Yemishi in his house, and personally made kind inquiries after their welfare.

On this day, the ship of the Silla Envoys of condolence, and the ship of the Envoys of congratulation on the accession, anchored at the island of Iki.

24th day. There was an earthquake at midnight.

This month summer ordinances were put in force.[1] There was rain without clouds.

[1] The writer had probably in his mind a passage of the "Liki" (Legge's translation, Vol. I. p. 276), of which the following is an extract:—"If in the second month of summer the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and cold would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable, and violent assaults of war would come." The general purport is that bad government is the cause of bad weather, pestilence and other disasters. I am not sure, however, that the Japanese writer adopts this

11th month, 2nd day. There was great rain, with thunder. XXIV. 7.

5th day. At midnight there was a thunder-clap in the north-west corner.

8th day. It thundered five times in the north-west corner.

9th day. The weather was warm, as in spring.

10th day. Rain fell.

11th day. The weather was warm, as in spring.

13th day. There was a thunder-clap in the northern quarter, and wind sprang up.

16th day. The Empress celebrated the festival of tasting the new rice. On this day the Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi each personally tasted the new rice.[1]

12th month, 1st day. The weather was mild, as in spring.

3rd day. It thundered five times during the day, and twice at night.

9th day. It thundered twice in the east, and there was wind and rain.

13th day. The mourning ceremonies for the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka were begun. On this day, the Shōtoko, Tokudai, Kose no Omi, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of Prince Ohomata. Next the Shōtoko Hosome, Ahata no Omi, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of the Imperial Prince Karu. Next the Shōtoko, Mŭma-kahi, Ohotomo no Muraji, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of the Oho-omi.

14th day. Okinaga no Yamana no Kimi pronounced an eulogium of the Imperial line.

20th day. It thundered three times in the north-east corner.

21st day. The Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was buried on the Hill of Name-hazama.

On this day the Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Woharida. XXIV. 8.

One writing says :—"To the temporary palace in the southern courtyard of the Eastern Palace."

23rd day. It thundered once in the night with a splitting noise.

theory. He may only mean that the weather was unseasonable, without intending to saddle the Empress with the responsibility for it.

[1] They probably celebrated this ceremony in their own houses.

30th day. The weather was mild, as in spring.

This year Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi erected his own ancestral temple at Taka-miya in Katsuraki, and performed an eight-row dance.[1] Finally he made a song, saying :—

In order to ford
The River Hiro-se of Oshi
In Yamato,
I adjust my garters
And gird up my loins ![2]

Moreover he levied all the people of the land as well as the serfs of the 180 Be, and constructed two tombs at Imaki in preparation for his death.[3] One was called the Great Misasagi, and was intended as the tomb of the Oho-omi; one was called the Small Misasagi, and was meant for the tomb of Iruka no Omi. It was his desire that after his death other people might not be troubled. Moreover he assembled all the Mibu people of Kamutsumiya,[4] and made them do forced labour on the precincts of the tombs. Hereupon Princess Kamutsumiya no Oho-iratsume[5] was wroth, and exclaimed, saying :—"Soga no Omi wantonly usurps the Government of the land, and does many outrageous things. In Heaven there
XXIV. 9. are not two suns: in a state there cannot be two sovereigns. Why should he, at his own pleasure, employ, in forced labour, all the people of the fief?" From this her hate began to gather, and she at length shared in the common downfall.[6]

This year was the year Midzunoye Tora (39th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 643 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. In the morning great clouds of five colours[7] covered all the sky, except in the north-east, where they were wanting. A mist of a uniform blue colour arose from the earth on all sides.

[1] These were assumptions of Imperial rank. *Vide* "Legge's Chinese Classics," Vol. I. p. 18.

[2] Hiro-se means a broad ford. Apparently Soga, in these lines, is supposed to hint at his secret ambition of usurpation.

[3] It was not unusual to build sepulchral mounds during the lifetime of the intended occupant. Nintoku Tennō is an example.

[4] The serfs of the late Prince Shōtoku Daishi.

[5] Shōtoku Daishi's daughter.

[6] See below, XXIV. 13.

[7] Rainbow-tinted.

10th day. A great storm.

2nd month, 20th day. Peach-blossoms first appeared.

25th day. The leaves and flowers of herbs and trees were injured by hail.

In this month there were wind, thunder, and ice-rain. Winter ordinances were in force.

3rd month, 13th day. The official quarters of the Pèkché guests at Naniha and the houses of the people took fire.

25th day. The flowers and leaves of the herbs and trees were injured by frost.

In this month there were wind, thunder, rain and ice-rain. Winter ordinances were in force.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. A great storm, with rain.

8th day. A wind sprang up and the weather was chilly.

20th day. There was a west wind[1] and hail. The weather was cold, and people wore three wadded garments.

21st day. The Viceroy[2] of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress, saying:—"The Prince, the younger brother of Kyoki, son of the King of Pèkché, has arrived in company of the tribute Envoys."

25th day. It was reported from the province of Ohomi that hail had fallen there one inch in diameter.

28th day. The Empress removed her residence from the temporary palace to the new Palace of Itabuki in Asuka.

5th month, 16th day. There was an eclipse of the moon.

6th month, 13th day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress, saying:—"Koryö is sending Envoys to our Court." When the Ministers heard this, they said:—"Koryö has not come to XXIV 10.
Court since the year Kanoto i,[3] and this year they are coming to Court."

23rd day. The Pèkché tribute-ships anchored in the port of Naniha.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Several Daibu were sent to the district (Government house) of Naniha to inspect the Pèkché tribute and presents. Hereupon the Daibu inquired of the tribute Envoys, saying:—"The national tribute offered by

[1] The west wind in Japan comes from North China and Siberia, and resembles our east wind in character.

[2] Dazai.

[3] A.D. 639.

you is less than by previous precedent. The articles sent to the Oho-omi are of no better quality than those which were returned in a former year; and, in defiance of previous precedent, no articles at all have been brought for the Ministers. How is this?"

The senior Envoy, the Tal-sol, Chă-să, and the junior Envoy, the Eun-sol, Kun-syön, together answered and said:—"The deficiency will be speedily supplied." Chă-să was a son of the hostage, the Tal-sol, Mu-chă.

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond stank greatly, and was covered with small grubs, which had black mouths and white bodies.

8th month, 15th day. The water of the Mamuta pond changed, and became like indigo juice. Its surface was covered with dead grubs. Moreover the running water in the drains became coagulated to the thickness of three or four inches, and the fishes, both great and small, stank, as when they are scorched to death in summer. They were therefore unfit for food.

9th month, 6th day. The Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was buried in the Oshi-zaka Misasagi.

A certain writing says:—"The Emperor Hironuka is also called the Emperor Takechi."

11th day. Kibi no Shima, the Empress's grandmother, died.

17th day. The Empress instructed Wite, Hashi no Saba no Muraji, to superintend the funeral ceremonies of her grandmother. From the time that the Empress's grandmother took ill, until the beginning of the mourning, the Empress never left
XXIV. 11. her bedside, and was assiduous in attending to her nourishment.

19th day. The Empress's grandmother was buried on the Hill of Mayumi.

On this day there was great rain, with hail.

30th day. The work of constructing the tomb of the Empress's grandmother was discontinued, and presents of silk and cloth[1] were given to the Omi, the Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko, each according to his rank.

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond gradually changed, and became white. Moreover, it was no longer ill-smelling.

[1] Of hemp or mulberry bark fibre.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Ministers and Tomo no Miyakko were entertained in the Court of the Imperial Residence, and the matter of bestowing Dignities was considered. Ultimately instructions to the Governors of Provinces were given as before ordered, and no change was made. They were told to proceed to their posts, and to be watchful in respect to their administration.

6th day. Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, was unable from illness to attend at Court. On his own private authority, he granted his son Iruka a purple cap, which made him rank, as it were, with the Oho-omi. He also called the younger brother (of Iruka) Mononobe no Oho-omi. The Oho-omi's grandmother was the younger sister of Mononobe no Yugehi no Ohomuraji. Therefore, by reason of his mother's property, he acquired an influential position in the world.

12th day. Iruka, Soga no Omi, plotted by himself to set aside the Kamutsumiya Princes,[1] and to establish Furubito no Ohoye as Emperor. At this time there was a children's song which said:—

By the cliff,
A little monkey is cooking rice:
Pass on—having stolen
Even the very rice,
O thou mountain-goat[2] old man.

One book says:—"Iruka, Soga no Omi, had a profound repulsion for the prestige and fame of the Kamutsumiya Princes throughout the Empire, and plotted by himself how to become established in their stead."

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond became clear again.

11th month, 1st duy. Iruka, Soga no Omi, sent the Shōtoko, Kose no Tokudai no Omi, and the Dainin, Hashi no Saba no Muraji, to seize Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and the rest at Ikaruga. XXIV. 12.

One book says:—"With Kose no Tokudai no Omi and Yamato no Mŭma-kahi no Obito as commanders."

[1] The sons of Shōtoku Daishi.

[2] The kama-shishi is probably the animal now known as the kamoshika, a kind of antelope with a shaggy fleece. *Vide* "Satow and Hawes' Handbook," 2nd ed. p. [41]. See below, XXIV. 14, for an interpretation of this poem.

Hereupon the slave Minari and several tens of toneri came forth and fought in their defence. Hashi no Saba no Muraji was hit by an arrow and died, and the troops were afraid, and retreated. They said to one another:—"The saying 'one man as good as a thousand' is applicable to Minari." Yamashiro no Ohoye accordingly took the bones of a horse and flung them into his sleeping-chamber, and eventually, taking with him his consort, and accompanied by the younger members of his family, seized an opportunity to escape, and concealed himself on Mount Ikoma. Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi, a toneri named Tame no Muraji, and his daughter Uda no Morowoshi, and Ise no Abe no Katafu followed him.

Kose no Tokudai no Omi and the others, having burnt the Palace of Ikaruga, found bones among the ashes, and wrongly imagined that the Prince was dead. So they raised the siege and withdrew. Therewith Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions tarried on the mountain for four or five days. They had nothing to eat or drink. Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi advanced, and advised him, saying:—"Let us, I pray thee, go over to the Miyake of Fukakusa, and thence on horseback towards the Eastern provinces. Let us make Mibu our headquarters, and having raised troops, come back and fight. Our success is not doubtful." Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions[1] answered and said:—"If we did as thou sayest, we should certainly succeed. In my heart, however, I desire for ten years not to impose a burden on the people. For the sake of one person only, why should I distress the ten thousand subjects? Moreover, I do not wish it to be said by after generations that for my sake anyone has mourned the loss of a
XXIV. 13. father or mother. Is it only when one has conquered in battle that he is to be called a hero? Is he not also a hero who has made firm his country at the expense of his own life?" There was a man who from afar perceived the Princes of Kamutsumiya on the mountains, and went back and told this to Iruka, Soga no Omi. When Iruka heard this he was much afraid, and immediately set in movement an armed force. Then he informed Kuni-oshi, Takamuku no Omi, where the Prince was, and said:—"Thou must at once proceed to the mountain and arrest the Prince." Kuni-oshi answered and said:—"Thy

[1] The speech itself can be only that of Prince Yamashiro.

slave guards the Imperial Palace, and dares not go elsewhere." Iruka was about to go himself when the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye arrived, panting for breath, and asked whither he was going. Iruka informed him of the whole circumstances. Then the Imperial Prince Furubito said:—"The rat lies down in its hole and lives; it leaves its hole and dies." Accordingly Iruka gave up the idea of going, and sent commanders to make search at Ikoma, but they were never able to find him.

Hereupon Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions returned from the mountain and entered the Temple of Ikaruga. The commanders straightway surrounded the Temple with troops. Then Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye sent Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi with a message to the commanders, saying:—"If I had raised an army, and attacked Iruka, I should certainly have conquered. But for the sake of one person, I was unwilling to destroy the people. Therefore I deliver up myself to Iruka." Finally he and the younger members of his family, with his consorts, strangled themselves at the same time, and died together. At this time five coloured banners and umbrellas shone in the sky, and descending, hung over the Temple to the sound of various music. Every one looked up with cries of admiration. At length they were pointed out to Iruka, upon which the banners and umbrellas were changed into a black XXIV. 14.
cloud, so that Iruka was unable to see them.

Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, hearing that Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his people had all been destroyed by Iruka, chid him angrily, saying:—"Ah! Iruka! Thou are foolish exceedingly, and dost arbitrarily practise outrage. Is not thine own life precarious?"

The people of that day explained the application of the above poem[1] as follows:—

By "the cliff" is meant Kamutsumiya:[2] by the "little monkey" is meant Hayashi no Omi [Hayashi no Omi is Iruka]: by "cooking rice" is intended the burning of Kamutsumiya: by "Pass on, having stolen even the very rice, oh thou mountain-goat old man," Prince Yamashiro's head of hair, which was streaked with grey so as to resemble

[1] See above, XXIV. 11.

[2] i.e. Upper Palace.

that of a wild goat, is alluded to. Another explanation is that it refers to his having abandoned his Palace and concealed himself deep among the mountains.

This year the Heir Apparent to the throne of Pèkché, Yŏ Phung-chyang, set loose and kept four hives of honey-bees on Mount Miwa; but they did not multiply their kind.

A.D. 644. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Nakatomi no Kamako[1] no Muraji was appointed Chief[2] of the Shintō religion. He declined the appointment several times, and would not take it up. On the plea of ill-health he went away and lived at Mishima. At this time the Imperial Prince Karu had an ailment of the leg which prevented him from coming to
XXIV. 15. Court. Now Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji had before this a friendship for the Imperial Prince Karu, and therefore went to his Palace to spend the night in attendance on him. The Imperial Prince Karu, knowing well that Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was a man of exalted sentiments and of a bearing which made rudeness to him impossible, sent his favourite consort, a lady of the Abe House, to sweep out a separate room and to spread high a new sleeping-mat. There was nothing which was not provided for him, and the respect shown him was extraordinary. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was very sensible of (the cordiality of) his reception, and addressed the toneri, saying:—"I have been treated with a special kindness which exceeds all that I had expected. Who would not make him Ruler over the Empire?" The toneri accordingly reported to the Imperial Prince what he had said. The Imperial Prince was greatly pleased.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was a man of an upright and loyal character and of a reforming disposition. He was indignant with Soga no Iruka for breaking down the order of Prince and Vassal, of Senior and Junior, and cherishing veiled designs upon the State. One after another he associated with the Princes of the Imperial line, trying them in order to discover a wise ruler who might establish a great reputation. He had accordingly fixed his mind on Naka no Ohoye, but for want of intimate relations with him he had been for so far unable to unfold his inner sentiments. Happening to be

[1] 神祇伯, Kamutsukasa no Kami.

[2] Better known as Kamatari Kō. See below, XXV. 54.

one of a football[1] party in which Naka no Ohoye played at the foot of the keyaki tree of the Temple of Hōkōji, he observed the XXIV. 16. (Prince's) leathern shoe fall off with the ball. Placing it on the palm of his hand, he knelt before the Prince and humbly offered it to him. Naka no Ohoye in his turn knelt down and respectfully received it. From this time they became mutual friends, and told each other all their thoughts. There was no longer any concealment between them. They feared, however, that jealous suspicions might be caused by their frequent meetings, and they both took in their hands yellow rolls,[2] and studied personally the doctrines of Chow[3] and Confucius with the learned teacher of Minabuchi.[4] Thus they at length while on their way there and back, walking shoulder to shoulder, secretly prepared their plans. On all points they were agreed.

Now Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji counselled him, saying:—"For him who cherishes great projects, nothing is so essential as support. I pray thee, therefore, take to thee the eldest daughter of Soga no Kurayamada no Maro, and make her thy consort. When a friendly marriage relationship has been established, we can then unfold our desire to associate him with us in our plans. There is no shorter way to success than this. Now when Naka no Ohoye heard this, he was much pleased, and acted in accordance with his advice in every particular. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji accordingly went himself, and as go-between conducted the marriage negotiations to a successful result. On the night, however, fixed upon for XXIV. 17. (the consummation of the marriage with) the eldest daughter, she was stolen away by a relation [his name was Musa no Omi]. In consequence of this, Kurayamada no Omi was

[1] Dakiu, "strike-ball," the word here used, now means "polo," for an account of which see "Things Japanese," p. 350. But here some kind of football is evidently meant. What kind of football—like ours, or in Chinese fashion, knocking the ball from one to another like a shuttle-cock—does not appear.

[2] i.e. Chinese books.

[3] Chow, the supposed author of the Chow-li, a set of rules for the guidance of officials. *Vide* Mayers, p. 20.

[4] No doubt the Shōan above mentioned, XXII. 21. It is often far from clear, as here, whether a proper name is to be understood as a man's name or as the name of his place of residence. The latter meaning fades into the former.

grieved and alarmed. He looked up and looked down, and knew not what to do. His younger daughter, wondering at her father's grief and alarm, went up to him and inquired of him, saying:—"Why art thou sorrowful and in fear?" Her father told her the cause. The younger daughter said:—"I beseech thee, do not grieve, but offer me. It is still not too late." Her father was greatly rejoiced, and at length offered this daughter. She served (the Prince) with sincerity of heart,[1] and without any shyness whatever.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji recommended Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida,[2] Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kahi[3] no Muraji, to Naka no Ohoye, saying, &c., &c.

3rd month. An owl brought forth young in the Miyake of Ohotsu belonging to Toyora no Oho-omi.

It was reported from the Province of Yamato:—"Lately a man of the Uda district, called Oshizaka no Atahe, went with a boy for a walk over the snow. They climbed Mount Uda, and there they saw purple mushrooms growing out of the snow six inches or more in height, and covering about four chō.[4] So he made the boy gather them, and went back and showed them to his neighbours. They all said:—'We do not know them,' and suspected that they were poisonous. Hereupon Oshizaka no Atahe and the boy boiled and ate them. They were very savoury. The next day they went to see, but there were none
XXIV. 18. at all. Oshizaka no Atahe and the boy, from having eaten the mushroom soup, were free from disease, and lived long. Some one said:—'Probably the common people, not knowing the herb of long life,[5] mistakenly called it a mushroom."

Summer, 6th month, 1st day. Ohotomo no Mŭmakahi no Muraji presented to the Empress a lily, the stem of which was eight feet in length, separated as to the lower part, but joined together as to the end.

[1] Lit. a red heart. [2] Net-ricefield. [3] Puppy-keeper.

[4] The chō is at present, according to Hepburn, a land measure of 3000 tsubos, or 108,000 square feet.

[5] The "Yengishiki" describes the 芝草 as a plant resembling coral in shape, with clustering leaves and branches. Some are red, others purple, others black, others golden-coloured, while some change their colour in the four seasons. It blossoms three times a year, and gives long life to the person who eats it.

3rd day. It was reported from the district of Shiki no Kami:—"There was a man on Mount Miwa who, seeing a monkey having its noonday sleep, stealthily took it by the elbow, but without doing it bodily harm. The monkey kept its eyes closed, and sang a song, saying:—

It can be none but the soft hand
Of a friend who stands
On the opposite hill
That has taken my hand:
Whose happy hand is it
—Oh happy, happy hand!—
That hath taken my hand?[1]

The man was amazed at the monkey's song. He set it free and came away. This was a portent, indicating, after many years had passed, the siege of the Kamutsumiya Princes on Mount Ikoma by Soga no Kura-tsukuri."

6th day. Among the lotuses in the Tsurugi pond, there was one which had two flowers on one stem. Toyora no Oho-omi inferred without sufficient reason that this portended the future prosperity of Soga no Omi. So he made a picture[2] with XXIV. 19. golden ink, and presented it to the sixteen feet high Buddha of Great Hōkōji.

In this month the witches and wizards[3] of the whole country, breaking off leafy branches and hanging them with tree fibre,[4] watched the time when the Oho-omi was crossing a bridge and vied with one another in addressing to him subtle interpretations of divine words. They were in great numbers, so that they could not be distinctly heard. Old people said

[1] The metre belongs to no recognized standard. The text of this song is probably corrupt. As it stands it is very obscure, though, perhaps, not more so than we should expect from a drowsy monkey. The Japanese commentators vary widely in its interpretation. Dr. Florenz's version will be found to differ from the one given above. I should be sorry to say that mine is any improvement.

[2] Or writing.

[3] The interlinear Kana has Kamunai (for Kamunagi), which Yamada renders by miko. See Vol. I. p. 79, Note.

[4] In the manner of offerings to the Gods. The Chinese characters for tree-fibre now mean cotton, which is a much later introduction into Japan. The fibre was probably that of the inner bark of the paper mulberry.

that this was a sign of changes. At this time three popular songs were made. The first was :—

From afar off
Something is heard—
The jungle-plain of Shima.[1]

The second was :—

Though I have slept,
Not allowing a noise to be made
By the pheasants of the Ahanu plain,
On yonder side,
Others allow them to make a noise.

The third was :—

I know not the face,
Nor do I even know the house
Of him who did it,
Having led me
XXIV. 20. Into the Little Wood.[2]

Autumn, 7th month. A man of the neighbourhood of the River Fuji in the East Country named Ohofu Be no Oho urged his fellow-villagers to worship an insect, saying :—" This is the God of the Everlasting World. Those who worship this God will have long life and riches." At length the wizards and witches, pretending an inspiration of the Gods, said :—" Those who worship the God of the Everlasting World will, if poor, become rich, and, if old, will become young again." So they more and more persuaded the people to cast out the valuables of their houses, and to set out by the roadside sake, vegetables, and the six domestic animals.[3] They also made them cry out : —" The new riches have come ! " Both in the country and in the metropolis people took the insect of the Everlasting World

[1] Shima is the Oho-omi's place of abode. The " something heard " is said to mean the explanations of the wizards above referred to.

[2] Wood (Hayashi) is an allusion to Hayashi no Omi. The commentators have done their best to explain the political allusions in the above verses, but they do not at all agree among themselves, and are none of them very satisfactory. See below, XXIV. 26.

[3] i.e. the flesh of these animals, viz., of the horse, ox, sheep, pig, dog, fowl. But this is merely a Chinese phrase for domestic animals generally. There is no reason to suppose that the Japanese had sheep at this time.

and, placing it in a pure place, with song and dance invoked happiness. They threw away their treasures, but to no purpose whatever. The loss and waste was extreme. Hereupon Kahakatsu, Kadono no Hada no Miyakko, was wroth that the people should be so much deluded, and slew[1] Ohofu Be no Oho. The wizards and witches were intimidated, and ceased to persuade people to this worship. The men of that time made a song, saying:—

Udzumasa[2]
Has executed
The God of the Everlasting World
Who we were told
Was the very God of Gods.

This insect is usually bred on orange trees, and sometimes on the Hosoki.[3] It is over four inches in length, and about as thick as a thumb. It is of a grass-green colour with black spots, and in appearance entirely resembles the silkworm.[4] XXIV. 21.

Winter, 11th month. Iruka no Omi, son of Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, built two houses on the Amagashi Hill. The Oho-omi's house was called the Palace-Gate:[5] Iruka's house was called the Valley-Palace-Gate. Their sons and daughters were styled Princes and Princesses. Outside the houses palisades were constructed, and an armoury was erected by the gate. At each gate there was set a tank for water, and several tens of wooden hooks as a provision in case of fire.[6] Stout fellows were constantly employed to guard the houses, with arms in their hands.

The Oho-omi made Osa no Atahe build the Temple of Hokonuki on Mount Ohoniho. Moreover, he built a house on the east side of Mount Unebi and dug a pond,[7] so as to make of it a

[1] The original is 打, strike, which I take to be a euphemism for slay.

[2] i.e. Hada no Miyakko.

[3] The Chinese characters used mean "creeping pepper." I have not been able to identify this plant or tree. It is also called itachi-hajikami, i.e. weasel-ginger.

[4] It was evidently a caterpillar of some kind.

[5] The interlinear Kana version has Uhe no Mikado, Upper Palace, which suggests that a character has been lost here.

[6] A pole with a hook at the end is in use by Japanese firemen at the present day for pulling down houses.

[7] i.e. a moat.

castle. He erected an armoury, and provided store of arrows. In his goings out and comings in he was always surrounded by an attendant company of fifty soldiers. These sturdy fellows were called the Eastern[1] Company. The people of the various Uji[2] came to his gate, and waited upon him. He called himself their father, and them his boys. The Aya no Atahe attended wholly upon the two houses.[3]

A.D. 645. 4th year, Spring, 1st month. On mountain-peaks, by riversides, or among shrines and temples, there was a something visible afar, and there was heard a humming of monkeys, as it were ten or sometimes twenty together. But when one
XXIV. 22. approached to see what it might be, nothing was visible. There was still heard the sound of crying and screaming, but no one was able to distinguish any bodily form.

An old book says:—"In this year the capital was removed to Naniha, and this was an indication that the Itabuki palace would become a waste."

The men of that day said:—"These are the messengers of the Great Deity of Ise."[4]

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Koryö student-priests said that their fellow-student Kura-tsukuri no Tokushi had made friends with a tiger, and had learnt from him his arts, such as to make a barren mountain change into a green mountain, or to cause yellow earth to become clear water, and all manner of wonderful arts too many to enumerate. Moreover, the tiger bestowed on him his needle, saying:—"Be watchful! be watchful, and let no one know! Treated with this, there is no disease which may not be cured." Truly, as the tiger had said, there was no disease which was not cured when treated by it.[5] Tokushi always kept the needle concealed in a pillar. Afterwards the tiger broke the pillar and ran away, taking the needle with him. The Land of Koryö, hearing that Tokushi wished to return, put him to death by poison.

6th month, 8th day. (Prince) Naka no Ohoye secretly

[1] Perhaps because his house stood on the eastern side of Mount Unebi. An interlinear gloss has Adzuma or East Country. The Soga family had much to do with the Eastern provinces, as the name of its head, viz. Yemishi (Aino) suggests. Possibly the guard here spoken of consisted of Ainos.

[2] Noble houses.

[3] Of the father and son.

[4] The Sun-goddess.

[5] Acupuncture is no doubt meant.

addressed Kurayamada no Maro no Omi, saying:—"On the day that the three Corean kingdoms present their tribute I will surely cause thee to read aloud their memorial," and went on to inform him of his plan for slaying Iruka no Omi. Maro no Omi respectfully assented.

12th day. The Empress held a Court in the Taikyokuden.[1] XXIV. 23.
(Prince) Furubito no Ohoye was in attendance.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, knowing that Soga, Iruka no Omi, was of a very suspicious nature, and wore a sword day and night, showed the performers an expedient to make him lay it aside. Iruka no Omi laughed, and, having ungirded his sword, entered and took his place in attendance by the throne. Kurayamada Maro no Omi advanced and read aloud the memorials of the three kingdoms of Corea. Hereupon (Prince) Naka no Ohoye ordered the Guard of the Gates to fasten all the twelve gates at the same time, and to allow nobody to pass. Then he called together the Guards of the Gates to one place and promised them rewards. (Prince) Naka no Ohoye then took in his own hands a long spear and hid it at one side of the Hall. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji and his people, armed with bows and arrows, lent their aid. Katsumaro, Ama no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to give two swords in a case to Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kahi no Muraji, with the message, "Up! up! make haste to slay him." Komaro and the other tried to send down their rice with water, but were so frightened that they brought it up again.[2] Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji chid and encouraged them. Kurayamada Maro no Omi feared lest the reading of the memorials should come to XXIV. 24.
an end before Komaro and his companion arrived. His body was moist with streaming sweat, his voice was indistinct, and his hands shook. Kuratsukuri no Omi wondered at this, and inquired of him, saying:—"Why dost thou tremble?" Yamada Maro answered and said:—It is being near the Empress that makes me afraid, so that unconsciously the perspiration pours from me." Naka no Ohoye, seeing that

[1] The 大極, Taikyoku, is the Absolute or first principle of Chinese philosophy, from which proceed the Yin and Yang. The Taikyokuden was the Great Hall of Audience.

[2] Probably only to be taken metaphorically.

Komaro and his companion, intimidated by Iruka's prestige, were trying to shirk and did not come forward, cried out "Yā!" and forthwith coming out with Komaro and his companion, fell upon Iruka without warning, and with a sword cut open his head and shoulder. Iruka started up in alarm, when Komaro with a turn of his hand flourished his sword and wounded him on the leg. Iruka rolled over to where the Empress sat, and bowing his head to the ground, said:—"She who occupies the hereditary Dignity is the Child of Heaven. I, Her servant, am conscious of no crime, and I beseech Her to deign to make examination into this." The Empress was greatly shocked, and addressed Naka no Ohoye, saying:—"I know not what has been done. What is the meaning of this?" Naka no Ohoye prostrated himself on the earth, and made representation to Her Majesty, saying:—"Kuratsukuri wished to destroy utterly the Celestial House, and to subvert the Solar Dignity. Is Kuratsukuri to be substituted for the Celestial descendants?" The Empress at once got up, and went into the interior of the Palace. Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Waka-inu-kahi no Muraji, slew Iruka no Omi. On this day rain fell, and puddle-water overflowed the Court. They covered Kuratsukuri's body with screens of matting.[1] When Furubito no Ohoye saw this, he
XXIV. 25. ran into his private palace, and said to his people:—"The Coreans have slain Kuratsukuri no Omi. My heart is sore." Then he went into his sleeping-chamber, shut the door, and would not come out.

Naka no Ohoye presently entered the Temple of Hōkōji, which he fortified and prepared to defend. The Imperial Princes, Ministers, Daibu, Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, and Kuni no Miyakko, one and all followed him. Men were sent to deliver the body of Kuratsukuri no Omi to Yemishi no Oho-omi. Hereupon the Aya no Atahe[2] assembled all their clan. Clad in armour and with weapons in their hands, they came to the assistance of the Oho-omi, and formed an army. Naka no Ohoye sent the General Kose no Tokuda[3] no Omi to explain to the rebel band that ever since the creation of Heaven and Earth there were lords and vassals, and to make

[1] Or mats and screens. [2] See above, XXIV. 21.
[3] Called Tokudai above.

himself acquainted with the cause of this uprising. Hereupon Kunioshi, Takamuku no Omi, addressed the Aya no Atahe, saying:—"We are bound to receive (capital) punishment on account of our Lord's[1] eldest son. Moreover, it is not doubtful that to-day or to-morrow swift execution awaits the Oho-omi. This being so, for whom should we fight to no purpose, rendering ourselves all liable to be put to death?" When he had finished speaking, he ungirded his sword, flung away his bow, and went away, deserting the cause. The rebel troops, moreover, following his example, dispersed and ran away.

13th day. Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and his people, when about to be executed, burnt the History of the Emperors, the History of the Country, and the objects of value. Yesaka Funa no Fubito straightway hastened to seize the burning History of the Country, and delivered it up to Naka no Ohoye. On this day permission was given for the interment of the bodies of Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and Kuratsukuri in tombs.[2] Lament for them was also allowed.

Upon this, some explained the first of the popular songs,[3] saying:—

The song which says—

From afar off
Something is heard— XXIV. 26.
The jungle-plain of Shima,

prefigured the building of palaces together at the house of Shima no Oho-omi, and the secret conspiracy of Naka no Ohoye and Nakatomi, Kamako no Muraji in the cause of justice, with their plot to kill Iruka.

The second of the popular songs was explained as follows:—

The song which says—

Though I have slept,
Not allowing a noise to be made
By the pheasants of the Ahanu plain
On yonder side,
Others allow them to make a noise,

---

[1] Yemishi. [2] Haka, not misasagi. See above, XXIV. 8.
[3] See above, XXIV. 19.

was ominous of the Kamutsumiya Princes, of gentle disposition, and none of them guilty of a crime, being harmed by Iruka, and of Heaven bringing about his death by the hands of others, though they could not themselves have their revenge.

The third popular song was explained as follows :—

The song which says—

> I know not the face,
> Nor do I even know the house
> Of him who did it,
> Having led me
> Into the little wood,

was ominous of Iruka no Omi being suddenly slain in the Palace by Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Wakainukahi no Muraji.

14th day. The Dignity was abdicated in favour of the Imperial Prince Karu, and Naka no Ohoye was made Prince Imperial.

BOOK XXV.

THE EMPEROR AME-YORODZU TOYO-HI.[1]

(*KŌTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ*)

THE Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi was a younger brother by the same mother of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime.[3] He honoured the religion of Buddha and despised the Way of the Gods[4] [as is instanced by his cutting down the trees of the shrine of Iku-kuni-dama]. He was of a gentle disposition, and loved men of learning. He made no distinction of noble and mean, and continually dispensed beneficent edicts.

In the fourth year, the sixth month, and the fourteenth day of her reign, the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime wished to transfer the Dignity to Naka no Ohoye, and made order, saying:—"etc., etc." Naka no Ohoye, when he retired (from her presence), informed Nakatomi, Kamako no Muraji, who advised him, saying:—"Furubito no Ohoye is Your Highness's elder brother: the Imperial Prince Karu is Your Highness's maternal uncle. If at present, during the life- XXV. 2.
time of Furubito no Ohoye, Your Highness should ascend to the Imperial Dignity, it would be a transgression against the sentiment of respect and obedience due from younger brothers. Would it not, therefore, be better to raise your maternal uncle to the throne, and so respond to the expectations of the people?" Upon this Naka no Ohoye was profoundly pleased with this advice and reported it privately to the Empress. The

[1] Heaven-myriad-abundant-sun.

[2] Virtue of filial piety. There is much evidence in this reign of the extension and development of the Imperial power in the provinces.

[3] Kōgyoku Tennō.

[4] *i.e.* Shintō.

Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime granted the Imperial Seal and resigned the Dignity to the Imperial Prince Karu, and made a rescript, saying:—"Thou, the Imperial Prince Karu, etc., etc." The Imperial Prince Karu declined firmly and repeatedly in favour of Furubito no Ohoye [also called the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohochi], saying:—"Ohoye no Mikoto is the offspring of the former Emperor,[1] and he is of mature age, for both which reasons it is fit that he should occupy the Celestial Dignity." Upon this, Furubito no Ohoye left his seat, and, retiring to a distance, folded his arms and excused himself, saying:—"Let us comply with the sage will of the Empress. Why shouldst thou take the trouble to transfer it to thy servant? It is my desire to renounce the world, and to go to Yoshino, there to devote myself to the practice of the Law of Buddha, and thus render support to the Emperor." When he had concluded his refusal, he ungirt the sword which he had on, and flung it to the ground. Moreover he gave orders to all his household[2] to ungird their swords. That same day he went to the Temple of Hōkōji, and there, between the Hall of Buddha and the pagoda, he shaved off his beard and
XXV. 3. hair, and put on the kesa. In consequence the Imperial Prince Karu was unable to persist in his refusal, and, ascending the throne, assumed the Dignity.

At this time Ohotomo no Nagatoko no Muraji [his cognomen was Mumakahi], girt with a golden quiver, stood on the right hand of the throne,[3] and Inugami no Takebe no Kimi, girt with a golden quiver, stood on the left hand of the throne. The functionaries, Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko and the 180 Be, ranged in order, went round[4] making obeisance. On this day the title of Kō-so-bō[5] was conferred on the Empress Toyo-takara, and Naka no Ohoye was made Prince Imperial, Abe no Uchimaro no Omi was made Sa-dai-jin, and Soga no Kurayamada Ishikaha no Maro no Omi was made U-dai-jin.[6]

[1] Jomei Tennō. [2] The toneri.

[3] Probably a raised daïs is meant.

[4] Probably passing before the Emperor in rotation, as at our levees.

[5] Empress Dowager. Lit. Empress grandmother or ancestress.

[6] Sadaijin and Udaijin are respectively Great Minister of the Left and Great Minister of the Right. The left has precedence of the right in these matters. It is the same characters which above represent Oho-omi which

A great brocade cap of honour was given to Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, and he was made Naijin,[1] with an increased feudal revenue of a large number of houses,[2] etc., etc. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji cherished the most sincere loyalty. Trusting to his power as ruling Minister, he took place over the various functionaries. In respect therefore to advancements and dismissals, taking measures or abandoning them, everything was done in accordance with his counsel, etc., etc.[3] The XXV. 4.
Buddhist priest[4] Min Hōshi and Kuromaro Takamuko no Fubito were made national doctors.[5]

15th day. Golden tablets were granted to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and to the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha no Maro. [One book says they were granted refined gold.]

19th day. The Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and the Prince Imperial summoned together the Ministers under the great tsuki[6] tree, and made an oath appealing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and saying:—

> "Heaven covers us: Earth upbears us: the Imperial[7] way is but one. But in this last degenerate age, the order of Lord and Vassal was destroyed, until Supreme Heaven by Our hands put to death the traitors. Now, from this XXV. 5.
> time forward, both parties shedding their heart's blood, the Lord will eschew double methods of government, and the Vassal will avoid duplicity in his service of the

are here used for daijin. That a change in the mode of reading them took place at some time is certain, but it is impossible to fix it exactly. Oho-omi is retained below, though daijin is possibly more correct. Sadaijin and Udaijin have been in use in our own day.

[1] Minister (Omi) of the Interior, i.e. of the Household, a rank next after that of Prime Minister.

[2] Of serfs.

[3] The "Shukai" editor says the etc., etc. marks a hiatus in the MS. much to be deplored. The previous two sentences are a quotation from a Chinese history.

[4] The word used is Shamon, the equivalent of the Sansk. S'ramana. *Vide* Eitel, p. 157. Min Hōshi is probably the priest who studied in China, and whose astronomical knowledge is above referred to. Hōshi is a priestly rank, the Sansk. Upadhyāya.

[5] Hakase, men of learning—not medical men.

[6] Planera.

[7] Or Divine.

sovereign! On him who breaks this oath, Heaven will send a curse and earth a plague, demons will slay them, and men will smite them. This is as manifest as the sun and moon." [1]

The style 4th year of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime was altered to Daikwa, 1st year.[2]

A.D. 645. Daikwa, 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Imperial Princess Hashibito, daughter of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[3] was made Empress. Two consorts were appointed. The senior was Wo-tarashi-hime, daughter of the Oho-ōmi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Arima. The junior consort was Chi-iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha no Maro.

10th day. Koryö, Pèkché, and Silla all sent Envoys at the same time bearing tribute. The Pèkché tribute-envoys were also charged with the office of Envoys from Imna and with the Imna tribute. But the Pèkché Chief Envoy, the Cha-phyöng[4] Yön-pok, fell ill, and remained in the official residence of the Port,[5] so that he did not enter the capital. Kose no Tokuda no Omi addressed the Koryö Envoys on the Emperor's behalf, saying:—"This is the mandate of the Emperor of Japan, who rules the world as a God incarnate. 'The Envoys sent by the Emperor and the Envoys sent by the Koryö Sons of the Gods,[6]
XXV. 6. have a brief past, but a long future. Let them, therefore, simply continue to pass backwards and forwards with friendly hearts.'" Next he addressed the Pèkché Envoys on the Emperor's behalf, saying:—"This is the mandate of the Emperor of Japan, who rules the world as a God incarnate. 'At first, in the reign of our remote Imperial ancestor, the Land of Pèkché was made an interior Miyake[7] which might be

[1] It may be noted that there is nothing Buddhist or Shintō in this vow. It is pure Chinese. It is not exactly an oath according to our ideas, but an imprecation on rebellion.

[2] This is the first introduction of the nengō, 年號, or year-period, a Chinese chronological device. *Vide* Introduction to "Satow's Chronological Tables." Daikwa means great civilization or development. As a matter of fact very revolutionary changes took place in this reign.

[3] Jomei Tennō. [4] Minister of the Left. [5] Doubtless Osaka.

[6] A polite term for kings.

[7] i.e. immediately dependent on the throne.

compared to a three-fold cord.[1] In more recent times Imna was handed over to be a dependency of Pèkché. After that, Adzumabito, Miwa no Kurikuma no Kimi, was sent to inspect the frontier of the Land of Imna, and the King of Pèkché, in obedience to the Emperor's behest, showed him all the frontier. Yet there is a deficiency in the tribute, and it is therefore returned. The articles which are the produce of Imna are distinctly observed by the Emperor. Now for the future the country should be noted down as well the tribute which comes from it.[2] May you, the Cha-phyöng and the others, come back unchanged in appearance,[3] and speedily bring us a clear answer. Adzumabito, Miwa no Kimi, and Mŭmakahi no Miyakko will now be sent again.' "

A further Imperial order was given—" Let the wife and children of Wi-sa, a Talsol of Kwipu, be sent away." [4]

12th day. The Emperor gave command to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and the Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, saying:—" The Empire should be ruled by following in the footsteps of the Emperors of antiquity. More- XXV. 7.
over, in your government of the Empire, you should preserve fidelity."

13th day. The Emperor gave command to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and the Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, saying:—" Inquire of the Daibu and the hundred Tomo no Miyakko, one after another, as to the method of making gladness the means of using the people's services.[5]

14th day. The Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, addressed the Emperor, saying:—" First of all the Gods of Heaven and Earth should be propitiated by worship; thereafter affairs of government ought to be considered."

On this day, Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was sent to

[1] This is explained to mean Pèkché, the Japanese authority in Imna, and the native Kings of Imna.

[2] The meaning seems to be that, as the Emperor takes special notice of the produce of Imna, a list should be prepared showing what tribute is sent by Pèkché and what by Imna, so that any deficiency may be at once recognizable.

[3] By sickness or old age.

[4] They were probably hostages. *Vide* XXIV. 10.

[5] Of reconciling the people to forced labour.

the province of Wohari and Komaro, Imbe no Obito to the province of Mino, to levy offerings for the Gods.[1]

8th month, 5th day. Governors of the Eastern provinces were appointed. Then the Governors were addressed as follows:—"In accordance with the charge entrusted to Us by the Gods of Heaven, We propose at this present for the first time to regulate the myriad provinces.

When you proceed to your posts, prepare registers of all the free subjects of the State and of the people under the control of others, whether great or small. Take account also of the acreage[2] of cultivated land. As to the profits arising from the gardens and ponds, the water and land, deal with them in common with the people.[3] Moreover it is not competent for the provincial Governors, while in their provinces, to decide criminal cases, nor are they permitted by accepting bribes to bring the people to poverty and misery. When they come up to the capital they must not bring large numbers of the people in their train. They are only allowed to bring with them the Kuni no Miyakko and the district officials.[4] But when they travel on public business they may ride the horses of their department, and eat the food of their department. From the rank of Suke[5] upwards those who obey this law will surely be rewarded, while those who disobey it shall be liable to be
XXV. 8. reduced in cap-rank. On all, from the rank of Hangwan[6]

[1] Shintō.

[2] 畝, which is here rendered acreage, is the Chinese mow, now fixed by treaty as equal to 733½ sq. yards. 田 is used here in the more general sense of cultivated land generally, not merely rice-fields. The Kana gloss tahatake appears to me to be put for 田 in this wider sense. Dr. Florenz interprets this expression differently. He takes hata or hatake to represent 畝, making the whole mean rice-land and dry fields—Reis- und Trockenfelder.

[3] Take them into your counsel.

[4] This is the way in which the commentators construe this passage. If there was any authority for doing so, I should like to take 領 as equivalent to 所領人 a few lines above, or to suppose that this phrase has been omitted. This would give the meaning, "the serfs of the Kuni no Miyakko and of the district." These local Governors usually were Kuni no Miyakko.

[5] Assistant to a Governor.

[6] The interlinear gloss is Matsurigotobito, i.e. Government-man. It is doubtful whether this and many more of these glosses are anything more than translations of the Chinese. The hangwan was a sort of aide of the chief local authority. Chancellor, perhaps nearly corresponds to it.

downwards, who accept bribes a fine shall be imposed of double the amount, and they shall eventually be punished criminally according to the greater or less heinousness of the case. Nine men are allowed as attendants on a Chief Governor, seven on an assistant, and five on a secretary. If this limit is exceeded, and they are accompanied by a greater number, both chief and followers shall be punished criminally.

If there be any persons who lay claim to a title,[1] but who, not being Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko, or Inaki of districts by descent, unscrupulously draw up lying memorials, saying:—'From the time of our forefathers we have had charge of this Miyake or have ruled this district'—in such cases, ye, the Governors, must not readily make application to the Court in acquiescence in such fictions, but must ascertain particularly the true facts before making your report.

Moreover on waste pieces of ground let arsenals be erected, and let the swords and armour, with the bows and arrows of the provinces and districts, be deposited together in them. In the case of the frontier provinces which border close on the Yemishi, let all the weapons be mustered together, and let them remain in the hands of their original owners. In regard to the six districts of the province of Yamato, let the officials who are sent there prepare registers of the population, and also take an account of the acreage of cultivated land.

This means to examine the acreage of the cultivated ground, and the numbers, houses, and ages of the people.

Ye Governors of provinces, take careful note of this and withdraw."[2] Accordingly presents were made them of silk and cloth, which varied in the case of each person.

This day a bell and box were provided in the Court.[3] The XXV. 9.

[1] Lit. name.

[2] It would seem that at this time there was a reorganization of the local governments, giving a more centralized character to the administration temporary Governors superseding in some measure the hereditary titular officials. No clear account is given of this change, but it seems plainly to be inferred from the above passage. Kokushi, 國司, are not now mentioned for the first time, and it is clear that the change was not made all at once. The similar change from the Daimio system to that of local prefectures in 1868 will occur to the reader.

[3] The box was for the purpose of receiving petitions and complaints, like the Me-yasu-bako of later times. This custom was derived from China. See Florenz's note.

Emperor issued an order, saying :—" If there be a complainant, in case the person in question belongs to a Tomo no Miyakko, let the Tomo no Miyakko first make inquiry and then report to Us. In case the person in question has an elder,[1] let the elder first make inquiry and then report to Us. If, however, the Tomo no Miyakko or the elder does not come to a clear decision respecting the complaint, let a document be received and placed in the box, and punishment will be inflicted according to the offence. The person who receives the document should at dawn take it and make report to the Inner Palace, when We will mark on it the year and month, and communicate it to the Ministers. In case there is any neglect to decide it, or if there are malpractices on the part of intriguing persons, let the complainant strike the bell. This is why the bell is hung and box provided in the Court. Let the people of the Empire know and appreciate Our intention.

Moreover the law of men and women shall be that the children born of a free man and a free woman shall belong to the father : if a free man takes to wife a slave woman, her children shall belong to the mother : if a free woman marries a slave man, the children of the marriage shall belong to the father ; if they are slaves of two houses, the children shall belong to the mother. The children of temple serfs shall follow the rule for freemen. But in regard to others who become slaves, they shall be treated according to the rule for slaves. Do ye now publish this well to the people as a beginning of regulations."[2]

8th day. A messenger was sent to the Great Temple[3] to
XXV. 10. summon together the Buddhist priests and nuns, and to address them on the part of the Emperor, saying :—" In the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor[4] who ruled the world in the Palace of Shikishima, King Myöng of Pèkché reverently transmitted the Law of Buddha to our great Yamato. At this time the Ministers in a body were opposed to its transmission. Only Soga no Iname no Sukune believed in this Law, and the Emperor accordingly instructed him to receive it with reverence. In the reign of the Emperor who ruled the world in the Palace

[1] The senior member of his family.

[2] The first example of what we should call legislation. Compare the so-called laws of Shōtoku Daishi above, A.D. 604.

[3] Kudara Temple.

[4] Kimmei Tennō.

of Wosada,[1] Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, influenced by reverence for his deceased father, continued to prize highly the doctrines of Buddha.[2] But the other Ministers had no faith in it, and its institutes had almost perished when the Emperor instructed Mŭmako no Sukune reverently to receive this Law. In the reign of the Empress who ruled the world in the Palace of Woharida,[3] Mŭmako no Sukune, on behalf of the Empress, made an embroidered figure of Buddha sixteen feet high and a copper image of Buddha sixteen feet high. He exalted the doctrine of Buddha and showed honour to its priests and nuns. It is Our desire anew to exalt the pure doctrine and brilliantly to promulgate great principles. We therefore appoint as professors the following ten persons:—The S'ramana, Pok-nyang, Hyé-un, Syang-an, Nyöng-un, and Hyé-chi, Taihōshi[4] of Koma, and Sōbin, Dōto, Yerin, Yemyō and Yeon, chief priests of temples.[5] We separately appoint the Hōshi, Yemyō, XXV. 11.
chief priest of the Temple of Kudara.

Let these ten professors well instruct the priests in general in the practice of the teachings of Shaka. It is needful that they be made to comply with the Law. If there is a difficulty about repairing Temples built by any from the Emperor down to the Tomo no Miyakko, We will in all cases assist in doing so. We shall also cause Temple Commissioners and Chief Priests to be appointed, who shall make a circuit to all the temples, and having ascertained the actual facts respecting the priests and nuns, their male and female slaves, and the acreage of their cultivated lands, report all the particulars clearly to us."

Accordingly Kume no Omi, Miwa no Shikobu no Kimi, and Ohi, Nukadabe no Muraji, were appointed Hōtō.[6]

9th month, 1st day. Officials were sent on a mission to all the provinces to regulate the matter of weapons.

One book says:—"From the 6th to the 9th month

[1] Bindatsu Tennō.

[2] Nō-jin, 能仁, "he who can produce benevolence," i.e. Sakyamuni.

[3] Suiko Tennō. [4] A rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[5] I give the last five names the Japanese pronunciation. But some of them may have been Coreans. Some editions make "chief priests of temples" part of the original commentary.

[6] i.e. Heads of the Law. See above, XXII. 38.

messengers were sent to the provinces of the four quarters to collect weapons of all kinds."

3rd day. The Imperial Prince Furubito, Kahahori, Soga no Taguchi no Omi, Shihimi, Mononobe no Yenowi no Muraji, Shidaru, Kibi no Kasa no Omi, Maro, Yamato no Aya no fumi no Atahe, and Takutsu, Yechi no Hada no Miyakko, plotted rebellion.

One book says :—" The Heir Apparent Furubito." One book says :—" Furubito no Ohoye." This Imperial Prince repaired to the mountains of Yoshino, and he is therefore sometimes styled the Heir Apparent of Yoshino.

XXV. 12.

12th day. Shidaru, Yoshino no Kasa no Omi, surrendered himself to Naka no Ohoye, saying :—" The Imperial Prince Yoshino no Furubito and Kahahori, Soga no Taguchi no Omi, etc., having plotted rebellion, thy servant became an accomplice of their party."

One book says :—" Shidaru, Kibi no Kasa no Omi, told Abe no Oho-omi and Soga no Oho-omi that he was an accomplice of the band of rebels of the Imperial Prince of Yoshino, and that he therefore now surrendered himself."

Naka no Ohoye straightway sent Uda no Yenomuro no Furu and Koma no Miyachi with a considerable force to attack the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye and his companions.

One book says :—" 11th month, 30th day. Naka no Ohoye sent Abe, Kosobe no Omi, and Sahekibe no Komaro, these two, with a force of thirty men to attack Furubito no Ohoye. They slew Furubito no Ohoye and his children. His consorts strangled themselves." One book says :—" 11th month. Prince Yoshino no Ohoye plotted rebellion, but the matter having become public, he was executed."

19th day. Commissioners were sent to all the provinces to take a record of the total numbers of the people. The Emperor on this occasion made an edict, as follows :—

" In the times of all the Emperors, from antiquity downwards, subjects have been set apart for the purpose of making notable their reigns and handing down their names to posterity.[1] Now the Omi and Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko and the Kuni no Miyakko, have each one set apart their own vassals,

[1] The reference is to the institution of Be with names commemorative of the reign.

whom they compel to labour at their arbitrary pleasure. Moreover they cut off the hills and seas, the woods and plains, the ponds and rice-fields belonging to the provinces and districts, and appropriate them to themselves. Their contests are never-ceasing. Some engross to themselves many tens of thousands of shiro[1] of rice-land, while others possess in all patches of ground too small to stick a needle into. When the time comes for the payment of taxes, the Omi, the Muraji, XXV.13. and the Tomo no Miyakko, first collect them for themselves and then hand over a share. In the case of repairs to palaces or the construction of misasagi, they each bring their own vassals, and do the work according to circumstances. The Book of Changes says:—"Diminish that which is above: increase that which is below: if measures are framed according to the regulations, the resources (of the State) suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt."[2]

"At the present time, the people are still few. And yet the powerful cut off portions of land and water,[3] and converting them into private ground, sell it to the people, demanding the price yearly. From this time forward the sale[4] of land is not allowed. Let no man without due authority make himself a landlord, engrossing to himself that which belongs to the helpless."

The people were greatly rejoiced.

Winter, 12th month, 9th day. The Emperor removed the capital to Toyosaki in Nagara at Naniha. Old people, remarking upon this to one another, said:—"The movement of rats towards Naniha from spring until summer was an omen of the removal of the capital."[5]

24th day. It was reported from the land of Koshi:—"Driftwood of the sea shore passed away towards the east, leaving an impression on the sand like a ploughed rice-field in appearance."

This year was the year Kinoto Mi (42nd) of the Cycle.

[1] A land measure of 15·13 acres.

[2] *Vide* Legge's "Yih-King," pp. 247 and 262.

[3] i.e. rice ground and other cultivated land.

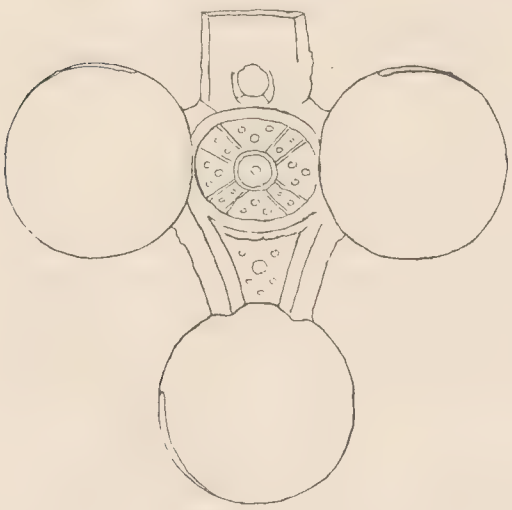
[4] By sale is evidently meant letting. An early example of a "Land Act.

[5] A similar story is related in Chinese History (in the Wei dynasty) of rats indicating a change of capital by their movements.

A.D. 646. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. As soon as the ceremonies of the new year's congratulations were over, the Emperor promulgated an edict of reforms, as follows :—

"I. Let the people established by the ancient Emperors, etc., as representatives of children be abolished, also the Miyake of
XXV. 14. various places and the people owned as serfs by the Wake,[1] the Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, the Kuni no Miyakko and the Mura no Obito.[2] Let the farmsteads[3] in various places be abolished." Consequently fiefs were granted for their sustenance[4] to those of the rank of Daibu and upwards on a descending scale.[5] Presents of cloth and silk stuffs were given to the officials and people, varying in value.

"Further We say. It is the business of the Daibu to govern the people. If they discharge this duty thoroughly, the people have trust in them, and an increase of their revenue is therefore for the good of the people.



Bell-token.

II. The capital is for the first time to be regulated, and Governors appointed for the Home provinces and districts. Let barriers, outposts, guards, and post-horses, both special and ordinary, be provided, bell-tokens[6] made, and mountains and rivers regulated.[7]

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 192.

[2] Chief men of villages.

[3] Of serfs.

[4] Instead of the serfs taken from them.

[5] The "Roku-rei" gives a scale of sustenance-fiefs at a later period. A Prime Minister had 3000 houses, a Junior Prime Minister 2000, a Dainagon 800, etc., etc. These fiefs were hereditary.

[6] I was at first disposed to regard the bells and tokens as different objects, but now agree with Dr. Florenz that they are the same. They were small globular bells, sometimes single, sometimes in groups as in the illustration, and indicated by their shape and number how many horses the bearer was entitled to. This institution was borrowed from China.

[7] By the regulation of mountains and rivers is meant the provision of guards at ferries and mountain passes which serve as boundaries between different provinces.

For each ward in the capital let there be appointed one alderman,[1] and for four wards one chief alderman,[2] who shall XXV. 15. be charged with the superintendence of the population, and the examination of criminal matters. For appointment as chief aldermen of wards let men be taken belonging to the wards, of unblemished character, firm and upright, so that they may fitly sustain the duties of the time. For appointments as aldermen, whether of rural townships or of city wards, let ordinary subjects be taken belonging to the township or ward, of good character and solid capacity. If such men are not to be found in the township or ward in question, it is permitted to select and employ men of the adjoining township or ward.

The Home provinces shall include the region from the River Yokogaha at Nabari[3] on the east, from Mount Senoyama in Kiï on the south, from Kushibuchi in Akashi on the west, and from Mount Afusaka-yama in Sasanami in Afumi on the north. Districts of forty townships[4] are constituted Greater Districts, of from thirty to four townships are constituted Middle Districts, and of three or fewer townships are constituted Lesser Districts. For the district authorities, of whatever class, let there be XXV. 16. taken Kuni no Miyakko of unblemished character, such as may fitly sustain the duties of the time, and made Tairei and Shōrei.[5] Let men of solid capacity and intelligence who are skilled in writing and arithmetic be appointed assistants and clerks.

The number of special or ordinary post-horses given shall in all cases follow the number of marks on the posting bell-tokens. When bell-tokens are given to (officials of) the provinces and barriers, let them be held in both cases by the chief official, or in his absence by the assistant official.

III. Let there now be provided for the first time registers of

[1] The interlinear gloss is *wosa*, or chief.

[2] The interlinear gloss is *unagashi*, one who demands.

[3] In Iga.

[4] 里 A ri or sato consisted of 50 houses.

[5] Greater and Lesser Governors. These terms are rendered Kōri no Miyakko and Suke no Miyakko in the interlinear glosses. But I have little doubt that the Chinese words are intended, and that these are mere translations, and not the real titles of these officials.

population, books of account and a system of the receipt and re-granting of distribution-land.[1]

XXV. 17. Let every fifty houses be reckoned a township, and in every township let there be one alderman who shall be charged with the superintendence of the population,[2] the direction of the sowing of crops and the cultivation of mulberry trees, the prevention and examination of offences, and the enforcement of the payment of taxes and of forced labour.

For rice-land, thirty paces in length by twelve paces in breadth shall be reckoned a tan.[3] Ten tan make one chō. For each tan the tax is two sheaves and two bundles (such as
XXV. 18. can be grasped in the hand) of rice; for each chō the tax is twenty-two sheaves of rice. On mountains or in valleys where the land is precipitous, or in remote places where the population is scanty, such arrangements are to be made as may be convenient.[4]

IV. The old taxes and forced labour are abolished, and a system of commuted taxes instituted. These shall consist of fine silks, coarse silks, raw silk, and floss silk,[5] all in accordance with what is produced in the locality. For each chō of rice-land the rate is one rod[6] of fine silk, or for four chō one piece forty feet in length by two and a half feet in width. For coarse silk the rate is two rods (per chō), or one piece for every two
XXV. 19. chō of the same length and width as the fine silk. For cloth

[1] The *Denryō* (Land Regulations) says, "In granting *Kō-bun-den* (land shared in proportion to population) men shall have two tan, women a third less, and children under five years of age none. Lands are granted for a term of six years." This seems to point to a general redistribution of lands once in six years, something after the manner still practised in Russia.

[2] i.e. of the registers of population.

[3] Allowing five feet to the pace, this would make the tan 9000 square feet. The Japanese foot is not very different from our own. The present *tan* is 10,800 square feet. The interlinear gloss of 段 is kida; but I am strongly inclined to think that the Chinese word *tan* is here intended.

[4] The "Shūkai" editor brings in this last sentence at the end of the previous paragraph. It would then apply to the appointment of rural aldermen. The old reading is better.

[5] The "Shūkai" adds 布, or cloth, by which is meant fabrics of hemp or of the fibre of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. Textiles served the purpose of currency in this period, so that this commutation was in the nature of a substitution of payment in money for payment in rice.

[6] Ten feet.

the rate is four rods of the same dimensions as the fine and coarse silk, i.e. one tan[1] for each chō. [No rates of weight are anywhere given for silk or floss silk.] Let there be levied separately a commuted house tax.[2] All houses shall pay each one rod and two feet of cloth. The extra articles of this tax, as well as salt and offerings,[3] will depend on what is produced in the locality. For horses for the public service, let every hundred houses contribute one horse of medium quality. Or if the horse is of superior quality, let one be contributed by every two hundred houses. If the horses have to be purchased, the price shall be made up by a payment from each house of one rod and two feet of cloth. As to weapons, each person shall contribute a sword, armour, bow and arrows, a flag, and a drum. For coolies, the old system, by which one coolie was provided by every thirty houses, is altered, and one coolie is to be furnished from every fifty houses [one is for employment as a menial servant] for allotment to the various functionaries. Fifty houses shall be allotted to provide rations for one coolie, and one house shall contribute two rods and two feet of cloth and five masu[4] of rice in lieu of service.

For waiting-women in the Palace,[5] let there be furnished the sisters or daughters of district officials of the rank of Shōrei or upwards—good-looking women [with one male and two female servants to attend on them], and let 100 houses be allotted to provide rations for one waiting-woman. The cloth and rice supplied in lieu of service shall, in every case, follow the same rule as for coolies."[6] XXV. 20.

In this month the Emperor occupied the separate Palace of Koshiro. He sent messengers to command the provinces and districts to repair the arsenals. Yemishi came and did homage.

One book says :—" The Miyake of Koshiro, in the village

[1] There are two tan to the hiki or piece, which now measures about 21½ yards.

[2] The Chinese is 調, rendered in Japanese by mitsugi, or tribute. Here it seems to exclude the rice-tax, but to include various miscellaneous taxes.

[3] Or " salted articles of food for the Emperor's table."

[4] Or shō = 109 cubic inches. [5] Uneme.

[6] For an account of the modern system of taxation in Japan the reader is referred to a paper in the "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XX., Supplement, p. 121.

of Sayabe, at Naniha, was pulled down, and a temporary Palace erected."

2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Eastern Gate of the Palace, where, by Soga, Oho-omi of the Right,[1] he decreed as follows :—

"The God Incarnate, the Emperor Yamato-neko,[2] who rules the world, gives command to the Ministers assembled in his presence, to the Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko, and subjects of various classes, saying:—

'We are informed that wise rulers of the people hung a bell at their gate, and so took cognizance of the complaints of their subjects; they erected buildings in the thoroughfares, where they listened to the censures of the passers-by. Even the opinions of the grass and firewood gatherers[3] they inquired personally and used for their guidance. We therefore, on a former occasion, made an edict, saying:—"In ancient times the Empire was ruled by having at the Court flags of honour for the encouragement of good, and a board of censure, the object being to diffuse principles of Government and to invite remonstrances." All this served widely to ascertain the opinions
XXV. 21. of those below. Kwan-Tsze[4] said:—"The Emperor Hwang, by establishing the Conferences of the Bright Hall,[5] observed the opinions of the wise on the upper hand, while the Emperor Yao, having the inquiries of the street-houses, listened to the people on the lower hand. Shun again had flags to proclaim merit and thus secure publicity; and Yü set up a drum at his

[1] Or we should perhaps construe Udaijin.

[2] This title is found in the Japanese names of the ancient Emperors Kōrei and his two successors. It also occurs in the Japanese names of the Empresses Gemmei and Genshō in the early part of the eighth century. Here Yamato-neko is used by the Emperor himself, although it was no part of his name. It would appear therefore that it had become, to some extent, a common name, like Pharaoh or Cæsar.

[3] *Vide* Legge's "Shiking," p. 501. The ancients had a saying, "Consult the grass and firewood gatherers." This is the equivalent of our "Man in the street."

[4] One of the most renowned statesmen of Chinese antiquity. Died B.C. 645. *Vide* Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 91. The quotation is by no means accurate.

[5] As this is purely legendary, it is useless to inquire the nature of the institution in question. The term Bright Hall, or Meidō, is now applied to the Imperial University in Japan.

Court, thus providing for the investigation into expectations. T'ang[1] had the Court of the general control of Districts, whereby he observed the faults of the people. King Wu[2] had the park of the Spirit terrace, and therefore the wise had advancement. Thus the sage Emperor and Illustrious Sovereigns of antiquity possessed and did not lose; they gained and did not destroy."

The object of hanging up a bell, of providing a box, and of appointing a man to receive petitions, is to make those who have grievances or remonstrances deposit their petitions in the box. The receivers of petitions are commanded to make their report to Us every morning. When We receive this report We shall draw the attention of the Ministers to it, and cause them to consider it, and We trust that this may be done without delay. But if there should be neglect on the part of the XXV. 22. Ministers, and a want of diligence or partizan intrigues, and if We, moreover, should refuse to listen to remonstrance, let the complainant strike the bell. There has been already an Imperial command to this effect. But some time afterwards there was a man of intelligence and uprightness who, cherishing in his heart the spirit of a national patriot, addressed Us a memorial of earnest remonstrance, which he placed in the box prepared for the purpose. We therefore now publish it to the black-haired people here assembled. This memorial runs as follows:—"Those subjects who come to the capital in connection with the discharge of their duty to the Government of the Country, are detained by the various public functionaries and put to forced labour of various kinds, etc., etc." We are still moved with strong sympathy by this. How could the people expect that things would come to this? Now no long time has elapsed since the capital was removed, so that so far from being at home, we are, as it were, strangers. It is therefore impossible to avoid employing the people, and they have therefore been, against Our will, compelled to labour. As often as Our minds dwell on this We have never been able to sleep in peace. When We saw this memorial we could not refrain from a joyous exclamation. We have accordingly complied with the language

[1] Founder of the Shang Dynasty in China, B.C. 1766.

[2] The founder of the Chow Dynasty, B.C. 1169-1116. *Vide* Mayers "Handbook," p. 264.

of remonstrance, and have put a stop to the forced services at various places.

In a former edict, We said :—" Let the man who remonstrates sign his name." Those who disobey this injunction are doubtless actuated by a wish to serve their country, and not by a desire of personal gain. Whether a man signs his name or not, let him not fail to remonstrate with Us on Our neglect or forgetfulness.' "[1]

Another edict was made as follows :—" There are many things of which the assembled people of the land complain. We are now about to explain our principles. Listen attentively to what We say. Those who come to the capital and assemble at Court in order to obtain decisions of doubtful points, should not disperse in the morning,[2] but remain together in attendance at Court."

Koryö, Pèkché, Imna, and Silla all together sent envoys to offer tribute.

22nd day. The Emperor returned from the detached Palace of Koshiro.

3rd month, 2nd day. An edict was issued to the Governors of the Eastern provinces, saying :—" Do all ye Ministers and Daibu assembled in attendance on Us, as well as ye Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, and Tomo no Miyakko, and also ye subjects of every class, listen to this :—He that is lord between
XXV. 23. Heaven and Earth and rules the myriad people ought not to exercise control alone : he must have Ministers to support him. From generation to generation, therefore, Our Imperial ancestors have governed along with the ancestors of you, My Ministers. It is Our wish also, with the protecting power of the Gods, to associate you with Ourselves in the government. We therefore, on a former occasion, appointed Daibu, of good family, to the government of the eight Eastern provinces. Then the Governors went to their posts. Six obeyed the laws, and two were regardless of Our commands. In each case censure or praise became audible. We thereupon commended those who kept the law, and were severe with those who disregarded the instructions given them. He that would be a ruler, whether he be Lord or Minister, should first correct

[1] This is a difficult passage ; Dr. Florenz renders it somewhat differently.
[2] The interlinear Kana has shibaraku, " for a while."

himself, and then correct others. If he do not correct himself, how shall he be able to correct others?[1] He therefore who does not correct himself, be he Lord or be he Minister, will meet with calamity. Should one not be watchful? If ye, the leaders, are upright, who shall presume to be otherwise? Do ye now be guided by Our former commands in dispensing your judgments."

19th day. The Emperor made a decree to the Chōshūshi[2] of the Eastern provinces, saying:—

"Hear this, all ye Ministers and Daibu assembled in Our presence, as well as ye Kuni no Miyakko and Tomo no Miyakko, together with the subjects of all classes! In the 8th month of last year, We in person admonished you, saying:—'Do not use your official authority to appropriate public or private property: you should consume food of your own domain, and ride horses of your own domain. Those who disregard this admonition, if of the rank of Assistant Governor or higher, shall be degraded in official rank, if of the rank of Clerk or lower, shall be sentenced to flogging. Those who convert property to their own use shall be mulcted in double its value.' Such was the edict which We issued. Now, when We inquired from the Chōshūshi and the Miyakko of the various provinces whether the local Governors, when they proceeded to their posts, attended to this admonition or not, the Chōshūshi and XXV. 24.
the others informed Us fully of the facts, to wit:—The offence of Kuhi, Hodzumi no Omi, consists in having made exactions from each family among the people, and though he repented and gave back the things, not doing so completely. His two assistants, Fuse no Omi and Shidamu, Kose no Omi, have offended by not correcting the error of their chief, etc., etc. The inferior officials have all been guilty of offences. The offence of Kose no Tokune no Omi consists in having made exactions from each family among the people, and though he repented and returned the things, not doing so completely. He has moreover taken away the horses of the agricultural

[1] See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. I. p. 221.

[2] The institutes of the T'hang dynasty define Chōshūshi (court-assemble-messenger) as persons sent to the capital bearing tribute from the provinces. Here they seem to have been officials who reported on the conduct of the local officials.

serfs. His two assistants, Yenowi no Muraji and Oshizaka no Muraji, did not correct the faults of their chief, but on the contrary joined with him in prosecuting their own advantage. They have moreover taken away horses belonging to the Kuni no Miyakko Sumi, Utena no Atahe, although at first he remonstrated with his chief, yet at last became corrupt along with him. The inferior officials are all guilty of offences. The offence of Ki no Marikida no Omi consists in having sent men to Asakura no Kimi and Winouhe[1] no Kimi to fetch their horses for him to look at. Further, he made Asakura no Kimi manufacture swords. Further, he got from Asakura no Kimi his bow-cloth.[2] Further, he did not honestly return to their owners the articles sent by the Kuni no Miyakko in lieu of weapons, but delivered them to the Kuni no Miyakko in an irregular manner.[3] Further, in the province committed to his charge, he allowed himself to be robbed of a sword. Further, in
XXV. 25. the province of Yamato he allowed himself to be robbed of a sword. These are the offences of Ki no Omi and of his assistants, Oho-guchi, Miwa no Kimi, and Momoyori, Kahabe no Omi. Their subordinate officials, Shihatsu, Kahabe no Omi, Tajihi no Fukame, Mozu no Nagaye, Katsuraki no Saigusa, Naniha no Kuhikame, Inukahi no Isogimi, Maro, Iki no Fubito, Tajihi no Inume[4]—these eight persons, all are guilty of offences. The offence of Adzumi no Muraji consists in this—that when Wadoku no Fubito was ill, he caused the Kuni no Miyakko to send (him?) government property. Further, he took horses belonging to the Yube.[5] The offence of his assistant Momoyori,

[1] Now pronounced Inoüye.

[2] The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear. Cloth was the money of the period, and perhaps the bow-cloth was by way of commutation for bows to be furnished, or an allowance for making bows. Or it may have been one of the articles referred to in the next clause as deposited with the local authorities as a security for arms lent out.

[3] The "Shukai" editor's rendering is—"reported falsely to the Kuni no Miyakko that they had done so."

[4] It may be observed that the higher ranks of the local authorities seem to have been filled from the old nobility. Most of the subordinates, as appears from this passage, had no titles, only a personal name and a name indicative of the locality of their birth or residence.

[5] The Yube was originally a Be for the purpose of providing hot baths for some Emperor or Prince. This term was also applied to the village where

Kashihade no Omi, consists in his having received and stored in his house articles paid in lieu of hay. Further, he took the horses of the Kuni no Miyakko and exchanged them for others. The two brothers, Ihatsutsu and Yumaro, Kahabeno Omi,[1] have also been guilty of offences. Ohochi no Muraji's offence consists in his having disobeyed Our former decree, which was as follows :—' Let not the local Governors personally judge the XXV. 26. plaints of the people in the districts placed under their charge.' He has disobeyed this edict in that he has taken it upon himself personally to judge the plaints of the men of Udo, and the matter of the slaves of Nakatomi no Toko. Nakatomi no Toko is equally guilty with him in this matter. The offence of Kishida no Omi consists in his having had his official sword stolen when he was in the province of Yamato. This showed a want of circumspection. As for Womidori no Omi and Tamba no Omi, they have been simply incompetent, but not guilty of any offence. The two men, Imbe no Konomi and Mutsuki,[2] Nakatomi no Muraji, have also been guilty of offences. Neither of these two men, viz. Hada no Omi and Taguchi no Omi, have committed any offence. The offence of Heguri no Omi consists in his having neglected to investigate the plaints of the men of Mikuni. Upon a review of these facts we find that all this is owing to the neglect and incompetence of you three, viz. Ki no Mariki no Omi, Kose no Tokune no Omi and Hodzumi no Kuhi no Omi. Is it not painful to Us to think of your disobedience to Our edict ? Now if he who has pastoral care of the people, whether as Lord or Minister, gives a personal example of upright conduct, who shall presume to do otherwise ? But if he, whether Lord or Minister, be not upright in heart, it is fit that he should bear the guilt. What avails it to repent afterwards ? We shall therefore consider the cases of all these local Governors and punish them according to the gravity of their offences.

With regard moreover to the Kuni no Miyakko who have disobeyed Our edict by sending presents to the Governors of their provinces, and, at length joining with them in the

the serfs of the Be lived, and subsequently became a mere proper name. It is not easy to decide in which application it is here used.

[1] Both had the title Kahabe no Omi

[2] This name has the curious signification of 1st month.

pursuit of gain, constantly conceive foul wickedness, repressive measures are indispensable. But although such are Our thoughts, we have only begun to occupy our new palace, and are about to make offerings to all the Kami, both which
XXV. 27. matters belong to the present year. Moreover it is not meet to employ the people in labour during the months of agriculture. But in connection with the building of a new palace, it was decidedly impossible to avoid doing so. Deeply conscious of both these considerations, We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire. From this time forward, let the local Governors of provinces and districts be zealous and do their utmost. Let them avoid profligacy. Let messengers be sent to release all banished men of the various provinces, and all prisoners in the gaols without exception.

In contradistinction from the rest, the following six men, viz. Shihoya no Konoshiro,[1] Kamikozo[2] no Saigusa,[3] Asakura no Kimi, Mariko no Muraji, Mikaha no Oho-tomo no Atahe and Suzuki wo no Atahe, have been obedient to the Emperor. We profoundly commend their sentiments.

Let the official rice-fields belonging to the public offices in various places be done away with, as well as the lent-rice[4] in various places belonging to the Kō-so-bō Kibishima[5] and let her official rice-lands be distributed among all Our Ministers and Tomo no Miyakko. Moreover, let rice-land and hill-
XXV. 28. tracts[6] be given to those temples which are omitted from the registers."

20th day. The Prince Imperial, by a messenger, addressed a petition to the Emperor, saying:—"In the reigns of the former Emperors, they treated the Empire as a whole, and so ruled it. But, when we come to the present time, there was division and separation, to the injury of the Work [the work of the State is meant]. Now that it has devolved on the Emperor our Sovereign to have pastoral charge of the myriad people, Heaven and Man respond harmoniously to each other,

[1] Shihoya means salt-house; Konoshiro is the name of a kind of herring.

[2] Shintō shrine. [3] Herb of luck.

[4] Lent out to the peasants at seed-time, to be returned at harvest.

[5] The Empress Dowager. She died A.D. 643.

[6] Not arable land.

and the government has been reformed.[1] I, therefore, filled with joy and veneration, place it on my head,[2] and prostrating myself, address Your Majesty:—'The Emperor who now rules the Land of the Eight Islands as an Incarnate Deity inquired of thy servant, saying:—"Should the Koshiro no Iribe in the possession of Ministers, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, Kuni no Miyakko, and established in the days of former Emperors, the Mina no Iribe in the private possession of Imperial Princes, and the Mina no Iribe belonging to the Imperial Father[3] Ohoye [Hikobito Ohoye is meant], as well as their Miyake, be allowed to remain the same as in former generations, or not?"[4] Thy servant having received this command with reverence, replies respectfully, saying:—"In Heaven there are not two suns: in a country there are not two rulers. It is therefore the Emperor alone who is supreme over all the Empire, and who has a right to the services of the myriad people. Make a special selection of labourers from the Iribe and from the people granted in fee, and follow the former arrangement.[5] For the rest,[6] it may be feared that they will be put to forced labour on private authority. I therefore offer to the Emperor 524 men of the Iribe, and 181 Miyake."'"

22nd day. The Emperor made a decree, as follows:—"We are informed that a Prince of the Western Land[7] admonished his people, saying:—'Those who made interments in ancient times resorted to a high ground which they formed into a tomb. They did not pile up a mound, nor did they plant XXV. 29.

[1] This is the same term (i-shin) as is used of the revolution of 1868.

[2] This is a figurative expression of his respect for the reformed Government. At this day a Japanese often puts a present to his head in token of thanks.

[3] Father of Jomei Tennō.

[4] Ko-shiro means literally "equivalent of children." The Koshiro no Iribe seem to have been communities of serfs (be) instituted (iri) by persons who had no children, to perpetuate their name. This practice is frequently mentioned above. Mina means august name, and the Mina no Iribe were apparently similar communities instituted to perpetuate an Emperor's (or Empress's) name. *Vide* also Chamberlain's "Kojiki," pp. 186, 197, 268, 269, etc.

[5] See above, XXV. 19.

[6] Others than Iribe and people granted in fee.

[7] i.e. China.

trees.[1] The inner and outer coffin were merely enough to last till the bones decayed, the shroud was merely sufficient to last till the flesh decayed. I shall therefore cultivate[2] the unproductive pieces of land occupied by these tombs, to the end that their place may be forgotten after changing generations. Deposit not in them gold or silver or copper or iron, and let earthenware objects alone represent the clay chariots and straw figures[3] of antiquity. Let the interstices of the coffin be varnished. Let the offerings consist of rice presented three times, and let not pearls or jewels be placed in the mouth of the deceased. Bestow not jewel-shirts or jade armour. All these things are practices of the unenlightened vulgar.' Again it is said:—'Burial is putting away, and proceeds from the desire to prevent the dead from being seen by people.' Of late, the poverty of our people is absolutely owing to the construction of tombs.[4] We now issue regulations making distinction of noble and mean.

XXV. 30.

The inner dimensions of tombs of persons of the rank of Princes and upwards[5] shall be nine feet in length by five in width. Their outer limits shall be nine fathoms square and their height five fathoms.[6] The work shall be completed by 1000 labourers in seven days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for the hangings (of the bier), etc. A hearse may be used.

The inner dimensions of tombs of Superior Ministers[7] shall be similar in length, breadth and height to the above.

[1] The trees planted were evergreens, viz. the fir and cryptomeria, for the same reasons as make the yew to be considered a proper churchyard tree in this country.

"When the ancients buried their dead, they covered the body thickly with pieces of wood, having laid it in the open country. They raised no mound over it, nor planted trees around."—Legge's "Yih-King," p. 308.

[2] The "Shūkai" has 勞 in error for 營. [3] See Vol. I. p. 181.

[4] It must be remembered that some of these were of enormous size. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Things Japanese," 2nd Ed. p. 27. Also above, Vol I. p. 135.

[5] This does not apply to Imperial tombs.

[6] The height is probably measured along the slope, not perpendicularly. The fathom is now of about five feet, but may have been more in those days.

[7] i.e. Oho-omi, says the "Shūkai" editor.

Their outer limits shall be seven fathoms square, and they shall be three fathoms in height.[1] The work shall be completed by 500 labourers in five days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for the hangings of the bier, which shall be borne on men's shoulders.

The inner dimensions of a tomb of a Minister of a lower class shall be in every respect similar in length, breadth, and height to the above. Their outer limits shall be five fathoms square, and they shall be two and a half fathoms in height. The work shall be completed by 250 labourers in three days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for hangings. In other matters the same rule as before is to be followed.

The inner dimensions of the tombs of persons of the rank of Dainin and Shōnin shall be nine feet in length and four feet in height and breadth. The ground shall be made level and no mound raised. The work shall be completed by 100 labourers in one day. XXV. 31.

In the case of persons from the rank of Dairei to that of Shōchi inclusive, the tombs shall in all respects follow the rule of Dainin, but the work shall be completed by fifty labourers in one day.

Let small stones[2] be used for the tombs of all from the rank of Prince down to that of Shōchi, and let white cloth be used for the hangings.

When ordinary persons die, let them be buried in the ground, and let the hangings be of coarse cloth. Let the interment not be delayed for a single day.

The construction of places of temporary interment is not allowed in any case, from Princes down to common people.

Not only in the Home provinces, but in the provinces generally, let plots of ground be set apart for interments.[3] It

[1] Or 24 feet, says the "Shūkai."

[2] The reference is doubtless to the stones covering the roof of the vault, which were of great size, some which I have seen weighing many tons. A note to the "Shukai" says that stones with monumental inscriptions are meant. But no such stones have been found in connection with the tombs of this period.

[3] There are numerous groups of these tombs still to be seen, more especially in the Home provinces, sometimes thirty or forty together, usually on the lower slopes of the hills.

is not permitted to pollute the earth by dispersed interments in various places.

When a man dies, there have been cases of people sacrificing themselves by strangulation, or of strangling others by way of sacrifice, or of compelling the dead man's horse to be sacrificed, or of burying valuables in the grave in honour of the dead, or of cutting off the hair, and stabbing the thighs and pronouncing an eulogy on the dead (while in this condi-
XXV. 32. tion). Let all such old customs be entirely discontinued.

A certain book says:—'No gold or silver, no silk brocades, and no coloured stuffs are to be buried.' Again it is said:—'From the Ministers of all ranks down to the common people, it is not allowed to use gold or silver.'

Should there be any cases of this decree being disregarded and these prohibitions infringed, the relations shall surely receive punishment.

Again, there are many cases of persons who, having seen, say that they have not seen, or who, having not seen, say that they have seen, or who, having heard, say that they have not heard, or who, having not heard, say that they have heard, being deliberate liars, and devoid of truth in words and in sight.

Again, there have been many cases in which slaves, both male and female, false to their masters in their poverty, betake themselves of their own accord to influential houses in quest of a livelihood, which influential houses forcibly detain and purchase them, and do not send them to their original owners.

Again, there have been very many cases in which wives or concubines, when dismissed by their husbands, have, after the lapse of years, married other husbands, as ordinary morality allows. Then their former husbands, after three or four years, have made greedy demands on the second husband's property, seeking their own gain.

Again, there have been very many cases in which men, relying on their power, have rudely demanded people's daughters in marriage. In the interval, however, before going to his house, the girl has, of her own accord, married another, and the rude suitor has angrily made demands of the property of both families for his own gain.

Again, there have been numerous cases of this kind. Sometimes a wife who has lost her husband marries another

man after the lapse of ten or twenty years and becomes his spouse, or an unmarried girl is married for the first time. Upon this, people, out of envy of the married pair, have made them perform purgation.[1]

Again, there are cases in which women, who have become men's wives and who, being put away owing to their husbands' dislike of them, have, in their mortification at this injury, compelled themselves to become blemished[2] slaves.

Again, there are cases in which the husband, having frequent occasion to be jealous of his wife's illicit intercourse with others, voluntarily appeals to the authorities to decide the matter. Let such persons not lay their information until they have obtained, let us say, three credible witnesses to join with them in making a declaration. Why should they bring forward ill-considered plaints?

Again, there have been cases of men employed on forced labour in border lands who, when the work was over and they were returning to their village, have fallen suddenly ill and lain down to die by the roadside. Upon this the (inmates of XXV. 33.
the) houses by the roadside say:—'Why should people be

[1] Harahi, clearing away, purgation, is properly a religious ceremony. The Oho-harahi, or "Great Purgation," was performed every year by the Nakatomi as a general purification of the sins of the people. The ritual used on this occasion has come down to us, and is perhaps the most interesting of the Norito. When harahi was performed in the case of individual offences the necessary offerings to the Gods were provided by the guilty person (see above, Vol. I. p. 49). From this to a penalty the transition is easy, and has parallels in other countries. In the present passage the harahi was evidently what we should now call a "squeeze." The "Tsūshō" commentator quotes here a statement by one Kurokaha, to the following effect:—"During the first month of the year following the marriage of a newly-united couple, their friends assemble at the house bearing pails of water, with which they souse the husband liberally. This is called harahi." It may not be out of place to point out that marriage is in many uncivilized countries considered as an infringement of the rights of the community which calls for some sort of compensation.

[2] The meaning of this term—rendered kotosaka in the "Original Commentary"—is not very clear. It perhaps applies to persons who were made slaves on account of some offence or vice.

Dr. Florenz and some Japanese scholars whom he consulted take this view of this paragraph. I am not sure, however, that the real meaning is not that the husband, mortified that his wife has left him from dislike, sells her as a slave.

allowed to die on our road?' And they have accordingly detained the companions of the deceased and compelled them to do purgation. For this reason it often happens that even if an elder brother lies down and dies on the road, his younger brother will refuse to take up his body (for burial).

Again, there are cases of peasants being drowned in a river. The bystanders say:—'Why should we be made to have anything to do with drowned men?' They accordingly detain the drowned man's companions and compel them to do purgation. For this reason it often happens that even when an elder brother is drowned in a river his younger brother will not render assistance.

Again, there are cases of people who, when employed on forced labour, cook their rice by the roadside. Upon this the (inmates of the) houses by the roadside say:—'Why should people cook rice at their own pleasure on our road?' and have compelled them to do purgation.

Again, there are cases when people have applied to others for the loan of pots in which to boil their rice, and the pots have knocked against something and have been upset. Upon this the owner of the pot compels purgation to be made.

All such practices are habitual among the unenlightened vulgar. Let them now be discontinued without exception, and not permitted again.

Again, there are cases in which peasants, when they are about to proceed to the capital, apprehensive lest their riding horses should be worn out and unable to go, give two fathoms of cloth[1] and two bundles of hemp to men of the two provinces of Mikaha or Wohari, to hire them to feed their horses. After they have been to the capital and are on their way home, they make them a present of a spade, and then find that the men of Mikaha, etc., have not only failed to feed their horses properly, but have allowed them to die of starvation. In the case of horses of a superior class, they conceive covetous desires, and invent lying tales of their having been stolen, while in the case of mares which become pregnant in their house, they cause purgation to be made, and in the end make a plunder of the beast.

Such things having come to our ears, We therefore now establish the following regulation:—

[1] Cloth was evidently used as money.

Whenever horses are left at livery in any of the provinces along the highway, let the owner take with him the man whom he engages for this purpose, and make a full statement to the village elder, handing over (to the latter) at the same time the articles given as remuneration. It is unnecessary for him to make any further payment when he returns home. If he has XXV. 34. caused the horse to suffer harm, he should get nothing.

If anyone disobeys this edict, a severe penalty shall be imposed.

The dues payable to Market Commissioners,[1] for main roads, and to ferrymen, are abolished and lands are granted instead.

Beginning with the Home provinces, and embracing the provinces in all four quarters, during the agricultural months,[2] let everyone apply himself early to the cultivation of the rice-land. It is not meet at such a time to let them eat dainty food or drink sake. Let faithful messengers be appointed to intimate this to the Home provinces. And let the Kuni no Miyakko of the provinces in every quarter choose good messengers to urge (the peasants to work) in accordance with the edict."

Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. An edict was issued, saying :—

"Going back to the origin of things, we find that it is Heaven and Earth with the male and female principles of nature,[3] which guard the four seasons from mutual confusion. We find, moreover, that it is this Heaven and Earth[4] which produces the ten thousand things. Amongst these ten thousand things Man is the most miraculously gifted. Among the most miraculously gifted beings, the sage takes the position of ruler. Therefore the Sage Rulers, viz. the Emperors, take Heaven as their exemplar in ruling the World, and never for a moment dismiss from their breasts the thought of how men shall gain their fit place.

Now as to the names of the early Princes, the Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no Miyakko have divided their

[1] The "Shoku-in-ryō" says the Market Commissioner shall have superintendence of the currency, commerce, the genuineness of wares, the justness of weights and measures, buying and selling prices, and prohibitions and offences (relating thereto.)

[2] i.e. of getting in the crops.

[3] The Yin and Yang of Chinese philosophy. The interlinear gloss has samuku-atataka, i.e. "cold and warm," a most inadequate rendering.

[4] i.e. Nature.

various Be[1] and allotted them severally to their various titles (or surnames). They afterwards took the various Be of the people, and made them reside in the provinces and districts, one mixed up with another. The consequence has been to make father and child to bear different surnames, and brothers to be reckoned of distinct families, while husbands and wives have names[2] different from one another. One family is divided into five or split up into six, and both Court and country are there-
XXV. 35. fore filled with contentious suits. No settlement has been come to, and the mutual confusion grows worse and worse. Let the various Be, therefore, beginning with those of the reigning Emperor and including those in the possession of the Omi, Muraji, etc., be, without exception, abolished, and let them become subjects of the State. Those who have become Tomo no Miyakko by borrowing the names of princes, and those who have become Omi or Muraji on the strength of the names of ancestors,[3] may not fully apprehend our purport, and might think, if they heard this announcement without warning, that the names borrowed by their ancestors would become extinct. We therefore make this announcement beforehand, so that they may understand what are our intentions.

The children of rulers succeed one another in the government of the Empire; and it is well known that the names of the actual Emperor and of his Imperial ancestors will not be forgotten by the world. But the names of sovereigns are lightly given to rivers and plains,[4] or common people are called by them. This

[1] Instituted in commemoration of Princes and bearing their names, or names intended to recall their memory.

[2] 名 or Names must here apply to surnames, or rather Be names. The Japanese at this time had no proper surnames, and the Chinese characters for the two kinds of names are not always rightly distinguished.

[3] The "Shukai" quotes here the instances of Kibitsuhiko no Mikoto, whose descendants were called Kibi no Omi, and Achiki, whose descendants were styled Achiki no Fubito.

[4] The "Shukai" editor instances Annei Tennō, whose name of Shiki-tsuhiko is borne by the plain of Shiki in Yamato, and Yūriaku Tennō, whose name of Ohohatsuse is applied to the River Hatsuse-gawa. But it is more likely that the facts are the other way, and that the names of places were given to the Emperors.

The "Shoku-ni-hon-go-ki" (a continuation of the "Nihongi") records an edict which directed the alteration of names of persons, villages, mountains, or rivers, which coincided with the names (*imina*) of Emperors.

is a truly fearful state of things. The appellations of sovereigns, like the sun and moon, will float afar: the names of those of the Imperial line[1] will last for ever, like unto Heaven and Earth. Such being our opinion, we announce as follows:—'Do ye all, from those of the Imperial line down to the Ministers, the Daibu, Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko, who do Us service, (in short) all persons of whatever Uji[2] [One book has 'royal subjects of whatever name'], give ear to what We say. With regard to the form of your service, We now abolish the former offices and constitute afresh the hundred bureaus. We shall, moreover, grant grades of rank and confer official dignities.[3]

Let the local Governors who are now being despatched, and also the Kuni no Miyakko of the same provinces, give ear to what we say. In regard to the method of administration notified last year to the Court Assembly,[4] let the previous arrangement be followed, and let the rice-lands which are received and measured be granted equally to the people, without distinction of persons.[5] In granting rice-lands the peasants' houses should adjoin the land. Those whose houses lie near the lands must therefore have the preference. In this sense receive Our injunctions.

In regard to commuted taxes,[6] they should be collected from males (only).

Labourers should be supplied at the rate of one for every fifty houses. The boundaries of the provinces should be examined and a description or map prepared, which should be brought here and produced for Our inspection. The names of the provinces and districts will be settled when you come. XXV. 36.

With respect to the places where embankments are to be constructed, or canals dug, and the extent of rice-land to be

[1] 祖子, lit. ancestors and children. But I strongly suspect that 祖 is a mistake for 皇 imperial.

[2] House of nobles.

[3] This edict seems intended as a final severance of titles of various kinds from the offices they nominally represent. Official rank (位) and grade of office (官) do not invariably correspond, though they do in a general way. A Daijin, for example, is not necessarily first rank, though he will doubtless hold high rank, second or third at least.

[4] Chōshū. The reference is to the Chōshūshi named above, XXV. 23.

[5] See above, XXV. 17.

[6] Of other things than rice.

brought under cultivation, in the various provinces, uniform provision will be made for causing such work to be executed.'

Give ear to and understand these injunctions."

9th month. The Shōtoko, Kuromaro, Takamuko no Hakase, was sent to Silla to cause them to send a hostage. Ultimately the tribute from Imna was discontinued.

In this month the Emperor occupied the temporary Palace of Kahadzu.[1] [Some books have "detached Palace."]

In this year the rats of the province of Koshi drew together in troops by night and day, and took their departure towards the East.

A.D. 647. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. There was archery at the Court.

On this day Koryō and Silla sent messengers together to offer tribute.

Summer, 4th month, 29th day. An edict was issued as follows:—

"The Empire was entrusted (by the Sun-Goddess to her descendants, with the words) 'My children, in their capacity of Deities, shall rule it.' [The phrase 惟神 means to follow the way of the Gods, or again to possess in oneself the way of the Gods.] For this reason, this country, since Heaven and Earth began, has been a monarchy. From the time that Our Imperial ancestor[2] first ruled the land, there has been great concord[3] in the Empire, and there has never been any
XXV. 37. factiousness. In recent times, however, the names, first of the Gods, and then of the Emperors, have in some cases been separated (from their proper application) and converted into the Uji of Omi or Muraji, or they have been separated and made the qualifications of Miyakko,[4] etc. In consequence of this, the minds of the people of the whole country take a strong partisan bias, and conceiving a deep sense of the me and thee, hold firmly each to their names. Moreover the feeble and incompetent Omi, Muraji, Tómo no Miyakko and Kuni no

[1] Probably pronounced Kōdzu and identical with 商津 (Kōdzu), where a palace of the Emperor Nintoku stood at Osaka.

[2] Jimmu Tennō.

[3] *Vide* Legge's "Shooking," p. 337.

[4] The "Shūkai" editor gives as instances that the descendants of the God Oho-kuni-nushi are called Oho-kuni-nushi, of Oho-kume no Mikoto are called Kume no Atahe.

Miyakko make of such names their family names; and so the names of Gods and the names of sovereigns are applied to persons and places in an unauthorized manner, in accordance with the bent of their own feelings. Now, by using the names of Gods and the names of sovereigns as bribes, they draw to themselves the slaves of others, and so bring dishonour upon unspotted names. The consequence is that the minds of the people have become unsettled and the government of the country cannot be carried on. The duty has therefore now devolved on Us in Our capacity as Celestial Divinity, to regulate and settle these things. In order to make them understood, and thereby to order the State and to order the people, We shall issue, one after another, a succession of edicts, one earlier, another later, one to-day and another to-morrow. But the people, who have always trusted in the civilizing influence[1] exercised by the Emperors, and who are used to old customs, will certainly find it hard to wait until these edicts are made. We shall therefore remit to all, from Princes and Ministers down to the common people of all classes, the tax in lieu of service."

In this year Wogohori[2] was pulled down and a Palace built.

The Emperor, having taken up his residence in the Palace of Wogohori, established a Law for Ceremonies, the regulations of which were as follows :—

All persons holding official rank must draw up in lines to right and left outside the south gate at the hour of the Tiger,[3] and wait there until the first appearance of the sun. They shall then enter the Court, and having made their obeisances, shall attend in the Hall. Those who come late will not be permitted to enter and take up their attendance. When the hour of the Horse[4] arrives, they shall retire when they hear the sound of the bell. The officer whose business it is to strike the bell shall wear a red apron. The bell-stand shall be set up in the Middle Court.

[1] The interlinear gloss is mi omofu koto, i.e. "august thoughts," which is ludicrously inadequate. It is as impossible to render such phrases in pure Japanese as it would be in Anglo-Saxon.

[2] The small (government house of a) district. It seems to have become a proper name.

[3] 3 to 5 a.m.

[4] 11 to 1, noon.

The engineer of the rank of Daisen,[1] Aratawi no Hirafu,
XXV. 38. Yamato no Aya no Atahe, mistakenly dug a canal which he led to Naniha and thereby distressed the people. Upon this some one presented a memorial of remonstrance, and the Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We unwisely gave ear to Hirafu's misrepresentations, and so dug this canal to no purpose. It is We who are to blame." That same day the work was discontinued.[3]

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to the hot baths of Arima. He was accompanied by the Oho-omi of the Right and Left, and by the other Ministers and Daibu.

12th month, last day. The Emperor returned from the hot baths and stayed in the temporary Palace of Muko.

On this day the Palace of the Prince Imperial took fire, to the great marvel of the people of that time.

In this year there were instituted caps of seven kinds and thirteen grades.

The first was called Shoku-kwan.[4] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of woven stuff, and embroidered on the borders. The colour of the clothing was in both cases dark purple.

The second was called Shu-kwan.[5] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of

[1] This rank was not introduced until later.

[2] It is the same person who is called above Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, and below Hirafu, Aratawi no Atahe. A few lines further on, the Emperor speaks of him as Hirafu. The complete title Aratawi no Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, corresponds pretty exactly to such an English description as "Edmund of Langley, Duke of York." Hirafu is the personal name corresponding to Edmund; Langley and Aratawi are names of places, the residences of the persons in question or their forefathers; Duke and Atahe are titles. Yamato no Aya is, however, the name of a community of artisans of presumed Chinese descent who were settled in Yamato, while York is a territorial designation, of which, it may be noted, there are plenty among the ancient Japanese nobility.

[3] I have myself in 1869 seen a canal in course of construction at Osaka, which cost many thousands of pounds, and which was ultimately abandoned as impracticable.

[4] i.e. woven-cap. No doubt some special fabric is meant, which it is now difficult to identify.

[5] Embroidered cap.

embroidered stuff. The border of the cap and the colour of the clothing was the same as for the Shoku-kwan.

The third was called Shi-kwan.[1] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of purple material, with a border of woven stuff. The colour of the clothing was light purple. XXV. 39.

The fourth was called Kin-kwan.[2] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Kin-kwan was made of Dai-haku-sen[3] brocade, and had the cap-border of woven stuff: the lesser Kin-kwan was made of Shō-haku-sen brocade, and had the cap-border of Dai-haku-sen brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases true dark red.

The fifth was called Sei-kwan,[4] and was made of blue silk. Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Sei-kwan had a border of Dai-haku-sen brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases deep violet.

The sixth was called Kok-kwan,[5] and was made of black silk. Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Kok-kwan had a border of wheel-pattern brocade. The lesser Kok-kwan had a border of diamond-pattern brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases green.[6]

The seventh was called Kembu[7] [the initial (or lowest) rank. It was also called Risshin].[8] It was made of black silk and had a border of dark violet.

In addition to the above there were Tō-kwan,[9] made of black silk. These caps had varnished gauze stretched behind.

[1] Purple-cap. [2] Brocade-cap.

[3] Nothing more is known of this than that Hakusen seems to have been the name of a place.

[4] Blue cap. Neither the Chinese nor Japanese in ordinary speech or writing think it worth while to distinguish between green and blue. 青, the Chinese character used here stands for both colours, and the corresponding Japanese word *awoki* may be either green or blue. It is also used of a pale complexion, and, strange to say, of a black horse. It does not follow that these nations cannot distinguish between green and blue. I have seen a dyer's sample book which contained numerous shades of both, each with an appropriate name.

[5] Black-cap. [6] Especially grass-green.

[7] Kembu means "to establish valour."

[8] Risshin means advancement.

[9] Stirrup-caps, so called no doubt from their shape. The Japanese name is *tsubo-kammuri*, i.e. jar-caps.

Distinctions of rank were indicated by the border and the hair ornaments.[1] The latter were in shape like a cicada. The hair ornaments of the grades from the Lesser Kin-kwan upwards were of a combination of gold and silver: the hair
XXV. 40. ornaments of the Greater and Lesser Seikwan were made of silver: the hair ornaments of the Greater and Lesser Kok-kwan were made of copper. The Kembu caps had no hair ornaments.

These caps were worn at Grand Assemblies,[2] when foreign guests were entertained, and at the (Buddhist) maigre feasts of the fourth [3] month and seventh month.

Silla sent Kim Chhyun-chhyu, a Superior Minister, of the rank of Greater Ason, and others to accompany the Hakase, Takamuko no Kuromaro, of Shōtoko rank, and Oshikuma, Nakatomi no Muraji, of middle Shōsen rank,[4] and bring a present to the Emperor of a peacock and a parrot. Chhyun-chhyu was made a hostage. He was a handsome man, who talked and smiled agreeably.[5]

The Nutari [6] barrier was constructed, and a barrier-settlement established. Old men talked to one another, saying:—"The migration of the rats towards the East some years ago prefigured the making of this barrier."

A.D. 648. 4th year. Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The ceremony of New Year's congratulations took place.

In the evening the Emperor proceeded to the Palace of Toyosaki in Naniha.

2nd month, 1st day. Student priests were sent to Corea.

8th day. The Oho-omi Abe invited the four classes[7] to the Temple of Shitenōji, where, having brought in four images of Buddha, he had them enshrined within the pagoda. He con-

[1] Uzu.

[2] As at the New Year's receptions, the ceremony of accession, etc.

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Buddha and the festival of All-Souls—now known as bon. *Vide* Eitel's "Handbook"—article Ullambana, also "Things Japanese," pp. 155, 156.

[4] See below, XXV. 41, where, however, no middle Shōsen rank is mentioned, only upper and lower.

[5] He is mentioned in the "Tongkam."

[6] In Echigo, as a defence against the Yemishi or Ainos.

[7] Of Buddhists, viz.: Biku (Bhikchu), Bikuni (Bhikchunī), Uhasoku (Upāsaka) and Ubai (Upāsika). Priests, nuns, and lay members, male and female.

structed a figure of the wondrous Vulture Mountain,[1] which he made by piling up drums on one another. XXV. 41.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The old caps were discontinued. The Oho-omi of the Left and Right, however, continued to wear the old caps.

This year Silla sent envoys bearing tribute.

The barrier of Ihabune[2] was put to rights as a precaution against the Yemishi. Eventually subjects from the provinces of Koshi and Shinano were selected, and a barrier-settlement for the first time established.

5th year. Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The New Year's congratulations took place. A.D. 649.

2nd month. Nineteen cap grades were instituted, as follows:—

First	Dai-shiki	(greater-woven-stuff)
Second	Shō-shiki	(lesser-woven-stuff)
Third	Dai-shū	(greater embroidery)
Fourth	Shō-shū	(lesser do.)
Fifth	Dai-shi	(greater purple)
Sixth	Shō-shi	(lesser do.)
Seventh	Upper Dai-kwa	(greater flower)
Eighth	Lower Dai-kwa	(do.)
Ninth	Upper Shō-kwa	(lesser flower)
Tenth	Lower Shō-kwa	(do.)
Eleventh	Upper Dai-sen[3]	(greater mountain)
Twelfth	Lower Dai-sen	(do.)
Thirteenth	Upper Shō-sen	(lesser mountain)
Fourteenth	Lower Shō-sen	(do.)
Fifteenth	Upper Dai-otsu[4]	
Sixteenth	Lower Dai-otsu	
Seventeenth	Upper Shō-otsu	

[1] Gridhrakūta. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.* [2] In Echigo. [3] Or Daisan.

[4] Otsu (乙) is stated by the Japanese commentators to be put for 鵶, which has the same sound. Dai-otsu would then mean Greater Kingfisher, and Shō-otsu Lesser Kingfisher, and it is true that there was a kingfisher cap in China. But does not rather the following extract from Giles apply?—"The 乙 of the tiger,—i.e. its majesty, which is supposed to be in the shape of this character, and concealed under the skin of its ribs. Anyone who gets it and wears it, as an official will be a terror to evil-doers, while as a private individual he will have no enemies."

Eighteenth Lower Shō-otsu
Nineteenth Risshin (Promotion or advancement)

In this month an order was given to the Hakase, Takamuko no Kuromaro, and the Buddhist Priest Bin to establish Eight Departments of State and one hundred bureaus.[1]

XXV. 42 3rd month, 17th day. Abe no Oho-omi died. The Emperor proceeded to the Shujaku[2] gate, where he raised up lamentations for him and showed much emotion. The Empress Dowager, the Prince Imperial, and the other Princes, together with the Ministers of every rank, all, following his example, mourned and lamented.[3]

24th day. Hiuga, Soga no Omi [styled[4] Musashi] slandered the Oho-omi Kurayamada to the Prince Imperial, saying:—"Maro, thy servant's elder brother by a different mother, is watching the opportunity of the Prince Imperial making an excursion to the seaside, in order to do him a mischief. He will ere long commit treason." The Prince Imperial believed this. The Emperor sent Ohotomo no Komano Muraji, Mikuni no Maro no Kimi, and Hodzumi no Kurafu no Omi to the Oho-omi, Kurayamada no Maro, and questioned him as to the truth of the charge of treason. The Oho-omi answered and said:—"I will have a personal interview with the Emperor,

[1] These eight Departments were in imitation of the six boards of the Thang Dynasty in China. They were the Nakatsukasa Shō, or Central Department; the Shikibu Shō, or Board of Civil Office; the Jibu Shō, or Board of Ceremonies; the Mimbu Shō, or Board of Population; the Hyōbu Shō, or Board of War; the Gyōbu Shō, or Board of Justice; the Ohokura Shō, or Treasury; and the Kunai Shō, or Household Department. Those who wish to examine this matter more particularly are referred to Walter Dickson's "Japan," Count Itō's "Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire," from which Dr. Florenz quotes largely, and Mayers' "Chinese Handbook," pp. 324, 326, 332. Of course the word "hundred" in hundred bureaus is not to be taken literally.

[2] The Scarlet Bird or South Gate.

[3] This reminds one of Achilles acting as fugleman to the mourners at the funeral of Patroclus—*τοῖσι δὲ Πηλεΐδης ἀδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο.* "Iliad," XXIII. 17. The official character of the mourning is shown by the fact that it took place at the Southern Gate of the Palace. The Emperor's official position is facing the South, even at this day.

[4] The 字 or style. "A name or style taken at the age of twenty. A man's Prince and father call him by his ming (名), other people call him by his 字 or style."—Giles.

and shall then answer to the charge brought against me." The Emperor again sent Mikuni no Maro no Kimi and Hodzumi, Kurafu no Omi, to investigate the circumstances of the treason. The Oho-omi, Maro, again answered as before. The Emperor was therefore about to raise an armed force and surround therewith the Oho-omi's house, when the Oho-omi, taking with him his two sons, Hōshi[1] and Akagoma [also called Mawosu], fled by way of Chinu towards the boundary of the province of Yamato. Before this, Koshi, the Oho-omi's eldest son, was already staying in Yamato, where he was building the Temple. [This means that he was staying in the Yamada house.] Now being suddenly apprised that his father was coming thither in flight, he went out to meet him at the great Tsuki tree in Imaki. Having approached, he took the lead and entered the Temple. Then he looked back to the Oho-omi and said:—"Koshi desires to advance straight on in person, and oppose the army which is coming." But the Oho-omi would not allow it. That night Koshi conceived the idea of burning the Palace [the Palace of Woharida is meant], and went on assembling troops.

25th day. The Oho-omi addressed his eldest son Koshi, saying:—"Dost thou love thy life?" Koshi answered and said:—"I love it not." The Oho-omi thereupon harangued the priests of the Yamada Temple, his eldest son Koshi and some tens of other persons, saying:—"Shall one who is in the position of vassal contrive treason against his Lord? Shall the duty of a son to a father be brought to nothing? This temple was originally built, not for me personally, but under a vow for the sake of the Emperor. I have now been slandered by Musashi, and I fear that I shall be unjustly put to death. With so near a prospect of the yellow springs,[2] I would withdraw (from life) still cherishing fidelity in my bosom, and the object of my coming to this Temple is that my last moments may be made easier." XXV. 43.

When he had done speaking, he opened the door of the Buddha Hall and uttered a vow, saying:—"In all future births and existences, let me not have resentment against my sovereign!" When he had made this vow, he strangled him-

[1] Hōshi means Buddhist priest.

[2] Hades.

self and died. His wife and children, to the number of eight persons, sacrificed[1] themselves with him.

On this day, Oho-tomo no Koma no Muraji and Soga no Hiuga no Omi were sent as Generals in command of a body of troops to pursue the Oho-omi. General Ohotomo no Muraji and his colleague had gone as far as Kuroyama when Mu, Hashi no Muraji, and Omimaro, Uneme no Omi, came running from the Yamada Temple, and brought information that the Oho-omi Soga, with his three sons and one daughter, had already committed suicide together by strangulation. The Generals therefore returned from Tajihi no Saka.

26th day. The wife, children, and personal attendants of the Oho-omi Yamada, who committed suicide by strangulation, were many. Kurafu, Hodzumi no Omi, arrested in a body the Oho-omi's people, viz. Tsukushi, Taguchi no Omi, and others, placed cangues round their necks, and tied their hands behind their backs. That night, Maro, Ki no Omi, Hiuga, Soga no Omi, and Kurafu, Hodzumi no Omi, having surrounded the Temple
XXV. 44. with an armed force, called Shiho, Mononobe no Futsuta no Miyakko, and ordered him to cut off the Oho-omi's head. Upon this Futsuta no Shiho drew his sword, raised up the body on its point, yelled and reviled, and then cut it off.

30th day. There were executed, as implicated with the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada, Tsukushi, Taguchi no Omi, Miminashi no Dōtoko, Takada no Shikowo,[2] Nukadabe no Yumasu no Muraji, Hada no Adera and others, fourteen persons in all. Nine were strangled,[3] and fifteen banished.

In this month, messengers were sent to take over the property of the Oho-omi, Yamada. Among his property was a beautiful book with the inscription "Book belonging to the Prince Imperial," and a valuable object inscribed "Property of the Prince Imperial." When the messengers returned and reported the circumstances of their having taken over the property, the Prince Imperial recognized for the first time that the heart of the Oho-omi had remained pure and unspotted. He was seized with shame and remorse for the past, and bewailed his fate

[1] 殉死, Junshi.

[2] Ugly-man.

[3] Owing to the objection entertained in China and Japan to the mutilation of the body, hanging or strangulation is reckoned a less severe punishment than decapitation.

incessantly. Hiuga no Omi was accordingly appointed Viceroy of Tsukushi. The people of the time said to one another, "Is not this a disguised banishment?" XXV. 45.

When Soga no Miyakko hime, consort of the Prince Imperial, heard that her father the Oho-omi had been decapitated by Shiho, she took it deeply to heart, and grieved bitterly. She detested hearing Shiho's name mentioned, and so her personal attendants, whenever they had occasion to speak of salt (shiho), altered the word and called it Kitashi.[1] At last Miyakko hime died of a broken heart. When the Prince Imperial heard that she had passed away, he was grieved and deeply shocked, and bewailed her loss exceedingly. Upon this Mitsu, Nunaka Kahara no Fubito, came forward and presented verses of poetry as follows:—

On a mountain-stream
Two mandarin-ducks[2] there be,
Well matched together:—
But the wife who was a like mate for me
Who is it that has taken away?

This was the first verse.

Though on every tree
The flowers are blooming,
How can it be that
My darling wife
Does not blossom again?

This was the second verse.

The Prince Imperial, with a sigh of deep despair, praised the verses, saying:—"How beautiful! how pathetic!" So he gave him his lute[3] and made him sing them. He also presented him with four hiki of silk, twenty tan of cloth, and two bags of floss silk.

Summer, 4th month, 20th day. Kose no Tokodako no Omi, of Shōshi rank, was granted the rank of Daishi, and was made Oho-omi of the Left.[4]

Ohotomo no Nagatoko no Muraji [styled Mŭmakahi] of

[1] Hard or coarse salt.

[2] The emblem of conjugal love in China and Japan, like the turtle dove in Europe.

[3] Koto.

[4] Sadaijin in later parlance.

Shōshi rank, was granted the rank of Daishi, and was made Oho-omi of the Right.[1]

5th month, 1st day. Shikofu, Miwa no Kimi, of Lower Shōkwa rank, Tsunomaro, Harahibe no Muraji[2] of Upper
XXV. 46. Daisen rank, and others were sent to Silla.

This year, the Queen of Silla sent Kim Ta-sya, Sa-son of Sa-tök-pu, as hostage. He had a suite of thirty persons.

One Buddhist priest, two Si-rang,[3] one Assistant, one Usher, five Chung-kēk,[4] ten Artists,[5] one Interpreter, and sixteen servants of various kinds—in all thirty-seven persons.

A.D. 650 Hakuchi,[6] 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Imperial chariot proceeded to the Palace of Ajifu, where the Emperor viewed the ceremonies of the New Year's congratulations.

On this day the Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

2nd month, 9th day. Shikofu, Kusakabe no Muraji, Governor of the Province of Anato, presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying :—" Nihe, a relation of Obito, the Kuni no Miyakko, caught it on the 9th day of the first month on Mount Wonoyama." Upon this inquiry was made of the Lords of Pèkché, who said :—" In the eleventh year[7] of Yung-p'ing, in the reign of Ming Ti of the Later Han dynasty, white pheasants were seen in a certain place." Further, inquiry was made of the Buddhist priests, who answered and said :—" With our ears we have not heard, nor with our eyes have we seen
XXV. 47. such. May it please Your Majesty to order a general amnesty ; and so give joy to the hearts of the people."

The Priest Dōtō said :—" At one time Koryö desired to build a Buddhist Temple. There was no place which was not examined for this purpose. Then in a certain place a white

[1] Udaijin.

[2] A note in the "Shūkai" identifies this family with the Kamori no Muraji of the "Seishiroku.' They seem to have had originally something to do with the performance of the harahi or purification ceremonies.

[3] In China 侍郎 are Vice-Presidents of a Board. Chancellors (?)

[4] 中客, literally middle guests, officials of middle rank.

[5] Including skilled artisans.

[6] i.e. "white pheasant." The reason for this name of the year-period appears below.

[7] A.D. 68.

deer was seen quietly moving, and eventually a Temple was built on this spot. It was called the Temple of the park of the white deer, and the practice of the Buddhist Law was there permanently established. Again, a white sparrow was seen at the farmstead of a certain Temple. The people of the country all said that it was a good omen. Moreover, Envoys sent to Great Thang[1] brought back a dead crow with three legs.[2] The people of the country again said that this was a good omen. Though these things are trifles, yet they are deemed of favourable omen. Much more is this so in the case of a white pheasant."

The Priest Bin said :—"This is to be deemed a lucky omen, and it may reasonably be accounted a rare object. I have respectfully heard that when a Ruler extends his influence to all four quarters, then will white pheasants be seen. They appear, moreover, when a Ruler's sacrifices are not in mutual disaccord, and when his banquets and costumes are in due measure. Again, when a Ruler is of frugal habits, white pheasants are made to come forth on the hills. Again, they appear when the Ruler is sage and humane. In the time of the Emperor Ch'ēng Wang of the Chou Dynasty, the Yüeh-shang[3] family brought and presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying :—'We were told by the old men of our country :—"What a long time it has been since there have been any exceptional storms or long-continued rains, and that the great rivers and the sea have not surged up over the land! Three years have now elapsed. We think that in the Central Land there is a Sage. Would it not be well to go and pay XXV. 48.
your respects at his Court?" We have therefore come, having tripled our interpreters.' Again, in the first year of Hien-ning[4] in the reign of Wu-ti of the Tsin Dynasty, one was seen in Sung-tsze. This is accordingly a favourable omen. A general amnesty ought to be granted."

Upon this the white pheasant was let loose in the garden.

15th day. The array of guards at Court was like that on

[1] China.

[2] We have obviously here an echo of the Chinese myth of a red three-legged crow which inhabits the sun, and which has all manner of mystical significance.

[3] The name of a region lying to the south of China.

[4] A.D. 275.

the occasion of a New Year's reception. The Oho-omi of the Right and Left and all the functionaries formed four lines outside of the purple gate. Ihimushi, Ahata no Omi, and three others were made to take the pheasant's litter and move off ahead, while the Oho-omi of the Right and Left at the head of all the functionaries and Phung-chyang, Lord of Pèkché, his younger brother Sē-syöng, Chhyung-seung,[1] the physician to the King of Koryö, by name Mo-chhi, the scholar attached to the Court of Silla, and others, advanced into the Central Court. These four men, viz. Maro, Mikuni no Kimi, Takami, Wina no Kimi, Mikaho, Miwa no Kimi, and Maro Kida,[2] Ki no Omi, taking up the pheasant's litter in turn, advanced in front of the
XXV. 49. Hall. Then the Oho-omi of the Right and Left approached and held the litter by the forward end. The Prince of Ise, Maro, Mikuni no Kimi, and Woguso, Kura no Omi, took hold of the hinder end of the litter and placed it before the Imperial throne. The Emperor straightway called the Prince Imperial, and they took it and examined it together. The Prince Imperial having retired, made repeated obeisances, and caused the Oho-omi Kose to offer a congratulatory address, saying:—"The Ministers and functionaries offer their congratulations. Inasmuch as Your Majesty governs the Empire with serene virtue, there is here a white pheasant, produced in the western region. This is a sign that Your Majesty will continue for a thousand autumns and ten thousand years peacefully to govern the Great-eight-islands[3] of the four quarters. It is the prayer of the Ministers, functionaries, and people that they may serve Your Majesty with the utmost zeal and fidelity."

Having finished this congratulatory speech, he made repeated obeisances. The Emperor said:—

"When a sage Ruler appears in the world and rules the Empire, Heaven is responsive to him, and manifests favourable omens. In ancient times, during the reign of Ch'ēng-wang of the Chou Dynasty, a ruler of the Western land,[4] and again in the time of Ming Ti of the Han Dynasty, white pheasants were

[1] Phung-chyang's uncle.

[2] So the "Shūkai" edition. But it has been conjectured with some probability that Kida is really the name of the Silla scholar just mentioned, which has come in here by mistake.

[3] Oho-ya-shima. See Vol. I. p. 15.

[4] China.

seen. In this our Land of Japan,[1] during the reign of the Emperor Homuda,[2] a white crow made its nest in the Palace. In the time of the Emperor Oho-sazaki,[3] a Dragon-horse appeared in the West.[4] This shows that from ancient times until now, there have been many cases of auspicious omens appearing in response to virtuous rulers. What we call phœnixes, unicorns,[5] white pheasants, white crows, and such XXV. 50. like birds and beasts, even including herbs and trees, in short all things having the property of significant response, are favourable omens and auspicious signs produced by Heaven and Earth. Now that wise and enlightened sovereigns should obtain such auspicious omens is meet and proper. But why should We, who are so empty and shallow, have this good fortune? It is no doubt wholly due to our Assistants, the Ministers, Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no Miyakko, each of whom, with the utmost loyalty, conforms to the regulations that are made. For this reason, let all, from the Ministers down to the functionaries, with pure hearts reverence the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and one and all accepting the glad omen, make the Empire to flourish."

Again he commanded, saying:—

"The provinces and districts in the four quarters having been placed in our charge by Heaven, We exercise supreme rule over the Empire. Now in the province of Anato, ruled over by Our divine ancestors, this auspicious omen has appeared. For this reason We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire, and begin a new year-period, to be called Haku-chi.[6] Moreover we prohibit the flying of falcons within the limits of the province of Anato."

Presents were made to the Ministers, Daibu and officials of lower rank down to the clerks, varying in value according to their rank. Hereupon the local Governor, Shikofu, Kusakabe

[1] The characters are 日本, but whether the Emperor actually said *Nippon* or *Yamato* is not quite clear. The interlinear gloss has *Mikado*, which is absurd.

[2] Ōjin Tennō. [3] Nintoku Tennō.

[4] The dragon-horse has wings on its head. It crosses water without sinking. It appears when an illustrious sovereign is on the throne.

[5] Kirin. [6] White pheasant.

no Muraji, was commended and granted the rank of Daisen, together with liberal presents. The commuted taxes and corvées of Anato were remitted for three years.

Summer, 4th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer tribute.

One book says:—"In the reign of this Emperor the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute every year."

XXV. 51. Winter, 10th month. In respect of the tombs which had been demolished in order to include the ground in a site for a Palace, and of the people who had been made to remove for the same purpose, presents were given, varying in value. This having been done, the chief builder Hirafu Aratawi no Atahe, was sent to set up the boundary posts of the Palace.

In this month the construction was begun of an embroidery[1] figure of Buddha sixteen feet in height with its attendant Bosatsu,[2] and of figures of beings of the eight classes[3]—forty-six figures in all.

In this year, Ohoguchi, Aya no Yamaguchi no Atahe, in obedience to an Imperial order, carved one thousand images of Buddha.

Agata, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, Abumi, Shiragabe no Muraji, and Agura, Naniha no Kishi, were sent to the province of Aki to build two Pèkché ships.

A.D. 651. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 14th day. The sixteen feet high embroidery figure of Buddha and the others were finished.

15th day. The Empress Dowager invited the ten Buddhist professors[4] and prepared a maigre entertainment for them.

6th month. Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys to bring tribute and to offer presents.

Winter, 12th month, last day. More than 2100 priests and nuns were invited to the Palace of Ajifu, and made to read the Issaikyō.[5]

[1] No doubt what we call tapestry. [2] See above, XXI. 6.

[3] The eight classes are described as I. Heaven; II. Dragons; III. Yasha, the Sanskrit Yaksha, a kind of demons; IV. Kentatsuba, the Sanskrit Gandharva, a kind of demons; V. Asura, the mightiest of all demons; VI. Karora, Sanskrit Garuḍa, a kind of monstrous bird; VII. Kinnara, Sanskrit Kimnara, doubtful (horned) spirits, the musicians of Kuvēra; VIII. Makōraka, Sanskrit Mahoraga, demons shaped like a boa.

[4] See above, XXV. 10.

[5] The complete Buddhist canon as received in China. It consists of

That night over 2700 lights were lit in the courtyard of the Palace, and there were caused to be read the Antaku and Dosoku[1] Sutras, etc. Upon this, the Emperor removed his residence from Oho-gohori to the new Palace. It received the name of the Palace of Naniha no Nagara no Toyosaki. XXV. 52.

This year the Silla tribute-envoys, Chi-man, of Sa-son rank, and his companions anchored at Tsukushi, wearing garments of the Thang country. The Government, disgusted at this wanton change of habit, reproved them and drove them back again. At this time Kose no Oho-omi addressed the Emperor, saying :—"If we do not give a blow to Silla at this present time, we shall certainly have to regret it afterwards. Now as to the manner of giving a blow to Silla, we can do so without raising a sword.[2] From the port of Naniha as far as Tsukushi let the surface of the sea be covered with ships, one touching another. Then if Silla be summoned and called to an account for her offences, it will be easy for us to gain our object."

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. When the New Year's ceremonies were over, the Imperial chariot proceeded to the Palace of Oho-gohori. A.D. 652.

From the 1st month to the 2nd month the distribution of rice-lands[3] had been brought to a close. As to the length[4] of the rice-fields, thirty paces made a tan, and ten tan a chō.

The tax-rice was one sheaf and a half per tan, or fifteen sheaves per chō.

3rd month, 9th day. The Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Shamon,[5] Ye-un, was invited to the interior of the Palace and made to explain the

hundreds of volumes, and was no doubt read by the *tendoku* system, i.e. by reading a few words at the beginning and at the end of each volume, turning rapidly over the intermediate pages by a single motion of the hand.

[1] These are not known as Sutras. Probably they were litanies used as suitable for the occasion of taking up a residence in the new Palace. An-taku means "peaceful-house," and Do-soku "earth-side," or perhaps "earth-survey."

[2] The older reading is "without an effort." I follow the "Shūkai" editor's emendation of 刀 for 力.

[3] See above, XXV. 17.

[4] The breadth is not stated here. From other evidence it appears to have been twelve paces.

[5] Sanskrit S'ramana, Buddhist priests or ascetics. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

Muryōjiu[1] Sutra, the Shamon Ye-ji was made lecturer and 1000 Shamon were constituted the audience.

20th day. The explanations (of the Sutras) was discontinued. From this day forward rain began to fall continually, lasting for nine days. It demolished buildings, and destroyed the young rice-plants in the fields. Many men, horses and oxen were drowned.

XXV. 53. In this month the registers of population were prepared. Fifty houses were made a township, and for each township there was appointed an elder. The senior member of the family[2] was always made the head of the household. The houses were all associated in groups of five for mutual protection, with one elder to supervise them one with another.

Silla and Pèkché sent Envoys to bring tribute and offer presents.

Autumn, 9th month. The building of the Palace was completed. It is impossible adequately to describe the appearance of the Palace Halls.

Winter, 12th month, last day. The priests and nuns of the Empire were invited to the interior of the Palace and entertained with meagre fare. Plentiful alms were given, and lights kindled.

A.D. 653. 4th year, Summer, 5th month, 12th day. There were sent to Great Thang, as Chief Ambassador, Kishi no Nagani, of Upper Shōsen rank, as Associate Ambassador, Kishi no Koma [also called Ito] of Upper Shō-otsu rank, as Student Priests, Dōgen, Dōtsū, Dōkwō, Yese, Gakushō, Benshō, Yeshō, Sōnin,
XXV. 54. Chisō, Dōshō, Jōye[3] [Jōye was the eldest son of the Oho-omi of the Middle[4]], Adachi [Adachi was the son of Nakatomi no

[1] i.e. immortal life, called in Sanskrit the Sukhâvatî Vyûha Sutra.

[2] i.e. the eldest son or heir, to the exclusion of uncles, say the commentators. This would be primogeniture. This principle had not yet become established for the succession to the throne.

[3] There is a biography of Jōye extant. He remained for many years studying in China. On his return to Japan he had the body of his father removed from the old-fashioned dolmen-tomb in which he had been interred, and buried under a miniature pagoda of stone. This marks the decline of the old style of interment. The original tomb is still in existence. It is shown in the annexed illustration, which is reproduced with the kind permission of the editor of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," where it appeared, July, 1892.

[4] Naidaijin.

Kome no Muraji] and Dōkwan [Dōkwan was the son of

Tomb of the Minister of State, Kamatari.

Kudara, Kasuga no Ahata no Omi] as students,[1] Kusuri, Kose

[1] i.e. students of Chinese literature.

no Omi [son of Toyotari no Omi], and Okina, Hi no Muraj [son of Madama. Another book adds the student priests Chiben and Gitoku and the student Ihatsumi, Sakahibe no Muraji], in all 121 persons, who sailed together in the same ship. Mita, Nunobara no Obito, was appointed as envoy to accompany them. Again, the Chief Ambassador Nemaro [also called Yatsukahagi], Takada no Obito, of Lower Daisen rank, and the Associate Ambassador Womaro, Kamori[1] no Muraji, of Upper Shō-otsu rank, with the student priests Dōfuku and Gikō, in all 120 persons, sailed together in one ship. Yatsute, Hashi no Muraji, was appointed as Envoy to escort them.

In this month the Emperor visited the chamber of the priest Bin, inquired after his illness, and at length from his own mouth delivered his gracious commands.

One book says:—"In the 7th month of the 5th year,
XXV. 55. the priest Bin took ill in the Temple of Adzumi. Thereupon the Emperor paid him a visit of inquiry, and taking him by the hand, said:—'If your Reverence dies to-day, We shall follow you in death to-morrow.'"

6th month. Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute and offering presents.

The highways of various places were repaired.

The Emperor was informed of the death of the priest Bin, and sent a messenger of condolence and also numerous presents.

The Empress Dowager, the Prince Imperial, etc., all sent messengers to offer condolences on the death of the priest Bin. Eventually the Emperor commanded Komaro, Koma no Tachibe, a painter, with Funado no Atahe and others to make a large number of figures of Buddha and Bosatsu, to be placed in the Temple of Kahara [one book says they are in the Temple of Yamada].

Autumn, 7th month. Takada no Nemaro and his colleagues, the Ambassadors sent to Great Thang, were drowned by the sinking of their ship in the Gate[2] of Takashima, off the coast of Satsuma. Only five men who lashed themselves to a plank,

[1] See above, XXV. 45.

[2] A narrow passage between two islands. Or it may mean the entrance to a harbour.

floated ashore on the island of Takashima. They knew not what to do, until one of the five, named Kadobe no Kogane, gathered bamboos[1] and made of them a raft, with which they anchored at the island of Shitoji-shima. These five men passed six days and six nights without any food whatever. Thereupon Kogane was complimented (by the Emperor), advanced in rank, and presents given him.

This year the Prince Imperial petitioned the Emperor, saying:—"I wish the Imperial residence were removed to the Yamato capital." The Emperor refused to grant his request. Upon this the Prince Imperial took with him the Empress Dowager, the Empress Hashibito, and the younger Imperial XXV. 6. Princes, and went to live in the temporary Palace of Asuka no Kahabe in Yamato. At this time the Ministers and Daibu, with the various functionaries, all followed and changed their residence. The Emperor resented this, and wished to cast away the national Dignity. He had a palace built in Yamazaki and sent a song to the Empress Hashibito, saying:—

The pony which I keep,
I put shackles on
And led it not out:
Can anyone have seen
The pony which I keep?

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. In the night the rats A.D. 654. migrated towards the Yamato capital.

Nakatomi no Kamatari no Muraji was granted the Shikwan,[2] and his fief increased by a number of houses.

2nd month. The Controlling Envoys sent to Great Thang, namely, Kuromaro Takamuku no Obito, of Upper Daikin rank [one book says:—"Summer, 5th month. There were sent to Great Thang the Controlling Envoy Takamuku no Kuromaro, of Lower Daikwa rank"], the Chief Ambassador Maro, Kahabe no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, the Associate Ambassador Kusushi[3] Yenichi, of Lower Daisen rank, the two Hangwan, Maro Fumi no Atahe, of Upper Daiotsu rank, and Miyaji no Amida [one book says:—"The Hangwan, Maro, Fumi no Atahe, of Lower Shōsen rank"], Yoroshi, Oka no Kimi, of Upper

[1] Takashima means "bamboo island."
[2] Or purple cap.
[3] Doctor.

XXV. 57. Shō-otsu rank, Daihaku, Okizome no Muraji, Oyu, Nakatomi no Hashibito no Muraji, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, Tori, Tabe no Fubito, and others. They embarked separately on two ships. Having delayed for several months, they proceeded by way of Silla, and anchored at Laichou.[1] At last they reached the capital, where they had an audience of the Emperor. Thereupon Kuo Wēn-chü, superintendent of the guards of the Prince Imperial's Palace, inquired particularly of them regarding the geography of the Land of Japan, and the names of the Gods of the beginning of the country. To all which inquiries suitable answers were given.

The Controlling Envoy Takamuku no Kuromaro died in Great Thang.

Yuki no Hakatoko says:—"The student-priest Yemyō died in Thang; Chisō died at sea; Chikoku died at sea; Chisō[2] returned in a Silla ship in the year Kanoye Tora[3]; Gakushō died in Thang; Gitsū died at sea; Jōye returned in the year Kinoto Ushi[4] in the ship of Liu Teh-kao[5]; Myōi, Hōshō and the students Okina, Hi no Muraji and Kō Wō-gon,[6] twelve persons in all, with Kan Chikō and Cho Gempō, of foreign Japanese birth, came back this year along with the envoys."

Summer, 4th month. Two men and two women of the Land of Tukhāra[7] and one woman of S'râvastî[8] were driven by a storm to Hiuga.

Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. Kishi no Nagani and his colleagues, who had gone as Envoys to the Western Sea,[9]

[1] In Shantung.

[2] Spelt with a different Chinese character to the other.

[3] A.D. 690. [4] A.D. 665. [5] Presumably a Chinese.

[6] A Japanese who had taken a Chinese name.

[7] The region round Badakshan in India. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

[8] An ancient city of India situated near Sirkhee or Fuzabad. *Vide* Eitel. It is absurd to speak of natives of India being cast ashore in Hiuga. It is plain from a comparison of the passage in Book XXVI. 4, in which these persons are again referred to, that the place here called Tukhāra is really the island of Tokara, one of the Loochoo group. The writer of the "Nihongi," however, shows by the characters with which he writes the name, and by his poetic license of associating S'râvastî with it, that he was thinking of the Indian locality. The native commentators follow him in this.

[9] China.

anchored in Tsukushi with Escorting Envoys from Silla and Pèkché. This month the Emperor commended the Envoys to the Western Sea for having had a personal audience of the Emperor of the Thang country, and for having obtained numerous books and precious objects. He bestowed on the Chief Ambassador Kishi no Nagani, of Upper Shōsen rank, the lower grade of Shōkwa rank, and granted him a fief of 200 houses with the name of the Kure House. On the Associate Ambassador, Kishi no Koma, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, there was bestowed the upper grade of the Shōsen rank. XXV. 58.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, being informed that the Emperor had taken ill, proceeded to the Naniha Palace with the Empress Dowager, the Empress Hashibito, and also accompanied by the younger Imperial Princes and the Ministers.

10th day. The Emperor died in the State Bedchamber. He was temporarily interred in the southern courtyard. Dōtoko, Mozu no Hashi no Muraji, of Upper Shōsen rank, superintended the business of the Palace of Temporary Interment.

12th month, 8th day. He was buried in the misasagi of Shinaga at Ohosaka.[1]

On this day, the Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Empress Dowager, changed his residence to the Temporary Palace of Kahabe in Yamato. Old people said:—"The migration of the rats to the Yamato capital was an omen of the transference of the capital thither."

In this year, Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent ambassadors of condolence.

[1] In the province of Kahachi.

BOOK XXVI.

THE EMPRESS AME-TOYO-TAKARA IKASHI-HI TARASHI-HIME.

(*SAIMEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime first married the Emperor Tachibana no toyohi's[2] grandson, Prince Takamuku, and bore to him the Imperial Prince Aya. She was afterwards married to the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[3] to whom she bore two sons and one daughter. In his second year she was raised to the rank of Empress-consort, as may be seen in the history of the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka. In the thirteenth year of his reign, Winter, the tenth month, the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka died. In the first month of the following year the Empress assumed the Imperial Dignity. In the sixth month of the fourth year of the new reign, she resigned the Dignity to the Emperor Ame-yorodzu-toyo-hi, and was entitled Empress Dowager. The Emperor Ame-yorodzu-toyohi died in the tenth month of the later fifth year.[4]

A.D. 655. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Empress Dowager assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Asuka no Itabuki.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. In the midst of the Void[5] there was seen one riding on a dragon, who resembled a man

[1] Uniform-bright. The Empress Kōgyoku restored.
[2] Yōmei Tennō. [3] Jomei Tennō.
[4] i.e. the later of the two year-periods of his reign, viz. Hakuchi.
[5] Sora. To be distinguished from Ten, heaven or firmament.

of Thang in appearance. He had on a broad hat of green oiled stuff. He rode fast from the peak of Katsuraki and disappeared on Mount Ikoma. When it became noon, he galloped off over the firs of Sumiyoshi in a westerly direction. XXVI. 2.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. There were entertained at the Court of Naniha of the Northern Yemishi ninety-nine persons, and of the Eastern Yemishi ninety-five persons. At the same time entertainment was provided for 150 persons who came as tribute envoys from Pèkché. Caps of honour, of two grades in each case, were bestowed on nine Yemishi of Kikafu [1] and on six Yemishi of Tsugaru.[2]

8th month, 1st day. Maro, Kahabe no Omi, and others returned from Great Thang.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. There was a Palace in course of construction at Woharida which it was intended to roof with tiles. But in the recesses of the mountains and on the broad valleys, much of the timber with which it was proposed to erect the Palace buildings rotted. In the end the work was put a stop to, and no building was erected.[3]

This winter the Palace of Asuka no Itabuki [4] was burnt, and the Empress therefore removed her residence to the Palace of Asuka no Kahara.[5]

This year Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys together to offer tribute.

> The Pèkché Chief Ambassador was Talsol of the Western division, by name Yö-wi-syu; the Associate Ambassador was an Eunsol of the Eastern division, by name Tyo-sin-in. There were over one hundred persons altogether.

Yemishi and Hayato,[6] attended by a large number of followers, offered homage and came to Court with presents for the Empress.

[1] In Mutsu. [2] In Mutsu.

[3] This shows that roofing with tiles was considered an innovation. To this day the shrines of Ise have not tiled roofs.

[4] Ita-buki means shingle-roofed.

[5] This name is written with characters which mean river-bed. But kahara also means tiles, which in this connection does not seem a mere fortuitous coincidence.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 100.

Silla sent specially Mi-mu of Keup-son[1] rank as a hostage, and twelve men as skilled workmen.

Mi-mu fell ill and died.

This year was the year Kinoto U (52nd) of the Cycle.

A.D. 656. XXVI. 3. 2nd year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Koryö sent Tal-sa and others to offer tribute. [The Chief Ambassador was Talsa, and the Associate Ambassador I-li-chi. There were eighty-one persons in all.]

9th month. There were sent to Koryö, as Chief Ambassador, Hatsumi, Kashihade no Omi, and as Associate Ambassador Ihasuki, Sakahibe no Muraji, as Senior Hangwan, Shiromaro, Inugami no Kimi, as Second Class Hangwan, Kahachi no Fumi no Obito, and as Junior[3] Hangwan, Maro, Ohokura no Kinunuhi no Miyakko.

In this year a fresh site for a Palace was fixed upon at Asuka no Wokamoto.

At this time, Koryö, Pèkché and Silla together sent envoys to offer tribute. Dark purple curtains were drawn round this Palace site for them, and they were entertained there. At last the Palace buildings were erected, and the Empress removed into them. This Palace was called the later Palace of Asuka no Wokamoto.

Tamu Peak was crowned with a circular enclosure. Moreover on the summit of the Peak, close by where two tsuki trees grew, a lofty building was erected to which the name was given of the Palace of Futa-tsuki.[4] It was also called Amatsu[5] miya.

At this time public works were in favour. Navvies[6] were employed to dig a canal from the western end of Mount Kagu yama as far as the Mountain of Iso no kami. Two hundred

[1] Ninth of the seventeen grades. [2] Including artists.

[3] For Junior (小) the interlinear gloss is Sunai. Ohoi and Sunai were respectively the Japanese terms applied to Senior and Junior degrees of rank. Sunai would therefore appear to be abbreviated from sukunaki, which now means few, scanty, but which anciently meant also small, as in the case of the dwarf god Sukuna-bikona. Cf. Corean chak-eun, small. From this it would appear that the colloquial abbreviation of the termination of the adjective had already come into use when these glosses were added—ong after the time of the "Nihongi."

[4] i.e. the two tsuki trees. [5] Palace of Heaven.

Lit. "water workmen," a closely parallel expression to our "navigators" "navvies," whose original business it was to dig canals.

barges were loaded with stones from the Iso no Kami Mountain and hauled with the current to the mountain on the east of the Palace, where the stones were piled up to form a wall. The people of that day reviled the work, saying:—"This mad canal, which has wasted the labour of over 30,000 men! This wall-building, which has wasted the labour of over 70,000 men! And the timber for the Palace which has rotted![1] And the top of the mountain which has collapsed!" XXVI. 4.

Again they reviled, saying:—"May the mound built at Iso no kami break down of itself as fast as it is built!" [This abuse was probably uttered while the work was incomplete.]

A Palace was also built at Yoshino.

The Ambassadors to the Western Sea,[2] Takunaha, Saheki no Muraji, and Kunikatsu, Naniha no Kishi, of Lower Shōsen rank, with their companions returned from Pèkché and presented the Empress with a parrot.

The Palace of Wokamoto took fire.

3rd year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Two men and four women of the Land of Tukhāra[3] who had drifted to Tsukushi, said:—"We first of all drifted to the island of Amami."[4] So they were sent for by post-horses. A.D. 657.

15th day. A model of Mount Sumi[5] was constructed to the west of the Temple of Asuka-dera. Moreover the festival of All Souls[6] was held. In the evening the people from Tukhāra were entertained. [One book says, "the people of Tora."]

9th month. The Imperial Prince Arima[7] was of a deceitful disposition, and pretended insanity, etc., etc. He went to the hot baths of Muro,[8] under the pretence of treatment of disease. On his return he praised the quality of the country, saying:—"Scarce had I seen that region, when my complaint disappeared of itself," etc., etc. The Empress, hearing this, was rejoiced, and wished to go and visit it.

XXVI. 5.

This year envoys were sent to Silla with the following mes-

[1] See above, XXVI. 2. [2] China. [3] See above, XXV. 57.

[4] Now called Amami no Ohoshima, or oftener simply Ohoshima. The chief northern island of the Loochoo group.

[5] Sanskrit, Sumêru or Mêru.

[6] Urabonye, in Sanskrit Ullambana, called by Europeans the Feast of Lanterns.

[7] Son of Kōtoku Tennō. [8] In Kiï.

sage :—" We wish to send to Great Thang under the charge of your country's envoys the Buddhist priest Chitatsu, Mimŭmaya, Hashibito no Muraji, and Wakugo, Yozami no Muraji." Silla refused to grant such escort, and therefore the Buddhist priest Chitatsu and his colleagues returned.

The Ambassadors to the Western Sea, Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shō-kwa rank, and Kutsuma, Tsu no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank, returned from Pèkché. They brought presents for the Empress of one camel and two asses.

The people of Ihami said that a white fox[1] had been seen.

A.D. 658. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Kose no Tokuda no Omi, Oho-omi of the Left, died.

Summer, 4th month. Abe no Omi went on an expedition against the Yemishi in command of a fleet of 180 ships. The Yemishi of the two districts of Aita[2] and Nushiro[2] were struck with fear, and tendered their submission. Hereupon the ships were drawn up in order of battle in the bay of Aita. A Yemishi of Aita named Omuka came forward and made an oath, saying :—" It is not by reason of the arrival of the Imperial forces that we slaves carry bows and arrows, but because it is our nature to live upon animal food. If we have provided bows and arrows against the Imperial forces, may the Gods of the bay of Aita take note of it! We will serve the Government with pure hearts."

Omuka was accordingly granted the rank of Upper Shō-otsu, and local governors were established in the two districts of Nushiro and Tsugaru. Ultimately the Yemishi of Watari no Shima[3] were summoned together at the shore of Arima and a
XXVI. 6. great feast provided them, after which they were dismissed home.

5th month. A grandson of the Empress named Prince Takeru died. He was eight years of age. His remains were deposited in a temporary tomb which was raised for him over

[1] A good omen. Perhaps they expected a remission of their taxes, as was the case when a white pheasant was reported from the adjoining province of Anato.

[2] District of Akita, province of Deha. The former place is also read Agida. It is probably identical with the present Akita.

[3] By Watari no Shima, "the island of the crossing, or ferry," is no doubt meant the island of Yezo. Arima cannot be identified.

the Imaki valley. The Empress had always esteemed her grandson highly for his obedient conduct. She was therefore beside herself with grief, aud her emotion was exceeding great. Sending for the Ministers, she said :—

"After ten thousand years and a thousand autumns[1] he must be interred along with us in our own misasagi."

So she made songs, saying :—

On the Hill of Womure[2]
In Imaki—
If but a cloud
Arose, plain to be seen,
Why should I lament?

This was the first song.

I never thought
That he was young[3]
As the young grass
By the riverside whither one tracks
The deer wounded by an arrow.

This was the second song.

Like the flowing water
Of the River Asuka
Which surges as it flows,
Unceasingly
I long for him!

This was the third song.

The Empress sang these songs from time to time, and lamented bitterly.

[1] A Chinese expression for the date of the death of an Emperor.

[2] A native commentator remarks that mure is the Corean word for mountain. Womure would therefore mean little-mount. There were Corean settlers in Imaki. The modern Corean word for mountain is moi, which is, no doubt, a contraction of mure. Cf. nè (nai) for nari or nare, river. As shown by Chamberlain in his Loochooan Grammar, "T.A.S.J." XXIII. Supplement, Loochooan resembles modern Corean in dropping *r* in words where this letter is retained in Japanese. An example quoted by him is Loochooan mui, a wood, for Japanese mori. I suspect that the Loochooan mui, wood, the Japanese mori, wood, and the Corean moi, mountain, are identical roots.

The sense of the poem is that the Empress would try to console herself with the imagination that a cloud over the young Prince's tomb was his representative.

[3] He was wise beyond his years.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. More than two hundred Yemishi came to Court with presents for the Empress. The entertainment and largess to them was on a more liberal scale than usual. Two Yemishi of Kikafu received one grade of rank. Saniguna, the Senior Governor of the district of
XXVI, 7 Nushiro, was made Lower Shō-otsu [one book says was granted two steps in rank and given the superintendence of the population (register)], the Junior Governor Ubasa received the rank of Kembu, and two brave men received one grade of rank. In addition there were given to Saniguna and the others twenty cuttle-fish flags,[1] two drums, two sets of bows and arrows, and two suits of armour. Mamu, the Senior Governor of the district of Tsugaru, was granted the rank of Upper Dai-otsu, Awohiru, the Junior Governor, the rank of Lower Shō-otsu, and two brave men received a step in rank. In addition there were granted to Mamu and the others twenty cuttle-fish flags, two drums, two sets of bows and arrows, and two suits of armour. Two grades of rank were conferred on the Miyakko of the barrier of Tsukisara, and one grade on the Hangwan. Inadzumi Ohotomo no Kimi, Miyakko of the barrier of Nutari, received the rank of Lower Shō-otsu. Moreover Sanaguna,[2] Senior Governor of the district of Nushiro, was commanded by the Empress to investigate the Yemishi population and the captive population.

In this month, the Buddhist priests Chitsū and Chitatsu went by the Empress's command to Great Thang on board a Silla ship, where they received instruction from the teacher of religion,[3] Hsüan-ts'ang, on the philosophy of things without life and living beings.[4]

[1] So called because the top was in this shape.

[2] Same as Saniguna, mentioned above.

[3] Hōshi = D.D. This is the famous Buddhist priest (also called Yüan-chwan) who left China for India in A.D. 629, in fulfilment of a vow. After an absence of seventeen years he returned in A.D. 645, bringing with him 657 volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, besides numerous sacred relics. The record of his travels has been translated by Stanislas Julien under the title of "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde." Mayers, p. 290.

[4] Another work states that Chitsū went to Thang to obtain instruction respecting the Greater Vehicle (Mahâyanâ). No doubt Buddhism generally is meant by the expression in the text.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. The Empress visited the hot baths of Ki. The Empress, remembering her Imperial grandson, Prince Takeru, grieved and lamented. She exclaimed, XXVI. 8
saying :—

Though I pass over the mountains
And cross the seas
Yet can I never forget
The pleasant
Region of Imaki.

The first.

With the harbour's
Ebbing tide,
As the sea goes down,
With the darkness behind me
Leaving him, I must go—
The dear one.
My young child !
Leaving him, I must go.[1]

The second

She commanded Mari, Hada no Oho-kura no Miyakko, saying :—" Let these verses be handed down and let them not be forgotten by the world."

11th month, 3rd day. Soga no Akaye no Omi, the official who had charge during the Empress's absence, addressed the Imperial Prince Arima, saying :—" There are three faults in the Empress's administration of the affairs of Government. The first is that she builds treasuries on a great scale, wherein she collects the riches of the people. The second is that she wastes the public grain revenue in digging long canals. The third is that she loads barges with stones and transports them to be piled up into a hill." [2] The Imperial Prince Arima, recognizing Akaye's friendly disposition towards himself, was gratified, and replied, saying :—" I have only now come to an age when I am fit to bear arms."

5th day. The Imperial Prince Arima proceeded to the house of Akaye, where he went up into an upper storey, and conspired

[1] Some editions make the last three lines a distinct poem

[2] See above, XXVI. 4.

with him. A leg-rest[1] broke of itself. They both recognized that this was a bad omen, and swore to one another to proceed no further. The Imperial Prince returned home, where he was staying for the night, when at midnight Akaye sent Shibi, Mononobe no Yenowi no Muraji, in command of the labourers engaged in building the Palace, to surround the Imperial Prince Arima in his house at Ichifu, and straightway despatched a mounted courier to inform the Empress.

XXVI. 9.

Kyōsoku.

9th day. The Imperial Prince Arima, with Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, and Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, were arrested, and sent to the hot springs of Ki. His toneri Yonemaro, Nihitabe[2] no Muraji, followed him.

Thereupon the Prince Imperial in person questioned the Imperial Prince Arima, saying:—"Why didst thou plot treason?" He answered and said:—"Heaven and Akaye know. I do not at all understand."

11th day. Kuniso, Tajihi no Wosaha no Muraji, was sent to strangle the Imperial Prince Arima at the Fujishiro acclivity. On this day Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, and the toneri Yonemaro, Nihitabe no Muraji, were executed at the Fujishiro acclivity. When Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, was about to be executed, he said:—"I request that my right hand may be made a national treasure." Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, was banished to the province of Kamitsukenu,[3] and Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, to the province of Wohari.

[1] The Chinese characters mean "something inserted between the knees," in hot weather, when in bed, for coolness. A pillow is used for this purpose at Singapore, where it is called "a Dutch wife." The corresponding Chinese term means "a bamboo wife." But the Japanese interlinear gloss has oshimadzuki, something which is usually put for a sort of stool to lean the arm on when sitting on the mats, also called kyōsoku. The "Wamyōshō" has also oshimadzuki, but this word has probably a wider meaning, and includes both objects. See illustration.

[2] Or Nittabe.

[3] Now Kōdzuke.

One book says:—"The Imperial Prince Arima, with Akaye, Soga no Omi, Konoshiro,[1] Shihoya no Muraji, Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, and Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, divined the future of their treasonous conspiracy by drawing slips of paper." One book says:—"The Imperial Prince Arima said:—'First of all we will burn the Palace. Then with five hundred men for a day and two nights we will waylay (the Empress) at the harbour of Muro, and speedily with a fleet cutting off the Land of Ahaji, make as it were a prison. This can be easily accomplished.' Some one objected, saying:—'It cannot be so. For all your plans, the faculty (of carrying them out) is wanting. At the present time, Your Imperial Highness is only nineteen years of age, and has not yet attained to manhood. You must first reach manhood and then you will gain the faculty.'" Another book says:—"When the Imperial Prince Arima was plotting treason along with a judicial officer, the leg of the Imperial Prince's arm-rest broke of itself without cause, but he did not cease from conspiring, and was eventually executed." XXVI. 10.

In this year, Hirafu, Abe no Hikida no Omi, Warden of the Land of Koshi, went on an expedition against the Su-shēn.[2] He presented to the Emperor two live white bears.[3]

[1] The "Shūkai" is clearly right in thinking that 戈 of the text is a mistake for 代. The name is therefore Konoshiro, as above, and not Wohoko.

[2] See above, Vol. II. p. 58. It may be inferred from the narrative given below, XXVI. 16, that the Manchus here referred to were not resident on the mainland, but occupied a trading-post in Yezo or some of the adjoining islands.

[3] The character used here, viz. 羆, is read shiguma by the Japanese, and the description of this animal given in Yamada's dictionary and in the "Sansaidzuye" refers plainly to the Polar Bear. Dickins, in Murray's "Handbook of Japan," says that the Polar Bear is sometimes found on the shores of the Hokkaido, but it is rare. Seventy 羆 skins are mentioned below (XXVI. 15), a number which makes one suspect that the animal here referred to may be after all not the Polar Bear, but the Ursus Arctos, a large brown bear which abounds in all these northern regions from Yezo to Kamtchatka, and which is quite distinct from the much smaller black bear of the Japanese islands. It is possible, however, that the Polar Bear may have been more abundant in Yezo at this time.

The Buddhist priest Chiyu made a south-pointing chariot.[1]

South-pointing Chariot.

It was reported from the province of Idzumo:—"On the shore of the northern sea the fish are dying in heaps three feet in depth. In size they resemble the globe-fish.[2] They have the beaks of sparrows and thorny scales several inches long. The common people say that they are sparrows which have gone into the sea and become changed into fish, and give them the name of 'sparrow-fish.'"

One book says:—"In the seventh month of the sixth year, Pèkché sent Envoys with the following message to the Empress:—'Great Thang and Silla have joined their powers for an attack upon us. They have taken away as prisoners King Wichă, his Queen,[3] and the Heir to the Throne. Our Government has therefore stationed troops on the north-western frontier and repaired

XXVI. 11.

[1] i.e. a compass. For some curious learning about the compass, *vide* "The Night of the Gods," Vol. I. p. 97, by John O'Neill. Tradition says that a south-pointing chariot was made in the days of the Emperor Hoang, so that his troops might find their way surely in foggy weather. *Vide* Mayers, p. 21, where the tradition of a south-pointing chariot being made in B.C. 1110 is referred to.

[2] The Tetraodon Hyxtris, or fugu, a poisonous fish, which has the power of puffing out its belly, a kind of globe-fish. There is a pretty conflict of authority as to the fish intended by 鮐, the character here used. One Japanese dictionary gives same or shark, and hata, the terranus moara, while the interlinear gloss is yebi or prawn.

[3] The interlinear version has Koniworu for Queen, and Konikishi for Heir to the Throne. I cannot identify these with any modern Corean words.

the fortifications as an indication that the mountains and rivers are blocked.' "[1]

Moreover Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkwa rank, who had gone as Envoy to the Western Sea, returned from Pèkché and reported that Pèkché had returned after a successful expedition against Silla. At this time a horse of his own accord went round the Golden Hall[2] of a temple night and day without ceasing, and only stopping to graze.

One book says :—" This was an echo[3] of its destruction by the enemy in the year Kanoye Saru."[4]

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Empress arrived from the hot springs of Ki. A.D. 659.

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress visited Yoshino[5] and held a banquet there.

3rd day. The Empress visited Hira-ura in Afumi.

10th day. The man of Tukhāra[6] with his wife, a woman of S'râvastî, arrived.

17th day. A Mount Sumi was constructed on the river-bank east of Amakashi no Oka, and the Yemishi of Michinoku and Koshi were entertained.

[1] This entry comes in a wrong place. Pèkché's destruction took place later —in A.D. 660. *Vide* " Tongkam," VII. 25.

[2] The Hall in which the image of Buddha is enshrined. The Chinese characters for " went round " are 行 道, a term which is applicable to any religious procession. But doubtless the interlinear gloss meguri, " to go round," is right here. It is clearly a case of religious circumambulation. This term is also applied to the " orbit " of heavenly bodies.

The more usual characters for " circumambulation " are 循 環. The Sanskrit word is pradakchina, which is defined by Eitel as " the (Brahmanic and Buddhist) ceremony of circumambulating a holy object with one's right side turned to it." This practice is still kept up. Rockhill mentions it in his travels in Thibet, and during Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty of India, Lady Dufferin was on one occasion " circumambulated " by some tribesmen as a mark of the very highest respect.

[3] i.e. an omen.

[4] A.D. 660. Under this year, the " Tongkam " has the following :—" The wells in the Royal capital of Pèkché turned red as blood, multitudes of fish on the coast of the Western Sea died, so that the people could not eat them, and the waters of a river turned red like blood."

[5] A beautiful spot in Southern Yamato. See Murray's " Handbook," 3rd ed. p. 336, et seqq.

[6] See above, XXV. 57.

In this month, Abe no Omi was sent in command of 180 ships on an expedition against the Yemishi country. Abe no Omi assembled a selection of the Yemishi of the two districts of Akita and Nushiro to the number of 241 persons with 31 of
XXVI. 12. their captives, 112 Yemishi of the district of Tsugaru with 4 captives, and 20 Yemishi of Ifurisahe, in one place, feasted them and gave them presents.

Accordingly he made an offering to the Gods of that Land of a boat and silk stuffs of various colours, and proceeded to Shishiriko. Then two Yemishi of Tohiu, named Ikashima and Uhona, came forward and said:—"You ought to make Shiribeshi[1] your seat of Government." In accordance with the advice of Ikashima and his companion, a district-governor was ultimately established there, after which he (Abe no Omi) returned. The provincial governors of Michinoku and Koshi were each granted two grades of rank, while the district-governors and administrators received each one degree.

One book says:—"Hirafu, Abe no Hikida no Omi, fought with the Su-shēn, and on his return presented to the Empress forty-nine captives."

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, and Kiza, Tsumori no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, were sent on a mission to the Land of Thang. They took with them a Yemishi man and woman of Michinoku to show to the Thang Emperor.

In the writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, it is stated:—"In the reign of this Empress, Sakahibe no Ihashiki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, Tsumori no Kiza no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and others, in two ships, received orders to go on a mission to Thang of Wu.[2] In the year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji (659), the 7th month, and the 3rd day of the month, they started from the Bay of Mitsu in Naniha. On the 11th day of the 8th month, they left the Bay of Ohotsu[3] in Tsukushi. On the 13th day of the 9th month, they arrived at an island on the southern border of Pèkché. The name of the island is not
XXVI. 13. known. At four a.m. on the 14th, the two ships put out to sea in company. On the 15th day, at sunset, the ship

[1] On the west coast of Yezo.

[2] Wu is here a geographical designation.

[3] Hakata in Chikuzen.

of Ihashiki no Muraji met crosswise with a contrary wind and was driven to an island in the Southern Sea, named Erh-kia-wei, where it was destroyed by the islanders. Arima, Yamato no Aya no Wosa no Atahe, with Inadzumi, Sakahibe no Muraji, and three others, stole a ship belonging to the islanders, and embarking in it, escaped to Kwa-chow. The officials of this district sent them under escort to the capital, Loh-yang. At midnight on the 16th day, the ship of Kiza no Muraji arrived at Mount Hsu-an near Kuei-chi in the Yueh district,[1] when a north-east wind sprang up and blew with such violence that on the 23rd they reached the district of Yü-yao. The great ship on which they were embarked, with all its gear, was left behind at this place, and on the 1st day of the 11th intercalary month, they arrived at the seat of Government of the Yueh district. On the 15th they entered the capital,[2] riding on post-horses. On the 29th, travelling with all speed, they reached the Eastern capital,[3] where the Emperor had then his residence. On the 30th they had an audience of the Emperor, who inquired of them, saying:—"Is the Empress of your country in good health?" The Envoys answered respectfully:—"Her virtue is in harmony with Heaven and Earth, and she therefore naturally enjoys good health." The Emperor inquired of them:—"And the Ministers in charge of affairs—is it well with them?" The Envoys answered respectfully:—"As they enjoy the favour and esteem of our Empress, it is XXVI. 14.
well with them also." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"Is there peace within your country or not?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"The Government accords with Heaven and Earth, and therefore there is nothing untoward among the multitude." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"In what quarter is the Land of these Yemishi situated?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"It lies to the north-east." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"How many tribes of Yemishi are there?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"There are three kinds. The most distant are called Tsugaru, the next Ara-Yemishi, and the nearest

[1] Chekiang. [2] Nanking. [3] Lohyang, near Honanfu.

Nigi-Yemishi.[1] These now here are Nigi-Yemishi—they bring tribute yearly to our country's Court." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"In their country are there the five kinds of grain?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"No, they sustain life by eating flesh?" The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"Have they houses in their country?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"No, they have their dwelling under trees in the recesses of the mountains." The Emperor went on to say:—"When We look at the unusual bodily appearance of these Yemishi, it is strange in the extreme. You Envoys must have suffered greatly on your long voyage hither. Now retire and abide in your official residence. We shall meet again." On the 1st day of the 11th month the festival of the Winter Solstice was celebrated at Court. On the festival day, they again saw the Emperor. Amongst the various frontier states who attended the Court, the Japanese[2] visitors were the most distinguished. Thereafter, by reason of the confusion caused by a conflagration, the matter was neglected and not further attended to. On the 3rd day of the 12th month, Kahachi no Aya no Ohomaro, a servant of Han Chi-hung, slandered our visitors, who were found guilty by the Court of Thang, and were already condemned to banishment. Previously Chi-hung was banished to a distance of 3000 li. Among the visitors was one, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, who made representations to the Emperor in consequence of which their punishment was remitted. When everything was concluded, the Emperor decreed as follows:—"This Government has determined next year to take administrative measures in regard to the lands east of the sea,[3] and you, the visitors from Wa, may not return to the east." In the end they
XXVI. 15. were detained in the Western capital.[4] They were placed

[1] Ara and Nigi mean respectively rough and soft or gentle. The reference is to their greater or less degree of civilization. The Yezo Ainos are not mentioned.

[2] The character used is 倭, i.e. Wa, but possibly the writer meant it to be read Yamato.

[3] The campaign against Pèkché is no doubt meant.

[4] Fēng-hsiang, in the province of Shensi.

in separate seclusion; their door was closed and prohibited, and they had no liberty of movement. In such misery they passed the year. The writing of Wobito, Naniha no Kishi, says :—"The Chief Envoy to Great Thang struck on an island and was overturned.[1] The Associate Envoy had a personal audience of the Emperor and showed him some Yemishi. Upon this the Yemishi presented to the Emperor a white deer-skin, three bows, and eighty arrows."

15th day. By a decree to the Ministers, the Empress had the Urabon[2] Sutra expounded in all the Temples of the capital, and requital made to the ancestors for seven generations.

In this year, the Kuni no Miyakko of Idzumo was commanded to repair the shrine of the Itsuki[3] God.

A fox bit off the end of a creeper which a labourer of the district of Oü held in his hand, and went off with it. Moreover a dog brought in his mouth a dead man's hand and forearm and laid it in the Ifuya shrine. [Signs that the Empress was about to die.]

Again, the Koryö Envoys had a bear-skin,[4] on which they put a price of sixty pounds of floss silk. The market commissioner laughed and went away.

A Koryö painter, named Komaro,[5] on the day on which he entertained guests of his own surname in his private house, borrowed seventy official Polar bear-skins for them to sit upon. The guests were ashamed and astonished and went away.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Koryö Envoys, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite, numbering over one hundred persons, anchored in Tsukushi. A.D. 660.

3rd month. Abe no Omi was sent on an expedition with a fleet of 200 ships against the land of Su-shēn. Abe no Omi made some Yemishi of Michinoku embark on board his own ship. They arrived close to a great river.[6] Upon this over a XXVI. 16

[1] *Sic* in original. [2] Ullambana in Sanskrit.

[3] The character rendered Itsuki (with several variants) means stern, severe, and at first sight would seem a general epithet for the Gods of Idzumo. But there was a Temple of Itsuki in this province, so that the word seems to have become a proper name. The same root occurs in Itsuku-shima, the sacred island in the Inland Sea, near Hiroshima.

[4] A shiguma skin. See above, XXVI. 10.

[5] Obviously a Japanese name. [6] Perhaps the Ishikari river.

thousand Yemishi of Watari-shima[1] assembled on the sea-shore and made a camp facing the river. Two men of this camp came forward and called out hurriedly, saying:—"The Su-shēn fleet has arrived in great force and threatens to slay us. We pray, therefore, to be allowed to cross the river and to serve the Government. Abe no Omi sent a boat to go and fetch these two Yemishi, and inquired from them where the enemy were concealed and the number of their ships. The two Yemishi accordingly pointed out the place of their concealment, saying:—"There are over twenty ships." Thereupon he sent messengers to summon them, but they refused to come. Abe no Omi accordingly heaped up on the beach coloured silk stuffs, weapons, iron, etc., to excite their cupidity. The Su-shēn people thereupon drew up their fleet in order, and tying feathers to poles, raised them aloft by way of flags. They approached with equal oars and came to a pause in a shallow place. Then from one of the ships they sent forth two old men who went round the coloured silk stuffs and other articles which had been piled up, examining them closely. They then changed the single garments they had on, and each taking up one piece of cloth in his hand, went on board their ship and departed. Presently the old men came back again, took off the exchanged garments, and laying them down along with the cloth they had taken away, went on board their ship and departed.[2] Abe no Omi sent several ships to fetch them, but they refused to come, and returned to the island of Herobe. [Herobe is a separate part of Watari-shima.] After some time they asked for peace, but Abe no Omi refused altogether to listen to them. So they betook themselves to their own palisades and fought. At this time Mamukatsu, Noto no Omi, was slain by the enemy. While the battle was still going on, and was not yet fought out, the enemy, finding that they were being beaten, put to death their own wives and children.

Summer, 5th month, 8th day. The Koryö Envoy, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite arrived at the official residence of Naniha.

XXVI. 17. In this month, the officials, by order of the Empress, prepared

[1] Yezo.

[2] This passage reads like a distorted account of the "unseen trade" which was carried on in these parts up till a comparatively recent period.

one hundred raised seats [1] and one hundred Nōkesa,[2] and held a Ninwo Hanya [3] meeting.

Moreover, the Prince Imperial for the first time made a clepsydra,[4] by which he caused the people to know the hours.

Again, Abe no Hikida no Omi presented to the Empress more than fifty savages.[5]

Again, a Mount Sumi was built near the pond of Iso no

Clepsydra.

Kami, as high as a pagoda. On this occasion forty-seven men of Su-shēn were entertained.

[1] A sort of square dais from which the priests delivered their lectures.

[2] A kind of Buddhist priestly garment.

[3] Hanya is the Sanskrit Pradjña, defined by Eitel as the "highest of the six Pâramita (cardinal virtues), intelligence, the principal means of attaining to Nirvâna." The meeting was to hear the reading of the Ninwō Hanya Sutra. Ninwō means "benevolent king."

[4] *Vide* Florenz for particulars as to clepsydra.

[5] No doubt Ainos or Yemishi are meant.

Again, the people of the whole country carried arms without reason when passing to and fro on the highways. The old people of the country said:—"This perhaps denotes the destruction of the Land of Pèkché."[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Koryö Envoy, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite took their departure.

Again, the man of Tukhāra, Kendzuhashi Tatsua, desired to return to his native country, and asked for an escort officer, saying:—"I intend later to pay my respects to the Court of
XXVI. 18. the Great Country, and therefore, in token of this, I leave my wife behind. Accordingly, he took the way of the Western Sea with several tens of men.

In the "Record of the reigns of Japan,"[2] written by the Koryö priest To-hyön, it is said:—"In the seventh month, etc., Chhyun-chhyu-chi,[3] by the aid of the General-in-Chief, Su Ting-fang, caused Pèkché to be invaded and destroyed." One account says:—"Pèkché brought ruin upon itself, owing to the feminine want of principle of the Royal Consort, who arbitrarily usurped the helm of Government and slew the wise and good, thus inviting the calamity which came upon them. Ought one not to be watchful? Ought one not to be watchful?" In a note it is stated:—"Chhyun-chhyu-chi, of Silla, was unable to accomplish his wishes by the Minister Kè-kim.[4] Therefore he again served Thang, and, putting off the national garb, made a fawning appeal to the Son of Heaven, with the object of bringing disaster on a neighbouring kingdom and preparing the accomplishment of his ends."

XXVI. 19. The writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, says:—"In the year Kanoye Saru, the 8th month, Pèkché was reduced to submission. After this, on the 12th day of the 9th month, the visitors[5] were dismissed to their own country. On the 19th day they started from the Western capital. On the 16th day of the 10th month, they arrived back at the Eastern capital, and then for the first time met

[1] Which took place in this year.

[2] 日本.

[3] King of Silla. His historical name is Thè-chong.

[4] A Koryö statesman.

[5] i.e. the Japanese Envoys to Thang. See above, XXVI. 15.

Arima and his four companions. On the 1st day of the 11th month, the thirteen royal persons captured by General Su Ting-fang and his men, from the King of Pèkché down to the Crown Prince Nyung and others, with the Prime Minister Sa-chhèk, Chhyön-pok-kuk, Pyön-syöng, and others of lower rank, thirty-seven persons, making in all fifty persons, were delivered up to the Government. They were at once led before the Emperor, who spoke kindly to them and released them on the spot. On the 19th the Emperor bestowed presents,[1] and on the 24th we started from the Eastern capital."

9th month, 5th day. Pèkché sent a Talsol, the Buddhist novice,[2] Kak-chyong, and others with the following message to the Empress [one book says, "They escaped hither and gave information of their hard case"]:—"In the 7th month of this year, Silla, relying on its strength and assuming a blustering attitude, picked a quarrel with its neighbour, and drawing the Thang people into it, overturned Pèkché. Sovereign and Ministers were all captured, and scarce a living soul[3] was left."

In one book it is said:—"On the 10th day of the 7th month of the present year, Su Ting-fang, of Great Thang, drew up the fleet under his command in the harbour of Michă, while Chhyun-chhyu-chi, King of Silla, with his horse and foot occupied Mount No-syu-ri, and so they attacked Pèkché from both sides. The fighting went on for three days. Our Royal city was taken. On the 13th day of the same month, they began to demolish the Royal city. Mount No-syu-ri is on the eastern border of Pèkché." XXVI. 20.

Upon this Kwisil Pok-sin, Eunsol of the Western Division, was mightily enraged, and betook himself to Mount Im-sya-ki [one book says, "Northern Mount Im-köm-li"], while Yö Chă-chin, Eunsol of the Central Division, occupied the walled city of Kumanori[4] [one book says, "Mount To-to-ki-nyu"]. They each formed a camp and assembled the scattered troops. Their weapons had become exhausted in the previous

[1] On the Japanese Envoys.

[2] S'ramaṇêra.

[3] Lit. "a chewer of food."

[4] No doubt identical with Kumanare mentioned above, the present Ung-chön. See above, Vol. I. p. 367.

campaign, and therefore they fought with flails.[1] The Silla army was beaten, and Pèkché made booty of their arms, so that the Pèkché weapons were as efficient as ever, and Thang
XXVI. 21. did not dare to come in. Pok-sin and the others at length got together their countrymen, and with them held the Royal city. The people of the land paid honour to them, saying:—"The Minister Pok-sin! The Minister Chă-chin!" It was only Pok-sin who, by the admirable military expedients which he invented, raised up the country, which was already ruined.

Winter, 10th month. Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, sent the Minister Kwi-chi and others with a present to the Empress of over one hundred Thang prisoners. These are now the men of Thang of the two districts of Fuha and Kata-agata in the province of Mino. They also asked for troops and requested assistance. At the same time they prayed that the Prince Yö Phung-chyang[2] might be given back [one book says:—"Minister Kwi-chi is the Talsol, Chyöng-chin"], saying:—"The men of Thang, leading after them our maggot-pests,[3] came and wasted and harassed our territory. They overturned our Government and took prisoners our Sovereign and his Ministers.

King Wichă, of Pèkché, his wife Eun-ko, his son Nyung, etc., and his Ministers, viz. the Prime Minister, Chhyön Pok-kuk, Pyön-syöng, Son-teung, and others, over fifty persons in all, were captured by General Su on the 13th day of the 7th month, autumn, and sent away to the Land of Thang. This was perhaps what was denoted
XXVI. 22. by the causeless bearing of arms.[4]

Now the people of the Land of Pèkché, putting their trust afar off in the Emperor's protecting care, have assembled together anew, and formed a kingdom. We now humbly beg that we may be allowed to wait upon the Prince Phung-chyang, who was sent by Pèkché to be in attendance at the Celestial Court, and to make him the Ruler of the Country, etc., etc."

The Empress made an order, saying:—"We learn that in

[1] Or clubs. [2] See above, A.D. 631.

[3] The "maggot pest" is a kind of grub destructive to grain. But the word for pest also means "enemy." Silla is obviously intended.

[4] See above, XXVI. 17.

ancient times there have been cases of troops being asked for and assistance requested: to render help in emergencies, and to restore that which has been interrupted, is a manifestation of ordinary principles of right. The Land of Pèkché, in its extremity, has come to us and placed itself in our hands. Their own country having been brought to ruin, having nowhere to betake themselves for help and none to apply to, making spears their pillows, tasting gall,[1] and holding firmly to the hope of aid, they have come from afar and made a memorial to us. Our[2] resolution in this matter is unshakeable. We shall give separate orders to Our generals to advance at the same time by a hundred routes, and then, like gathering clouds with thunderous commotion, meeting together at Satök, to massacre the monsters, and afford relief to the sufferers. Let the proper officials supply them with everything they require, and let them be dismissed with all due ceremony, etc., etc."

Prince Phung-chyang, with his wife and children, and his uncle, Chhyung-seung, etc., were dismissed home. The actual time of their being sent off may be seen in Year VII. One book says:—"The Empress established Phung-chyang as King, and made Sè-syang his assistant. They were sent off with all due ceremony."

12th month, 24th day. The Empress proceeded to the Palace of Naniha. The Empress, in order to comply with the request of Pok-sin, thought of going to Tsukushi and thence despatching a force in aid, and she therefore went there[3] in the first place and made provision of weapons of all kinds.

This year, with a view to the invasion of Silla in the interest of Pékchè, an order was given to the province of Suruga to build a ship. When it was finished, and had been hauled as far as Womino, that ship, during the night, without cause, changed its bow for its stern. By this people knew that in the end there would be defeat.[4] XXVI. 23.

[1] To taste gall at every meal or to be always looking at gall—as the Prince of Yueh did in order not to forget his grievance against the Wu State. Giles. Gall in China does not represent bitterness, as with us, but courage.

[2] Or their. [3] To Naniha.

[4] The commentators suggest that Womino was a place in Shinano, but Shinano is an exclusively inland province, and it is not probable that a vessel destined for use in an invasion of Corea should have been dragged overland.

It was reported from the province of Shinano:—"A swarm of flies has flown in a westerly direction, crossing the Ohosaka hill. It was ten fathoms in thickness, and in height reached the azure sky." Some people gathered that this portended the defeat of the army of relief. There was a popular song which said:—

The little rice-field
Cultivated by my wife
The wild geese devour—
The wild geese of Mitowada—
The woman's rice-field
The wild geese devour:
My eldest son and I make a noise
(But still) the woman's rice-field
The wild geese devour.[1]

A.D. 661. XXVI. 24. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial ship first put to sea for the expedition against the West.

8th day. The Imperial ship arrived at the sea of Ohoku.[2] At this time the Imperial Princess Ohota-hime[3] gave birth to a daughter, to whom accordingly the name was given of the Imperial Princess Ohoku.

14th day. The Imperial ship came to an anchor at the temporary Palace of Nigitatsu no Ishiyu in the province of Iyo.

3rd month, 25th day. The Imperial ship returned to Una no Ohotsu, where the Empress occupied the temporary Palace of Ihase, the name of which the Empress altered to Nagatsu.

[1] The text of this poem is extremely corrupt and obscure, and the above interpretation is highly conjectural. I have followed pretty closely the "Shiki" version, the writer of which had before him a somewhat different text from that now given in editions of the "Nihongi." To arrive at the meaning he transposes a number of syllables, which may appear a rather violent proceeding, his idea apparently being that the original author of the poems had purposely transposed these syllables so as to render his composition unintelligible to those who had not the clue. The wild geese are the Chinese and Silla men, who, in spite of the protests of Japan, continue to lay waste the Land of Pékchè, whose weakness is alluded to by the words wife and woman. Dr. Florenz gives a detailed critical examination of the various versions of this poem.

[2] In Bizen.

[3] Daughter of Tenchi Tennō, and consort of Temmu Tennō.

Summer, 4th month. Pok-sin, of Pèkché, sent an Envoy to present a memorial requesting permission to wait upon (and bring away) their Prince Kyu-hè.

In the "Record of the reigns of Japan," written by the Priest To-hyön,[1] it is said:—"Pok-sin, of Pèkche, presented a writing in which he begged the Eastern Court to give up his Lord Kyu-hè." One book says:—"In the fourth month the Empress transferred the capital to the Palace of Asakura."

5th month, 9th day. The Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Asakura[2] no Tachibana no Hironiha.

At this time trees belonging to the Shrine[3] of Asakura were cut down and cleared away in order to build this Palace. Therefore the Gods were angry and demolished the building. Some were also struck,[4] and in consequence the Grand XXVI. 25.
Treasurer[5] and many of those in waiting took ill and died.

23rd day. Tamna,[6] for the first time, sent Prince A-pha-ki and others with tribute.

In the writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, it is stated:—"On the 25th day of the 1st month of the year Kanoto Tori (A.D. 661), we arrived at Yueh-chow on our return journey. On the 1st day of the 4th month, leaving Yueh-chow, we proceeded homewards in an easterly direction, and on the 7th arrived south of Mount Ch'êng-an-shan. On the 8th day at cock-crow we put out to sea with a south-west wind in our favour, but in mid-ocean we lost our way and tossed about, undergoing much suffering. On the 9th day at nightfall we reached the island of Tamna with great difficulty. There we induced Prince A-pha-ki and eight other natives of the island to embark with us in the Guest-ship[8] to the end that we

[1] See above, XXVI. 18.

[2] Thought to be in Chikuzen. Tachibana no Hironiha (the wide court of the orange-blossom) is probably an ornamental epithet.

[3] Shrine is used for a Shintō place of worship; temple means a Buddhist temple.

[4] By a curse from the deities.

[5] Another reading is Chief Chamberlain.

[6] Quelpaert.

[7] See above, XXVI. 19.

[8] The ship in which they had gone as visitors to China.

might present them to the Imperial Court. On the 23rd day of the 5th month, we presented them to the Imperial Court at Asakura. This was the first time that Tamna was received at Court. Moreover, the Envoys, who had been slandered by Tarushima, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, a follower of Chihung, received no gracious command.[1] These Envoys were wroth, and their anger penetrated to the Gods of High Heaven, who with a thunderbolt killed Tarushima." The men of that day said of this :—"The divine vengeance of Yamato is near."

6th month. Prince Ise died.

Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. The Empress died in the Palace of Asakura.

8th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, in attendance on the Empress's remains, returned as far as the Palace of Ihase. That evening, on the top of Mount Asakura, there was a demon[2] wearing a great hat, who looked down on the funeral proceedings. All the people uttered exclamations of wonder.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The Empress's funeral train returning, put to sea. Hereupon the Prince Imperial, having come to an anchor in the same place, was filled with grief and longing for the Empress. So he sung to himself, saying :—

XXVI. 26.

Longing as I do
For a sight of thee,
Now that I have arrived here,
Even thus do I long
Desirous of a sight of thee !

23rd day. The funeral of the Empress, returning, anchored at Naniha.

11th month, 7th day. The Empress's remains were temporarily interred at Asuka-gahara.

Mourning began on this day, and lasted for nine days.

[1] It is not clear whether the "gracious command" was that of the Emperor of China or the Empress of Japan. It appears to me that the writer is here going back to the slander of the Envoys, while in China, by another follower of Chihung (XXVI. 14), and that the gracious command, the want of which enraged them, was a courteous message from the Chinese Emperor to the Empress of Japan.

[2] Or spirit.

The "Record of the reigns of Japan" says:—"The men of Thang, Hsü Shou-yen and others, who were taken prisoners by Pok-sin, arrived in Tsukushi." One book says:—"In the year Kanoto Tori (A.D. 661), the one hundred and six Thang prisoners presented by Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, took up their abode at Harita in the province of Afumi. Under the year Kanoye Saru (A.D. 660), it is already stated that Pok-sin presented Thang prisoners. Therefore it is now explained what was done with them."

BOOK XXVII.

THE EMPEROR AME MIKOTO HIRAKASU WAKE.[1]

(*TENCHI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake was the eldest son of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka.[3] His mother was called the Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime.[4] In the fourth year of her reign, the Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime resigned the Dignity to the Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi,[5] and established the Emperor[6] as Prince Imperial. The Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi died in the tenth month of his later fifth year.[7] In the following year the Empress Dowager assumed the Imperial Dignity. She died in the seventh year of her reign, on the 24th day of the 7th month. The Prince Imperial, clad in white garments,[8] discharged the functions of government.[9]

In this month General Su, the Turkic Prince Ch'ipichiali[10] and others proceeded by two routes—land and sea—as far as
XXVII. the Koryö walled city.[11]
2. The Prince Imperial removed his residence to the Palace of

[1] Ame, heaven; mikoto, behest; hirakasu, throw open. Wake is connected with wakaki, young. It is nearly equal to our word prince.

[2] Heavenly intelligence. [3] Jomei Tennō. [4] Kōgioku Tennō.

[5] Kōtoku Tennō. [6] i.e. the present Emperor Tenchi.

[7] i.e. of the period Hakuchi, the second of the two year-periods into which his reign was divided.

[8] Mourning. Giles says "half-mourning;" but the phrase has here a more general application. Unbleached hempen cloth was probably the material.

[9] The phrase 稱 制 is rendered in the interlinear gloss by matsurigoto kikoshimesu, i.e. "attended to the Government." Giles and Williams give another explanation, which does not suit the present passage. But are not the 制 here the mourning regulations? and does not the phrase mean "announced the mourning for the Empress"?

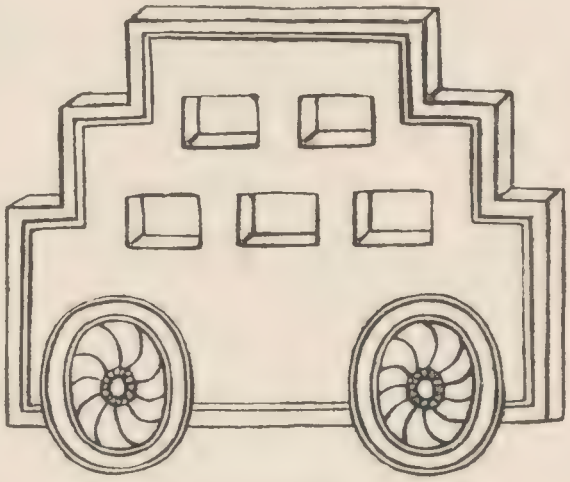
[10] Chinese pronunciation. [11] Now Phyöng-syang.

Nagatsu, where by degrees he attended to the organization of the foreign war.

In the 8th month he sent the generals of the Front Division, Adzumi no Hirafu no Muraji, of Lower Daikwa rank, and Kahabe no Momoye no Omi, of Lower Shōkwa rank, and the generals of the Rear Division, Abe no Hikeda no Hirafu no Omi, of Lower Daikwa rank, Kuma, Mononobe no Muraji, of Upper Daisen rank, and Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, of Upper Daisen rank, to the assistance of Pèkché. He also sent arms and grain.

Another book adds here :—" He sent separately Ajimasa, Sawi no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and Takutsu, Hada no Miyakko, of Lower Shōsen rank, for the protection of Pèkché."

9th month. The Prince Imperial, while having his Court at the Palace of Nagatsu, conferred a cap of woven stuff[1] on Phung-chhyang, the Pèkché Prince. Moreover he gave him to wife the younger sister of Komoshiki, Oho no Omi. He accordingly sent Ajimasa, Sawi no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and Takutsu, Hada no Miyakko, in command of a force of more than five thousand men to escort him to his own country. Now when Phung-chhyang arrived in his country, Pok-sin came to meet him, and bowing his head to the ground, delivered to him the government of the land, entrusting to him everything without exception.



Cloud-chariot.

XXVII. 3.

12th month. Information was received from Koryö that in this 12th month the cold in that country was so intense that the River Phè-kang[2] was frozen. Therefore the Thang army made an uproar with drums and gongs, cloud-chariots[3] and

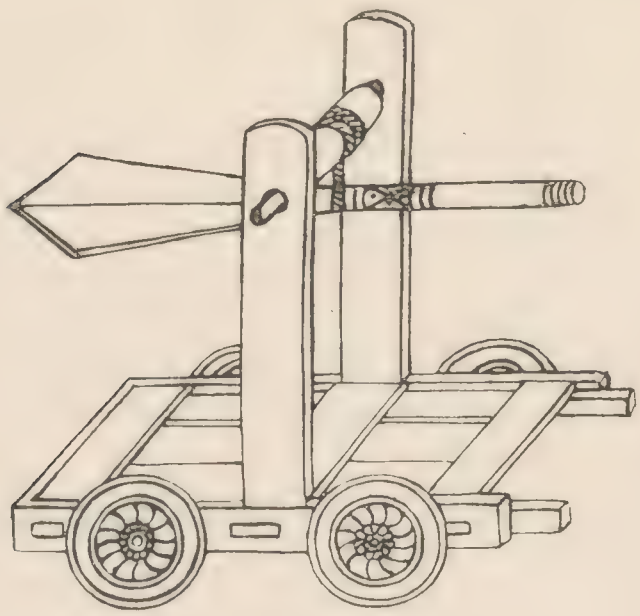
[1] See above, XXV. 41.

[2] Probably the river now known as the Thé-tong-kang.

[3] *Vide* illustration. The cloud-chariots were movable erections for overlooking the enemy's defensive works. They correspond to the *turris* of Roman warfare.

battering-engines. The Koryö troops were brave and stalwart, and therefore re-took two of the Thang forts. There were only two left, which they prepared to take by a night attack. The Thang soldiers, nursing their knees, wept aloud. But their (the Koryö men's?) arms were blunted and their strength exhausted, so that they were unable to take them.[1] If this is not a case of navel-biting[2] disgrace, what is?

The priest To-hyön says:—"To describe the intentions of Chhyun-chhyu[3]—He was really about to begin with



Battering-engine.

Koryö, and he first made it known to Pèkché. The close attack of Pèkché was exceedingly urgent and distressing, therefore it is so stated."[4]

In this year Maro, Kishida no Omi, Governor of the province of Harima, and others, presented a precious sword, saying:—"It was found in a hole in the millet-field of a man of the district of Saya."

Moreover, when the generals for assisting Koryö cast anchor at the beach of Kaphari in Pèkché, they lit a fire. The ashes became changed and formed a hole, from which there issued a

[1] The two forts above mentioned.

[2] i.e. helpless disgrace. To bite one's navel is impossible.

[3] King of Silla.

[4] All this is most unclear.

thin noise like that of a sounding arrow.[1] Some said that this was an omen of the ultimate downfall of Koryö and Pêkché.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 27th day. A grant was made to the Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, of 100,000 arrows, 500 kin of raw silk, 1000 kin of floss silk, 1000 tan of cloth, 1000 hides of leather, and 3000 koku[2] of seed-rice. A.D. 662.

3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor presented to the King of Pèkché 300 tan of cloth. XXVII. 4.

In this month the men of Thang and the men of Silla invaded Koryö. Koryö asked aid from our Government, and generals were sent, who occupied the walled city of Sonyu. Owing to this, the men of Thang were unable to conquer the southern territory, while Silla was prevented from overthrowing the fortresses to the west.

Summer, 4th month. A rat brought forth young in a horse's tail. The Buddhist priest Tohyön divined, saying:—"The men of the North are about to attach themselves to the Southern Country." Perhaps (he meant) that Koryö, being beaten, would become a vassal of Japan.

5th month. The General-in-Chief, Adzumi no Hirafu no Muraji, of Lower Daikin rank, and others, in command of a fleet of 170 ships, escorted Phung-chhyang and his people to the Land of Pèkché, where, by an Imperial edict, he was made to take up the succession to the (royal) Dignity. Moreover a golden tablet was conferred on Pok-sin, his back was stroked, and he was praised and an honorary grant made to him. At this time Phung-chhyang and his people, and also Pok-sin, received the Imperial decree with their heads bowed to the ground, so that everybody shed tears.

6th month, 28th day. Pèkché sent the Talsol, Manchi, and others to offer tribute and bring presents.

Winter, 12th month, 1st day. Phung-chhyang of Pèkché, his Minister Pok-sin, and others held counsel with Sawi no Muraji and Yechi no Takutsu, saying:—"This Chyu-yu[3] is far away from cultivated lands. The soil is unfertile, and there is no land suitable for agriculture or for the mulberry tree. It is simply a stronghold for defensive warfare. If we were to XXVII. 5.

[1] Nari-kabura. See above, Vol I. p. 87.

[2] A measure now equal to 5·13 bushels.

[3] No doubt the same place as the Sonyu above mentioned.

remain here long, the people would starve. We should remove to Phi-syöng. Phi-syöng is girt on the north and west by the Rivers Ko-nyön and Tan-kyöng, while on the south and east it is protected by deep mud and high earthworks. It is encompassed on all sides by rice-fields, to which the rain-water is drawn down by cutting canals. Its produce of flowers and fruit is the fairest of all the three Kingdoms of Corea. A source of food and clothing, it is a choice situation favoured by the two first principles.[1] It may be said that it lies low, but why should this prevent us from removing thither?" Upon this Yechi no Takutsu alone stood forward and objected, saying:—"The distance between Phi-syöng and the position occupied by the enemy can be covered in one night's march. This is extremely near. Should a surprise take place, regrets would be useless. Now starvation is a secondary matter; destruction demands our first attention. The reason why the enemy do not now rashly approach is that Chyu-yu has taken advantage of a scarped hill by which it is thoroughly well fortified. The cliffs are high and the ravines narrow. This makes it easy to defend and difficult to attack. But if we occupied the low ground, how should the country have remained undisturbed up to this day?" In the end, they refused to listen to his remonstrances and made Phi-syöng the capital.

This year, in order to assist Pèkché, arms were put in order, ships fitted out, and stores of army provisions prepared.

XXVII. 6. This year was the year Midzunoye Inu (59th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 663. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Pèkché sent the Talsol, Kim-syu, and others to offer tribute. Silla men wasted by fire four districts of the southern border of Pèkché. They also captured Antök and other strong positions. This being so, the enemy were not far from Phi-syöng,[2] and this position became therefore untenable, so they came back again and occupied Chyu-yu, in accordance with Takutsu's policy.

In this month, the Minister Pok-sin sent up (to the Emperor) Hsü Shou-yen and other Thang prisoners.

3rd month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, and Ohobuta,

[1] The Yin and Yang.

[2] I cannot identify Phi-syöng or Antök, but they must have been in the southern part of the present province of Kyöngsyangdo. The Coreans were fond of changing the names of their cities.

Hashibito no Muraji, Generals of the Front Division, Wosa, Kose no Kamusaki no Omi, and Nemaro, Miwa no Kimi, generals of the Middle Division, and Hirafu, Abe no Hikeda no Omi, and Kamatsuka,[1] Ohoyake no Omi, Generals of the Rear Division, were sent in command of 27,000 men to invade Silla.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. Inugami no Kimi, who had hurried to Koryö to give information of warlike matters, on his way back saw Kyu-hè[2] at the walled city of Syök-syöng. Kyu-hè accordingly told him of Pok-sin's guilt.

6th month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, General of the Front Division, and the others, took two cities of Silla named Sapi and Kinokang. Phung-chhyang, King of Pèkché, suspecting Pok-sin of harbouring treasonous intentions, bound him with a leathern strap passed through his palms. But he was unable to come to a decision of himself, and did not know what to do. So he inquired of his Ministers, saying:—"Pok-sin's guilt has been so and so. Shall he be beheaded, or not?" Upon this, the Talsol, Tök Chip-tök, said:—"This traitor ought not to be let off." Pok-sin forthwith spat upon Chip-tök and said:—"Thou worthless dog! Thou idiotic slave!" The King compelled his stout fellows to execute him and to put his head in pickle. XXVII. 7.

Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. Silla, taking advantage of the King of Pèkché having put to death his own good general, laid plans to enter that country direct, and first of all to capture Chyu-yu. Now Pèkché learnt the enemy's plan, and addressed his generals, saying:—"I now hear that Omi, Ihohara no Kimi, the auxiliary general of the Land of Great[3] Japan, in command of more than 10,000 stout fellows, is on the point of arriving hither by sea. I hope that you, my generals, will take such measures as are suitable in advance. I intend myself to proceed to Pèkchon and give him seasonable entertainment."

17th day. The hostile generals arrived before Chyu-yu and encompassed the Royal city. The Thang generals, in command of 170 fighting ships, drew up in line of battle in the

[1] Sickle-handle. [2] A Pèkché Prince. See above, XXVI. 24.

[3] Dai Nippon. The first instance of the use of dai, great, in this connection.

Pèkchon river.[1] The Japanese warships which first arrived engaged the Thang fleet, but had not the advantage, and therefore retired. Great Thang stood on its guard in strict order of battle.

27th day. The Japanese generals and the Pèkché King, regardless of the aspect of affairs, said to one another :—" If we struggle which shall get first, they will naturally retire of themselves." So they again led forward the routed Japanese ranks, and the troops of the Middle Division of their force, to attack the Great Thang fleet. But Thang closed upon their vessels from right and left, and engaged them from all sides. In a short space of time the Imperial force was defeated, and many fell into the water and were drowned. The ships were
XXVII. 8. unable to manœuvre either astern or ahead. Yechi no Takutsu looked up to heaven and made oaths ; he gnashed his teeth, and in his rage slew several tens of men. He then fell fighting. At this time King Phung-chhyang of Pèkché with a number of others, embarked in a ship and fled to Koryö.

9th month, 7th day. Not until now did the Pèkché city of Chyu-yu surrender to Thang. Then the people of that country said to one another :—" Chyu-yu has fallen ; there is nothing more to be done ; this day the name of Pèkché has become extinct. Shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs (of our ancestors) are ? Let us, however, repair to the city of Ho-nyé, and meet there with the Japanese generals, so as to concert with them the measures required by the circumstances." In the end the wives and children, who had from the first remained in the walled town of Chhim-pok-ki, were informed of their intention to quit the country.

11th day. They set out for Muho.

13th day. They arrived at Ho-nyé.[2]

24th day. The Japanese fleet, with the (Pèkché) Minister Yö Chă-sin, and the Talsol, Mok-so Kwi-chă, Kong-na Chin-syu, and Öng-nyé Pong-nyu, along with the people of the country, arrived at the city of Ho-nyé. The next day they
XXVII. 9. set sail, and at length bent their course towards Japan.

A.D. 664. 3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. The Emperor,[3] by

[1] I take this to be the river now called Naktong, in the south of Corea.

[2] The Interlinear Kana has Tere.

[3] He is called Prince Imperial both above and below.

orders to the Prince Imperial, his younger brother, announced an augmentation and revision of the caps denoting official rank, and also an increase in the designations of the grades, as well as matters relating to the senior members of families, their vassals and domestic retainers.

There were twenty-six grades of caps, viz. :—

Dai-shiki	(greater woven stuff)
Shō-shiki	(lesser do.)
Dai-shu	(greater embroidery)
Shō-shu	(lesser do.)
Dai-shi	(greater purple)
Shō-shi	(lesser do.)
Upper Dai-kin	(greater brocade)
Middle Dai-kin	(do.)
Lower Dai-kin	(do.)
Upper Shō-kin	(lesser brocade)
Middle Shō-kin	(do.)
Lower Shō-kin	(do.)
Upper Dai-sen	(greater mountain)
Middle Dai-sen	(do.)
Lower Dai-sen	(do.)
Upper Dai-otsu	(greater kingfisher[1])
Middle Dai-otsu	(do.)
Lower Dai-otsu	(do.)
Upper Shō-otsu	(lesser kingfisher)
Middle Shō-otsu	(do.)
Lower Shō-otsu	(do.)
Dai-ken	(greater ken)
Shō-ken	(lesser ken)[2]

These made in all twenty-six grades. The former kwa (flower) was changed to kin (brocade), and six grades were added, beginning with Kin and ending with Otsu. There was also an augmentation and alteration by which the single grade of initial rank was changed to the two grades of Daiken and Shōken. These were made different, but in all other respects the former rule was followed.

To the senior members of the great families long swords

[1] See above, XXV. 41.

[2] Ken means to set up, to establish. These two grades correspond to the Risshin or Kembu named above, XXV. 41.

were granted, and to the senior members of lesser families short swords were granted, while to the senior members of the Tomo no Miyakko, etc., shields and bows and arrows were given. Moreover, their vassals and domestic retainers were settled.

XXVII. 10. 3rd month. Prince Syön-kwang[1] of Pèkché and his people were given a residence at Naniha.

There was a star which fell north of the capital.

This spring there was an earthquake.

Summer, 5th month, 17th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) general for Pèkché, sent the Chao-san-ta-fu[2] Kuo Wu-ts'ung to present a letter-box[3] and gifts.

In this month the Oho-omi, Soga no Muraji, of Tai-shi rank, died.

One book says:—"The Oho-omi died in the intercalary fifth month."

6th month. The Empress Dowager[4] Shima died.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his companions were dismissed home. On this day the Emperor ordered Nakatomi no Naijin[5] to send the Buddhist priest Chi-sho with presents for Kuo Wu-ts'ung.

4th day.[6] An entertainment was given to Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his suite.

In this month Kè-kim, Prime Minister of Koryö, died in that country. He left dying injunctions to his children, saying:—"Ye brethren, live together in harmony, as a fish and water, and do not compete with one another for rank. If you do not so, you will surely become a laughing-stock to your neighbours."

12th month, 12th day. Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his suite took their departure.

[1] The history of Pèkché in the "Tongkam" ends with the previous King Wichă. Syön-kwang was his son.

[2] Lower fifth rank under the Thang dynasty.

[3] Of course, a box containing a letter is meant.

[4] The original might be more literally translated Empress grandmother, and this Empress was really Tenchi's grandmother, but as this term is used elsewhere simply as an honorary appellation, I prefer to render it by Empress Dowager.

[5] Viz. Kamatari Kō.

[6] This is the same date as the last. There is something wrong here.

In this month it was reported from the province of Ahaji, saying:—"In the water of a pig-trough belonging to Mu, Shinuta no Fumibito, a man of the district of Sakata, rice grew all of a sudden. Mu gathered it and put it by. Every day his wealth increased. There is a man called Oho, Ihaki no Sukuri, of the district of Kurimoto, at the head of whose bride's mattress rice grew up during her first night's stay with him and formed an ear. In the morning it bent down and ripened. The following night another ear was formed. She went out into the courtyard, when two keys fell down from heaven before her. She took them up and gave them to Oho, who from this time began to be a wealthy man." XXVII. 11

In this year guards and beacon-fires were placed in the islands of Tsushima and Iki and in the Land of Tsukushi. Moreover in Tsukushi a great embankment was constructed, and water collected. This was called a minoki or water-castle.[1]

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 25th day. The Empress Dowager Hashibito[2] died. A.D. 665.

In this month, after a comparison of the Pèkché degrees of official rank, there was granted to the Kwi-sil, Chipsă, in consideration of the eminent services of the Minister Pok-sin, the rank of Lower Shōkin. [His original rank was that of Talsol.[3]] Moreover Pèkché common people, men and women to the number of more than 400, were given residences in the district of Kanzaki, in the province of Afumi.

3rd month, 1st day. For the sake of the Empress Dowager Hashibito, 330 persons entered religion.

In this month rice-lands were granted to the Pèkché people of Kanzaki.

Autumn, 8th month. The Talsol, Tap Pon-chhyun, was sent to build a castle in the province of Nagato. XXVII. 12.

The Talsol, Öng-nyö Pong-nyu, and the Talsol, Să-pi Pok-pu,

[1] A native authority quoted in the "Shūkai" edition says:—"The embankment of the water-castle in the district of Mikasa is four ken (twenty-four feet) in height, fifteen ken in width of base, and 400 ken from east to west. The space within the embankment has been made into rice-fields."

[2] Kōtoku Tennō's wife. Empress Dowager is literally Great Consort.

[3] The Chinese characters used for this in the "Nihongi" are 達率. But, as Dr. Florenz points out, the proper characters are 大率, which in Corean are read Tèsol.

were sent to the Land of Tsukushi, where they built the two castles of Ohono and Woyogi.

Tamna sent ambassadors to the Court.

9th month, 23rd day. The Land of Thang sent Liu Tê-kao Chao-san-ta-fu,[1] Sub-prefect[2] of Ichou, and Shang-chu-kuo[3] and others.

By others is meant a General of the Right Division of the Guards, of the rank of Shang-chu-kuo, a General for Pèkché, who was a Chao-ta-fu of Chu-kuo rank, by name Kuo Wu-Ts'ung, and others, 254 persons in all. 7th month, 28th day. They arrived at Tsushima. 9th month, 20th day. They arrived at Tsukushi. 22nd day. They forwarded a letter-case.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. A great review was held at Uji.

11th month, 13th day. A banquet was given to Liu Tê-kao and the others.

12th month, 14th day. Presents were made to Liu Tê-kao and the rest.

In this month Liu Tê-kao and his people took their departure.

In this year Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, of Shōkin rank, and others were sent to Great Thang, etc., etc.

By others is meant Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Shōsen rank, and Harima, Kimi no Kishi, of Daiotsu rank. They no doubt went to escort the Thang Envoys.

A.D. 666. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Koryö sent Neung-nu, of the Former Division,[4] and others to offer tribute.

On this day Tamna sent Prince Si-yö and others to offer presents.

3rd month. The Prince Imperial went in person to the house of Saheki no Komaro no Muraji to inquire of his illness.
XXVII. 13. He lamented him on account of his loyal service from the beginning.

[1] See above, XXVII. 10. [2] Sze-ma.

[3] Upper-pillar Country. A title.

[4] There were in Koryö five Divisions. The first was the Inner or Yellow Division; the second was the Northern or After Division; the third was the Eastern or Left Division; the Fourth was the Southern or Former Division; the fifth was the Western or Right Division.

Summer, 6th month, 4th day. Neung-nu of Koryö, of the Former Division, and his people took their departure.

Autumn, 7th month. There were great floods.

This autumn the land-tax and commuted taxes were remitted.

Winter, 10th month, 26th day. Koryö sent the Minister Eul-syang[1] Öm-chhu and others to offer tribute.

The Chief Envoy, the Minister Eulsyang Öm-chhu, the Associate Envoy Tun, of the rank of Talsyang, Ya-kwang Hyön-mu, of the Second Rank, and others.

This winter the rats of the capital migrated towards Afumi.

Over 2000 Pèkché people, men and women, were settled in the East country. Without distinction of black and white,[2] they were all maintained at Government expense for three years beginning with the year Midzunoto I.[3]

Chiyu, a Buddhist priest of the Yamato no Aya, presented to the Emperor a south-pointing chariot.[4]

6th Year, Spring, 2nd month, 27th day. The Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime[5] and the Imperial Princess Hashibito[6] were buried together in the misasagi on the Hill of Wochi. On this day the Imperial granddaughter the Imperial Princess Ohota was buried in a tomb[7] in front of the misasagi. A.D. 667.

Koryö, Pèkché and Silla all made mourning along the Imperial highway.[8]

The Prince Imperial addressed the Ministers, saying:—"In obedience to the commands of the Empress Dowager and the Empress, I have compassion on the myriad people, and therefore have not undertaken the work of constructing a stone sarcophagus.[9] I trust that this may be taken as a mirror and a lesson for all time."

3rd month, 19th day. The capital was removed to Afumi.

[1] An official rank. [2] i.e. of priests and laymen. [3] A.D. 663.

[4] A compass. See above, XXVI. 10.

[5] Saimei Tennō. [6] Kōtoku Tennō's Consort.

[7] Several of the misasagi have just outside the moat circular mounds of much smaller size. These have a small moat and one or two rows of clay cylinders round them. The tomb in question is still pointed out and known as the Ishidzuka or stone mound.

[8] By which the Imperial funeral procession passed.

[9] This is the literal translation, and it is true that stone sarcophagi were used in burial. But I am disposed to think that the vault is intended. Not

XXVII. 14. At this time the common people of the Empire did not desire the removal of the capital. Many made satirical remonstrance, and there were also many popular songs. Every day and every night there were numerous conflagrations.

6th month. The district of Kadono[1] presented to the Emperor a white swallow.[2]

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. Tamna sent the Minister Chön-ma and others to offer presents.

8th month. The Prince Imperial proceeded to the Yamato capital.

Winter, 10th month. Namsèng,[3] of Koryö, the elder brother, left the city[4] for a tour in the provinces. Upon this, his two younger brothers, who remained in the city, listening to the evil speeches of the gentry and nobles associated with them, opposed him and would not allow him to enter. Hereupon Namsèng ran away to Great Thang and laid plans for the destruction of his country.

11th month, 9th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) General for Pèkché, sent the Prefect of Ungsan,[5] in the Governorship of Ungchin,[6] Szema Fats'ung, of Shang-chu-kuo rank, and others to escort Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and his companions to the Governor-General's residence in Tsukushi.[7]

13th day. Szema Fats'ung and his companions took their departure homewards. Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Lower Shōsen rank, and Moroshi, Kasa no Omi, of Lower Daiotsu rank, were made Escort Envoys.

In this month there were built the castle of Takayasu in the province of Yamato, the castle of Yashima in the district of Yamada in the province of Sanuki, and the castle[8] of Kanada in the province of Tsushima. XXVII. 15.

to make a sarcophagus would afford a very trifling relief to the people. The vault on the other hand was a very considerable work, owing to the enormous stones of which it was built.

[1] In Yamashiro. [2] A good omen. [3] He was Chief Minister.

[4] Phyöngyang, the capital, is meant. [5] Bear-hill. Bear-port.

[6] The "Tongkam" says:—"In the year 660, Thang divided the former territory of Pèkché into five provinces, viz., Ungchin, Mahan, Tongmyöng, Keumnyön and Tökan.

[7] The Dazaifu or Viceroyalty.

[8] We hear in this reign for the first time of the building of castles

Intercalary 11th month, 11th day.

Chönma and his companions received presents of 14 hiki of brocade, 19 hiki of yuhada,[1] 24 hiki of dark red stuff, 24 tan of violet cloth, 58 tan of peach-dyed stuff, 26 axes, 64 sickles, and 61 swords.

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. A.D. 668.

One book says that he assumed the Dignity in the 3rd month of the 6th year—the year Hinoto U of the Cycle.[2]

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers within the Palace.

23rd day. The Escort Envoys Hakatoko and his colleagues reported their mission.

2nd month, 23rd day. Princess Yamato bime, daughter of the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye, was appointed Empress-consort. In the end four concubines were provided. One was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha Maro, by name Wochi no Iratsume. [Some books call her Minodzuko hime.] She bore one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Ohota; XXVII. 16. the second was called the Imperial Princess Uno.[3] When she possessed the Empire she dwelt in the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka. She afterwards removed the Palace to Fujihara. The third was called the Imperial Prince Takeru. He was dumb and could not speak.

One book says:—"Wochi no Iratsume had one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Takeru; the second was called the Imperial Princess Ohota; the third was called the Imperial Princess Uno." One book says:—"The daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Maro, was named Chinu no Iratsume. She bore the Imperial Princess Ohota and the Imperial Princess Sarara."

Next there was the younger sister of Wochi no Iratsume, named Mehi no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Minabe and the Imperial Princess Abe.[4] When the

(山成). This character, which in China and Corea means a walled city, is in Japan used in a sense nearly the same as our word "castle."

[1] Silk stuff tied and then dyed, so that a pattern is produced.

[2] A.D. 667. [3] Jitō Tennō. [4] Gemmei Tennō.

Imperial Princess Abe possessed the Empire, she dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara. She afterwards removed the capital to Nara.

One book says:—"The name Sakurawi no Iratsume was given to Mehi no Iratsume."

Next there was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi Maro, named Tachibana no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Asuka, and the Imperial Princess Nittabe.

Next there was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Akaye, named Hitachi no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Yamabe.

There were also four Palace women who bore (to the Emperor) sons and daughters. One was the daughter of Wotatsu, Woshiumi no Miyakko, named Shikobuko no Iratsume. She had one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Ohoye; the second was called the Imperial Prince Kahajima; the third was called the Imperial Princess Idzumi.

XXVII. 17.

Further there was the daughter of Tokoma, Kurikuma no Obito, named Kurohime no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Momutori.

Further there was Michi no Kimi Iratsume, who was the mother of the Imperial Prince Shiki.

Further there was Yakako, Iga no Uneme, who was the mother of the Imperial Prince Iga. He subsequently received the cognomen of the Imperial Prince Ohotomo.

Summer, 4th month, 6th day. Pèkché[1] sent Mi-to-să-pu and others to offer tribute.

16th day. Mi-to-să-pu and his companions took their departure.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor hunted[2] on the Moor of Kamafu. At this time the Prince Imperial, being the Emperor's younger brother, all the Princes, the Inner Minister[3] and the other Ministers were all without exception in his train.

[1] There was no Kingdom of Pèkché at this time.

[2] Any excursion of the Emperor's was called hunting. The hunt on this occasion was no doubt for medicinal herbs (kusurigari), for which this was the appointed day.

[3] Naijin.

6th month. The Prince of Ise and the Prince his younger brother died on consecutive days. Their official rank is not clear.[1] XXVII. 18.

Autumn, 7th month. Koryö sent Envoys by way of Koshi to offer tribute. The winds and waves were high, and they were therefore unable to return.

Prince Kurikuma was appointed Governor of Tsukushi.

At this time the province of Afumi practised military exercises.

Again, pasture farms were largely provided, and horses were let loose there.

Again, the province of Koshi presented to the Emperor burning earth and burning water.[2]

Again, by the shore-pavilion,[3] fish of various kinds came, covering the water.

Again, the Yemishi were entertained.

Again, the Toneri, by Imperial command, held banquets in various places.

The people of that time said:—"Is the Emperor's life drawing to a close?"

9th month, 12th day. Silla sent Kim Tong-wön, of the rank of Sason, and others to offer tribute.

26th day. Nakatomi no Naijin sent the Buddhist priests Hōben and Shimpitsu to present a ship to the Tè-kak-u[4] Yu-sin, Prime Minister of Silla. It was delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

29th day. Mimimaro, Fuse no Omi, was sent with a present for the King of Silla of a ship for the conveyance of tribute. It was delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

Winter, 10th month. The Duke[5] of Ying, the Thang Commander-in-Chief, destroyed Koryö. When King Chyung-mu of Koryö first established that kingdom, he wished his government to last for a thousand years. His mother said:—"If thou governest the country well, thou mayst accomplish XXVII. 19.

[1] This sentence is no doubt an interpolation, as the "Shūkai" points out.

[2] No doubt coal (or peat) and crude petroleum are meant. The latter is worked at the present day in Echigo, which forms part of the ancient province of Koshi.

[3] The shore of Lake Biwa.

[4] An official rank.

[5] His name was Li Tsi. See Mayers, p. 124.

this. However, it will last for just 700 years."[1] The downfall of this kingdom at this time took place just at the end of its existence for 700 years.

11th month, 1st day. There were presented to the King of Silla 50 pieces of fine silk, 500 kin of floss silk, and 100 hides of leather. These were delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

Presents were given to Tong-wön and his companions, the value of which varied in each case.

5th day. Maro, Chimori no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank,
XXVII. 20. and Kishi no Woshibi were sent to Silla. On this day, Kim Tong-wön and his people took their departure.

In this year the Buddhist priest Dōgiō stole the Kusanagi[2] sword and escaped with it, making for Silla. But wind and rain so perplexed him on his way, that he came back again.[3]

A.D. 669. 8th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Soga no Akaye no Omi was appointed Governor of Tsukushi.

3rd month, 11th day. Tamna sent Prince Kumaki and others with tribute.[4]

18th day. A present of seed-grain was made to the King of Tamna. On this day Prince Kumaki and his people took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Emperor went hunting on the plain of Yamashina.[5] The Prince Imperial, who was the Emperor's younger brother, Fujihara no Naidaijin, and all the Ministers without exception followed in his train.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Emperor ascended the peak of Takayasu. He took counsel as to a project of repairing[6] the castle there, but in pity for the labour which it would entail on the people, he abandoned this idea, and did not go on with

[1] The "Tongkam" gives Ko Chyung-mu as the name of the founder of the Kingdom of Kokuryö. The prediction is not given in this work.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 205.

[3] This story has been considerably developed by later writers.

[4] Tamna, known to us as Quelpaert, and to modern Coreans as Ché-ju, was for a long time more or less independent of the rest of Corea. In the 13th century the inhabitants were in continual rebellion.

[5] Now a station on the railway between Kiōto and Ōtsu. See above, XXVII. 17.

[6] See above, XXVII. 14, and below, XXVII. 22.

the work. The people of that time appreciated this, and exclaimed, saying:—"This is the virtue of loving-kindness. Is it not generous?" etc., etc.

This autumn it thundered[1] in the house of Fujihara no Naidaijin.

9th month, 11th day. Silla sent the Sason, Tok-yu, and others with tribute.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor paid a visit to the house of the Naidaijin Fujihara, and made personal inquiry after his illness. His grief was exceedingly great. Accordingly he said:—"It is surely no vain saying that the way of Heaven helps goodness: nor is the principle that the accumulation of good actions redounds to happiness of no effect. If there is anything which can be done, you will inform me of it." He answered and said:—"Thy servant has been wanting in cleverness: what more is to be said? Only I trust that for my burial simple arrangements may be made. While alive I did no service for my country at war; why, then, should I impose a heavy burden on it when I am dead?" etc., etc. The wise men of that day, hearing of this, were filled with admiration, and said:—"We would humbly compare this one saying with the wise maxims of ancient sages: shall the General of the Great Tree's[2] refusal of rewards be related in the same year with it?" XXVII. 21.

15th day. The Emperor sent his younger brother, the Prince Imperial, of the Eastern Palace,[3] to the house of the Naidaijin Fujihara, to confer on him the cap of "Great Woven Stuff" and the rank of Oho-omi.[4] He also granted him a surname, and made him the House of Fujihara.[5] From this time forward he was generally known as Fujihara no Daijin.

[1] No doubt the meaning is that it was struck by lightning.

[2] Feng I. Died A.D. 34. A famous commander under Han Kwang Wu, and renowned for modesty and dislike of ostentation. From his habit of retiring to sit beneath a tree for the purpose of solitary self-communing, he was called by his soldiers the General of the Great Tree. Mayers, p. 41.

[3] The Heir to the Throne occupied the Eastern Palace, and is often spoken of by this term.

[4] Or Daijin.

[5] Fujihara is a town in Yamato, in the district of Takechi. The name is a very famous one in subsequent Japanese History. This statesman is better known as Kamatari Kō. See above.

16th day. Fujihara no Naidaijin died.

The "Nihon Seiki" says:—"The Naidaijin died at the age of fifty in his private residence. He was removed for temporary burial to the south of the mountain. Oh! cruel Heaven! that could not bring itself to leave this aged man! Alas! what sorrow!" The inscription on his tomb says that he died at the age of fifty-six.[1]

XXVII. 22.

19th day. The Emperor went to the house of Fujihara no Naidaijin, where he gave orders to Soga no Akaye no Omi, of Upper Daikin rank, and declared to him his gracious will. He accordingly bestowed on him a golden incense-burner.

12th month. There was a fire in the Treasury. This winter the Castle of Takayasu was repaired. The Land-tax of the home provinces was collected. At this time the Temple of Ikaruga was burnt.

This year Kujira,[2] Kahachi no Atahe, of Middle Shōkin rank, and others were sent on a mission to the Land of Great Thang.

Moreover, the Minister Yö Chă-sin, the Minister Kwisil Chip-să, and others, men and women, to the number of over 700 persons, were removed and settled in the district of Kamafu in the province of Afumi.

Moreover, Great Thang sent Kuo Ya-ts'ung and others, more than 2000 men.

A.D. 670. XXVII. 23.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Emperor, by command to the gentry and Daibu, held a great archery meeting within the Palace Gate.

14th day. The Emperor promulgated Court ceremonial regulations, and rules for people to give way to each other when passing along the roads.[3] He also prohibited heedless slanders and foul falsehoods.

2nd month. Registers of population were prepared. Robbers and vagabonds were suppressed.

[1] This is the first mention of such inscriptions. They were engraved on erect slabs of stone, or on wooden posts set up on the mound. None belonging to this early period have remained to our day.

[2] This personal name means "whale."

[3] In the Giseirei it is said:—"In passing along the highways, the mean should get out of the way of the noble, the young of the old, and the light of the heavy."

At this time the Emperor visited the plain of Himo in the district of Kamafu, and inspected a site for a Palace.

Moreover, the Castle of Takayasu was repaired, and stores of grain and salt collected.

Moreover, one castle was built in Nagato, and two in Tsukushi.

3rd month, 9th day. Close to Miwi,[1] on the mountain, Shintō places of worship were laid out, and offerings of cloth distributed to them. The litany was pronounced by Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji.[2]

Summer, 4th month, 30th day. After midnight a fire broke out in Hōriuji.[3] Not a single building was left.

There was great rain, with thunder.

5th month. There was a popular ditty, as follows:—

To sport by the end
Of the bridge thrown across[4] XXVII. 24.
Come forth, my boy!
To the eight-fold wooden doors
Of the house of Tamate
If thou comest forth
Thou shalt not repent it.
Come forth, my boy!
To the eight-fold wooden doors
Of the house of Tamate.[5]

6th month. Within the capital a tortoise was caught. On its back was written the character for Saru.[6] It was

[1] Where the well-known Temple of Miwidera now stands—not far from Ōtsu. Miwi means august well. It was with water from this well that the Emperors Tenchi and Temmu and the Empress Jitō were washed at birth. Hence the name.

[2] It was the province of the Nakatomi to read the *norito*, or Shintō prayers, while the Imbe laid out the offerings.

[3] The same as the Ikaruga Temple mentioned above, XXVII. 22. *Vide* "Murray's Handbook," 2nd ed. p. 394.

[4] i.e. a slight, temporary bridge.

[5] By the house of Tamate one commentator understands the Temple of Hōriuji. Another thinks the poem may, perhaps, be an advice to the Emperor Temmu to enter religion, and avoid the Imperial Dignity. To me its application is wholly obscure. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[6] The monkey, one of the years of the Duodenary Cycle. It recurred two years later, and was marked by civil disturbances, of which this was supposed to be an omen.

yellow above and black beneath,[1] and was about six inches in length.

Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, was sent to Silla.

In this year water-mills were made; and therewith iron smelted.[2]

A.D. 671. 10th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. Soga no Akaye no Omi, of Upper Daikin rank, and Kose no Hito no Omi, of Lower Daikin rank, advanced in front of the Palace and offered their congratulations on the New Year.

5th day. Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, of Upper Daikin rank, made an announcement of Kami matters.[3]

On this day the Imperial Prince Ohotomo was appointed Dajōdaijin,[4] Soga no Akaye no Omi was made Prime Minister of the Left:[5] Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji was made Prime Minister of the Right.[6] Soga no Hatayasu no Omi, Kose no
XXVII. 25. Hito no Omi, and Ki no Ushi no Omi were made Daibu of the Censorate.[7]

[1] The colours of Heaven and Earth, according to the Chinese. In this tortoise they were inverted, the yellow (Earth) being above, and the black (Heaven) beneath. This was regarded as a sign of a change of reign.

[2] The briefness of this notice is very tantalizing to any one interested in the history of Japanese metallurgy. The word for mill does not mean merely a water wheel, but something for pounding or grinding. Perhaps the trituration of the ore is intended. The character for smelt is 冶, which might also be rendered fuse. Florenz has "gesmiedet," i.e. "forged," and one Japanese dictionary has kitafu, which has the same meaning. But no such meaning is given in Giles, and as the Interlinear Kana has wakasu, "to melt," I have little doubt that smelting is intended. Evidently the writer was familiar with the process of smelting. It is the use of a mill in connection with it that is deemed worthy of record.

[3] It is not quite clear what this means—probably some kind of Shintō religious celebration.

[4] i.e. Prime Minister. The Wamiōshō gives for this the Japanese phrase, Oho-matsuri-goto no Oho-matsu-kimi, the great lord who attends to matters of the great government, but it is difficult to believe that so clumsy an expression was ever in general use. Dajōdaijin is sufficiently cumbersome.

[5] Sadaijin.

[6] Udaijin. It will be observed that the Left takes precedence of the Right.

[7] Censors, whose duty it is to keep the Emperor informed on all matters of public importance. Giles.

The Giōshi were perhaps what are now called Dainagon.

6th day. The Emperor's younger brother, the Prince Imperial, promulgated on his behalf the regulations for giving effect to the institution of cap-rank. [One book says: —"The Imperial Prince Ohotomo announced."] There was a general amnesty to the Empire.

The ceremonial and the names of the cap-ranks are fully described in the Shin-ritsu-ryō.[1]

9th day. Koryö sent Ka-ru, Tè-syang of the Upper Division, and others with tribute.

13th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) general for Pèkché, sent Li Shou-chên and others to present a memorial.

In this month the rank of Upper Daikin was conferred on the (Pèkché) Minister Yö Chă-sin and on Sathèk Syo-myöng [second official of the Department of Ceremonies], the rank of Lower Shōkin on Kwisil Chip-să [Chief of the Department of Education], the rank of Lower Daisen on the Talsol Kong-na Chin-syu [he had a military training], Mok-so Kwi-chă [he had a military training], Öng-nyé Pong-nyu[2] [had a military training], Tap-pon Chhyun-chho[3] [had a military training], Pon-il Pi-chă, Chhan Pha-ra, Kim-na, Kim-syu, [acquainted with medicine] and Kwisil Chipsin [acquainted with medicine]. The rank of Upper Shōsen was conferred on the Talsol, Tök Chyöng-syang, Kil Tè-syang [acquainted with medicine], Hö Chol-mo [thoroughly understood the five classics] and Tak Pong-mu [skilled in the Yin and Yang].[4] XXVII. 26. The rank of Lower Shōsen was conferred on the other Talsol, more than fifty persons in all.

There was a popular ditty, as follows :—

The oranges—
Each on their own branches,
Though they grow—

---

[1] New laws.

[2] These three are mentioned above, XXVII. 8, as Pèkché refugees to Japan.

[3] Apparently the same person who is called Tap Pon-chhyun above, XXVII. 12.

[4] i.e. in philosophy, divination, etc.

When strung as pearls,
Are strung on the same string.[1]

2nd month, 22nd day. Pèkché sent Tè-ku Yong-syön and others with tribute.[2]

3rd month, 3rd day. Honjitsu, Kibumi no Miyakko,[3] presented to the Emperor a water-level.

17th day. The province of Hitachi presented as tribute Nakatomibe no Wakako. He was one foot six inches in height, and was born in the year Hinoye Tatsu (656), so that he was in this year sixteen[4] years of age.

Summer, 4th month, 25th day. A clepsydra was placed in the new pavilion, and for the first time the hours were struck, and bells and drums sounded. For the first time the clepsydra
XXVII. 27. was used. This clepsydra was the one first constructed by the Emperor himself when he was Prince Imperial, etc., etc.[5]

In this month Tsukushi reported that a deer had been born with eight legs, but that it had died immediately.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor occupied the Little Western Palace. The Prince Imperial and all the Ministers attended on him at a banquet. On this occasion, rustic dances were twice performed before him.

6th month, 4th day. An announcement was made in regard to the military measures requested by the messengers from the three departments of Pèkché.[6]

15th day. Pèkché sent Yé Chin-chă and others to bring tribute.

In this month Prince Kurikuma was made Governor of Tsukushi.

Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute.

[1] The allusion is to the Coreans, who, although foreigners, received the same honours as Japanese. The Tachibana, or orange, was a foreign fruit.

[2] The "Shūkai" editor says that this was a remnant of the Pèkché Ministers.

[3] Of Corean extraction.

[4] According to the Japanese reckoning, which includes both the year of birth and the year to which the reckoning is made. We should say fifteen.

[5] See above, XXVI. 17.

[6] It appears from a passage in the "Tongkam" that in the year 673 some of the Pèkché cities still held out against the Chinese.

In addition they presented to the Emperor a water buffalo and a copper pheasant.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. Li Shou-chên of Thang and his companions and the Pèkché Envoys took their departure together.

8th month, 3rd day. Karu, Tè-syang of the Upper Division of Koryö, and his people took their departure.

18th day. An entertainment was given to the Yemishi. The Emperor took to his bed and was ill. [One book says:—"In the 8th month the Emperor took ill."]

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. Silla sent the Sason, Kim Manmol and others to bring tribute.

8th day. The ceremony of opening the eyes[1] of 100 Buddhas took place in the interior of the Palace.

In this month, the Emperor sent messengers to offer to the Buddha of Hōkōji a kesa, a golden begging-bowl, a tusk of ivory, aloes wood, sandal wood and various objects of value. XXVII. 28.

17th day. The Emperor's disease became more grave. He sent for the Prince Imperial to come into the chamber where he was lying and addressed him, saying:—"Our condition is desperate: what remains after belongs to thee," etc., etc. Hereupon the Prince Imperial with repeated obeisances declined firmly to receive (the succession), giving ill-health as his reason. He said:—"I pray thee let the mighty task be entrusted to the Empress, and let Prince Ohotomo undertake the promulgation of measures of Government. It is thy servant's request, for the Emperor's sake, to renounce the world and practise religion." The Emperor gave his consent, and the Heir to the Throne got up and bowed repeatedly. He straightway proceeded to the south of the Buddhist Hall in the interior of the Palace, and sitting upon a chair, shaved off his hair and became a priest. Upon this the Emperor sent him a present of a kesa by Sugita no Ikuiha.

19th day. The Prince Imperial visited the Emperor and asked leave to go to Yoshino and practise the religion of Buddha. The Emperor granted him permission to do so. The Prince Imperial accordingly went to Yoshino. The Ohoomi and others escorted him as far as Uji, and then returned.

11th month, 10th day. The Governor[2] of the province of

[1] Corresponding to consecration. [2] Kokushi.

Tsushima sent a messenger to the Viceroy[1] of Tsukushi, saying:—"On the day after the moon's birth these four persons, viz., the Buddhist priest Dōku,[2] Satsuyama, Tsukushi no Kimi, Sasa, Karashima no Suguri, and Iha, Nunoshi no Obito, arrived from Thang and reported that the Thang Envoys, Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his suite, numbering 600 persons, escorting
XXVII. 29. Sa-thèk Son-teung and his companions, who numbered 1400 persons, the total number being 2000, had embarked in forty-seven ships which came to an anchor together at the island of Hijishima,[3] where they said to one another:—'The ships of our people are numerous, and if they suddenly arrived thither,[4] it is to be feared that their guards would be alarmed, and engage us in a battle of archery.' So they have sent on Dōbun and others to give some notice in advance of their intention of proceeding to the court."

23rd day. The Imperial Prince Ohotomo took his place in front of the embroidery figure of Buddha in the Western Hall of the inner precinct, with Soga no Akaye no Omi, the Prime Minister of the Left, Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, the Prime Minister of the Right, Soga no Hatayasu no Omi, Kose no Hito no Omi and Ki no Ushi no Omi in attendance on him. He then took in his hands an incense-burner, and standing up first, made a vow, saying:—"We six men, with like minds, will obey the Emperor's commands. If any of us disregard them, surely he will incur punishment from Heaven," etc., etc. Upon this, Soga no Akaye no Omi, the Prime Minister of the Left, and the others took the incense-burner in their hands, and standing up in order, one after another, made a vow with tears of blood, saying:—"We, your five servants, will follow Your Highness's example and obey the Emperor's commands. If any of us should disregard them, let the Four Heavenly Kings smite him, and let the Gods of Heaven and Earth moreover
XXVII. 30. punish his offence. Let the thirty-three Devas[5] bear witness to this. May his line become extinct and his house come to certain ruin," etc., etc.[6]

[1] Dazaifu. [2] Called Dōbun below. One of these readings is an error.

[3] Not to be identified.

[4] i.e. in Japan. [5] Traiyastrims'as. *Vide* Eitel, p. 178.

[6] There is here a curious mixture of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Chinese religion. Curiously no reference is made to the Shintō Gods, although there is a notice of their official worship not many years before.

24th day. Fire broke out in the Palace of Afumi. It began from the third storehouse of the Treasury.

29th day. The five Ministers, in respectful attendance on the Imperial Prince Ohotomo, made oath in presence of the Emperor.

On this day, a present was made to the King of Silla of 50 hiki of fine silk, 50 hiki of coarse silk, 1000 kin[1] of floss silk, and 100 hides of leather.

12th month, 3rd day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Afumi.

11th day. He was temporarily interred at the New Palace.[2]

At this time there was a popular song, as follows:—

I.

For the trouts of Yoshino
In Miyoshino—
For the trouts indeed
It is well by the side of the island:
Alas! woe's me!
Here beneath the nagi plants,
Here beneath the water-parsley.
Alas! woe's me!

II.

As not even one
Has yet been loosed
Of the eight-fold cords to be loosed
By the Omi children,
The Prince's cord is loosed.

XXVII. 31.

III.

As the red horse
Plods on reluctantly
Over the plain of Makudzu,
Why any message?
Better simply to act.[3]

---

[1] Or catties. About $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. avoirdupois at the present day.

[2] The subsequent and formal burial is not mentioned. It was in a misasagi at Yamashina, a village in the district of Uji, in Yamashiro.

[3] These stanzas, or rather separate poems, are all supposed to refer to Prince Ohotomo, who, as we shall find in the next book, was obliged to fly from the capital, and ultimately strangled himself in despair. Makudzu in the

17th day. The Sason, Kim Manmol, and his companions, the tribute-envoys sent by Silla, took their departure.

This year, in the house of a man of the district of Yamada, in the province of Sanuki, there was a chicken with four legs.

Moreover, in the Imperial kitchen, there were eight pots which gave out a sound. Sometimes one pot sounded, sometimes two, and sometimes three together. Sometimes all eight sounded together.

last is, perhaps, not the name of a place, but simply "true dolichos"—the plain where the true dolichos plant grows. The nagi in No. I. is a kind of edible water-plant. The application of these poems to the political events of the day is obscure, and I see no advantage in discussing the interpretations offered by the Japanese commentators.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE EMPEROR AMA NO NUNAHARA OKI NO MABITO.[1]—PART I.

(*TEMMU TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ama no Nunahara oki no mabito was the younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake. In his childhood he was called the Imperial Prince Oho-ama.[2] From his birth he had a majestic and intelligent appearance: when he grew to manhood, he was virile and martial. He was skilled in astronomy and the art of becoming invisible. He took to him the Imperial Princess Uno, daughter of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake,[3] and made her his wife. In the first year of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, he was made Heir Apparent.[4] In the fourth year of his reign, winter, the tenth month, and the seventeenth day, the Emperor took to his sick-bed. His sufferings were very severe. Upon this he sent Yasumaro Soga no Omi to fetch the Heir Apparent, and to introduce him to the Great Hall. Now Yasumaro had been always a favourite of the Heir Apparent, and secretly taking thought for him, said:—"Think

[1] Heaven-of-marsh-middle-plain (Nunahara is the name of a place), offing-of-true-man (i.e. noble). Temmu means "Heavenly valour."

This book contains the history of the civil war which resulted in establishing Temmu Tennō on the throne. It is therefore wrongly entitled the "History of Temmu." It should rather be called the "History of Kōbun," the posthumous name by which some historians designate his predecessor, Prince Ohotomo.

The Preface to the "Kojiki" gives a highly imaginative account of the events related in this book. See Ch. K., pp. 7, 8, 9.

[2] This is not the same ama (heaven) as the previous one, but is written with the characters for "fisherman."

[3] Tenchi Tennō.

[4] Literally "Eastern Palace."

before you speak." Upon this the Heir Apparent suspected a secret plot and was cautious. When the Emperor gave him his commands and bestowed on him the vast undertaking,[1] he declined, saying:—"Thy servant has unfortunately always had bad health: how could he maintain the State? I beseech Your Majesty, bestow the entire Empire on the Empress-consort, and let the Imperial Prince Ohotomo be established as successor to the throne. I will to-day renounce the world, and it is my desire for Your Majesty's sake to perform acts of merit." The Emperor gave his consent, and on the same day he renounced the world and put on the priestly garb. He accordingly collected his private weapons and deposited them every one in the Department.

19th day. He went to the Palace of Yoshino. At this time, Soga no Akaye no Omi, Prime Minister of the Left, Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, Prime Minister of the Right, and Soga no
XXVIII. 2. Hatayasu no Omi, the Dainagon, etc., escorted him. They returned from Uji. Some one said:—"Give a tiger wings and let him go."[2] This evening he occupied the Palace of Shima.

20th day. He arrived at Yoshino and took up his abode there.[3]

At this time he assembled his toneri, and addressed them, saying:—"I am now entering religion, and will carry out its practices. Let those therefore who wish to follow my example and practise religion remain here. If any of you wish by serving the Government to gain a name, let them return and do so." But there were none who would go away.

He again assembled the toneri and addressed them as before. Upon this one half of the toneri stayed with him, and one half withdrew.

12th month. The Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake died.

A.D. 672. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 18th day. Inashiki, Adzumi no Muraji, of Inner Lesser seventh rank, was sent to Tsukushi to announce the mourning for the Emperor to Kuo Ya-ts'ung and the others. Upon this Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his people all put on

[1] The succession to the throne.

[2] A Chinese saying. "You will have to bear the consequences," is understood.

[3] The previous day's entry can only refer to his starting on the journey.

mourning and raised lament for him three times, turning towards the East and bowing their heads to the ground.

21st day. Kuo Ya-ts'ung[1] and the others with repeated obeisances offered a box with a letter and presents in token of goodwill.

Summer, 5th month, 12th day. Armour and bows and arrows were presented to Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his companions. Other presents were made to them on this day, amounting altogether to 1673 hiki of coarse silk, 2852 tan of cloth, and 666 kin of floss silk.

28th day. Koryö sent Pu Ka-pyön, of the Former Division, and others with tribute.

30th day. Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his people took their departure. XXVIII. 3.

In this month, Wogimi, Yenowi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant went alone to Mino on private business. At this time the Government[2] instructed the Governors of the two provinces of Afumi and Wohari, saying: 'Let labourers be designated in advance for the construction of a misasagi.'[3] Accordingly each man was provided with a weapon. Thy servant is of opinion that this is not on account of a misasagi, but that there surely will be trouble. If thou dost not speedily get out of the way there may be danger."

Another man said to the Emperor:—"Pickets have been stationed at various places along the way from the Afumi capital to the Yamato capital. Moreover orders have been given to the guards of the Uji bridge to intercept the conveyance of private supplies of provisions by the officers of the Household of the Heir Apparent, the Emperor's younger brother."[4] The Emperor was displeased at this, and accordingly gave orders to make investigation. Having ascertained that it was a fact, he made order, as follows:—

[1] These proceedings took place at the Court of the Emperor Kōbun, but this fact is intentionally slurred over by the historian, who chooses to ignore this Emperor's short reign as far as possible. Other authorities state that this letter from the Emperor of China was addressed—"The Emperor (Kōtei) of Great Thang respectfully inquires respecting the health of the King of Wa (倭王)." In another document of this time, however, the term 日本王, i.e. King of Japan, is used.

[2] Kōbun Tennō's Government.

[3] For the Emperor Tenchi.

[4] Styled Emperor a few lines above.

"The reason why We renounced the Dignity and retired from the world was simply in order to heal Our disease, and make whole Our body so that We might live for a hundred years. But now, if, owing to circumstances over which We have no control, We are to be exposed to calamity, why should We quietly allow the destruction of Our person?"

6th month, 22nd day. The Emperor gave orders to Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, Kimide, Wanibe no Omi, and Hiro, Muketsu no Kimi, saying:—"We are now informed that the Ministers of the Court of Afumi are plotting mischief against Us. Do ye three therefore hasten to the province of Mino and give information to Honji, Oho no Omi, the Governor of the
XXVIII. 4. hot baths of the district of Yasuhama. Explain to him the necessities of the position of affairs. Let him first of all levy the soldiers of his own district, and then by means of the Governors of provinces set on foot the troops of all kinds and quickly beset the Fuha road. We are now starting."

24th day. He was about to proceed to the East when one of his Ministers made representation to him, saying:—"Can the Afumi Ministers have no intention of conspiring? If they have, they will certainly notify it to the Empire, and the roads will in consequence become impassable. Why should we proceed to the East unarmed, without a single soldier? (If we do,) thy servant fears that our enterprise will fail of success." The Emperor followed this advice. He wished to summon back to him Woyori and the others, and therefore despatched Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, Ohotomo, Kibumi no Muraji, and Shima, Afu no Omi, to Prince Takasaka, who had charge in his absence,[1] directing them to apply to him for posting bells.[2] Accordingly he said to Yesaka and the others:—"If you cannot get the bells, let Shima come back and report to me. Let Yesaka hasten to Afumi, and summon the Imperial Princes Takechi and Ohotsu[3] to meet me in Ise." Yesaka and his companions then went to the official charged with the care of the Palace in the Emperor's absence, and putting forward the orders of the Heir Apparent,[4] asked Prince Takasaka for

[1] Of the Palace of Okamoto in Asuka, says the "Shūkai" editor.

[2] The bells conveyed a right to post-horses. See above, p. 206.

[3] Sons of Temmu Tennō.

[4] Temmu Tennō is meant. The original is literally "Eastern Palace."

posting-bells, which were refused. Then Yesaka went to Afumi, and Shima returned and reported to the Emperor, saying:—"We did not get the bells."

On this day, they started on their journey to the East Country. So great was the urgency that the Emperor did not wait to ride, but went on foot. Suddenly he fell in with a XXVIII. 5. saddle-horse belonging to Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji. The Emperor accordingly mounted him. The Empress-consort followed in a palanquin. It was not until they had gone as far as the River Tsufuri that the Emperor's carriage[1] came up, so he got into it. The original followers of the Emperor at this time were the Imperial Princes Kusakabe and Osakabe, with the toneri Wogimi, Yenowi no Muraji, Ohotomo Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, Ohome, Saheki no Muraji, Tomokuni, Ohotomo no Muraji, Ihose, Waka-zakura-be no Omi, Nemaro, Fumi no Obito, Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, Wobayashi, Yamashiro no Atahe, Yamashirobe no Woda, Chitoko, Ato no Muraji, Afumi, Mitsugi no Obito, and the like, more than twenty persons in all. There were more than ten women. The same day they arrived at Aki in Uda,[2] where XXVIII. 6. they were overtaken by Makuda, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Ohotomo, Kibumi no Muraji, from the Palace of Yoshino. At this time Mate, Hashi no Muraji, a toneri of the Department of the official rice-fields, supplied food to those who followed the Imperial carriage. Passing the village of Kammura, there were there more than twenty hunters, with Ohokuni, Yenomoto no Muraji, at their head. These were all summoned to follow the Imperial carriage. Moreover, Prince Mino was called. He forthwith came and joined the Emperor's suite. At the Town Hall of the district of Uda they were met by fifty pack-horses of the province of Ise which were carrying the rice of the hot-baths. All the rice was thrown away, and thus mounts were provided for those who were going afoot. When they reached Ohono, the sun went down, the mountains were dark, and they were unable to proceed. Accordingly they pulled down the fences of the houses of that village, by which they provided lights and so reached the district of Nabari at midnight. They set fire to the posting-station of Nabari, and made proclamation to the people of that village, saying:—"The Emperor is on his

[1] A palanquin is probably meant. [2] In Yamato

way to the East Country. Therefore let all the people flock to join him." However, not a single man would come. When they were just arriving at the River Yokogaha, a dark cloud overspread the sky to the breadth of more than ten rods. Now the Emperor wondering at this, forthwith kindled a light, and holding in his own hand the Rule,[1] divined, saying:—"This is
XXVIII. 7. an omen of the division of the Empire into two parts. However, in the end We shall probably acquire the Empire. So they hastened onwards and arrived at the district of Iga, where they set fire to the posting-station. Going round to Nakayama in Iga, they were joined by the district governors of that province in command of a body of several hundred men. At dawn they reached the plain of Tara, where a short halt was made and food partaken of. On arriving at Yamaguchi[2] in Tsumuye they were joined by the Imperial Prince Takechi, who came across by way of Kafuka. He was followed by Ohohi, Tami no Atahe, Tokotari, Akazome no Miyakko, Hiro-sumi, Ohokura no Atahe, Kunimaro, Sakanohe no Atahe, Furuichi no Kuromaro, Takeda no Ohotoko, and Abe, Ikago no Omi. They crossed Mount Miyama and arrived at Suzuka in Ise. Here Ihatoko, Miyake no Muraji, Governor of the province, with the Vice-Governor, Kobuto, Miwa no Kimi, Tarumaro,
XXVIII. 8. Tanaka no Omi, magistrate of the hot-baths,[3] Nihinomi, Takata no Obito, and others joined the Emperor at the district of Suzuka. So in the morning a body of 500 troops were despatched to block the road over the mountain of Suzuka. When they arrived at the foot of the Hill of Kahawa the sun went down, and as the Empress-consort was fatigued, her palanquin was stayed for a while until she rested. But the night closed in gloomily, and it threatened rain, so that a prolonged halt was impossible, and they proceeded on their way. Hereupon it became cold, and there was a violent thunderstorm, with rain, so that the clothing of those in the Emperor's train was drenched and they could not bear the cold. When they arrived at the Town Hall of the district of Mihe, they set

[1] An instrument used in divination. It is described as round above to represent Heaven and square below to represent the Earth.

[2] Or, "the foot of the hill of Tsumuye."

[3] A village for the supply of things needful for the Emperor's hot baths is probably meant. The hot baths above, pp. 304 and 305, are no doubt similar.

fire to one of the buildings and so warmed the shivering men. That night, at midnight, the Warden of the Barrier of Suzuka sent a messenger to the Emperor to inform him that Prince Yamabe and Prince Ishikaha had come to proffer their allegiance, and that he had therefore kept them at the Barrier. The Emperor accordingly sent Masubito, Michi no Atahe, to fetch them.

26th day. In the morning, on the bank of the River Tohogaha, in the district of Asake, he worshipped towards the Goddess Amaterasu no Ohokami.[1] At this time Masubito arrived and informed the Emperor that the men who were kept at the Barrier were not Prince Yamabe and Prince Ishikaha, but the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, who had accordingly come to join the Emperor, along with Masubito. He was followed by Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, Mitsuna, Naniha no Kishi, Oshibito, Komada no Sukuri, Yasumaro, Yamabe no Kimi, Wite, Woharida no Omi, Hasetsukabe no Shiki, Wakami, Ohokida no Kimi, Kanemi, Ne no Muraji, Urushibe no Tomose XXVIII. and their people. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced. When 9. they were just arriving at the Town Hall, Woyori came riding post, and informed the Emperor, saying:—"Three thousand Mino troops, which were despatched for the purpose, have succeeded in blocking the Fuha road." Upon this the Emperor commended Woyori's zeal. As soon as he reached the Town Hall, he sent the Imperial Prince Takechi in advance to Fuha to attend to military matters there, and sent Yamashirobe no Woda and Akafu, Ato no Muraji, to mobilize the troops of the Tōkaidō provinces. Moreover he sent Ihose, Wakasakurabe no Omi, and Mate, Hashi no Muraji, to mobilize the Tōsandō army. This day the Emperor lodged at the Town Hall of Kuhana. He stayed here, and did not proceed further.

At this time the Afumi Court heard that the Prince Imperial, the (late) Emperor's younger brother, had gone to the East Country. All the Ministers were alarmed, and the capital was in commotion. Some made their escape, with the intention of proceeding to the East Country, and others withdrew in order to conceal themselves in the mountains and

[1] The Sun Goddess, whose chief temple was, and is, in the southern part of the province of Ise.

marshes. Upon this, the Imperial Prince Ohotomo addressed the Ministers, saying:—"What measures shall we take?" One of the Ministers stood forward and said:—"If we are slow to take measures, we shall certainly be too late. The best plan is with all speed to assemble our choice cavalry and to pursue in their track."

The Imperial Prince did not take this advice, but sent Ihasuki,[1] Ina no Kimi, Kusuri, Fumi no Atahe, and Ohomaro, Wosaka no Atahe, to the East Country, and Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi, with his younger brother, Ihoye, and Hiuga, Mononobe no Obito, to the Yamato capital. Moreover, he sent Wotoko, Saheki no Muraji, to Tsukushi, and Ihate, Kusu no Omi, to the province of Kibi, all of them with orders to levy troops. He said further to Wotoko and Ihate:—"These two,
XXVIII. viz. Prince Kurikuma, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and Hiroshima,
10. Tahema no Kimi, Governor of the province of Kibi, were originally dependants of the Imperial younger brother the Heir Apparent, and I suspect them of treason. If there is any sign of disobedience, slay them forthwith." Now when Ihate arrived at the province of Kibi, on the day on which he presented his token of authority,[2] he deceived Hiroshima, and got him to ungird his sword. Ihate then drew his sword and slew him.

When Wotoko reached Tsukushi, Prince Kurikuma received his token of authority, and said to him in reply:—"The province of Tsukushi has always been a defence against the calamity of foreign raids. Were these lofty battlements and deep moats overlooking the sea meant as a protection from an internal enemy? If, in awe of this command, I should now despatch troops, this province would be left unprotected, and if troubles were suddenly to arrive unexpectedly, the State would soon be overturned. What good would it then do to put me to death a hundred times? How can I dare to disregard my duty? This is my reason for refusing to set the troops in movement hastily."

Now the two sons of Prince Kurikuma, Prince Mino and Prince Takebe, stood beside him, girt with their swords, and did not withdraw. Hereupon Wotoko grasped his sword as about to rush forward. But he feared lest on the contrary he

[1] This name means rock or stone mattock. [2] Lit. tally.

might himself see destruction, and being therefore unable to accomplish his purpose, went away empty.

Ihasuki and his companions, the couriers to the East, were approaching Fuha when Ihasuki alone, suspecting that there were troops among the mountains, fell behind, and went on at a leisurely pace. Then some ambushed soldiers came out from the mountain and intercepted Kusuri and the others. Ihasuki, seeing this, felt sure that Kusuri and his companions would be captured, so he turned and fled, barely succeeding in making his escape.

Just at this time Makuda, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, both saw that the time was unfavourable, so they pretended illness, and withdrew to their house in Yamato. Learning, however, that the successor to the throne was certainly the Prince Imperial, the (late) Emperor's younger brother, resident at Yoshino, Makuda first followed the Emperor. But Wofukehi remained behind, saying:—"I will establish my fame all at once, and it is my purpose to allay calamity." So he called to him one or two families of relations, and all the stout fellows he could find, but could only get a few tens of men. XXVIII. II.

27th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi sent a messenger to the Town Hall of Kuhana with a message for the Emperor, saying:—"It is inconvenient to carry on the Government with Your Majesty residing at a distance: I would advise that some nearer place should be occupied." That same day the Emperor proceeded to Fuha, leaving the Empress-consort behind. By the time he reached the Town Hall, Sabichi, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Governor of the province of Wohari, joined him with a force of 20,000 men. The Emperor forthwith commended him. These troops were divided, and beset the roads to various places. When he arrived at Nogami, the Imperial Prince Takechi came to meet him from Wasami, and forthwith addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Last night couriers came in haste from the Court of Afumi. I therefore laid an ambush and captured them. They are Kusuri, Fumi no Atahe, and Ohomaro, Wosaka no Atahe. When I asked them where they were going, they answered and said that they belonged to the suite of Ihasuki, Wina no Kimi, who was sent on behalf of the Prince Imperial, the Emperor's younger

brother, resident at Yoshino, to mobilize the army of the East Country. Ihasuki, however, seeing the troops burst out, had run away back again.

After this the Emperor addressed the Imperial Prince Takechi, saying :—" At the Court of Afumi there are the Ohoomi of the Right and Left, and a body of shrewd Ministers, with whom to conclude counsel. Now We have no one to advise with except young children. What is to be done ? " The Imperial Prince having bared his arms and grasped his sword, addressed the Emperor, saying :—" However numerous the Afumi Ministers may be, how shall they dare to oppose the Emperor's divine spirit ? Though thou, the Emperor, art but one, thy servant Takechi, in reliance on the spiritual help of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and requesting the Imperial orders, will put himself at the head of all the generals, and will inflict chastisement on them. Shall he meet with any resistance ? " The Emperor commended him. He took him by the hand and stroked his back, saying :—" Be prudent, and not neglectful." He accordingly presented to him a saddle-horse, and delivered to him the entire conduct of military matters. The Imperial Prince straightway returned to Wasami. Upon this the Emperor established his temporary Palace at Nogami and took up his residence there. That night there was a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain. The Emperor put up a prayer, saying :—" Ye Gods of Heaven and Earth, if ye will help Us, make the thunder and rain to cease." As soon as he had done speaking, the thunder and rain stopped.

XXVIII. 12.

28th day. The Emperor went to Wasami. He returned after having inspected the military arrangements.

29th day. The Emperor went to Wasami and issued his commands to the troops through the Imperial Prince Takechi. The Emperor then went back again to Nogami, and abode there.

On this day Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, had secret conference with Kumage, Sakanohe no Atahe, the officer in charge during absence.[1] Addressing himself to one or two of the Aya no Atahe, he said :—" I shall pretend that I am the Imperial

[1] In charge of the Palace of Okamoto during the Emperor's absence, along with Prince Takazaka.

Prince Takechi, and at the head of some tens of cavalry soldiers, will issue forth and approach the camp from the road north of the Temple of Asukadera. So do you co-operate with me secretly." Having done so, he marshalled his troops at the house of Kudara and issued forth from the South Gate.[1] In the first place he caused Kuma, Hada no Miyakko, in his waist-cloth, to mount a horse and gallop into the camp west of the Temple and say to them :—" The Imperial Prince Takechi has arrived from Fuha, followed by a numerous armed force." Hereupon Prince Takazaka, who had charge of the Palace in (the Emperor's) absence, Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi, who had been sent as a messenger to levy troops, and others repaired to the tsuki tree west of the Temple of Asukadera and encamped there. But Momotari remained at the arsenal of Woharida, where he transported arms to Afumi. Now when the soldiery in camp heard Kuma's outcry, they every one dispersed and ran away, and Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, with some tens of mounted troops arrived in hot haste. Kumage and the Atahe fraternized with him, and the soldiers also followed. So, saying that it was by command of the Imperial Prince Takechi, they sent to the arsenal of Woharida and summoned Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi. Upon this Momotari mounted his horse and came in a leisurely way. When he reached the tsuki tree west of the temple of Asukadera, there was a man who said :—" Get down from your horse." Momotari was slow in doing so, and the man took hold of his collar, dragged him to the ground, and shot him with an arrow. Then he drew his sword and smote him, so that he died. Then Ihoye, Hodzumi no Omi, and Hiuga, Mononobe no Obito, were bound, but presently released and placed amongst the troops. Prince Takazaka and Prince Wakasa were sent for and made to follow the army. When this was done, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, Woyu, Sakanohe no Atahe, Sukunamaro, Sami no Kimi, and others were sent to the Palace of Fuha to report to the Emperor what had taken place. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and accordingly appointed Wofukehi general. XXVIII. 13.

At this time Takechimaro, Miwa no Kimi, Yemishi, Kamo XXVIII. 14.

[1] Probably the official buildings of the village of Kudara. It will be remembered that Kudara is Japanese for Pèkché, the Corean kingdom.

no Kimi, and others, together with a body of valiant men, all joined the general's standard like an echo.[1] A plan was drawn up for invading Afumi, and the bravest among the troops were selected and made lieutenants, generals, and judges.[2] First of all they marched towards Nara.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Emperor sent Abemaro, Ki no Omi, Honji, Oho no Omi, Ko-ōdo,[3] Miwa no Kimi, and Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, in command of several tens of thousands of men, to cross over to Yamato by way of Mount Miyama in Ise. Moreover he sent Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, Nemaro, Fumi no Obito, Kimite, Wanibe no Omi, and Abe, Ikago no Omi, in command of several tens of thousands of men, with orders to set forth from Fuha and to proceed direct to Afumi. Fearing that these troops might be difficult to distinguish from the army of Afumi, he placed a red (mark) on their clothing. When this was done, he gave separate orders to Honji, Oho no Omi, to take 3000 men and encamp on the plain of Tara. Tarumaro, Tanaka no Omi, was sent with instructions to guard the road to Kurafu.

XXVIII 15. Now Afumi[4] ordered Prince Yamabe, Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, and Hito, Kose no Omi, to take command of several tens of thousands of men and proceed to attack Fuha. They encamped on the bank of the River Inugami.[5] Here Prince Yamabe was killed by Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, and Hito, Kose no Omi. The troubles which ensued prevented the army from advancing, and Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, returned from Inugami and stabbed himself in the throat so that he died. At this time, Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, an Afumi general, with his son Ushi and others, came and surrendered with their people. Accordingly he was granted the battle axe and halberd, and was appointed general. Forthwith he proceeded northwards to Koshi. Before this time, Afumi had sent picked troops to make a sudden incursion to the village of Tamakurabe, so Koma, Idzumo no Omi, was sent to attack them and drive them off.

[1] As the prompt result of Wofukehi's brilliant exploit.

[2] Gunkan, a term applied to military officers of high rank and experience whose duty it was to watch closely the behaviour of the troops in battle. Gubbins.

[3] Or Kobito. [4] i.e. the Court of Afumi. [5] In Afumi.

3rd day. General Wofukehi encamped on the top of Mount Narayama. Now Akamaro, Aredawo no Atahe, addressed the general, saying:—"The old capital is our headquarters. Let it be well guarded." The general took this advice and accordingly sent Akamaro and Kobito, Imbe no Obito, to guard the ancient capital.[1] Upon this, Akamaro and the others went to the ancient capital. They removed the planks of the bridges on the roads and made of them breastworks, which they set up on the highways in the neighbourhood of the capital, and so kept guard.

4th day. General Wofukehi fought a battle with Hatayasu, Ohono no Kimi, the Afumi general, at Mount Narayama. He was defeated by Hatayasu, and his men all ran away. General Wofukehi barely escaped with his life. Thereupon Hatayasu pursued him as far as Yada, where he went up and viewed the capital, but as there were breastworks set up on all the highways, he suspected an ambush, and by degrees withdrew and retreated. XXVIII. 16.

5th day. Tanabe no Wosumi, a lieutenant-general of the Afumi party, crossed Mount Kafuka and marched to Kurafu with their flags rolled up and dragging[2] their drums. At midnight, with gags in the soldiers' mouths,[3] they broke through the fortifications and suddenly entered the encampment. Accordingly, fearing that it might be difficult to distinguish between his own men and those of Tarumaro, he gave each of them the watchword "Kane."[4] Then they drew their swords and charged, when those who had not the watchword "Kane" were cut down without more ado. Upon this Tarumaro's troops were all thrown into confusion, and in this sudden emergency knew not what to do. Only Tarumaro cleverly noted the watchword, and he alone, by saying "Kane," effected his escape with difficulty.

6th day. Wosumi again advanced in order to attack the encampment on the plain of Tara. He arrived there unexpectedly. Hereupon General Honji, Oho no Omi, intercepted

[1] Saimei Tennō's Palace of Okamoto, frequently referred to above.

[2] Without beat of drum.

[3] "Chinese soldiers making a night attack are gagged with a piece of wood, fastened like a bit, to prevent talking in the ranks."—Giles.

[4] Kane, metal.

him, and pursuing him with picked troops, smote him. Wosumi alone made his escape and fled. He never came again afterwards.

7th day. Woyori and his men fought with the Afumi troops at the River Yokugaha in Okinaga and defeated them, killing their General Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji.

9th day. Woyori and his men attacked the Afumi general, Hada no Tomotari, at Mount Tokoyama, and slew him.

XXVIII. 17. On this day, Abemaro, Ki no Omi, and his colleagues, the generals for the Eastern provinces, hearing that Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, general for the Yamato capital, had been defeated by the Afumi men, divided their army and dispatched Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, at the head of more than one thousand cavalry in haste to the Yamato capital.

13th day. Woyori and his men fought a battle on the banks of the River Yasukaha, and suffered a great defeat. Ohoguchi, Kosobe no Omi, and Chishima, Hashi no Muraji, were taken prisoners.

17th day. The Kurimoto army was attacked and repulsed.

22nd day. Woyori and his men arrived at Seta. Now the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and his Ministers were encamped together west of the bridge, where they formed a great array. Their rear could not be seen. Their banners covered the plain, the dust reached to the sky: the sound of their drums and gongs could be heard for several tens of ri, their ranged crossbows were discharged confusedly, and the arrows fell like rain. Their General Chison defended it (the bridge) at the head of an advanced body of picked troops. He cut the bridge in the middle for a space of three rods,[1] and over the gap he placed a long plank. If any one attempted to cross over by this plank, it could be pulled away, and he would fall. In this way it was impossible to advance to the attack. Now, there was one daring soldier, named Waka-omi, Ohokida no Kimi. He laid aside his long spear and, donning double armour, drew his sword, suddenly rushed across the plank, and cut the rope which was fastened to it. In spite of the arrows, he entered their array. The troops were all thrown into confusion and dispersed in flight. It was not possible to prevent them. General Chison drew his sword and cut down the fugitives,

[1] Or thirty feet.

but he was unable to check the rout. Accordingly, he was himself slain near the bridge, while the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and the Oho-omi of the Right and Left narrowly escaped with their lives.

Woyori and his troops forthwith marched to the foot of the Hill of Ahadzu. On this day Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, and Koma, Idzumo no Omi, besieged the Castle of Miwo in concert, and took it. XXVIII. 18.

23rd day. Woyori and his men slew the Afumi generals Isokimi, Inukahi no Muraji, and Shihote, Hasama no Atahe, at the market-place of Ahadzu. Upon this the Imperial Prince Ohotomo fled, and not having anywhere to go to, turned and concealed himself at Yamazaki. There he strangled himself. At this time the Oho-omi of the Right and Left and all the other Ministers dispersed and were lost. There were left only Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, and one or two toneri who followed him.

Before this time General Wofukehi marched towards Nara. On the day that he reached Hiyeda, he was told by a man that a numerous force was coming from Kahachi. He accordingly sent Takara, Sakamoto no Omi, Masumi, Nagawo no Atahe, Maro, Kuragaki no Atahe, Woshibi, Tami no Atahe, and Nemaro, Hasama no Atahe, at the head of 300 soldiers, to take up a defensive position at Tatsuta. Moreover, he sent Sukunamaro, Sami no Kimi, in command of several hundred men, to encamp at Ohosaka.[1] Yemishi, Kamo no Kimi, was despatched with several hundred men to guard the Ihate road. XXVIII. 19.

On this day, Takara, Sakamoto no Omi, and his colleagues halted on the plain of Hiraishi. Hearing that the Afumi troops were occupying the Castle of Takayasu, they ascended thither. But the Afumi army, when they found that Takara and his colleagues were coming, burnt all the granaries of tax-rice, and then all dispersed and ran away. So they (Takara and his men) spent the night within the Castle. At daybreak they looked down towards the West, and saw a large army coming from the two directions of Ohotsu and Tajihi. Their flags were clearly visible. Somebody said:—"These are the troops of Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, the Afumi general. Takara

[1] Not the well-known city of that name, but a place in Yamato.

and his colleagues descended from the Castle of Takayasu, and, crossing the River Yegagaha, gave battle to Karakuni on the west side of the river. But the troops of Takara and his colleagues were few, and they were unable to maintain the defence. Before this, Oho-oto, Ki no Omi, had been sent with orders to guard the Kashikozaka road. Upon this, Takara and his colleagues retreated to Kashikozaka, and took up their position in Oho-oto's camp. At this time Shihoko, Kume no Omi, Governor of Kahachi, intending to join himself to the Fuha Palace, had assembled an army. Now, when Karakuni arrived, he secretly discovered his plans, and was about to slay Shihoko. Shihoko, finding that the matter had leaked out, committed suicide.

XXVIII. 20.

After the lapse of one day, the Afumi army arrived in great force by several roads.[1] (Takara and Oho-oto), finding that with their joint force they were unable to meet them in battle, broke up their camp and retreated.

On this day General Wofukehi was defeated by the Afumi troops and fled with only one or two mounted men. Coming to Sumizaka, he chanced to fall in with Usagi's division, which then came up. So he turned again and encamped at Kanatsunawi, where he rallied his dispersed troops. Thereupon, he heard that the Afumi army was coming by the Ohosaka road, and, leading his troops westward as far as Chimata in Tahema, gave battle to Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, by the pond of Ashi-ike.[1] Now there was a brave soldier named Kume, who, with drawn sword, rushed straight into the midst of the (enemy's) army. The cavalry advanced close upon his heels, and so the Afumi troops all took to flight. They were pursued, and a very large number slain. Upon this, the general gave orders to his army, saying:—"This war was originally undertaken, not with the object of killing the common people, but against the ring-leaders. Therefore let there be no indiscriminate slaughter." Upon this, Karakuni got separated from his army and fled alone. The general saw him from a distance, and made Kume shoot an arrow at him, but he missed, and Karakuni succeeded at last in making his escape by flight. The general then went back again to his headquarters.

Now the Eastern (Afumi) army was constantly approaching

[1] In Yamato.

in force. So the army was divided, the divisions taking up positions respectively on the Upper, Middle, and Lower roads.[1] But General Wofukehi took charge in person on the Middle road. Hereupon Isogimi, Inukahi no Muraji, the Afumi general, came up by the Middle road. He halted at Muraya, and despatched his Lieutenant-General Kujira, Ihoriwi no Miyakko, with 200 picked soldiers to attack the general's camp. At this time the troops under his standard were but few, and could offer no resistance. Now there was a slave of the Temple of Ohowidera, named Tokumaro, who, with four others, followed the army. Tokumaro and his companions, forming an advanced guard, went forward and shot their arrows, so that Kujira's army was unable to advance. XXVIII. 21.

On this day Takechimaro, Miwa no Kimi, and Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, who were stationed on the Upper road, fought with the Afumi army at the Hashi Misasagi, and greatly defeated them. Following up their victory, they also cut off the retreat of Kujira's army, upon which Kujira's men all broke and fled. Many of the common soldiers were killed. Kujira made off, mounted on a white horse, but his horse tumbled into a muddy rice-field and could make no progress. Then General Wofukehi said to a brave soldier of Kahi:—"The man on the white horse is Ihoriwi no Kujira. Hasten after him and shoot him." Upon this the brave soldier of Kahi hurried in pursuit and came up to Kujira. Kujira whipped his horse vigorously, and it succeeded in extricating itself and getting out of the mud. Then he galloped off and made his escape. The general went back again a second time to headquarters, and encamped his men there. From this time forward the Afumi troops never came again.

Before this time, when the army was at Kanatsunawi, Kome, Takechi no Agata-nushi,[2] Governor of the district of Takechi, suddenly had his mouth closed so that he could not speak. After three days, a divine inspiration came over him,

[1] "Shūkai" editor's note:—"I gather from what is stated below that the Upper road was that of the district of Shiki no Kami, the Middle road that of the district of Shiki no Shimo, and the Lower road that of the district of Takechi" (in Yamato).

[2] Here we have an example of an old territorial noble holding the office mplied by his ancestral title.

and he said:—"I am the God who dwells in the Shrine of Takechi, and my name is Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.[1] Again, 'I am the God who dwells in the Shrine of Musa, and my name is Iku-ikadzuchi[2] no Kami.' This was their revelation:—'Let offerings of horses and weapons of all kinds be made at the misasagi of the Emperor Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko.[3] Further they said:—'We stood in front and rear of the Imperial descendant and escorted him to Fuha, whence we returned. We have now again taken our stand in the midst of the Imperial army for its protection.' Further they said:—'An army is about to arrive by the Western road. Be on your guard.'" When he had done speaking, he awoke (from his trance). For this reason, therefore, Kome was sent to worship at the Imperial misasagi and to make offerings of horses and weapons. He also made offerings of cloth[4] and worshipped the gods of the Shrines of Takechi and Musa.

XXVIII. 22.

After this Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, arrived from Ohosaka. Therefore the people of that day said:—"The words of the instructions of the Gods of the two Shrines are in accordance with the fact."[5]

Moreover the Goddess of Muraya[6] said by the mouth of a priest:—"An army is now about to arrive by the middle road of my shrine. Therefore let the middle road of my shrine be blocked." Accordingly, not many days after, the army of Kujira, Ihoriwi no Miyakko, arrived by the middle road. The men of that day said:—"So the words of the teaching of the god were right." When the war was over, the Generals reported the monitions of these three gods to the Emperor, who straightway commanded that the three gods should be raised in rank[7] and worshipped accordingly.

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 76.

[2] Live-thunder. Another reading is Ikudama, live-jewel. This is not one of the eight thunder-deities enumerated as having been born from the putrefying body of the Goddess Izanami. See above, Vol. I. p. 30. Kome was apparently inspired by two gods at once.

[3] Jimmu Tennō.

[4] Nusa or mitegura, now represented by the paper gohei.

[5] Referring to the prediction that the Army of the West was approaching.

[6] Named Mifuto hime.

[7] There were three classes of shrines, Greater, Middle and Lesser. The Greater Shrines included those from the senior division of the first rank to

22nd day. When General Wofukehi had subdued the land of Yamato, he crossed the great pass[1] to Naniha, while the other lieutenant-generals, proceeding severally by three routes, marched to Yamazaki, where they encamped south of the river. General Wofukehi, at Wogohori in Naniha, sent for the Governors of all the Western provinces and made them deliver up their keys, their posting-bells,[2] and posting-tallies.

23rd day. The generals, having all met at Sasanami, sought for and arrested the Prime Ministers of the Left and Right, as well as all the criminals. XXVIII. 23.

25th day. The generals proceeded to the Palace of Fuha, and before the camp presented to the Emperor the head of the Imperial Prince Ohotomo.

8th month, 25th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was commanded to announce the verdicts on the Afumi Ministers. Eight who were found guilty of heinous offences were condemned to suffer the extreme penalty. The Udaijin Kane, Nakatomi no Muraji, was accordingly executed at Tane in Asawi.[3] On this day the Sadaijin, Akaye, Soga no Omi, the Dainagon, Hito, Kose no Omi, and their children and grandchildren, with the children of Kane, Nakatomi no Muraji, and of Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, were all sent into banishment. The others without exception were pardoned.

Before this time, Sabichi, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Governor of the province of Wohari, hid in the mountains and committed suicide. The Emperor said:—"Sabichi did good service. Why should he have committed suicide, not being guilty of any crime? Could he have been conspiring secretly?"

27th day. The Emperor gave his gracious commands to all those who had rendered good service, and bestowed on them public favour and reward.

9th month, 8th day. The Imperial car, on its return journey, stayed for the night at Kuhana in Ise.

9th day. It stayed the night at Suzuka.

the senior division of the third rank; the Middle included those from the junior division of the third rank to the junior division of the fourth rank; the Lesser included those from the senior division of the fifth rank to the junior division of the fifth rank. The lands allotted to each shrine and the offerings made to them were regulated accordingly.

[1] Ohosaka. [2] See above, p. 206. [3] In the province of Afumi.

10th day. It stayed the night at Abe.

11th day. It stayed the night at Nabari.

12th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Yamato capital and took up his residence in the Palace of Shima.

15th day. He removed his residence from the Palace of Shima to the Palace of Okamoto.

In this year a Palace was erected south of the Palace of Okamoto, and the Emperor removed his residence thither that same winter. This was called the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka.

XXVIII. 24. Winter, 11th month, 24th day. Kim Ap-sil and other Silla guests were entertained in Tsukushi. The same day presents were made them, varying in the case of each.

12th month, 4th day. All those who had rendered good service were chosen out, and higher cap-ranks conferred on them, from that of Shōsen upwards, varying according to circumstances.

15th day. A ship was given to the Silla guests.

26th day. Kim Ap-sil and his companions took their departure.

In this month Takami, Wina no Kimi, of Daishi rank, died.

BOOK XXIX.

THE EMPEROR AMA NO NUNA-HARA OKI NO MABITO.—PART II.

(*TEMMU TENNŌ.*)

2ND year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Ministers were entertained at a banquet at which sake was provided. A.D. 673.

2nd month, 27th day. The Emperor commanded the functionaries to prepare an arena, in which he assumed the Imperial Dignity at the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka. He raised his wife to the rank of Empress-consort.[1] She bore to him His Highness[2] the Imperial Prince Kusakabe. Before this he had taken to him the Empress-consort's elder sister, the Imperial Princess Ohota,[3] and made her his consort. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Ohoki, and the Imperial Prince Ohotsu. His next consort was the Imperial Princess Ohoye.[4] She gave birth to the Imperial Prince Naga, and the Imperial Prince Yuge. His next consort, the Imperial Princess Nittabe,[5] gave birth to the Imperial Prince Toneri. Moreover the Lady Higami no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi, Fujihara, bore to him the Imperial Princess Tajima. Another lady, named Ihohe no Iratsume, younger sister of Higami no Iratsume, bore to him the Imperial Prince Nittabe. Next the lady[6] Ohonu no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi Soga no Akaye, bore to him one son and two XXIX. 2.
daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Hodzumi;

[1] Afterwards Jitō Tennō.

[2] Mikoto.

[3] Daughter of Tenchi, therefore his niece.

[4] Another daughter of Tenchi Tennō.

[5] Another daughter of Tenchi Tennō.

[6] In Japanese otoji, in Sinico-Japanese fujin, a term applied to the Imperial concubines of lower rank.

the second was called the Imperial Princess Ki; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tagata. The Emperor before this had taken to him Princess Nukada no Iratsume, daughter of Prince Kagami,[1] who gave birth to the Imperial Princess Towochi. Next he took to him Amako no Iratsume, daughter of Tokuse, Munagata no Kimi, who bore to him His Highness[2] the Imperial Prince Takechi; next a daughter of Ohomaro, Shishibito no Omi, named Kaji-hime no Iratsume, who bore to him two sons and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Osakabe; the second was called the Imperial Prince Shiki; the third was called the Imperial Princess Hatsusebe; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Taki.

29th day. Cap-ranks were conferred on those who had rendered good service, varying according to circumstances.

3rd month, 17th day. The Governor of the province of Bingo caught a white pheasant in the district of Kameshi and sent it as tribute. Accordingly the forced labour due from that district was entirely remitted, and a general amnesty granted throughout the Empire.

In this month scribes were brought together who began to copy out the "Issaikio"[3] in the Temple of Kaharadera.

XXIX. 3. Summer, 4th month, 14th day. With the view of sending the Imperial Princess Ohoki to attend upon the Shrine of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, she was made to dwell in the Abstinence-palace[4] of Hatsuse. This was that she might first purify herself before she by-and-by approached the place where the Goddess was.

5th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to the Ministers of State, the Daibu, as well as to the Omi and Muraji, and also the Tomo no Miyakko, saying:—"Let those who first take service (under Government) be at the outset employed by the Ohotoneri.[5] Afterwards let them be allotted to suitable offices, selection being made according to their

[1] These and the following concubines seem to have had no special rank or position.

[2] Mikoto.

[3] The Buddhist canon or Tripitaka. A copy presented to the Bodleian Library or British Museum by a Japanese nobleman was brought to the British Legation, Tokio, in two carts.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 176, note.

[5] High Chamberlain.

capacities. Moreover, let the waiting-women who offer their services be received freely, without respect of married and unmarried, or of old and young. In selecting them for particular duties let the rules of the (female) palace officials be followed."

29th day. Sakamoto no Takara no Omi, of the Upper Daikin rank, died. In consideration of his services during the (war of) the year Midzunoye Saru,[1] the posthumous rank of Shōshi was conferred on him.[2]

Intercalary 6th month, 6th day. Sa-thèk Syo-myöng of Pèkché, of Lower Daikin rank, died. He was of a wise and intelligent nature, and in his day had a reputation for ability. The Emperor was shocked at his death, and by a special favour granted him the posthumous rank of Outer Shōshi. In addition to this he conferred on him the rank of Prime Minister[3] in his own country.

8th day. Tamna sent Princes Kumayè,[4] Tora, Uma,[5] etc., with tribute.

15th day. Silla sent Kim Seung-wön, of Han Ason rank, XXIX. 4.
Kim Chi-san, of the rank of Ason, the Tè-sya Sangsyöl and others to congratulate the Emperor on his accession to the throne. At the same time Kim Sal-yu, of Il-kil-son rank, Kim Chi-san, of Han Na-ma rank, and others were sent tc offer condolence on the decease of the late Emperor. [One book says as Tribute-Envoys.] The Escort-Envoys Kwi U-po and Chin-mo escorted Seung-wön and Sal-yu to Tsukushi.

24th day. Kwi U-po and the others were entertained at Tsukushi, and received presents varying in the case of each. They straightway returned to their country from Tsukushi.

Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. The Emperor made an order setting forth the good services rendered during the year Midzunoye Saru by Abemaro, Ki no Omi, and others, while stationed in the province of Iga, and publicly conferred on them favour and rewards.

[1] A.D. 672.

[2] The first instance of posthumous honours in Japanese history. This institution is of Chinese origin.

[3] Tè-sa-phyöng.

[4] See above, XXVII. 20, where he is called Prince Kumaki.

[5] Tora in Japanese means tiger, and Uma horse. Is it possible that the natives of Quelpaert at this time spoke a Japanese dialect? Prince Tora is mentioned below, XXIX. 18.

20th day. Koryö sent the Tè-hyöng Han-chă, Witu[1] of the Upper Division, the Tè-hyöng Syök-u of the Former Division, and others with tribute. Accordingly Silla sent Kim Ni-ik, of Han Na-ma rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.[2]

25th day. Kim Seung-wön and the other Envoys sent to congratulate the Emperor on his accession—twenty-seven guests of middle and upper rank—were summoned to the capital. Accordingly the Emperor instructed the Viceroy (of Tsukushi) to declare his wishes to the Tamna Envoys, saying:—"The Emperor has newly reduced the Empire to peace, and has only just now assumed the Imperial Dignity. For this reason he does not invite to his Court any other Envoys than those who bring congratulations, as you yourselves have observed. Moreover the weather is cold, and the waves are mountainous. To detain you longer here would be rather distressing to you than otherwise. You would therefore do well to take your departure without delay." Accordingly the King resident in that country and his Envoys, Kumayé and his colleagues, were for the first time granted the cap-rank of Upper Dai-otsu,[3] which moreover was adorned with brocade and embroidery, and corresponded to the rank of Cha-phyöng (Minister) in that country. So they returned home from Tsukushi.

9th month, 28th day. Kim Seung-wön and his colleagues were entertained at Naniha. There was a performance of music of all kinds, and they received presents varying in the case of each person.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. Kim Seung-wön took his departure.

21st day. Han-chă of Koryö, Sal-yu of Silla, and their
XXIX. 5. people, were entertained at Oho-gohori[4] in Tsukushi, and received presents varying in the case of each.

12th month, 5th day. Presents were given to all those who were in attendance on the Emperor at the feast of first-fruits,[5] viz. the Nakatomi and Imbe, with the officials of the Shintō department, the district governors of the two provinces of

[1] A title.

[2] Koryö had at this time been overthrown by China.

[3] This was apparently the rank conferred on the Envoys, that bestowed on the King not being mentioned. Cha-phyöng was a Pèkché rank.

[4] Or Ohokuni.

[5] Ohonihe.

Harima and Tamba,[1] and also to the labourers under them. A grade of cap-rank was accordingly conferred on each of the district governors.

17th day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, and Katamaro, Ki no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, were appointed Commissioners for the erection of the great Temple of Takechi [now Ohomiya no Ohodera]. Now Fukurin, the priest appointed as superintendent, declined this office on account of age, but he was not allowed to refuse.

27th day. The Buddhist Priest Gisei was made Junior Sōdzu.[2] On this day there were conjoined two additional priests as clerks. It was at this time that the practice of having four clerks first began.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. Prince Chhyang-syöng of Pèkché died. He was granted the rank of Outer Shōshi.[3] A.D. 674.

2nd month, 28th day. Abemaro, Ki no Omi, died. The Emperor was much grieved, and in consideration of his services in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru bestowed on him the rank of Daishi.

3rd month, 7th day. Ohokuni, Woshiumi no Miyakko, Governor of the province of Tsushima, reported that silver had been produced for the first time in that province, and sent some as tribute. Ohokuni was accordingly awarded the rank of Lower Shōkin. It was at this time that silver was first produced in Japan. Offerings were therefore made of it to all the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and presents of it were likewise given to the Daibu, etc., of the rank of Shōkin and above. XXIX. 6.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Wosakabe was sent to the shrine of Isonokami to brighten up the Divine precious things with oil. On the same day, the Emperor decreed, saying:—"Let all the precious things originally deposited in the Sacred Treasuries by the various Houses be returned to their descendants."

[1] Whence the rice for the ceremony was provided. See Florenz's instructive note on this passage.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 153.

[3] Chhyang-syöng was a grandson of Wi-chă, the last king of Pèkché His father took refuge in Japan on the downfall of the dynasty.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Imperial Princess Oho-ki left the Abstinence-palace of Hatsuse and proceeded to the shrine of Ise.[1]

A.D. 675. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The various students of the Department of Education, the Department of the Yin and Yang,[2] the Outer Apothecaries' Department, the woman of S'ravastī,[3] the woman of Tara, Prince Syön-kwang of Pèkché, and the Silla labourers offered presents of drugs and rarities.

2nd day. From the Imperial Princes downwards all the public functionaries presented their respects to the Emperor.

3rd day. All the public functionaries, from the initial rank upwards, presented firewood.[4]

5th day. A platform was for the first time erected from which to divine by means of the stars.[5]

7th day. A banquet was given at Court to the Ministers.

17th day. The Ministers of State, Daibu, and all the public functionaries from the initial rank upwards had an archery meeting in the Court of the Western Gate.

XXIX. 7. On this day, moreover, the province of Yamato presented an auspicious barn-door fowl, the Eastern provinces presented a white falcon, and the province of Afumi presented a white owl.[6]

23rd day. Offerings[7] (of cloth) were made at the various shrines.

2nd month, 9th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces of Yamato, Kahachi, Settsu, Yamashiro, Harima, Ahaji, Tamba, Tajima, Afumi, Wakasa, Ise, Mino, and Wohari, saying:—"Seek out in your jurisdiction men and women of the common people who can sing well, and also dwarfs and jugglers,[8] etc., and send them as tribute."

[1] See above, XXIX. 3.

[2] This Department had charge of astronomy and calendar-making, with observations on the weather.

[3] See above, XXV. 57.

[4] A regular yearly practice first mentioned here.

[5] The close association of astronomy and divination may be inferred from this.

[6] The interlinear Kana has tobi, i.e. kite.

[7] Mitegura.

[8] The word used includes jugglers, acrobats, *et hoc genus omne.*

13th day. The Imperial Princess Towochi[1] and the Imperial Princess Abe[2] proceeded to the shrine of Ise.

15th day. The Emperor decreed, saying:—"Let the serfs granted to the various Uji in the year Kinoye Ne[3] be henceforward done away with. Moreover, let the mountains, marshes, islands, bays, woods, plains, and artificial ponds granted to Princes of the Blood,[4] to Princes and to Ministers and Temples,[5] be all done away with from first to last."

19th day. The Emperor issued an edict as follows:—"Ye Ministers, functionaries, and people of the Empire, avoid the commission of offences of all kinds. If there be any who disobey this, they shall be punished according to circumstances."

23rd day. The Emperor proceeded to the Castle of Takayasu.

In this month Silla sent Prince Chhyung-wön, the Tè-kam Keup-son[6] Kim Chhaso,[7] the Tè-kam Nama Kim Thyön-chhyung, the Tyé-kam Tè-ma, Pak Muma, and the Tyé-kam Tè-sya, Kim Naksyu, to offer tribute. Their Escort-Envoys, the Nama, Kim Phungna, and the Nama, Kim Hyopok, escorted Prince Chhyung-wön as far as Tsukushi.

3rd month, 2nd day. The great God of Tosa presented a divine sword to the Emperor.[8] XXIX 8.

14th day. Kim Phungna and the others were entertained at Tsukushi. They forthwith returned home from Tsukushi.

16th day. Prince Kurikuma, of the fourth rank, was appointed Director of Military Affairs, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Upper Shōkin rank, was made Tayu.[9]

[1] Daughter of Temmu Tennō.

[2] Daughter of Tenchi Tennō, afterwards the Empress styled Gemmei Tennō.

[3] The third year of the previous reign, viz. A.D. 664.

[4] Including the brothers, sisters, and children of the Emperor; others are simply 王, i.e. kings, by which princes are meant.

[5] Temples are Buddhist temples; the word "shrine" is used in this translation for Shintō places of worship.

[6] Tēkam is the name of an office, Keupson of a rank.

[7] Another reading is Piso.

[8] One authority calls him Hito-koto-nushi no Mikoto, another says that he was Mi-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Mikoto. It is explained that the priests presented the sword at the bidding of the god.

[9] Vice-minister.

In this month Koryö sent the Tè-hyöng[1] Pok-kan, the Tè-hyöng Tamu and others with tribute. Silla sent the Keupson, Pak Keun-syu, and the Tè-na-ma, Kim Mika, to offer tribute.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. More than 2400 priests and nuns were invited to a great feast of vegetable fare.

8th day. Hiromaro, Tahema no Kimi, of Upper Shōkin rank, and Maro, Kunu no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, were forbidden by the Emperor to attend at Court.

9th day. The Emperor decreed as follows:—"In regard to lending out the tax-rice, henceforward let the circumstances of the peasants be clearly ascertained, and their condition as to poverty or wealth having been learned in advance, let them be arranged in three classes, to the lower two of which such loans may be made."

10th day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, and Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, were sent to offer prayers to the Wind-Gods at Tateno in Tatsuta.[2] Ohobuta,
XXIX. 9. Hashibito no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, and Karainu,[3] Sone no Muraji, of Middle Daisen rank, were sent to worship the Oho-imi Deity at Kahawa in Hirose.[4]

14th day. Maro, Kunu no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was convicted of offering resistance to an Imperial messenger, and stripped of all his offices and dignities.

17th day. The Emperor issued a decree to the provinces, saying:—"Henceforth the fishermen and hunters are to be restrained from making pitfalls or using spear-traps and such
XXIX. 10. like contrivances. Moreover, from the 1st day of the 4th month until the 13th day of the 9th month, let no one

[1] Tè-hyöng (great elder-brother) is an official rank, Pok-kan his name.

[2] In Yamato. This is the first of a regular series of such notices. The litany to the Wind-Gods is preserved in the "Yengishiki," and has been translated by Satow. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII. p. 416. I refrain from quotation, as the study of this treatise is indispensable to any one who is at all interested in the study of Shintō.

[3] This name means "Corean dog."

[4] In Yamato. Oho-imi means great religious abstinence. The Deity's proper name was Waka-uka-hime, i.e. the young-food-lady. For a full account of this service see Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," in the "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII. p. 412. It will be observed that neither Buddhist nor Shintō worship was neglected by this Emperor.

set fish-traps, closing the space.[1] Further, let no one eat the flesh of kine, horses, dogs, monkeys, or barn-door fowls.[2] This prohibition does not extend to other kinds of meat. Offenders against this regulation will be punished."

18th day. Prince Womi, of the third rank, was guilty of an offence and was banished to Inaba. One of his children was banished to the island of Idzu,[3] and another to the island of Chika.[4]

23rd day. A selection was made of persons possessed of accomplishments. They were granted presents, which varied in each case.

In this month Prince Chhyung-Wön of Silla arrived at Naniha.

6th month, 23rd day. Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, was ill, and was about to die. The Emperor was greatly shocked, and made an order, saying:—"Thou, Yesaka, hast devoted thyself to the public service, neglecting thy private affairs. Without sparing thy life, prompted by thy manly spirit, thou hast laboured in the great campaign. It has been my constant desire to show thee affection, and therefore, even when thou art gone, thy descendants will receive liberal rewards." He accordingly raised him to the rank of Outer Shōshi. Not many days after he died in his private dwelling.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Kunimaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Upper Shōkin rank, was sent to Silla in the capacity of Chief Envoy. Irishi, Miyake no Kishi, of Lower Shōkin rank, accompanied him as Associate Ambassador.

8th month, 1st day. Prince Kumaki, the tribute Envoy of Tamna, anchored at Tsukushi. XXIX. 11.

22nd day. There was a storm which made the sand to fly, and damaged houses.

25th day. Chhyung-wön, the ceremonies being completed, took his departure. He set sail from Naniha.

28th day. The Tribute-Envoys of the two countries, Silla

[1] Hima-sakiri. Apparently a particular kind of fish-trap is meant. The "Shūkai" editor omits this word, considering it a gloss which has crept in from the margin.

[2] Buddhist influence is obvious here.

[3] Probably Ohoshima (called by foreigners Vries Island) is meant.

[4] In Hizen.

and Koryö, were entertained in Tsukushi, and given presents which varied in each case.

9th month, 27th day. Prince Ko-yö of Tamna arrived at Naniha.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Messengers were despatched in all directions to seek for the Issaikio.[1]

10th day. The Ministers were entertained at a banquet with sake.

16th day. Thirty men of Thang were forwarded as tribute from Tsukushi. They were forthwith sent to the province of Tōtōmi and settled there.[2]

20th day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"Let everyone, from the Princes down to those of initial rank, provide himself with weapons." On this day there was a report received from the province of Sagami that in the district of Takakura a woman had given birth to three male children.[3]

11th month, 3rd day. A certain man ascended the hill east of the Palace, and having uttered words of evil omen,[4] cut his throat and died. Those who were on duty on that night received everyone a step in rank. There was a great earthquake in this month.

A.D. 676. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Ministers and public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

4th day. There were granted to all, from the Imperial Prince Takechi down to the Daibu of Shōkin rank, upper garments, trousers, lined garments, girdles, garters, staffs, and arm-rests.[5] But to the three grades of Shōkin rank arm-rests were not granted.

XXIX. 12. 7th day. Grants were made to the Daibu of Shōkin rank and upwards, varying in each case.

15th day. The functionaries from the initial rank upwards presented firewood. On the same day they all assembled in the Court, and were entertained at a banquet.

[1] See above, XXIX. 2.

[2] The Chinese were at war with Silla at this time.

[3] No stigma seems to have been attached to this. On the contrary, there are instances of the Emperor giving presents to women who had borne a multiplicity of children.

[4] No doubt abusive language towards the Emperor is meant.

[5] See above, p. 256.

16th day. Prizes were offered for archery in the Court of the Western Gate. Those who hit the target received prizes of values which varied according to circumstances.

On this day, the Emperor occupied the Palace of Shima, and gave a banquet there.

25th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"In all cases of appointments as Governors of provinces, let men of not higher than Daisen rank be appointed. This rule does not apply to the Home provinces nor to the provinces of Michinoku and Nagato."

2nd month, 24th day. A ship was presented to the Tamna guests.

In the course of this month, Kunimaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, and his colleagues arrived from Silla.

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.[1]

Adzumi no Hoshi, of the district of Lower Sofu, in the province of Yamato, sent tribute of an auspicious cock which had a comb like the flower of a camellia.

On this day a report was received from the district of Akunami, in the province of Yamato, that a hen had become changed into a cock.[2]

14th day. A decree was issued to all the Princes and Ministers, saying:—"Let those who are in receipt of taxes from fiefs cease to receive them from the Western provinces, and let them be granted revenues from the Eastern provinces XXIX. 13.
in exchange. Moreover, let all persons from the outer[3] provinces who wish to enter our service be permitted to do so, whether they be the sons of Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, or even the sons of Kuni no Miyakko. Further, let men of distinguished ability be allowed to do so, even though they are of the common people, of lower rank than the above."

22nd day. The Emperor gave orders to the Governor of the province of Mino, saying:—"Let the children of Abemaro, Ki no Omi, resident in the district of Toki, be

[1] See above, XXIX. 9.

[2] Ominous occurrences of this kind are frequently recorded in Chinese and Corean history.

[3] All except the Gokinai or Home provinces.

removed to the East country and become peasants of that country."

5th month, 3rd day. A decree was promulgated respecting the offences of Governors of provinces who had failed to pay over their commuted taxes at the limited time,[1] etc., etc.

7th day. The Governor of the province of Shimotsuke represented to the Emperor that, owing to a bad year, the peasantry in his domain were starving and wished to sell their children. The Court refused permission.

In the course of this month the Emperor forbade the cutting of grass or firewood on Mount Minabuchi and Mount Hosokaha. Moreover, indiscriminate burning and cutting were forbidden on all mountains and plains in the Home provinces as to which a prohibition had always existed.

6th month. Prince Kurikuma, of the fourth rank, died of disease.

Mononobe no Wogimi no Muraji took suddenly ill and died. When the Emperor heard this he was greatly shocked. In the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he had followed the Imperial carriage to the East country. In consideration of his great services the Emperor showed him favour by conferring on him the rank of Inner Daishi. He also granted him the seniority among those of his House.[2]

This summer there was great drought. Messengers were sent to all quarters to make offerings of cloth and to pray to all the gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover, the priests and nuns were invited to offer supplications to the Three Precious Things. Still there was no rain, and therefore the five grains did not grow, and the peasants were starving.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Ministers, Daibu and
XXIX. 14. public functionaries received an increase of rank, each according to his deserts.

8th day. The Tamna guests returned to their own country.

16th day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.

[1] The taxes (not the grain tax) due in the middle decade of the 8th month were payable into the exchequer, for near provinces before the end of the 10th month, for provinces of medium distance before the end of the 11th month, for more distant provinces before the end of the 12th month.

[2] Uji.

In the course of this month, Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, died. In consideration of the services rendered by him in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Outer Shōshi.

A star appeared in the East, seven or eight feet in length. In the 9th month it at length disappeared from the sky.

8th month, 2nd day. Sustenance fiefs, varying in each case, were granted to all from the rank of Prince of the Blood down to Daibu of Shōkin rank, and also to Imperial Princesses, Princesses and lady officials of the Palace.

16th day. The Emperor commanded, saying :—" Let a Great Purification be held in all quarters. The articles needed for this purpose are to be forwarded to the shrines of purification by the Kuni no Miyakko of each province, to wit, one horse and one piece of cloth. The other things are to be supplied by the governors of districts, viz., each one sword, one deerskin, one mattock, one smaller sword, one sickle, one set of arrows, and one sheaf of rice in the ear. Further, let each house provide a bundle of hemp."[1]

17th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying :—" Let all sentences of death, confiscation, or the three classes of banishment be mitigated one degree.[2] As for crimes punishable by removal to another part of the same province or lesser offences, let them all be pardoned whether they have been detected or not. XXIX. 15.

This pardon, however, does not apply to persons who have already proceeded to their place of banishment."

[1] "The Oho-barahi or Great Purification was the most solemn ceremony of the Shintō religion. It was performed twice a year, on the 30th day of the 6th and 12th months, by the Princes of the Blood and the Ministers, who assembled for the purpose at the Gate of the Scarlet Bird. The urabe or diviners read the norito or formula, which had the effect of dissipating (harai) demoniac influences."—Yamada's Dictionary.

The litany used on this occasion is commonly called the Nakatomi no Oho-barahi. It has been preserved, but is unfortunately not one of those translated by Satow. Dr. Florenz promises us a translation of all the norito.

[2] The three classes of banishment are :—1st, to near provinces, as Echizen or Aki ; 2nd, to provinces of medium distance, as Suwo or Iyo ; 3rd, to distant provinces, as Idzu, Aha, Hitachi, Sado, Iki, or Tosa. The confiscation is of the persons of the criminals and their families into slavery in public offices. This practice is still followed in Corea.

On this day the Emperor commanded the various provinces to let loose living things.[1]

In this month, Oho-miwa no Makamuta no Kobito no Kimi died. When the Emperor heard this, he was much grieved, and in view of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru granted him the posthumous rank of Inner Shōshi with the posthumous title of Ohomiwa no Makamuta no Mukahe-gimi.

9th month, 1st day. Owing to the rain, the beginning of the month was not announced.[2]

10th day. The Princes and Ministers sent agents to the capital and to the Home provinces and gave out weapons for (man of each the population).

12th day. Prince Yagaki, of the third rank, Viceroy of Tsukushi, was guilty of an offence, and was banished to Tosa.

13th day. Presents were made to the public functionaries and to men of the frontier states, varying in the case of each.

21st day. The Department of the Shintō religion represented to the Emperor as follows:—"We have ascertained by divination the provinces and districts which are to supply the rice for the festival of the first-fruits. There respond to the divination the district of Yamada, in the province of Wohari, for the Yuki, and the district of Kasa, in the province of Tamba, for the Sugi."[3]

In the course of this month Ikadzuchi,[4] Sakata no Kimi, died. In view of his services during the year Midzunoye Saru he was granted the posthumous rank of Daishi.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Ministers were entertained at a wine-feast.

[1] A Buddhist practice. At the present day beggars may be seen at the gates of Buddhist temples with vessels containing small lampreys or cages of sparrows, which the faithful are allowed to release on paying a small sum.

[2] There was an old custom in China of announcing the beginning of the month to the ancestral temples of the Emperors. But the practice in Japan seems to have been different. There are notices of Japanese Emperors "viewing the announcement of the new month from a balcony," etc.

[3] Yuki means "ceremonially pure," and sugi means "next." These terms are applied to two qualities of rice used for this festival. Various explanations are given. One is that the yuki was for sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven, the sugi for the Gods of Earth. Yuki is etymologically connected with imi, religious abstinence. The divination was by burning a tortoise-shell.

[4] Thunder or thunder-bolt.

3rd day. Offerings of cloth were made to all the Ahimbe Gods[1] of Heaven and Earth.

10th day. Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, of Upper Dai-otsu rank, was sent to Silla as Chief Envoy, and Momotari, Yamashiro no Atahe, of Middle Dai-otsu rank, as Junior Envoy. XXIX. 16.

11th month, 1st day. On account of the festival of firstfruits, the ceremony of announcing the first day of the month was omitted.

3rd day. Silla sent Kim Chhyöng-phyöng, of Sason rank, to request governance.[2] At the same time, Kim Hoyu, of Keup-son rank, the Tyé-kam, Kim Heum-kil, of Tè-sya rank, and others were sent to offer tribute. The Escort-Envoy Phi Chinna, of Nama rank, and his associate Hopok, of Nama rank, escorted Chhyöng-phyöng and the others to Tsukushi.

In this month seven men of Su-shen[3] arrived in the train of Chhyöng-phyöng and his colleagues.

19th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces near the capital to release living things.[4]

20th day. Men were sent to all parts to expound the Kon-kwō-myō Sutra and the Nin-ō Sutra.

23rd day. Koryö sent Ha-u, Chyupu[5] of the After Division, as Chief Envoy, and Tök-pok, Tè-kyöng of the Former Division, as Associate Envoy, to offer tribute. Therefore Silla sent Kim Yang-wön, of Tè Nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.

It was intended this year to make the capital at Nihiki, and therefore all the rice-fields and gardens within the precincts, public and private property alike, were not cultivated and became totally waste. In the end the capital was not made there. [This passage is omitted in some books.]

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. There was archery at the South Gate. A.D. 677. XXIX. 17.

2nd month, 1st day. Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, arrived from Silla.

[1] The Ahimbe (for ahi-nihe) was a festival celebrated on the 1st day of the hare in the 11th month. It was, like the nihi-name, which was celebrated a little later, a festival of firstfruits. On this occasion the Emperor first partook of sake, brewed from the new season's rice, which was also offered to the Kami. This ceremony was more particularly associated with certain deities, which were therefore termed the Ahimbe deities.

[2] To ask advice on matters of government (?).

[3] Manchus. [4] See above, XXIX. 15. [5] Name of office.

In this month an entertainment was given to men of Tanegashima [1] under the tsuki tree west of the Asuka Temple.

3rd month, 19th day. The Silla Envoys, Chhyöng-phyöng and the guests of lower rank to the number of thirteen, were invited to the capital.

Summer, 4th month, 11th day. Nagura Saita no Fubito, was convicted of scoffing at the Imperial [2] car, and was accordingly banished to the island of Idzu.

14th day. The Escort-Envoys, Chinna and the rest, were entertained in Tsukushi, and straightway returned home from there.

5th month, 1st day. The ceremony of announcing the first day of the month was omitted.

3rd day. The Emperor granted to the Oho-hakase,[3] a man of Pekché named Sol-tan, the rank of Lower Daisen, and accordingly bestowed on him a fief of 30 houses. On this day Otokashi, the Yamato no Yeshi,[4] was granted the rank of Lower Shōsen and a fief of 20 houses.

7th day. A man of Silla named Pak Chăpha, of Ason rank, accompanied by three attendants and three Buddhist priests, was driven by stress of weather to the island of Chikashima.[5]

28th day. The Emperor gave orders to the Shrines of Heaven and the Shrines of Earth that the sacred rice-tax should be divided into three shares, one of which was to be set apart for the offerings to the Gods and the other two given to the Kannushi.[6]

In this month there was drought in the capital and the Home provinces, and prayers were made for rain.

6th month, 14th day. There was a great earthquake.

In this month the Emperor commanded the Yamato no Aya no Atahe, saying :—" Your family has from the beginning been
XXIX. 18. guilty of the seven misdemeanours. From the Woharida [7] reign down to the Court of Afumi it has been the Emperor's constant

[1] An island off the south coast of Satsuma. It is notable as the place visited by Mendez Pinto and his companions in 1542, and where they first taught the inhabitants the use of firearms. Tanegashima means a pistol in Japanese at the present day.

[2] The Emperor is meant, but the writer does not dare to introduce him in such a connection.

[3] Great Doctor. [4] Yamato painter. [5] In Hizen.

[6] Shintō priests. [7] Suiko Tennō.

business to take measures against you. Now in this Our reign you deserve to be called to an account for your misconduct, and to receive condign punishment. We are very reluctant, however, to extirpate the House[1] of Aya no Atahe, and we therefore extend to you great clemency and pardon you. But henceforth if any of you offend his crime shall surely be ranked among unpardonable offences."

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.

8th month, 15th day. A great feast of Buddhist fare was given at the Asuka Temple, at which the "Issaikio"[2] was read. The Emperor stood at the South Gate of the Temple, and did obeisance to the Three Precious Things. At this time he commanded the Princes of the Blood and the other Princes as well as the Ministers each to furnish one person to renounce the world. These persons were chosen without distinction of age or sex, and all entered religion in accordance with their wishes. They therefore took part in this great feast.

27th day. Kim Chhyöng-phyöng returned to his own country. Accordingly Pak Chă-pha and the other who had been driven by stress of weather to Japan were delivered to Chhyöng-phyöng and the rest, and sent back to their native land.

28th day. Tamna sent Prince Tora with tribute.

9th month, 30th day. A decree was made, saying:—"Let vagabonds who come back again after having been sent to their native places be, one and all, set to forced labour."

Winter, 10th month, 14th day. Momoye, Kahabe no Omi, of Inner Upper Shōkin rank, was appointed Minister of the Interior,[3] and Maro, Tajihi no Kimi, of Inner Lower Daikin rank, was made Daibu[4] of the province of Settsu.

11th month, 1st day. Owing to rain the ceremony of announcing the 1st day of the month was not observed.

The Viceroy of Tsukushi presented to the Emperor a red crow.[5] The Viceroy's officials accordingly received presents, XXIX. 19.

[1] Uji. [2] The books of the Buddhist canon, Tripitaka.

[3] Mimbukiō, or in Japanese Kakibe no Kimi.

[4] From the enumeration of his functions in the "Shokuinriō," this official seems to have been a governor with very comprehensive powers.

[5] A red crow with three legs was supposed to inhabit the sun. The appearance of one on earth was accounted the most favourable of omens. See above, Vol. I. p. 116, note.

each according to his rank. Moreover the person who specially caught the red crow was granted five steps in rank. Also the local officials of the district in question had their rank raised. Consequently the taxes were remitted to the peasants of this district for the space of one year. On this day a general amnesty was proclaimed to the Empire.

21st day. The festival of first-fruits was held.

23rd day. A meal was given to all the public functionaries who possessed a definite rank.

27th day. Presents were given to the officials of the Shintō Department and to the local governors who had assisted in the offering of first-fruits.

12th month, 1st day. Owing to the snow the ceremony of announcing the 1st day of the month was not observed.

A.D. 678. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. There was archery at the South Gate.

22nd day. The Tamna people set out for the capital.

This spring, as a preparation for worshipping the Gods of Heaven and Earth, a purification was held throughout the Empire. An Abstinence-palace was erected on the bank of the Kurahashi river.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor wished to proceed to the Abstinence-palace, and held divination for this purpose. The response fell upon the 7th day. Accordingly, at the hour of sunrise the officers whose business it was to clear the road having already started, and the public functionaries being formed in line of procession, the Emperor took his seat in his palanquin, and ordered his canopy, but had not yet set out, when the Imperial Princess Towochi suddenly took ill, and died within the Palace. For this reason the cortège was
XXIX. 20. stopped, and the Emperor was unable to proceed. The result was that the Sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth did not take place.

13th day. A pillar of the Western Hall of the New Palace was struck by lightning.

14th day. The Imperial Princess Towochi was buried at Akaho. The Emperor was present, and was graciously pleased to raise lament for her.

Autumn, 9th month. Yoshimaro, Oshinomi no Miyakko, presented to the Emperor five auspicious stalks of rice. Each

stalk had branches. In consequence, all sentences from that of minor banishment[1] downwards were remitted.

Prince Wakasa, of the 3rd rank, died.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. At Naniha there fell a rain of something like floss silk.[2] It was five or six feet long and seven or eight inches wide. It floated on the wind and waved from the fir woods and reed plains. The people of that day called it "sweet-dew."

26th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"Let all civil and military officials of the central and provincial governments every year consider the degree of competence of their subordinates from the rank of clerk upwards, who are animated by a disinterested public spirit and discharge their duties with zeal and respect, and let them determine accordingly the promotion they should receive. Not later than the first decade of the first month they should forward a full report to the judge.[3] Thereupon the judge, having compared and XXIX. 21
decided, shall submit (his recommendation) to the Daibenkwan.[4] However, when officers are ordered to go on missions of a public nature and refuse for trifling reasons—not genuine illness or mourning for parents—they are not to be placed in the schedule for promotion."

12th month, 27th day. Bramblings[5] flew from south-west to north-east, covering the sky.

In the course of this month there was a great earthquake in Tsukushi. The ground split open to the width of two rods and a length of more than 3000 rods. Many of the peasants' houses in all the villages were brought down in ruins. At this time there was a peasant's house situated on the top of a hill. On the evening of the earthquake the hill crumbled down and changed its place. Yet the house remained intact and was

[1] This now means "hard labour," but probably we should here follow the meaning given by Giles.

[2] Several cases of this phenomenon are recorded in Chinese and Japanese history. Kanro, or sweet-dew, is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit Amrita, the ambrosial food of the Immortals.

[3] Hō-kwan, 法官.

[4] Benkwan. The executive department of the supreme Council of State or Dajōkwan. Hepburn.

[5] Atori in Japanese. "Fringilla Montifringilla. Large flocks of this bird are found in winter near Yokohama. It is the same as the European species."—Blakiston and Pryer in "T.A.S.J."

not destroyed, and the inmates did not know that the hill had come down and that their house had moved away. When it became daylight, however, they discovered what had happened, to their great amazement.

In this year the Silla Escort-Envoys, Ka-ryang Chyöng-san, of Nama rank, and Kim Hong-syé, of Nama rank, came to Tsukushi, and said:—"The King of Silla having despatched Kim Syo-mul, of Keup-son rank, Kim Syé-syé, of Tè-nama rank, etc., as Envoys to bring this year's tribute, I, Chyöng-san, was sent to escort Syo-mul and his colleagues. In mid-ocean, however, we chanced to meet with a storm, in which Syo-mul
XXIX. 22 and the others became all dispersed, and I know not what has become of them. I, Chyöng-san, alone have with difficulty succeeded in reaching the shore." Syo-mul and his colleagues never arrived.

A.D. 679. 8th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Silla Escort-Envoys Ka-ryang Chyöng-san and Kim Hong-syé, etc., proceeded to the capital.

7th day. The Emperor issued a decree as follows:—"At the New Year let the Princes, Ministers, and public functionaries refrain from paying their respects to any persons except relatives of the grade of elder brothers or elder sisters and above, or to the senior members of the House. The Princes must not pay their respects even to their mothers, when the latter have not the title of Princess; nor must Ministers pay their respects to their mothers when the latter are of mean rank. Even on other ceremonial occasions than the New Year the same rule is to be observed, and those who infringe it shall be punished according to circumstances."

8th day. There was archery at the West Gate.

2nd month, 1st day. Koryö sent Hwan-heum, Tè-syang of the Upper Division, Sa Syu-lu, Tè-syang of the Lower Division, and others to offer tribute. Accordingly, Silla sent Kam Mul-la, of Nama rank, to escort Hwan-heum and his colleagues to Tsukushi.

3rd day. Katamaro, Ki no Omi, died. In consideration of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru,[1] he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

4th day. The Emperor issued an edict, saying:—"When

[1] 672.

the year Kanoto Mi[1] is reached, let there be a review[2] of the weapons and horses belonging to the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers, and the public functionaries. Therefore let provision be made in advance."

In this month the Emperor was most graciously pleased to extend his charity to the poor and needy, and to give alms to those starving from cold and hunger.

3rd month, 6th day. Wakami, Ohokida no Kimi, of the Imperial guard, died.[3] During the great campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he led the van in breaking the camp of Seta.[4] For this service he was granted the posthumous rank of Outer Upper Shōkin.

7th day. The Emperor proceeded to Wochi,[5] where he did reverence to the Misasagi of the Later Okamoto Empress.[6] XXIX. 23.

9th day. Prince Ishikaha, Viceroy of Kibi, took ill and died in Kibi. When the Emperor heard this he was deeply grieved, and was most graciously pleased, etc., etc., to confer on him the posthumous honour of Prince of the second class.

22nd day. Alms of floss silk and cloth were given to poor priests and nuns.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Let the history of those temples which have sustenance-fiefs attached to them be considered, and where addition is desirable, let addition be made; where they should be done away with, let them be done away with."

On this day the names of the temples were fixed.

9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Palace of Yoshino.

6th day. The Emperor addressed the Empress Consort, the Imperial Prince Kusakabe, the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, the Imperial Prince Takechi, the Imperial Prince Kahashima, the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and the Imperial Prince Shiki,

[1] A.D. 681.

[2] A wapenshaw.

[3] There is a scale of Chinese characters for death, according to the rank of the person. Here the character 死 is used, which, as the "Tsūshō" commentator points out, is improper, this character being employed only in the case of men of the 6th or lower ranks.

[4] See above, XXVIII. 17. He is there called Waka-omi.

[5] In Yamato.

[6] Saimei Tennō.

saying :—" We wish to-day to unite with you in making a vow in the Court, so that after a thousand years[1] there may be no trouble. What think ye?" The Imperial Princes answered together, saying :—" The reasonableness of this is manifest." Accordingly, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe stood forward first and made oath, saying :—" Ye gods of Heaven and Earth, and ye Emperors, bear witness! We, elder and younger brothers, young or of mature age, more than ten Princes in all, born each of different mothers, without respect of birth from the same or different mothers, together comply with the Emperor's behest, and will give each other mutual support and avoid contention. If, from this time forward, any of us should not keep this vow, may he himself perish and may his line become extinct! There will be no forgetfulness or failure."

The (other) five Imperial Princes took oath together in the above terms in order one after another, and thereupon the Emperor said :—" Ye, my sons, though each born of different mothers, are now in affection as if born of one mother." Accordingly, loosening out his collar,[2] he took the six Imperial Princes to his bosom, and made oath, saying :—" If We contravene this oath, may Our body perish instantly!" The Empress-consort's oath was like that of the Emperor.

7th day. The Emperor's car returned to the Palace.[3]

10th day. The six Imperial Princes together paid their respects to the Emperor before the Great Hall.

6th month, 1st day. Hail fell as big as peaches.

23rd day. Prayer was made for rain.

XXIX. 24. 26th day. Ohotomo no Moriya no Muraji, of Upper Daikin rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. Prayer was made for rain.

14th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. Prince Katsuraki, of the 4th rank, died.

8th month, 1st day. The Emperor ordered that the various Houses should send tribute of women.[4]

[1] i.e. after my death.

[2] A Chinese metaphorical expression equivalent to "giving vent to his feelings."

[3] From Yoshino.

[4] For the service of the Palaces no doubt.

11th day. The Emperor went to Hatsuse and held a banquet by the Todoroki [1] pool.

Before this, the Emperor had addressed an edict to the Princes and Ministers, saying:—"In addition to the usual riding-horses let there be got ready other good horses which can be furnished whenever called for." Accordingly on the day on which he returned to the Palace from Hatsuse, he inspected the spare good horses of the Ministers at the roadside by the post-station of Tomi, and made them all try their speed.

22nd day. Oshikatsu, Katsura no Miyakko, presented to the Emperor auspicious stalks of grain. Though from various plots, they had similar ears.[2]

25th day. Prince Ohoyake died.

9th month, 16th day. The Envoys sent to Silla returned and paid their respects at Court.

23rd day. The Envoys sent to Koryö and the Envoys sent to Tamna returned, and paid their respects at Court together.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We are informed that of late there have been in the the town [3] many persons guilty of crimes of violence. Now this is the fault of the Princes and Ministers. Sometimes, when they hear of such criminals, they find it too much trouble, so they put up with them, and do not suppress them; sometimes when they see such wicked men, out of negligence they conceal the fact, and do not correct them. Now if they chastised them when seen or heard of, is it likely that there would be crimes of violence? This being so, if there be in future no shirking of trouble or negligence, if those in higher stations punish the offences of those beneath them, and if those in lower stations remonstrate with their superiors when they are guilty of violence, then the country will be well governed."

11th day. There was an earthquake.

13th day. The Emperor made regulations for the style of priests and nuns and for the colours of the priestly garb, also for

[1] Todoroki means to make a rumbling noise—evidently an onomatopoetic word.

[2] Supposed to be emblematic of the concord between the six Imperial Princes.

[3] i.e. in the capital.

the character of their suites of men and horses when passing
XXIX. 25. along the streets.[1]

17th day. Silla sent Kim Hang-na, of Ason rank, and Sal Nyu-sèng, of Sason rank, with tribute. The tribute consisted of such things as gold, silver, iron, sacrificial cauldrons with three feet, brocade, cloth, hides, horses, dogs, mules, and camels—more than ten kinds in all. There were also, distinct from these, presents for the Emperor, the Empress-consort, and the Prince Imperial, of gold, silver, swords, flags and the like—a certain number of each.

In the course of this month, the Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Ordinarily priests and nuns reside within their temples, and observe the Three Precious Things. In the case of aged persons, however, or those who by disease are permanently confined to bed in a narrow chamber, of those in short whose old age or ill-health allows them no facility of movement, places which should be pure are made impure. For this reason, let all such persons in future apply each to relations or friends to build for them in vacant spaces one or two dwellings where the aged can be nourished and the sick take medicine."

11th month, 14th day. There was an earthquake.

23rd day. Tsura, Yamato no Umakahibe no Miyakko, of Lower Dai-otsu rank, was sent to Tanegashima as Chief Envoy, and Kō-kan, Kami no Sukuri, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, as Junior Envoy. Accordingly one grade of rank was bestowed on them.

In this month barriers were constructed for the first time on Mount Tatsuta and Mount Ohosaka. Moreover Naniha built an outer line of fortifications.

XXIX. 26. 12th month, 2nd day. In consequence of the auspicious stalks of grain,[2] presents were made to the Princes of the Blood, the Princes, the Ministers, and the public functionaries, each according to his rank. There was an amnesty for all offences from capital crimes downwards.

In this year the district of Ito, in the province of Kiï, sent tribute of the herb of long life. It resembled a mushroom in appearance. Its stem was one foot long, and its crown two

[1] The "Yengishiki" contains regulations for the numbers of men by which priests of various ranks might be attended in public.

[2] See above, XXIX. 24.

spans in circumference. Moreover, the province of Inaba sent tribute of auspicious rice, each stem of which had branches.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor occupied the Little Opposite Palace, where he gave a banquet to the Princes and Ministers in the Court of the Great Hall. On this day he granted a surname[1] to Kobito, Imbe no Obito, and called him Muraji. Accordingly he presented his joyful acknowledgments along with his younger brother Shikobuchi. A.D. 680.

17th day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the officials of Shōken rank engaged in archery at the South Gate.

20th day. It was reported from the Province of Settsu that at the village of Ikuta, peach trees and plum trees had borne fruit.

2nd month, 18th day. A sound resembling that of drums was heard in the Eastern quarter.

26th day. There was a man who said:—"I got a deer's horn on Mount Katsuraki. This horn branches into two at the root. It is united at the end, and has flesh, over which flesh there is hair. The hair is one inch in length. Thinking this wonderful, I offer it as a present to the Emperor." It was, perhaps, the horn of a Lin.[2]

27th day. Eight Silla labourers were sent back to their own country. The Emperor graciously bestowed presents on them, varying in the case of each.

3rd month, 10th day. The Province of Settsu sent tribute of a white shitodo.[3] XXIX. 27.

23rd day. The Emperor went to Aki in Uda.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

11th day. A fire broke out in the nuns' quarters of the Tachibana Temple.[4] Ten rooms were burnt.

[1] This is not really a grant of a surname, but a step in the ranks of the nobility, as from an earl to a marquis.

[2] One of the four supernatural creatures of Chinese tradition, and regarded as a happy portent, on its alleged appearance, of the advent of good government. It has the body of a deer, the tail of an ox, and a single horn.

[3] Described as a small bird of a reddish colour, resembling a sparrow. It has a ring round the eyes, and black spots on the wings. It frequents mountains.

[4] In Yamato, founded by Shōtoku Daishi.

25th day. The Silla Envoys Hang-na and his companions were entertained in Tsukushi, and received presents each according to his rank.

In this month an Imperial decree was issued as follows:—"Henceforward let all temples, with the exception of the two or three great national temples, cease to be administered by officials. But for those which hold a sustenance-fief, a limit from first to last of thirty years is fixed. This will be discontinued when, upon calculating the years, the number of thirty is completed. Moreover the Temple of Asukadera ought not to be included in those administered by officials, but as it was originally a Great Temple, always administered by officials, and has also done good service formerly,[1]—for these reasons it is still retained in the class of officially administered temples.

5th month, 1st day. By order of the Emperor coarse silk, floss silk, raw silk, and cloth were bestowed on the twenty-four temples within the capital, the amount varying in each case.

On this day the expounding of the "Kon-kwō-myō Sutra" was begun in the Palace and in the various temples.

13th day. Koryō sent Myo-mun of the Southern Division as Chief Envoy, Chyun-tök, who was Tè-kyöng of the Western Division, and others with tribute. Accordingly Silla sent Ko-na, of Tè-nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys Myo-mun and the others to Tsukushi.

21st day. Tsunade, Hada no Miyakko, of Lower Daikin rank, died. On account of his services during the year Mid-zunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

27th day. Maro, Hoshikaha no Omi, of Middle Shōkin rank, died. On account of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Daishi.

XXIX. 28. 6th month, 5th day. The Silla guests, Hang-na and his colleagues, returned to their own country.

8th day. There was a rain of ashes.[2]

14th day. There was a great thunderstorm.

[1] No doubt in the civil war of 672, one of the battles of which took place close to this temple.

[2] A later history mentions another rain of something like ashes. The old peasants called it "Flowers of rice."

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. A branch of the tsuki tree[1] west of the Temple of Asuka broke of itself and fell.

5th day. The Emperor went to the house of Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, and visited him in his illness, bestowing on him great favour, etc., etc.

On this day there was prayer for rain.

8th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

10th day. A red bird[2] perched on the Southern Gate.

17th day. Komaro, Yenowi no Muraji, was granted the rank of Lower Shōkin.

20th day. Kōchō, priest of the Temple of Asuka, died. The Imperial Princes Ohotsu and Takechi were sent on a visit of condolence.

23rd day. Ihatoko, Miyake no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, died. On account of his services during the year Midzunoye Saru, he was given the posthumous rank of Lower Daikin.

25th day. Prince Toneri, of the 5th rank, who held the joint offices of Nagon[3] and Minister of the Household, took ill and was on the point of death, so the Imperial Prince Takechi was sent to ask after him. He died the next day. The Emperor was greatly shocked, and sent the Imperial Princes Takechi and Kahashima to be present at his temporary interment and to make lament for him. The public functionaries followed their example and made lamentation.

8th month, 5th day. The officials of the department of law[4] gave tribute of auspicious stalks of grain. Beginning on this day, for three days there was rain with floods.

14th day. There was a storm which broke trees and damaged houses.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor visited Asatsuma. XXIX. 29

[1] Already mentioned several times.

[2] The red bird is symbolical of the Southern quarter of the Heavens in Chinese astronomy. A favourable omen.

[3] More commonly dainagon, i.e. Great Nagon, a Councillor of State. Defined by the Wamiōshō as Ohoi mono mafusu tsukasa, i.e. "the great official who says things" (who acts as intermediary in communications to the Emperor).

[4] It appears above that one duty of this department was to give judgment respecting claims for promotion.

Accordingly he inspected the horses of the officials from the rank of Daisen downwards at Nagara no mori.[1] He also had archery practised on horseback.

23rd day. There was an earthquake.

27th day. Prince Kuhachi died in his private residence.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor commiserated the needy common people and also the monks and nuns of the temples within the capital and gave them alms. Each monk and nun received four hiki of coarse silk, four bundles of floss silk, and six tan of cloth, while the Shami[2] and those in white garments[3] received each two hiki of coarse silk, two bundles of floss silk, and four tan of cloth.

11th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse[4] of the sun.

3rd day. There was a brightness in the East from the hour of the Dog to the hour of the Rat.[5]

4th day. Nineteen men of Koryö returned to their own country. These were condolence envoys who came over on the occasion of the mourning for the later Okamoto Empress.[6] They had been detained and had not yet taken their departure.

7th day. The Emperor issued an edict to the officials, saying:—"If any one knows of any means of benefiting the state or of increasing the welfare of the people, let him appear in Court and make a statement in person. If what he says is reasonable, his ideas will be adopted and embodied in regulations."

10th day. There was thunder in the West.

12th day. The Empress-consort was unwell. (The Emperor,) having made a vow on her behalf, began the erection of the Temple of Yakushiji,[7] and made one hundred persons enter religion as priests. In consequence of this she recovered her health.

On this day an amnesty was granted.

[1] Grove of Nagara. [2] S'ramanêra or Buddhist novices.

[3] i.e. the laity, a Buddhist expression.

[4] The "Shūkai" quotes a statement that this eclipse was of $9\frac{1}{2}$ tenths, or nearly total.

[5] 8 p.m. to 12 midnight. An aurora (?). [6] Saimei.

[7] Yakushi niorai is in Sanskrit Bhêchadjyaguru, the genius of medicine. This temple was afterwards removed to a site near Nara. *Vide* Satow's Handbook, p. 383.

16th day. There was an eclipse of the moon.[1]

The Imperial Prince Kusakabe was sent to pay a visit of inquiry to the Priest Yemiō. On the following day Priest Yemiō died, and the three Imperial Princes were sent to make a visit of condolence.

24th day. Silla sent Kim Ya-phil, of Sason rank, and Kim Wön-seung, of Tè-nama rank, to offer tribute. Three student interpreters arrived in the suite of Ya-phil. XXIX 30

26th day. The Emperor took ill. For this reason one hundred persons were made to enter religion as priests, and he presently recovered.

30th day. Bramblings covered the sky, flying from south-east to north-west.

10th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. A.D. 681.

3rd day. The various functionaries paid their respects at Court.

7th day. The Emperor occupied the Opposite Little Hall, and gave a banquet there. On this day the Princes of the Blood and the Princes were introduced into the inner reception Chamber while the Ministers were all in attendance in the outer reception Chamber. For both alike sake was provided and a musical performance given. On this occasion Oho-gata, Kusakabe no Kishi, of Upper Daisen rank, was granted the rank of Lower Daikin, and the title was bestowed on him of Naniha no Muraji.

11th day. By an Imperial decree, Ihadzumi Sakahibe no Muraji was granted a fief of sixty houses and received a present of thirty pieces of coarse silk, a hundred and fifty kin of floss silk, one hundred and fifty tan of cloth, and a hundred mattocks.

17th day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the rank of Shōken [2] had archery in the Court.

19th day. Orders were given to the Home and other provinces to repair the Heavenly and Earthly (Shintō) shrines.

25th day. The Emperor and Empress-consort took their places together in the Great Hall of Audience,[3] and having summoned before them the Princes of the Blood, the Princes and the Ministers, addressed them as follows:—"It is Our

[1] Of 7½ tenths. [2] The initial or lowest rank.

[3] The Taikyokuden. See above, p. 191.

desire now anew to enact regulations and to reform the laws. Do ye therefore join with us in executing this enterprise. But if we were to proceed suddenly with this business, affairs of state would suffer. It will therefore be proper to make a division of men before going on."

On this day, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe was made Prince Imperial and was accordingly associated with the Emperor in the conduct of the myriad machinery of state.

29th day. The Lady Abe died.

30th day. Toyohama Tahema no Kimi, of Shōshi rank, died.

3rd month, 3rd day. The Lady Abe was buried.

16th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience, and there gave orders to the Imperial Princes Kaha-
XXIX 31. shima and Osakabe, to Prince Hirose, Prince Takeda, Prince Kuhada, and Prince Mino, to Michichi, Kamitsukenu[1] no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, Kobito, Imbe no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, Inashiki, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, Ohogata, Naniha no Muraji, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, of Upper Daisen rank, and Kobito Heguri no Omi, of Lower Daisen rank, to commit to writing a chronicle of the Emperors, and also of matters of high antiquity. Ohoshima and Kobito took the pen in hand themselves, and made notes.[2]

20th day. There was an earthquake.

24th day. The Emperor took his place by the well of the New Palace, made trial of the sounds of drums and flutes and caused them to be practised in harmony.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

3rd day. A prohibitory law in 92 articles was established, and was accordingly promulgated with the following words:—"The costumes of all from the Princes of the Blood down to the common people, and the wearing of gold and silver, pearls and jewels, purple, brocade, embroidery, fine silks, together
XXIX. 32. with woollen carpets, head-dresses and girdles, as well as all kinds of coloured stuffs, are regulated according to a scale the details of which are given in the written edict."

[1] Now Kōdzuke. Michichi has the curious meaning of 3000.

[2] This command led ultimately to the compilation of the "Kojiki." *Vide* Ch. K., p. 9 *et seqq.*

12th day. The title of Muraji was granted to Wokida, Nishikori no Miyakko, Yoshimaro, Tawi no Atahe, Mukutari and Ihakatsu, Sugita no Kurando,[1] Agata, Kahachi no Atahe, Kagami, Oshinomi no Miyakko, Yoshimaro, Aretawo no Atahe, Momoye and Oshidzuki, Ohokoma no Miyakko, Tatsumaro, Yamato no Atahe, Ohoshima, Kadobe no Atahe, Ohi, Shishibito no Miyakko, and Yamashiro no Koma no Ikamaro, fourteen persons in all.

17th day. An entertainment was given in Tsukushi to the Koryö guests Myo-mun and his people. Each received presents according to his rank.

5th month, 11th day. Worship was paid to the august spirit of the Emperor's grandfather.[2] On this day the Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"The deference paid by public functionaries to the Palace officials[3] is far too great. Sometimes they go to their doors and address their plaints to them, sometimes they pay court to their houses[4] by offerings of presents. If there should be any such cases in future, the offenders will be punished according to circumstances."

26th day. Myo-mun of Koryö took his departure.

6th month, 5th day. The Silla guest Ya-phil was entertained in Tsukushi. He (and his suite) received presents varying in the case of each.

17th day. Prayer was made for rain.

24th day. There was an earthquake.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. A red sparrow was seen.

4th day. Tsukura, Uneme no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent to the Land of Silla as Chief Envoy, and Tate, Tahema no Kimi, as Junior Envoy. XXIX. 33.

On this day Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent as Chief Envoy to the Land of Koryö, and Maro, Woharida no Omi, as Junior Envoy.

10th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

[1] Storekeeper.

[2] He was not an Emperor, and therefore not included in the genera worship paid to the Emperors. Or perhaps with Florenz we should understand by grandfather ancestors generally. The original does not indicate number.

[3] Female.

[4] i.e. families.

30th day. Orders were given to the whole Empire to hold a great Purification ceremony.[1] At this time the Miyakko of each province supplied one slave to the Shrine of Purification, and thus did purification.

Intercalary 7th month, 15th day. In fulfilment of a vow of the Empress-consort a great feast of vegetable fare was given, and the Sutras were expounded in all the Temples of the capital.

8th month, 11th day. A notification was made to the people of the three Han,[2] saying:—"On a former day, your taxes were remitted for a period of ten years, which have now come to an end. In addition to this, all forced labour is remitted for a period of ten years to you who accepted our rule, and also to your children and grandchildren who accompanied you in the first year."

11th day. Michichi, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, died.

16th day. The province of Ise sent tribute of a white owl.

20th day. The Envoys sent to Tanegashima presented a map of that island. This country is more than 5000 ri distant from the capital, and lies in the middle of the sea south of Tsukushi. The inhabitants cut off their hair and wear garments of grass. Rice is always abundant. With one sowing, there are two harvests. The products of the island are Cape jasmine and bulrushes.[3] There are also numerous marine products of different kinds.

XXIX. 34. On this day, Ya-phil took his departure for his own country.

9th month, 3rd day. The Envoys sent to Koryö and Silla arrived together and paid their respects to the Emperor.

5th day. The province of Suwō presented a red tortoise, which was let loose in the pond of the Palace of Shima.

9th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"Let all Houses in which a senior member has not yet been fixed, each decide upon a senior member and report to the controlling department."[4]

14th day. An entertainment was given to the men of Tanegashima on the river bank west of the Temple of Asuka. Various kinds of music were performed.

[1] Ohoharahi. [2] The Coreans settled in Japan. [3] For matting.
[4] i.e. the Jibushō; in Japanese, *wosamuru tsukasa.*

16th day. A comet appeared.

17th day. The planet Mars entered the Moon.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

18th day. There was an earthquake.

20th day. Silla sent Kim Chhyung-phyöng, an Il-kil-son [1] of Sa-tök, and Kim Il-syé, of the rank of Tè-nama, to bring tribute, which consisted of such things as gold, silver, copper, iron, brocade, thin silk, deer skins and fine cloth—a certain quantity of each. Separately they brought presents for the Emperor, the Empress-consort, and for the senior Prince of such things as gold, silver, flags of haze [2]-brocade and skins, a certain quantity of each.

25th day. The Emperor issued a decree as follows :—" Let all, from those of Daisen rank down to Shōken, each declare their views." XXIX. 35.

In this month the Emperor intended to hunt on the plain of Hirose. A temporary palace had been constructed, and his baggage made ready, but in the end the Imperial car did not proceed thither. Only those from the rank of Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers all stayed at Karunoichi and inspected the equipage and the saddle-horses. The Daibu from the rank of Shōkin upwards all sat in order under a tree, while those of the rank of Daisen and under mounted on horseback themselves and passed together along the highway from south to north.

Silla Envoys came and announced the death of the king of that country.

11th month, 2nd day. There was an earthquake.

12th month, 10th day. Kobito, Kahabe no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent to Tsukushi to entertain Chhyung-phyöng, the Silla guest.

29th day. Kanuchi, Tanaka no Omi, Saru, Kakimoto no Omi, Kuniwoshi, Tanabe no Muraji, Maro, Takamuku no Omi, Mabito, Ahata no Omi, Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, Karainu, Sone no Muraji, and Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, ten [3] persons in all, received the rank of Lower Shōkin.

[1] Name of rank.

[2] The reference is to the rosy colour of the morning hazes.

[3] There are really only nine.

XXIX. 36. On this day, Nukamushi, Toneri no Miyakko, and Chitokò, Fumi no Atahe, were granted the title of Muraji.

A.D. 682. 11th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Nukamushi,[1] Toneri no Miyakko, of Daisen rank, was given the rank of Lower Shōkin.

11th day. Kim Chhyung-phyöng was entertained in Tsukushi.

18th day. The Lady Higami[2] died within the Palace.

19th day. There was an earthquake.

27th day. The Lady Higami was buried at Akaho.

2nd month, 12th day. Kim Chhyung-phyöng returned to his own country.

In this month, Nukamushi, Toneri no Miyakko, of Lower Shōkin rank, died. In view of his services in the year Midzu-noye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

3rd month, 1st day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, the Daibu of the Household Department and others were sent to Nihiki[3] to examine the conformation of the ground. It was accordingly resolved to have the capital there.

2nd day. Twenty-two Yemishi of the province of Michinoku were granted dignities.

7th day. There was an earthquake.

13th day. By command of the Emperor, Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, invented afresh new characters—one book in forty-four volumes.[4]

16th day. The Emperor visited Nihiki.

28th day. The Emperor issued a decree forbidding henceforward all from the Princes of the Blood down to the public functionaries to wear caps of rank, aprons, lined garments,[5] and

[1] A curious personal name. It means bran-maggot. Many of the personal names are by no means complimentary, e.g. Saru, or monkey; Kara-inu, or Corean dog; Shikowo, or ugly man. These are obviously what we should call nicknames.

[2] One of the Emperor's consorts.

[3] Nihiki means new castle.

[4] The "Shiki" says that this book was still preserved in the Imperial Library, and that the letters were very like Sanskrit characters. If this was an attempt to introduce an alphabetic script into Japan, nothing came of it. For information respecting ancient forms of writing in Japan, Hirata's "Hifumiden" may be consulted.

[5] The interlinear Kana has hira obi, i.e. broad girdles. Habaki are leggings.

habaki, and also forbidding the stewards and Uneme of the Palace to wear shoulder-straps or scarfs.[1]

On this day, a decree was addressed to all from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers who had been granted sustenance-fiefs, discontinuing all such fiefs, and directing that they should be returned to the State. XXIX. 37

In this month, Mate, Hase no Muraji, died.[2] For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru he was granted the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

21st day. Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and others, sent tribute of a large bell.

22nd day. Itaka, Kina, and others, Yemishi of Koshi, requested 7000 families of captives, in order to constitute a district. Their request was granted.[3]

23rd day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Henceforth all persons whatsoever, men or women, must tie up their hair. This is to be completed not later than the 30th day of the 12th month. But for the date of tying up the hair, let a further Imperial notification be awaited." It was from this time that the practice began of women riding on horseback like men.[4]

5th month, 12th day. The Yamato no Aya no Atahe were granted the title of Muraji.

16th day. The Chief Envoy to Koryö, Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, and the Junior Envoy, Maro, Woharida no Omi, reported to the Palace the results of their mission.

27th day. The Yamato no Aya no Atahe, male and female, all presented themselves. They were rejoiced at the grant of a title, and paid their respects to the Emperor.

6th month, 1st day. The King of Koryö sent Cho Yu-kwè, Nu

[1] Hire. Something like a mantilla, worn on the head.

[2] In the older editions a long passage comes in here which belongs properly to the fourteenth year of the reign.

[3] There is frequent mention of these "captives" in connection with Aino affairs. It is not clear who they were. A Japanese authority states that they were subjects of the Crown who were captured and enslaved by the savages.

[4] That is to say, astride.

Mo-chöl and Tè-ko-myo-ka, of the Lower Division, with tribute of the products of the country. Accordingly, Silla sent Kim Syök-kwi, of Tè-nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.

XXIX. 38 6th day. Men and women began to tie up their hair. They accordingly wore caps of varnished gauze.[1]

12th day. Prince Yeguri, of the 5th rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Hayato came in numbers with tribute of the productions of their country. On this day, the Hayato of Ohosumi and the Hayato of Ata[2] wrestled in the Court. The Ohosumi Hayato had the victory.

9th day. Maro, Kashihade no Omi, of middle Shōkin rank, took ill. His Highness[3] the Imperial Prince Kusakabe and the Imperial Prince Takechi were sent to make kind inquiry as to his illness.

11th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. There was an earthquake.

18th day. Maro, Kashihade no Omi, died. The Emperor was shocked, and lamented greatly.

21st day. For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, Maro no Omi[4] was granted the posthumous rank of Daishi and presents were given. The Empress-consort also bestowed gifts, which moreover were similar to those granted by the government.

25th day. Presents of various values were given to men of Tane,[5] of Yaku and of Amami.[5]

27th day. The Hayato were entertained west of the Asuka Temple. Music of various kinds was performed, and presents given them varying in value in the case of each. The Buddhist priests and laity all came to look on.

On this day it was reported from the provinces both of Shinano and Kibi that hoar-frost had fallen, moreover that owing to storms the five grains had not formed.

[1] Gauze hats were in use in China under the Tang and Ming dynasties. They are said to have been first worn by Wu Ti, of the Liang dynasty. Probably the statement in the text applies only to men and to officials.

[2] A district of Satsuma. [3] Mikoto.

[4] He was properly Maro, Kashihade no Omi. But the personal name is sometimes joined to the title in this way.

[5] Or Tanegashima. [6] All these are islands off the south coast of Kiushiu.

8th month, 1st day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers were each[1] made to bring forward matters suitable for framing regulations.

3rd day. The Koryö guests were entertained in Tsukushi.

On this evening at twilight a great star passed from the East to the West.[2]

5th day. Laws were drawn up. There was a great rainbow within the Palace.

11th day. A thing appeared in shape like a Buddhist baptismal flag, and of a flame colour. It floated through the void towards the north and was seen by all the provinces. Some said that it sank into the Sea of Koshi. On this day a white vapour arose on the Eastern Mountain, four fathoms in size.

12th day. There was a great earthquake. XXIX. 39.

—th[3] day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi reported that there was a sparrow with three legs.

17th day. There was another earthquake. On this day there was a rainbow at dawn right in the middle of the sky and opposite to the sun.

22nd day. The Emperor issued an edict (prescribing) the character of ceremonies and[4] language.

He decreed further, saying:—"Let the lineage and character of all candidates for office be always inquired into before a selection is made. None whose lineage is insufficient are eligible for appointment, even although their character, conduct and capacity may be unexceptionable."

28th day. On account of the illness of the Imperial Princess Hidaka[5] [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Nihiya], an Imperial command was given for the pardon of 190 persons of both sexes who were guilty of capital or lesser crimes.

29th day. More than 140 persons renounced the world in the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

9th month, 2nd day. By Imperial command ceremonial kneeling and crawling were both abolished from this time for-

[1] Referring probably to the division of labour mentioned above, XXIX. 30.

[2] A falling star is no doubt meant. The "Tsūshō" editor talks of the planet Venus, which cannot be right.

[3] The date given here by the cyclical characters is an impossible one.

[4] Or of the language to be used on occasions of ceremony.

[5] Afterwards Genshō Tennō.

ward, and the ceremonial custom of standing of the Naniha Court[1] was again practised.

11th day. At mid-day, several hundreds of cranes appeared in the quarter of the Great Palace, and soared aloft in the void. After two hours they all dispersed.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. A great revel was held.

11th month, 16th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Hear this, all ye Princes of the Blood, Princes and Ministers, as well as ye common people! In regard to trials for offences against the law, whether within the Palace or in the Court, let examination be made at the place where the offence has been committed as soon as seen or heard of, and let there be no concealment. In the case of grave crimes, let those which should be referred to a superior be so referred, and when arrest is proper let the offender be seized. If any resist and are not arrested, raise the soldiers of the place and arrest them. To those judged deserving of flogging there may be administered not more than a hundred blows, to be determined according to a scale. Moreover, when the facts of a crime are undeniable and the accused falsely states that he is innocent, and does not admit the justice of the charge, but disputes with the prosecutor, let his original offence be superadded to this."

XXIX. 40.

12th month, 3rd day. A decree was issued as follows:—"Let the people of every House[2] each determine who shall be the Senior member of the House, and make report accordingly. Moreover, in cases where there are numerous members of the same House, let them divide and each part determine who shall be its own Senior member, all reporting at the same time to the proper officials, who shall thereupon weigh the facts and deal with the matter. Such official decisions must be accepted. And let no one for trifling reasons hastily include in his House persons who do not belong to it."[3]

A.D. 683. 12th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The functionaries paid their respects at Court.

[1] Kōtoku Tennō. The Annals of the Thang dynasty state that it was the custom in Japan for suitors to advance crawling. Standing was the Thang custom.

[2] The Uji or noble families are meant.

[3] "Such as relations by the mother's side, or by marriage, or distant relations."—"Shūkai."

The Viceroy of Tsukushi, Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, and others presented tribute of a three-legged sparrow.

All from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers were invited in front of the Great Hall of Audience and a banquet given them. On this occasion the three-legged sparrow was shown to the Ministers.

18th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"This is the ordinance of Us, the Emperor Yamato neko, who rule, as a God Incarnate, the great eight regions. Hear it, all ye governors of provinces, Kuni no Miyakko, governors of districts and common people! Ever since We first rose to the vast dignity, there have been auspicious signs from Heaven, not one or two only, but many. Now We learn by tradition that auspicious signs from Heaven come as a response when the principles of administering the Government are in harmony with the laws of Heaven. That they should appear repeatedly every year in this Our reign is, on XXIX. 41
the one hand, matter for awe, and on the other, matter for rejoicing. Therefore the Princes of the Blood, the Princes, with the Ministers and functionaries, as well as the people of the Empire, join with Us in our joy." Accordingly presents were made to all from the rank of Shōken upwards, each according to his rank, and all crimes were pardoned from capital offences downwards. Moreover all forced labour was remitted to the common people.

On this day there was a performance in the Court of the Woharida dance and of the music of the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché and Silla.

2nd month, 1st day. The Imperial Prince Ohotsu for the first time attended to matters of State.

3rd month, 2nd day. On the occasion of making appointments to the offices of Sōjō, Sōdzu, and Risshi,[1] the Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let those who have general control over the priests and nuns act according to the law," etc., etc.

19th day. The Envoys sent to Tane[2] returned.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Emperor made a decree,

[1] The former two offices were instituted in the reign of Suiko. See above, Vol. II. 153. The latter, which Hepburn translates "doctor of laws," was now created for the first time.

[2] Tanegashima.

saying:—"Henceforth copper coins must be used, and not silver coins."[1]

18th day. A decree was issued, saying:—"Let the use of silver be not discontinued."

21st day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

6th month, 3rd day. Umakuta, Ohotomo no Muraji, died. The Emperor was much shocked, and sent Prince Hatsuse on a visit of condolence. The Emperor manifested a loving recognition of his zeal during the year Midzunoye Saru and of the services of his ancestors at all times, and granted him the posthumous title of Daishi, and burial with beat of drum and blowing of horns.[2]

6th day. Prince Takazaka, of the 3rd rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor went to the house of the Princess Kagami-hime and made kind inquiry as
XXIX. 42. to her illness.

5th day. Princess Kagami-hime died.

In this summer priests and nuns were for the first time invited to the Palace for a "retreat." Accordingly thirty persons of pure conduct were selected, who renounced the world.

15th day. Prayer was made for rain.

18th day. The Emperor made a tour in the capital.

20th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

From this month a drought began which lasted till the eighth month. A Buddhist priest of Pèkché named Dōzō[3] prayed for rain and obtained it.

8th month, 5th day. A general amnesty was ordered throughout the Empire.

Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, died. For his services in the

[1] Silver coins are mentioned in the reign of Kenzō Tennō, A.D. 486. But see note to this passage. Vol. I. p. 391. Copper coins were first made in Japan in the reign of Gemmei Tennō, in the first year (A.D. 708) of the period Wadō. The coins referred to in the text were therefore probably Chinese or Corean. Their use was exceptional at this period, the ordinary medium of exchange being hempen cloth or other textiles.

[2] Officials of the third rank were allowed at their funeral one hearse, forty drums, twenty great horns, forty little horns, 200 flags, one metal gong, and one hand-bell, with lamentation for one day.

[3] Probably a priest of the Temple called Kudaradera.

year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Middle Daikin.

9th month, 2nd day. There was a great storm.

23rd day. The title of Muraji was granted to thirty-eight Houses, viz. Yamato no Atahe, Kurikuma no Obito, Motori[1] no Miyakko, Yatabe no Miyakko, Fujiharabe no Miyakko, Osakabe no Miyakko, Saigusabe no Miyakko, Ofuchi Kahachi XXIX. 43. no Atahe, Kahachi no Aya no Atahe, Mononobe no Obito, Yamashiro no Atahe, Katsuraki no Atahe, Tonohatori no Miyakko, Kadobe no Atahe, Nishikori no Miyakko, Katsura no Miyakko, Tottori no Miyakko, Kume no Toneri no Miyakko, Hinokuma no Toneri no Miyakko, Ohokoma no Miyakko, Hada no Miyakko, Kahase no Toneri no Miyakko, Yamato no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Kahachi no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Kibumi no Miyakko, Komotsume no Miyakko, Magari Hako-dzukuri no Miyakko, Isonokamibe no Miyakko, Takara Hi-matsuri no Miyakko, Hasetsukabe no Miyakko, Anahobe no Miyakko, Shiragabe no Miyakko, Oshinomi no Miyakko, Hat- XXIX. 44. sukase no Miyakko, Fumi no Obito, Wohatsuse no Miyakko, Kudara no Miyakko and Katarahi no Miyakko.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The title of Muraji was granted to fourteen houses, viz., Miyake no Kishi, Kusakabe no Kishi, Hōki no Miyakko, Fune no Fubito, Iki no Fubito, Sarara no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Uno no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Yoshino no Obito, Ki no Sakabito no Atahe, Uneme no Miyakko, Atogi no Fubito, Takechi no Agatanushi, Shiki no Agatanushi and Kagami-dzukuri no Miyakko.[2]

13th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to Kurahashi.

11th month, 4th day. An Imperial command was given to all the provinces to engage in military training.

13th day. Silla sent Kim Chu-san, of Sason rank, and Kim Chang-chi, of Tè-nama rank, to offer tribute.

12th month, 23rd day. The Emperor sent Prince Ise, of XXIX. 45 the fifth rank of Princes, Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, Homuchi, Ohoshi no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank,

[1] Or Mondori.

[2] Previous promotions in rank have been of individuals. In this case the whole Uji (House) was raised at once. This accounts for no personal names being given.

with Hangwan, clerks, and artizans, to make a tour through the Empire and determine the boundaries of the provinces. They were unable, however, to determine them all this year.

17th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Let all civil and military officials, and all persons of rank[1] in the Home provinces, not fail to present themselves at Court in the four first months.[2] If owing to mortal disease they cannot attend, let the officials whose duty it is to do so prepare a full report and forward it to the judicial authorities."

He further made a decree, saying:—"The Capital and Palace should not be in one place only. They must be constructed in several places. We therefore wish first of all to make the Capital at Naniha. Let the public functionaries therefore each proceed thither, and apply for sites for houses."

A.D. 684. 13th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. The title of Muraji was granted to the two Houses of Mino no Agatanushi and Kurando no Kinunuhi no Miyakko.

23rd day. The Emperor, taking his place in the Eastern Court with the Ministers in attendance, sent for men skilled in archery, with dwarfs and palace attendants, and made them shoot.

2nd month, 24th day. Kim Chu-san was entertained in Tsukushi.

28th day. The Emperor sent Prince Hirose of Jō-kwō-shi rank,[3] and Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, with Hangwan, clerks, professors of the In and Yō, and artizans to the Home provinces, to determine by divination a site suitable for the capital.

On this day Prince Mino, Tsukura, Uneme no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, and others were sent to Shinano to inspect the conformation of the ground, perhaps with the object of having a capital there.

3rd month, 8th day. Yumi, Ube no Atahe, a man of Yoshino, sent tribute of a white camellia.

XXIX. 46. 9th day. The Emperor made a visit to the capital, and decided on the site for a palace.

23rd day. Kim Chu-san returned to his own country.

[1] Possessed of one of the grades of rank mentioned above, p. 281.

[2] Of each quarter.

[3] This rank was not instituted until later. See below, XXIX. 53.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. All persons with sentences of not more than lesser banishment were pardoned.

13th day. Worship was paid to the great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta.

20th day. Maro, Takamuku no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent as Chief Envoy to Silla, and Tsuno no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank, as Junior Envoy.

Intercalary 4th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We have resolved to hold an inspection in the ninth month of next year. We therefore prescribe the conduct[1] and the state[2] of the public functionaries."

A further edict was made, as follows:—"In a government, military matters are the essential thing. All civil and military officials should therefore sedulously practise the use of arms and riding on horseback. Be careful to provide an adequate supply of horses, weapons, and articles of personal costume. Those who have horses shall be made cavalry soldiers, those who have none shall be infantry soldiers. Both shall receive training. Let no obstacle be thrown in the way of their assembling for this purpose. If any person disobeys this edict, if he does not provide a horse and weapons, or if his costume is defective, all such persons, from Princes of the Blood down to Ministers, shall be fined. Those from the rank of Dāisen down who deserve to be fined shall be fined: those who deserve flogging shall be flogged. But if by diligent practice they succeed in learning their duties, they shall have their punishment diminished by two degrees, even in the case of those guilty of capital crimes. Anyone, however, who purposely offends in reliance on his own cleverness is not included among those eligible for pardon."

A further edict was made as follows:—"As to the clothing of both men and women, it is left to the wearers' option whether they have susotsuki[3] or not, and also ties[4] or tassels. XXIX. 47.

[1] Their place and movements on State occasions.

[2] Costume, attendants, etc.

[3] A kind of sleeveless jacket with a broad band on the skirt. See illustration in "Sanzaidzuye," Book XXVIII. p. 4.

[4] The ties were for holding the flaps of the garment together in front: the tassels were the same, only longer, and allowed to hang down by way of ornament.

But on the occasion of (state) assemblies, those who wear susotsuki should also have tassels. In the case of men, however, those who have yebōshi[1] should wear them, and at the same time laced[2] trousers. Women of forty years of age or upwards are allowed to tie up their hair or not, and to ride astride or side-saddle, just as they please. A distinction is made in the case of practisers of magic, who are excepted from the rule for tying up the hair."[3]

11th day. Prince Mino and his colleagues presented a map of the province of Shinano.

16th day. A vegetarian feast was prepared within the Palace. A pardon was accordingly given to the Toneri who had been guilty of offences.

24th day. The Buddhist priest Fukuyō of Asukadera was condemned and thrown into prison.

29th day. Fukuyō committed suicide by cutting his throat.

5th month, 14th day. The priests, nuns and laity who had emigrated from Pèkché, men and women, altogether twenty-three persons, were all settled in the province of Musashi.

28th day. Nanihamaro, Miwa no Hiketa no Kimi, was sent to Koryö as Chief Envoy, and Hitotari, Kuhabara no Muraji, as Junior Envoy.

6th month, 4th day. Prayer was offered for rain.

XXIX. 48. Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor visited Hirose.

9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

23rd day. A comet appeared in the North-west, more than ten feet long.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—

"The hereditary titles of all the families[4] are again reformed,

[1] A kind of cap. *Vide* illustration in "Sansaidzuye," XXIX. 5.

[2] Gathered in at the bottom with a lace, like Turkish trousers. Now called nubakama.

[3] No doubt this exception was prompted by the conservatism associated with religious practices, and of which the use of the fire-drill in Japan at the present day is a striking example.

[4] Noble families are of course meant. Here as elsewhere the word I translate title is 姓 or surname. The Japanese had no proper surnames at this time.

and eight titles of eight classes instituted. By this means the multitudinous titles of the Empire are amalgamated. The first is Mabito,[1] the second Ason,[2] the third Sukune,[3] the fourth Imiki,[4] the fifth Michi no Shi,[5] the sixth Omi,[6] the seventh Muraji,[7] and the eighth Inaki." [8]

On this day thirteen houses received the title of Mabito, viz. Moriyama no Kimi, Michi no Kimi, Takahashi no Kimi, Mikuni no Kimi, Tahema no Kimi, Ibaraki no Kimi, Tajihi no Kimi, Wina no Kimi, Sakata no Kimi, Hata no Kimi, Okinaga no Kimi, Sakabito no Kimi, and Yamaji no Kimi.

3rd day. Prince Ise and his colleagues were sent to determine the boundaries of the provinces.

On this day, Tasuki, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to Tamna as Chief Envoy, and Kane, Kahabara no Muraji, as Junior Envoy.

14th day. At the hour of the boar (10 p.m.) there was a great earthquake. Throughout the country men and women shrieked aloud, and knew not East from West. Mountains fell down and rivers gushed forth; the official buildings of the provinces XXIX. 49. and districts, the barns and houses of the common people, the temples, pagodas and shrines were destroyed in numbers which surpass all estimate. In consequence many of the people and of domestic animals were killed or injured. The hot springs of Iyo were dried up at this time and ceased to flow. In the province of Tosa more than 500,000 shiro of cultivated land were swallowed up and became sea.[9] Old men said that never before had there been such an earthquake. On this

[1] True man, given chiefly to persons of Imperial lineage.

[2] This is written 朝臣, and is derived by some from asa, morning, and omi, Minister. I suspect that it is the Corean title 阿湌.

[3] No satisfactory explanation of this title is given. It had fallen out of use at this time, and was now revived.

[4] This title was specially given to immigrants from Corea, and is said to be for ima-ki or new-comer.

[5] Or Dōshi, professor. [6] Minister or vassal.

[7] The original meaning is village-elder.

[8] Usually written with characters which mean rice-castle. They were perhaps originally the keepers of the public granaries.

[9] The line of the southern coast of Tosa is said to have been materially altered by this earthquake.

night a rumbling noise like that of drums was heard in the East. Some said that the island of Idzu[1] had increased of itself on two sides, the north and west, to the extent of more than 300 rods, and that a new island had been formed. The noise like that of drums was the sound made by the gods in constructing this island.

16th day. Presents were made to the Princes and Ministers.

11th month, 1st day. The title of Ason was granted to fifty-two houses,[2] viz. Oho-miha no Kimi, Oho-Kasuga no Omi, Abe no Omi, Kose no Omi, Kashihade no Omi, Ki no Omi, Hata no Omi, Mononobe no Muraji, Heguri no Omi, Sazakibe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Ohoyake no Omi, Ahata no Omi, Ishikaha no Omi, Sakarawi no Omi, Uneme no Omi,
XXIX. 50. Tanaka no Omi, Woharida no Omi, Hodzumi no Omi, Yamashiro no Omi, Kamo no Kimi, Wono no Omi, Kahahe no Omi, Iwi no Omi, Kakimoto no Omi, Karobe no Omi, Waka-zakurabe no Omi, Kishida no Omi, Takamuko no Omi, Shishi-bito no Omi, Kume no Omi, Inugami no Kimi, Kamidzukenu no Kimi, Tsunu no Omi, Hoshikaha no Omi, Oho no Omi, Munagata no Kimi, Kuruma-mochi no Kimi, Aya no Kimi, Shimoji no Omi, Iga no Omi, Abe no Omi, Hayashi no Omi, Hami no Omi, Shimodzukenu no Kimi, Sami no Kimi, Chi-mori no Omi, Ohono no Kimi, Sakamoto no Omi, Ikeda no Kimi, Tamate no Omi, and Kasa no Omi.

3rd day. The Governor of the province of Tosa reported that owing to a great tide which rose high, and an overflowing rush of sea-water, many of the ships used for conveying tribute had been sunk and lost.[3]

21st day. At dusk the seven stars drifted together to the North-east and sank.[4]

23rd day. At sunset a star fell in the quarter of the East as

[1] The volcanic island off the entrance to Yedo Bay, known to foreigners as Vries Island.

[2] A considerable step. Ason was the 2nd class, Omi the 6th, and Muraji the 7th.

[3] A tidal wave is no doubt referred to, perhaps an accompaniment of the earthquake above described.

[4] The seven stars are the stars of the Northern Bushel, as the Chinese call Charles' Wain.

large as a jar.[1] At the hour of the dog[2] the constellations were wholly disordered,[3] and stars fell like rain. XXIX. 51.

During this month there was a star which shot up in the zenith and proceeded along with the Pleiades until the end of the month, when it disappeared.

12th month, 2nd day. The title of Sukune was granted to fifty houses, viz. Ohotomo no Muraji, Saheki no Muraji, Adzumi no Muraji, Imbe no Muraji, Wohari no Muraji, Kura no Muraji, Nakatomi no Sakabito no Muraji, Hashi no Muraji, Harahibe no Muraji, Sakahibe no Muraji, Sakarawi no Tanabe no Muraji, Ifube no Muraji, Kannaibe no Muraji, Osakabe no Muraji, Kusakabe no Muraji, Miyake no Muraji, Kobe no Muraji, Tasuki no Muraji, Tajihi no Muraji, Yuki no Tajihi no Muraji, Nuribe[4] no Muraji, Oho-yuye no Muraji, Waka-yuye no Muraji, Yuge no Muraji, Kami Hatori no Muraji, Nukatabe XXIX. 52. no Muraji, Tsumori no Muraji, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, Waka-inukahi no Muraji, Tamanoya no Muraji, Nittabe no Muraji, Shidzuwori no Muraji, Hi no Muraji, Ofusama[5] no Muraji, Yamabe no Muraji, Yatsume no Muraji, Sawi no Muraji, Tsume-takumi[6] no Muraji, Ato no Muraji, Mamuta no Muraji, Tame no Muraji, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Uji no Muraji, Wi-tsukahi no Muraji, Ama no Inukahi no Muraji, Hashibito no Muraji, Usume no Muraji, Mino no Muraji, Moroahi no Omi, and Furu no Muraji.

6th day. Wohi, Hashi no Sukune, and Hōzen, Shirawi no Fubito, who had gone to the Land of Great Thang for study, and also Kobito Witsukahi no Muraji, and Tokuko, Tsukushi no Miyake no Muraji, who had been carried off to Great Thang during the Pèkché campaign, arrived by way of XXIX. 53. Silla. Accordingly Silla sent Kim Mul-yu, of Tè-nama rank, to escort Wohi and the others to Tsukushi.

13th day. There was a general pardon to all criminals except those guilty of capital crimes.

[1] Described in the "Yengishiki" as holding two to, the to being a little less than the fourth part of an Imperial bushel.

[2] 7 to 9 p.m.

[3] A commentator says that this typified the disorder of the titles of the nobility.

[4] Or Urushibe. [5] Or Wofuama.

[6] Hoof-workers. Makers of imitation tortoise-shell (?).

In this year it was notified to the four provinces of Iga, Ise, Mino, and Wohari, that for the future in years of payment of commuted taxes,[1] forced labour would be remitted, and in years of forced labour, the commuted taxes would be remitted.

The lower district of Katsuraki in Yamato reported that there was a fowl with four legs.[2]

Moreover the district of Higami in the province of Tamba reported that there was a calf with twelve horns.

A.D. 685. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

21st day. The styles of official ranks were reformed, and new grades added. There were two grades of *Myō-i* (bright-rank) and four grades of *Jō-i* (pure-rank), each grade being distinguished into *Dai* (great) and *Kwō* (broad), so as to form twelve grades in all. The above were for persons not below the rank of Princes.

Next there were four grades of *Shō-i* (true or first rank), four grades of *Jiki-i* (straight or direct rank), four grades of *Gon-i* (diligent-rank), four grades of *Mu-i* (earnest-rank), four grades of *Tsui-i* (following-rank), and four grades of *Shin-i* (advancing-rank). Each grade was divided into *Dai* and *Kwō*, so that there were in all forty-eight grades. The above were the ranks of high officials.

XXIX. 54. On this day, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe was granted the rank of Jō-kwō-ichi (pure-broad-first-rank), the Imperial Prince Ohotsu the rank of Jō-dai-ni (pure-great-second-rank), the Imperial Prince Takechi the rank of Jō-kwō-ni, the Imperial Prince Kahashima and the Imperial Prince Osakabe the rank of Jō-dai-san. The Princes of inferior rank and the high officials received steps in rank varying in each case.

2nd month, 4th day. Degrees of rank were granted to men of Great Thang, of Pèkché, and of Koryö, 147 persons in all.

3rd month, 14th day. Kim Mul-yu was entertained in Tsukushi, and straightway took his departure from there.

[1] Not the land-tax of rice, but cloth and other things paid in lieu of service, etc.

[2] "Such monstrosities denoted that the Sovereign and his Ministers pay attention to the sayings of nuns and old women and show them excessive kindness."—"Shūkai."

Accordingly seven men of Silla who had been cast away on our coast were delivered to Mul-yu and sent back.

16th day. Shitanu, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-dai-san rank, the Mayor of the capital, died.

27th day. Orders were sent to all the provinces that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures placed there. Worship was to be paid and offerings of food made at these shrines.[1]

In this month there was a rain of ashes in the province of Shinano. The herbs and trees all withered up.[2]

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. The Governor of the province of Kiï reported that the hot springs of Muro had dried up and ceased to flow.

12th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. Kim Chu-san of Silla took his departure.

25th day. Priests and nuns were for the first time invited to come to the Palace for a "retreat."[3]

5th month, 5th day. There was archery at the South Gate.

The Emperor visited the Temple of Asuka, presented to the Buddha precious objects, and paid him reverence.

19th day. Mabito, Ahada no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, offered to transfer his rank to his father, but by an Imperial order this was disallowed.

On this day, Hiromaro, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, died. For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi.

26th day. Maro, Takamuku no Ason, Ushi-kahi, Tsunu no Ason, and their people arrived back from Silla. Along with them arrived the student priests Kwanjō and Unkwan. The King of Silla sent presents of two horses, three dogs, two parrots, two magpies, and a variety of valuable objects. XXIX. 55

6th month, 20th day. Eleven houses were granted the title of Imiki, viz. Yamato no Muraji, Katsuraki no Muraji,

[1] These domestic shrines (butsudan) are still to be seen in Japan.

[2] No doubt a fall of volcanic ashes is referred to, perhaps from Asama-yama. I have seen a forest at the foot of this mountain all withered, probably from the same cause.

[3] There has been already a notice to the same effect.

Ofushi-kahachi no Muraji, Yamashiro no Muraji, Naniha no Muraji, Ki no Sakabito no Muraji, Higashi Aya no Muraji, Nishi Aya no Muraji, Hada no Muraji, Ohosumi no Atahe, and Fumi no Muraji.

Autumn, 7th month, 21st day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

26th day. The colours of the Court costumes for persons of the rank of Myō-i down to that of Shin-i were now settled for the first time. All persons of the rank of Jō-i and above wore red, those of Shō-i rank deep purple, those of Jiki-i rank light purple, those of Gon-i rank dark green, those of Mu-i rank light green, those of Tsui-i rank deep grape-colour, and those of Shin-i rank light grape-colour.

27th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"All persons of rank[1] in the provinces of the Tō-san-dō from Mino eastwards, and of the Tō-kai-dō from Ise eastwards, are absolved from rendering forced labour."

8th month, 12th day. The Emperor visited the Temple of Jōdoji.[2]

13th day. The Emperor visited the Temple of Kahara, and gave alms of rice to the company of priests.

20th day. The Envoys sent to Tamna returned.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor gave a banquet in the Court of the Audience Hall of the old Palace.[3]

On this day presents of cloth of various values were given to everyone from the Prince Imperial down to the Imperial Prince Osakabe.

XXIX. 56. 11th day. Prince Miyatoko, Prince Hirose, Prince Naniha, Prince Takeda, and Prince Mino were sent to the capital and to the Home provinces, each to hold an examination of the arms of the militia.[4]

15th day. Ushikahi, Tsunu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, was appointed Commissioner for the Tōkaido, Mushina, Ishikaha no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the Tō-san-do, Sukunamaro, Sami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the Sanyō-do, Ahaji, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the San-in-do, Tomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Commissioner for the Nan-

[1] Of one of the official ranks just mentioned.

[2] The same as the Asukadera so often mentioned above.

[3] Of Okamoto.

[4] Nimbu, a word usually applied to coolies.

kai-do, and Hirotari, Saheki no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for Tsukushi. Each took with him one Hangwan and one secretary, and made a tour to inspect the governors of provinces and of districts and the condition of the people.

On this day the Emperor made a decree, saying :—" Let all singers, whether male or female, and all flute-players, transmit their art to their descendants, and make them practise singing and the flute." [1]

28th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience, summoned to him the Princes and Ministers before the Hall, and made them gamble.

On this day the Emperor made presents of the Imperial upper garments and trousers to Prince Miyatoko, Prince Naniha, Prince Takeda, Tomotari, Mikuni no Mabito, Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Sukune, Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Sukune, Homuchi, Oho no Ason, Tsukura, Uneme no Ason, and Ohoshima, Fujihara no XXIX. 57.
Ason, ten persons in all.

19th day. The Emperor gave presents of Polar bear-skins [2] and of skins of the mountain-goat to forty-eight Princes and Ministers from the Prince Imperial downwards, of varying value in each case.

20th day. The Envoys sent to the Land of Koryö returned.

24th day. On account of the Emperor being unwell, Buddhist scriptures were read for three days in the Great Temple of the Great Palace, and in the Temples of Kahara and Asuka. Rice was accordingly given to these three temples, in amounts varying in each case.

27th day. The immigrants from Koryö received presents of various amounts.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Pèkché priest Syang-hwi was allowed a fief of thirty houses. This priest was a hundred years old.

8th day. Pöp-chang, a priest of Pèkché,[3] and Gonju,

[1] Those employed about the Palace are no doubt meant.

[2] See above, p. 257. The mountain-goat is probably the Kamo-shika, for which see Dickins in Introduction to "Satow's Handbook," 2nd edit. p. [41].

[3] Perhaps this priest and the one named in the previous paragraph were not Coreans, but only priests of the Temple of Kudara, the Japanese name of Pèkché. Their names would in that case be Jō-ki and Hō-jō.

Masuda no Atahe, a lay member of the Buddhist Church,[1] were sent to Mino to make an infusion of Wokera.[2] They were accordingly given presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth.

10th day. Tarise, Karobe no Ason, Nihinomi, Takada no Obito,[3] and Maro, Aredawo no Muraji, were sent to Shinano with instructions to prepare a temporary Palace. The intention probably was that the Emperor should visit the hot springs of Tsukama.

12th day. Prince Hatsuse of Jō-dai-shi rank, Uma-kahi, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, with Hangwan and inferior officers to the number of twenty persons in all, were appointed to carry out the works[4] in the Home provinces.

17th day. Prince Ise and his colleagues went again to the Eastern provinces. They accordingly received presents of upper garments and trousers.

In this month the "Kongō-hanya[5] Sutra" was expounded in the Palace.

11th month, 2nd day. Ten thousand kin of store-iron were
XXIX. 58. sent to the prefecture[6] of Suwo. On the demand of the Viceroy of Tsukushi the following store[7] articles were sent down to Tsukushi, viz. 100 hiki of coarse silk, 100 kin of raw silk, 300 tan of cloth, 400 pieces of tax-cloth, 10,000 kin of iron, and 2000 bundles of bamboos for making arrows.

4th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces in all quarters, saying:—"All such things as great and small horns, drums, fifes, flags, crossbows,[8] and stone-throwing engines should not be kept in private houses; they should all be stored in the Government house of the district."

[1] Ubasoku, the Sanskrit Upâsaka. The title of Atahe seems to have been abolished by the edict given, XXIX. 48, and it is not found in the original text. The "Shūkai" editor has inserted it here, and something of the kind is evidently required.

[2] A medicinal plant, the Atractylis Ovata. Hepburn.

[3] Another title abolished by the edict on XXIX. 48.

[4] The construction of a temporary palace, says the "Shūkai."

[5] Sanskrit, "Vadjra Pradjñâ."

[6] The term used means "the place of general control." It occurs here for the first time.

[7] From the Government stores. The use of coin was still very restricted, and remittances took such forms as this.

[8] Large crossbows are meant, which it required several men to handle.

6th day. The Emperor visited the park of Shira-nishiki.

The priests Pöp-chang and Gonju presented to the Emperor an infusion of Wokera.[1]

On this day the ceremony of "calling on the spirit" was performed for the Emperor's sake.[2]

27th day. Silla sent Kim Chi-syang, of Pha-chin-son rank, and Kim Kön-hun, of Tè-ason rank, to request governance and to bring tribute.

12th month, 4th day. The frontier guards sent to Tsukushi were tossed about in mid ocean, and all lost their clothing. Accordingly 450 tan of cloth were sent to Tsukushi to make clothing for them.

10th day. There was an earthquake. It began from the West.

16th day. Alms of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth were given to the priests of the Great Temple in the Great Palace. XXIX. 59.

19th day. The Empress-consort presented the Princes and high officials, to the number of fifty-five persons, with Court costume, one suit to each.

Shuchō,[3] 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience and gave a banquet to the Princes and High Officials. A.D. 686.

[1] See above, XXIX. 57.

[2] When the Sun-goddess sent down Ninigi no Mikoto to rule the lower world, she gave him, according to the "Kiujiki" (II. 2), ten auspicious Heavenly treasures, viz. one mirror of the offing, one mirror of the shore, one eight-span sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one sufficing jewel, one jewel of the returning path, one dragon's fin, one bee's fin, and one fin of various articles. The Heavenly ancestor then instructed him, saying:—"In case of ailment, say to these ten treasures, '*Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari*' [or according to another version, 'Hi, fu, mi, yo, i, mu, na, ya, ko, to'] (i.e. one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten), and shake them yura-yura (an onomatopoetic word). If thou dost so, the dead will come to life again." This was the origin of the ceremony of *furu* (shaking).

The interlinear Kana calls this ceremony mitama-furishiki (shaking the august jewels). The Chinese characters mean "invitation of the spirit." It was performed with the object of renewing the Emperor's vigour and prolonging his life.

[3] Shuchō means red-bird. The "Nihongi" has no year-periods for the early part of the reign of Temmu, but some chronologists give Shujaku for 672 and Hakuhō for 673-685.

On this day the Emperor decreed, saying:—"We shall now propose conundrums[1] to the Princes and High Officials, and we promise prizes to those who give the right answers."

Upon this the Imperial Prince Takechi gave the right answers to the questions and received a present of 3 suits of Imperial garments of hari-suri,[2] 2 pairs of brocade trousers, with 20 hiki of coarse silk, 50 kin of raw silk, 100 kin of floss silk, and 100 tan of cloth. Prince Ise also gave right answers, and was presented with 3 suits of black Imperial garments, 2 pairs of purple trousers, 7 hiki of coarse silk, 20 kin of raw silk, 40 kin of floss silk, and 40 tan of cloth.

On this day Kudara no Nihiki, a man of the province of Settsu, presented to the Emperor a white agate.

9th day. An invitation was given to the three higher ecclesiastics, the Risshi,[3] and also to the director and clerks of the Great Temple of the Great Palace, nine priests in all, and they
XXIX.60. were entertained at a lay[4] banquet. Moreover alms were given them of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth, varying in value in the case of each.

10th day. The Princes and High Officials received a present of upper garments and trousers, one suit each.

13th day. Men of talent, scholars, professors of Philosophy,[5] and physicians, more than twenty persons in all, were summoned to the Palace. Food was given them and presents made to them.

14th day. At the hour of the cock[6] the Treasury Department at Naniha took fire and all the Palace was burnt. Some said that the fire broke out in the house of Kusuri, Ato no Muraji, and that it spread from there to the Palace. But the Arsenal offices were not burnt.

16th day. The Emperor invited the Princes and High Officials to a banquet in the Great Audience Hall, and made

[1] Literally things with no end, i.e. without head or tail—nonsensical questions. Here is a specimen. "Why does a horse, after a rapid run, listen to the earth? Why does a dog, when he goes slowly, raise his leg?"

[2] A dye.

[3] A rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[4] Not confined to vegetarian dishes.

[5] Of the Yin and Yang system of Chinese philosophy.

[6] 6 p.m.

them presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth, varying according to the rank of each.

On this day conundrums were put to the Ministers, and more presents of fine and coarse silk given to those who made the right answers on the spot.

17th day. A banquet was given in the hinder Palace.[1]

18th day. There was a great revel at Court.

On this day the Emperor took his place in front of the Imperial muro[2] building and made presents to performers, of various values. He also gave presents of clothing to singers.

19th day. There was an earthquake.

In this month Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Ohoshima Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Konoshiro, Sakahibe no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and Mushimaro, Hodzumi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, were sent to Tsukushi to entertain Kim Chi-syang, of Silla.

2nd month, 4th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Reception Hall and conferred the rank of Gon-i on six Ministers who attended him personally.

5th day. The Emperor commanded that nine meritorious governors of provinces should be selected and the rank of Gon-i conferred on them.

3rd month, 6th day. Yakuni, Hata no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, holding the office of Daiben, took ill. On his behalf three men entered religion as priests.

10th day. Snow.

25th day. Yakuni, Hata no Mabito, died. On account of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was bestowed on Kato, Kuhabara no Sukuri, the Emperor's body-physician. He was also granted the title of Muraji. XXIX. 61.

13th day. For the entertainment of the Silla guests, the music of the Temple of Kahara was transported to Tsukushi. Accordingly, 5000 sheaves of rice, the private property of

[1] The Empress-consort's rooms.

[2] Muro, 窟, see Vol. I. p. 71, note. For a long time there has been no mention of this kind of dwelling in the "Nihongi." Or perhaps Mimuro is simply the name of a particular building.

the Empress-consort's Palace, were paid to the Temple of Kahara.[1]

19th day. The Silla tribute was brought up from Tsukushi. It consisted of more than 100 articles, including one good horse, one mule, two dogs, vessels of chased gold as well as gold and silver, rose-tinted brocades, silk gauze, tiger and leopard skins, and drugs. Moreover Chi-syang and Kön-hun presented separately such things as gold and silver, rose-tinted brocades, silk gauze, vessels of gold, screens, saddle-skins, thin cloth stuffs, and drugs, of each more than sixty kinds. There were separate presents for the Empress-consort, the Prince Imperial, and the Princes of the Blood, a certain number of articles for each.

27th day. The Imperial Princess Taki, the Princess Yamashiro no hime, and the Lady Ishikaha were sent to the Shrine of Ise.

5th month, 9th day. The Imperial Princess Taki and her companions returned from Ise.

On this day Ök-in,[2] a man of Pèkché, the body-physician of the Emperor, took ill. When he was on the point of death, he was granted the rank of Gon-dai-ichi and a fief of 100 houses.

14th day. By Imperial command, a fief of 700 houses was granted to the Great Temple of the Great Palace, and taxes given it to the amount of 30,000 sheaves (of rice).

17th day. Promotion in rank was granted to the officials of the Palace.

24th day. The Emperor's body was ill at ease. Accordingly the "Sutra of Yakushi"[3] was expounded in the Temple of
XXIX. 62. Kahara, and a "retreat" was held within the Palace.

29th day. Kim Chi-syang and his colleagues were entertained in Tsukushi. Each having received presents of various amounts, they took their departure from Tsukushi.

In this month, by Imperial command, the Ohotoneri of the Right and Left were sent to cleanse the Halls and Pagodas of

[1] One reading has fifty sheaves of rice. The interlinear Kana has Kure-gaku, i.e. music of Kure, the Japanese name for the province of Wu in China.

[2] The interlinear Kana has Wokuni.

[3] "Bhēchadjya Rādja," i.e. the medical King. Eitel.

the Temples. Accordingly a general pardon throughout the Empire was proclaimed, and the prisons were empty.

6th month, 1st day. Kachimaro, Tsukimoto no Sukuri, was granted the title of Muraji, raised to the rank of Gon-dai-ichi, and given a fief of twenty houses.

2nd day. Official rank was bestowed on thirty-four persons, including architects, professors of philosophy, body-physicians of the Emperor, students of Great Thang, and one or two officials.

7th day. A selection was made of twenty-eight functionaries who had rendered good service, and they were promoted in rank.

10th day. It was ascertained by divination that the Emperor's disease was owing to a curse from the Kusa-nagi sword.[1] The same day it was sent to the shrine of Atsuta, in Wohari, and deposited there.

12th day. Prayer was made for rain.

16th day. Prince Ise and a number of officials were sent to the Temple of Asuka, to communicate to the priests the Emperor's commands, as follows:—"Of late Our body is ill at ease, and We request that the dread power of the Three Precious Things may be invoked, in order to obtain repose for Our person. Let the Sōjō, the Sōdzu, and the general body of priests therefore put up prayers." Offerings of rare and valuable things were accordingly made to the Three Precious Things. On this day the three higher ecclesiastics, with the Risshi and the abbots[2] of the four temples, the directors, and the priests of professorial rank then in residence, received each alms of one suit of Imperial garments and one Imperial coverlet.

19th day. Public functionaries were sent to the Temple of Kahara to exhibit lanterns and make offerings of food. So there was a great vegetarian feast, and repentance was made for sin. XXIX. 63.

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 205, Vol. II. p. 290.

[2] The Sinico-Japanese is Oshō, the equivalent of the Sanskrit Upashâya Oshō is the polite word for a priest in Japan at the present day. The four temples were doubtless the great temples which remained under official administration after the disendowment measure described above, XXIX. 27.

20th day. The priests Hōjin and Gishō were granted fiefs of thirty houses each, to support them in their old age.

22nd day.[1] The kitchen office[2] at Nabari was burnt.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Emperor commanded that men should again wear leggings, and that women should let down their hair on their backs, as was formerly the practice.

On this day the Sōjō and Sōdzu came into the Palace, and performed a penitential service.

3rd day. The Emperor commanded the provinces to perform the ceremony of Oho-barahi.[3]

4th day. Half the commuted taxes were remitted throughout the Empire, and all forced labour was dispensed with.

5th day. Offerings were made to Kuni-gakari no Kami,[4] who dwells in the province of Kiï, to the four shrines of Asuka, and to the Great God of Sumiyoshi.

8th day. One hundred priests were invited into the Palace, and made to read the Kon-kwō-myō Sutra.

10th day. There was lightning in the south, with a great clap of thunder. The buildings used by the Department of the Interior, for the storage of tax-cloth, met with destruction from Heaven. Some said that the fire broke out in the Palace of the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and that it spread to the Department of the Interior.

15th day. The Emperor gave orders that all matters of the Empire, without distinction of great and small, should be referred to the Empress-consort and the Prince Imperial.

On this day a general amnesty was granted.

16th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

19th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"Let all common people throughout the Empire who, owing to poverty, have contracted debts in rice or in valuables, whether to the State or to private persons, on or before the 30th day of

[1] Something is wrong with the dates here.

[2] An agency for the supply of victuals for the Imperial table. These offices seem to have taken the place of some of the Be of more ancient times. The "Yengishiki" mentions such offices in Idzumi, Kiï, Ahaji, Afumi, and Wakasa.

[3] Great purification.

[4] Said by the "Shiki" to be a Corean deity.

the 12th month of the year Kinoto Tori (685) be absolved from payment."

22nd day. The style of the year was changed to Shuchō, 1st year. [The characters 朱鳥 are read *aka-mitori*, red-august-bird.] The Palace was accordingly entitled the Palace of Asuka[1] no Kiyomibara. XXIX. 64.

28th day. Seventy persons of pure conduct[2] were selected to retire from the world. A feast of vegetable food was provided in the Palace in front of the Emperor's muro[3] residence.

In this month the Princes and Ministers made images of Kwannon,[4] for the Emperor's sake. Accordingly the Kwan-ze-on Sutra[5] was expounded in the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

8th month, 1st day. For the sake of the Emperor, eighty priests were received into religion.

2nd day. Priests and nuns, to the number of 100 in all, entered religion. Accordingly, 100 Bosatsu[6] were set up within the Palace, and 200 volumes of the Kwannon Sutra read.

9th day. On account of the illness of the Emperor, prayer was made to the (Shintō) Gods of Heaven and Earth.

13th day. Ihakatsu, Hada no Imiki, was sent to make offerings to the Great God of Tosa.

On this day the Prince Imperial, the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, and the Imperial Prince Takechi had each 400 houses added to their fiefs. The Imperial Princes Kahashima and Osakabe had each additions of 100 houses.

15th day. The Imperial Princes Shiki and Shigi received additions of 200 houses each.

The Temples of Hinokuma, Karu, and Ohokubo were each granted fiefs of 100 houses, limited to a term of thirty years.

[1] Asuka is written with two Chinese characters which mean "flying-bird."

[2] Who practised the precepts of Buddhism.

[3] See above, XXXIX. 60.

[4] In Sanskrit, Avalôkitês'vara. *Vide* Eitel.

[5] Part of the "Hokkekyō," or "Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra," called Fumonbon. Kwan-ze-on is another form of the word Kwannon.

[6] Bodhisattva. The images of Kwannon made by the Princes and Ministers are probably meant.

23rd day. A fief of 200 houses was granted to the Temple of Kose.

9th month, 4th day. All, from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers, assembled in the Temple of Kahara, and put up vows for the Emperor's illness, etc., etc.

9th day. The Emperor's disease having shown no sign of abatement, he died in the principal Palace.

11th day. Lament was begun for him, and a temporary burial Palace erected in the South Court.

24th day. The Emperor was temporarily interred in the South Court and mourning began.

At this time the Imperial Prince Ohotsu conspired against
XXIX. 65. the Prince Imperial.

27th day. At dawn, all the priests and nuns having made lament in the Court of Temporary Interment, retired.

On this day, for the first time, offerings were made at the tomb and eulogies pronounced.

First of all, Aragama, Ohomi no Sukune, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Imperial Princes; next, Prince Ise, of Jō-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the other Princes; next, Ohotomo, Agata no Mukahi no Sukune, of Jiki-dai-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the officials of the Household generally; next, Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Ohotoneri of the right and left; next, Kunimi, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Guards of the right and left; next, Tsukura, Uneme no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the lady officials of the Palace; and next, Mabito, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Stewards of the Palace.

28th day. All the priests and nuns again made lament in the Court of Temporary Interment.

On this day, Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Council of State; next, Maro, Isonokami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the judicial officers; next, Takechi-maro, Oho-miwa no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the administrative officials; next, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-san rank,

pronounced a eulogy regarding the Treasury; and next, Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the war officials.

29th day. The priests and nuns again raised lament.

On this day, Maro, Abe no Kunu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Board of Punishments; next, Yumibari, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Department of the Interior; next, Mushi-maro, Hodzumi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Governors of Provinces; next, the Ohosumi no Ata no Hayato, and the two Muma-kahi-be no Miyakko of Yamato and Kahachi each pronounced eulogies. XXIX. 66.

30th day. The priests and nuns made lament.

On this day, the Pèkché prince Nyang-u pronounced a eulogium on behalf of his father, Prince Chön-kwang. Next, the Miyakko of the various provinces, as they came, each pronounced his eulogy. There were also performances of all manner of singing and dancing.

BOOK XXX.

THE EMPRESS TAKAMA NO HARA HIRO-NO NO HIME.[1]

(*JITŌ*[2] *TENNŌ*)

THE Empress Takama no hara hiro-no no hime's name as a child was the Imperial Princess Uno no Sarara. She was the second daughter of the Emperor Ame-mikoto hirakasu wake.[3] Her mother's name was Wochi no Iratsume. [Also called Minodzuko hime.] She was of reserved manners and a liberal disposition. In the third year of the Empress Ame-toyo takara ikashihi tarashi hime, she was united to the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito as his consort. Although the daughter of an Emperor, she loved courtesy and economy, and was possessed of motherly virtues. In the first year of the Emperor Ame-mikoto hirakasu wake, she gave birth to His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe in the palace of Ohotsu. In the tenth month of the tenth year (of the same reign) she followed the Shamon the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito to Yoshino in order to avoid the suspicious dislike of the Court, as has been related in the history of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito, summer, the sixth month, she followed the Emperor when he took refuge in the Eastern provinces. She addressed the troops and mingled with the throng, until at length they together formed a plan by which several tens of thousands of fearless men were separately ordered to take up their posts in all the most defensible positions. In autumn, the seventh month, the Mino generals acting in concert with the Yamato heroes slew the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and sent his head to

[1] High-Heaven broad-plain princess.

[2] Jitō means "holding supreme control."

[3] Tenchi Tennō.

be shown at the Fuha Palace. In the second year she was raised to the rank of Empress-consort. The Empress-consort from the beginning until now had assisted the Emperor in XXX. 2
pacifying the Empire. It constantly happened that in the conduct of business, her ready advice on Government matters was of the greatest assistance.[1]

In the first year of Shuchō, on the ninth day of the ninth month, the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito died. The Empress-consort presided over the Court and exercised control.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. The Imperial Prince Ohotsu's treason was discovered and he was placed under arrest. There were arrested at the same time Wotokashi, Yakuchi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Lower Shō-sen rank,[2] and also the Ohotoneri Omi-maro, Nakatomi no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, a Silla priest named Hèng-sin, with Tobari, Toki no Michi-dzukuri, and others, more than thirty persons in all, who had been led astray by the Imperial Prince Ohotsu.

3rd day. Death was bestowed on the Imperial Prince XXX. 3.
Ohotsu in his house at Wosada. He was twenty-four years of age. His consort, the Imperial Princess Yamanobe, hastened thither with her hair dishevelled and her feet bare, and joined him in death. All who witnessed sighed and sobbed.

The Imperial Prince Ohotsu was the third child of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito.[3] His demeanour was noble and his language refined. He was beloved by the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake. When he grew to manhood he showed an eminent talent for learning, and was very fond of writing. The practice of composing Chinese verses had its origin with Ohotsu.

29th day. An Imperial decree was issued as follows :—"The Imperial Prince Ohotsu has been guilty of treason and has led astray officials and people, so that We, within the curtain, had no alternative.[4] The Imperial Prince Ohotsu has now perished. His followers deserve the same sentence as the

[1] This sentence is borrowed from a Chinese author.

[2] This rank had been abolished some years before.

[3] Temmu Tennō.

[4] The Empress is the speaker. Hence the phrase, "Within the curtain."

Prince, but We pardon them all. Toki no Michi-dzukuri is however, banished to Idzu." It was further decreed, saying: —"We cannot bring ourselves to inflict punishment on the Silla priest Hèng-sin, who was an accomplice in the Imperial Prince Ohotsu's treason. He is therefore exiled to the temple of the province of Hida."

11th month, 16th day. The Imperial Princess Ohoku, who had been sent to attend at the shrine of Ise, returned to the capital.

17th day. There was an earthquake.

12th month, 19th day. On behalf of the Emperor Ame no
XXX. 4. Nunahara oki no Mabito, a universal great assembly was held in the following five Temples, viz., of the Great Palace, of Asuka, of Kahara, of Toyora in Woharida, and of Sakata.

26th day. Presents of cloth and silk stuffs of various values were made to the orphans, to the childless and widowed, and to the aged people of the capital.

Intercalary 12th month. The Viceroy of Tsukushi sent as tribute common people, both men and women, of the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché, and Silla, and also sixty-two priests and nuns.

In this year a serpent and a dog copulated. Presently they both died together.

A.D. 687. 1st year,[1] Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary interment and made lament. The Nagon[2] Miaruji Fuse no Asòn performed the ceremony of pronouncing a eulogy. When the eulogy was over they all raised a lament. Next the common people made lament. Upon this Mabito, Ki no Ason, and others of the High Stewards of the Palace, made offerings of food. When this was done, the Uneme of the Steward's Department raised a lament. Then music was performed by the officials of the Department of Music.

5th day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary

[1] The nengo or year periods are dropped again and the old method of reckoning by the year of the reign reverted to.

[2] More familiar in the combinations Dainagon and Chunagon. The word means Speaker, not inappropriate to his function on the present occasion.

interment and made lament. The common people followed and raised lamentation.

15th day. Presents of various values, of coarse silk and floss silk, were given to those residents of the capital who were eighty years of age or more, to invalids whose cases were grave, and to poor persons who were unable to support themselves.

19th day. Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, with Karita, Mori no kimi, of Tsui-dai-ni rank, and others were sent to Silla to announce the Emperor's decease. XXX. 5.

3rd month, 15th day. Fifty-six immigrants from Koryö were settled in the province of Hitachi. They were given lands, received an allowance of grain, and made to pursue their avocations in peace.

20th day. An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. This was called Mikage.[1]

On this day, Maro, Tajihi no Mabito, performed the ceremony of pronouncing a eulogy.

22nd day. Fourteen immigrants from Silla were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu. They were given land and received an allowance of grain, and made to pursue their avocations in peace.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi presented priests, nuns and common people, men and women, twenty-two persons, immigrants from Silla. They were settled in the province of Musashi, where they were granted lands and an allowance of grain, and were made to follow their avocations in peace.

5th month, 22nd day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. On this occasion, the chiefs of the Hayato and of Ata in Ohosumi, each accompanied by his people, advanced in turn and pronounced a eulogy.

6th month, 28th day. Criminals were pardoned.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. A decree was issued as follows :—" Interest may not be received on any debts contracted

[1] Mikage means " august shade." The wreath was supposed to represent the deceased Emperor. In a poem composed by the Empress at this time there occurs the phrase " tama-kadzura kage ni mietsutsu," i.e. "while looking on the jewel-wreath as thy shadow or representative."

during or previous to the year Kinoto Tori.[1] In cases where creditors have already the personal service of their debtors, they may not exact (additional) service (by way of) interest.[2]

9th day. Presents of various values were given to the chiefs of the Hayato and of Ata in Ohosumi, 337 persons in all.

8th month, 5th day. Offerings[3] of food were made at the Palace of temporary interment. On this day (nothing but) fine boiled rice[4] was offered.

6th day. The aged people of the capital, both men and
XXX. 6. women, all drew near and made lamentation west of the bridge.

28th day. The Empress sent Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, and Ohotomo Kibumi no Muraji, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, to invite together 300 Riu-zō and Dai-toku[5] to the Temple of Asuka, and to present to each a priestly robe,[6] saying:—"This was made of the august garments of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito." The language of the Imperial message was so pathetic that it may not be set forth in full.

9th month, 9th day. A national feast of vegetable food[7] was given in the Temples of the capital.

10th day. A maigre entertainment was given at the Palace of temporary interment.

22nd day. Silla sent Prince Kim Sang-nim, Kim Sal-mo, of Keupson rank, Kim In-syul, of Keupson rank, and the Tè-sya So Yang-sin to petition the Emperor (for advice) regarding the Government of that country and to offer tribute. The student-priest Chi-ryu arrived along with them. The Viceroy of Tsu-kushi having informed Sang-nim and his colleagues of the Emperor's decease, they all on that same day put on mourning,

[1] A.D. 685. [2] The first mention of interest on loans.

[3] The character used denotes specially the autumnal offerings to ancestors.

[4] Cooked down to one-third its original bulk. Giles. The "Shūkai" explains this to mean "without fish or flesh." The older reading is "green food," for which the interlinear Kana is hijiki-oho, a dish prepared with hijiki, a kind of sea-weed.

[5] Riu-zō is literally Dragon-elephant (Naga in Sanskrit), and Dai-toku great virtue, corresponding to the Sanskrit Bhadanta. Both are complimentary expressions for Buddhist dignitaries.

[6] Kesa, in Sanskrit kachâya.

[7] This was the anniversary of Temmu Tennō's death.

and with their faces turned to the East made obeisance three times, and three times raised lamentation.

Winter, 10th month, 22nd day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, as well as by the Governors of provinces, and the Kuni no Miyakko, together with common people, both men and women, began the construction of the Oho-uchi Misasagi.

12th month, 10th day. Tomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, was appointed Imperial Envoy for the entertainment of the Silla guests.

This year was the year Hinoto I (24th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, went to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. A.D. 688.

2nd day. A company of priests made lament at the Palace of temporary interment.

8th day. A public great congregation[1] was held in the Temple of Yakushi.

23rd day. The decease of the Emperor was formally announced to Kim Sang-nim and his colleagues. Kim Sang-nim and his colleagues thereupon made lament three times. XXX. 7.

2nd month, 2nd day. The Viceroy presented the tribute from Silla. It consisted of such things as gold and silver, thin silks, cloth, skins, copper, and iron—more than ten articles in all. There were also presented separately such things as images of Buddha, all kinds of coloured fine silks, birds, and horses, more than ten articles in all. Sang-nim's presents were gold and silver, coloured stuffs, and all manner of rarities, altogether more than eighty articles.

10th day. Sang-nim and his colleagues were entertained in the Tsukushi Government House, and received presents of various values.

16th day. A decree was issued, as follows :—" In future, on all days of national mourning it is absolutely necessary that abstinence should be practised."[2]

29th day. Sang-nim and his colleagues took their departure.

[1] Of priests.

[2] Some make this refer to a monthly fast on the day of the Emperor's decease, others to an annual observance.

3rd month, 22nd day. An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, pronounced a eulogy.

5th month, 8th day. Tök-na-ri, Kyöng-su of Pèkché was transferred to the province of Kahi.

6th month, 11th day. There was an Imperial decree, ordering that all prisoners throughout the Empire who had been guilty of capital crimes should have their punishment mitigated by one degree, and that those who were in prison for lighter offences should be all pardoned. Orders were given to the Empire that for this year (only) half the commuted taxes should be levied.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. By reason of the drought, there was great praying for rain.

20th day. The Pèkché priest Dōzō was commanded to pray for rain. Before a morning had passed, rain fell plentifully throughout the Empire.

8th month, 10th day. Offerings of food were made, and lament raised at the Palace of temporary interment. On this occasion Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, pronounced a eulogy.

XXX. 8. 11th day. Prince Ise, of Jō-dai-shi rank, was commanded to announce the state to be observed at the funeral.

25th day. The King of Tamna sent his Minister Kara with tribute of the productions of the country.

9th month, 23rd day. Kara, Minister of Tamna, and his companions were entertained at the Government House of Tsukushi, and received presents of various values.

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, as well as by the guests from the frontier lands, went to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. On this occasion offerings of food were made, and the Tate-fushi[1] dance performed.

The Ministers each advanced in turn and pronounced a eulogy, setting forth the circumstances of the services rendered by their ancestors.

[1] Shield-measure. So called because danced with shields (and swords) in the hands of the performers. Ten persons took part in it.

5th day. More than 190 Yemishi brought tribute on their backs, and in this fashion pronounced a eulogy.

11th day. Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, pronounced eulogies alternately.

Chitoko, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, in a eulogy recited the succession to the throne of the Imperial ancestors. When this ceremony was finished, the Emperor was buried in the Ohouchi[1] Misasagi.

12th month, 12th day. Two hundred and thirteen Yemishi, men and women, were entertained under the tsuki tree west of the Temple of Asuka. Ranks were bestowed on them, and they received presents varying in value.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Empress gave audience to the ten-thousand lands[2] in the Front Hall. A.D. 689.

2nd day. The Department of Great Learning presented eighty staves.[3] XXX. 9.

3rd day. Maro and Kanawori, sons of Shiriko, of Mu-dai-shi rank, Yemishi of Kikafu in the district of Utamu in the

[1] In the district of Takechi in Yamato, at the village of Gojō no mura. The site is five chō in length by four in width. Five houses for caretakers are allotted to it. The vault is eight feet wide and nine feet deep, and contains two stone sarcophagi. It has been plundered, like many others.

[2] "Ten-thousand lands or provinces" seems put for "everybody," "all the world," as we might say.

[3] The staves were for the purpose of driving out evil spirits, a ceremony which was performed on the first day of the Hare in each year. The "Yengishiki" mentions camellia, holly, peach, plum, etc., among the woods used for this purpose. This custom is of Chinese origin. The later custom of driving out evil spirits was by scattering beans, and was known as oni-yarahi, tsuina, or mame maki. This was practised on the last day of the year.

Yamada, in his Dictionary, says that a man was dressed up as the demon of pestilence; he describes the ceremony gone through of driving him away, and gives other particulars which are worth consulting. See also "Sansai-dzuye," iv. 27.

Tylor quotes several examples of allied superstitious practices in his "Primitive Culture," ii. p. 199, to which may be added the following from the "Life of Sir R. Burton":—"On Sylvester night the servants went through a very usual ceremony in Trieste of forming procession and chevying the evil spirits with sticks and brooms out of the house, and inviting the good spirits and good luck to come and dwell with us." This reminds one strongly of the Japanese formula used on this occasion:—"Oni wa soto, fuku wa uchi"—"Devils out, luck in." The ceremony too is performed on the same day of the year.

province of Michinoku, begged permission to shave off their hair and become priests. The Empress gave order, saying:—"Maro and the other, although young, are of refined tastes, and their wishes are limited; so much so that they desire nothing but vegetable food and to observe the precepts.[1] In accordance with their request, let them renounce the world and practise religion."

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers, and presents of raiment were bestowed on them.

8th day. Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, and his companions, who were sent as Envoys to Silla, returned from thence.

9th day. The Empress gave orders to the Governor of the province of Idzumo to send up to the capital men of the frontier lands who had met with stress of weather.

On this day there were presented to Dōshin, a Yemishi of Koshi, who was a Buddhist priest, an image of Buddha, one baptismal banner, one bell and one begging bowl, coloured silks, five feet of each kind, five bundles of floss silk, ten tan of cloth, ten mattocks, and one saddle.

Ahada no Mabito no Ason, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and others presented to the Empress 174 Hayato,[2] with fifty fathoms of cloth, six ox hides, and fifty deer-skins.

15th day. The civil and military officials brought presents of firewood.

16th day. A meal was given to the public functionaries.

18th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

20th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

2nd month, 13th day. The Empress gave orders that reliefs should be sent for the Barrier Wardens of Tsukushi who had completed their term of years.

26th day. Prince Takeda, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Nemaro, Hashi no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Maro, Ohoyake no
XXX. 1c. Ason, Fubito, Fujihara no Ason, Sakurawi, Tahema no Mabito, of Mu-dai-shi rank, Yamamori, Hodzumi no Ason, Omimaro,

[1] The ten Buddhist commandments. *Vide* Eitel, S'ikchâpada.

[2] I suspect that the use of the Hayato as an Imperial Guard began at this time; if this be so, the legend related of the reason why the Hayato were vassals of the Emperor (see Vol. I. p. 107) must be of comparatively recent origin.

Nakatomi no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, and Yasumaro, Ohomiwa no Ason, were made judges.

3rd month, 24th day. There was a great amnesty for the Empire. But those crimes which were not pardoned in ordinary amnesties were excepted from this amnesty.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. Immigrants from Silla were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu.

13th day. His Highness the Prince Imperial Kusakabe died.

20th day. Silla sent Kim To-na, of Keupson rank, and others on a mission of condolence for the decease of the Emperor Oki no Mabito. Silla sent up at the same time the student-priests Mei-sō, Kwan-chi, etc. Separately Silla sent a present of a gold-copper[1] image of Amida, a gold-copper image of Kwan-ze-on Bosatsu, and an image of Dai-sei-shi[2] Bosatsu, together with coloured silks and brocades.

22nd day. Prince Kasuga died.

27th day. Orders were given to the Local Governors that their labourers should be allowed four holidays in the month.

5th month, 22nd day. Nemaro, Hashi no Sukune, was directed to convey to the Condolence Envoys from Silla, Kim Tona, of Keupson rank, and his colleagues, an Imperial message, as follows:—"The Ministers of the Council of State, by order of the Empress, make this communication. In the first year of the reign, Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason and others were sent to announce the decease of the late Emperor. Then Silla said that the persons charged to receive an Imperial message had always had the rank of So-phan. This should also be the XXX. 11.
case on the present occasion. For this reason Norimaro and his colleagues were unable to deliver the Imperial message which was entrusted to them. Now if former matters are gone into, there is the case of the decease of the Emperor who once ruled the Empire from the Palace of Naniha,[3] when Kose no Inamochi and his colleagues were sent to announce it. On that occasion Kim Chhyun-chhyu, of Yé-son[4] rank, received

[1] Copper with a small admixture of gold. No doubt the shakudō of modern times. See "Japanese Metallurgy," by W. Gowland, in the "Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry," June, 1896.

[2] Sanskrit, Mahânâman.

[3] Kōtoku Tennō.

[4] Probably Tè-a-son is meant. At least this was his rank above, and no Silla rank of Yé-son is known.

the Imperial message, so that if it is said that an official of the rank of So-phan should receive the Imperial commands, this would be at variance with former precedent.

Again, when the Emperor who ruled the Empire from the Palace of Afumi[1] died, Kim Sal-yu, of Il-kil-son rank, was sent to offer condolence. But now an official of the rank of Keupson offers condolence, which again is contrary to precedent. Moreover Silla has always addressed the Emperor saying:—'Our country, since the reigns of the remote Imperial ancestors of Japan, is a land which does service, never allowing the oars of its ordered ships to become dry.' Yet now but one ship is sent, which is contrary to the ancient rule. And further in addressing the Emperor Silla has said:—'Since the reign of the remote Imperial ancestor of Japan, we have done service with pure hearts.' But you have not been careful to be thoroughly faithful in the performance of the functions originally entrusted to you. You have broken your true faith and have had wilful recourse to arts of flattery. Therefore your tribute and the separate presents are sealed up together and returned to you. However, the generous affection shown to you since the reign of the remote Imperial ancestor of this country will not be discontinued. Be therefore more and more diligent, more and more watchful, and discharge the duties entrusted to you with fear and trembling. The Celestial Court will have a still more generous affection in case the laws are honoured and observed. Do you, Tona and the rest, receive this Imperial message and deliver it to your King."

6th month, 1st day. Garments were presented to the Viceroy of Tsukushi and others.

2nd day. The Imperial Prince Shiki, Sukuna-maro, Sami
XXX. 12. no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Mugohe, Hata no Ason, Mumakahi, Iyobe no Muraji, of Gon-kwō-shi rank, Okina, Mitsugi no Imiki, Ta-uchi, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Mu-dai-san rank, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, and others were appointed Commissioners for the choice of good words.[2]

19th day. Presents of rice, varying in value in each case,

[1] Tenchi Tennō.

[2] Explained to be the selection of specimens of auspicious language of ancient and modern times to serve as models for addresses to the Empress. This office soon fell into abeyance.

were given to Hsü Shou-yen, Sa Hung-k'o, and others of the Land of Great Thang.

20th day. The Empress commanded the Viceroy Ahada no Mabito no Ason and others to give the student-priests Mei-sō and Kwan-chi each 140 kin of floss silk to send to their teachers and friends in Silla.

23rd day. The Silla Condolence Envoys Tona and his colleagues were entertained at Wo-gohori [1] in Tsukushi and were given presents, varying in the case of each.

29th day. A book of legal enactments [2] in twenty-two volumes was distributed to all the Local Governors.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. In accordance with his request, the Buddhist priest Jitoku, Yemishi of Michinoku, was granted a gold-copper image of Yakushi Butsu and a gold-copper image of Kwanze-on Bosatsu, a bell, a dish,[3] a precious curtain, an incense burner, and a banner.

On this day, the Silla Condolence Envoys Kim Tona and his colleagues took their departure.

15th day. Orders were given to the Mayors of the Right and Left divisions of the capital and to the Governors of the provinces to build places for the practice of archery.[4] XXX. 13.

20th day. The false Palace guard, Kashihabara no Hiroyama by name, a man of the district of Shibukaha in the province of Kahachi, was banished to the province of Tosa. The rank of Tsui-kwō-san was conferred on Tora, Mibu no Muraji, the Palace guard who arrested the false Palace guard Hiroyama.

[1] Wo-gohori means "small district," and probably means here the smaller of the two Government establishments. There was also an Oho-gohori or great district in Tsukushi.

[2] An authority quoted by the "Shūkai" states that in the first year of Tenchi's reign there was prepared a collection of enactments in twenty-two volumes, which were known to the public as the "laws of the Afumi Court." The same authority states that there was a revision of these laws in the 2nd month of the 10th year of Temmu Tennō. It is these revised regulations which are referred to in the text. The "Yengishiki," which is still extant, gives us some idea of the character of these compilations.

[3] A begging bowl is meant. The word used is sara, which is written phonetically with the characters commonly used to represent the Sanskrit Sâla, the large timber tree under which Sâkyamuni died.

[4] The interlinear Kana gives here ikusa, "war," as the equivalent of the Chinese 射, archery. Perhaps ikusa is derived from i, root of iru, to shoot, and kusa, a kind

23rd day. Presents were given to Yatsurina and others, Yemishi of Koshi, varying in value in the case of each.

8th month, 2nd day. The public functionaries assembled in the Department of the Shintō religion, where an Imperial message was communicated to them respecting matters of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

4th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. Hunting and fishing were prohibited in the sea of Muko in the province of Settsu for a distance of 1000 paces, for a space of 20,000 shiro on the plain of Nagino in the district of Ate in the province of Kiï, and for a space of 20,000 shiro on the plains of Minono in the district of Iga in the province of Iga. Keepers were attached to these places in the same way as to the Sea of Takashi in the district of Ohotori in the province of Kahachi.

17th day. The Ministers received rewards, varying in the case of each.

21st day. The Empress gave orders to the Governor-General[1] of Iyo, Norimaro Tanaka no Ason, and his colleagues, saying:—"Let the white swallow caught in the district of Mike in the province of Sanuki be set at liberty."

23rd day. The Empress witnessed archery.

Intercalary 8th month, 10th day. The Empress gave orders to the Local Governors, saying:—"This winter the registers of population are to be made up. Not later than the 9th month, let vagabonds be sought out and arrested. As to the militia, let those of each province be divided into four parts, and
XXX. 14. having selected one of these, cause the men to be trained in warlike exercises."

27th day. Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, was made Viceroy of Tsukushi. He was granted arms and received presents. The rank of Jiki-kwō-ichi was bestowed on Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-ni rank. His fief was increased by 100 houses, which were added to his former grant.

9th month, 10th day. Maro, Iso no Kami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Mushina, Ishikaha no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and others were sent to Tsukushi to deliver patents of rank and also to inspect the new castle.

[1] He seems to have had control over the whole island of Shikoku.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Empress visited the Castle of Takayasu.

22nd day. Komaro, Shimotsukenu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, represented to the Empress his desire to set free 600 slaves. His petition was granted.

11th month, 22nd day. Ihanari, Takata no Obito, of Tsui-kwō-ni rank, was complimented in the market-place on his proficiency in the use of the three weapons,[1] and presents were given him.

12th month, 8th day. The game of suguroku[2] was prohibited.

4th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Mononobe no Maro[3] no Ason set up great shields.[4] Nakatomi no Ohoshima no Ason, Minister of the Department of the Shintō religion, recited (a prayer invoking) blessings from the Gods of Heaven. When this was over, Shikofuchi, Imbe no Sukune, delivered to the Empress-consort the divine seal, sword and mirror.[5] The Empress-consort accordingly assumed the Imperial Dignity.[6] The Ministers and public functionaries ranged in order, made obeisance in rotation,[7] and clapped their hands. A.D. 690. XXX. 15.

[1] Bow, sword, and lance.

[2] The Chinese characters mean double-six, i.e. dice. Hepburn gives backgammon as the meaning of the Japanese word suguroku or sugoroku. Yamada's Dictionary gives the following description of it :—" Sugoroku is played by two players, with a board called kyoku, separated into twelve divisions. Twelve horses (pieces) are set in rows, distinguished as black and white. The dice are placed in a bamboo tube, shaken, and thrown out, and the horses moved forward the number of spaces indicated. The player who first moves his horses into the enemy's camp is the winner." There are other forms of the game. It is said to have come originally from India. See Culin's "Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Games," p. 81.

[3] Maro is probably the personal name, though out of its usual order.

[4] Or a great shield. Shields were set up as offerings to the Shintō Gods.

[5] Another rendering is "the divine tokens, i.e. the sword and mirror."

[6] The delay was no doubt in compliance with the Chinese idea of a three years' mourning.

[7] The "Yengishiki," in describing the ceremony of accession and of the festival of first-fruits, says :—" Those of the fifth rank and upwards stand up together and advance to the tablet-position in the middle of the Court, where they kneel down and clap their hands four times, eight claps each time for each. This is what is called in the sacred language Ya-hiraki-te

2nd day. The Ministers and public functionaries presented their respects at Court with the same state as at the New Year's audience.

Tajihi no Shima no Mabito and Fuse no Miaruji no Ason [1] presented their congratulations to the Empress on her accession to the throne.

3rd day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the inner precinct.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the inner precinct, and presents of clothing given them.

15th day. The public functionaries presented firewood.

17th day. There was a general amnesty throughout the Empire. It did not apply, however, to those criminals who are excepted from ordinary pardons.

One grade of rank was granted to all persons who already held official rank.

Widows, orphans, lone persons, sufferers from grave illness, and those who from poverty were unable to support themselves were granted presents of rice, and exempted from commuted taxes and forced labour.

20th day. One hundred tokibe [2] were appointed to the Department of Justice.

23rd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth in the Home provinces. Moreover, the lands and houses allotted for their service were augmented.

2nd month, 5th day. The Empress went to the embankment of Wakinokami and inspected the horses of the Ministers and Daibu.

11th day. A Buddhist priest of Silla named Chön-kil, Peuk

(eight-open-hand). The Prince Imperial claps his hands first and then retires. Next officials of the fifth rank and upwards clap hands, and finally those of the sixth or lower ranks in turn." A Chinese authority states that the Japanese showed their respect for men of distinction by clapping their hands. The number of obeisances varied at different times from one up. The "tablet-position" is probably something like what I have seen in the Court in front of the Audience Hall in Söul, where slabs of stone are let into the ground with inscriptions indicating the positions to be taken up by the officials of each rank.

[1] Shima and Miaruji are the personal names.

[2] Tokibe were officers who held preliminary examinations and committed prisoners for trial.

Cho-chi, of Keupson rank, and others, fifty persons in all, immigrated to Japan. XXX. 16.

17th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. A feast of vegetarian food was given within the inner precinct.

25th day. Hö-man, of Han Nama rank, and other Silla men, twelve persons in all, who had come as immigrants, were settled in the province of Musashi.

3rd month, 20th day. Rice of the Shima Palace was given to those inhabitants of the capital and the Home provinces who were eighty years of age and upwards. Each person had twenty sheaves, and those who had official rank received in addition two tan of cloth.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Envoys were sent to worship the great abstinence Deity of Hirose and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

7th day. Presents of rice were made to 5031 old men and old women of the capital and Home provinces. Each person had twenty sheaves.

14th day. An edict was issued, as follows :—" Let all public functionaries and people of the Home provinces be divided into nine classes according to the number of days in which they have done service. In the case of those who have official rank, reckoning is to be made for six years, and not longer, and in the case of those of no rank, for seven years only. In accordance with the regulations for the examination of public service, let those of the first four classes receive cap-rank in proportion to their merits, their services, and the importance of the House to which they belong. Their court costume shall be dark purple for those from the rank of Jō-dai-ichi down to that of Kwō-ni, bright purple for those from the rank of Jō-dai-san to that of Kwō-shi, for the eight Shō[1] grades bright purple, for the eight Jiki grades dark red, for the eight Gon grades dark green, for the eight Mu grades light green, for the eight Tsui grades deep blue, and for the eight Shin grades light blue. Apart from this, those of Jō-kwō-ni or higher rank may wear all manner of thin silk gauzes, etc., of one breadth and one kind, while those from the rank of Jō-dai-san to that of Jiki-kwō-shi may wear all manner of thin silk gauzes, etc., of

[1] See above, p. 368.

one breadth and two kinds. Both the higher and lower ranks should ordinarily wear girdles of variegated silk and white
XXX. 17. trousers. Other matters to remain as usual."

22nd day. By reason of a drought, rain was begun to be prayed for in various places.

5th month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

10th day. Twenty-one immigrants from Pèkché, men and women, arrived.

15th day. Discourses on "dwelling in peace"[1] were begun in the inner precinct.

6th month, 6th day. The Empress visited Hatsuse.

25th day. All persons whatever, possessed of official rank, were summoned, and the order of their rank and their ages proclaimed.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Ministers and public functionaries put on the new Court costume for the first time.

3rd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth.

5th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was made Dajō-daijin, the rank of Shō-kwō-san was granted to Tajihi no Mabito, and he was made Udaijin. New appointments were also made to all the eight Departments of State and the bureaus.

6th day. New appointments were made of viceroys and governors of provinces.

7th day. An Imperial Order was made that the Ministers, public functionaries, and all persons holding official rank should in future put on their Court costumes in their own houses, and so present themselves before the opening of the gate.

9th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"When those occupying the higher places at a Court assembly see a Prince of the Blood, the usual ceremony is to be observed; when a Daijin and a Prince appear, every one should stand up before the Hall; if two or more Princes appear, every one should get down from his seat and kneel."

14th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"When

[1] The Buddhist retirement for meditation during the rainy season, a sort of Lenten retreat. See above, p. 360.

those occupying the higher places at a Court assembly see a Daijin, they should move their seats and kneel down."

On this day alms of coarse silk, raw silk, floss silk, and cloth were given to 3363 priests of the seven temples who had taken part in the "retreat."[1] Separately alms were bestowed, on behalf of the Prince Imperial, on 329 priests of three temples who had taken part in the "retreat."

18th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta. XXX. 18.

8th month, 4th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. Silla immigrants were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu.

9th month, 1st day. An edict was addressed to the governors of all the provinces, as follows:—"In preparing the returns of population, let the house-regulations be attended to."

11th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"As We are about to make a tour in the province of Kiï, let no land-tax or poll-tax be collected for the year in the capital."

13th day. The Empress proceeded to Kiï.

23rd day. Three priests who had gone to the Land of Great Thang for study, named Chi-shiu, Gi-toku, and Jō-gwan, and a private soldier named Ohotomobe no Hakama, of the district of Upper Yame in the province of Tsukushi, returned to Tsukushi in the train of the Silla Escort Envoy, Kim Ko-hun, of Tè-na-ma rank.

24th day. The Empress returned from Kiï.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

10th day. Chi-shiu and the other priests who had been to Thang for study arrived in the capital.

15th day. Messengers were sent to Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and his colleagues with the following order:—"In entertaining the Silla Escort Envoy, Kim Ko-hun, of Tè-na-ma rank, and his colleagues, let the precedent be followed of the Escort Envoy, who escorted up the student Wohi, Hashi no Sukune, and his companions. The attentions paid them and the presents given them must follow strictly the edict."

[1] See above, p. 398, note.

22nd day. An Imperial order was given to Ohotomobe no Hakama, a private soldier of the district of Upper Yame in the province of Tsukushi, saying :—" You were taken prisoner by the Thang troops in the seventh year of the reign of the Empress Ame toyo-takara-ikashi-hi-tarashi-hime during the campaign undertaken for the assistance of Pèkché. At length, in the third year of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, the four men Hoto Hashi, no Muraji, Oyu, Kohori no Muraji,
XXX. 19. Satsuyama, Tsukushi no Kimi, and Gen Jitsu-ni,[1] Yuge no Muraji, wished to inform the Emperor of the designs of the men of Thang, but, as they had neither clothing nor provisions, they were, to their sorrow, unable to carry out their purpose. Upon this you, Hakama, said to Hashi no Hoto and the others, 'I should like to return to our own Court along with you, but for want of clothing and provisions we cannot all depart together. I pray you, sell me as a slave, and use the money to buy food and clothing.' Acting on your proposal, Hoto and his companions were enabled to communicate with the Celestial Court, and you alone remained in a foreign land for the space of thirty years until now. We are pleased with the loyalty and patriotism which led you to sell yourself, and thus display your fidelity. As a mark of distinction for this meritorious service We therefore grant you the rank of Mu-dai-shi, with five pieces of coarse silk, ten bundles of floss silk, thirty tan of cloth, 1000 sheaves of rice, and four chō of rice-land, to be continued to your great-grandchildren, and your relations of the three classes[2] are exempted from forced labour."

29th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi inspected the site for the Palace of Fujihara. He was accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries.

11th month, 7th day. Presents were given to the Escort Envoy Kim Ko-hun and his colleagues, of varying value in the case of each.

11th day. In compliance with an Imperial order, the use of the Yüan-kia and I-fêng calendars was begun.[3]

[1] Apparently a Chinese name which he had taken to himself.

[2] His father and mother, brothers and sisters, and wife and children.

[3] Yüan-kia is the Chinese period from 424 to 453; I-fêng from 676 to 678. The "Sandai jitsu roku" says: "First the Yüan-kia calendar was used, and

12th month, 3rd day. The Escort Envoy Kim Ko-hun and his colleagues took their departure.

12th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. The Empress went to Fujihara, and inspected the site for the Palace. All the Ministers and public functionaries accompanied her. XXX. 20.

23rd day. Presents were given to the Ministers and officials of lower rank, varying in value in the case of each.

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Ranks were bestowed on the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers,[1] the Princesses of the Blood, the Princesses, and the lady officials of the Palace. A.D. 691.

7th day. Presents of eatables, drinkables, and clothing were given to the Ministers. Rich presents varying in value in the case of each were made to Yö Syön-kwang, of Shō-kwō-shi rank, and to Wön-pong, Nyang-no, and Nam-chyön, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Princes of Pèkché.

13th day. An increase of 2000 houses was made to the fief of the Imperial Prince Takechi, which, added to his previous fief, made 3000 houses. To the Imperial Prince Hodzumi, of Jō-kwō-ni rank, there were given 500 houses; to the Imperial Prince Kahashima, of Jō-dai-san rank, 100 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 500 houses; to the Udaijin, Tajihi no Shima Mabito, of Shō-kwō-san rank, 300 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 500 houses; to the Pèkché Prince Chyön-kwang, of Shō-kwō-shi rank, 100 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 200 houses; to Fuse no Miaruji no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ichi rank, and to Ohotomo no Miyuki no Sukune, 80 houses, which, added to their previous fiefs, made 300 houses. Others received additions to their fiefs which varied in amount for each.

14th day. An edict was made, as follows:—"Masaru, Tsukushi no Fubito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, ever since his appointment twenty-nine years ago as Secretary to the Viceroy of Tsukushi, has been upright and faithful, and has not been guilty of any

next the I-fêng calendar. The I-fêng calendar is the same as the Lin-têh calendar (664-665). For details respecting the ancient Japanese calendar consult "Bramsen's Chronological Tables."

[1] Probably Ministers is a mistake for Princes.

remissness. He is, therefore, granted a sustenance-fief of 5000[1] houses, fifteen pieces of coarse silk, twenty-five bundles of floss silk, fifty tan of cloth, and 5000 sheaves of rice.

16th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

23rd day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

2nd month, 1st day. The Empress addressed a decree to
XXX. 21 the Ministers, saying :—" In the reigns of the former Emperors ye erected Buddhist Halls and Scripture (Sutra) Treasuries, and practised the six monthly fasts.[2] The Emperors from time to time sent Ohotoneri to inquire after the welfare of the priests, and the same has also been done in Our own reign. Let us therefore with zealous hearts continue to uphold the Buddhist faith."

On this day patents of rank were bestowed on officials.

3rd month, 3rd day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the Western Hall.

5th day. The Empress inspected the horses both of the State and of private persons in the Imperial park.

22nd day. An edict was issued, as follows :—" If a younger brother of the common people is sold by his elder brother, he should be classed with freemen : if a child is sold by his parents, he should be classed with slaves : persons confiscated into slavery by way of payment of interest on debts are to be classed with freemen, and their children, though born of a union with a slave, are also to be all classed with freemen."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. An edict was issued, as follows : —" Slaves who have been manumitted in the time of the ancestor of a House, and already struck off the register of slaves, may not be claimed again as slaves by members of that House."

Kudara, Kami no Sukuri, Doctor of the University, was granted 1000 sheaves of the greater tax-rice, as an encouragement to his learning.

11th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

16th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

[1] No doubt a mistake for fifty, as the " Shūkai " suggests.

[2] On the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th, nothing was eaten after noon. On these days the Shitennō (Tchatur Mahârâdjas) visit the earth and take note of the good and evil actions of mankind.

22nd day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

5th month, 21st day. Syun-mu-mi-chă of Pèkché was commended for his services during the year Midzunoye Saru, was granted the rank of Jiki-dai-san, and received presents of coarse silk and cloth.

6th month. Sleet[1] fell in forty places in the capital and provinces.

19th day. An edict was issued, as follows:—"This summer profuse rain has fallen beyond measure, and We fear that certainly injury will be caused to the grain-crops. Our anxiety of the night lasts until the morning, as We ponder where the blame for this lies. Now We command you, our Ministers and functionaries, to prohibit the use of strong drink and animal food, to compose your hearts and repent of your sins. Moreover let the priests of the Temples of the capital and of the Home provinces read the Sutras for a space of five days. It may be hoped that this will have some effect." XXX. 22.

The rain had lasted from the fourth month until this month.

20th day. A general amnesty was proclaimed throughout the Empire. Thieves and robbers were, however, excepted.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino. On this day, Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, Governor of the province of Iyo, and others presented three kin and eight riō of silver and a basket of ore of Mount Mimŭma-yama in the district of Uwa.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers and presents of Court dress made them.

12th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

15th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

8th month, 13th day. The Empress commanded eighteen Houses [Oho-miwa, Sazaibe, Iso no Kami, Fujihara, Ishikaha, Kose, Kashihade be, Kasuga, Kamitsukenu, Ohotomo, Ki, Abe, Saheki, Uneme, Hodzumi, Adzumi, Heguri, and Hata] to deliver to her the records of the tombs[2] of their ancestors.

[1] Another reading has rain, which agrees better with the time of year and with what follows. The text is in other respects doubtful.

[2] There is another, and preferable reading, which would mean simply "their ancestral records."

23rd day. Envoys were sent to worship the Wind-gods of Tatsuta, and the Gods of Suha [1] and Minuchi, in Shinano.

9th month, 4th day. Hsü Shou-yen and Sa Hung-k'o, of
XXX. 23. Great Thang, Professors of pronunciation, and Mal-să and Chyön-sin, of Pékchè, Professors of writing, received presents of twenty riō of silver each.

9th day. The Imperial Prince Kahashima, of Jō-dai-san rank, died.

23rd day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ni was granted to Ohome, Saheki no Sukune, and also a contribution made for his funeral expenses.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

8th day. A decree was issued, as follows :—" Let the houses set apart for the care of the misasagi of former Emperors be five or more in number; in the case of others, viz. princes of distinguished merit, let three houses be allotted. If the misasagi houses are insufficient, let the want be supplied by peasants, whose forced labour shall be remitted, and who shall be changed once in three years."

13th day. Long-life places,[2] each of 1000 paces, were instituted in the Home and other provinces.

On this day the Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

20th day. The Empress returned from Yoshino.

27th day. Envoys were sent to perform a service for the tranquillity of the new capital.[3]

11th month, 24th day. The festival of first-fruits [4] was held. Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Ason, Minister of the Department of the Shintō religion, recited the (prayer invoking the) blessing of the Heavenly Deities.

25th day. Bed-clothes [5] were presented to the Ministers.

28th day. Thin silks were given to all from the rank of Minister down to that of Secretary. They varied in value for each.

30th day. An entertainment was given to the officials of

[1] Ya-saká-iri hime. Satow's " Handbook," p. 234.

[2] Places within which the taking of animal life was prohibited—a Buddhist institution.

[3] At Fujihara.

[4] Ohonihe.

[5] Thickly wadded garments with sleeves, worn at night instead of blankets. The practice of making presents of this kind continued up to the Revolution of 1868.

the Shintō Department from the Chief down to the Kamibe, and also to the Governors and others, including common people, both men and women, of the districts of the provinces of Harima and Inaba which had furnished (the rice used at the festival). They received presents of thin silk of various values for each.

12th month, 2nd day. Toku Ji-chin,[1] of Mu-dai-san rank, Doctor of Medicine, and Mokuso, Chō-mu, Shataku, and Manjiu, Professors of exorcism, were given presents of twenty riō of silver each.

8th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"To the Udaijin let there be given four chō of land as a site[2] for a house, to those of the rank of Jiki-kwō-ni and above, two chō, to those of the rank of Jiki-dai-san and below, one chō. From the Gon grades down to officials who have no rank, let the number of inhabitants of their fiefs be taken as a guide, first class fiefs having one chō, second class half a chō, and third class a quarter of a chō. Princes shall fo low the same rule." XXX. 24.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was granted an additional fief of 2000 houses, making, along with his previous one, a total of 5000 houses. A.D. 692.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers, and they received presents of garments.

12th day. The Empress inspected the road to[3] the new capital.

16th day. An entertainment was given to officials from the Ministers down to those of initial rank.

27th day. The Empress visited Takamiya.

28th day. The Empress returned from Takamiya.

2nd month, 11th day. Orders were given to the officials, saying:—"It is Our intention to proceed to Ise on the third day of the third month. Take note of this Our purpose, and get ready all the necessary clothing."

The priests Hō-zō and Dō-ki, Professors of the Yin and Yang, received presents of twenty riō of silver each.

[1] A Chinese name. But whether the bearer was a Chinaman or not is not clear. I have given the Japanese pronunciation of the characters. The other names are not Japanese.

[2] Presumably these sites were in the new capital of Fujihara referred to above.

[3] Or "the roads of."

19th day. Orders were given to the Board of Punishments to release short-sentence prisoners.

On this day, the Chunagon, Takechi-maro, Miwa no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ni rank, presented a memorial in which he made bold to remonstrate roundly with the Empress for her proposed visit to Ise, which he said would interfere with the time for agricultural operations.

3rd month, 3rd day. Prince Hirose, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Chitoko, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, and Yumibari, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, were appointed to take charge of the Palace during the Empress's absence. Upon this the Chunagon, Takechi-maro, Miwa no Ason, divested
XXX. 25. himself of his cap-rank and delivered it up to the Court, reiterating his remonstrance, and saying:—"During the season of agricultural operations the (Imperial) chariot should not be moved."

6th day. The Empress did not yield to his remonstrances, but at length proceeded to Ise.

17th day. The Empress bestowed cap-rank on the Miyakko of the sacred districts[1] through which she had passed, and on the Miyakko of the provinces of Iga, Ise, and Shima. These places were also released from commuted taxes and forced labour for this year. Moreover the commuted taxes and forced labour for the year were remitted in the case of the horsemen provided for the Empress's service, the baggage-coolies of her officials, and the labourers employed in constructing temporary Palaces. There was a general pardon for the Empire, which, however, did not comprise thieves and robbers.

19th day. Fifty sheaves of rice for each person were presented to men and women of eighty years of age and upwards, common people of the province of Shima, through which the Empress passed.

20th day. The Imperial chariot[2] returned to the Palace. Wherever it had reached, the officials and people of the district were assembled, and care was taken to reward their diligence and to have musical performances.

30th day. By an Imperial decree, the commuted taxes and

[1] Viz. Ihino, Take and Watarahi, where there were shrines.

[2] The Empress may or may not have travelled in a chariot. This phrase is simply put respectfully for the Imperial cortège, or the Empress.

forced labour for this year were remitted to those houses from which horsemen had been provided for the Empress's service in the provinces of Afumi, Mino, Wohari, Mikaha, and Tōtōmi, to the baggage-coolies and to the labourers employed in constructing temporary Palaces in every province. An Imperial decree was also made that three sheaves of rice for each man, and two for each woman, should be given to all poor and distressed common people in the Empire.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ni was bestowed on Tomokuni, Ohotomo no Sukune, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

5th day. With the exception of common people of the four Home provinces,[1] the men who had acted as baggage-coolies were exempted from commuted taxes and forced labour for the year.

19th day. Messengers were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

21st day. Mattocks from the Naniha Treasury were given to all persons of official rank, from Princes of the Blood down to the rank of Tsui-kwō-shi. These gifts varied in each case.

25th day. By an Imperial edict all prisoners and persons under sentence of lighter banishment were pardoned and discharged. XXX 26.

5th month, 6th day. Three brothers, named Kahasemaro, etc., fishermen of Agoshi, inhabitants of the district of Muro in the province of Kiï, who had supplied the Empress's table during her stay in the temporary Palace of Ago, were granted exemption for ten years from commuted taxes and forced labour, and from miscellaneous corvées. Further, eight boatmen had their commuted taxes and forced labour remitted for the year.

7th day. The Governor of the province of Sagami presented a pair of fledgling red crows, saying that they had been caught in the district of Miura.

12th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. The Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

17th day. Daibu were sent as messengers to the celebrated

[1] Yamato, Yamashiro, Kahachi, and Settsu. Idzumi was at this time reckoned as a part of Kahachi.

mountains, and to the hills and rivers, to pray to them for rain.

20th day. Chitoko, Fumi no Imiki, was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi, and a contribution made towards the expenses of his funeral.

23rd day. Prince Naniha, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, and others were sent to perform a service for the tranquillity of the site of the Palace of Fujihara.

26th day. Envoys were sent to make offerings to the Great Gods of the following four places, viz.: Ise, Yamato, Sumiyoshi, and Kiï, and to announce to them the erection of the new Palace.

Intercalary 5th month, 3rd day. Great floods. Commissioners were sent to visit the districts and provinces, one after another, making loans to those who, having met with disaster, were unable to support themselves, and allowing them to fish and cut wood in the hills and forests, the ponds and marshes.

An Imperial order was given that the Kin-kwō-miō Sutra should be expounded in the capital and in the four Home provinces.

4th day. The Buddhist priest Kwan-sei was given a present of fifteen hiki of coarse silk, thirty bundles of floss silk, and fifty tan of cloth, and he was commended for having made white lead.[1]

XXX. 27. 13th day. The Great Gods of Ise addressed the Empress, saying:—"Let the commuted taxes and forced labour for the province of Ise be remitted for this year. That being so, the thirty-five kin of red silk yarn forwarded by the two districts of the Gods should be reduced in value from next year."[2]

15th day. An Imperial order was given to Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and the rest, saying:—"Let priests be sent to Ohosumi and Ata to propagate the Buddhist religion." He was further made to send up to the capital the image of Amida, made by the Great Thang Chief Envoy Kuo Wu-

[1] Used as a cosmetic.

[2] The highly respectful character 奏 is used for the address of the Gods to the Empress. The interlinear Kana puts the respectful term tamaye in the mouths of the Gods. The districts referred to are Take and Watarahi.

ts'ung, for the Emperor who lived in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi.

6th month, 9th day. The senior officials of the districts and provinces were commanded each to pray to the celebrated mountains, and to the hills and rivers for rain.

11th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to the four Home provinces to pray for rain.

21st day. Official rank was granted to eight labourers, and they were commended for their diligence and absence of remissness in the construction of the Ohouchi Misasagi.[1]

30th day. The Empress inspected the site of the Fujihara Palace.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. A general amnesty was granted throughout the Empire. But this pardon did not apply to those guilty of the ten[2] crimes, nor to thieves and robbers.

Shikofuchi, Fuse no Ason, Governor of the province of Sagami, and others, with the Vice-Governor of the district of Miura, and Kusu, Kashima no Omi, who had caught the red crows, had rank and presents bestowed on them. Moreover the commuted taxes and forced labour were remitted to the district of Miura for three years.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers.

9th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta.

28th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

On this night Mars and Jupiter approached and receded from one another four times in the room of one pace, alternately shining and disappearing. XXX. 28.

8th month, 3rd day. Criminals were pardoned.

17th day. The Empress visited the country-house of the Imperial Princess Asuka, and on the same day returned to the Palace.

9th month, 9th day. Daibu were despatched to the four Home provinces, to attend to the distribution of rice-lands.

[1] Of Temmu Tennō.

[2] Rebellion, conspiracy against the sovereign's person, treason, parricide, inhumanity (including murder and mutilation for nefarious purposes), sacrilege, unfilial conduct, discord, insubordination, and incest. Mayers, p. 350.

14th day. The Department of the Shintō religion laid before the Empress four volumes of sacred treasures,[1] nine keys, and one wooden stamp.

21st day. The Governor of the province of Ise presented two auspicious stalks of rice.

The Governor of the province of Echizen presented a white moth.

26th day. An Imperial decree was made, saying:—"Whereas a white moth has been caught on the shore at Uragami in the district of Tsunuga, the fief of the God of Kebi is increased by twenty houses, making a total, with those already attached to his shrine, of ——.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. Mikata, Yamada no Fubito, was granted the rank of Mu-kwō-shi. He had formerly gone to study in Silla as a priest.

12th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

11th month, 8th day. Silla sent Pak Ök-tök, and Kim Sim-sal, of Keupson rank, etc., as tribute-bearers. Presents
XXX 29. were made of various values to Oyu, Okinaga no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and to Tsura, Kahachi no Imiki, of Mu-dai-ni rank, etc., whom it was proposed to send as Envoys to Silla.

11th day. Pak Ök-tök, of Silla, was entertained, and received presents in the official building of Naniha.

12th month, 14th day. Hsü Shou-yen and Sa Hung-k'o, Professors of (Chinese) pronunciation, received grants of rice-land, four chō being given to each.

24th day. Daibu were sent to deliver the tribute from Silla to the five shrines of Ise, Sumiyoshi, Kii, Yamato, and Unatari.[2]

A.D 693. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The rank of Jō-kwō-ichi was bestowed on the Imperial Prince Takechi, and that of Jō-kwō-ni on the Imperial Princes Naga and Yuge.

On this day an Imperial edict was issued directing that the common people of the Empire should wear yellow clothing and that slaves should wear black.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu.

[1] Probably lists of the contents of the treasuries of the Shintō temples. "Shukai."

[2] In Yamato. The God worshipped was Taka-mi-dama no Mikoto.

13th day. Presents were given to all persons of official rank in the capital and in the Home provinces of the age of eighty years and upwards. Each person received one wadded sleeping garment, two hiki of coarse silk, two bundles of floss silk, and four tan of cloth.

15th day. The posthumous rank of Shō-kwō-san was granted to Syön-kwang, Prince of Pèkché, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

16th day. Presents of cloth of various values were made to the men and women of the capital of the age of eighty or upwards, and to poor and distressed persons.

A priest of Funase named Hō-kyō was given three chō of rice-land.

On this day, men of Aya gave a performance of Arare-bashiri.[1]

2nd month, 3rd day. Silla sent Kim Kang-nam, of Sason rank, and Kim Yang-wön, of Han-na-ma rank, to announce the mourning for the King.[2] XXX. 30.

10th day. Prince Kinunuhi and his colleagues, the Commissioners for the construction of the capital, were ordered to bury the bodies which had been dug up.

30th day. Thirty-seven castaways from Silla, named Muchă, Monyé, etc., were handed over to Ök-tök and his party.

3rd month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

5th day. A sustenance-fief of thirty houses was granted to Kudara, Kami no Sukuri, Doctor of the University, of Gon-kwō-ni rank, for the promotion of Chinese learning.

6th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. The rank of Jiki-dai-ni, and a contribution for funeral expenses, were granted to Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason.

13th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. Presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth of various values were given to Oyu, Okinaga no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and Kogimi, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Gon-dai-ni rank, whom it was proposed to send as Envoys to Silla, and also to the student priests Bentsū and Shinyei.

[1] A song with dance. At the end of each stanza were repeated the words Man-nen arare, i.e. "May you live for 10,000 years." It is also called Man-zai-raku.

[2] King Sin-mun.

Moreover, a present was made for the funeral expenses of the King of Silla.

17th day. An Imperial decree was issued directing that the cultivation throughout the Empire of such vegetable productions as the mulberry tree, hemp, pears, chestnuts, and greens,[1] should be encouraged, as auxiliaries to the five grains.

Summer, 4th month, 17th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the shrines and to pray for rain. Moreover, Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

XXX. 31. 22nd day. Ohotomo no Wobito, Vice-President of the Inner Treasury, was by an Imperial decree convicted of dishonest practices, reduced two grades in rank, and dismissed from the office he then held. Two clerks named Oisome no Ohoku and Uno no Ohotomo were also convicted of dishonest practices, reduced one grade in rank, and dismissed from the office which they then held. An auditor named Kose no Muraharu, who, although he derived no personal advantage from it, was privy to the theft, and allowed it to be committed, was therefore reduced in rank by two grades and dismissed from his office. Oisome no Ohoku, however, was pardoned, on account of his zealous services during the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru. But the proceeds of the dishonest practices were confiscated according to law.

5th month, 1st day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

7th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

15th day. A public (Buddhist) great-congregation was held within the inner precinct.

6th month, 1st day. By an Imperial order the Koryö priest Pok-ka was restored to the laity.

4th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was bestowed on Hirome,
XXX. 32. Hikeda no Ason, Karita, Mori no Kimi, Maro, Kose no Ason, Omi-maro, Fujihara no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, Ike-mori, Tajihi no Mabito, and Maro, Ki no Ason, in all seven persons.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

[1] Giles has Brassica rapa or rape-turnip. The interlinear Kana has awona, which I have followed.

12th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

14th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain.

16th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain. On this day the Empress arrived from Yoshino.

8th month, 1st day. The Empress went to the site of the Palace of Fujihara.

17th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

21st day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

9th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

5th day. The Empress went to the Peak of Tamu no Mine.

6th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

10th day. On behalf of the Kiyomibara[1] Emperor a public great-congregation was held within the inner precincts. All prisoners were released.

16th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-san was granted to Konoma, Kaya no Imiki, and a contribution made for his funeral expenses. In this way his services in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru were rewarded.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. It was decreed that from this year onwards there should be inspections of the arms kept in store by all, beginning with the Princes of the Blood down to persons of initial rank. Those of Jō cap-rank down to Jiki cap-rank were each to have one suit of armour, one sword, one bow, one set of arrows, one elbow-pad,[2] and one saddle-horse. Those of Gon cap-rank to Shin or initial cap-rank were each XXX. 33. to have one sword, one bow, one set of arrows, and one elbow-pad. Such were to be their provision.

23rd day. The Jin-nō[3] Sutra was begun to be expounded in the hundred provinces. This came to a close after four days.

11th month, 5th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

7th day. Presents were given to the Prince and Prime Minister, etc., of Tamna, of various values.

10th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

[1] Temmu Tennō. [2] See Vol. I., note to p. 34.

[3] Benevolent king.

14th day. The Priests Hō-yen, Zen-ō, and Shin-gi were sent to the district of Yasu in the province of Afumi, to try the spring of cordial [1] waters.

23rd day. The rank of Jiki-dai-shi was bestowed on Sukunamaro, Hikeda no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and he was granted a sustenance-fief of fifty houses.

12th month, 21st day. Professors of the art of war were sent to give instruction and training in the various provinces.

A.D. 694. 8th year, 1st month, 2nd day. The rank of Shō-kwō-shi was granted to Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ichi rank, and to Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, with an increase of 200 houses to the fiefs of each, amounting with those held by them previously to five hundred houses. They were also constituted the senior members of their Houses.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers.

15th day. The Empress received presents of firewood.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the public functionaries.

17th day. The men of Aya gave a performance of Ararebashiri.

Those of the fifth rank and upwards had archery.

18th day. Those of the sixth rank and downwards had archery. After four days it came to an end.

19th day. The men of Thang gave a performance of Ararebashiri.

21st day. The Empress visited the Palace of Fujihara, and returned to the Palace on the same day.

XXX. 34. 23rd day. The ranks of Mu-kwō-shi, etc., were conferred on seven men of Great Thang and two Sushen (Manchus).

24th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

3rd month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

2nd day. Maro, Ohoyake no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Yashima, Utena no Imiki, of Gon-dai-ni rank, and Honjitsu, Kibumi no Muraji, were appointed Governors of the mint for (copper ?) cash.[2]

[1] The interlinear Kana has ko-zake, a kind of sweet liquor made from rice. A natural spring is meant, perhaps with some medicinal qualities. See below, XXX 34.

[2] The appointment of two mint officials with a nearly similar title is recorded in the "Shoku Nihongi" under the year 708, 2nd month. It is

11th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"In all cases where persons of no official rank are appointed as District Governors, the chief officials shall receive the rank of Shin-kwō-ni, and the assistants that of Shin-dai-san."

there stated that these officials were then appointed for the first time. The so-called first discovery of copper in Japan in this year relates only to a find of native copper in the province of Musashi. This was the occasion of the name Wadō (workable copper, not mere ore) being given to the year-period which began with 708.

The "Nihonshi" contains a notice under the year 698 of copper being presented by the province of Inaba. This is the first historical notice of the production of copper in Japan. It is probable, however, that copper was worked long before this time in a country which is so rich in ores of this metal. The gold-copper images of Buddha referred to in Suiko Tennō's reign, p. 133, Vol. II. A.D. 605, may have been made of Japanese copper, though there is no direct evidence to this effect, and from the frequent mention of copper and other metals among the "tribute" articles brought from Corea, it is evident that imported copper was well known. The Sun-goddess Myth (Vol. I. p. 47) speaks of copper, and there is frequent mention of mirrors and bells which were made chiefly of copper.

I think it is not too much to say that there is no positive evidence whatever in the "Kojiki" or "Nihongi" of the use of bronze in ancient Japan. The Japanese word for bronze, viz. karakane or metal of Kara, indicates that the Japanese first became acquainted with this metal as an importation from Corea. This word does not occur in the "Nihongi," but the term copper may have sometimes included the mixed metal. Besides, the more ancient specimens of bronze found in Japan do not contain lead, which is a characteristic constituent of the karakane introduced from China in later times, so that the absence of this term from the "Nihongi" is not conclusive. It is, nevertheless, curious, when we remember the frequency with which bronze is referred to in Homer, that no specific mention of this metal is to be found in the ancient Japanese records.

The evidence of the use of bronze in Japan, however, is not confined to literature. Mr. W. Gowland has examined a number of bronze swords and other objects dug up chiefly in Kiushiu under circumstances which point to a great antiquity, and he informs me that an actual mould in which they were cast has been discovered in Chikuzen. No iron objects of equal age have been found. Those who are interested in this subject would do well to consult Mr. Gowland's "Art of Casting Bronze in Japan," contributed to the "Journal of the Society of Arts" in May, 1895.

The case for a bronze age in Japan presented by him is a strong one, but how far the existence of the objects which he describes can be explained by the frequent commercial relations of Japan with the continent is a question on which I shall offer no opinion.

See also Anderson's "Glyptic Art" in Introduction to Murray's "Handbook," 2nd ed. p. [109]. et seqq.

16th day. The Empress made an edict, as follows :—" In the seventh year of our reign, the year Midzunoto Mi of the Cycle, a spring of cordial waters bubbled up at Mount Tsuga-yama in the district of Yasu in the province of Afumi. Persons afflicted with all manner of diseases went to stay at the Temple of Yasudera, and great numbers were healed. Therefore four chō of rice-land and sixty tan of cloth are granted to it, and the district of Yasu is exempted for this year from commuted taxes and forced labour, and from miscellaneous corvées. The local authorities, from the chief down to the clerks, are advanced one grade in rank. To those who first made proof of the spring of cordial waters, viz. Kadono no Hatsuki and the daughter of Kudara no Tsurara, these are given two hiki of coarse silk each, ten tan of cloth, and ten mattocks."

22nd day. Offerings were presented at the various shrines.

23rd day. Presents of coarse silks and cloth, varying in value in the case of each, were made to the officials of the Department of the Shintō religion from the chief down to the Hafuri, in all 164 persons.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The posthumous rank of Jō-dai-shi was conferred on Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

7th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

XXX. 35. 14th day. The Empress arrived back from the Palace of Yoshino.

17th day. A contribution was sent towards the funeral expenses of the Doctor of Law[1] Dō-yen.

5th month, 6th day. The Ministers and Daibu were entertained within the inner precincts (of the Palace).

11th day. One hundred copies of the Kin-kwō-myō Sutra were sent and deposited in the various provinces, to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests) were to be defrayed from the public revenues[2] of the province.

6th month, 8th day. A white copper-pheasant was presented

[1] Risshi, a rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[2] There is no question of money here, everything was in kind.

by the district of Sarara in the province of Kahachi. The Governor and Vice-Governor of the district of Sarara received each a grade of rank and presents, and the rank of Shin-kwō-ni was granted to Karakuni, Osakabe no Miyakko, who had caught it. He also received presents.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Inspectors[1] were sent to the provinces.

15th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

8th month, 17th day. One hundred and four priests were made to enter religion for the sake of the Imperial Princess Asuka.

9th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

4th day. The Empress proceeded to the Palace of Yoshino.

22nd day. Prince Mino, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, was appointed Viceroy of Tsukushi.

Winter, 10th month, 20th day. The rank of Shin-dai-shi was bestowed on a man of the district of Araki, in the province XXX. 36. of Hida, named Otokunibe no Otohi, who had caught a white bat. He also received a present of four hiki of coarse silk, four bundles of floss silk, and ten tan of cloth, and his house was exempted from all forced labour whatever during his life.

11th month, 26th day. There was an amnesty for criminals, from those guilty of capital crimes downwards.

12th month, 6th day. The Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Fujihara.

9th day. The public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

10th day. Presents of various values were made to all from the Princes of the Blood down to the Governors of districts, consisting of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth.

12th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers and Daibu.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The rank of Jō-kwō- A.D. 695. ni was conferred on the toneri of Imperial Princes.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu within the inner precinct (of the Palace).

15th day. Firewood was presented to the Empress.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the public functionaries.

[1] Jun-satsu-shi.

17th day. There was archery lasting for four days.

Intercalary 2nd month, 8th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

15th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

3rd month, 2nd day. Silla sent Prince Kim Nyang-nim, the Po-nyöng[1] Pak Kang-kuk, of Sal-son[2] rank, and Kim Chyu-han and Kim Chhyung-syön, of Han-na-ma rank, to present a memorial regarding the government of their country, to offer tribute and to bring presents.

11th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

22nd day. Hakase, Fumi no Imiki, of Mu-kwō-ni rank, Shimo-osa[3] no Morota, of Shin-kwō-san rank, and others were sent to Tane[4] to obtain the barbarians' dwelling-place.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods
XXX. 37. of Tatsuta.

17th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-san was conferred on Yemishi, Kamo no Ason, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses. [His original rank was Gon-dai-ichi.] The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-shi was conferred on Akamaro, Fumi no Imiki, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses. [His original rank was Dai-san-chiu.]

5th month, 13th day. An entertainment was given to the Hayato of Oho-sumi.

21st day. The Empress witnessed wrestling by the Hayato at West[5] Tsuki no moto.

6th month, 3rd day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the shrines of the capital and the four Home provinces and pray for rain.

16th day. Honorary gifts of various values were made to all high officials who were eighty years of age or more, or who were affected by chronic disease.

[1] Apparently the name of an office. [2] The proper word is Chap-son.

[3] Shimo-osa means junior interpreter. There was a family of this name, but it is not quite clear that the name and function did not go together in this case.

[4] Viz. Tanegashima, an island off the south coast of Satsuma.

[5] Referring to its position West of the Temple of Asuka. Tsuki is the name of a tree, the Planera.

18th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

26th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Autumn, 7th month, 23rd day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

26th day. Presents were made of various values to the Envoys whom it was proposed to send to Silla, viz. Kenu, Wono no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Mu-dai-ni rank, and others.

8th month, 24th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

30th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

9th month, 4th day. The prisons were visited, and those persons were released who were suffering sentences of minor banishment or imprisonment.

6th day. Kenu, Wono no Ason, and his colleagues started for Silla.

10th month, 11th day. The Empress went to Yonahari in Uda.

12th day. The Empress arrived from Yonahari.

12th month, 5th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Prince Hatsuse was granted the (posthumous) rank of Jō-dai-shi, and a contribution made for his funeral expenses.

10th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Ministers and Daibu were entertained. A.D. 696. XXX. 38.

11th day. The rank of Jiki-dai-shi was conferred on Nam-chyön, Prince of Pèkché.

15th day. Firewood was presented to the Empress.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and public functionaries.

18th day. The Ministers and public functionaries had archery at the South Gate.

2nd month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

3rd month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Futa-tsuki.

12th day. Presents were given of coats and trousers of

brocade, of dark red and deep purple coarse silks, of axes, etc., to Inari and Mushi, Yemishi of Watarijima of Koshi, and to Shirasu and Yesō, men of Sushen.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

27th day. The rank of Tsui-dai-ni was conferred on Mononobe no Kusuri, of the district of Kazehaya in the province of Iyo, and to Mibu no Moroshi, of the district of Kahashi in the province of Higo. Moreover, each of them received presents of 4 hiki of coarse silk, 10 bundles of raw silk, 20 tan of cloth, 20 mattocks, 1000 sheaves of rice, and 4 chō of rice-land. They were excused from the commuted taxes and forced labour due from their houses. This was by way of consolation for their long sufferings in the Thang country.[1]

28th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

5th month, 2nd day. By Imperial command the title of Imiki was conferred[2] on Tsunade, Hada no Miyakko, of Dai-kin-jō rank.

XXX. 39. 4th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

8th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was conferred on Oho-sumi, Wohari no Sukune, and he was also given forty chō of rice-land.

13th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was granted to Momoye, Oho-koma no Muraji, and a contribution given towards his funeral expenses.

6th month, 18th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

26th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

2nd day. Criminals were pardoned.

8th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

10th day. His Highness the after[3] Imperial Prince died.

[1] They were taken prisoners in the campaign undertaken for the support of Pèkché. See above, XXVII. 7.

[2] This was a posthumous honour.

[3] The "Shūkai" thinks that we should read Prince Imperial here. Prince Takechi is meant, who stood second in the line of succession. Hence the epithet "after."

8th month, 25th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-ichi was conferred on Homuchi, Oho no Omi, and presents given him as a reward for his services from the beginning, and for his strict guardianship of the barrier.[1]

9th month, 15th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi was conferred on Ihose, Waka-zakurabe no Ason, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses, in honour of his services from the beginning.

Winter, 10th month, 17th day. The Udaijin, Tajihi no Mabito, was granted (permission[2] to use) a carriage and a staff, and so in this way sympathy was shown on his retirement from office.

22nd day. One hundred and twenty retainers were granted to the Udaijin, Tajihi no Mabito, of Shō-kwō-san rank; eighty each to the Dainagon, Miaruji, Abe no Ason, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, both of Shō-kwō-shi rank, and fifty each to Maro, Iso no Kami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-ichi rank, and Fubito, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-ni rank.

11th month, 10th day. Thirty houses were granted as a sustenance-fief to Bendō, a priest of the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

12th month, 1st day. An Imperial order was given that the Kin-kwō-myō Sutra should be expounded, and that every year on the last day of the twelfth month ten persons of a pure life should be made to enter religion.

11th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu. A.D. 697.

11th day. Presents of rice in ear of various values were given to all widowers, widows, orphans, and childless persons, to those suffering from grave disease, and to those who from poverty were unable to support themselves, throughout the Empire. XXX. 40.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and public functionaries.

2nd month, 28th day. Kunimi, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-ichi rank, was appointed Grand Tutor of the Heir

[1] He was warden of the Suzuka barrier, on the road to Fuha, during the civil war.

[2] On account of his age.

Apparent,[1] Atomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, was appointed Director of the Spring Palace,[2] and Ahamochi, Kose no Asoń, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Assistant Director.

3rd month, 8th day. A public great-congregation was held at the Eastern Palace.[3]

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Ranks, from that of Jō to that of Jiki, were conferred on the selected persons (for office), discrimination being made in the case of each.

7th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta. On this day the Empress arrived from Yoshino.

5th month, 8th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to the various shrines to pray for rain.

6th month, 2nd day. Criminals were pardoned.

6th day. An Imperial order was made that Sutras should be read in the temples of the Home provinces.

15th day. Persons of the fifth and lower ranks were sent to cleanse out the temples of the capital.

19th day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.[4]

26th day. The Ministers and public functionaries began to make votive images of Buddha for the sake of the Empress's illness.

28th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. At midnight, one hundred and nine habitual[5] thieves were pardoned, and four pieces of cloth given to each. But those from the outer provinces received twenty sheaves of rice each.

12th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta.

29th day. The Ministers and public functionaries prepared

[1] The recognition in this capacity of Prince Aru, grandson of Temmu Tennō and son of the Prince Imperial Kusakabe, afterwards Mommu Tennō, on the sixteenth day of this month, is recorded by other authors, but is somehow omitted in the "Nihongi."

[2] The Heir-Apparent's Palace.

[3] The Heir-Apparent's Palace.

[4] Shintō.

[5] There is probably something wrong with the text here. The "Shukai" offers an emendation which would mean "thieves who habitually wore the cangue."

a festival for the installation [1] of Buddhist images in the Temple of Yakushiji.

8th month, 1st day. The Empress,[2] having decided on this measure in the forbidden precinct, abdicated the Imperial Dignity in favour of the Prince Imperial. XXX 41.

[1] Lit. opening the eyes.

[2] She died five years later. Her body was cremated, the first instance of the application of this Indian practice to a Japanese sovereign.

THE END.

ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

Page 2, line 3. For 'drawn out' read 'diffused.'

„ 4. The character 野 is sometimes transliterated no and sometimes nu—a confusion common with the Japanese themselves.

„ 5, l. 15. For 'it had' read 'which has.'

„ 6, note 2. For Oho-to nochi Florenz plausibly suggests Oho-tono-ji, i. e. 'the elder of the august palace.'

note 3. Omotaru. Better 'face-perfect.'

note 3. Florenz suggests with great probability that awo is here only an interjection like aya.

last line of notes. For 'Jirja' read 'Jinja.'

„ 8, line 14 from bottom. For 'place' better 'female.'

„ 9, l. 11. For 'game' read 'gane.'

„ 10, note. For 'first jewel' read 'lucky jewel.'

„ 14, l. 14. For 'Chi-iwo-aki' read 'Chi-i-ho-aki.'

near bottom. For 'has a place,' etc., read 'is completely formed and has a place called.'

„ 15, near bottom. Read 'To think of the words of the woman having been spoken first!'

„ 18, near bottom of text. For 'ladder' read 'pillar.'

„ 23, l. 15, 18. For 'suchi' read 'dzuchi.'

l. 29. Omit 'no Kami' after 'Kura o Kami.'

note 4. Read 'in error for yase, having many reaches.'

„ 24, l. 7. For 'Izanami' read 'Izanagi.'

„ 26, l. 3 from bottom. For 'I will wash' read 'So he washed.'

„ 27, l. 14. For 'Soko' read 'Uha.'

„ 31, note 7. Na is here probably for no, the genitive particle.

„ 40, line 5 from bottom. For 'when the seed,' etc., read 'in spring sowed seed over again, and broke down,' etc.

„ 42, add to note 2:—'Here and at p. 186 the Eternal Land is probably the continent of Asia. The cock is called Kuda-kake in the "Ise-Monogatari" (Mabuchi's Edition II. 44), where Mabuchi explains Kuda as put for Kudara, the name of a Corean kingdom.'

„ 47, l. 24. For 'drew herself up,' etc., read 'felt ill all over.'

near bottom, add note:—'This is the literal translation, but, as we learn from the "Shiki," the "combs" here mentioned were really

Sakaki branches stuck in the ground with tree-fibre hung from them as offerings.'

Page 48, l. 12, 13. For 'he' read 'were.'

„ 49, l. 12. For 'Ono-kori-dome' read 'Ishi-kori-dome.'

„ 51, l. 16 and 21. Transpose 'right' and 'left' in these lines.

„ 55, l. 10, 14. For 'Mitsu' read 'Mi.'

l. 13. After 'yashima' add 'de,' and at the end of note 5 the word 'hand.'

„ 56, l. 20. For 'Ina' read 'Ma.'

„ 57, l. 18 et seqq. For 'Iso' read 'I.'

„ 60, l. 4. Read 'can we say,' etc.

„ 64, l. 8. For 'hoho ninigi' read 'ho no ninigi.'

„ 66, l. 16. 'The sparrows,' etc., should not be indented.

„ 67, l. 6. Omit 'parents.'

l. 9. Better 'abhor mistaking.'

„ 69, note 5. Mars and Jupiter are also mentioned.

„ 71, l. 4. Read 'Oho-yama tsu mi no Kami.'

note 4. After 'muro' insert 'except in composition.'

„ 72, add to note :—'Blackmore, in "Lorna Doone," mentions a practice in the West of England "of keeping all rooms underground. We say that thus we keep them warmer, both for cattle and men in the time of winter, and cooler in the summer time."'

„ 74, l. 22. Read 'the coffined corpse.'

„ 81, l. 13. For 'loyal behaviour' read 'extreme loyalty.'

l. 6 from bottom. Before 'Ma-hitotsu' insert 'Ame no.'

„ 83, l. 11. After 'attendance' add 'in the hall.'

„ 85, l. 10. Read 'Now I suspect that it is not my child.'

„ 89, l. 23. Read 'Chichi hime no Mikoto, daughter of Honohata hime, daughter of,' etc.

l. 6 from bottom. Add 'Ama no' before 'Kaguyama.'

last line but one et seqq. For 'she' read 'he.'

„ 91, l. 19. Read 'Tama-yori hime no Mikoto, child of Yorodzu hata hime, child of Taka mimusubi no Mikoto.'

l. 24. Read 'Kachi-haya-bi.'

l. 26. Add 'Hono' before 'Ninigi.'

„ 93, l. 1. Before 'Hoho-demi' add 'Hiko.'

„ 95, l. 4 from bottom. After 'acquired' insert 'a sea-gift while the younger brother Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto had acquired.'

„ 96, margin. For '32' read '37.'

l. 3. Omit 'Cassia.'

„ 97, l. 7. Filth of earth. The human body is meant. A Buddhist idea.

„ 100, note. There are earlier mentions of the Hayato, but their institution as an Imperial guard probably belongs to the latter end of the seventh century. There are numerous indications that this legend is of recent date.

„ 103, l. 16. For 'Hi' read 'Ho.'

Page 104, l. 18. For 'bathing women' read 'warm-drink-women,' and for 'washerwoman' read 'bathing-woman.'

„ 106, l. 8. After 'dais' add 'and invited him to come in.'

„ 107, l. 3. For 'teach it to me' read 'save me therewith.'

„ 109. After the Chinese characters insert 'or Tennō.'

„ 110, l. 12. For 'pointing to' read 'including all.'

add to note :—'The legend related at p. 128 is an additional indication of an earlier settlement of Yamato by emigrants from the West. The "Kiujiki" states that Nigi-hayahi descended from Heaven in Kahachi, and subsequently removed to Yamato.'

, 111, line 2 from bottom. Read 'and causing him to take it, pulled him,' etc.

l. 21. Read 'ships and oars' instead of 'helms of his ships.'

l. 6. For 'Kafuchi' here and elsewhere read 'Kahachi.'

„ 113, l. 11. After 'Ikoma' read 'and in this way to enter,' etc.

„ 115, l. 7. For 'chastise' read 'reduce.'

l. 8. For 'I can' read 'and,' and omit 'upon which' in next line.

l. 8 from bottom. Read 'the Emperor's army.'

l. 4 from bottom. For 'wandered about' read 'were stayed and knew not whither,' etc.

„ 116, l. 9. After 'body' insert 'opened out a way across the mountains and.'

„ 118, l. 2. For 'they' read 'he.'

last line. No ko, 'the child of,' should be taken as part of the name, viz. Iha-oshi wake no ko. Similarly Nihe-motsu no ko a few lines further down.

„ 119, l. 12. By 'force of men,' 'army of women,' is probably intended only virile or strong troops and effeminate or weak troops.

„ 120, l. 18. After grass add 'rain coat and.'

l. 24. Read 'whether or not I shall be successful in founding the Empire.'

„ 121, l. 19. Read after 'river' 'Their mouths turned downward and after,' etc.

„ 122. In the poetry repeat the line 'Like the Shitadami' after 'my boys.'

„ 123. In the poetry add after 'stay'—

'Though men in plenty
Coming enter and stay.'

l. 13. Read 'I will stand up and sing.'

The same correction in l. 16.

„ 124. Transpose the two poems on this page.

l. 2 from bottom. Read 'ten and more.'

„ 125, l. 20. Add 'thus' before 'cried.'

„ 126, l. 15. Better 'were not without weariness'—

After first line of poetry insert the line, 'With shields in a row.'

„ 127. Transpose the poems.

Page 129, l. 4. For 'Tada' read 'Hata.'
l. 5. The Japanese have indifferently hafuri or hofuri. Hafuri is the proper spelling, hofuri being meant to represent the contracted form hōri.
„ 130, l. 9. After 'Katsuraki' read 'Now the ancient name of the land of Ihare was Kataru or Katatachi.'
„ 131, note 6. For 'evergreen' read 'decidúous.'
„ 133, l. 6. Better read 'to use allusive verses and topsy-turvy words so as,' etc.
„ 134, l. 6. For 'Katsurano' read 'Kadono.'
„ 138, l. 2. Omit 'Hohodemi.'
l. 3. Add 'hime' after 'Isuzu.'
l. 10. For 'Kama' read 'Kami.'
„ 142, l. 9. Before 'daughter' insert 'Howi-hime.'
„ 148, l. 6. After 'Emperor's' insert 'younger.'
l. 10. After 'Awotama' insert 'Kake.'
l. 11. After 'yasu' add 'hiko.'
l. 6 from bottom. 'Ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi' should come in at the end of the sentence.
„ 150, l. 8. For 'of wide culture' read 'broad-minded.'
l. 5 from bottom. Read 'daughter of the Tohe of Araka (or Arakaha) in the land of Ki.'
l. 4 from bottom. Add after 'had' 'Toyo-ki-iri-hiko.' Omit period after 'Oho-ama.'
„ 152, l. 6 from bottom. Read 'Is not this non-acceptance cruel?'
„ 153, l. 4 from bottom. Add after 'Shiko-wo' 'the ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji.'
„ 161, l. 2. Read 'Families were well supplied.'
„ 164, note 2. Read 'in Japanese Keirin.'
„ 168. Read 'Judging from the implements which this ox is carrying, he is surely intended to be killed and eaten.'
„ 172, l. 2. For 'slay' read 'attack.'
„ 178, l. 9. After 'land' read 'and that I should personally conduct the government of the great earth. The covenant was already completed. But although,' etc.
l. 22. For 'Kuka' read 'Fukayu.'
„ 181, last two lines. Read 'If I am to be united to this beautiful person I shall surely see a happy omen on the way.'
„ 182, last line. Read 'Then he said to the courtiers.'
„ 183, l. 5. After 'Tohe' insert 'of Yamashiro.'
„ 189, last line. For 'goro' read 'gokoro.'
„ 191, l. 1 and 2. For 'goro' read 'gokoro.'
„ 193, l. 4. For 'hard' read 'sakaki.'
„ 194, l. 21. Omit 'muro.'
„ 195, l. 6 from bottom. For 'It will be,' etc., read 'Their spear points are not to be matched,' and omit 'For.'
„ 196, l. 27. For 'Ki' read 'Hi.'

Page 197, l. 18. For 'to' read 'through.'
l. 9 from bottom. For 'people' read 'their tribe.'
„ 206, l. 8 from bottom. Add note, 'i.e. a Deity incarnate in human form.'
„ 208, l. 8. For 'Mount Ohoyama' read 'the great mountains.'
„ 209, l. 17. Read 'But he got up with difficulty and returned,' etc.
„ 221, l. 5 from bottom. 'Dazzling to the eyes' is better construed with 'gold and silver,' etc.
„ 224, l. 5 and 10. Read 'Tarashi-nakatsu hiko.'
„ 225, l. 1. Woyamada.
„ 226, l. 19. For 'powerful frame' read 'stubborn nature.'
l. 24. For 'returned' read 'removed.'
„ 228, l. 22. For 'take possession of' read 'seek.'
„ 237, l. 7. For 'So on a later day,' etc., read 'Again they said "Bring a lute and give it to the Empress."'
note 7. Mikokoro is a makura-kotoba of Hirota.
l. 8. Read 'What ill-sounding things the woman says!'
„ 239, l. 3. For 'Katsurano' read 'Kadono.'
l. 14-17. Read—

'Noble with nobles,
Cousin with cousins.'

„ 240, l. 19. For 'Midzunoto,' etc., read 'Kanoto Mi' (18th).
„ 242, l. 3. For 'Emperor' read 'Grand Empress.'
„ 246, l. 8. Read 'In the course of the seventh month of,' etc.
„ 248, l. 5. After 'tribute' add 'which they made the tribute of their own country.'
l. 6. After 'Silla' add 'mean articles.'
„ 250, l. 12 from bottom. For 'Corea' read 'Pèkché.'
, 251, l. 16. Read 'It is so distant that it cannot be reached in seven days' journey.'
„ 254, l. 13. Read 'This agreed with the elbow-pad worn by the Empress as a manly accoutrement.'
„ 255, l. 1. For 'Tsutsuhi' read 'Kebi.'
l. 15. For 'younger' read 'elder.'
l. 11 from bottom. For 'Prince' read 'Princess.'
l. 7 from bottom. For 'Mago' read 'Ito.'
„ 257, l. 7. For 'Kadzu' read 'Kadono.' Chiba, 'thousand leaves,' is a makura-kotoba of Kadono, Kado (or Kadzura) meaning a creeper.
l. 5, and in p. 258. After 'Umashi' add 'uchi.'
„ 259, l. 1. After 'Tsurugi' add 'Karu.'
l. 19. For 'the upper' read 'a.'
„ 260, l. 5 of poetry. 'River fork' is perhaps better 'Kahamata,' the name of a river.
„ 264, l. 10 from bottom. For 'kebi' better read 'momi.'
„ 265, note. For 奏 read 泰.

Page 266. Poetry. Dr. Florenz interprets the last three lines as follows—

'Yield to one side
(In order that) I may see
My departing spouse of Kibi.'

,, 267. For 'Ahiru' read 'Kamo.'
,, 271, l. 12. For 'Oho-kuma' read 'Oho-sumi.'
,, 276. For 'sent it' read 'went.'
,, 277, l. 6. For 'my abdication' read 'his self-abnegation.
note. Read 'Chihaya-bito.'
,, 278, l. 8 from bottom. Read 'But for the three years that We have now reigned over the people,' etc.
,, 279, l. 3. Read 'no robes of state or shoes were made for him except when worn out.'
l. 5. Read after 'broths' 'were not renewed except when they became sour or putrid.'
,, 284. Poetry. For first two lines read—

'By the rule established
For nobles.'

,, 293, l. 5 from bottom. For 'Empress' read 'Emperor.'
,, 294, l. 21. For 'Taka-ama' better 'Taka-kahi' (falcon-feed).
,, 298, l. 6. For 'melts' read 'is distributed.'
,, 304, l. 4. For 'Furu no' read 'Furu in.'
,, 305, l. 4. Before 'Hayato' insert 'an attendant.'
,, 322, note 1. 'Na-nori-ahi' should be 'na-nori-so,' 'tell it not.'
,, 323, l. 6. Read 'But the sea was deep and they,' etc.
,, 326, l. 3 from bottom. For 'made them go back' read 'returned.
,, 329, l. 3 from bottom. Read 'one whit disagreeable.'
,, 335. Poetry. For 'nine-fold' read 'seven-fold.'
,, 336, l. 4 from bottom. Omit 'a place belonging to.'
note 3. Add 'Fukuro probably means mother here.'
,, 338, l. 4. Before 'woman' insert 'man and.'
Last line but one, read 'they were' for 'she was.'
,, 340, last line. Read 'The only persons whom he favoured.'
,, 341, l. 7. After Princess add 'and has made her pregnant.'
,, 342, l. 12. After 'flying' add 'and bit the Emperor's elbow.'
,, 349, l. 17. For 'get instructions' read 'proceed by way of.'
,, 351, note 2. For 'Bekkakō' read 'Kokkekō' or 'Kakero.'
,, 359, l. 26. For 'Autumn' read 'Winter.'
,, 362, l. 15. Read 'How nearly I had destroyed the man!'
,, 366, l. 14. For 'beside himself with shame' read 'for shame at his unsuccess.'
l. 7 from bottom. For 'who' read 'and.'
,, 369, note 2. Better to take smoke and fire as signs of plenty, which extend for 10,000 ri.
,, 370, l. 5. Read 'How should not we, with our whole hearts, address them decrees of cordial warning?'

Page 370, l. 20. Read 'many years have now passed, and it (my death) cannot be called premature.'

l. 5 from bottom. Read 'should gain his purpose of uniting,' etc.

„ 371, l. 3, 4. Read 'The serfs of the Ohomuraji are wide-spread,' etc.

l. 14. Read 'Your serfs are very numerous.'

l. 16. Read 'Is it not better to keep safe our persons and avoid risk rather than by such an announcement to bring on ourselves ruin?'

„ 386, l. 10. After Dignity read 'to the great delight of the functionaries who were in attendance.'

„ 390, l. 11 from bottom. Read 'There are no words without response: no virtuous action without requital.'

l. 8 from bottom. For 'feasts' read 'has obtained.'

„ 399, l. 3. Read 'Oho-iratsume.

„ 400, note 3. For '13' read '12.'

VOL. II.

Page 13. Omit note 1.

„ 19, note 5. For 'Eungchön' read 'Ungchön.'

„ 20, l. 5. For 'Eunchol' read 'Eunsol.'

„ 127, note 5. Omit 'In modern times,' etc.

„ 148. Add to note 2:—'The authenticity of the "Kiujiki" was never disputed until the time of Motoöri and Hirata. The former ("Kojikiden" i. 20) condemns it as a forgery. He says, however, that it is not a mere invention, but compiled from the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi." If any one doubts this let him, Motoöri says, read the "Age of the Gods," comparing the accounts given in the three works. He will find in the "Kiujiki" an incongruous mixture of style, and also that the same event has been narrated in two different forms. The difference in the Chinese characters used for writing the same proper names is especially conspicuous. Sometimes the "Kogojiui" has been resorted to, and such passages are easily distinguished as they are copied word for word. There are, however, passages not to be found elsewhere, probably taken from some old work, and the MSS. are useful for correcting the text of the "Nihongi." To these observations of Motoöri it may be added that the "Kiujiki" contains an account of the death of Shōtoku Daishi, its supposed author, which must have been added a long time after (probably from the "Nihongi"), as it has the expression "the men of that day." We should also remember the positive statement of the "Nihongi" (p. 193) that the greater part of the "Kiujiki" was destroyed by fire in A.D. 645.

Notwithstanding all this, I incline to the opinion that the "Kiujiki," with the exception of the final passage which relates the death of Shōtoku Daishi, is authentic. Motoöri hardly

does justice to the amount of original matter in the mythological chapters, and the similarities between it and the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" may be accounted for by supposing that all three drew their materials from a common stock, viz. the recitals of the "Kataribe" and the written documents compiled from them. It is quite true that the "Kiujiki" gives in many cases two versions of the same legend, but the clumsiness with which they have been dovetailed together is rather a proof that the writer could not have had the more consistent narrative of the "Nihongi" before him. This part ought to be translated. It contains material which is necessary for a complete study of Shintoism.

From Jimmu Tennō on the question assumes a different aspect. Here either the author of the "Nihongi" has incorporated the whole "Kiujiki," or the author of the "Kiujiki" has made a selection from the "Nihongi." So far as the former goes it is identical word for word with the latter. From the circumstance that the additional matter contained in the "Nihongi" is very largely of a romantic or poetical nature, it seems more probable that the "Kiujiki" is the original work. Its general style is eminently consistent with the statement ("Nihongi," vol. ii. p. 122) that the reputed author was a thorough proficient in both Chinese and Buddhist learning.

Without a more exhaustive examination it is impossible to say more, but there is, I feel sure, sufficient internal evidence available to solve the question with certainty. It would afford an interesting subject of critical inquiry to some of our younger students.'

Page 352, l. 9. For '11th' read '10th.'

l. 12. Omit 'you who accepted our rule and also to,' and add at end of sentence 'of your emigration hither.'

For most of the above corrections I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Florenz, Professor of Philology in the Imperial University of Tokio.

INDEX.

ABSTINENCE (religious), I. 41, 42, 82, 152, 316, 325, 347; II. 101, 387.
Abstinence Palace, I. 176, 225; II. 322, 326, 338.
Acupuncture, II. 190.
Adoption, II. 2.
Adultery, II. 221.
Adzuma, I. 81, 207.
Adzuma Koto, I. 225.
Agata-nushi, I. 134.
Age of the Gods. Books I. and II.
Agura, II. 103.
Ahaji (island, birth of), I. 13.
Ahimbe, II. 335.
Aino or Ainu. See Yemishi.
Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne, I. 67, 75.
Akakagachi, I. 77.
Akitsushima, I. 13, 134, 343; II. 12, 66.
Aloes wood, II. 123.
Altar, I. 353.
Ama or Ame, heaven. *passim.*
Ama no hihoko, I. 169, 185, 186.
Ama no Nunahara oki no Mabito, II. 301.
Ama no mi-naka-nushi, I. 5.
Ama terasu no Ohokami. See Sun-goddess.
Ama tsu mara. See Smith-god.
Ambassadors (should be of good family), II. 79.
Ame (malt extract), I. 121.
Ame-kuni-oshi-harani-hiro-niha, II. 5, 36.
Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, II. 275.
Ame no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto, I. 83.
Ame no Uzume. See Uzume.
Ame-toyo-takara ikashihi tarashi hime, I. 171, 248.
Ame-waka-hiko, I. 65.
Ame-yorodzu toyohi, II. 195.
Amnesty, II. 322, and frequently after this.
Anaho, I. 328.
Anahobe (Prince), II. 107, 112.
Anato, I. 167.
Ancestor-worship, I. 27; II. 351.
Ango. See Retreat.
Ankan Tennō, II. 12, 26.
Ankō Tennō, I. 328, 332.
Annei Tennō, I. 141, 142.
Anthropomorphism, I. 41.
Arakahi, II. 2, 8, 15, etc.
Arare-bashiri, II. 411, 414.
Arashito or Arasateung, I. 166; II. 18, 19, 23.
Archery, I. 282, 336, 377; II. 226, 393, etc.
Arima (Prince), II. 251.
Arinari (river), I. 231.
Arrow. See Nari-kabura, Bow, Archery.
Artizans (from Corea), I. 349, 396, etc.
Ashihara, I. 40.
Ashinadzuchi, I. 52, 56.
Aso (Mount), I. 198.
Aso or Ason (title), I. 236, 239; II. 365, etc.
Astronomy, II. 76, 126, 301, 326. See also Comet, Eclipse, Occultation, Mars, Pleiades.
Ass, II. 252.
Atahe or Atahi (title), I. 36.
Ataka-ashi tsu hime, I. 88.
Aya, I. 265, 270, 336, 350, 363; II. 118, 190, 192, etc.
Augury. See Divination.
Axe, I. 301; II. 14, 73, 420.

BALDNESS as an incapacity for service of gods, I. 152.
Banishment, II. 333, 339.
Banzai or Bansai, I. 389; II. 175, 411.
Baptismal flag, II. 149.
Be, I. 43, 47, 104, 139, 175, 280, 307, 314, 322, 340, 350, 359, 365, 375; II. 4, 27, 31, 95, 125, 129, 224. See also Nashiro.
Beacons, II. 13.
Bear (polar), II. 257, 263, 371.
Bed of absent person, Superstition regarding, I. 325.
Bees, II. 184.
Bellows, I. 47.
Bells, I. 286, 294, 301, 329, 348, 387; II. 86, 105, 167, 201, 206, 211, 227, 302, 335.
Bhèchadjya Radja. See Yakushi.
Bidatsu (or Bindatsu) Tennō, II. 90-105.
Bosatsu (or Bodhisattwa), II. 111, 175.

Bow and arrows, I. 34, 37, 139, 247, etc.
Box for petitions, II. 211.
Bramblings (bird), II. 339, 349.
Branding of criminals, etc., I. 305, 307, 359.
Bronze, II. 415.
Buddhism, I. 219; II. 59, 65, 66, 68, 72, 78, 90, 96, 101, and frequently during the remainder of Vol. II. See also Hōshi, Image, Kesa, Nuns, Shamon, Sutra, Sōdzu, Kwannon, Temples, Retreat.
Buffalo, II. 297.
Butsudan, II. 369.

CALENDAR, Introduction xvii.; II. 68, 72, 126, 400.
Camel, II. 124, 146, 252. 344
Cap-rank, II. 127, 228, 231, 281, 370. See also Rank.
Cash, II. 34, 414.
Castles, building of, II. 283, *et seqq.*, 286.
Cattle-breeding, II. 32.
Caterpillar, worship of, II. 188, *et seqq.*
Celestial dog, II. 167.
Censorate, II. 294.
Ceremonies, court, II. 227, 357, 398, etc.
Chair, II. 102.
Chaos, I. 1.
Charms, I. 94; II. 82, 373. See also Incantation, Mantras.
Chésyang, I. 243.
Chhimnyu (King), I. 253.
Chi or chichi, I. 4, 264.
Chigi, I. 132.
Childbirth, superstitions connected with, I. 85, 98, 103, 104.
China, relations with, Introduction xi.; II. 138. See Thang, Wu, Tsin, Han.
Chinese civilization, spread of, II. 133.
Chinese customs, I. 311.
Chinese learning, first introduction of, I. 262.
Chiuai Tennō, I. 217-223.
Chō (land measure), II. 208.
Chopstick, I. 159.
Chōshushi, II. 213, 225.
Chronology, Introduction xvi.; I. 111, 132, 141, 153, 165, 177, 205, 247, 256, 262, 293, 300, 307, 330, 332, 346, 366; II. 25, 37. See also Calendar, Nengo.
Circumambulation, II. 259.
Clapping hands by way of respect, II. 395.
Clay figures at tombs, I. 181, 357.
Clay-workers, I. 180, 356. See also Hashi.
Clepsydra, II. 265, 296.
Cloth, I. 44; II. 180, 208.
Cloud-chariot, II. 275.
Cock, I. 42; II. 425.
Cock-fighting, I. 348.
Coin, I. 391; II. 304. See also Copper, Currency.
Combs, superstitions regarding, I. 24, 25, 47, 48, 52, 96, 98; II. 425.
Comets, II. 166, 167, 169, 333, 353, 364, 367.
Compass (mariner's), II. 258, 285.
Concubines (Imperial), I. 311, etc.
Confiscation, I. 293; II. 83.
Confucius, II. 129.
Consecration (of Buddhist images), II. 297, 423.
Conundrums, II. 374, 375.
Copper, I. 20, 47, 120, 220, 221, 328, 350, 355; II. 65, 86, 133, 360, 387, 415.
Corea, Introduction xi. See Han, Imna, Kara, Koryō, Pèkché, Silla.
Corean deities worshipped in Japan, I. 11, 169, 225, 378.
Corean names, Introduction xxii.; I. 244.
Cormorant-fishing, I. 119, 126, 341.
Cosmogony, I. 2, *et seqq.*
Costume, II. 18, 304, 307, 397, 410.
Court, II. 138.
Cremation, II. 423.
Crow, three-legged. See Yatagarasu.
Currency, I. 89, 391; II. 34, 222, 360, 372, 414.
Curses, I. 249, 337, 403; II. 102.
Cycle, Chinese, I. 111.

DAIBU, I. 175; II. 98.
Daijin, I. 334; II. 196.
Daijinnō, II. 114.
Daijōye, I. 86.
Daikoku, I. 55, 63.
Dainagon, II. 347.
Dai Nippon, II. 279.
Dajōdaijin, II. 294.
Dakiu, II. 185.
Dancing (religious), I. 44, 79; (other), 318, 381, 382, etc.
Dazaifu, II. 139.
Debts discharged, II. 378, 385.
Deer, cry of, I. 289.
Deer, dream of, I. 290.
Deification of Emperors, II. 226, 227. See also Incarnation.
Departments of State, II. 232.
Distribution of lands to peasants. See Kōbunden.
Divination, I. 83, 107, 121, 152, 153, 176, 177, 178, 189, 195, 227, 228, 229, 237, 281, 290, 307, 324, 355; II. 59, 68, 72, 95, 102, 257, 306. See also Omens.
Divorce, I. 25, 30.
Dog-keepers, II. 32.
Dog stories, II. 116, 117.
Dragon, II. 240, 248.
Dragon-fly, I. 134, 342.
Dragon-king, I. 61, 95.
Dreams, I. 115, 152, 155, 161, 165, 290; II. 36.
Dwarf-god. See Sukuna-bikona.
Dwarfs, II. 296.

EARTH-GODDESS, birth of, I. 21, 22.
Earthquakes, I. 317; II. 124, 176, 282, 330, 336, 339, 343, 344, 348, 351, 353, 354, 356, 357, 365, 373, 375, 384.
Eclipses, II. 155, 167, 168, 179, 348, 349, 353, 404, 411, 413, 414, 417, 420.
Edicts, II. 82, *et passim*.
Eight, significance of this number, I. 52; II. 143.
Eight-island-land, I. 16; II. 10.
Embroidery, II. 133.
Empress Dowager, I. 140.
Enclosure for Shinto worship, I. 82, 134.
Eta, I. 338.
Eternal Land. See Tokoyo.
Ethnology, I. 109, 212; II. 38, 123. See also Immigration, Koma, Kumaso, Tsuchigumo, Yemishi.
Eunsol (Corean title), II. 20, 98.
Expiation. See Purgation.

FALCON (for hunting), I. 291, 294; II. 239.
Family relations. See Marriage, Incest, Harakara.
Famine, I. 87; II. 155, 167.
Fasts, II. 402. See also Abstinence.
Festivals. See Shinjōsai, Nihiname, Ahimbe.
Fetish. See Caterpillar, Stone-worship.
Feudalism, I. 192, 267; II. 197, 206, 401, etc.
Fine. See Purgation.
Fire, ordeal by, I. 89.
Fire-drill, I. 205.
Fire-god, I. 21, 28, 29, 122.
Firewood presented to Emperor, II. 326, 330, etc.
Firmament, I. 291.
Fish-hooks (of iron), I. 92.
Five grains, I. 21, 278.
Flute, II. 11, 24.
Folk-lore, I. 307.
Food-goddess, I. 22, 32, 122.
Football, II. 185.
Forced labour, I. 278; *et passim*.
Four Heavenly Kings, II. 114, 115.
Fujihara family, II. 291.
Fumibito or Fubito (scribes), Introduction xii.; I. 263; II. 91.
Funeral ceremonies, I. 66, 67, 326; II. 24, 104, 143, 173, 177, 232, 274, 303, 360, 380, 388.
Funeral sacrifices, I. 178.
Funado no Kami, I. 25.
Furubito (Prince). See Yoshino.
Futodama no Mikoto, I. 82, etc
Futsu-nushi no Kami, I. 23, 67.

GAGS, II. 313.
Gambling, II. 371.
Games. See Suguroku, Dakiu.
Garlic as a charm against evil spirits, I. 208.
Genealogy of the Gods, I. 4-10.
Geomancy, II. 76, 126, 387.
Giōgi-yaki (pottery), I. 121.
Go (part of China), I. 269. See also Wu.
Godzu Tennō, I. 19.
Gohei, I. 44. See Offerings.
Gokinai, I. 135, 159, 215, 228; II. 207, 407.
Gold, II. 34, 65, 86, 134, 149, 172, etc.
Gold-copper, II. 391, 393.
Governors of provinces, II. 131, 200, etc.
Grain, origin of, I. 21.
Granaries (official), I. 214, 282. See Miyake.
Great Abstinence Deity. See Oho-imi.

HACHIMAN, I. 271.
Hachi-ōji (eight Princes), I. 36.
Hada (noble House), I. 265, 364; II. 39.
Hades. See Yomi, Ne no Kuni.
Hafuri (Shinto priests), I. 56, 129, 307; II. 39, 82, 174, 428.
Hair ornaments (sign of rank), II. 128, 138, 142, 230.
Haka (tomb), I. 159. See Tomb.
Hakama (prisoner in China), II. 400.
Hakase (doctor), II. 197.
Hakuchi, year-period of, II. 236.
Han (Corea), I. 58, 232, 242, 254, 257, 263, 273, 349; II. 35, 38.
Han (China), I. 265, 270; II. 118.
Hand-mill, I. 189; II. 140.
Hangwan (officials), II. 200.
Hanishi, I. 356. See Hashi no Muraji.
Haniwa, I. 181.
Hanzei Tennō, I. 310.
Harahe, I. 49; II. 221, 333, 338. See Purgation, Oho-harahe.
Harakara, I. 143, 322, 323.
Hashi no Muraji, I. 36, 181, 365; II. 126.
Hashira, I. 3.
Hatahi (Princess), I. 330.
Hatsuse (Prince), II. 161.
Hayabusa wake (Prince), I. 390, *et seqq.*
Hayato (palace guards), I. 100, 305, 375, 377; II. 38, 249, 356, 390, 418, 426.
Hawking. See Falcon.
Herbalists, II. 72.
Herb-gathering, II. 141, 143, 145, 288.
Herb of long life, II. 186, 344.
Hi, land of, I. 191, 198.
Hiki (piece of cloth), II. 209.
Hime (lady), frequently in names of princesses, etc.
Hire (scarf), II. 355.
Hiuga, I. 196.
Home provinces. See Gokinai.
Hōshi (priestly title), II. 118, 197.
Hostages, II. 196, 226.
Hōto, II. 153, 203.
House (noble), I. 316.
Hsüan-ts'ang, II. 254.

ICE-HOUSE, I. 297.
Ichinobe no Oshiwa, I. 336, 378.
Idols, I. 3. See Images.
Idzu, I. 70, 122, 176.
Idzube. See Sacred jars.
Idzuhime, I. 122.
Idzuki, I. 291.
Idzumo, I. 52, 54, 109, 381.
Idzushi sword, I. 168, 169, 185.
Ihanagahime, I. 84.
Ihawi, II. 15.
Ihaya, I. 72.
Ihitoyo (Princess), I. 383.
Ikadzuchi, I. 347.
Ike (a pond), I. 149. See Irrigation.
Ikina, II. 84.
Ikuhi, I. 154.
Ikume-iri-hiko isachi, I. 161, 163, 165.
Illa (Corean statesman), II. 97, *et seqq.*
Images (Buddhist), II. 65, 67, 98, 101, 111, 127, 133, 150, 230, 240, 387, 391, 422.
Imaki, I. 349, 350.
Imi (avoidance of religious impurity), I. 41.
Imibe (or Imbe), I. 42, 45, 47.
Imiki (title), II. 365.
Immigration to Japan, I. 166, 169, 242, 261, 264, 265, 296, 359; II. 38, 83, 86, 87, 99, 123, 126, 139, 140, 144, 146, 273, 285, 292, 330, 364, 384, 385, 391, 397, 398, 399.
Imna, I. 164, 166, 167, 249, 253, 257, 348, 392; II. 7, 19, 35, 39, 42, 80, 119, 124, 226.
Imo, younger sister or wife, I. 22, 104, 397.
Imperial theory, II. 29, 30.
Imun (part of Corea), II. 9, 12.
In and Yō, I. 1, 4, 12. See also Yin and Yang.
Inaki, I. 172, 215, 315, 364; II. 113, 365.
Iname no Sukune, II. 66, 78, 87, 112.
Incantations, I. 60, 94, 98, 99, 102, 133. See Mantras.
Incarnation, II. 198, 210, 217.
Incest, I. 324, 396.
Indigo, I. 353.
Ingiō Tennō, I. 312.
Ink-cord, I. 362.
Inspiration, I. 79, 163, 221, 225, 391, 392; II. 76, 317.
Interlinear Kana, Introduction xxi.; II. 200.
Inukahi, II. 32.
Iron, I. 92, 247, 251, 282, 328; II. 14, 86, 102, 173, 294, 344, 387.
Irrigation, I. 164, 183, 214, 227, 257, 259, 283, 306, 307; II. 136.
Iruka no Omi. Book xxiv., *passim.*
Ise, I. 44, 176, 205, 225.
Issaikio, II. 322, 330, 337.
Itoku Tennō, I. 142.
Itsukushima, I. 35.
Itsuse no Mikoto, I. 113, 127.
Izahowake, I. 301.
Izanami and Izanagi (Creator deities), I. 6-34, *passim*, also I. 307, 322.

JAPAN, names of. See Nippon, Yamato, Akitsu, Wa, Ashihara, Eight-island-land.
Jewel-spear of Heaven, I. 11.
Ji or chi (elder), I. 4, 18.
Jimmu Tennō, I. 62, 109-137; II. 21.
Jingikwan (department of Shinto religion), Eight gods of, I. 7.
Jingō Kōgu, I. 224-253.
Jitō Tennō, II. 382-423.
Jomei Tennō, II. 95-157.
Junshi (self-sacrifice at tomb of a lord or husband), I. 180, 331; II. 183, 220, 234, 383.
Jupiter (planet), II. 409.

KABANE (title), I. 27.
Kachaya. See Kesa.
Kagase-wo (star-god), I. 69, 79.
Kagehime, I. 402.
Kagura. See Dancing.
Kagutsuchi. See Fire-god.
Kaguyama (mount), I. 43, 119, 120.
Kaha (river), frequently in names of places.
Kahabe no Omi, II. 83.
Kahachi no Atahe, II. 44, 48.
Kaikwa Tennō, I. 148.
Kakosaka (Prince), I. 2 6, *et seqq.*
Kamako no Muraji or Kamatari Kō, II. 184, 191, 193, 194, 197, 243, 282, 291.
Kama-shishi, II. 181, 371.
Kami, deity, I. 3.
Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, I. 85.
Kamibe (or Kambe), I. 57.
Kami Mi Musubi (deity), I. 5, 9.
Kami-naga-hime, I. 259.
Kami Nunagaha mimi. See Suizei.
Kami yamato Ihare-biko. See Jimmu.
Kami ya-wi mimi no Mikoto, I. 139.
Kamo-shika. See Kama-shishi.
Kamu-niha, I. 353.
Kamu tsu miya. See Shōtoku Daishi.
Kanamura no Muraji, I. 404; II. 8.
Kana glosses, Introd. xxi.
Kana Nihongi, Introd. xiv.
Kanki (Corean title), I. 166, 231; II. 19, 42, 51.
Kanro (sweet dew), II. 339.
Kara, I. 57, 162, 166, 232, 252, 261, 263; II. 18. See also Imna.
Karakane (bronze), II. 415.
Karako, II. 22.
Karano (name of ship), I. 256, 268.
Karu (Prince), I. 323.
Karu (Prince), II. 184, 194.
Kashikiya hime, II. 95.
Kasuga (Princess), II. 9.
Katari be, Introd. xv.; I. 353.

Kaya, II. 80. See Imna.
Keidai Tennō, II. 1-25.
Keiko Tennō, I. 188-214.
Kena no Omi, II. 15, 19, etc.
Kenzō Tennō, I. 377-393.
Kesa (Buddhist priest's garment), II. 196, 297, 386.
Kibi (province), I. 14, 112, 155.
Kibi no Omi, II. 58.
Kibumi, i.e. yellow books, II. 133, 185.
Kilin, I. 164, 244.
Kimi (lord), I. 38. *et passim.*
Kimmei Tennō, II. 36-89.
Kinai. See Gokinai.
Ki no tsuno no Sukune, I. 293.
Ki no woyumi no Sukune, I. 354.
Kishi (title), I. 236.
Kissing, II. 85.
Kite (golden), I. 126.
Kiujiki, Introd. xii.; II. 148, 193; Addenda.
Kiushiu, I. 109, 112. See Tsukushi.
Kōan Tennō, I. 145.
Kōbunden, II. 208, 225, 409.
Kōbun Tennō, II. 301, 303.
Kōgen Tennō, I. 146.
Kōgioku Tennō, II. 171-194.
Kojiki (history), Introd. xiii. xix.; I. 2, 350, 393.
Kokishi (Corean word for king), I. 251.
Kokuryö. See Koryö.
Kokushi (governor), II. 201.
Koma, I. 232; II. 61. See Koryö.
Konohana sakuya hime, I. 70-85.
Kōrei Tennō, I. 146.
Koro-pok-guru, I. 72.
Koryö, or Kokuryö (kingdom of Corea), I. 231, 262, 268, 282, 296, 351, 366, 392; II. 38, 44, 60, 77, 86, 93, 134; downfall of, 289.
Koshi, I. 14.
Koshiro, II. 217. See Nashiro.
Kōshō Tennō, I. 144.
Kōsobō, II. 196.
Koto (lute), I. 225, 268, 269, 351, 380; II. 235.
Kōtoku Tennō, II. 195.
Kotoshiro nushi, I. 61, 76, 225, 237; II. 318.
Koyane no Mikoto, I. 82, etc.
Kudara (kingdom of Corea), I. 232. See Pèkché.
Kukunochi. See Tree-god.
Kuma, I. 62, 82, 197, 232, 239, 368; II. 59. See also Kumaso.
Kuma-himorogi, I. 82, 168, 169, 185.
Kuma-nari, I. 59, 232, 367; II. 19, 286.
Kuma-wani, I. 219.
Kuma-washi, I. 226.
Kumaso, I. 192, 196, 201, 219, 221. See also Kuma and Koma.
Kume, I. 80, 118, 127, 133, 178.
Kuni no Miyakko, or Kuni'tsuko (local governor), I. 112. See also Miyakko.
Kuni no satsuchi no Mikoto, I. 3.
Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto, I. 3, 4.
Kure, I. 265, 269, 362. See Go, Wu.
Kuro hime, I. 301.
Kusaka no hatahi-hime, I. 337.
Kusanagi (sword), I. 52-58, 76, 205, 211; II. 290, 377.
Kushi-nada-hime, I. 52, 56.
Kusuri-gari. See Herb-gathering.
Kusyu (King of Pèkché), I. 251.
Kuzu (local chiefs), I. 119, 266.
Kwannon (Buddhist), II. 379, 391.
Kyōsoku, II. 256.

LACQUER, II. 110, 367.
Laws, II. 128, 202, 220, 350, 358, 393, 402.
Leaves used as platters, I. 125, 285.
Leech-god, I. 15, 18, 19, 20.
Legends, *passim* in earlier part of work.
Leopard as deity, II. 70.
Living things released, II. 334, 335.
Loans of rice, II. 328.
Local authorities, II. 206, 207, 213, 214, 242, etc.
Long-life places (Buddhist), II. 394, 404.
Loom. See Weaving.
Lustration, I. 26.

MAGARI NO OHINE (Prince), II. 5, 12, 26.
Maga-tama (curved jewels), I. 38, 49, 184, 221.
Magic, I. 157, 361; II. 126, 190, 301. See Incantation, Witchcraft.
Magpies, II. 124.
Mahakala, II. 114.
Maitrêya, II. 101, 127.
Majinahi, I. 60.
Makura kotoba, I. 176, 403, etc.
Mallet weapons, stone or wood, I. 123, 124, 194, 240.
Manchus. See Sushen.
Mantras, II. 96.
Market commissioners, II. 223.
Marriage ceremony, I. 12, 14-18, 54.
Marriage to near relations, I. 22, 145, 212, 277, 290; II. 26, 38, 40, 107, 185, 220, 221. See Nuptial hut.
Marriage presents, I. 301.
Mars (planet), II. 353, 409.
Masaya-a-katsu kachi hayathi-ama no oshi ho mimi, I. 36, 37, 64, 76.
Masu (measure of capacity), II 209.
Mato, II. 53.
Matori no Ohomi, I. 403.
Mayuwa (Prince), I. 334.
Medicine, I. 59, 63; II. 68. See also Physician.
Medicine men, I. 42.
Mediums, I. 79.
Metals, I. 21, 291, 328. See also Bronze, Copper, Gold, Iron, Mint, Silver.
Metal workers, I. 81; II. 117, 376.
Metamorphosis, I. 209, 210, 296, 361; II. 155.

Metempsychosis, II. 149.
Mibu be, I. 280; II. 135.
Micheul Höchi pölhan, I. 241, 244.
Michi no Omi, I. 117, 122, 133; II. 16, 21.
Midzuchi (water-snake or water-god), I. 299.
Midzuha nome, I. 21, 122.
Midzuha wake (Prince and Emperor), I. 305, 310.
Mikage, II. 385.
Miko, I. 79.
Mikoto, I. 3.
Mikoto-mochi, II. 116, 131.
Milky Way, I. 23, 39, 42.
Mill, II. 140, 294.
Millet, I. 33.
Mimaki irihiko iniye, I. 150.
Mimana, I. 167. See Imna.
Mimatsu hiko kayeshine, I. 144.
Mimuma, I. 336.
Mint, II. 414.
Miroku, image of, II. 101, 127.
Mirror, I. 20, 43, 47, 49, 76, 83, 168, 185, 193, 251, 341; II. 3, 33.
Misaheun, I. 242.
Misaki (spur of hill or promontory), I. 177.
Misasagi (Imperial tomb), I. 135, 139, 211, 217, 236, 297, 298, 327, 357, 389, 390; II. 35, 143, 147, 156, 178, 235, 341, 389, 404.
Mitama-furishiki, II. 373.
Mitegura, II. 147.
Mitsugi (tribute), II. 23.
Miyake (granary), I. 178; II. 8, 13, 17, 27, 28, 32, 60, 78, 79, 136.
Miyakko (local governor), I. 51, 133, 215, etc.
Mohitori, I. 134.
Momari Cheulchi, I. 241, 244.
Mononobe, I. 128, 184.
Mononobe no Ohomuraji, II. 90, 112.
Monstrosities, I. 298; II. 147, 296, 300, 368.
Moon-god, I. 18-20, 28, 32, 391.
Moriya no Ohomuraji, II. 90, 112.
Mortar, I. 189.
Motoöri, Preface, Introd. xix.
Mounds, sepulchral, I. 72; II. 17. See also Haka, Misasagi, Tomb.
Mountain-goat. See Kama-shishi.
Mountain-god, I. 22.
Mourning, I. 277; II. 232. See Funeral ceremonies.
Mujina (animal like badger), I. 184.
Mulberry (paper), I. 49; (silk), I. 347, 366.
Mules, II. 344.
Mumayado (Prince). See Shōtoku Daishi.
Mumako no Sukune, II. 90, 101-103, 106, 112, 119. See Soga.
Munchu (King of Pèkché), I. 367.
Munyöng (King of Pèkché), I. 405.
Mura (village), II. 18.
Muraji (title), I. 27.
Mura-kumo (sword), I. 53.
Murder of an Emperor, I. 334; II. 119.
Mure (Corean word for mountain), II. 54, 153.
Muretsu Tennō, I. 399-407.
Muro, I. 71, 85, 123, 134, 201, 297, 376, 379; II. 375, 380, 426.
Music, I. 326; II. 30, 72, 144, 324, 350, 359, 371, 376, 406. See Flute, Koto.
Musubu no Kami, I. 5.
Mutè (Corean Prince), I. 405.
Myöng (King of Pèkché), II. 15, 66, 74.
Mythology, Books I. and II.

NA (name). See Names.
Nagare-kanjō, II. 151.
Naga-sune-hiko, I. 113, 126, 127.
Naijin, II. 197.
Nails, superstitions regarding, I. 50.
Nakatomi, I. 42, 45, 48, 79.
Nakatsu (Prince), I. 301.
Nama (Corean official rank), II. 55, 79, etc.
Names (proper), I. 27, 175, 190, 204, 255, 316, 393; II. 185, 223, 224, 225, 226, 354, 393. See also Title.
Naniha (city of Ohosaka), I. 113.
Naniha (person), II. 92, *et seqq.*
Nara Museum, II. 128.
Nari-kabura (sounding arrow), I. 87; II. 277.
Nashiro, I. 314, 322, 375, 406; II. 4, 13, 29, 31, 32, 204, 217. See Be, Koshiro.
Nengō (year-period), II. 198, 236.
Ne no Kuni, I. 20. See Yomi.
Ne no Omi, I. 331, 363.
Nether land, I. 20, 32, 51. See Yomi.
Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, I. 111, 128; II. 427.
Nihabi (courtyard-fire), I. 44.
Nihi-name (festival of first-fruits), I. 86, 122, 292, 375, 379; II. 109, 169, 177. See Oho-nihe, Ahimbe.
Nihon. See Nippon.
Ninken Tennō, I. 393-398.
Nintoku Tennō, I. 272-300.
Nippon, I. 1, 13, 268, 345; II. 7, 12, 42, 137, 139, 149, 303.
No (genitive particle), frequent in proper names.
Nō dance, origin of, I. 79.
Nomi no Sukune, I. 175, 181.
Norito (Shinto rituals). Introd. xii. xiv.; I. 80; II. 333.
Nuhoko or jewel-spear, I. 11.
Nunakura futo-damashiki, II. 90.
Nuns, II. 96, 101, 103, 104, 113, 118, 135, etc.
Nuptial hut, I. 12, 41, 54, 400.

Nuribe. See Lacquer.
Nyōi pearl, I. 209.

OATH, I. 35; II. 82, 97, 197.
Obito (title), I. 43.
Occultation of stars, II. 169, 174, 353.
Offerings to Gods, I. 44, 45, 47, 178, 209, 227; II. 147, etc. See Gohei, Mitegura, Nihi-name.
Ohine, I. 278.
Oho (great), *passim*.
Oho-harahe, II. 221, 352, 378. See Harahe, Purgation.
Oho-hatsuse Waka-take, I. 329, 333.
Oho-hirume no Mikoto, I. 110.
Oho-hirume no muchi, I. 18.
Oho-imi Deity, II. 328, etc.
Ohoke (Emperor), I. 377.
Oho-kume, I. 116, 133.
Oho-kuni-dama, worship of, I. 151.
Oho-kusaka (Prince), I. 331.
Oho-maye no Sukune, I. 328.
Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, I. 81, 152, 154, 158.
Oho-muraji, I. 337, etc.
Oho-namuji no Kami, I. 54, 59, 68, 80; II. 77.
Oho-nihe, Introd. xv.; I. 86; II. 324, 334, 404. See Nihi-name.
Oho-omi, I. 334, 337; II. 108, etc.
Oho-saka, I. 113.
Oho-sazaki, I. 255, 259, 271, 272. See Nintoku.
Oho-sora. See Sora.
Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro wake. See Keikō.
Oho-tomo, I. 86, 116, 133, etc.
Oho-tsu (Prince), II. 383.
Oho-usu (Prince), I. 188, 202.
Oho-yama-mori (Prince), I. 270, 274.
Oho-yamato-hiko-suki tomo. See Itoku.
Oho-yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. See Kōrei.
Oho-yamato-neko-hiko kuni kuru. See Kōgen.
Oho-yashima (Great-eight-island-country), I. 14, 16; II. 238.
Ohoye, I. 278.
Ōjin Tennō, I. 254-271; II. 9.
Okime (old woman), I. 386, 387, 391.
Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka. See Jomei.
Okinaga tarashi-hime, I. 218, 224; II. 8, 59.
Old man of the sea, I. 88, 92.
Omens, I. 227, 228, 238, 277, 320; II. 2, 4, 226, 237, 239, 245, 256, 259, 263, 266, 269, 270, 276, 277, 293, 331, 359, etc.
Omi (Minister or high official, also title of nobility), I. 36, *et passim*. See Oho-omi.
Omohi-kane no Kami, I. 42, 46.
Oni-yarahi, ceremony of, II. 389.
Onogoro-jima, I. 12.
Orange-tree, I. 186.
Ordeal by fire, I. 73, 85, 89.
Ordeal by boiling water, I. 258, 316; II. 22.
Original commentary, Introd. xxi.; II. 41.
Osaka Oho-nakatsu hime, I. 313, 328.
Oshi ho mimi no Mikoto, I. 83.
Oshikuma, Prince, I. 236, *et seqq*.
Oshikuni oshi-take kanahi, II. 5.

PAGODA, II. 102, 114, 122, 169.
Painting and painters, I. 350; II. 127, 133, 140, 144, 187, 244, 265, 336.
Pak Chésyang, I. 242.
Panku, I. 28.
Panphi, part of Corea, II. 9, 11, 13, etc.
Paper, II. 140.
Paper-mulberry fibre, I. 44.
Parrots, II. 230, 251.
Parturition house, I. 73, 94, 103, 277, 320.
Peach, magical properties of, I. 30.
Peacock, I. 230.
Pearl, II. 27, 34. See Nyōi.
Pèkché, Kingdom of Corea, I. 231, 232, 248, 249, 250, 257, 261, 263, 349, and frequently during the remainder of the work. Downfall of Pèkché, II. 269, *et seqq*.
Pèkché record, I. 248, 252, etc.
Pepper Court, II. 28.
Pestilence, I. 151; II. 67, 102, 104.
Pestle and mortar, I. 189.
Petroleum, II. 289.
Phallic worship, I. 11, 77, 139.
Phasa, King of Silla, I. 231.
Pheasant, I. 65, 73, 90.
Pheasant, white, an omen, II. 124.
Phung-chhang (Pèkché Prince), II. 165, 184.
Physicians, I. 315; II. 72, 295. See Medicine.
Picnics, I. 388, 389, etc.
Piebald colt of Heaven, I. 40, 45.
Pit-dwellers, I. 71. See Muro.
Pleiades, I. 69.
Polar bear. See Bear.
Polygamy, I. 118, 323.
Portents, II. 148, 155, 180, 183, 186, 187, 190. See Omens.
Posthumous honours, II. 323, and frequently after this.
Posting, II. 206, 207.
Potters and pottery, I. 121, 155, 170, 350, 365; II. 117. See Clay-workers, Hanishi.
Presents offered on branches, I. 193, 220.
Priest, Emperor acting as, I. 225.
Primogeniture, I. 110, 140, 273, 384; II. 242.
Prince, I. 142, 149.
Punam, II. 48.
Punishments, II. 234, *et passim*.
Purgation, or purification, ceremony of, I. 26, 31, 48, 49, 50, 224, 308; II. 96, 221. See Oho-harahe, Harahe.
Purity, ritual, I. 41.
Puyō, country of, II. 18.

QUELPAERT. See Tamna.
Quiver, I. 34.

RAIN of ashes, II. 346, 369.
Rain, prayers for, II. 174. 175, etc.
Raitsui (stone weapons), I. 12.
Rank, official, II. 127, 225, 228, 231, 368. See Cap-rank.
Recorders, I. 307, 357.
Red bird, II. 347, 351.
Red crow, II. 337, 407, 409. See Yata-garasu.
Red tortoise, II. 352.
Regalia, I. 76, 83, 307; II. 3, 33.
Relics (Buddhist), II. 102, 117, 121.
Religion. See Buddhism, Mythology, Shinto.
Retreat (religious), II. 360, 369, 398.
Rice, creation of, I. 33.
Rice-castle. See Inaki.
Richiu Tennō, I. 301.
Riddle, I. 396. See Conundrum.
Right and left, precedence of, I. 16; II. 15.
Risshi (Buddhist rank), II. 359, 416, etc.
River-god, I. 22, 281, 299; II. 174. See Midzuchi, Serpent-worship.
Rock-cave of Heaven, I. 41-50.

SA (honorific prefix), I. 3.
Sachihiko (envoy to Corea), I. 252, etc.
Sacred jars, I. 122, 130, 157.
Sacrifices, I. 220, 228, 281; II. 174. See Offerings.
Sacrifices, human, I. 178, 181.
Sadaijin, II. 196, 294.
Saheki Be, I. 212.
Sahohiko, I. 172.
Saimei Tennō, II. 248-273.
Saka (an acclivity), frequent in names of places.
Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, II. 107, *et seqq.*
Sakaki (sacred tree), I. 43, 47, 81, 219.
Sake (rice-beer), I. 52, 56, 154, 244, 245, 264; II. 166.
Sakitsuya, I. 348.
Sakyamuni. See Shaka.
Salt-pans, I. 220, 268.
Saniha, I. 225.
Sarcophagus, I. 137; II. 285, 389.
Sarume, I. 44, 76, 79.
Saruta-hiko, I. 77.
Scribes. See Recorders, Fumibito.
Sea-gods, I. 22, 93, 95, 106.
Sea monster, I. 61, 95, 98, 102.
Seamstresses imported, I. 261, 269, 271, 363.
Seimu Tennō, I. 214-216.
Seinei Tennō, I. 373-377.
Senkwa Tennō, II. 33-35.
Sepulchral mounds, I. 72; II. 17. See Misasagi, Haka, Tomb.
Serfs, I. 388; II. 29, 30, 79, 87, 94, 178, 206, 217, 327, 371, 431.
Serpents, I. 52, 296, 299, 347.
Serpent-worship, I. 158, 208, 299, 347. See Midzuchi.
Seta, battle of, II. 314.
Seven stars, II. 366.
Shaka, II. 65.
Shamon, II. 197, 241, etc.
Shari. See Relics.
Sheep, II. 124, 188.
Shibi no Omi, I. 400, *et seqq.*
Shields, I. 80, 155, 282; II. 395.
Shiguma, II. 257. See Bear.
Shihi-netsu-hiko, I. 111, 120, 121, 126.
Shiho-tsu no oji, I. 92, 110.
Shiki (rebel), I. 125.
Shiki (Commentary on "Nihongi"), Introd. xiii. xix.
Shiki tsu hiko tami demi. See Annei.
Shikome (ugly woman of Yomi), I. 25.
Shinjōsai (festival), I. 86.
Shinto (religion), Introd. xii. xxiv.; I. 41, 43; II. 106, 195, 293. See Mythology. Sun-goddess, Nakatomi, Imbe, Offerings, Wind-god, etc.
Shinto priests, I. 56. See Hafuri.
Shinto shrines, I. 58; II. 76.
Shinra. See Silla.
Shipping tax, II. 69.
Ships, I. 58, 161, 256, 268, etc.
Shiraga take-hiro-kuni-oshi-waka-Yamato-neko, I. 373.
Shiratori no Misasagi, I. 211.
Shiri-kume-naha, I. 45.
Shiro, a land measure, II. 115, 205, 394.
Shitennō, II. 114, 482.
Shitenōji, II. 115, 123, 150.
Shōgun, I. 156.
Shoki, I. 1.
Shōtoku Daishi, Introd. xiv; II. 95, 107, 114, 122, 133, 144, 148, 431.
Shrines, I. 132; II. 318.
Shūchō (year-period), II. 373, 379.
Shūkai (or Shuge) edition of "Nihongi," Introd. xx.
Shuttle, I. 41.
Signet (Imperial), I. 314; II. 3. See Regalia.
Silk, I. 166, *et passim* in Vol. II.
Silkworm, I. 21, 33, 347; II. 5. See Mulberry.
Silla (Kingdom of Corea), I. 57, 166, 221, 230, 231, 234, 249, 257, 269, 284, 295, 315, 326, 349, 354; II. 15, 18, 35, 38, and frequently after this.
Silver, II. 172, 325, 360, 387, 403, 404, 405.
Slaves, I. 209, 356; II. 48, 64, 73, 74, 82, 93, 100, 113, 115, 182, 202, 220, 221, 402.
Smith-god, I. 81, 139.
Snake-worship. See Serpent-worship.
Sōdzu, II. 153, 325, 359, 377, 378.
Soga family, II. 148, 189.
Soga no Oho-omi, II. 78, 87.

Soga no Mumako, II. 90-119.
So In-ko, II. 136.
Sōjō, II. 153, 359, 377, 378.
Sonaka Cheulchi, I. 164, 166.
Sora (the void of Heaven), I. 4 83, 347.
Sosa no wo (deity), I. 19, 28, 32, 34-59.
Soto-ori-hime, I. 318.
Söul, I. 263.
South, Emperor faces, on official occasions, II. 3.
Spear, I. 44, 47, 155.
Spelling, Introd. xxi.
Spider, superstition regarding, I. 320.
Spittle, I. 31, 48, 106.
S'ramana, II. 197.
S'ramanera, II. 348.
Star-god. See Kagase-wo.
Stone implements, I. 189.
Stone weapons, I. 87, 123, 169; II. 308.
Stone worship, I. 1, 168, 183. See Idzushi.
Storehouse, I. 184. See Miyake, Inaki.
Suguri. See Sukuri.
Suguroku (backgammon), II. 395.
Suicide. See Junshi.
Suiko Tennō, II. 121-156.
Suinin Tennō, I. 165-187.
Suizei Tennō, I. 138-141.
Sūjin Tennō, I. 150, 164.
Sujun Tennō, II. 112-120.
Sukuna-bikona (god), I. 59-63, 244.
Sukune (title), I. 142, 236.
Sukuri (title), I. 341; II. 74.
Sumera Mikoto, I. 109.
Sumeru or Sumi, Mount, II. 144, 251, 259, 265.
Sumptuary Laws, II. 343, 350.
Sun and moon, sex of, I. 28.
Sunai (junior), II. 250.
Sun-crow, I. 116. See Yatagarasu.
Sun-goddess, I. 18, 20, 28, 32, 33, 41-49, 73, 115, 151, 176, 392; II. 95, 107, 307.
Sun-mirror, I. 82, 168, 169. See Mirror.
Superstitions, I. 325. See Comb, Spider, Child-birth, Spittle, Caterpillar, Fetish, Omens, Divination, Bed, Garlic, Incantations, Magic, Nails, Peach, Ordeal, Red animals, White animals.
Surnames, origin of, I. 27, 204, 316. See Names, Titles.
Susa no wo. See Sosa no wo.
Sushēn (Manchus), II. 58, 257, 260, 263, 265, 335, 420.
Sutras, II. 65, 96, 133, 135, 170, 175, 240, 241, 263, 265, 335, 346, 352, 371, 372, 376, 378, 379, 403, 408, 413, 416, 421, 422. See also Issaikio.
Swan, I. 174.
Sword, I. 35, 53, 87, 92, 115, 123, 162, 183, 360; II. 3, etc.
Syoko (King of Pèkché), I. 247, 251.
Syöng-myöng (King of Pèkché), II. 42, 43, 66.

TACHIBANA, I. 186.

Tachibana no Toyohi. See Yōmei Tennō.
Tadzukai (office), II. 87.
Tagishi mimi, son of Jimmu, I. 138.
Tai (fish), I. 93.
Taikyoku, II. 191.
Tajihi no Midzuha-wake, I. 310.
Tajima Mori (mission to fetch the orange-tree), I. 186.
Takakuraji, I. 115.
Takama no hara (plain of High Heaven), I. 16, 33, 83, 133.
Takama no hara hiro-nu no hime. See Jitō.
Taka mi musubi (god), I. 5, 64, 81, 86, 90, 110, 122, 392.
Takayasu, castle of, II. 290, etc.
Take (brave), I. 64, frequent in names.
Takechi (Prince), II. 309, *et seqq.*
Takechi no Sukune (statesman), I. 200, 211, 215, 223, 238, 245, 248, 257, 294, 317; II. 8.
Take ha dzuchi (god), I. 70.
Take-hani-yasu-hiko (rebel), I. 156, *et seqq.*
Take-mika-dzuchi (deity), I. 68, 115.
Take-wo-hiro-kuni oshi-tate. See Sen-kwa.
Taku-hata, I. 341.
Talsol (Corean title), II. 98, 283.
Tama (jewel, spirit), frequent in names.
Tama-boko (jewel-spear of Heaven), I. 11.
Tama-yori-hime, I. 94, 104, 108.
Tamna, II. 6, 271, 284, 286, 290, 323, etc.
Tan, land measure, II. 208; cloth measure, II. 209.
Tanegashima (island), II. 336, 344, 352, 356, 359, 418.
Tanka (poetry), I. 91, etc.
Tankun, legend of, II. 77.
Tanners, I. 397.
Tarashi-naka-tsu hiko. See Chiuai.
Targets, I. 282.
Tasuke (shoulder straps or braces), I. 44.
Tatami (mats), I. 325.
Tatemono, I. 181.
Tattooing, I. 200, 305.
Taxation, I. 160, 365; II. 68, 208, 209, 225, etc.
Temmu Tennō, II. 301-381.
Temples (Buddhist), II. 67, 101, 111, 341, 346, etc.
Temples of the Earth and Grain, Introd. xvi.; I. 171, etc.
Tenchi Tennō, II. 274-300.
Tendoku (mode of reading Sutras), II. 175.
Tengu (celestial dog), II. 167.
Tennō (Emperor), I. 109, 234.
Tennōji, temple of, II. 115, 296.
Tenshōdaijin. See Sun-goddess.
Tera (temple), II. 122, 123.
Thang (China), II 136, 145, 150, 165, 166, 242, 245, 260, 280, 298, 393, etc.

Three Buddhist garments, II. 203. See Kesa.
Three-legged crow, II. 237. See Yatagarasu.
Three-legged sparrow, II. 359.
Three precious things, II. 104, 109, 123, 129, 149, 337, 377.
Thunder-god, I. 29, 115; II. 147. See Take-mika-dzuchi.
Tidal wave, II. 366.
Tiger stories, II. 60, 190.
Tiles, II. 164.
Titles, I. 27, 175, 316; II. 201, 225 228, 361, 364.
Tohe or tobe, I. 114, 129.
Tok, I. 354.
Tōk, II. 55.
Tōkaidō, I. 155.
Tokibe (magistrates), II. 396.
Tōkni, II. 100.
Tokoyo or tokoyo no kuni (Eternal Land), I. 42, 60, 114, 176, 186, 368; II. 188, 425.
Tombs, I. 159, 180, 213; II. 17, 145, 162, 178, 193, 217, 242, 292. See Misasagi.
Tomo, I. 254.
Tomoye, I. 34.
Toneri (chamberlain), I. 319, 359, 395, etc.
Toneri (Prince), Introd. xiii.
Tortoise-shell (used in divination), I. 152.
Toyo (rich, abundant); frequent in proper names.
Toyo (province of Kiushiu), II. 15.
Toyo-ata-tsu hime, I. 91.
Toyoki no Mikoto, I. 161.
Toyo-kumu-nu (deity), I. 4.
Toyo-kuni nushi (deity), I. 4.
Toyo-mike-kashikiya. See Suiko.
Toyo-tama-hime, I. 93-108.
Treasury, I. 309, 373; II. 37.
Tree-god, I. 22.
Trees created, I. 58.
Tribute to Japan from Corea, I. 231, 296, *et passim*.
Tribute from Japan to China, I. 245.
Tripitaka, II. 322. See Issaikio.
Triratna, II. 104. See Three precious things.
T'sin (Chinese dynasty), II. 38.
Tsu (archaic genitive particle), frequent in proper names.
Tsuchi (in names of deities), I. 3, 4.
Tsuchigumo (pit-dwellers), I. 129, 194, 195, 198.
Tsuchi-ningio, I. 181.
Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. See Moon-god.
Tsukushi, I. 13, 109, 112, 192, etc.
Tsumori no Muraji, II. 49.
Tukhāra, in India, II. 246, 259, 266.
Tumulus. See Tomb, Misasagi, Sepulchral mound.
Työnchi (Corean Prince), I. 263.

UBUYA. See Parturition house.
Udaijin, II. 196, 294.
Uji (noble House), I. 27, 316; II. 143, 190, etc.
Uji no waka-iratsuko, I. 171, 276.
Ukemochi no Kami. See Food-goddess.
Ukeshi, I. 117, 120.
Ullambana, II. 230, 251, 263.
Umashi-ashi-kabi, I. 4.
Umbilical cord, superstition regarding, I. 85.
Uneme (palace waiting-women), I. 292, 304, 326, 345; II. 31, 209.
Unicorn, II. 239.
Unseen trade, II. 264.
Upasaka, II. 372.
Upashâya, II. 377.
Urabe (diviners), II. 102.
Urashima, legend of, I. 368.
Uro, I. 235.
Urosohorichiu, I. 234.
Urushi. See Lacquer.
Usu (mill), I. 189.
Utagaki (poetical tournament), I. 400.
Uzu (ornament), II. 128. See Hair ornaments.
Uzume no Mikoto, I. 44, 50, 77.

VENUS (planet), I. 69.
Vimokcha, II. 60.
Vinaya, II. 96.
Void of Heaven. See Sora.

WA (name for Japan), I. 242, 245; II. 72, 137, 303, etc.
Wagtail, I. 17.
Waka (young), frequent in proper names.
Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto, I. 45, 237.
Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi, I. 148.
Waka-tarashi-hiko, I. 214.
Wake (Prince), I. 190, 192; II. 206.
Wangin or Wani (Corean scholar), Introd. xi.; I. 262, 309.
Wani (sea-monster), I. 61, 156, 262.
War-god. See Hachiman.
Watarishima (Yezo), II. 252, 264.
Watchword, II. 313.
Water deity, I. 22, 299. See Midzuha-nome.
Water-level, II. 296.
Water-snake, I. 299. See Serpent-worship.
Weavers, Corean, I. 265, 270.
Weaver-god, I. 70.
Weaving, I. 41, 45, 90, 183, 265, 291, 350, 363, etc.
Weaving maiden (a star), I. 75.
Wet-nurses, I. 104.
Wheat, I. 33.
White animals (favourable omens), I. 297; II. 124, 174, 236, 237, 239, 252, 286, 322, 326, 352, 394, 410, 416.
Wind-deities, I. 22, 230; II. 328, etc.
Witchcraft, I. 60; II. 110, 187, 190. See Magic, Incantation.
Wo-asatsuma wakugo no Sukune, I. 312.

Wobashira, I. 11, 24.
Wohodo. See Keidai Tennō.
Woke. See Kenzō Tennō.
Wokera (drug), II. 372, 373.
Wolves, II. 36.
Women as rulers, I. 194; position of, I. 330, 400.
Woollen carpets, II. 73.
Wosada nunakura futodamashiki, II. 38.
Wo-usu, I. 188. See Yamato-dake.
Wrestling, I. 173.
Writing, Introd. xi. xvii.; I. 262.
Wu (in China), I. 265, 269, 271, 296, 347, 358, 363. See Go, Kure.

YAHATA, I. 271.
Yakabe (Prince), II. 112.
Yaku (island), II. 146, 147, 164.
Yakushi (Buddhist deity), II. 348, 376, 393.
Yama (mountain), frequent in names.
Yama (Indian God), I. 24.
Yamashiro (Prince), II. 156, 182.
Yamato (province), I. 1, 13, 109, etc.
Yamato-dake (Prince), I. 189, 200, *et seqq.*
Yamato-neko, I, 146; II. 210.
Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama, I. 151.
Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito, I. 145.
Yanasa, II. 53.
Yasaka gem, I. 34, 35, 38, 43, 49, 76, 81, 184.
Yashiro (shrine), I. 82.
Yasumaro, Introd. xiii. xiv.
Yata, Princess, I. 285.
Yatagarasu, I. 44, 52, 115, 125, 134; II. 237.
Yatakagami, I. 43. See Mirror.
Yatsu, I. 52.
Yebisu. See Yemishi.
Yemishi or Ainos, I. 109, 124, 159, 200, 202, 203, 206, 212, 214, 296, 377; II. 38, 96, 168, 176, 209, 249, 252, 254, 259, 260, 262, 289, 354, 355, 389.
Yemishi (Prime Minister), II. 157, 171, 178, 181, 193, 231.
Yellow springs, I. 24; II. 45, 233.
Yeta. See Eta.
Yin and Yang, I. 1; II. 223, 295.
Yöchhyang (Corean Prince), II. 70, 75, 77.
Yogi, II. 96.
Yōmei Tennō, II. 106-111.
Yomi or Hades, I. 24, 26, 29, 31, 50, 69.
Yoshino, I. 119.
Yoshino, Palace of, frequently in Book XXX.
Yorodzu, prowess of, II. 115.
Yoshino (Prince), II. 197, 204.
Yu-be, II. 21.
Yufu (tree fibre), I. 81.
Yuniha, I. 41, 83, 86.
Yūriaku Tennō, I. 333-372.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.

THE JAPAN SOCIETY,

LONDON.

(20, HANOVER SQUARE, W.)

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Where two names of a Japanese person are given, the name in BOLDER TYPE is the Family Name.

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TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

SUPPLEMENT I.

NIHONGI,

Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.,

Honorary Member of the Japan Society, &c.

VOLUME II.

Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D. C.

LONDON, 1896.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

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PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

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291
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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK			Accession A.D.	PAGE
XVII.	KEIDAI TENNŌ		507	1
XVIII.	ANKAN	„	534	26
„	SENKWA	„	536	33
XIX.	KIMMEI	„	540	36
XX.	BIDATSU	„	572	90
XXI.	YOMEI	„	586	106
„	SUJUN	„	588	112
XXII.	SUIKO	„	593	121
XXIII.	JOMEI	„	629	157
XXIV.	KŌGYOKU	„	642	171
XXV.	KŌTOKU	„	645	195
XXVI.	SAIMEI	„	655	248
XXVII.	TENCHI	„	662	274
XXVIII.	TEMMU	„ (Part I.)	673	301
XXIX.	TEMMU	„ (Part II.)	„	321
XXX.	JITŌ	„	687	382

ERRATA ET ADDENDA 425

INDEX 433

NIHONGI.

BOOK XVII.

THE EMPEROR WOHODO.

(*KEIDAI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Wohodo [otherwise called Hiko-futo no Mikoto] was the son of Prince Hiko-nushi-bito, a descendant in the fifth generation of the Emperor Homuda. His mother's name was Furuhime. She was a descendant in the seventh generation of the Emperor Ikume. The Emperor's father, hearing at his country-house at Miwo, in the district of Takashima, in the province of Ohomi, of the extreme and resplendent beauty of Furuhime's countenance, sent a messenger to Sakanawi in Mikuni to ask for her in marriage. He took her to him as his consort, and she eventually gave birth to the Emperor.

The Prince, the Emperor's father, died while the Emperor was yet a child. Furuhime thereupon made lament, saying :— "I am now far removed from my native place: how could I bring him up (here)? I will return to my parents at Takamuku XVII. 2.
[Takamuku is a village in Echizen], and there respectfully bring up the Emperor."

When the Emperor attained to manhood, he loved the people, and was courteous to men of worth. He was of a generous disposition.

The Emperor Wohatsuse died in the 8th year of his reign, in Winter, the 12th month, 8th day, at the age of fifty-seven. He had never had any children, either sons or daughters, and there was no one to succeed him.

[1] Succeed-body.

On the 21st day, the Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, counselled, saying:—"At this moment there is no successor whatever to the throne.[1] Where shall the Empire bestow its allegiance? From ancient times even until now this has been a cause of disaster. Now there is in the district of Kuhada, in the province of Tamba, Prince Yamato-hiko, a descendant in the fifth generation of the Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko. Let us make the experiment of preparing an armed force to surround his carriage as a guard, and sending to meet him, establish him as our sovereign." The Oho-omi and Ohomuraji all assented, and sent to meet him in the manner proposed. Upon this, Prince Yamato-hiko, viewing from a distance the troops which were sent to meet him, was alarmed and changed countenance. Accordingly he took refuge in a mountain-valley, and no one could learn whither he had gone.

A.D. 507. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, again counselled, saying:—"Prince Wohodo is of an affectionate and dutiful disposition. He is a
XVII. 3. fit person to take over the Celestial succession. Let us, therefore, courteously offer it to him, and thus continue the prosperity of the Imperial institution." Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, with Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi and others, all said:—"On a careful review of the branch descendants, there is no other worthy person but Prince Wohodo."

6th day. Omi and Muraji were sent to Mikuni with emblems of rank, and provided with a palanquin of state to fetch him. The troops to form his guard arrived suddenly in
XVII. 4. awe-inspiring array, clearing the way before him. Upon this, the Emperor Wohodo remained calm and self-possessed,[2] seated on a chair, with his retainers in order by him, just as if he already occupied the Imperial throne. The envoys, therefore, bearing the emblems of rank, with respect and reverence bowed their hearts, and committed to him the Imperial authority, asking permission to devote to him their loyal service. In the Emperor's mind, however, doubts still

[1] It seems clear, from the fact that on this and a previous similar occasion adoption was not resorted to, that this practice had not yet been introduced from China.

[2] Unlike the other prince, who ran away when he saw the troops approach.

remained, and for a good while he did not consent. Just then he chanced to learn that Arako, Kahachi no Mŭmakahi no Obito had sent a messenger secretly to inform him minutely of the real intentions of the Oho-omi and Ohomuraji in sending to escort him. After a delay of two days and three nights, he at length set out. Then he exclaimed, admiringly:—"Well done, Mŭmakahi no Obito! Had it not been for the information given by thy messenger, I ran a great risk of being made a laughing-stock to the Empire. The proverbial saying, 'Be not a respecter of rank, but value the heart,' was doubtless meant for men like Arako." When he came to the throne, he treated Arako with special favour.

12th day. The Emperor arrived at the Palace of Kusuba.

2nd month, 4th day. The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo no Kanamura, went on his knees, and, with repeated obeisances, presented the Mirror, the Sword, and the Imperial Signet. The XVII. 5.
Emperor Wohodo declined them, saying:—"It is no light matter to be a father to the people and to rule the State. I, the unworthy one, am deficient in ability, and do not deserve to be thought fit for it. I pray thee, alter thy purpose, and select some wise person, for I, the unworthy one, do not dare to accept." Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, bowing down to the ground, persisted in his request. Then the Emperor Wohodo, facing the west, declined three times, and facing the south,[1] declined twice. Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and the rest all said:—"In the humble judgment of thy servants, the Great Prince is excellently fitted to be a father to the people and to rule the State. On behalf of the ancestral temples and the temples of the Earth and of Grain, thy servants' judgment dares not be hasty. Availing ourselves of the general desire, we pray that thou wilt graciously be pleased to grant thy acceptance." The Emperor Wohodo said:—"Ye Oho-omi and Ohomuraji, and all ye high officials! Since you all urge me, the unworthy one, I, the unworthy one, do not presume to oppose you." So he accepted the Imperial Signet.[2]

On this day he assumed the Imperial dignity. Ohotomo,

[1] The Imperial position.

[2] Was this Signet the Signet given the Japanese Emperor by China ("Early Japanese History," p. 70)? Or is it merely a Chinese expression for the gem 玉, which was one of the three regalia?

Kanamura no Ohomuraji was appointed Ohomuraji, Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi was made Oho-omi, and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji was made Ohomuraji, all being confirmed in their previous offices. Thereupon the Oho-omi and Ohomuraji each entered on their respective offices and ranks.

10th day. Ohotomo no Ohomuraji petitioned the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant has been informed that it was a principle of government with former sovereigns that without the confirmation of an heir to the throne, it is impossible to give security to heaven and earth. Without the intimacy of the
XVII. 6. side-courts, it is impossible to continue the calices.[1] For this reason, the Emperor Shiraga, having no heir, sent thy servant's grandfather, Ohomuraji Muruya, to all the provinces to establish three kinds of Shiraga Be [These three kinds were, first, Shiraga Be no Toneri; second, Shiraga Be no Kashihade; third, Shiraga Be no Yugehi], by which his name might remain to after ages. Alas! was not this painful? I pray thee, therefore, to establish the Imperial Princess Tashiraka[2] and take her to thee as Empress. Then send the officials charged with the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth to make reverent sacrifice to them, and ask of them an Imperial scion, who shall fully respond to the hopes of thy people." The Emperor said:—"Be it so."

3rd month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The Gods of Heaven and Earth must not want a master of their worship; the universe must not fail of a Lord. Heaven produces the nation, and establishes it by means of a supreme ruler, whom it causes to superintend its supply of food, so that each man's life may be preserved. The Ohomuraji, grieving for Our childlessness, has displayed his loyalty towards the State, showing generation after generation a devoted fidelity. Is this simply for the sake of Our own reign?

Let the Imperial Princess Tashiraka be brought to meet me with all due ceremony."

5th day. The Imperial Princess Tashiraka was made Empress, and took the government of the interior (of the

[1] The calyx is that which supports the flower. Hence it is put for an heir to the throne.

[2] Daughter of the Emperor Ninken.

Palace). She eventually gave birth to a son, who became Ame-kuni-oshi-harani[1]-hiro-niha no Mikoto.[2] He was the rightful heir, but as he was young in years, he held the Empire after his two elder brothers [The two elder brothers were Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kanahi no Mikoto and Take-o-hiro-kuni-oshi- XVII. 7.
tate no Mikoto. See below.] had ruled it.

9th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We have heard that if men are of fit age and do not cultivate, the Empire may suffer famine; if women are of fit age and do not spin, the Empire may suffer cold. Therefore is it that the sovereigns cultivate with their own hands, so as to give encouragement to agriculture, while their consorts rear silk-worms themselves, so as to encourage the mulberry season. How, then, shall there be prosperity if all, from the functionaries down to the ten thousand families, neglect agriculture and spinning? Let the officials publish this to all the Empire, so that our sentiments may be made known."

14th day. The Emperor took to him eight concubines.

Some of the eight concubines whom he took to him were earlier, others later. When it is said that they were taken on this day (the 14th), it is meant that then for the first time they were lodged in the after palace, a lucky day having been selected by divination, in consequence of the accession to the Imperial Dignity. Thus the facts are glossed over. Other cases are to be understood similarly.

The senior concubine's name was Menoko [otherwise called Irohe], daughter of Kusaka, Wohari no Muraji. She gave birth to two children, both of whom possessed the Empire. The first was called the Imperial Prince Magari no Ohine,[3] who became Oshi-kuni-oshi-take-kanahi no Mikoto.[4] The second was called the Imperial Prince Hinokuma Takada, who became Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate no Mikoto.[5] The next concubine was Wakugohime, younger sister of Miho no Tsuno-wori no Kimi. She gave birth to the Imperial Prince Oho-iratsuko and the Imperial Princess Idzumo. The next was called XVII. 8.
Hirohime, the daughter of Prince Ohomata of Sakata. She gave birth to three daughters, the eldest of whom was called

[1] The "Kojiki" has haruki. Another rendering is hiraki.
[2] The Emperor Kimmei.
[3] Or Ohoye.
[4] Ankan Tennō.
[5] Senkwa Tennō.

the Imperial Princess Kanzaki, the middle one the Imperial Princess Mamuta, and the youngest the Imperial Princess Mŭmakuta. The next was called Womi no Iratsume, daughter of Prince Mate of Okinaga. She was the mother of the Imperial Princess Sasage, who was in attendance on the shrine of the Great Deity of Ise. The next was Sekihime, daughter [some say younger sister] of Womochi, Mamuta no Muraji. She had three daughters, the eldest called the Imperial Princess Mamuta no Oho-iratsume, the middle one the Imperial Princess Shirazaka no Ikuhihime, and the youngest the Imperial Princess Wono no iratsume [otherwise called Nagashihime]. The next was Yamatohime, daughter of Katahi, Miwo no Kimi. She bore two sons and two daughters. The first was named the Imperial Princess Oho-iratsume,[1] and the second the Imperial Prince Mariko. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Mikuni. The third was called the Imperial Prince Mimi, and the fourth the Imperial Princess Akahime. The next was Hayehime, daughter of Kahachi, Wani no Omi. She bore one son and two daughters. The first was called the
XVII. 9. Imperial Princess Wakayahime, the second the Imperial Princess Tsubura no Iratsume, and the third the Imperial Prince Atsu. The next was Hirohime, daughter of Prince Ne. She had two sons, the elder of whom was called the Imperial Prince Usagi. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of the Sake-makers. The younger was called the Imperial Prince Naka. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Sakada.[2]

This year was the year Hinoto I (24th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 508. 2nd year, Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Emperor Wohatsuse waka-sazaki was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Ihatsuki at Katawoka.

12th month. The people of Tamna[3] in the midst of the

[1] Some give iratsuko for the Kana of this and similar names.

[2] The "Kojiki" and "Kiujiki" present some trifling variations in the accounts of these concubines and children.

[3] Tamna is the island now called Chéchu by the Coreans and known to us as Quelpaert. The statement here made is utterly improbable in itself, as Quelpaert is in sight of the Corean mainland. It is contradicted by the following passages of the "Tongkam."

"King Munchiu of Pèkché, 2nd year (A.D. 476), Summer, 4th month. The land of Tamna presented tribute of their national productions to Pèkché. The king was rejoiced, and appointed the ambassadors Eunsol.

Southern Sea first had communication with the Land of Pèkché.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month. Envoys were sent to Pèkché. A.D. 509.

The statement in the Pèkché "Original Record" that Lord Kuramachi came from Japan (Nippon) is unclear.

The subjects of Pèkché, who during three or four generations had made their escape and were living as refugees in the villages of the Japanese domain of Imna, having lost their place in the register of population, were all removed to Pèkché and replaced on the registers. XVII.

5th year, Winter, 10th month. The capital was transferred to Tsutsuki in Yamashiro. A.D. 511.

6th year, Summer, 4th month, 6th day. Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, was sent on a mission to Pèkché with a present of 44 horses of the Land of Tsukushi. A.D. 512.

Winter, 12th month. Pèkché sent an envoy with tribute. In a separate memorial Pèkché asked for four districts of the Land of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Syata, and Muro. Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of the Land of Tari, made a representation to the Emperor, saying:—"These four districts border on Pèkché and are far separated from the Japanese Residency. Morning and evening they (i.e. Pèkché and Tari) exchange communications: their fowls and dogs cannot be kept apart. If they are now ceded to Pèkché and

Tamna is in the midst of the Southern Sea. In ancient times there were no inhabitants. Then there were three divine men who bubbled up from the earth. The eldest was called Nang-eul-la, the next was called Ko-eul-la, and the third Pu-eul-la. One day these three, having gone out to hunt by the sea-side, found a stone coffer. On opening it, they discovered three women, with cattle of various sorts and seeds of the five kinds of grain. They eventually shared between them, taking the women as wives. Then each betook himself to a well-watered fertile spot and selected by divination a residence. Nang-eul-la's dwelling was called First City, Ko-eul-la's Second City, and Pu-eul-la's Third City Then they sowed the five grains and pastured the cattle, and prospered and multiplied from day to day. Tamna is also called Tam-mu-ra."—"Tongkam," IV. 31.

"A.D. 498. The King of Pèkché, because Tamna did not pay tribute, set out himself on an expedition against it. He got as far as Muchinchiu, when the Tamna people heard of it and sent messengers to beg for pardon. So they were let off."—"Tongkam," V. 3.

There is no mention of Tamna in the "Tongkam" under the year 508.

united to it so as to form one country, no better measure of conservation can be adopted. It is true, no doubt, that even if ceded and united to Pèkché there will still be a danger for future generations. Much more how many years could they be defended if they became foreign territory?"[1]

Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, having thoroughly comprehended this report, adopted this policy and laid it before the Emperor. Accordingly Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, was appointed Imperial envoy. Mononobe no Ohomuraji was on the point of leaving for the official inn at Naniha in order to make known the Emperor's commands to the Pèkché guests, when his wife expostulated with him, saying:—"Originally the Deities[2] of Sumiyoshi bestowed on the Emperor Homuda while in the womb the gold and silver lands beyond the sea, namely Koryö, Pèkché, Silla, and Imna. Therefore did the Great Empress[3] Okinaga-tarashihime no
XVII. 11. Mikoto and the Oho-omi Takechi no Sukune first establish Government Houses[4] in each of these countries and constitute them our screen territory beyond the sea. So that this has not come to pass without reason. If now we were to divide off (a part) and grant it to others, we should be acting contrary to the interests of our own land. How, in that case, during the long ages should reproach be sundered from men's mouths?" The Ohomuraji answered and said:—"Thy advice is reasonable, but I fear to disobey the Celestial command." His wife remonstrated with him earnestly, saying:—"Pretend that thou art ill, and do not make communication." The Ohomuraji was guided by this remonstrance, and therefore another envoy was appointed to make known the Imperial will. Presents were given, and an Imperial decree granting four districts of Imna in accordance with the petition. The Imperial Prince Ohine, owing to certain business, had not heard of the cession of territory. When it was too late he learnt that the decree had been issued. He was surprised and dissatisfied, and endeavoured to have it altered, saying:—

[1] The meaning is that Pèkché will be better able to prevent these provinces from falling into the hands of Silla than Japan. All Imna was conquered by Silla in A.D. 562. See below, XIX. 51.

[2] See above, Vol. I. pp. 233-235, and "Satow's Handbook," p. 192.

[3] The word used does not mean a reigning Empress. [4] Miyake.

"Since the days of the Emperor in the womb[1] there has been established the land of our Government House. Shall we lightly yield to the request of a frontier land and grant it away without difficulty?" Accordingly he sent Hiwashi[2] no Kishi to make a fresh intimation to the Pèkché guests. The Envoys, however, replied, saying:—"The Emperor, the father, has already, for considerations of expediency, consummated a grant by Imperial decree. How can the Imperial Prince, his son, act contrary to the Emperor's expressed will, and unauthorizedly make to us a different intimation? Surely he cannot be in earnest. But granting that it were true, which is the more painful—to be beaten with the large end of a staff or with the small one?" At length they took their departure. Upon this it was rumoured that Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of the Land of Tari, had received bribes from Pèkché.

7th year, Summer, 6th month. Pèkché sent General Chya- A.D. 513.
mi Mun-kwi and General Chyu-ri Cheung-ni along with Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi [the Pèkché "Original Record" says, "Commissioning Lord Oshiyama"], to bring as tribute a scholar of the five classics named Tan Yang-ni. They XVII. 12.
separately addressed the Emperor, saying:—"The land of Pan-phi[3] has seized thy servants' territory of I-mun.[4] I humbly pray that the Celestial favour may decide that it be restored to its original jurisdiction."

Autumn, 8th month, 26th day. Syun-ta, the eldest son of the King of Pèkché, died.[5]

9th month. The Imperial Prince Magari no Ohine in person[6] betrothed to himself the Imperial Princess Kasuga. Thereupon all through the moonlit night they held sweet con-

Ōjin Tennō.

[2] This name means sun-eagle. There is a god called Ama no Hiwashi mentioned in the "Kogojiui."

[3] The traditional Kana is Hahe. It is doubtful here which rendering to follow.

[4] It seems to have been Japanese at this time. The "Seishiroku" says that in the reign of Mimaki-irihiko the Imna people asked Japan to annex I-mun, as the inhabitants were in constant strife with Silla. I-mun was a district on the north-east frontier of Imna.

[5] The "Tongkam" says nothing of this.

[6] i.e. without a middle-man. She was Ninken's daughter.

verse till the dawn came on them unawares. Of a sudden the grace of elegant style was embodied in his speech, and he broke into song, saying:—

In the eight-island land [1]
Vainly a wife I sought
Until in Kasuga
(Of Spring weather)
Hearing that there was
A fair maiden,
Hearing that there was
A good maiden,
Pushing open
The spruce-fir plank door
(Of right-wood [2] cleavage)
Hither have I come.
Taking it by the foot end
I laid hold of the hem [3] (of her garment),
Taking it by the pillow-end
I laid hold of the hem (of her garment);
Then my beloved's [4] arm
Was wound around me
And my arm too
Was wound round my beloved.
XVII. 13. Like a luxuriant vine,
Arm embraced and twined with arm;
As the armlet fits the elbow,[5]
In sweet slumber we lay.
'Tis the bird of the courtyard,
The cock that is crowing:
'Tis the bird of the moor,
The pheasant that is clamouring.
Ere I have uttered
All my mind fully
The dawn has come. Oh my beloved one!

Then his consort replied in song, saying:—

[1] i.e. Japan. See above, Vol. I. p. 15.

[2] Maki, lit. "right-wood," is here a mere honorific epithet applied to the wood of the Chamæcyparis obtusa, which has an even grain, adapting it well for making planks at a time when saws were unknown and the axe was used for that purpose.

[3] Tsuma, "hem," also means "spouse."

[4] Lit. younger sister, which was used much like our "my dear."

[5] The interpretation of this line is very doubtful.

Down the river of Hatsuse
(The secluded)
A bamboo comes floating—
Close-jointed, long-jointed; [1]
The bottom part
Making into a lute,
The upper part
Making into a flute,
Blowing into it (the flute), playing on it (the lute),
Were I to ascend and stand
On the top of Mimoro,
And publish it [2] there,
The very fishes
That pass under the water
Of the pond of Ihare
(The creeper-clad) [3]
Would come to the surface and lament:
The august girdle of small pattern,[4]
Girded on XVII. 14.
By our Great Lord
Who rules peacefully,
Hangs down in a knot—
Not a man is there whoever he may be
But would come up and lament.

Winter, 11th month, 5th day. General Chya-mi Mun-kwi of Pèkché, Mun-tök-chi of Silla, Sin-i-hyé and Pun-pha-wi-sa of Ara and Kwi-chön-hyé and Chyung-mun-chi of Pan-phi were sent for to attend Court in a body, and received communication of a gracious Imperial order, giving I-mun and Tè-sa to the Land of Pèkché.

In this month the Land of Pan-phi sent Cheup-chi with

[1] Close-jointed at the bottom, long-jointed at the top. At least so one commentator. There are other equally unsatisfactory explanations of this line.

[2] Viz. the sadness of the coming of the dawn under the circumstances above described.

[3] Iha means "rock." Therefore the epithet in parentheses.

[4] This and the next four lines are introduced solely because tare, "to hang down," also means "who." I have endeavoured to imitate this by "knot" and "not." See above, Vol. I. p. 402.

This poem amounts to this:—

"If to the accompaniment of music I were to express the sadness of our parting, the very fishes would lament, and all men who heard me would lament."

presents of rare and valuable objects, asking for the Land of I-mun. Eventually it was refused them.

12th month, 8th day. An Imperial decree was made, saying:—"We, having taken over the Celestial succession, have been watchful to preserve the Ancestral Temples, and have been wary and fearful. For a while the Empire has been at peace; within the seas there has been serenity and calm. Years of abundance have been frequent, redounding to the prosperity of the Land. Admirable! Maroko,[1] thou hast made known our sentiments to the eight quarters. Magnificent! Magari no Ohine! thou hast cast a lustre on our authority amongst all countries. Japan[2] is harmonious, and each man may do as he pleases in the Empire. Akitsu is glorified, and the Royal territory raised to high honour. Thou prizest nought but wisdom: in nothing dost thou take greater pleasure than in doing good. Depending on this, the sagely
XVII. 15. influences undulate afar: leaning upon this, the profound virtue is permanently supported. Truly, such is thy virtue that thou art fit to occupy the Spring Palace,[3] to aid Us in dispensing benevolence, and to assist Us by supplementing our deficiencies."

A.D. 514. 8th year, 1st month. The eldest Prince's Consort, the Imperial Princess Kasuga, was late in coming out one morning, and was not in her ordinary state. The eldest Prince's suspicions were aroused. He went into the Palace, and found his Consort lying on her couch weeping and sobbing. Her passion was such that she could not control it. The eldest Prince, thinking it strange, inquired of her, saying:—"What cause of grief hast thou, that thou sobbest and weepest this morning?" His Consort said:—"Thy handmaiden's sorrow hath no other cause but this. The heaven-soaring birds, in order lovingly to nurture their young, build nests on the tree-tops, so deep is their affection for them. The creeping things that crawl upon the ground, in order to guard their offspring, make holes in the ground, so careful is their guardianship of them. How then should mankind be wanting in foresight?

[1] Ankan Tennō.

[2] "Japan" is probably an anachronism. The whole speech has every appearance of being an invention of later times.

[3] The Palace of the Heir to the Throne.

The grief of childlessness having befallen the eldest Prince, thy handmaiden's name also becomes extinct." The Heir Apparent sympathized with her in her sorrow, and informed the Emperor, who made a decree, saying:—"Our son, Maroko![1] thy Consort's words are in profound accordance with reason. It is impossible that they should remain void, and without a consolatory response. Let her be granted the granary[2] of Saho, to bear her name for ten thousand generations."

3rd month. Panphi built castles at Chă-thăn[3] and Tè-sa, thus bringing itself in line with Manhyé. They also established beacon-towers, as a defensive measure against Japan. XVII. 16
Moreover, they built castles at Ni-nyöl-pi and Masupi, and so connected with Ma-chö-hyé and Chhyu-pu; they brought together troops and weapons, wherewith they harassed Silla, making booty of women and children, and fleecing the villages. Their violence increasing, scarce any inhabitants remained. Their deeds of outrage, profligacy, injury, oppression, and murder were too numerous to set down in detail.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. General Mun-kwi, A.D. 515.
the Pèkché envoy, and his party asked leave to go away. By an Imperial decree Mononobe no Muraji [his personal name is not given] was attached to them, and they were allowed to go back.

The Pèkché "Original Record" says:—"Mononobe no chichi[4] no Muraji."

In this month they came to the Island of Sa-to,[5] where they learned by report that men of Pan-phi, with hate in their bosoms and venom in their mouths, were committing wanton outrage, trusting in brute force. Therefore Mononobe no Muraji, in command of a fleet of five hundred war-ships, made straight for the estuary of Tè-sa, and General Mun-kwi departed by way of Silla.

Summer, 4th month. Mononobe no Muraji remained at anchor in the estuary of Tè-sa.

[1] I should like to find some authority for omitting "our son" and translating maro-ko thus. See above, Vol. I. p. 264, where maro ga chi is rendered "our father."

[2] Miyake.

[3] 子 呑. See below, XVII. 18, where 已 呑 (Kwithăn) is probably this place, one of the two being a mistake.

[4] i.e. "the father."

[5] Sand-island.

6th day. The Pan-phi people raised an army and came to attack them. They stripped them of their clothing, plundered them of their property, and burnt all their tents.[1] Mononobe no Muraji and his men were frightened, and took to flight,
XVII. 17. saving their lives with difficulty. They anchored at Mun-mo-ra [the name of an island].

A.D. 516. 10th year, Summer, 5th month. Pèkché sent Mok-hiöp, of the former division,[2] and the Pu-ma[3] Kap-hè to entertain Mononobe no Muraji and his men at I-mun, and to escort them into that country. All the (Pèkché) officials brought forth clothing, axe-iron, and woven stuffs, assisting them by presents of their national products, which they piled up in the court. Kind visits of inquiry were made to them, and unusually abundant presents were bestowed on them.

Autumn, 9th month. Pèkché sent General Chyuri Cheuk-chhă,[4] along with Mononobe no Muraji, to come and give thanks for the grant of the territory of I-mun. They also offered tribute of a scholar acquainted with the five classics, named Ko An-mu, of Han,[5] and asked that he should be exchanged for Tan Yang-ni.[6] He was exchanged in accordance with this request.

14th day. Pekché sent General Chyang-mak-ko and two Japanese, named Shinato and Ahita, to accompany Anchyöng, the Koryö envoy, and his party, who came to our Court to cement amicable relations.

A.D. 518. 12th year, Spring, 3rd month, 9th day. The capital was removed to Otokuni.[7]

A.D. 523. 17th year, Summer, 5th month. King Mu-nyöng of Pèkché died.[8]

[1] Or rather screens of cloth to hide off an encampment.

[2] See below, XXVII. 12.

[3] Puma is possibly the modern Corean Puma, i.e. King's son-in-law, but it is perhaps more likely to be a man's name too, thus making three Chyön-pu, or officials of the former division.

[4] Probably the person called Cheung ni above, XVII. 11, the difference being owing to a copyist's error.

[5] The Chinese dynasty of that name. It seems here to form part of the name.

[6] See above, XVII. 12.

[7] In Yamashiro.

[8] This agrees with the "Tongkam" date, even to the month.

18th year, Spring, 1st month. The Pèkché Heir Apparent, Myöng,[1] assumed the (Royal) dignity. A.D. 524.

20th year, Autumn, 9th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Tamaho in Ihare.[2] [In one book it says 7th year.] A.D. 526 XVII. 18

21st year, Summer, 6th month, 3rd day. Afumi no Kena no Omi, in command of an army of 60,000 men, was about to proceed to Imna, in order to re-establish and unite to Imna South Kara and Tök-să-thăn, which had been conquered by Silla, when Ihawi, Tsukushi no Kuni no Miyakko, secretly plotted rebellion, so that there was a delay of several years. Fearing that the matter would be hard to accomplish, he was constantly watching a favourable opportunity. Silla, knowing this, secretly practised bribery with Ihawi, and encouraged him to oppose the passage of Kena no Omi's army. Hereupon Ihawi occupied the two provinces of Hi[3] and Toyo,[4] and would not allow the taxes to be paid. Abroad he intercepted the route by sea, and led astray the yearly tribute ships from the countries of Koryö, Pèkché, Silla, and Imna, while at home he blocked the way for Kena no Omi's army which was being sent to Imna. He lifted up his voice in abusive language, saying:—"Thou who hast now become an envoy wast formerly my companion. We rubbed shoulders and touched elbows; we ate the same food from the same vessels. How canst thou lightly be made an envoy, and make me come freely and prostrate myself before thee?" He at length fought and would not receive him; he was haughty and self-conceited. For this reason Kena no Omi was prevented midways from proceeding on his journey, and was detained. The Emperor addressed Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, and Wobito, Kose no Oho-omi, saying:—"Ihawi of Tsukushi has rebelled, and has occupied the territory of the western wilds. Whom shall we now make general?" Ohotomo no Ohomuraji and the others all said:—"For uprightness, humane bravery, and acquaintance with military matters there is at present no one who goes out to the right of[5] Arakahi." The Emperor said:—"Be it so." A.D. 527. XVII. 19.

[1] His name was Myöngnye 明禮.
[2] Back again to Yamato.
[3] Now Hizen and Higo.
[4] Buzen and Bungo.
[5] i.e. excels. This is a Chinese phrase. The left is now the honourable side; at one time the right was so.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Ah, Ohomuraji![1] here is this Ihawi who will not obey us. Do thou go and chastise him." The Ohomuraji, Mononobe no Arakahi, with repeated obeisances, said:—"Ah! Ihawi, that unprincipled knave of the western wilds, relies on the impediments of rivers, and does not appear at Court. He trusts to the steepness of the mountains, and stirs up disorder. He subverts virtue and acts contrary to principle; he is insolent and wise in his own conceit. From Michi no Omi in ancient times down to Muruya[3] at present (there have been ministers who) have fought at the same time both for their Emperor and to rescue the people from misery. This is
XVII. 20. simply owing to the help of Heaven, and thy servant has always been impressed with its importance. How should he fail reverently to smite them?"

The Emperor charged him, saying:—"The generalship of a good commander consists in dispensing kindness and exercising forbearance: he rules others with the leniency he shows to himself. In attack he is like the bursting forth of a river, in combat he resembles the rising of the storm." Again he charged him, saying:—"On a great commander depends the lives of the people and the existence of the State. Be earnest, and reverently execute the Celestial punishment." The Emperor took up the battle-axe[4] in his own hands, and delivered it to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"We will control the country from Anato eastward; do thou hold sway over the land from Tsukushi westwards. Dispense rewards and punishments absolutely, and trouble not thyself to make frequent reference to Us."

A.D. 528. 22nd year, Winter, 11th month, 11th day. The Commander-in-chief Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, taking personal command, engaged battle with the rebel leader, Ihawi, in the district of Miwi in Tsukushi. The flags and drums approached close to each other, the dust (from both armies) became mingled. The critical moment for the two armies arrived, and the position was such that ten thousand deaths seemed

[1] i.e. Arakahi. [2] See above, Vol. I. p. 117.
[3] Muruya was Kanamura's father.
[4] An emblem of authority.

unavoidable. At length he slew Ihawi, and eventually subdued the frontier land.[1]

12th month. Kuzu, Kimi of Tsukushi, fearing to be involved in his father's execution, offered to the Emperor the Granary[2] of Kasuya, asking to be allowed to ransom his life. XVII. 21.

23rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Pèkché addressed Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor of Lower Tari, saying:—"Now our tribute envoys have always to avoid the headlands and expose themselves to the winds and waves. In consequence of this the goods they bear become wet and wholly spoiled and unsightly. I pray that thou wilt make the Port of Tasa in Kara the crossing route by which to send thy servant's tribute." Oshiyama no Omi made application to the Emperor accordingly. A.D. 529.

This month Kasone, Mononobe no Ise no Muraji, Kishi no Okina,[3] and others were sent to make over the Port to the King of Pèkché. Hereupon the King of Kara spoke to the Imperial Envoys, saying:—"This Port ever since the establishment of the (Japanese) Government House has been the port of passage for your servant's tribute. How can you without grave reason change this state of things and grant it to a neighbouring country, contrary to the original definitive enfeoffment of this territory?" The Imperial Envoy Kasone and his colleagues were accordingly unable to make the grant

[1] According to the "Tsukushi Fudoki," the tomb of Ihawi was, at the time of writing, to be seen two ri to the south of Kami-tsuma no agata. "The height of the mound was seven rods (of ten feet, no doubt measured along the slope), and its circuit six rods (something wrong here). The ground belonging to the tomb was sixty rods from north to south, and forty from east to west. (This looks like a double mound.) On all four sides there are sixty stone men, with stone shields, arrayed against each other in order of battle. At the north-east corner there is a separate plot of ground, called the kitchen. In this there is one stone man, in a standing position, who is called 'the carver,' and in front of him a naked figure prostrate on the ground, called 'the thief.' On the side there are four stone pigs, called 'the plunder.' In that place, moreover, there are three stone horses, three stone halls, and two stone warehouses. The oldest inhabitants say that Ihawi had this place constructed in his lifetime."

Some of these remains are still in existence, and I rather think that it is one of the stone figures which is now in the Uyeno Museum at Tokio.

[2] Miyake.

[3] Kishi was originally a Corean rank; Okina means old man.

XVII. 22. openly. They retired to Ohoshima and sent a clerk specially, by whom the grant to Pu-yö[1] was effected. Owing to this, Kara allied itself to Silla[2] and bred hatred against Japan. The King of Kara married the King of Silla's daughter, who eventually had issue by him. When Silla first sent a daughter, 100 men were sent away with her as her escort. When they were received, they were dispersed throughout the districts of the country, and allowed to wear the Silla costume. But Arasăteung[3] railed at their strange[4] garments and sent messengers to return them secretly. Silla felt greatly insulted. He changed his mind and tried to get his daughter back, saying:—"Formerly, when I received thy marriage proposals, I sanctioned the alliance. But since matters are now so, I request that the Princess may be restored to me." Kwi-pu-ri Chika of Kara [unclear] answered and said:—"How can husband and wife be sundered again when they have once become united? Moreover there are children. What will become of them if they are abandoned?" In the end it came to pass that (Silla) captured the three castles of To-ka, Ko-phi, and Phona mura.[5] He also took five castles on the northern frontier.

In this month Afumi no Kena no Omi was sent to Ara[6] to urge Silla, in the Emperor's name, to re-establish Southern

[1] Puyö or Fuyu is an ancient name of Pèkché. It is properly the name of a region north of Corea whence the Pèkché royal family derived their origin. Southern Puyö was adopted as the official name of Pèkché in A.D. 538, according to the "Tongkam," V. 14.

[2] The "Tongkam" (A.D. 522) speaks of Silla giving a lady of royal blood (though not the king's daughter) in marriage to Kaya. The two kings had a friendly meeting in 527.

[3] A note to the "Shukai" says that Arishito (or Arasăteung, according to the Corean pronunciation of the characters) was the King of Kara. No doubt some high official is intended. See Vol. I. p. 166.

[4] Silla, according to the "Tongkam," first regulated official costume, no doubt on the Chinese model, in A.D. 520. It was apparently these garments that excited the reprobation of Kara.

[5] Mura is apparently the same as the Japanese word mura, village. There is a Corean word muri, assemblage, which seems to be the same root. An old Chinese author says that the Silla word for castle or city is kien-mu-la. Kien, I imagine, is kheun, great, and mula is for mura. See below, XVII. 24.

[6] One of the ten provinces of Imna, says the "Shukai" editor.

Kara[1] and Tŏk-să-than. Pèkché sent the Lord-General Yun-kwi Ma-na, Kap-pè Ma-ro and others to Ara respectfully to hear the Emperor's decree. Silla, fearing lest the Government which he had established in the frontier provinces should be destroyed, did not send a grandee. He only sent Pu-chi-na-ma-nyé and Hyé-na-ma-nyé to Ara respectfully to listen to the Imperial decree. Hereupon Ara built a new High-Hall, into which the Imperial Ambassador was led up, the ruler of the country ascending the staircase behind him. One or two of the local grandees had already ascended the Hall, but the Pèkché envoys, the Lord-General, and the others remained below. The consultations were repeated for many months[2] in the Hall above, until the Lord-General and the others grew angry at having to remain in the Courtyard. XVII. 23.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. Kwi-neung-ma-ta[3] Kanki, King of Imna,[4] came to Court. [Kwi-neung-ma-ta was doubtless the Arasăteung.] He addressed Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, saying:—"The several frontier provinces beyond the sea, ever since the time of the Emperor in the womb, have had Interior Government Houses placed in them. My land has not been abandoned, but the territory has been enfeoffed to me, not without good reason. But now Silla, in defiance of this original definitive enfeoffment, has frequently crossed the borders and invaded us. I pray, therefore, that thou wilt represent this to the Emperor, so that he may come to the assistance of his servant's country." The Ohomuraji, Ohotomo, in accordance with his request, laid the matter before the Emperor.

In this month an envoy was sent to escort Kwi-neung-ma-ta Kanki, and at the same time to convey to Afumi no Kena no Omi, who was resident in Imna, the instructions of the Emperor to investigate thoroughly the matter represented to him, and in a friendly way to dissipate their mutual suspicions. Hereupon Kena no Omi lodged at Kumanare[5] [one book

[1] See above, p. 15. [2] The "Shukai" corrects this to "days."

[3] The traditional Kana is Konomatta.

[4] The "Shukai" has a note that Imna is Kara. The name given here is not that of the King of Kara at this time. He may have been only a prince.

[5] Or Eung-chŏn, i.e. Bear-river. See Vol. I. pp. 232, 368.

XVII. 24. says he lodged at Kusă-mura in Imna], whither he summoned together the kings of the two countries, Silla and Pèkché. Cha-ri-chi,[1] King of Silla, sent Ku-chi-pu-nyé[2] [one book says Ku-nyé-ni-să-chi and (?) U-na-să-ma-ri], and Pèkché the Eunsol[3] Mi-teung-ni, to proceed to meet together at the place where Kena no Omi was. But the two kings did not attend in person. Kena no Omi was much incensed, and called the two envoys to an account for it, saying:—"It is the law of Heaven that the Small should wait upon the Great. [One book says:—'To the end of a great tree, you join a great tree; to the end of a small tree, you join a small tree.'] Why do the kings of the two countries send envoys in this disrespectful way instead of coming in person to the meeting and receiving the Emperor's commands? But now, even if your kings came themselves to hear the Imperial commands, I would not consent to deliver them, but would surely drive them away." Ku-chi-pu-nyé and the Eunsol Mi-teung-ni, with dread in their hearts, returned each to his own country to call his king. Accordingly, Silla sent another envoy, the Chief Minister, I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi Kanki, with a following of three thousand men, to come and ask leave to hear the Imperial commands. Kena no Omi, seeing from afar that he was being encompassed by several thousand armed men, left Kumanare and entered the castle of Kwi-cheul-kwi-ri[4] in Imna. I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi Kanki took up his lodging on the plain of Tatara,
XVII. 25. and, not daring to go back, waited for three months, requesting leave repeatedly to hear the Imperial message. But to the last its communication was not vouchsafed him. Some men under I-cheul-pu-nyé-chi's command were begging for food in the villages when they passed Mikari, Kahachi Mumakahi no Obito, a retainer of Kena no Omi. Mikari went in and hid behind somebody's gate, and, waiting till the beggars were passing, clenched his fists and struck at them from afar. The beggars, seeing this, said:—"We have waited patiently for

[1] The "Tongkam" calls the King of Silla at this time Pöp-hung. This is the posthumous name. His name in life was Wön-chong. Neither agrees with the name given here.

[2] Ku-chi-pu-nyé. The Japanese pronunciation is Kuchi-fure.

[3] The Eunchol were the third class of Pèkché dignitaries.

[4] Koshikori is the traditional Kana pronunciation.

three months in hopes of hearing the Emperor's will. But you still refuse to communicate it, and harass the envoys who have been sent to listen to the Imperial message. Hence, we see that your object is to befool and put to death the Chief Minister." So they reported to the Chief Minister all that they had seen, and he thereupon seized four villages, Keum-kwan,[1] Hè-mu, A-ta, and Wi-tha [one book says Tatara, Sunara, A-ta, and Pi-chi were the four villages], took possession of all the people and their goods, and withdrew to his own country. Some said that it was the fault of Kena no Omi that these four villages, Tatara and the rest, were plundered.

Autumn, 9th month. The Oho-omi, Kose no Obito, died.

24th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"From the Emperor Ihare-hiko[2] until King Mimaki,[3] all (the sovereigns) put their trust in learned Ministers and enlightened assistants. Therefore Michi[4] no Omi propounded the policy, and divine Japan[5] flourished. Ohohiko enounced plans, and Inihe[6] was exalted. Among those Princes of succeeding generations who were successful in re-establishing what had fallen into decay, what one has there ever been who did not rely upon wise counsels? Now, coming down to the time when the Emperor Wohatsuse ruled the Empire, auspiciously receiving it over from the previous sages, there was long peace and prosperity, during which morals became gradually deteriorated, and there was no awakening, while the Government became gradually steeped in decay, and there was no reform. But he looked out for (proper) men, and each had advancement after his kind. If a man had great capacity, his shortcomings were not inquired into; if he had high abilities, his failures were not found fault with. It was for this reason that this Emperor was enabled to serve the ancestral shrines, and not to endanger the Temples of the Land and of Grain. Judging from this, could he have been wanting in enlightened assistants?

A.D. 530.

XVII. 26.

[1] The present Keumhè, then capital of Kara. [2] Jimmu Tennō.

[3] Sūjin Tennō. There seems no particular reason why one should be called a King 王, and the other an Emperor 帝.

[4] Michi means "path," "moral principle." *Vide* Vol. I. p. 117.

[5] Or Yamato.

[6] i.e. Sūjin Tennō, says the "Tsū-shō" commentary.

During the twenty-four years which have elapsed since we took over the Imperial office, the Empire has enjoyed prosperity, and there have been no anxieties at home or abroad. The veins of the earth have been fertile and the crops have reached maturity. Our secret fear is that the masses may in consequence of this acquire a habit, and that depending on it they may become proud. Therefore let men be made to practise honest thrift, and let the Great Morality be inculcated, so that a mighty progress may be diffused abroad. From of old it has been hard to appoint the right men to office. Now that this duty has devolved upon Ourselves, ought we not to be watchful?"

Autumn, 9th month. An envoy from Imna made represen-
XVII. 27. tation to the Emperor, saying:—"It is now two years since Kena no Omi proceeded to Kusamura, where he built a house and took up his residence.

The statement in one book that it was three years includes the year of going and coming.

But he is remiss in the discharge of his Governmental duties. Now there are frequent disputes between the people of Japan and the people of Imna respecting children,[1] which are difficult to settle. None of these has ever been decided. Kena no Omi is fond of setting (the caldrons for) the ordeal by boiling water, and saying:—'Those who are in the right will not be scalded: those who are false will certainly be scalded.' Owing to this many persons have been scalded to death by plunging into the hot water. Moreover he has put to death Natari and Săpuri, Corean children of Kibi.

The children born of Japanese marriages with barbarian women were accounted Kara-ko.[2]

He constantly harasses the people, and there is never any amicable solution of difficulties." Hereupon the Emperor, hearing of this conduct, sent a man to recall him. But he would not come. He took the trouble, however, to send Mikari, Kahachi no Mŭma-kahi no Obito up to the capital with a message for the Emperor, saying:—"If thy servant returned to the capital before carrying out the Imperial instructions, his toil of travel would come to nothing. How should he get over

[1] The progeny of mixed unions. [2] i.e. Corean or Kara children.

his mortification? He humbly beseeches Your Majesty to await the execution of the national instructions. He will then proceed to Court and confess his faults." After sending off this messenger, he further took counsel with himself, saying:—"That Mitsugi[1] no Kishi is also an Imperial envoy. If he arrives back before me, and represents my offences to the Emperor as they really are, they will certainly be aggravated." So he sent Mitsugi no Kishi at the head of a force to guard the Castle of Isăchi mura. Hereupon the Arisăteung, seeing that a trivial matter was being made of great importance, would not apply himself to what was expected of him, but repeatedly urged his[2] returning to Court. But he persisted in his refusal to let him return. By this all his conduct was understood, and in their hearts a spirit of revolt was begotten. So he[3] sent XVII. 28.
Kunyésăkwimo to Silla to ask for troops, and Nosukuri to Pèkché to ask for troops. Kena no Omi, hearing of the arrival of the Pèkché forces, went out against them and attacked Pè-phyöng. [Pè-phyöng is the name of a place—also called Ung-pi-kwi-pu-ri.[4]] Half were killed or wounded. Pèkché accordingly seized Nosukuri, punished him with handcuffs, and put him in the cangue and chains. Then, along with Silla they laid siege to the castle, and demanded of the Arisăteung with imprecations that Kena no Omi should be produced. But Kena no Omi clung to his castle and made a vigorous defence. His strength was such that he could not be taken prisoner. Upon this the two countries measured out a suitable piece of ground, where they settled down for a month and built a castle. They then retired. This castle was called Kunyé mura. On their way home they captured the five fortified places of Teung-ni-ki-mura, Puna-mura, Mu-chă-ki-mura, A-pu-ra-mura, and Ku-chi-pha-ta-ki.[5]

Winter, 10th month. Mitsugi no Kishi arrived from Imna

[1] Mitsugi means tribute or taxes. Kishi is a title, originally Corean.

[2] Mitsugi no Kishi's. [3] The Arisăteung.

[4] Perhaps the last three syllables are meant for the Corean word *Ko-eul*, a district, the Japanese kôri. The first syllable Ung means bear.

[5] These names are written with Chinese characters, used phonetically in a way which conveys the idea that the author of the "Nihongi" considered them to be Corean words. But *mura* is unmistakably the Japanese word for village, and the names too are probably Japanese, viz. Toriki-mura, Funa-mura, Mushiki-mura, Abura-mura, and Kuchihataki.

and informed the Emperor of Kena no Omi's arrogant and perverse disposition. "He was inexperienced (he said) in the administration of government, and never brought about amicable solutions. He disturbed Kara. Moreover he followed his own impulses in a high-handed manner, while he at the same time put up with evils and did not prevent them." Therefore Medzurako was sent to recall him.

In this year, Kena no Omi, having received the summons,
XVII. 29. proceeded as far as Tsushima, where he fell ill, and died. His funeral followed up the course of the river,[1] and so entered Afumi.

His wife made a song, saying:—

To Hirakata
With the music of flutes he goes up—
The youth of Kena
Of Afumi,
With the music of flutes goes up.[2]

When Medzurako first arrived in Imna his[3] people who remained in that country sent a song, saying:—

The land of Kara,
How should it be called so?
Medzurako has come!
By the crossing of Iki—
Opposite and afar,
Medzurako has come![4]

A.D. 531. 25th year, Spring, 2nd month. The Emperor took very ill. 7th day. The Emperor died in the Tamaho Palace at Ihare, at the age of 82.[5]

[1] The Uji River.

[2] Hirakata is the name of a place in the province of Afumi or Ōmi. The word Wakugo, youth, has here a suffix *i*, which is now wholly obsolete. It is found, however, occasionally in the "Manyoshiu," and may be identical with the Corean suffix *i*, a sort of definite article.

Funerals were accompanied by the music of flutes, as appears from other ancient notices.

[3] i.e. Kena no Omi's.

[4] Kara means "acrid, cruel, hard," as well as the country. In Medzurako there is an allusion to the adjective Medzurashiki, "strange, rare." The song expresses the satisfaction of the people of Kena no Omi's household in having Medzurako set over them instead of their own master.

[5] The "Kojiki" has forty-three, no doubt wrongly.

Winter, 12th month, 5th day. He was buried in the misasagi on the Awi plain.[1]

A certain book says :—"The Emperor died in the 28th year of his reign, namely the year Kinoye Tora. The statement in the text that he died in the 25th year of his reign, viz. the year Kanoto I, is taken from a passage in the 'Original Record' of Pèkché. This passage runs as follows: 'In the year Kanoto I of the Cycle, the 3rd month, an army advanced to Ara and constructed the fortified place of Kwi-tök. In this month Koryö slew their king An. It is said, moreover, that the Emperor of Japan with the Prince Imperial died at the same time and were buried.' This was the authority on which the statement was made. The year Kanoto I corresponds to the 25th year of the reign. Later inquirers may ascertain which is correct." [2]

[1] In Settsu. This misasagi is visible from the railway, on the left as one goes from Osaka to Kioto.

[2] The uncertainty about this date shows how imperfect the chronological records must have been even at this late period.

There is this difficulty about making Keidai die in the 28th year of his reign. He was then 82, and his son died the following year, aged 70, which would make him born when his father was only 13. One chronological work suggests that there was an interregnum. But this is contrary to the positive statement in the "Nihongi."

BOOK XVIII.

THE EMPEROR MAGARI NO OHOYE (OR OHINE) HIRO-KUNI OSHI-TAKE KANAHI.[1]

(*ANKAN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hiro-kuni Oshi-take was the eldest child of the Emperor Wohodo. His mother's name was Menoko-hime. As to the Emperor's character, the walls were lofty, so that one could not peep in.[3] He was brave and generous, and had the capacity of a ruler of men.

In the 25th year of his reign, Spring, the 2nd month, the 7th day, the Emperor Wohodo established Ohoye as Emperor, and on the same day he died.[4]

In this month Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji were made Ohomuraji, both being continued in their previous offices.

A.D. 534. 1st year, Spring, 1st month. The capital was removed to Magari no Kanahashi, in the province of Yamato, by which name the palace[5] was called.

3rd month, 6th day. On behalf of the Emperor, functionaries took wedding presents to the Imperial Princess Kasuga no
XVIII. 2. Yamada, daughter of the Emperor Ohoke,[6] and made her Empress[7] [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Yamada no

[1] Magari is the name of a place. Ohoye or Ohine means the elder of a family. The rest is literally "wide-country-push-valiant-metal-sun."

[2] Ankan, "easy-space."

[3] An allusion to a passage in the "Analects of Confucius." See Legge's edition, p. 211. The meaning is that he was of a reserved disposition, and not easy to understand and appreciate.

[4] The 25th year of Keidai's reign is A.D. 531. Ankan succeeds him at once, yet his 1st year is A.D. 534. See above, p. 25.

[5] i.e. the Kanahashi Palace.

[6] Ninken Tennō.

[7] This was only a formal installation. The real marriage took place in the 7th year of Keidai's reign.

Akami]. There were, besides, three consorts appointed, viz., Satehime, daughter of Kose no Wobito no Oho-omi, Satehime's younger sister, Kagarihime, and Yakahime, daughter of Mononobe no Itahi no Ohomuraji.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The High Steward, Ohomaro Kashihade no Omi,[1] by command of the Emperor, sent a messenger to Ishimi[2] to get pearls. The Kuni no Miyakko of Ishimi delayed coming to the capital, and the time passed without their delivering them. Ohomaro Kashihade no Omi was greatly incensed, and, having seized and bound the Kuni no Miyakko, interrogated them as to the reason. Wakugo no Atahe and the other Kuni no Miyakko were afraid, and ran away, and concealed themselves in an inner chamber of the hinder-palace.[3] The Empress Kasuga, unaware that they had come straight in,[4] was startled, and fell down deeply ashamed. Wakugo no Atahe and the others, being already convicted of the crime of intrusion, and having become liable to severe punishment, humbly offered the Empress the Miyake[5] of Ishimi to be her absolute property, praying her to accept it by way of atonement for their offence of intrusion. A settlement was therefore made of the Miyake of Ishimi. It was now XVIII. 3.
divided and made into districts, which were attached to the province of Kadzusa.

[1] Kashihade no Omi means "steward minister," so that here the name and the office coincided, as they frequently did at this time.

[2] In Kadzusa.

[3] i.e. the Empresses' apartments.

[4] Without warning or introduction.

[5] The Miyake are frequently mentioned below. The word is defined in Yamada's Dictionary as follows;—"Mi means august; yake, house. The Miyake were granaries, in which was stored the rice which the peasants were made to cultivate on lands belonging to the government in the various provinces. The term was also applied to the government buildings belonging to them."

This word is written in two ways in Chinese. One rendering means store-house or granary, the other government house. The Miyake has two aspects corresponding to this distinction. They were primarily granaries to which were attached cultivated lands and serfs, and they were also local centres of government. But the present and other passages show that they were frequently private property. The Japanese Residency in Imna is called a Miyake, and even the kingdoms of Pèkché and Silla are so termed. The Miyake are evidently the older Be somewhat modified. Cf. Vol. I. p. 214.

5th month. Pèkché sent the Ha-pu Syu-tök, Työk Tök-son, and the Syang-pu[1] To-tök, Kwi Chyukwiru, to come and render the Imperial tribute, and separately to present a memorial.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"The Empress, it is true, is of one body with the Emperor, but their designations, one being outer and the other inner, are quite distinct. Moreover let there be assigned a tract of Miyake land from (the revenues of) which to erect a Pepper[2] Court, so that after generations may hand down its memory." Imperial Commissioners were accordingly appointed to select good rice-land. The Imperial Commissioners, having received this charge, addressed Ajihari [otherwise called Satohi], Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe, saying:—"Thou shouldst now offer to the Emperor the fat rice-land of Kiji." Ajihari conceived a sudden grudging, and deceived the Imperial Commissioners, saying:—"This rice-land is subject to drought, and hard to irrigate. The surface water percolates readily, so that the expenditure of labour would be enormous, and the harvest very small." The Imperial Commissioners, in accordance with these words, made their report to the Emperor without reserve.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. The Emperor commanded Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, saying:—"Although we have taken to us four wives there has been up till now no heir. When ten thousand years have passed,[3] Our name will be extinct. What dost thou propose should now be done, Our uncle[4] of Ohotomo? Whenever we think of this, Our anxiety knows no rest."

Kanamura, Ohotomo no Muraji, addressed the Emperor,
XVIII. 4. saying:—"This is also a subject of anxiety to thy servant. It is necessary that all the sovereigns of this country who rule the Empire, whether they have heirs or not, should have something

[1] Official ranks. Ha-pu and Syang-pu mean respectively Lower and Upper Division.

[2] "The private apartments of the Empress, so called because (1) an Empress of the Han had the walls of her palace smeared with pepper in order to generate warmth, or (2) because she always had a supply of pepper flowers about her, hoping to be fruitful like them."—Giles.

[3] i.e. when I am dead.

[4] Uncle, like cousin or brother in the mouths of European sovereigns, is only a term of friendly greeting.

by which they should have a name. I pray, therefore, that on behalf of the Empress and thy other consorts Miyake lands may be established, and made to remain unto future generations, so that relics of the past may be manifested."

The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Be it so; let them be speedily established." Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, recommended to the Emperor that the Miyake of Oharida with serfs[1] from every province should be granted to Satehime, that the Miyake of Sakurawi [one book says, "And in addition the Miyake of Chinuyama"] with serfs from every province should be granted to Kagarihime, and that the Miyake of Naniha with spade-labourers from every district should be granted to Yakahime as an indication to posterity, and an example by which to view the past. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let it be done as proposed."

Intercalary 12th month, 4th day. The Emperor made a progress to Mishima. Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, was in attendance.

The Emperor, through Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, made inquiry as to good rice-land of the Agata-nushi[2] Ihi-bo. The Agata-nushi Ihi-bo was delighted beyond measure, and with the utmost reverence and loyalty offered as a present Upper Mino and Lower Mino, Upper Kuhabara and Lower Kuhabara, as well as land in Takefu, 40 chô in all. Ohotomo no XVIII. 5.
Ohomuraji, by command of the Emperor, addressed him,[3] saying:—"Of the entire surface of the soil, there is no part which is not a Royal grant in fee; under the wide Heavens there is no place which is not royal territory. The previous Emperors therefore[4] established an illustrious designation and handed down a vast fame: in magnanimity they were a match with Heaven and Earth: in glory they resembled the sun and moon. They rode afar and dispensed their mollifying influence to a distance; in breadth it extended beyond the bounds of the capital and cast a bright reflection throughout the boundaries of the land, pervading everywhere without a limit. Above they

[1] Tana-be. See above, Vol. I. p. 214.

[2] District-lord. [3] i.e. Ajihari.

[4] From this point to the end of the paragraph is taken from the monument of a personage named 湘東王, of the Liang Dynasty of China.

were the crown of the nine heavens: they passed abroad through all the eight points of the compass: they declared their efficiency by the framing of ceremonial observances: they instituted music,[1] thereby manifesting order. The resulting happiness was truly complete: there was gladness which tallied with that of past years.[2]

Now thou, Ajihari, being an obscure and insignificant subject of the realm, didst suddenly entertain a grudging as regards the lands of the Crown, and hast lightly disregarded the messenger. It is the Imperial will that thou, Ajihari, shalt henceforth cease to hold the office of Local Governor." Hereupon, the Agata-nushi
XVIII. 6. Ihibo's heart was filled with mingled joy and awe. He took his son Toriki and presented him to the Ohomuraji as a servant. Then Ajihari, Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe, was afraid, and had lasting regret. Prostrating himself on the ground, with the perspiration streaming from him, he addressed the Ohomuraji, saying:—"I am an ignorant subject, and my crime deserves ten thousand deaths. I pray humbly that I may be allowed to furnish from each district in spring-time five hundred spade-labourers, and in the time of autumn five hundred, for the Emperor's service. My descendants to all ages will pray for their lives in dependence on this,[3] and they will keep it before them for ever as an exemplary punishment." He separately presented to Ohotomo no Ohomuraji six chô of rice-land in Sawida. This seems to have been the origin of the labourers of the Agata of Kahachi being attached to the Miyake of Takefu in Mishima as serfs.

This month Hatahime, daughter of Kikoyu, Ihoki be no Muraji, stole a necklace belonging to Okoshi, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, and presented it to the Empress Kasuga. The matter was at length discovered, and Kikoyu gave his daughter, Hatahime, to be a servant of the Uneme. [The Kasuga Be

[1] The importance of music as a means of government is often insisted on in the ancient Chinese literature. The interlinear version has here *uta-mai*, "song and dancing," which latter was no doubt included. Ceremony and music are put generally for the pomp and circumstance which are the life of an Imperial Court.

[2] Here we have the Imperial theory formulated in terms, be it noted, which are borrowed entirely from Chinese writings.

[3] i.e. this will be a perpetual ransom for the lives of my descendants.

Uneme.[1]] He also presented (to the Emperor) the Miyake of Ihokibe in Koshibe in the province of Aki, and therewith redeemed his daughter's crime. Okoshi, Mononobe no Oho- XVIII. 7
muraji, fearing that he might become implicated in the matter, could not feel secure, and presented to the Emperor Towochi Be, with Kusasa, Toi [Kusasa and Toi are names of two villages], and Nihe no Hasebe, in the province of Ise, and also Wisayamabe, in the Land of Tsukushi.

The Kuni no Miyakko of the province of Musashi, Omi, Kasahara no Atahe, had a dispute with a relation named Wogi as to who should be Kuni no Miyakko. This went on for years and could not be settled. Wogi was of an obstructive and rebellious disposition; he had a high spirit, unapt for compliance. He secretly sought support from Wokuma, the Kuni of Kamitsukenu,[2] and conspired with him to kill Omi. Omi became aware of this, and made his escape to the capital, where he informed the Court. When the matter came to be decided, Omi was made Kuni no Miyakko, and Wogi was executed. Omi, Kuni no Miyakko, his breast filled with mingled awe and gladness, could not restrain himself, but reverently offered to the State the four Miyake of Yokonu, Tachibana, Ohohi, and Kurasu.

This was the year Kinoye Tora (51st) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 1st Month, 5th day. The Emperor made A.D. 535.
a decree, saying:—"Of late, for several successive years, the crops have produced well; there have been no frontier anxieties: the people take pleasure in their husbandry: my black-headed subjects of every calling are free from famine: benign influences extend agreeably over the universe: cries of admiration fill Heaven and Earth: within and without serenity is everywhere diffused: the commonwealth is flourishing: Our joy is extreme: let there be a Great Revel for five days, to the delight of the Empire."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Be of the Toneri of XVIII. 8.
Magari was established, and the Be of the Yuki of Magari.[3]

5th month, 9th day. There were established the Miyake of

[1] i.e. The Empress's waiting-women. [2] i.e. Kôdzuke.

[3] These Be were evidently intended to commemorate the Emperor's name. The Yuki were archers.

Funami and Kama in Tsukushi, the Miyake of Tosa, Kuhabara, Kato, Ohonuku and Aka in the province of Toyo, the Miyake of Kasuga be, in the province of Hi, the Miyake of Koshibe and Ushika in the province of Harima, the Miyake of Shidzuki, Tane, Kukutsu, Hawaka, and Kaha-oto, in the further province of Kibi, the Miyake of Iye and Itoshibe in the province of Ata,[1] the Miyake of Kasuga be in the province of Aha, the Miyake of Fuse and Kahabe in the province of Ki, the Miyake of Soshiki in the province of Tamba, the Miyake of Ashiura in the province of Afumi, the Miyake of Mashiki and Iruka in the province of Wohari, the Miyake of Midono
XVIII. 9. in the province of Kamitsukenu, and the Miyake of Wakanihe in the province of Suruga.[2]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. By Imperial command Be of dog-keepers[3] were established in every province.

9th month, 3rd day. The Emperor appointed Sakurawi Tanabe no Muraji, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, and Naniha no Kishi, to the charge of the revenues from the Miyake.

13th day. The Emperor specially commanded the Ohomuraji, saying:—"Let cattle be let loose on Ohosumi-jima, and in the fir-plain of Hime-jima at Naniha. By this we hope that a name will be handed down to after times."[4]

Winter, 12th month, 17th day. The Emperor died in the palace of Kanabashi at Magari, at the age of seventy.

In this month the Emperor was buried in the misasagi on the hill of Takaya at Furuichi in the province of Kahachi. In this misasagi there were buried along with the Emperor the Empress, who was the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada, and the Emperor's younger sister, the Princess Kamisaki.[5]

[1] Now part of Satsuma.

[2] This institution of Miyake seems to show that the Central Government was vigorously extending its power in the provinces. The Imperial theory was being translated into practice.

[3] Inukahi, a frequent surname in old Japan. The "Shukai" says:—"They had probably charge of the dogs to guard the Miyake against thieves."

[4] In 717 A.D. an order was given to discontinue the cattle-breeding establishments of Ohosumi-jima and Hime-jima, and to allow the peasantry to till the land.

[5] Or Kanzaki.

THE EMPEROR TAKE-WO HIRO-KUNI OSHITATE.[1]

(*SENKWA*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

The Emperor Take-wo Hiro-kuni Oshitate was the second child of the Emperor Wohodo, and the younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hiro-kuni XVIII. 10.
Oshitake Kanahi.

The Emperor Magari no Ohoye Hirokuni Oshitake Kanahi died in the 12th month of the second year of his reign, leaving no heir. The Ministers in a body delivered up the sword and mirror[3] to Takewo Hirokuni Oshitate no Mikoto, and made him assume the Imperial Dignity. As to his character, his capacity was unalloyed throughout, his intelligence surpassingly bright, and he did not play the ruler, making a boast to people of his abilities. Superior men gave him their allegiance.

1st year, Spring, 1st month. The capital was transferred to A.D. 536.
Ihorino in Hinokuma,[4] whence the palace took its name.

2nd month, 1st day. Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji were appointed Ohomuraji, both as before. Moreover, Soga no Iname no Sukune was made Oho-omi and Abe no Ohomaro no Omi Daibu.

3rd month, 1st day. The functionaries petitioned that an Empress might be appointed.

8th day. The Emperor commanded, saying:—"Let her who is already my proper[5] consort, viz. the Imperial Princess Tachibana no Nakatsu, daughter of the Emperor Ohoke, be appointed Empress." She bore to him one son and three daughters. The eldest was called the Imperial Princess Ishi hime,[6] the next was called the Imperial Princess Koishi hime,[7] the next was called the Imperial Princess Kura no Wakaya hime, and the next the Imperial Prince Kamu-uye-ha [other- XVIII. 11.

[1] The elements of this Emperor's name are literally "valiant-small-wide-country-push-shield."

[2] Senkwa means "diffuse-civilization." [3] The Regalia.

[4] In Yamato. [5] i.e. not a concubine [6] Stone-princess.

[7] Little-stone-princess.

wise Mariko]. He was the ancestor of the two families[1] of the Tajihi no Kimi and the Ina no Kimi. The concubine whom he already had, viz. Ohoshi Kahachi no Wakugo hime, bore to him one son, named the Imperial Prince Honowo.[2] He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Shihida.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"Food is the basis of the Empire. Yellow gold and ten thousand strings of cash cannot cure hunger.[3] What avails a thousand boxes of pearls to him who is starving of cold? Now the province of Tsukushi is a place reached by visitors to our Court from far and near; it is a barrier passed by travellers going and coming. Therefore the countries beyond the sea, awaiting the water of the ocean,[4] come as our guests: looking up to the clouds of Heaven, they bring us tribute. From the days of the Emperor in the womb[5] down to
XVIII. 12. Ourselves, grain has been stored up and hoards of provisions accumulated as a distant preparation for evil years, and for the cordial entertainment of our good guests. For the peace of our country there is nothing better than this. We therefore send Asomo no Kimi to transport thither a further supply of grain from the Miyake of the district of Mamuta in Kahachi. Let Soga no Oho-omi and Iname no Sukūne send Wohari no Muraji to transport grain of the Miyake of the province of Wohari. Let Arakahi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji send Nihinomi no Muraji to transport grain from the Miyake of Nihinomi. Let Abe no Omi send Iga no Omi to transport grain from the Miyake of the province of Iga. Let there be built a Government House at Nanotsu no Kuchi.[6] Moreover, the Miyake of the three provinces of Tsukushi, Hi, and Toyo are dispersed and remote: transport is therefore impeded by distance. In the case of an emergency it would be difficult to provide for sudden needs. Let the various districts therefore be charged each severally to transfer (the Miyake), and to erect one jointly at Nanotsu no Kuchi, thus making provision against extraordinary occasions, and long preserving the lives of the people.

[1] Lit. surnames. [2] Flame of fire.

[3] It must not be inferred from this that the Japanese had coin at this time. It is simply a phrase borrowed from the Chinese.

[4] The tides. [5] Ōjin Tennō. [6] In Chikuzen.

Speedily go down to the districts (in question) and make known to them Our behests."

Autumn, 7th month. Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji died.

This year was the year Hinoye Tatsu (53rd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Winter, 10th month, 1st day. By reason of Silla's hostility towards Imna, the Emperor commanded Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji to send his sons Iha and Sadehiko to the assistance of Imna. At this time Iha staid in Tsukushi, where he took charge of the local Government, and made preparations against the three Han.[1] Sadehiko went to Imna and restored peace there. He also lent aid to Pèkché. A.D. 537. XVIII. 13.

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Ihorino in Hinokuma at the age of seventy-three. A.D. 539.

Winter, 11th month, 17th day. The Emperor was buried in the misasagi at the top of the acclivity of Tsukijima, in Musa, in the province of Yamato.

There were buried with him in the same misasagi the Empress, viz. the Imperial Princess Tachibana and her infant child.[2]

There is no mention in the records of the year of the Empress's death. Probably the infant child had died before reaching manhood.

[1] i.e. Silla, Pèkché, and Koryö.

[2] In Japanese wakugo. This word is also found as a proper name, which would account for the strange remark of the "Original Commentary."

BOOK XIX.

THE EMPEROR AME-KUNI OSHI-HIRAKI HIRO-NIHA.[1]

(*KIMMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ame-kuni Oshi-hiraki Hiro-niha was the rightful heir of the Emperor Wohodo. His mother's name was the Empress Tashiraka. The Emperor loved him, and kept him constantly at his side. When the Emperor was young he had a dream, in which a man appeared to him, saying:—"If thou makest a favourite of a man called Hada no Ohotsuchi, thou wilt surely possess the Empire when thou dost attain to manhood." When he awoke, he sent messengers to search everywhere. They got from the province of Yamashiro, the district of Kiï and the township of Fukakusa, a man whose name and surname were actually as in the dream. Upon this joy pervaded his whole frame. "A dream without precedent!" he exclaimed, and addressed him, saying:—"Has anything happened thee?" He answered and said:—"Nothing. Only when thy servant was on his way back from Ise, whither he had gone to trade, he fell in with two wolves[3] on a mountain, who were fighting with one another, and were defiled with blood. Thy servant got down from his horse, and, having rinsed his mouth and hands, made prayer to them, saying:—'Ye are august deities, and yet ye take delight in violence.

[1] Heaven-land push-open wide-court.

[2] Kimmei. Legge renders this by "reverential, intelligent." *Vide* "Shooking," p. 15.

[3] "No true wolf exists in Japan, but Canis hodophylax is a sort of lame counterfeit of the European beast."—Dickins, in Satow and Hawes' "Handbook of Japan," p. [40]. Of the Ohokami, lit. "Great God," by which the Chinese character for wolf is rendered, Dickins says, "If it exists, nothing is known of it to science."

If ye were to fall in with a hunter, very speedily ye should be taken.' So thy servant restrained them from fighting together, and having wiped them and cleansed their blood-stained hair, eventually let them go, thus saving both their lives." The Emperor said:—"This is undoubtedly your reward."[1] So he made him to serve near his own person, and treated him with a favour which was daily renewed, so that he arrived at the height of great wealth. When the Emperor came to the throne, he appointed him to the Treasury. XIX. 2.

In Winter, the 10th month of the 4th year of his reign, the Emperor Takewo hiro-kuni oshi-tate died. The Imperial Prince, the Emperor[2] Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha, addressed the Ministers, saying:—"I am young[3] in years, and of shallow knowledge. I have not yet had experience of the affairs of government. The Empress Yamada has a clear acquaintance with all matters of administration, and I pray you to apply to her and then decide."

The Empress Yamada rendered humble thanks, saying:—"Your handmaiden has been treated with favour, far beyond seas and mountains. But the manifold machinery of government is much too difficult a charge for a woman to undertake it. Now the Imperial Prince honours age, and shows affection to the young. He treats the wise with courtesy, and all day long neglects his food while he attends to others. Not only so, but young as he is, the point comes through.[4] Already he has at his disposal an auspicious reputation, he is of a mild disposition and earnest in compassionate care. I pray the Ministers that they will, without delay, cause him to ascend to the Dignity, and preside gloriously over the Empire."[5]

12th month, 5th day. The Imperial Prince Ame-kuni oshi-

[1] i.e. his being recommended to the Emperor in a dream.

[2] *Sic.*

[3] A brother had died four years before, aged seventy, and another had just died, aged seventy-three. Kimmei is said to have died A.D. 571, at the age of sixty-three, or eighty-one, by another account. Evidently the chronology is not yet quite satisfactory.

[4] An allusion to the Chinese saying, "Talent will show itself: like an awl in a bag, the point comes through." *Vide* Giles, p. 1309.

[5] The Empress's speech is composed almost wholly of sentences from Chinese authors.

hiraki hiro-niha assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress. Ohotomo no
XIX. 3. Kanamura no Ohomuraji and Mononobe no Okoshi no Ohomuraji were made Ohomuraji, and Soga no Iname no Sukune no Oho-omi was made Oho-omi, all as before.

A.D. 540. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The officials petitioned for the appointment of an Empress. The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let my proper consort, Ishihime, daughter of the Emperor Take-wo hiro-kuni oshi-tate,[1] be appointed Empress."

She bore him two sons and one daughter. The eldest was called the Imperial Prince Yata no Tama-katsu no Ohoye, the middle one was called Wosada Nunakura Futo-damashiki no Mikoto,[2] the youngest was called the Imperial Princess Kasanuhi [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Satake].

2nd month. A man of Pèkché named Kwi-chi-pu came over as an emigrant. He was settled in Yamamura, in the district of Sofu no Kami, in the province of Yamato. He was the ancestor of the present Kochifu[3] of Yamamura.

3rd month.—The Yemishi and the Hayato, both bringing their people with them, came and rendered allegiance.

Autumn, 7th month, 13th day. The capital was removed to Shikishima, in the district of Shiki, in the province of Yamato. It was accordingly called the Palace of Kanazashi in Shikishima.

8th month. Koryö, Pèkché, Silla and Imna all sent envoys together to render tribute. The men of T'sin and of Han, etc., the emigrants from the various frontier nations were assembled together, settled in the provinces and districts, and enrolled
XIX. 4. in the registers of population. The men of T'sin[4] numbered

[1] Senkwa Tennō. She was therefore his niece, daughter of his half-brother by the father's side.

[2] Bindatsu Tennō.

[3] The traditional Japanese rendering of the Corean name Kwichipu.

[4] T'sin and Han are the Chinese dynasties so called. These men must have been recent emigrants from China to Corea, or their near descendants who had not yet been merged in the general population. This statement throws light on Japanese ethnology. It shows that not only the upper classes, as appears from the "Seishiroku," but the common people contained a large foreign (Chinese and Corean) element.

in all 7053 houses. The Director of the Treasury was made Hada[1] no Tomo no Miyakko.

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a progress to the shrine of Hafuritsu[2] at Naniha. He was accompanied by Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, Inamochi, Kose no Omi, and Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji. The Emperor inquired of the Ministers, saying:—"How many troops would be required to conquer Silla?" Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji and the rest addressed the Emperor, saying:—"With only a few soldiers it would not be easy to chastise Silla. Formerly, in the sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Wohodo, Pèkché sent envoys petitioning that the four districts of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Syata and Muro might be granted to him.[3] Kanamura, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji readily agreed with the request contained in this petition, and granted the demand. In consequence of this, Silla has cherished resentment for many years. Its chastisement should not be lightly undertaken." Now Ohotomo no Kanamura staid in his house at Sumiyoshi,[4] and, on the pretence of illness, did not attend Court. The Emperor sent Magariko, Awomi no Ohotoshi, courteously to make kind inquiries. The Ohomuraji humbly thanked the Emperor, and said:—"That which ails me is nought else than this. The Ministers now say that it was I who lost Imna. Therefore I was afraid, and did not come to Court." So he made a present to the messenger of a saddle-horse, and showed him great friendliness and honour. Awomi no Ohotoshi made a faithful report to the Emperor, who commanded, saying:—"Thou hast long shown the utmost fidelity: be not moved by what people may say." He acquitted him of all guilt, and showed him increasing favour.

This year was the year Kanoye Saru (57th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor took to him five concubines. The senior concubine was the Imperial Princess Kurawakaya hime, younger sister of the Empress. She bore to him the Imperial Prince Iso no kami. The next was also a younger sister of the Empress, named the Imperial Princess Hikage. A.D. 541. XIX. 5.

[1] T'sin is called Hada in Japanese.

[2] Hafuri means a Shinto priest, tsu is probably the genitive particle.

[3] See above, p. 7.

[4] Or Suminoye, near Sakai.

The statement made here that she was the Empress's younger sister is clear. This is the daughter of the Emperor Hinokuma no Takada.[1] And yet in enumerating the consorts the name of her consort-mother and the name of the Imperial Princess do not appear. I do not know what writing it is taken from. Some future inquirer may discover.[2]

She bore to the Emperor the Imperial Prince Kura. The next was the daughter of Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune. Her name was Kitashi hime. She had seven sons and six daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Ohoye. He became Tachibana no Toyohi no Mikoto.[3] The second was called the Imperial Princess Ihane. [Also called the Imperial Princess Ime.] At first she was priestess to the great Deity of Ise, but was afterwards dismissed, being convicted of an intrigue with the Imperial Prince Mubaragi.[4] The third was called the Imperial Prince Atori. The fourth was called Toyomike Kashikiya no Mikoto.[5] The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Mariko. The sixth was called the Imperial Princess Ohoyake. The seventh was called the Imperial Prince Iso no Kami-be. The eighth was called the Imperial Prince Yamashiro. The ninth was called the Imperial Princess Ohotomo. The tenth was called the Imperial Prince Sakurawi. The eleventh was called the Imperial Princess Katano. The twelfth
XIX. 6. was called the Young Imperial Prince Tachibana ga moto. The thirteenth was called the Imperial Princess Toneri. The next (concubine) was a younger sister of Kitashi hime by the same mother, named Wonane-gimi. She bore four sons and one daughter. The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Prince Katsuraki. The third was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe

[1] Senkwa Tennō.

[2] These genealogies present much that is obscure and contradictory. The "Kojiki" varies. One thing, however, is clear, that the Emperors at this time married their own half-sisters and other near relations.

[3] Yōmei Tennō.

[4] Or Ibaragi, or Uberagi. He was her half-brother by the father's side, and cousin by the mother's side.

[5] Suiko Tennō.

Anahobe. [Otherwise called the Imperial Prince Amatsuka no ko: one writing has, "otherwise called the Imperial Prince Sumuto."] The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe.

One writing has:—"The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The third was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe Anahobe, otherwise called the Imperial Prince Sumuto. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Katsuraki. The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe." One writing says:—"The first was called the Imperial Prince Mubaragi. The second was called the Imperial Prince Sumuto. The third was called the Imperial Princess Hasetsukabe Anahobe. The fourth was called the Imperial Prince Hasetsukabe Anahobe, also called the Imperial Prince Amatsuka no ko. The fifth was called the Imperial Prince Hasebe." In the original record of the Emperors there are many old XIX. 7. characters, which underwent frequent alterations in the hands of the compilers. Later men, in learning to read them, modified them to suit the meaning, and, owing to their being handed down by repeated copying, errors eventually arose, by which the order was disturbed, and elder and younger mistaken for one another. We have now investigated old and new, and restored the truth. In cases where it was difficult to ascertain it, we have selected and followed one (MS. ?) and noted down carefully the variants. All other (passages) follow the same rule.[1]

The next (consort) was the daughter of Kasuga no Hifuri no Omi, by name Nukako. She bore the Imperial Princess Kasuga no Yamada, and the Imperial Prince Tachibana no Maro.

[1] It is difficult to say anything of the authorship of this note. It is clearly not from the pen of the compiler of the "Nihongi." The word I have rendered "modified" is engrave (or carve)—alter (刊 改), which looks rather as if block-printing were referred to. This would bring the writer down to the thirteenth century or thereabouts. The "original record of the Emperors" is very like the title of one of the parts of Shōtoku Daishi's "Kiujiki." See below, XXII. 32. The Japanese commentators give no help here.

Summer, 4th month. The second Kanki[1] of Ara named I-thăn-hyé, and the Té-pu-son Ku-chhyu-yu-ri, the Syang-syu-wi[2] of Kara named Kachyön-hyé, the Kanki of Cholma named San-pan-hyé, the Kanki's son, the junior Kanki of Tara named I-tha, Ko-tha son of the Kanki of Să-i-ki—these Kanki, together with Kibi no Omi, the (Japanese) Commissioner for Imna, proceeded to Pèkché, and together heard the Imperial edict read. Syöng-myöng,[3] King of Pèkché, addressing the Kanki of Imna and the others, said :—

"The Emperor of Japan decrees that Imna shall be wholly
XIX. 8. re-established. Now by what means is this to be done? Why should not each of you with the deepest loyalty develop the sage purpose?"[4]

The Kanki of Imna and the others answered and said:—"Already two or three times proposals have been made to Silla, but no answer has been received. Let the present intention be again communicated to Silla, and if there is still no reply, it will now be well that all of us should send envoys to go and lay the matter before the Emperor. It will then depend on the Great King's will whether Imna is to be established or not. We shall humbly receive his instructions. Who shall dare to offer a word of objection? Now the territory of Imna

[1] The Corean pronunciation of the Chinese characters would be Hanki, but here and below Kanki is no doubt the correct word.

[2] Syang-syu-wi means "highest rank."

[3] The "Tongkam" calls him Syöng. It has only a few words under this year, and nothing is said of the events here related.

[4] Notwithstanding the respectful terms in which the King of Pèkché speaks of the Emperor of Japan, it would be a mistake to suppose that their relations were those of suzerainty. The King of Pèkché made war without consulting Japan, and several times during this century received investiture from the reigning Chinese Dynasty, as in 528 and 570. Possibly the Japanese historians may have garbled the documents before them so as to make them read more respectful to the Mikado. But for the period we have now come to it is not necessary to take this view. The kinglets of Corea very likely were not sparing of complimentary phrases which cost them nothing. A Chinese author mentions the fact that at this period the Coreans styled Japan 大國, or the Great Country.

I am inclined to think that the word Japan in this passage has been introduced retrospectively. If this had been the official designation of the country at this time, it would in all probability have been used in the letter addressed to the Emperor of China in Suiko's reign.

is conterminous with Silla, and it is to be feared that this will prove disastrous to Chhak-syun, etc.

By etc. is meant Tök-kwi-than and Kara. The reference is to the disaster of the conquest of Chhak-syun and the other provinces.

King Syöng-myöng said:—"In former times, during the reigns of my ancestors, King Sok-ko [1] and King Kwi-syu,[2] the Kanki of Ara, Kara, and Chhak-syun first sent envoys and entered into communication. We became knitted together by a cordial friendship, and they were treated as children or younger brothers. It was my hope that they should flourish continuously. But now they have been deceived by Silla and have caused the Emperor to be wroth, and Imna to be angry. This is the fault of me, the incompetent one, for which I am profoundly sorry. I therefore sent Maro,[3] the Ha-pu Chung-cha-phyöng, and Mèno, the Syöng-pang Kap-syo, to Kara to meet the Imna authorities, and, having sworn together, thereafter earnestly and perseveringly to concert measures for the establishment of Imna, without forgetfulness either morning or evening. Now the terms of the Emperor's commands are—'Let Imna be at once established.' I therefore wish to consult XIX. 9.
with you as to the means of setting up Imna and the other provinces. Let this matter be well weighed by you. Moreover I shall send for Silla to the Imna frontier, and ask whether he means to obey or not. Upon receiving his answer we can send envoys together to report to the Emperor and humbly receive his instructions. If, however, before the return of the envoys, Silla watches an opportunity and invades Imna, I will go to its assistance, so that there is no need for anxiety. Let us, however, make good preparation to defend ourselves; let us be watchful and not forgetful. As to what you specially tell me, viz. that you fear disaster for Chhak-syun, etc., it is not (merely) the aggressiveness of Silla which has made this possible. Tök-kwi-than lies on the border between Kara and Silla, and for several successive years has been harassed

[1] Probably King Syoko. [2] Kusyu.

[3] From this it would appear that Maro is a Corean name as well as Japanese. It also occurs in Keidai Tennō's reign. Ha-pu means "lower division." Chung-cha-phyöng is the name of a high office in Corea.

and defeated. Imna has not been able to render it assistance, and it has therefore suffered ruin. South Kara, being a very small place, was unable promptly to make defence, and knew not whom to rely upon. Therefore it has come to ruin. As to Chhak-syun, the upper and lower classes practise double-dealing so much so as to wish voluntarily to join Silla and to hold secret communication with that object. Therefore it has come to ruin. Viewed in this light, the downfall of these three provinces had very sufficient causes.

Formerly Silla asked help from Koryö, and with its assistance invaded Imna and Pèkché, but to this day without conquering them. How then could Silla alone destroy Imna? If you and
XIX. 10. I, the incompetent one, now join our powers, and with united hearts place our inward trust in the Emperor, Imna will assuredly be established."

Each received presents according to his station, and they took their way homewards joyfully.

Autumn, 7th month. Pèkché, hearing that the (Japanese) authorities of Ara were intriguing with Silla, sent Pirimakko, Nasol of the Senior division, the Nasol Syön-mun, the Nasol of the middle division, Mok-hiöp Mè-syun, and Ki no Omi,

The Nasol Ki no Omi was probably the son of Ki no Omi by a marriage with a Corean woman, who therefore remained in the country and was made Nasol by Pèkché. It is not clear who his father was. Other cases all follow this rule.

the Nasol Mimasya, on a mission to Ara, to summon to them the agents of Silla and Imna, and to concert measures for the establishment of Imna. He separately reproved Kahachi no Atahe, the chief Japanese authority of Ara, roundly for intriguing with Silla.

The Pèkché "Original Record" has Kapuchipi Atahe Akyöninasăcharomato. This is not clear.

Addressing Imna, he said:—"In past times, my ancestors, Kings Sokko and Kwisyu,[1] were first joined in amity with the former Kanki. They became as it were brethren. I therefore look upon you as my children or younger brothers, and you regard me as a father or elder brother. Together we serve the

[1] See above, p. 43.

Emperor, and unitedly repel hostile violence, procuring up till now the peace of the country and the integrity of the State. When I think of the friendly language of my ancestors and the former Kanki, it seems to me like the shining sun. From that XIX. 11. time to this, I have sedulously maintained friendship with my neighbours and have always dealt honestly with the allied countries. My affection for them passes that of flesh and bones.[1] It was the constant prayer of me, the inept one, that such a fair beginning might have a fitting end. I cannot understand why people should lightly give credit to vague rumours and for a space of several years should have impulsively abandoned their purpose. It may be said of such, in the words of the men of old, that 'they repent when it is too late.' But if, as regards the present, they swear to the gods as far as the cloud-spaces above, and down to the region within the springs[2] below, and amend their faults so as to accord with the past, revealing all that they do without the least reserve, so that their loyalty penetrates to the spirits, and if they take themselves severely to task, this may again be accepted. We are told that of those who stand in the position of successors, honour is to him who keeps well in the rut made by his predecessors, and makes the hall and roof to prosper, thereby accomplishing a meritorious service.[3] I therefore wish to go back and reverence the kindly feeling of the friendship of former ages, and, in respectful obedience to the terms of the Emperor's decree, rescue from Silla the provinces torn off by it, viz. South Kara, Tök-kwi-than, etc., and restoring them to their original connection and making them transfer to Imna their substance, XIX. 12. strive to play the part to them of father or elder brother, constantly doing homage to Japan. It is this which deprives my food of flavour, and robs me of peaceful slumber, my mind being full of anxious thought while I regret the past and practise self-discipline for the present.

Now all the world knows Silla's blandishing words and subtle deceptions. You, out of an indiscriminating confidence

[1] i.e. I love them more than a brother.

[2] i.e. the yellow springs, or Hades.

[3] "When a deceased father, wishing to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof!"—Legge's "Shooking," p. 371.

in them, have already fallen a prey to the designs of others. At the present moment, where the frontier of Imna borders on Silla, let there be permanent defensive preparations. How can your watchfulness be relaxed? Here it is to be feared lest you, having fallen into and become entangled in the nets and pitfalls of slanderous deceit, should ruin your country and overturn your State, becoming yourselves the captives of others. When I, the incompetent one, reflect on this, I am full of anxious thought, and can find no rest.

It has come to my ears that during the meetings at which Silla and Imna concerted their plans, there were manifested portents of trees and serpents. This is notorious to everybody. Now (ill) luck sent by the Powers of Evil[1] is for the sake of making people correct their conduct; natural catastrophes[1] are given for men's instruction. It is just in this way that Bright Heaven communicates to us as a lesson tokens of the former spirits. When misfortune has reached a climax, one may have remorse; when ruin has come, one may think of establishing himself again, but what avails it?

If you will now be guided by me and give obedience to the Emperor's command, Imna may be restored. Why should you apprehend ill-success? If you desire to hold permanently your original territory, and long to rule over your old subjects, here lies the means of doing so. Should you not be watchful?"

XIX. 13. King Syöng-myöng further addressed the Japanese authorities of Imna, saying:—"The Emperor's decree amounts to this:—'If Imna falls, you are left without resources; if Imna is established, you will in that case have succour. You should therefore join us in setting up Imna and restoring it to its former position, so as to provide a help for yourselves and a kindly maintenance for your people.' Receive with respect the Imperial orders; let your hearts be filled with awe and dread, and make a vow to devote your earnest efforts. Thus it may be hoped that Imna may be rendered prosperous, and long serve the Emperor, as in former times. Let us first consider

[1] The Japanese interlinear version has tsuchi no wazawahi and ame no wazawahi, i.e. calamities of earth, and calamities of Heaven. There seems here a confusion between ill omens and the calamities they portend.

what is in the future, and then let us take repose. If you, the Japanese authority, in full reliance on the Imperial decree, lend aid to Imna, this will assuredly be attended by the Emperor's approval, and you personally will reap rewards.

Moreover, the high Japanese officials, having been long resident in the Land of Imna, close to the Silla frontier, are acquainted with the state of affairs in that country. They have not only for this year, but long been poisoning Imna, and devising means of defence against Japan. The reason they have not made up their minds to more active measures is that near, they are ashamed in the eyes of Pèkche, and afar, they fear the Emperor. So they beguile the Court with feigned service, and maintain a false appearance of amity with Imna.

In thus stimulating to action (you) the (Japanese) authorities of Imna, it is my desire that before they have annexed Imna, and while they still maintain a feigned appearance of submissiveness, you should now seize the opportunity of their being unprepared, and raising all your forces conquer them. The Imperial decree urging us to establish South Kara and Tök-kwi-thăn does not date merely from a few tens of years ago, and yet Silla has not once listened to this order, as is well known to you. Now, can anything be better than, in respectful faith in the Emperor, to endeavour to establish Imna? I fear, however, lest you, too readily trusting to blandishing speeches and lightly accepting false statements, may cause the ruin of the land of Imna and bring dishonour on the Emperor. Be XIX. 14.
warned against this, and do not be deceived by others."

3rd year,[1] Autumn, 7th month. Pèkché sent Ki no Omi A.D. 542.
Nasol Mimasa and Kwi-nyön, Nasol of the middle division to come and report to the Emperor on the administration of Imna in Lower Kara,[2] and to present at the same time a memorial.

4th year, Summer, 4th month. Ki no Omi, Nasol Mimasa[3] A.D. 543.
of Pekché and the rest took their departure.

Autumn, 9th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché sent

[1] "Third year" is not in the original. The "Shūkai" inserts it, no doubt rightly.

[2] 下韓. The interlinear Kana has Arushi Kara Kuni. Arushi is meant for the Corean word arē, "below,"

[3] Ki no Omi was a Japanese with a Corean title. See above, p. 44.

Chin-mu Kwi-mun, Nasol of the Former Division, the Hotök Kwi-chu Kwi-nu and Makamu, Sitök of the Mononobe, with a present of Punam[1] products and two slaves.

Winter, 11th month, 8th day. Tsumori no Muraji was sent to Pèkché with a message from the Emperor to the following effect:—"Let the Pèkché prefects and governors of castles resident in that part of Lower Kara which belongs to Imna be joined to the Japanese jurisdiction." He also bore an Imperial decree, which commanded as follows:—

"For more than ten years past you have presented memorials saying that Imna should be established. But notwithstanding these representations the matter still remains unaccomplished. Now Imna is the roof-tree of your country. If the roof-tree is broken, who shall erect a house with it? Our reflections rest
XIX. 15. in this. You ought speedily to establish Imna. If you establish Imna speedily, it is necessary to say that Kahachi no Atahe[2] and his followers will of their own accord retire."

On this day King Syöng-myöng, having heard the Imperial decree, asked the opinion in succession of his three Chief Ministers, his Treasurer, and his high officials, saying:—"The Imperial edict runs so: What is now to be done?" The three Chief Ministers and the rest answered and said:—"Our prefects and governors of castles in Lower Kara should not leave our jurisdiction. As to establishing the country (of Imna), the Imperial decree should be at once complied with."

12th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché again published the former Imperial decree to all his officials, saying:—"The Emperor's decree is to this effect. Now what is next to be done?" The senior Minister Sa-chhèk-kwi-nu, the middle Minister Mok-hyöp-ma-na, the junior Minister Mok-yun-kwi, the Tök-sol Pi-ri-mak-ko, the Tök-sol Tong-syöng-to-thyön, the Tök-sol Mok-hyöp-mè-syun, the Tök-sol Kuk-syu-ta and the Na-sol Yön-pi-chyön-na counselled alike, saying:—"Thy servants are by nature stupid, and have no good scheme at all to propose. It is best to carry out the Imperial instructions for the establishment of Imna. Thou shouldst now summon the

[1] Described as Namban, or southern barbarians, i.e. the Malay Archipelago.

[2] See above, XIX. 10. He was the Japanese authority of Ara who was intriguing with Silla.

agents of Imna and the Kanki of the various provinces, and concert along with them a common policy, which should be laid before the Emperor in proof of thy good intentions. Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato are still resident in Ara-Imna, and (while this is so) it is to be feared that it will be hard to establish it. Add therefore a further memorial, praying that they may be removed to their original place."

King Syŏng-myŏng said:—"Your advice, my Ministers, is thoroughly in accordance with my feelings."

Accordingly, in this month he sent the Si-tök, Ko-pun to summon the Agent of Imna and the Agent of the Japanese authority. They both answered and said:—"When New Year's Day has passed, we will go and hear (what the King of Pèkché has to say)." XIX. 16.

5th year, Spring, 1st month. The Land of Pèkché sent messengers to summon the Agents of Imna and of the Japanese authorities. They both answered and said:—"The season has come for worshipping the Gods: when the festival is over we will go." A.D. 544.

This month Pèkché sent messengers a second time to summon the Agents of Imna and of the Japanese authorities. Neither the Japanese authorities nor Imna sent their Agents, but sent mean persons, so that Pèkché was unable to concert with them measures for the establishment of Imna.

2nd month. Pèkché sent the Si-tök, Ma-mu, the Si-tök Ko-pun-ok and the Si-tök, Să-na-no-chhă-chyu to Imna with the following message to the Japanese authorities and the Kanki of Imna:—"I sent Ki no Omi, the Nasol, Mi-ma-sa,[1] the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and Mononobe no Muraji, the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta, to have an audience of the Emperor. Mi-ma-sa and his colleagues returned from Japan with a decree which declared as follows:—'Do ye, in concert with the Japanese authorities residing there, speedily prepare a good plan such as may meet our wishes. See that you are vigilant, and be not imposed upon by the wiles of others.'

Moreover Tsumori no [the 'Original Pèkché Record' has 'Tsumori no Muraji Kwi-ma-nu-kwé.' There is here a corruption, and the name cannot be made clear] Muraji,

[1] Ki no Omi *was* the Nasol Mimasa.

when he returned from Japan, communicated an Imperial message, and inquired respecting the administration of Imna. I therefore desired, in concert with the Japanese authorities and the Imna Agents, to come to a decision regarding the government of Imna, which I might report to the Emperor. I sent for them three times, but until now they have not arrived. For this reason I have been unable to discuss with you a plan for the government of Imna, and make my report to the Emperor. It is now my intention to invite Tsumori no Muraji to remain, and by another quick messenger to send the Emperor a full report of the condition of affairs. This messenger will be despatched to Japan on the
XIX. 17. 10th of the 3rd month. On his arrival the Emperor will undoubtedly ask questions about you. I would therefore recommend you, the chief Japanese authority and the Kanki of Imna, each to despatch messengers in company with my messenger to go and receive such commands as the Emperor may give."

Pèkché separately addressed Kahachi no Atahe [the "Original Pèkché Record" has Kahachi no Atahe Inasămato. There is here a corruption, and the correct name is unclear], saying:—"From former times until now I have heard of nothing but thy misdeeds. Thy ancestors [the 'Original Pèkché Record' has, 'Thy predecessor Na-han-tha-kap-pè-ka-nap-chik-kï-kap-pè, otherwise called Na-ka-tha-kap-pè-eung-ka-ki-mi.'[1] This is a corruption and not clear] have all fostered wicked lies, and, led away by Wi-ka-ka Kimi, have placed implicit faith in his statements. [The Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Wi-ka Kimi's personal name was Yupiki.'] Without sorrow for thy country's disasters or regard for my wishes they recklessly indulged in violence and oppression. Expelled on this account, thou and thy people came to reside in Imna, where thou hast constantly preached evil. The daily increasing ruin of Imna is due to thee. Although but an insignificant person, thou art like the small fire which burns up the hills and moors, and extends to the villages and hamlets. Owing to thy evil deeds, ruin is impending over Imna, with the result that eventually the Miyake of the various provinces

[1] Kimi is probably the Japanese word for "lord."

west of the sea will become unable permanently to render service to the Emperor. I am now sending an address to the Emperor praying that he may remove thee and thy people, and send thee back to thy former place. Thou also wilt go and hear (the Emperor's decision)."

Further, addressing the chief Japanese authority of Imna and the Kanki of Imna, he said:—"In regard to the matter of establishing Imna, how could any one do so without borrowing the Emperor's power? It was therefore my intention to apply to the Emperor and request of him an army with which to succour the Land of Imna. The provisions for this army would be supplied by me. Whilst the number of the troops was still undecided, it was naturally impossible to make any fixed arrangements for the transport of provisions. It was therefore my request that we should meet and consider together what was best to be done, and having selected the most advantageous course, to report to the Emperor accordingly. Therefore I sent repeated summonses to you, but since you steadily refused to come, it was impossible to advise with you." XIX. 18.

The chief Japanese authority answered and said:—"The reason why the Imna Agent did not go in compliance with thy summons was because I would not allow him to do so. When I sent a report to the Emperor, the return messenger brought the following instructions from His Majesty:—'We are about to send Ika no Omi [corrupt—not clear] to Silla and Tsumori no Muraji to Pèkché. Do thou await the Imperial message which they will bring, and meanwhile refrain from taking the trouble of going to Silla or Pèkché.' Such were the Imperial instructions. When I heard of Ika no Omi's embassy to Silla, I sent after him to inquire the Emperor's message. He said, 'Let the Japanese Omi and the Agent of Imna proceed to Silla, and apply to Silla to receive communication of the Emperor's orders.' Nothing was said about going to Pèkché to learn his commands. Afterwards Tsumori no Muraji eventually arrived, and when passing through this place, mentioned this subject, and said, 'My present mission to Pèkché is for the purpose of getting rid of the Pèkché prefects and governors of castles resident in Lower Kara. I have only heard of this question, and know nothing of any instructions to Imna and the

Japanese authorities to meet Pèkché, in order to hear the Emperor's commands.' This is why we have not gone, and Imna is not responsible."

Hereupon the Kanki of Imna said:—"In accordance with the summons of thy messenger, it was our desire to proceed (to Pèkché). But the chief Japanese authority would not allow us to be despatched, and that was why we did not do so. As for the instructions which the Great King, prompted by his feelings, has addressed to us, with the object of establishing Imna, it is impossible for us adequately to express our joy at seeing them."

3rd month. Pèkché sent the Nasol, A-mang-teung-mun, Kama, the Nasol of Hö-syé,[1] and Kapi, the Nasol of Mononobe, to present a memorial to the Emperor, as follows:—

"The Nasol, Mi-ma-sa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and their colleagues came to thy servant's frontier state bearing an Imperial decree, which said:—'You should concert a good plan along with the Japanese authorities resident there, and speedily establish Imna. Be on your guard, and do not allow yourselves to be deceived by others.' Moreover Tsumori no Muraji and his colleagues came to thy servant's frontier state, bearing an Imperial message in which inquiry was made as to the estab-
XIX. 19. lishment of Imna. I received the Imperial command with reverence, and without presuming to delay, desired to concert measures along with them. I therefore sent messengers to summon the Japanese authorities [the Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Sent to summon Wi-ho-phi no Omi.' This is, perhaps, Iku-ba no Omi] and Imna. They all answered and said:—'The new year has come. Please let it pass, and then we will go.' A long time elapsed, and yet they did not arrive. I again sent messengers to summon them. They all answered and said:—'The festival time has come. Please let it pass, and then we will go.' A long time elapsed, and yet they did not arrive. I again sent messengers to summon them. But inasmuch as they sent mean men, it was impossible to concert plans. Now Imna's failure to come in answer to my summons was not

[1] This may be Japanese, in which case Kose is the pronunciation. Mononobe is Japanese. The frequency with which Japanese names occur in the names of Pèkché officials is significant of the influence exercised by Japan in the peninsula at this period.

their own idea, it was the work of the unprincipled sycophancy of Ahyön-Ya-na-sa and Cha-ro-ma-to [two men's names: they have already occurred above [1]]. Now Imna treats Ara as an elder brother, and simply follows its wishes, while the people of Ara regard the Japanese authority as Heaven, and are implicitly guided by its wishes. [The Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'Treats Ara as a father, and regards the Japanese authority as the origin.] Now Ikuba no Omi, Kibi no Omi, and Kahachi no Atahe are all simply at the beck and nod of Yanasa and Mato. Yanasa and Mato are only mean persons of no family, yet they exercise absolute authority over the Japanese administration. Moreover they restrain Imna and prevent it from sending envoys. For these reasons I was unable to concert measures with them and make answer to Your Majesty. I therefore detained Kwi-ma-nu-ki [probably Tsumori no Muraji] and sent another messenger, swift as a flying bird, with this report to Your Majesty. But if you allowed those two men [Yanasa and Mato] to remain in Ara, they would carry on their manifold intrigues, making it impossible for Imna to be established, and assuredly preventing the states west of the sea from doing their service. It was my humble petition that these two men might be removed and sent home, and that you should take measures for the establishment of Imna by instructions to the Japanese authorities and to Imna. Therefore thy servants sent the Nasol, Mimasa and the Nasol, Kwinyön along with XIX. 20.
Kwi-ma-nu-ki to present this memorial and to hear Your Majesty's answer. Hereupon Your Majesty gave command, saying:—'It was not by our wishes that Ikuba no Omi and the others [by the others are meant Kibi, Otokimi no Omi and Kahachi no Atahe] went to Silla. Formerly, when In-chi-mi [not clear] and the Kanki of Aro were in office, that country was harassed by Silla, and the people were unable to attend to their husbandry. Pèkché is so far distant that it was unable to help them in their need. Ikuba no Omi and the others therefore went to Silla, and just obtained leave for them to plough and sow. Is it necessary to repeat what We have already told thee, viz., that if Imna is established, Yanasa and Mato will withdraw of their own accord.'

[1] See above, p. 54. They are intended for Japanese names, but I do not recognize them.

I received Your Majesty's Commands with humility. Joy and dread mingled in my bosom. Silla, however, was deceiving the Imperial Court, and knew how to set at naught the Imperial Commands. In spring, Silla seized Chhăk-syun, and having expelled my guards of Mount Kunyé, at length kept possession of it. The part bordering on Ara was cultivated by Ara; the part bordering on Mount Kunyé was cultivated by Silla. Each cultivated for themselves, and there was no mutual encroachment. But Yanasa and Mato passed over and cultivated the territory of others. In the sixth month they ran away to Inchimi. Afterwards, when Kose no Omi came [the Pèkché 'Original Record' has, 'After I detained Inchimi, when Kose no Omi came.' All this is not clear], Silla ceased to encroach on and harass the territory of others, and there were no complaints from Ara of being unable to attend to husbandry owing to the harassments of Silla. Thy servant was formerly told that Silla, every spring and autumn, assembled troops in large
XIX. 21. numbers with the object of invading Ara and Hasan,[1] or as some say, to invade Kara. Lately I received a letter, in consequence of which I sent troops for the protection of Imna. This shows that there has been no negligence. I repeatedly despatched resolute soldiers to their help when occasion demanded, and it was owing to this that the Imna people were able to carry on their agricultural operations in due season, and that Silla did not dare to molest them. Yet it was reported to Your Majesty that Pèkché was so far distant that it was unable to help them in their need, and, therefore, Ikuba no Omi and the others went to Silla, and just obtained leave for them to plough and sow. This is deceiving the Celestial Court above, and multiplying wicked intrigues. The deception is here plain enough. There must be many other cases besides of lying in order to deceive the Celestial Court. So long as Ikuba no Omi resides in Ara I fear it will be impossible to establish the land of Imna. He ought speedily to be removed. This state of things is viewed by thy servant with profound apprehension. Cha-ro-ma-to, although the son of a Corean mother, holds the position of Ohomuraji and takes precedence among the Agents of Japan, entering the ranks of the noble and honourable. And yet he

[1] 荷山. The interlinear Kana reading is Nomure, where mure is for the Corean moi, mountain.

now wears the cap of the Silla official rank of Namanyé,[1] from which it may be readily seen that he is devoted to that country body and soul. When his conduct is maturely observed, there is no sign at all of awe or dread. Therefore I formerly reported to Your Majesty his evil deeds, setting them out fully for your information. Now he still wears a foreign dress and daily goes to the Silla borders, journeying back and forward publicly or privately without any fear whatever. The downfall of the Tök[2] country was owing to no other cause than this. Hamphi, Kanki of the Tök country, was false to the XIX 22. Land of Kara, and had a secret understanding with Silla, so that Kara fought from without. Hence its (Tök's) downfall. Now supposing that the Kanki, Hamphi had been prevented from entering into a secret understanding with Silla, the Tök country, small as it is, would certainly not have come to ruin. In regard to Chhăk-syun again, the case is the same. If the Ruler of Chhăk-syun had been prevented from holding secret understandings with Silla, and inviting aggression, would this State have come to destruction? When I consider one after another the disasters of the downfall of these various provinces, all are owing to men with secret understandings and double hearts. Now Mato and the others are on terms of great intimacy with Silla. They have at last put on their dress, and frequent Silla morning and evening, secretly preparing treason. I fear, therefore, that Imna will, on this account, come to permanent ruin. If Imna is ruined, thy servant's country stands alone and exposed to danger, and though I am desirous of continuing my allegiance, how will this be possible? It is my humble prayer that Your Majesty, in the exercise of your profound reflection and distant foresight, will promptly remove them to their former place and thus give peace to Imna."

Winter, 10th month. The Pèkché envoys, the Nasol, Teung-mun, the Nasol, Kama, and the rest took their departure.

The Pèkché "Original Record" has, "Winter, 10th month. The Nasol, Teung-mun and the Nasol, Kama returned from Japan. They said there was no Imperial

[1] Nama was a Silla official rank.

[2] The Tök country is doubtless the same as Tök-kwi-than frequently named above, e.g. XVII. 18.

reply in respect to the matter of Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato, which they had represented to the Emperor.

11th month. Pèkché sent messengers to summon the Omi of the Japanese Residency and the Agents of Imna, saying:—"The Nasol Teung-mun, Kama, the Nasol of Kose, and Kapi, the Mononobe Nasol, whom I sent on a mission to the Emperor's Court, have returned from Japan. Now let the chief Japanese authority, with the Agents of the Land of Imna, come and hear the Emperor's orders, and let us consult together respecting Imna." Accordingly, Kibi no Omi, the chief Japanese authority, the lower Kanki of Ara, the Tè-pu-son Ku-chhyu-yu-ni, the Syong-syu-wi [1] of Kara, named Ko-chyön-hyé, the Lord of Sol-ma, the Lord of Să-i-ki, the son of the Lord of San-pan-hyé, the I-syu-wi [2] of Tara, named Heul-kön-
XIX. 23. chi, the Kanki of Chă-tha, and the Kanki of Ku-chha [3] proceeded to Pèkché. Hereupon, King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché notified to them the general purport of the Emperor's decree, saying:—"I sent the Nasol, Mimasa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyön, and the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta to the Court of Japan, upon which the Emperor gave command that Imna was to be speedily established. Moreover, Tsumori no Muraji, by the Emperor's order, inquired what was to be done with Imna. I have, therefore, sent for you, and I beg of you each to give your advice as to the best further means of establishing Imna." Kibi no Omi and the Kanki [4] of Imna said:—"The establishment of the land of Imna rests simply with the Great King. It is our desire and hope, in obedience to Your Majesty,[5] to join in making a representation to the Emperor and hearing his instructions." To this King Syöng-myöng said:—"The land of Imna has, from of old time, bound itself to be to our Pèkché as a son or younger brother.[6] Now, Inchimi, of the Japanese Miyake [the name of the Japanese Omi resident in Imna], has already smitten [7] Silla, and is now preparing to

[1] This means Upper-head-rank, and is probably a Corean title.
[2] Second-head-rank, probably a title.
[3] Called Ko-chha below, year 23 of this reign.
[4] This term apparently includes all the personages above described.
[5] 王.
[6] This phrase is used loosely for "a dependant."
[7] The "Shukai" thinks we should read for "smitten," "conspired with."

send an expedition against me. This, again, is a result of his fondness for listening to Silla's empty boasts and vaunting language. Now the object of sending Inchimi[1] to Imna was never that it should be invaded and destroyed [not clear]. From old time until now Ṣiila has been without principle, eating its words and breaking its faith. In this way it has brought our faithful ally, the Land of Chhăk-syun, to ruin. I hope to have the satisfaction of making it repent it, and I have therefore sent for you. Let us all take to heart the Emperor's gracious message. It is my hope and desire that the Land of Imna may thus be set up and continued as in XIX. 24. former days, and that we may long be brethren. I have been informed that on the frontier between the two countries of Silla and Ara there is a great river,[2] which makes it easily defensible. I intend to take advantage of this to construct six fortresses along it, and humbly to petition the Emperor for 3000 troops—500 for each fortress. Adding to these my own soldiers, we shall make it impossible (for the Silla people) to cultivate the rice-fields. By harassing them in this way, it is to be hoped that the five fortresses of Mount Kunyé will fling down their arms and surrender of their own accord, while the Land of Chhăk-syun will be restored again. For the troops which I shall request of the Emperor, I will provide clothing and food. This is the first part of the plan which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Moreover, in respect to the stationing of prefects and governors of castles in South Kara, is it that I wish to oppose the Emperor, and cut off the channel of paying tribute? I only hope to render effective aid against manifold disaster, and to overthrow a powerful enemy. But who is there who does not contrive to attach himself to these bands of violent men? The Northern[3] enemy is great and strong, and my country is small and weak. If I did not station in South Kara prefects and governors of castles for its government and protection, it could not be defended against such a powerful foe, and it would

[1] Probably Isumi was his name. The interlinear Kana gives this rendering.

[2] The Naktong gang.

[3] Koryŏ is meant. The old reading for "northern" is "this," the Chinese characters for these two words strongly resembling each other.

also be impossible therewith to restrain Silla. I therefore propose to retain them in their stations for the harassment of Silla, and the preservation of Imna. If this be not done, I fear
XIX. 25. that I shall come to ruin and be unable to render allegiance to the Emperor. This is the second part of the scheme which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Moreover, the Emperor may decree the establishment of Imna, but so long as Kibi no Omi, Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa, and Mato continue to reside in Imna, he will be unable to do so. I shall therefore request that these four men be each sent back to their respective homes. This is the third part of the plan which I wish to submit to the Emperor.

Let us all together, you the Omi of the Japanese Miyake, you the Kanki of Imna, and myself, despatch envoys with a joint message to His Majesty, praying to hear his gracious instructions."

Hereupon Kibi no Omi and the Kanki said:—"The triple scheme propounded by the Great King is entirely in accordance with our humble sentiments. We pray that we may be allowed to return and respectfully advise with the Oho-omi[1] [meaning the Oho-omi of the Japanese Administration in Imna] of the Japanese Administration, the King of Ara, the King of Kara, as to their all sending envoys with a joint message to the Emperor. This is truly an occasion such as only comes once in a thousand years. Ought it not to be profoundly considered and maturely planned?"

12th month. The following report[2] was received from the province of Koshi:—"At Cape Minabe, on the northern side of
XIX. 26. the Island of Sado, there arrived men of Su-shēn[3] in a boat, and staid there. During the spring and summer they caught fish, which they used for food. The men of that island said they were not human beings. They also called them devils, and did not dare to go near them. The people of the village of Umu, on the east of the island, having gathered acorns,[4] were

[1] The Omi was therefore only a subordinate officer.

[2] Apparently made by the provincial recorders whose appointment is noted above, p. 307 of Vol. I.

[3] "An old name for the 女 愼, Tungusic ancestors of the Manchus."—Giles. The interlinear Kana has Mishi-hase or Mishi-muse or Mishimu-mase.

[4] The fruit of the shiï, or Quercus Cuspidata.

preparing to cook them for eating, and having covered them over with ashes, were roasting them, when the shells turned into two men, which hovered over the fire at a distance of more than a foot. After a time they fought together, to the great wonder of the villagers. They took them and placed them in the courtyard, when they flew as before, and went on fighting. A certain man divined from this, saying :—' We shall assuredly be enchanted by devils.' Not long after, as he had said, they were plundered by them.[1] Thereupon the men of Su-shēn removed to Segaha Bay. The God of this bay is a dreadful God, and no one dares to approach him. Half of those who drink of that water when thirsty die, and their bones are piled up on the rocky steeps. The common people call this God Mishihase[2] no Kuma."

6th year, Spring, 3rd month. Hasuhi, Kashihade no Omi, was sent on a mission to Pèkché. A.D. 545.

Summer, 5th month. Pèkché sent the Nasol, Ki-neung,[3] the Nasol, Yong-ka-ta, and the Sitök, Chhă-chyu with a memorial to the Emperor.

Autumn, 9th month. Pèkché sent Po-ché,[4] Ho-tök of the Middle Division, and others to Imna with a present of valuable products of Wu for the Omi of the Japanese Government there, and for all the Kanki, each in proportion to his rank.

This month Pèkché made an image of Buddha sixteen feet high,[5] and drew up a written prayer, saying :—" I understand that it is extremely meritorious to make a Buddha sixteen feet high. By the merit which I have now acquired in reverentially constructing one, I pray that the Emperor may obtain exceed- XIX. 27.

[1] Apparently by the Manchus.

[2] Mishihase is the Japanese rendering of Su-shēn. Kuma means bear.

[3] Perhaps identical with the Kwi-nyön mentioned above.

[4] Written with the same characters as are used for the Sanskrit Bôdhi, wisdom.

[5] The " Shukai " quotes from a Chinese author :—" Ming Ti, an Emperor of the Later Han Dynasty, saw in a dream a man of gold of great stature with a nimbus round his head. One of his Ministers explained that there was a God in the western quarter whose name was Buddha. He was sixteen feet high and of a yellow golden colour. Upon this the Emperor sent to India to make inquiries respecting the Buddhist doctrine, which resulted in paintings (of Buddha) being made in China." Numerous other cases are found of Buddhas of this height.

ing virtue, and that all the land of the Miyake[1] belonging to the Emperor may receive blessings. I also pray for the moral enfranchisement[2] of all living creatures under Heaven. Therefore I have made this image."

Winter, 11th month. Hasuhi, Kashihade no Omi, returned from Pèkché, and said:—"Thy servant, when sent on his mission, departed with all his family, and arrived at the shore [shore means the seashore] of Pèkché. The sun went down and we took lodging for the night. One of my children suddenly disappeared, and we could not tell where he had gone to. That night there was a great fall of snow, and we could not search for him until morning. Then we found the footprints of a tiger in a row one after another. Thy servant accordingly, having girded on his sword and put on his armour, went out in search. Coming to a cliff, he drew his sword, and said:—'I, having respectfully taken charge of the silken threads and
XIX. 28. cords,[3] with weary toil by land and sea, my hair combed by the wind, my bath the rain, with the grass for my mat and thorns for my carpet, came hither, all because I loved my child, and wished to make him succeed to his father's office. Thou (too), O Dread Deity! hast parental love as one feature of thy character. Now to-night my child disappeared. Following up his traces, I sought for him as far as this place, and without fear of losing my life I intend to have my revenge. For this I have come. Upon this that tiger advanced before me and opened his mouth in order to devour me. But I, Hasuhi, swiftly stretched out my left hand and seized that tiger by the tongue, while with my right I stabbed it to death. Then I stripped off its skin and returned with it.'"

This year Koryö was greatly troubled by civil disturbances, and large numbers of people suffered execution.

The "Pèkché Original Record" says:—"12th month, 20th day. The Syé faction and the Chhu faction of the Land of Koryö fought at the King's Court with beat of drum. The Syé party were beaten, but did not disband their troops. On the third day, all the Syé party's children and grandchildren were taken and put to death.

[1] i.e. the Japanese territory in Corea.

[2] Vimokcha. See Eitel's "Handbook of Buddhism," 2nd edition, p. 201.

[3] i.e. the Emperor's missive.

On the 24th, King Hyang-kang, of the land of Koma,[1] died."

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The envoys from Pèkché, Kwi-nyön, Nasol of the Middle Division, and his companions took their departure. They received a present of seventy-four good[2] horses and ten ships. A.D. 546.

Summer, 6th month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Nyang-Yöp-nyé, Nasol of the Middle Division, and others, to present tribute.

Autumn, 7th month. A report was received from the district of Imaki in the province of Yamato, saying:—"In the spring of the 5th year (of the reign), Miya [this is a personal name], Kahara Tami no Atahe, went up to an upper story to view the prospect. He saw a good horse, bred from the mares which carry the food for the Emperor's table sent by the fishermen of the Land of Kiï. When it saw a shadow it neighed loudly: it nimbly sprang over its mother's back. He approached and bought it. He kept it for several years. When it grew up, its action was like that of the startled wild goose or the soaring dragon. It differed from the flock and excelled the crowd. It was obedient to control, and its paces were in due proportion.[3] It leaped over the ravine at the Hill of Ohochi, which is eighteen rods[4] in width. Miya, Kahara Tami no Atahe, is a man of the village of Hinokuma." XIX. 29.

This year Koryö was greatly disturbed: more than 2000 people were killed in battle.

The "Pèkché Original Record" has:—"Koryö on the 3rd day of the 1st month established as king the son of the second queen. He was eight years of age. The King of Koma[5] had three wives. The true queen had no children, and the heir to the throne was the son of the second consort, whose father's family was of the Chhu faction. The junior wife had also a child. Her father's family was of the Syé faction. When the King of Koma

[1] Written 狗. Koryö is meant. A king of Koryö named Anwön died in this year, according to the "Tongkam." The interlinear Kana has "Nuta," which I can make nothing of.

[2] i.e. broken in.

[3] i.e. it had a good mouth and easy paces

[4] The rod is usually of ten feet.

[5] The Chinese character is 狗, as before. See above.

took ill, the Syé faction and the Chhu faction each tried to set up the son of the respective consorts. The result was that of the Syé faction more than two thousand men were slain."

A.D. 547. 8th year, Spring, 4th month. Pèkché sent Chin-mo-syön-mun, Tök-sol of the Former Division, the Nasol, Kama and others to ask for auxiliaries, and offered (as hostage) Wön, son of Tong-syöng, (Nasol?) of the Lower Division, exchanging him for the Tök-sol, Mun-hyu-ma-na.

A.D. 548. XIX. 30. 9th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Pèkché ambassador, Chin-mo-syön-mun, Tök-sol of the Former Division, and his colleagues, asked leave to depart. Accordingly an Imperial command was given, saying:—"In regard to the auxiliaries asked for by you, help will be assuredly sent you. Hasten to carry back this answer to your king."

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Pèkché sent the Han-sol of the Middle Division, Nyang Yöp-nyé and others with a message to the Emperor, saying:—"The Tök-sol, Syön-mun and his colleagues have arrived at thy servant's frontier state with an Imperial message, informing me that the auxiliary force which I asked for would be sent when occasion demanded. I have humbly received this gracious pronouncement, and my joy is unbounded. Now, a prisoner taken in the expedition of the Castle of Ma-chin [1st month, 3rd day. Koryö led an army and laid siege to the Castle of Ma-chin] [1] has reported thus:—'It was on the invitation and at the instigation of the Land of Ara and of the Japanese authorities (in Corea) that this expedition against Pèkché was undertaken.' Judging from the facts, this appears likely. I wished, however, to examine thoroughly this statement, and three times sent to summon them. But neither of them came, and I am therefore profoundly anxious. I humbly pray the August Emperor [the western frontier states all style the Emperor of Japan the August (lit. to be feared) Emperor] first to consider this, and for the time being to

[1] The "Tongkam" mentions an invasion of Pèkché by Koryö in this year. Koryō was driven back with great loss by the help of an auxiliary force from Silla. The last statement sounds rather strange in view of the relations of Pèkché and Silla described in the above pages.

delay the auxiliaries[1] which I asked for until thy servant sends an answer."

The Emperor's command was as follows:—"We have listened attentively to thy representation. When we consider what thou dost complain of, we, too, are vexed that the Japanese authorities and Ara should not have come to the assistance of a neighbour in his difficulty. But it is incredible that they should have gone so far as to send a secret message to Koryö. If we had ordered it so, of course they would have sent one, but in the absence of any order from us, how could they find it possible to do so? I beg that the king, loosing his collar and slackening his girdle, will possess his soul in peace and avoid profound suspicions and fears. In accordance with our former instructions, let him join forces with Imna, and let them together each defend the territory which they hold in fee against the northern enemy.[2] XIX. 31.

We are about to send a number of men to re-people the territory of Ara, left vacant by the fugitives."

6th month, 3rd day. An envoy was sent to Pèkché with an Imperial message, saying:—"What is the news since the Tök-sol, Syön-mun took his departure? We are informed that thy country has suffered from the Koma brigands. It would be well earnestly to take measures in concert with Imna, and defend yourselves as heretofore."

Intercalary 7th month. 12th day. Nyang-Yöp-nyé, the Pèkché envoy, and his colleagues took their departure.

Winter, 10th month, Three hundred and seventy men were sent to Pèkché to assist in constructing a fortress[3] at Tök-i-sin.

10th year, 6th month, 7th day. The Syang-tok, Mun-kwi and the Ko-tök, Ma-chha-mun asked permission to take their departure. Accordingly the Emperor commanded, saying:—"We are about to send to inquire into the truth of the statement that Yanasa and Mato have been privately sending emissaries to Koryö. The army asked for will be countermanded as requested." A.D. 549.

[1] If, as the "Tongkam" states, an invasion of Pèkché by Koryö had been repulsed by the help of Silla auxiliaries, there was a still better reason why Pèkché should no longer require a Japanese force for operations against Silla.

[2] Koryö.

[3] Or fortresses.

A.D. 550. 11th year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. An envoy was sent with an Imperial message to Pèkché [the "Pèkché Original Record" says:—"3rd month, 12th day. The Japanese Ambassador Apita, with three ships, arrived at the capital"], saying:—"With regard to the purport of the memorial presented by the Syang-tök, Mun-kwi and the Ko-tök, Ma-chha-mun, We have given instructions on each point, so that it is as plain as looking at something on the palm of one's hand. It is Our desire that you should take them thoroughly to heart, and we hope, moreover, that you will give them your whole attention, so that after the envoy's return all may be with you the same as usual. It is Our present wish merely to make plain Our answer, and therefore We send a messenger to you.

XIX. 32. Moreover, We are informed that you have a trusty Minister, the Nasol, Ma-mu, who serves as a channel of communication between you and your people, and who, being a man after Your Majesty's heart, acts as your assistant. If you wish that your State should be undisturbed, that it should permanently occupy the position of a Miyake, and long continue to serve the Emperor, all that is necessary is that Ma-mu be appointed your chief Envoy to Our Court."

The Emperor made a further decree, saying:—"We are informed that your enemies of the North commit outrages, and we therefore send you thirty sets[1] of arrows, which we hope will serve for the defence of one place."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Japanese representative[2] resident in Pèkché being on the point of leaving [the "Pèkché Original Record" says:—"4th month, 1st day. The Japanese Apita went away"], King Syöng-myöng, of Pèkché, addressed him, saying:—"As to the matter of Imna, it shall be vigorously defended, in accordance with the Imperial instructions; as to Yanasa and Mato, whether they are to be called to an account or not, I shall simply obey the Imperial orders." He accordingly sent a present of six Koryö slaves for the Emperor, and to his representative he gave a separate gift of one slave. [All these were slaves captured at the siege of Irim.]

16th day. Pèkché sent Phi-ku-keun, Nasol of the Middle

[1] According to the "Yengishiki" a set of arrows was sometimes ten, sometimes fifty.

[2] 王 人, i.e. royal man.

Division, and Chyak-kan-na, Si-tök of the Lower Division, with a present for the Emperor of ten Koma captives.

12th year, Spring, 3rd month. The Emperor gave the king of Pèkché a present of 1000 bushels of seed-wheat. A.D. 551.

This year, King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché, commanding an army in person, together with troops from the two countries, [by the two countries Silla and Imna are meant], invaded Koryö, and conquered the territory of Hansyöng.[1] Thence he again moved forward his army and attacked Phyöng-yang.[2] Six districts in all were eventually restored to their former territorial dependence. XIX. 33.

13th year, Summer, 4th month. The Imperial Prince, Yata no Tama-katsu no Ohoye, died. A.D. 552.

5th month, 8th day. Pèkché, Kara, and Ara sent the Tök-sol of the Middle Division, Mok-hyöp-keum-ton, and Asăpita, of the Kahachi Be,[3] to make representation to the Emperor, saying:—"Koryö and Silla, having established friendly relations and joined their powers, design to overthrow thy servants' countries, together with Imna. Therefore we humbly request an auxiliary force, so that we may first attack them unawares. The number of the troops is left to the Emperor's decision."

The Emperor commanded, saying:—"We have now heard all that the King of Pèkché, the King of Ara, the King of Kara, and the Omi of the Japanese Government[4] have conjointly by their envoys represented to Us with regard to the state of affairs. Let them continue, along with Imna, to unite their hearts and strength as heretofore, and they will be undoubtedly blessed with the protection of High Heaven, and can, moreover, place their trust in the spirits of the August Emperors."

Winter, 10th month. King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché [also called King Syöng] sent Kwi-si of the Western Division, and the Tal-sol, Nu-ri Sa-chhi-hyé, with a present to the Emperor of an image of Shaka[5] Butsu in gold and copper,[6] several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of "Sutras."

[1] The present capital, commonly called Söul. This expedition is mentioned in the "Tongkam."

[2] Phyöng-yang was the capital of Koryö.

[3] Apparently a Japanese. The Interlinear Kana has Ashihita.

[4] In Corea.

[5] Sakyamuni.

[6] Copper with a small admixture of gold.

XIX. 34. Separately he presented a memorial in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying:—"This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chow[1] and Confucius had not attained to a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit[2] and retribution[3] without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom.[4] Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it
XIX. 35. is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han,[5] where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them.

Thy servant, therefore, Myöng,[6] King of Pèkché, has humbly despatched his retainer,[7] Nu-ri Sa-chhi, to transmit it to the Imperial Country, and to diffuse it abroad throughout the home provinces, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of Buddha: 'My law shall spread to the East.'"

This day the Emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the Envoys, saying:—"Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. We are unable, however, to decide of ourselves." Accordingly he inquired of his Ministers one after another, saying:—"The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented by the Western frontier State is of a severe dignity, such as we have never at all seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?" Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"All the Western frontier lands without exception do it worship. Shall Akitsu Yamato alone refuse to do so?" Okoshi, Mononobe no Oho-

[1] See "Mayers' Handbook," p. 21. [2] Sanskrit, Punya.—Giles.

[3] Either good or bad. Here in a good sense. [4] Bôdhi.

[5] Buddhism had been introduced into Koryö A.D. 372, from the Ch'in country in Western China. It penetrated to Pèkché in 384.—"Tongkam," Vol. IV. pp. 4-7.

[6] This is the right name.

[7] The character used means the vassal of a vassal, and implies an acknowledgment of Japan's suzerainty.

muraji, and Kamako, Nakatomi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor jointly, saying:—"Those who have ruled the Empire in this our State have always made it their care to worship in Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter the 180 Gods of Heaven and Earth, and the Gods of the Land and of Grain. If just at this time we were to worship in their stead foreign Deities, it may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our National Gods."

The Emperor said:—"Let it be given to Iname no Sukune, who has shown his willingness to take it, and, as an experiment, make him to worship it." XIX. 36

The Oho-omi knelt down and received it with joy. He enthroned it in his house at Oharida, where he diligently carried out the rites of retirement from the world, and on that score purified his house at Muku-hara and made it a Temple. After this a pestilence was rife in the Land, from which the people died prematurely. As time went on it became worse and worse, and there was no remedy. Okoshi, Mononobe no Ohomuraji, and Kamako, Nakatomi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor jointly, saying:—"It was because thy servants' advice on a former day was not approved that the people are dying thus of disease. If thou dost now retrace thy steps before matters have gone too far, joy will surely be the result! It will be well promptly to fling it away, and diligently to seek happiness in the future."

The Emperor said:—"Let it be done as you advise." Accordingly officials took the image of Buddha and abandoned it to the current of the Canal of Naniha. They also set fire to the Temple, and burnt it so that nothing was left. Hereupon, there being in the Heavens neither clouds nor wind, a sudden conflagration consumed the Great Hall (of the Palace).

This year Pèkché abandoned Han-syöng and Phyöng-yang. Silla took advantage of this to make an entrance and to settle in Han-syöng. These are the present Silla towns of U-to-pang[1] and Ni-mi-pang [these names of places are unclear].

14th year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. Pèkché sent Kwa- A.D. 553. XIX. 37.

[1] 牛頭方 and 尼彌方. Uto means Ox-head, and was no doubt taken from the name of the Mountain U-to-san. A commentator says:—"Silla and Koryö together attacked Pèkché and took Han-syöng and Phyöng-yang. Han-syöng was made Utopang, and Phyöng-yang Ni-mi-pang."

ya Chhă-chyu, Tök-sol of the Higher Division, the Han-sol, Nyé-sè-ton, and others to ask for troops.

15th day. The Pèkché Envoys, Mok-hyöp-keum-ton, Tök-sol of the Middle Division, and Kahachi Be no Asăpita took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 7th day. The following report was received from the province of Kahachi :—"From within the sea at Chinu, in the district of Idzumi, there is heard a voice of Buddhist chants, which re-echoes like the sound of thunder, and a glory shines like the radiance of the sun." In his heart the Emperor wondered at this, and sent Unate[1] no Atahe [here we have only Atahe, and the personal name is not given, probably owing to the error of some copyist] to go upon the sea and investigate the matter.

This month Unate no Atahe went upon the sea, and the result was that he discovered a log of camphor-wood shining brightly as it floated on the surface. At length he took it, and presented it to the Emperor, who gave orders to an artist to make of it two images of Buddha. These are the radiant camphor-wood images now in the Temple of Yoshino.

6th month. Uchi no Omi [the personal name not given] was sent on a mission to Pèkché with a present of two good horses, two travelling barges, fifty bows, fifty sets[2] of arrows, and an Imperial message, saying :—"As to the troops asked for by the King, his wishes shall be complied with." A separate
XIX 38. Imperial order was given, saying :—"The men learned in Medicine, in Divination,[3] and in the calendar,[4] have to take it in turn to come up (to the Japanese Court) and to go down. The year and month having just now come for the above classes of men to be relieved, let them be sent with the Envoy on his return, so that they may be mutually exchanged. Let Us also be furnished with books of divination, calendars, and drugs of various kinds."

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor visited the Palace of Magari in Kusunoki.

By order of the Emperor, Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no

[1] Or Misobe. [2] See above, p. 64.
[3] By the "Yih-King," or Book of Changes.
[4] The first mention of calendars in the "Nihongi."

Sukune, charged Ô-shin-mi[1] to keep an account of the shipping-tax. He was accordingly made Chief over the ships, and the style[2] was granted him of Funa no Fumibito. He was the ancestor of the present Funa no Muraji.[3]

8th month, 7th day. Pèkché sent Kwa-ya, Nasol of the Higher Division, with a man of Silla named Mun-hyu-thè-san, Ko-tök of the Lower Division, and others, who presented a memorial to the Emperor, saying:—"Last year thy servants jointly sent Uchi no Omi, the Tök-sol Chhă-chyu, with a High Official of Imna, to report to Your Majesty on the various Miyake beyond the sea. I have humbly awaited Your Majesty's gracious commands as the herbs in spring look up for the refreshing showers. This year there is the unexpected news that Silla and Koma have made a common plan, saying:—'Pèkché and Imna resort frequently to Japan, doubtless in order to ask for troops wherewith to invade our territories. If XIX. 39. this be true, it will be the ruin of our country. We must be on the alert and watch. It may be hoped that we shall anticipate the Japanese troops and conquer Ara before they have started. We can then cut off their communications with Japan.' Such is their plan. When thy servant heard this he was profoundly alarmed, and straightway dispatched a swift messenger and a light-sailing vessel speedily with a memorial informing you of this. I would humbly implore of the Celestial bounty that there may be speedily sent to our assistance in time for the autumn season, an army in two divisions, front and rear, one after the other, wherewith to make secure the Miyake beyond the sea. If they are later than this, our efforts will be as vain as the endeavour to bite one's navel.

Thy servant will bear the expense of providing food and clothing for the troops which are sent, from the time of their arrival in his country. A similar arrangement would hold good on their arrival in Imna. But if their provisions are insufficient, thy servant will assuredly send supplies in aid and prevent there being any deficiency."

A separate memorial said:—"Ikuba no Omi, having reverently received the Imperial commands, came and com-

[1] Of Corean extraction. [2] Lit. surname.
[3] Secretary of Shipping.

forted thy servant's frontier state. Ever attentive morning and evening, he sedulously discharged his various functions. Therefore the frontier States beyond the sea all celebrated his goodness, and wished that he might live for ten thousand years to give peace to the lands beyond the sea. Unfortunately he died, to our deep regret. And now who is there to direct the affairs of Imna? I humbly beg of the Celestial bounty that some one be sent to replace him and continue his service, so that Imna may have peace.

XIX. 40. Moreover, the lands beyond the sea are very scarce of bows and horses. From old times until now, they have received them from the Emperor, and have therewith defended themselves against their powerful enemies. I humbly pray the Celestial bounty to bestow on us a large supply of bows and horses."

Winter, 10th month, 20th day. Yö-chhyang, son of the King of Pèkché [King Wi-tök, son of King Myöng], led forth all the troops of the kingdom against the land of Koryö. Having thrown up entrenchments on the Pèk-hap[1] plain, he allowed his soldiers to sleep and eat. Looking out that evening over the great and fertile plain, with its level surface extending far and wide, where few traces of man were to be seen, and not a dog was heard to bark, he all at once heard a sudden sound of fife and drum. Yö-chhyang was greatly astonished, and having beat his drums in response, kept strict watch all that night. At early dawn he got up and saw the broad plain covered everywhere with flags and banners, as a hill is covered with green foliage. When it became clear, a horseman appeared, wearing a gorget, two others carrying cymbals, and two with leopards'[2] tails stuck on them—in all five horsemen. They advanced bit alongside of bit, and inquired, saying:—"Some boys told us that in our plain strangers were staying. How could we avoid going out courteously to receive them? We now wish that you should speedily become acquainted with us, and therefore, according to etiquette, we would ask your name,
XIX. 41. age and rank." Yö-chhyang answered and said:—"My name

[1] Pèk-hap means "lily."

[2] The Interlinear Kana has naka tsu kami, i.e. the God of the middle. The wolf and tiger are also called Gods.

is the same name;[1] my rank is that of Han-sol, and my age is twenty-nine." Pèkché having in turn made inquiry, an answer was given after the same manner. Finally marks[2] were set up, and they fought together. Thereupon Pèkché, with his spear, thrust down from his horse the Koryö warrior, and having cut off his head, raised it aloft on the point of his spear, returned to camp, and showed it to the troops. The Koryö generals were very indignant, while the shouts of joy of the Pèkché men were like to rend asunder Heaven and Earth. Next some of the generals of auxiliary troops beat their drums, and engaging quickly in the fight, drove back the King of Koryö to the top of Mount Tong-syöng.

15th year, 1st month, 7th day. The Imperial Prince, Nunakura Futo-dama-shiki no Mikoto, was raised to the position of Prince Imperial. A.D. 554.

9th day. Pèkché sent Mok-hyöp Mun-chhă, Si-tök of the Middle Division, and Wal-cha Pun-ok, Si-tök of the Former Division, to Tsukushi, to communicate with Uchi no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and his colleagues. They said:—"The Tök-sol, Chhă-chyu, with the Han-sol, Sè-ton, and the rest, arrived on the 4th day of the Intercalary month of last year and stated that the Omi [i.e. Uchi no Omi] and his colleagues would come in the first month of this year. But although they said so, it is still doubtful whether you are coming or not. Moreover, what of the number of the troops? We pray that you will inform us of their number, so that we may prepare XIX. 42. cantonments in advance."

In a separate communication, they said:—"We have just heard that thou, by command of the August Emperor, hast arrived in Tsukushi in charge of the troops bestowed on us by him. Nothing could compare with our joy when we heard this. The campaign of this year is a much more dangerous one than the last; and we beg that the force granted to us may not be allowed to be later than the first month."

Hereupon Uchi no Omi answered in accordance with the commands of the Emperor:—"Accordingly there is being

[1] i.e. as your own. The Koryö and Pèkché kings were of the same family originally.

[2] Flags to indicate the field of combat—the lists.

sent an auxiliary force to the number of 1000 men, 100 horses, and 40 ships."

2nd month. Pèkché sent General Sam-kwi, Han-sol of the Lower Division, with Mononobe no O,[1] Nasol of the Senior Division, to ask for auxiliaries. They took the opportunity of offering Mak-ko, son of Tong-syöng,[2] in exchange for the Nasol Wön, son of Tong-syöng, whose turn it had previously been,[3] and Wang Yang-kwi, a man learned in the five classics, in exchange for the Ko-tök, Ma Työng-an, and the Buddhist priest Tam-hyé, and eight others in exchange for To-sim and six others.

Separately, in obedience to the Imperial commands, they brought the Si-tök, Wang To-nyang, a man learned in divination, the Ko-tök, Wang Po-son, a man learned in the calendar, the Nasol, Wang-yu-neung-tha, a physician, the Si-tök, Pön-nyang-phung, and the Ko-tök, Pyöng-yu-tha, herbalists, the Si-tök, Sam-keun, the Kyé-tök, Kwi-ma-chhă, the Kyé-tök,[4] Chin-no, and the Té-tök,[5] Chin-tha, musicians, all which persons were exchanged according to request.

3rd month, 1st day. The Pèkché envoys Mok-hyöp Mun-chhă, Si-tök of the Middle Division, and his colleagues took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 3rd day. Uchi no Omi proceeded to Pèkché in command of a naval force.

Winter, 12th month. Pèkché sent Mun-să Kan-no, Han-sol of the Lower Division, who presented a memorial, saying:—"Thy servants, Myöng, King of Pèkché, the various Omi of Wa[6] resident in Ara, and the Kanki of all the provinces of Imna, beg to report to Your Majesty the unprincipled conduct of Silla, who, having no dread of the Emperor, has formed an alliance with Koryö, and designs to destroy the Miyake North of the Sea. Thy servants having consulted together, sent Uchi no Omi and others to ask for troops

[1] O is 烏, i.e. Crow. Mononobe is Japanese. How the Coreans pronounced it is altogether uncertain.

[2] A former King of Pèkché.

[3] To serve as hostage. See above, p. 62.

[4] Tenth rank, green girdle. [5] Eleventh rank, yellow girdle.

[6] The use of Wa for Japan in this passage is curious. If it is genuine, probably the earlier use of Nippon is retrospective.

wherewith to make war on Silla. Accordingly the Emperor sent Uchi no Omi in command of a force, which arrived in the sixth month. Thy servants were profoundly rejoiced, and on the ninth day of the twelfth month sent an expedition to attack Silla. Before this thy servant had sent Mononobe no Mak-ka-mu no Muraji,[1] Governor of the Eastern Quarter, in command of the troops of that Quarter, to lay siege to the castle of Ham-san. The people brought over by Uchi no Omi, along with Mak-ka Wi-sa-kwi, Tsukushi no Mononobe, who were skilled in shooting fire-arrows, under the protection of the August spirits of the Emperors, set fire to the castle and took it at sunset on the ninth day of the month. Therefore I have sent a special envoy in a swift ship to make this report to Your Majesty."[2] XIX. 43.

In a separate address he said:—"If it were Silla alone, the troops under the command of Uchi no Omi would be sufficient. But now Koma and Silla have joined their hearts and united their strength, so that success will be difficult. I humbly pray that all the troops of the Island of Tsukushi may be at once sent to the assistance of thy servant's country, and also to the assistance of Imna. In that case we shall be successful."

He further represented as follows:—"Thy servant despatched a separate force of 10,000 men to the assistance of Imna, and at the same time sent information of this to Your Majesty. Now matters are in a critical condition, and I report them by a fast-sailing[3] vessel. I beg moreover to present to Your Majesty two rolls of brocade of superior quality, one of woollen carpet, 300 axes, with two men and five women belonging to the captured castle,[4] of such trifling value that I fear to look back on them."[5]

When Yō-chhyang was considering his plan of campaign against Silla, an old man[6] remonstrated with him, saying:—"Heaven does not yet grant it. Disaster is to be feared."

[1] A curious mixture of Japanese and Corean in this name. In the rest of these messages it seems to be the King alone who is speaking.

[2] The "Tongkam" says:—"Silla and Koryō having formed an alliance, the King of Pèkché was angry, and in person led a force of infantry and cavalry with which he laid siege to the Castle of Kosan-san."

[3] I take 草, grass, to be a mistake for 早, fast. [4] See above, p. 64

[5] The "Tsū-shō" commentator suspects a lacuna here. [6] Or plural.

Yö-chhyang said:—"Old man! why be so timid? I serve a
XIX. 44. great country. How can there be any cause for apprehension?"
So he eventually invaded the Land of Silla, and built the fortress of Kuta-mura.[1] His father, King Myöng, was distressed that Yö-chhyang should have so long to bear the sufferings of the campaign, deprived for lengthened intervals of sleep and food, his own parental affection feeling many a want, while his son's filial care was reduced to scanty limits. Accordingly he went out to join him and comfort him in his toil. Silla, hearing that King Myöng was coming in person, set on foot the whole armed force of the kingdom, intercepted him by the way, and crushed him. At this time Silla said to Koto [also called Kokchi] a groom-slave of Sachi-mura:[2]—"Thou Koto art a vile slave: King Myöng is a famous Prince. If now the mean slave were made to slay the famous Prince, he might hope to transmit his name to posterity, and not be forgotten in the mouths of men."

27th day. Koto accordingly took King Myöng, and with repeated obeisances, said to him:—"I beg leave to cut off Your Majesty's head." King Myöng answered and said:—"A king's head should not pass into the hands of a slave." Koto said:—"By our country's law, those who break their oaths, even were they called kings, must fall into the hands of slaves."

One book has:—"King Myöng sat down on a chair, and having taken off the sword which hung at his girdle, gave it to Kokchi to slay him therewith."

King Myöng looked up to Heaven, sighed deeply, and with tears gave his consent, saying:—"Whatever way I turn my thoughts, pain always enters my marrow. Nor on reflection is there any means by which there is a possibility of my life being saved." So he held forward his head, and submitted to have it cut off. Koto cut off his head and so killed him. He then dug a grave and buried him.

XIX. 45. One book says:—"Silla buried King Myöng's skull, but the other bones were sent with due ceremony to Pèkché.

[1] Apparently a Japanese name.

[2] A Japanese name. For mura the Interlinear Kana has Sukiri or Sukuri, apparently a rendering of a Corean word meaning village-master. But this would require the addition of 主, master. Perhaps this character has been accidentally omitted.

Now the King of Silla buried King Myöng's bones[1] at the bottom of the stairs of the Northern Hall of his Palace, and gave this Hall the name of To-tang."[2]

Yö-chhyang, finding at last that he was surrounded, attempted to make his way through, but could not. His troops were taken with consternation, and knew not what to do. Now there was a skilful archer, a Miyakko of the Land of Tsukushi. He advanced, bent his bow, and taking aim, shot down one of the bravest of the Silla horsemen. The penetration of the arrow which he shot was such that it went through the bow of the saddle on which he rode, both before and behind, and reached the joining of the armour[3] he had on. Then he went on shooting arrows one after another like rain, more and more fiercely, without any remission, and shot to the ground the troops by whom they were surrounded. By this means Yö-chhyang and his generals were enabled to escape back by a by-road. Yö-chhyang complimented the Kuni no XIX. 46
Miyakko on having shot down the troops who had encompassed them, and conferred on him the honorary name of Kurani no Kimi.[4]

Upon this the Silla generals, satisfied that Pèkché was completely worn out, wished at length to take measures for the destruction of the remainder. But there was one general who said:—"This would be a mistake. The Emperor of Japan has frequently attacked our country on account of Imna: much more should we certainly invite upon ourselves future mischief if we should proceed to take steps for the destruction of the Miyake of Pèkché." This project was therefore dropped.

16th year, Spring, 2nd month. Yö-chhyang, son of the King A.D. 555.
of Pèkché, sent Prince Hyé [Prince Hyé was the younger brother of Wi-tök][5] with a message to the Emperor, saying:—"King Syöng-myöng has been slain by brigands" [slain by

[1] The skull is no doubt meant.

[2] Tang means hall. To is apparently in allusion to Koto, the King's executioner. The "Tongkam" has also an account of these events. But it makes the King of Pèkché to have been killed in battle.

[3] The Interlinear Kana has kabuto, helmet, which is manifestly absurd.

[4] The Knight of the Saddle-bow.

[5] Wi-tök is the historical name of Yö-chhyang. He was succeeded by his second son, Hyé-chang, who is probably the Prince here referred to.

Silla in the 15th year of the reign, and therefore this report to the Emperor]. When the Emperor heard this he was indignant, and sent an envoy to meet him at the port with a message of condolence. Hereupon Kose no Omi inquired of Prince Hyé:—"Dost thou wish to remain here or to proceed to thine own country?" Hyé answered and said:—"Trusting in the influence of the Emperor, it is my hope to revenge myself on the enemies of the King my father. I pray him to bestow his compassion on me and grant me a numerous armed force so that I may wipe out my disgrace, and repay my enemies. Whether I go or whether I remain, how should I dare to do otherwise than simply obey his commands?" Presently Soga no Omi condoled with him, saying:—"King Syöng had a wonderful mastery of the Law of Heaven, and the principles of Earth:[1] his fame was spread abroad through the four quarters
XIX. 47. and the eight points of the compass. We hoped that he would long maintain peace, and rule over the frontier States west of the sea, and that for a thousand, nay for ten thousand years he would render allegiance to our Emperor. But to our surprise, in a morning, he passed upwards and was lost in the infinite. Like flowing water, he returns not again, but remains at rest in the dark dwelling. Oh! what a cruel grief, what a heartrending sorrow! Who is there possessed of feeling who does not lament his death? For what special fault, moreover, has this calamity come? But now what art shall be used to give tranquillity to your country?"

Hyé answered and said:—"Thy servant is by nature foolish, and knows not great counsels, much less the causes of good or ill fortune, or of the ruin or preservation of a State."

The Minister Soga said:—"Formerly, in the reign of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse,[2] thy country was hard pressed by Koryö, and was in an extremely critical position, like that of a pile of eggs. Thereupon the Emperor commanded the minister of the Shintō religion reverently to take counsel of the Gods. Accordingly the priests,[3] by divine inspiration, answered and said:—'If after humble prayer to the Deity, the founder of the

[1] By the former astronomy is meant; under the latter is included geomancy and physical geography.

[2] Yūriaku Tennō. See Vol. I. p. 353.

[3] Hafuri.

Land,[1] thou goest to the assistance of the Ruler who is threatened with destruction, there will surely be tranquillity to the State and peace to the people.' Prayer was therefore offered to the God, aid was rendered, and the peace of the country was consequently assured. Now the God who originally founded this country is the God who descended from Heaven and established this State in the period when Heaven and Earth became separated, and when trees and herbs had speech.[2] I have recently been informed that your country has XIX. 48.
ceased to worship him.[3] But if you now repent your former errors, if you build a shrine to the God and perform sacrifice in honour of his divine spirit, your country will prosper. Thou must not forget this."

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Iname no Sukune Soga no Oho-omi and Hodzumi no Ihayumi no Omi were despatched to the five districts of Kibi to establish the Miyake of Shirawi.

8th month. Yö-chhyang of Pèkché addressed his Ministers, saying:—"I[4] now desire, for the sake of the King, my deceased father, to leave the world and practise religion." The Ministers and the people answered and said:—"We have now received the instructions intimating to us Your Majesty's wish to be allowed to retire from the world and to practise religion. Ah! whose fault was it that firm plans were not made in the first place, of which neglect so great evils have been the consequence? From the foundation of this kingdom until the

[1] Oho-na-mochi no Kami. [2] See Vol. I. p. 64.

[3] The "Tsū-shō" commentator here quotes the following curious statement from a work called the "Sei-to-ki":—"In the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (782—806) we and Corea had writings of the same kind. The Emperor, disliking this, burnt them and said:—'These speak of the God who founded the country, and do not mention the Gods our ancestors.'" But possibly this only refers to the legend of 檀君, Tan-kun, which the "Tongkam" gives as follows:—"In the Eastern region (i.e. Corea) there was at first no chief. Then there was a divine man who descended under a sandal tree. The people of the Land established him as their Lord. He was called Tan-kun (Sandal-lord), while the country received the name of Chosön (morning freshness). This was in the reign of (the Chinese Emperor) T'ang-Yao (B.C. 2357—2258), the year Mon-shên. The capital was at first Phyöng-yang; it was afterwards removed to Pèk-ak (the white hill). In the 8th year (B.C. 1317) of the reign of Wu Ting, of the Shang Dynasty, he entered Mount Asătal (Asita?) and became a God."

[4] Lit. "the small child."

present year Koryö and Silla have vied with each other in their efforts to destroy it. To what country, therefore, could our national line of sovereigns now be entrusted? In principle Your Majesty's instructions ought unquestionably to be complied with. For if the words of the old man had been attended to, how should we have arrived at our present condition? We beseech Your Majesty, therefore, to repent your former errors. But do not take the trouble to retire from the world. If you wish to fulfil your vow, let a number of the people of the Land be made to enter religion." Yö-chhyang answered and said:—"Be it so." Accordingly he applied to his Ministers for advice. They at length consulted together upon the matter, and caused one hundred persons to enter religion. They also made a large number of banners and umbrellas and meritorious things of all kinds, etc., etc.

A.D. 556. 17th year, Spring, 1st month. Prince Hyé of Pèkché asked leave to return home. He was accordingly presented with a very large supply of weapons and good horses. Moreover, gifts were liberally bestowed (on his followers), so that they uttered respectful exclamations (of gratitude).

Hereupon Abe no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and Harima no Atahe were sent in command of a naval force of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. The Lord of Hi[1] in Tsukushi was sent separately [the Pèkché "Original Record" says:—"Son of the Lord of Tsukushi and younger brother of
XIX. 49. the Middle Lord of Hi"] in command of 1000 valiant soldiers to escort him to Mite [name of a port], and he was accordingly made to guard the strong positions on the way to the port.

Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune[2] and others were sent to the district of Kojima in Hither Kibi[3] to establish a Miyake, of which Midzuko, Katsuraki no Yamada no Atahe, was made Tadzukahi.[4]

Winter, 10th month. Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune and others were sent to the district of Takechi in Yamato to

[1] Another reading is Tsukushi no Oho-Kimi, i.e. the Great Lord of Tsukushi.

[2] Only one person.

[3] This rendering follows the "Original Commentary."

[4] The Chinese characters mean "rural or rice-field governor."

establish the Miyake of Ohomusa of Coreans [by Coreans is meant Pèkché people] and the Miyake of Womusa[1] of Koryö men. The Miyake of Ama in the Land of Ki was established in the Land of Ki. [One writing says:—"The Coreans of various places were made serfs of the Miyake of Ohomusa and the Koryö men were made serfs of the Miyake of Womusa. It was in consequence of the appointment of the Coreans and Koryö men as serfs that these places were styled Miyake."[2]]

18th year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Prince Yö-chhyang of Pèkché succeeded to the throne. He was styled King Wi-tök. A.D. 557.

21st year, Autumn, 9th month. Silla sent the Namal[3] Michi Kwichi with an offering of tribute. His entertainment was unusually liberal. The Namal was rejoiced thereat, and so took his departure. It was said:—"In the case of tribute Envoys the State is all-important and private considerations are despised. On an ambassador depend the lives of the people, and it is a governmental abuse when a mean person is selected for this position. Such a course is quite unjustifiable. It is desired that sons of good families should be selected as ambassadors, and not persons of mean extraction."[4] A.D. 560. XIX. 50.

22nd year. Silla sent the Keup-pöl-kan,[5] Ku-nyé-cheul, with an offering of tribute. He was entertained by the official charged with the reception of strangers on a lower scale of ceremony than usual. The Keup-pöl-kan was enraged, and took his departure. A.D. 561.

This year the Tè-sa,[6] Notyö, was sent again to present the former tribute at Oho-kuni in Naniha. In arranging the precedence of the various frontier States, the entertainers, Nukadabe no Muraji and Katsuraki no Atahe, made him take rank below Pèkché and introduced him in this order. The

[1] Ohomusa and Womusa are respectively Great Musa and Little Musa.

[2] It would appear from this that it was essential to a Miyake to have a number of serfs attached to it. Possibly 韓人 in this passage should be rendered Kara men instead of Coreans.

[3] The "Tongkam" has 奈麻, i.e. Nama, 11th official rank. The Shoku "Nihongi" has also Nama, which is doubtless correct.

[4] This is apparently a remonstrance addressed to Silla for sending as ambassador a man of the eleventh rank.

[5] Seventeenth rank.

[6] Twelfth rank.

Tè-sa was angry. He went away and refused to enter the
XIX. 51. official residence. He went on board ship and returned to Anato.[1] At this time the official building at Anato was being repaired. The Tè-sa inquired :—" For what guest is this construction ? " The chief builder, Oshikatsu, Kahachi no Mumakahi no Obito, mockingly said :—" It is for the lodging of the ambassador who is being sent to call the Western Land to an account for its rude conduct." The Tè-sa, on returning to his country, reported this speech, and therefore Silla built a fortress on Mount Araphasă as a defence against Japan.

A.D. 562. 23rd year, Spring, 1st month. Silla destroyed the Miyake of Imna.

One writing says :—" 21st year. Imna was destroyed. The general term Imna includes the provinces called separately Kara, Ara, Săiki, Tara, Cholma, Kochhi, Chătha, Sanpanha, Kwison, and Imnyé, in all ten provinces." [2]

Summer, 6th month. An edict was issued, as follows :—

[1] Now Shimonoseki.

[2] The "Tongkam" (Vol. V. p. 21) gives the following account of the downfall of Imna :—

" Autumn, 9th month. (The year is the same, but the month given does not agree with the 'Nihongi' account.)

Silla destroyed Great Kaya. Kaya was refractory, and the King commanded the I-son I-să-pu to attack it. Să-ta-sya was associated with him in the command. Să-ta-sya was a descendant in the 7th generation of King Nè-mil (or Nè-mul). He was sixteen years of age, and was accounted a national hero. More than 1000 men of his followers came and begged that he might join in the campaign, but the King would not allow it on account of his youth. On their persisting in their request, however, he gave his permission. Să-ta-sya went to Great Kaya in command of 5000 horsemen, and was the first to enter the Sandalwood gate, where he set up a white flag. Those in the castle were struck with consternation, and I-să-pu, approaching with his troops, at length destroyed that country, the territory being constituted the district of Great Kaya. When the army returned and the merits were weighed, Sya was reckoned first, and the King rewarded him with good rice-land and 300 of the captives. These he steadfastly refused. The King, however, insisted, and he then accepted, but distributed the land among his troops, reserving only the barren tract of Chhyuk-syön. He released the captives and converted them every one into good subjects (i.e. free men). The nation admired this conduct. He died at the age of seventeen." It will be observed that there is not a word here about Japan.

"The Silla people, a tribe of wretches in the West, have, in defiance of Heaven and devoid of right feeling, disregarded the favour We have shown them. They have broken Our Miyake, poisoned Our black-haired people, and massacred the population of Our districts. When Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto,[1] a wonderful sage of clear intelligence, made a tour throughout the Empire, showing her anxiety on behalf of all the people and nourishing her myriad subjects, she pitied the condition of Silla, which was then reduced to an extremity, and XIX. 52. spared the head of its king, which was about to fall. She granted to Silla strong positions, and bestowed on it honours it was not entitled to. In what respect did Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto, show a want of consideration for Silla, or Our people an unfriendly feeling towards that country? Yet Silla with long spears and strong bows has oppressed Imna. With serrated tusks and hooked talons they have committed ravage amongst the living souls, rending their livers and hacking off their feet with insatiable delight, scorching their bones in the sun, and burning their dead bodies without saying to themselves that it was cruel. From the Noble House down to the people of Imna, using all their knives and expending their last chopping-block, they have butchered and made mince-meat of them. Within the shores of the land, who is now left to be called a servant of the King?[2] Who is there that eats grain, the food of man, or drinks water, his beverage, who can bear to hear these things without being grieved in his heart? Much more the heir to the Throne and the Oho-omi! For the former, bound as he is by hereditary friendship, it is an occasion to weep tears of blood and cherish feelings of revenge. In the case of the latter, there is towards officials charged with the frontier screen the gratitude due to those who rub themselves smooth[3] from crown to heel (in their country's service). Heirs in their generation to the virtues of previous governments, and themselves destined to hold high dignity in a later

[1] Jingō Kōgu. [2] See Legge's "Sheking," p. 360.

[3] An allusion to Mencius's saying, "The philosopher Mih loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the Empire, he would have done it."—Legge's "Mencius," p. 340. This, again, refers to the great Yu, who wrought and waded till he had worn away all the hair on his legs.

reign, if they cannot, by making drip their gall and drawing out their bowels,[1] join with Us in slaying the traitors, thus wiping off this bitter outrage against Heaven and Earth, and doing vengeance on the enemies of a Lord and father, even in my grave I shall be indignant that the right rule of conduct of vassal and child has not been realized."[2]

XIX. 53. In this month, a certain person slandered Uta-yori, Mumakahi no Omi, saying:—"Uta-yori's wife met me at Sanuki.[3] Her saddle-pad was different from ordinary ones. When I examined it closely, I saw that it was the Empress's saddle." He was accordingly handed over to the judicial authority, who put him to the most severe examination. Uta-yori, Mumakahi no Omi, accordingly declared upon oath, saying:—"This is false, and not true. If this is true, let calamity from Heaven surely befall me." At last he fell prostrate on the ground under the torture, and died. No long time after his death, there were sudden misfortunes in the Palace. The judicial officer then arrested his sons, Morishi and Nasehi [Morishi and Nasehi are personal names], and when about to cast them into the fire [Casting into the fire was no doubt the ancient mode of punishment], uttered a charm, saying:—"Not by my hand are they cast." Having uttered this charm, he was about to fling them into the fire, when Morishi's mother made a prayer, saying:—"If my child is flung into the fire, a great calamity will indeed follow.
XIX. 54. I beseech thee, let him be given over to the Hafuri, to be a slave in the service of the Gods." In accordance, therefore,

[1] i.e. by the exercise of the most devoted loyalty.

[2] European scholars will readily endorse the opinion of Motoöri, that such Imperial edicts as the above are inventions of the writers of the "Nihongi," or perhaps of some predecessor. They are not State papers, but rhetorical exercises, and smell unmistakably of the lamp. The "Shoku-nihongi," which continues the history of Japan from the point where the "Nihongi" leaves off, contains a number of genuine edicts of the ancient Emperors. These are very different documents, written, of course, with Chinese characters, but, like the "Norito" and much of the "Kojiki," in such a way as to suggest the Japanese words in the writer's mind, and without any endeavour to make a display of Chinese learning or elegance of style.

Motoöri has collected these edicts and published them with a commentary under the title 歴朝詔訶解.

The present edict is composed almost entirely of phrases taken from Chinese books.

Not the province of that name, but a place in Yamato.

with his mother's supplication, he was permitted to be confiscated to the service of the Gods.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Silla sent envoys to offer tribute. These envoys knew of the destruction of Imna by Silla, but, ashamed of the offence against national gratitude, they did not dare to ask leave to depart. Eventually they remained, and did not return to their own land, but were made to take rank as subjects of the State. They were the ancestors of the Silla men of the village of Uno in the district of Sarara in the province of Kahachi.

In this month, the General-in-Chief, Ki no Womaro no Sukune, was sent forth in command of an army by way of Tari, and the Associate General, Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, by way of Mount Kö-cheung, to demand of Silla its reasons for attacking Imna. At length they arrived at Imna. Toni, Komo-tsume Be no Obito, was sent to Pèkché to concert a plan of military operations. Toni accordingly lodged in his wife's house, and lost a letter and a bow and arrows by the way. Silla thus gained a thorough knowledge of the military plans, and having promptly raised a large army, brought on itself overthrow, and rendered submission and allegiance. Ki no Womaro no Sukune, having gained the victory, marched his army into the Pèkché camp, where he addressed an order to the troops, saying :—" It is the excellent advice of antiquity that in victory one should not forget defeat: that in safety it is necessary to bethink oneself of danger. On the frontier which we now hold, wolves meet in mutual intercourse. Such being the case, ought we to be heedless and not to think of disaster? Even in times of peace, the sword should not be laid aside. For a wise man's warlike preparation ought not to be relaxed. I pray you, XIX. 55.
be very watchful, and zealously observe this command." [1] The soldiery all entrusted their hearts to him, and applied themselves to their duties. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, advanced alone, and in successive engagements captured all that opposed him. The Silla men again raised the white flag, flung down their arms, and bowed their heads in submission. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, never having had any skill in military matters, raised the white flag in reply, as a simple intimation to advance alone. The

[1] Most of this speech is copied from a passage in a Chinese author.

Silla commander said :—" General Kahabe no Omi now wishes to surrender," and advancing his troops, made an onset. With all their pointed weapons they hastened to the attack, and routed the vanguard. The wounded were very numerous. Tahiko, Yamato no Kuni no Miyakko, conscious that help was impossible, abandoned his troops and took to flight. The Silla commander, his hooked spear in hand, pursued as far as the castle-moat, and flourishing his spear, struck at him. But Tahiko, inasmuch as he was mounted on a swift horse, leaped across the castle-moat, and narrowly escaped with his life. The Silla commander stood on the edge of the moat, and exclaimed, saying :—" Kusunichări "[1] [a Silla word of uncertain meaning]. Hereupon Kahabe no Omi at length withdrew his forces, and retreating, hurriedly encamped on the plain. Upon this his troops all held him in contempt, and there was none to yield him obedience. The commander advanced in person within the camp, and took them all prisoners, viz. Nihe, Kahabe no Omi, and his men, as well as his
XIX. 56. wife, who accompanied him. At this time, between father and child, husband and wife, there was no mutual commiseration. The commander inquired of Kahabe no Omi, saying :— " Which is more dear to thee—thine own life, or that of thy wife ? " He answered and said :—" Why, for the love of one woman, should I accept disaster ? There is nothing dearer than life," and eventually granted her to be his concubine. The commander at length ravished her in a public place. She afterwards returned, and Kahabe no Omi wished to approach her and talk to her. But she was deeply mortified, and refused to consort with him, saying :—" Thou, my former lord, having for no good reason sold thy handmaiden's person, with what countenance could I now live with thee ? " And she persisted in her refusal to speak to him. This lady was the daughter of Sakamoto no Omi, and her name was Mumashi hime. Ikina, Mitsugi no Kishi, who was captured at the same time, being a man of mettle, utterly refused to submit. The Silla commander drew his sword, and making as if to kill him, compelled him with threats to take off his trousers, and then told him to present his hinder part towards Japan, and call out

[1] I cannot identify this with any modern Corean words.

with a loud voice, "Let the Japanese generals bite[1] — ——!" But he cried out, saying:—"Let the King of Silla bite — ——!" No matter how much they tortured him, he went on shouting as before, and he was accordingly put to death. Moreover his son Wojiko embraced his father, and so died. So hard it always was to shake Ikina's determination to stick to his own language. Accordingly, he alone was lamented by all the generals. Moreover, his wife Ohobako[2] was taken captive at the same time. In her grief she made a song, saying[3]:—

Standing by the fortress
Of the Land of Kara,
Ohobako XIX. 57.
Waves her head-scarf,
Turning towards Yamato.

Someone composed a song in response, saying:—

Standing by the fortress
Of the Land of Kara,
Ohobako
Is seen to wave her head-scarf,
Turning towards Naniha.

---

[1] We should expect to find here the word "kiss" instead of "bite." But the fact is that neither the Chinese nor the Japanese have the thing or the word, at least quite in our sense. Kissing, or what we may call so, is in these countries not considered a proper subject of conversation, and does not figure in their literatures. The nearest Japanese equivalent is kuchi suu, i.e. "mouth-sucking." The only instance I can recollect of the use of this phrase is in a letter from Hideyoshi to his son Hideyori, then five years of age. He promises that he will soon come to see him and give him a kiss (kuchi-sui-mōsu-beku sōrō), expressing at the same time a playful jealousy of his allowing other people to kiss him. The Japanese editor of this letter finds it necessary to explain that kissing, or rather mouth-sucking, is a sign of affection.

Dr. Schlegel, of the University of Leiden, informs me that "a Chinese boy never kisses his mother—they rub their respective noses over the cheeks. Kissing the hand is totally unknown in China."

The use of the word bite for kiss by the Chinese suggests that the kiss may be a modification of a playful bite, just as the smile may have had its origin in a sportive showing of the canine teeth. See Darwin's "Expression of the Emotions," p. 255.

[2] The name of a plant.

[3] Another rendering is: "In grief for her, they (i.e. the generals) made a song, saying:—"

8th month. The Emperor sent Sadehiko, Ohotomo no Muraji as general-in-chief in command of an army of several tens of thousands of men to attack Koryö. Accordingly Sadehiko, acting on plans laid by Pèkché, routed Koryö. Their King climbed over a wall, and so made his escape. Sadehiko at length followed up his victory, and entered the palace, where he took possession of and brought away with him all the valuables, presents, curtains of seven-fold woof, and an iron house.[1]

An old book says :—" The iron house was on the top of the western storied building of Koryö : the woven curtains were hung in the private chamber of the Koryö King.

The curtains of seven-fold woof were offered as a present to the Emperor ; while to the Oho-omi, Soga, Iname no Sukune, there were sent two suits of armour, two swords mounted in gold, three copper bells with chasings, two flags variously coloured, a beautiful woman called Hime[2] [Hime is a name], and also her attendant, Atako. Hereupon the Oho-omi at length took to him these two women and made them his wives, lodging them in the palace of Karu no Magari.

The iron house is in the Temple of Chōanji, but we do not know in what province this temple is. One book says :—" 11th year.[3] Ohotomo no Sadehiko, along with the Land of Pèkché, repulsed Yang-hyang, King of
XIX. 58. Koryö, at the capital city of Pi-chin-nyu."

Winter, 11th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer presents and at the same time to bring tribute. The Envoys found out all about the Government being indignant against Silla on account of the destruction of Imna, and did not dare to ask leave to depart, fearing lest they might be executed.[4] They did not return to their own country, and were made to rank as (Japanese) subjects. These men were the ancestors of the present Silla men of Hani-iho in the district of Mishima in the province of Settsu.

[1] Probably a shrine in the shape of a small pagoda, used as a receptacle for relics, says the " Shūkai " editor.

[2] Or Yome.

[3] No doubt an error for 21st year. The " Tongkam " does not mention this war.

[4] See above, XIX. 54.

26th year, Summer, 5th month. Some Koryö men, Tu-mu-ri-ya-phyé and others, emigrated to Tsukushi. They were settled in the province of Yamashiro, and were the ancestors of the present Koryö men of Une-hara, Nara, and Yamamura. A.D. 565.

28th year. There were floods in the districts and provinces, with famine. In some cases men ate each other. Mutual assistance was rendered by transporting grain from the neighbouring districts. A.D. 567.

30th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. An edict was issued as follows:—"The institution of serfs[1] is a custom of old standing. But for more than ten years past, there have been many whose names have been omitted from the lists, and who have avoided their tasks. Let Itsu [Itsu was nephew of Ō Chin-ni[2]] be sent to revise the lists of the serfs of Shirawi." A.D. 569.

Summer, 4th month. Itsu revised the serfs of Shirawi, and in accordance with the edict, settled the lists, so that land-families[3] were formed. The Emperor, by way of compliment to Itsu on his success in settling the lists, gave him the title of Shirawi no Obito, and moreover appointed him Tadzukahi under Midzuko [Midzuko is mentioned above].[4]

31st year, Spring, 3rd month, 1st day. Iname no Sukune, Soga no Oho-omi, died. A.D. 570.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Shibagaki in Hatsuse. XIX. 59.

Moshiro, Yenuno no Omi, a man of Koshi, came to the capital and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Envoys from Koryö, suffering by reason of the winds and waves, lost their way, and missing their harbour, drifted at the mercy of the current, until they suddenly reached the shore. This was concealed by the ruler of the district. Therefore I make it known to Your Majesty."

The Emperor made an order, saying:—"This is the first time since our taking over the Imperial functions, now many years ago, that men of Koryö, losing their way, have reached the coast of Koshi. Though suffering from being cast away and submerged, yet their lives have been preserved. Is not this an

[1] Lit. Rice-field Be.

[2] Apparently a Corean or Chinese name.

[3] 田戸 or field-house, i.e. families or groups of cultivators.

[4] XIX. 49.

instance of the wide extension of wise counsels, of perfect virtue majestically displayed, of benign influences universally pervasive, of vast blessings far diffused? Let the proper functionaries erect a hall in the district of Sagaraka in the province of Yamashiro, let them cleanse it and render cordial entertainment and help."

In this month the Imperial carriage arrived back from the Palace of Shibagaki in Hatsuse, and Arako, Atahe of the House of Eastern Aya,[1] and Naniha, Katsuraki no Atahe, were sent to meet and bring in the Koryö Envoys.

5th month. Katabeko, Kashihade no Omi, was sent to Koshi to entertain the Koryö Envoys. The Chief Envoy, knowing perfectly well that Kashihade no Omi had been sent by the Emperor, addressed Michi no Ushi, the ruler of the district of Koshi, saying:—"After all, as I suspected, thou art not the Emperor. Thou hast prostrated thyself in doing obeisance to Kashihade no Omi, which is abundant evidence that thou art a subject. And yet before, deceiving me, thou didst take the tribute and appropriate it. Let it be promptly
XIX. 60. given back, and waste no words in palliation of thy conduct." Kashihade no Omi, learning this, sent men to require from him the tribute, which was all given up, and on returning to the capital reported on his mission.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Koryö envoys arrived at Afumi.

This month Saru, Kose no Omi, and Kishi no Akabato were despatched from the Port of Naniha, towing a barge (up the river) to Mount Sasanami, where they decorated a boat and went to meet them at Mount Kita[2] in Afumi. Finally they brought them into the official residence at Komahi in Yamashiro. Accordingly Komaro, Yamato no Aya no Saka no Uhe no Atahe, and Ohoshi, Nishikori no Obito, were sent to escort them. The Koryö envoys were again entertained in the official residence of Sagaraka.

A.D. 571. 32nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. Sakata, Mimiko no Iratsumi was sent on a mission to Silla to demand an explanation of the reasons for the destruction of Imna.

In this month Koryö sent presents and likewise a memorial,

[1] Or Yamato no Aya. [2] Northern mountain.

but several tens of days elapsed without their having an opportunity of presenting it. They were compelled to await a lucky day.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Emperor took to his bed, sick and ill at ease. The Prince Imperial had gone away, and was not present, but was summoned by a messenger on a swift horse, and introduced into the bed-chamber. The Emperor took him by the hand, and gave command to him, saying :—" Our illness is very grave. That which comes after devolves on thee. Thou must make war on Silla, and establish Imna as a feudal dependency, renewing a relationship like that of a husband and wife just at it was in former days. If this be done, in my grave I shall rest contented."

On this day the Emperor at length died in the inner chamber. XIX. 61.
His years were many.[1]

5th month. He was temporarily interred at Furuichi in Kahachi.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Silla sent as Envoys of condolence Mi-cheul-chă-sil-syo and others to make lament at the place of temporary interment.

This month Mi-cheul-chă-sil-syo and the rest took their departure.

9th month. The Emperor was buried in the Misasagi of Sakahi at Hinokuma.

[1] Some say 62, others 63 or 81.

BOOK XX.

THE EMPEROR NUNAKURA FUTO-TAMA-SHIKI.[1]

(*BI-DATSU*[2] *TENNŌ*

OR

BIN-DATSU TENNŌ.)

THE Emperor Nunakura Futo-tama-shiki was the second child of the Emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niha. His mother was called the Empress Consort Iha no hime [the Empress Consort Iha no hime was a daughter of the Emperor Take-o-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate]. The Emperor was not a believer in Buddhism, but was fond of literature.[3] At the age of twenty-nine he was raised to the position of Prince Imperial. In the fourth month of the thirty-second year of his reign the Emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niha died.

A.D. 572 1st year, Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. The Empress was honoured with the title of Grand Empress.

In this month the Emperor made his palace at Oho-wi in Kudara.[4] Mononobe no Yuge no Moriya no Ohomuraji was continued in his office of Ohomuraji, and Soga no Mumako no Sukune was made Oho-omi.

5th month, 1st day. The Emperor inquired of the Imperial Prince and the Oho-omi, saying:—"Where are the Koryö Envoys now?" The Oho-omi answered His Majesty, saying:—"They are in the official residence of Sagaraka."

[1] Nunakura is the name of a place; the rest is literally big-jewel-spread.

[2] Clever. [3] i.e. Chinese.

[4] Written with the Chinese characters for Pékchè, viz. 百濟. It is here the name of a place in Kahachi.

The Emperor hearing this was exceedingly vexed, and flushing up, exclaimed, saying:—"How sorry I am! The names of these Envoys were already announced to the Emperor, my deceased father." So he despatched the Ministers to the official residence of Sagaraka to inspect and take note of the XX. 2. tribute offered by them, and to cause them to be sent on to the capital.

15th day. The Emperor took the Koryō memorial, and passing it on to the Oho-omi, assembled all the scribes and directed them to read and explain it. At this time all the scribes for the space of three days were unable to read it. Now there was one Ō Chin-ni, founder of the family of the Funa no fubito,[1] who was able to read it and explain its meaning to the Emperor. Consequently the Emperor and the Oho-omi, both together, complimented him, saying:—"What diligence, Chin-ni! Well done, Chin-ni! If thou hadst not been fond of learning, who could have done the interpretation? From this time forward let thy attendance be near Us in the Palace." After this, an edict was issued to the scribes of East and West,[2] saying:—"How is it that the art which ye practise has come to naught? Though ye are many, none of you is equal to Chin-ni." Nor was this all. The memorial presented by Koryō was written on crow's feathers, and the characters, like the feathers, being black, nobody had been able to read them. Chin-ni accordingly steamed the feathers in the vapour from boiled rice, and took an impression of them on a piece of silk, whereupon all the characters were transferred to it, to the wonder of the Court.

6th month. The Chief Koryō Envoy addressed the Associate Envoys, saying:—"In the time of the Emperor of Shikishima,[3] ye, contrary to my advice, allowed yourselves to be deceived by others. You unauthorizedly shared the national tribute, and without due consideration granted it to mean persons. Were you not to blame in this? If the King of our country were to hear of it, he would certainly have you executed." The Associate Envoys then said to one another:—"If on our return

[1] i.e. recorders of ships. His name shows that he was of Chinese or Corean origin.

[2] East means here Yamato; West, Kahachi.

[3] Kimmei Tennō, so called from his place of residence.

to our country the Chief Envoy reveals our misconduct, it will be unfortunate for us. It is desirable to slay him secretly, and so stop his mouth." The same night their conspiracy
XX. 3. leaked out, and became known to the Chief Envoy. He put on his clothes, and stealing out alone, stood in the inner court of the official residence. He was there not knowing what to do, when one of the ruffians came forward with a club and struck the Chief Envoy on the head, and then went away. Next there came another ruffian, who, facing right opposite to the Chief Envoy, struck him on the head and hands and then went away. The Chief Envoy remained silent, and stood his ground, wiping the blood from his face. Again there came another ruffian, who rushed forward with a sword, and having stabbed the Chief Envoy in the belly, went away. This time the Chief Envoy prostrated himself on the ground in fear, and in an attitude of supplication. Afterwards there came another ruffian, who killed him, and went away. The next morning, the official entertainer Komaro, Yamato no Aya no Saka no Uhe no Atahe, and the others inquired the cause of this. The Associate Envoys got up a false story, and said:—"The Emperor presented a wife to the Chief Envoy. The Chief Envoy was disobedient to the Imperial command and refused to accept her. This was a piece of extreme insolence, and your servants therefore slew him on the Emperor's behalf." The officials buried him with due ceremony.

Autumn, 7th month. The Koryö Envoys took their departure.

This year was the year Midzunoye Tatsu (29th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 573 2nd year, Summer, 5th month, 2nd day. Koryö Envoys anchored on the coast of the Sea of Koshi. Their ship was wrecked and a great many were drowned. The suspicions of the Court were excited by their so frequently losing their way, and they were dismissed without entertainment. Accordingly Naniha, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, was sent by the Emperor's orders to escort home the Koryö Envoys.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Naniha and the Koryö Envoys met in consultation on the coast of the Sea of Koshi. Ihahi, Ohoshima no Obito, and Masa, Saoka no Obito, seamen of Naniha, the escort Envoy, were made to go on board the

Koryö Envoys' ship, while two Koryö men were made to embark in the escort Envoy's ship. Having in this manner exchanged ships, as a precaution against treachery, they both set sail together. They had only gone a few ri, when the escort Envoy, Naniha, fearing the waves, took the two Koryö men and flung them into the sea.

8th month, 14th day. The escort Envoy, Naniha, returned and reported the result of his mission, saying:—"The whale-fish of the sea assemble in great numbers and intercept and devour the ships with their sculls and oars. Naniha and his companions fearing to be swallowed up by these fishes were unable to go upon the sea." The Emperor hearing this saw that his language was untruthful, and employed him in one of the public offices,[1] not allowing him to return to his own province. XX. 4.

3rd year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Koryö Envoys anchored on the sea-coast of Koshi. A.D. 574.

Autumn, 7th month, 20th day. The Koryö Envoys entered the capital and addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Last year thy servants departed, in company with the escort Envoy, in order to return to their own country. Formerly when thy servants arrived at their frontier State,[2] thy servants' frontier State entertained Ihahi, Ohoshima no Obito, and his companions in accordance with the ceremony due to Envoys, and the King of Koryö treated them with specially cordial civility. Notwithstanding this, the ship of the escort Envoy had not arrived up till now, and therefore he has respectfully again sent Envoys along with Ihahi and his companions to request information as to why our Envoys[3] have not come." When the Emperor heard this he enumerated Naniha's offences, saying:—"Thou art doubly guilty, first for having deceived the Court, and secondly, for having drowned the Envoys of a neighbouring State. These are heinous crimes, and thou canst not be released." He was therefore sentenced to punishment.[4]

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako, was sent to the province of Kibi to extend the Shirawi

[1] As a slave.

[2] Note the fiction of Koryö being a dependency of Japan.

[3] This must be taken as referring to the two men whom Naniha threw overboard.

[4] No doubt of death.

Miyake and the staff of serfs attached to it. He accordingly took the register of serfs and handed it over to Itsu, Shirawi no Fubito.

11th day. By an Imperial order, the title of Tsu no Fubito[1] was granted to Ushi,[2] younger brother of Ō Chin-ni, Funa no Fubito.[3]

XX. 5. 11th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer tribute.

A.D. 575. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Hirohime, daughter of Prince Mate of Okinaga, was raised to the rank of Empress Consort. She had one son and two daughters. The eldest was called the Imperial Prince Oshizaka Hikohito no Ohine [otherwise the Imperial Prince Maroko]. The second was called the Imperial Princess Sakanobori. The third was called the Imperial Princess Uji no Shitsukahi.

In this month a consort was appointed named Womuna gimi no Otoshi,[4] the daughter of Nakatsu kimi, Kasuga no Omi. [She was otherwise called Kusu-kimi no Iratsuko.] She bore three sons and one daughter. The first was called the Imperial Prince Naniha; the second was called the Imperial Prince Kasuga; the third was called the Imperial Princess Kuwada; the fourth was called the Imperial Prince Ohomata. The next, an Uneme named Unako no Otoshi, daughter of Wokuma, Ise no Ohoka no Obito, gave birth to the Imperial Princess Futo hime [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Sakurawi] and the Imperial Princess Nukade hime [also called the Imperial Princess Tamura].

XX. 6. 2nd month, 7th day. The Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, returned to the capital and reported the result of his mission respecting the Miyake.

3rd month, 11th day. Pèkché sent envoys to offer tribute, more in quantity than in ordinary years. The Emperor, inasmuch as Silla had not yet established Imna, gave orders to the Imperial Prince and to the Oho-omi, saying:—"Be not remiss in the matter of Imna."

Summer, 4th month, 6th day. The Kishi, Kanako, was sent on a mission to Silla, the Kishi, Itahiko, to Imna, and the Kishi, Wosa-hiko,[5] to Pèkché.

[1] Port-recorder. [2] The ox. [3] i.e. Shipping-recorder.
[4] This is the rendering of the Interlinear Kana version.
[5] Wosa means interpreter. Kishi was originally a Corean title.

6th month. Silla sent envoys to offer tribute, more in quantity than usual. They also sent tribute for the four townships of Ta-ta-ra, Su-na-ra, Hwa-tha, and Pal-kwi.

In this year, by command, the diviners divined a site for the dwellings of Prince Amabe and Prince Itowi. The divination was propitious, and eventually a palace was constructed at Wosada,[1] which was called the Palace of Sakidama.

Winter, 11th month. The Empress Consort Hirohime died.

5th year, Spring, 3rd month, 10th day. The functionaries petitioned that an Empress Consort should be appointed. By the Emperor's command Toyomike Kashikiya hime no Mikoto[2] was appointed Empress Consort. She bore two sons and five daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Uji no Kahitako [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Uji no Shitsukahi]. She was wedded to Shō-toku, the heir to the throne. The second was called the Imperial Prince Takeda; the third was called the Imperial Princess Woharida. She was wedded to the Imperial Prince Hiko-hito no Ohine.[3] The fourth was called the Imperial Princess Umori [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Karu no mori]; the fifth was called the Imperial Prince Wohari; the sixth was called the Imperial Princess Tame. She was wedded to the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka.[4] The seventh was called the Imperial Princess Sakurawi no Yumibari. A.D. 576. XX. 7.

6th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. By Imperial command there were established a Sun-worship Be and a private Be.[5] A.D. 577

Summer, 5th month, 5th day. Prince Ohowake and Woguro no Kishi were sent to govern the Land of Pèkché.

The representatives of the Crown, who by Imperial command were sent on service to the three Han, called themselves 幸, meaning that they governed Corea. This was doubtless an ancient rule. They resembled what are now called Envoys. This explanation applies to all other passages also. It is not clear what was the extraction of Prince Ohowake.

[1] The Interpreter's field.

[2] Afterwards the reigning Empress Suiko Tennō.

[3] Her half-brother.

[4] Jomei Tennō.

[5] This is explained to mean "for the Empress's service."

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The King of the Land of Pèkché presented to the Emperor, through the returning Envoys Prince Ohowake and his companions, a number of volumes of religious books,[1] with an ascetic,[2] a meditative monk,[3] a nun, a reciter of mantras,[4] a maker of Buddhist images, and a temple architect, six persons in all. Eventually there was founded the
XX. 8. Temple of Prince Ohowake of Naniha.

A.D. 578. 7th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. The Imperial Princess Uji was made to attend on the shrine of Ise, but an intrigue which she had with the Imperial Prince Ikenobe having come to light, this appointment was cancelled.

A.D. 579. 8th year, Winter, 10th month. Silla sent Chi-cheul-chöng Nami[5] to bring tribute. At the same time he sent a Buddhist image.

A.D. 580. 9th year, Summer, 6th month. Silla sent Ato Nami and Chil-syo Nami to offer tribute, but they were dismissed without its being received.

A.D. 581. 10th year, Spring, Intercalary 2nd month. Several thousand Yemishi showed hostility on the frontier.[6] Accordingly their chiefs [they were very hairy men] Ayakasu[7] and others were sent for, and the Emperor gave them his commands, saying:—"You Yemishi! In the reign of the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko[8] those of you whom it was meet to kill were put to death, and those who deserved forgiveness were pardoned. We now, in observance of this precedent, intend to put to death the ring-leaders." Hereupon Ayakasu and the others were filled with fear and awe. They went down into the middle stream of the
XX. 9. Hatsuse river, and with their faces turned towards Mount Mimoro rinsed[9] their mouths and made oath, saying:—"We Yemishi promise that from this time forward, we, our children, and our children's children [there is an old saying, 'The chil-

[1] A later writer says that there were 200 vols., Buddhist Sutras being among them.

[2] Monks who practise vinaya. *Vide* Eitel, p. 202, 2nd edition.

[3] Yogi. *Vide* Eitel, p. 209. [4] Buddhist magic spells.

[5] Here and below Nami may be a mistake for Nama, the Corean title of rank. The characters used for mi and ma closely resemble each other.

[6] It is to be remembered that all the northern part of the main island of Japan, including the province of Mutsu and Dewa, were at this time in Aino possession.

[7] A Japanese name. [8] Keikō Tennō. [9] As a purifying ceremony.

dren of our body eighty times continued'] will serve the Celestial Gate with sincerity of heart. If we break this oath, may all the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and also the spirits of the Emperors, destroy our race."

11th year, Winter, 10th month. Silla sent Ato Nami and Sil-syo Nami to render tribute. They were dismissed, their tribute not being accepted. A.D. 582.

12th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor made an order, saying:—"In the reign of the late Emperor, my father, Silla destroyed our inner Miyake State. A.D. 583.

> In the 23rd year of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha, Imna was destroyed by Silla. Therefore it is said that Silla destroyed our inner Miyake State.

Our father, the late Emperor, devised measures for restoring Imna, but he died without carrying them out, and did not fulfil his purpose. It therefore devolves on Us to render assistance to his divinely admirable policy, and to restore Imna again. The Talsol, Illa, son of the Arisăteung, Miyakko of the Province of Ashigita in Hi,[1] now resident in Pèkché, is a wise and brave man. Therefore we wish to consult with him." Accordingly he sent Oshikatsu, Ki no kuni no Miyakko, and Hashima, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, to summon him from Pèkché.

Winter, 10th month. Oshikatsu, Ki no Kuni no Miyakko, and his colleague returned from Pèkché and reported the result of their mission to the Court, saying:—"The King of the Land of Pèkché grudged Illa and would not consent to allow him to come up."

This year, Hashima, Kibi no Amabe no Atahe, was again sent to summon Illa from Pèkché. Hashima, having gone to Pèkché, wished first of all to see Illa privately. He was standing all by himself facing the door of his house, when XX. 10. there suddenly came from within the house a Corean woman who addressed him in the Corean language, saying:—"Radix tua ineat in meam radicem," and then went away into the house. Hashima perceived her meaning, and followed in after her. Upon this Illa came to meet him, and taking him by the hand, made him take his place on a seat. He then secretly

[1] Includes Higo and Hizen.

informed him, saying:—"I have received private information that the King of the Land of Pèkché is suspicious of the Celestial Court, fearing that if I were sent, I might afterwards be detained and not allowed to return. He is therefore reluctant, and will not consent to offer me. It would be well, when the Imperial commands are delivered, to make a show of severity, and to insist peremptorily on summoning me." Hashima accordingly followed this plan, and required Illa from the King of the Land of Pèkché. He stood in awe of the Celestial Court, and, not daring to disobey the Imperial message, sent Illa to the Emperor. The Eun-sol,[1] Tök-ni, Yö-no, and Kanochi, the Associate Official the Tök-sol,[2] Chhă-kan-tök, with a good number of steersmen and sailors, together with Illa and his companions, arrived at the Miyake of Kojima in Kibi. The Court sent Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji to express sympathy for their fatigues. Afterwards Daibu[3] were sent to the official residence at Naniha to wait upon Illa. At this time Illa, clad in armour, and riding on horseback, came up to the gate.[4] Then advancing in front of the Hall of Audience, he did his obeisances when advancing and retiring in a kneeling posture, and sighing bitterly, said:—"In the reign of the Emperor who ruled the world from the Palace of Hinokuma,[5] my Lord Ohotomo no Kanamura no Ohomuraji sent Arisăteung, Hi no Ashigita no Miyakko, and Yugehi[6] of the Osaka Be,[7] beyond the sea, on the service of the State. Thy servant, the son of the Arisăteung, the Talsol Illa, having heard the Imperial summons, with fear and awe presents himself at thy Court." He accordingly took off his armour and delivered it to the Emperor. An official lodging was built for him at Kuha no ichi in Ato, where he was made to dwell, and provided with everything which he desired. Afterwards Abe no Me no Omi,
XX. 11. Mononobe no Niheko no Muraji, and Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji were sent to inquire of Illa respecting the government of the country. Illa answered and said:—"The Emperor's aim in governing the Empire is to ensure the

[1] 3rd rank. [2] 4th rank. [3] A general term for high officials.
[4] Leading to the Hall of Audience.
[5] Senkwa Tennō. [6] Archer.
[7] The executioners.

protection and nourishment of the people. Why should he hastily stir up warfare which will redound to their destruction? Therefore now having made all, from his counsellors, viz. the Omi, Muraji, and Miyakko of both kinds [the Kuni no Miyakko and the Tomo no Miyakko], whose duty it is to serve the Court, down to the people, without exception, to enjoy prosperity, let him cause them to want for nothing. When this has been continued for three years, when food has been made abundant, and arms plentiful, the people being dealt with by means of gladness, will fear neither water nor fire, and will join with the Emperor in commiserating the troubles of the country. Thereafter let ships be built in numbers and stationed in order at all the ports, so that visitors from abroad may view them and be filled with dread. There should then be sent a capable Envoy to Pèkché to summon the King of that country. If he does not come, let his Prime Minister or a Prince be summoned to appear. Their hearts will in that case naturally be filled with submissive reverence, and they ought then to be called to an account for their misconduct" [the crime of delaying to establish Imna].

Moreover he addressed (a message to) the Emperor, saying:—"The people of Pèkché talk of a plan according to which it is intended to request (a settlement in) Tsukushi for 300 ships (of emigrants?). If they really make this request, I advise Your Majesty to pretend to grant it. Pèkché will then wish to create a new country, and will certainly put the women and children on ship-board and come with them in advance. The Government, when this time is at hand, should place in ambush in Iki and Tsushima plenty of troops, and, awaiting their arrival, slay them. On the other hand, guard against being yourselves over-reached, and solidly build fortresses in all the strong positions."[1]

Hereupon one of the Eun-sol and the Associate, on the eve of their departure for their own country [an old book says:—"One Eun-sol and one Associate"] held secret communication with Tök-ni and others, saying:—"If you, having allowed sufficient time for us to get past Tsukushi, will secretly

[1] All this seems great nonsense. It has puzzled the native commentators.

kill Illa, we will report the matter fully to the King, who will
XX. 12. confer on you high official rank, so that you and your families will leave prosperity to your descendants." Tök-ni and Yö-no both agreed. The Associate Official and the others at length started on their journey to Chika.[1] Hereupon Illa removed from the village of Kuha-ichi to the official residence of Naniha. Tök-ni and his colleague conspired together day and night how they were to slay him. Now Illa's body was radiant like a flame of fire,[2] and therefore Tök-ni and the others were afraid, and did not kill him. At length, during the interlune of the 12th month, they awaited his loss of radiance and slew him. But Illa came to life again, and said:—"This is the doing of our slaves, and not of Silla." [This is said because there were at this time Silla Envoys (at the Court).] Having thus spoken, he died.

The Emperor gave command to Niheko no Ohomuraji and Nukadeko no Muraji, and had him buried in front of the Hill of the western boundary of Wogohori. His wife, children, and sailors were made to live at Ishikaha.[3] Hereupon Ohotomo no Nukadeko no Muraji counselled, saying:—"If they are made to live all together at one place, I fear it may give rise to trouble." Accordingly the wife and children were made to dwell at Kudara[4]-mura in Ishikaha, and the sailors at Ohotomo no mura in Ishikaha. Tök-ni and the other were arrested and kept at Ada-mura in Lower Kudara, where a number of Daibu were sent to investigate the matter. Tök-ni and the other confessed their guilt, saying:—"Indeed it was the Eun-sol and the Associate who by their instructions made us do this. We, being underlings, did not dare to refuse."
XX. 13. They were accordingly cast into prison, and the Daibu reported the result of their mission to the Court. A messenger was sent to Ashigita[5] to summon all Illa's household, and Tök-ni and the other were delivered to them to fix their punishment at their discretion. Then the Kimi of Ashigita took them, and having slain them all, cast away their bodies on the Island of Mimejima. [Mimejima is perhaps Hime-jima.] Illa was

[1] In Hizen. [2] Il is 日, i.e. sun.
[3] Illa's history resembles somewhat that of Kim Ok-kiun in our own day.
[4] i.e. Pèkché. In Kahachi.
[5] Illa was of the Ashigita family. See above, p. 97.

removed for interment at Ashigita. Later the coast people reported that the Eun-sol's ship had met with a storm and foundered, and that the Associate's ship had not been able to return until it had first drifted to Tsushima.

13th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. Kitahiko, Naniha no Kishi, was sent to Silla. He at length arrived at Imna. A.D. 584.

Autumn, 9th month. Kafuka no Omi [the personal name is wanting], who had come from Pèkché, had a stone image of Miroku,[1] and Saheki no Muraji [the personal name is wanting] an image of Buddha. This year Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, having asked for these two Buddhist images, sent Shiba Tattō,[2] Kurabe no Sukuri, and Hida, Ikenobe no Atahe, in all directions to search out persons who practised (Buddhism). Upon this he only found in the province of Harima a man named Hyé-phyŏn of Koryŏ,[3] who from a Buddhist priest had become a layman again. So the Oho-omi made him teacher, and caused him to receive Shima, the daughter of Shiba Tattō, into religion. She took the name of Nun Zen-shin [twelve years of age]. Moreover he received into religion two pupils of the Nun Zen-shin. One was Toyome, the daughter of Ayabito[4] no Yaho. She took the name of Nun Sen-zō. The other was Ishime, daughter of Nishikori Tsubu. She took the name of Nun Kei-zen. Mŭmako no Sukune, still in accordance with the Law of Buddha, reverenced the three nuns, and gave them to Hida no Atahe and Tattō, with orders to provide them with food and clothing. He erected a Buddhist Temple on the east side of his dwelling, in which he enshrined the stone image of Miroku. He insisted on the three nuns holding a general meeting to partake of maigre fare.[5] At this time Tattō found a Buddhist XX. 14.

[1] In Sanskrit Maitrêya, the expected Messiah of the Buddhists. *Vid* Eitel, p. 92.

[2] A Chinese or Corean name. [3] In Japanese Koma no Keibin.

[4] Ayabito is written 漢 人, i.e. a man of Han (China). Here it is a proper name, though no doubt indicating a Chinese ancestry.

[5] The Chinese character for "maigre fare" is 齋. This the Interlinear Kana renders here and below in many places by Ogami, i.e. prayer. That the meetings here referred to were practically for religious services is unquestionable, and we have seen above, Vol. I. p. 41, that this character when used in connection with Shintō, is equivalent to "worship," although primarily meaning "religious abstinence." Here the proper meaning is, I submit, "the vegetable diet of Buddhist priests." A few lines further down

relic on the food of abstinence, and presented it to Mŭmako no Sukune. Mŭmako no Sukune, by way of experiment, took the relic, and placing it on the middle of a block of iron, beat it with an iron sledge-hammer, which he flourished aloft. The block and the sledge-hammer were shattered to atoms, but the
XX. 15. relic could not be crushed. Then the relic was cast into water, when it floated on the water or sank as one desired. In consequence of this, Mŭmako no Sukune, Ikenobe no Hida, and Shiba Tattō held faith in Buddhism and practised it unremittingly. Mŭmako no Sukune built another Buddhist Temple at his house in Ishikaha. From this arose the beginning of Buddhism.

A.D 585. 14th year, Spring, 2nd month, 15th day. Soga no Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, erected a pagoda north of the Hill of Ohono, and having held a general meeting to partake of maigre food, deposited the relic obtained by Tattō on the top of the pillar.[1]

24th day. Soga no Oho-omi took ill. Having made inquiry of a diviner,[2] the diviner answered and said :—"It is a curse sent by will of the Buddha[3] worshipped in thy father's time." Soga no Oho-omi accordingly sent a young man of his family to report to the Emperor the nature of the divination. The Emperor gave orders, saying :—"In accordance with the words of the diviner, let thy father's Gods be worshipped." The Oho-omi, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, worshipped the stone image, and prayed that his life might be prolonged. At this time there was a pestilence rife in the land, and many of the people died.

3rd month, 1st day. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji and Nakatomi no Katsumi no Daibu addressed the Emperor, saying :—"Why hast thou not consented to follow thy servants' counsel? Is not the prevalence of pestilence from the reign of the late Emperor thy father down to thine, so that

we have 齋食, "abstinence food," Lenten fare, as we should say, and Giles (p. 18) renders 齋僧 "to give meals to priests." This is a well-known duty of pious Buddhists. In the history of Corea there is frequent mention of large numbers of priests being entertained by the kings from time to time.

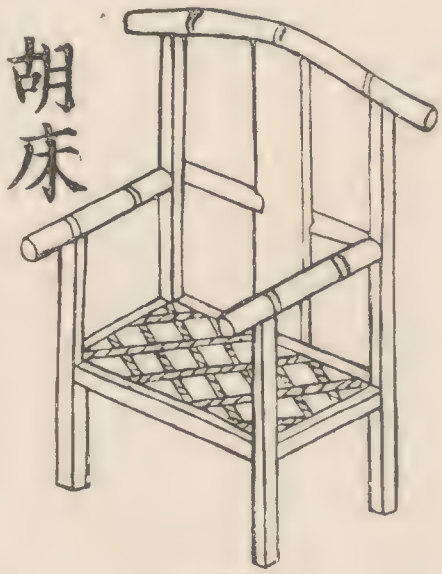
[1] i.e. the central pillar round which a pagoda is built.

[2] Urabe, or native augurs.

[3] The word for Buddha is 佛神, Buddha-Kami.

the nation is in danger of extinction, owing absolutely to the establishment of the exercise of the Buddhist religion by Soga no Omi?" The Emperor gave command, saying:—"Manifestly so: let Buddhism be discontinued."

30th day. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji went himself to the Temple, and sitting on a chair,[1] cut down the pagoda,[2] which he then set fire to and burnt. He likewise burnt the image of Buddha and the Temple of Buddha. Having done so, he took the remains of the image of Buddha which were left from the burning and had them flung into the Naniha canal. On this day there was wind and rain without any clouds, and the Ohomuraji had on his rain-coat. He upbraided Mŭmako no Sukune and those who followed him in the exercise of religion, and made them feel shame and contrition of heart. Moreover he sent Mimoro [also called Oruke], Saheki no Miyakko, to summon Zen-shin and the other nuns provided for by Mŭmako no Sukune. So Mŭmako no Sukune did not dare to disobey this command, but with grief and lamentation called forth the nuns and delivered them to Mimoro. The officials accordingly took away from the nuns their three garments,[3] imprisoned them and flogged them at the road-station of Tsubaki no ichi. XX. 16.



Agura.

The Emperor, with the view of establishing Imna, appointed as his Envoy Prince Mimiko of Sakata. Just at this

[1] Chair here and elsewhere is in the original represented by two Chinese characters which mean "Tartar couch." The Japanese word which the writer had in mind was no doubt agura, "leg-seat," which is the rendering of the Interlinear Kana.

[2] The meaning may be that he sat on a chair to superintend the workmen who were employed for this purpose.

[3] The three priestly garments, viz. the Saṁghâṭi, reaching from the shoulders to the knees, the Uttara Saṁghâṭi, a sort of overcoat, and the Kachâya (*Kesa* in Japanese), a coloured mantle. *Vide* Eitel, *sub vocibus*.

time the Emperor and the Ohomuraji were suddenly afflicted with sores, and he was therefore after all not sent. The Emperor gave command to the Imperial Prince Tachibana no Toyohi, saying :—" The injunctions of the late Emperor my father must not be disregarded: the Government of Imna must be diligently put in order."

Again the Land was filled with those who were attacked with sores and died thereof. The persons thus afflicted with sores said :—" Our bodies are as if they were burnt, as if they were beaten, as if they were broken," and so lamenting, they died. Old and young said privately to one another, " Is this a punishment for the burning of the Image of Buddha ? "

Summer, 6th month. Mŭmako no Sukune addressed the
XX. 17. Emperor, saying :—" Thy servant's disease has not yet been healed ; nor is it possible for succour to be afforded me unless by the power of the three precious things."[1] Hereupon the Emperor commanded Mŭmako no Sukune, saying :—" Thou mayest practise the Buddhist religion alone, but discontinue it in so far as others are concerned." So the three nuns were given back to Mŭmako no Sukune, who received them with rejoicing, lamenting their unexampled misfortunes, and bowing down his head in their honour. He built them a Temple anew, into which he welcomed them, and provided them with sustenance.

> One book says :—" Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji, Oho-miwa no Sakahe no Kimi and Nakatomi no Ihare no Muraji conspired together to destroy the Buddhist religion. They wanted to burn the Temple and pagoda, and also to throw away the Buddhist images. Mŭmako no Sukune opposed this project, and would not agree to it."

Autumn, 8th month, 15th day. The Emperor's disease having become more and more inveterate, he died in the Great Hall. At this time a Palace of temporary interment was erected at Hirose. Mŭmako no Sukune delivered a funeral
XX. 18. oration with his sword girded on. Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji burst out laughing, and said :—" He is

[1] The Triratna, i.e. Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

like a sparrow pierced by a hunting-shaft." Next Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji, with trembling hands and legs, delivered his funeral oration. The Oho-omi, Mŭmako no Sukune, laughed and said :—" He ought to have bells hung upon him." From this small beginning the two Ministers conceived a hatred of each other. Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi sent Hayato for the protection of the Courtyard of the temporary tomb. The Imperial Prince Anahobe,[1] who wished to possess himself of the empire, flew into a rage, and declared, saying :—" Why do ye serve the Court of a dead King, and do no service where the living King is ? "

[1] Younger brother of the Emperor by a different mother.

BOOK XXI.

THE EMPEROR TACHIBANA NO TOYOHI.[1]

(*YŌMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi was the fourth child of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha.[3] His mother's name was Kitashi hime. The Emperor believed in the Law of Buddha and reverenced the Way of the Gods.[4] In the fourteenth year of his reign, Autumn, the 8th month, the Emperor Nunakura futo-tama-shiki died.

9th month, 5th day. The Emperor assumed the Imperial dignity, and made his capital at Ihare, calling it the Palace of Namitsuki in Ikenobe.[5] Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune was made Oho-omi, and Mononobe no Yugehi no Moriya no Ohomuraji was made Ohomuraji, both as before.

19th day. The Emperor made command, saying:—etc., etc.[6]—appointing the Imperial Princess Nukade hime to the charge of the Shrine of Ise and to attend to the worship of the Sun-goddess.

This Imperial Princess, from the time of this Emperor until the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime,[7] attended to the divine service of the Sun-goddess. She then retired

[1] This name means orange abundance-sun. Tachibana is, however, here the name of a village in Yamato.

[2] Yō means to use, employ; mei, brightness.

[3] Kimmei Tennō.

[4] Shintō. 神道. The first time this phrase is found. The "Yih-king" has, "The sage frames his doctrine by the Way of the Gods, and the Empire accepts it."

[5] Province of Yamato.

[6] The author omits the words of the edict, and only gives its general purport.

[7] Suiko Tennō.

of her own accord to Katsuraki, and there died. See the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime. One book says:—"Having attended to the worship of the Sun-goddess for the space of thirty-seven years, she then retired of her own accord and died."

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito was appointed Empress Consort.[1] She bore four sons. The first was called the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado[2] [also called Mimito[3] Shōtoku,[4] or as some have it Toyoto-mimi, Great King of the Law, or again Master King of the Law]. This Imperial Prince at first lived at Kamitsu miya.[5] Afterwards he removed to Ikaruga in the reign of the Empress Toyomike Kashikiya hime, where he occupied the Eastern Palace,[6] and discharged the duties of Emperor, being associated with her in the management of all matters of administration, as is stated in the history of the Empress Toyomike Kashikiya hime. The second was called the Imperial Prince Kume; the third was called the Imperial Prince Yeguri; the fourth was called the Imperial Prince Mamuta.[7] Ishikina, daughter of Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, was appointed a Consort. She bore the Imperial Prince Tame [also called the Imperial Prince Toyora]. Hiroko, daughter of Ihamura, Katsuraki no Atahe, bore one son and one daughter. The son was called the Imperial Prince Maroko; he was the ancestor of the Kimi of Tahema. The daughter was called the Imperial Princess Nukade hime. She was during three generations in the service of the Sun-goddess. A.D. 586. XXI. 2. XXI. 3.

Summer, 5th month. The Imperial Prince Anahobe tried to force his way into the Palace of temporary interment in order to ravish the Empress Consort Kashikiya hime.[8] But the favourite Minister, Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, called out the

[1] She was also a daughter of Kimmei Tennō, by a different mother.

[2] See below, 1st year of Suiko's reign, for the reason of this name.

[3] Quick-ear.

[4] Sagely-virtue. This is the renowned Shōtoku Daishi, the real founder of Buddhism in Japan.

[5] The Upper Palace. [6] i.e. the Heir Apparent's quarters.

[7] Or Mata.

[8] The Empress Dowager. The motive was probably not lust, but ambition. Compare the similar case of Jimmu Tennō's widow.

guards, who firmly fastened the Palace Gate, and resisting his entrance, would not let him in. The Imperial Prince Anahobe demanded of them, saying:—"Who is it that is here?" The guards answered and said:—"Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, is here." Seven times he shouted at them to open the gate, but they steadily refused to admit him. Hereupon the Imperial Prince Anahobe addressed the Oho-omi and the Ohomuraji, saying:—"Sakahe is incessantly insulting me. In the funeral eulogy delivered by him at the Court of temporary interment he said:—'Thy Court shall not be left desolate, but shall be kept pure as the surface of a mirror, and thy servant will preserve peace in dutiful service to thee.' This is an insult. At this moment there are many young men of the Emperor's family, and there are two Chief Ministers present. Who has any right wantonly to monopolize talk of dutiful service? Moreover when I wished to see the interior of the place of temporary interment, I was prevented, and not allowed to enter. Seven times I myself called out, 'Open the gate,' but there was no answer. I request that I may be allowed to put him to death." The two Chief Ministers[1] said:—"Be it as thou hast commanded." Upon this, the Imperial Prince Anahobe, while secretly planning to make himself ruler of the Empire, falsely gave out that his object was to kill Sakahe no Kimi. At length, along with Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji, he led troops with which they surrounded Ikenobe in Ihare. This having come to the knowledge of Sakahe no Kimi, he concealed himself on Mount Mimoro. That day, at midnight, he came away stealthily from the mountain and hid in the hinder[2] palace, [meaning the Empress Kashikiya hime's country-house. It was called the Palace of Tsubaki ichi]. Relatives of Sakahe
XXI. 4. named Shiratsutsumi and Yokoyama told where Sakahe no Kimi was, and the Imperial Prince Anahobe straightway sent to Moriya no Ohomuraji [one book says:—"The Imperial Princes Anahobe and Hatsusebe having consulted together, sent to Moriya no Ohomuraji"], saying to him:—"Thou must go and slay Sakahe no Kimi, and likewise his two children." The Ohomuraji at length went off in command of an armed force. Soga

[1] 大臣 is here evidently not Oho-omi, for one of them was not an Oho-omi, but an Ohomuraji. It has the more general sense of Chief Minister.

[2] i.e. the Empress's palace.

no Mŭmako no Sukune, having heard from an outside source of this conspiracy, went to the place where the Imperial Prince was. He accordingly arrived before the gate [the gate of the Imperial Prince's house is meant], and finding him on the point of going to the place where the Ohomuraji was, remonstrated with him, saying:—"A ruler does not approach a criminal. Thou shouldst not go thyself." The Imperial Prince would not listen to him, but went. Mŭmako no Sukune forthwith departed in his train, and arrived at Ihare. There he urgently remonstrated with him, and the Prince yielded to his remonstrances and stopped. In this place, accordingly, he remained seated on a chair and waited for the Ohomuraji. A good while later the latter arrived with his troops and reported the result of his commission, saying:—"I have executed Sakahe and the others." [One books says:—"The Imperial Prince went in person and shot them dead."] Hereupon Mŭmako no Sukune broke into bitter lamentations, saying:—"Civil disorder in the Empire is not far off." The Ohomuraji hearing this, answered and said:—"Thy position is that of a small minister;[1] thou dost not know."

This Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, was a favourite of the Emperor Wosada,[2] and he was charged with all matters both internal and external. In consequence of this the Empress-consort Kashikiya hime and Mŭmako no Sukune both conceived enmity against the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

This year was the year Hinoye Mŭma (43rd) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 4th month, 2nd day. The Emperor performed the ceremony of tasting the new rice[3] on the river-bank of Ihare. On this day the Emperor took ill and returned to the Palace. All the Ministers were in attendance. The Emperor addressed them, saying:—"It is Our desire to give our adherence to the three precious things. Do ye Our Ministers advise upon this." All the Ministers entered the Court and consulted together. Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji and Nakatomi no Katsumi no Muraji opposed the A.D. 587. XXI. 5.

[1] Alluding to his title of Oho-omi or Great Minister.

[2] Bidatsu Tennō.

[3] Nihi-name. See above, Vol. I. p. 86. It was unusual to celebrate this festival in spring.

Imperial proposal, and advised, saying:—"Why should we reverence strange deities, and turn our backs upon the gods of our country? Of course we know naught of any such thing." The Oho-omi Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune said:—"Let us render assistance in compliance with the Imperial command. Who shall offer advice to the contrary?" Hereupon the Imperial Prince the Emperor's younger brother [the Imperial Prince Anahobe is meant.[1] He was the Emperor's younger brother, born of a concubine], introduced into the interior (of the Palace) a priest of the Land of Toyo[2] [the personal name is wanting]. Mononobe no Moriya no Ohomuraji glared at them in great wrath. Then Kekuso, Oshi-sakabe no Fubito, came hastily and spoke secretly to the Ohomuraji, saying:—"All the Ministers are now plotting against thee, and moreover are about to waylay thee." When the Ohomuraji heard this, he retired to Ato [Ato is the name of a place where the Ohomuraji had a country house] and assembled a body of men. Nakatomi no Katsumi no Muraji assembled troops at his house and went with them to the assistance of the Ohomuraji. At length he prepared figures of the Imperial Prince Hikobito, the Heir Apparent, and of the Imperial Prince Takeda, and loathed them.[3] But presently finding that success was impossible, he repaired to the Palace of the Imperial Prince Hikobito at Mimata. One of the attendants[4] (of the Prince) named Ichihi,
XXI. 6. Tomi no Obito [Tomi is the family name, and Ichihi the personal name], watched till Katsumi no Muraji was withdrawing from the place where the Imperial Prince Hikobito was, and drawing his sword, slew him. The Ohomuraji from his house at Ato sent a message to Mŭmako no Oho-omi by Wosaka, Mononobe no Yasaka no Oho-ichi no Miyakko, and Ani, Urushibe[5]

[1] The "Shukai" editor thinks we should understand here the Emperor's younger brother *and* the Imperial Prince.

[2] Or perhaps Toyokuni was his name.

[3] i.e. practised witchcraft on them.

[4] Toneri.

[5] This name may be read either Urushibe no Miyakko or Nuribe no Miyakko. Urushi is "varnish," and nuri means "to smear," so that the difference is not very material. This is the first mention of lacquer in Japanese literature, and although it indicates that the art was already known, we may safely set aside as later inventions the statements referring it to a much earlier period which are quoted, with a reserve amply justified by the

no Miyakko, saying:—"Hearing that the Ministers have designs against me, I am keeping out of the way." Mŭmako no Oho-omi accordingly sent Hashi no Yajima no Muraji to the place where Ohotomo no Hirafu no Muraji was, and told him all that the Ohomuraji had said. Hirafu no Muraji, therefore, took in his hand his bow and arrows and his leathern shield and went to the house at Tsukikuma [the Oho-omi's house], where he remained guarding the Oho-omi, and did not leave him by night or by day.

The Emperor's sores became worse and worse, and when the end was approaching, Tasuna of the Kuratsukuri [1] Be [son of Shiba Tattō] came forward and addressed him, saying:—"Thy servant, on behalf of the Emperor, will renounce the world and exercise religion. Moreover, he will make an image of Buddha sixteen feet high, and a Temple." The Emperor was deeply moved. This is the 16-foot wooden image of Buddha which with its attendant Bosatsu [2] now stands in the Temple of Sakata at Minabuchi.

9th day. The Emperor died in the Great Hall.

Autumn, 7th month, 21st day. He was buried in the Misasagi above the pond of Ihare.[3]

facts, in an essay on Lacquer in the "Catalogue of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work in the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894."

The Urushibe (or Nuribe) no Muraji (a higher rank than Miyakko) were promoted to be Urushibe no Sukune in 685.

An ancient note to the "Kiujiki," III. 16, traces the descent of the Urushibe no Muraji from a deity.

[1] Saddle-makers.

[2] i.e. Boddhisattwa. The two Bosatsu here alluded to are probably Ji-zō Bosatsu (Kshidi-garbha) and Monju Bosatsu, the Sanskrit Mañd-jus'rî. *Vide* Eitel, *sub vocc.* Also *vide* "Satow's Handbook," 2nd ed. introduction, p. 87.

[3] Afterwards re-interred at Shinaga in Kahachi.

THE EMPEROR HATSUSEBE.[1]

(*SUJUN*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

XXI. 7. The Emperor Hatsusebe was the twelfth child of the Emperor Ame-kuni Oshi-hiraki hiro-niha."[3] His mother's name was Wo-ane[4] no Kimi [daughter of Iname no Sukune, as already stated].

The Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi died in the second year of his reign, Summer, the 4th month. In the 5th month the army of the Mononobe no Ohomuraji made a disturbance thrice. The Ohomuraji from the first wished to set aside the other Imperial Princes and to establish the Imperial Prince Anahobe as Emperor. He now hoped to make use of a hunting party to devise a plan for raising him to the throne instead. So he secretly sent a messenger to the Imperial Prince Anahobe, to say:—"I should like to hunt with the Imperial Prince in Ahaji." The plot leaked out.

6th month, 7th day. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune and other Ministers, on behalf of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto, commissioned[5] Nifute, Saheki no Muraji, Ihamura, Hashi no Muraji, and Makuhi, Ikuba no Omi, saying:—"Do ye with rigorous discipline of arms proceed at once to execute the Imperial Prince Anahobe and the Imperial Prince Yakabe." On this day, at midnight, Nifute, Saheki no Muraji, and his colleagues surrounded the Palace of the Imperial Prince Anahobe. Upon this the guardsmen, having first climbed up into the upper story, smote the Imperial Prince Anahobe on the shoulder. The Imperial Prince fell down from the upper story, and ran away into an outhouse. Then the guardsmen, holding up lights, executed him.

8th day. The Imperial Prince Yakabe was executed.

The Imperial Prince Yakabe was the son of the Emperor

[1] The "Kojiki" calls him Hatsusebe no Waka-sazaki.

[2] Venerable-lofty. Kimmei Tennō.

[4] i.e. little-elder-sister.

[5] The character used is 詔, generally applied to an edict or order of the Emperor.

Hinokuma[1] and father of Princess Kamutsu hime. This is not clear.

He was put to death because he approved the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

9th day. The nun Zen-shin and the others addressed the Oho-omi, saying:—"Discipline is the basis of the method of XXI. 8. those who renounce the world; we pray thee to let us go to Pèkché to receive instruction in the Law of Discipline." This month tribute Envoys from Pèkché arrived at Court. The Oho-omi addressed the Envoys, saying:—"Take these nuns with you, and when you are about to cross over to your country, make them learn the Law of Discipline. When they have done, send them off." The Envoys answered and said:—"When we return to our frontier State, we shall first of all inform the King of our country, and it will afterwards be not too late to send them off."[2]

Autumn, 7th month. The Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, incited the Imperial Princes and the Ministers to plot the destruction of the Ohomuraji, Mononobe no Moriya. The Imperial Prince Hatsusebe, the Imperial Prince Takeda, the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado, the Imperial Prince Naniha, the Imperial Prince Kasuga, the Oho-omi, Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, Womaro no Sukune, Ki no Omi, Hirafu, Kose no Omi, Katafu, Kashihade no Omi, and Wonara, Katsuraki no Omi, together led an army, and advanced to attack the Ohomuraji. Kurafu, Ohotomo no Muraji, Hito, Abe no Omi, Ite, Heguri no Omi, Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, and Kasuga no Omi [the personal name is not given], together led a force from the district of Shiki[3] as far as the house of Shibukaha.[4] The Ohomuraji, in personal command of the young men of his family and of a slave-army, built a rice-fort and gave battle. Then the Ohomuraji climbed up into the fork of an elm[5] at Kisuri, from which he shot down arrows like rain. His troops XXI. 9. were full of might. They filled the house and overflowed into the plain. The army of the Imperial Princes and the troops of the Ministers were timid and afraid, and fell back three times. At this time the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado, his hair

[1] Senkwa Tennō. [2] See below, XXI. 13. [3] In Kahachi.
[4] i.e. the Ohomuraji's house at Shibukaha.
[5] The yenoki or Celtis sinensis.

being tied up on the temples[1] [the ancient custom was for boys of the age of fifteen or sixteen to tie up their hair on the temples; at the age of seventeen or eighteen it was divided, and made into tufts, as is the case even now], followed in the rear of the army. He pondered in his own mind, saying to himself:—"Are we not going to be beaten? Without prayer we cannot succeed." So he cut down a nuride tree,[2] and swiftly fashioned images of the four Heavenly Kings.[3] Placing them on his top-knot, he uttered a vow:—"If we are now made to gain the victory over the enemy, I promise faithfully to honour the four Heavenly Kings, guardians of the world, by erecting to them a temple with a pagoda." The Oho-omi Soga no Mŭmako also uttered a vow:—"Oh! all ye Heavenly Kings and great Spirit King,[4] aid and protect us, and make us to gain the advantage. If this prayer is granted, I will erect a temple with a pagoda in honour of the Heavenly Kings and the great Spirit King, and will propagate everywhere the three precious things." When they had made this vow, they urged their troops of all arms sternly forward to the attack. Now there was a man named Ichihi, Tomi no Obito, who shot down
XXI. 10. the Ohomuraji from his branch and killed him and his children. The Ohomuraji's troops accordingly gave way suddenly. Joining their forces, they every one put on black clothes, and going hunting on the plain of Magari in Hirose, so dispersed.[5] In this war some of the children and relatives of the Ohomuraji made their escape, and concealing themselves on the plain of Ashihara, changed their personal names and altered their titles,[6] while others fled away nobody knew where.

[1] The interlinear version calls this style hisago-hana, i.e. gourd-flower the manly style is called age-maki, or rolling up.

[2] It is doubtful what kind of tree is intended. Nuride is the interlinear gloss. The nuride or nurude resembles the lacquer tree (nuri means lacquer). Hepburn calls it Rhus semialata.

[3] Shi-ten-ō or Chatur Mahārādjas. Four demon kings who guard the world against Asuras. *Vide* Eitel, p. 174, 2nd ed.; also "Satow's Handbook," p. 556.

[4] Daijinnō or Mahākalā. *Vide* Eitel, pp. 85 and 91. Identified with the modern Daikoku Sama. *Vide* "Anderson's B. M. Catalogue," p. 33.

[5] It is explained here that "black" was the colour of underlings' clothes, and that the chiefs put on this colour for disguise. The "hunting" was only a pretence.

[6] Or surnames.

The people of that time said of them to one another :—"The wife of Soga no Oho-omi is the younger sister of the Ohomuraji Mononobe no Moriya, and the Oho-omi, injudiciously acting on his wife's advice, slew the Ohomuraji." [1]

When the civil troubles had been quieted, a Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings [2] was built in the province of Settsu. Half of the Ohomuraji's slaves, together with his house, were constituted the slaves and farm-house of the Great Temple, and ten thousand shiro [3] of rice-land were given to Ichihi, Tomi no Obito. Moreover, Soga no Oho-omi, in fulfilment of his XXI. 11. vow, erected the Temple of Hōkōji [4] in Asuka. A dependant of the Ohomuraji Mononobe no Moriya named Yorodzu, [the personal name], of the Tottori-be, in command of one hundred men, guarded the house [5] at Naniha, but hearing of the Ohomuraji's downfall, he urged his horse into a gallop, and made his escape by night in the direction of the village of Arimaka in the district of Chinu, where, having passed his wife's house, he at length concealed himself among the hills. The Court took counsel together, saying :—"Yorodzu cherishes traitorous feelings, and therefore has concealed himself among these hills. Let his kindred be extirpated promptly, and no remissness shown." Yorodzu, in tattered and filthy raiment, and with a wretched countenance, came forth alone, of his own accord, bow in hand and girt with a sword. The officials sent several hundred guardsmen to surround him. Yorodzu, accordingly, was afraid, and hid himself in a bamboo thicket, where he tied cords to the bamboos and pulled them so as to shake the bamboos, and thus make the people to doubt where he had gone in. The guardsmen were deceived, and pointing to the quivering bamboos, ran forward, saying :—"Yorodzu is here!" Yorodzu forthwith shot his arrows, not one of which missed its mark, so that the guardsmen were afraid, and did not dare to approach. Yorodzu then unstrung his bow, and

[1] She wished to appropriate to herself his property.

[2] At Osaka. Still known as Tennōji. *Vide* "Murray's Handbook of Japan," 3rd ed. p. 285.

[3] The 頃 (shiro) is equal 100 畝 or mow, a measure which, according to present Chinese reckoning, is equal to 15.13 acres. *Vide* Giles.

[4] Near Nara. It is no longer in existence.

[5] Of the Ohomuraji.

taking it under his arm, ran off towards the hills. The guardsmen accordingly pursued him, shooting their arrows at him from both sides of a river, but none of them were able to hit
XXI. 12. him. Hereupon one of the guardsmen ran on swiftly, and got before Yorodzu. Lying down by the river's side, he aimed at him, and hit him on the knee. Yorodzu forthwith pulled out the arrow, and stringing his bow, let fly his arrows. Then prostrating himself on the earth, he exclaimed aloud:—"A shield of the Emperor, Yorodzu would have devoted his valour to his service, but no examination was made, and, on the contrary, he has been hard pressed, and is now at an extremity. Let some one come forward and speak with me, for it is my desire to learn whether I am to be slain or to be made a prisoner." The guardsmen raced up and shot at Yorodzu, but he warded off the flying shafts, and slew more than thirty men. Then he took the sword which he wore, and cut his bow into three pieces, and bending back his sword, flung it into the midst of the water of the river. With a dagger which he had besides, he stabbed himself in the throat, and died. The Governor of Kahachi reported the circumstances of Yorodzu's death to the Court, which gave an order by a stamp [1] that his body should be cut into eight pieces and disposed for exposure among the eight provinces. The Governor [2] of Kahachi accordingly, in obedience to the purport of the stamped order, was about to dismember him for exposure, when thunder pealed, and a great rain fell. Now, there was a white dog which had been kept by Yorodzu. Looking up, and looking down, he went round, howling beside the corpse, and at last, taking up the head in his mouth, placed it on an ancient mound. He then lay down close by, and starved to death in front of it. The Governor of Kahachi, thinking that dog's conduct very strange, reported it to the Court. The Court could not bear to hear of it for pity, and issued a stamped order to this effect:—"The case of this dog is one that is rarely heard of in the world, and should be shown to after ages. Let Yorodzu's kindred be made to construct a tomb and bury their remains." The kindred of Yorodzu accord-

[1] Oshide. A stamp of red or black ink on the palm of the hand as token of authority.

[2] 國司. The Interlinear Kana is mikoto-mochi.

ingly assembled together, and raised a tomb in the village of Arimaka, where they buried Yorodzu and his dog.

It was reported from the province of Kahachi that on the plain [1] of the River of Yega there were slain men to the number it might be of several hundreds. Their corpses had become putrefied, so that their names could not be ascertained, but by the colour of the clothing their bodies were taken up (by their friends) for burial. Now there was a dog, kept by Inu, Sakurawi no Tanabe no Muraji, who held on by his teeth to the dead body (of his master), and lying beside it, guarded it closely, not getting up to go away until he had caused it to be taken up for burial. XXI. 13.

8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor, upon the advice of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto and the Ministers, assumed the Imperial Dignity. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune was made Oho-omi as before. The Ministers and Daibu were also confirmed in their previous ranks.

In this month the Palace was made at Kurahashi.[2]

1st year, Spring, 3rd month. Woteko, daughter of Ohotomo no Nukade no Muraji, was appointed Consort. She bore the Imperial Prince Hachiko and the Imperial Princess Nishikide. A.D. 588.

This year, the Land of Pèkché sent Envoys, and along with them the Buddhist priests Hyé-song, Nyöng-Keun, and Hyé-sik,[3] with a present of Buddhist relics. The Land of Pèkché sent the Eun-sol, Syu-sin, the Tök-sol, Kè-mun, and the Na-sol, Pok-pu-mè-sin, with tribute, and also with a present of Buddhist relics, the Buddhist priest Nyöng-chyo, the ascetics Nyöng-wi, Hyé-chyung, Hyé-syuk and To-öm, the Temple carpenters Ta-nyang Mi-ta and Mun-ko-ko-chă, a man learned in the art of making braziers and chargers,[4] the Chyang-tök Pèng-mè-syun, men learned in pottery named Mana Puno, Yang Kwi-mun, Neung Kwi-mun and Syök-ma Tyé-mi, and a painter [5] named Pèk-ka.

[1] The dry bed of a river is frequently so called in Japan. They were often used as execution grounds.

[2] In Yamato. [3] In Japanese Ye-sō, Ryō-kin, and Ye-shoku.

[4] Metal-founders. These artizans had a defined rank and are called Hakase, or doctor.

[5] Probably of Buddhist pictures, says the "Shukai" editor.

Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune inquired of the Pèkché priests the method of receiving discipline, and handing over to the Eun-sol, Syu-sin, and the other Pèkché Envoys the nuns Zen-shin and her companions, despatched them (to Corea) for study. Having pulled down the house of Konoha, ancestor of the Asuka no Kinunuhi no Miyakko, he began to build the Temple of Hōkōji. The name of this place was Asuka no
XXI. 14. Magami no Hara. It was also called Asuka no Tomada.

This year was the year Tsuchinoye Saru (45th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 589. 2nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Kamafu, Afumi no Omi, was sent to the Tōsandō[1] to inspect the frontier of the territory of the Yemishi, Kari, Shishibito no Omi, to the Tōkaidō[2] to inspect the frontier of the provinces bordering on the Eastern ocean, and Abe no Omi to the Hokurikudō to inspect the frontier of the province of Koshi, etc.[3]

A.D. 590. 3rd year, Spring, 3rd month. The student nuns, Zen-shin and her companions, returned from Pèkché, and took up their abode in the Temple at Sakurawi.

Autumn, 10th month. People went to the hills to get timber for building Buddhist temples. In this year there entered religion as nuns, Zentoku, daughter of Ohotomo no Sadehiko no Muraji, and his Koma wives Shiraki hime and Kudara hime,[4] under the names of Zem-myō and Myō-kwō. Moreover men of Han[5] named Zen-sō, Zen-tsū, Hō Jō-shō, Zen Chi-sō, Zen Chi-kei, and Zen-kwō, with Tasuna, a son of Kuratsukuri be no Shiba Tattō, at the same time renounced the world, the latter taking the name of Tokusai Hōshi.[6]

A.D. 591. 4th year, Spring, 4th month, 12th day. The Emperor Wosada was buried in the Misasagi of Shinaga.[7] This is the Misasagi where the Empress-consort, his mother, was buried.

[1] i.e. East-mountain-circuit, including the inland provinces eastwards from Afumi (Ōmi). The Interlinear Kana has Adzuma, which is not quite the same.

[2] East-sea-circuit, including the provinces along the East Coast from Iga to Hitachi.

[3] Viz. Etchiu, Echizen, and Echigo.

[4] i.e. the Silla lady and the Pèkché lady.

[5] China. No doubt we should understand the Ayabito family of Chinese descent. The names are Chinese, but as the persons who bore them had probably never been in China, I have not given the Chinese pronunciation.

[6] Hōshi is a priestly title.

[7] In Kahachi.

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying :—" It is our desire to establish Imna. What do ye think ? " The Ministers said to him :—" The Miyake of Imna should be established. We are all of the same opinion as Your Majesty." XXI 15.

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. Ki no Womaro no Sukune, Hirafu, Kose no Omi, Kashihade no Omi, Ohotomo no Kuhi no Muraji, and Katsuraki no Wonara no Omi were appointed as Generals. Taking with them the Omi and Muraji of the various Houses as Adjutant-Generals of the divisions of the army, they marched out in command of over 20,000 men and stationed themselves in Tsukushi. Kishi no Kana was sent to Silla and Kishi[1] no Itahiko to Imna to make inquiry respecting Imna.

5th year, Winter, 10th month, 4th day. A wild boar was presented to the Emperor. Pointing to it, he said :—" When shall those to whom We have an aversion be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut ? " An abundance of weapons was provided beyond what was customary. A.D. 592.

10th day. Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, having been told of the pronouncement of the Emperor, and alarmed at his detestation of himself, called together his people and conspired with them to assassinate the Emperor.

In this month, the Hall of Worship and the covered gallery of the great Hōkōji Temple were built.

11th month, 3rd day. Mŭmako no Sukune lied to the Ministers, saying :—" To-day I present the taxes of the Eastern provinces," and sent Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, who killed the Emperor.

One book says :—" Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was the son of Ihawi, Yamato no Aya no Atahe."

On this day the Emperor was buried in the Misasagi on the hill of Kurahashi.

One book says :—The Imperial concubine Ohotomo no Koteko, incensed at her declining favour, sent a man to Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune with a message, saying :—" Recently a wild boar was presented to the Emperor. He pointed to it and said :—' When shall the man We XXI. 16.

[1] It seems doubtful whether Kishi is here part of the name or a title.

think of be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut?' Besides weapons are being made in abundance in the Palace." Now Mŭmako no Sukune, hearing this, was alarmed.

5th day. Mounted messengers were sent to the General's quarters in Tsukushi, saying:—"Do not let foreign matters be neglected in consequence of the internal troubles."

This month, Koma, Yamato Aya no Atahe, had a clandestine amour with the Imperial concubine Kahakami no Iratsume, daughter of Soga, and made her his wife. [Kahakami no Iratsume was the daughter of Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune.] Mŭmako no Sukune did not find out immediately that Kahakami no Iratsume had been clandestinely possessed by Koma, and supposed that she was dead. But when Koma's intrigue with the Imperial concubine became known he was killed by the Oho-omi.

BOOK XXII.[1]

THE EMPRESS TOYO-MIKE KASHIKI-YA-HIME.[2]

(*SUIKO TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Toyo-mike Kashiki-ya-hime was the second[4] daughter of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-niha[5] and a younger sister by the same mother of the Emperor Tachibana no toyo-hi.[6] In her childhood she was called the Princess Nukada-be. Her appearance was beautiful, and her conduct was marked by propriety. At the age of eighteen, she was appointed Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki.[7] When she was thirty-four years of age, the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki died. When she was thirty-nine years of age, in the 5th year and the 11th month of the reign of the Emperor Hatsuse-be,[8] the Emperor was murdered by the Oho-omi Mŭmako no Sukune, and the succession to the Dignity being vacant, the Ministers besought the Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki, viz. the Princess Nukada-be, to ascend the throne. The Empress refused, but the public functionaries urged her in memorials three times until she consented, and they accordingly delivered to her the Imperial Seal.

Winter, 12th month, 8th day. The Empress-consort assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Toyora.[9]

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. Relics of Buddha A.D. 593.

[1] From this point to the end of the work I have had the great advantage of consulting Dr. Florenz's German translation.

[2] *Toyo*, abundant; *mi*, august; *ke*, food; *Kashikiya*, cook-house; hime, princess.

[3] Suiko means "to reason from antiquity."

[4] Literally middle. [5] Kimmei. [6] Yōmei. [7] Bidatsu.

[8] Sujun. [9] In Yamato.

were deposited in the foundation-stone of the pillar of the pagoda [1] of the Temple of Hōkōji.

16th day. The Pagoda-pillar was erected.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Imperial Prince Mŭma-
XXII. 2. yado no Toyotomimi was appointed Prince Imperial. He had general control of the Government, and was entrusted with all the details of administration. He was the second child of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyo-hi. The Empress-consort his mother's name was the Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito. The Empress-consort, on the day of the dissolution of her pregnancy, went round the forbidden precinct, inspecting the different offices. When she came to the Horse Department, and had just reached the door of the stables,[2] she was suddenly delivered of him without effort. He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error. He knew beforehand what was going to happen. Moreover he learnt the Inner Doctrine [3] from a Koryö Priest named Hyé-cha, and studied the Outer Classics [4] with a doctor called Hak-ka.[5] In both of these branches of study he became thoroughly proficient. The Emperor his father loved him, and made him occupy the Upper Hall South of the

[1] The Chinese character here translated "pagoda" is 刹, pronounced *setsu* in Japanese. This words means (with the pronunciation *chöl*) in Corean Buddhist temples generally, and it is the same word which we have in the Japanese *tera*, temple. But in the present passage it would seem that one of the subsidiary buildings of a Buddhist temple is intended, no doubt something in the form of a pagoda, corresponding to either 6 or 14 in the drawing in "Murray's Handbook of Japan" (Introduction, p. 26). A pagoda in Japan is built round a solid central pillar (referred to in the text) which runs up to the topmost story. Shari, relics, is the Japanese form of the Sanskrit śarîra, body. The shari at Ikegami near Tokio is said to be part of the shoulder-blade of Saint Nichiren.

The Pagoda is the Chinese and Japanese counterpart of the Indian stupa and an essentially sepulchral monument. The stories, of which there is always an odd number, represent umbrellas of honour. *Vide* an instructive article by Miss Gordon Cumming in the "English Illustrated Magazine."

[2] Hence his name, Mŭma-ya-do, which means stable door.

[3] i.e. Buddhism.

[4] i.e. the Chinese Classics. Inner and Outer have here something of the force of our words sacred and secular.

[5] The Corean pronunciation.

Palace. Therefore he was styled the Senior Prince Kamu-tsu-miya,[1] Muma-ya-do Toyotomimi.

Autumn, 9th month. The remains of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi were removed and re-interred in the Misasagi of Shinaga in Kahachi.

In this year the building of the Temple of Shi-ten-ō-ji[2] at Arahaka in Naniha was begun.

This year was the year Midzunoto Ushi (50th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Empress instructed the Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi to promote the prosperity of the Three Precious Things. At this time, all the Omi and Muraji vied each with one another in erecting Buddhist shrines for the benefit of their Lords and parents. These were called Temples.[4] A.D. 594.

3rd year, Summer, 4th month. Lign-aloes[5] wood drifted ashore on the Island of Ahaji. It was a fathom round. The people of the island, being unacquainted with aloes wood, used it with other firewood to burn in their cooking range, when the smoky vapour spread a perfume far and wide. Wondering at this, they presented it to the Empress. A.D. 595. XXII. 3.

5th month, 10th day. A priest of Koryö, named Hyé-chă, emigrated to Japan, and was taken as teacher by the Prince Imperial. In the same year a Pèkché priest, named Hyé-chhong, arrived. These two priests preached the Buddhist religion widely, and were together the mainstay of the Three Precious Things.

Autumn, 7th month. The General and his followers arrived from Tsukushi.

[1] Kamu-tsu-miya means upper palace.

[2] Shi-ten-ō-ji means the Temple of the Four (Dêva) Kings. This Temple is still in existence—not the original building, however. Arahaka is the name of the place where it stands. It means ruined tomb.

[3] See above, p. 104.

[4] The Chinese character used here is 寺, but whether the author refers to the use of this character (with the sound *ji*) at the end of names of Buddhist temples, or whether he was thinking of the Japanese word *tera*, temple, is not very clear. Tera, though always written 寺, is really, as already pointed out, derived from the Chinese 刹 through the Corean *chöl*.

[5] Aquilaria agallochum.

A.D. 596. 4th year, Winter, 11th month. The building of the Temple of Hōkōji was finished. Accordingly Zentoku no Omi, son of the Oho-omi, was appointed Commissioner for the Temple. On this day the two priests Hyé-chă and Hyé-chhong took up their residence in Hōkōji.

A.D. 597. 5th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The King of Pèkché sent Prince A-cha with tribute.

Winter, 11th month, 22nd day. Ihagane no Kishi was sent to Silla.

A.D. 598. 6th year, Summer, 4th month. Ihagane Naniha no Kishi arrived from Silla, and presented to the Empress a pair of
XXII. 4. magpies. They were accordingly made to be kept in the wood of Naniha, where they built their nest on the branch of a tree, and had their young.[1]

Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Silla sent tribute of a peacock.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Land of Koshi presented a white deer to the Empress.

A.D. 599. 7th year, Summer, 4th month, 27th day. There was an earthquake which destroyed all the houses. So orders were given to all quarters to sacrifice to the God[2] of Earthquakes.

XXII. 5. Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Pèkché sent tribute of one camel, two sheep, and one white pheasant.[3]

A.D. 600. 8th year, Spring, 2nd month. Silla and Imna made war against each other. The Empress wished to assist Imna,[4] and in this year appointed Sakahibe no Omi General-in-Chief, and Hodzumi no Omi Assistant General, in command of over 10,000 men to invade Silla on behalf of Imna. Hereupon they went straight to Silla, and on arriving there by sea, laid siege to five fortresses and captured them. Now the King of Silla was struck with fear, and raising a white flag, came to the General's standard and offered his submission, ceding the six fortified places of Tatara, Sonara, Pulchikwi, Witha, South

[1] Magpies are very plentiful in Corea. In Japan they are a somewhat rare bird. I have seen them near Kurume in the province of Higo.

[2] From a notice in the "Shoku-Nihongi" it appears that in the reign of Shōmu (724-748) there were shrines to this God in all the seven home provinces.

[3] See below, XXV. 46.

[4] Imna was incorporated with Silla A.D. 532, and is not mentioned in the "Tongkam" after that date. The "Nihongi" narrative may have reference to some rebellion of the Imna people.

Kara, and Ara.[1] Then the Generals took counsel together, saying:—"Silla, conscious of guilt, makes his submission; it would be wrong to insist on chastising him." Accordingly they reported to the Empress. Hereupon the Empress further sent Miwa, Naniha no Kishi, to Silla, and also Itahiko, Naniha no Kishi, to Imna. Both were to examine the state of affairs. Hereupon the Kings of the two countries of Silla and Imna sent Envoys with tribute, and delivered a memorial to the Empress, saying:—"In Heaven above there are Gods; on Earth there are Emperors. Besides these two classes of Gods, what else is there which we should fear? Henceforward we will refrain from making war on one another, and will every year attend the Court without fail, not allowing the helms of our ships to become dry." Accordingly the Empress sent XXII. 6.
messengers to recall the Generals, but no sooner had they arrived from Silla than Silla again invaded Imna.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month. The building of a Palace in A.D. 601.
Ikaruga[2] was begun by the Prince Imperial.

3rd month, 5th day. Kurafu,[3] Ohotomo no Muraji, was sent on a mission to Koryö, and Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, to Pèkché, ordering them to proceed instantly to the assistance of Imna.

Summer, 5th month. The Empress dwelt in the temporary Palace of Miminashi. At this time there were heavy rains, and the river overflowed its banks, filling the Court of the Palace.

Autumn, 9th month, 8th day. A spy from Silla named Kamata came to Tsushima. He was forthwith arrested, and delivered up[4] to the Government, who banished him to Kamitsukenu.[5]

Winter, 11th month, 5th day. The question of making war on Silla was considered.

10th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. The Imperial A.D. 602.
Prince Kume[6] was appointed General for the invasion of Silla, and was granted the various Be of the service of the Gods,[7]

[1] These places are in Imna.

[2] Near where the Temple of Hōriuji now stands.

[3] Or Kuhi.

[4] Literally sent as tribute.

[5] Kōdzuke.

[6] If Kume is 軍, war, as is probable, there is an obvious propriety in this appointment.

[7] Such as the Nakatomi, the Imbe, etc.

together with the Kuni no Miyakko and the Tomo no Miyakko, and an army of 25,000 men.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. General the Imperial Prince Kume arrived in Tsukushi, and proceeded to the district of Shima, where he encamped, and assembled ships for the transport of provisions for his army.

XXII. 7. 6th month, 3rd day. Kurafu, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Nukade, Sakamoto no Omi, arrived together from Pèkché. At this time the Imperial Prince Kume fell ill, and was unable to carry out the expedition.

Winter, 10th month. A Pèkché priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of Calendar-making, of Astronomy, and of Geography,[1] and also books of the art of invisibility and of magic. At this time three or four pupils were selected, and made to study under Kwal-leuk. Ōchin,[2] the ancestor of the Yako no Fumibito, studied the art of Calendar-making. Kōsō,[3] Otomo no Suguri, studied Astronomy and the art of invisibility. Hinamitatsu, Yamashiro no Omi, studied magic. They all studied so far as to perfect themselves in these arts.

Intercalary 10th month, 15th day. Two Buddhist priests of Koryö named Seung-nyung and Un-chhong emigrated here together.

A.D. 603. 11th year, Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Kume died in Tsukushi. A mounted courier was despatched to report the news to the Empress. Now when the Empress heard it, she was greatly shocked, and straightway sending for the Prince Imperial and Soga no Oho-omi, spoke to them, saying:—"The Imperial Prince Kume, the General-
XXII. 8. in-Chief for the chastisement of Silla, has died. On the point of undertaking a great project, he has failed to accomplish it. Is not this much to be lamented?" So he was temporarily interred at Saba in the Province of Suwo, and Wite, Hashi no Muraji,[4] was sent to superintend the temporary burial. There-

[1] The term used would include Geomancy.

[2] Ōchin is a name of Chinese or Corean origin, but as it is borne by a Japanese, I give it the Japanese pronunciation. Fumibito or fubito means scribes.

[3] Or Takatoshi.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 181. It would appear from this that Hashi no Muraji was still an office with specific duties, and not a mere title.

fore the descendants of Wite no Muraji were called Saba no Muraji. This was the reason of it.

He (the Prince) was afterwards buried on the top of Mount Hanifu in Kahachi.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. A new appointment was made of the Imperial Prince Tahema,[1] the elder brother of the Imperial Prince Kume, as General for the chastisement of Silla.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Tahema sailed from Naniha.

6th day. The Imperial Prince Tahema arrived at Harima. Now his wife, Princess Toneri, who accompanied him, died at Akashi, and was buried on the top of the Hill of Higasa. So Prince Tahema returned, and never accomplished his expedition of chastisement.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. There was a removal (of the Imperial residence) to the Palace of Woharida.

11th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial addressed all the high functionaries,[2] saying :—" I have an image of the venerable Buddha. Which of you will receive this image and worship it reverently ? " Now Kahakatsu, Hada no Miyakko, came forward and said :—" Thy servant will worship it." So he received the image of Buddha, and built for it the Temple of Hachi-woka.[3]

In this month, the Prince Imperial having asked permission of the Empress, made great shields and quivers. Moreover he painted banners.[4] XXII. 9.

12th month, 5th day. Cap-ranks[5] were first instituted, viz. :—

[1] Or Taima. [2] Daibu.

[3] The present Temple of Kwō-riu-ji in Yamashiro, district of Kadono. The Temple tradition says that this image was of Miroku, i.e. Māitreya, Buddha, the merciful one, expected to appear and open a new era about 3000 years hence. Miroku is probably identical with the Corean *miryök*, the general term in that country for Buddhist images.

[4] As offerings to temples. The banners were for display at Court ceremonies. See a paper on the " Hi no Maru," " T.A.S.J.," Vol. XXII. 1893, for some account of these banners. See also Dr. Florenz's note on this passage.

[5] The Chinese custom of distinguishing rank by the form and materials of the official cap. In modern times a button on the top of the cap serves this purpose.

Dai-toku[1] . . (greater virtue),
Shō-toku . . (lesser virtue),
Dai-nin . . (greater benevolence),
Shō-nin . . (lesser benevolence),
Dai-rai . . (greater propriety),
Shō-rai . . (lesser propriety),
Dai-shin . . (greater faith),
Shō-shin . . (lesser faith),
Dai-gi . . . (greater justice),
Shō-gi . . . (lesser justice),
Dai-chi . . (greater knowledge),
Shō-chi . . (lesser knowledge),

—in all twelve grades.[2]

Each was made of sarcenet of a special colour.[3] They were gathered up on the crown in the shape of a bag, and had a border attached. Only on the first day of the year were hair-flowers[4] worn.

A.D. 604
XXII. 10.

12th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Cap-ranks were for the first time granted to the various Ministers, there being a distinction for each.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial in person prepared for the first time laws.[5] There were seventeen clauses, as follows :—

[1] Or Daitoko.

[2] The last five are the names of the Chinese five cardinal virtues. *Vide* "Mayers' Manual," p. 311. The "Shiki" informs us that these ranks corresponded, the first two to the fourth rank of that day, the next two to the fifth and so on, there being nothing, however, to correspond to the last two (Daichi and Shōchi) above mentioned. It is noticeable that the highest ranks, which comprised but a small number of persons, are not included in this table.

These cap-ranks did not remain long in use. They were subsequently modified, and ultimately abandoned altogether.

[3] In imitation of the contemporary Sui dynasty of China, purple was for officials of the fifth rank and upwards. *Nin* was green, *rai* red, *shin* yellow, *gi* white, and *chi* black. Princes and chief Ministers wore the cap of the highest rank, viz. toku.

[4] Hair ornaments of gold or silver in the shape of flowers. Specimens are preserved in the Nara Museum. They are called Uzu in Japanese.

[5] These so-called laws are evidently rather of the nature of moral maxims. Dr. Florenz has a highly instructive note on this passage, to which I would refer the reader.

I. Harmony is to be valued,[1] and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honoured. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighbouring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

II. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures, viz. Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood, are the final refuge of the four generated beings,[2] and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to reverence this law? Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not betake them to the three treasures, wherewithal shall their crookedness be made straight?

III. When you receive the Imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the Imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

IV. The Ministers and functionaries should make decorous behaviour their leading principle, for the leading principle of XXII. 11.
the government of the people consists in decorous behaviour.[3] If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behaviour, there

[1] From the "Lunyu," or "Analects" of Confucius.

[2] That is, the beings produced in transmigration by the four processes of being born from eggs, from a womb, moisture-bred, or formed by metamorphosis (as butterflies from caterpillars). Some editions omit the phrase Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood.

[3] The Chinese 禮, *li*, decorum, courtesy, proper behaviour, ceremony, gentlemanly conduct as we should say.

must necessarily be offences. Therefore it is that when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with propriety, the Government of the Commonwealth proceeds of itself.

V. Ceasing from gluttony and abandoning covetous desires, deal impartially with the suits which are submitted to you. Of complaints brought by the people there are a thousand in one day. If in one day there are so many, how many will there be in a series of years? If the man who is to decide suits at law makes gain his ordinary motive, and hears causes with a view to receiving bribes, then will the suits of the rich man be like a stone flung into water,[1] while the plaints of the poor will resemble water cast upon a stone. Under these circumstances the poor man will not know whither to betake himself. Here too there is a deficiency in the duty of the Minister.

VI. Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of dilating to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence towards the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

VII. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men
XXII. 12. hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man.

[1] i.e. they meet with no resistance.

VIII. Let the Ministers and functionaries attend the Court early in the morning, and retire late. The business of the State does not admit of remissness, and the whole day is hardly enough for its accomplishment. If, therefore, the attendance at Court is late, emergencies cannot be met: if officials retire soon, the work cannot be completed.

IX. Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for in it there surely consists the good and the bad, success and failure. If the lord and the vassal observe good faith one with another, what is there which cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not observe good faith towards one another, everything without exception ends in failure.

X. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no XXII. 13.
end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like them.

XI. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. Ye high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments.

XII. Let not the provincial authorities[1] or the Kuni no Miyakko levy exactions on the people. In a country there are not two lords; the people have not two masters. The sovereign is the master of the people of the whole country. The officials to whom he gives charge are all his vassals. How can they, as well as the Government, presume to levy taxes on the people?

XIII. Let all persons entrusted with office attend equally to

[1] The Interlinear Kana has Mikoto mochi. The Kuni no Miyakko were the old local nobles, whose power was at this time giving way to that of the Central Government, represented in the provinces by the 國司, or local Governors.

their functions. Owing to their illness or to their being sent on missions, their work may sometimes be neglected. But whenever they become able to attend to business, let them be as accommodating as if they had had cognizance of it from before, and not hinder public affairs on the score of their not having had to do with them.

XIV. Ye ministers and functionaries! Be not envious. For if we envy others, they in turn will envy us. The evils of envy know no limit. If others excel us in intelligence, it gives us no pleasure; if they surpass us in ability, we are envious. Therefore it is not until after a lapse of five hundred years that we at last meet with a wise man, and even in a thousand years we hardly obtain one sage. But if we do not find wise men and sages, wherewithal shall the country be governed?

XV. To turn away from that which is private, and to set our faces towards that which is public—this is the path of a Minister. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will assuredly feel resentments, and if he is influenced by resentful feelings, he will assuredly fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, he will assuredly sacrifice the public interests to his private feelings. When resentment arises, it interferes with order, and is sub-
XXII 14. versive of law. Therefore in the first clause it was said, that superiors and inferiors should agree together. The purport is the same as this.

XVI. Let the people be employed (in forced labour) at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Let them be employed, therefore, in the winter months, when they are at leisure. But from Spring to Autumn, when they are engaged in agriculture or with the mulberry trees, the people should not be so employed. For if they do not attend to agriculture, what will they have to eat? if they do not attend to the mulberry trees, what will they do for clothing?

XVII. Decisions on important matters[1] should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many. But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that

[1] I venture to substitute 大, great, for 夫, the reading of the printed editions.

they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

Autumn, 9th month. The Court ceremonies were reformed. In connection with this measure, the following edict was issued:—

"On entering or leaving the Palace Gate, one must kneel on both knees, with both hands pressed on the ground, but it is permitted to stand up and walk when the threshold is passed."

In this month there were first established the Kibumi[1] painters and the Yamashiro painters.

13th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Empress commanded the Prince Imperial, the Oho-omi, and also the Princes and Ministers, all to make a vow together, and therewithal to begin to make copper[2] and embroidery images of Buddha, sixteen feet high, one of each. She also commanded Kuratsukuri no Tori[3] to be the engineer for the construction of A.D. 605.

[1] The "Daishiden" ("History of Shōtoku Daishi") states that the Kibumi, Yamashiro and other painters were instituted for the painting of Buddhist pictures. They were relieved from certain taxes and allowed to make this their profession. There is some doubt whether Kibumi is the name of a place or not. It means literally yellow writing, and some think this is a description of the Buddhist Sutras which were written on tinted paper. Kibumi is also applied to Chinese books.

The Shukai quotes here a passage from a Chinese History of the Liang dynasty to the following effect:—"In A.D. 541 Pèkché sent frequent Envoys with offerings of their national products. They also asked for a treatise on the Nirvana Sutra, doctors of (ancient) Chinese poetry, and also artizans and painters. These were granted by Imperial command." This is not the only evidence of the fact that simultaneously with the stream of Chinese civilizing influences which flowed from Corea to Japan at this period, there was a corresponding current from China to Corea. The frequency of Chinese names among the Corean emigrants to Japan is a proof of this. The "Seishiroku," a sort of peerage of Japan, compiled A.D. 814, shows that at that time nearly a third of the Japanese nobility traced their descent to Corean or Chinese ancestors in something like equal proportions. The members are: China (Han), 162 families; Pèkché, 104; Koryö, 50; Imna, 9, and Silla, 9; doubtful, 47. Total, 381 foreign families out of a grand total of 1177. Many of these were descended from teachers of various kinds, and all must have contributed to the spread of Chinese civilization in the country of their adoption.

[2] From the "Daishiden" we learn that the "copper" was an amalgam of copper and gold in the proportion of 23,000 kin (pounds) of the former to 759 riō (ounces) of the latter.

[3] i.e. Tori of the Saddlers' Be.

the Buddhas. At this time King Tè-hung[1] of Koryö, hearing that the Empress was making images of Buddha, sent tribute of 300 riō of the yellow metal.

Intercalary 7th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial
XXII. 15. ordered all the Princes and Ministers to put on the outer garments called *hirahi*.

Winter, 10th month. The Prince Imperial took up his abode in the Palace of Ikaruga.

A.D. 606. 14th year, Summer, 4th month, 8th day. Both the sixteen-foot images of Buddha, viz. that of copper and that of embroidery, were finished, and on the same day the sixteen-foot copper image was enshrined in the Golden Hall[2] of Gangōji.

Now this image of Buddha was too high for the door of the Golden Hall, and it could not be got into it. Hereupon the workmen consulted together and proposed to break down the door of the Hall, and so bring in the image. By the skill, however, of Kuratsukuri no Tori they succeeded in bringing it into the Hall without breaking down the door. On the same day a maigre entertainment[3] was given, at which there assembled an innumerable multitude of people.

Beginning with this year, festivals were held in all the temples on the 8th day of the 4th month and on the 15th day of the 7th month.

5th month, 5th day. The Imperial commands were given to Kuratsukuri no Tori, saying:—"It being my desire to encourage the Inner doctrines, I was about to erect a Buddhist Temple, and for this purpose sought for relics. Then thy
XXII. 16. grandfather, Shiba Tattō, offered me relics. Moreover, there were no monks or nuns in the land. Thereupon thy father, Tasuna, for the sake of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi, took priestly orders[4] and reverenced the Buddhist law. Also thine aunt Shimame was the first to leave her home and, becoming the forerunner of all nuns, to practise the religion of Shaka. Now, We desired to make a sixteen-foot Buddha, and to that end sought for a good image of Buddha. Thou didst provide a model which met Our wishes. Moreover,

[1] This was not the name of the Koryö king who reigned at this time.
[2] The Great Hall of the Temple where the chief image is installed.
[3] This means practically a religious service. See above, XX. 14.
[4] Lit. left his house.

when the image of Buddha was completed, it could not be brought into the Hall, and none of the workmen could suggest a plan of doing so. They were, therefore, on the point of breaking down the doorway, when thou didst manage to admit it without breaking down the doorway. For all these services of thine, We grant thee the rank of Dainin, and We also bestow on thee twenty chō of water-fields [1] in the district of Sakata in the province of Afumi." With the revenue derived from this land, Tori built for the Empress the Temple of Kongō-ji,[2] now known as the nunnery of Sakata in Minabuchi.

Autumn, 7th month. The Empress requested the Prince Imperial to lecture on the Shō-man-giō.[3] He completed his explanation of it in three days.

In this year the Prince Imperial also lectured on the Hokke-kiō [4] in the Palace of Okamoto. The Empress was XXII. 17.
greatly pleased, and bestowed on the Prince Imperial one hundred chō of water-fields in the Province of Harima. They were therefore added to the Temple of Ikaruga.

15th year, Spring, 2nd month, 1st day. A Mibu Be [5] was A.D. 607.
established.

9th day. The following edict was made:—"We hear that Our Imperial ancestors, in their government of the world, bending lowly under the sky and treading delicately on the ground, paid deep reverence to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. They everywhere dedicated temples to the mountains and rivers, and held mysterious communion with the powers of Nature. Hence the male and female elements became harmoniously developed, and civilizing influences blended together. And now in Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth? Therefore let Our Ministers with their whole hearts do reverence to the Gods of Heaven and Earth." [6]

[1] i.e. rice-land.

[2] Diamond-temple.

[3] A Sutra or Buddhist Scripture called in Sanskrit the Çrīmālādevī-simhanāda.

[4] The Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 280. Also Florenz, Part III. p. 24.

[6] This edict is pure Chinese, and sounds very strangely from an Empress who was devoted to Buddhism.

15th day. The Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi, accompanied by all the functionaries, did worship to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Dairai,[1] Imoko Wono no Omi, was sent to the Land of Great Thang.[2] Kuratsukuri no Fukuri was appointed his interpreter.

In the winter of this year, the pond of Takechi, the pond of
XXII. 18. Fujihara, the pond of Katawoka, and the pond of Sugahara were constructed in the province of Yamato, and a great canal was dug at Kurikuma in the province of Yamashiro. Moreover, in the province of Kahachi, the ponds of Tokari and Yosami were made. Miyake were also erected in all the provinces.

A.D. 608. 16th year, Summer, 4th month. Imoko, Wono no Omi, came back from the Land of Great Thang. The Thang country called him So In-ko.[3]

An envoy from Great Thang named P'ei Shih-ch'ing, with a suite of twelve persons, arrived at Tsukushi in company with Imoko no Omi. Wonari, Naniha no Kishi, was sent to bring the guests of Great Thang, P'ei Shih-ch'ing and the others, and a new official residence was erected for them over the Koryö official residence at Naniha.

6th month, 15th day. The guests anchored in the harbour of Naniha. Thirty gaily decked boats were sent to meet them at Yeguchi (river-mouth), and they were lodged in the new official residence. Hereupon Torimaro, Nakatomi no Miya-

[1] 5th rank. See above, p. 128.

[2] Thang, 唐, is the Chinese dynasty of that name. China is here called Thang retrospectively, as that dynasty did not come into power until 618. The epithet "great" is found in all the older editions, but the "Shukai" editor strikes it out. "Great" is prefixed in China to the name of the reigning dynasty only. Subsequent writers omit it.

Thang is in Japan pronounced Tō, as in Tōjin, which in our own day is (or perhaps I should say, was) a popular word for foreigners of all nationalities.

[3] So In-ko is 蘇因高. The two last characters are meant as a phonetic representation of Imoko. The first is taken, according to Dr. Florenz, from Soga, to which house Dr. Florenz says (on what authority I do not know) that Wono belonged. The Japanese commentators suggest that 蘇 is merely a phonetic equivalent of 小, the first character of Wono (little moor). But this is open to the objection that these two characters are not pronounced alike in China, though they are in Japan.

toko no Muraji, Nukade, Ohoshi Kahachi no Atahe and Ō-hei, Fune no Fumibito, were appointed their official entertainers.

Now Imoko no Omi represented to the Empress, saying:—"When I was leaving, the Thang Emperor gave me a letter. But while passing through the Land of Pèkché, the men of Pèkché searched me and took it from me. Therefore I am unable to present it." Hereupon the Ministers advised, saying:—"An Envoy, though he lose his life, should not lose his message. Such is (the duty of) an Envoy! How can any one be so remiss in it as to lose the letter of the Great Country?" And they accordingly condemned him to banishment. Now the Empress made an order, saying:—"Although Imoko is guilty of losing the letter, We cannot easily punish him, for in that case the guest of the Great Country would hear of it, and this is undesirable." So he was pardoned and left unpunished. XXII. 19.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Thang guests entered the capital. On this day seventy-five caparisoned horses were sent to meet the Thang guests on the Tsubaki no ichi highway, where Hirafu, Nukada be no Muraji, delivered a message of welcome to them.

12th day. The Thang guests were summoned to Court, and caused to state the object of their mission. Abe no Tori no Omi and Idaku, Mononobe no Yosami no Muraji, acted as introducers of the guests.

Now the presents from the Land of Great Thang were placed in the courtyard. Then the Chief Envoy, P'ei-Shih-ch'ing, bearing in his own hands the letter (of credence), made obeisance twice, and declared the purport of his mission. He then stood up.

This letter was as follows:—"The Emperor greets the Sovereign of Wa.[1] Your Envoy, the provincial governor, the

[1] There is here a distinction made. Emperor is written 皇帝. But the latter of these characters is omitted in describing the Sovereign of Japan. Wa was the ordinary name for Japan, both in China and Corea, and in the latter country it is in use to this day. The Japanese object to it, and have never called their country by this name. The "Shaku-nihongi" says:—"Wono no Imoko, the Envoy who visited China, (proposed to) alter this term into Nippon, but the Sui Emperor ignored his reasons and would not allow it. The term Nippon was first used in the period Wu-Tēh, under the Thang Dynasty (618-626)." Another Chinese authority gives 670 as

XXII. 20. Dairai, So In-ko, and his suite have arrived, and have given us full information.

We having reverently received the precious command[1] (of Heaven), rule over the universe. It is Our desire to diffuse abroad Our civilizing influences, so as to cover all living things, and Our sentiment of loving nurture knows no distinction of distance.

Now We learn that Your Majesty, dwelling separately beyond the sea, bestows the blessings of peace on your subjects, that there is tranquillity within your borders, and that the manners and customs are mild.

With the most profound loyalty, you have sent Us tribute from afar, and We are delighted at this admirable token of your sincerity.

Our health is as usual, notwithstanding the increasing warmth of the weather.

Therefore We have sent P'ei-Shih-ch'ing, Official Entertainer of the Department charged with the Ceremonial for the reception of Foreign Ambassadors, and his suite, to notify to you the preceding. We also transmit to you the products of which a list is given separately."

Then Abe no Omi came forward, received the letter, and advanced with it. Ohotomo no Kurafu no Muraji came out to meet him, and received the letter, which he laid on a table before the Great Gate, and reported to the Empress. When the ceremony was over, they (the Chinese Ambassador and his suite) retired.[2]

On this occasion, the Imperial Princes, the other Princes, and the Ministers all wore golden hair ornaments on their heads, and their clothing was all of brocade, purple, and embroidery, with various-coloured figured thin silks.

In one writing it is stated that the colour of the garments corresponded in all cases with that of the official caps.

the date when Nippon began to be officially used in China. The "Tong-kam" gives the same date as that in which the Japanese officially notified this term to the Corean Government as the proper appellation of their country.

[1] The Dei gratiâ of European Sovereigns.

[2] It appears from this and other passages that at this period the Court was literally the courtyard in front of the Emperor's Hall of Audience. None but the principal Ministers entered the Hall itself.

16th day. The Thang guests were entertained at Court.

9th month, 5th day. The guests were entertained at Ohokohori in Naniha.

11th day. The Thang guest, P'ei Shih-ch'ing, took his departure. Accordingly, Wono no Imoko no Omi was appointed Chief Envoy, Kishi no Wonari Second Envoy, and Fukuri Interpreter. They were despatched in company with the Thang guests. Now the Emperor addressed the Thang Emperor in the following terms:—

"The Emperor of the East respectfully addresses the Emperor of the West.[1] Your Envoy, P'ei Shih-ch'ing, Official Entertainer of the Department of foreign receptions, and his suite, having arrived here, my long-harboured cares were dissolved. This last month of autumn is somewhat chilly. How is Your Majesty? We trust well. We are in our usual health. We now send the Dairai, So In-ko, the Dairai, Wonari, and others to you. This is respectfully presented, but informal." XXII. 21.

At this time there were sent to the Land of Thang the students Fukuin, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, Emyō, Nara no Wosa,[2] Kuromaro, Takamuku no Ayabito, and Ohokuni, Imaki no Ayabito, together with the student-priests Hifumi (or Nichibun), Imaki no Ayabito, Shōan, Minabuchi no Ayabito, Eon, Shiga no Ayabito, and Kōsai, Imaki no Ayabito, in all eight persons.

In this year many persons from Silla came to settle in Japan.

17th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. The Viceroy[3] of A.D. 609.

[1] Emperor is here in the first case 天皇 (Tennō); in the second 皇帝 (Kō-tei).

A Chinese History of the Thang dynasty gives a different version of the opening words of this letter. It says: "The Emperor (天子) of the place where the sun comes forth addresses a letter to the Emperor (天子) of the place where the sun sets." The Chinese Emperor complained of the rudeness of this barbarian letter. It is pretty clear from this incident that the word Nippon (sun-origin) for Japan was not yet in use officially. Cf. "Ishōnihonden," I. 22.

[2] Wosa means interpreter. No doubt the name and office here coincided.

[3] From very early times Kiushiu, or such part of it as submitted to the Tennō's rule, was governed by a viceroy, as I have ventured to translate Dazai 大宰. *Vide* "Early Japanese History," p. 56. Hereditary kings

Tsukushi reported to the Empress that Buddhist priests from Pèkché, named To-heun and Hyé-mi,[1] at the head of ten others and seventy-five laymen, had anchored in the harbour of Ashigita in the province of Higo. Then Tokomaro, Naniha no Kishi, and Tatsu, Funa no Fumibito, were sent to ask them why they came. They answered and said:—"The
XXII. 22. King of Pèkché commanded us to go on a mission to the Land of Wu.[2] In that country, however, there is civil war. We were not allowed to enter it, and were returning to our own land again when we suddenly met with a storm, and were tossed about upon the sea, until most fortunately we anchored on the Imperial coast. At this we were greatly rejoiced."

5th month, 16th day. Tokomaro and his companion returned, and made their report to the Empress. Tokomaro and Tatsu were straightway sent back to accompany the men of Pèkché, and to escort them to their own country. When they arrived at Tsushima, the ten priests all expressed a wish to remain (in Japan), and the matter having been laid before the Government, they were permitted to do so. Accordingly, they were caused to dwell in the Temple of Gangōji.

Autumn, 9th month. Imoko, Wono no Omi, came back from the Land of Great Thang. Only the Interpreter Fukuri did not return.

A.D. 610. 18th year, Spring, 3rd month. The King of Koryö sent tribute of Buddhist priests named Tam-chhi and Pöp-chöng. Tam-chhi knew the five (Chinese) classics.[3] He was moreover skilled in preparing painters' colours, paper, and ink. He also made mills. This was apparently the first time that mills were made.[4]

Autumn, 7th month. An Envoy from Silla named Chuk-

of Ito are mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling in the north of Kiushiu under the sovereign of Yamato in the 3rd century. The Interlinear Kana gives Oho-mikoto-mochi, Great-august-thing-holder, as the Japanese equivalent for Dazai. But I am disposed to think that this is a mere translation, like many of the Kana renderings of Chinese titles, and that this word was not a real title of the viceroy.

[1] In Japanese Dōkin and Emi.

[2] Wu is of course here a mere geographical term. The Honan country is intended.

Vide "Mayers' Chinese Manual," p. 315.

[4] It is not quite clear what sort of mills is intended. Probably hand-mills.

syé-să, Nama[1] of Satök-pu, and an Imna Envoy named Syu Chi-mè, Tè-sya[2] of Tök-pu, arrived in Tsukushi. XXII. 23.

9th month. Messengers were sent to fetch the Envoys from Silla and Imna.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. The Envoys from Silla and Imna arrived in the capital. On this day Hirafu, Nukadabe no Muraji, was made Chief Officer over the caparisoned horses sent to meet the Silla guests, and Ohotomo, Kashihade no Omi, Chief Officer over the caparisoned horses sent to meet the Imna guests. Accordingly they were lodged in the official building at Kahabe in Ato.

9th day. The Envoys paid their respects at Court. On this occasion Kahakatsu, Hada no Miyakko, and Usagi, Hashi no Muraji, were ordered to act as introducers for Silla, and Shiwo-futa, Hashibito no Muraji, and Ohoko, Abe no Omi, as introducers for Imna. They brought them in together by the South Gate, and made them stand in the middle of the Court. Now, Ohotomo no Kurafu[3] no Muraji, Soga no Toyora no Yemishi no Omi, Sakamoto no Nukade no Omi and Abe no Toriko no Omi got up together from their places, and going forward, prostrated themselves in the Court. Hereupon the guests of the two countries each made repeated obeisance, and declared the purport of their mission. Then the four Daibu stood up, and going forward, informed the Oho-omi. The Oho-omi got up from his place, and standing before the Hall, listened to their statement. When this was done, all the guests were given presents, each according to his rank.

17th day. The guests were entertained at Court. Nihe, Kahachi no Aya no Atahe was made table-companion for Silla, and Kusō, Nishikori no Obito, table-companion for Imna.

23rd day. The ceremonies of the reception of the guests having come to a close, they went away.

19th year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Empress went to gather medicinal herbs on the plain of Uda.[4] A.D. 611.

[1] Nama is a Silla official title—the 13th rank. The original has Nami, wrongly, I think. Satök-pu is the name of a place.

[2] Tè-sya was the 12th official rank in Silla. [3] Or Kuhi.

[4] This was the day fixed for this purpose by the Calendar. The custom is frequently mentioned by later writers. The herbs gathered were mushrooms,

XXII. 24. At cockcrow they assembled by the pond of Fujihara, and at daybreak they set out. Ahata no Hosome no Omi was made to lead the van, while Nukadabe no Hirafu no Muraji brought up the rear. On this day the colour of the clothing of the various Ministers agreed with the colour of their official caps. They each wore hair ornaments, which in the case both of the Daitoko and Shōtoko were made of gold, of the Dainin and Shōnin of leopards' tails, and of the Dairai and lower ranks of birds' tails.[1]

Autumn, 8th month. Silla sent Peuk-cheul-chi,[2] Nama of Satök-pu, and Imna sent Chhin-chi and Chu-chi, the Tè-sya of Seup-pu together, with tribute.

A.D. 612. 20th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. A banquet, with sake, was given to all the high functionaries. On this day, the Oho-omi proposed the health of the Empress, and sang a song, saying:—

When I look on the august sky,[3]
Whence there stands forth,
From its manifold fence (of clouds)
Which conceals her,
The Great Sovereign
Who rules us tranquilly,
For myriads of ages (say we)
May it ever be thus!
For thousands of ages too
May it ever be thus!
With deep reverence
We would serve her;
With profound obeisance
XXII. 25. We would serve her;
And so ends my song.

---

fungus for moxa or scented flag for making the perfumed and gaily-ornamented balls called Kusu-dama, hung up by the Japanese in their temples and houses. Also various other herbs.

[1] In Loochoo at the present day rank is indicated by the material of the hair-pin. See Chamberlain in "J.A.S.T."

[2] The traditional transliteration is Horinchi.

[3] The Empress's appearance among her courtiers is compared to the sun (from whom she is descended) issuing from among the clouds. The metre is regular *naga-uta*.

The Empress replied, saying:—

My good Soga!
The sons of Soga—
Were they horses,
They would be steeds of Hiuga:
Were they swords,
They would be good blades of Kure.[1]
Right indeed
Seems the Great Sovereign
To have in her service
The sons of Soga!

2nd month, 28th day. The body of the former Empress-consort Katashi-hime[2] was removed and re-interred in the Great Misasagi of Hinokuma.

On this day funeral orations were pronounced on the Karu[3] highway. First of all, Tori, Abe no Uchi no Omi, pronounced an eulogistic decree of the Empress, and made offerings to the spirit of the deceased of such things as sacred utensils and sacred garments,[4] fifteen thousand kinds in all.

Secondly, the Imperial Princes, each in the order of their rank, pronounced funeral orations. Thirdly, Womaro, Nakatomi no Miyatokoro no Muraji, pronounced the eulogistic address of the Oho-omi. Fourthly, the Oho-omi, at the head of the Omi of the eight families,[5] caused Marise, Sakahibe no XXII. 26.
Omi, to read the written eulogiums of the nobility.[6] The people of that time said that Marise and Womaro delivered their eulogiums well, but that Tori no Omi delivered his badly.

5th month, 5th day. An excursion was made to gather medicinal herbs. They assembled at Hada and proceeded together to the Court. The dress was the same as for the Uda excursion.

[1] Kure is Wu in China. See above, XXII. 22. The "Shiki" says this is the name of a good sword.

[2] Wife of Kimmei Tennō and mother of Yōmei Tenno and Suiko Tennō. The Misasagi named was that of her husband. This is a case of double interment. Two stone coffins have been found in some misasagi.

[3] Or Karo.

[4] The "Shukai" gives what appears to me a violent and unnecessary emendation of this passage.

[5] Lit. bellies. Eight is here used loosely for a great number, all.

[6] 氏姓. In Japanese Uji and Kabane, i.e. noble houses and titles or surnames.

This year a man emigrated from Pèkché whose face and body were all flecked with white, being perhaps affected with white ringworm. People disliking his extraordinary appearance, wished to cast him away on an island in the sea. But this man said :—"If you dislike my spotted skin, you should not breed horses or kine in this country which are spotted with white. Moreover, I have a small talent. I can make the figures of hills and mountains. If you kept me and made use of me, it would be to the advantage of the country. Why should you waste me by casting me away on an island of the sea?" Hereupon they gave ear to his words and did not cast him away. Accordingly he was made to draw the figures of Mount Sumi [1] and of the Bridge of Wu in the Southern Court. The people of that time called him by the name of Michiko no Takumi, and he was also called Shikomaro.[2]

Another man of Pèkché named Mimachi emigrated to Japan. He said that he had learned from Wu their style of music and dancing. He was accordingly lodged at Sakurawi, and young people collected who were made to learn from him these arts. Hereupon Deshi,[3] Manu no Obito, and Seibun,
XXII 27. Imaki no Ayabito, learned dancing from him, and handed it down (to their pupils).

A.D. 613. 21st year, Winter, 11th month. The ponds of Waki no Kami, Unebi, and Wani were constructed, and a great highway laid from Naniha to the capital.[4]

12th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial took a journey to Katawoka. Now a starving man was lying by the roadside. He asked his name, but there was no answer. The Prince Imperial, seeing this, gave him to eat and to drink, and taking off his own raiment, clothed with it the starving man, saying to him, "Lie in peace." Then he made a song, saying :—

Alas! for
The wayfarer lying
An hungered for rice
On the hill of Katawoka

---

[1] In Sanskrit, Sumêru. The central mountain or axis of every universe, the support of the tiers of heaven, according to the Buddhist system.

[2] Shiko means ugly.

[3] Deshi means pupil.

[4] Which was then at Tachibana in Yamato.

(The sunshiny).
Art thou become
Parentless?
Hast thou no lord
Flourishing as a bamboo?
Alas! for
The wayfarer lying
An hungered for rice![1]

2nd day. The Prince Imperial sent a messenger to see the starving man. The messenger returned and said:—"The starving man is already dead." Hereupon the Prince Imperial was greatly grieved, and accordingly caused him to be buried at that place, a mound erected, and firmly closed.[2]

Many days after, the Prince Imperial called for his personal attendants, and said to them:—"The starving man who was lying on a former day on the road was no ordinary man. He must have been an upright man." A messenger was sent to see. On his return he reported that when he went to the mound and made inspection, the heaped-up earth had not been disturbed, but on opening the tomb and looking in, there was no corpse. It was empty, and there was nothing but the garment folded up and laid on the coffin. Thereupon the Prince Imperial sent the messenger back a second time to fetch the garment, which he continued wearing as before. XXII. 28.

The people of that time wondered much at this, and said:—"How true it is that a sage knoweth a sage." And they stood more and more in awe of him.

22nd year, Summer, 5th month, 5th day. An excursion for medicinal herbs was made. A.D. 614.

6th month, 13th day. Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, and Yatabe no Miyakko were sent to the Land of Great Thang.

Autumn, 8th month. The Oho-omi fell ill. For his sake a thousand persons, men and women, entered religion.

23rd year, Autumn, 7th month. Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, A.D. 615.

[1] Metre, irregular naga-uta.

[2] There was a passage leading to the interior of burial mounds of persons of some rank, which was closed with earth and stones after the interment. It is possibly this process which is intended by the term 封, which means both to seal and to pile up earth. In the case of the burial of a vagrant, however, it is more probable that there was no vault, but simply a heap of earth raised over the grave.

and Yatabe no Miyakko arrived from the Land of Great Thang. An envoy from Pèkché accompanied Inugami no Kimi to our Court.

11th month, 2nd day. A banquet was given to the Pèkché guest.

11th day. The Koryö Buddhist priest Hyé-Chă returned to his country.

A.D. 616. 24th year, Spring, 1st month. Peach trees and plum trees bore fruit.[1]

3rd month. Three men from the Island of Yaku[2] came hither as emigrants.

XXII. 29. Summer, 5th month. Seven persons from Yaku arrived.

Autumn, 7th month. Twenty more persons arrived from Yaku. There were first and last in all thirty persons. They were all settled in Enowi. They never went away again, but all died there.

Autumn, 7th month. Silla sent the Namà, Chuk Syé-să, with tribute of an image of Buddha.[3]

A.D. 617. 25th year, Summer, 6th month. It was reported from the province of Idzumo that there was in the district of Kando a gourd of the size of an amphora.[4]

In this year there were good crops of the five kinds of grain.

A.D. 618. 26th year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. Koryö sent envoys with tribute of local productions, and reported that Yang-Ti[5] of the Sui dynasty had invaded that country with a force of 300,000 men, but had, on the contrary, been beaten by them.[6]

XXII. 30. They therefore sent a present of two captives, named Chên-kung and P'u-t'ung, with such things as flutes, cross-bows, and catapults—ten in all. They also sent one camel, bred in their country.

[1] In a similar notice below, XXII. 39, the author is satisfied with the more probable statement that they blossomed.

[2] Off the south coast of Satsuma.

[3] A later work informs us that this image was of gold, two feet high. It was set up in Hōkōji. It sent forth rays of light, and worked miracles from time to time.

[4] Some understand here a musical instrument, the body of which was of earthenware.

[5] Reigned 605—617.

[6] This statement is corroborated both by Chinese and Corean history. The events referred to took place in A.D. 612.

This year Kahabe no Omi[1] was sent to the province of Aki with orders to build ships. On arriving at the mountain, he sought for ship timber. Having found good timber, he marked it and was about to cut it, when a man appeared, and said :—"This is a thunder-tree, and must not be cut." Kahabe no Omi said :—"Shall even the Thunder-god oppose the Imperial commands?" So having offered many mitegura,[2] he sent workmen to cut down the timber. Straightway a great rain fell, and it thundered and lightened. Hereupon Kahabe no Omi drew his sword, and said :—"O Thunder-god, harm not the workmen; it is my person that thou shouldst injure." So he looked up and waited. But although the God thundered more than ten times, he could not harm Kahabe no Omi. Then he changed himself into a small fish, which stuck between the branches of the tree. Kahabe no Omi forthwith took the fish, and burnt it. So at last the ships were built. XXII. 31.

27th year, Summer, 4th month, 4th day. It was reported from the province of Afumi that in the river Gamafu[3] there was a creature in the shape of a man.[4] A.D. 619.

Autumn, 7th month. There was a fisherman of the province of Settsu, who cast his net in the Horiye.[5] Something entered his net formed like a child, which was neither a fish nor a man. Its name was unknown.

28th year, Autumn, 8th month. Two men of Yaku were cast away on the island of Idzu.[6] A.D. 620.

Autumn, 10th month. The top of the Misasagi[7] of Hinokuma was covered with pebbles. Outside the boundary the earth was piled up into a hill, and each of the noble houses[8]

[1] I have omitted here and in several other places a frivolous note of the "Original Commentary," to the effect that "the personal name is wanting."

[2] Offerings of cloth.

[3] Gamō. [4] A bad omen.

[5] Hori-ye is literally an artificial canal. Here it is the name of a branch of the river at Osaka, no doubt originally artificially excavated.

[6] Probably Vries Island, or one of the adjacent islands. Or Shima may here mean promontory.

[7] At this day several of the misasagi are thickly covered with a layer of paving-stones, loosely put down, probably in order to prevent the earth from being washed away by rains. An example may be seen at Tarumi, near Kobe, and another on the hill above Nara.

[8] Uji.

was charged to erect a great pillar[1] on the top of the hill of earth. Now the pillar set up by Yamato no Aya no Saka no Uhe no Atahe was very much higher than the others, and the men of that time gave him the name of Ohohashira (great-pillar) no Atahe.

12th month, 1st day. There was a red appearance in the sky, over a rod in length, and resembling the tail of a fowl in shape.

XXII. 32. This year, the Prince Imperial, in concert with Shima no Oho-omi, drew up a history of the Emperors, a history of the country, and the original record of the Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, the Kuni no Miyakko, the 180 Be, and the free subjects.[2]

A.D. 621. 29th year, Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. In the middle of the night the Imperial Prince Mŭmayado no Toyotomimi no Mikoto died in the Palace of Ikaruga. At this time all the Princes and Omi, as well as the people of the Empire, the old, as if they had lost a dear child, had no taste for salt and vinegar[3] in their mouths, the young, as if they had lost a beloved parent, filled the ways with the sound of their lamenting. The farmer ceased from his plough, and the pounding woman laid down her pestle. They all said :—"The sun and moon have lost their brightness ; heaven and earth
XXII. 33. have crumbled to ruin : henceforward, in whom shall we put our trust ?"

In this month the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya[4] was buried in the Shinaga Misasagi.

At this time Hyé-chă, the Buddhist priest of Koryö, heard of the death of the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya, and was greatly grieved thereat. He invited the priests, and in honour of the Prince Imperial gave them a meal,[5] and explained the sacred books in person. On this day he prayed, saying :—"In the land of Nippon there is a sage, by name the Imperial

[1] These pillars were probably of wood. No trace of them now remains. Dr. Florenz says the custom of erecting pillars was introduced by the Buddhists. This is the first mention of it.

[2] This is the work afterwards known as the "Kiujihonki," "Kiujiki," or "Kujiki." See below, XXIV. 26.

[3] To be understood generally of well-flavoured food.

[4] Prince Mŭmayado.

[5] Of vegetarian food only.

Prince Kamitsumiya Toyotomimi. Certainly Heaven has freely endowed him with the virtues of a sage.[1] Born in the Land of Nippon,[2] he thoroughly possessed the three fundamental principles,[3] he continued the great plans of the former sages. He reverenced the Three Precious Things,[4] and assisted the people in their distress. He was truly a great sage. And now the Prince Imperial is dead. I, although a foreigner, was in heart closely united to him. Now what avails it that I alone should survive? I have determined to die on the 5th day of the 2nd month of next year.[5] So shall I meet the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya in the Pure Land, and together with him pass through the metempsychosis of all living creatures." Now when the appointed day came, Hyé-chă died, and all the people of that day said one to another :— XXII. 34.
"Prince Kamitsumiya is not the only sage, Hyé-chă is also a sage."[6]

This year Silla sent the Nama, Imimè, with tribute and a memorial, stating to the Empress the object of his mission. It was perhaps from this time that Silla began to present memorials.

30th year, Autumn, 7th month. Silla sent as ambassador A.D. 622.
the Nama, Chi-syön-i, and Imna sent the Talsol Nama, Chi. They came to Court together, and brought tribute of a golden image of Buddha, a golden pagoda, and relics, also a great baptismal flag,[7] with twelve smaller ones. Now the image of

[1] See Legge's "Confucian Analects," p. 82.

[2] Whether or not the previous examples of the use of the characters 日本 (Nippon) for Japan are authentic, or merely introduced retrospectively by later compilers, the present instance is probably a genuine case of its use. It is natural to suppose that it was used in an informal way for some time before it was used officially.

There is here, no doubt, an allusion to the meaning of Nippon, viz. "Origin of the sun."

[3] Viz. Heaven, Earth, and Man. The meaning is that he was a philosopher.

[4] Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha.

[5] The anniversary of the Prince's death.

[6] The "Kiujiki" ends here.

[7] The Buddhist baptism consists in washing the top of the head with perfumed water. The baptismal flags were so called because they had the same efficacy, raising those who passed under them first to the status of a

Buddha was placed in the Hada[1] Temple at Kadono. The other articles, namely the relics, the golden pagoda, and the baptismal flags, were all deposited in Shitenōji.[2] At this time, the Buddhist priests E-sai and E-kō, with the physicians E-jitsu and Fuku-in, students of the learning of Great Thang, arrived in company with Chi-syön-i and the others. Now E-jitsu and the rest made together a representation to the Empress, saying:—"Those who have resided in Thang for study[3] have all completed their courses, and ought to be sent for. Moreover, the Land of Great Thang is an admirable country, whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it."

This year Silla invaded Imna,[4] and Imna became a depen-
XXII. 35. dency of Silla. The Empress thought of invading Silla, and consulted with the Oho-omi. She also asked the opinion of all the Ministers. Then Tanaka no Omi answered and said:—"An invasion should not be too hastily undertaken. It will not be too late to attack when we have first learnt the condition of affairs and ascertained that they are (really) mutinous. I pray that the experiment be made of sending an envoy thither to view the state of things."

Kuni, Nakatomi no Muraji, said:—"Imna is originally an inner Miyake of ours. The Silla people have now attacked and taken possession of it. I pray that our troops be disciplined, that Silla be chastised, and Imna taken from it and given to Pèkché. Would not this be better than that it should be possessed by Silla?" Tanaka no Omi said:—"Not so!

Tchakra Râdja (*vide* Eitel), and ultimately of a Buddha. Fishes were benefited by such flags being floated down a river.

There is at the present day a survival of this practice in the Nagare-kanjō (kanjō means baptism, or head-sprinkling), described in Yamada's Dictionary as follows:—"Four posts are set up near water, on which white cloth is hung. To this are attached leaves of lign-aloes, etc., as offerings for the benefit of the souls of the friendless dead, of drowned persons, or of still-born children." There is an interesting account of the nagare-kanjō in a little book called "Our Neighbourhood," by T. A. P. (the late Dr. Purcell, of Tokio).

[1] Called the Hachiwoka Temple above.

[2] At Osaka. See above, 1st year of reign. [3] See above, XXII. 21.

[4] The "Tongkam" says nothing of this. Pèkché and Silla were on hostile terms about this time. Besides, the downfall of Imna is already mentioned above.

Pèkché is a very changeable country.[1] Even on the roads they lie. Everything they ask for is unjust. Therefore (Imna) should not be given over to Pèkché." So the expedition was not carried out. Hereupon Kishi no Ihakane was sent to Silla, and Kishi no Kuranoshita to Imna, to inquire into the Imna affairs.

Now the Lord of Silla sent eight Daibu to inform Ihakane of the affairs of Silla and Kuranoshita of the affairs of Imna. Therefore they promised as follows:—"Imna, though a small country, is a dependency of the Empress. Why should Silla unceremoniously take possession of it? Let it be once for all recognized to be, as always, an inner Miyake (of Japan), and we pray let there be no more trouble about it."

So the Nama, Chi-syön-i, was sent along with Kishi no Ihakane and an Imna man, the Talsol Nama named Chi, along with Kishi no Kuranoshita to bring tribute from both countries. But that same year, before Ihakane and the other had returned, the Daitoko, Womaro, Sakahibe no Omi, and the Shōtoko, Kuni, Nakatomi no Muraji, were appointed generals of the first rank; the Shōtoko, Nedzu, Kahabe no Omi, the Shōtoko, Itto, Mononobe no Yosami no Muraji, the Shōtoko, Hironiha, Hada no Omi, the Shōtoko Ihifuta, Afumi no Ashimi no Omi, the Shōtoko, Ushi, Heguri no Omi, the Shōtoko, Ohotomo no Muraji, and the Shōtoko, Ikusa, Ohoyake no Omi, were made assistant-generals. XXII. 36.

They invaded Silla with an army of several tens of thousands of men. Now Ihakane and the others had assembled at the port, and were waiting for a fair wind and smooth sea in order to embark. Hereupon a numerous naval force arrived, filling the sea. The Envoys of the two countries, gazing upon it, were struck with alarm, and returned home.

In their stead, Kamchi Tè-chhang[2] was made tribute-bearer for Imna, and came with an offering of tribute. Hereupon Ihakane and his colleague said to one another:—"The outbreak of this war is contrary to the previous agreement, therefore the Imna affairs cannot now be settled." So they put to sea, and crossed over to Japan. The generals, how-

[1] Pèkché is so described in the "Tongkam."

[2] Tè-chhang, as the "Shukai" suggests, is probably a mistake for Tè-sya, a Silla official title.

ever, first went to Imna, and having held a consultation, were about to attack Silla. Hereupon the King of the Land of Silla, hearing that a large force had arrived, became apprehensive and tendered his submission. Then the generals consulted together, and forwarded a memorial, which was granted by the Empress.

Winter, 11th month. Ihakane, Kuranoshita, and the rest returned from Silla. Thereupon the Oho-omi inquired the state of affairs there. They answered and said:—"Silla received the Imperial commands with profound respect, and accordingly designated two special Envoys to deliver tribute from the two countries. But when they saw a naval force arrive, the Envoys with tribute for our Court went home again. The tribute, however, has been brought, notwithstanding this." Hereupon the Oho-omi said:—"What a pity that the army was despatched so soon!"

The men of that time said that this war was owing to
XXII. 37. Sakahibe no Omi and Adzumi no Muraji having formerly[1] received many presents from Silla, and that they had again urged the Oho-omi, with the consequence that the expedition was despatched before receiving the Envoy's report.[2]

Before this time, when Ihakane and his colleague crossed over to Silla, a gaily-decorated boat came to meet them at a bay as they were approaching the harbour. Ihakane inquired:—"To what country does this boat sent to meet us belong?" They answered and said:—"It is a Silla boat." Ihakane again said:—"Why is there no boat to meet us from Imna?" A second boat was at once added on behalf of Imna. The practice of Silla sending two boats to meet our Envoys began from this time.

From spring till autumn there were heavy rains and floods, and the five grains did not reach maturity.

A.D. 623. 31st year, Spring, 4th month, 3rd day. There was a Buddhist priest who took an axe and smote therewith his paternal grandfather.[3] Now the Empress, hearing of this,

[1] i.e. in the 8th year of this reign.

[2] So that they might have again an opportunity of levying blackmail on Silla.

[3] The interlinear Kana gives here oya, parent. This may serve as an example of the inaccuracy of these glosses.

sent for the Oho-omi, and gave command, saying:—"The man who has entered religion should be devoted to the Three Precious Things, and should cherish devoutly the prohibitions of the Buddhist law. How can he without compunction be readily guilty of crime? We now hear that there is a priest who has struck his grandfather. Therefore, let all the priests and nuns of the various temples be assembled, and investigation made. Let severe punishment be inflicted on any who are convicted of offences." Hereupon the priests and nuns were all assembled, and an examination held. The wicked priests and nuns were all about to be punished, when Kwal-leuk, a Buddhist priest of Pèkché, presented a memorial, as follows:—"The law of Buddha came from the Western Country to Han.[1] Three hundred years later it was handed on to Pèkché, since which time barely one hundred years had elapsed, when Our King, hearing that the Emperor of Nippon XXII. 38. was a wise man, sent him tribute of an image of Buddha and of Buddhist Sutras. Since that time, less than one hundred years have passed, and consequently the priests and nuns have not yet learned the Buddhist laws, and readily commit wickedness. On this account all the priests and nuns are afraid, and do not know what to do. I humbly pray that with the exception of the wicked (priest who struck his grandfather) all the other priests and nuns may be pardoned and not punished. That would be a work of great merit."

Accordingly the Empress granted (his petition).

13th day. A decree was made as follows:—"If even the priests continue to offend against the law, wherewithal shall the laymen be admonished? Therefore from this time forward we appoint a Sōjō and a Sōdzu for the superintendence of the priests and nuns."

17th day. The priest Kwal-leuk was appointed Sōjō, and Kurabe no Tokuseki was made Sōdzu. On the same day Adzumi no Muraji was made Hōto.[2]

Autumn, 9th month, 3rd day. There was an inspection of the temples, and of the priests and nuns, and an accurate record made of the circumstances of the building of the

[1] The Chinese dynasty of that name.

[2] Lit. head of the law (of Buddha). This was the chief official of the Department of the Buddhist religion.

temples, and also of the circumstances under which the priests and nuns embraced religion, with the year, month and day of their taking orders. There were at this time 46 temples, 816 priests, and 569 nuns—in all, 1385 persons.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Oho-omi sent the two Ministers, Adzumi no Muraji and Maro, Abe no Omi, to inform the Empress, saying:—"The district of Katsuraki is my
XXII. 39. original residence, and I have therefore taken my name from it. I pray accordingly that I may have this district permanently, and I desire that it should be constituted my fief." Hereupon the Empress made an order, saying:—

"We are sprung from the Soga family. Moreover the Oho-omi is Our uncle by the mother's side. Therefore the words of the Oho-omi, if spoken at night, (are carried into effect by us) before the night has given way to morning; if spoken in the daytime, (they are carried into effect) before the day has become dark. What speech of his have We not attended to? But if now in this Our reign, We were rashly to part with this district, future sovereigns would say, 'A foolish woman ruled the Empire, and rashly lost this district.' Not only should We be accounted unwise, but the Oho-omi would be thought disloyal. Such would be Our ill-fame in ages to come." So she refused.

A.D. 624. 32nd year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The King of Koryö sent tribute of a Buddhist priest, named Hyé-kwan. He was appointed Sōjō.

A.D. 626. 34th year, Spring, 1st month. Peach and plum trees blossomed.

3rd month. It was cold, and hoar-frost fell.

Summer, 5th month, 20th day. The Oho-omi died. He was buried in the tomb at Momohara. The Oho-omi was the son of Iname no Sukune. He had a talent for military tactics, and was also gifted with eloquence. He reverenced deeply the Three Precious Things. His house stood on the bank of the river Asuka. A small pond had been dug in the courtyard, and there was a little island in the middle of the pond. Therefore the men of that time called him Shima no Oho-omi.[1]

XXII. 40. 6th month. Snow fell. This year from the 3rd to the 7th

[1] The Island Premier.

month there were continual rains, and great famine in the Empire. The old ate the roots of herbs, and died by the roadside. Infants at the breast died with their mothers. Thieves and robbers sprang up in great numbers, and could not be put down.

35th year, Spring, 2nd month. In the province of Michinoku there was a mujina[1] which changed into a man and sang. A.D. 627.

Summer, 5th month. Flies gathered together in great numbers. They clustered together for ten rods, and floated away in the air across the Shinano pass[2] with a sound like thunder. They reached as far east as the province of Kamitsuke, and then spontaneously dispersed.

36th year, Spring, 2nd month, 27th day. The Empress took to her sick bed. A.D. 628.

3rd month, 2nd day. There was a total eclipse of the sun.

6th day. The Empress's illness became very grave, and (death) was unmistakably near. So she sent for the Imperial Prince Tamura, and addressed him, saying:—"To ascend to the Celestial Dignity, and therewith to regulate the vast foundation, to direct the manifold machinery of government, and thereby to nourish the people—this is not a matter to be lightly spoken of, but one which demands constant and serious attention. Do thou therefore be careful and observant, and let no hasty words escape thee." On the same day she summoned to her Tamashiro no Ohoye, and instructed him, saying:—"Thy heart is young. Whatever thou mayst wish in thy bosom, do not utter it in speech, but be sure to await the expression of general opinion, and act accordingly." XXII. 41.

7th day. The Empress died at the age of seventy-five.[3] She was temporarily interred in the Southern Court (of the Palace).

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. Hail fell, of the size of peaches.

16th day. Hail fell, of the size of plums. There was a drought, which lasted from spring till summer.

Autumn, 9th month, 20th day. The rites of mourning for the Empress began. At this time all the Ministers each pro-

[1] A kind of badger. [2] The present Usui Tōge.

[3] The "Kojiki" ends here.

nounced a funeral eulogy at the shrine of the temporary burial-place.

Before this time the Empress had given her dying injunctions to the Ministers, saying:—"Of late years the five grains have not produced well, and there is great famine among the people. Let there be therefore no costly interment[1] by raising
XXII. 42. for me a misasagi, but let me be buried in the misasagi of the Imperial Prince Takeda.

24th day. The Empress was buried in the misasagi of Prince Takeda.

[1] Buddhist influence is traceable in the avoidance of costly forms of burial. It led subsequently to the abolition of misasagi.

BOOK XXIII.

THE EMPEROR OKINAGA TARASHI-HI HIRO-NUKA.[1]

(*JOMEI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was the grandson of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki,[3] and the son of the Imperial Prince Hikobito no Ohoye. His mother's name was the Imperial Princess Nukade hime.

In the 29th year of the reign of the Empress Toyo-mike Kashikiya hime[4] the Prince Imperial Toyotomimi no Mikoto died. No successor to him had been appointed. In the 3rd month of the 36th year the Empress died. In the 9th month the funeral ceremonies were completed, but no decision as to who should succeed to the throne had yet been come to. At this time Soga no Yemishi no Omi was Oho-omi. He wished to decide the matter of the succession on his sole authority. But apprehending that the Ministers generally would not acquiesce in this, he consulted Abe no maro no Omi, and having assembled all the Ministers, they entertained them in the Oho-omi's house. When the feast was over, and they were about to disperse, the Oho-omi through Abe no Omi addressed the Ministers, saying:—"The Empress is dead, leaving no successor. If measures are not taken promptly, civil disturbances are to be feared. Which, therefore, of the Princes is to be her successor? When the Empress took ill, she commanded the Imperial Prince Tamura, saying:—'The Empire is a great charge, and, of course, not to be lightly spoken of. Do thou

[1] Okinaga is the name of a place; tarashi-hi, suffice-sun, a honorific; hiro-nuke, broad forehead, is no doubt descriptive of the Emperor's appearance.

[2] Extend-brightness. [3] Bidatsu Tennō. [4] Suiko Tennō.

the Imperial Prince Tamura be watchful and observant, and not remiss.' She next sent for Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, and said to him :—' Do thou avoid brawling speech of thine own, and fail not to follow the words of the many. Be self-restrained, and not contentious.' These were the dying injunctions of the Empress. Whom now shall we make Emperor ? " The Ministers were silent, and made no answer.
XXIII. 2. Again he asked them, but there was no reply. He persisted in questioning them, and thereupon Ohotomo no Kujira no Muraji advanced and said :—" Let us simply obey the Empress's dying injunctions. There is no need to go beyond them, and consult general opinion." Abe no Omi straightway inquired, saying :—" What does this mean ? Explain thy opinion." He answered and said :—" What was the Empress's intention when she gave command to the Imperial Prince Tamura, saying : ' The Empire is a great charge ; be not remiss ' ? Judging by this, the Imperial Dignity is already decided. And who shall gainsay this decision ? " Then the four Ministers, Mareshi, Uneme no Omi, Uma, Taka-muku no Omi, Mike, Nakatomi no Omi, and Musashi, Naniha no Kishi, said :—" Let us comply with the advice of Ohotomo no Muraji ; there is no more objection to be made." Ohomaro, Kose no Omi, Adzumōdo, Saheki no Muraji, and Shihote, Ki no Omi, these three, stood forward and said :—" It is Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye who should be made Emperor." But Soga no Kuramaro no Omi [also called Womasa] alone said :—" I am unable to say anything at this moment, but I will think further over the matter and declare myself later." Upon this the Oho-omi, seeing that the Ministers were inharmonious, and that the matter could not be accomplished, retired.

Before this, the Oho-omi had by himself inquired of Sakahibe no Marise no Omi, saying :—" The Empress has died, leaving no heir. Whom shall we make Emperor ? " He answered and said :—" Let us raise up Yamashiro no Ohoye, and make him Emperor." At this time Yamashiro no Ohoye was living in the Palace of Ikaruga. This consultation having come to his ears, he sent Prince Mikuni and Wajiko, Sakurawi no Omi, these two, with a secret message to the Oho-omi,
XXIII. 3. saying :—" It has come to my knowlege that (thou) my maternal uncle art desirous of making the Imperial Prince

Tamura Emperor. On hearing this report, I have thought of it standing and have thought of it sitting, but without being able to see on what just grounds it rests. I beg that I may be clearly informed of my uncle's intentions." Hereupon the Oho-omi, when he received this message from Yamashiro no Ohoye, was unable of himself to give an answer. So he sent for Abe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Ki no Omi, Kahabe no Omi, Takamuku no Omi, Uneme no Omi, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Kose no Omi, to whom he communicated fully Yamashiro no Ohoye's message. He then proceeded to address these Daibu, saying:—"Go, ye Daibu, in a body to the Palace of Ikaruga, and say to Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, 'How should his humble servant[1] be so rash as of his own authority to decide the succession to the Dignity? All that he has done is to take up the Empress's dying commands, and communicate them to the Ministers.' The Ministers said with one voice, 'In accordance with the dying instructions of the Empress, the Imperial Prince Tamura is the natural successor to the Dignity. Who has any further objection?' Such were the words of the Ministers. They are not specially my sentiments. Although I have a private opinion of my own, out of respect I refrain from communicating it by message, and await the opportunity of an interview in order to inform thee personally." Hereupon the Daibu, having received the words of the Oho-omi, proceeded together to the Palace of Ikaruga, where Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi were made to deliver to Yamashiro no Ohoye the message of the Oho-omi. Now Prince Ohoye made them go and ask the Daibu what were the dying commands of the Empress. They answered and said:—"We do not know the depth of the matter. Only we gathered from the account given us of the circumstance by the Oho-omi that on the day in which the Empress took to her sick bed, she gave command to the Imperial Prince Tamura, and said to him, 'The future government of the country is not to be lightly spoken of. Therefore do thou the Imperial Prince Tamura speak of it with self-restraint, and be not remiss.' She next gave command to Prince Ohoye, and said to him, 'Thy heart is young; avoid

[1] The interlinear Kana version has yakkora, making the humble servant plural, and to refer to the Daibu.

brawling words, and fail not to obey the voice of general opinion.' The princesses in immediate attendance on the
XXIII. 4. Empress, and the ladies-in-waiting all know this. Moreover, it is within the direct knowledge of the great Prince." Hereupon Prince Ohoye caused further inquiry to be made, saying: —"Is there any special person who has heard these dying injunctions of the Empress?" The answer was, "We have no knowledge of any secret particulars." After this he sent a fresh message to the Daibu, saying:—"My beloved maternal uncle has been at the pains to send me not simply a single messenger, but a number of high officials for my instruction. For this I am deeply grateful. It appears, however, that the dying commands of the Empress which the Ministers now tell me of are somewhat different from what I heard. As soon as I learnt that the Empress had taken to her sick bed, I hastened to the palace and waited at the gate. Then Mike, Nakatomi no Muraji, came out from the forbidden precinct, and said:— 'I summon thee by command of the Empress.' Accordingly I proceeded to the inner gate. Moreover Kurome, Kurikuma no Uneme, met me in the courtyard, and led me to the Great Hall. Now the Empress's personal attendants, with Princess Kurimoto at their head, and eight ladies-in-waiting, Shibime among the number, several tens of persons in all, were in attendance beside the Empress. The Imperial Prince Tamura was also present. Now the Empress was very ill, and could not see me. Accordingly Princess Kurimoto informed her that Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, whom she had sent for, had arrived. Then the Empress raised herself up and gave command, saying:—'We, with our poor abilities, have long borne the burden of the great institution. But now our destined career is drawing to a close; and this disease admits of no avoidance. Therefore, thou hast always been dear to Our heart, and Our affection for thee has no parallel. Now the great foundation of the State is not a
XXIII. 5. thing of Our reign (alone), but from all time has demanded diligence. Do thou, though thy heart[1] is young, be watchful over thy words.' All those who were in immediate attendance on the Empress at that time know this. Therefore when this great favour was conferred on me, I was on the one hand full of awe, and on the other full of grief. I leaped for joy, and

[1] Lit. liver (kimo). He was thirty-six.

knew not what to do. Then I bethought me :—' The Spirits of the land and of grain and the ancestral shrines are weighty matters. I am young and devoid of wisdom : how can I presume to accept this charge ? ' Just at this time I desired to converse with my maternal uncle and the Ministers on the subject, but there was no (fit) opportunity for me to speak, and it is for this reason only that I have been silent up to the present. On a former occasion I went to the capital in order to pay a visit of inquiry to my sick maternal uncle, and lodged in the Temple of Toyora. On this day the Empress sent Shibime, Yakuchi no Uneme, to me with an Imperial message, saying :—' Thy maternal uncle, the Oho-omi, constantly expresses anxiety on thy account. After a hundred years,[1] is it not to thee that the succession to the Dignity will fall ? Be, therefore, watchful, and spare thyself.' This matter is clear. What doubt can there be about it ? But am I covetous of the Empire ? I am simply declaring what I have heard, and I call to witness to its truth the Gods both of Heaven and Earth. Therefore it is my desire to ascertain accurately the dying commands of the Empress. Moreover, ye, the Ministers sent to me by the Oho-omi, are men who have always addressed the sovereign as it were holding the sacred spear by the middle.[2] Will you be so good, therefore, as to inform my uncle ? "

After this Prince Hatsuse, the second son (of Prince Ohoye[3]), sent for Nakatomi no Muraji and Kahabe no Omi separately, and said to them :—" Both my father and I spring from the Soga family, as is well known to the world. We, therefore, rely on it as on a high mountain. I pray, therefore, that the succession to the Dignity be not lightly spoken of." So he sent Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi along with the Ministers, saying :—" I desire to receive an answer." Then the Oho-omi XXIII. 6.
sent Ki no Omi and Ohotomo no Muraji to say to Prince Mikuni and Sakurawi no Omi :—" On a former occasion I said all I had to say : there is nothing else. However, how should I presume to despise one prince and honour another ? "

Several days after, Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye again sent Sakurawi no Omi to the Oho-omi to say :—" What I repre-

[1] i.e. some day or another : after my death.

[2] Without bias (?).

[3] Prince Ohoye could, therefore, not have been very young.

sented on the former day was only what I heard. Shall I oppose my maternal uncle?"

On this day the Oho-omi was ill, and unable to hold a personal conversation with Sakurawi no Omi.

The next day the Oho-omi sent for Sakurawi no Omi, and straightway despatched Abe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Kahabe no Omi, Oharida no Omi, and Ohotomo no Muraji to address Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye, saying:—"From the time of the Emperor[1] who reigned in the Palace of Shikishima until recently, the Ministers have all been wise men. Now I am not wise, yet having happened on a time when men are scarce, I hold rank wrongfully above all the Ministers. This being so, I have been unable to settle the great foundation.[2] This is, however, a grave matter, and cannot well be discussed by intermediaries. Therefore, although my age makes it burdensome to me, I will speak with thee personally. This is merely that there may be no misunderstanding as to the Empress's dying injunctions, and not because I have any private views of my own."

After this the Oho-omi sent Abe no Omi and Nakatomi no Muraji with a message to Sakahibe no Omi to inquire again of him, saying:—"Which Prince shall be made Emperor?" He answered and said:—"When the Oho-omi formerly asked me in person, his slave said all that he had to say on the matter. What need is there now for any further message?" And he was greatly enraged, and got up and went out. Just at this time there was a gathering of all the kinsmen of the Soga House to construct a tumulus for Shima no Oho-omi. They lodged at the place where the tomb was. Hereupon Marise no Omi,[3] having pulled down the sheds at the tomb, retired to the Soga farm-house, and would do no official duty. Upon this, the Oho-omi was angry, and sent Katsushi, Musa no Kimi, and
XXIII. 7. Akawi, Nishikori no Obito, to admonish him, saying:—"I know thy evil speeches, but by reason of our relationship of elder and younger brother I cannot injure thee. But if others are wrong and thou art right, I shall oppose them and follow thee: if others are right and thou art wrong, I shall in that

[1] Kimmei Tennō. [2] That is, the succession to the throne.
[3] The same as Sakahibe no Omi.

case oppose thee and follow them. If, therefore, thou shouldst eventually disagree with me, there will be a breach between us, and there will, moreover, be civil broils in the land. Then posterity will say that thou and I have brought the country to ruin. Such would be our ill-fame with after generations. Do thou be watchful, nor allow a rebellious spirit to arise."

But he still refused compliance, and at length went to Ikaruga, where he dwelt in the Palace of Prince Hatsuse. Hereupon the Oho-omi became more and more wrathful, and sent the Ministers to make a request of Yamashiro no Ohoye, saying:—"Marise has of late been disobedient to me, and has concealed himself in the Palace of Prince Hatsuse. I pray thee, let me have Marise, so that I may examine the reasons." Hereupon, Prince Ohoye answered and said:—"Marise was always a favourite of the wise Empress, and has only come here for a short visit. How should he set himself in opposition to the sentiments of my maternal uncle? I pray thee, do not find fault with him." Accordingly he spoke to Marise, saying:—"It is most kind of thee to come, not forgetting the gratitude which thou owest to the former prince.[1] But the peace of the Empire is now threatened on thy sole account. Moreover, the former Prince, when near his end, addressed his children, saying:—'Avoid wickedness of every kind, practise good of every kind.' I heard this speech, and have made it my constant rule of life. On this account, although I have my private sentiments, I am patient, and not wrathful. Nor can I set myself in opposition to my uncle. I pray thee, henceforward, be not afraid to reform thy views. Yield to the many, and do not withdraw thyself."[2]

At this time, the Daibu also admonished Marise no Omi, saying:—"Thou shouldst not disobey the commands of Prince Ohoye." Hereupon Marise no Omi, having advanced to a point where he had nowhere to turn for support, burst out weeping and went home again. He remained in his house XXIII. 8.
for more than ten days. Prince Hatsuse suddenly took ill and died. Hereupon Marise no Omi said:—"Though I live, on whom shall I place my trust?"

[1] The Japanese commentators explain this expression as referring to Shōtoku Daishi, Prince Ohoye's father.

[2] From duty as a public servant.

The Oho-omi, wishing to put to death Sakahibe no Omi, raised troops which he sent against him. Sakahibe no Omi hearing that an armed force was coming, took with him his second son, Aya, and going outside the gate, sat down on a chair and waited. Then the troops arrived, and Ikuhi, Kume no Mononobe, was made to strangle him. Father and son died together and were buried in the same place. But the eldest son, Ketsu, fled and concealed himself in the tiled house [1] of a nunnery, where he had intrigues with one or two of the nuns. Now one of the nuns was jealous and informed on him. The temple was surrounded and he was on the point of being caught, when he got away and went to Mount Unebi. Therefore they searched the mountain. Ketsu had no place to escape to, and committed suicide on the mountain by stabbing himself in the throat. The people of that day made a song, saying :—

On Mount Unebi
  Though thin are the trees,
May there not be trust in them ?
  The youth Ketsu
Seems to have hidden there.[2]

A.D. 629. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Oho-omi together with the Ministers took the Imperial Seal and offered it to the Imperial Prince Tamura. He declined it, saying :—" The ancestral shrines are a weighty matter. I, the inept one, am wanting in wisdom ; how can I presume to undertake their charge ? " The Ministers humbly persisted in their request, saying :—" Thou, great Prince, wert the favourite of the late sovereign. Both the spirit realm and this visible world incline their hearts to thee. It is right that thou shouldst continue the Imperial line, and dispense thy radiance down on the people."

On the same day, he assumed the Imperial Dignity.

XXIII. 9. Summer, 4th month, 1st day. Tanabe no Muraji was sent to Yaku.[3]

This year was the year Tsuchinoto Ushi (26th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 630. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 12th day. The Imperial

[1] The "Tsushō" says that at this period the only part of a temple which had a tiled roof was the Hall of Worship.

[2] A Regular Tanka of thirty-one syllables.

[3] See above, XXII. 28.

Princess Takara was appointed Empress-consort. She had two sons and one daughter. The name of the eldest was the Imperial Prince Katsuraki [the Emperor who reigned in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi];[1] the second was called the Imperial Princess Hashibito;[2] the third was called the Imperial Prince Oho-ama [the Emperor who reigned in the Palace of Kiyomihara].[3] The Lady Hōde no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi Soga no Shima, bore (to him) the Imperial Prince Furubito [also called the Imperial Prince Ohoye]. He also took to him Kaya[4] no Uneme, of the province of Kibi, who bore to him the Imperial Prince Kaya.

3rd month, 1st day. The senior ambassador from Koryö named Yön Chă-phé, and the junior ambassador Ya-tök, with the senior ambassador from Pèkché, the Eun-sol, Sochă, and the junior ambassador the Tök-sol, Mutök, offered tribute together.

Autumn, 8th month, 5th day. The Dainin, Mitasuki, Inugami no Kimi, and the Dainin Kusushi[5] no Ejitsu were sent to Great Thang.[6]

8th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained at Court.

9th month, 4th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests returned to their own country.

In this month Tanabe no Muraji and his companions returned from Yaku.

Winter, 10th month, 12th day. The Emperor removed (the palace) to a place near the Hill of Asuka. This was called the Palace of Okamoto.[7] In this year the official residences of the three Han[8] in Oho-kohori at Naniha were repaired.

3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 10th day. People from Yaku emigrated hither. A.D. 631.

3rd month, 1st day. Wi-chă,[9] King of Pèkché, sent Prince Phung-chyang as hostage. XXIII. 1c.

[1] Tenchi Tennō. [2] Wife of Kōtoku Tennō. [3] Viz. Temmu Tennō.

[4] Kaya is the name of a place. The Uneme generally were called by the names of the places they came from.

[5] Physician.

[6] This Embassy is mentioned in the Thang annals.

[7] i.e. "bottom of hill." In Yamato. [8] Silla, Koryö and Pèkché.

[9] Wi-chă, according to the "Tongkam," came to the throne in A.D. 641. So there is something wrong here.

Autumn, 9th month, 19th day. The Emperor made a progress to the hot springs of Arima [1] in the Province of Settsu.

Winter, 12th month, 13th day. The Emperor arrived from the hot springs.

A.D. 632. 4th year, Autumn, 8th month. Great Thang sent Kao Piao-jên to escort Mitasuki (on his way back from China to Japan). They anchored together at Tsushima. At this time the student-priests Ryöng-un and Bin, together with Suguri no Torikahi and Silla Escort Envoys, came in their train.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Envoys from the Land of Thang, Kao Piao-jên and his companions, arrived in the harbour of Naniha. Accordingly Mŭmakahi no Muraji was sent to meet them at E-guchi.[2] There were thirty-two boats, which, as well as the drums, fifes and flags, were all gaily decorated. He addressed Kao Piao-jên and his companions, saying:—"Hearing that the Envoy appointed by the Son of Heaven has arrived at the Emperor's Court, I have come to receive him." Then Kao Piao-jên answered and said:—"On a day when the wind is so chill, it gives me great pleasure that you have been good enough to come to meet me with these gaily-decked boats." Hereupon Wotsuki, Naniha no Kishi, and Yafushi, Ohoshi-kahachi no Atahe, were appointed to be
XXIII. 11. their guides as far as the front of the official residence. Then Ittō, Iki no Fubito, and Yatsushi, Naniha no Kishi, were sent to introduce the guests into the official residence. On the same day, sacred sake [3] was given them.

A.D. 633. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 26th day. The Envoys from Great Thang, Kao Piao-jên and his companions, returned to their own country. The envoys sent to escort them, viz. the Kishi Womaro, Kuromaro and the rest, went as far as Tsushima, and then came back.

A.D. 634. 6th year, Autumn, 8th month. A long star was seen in the south. The people of that time called it a besom-star.[4]

[1] Well known to residents at the Treaty Port of Kōbe.

[2] River-mouth.

[3] This sake was made under special arrangements from rice grown in certain Temple glebe-lands. *Vide* "Yengishiki." It was customary to offer it to foreign ambassadors.

[4] Hahaki-boshi or hōki-boshi, the present name for a comet.

7th year, Spring, 1st month. The besom-star went round and was seen in the East. A.D. 635.

Summer, 6th month, 10th day. Pèkché sent the Tal-sol, Yu and others with tribute.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The Pèkché guests were entertained at Court. In this month a lotus of auspicious omen grew in the Tsurugi pond. There were two flowers on one stalk.

8th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun. A.D. 636. XXIII. 12.

3rd month. All those who had had illicit intercourse with the Uneme were put on their trial, and were all punished.[1]

At this time Wosazaki, Miwa no Kimi, by reason of the pain of the examination,[2] committed suicide by stabbing himself in the throat.

Summer, 5th month. There were great rains and floods.

6th month. The Palace of Okamoto having been destroyed by fire, the Emperor removed his residence to the Palace of Tanaka.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. Prince Ohomata addressed Toyora no Oho-omi, saying:—"The Ministers and functionaries are remiss in their attendance at Court. Henceforward, let them attend at the beginning of the hour of the Hare,[3] and withdraw after the hour of the Serpent.[4] Regulate this by means of a bell." The Oho-omi, however, did not take this advice.

This year there was a great drought, and there was famine throughout the Empire.

9th year, Spring, 2nd month, 23rd day. A great star floated from East to West, and there was a noise like that of thunder. The people of that day said that it was the sound of the falling star. Others said that it was earth-thunder. Hereupon the Buddhist Priest Bin said:—"It is not the falling star, but the Celestial Dog,[5] the sound of whose barking is like thunder." A.D 637.

[1] No doubt capital punishment is meant. [2] By torture.

[3] 5 to 7 a m. To be more exact, the beginning of this hour is an hour before daybreak.

[4] 9 to 11 a.m. Such early hours are usual in Eastern Courts. The King of Corea at the present day receives his Ministers before daybreak.

[5] "The Classic of the Mountains and Seas" (a very ancient Chinese book)

XXIII.13. 3rd month, 2nd day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

In this year the Yemishi rebelled and did not come to Court. The Dainin, Katana, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, was appointed general to smite them. But it was he, on the contrary, who was defeated by the Yemishi, and fled into a fortress, where he was eventually besieged by the enemy. His soldiers all slipped away, and the castle became empty. The general was perplexed and knew not what to do. Then at nightfall he was climbing over the palisade in order to escape, when his wife lamented, saying:—"Oh, what a shame that we should be slain by Yemishi!" And to her husband she spoke, saying:—"Thy ancestors crossed the blue ocean and travelled 10,000 ri to reduce to submission Governments beyond the water, and so hand down to future generations their dread valour. If thou dost now bring disgrace on the name of thy forefathers, thou wilt surely become a laughing-stock to posterity." So she poured out sake for her husband, and compelled him to drink it. Then she girded on herself her husband's sword, and bending ten bows, caused the women, of whom there were several tens, to twang the bow-strings. When this was done, her husband roused himself again, and seizing a weapon which was lying on the ground, advanced. The Yemishi thought that the army was still numerous, and by degrees withdrew. Hereupon the routed troops reassembled, and, re-forming their ranks, attacked the Yemishi, whom they greatly defeated, taking them every one prisoners.

A.D. 638. 10th year, Autumn, 7th month, 19th day. There was a great storm, which broke trees and tore up houses.

9th month. There were continuous rains, and peaches and plums blossomed.

says: "At the Heaven-gate-mountain there is a red dog, called the Celestial Dog. Its lustre flies through Heaven, and as it floats along becomes a star of several tens of rods (10 feet) in length. It is swift as the wind. Its voice is like thunder, and its radiance like lightning."

The Celestial Dog 天狗 is a group of seven stars near the zodiacal constellation 鬼 (Cancer). Giles says that it is in Argo. The interlinear Kana has Ama no Kitsune, or the Celestial Fox.

The Celestial Dog, or Tengu, of modern Japanese superstition is a winged creature in human form with an exceedingly long nose, which haunts mountain-tops and other secluded places. It is a favourite subject of artists. See "Anderson's British Museum Catalogue," p. 410.

Winter, 10th month. There was an Imperial progress to the Palace of the hot springs of Arima. XXIII. 14.

This year Pèkché, Silla, and Imna all sent tribute.

11th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Imperial carriage returned from the hot springs. A.D. 639.

11th day. The festival of tasting the new rice[1] was held.

12th day. There was thunder without any clouds.[2]

22nd day. There was a storm with thunder.

26th day. A long star appeared in the north-west. Priest Bin said that it was a besom-star. When it appeared, there was famine.[3]

Autumn, 7th month. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"This year let there be a great palace and a great temple built." So the bank of the Kudara[4] River was chosen as the site for the palace. Herewith the western population built the palace, and the eastern population[5] built the temple. Agata, Fumi no Atahe, was made architect.

Autumn, 9th month. The priests who had studied in Great Thang, viz. Ye-on and Ye-un, entered the capital in the train of the Silla Escort Envoys. XXIII. 15.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. The Silla Envoys were entertained at Court. Accordingly the Emperor granted them one grade of cap-rank.

12th month, 14th day. There was an Imperial progress to the Palace of the hot springs of Iyo.

In this month a pagoda of nine stories was erected on the bank of the River Kudara.

12th year, Spring, 2nd month, 7th day. A star entered the moon.[6] A.D. 640.

Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor returned from Iyo, and took up his residence in the Palace of Mŭmaya-zaka.

5th month, 5th day. A great Buddhist maigre entertainment

[1] Nihi-name.

[2] An evil omen, according to the Chinese and Romans.

[3] Bin is the Priest quoted above, XXIII. 12, as an authority on astronomical matters.

[4] The Japanese name for Pèkché.

[5] The west is no doubt Kahachi, the east Yamato.

[6] Chinese history records that Venus entering the moon was looked upon by the diviners as portending mortality among the people.

was given, at which by request the priest Ye-on expounded the Muryō jiu kiō.[1]

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. Shō-an, a priest who had studied in Great Thang, and the student Kuromasa, Takamuku no Ayabito arrived by way of Silla. The tribute-bearing Envoys
XXIII.16. of Pèkché and Silla came in their company. Each of them[2] was granted a grade of cap-rank.

This month (the Emperor) removed to the Palace of Kudara.

A.D. 641. 13th year, Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Kudara.

18th day. He was temporarily interred north of the Palace. This was called the "great temporary tomb" of Kudara. At this time the Heir Apparent, the Imperial Prince Hirakasu wake, was sixteen years old, and pronounced the funeral eulogium.

[1] Florenz, quoting "Bunyu Nanjio," says this is the Amitayu Sutra or Sukhāvatī Vyūha; Muryō jiu means "Everlasting life."

[2] i.e. of the Envoys.

BOOK XXIV.

THE EMPRESS AME TOYO-TAKARA IKASHI-HI TARASHI HIME.[1]

(*KŌGYOKU*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi hime was the great-granddaughter of the Emperor Nuna-kura futo-dama-shiki,[3] granddaughter of the Imperial Prince Ohoye, Oshizaka no hiko-bito, and daughter of Prince Chinu. Her mother's name was Princess Kibi.

This Empress conducted the government in conformity with the ancient path.

In the second year of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[4] she was appointed Empress-consort. This Emperor died in the 10th month of the 13th year of his reign.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. The Empress-consort assumed the Imperial Dignity. Yemishi, Soga no Omi, was made Oho-omi as before. The Oho-omi's son, Iruka [also called Kuratsukuri], took into his own hands the reins of government, and his power was greater than his father's. Therefore thieves and robbers were in dread of him, and things dropped on the highways were not picked up. A.D. 642.

29th day. The Dainin, Hirafu, Adzumi no Muraji, who had gone as Envoy to Pèkché, returned from Tsukushi, riding on post-horses, and said :—"The Land of Pèkché, hearing of the Emperor's death, has sent Ambassadors of condolence, along with whom I arrived in Tsukushi. But I wished to take part

[1] Heaven-rich-treasure-great-sun-suffice-princess.

[2] This word occurs in the "Shooking," p. 328 of Legge's edition, where it is translated "royal perfection."

[3] Bidatsu Tennō.

[4] Jomei Tennō.

in the funeral ceremonies, and therefore have come on alone in advance. That country, however, is at present greatly disturbed."

XXIV. 2. 2nd month, 2nd day. Hirafu, Adzumi no Yamashiro no Muraji, Ihakane, Kusakabe no Kishi, and Agata, Yamato no Aya no fumi no Atahe, were sent to the Pèkché Ambassadors of condolence to inquire their news. The Ambassadors of condolence replied, saying:—"The sovereign of Pèkché said to us:—'Sè-syang is always behaving badly. I request that he may be delivered to the Envoys on their return.'" The Empress did not consent.

The servants of the Pèkché Envoys of condolence said:—"In the 11th month of last year, the Tè-sa-phyöng,[1] Chi-chyök, died. Moreover the Pèkché Envoys flung the Kunluen[2] Envoys into the sea. In the first month of this year the King's mother died. Again, Kyoki, the son of the younger Prince, and also his younger sisters by the same mother, four persons in all, with the Lord Nè-sa-phyöng,[3] and over forty notables, were banished to an island."[4]

6th day. Koryö Envoys anchored in the harbour of Naniha.

21st day. The Daibu were sent to the district (government house) of Naniha to inspect the gold and silver sent as tribute
XXIV. 3. by the Land of Koryö, as well as the other things presented by that country. After the Envoys had delivered over all the tribute, they said:—"The younger Prince died in the sixth month of last year. In the autumn, the 9th month, the Prime Minister, Irikasyumi, slew the King, and also put to death Irikö-Iyésă and others to the number of more than 180. Then he took the son of the younger Prince and made him King.[5] He also made his own relation[6] To-syu-ryu Keum-nyu Prime Minister."

22nd day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained

大佐平, Prime Minister.

[2] Kun-luen, 崑崙, may be the Kunluen mountains between the desert of Gobi and Tibet, or it may be Pulo Condore in the China Sea.

[3] 內佐平, a Corean officer, Japanese Naidaijin, says a commentator.

[4] This is servants' gossip—not to be taken without many grains of salt. Chi-chyök is alive later on, and Kyoki appears as chief envoy to Japan. See below, XXIV. 4.

[5] The "Tongkam" places these events in A.D. 642, 10th month.

[6] Lit. of the same surname.

at the Naniha district (Government office). The Empress commanded the Oho-omi to send Oho-ama, Tsumori no Muraji, as Envoy to Koryö, Kuhina, Naniha no Kishi, to Pèkché, Mato, Kusakabe no Kishi, to Silla, and Nagaye, Sakamoto no Kishi, to Imna.

24th day. Kyoki was sent for and lodged in the house of Adzumi no Yamashiro no Muraji.

25th day. The Koryö and Pèkché guests were entertained.

27th day. The Koryö and Pèkché Envoys both took their departure.

3rd month, 3rd day. There was rain without any clouds.

Silla sent Envoys of congratulation on the accession, and also Envoys of condolence.

15th day. The Silla Envoys took their departure. This month there were continual rains.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. The Chief Envoy Kyoki and his companions had an audience of the Empress.

10th day. The Oho-omi, Soga, invited Kyoki of Pèkché and his companions to his house at Unebi. He had friendly con- XXIV. 4
versation with them and presented a good[1] horse and twenty bars of iron. But he did not invite Sè-syang.

This month there were continuous rains.

5th month, 5th day. Kyoki and his companions were invited to witness an archery-hunt[2] in front of the Miyake of Yosami in the province of Kahachi.

16th day. The ship of the Envoys of the Land of Pèkché and the ship of the Kishi anchored together in the harbour of Naniha.

18th day. The Pèkché Envoys delivered their tribute, and the Kishi reported their mission.

21st day. One of Kyoki's companions died.

22nd day. A child of Kyoki died. At this time, Kyoki and his wife shrunk with horror from the dead child, and were not present at the funeral ceremonies. It is the general custom in Pèkché and Silla when a death occurs that even the parents, brothers, husband or wife, and sisters of the deceased should never look on him again. Judging from this, they are utterly

[1] i.e. well-broken.

[2] The interlinear Kana has uma-yumi, i.e. shooting with bow and arrows from horseback.

wanting in feeling, and not to be distinguished from birds and beasts.

23rd day. Ripe rice was seen.

24th day. Kyoki removed with his wife and children to the house in Ohowi in Kudara, and sent people to bury his child in Ishikaha.[1]

6th month, 16th day. Fine rain fell.

6th month. There was a great drought.

Autumn, 7th month, 9th day. A guest-star entered the moon.[2]

22nd day. The Pèkché Envoys, the Tè-sa-phyöng, Chichyök, and his colleagues were entertained at Court.

> One writing has:—"The Tè-sa-phyöng, Chichyök, and his son the Tal-sol—the name is wanting—the Eun-sol Kun-syön."

Therewith stout fellows were commanded to wrestle before Kyoki, Chichyök and the others. When the banquet was over, they retired and went to pay their respects at Kyoki's gate.

XXIV. 5. 23rd day. The pages of Iruka, Soga no Omi, caught a white sparrow.[3] On the same day at the same time there was a man who put a white sparrow (or sparrows) into a cage and sent it as a present to Soga no Omi.

25th day. The Ministers conversed with one another, saying:—"In accordance with the teachings of the village hafuri, there have been in some places horses and cattle killed as a sacrifice to the Gods of the various (Shintō) shrines, in others frequent changes of the market-places,[4] or prayers to the River-

[1] Name of a district in Kahachi.

[2] This is evidently what we call the "occultation" of a star.

[3] A lucky omen.

[4] This is an old custom in China. A Chinese book, 廣州記, says that in a certain village there is a pond. At this pond there is a stone cow. In years of drought, the peasants kill a cow and, mixing its blood with mud, smear it on the back of the stone cow, with prayers.

The "Kogojiui," an ancient Japanese book, speaks of sacrifices of oxen to the Ohotsuchi (great-earth) nushi (master) no Kami. The flesh was eaten by the peasants.

The practice of changing the market-place as a means of averting drought is also an old Chinese custom. The present custom of closing the city gates of Söul, the capital of Corea, to put a stop to excessive rain, may be compared with it.

A modern commentator denounces both these customs (sacrifice of animals and changing the market-place) as contrary to the spirit of Shintoism.

Gods. None of these practices have had hitherto any good result." Then Soga no Oho-omi answered and said:—"The 'Mahāyāna Sutra' ought to be read by way of extract [1] in the temples, our sins repented of, as Buddha teaches, and thus with humility rain should be prayed for."

27th day. In the South Court of the Great Temple, the images of Buddha and of the Bosatsu,[2] and the images of the four Heavenly Kings, were magnificently adorned. A multitude of priests, by humble request, read the "Mahāyāna Sutra." On this occasion Soga no Oho-omi held a censer in his hands, and having burnt incense in it, put up a prayer.

28th day. A slight rain fell.

29th day. The prayers for rain being unsuccessful, the reading of the "Sutra" was discontinued.

8th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a progress to the river-source of Minabuchi. Here he knelt down and prayed, worshipping towards the four quarters, and looking up to Heaven.[3] Straightway there was thunder and a great rain, which eventually fell for five days, and plentifully bedewed the Empire. [One writing has:—"For five days there was continuous rain, and the nine grains ripened."]

Hereupon the peasantry throughout the Empire cried with one voice, "Bansai," and said, "An Emperor of exceeding virtue!" XXIV. 6.

6th day. The Pèkché Envoys, viz. the Associate Official and the rest, took their departure. They were given a large ship and three boats.

This day at midnight it thundered in the south-west corner, and there was wind and rain. The ship in which the Associate Official and his companions were embarked ran ashore and was wrecked.

[1] The tendoku (轉讀) is the reading of passages of a book to represent the whole. I have seen a dozen priests each with a pile of books on his right, of which he took one, read a few words at the beginning, made the pages defile rapidly before him, and then reading a few words at the end, passed it to a gradually increasing pile on his left. In this way a volume takes only a few seconds to dispose of, and although the Buddhist scriptures are pretty voluminous, an hour or two of this sort of thing makes some impression on them.

[2] Boddhisatwa.

[3] This is the Chinese as opposed to the Buddhist style, which had been without result.

13th day. The rank of Shôtoko was conferred on the Pèkché hostage, the Tal-sol, Chyang-pok. One grade of rank was conferred on the guests of middle and lower condition, and they each received presents according to their station.

15th day. A ship was given to the Associate Official of Pèkche and his companions, in which they were sent off.

16th day. The Koryò Envoys returned to their country.

26th day. The Pèkché Envoys returned to their country.

9th month, 3rd day. The Empress commanded the Oho-omi, saying:—"It is our wish to build a great temple. Let labourers be levied from Afumi and Koshi." Moreover, charge was given to the various provinces to have ships built.

19th day. The Empress commanded the Oho-omi, saying:—"I wish the building of a palace to be begun in this month, and completed not later than the 12th month. Let building-timber be taken from the various provinces. Accordingly, workmen for building the palace were levied from Tôtomi on the east, as far as Aki on the west.

21st day. The Yemishi of the Koshi neighbourhood, several thousand in number, made their submission.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. There was an earthquake, with rain.

9th day. There was an earthquake. This night there was an earthquake, with wind.

12th day. The Yemishi were entertained at Court.

15th day. Soga no Oho-omi entertained the Yemishi in his house, and personally made kind inquiries after their welfare.

On this day, the ship of the Silla Envoys of condolence, and the ship of the Envoys of congratulation on the accession, anchored at the island of Iki.

24th day. There was an earthquake at midnight.

This month summer ordinances were put in force.[1] There was rain without clouds.

[1] The writer had probably in his mind a passage of the "Liki" (Legge's translation, Vol. I. p. 276), of which the following is an extract:—"If in the second month of summer the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and cold would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable, and violent assaults of war would come." The general purport is that bad government is the cause of bad weather, pestilence and other disasters. I am not sure, however, that the Japanese writer adopts this

11th month, 2nd day. There was great rain, with thunder. XXIV. 7.

5th day. At midnight there was a thunder-clap in the north-west corner.

8th day. It thundered five times in the north-west corner.

9th day. The weather was warm, as in spring.

10th day. Rain fell.

11th day. The weather was warm, as in spring.

13th day. There was a thunder-clap in the northern quarter, and wind sprang up.

16th day. The Empress celebrated the festival of tasting the new rice. On this day the Prince Imperial and the Oho-omi each personally tasted the new rice.[1]

12th month, 1st day. The weather was mild, as in spring.

3rd day. It thundered five times during the day, and twice at night.

9th day. It thundered twice in the east, and there was wind and rain.

13th day. The mourning ceremonies for the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka were begun. On this day, the Shōtoko, Tokudai, Kose no Omi, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of Prince Ohomata. Next the Shōtoko Hosome, Ahata no Omi, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of the Imperial Prince Karu. Next the Shōtoko, Mŭma-kahi, Ohotomo no Muraji, pronounced a funeral eulogium on behalf of the Oho-omi.

14th day. Okinaga no Yamana no Kimi pronounced an eulogium of the Imperial line.

20th day. It thundered three times in the north-east corner.

21st day. The Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was buried on the Hill of Name-hazama.

On this day the Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Woharida. XXIV. 8.

One writing says :—"To the temporary palace in the southern courtyard of the Eastern Palace."

23rd day. It thundered once in the night with a splitting noise.

theory. He may only mean that the weather was unseasonable, without intending to saddle the Empress with the responsibility for it.

[1] They probably celebrated this ceremony in their own houses.

30th day. The weather was mild, as in spring.

This year Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi erected his own ancestral temple at Taka-miya in Katsuraki, and performed an eight-row dance.[1] Finally he made a song, saying :—

In order to ford
The River Hiro-se of Oshi
In Yamato,
I adjust my garters
And gird up my loins ![2]

Moreover he levied all the people of the land as well as the serfs of the 180 Be, and constructed two tombs at Imaki in preparation for his death.[3] One was called the Great Misasagi, and was intended as the tomb of the Oho-omi; one was called the Small Misasagi, and was meant for the tomb of Iruka no Omi. It was his desire that after his death other people might not be troubled. Moreover he assembled all the Mibu people of Kamutsumiya,[4] and made them do forced labour on the precincts of the tombs. Hereupon Princess Kamutsumiya no Oho-iratsume[5] was wroth, and exclaimed, saying :—"Soga no Omi wantonly usurps the Government of the land, and does many outrageous things. In Heaven there
XXIV. 9. are not two suns: in a state there cannot be two sovereigns. Why should he, at his own pleasure, employ, in forced labour, all the people of the fief?" From this her hate began to gather, and she at length shared in the common downfall.[6]

This year was the year Midzunoye Tora (39th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 643 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. In the morning great clouds of five colours[7] covered all the sky, except in the north-east, where they were wanting. A mist of a uniform blue colour arose from the earth on all sides.

[1] These were assumptions of Imperial rank. *Vide* "Legge's Chinese Classics," Vol. I. p. 18.

[2] Hiro-se means a broad ford. Apparently Soga, in these lines, is supposed to hint at his secret ambition of usurpation.

[3] It was not unusual to build sepulchral mounds during the lifetime of the intended occupant. Nintoku Tennō is an example.

[4] The serfs of the late Prince Shōtoku Daishi.

[5] Shōtoku Daishi's daughter.

[6] See below, XXIV. 13.

[7] Rainbow-tinted.

10th day. A great storm.

2nd month, 20th day. Peach-blossoms first appeared.

25th day. The leaves and flowers of herbs and trees were injured by hail.

In this month there were wind, thunder, and ice-rain. Winter ordinances were in force.

3rd month, 13th day. The official quarters of the Pèkché guests at Naniha and the houses of the people took fire.

25th day. The flowers and leaves of the herbs and trees were injured by frost.

In this month there were wind, thunder, rain and ice-rain. Winter ordinances were in force.

Summer, 4th month, 7th day. A great storm, with rain.

8th day. A wind sprang up and the weather was chilly.

20th day. There was a west wind[1] and hail. The weather was cold, and people wore three wadded garments.

21st day. The Viceroy[2] of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress, saying:—"The Prince, the younger brother of Kyoki, son of the King of Pèkché, has arrived in company of the tribute Envoys."

25th day. It was reported from the province of Ohomi that hail had fallen there one inch in diameter.

28th day. The Empress removed her residence from the temporary palace to the new Palace of Itabuki in Asuka.

5th month, 16th day. There was an eclipse of the moon.

6th month, 13th day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress, saying:—"Koryö is sending Envoys to our Court." When the Ministers heard this, they said:—"Koryö has not come to XXIV 10.
Court since the year Kanoto i,[3] and this year they are coming to Court."

23rd day. The Pèkché tribute-ships anchored in the port of Naniha.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Several Daibu were sent to the district (Government house) of Naniha to inspect the Pèkché tribute and presents. Hereupon the Daibu inquired of the tribute Envoys, saying:—"The national tribute offered by

[1] The west wind in Japan comes from North China and Siberia, and resembles our east wind in character.

[2] Dazai.

[3] A.D. 639.

you is less than by previous precedent. The articles sent to the Oho-omi are of no better quality than those which were returned in a former year; and, in defiance of previous precedent, no articles at all have been brought for the Ministers. How is this?"

The senior Envoy, the Tal-sol, Chă-să, and the junior Envoy, the Eun-sol, Kun-syön, together answered and said:—"The deficiency will be speedily supplied." Chă-să was a son of the hostage, the Tal-sol, Mu-chă.

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond stank greatly, and was covered with small grubs, which had black mouths and white bodies.

8th month, 15th day. The water of the Mamuta pond changed, and became like indigo juice. Its surface was covered with dead grubs. Moreover the running water in the drains became coagulated to the thickness of three or four inches, and the fishes, both great and small, stank, as when they are scorched to death in summer. They were therefore unfit for food.

9th month, 6th day. The Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka was buried in the Oshi-zaka Misasagi.

A certain writing says:—"The Emperor Hironuka is also called the Emperor Takechi."

11th day. Kibi no Shima, the Empress's grandmother, died.

17th day. The Empress instructed Wite, Hashi no Saba no Muraji, to superintend the funeral ceremonies of her grandmother. From the time that the Empress's grandmother took ill, until the beginning of the mourning, the Empress never left
XXIV. 11. her bedside, and was assiduous in attending to her nourishment.

19th day. The Empress's grandmother was buried on the Hill of Mayumi.

On this day there was great rain, with hail.

30th day. The work of constructing the tomb of the Empress's grandmother was discontinued, and presents of silk and cloth[1] were given to the Omi, the Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko, each according to his rank.

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond gradually changed, and became white. Moreover, it was no longer ill-smelling.

[1] Of hemp or mulberry bark fibre.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. The Ministers and Tomo no Miyakko were entertained in the Court of the Imperial Residence, and the matter of bestowing Dignities was considered. Ultimately instructions to the Governors of Provinces were given as before ordered, and no change was made. They were told to proceed to their posts, and to be watchful in respect to their administration.

6th day. Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, was unable from illness to attend at Court. On his own private authority, he granted his son Iruka a purple cap, which made him rank, as it were, with the Oho-omi. He also called the younger brother (of Iruka) Mononobe no Oho-omi. The Oho-omi's grandmother was the younger sister of Mononobe no Yugehi no Ohomuraji. Therefore, by reason of his mother's property, he acquired an influential position in the world.

12th day. Iruka, Soga no Omi, plotted by himself to set aside the Kamutsumiya Princes,[1] and to establish Furubito no Ohoye as Emperor. At this time there was a children's song which said:—

By the cliff,
A little monkey is cooking rice:
Pass on—having stolen
Even the very rice,
O thou mountain-goat[2] old man.

One book says:—"Iruka, Soga no Omi, had a profound repulsion for the prestige and fame of the Kamutsumiya Princes throughout the Empire, and plotted by himself how to become established in their stead."

In this month the water of the Mamuta pond became clear again.

11th month, 1st duy. Iruka, Soga no Omi, sent the Shōtoko, Kose no Tokudai no Omi, and the Dainin, Hashi no Saba no Muraji, to seize Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and the rest at Ikaruga. XXIV. 12.

One book says:—"With Kose no Tokudai no Omi and Yamato no Mŭma-kahi no Obito as commanders."

[1] The sons of Shōtoku Daishi.

[2] The kama-shishi is probably the animal now known as the kamoshika, a kind of antelope with a shaggy fleece. *Vide* "Satow and Hawes' Handbook," 2nd ed. p. [41]. See below, XXIV. 14, for an interpretation of this poem.

Hereupon the slave Minari and several tens of toneri came forth and fought in their defence. Hashi no Saba no Muraji was hit by an arrow and died, and the troops were afraid, and retreated. They said to one another:—"The saying 'one man as good as a thousand' is applicable to Minari." Yamashiro no Ohoye accordingly took the bones of a horse and flung them into his sleeping-chamber, and eventually, taking with him his consort, and accompanied by the younger members of his family, seized an opportunity to escape, and concealed himself on Mount Ikoma. Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi, a toneri named Tame no Muraji, and his daughter Uda no Morowoshi, and Ise no Abe no Katafu followed him.

Kose no Tokudai no Omi and the others, having burnt the Palace of Ikaruga, found bones among the ashes, and wrongly imagined that the Prince was dead. So they raised the siege and withdrew. Therewith Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions tarried on the mountain for four or five days. They had nothing to eat or drink. Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi advanced, and advised him, saying:—"Let us, I pray thee, go over to the Miyake of Fukakusa, and thence on horseback towards the Eastern provinces. Let us make Mibu our headquarters, and having raised troops, come back and fight. Our success is not doubtful." Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions[1] answered and said:—"If we did as thou sayest, we should certainly succeed. In my heart, however, I desire for ten years not to impose a burden on the people. For the sake of one person only, why should I distress the ten thousand subjects? Moreover, I do not wish it to be said by after generations that for my sake anyone has mourned the loss of a
XXIV. 13. father or mother. Is it only when one has conquered in battle that he is to be called a hero? Is he not also a hero who has made firm his country at the expense of his own life?" There was a man who from afar perceived the Princes of Kamutsumiya on the mountains, and went back and told this to Iruka, Soga no Omi. When Iruka heard this he was much afraid, and immediately set in movement an armed force. Then he informed Kuni-oshi, Takamuku no Omi, where the Prince was, and said:—"Thou must at once proceed to the mountain and arrest the Prince." Kuni-oshi answered and said:—"Thy

[1] The speech itself can be only that of Prince Yamashiro.

slave guards the Imperial Palace, and dares not go elsewhere." Iruka was about to go himself when the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye arrived, panting for breath, and asked whither he was going. Iruka informed him of the whole circumstances. Then the Imperial Prince Furubito said:—"The rat lies down in its hole and lives; it leaves its hole and dies." Accordingly Iruka gave up the idea of going, and sent commanders to make search at Ikoma, but they were never able to find him.

Hereupon Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his companions returned from the mountain and entered the Temple of Ikaruga. The commanders straightway surrounded the Temple with troops. Then Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye sent Miwa no Fumuya no Kimi with a message to the commanders, saying:—"If I had raised an army, and attacked Iruka, I should certainly have conquered. But for the sake of one person, I was unwilling to destroy the people. Therefore I deliver up myself to Iruka." Finally he and the younger members of his family, with his consorts, strangled themselves at the same time, and died together. At this time five coloured banners and umbrellas shone in the sky, and descending, hung over the Temple to the sound of various music. Every one looked up with cries of admiration. At length they were pointed out to Iruka, upon which the banners and umbrellas were changed into a black XXIV. 14.
cloud, so that Iruka was unable to see them.

Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, hearing that Prince Yamashiro no Ohoye and his people had all been destroyed by Iruka, chid him angrily, saying:—"Ah! Iruka! Thou are foolish exceedingly, and dost arbitrarily practise outrage. Is not thine own life precarious?"

The people of that day explained the application of the above poem[1] as follows:—

By "the cliff" is meant Kamutsumiya:[2] by the "little monkey" is meant Hayashi no Omi [Hayashi no Omi is Iruka]: by "cooking rice" is intended the burning of Kamutsumiya: by "Pass on, having stolen even the very rice, oh thou mountain-goat old man," Prince Yamashiro's head of hair, which was streaked with grey so as to resemble

[1] See above, XXIV. 11.

[2] i.e. Upper Palace.

that of a wild goat, is alluded to. Another explanation is that it refers to his having abandoned his Palace and concealed himself deep among the mountains.

This year the Heir Apparent to the throne of Pèkché, Yŏ Phung-chyang, set loose and kept four hives of honey-bees on Mount Miwa; but they did not multiply their kind.

A.D. 644. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Nakatomi no Kamako[1] no Muraji was appointed Chief[2] of the Shintō religion. He declined the appointment several times, and would not take it up. On the plea of ill-health he went away and lived at Mishima. At this time the Imperial Prince Karu had an ailment of the leg which prevented him from coming to
XXIV. 15. Court. Now Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji had before this a friendship for the Imperial Prince Karu, and therefore went to his Palace to spend the night in attendance on him. The Imperial Prince Karu, knowing well that Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was a man of exalted sentiments and of a bearing which made rudeness to him impossible, sent his favourite consort, a lady of the Abe House, to sweep out a separate room and to spread high a new sleeping-mat. There was nothing which was not provided for him, and the respect shown him was extraordinary. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was very sensible of (the cordiality of) his reception, and addressed the toneri, saying:—"I have been treated with a special kindness which exceeds all that I had expected. Who would not make him Ruler over the Empire?" The toneri accordingly reported to the Imperial Prince what he had said. The Imperial Prince was greatly pleased.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was a man of an upright and loyal character and of a reforming disposition. He was indignant with Soga no Iruka for breaking down the order of Prince and Vassal, of Senior and Junior, and cherishing veiled designs upon the State. One after another he associated with the Princes of the Imperial line, trying them in order to discover a wise ruler who might establish a great reputation. He had accordingly fixed his mind on Naka no Ohoye, but for want of intimate relations with him he had been for so far unable to unfold his inner sentiments. Happening to be

[1] 神祇伯, Kamutsukasa no Kami.

[2] Better known as Kamatari Kō. See below, XXV. 54.

one of a football[1] party in which Naka no Ohoye played at the foot of the keyaki tree of the Temple of Hōkōji, he observed the XXIV. 16. (Prince's) leathern shoe fall off with the ball. Placing it on the palm of his hand, he knelt before the Prince and humbly offered it to him. Naka no Ohoye in his turn knelt down and respectfully received it. From this time they became mutual friends, and told each other all their thoughts. There was no longer any concealment between them. They feared, however, that jealous suspicions might be caused by their frequent meetings, and they both took in their hands yellow rolls,[2] and studied personally the doctrines of Chow[3] and Confucius with the learned teacher of Minabuchi.[4] Thus they at length while on their way there and back, walking shoulder to shoulder, secretly prepared their plans. On all points they were agreed.

Now Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji counselled him, saying:—"For him who cherishes great projects, nothing is so essential as support. I pray thee, therefore, take to thee the eldest daughter of Soga no Kurayamada no Maro, and make her thy consort. When a friendly marriage relationship has been established, we can then unfold our desire to associate him with us in our plans. There is no shorter way to success than this. Now when Naka no Ohoye heard this, he was much pleased, and acted in accordance with his advice in every particular. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji accordingly went himself, and as go-between conducted the marriage negotiations to a successful result. On the night, however, fixed upon for XXIV. 17. (the consummation of the marriage with) the eldest daughter, she was stolen away by a relation [his name was Musa no Omi]. In consequence of this, Kurayamada no Omi was

[1] Dakiu, "strike-ball," the word here used, now means "polo," for an account of which see "Things Japanese," p. 350. But here some kind of football is evidently meant. What kind of football—like ours, or in Chinese fashion, knocking the ball from one to another like a shuttle-cock—does not appear.

[2] i.e. Chinese books.

[3] Chow, the supposed author of the Chow-li, a set of rules for the guidance of officials. *Vide* Mayers, p. 20.

[4] No doubt the Shōan above mentioned, XXII. 21. It is often far from clear, as here, whether a proper name is to be understood as a man's name or as the name of his place of residence. The latter meaning fades into the former.

grieved and alarmed. He looked up and looked down, and knew not what to do. His younger daughter, wondering at her father's grief and alarm, went up to him and inquired of him, saying:—"Why art thou sorrowful and in fear?" Her father told her the cause. The younger daughter said:—"I beseech thee, do not grieve, but offer me. It is still not too late." Her father was greatly rejoiced, and at length offered this daughter. She served (the Prince) with sincerity of heart,[1] and without any shyness whatever.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji recommended Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida,[2] Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kahi[3] no Muraji, to Naka no Ohoye, saying, &c., &c.

3rd month. An owl brought forth young in the Miyake of Ohotsu belonging to Toyora no Oho-omi.

It was reported from the Province of Yamato:—"Lately a man of the Uda district, called Oshizaka no Atahe, went with a boy for a walk over the snow. They climbed Mount Uda, and there they saw purple mushrooms growing out of the snow six inches or more in height, and covering about four chō.[4] So he made the boy gather them, and went back and showed them to his neighbours. They all said:—'We do not know them,' and suspected that they were poisonous. Hereupon Oshizaka no Atahe and the boy boiled and ate them. They were very savoury. The next day they went to see, but there were none
XXIV. 18. at all. Oshizaka no Atahe and the boy, from having eaten the mushroom soup, were free from disease, and lived long. Some one said:—'Probably the common people, not knowing the herb of long life,[5] mistakenly called it a mushroom."

Summer, 6th month, 1st day. Ohotomo no Mŭmakahi no Muraji presented to the Empress a lily, the stem of which was eight feet in length, separated as to the lower part, but joined together as to the end.

[1] Lit. a red heart. [2] Net-ricefield. [3] Puppy-keeper.

[4] The chō is at present, according to Hepburn, a land measure of 3000 tsubos, or 108,000 square feet.

[5] The "Yengishiki" describes the 芝草 as a plant resembling coral in shape, with clustering leaves and branches. Some are red, others purple, others black, others golden-coloured, while some change their colour in the four seasons. It blossoms three times a year, and gives long life to the person who eats it.

3rd day. It was reported from the district of Shiki no Kami:—"There was a man on Mount Miwa who, seeing a monkey having its noonday sleep, stealthily took it by the elbow, but without doing it bodily harm. The monkey kept its eyes closed, and sang a song, saying:—

It can be none but the soft hand
Of a friend who stands
On the opposite hill
That has taken my hand:
Whose happy hand is it
—Oh happy, happy hand!—
That hath taken my hand?[1]

The man was amazed at the monkey's song. He set it free and came away. This was a portent, indicating, after many years had passed, the siege of the Kamutsumiya Princes on Mount Ikoma by Soga no Kura-tsukuri."

6th day. Among the lotuses in the Tsurugi pond, there was one which had two flowers on one stem. Toyora no Oho-omi inferred without sufficient reason that this portended the future prosperity of Soga no Omi. So he made a picture[2] with XXIV. 19. golden ink, and presented it to the sixteen feet high Buddha of Great Hōkōji.

In this month the witches and wizards[3] of the whole country, breaking off leafy branches and hanging them with tree fibre,[4] watched the time when the Oho-omi was crossing a bridge and vied with one another in addressing to him subtle interpretations of divine words. They were in great numbers, so that they could not be distinctly heard. Old people said

[1] The metre belongs to no recognized standard. The text of this song is probably corrupt. As it stands it is very obscure, though, perhaps, not more so than we should expect from a drowsy monkey. The Japanese commentators vary widely in its interpretation. Dr. Florenz's version will be found to differ from the one given above. I should be sorry to say that mine is any improvement.

[2] Or writing.

[3] The interlinear Kana has Kamunai (for Kamunagi), which Yamada renders by miko. See Vol. I. p. 79, Note.

[4] In the manner of offerings to the Gods. The Chinese characters for tree-fibre now mean cotton, which is a much later introduction into Japan. The fibre was probably that of the inner bark of the paper mulberry.

that this was a sign of changes. At this time three popular songs were made. The first was :—

From afar off
Something is heard—
The jungle-plain of Shima.[1]

The second was :—

Though I have slept,
Not allowing a noise to be made
By the pheasants of the Ahanu plain,
On yonder side,
Others allow them to make a noise.

The third was :—

I know not the face,
Nor do I even know the house
Of him who did it,
Having led me
XXIV. 20. Into the Little Wood.[2]

Autumn, 7th month. A man of the neighbourhood of the River Fuji in the East Country named Ohofu Be no Oho urged his fellow-villagers to worship an insect, saying :—" This is the God of the Everlasting World. Those who worship this God will have long life and riches." At length the wizards and witches, pretending an inspiration of the Gods, said :—" Those who worship the God of the Everlasting World will, if poor, become rich, and, if old, will become young again." So they more and more persuaded the people to cast out the valuables of their houses, and to set out by the roadside sake, vegetables, and the six domestic animals.[3] They also made them cry out : —" The new riches have come ! " Both in the country and in the metropolis people took the insect of the Everlasting World

[1] Shima is the Oho-omi's place of abode. The " something heard " is said to mean the explanations of the wizards above referred to.

[2] Wood (Hayashi) is an allusion to Hayashi no Omi. The commentators have done their best to explain the political allusions in the above verses, but they do not at all agree among themselves, and are none of them very satisfactory. See below, XXIV. 26.

[3] i.e. the flesh of these animals, viz., of the horse, ox, sheep, pig, dog, fowl. But this is merely a Chinese phrase for domestic animals generally. There is no reason to suppose that the Japanese had sheep at this time.

and, placing it in a pure place, with song and dance invoked happiness. They threw away their treasures, but to no purpose whatever. The loss and waste was extreme. Hereupon Kahakatsu, Kadono no Hada no Miyakko, was wroth that the people should be so much deluded, and slew[1] Ohofu Be no Oho. The wizards and witches were intimidated, and ceased to persuade people to this worship. The men of that time made a song, saying:—

Udzumasa[2]
Has executed
The God of the Everlasting World
Who we were told
Was the very God of Gods.

This insect is usually bred on orange trees, and sometimes on the Hosoki.[3] It is over four inches in length, and about as thick as a thumb. It is of a grass-green colour with black spots, and in appearance entirely resembles the silkworm.[4] XXIV. 21.

Winter, 11th month. Iruka no Omi, son of Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, built two houses on the Amagashi Hill. The Oho-omi's house was called the Palace-Gate:[5] Iruka's house was called the Valley-Palace-Gate. Their sons and daughters were styled Princes and Princesses. Outside the houses palisades were constructed, and an armoury was erected by the gate. At each gate there was set a tank for water, and several tens of wooden hooks as a provision in case of fire.[6] Stout fellows were constantly employed to guard the houses, with arms in their hands.

The Oho-omi made Osa no Atahe build the Temple of Hokonuki on Mount Ohoniho. Moreover, he built a house on the east side of Mount Unebi and dug a pond,[7] so as to make of it a

[1] The original is 打, strike, which I take to be a euphemism for slay.

[2] i.e. Hada no Miyakko.

[3] The Chinese characters used mean "creeping pepper." I have not been able to identify this plant or tree. It is also called itachi-hajikami, i.e. weasel-ginger.

[4] It was evidently a caterpillar of some kind.

[5] The interlinear Kana version has Uhe no Mikado, Upper Palace, which suggests that a character has been lost here.

[6] A pole with a hook at the end is in use by Japanese firemen at the present day for pulling down houses.

[7] i.e. a moat.

castle. He erected an armoury, and provided store of arrows. In his goings out and comings in he was always surrounded by an attendant company of fifty soldiers. These sturdy fellows were called the Eastern[1] Company. The people of the various Uji[2] came to his gate, and waited upon him. He called himself their father, and them his boys. The Aya no Atahe attended wholly upon the two houses.[3]

A.D. 645. 4th year, Spring, 1st month. On mountain-peaks, by riversides, or among shrines and temples, there was a something visible afar, and there was heard a humming of monkeys, as it were ten or sometimes twenty together. But when one
XXIV. 22. approached to see what it might be, nothing was visible. There was still heard the sound of crying and screaming, but no one was able to distinguish any bodily form.

An old book says:—"In this year the capital was removed to Naniha, and this was an indication that the Itabuki palace would become a waste."

The men of that day said:—"These are the messengers of the Great Deity of Ise."[4]

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Koryö student-priests said that their fellow-student Kura-tsukuri no Tokushi had made friends with a tiger, and had learnt from him his arts, such as to make a barren mountain change into a green mountain, or to cause yellow earth to become clear water, and all manner of wonderful arts too many to enumerate. Moreover, the tiger bestowed on him his needle, saying:—"Be watchful! be watchful, and let no one know! Treated with this, there is no disease which may not be cured." Truly, as the tiger had said, there was no disease which was not cured when treated by it.[5] Tokushi always kept the needle concealed in a pillar. Afterwards the tiger broke the pillar and ran away, taking the needle with him. The Land of Koryö, hearing that Tokushi wished to return, put him to death by poison.

6th month, 8th day. (Prince) Naka no Ohoye secretly

[1] Perhaps because his house stood on the eastern side of Mount Unebi. An interlinear gloss has Adzuma or East Country. The Soga family had much to do with the Eastern provinces, as the name of its head, viz. Yemishi (Aino) suggests. Possibly the guard here spoken of consisted of Ainos.

[2] Noble houses.

[3] Of the father and son.

[4] The Sun-goddess.

[5] Acupuncture is no doubt meant.

addressed Kurayamada no Maro no Omi, saying:—"On the day that the three Corean kingdoms present their tribute I will surely cause thee to read aloud their memorial," and went on to inform him of his plan for slaying Iruka no Omi. Maro no Omi respectfully assented.

12th day. The Empress held a Court in the Taikyokuden.[1] XXIV. 23.
(Prince) Furubito no Ohoye was in attendance.

Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, knowing that Soga, Iruka no Omi, was of a very suspicious nature, and wore a sword day and night, showed the performers an expedient to make him lay it aside. Iruka no Omi laughed, and, having ungirded his sword, entered and took his place in attendance by the throne. Kurayamada Maro no Omi advanced and read aloud the memorials of the three kingdoms of Corea. Hereupon (Prince) Naka no Ohoye ordered the Guard of the Gates to fasten all the twelve gates at the same time, and to allow nobody to pass. Then he called together the Guards of the Gates to one place and promised them rewards. (Prince) Naka no Ohoye then took in his own hands a long spear and hid it at one side of the Hall. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji and his people, armed with bows and arrows, lent their aid. Katsumaro, Ama no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to give two swords in a case to Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kahi no Muraji, with the message, "Up! up! make haste to slay him." Komaro and the other tried to send down their rice with water, but were so frightened that they brought it up again.[2] Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji chid and encouraged them. Kurayamada Maro no Omi feared lest the reading of the memorials should come to XXIV. 24.
an end before Komaro and his companion arrived. His body was moist with streaming sweat, his voice was indistinct, and his hands shook. Kuratsukuri no Omi wondered at this, and inquired of him, saying:—"Why dost thou tremble?" Yamada Maro answered and said:—It is being near the Empress that makes me afraid, so that unconsciously the perspiration pours from me." Naka no Ohoye, seeing that

[1] The 大極, Taikyoku, is the Absolute or first principle of Chinese philosophy, from which proceed the Yin and Yang. The Taikyokuden was the Great Hall of Audience.

[2] Probably only to be taken metaphorically.

Komaro and his companion, intimidated by Iruka's prestige, were trying to shirk and did not come forward, cried out "Yā!" and forthwith coming out with Komaro and his companion, fell upon Iruka without warning, and with a sword cut open his head and shoulder. Iruka started up in alarm, when Komaro with a turn of his hand flourished his sword and wounded him on the leg. Iruka rolled over to where the Empress sat, and bowing his head to the ground, said:—"She who occupies the hereditary Dignity is the Child of Heaven. I, Her servant, am conscious of no crime, and I beseech Her to deign to make examination into this." The Empress was greatly shocked, and addressed Naka no Ohoye, saying:—"I know not what has been done. What is the meaning of this?" Naka no Ohoye prostrated himself on the earth, and made representation to Her Majesty, saying:—"Kuratsukuri wished to destroy utterly the Celestial House, and to subvert the Solar Dignity. Is Kuratsukuri to be substituted for the Celestial descendants?" The Empress at once got up, and went into the interior of the Palace. Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Waka-inu-kahi no Muraji, slew Iruka no Omi. On this day rain fell, and puddle-water overflowed the Court. They covered Kuratsukuri's body with screens of matting.[1] When Furubito no Ohoye saw this, he
XXIV. 25. ran into his private palace, and said to his people:—"The Coreans have slain Kuratsukuri no Omi. My heart is sore." Then he went into his sleeping-chamber, shut the door, and would not come out.

Naka no Ohoye presently entered the Temple of Hōkōji, which he fortified and prepared to defend. The Imperial Princes, Ministers, Daibu, Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, and Kuni no Miyakko, one and all followed him. Men were sent to deliver the body of Kuratsukuri no Omi to Yemishi no Oho-omi. Hereupon the Aya no Atahe[2] assembled all their clan. Clad in armour and with weapons in their hands, they came to the assistance of the Oho-omi, and formed an army. Naka no Ohoye sent the General Kose no Tokuda[3] no Omi to explain to the rebel band that ever since the creation of Heaven and Earth there were lords and vassals, and to make

[1] Or mats and screens. [2] See above, XXIV. 21.
[3] Called Tokudai above.

himself acquainted with the cause of this uprising. Hereupon Kunioshi, Takamuku no Omi, addressed the Aya no Atahe, saying:—"We are bound to receive (capital) punishment on account of our Lord's[1] eldest son. Moreover, it is not doubtful that to-day or to-morrow swift execution awaits the Oho-omi. This being so, for whom should we fight to no purpose, rendering ourselves all liable to be put to death?" When he had finished speaking, he ungirded his sword, flung away his bow, and went away, deserting the cause. The rebel troops, moreover, following his example, dispersed and ran away.

13th day. Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and his people, when about to be executed, burnt the History of the Emperors, the History of the Country, and the objects of value. Yesaka Funa no Fubito straightway hastened to seize the burning History of the Country, and delivered it up to Naka no Ohoye. On this day permission was given for the interment of the bodies of Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and Kuratsukuri in tombs.[2] Lament for them was also allowed.

Upon this, some explained the first of the popular songs,[3] saying:—

The song which says—

From afar off
Something is heard— XXIV. 26.
The jungle-plain of Shima,

prefigured the building of palaces together at the house of Shima no Oho-omi, and the secret conspiracy of Naka no Ohoye and Nakatomi, Kamako no Muraji in the cause of justice, with their plot to kill Iruka.

The second of the popular songs was explained as follows:—

The song which says—

Though I have slept,
Not allowing a noise to be made
By the pheasants of the Ahanu plain
On yonder side,
Others allow them to make a noise,

---

[1] Yemishi. [2] Haka, not misasagi. See above, XXIV. 8.
[3] See above, XXIV. 19.

was ominous of the Kamutsumiya Princes, of gentle disposition, and none of them guilty of a crime, being harmed by Iruka, and of Heaven bringing about his death by the hands of others, though they could not themselves have their revenge.

The third popular song was explained as follows :—

The song which says—

> I know not the face,
> Nor do I even know the house
> Of him who did it,
> Having led me
> Into the little wood,

was ominous of Iruka no Omi being suddenly slain in the Palace by Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Wakainukahi no Muraji.

14th day. The Dignity was abdicated in favour of the Imperial Prince Karu, and Naka no Ohoye was made Prince Imperial.

BOOK XXV.

THE EMPEROR AME-YORODZU TOYO-HI.[1]

(*KŌTOKU*[2] *TENNŌ*)

THE Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi was a younger brother by the same mother of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime.[3] He honoured the religion of Buddha and despised the Way of the Gods[4] [as is instanced by his cutting down the trees of the shrine of Iku-kuni-dama]. He was of a gentle disposition, and loved men of learning. He made no distinction of noble and mean, and continually dispensed beneficent edicts.

In the fourth year, the sixth month, and the fourteenth day of her reign, the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime wished to transfer the Dignity to Naka no Ohoye, and made order, saying:—"etc., etc." Naka no Ohoye, when he retired (from her presence), informed Nakatomi, Kamako no Muraji, who advised him, saying:—"Furubito no Ohoye is Your Highness's elder brother: the Imperial Prince Karu is Your Highness's maternal uncle. If at present, during the life- XXV. 2.
time of Furubito no Ohoye, Your Highness should ascend to the Imperial Dignity, it would be a transgression against the sentiment of respect and obedience due from younger brothers. Would it not, therefore, be better to raise your maternal uncle to the throne, and so respond to the expectations of the people?" Upon this Naka no Ohoye was profoundly pleased with this advice and reported it privately to the Empress. The

[1] Heaven-myriad-abundant-sun.

[2] Virtue of filial piety. There is much evidence in this reign of the extension and development of the Imperial power in the provinces.

[3] Kōgyoku Tennō.

[4] *i.e.* Shintō.

Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime granted the Imperial Seal and resigned the Dignity to the Imperial Prince Karu, and made a rescript, saying:—"Thou, the Imperial Prince Karu, etc., etc." The Imperial Prince Karu declined firmly and repeatedly in favour of Furubito no Ohoye [also called the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohochi], saying:—"Ohoye no Mikoto is the offspring of the former Emperor,[1] and he is of mature age, for both which reasons it is fit that he should occupy the Celestial Dignity." Upon this, Furubito no Ohoye left his seat, and, retiring to a distance, folded his arms and excused himself, saying:—"Let us comply with the sage will of the Empress. Why shouldst thou take the trouble to transfer it to thy servant? It is my desire to renounce the world, and to go to Yoshino, there to devote myself to the practice of the Law of Buddha, and thus render support to the Emperor." When he had concluded his refusal, he ungirt the sword which he had on, and flung it to the ground. Moreover he gave orders to all his household[2] to ungird their swords. That same day he went to the Temple of Hōkōji, and there, between the Hall of Buddha and the pagoda, he shaved off his beard and
XXV. 3. hair, and put on the kesa. In consequence the Imperial Prince Karu was unable to persist in his refusal, and, ascending the throne, assumed the Dignity.

At this time Ohotomo no Nagatoko no Muraji [his cognomen was Mumakahi], girt with a golden quiver, stood on the right hand of the throne,[3] and Inugami no Takebe no Kimi, girt with a golden quiver, stood on the left hand of the throne. The functionaries, Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko and the 180 Be, ranged in order, went round[4] making obeisance. On this day the title of Kō-so-bō[5] was conferred on the Empress Toyo-takara, and Naka no Ohoye was made Prince Imperial, Abe no Uchimaro no Omi was made Sa-dai-jin, and Soga no Kurayamada Ishikaha no Maro no Omi was made U-dai-jin.[6]

[1] Jomei Tennō. [2] The toneri.

[3] Probably a raised daïs is meant.

[4] Probably passing before the Emperor in rotation, as at our levees.

[5] Empress Dowager. Lit. Empress grandmother or ancestress.

[6] Sadaijin and Udaijin are respectively Great Minister of the Left and Great Minister of the Right. The left has precedence of the right in these matters. It is the same characters which above represent Oho-omi which

A great brocade cap of honour was given to Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, and he was made Naijin,[1] with an increased feudal revenue of a large number of houses,[2] etc., etc. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji cherished the most sincere loyalty. Trusting to his power as ruling Minister, he took place over the various functionaries. In respect therefore to advancements and dismissals, taking measures or abandoning them, everything was done in accordance with his counsel, etc., etc.[3] The XXV. 4.
Buddhist priest[4] Min Hōshi and Kuromaro Takamuko no Fubito were made national doctors.[5]

15th day. Golden tablets were granted to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and to the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha no Maro. [One book says they were granted refined gold.]

19th day. The Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and the Prince Imperial summoned together the Ministers under the great tsuki[6] tree, and made an oath appealing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and saying:—

> "Heaven covers us: Earth upbears us: the Imperial[7] way is but one. But in this last degenerate age, the order of Lord and Vassal was destroyed, until Supreme Heaven by Our hands put to death the traitors. Now, from this XXV. 5.
> time forward, both parties shedding their heart's blood, the Lord will eschew double methods of government, and the Vassal will avoid duplicity in his service of the

are here used for daijin. That a change in the mode of reading them took place at some time is certain, but it is impossible to fix it exactly. Oho-omi is retained below, though daijin is possibly more correct. Sadaijin and Udaijin have been in use in our own day.

[1] Minister (Omi) of the Interior, i.e. of the Household, a rank next after that of Prime Minister.

[2] Of serfs.

[3] The "Shukai" editor says the etc., etc. marks a hiatus in the MS. much to be deplored. The previous two sentences are a quotation from a Chinese history.

[4] The word used is Shamon, the equivalent of the Sansk. S'ramana. *Vide* Eitel, p. 157. Min Hōshi is probably the priest who studied in China, and whose astronomical knowledge is above referred to. Hōshi is a priestly rank, the Sansk. Upadhyāya.

[5] Hakase, men of learning—not medical men.

[6] Planera.

[7] Or Divine.

sovereign! On him who breaks this oath, Heaven will send a curse and earth a plague, demons will slay them, and men will smite them. This is as manifest as the sun and moon." [1]

The style 4th year of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime was altered to Daikwa, 1st year.[2]

A.D. 645. Daikwa, 1st year, Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Imperial Princess Hashibito, daughter of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[3] was made Empress. Two consorts were appointed. The senior was Wo-tarashi-hime, daughter of the Oho-ōmi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro. She was the mother of the Imperial Prince Arima. The junior consort was Chi-iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha no Maro.

10th day. Koryö, Pèkché, and Silla all sent Envoys at the same time bearing tribute. The Pèkché tribute-envoys were also charged with the office of Envoys from Imna and with the Imna tribute. But the Pèkché Chief Envoy, the Cha-phyöng[4] Yön-pok, fell ill, and remained in the official residence of the Port,[5] so that he did not enter the capital. Kose no Tokuda no Omi addressed the Koryö Envoys on the Emperor's behalf, saying:—"This is the mandate of the Emperor of Japan, who rules the world as a God incarnate. 'The Envoys sent by the Emperor and the Envoys sent by the Koryö Sons of the Gods,[6]
XXV. 6. have a brief past, but a long future. Let them, therefore, simply continue to pass backwards and forwards with friendly hearts.'" Next he addressed the Pèkché Envoys on the Emperor's behalf, saying:—"This is the mandate of the Emperor of Japan, who rules the world as a God incarnate. 'At first, in the reign of our remote Imperial ancestor, the Land of Pèkché was made an interior Miyake[7] which might be

[1] It may be noted that there is nothing Buddhist or Shintō in this vow. It is pure Chinese. It is not exactly an oath according to our ideas, but an imprecation on rebellion.

[2] This is the first introduction of the nengō, 年號, or year-period, a Chinese chronological device. *Vide* Introduction to "Satow's Chronological Tables." Daikwa means great civilization or development. As a matter of fact very revolutionary changes took place in this reign.

[3] Jomei Tennō. [4] Minister of the Left. [5] Doubtless Osaka.

[6] A polite term for kings.

[7] i.e. immediately dependent on the throne.

compared to a three-fold cord.[1] In more recent times Imna was handed over to be a dependency of Pèkché. After that, Adzumabito, Miwa no Kurikuma no Kimi, was sent to inspect the frontier of the Land of Imna, and the King of Pèkché, in obedience to the Emperor's behest, showed him all the frontier. Yet there is a deficiency in the tribute, and it is therefore returned. The articles which are the produce of Imna are distinctly observed by the Emperor. Now for the future the country should be noted down as well the tribute which comes from it.[2] May you, the Cha-phyöng and the others, come back unchanged in appearance,[3] and speedily bring us a clear answer. Adzumabito, Miwa no Kimi, and Mŭmakahi no Miyakko will now be sent again.' "

A further Imperial order was given—" Let the wife and children of Wi-sa, a Talsol of Kwipu, be sent away." [4]

12th day. The Emperor gave command to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and the Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, saying:—" The Empire should be ruled by following in the footsteps of the Emperors of antiquity. More- XXV. 7.
over, in your government of the Empire, you should preserve fidelity."

13th day. The Emperor gave command to the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi no Maro, and the Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, saying:—" Inquire of the Daibu and the hundred Tomo no Miyakko, one after another, as to the method of making gladness the means of using the people's services.[5]

14th day. The Oho-omi, Soga no Ishikaha no Maro, addressed the Emperor, saying:—" First of all the Gods of Heaven and Earth should be propitiated by worship; thereafter affairs of government ought to be considered."

On this day, Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was sent to

[1] This is explained to mean Pèkché, the Japanese authority in Imna, and the native Kings of Imna.

[2] The meaning seems to be that, as the Emperor takes special notice of the produce of Imna, a list should be prepared showing what tribute is sent by Pèkché and what by Imna, so that any deficiency may be at once recognizable.

[3] By sickness or old age.

[4] They were probably hostages. *Vide* XXIV. 10.

[5] Of reconciling the people to forced labour.

the province of Wohari and Komaro, Imbe no Obito to the province of Mino, to levy offerings for the Gods.[1]

8th month, 5th day. Governors of the Eastern provinces were appointed. Then the Governors were addressed as follows:—"In accordance with the charge entrusted to Us by the Gods of Heaven, We propose at this present for the first time to regulate the myriad provinces.

When you proceed to your posts, prepare registers of all the free subjects of the State and of the people under the control of others, whether great or small. Take account also of the acreage[2] of cultivated land. As to the profits arising from the gardens and ponds, the water and land, deal with them in common with the people.[3] Moreover it is not competent for the provincial Governors, while in their provinces, to decide criminal cases, nor are they permitted by accepting bribes to bring the people to poverty and misery. When they come up to the capital they must not bring large numbers of the people in their train. They are only allowed to bring with them the Kuni no Miyakko and the district officials.[4] But when they travel on public business they may ride the horses of their department, and eat the food of their department. From the rank of Suke[5] upwards those who obey this law will surely be rewarded, while those who disobey it shall be liable to be
XXV. 8. reduced in cap-rank. On all, from the rank of Hangwan[6]

[1] Shintō.

[2] 畝, which is here rendered acreage, is the Chinese mow, now fixed by treaty as equal to 733½ sq. yards. 田 is used here in the more general sense of cultivated land generally, not merely rice-fields. The Kana gloss tahatake appears to me to be put for 田 in this wider sense. Dr. Florenz interprets this expression differently. He takes hata or hatake to represent 畝, making the whole mean rice-land and dry fields—Reis- und Trockenfelder.

[3] Take them into your counsel.

[4] This is the way in which the commentators construe this passage. If there was any authority for doing so, I should like to take 領 as equivalent to 所領人 a few lines above, or to suppose that this phrase has been omitted. This would give the meaning, "the serfs of the Kuni no Miyakko and of the district." These local Governors usually were Kuni no Miyakko.

[5] Assistant to a Governor.

[6] The interlinear gloss is Matsurigotobito, i.e. Government-man. It is doubtful whether this and many more of these glosses are anything more than translations of the Chinese. The hangwan was a sort of aide of the chief local authority. Chancellor, perhaps nearly corresponds to it.

downwards, who accept bribes a fine shall be imposed of double the amount, and they shall eventually be punished criminally according to the greater or less heinousness of the case. Nine men are allowed as attendants on a Chief Governor, seven on an assistant, and five on a secretary. If this limit is exceeded, and they are accompanied by a greater number, both chief and followers shall be punished criminally.

If there be any persons who lay claim to a title,[1] but who, not being Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko, or Inaki of districts by descent, unscrupulously draw up lying memorials, saying:—'From the time of our forefathers we have had charge of this Miyake or have ruled this district'—in such cases, ye, the Governors, must not readily make application to the Court in acquiescence in such fictions, but must ascertain particularly the true facts before making your report.

Moreover on waste pieces of ground let arsenals be erected, and let the swords and armour, with the bows and arrows of the provinces and districts, be deposited together in them. In the case of the frontier provinces which border close on the Yemishi, let all the weapons be mustered together, and let them remain in the hands of their original owners. In regard to the six districts of the province of Yamato, let the officials who are sent there prepare registers of the population, and also take an account of the acreage of cultivated land.

This means to examine the acreage of the cultivated ground, and the numbers, houses, and ages of the people.

Ye Governors of provinces, take careful note of this and withdraw."[2] Accordingly presents were made them of silk and cloth, which varied in the case of each person.

This day a bell and box were provided in the Court.[3] The XXV. 9.

[1] Lit. name.

[2] It would seem that at this time there was a reorganization of the local governments, giving a more centralized character to the administration temporary Governors superseding in some measure the hereditary titular officials. No clear account is given of this change, but it seems plainly to be inferred from the above passage. Kokushi, 國司, are not now mentioned for the first time, and it is clear that the change was not made all at once. The similar change from the Daimio system to that of local prefectures in 1868 will occur to the reader.

[3] The box was for the purpose of receiving petitions and complaints, like the Me-yasu-bako of later times. This custom was derived from China. See Florenz's note.

Emperor issued an order, saying :—" If there be a complainant, in case the person in question belongs to a Tomo no Miyakko, let the Tomo no Miyakko first make inquiry and then report to Us. In case the person in question has an elder,[1] let the elder first make inquiry and then report to Us. If, however, the Tomo no Miyakko or the elder does not come to a clear decision respecting the complaint, let a document be received and placed in the box, and punishment will be inflicted according to the offence. The person who receives the document should at dawn take it and make report to the Inner Palace, when We will mark on it the year and month, and communicate it to the Ministers. In case there is any neglect to decide it, or if there are malpractices on the part of intriguing persons, let the complainant strike the bell. This is why the bell is hung and box provided in the Court. Let the people of the Empire know and appreciate Our intention.

Moreover the law of men and women shall be that the children born of a free man and a free woman shall belong to the father : if a free man takes to wife a slave woman, her children shall belong to the mother : if a free woman marries a slave man, the children of the marriage shall belong to the father ; if they are slaves of two houses, the children shall belong to the mother. The children of temple serfs shall follow the rule for freemen. But in regard to others who become slaves, they shall be treated according to the rule for slaves. Do ye now publish this well to the people as a beginning of regulations."[2]

8th day. A messenger was sent to the Great Temple[3] to
XXV. 10. summon together the Buddhist priests and nuns, and to address them on the part of the Emperor, saying :—" In the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor[4] who ruled the world in the Palace of Shikishima, King Myöng of Pèkché reverently transmitted the Law of Buddha to our great Yamato. At this time the Ministers in a body were opposed to its transmission. Only Soga no Iname no Sukune believed in this Law, and the Emperor accordingly instructed him to receive it with reverence. In the reign of the Emperor who ruled the world in the Palace

[1] The senior member of his family.

[2] The first example of what we should call legislation. Compare the so-called laws of Shōtoku Daishi above, A.D. 604.

[3] Kudara Temple.

[4] Kimmei Tennō.

of Wosada,[1] Soga no Mŭmako no Sukune, influenced by reverence for his deceased father, continued to prize highly the doctrines of Buddha.[2] But the other Ministers had no faith in it, and its institutes had almost perished when the Emperor instructed Mŭmako no Sukune reverently to receive this Law. In the reign of the Empress who ruled the world in the Palace of Woharida,[3] Mŭmako no Sukune, on behalf of the Empress, made an embroidered figure of Buddha sixteen feet high and a copper image of Buddha sixteen feet high. He exalted the doctrine of Buddha and showed honour to its priests and nuns. It is Our desire anew to exalt the pure doctrine and brilliantly to promulgate great principles. We therefore appoint as professors the following ten persons:—The S'ramana, Pok-nyang, Hyé-un, Syang-an, Nyöng-un, and Hyé-chi, Taihōshi[4] of Koma, and Sōbin, Dōto, Yerin, Yemyō and Yeon, chief priests of temples.[5] We separately appoint the Hōshi, Yemyō, XXV. 11.
chief priest of the Temple of Kudara.

Let these ten professors well instruct the priests in general in the practice of the teachings of Shaka. It is needful that they be made to comply with the Law. If there is a difficulty about repairing Temples built by any from the Emperor down to the Tomo no Miyakko, We will in all cases assist in doing so. We shall also cause Temple Commissioners and Chief Priests to be appointed, who shall make a circuit to all the temples, and having ascertained the actual facts respecting the priests and nuns, their male and female slaves, and the acreage of their cultivated lands, report all the particulars clearly to us."

Accordingly Kume no Omi, Miwa no Shikobu no Kimi, and Ohi, Nukadabe no Muraji, were appointed Hōtō.[6]

9th month, 1st day. Officials were sent on a mission to all the provinces to regulate the matter of weapons.

One book says:—"From the 6th to the 9th month

[1] Bindatsu Tennō.

[2] Nō-jin, 能仁, "he who can produce benevolence," i.e. Sakyamuni.

[3] Suiko Tennō. [4] A rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[5] I give the last five names the Japanese pronunciation. But some of them may have been Coreans. Some editions make "chief priests of temples" part of the original commentary.

[6] i.e. Heads of the Law. See above, XXII. 38.

messengers were sent to the provinces of the four quarters to collect weapons of all kinds."

3rd day. The Imperial Prince Furubito, Kahahori, Soga no Taguchi no Omi, Shihimi, Mononobe no Yenowi no Muraji, Shidaru, Kibi no Kasa no Omi, Maro, Yamato no Aya no fumi no Atahe, and Takutsu, Yechi no Hada no Miyakko, plotted rebellion.

One book says :—" The Heir Apparent Furubito." One book says :—" Furubito no Ohoye." This Imperial Prince repaired to the mountains of Yoshino, and he is therefore sometimes styled the Heir Apparent of Yoshino.

XXV. 12.

12th day. Shidaru, Yoshino no Kasa no Omi, surrendered himself to Naka no Ohoye, saying :—" The Imperial Prince Yoshino no Furubito and Kahahori, Soga no Taguchi no Omi, etc., having plotted rebellion, thy servant became an accomplice of their party."

One book says :—" Shidaru, Kibi no Kasa no Omi, told Abe no Oho-omi and Soga no Oho-omi that he was an accomplice of the band of rebels of the Imperial Prince of Yoshino, and that he therefore now surrendered himself."

Naka no Ohoye straightway sent Uda no Yenomuro no Furu and Koma no Miyachi with a considerable force to attack the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye and his companions.

One book says :—" 11th month, 30th day. Naka no Ohoye sent Abe, Kosobe no Omi, and Sahekibe no Komaro, these two, with a force of thirty men to attack Furubito no Ohoye. They slew Furubito no Ohoye and his children. His consorts strangled themselves." One book says :—" 11th month. Prince Yoshino no Ohoye plotted rebellion, but the matter having become public, he was executed."

19th day. Commissioners were sent to all the provinces to take a record of the total numbers of the people. The Emperor on this occasion made an edict, as follows :—

" In the times of all the Emperors, from antiquity downwards, subjects have been set apart for the purpose of making notable their reigns and handing down their names to posterity.[1] Now the Omi and Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko and the Kuni no Miyakko, have each one set apart their own vassals,

[1] The reference is to the institution of Be with names commemorative of the reign.

whom they compel to labour at their arbitrary pleasure. Moreover they cut off the hills and seas, the woods and plains, the ponds and rice-fields belonging to the provinces and districts, and appropriate them to themselves. Their contests are never-ceasing. Some engross to themselves many tens of thousands of shiro[1] of rice-land, while others possess in all patches of ground too small to stick a needle into. When the time comes for the payment of taxes, the Omi, the Muraji, XXV.13. and the Tomo no Miyakko, first collect them for themselves and then hand over a share. In the case of repairs to palaces or the construction of misasagi, they each bring their own vassals, and do the work according to circumstances. The Book of Changes says:—"Diminish that which is above: increase that which is below: if measures are framed according to the regulations, the resources (of the State) suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt."[2]

"At the present time, the people are still few. And yet the powerful cut off portions of land and water,[3] and converting them into private ground, sell it to the people, demanding the price yearly. From this time forward the sale[4] of land is not allowed. Let no man without due authority make himself a landlord, engrossing to himself that which belongs to the helpless."

The people were greatly rejoiced.

Winter, 12th month, 9th day. The Emperor removed the capital to Toyosaki in Nagara at Naniha. Old people, remarking upon this to one another, said:—"The movement of rats towards Naniha from spring until summer was an omen of the removal of the capital."[5]

24th day. It was reported from the land of Koshi:—"Driftwood of the sea shore passed away towards the east, leaving an impression on the sand like a ploughed rice-field in appearance."

This year was the year Kinoto Mi (42nd) of the Cycle.

[1] A land measure of 15·13 acres.

[2] *Vide* Legge's "Yih-King," pp. 247 and 262.

[3] i.e. rice ground and other cultivated land.

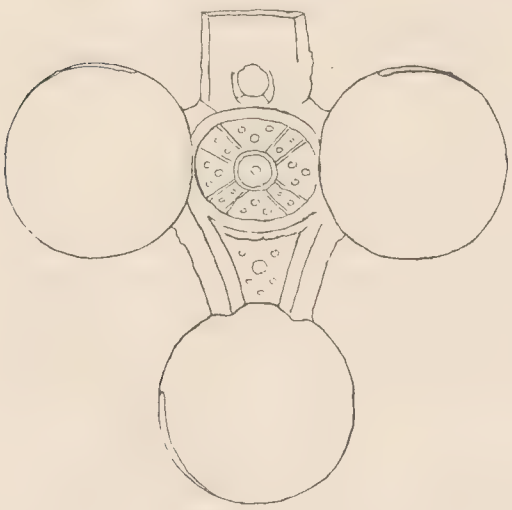
[4] By sale is evidently meant letting. An early example of a "Land Act.

[5] A similar story is related in Chinese History (in the Wei dynasty) of rats indicating a change of capital by their movements.

A.D. 646. 2nd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. As soon as the ceremonies of the new year's congratulations were over, the Emperor promulgated an edict of reforms, as follows :—

"I. Let the people established by the ancient Emperors, etc., as representatives of children be abolished, also the Miyake of
XXV. 14. various places and the people owned as serfs by the Wake,[1] the Omi, the Muraji, the Tomo no Miyakko, the Kuni no Miyakko and the Mura no Obito.[2] Let the farmsteads[3] in various places be abolished." Consequently fiefs were granted for their sustenance[4] to those of the rank of Daibu and upwards on a descending scale.[5] Presents of cloth and silk stuffs were given to the officials and people, varying in value.

"Further We say. It is the business of the Daibu to govern the people. If they discharge this duty thoroughly, the people have trust in them, and an increase of their revenue is therefore for the good of the people.



Bell-token.

II. The capital is for the first time to be regulated, and Governors appointed for the Home provinces and districts. Let barriers, outposts, guards, and post-horses, both special and ordinary, be provided, bell-tokens[6] made, and mountains and rivers regulated.[7]

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 192.

[2] Chief men of villages.

[3] Of serfs.

[4] Instead of the serfs taken from them.

[5] The "Roku-rei" gives a scale of sustenance-fiefs at a later period. A Prime Minister had 3000 houses, a Junior Prime Minister 2000, a Dainagon 800, etc., etc. These fiefs were hereditary.

[6] I was at first disposed to regard the bells and tokens as different objects, but now agree with Dr. Florenz that they are the same. They were small globular bells, sometimes single, sometimes in groups as in the illustration, and indicated by their shape and number how many horses the bearer was entitled to. This institution was borrowed from China.

[7] By the regulation of mountains and rivers is meant the provision of guards at ferries and mountain passes which serve as boundaries between different provinces.

For each ward in the capital let there be appointed one alderman,[1] and for four wards one chief alderman,[2] who shall XXV. 15. be charged with the superintendence of the population, and the examination of criminal matters. For appointment as chief aldermen of wards let men be taken belonging to the wards, of unblemished character, firm and upright, so that they may fitly sustain the duties of the time. For appointments as aldermen, whether of rural townships or of city wards, let ordinary subjects be taken belonging to the township or ward, of good character and solid capacity. If such men are not to be found in the township or ward in question, it is permitted to select and employ men of the adjoining township or ward.

The Home provinces shall include the region from the River Yokogaha at Nabari[3] on the east, from Mount Senoyama in Kiï on the south, from Kushibuchi in Akashi on the west, and from Mount Afusaka-yama in Sasanami in Afumi on the north. Districts of forty townships[4] are constituted Greater Districts, of from thirty to four townships are constituted Middle Districts, and of three or fewer townships are constituted Lesser Districts. For the district authorities, of whatever class, let there be XXV. 16. taken Kuni no Miyakko of unblemished character, such as may fitly sustain the duties of the time, and made Tairei and Shōrei.[5] Let men of solid capacity and intelligence who are skilled in writing and arithmetic be appointed assistants and clerks.

The number of special or ordinary post-horses given shall in all cases follow the number of marks on the posting bell-tokens. When bell-tokens are given to (officials of) the provinces and barriers, let them be held in both cases by the chief official, or in his absence by the assistant official.

III. Let there now be provided for the first time registers of

[1] The interlinear gloss is *wosa*, or chief.

[2] The interlinear gloss is *unagashi*, one who demands.

[3] In Iga.

[4] 里 A ri or sato consisted of 50 houses.

[5] Greater and Lesser Governors. These terms are rendered Kōri no Miyakko and Suke no Miyakko in the interlinear glosses. But I have little doubt that the Chinese words are intended, and that these are mere translations, and not the real titles of these officials.

population, books of account and a system of the receipt and re-granting of distribution-land.[1]

XXV. 17. Let every fifty houses be reckoned a township, and in every township let there be one alderman who shall be charged with the superintendence of the population,[2] the direction of the sowing of crops and the cultivation of mulberry trees, the prevention and examination of offences, and the enforcement of the payment of taxes and of forced labour.

For rice-land, thirty paces in length by twelve paces in breadth shall be reckoned a tan.[3] Ten tan make one chō. For each tan the tax is two sheaves and two bundles (such as
XXV. 18. can be grasped in the hand) of rice; for each chō the tax is twenty-two sheaves of rice. On mountains or in valleys where the land is precipitous, or in remote places where the population is scanty, such arrangements are to be made as may be convenient.[4]

IV. The old taxes and forced labour are abolished, and a system of commuted taxes instituted. These shall consist of fine silks, coarse silks, raw silk, and floss silk,[5] all in accordance with what is produced in the locality. For each chō of rice-land the rate is one rod[6] of fine silk, or for four chō one piece forty feet in length by two and a half feet in width. For coarse silk the rate is two rods (per chō), or one piece for every two
XXV. 19. chō of the same length and width as the fine silk. For cloth

[1] The *Denryō* (Land Regulations) says, "In granting *Kō-bun-den* (land shared in proportion to population) men shall have two tan, women a third less, and children under five years of age none. Lands are granted for a term of six years." This seems to point to a general redistribution of lands once in six years, something after the manner still practised in Russia.

[2] i.e. of the registers of population.

[3] Allowing five feet to the pace, this would make the tan 9000 square feet. The Japanese foot is not very different from our own. The present *tan* is 10,800 square feet. The interlinear gloss of 段 is kida; but I am strongly inclined to think that the Chinese word *tan* is here intended.

[4] The "Shūkai" editor brings in this last sentence at the end of the previous paragraph. It would then apply to the appointment of rural aldermen. The old reading is better.

[5] The "Shūkai" adds 布, or cloth, by which is meant fabrics of hemp or of the fibre of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. Textiles served the purpose of currency in this period, so that this commutation was in the nature of a substitution of payment in money for payment in rice.

[6] Ten feet.

the rate is four rods of the same dimensions as the fine and coarse silk, i.e. one tan[1] for each chō. [No rates of weight are anywhere given for silk or floss silk.] Let there be levied separately a commuted house tax.[2] All houses shall pay each one rod and two feet of cloth. The extra articles of this tax, as well as salt and offerings,[3] will depend on what is produced in the locality. For horses for the public service, let every hundred houses contribute one horse of medium quality. Or if the horse is of superior quality, let one be contributed by every two hundred houses. If the horses have to be purchased, the price shall be made up by a payment from each house of one rod and two feet of cloth. As to weapons, each person shall contribute a sword, armour, bow and arrows, a flag, and a drum. For coolies, the old system, by which one coolie was provided by every thirty houses, is altered, and one coolie is to be furnished from every fifty houses [one is for employment as a menial servant] for allotment to the various functionaries. Fifty houses shall be allotted to provide rations for one coolie, and one house shall contribute two rods and two feet of cloth and five masu[4] of rice in lieu of service.

For waiting-women in the Palace,[5] let there be furnished the sisters or daughters of district officials of the rank of Shōrei or upwards—good-looking women [with one male and two female servants to attend on them], and let 100 houses be allotted to provide rations for one waiting-woman. The cloth and rice supplied in lieu of service shall, in every case, follow the same rule as for coolies."[6] XXV. 20.

In this month the Emperor occupied the separate Palace of Koshiro. He sent messengers to command the provinces and districts to repair the arsenals. Yemishi came and did homage.

One book says :—" The Miyake of Koshiro, in the village

[1] There are two tan to the hiki or piece, which now measures about 21½ yards.

[2] The Chinese is 調, rendered in Japanese by mitsugi, or tribute. Here it seems to exclude the rice-tax, but to include various miscellaneous taxes.

[3] Or " salted articles of food for the Emperor's table."

[4] Or shō = 109 cubic inches. [5] Uneme.

[6] For an account of the modern system of taxation in Japan the reader is referred to a paper in the "T.A.S.J.," Vol. XX., Supplement, p. 121.

of Sayabe, at Naniha, was pulled down, and a temporary Palace erected."

2nd month, 15th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Eastern Gate of the Palace, where, by Soga, Oho-omi of the Right,[1] he decreed as follows :—

"The God Incarnate, the Emperor Yamato-neko,[2] who rules the world, gives command to the Ministers assembled in his presence, to the Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, Tomo no Miyakko, and subjects of various classes, saying:—

'We are informed that wise rulers of the people hung a bell at their gate, and so took cognizance of the complaints of their subjects; they erected buildings in the thoroughfares, where they listened to the censures of the passers-by. Even the opinions of the grass and firewood gatherers[3] they inquired personally and used for their guidance. We therefore, on a former occasion, made an edict, saying:—"In ancient times the Empire was ruled by having at the Court flags of honour for the encouragement of good, and a board of censure, the object being to diffuse principles of Government and to invite remonstrances." All this served widely to ascertain the opinions
XXV. 21. of those below. Kwan-Tsze[4] said:—"The Emperor Hwang, by establishing the Conferences of the Bright Hall,[5] observed the opinions of the wise on the upper hand, while the Emperor Yao, having the inquiries of the street-houses, listened to the people on the lower hand. Shun again had flags to proclaim merit and thus secure publicity; and Yü set up a drum at his

[1] Or we should perhaps construe Udaijin.

[2] This title is found in the Japanese names of the ancient Emperors Kōrei and his two successors. It also occurs in the Japanese names of the Empresses Gemmei and Genshō in the early part of the eighth century. Here Yamato-neko is used by the Emperor himself, although it was no part of his name. It would appear therefore that it had become, to some extent, a common name, like Pharaoh or Cæsar.

[3] *Vide* Legge's "Shiking," p. 501. The ancients had a saying, "Consult the grass and firewood gatherers." This is the equivalent of our "Man in the street."

[4] One of the most renowned statesmen of Chinese antiquity. Died B.C. 645. *Vide* Mayers' "Chinese Manual," p. 91. The quotation is by no means accurate.

[5] As this is purely legendary, it is useless to inquire the nature of the institution in question. The term Bright Hall, or Meidō, is now applied to the Imperial University in Japan.

Court, thus providing for the investigation into expectations. T'ang[1] had the Court of the general control of Districts, whereby he observed the faults of the people. King Wu[2] had the park of the Spirit terrace, and therefore the wise had advancement. Thus the sage Emperor and Illustrious Sovereigns of antiquity possessed and did not lose; they gained and did not destroy."

The object of hanging up a bell, of providing a box, and of appointing a man to receive petitions, is to make those who have grievances or remonstrances deposit their petitions in the box. The receivers of petitions are commanded to make their report to Us every morning. When We receive this report We shall draw the attention of the Ministers to it, and cause them to consider it, and We trust that this may be done without delay. But if there should be neglect on the part of the XXV. 22. Ministers, and a want of diligence or partizan intrigues, and if We, moreover, should refuse to listen to remonstrance, let the complainant strike the bell. There has been already an Imperial command to this effect. But some time afterwards there was a man of intelligence and uprightness who, cherishing in his heart the spirit of a national patriot, addressed Us a memorial of earnest remonstrance, which he placed in the box prepared for the purpose. We therefore now publish it to the black-haired people here assembled. This memorial runs as follows:—"Those subjects who come to the capital in connection with the discharge of their duty to the Government of the Country, are detained by the various public functionaries and put to forced labour of various kinds, etc., etc." We are still moved with strong sympathy by this. How could the people expect that things would come to this? Now no long time has elapsed since the capital was removed, so that so far from being at home, we are, as it were, strangers. It is therefore impossible to avoid employing the people, and they have therefore been, against Our will, compelled to labour. As often as Our minds dwell on this We have never been able to sleep in peace. When We saw this memorial we could not refrain from a joyous exclamation. We have accordingly complied with the language

[1] Founder of the Shang Dynasty in China, B.C. 1766.

[2] The founder of the Chow Dynasty, B.C. 1169-1116. *Vide* Mayers "Handbook," p. 264.

of remonstrance, and have put a stop to the forced services at various places.

In a former edict, We said :—" Let the man who remonstrates sign his name." Those who disobey this injunction are doubtless actuated by a wish to serve their country, and not by a desire of personal gain. Whether a man signs his name or not, let him not fail to remonstrate with Us on Our neglect or forgetfulness.' "[1]

Another edict was made as follows :—" There are many things of which the assembled people of the land complain. We are now about to explain our principles. Listen attentively to what We say. Those who come to the capital and assemble at Court in order to obtain decisions of doubtful points, should not disperse in the morning,[2] but remain together in attendance at Court."

Koryö, Pèkché, Imna, and Silla all together sent envoys to offer tribute.

22nd day. The Emperor returned from the detached Palace of Koshiro.

3rd month, 2nd day. An edict was issued to the Governors of the Eastern provinces, saying :—" Do all ye Ministers and Daibu assembled in attendance on Us, as well as ye Omi, Muraji, Kuni no Miyakko, and Tomo no Miyakko, and also ye subjects of every class, listen to this :—He that is lord between
XXV. 23. Heaven and Earth and rules the myriad people ought not to exercise control alone : he must have Ministers to support him. From generation to generation, therefore, Our Imperial ancestors have governed along with the ancestors of you, My Ministers. It is Our wish also, with the protecting power of the Gods, to associate you with Ourselves in the government. We therefore, on a former occasion, appointed Daibu, of good family, to the government of the eight Eastern provinces. Then the Governors went to their posts. Six obeyed the laws, and two were regardless of Our commands. In each case censure or praise became audible. We thereupon commended those who kept the law, and were severe with those who disregarded the instructions given them. He that would be a ruler, whether he be Lord or Minister, should first correct

[1] This is a difficult passage ; Dr. Florenz renders it somewhat differently.
[2] The interlinear Kana has shibaraku, " for a while."

himself, and then correct others. If he do not correct himself, how shall he be able to correct others?[1] He therefore who does not correct himself, be he Lord or be he Minister, will meet with calamity. Should one not be watchful? If ye, the leaders, are upright, who shall presume to be otherwise? Do ye now be guided by Our former commands in dispensing your judgments."

19th day. The Emperor made a decree to the Chōshūshi[2] of the Eastern provinces, saying:—

"Hear this, all ye Ministers and Daibu assembled in Our presence, as well as ye Kuni no Miyakko and Tomo no Miyakko, together with the subjects of all classes! In the 8th month of last year, We in person admonished you, saying:—'Do not use your official authority to appropriate public or private property: you should consume food of your own domain, and ride horses of your own domain. Those who disregard this admonition, if of the rank of Assistant Governor or higher, shall be degraded in official rank, if of the rank of Clerk or lower, shall be sentenced to flogging. Those who convert property to their own use shall be mulcted in double its value.' Such was the edict which We issued. Now, when We inquired from the Chōshūshi and the Miyakko of the various provinces whether the local Governors, when they proceeded to their posts, attended to this admonition or not, the Chōshūshi and XXV. 24.
the others informed Us fully of the facts, to wit:—The offence of Kuhi, Hodzumi no Omi, consists in having made exactions from each family among the people, and though he repented and gave back the things, not doing so completely. His two assistants, Fuse no Omi and Shidamu, Kose no Omi, have offended by not correcting the error of their chief, etc., etc. The inferior officials have all been guilty of offences. The offence of Kose no Tokune no Omi consists in having made exactions from each family among the people, and though he repented and returned the things, not doing so completely. He has moreover taken away the horses of the agricultural

[1] See Legge's "Chinese Classics," Vol. I. p. 221.

[2] The institutes of the T'hang dynasty define Chōshūshi (court-assemble-messenger) as persons sent to the capital bearing tribute from the provinces. Here they seem to have been officials who reported on the conduct of the local officials.

serfs. His two assistants, Yenowi no Muraji and Oshizaka no Muraji, did not correct the faults of their chief, but on the contrary joined with him in prosecuting their own advantage. They have moreover taken away horses belonging to the Kuni no Miyakko Sumi, Utena no Atahe, although at first he remonstrated with his chief, yet at last became corrupt along with him. The inferior officials are all guilty of offences. The offence of Ki no Marikida no Omi consists in having sent men to Asakura no Kimi and Winouhe[1] no Kimi to fetch their horses for him to look at. Further, he made Asakura no Kimi manufacture swords. Further, he got from Asakura no Kimi his bow-cloth.[2] Further, he did not honestly return to their owners the articles sent by the Kuni no Miyakko in lieu of weapons, but delivered them to the Kuni no Miyakko in an irregular manner.[3] Further, in the province committed to his charge, he allowed himself to be robbed of a sword. Further, in
XXV. 25. the province of Yamato he allowed himself to be robbed of a sword. These are the offences of Ki no Omi and of his assistants, Oho-guchi, Miwa no Kimi, and Momoyori, Kahabe no Omi. Their subordinate officials, Shihatsu, Kahabe no Omi, Tajihi no Fukame, Mozu no Nagaye, Katsuraki no Saigusa, Naniha no Kuhikame, Inukahi no Isogimi, Maro, Iki no Fubito, Tajihi no Inume[4]—these eight persons, all are guilty of offences. The offence of Adzumi no Muraji consists in this—that when Wadoku no Fubito was ill, he caused the Kuni no Miyakko to send (him?) government property. Further, he took horses belonging to the Yube.[5] The offence of his assistant Momoyori,

[1] Now pronounced Inoüye.

[2] The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear. Cloth was the money of the period, and perhaps the bow-cloth was by way of commutation for bows to be furnished, or an allowance for making bows. Or it may have been one of the articles referred to in the next clause as deposited with the local authorities as a security for arms lent out.

[3] The "Shukai" editor's rendering is—"reported falsely to the Kuni no Miyakko that they had done so."

[4] It may be observed that the higher ranks of the local authorities seem to have been filled from the old nobility. Most of the subordinates, as appears from this passage, had no titles, only a personal name and a name indicative of the locality of their birth or residence.

[5] The Yube was originally a Be for the purpose of providing hot baths for some Emperor or Prince. This term was also applied to the village where

Kashihade no Omi, consists in his having received and stored in his house articles paid in lieu of hay. Further, he took the horses of the Kuni no Miyakko and exchanged them for others. The two brothers, Ihatsutsu and Yumaro, Kahabeno Omi,[1] have also been guilty of offences. Ohochi no Muraji's offence consists in his having disobeyed Our former decree, which was as follows :—' Let not the local Governors personally judge the XXV. 26. plaints of the people in the districts placed under their charge.' He has disobeyed this edict in that he has taken it upon himself personally to judge the plaints of the men of Udo, and the matter of the slaves of Nakatomi no Toko. Nakatomi no Toko is equally guilty with him in this matter. The offence of Kishida no Omi consists in his having had his official sword stolen when he was in the province of Yamato. This showed a want of circumspection. As for Womidori no Omi and Tamba no Omi, they have been simply incompetent, but not guilty of any offence. The two men, Imbe no Konomi and Mutsuki,[2] Nakatomi no Muraji, have also been guilty of offences. Neither of these two men, viz. Hada no Omi and Taguchi no Omi, have committed any offence. The offence of Heguri no Omi consists in his having neglected to investigate the plaints of the men of Mikuni. Upon a review of these facts we find that all this is owing to the neglect and incompetence of you three, viz. Ki no Mariki no Omi, Kose no Tokune no Omi and Hodzumi no Kuhi no Omi. Is it not painful to Us to think of your disobedience to Our edict ? Now if he who has pastoral care of the people, whether as Lord or Minister, gives a personal example of upright conduct, who shall presume to do otherwise ? But if he, whether Lord or Minister, be not upright in heart, it is fit that he should bear the guilt. What avails it to repent afterwards ? We shall therefore consider the cases of all these local Governors and punish them according to the gravity of their offences.

With regard moreover to the Kuni no Miyakko who have disobeyed Our edict by sending presents to the Governors of their provinces, and, at length joining with them in the

the serfs of the Be lived, and subsequently became a mere proper name. It is not easy to decide in which application it is here used.

[1] Both had the title Kahabe no Omi

[2] This name has the curious signification of 1st month.

pursuit of gain, constantly conceive foul wickedness, repressive measures are indispensable. But although such are Our thoughts, we have only begun to occupy our new palace, and are about to make offerings to all the Kami, both which
XXV. 27. matters belong to the present year. Moreover it is not meet to employ the people in labour during the months of agriculture. But in connection with the building of a new palace, it was decidedly impossible to avoid doing so. Deeply conscious of both these considerations, We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire. From this time forward, let the local Governors of provinces and districts be zealous and do their utmost. Let them avoid profligacy. Let messengers be sent to release all banished men of the various provinces, and all prisoners in the gaols without exception.

In contradistinction from the rest, the following six men, viz. Shihoya no Konoshiro,[1] Kamikozo[2] no Saigusa,[3] Asakura no Kimi, Mariko no Muraji, Mikaha no Oho-tomo no Atahe and Suzuki wo no Atahe, have been obedient to the Emperor. We profoundly commend their sentiments.

Let the official rice-fields belonging to the public offices in various places be done away with, as well as the lent-rice[4] in various places belonging to the Kō-so-bō Kibishima[5] and let her official rice-lands be distributed among all Our Ministers and Tomo no Miyakko. Moreover, let rice-land and hill-
XXV. 28. tracts[6] be given to those temples which are omitted from the registers."

20th day. The Prince Imperial, by a messenger, addressed a petition to the Emperor, saying:—"In the reigns of the former Emperors, they treated the Empire as a whole, and so ruled it. But, when we come to the present time, there was division and separation, to the injury of the Work [the work of the State is meant]. Now that it has devolved on the Emperor our Sovereign to have pastoral charge of the myriad people, Heaven and Man respond harmoniously to each other,

[1] Shihoya means salt-house; Konoshiro is the name of a kind of herring.

[2] Shintō shrine. [3] Herb of luck.

[4] Lent out to the peasants at seed-time, to be returned at harvest.

[5] The Empress Dowager. She died A.D. 643.

[6] Not arable land.

and the government has been reformed.[1] I, therefore, filled with joy and veneration, place it on my head,[2] and prostrating myself, address Your Majesty:—'The Emperor who now rules the Land of the Eight Islands as an Incarnate Deity inquired of thy servant, saying:—"Should the Koshiro no Iribe in the possession of Ministers, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, Kuni no Miyakko, and established in the days of former Emperors, the Mina no Iribe in the private possession of Imperial Princes, and the Mina no Iribe belonging to the Imperial Father[3] Ohoye [Hikobito Ohoye is meant], as well as their Miyake, be allowed to remain the same as in former generations, or not?"[4] Thy servant having received this command with reverence, replies respectfully, saying:—"In Heaven there are not two suns: in a country there are not two rulers. It is therefore the Emperor alone who is supreme over all the Empire, and who has a right to the services of the myriad people. Make a special selection of labourers from the Iribe and from the people granted in fee, and follow the former arrangement.[5] For the rest,[6] it may be feared that they will be put to forced labour on private authority. I therefore offer to the Emperor 524 men of the Iribe, and 181 Miyake."'"

22nd day. The Emperor made a decree, as follows:—"We are informed that a Prince of the Western Land[7] admonished his people, saying:—'Those who made interments in ancient times resorted to a high ground which they formed into a tomb. They did not pile up a mound, nor did they plant XXV. 29.

[1] This is the same term (i-shin) as is used of the revolution of 1868.

[2] This is a figurative expression of his respect for the reformed Government. At this day a Japanese often puts a present to his head in token of thanks.

[3] Father of Jomei Tennō.

[4] Ko-shiro means literally "equivalent of children." The Koshiro no Iribe seem to have been communities of serfs (be) instituted (iri) by persons who had no children, to perpetuate their name. This practice is frequently mentioned above. Mina means august name, and the Mina no Iribe were apparently similar communities instituted to perpetuate an Emperor's (or Empress's) name. *Vide* also Chamberlain's "Kojiki," pp. 186, 197, 268, 269, etc.

[5] See above, XXV. 19.

[6] Others than Iribe and people granted in fee.

[7] i.e. China.

trees.[1] The inner and outer coffin were merely enough to last till the bones decayed, the shroud was merely sufficient to last till the flesh decayed. I shall therefore cultivate[2] the unproductive pieces of land occupied by these tombs, to the end that their place may be forgotten after changing generations. Deposit not in them gold or silver or copper or iron, and let earthenware objects alone represent the clay chariots and straw figures[3] of antiquity. Let the interstices of the coffin be varnished. Let the offerings consist of rice presented three times, and let not pearls or jewels be placed in the mouth of the deceased. Bestow not jewel-shirts or jade armour. All these things are practices of the unenlightened vulgar.' Again it is said:—'Burial is putting away, and proceeds from the desire to prevent the dead from being seen by people.' Of late, the poverty of our people is absolutely owing to the construction of tombs.[4] We now issue regulations making distinction of noble and mean.

XXV. 30.

The inner dimensions of tombs of persons of the rank of Princes and upwards[5] shall be nine feet in length by five in width. Their outer limits shall be nine fathoms square and their height five fathoms.[6] The work shall be completed by 1000 labourers in seven days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for the hangings (of the bier), etc. A hearse may be used.

The inner dimensions of tombs of Superior Ministers[7] shall be similar in length, breadth and height to the above.

[1] The trees planted were evergreens, viz. the fir and cryptomeria, for the same reasons as make the yew to be considered a proper churchyard tree in this country.

"When the ancients buried their dead, they covered the body thickly with pieces of wood, having laid it in the open country. They raised no mound over it, nor planted trees around."—Legge's "Yih-King," p. 308.

[2] The "Shūkai" has 勞 in error for 營. [3] See Vol. I. p. 181.

[4] It must be remembered that some of these were of enormous size. *Vide* Chamberlain's "Things Japanese," 2nd Ed. p. 27. Also above, Vol I. p. 135.

[5] This does not apply to Imperial tombs.

[6] The height is probably measured along the slope, not perpendicularly. The fathom is now of about five feet, but may have been more in those days.

[7] i.e. Oho-omi, says the "Shūkai" editor.

Their outer limits shall be seven fathoms square, and they shall be three fathoms in height.[1] The work shall be completed by 500 labourers in five days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for the hangings of the bier, which shall be borne on men's shoulders.

The inner dimensions of a tomb of a Minister of a lower class shall be in every respect similar in length, breadth, and height to the above. Their outer limits shall be five fathoms square, and they shall be two and a half fathoms in height. The work shall be completed by 250 labourers in three days. At the time of interment white cloth shall be used for hangings. In other matters the same rule as before is to be followed.

The inner dimensions of the tombs of persons of the rank of Dainin and Shōnin shall be nine feet in length and four feet in height and breadth. The ground shall be made level and no mound raised. The work shall be completed by 100 labourers in one day. XXV. 31.

In the case of persons from the rank of Dairei to that of Shōchi inclusive, the tombs shall in all respects follow the rule of Dainin, but the work shall be completed by fifty labourers in one day.

Let small stones[2] be used for the tombs of all from the rank of Prince down to that of Shōchi, and let white cloth be used for the hangings.

When ordinary persons die, let them be buried in the ground, and let the hangings be of coarse cloth. Let the interment not be delayed for a single day.

The construction of places of temporary interment is not allowed in any case, from Princes down to common people.

Not only in the Home provinces, but in the provinces generally, let plots of ground be set apart for interments.[3] It

[1] Or 24 feet, says the "Shūkai."

[2] The reference is doubtless to the stones covering the roof of the vault, which were of great size, some which I have seen weighing many tons. A note to the "Shukai" says that stones with monumental inscriptions are meant. But no such stones have been found in connection with the tombs of this period.

[3] There are numerous groups of these tombs still to be seen, more especially in the Home provinces, sometimes thirty or forty together, usually on the lower slopes of the hills.

is not permitted to pollute the earth by dispersed interments in various places.

When a man dies, there have been cases of people sacrificing themselves by strangulation, or of strangling others by way of sacrifice, or of compelling the dead man's horse to be sacrificed, or of burying valuables in the grave in honour of the dead, or of cutting off the hair, and stabbing the thighs and pronouncing an eulogy on the dead (while in this condi-
XXV. 32. tion). Let all such old customs be entirely discontinued.

A certain book says:—'No gold or silver, no silk brocades, and no coloured stuffs are to be buried.' Again it is said:—'From the Ministers of all ranks down to the common people, it is not allowed to use gold or silver.'

Should there be any cases of this decree being disregarded and these prohibitions infringed, the relations shall surely receive punishment.

Again, there are many cases of persons who, having seen, say that they have not seen, or who, having not seen, say that they have seen, or who, having heard, say that they have not heard, or who, having not heard, say that they have heard, being deliberate liars, and devoid of truth in words and in sight.

Again, there have been many cases in which slaves, both male and female, false to their masters in their poverty, betake themselves of their own accord to influential houses in quest of a livelihood, which influential houses forcibly detain and purchase them, and do not send them to their original owners.

Again, there have been very many cases in which wives or concubines, when dismissed by their husbands, have, after the lapse of years, married other husbands, as ordinary morality allows. Then their former husbands, after three or four years, have made greedy demands on the second husband's property, seeking their own gain.

Again, there have been very many cases in which men, relying on their power, have rudely demanded people's daughters in marriage. In the interval, however, before going to his house, the girl has, of her own accord, married another, and the rude suitor has angrily made demands of the property of both families for his own gain.

Again, there have been numerous cases of this kind. Sometimes a wife who has lost her husband marries another

man after the lapse of ten or twenty years and becomes his spouse, or an unmarried girl is married for the first time. Upon this, people, out of envy of the married pair, have made them perform purgation.[1]

Again, there are cases in which women, who have become men's wives and who, being put away owing to their husbands' dislike of them, have, in their mortification at this injury, compelled themselves to become blemished[2] slaves.

Again, there are cases in which the husband, having frequent occasion to be jealous of his wife's illicit intercourse with others, voluntarily appeals to the authorities to decide the matter. Let such persons not lay their information until they have obtained, let us say, three credible witnesses to join with them in making a declaration. Why should they bring forward ill-considered plaints?

Again, there have been cases of men employed on forced labour in border lands who, when the work was over and they were returning to their village, have fallen suddenly ill and lain down to die by the roadside. Upon this the (inmates of XXV. 33.
the) houses by the roadside say:—'Why should people be

[1] Harahi, clearing away, purgation, is properly a religious ceremony. The Oho-harahi, or "Great Purgation," was performed every year by the Nakatomi as a general purification of the sins of the people. The ritual used on this occasion has come down to us, and is perhaps the most interesting of the Norito. When harahi was performed in the case of individual offences the necessary offerings to the Gods were provided by the guilty person (see above, Vol. I. p. 49). From this to a penalty the transition is easy, and has parallels in other countries. In the present passage the harahi was evidently what we should now call a "squeeze." The "Tsūshō" commentator quotes here a statement by one Kurokaha, to the following effect:—"During the first month of the year following the marriage of a newly-united couple, their friends assemble at the house bearing pails of water, with which they souse the husband liberally. This is called harahi." It may not be out of place to point out that marriage is in many uncivilized countries considered as an infringement of the rights of the community which calls for some sort of compensation.

[2] The meaning of this term—rendered kotosaka in the "Original Commentary"—is not very clear. It perhaps applies to persons who were made slaves on account of some offence or vice.

Dr. Florenz and some Japanese scholars whom he consulted take this view of this paragraph. I am not sure, however, that the real meaning is not that the husband, mortified that his wife has left him from dislike, sells her as a slave.

allowed to die on our road?' And they have accordingly detained the companions of the deceased and compelled them to do purgation. For this reason it often happens that even if an elder brother lies down and dies on the road, his younger brother will refuse to take up his body (for burial).

Again, there are cases of peasants being drowned in a river. The bystanders say:—'Why should we be made to have anything to do with drowned men?' They accordingly detain the drowned man's companions and compel them to do purgation. For this reason it often happens that even when an elder brother is drowned in a river his younger brother will not render assistance.

Again, there are cases of people who, when employed on forced labour, cook their rice by the roadside. Upon this the (inmates of the) houses by the roadside say:—'Why should people cook rice at their own pleasure on our road?' and have compelled them to do purgation.

Again, there are cases when people have applied to others for the loan of pots in which to boil their rice, and the pots have knocked against something and have been upset. Upon this the owner of the pot compels purgation to be made.

All such practices are habitual among the unenlightened vulgar. Let them now be discontinued without exception, and not permitted again.

Again, there are cases in which peasants, when they are about to proceed to the capital, apprehensive lest their riding horses should be worn out and unable to go, give two fathoms of cloth[1] and two bundles of hemp to men of the two provinces of Mikaha or Wohari, to hire them to feed their horses. After they have been to the capital and are on their way home, they make them a present of a spade, and then find that the men of Mikaha, etc., have not only failed to feed their horses properly, but have allowed them to die of starvation. In the case of horses of a superior class, they conceive covetous desires, and invent lying tales of their having been stolen, while in the case of mares which become pregnant in their house, they cause purgation to be made, and in the end make a plunder of the beast.

Such things having come to our ears, We therefore now establish the following regulation:—

[1] Cloth was evidently used as money.

Whenever horses are left at livery in any of the provinces along the highway, let the owner take with him the man whom he engages for this purpose, and make a full statement to the village elder, handing over (to the latter) at the same time the articles given as remuneration. It is unnecessary for him to make any further payment when he returns home. If he has XXV. 34. caused the horse to suffer harm, he should get nothing.

If anyone disobeys this edict, a severe penalty shall be imposed.

The dues payable to Market Commissioners,[1] for main roads, and to ferrymen, are abolished and lands are granted instead.

Beginning with the Home provinces, and embracing the provinces in all four quarters, during the agricultural months,[2] let everyone apply himself early to the cultivation of the rice-land. It is not meet at such a time to let them eat dainty food or drink sake. Let faithful messengers be appointed to intimate this to the Home provinces. And let the Kuni no Miyakko of the provinces in every quarter choose good messengers to urge (the peasants to work) in accordance with the edict."

Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. An edict was issued, saying :—

"Going back to the origin of things, we find that it is Heaven and Earth with the male and female principles of nature,[3] which guard the four seasons from mutual confusion. We find, moreover, that it is this Heaven and Earth[4] which produces the ten thousand things. Amongst these ten thousand things Man is the most miraculously gifted. Among the most miraculously gifted beings, the sage takes the position of ruler. Therefore the Sage Rulers, viz. the Emperors, take Heaven as their exemplar in ruling the World, and never for a moment dismiss from their breasts the thought of how men shall gain their fit place.

Now as to the names of the early Princes, the Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no Miyakko have divided their

[1] The "Shoku-in-ryō" says the Market Commissioner shall have superintendence of the currency, commerce, the genuineness of wares, the justness of weights and measures, buying and selling prices, and prohibitions and offences (relating thereto.)

[2] i.e. of getting in the crops.

[3] The Yin and Yang of Chinese philosophy. The interlinear gloss has samuku-atataka, i.e. "cold and warm," a most inadequate rendering.

[4] i.e. Nature.

various Be[1] and allotted them severally to their various titles (or surnames). They afterwards took the various Be of the people, and made them reside in the provinces and districts, one mixed up with another. The consequence has been to make father and child to bear different surnames, and brothers to be reckoned of distinct families, while husbands and wives have names[2] different from one another. One family is divided into five or split up into six, and both Court and country are there-
XXV. 35. fore filled with contentious suits. No settlement has been come to, and the mutual confusion grows worse and worse. Let the various Be, therefore, beginning with those of the reigning Emperor and including those in the possession of the Omi, Muraji, etc., be, without exception, abolished, and let them become subjects of the State. Those who have become Tomo no Miyakko by borrowing the names of princes, and those who have become Omi or Muraji on the strength of the names of ancestors,[3] may not fully apprehend our purport, and might think, if they heard this announcement without warning, that the names borrowed by their ancestors would become extinct. We therefore make this announcement beforehand, so that they may understand what are our intentions.

The children of rulers succeed one another in the government of the Empire; and it is well known that the names of the actual Emperor and of his Imperial ancestors will not be forgotten by the world. But the names of sovereigns are lightly given to rivers and plains,[4] or common people are called by them. This

[1] Instituted in commemoration of Princes and bearing their names, or names intended to recall their memory.

[2] 名 or Names must here apply to surnames, or rather Be names. The Japanese at this time had no proper surnames, and the Chinese characters for the two kinds of names are not always rightly distinguished.

[3] The "Shukai" quotes here the instances of Kibitsuhiko no Mikoto, whose descendants were called Kibi no Omi, and Achiki, whose descendants were styled Achiki no Fubito.

[4] The "Shukai" editor instances Annei Tennō, whose name of Shiki-tsuhiko is borne by the plain of Shiki in Yamato, and Yūriaku Tennō, whose name of Ohohatsuse is applied to the River Hatsuse-gawa. But it is more likely that the facts are the other way, and that the names of places were given to the Emperors.

The "Shoku-ni-hon-go-ki" (a continuation of the "Nihongi") records an edict which directed the alteration of names of persons, villages, mountains, or rivers, which coincided with the names (*imina*) of Emperors.

is a truly fearful state of things. The appellations of sovereigns, like the sun and moon, will float afar: the names of those of the Imperial line[1] will last for ever, like unto Heaven and Earth. Such being our opinion, we announce as follows:—'Do ye all, from those of the Imperial line down to the Ministers, the Daibu, Omi, Muraji, and Tomo no Miyakko, who do Us service, (in short) all persons of whatever Uji[2] [One book has 'royal subjects of whatever name'], give ear to what We say. With regard to the form of your service, We now abolish the former offices and constitute afresh the hundred bureaus. We shall, moreover, grant grades of rank and confer official dignities.[3]

Let the local Governors who are now being despatched, and also the Kuni no Miyakko of the same provinces, give ear to what we say. In regard to the method of administration notified last year to the Court Assembly,[4] let the previous arrangement be followed, and let the rice-lands which are received and measured be granted equally to the people, without distinction of persons.[5] In granting rice-lands the peasants' houses should adjoin the land. Those whose houses lie near the lands must therefore have the preference. In this sense receive Our injunctions.

In regard to commuted taxes,[6] they should be collected from males (only).

Labourers should be supplied at the rate of one for every fifty houses. The boundaries of the provinces should be examined and a description or map prepared, which should be brought here and produced for Our inspection. The names of the provinces and districts will be settled when you come. XXV. 36.

With respect to the places where embankments are to be constructed, or canals dug, and the extent of rice-land to be

[1] 祖子, lit. ancestors and children. But I strongly suspect that 祖 is a mistake for 皇 imperial.

[2] House of nobles.

[3] This edict seems intended as a final severance of titles of various kinds from the offices they nominally represent. Official rank (位) and grade of office (官) do not invariably correspond, though they do in a general way. A Daijin, for example, is not necessarily first rank, though he will doubtless hold high rank, second or third at least.

[4] Chōshū. The reference is to the Chōshūshi named above, XXV. 23.

[5] See above, XXV. 17.

[6] Of other things than rice.

brought under cultivation, in the various provinces, uniform provision will be made for causing such work to be executed.'

Give ear to and understand these injunctions."

9th month. The Shōtoko, Kuromaro, Takamuko no Hakase, was sent to Silla to cause them to send a hostage. Ultimately the tribute from Imna was discontinued.

In this month the Emperor occupied the temporary Palace of Kahadzu.[1] [Some books have "detached Palace."]

In this year the rats of the province of Koshi drew together in troops by night and day, and took their departure towards the East.

A.D. 647. 3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 15th day. There was archery at the Court.

On this day Koryō and Silla sent messengers together to offer tribute.

Summer, 4th month, 29th day. An edict was issued as follows:—

"The Empire was entrusted (by the Sun-Goddess to her descendants, with the words) 'My children, in their capacity of Deities, shall rule it.' [The phrase 惟神 means to follow the way of the Gods, or again to possess in oneself the way of the Gods.] For this reason, this country, since Heaven and Earth began, has been a monarchy. From the time that Our Imperial ancestor[2] first ruled the land, there has been great concord[3] in the Empire, and there has never been any
XXV. 37. factiousness. In recent times, however, the names, first of the Gods, and then of the Emperors, have in some cases been separated (from their proper application) and converted into the Uji of Omi or Muraji, or they have been separated and made the qualifications of Miyakko,[4] etc. In consequence of this, the minds of the people of the whole country take a strong partisan bias, and conceiving a deep sense of the me and thee, hold firmly each to their names. Moreover the feeble and incompetent Omi, Muraji, Tómo no Miyakko and Kuni no

[1] Probably pronounced Kōdzu and identical with 商津 (Kōdzu), where a palace of the Emperor Nintoku stood at Osaka.

[2] Jimmu Tennō.

[3] *Vide* Legge's "Shooking," p. 337.

[4] The "Shūkai" editor gives as instances that the descendants of the God Oho-kuni-nushi are called Oho-kuni-nushi, of Oho-kume no Mikoto are called Kume no Atahe.

Miyakko make of such names their family names; and so the names of Gods and the names of sovereigns are applied to persons and places in an unauthorized manner, in accordance with the bent of their own feelings. Now, by using the names of Gods and the names of sovereigns as bribes, they draw to themselves the slaves of others, and so bring dishonour upon unspotted names. The consequence is that the minds of the people have become unsettled and the government of the country cannot be carried on. The duty has therefore now devolved on Us in Our capacity as Celestial Divinity, to regulate and settle these things. In order to make them understood, and thereby to order the State and to order the people, We shall issue, one after another, a succession of edicts, one earlier, another later, one to-day and another to-morrow. But the people, who have always trusted in the civilizing influence[1] exercised by the Emperors, and who are used to old customs, will certainly find it hard to wait until these edicts are made. We shall therefore remit to all, from Princes and Ministers down to the common people of all classes, the tax in lieu of service."

In this year Wogohori[2] was pulled down and a Palace built.

The Emperor, having taken up his residence in the Palace of Wogohori, established a Law for Ceremonies, the regulations of which were as follows :—

All persons holding official rank must draw up in lines to right and left outside the south gate at the hour of the Tiger,[3] and wait there until the first appearance of the sun. They shall then enter the Court, and having made their obeisances, shall attend in the Hall. Those who come late will not be permitted to enter and take up their attendance. When the hour of the Horse[4] arrives, they shall retire when they hear the sound of the bell. The officer whose business it is to strike the bell shall wear a red apron. The bell-stand shall be set up in the Middle Court.

[1] The interlinear gloss is mi omofu koto, i.e. "august thoughts," which is ludicrously inadequate. It is as impossible to render such phrases in pure Japanese as it would be in Anglo-Saxon.

[2] The small (government house of a) district. It seems to have become a proper name.

[3] 3 to 5 a.m.

[4] 11 to 1, noon.

The engineer of the rank of Daisen,[1] Aratawi no Hirafu,
XXV. 38. Yamato no Aya no Atahe, mistakenly dug a canal which he led to Naniha and thereby distressed the people. Upon this some one presented a memorial of remonstrance, and the Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We unwisely gave ear to Hirafu's misrepresentations, and so dug this canal to no purpose. It is We who are to blame." That same day the work was discontinued.[3]

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Emperor made a progress to the hot baths of Arima. He was accompanied by the Oho-omi of the Right and Left, and by the other Ministers and Daibu.

12th month, last day. The Emperor returned from the hot baths and stayed in the temporary Palace of Muko.

On this day the Palace of the Prince Imperial took fire, to the great marvel of the people of that time.

In this year there were instituted caps of seven kinds and thirteen grades.

The first was called Shoku-kwan.[4] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of woven stuff, and embroidered on the borders. The colour of the clothing was in both cases dark purple.

The second was called Shu-kwan.[5] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of

[1] This rank was not introduced until later.

[2] It is the same person who is called above Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, and below Hirafu, Aratawi no Atahe. A few lines further on, the Emperor speaks of him as Hirafu. The complete title Aratawi no Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, corresponds pretty exactly to such an English description as "Edmund of Langley, Duke of York." Hirafu is the personal name corresponding to Edmund; Langley and Aratawi are names of places, the residences of the persons in question or their forefathers; Duke and Atahe are titles. Yamato no Aya is, however, the name of a community of artisans of presumed Chinese descent who were settled in Yamato, while York is a territorial designation, of which, it may be noted, there are plenty among the ancient Japanese nobility.

[3] I have myself in 1869 seen a canal in course of construction at Osaka, which cost many thousands of pounds, and which was ultimately abandoned as impracticable.

[4] i.e. woven-cap. No doubt some special fabric is meant, which it is now difficult to identify.

[5] Embroidered cap.

embroidered stuff. The border of the cap and the colour of the clothing was the same as for the Shoku-kwan.

The third was called Shi-kwan.[1] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. It was made of purple material, with a border of woven stuff. The colour of the clothing was light purple. XXV. 39.

The fourth was called Kin-kwan.[2] Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Kin-kwan was made of Dai-haku-sen[3] brocade, and had the cap-border of woven stuff: the lesser Kin-kwan was made of Shō-haku-sen brocade, and had the cap-border of Dai-haku-sen brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases true dark red.

The fifth was called Sei-kwan,[4] and was made of blue silk. Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Sei-kwan had a border of Dai-haku-sen brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases deep violet.

The sixth was called Kok-kwan,[5] and was made of black silk. Of this there were two grades, the greater and the lesser. The greater Kok-kwan had a border of wheel-pattern brocade. The lesser Kok-kwan had a border of diamond-pattern brocade. The colour of the clothing was in both cases green.[6]

The seventh was called Kembu[7] [the initial (or lowest) rank. It was also called Risshin].[8] It was made of black silk and had a border of dark violet.

In addition to the above there were Tō-kwan,[9] made of black silk. These caps had varnished gauze stretched behind.

[1] Purple-cap. [2] Brocade-cap.

[3] Nothing more is known of this than that Hakusen seems to have been the name of a place.

[4] Blue cap. Neither the Chinese nor Japanese in ordinary speech or writing think it worth while to distinguish between green and blue. 青, the Chinese character used here stands for both colours, and the corresponding Japanese word *awoki* may be either green or blue. It is also used of a pale complexion, and, strange to say, of a black horse. It does not follow that these nations cannot distinguish between green and blue. I have seen a dyer's sample book which contained numerous shades of both, each with an appropriate name.

[5] Black-cap. [6] Especially grass-green.

[7] Kembu means "to establish valour."

[8] Risshin means advancement.

[9] Stirrup-caps, so called no doubt from their shape. The Japanese name is *tsubo-kammuri*, i.e. jar-caps.

Distinctions of rank were indicated by the border and the hair ornaments.[1] The latter were in shape like a cicada. The hair ornaments of the grades from the Lesser Kin-kwan upwards were of a combination of gold and silver: the hair
XXV. 40. ornaments of the Greater and Lesser Seikwan were made of silver: the hair ornaments of the Greater and Lesser Kok-kwan were made of copper. The Kembu caps had no hair ornaments.

These caps were worn at Grand Assemblies,[2] when foreign guests were entertained, and at the (Buddhist) maigre feasts of the fourth [3] month and seventh month.

Silla sent Kim Chhyun-chhyu, a Superior Minister, of the rank of Greater Ason, and others to accompany the Hakase, Takamuko no Kuromaro, of Shōtoko rank, and Oshikuma, Nakatomi no Muraji, of middle Shōsen rank,[4] and bring a present to the Emperor of a peacock and a parrot. Chhyun-chhyu was made a hostage. He was a handsome man, who talked and smiled agreeably.[5]

The Nutari [6] barrier was constructed, and a barrier-settlement established. Old men talked to one another, saying:—"The migration of the rats towards the East some years ago prefigured the making of this barrier."

A.D. 648. 4th year. Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The ceremony of New Year's congratulations took place.

In the evening the Emperor proceeded to the Palace of Toyosaki in Naniha.

2nd month, 1st day. Student priests were sent to Corea.

8th day. The Oho-omi Abe invited the four classes[7] to the Temple of Shitenōji, where, having brought in four images of Buddha, he had them enshrined within the pagoda. He con-

[1] Uzu.

[2] As at the New Year's receptions, the ceremony of accession, etc.

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Buddha and the festival of All-Souls—now known as bon. *Vide* Eitel's "Handbook"—article Ullambana, also "Things Japanese," pp. 155, 156.

[4] See below, XXV. 41, where, however, no middle Shōsen rank is mentioned, only upper and lower.

[5] He is mentioned in the "Tongkam."

[6] In Echigo, as a defence against the Yemishi or Ainos.

[7] Of Buddhists, viz.: Biku (Bhikchu), Bikuni (Bhikchunī), Uhasoku (Upāsaka) and Ubai (Upāsika). Priests, nuns, and lay members, male and female.

structed a figure of the wondrous Vulture Mountain,[1] which he made by piling up drums on one another. XXV. 41.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The old caps were discontinued. The Oho-omi of the Left and Right, however, continued to wear the old caps.

This year Silla sent envoys bearing tribute.

The barrier of Ihabune[2] was put to rights as a precaution against the Yemishi. Eventually subjects from the provinces of Koshi and Shinano were selected, and a barrier-settlement for the first time established.

5th year. Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The New Year's congratulations took place. A.D. 649.

2nd month. Nineteen cap grades were instituted, as follows:—

First	Dai-shiki	(greater-woven-stuff)
Second	Shō-shiki	(lesser-woven-stuff)
Third	Dai-shū	(greater embroidery)
Fourth	Shō-shū	(lesser do.)
Fifth	Dai-shi	(greater purple)
Sixth	Shō-shi	(lesser do.)
Seventh	Upper Dai-kwa	(greater flower)
Eighth	Lower Dai-kwa	(do.)
Ninth	Upper Shō-kwa	(lesser flower)
Tenth	Lower Shō-kwa	(do.)
Eleventh	Upper Dai-sen[3]	(greater mountain)
Twelfth	Lower Dai-sen	(do.)
Thirteenth	Upper Shō-sen	(lesser mountain)
Fourteenth	Lower Shō-sen	(do.)
Fifteenth	Upper Dai-otsu[4]	
Sixteenth	Lower Dai-otsu	
Seventeenth	Upper Shō-otsu	

[1] Gridhrakūta. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.* [2] In Echigo. [3] Or Daisan.

[4] Otsu (乙) is stated by the Japanese commentators to be put for 鵶, which has the same sound. Dai-otsu would then mean Greater Kingfisher, and Shō-otsu Lesser Kingfisher, and it is true that there was a kingfisher cap in China. But does not rather the following extract from Giles apply?—"The 乙 of the tiger,—i.e. its majesty, which is supposed to be in the shape of this character, and concealed under the skin of its ribs. Anyone who gets it and wears it, as an official will be a terror to evil-doers, while as a private individual he will have no enemies."

Eighteenth Lower Shō-otsu
Nineteenth Risshin (Promotion or advancement)

In this month an order was given to the Hakase, Takamuko no Kuromaro, and the Buddhist Priest Bin to establish Eight Departments of State and one hundred bureaus.[1]

XXV. 42 3rd month, 17th day. Abe no Oho-omi died. The Emperor proceeded to the Shujaku[2] gate, where he raised up lamentations for him and showed much emotion. The Empress Dowager, the Prince Imperial, and the other Princes, together with the Ministers of every rank, all, following his example, mourned and lamented.[3]

24th day. Hiuga, Soga no Omi [styled[4] Musashi] slandered the Oho-omi Kurayamada to the Prince Imperial, saying:—"Maro, thy servant's elder brother by a different mother, is watching the opportunity of the Prince Imperial making an excursion to the seaside, in order to do him a mischief. He will ere long commit treason." The Prince Imperial believed this. The Emperor sent Ohotomo no Komano Muraji, Mikuni no Maro no Kimi, and Hodzumi no Kurafu no Omi to the Oho-omi, Kurayamada no Maro, and questioned him as to the truth of the charge of treason. The Oho-omi answered and said:—"I will have a personal interview with the Emperor,

[1] These eight Departments were in imitation of the six boards of the Thang Dynasty in China. They were the Nakatsukasa Shō, or Central Department; the Shikibu Shō, or Board of Civil Office; the Jibu Shō, or Board of Ceremonies; the Mimbu Shō, or Board of Population; the Hyōbu Shō, or Board of War; the Gyōbu Shō, or Board of Justice; the Ohokura Shō, or Treasury; and the Kunai Shō, or Household Department. Those who wish to examine this matter more particularly are referred to Walter Dickson's "Japan," Count Itō's "Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire," from which Dr. Florenz quotes largely, and Mayers' "Chinese Handbook," pp. 324, 326, 332. Of course the word "hundred" in hundred bureaus is not to be taken literally.

[2] The Scarlet Bird or South Gate.

[3] This reminds one of Achilles acting as fugleman to the mourners at the funeral of Patroclus—*τοῖσι δὲ Πηλεΐδης ἀδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο.* "Iliad," XXIII. 17. The official character of the mourning is shown by the fact that it took place at the Southern Gate of the Palace. The Emperor's official position is facing the South, even at this day.

[4] The 字 or style. "A name or style taken at the age of twenty. A man's Prince and father call him by his ming (名), other people call him by his 字 or style."—Giles.

and shall then answer to the charge brought against me." The Emperor again sent Mikuni no Maro no Kimi and Hodzumi, Kurafu no Omi, to investigate the circumstances of the treason. The Oho-omi, Maro, again answered as before. The Emperor was therefore about to raise an armed force and surround therewith the Oho-omi's house, when the Oho-omi, taking with him his two sons, Hōshi[1] and Akagoma [also called Mawosu], fled by way of Chinu towards the boundary of the province of Yamato. Before this, Koshi, the Oho-omi's eldest son, was already staying in Yamato, where he was building the Temple. [This means that he was staying in the Yamada house.] Now being suddenly apprised that his father was coming thither in flight, he went out to meet him at the great Tsuki tree in Imaki. Having approached, he took the lead and entered the Temple. Then he looked back to the Oho-omi and said:—"Koshi desires to advance straight on in person, and oppose the army which is coming." But the Oho-omi would not allow it. That night Koshi conceived the idea of burning the Palace [the Palace of Woharida is meant], and went on assembling troops.

25th day. The Oho-omi addressed his eldest son Koshi, saying:—"Dost thou love thy life?" Koshi answered and said:—"I love it not." The Oho-omi thereupon harangued the priests of the Yamada Temple, his eldest son Koshi and some tens of other persons, saying:—"Shall one who is in the position of vassal contrive treason against his Lord? Shall the duty of a son to a father be brought to nothing? This temple was originally built, not for me personally, but under a vow for the sake of the Emperor. I have now been slandered by Musashi, and I fear that I shall be unjustly put to death. With so near a prospect of the yellow springs,[2] I would withdraw (from life) still cherishing fidelity in my bosom, and the object of my coming to this Temple is that my last moments may be made easier." XXV. 43.

When he had done speaking, he opened the door of the Buddha Hall and uttered a vow, saying:—"In all future births and existences, let me not have resentment against my sovereign!" When he had made this vow, he strangled him-

[1] Hōshi means Buddhist priest.

[2] Hades.

self and died. His wife and children, to the number of eight persons, sacrificed[1] themselves with him.

On this day, Oho-tomo no Koma no Muraji and Soga no Hiuga no Omi were sent as Generals in command of a body of troops to pursue the Oho-omi. General Ohotomo no Muraji and his colleague had gone as far as Kuroyama when Mu, Hashi no Muraji, and Omimaro, Uneme no Omi, came running from the Yamada Temple, and brought information that the Oho-omi Soga, with his three sons and one daughter, had already committed suicide together by strangulation. The Generals therefore returned from Tajihi no Saka.

26th day. The wife, children, and personal attendants of the Oho-omi Yamada, who committed suicide by strangulation, were many. Kurafu, Hodzumi no Omi, arrested in a body the Oho-omi's people, viz. Tsukushi, Taguchi no Omi, and others, placed cangues round their necks, and tied their hands behind their backs. That night, Maro, Ki no Omi, Hiuga, Soga no Omi, and Kurafu, Hodzumi no Omi, having surrounded the Temple
XXV. 44. with an armed force, called Shiho, Mononobe no Futsuta no Miyakko, and ordered him to cut off the Oho-omi's head. Upon this Futsuta no Shiho drew his sword, raised up the body on its point, yelled and reviled, and then cut it off.

30th day. There were executed, as implicated with the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada, Tsukushi, Taguchi no Omi, Miminashi no Dōtoko, Takada no Shikowo,[2] Nukadabe no Yumasu no Muraji, Hada no Adera and others, fourteen persons in all. Nine were strangled,[3] and fifteen banished.

In this month, messengers were sent to take over the property of the Oho-omi, Yamada. Among his property was a beautiful book with the inscription "Book belonging to the Prince Imperial," and a valuable object inscribed "Property of the Prince Imperial." When the messengers returned and reported the circumstances of their having taken over the property, the Prince Imperial recognized for the first time that the heart of the Oho-omi had remained pure and unspotted. He was seized with shame and remorse for the past, and bewailed his fate

[1] 殉死, Junshi.

[2] Ugly-man.

[3] Owing to the objection entertained in China and Japan to the mutilation of the body, hanging or strangulation is reckoned a less severe punishment than decapitation.

incessantly. Hiuga no Omi was accordingly appointed Viceroy of Tsukushi. The people of the time said to one another, "Is not this a disguised banishment?" XXV. 45.

When Soga no Miyakko hime, consort of the Prince Imperial, heard that her father the Oho-omi had been decapitated by Shiho, she took it deeply to heart, and grieved bitterly. She detested hearing Shiho's name mentioned, and so her personal attendants, whenever they had occasion to speak of salt (shiho), altered the word and called it Kitashi.[1] At last Miyakko hime died of a broken heart. When the Prince Imperial heard that she had passed away, he was grieved and deeply shocked, and bewailed her loss exceedingly. Upon this Mitsu, Nunaka Kahara no Fubito, came forward and presented verses of poetry as follows:—

On a mountain-stream
Two mandarin-ducks[2] there be,
Well matched together:—
But the wife who was a like mate for me
Who is it that has taken away?

This was the first verse.

Though on every tree
The flowers are blooming,
How can it be that
My darling wife
Does not blossom again?

This was the second verse.

The Prince Imperial, with a sigh of deep despair, praised the verses, saying:—"How beautiful! how pathetic!" So he gave him his lute[3] and made him sing them. He also presented him with four hiki of silk, twenty tan of cloth, and two bags of floss silk.

Summer, 4th month, 20th day. Kose no Tokodako no Omi, of Shōshi rank, was granted the rank of Daishi, and was made Oho-omi of the Left.[4]

Ohotomo no Nagatoko no Muraji [styled Mŭmakahi] of

[1] Hard or coarse salt.

[2] The emblem of conjugal love in China and Japan, like the turtle dove in Europe.

[3] Koto.

[4] Sadaijin in later parlance.

Shōshi rank, was granted the rank of Daishi, and was made Oho-omi of the Right.[1]

5th month, 1st day. Shikofu, Miwa no Kimi, of Lower Shōkwa rank, Tsunomaro, Harahibe no Muraji[2] of Upper
XXV. 46. Daisen rank, and others were sent to Silla.

This year, the Queen of Silla sent Kim Ta-sya, Sa-son of Sa-tök-pu, as hostage. He had a suite of thirty persons.

One Buddhist priest, two Si-rang,[3] one Assistant, one Usher, five Chung-kēk,[4] ten Artists,[5] one Interpreter, and sixteen servants of various kinds—in all thirty-seven persons.

A.D. 650 Hakuchi,[6] 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Imperial chariot proceeded to the Palace of Ajifu, where the Emperor viewed the ceremonies of the New Year's congratulations.

On this day the Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

2nd month, 9th day. Shikofu, Kusakabe no Muraji, Governor of the Province of Anato, presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying :—" Nihe, a relation of Obito, the Kuni no Miyakko, caught it on the 9th day of the first month on Mount Wonoyama." Upon this inquiry was made of the Lords of Pèkché, who said :—" In the eleventh year[7] of Yung-p'ing, in the reign of Ming Ti of the Later Han dynasty, white pheasants were seen in a certain place." Further, inquiry was made of the Buddhist priests, who answered and said :—" With our ears we have not heard, nor with our eyes have we seen
XXV. 47. such. May it please Your Majesty to order a general amnesty ; and so give joy to the hearts of the people."

The Priest Dōtō said :—" At one time Koryö desired to build a Buddhist Temple. There was no place which was not examined for this purpose. Then in a certain place a white

[1] Udaijin.

[2] A note in the "Shūkai" identifies this family with the Kamori no Muraji of the "Seishiroku.' They seem to have had originally something to do with the performance of the harahi or purification ceremonies.

[3] In China 侍郎 are Vice-Presidents of a Board. Chancellors (?)

[4] 中客, literally middle guests, officials of middle rank.

[5] Including skilled artisans.

[6] i.e. "white pheasant." The reason for this name of the year-period appears below.

[7] A.D. 68.

deer was seen quietly moving, and eventually a Temple was built on this spot. It was called the Temple of the park of the white deer, and the practice of the Buddhist Law was there permanently established. Again, a white sparrow was seen at the farmstead of a certain Temple. The people of the country all said that it was a good omen. Moreover, Envoys sent to Great Thang[1] brought back a dead crow with three legs.[2] The people of the country again said that this was a good omen. Though these things are trifles, yet they are deemed of favourable omen. Much more is this so in the case of a white pheasant."

The Priest Bin said :—"This is to be deemed a lucky omen, and it may reasonably be accounted a rare object. I have respectfully heard that when a Ruler extends his influence to all four quarters, then will white pheasants be seen. They appear, moreover, when a Ruler's sacrifices are not in mutual disaccord, and when his banquets and costumes are in due measure. Again, when a Ruler is of frugal habits, white pheasants are made to come forth on the hills. Again, they appear when the Ruler is sage and humane. In the time of the Emperor Ch'ēng Wang of the Chou Dynasty, the Yüeh-shang[3] family brought and presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying :—'We were told by the old men of our country :—"What a long time it has been since there have been any exceptional storms or long-continued rains, and that the great rivers and the sea have not surged up over the land! Three years have now elapsed. We think that in the Central Land there is a Sage. Would it not be well to go and pay XXV. 48.
your respects at his Court?" We have therefore come, having tripled our interpreters.' Again, in the first year of Hien-ning[4] in the reign of Wu-ti of the Tsin Dynasty, one was seen in Sung-tsze. This is accordingly a favourable omen. A general amnesty ought to be granted."

Upon this the white pheasant was let loose in the garden.

15th day. The array of guards at Court was like that on

[1] China.

[2] We have obviously here an echo of the Chinese myth of a red three-legged crow which inhabits the sun, and which has all manner of mystical significance.

[3] The name of a region lying to the south of China.

[4] A.D. 275.

the occasion of a New Year's reception. The Oho-omi of the Right and Left and all the functionaries formed four lines outside of the purple gate. Ihimushi, Ahata no Omi, and three others were made to take the pheasant's litter and move off ahead, while the Oho-omi of the Right and Left at the head of all the functionaries and Phung-chyang, Lord of Pèkché, his younger brother Sē-syöng, Chhyung-seung,[1] the physician to the King of Koryö, by name Mo-chhi, the scholar attached to the Court of Silla, and others, advanced into the Central Court. These four men, viz. Maro, Mikuni no Kimi, Takami, Wina no Kimi, Mikaho, Miwa no Kimi, and Maro Kida,[2] Ki no Omi, taking up the pheasant's litter in turn, advanced in front of the
XXV. 49. Hall. Then the Oho-omi of the Right and Left approached and held the litter by the forward end. The Prince of Ise, Maro, Mikuni no Kimi, and Woguso, Kura no Omi, took hold of the hinder end of the litter and placed it before the Imperial throne. The Emperor straightway called the Prince Imperial, and they took it and examined it together. The Prince Imperial having retired, made repeated obeisances, and caused the Oho-omi Kose to offer a congratulatory address, saying:—"The Ministers and functionaries offer their congratulations. Inasmuch as Your Majesty governs the Empire with serene virtue, there is here a white pheasant, produced in the western region. This is a sign that Your Majesty will continue for a thousand autumns and ten thousand years peacefully to govern the Great-eight-islands[3] of the four quarters. It is the prayer of the Ministers, functionaries, and people that they may serve Your Majesty with the utmost zeal and fidelity."

Having finished this congratulatory speech, he made repeated obeisances. The Emperor said:—

"When a sage Ruler appears in the world and rules the Empire, Heaven is responsive to him, and manifests favourable omens. In ancient times, during the reign of Ch'ēng-wang of the Chou Dynasty, a ruler of the Western land,[4] and again in the time of Ming Ti of the Han Dynasty, white pheasants were

[1] Phung-chyang's uncle.

[2] So the "Shūkai" edition. But it has been conjectured with some probability that Kida is really the name of the Silla scholar just mentioned, which has come in here by mistake.

[3] Oho-ya-shima. See Vol. I. p. 15.

[4] China.

seen. In this our Land of Japan,[1] during the reign of the Emperor Homuda,[2] a white crow made its nest in the Palace. In the time of the Emperor Oho-sazaki,[3] a Dragon-horse appeared in the West.[4] This shows that from ancient times until now, there have been many cases of auspicious omens appearing in response to virtuous rulers. What we call phœnixes, unicorns,[5] white pheasants, white crows, and such XXV. 50. like birds and beasts, even including herbs and trees, in short all things having the property of significant response, are favourable omens and auspicious signs produced by Heaven and Earth. Now that wise and enlightened sovereigns should obtain such auspicious omens is meet and proper. But why should We, who are so empty and shallow, have this good fortune? It is no doubt wholly due to our Assistants, the Ministers, Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko and Kuni no Miyakko, each of whom, with the utmost loyalty, conforms to the regulations that are made. For this reason, let all, from the Ministers down to the functionaries, with pure hearts reverence the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and one and all accepting the glad omen, make the Empire to flourish."

Again he commanded, saying:—

"The provinces and districts in the four quarters having been placed in our charge by Heaven, We exercise supreme rule over the Empire. Now in the province of Anato, ruled over by Our divine ancestors, this auspicious omen has appeared. For this reason We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire, and begin a new year-period, to be called Haku-chi.[6] Moreover we prohibit the flying of falcons within the limits of the province of Anato."

Presents were made to the Ministers, Daibu and officials of lower rank down to the clerks, varying in value according to their rank. Hereupon the local Governor, Shikofu, Kusakabe

[1] The characters are 日本, but whether the Emperor actually said *Nippon* or *Yamato* is not quite clear. The interlinear gloss has *Mikado*, which is absurd.

[2] Ōjin Tennō. [3] Nintoku Tennō.

[4] The dragon-horse has wings on its head. It crosses water without sinking. It appears when an illustrious sovereign is on the throne.

[5] Kirin. [6] White pheasant.

no Muraji, was commended and granted the rank of Daisen, together with liberal presents. The commuted taxes and corvées of Anato were remitted for three years.

Summer, 4th month. Silla sent Envoys to offer tribute.

One book says:—"In the reign of this Emperor the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute every year."

XXV. 51. Winter, 10th month. In respect of the tombs which had been demolished in order to include the ground in a site for a Palace, and of the people who had been made to remove for the same purpose, presents were given, varying in value. This having been done, the chief builder Hirafu Aratawi no Atahe, was sent to set up the boundary posts of the Palace.

In this month the construction was begun of an embroidery[1] figure of Buddha sixteen feet in height with its attendant Bosatsu,[2] and of figures of beings of the eight classes[3]—forty-six figures in all.

In this year, Ohoguchi, Aya no Yamaguchi no Atahe, in obedience to an Imperial order, carved one thousand images of Buddha.

Agata, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, Abumi, Shiragabe no Muraji, and Agura, Naniha no Kishi, were sent to the province of Aki to build two Pèkché ships.

A.D. 651. 2nd year, Spring, 3rd month, 14th day. The sixteen feet high embroidery figure of Buddha and the others were finished.

15th day. The Empress Dowager invited the ten Buddhist professors[4] and prepared a maigre entertainment for them.

6th month. Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys to bring tribute and to offer presents.

Winter, 12th month, last day. More than 2100 priests and nuns were invited to the Palace of Ajifu, and made to read the Issaikyō.[5]

[1] No doubt what we call tapestry. [2] See above, XXI. 6.

[3] The eight classes are described as I. Heaven; II. Dragons; III. Yasha, the Sanskrit Yaksha, a kind of demons; IV. Kentatsuba, the Sanskrit Gandharva, a kind of demons; V. Asura, the mightiest of all demons; VI. Karora, Sanskrit Garuḍa, a kind of monstrous bird; VII. Kinnara, Sanskrit Kimnara, doubtful (horned) spirits, the musicians of Kuvēra; VIII. Makōraka, Sanskrit Mahoraga, demons shaped like a boa.

[4] See above, XXV. 10.

[5] The complete Buddhist canon as received in China. It consists of

That night over 2700 lights were lit in the courtyard of the Palace, and there were caused to be read the Antaku and Dosoku[1] Sutras, etc. Upon this, the Emperor removed his residence from Oho-gohori to the new Palace. It received the name of the Palace of Naniha no Nagara no Toyosaki. XXV. 52.

This year the Silla tribute-envoys, Chi-man, of Sa-son rank, and his companions anchored at Tsukushi, wearing garments of the Thang country. The Government, disgusted at this wanton change of habit, reproved them and drove them back again. At this time Kose no Oho-omi addressed the Emperor, saying :—"If we do not give a blow to Silla at this present time, we shall certainly have to regret it afterwards. Now as to the manner of giving a blow to Silla, we can do so without raising a sword.[2] From the port of Naniha as far as Tsukushi let the surface of the sea be covered with ships, one touching another. Then if Silla be summoned and called to an account for her offences, it will be easy for us to gain our object."

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. When the New Year's ceremonies were over, the Imperial chariot proceeded to the Palace of Oho-gohori. A.D. 652.

From the 1st month to the 2nd month the distribution of rice-lands[3] had been brought to a close. As to the length[4] of the rice-fields, thirty paces made a tan, and ten tan a chō.

The tax-rice was one sheaf and a half per tan, or fifteen sheaves per chō.

3rd month, 9th day. The Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Shamon,[5] Ye-un, was invited to the interior of the Palace and made to explain the

hundreds of volumes, and was no doubt read by the *tendoku* system, i.e. by reading a few words at the beginning and at the end of each volume, turning rapidly over the intermediate pages by a single motion of the hand.

[1] These are not known as Sutras. Probably they were litanies used as suitable for the occasion of taking up a residence in the new Palace. An-taku means "peaceful-house," and Do-soku "earth-side," or perhaps "earth-survey."

[2] The older reading is "without an effort." I follow the "Shūkai" editor's emendation of 刀 for 力.

[3] See above, XXV. 17.

[4] The breadth is not stated here. From other evidence it appears to have been twelve paces.

[5] Sanskrit S'ramana, Buddhist priests or ascetics. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

Muryōjiu[1] Sutra, the Shamon Ye-ji was made lecturer and 1000 Shamon were constituted the audience.

20th day. The explanations (of the Sutras) was discontinued. From this day forward rain began to fall continually, lasting for nine days. It demolished buildings, and destroyed the young rice-plants in the fields. Many men, horses and oxen were drowned.

XXV. 53. In this month the registers of population were prepared. Fifty houses were made a township, and for each township there was appointed an elder. The senior member of the family[2] was always made the head of the household. The houses were all associated in groups of five for mutual protection, with one elder to supervise them one with another.

Silla and Pèkché sent Envoys to bring tribute and offer presents.

Autumn, 9th month. The building of the Palace was completed. It is impossible adequately to describe the appearance of the Palace Halls.

Winter, 12th month, last day. The priests and nuns of the Empire were invited to the interior of the Palace and entertained with meagre fare. Plentiful alms were given, and lights kindled.

A.D. 653. 4th year, Summer, 5th month, 12th day. There were sent to Great Thang, as Chief Ambassador, Kishi no Nagani, of Upper Shōsen rank, as Associate Ambassador, Kishi no Koma [also called Ito] of Upper Shō-otsu rank, as Student Priests, Dōgen, Dōtsū, Dōkwō, Yese, Gakushō, Benshō, Yeshō, Sōnin,
XXV. 54. Chisō, Dōshō, Jōye[3] [Jōye was the eldest son of the Oho-omi of the Middle[4]], Adachi [Adachi was the son of Nakatomi no

[1] i.e. immortal life, called in Sanskrit the Sukhâvatî Vyûha Sutra.

[2] i.e. the eldest son or heir, to the exclusion of uncles, say the commentators. This would be primogeniture. This principle had not yet become established for the succession to the throne.

[3] There is a biography of Jōye extant. He remained for many years studying in China. On his return to Japan he had the body of his father removed from the old-fashioned dolmen-tomb in which he had been interred, and buried under a miniature pagoda of stone. This marks the decline of the old style of interment. The original tomb is still in existence. It is shown in the annexed illustration, which is reproduced with the kind permission of the editor of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," where it appeared, July, 1892.

[4] Naidaijin.

Kome no Muraji] and Dōkwan [Dōkwan was the son of

Tomb of the Minister of State, Kamatari.

Kudara, Kasuga no Ahata no Omi] as students,[1] Kusuri, Kose

[1] i.e. students of Chinese literature.

no Omi [son of Toyotari no Omi], and Okina, Hi no Muraj [son of Madama. Another book adds the student priests Chiben and Gitoku and the student Ihatsumi, Sakahibe no Muraji], in all 121 persons, who sailed together in the same ship. Mita, Nunobara no Obito, was appointed as envoy to accompany them. Again, the Chief Ambassador Nemaro [also called Yatsukahagi], Takada no Obito, of Lower Daisen rank, and the Associate Ambassador Womaro, Kamori[1] no Muraji, of Upper Shō-otsu rank, with the student priests Dōfuku and Gikō, in all 120 persons, sailed together in one ship. Yatsute, Hashi no Muraji, was appointed as Envoy to escort them.

In this month the Emperor visited the chamber of the priest Bin, inquired after his illness, and at length from his own mouth delivered his gracious commands.

One book says:—"In the 7th month of the 5th year,
XXV. 55. the priest Bin took ill in the Temple of Adzumi. Thereupon the Emperor paid him a visit of inquiry, and taking him by the hand, said:—'If your Reverence dies to-day, We shall follow you in death to-morrow.'"

6th month. Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute and offering presents.

The highways of various places were repaired.

The Emperor was informed of the death of the priest Bin, and sent a messenger of condolence and also numerous presents.

The Empress Dowager, the Prince Imperial, etc., all sent messengers to offer condolences on the death of the priest Bin. Eventually the Emperor commanded Komaro, Koma no Tachibe, a painter, with Funado no Atahe and others to make a large number of figures of Buddha and Bosatsu, to be placed in the Temple of Kahara [one book says they are in the Temple of Yamada].

Autumn, 7th month. Takada no Nemaro and his colleagues, the Ambassadors sent to Great Thang, were drowned by the sinking of their ship in the Gate[2] of Takashima, off the coast of Satsuma. Only five men who lashed themselves to a plank,

[1] See above, XXV. 45.

[2] A narrow passage between two islands. Or it may mean the entrance to a harbour.

floated ashore on the island of Takashima. They knew not what to do, until one of the five, named Kadobe no Kogane, gathered bamboos[1] and made of them a raft, with which they anchored at the island of Shitoji-shima. These five men passed six days and six nights without any food whatever. Thereupon Kogane was complimented (by the Emperor), advanced in rank, and presents given him.

This year the Prince Imperial petitioned the Emperor, saying:—"I wish the Imperial residence were removed to the Yamato capital." The Emperor refused to grant his request. Upon this the Prince Imperial took with him the Empress Dowager, the Empress Hashibito, and the younger Imperial XXV. 6. Princes, and went to live in the temporary Palace of Asuka no Kahabe in Yamato. At this time the Ministers and Daibu, with the various functionaries, all followed and changed their residence. The Emperor resented this, and wished to cast away the national Dignity. He had a palace built in Yamazaki and sent a song to the Empress Hashibito, saying:—

The pony which I keep,
I put shackles on
And led it not out:
Can anyone have seen
The pony which I keep?

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. In the night the rats A.D. 654. migrated towards the Yamato capital.

Nakatomi no Kamatari no Muraji was granted the Shikwan,[2] and his fief increased by a number of houses.

2nd month. The Controlling Envoys sent to Great Thang, namely, Kuromaro Takamuku no Obito, of Upper Daikin rank [one book says:—"Summer, 5th month. There were sent to Great Thang the Controlling Envoy Takamuku no Kuromaro, of Lower Daikwa rank"], the Chief Ambassador Maro, Kahabe no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, the Associate Ambassador Kusushi[3] Yenichi, of Lower Daisen rank, the two Hangwan, Maro Fumi no Atahe, of Upper Daiotsu rank, and Miyaji no Amida [one book says:—"The Hangwan, Maro, Fumi no Atahe, of Lower Shōsen rank"], Yoroshi, Oka no Kimi, of Upper

[1] Takashima means "bamboo island."
[2] Or purple cap.
[3] Doctor.

XXV. 57. Shō-otsu rank, Daihaku, Okizome no Muraji, Oyu, Nakatomi no Hashibito no Muraji, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, Tori, Tabe no Fubito, and others. They embarked separately on two ships. Having delayed for several months, they proceeded by way of Silla, and anchored at Laichou.[1] At last they reached the capital, where they had an audience of the Emperor. Thereupon Kuo Wēn-chü, superintendent of the guards of the Prince Imperial's Palace, inquired particularly of them regarding the geography of the Land of Japan, and the names of the Gods of the beginning of the country. To all which inquiries suitable answers were given.

The Controlling Envoy Takamuku no Kuromaro died in Great Thang.

Yuki no Hakatoko says:—"The student-priest Yemyō died in Thang; Chisō died at sea; Chikoku died at sea; Chisō[2] returned in a Silla ship in the year Kanoye Tora[3]; Gakushō died in Thang; Gitsū died at sea; Jōye returned in the year Kinoto Ushi[4] in the ship of Liu Teh-kao[5]; Myōi, Hōshō and the students Okina, Hi no Muraji and Kō Wō-gon,[6] twelve persons in all, with Kan Chikō and Cho Gempō, of foreign Japanese birth, came back this year along with the envoys."

Summer, 4th month. Two men and two women of the Land of Tukhāra[7] and one woman of S'râvastî[8] were driven by a storm to Hiuga.

Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. Kishi no Nagani and his colleagues, who had gone as Envoys to the Western Sea,[9]

[1] In Shantung.

[2] Spelt with a different Chinese character to the other.

[3] A.D. 690. [4] A.D. 665. [5] Presumably a Chinese.

[6] A Japanese who had taken a Chinese name.

[7] The region round Badakshan in India. *Vide* Eitel, *sub voce.*

[8] An ancient city of India situated near Sirkhee or Fuzabad. *Vide* Eitel. It is absurd to speak of natives of India being cast ashore in Hiuga. It is plain from a comparison of the passage in Book XXVI. 4, in which these persons are again referred to, that the place here called Tukhāra is really the island of Tokara, one of the Loochoo group. The writer of the "Nihongi," however, shows by the characters with which he writes the name, and by his poetic license of associating S'râvastî with it, that he was thinking of the Indian locality. The native commentators follow him in this.

[9] China.

anchored in Tsukushi with Escorting Envoys from Silla and Pèkché. This month the Emperor commended the Envoys to the Western Sea for having had a personal audience of the Emperor of the Thang country, and for having obtained numerous books and precious objects. He bestowed on the Chief Ambassador Kishi no Nagani, of Upper Shōsen rank, the lower grade of Shōkwa rank, and granted him a fief of 200 houses with the name of the Kure House. On the Associate Ambassador, Kishi no Koma, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, there was bestowed the upper grade of the Shōsen rank. XXV. 58.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, being informed that the Emperor had taken ill, proceeded to the Naniha Palace with the Empress Dowager, the Empress Hashibito, and also accompanied by the younger Imperial Princes and the Ministers.

10th day. The Emperor died in the State Bedchamber. He was temporarily interred in the southern courtyard. Dōtoko, Mozu no Hashi no Muraji, of Upper Shōsen rank, superintended the business of the Palace of Temporary Interment.

12th month, 8th day. He was buried in the misasagi of Shinaga at Ohosaka.[1]

On this day, the Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Empress Dowager, changed his residence to the Temporary Palace of Kahabe in Yamato. Old people said:—"The migration of the rats to the Yamato capital was an omen of the transference of the capital thither."

In this year, Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent ambassadors of condolence.

[1] In the province of Kahachi.

BOOK XXVI.

THE EMPRESS AME-TOYO-TAKARA IKASHI-HI TARASHI-HIME.

(*SAIMEI*[1] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime first married the Emperor Tachibana no toyohi's[2] grandson, Prince Takamuku, and bore to him the Imperial Prince Aya. She was afterwards married to the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka,[3] to whom she bore two sons and one daughter. In his second year she was raised to the rank of Empress-consort, as may be seen in the history of the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka. In the thirteenth year of his reign, Winter, the tenth month, the Emperor Oki-naga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka died. In the first month of the following year the Empress assumed the Imperial Dignity. In the sixth month of the fourth year of the new reign, she resigned the Dignity to the Emperor Ame-yorodzu-toyo-hi, and was entitled Empress Dowager. The Emperor Ame-yorodzu-toyohi died in the tenth month of the later fifth year.[4]

A.D. 655. 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Empress Dowager assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Asuka no Itabuki.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. In the midst of the Void[5] there was seen one riding on a dragon, who resembled a man

[1] Uniform-bright. The Empress Kōgyoku restored.
[2] Yōmei Tennō. [3] Jomei Tennō.
[4] i.e. the later of the two year-periods of his reign, viz. Hakuchi.
[5] Sora. To be distinguished from Ten, heaven or firmament.

of Thang in appearance. He had on a broad hat of green oiled stuff. He rode fast from the peak of Katsuraki and disappeared on Mount Ikoma. When it became noon, he galloped off over the firs of Sumiyoshi in a westerly direction. XXVI. 2.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. There were entertained at the Court of Naniha of the Northern Yemishi ninety-nine persons, and of the Eastern Yemishi ninety-five persons. At the same time entertainment was provided for 150 persons who came as tribute envoys from Pèkché. Caps of honour, of two grades in each case, were bestowed on nine Yemishi of Kikafu [1] and on six Yemishi of Tsugaru.[2]

8th month, 1st day. Maro, Kahabe no Omi, and others returned from Great Thang.

Winter, 10th month, 13th day. There was a Palace in course of construction at Woharida which it was intended to roof with tiles. But in the recesses of the mountains and on the broad valleys, much of the timber with which it was proposed to erect the Palace buildings rotted. In the end the work was put a stop to, and no building was erected.[3]

This winter the Palace of Asuka no Itabuki [4] was burnt, and the Empress therefore removed her residence to the Palace of Asuka no Kahara.[5]

This year Koryö, Pèkché and Silla sent Envoys together to offer tribute.

> The Pèkché Chief Ambassador was Talsol of the Western division, by name Yö-wi-syu; the Associate Ambassador was an Eunsol of the Eastern division, by name Tyo-sin-in. There were over one hundred persons altogether.

Yemishi and Hayato,[6] attended by a large number of followers, offered homage and came to Court with presents for the Empress.

[1] In Mutsu. [2] In Mutsu.

[3] This shows that roofing with tiles was considered an innovation. To this day the shrines of Ise have not tiled roofs.

[4] Ita-buki means shingle-roofed.

[5] This name is written with characters which mean river-bed. But kahara also means tiles, which in this connection does not seem a mere fortuitous coincidence.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 100.

Silla sent specially Mi-mu of Keup-son[1] rank as a hostage, and twelve men as skilled workmen.

Mi-mu fell ill and died.

This year was the year Kinoto U (52nd) of the Cycle.

A.D. 656. XXVI. 3. 2nd year, Autumn, 8th month, 8th day. Koryö sent Tal-sa and others to offer tribute. [The Chief Ambassador was Talsa, and the Associate Ambassador I-li-chi. There were eighty-one persons in all.]

9th month. There were sent to Koryö, as Chief Ambassador, Hatsumi, Kashihade no Omi, and as Associate Ambassador Ihasuki, Sakahibe no Muraji, as Senior Hangwan, Shiromaro, Inugami no Kimi, as Second Class Hangwan, Kahachi no Fumi no Obito, and as Junior[3] Hangwan, Maro, Ohokura no Kinunuhi no Miyakko.

In this year a fresh site for a Palace was fixed upon at Asuka no Wokamoto.

At this time, Koryö, Pèkché and Silla together sent envoys to offer tribute. Dark purple curtains were drawn round this Palace site for them, and they were entertained there. At last the Palace buildings were erected, and the Empress removed into them. This Palace was called the later Palace of Asuka no Wokamoto.

Tamu Peak was crowned with a circular enclosure. Moreover on the summit of the Peak, close by where two tsuki trees grew, a lofty building was erected to which the name was given of the Palace of Futa-tsuki.[4] It was also called Amatsu[5] miya.

At this time public works were in favour. Navvies[6] were employed to dig a canal from the western end of Mount Kagu yama as far as the Mountain of Iso no kami. Two hundred

[1] Ninth of the seventeen grades. [2] Including artists.

[3] For Junior (小) the interlinear gloss is Sunai. Ohoi and Sunai were respectively the Japanese terms applied to Senior and Junior degrees of rank. Sunai would therefore appear to be abbreviated from sukunaki, which now means few, scanty, but which anciently meant also small, as in the case of the dwarf god Sukuna-bikona. Cf. Corean chak-eun, small. From this it would appear that the colloquial abbreviation of the termination of the adjective had already come into use when these glosses were added—ong after the time of the "Nihongi."

[4] i.e. the two tsuki trees. [5] Palace of Heaven.

Lit. "water workmen," a closely parallel expression to our "navigators" "navvies," whose original business it was to dig canals.

barges were loaded with stones from the Iso no Kami Mountain and hauled with the current to the mountain on the east of the Palace, where the stones were piled up to form a wall. The people of that day reviled the work, saying:—"This mad canal, which has wasted the labour of over 30,000 men! This wall-building, which has wasted the labour of over 70,000 men! And the timber for the Palace which has rotted![1] And the top of the mountain which has collapsed!" XXVI. 4.

Again they reviled, saying:—"May the mound built at Iso no kami break down of itself as fast as it is built!" [This abuse was probably uttered while the work was incomplete.]

A Palace was also built at Yoshino.

The Ambassadors to the Western Sea,[2] Takunaha, Saheki no Muraji, and Kunikatsu, Naniha no Kishi, of Lower Shōsen rank, with their companions returned from Pèkché and presented the Empress with a parrot.

The Palace of Wokamoto took fire.

3rd year, Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Two men and four women of the Land of Tukhāra[3] who had drifted to Tsukushi, said:—"We first of all drifted to the island of Amami."[4] So they were sent for by post-horses. A.D. 657.

15th day. A model of Mount Sumi[5] was constructed to the west of the Temple of Asuka-dera. Moreover the festival of All Souls[6] was held. In the evening the people from Tukhāra were entertained. [One book says, "the people of Tora."]

9th month. The Imperial Prince Arima[7] was of a deceitful disposition, and pretended insanity, etc., etc. He went to the hot baths of Muro,[8] under the pretence of treatment of disease. On his return he praised the quality of the country, saying:—"Scarce had I seen that region, when my complaint disappeared of itself," etc., etc. The Empress, hearing this, was rejoiced, and wished to go and visit it.

XXVI. 5.

This year envoys were sent to Silla with the following mes-

[1] See above, XXVI. 2. [2] China. [3] See above, XXV. 57.

[4] Now called Amami no Ohoshima, or oftener simply Ohoshima. The chief northern island of the Loochoo group.

[5] Sanskrit, Sumêru or Mêru.

[6] Urabonye, in Sanskrit Ullambana, called by Europeans the Feast of Lanterns.

[7] Son of Kōtoku Tennō. [8] In Kiï.

sage :—" We wish to send to Great Thang under the charge of your country's envoys the Buddhist priest Chitatsu, Mimŭmaya, Hashibito no Muraji, and Wakugo, Yozami no Muraji." Silla refused to grant such escort, and therefore the Buddhist priest Chitatsu and his colleagues returned.

The Ambassadors to the Western Sea, Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shō-kwa rank, and Kutsuma, Tsu no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank, returned from Pèkché. They brought presents for the Empress of one camel and two asses.

The people of Ihami said that a white fox[1] had been seen.

A.D. 658. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 13th day. Kose no Tokuda no Omi, Oho-omi of the Left, died.

Summer, 4th month. Abe no Omi went on an expedition against the Yemishi in command of a fleet of 180 ships. The Yemishi of the two districts of Aita[2] and Nushiro[2] were struck with fear, and tendered their submission. Hereupon the ships were drawn up in order of battle in the bay of Aita. A Yemishi of Aita named Omuka came forward and made an oath, saying :—" It is not by reason of the arrival of the Imperial forces that we slaves carry bows and arrows, but because it is our nature to live upon animal food. If we have provided bows and arrows against the Imperial forces, may the Gods of the bay of Aita take note of it! We will serve the Government with pure hearts."

Omuka was accordingly granted the rank of Upper Shō-otsu, and local governors were established in the two districts of Nushiro and Tsugaru. Ultimately the Yemishi of Watari no Shima[3] were summoned together at the shore of Arima and a
XXVI. 6. great feast provided them, after which they were dismissed home.

5th month. A grandson of the Empress named Prince Takeru died. He was eight years of age. His remains were deposited in a temporary tomb which was raised for him over

[1] A good omen. Perhaps they expected a remission of their taxes, as was the case when a white pheasant was reported from the adjoining province of Anato.

[2] District of Akita, province of Deha. The former place is also read Agida. It is probably identical with the present Akita.

[3] By Watari no Shima, "the island of the crossing, or ferry," is no doubt meant the island of Yezo. Arima cannot be identified.

the Imaki valley. The Empress had always esteemed her grandson highly for his obedient conduct. She was therefore beside herself with grief, aud her emotion was exceeding great. Sending for the Ministers, she said :—

"After ten thousand years and a thousand autumns[1] he must be interred along with us in our own misasagi."

So she made songs, saying :—

On the Hill of Womure[2]
In Imaki—
If but a cloud
Arose, plain to be seen,
Why should I lament?

This was the first song.

I never thought
That he was young[3]
As the young grass
By the riverside whither one tracks
The deer wounded by an arrow.

This was the second song.

Like the flowing water
Of the River Asuka
Which surges as it flows,
Unceasingly
I long for him!

This was the third song.

The Empress sang these songs from time to time, and lamented bitterly.

[1] A Chinese expression for the date of the death of an Emperor.

[2] A native commentator remarks that mure is the Corean word for mountain. Womure would therefore mean little-mount. There were Corean settlers in Imaki. The modern Corean word for mountain is moi, which is, no doubt, a contraction of mure. Cf. nè (nai) for nari or nare, river. As shown by Chamberlain in his Loochooan Grammar, "T.A.S.J." XXIII. Supplement, Loochooan resembles modern Corean in dropping *r* in words where this letter is retained in Japanese. An example quoted by him is Loochooan mui, a wood, for Japanese mori. I suspect that the Loochooan mui, wood, the Japanese mori, wood, and the Corean moi, mountain, are identical roots.

The sense of the poem is that the Empress would try to console herself with the imagination that a cloud over the young Prince's tomb was his representative.

[3] He was wise beyond his years.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. More than two hundred Yemishi came to Court with presents for the Empress. The entertainment and largess to them was on a more liberal scale than usual. Two Yemishi of Kikafu received one grade of rank. Saniguna, the Senior Governor of the district of
XXVI, 7 Nushiro, was made Lower Shō-otsu [one book says was granted two steps in rank and given the superintendence of the population (register)], the Junior Governor Ubasa received the rank of Kembu, and two brave men received one grade of rank. In addition there were given to Saniguna and the others twenty cuttle-fish flags,[1] two drums, two sets of bows and arrows, and two suits of armour. Mamu, the Senior Governor of the district of Tsugaru, was granted the rank of Upper Dai-otsu, Awohiru, the Junior Governor, the rank of Lower Shō-otsu, and two brave men received a step in rank. In addition there were granted to Mamu and the others twenty cuttle-fish flags, two drums, two sets of bows and arrows, and two suits of armour. Two grades of rank were conferred on the Miyakko of the barrier of Tsukisara, and one grade on the Hangwan. Inadzumi Ohotomo no Kimi, Miyakko of the barrier of Nutari, received the rank of Lower Shō-otsu. Moreover Sanaguna,[2] Senior Governor of the district of Nushiro, was commanded by the Empress to investigate the Yemishi population and the captive population.

In this month, the Buddhist priests Chitsū and Chitatsu went by the Empress's command to Great Thang on board a Silla ship, where they received instruction from the teacher of religion,[3] Hsüan-ts'ang, on the philosophy of things without life and living beings.[4]

[1] So called because the top was in this shape.

[2] Same as Saniguna, mentioned above.

[3] Hōshi = D.D. This is the famous Buddhist priest (also called Yüan-chwan) who left China for India in A.D. 629, in fulfilment of a vow. After an absence of seventeen years he returned in A.D. 645, bringing with him 657 volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, besides numerous sacred relics. The record of his travels has been translated by Stanislas Julien under the title of "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde." Mayers, p. 290.

[4] Another work states that Chitsū went to Thang to obtain instruction respecting the Greater Vehicle (Mahâyanâ). No doubt Buddhism generally is meant by the expression in the text.

Winter, 10th month, 15th day. The Empress visited the hot baths of Ki. The Empress, remembering her Imperial grandson, Prince Takeru, grieved and lamented. She exclaimed, XXVI. 8
saying :—

Though I pass over the mountains
And cross the seas
Yet can I never forget
The pleasant
Region of Imaki.

The first.

With the harbour's
Ebbing tide,
As the sea goes down,
With the darkness behind me
Leaving him, I must go—
The dear one.
My young child !
Leaving him, I must go.[1]

The second

She commanded Mari, Hada no Oho-kura no Miyakko, saying :—" Let these verses be handed down and let them not be forgotten by the world."

11th month, 3rd day. Soga no Akaye no Omi, the official who had charge during the Empress's absence, addressed the Imperial Prince Arima, saying :—" There are three faults in the Empress's administration of the affairs of Government. The first is that she builds treasuries on a great scale, wherein she collects the riches of the people. The second is that she wastes the public grain revenue in digging long canals. The third is that she loads barges with stones and transports them to be piled up into a hill." [2] The Imperial Prince Arima, recognizing Akaye's friendly disposition towards himself, was gratified, and replied, saying :—" I have only now come to an age when I am fit to bear arms."

5th day. The Imperial Prince Arima proceeded to the house of Akaye, where he went up into an upper storey, and conspired

[1] Some editions make the last three lines a distinct poem

[2] See above, XXVI. 4.

with him. A leg-rest[1] broke of itself. They both recognized that this was a bad omen, and swore to one another to proceed no further. The Imperial Prince returned home, where he was staying for the night, when at midnight Akaye sent Shibi, Mononobe no Yenowi no Muraji, in command of the labourers engaged in building the Palace, to surround the Imperial Prince Arima in his house at Ichifu, and straightway despatched a mounted courier to inform the Empress.

XXVI. 9.

Kyōsoku.

9th day. The Imperial Prince Arima, with Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, and Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, were arrested, and sent to the hot springs of Ki. His toneri Yonemaro, Nihitabe[2] no Muraji, followed him.

Thereupon the Prince Imperial in person questioned the Imperial Prince Arima, saying:—"Why didst thou plot treason?" He answered and said:—"Heaven and Akaye know. I do not at all understand."

11th day. Kuniso, Tajihi no Wosaha no Muraji, was sent to strangle the Imperial Prince Arima at the Fujishiro acclivity. On this day Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, and the toneri Yonemaro, Nihitabe no Muraji, were executed at the Fujishiro acclivity. When Konoshiro, Shihoya no Muraji, was about to be executed, he said:—"I request that my right hand may be made a national treasure." Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, was banished to the province of Kamitsukenu,[3] and Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, to the province of Wohari.

[1] The Chinese characters mean "something inserted between the knees," in hot weather, when in bed, for coolness. A pillow is used for this purpose at Singapore, where it is called "a Dutch wife." The corresponding Chinese term means "a bamboo wife." But the Japanese interlinear gloss has oshimadzuki, something which is usually put for a sort of stool to lean the arm on when sitting on the mats, also called kyōsoku. The "Wamyōshō" has also oshimadzuki, but this word has probably a wider meaning, and includes both objects. See illustration.

[2] Or Nittabe.

[3] Now Kōdzuke.

One book says:—"The Imperial Prince Arima, with Akaye, Soga no Omi, Konoshiro,[1] Shihoya no Muraji, Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, and Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji, divined the future of their treasonous conspiracy by drawing slips of paper." One book says:—"The Imperial Prince Arima said:—'First of all we will burn the Palace. Then with five hundred men for a day and two nights we will waylay (the Empress) at the harbour of Muro, and speedily with a fleet cutting off the Land of Ahaji, make as it were a prison. This can be easily accomplished.' Some one objected, saying:—'It cannot be so. For all your plans, the faculty (of carrying them out) is wanting. At the present time, Your Imperial Highness is only nineteen years of age, and has not yet attained to manhood. You must first reach manhood and then you will gain the faculty.'" Another book says:—"When the Imperial Prince Arima was plotting treason along with a judicial officer, the leg of the Imperial Prince's arm-rest broke of itself without cause, but he did not cease from conspiring, and was eventually executed." XXVI. 10.

In this year, Hirafu, Abe no Hikida no Omi, Warden of the Land of Koshi, went on an expedition against the Su-shēn.[2] He presented to the Emperor two live white bears.[3]

[1] The "Shūkai" is clearly right in thinking that 戈 of the text is a mistake for 代. The name is therefore Konoshiro, as above, and not Wohoko.

[2] See above, Vol. II. p. 58. It may be inferred from the narrative given below, XXVI. 16, that the Manchus here referred to were not resident on the mainland, but occupied a trading-post in Yezo or some of the adjoining islands.

[3] The character used here, viz. 羆, is read shiguma by the Japanese, and the description of this animal given in Yamada's dictionary and in the "Sansaidzuye" refers plainly to the Polar Bear. Dickins, in Murray's "Handbook of Japan," says that the Polar Bear is sometimes found on the shores of the Hokkaido, but it is rare. Seventy 羆 skins are mentioned below (XXVI. 15), a number which makes one suspect that the animal here referred to may be after all not the Polar Bear, but the Ursus Arctos, a large brown bear which abounds in all these northern regions from Yezo to Kamtchatka, and which is quite distinct from the much smaller black bear of the Japanese islands. It is possible, however, that the Polar Bear may have been more abundant in Yezo at this time.

The Buddhist priest Chiyu made a south-pointing chariot.[1]

South-pointing Chariot.

It was reported from the province of Idzumo:—"On the shore of the northern sea the fish are dying in heaps three feet in depth. In size they resemble the globe-fish.[2] They have the beaks of sparrows and thorny scales several inches long. The common people say that they are sparrows which have gone into the sea and become changed into fish, and give them the name of 'sparrow-fish.'"

One book says:—"In the seventh month of the sixth year, Pèkché sent Envoys with the following message to the Empress:—'Great Thang and Silla have joined their powers for an attack upon us. They have taken away as prisoners King Wichă, his Queen,[3] and the Heir to the Throne. Our Government has therefore stationed troops on the north-western frontier and repaired

XXVI. 11.

[1] i.e. a compass. For some curious learning about the compass, *vide* "The Night of the Gods," Vol. I. p. 97, by John O'Neill. Tradition says that a south-pointing chariot was made in the days of the Emperor Hoang, so that his troops might find their way surely in foggy weather. *Vide* Mayers, p. 21, where the tradition of a south-pointing chariot being made in B.C. 1110 is referred to.

[2] The Tetraodon Hyxtris, or fugu, a poisonous fish, which has the power of puffing out its belly, a kind of globe-fish. There is a pretty conflict of authority as to the fish intended by 鮐, the character here used. One Japanese dictionary gives same or shark, and hata, the terranus moara, while the interlinear gloss is yebi or prawn.

[3] The interlinear version has Koniworu for Queen, and Konikishi for Heir to the Throne. I cannot identify these with any modern Corean words.

the fortifications as an indication that the mountains and rivers are blocked.' "[1]

Moreover Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkwa rank, who had gone as Envoy to the Western Sea, returned from Pèkché and reported that Pèkché had returned after a successful expedition against Silla. At this time a horse of his own accord went round the Golden Hall[2] of a temple night and day without ceasing, and only stopping to graze.

One book says :—" This was an echo[3] of its destruction by the enemy in the year Kanoye Saru."[4]

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Empress arrived from the hot springs of Ki. A.D. 659.

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress visited Yoshino[5] and held a banquet there.

3rd day. The Empress visited Hira-ura in Afumi.

10th day. The man of Tukhāra[6] with his wife, a woman of S'râvastî, arrived.

17th day. A Mount Sumi was constructed on the river-bank east of Amakashi no Oka, and the Yemishi of Michinoku and Koshi were entertained.

[1] This entry comes in a wrong place. Pèkché's destruction took place later —in A.D. 660. *Vide* " Tongkam," VII. 25.

[2] The Hall in which the image of Buddha is enshrined. The Chinese characters for " went round " are 行 道, a term which is applicable to any religious procession. But doubtless the interlinear gloss meguri, " to go round," is right here. It is clearly a case of religious circumambulation. This term is also applied to the " orbit " of heavenly bodies.

The more usual characters for " circumambulation " are 循 環. The Sanskrit word is pradakchina, which is defined by Eitel as " the (Brahmanic and Buddhist) ceremony of circumambulating a holy object with one's right side turned to it." This practice is still kept up. Rockhill mentions it in his travels in Thibet, and during Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty of India, Lady Dufferin was on one occasion " circumambulated " by some tribesmen as a mark of the very highest respect.

[3] i.e. an omen.

[4] A.D. 660. Under this year, the " Tongkam " has the following :—" The wells in the Royal capital of Pèkché turned red as blood, multitudes of fish on the coast of the Western Sea died, so that the people could not eat them, and the waters of a river turned red like blood."

[5] A beautiful spot in Southern Yamato. See Murray's " Handbook," 3rd ed. p. 336, et seqq.

[6] See above, XXV. 57.

In this month, Abe no Omi was sent in command of 180 ships on an expedition against the Yemishi country. Abe no Omi assembled a selection of the Yemishi of the two districts of Akita and Nushiro to the number of 241 persons with 31 of
XXVI. 12. their captives, 112 Yemishi of the district of Tsugaru with 4 captives, and 20 Yemishi of Ifurisahe, in one place, feasted them and gave them presents.

Accordingly he made an offering to the Gods of that Land of a boat and silk stuffs of various colours, and proceeded to Shishiriko. Then two Yemishi of Tohiu, named Ikashima and Uhona, came forward and said:—"You ought to make Shiribeshi[1] your seat of Government." In accordance with the advice of Ikashima and his companion, a district-governor was ultimately established there, after which he (Abe no Omi) returned. The provincial governors of Michinoku and Koshi were each granted two grades of rank, while the district-governors and administrators received each one degree.

One book says:—"Hirafu, Abe no Hikida no Omi, fought with the Su-shēn, and on his return presented to the Empress forty-nine captives."

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, and Kiza, Tsumori no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, were sent on a mission to the Land of Thang. They took with them a Yemishi man and woman of Michinoku to show to the Thang Emperor.

In the writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, it is stated:—"In the reign of this Empress, Sakahibe no Ihashiki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, Tsumori no Kiza no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and others, in two ships, received orders to go on a mission to Thang of Wu.[2] In the year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji (659), the 7th month, and the 3rd day of the month, they started from the Bay of Mitsu in Naniha. On the 11th day of the 8th month, they left the Bay of Ohotsu[3] in Tsukushi. On the 13th day of the 9th month, they arrived at an island on the southern border of Pèkché. The name of the island is not
XXVI. 13. known. At four a.m. on the 14th, the two ships put out to sea in company. On the 15th day, at sunset, the ship

[1] On the west coast of Yezo.

[2] Wu is here a geographical designation.

[3] Hakata in Chikuzen.

of Ihashiki no Muraji met crosswise with a contrary wind and was driven to an island in the Southern Sea, named Erh-kia-wei, where it was destroyed by the islanders. Arima, Yamato no Aya no Wosa no Atahe, with Inadzumi, Sakahibe no Muraji, and three others, stole a ship belonging to the islanders, and embarking in it, escaped to Kwa-chow. The officials of this district sent them under escort to the capital, Loh-yang. At midnight on the 16th day, the ship of Kiza no Muraji arrived at Mount Hsu-an near Kuei-chi in the Yueh district,[1] when a north-east wind sprang up and blew with such violence that on the 23rd they reached the district of Yü-yao. The great ship on which they were embarked, with all its gear, was left behind at this place, and on the 1st day of the 11th intercalary month, they arrived at the seat of Government of the Yueh district. On the 15th they entered the capital,[2] riding on post-horses. On the 29th, travelling with all speed, they reached the Eastern capital,[3] where the Emperor had then his residence. On the 30th they had an audience of the Emperor, who inquired of them, saying:—"Is the Empress of your country in good health?" The Envoys answered respectfully:—"Her virtue is in harmony with Heaven and Earth, and she therefore naturally enjoys good health." The Emperor inquired of them:—"And the Ministers in charge of affairs—is it well with them?" The Envoys answered respectfully:—"As they enjoy the favour and esteem of our Empress, it is XXVI. 14.
well with them also." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"Is there peace within your country or not?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"The Government accords with Heaven and Earth, and therefore there is nothing untoward among the multitude." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"In what quarter is the Land of these Yemishi situated?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"It lies to the north-east." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"How many tribes of Yemishi are there?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"There are three kinds. The most distant are called Tsugaru, the next Ara-Yemishi, and the nearest

[1] Chekiang. [2] Nanking. [3] Lohyang, near Honanfu.

Nigi-Yemishi.[1] These now here are Nigi-Yemishi—they bring tribute yearly to our country's Court." The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"In their country are there the five kinds of grain?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"No, they sustain life by eating flesh?" The Emperor inquired of them, saying:—"Have they houses in their country?" The Envoys answered respectfully, saying:—"No, they have their dwelling under trees in the recesses of the mountains." The Emperor went on to say:—"When We look at the unusual bodily appearance of these Yemishi, it is strange in the extreme. You Envoys must have suffered greatly on your long voyage hither. Now retire and abide in your official residence. We shall meet again." On the 1st day of the 11th month the festival of the Winter Solstice was celebrated at Court. On the festival day, they again saw the Emperor. Amongst the various frontier states who attended the Court, the Japanese[2] visitors were the most distinguished. Thereafter, by reason of the confusion caused by a conflagration, the matter was neglected and not further attended to. On the 3rd day of the 12th month, Kahachi no Aya no Ohomaro, a servant of Han Chi-hung, slandered our visitors, who were found guilty by the Court of Thang, and were already condemned to banishment. Previously Chi-hung was banished to a distance of 3000 li. Among the visitors was one, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, who made representations to the Emperor in consequence of which their punishment was remitted. When everything was concluded, the Emperor decreed as follows:—"This Government has determined next year to take administrative measures in regard to the lands east of the sea,[3] and you, the visitors from Wa, may not return to the east." In the end they
XXVI. 15. were detained in the Western capital.[4] They were placed

[1] Ara and Nigi mean respectively rough and soft or gentle. The reference is to their greater or less degree of civilization. The Yezo Ainos are not mentioned.

[2] The character used is 倭, i.e. Wa, but possibly the writer meant it to be read Yamato.

[3] The campaign against Pèkché is no doubt meant.

[4] Fēng-hsiang, in the province of Shensi.

in separate seclusion; their door was closed and prohibited, and they had no liberty of movement. In such misery they passed the year. The writing of Wobito, Naniha no Kishi, says :—"The Chief Envoy to Great Thang struck on an island and was overturned.[1] The Associate Envoy had a personal audience of the Emperor and showed him some Yemishi. Upon this the Yemishi presented to the Emperor a white deer-skin, three bows, and eighty arrows."

15th day. By a decree to the Ministers, the Empress had the Urabon[2] Sutra expounded in all the Temples of the capital, and requital made to the ancestors for seven generations.

In this year, the Kuni no Miyakko of Idzumo was commanded to repair the shrine of the Itsuki[3] God.

A fox bit off the end of a creeper which a labourer of the district of Oü held in his hand, and went off with it. Moreover a dog brought in his mouth a dead man's hand and forearm and laid it in the Ifuya shrine. [Signs that the Empress was about to die.]

Again, the Koryö Envoys had a bear-skin,[4] on which they put a price of sixty pounds of floss silk. The market commissioner laughed and went away.

A Koryö painter, named Komaro,[5] on the day on which he entertained guests of his own surname in his private house, borrowed seventy official Polar bear-skins for them to sit upon. The guests were ashamed and astonished and went away.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Koryö Envoys, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite, numbering over one hundred persons, anchored in Tsukushi. A.D. 660.

3rd month. Abe no Omi was sent on an expedition with a fleet of 200 ships against the land of Su-shēn. Abe no Omi made some Yemishi of Michinoku embark on board his own ship. They arrived close to a great river.[6] Upon this over a XXVI. 16

[1] *Sic* in original. [2] Ullambana in Sanskrit.

[3] The character rendered Itsuki (with several variants) means stern, severe, and at first sight would seem a general epithet for the Gods of Idzumo. But there was a Temple of Itsuki in this province, so that the word seems to have become a proper name. The same root occurs in Itsuku-shima, the sacred island in the Inland Sea, near Hiroshima.

[4] A shiguma skin. See above, XXVI. 10.

[5] Obviously a Japanese name. [6] Perhaps the Ishikari river.

thousand Yemishi of Watari-shima[1] assembled on the sea-shore and made a camp facing the river. Two men of this camp came forward and called out hurriedly, saying:—"The Su-shēn fleet has arrived in great force and threatens to slay us. We pray, therefore, to be allowed to cross the river and to serve the Government. Abe no Omi sent a boat to go and fetch these two Yemishi, and inquired from them where the enemy were concealed and the number of their ships. The two Yemishi accordingly pointed out the place of their concealment, saying:—"There are over twenty ships." Thereupon he sent messengers to summon them, but they refused to come. Abe no Omi accordingly heaped up on the beach coloured silk stuffs, weapons, iron, etc., to excite their cupidity. The Su-shēn people thereupon drew up their fleet in order, and tying feathers to poles, raised them aloft by way of flags. They approached with equal oars and came to a pause in a shallow place. Then from one of the ships they sent forth two old men who went round the coloured silk stuffs and other articles which had been piled up, examining them closely. They then changed the single garments they had on, and each taking up one piece of cloth in his hand, went on board their ship and departed. Presently the old men came back again, took off the exchanged garments, and laying them down along with the cloth they had taken away, went on board their ship and departed.[2] Abe no Omi sent several ships to fetch them, but they refused to come, and returned to the island of Herobe. [Herobe is a separate part of Watari-shima.] After some time they asked for peace, but Abe no Omi refused altogether to listen to them. So they betook themselves to their own palisades and fought. At this time Mamukatsu, Noto no Omi, was slain by the enemy. While the battle was still going on, and was not yet fought out, the enemy, finding that they were being beaten, put to death their own wives and children.

Summer, 5th month, 8th day. The Koryö Envoy, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite arrived at the official residence of Naniha.

XXVI. 17. In this month, the officials, by order of the Empress, prepared

[1] Yezo.

[2] This passage reads like a distorted account of the "unseen trade" which was carried on in these parts up till a comparatively recent period.

one hundred raised seats [1] and one hundred Nōkesa,[2] and held a Ninwo Hanya [3] meeting.

Moreover, the Prince Imperial for the first time made a clepsydra,[4] by which he caused the people to know the hours.

Again, Abe no Hikida no Omi presented to the Empress more than fifty savages.[5]

Again, a Mount Sumi was built near the pond of Iso no

Clepsydra.

Kami, as high as a pagoda. On this occasion forty-seven men of Su-shēn were entertained.

[1] A sort of square dais from which the priests delivered their lectures.

[2] A kind of Buddhist priestly garment.

[3] Hanya is the Sanskrit Pradjña, defined by Eitel as the "highest of the six Pâramita (cardinal virtues), intelligence, the principal means of attaining to Nirvâna." The meeting was to hear the reading of the Ninwō Hanya Sutra. Ninwō means "benevolent king."

[4] *Vide* Florenz for particulars as to clepsydra.

[5] No doubt Ainos or Yemishi are meant.

Again, the people of the whole country carried arms without reason when passing to and fro on the highways. The old people of the country said:—"This perhaps denotes the destruction of the Land of Pèkché."[1]

Autumn, 7th month, 16th day. The Koryö Envoy, the Eul-syang, Ha Chhyu-mun, and his suite took their departure.

Again, the man of Tukhāra, Kendzuhashi Tatsua, desired to return to his native country, and asked for an escort officer, saying:—"I intend later to pay my respects to the Court of
XXVI. 18. the Great Country, and therefore, in token of this, I leave my wife behind. Accordingly, he took the way of the Western Sea with several tens of men.

In the "Record of the reigns of Japan,"[2] written by the Koryö priest To-hyön, it is said:—"In the seventh month, etc., Chhyun-chhyu-chi,[3] by the aid of the General-in-Chief, Su Ting-fang, caused Pèkché to be invaded and destroyed." One account says:—"Pèkché brought ruin upon itself, owing to the feminine want of principle of the Royal Consort, who arbitrarily usurped the helm of Government and slew the wise and good, thus inviting the calamity which came upon them. Ought one not to be watchful? Ought one not to be watchful?" In a note it is stated:—"Chhyun-chhyu-chi, of Silla, was unable to accomplish his wishes by the Minister Kè-kim.[4] Therefore he again served Thang, and, putting off the national garb, made a fawning appeal to the Son of Heaven, with the object of bringing disaster on a neighbouring kingdom and preparing the accomplishment of his ends."

XXVI. 19. The writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, says:—"In the year Kanoye Saru, the 8th month, Pèkché was reduced to submission. After this, on the 12th day of the 9th month, the visitors[5] were dismissed to their own country. On the 19th day they started from the Western capital. On the 16th day of the 10th month, they arrived back at the Eastern capital, and then for the first time met

[1] Which took place in this year.

[2] 日本.

[3] King of Silla. His historical name is Thè-chong.

[4] A Koryö statesman.

[5] i.e. the Japanese Envoys to Thang. See above, XXVI. 15.

Arima and his four companions. On the 1st day of the 11th month, the thirteen royal persons captured by General Su Ting-fang and his men, from the King of Pèkché down to the Crown Prince Nyung and others, with the Prime Minister Sa-chhèk, Chhyön-pok-kuk, Pyön-syöng, and others of lower rank, thirty-seven persons, making in all fifty persons, were delivered up to the Government. They were at once led before the Emperor, who spoke kindly to them and released them on the spot. On the 19th the Emperor bestowed presents,[1] and on the 24th we started from the Eastern capital."

9th month, 5th day. Pèkché sent a Talsol, the Buddhist novice,[2] Kak-chyong, and others with the following message to the Empress [one book says, "They escaped hither and gave information of their hard case"]:—"In the 7th month of this year, Silla, relying on its strength and assuming a blustering attitude, picked a quarrel with its neighbour, and drawing the Thang people into it, overturned Pèkché. Sovereign and Ministers were all captured, and scarce a living soul[3] was left."

In one book it is said:—"On the 10th day of the 7th month of the present year, Su Ting-fang, of Great Thang, drew up the fleet under his command in the harbour of Michă, while Chhyun-chhyu-chi, King of Silla, with his horse and foot occupied Mount No-syu-ri, and so they attacked Pèkché from both sides. The fighting went on for three days. Our Royal city was taken. On the 13th day of the same month, they began to demolish the Royal city. Mount No-syu-ri is on the eastern border of Pèkché." XXVI. 20.

Upon this Kwisil Pok-sin, Eunsol of the Western Division, was mightily enraged, and betook himself to Mount Im-sya-ki [one book says, "Northern Mount Im-köm-li"], while Yö Chă-chin, Eunsol of the Central Division, occupied the walled city of Kumanori[4] [one book says, "Mount To-to-ki-nyu"]. They each formed a camp and assembled the scattered troops. Their weapons had become exhausted in the previous

[1] On the Japanese Envoys.

[2] S'ramaṇêra.

[3] Lit. "a chewer of food."

[4] No doubt identical with Kumanare mentioned above, the present Ung-chön. See above, Vol. I. p. 367.

campaign, and therefore they fought with flails.[1] The Silla army was beaten, and Pèkché made booty of their arms, so that the Pèkché weapons were as efficient as ever, and Thang
XXVI. 21. did not dare to come in. Pok-sin and the others at length got together their countrymen, and with them held the Royal city. The people of the land paid honour to them, saying:—"The Minister Pok-sin! The Minister Chă-chin!" It was only Pok-sin who, by the admirable military expedients which he invented, raised up the country, which was already ruined.

Winter, 10th month. Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, sent the Minister Kwi-chi and others with a present to the Empress of over one hundred Thang prisoners. These are now the men of Thang of the two districts of Fuha and Kata-agata in the province of Mino. They also asked for troops and requested assistance. At the same time they prayed that the Prince Yö Phung-chyang[2] might be given back [one book says:—"Minister Kwi-chi is the Talsol, Chyöng-chin"], saying:—"The men of Thang, leading after them our maggot-pests,[3] came and wasted and harassed our territory. They overturned our Government and took prisoners our Sovereign and his Ministers.

King Wichă, of Pèkché, his wife Eun-ko, his son Nyung, etc., and his Ministers, viz. the Prime Minister, Chhyön Pok-kuk, Pyön-syöng, Son-teung, and others, over fifty persons in all, were captured by General Su on the 13th day of the 7th month, autumn, and sent away to the Land of Thang. This was perhaps what was denoted
XXVI. 22. by the causeless bearing of arms.[4]

Now the people of the Land of Pèkché, putting their trust afar off in the Emperor's protecting care, have assembled together anew, and formed a kingdom. We now humbly beg that we may be allowed to wait upon the Prince Phung-chyang, who was sent by Pèkché to be in attendance at the Celestial Court, and to make him the Ruler of the Country, etc., etc."

The Empress made an order, saying:—"We learn that in

[1] Or clubs. [2] See above, A.D. 631.

[3] The "maggot pest" is a kind of grub destructive to grain. But the word for pest also means "enemy." Silla is obviously intended.

[4] See above, XXVI. 17.

ancient times there have been cases of troops being asked for and assistance requested: to render help in emergencies, and to restore that which has been interrupted, is a manifestation of ordinary principles of right. The Land of Pèkché, in its extremity, has come to us and placed itself in our hands. Their own country having been brought to ruin, having nowhere to betake themselves for help and none to apply to, making spears their pillows, tasting gall,[1] and holding firmly to the hope of aid, they have come from afar and made a memorial to us. Our[2] resolution in this matter is unshakeable. We shall give separate orders to Our generals to advance at the same time by a hundred routes, and then, like gathering clouds with thunderous commotion, meeting together at Satök, to massacre the monsters, and afford relief to the sufferers. Let the proper officials supply them with everything they require, and let them be dismissed with all due ceremony, etc., etc."

Prince Phung-chyang, with his wife and children, and his uncle, Chhyung-seung, etc., were dismissed home. The actual time of their being sent off may be seen in Year VII. One book says:—"The Empress established Phung-chyang as King, and made Sè-syang his assistant. They were sent off with all due ceremony."

12th month, 24th day. The Empress proceeded to the Palace of Naniha. The Empress, in order to comply with the request of Pok-sin, thought of going to Tsukushi and thence despatching a force in aid, and she therefore went there[3] in the first place and made provision of weapons of all kinds.

This year, with a view to the invasion of Silla in the interest of Pékchè, an order was given to the province of Suruga to build a ship. When it was finished, and had been hauled as far as Womino, that ship, during the night, without cause, changed its bow for its stern. By this people knew that in the end there would be defeat.[4] XXVI. 23.

[1] To taste gall at every meal or to be always looking at gall—as the Prince of Yueh did in order not to forget his grievance against the Wu State. Giles. Gall in China does not represent bitterness, as with us, but courage.

[2] Or their. [3] To Naniha.

[4] The commentators suggest that Womino was a place in Shinano, but Shinano is an exclusively inland province, and it is not probable that a vessel destined for use in an invasion of Corea should have been dragged overland.

It was reported from the province of Shinano:—"A swarm of flies has flown in a westerly direction, crossing the Ohosaka hill. It was ten fathoms in thickness, and in height reached the azure sky." Some people gathered that this portended the defeat of the army of relief. There was a popular song which said:—

The little rice-field
Cultivated by my wife
The wild geese devour—
The wild geese of Mitowada—
The woman's rice-field
The wild geese devour:
My eldest son and I make a noise
(But still) the woman's rice-field
The wild geese devour.[1]

A.D. 661. XXVI. 24. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 6th day. The Imperial ship first put to sea for the expedition against the West.

8th day. The Imperial ship arrived at the sea of Ohoku.[2] At this time the Imperial Princess Ohota-hime[3] gave birth to a daughter, to whom accordingly the name was given of the Imperial Princess Ohoku.

14th day. The Imperial ship came to an anchor at the temporary Palace of Nigitatsu no Ishiyu in the province of Iyo.

3rd month, 25th day. The Imperial ship returned to Una no Ohotsu, where the Empress occupied the temporary Palace of Ihase, the name of which the Empress altered to Nagatsu.

[1] The text of this poem is extremely corrupt and obscure, and the above interpretation is highly conjectural. I have followed pretty closely the "Shiki" version, the writer of which had before him a somewhat different text from that now given in editions of the "Nihongi." To arrive at the meaning he transposes a number of syllables, which may appear a rather violent proceeding, his idea apparently being that the original author of the poems had purposely transposed these syllables so as to render his composition unintelligible to those who had not the clue. The wild geese are the Chinese and Silla men, who, in spite of the protests of Japan, continue to lay waste the Land of Pékchè, whose weakness is alluded to by the words wife and woman. Dr. Florenz gives a detailed critical examination of the various versions of this poem.

[2] In Bizen.

[3] Daughter of Tenchi Tennō, and consort of Temmu Tennō.

Summer, 4th month. Pok-sin, of Pèkché, sent an Envoy to present a memorial requesting permission to wait upon (and bring away) their Prince Kyu-hè.

In the "Record of the reigns of Japan," written by the Priest To-hyön,[1] it is said:—"Pok-sin, of Pèkche, presented a writing in which he begged the Eastern Court to give up his Lord Kyu-hè." One book says:—"In the fourth month the Empress transferred the capital to the Palace of Asakura."

5th month, 9th day. The Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Asakura[2] no Tachibana no Hironiha.

At this time trees belonging to the Shrine[3] of Asakura were cut down and cleared away in order to build this Palace. Therefore the Gods were angry and demolished the building. Some were also struck,[4] and in consequence the Grand XXVI. 25.
Treasurer[5] and many of those in waiting took ill and died.

23rd day. Tamna,[6] for the first time, sent Prince A-pha-ki and others with tribute.

In the writing of Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, it is stated:—"On the 25th day of the 1st month of the year Kanoto Tori (A.D. 661), we arrived at Yueh-chow on our return journey. On the 1st day of the 4th month, leaving Yueh-chow, we proceeded homewards in an easterly direction, and on the 7th arrived south of Mount Ch'êng-an-shan. On the 8th day at cock-crow we put out to sea with a south-west wind in our favour, but in mid-ocean we lost our way and tossed about, undergoing much suffering. On the 9th day at nightfall we reached the island of Tamna with great difficulty. There we induced Prince A-pha-ki and eight other natives of the island to embark with us in the Guest-ship[8] to the end that we

[1] See above, XXVI. 18.

[2] Thought to be in Chikuzen. Tachibana no Hironiha (the wide court of the orange-blossom) is probably an ornamental epithet.

[3] Shrine is used for a Shintō place of worship; temple means a Buddhist temple.

[4] By a curse from the deities.

[5] Another reading is Chief Chamberlain.

[6] Quelpaert.

[7] See above, XXVI. 19.

[8] The ship in which they had gone as visitors to China.

might present them to the Imperial Court. On the 23rd day of the 5th month, we presented them to the Imperial Court at Asakura. This was the first time that Tamna was received at Court. Moreover, the Envoys, who had been slandered by Tarushima, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, a follower of Chihung, received no gracious command.[1] These Envoys were wroth, and their anger penetrated to the Gods of High Heaven, who with a thunderbolt killed Tarushima." The men of that day said of this :—"The divine vengeance of Yamato is near."

6th month. Prince Ise died.

Autumn, 7th month, 24th day. The Empress died in the Palace of Asakura.

8th month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, in attendance on the Empress's remains, returned as far as the Palace of Ihase. That evening, on the top of Mount Asakura, there was a demon[2] wearing a great hat, who looked down on the funeral proceedings. All the people uttered exclamations of wonder.

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. The Empress's funeral train returning, put to sea. Hereupon the Prince Imperial, having come to an anchor in the same place, was filled with grief and longing for the Empress. So he sung to himself, saying :—

XXVI. 26.

Longing as I do
For a sight of thee,
Now that I have arrived here,
Even thus do I long
Desirous of a sight of thee !

23rd day. The funeral of the Empress, returning, anchored at Naniha.

11th month, 7th day. The Empress's remains were temporarily interred at Asuka-gahara.

Mourning began on this day, and lasted for nine days.

[1] It is not clear whether the "gracious command" was that of the Emperor of China or the Empress of Japan. It appears to me that the writer is here going back to the slander of the Envoys, while in China, by another follower of Chihung (XXVI. 14), and that the gracious command, the want of which enraged them, was a courteous message from the Chinese Emperor to the Empress of Japan.

[2] Or spirit.

The "Record of the reigns of Japan" says:—"The men of Thang, Hsü Shou-yen and others, who were taken prisoners by Pok-sin, arrived in Tsukushi." One book says:—"In the year Kanoto Tori (A.D. 661), the one hundred and six Thang prisoners presented by Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, took up their abode at Harita in the province of Afumi. Under the year Kanoye Saru (A.D. 660), it is already stated that Pok-sin presented Thang prisoners. Therefore it is now explained what was done with them."

BOOK XXVII.

THE EMPEROR AME MIKOTO HIRAKASU WAKE.[1]

(*TENCHI*[2] *TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake was the eldest son of the Emperor Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka.[3] His mother was called the Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime.[4] In the fourth year of her reign, the Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime resigned the Dignity to the Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi,[5] and established the Emperor[6] as Prince Imperial. The Emperor Ame-yorodzu toyo-hi died in the tenth month of his later fifth year.[7] In the following year the Empress Dowager assumed the Imperial Dignity. She died in the seventh year of her reign, on the 24th day of the 7th month. The Prince Imperial, clad in white garments,[8] discharged the functions of government.[9]

In this month General Su, the Turkic Prince Ch'ipichiali[10] and others proceeded by two routes—land and sea—as far as
XXVII. the Koryö walled city.[11]
2. The Prince Imperial removed his residence to the Palace of

[1] Ame, heaven; mikoto, behest; hirakasu, throw open. Wake is connected with wakaki, young. It is nearly equal to our word prince.

[2] Heavenly intelligence. [3] Jomei Tennō. [4] Kōgioku Tennō.

[5] Kōtoku Tennō. [6] i.e. the present Emperor Tenchi.

[7] i.e. of the period Hakuchi, the second of the two year-periods into which his reign was divided.

[8] Mourning. Giles says "half-mourning;" but the phrase has here a more general application. Unbleached hempen cloth was probably the material.

[9] The phrase 稱 制 is rendered in the interlinear gloss by matsurigoto kikoshimesu, i.e. "attended to the Government." Giles and Williams give another explanation, which does not suit the present passage. But are not the 制 here the mourning regulations? and does not the phrase mean "announced the mourning for the Empress"?

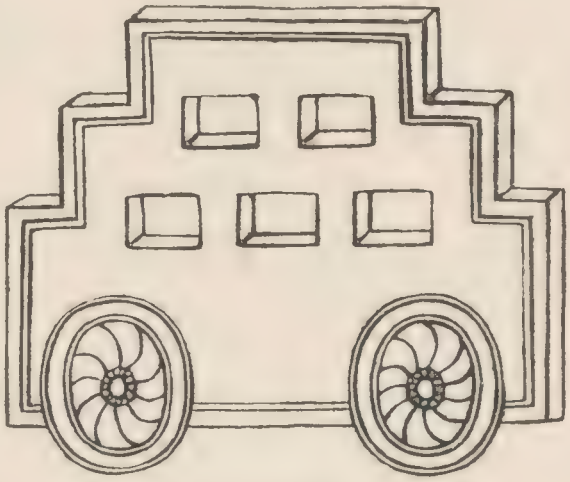
[10] Chinese pronunciation. [11] Now Phyöng-syang.

Nagatsu, where by degrees he attended to the organization of the foreign war.

In the 8th month he sent the generals of the Front Division, Adzumi no Hirafu no Muraji, of Lower Daikwa rank, and Kahabe no Momoye no Omi, of Lower Shōkwa rank, and the generals of the Rear Division, Abe no Hikeda no Hirafu no Omi, of Lower Daikwa rank, Kuma, Mononobe no Muraji, of Upper Daisen rank, and Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, of Upper Daisen rank, to the assistance of Pèkché. He also sent arms and grain.

Another book adds here :—" He sent separately Ajimasa, Sawi no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and Takutsu, Hada no Miyakko, of Lower Shōsen rank, for the protection of Pèkché."

9th month. The Prince Imperial, while having his Court at the Palace of Nagatsu, conferred a cap of woven stuff[1] on Phung-chhyang, the Pèkché Prince. Moreover he gave him to wife the younger sister of Komoshiki, Oho no Omi. He accordingly sent Ajimasa, Sawi no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and Takutsu, Hada no Miyakko, in command of a force of more than five thousand men to escort him to his own country. Now when Phung-chhyang arrived in his country, Pok-sin came to meet him, and bowing his head to the ground, delivered to him the government of the land, entrusting to him everything without exception.



Cloud-chariot.

XXVII. 3.

12th month. Information was received from Koryö that in this 12th month the cold in that country was so intense that the River Phè-kang[2] was frozen. Therefore the Thang army made an uproar with drums and gongs, cloud-chariots[3] and

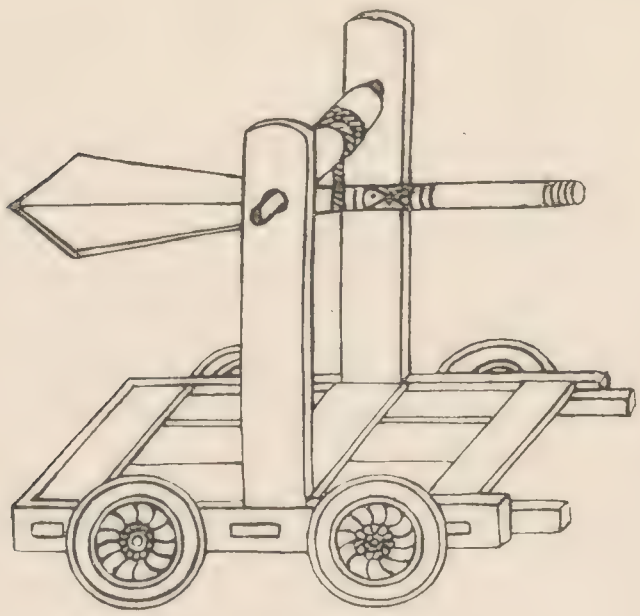
[1] See above, XXV. 41.

[2] Probably the river now known as the Thé-tong-kang.

[3] *Vide* illustration. The cloud-chariots were movable erections for overlooking the enemy's defensive works. They correspond to the *turris* of Roman warfare.

battering-engines. The Koryö troops were brave and stalwart, and therefore re-took two of the Thang forts. There were only two left, which they prepared to take by a night attack. The Thang soldiers, nursing their knees, wept aloud. But their (the Koryö men's?) arms were blunted and their strength exhausted, so that they were unable to take them.[1] If this is not a case of navel-biting[2] disgrace, what is?

The priest To-hyön says:—"To describe the intentions of Chhyun-chhyu[3]—He was really about to begin with



Battering-engine.

Koryö, and he first made it known to Pèkché. The close attack of Pèkché was exceedingly urgent and distressing, therefore it is so stated."[4]

In this year Maro, Kishida no Omi, Governor of the province of Harima, and others, presented a precious sword, saying:—"It was found in a hole in the millet-field of a man of the district of Saya."

Moreover, when the generals for assisting Koryö cast anchor at the beach of Kaphari in Pèkché, they lit a fire. The ashes became changed and formed a hole, from which there issued a

[1] The two forts above mentioned.

[2] i.e. helpless disgrace. To bite one's navel is impossible.

[3] King of Silla.

[4] All this is most unclear.

thin noise like that of a sounding arrow.[1] Some said that this was an omen of the ultimate downfall of Koryö and Pêkché.

1st year, Spring, 1st month, 27th day. A grant was made to the Kwisil Pok-sin, Minister of Pèkché, of 100,000 arrows, 500 kin of raw silk, 1000 kin of floss silk, 1000 tan of cloth, 1000 hides of leather, and 3000 koku[2] of seed-rice. A.D. 662.

3rd month, 4th day. The Emperor presented to the King of Pèkché 300 tan of cloth. XXVII. 4.

In this month the men of Thang and the men of Silla invaded Koryö. Koryö asked aid from our Government, and generals were sent, who occupied the walled city of Sonyu. Owing to this, the men of Thang were unable to conquer the southern territory, while Silla was prevented from overthrowing the fortresses to the west.

Summer, 4th month. A rat brought forth young in a horse's tail. The Buddhist priest Tohyön divined, saying:—"The men of the North are about to attach themselves to the Southern Country." Perhaps (he meant) that Koryö, being beaten, would become a vassal of Japan.

5th month. The General-in-Chief, Adzumi no Hirafu no Muraji, of Lower Daikin rank, and others, in command of a fleet of 170 ships, escorted Phung-chhyang and his people to the Land of Pèkché, where, by an Imperial edict, he was made to take up the succession to the (royal) Dignity. Moreover a golden tablet was conferred on Pok-sin, his back was stroked, and he was praised and an honorary grant made to him. At this time Phung-chhyang and his people, and also Pok-sin, received the Imperial decree with their heads bowed to the ground, so that everybody shed tears.

6th month, 28th day. Pèkché sent the Talsol, Manchi, and others to offer tribute and bring presents.

Winter, 12th month, 1st day. Phung-chhyang of Pèkché, his Minister Pok-sin, and others held counsel with Sawi no Muraji and Yechi no Takutsu, saying:—"This Chyu-yu[3] is far away from cultivated lands. The soil is unfertile, and there is no land suitable for agriculture or for the mulberry tree. It is simply a stronghold for defensive warfare. If we were to XXVII. 5.

[1] Nari-kabura. See above, Vol I. p. 87.

[2] A measure now equal to 5·13 bushels.

[3] No doubt the same place as the Sonyu above mentioned.

remain here long, the people would starve. We should remove to Phi-syöng. Phi-syöng is girt on the north and west by the Rivers Ko-nyön and Tan-kyöng, while on the south and east it is protected by deep mud and high earthworks. It is encompassed on all sides by rice-fields, to which the rain-water is drawn down by cutting canals. Its produce of flowers and fruit is the fairest of all the three Kingdoms of Corea. A source of food and clothing, it is a choice situation favoured by the two first principles.[1] It may be said that it lies low, but why should this prevent us from removing thither?" Upon this Yechi no Takutsu alone stood forward and objected, saying:—"The distance between Phi-syöng and the position occupied by the enemy can be covered in one night's march. This is extremely near. Should a surprise take place, regrets would be useless. Now starvation is a secondary matter; destruction demands our first attention. The reason why the enemy do not now rashly approach is that Chyu-yu has taken advantage of a scarped hill by which it is thoroughly well fortified. The cliffs are high and the ravines narrow. This makes it easy to defend and difficult to attack. But if we occupied the low ground, how should the country have remained undisturbed up to this day?" In the end, they refused to listen to his remonstrances and made Phi-syöng the capital.

This year, in order to assist Pèkché, arms were put in order, ships fitted out, and stores of army provisions prepared.

XXVII. 6. This year was the year Midzunoye Inu (59th) of the Cycle.

A.D. 663. 2nd year, Spring, 2nd month, 2nd day. Pèkché sent the Talsol, Kim-syu, and others to offer tribute. Silla men wasted by fire four districts of the southern border of Pèkché. They also captured Antök and other strong positions. This being so, the enemy were not far from Phi-syöng,[2] and this position became therefore untenable, so they came back again and occupied Chyu-yu, in accordance with Takutsu's policy.

In this month, the Minister Pok-sin sent up (to the Emperor) Hsü Shou-yen and other Thang prisoners.

3rd month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, and Ohobuta,

[1] The Yin and Yang.

[2] I cannot identify Phi-syöng or Antök, but they must have been in the southern part of the present province of Kyöngsyangdo. The Coreans were fond of changing the names of their cities.

Hashibito no Muraji, Generals of the Front Division, Wosa, Kose no Kamusaki no Omi, and Nemaro, Miwa no Kimi, generals of the Middle Division, and Hirafu, Abe no Hikeda no Omi, and Kamatsuka,[1] Ohoyake no Omi, Generals of the Rear Division, were sent in command of 27,000 men to invade Silla.

Summer, 5th month, 1st day. Inugami no Kimi, who had hurried to Koryö to give information of warlike matters, on his way back saw Kyu-hè[2] at the walled city of Syök-syöng. Kyu-hè accordingly told him of Pok-sin's guilt.

6th month. Wakugo, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, General of the Front Division, and the others, took two cities of Silla named Sapi and Kinokang. Phung-chhyang, King of Pèkché, suspecting Pok-sin of harbouring treasonous intentions, bound him with a leathern strap passed through his palms. But he was unable to come to a decision of himself, and did not know what to do. So he inquired of his Ministers, saying:—"Pok-sin's guilt has been so and so. Shall he be beheaded, or not?" Upon this, the Talsol, Tök Chip-tök, said:—"This traitor ought not to be let off." Pok-sin forthwith spat upon Chip-tök and said:—"Thou worthless dog! Thou idiotic slave!" The King compelled his stout fellows to execute him and to put his head in pickle. XXVII. 7.

Autumn, 8th month, 13th day. Silla, taking advantage of the King of Pèkché having put to death his own good general, laid plans to enter that country direct, and first of all to capture Chyu-yu. Now Pèkché learnt the enemy's plan, and addressed his generals, saying:—"I now hear that Omi, Ihohara no Kimi, the auxiliary general of the Land of Great[3] Japan, in command of more than 10,000 stout fellows, is on the point of arriving hither by sea. I hope that you, my generals, will take such measures as are suitable in advance. I intend myself to proceed to Pèkchon and give him seasonable entertainment."

17th day. The hostile generals arrived before Chyu-yu and encompassed the Royal city. The Thang generals, in command of 170 fighting ships, drew up in line of battle in the

[1] Sickle-handle. [2] A Pèkché Prince. See above, XXVI. 24.

[3] Dai Nippon. The first instance of the use of dai, great, in this connection.

Pèkchon river.[1] The Japanese warships which first arrived engaged the Thang fleet, but had not the advantage, and therefore retired. Great Thang stood on its guard in strict order of battle.

27th day. The Japanese generals and the Pèkché King, regardless of the aspect of affairs, said to one another :—" If we struggle which shall get first, they will naturally retire of themselves." So they again led forward the routed Japanese ranks, and the troops of the Middle Division of their force, to attack the Great Thang fleet. But Thang closed upon their vessels from right and left, and engaged them from all sides. In a short space of time the Imperial force was defeated, and many fell into the water and were drowned. The ships were
XXVII. 8. unable to manœuvre either astern or ahead. Yechi no Takutsu looked up to heaven and made oaths ; he gnashed his teeth, and in his rage slew several tens of men. He then fell fighting. At this time King Phung-chhyang of Pèkché with a number of others, embarked in a ship and fled to Koryö.

9th month, 7th day. Not until now did the Pèkché city of Chyu-yu surrender to Thang. Then the people of that country said to one another :—" Chyu-yu has fallen ; there is nothing more to be done ; this day the name of Pèkché has become extinct. Shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs (of our ancestors) are ? Let us, however, repair to the city of Ho-nyé, and meet there with the Japanese generals, so as to concert with them the measures required by the circumstances." In the end the wives and children, who had from the first remained in the walled town of Chhim-pok-ki, were informed of their intention to quit the country.

11th day. They set out for Muho.

13th day. They arrived at Ho-nyé.[2]

24th day. The Japanese fleet, with the (Pèkché) Minister Yö Chă-sin, and the Talsol, Mok-so Kwi-chă, Kong-na Chin-syu, and Öng-nyé Pong-nyu, along with the people of the country, arrived at the city of Ho-nyé. The next day they
XXVII. 9. set sail, and at length bent their course towards Japan.

A.D. 664. 3rd year, Spring, 2nd month, 9th day. The Emperor,[3] by

[1] I take this to be the river now called Naktong, in the south of Corea.

[2] The Interlinear Kana has Tere.

[3] He is called Prince Imperial both above and below.

orders to the Prince Imperial, his younger brother, announced an augmentation and revision of the caps denoting official rank, and also an increase in the designations of the grades, as well as matters relating to the senior members of families, their vassals and domestic retainers.

There were twenty-six grades of caps, viz. :—

Dai-shiki	(greater woven stuff)
Shō-shiki	(lesser do.)
Dai-shu	(greater embroidery)
Shō-shu	(lesser do.)
Dai-shi	(greater purple)
Shō-shi	(lesser do.)
Upper Dai-kin	(greater brocade)
Middle Dai-kin	(do.)
Lower Dai-kin	(do.)
Upper Shō-kin	(lesser brocade)
Middle Shō-kin	(do.)
Lower Shō-kin	(do.)
Upper Dai-sen	(greater mountain)
Middle Dai-sen	(do.)
Lower Dai-sen	(do.)
Upper Dai-otsu	(greater kingfisher[1])
Middle Dai-otsu	(do.)
Lower Dai-otsu	(do.)
Upper Shō-otsu	(lesser kingfisher)
Middle Shō-otsu	(do.)
Lower Shō-otsu	(do.)
Dai-ken	(greater ken)
Shō-ken	(lesser ken)[2]

These made in all twenty-six grades. The former kwa (flower) was changed to kin (brocade), and six grades were added, beginning with Kin and ending with Otsu. There was also an augmentation and alteration by which the single grade of initial rank was changed to the two grades of Daiken and Shōken. These were made different, but in all other respects the former rule was followed.

To the senior members of the great families long swords

[1] See above, XXV. 41.

[2] Ken means to set up, to establish. These two grades correspond to the Risshin or Kembu named above, XXV. 41.

were granted, and to the senior members of lesser families short swords were granted, while to the senior members of the Tomo no Miyakko, etc., shields and bows and arrows were given. Moreover, their vassals and domestic retainers were settled.

XXVII. 10. 3rd month. Prince Syön-kwang[1] of Pèkché and his people were given a residence at Naniha.

There was a star which fell north of the capital.

This spring there was an earthquake.

Summer, 5th month, 17th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) general for Pèkché, sent the Chao-san-ta-fu[2] Kuo Wu-ts'ung to present a letter-box[3] and gifts.

In this month the Oho-omi, Soga no Muraji, of Tai-shi rank, died.

One book says:—"The Oho-omi died in the intercalary fifth month."

6th month. The Empress Dowager[4] Shima died.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his companions were dismissed home. On this day the Emperor ordered Nakatomi no Naijin[5] to send the Buddhist priest Chi-sho with presents for Kuo Wu-ts'ung.

4th day.[6] An entertainment was given to Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his suite.

In this month Kè-kim, Prime Minister of Koryö, died in that country. He left dying injunctions to his children, saying:—"Ye brethren, live together in harmony, as a fish and water, and do not compete with one another for rank. If you do not so, you will surely become a laughing-stock to your neighbours."

12th month, 12th day. Kuo Wu-ts'ung and his suite took their departure.

[1] The history of Pèkché in the "Tongkam" ends with the previous King Wichă. Syön-kwang was his son.

[2] Lower fifth rank under the Thang dynasty.

[3] Of course, a box containing a letter is meant.

[4] The original might be more literally translated Empress grandmother, and this Empress was really Tenchi's grandmother, but as this term is used elsewhere simply as an honorary appellation, I prefer to render it by Empress Dowager.

[5] Viz. Kamatari Kō.

[6] This is the same date as the last. There is something wrong here.

In this month it was reported from the province of Ahaji, saying:—"In the water of a pig-trough belonging to Mu, Shinuta no Fumibito, a man of the district of Sakata, rice grew all of a sudden. Mu gathered it and put it by. Every day his wealth increased. There is a man called Oho, Ihaki no Sukuri, of the district of Kurimoto, at the head of whose bride's mattress rice grew up during her first night's stay with him and formed an ear. In the morning it bent down and ripened. The following night another ear was formed. She went out into the courtyard, when two keys fell down from heaven before her. She took them up and gave them to Oho, who from this time began to be a wealthy man." XXVII. 11

In this year guards and beacon-fires were placed in the islands of Tsushima and Iki and in the Land of Tsukushi. Moreover in Tsukushi a great embankment was constructed, and water collected. This was called a minoki or water-castle.[1]

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 25th day. The Empress Dowager Hashibito[2] died. A.D. 665.

In this month, after a comparison of the Pèkché degrees of official rank, there was granted to the Kwi-sil, Chipsă, in consideration of the eminent services of the Minister Pok-sin, the rank of Lower Shōkin. [His original rank was that of Talsol.[3]] Moreover Pèkché common people, men and women to the number of more than 400, were given residences in the district of Kanzaki, in the province of Afumi.

3rd month, 1st day. For the sake of the Empress Dowager Hashibito, 330 persons entered religion.

In this month rice-lands were granted to the Pèkché people of Kanzaki.

Autumn, 8th month. The Talsol, Tap Pon-chhyun, was sent to build a castle in the province of Nagato. XXVII. 12.

The Talsol, Öng-nyö Pong-nyu, and the Talsol, Să-pi Pok-pu,

[1] A native authority quoted in the "Shūkai" edition says:—"The embankment of the water-castle in the district of Mikasa is four ken (twenty-four feet) in height, fifteen ken in width of base, and 400 ken from east to west. The space within the embankment has been made into rice-fields."

[2] Kōtoku Tennō's wife. Empress Dowager is literally Great Consort.

[3] The Chinese characters used for this in the "Nihongi" are 達率. But, as Dr. Florenz points out, the proper characters are 大率, which in Corean are read Tèsol.

were sent to the Land of Tsukushi, where they built the two castles of Ohono and Woyogi.

Tamna sent ambassadors to the Court.

9th month, 23rd day. The Land of Thang sent Liu Tê-kao Chao-san-ta-fu,[1] Sub-prefect[2] of Ichou, and Shang-chu-kuo[3] and others.

By others is meant a General of the Right Division of the Guards, of the rank of Shang-chu-kuo, a General for Pèkché, who was a Chao-ta-fu of Chu-kuo rank, by name Kuo Wu-Ts'ung, and others, 254 persons in all. 7th month, 28th day. They arrived at Tsushima. 9th month, 20th day. They arrived at Tsukushi. 22nd day. They forwarded a letter-case.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. A great review was held at Uji.

11th month, 13th day. A banquet was given to Liu Tê-kao and the others.

12th month, 14th day. Presents were made to Liu Tê-kao and the rest.

In this month Liu Tê-kao and his people took their departure.

In this year Oho-ishi, Mori no Kimi, of Shōkin rank, and others were sent to Great Thang, etc., etc.

By others is meant Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Shōsen rank, and Harima, Kimi no Kishi, of Daiotsu rank. They no doubt went to escort the Thang Envoys.

A.D. 666. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 11th day. Koryö sent Neung-nu, of the Former Division,[4] and others to offer tribute.

On this day Tamna sent Prince Si-yö and others to offer presents.

3rd month. The Prince Imperial went in person to the house of Saheki no Komaro no Muraji to inquire of his illness.
XXVII. 13. He lamented him on account of his loyal service from the beginning.

[1] See above, XXVII. 10. [2] Sze-ma.

[3] Upper-pillar Country. A title.

[4] There were in Koryö five Divisions. The first was the Inner or Yellow Division; the second was the Northern or After Division; the third was the Eastern or Left Division; the Fourth was the Southern or Former Division; the fifth was the Western or Right Division.

Summer, 6th month, 4th day. Neung-nu of Koryö, of the Former Division, and his people took their departure.

Autumn, 7th month. There were great floods.

This autumn the land-tax and commuted taxes were remitted.

Winter, 10th month, 26th day. Koryö sent the Minister Eul-syang[1] Öm-chhu and others to offer tribute.

The Chief Envoy, the Minister Eulsyang Öm-chhu, the Associate Envoy Tun, of the rank of Talsyang, Ya-kwang Hyön-mu, of the Second Rank, and others.

This winter the rats of the capital migrated towards Afumi.

Over 2000 Pèkché people, men and women, were settled in the East country. Without distinction of black and white,[2] they were all maintained at Government expense for three years beginning with the year Midzunoto I.[3]

Chiyu, a Buddhist priest of the Yamato no Aya, presented to the Emperor a south-pointing chariot.[4]

6th Year, Spring, 2nd month, 27th day. The Empress Ame toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashi-hime[5] and the Imperial Princess Hashibito[6] were buried together in the misasagi on the Hill of Wochi. On this day the Imperial granddaughter the Imperial Princess Ohota was buried in a tomb[7] in front of the misasagi. A.D. 667.

Koryö, Pèkché and Silla all made mourning along the Imperial highway.[8]

The Prince Imperial addressed the Ministers, saying:—"In obedience to the commands of the Empress Dowager and the Empress, I have compassion on the myriad people, and therefore have not undertaken the work of constructing a stone sarcophagus.[9] I trust that this may be taken as a mirror and a lesson for all time."

3rd month, 19th day. The capital was removed to Afumi.

[1] An official rank. [2] i.e. of priests and laymen. [3] A.D. 663.

[4] A compass. See above, XXVI. 10.

[5] Saimei Tennō. [6] Kōtoku Tennō's Consort.

[7] Several of the misasagi have just outside the moat circular mounds of much smaller size. These have a small moat and one or two rows of clay cylinders round them. The tomb in question is still pointed out and known as the Ishidzuka or stone mound.

[8] By which the Imperial funeral procession passed.

[9] This is the literal translation, and it is true that stone sarcophagi were used in burial. But I am disposed to think that the vault is intended. Not

XXVII. 14. At this time the common people of the Empire did not desire the removal of the capital. Many made satirical remonstrance, and there were also many popular songs. Every day and every night there were numerous conflagrations.

6th month. The district of Kadono[1] presented to the Emperor a white swallow.[2]

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. Tamna sent the Minister Chön-ma and others to offer presents.

8th month. The Prince Imperial proceeded to the Yamato capital.

Winter, 10th month. Namsèng,[3] of Koryö, the elder brother, left the city[4] for a tour in the provinces. Upon this, his two younger brothers, who remained in the city, listening to the evil speeches of the gentry and nobles associated with them, opposed him and would not allow him to enter. Hereupon Namsèng ran away to Great Thang and laid plans for the destruction of his country.

11th month, 9th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) General for Pèkché, sent the Prefect of Ungsan,[5] in the Governorship of Ungchin,[6] Szema Fats'ung, of Shang-chu-kuo rank, and others to escort Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, of Lower Daisen rank, and his companions to the Governor-General's residence in Tsukushi.[7]

13th day. Szema Fats'ung and his companions took their departure homewards. Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Lower Shōsen rank, and Moroshi, Kasa no Omi, of Lower Daiotsu rank, were made Escort Envoys.

In this month there were built the castle of Takayasu in the province of Yamato, the castle of Yashima in the district of Yamada in the province of Sanuki, and the castle[8] of Kanada in the province of Tsushima. XXVII. 15.

to make a sarcophagus would afford a very trifling relief to the people. The vault on the other hand was a very considerable work, owing to the enormous stones of which it was built.

[1] In Yamashiro. [2] A good omen. [3] He was Chief Minister.

[4] Phyöngyang, the capital, is meant. [5] Bear-hill. Bear-port.

[6] The "Tongkam" says:—"In the year 660, Thang divided the former territory of Pèkché into five provinces, viz., Ungchin, Mahan, Tongmyöng, Keumnyön and Tökan.

[7] The Dazaifu or Viceroyalty.

[8] We hear in this reign for the first time of the building of castles

Intercalary 11th month, 11th day.

Chönma and his companions received presents of 14 hiki of brocade, 19 hiki of yuhada,[1] 24 hiki of dark red stuff, 24 tan of violet cloth, 58 tan of peach-dyed stuff, 26 axes, 64 sickles, and 61 swords.

7th year, Spring, 1st month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial assumed the Imperial Dignity. A.D. 668.

One book says that he assumed the Dignity in the 3rd month of the 6th year—the year Hinoto U of the Cycle.[2]

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers within the Palace.

23rd day. The Escort Envoys Hakatoko and his colleagues reported their mission.

2nd month, 23rd day. Princess Yamato bime, daughter of the Imperial Prince Furubito no Ohoye, was appointed Empress-consort. In the end four concubines were provided. One was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Ishikaha Maro, by name Wochi no Iratsume. [Some books call her Minodzuko hime.] She bore one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Ohota; XXVII. 16. the second was called the Imperial Princess Uno.[3] When she possessed the Empire she dwelt in the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka. She afterwards removed the Palace to Fujihara. The third was called the Imperial Prince Takeru. He was dumb and could not speak.

One book says:—"Wochi no Iratsume had one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Takeru; the second was called the Imperial Princess Ohota; the third was called the Imperial Princess Uno." One book says:—"The daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Yamada no Maro, was named Chinu no Iratsume. She bore the Imperial Princess Ohota and the Imperial Princess Sarara."

Next there was the younger sister of Wochi no Iratsume, named Mehi no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Minabe and the Imperial Princess Abe.[4] When the

(山成). This character, which in China and Corea means a walled city, is in Japan used in a sense nearly the same as our word "castle."

[1] Silk stuff tied and then dyed, so that a pattern is produced.

[2] A.D. 667. [3] Jitō Tennō. [4] Gemmei Tennō.

Imperial Princess Abe possessed the Empire, she dwelt in the Palace of Fujihara. She afterwards removed the capital to Nara.

One book says:—"The name Sakurawi no Iratsume was given to Mehi no Iratsume."

Next there was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Abe no Kurahashi Maro, named Tachibana no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Asuka, and the Imperial Princess Nittabe.

Next there was the daughter of the Oho-omi, Soga no Akaye, named Hitachi no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Yamabe.

There were also four Palace women who bore (to the Emperor) sons and daughters. One was the daughter of Wotatsu, Woshiumi no Miyakko, named Shikobuko no Iratsume. She had one son and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Princess Ohoye; the second was called the Imperial Prince Kahajima; the third was called the Imperial Princess Idzumi.

XXVII. 17.

Further there was the daughter of Tokoma, Kurikuma no Obito, named Kurohime no Iratsume. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Momutori.

Further there was Michi no Kimi Iratsume, who was the mother of the Imperial Prince Shiki.

Further there was Yakako, Iga no Uneme, who was the mother of the Imperial Prince Iga. He subsequently received the cognomen of the Imperial Prince Ohotomo.

Summer, 4th month, 6th day. Pèkché[1] sent Mi-to-să-pu and others to offer tribute.

16th day. Mi-to-să-pu and his companions took their departure.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor hunted[2] on the Moor of Kamafu. At this time the Prince Imperial, being the Emperor's younger brother, all the Princes, the Inner Minister[3] and the other Ministers were all without exception in his train.

[1] There was no Kingdom of Pèkché at this time.

[2] Any excursion of the Emperor's was called hunting. The hunt on this occasion was no doubt for medicinal herbs (kusurigari), for which this was the appointed day.

[3] Naijin.

6th month. The Prince of Ise and the Prince his younger brother died on consecutive days. Their official rank is not clear.[1] XXVII. 18.

Autumn, 7th month. Koryö sent Envoys by way of Koshi to offer tribute. The winds and waves were high, and they were therefore unable to return.

Prince Kurikuma was appointed Governor of Tsukushi.

At this time the province of Afumi practised military exercises.

Again, pasture farms were largely provided, and horses were let loose there.

Again, the province of Koshi presented to the Emperor burning earth and burning water.[2]

Again, by the shore-pavilion,[3] fish of various kinds came, covering the water.

Again, the Yemishi were entertained.

Again, the Toneri, by Imperial command, held banquets in various places.

The people of that time said:—"Is the Emperor's life drawing to a close?"

9th month, 12th day. Silla sent Kim Tong-wön, of the rank of Sason, and others to offer tribute.

26th day. Nakatomi no Naijin sent the Buddhist priests Hōben and Shimpitsu to present a ship to the Tè-kak-u[4] Yu-sin, Prime Minister of Silla. It was delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

29th day. Mimimaro, Fuse no Omi, was sent with a present for the King of Silla of a ship for the conveyance of tribute. It was delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

Winter, 10th month. The Duke[5] of Ying, the Thang Commander-in-Chief, destroyed Koryö. When King Chyung-mu of Koryö first established that kingdom, he wished his government to last for a thousand years. His mother said:—"If thou governest the country well, thou mayst accomplish XXVII. 19.

[1] This sentence is no doubt an interpolation, as the "Shūkai" points out.

[2] No doubt coal (or peat) and crude petroleum are meant. The latter is worked at the present day in Echigo, which forms part of the ancient province of Koshi.

[3] The shore of Lake Biwa.

[4] An official rank.

[5] His name was Li Tsi. See Mayers, p. 124.

this. However, it will last for just 700 years."[1] The downfall of this kingdom at this time took place just at the end of its existence for 700 years.

11th month, 1st day. There were presented to the King of Silla 50 pieces of fine silk, 500 kin of floss silk, and 100 hides of leather. These were delivered to Tong-wön and his companions.

Presents were given to Tong-wön and his companions, the value of which varied in each case.

5th day. Maro, Chimori no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank,
XXVII. 20. and Kishi no Woshibi were sent to Silla. On this day, Kim Tong-wön and his people took their departure.

In this year the Buddhist priest Dōgiō stole the Kusanagi[2] sword and escaped with it, making for Silla. But wind and rain so perplexed him on his way, that he came back again.[3]

A.D. 669. 8th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Soga no Akaye no Omi was appointed Governor of Tsukushi.

3rd month, 11th day. Tamna sent Prince Kumaki and others with tribute.[4]

18th day. A present of seed-grain was made to the King of Tamna. On this day Prince Kumaki and his people took their departure.

Summer, 5th month, 5th day. The Emperor went hunting on the plain of Yamashina.[5] The Prince Imperial, who was the Emperor's younger brother, Fujihara no Naidaijin, and all the Ministers without exception followed in his train.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Emperor ascended the peak of Takayasu. He took counsel as to a project of repairing[6] the castle there, but in pity for the labour which it would entail on the people, he abandoned this idea, and did not go on with

[1] The "Tongkam" gives Ko Chyung-mu as the name of the founder of the Kingdom of Kokuryö. The prediction is not given in this work.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 205.

[3] This story has been considerably developed by later writers.

[4] Tamna, known to us as Quelpaert, and to modern Coreans as Ché-ju, was for a long time more or less independent of the rest of Corea. In the 13th century the inhabitants were in continual rebellion.

[5] Now a station on the railway between Kiōto and Ōtsu. See above, XXVII. 17.

[6] See above, XXVII. 14, and below, XXVII. 22.

the work. The people of that time appreciated this, and exclaimed, saying:—"This is the virtue of loving-kindness. Is it not generous?" etc., etc.

This autumn it thundered[1] in the house of Fujihara no Naidaijin.

9th month, 11th day. Silla sent the Sason, Tok-yu, and others with tribute.

Winter, 10th month, 10th day. The Emperor paid a visit to the house of the Naidaijin Fujihara, and made personal inquiry after his illness. His grief was exceedingly great. Accordingly he said:—"It is surely no vain saying that the way of Heaven helps goodness: nor is the principle that the accumulation of good actions redounds to happiness of no effect. If there is anything which can be done, you will inform me of it." He answered and said:—"Thy servant has been wanting in cleverness: what more is to be said? Only I trust that for my burial simple arrangements may be made. While alive I did no service for my country at war; why, then, should I impose a heavy burden on it when I am dead?" etc., etc. The wise men of that day, hearing of this, were filled with admiration, and said:—"We would humbly compare this one saying with the wise maxims of ancient sages: shall the General of the Great Tree's[2] refusal of rewards be related in the same year with it?" XXVII. 21.

15th day. The Emperor sent his younger brother, the Prince Imperial, of the Eastern Palace,[3] to the house of the Naidaijin Fujihara, to confer on him the cap of "Great Woven Stuff" and the rank of Oho-omi.[4] He also granted him a surname, and made him the House of Fujihara.[5] From this time forward he was generally known as Fujihara no Daijin.

[1] No doubt the meaning is that it was struck by lightning.

[2] Feng I. Died A.D. 34. A famous commander under Han Kwang Wu, and renowned for modesty and dislike of ostentation. From his habit of retiring to sit beneath a tree for the purpose of solitary self-communing, he was called by his soldiers the General of the Great Tree. Mayers, p. 41.

[3] The Heir to the Throne occupied the Eastern Palace, and is often spoken of by this term.

[4] Or Daijin.

[5] Fujihara is a town in Yamato, in the district of Takechi. The name is a very famous one in subsequent Japanese History. This statesman is better known as Kamatari Kō. See above.

16th day. Fujihara no Naidaijin died.

The "Nihon Seiki" says:—"The Naidaijin died at the age of fifty in his private residence. He was removed for temporary burial to the south of the mountain. Oh! cruel Heaven! that could not bring itself to leave this aged man! Alas! what sorrow!" The inscription on his tomb says that he died at the age of fifty-six.[1]

XXVII. 22.

19th day. The Emperor went to the house of Fujihara no Naidaijin, where he gave orders to Soga no Akaye no Omi, of Upper Daikin rank, and declared to him his gracious will. He accordingly bestowed on him a golden incense-burner.

12th month. There was a fire in the Treasury. This winter the Castle of Takayasu was repaired. The Land-tax of the home provinces was collected. At this time the Temple of Ikaruga was burnt.

This year Kujira,[2] Kahachi no Atahe, of Middle Shōkin rank, and others were sent on a mission to the Land of Great Thang.

Moreover, the Minister Yö Chă-sin, the Minister Kwisil Chip-să, and others, men and women, to the number of over 700 persons, were removed and settled in the district of Kamafu in the province of Afumi.

Moreover, Great Thang sent Kuo Ya-ts'ung and others, more than 2000 men.

A.D. 670. XXVII. 23.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Emperor, by command to the gentry and Daibu, held a great archery meeting within the Palace Gate.

14th day. The Emperor promulgated Court ceremonial regulations, and rules for people to give way to each other when passing along the roads.[3] He also prohibited heedless slanders and foul falsehoods.

2nd month. Registers of population were prepared. Robbers and vagabonds were suppressed.

[1] This is the first mention of such inscriptions. They were engraved on erect slabs of stone, or on wooden posts set up on the mound. None belonging to this early period have remained to our day.

[2] This personal name means "whale."

[3] In the Giseirei it is said:—"In passing along the highways, the mean should get out of the way of the noble, the young of the old, and the light of the heavy."

At this time the Emperor visited the plain of Himo in the district of Kamafu, and inspected a site for a Palace.

Moreover, the Castle of Takayasu was repaired, and stores of grain and salt collected.

Moreover, one castle was built in Nagato, and two in Tsukushi.

3rd month, 9th day. Close to Miwi,[1] on the mountain, Shintō places of worship were laid out, and offerings of cloth distributed to them. The litany was pronounced by Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji.[2]

Summer, 4th month, 30th day. After midnight a fire broke out in Hōriuji.[3] Not a single building was left.

There was great rain, with thunder.

5th month. There was a popular ditty, as follows:—

To sport by the end
Of the bridge thrown across[4] XXVII. 24.
Come forth, my boy!
To the eight-fold wooden doors
Of the house of Tamate
If thou comest forth
Thou shalt not repent it.
Come forth, my boy!
To the eight-fold wooden doors
Of the house of Tamate.[5]

6th month. Within the capital a tortoise was caught. On its back was written the character for Saru.[6] It was

[1] Where the well-known Temple of Miwidera now stands—not far from Ōtsu. Miwi means august well. It was with water from this well that the Emperors Tenchi and Temmu and the Empress Jitō were washed at birth. Hence the name.

[2] It was the province of the Nakatomi to read the *norito*, or Shintō prayers, while the Imbe laid out the offerings.

[3] The same as the Ikaruga Temple mentioned above, XXVII. 22. *Vide* "Murray's Handbook," 2nd ed. p. 394.

[4] i.e. a slight, temporary bridge.

[5] By the house of Tamate one commentator understands the Temple of Hōriuji. Another thinks the poem may, perhaps, be an advice to the Emperor Temmu to enter religion, and avoid the Imperial Dignity. To me its application is wholly obscure. The metre is irregular naga-uta.

[6] The monkey, one of the years of the Duodenary Cycle. It recurred two years later, and was marked by civil disturbances, of which this was supposed to be an omen.

yellow above and black beneath,[1] and was about six inches in length.

Autumn, 9th month, 1st day. Tsuratari, Adzumi no Muraji, was sent to Silla.

In this year water-mills were made; and therewith iron smelted.[2]

A.D. 671. 10th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. Soga no Akaye no Omi, of Upper Daikin rank, and Kose no Hito no Omi, of Lower Daikin rank, advanced in front of the Palace and offered their congratulations on the New Year.

5th day. Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, of Upper Daikin rank, made an announcement of Kami matters.[3]

On this day the Imperial Prince Ohotomo was appointed Dajōdaijin,[4] Soga no Akaye no Omi was made Prime Minister of the Left:[5] Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji was made Prime Minister of the Right.[6] Soga no Hatayasu no Omi, Kose no
XXVII. 25. Hito no Omi, and Ki no Ushi no Omi were made Daibu of the Censorate.[7]

[1] The colours of Heaven and Earth, according to the Chinese. In this tortoise they were inverted, the yellow (Earth) being above, and the black (Heaven) beneath. This was regarded as a sign of a change of reign.

[2] The briefness of this notice is very tantalizing to any one interested in the history of Japanese metallurgy. The word for mill does not mean merely a water wheel, but something for pounding or grinding. Perhaps the trituration of the ore is intended. The character for smelt is 冶, which might also be rendered fuse. Florenz has "gesmiedet," i.e. "forged," and one Japanese dictionary has kitafu, which has the same meaning. But no such meaning is given in Giles, and as the Interlinear Kana has wakasu, "to melt," I have little doubt that smelting is intended. Evidently the writer was familiar with the process of smelting. It is the use of a mill in connection with it that is deemed worthy of record.

[3] It is not quite clear what this means—probably some kind of Shintō religious celebration.

[4] i.e. Prime Minister. The Wamiōshō gives for this the Japanese phrase, Oho-matsuri-goto no Oho-matsu-kimi, the great lord who attends to matters of the great government, but it is difficult to believe that so clumsy an expression was ever in general use. Dajōdaijin is sufficiently cumbersome.

[5] Sadaijin.

[6] Udaijin. It will be observed that the Left takes precedence of the Right.

[7] Censors, whose duty it is to keep the Emperor informed on all matters of public importance. Giles.

The Giōshi were perhaps what are now called Dainagon.

6th day. The Emperor's younger brother, the Prince Imperial, promulgated on his behalf the regulations for giving effect to the institution of cap-rank. [One book says: —"The Imperial Prince Ohotomo announced."] There was a general amnesty to the Empire.

The ceremonial and the names of the cap-ranks are fully described in the Shin-ritsu-ryō.[1]

9th day. Koryö sent Ka-ru, Tè-syang of the Upper Division, and others with tribute.

13th day. Liu Jên-yüan, the (Chinese) general for Pèkché, sent Li Shou-chên and others to present a memorial.

In this month the rank of Upper Daikin was conferred on the (Pèkché) Minister Yö Chă-sin and on Sathèk Syo-myöng [second official of the Department of Ceremonies], the rank of Lower Shōkin on Kwisil Chip-să [Chief of the Department of Education], the rank of Lower Daisen on the Talsol Kong-na Chin-syu [he had a military training], Mok-so Kwi-chă [he had a military training], Öng-nyé Pong-nyu[2] [had a military training], Tap-pon Chhyun-chho[3] [had a military training], Pon-il Pi-chă, Chhan Pha-ra, Kim-na, Kim-syu, [acquainted with medicine] and Kwisil Chipsin [acquainted with medicine]. The rank of Upper Shōsen was conferred on the Talsol, Tök Chyöng-syang, Kil Tè-syang [acquainted with medicine], Hö Chol-mo [thoroughly understood the five classics] and Tak Pong-mu [skilled in the Yin and Yang].[4] XXVII. 26. The rank of Lower Shōsen was conferred on the other Talsol, more than fifty persons in all.

There was a popular ditty, as follows :—

The oranges—
Each on their own branches,
Though they grow—

---

[1] New laws.

[2] These three are mentioned above, XXVII. 8, as Pèkché refugees to Japan.

[3] Apparently the same person who is called Tap Pon-chhyun above, XXVII. 12.

[4] i.e. in philosophy, divination, etc.

When strung as pearls,
Are strung on the same string.[1]

2nd month, 22nd day. Pèkché sent Tè-ku Yong-syön and others with tribute.[2]

3rd month, 3rd day. Honjitsu, Kibumi no Miyakko,[3] presented to the Emperor a water-level.

17th day. The province of Hitachi presented as tribute Nakatomibe no Wakako. He was one foot six inches in height, and was born in the year Hinoye Tatsu (656), so that he was in this year sixteen[4] years of age.

Summer, 4th month, 25th day. A clepsydra was placed in the new pavilion, and for the first time the hours were struck, and bells and drums sounded. For the first time the clepsydra
XXVII. 27. was used. This clepsydra was the one first constructed by the Emperor himself when he was Prince Imperial, etc., etc.[5]

In this month Tsukushi reported that a deer had been born with eight legs, but that it had died immediately.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor occupied the Little Western Palace. The Prince Imperial and all the Ministers attended on him at a banquet. On this occasion, rustic dances were twice performed before him.

6th month, 4th day. An announcement was made in regard to the military measures requested by the messengers from the three departments of Pèkché.[6]

15th day. Pèkché sent Yé Chin-chă and others to bring tribute.

In this month Prince Kurikuma was made Governor of Tsukushi.

Silla sent Envoys bearing tribute.

[1] The allusion is to the Coreans, who, although foreigners, received the same honours as Japanese. The Tachibana, or orange, was a foreign fruit.

[2] The "Shūkai" editor says that this was a remnant of the Pèkché Ministers.

[3] Of Corean extraction.

[4] According to the Japanese reckoning, which includes both the year of birth and the year to which the reckoning is made. We should say fifteen.

[5] See above, XXVI. 17.

[6] It appears from a passage in the "Tongkam" that in the year 673 some of the Pèkché cities still held out against the Chinese.

In addition they presented to the Emperor a water buffalo and a copper pheasant.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. Li Shou-chên of Thang and his companions and the Pèkché Envoys took their departure together.

8th month, 3rd day. Karu, Tè-syang of the Upper Division of Koryö, and his people took their departure.

18th day. An entertainment was given to the Yemishi. The Emperor took to his bed and was ill. [One book says:—"In the 8th month the Emperor took ill."]

Winter, 10th month, 7th day. Silla sent the Sason, Kim Manmol and others to bring tribute.

8th day. The ceremony of opening the eyes[1] of 100 Buddhas took place in the interior of the Palace.

In this month, the Emperor sent messengers to offer to the Buddha of Hōkōji a kesa, a golden begging-bowl, a tusk of ivory, aloes wood, sandal wood and various objects of value. XXVII. 28.

17th day. The Emperor's disease became more grave. He sent for the Prince Imperial to come into the chamber where he was lying and addressed him, saying:—"Our condition is desperate: what remains after belongs to thee," etc., etc. Hereupon the Prince Imperial with repeated obeisances declined firmly to receive (the succession), giving ill-health as his reason. He said:—"I pray thee let the mighty task be entrusted to the Empress, and let Prince Ohotomo undertake the promulgation of measures of Government. It is thy servant's request, for the Emperor's sake, to renounce the world and practise religion." The Emperor gave his consent, and the Heir to the Throne got up and bowed repeatedly. He straightway proceeded to the south of the Buddhist Hall in the interior of the Palace, and sitting upon a chair, shaved off his hair and became a priest. Upon this the Emperor sent him a present of a kesa by Sugita no Ikuiha.

19th day. The Prince Imperial visited the Emperor and asked leave to go to Yoshino and practise the religion of Buddha. The Emperor granted him permission to do so. The Prince Imperial accordingly went to Yoshino. The Ohoomi and others escorted him as far as Uji, and then returned.

11th month, 10th day. The Governor[2] of the province of

[1] Corresponding to consecration. [2] Kokushi.

Tsushima sent a messenger to the Viceroy[1] of Tsukushi, saying:—"On the day after the moon's birth these four persons, viz., the Buddhist priest Dōku,[2] Satsuyama, Tsukushi no Kimi, Sasa, Karashima no Suguri, and Iha, Nunoshi no Obito, arrived from Thang and reported that the Thang Envoys, Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his suite, numbering 600 persons, escorting
XXVII. 29. Sa-thèk Son-teung and his companions, who numbered 1400 persons, the total number being 2000, had embarked in forty-seven ships which came to an anchor together at the island of Hijishima,[3] where they said to one another:—'The ships of our people are numerous, and if they suddenly arrived thither,[4] it is to be feared that their guards would be alarmed, and engage us in a battle of archery.' So they have sent on Dōbun and others to give some notice in advance of their intention of proceeding to the court."

23rd day. The Imperial Prince Ohotomo took his place in front of the embroidery figure of Buddha in the Western Hall of the inner precinct, with Soga no Akaye no Omi, the Prime Minister of the Left, Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, the Prime Minister of the Right, Soga no Hatayasu no Omi, Kose no Hito no Omi and Ki no Ushi no Omi in attendance on him. He then took in his hands an incense-burner, and standing up first, made a vow, saying:—"We six men, with like minds, will obey the Emperor's commands. If any of us disregard them, surely he will incur punishment from Heaven," etc., etc. Upon this, Soga no Akaye no Omi, the Prime Minister of the Left, and the others took the incense-burner in their hands, and standing up in order, one after another, made a vow with tears of blood, saying:—"We, your five servants, will follow Your Highness's example and obey the Emperor's commands. If any of us should disregard them, let the Four Heavenly Kings smite him, and let the Gods of Heaven and Earth moreover
XXVII. 30. punish his offence. Let the thirty-three Devas[5] bear witness to this. May his line become extinct and his house come to certain ruin," etc., etc.[6]

[1] Dazaifu. [2] Called Dōbun below. One of these readings is an error.

[3] Not to be identified.

[4] i.e. in Japan. [5] Traiyastrims'as. *Vide* Eitel, p. 178.

[6] There is here a curious mixture of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Chinese religion. Curiously no reference is made to the Shintō Gods, although there is a notice of their official worship not many years before.

24th day. Fire broke out in the Palace of Afumi. It began from the third storehouse of the Treasury.

29th day. The five Ministers, in respectful attendance on the Imperial Prince Ohotomo, made oath in presence of the Emperor.

On this day, a present was made to the King of Silla of 50 hiki of fine silk, 50 hiki of coarse silk, 1000 kin[1] of floss silk, and 100 hides of leather.

12th month, 3rd day. The Emperor died in the Palace of Afumi.

11th day. He was temporarily interred at the New Palace.[2]

At this time there was a popular song, as follows:—

I.

For the trouts of Yoshino
In Miyoshino—
For the trouts indeed
It is well by the side of the island:
Alas! woe's me!
Here beneath the nagi plants,
Here beneath the water-parsley.
Alas! woe's me!

II.

As not even one
Has yet been loosed
Of the eight-fold cords to be loosed
By the Omi children,
The Prince's cord is loosed.

XXVII. 31.

III.

As the red horse
Plods on reluctantly
Over the plain of Makudzu,
Why any message?
Better simply to act.[3]

---

[1] Or catties. About $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. avoirdupois at the present day.

[2] The subsequent and formal burial is not mentioned. It was in a misasagi at Yamashina, a village in the district of Uji, in Yamashiro.

[3] These stanzas, or rather separate poems, are all supposed to refer to Prince Ohotomo, who, as we shall find in the next book, was obliged to fly from the capital, and ultimately strangled himself in despair. Makudzu in the

17th day. The Sason, Kim Manmol, and his companions, the tribute-envoys sent by Silla, took their departure.

This year, in the house of a man of the district of Yamada, in the province of Sanuki, there was a chicken with four legs.

Moreover, in the Imperial kitchen, there were eight pots which gave out a sound. Sometimes one pot sounded, sometimes two, and sometimes three together. Sometimes all eight sounded together.

last is, perhaps, not the name of a place, but simply "true dolichos"—the plain where the true dolichos plant grows. The nagi in No. I. is a kind of edible water-plant. The application of these poems to the political events of the day is obscure, and I see no advantage in discussing the interpretations offered by the Japanese commentators.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE EMPEROR AMA NO NUNAHARA OKI NO MABITO.[1]—PART I.

(*TEMMU TENNŌ.*)

THE Emperor Ama no Nunahara oki no mabito was the younger brother by the same mother of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake. In his childhood he was called the Imperial Prince Oho-ama.[2] From his birth he had a majestic and intelligent appearance: when he grew to manhood, he was virile and martial. He was skilled in astronomy and the art of becoming invisible. He took to him the Imperial Princess Uno, daughter of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake,[3] and made her his wife. In the first year of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, he was made Heir Apparent.[4] In the fourth year of his reign, winter, the tenth month, and the seventeenth day, the Emperor took to his sick-bed. His sufferings were very severe. Upon this he sent Yasumaro Soga no Omi to fetch the Heir Apparent, and to introduce him to the Great Hall. Now Yasumaro had been always a favourite of the Heir Apparent, and secretly taking thought for him, said:—"Think

[1] Heaven-of-marsh-middle-plain (Nunahara is the name of a place), offing-of-true-man (i.e. noble). Temmu means "Heavenly valour."

This book contains the history of the civil war which resulted in establishing Temmu Tennō on the throne. It is therefore wrongly entitled the "History of Temmu." It should rather be called the "History of Kōbun," the posthumous name by which some historians designate his predecessor, Prince Ohotomo.

The Preface to the "Kojiki" gives a highly imaginative account of the events related in this book. See Ch. K., pp. 7, 8, 9.

[2] This is not the same ama (heaven) as the previous one, but is written with the characters for "fisherman."

[3] Tenchi Tennō.

[4] Literally "Eastern Palace."

before you speak." Upon this the Heir Apparent suspected a secret plot and was cautious. When the Emperor gave him his commands and bestowed on him the vast undertaking,[1] he declined, saying:—"Thy servant has unfortunately always had bad health: how could he maintain the State? I beseech Your Majesty, bestow the entire Empire on the Empress-consort, and let the Imperial Prince Ohotomo be established as successor to the throne. I will to-day renounce the world, and it is my desire for Your Majesty's sake to perform acts of merit." The Emperor gave his consent, and on the same day he renounced the world and put on the priestly garb. He accordingly collected his private weapons and deposited them every one in the Department.

19th day. He went to the Palace of Yoshino. At this time, Soga no Akaye no Omi, Prime Minister of the Left, Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji, Prime Minister of the Right, and Soga no
XXVIII. 2. Hatayasu no Omi, the Dainagon, etc., escorted him. They returned from Uji. Some one said:—"Give a tiger wings and let him go."[2] This evening he occupied the Palace of Shima.

20th day. He arrived at Yoshino and took up his abode there.[3]

At this time he assembled his toneri, and addressed them, saying:—"I am now entering religion, and will carry out its practices. Let those therefore who wish to follow my example and practise religion remain here. If any of you wish by serving the Government to gain a name, let them return and do so." But there were none who would go away.

He again assembled the toneri and addressed them as before. Upon this one half of the toneri stayed with him, and one half withdrew.

12th month. The Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake died.

A.D. 672. 1st year, Spring, 3rd month, 18th day. Inashiki, Adzumi no Muraji, of Inner Lesser seventh rank, was sent to Tsukushi to announce the mourning for the Emperor to Kuo Ya-ts'ung and the others. Upon this Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his people all put on

[1] The succession to the throne.

[2] A Chinese saying. "You will have to bear the consequences," is understood.

[3] The previous day's entry can only refer to his starting on the journey.

mourning and raised lament for him three times, turning towards the East and bowing their heads to the ground.

21st day. Kuo Ya-ts'ung[1] and the others with repeated obeisances offered a box with a letter and presents in token of goodwill.

Summer, 5th month, 12th day. Armour and bows and arrows were presented to Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his companions. Other presents were made to them on this day, amounting altogether to 1673 hiki of coarse silk, 2852 tan of cloth, and 666 kin of floss silk.

28th day. Koryö sent Pu Ka-pyön, of the Former Division, and others with tribute.

30th day. Kuo Ya-ts'ung and his people took their departure. XXVIII. 3.

In this month, Wogimi, Yenowi no Muraji, addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Thy servant went alone to Mino on private business. At this time the Government[2] instructed the Governors of the two provinces of Afumi and Wohari, saying: 'Let labourers be designated in advance for the construction of a misasagi.'[3] Accordingly each man was provided with a weapon. Thy servant is of opinion that this is not on account of a misasagi, but that there surely will be trouble. If thou dost not speedily get out of the way there may be danger."

Another man said to the Emperor:—"Pickets have been stationed at various places along the way from the Afumi capital to the Yamato capital. Moreover orders have been given to the guards of the Uji bridge to intercept the conveyance of private supplies of provisions by the officers of the Household of the Heir Apparent, the Emperor's younger brother."[4] The Emperor was displeased at this, and accordingly gave orders to make investigation. Having ascertained that it was a fact, he made order, as follows:—

[1] These proceedings took place at the Court of the Emperor Kōbun, but this fact is intentionally slurred over by the historian, who chooses to ignore this Emperor's short reign as far as possible. Other authorities state that this letter from the Emperor of China was addressed—"The Emperor (Kōtei) of Great Thang respectfully inquires respecting the health of the King of Wa (倭王)." In another document of this time, however, the term 日本王, i.e. King of Japan, is used.

[2] Kōbun Tennō's Government.

[3] For the Emperor Tenchi.

[4] Styled Emperor a few lines above.

"The reason why We renounced the Dignity and retired from the world was simply in order to heal Our disease, and make whole Our body so that We might live for a hundred years. But now, if, owing to circumstances over which We have no control, We are to be exposed to calamity, why should We quietly allow the destruction of Our person?"

6th month, 22nd day. The Emperor gave orders to Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, Kimide, Wanibe no Omi, and Hiro, Muketsu no Kimi, saying:—"We are now informed that the Ministers of the Court of Afumi are plotting mischief against Us. Do ye three therefore hasten to the province of Mino and give information to Honji, Oho no Omi, the Governor of the
XXVIII. 4. hot baths of the district of Yasuhama. Explain to him the necessities of the position of affairs. Let him first of all levy the soldiers of his own district, and then by means of the Governors of provinces set on foot the troops of all kinds and quickly beset the Fuha road. We are now starting."

24th day. He was about to proceed to the East when one of his Ministers made representation to him, saying:—"Can the Afumi Ministers have no intention of conspiring? If they have, they will certainly notify it to the Empire, and the roads will in consequence become impassable. Why should we proceed to the East unarmed, without a single soldier? (If we do,) thy servant fears that our enterprise will fail of success." The Emperor followed this advice. He wished to summon back to him Woyori and the others, and therefore despatched Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, Ohotomo, Kibumi no Muraji, and Shima, Afu no Omi, to Prince Takasaka, who had charge in his absence,[1] directing them to apply to him for posting bells.[2] Accordingly he said to Yesaka and the others:—"If you cannot get the bells, let Shima come back and report to me. Let Yesaka hasten to Afumi, and summon the Imperial Princes Takechi and Ohotsu[3] to meet me in Ise." Yesaka and his companions then went to the official charged with the care of the Palace in the Emperor's absence, and putting forward the orders of the Heir Apparent,[4] asked Prince Takasaka for

[1] Of the Palace of Okamoto in Asuka, says the "Shūkai" editor.

[2] The bells conveyed a right to post-horses. See above, p. 206.

[3] Sons of Temmu Tennō.

[4] Temmu Tennō is meant. The original is literally "Eastern Palace."

posting-bells, which were refused. Then Yesaka went to Afumi, and Shima returned and reported to the Emperor, saying:—"We did not get the bells."

On this day, they started on their journey to the East Country. So great was the urgency that the Emperor did not wait to ride, but went on foot. Suddenly he fell in with a XXVIII. 5. saddle-horse belonging to Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji. The Emperor accordingly mounted him. The Empress-consort followed in a palanquin. It was not until they had gone as far as the River Tsufuri that the Emperor's carriage[1] came up, so he got into it. The original followers of the Emperor at this time were the Imperial Princes Kusakabe and Osakabe, with the toneri Wogimi, Yenowi no Muraji, Ohotomo Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, Ohome, Saheki no Muraji, Tomokuni, Ohotomo no Muraji, Ihose, Waka-zakura-be no Omi, Nemaro, Fumi no Obito, Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, Wobayashi, Yamashiro no Atahe, Yamashirobe no Woda, Chitoko, Ato no Muraji, Afumi, Mitsugi no Obito, and the like, more than twenty persons in all. There were more than ten women. The same day they arrived at Aki in Uda,[2] where XXVIII. 6. they were overtaken by Makuda, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Ohotomo, Kibumi no Muraji, from the Palace of Yoshino. At this time Mate, Hashi no Muraji, a toneri of the Department of the official rice-fields, supplied food to those who followed the Imperial carriage. Passing the village of Kammura, there were there more than twenty hunters, with Ohokuni, Yenomoto no Muraji, at their head. These were all summoned to follow the Imperial carriage. Moreover, Prince Mino was called. He forthwith came and joined the Emperor's suite. At the Town Hall of the district of Uda they were met by fifty pack-horses of the province of Ise which were carrying the rice of the hot-baths. All the rice was thrown away, and thus mounts were provided for those who were going afoot. When they reached Ohono, the sun went down, the mountains were dark, and they were unable to proceed. Accordingly they pulled down the fences of the houses of that village, by which they provided lights and so reached the district of Nabari at midnight. They set fire to the posting-station of Nabari, and made proclamation to the people of that village, saying:—"The Emperor is on his

[1] A palanquin is probably meant. [2] In Yamato

way to the East Country. Therefore let all the people flock to join him." However, not a single man would come. When they were just arriving at the River Yokogaha, a dark cloud overspread the sky to the breadth of more than ten rods. Now the Emperor wondering at this, forthwith kindled a light, and holding in his own hand the Rule,[1] divined, saying:—"This is
XXVIII. 7. an omen of the division of the Empire into two parts. However, in the end We shall probably acquire the Empire. So they hastened onwards and arrived at the district of Iga, where they set fire to the posting-station. Going round to Nakayama in Iga, they were joined by the district governors of that province in command of a body of several hundred men. At dawn they reached the plain of Tara, where a short halt was made and food partaken of. On arriving at Yamaguchi[2] in Tsumuye they were joined by the Imperial Prince Takechi, who came across by way of Kafuka. He was followed by Ohohi, Tami no Atahe, Tokotari, Akazome no Miyakko, Hiro-sumi, Ohokura no Atahe, Kunimaro, Sakanohe no Atahe, Furuichi no Kuromaro, Takeda no Ohotoko, and Abe, Ikago no Omi. They crossed Mount Miyama and arrived at Suzuka in Ise. Here Ihatoko, Miyake no Muraji, Governor of the province, with the Vice-Governor, Kobuto, Miwa no Kimi, Tarumaro,
XXVIII. 8. Tanaka no Omi, magistrate of the hot-baths,[3] Nihinomi, Takata no Obito, and others joined the Emperor at the district of Suzuka. So in the morning a body of 500 troops were despatched to block the road over the mountain of Suzuka. When they arrived at the foot of the Hill of Kahawa the sun went down, and as the Empress-consort was fatigued, her palanquin was stayed for a while until she rested. But the night closed in gloomily, and it threatened rain, so that a prolonged halt was impossible, and they proceeded on their way. Hereupon it became cold, and there was a violent thunderstorm, with rain, so that the clothing of those in the Emperor's train was drenched and they could not bear the cold. When they arrived at the Town Hall of the district of Mihe, they set

[1] An instrument used in divination. It is described as round above to represent Heaven and square below to represent the Earth.

[2] Or, "the foot of the hill of Tsumuye."

[3] A village for the supply of things needful for the Emperor's hot baths is probably meant. The hot baths above, pp. 304 and 305, are no doubt similar.

fire to one of the buildings and so warmed the shivering men. That night, at midnight, the Warden of the Barrier of Suzuka sent a messenger to the Emperor to inform him that Prince Yamabe and Prince Ishikaha had come to proffer their allegiance, and that he had therefore kept them at the Barrier. The Emperor accordingly sent Masubito, Michi no Atahe, to fetch them.

26th day. In the morning, on the bank of the River Tohogaha, in the district of Asake, he worshipped towards the Goddess Amaterasu no Ohokami.[1] At this time Masubito arrived and informed the Emperor that the men who were kept at the Barrier were not Prince Yamabe and Prince Ishikaha, but the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, who had accordingly come to join the Emperor, along with Masubito. He was followed by Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, Mitsuna, Naniha no Kishi, Oshibito, Komada no Sukuri, Yasumaro, Yamabe no Kimi, Wite, Woharida no Omi, Hasetsukabe no Shiki, Wakami, Ohokida no Kimi, Kanemi, Ne no Muraji, Urushibe no Tomose XXVIII. and their people. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced. When 9. they were just arriving at the Town Hall, Woyori came riding post, and informed the Emperor, saying:—"Three thousand Mino troops, which were despatched for the purpose, have succeeded in blocking the Fuha road." Upon this the Emperor commended Woyori's zeal. As soon as he reached the Town Hall, he sent the Imperial Prince Takechi in advance to Fuha to attend to military matters there, and sent Yamashirobe no Woda and Akafu, Ato no Muraji, to mobilize the troops of the Tōkaidō provinces. Moreover he sent Ihose, Wakasakurabe no Omi, and Mate, Hashi no Muraji, to mobilize the Tōsandō army. This day the Emperor lodged at the Town Hall of Kuhana. He stayed here, and did not proceed further.

At this time the Afumi Court heard that the Prince Imperial, the (late) Emperor's younger brother, had gone to the East Country. All the Ministers were alarmed, and the capital was in commotion. Some made their escape, with the intention of proceeding to the East Country, and others withdrew in order to conceal themselves in the mountains and

[1] The Sun Goddess, whose chief temple was, and is, in the southern part of the province of Ise.

marshes. Upon this, the Imperial Prince Ohotomo addressed the Ministers, saying:—"What measures shall we take?" One of the Ministers stood forward and said:—"If we are slow to take measures, we shall certainly be too late. The best plan is with all speed to assemble our choice cavalry and to pursue in their track."

The Imperial Prince did not take this advice, but sent Ihasuki,[1] Ina no Kimi, Kusuri, Fumi no Atahe, and Ohomaro, Wosaka no Atahe, to the East Country, and Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi, with his younger brother, Ihoye, and Hiuga, Mononobe no Obito, to the Yamato capital. Moreover, he sent Wotoko, Saheki no Muraji, to Tsukushi, and Ihate, Kusu no Omi, to the province of Kibi, all of them with orders to levy troops. He said further to Wotoko and Ihate:—"These two,
XXVIII. viz. Prince Kurikuma, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and Hiroshima,
10. Tahema no Kimi, Governor of the province of Kibi, were originally dependants of the Imperial younger brother the Heir Apparent, and I suspect them of treason. If there is any sign of disobedience, slay them forthwith." Now when Ihate arrived at the province of Kibi, on the day on which he presented his token of authority,[2] he deceived Hiroshima, and got him to ungird his sword. Ihate then drew his sword and slew him.

When Wotoko reached Tsukushi, Prince Kurikuma received his token of authority, and said to him in reply:—"The province of Tsukushi has always been a defence against the calamity of foreign raids. Were these lofty battlements and deep moats overlooking the sea meant as a protection from an internal enemy? If, in awe of this command, I should now despatch troops, this province would be left unprotected, and if troubles were suddenly to arrive unexpectedly, the State would soon be overturned. What good would it then do to put me to death a hundred times? How can I dare to disregard my duty? This is my reason for refusing to set the troops in movement hastily."

Now the two sons of Prince Kurikuma, Prince Mino and Prince Takebe, stood beside him, girt with their swords, and did not withdraw. Hereupon Wotoko grasped his sword as about to rush forward. But he feared lest on the contrary he

[1] This name means rock or stone mattock. [2] Lit. tally.

might himself see destruction, and being therefore unable to accomplish his purpose, went away empty.

Ihasuki and his companions, the couriers to the East, were approaching Fuha when Ihasuki alone, suspecting that there were troops among the mountains, fell behind, and went on at a leisurely pace. Then some ambushed soldiers came out from the mountain and intercepted Kusuri and the others. Ihasuki, seeing this, felt sure that Kusuri and his companions would be captured, so he turned and fled, barely succeeding in making his escape.

Just at this time Makuda, Ohotomo no Muraji, and Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, both saw that the time was unfavourable, so they pretended illness, and withdrew to their house in Yamato. Learning, however, that the successor to the throne was certainly the Prince Imperial, the (late) Emperor's younger brother, resident at Yoshino, Makuda first followed the Emperor. But Wofukehi remained behind, saying:—"I will establish my fame all at once, and it is my purpose to allay calamity." So he called to him one or two families of relations, and all the stout fellows he could find, but could only get a few tens of men. XXVIII. II.

27th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi sent a messenger to the Town Hall of Kuhana with a message for the Emperor, saying:—"It is inconvenient to carry on the Government with Your Majesty residing at a distance: I would advise that some nearer place should be occupied." That same day the Emperor proceeded to Fuha, leaving the Empress-consort behind. By the time he reached the Town Hall, Sabichi, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Governor of the province of Wohari, joined him with a force of 20,000 men. The Emperor forthwith commended him. These troops were divided, and beset the roads to various places. When he arrived at Nogami, the Imperial Prince Takechi came to meet him from Wasami, and forthwith addressed the Emperor, saying:—"Last night couriers came in haste from the Court of Afumi. I therefore laid an ambush and captured them. They are Kusuri, Fumi no Atahe, and Ohomaro, Wosaka no Atahe. When I asked them where they were going, they answered and said that they belonged to the suite of Ihasuki, Wina no Kimi, who was sent on behalf of the Prince Imperial, the Emperor's younger

brother, resident at Yoshino, to mobilize the army of the East Country. Ihasuki, however, seeing the troops burst out, had run away back again.

After this the Emperor addressed the Imperial Prince Takechi, saying :—" At the Court of Afumi there are the Ohoomi of the Right and Left, and a body of shrewd Ministers, with whom to conclude counsel. Now We have no one to advise with except young children. What is to be done ? " The Imperial Prince having bared his arms and grasped his sword, addressed the Emperor, saying :—" However numerous the Afumi Ministers may be, how shall they dare to oppose the Emperor's divine spirit ? Though thou, the Emperor, art but one, thy servant Takechi, in reliance on the spiritual help of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and requesting the Imperial orders, will put himself at the head of all the generals, and will inflict chastisement on them. Shall he meet with any resistance ? " The Emperor commended him. He took him by the hand and stroked his back, saying :—" Be prudent, and not neglectful." He accordingly presented to him a saddle-horse, and delivered to him the entire conduct of military matters. The Imperial Prince straightway returned to Wasami. Upon this the Emperor established his temporary Palace at Nogami and took up his residence there. That night there was a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain. The Emperor put up a prayer, saying :—" Ye Gods of Heaven and Earth, if ye will help Us, make the thunder and rain to cease." As soon as he had done speaking, the thunder and rain stopped.

XXVIII. 12.

28th day. The Emperor went to Wasami. He returned after having inspected the military arrangements.

29th day. The Emperor went to Wasami and issued his commands to the troops through the Imperial Prince Takechi. The Emperor then went back again to Nogami, and abode there.

On this day Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, had secret conference with Kumage, Sakanohe no Atahe, the officer in charge during absence.[1] Addressing himself to one or two of the Aya no Atahe, he said :—" I shall pretend that I am the Imperial

[1] In charge of the Palace of Okamoto during the Emperor's absence, along with Prince Takazaka.

Prince Takechi, and at the head of some tens of cavalry soldiers, will issue forth and approach the camp from the road north of the Temple of Asukadera. So do you co-operate with me secretly." Having done so, he marshalled his troops at the house of Kudara and issued forth from the South Gate.[1] In the first place he caused Kuma, Hada no Miyakko, in his waist-cloth, to mount a horse and gallop into the camp west of the Temple and say to them :—" The Imperial Prince Takechi has arrived from Fuha, followed by a numerous armed force." Hereupon Prince Takazaka, who had charge of the Palace in (the Emperor's) absence, Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi, who had been sent as a messenger to levy troops, and others repaired to the tsuki tree west of the Temple of Asukadera and encamped there. But Momotari remained at the arsenal of Woharida, where he transported arms to Afumi. Now when the soldiery in camp heard Kuma's outcry, they every one dispersed and ran away, and Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, with some tens of mounted troops arrived in hot haste. Kumage and the Atahe fraternized with him, and the soldiers also followed. So, saying that it was by command of the Imperial Prince Takechi, they sent to the arsenal of Woharida and summoned Momotari, Hodzumi no Omi. Upon this Momotari mounted his horse and came in a leisurely way. When he reached the tsuki tree west of the temple of Asukadera, there was a man who said :—" Get down from your horse." Momotari was slow in doing so, and the man took hold of his collar, dragged him to the ground, and shot him with an arrow. Then he drew his sword and smote him, so that he died. Then Ihoye, Hodzumi no Omi, and Hiuga, Mononobe no Obito, were bound, but presently released and placed amongst the troops. Prince Takazaka and Prince Wakasa were sent for and made to follow the army. When this was done, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, Woyu, Sakanohe no Atahe, Sukunamaro, Sami no Kimi, and others were sent to the Palace of Fuha to report to the Emperor what had taken place. The Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and accordingly appointed Wofukehi general. XXVIII. 13.

At this time Takechimaro, Miwa no Kimi, Yemishi, Kamo XXVIII. 14.

[1] Probably the official buildings of the village of Kudara. It will be remembered that Kudara is Japanese for Pèkché, the Corean kingdom.

no Kimi, and others, together with a body of valiant men, all joined the general's standard like an echo.[1] A plan was drawn up for invading Afumi, and the bravest among the troops were selected and made lieutenants, generals, and judges.[2] First of all they marched towards Nara.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Emperor sent Abemaro, Ki no Omi, Honji, Oho no Omi, Ko-ōdo,[3] Miwa no Kimi, and Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, in command of several tens of thousands of men, to cross over to Yamato by way of Mount Miyama in Ise. Moreover he sent Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, Nemaro, Fumi no Obito, Kimite, Wanibe no Omi, and Abe, Ikago no Omi, in command of several tens of thousands of men, with orders to set forth from Fuha and to proceed direct to Afumi. Fearing that these troops might be difficult to distinguish from the army of Afumi, he placed a red (mark) on their clothing. When this was done, he gave separate orders to Honji, Oho no Omi, to take 3000 men and encamp on the plain of Tara. Tarumaro, Tanaka no Omi, was sent with instructions to guard the road to Kurafu.

XXVIII 15. Now Afumi[4] ordered Prince Yamabe, Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, and Hito, Kose no Omi, to take command of several tens of thousands of men and proceed to attack Fuha. They encamped on the bank of the River Inugami.[5] Here Prince Yamabe was killed by Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, and Hito, Kose no Omi. The troubles which ensued prevented the army from advancing, and Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, returned from Inugami and stabbed himself in the throat so that he died. At this time, Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, an Afumi general, with his son Ushi and others, came and surrendered with their people. Accordingly he was granted the battle axe and halberd, and was appointed general. Forthwith he proceeded northwards to Koshi. Before this time, Afumi had sent picked troops to make a sudden incursion to the village of Tamakurabe, so Koma, Idzumo no Omi, was sent to attack them and drive them off.

[1] As the prompt result of Wofukehi's brilliant exploit.

[2] Gunkan, a term applied to military officers of high rank and experience whose duty it was to watch closely the behaviour of the troops in battle. Gubbins.

[3] Or Kobito. [4] i.e. the Court of Afumi. [5] In Afumi.

3rd day. General Wofukehi encamped on the top of Mount Narayama. Now Akamaro, Aredawo no Atahe, addressed the general, saying:—"The old capital is our headquarters. Let it be well guarded." The general took this advice and accordingly sent Akamaro and Kobito, Imbe no Obito, to guard the ancient capital.[1] Upon this, Akamaro and the others went to the ancient capital. They removed the planks of the bridges on the roads and made of them breastworks, which they set up on the highways in the neighbourhood of the capital, and so kept guard.

4th day. General Wofukehi fought a battle with Hatayasu, Ohono no Kimi, the Afumi general, at Mount Narayama. He was defeated by Hatayasu, and his men all ran away. General Wofukehi barely escaped with his life. Thereupon Hatayasu pursued him as far as Yada, where he went up and viewed the capital, but as there were breastworks set up on all the highways, he suspected an ambush, and by degrees withdrew and retreated. XXVIII. 16.

5th day. Tanabe no Wosumi, a lieutenant-general of the Afumi party, crossed Mount Kafuka and marched to Kurafu with their flags rolled up and dragging[2] their drums. At midnight, with gags in the soldiers' mouths,[3] they broke through the fortifications and suddenly entered the encampment. Accordingly, fearing that it might be difficult to distinguish between his own men and those of Tarumaro, he gave each of them the watchword "Kane."[4] Then they drew their swords and charged, when those who had not the watchword "Kane" were cut down without more ado. Upon this Tarumaro's troops were all thrown into confusion, and in this sudden emergency knew not what to do. Only Tarumaro cleverly noted the watchword, and he alone, by saying "Kane," effected his escape with difficulty.

6th day. Wosumi again advanced in order to attack the encampment on the plain of Tara. He arrived there unexpectedly. Hereupon General Honji, Oho no Omi, intercepted

[1] Saimei Tennō's Palace of Okamoto, frequently referred to above.

[2] Without beat of drum.

[3] "Chinese soldiers making a night attack are gagged with a piece of wood, fastened like a bit, to prevent talking in the ranks."—Giles.

[4] Kane, metal.

him, and pursuing him with picked troops, smote him. Wosumi alone made his escape and fled. He never came again afterwards.

7th day. Woyori and his men fought with the Afumi troops at the River Yokugaha in Okinaga and defeated them, killing their General Kusuri, Sakahibe no Muraji.

9th day. Woyori and his men attacked the Afumi general, Hada no Tomotari, at Mount Tokoyama, and slew him.

XXVIII. 17. On this day, Abemaro, Ki no Omi, and his colleagues, the generals for the Eastern provinces, hearing that Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, general for the Yamato capital, had been defeated by the Afumi men, divided their army and dispatched Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, at the head of more than one thousand cavalry in haste to the Yamato capital.

13th day. Woyori and his men fought a battle on the banks of the River Yasukaha, and suffered a great defeat. Ohoguchi, Kosobe no Omi, and Chishima, Hashi no Muraji, were taken prisoners.

17th day. The Kurimoto army was attacked and repulsed.

22nd day. Woyori and his men arrived at Seta. Now the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and his Ministers were encamped together west of the bridge, where they formed a great array. Their rear could not be seen. Their banners covered the plain, the dust reached to the sky: the sound of their drums and gongs could be heard for several tens of ri, their ranged crossbows were discharged confusedly, and the arrows fell like rain. Their General Chison defended it (the bridge) at the head of an advanced body of picked troops. He cut the bridge in the middle for a space of three rods,[1] and over the gap he placed a long plank. If any one attempted to cross over by this plank, it could be pulled away, and he would fall. In this way it was impossible to advance to the attack. Now, there was one daring soldier, named Waka-omi, Ohokida no Kimi. He laid aside his long spear and, donning double armour, drew his sword, suddenly rushed across the plank, and cut the rope which was fastened to it. In spite of the arrows, he entered their array. The troops were all thrown into confusion and dispersed in flight. It was not possible to prevent them. General Chison drew his sword and cut down the fugitives,

[1] Or thirty feet.

but he was unable to check the rout. Accordingly, he was himself slain near the bridge, while the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and the Oho-omi of the Right and Left narrowly escaped with their lives.

Woyori and his troops forthwith marched to the foot of the Hill of Ahadzu. On this day Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, and Koma, Idzumo no Omi, besieged the Castle of Miwo in concert, and took it. XXVIII. 18.

23rd day. Woyori and his men slew the Afumi generals Isokimi, Inukahi no Muraji, and Shihote, Hasama no Atahe, at the market-place of Ahadzu. Upon this the Imperial Prince Ohotomo fled, and not having anywhere to go to, turned and concealed himself at Yamazaki. There he strangled himself. At this time the Oho-omi of the Right and Left and all the other Ministers dispersed and were lost. There were left only Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, and one or two toneri who followed him.

Before this time General Wofukehi marched towards Nara. On the day that he reached Hiyeda, he was told by a man that a numerous force was coming from Kahachi. He accordingly sent Takara, Sakamoto no Omi, Masumi, Nagawo no Atahe, Maro, Kuragaki no Atahe, Woshibi, Tami no Atahe, and Nemaro, Hasama no Atahe, at the head of 300 soldiers, to take up a defensive position at Tatsuta. Moreover, he sent Sukunamaro, Sami no Kimi, in command of several hundred men, to encamp at Ohosaka.[1] Yemishi, Kamo no Kimi, was despatched with several hundred men to guard the Ihate road. XXVIII. 19.

On this day, Takara, Sakamoto no Omi, and his colleagues halted on the plain of Hiraishi. Hearing that the Afumi troops were occupying the Castle of Takayasu, they ascended thither. But the Afumi army, when they found that Takara and his colleagues were coming, burnt all the granaries of tax-rice, and then all dispersed and ran away. So they (Takara and his men) spent the night within the Castle. At daybreak they looked down towards the West, and saw a large army coming from the two directions of Ohotsu and Tajihi. Their flags were clearly visible. Somebody said:—"These are the troops of Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, the Afumi general. Takara

[1] Not the well-known city of that name, but a place in Yamato.

and his colleagues descended from the Castle of Takayasu, and, crossing the River Yegagaha, gave battle to Karakuni on the west side of the river. But the troops of Takara and his colleagues were few, and they were unable to maintain the defence. Before this, Oho-oto, Ki no Omi, had been sent with orders to guard the Kashikozaka road. Upon this, Takara and his colleagues retreated to Kashikozaka, and took up their position in Oho-oto's camp. At this time Shihoko, Kume no Omi, Governor of Kahachi, intending to join himself to the Fuha Palace, had assembled an army. Now, when Karakuni arrived, he secretly discovered his plans, and was about to slay Shihoko. Shihoko, finding that the matter had leaked out, committed suicide.

XXVIII. 20.

After the lapse of one day, the Afumi army arrived in great force by several roads.[1] (Takara and Oho-oto), finding that with their joint force they were unable to meet them in battle, broke up their camp and retreated.

On this day General Wofukehi was defeated by the Afumi troops and fled with only one or two mounted men. Coming to Sumizaka, he chanced to fall in with Usagi's division, which then came up. So he turned again and encamped at Kanatsunawi, where he rallied his dispersed troops. Thereupon, he heard that the Afumi army was coming by the Ohosaka road, and, leading his troops westward as far as Chimata in Tahema, gave battle to Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, by the pond of Ashi-ike.[1] Now there was a brave soldier named Kume, who, with drawn sword, rushed straight into the midst of the (enemy's) army. The cavalry advanced close upon his heels, and so the Afumi troops all took to flight. They were pursued, and a very large number slain. Upon this, the general gave orders to his army, saying:—"This war was originally undertaken, not with the object of killing the common people, but against the ring-leaders. Therefore let there be no indiscriminate slaughter." Upon this, Karakuni got separated from his army and fled alone. The general saw him from a distance, and made Kume shoot an arrow at him, but he missed, and Karakuni succeeded at last in making his escape by flight. The general then went back again to his headquarters.

Now the Eastern (Afumi) army was constantly approaching

[1] In Yamato.

in force. So the army was divided, the divisions taking up positions respectively on the Upper, Middle, and Lower roads.[1] But General Wofukehi took charge in person on the Middle road. Hereupon Isogimi, Inukahi no Muraji, the Afumi general, came up by the Middle road. He halted at Muraya, and despatched his Lieutenant-General Kujira, Ihoriwi no Miyakko, with 200 picked soldiers to attack the general's camp. At this time the troops under his standard were but few, and could offer no resistance. Now there was a slave of the Temple of Ohowidera, named Tokumaro, who, with four others, followed the army. Tokumaro and his companions, forming an advanced guard, went forward and shot their arrows, so that Kujira's army was unable to advance. XXVIII. 21.

On this day Takechimaro, Miwa no Kimi, and Usagi, Okizome no Muraji, who were stationed on the Upper road, fought with the Afumi army at the Hashi Misasagi, and greatly defeated them. Following up their victory, they also cut off the retreat of Kujira's army, upon which Kujira's men all broke and fled. Many of the common soldiers were killed. Kujira made off, mounted on a white horse, but his horse tumbled into a muddy rice-field and could make no progress. Then General Wofukehi said to a brave soldier of Kahi:—"The man on the white horse is Ihoriwi no Kujira. Hasten after him and shoot him." Upon this the brave soldier of Kahi hurried in pursuit and came up to Kujira. Kujira whipped his horse vigorously, and it succeeded in extricating itself and getting out of the mud. Then he galloped off and made his escape. The general went back again a second time to headquarters, and encamped his men there. From this time forward the Afumi troops never came again.

Before this time, when the army was at Kanatsunawi, Kome, Takechi no Agata-nushi,[2] Governor of the district of Takechi, suddenly had his mouth closed so that he could not speak. After three days, a divine inspiration came over him,

[1] "Shūkai" editor's note:—"I gather from what is stated below that the Upper road was that of the district of Shiki no Kami, the Middle road that of the district of Shiki no Shimo, and the Lower road that of the district of Takechi" (in Yamato).

[2] Here we have an example of an old territorial noble holding the office mplied by his ancestral title.

and he said:—"I am the God who dwells in the Shrine of Takechi, and my name is Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami.[1] Again, 'I am the God who dwells in the Shrine of Musa, and my name is Iku-ikadzuchi[2] no Kami.' This was their revelation:—'Let offerings of horses and weapons of all kinds be made at the misasagi of the Emperor Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko.[3] Further they said:—'We stood in front and rear of the Imperial descendant and escorted him to Fuha, whence we returned. We have now again taken our stand in the midst of the Imperial army for its protection.' Further they said:—'An army is about to arrive by the Western road. Be on your guard.'" When he had done speaking, he awoke (from his trance). For this reason, therefore, Kome was sent to worship at the Imperial misasagi and to make offerings of horses and weapons. He also made offerings of cloth[4] and worshipped the gods of the Shrines of Takechi and Musa.

XXVIII. 22.

After this Karakuni, Iki no Fubito, arrived from Ohosaka. Therefore the people of that day said:—"The words of the instructions of the Gods of the two Shrines are in accordance with the fact."[5]

Moreover the Goddess of Muraya[6] said by the mouth of a priest:—"An army is now about to arrive by the middle road of my shrine. Therefore let the middle road of my shrine be blocked." Accordingly, not many days after, the army of Kujira, Ihoriwi no Miyakko, arrived by the middle road. The men of that day said:—"So the words of the teaching of the god were right." When the war was over, the Generals reported the monitions of these three gods to the Emperor, who straightway commanded that the three gods should be raised in rank[7] and worshipped accordingly.

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 76.

[2] Live-thunder. Another reading is Ikudama, live-jewel. This is not one of the eight thunder-deities enumerated as having been born from the putrefying body of the Goddess Izanami. See above, Vol. I. p. 30. Kome was apparently inspired by two gods at once.

[3] Jimmu Tennō.

[4] Nusa or mitegura, now represented by the paper gohei.

[5] Referring to the prediction that the Army of the West was approaching.

[6] Named Mifuto hime.

[7] There were three classes of shrines, Greater, Middle and Lesser. The Greater Shrines included those from the senior division of the first rank to

22nd day. When General Wofukehi had subdued the land of Yamato, he crossed the great pass[1] to Naniha, while the other lieutenant-generals, proceeding severally by three routes, marched to Yamazaki, where they encamped south of the river. General Wofukehi, at Wogohori in Naniha, sent for the Governors of all the Western provinces and made them deliver up their keys, their posting-bells,[2] and posting-tallies.

23rd day. The generals, having all met at Sasanami, sought for and arrested the Prime Ministers of the Left and Right, as well as all the criminals. XXVIII. 23.

25th day. The generals proceeded to the Palace of Fuha, and before the camp presented to the Emperor the head of the Imperial Prince Ohotomo.

8th month, 25th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was commanded to announce the verdicts on the Afumi Ministers. Eight who were found guilty of heinous offences were condemned to suffer the extreme penalty. The Udaijin Kane, Nakatomi no Muraji, was accordingly executed at Tane in Asawi.[3] On this day the Sadaijin, Akaye, Soga no Omi, the Dainagon, Hito, Kose no Omi, and their children and grandchildren, with the children of Kane, Nakatomi no Muraji, and of Hatayasu, Soga no Omi, were all sent into banishment. The others without exception were pardoned.

Before this time, Sabichi, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Governor of the province of Wohari, hid in the mountains and committed suicide. The Emperor said:—"Sabichi did good service. Why should he have committed suicide, not being guilty of any crime? Could he have been conspiring secretly?"

27th day. The Emperor gave his gracious commands to all those who had rendered good service, and bestowed on them public favour and reward.

9th month, 8th day. The Imperial car, on its return journey, stayed for the night at Kuhana in Ise.

9th day. It stayed the night at Suzuka.

the senior division of the third rank; the Middle included those from the junior division of the third rank to the junior division of the fourth rank; the Lesser included those from the senior division of the fifth rank to the junior division of the fifth rank. The lands allotted to each shrine and the offerings made to them were regulated accordingly.

[1] Ohosaka. [2] See above, p. 206. [3] In the province of Afumi.

10th day. It stayed the night at Abe.

11th day. It stayed the night at Nabari.

12th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Yamato capital and took up his residence in the Palace of Shima.

15th day. He removed his residence from the Palace of Shima to the Palace of Okamoto.

In this year a Palace was erected south of the Palace of Okamoto, and the Emperor removed his residence thither that same winter. This was called the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka.

XXVIII. 24. Winter, 11th month, 24th day. Kim Ap-sil and other Silla guests were entertained in Tsukushi. The same day presents were made them, varying in the case of each.

12th month, 4th day. All those who had rendered good service were chosen out, and higher cap-ranks conferred on them, from that of Shōsen upwards, varying according to circumstances.

15th day. A ship was given to the Silla guests.

26th day. Kim Ap-sil and his companions took their departure.

In this month Takami, Wina no Kimi, of Daishi rank, died.

BOOK XXIX.

THE EMPEROR AMA NO NUNA-HARA OKI NO MABITO.—PART II.

(*TEMMU TENNŌ.*)

2ND year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Ministers were entertained at a banquet at which sake was provided. A.D. 673.

2nd month, 27th day. The Emperor commanded the functionaries to prepare an arena, in which he assumed the Imperial Dignity at the Palace of Kiyomibara in Asuka. He raised his wife to the rank of Empress-consort.[1] She bore to him His Highness[2] the Imperial Prince Kusakabe. Before this he had taken to him the Empress-consort's elder sister, the Imperial Princess Ohota,[3] and made her his consort. She gave birth to the Imperial Princess Ohoki, and the Imperial Prince Ohotsu. His next consort was the Imperial Princess Ohoye.[4] She gave birth to the Imperial Prince Naga, and the Imperial Prince Yuge. His next consort, the Imperial Princess Nittabe,[5] gave birth to the Imperial Prince Toneri. Moreover the Lady Higami no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi, Fujihara, bore to him the Imperial Princess Tajima. Another lady, named Ihohe no Iratsume, younger sister of Higami no Iratsume, bore to him the Imperial Prince Nittabe. Next the lady[6] Ohonu no Iratsume, daughter of the Oho-omi Soga no Akaye, bore to him one son and two XXIX. 2.
daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Hodzumi;

[1] Afterwards Jitō Tennō.

[2] Mikoto.

[3] Daughter of Tenchi, therefore his niece.

[4] Another daughter of Tenchi Tennō.

[5] Another daughter of Tenchi Tennō.

[6] In Japanese otoji, in Sinico-Japanese fujin, a term applied to the Imperial concubines of lower rank.

the second was called the Imperial Princess Ki; the third was called the Imperial Princess Tagata. The Emperor before this had taken to him Princess Nukada no Iratsume, daughter of Prince Kagami,[1] who gave birth to the Imperial Princess Towochi. Next he took to him Amako no Iratsume, daughter of Tokuse, Munagata no Kimi, who bore to him His Highness[2] the Imperial Prince Takechi; next a daughter of Ohomaro, Shishibito no Omi, named Kaji-hime no Iratsume, who bore to him two sons and two daughters. The first was called the Imperial Prince Osakabe; the second was called the Imperial Prince Shiki; the third was called the Imperial Princess Hatsusebe; the fourth was called the Imperial Princess Taki.

29th day. Cap-ranks were conferred on those who had rendered good service, varying according to circumstances.

3rd month, 17th day. The Governor of the province of Bingo caught a white pheasant in the district of Kameshi and sent it as tribute. Accordingly the forced labour due from that district was entirely remitted, and a general amnesty granted throughout the Empire.

In this month scribes were brought together who began to copy out the "Issaikio"[3] in the Temple of Kaharadera.

XXIX. 3. Summer, 4th month, 14th day. With the view of sending the Imperial Princess Ohoki to attend upon the Shrine of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, she was made to dwell in the Abstinence-palace[4] of Hatsuse. This was that she might first purify herself before she by-and-by approached the place where the Goddess was.

5th month, 1st day. The Emperor gave command to the Ministers of State, the Daibu, as well as to the Omi and Muraji, and also the Tomo no Miyakko, saying:—"Let those who first take service (under Government) be at the outset employed by the Ohotoneri.[5] Afterwards let them be allotted to suitable offices, selection being made according to their

[1] These and the following concubines seem to have had no special rank or position.

[2] Mikoto.

[3] The Buddhist canon or Tripitaka. A copy presented to the Bodleian Library or British Museum by a Japanese nobleman was brought to the British Legation, Tokio, in two carts.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 176, note.

[5] High Chamberlain.

capacities. Moreover, let the waiting-women who offer their services be received freely, without respect of married and unmarried, or of old and young. In selecting them for particular duties let the rules of the (female) palace officials be followed."

29th day. Sakamoto no Takara no Omi, of the Upper Daikin rank, died. In consideration of his services during the (war of) the year Midzunoye Saru,[1] the posthumous rank of Shōshi was conferred on him.[2]

Intercalary 6th month, 6th day. Sa-thèk Syo-myöng of Pèkché, of Lower Daikin rank, died. He was of a wise and intelligent nature, and in his day had a reputation for ability. The Emperor was shocked at his death, and by a special favour granted him the posthumous rank of Outer Shōshi. In addition to this he conferred on him the rank of Prime Minister[3] in his own country.

8th day. Tamna sent Princes Kumayè,[4] Tora, Uma,[5] etc., with tribute.

15th day. Silla sent Kim Seung-wön, of Han Ason rank, XXIX. 4.
Kim Chi-san, of the rank of Ason, the Tè-sya Sangsyöl and others to congratulate the Emperor on his accession to the throne. At the same time Kim Sal-yu, of Il-kil-son rank, Kim Chi-san, of Han Na-ma rank, and others were sent tc offer condolence on the decease of the late Emperor. [One book says as Tribute-Envoys.] The Escort-Envoys Kwi U-po and Chin-mo escorted Seung-wön and Sal-yu to Tsukushi.

24th day. Kwi U-po and the others were entertained at Tsukushi, and received presents varying in the case of each. They straightway returned to their country from Tsukushi.

Autumn, 8th month, 9th day. The Emperor made an order setting forth the good services rendered during the year Midzunoye Saru by Abemaro, Ki no Omi, and others, while stationed in the province of Iga, and publicly conferred on them favour and rewards.

[1] A.D. 672.

[2] The first instance of posthumous honours in Japanese history. This institution is of Chinese origin.

[3] Tè-sa-phyöng.

[4] See above, XXVII. 20, where he is called Prince Kumaki.

[5] Tora in Japanese means tiger, and Uma horse. Is it possible that the natives of Quelpaert at this time spoke a Japanese dialect? Prince Tora is mentioned below, XXIX. 18.

20th day. Koryö sent the Tè-hyöng Han-chă, Witu[1] of the Upper Division, the Tè-hyöng Syök-u of the Former Division, and others with tribute. Accordingly Silla sent Kim Ni-ik, of Han Na-ma rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.[2]

25th day. Kim Seung-wön and the other Envoys sent to congratulate the Emperor on his accession—twenty-seven guests of middle and upper rank—were summoned to the capital. Accordingly the Emperor instructed the Viceroy (of Tsukushi) to declare his wishes to the Tamna Envoys, saying:—"The Emperor has newly reduced the Empire to peace, and has only just now assumed the Imperial Dignity. For this reason he does not invite to his Court any other Envoys than those who bring congratulations, as you yourselves have observed. Moreover the weather is cold, and the waves are mountainous. To detain you longer here would be rather distressing to you than otherwise. You would therefore do well to take your departure without delay." Accordingly the King resident in that country and his Envoys, Kumayé and his colleagues, were for the first time granted the cap-rank of Upper Dai-otsu,[3] which moreover was adorned with brocade and embroidery, and corresponded to the rank of Cha-phyöng (Minister) in that country. So they returned home from Tsukushi.

9th month, 28th day. Kim Seung-wön and his colleagues were entertained at Naniha. There was a performance of music of all kinds, and they received presents varying in the case of each person.

Winter, 11th month, 1st day. Kim Seung-wön took his departure.

21st day. Han-chă of Koryö, Sal-yu of Silla, and their
XXIX. 5. people, were entertained at Oho-gohori[4] in Tsukushi, and received presents varying in the case of each.

12th month, 5th day. Presents were given to all those who were in attendance on the Emperor at the feast of first-fruits,[5] viz. the Nakatomi and Imbe, with the officials of the Shintō department, the district governors of the two provinces of

[1] A title.

[2] Koryö had at this time been overthrown by China.

[3] This was apparently the rank conferred on the Envoys, that bestowed on the King not being mentioned. Cha-phyöng was a Pèkché rank.

[4] Or Ohokuni.

[5] Ohonihe.

Harima and Tamba,[1] and also to the labourers under them. A grade of cap-rank was accordingly conferred on each of the district governors.

17th day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, and Katamaro, Ki no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, were appointed Commissioners for the erection of the great Temple of Takechi [now Ohomiya no Ohodera]. Now Fukurin, the priest appointed as superintendent, declined this office on account of age, but he was not allowed to refuse.

27th day. The Buddhist Priest Gisei was made Junior Sōdzu.[2] On this day there were conjoined two additional priests as clerks. It was at this time that the practice of having four clerks first began.

This year was the year Midzunoto Tori (10th) of the Cycle.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 10th day. Prince Chhyang-syöng of Pèkché died. He was granted the rank of Outer Shōshi.[3] A.D. 674.

2nd month, 28th day. Abemaro, Ki no Omi, died. The Emperor was much grieved, and in consideration of his services in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru bestowed on him the rank of Daishi.

3rd month, 7th day. Ohokuni, Woshiumi no Miyakko, Governor of the province of Tsushima, reported that silver had been produced for the first time in that province, and sent some as tribute. Ohokuni was accordingly awarded the rank of Lower Shōkin. It was at this time that silver was first produced in Japan. Offerings were therefore made of it to all the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and presents of it were likewise given to the Daibu, etc., of the rank of Shōkin and above. XXIX. 6.

Autumn, 8th month, 3rd day. The Imperial Prince Wosakabe was sent to the shrine of Isonokami to brighten up the Divine precious things with oil. On the same day, the Emperor decreed, saying:—"Let all the precious things originally deposited in the Sacred Treasuries by the various Houses be returned to their descendants."

[1] Whence the rice for the ceremony was provided. See Florenz's instructive note on this passage.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 153.

[3] Chhyang-syöng was a grandson of Wi-chă, the last king of Pèkché His father took refuge in Japan on the downfall of the dynasty.

Winter, 10th month, 9th day. The Imperial Princess Oho-ki left the Abstinence-palace of Hatsuse and proceeded to the shrine of Ise.[1]

A.D. 675. 4th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The various students of the Department of Education, the Department of the Yin and Yang,[2] the Outer Apothecaries' Department, the woman of S'ravastī,[3] the woman of Tara, Prince Syön-kwang of Pèkché, and the Silla labourers offered presents of drugs and rarities.

2nd day. From the Imperial Princes downwards all the public functionaries presented their respects to the Emperor.

3rd day. All the public functionaries, from the initial rank upwards, presented firewood.[4]

5th day. A platform was for the first time erected from which to divine by means of the stars.[5]

7th day. A banquet was given at Court to the Ministers.

17th day. The Ministers of State, Daibu, and all the public functionaries from the initial rank upwards had an archery meeting in the Court of the Western Gate.

XXIX. 7. On this day, moreover, the province of Yamato presented an auspicious barn-door fowl, the Eastern provinces presented a white falcon, and the province of Afumi presented a white owl.[6]

23rd day. Offerings[7] (of cloth) were made at the various shrines.

2nd month, 9th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces of Yamato, Kahachi, Settsu, Yamashiro, Harima, Ahaji, Tamba, Tajima, Afumi, Wakasa, Ise, Mino, and Wohari, saying:—"Seek out in your jurisdiction men and women of the common people who can sing well, and also dwarfs and jugglers,[8] etc., and send them as tribute."

[1] See above, XXIX. 3.

[2] This Department had charge of astronomy and calendar-making, with observations on the weather.

[3] See above, XXV. 57.

[4] A regular yearly practice first mentioned here.

[5] The close association of astronomy and divination may be inferred from this.

[6] The interlinear Kana has tobi, i.e. kite.

[7] Mitegura.

[8] The word used includes jugglers, acrobats, *et hoc genus omne.*

13th day. The Imperial Princess Towochi[1] and the Imperial Princess Abe[2] proceeded to the shrine of Ise.

15th day. The Emperor decreed, saying:—"Let the serfs granted to the various Uji in the year Kinoye Ne[3] be henceforward done away with. Moreover, let the mountains, marshes, islands, bays, woods, plains, and artificial ponds granted to Princes of the Blood,[4] to Princes and to Ministers and Temples,[5] be all done away with from first to last."

19th day. The Emperor issued an edict as follows:—"Ye Ministers, functionaries, and people of the Empire, avoid the commission of offences of all kinds. If there be any who disobey this, they shall be punished according to circumstances."

23rd day. The Emperor proceeded to the Castle of Takayasu.

In this month Silla sent Prince Chhyung-wön, the Tè-kam Keup-son[6] Kim Chhaso,[7] the Tè-kam Nama Kim Thyön-chhyung, the Tyé-kam Tè-ma, Pak Muma, and the Tyé-kam Tè-sya, Kim Naksyu, to offer tribute. Their Escort-Envoys, the Nama, Kim Phungna, and the Nama, Kim Hyopok, escorted Prince Chhyung-wön as far as Tsukushi.

3rd month, 2nd day. The great God of Tosa presented a divine sword to the Emperor.[8] XXIX 8.

14th day. Kim Phungna and the others were entertained at Tsukushi. They forthwith returned home from Tsukushi.

16th day. Prince Kurikuma, of the fourth rank, was appointed Director of Military Affairs, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Upper Shōkin rank, was made Tayu.[9]

[1] Daughter of Temmu Tennō.

[2] Daughter of Tenchi Tennō, afterwards the Empress styled Gemmei Tennō.

[3] The third year of the previous reign, viz. A.D. 664.

[4] Including the brothers, sisters, and children of the Emperor; others are simply 王, i.e. kings, by which princes are meant.

[5] Temples are Buddhist temples; the word "shrine" is used in this translation for Shintō places of worship.

[6] Tēkam is the name of an office, Keupson of a rank.

[7] Another reading is Piso.

[8] One authority calls him Hito-koto-nushi no Mikoto, another says that he was Mi-suki-taka-hiko-ne no Mikoto. It is explained that the priests presented the sword at the bidding of the god.

[9] Vice-minister.

In this month Koryö sent the Tè-hyöng[1] Pok-kan, the Tè-hyöng Tamu and others with tribute. Silla sent the Keupson, Pak Keun-syu, and the Tè-na-ma, Kim Mika, to offer tribute.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. More than 2400 priests and nuns were invited to a great feast of vegetable fare.

8th day. Hiromaro, Tahema no Kimi, of Upper Shōkin rank, and Maro, Kunu no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, were forbidden by the Emperor to attend at Court.

9th day. The Emperor decreed as follows:—"In regard to lending out the tax-rice, henceforward let the circumstances of the peasants be clearly ascertained, and their condition as to poverty or wealth having been learned in advance, let them be arranged in three classes, to the lower two of which such loans may be made."

10th day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, and Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, were sent to offer prayers to the Wind-Gods at Tateno in Tatsuta.[2] Ohobuta,
XXIX. 9. Hashibito no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, and Karainu,[3] Sone no Muraji, of Middle Daisen rank, were sent to worship the Oho-imi Deity at Kahawa in Hirose.[4]

14th day. Maro, Kunu no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was convicted of offering resistance to an Imperial messenger, and stripped of all his offices and dignities.

17th day. The Emperor issued a decree to the provinces, saying:—"Henceforth the fishermen and hunters are to be restrained from making pitfalls or using spear-traps and such
XXIX. 10. like contrivances. Moreover, from the 1st day of the 4th month until the 13th day of the 9th month, let no one

[1] Tè-hyöng (great elder-brother) is an official rank, Pok-kan his name.

[2] In Yamato. This is the first of a regular series of such notices. The litany to the Wind-Gods is preserved in the "Yengishiki," and has been translated by Satow. See "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII. p. 416. I refrain from quotation, as the study of this treatise is indispensable to any one who is at all interested in the study of Shintō.

[3] This name means "Corean dog."

[4] In Yamato. Oho-imi means great religious abstinence. The Deity's proper name was Waka-uka-hime, i.e. the young-food-lady. For a full account of this service see Satow's "Ancient Japanese Rituals," in the "T.A.S.J.," Vol. VII. p. 412. It will be observed that neither Buddhist nor Shintō worship was neglected by this Emperor.

set fish-traps, closing the space.[1] Further, let no one eat the flesh of kine, horses, dogs, monkeys, or barn-door fowls.[2] This prohibition does not extend to other kinds of meat. Offenders against this regulation will be punished."

18th day. Prince Womi, of the third rank, was guilty of an offence and was banished to Inaba. One of his children was banished to the island of Idzu,[3] and another to the island of Chika.[4]

23rd day. A selection was made of persons possessed of accomplishments. They were granted presents, which varied in each case.

In this month Prince Chhyung-Wön of Silla arrived at Naniha.

6th month, 23rd day. Yesaka, Ohokida no Kimi, was ill, and was about to die. The Emperor was greatly shocked, and made an order, saying:—"Thou, Yesaka, hast devoted thyself to the public service, neglecting thy private affairs. Without sparing thy life, prompted by thy manly spirit, thou hast laboured in the great campaign. It has been my constant desire to show thee affection, and therefore, even when thou art gone, thy descendants will receive liberal rewards." He accordingly raised him to the rank of Outer Shōshi. Not many days after he died in his private dwelling.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. Kunimaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Upper Shōkin rank, was sent to Silla in the capacity of Chief Envoy. Irishi, Miyake no Kishi, of Lower Shōkin rank, accompanied him as Associate Ambassador.

8th month, 1st day. Prince Kumaki, the tribute Envoy of Tamna, anchored at Tsukushi. XXIX. 11.

22nd day. There was a storm which made the sand to fly, and damaged houses.

25th day. Chhyung-wön, the ceremonies being completed, took his departure. He set sail from Naniha.

28th day. The Tribute-Envoys of the two countries, Silla

[1] Hima-sakiri. Apparently a particular kind of fish-trap is meant. The "Shūkai" editor omits this word, considering it a gloss which has crept in from the margin.

[2] Buddhist influence is obvious here.

[3] Probably Ohoshima (called by foreigners Vries Island) is meant.

[4] In Hizen.

and Koryö, were entertained in Tsukushi, and given presents which varied in each case.

9th month, 27th day. Prince Ko-yö of Tamna arrived at Naniha.

Winter, 10th month, 3rd day. Messengers were despatched in all directions to seek for the Issaikio.[1]

10th day. The Ministers were entertained at a banquet with sake.

16th day. Thirty men of Thang were forwarded as tribute from Tsukushi. They were forthwith sent to the province of Tōtōmi and settled there.[2]

20th day. The Emperor made an edict, saying:—"Let everyone, from the Princes down to those of initial rank, provide himself with weapons." On this day there was a report received from the province of Sagami that in the district of Takakura a woman had given birth to three male children.[3]

11th month, 3rd day. A certain man ascended the hill east of the Palace, and having uttered words of evil omen,[4] cut his throat and died. Those who were on duty on that night received everyone a step in rank. There was a great earthquake in this month.

A.D. 676. 5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Ministers and public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

4th day. There were granted to all, from the Imperial Prince Takechi down to the Daibu of Shōkin rank, upper garments, trousers, lined garments, girdles, garters, staffs, and arm-rests.[5] But to the three grades of Shōkin rank arm-rests were not granted.

XXIX. 12. 7th day. Grants were made to the Daibu of Shōkin rank and upwards, varying in each case.

15th day. The functionaries from the initial rank upwards presented firewood. On the same day they all assembled in the Court, and were entertained at a banquet.

[1] See above, XXIX. 2.

[2] The Chinese were at war with Silla at this time.

[3] No stigma seems to have been attached to this. On the contrary, there are instances of the Emperor giving presents to women who had borne a multiplicity of children.

[4] No doubt abusive language towards the Emperor is meant.

[5] See above, p. 256.

16th day. Prizes were offered for archery in the Court of the Western Gate. Those who hit the target received prizes of values which varied according to circumstances.

On this day, the Emperor occupied the Palace of Shima, and gave a banquet there.

25th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"In all cases of appointments as Governors of provinces, let men of not higher than Daisen rank be appointed. This rule does not apply to the Home provinces nor to the provinces of Michinoku and Nagato."

2nd month, 24th day. A ship was presented to the Tamna guests.

In the course of this month, Kunimaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, and his colleagues arrived from Silla.

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.[1]

Adzumi no Hoshi, of the district of Lower Sofu, in the province of Yamato, sent tribute of an auspicious cock which had a comb like the flower of a camellia.

On this day a report was received from the district of Akunami, in the province of Yamato, that a hen had become changed into a cock.[2]

14th day. A decree was issued to all the Princes and Ministers, saying:—"Let those who are in receipt of taxes from fiefs cease to receive them from the Western provinces, and let them be granted revenues from the Eastern provinces XXIX. 13.
in exchange. Moreover, let all persons from the outer[3] provinces who wish to enter our service be permitted to do so, whether they be the sons of Omi, Muraji, Tomo no Miyakko, or even the sons of Kuni no Miyakko. Further, let men of distinguished ability be allowed to do so, even though they are of the common people, of lower rank than the above."

22nd day. The Emperor gave orders to the Governor of the province of Mino, saying:—"Let the children of Abemaro, Ki no Omi, resident in the district of Toki, be

[1] See above, XXIX. 9.

[2] Ominous occurrences of this kind are frequently recorded in Chinese and Corean history.

[3] All except the Gokinai or Home provinces.

removed to the East country and become peasants of that country."

5th month, 3rd day. A decree was promulgated respecting the offences of Governors of provinces who had failed to pay over their commuted taxes at the limited time,[1] etc., etc.

7th day. The Governor of the province of Shimotsuke represented to the Emperor that, owing to a bad year, the peasantry in his domain were starving and wished to sell their children. The Court refused permission.

In the course of this month the Emperor forbade the cutting of grass or firewood on Mount Minabuchi and Mount Hosokaha. Moreover, indiscriminate burning and cutting were forbidden on all mountains and plains in the Home provinces as to which a prohibition had always existed.

6th month. Prince Kurikuma, of the fourth rank, died of disease.

Mononobe no Wogimi no Muraji took suddenly ill and died. When the Emperor heard this he was greatly shocked. In the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he had followed the Imperial carriage to the East country. In consideration of his great services the Emperor showed him favour by conferring on him the rank of Inner Daishi. He also granted him the seniority among those of his House.[2]

This summer there was great drought. Messengers were sent to all quarters to make offerings of cloth and to pray to all the gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover, the priests and nuns were invited to offer supplications to the Three Precious Things. Still there was no rain, and therefore the five grains did not grow, and the peasants were starving.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Ministers, Daibu and
XXIX. 14. public functionaries received an increase of rank, each according to his deserts.

8th day. The Tamna guests returned to their own country.

16th day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.

[1] The taxes (not the grain tax) due in the middle decade of the 8th month were payable into the exchequer, for near provinces before the end of the 10th month, for provinces of medium distance before the end of the 11th month, for more distant provinces before the end of the 12th month.

[2] Uji.

In the course of this month, Woyori, Murakuni no Muraji, died. In consideration of the services rendered by him in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Outer Shōshi.

A star appeared in the East, seven or eight feet in length. In the 9th month it at length disappeared from the sky.

8th month, 2nd day. Sustenance fiefs, varying in each case, were granted to all from the rank of Prince of the Blood down to Daibu of Shōkin rank, and also to Imperial Princesses, Princesses and lady officials of the Palace.

16th day. The Emperor commanded, saying :—" Let a Great Purification be held in all quarters. The articles needed for this purpose are to be forwarded to the shrines of purification by the Kuni no Miyakko of each province, to wit, one horse and one piece of cloth. The other things are to be supplied by the governors of districts, viz., each one sword, one deerskin, one mattock, one smaller sword, one sickle, one set of arrows, and one sheaf of rice in the ear. Further, let each house provide a bundle of hemp."[1]

17th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying :—" Let all sentences of death, confiscation, or the three classes of banishment be mitigated one degree.[2] As for crimes punishable by removal to another part of the same province or lesser offences, let them all be pardoned whether they have been detected or not. XXIX. 15.

This pardon, however, does not apply to persons who have already proceeded to their place of banishment."

[1] "The Oho-barahi or Great Purification was the most solemn ceremony of the Shintō religion. It was performed twice a year, on the 30th day of the 6th and 12th months, by the Princes of the Blood and the Ministers, who assembled for the purpose at the Gate of the Scarlet Bird. The urabe or diviners read the norito or formula, which had the effect of dissipating (harai) demoniac influences."—Yamada's Dictionary.

The litany used on this occasion is commonly called the Nakatomi no Oho-barahi. It has been preserved, but is unfortunately not one of those translated by Satow. Dr. Florenz promises us a translation of all the norito.

[2] The three classes of banishment are :—1st, to near provinces, as Echizen or Aki ; 2nd, to provinces of medium distance, as Suwo or Iyo ; 3rd, to distant provinces, as Idzu, Aha, Hitachi, Sado, Iki, or Tosa. The confiscation is of the persons of the criminals and their families into slavery in public offices. This practice is still followed in Corea.

On this day the Emperor commanded the various provinces to let loose living things.[1]

In this month, Oho-miwa no Makamuta no Kobito no Kimi died. When the Emperor heard this, he was much grieved, and in view of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru granted him the posthumous rank of Inner Shōshi with the posthumous title of Ohomiwa no Makamuta no Mukahe-gimi.

9th month, 1st day. Owing to the rain, the beginning of the month was not announced.[2]

10th day. The Princes and Ministers sent agents to the capital and to the Home provinces and gave out weapons for (man of each the population).

12th day. Prince Yagaki, of the third rank, Viceroy of Tsukushi, was guilty of an offence, and was banished to Tosa.

13th day. Presents were made to the public functionaries and to men of the frontier states, varying in the case of each.

21st day. The Department of the Shintō religion represented to the Emperor as follows:—"We have ascertained by divination the provinces and districts which are to supply the rice for the festival of the first-fruits. There respond to the divination the district of Yamada, in the province of Wohari, for the Yuki, and the district of Kasa, in the province of Tamba, for the Sugi."[3]

In the course of this month Ikadzuchi,[4] Sakata no Kimi, died. In view of his services during the year Midzunoye Saru he was granted the posthumous rank of Daishi.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Ministers were entertained at a wine-feast.

[1] A Buddhist practice. At the present day beggars may be seen at the gates of Buddhist temples with vessels containing small lampreys or cages of sparrows, which the faithful are allowed to release on paying a small sum.

[2] There was an old custom in China of announcing the beginning of the month to the ancestral temples of the Emperors. But the practice in Japan seems to have been different. There are notices of Japanese Emperors "viewing the announcement of the new month from a balcony," etc.

[3] Yuki means "ceremonially pure," and sugi means "next." These terms are applied to two qualities of rice used for this festival. Various explanations are given. One is that the yuki was for sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven, the sugi for the Gods of Earth. Yuki is etymologically connected with imi, religious abstinence. The divination was by burning a tortoise-shell.

[4] Thunder or thunder-bolt.

3rd day. Offerings of cloth were made to all the Ahimbe Gods[1] of Heaven and Earth.

10th day. Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, of Upper Dai-otsu rank, was sent to Silla as Chief Envoy, and Momotari, Yamashiro no Atahe, of Middle Dai-otsu rank, as Junior Envoy. XXIX. 16.

11th month, 1st day. On account of the festival of firstfruits, the ceremony of announcing the first day of the month was omitted.

3rd day. Silla sent Kim Chhyöng-phyöng, of Sason rank, to request governance.[2] At the same time, Kim Hoyu, of Keup-son rank, the Tyé-kam, Kim Heum-kil, of Tè-sya rank, and others were sent to offer tribute. The Escort-Envoy Phi Chinna, of Nama rank, and his associate Hopok, of Nama rank, escorted Chhyöng-phyöng and the others to Tsukushi.

In this month seven men of Su-shen[3] arrived in the train of Chhyöng-phyöng and his colleagues.

19th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces near the capital to release living things.[4]

20th day. Men were sent to all parts to expound the Kon-kwō-myō Sutra and the Nin-ō Sutra.

23rd day. Koryö sent Ha-u, Chyupu[5] of the After Division, as Chief Envoy, and Tök-pok, Tè-kyöng of the Former Division, as Associate Envoy, to offer tribute. Therefore Silla sent Kim Yang-wön, of Tè Nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.

It was intended this year to make the capital at Nihiki, and therefore all the rice-fields and gardens within the precincts, public and private property alike, were not cultivated and became totally waste. In the end the capital was not made there. [This passage is omitted in some books.]

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. There was archery at the South Gate. A.D. 677. XXIX. 17.

2nd month, 1st day. Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, arrived from Silla.

[1] The Ahimbe (for ahi-nihe) was a festival celebrated on the 1st day of the hare in the 11th month. It was, like the nihi-name, which was celebrated a little later, a festival of firstfruits. On this occasion the Emperor first partook of sake, brewed from the new season's rice, which was also offered to the Kami. This ceremony was more particularly associated with certain deities, which were therefore termed the Ahimbe deities.

[2] To ask advice on matters of government (?).

[3] Manchus. [4] See above, XXIX. 15. [5] Name of office.

In this month an entertainment was given to men of Tanegashima [1] under the tsuki tree west of the Asuka Temple.

3rd month, 19th day. The Silla Envoys, Chhyöng-phyöng and the guests of lower rank to the number of thirteen, were invited to the capital.

Summer, 4th month, 11th day. Nagura Saita no Fubito, was convicted of scoffing at the Imperial [2] car, and was accordingly banished to the island of Idzu.

14th day. The Escort-Envoys, Chinna and the rest, were entertained in Tsukushi, and straightway returned home from there.

5th month, 1st day. The ceremony of announcing the first day of the month was omitted.

3rd day. The Emperor granted to the Oho-hakase,[3] a man of Pekché named Sol-tan, the rank of Lower Daisen, and accordingly bestowed on him a fief of 30 houses. On this day Otokashi, the Yamato no Yeshi,[4] was granted the rank of Lower Shōsen and a fief of 20 houses.

7th day. A man of Silla named Pak Chăpha, of Ason rank, accompanied by three attendants and three Buddhist priests, was driven by stress of weather to the island of Chikashima.[5]

28th day. The Emperor gave orders to the Shrines of Heaven and the Shrines of Earth that the sacred rice-tax should be divided into three shares, one of which was to be set apart for the offerings to the Gods and the other two given to the Kannushi.[6]

In this month there was drought in the capital and the Home provinces, and prayers were made for rain.

6th month, 14th day. There was a great earthquake.

In this month the Emperor commanded the Yamato no Aya no Atahe, saying :—" Your family has from the beginning been
XXIX. 18. guilty of the seven misdemeanours. From the Woharida [7] reign down to the Court of Afumi it has been the Emperor's constant

[1] An island off the south coast of Satsuma. It is notable as the place visited by Mendez Pinto and his companions in 1542, and where they first taught the inhabitants the use of firearms. Tanegashima means a pistol in Japanese at the present day.

[2] The Emperor is meant, but the writer does not dare to introduce him in such a connection.

[3] Great Doctor. [4] Yamato painter. [5] In Hizen.

[6] Shintō priests. [7] Suiko Tennō.

business to take measures against you. Now in this Our reign you deserve to be called to an account for your misconduct, and to receive condign punishment. We are very reluctant, however, to extirpate the House[1] of Aya no Atahe, and we therefore extend to you great clemency and pardon you. But henceforth if any of you offend his crime shall surely be ranked among unpardonable offences."

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Worship was paid to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta and to the Oho-imi Deity of Hirose.

8th month, 15th day. A great feast of Buddhist fare was given at the Asuka Temple, at which the "Issaikio"[2] was read. The Emperor stood at the South Gate of the Temple, and did obeisance to the Three Precious Things. At this time he commanded the Princes of the Blood and the other Princes as well as the Ministers each to furnish one person to renounce the world. These persons were chosen without distinction of age or sex, and all entered religion in accordance with their wishes. They therefore took part in this great feast.

27th day. Kim Chhyöng-phyöng returned to his own country. Accordingly Pak Chă-pha and the other who had been driven by stress of weather to Japan were delivered to Chhyöng-phyöng and the rest, and sent back to their native land.

28th day. Tamna sent Prince Tora with tribute.

9th month, 30th day. A decree was made, saying:—"Let vagabonds who come back again after having been sent to their native places be, one and all, set to forced labour."

Winter, 10th month, 14th day. Momoye, Kahabe no Omi, of Inner Upper Shōkin rank, was appointed Minister of the Interior,[3] and Maro, Tajihi no Kimi, of Inner Lower Daikin rank, was made Daibu[4] of the province of Settsu.

11th month, 1st day. Owing to rain the ceremony of announcing the 1st day of the month was not observed.

The Viceroy of Tsukushi presented to the Emperor a red crow.[5] The Viceroy's officials accordingly received presents, XXIX. 19.

[1] Uji. [2] The books of the Buddhist canon, Tripitaka.

[3] Mimbukiō, or in Japanese Kakibe no Kimi.

[4] From the enumeration of his functions in the "Shokuinriō," this official seems to have been a governor with very comprehensive powers.

[5] A red crow with three legs was supposed to inhabit the sun. The appearance of one on earth was accounted the most favourable of omens. See above, Vol. I. p. 116, note.

each according to his rank. Moreover the person who specially caught the red crow was granted five steps in rank. Also the local officials of the district in question had their rank raised. Consequently the taxes were remitted to the peasants of this district for the space of one year. On this day a general amnesty was proclaimed to the Empire.

21st day. The festival of first-fruits was held.

23rd day. A meal was given to all the public functionaries who possessed a definite rank.

27th day. Presents were given to the officials of the Shintō Department and to the local governors who had assisted in the offering of first-fruits.

12th month, 1st day. Owing to the snow the ceremony of announcing the 1st day of the month was not observed.

A.D. 678. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. There was archery at the South Gate.

22nd day. The Tamna people set out for the capital.

This spring, as a preparation for worshipping the Gods of Heaven and Earth, a purification was held throughout the Empire. An Abstinence-palace was erected on the bank of the Kurahashi river.

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor wished to proceed to the Abstinence-palace, and held divination for this purpose. The response fell upon the 7th day. Accordingly, at the hour of sunrise the officers whose business it was to clear the road having already started, and the public functionaries being formed in line of procession, the Emperor took his seat in his palanquin, and ordered his canopy, but had not yet set out, when the Imperial Princess Towochi suddenly took ill, and died within the Palace. For this reason the cortège was
XXIX. 20. stopped, and the Emperor was unable to proceed. The result was that the Sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth did not take place.

13th day. A pillar of the Western Hall of the New Palace was struck by lightning.

14th day. The Imperial Princess Towochi was buried at Akaho. The Emperor was present, and was graciously pleased to raise lament for her.

Autumn, 9th month. Yoshimaro, Oshinomi no Miyakko, presented to the Emperor five auspicious stalks of rice. Each

stalk had branches. In consequence, all sentences from that of minor banishment[1] downwards were remitted.

Prince Wakasa, of the 3rd rank, died.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. At Naniha there fell a rain of something like floss silk.[2] It was five or six feet long and seven or eight inches wide. It floated on the wind and waved from the fir woods and reed plains. The people of that day called it "sweet-dew."

26th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"Let all civil and military officials of the central and provincial governments every year consider the degree of competence of their subordinates from the rank of clerk upwards, who are animated by a disinterested public spirit and discharge their duties with zeal and respect, and let them determine accordingly the promotion they should receive. Not later than the first decade of the first month they should forward a full report to the judge.[3] Thereupon the judge, having compared and XXIX. 21
decided, shall submit (his recommendation) to the Daibenkwan.[4] However, when officers are ordered to go on missions of a public nature and refuse for trifling reasons—not genuine illness or mourning for parents—they are not to be placed in the schedule for promotion."

12th month, 27th day. Bramblings[5] flew from south-west to north-east, covering the sky.

In the course of this month there was a great earthquake in Tsukushi. The ground split open to the width of two rods and a length of more than 3000 rods. Many of the peasants' houses in all the villages were brought down in ruins. At this time there was a peasant's house situated on the top of a hill. On the evening of the earthquake the hill crumbled down and changed its place. Yet the house remained intact and was

[1] This now means "hard labour," but probably we should here follow the meaning given by Giles.

[2] Several cases of this phenomenon are recorded in Chinese and Japanese history. Kanro, or sweet-dew, is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit Amrita, the ambrosial food of the Immortals.

[3] Hō-kwan, 法官.

[4] Benkwan. The executive department of the supreme Council of State or Dajōkwan. Hepburn.

[5] Atori in Japanese. "Fringilla Montifringilla. Large flocks of this bird are found in winter near Yokohama. It is the same as the European species."—Blakiston and Pryer in "T.A.S.J."

not destroyed, and the inmates did not know that the hill had come down and that their house had moved away. When it became daylight, however, they discovered what had happened, to their great amazement.

In this year the Silla Escort-Envoys, Ka-ryang Chyöng-san, of Nama rank, and Kim Hong-syé, of Nama rank, came to Tsukushi, and said:—"The King of Silla having despatched Kim Syo-mul, of Keup-son rank, Kim Syé-syé, of Tè-nama rank, etc., as Envoys to bring this year's tribute, I, Chyöng-san, was sent to escort Syo-mul and his colleagues. In mid-ocean, however, we chanced to meet with a storm, in which Syo-mul
XXIX. 22 and the others became all dispersed, and I know not what has become of them. I, Chyöng-san, alone have with difficulty succeeded in reaching the shore." Syo-mul and his colleagues never arrived.

A.D. 679. 8th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The Silla Escort-Envoys Ka-ryang Chyöng-san and Kim Hong-syé, etc., proceeded to the capital.

7th day. The Emperor issued a decree as follows:—"At the New Year let the Princes, Ministers, and public functionaries refrain from paying their respects to any persons except relatives of the grade of elder brothers or elder sisters and above, or to the senior members of the House. The Princes must not pay their respects even to their mothers, when the latter have not the title of Princess; nor must Ministers pay their respects to their mothers when the latter are of mean rank. Even on other ceremonial occasions than the New Year the same rule is to be observed, and those who infringe it shall be punished according to circumstances."

8th day. There was archery at the West Gate.

2nd month, 1st day. Koryö sent Hwan-heum, Tè-syang of the Upper Division, Sa Syu-lu, Tè-syang of the Lower Division, and others to offer tribute. Accordingly, Silla sent Kam Mul-la, of Nama rank, to escort Hwan-heum and his colleagues to Tsukushi.

3rd day. Katamaro, Ki no Omi, died. In consideration of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru,[1] he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

4th day. The Emperor issued an edict, saying:—"When

[1] 672.

the year Kanoto Mi[1] is reached, let there be a review[2] of the weapons and horses belonging to the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers, and the public functionaries. Therefore let provision be made in advance."

In this month the Emperor was most graciously pleased to extend his charity to the poor and needy, and to give alms to those starving from cold and hunger.

3rd month, 6th day. Wakami, Ohokida no Kimi, of the Imperial guard, died.[3] During the great campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru, he led the van in breaking the camp of Seta.[4] For this service he was granted the posthumous rank of Outer Upper Shōkin.

7th day. The Emperor proceeded to Wochi,[5] where he did reverence to the Misasagi of the Later Okamoto Empress.[6] XXIX. 23.

9th day. Prince Ishikaha, Viceroy of Kibi, took ill and died in Kibi. When the Emperor heard this he was deeply grieved, and was most graciously pleased, etc., etc., to confer on him the posthumous honour of Prince of the second class.

22nd day. Alms of floss silk and cloth were given to poor priests and nuns.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Let the history of those temples which have sustenance-fiefs attached to them be considered, and where addition is desirable, let addition be made; where they should be done away with, let them be done away with."

On this day the names of the temples were fixed.

9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

5th month, 5th day. The Emperor proceeded to the Palace of Yoshino.

6th day. The Emperor addressed the Empress Consort, the Imperial Prince Kusakabe, the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, the Imperial Prince Takechi, the Imperial Prince Kahashima, the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and the Imperial Prince Shiki,

[1] A.D. 681.

[2] A wapenshaw.

[3] There is a scale of Chinese characters for death, according to the rank of the person. Here the character 死 is used, which, as the "Tsūshō" commentator points out, is improper, this character being employed only in the case of men of the 6th or lower ranks.

[4] See above, XXVIII. 17. He is there called Waka-omi.

[5] In Yamato.

[6] Saimei Tennō.

saying :—" We wish to-day to unite with you in making a vow in the Court, so that after a thousand years[1] there may be no trouble. What think ye?" The Imperial Princes answered together, saying :—" The reasonableness of this is manifest." Accordingly, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe stood forward first and made oath, saying :—" Ye gods of Heaven and Earth, and ye Emperors, bear witness! We, elder and younger brothers, young or of mature age, more than ten Princes in all, born each of different mothers, without respect of birth from the same or different mothers, together comply with the Emperor's behest, and will give each other mutual support and avoid contention. If, from this time forward, any of us should not keep this vow, may he himself perish and may his line become extinct! There will be no forgetfulness or failure."

The (other) five Imperial Princes took oath together in the above terms in order one after another, and thereupon the Emperor said :—" Ye, my sons, though each born of different mothers, are now in affection as if born of one mother." Accordingly, loosening out his collar,[2] he took the six Imperial Princes to his bosom, and made oath, saying :—" If We contravene this oath, may Our body perish instantly!" The Empress-consort's oath was like that of the Emperor.

7th day. The Emperor's car returned to the Palace.[3]

10th day. The six Imperial Princes together paid their respects to the Emperor before the Great Hall.

6th month, 1st day. Hail fell as big as peaches.

23rd day. Prayer was made for rain.

XXIX. 24. 26th day. Ohotomo no Moriya no Muraji, of Upper Daikin rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. Prayer was made for rain.

14th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. Prince Katsuraki, of the 4th rank, died.

8th month, 1st day. The Emperor ordered that the various Houses should send tribute of women.[4]

[1] i.e. after my death.

[2] A Chinese metaphorical expression equivalent to "giving vent to his feelings."

[3] From Yoshino.

[4] For the service of the Palaces no doubt.

11th day. The Emperor went to Hatsuse and held a banquet by the Todoroki [1] pool.

Before this, the Emperor had addressed an edict to the Princes and Ministers, saying:—"In addition to the usual riding-horses let there be got ready other good horses which can be furnished whenever called for." Accordingly on the day on which he returned to the Palace from Hatsuse, he inspected the spare good horses of the Ministers at the roadside by the post-station of Tomi, and made them all try their speed.

22nd day. Oshikatsu, Katsura no Miyakko, presented to the Emperor auspicious stalks of grain. Though from various plots, they had similar ears.[2]

25th day. Prince Ohoyake died.

9th month, 16th day. The Envoys sent to Silla returned and paid their respects at Court.

23rd day. The Envoys sent to Koryö and the Envoys sent to Tamna returned, and paid their respects at Court together.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We are informed that of late there have been in the the town [3] many persons guilty of crimes of violence. Now this is the fault of the Princes and Ministers. Sometimes, when they hear of such criminals, they find it too much trouble, so they put up with them, and do not suppress them; sometimes when they see such wicked men, out of negligence they conceal the fact, and do not correct them. Now if they chastised them when seen or heard of, is it likely that there would be crimes of violence? This being so, if there be in future no shirking of trouble or negligence, if those in higher stations punish the offences of those beneath them, and if those in lower stations remonstrate with their superiors when they are guilty of violence, then the country will be well governed."

11th day. There was an earthquake.

13th day. The Emperor made regulations for the style of priests and nuns and for the colours of the priestly garb, also for

[1] Todoroki means to make a rumbling noise—evidently an onomatopoetic word.

[2] Supposed to be emblematic of the concord between the six Imperial Princes.

[3] i.e. in the capital.

the character of their suites of men and horses when passing
XXIX. 25. along the streets.[1]

17th day. Silla sent Kim Hang-na, of Ason rank, and Sal Nyu-sèng, of Sason rank, with tribute. The tribute consisted of such things as gold, silver, iron, sacrificial cauldrons with three feet, brocade, cloth, hides, horses, dogs, mules, and camels—more than ten kinds in all. There were also, distinct from these, presents for the Emperor, the Empress-consort, and the Prince Imperial, of gold, silver, swords, flags and the like—a certain number of each.

In the course of this month, the Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Ordinarily priests and nuns reside within their temples, and observe the Three Precious Things. In the case of aged persons, however, or those who by disease are permanently confined to bed in a narrow chamber, of those in short whose old age or ill-health allows them no facility of movement, places which should be pure are made impure. For this reason, let all such persons in future apply each to relations or friends to build for them in vacant spaces one or two dwellings where the aged can be nourished and the sick take medicine."

11th month, 14th day. There was an earthquake.

23rd day. Tsura, Yamato no Umakahibe no Miyakko, of Lower Dai-otsu rank, was sent to Tanegashima as Chief Envoy, and Kō-kan, Kami no Sukuri, of Lower Shō-otsu rank, as Junior Envoy. Accordingly one grade of rank was bestowed on them.

In this month barriers were constructed for the first time on Mount Tatsuta and Mount Ohosaka. Moreover Naniha built an outer line of fortifications.

XXIX. 26. 12th month, 2nd day. In consequence of the auspicious stalks of grain,[2] presents were made to the Princes of the Blood, the Princes, the Ministers, and the public functionaries, each according to his rank. There was an amnesty for all offences from capital crimes downwards.

In this year the district of Ito, in the province of Kiï, sent tribute of the herb of long life. It resembled a mushroom in appearance. Its stem was one foot long, and its crown two

[1] The "Yengishiki" contains regulations for the numbers of men by which priests of various ranks might be attended in public.

[2] See above, XXIX. 24.

spans in circumference. Moreover, the province of Inaba sent tribute of auspicious rice, each stem of which had branches.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 8th day. The Emperor occupied the Little Opposite Palace, where he gave a banquet to the Princes and Ministers in the Court of the Great Hall. On this day he granted a surname[1] to Kobito, Imbe no Obito, and called him Muraji. Accordingly he presented his joyful acknowledgments along with his younger brother Shikobuchi. A.D. 680.

17th day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the officials of Shōken rank engaged in archery at the South Gate.

20th day. It was reported from the Province of Settsu that at the village of Ikuta, peach trees and plum trees had borne fruit.

2nd month, 18th day. A sound resembling that of drums was heard in the Eastern quarter.

26th day. There was a man who said:—"I got a deer's horn on Mount Katsuraki. This horn branches into two at the root. It is united at the end, and has flesh, over which flesh there is hair. The hair is one inch in length. Thinking this wonderful, I offer it as a present to the Emperor." It was, perhaps, the horn of a Lin.[2]

27th day. Eight Silla labourers were sent back to their own country. The Emperor graciously bestowed presents on them, varying in the case of each.

3rd month, 10th day. The Province of Settsu sent tribute of a white shitodo.[3] XXIX. 27.

23rd day. The Emperor went to Aki in Uda.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

11th day. A fire broke out in the nuns' quarters of the Tachibana Temple.[4] Ten rooms were burnt.

[1] This is not really a grant of a surname, but a step in the ranks of the nobility, as from an earl to a marquis.

[2] One of the four supernatural creatures of Chinese tradition, and regarded as a happy portent, on its alleged appearance, of the advent of good government. It has the body of a deer, the tail of an ox, and a single horn.

[3] Described as a small bird of a reddish colour, resembling a sparrow. It has a ring round the eyes, and black spots on the wings. It frequents mountains.

[4] In Yamato, founded by Shōtoku Daishi.

25th day. The Silla Envoys Hang-na and his companions were entertained in Tsukushi, and received presents each according to his rank.

In this month an Imperial decree was issued as follows:—"Henceforward let all temples, with the exception of the two or three great national temples, cease to be administered by officials. But for those which hold a sustenance-fief, a limit from first to last of thirty years is fixed. This will be discontinued when, upon calculating the years, the number of thirty is completed. Moreover the Temple of Asukadera ought not to be included in those administered by officials, but as it was originally a Great Temple, always administered by officials, and has also done good service formerly,[1]—for these reasons it is still retained in the class of officially administered temples.

5th month, 1st day. By order of the Emperor coarse silk, floss silk, raw silk, and cloth were bestowed on the twenty-four temples within the capital, the amount varying in each case.

On this day the expounding of the "Kon-kwō-myō Sutra" was begun in the Palace and in the various temples.

13th day. Koryō sent Myo-mun of the Southern Division as Chief Envoy, Chyun-tök, who was Tè-kyöng of the Western Division, and others with tribute. Accordingly Silla sent Ko-na, of Tè-nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys Myo-mun and the others to Tsukushi.

21st day. Tsunade, Hada no Miyakko, of Lower Daikin rank, died. On account of his services during the year Mid-zunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

27th day. Maro, Hoshikaha no Omi, of Middle Shōkin rank, died. On account of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Daishi.

XXIX. 28. 6th month, 5th day. The Silla guests, Hang-na and his colleagues, returned to their own country.

8th day. There was a rain of ashes.[2]

14th day. There was a great thunderstorm.

[1] No doubt in the civil war of 672, one of the battles of which took place close to this temple.

[2] A later history mentions another rain of something like ashes. The old peasants called it "Flowers of rice."

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. A branch of the tsuki tree[1] west of the Temple of Asuka broke of itself and fell.

5th day. The Emperor went to the house of Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, and visited him in his illness, bestowing on him great favour, etc., etc.

On this day there was prayer for rain.

8th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

10th day. A red bird[2] perched on the Southern Gate.

17th day. Komaro, Yenowi no Muraji, was granted the rank of Lower Shōkin.

20th day. Kōchō, priest of the Temple of Asuka, died. The Imperial Princes Ohotsu and Takechi were sent on a visit of condolence.

23rd day. Ihatoko, Miyake no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, died. On account of his services during the year Midzunoye Saru, he was given the posthumous rank of Lower Daikin.

25th day. Prince Toneri, of the 5th rank, who held the joint offices of Nagon[3] and Minister of the Household, took ill and was on the point of death, so the Imperial Prince Takechi was sent to ask after him. He died the next day. The Emperor was greatly shocked, and sent the Imperial Princes Takechi and Kahashima to be present at his temporary interment and to make lament for him. The public functionaries followed their example and made lamentation.

8th month, 5th day. The officials of the department of law[4] gave tribute of auspicious stalks of grain. Beginning on this day, for three days there was rain with floods.

14th day. There was a storm which broke trees and damaged houses.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor visited Asatsuma. XXIX. 29

[1] Already mentioned several times.

[2] The red bird is symbolical of the Southern quarter of the Heavens in Chinese astronomy. A favourable omen.

[3] More commonly dainagon, i.e. Great Nagon, a Councillor of State. Defined by the Wamiōshō as Ohoi mono mafusu tsukasa, i.e. "the great official who says things" (who acts as intermediary in communications to the Emperor).

[4] It appears above that one duty of this department was to give judgment respecting claims for promotion.

Accordingly he inspected the horses of the officials from the rank of Daisen downwards at Nagara no mori.[1] He also had archery practised on horseback.

23rd day. There was an earthquake.

27th day. Prince Kuhachi died in his private residence.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Emperor commiserated the needy common people and also the monks and nuns of the temples within the capital and gave them alms. Each monk and nun received four hiki of coarse silk, four bundles of floss silk, and six tan of cloth, while the Shami[2] and those in white garments[3] received each two hiki of coarse silk, two bundles of floss silk, and four tan of cloth.

11th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse[4] of the sun.

3rd day. There was a brightness in the East from the hour of the Dog to the hour of the Rat.[5]

4th day. Nineteen men of Koryö returned to their own country. These were condolence envoys who came over on the occasion of the mourning for the later Okamoto Empress.[6] They had been detained and had not yet taken their departure.

7th day. The Emperor issued an edict to the officials, saying:—"If any one knows of any means of benefiting the state or of increasing the welfare of the people, let him appear in Court and make a statement in person. If what he says is reasonable, his ideas will be adopted and embodied in regulations."

10th day. There was thunder in the West.

12th day. The Empress-consort was unwell. (The Emperor,) having made a vow on her behalf, began the erection of the Temple of Yakushiji,[7] and made one hundred persons enter religion as priests. In consequence of this she recovered her health.

On this day an amnesty was granted.

[1] Grove of Nagara. [2] S'ramanêra or Buddhist novices.

[3] i.e. the laity, a Buddhist expression.

[4] The "Shūkai" quotes a statement that this eclipse was of $9\frac{1}{2}$ tenths, or nearly total.

[5] 8 p.m. to 12 midnight. An aurora (?). [6] Saimei.

[7] Yakushi niorai is in Sanskrit Bhêchadjyaguru, the genius of medicine. This temple was afterwards removed to a site near Nara. *Vide* Satow's Handbook, p. 383.

16th day. There was an eclipse of the moon.[1]

The Imperial Prince Kusakabe was sent to pay a visit of inquiry to the Priest Yemiō. On the following day Priest Yemiō died, and the three Imperial Princes were sent to make a visit of condolence.

24th day. Silla sent Kim Ya-phil, of Sason rank, and Kim Wön-seung, of Tè-nama rank, to offer tribute. Three student interpreters arrived in the suite of Ya-phil. XXIX 30

26th day. The Emperor took ill. For this reason one hundred persons were made to enter religion as priests, and he presently recovered.

30th day. Bramblings covered the sky, flying from south-east to north-west.

10th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. A.D. 681.

3rd day. The various functionaries paid their respects at Court.

7th day. The Emperor occupied the Opposite Little Hall, and gave a banquet there. On this day the Princes of the Blood and the Princes were introduced into the inner reception Chamber while the Ministers were all in attendance in the outer reception Chamber. For both alike sake was provided and a musical performance given. On this occasion Oho-gata, Kusakabe no Kishi, of Upper Daisen rank, was granted the rank of Lower Daikin, and the title was bestowed on him of Naniha no Muraji.

11th day. By an Imperial decree, Ihadzumi Sakahibe no Muraji was granted a fief of sixty houses and received a present of thirty pieces of coarse silk, a hundred and fifty kin of floss silk, one hundred and fifty tan of cloth, and a hundred mattocks.

17th day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the rank of Shōken [2] had archery in the Court.

19th day. Orders were given to the Home and other provinces to repair the Heavenly and Earthly (Shintō) shrines.

25th day. The Emperor and Empress-consort took their places together in the Great Hall of Audience,[3] and having summoned before them the Princes of the Blood, the Princes and the Ministers, addressed them as follows:—"It is Our

[1] Of 7½ tenths. [2] The initial or lowest rank.

[3] The Taikyokuden. See above, p. 191.

desire now anew to enact regulations and to reform the laws. Do ye therefore join with us in executing this enterprise. But if we were to proceed suddenly with this business, affairs of state would suffer. It will therefore be proper to make a division of men before going on."

On this day, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe was made Prince Imperial and was accordingly associated with the Emperor in the conduct of the myriad machinery of state.

29th day. The Lady Abe died.

30th day. Toyohama Tahema no Kimi, of Shōshi rank, died.

3rd month, 3rd day. The Lady Abe was buried.

16th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience, and there gave orders to the Imperial Princes Kaha-
XXIX 31. shima and Osakabe, to Prince Hirose, Prince Takeda, Prince Kuhada, and Prince Mino, to Michichi, Kamitsukenu[1] no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, Kobito, Imbe no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, Inashiki, Adzumi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, Ohogata, Naniha no Muraji, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, of Upper Daisen rank, and Kobito Heguri no Omi, of Lower Daisen rank, to commit to writing a chronicle of the Emperors, and also of matters of high antiquity. Ohoshima and Kobito took the pen in hand themselves, and made notes.[2]

20th day. There was an earthquake.

24th day. The Emperor took his place by the well of the New Palace, made trial of the sounds of drums and flutes and caused them to be practised in harmony.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

3rd day. A prohibitory law in 92 articles was established, and was accordingly promulgated with the following words:—"The costumes of all from the Princes of the Blood down to the common people, and the wearing of gold and silver, pearls and jewels, purple, brocade, embroidery, fine silks, together
XXIX. 32. with woollen carpets, head-dresses and girdles, as well as all kinds of coloured stuffs, are regulated according to a scale the details of which are given in the written edict."

[1] Now Kōdzuke. Michichi has the curious meaning of 3000.

[2] This command led ultimately to the compilation of the "Kojiki." *Vide* Ch. K., p. 9 *et seqq.*

12th day. The title of Muraji was granted to Wokida, Nishikori no Miyakko, Yoshimaro, Tawi no Atahe, Mukutari and Ihakatsu, Sugita no Kurando,[1] Agata, Kahachi no Atahe, Kagami, Oshinomi no Miyakko, Yoshimaro, Aretawo no Atahe, Momoye and Oshidzuki, Ohokoma no Miyakko, Tatsumaro, Yamato no Atahe, Ohoshima, Kadobe no Atahe, Ohi, Shishibito no Miyakko, and Yamashiro no Koma no Ikamaro, fourteen persons in all.

17th day. An entertainment was given in Tsukushi to the Koryö guests Myo-mun and his people. Each received presents according to his rank.

5th month, 11th day. Worship was paid to the august spirit of the Emperor's grandfather.[2] On this day the Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"The deference paid by public functionaries to the Palace officials[3] is far too great. Sometimes they go to their doors and address their plaints to them, sometimes they pay court to their houses[4] by offerings of presents. If there should be any such cases in future, the offenders will be punished according to circumstances."

26th day. Myo-mun of Koryö took his departure.

6th month, 5th day. The Silla guest Ya-phil was entertained in Tsukushi. He (and his suite) received presents varying in the case of each.

17th day. Prayer was made for rain.

24th day. There was an earthquake.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. A red sparrow was seen.

4th day. Tsukura, Uneme no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent to the Land of Silla as Chief Envoy, and Tate, Tahema no Kimi, as Junior Envoy. XXIX. 33.

On this day Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent as Chief Envoy to the Land of Koryö, and Maro, Woharida no Omi, as Junior Envoy.

10th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

[1] Storekeeper.

[2] He was not an Emperor, and therefore not included in the genera worship paid to the Emperors. Or perhaps with Florenz we should understand by grandfather ancestors generally. The original does not indicate number.

[3] Female.

[4] i.e. families.

30th day. Orders were given to the whole Empire to hold a great Purification ceremony.[1] At this time the Miyakko of each province supplied one slave to the Shrine of Purification, and thus did purification.

Intercalary 7th month, 15th day. In fulfilment of a vow of the Empress-consort a great feast of vegetable fare was given, and the Sutras were expounded in all the Temples of the capital.

8th month, 11th day. A notification was made to the people of the three Han,[2] saying:—"On a former day, your taxes were remitted for a period of ten years, which have now come to an end. In addition to this, all forced labour is remitted for a period of ten years to you who accepted our rule, and also to your children and grandchildren who accompanied you in the first year."

11th day. Michichi, Kamitsukenu no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, died.

16th day. The province of Ise sent tribute of a white owl.

20th day. The Envoys sent to Tanegashima presented a map of that island. This country is more than 5000 ri distant from the capital, and lies in the middle of the sea south of Tsukushi. The inhabitants cut off their hair and wear garments of grass. Rice is always abundant. With one sowing, there are two harvests. The products of the island are Cape jasmine and bulrushes.[3] There are also numerous marine products of different kinds.

XXIX. 34. On this day, Ya-phil took his departure for his own country.

9th month, 3rd day. The Envoys sent to Koryö and Silla arrived together and paid their respects to the Emperor.

5th day. The province of Suwō presented a red tortoise, which was let loose in the pond of the Palace of Shima.

9th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"Let all Houses in which a senior member has not yet been fixed, each decide upon a senior member and report to the controlling department."[4]

14th day. An entertainment was given to the men of Tanegashima on the river bank west of the Temple of Asuka. Various kinds of music were performed.

[1] Ohoharahi. [2] The Coreans settled in Japan. [3] For matting.
[4] i.e. the Jibushō; in Japanese, *wosamuru tsukasa.*

16th day. A comet appeared.

17th day. The planet Mars entered the Moon.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

18th day. There was an earthquake.

20th day. Silla sent Kim Chhyung-phyöng, an Il-kil-son [1] of Sa-tök, and Kim Il-syé, of the rank of Tè-nama, to bring tribute, which consisted of such things as gold, silver, copper, iron, brocade, thin silk, deer skins and fine cloth—a certain quantity of each. Separately they brought presents for the Emperor, the Empress-consort, and for the senior Prince of such things as gold, silver, flags of haze [2]-brocade and skins, a certain quantity of each.

25th day. The Emperor issued a decree as follows :—" Let all, from those of Daisen rank down to Shōken, each declare their views." XXIX. 35.

In this month the Emperor intended to hunt on the plain of Hirose. A temporary palace had been constructed, and his baggage made ready, but in the end the Imperial car did not proceed thither. Only those from the rank of Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers all stayed at Karunoichi and inspected the equipage and the saddle-horses. The Daibu from the rank of Shōkin upwards all sat in order under a tree, while those of the rank of Daisen and under mounted on horseback themselves and passed together along the highway from south to north.

Silla Envoys came and announced the death of the king of that country.

11th month, 2nd day. There was an earthquake.

12th month, 10th day. Kobito, Kahabe no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent to Tsukushi to entertain Chhyung-phyöng, the Silla guest.

29th day. Kanuchi, Tanaka no Omi, Saru, Kakimoto no Omi, Kuniwoshi, Tanabe no Muraji, Maro, Takamuku no Omi, Mabito, Ahata no Omi, Maro, Mononobe no Muraji, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, Karainu, Sone no Muraji, and Chitoko, Fumi no Atahe, ten [3] persons in all, received the rank of Lower Shōkin.

[1] Name of rank.

[2] The reference is to the rosy colour of the morning hazes.

[3] There are really only nine.

XXIX. 36. On this day, Nukamushi, Toneri no Miyakko, and Chitokò, Fumi no Atahe, were granted the title of Muraji.

A.D. 682. 11th year, Spring, 1st month, 9th day. Nukamushi,[1] Toneri no Miyakko, of Daisen rank, was given the rank of Lower Shōkin.

11th day. Kim Chhyung-phyöng was entertained in Tsukushi.

18th day. The Lady Higami[2] died within the Palace.

19th day. There was an earthquake.

27th day. The Lady Higami was buried at Akaho.

2nd month, 12th day. Kim Chhyung-phyöng returned to his own country.

In this month, Nukamushi, Toneri no Miyakko, of Lower Shōkin rank, died. In view of his services in the year Midzu-noye Saru, he received the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

3rd month, 1st day. Prince Mino, of Shōshi rank, the Daibu of the Household Department and others were sent to Nihiki[3] to examine the conformation of the ground. It was accordingly resolved to have the capital there.

2nd day. Twenty-two Yemishi of the province of Michinoku were granted dignities.

7th day. There was an earthquake.

13th day. By command of the Emperor, Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Muraji, invented afresh new characters—one book in forty-four volumes.[4]

16th day. The Emperor visited Nihiki.

28th day. The Emperor issued a decree forbidding henceforward all from the Princes of the Blood down to the public functionaries to wear caps of rank, aprons, lined garments,[5] and

[1] A curious personal name. It means bran-maggot. Many of the personal names are by no means complimentary, e.g. Saru, or monkey; Kara-inu, or Corean dog; Shikowo, or ugly man. These are obviously what we should call nicknames.

[2] One of the Emperor's consorts.

[3] Nihiki means new castle.

[4] The "Shiki" says that this book was still preserved in the Imperial Library, and that the letters were very like Sanskrit characters. If this was an attempt to introduce an alphabetic script into Japan, nothing came of it. For information respecting ancient forms of writing in Japan, Hirata's "Hifumiden" may be consulted.

[5] The interlinear Kana has hira obi, i.e. broad girdles. Habaki are leggings.

habaki, and also forbidding the stewards and Uneme of the Palace to wear shoulder-straps or scarfs.[1]

On this day, a decree was addressed to all from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers who had been granted sustenance-fiefs, discontinuing all such fiefs, and directing that they should be returned to the State. XXIX. 37

In this month, Mate, Hase no Muraji, died.[2] For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru he was granted the posthumous rank of Upper Daikin.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

21st day. Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and others, sent tribute of a large bell.

22nd day. Itaka, Kina, and others, Yemishi of Koshi, requested 7000 families of captives, in order to constitute a district. Their request was granted.[3]

23rd day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Henceforth all persons whatsoever, men or women, must tie up their hair. This is to be completed not later than the 30th day of the 12th month. But for the date of tying up the hair, let a further Imperial notification be awaited." It was from this time that the practice began of women riding on horseback like men.[4]

5th month, 12th day. The Yamato no Aya no Atahe were granted the title of Muraji.

16th day. The Chief Envoy to Koryö, Hirotari, Saheki no Muraji, and the Junior Envoy, Maro, Woharida no Omi, reported to the Palace the results of their mission.

27th day. The Yamato no Aya no Atahe, male and female, all presented themselves. They were rejoiced at the grant of a title, and paid their respects to the Emperor.

6th month, 1st day. The King of Koryö sent Cho Yu-kwè, Nu

[1] Hire. Something like a mantilla, worn on the head.

[2] In the older editions a long passage comes in here which belongs properly to the fourteenth year of the reign.

[3] There is frequent mention of these "captives" in connection with Aino affairs. It is not clear who they were. A Japanese authority states that they were subjects of the Crown who were captured and enslaved by the savages.

[4] That is to say, astride.

Mo-chöl and Tè-ko-myo-ka, of the Lower Division, with tribute of the products of the country. Accordingly, Silla sent Kim Syök-kwi, of Tè-nama rank, to escort the Koryö Envoys to Tsukushi.

XXIX. 38 6th day. Men and women began to tie up their hair. They accordingly wore caps of varnished gauze.[1]

12th day. Prince Yeguri, of the 5th rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. Hayato came in numbers with tribute of the productions of their country. On this day, the Hayato of Ohosumi and the Hayato of Ata[2] wrestled in the Court. The Ohosumi Hayato had the victory.

9th day. Maro, Kashihade no Omi, of middle Shōkin rank, took ill. His Highness[3] the Imperial Prince Kusakabe and the Imperial Prince Takechi were sent to make kind inquiry as to his illness.

11th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. There was an earthquake.

18th day. Maro, Kashihade no Omi, died. The Emperor was shocked, and lamented greatly.

21st day. For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, Maro no Omi[4] was granted the posthumous rank of Daishi and presents were given. The Empress-consort also bestowed gifts, which moreover were similar to those granted by the government.

25th day. Presents of various values were given to men of Tane,[5] of Yaku and of Amami.[5]

27th day. The Hayato were entertained west of the Asuka Temple. Music of various kinds was performed, and presents given them varying in value in the case of each. The Buddhist priests and laity all came to look on.

On this day it was reported from the provinces both of Shinano and Kibi that hoar-frost had fallen, moreover that owing to storms the five grains had not formed.

[1] Gauze hats were in use in China under the Tang and Ming dynasties. They are said to have been first worn by Wu Ti, of the Liang dynasty. Probably the statement in the text applies only to men and to officials.

[2] A district of Satsuma. [3] Mikoto.

[4] He was properly Maro, Kashihade no Omi. But the personal name is sometimes joined to the title in this way.

[5] Or Tanegashima. [6] All these are islands off the south coast of Kiushiu.

8th month, 1st day. All from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers were each[1] made to bring forward matters suitable for framing regulations.

3rd day. The Koryö guests were entertained in Tsukushi.

On this evening at twilight a great star passed from the East to the West.[2]

5th day. Laws were drawn up. There was a great rainbow within the Palace.

11th day. A thing appeared in shape like a Buddhist baptismal flag, and of a flame colour. It floated through the void towards the north and was seen by all the provinces. Some said that it sank into the Sea of Koshi. On this day a white vapour arose on the Eastern Mountain, four fathoms in size.

12th day. There was a great earthquake. XXIX. 39.

—th[3] day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi reported that there was a sparrow with three legs.

17th day. There was another earthquake. On this day there was a rainbow at dawn right in the middle of the sky and opposite to the sun.

22nd day. The Emperor issued an edict (prescribing) the character of ceremonies and[4] language.

He decreed further, saying:—"Let the lineage and character of all candidates for office be always inquired into before a selection is made. None whose lineage is insufficient are eligible for appointment, even although their character, conduct and capacity may be unexceptionable."

28th day. On account of the illness of the Imperial Princess Hidaka[5] [otherwise called the Imperial Princess Nihiya], an Imperial command was given for the pardon of 190 persons of both sexes who were guilty of capital or lesser crimes.

29th day. More than 140 persons renounced the world in the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

9th month, 2nd day. By Imperial command ceremonial kneeling and crawling were both abolished from this time for-

[1] Referring probably to the division of labour mentioned above, XXIX. 30.

[2] A falling star is no doubt meant. The "Tsūshō" editor talks of the planet Venus, which cannot be right.

[3] The date given here by the cyclical characters is an impossible one.

[4] Or of the language to be used on occasions of ceremony.

[5] Afterwards Genshō Tennō.

ward, and the ceremonial custom of standing of the Naniha Court[1] was again practised.

11th day. At mid-day, several hundreds of cranes appeared in the quarter of the Great Palace, and soared aloft in the void. After two hours they all dispersed.

Winter, 10th month, 8th day. A great revel was held.

11th month, 16th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Hear this, all ye Princes of the Blood, Princes and Ministers, as well as ye common people! In regard to trials for offences against the law, whether within the Palace or in the Court, let examination be made at the place where the offence has been committed as soon as seen or heard of, and let there be no concealment. In the case of grave crimes, let those which should be referred to a superior be so referred, and when arrest is proper let the offender be seized. If any resist and are not arrested, raise the soldiers of the place and arrest them. To those judged deserving of flogging there may be administered not more than a hundred blows, to be determined according to a scale. Moreover, when the facts of a crime are undeniable and the accused falsely states that he is innocent, and does not admit the justice of the charge, but disputes with the prosecutor, let his original offence be superadded to this."

XXIX. 40.

12th month, 3rd day. A decree was issued as follows:—"Let the people of every House[2] each determine who shall be the Senior member of the House, and make report accordingly. Moreover, in cases where there are numerous members of the same House, let them divide and each part determine who shall be its own Senior member, all reporting at the same time to the proper officials, who shall thereupon weigh the facts and deal with the matter. Such official decisions must be accepted. And let no one for trifling reasons hastily include in his House persons who do not belong to it."[3]

A.D. 683. 12th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The functionaries paid their respects at Court.

[1] Kōtoku Tennō. The Annals of the Thang dynasty state that it was the custom in Japan for suitors to advance crawling. Standing was the Thang custom.

[2] The Uji or noble families are meant.

[3] "Such as relations by the mother's side, or by marriage, or distant relations."—"Shūkai."

The Viceroy of Tsukushi, Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, and others presented tribute of a three-legged sparrow.

All from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers were invited in front of the Great Hall of Audience and a banquet given them. On this occasion the three-legged sparrow was shown to the Ministers.

18th day. The Emperor issued a decree, saying:—"This is the ordinance of Us, the Emperor Yamato neko, who rule, as a God Incarnate, the great eight regions. Hear it, all ye governors of provinces, Kuni no Miyakko, governors of districts and common people! Ever since We first rose to the vast dignity, there have been auspicious signs from Heaven, not one or two only, but many. Now We learn by tradition that auspicious signs from Heaven come as a response when the principles of administering the Government are in harmony with the laws of Heaven. That they should appear repeatedly every year in this Our reign is, on XXIX. 41
the one hand, matter for awe, and on the other, matter for rejoicing. Therefore the Princes of the Blood, the Princes, with the Ministers and functionaries, as well as the people of the Empire, join with Us in our joy." Accordingly presents were made to all from the rank of Shōken upwards, each according to his rank, and all crimes were pardoned from capital offences downwards. Moreover all forced labour was remitted to the common people.

On this day there was a performance in the Court of the Woharida dance and of the music of the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché and Silla.

2nd month, 1st day. The Imperial Prince Ohotsu for the first time attended to matters of State.

3rd month, 2nd day. On the occasion of making appointments to the offices of Sōjō, Sōdzu, and Risshi,[1] the Emperor gave command, saying:—"Let those who have general control over the priests and nuns act according to the law," etc., etc.

19th day. The Envoys sent to Tane[2] returned.

Summer, 4th month, 15th day. The Emperor made a decree,

[1] The former two offices were instituted in the reign of Suiko. See above, Vol. II. 153. The latter, which Hepburn translates "doctor of laws," was now created for the first time.

[2] Tanegashima.

saying:—"Henceforth copper coins must be used, and not silver coins."[1]

18th day. A decree was issued, saying:—"Let the use of silver be not discontinued."

21st day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

6th month, 3rd day. Umakuta, Ohotomo no Muraji, died. The Emperor was much shocked, and sent Prince Hatsuse on a visit of condolence. The Emperor manifested a loving recognition of his zeal during the year Midzunoye Saru and of the services of his ancestors at all times, and granted him the posthumous title of Daishi, and burial with beat of drum and blowing of horns.[2]

6th day. Prince Takazaka, of the 3rd rank, died.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor went to the house of the Princess Kagami-hime and made kind inquiry as
XXIX. 42. to her illness.

5th day. Princess Kagami-hime died.

In this summer priests and nuns were for the first time invited to the Palace for a "retreat." Accordingly thirty persons of pure conduct were selected, who renounced the world.

15th day. Prayer was made for rain.

18th day. The Emperor made a tour in the capital.

20th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

From this month a drought began which lasted till the eighth month. A Buddhist priest of Pèkché named Dōzō[3] prayed for rain and obtained it.

8th month, 5th day. A general amnesty was ordered throughout the Empire.

Wofukehi, Ohotomo no Muraji, died. For his services in the

[1] Silver coins are mentioned in the reign of Kenzō Tennō, A.D. 486. But see note to this passage. Vol. I. p. 391. Copper coins were first made in Japan in the reign of Gemmei Tennō, in the first year (A.D. 708) of the period Wadō. The coins referred to in the text were therefore probably Chinese or Corean. Their use was exceptional at this period, the ordinary medium of exchange being hempen cloth or other textiles.

[2] Officials of the third rank were allowed at their funeral one hearse, forty drums, twenty great horns, forty little horns, 200 flags, one metal gong, and one hand-bell, with lamentation for one day.

[3] Probably a priest of the Temple called Kudaradera.

year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Middle Daikin.

9th month, 2nd day. There was a great storm.

23rd day. The title of Muraji was granted to thirty-eight Houses, viz. Yamato no Atahe, Kurikuma no Obito, Motori[1] no Miyakko, Yatabe no Miyakko, Fujiharabe no Miyakko, Osakabe no Miyakko, Saigusabe no Miyakko, Ofuchi Kahachi XXIX. 43. no Atahe, Kahachi no Aya no Atahe, Mononobe no Obito, Yamashiro no Atahe, Katsuraki no Atahe, Tonohatori no Miyakko, Kadobe no Atahe, Nishikori no Miyakko, Katsura no Miyakko, Tottori no Miyakko, Kume no Toneri no Miyakko, Hinokuma no Toneri no Miyakko, Ohokoma no Miyakko, Hada no Miyakko, Kahase no Toneri no Miyakko, Yamato no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Kahachi no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Kibumi no Miyakko, Komotsume no Miyakko, Magari Hako-dzukuri no Miyakko, Isonokamibe no Miyakko, Takara Hi-matsuri no Miyakko, Hasetsukabe no Miyakko, Anahobe no Miyakko, Shiragabe no Miyakko, Oshinomi no Miyakko, Hat- XXIX. 44. sukase no Miyakko, Fumi no Obito, Wohatsuse no Miyakko, Kudara no Miyakko and Katarahi no Miyakko.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The title of Muraji was granted to fourteen houses, viz., Miyake no Kishi, Kusakabe no Kishi, Hōki no Miyakko, Fune no Fubito, Iki no Fubito, Sarara no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Uno no Mumakahi no Miyakko, Yoshino no Obito, Ki no Sakabito no Atahe, Uneme no Miyakko, Atogi no Fubito, Takechi no Agatanushi, Shiki no Agatanushi and Kagami-dzukuri no Miyakko.[2]

13th day. The Emperor went a-hunting to Kurahashi.

11th month, 4th day. An Imperial command was given to all the provinces to engage in military training.

13th day. Silla sent Kim Chu-san, of Sason rank, and Kim Chang-chi, of Tè-nama rank, to offer tribute.

12th month, 23rd day. The Emperor sent Prince Ise, of XXIX. 45 the fifth rank of Princes, Yakuni, Hata no Kimi, of Lower Daikin rank, Homuchi, Ohoshi no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Muraji, of Lower Shōkin rank,

[1] Or Mondori.

[2] Previous promotions in rank have been of individuals. In this case the whole Uji (House) was raised at once. This accounts for no personal names being given.

with Hangwan, clerks, and artizans, to make a tour through the Empire and determine the boundaries of the provinces. They were unable, however, to determine them all this year.

17th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"Let all civil and military officials, and all persons of rank[1] in the Home provinces, not fail to present themselves at Court in the four first months.[2] If owing to mortal disease they cannot attend, let the officials whose duty it is to do so prepare a full report and forward it to the judicial authorities."

He further made a decree, saying:—"The Capital and Palace should not be in one place only. They must be constructed in several places. We therefore wish first of all to make the Capital at Naniha. Let the public functionaries therefore each proceed thither, and apply for sites for houses."

A.D. 684. 13th year, Spring, 1st month, 17th day. The title of Muraji was granted to the two Houses of Mino no Agatanushi and Kurando no Kinunuhi no Miyakko.

23rd day. The Emperor, taking his place in the Eastern Court with the Ministers in attendance, sent for men skilled in archery, with dwarfs and palace attendants, and made them shoot.

2nd month, 24th day. Kim Chu-san was entertained in Tsukushi.

28th day. The Emperor sent Prince Hirose of Jō-kwō-shi rank,[3] and Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Muraji, of Middle Shōkin rank, with Hangwan, clerks, professors of the In and Yō, and artizans to the Home provinces, to determine by divination a site suitable for the capital.

On this day Prince Mino, Tsukura, Uneme no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, and others were sent to Shinano to inspect the conformation of the ground, perhaps with the object of having a capital there.

3rd month, 8th day. Yumi, Ube no Atahe, a man of Yoshino, sent tribute of a white camellia.

XXIX. 46. 9th day. The Emperor made a visit to the capital, and decided on the site for a palace.

23rd day. Kim Chu-san returned to his own country.

[1] Possessed of one of the grades of rank mentioned above, p. 281.

[2] Of each quarter.

[3] This rank was not instituted until later. See below, XXIX. 53.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. All persons with sentences of not more than lesser banishment were pardoned.

13th day. Worship was paid to the great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-Gods of Tatsuta.

20th day. Maro, Takamuku no Omi, of Lower Shōkin rank, was sent as Chief Envoy to Silla, and Tsuno no Omi, of Lower Shōsen rank, as Junior Envoy.

Intercalary 4th month, 5th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"We have resolved to hold an inspection in the ninth month of next year. We therefore prescribe the conduct[1] and the state[2] of the public functionaries."

A further edict was made, as follows:—"In a government, military matters are the essential thing. All civil and military officials should therefore sedulously practise the use of arms and riding on horseback. Be careful to provide an adequate supply of horses, weapons, and articles of personal costume. Those who have horses shall be made cavalry soldiers, those who have none shall be infantry soldiers. Both shall receive training. Let no obstacle be thrown in the way of their assembling for this purpose. If any person disobeys this edict, if he does not provide a horse and weapons, or if his costume is defective, all such persons, from Princes of the Blood down to Ministers, shall be fined. Those from the rank of Dāisen down who deserve to be fined shall be fined: those who deserve flogging shall be flogged. But if by diligent practice they succeed in learning their duties, they shall have their punishment diminished by two degrees, even in the case of those guilty of capital crimes. Anyone, however, who purposely offends in reliance on his own cleverness is not included among those eligible for pardon."

A further edict was made as follows:—"As to the clothing of both men and women, it is left to the wearers' option whether they have susotsuki[3] or not, and also ties[4] or tassels. XXIX. 47.

[1] Their place and movements on State occasions.

[2] Costume, attendants, etc.

[3] A kind of sleeveless jacket with a broad band on the skirt. See illustration in "Sanzaidzuye," Book XXVIII. p. 4.

[4] The ties were for holding the flaps of the garment together in front: the tassels were the same, only longer, and allowed to hang down by way of ornament.

But on the occasion of (state) assemblies, those who wear susotsuki should also have tassels. In the case of men, however, those who have yebōshi[1] should wear them, and at the same time laced[2] trousers. Women of forty years of age or upwards are allowed to tie up their hair or not, and to ride astride or side-saddle, just as they please. A distinction is made in the case of practisers of magic, who are excepted from the rule for tying up the hair."[3]

11th day. Prince Mino and his colleagues presented a map of the province of Shinano.

16th day. A vegetarian feast was prepared within the Palace. A pardon was accordingly given to the Toneri who had been guilty of offences.

24th day. The Buddhist priest Fukuyō of Asukadera was condemned and thrown into prison.

29th day. Fukuyō committed suicide by cutting his throat.

5th month, 14th day. The priests, nuns and laity who had emigrated from Pèkché, men and women, altogether twenty-three persons, were all settled in the province of Musashi.

28th day. Nanihamaro, Miwa no Hiketa no Kimi, was sent to Koryö as Chief Envoy, and Hitotari, Kuhabara no Muraji, as Junior Envoy.

6th month, 4th day. Prayer was offered for rain.

XXIX. 48. Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. The Emperor visited Hirose.

9th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

23rd day. A comet appeared in the North-west, more than ten feet long.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—

"The hereditary titles of all the families[4] are again reformed,

[1] A kind of cap. *Vide* illustration in "Sansaidzuye," XXIX. 5.

[2] Gathered in at the bottom with a lace, like Turkish trousers. Now called nubakama.

[3] No doubt this exception was prompted by the conservatism associated with religious practices, and of which the use of the fire-drill in Japan at the present day is a striking example.

[4] Noble families are of course meant. Here as elsewhere the word I translate title is 姓 or surname. The Japanese had no proper surnames at this time.

and eight titles of eight classes instituted. By this means the multitudinous titles of the Empire are amalgamated. The first is Mabito,[1] the second Ason,[2] the third Sukune,[3] the fourth Imiki,[4] the fifth Michi no Shi,[5] the sixth Omi,[6] the seventh Muraji,[7] and the eighth Inaki." [8]

On this day thirteen houses received the title of Mabito, viz. Moriyama no Kimi, Michi no Kimi, Takahashi no Kimi, Mikuni no Kimi, Tahema no Kimi, Ibaraki no Kimi, Tajihi no Kimi, Wina no Kimi, Sakata no Kimi, Hata no Kimi, Okinaga no Kimi, Sakabito no Kimi, and Yamaji no Kimi.

3rd day. Prince Ise and his colleagues were sent to determine the boundaries of the provinces.

On this day, Tasuki, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to Tamna as Chief Envoy, and Kane, Kahabara no Muraji, as Junior Envoy.

14th day. At the hour of the boar (10 p.m.) there was a great earthquake. Throughout the country men and women shrieked aloud, and knew not East from West. Mountains fell down and rivers gushed forth; the official buildings of the provinces XXIX. 49. and districts, the barns and houses of the common people, the temples, pagodas and shrines were destroyed in numbers which surpass all estimate. In consequence many of the people and of domestic animals were killed or injured. The hot springs of Iyo were dried up at this time and ceased to flow. In the province of Tosa more than 500,000 shiro of cultivated land were swallowed up and became sea.[9] Old men said that never before had there been such an earthquake. On this

[1] True man, given chiefly to persons of Imperial lineage.

[2] This is written 朝臣, and is derived by some from asa, morning, and omi, Minister. I suspect that it is the Corean title 阿湌.

[3] No satisfactory explanation of this title is given. It had fallen out of use at this time, and was now revived.

[4] This title was specially given to immigrants from Corea, and is said to be for ima-ki or new-comer.

[5] Or Dōshi, professor. [6] Minister or vassal.

[7] The original meaning is village-elder.

[8] Usually written with characters which mean rice-castle. They were perhaps originally the keepers of the public granaries.

[9] The line of the southern coast of Tosa is said to have been materially altered by this earthquake.

night a rumbling noise like that of drums was heard in the East. Some said that the island of Idzu[1] had increased of itself on two sides, the north and west, to the extent of more than 300 rods, and that a new island had been formed. The noise like that of drums was the sound made by the gods in constructing this island.

16th day. Presents were made to the Princes and Ministers.

11th month, 1st day. The title of Ason was granted to fifty-two houses,[2] viz. Oho-miha no Kimi, Oho-Kasuga no Omi, Abe no Omi, Kose no Omi, Kashihade no Omi, Ki no Omi, Hata no Omi, Mononobe no Muraji, Heguri no Omi, Sazakibe no Omi, Nakatomi no Muraji, Ohoyake no Omi, Ahata no Omi, Ishikaha no Omi, Sakarawi no Omi, Uneme no Omi,
XXIX. 50. Tanaka no Omi, Woharida no Omi, Hodzumi no Omi, Yamashiro no Omi, Kamo no Kimi, Wono no Omi, Kahahe no Omi, Iwi no Omi, Kakimoto no Omi, Karobe no Omi, Waka-zakurabe no Omi, Kishida no Omi, Takamuko no Omi, Shishi-bito no Omi, Kume no Omi, Inugami no Kimi, Kamidzukenu no Kimi, Tsunu no Omi, Hoshikaha no Omi, Oho no Omi, Munagata no Kimi, Kuruma-mochi no Kimi, Aya no Kimi, Shimoji no Omi, Iga no Omi, Abe no Omi, Hayashi no Omi, Hami no Omi, Shimodzukenu no Kimi, Sami no Kimi, Chi-mori no Omi, Ohono no Kimi, Sakamoto no Omi, Ikeda no Kimi, Tamate no Omi, and Kasa no Omi.

3rd day. The Governor of the province of Tosa reported that owing to a great tide which rose high, and an overflowing rush of sea-water, many of the ships used for conveying tribute had been sunk and lost.[3]

21st day. At dusk the seven stars drifted together to the North-east and sank.[4]

23rd day. At sunset a star fell in the quarter of the East as

[1] The volcanic island off the entrance to Yedo Bay, known to foreigners as Vries Island.

[2] A considerable step. Ason was the 2nd class, Omi the 6th, and Muraji the 7th.

[3] A tidal wave is no doubt referred to, perhaps an accompaniment of the earthquake above described.

[4] The seven stars are the stars of the Northern Bushel, as the Chinese call Charles' Wain.

large as a jar.[1] At the hour of the dog[2] the constellations were wholly disordered,[3] and stars fell like rain. XXIX. 51.

During this month there was a star which shot up in the zenith and proceeded along with the Pleiades until the end of the month, when it disappeared.

12th month, 2nd day. The title of Sukune was granted to fifty houses, viz. Ohotomo no Muraji, Saheki no Muraji, Adzumi no Muraji, Imbe no Muraji, Wohari no Muraji, Kura no Muraji, Nakatomi no Sakabito no Muraji, Hashi no Muraji, Harahibe no Muraji, Sakahibe no Muraji, Sakarawi no Tanabe no Muraji, Ifube no Muraji, Kannaibe no Muraji, Osakabe no Muraji, Kusakabe no Muraji, Miyake no Muraji, Kobe no Muraji, Tasuki no Muraji, Tajihi no Muraji, Yuki no Tajihi no Muraji, Nuribe[4] no Muraji, Oho-yuye no Muraji, Waka-yuye no Muraji, Yuge no Muraji, Kami Hatori no Muraji, Nukatabe XXIX. 52. no Muraji, Tsumori no Muraji, Agata no Inukahi no Muraji, Waka-inukahi no Muraji, Tamanoya no Muraji, Nittabe no Muraji, Shidzuwori no Muraji, Hi no Muraji, Ofusama[5] no Muraji, Yamabe no Muraji, Yatsume no Muraji, Sawi no Muraji, Tsume-takumi[6] no Muraji, Ato no Muraji, Mamuta no Muraji, Tame no Muraji, Chihisakobe no Muraji, Uji no Muraji, Wi-tsukahi no Muraji, Ama no Inukahi no Muraji, Hashibito no Muraji, Usume no Muraji, Mino no Muraji, Moroahi no Omi, and Furu no Muraji.

6th day. Wohi, Hashi no Sukune, and Hōzen, Shirawi no Fubito, who had gone to the Land of Great Thang for study, and also Kobito Witsukahi no Muraji, and Tokuko, Tsukushi no Miyake no Muraji, who had been carried off to Great Thang during the Pèkché campaign, arrived by way of XXIX. 53. Silla. Accordingly Silla sent Kim Mul-yu, of Tè-nama rank, to escort Wohi and the others to Tsukushi.

13th day. There was a general pardon to all criminals except those guilty of capital crimes.

[1] Described in the "Yengishiki" as holding two to, the to being a little less than the fourth part of an Imperial bushel.

[2] 7 to 9 p.m.

[3] A commentator says that this typified the disorder of the titles of the nobility.

[4] Or Urushibe. [5] Or Wofuama.

[6] Hoof-workers. Makers of imitation tortoise-shell (?).

In this year it was notified to the four provinces of Iga, Ise, Mino, and Wohari, that for the future in years of payment of commuted taxes,[1] forced labour would be remitted, and in years of forced labour, the commuted taxes would be remitted.

The lower district of Katsuraki in Yamato reported that there was a fowl with four legs.[2]

Moreover the district of Higami in the province of Tamba reported that there was a calf with twelve horns.

A.D. 685. 14th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

21st day. The styles of official ranks were reformed, and new grades added. There were two grades of *Myō-i* (bright-rank) and four grades of *Jō-i* (pure-rank), each grade being distinguished into *Dai* (great) and *Kwō* (broad), so as to form twelve grades in all. The above were for persons not below the rank of Princes.

Next there were four grades of *Shō-i* (true or first rank), four grades of *Jiki-i* (straight or direct rank), four grades of *Gon-i* (diligent-rank), four grades of *Mu-i* (earnest-rank), four grades of *Tsui-i* (following-rank), and four grades of *Shin-i* (advancing-rank). Each grade was divided into *Dai* and *Kwō*, so that there were in all forty-eight grades. The above were the ranks of high officials.

XXIX. 54. On this day, His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe was granted the rank of Jō-kwō-ichi (pure-broad-first-rank), the Imperial Prince Ohotsu the rank of Jō-dai-ni (pure-great-second-rank), the Imperial Prince Takechi the rank of Jō-kwō-ni, the Imperial Prince Kahashima and the Imperial Prince Osakabe the rank of Jō-dai-san. The Princes of inferior rank and the high officials received steps in rank varying in each case.

2nd month, 4th day. Degrees of rank were granted to men of Great Thang, of Pèkché, and of Koryö, 147 persons in all.

3rd month, 14th day. Kim Mul-yu was entertained in Tsukushi, and straightway took his departure from there.

[1] Not the land-tax of rice, but cloth and other things paid in lieu of service, etc.

[2] "Such monstrosities denoted that the Sovereign and his Ministers pay attention to the sayings of nuns and old women and show them excessive kindness."—"Shūkai."

Accordingly seven men of Silla who had been cast away on our coast were delivered to Mul-yu and sent back.

16th day. Shitanu, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-dai-san rank, the Mayor of the capital, died.

27th day. Orders were sent to all the provinces that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures placed there. Worship was to be paid and offerings of food made at these shrines.[1]

In this month there was a rain of ashes in the province of Shinano. The herbs and trees all withered up.[2]

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. The Governor of the province of Kiï reported that the hot springs of Muro had dried up and ceased to flow.

12th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

17th day. Kim Chu-san of Silla took his departure.

25th day. Priests and nuns were for the first time invited to come to the Palace for a "retreat."[3]

5th month, 5th day. There was archery at the South Gate.

The Emperor visited the Temple of Asuka, presented to the Buddha precious objects, and paid him reverence.

19th day. Mabito, Ahada no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, offered to transfer his rank to his father, but by an Imperial order this was disallowed.

On this day, Hiromaro, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, died. For his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi.

26th day. Maro, Takamuku no Ason, Ushi-kahi, Tsunu no Ason, and their people arrived back from Silla. Along with them arrived the student priests Kwanjō and Unkwan. The King of Silla sent presents of two horses, three dogs, two parrots, two magpies, and a variety of valuable objects. XXIX. 55

6th month, 20th day. Eleven houses were granted the title of Imiki, viz. Yamato no Muraji, Katsuraki no Muraji,

[1] These domestic shrines (butsudan) are still to be seen in Japan.

[2] No doubt a fall of volcanic ashes is referred to, perhaps from Asama-yama. I have seen a forest at the foot of this mountain all withered, probably from the same cause.

[3] There has been already a notice to the same effect.

Ofushi-kahachi no Muraji, Yamashiro no Muraji, Naniha no Muraji, Ki no Sakabito no Muraji, Higashi Aya no Muraji, Nishi Aya no Muraji, Hada no Muraji, Ohosumi no Atahe, and Fumi no Muraji.

Autumn, 7th month, 21st day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

26th day. The colours of the Court costumes for persons of the rank of Myō-i down to that of Shin-i were now settled for the first time. All persons of the rank of Jō-i and above wore red, those of Shō-i rank deep purple, those of Jiki-i rank light purple, those of Gon-i rank dark green, those of Mu-i rank light green, those of Tsui-i rank deep grape-colour, and those of Shin-i rank light grape-colour.

27th day. The Emperor made a decree, saying:—"All persons of rank[1] in the provinces of the Tō-san-dō from Mino eastwards, and of the Tō-kai-dō from Ise eastwards, are absolved from rendering forced labour."

8th month, 12th day. The Emperor visited the Temple of Jōdoji.[2]

13th day. The Emperor visited the Temple of Kahara, and gave alms of rice to the company of priests.

20th day. The Envoys sent to Tamna returned.

9th month, 9th day. The Emperor gave a banquet in the Court of the Audience Hall of the old Palace.[3]

On this day presents of cloth of various values were given to everyone from the Prince Imperial down to the Imperial Prince Osakabe.

XXIX. 56. 11th day. Prince Miyatoko, Prince Hirose, Prince Naniha, Prince Takeda, and Prince Mino were sent to the capital and to the Home provinces, each to hold an examination of the arms of the militia.[4]

15th day. Ushikahi, Tsunu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, was appointed Commissioner for the Tōkaido, Mushina, Ishikaha no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the Tō-san-do, Sukunamaro, Sami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the Sanyō-do, Ahaji, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for the San-in-do, Tomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Commissioner for the Nan-

[1] Of one of the official ranks just mentioned.

[2] The same as the Asukadera so often mentioned above.

[3] Of Okamoto.

[4] Nimbu, a word usually applied to coolies.

kai-do, and Hirotari, Saheki no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Commissioner for Tsukushi. Each took with him one Hangwan and one secretary, and made a tour to inspect the governors of provinces and of districts and the condition of the people.

On this day the Emperor made a decree, saying :—" Let all singers, whether male or female, and all flute-players, transmit their art to their descendants, and make them practise singing and the flute." [1]

28th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience, summoned to him the Princes and Ministers before the Hall, and made them gamble.

On this day the Emperor made presents of the Imperial upper garments and trousers to Prince Miyatoko, Prince Naniha, Prince Takeda, Tomotari, Mikuni no Mabito, Ohotomo, Agata no Inukahi no Sukune, Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, Ihashiki, Sakahibe no Sukune, Homuchi, Oho no Ason, Tsukura, Uneme no Ason, and Ohoshima, Fujihara no XXIX. 57.
Ason, ten persons in all.

19th day. The Emperor gave presents of Polar bear-skins [2] and of skins of the mountain-goat to forty-eight Princes and Ministers from the Prince Imperial downwards, of varying value in each case.

20th day. The Envoys sent to the Land of Koryö returned.

24th day. On account of the Emperor being unwell, Buddhist scriptures were read for three days in the Great Temple of the Great Palace, and in the Temples of Kahara and Asuka. Rice was accordingly given to these three temples, in amounts varying in each case.

27th day. The immigrants from Koryö received presents of various amounts.

Winter, 10th month, 4th day. The Pèkché priest Syang-hwi was allowed a fief of thirty houses. This priest was a hundred years old.

8th day. Pöp-chang, a priest of Pèkché,[3] and Gonju,

[1] Those employed about the Palace are no doubt meant.

[2] See above, p. 257. The mountain-goat is probably the Kamo-shika, for which see Dickins in Introduction to "Satow's Handbook," 2nd edit. p. [41].

[3] Perhaps this priest and the one named in the previous paragraph were not Coreans, but only priests of the Temple of Kudara, the Japanese name of Pèkché. Their names would in that case be Jō-ki and Hō-jō.

Masuda no Atahe, a lay member of the Buddhist Church,[1] were sent to Mino to make an infusion of Wokera.[2] They were accordingly given presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth.

10th day. Tarise, Karobe no Ason, Nihinomi, Takada no Obito,[3] and Maro, Aredawo no Muraji, were sent to Shinano with instructions to prepare a temporary Palace. The intention probably was that the Emperor should visit the hot springs of Tsukama.

12th day. Prince Hatsuse of Jō-dai-shi rank, Uma-kahi, Kose no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, with Hangwan and inferior officers to the number of twenty persons in all, were appointed to carry out the works[4] in the Home provinces.

17th day. Prince Ise and his colleagues went again to the Eastern provinces. They accordingly received presents of upper garments and trousers.

In this month the "Kongō-hanya[5] Sutra" was expounded in the Palace.

11th month, 2nd day. Ten thousand kin of store-iron were
XXIX. 58. sent to the prefecture[6] of Suwo. On the demand of the Viceroy of Tsukushi the following store[7] articles were sent down to Tsukushi, viz. 100 hiki of coarse silk, 100 kin of raw silk, 300 tan of cloth, 400 pieces of tax-cloth, 10,000 kin of iron, and 2000 bundles of bamboos for making arrows.

4th day. The Emperor gave orders to the provinces in all quarters, saying:—"All such things as great and small horns, drums, fifes, flags, crossbows,[8] and stone-throwing engines should not be kept in private houses; they should all be stored in the Government house of the district."

[1] Ubasoku, the Sanskrit Upâsaka. The title of Atahe seems to have been abolished by the edict given, XXIX. 48, and it is not found in the original text. The "Shūkai" editor has inserted it here, and something of the kind is evidently required.

[2] A medicinal plant, the Atractylis Ovata. Hepburn.

[3] Another title abolished by the edict on XXIX. 48.

[4] The construction of a temporary palace, says the "Shūkai."

[5] Sanskrit, "Vadjra Pradjñâ."

[6] The term used means "the place of general control." It occurs here for the first time.

[7] From the Government stores. The use of coin was still very restricted, and remittances took such forms as this.

[8] Large crossbows are meant, which it required several men to handle.

6th day. The Emperor visited the park of Shira-nishiki.

The priests Pöp-chang and Gonju presented to the Emperor an infusion of Wokera.[1]

On this day the ceremony of "calling on the spirit" was performed for the Emperor's sake.[2]

27th day. Silla sent Kim Chi-syang, of Pha-chin-son rank, and Kim Kön-hun, of Tè-ason rank, to request governance and to bring tribute.

12th month, 4th day. The frontier guards sent to Tsukushi were tossed about in mid ocean, and all lost their clothing. Accordingly 450 tan of cloth were sent to Tsukushi to make clothing for them.

10th day. There was an earthquake. It began from the West.

16th day. Alms of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth were given to the priests of the Great Temple in the Great Palace. XXIX. 59.

19th day. The Empress-consort presented the Princes and high officials, to the number of fifty-five persons, with Court costume, one suit to each.

Shuchō,[3] 1st year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience and gave a banquet to the Princes and High Officials. A.D. 686.

[1] See above, XXIX. 57.

[2] When the Sun-goddess sent down Ninigi no Mikoto to rule the lower world, she gave him, according to the "Kiujiki" (II. 2), ten auspicious Heavenly treasures, viz. one mirror of the offing, one mirror of the shore, one eight-span sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one sufficing jewel, one jewel of the returning path, one dragon's fin, one bee's fin, and one fin of various articles. The Heavenly ancestor then instructed him, saying:—"In case of ailment, say to these ten treasures, '*Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari*' [or according to another version, 'Hi, fu, mi, yo, i, mu, na, ya, ko, to'] (i.e. one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten), and shake them yura-yura (an onomatopoetic word). If thou dost so, the dead will come to life again." This was the origin of the ceremony of *furu* (shaking).

The interlinear Kana calls this ceremony mitama-furishiki (shaking the august jewels). The Chinese characters mean "invitation of the spirit." It was performed with the object of renewing the Emperor's vigour and prolonging his life.

[3] Shuchō means red-bird. The "Nihongi" has no year-periods for the early part of the reign of Temmu, but some chronologists give Shujaku for 672 and Hakuhō for 673-685.

On this day the Emperor decreed, saying:—"We shall now propose conundrums[1] to the Princes and High Officials, and we promise prizes to those who give the right answers."

Upon this the Imperial Prince Takechi gave the right answers to the questions and received a present of 3 suits of Imperial garments of hari-suri,[2] 2 pairs of brocade trousers, with 20 hiki of coarse silk, 50 kin of raw silk, 100 kin of floss silk, and 100 tan of cloth. Prince Ise also gave right answers, and was presented with 3 suits of black Imperial garments, 2 pairs of purple trousers, 7 hiki of coarse silk, 20 kin of raw silk, 40 kin of floss silk, and 40 tan of cloth.

On this day Kudara no Nihiki, a man of the province of Settsu, presented to the Emperor a white agate.

9th day. An invitation was given to the three higher ecclesiastics, the Risshi,[3] and also to the director and clerks of the Great Temple of the Great Palace, nine priests in all, and they
XXIX.60. were entertained at a lay[4] banquet. Moreover alms were given them of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth, varying in value in the case of each.

10th day. The Princes and High Officials received a present of upper garments and trousers, one suit each.

13th day. Men of talent, scholars, professors of Philosophy,[5] and physicians, more than twenty persons in all, were summoned to the Palace. Food was given them and presents made to them.

14th day. At the hour of the cock[6] the Treasury Department at Naniha took fire and all the Palace was burnt. Some said that the fire broke out in the house of Kusuri, Ato no Muraji, and that it spread from there to the Palace. But the Arsenal offices were not burnt.

16th day. The Emperor invited the Princes and High Officials to a banquet in the Great Audience Hall, and made

[1] Literally things with no end, i.e. without head or tail—nonsensical questions. Here is a specimen. "Why does a horse, after a rapid run, listen to the earth? Why does a dog, when he goes slowly, raise his leg?"

[2] A dye.

[3] A rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[4] Not confined to vegetarian dishes.

[5] Of the Yin and Yang system of Chinese philosophy.

[6] 6 p.m.

them presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth, varying according to the rank of each.

On this day conundrums were put to the Ministers, and more presents of fine and coarse silk given to those who made the right answers on the spot.

17th day. A banquet was given in the hinder Palace.[1]

18th day. There was a great revel at Court.

On this day the Emperor took his place in front of the Imperial muro[2] building and made presents to performers, of various values. He also gave presents of clothing to singers.

19th day. There was an earthquake.

In this month Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Ohoshima Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Konoshiro, Sakahibe no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and Mushimaro, Hodzumi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, were sent to Tsukushi to entertain Kim Chi-syang, of Silla.

2nd month, 4th day. The Emperor took his place in the Great Reception Hall and conferred the rank of Gon-i on six Ministers who attended him personally.

5th day. The Emperor commanded that nine meritorious governors of provinces should be selected and the rank of Gon-i conferred on them.

3rd month, 6th day. Yakuni, Hata no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, holding the office of Daiben, took ill. On his behalf three men entered religion as priests.

10th day. Snow.

25th day. Yakuni, Hata no Mabito, died. On account of his services in the year Midzunoye Saru, he was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was bestowed on Kato, Kuhabara no Sukuri, the Emperor's body-physician. He was also granted the title of Muraji. XXIX. 61.

13th day. For the entertainment of the Silla guests, the music of the Temple of Kahara was transported to Tsukushi. Accordingly, 5000 sheaves of rice, the private property of

[1] The Empress-consort's rooms.

[2] Muro, 窟, see Vol. I. p. 71, note. For a long time there has been no mention of this kind of dwelling in the "Nihongi." Or perhaps Mimuro is simply the name of a particular building.

the Empress-consort's Palace, were paid to the Temple of Kahara.[1]

19th day. The Silla tribute was brought up from Tsukushi. It consisted of more than 100 articles, including one good horse, one mule, two dogs, vessels of chased gold as well as gold and silver, rose-tinted brocades, silk gauze, tiger and leopard skins, and drugs. Moreover Chi-syang and Kön-hun presented separately such things as gold and silver, rose-tinted brocades, silk gauze, vessels of gold, screens, saddle-skins, thin cloth stuffs, and drugs, of each more than sixty kinds. There were separate presents for the Empress-consort, the Prince Imperial, and the Princes of the Blood, a certain number of articles for each.

27th day. The Imperial Princess Taki, the Princess Yamashiro no hime, and the Lady Ishikaha were sent to the Shrine of Ise.

5th month, 9th day. The Imperial Princess Taki and her companions returned from Ise.

On this day Ök-in,[2] a man of Pèkché, the body-physician of the Emperor, took ill. When he was on the point of death, he was granted the rank of Gon-dai-ichi and a fief of 100 houses.

14th day. By Imperial command, a fief of 700 houses was granted to the Great Temple of the Great Palace, and taxes given it to the amount of 30,000 sheaves (of rice).

17th day. Promotion in rank was granted to the officials of the Palace.

24th day. The Emperor's body was ill at ease. Accordingly the "Sutra of Yakushi"[3] was expounded in the Temple of
XXIX. 62. Kahara, and a "retreat" was held within the Palace.

29th day. Kim Chi-syang and his colleagues were entertained in Tsukushi. Each having received presents of various amounts, they took their departure from Tsukushi.

In this month, by Imperial command, the Ohotoneri of the Right and Left were sent to cleanse the Halls and Pagodas of

[1] One reading has fifty sheaves of rice. The interlinear Kana has Kure-gaku, i.e. music of Kure, the Japanese name for the province of Wu in China.

[2] The interlinear Kana has Wokuni.

[3] "Bhēchadjya Rādja," i.e. the medical King. Eitel.

the Temples. Accordingly a general pardon throughout the Empire was proclaimed, and the prisons were empty.

6th month, 1st day. Kachimaro, Tsukimoto no Sukuri, was granted the title of Muraji, raised to the rank of Gon-dai-ichi, and given a fief of twenty houses.

2nd day. Official rank was bestowed on thirty-four persons, including architects, professors of philosophy, body-physicians of the Emperor, students of Great Thang, and one or two officials.

7th day. A selection was made of twenty-eight functionaries who had rendered good service, and they were promoted in rank.

10th day. It was ascertained by divination that the Emperor's disease was owing to a curse from the Kusa-nagi sword.[1] The same day it was sent to the shrine of Atsuta, in Wohari, and deposited there.

12th day. Prayer was made for rain.

16th day. Prince Ise and a number of officials were sent to the Temple of Asuka, to communicate to the priests the Emperor's commands, as follows:—"Of late Our body is ill at ease, and We request that the dread power of the Three Precious Things may be invoked, in order to obtain repose for Our person. Let the Sōjō, the Sōdzu, and the general body of priests therefore put up prayers." Offerings of rare and valuable things were accordingly made to the Three Precious Things. On this day the three higher ecclesiastics, with the Risshi and the abbots[2] of the four temples, the directors, and the priests of professorial rank then in residence, received each alms of one suit of Imperial garments and one Imperial coverlet.

19th day. Public functionaries were sent to the Temple of Kahara to exhibit lanterns and make offerings of food. So there was a great vegetarian feast, and repentance was made for sin. XXIX. 63.

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 205, Vol. II. p. 290.

[2] The Sinico-Japanese is Oshō, the equivalent of the Sanskrit Upashâya Oshō is the polite word for a priest in Japan at the present day. The four temples were doubtless the great temples which remained under official administration after the disendowment measure described above, XXIX. 27.

20th day. The priests Hōjin and Gishō were granted fiefs of thirty houses each, to support them in their old age.

22nd day.[1] The kitchen office[2] at Nabari was burnt.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. The Emperor commanded that men should again wear leggings, and that women should let down their hair on their backs, as was formerly the practice.

On this day the Sōjō and Sōdzu came into the Palace, and performed a penitential service.

3rd day. The Emperor commanded the provinces to perform the ceremony of Oho-barahi.[3]

4th day. Half the commuted taxes were remitted throughout the Empire, and all forced labour was dispensed with.

5th day. Offerings were made to Kuni-gakari no Kami,[4] who dwells in the province of Kiï, to the four shrines of Asuka, and to the Great God of Sumiyoshi.

8th day. One hundred priests were invited into the Palace, and made to read the Kon-kwō-myō Sutra.

10th day. There was lightning in the south, with a great clap of thunder. The buildings used by the Department of the Interior, for the storage of tax-cloth, met with destruction from Heaven. Some said that the fire broke out in the Palace of the Imperial Prince Osakabe, and that it spread to the Department of the Interior.

15th day. The Emperor gave orders that all matters of the Empire, without distinction of great and small, should be referred to the Empress-consort and the Prince Imperial.

On this day a general amnesty was granted.

16th day. Worship was paid to the Deities of Hirose and Tatsuta.

19th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"Let all common people throughout the Empire who, owing to poverty, have contracted debts in rice or in valuables, whether to the State or to private persons, on or before the 30th day of

[1] Something is wrong with the dates here.

[2] An agency for the supply of victuals for the Imperial table. These offices seem to have taken the place of some of the Be of more ancient times. The "Yengishiki" mentions such offices in Idzumi, Kiï, Ahaji, Afumi, and Wakasa.

[3] Great purification.

[4] Said by the "Shiki" to be a Corean deity.

the 12th month of the year Kinoto Tori (685) be absolved from payment."

22nd day. The style of the year was changed to Shuchō, 1st year. [The characters 朱鳥 are read *aka-mitori*, red-august-bird.] The Palace was accordingly entitled the Palace of Asuka[1] no Kiyomibara. XXIX. 64.

28th day. Seventy persons of pure conduct[2] were selected to retire from the world. A feast of vegetable food was provided in the Palace in front of the Emperor's muro[3] residence.

In this month the Princes and Ministers made images of Kwannon,[4] for the Emperor's sake. Accordingly the Kwan-ze-on Sutra[5] was expounded in the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

8th month, 1st day. For the sake of the Emperor, eighty priests were received into religion.

2nd day. Priests and nuns, to the number of 100 in all, entered religion. Accordingly, 100 Bosatsu[6] were set up within the Palace, and 200 volumes of the Kwannon Sutra read.

9th day. On account of the illness of the Emperor, prayer was made to the (Shintō) Gods of Heaven and Earth.

13th day. Ihakatsu, Hada no Imiki, was sent to make offerings to the Great God of Tosa.

On this day the Prince Imperial, the Imperial Prince Ohotsu, and the Imperial Prince Takechi had each 400 houses added to their fiefs. The Imperial Princes Kahashima and Osakabe had each additions of 100 houses.

15th day. The Imperial Princes Shiki and Shigi received additions of 200 houses each.

The Temples of Hinokuma, Karu, and Ohokubo were each granted fiefs of 100 houses, limited to a term of thirty years.

[1] Asuka is written with two Chinese characters which mean "flying-bird."

[2] Who practised the precepts of Buddhism.

[3] See above, XXXIX. 60.

[4] In Sanskrit, Avalôkitês'vara. *Vide* Eitel.

[5] Part of the "Hokkekyō," or "Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra," called Fumonbon. Kwan-ze-on is another form of the word Kwannon.

[6] Bodhisattva. The images of Kwannon made by the Princes and Ministers are probably meant.

23rd day. A fief of 200 houses was granted to the Temple of Kose.

9th month, 4th day. All, from the Princes of the Blood down to the Ministers, assembled in the Temple of Kahara, and put up vows for the Emperor's illness, etc., etc.

9th day. The Emperor's disease having shown no sign of abatement, he died in the principal Palace.

11th day. Lament was begun for him, and a temporary burial Palace erected in the South Court.

24th day. The Emperor was temporarily interred in the South Court and mourning began.

At this time the Imperial Prince Ohotsu conspired against
XXIX. 65. the Prince Imperial.

27th day. At dawn, all the priests and nuns having made lament in the Court of Temporary Interment, retired.

On this day, for the first time, offerings were made at the tomb and eulogies pronounced.

First of all, Aragama, Ohomi no Sukune, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Imperial Princes; next, Prince Ise, of Jō-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the other Princes; next, Ohotomo, Agata no Mukahi no Sukune, of Jiki-dai-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the officials of the Household generally; next, Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Ohotoneri of the right and left; next, Kunimi, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-dai-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Guards of the right and left; next, Tsukura, Uneme no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the lady officials of the Palace; and next, Mabito, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Stewards of the Palace.

28th day. All the priests and nuns again made lament in the Court of Temporary Interment.

On this day, Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Council of State; next, Maro, Isonokami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the judicial officers; next, Takechi-maro, Oho-miwa no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the administrative officials; next, Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-san rank,

pronounced a eulogy regarding the Treasury; and next, Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the war officials.

29th day. The priests and nuns again raised lament.

On this day, Maro, Abe no Kunu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Board of Punishments; next, Yumibari, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Department of the Interior; next, Mushi-maro, Hodzumi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, pronounced a eulogy regarding the Governors of Provinces; next, the Ohosumi no Ata no Hayato, and the two Muma-kahi-be no Miyakko of Yamato and Kahachi each pronounced eulogies. XXIX. 66.

30th day. The priests and nuns made lament.

On this day, the Pèkché prince Nyang-u pronounced a eulogium on behalf of his father, Prince Chön-kwang. Next, the Miyakko of the various provinces, as they came, each pronounced his eulogy. There were also performances of all manner of singing and dancing.

BOOK XXX.

THE EMPRESS TAKAMA NO HARA HIRO-NO NO HIME.[1]

(*JITŌ*[2] *TENNŌ*)

THE Empress Takama no hara hiro-no no hime's name as a child was the Imperial Princess Uno no Sarara. She was the second daughter of the Emperor Ame-mikoto hirakasu wake.[3] Her mother's name was Wochi no Iratsume. [Also called Minodzuko hime.] She was of reserved manners and a liberal disposition. In the third year of the Empress Ame-toyo takara ikashihi tarashi hime, she was united to the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito as his consort. Although the daughter of an Emperor, she loved courtesy and economy, and was possessed of motherly virtues. In the first year of the Emperor Ame-mikoto hirakasu wake, she gave birth to His Highness the Imperial Prince Kusakabe in the palace of Ohotsu. In the tenth month of the tenth year (of the same reign) she followed the Shamon the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito to Yoshino in order to avoid the suspicious dislike of the Court, as has been related in the history of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito. In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito, summer, the sixth month, she followed the Emperor when he took refuge in the Eastern provinces. She addressed the troops and mingled with the throng, until at length they together formed a plan by which several tens of thousands of fearless men were separately ordered to take up their posts in all the most defensible positions. In autumn, the seventh month, the Mino generals acting in concert with the Yamato heroes slew the Imperial Prince Ohotomo and sent his head to

[1] High-Heaven broad-plain princess.

[2] Jitō means "holding supreme control."

[3] Tenchi Tennō.

be shown at the Fuha Palace. In the second year she was raised to the rank of Empress-consort. The Empress-consort from the beginning until now had assisted the Emperor in XXX. 2
pacifying the Empire. It constantly happened that in the conduct of business, her ready advice on Government matters was of the greatest assistance.[1]

In the first year of Shuchō, on the ninth day of the ninth month, the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito died. The Empress-consort presided over the Court and exercised control.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. The Imperial Prince Ohotsu's treason was discovered and he was placed under arrest. There were arrested at the same time Wotokashi, Yakuchi no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Lower Shō-sen rank,[2] and also the Ohotoneri Omi-maro, Nakatomi no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, a Silla priest named Hèng-sin, with Tobari, Toki no Michi-dzukuri, and others, more than thirty persons in all, who had been led astray by the Imperial Prince Ohotsu.

3rd day. Death was bestowed on the Imperial Prince XXX. 3.
Ohotsu in his house at Wosada. He was twenty-four years of age. His consort, the Imperial Princess Yamanobe, hastened thither with her hair dishevelled and her feet bare, and joined him in death. All who witnessed sighed and sobbed.

The Imperial Prince Ohotsu was the third child of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito.[3] His demeanour was noble and his language refined. He was beloved by the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake. When he grew to manhood he showed an eminent talent for learning, and was very fond of writing. The practice of composing Chinese verses had its origin with Ohotsu.

29th day. An Imperial decree was issued as follows :—"The Imperial Prince Ohotsu has been guilty of treason and has led astray officials and people, so that We, within the curtain, had no alternative.[4] The Imperial Prince Ohotsu has now perished. His followers deserve the same sentence as the

[1] This sentence is borrowed from a Chinese author.

[2] This rank had been abolished some years before.

[3] Temmu Tennō.

[4] The Empress is the speaker. Hence the phrase, "Within the curtain."

Prince, but We pardon them all. Toki no Michi-dzukuri is however, banished to Idzu." It was further decreed, saying: —"We cannot bring ourselves to inflict punishment on the Silla priest Hèng-sin, who was an accomplice in the Imperial Prince Ohotsu's treason. He is therefore exiled to the temple of the province of Hida."

11th month, 16th day. The Imperial Princess Ohoku, who had been sent to attend at the shrine of Ise, returned to the capital.

17th day. There was an earthquake.

12th month, 19th day. On behalf of the Emperor Ame no
XXX. 4. Nunahara oki no Mabito, a universal great assembly was held in the following five Temples, viz., of the Great Palace, of Asuka, of Kahara, of Toyora in Woharida, and of Sakata.

26th day. Presents of cloth and silk stuffs of various values were made to the orphans, to the childless and widowed, and to the aged people of the capital.

Intercalary 12th month. The Viceroy of Tsukushi sent as tribute common people, both men and women, of the three countries of Koryö, Pèkché, and Silla, and also sixty-two priests and nuns.

In this year a serpent and a dog copulated. Presently they both died together.

A.D. 687. 1st year,[1] Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary interment and made lament. The Nagon[2] Miaruji Fuse no Asòn performed the ceremony of pronouncing a eulogy. When the eulogy was over they all raised a lament. Next the common people made lament. Upon this Mabito, Ki no Ason, and others of the High Stewards of the Palace, made offerings of food. When this was done, the Uneme of the Steward's Department raised a lament. Then music was performed by the officials of the Department of Music.

5th day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary

[1] The nengo or year periods are dropped again and the old method of reckoning by the year of the reign reverted to.

[2] More familiar in the combinations Dainagon and Chunagon. The word means Speaker, not inappropriate to his function on the present occasion.

interment and made lament. The common people followed and raised lamentation.

15th day. Presents of various values, of coarse silk and floss silk, were given to those residents of the capital who were eighty years of age or more, to invalids whose cases were grave, and to poor persons who were unable to support themselves.

19th day. Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, with Karita, Mori no kimi, of Tsui-dai-ni rank, and others were sent to Silla to announce the Emperor's decease. XXX. 5.

3rd month, 15th day. Fifty-six immigrants from Koryö were settled in the province of Hitachi. They were given lands, received an allowance of grain, and made to pursue their avocations in peace.

20th day. An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. This was called Mikage.[1]

On this day, Maro, Tajihi no Mabito, performed the ceremony of pronouncing a eulogy.

22nd day. Fourteen immigrants from Silla were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu. They were given land and received an allowance of grain, and made to pursue their avocations in peace.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Viceroy of Tsukushi presented priests, nuns and common people, men and women, twenty-two persons, immigrants from Silla. They were settled in the province of Musashi, where they were granted lands and an allowance of grain, and were made to follow their avocations in peace.

5th month, 22nd day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, proceeded to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. On this occasion, the chiefs of the Hayato and of Ata in Ohosumi, each accompanied by his people, advanced in turn and pronounced a eulogy.

6th month, 28th day. Criminals were pardoned.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. A decree was issued as follows :—" Interest may not be received on any debts contracted

[1] Mikage means " august shade." The wreath was supposed to represent the deceased Emperor. In a poem composed by the Empress at this time there occurs the phrase " tama-kadzura kage ni mietsutsu," i.e. "while looking on the jewel-wreath as thy shadow or representative."

during or previous to the year Kinoto Tori.[1] In cases where creditors have already the personal service of their debtors, they may not exact (additional) service (by way of) interest.[2]

9th day. Presents of various values were given to the chiefs of the Hayato and of Ata in Ohosumi, 337 persons in all.

8th month, 5th day. Offerings[3] of food were made at the Palace of temporary interment. On this day (nothing but) fine boiled rice[4] was offered.

6th day. The aged people of the capital, both men and
XXX. 6. women, all drew near and made lamentation west of the bridge.

28th day. The Empress sent Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, and Ohotomo Kibumi no Muraji, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, to invite together 300 Riu-zō and Dai-toku[5] to the Temple of Asuka, and to present to each a priestly robe,[6] saying:—"This was made of the august garments of the Emperor Ame no Nunahara oki no Mabito." The language of the Imperial message was so pathetic that it may not be set forth in full.

9th month, 9th day. A national feast of vegetable food[7] was given in the Temples of the capital.

10th day. A maigre entertainment was given at the Palace of temporary interment.

22nd day. Silla sent Prince Kim Sang-nim, Kim Sal-mo, of Keupson rank, Kim In-syul, of Keupson rank, and the Tè-sya So Yang-sin to petition the Emperor (for advice) regarding the Government of that country and to offer tribute. The student-priest Chi-ryu arrived along with them. The Viceroy of Tsu-kushi having informed Sang-nim and his colleagues of the Emperor's decease, they all on that same day put on mourning,

[1] A.D. 685. [2] The first mention of interest on loans.

[3] The character used denotes specially the autumnal offerings to ancestors.

[4] Cooked down to one-third its original bulk. Giles. The "Shūkai" explains this to mean "without fish or flesh." The older reading is "green food," for which the interlinear Kana is hijiki-oho, a dish prepared with hijiki, a kind of sea-weed.

[5] Riu-zō is literally Dragon-elephant (Naga in Sanskrit), and Dai-toku great virtue, corresponding to the Sanskrit Bhadanta. Both are complimentary expressions for Buddhist dignitaries.

[6] Kesa, in Sanskrit kachâya.

[7] This was the anniversary of Temmu Tennō's death.

and with their faces turned to the East made obeisance three times, and three times raised lamentation.

Winter, 10th month, 22nd day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, as well as by the Governors of provinces, and the Kuni no Miyakko, together with common people, both men and women, began the construction of the Oho-uchi Misasagi.

12th month, 10th day. Tomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, was appointed Imperial Envoy for the entertainment of the Silla guests.

This year was the year Hinoto I (24th) of the Cycle.

2nd year, 1st month, 1st day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, went to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. A.D. 688.

2nd day. A company of priests made lament at the Palace of temporary interment.

8th day. A public great congregation[1] was held in the Temple of Yakushi.

23rd day. The decease of the Emperor was formally announced to Kim Sang-nim and his colleagues. Kim Sang-nim and his colleagues thereupon made lament three times. XXX. 7.

2nd month, 2nd day. The Viceroy presented the tribute from Silla. It consisted of such things as gold and silver, thin silks, cloth, skins, copper, and iron—more than ten articles in all. There were also presented separately such things as images of Buddha, all kinds of coloured fine silks, birds, and horses, more than ten articles in all. Sang-nim's presents were gold and silver, coloured stuffs, and all manner of rarities, altogether more than eighty articles.

10th day. Sang-nim and his colleagues were entertained in the Tsukushi Government House, and received presents of various values.

16th day. A decree was issued, as follows :—" In future, on all days of national mourning it is absolutely necessary that abstinence should be practised."[2]

29th day. Sang-nim and his colleagues took their departure.

[1] Of priests.

[2] Some make this refer to a monthly fast on the day of the Emperor's decease, others to an annual observance.

3rd month, 22nd day. An ornamental chaplet was offered at the Palace of temporary interment. Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason, pronounced a eulogy.

5th month, 8th day. Tök-na-ri, Kyöng-su of Pèkché was transferred to the province of Kahi.

6th month, 11th day. There was an Imperial decree, ordering that all prisoners throughout the Empire who had been guilty of capital crimes should have their punishment mitigated by one degree, and that those who were in prison for lighter offences should be all pardoned. Orders were given to the Empire that for this year (only) half the commuted taxes should be levied.

Autumn, 7th month, 11th day. By reason of the drought, there was great praying for rain.

20th day. The Pèkché priest Dōzō was commanded to pray for rain. Before a morning had passed, rain fell plentifully throughout the Empire.

8th month, 10th day. Offerings of food were made, and lament raised at the Palace of temporary interment. On this occasion Yasumaro, Ohotomo no Sukune, pronounced a eulogy.

XXX. 8. 11th day. Prince Ise, of Jō-dai-shi rank, was commanded to announce the state to be observed at the funeral.

25th day. The King of Tamna sent his Minister Kara with tribute of the productions of the country.

9th month, 23rd day. Kara, Minister of Tamna, and his companions were entertained at the Government House of Tsukushi, and received presents of various values.

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. The Prince Imperial, accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries, as well as by the guests from the frontier lands, went to the Palace of temporary interment and made lamentation. On this occasion offerings of food were made, and the Tate-fushi[1] dance performed.

The Ministers each advanced in turn and pronounced a eulogy, setting forth the circumstances of the services rendered by their ancestors.

[1] Shield-measure. So called because danced with shields (and swords) in the hands of the performers. Ten persons took part in it.

5th day. More than 190 Yemishi brought tribute on their backs, and in this fashion pronounced a eulogy.

11th day. Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, pronounced eulogies alternately.

Chitoko, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, in a eulogy recited the succession to the throne of the Imperial ancestors. When this ceremony was finished, the Emperor was buried in the Ohouchi[1] Misasagi.

12th month, 12th day. Two hundred and thirteen Yemishi, men and women, were entertained under the tsuki tree west of the Temple of Asuka. Ranks were bestowed on them, and they received presents varying in value.

3rd year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. The Empress gave audience to the ten-thousand lands[2] in the Front Hall. A.D. 689.

2nd day. The Department of Great Learning presented eighty staves.[3] XXX. 9.

3rd day. Maro and Kanawori, sons of Shiriko, of Mu-dai-shi rank, Yemishi of Kikafu in the district of Utamu in the

[1] In the district of Takechi in Yamato, at the village of Gojō no mura. The site is five chō in length by four in width. Five houses for caretakers are allotted to it. The vault is eight feet wide and nine feet deep, and contains two stone sarcophagi. It has been plundered, like many others.

[2] "Ten-thousand lands or provinces" seems put for "everybody," "all the world," as we might say.

[3] The staves were for the purpose of driving out evil spirits, a ceremony which was performed on the first day of the Hare in each year. The "Yengishiki" mentions camellia, holly, peach, plum, etc., among the woods used for this purpose. This custom is of Chinese origin. The later custom of driving out evil spirits was by scattering beans, and was known as oni-yarahi, tsuina, or mame maki. This was practised on the last day of the year.

Yamada, in his Dictionary, says that a man was dressed up as the demon of pestilence; he describes the ceremony gone through of driving him away, and gives other particulars which are worth consulting. See also "Sansai-dzuye," iv. 27.

Tylor quotes several examples of allied superstitious practices in his "Primitive Culture," ii. p. 199, to which may be added the following from the "Life of Sir R. Burton":—"On Sylvester night the servants went through a very usual ceremony in Trieste of forming procession and chevying the evil spirits with sticks and brooms out of the house, and inviting the good spirits and good luck to come and dwell with us." This reminds one strongly of the Japanese formula used on this occasion:—"Oni wa soto, fuku wa uchi"—"Devils out, luck in." The ceremony too is performed on the same day of the year.

province of Michinoku, begged permission to shave off their hair and become priests. The Empress gave order, saying:—"Maro and the other, although young, are of refined tastes, and their wishes are limited; so much so that they desire nothing but vegetable food and to observe the precepts.[1] In accordance with their request, let them renounce the world and practise religion."

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers, and presents of raiment were bestowed on them.

8th day. Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, and his companions, who were sent as Envoys to Silla, returned from thence.

9th day. The Empress gave orders to the Governor of the province of Idzumo to send up to the capital men of the frontier lands who had met with stress of weather.

On this day there were presented to Dōshin, a Yemishi of Koshi, who was a Buddhist priest, an image of Buddha, one baptismal banner, one bell and one begging bowl, coloured silks, five feet of each kind, five bundles of floss silk, ten tan of cloth, ten mattocks, and one saddle.

Ahada no Mabito no Ason, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and others presented to the Empress 174 Hayato,[2] with fifty fathoms of cloth, six ox hides, and fifty deer-skins.

15th day. The civil and military officials brought presents of firewood.

16th day. A meal was given to the public functionaries.

18th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

20th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

2nd month, 13th day. The Empress gave orders that reliefs should be sent for the Barrier Wardens of Tsukushi who had completed their term of years.

26th day. Prince Takeda, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Nemaro, Hashi no Sukune, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Maro, Ohoyake no
XXX. 1c. Ason, Fubito, Fujihara no Ason, Sakurawi, Tahema no Mabito, of Mu-dai-shi rank, Yamamori, Hodzumi no Ason, Omimaro,

[1] The ten Buddhist commandments. *Vide* Eitel, S'ikchâpada.

[2] I suspect that the use of the Hayato as an Imperial Guard began at this time; if this be so, the legend related of the reason why the Hayato were vassals of the Emperor (see Vol. I. p. 107) must be of comparatively recent origin.

Nakatomi no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, and Yasumaro, Ohomiwa no Ason, were made judges.

3rd month, 24th day. There was a great amnesty for the Empire. But those crimes which were not pardoned in ordinary amnesties were excepted from this amnesty.

Summer, 4th month, 8th day. Immigrants from Silla were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu.

13th day. His Highness the Prince Imperial Kusakabe died.

20th day. Silla sent Kim To-na, of Keupson rank, and others on a mission of condolence for the decease of the Emperor Oki no Mabito. Silla sent up at the same time the student-priests Mei-sō, Kwan-chi, etc. Separately Silla sent a present of a gold-copper[1] image of Amida, a gold-copper image of Kwan-ze-on Bosatsu, and an image of Dai-sei-shi[2] Bosatsu, together with coloured silks and brocades.

22nd day. Prince Kasuga died.

27th day. Orders were given to the Local Governors that their labourers should be allowed four holidays in the month.

5th month, 22nd day. Nemaro, Hashi no Sukune, was directed to convey to the Condolence Envoys from Silla, Kim Tona, of Keupson rank, and his colleagues, an Imperial message, as follows:—"The Ministers of the Council of State, by order of the Empress, make this communication. In the first year of the reign, Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason and others were sent to announce the decease of the late Emperor. Then Silla said that the persons charged to receive an Imperial message had always had the rank of So-phan. This should also be the XXX. 11.
case on the present occasion. For this reason Norimaro and his colleagues were unable to deliver the Imperial message which was entrusted to them. Now if former matters are gone into, there is the case of the decease of the Emperor who once ruled the Empire from the Palace of Naniha,[3] when Kose no Inamochi and his colleagues were sent to announce it. On that occasion Kim Chhyun-chhyu, of Yé-son[4] rank, received

[1] Copper with a small admixture of gold. No doubt the shakudō of modern times. See "Japanese Metallurgy," by W. Gowland, in the "Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry," June, 1896.

[2] Sanskrit, Mahânâman.

[3] Kōtoku Tennō.

[4] Probably Tè-a-son is meant. At least this was his rank above, and no Silla rank of Yé-son is known.

the Imperial message, so that if it is said that an official of the rank of So-phan should receive the Imperial commands, this would be at variance with former precedent.

Again, when the Emperor who ruled the Empire from the Palace of Afumi[1] died, Kim Sal-yu, of Il-kil-son rank, was sent to offer condolence. But now an official of the rank of Keupson offers condolence, which again is contrary to precedent. Moreover Silla has always addressed the Emperor saying:—'Our country, since the reigns of the remote Imperial ancestors of Japan, is a land which does service, never allowing the oars of its ordered ships to become dry.' Yet now but one ship is sent, which is contrary to the ancient rule. And further in addressing the Emperor Silla has said:—'Since the reign of the remote Imperial ancestor of Japan, we have done service with pure hearts.' But you have not been careful to be thoroughly faithful in the performance of the functions originally entrusted to you. You have broken your true faith and have had wilful recourse to arts of flattery. Therefore your tribute and the separate presents are sealed up together and returned to you. However, the generous affection shown to you since the reign of the remote Imperial ancestor of this country will not be discontinued. Be therefore more and more diligent, more and more watchful, and discharge the duties entrusted to you with fear and trembling. The Celestial Court will have a still more generous affection in case the laws are honoured and observed. Do you, Tona and the rest, receive this Imperial message and deliver it to your King."

6th month, 1st day. Garments were presented to the Viceroy of Tsukushi and others.

2nd day. The Imperial Prince Shiki, Sukuna-maro, Sami
XXX. 12. no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Mugohe, Hata no Ason, Mumakahi, Iyobe no Muraji, of Gon-kwō-shi rank, Okina, Mitsugi no Imiki, Ta-uchi, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Mu-dai-san rank, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, and others were appointed Commissioners for the choice of good words.[2]

19th day. Presents of rice, varying in value in each case,

[1] Tenchi Tennō.

[2] Explained to be the selection of specimens of auspicious language of ancient and modern times to serve as models for addresses to the Empress. This office soon fell into abeyance.

were given to Hsü Shou-yen, Sa Hung-k'o, and others of the Land of Great Thang.

20th day. The Empress commanded the Viceroy Ahada no Mabito no Ason and others to give the student-priests Mei-sō and Kwan-chi each 140 kin of floss silk to send to their teachers and friends in Silla.

23rd day. The Silla Condolence Envoys Tona and his colleagues were entertained at Wo-gohori [1] in Tsukushi and were given presents, varying in the case of each.

29th day. A book of legal enactments [2] in twenty-two volumes was distributed to all the Local Governors.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. In accordance with his request, the Buddhist priest Jitoku, Yemishi of Michinoku, was granted a gold-copper image of Yakushi Butsu and a gold-copper image of Kwanze-on Bosatsu, a bell, a dish,[3] a precious curtain, an incense burner, and a banner.

On this day, the Silla Condolence Envoys Kim Tona and his colleagues took their departure.

15th day. Orders were given to the Mayors of the Right and Left divisions of the capital and to the Governors of the provinces to build places for the practice of archery.[4] XXX. 13.

20th day. The false Palace guard, Kashihabara no Hiroyama by name, a man of the district of Shibukaha in the province of Kahachi, was banished to the province of Tosa. The rank of Tsui-kwō-san was conferred on Tora, Mibu no Muraji, the Palace guard who arrested the false Palace guard Hiroyama.

[1] Wo-gohori means "small district," and probably means here the smaller of the two Government establishments. There was also an Oho-gohori or great district in Tsukushi.

[2] An authority quoted by the "Shūkai" states that in the first year of Tenchi's reign there was prepared a collection of enactments in twenty-two volumes, which were known to the public as the "laws of the Afumi Court." The same authority states that there was a revision of these laws in the 2nd month of the 10th year of Temmu Tennō. It is these revised regulations which are referred to in the text. The "Yengishiki," which is still extant, gives us some idea of the character of these compilations.

[3] A begging bowl is meant. The word used is sara, which is written phonetically with the characters commonly used to represent the Sanskrit Sâla, the large timber tree under which Sâkyamuni died.

[4] The interlinear Kana gives here ikusa, "war," as the equivalent of the Chinese 射, archery. Perhaps ikusa is derived from i, root of iru, to shoot, and kusa, a kind

23rd day. Presents were given to Yatsurina and others, Yemishi of Koshi, varying in value in the case of each.

8th month, 2nd day. The public functionaries assembled in the Department of the Shintō religion, where an Imperial message was communicated to them respecting matters of the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

4th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. Hunting and fishing were prohibited in the sea of Muko in the province of Settsu for a distance of 1000 paces, for a space of 20,000 shiro on the plain of Nagino in the district of Ate in the province of Kiï, and for a space of 20,000 shiro on the plains of Minono in the district of Iga in the province of Iga. Keepers were attached to these places in the same way as to the Sea of Takashi in the district of Ohotori in the province of Kahachi.

17th day. The Ministers received rewards, varying in the case of each.

21st day. The Empress gave orders to the Governor-General[1] of Iyo, Norimaro Tanaka no Ason, and his colleagues, saying:—"Let the white swallow caught in the district of Mike in the province of Sanuki be set at liberty."

23rd day. The Empress witnessed archery.

Intercalary 8th month, 10th day. The Empress gave orders to the Local Governors, saying:—"This winter the registers of population are to be made up. Not later than the 9th month, let vagabonds be sought out and arrested. As to the militia, let those of each province be divided into four parts, and
XXX. 14. having selected one of these, cause the men to be trained in warlike exercises."

27th day. Prince Kahachi, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, was made Viceroy of Tsukushi. He was granted arms and received presents. The rank of Jiki-kwō-ichi was bestowed on Shima, Tajihi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-ni rank. His fief was increased by 100 houses, which were added to his former grant.

9th month, 10th day. Maro, Iso no Kami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, Mushina, Ishikaha no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and others were sent to Tsukushi to deliver patents of rank and also to inspect the new castle.

[1] He seems to have had control over the whole island of Shikoku.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. The Empress visited the Castle of Takayasu.

22nd day. Komaro, Shimotsukenu no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, represented to the Empress his desire to set free 600 slaves. His petition was granted.

11th month, 22nd day. Ihanari, Takata no Obito, of Tsui-kwō-ni rank, was complimented in the market-place on his proficiency in the use of the three weapons,[1] and presents were given him.

12th month, 8th day. The game of suguroku[2] was prohibited.

4th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Mononobe no Maro[3] no Ason set up great shields.[4] Nakatomi no Ohoshima no Ason, Minister of the Department of the Shintō religion, recited (a prayer invoking) blessings from the Gods of Heaven. When this was over, Shikofuchi, Imbe no Sukune, delivered to the Empress-consort the divine seal, sword and mirror.[5] The Empress-consort accordingly assumed the Imperial Dignity.[6] The Ministers and public functionaries ranged in order, made obeisance in rotation,[7] and clapped their hands. A.D. 690. XXX. 15.

[1] Bow, sword, and lance.

[2] The Chinese characters mean double-six, i.e. dice. Hepburn gives backgammon as the meaning of the Japanese word suguroku or sugoroku. Yamada's Dictionary gives the following description of it :—" Sugoroku is played by two players, with a board called kyoku, separated into twelve divisions. Twelve horses (pieces) are set in rows, distinguished as black and white. The dice are placed in a bamboo tube, shaken, and thrown out, and the horses moved forward the number of spaces indicated. The player who first moves his horses into the enemy's camp is the winner." There are other forms of the game. It is said to have come originally from India. See Culin's "Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Games," p. 81.

[3] Maro is probably the personal name, though out of its usual order.

[4] Or a great shield. Shields were set up as offerings to the Shintō Gods.

[5] Another rendering is "the divine tokens, i.e. the sword and mirror."

[6] The delay was no doubt in compliance with the Chinese idea of a three years' mourning.

[7] The "Yengishiki," in describing the ceremony of accession and of the festival of first-fruits, says :—" Those of the fifth rank and upwards stand up together and advance to the tablet-position in the middle of the Court, where they kneel down and clap their hands four times, eight claps each time for each. This is what is called in the sacred language Ya-hiraki-te

2nd day. The Ministers and public functionaries presented their respects at Court with the same state as at the New Year's audience.

Tajihi no Shima no Mabito and Fuse no Miaruji no Ason [1] presented their congratulations to the Empress on her accession to the throne.

3rd day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the inner precinct.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the inner precinct, and presents of clothing given them.

15th day. The public functionaries presented firewood.

17th day. There was a general amnesty throughout the Empire. It did not apply, however, to those criminals who are excepted from ordinary pardons.

One grade of rank was granted to all persons who already held official rank.

Widows, orphans, lone persons, sufferers from grave illness, and those who from poverty were unable to support themselves were granted presents of rice, and exempted from commuted taxes and forced labour.

20th day. One hundred tokibe [2] were appointed to the Department of Justice.

23rd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth in the Home provinces. Moreover, the lands and houses allotted for their service were augmented.

2nd month, 5th day. The Empress went to the embankment of Wakinokami and inspected the horses of the Ministers and Daibu.

11th day. A Buddhist priest of Silla named Chön-kil, Peuk

(eight-open-hand). The Prince Imperial claps his hands first and then retires. Next officials of the fifth rank and upwards clap hands, and finally those of the sixth or lower ranks in turn." A Chinese authority states that the Japanese showed their respect for men of distinction by clapping their hands. The number of obeisances varied at different times from one up. The "tablet-position" is probably something like what I have seen in the Court in front of the Audience Hall in Söul, where slabs of stone are let into the ground with inscriptions indicating the positions to be taken up by the officials of each rank.

[1] Shima and Miaruji are the personal names.

[2] Tokibe were officers who held preliminary examinations and committed prisoners for trial.

Cho-chi, of Keupson rank, and others, fifty persons in all, immigrated to Japan. XXX. 16.

17th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. A feast of vegetarian food was given within the inner precinct.

25th day. Hö-man, of Han Nama rank, and other Silla men, twelve persons in all, who had come as immigrants, were settled in the province of Musashi.

3rd month, 20th day. Rice of the Shima Palace was given to those inhabitants of the capital and the Home provinces who were eighty years of age and upwards. Each person had twenty sheaves, and those who had official rank received in addition two tan of cloth.

Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. Envoys were sent to worship the great abstinence Deity of Hirose and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

7th day. Presents of rice were made to 5031 old men and old women of the capital and Home provinces. Each person had twenty sheaves.

14th day. An edict was issued, as follows :—" Let all public functionaries and people of the Home provinces be divided into nine classes according to the number of days in which they have done service. In the case of those who have official rank, reckoning is to be made for six years, and not longer, and in the case of those of no rank, for seven years only. In accordance with the regulations for the examination of public service, let those of the first four classes receive cap-rank in proportion to their merits, their services, and the importance of the House to which they belong. Their court costume shall be dark purple for those from the rank of Jō-dai-ichi down to that of Kwō-ni, bright purple for those from the rank of Jō-dai-san to that of Kwō-shi, for the eight Shō[1] grades bright purple, for the eight Jiki grades dark red, for the eight Gon grades dark green, for the eight Mu grades light green, for the eight Tsui grades deep blue, and for the eight Shin grades light blue. Apart from this, those of Jō-kwō-ni or higher rank may wear all manner of thin silk gauzes, etc., of one breadth and one kind, while those from the rank of Jō-dai-san to that of Jiki-kwō-shi may wear all manner of thin silk gauzes, etc., of

[1] See above, p. 368.

one breadth and two kinds. Both the higher and lower ranks should ordinarily wear girdles of variegated silk and white
XXX. 17. trousers. Other matters to remain as usual."

22nd day. By reason of a drought, rain was begun to be prayed for in various places.

5th month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

10th day. Twenty-one immigrants from Pèkché, men and women, arrived.

15th day. Discourses on "dwelling in peace"[1] were begun in the inner precinct.

6th month, 6th day. The Empress visited Hatsuse.

25th day. All persons whatever, possessed of official rank, were summoned, and the order of their rank and their ages proclaimed.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Ministers and public functionaries put on the new Court costume for the first time.

3rd day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth.

5th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was made Dajō-daijin, the rank of Shō-kwō-san was granted to Tajihi no Mabito, and he was made Udaijin. New appointments were also made to all the eight Departments of State and the bureaus.

6th day. New appointments were made of viceroys and governors of provinces.

7th day. An Imperial Order was made that the Ministers, public functionaries, and all persons holding official rank should in future put on their Court costumes in their own houses, and so present themselves before the opening of the gate.

9th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"When those occupying the higher places at a Court assembly see a Prince of the Blood, the usual ceremony is to be observed; when a Daijin and a Prince appear, every one should stand up before the Hall; if two or more Princes appear, every one should get down from his seat and kneel."

14th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"When

[1] The Buddhist retirement for meditation during the rainy season, a sort of Lenten retreat. See above, p. 360.

those occupying the higher places at a Court assembly see a Daijin, they should move their seats and kneel down."

On this day alms of coarse silk, raw silk, floss silk, and cloth were given to 3363 priests of the seven temples who had taken part in the "retreat."[1] Separately alms were bestowed, on behalf of the Prince Imperial, on 329 priests of three temples who had taken part in the "retreat."

18th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta. XXX. 18.

8th month, 4th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. Silla immigrants were settled in the province of Shimotsukenu.

9th month, 1st day. An edict was addressed to the governors of all the provinces, as follows:—"In preparing the returns of population, let the house-regulations be attended to."

11th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"As We are about to make a tour in the province of Kiï, let no land-tax or poll-tax be collected for the year in the capital."

13th day. The Empress proceeded to Kiï.

23rd day. Three priests who had gone to the Land of Great Thang for study, named Chi-shiu, Gi-toku, and Jō-gwan, and a private soldier named Ohotomobe no Hakama, of the district of Upper Yame in the province of Tsukushi, returned to Tsukushi in the train of the Silla Escort Envoy, Kim Ko-hun, of Tè-na-ma rank.

24th day. The Empress returned from Kiï.

Winter, 10th month, 5th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

10th day. Chi-shiu and the other priests who had been to Thang for study arrived in the capital.

15th day. Messengers were sent to Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and his colleagues with the following order:—"In entertaining the Silla Escort Envoy, Kim Ko-hun, of Tè-na-ma rank, and his colleagues, let the precedent be followed of the Escort Envoy, who escorted up the student Wohi, Hashi no Sukune, and his companions. The attentions paid them and the presents given them must follow strictly the edict."

[1] See above, p. 398, note.

22nd day. An Imperial order was given to Ohotomobe no Hakama, a private soldier of the district of Upper Yame in the province of Tsukushi, saying :—" You were taken prisoner by the Thang troops in the seventh year of the reign of the Empress Ame toyo-takara-ikashi-hi-tarashi-hime during the campaign undertaken for the assistance of Pèkché. At length, in the third year of the Emperor Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, the four men Hoto Hashi, no Muraji, Oyu, Kohori no Muraji,
XXX. 19. Satsuyama, Tsukushi no Kimi, and Gen Jitsu-ni,[1] Yuge no Muraji, wished to inform the Emperor of the designs of the men of Thang, but, as they had neither clothing nor provisions, they were, to their sorrow, unable to carry out their purpose. Upon this you, Hakama, said to Hashi no Hoto and the others, 'I should like to return to our own Court along with you, but for want of clothing and provisions we cannot all depart together. I pray you, sell me as a slave, and use the money to buy food and clothing.' Acting on your proposal, Hoto and his companions were enabled to communicate with the Celestial Court, and you alone remained in a foreign land for the space of thirty years until now. We are pleased with the loyalty and patriotism which led you to sell yourself, and thus display your fidelity. As a mark of distinction for this meritorious service We therefore grant you the rank of Mu-dai-shi, with five pieces of coarse silk, ten bundles of floss silk, thirty tan of cloth, 1000 sheaves of rice, and four chō of rice-land, to be continued to your great-grandchildren, and your relations of the three classes[2] are exempted from forced labour."

29th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi inspected the site for the Palace of Fujihara. He was accompanied by the Ministers and public functionaries.

11th month, 7th day. Presents were given to the Escort Envoy Kim Ko-hun and his colleagues, of varying value in the case of each.

11th day. In compliance with an Imperial order, the use of the Yüan-kia and I-fêng calendars was begun.[3]

[1] Apparently a Chinese name which he had taken to himself.

[2] His father and mother, brothers and sisters, and wife and children.

[3] Yüan-kia is the Chinese period from 424 to 453; I-fêng from 676 to 678. The "Sandai jitsu roku" says: "First the Yüan-kia calendar was used, and

12th month, 3rd day. The Escort Envoy Kim Ko-hun and his colleagues took their departure.

12th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. The Empress went to Fujihara, and inspected the site for the Palace. All the Ministers and public functionaries accompanied her. XXX. 20.

23rd day. Presents were given to the Ministers and officials of lower rank, varying in value in the case of each.

5th year, Spring, 1st month, 1st day. Ranks were bestowed on the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers,[1] the Princesses of the Blood, the Princesses, and the lady officials of the Palace. A.D. 691.

7th day. Presents of eatables, drinkables, and clothing were given to the Ministers. Rich presents varying in value in the case of each were made to Yö Syön-kwang, of Shō-kwō-shi rank, and to Wön-pong, Nyang-no, and Nam-chyön, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Princes of Pèkché.

13th day. An increase of 2000 houses was made to the fief of the Imperial Prince Takechi, which, added to his previous fief, made 3000 houses. To the Imperial Prince Hodzumi, of Jō-kwō-ni rank, there were given 500 houses; to the Imperial Prince Kahashima, of Jō-dai-san rank, 100 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 500 houses; to the Udaijin, Tajihi no Shima Mabito, of Shō-kwō-san rank, 300 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 500 houses; to the Pèkché Prince Chyön-kwang, of Shō-kwō-shi rank, 100 houses, which, added to his previous fief, made 200 houses; to Fuse no Miaruji no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ichi rank, and to Ohotomo no Miyuki no Sukune, 80 houses, which, added to their previous fiefs, made 300 houses. Others received additions to their fiefs which varied in amount for each.

14th day. An edict was made, as follows:—"Masaru, Tsukushi no Fubito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, ever since his appointment twenty-nine years ago as Secretary to the Viceroy of Tsukushi, has been upright and faithful, and has not been guilty of any

next the I-fêng calendar. The I-fêng calendar is the same as the Lin-têh calendar (664-665). For details respecting the ancient Japanese calendar consult "Bramsen's Chronological Tables."

[1] Probably Ministers is a mistake for Princes.

remissness. He is, therefore, granted a sustenance-fief of 5000[1] houses, fifteen pieces of coarse silk, twenty-five bundles of floss silk, fifty tan of cloth, and 5000 sheaves of rice.

16th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

23rd day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

2nd month, 1st day. The Empress addressed a decree to
XXX. 21 the Ministers, saying :—" In the reigns of the former Emperors ye erected Buddhist Halls and Scripture (Sutra) Treasuries, and practised the six monthly fasts.[2] The Emperors from time to time sent Ohotoneri to inquire after the welfare of the priests, and the same has also been done in Our own reign. Let us therefore with zealous hearts continue to uphold the Buddhist faith."

On this day patents of rank were bestowed on officials.

3rd month, 3rd day. A banquet was given to the Ministers in the Western Hall.

5th day. The Empress inspected the horses both of the State and of private persons in the Imperial park.

22nd day. An edict was issued, as follows :—" If a younger brother of the common people is sold by his elder brother, he should be classed with freemen : if a child is sold by his parents, he should be classed with slaves : persons confiscated into slavery by way of payment of interest on debts are to be classed with freemen, and their children, though born of a union with a slave, are also to be all classed with freemen."

Summer, 4th month, 1st day. An edict was issued, as follows : —" Slaves who have been manumitted in the time of the ancestor of a House, and already struck off the register of slaves, may not be claimed again as slaves by members of that House."

Kudara, Kami no Sukuri, Doctor of the University, was granted 1000 sheaves of the greater tax-rice, as an encouragement to his learning.

11th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

16th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

[1] No doubt a mistake for fifty, as the " Shūkai " suggests.

[2] On the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th, nothing was eaten after noon. On these days the Shitennō (Tchatur Mahârâdjas) visit the earth and take note of the good and evil actions of mankind.

22nd day. The Empress returned from the Palace of Yoshino.

5th month, 21st day. Syun-mu-mi-chă of Pèkché was commended for his services during the year Midzunoye Saru, was granted the rank of Jiki-dai-san, and received presents of coarse silk and cloth.

6th month. Sleet[1] fell in forty places in the capital and provinces.

19th day. An edict was issued, as follows:—"This summer profuse rain has fallen beyond measure, and We fear that certainly injury will be caused to the grain-crops. Our anxiety of the night lasts until the morning, as We ponder where the blame for this lies. Now We command you, our Ministers and functionaries, to prohibit the use of strong drink and animal food, to compose your hearts and repent of your sins. Moreover let the priests of the Temples of the capital and of the Home provinces read the Sutras for a space of five days. It may be hoped that this will have some effect." XXX. 22.

The rain had lasted from the fourth month until this month.

20th day. A general amnesty was proclaimed throughout the Empire. Thieves and robbers were, however, excepted.

Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino. On this day, Norimaro, Tanaka no Ason, Governor of the province of Iyo, and others presented three kin and eight riō of silver and a basket of ore of Mount Mimŭma-yama in the district of Uwa.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers and presents of Court dress made them.

12th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

15th day. Envoys were sent to worship the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

8th month, 13th day. The Empress commanded eighteen Houses [Oho-miwa, Sazaibe, Iso no Kami, Fujihara, Ishikaha, Kose, Kashihade be, Kasuga, Kamitsukenu, Ohotomo, Ki, Abe, Saheki, Uneme, Hodzumi, Adzumi, Heguri, and Hata] to deliver to her the records of the tombs[2] of their ancestors.

[1] Another reading has rain, which agrees better with the time of year and with what follows. The text is in other respects doubtful.

[2] There is another, and preferable reading, which would mean simply "their ancestral records."

23rd day. Envoys were sent to worship the Wind-gods of Tatsuta, and the Gods of Suha [1] and Minuchi, in Shinano.

9th month, 4th day. Hsü Shou-yen and Sa Hung-k'o, of
XXX. 23. Great Thang, Professors of pronunciation, and Mal-să and Chyön-sin, of Pékchè, Professors of writing, received presents of twenty riō of silver each.

9th day. The Imperial Prince Kahashima, of Jō-dai-san rank, died.

23rd day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ni was granted to Ohome, Saheki no Sukune, and also a contribution made for his funeral expenses.

Winter, 10th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

8th day. A decree was issued, as follows :—" Let the houses set apart for the care of the misasagi of former Emperors be five or more in number; in the case of others, viz. princes of distinguished merit, let three houses be allotted. If the misasagi houses are insufficient, let the want be supplied by peasants, whose forced labour shall be remitted, and who shall be changed once in three years."

13th day. Long-life places,[2] each of 1000 paces, were instituted in the Home and other provinces.

On this day the Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

20th day. The Empress returned from Yoshino.

27th day. Envoys were sent to perform a service for the tranquillity of the new capital.[3]

11th month, 24th day. The festival of first-fruits [4] was held. Ohoshima, Nakatomi no Ason, Minister of the Department of the Shintō religion, recited the (prayer invoking the) blessing of the Heavenly Deities.

25th day. Bed-clothes [5] were presented to the Ministers.

28th day. Thin silks were given to all from the rank of Minister down to that of Secretary. They varied in value for each.

30th day. An entertainment was given to the officials of

[1] Ya-saká-iri hime. Satow's " Handbook," p. 234.

[2] Places within which the taking of animal life was prohibited—a Buddhist institution.

[3] At Fujihara.

[4] Ohonihe.

[5] Thickly wadded garments with sleeves, worn at night instead of blankets. The practice of making presents of this kind continued up to the Revolution of 1868.

the Shintō Department from the Chief down to the Kamibe, and also to the Governors and others, including common people, both men and women, of the districts of the provinces of Harima and Inaba which had furnished (the rice used at the festival). They received presents of thin silk of various values for each.

12th month, 2nd day. Toku Ji-chin,[1] of Mu-dai-san rank, Doctor of Medicine, and Mokuso, Chō-mu, Shataku, and Manjiu, Professors of exorcism, were given presents of twenty riō of silver each.

8th day. A decree was issued, as follows:—"To the Udaijin let there be given four chō of land as a site[2] for a house, to those of the rank of Jiki-kwō-ni and above, two chō, to those of the rank of Jiki-dai-san and below, one chō. From the Gon grades down to officials who have no rank, let the number of inhabitants of their fiefs be taken as a guide, first class fiefs having one chō, second class half a chō, and third class a quarter of a chō. Princes shall fo low the same rule." XXX. 24.

6th year, Spring, 1st month, 4th day. The Imperial Prince Takechi was granted an additional fief of 2000 houses, making, along with his previous one, a total of 5000 houses. A.D. 692.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers, and they received presents of garments.

12th day. The Empress inspected the road to[3] the new capital.

16th day. An entertainment was given to officials from the Ministers down to those of initial rank.

27th day. The Empress visited Takamiya.

28th day. The Empress returned from Takamiya.

2nd month, 11th day. Orders were given to the officials, saying:—"It is Our intention to proceed to Ise on the third day of the third month. Take note of this Our purpose, and get ready all the necessary clothing."

The priests Hō-zō and Dō-ki, Professors of the Yin and Yang, received presents of twenty riō of silver each.

[1] A Chinese name. But whether the bearer was a Chinaman or not is not clear. I have given the Japanese pronunciation of the characters. The other names are not Japanese.

[2] Presumably these sites were in the new capital of Fujihara referred to above.

[3] Or "the roads of."

19th day. Orders were given to the Board of Punishments to release short-sentence prisoners.

On this day, the Chunagon, Takechi-maro, Miwa no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ni rank, presented a memorial in which he made bold to remonstrate roundly with the Empress for her proposed visit to Ise, which he said would interfere with the time for agricultural operations.

3rd month, 3rd day. Prince Hirose, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, Chitoko, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, and Yumibari, Ki no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, were appointed to take charge of the Palace during the Empress's absence. Upon this the Chunagon, Takechi-maro, Miwa no Ason, divested
XXX. 25. himself of his cap-rank and delivered it up to the Court, reiterating his remonstrance, and saying:—"During the season of agricultural operations the (Imperial) chariot should not be moved."

6th day. The Empress did not yield to his remonstrances, but at length proceeded to Ise.

17th day. The Empress bestowed cap-rank on the Miyakko of the sacred districts[1] through which she had passed, and on the Miyakko of the provinces of Iga, Ise, and Shima. These places were also released from commuted taxes and forced labour for this year. Moreover the commuted taxes and forced labour for the year were remitted in the case of the horsemen provided for the Empress's service, the baggage-coolies of her officials, and the labourers employed in constructing temporary Palaces. There was a general pardon for the Empire, which, however, did not comprise thieves and robbers.

19th day. Fifty sheaves of rice for each person were presented to men and women of eighty years of age and upwards, common people of the province of Shima, through which the Empress passed.

20th day. The Imperial chariot[2] returned to the Palace. Wherever it had reached, the officials and people of the district were assembled, and care was taken to reward their diligence and to have musical performances.

30th day. By an Imperial decree, the commuted taxes and

[1] Viz. Ihino, Take and Watarahi, where there were shrines.

[2] The Empress may or may not have travelled in a chariot. This phrase is simply put respectfully for the Imperial cortège, or the Empress.

forced labour for this year were remitted to those houses from which horsemen had been provided for the Empress's service in the provinces of Afumi, Mino, Wohari, Mikaha, and Tōtōmi, to the baggage-coolies and to the labourers employed in constructing temporary Palaces in every province. An Imperial decree was also made that three sheaves of rice for each man, and two for each woman, should be given to all poor and distressed common people in the Empire.

Summer, 4th month, 2nd day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ni was bestowed on Tomokuni, Ohotomo no Sukune, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

5th day. With the exception of common people of the four Home provinces,[1] the men who had acted as baggage-coolies were exempted from commuted taxes and forced labour for the year.

19th day. Messengers were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

21st day. Mattocks from the Naniha Treasury were given to all persons of official rank, from Princes of the Blood down to the rank of Tsui-kwō-shi. These gifts varied in each case.

25th day. By an Imperial edict all prisoners and persons under sentence of lighter banishment were pardoned and discharged. XXX 26.

5th month, 6th day. Three brothers, named Kahasemaro, etc., fishermen of Agoshi, inhabitants of the district of Muro in the province of Kiï, who had supplied the Empress's table during her stay in the temporary Palace of Ago, were granted exemption for ten years from commuted taxes and forced labour, and from miscellaneous corvées. Further, eight boatmen had their commuted taxes and forced labour remitted for the year.

7th day. The Governor of the province of Sagami presented a pair of fledgling red crows, saying that they had been caught in the district of Miura.

12th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. The Imperial chariot returned to the Palace.

17th day. Daibu were sent as messengers to the celebrated

[1] Yamato, Yamashiro, Kahachi, and Settsu. Idzumi was at this time reckoned as a part of Kahachi.

mountains, and to the hills and rivers, to pray to them for rain.

20th day. Chitoko, Fumi no Imiki, was granted the posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi, and a contribution made towards the expenses of his funeral.

23rd day. Prince Naniha, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, and others were sent to perform a service for the tranquillity of the site of the Palace of Fujihara.

26th day. Envoys were sent to make offerings to the Great Gods of the following four places, viz.: Ise, Yamato, Sumiyoshi, and Kiï, and to announce to them the erection of the new Palace.

Intercalary 5th month, 3rd day. Great floods. Commissioners were sent to visit the districts and provinces, one after another, making loans to those who, having met with disaster, were unable to support themselves, and allowing them to fish and cut wood in the hills and forests, the ponds and marshes.

An Imperial order was given that the Kin-kwō-miō Sutra should be expounded in the capital and in the four Home provinces.

4th day. The Buddhist priest Kwan-sei was given a present of fifteen hiki of coarse silk, thirty bundles of floss silk, and fifty tan of cloth, and he was commended for having made white lead.[1]

XXX. 27. 13th day. The Great Gods of Ise addressed the Empress, saying:—"Let the commuted taxes and forced labour for the province of Ise be remitted for this year. That being so, the thirty-five kin of red silk yarn forwarded by the two districts of the Gods should be reduced in value from next year."[2]

15th day. An Imperial order was given to Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and the rest, saying:—"Let priests be sent to Ohosumi and Ata to propagate the Buddhist religion." He was further made to send up to the capital the image of Amida, made by the Great Thang Chief Envoy Kuo Wu-

[1] Used as a cosmetic.

[2] The highly respectful character 奏 is used for the address of the Gods to the Empress. The interlinear Kana puts the respectful term tamaye in the mouths of the Gods. The districts referred to are Take and Watarahi.

ts'ung, for the Emperor who lived in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi.

6th month, 9th day. The senior officials of the districts and provinces were commanded each to pray to the celebrated mountains, and to the hills and rivers for rain.

11th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to the four Home provinces to pray for rain.

21st day. Official rank was granted to eight labourers, and they were commended for their diligence and absence of remissness in the construction of the Ohouchi Misasagi.[1]

30th day. The Empress inspected the site of the Fujihara Palace.

Autumn, 7th month, 2nd day. A general amnesty was granted throughout the Empire. But this pardon did not apply to those guilty of the ten[2] crimes, nor to thieves and robbers.

Shikofuchi, Fuse no Ason, Governor of the province of Sagami, and others, with the Vice-Governor of the district of Miura, and Kusu, Kashima no Omi, who had caught the red crows, had rank and presents bestowed on them. Moreover the commuted taxes and forced labour were remitted to the district of Miura for three years.

7th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers.

9th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta.

28th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

On this night Mars and Jupiter approached and receded from one another four times in the room of one pace, alternately shining and disappearing. XXX. 28.

8th month, 3rd day. Criminals were pardoned.

17th day. The Empress visited the country-house of the Imperial Princess Asuka, and on the same day returned to the Palace.

9th month, 9th day. Daibu were despatched to the four Home provinces, to attend to the distribution of rice-lands.

[1] Of Temmu Tennō.

[2] Rebellion, conspiracy against the sovereign's person, treason, parricide, inhumanity (including murder and mutilation for nefarious purposes), sacrilege, unfilial conduct, discord, insubordination, and incest. Mayers, p. 350.

14th day. The Department of the Shintō religion laid before the Empress four volumes of sacred treasures,[1] nine keys, and one wooden stamp.

21st day. The Governor of the province of Ise presented two auspicious stalks of rice.

The Governor of the province of Echizen presented a white moth.

26th day. An Imperial decree was made, saying:—"Whereas a white moth has been caught on the shore at Uragami in the district of Tsunuga, the fief of the God of Kebi is increased by twenty houses, making a total, with those already attached to his shrine, of ——.

Winter, 10th month, 11th day. Mikata, Yamada no Fubito, was granted the rank of Mu-kwō-shi. He had formerly gone to study in Silla as a priest.

12th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

19th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

11th month, 8th day. Silla sent Pak Ök-tök, and Kim Sim-sal, of Keupson rank, etc., as tribute-bearers. Presents
XXX 29. were made of various values to Oyu, Okinaga no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and to Tsura, Kahachi no Imiki, of Mu-dai-ni rank, etc., whom it was proposed to send as Envoys to Silla.

11th day. Pak Ök-tök, of Silla, was entertained, and received presents in the official building of Naniha.

12th month, 14th day. Hsü Shou-yen and Sa Hung-k'o, Professors of (Chinese) pronunciation, received grants of rice-land, four chō being given to each.

24th day. Daibu were sent to deliver the tribute from Silla to the five shrines of Ise, Sumiyoshi, Kii, Yamato, and Unatari.[2]

A.D 693. 7th year, Spring, 1st month, 2nd day. The rank of Jō-kwō-ichi was bestowed on the Imperial Prince Takechi, and that of Jō-kwō-ni on the Imperial Princes Naga and Yuge.

On this day an Imperial edict was issued directing that the common people of the Empire should wear yellow clothing and that slaves should wear black.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu.

[1] Probably lists of the contents of the treasuries of the Shintō temples. "Shukai."

[2] In Yamato. The God worshipped was Taka-mi-dama no Mikoto.

13th day. Presents were given to all persons of official rank in the capital and in the Home provinces of the age of eighty years and upwards. Each person received one wadded sleeping garment, two hiki of coarse silk, two bundles of floss silk, and four tan of cloth.

15th day. The posthumous rank of Shō-kwō-san was granted to Syön-kwang, Prince of Pèkché, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

16th day. Presents of cloth of various values were made to the men and women of the capital of the age of eighty or upwards, and to poor and distressed persons.

A priest of Funase named Hō-kyō was given three chō of rice-land.

On this day, men of Aya gave a performance of Arare-bashiri.[1]

2nd month, 3rd day. Silla sent Kim Kang-nam, of Sason rank, and Kim Yang-wön, of Han-na-ma rank, to announce the mourning for the King.[2] XXX. 30.

10th day. Prince Kinunuhi and his colleagues, the Commissioners for the construction of the capital, were ordered to bury the bodies which had been dug up.

30th day. Thirty-seven castaways from Silla, named Muchă, Monyé, etc., were handed over to Ök-tök and his party.

3rd month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

5th day. A sustenance-fief of thirty houses was granted to Kudara, Kami no Sukuri, Doctor of the University, of Gon-kwō-ni rank, for the promotion of Chinese learning.

6th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

11th day. The rank of Jiki-dai-ni, and a contribution for funeral expenses, were granted to Ohoshima, Fujihara no Ason.

13th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

16th day. Presents of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth of various values were given to Oyu, Okinaga no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and Kogimi, Ohotomo no Sukune, of Gon-dai-ni rank, whom it was proposed to send as Envoys to Silla, and also to the student priests Bentsū and Shinyei.

[1] A song with dance. At the end of each stanza were repeated the words Man-nen arare, i.e. "May you live for 10,000 years." It is also called Man-zai-raku.

[2] King Sin-mun.

Moreover, a present was made for the funeral expenses of the King of Silla.

17th day. An Imperial decree was issued directing that the cultivation throughout the Empire of such vegetable productions as the mulberry tree, hemp, pears, chestnuts, and greens,[1] should be encouraged, as auxiliaries to the five grains.

Summer, 4th month, 17th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the shrines and to pray for rain. Moreover, Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose, and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

XXX. 31. 22nd day. Ohotomo no Wobito, Vice-President of the Inner Treasury, was by an Imperial decree convicted of dishonest practices, reduced two grades in rank, and dismissed from the office he then held. Two clerks named Oisome no Ohoku and Uno no Ohotomo were also convicted of dishonest practices, reduced one grade in rank, and dismissed from the office which they then held. An auditor named Kose no Muraharu, who, although he derived no personal advantage from it, was privy to the theft, and allowed it to be committed, was therefore reduced in rank by two grades and dismissed from his office. Oisome no Ohoku, however, was pardoned, on account of his zealous services during the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru. But the proceeds of the dishonest practices were confiscated according to law.

5th month, 1st day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

7th day. The Empress arrived from the Palace of Yoshino.

15th day. A public (Buddhist) great-congregation was held within the inner precinct.

6th month, 1st day. By an Imperial order the Koryö priest Pok-ka was restored to the laity.

4th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was bestowed on Hirome,
XXX. 32. Hikeda no Ason, Karita, Mori no Kimi, Maro, Kose no Ason, Omi-maro, Fujihara no Ason, Tayasu, Kose no Ason, Ike-mori, Tajihi no Mabito, and Maro, Ki no Ason, in all seven persons.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

[1] Giles has Brassica rapa or rape-turnip. The interlinear Kana has awona, which I have followed.

12th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

14th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain.

16th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain. On this day the Empress arrived from Yoshino.

8th month, 1st day. The Empress went to the site of the Palace of Fujihara.

17th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

21st day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

9th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

5th day. The Empress went to the Peak of Tamu no Mine.

6th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

10th day. On behalf of the Kiyomibara[1] Emperor a public great-congregation was held within the inner precincts. All prisoners were released.

16th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-san was granted to Konoma, Kaya no Imiki, and a contribution made for his funeral expenses. In this way his services in the campaign of the year Midzunoye Saru were rewarded.

Winter, 10th month, 2nd day. It was decreed that from this year onwards there should be inspections of the arms kept in store by all, beginning with the Princes of the Blood down to persons of initial rank. Those of Jō cap-rank down to Jiki cap-rank were each to have one suit of armour, one sword, one bow, one set of arrows, one elbow-pad,[2] and one saddle-horse. Those of Gon cap-rank to Shin or initial cap-rank were each XXX. 33. to have one sword, one bow, one set of arrows, and one elbow-pad. Such were to be their provision.

23rd day. The Jin-nō[3] Sutra was begun to be expounded in the hundred provinces. This came to a close after four days.

11th month, 5th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

7th day. Presents were given to the Prince and Prime Minister, etc., of Tamna, of various values.

10th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

[1] Temmu Tennō. [2] See Vol. I., note to p. 34.

[3] Benevolent king.

14th day. The Priests Hō-yen, Zen-ō, and Shin-gi were sent to the district of Yasu in the province of Afumi, to try the spring of cordial [1] waters.

23rd day. The rank of Jiki-dai-shi was bestowed on Sukunamaro, Hikeda no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, and he was granted a sustenance-fief of fifty houses.

12th month, 21st day. Professors of the art of war were sent to give instruction and training in the various provinces.

A.D. 694. 8th year, 1st month, 2nd day. The rank of Shō-kwō-shi was granted to Miaruji, Fuse no Ason, of Jiki-dai-ichi rank, and to Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, with an increase of 200 houses to the fiefs of each, amounting with those held by them previously to five hundred houses. They were also constituted the senior members of their Houses.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers.

15th day. The Empress received presents of firewood.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the public functionaries.

17th day. The men of Aya gave a performance of Ararebashiri.

Those of the fifth rank and upwards had archery.

18th day. Those of the sixth rank and downwards had archery. After four days it came to an end.

19th day. The men of Thang gave a performance of Ararebashiri.

21st day. The Empress visited the Palace of Fujihara, and returned to the Palace on the same day.

XXX. 34. 23rd day. The ranks of Mu-kwō-shi, etc., were conferred on seven men of Great Thang and two Sushen (Manchus).

24th day. The Empress visited the Palace of Yoshino.

3rd month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

2nd day. Maro, Ohoyake no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Yashima, Utena no Imiki, of Gon-dai-ni rank, and Honjitsu, Kibumi no Muraji, were appointed Governors of the mint for (copper ?) cash.[2]

[1] The interlinear Kana has ko-zake, a kind of sweet liquor made from rice. A natural spring is meant, perhaps with some medicinal qualities. See below, XXX 34.

[2] The appointment of two mint officials with a nearly similar title is recorded in the "Shoku Nihongi" under the year 708, 2nd month. It is

11th day. An Imperial edict was issued, as follows:—"In all cases where persons of no official rank are appointed as District Governors, the chief officials shall receive the rank of Shin-kwō-ni, and the assistants that of Shin-dai-san."

there stated that these officials were then appointed for the first time. The so-called first discovery of copper in Japan in this year relates only to a find of native copper in the province of Musashi. This was the occasion of the name Wadō (workable copper, not mere ore) being given to the year-period which began with 708.

The "Nihonshi" contains a notice under the year 698 of copper being presented by the province of Inaba. This is the first historical notice of the production of copper in Japan. It is probable, however, that copper was worked long before this time in a country which is so rich in ores of this metal. The gold-copper images of Buddha referred to in Suiko Tennō's reign, p. 133, Vol. II. A.D. 605, may have been made of Japanese copper, though there is no direct evidence to this effect, and from the frequent mention of copper and other metals among the "tribute" articles brought from Corea, it is evident that imported copper was well known. The Sun-goddess Myth (Vol. I. p. 47) speaks of copper, and there is frequent mention of mirrors and bells which were made chiefly of copper.

I think it is not too much to say that there is no positive evidence whatever in the "Kojiki" or "Nihongi" of the use of bronze in ancient Japan. The Japanese word for bronze, viz. karakane or metal of Kara, indicates that the Japanese first became acquainted with this metal as an importation from Corea. This word does not occur in the "Nihongi," but the term copper may have sometimes included the mixed metal. Besides, the more ancient specimens of bronze found in Japan do not contain lead, which is a characteristic constituent of the karakane introduced from China in later times, so that the absence of this term from the "Nihongi" is not conclusive. It is, nevertheless, curious, when we remember the frequency with which bronze is referred to in Homer, that no specific mention of this metal is to be found in the ancient Japanese records.

The evidence of the use of bronze in Japan, however, is not confined to literature. Mr. W. Gowland has examined a number of bronze swords and other objects dug up chiefly in Kiushiu under circumstances which point to a great antiquity, and he informs me that an actual mould in which they were cast has been discovered in Chikuzen. No iron objects of equal age have been found. Those who are interested in this subject would do well to consult Mr. Gowland's "Art of Casting Bronze in Japan," contributed to the "Journal of the Society of Arts" in May, 1895.

The case for a bronze age in Japan presented by him is a strong one, but how far the existence of the objects which he describes can be explained by the frequent commercial relations of Japan with the continent is a question on which I shall offer no opinion.

See also Anderson's "Glyptic Art" in Introduction to Murray's "Handbook," 2nd ed. p. [109]. et seqq.

16th day. The Empress made an edict, as follows :—" In the seventh year of our reign, the year Midzunoto Mi of the Cycle, a spring of cordial waters bubbled up at Mount Tsuga-yama in the district of Yasu in the province of Afumi. Persons afflicted with all manner of diseases went to stay at the Temple of Yasudera, and great numbers were healed. Therefore four chō of rice-land and sixty tan of cloth are granted to it, and the district of Yasu is exempted for this year from commuted taxes and forced labour, and from miscellaneous corvées. The local authorities, from the chief down to the clerks, are advanced one grade in rank. To those who first made proof of the spring of cordial waters, viz. Kadono no Hatsuki and the daughter of Kudara no Tsurara, these are given two hiki of coarse silk each, ten tan of cloth, and ten mattocks."

22nd day. Offerings were presented at the various shrines.

23rd day. Presents of coarse silks and cloth, varying in value in the case of each, were made to the officials of the Department of the Shintō religion from the chief down to the Hafuri, in all 164 persons.

Summer, 4th month, 5th day. The posthumous rank of Jō-dai-shi was conferred on Prince Kahachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses.

7th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

XXX. 35. 14th day. The Empress arrived back from the Palace of Yoshino.

17th day. A contribution was sent towards the funeral expenses of the Doctor of Law[1] Dō-yen.

5th month, 6th day. The Ministers and Daibu were entertained within the inner precincts (of the Palace).

11th day. One hundred copies of the Kin-kwō-myō Sutra were sent and deposited in the various provinces, to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests) were to be defrayed from the public revenues[2] of the province.

6th month, 8th day. A white copper-pheasant was presented

[1] Risshi, a rank in the Buddhist priesthood.

[2] There is no question of money here, everything was in kind.

by the district of Sarara in the province of Kahachi. The Governor and Vice-Governor of the district of Sarara received each a grade of rank and presents, and the rank of Shin-kwō-ni was granted to Karakuni, Osakabe no Miyakko, who had caught it. He also received presents.

Autumn, 7th month, 4th day. Inspectors[1] were sent to the provinces.

15th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

8th month, 17th day. One hundred and four priests were made to enter religion for the sake of the Imperial Princess Asuka.

9th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

4th day. The Empress proceeded to the Palace of Yoshino.

22nd day. Prince Mino, of Jō-kwō-shi rank, was appointed Viceroy of Tsukushi.

Winter, 10th month, 20th day. The rank of Shin-dai-shi was bestowed on a man of the district of Araki, in the province XXX. 36. of Hida, named Otokunibe no Otohi, who had caught a white bat. He also received a present of four hiki of coarse silk, four bundles of floss silk, and ten tan of cloth, and his house was exempted from all forced labour whatever during his life.

11th month, 26th day. There was an amnesty for criminals, from those guilty of capital crimes downwards.

12th month, 6th day. The Empress removed her residence to the Palace of Fujihara.

9th day. The public functionaries paid their respects at Court.

10th day. Presents of various values were made to all from the Princes of the Blood down to the Governors of districts, consisting of coarse silk, floss silk, and cloth.

12th day. A banquet was given to the Ministers and Daibu.

9th year, Spring, 1st month, 5th day. The rank of Jō-kwō- A.D. 695. ni was conferred on the toneri of Imperial Princes.

7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu within the inner precinct (of the Palace).

15th day. Firewood was presented to the Empress.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the public functionaries.

[1] Jun-satsu-shi.

17th day. There was archery lasting for four days.

Intercalary 2nd month, 8th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

15th day. The Imperial car returned to the Palace.

3rd month, 2nd day. Silla sent Prince Kim Nyang-nim, the Po-nyöng[1] Pak Kang-kuk, of Sal-son[2] rank, and Kim Chyu-han and Kim Chhyung-syön, of Han-na-ma rank, to present a memorial regarding the government of their country, to offer tribute and to bring presents.

11th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

22nd day. Hakase, Fumi no Imiki, of Mu-kwō-ni rank, Shimo-osa[3] no Morota, of Shin-kwō-san rank, and others were sent to Tane[4] to obtain the barbarians' dwelling-place.

Summer, 4th month, 9th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods
XXX. 37. of Tatsuta.

17th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-san was conferred on Yemishi, Kamo no Ason, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses. [His original rank was Gon-dai-ichi.] The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-shi was conferred on Akamaro, Fumi no Imiki, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses. [His original rank was Dai-san-chiu.]

5th month, 13th day. An entertainment was given to the Hayato of Oho-sumi.

21st day. The Empress witnessed wrestling by the Hayato at West[5] Tsuki no moto.

6th month, 3rd day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the shrines of the capital and the four Home provinces and pray for rain.

16th day. Honorary gifts of various values were made to all high officials who were eighty years of age or more, or who were affected by chronic disease.

[1] Apparently the name of an office. [2] The proper word is Chap-son.

[3] Shimo-osa means junior interpreter. There was a family of this name, but it is not quite clear that the name and function did not go together in this case.

[4] Viz. Tanegashima, an island off the south coast of Satsuma.

[5] Referring to its position West of the Temple of Asuka. Tsuki is the name of a tree, the Planera.

18th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

26th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Autumn, 7th month, 23rd day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

26th day. Presents were made of various values to the Envoys whom it was proposed to send to Silla, viz. Kenu, Wono no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-shi rank, Hakatoko, Yuki no Muraji, of Mu-dai-ni rank, and others.

8th month, 24th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

30th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

9th month, 4th day. The prisons were visited, and those persons were released who were suffering sentences of minor banishment or imprisonment.

6th day. Kenu, Wono no Ason, and his colleagues started for Silla.

10th month, 11th day. The Empress went to Yonahari in Uda.

12th day. The Empress arrived from Yonahari.

12th month, 5th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Prince Hatsuse was granted the (posthumous) rank of Jō-dai-shi, and a contribution made for his funeral expenses.

10th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The Ministers and Daibu were entertained. A.D. 696. XXX. 38.

11th day. The rank of Jiki-dai-shi was conferred on Nam-chyön, Prince of Pèkché.

15th day. Firewood was presented to the Empress.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and public functionaries.

18th day. The Ministers and public functionaries had archery at the South Gate.

2nd month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

13th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

3rd month, 3rd day. The Empress went to the Palace of Futa-tsuki.

12th day. Presents were given of coats and trousers of

brocade, of dark red and deep purple coarse silks, of axes, etc., to Inari and Mushi, Yemishi of Watarijima of Koshi, and to Shirasu and Yesō, men of Sushen.

Summer, 4th month, 10th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

27th day. The rank of Tsui-dai-ni was conferred on Mononobe no Kusuri, of the district of Kazehaya in the province of Iyo, and to Mibu no Moroshi, of the district of Kahashi in the province of Higo. Moreover, each of them received presents of 4 hiki of coarse silk, 10 bundles of raw silk, 20 tan of cloth, 20 mattocks, 1000 sheaves of rice, and 4 chō of rice-land. They were excused from the commuted taxes and forced labour due from their houses. This was by way of consolation for their long sufferings in the Thang country.[1]

28th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

5th month, 2nd day. By Imperial command the title of Imiki was conferred[2] on Tsunade, Hada no Miyakko, of Dai-kin-jō rank.

XXX. 39. 4th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

8th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was conferred on Oho-sumi, Wohari no Sukune, and he was also given forty chō of rice-land.

13th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-kwō-shi was granted to Momoye, Oho-koma no Muraji, and a contribution given towards his funeral expenses.

6th month, 18th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

26th day. The Empress arrived from Yoshino.

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. There was an eclipse of the sun.

2nd day. Criminals were pardoned.

8th day. Envoys were sent to pray to the Great Abstinence Deity of Hirose and to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta.

10th day. His Highness the after[3] Imperial Prince died.

[1] They were taken prisoners in the campaign undertaken for the support of Pèkché. See above, XXVII. 7.

[2] This was a posthumous honour.

[3] The "Shūkai" thinks that we should read Prince Imperial here. Prince Takechi is meant, who stood second in the line of succession. Hence the epithet "after."

8th month, 25th day. The rank of Jiki-kwō-ichi was conferred on Homuchi, Oho no Omi, and presents given him as a reward for his services from the beginning, and for his strict guardianship of the barrier.[1]

9th month, 15th day. The posthumous rank of Jiki-dai-ichi was conferred on Ihose, Waka-zakurabe no Ason, and a contribution made towards his funeral expenses, in honour of his services from the beginning.

Winter, 10th month, 17th day. The Udaijin, Tajihi no Mabito, was granted (permission[2] to use) a carriage and a staff, and so in this way sympathy was shown on his retirement from office.

22nd day. One hundred and twenty retainers were granted to the Udaijin, Tajihi no Mabito, of Shō-kwō-san rank; eighty each to the Dainagon, Miaruji, Abe no Ason, and Miyuki, Ohotomo no Sukune, both of Shō-kwō-shi rank, and fifty each to Maro, Iso no Kami no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-ichi rank, and Fubito, Fujihara no Ason, of Jiki-kwō-ni rank.

11th month, 10th day. Thirty houses were granted as a sustenance-fief to Bendō, a priest of the Great Temple of the Great Palace.

12th month, 1st day. An Imperial order was given that the Kin-kwō-myō Sutra should be expounded, and that every year on the last day of the twelfth month ten persons of a pure life should be made to enter religion.

11th year, Spring, 1st month, 7th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and Daibu. A.D. 697.

11th day. Presents of rice in ear of various values were given to all widowers, widows, orphans, and childless persons, to those suffering from grave disease, and to those who from poverty were unable to support themselves, throughout the Empire. XXX. 40.

16th day. An entertainment was given to the Ministers and public functionaries.

2nd month, 28th day. Kunimi, Tahema no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-ichi rank, was appointed Grand Tutor of the Heir

[1] He was warden of the Suzuka barrier, on the road to Fuha, during the civil war.

[2] On account of his age.

Apparent,[1] Atomi, Michi no Mabito, of Jiki-kwō-san rank, was appointed Director of the Spring Palace,[2] and Ahamochi, Kose no Asoń, of Jiki-dai-shi rank, Assistant Director.

3rd month, 8th day. A public great-congregation was held at the Eastern Palace.[3]

Summer, 4th month, 4th day. Ranks, from that of Jō to that of Jiki, were conferred on the selected persons (for office), discrimination being made in the case of each.

7th day. The Empress went to the Palace of Yoshino.

14th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta. On this day the Empress arrived from Yoshino.

5th month, 8th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to the various shrines to pray for rain.

6th month, 2nd day. Criminals were pardoned.

6th day. An Imperial order was made that Sutras should be read in the temples of the Home provinces.

15th day. Persons of the fifth and lower ranks were sent to cleanse out the temples of the capital.

19th day. Offerings were distributed to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.[4]

26th day. The Ministers and public functionaries began to make votive images of Buddha for the sake of the Empress's illness.

28th day. Daibu were sent as Envoys to visit the various shrines and pray for rain.

Autumn, 7th month, 7th day. At midnight, one hundred and nine habitual[5] thieves were pardoned, and four pieces of cloth given to each. But those from the outer provinces received twenty sheaves of rice each.

12th day. Envoys were sent to pray to Hirose and Tatsuta.

29th day. The Ministers and public functionaries prepared

[1] The recognition in this capacity of Prince Aru, grandson of Temmu Tennō and son of the Prince Imperial Kusakabe, afterwards Mommu Tennō, on the sixteenth day of this month, is recorded by other authors, but is somehow omitted in the "Nihongi."

[2] The Heir-Apparent's Palace.

[3] The Heir-Apparent's Palace.

[4] Shintō.

[5] There is probably something wrong with the text here. The "Shukai" offers an emendation which would mean "thieves who habitually wore the cangue."

a festival for the installation [1] of Buddhist images in the Temple of Yakushiji.

8th month, 1st day. The Empress,[2] having decided on this measure in the forbidden precinct, abdicated the Imperial Dignity in favour of the Prince Imperial. XXX 41.

[1] Lit. opening the eyes.

[2] She died five years later. Her body was cremated, the first instance of the application of this Indian practice to a Japanese sovereign.

THE END.

ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

Page 2, line 3. For 'drawn out' read 'diffused.'

„ 4. The character 野 is sometimes transliterated no and sometimes nu—a confusion common with the Japanese themselves.

„ 5, l. 15. For 'it had' read 'which has.'

„ 6, note 2. For Oho-to nochi Florenz plausibly suggests Oho-tono-ji, i. e. 'the elder of the august palace.'

note 3. Omotaru. Better 'face-perfect.'

note 3. Florenz suggests with great probability that awo is here only an interjection like aya.

last line of notes. For 'Jirja' read 'Jinja.'

„ 8, line 14 from bottom. For 'place' better 'female.'

„ 9, l. 11. For 'game' read 'gane.'

„ 10, note. For 'first jewel' read 'lucky jewel.'

„ 14, l. 14. For 'Chi-iwo-aki' read 'Chi-i-ho-aki.'

near bottom. For 'has a place,' etc., read 'is completely formed and has a place called.'

„ 15, near bottom. Read 'To think of the words of the woman having been spoken first!'

„ 18, near bottom of text. For 'ladder' read 'pillar.'

„ 23, l. 15, 18. For 'suchi' read 'dzuchi.'

l. 29. Omit 'no Kami' after 'Kura o Kami.'

note 4. Read 'in error for yase, having many reaches.'

„ 24, l. 7. For 'Izanami' read 'Izanagi.'

„ 26, l. 3 from bottom. For 'I will wash' read 'So he washed.'

„ 27, l. 14. For 'Soko' read 'Uha.'

„ 31, note 7. Na is here probably for no, the genitive particle.

„ 40, line 5 from bottom. For 'when the seed,' etc., read 'in spring sowed seed over again, and broke down,' etc.

„ 42, add to note 2:—'Here and at p. 186 the Eternal Land is probably the continent of Asia. The cock is called Kuda-kake in the "Ise-Monogatari" (Mabuchi's Edition II. 44), where Mabuchi explains Kuda as put for Kudara, the name of a Corean kingdom.'

„ 47, l. 24. For 'drew herself up,' etc., read 'felt ill all over.'

near bottom, add note:—'This is the literal translation, but, as we learn from the "Shiki," the "combs" here mentioned were really

Sakaki branches stuck in the ground with tree-fibre hung from them as offerings.'

Page 48, l. 12, 13. For 'he' read 'were.'

„ 49, l. 12. For 'Ono-kori-dome' read 'Ishi-kori-dome.'

„ 51, l. 16 and 21. Transpose 'right' and 'left' in these lines.

„ 55, l. 10, 14. For 'Mitsu' read 'Mi.'

l. 13. After 'yashima' add 'de,' and at the end of note 5 the word 'hand.'

„ 56, l. 20. For 'Ina' read 'Ma.'

„ 57, l. 18 et seqq. For 'Iso' read 'I.'

„ 60, l. 4. Read 'can we say,' etc.

„ 64, l. 8. For 'hoho ninigi' read 'ho no ninigi.'

„ 66, l. 16. 'The sparrows,' etc., should not be indented.

„ 67, l. 6. Omit 'parents.'

l. 9. Better 'abhor mistaking.'

„ 69, note 5. Mars and Jupiter are also mentioned.

„ 71, l. 4. Read 'Oho-yama tsu mi no Kami.'

note 4. After 'muro' insert 'except in composition.'

„ 72, add to note :—'Blackmore, in "Lorna Doone," mentions a practice in the West of England "of keeping all rooms underground. We say that thus we keep them warmer, both for cattle and men in the time of winter, and cooler in the summer time."'

„ 74, l. 22. Read 'the coffined corpse.'

„ 81, l. 13. For 'loyal behaviour' read 'extreme loyalty.'

l. 6 from bottom. Before 'Ma-hitotsu' insert 'Ame no.'

„ 83, l. 11. After 'attendance' add 'in the hall.'

„ 85, l. 10. Read 'Now I suspect that it is not my child.'

„ 89, l. 23. Read 'Chichi hime no Mikoto, daughter of Honohata hime, daughter of,' etc.

l. 6 from bottom. Add 'Ama no' before 'Kaguyama.'

last line but one et seqq. For 'she' read 'he.'

„ 91, l. 19. Read 'Tama-yori hime no Mikoto, child of Yorodzu hata hime, child of Taka mimusubi no Mikoto.'

l. 24. Read 'Kachi-haya-bi.'

l. 26. Add 'Hono' before 'Ninigi.'

„ 93, l. 1. Before 'Hoho-demi' add 'Hiko.'

„ 95, l. 4 from bottom. After 'acquired' insert 'a sea-gift while the younger brother Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto had acquired.'

„ 96, margin. For '32' read '37.'

l. 3. Omit 'Cassia.'

„ 97, l. 7. Filth of earth. The human body is meant. A Buddhist idea.

„ 100, note. There are earlier mentions of the Hayato, but their institution as an Imperial guard probably belongs to the latter end of the seventh century. There are numerous indications that this legend is of recent date.

„ 103, l. 16. For 'Hi' read 'Ho.'

Page 104, l. 18. For 'bathing women' read 'warm-drink-women,' and for 'washerwoman' read 'bathing-woman.'

„ 106, l. 8. After 'dais' add 'and invited him to come in.'

„ 107, l. 3. For 'teach it to me' read 'save me therewith.'

„ 109. After the Chinese characters insert 'or Tennō.'

„ 110, l. 12. For 'pointing to' read 'including all.'

add to note :—'The legend related at p. 128 is an additional indication of an earlier settlement of Yamato by emigrants from the West. The "Kiujiki" states that Nigi-hayahi descended from Heaven in Kahachi, and subsequently removed to Yamato.'

, 111, line 2 from bottom. Read 'and causing him to take it, pulled him,' etc.

l. 21. Read 'ships and oars' instead of 'helms of his ships.'

l. 6. For 'Kafuchi' here and elsewhere read 'Kahachi.'

„ 113, l. 11. After 'Ikoma' read 'and in this way to enter,' etc.

„ 115, l. 7. For 'chastise' read 'reduce.'

l. 8. For 'I can' read 'and,' and omit 'upon which' in next line.

l. 8 from bottom. Read 'the Emperor's army.'

l. 4 from bottom. For 'wandered about' read 'were stayed and knew not whither,' etc.

„ 116, l. 9. After 'body' insert 'opened out a way across the mountains and.'

„ 118, l. 2. For 'they' read 'he.'

last line. No ko, 'the child of,' should be taken as part of the name, viz. Iha-oshi wake no ko. Similarly Nihe-motsu no ko a few lines further down.

„ 119, l. 12. By 'force of men,' 'army of women,' is probably intended only virile or strong troops and effeminate or weak troops.

„ 120, l. 18. After grass add 'rain coat and.'

l. 24. Read 'whether or not I shall be successful in founding the Empire.'

„ 121, l. 19. Read after 'river' 'Their mouths turned downward and after,' etc.

„ 122. In the poetry repeat the line 'Like the Shitadami' after 'my boys.'

„ 123. In the poetry add after 'stay'—

'Though men in plenty
Coming enter and stay.'

l. 13. Read 'I will stand up and sing.'

The same correction in l. 16.

„ 124. Transpose the two poems on this page.

l. 2 from bottom. Read 'ten and more.'

„ 125, l. 20. Add 'thus' before 'cried.'

„ 126, l. 15. Better 'were not without weariness'—

After first line of poetry insert the line, 'With shields in a row.'

„ 127. Transpose the poems.

Page 129, l. 4. For 'Tada' read 'Hata.'
l. 5. The Japanese have indifferently hafuri or hofuri. Hafuri is the proper spelling, hofuri being meant to represent the contracted form hōri.
„ 130, l. 9. After 'Katsuraki' read 'Now the ancient name of the land of Ihare was Kataru or Katatachi.'
„ 131, note 6. For 'evergreen' read 'decidúous.'
„ 133, l. 6. Better read 'to use allusive verses and topsy-turvy words so as,' etc.
„ 134, l. 6. For 'Katsurano' read 'Kadono.'
„ 138, l. 2. Omit 'Hohodemi.'
l. 3. Add 'hime' after 'Isuzu.'
l. 10. For 'Kama' read 'Kami.'
„ 142, l. 9. Before 'daughter' insert 'Howi-hime.'
„ 148, l. 6. After 'Emperor's' insert 'younger.'
l. 10. After 'Awotama' insert 'Kake.'
l. 11. After 'yasu' add 'hiko.'
l. 6 from bottom. 'Ancestor of the Hodzumi no Omi' should come in at the end of the sentence.
„ 150, l. 8. For 'of wide culture' read 'broad-minded.'
l. 5 from bottom. Read 'daughter of the Tohe of Araka (or Arakaha) in the land of Ki.'
l. 4 from bottom. Add after 'had' 'Toyo-ki-iri-hiko.' Omit period after 'Oho-ama.'
„ 152, l. 6 from bottom. Read 'Is not this non-acceptance cruel?'
„ 153, l. 4 from bottom. Add after 'Shiko-wo' 'the ancestor of the Mononobe no Muraji.'
„ 161, l. 2. Read 'Families were well supplied.'
„ 164, note 2. Read 'in Japanese Keirin.'
„ 168. Read 'Judging from the implements which this ox is carrying, he is surely intended to be killed and eaten.'
„ 172, l. 2. For 'slay' read 'attack.'
„ 178, l. 9. After 'land' read 'and that I should personally conduct the government of the great earth. The covenant was already completed. But although,' etc.
l. 22. For 'Kuka' read 'Fukayu.'
„ 181, last two lines. Read 'If I am to be united to this beautiful person I shall surely see a happy omen on the way.'
„ 182, last line. Read 'Then he said to the courtiers.'
„ 183, l. 5. After 'Tohe' insert 'of Yamashiro.'
„ 189, last line. For 'goro' read 'gokoro.'
„ 191, l. 1 and 2. For 'goro' read 'gokoro.'
„ 193, l. 4. For 'hard' read 'sakaki.'
„ 194, l. 21. Omit 'muro.'
„ 195, l. 6 from bottom. For 'It will be,' etc., read 'Their spear points are not to be matched,' and omit 'For.'
„ 196, l. 27. For 'Ki' read 'Hi.'

Page 197, l. 18. For 'to' read 'through.'
l. 9 from bottom. For 'people' read 'their tribe.'
„ 206, l. 8 from bottom. Add note, 'i.e. a Deity incarnate in human form.'
„ 208, l. 8. For 'Mount Ohoyama' read 'the great mountains.'
„ 209, l. 17. Read 'But he got up with difficulty and returned,' etc.
„ 221, l. 5 from bottom. 'Dazzling to the eyes' is better construed with 'gold and silver,' etc.
„ 224, l. 5 and 10. Read 'Tarashi-nakatsu hiko.'
„ 225, l. 1. Woyamada.
„ 226, l. 19. For 'powerful frame' read 'stubborn nature.'
l. 24. For 'returned' read 'removed.'
„ 228, l. 22. For 'take possession of' read 'seek.'
„ 237, l. 7. For 'So on a later day,' etc., read 'Again they said "Bring a lute and give it to the Empress."'
note 7. Mikokoro is a makura-kotoba of Hirota.
l. 8. Read 'What ill-sounding things the woman says!'
„ 239, l. 3. For 'Katsurano' read 'Kadono.'
l. 14-17. Read—

'Noble with nobles,
Cousin with cousins.'

„ 240, l. 19. For 'Midzunoto,' etc., read 'Kanoto Mi' (18th).
„ 242, l. 3. For 'Emperor' read 'Grand Empress.'
„ 246, l. 8. Read 'In the course of the seventh month of,' etc.
„ 248, l. 5. After 'tribute' add 'which they made the tribute of their own country.'
l. 6. After 'Silla' add 'mean articles.'
„ 250, l. 12 from bottom. For 'Corea' read 'Pèkché.'
, 251, l. 16. Read 'It is so distant that it cannot be reached in seven days' journey.'
„ 254, l. 13. Read 'This agreed with the elbow-pad worn by the Empress as a manly accoutrement.'
„ 255, l. 1. For 'Tsutsuhi' read 'Kebi.'
l. 15. For 'younger' read 'elder.'
l. 11 from bottom. For 'Prince' read 'Princess.'
l. 7 from bottom. For 'Mago' read 'Ito.'
„ 257, l. 7. For 'Kadzu' read 'Kadono.' Chiba, 'thousand leaves,' is a makura-kotoba of Kadono, Kado (or Kadzura) meaning a creeper.
l. 5, and in p. 258. After 'Umashi' add 'uchi.'
„ 259, l. 1. After 'Tsurugi' add 'Karu.'
l. 19. For 'the upper' read 'a.'
„ 260, l. 5 of poetry. 'River fork' is perhaps better 'Kahamata,' the name of a river.
„ 264, l. 10 from bottom. For 'kebi' better read 'momi.'
„ 265, note. For 奏 read 泰.

Page 266. Poetry. Dr. Florenz interprets the last three lines as follows—

'Yield to one side
(In order that) I may see
My departing spouse of Kibi.'

,, 267. For 'Ahiru' read 'Kamo.'
,, 271, l. 12. For 'Oho-kuma' read 'Oho-sumi.'
,, 276. For 'sent it' read 'went.'
,, 277, l. 6. For 'my abdication' read 'his self-abnegation.
note. Read 'Chihaya-bito.'
,, 278, l. 8 from bottom. Read 'But for the three years that We have now reigned over the people,' etc.
,, 279, l. 3. Read 'no robes of state or shoes were made for him except when worn out.'
l. 5. Read after 'broths' 'were not renewed except when they became sour or putrid.'
,, 284. Poetry. For first two lines read—

'By the rule established
For nobles.'

,, 293, l. 5 from bottom. For 'Empress' read 'Emperor.'
,, 294, l. 21. For 'Taka-ama' better 'Taka-kahi' (falcon-feed).
,, 298, l. 6. For 'melts' read 'is distributed.'
,, 304, l. 4. For 'Furu no' read 'Furu in.'
,, 305, l. 4. Before 'Hayato' insert 'an attendant.'
,, 322, note 1. 'Na-nori-ahi' should be 'na-nori-so,' 'tell it not.'
,, 323, l. 6. Read 'But the sea was deep and they,' etc.
,, 326, l. 3 from bottom. For 'made them go back' read 'returned.
,, 329, l. 3 from bottom. Read 'one whit disagreeable.'
,, 335. Poetry. For 'nine-fold' read 'seven-fold.'
,, 336, l. 4 from bottom. Omit 'a place belonging to.'
note 3. Add 'Fukuro probably means mother here.'
,, 338, l. 4. Before 'woman' insert 'man and.'
Last line but one, read 'they were' for 'she was.'
,, 340, last line. Read 'The only persons whom he favoured.'
,, 341, l. 7. After Princess add 'and has made her pregnant.'
,, 342, l. 12. After 'flying' add 'and bit the Emperor's elbow.'
,, 349, l. 17. For 'get instructions' read 'proceed by way of.'
,, 351, note 2. For 'Bekkakō' read 'Kokkekō' or 'Kakero.'
,, 359, l. 26. For 'Autumn' read 'Winter.'
,, 362, l. 15. Read 'How nearly I had destroyed the man!'
,, 366, l. 14. For 'beside himself with shame' read 'for shame at his unsuccess.'
l. 7 from bottom. For 'who' read 'and.'
,, 369, note 2. Better to take smoke and fire as signs of plenty, which extend for 10,000 ri.
,, 370, l. 5. Read 'How should not we, with our whole hearts, address them decrees of cordial warning?'

Page 370, l. 20. Read 'many years have now passed, and it (my death) cannot be called premature.'

l. 5 from bottom. Read 'should gain his purpose of uniting,' etc.

„ 371, l. 3, 4. Read 'The serfs of the Ohomuraji are wide-spread,' etc.

l. 14. Read 'Your serfs are very numerous.'

l. 16. Read 'Is it not better to keep safe our persons and avoid risk rather than by such an announcement to bring on ourselves ruin?'

„ 386, l. 10. After Dignity read 'to the great delight of the functionaries who were in attendance.'

„ 390, l. 11 from bottom. Read 'There are no words without response: no virtuous action without requital.'

l. 8 from bottom. For 'feasts' read 'has obtained.'

„ 399, l. 3. Read 'Oho-iratsume.

„ 400, note 3. For '13' read '12.'

VOL. II.

Page 13. Omit note 1.

„ 19, note 5. For 'Eungchön' read 'Ungchön.'

„ 20, l. 5. For 'Eunchol' read 'Eunsol.'

„ 127, note 5. Omit 'In modern times,' etc.

„ 148. Add to note 2:—'The authenticity of the "Kiujiki" was never disputed until the time of Motoöri and Hirata. The former ("Kojikiden" i. 20) condemns it as a forgery. He says, however, that it is not a mere invention, but compiled from the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi." If any one doubts this let him, Motoöri says, read the "Age of the Gods," comparing the accounts given in the three works. He will find in the "Kiujiki" an incongruous mixture of style, and also that the same event has been narrated in two different forms. The difference in the Chinese characters used for writing the same proper names is especially conspicuous. Sometimes the "Kogojiui" has been resorted to, and such passages are easily distinguished as they are copied word for word. There are, however, passages not to be found elsewhere, probably taken from some old work, and the MSS. are useful for correcting the text of the "Nihongi." To these observations of Motoöri it may be added that the "Kiujiki" contains an account of the death of Shōtoku Daishi, its supposed author, which must have been added a long time after (probably from the "Nihongi"), as it has the expression "the men of that day." We should also remember the positive statement of the "Nihongi" (p. 193) that the greater part of the "Kiujiki" was destroyed by fire in A.D. 645.

Notwithstanding all this, I incline to the opinion that the "Kiujiki," with the exception of the final passage which relates the death of Shōtoku Daishi, is authentic. Motoöri hardly

does justice to the amount of original matter in the mythological chapters, and the similarities between it and the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" may be accounted for by supposing that all three drew their materials from a common stock, viz. the recitals of the "Kataribe" and the written documents compiled from them. It is quite true that the "Kiujiki" gives in many cases two versions of the same legend, but the clumsiness with which they have been dovetailed together is rather a proof that the writer could not have had the more consistent narrative of the "Nihongi" before him. This part ought to be translated. It contains material which is necessary for a complete study of Shintoism.

From Jimmu Tennō on the question assumes a different aspect. Here either the author of the "Nihongi" has incorporated the whole "Kiujiki," or the author of the "Kiujiki" has made a selection from the "Nihongi." So far as the former goes it is identical word for word with the latter. From the circumstance that the additional matter contained in the "Nihongi" is very largely of a romantic or poetical nature, it seems more probable that the "Kiujiki" is the original work. Its general style is eminently consistent with the statement ("Nihongi," vol. ii. p. 122) that the reputed author was a thorough proficient in both Chinese and Buddhist learning.

Without a more exhaustive examination it is impossible to say more, but there is, I feel sure, sufficient internal evidence available to solve the question with certainty. It would afford an interesting subject of critical inquiry to some of our younger students.'

Page 352, l. 9. For '11th' read '10th.'

l. 12. Omit 'you who accepted our rule and also to,' and add at end of sentence 'of your emigration hither.'

For most of the above corrections I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Florenz, Professor of Philology in the Imperial University of Tokio.

INDEX.

ABSTINENCE (religious), I. 41, 42, 82, 152, 316, 325, 347; II. 101, 387.
Abstinence Palace, I. 176, 225; II. 322, 326, 338.
Acupuncture, II. 190.
Adoption, II. 2.
Adultery, II. 221.
Adzuma, I. 81, 207.
Adzuma Koto, I. 225.
Agata-nushi, I. 134.
Age of the Gods. Books I. and II.
Agura, II. 103.
Ahaji (island, birth of), I. 13.
Ahimbe, II. 335.
Aino or Ainu. See Yemishi.
Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne, I. 67, 75.
Akakagachi, I. 77.
Akitsushima, I. 13, 134, 343; II. 12, 66.
Aloes wood, II. 123.
Altar, I. 353.
Ama or Ame, heaven. *passim.*
Ama no hihoko, I. 169, 185, 186.
Ama no Nunahara oki no Mabito, II. 301.
Ama no mi-naka-nushi, I. 5.
Ama terasu no Ohokami. See Sun-goddess.
Ama tsu mara. See Smith-god.
Ambassadors (should be of good family), II. 79.
Ame (malt extract), I. 121.
Ame-kuni-oshi-harani-hiro-niha, II. 5, 36.
Ame mikoto hirakasu wake, II. 275.
Ame no oshi-ho-mimi no Mikoto, I. 83.
Ame no Uzume. See Uzume.
Ame-toyo-takara ikashihi tarashi hime, I. 171, 248.
Ame-waka-hiko, I. 65.
Ame-yorodzu toyohi, II. 195.
Amnesty, II. 322, and frequently after this.
Anaho, I. 328.
Anahobe (Prince), II. 107, 112.
Anato, I. 167.
Ancestor-worship, I. 27; II. 351.
Ango. See Retreat.
Ankan Tennō, II. 12, 26.
Ankō Tennō, I. 328, 332.
Annei Tennō, I. 141, 142.
Anthropomorphism, I. 41.
Arakahi, II. 2, 8, 15, etc.
Arare-bashiri, II. 411, 414.
Arashito or Arasateung, I. 166; II. 18, 19, 23.
Archery, I. 282, 336, 377; II. 226, 393, etc.
Arima (Prince), II. 251.
Arinari (river), I. 231.
Arrow. See Nari-kabura, Bow, Archery.
Artizans (from Corea), I. 349, 396, etc.
Ashihara, I. 40.
Ashinadzuchi, I. 52, 56.
Aso (Mount), I. 198.
Aso or Ason (title), I. 236, 239; II. 365, etc.
Astronomy, II. 76, 126, 301, 326. See also Comet, Eclipse, Occultation, Mars, Pleiades.
Ass, II. 252.
Atahe or Atahi (title), I. 36.
Ataka-ashi tsu hime, I. 88.
Aya, I. 265, 270, 336, 350, 363; II. 118, 190, 192, etc.
Augury. See Divination.
Axe, I. 301; II. 14, 73, 420.

BALDNESS as an incapacity for service of gods, I. 152.
Banishment, II. 333, 339.
Banzai or Bansai, I. 389; II. 175, 411.
Baptismal flag, II. 149.
Be, I. 43, 47, 104, 139, 175, 280, 307, 314, 322, 340, 350, 359, 365, 375; II. 4, 27, 31, 95, 125, 129, 224. See also Nashiro.
Beacons, II. 13.
Bear (polar), II. 257, 263, 371.
Bed of absent person, Superstition regarding, I. 325.
Bees, II. 184.
Bellows, I. 47.
Bells, I. 286, 294, 301, 329, 348, 387; II. 86, 105, 167, 201, 206, 211, 227, 302, 335.
Bhèchadjya Radja. See Yakushi.
Bidatsu (or Bindatsu) Tennō, II. 90-105.
Bosatsu (or Bodhisattwa), II. 111, 175.

Bow and arrows, I. 34, 37, 139, 247, etc.
Box for petitions, II. 211.
Bramblings (bird), II. 339, 349.
Branding of criminals, etc., I. 305, 307, 359.
Bronze, II. 415.
Buddhism, I. 219; II. 59, 65, 66, 68, 72, 78, 90, 96, 101, and frequently during the remainder of Vol. II. See also Hōshi, Image, Kesa, Nuns, Shamon, Sutra, Sōdzu, Kwannon, Temples, Retreat.
Buffalo, II. 297.
Butsudan, II. 369.

CALENDAR, Introduction xvii.; II. 68, 72, 126, 400.
Camel, II. 124, 146, 252. 344
Cap-rank, II. 127, 228, 231, 281, 370. See also Rank.
Cash, II. 34, 414.
Castles, building of, II. 283, *et seqq.*, 286.
Cattle-breeding, II. 32.
Caterpillar, worship of, II. 188, *et seqq.*
Celestial dog, II. 167.
Censorate, II. 294.
Ceremonies, court, II. 227, 357, 398, etc.
Chair, II. 102.
Chaos, I. 1.
Charms, I. 94; II. 82, 373. See also Incantation, Mantras.
Chésyang, I. 243.
Chhimnyu (King), I. 253.
Chi or chichi, I. 4, 264.
Chigi, I. 132.
Childbirth, superstitions connected with, I. 85, 98, 103, 104.
China, relations with, Introduction xi.; II. 138. See Thang, Wu, Tsin, Han.
Chinese civilization, spread of, II. 133.
Chinese customs, I. 311.
Chinese learning, first introduction of, I. 262.
Chiuai Tennō, I. 217-223.
Chō (land measure), II. 208.
Chopstick, I. 159.
Chōshushi, II. 213, 225.
Chronology, Introduction xvi.; I. 111, 132, 141, 153, 165, 177, 205, 247, 256, 262, 293, 300, 307, 330, 332, 346, 366; II. 25, 37. See also Calendar, Nengo.
Circumambulation, II. 259.
Clapping hands by way of respect, II. 395.
Clay figures at tombs, I. 181, 357.
Clay-workers, I. 180, 356. See also Hashi.
Clepsydra, II. 265, 296.
Cloth, I. 44; II. 180, 208.
Cloud-chariot, II. 275.
Cock, I. 42; II. 425.
Cock-fighting, I. 348.
Coin, I. 391; II. 304. See also Copper, Currency.
Combs, superstitions regarding, I. 24, 25, 47, 48, 52, 96, 98; II. 425.
Comets, II. 166, 167, 169, 333, 353, 364, 367.
Compass (mariner's), II. 258, 285.
Concubines (Imperial), I. 311, etc.
Confiscation, I. 293; II. 83.
Confucius, II. 129.
Consecration (of Buddhist images), II. 297, 423.
Conundrums, II. 374, 375.
Copper, I. 20, 47, 120, 220, 221, 328, 350, 355; II. 65, 86, 133, 360, 387, 415.
Corea, Introduction xi. See Han, Imna, Kara, Koryō, Pèkché, Silla.
Corean deities worshipped in Japan, I. 11, 169, 225, 378.
Corean names, Introduction xxii.; I. 244.
Cormorant-fishing, I. 119, 126, 341.
Cosmogony, I. 2, *et seqq.*
Costume, II. 18, 304, 307, 397, 410.
Court, II. 138.
Cremation, II. 423.
Crow, three-legged. See Yatagarasu.
Currency, I. 89, 391; II. 34, 222, 360, 372, 414.
Curses, I. 249, 337, 403; II. 102.
Cycle, Chinese, I. 111.

DAIBU, I. 175; II. 98.
Daijin, I. 334; II. 196.
Daijinnō, II. 114.
Daijōye, I. 86.
Daikoku, I. 55, 63.
Dainagon, II. 347.
Dai Nippon, II. 279.
Dajōdaijin, II. 294.
Dakiu, II. 185.
Dancing (religious), I. 44, 79; (other), 318, 381, 382, etc.
Dazaifu, II. 139.
Debts discharged, II. 378, 385.
Deer, cry of, I. 289.
Deer, dream of, I. 290.
Deification of Emperors, II. 226, 227. See also Incarnation.
Departments of State, II. 232.
Distribution of lands to peasants. See Kōbunden.
Divination, I. 83, 107, 121, 152, 153, 176, 177, 178, 189, 195, 227, 228, 229, 237, 281, 290, 307, 324, 355; II. 59, 68, 72, 95, 102, 257, 306. See also Omens.
Divorce, I. 25, 30.
Dog-keepers, II. 32.
Dog stories, II. 116, 117.
Dragon, II. 240, 248.
Dragon-fly, I. 134, 342.
Dragon-king, I. 61, 95.
Dreams, I. 115, 152, 155, 161, 165, 290; II. 36.
Dwarf-god. See Sukuna-bikona.
Dwarfs, II. 296.

EARTH-GODDESS, birth of, I. 21, 22.
Earthquakes, I. 317; II. 124, 176, 282, 330, 336, 339, 343, 344, 348, 351, 353, 354, 356, 357, 365, 373, 375, 384.
Eclipses, II. 155, 167, 168, 179, 348, 349, 353, 404, 411, 413, 414, 417, 420.
Edicts, II. 82, *et passim*.
Eight, significance of this number, I. 52; II. 143.
Eight-island-land, I. 16; II. 10.
Embroidery, II. 133.
Empress Dowager, I. 140.
Enclosure for Shinto worship, I. 82, 134.
Eta, I. 338.
Eternal Land. See Tokoyo.
Ethnology, I. 109, 212; II. 38, 123. See also Immigration, Koma, Kumaso, Tsuchigumo, Yemishi.
Eunsol (Corean title), II. 20, 98.
Expiation. See Purgation.

FALCON (for hunting), I. 291, 294; II. 239.
Family relations. See Marriage, Incest, Harakara.
Famine, I. 87; II. 155, 167.
Fasts, II. 402. See also Abstinence.
Festivals. See Shinjōsai, Nihiname, Ahimbe.
Fetish. See Caterpillar, Stone-worship.
Feudalism, I. 192, 267; II. 197, 206, 401, etc.
Fine. See Purgation.
Fire, ordeal by, I. 89.
Fire-drill, I. 205.
Fire-god, I. 21, 28, 29, 122.
Firewood presented to Emperor, II. 326, 330, etc.
Firmament, I. 291.
Fish-hooks (of iron), I. 92.
Five grains, I. 21, 278.
Flute, II. 11, 24.
Folk-lore, I. 307.
Food-goddess, I. 22, 32, 122.
Football, II. 185.
Forced labour, I. 278; *et passim*.
Four Heavenly Kings, II. 114, 115.
Fujihara family, II. 291.
Fumibito or Fubito (scribes), Introduction xii.; I. 263; II. 91.
Funeral ceremonies, I. 66, 67, 326; II. 24, 104, 143, 173, 177, 232, 274, 303, 360, 380, 388.
Funeral sacrifices, I. 178.
Funado no Kami, I. 25.
Furubito (Prince). See Yoshino.
Futodama no Mikoto, I. 82, etc
Futsu-nushi no Kami, I. 23, 67.

GAGS, II. 313.
Gambling, II. 371.
Games. See Suguroku, Dakiu.
Garlic as a charm against evil spirits, I. 208.
Genealogy of the Gods, I. 4-10.
Geomancy, II. 76, 126, 387.
Giōgi-yaki (pottery), I. 121.
Go (part of China), I. 269. See also Wu.
Godzu Tennō, I. 19.
Gohei, I. 44. See Offerings.
Gokinai, I. 135, 159, 215, 228; II. 207, 407.
Gold, II. 34, 65, 86, 134, 149, 172, etc.
Gold-copper, II. 391, 393.
Governors of provinces, II. 131, 200, etc.
Grain, origin of, I. 21.
Granaries (official), I. 214, 282. See Miyake.
Great Abstinence Deity. See Oho-imi.

HACHIMAN, I. 271.
Hachi-ōji (eight Princes), I. 36.
Hada (noble House), I. 265, 364; II. 39.
Hades. See Yomi, Ne no Kuni.
Hafuri (Shinto priests), I. 56, 129, 307; II. 39, 82, 174, 428.
Hair ornaments (sign of rank), II. 128, 138, 142, 230.
Haka (tomb), I. 159. See Tomb.
Hakama (prisoner in China), II. 400.
Hakase (doctor), II. 197.
Hakuchi, year-period of, II. 236.
Han (Corea), I. 58, 232, 242, 254, 257, 263, 273, 349; II. 35, 38.
Han (China), I. 265, 270; II. 118.
Hand-mill, I. 189; II. 140.
Hangwan (officials), II. 200.
Hanishi, I. 356. See Hashi no Muraji.
Haniwa, I. 181.
Hanzei Tennō, I. 310.
Harahe, I. 49; II. 221, 333, 338. See Purgation, Oho-harahe.
Harakara, I. 143, 322, 323.
Hashi no Muraji, I. 36, 181, 365; II. 126.
Hashira, I. 3.
Hatahi (Princess), I. 330.
Hatsuse (Prince), II. 161.
Hayabusa wake (Prince), I. 390, *et seqq.*
Hayato (palace guards), I. 100, 305, 375, 377; II. 38, 249, 356, 390, 418, 426.
Hawking. See Falcon.
Herbalists, II. 72.
Herb-gathering, II. 141, 143, 145, 288.
Herb of long life, II. 186, 344.
Hi, land of, I. 191, 198.
Hiki (piece of cloth), II. 209.
Hime (lady), frequently in names of princesses, etc.
Hire (scarf), II. 355.
Hiuga, I. 196.
Home provinces. See Gokinai.
Hōshi (priestly title), II. 118, 197.
Hostages, II. 196, 226.
Hōto, II. 153, 203.
House (noble), I. 316.
Hsüan-ts'ang, II. 254.

ICE-HOUSE, I. 297.
Ichinobe no Oshiwa, I. 336, 378.
Idols, I. 3. See Images.
Idzu, I. 70, 122, 176.
Idzube. See Sacred jars.
Idzuhime, I. 122.
Idzuki, I. 291.
Idzumo, I. 52, 54, 109, 381.
Idzushi sword, I. 168, 169, 185.
Ihanagahime, I. 84.
Ihawi, II. 15.
Ihaya, I. 72.
Ihitoyo (Princess), I. 383.
Ikadzuchi, I. 347.
Ike (a pond), I. 149. See Irrigation.
Ikina, II. 84.
Ikuhi, I. 154.
Ikume-iri-hiko isachi, I. 161, 163, 165.
Illa (Corean statesman), II. 97, *et seqq.*
Images (Buddhist), II. 65, 67, 98, 101, 111, 127, 133, 150, 230, 240, 387, 391, 422.
Imaki, I. 349, 350.
Imi (avoidance of religious impurity), I. 41.
Imibe (or Imbe), I. 42, 45, 47.
Imiki (title), II. 365.
Immigration to Japan, I. 166, 169, 242, 261, 264, 265, 296, 359; II. 38, 83, 86, 87, 99, 123, 126, 139, 140, 144, 146, 273, 285, 292, 330, 364, 384, 385, 391, 397, 398, 399.
Imna, I. 164, 166, 167, 249, 253, 257, 348, 392; II. 7, 19, 35, 39, 42, 80, 119, 124, 226.
Imo, younger sister or wife, I. 22, 104, 397.
Imperial theory, II. 29, 30.
Imun (part of Corea), II. 9, 12.
In and Yō, I. 1, 4, 12. See also Yin and Yang.
Inaki, I. 172, 215, 315, 364; II. 113, 365.
Iname no Sukune, II. 66, 78, 87, 112.
Incantations, I. 60, 94, 98, 99, 102, 133. See Mantras.
Incarnation, II. 198, 210, 217.
Incest, I. 324, 396.
Indigo, I. 353.
Ingiō Tennō, I. 312.
Ink-cord, I. 362.
Inspiration, I. 79, 163, 221, 225, 391, 392; II. 76, 317.
Interlinear Kana, Introduction xxi.; II. 200.
Inukahi, II. 32.
Iron, I. 92, 247, 251, 282, 328; II. 14, 86, 102, 173, 294, 344, 387.
Irrigation, I. 164, 183, 214, 227, 257, 259, 283, 306, 307; II. 136.
Iruka no Omi. Book xxiv., *passim.*
Ise, I. 44, 176, 205, 225.
Issaikio, II. 322, 330, 337.
Itoku Tennō, I. 142.
Itsukushima, I. 35.
Itsuse no Mikoto, I. 113, 127.
Izahowake, I. 301.
Izanami and Izanagi (Creator deities), I. 6-34, *passim*, also I. 307, 322.

JAPAN, names of. See Nippon, Yamato, Akitsu, Wa, Ashihara, Eight-island-land.
Jewel-spear of Heaven, I. 11.
Ji or chi (elder), I. 4, 18.
Jimmu Tennō, I. 62, 109-137; II. 21.
Jingikwan (department of Shinto religion), Eight gods of, I. 7.
Jingō Kōgu, I. 224-253.
Jitō Tennō, II. 382-423.
Jomei Tennō, II. 95-157.
Junshi (self-sacrifice at tomb of a lord or husband), I. 180, 331; II. 183, 220, 234, 383.
Jupiter (planet), II. 409.

KABANE (title), I. 27.
Kachaya. See Kesa.
Kagase-wo (star-god), I. 69, 79.
Kagehime, I. 402.
Kagura. See Dancing.
Kagutsuchi. See Fire-god.
Kaguyama (mount), I. 43, 119, 120.
Kaha (river), frequently in names of places.
Kahabe no Omi, II. 83.
Kahachi no Atahe, II. 44, 48.
Kaikwa Tennō, I. 148.
Kakosaka (Prince), I. 2 6, *et seqq.*
Kamako no Muraji or Kamatari Kō, II. 184, 191, 193, 194, 197, 243, 282, 291.
Kama-shishi, II. 181, 371.
Kami, deity, I. 3.
Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, I. 85.
Kamibe (or Kambe), I. 57.
Kami Mi Musubi (deity), I. 5, 9.
Kami-naga-hime, I. 259.
Kami Nunagaha mimi. See Suizei.
Kami yamato Ihare-biko. See Jimmu.
Kami ya-wi mimi no Mikoto, I. 139.
Kamo-shika. See Kama-shishi.
Kamu-niha, I. 353.
Kamu tsu miya. See Shōtoku Daishi.
Kanamura no Muraji, I. 404; II. 8.
Kana glosses, Introd. xxi.
Kana Nihongi, Introd. xiv.
Kanki (Corean title), I. 166, 231; II. 19, 42, 51.
Kanro (sweet dew), II. 339.
Kara, I. 57, 162, 166, 232, 252, 261, 263; II. 18. See also Imna.
Karakane (bronze), II. 415.
Karako, II. 22.
Karano (name of ship), I. 256, 268.
Karu (Prince), I. 323.
Karu (Prince), II. 184, 194.
Kashikiya hime, II. 95.
Kasuga (Princess), II. 9.
Katari be, Introd. xv.; I. 353.

Kaya, II. 80. See Imna.
Keidai Tennō, II. 1-25.
Keiko Tennō, I. 188-214.
Kena no Omi, II. 15, 19, etc.
Kenzō Tennō, I. 377-393.
Kesa (Buddhist priest's garment), II. 196, 297, 386.
Kibi (province), I. 14, 112, 155.
Kibi no Omi, II. 58.
Kibumi, i.e. yellow books, II. 133, 185.
Kilin, I. 164, 244.
Kimi (lord), I. 38. *et passim.*
Kimmei Tennō, II. 36-89.
Kinai. See Gokinai.
Ki no tsuno no Sukune, I. 293.
Ki no woyumi no Sukune, I. 354.
Kishi (title), I. 236.
Kissing, II. 85.
Kite (golden), I. 126.
Kiujiki, Introd. xii.; II. 148, 193; Addenda.
Kiushiu, I. 109, 112. See Tsukushi.
Kōan Tennō, I. 145.
Kōbunden, II. 208, 225, 409.
Kōbun Tennō, II. 301, 303.
Kōgen Tennō, I. 146.
Kōgioku Tennō, II. 171-194.
Kojiki (history), Introd. xiii. xix.; I. 2, 350, 393.
Kokishi (Corean word for king), I. 251.
Kokuryö. See Koryö.
Kokushi (governor), II. 201.
Koma, I. 232; II. 61. See Koryö.
Konohana sakuya hime, I. 70-85.
Kōrei Tennō, I. 146.
Koro-pok-guru, I. 72.
Koryö, or Kokuryö (kingdom of Corea), I. 231, 262, 268, 282, 296, 351, 366, 392; II. 38, 44, 60, 77, 86, 93, 134; downfall of, 289.
Koshi, I. 14.
Koshiro, II. 217. See Nashiro.
Kōshō Tennō, I. 144.
Kōsobō, II. 196.
Koto (lute), I. 225, 268, 269, 351, 380; II. 235.
Kōtoku Tennō, II. 195.
Kotoshiro nushi, I. 61, 76, 225, 237; II. 318.
Koyane no Mikoto, I. 82, etc.
Kudara (kingdom of Corea), I. 232. See Pèkché.
Kukunochi. See Tree-god.
Kuma, I. 62, 82, 197, 232, 239, 368; II. 59. See also Kumaso.
Kuma-himorogi, I. 82, 168, 169, 185.
Kuma-nari, I. 59, 232, 367; II. 19, 286.
Kuma-wani, I. 219.
Kuma-washi, I. 226.
Kumaso, I. 192, 196, 201, 219, 221. See also Kuma and Koma.
Kume, I. 80, 118, 127, 133, 178.
Kuni no Miyakko, or Kuni'tsuko (local governor), I. 112. See also Miyakko.
Kuni no satsuchi no Mikoto, I. 3.
Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto, I. 3, 4.
Kure, I. 265, 269, 362. See Go, Wu.
Kuro hime, I. 301.
Kusaka no hatahi-hime, I. 337.
Kusanagi (sword), I. 52-58, 76, 205, 211; II. 290, 377.
Kushi-nada-hime, I. 52, 56.
Kusuri-gari. See Herb-gathering.
Kusyu (King of Pèkché), I. 251.
Kuzu (local chiefs), I. 119, 266.
Kwannon (Buddhist), II. 379, 391.
Kyōsoku, II. 256.

LACQUER, II. 110, 367.
Laws, II. 128, 202, 220, 350, 358, 393, 402.
Leaves used as platters, I. 125, 285.
Leech-god, I. 15, 18, 19, 20.
Legends, *passim* in earlier part of work.
Leopard as deity, II. 70.
Living things released, II. 334, 335.
Loans of rice, II. 328.
Local authorities, II. 206, 207, 213, 214, 242, etc.
Long-life places (Buddhist), II. 394, 404.
Loom. See Weaving.
Lustration, I. 26.

MAGARI NO OHINE (Prince), II. 5, 12, 26.
Maga-tama (curved jewels), I. 38, 49, 184, 221.
Magic, I. 157, 361; II. 126, 190, 301. See Incantation, Witchcraft.
Magpies, II. 124.
Mahakala, II. 114.
Maitrêya, II. 101, 127.
Majinahi, I. 60.
Makura kotoba, I. 176, 403, etc.
Mallet weapons, stone or wood, I. 123, 124, 194, 240.
Manchus. See Sushen.
Mantras, II. 96.
Market commissioners, II. 223.
Marriage ceremony, I. 12, 14-18, 54.
Marriage to near relations, I. 22, 145, 212, 277, 290; II. 26, 38, 40, 107, 185, 220, 221. See Nuptial hut.
Marriage presents, I. 301.
Mars (planet), II. 353, 409.
Masaya-a-katsu kachi hayathi-ama no oshi ho mimi, I. 36, 37, 64, 76.
Masu (measure of capacity), II 209.
Mato, II. 53.
Matori no Ohomi, I. 403.
Mayuwa (Prince), I. 334.
Medicine, I. 59, 63; II. 68. See also Physician.
Medicine men, I. 42.
Mediums, I. 79.
Metals, I. 21, 291, 328. See also Bronze, Copper, Gold, Iron, Mint, Silver.
Metal workers, I. 81; II. 117, 376.
Metamorphosis, I. 209, 210, 296, 361; II. 155.

Metempsychosis, II. 149.
Mibu be, I. 280; II. 135.
Micheul Höchi pölhan, I. 241, 244.
Michi no Omi, I. 117, 122, 133; II. 16, 21.
Midzuchi (water-snake or water-god), I. 299.
Midzuha nome, I. 21, 122.
Midzuha wake (Prince and Emperor), I. 305, 310.
Mikage, II. 385.
Miko, I. 79.
Mikoto, I. 3.
Mikoto-mochi, II. 116, 131.
Milky Way, I. 23, 39, 42.
Mill, II. 140, 294.
Millet, I. 33.
Mimaki irihiko iniye, I. 150.
Mimana, I. 167. See Imna.
Mimatsu hiko kayeshine, I. 144.
Mimuma, I. 336.
Mint, II. 414.
Miroku, image of, II. 101, 127.
Mirror, I. 20, 43, 47, 49, 76, 83, 168, 185, 193, 251, 341; II. 3, 33.
Misaheun, I. 242.
Misaki (spur of hill or promontory), I. 177.
Misasagi (Imperial tomb), I. 135, 139, 211, 217, 236, 297, 298, 327, 357, 389, 390; II. 35, 143, 147, 156, 178, 235, 341, 389, 404.
Mitama-furishiki, II. 373.
Mitegura, II. 147.
Mitsugi (tribute), II. 23.
Miyake (granary), I. 178; II. 8, 13, 17, 27, 28, 32, 60, 78, 79, 136.
Miyakko (local governor), I. 51, 133, 215, etc.
Mohitori, I. 134.
Momari Cheulchi, I. 241, 244.
Mononobe, I. 128, 184.
Mononobe no Ohomuraji, II. 90, 112.
Monstrosities, I. 298; II. 147, 296, 300, 368.
Moon-god, I. 18-20, 28, 32, 391.
Moriya no Ohomuraji, II. 90, 112.
Mortar, I. 189.
Motoöri, Preface, Introd. xix.
Mounds, sepulchral, I. 72; II. 17. See also Haka, Misasagi, Tomb.
Mountain-goat. See Kama-shishi.
Mountain-god, I. 22.
Mourning, I. 277; II. 232. See Funeral ceremonies.
Mujina (animal like badger), I. 184.
Mulberry (paper), I. 49; (silk), I. 347, 366.
Mules, II. 344.
Mumayado (Prince). See Shōtoku Daishi.
Mumako no Sukune, II. 90, 101-103, 106, 112, 119. See Soga.
Munchu (King of Pèkché), I. 367.
Munyöng (King of Pèkché), I. 405.
Mura (village), II. 18.
Muraji (title), I. 27.
Mura-kumo (sword), I. 53.
Murder of an Emperor, I. 334; II. 119.
Mure (Corean word for mountain), II. 54, 153.
Muretsu Tennō, I. 399-407.
Muro, I. 71, 85, 123, 134, 201, 297, 376, 379; II. 375, 380, 426.
Music, I. 326; II. 30, 72, 144, 324, 350, 359, 371, 376, 406. See Flute, Koto.
Musubu no Kami, I. 5.
Mutè (Corean Prince), I. 405.
Myöng (King of Pèkché), II. 15, 66, 74.
Mythology, Books I. and II.

NA (name). See Names.
Nagare-kanjō, II. 151.
Naga-sune-hiko, I. 113, 126, 127.
Naijin, II. 197.
Nails, superstitions regarding, I. 50.
Nakatomi, I. 42, 45, 48, 79.
Nakatsu (Prince), I. 301.
Nama (Corean official rank), II. 55, 79, etc.
Names (proper), I. 27, 175, 190, 204, 255, 316, 393; II. 185, 223, 224, 225, 226, 354, 393. See also Title.
Naniha (city of Ohosaka), I. 113.
Naniha (person), II. 92, *et seqq.*
Nara Museum, II. 128.
Nari-kabura (sounding arrow), I. 87; II. 277.
Nashiro, I. 314, 322, 375, 406; II. 4, 13, 29, 31, 32, 204, 217. See Be, Koshiro.
Nengō (year-period), II. 198, 236.
Ne no Kuni, I. 20. See Yomi.
Ne no Omi, I. 331, 363.
Nether land, I. 20, 32, 51. See Yomi.
Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, I. 111, 128; II. 427.
Nihabi (courtyard-fire), I. 44.
Nihi-name (festival of first-fruits), I. 86, 122, 292, 375, 379; II. 109, 169, 177. See Oho-nihe, Ahimbe.
Nihon. See Nippon.
Ninken Tennō, I. 393-398.
Nintoku Tennō, I. 272-300.
Nippon, I. 1, 13, 268, 345; II. 7, 12, 42, 137, 139, 149, 303.
No (genitive particle), frequent in proper names.
Nō dance, origin of, I. 79.
Nomi no Sukune, I. 175, 181.
Norito (Shinto rituals). Introd. xii. xiv.; I. 80; II. 333.
Nuhoko or jewel-spear, I. 11.
Nunakura futo-damashiki, II. 90.
Nuns, II. 96, 101, 103, 104, 113, 118, 135, etc.
Nuptial hut, I. 12, 41, 54, 400.

Nuribe. See Lacquer.
Nyōi pearl, I. 209.

OATH, I. 35; II. 82, 97, 197.
Obito (title), I. 43.
Occultation of stars, II. 169, 174, 353.
Offerings to Gods, I. 44, 45, 47, 178, 209, 227; II. 147, etc. See Gohei, Mitegura, Nihi-name.
Ohine, I. 278.
Oho (great), *passim*.
Oho-harahe, II. 221, 352, 378. See Harahe, Purgation.
Oho-hatsuse Waka-take, I. 329, 333.
Oho-hirume no Mikoto, I. 110.
Oho-hirume no muchi, I. 18.
Oho-imi Deity, II. 328, etc.
Ohoke (Emperor), I. 377.
Oho-kume, I. 116, 133.
Oho-kuni-dama, worship of, I. 151.
Oho-kusaka (Prince), I. 331.
Oho-maye no Sukune, I. 328.
Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, I. 81, 152, 154, 158.
Oho-muraji, I. 337, etc.
Oho-namuji no Kami, I. 54, 59, 68, 80; II. 77.
Oho-nihe, Introd. xv.; I. 86; II. 324, 334, 404. See Nihi-name.
Oho-omi, I. 334, 337; II. 108, etc.
Oho-saka, I. 113.
Oho-sazaki, I. 255, 259, 271, 272. See Nintoku.
Oho-sora. See Sora.
Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro wake. See Keikō.
Oho-tomo, I. 86, 116, 133, etc.
Oho-tsu (Prince), II. 383.
Oho-usu (Prince), I. 188, 202.
Oho-yama-mori (Prince), I. 270, 274.
Oho-yamato-hiko-suki tomo. See Itoku.
Oho-yamato-neko-hiko-futo-ni. See Kōrei.
Oho-yamato-neko-hiko kuni kuru. See Kōgen.
Oho-yashima (Great-eight-island-country), I. 14, 16; II. 238.
Ohoye, I. 278.
Ōjin Tennō, I. 254-271; II. 9.
Okime (old woman), I. 386, 387, 391.
Okinaga tarashi-hi hiro-nuka. See Jomei.
Okinaga tarashi-hime, I. 218, 224; II. 8, 59.
Old man of the sea, I. 88, 92.
Omens, I. 227, 228, 238, 277, 320; II. 2, 4, 226, 237, 239, 245, 256, 259, 263, 266, 269, 270, 276, 277, 293, 331, 359, etc.
Omi (Minister or high official, also title of nobility), I. 36, *et passim*. See Oho-omi.
Omohi-kane no Kami, I. 42, 46.
Oni-yarahi, ceremony of, II. 389.
Onogoro-jima, I. 12.
Orange-tree, I. 186.
Ordeal by fire, I. 73, 85, 89.
Ordeal by boiling water, I. 258, 316; II. 22.
Original commentary, Introd. xxi.; II. 41.
Osaka Oho-nakatsu hime, I. 313, 328.
Oshi ho mimi no Mikoto, I. 83.
Oshikuma, Prince, I. 236, *et seqq*.
Oshikuni oshi-take kanahi, II. 5.

PAGODA, II. 102, 114, 122, 169.
Painting and painters, I. 350; II. 127, 133, 140, 144, 187, 244, 265, 336.
Pak Chésyang, I. 242.
Panku, I. 28.
Panphi, part of Corea, II. 9, 11, 13, etc.
Paper, II. 140.
Paper-mulberry fibre, I. 44.
Parrots, II. 230, 251.
Parturition house, I. 73, 94, 103, 277, 320.
Peach, magical properties of, I. 30.
Peacock, I. 230.
Pearl, II. 27, 34. See Nyōi.
Pèkché, Kingdom of Corea, I. 231, 232, 248, 249, 250, 257, 261, 263, 349, and frequently during the remainder of the work. Downfall of Pèkché, II. 269, *et seqq*.
Pèkché record, I. 248, 252, etc.
Pepper Court, II. 28.
Pestilence, I. 151; II. 67, 102, 104.
Pestle and mortar, I. 189.
Petroleum, II. 289.
Phallic worship, I. 11, 77, 139.
Phasa, King of Silla, I. 231.
Pheasant, I. 65, 73, 90.
Pheasant, white, an omen, II. 124.
Phung-chhang (Pèkché Prince), II. 165, 184.
Physicians, I. 315; II. 72, 295. See Medicine.
Picnics, I. 388, 389, etc.
Piebald colt of Heaven, I. 40, 45.
Pit-dwellers, I. 71. See Muro.
Pleiades, I. 69.
Polar bear. See Bear.
Polygamy, I. 118, 323.
Portents, II. 148, 155, 180, 183, 186, 187, 190. See Omens.
Posthumous honours, II. 323, and frequently after this.
Posting, II. 206, 207.
Potters and pottery, I. 121, 155, 170, 350, 365; II. 117. See Clay-workers, Hanishi.
Presents offered on branches, I. 193, 220.
Priest, Emperor acting as, I. 225.
Primogeniture, I. 110, 140, 273, 384; II. 242.
Prince, I. 142, 149.
Punam, II. 48.
Punishments, II. 234, *et passim*.
Purgation, or purification, ceremony of, I. 26, 31, 48, 49, 50, 224, 308; II. 96, 221. See Oho-harahe, Harahe.
Purity, ritual, I. 41.
Puyō, country of, II. 18.

QUELPAERT. See Tamna.
Quiver, I. 34.

RAIN of ashes, II. 346, 369.
Rain, prayers for, II. 174. 175, etc.
Raitsui (stone weapons), I. 12.
Rank, official, II. 127, 225, 228, 231, 368. See Cap-rank.
Recorders, I. 307, 357.
Red bird, II. 347, 351.
Red crow, II. 337, 407, 409. See Yata-garasu.
Red tortoise, II. 352.
Regalia, I. 76, 83, 307; II. 3, 33.
Relics (Buddhist), II. 102, 117, 121.
Religion. See Buddhism, Mythology, Shinto.
Retreat (religious), II. 360, 369, 398.
Rice, creation of, I. 33.
Rice-castle. See Inaki.
Richiu Tennō, I. 301.
Riddle, I. 396. See Conundrum.
Right and left, precedence of, I. 16; II. 15.
Risshi (Buddhist rank), II. 359, 416, etc.
River-god, I. 22, 281, 299; II. 174. See Midzuchi, Serpent-worship.
Rock-cave of Heaven, I. 41-50.

SA (honorific prefix), I. 3.
Sachihiko (envoy to Corea), I. 252, etc.
Sacred jars, I. 122, 130, 157.
Sacrifices, I. 220, 228, 281; II. 174. See Offerings.
Sacrifices, human, I. 178, 181.
Sadaijin, II. 196, 294.
Saheki Be, I. 212.
Sahohiko, I. 172.
Saimei Tennō, II. 248-273.
Saka (an acclivity), frequent in names of places.
Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, II. 107, *et seqq.*
Sakaki (sacred tree), I. 43, 47, 81, 219.
Sake (rice-beer), I. 52, 56, 154, 244, 245, 264; II. 166.
Sakitsuya, I. 348.
Sakyamuni. See Shaka.
Salt-pans, I. 220, 268.
Saniha, I. 225.
Sarcophagus, I. 137; II. 285, 389.
Sarume, I. 44, 76, 79.
Saruta-hiko, I. 77.
Scribes. See Recorders, Fumibito.
Sea-gods, I. 22, 93, 95, 106.
Sea monster, I. 61, 95, 98, 102.
Seamstresses imported, I. 261, 269, 271, 363.
Seimu Tennō, I. 214-216.
Seinei Tennō, I. 373-377.
Senkwa Tennō, II. 33-35.
Sepulchral mounds, I. 72; II. 17. See Misasagi, Haka, Tomb.
Serfs, I. 388; II. 29, 30, 79, 87, 94, 178, 206, 217, 327, 371, 431.
Serpents, I. 52, 296, 299, 347.
Serpent-worship, I. 158, 208, 299, 347. See Midzuchi.
Seta, battle of, II. 314.
Seven stars, II. 366.
Shaka, II. 65.
Shamon, II. 197, 241, etc.
Shari. See Relics.
Sheep, II. 124, 188.
Shibi no Omi, I. 400, *et seqq.*
Shields, I. 80, 155, 282; II. 395.
Shiguma, II. 257. See Bear.
Shihi-netsu-hiko, I. 111, 120, 121, 126.
Shiho-tsu no oji, I. 92, 110.
Shiki (rebel), I. 125.
Shiki (Commentary on "Nihongi"), Introd. xiii. xix.
Shiki tsu hiko tami demi. See Annei.
Shikome (ugly woman of Yomi), I. 25.
Shinjōsai (festival), I. 86.
Shinto (religion), Introd. xii. xxiv.; I. 41, 43; II. 106, 195, 293. See Mythology. Sun-goddess, Nakatomi, Imbe, Offerings, Wind-god, etc.
Shinto priests, I. 56. See Hafuri.
Shinto shrines, I. 58; II. 76.
Shinra. See Silla.
Shipping tax, II. 69.
Ships, I. 58, 161, 256, 268, etc.
Shiraga take-hiro-kuni-oshi-waka-Yamato-neko, I. 373.
Shiratori no Misasagi, I. 211.
Shiri-kume-naha, I. 45.
Shiro, a land measure, II. 115, 205, 394.
Shitennō, II. 114, 482.
Shitenōji, II. 115, 123, 150.
Shōgun, I. 156.
Shoki, I. 1.
Shōtoku Daishi, Introd. xiv; II. 95, 107, 114, 122, 133, 144, 148, 431.
Shrines, I. 132; II. 318.
Shūchō (year-period), II. 373, 379.
Shūkai (or Shuge) edition of "Nihongi," Introd. xx.
Shuttle, I. 41.
Signet (Imperial), I. 314; II. 3. See Regalia.
Silk, I. 166, *et passim* in Vol. II.
Silkworm, I. 21, 33, 347; II. 5. See Mulberry.
Silla (Kingdom of Corea), I. 57, 166, 221, 230, 231, 234, 249, 257, 269, 284, 295, 315, 326, 349, 354; II. 15, 18, 35, 38, and frequently after this.
Silver, II. 172, 325, 360, 387, 403, 404, 405.
Slaves, I. 209, 356; II. 48, 64, 73, 74, 82, 93, 100, 113, 115, 182, 202, 220, 221, 402.
Smith-god, I. 81, 139.
Snake-worship. See Serpent-worship.
Sōdzu, II. 153, 325, 359, 377, 378.
Soga family, II. 148, 189.
Soga no Oho-omi, II. 78, 87.

Soga no Mumako, II. 90-119.
So In-ko, II. 136.
Sōjō, II. 153, 359, 377, 378.
Sonaka Cheulchi, I. 164, 166.
Sora (the void of Heaven), I. 4 83, 347.
Sosa no wo (deity), I. 19, 28, 32, 34-59.
Soto-ori-hime, I. 318.
Söul, I. 263.
South, Emperor faces, on official occasions, II. 3.
Spear, I. 44, 47, 155.
Spelling, Introd. xxi.
Spider, superstition regarding, I. 320.
Spittle, I. 31, 48, 106.
S'ramana, II. 197.
S'ramanera, II. 348.
Star-god. See Kagase-wo.
Stone implements, I. 189.
Stone weapons, I. 87, 123, 169; II. 308.
Stone worship, I. 1, 168, 183. See Idzushi.
Storehouse, I. 184. See Miyake, Inaki.
Suguri. See Sukuri.
Suguroku (backgammon), II. 395.
Suicide. See Junshi.
Suiko Tennō, II. 121-156.
Suinin Tennō, I. 165-187.
Suizei Tennō, I. 138-141.
Sūjin Tennō, I. 150, 164.
Sujun Tennō, II. 112-120.
Sukuna-bikona (god), I. 59-63, 244.
Sukune (title), I. 142, 236.
Sukuri (title), I. 341; II. 74.
Sumera Mikoto, I. 109.
Sumeru or Sumi, Mount, II. 144, 251, 259, 265.
Sumptuary Laws, II. 343, 350.
Sun and moon, sex of, I. 28.
Sunai (junior), II. 250.
Sun-crow, I. 116. See Yatagarasu.
Sun-goddess, I. 18, 20, 28, 32, 33, 41-49, 73, 115, 151, 176, 392; II. 95, 107, 307.
Sun-mirror, I. 82, 168, 169. See Mirror.
Superstitions, I. 325. See Comb, Spider, Child-birth, Spittle, Caterpillar, Fetish, Omens, Divination, Bed, Garlic, Incantations, Magic, Nails, Peach, Ordeal, Red animals, White animals.
Surnames, origin of, I. 27, 204, 316. See Names, Titles.
Susa no wo. See Sosa no wo.
Sushēn (Manchus), II. 58, 257, 260, 263, 265, 335, 420.
Sutras, II. 65, 96, 133, 135, 170, 175, 240, 241, 263, 265, 335, 346, 352, 371, 372, 376, 378, 379, 403, 408, 413, 416, 421, 422. See also Issaikio.
Swan, I. 174.
Sword, I. 35, 53, 87, 92, 115, 123, 162, 183, 360; II. 3, etc.
Syoko (King of Pèkché), I. 247, 251.
Syöng-myöng (King of Pèkché), II. 42, 43, 66.

TACHIBANA, I. 186.

Tachibana no Toyohi. See Yōmei Tennō.
Tadzukai (office), II. 87.
Tagishi mimi, son of Jimmu, I. 138.
Tai (fish), I. 93.
Taikyoku, II. 191.
Tajihi no Midzuha-wake, I. 310.
Tajima Mori (mission to fetch the orange-tree), I. 186.
Takakuraji, I. 115.
Takama no hara (plain of High Heaven), I. 16, 33, 83, 133.
Takama no hara hiro-nu no hime. See Jitō.
Taka mi musubi (god), I. 5, 64, 81, 86, 90, 110, 122, 392.
Takayasu, castle of, II. 290, etc.
Take (brave), I. 64, frequent in names.
Takechi (Prince), II. 309, *et seqq.*
Takechi no Sukune (statesman), I. 200, 211, 215, 223, 238, 245, 248, 257, 294, 317; II. 8.
Take ha dzuchi (god), I. 70.
Take-hani-yasu-hiko (rebel), I. 156, *et seqq.*
Take-mika-dzuchi (deity), I. 68, 115.
Take-wo-hiro-kuni oshi-tate. See Sen-kwa.
Taku-hata, I. 341.
Talsol (Corean title), II. 98, 283.
Tama (jewel, spirit), frequent in names.
Tama-boko (jewel-spear of Heaven), I. 11.
Tama-yori-hime, I. 94, 104, 108.
Tamna, II. 6, 271, 284, 286, 290, 323, etc.
Tan, land measure, II. 208; cloth measure, II. 209.
Tanegashima (island), II. 336, 344, 352, 356, 359, 418.
Tanka (poetry), I. 91, etc.
Tankun, legend of, II. 77.
Tanners, I. 397.
Tarashi-naka-tsu hiko. See Chiuai.
Targets, I. 282.
Tasuke (shoulder straps or braces), I. 44.
Tatami (mats), I. 325.
Tatemono, I. 181.
Tattooing, I. 200, 305.
Taxation, I. 160, 365; II. 68, 208, 209, 225, etc.
Temmu Tennō, II. 301-381.
Temples (Buddhist), II. 67, 101, 111, 341, 346, etc.
Temples of the Earth and Grain, Introd. xvi.; I. 171, etc.
Tenchi Tennō, II. 274-300.
Tendoku (mode of reading Sutras), II. 175.
Tengu (celestial dog), II. 167.
Tennō (Emperor), I. 109, 234.
Tennōji, temple of, II. 115, 296.
Tenshōdaijin. See Sun-goddess.
Tera (temple), II. 122, 123.
Thang (China), II 136, 145, 150, 165, 166, 242, 245, 260, 280, 298, 393, etc.

Three Buddhist garments, II. 203. See Kesa.
Three-legged crow, II. 237. See Yatagarasu.
Three-legged sparrow, II. 359.
Three precious things, II. 104, 109, 123, 129, 149, 337, 377.
Thunder-god, I. 29, 115; II. 147. See Take-mika-dzuchi.
Tidal wave, II. 366.
Tiger stories, II. 60, 190.
Tiles, II. 164.
Titles, I. 27, 175, 316; II. 201, 225 228, 361, 364.
Tohe or tobe, I. 114, 129.
Tok, I. 354.
Tōk, II. 55.
Tōkaidō, I. 155.
Tokibe (magistrates), II. 396.
Tōkni, II. 100.
Tokoyo or tokoyo no kuni (Eternal Land), I. 42, 60, 114, 176, 186, 368; II. 188, 425.
Tombs, I. 159, 180, 213; II. 17, 145, 162, 178, 193, 217, 242, 292. See Misasagi.
Tomo, I. 254.
Tomoye, I. 34.
Toneri (chamberlain), I. 319, 359, 395, etc.
Toneri (Prince), Introd. xiii.
Tortoise-shell (used in divination), I. 152.
Toyo (rich, abundant); frequent in proper names.
Toyo (province of Kiushiu), II. 15.
Toyo-ata-tsu hime, I. 91.
Toyoki no Mikoto, I. 161.
Toyo-kumu-nu (deity), I. 4.
Toyo-kuni nushi (deity), I. 4.
Toyo-mike-kashikiya. See Suiko.
Toyo-tama-hime, I. 93-108.
Treasury, I. 309, 373; II. 37.
Tree-god, I. 22.
Trees created, I. 58.
Tribute to Japan from Corea, I. 231, 296, *et passim*.
Tribute from Japan to China, I. 245.
Tripitaka, II. 322. See Issaikio.
Triratna, II. 104. See Three precious things.
T'sin (Chinese dynasty), II. 38.
Tsu (archaic genitive particle), frequent in proper names.
Tsuchi (in names of deities), I. 3, 4.
Tsuchigumo (pit-dwellers), I. 129, 194, 195, 198.
Tsuchi-ningio, I. 181.
Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. See Moon-god.
Tsukushi, I. 13, 109, 112, 192, etc.
Tsumori no Muraji, II. 49.
Tukhāra, in India, II. 246, 259, 266.
Tumulus. See Tomb, Misasagi, Sepulchral mound.
Työnchi (Corean Prince), I. 263.

UBUYA. See Parturition house.
Udaijin, II. 196, 294.
Uji (noble House), I. 27, 316; II. 143, 190, etc.
Uji no waka-iratsuko, I. 171, 276.
Ukemochi no Kami. See Food-goddess.
Ukeshi, I. 117, 120.
Ullambana, II. 230, 251, 263.
Umashi-ashi-kabi, I. 4.
Umbilical cord, superstition regarding, I. 85.
Uneme (palace waiting-women), I. 292, 304, 326, 345; II. 31, 209.
Unicorn, II. 239.
Unseen trade, II. 264.
Upasaka, II. 372.
Upashâya, II. 377.
Urabe (diviners), II. 102.
Urashima, legend of, I. 368.
Uro, I. 235.
Urosohorichiu, I. 234.
Urushi. See Lacquer.
Usu (mill), I. 189.
Utagaki (poetical tournament), I. 400.
Uzu (ornament), II. 128. See Hair ornaments.
Uzume no Mikoto, I. 44, 50, 77.

VENUS (planet), I. 69.
Vimokcha, II. 60.
Vinaya, II. 96.
Void of Heaven. See Sora.

WA (name for Japan), I. 242, 245; II. 72, 137, 303, etc.
Wagtail, I. 17.
Waka (young), frequent in proper names.
Waka-hiru-me no Mikoto, I. 45, 237.
Waka-yamato-neko-hiko-oho-hihi, I. 148.
Waka-tarashi-hiko, I. 214.
Wake (Prince), I. 190, 192; II. 206.
Wangin or Wani (Corean scholar), Introd. xi.; I. 262, 309.
Wani (sea-monster), I. 61, 156, 262.
War-god. See Hachiman.
Watarishima (Yezo), II. 252, 264.
Watchword, II. 313.
Water deity, I. 22, 299. See Midzuha-nome.
Water-level, II. 296.
Water-snake, I. 299. See Serpent-worship.
Weavers, Corean, I. 265, 270.
Weaver-god, I. 70.
Weaving, I. 41, 45, 90, 183, 265, 291, 350, 363, etc.
Weaving maiden (a star), I. 75.
Wet-nurses, I. 104.
Wheat, I. 33.
White animals (favourable omens), I. 297; II. 124, 174, 236, 237, 239, 252, 286, 322, 326, 352, 394, 410, 416.
Wind-deities, I. 22, 230; II. 328, etc.
Witchcraft, I. 60; II. 110, 187, 190. See Magic, Incantation.
Wo-asatsuma wakugo no Sukune, I. 312.

Wobashira, I. 11, 24.
Wohodo. See Keidai Tennō.
Woke. See Kenzō Tennō.
Wokera (drug), II. 372, 373.
Wolves, II. 36.
Women as rulers, I. 194; position of, I. 330, 400.
Woollen carpets, II. 73.
Wosada nunakura futodamashiki, II. 38.
Wo-usu, I. 188. See Yamato-dake.
Wrestling, I. 173.
Writing, Introd. xi. xvii.; I. 262.
Wu (in China), I. 265, 269, 271, 296, 347, 358, 363. See Go, Kure.

YAHATA, I. 271.
Yakabe (Prince), II. 112.
Yaku (island), II. 146, 147, 164.
Yakushi (Buddhist deity), II. 348, 376, 393.
Yama (mountain), frequent in names.
Yama (Indian God), I. 24.
Yamashiro (Prince), II. 156, 182.
Yamato (province), I. 1, 13, 109, etc.
Yamato-dake (Prince), I. 189, 200, *et seqq.*
Yamato-neko, I, 146; II. 210.
Yamato no Oho-kuni-dama, I. 151.
Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito, I. 145.
Yanasa, II. 53.
Yasaka gem, I. 34, 35, 38, 43, 49, 76, 81, 184.
Yashiro (shrine), I. 82.
Yasumaro, Introd. xiii. xiv.
Yata, Princess, I. 285.
Yatagarasu, I. 44, 52, 115, 125, 134; II. 237.
Yatakagami, I. 43. See Mirror.
Yatsu, I. 52.
Yebisu. See Yemishi.
Yemishi or Ainos, I. 109, 124, 159, 200, 202, 203, 206, 212, 214, 296, 377; II. 38, 96, 168, 176, 209, 249, 252, 254, 259, 260, 262, 289, 354, 355, 389.
Yemishi (Prime Minister), II. 157, 171, 178, 181, 193, 231.
Yellow springs, I. 24; II. 45, 233.
Yeta. See Eta.
Yin and Yang, I. 1; II. 223, 295.
Yöchhyang (Corean Prince), II. 70, 75, 77.
Yogi, II. 96.
Yōmei Tennō, II. 106-111.
Yomi or Hades, I. 24, 26, 29, 31, 50, 69.
Yoshino, I. 119.
Yoshino, Palace of, frequently in Book XXX.
Yorodzu, prowess of, II. 115.
Yoshino (Prince), II. 197, 204.
Yu-be, II. 21.
Yufu (tree fibre), I. 81.
Yuniha, I. 41, 83, 86.
Yūriaku Tennō, I. 333-372.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LD.,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.

THE JAPAN SOCIETY,

LONDON.

(20, HANOVER SQUARE, W.)

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Where two names of a Japanese person are given, the name in BOLDER TYPE is the Family Name.

In April, 1895, the following CIRCULAR was issued to Members, by order of the Council :—

"The Council of the Japan Society desire to inform you that Mr. W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., M.R.A.S., an Honorary Member of this Society, and late Japanese Secretary of H.B.M. Legation at Tōkio, has completed the first Translation into English, with Commentaries, of the celebrated Japanese work known as the '*Nihongi*,' or 'Chronicles of Japan.' This treatise was written in 720 A.D. and contains a most valuable record of the ancient Mythology and early History of the Japanese from the 'Divine Age' to 700 A.D. ; it also throws a flood of light on the ancient institutions, customs, and ideas of the country. Mr. Aston has honoured the Japan Society by offering to it the manuscript of his Translation with Commentaries, on the sole condition that the Society will publish it. The Council, after careful consideration, have unanimously resolved to accept the offer, being strongly of opinion that, in view of the importance of the Translation and of the well-known qualifications of the scholar who has undertaken it,—in view, also, of the elaborate Commentaries with which the Translation will be furnished at his hands, the best interests of the Society render it eminently desirable that it should identify itself with the undertaking, and be the means of rendering these valuable Chronicles accessible to scholars and those interested in Japan in every part of the world."

In order to enable the Society to accept Mr. Aston's generous offer, without encroaching on the amount of the Society's funds available for the purposes of the publication of its "Transactions and Proceedings," Members were invited to form a Guarantee Fund, the amount of each individual guarantee not to exceed five pounds, or be less than one pound.

The Guarantee Fund was quickly formed, and amounted, on 1st March, 1896, to £324 8*s*. One hundred and twenty Members, whose names appear in the List on the next page, signed as Guarantors. It has not been found necessary to make any call upon the Guarantors.

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NORITO

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A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers

by

Donald L. Philippi

With a new Preface by
Joseph M. Kitagawa

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

COPYRIGHT © 1990 BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PUBLISHED BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 41 WILLIAM STREET,
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

ENGISHIKI NORITO. ENGLISH.
NORITO: A TRANSLATION OF THE ANCIENT JAPANESE RITUAL PRAYERS / BY
DONALD L. PHILIPPI.
P. CM.
TRANSLATION OF: ENGISHIKI NORITO.
INCLUDES BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES.
ISBN 0-691-06859-3 (ACID-FREE PAPER)
ISBN 0-691-01489-2 (PBK. : ACID-FREE PAPER)
1. SHINTO—PRAYER-BOOKS AND DEVOTIONS—ENGLISH. I. PHILIPPI,
DONALD L. II. TITLE.
BL2224.3.E5413 1990
299'.56138—DC20 90-8231

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PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
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(PBK.) 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR JAPANESE CULTURE
AND CLASSICS, KOKUGAKUIN UNIVERSITY, TOKYO, 1959

CONTENTS

Preface, by Joseph M. Kitagawa	vii
Introduction	1
Notes on Individual Norito	5
Bibliography of Modern Works Consulted	16
Glossary	84

PREFACE

Joseph M. Kitagawa

This preface is meant to elucidate the not-so-readily apparent significance of *norito*, the ancient Japanese ritual prayers, with reference to Donald L. Philippi's small but well-researched, creative, and innovative volume on the subject. Invariably our account, like all discussions of non-Western traditions, is compelled to begin with the historic encounter between East and West.

THE "STRANGENESS" OF NON-WESTERN TRADITIONS

Those who remember the days prior to World War II tell us how little the West then knew about the non-Western world. This was true even in America, which had been developing into a full-fledged Pacific power since the latter part of the nineteenth century.[1] As we look back it becomes evident, however, that World War II made a tremendous difference in Americans' as well as in other Westerners' familiarity with things non-Western. Here in America, particularly, the national emergency required training and instructional programs in Asian subjects, and there appeared an amazing array of books and articles on Asia, from the very scholarly to the ridiculous.[2]

Further, the newly aroused interest in Asia among Americans and other Westerners did not diminish at the end of the Pacific war. In fact it has grown steadily for the past thirty years, as exemplified by the phenomenal increase in Asian and other non-Western studies in various Western educational institutions. Over time, the interest in things non-Western became no longer confined to colleges and universities. To be sure, the "Orient" (as the East used to be referred to) always had an aura of mystery for a small number of Western minds, primarily symbolizing—to borrow Arthur Christy's expression—

1) Meribeth E. Cameron once quipped that before the war "few Americans could name any Asiatics except Confucius, Gandhi, and Chiang Kai-shek." According to Harold Isaacs, more than 40 percent of the American population in 1942 could not locate India or China on a map. And in 1945, after three years of American direct military involvement in Asia, only 43 and 45 percent of the American populace could locate the countries, respectively. Harold Isaacs, *Scratches on the Mind* (New York: John Day, 1959), p. 39.

2) See Meribeth E. Cameron, "Far Eastern Studies in the U.S.," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (February 1948): 119–20.

something "far away and long ago."[3] In our time, however, we find a vastly different situation: Many Western people, for example, have come into direct contact with Japan, resulting in an increasing familiarity with Japanese art, literature, cuisine, and cinema, as well as with karate, judo, Zen meditation, and Japanese-manufactured automobiles, television sets, and videocassette recorders.

Such a rapid growth in Westerners' interests in things non-Western and the concomitant increase in travel and dialogue between the Western and Eastern cultures are impressive, but there is much truth in Mircea Eliade's astute and sobering observation that:

> most of the time, [our] encounters and comparisons with non-Western cultures have not made all the "strangeness" of these cultures evident. . . . This is due to the fact that the encounters have been made through their more Westernized representatives, or in the mainly external spheres of economics or politics. We may say that *the Western world has not yet, or not generally, met with authentic representatives of the "real" non-Western traditions*.[4]

Eliade's observation is a fair warning as we confront the strangeness of *norito*, the ancient Japanese form of ritual prayers, and itself assuredly one of the authentic foreign representatives in Eliade's sense.

"MAN'S WESTERN QUEST"

To further complicate the matter of dialogue between Western and non-Western cultures, there is today a peculiar belief among some modern Western scholars and some Western-inspired young Asian scholars alike that they have already discovered the correct approaches to unfolding the mystery of the historical-cultural destiny of the entire human race. In fact, they are totally oblivious to the "strangeness" of some traditions, the strangeness that is necessarily inherent in things truly "other," or the "authentic representatives" in Eliade's terms. These scholars are overconfident that the approaches, perspectives, and methods they use are the most dependable and trustworthy tools for dealing with different linguistic, social, cultural, and religious traditions in all

3) Arthur E. Christy, ed., *The Asian Legacy and American Life* (New York: John Day, 1942), pp. 1–55.

4) Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries*, trans. P. Mariet (New York: Harper, 1960), pp. 8–9. My italics.

parts of the world. But these tools have a history of their own, having been developed within a Western tradition that has always attempted to integrate and interfuse all the disparate strands of human civilization into its own *mundus imaginalis*. It may therefore be worth reviewing briefly the intellectual heritage of what Denis de Rougemont calls "Man's Western Quest."[5]

In a sense, "Man's Western Quest" can be traced all the way back to the ancient Greek notion of "system," which, as Betty Heimann has cogently pointed out, implied composition in a rational order, based on a postulate that the human mind thinks systematically. No wonder Protagoras maintained that "man is the measure of all things."[6] In the course of time, the Greek characterization of humanity was infused with the Hebrew-Christian concept of *imago dei*, and it was exposed to the Persian Zoroastrian theory of the "end of the world" (*eschaton*), itself mediated by the Jewish and Christian traditions.

In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the Western notion of *anthropos* always tended to lean toward the idea of "progress," a word derived from the Latin term *gressus*, or "step," which suggests the act of stepping forward. "Progress" was a theoretically abstract *concept* that became transformed into an *idea* of progress, as Paul Tillich has reminded us; indeed, the *idea* of progress is more an interpretation of an actual historical situation in terms of the *concept* of progress:

> There is a difference between the concept of progress and the idea of progress. The concept of progress is an abstraction, based on the description of a group of facts, of objects of observation which may well be verified or falsified; but the idea of progress is an interpretation of existence as a whole, which means first of all our own existence.[7]

Actually, Western intellectual history serves as a good illustration of how easily the *concept* of progress can be metamorphosed into the *idea* of progress, which in turn can become a *doctrine* of the law of history, or even an unconscious *dogma* of progressiveness. It is equally significant that the Western sense of history came to be amplified by a self-authenticating circular religious logic, especially after the Christian tradition became the state religion of the Roman empire in the fourth century.

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5) See Denis de Rougemont, *Man's Western Quest* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973).

6) Betty Heimann, *Indian and Western Philosophy: A Study in Contrast* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1937), pp. 27–28.

7) Paul Tillich, *The Future of Religions*, ed. J. C. Brauer (New York: Harper, 1966), p. 64.

Apparently, the Western tradition regarded it a sign of its own progress to encounter, and eventually absorb into its own framework, many different features of human civilization, especially during the Christian-dominated religious/cultural/social/political synthesis in medieval Europe.[8] It is well known that medieval European civilization revolved around three pivotal institutions—the Church (*sacerdotium*), the state (*imperium*), and the university (*studium*). And, as might be expected, many Europeans came to be convinced that their synthesis was the most advanced and progressive in the world, because their tradition was given "cosmic legitimation" by Christianity, following the self-authenticating circular logic of its religious rhetoric.

From the perspective of ecclesiastical Christian logic, Judaism after the coming of Christ was no longer an authentic divine religion since the ancient Hebrew tradition had been fulfilled by the birth of Christianity. In a similar vein, many Europeans identified Mohammed as the false prophet in the Johannine apocalypse and thus regarded Islam as a false and misguided faith. Ironically, it was from Muslims and Jews in Spain that the Christian world learned philosophy, especially Greek philosophy, thereby benefiting both Christian Scholasticism and the medieval European university. It is pertinent, too, to remember that it was the Spaniards and the Portuguese who, having been heavily influenced by Islam (the this-worldly religion par excellence), initiated in the non-Christian world the wave of European colonialism and Christian missionary work that began almost immediately after the celebrated voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama.

THE QUESTIONABLE OBJECTIVITY OF THE CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL METHOD

In retrospect, it becomes evident that during the past five centuries the intellectual topography of Europe has undergone many significant changes inspired by, among other movements and events, the Renaissance, the Reformation, nationalism, the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution. It is often said that the Renaissance, by bringing down the center of gravity of the world from heaven to earth, gave birth to the new conception of civilization, that is, Western civilization as a pseudo-religion of secularized salvation. Rejecting the thesis of the *corpus Christianum* that civilization was to be

8) See Bryan Wilson, *Contemporary Transformations of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 9–10.

guided by ecclesiastical authority, modern Europeans came to regard themselves as the inventors and transmitters of true civilization. Moreover, during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, intellectuals made another cognitive somersault, whereby various fields of knowledge formerly circumscribed in the university by the domains of metaphysics and theology were liberated. In the words of Ernst Cassirer:

> They no longer look to the concept of God for their justification and legitimation; the various sciences themselves now determine the concept on the basis of their specific form. The relations between the concept of God and the concepts of truth, morality, [and] law are by no means abandoned, but their directions change.[9]

In this connection, it should be noted that the Christian missionary enterprise in Asia and Africa during the nineteenth century cooperated, unwittingly or otherwise, with European colonialism, and this cooperation led to Christianity's coming to be viewed by outsiders as an important ingredient of Western civilization. And the combined forces of Western civilization, Christian missionary programs, and colonial expansion brought about social, political, economic, cultural, and religious changes in much of the non-Western world by the end of the nineteenth century.

This is neither the time nor the place to discuss the merits and demerits of colonialism. However, it is worth quoting an Indian thinker, Ashis Nandy, who commented on colonialism from the perspective of those who were once "governed" by a foreign colonial administration. According to Nandy:

> Modern colonialism won its great victories not so much through its military and technological prowess as its ability to create secular hierarchies incompatible with the traditional order [in the non-Western world]. These hierarchies opened up new vistas for many, particularly for those exploited or cornered within the traditional order. To them the new order looked like—and here lay its psychological pull—the first step towards a more just and equal world. That was why some of the finest minds in Europe—and in the East—were to feel that colonialism . . . would open up the non-West to the modern critical-analytic spirit. . . . It would be critical in the sense in which the Western tradition of social criticism—

9) Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 159.

from Vico to Marx—had been critical and it would be rational in the sense in which post-Cartesian Europe had been rational.[10]

In addition to the new secular hierarchy described by Nandy, other attributes claimed by the West, such as objectivity, neutrality, and universality (science); global capitalism (commerce); eternal truth (religion); the psychic unity of humankind (social sciences);[11] and totality (Marxism),[12] had their respective followers in the East. Underlying all these different claims of the modern West was the daring thesis, articulated by Hegel, that Western thought (no longer simply "man," as in Protagoras's formulation) was the "measure of all things."[13]

It is important for us to understand Hegel's thinking, because his ghost is still very much alive among contemporary scholars, not only in the West but also in the non-Western world among Western-inspired thinkers (philosophers, scientists, humanists, Marxists, religious thinkers, etc.). It was Hegel who asserted that "the 'phenomenology' or self-manifestation merges into man's work in history, into human self-fulfillment. Man becomes 'present God' (*präsenter Gott*) and continues the divine process in his own worldly presence."[14] In his scheme of the history of philosophy, Hegel was convinced that "the Occident supersedes the Orient, and in dealing with the Oriental traditions, it faces, in a sense, its own petrified past."[15]

During the nineteenth century, and even in the twentieth century up to World War II, under the strong impact of the Westernization of the whole world, many Asian thinkers accepted the West's questionable and self-authenticating claim that "Asian thought is comprehensible and interpretable within European thought, but not vice versa. . . . *European thought has to provide the context and categories* for the exploration of all traditions of thought."[16] One cannot simply be amused by such Europo-centric views of the last cen-

10) Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. ix.

11) See Klaus-Peter Koepping, *Adolf Bastian and the Psychic Unity of Mankind* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

12) See Martin Jay, *Marxism and Totality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

13) See Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), p. 84.

14) Ibid., p. 93.

15) Ibid., p. 88.

16) Ibid., p. 96. My italics.

tury, for an amazing number of Western Orientalists even today take for granted E. Husserl's judgment that:

> Europe alone can provide other traditions with a *universal framework of meaning and understanding*. They will have to "Europeanize themselves, whereas we . . . will never, for example, Indianize ourselves." The "Europeanization of all foreign parts of mankind" . . . is the destiny of the earth.[17]

Happily, today, there are thinkers and scholars (still few in number but increasing steadily) both in the West and in the non-Western world who reject Husserl's simplistic thesis that the Europeanization of the entire world is the destiny of the earth, and who realize that the Western-inspired scholarly approach may not be as objective, neutral, or universal as many of us have been led to believe for so long. They recognize only too well that much of the contemporary critical, rationalistic, and analytical approaches, which are taken for granted in humanistic, scientific, and social scientific studies, are based on the peculiar Western convention of dividing human experience into semi-autonomous pigeonholes, such as religion, philosophy, ethics, aesthetics, culture, and society. Obviously, this type of convention is useful within a specified discourse, affirmed "autobiographically" by people within the Western tradition as sort of a family language. However, some continue to feel that it has universal validity, partly because these provincial people are not aware of other—specifically, in our context, non-Western—ways of discerning the texture of human experience.

Actually, people everywhere, including those in the West, live and breathe in their respective seamless whole—what, in effect, is a synthesis of religious, cultural, social, economic, and political orders, to use the Western convention of divided categories. Many astute scholars and thinkers in both the West and the East are now persuaded that useful though Western-inspired methodology may be, it is based on a particular, provincial taxonomy and cannot be employed indiscriminately in what amounts to a cookie-cutter approach to analyzing non-Western traditions. For example, in the Western idiom we designate "religion" as its own, autonomous category; however, this designation is beginning to be questioned as we realize that religion is integrated in a sys-

17) Quoted in ibid., p. 437. My italics.

tem, providing "cosmic legitimation" to each synthesis. Apropos of this realization, the sensitive Islamicist Bernard Lewis recently wrote:

> When we in the Western world, nurtured in the Western tradition, use the words "Islam" and "Islamic," we tend to make a natural error and assume that the religion means the same for Muslims as it has meant in the Western world . . . that is to say, a section or compartment of life reserved for certain matters, and separate, or at least separable, from other compartments of life designed to hold other matters.[18]

Similarly, the ancient Japanese religion, which was based on particular Japanese conventions and ways of thinking for perceiving the kinds and levels of reality, cannot be studied simply by means of our usual critical-analytical methods, as Donald Philippi cogently demonstrates in his perceptive study of *norito*.

MIXED LEGACIES OF MODERN JAPANESE LINGUISTIC AND THOUGHT FORMS

In studying any aspect of non-Western traditions, it is customary to stress the importance of sufficient familiarity with the foreign languages involved. This exhortation assumes that our knowledge of a particular native language will give us entrée into the art, literature, and philosophy of the culture in which it is spoken. It must be perplexing, therefore, to find that our acquaintance with modern Japanese linguistic and thought forms, imperative though that familiarity is, may not really provide us with the level and kind of access to the meanings of Japanese traditions—ancient through pre-modern—as we expect them to unfold within a particular set of historical circumstances. To be sure, many people today in Japan and elsewhere, especially in the West, are totally oblivious to or unconcerned with this dilemma; however, unlike those who are interested primarily in contemporary economics, politics, or sociology (and who can thus sidestep to a great extent this particular kind of quandary), those who attempt to capture the meaning of ancient Japanese religion—or of *norito*, for that matter—can ill afford to ignore this bewildering problem.

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18) Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 2.

Considering the importance of the linguistic and thought forms involved, it might be useful and necessary for us to make a short detour and discuss what happened to Japanese language and thought systems in the modern world. To the Japanese, 1868 was a significant date, for in the previous year the exhausted and fatigued Tokugawa feudal regime (*bakufu* or *shōgunate*), which had ruled Japan since 1603, surrendered its prerogative to the teenaged emperor, Meiji; this turn of events precipitated the resumption of imperial rule, though Japan was actually being governed by a group of pragmatic-minded advisers. Curiously, the new imperial regime had two diametrically opposed "faces": 1) *ōsei fukko* ("restoration of monarchical rule"), implying a return to the *old* polity of the Ritsuryō ("imperial edict") system of the seventh and eighth centuries (and thus relevant to our discussions of ancient Japanese religion and *norito*), and 2) *ishin* ("renovation"), which represented the entering into a *new* chapter in history. The inevitable tension between these two faces may account for much of the existential contradictions, stresses, and strains of modern Japan.

In modern Japan, that which was "old" was not exclusively defined by its opposition to that which was "new"; similarly, the "new" did not connote an intrinsic rupture with the "old." For example, the Meiji regime elevated the throne in the manner of the ancient Ritsuryō polity, but it rejected other Ritsuryō principles, such as that of mutual dependence between the sovereign's and the Buddha's laws (*ōbō-Buppō*). Accordingly, the Meiji government legally separated Shinto and Buddhism, signifying a sudden undoing by fiat of the historical pattern of a Shinto-Buddhist amalgam (*Shin-Butsu shūgō*). Clearly, the new government wished to depend only on the native Shinto to provide it with "cosmic legitimation." On the other hand, the regime was aware of being in a tight spot with regard to its anti-Christian policy, a legacy of the Tokugawa *shōgunate*. And, mostly because the Japanese government was determined to rectify the unequal clauses in its treaties with the Western powers (who took a dim view of the Japanese anti-Christian policy), the government lifted the ban against Christianity, thus allowing its people a token form of religious liberty.

It is evident that the Meiji regime wanted to maintain Japan's political independence at a time when much of the non-Western world was being swallowed up by European colonialism. Confronted with the powerful West, Japanese leaders resorted to a compromise formula, "Eastern Ethics and Western

Learning-Technology'' (*Tōyō no Dōtoku, Seiyō no Gakugei*),[19] reflecting their double-edged intention of welcoming and utilizing ''Western know-how,'' precisely for the purpose of keeping the West at arm's length, while relying on traditional ''Eastern Ethics'' to consolidate the Japanese nation inwardly. In the course of time, Japan came to emulate Western-style colonialism and aspired to become the leading ''imperial power'' in East Asia (*Tōyō no Meishu*). This intriguing political development had direct bearing on the linguistic and thought forms that are problematic for us now.

Opinions vary widely on the question of whether the Meiji leaders realized all the ramifications of their undertaking to import features of Western civilization, even if these were meant to serve only as ''practical means.'' A young Meiji emperor proclaimed as a Charter Oath, ''Knowledge and learning shall be sought throughout the world.''[20] But this was far easier said than done; modern Japanese people encountered a series of almost insurmountable hurdles, starting with linguistic problems. In a way, modern Japan's linguistic problem recalls the Japanese experience during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., when Sino-Korean civilization penetrated preliterate Japan. That encounter also resulted in a serious linguistic predicament: the effort to adapt characters of a monosyllabic language such as Chinese to the polysyllabic Japanese language. In time, the Japanese developed an ingenious, though very cumbersome, hybrid linguistic device, commonly referred to as the *wa-kan* (''Japanese-Chinese'') style, which served to mediate, amazingly successfully, alien Chinese and Buddhist idioms, concepts, poems, literary works, arts, logic, and rhetoric to the Japanese mind.[21] It is an irony of history that in the second half of the nineteenth century Japan had to confront yet another alien civilization—Western—embodied in various linguistic systems, for example, English, German, French, and Dutch. And what developed out of this new round of encounters with a foreign civilization was another kind of mixture, *wa-yō setchū*, a form of Japanese (involving the *wa-kan* hybrid system) and Western blending, which spawned the phenomenon of *wakon yōsai* (''a Japanese spirit with foreign abilities'').

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19) Tsunoda Ryūsaku et al., comps., *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 603–8.

20) On ''Charter Oaths,'' see G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 318–20.

21) Both the advantages and the disadvantages of the *wa-kan* device are ably discussed in David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

We must bear in mind that Western civilization reached its zenith during the nineteenth century, and some people even speculated that the East would soon be absorbed by the West. In that kind of atmosphere, the West's somewhat exaggerated claim to superiority and universality was bought on face value by some non-Western, including Japanese, leaders. After all, Hegel, who had become an idol of Japanese intellectuals, asserted with utter seriousness that in comparing and evaluating various cultural traditions "the course of history itself" decided in favor of the European tradition.[22] It was not surprising, therefore, that numerous new words, concepts, idioms, and symbols penetrated Japan from the allegedly "superior and universalistic" Western civilization. It should be noted that this trend meant more than just the introduction of new words and expressions. As S. Ichikawa astutely observed, "even the structure of the Japanese language" itself was destined to be greatly modified.[23] In that kind of climate, there were not enough people who were reflective and critical, not only about the differences between Western and Japanese languages, but also, and more important, about the different conventions employed by Westerners and the Japanese in their perceptions of the textures of human experience.

This lack of analysis was due partly to the fact that those who were familiar with the inherited Japanese tradition generally were not exposed to Western languages and thought, whereas the iconoclastic youths (somewhat analogous to those who, "exploited or cornered within the traditional order," as Ashis Nandy noted, welcomed new secular hierarchies in the non-Western world) were willing to accept Western experience as the paradigm for new Japan.

The vogue for things Western in Japan during the latter part of the nineteenth century—stimulated partly by the pragmatic Meiji regime's promotion of "Westernism," ostensibly to improve Japan's standing in its treaties with Western powers—coincided with the impressive growth of Western-oriented Japanology. It should be noted that the Japanology in question was a variation on what was usually called in the West a discipline that examined various facets of Eastern peoples—their languages, arts, economic systems, social and political orders, religions, and cultures—and yields "data" that were then subjected to scholarly analysis and interpretation based on "Western"

22) See nn. 13, 14, and 15, above.

23) See S. Ichikawa, "Foreign Influence in the Japanese Language," in I. Nitobe et al., *Western Influences in Modern Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 141–80.

models, concepts, and logic. This type of Western-oriented Japanology was promoted by the Asiatic Society of Japan (ASJ), which began its activities as early as 1872. As might be expected, most of the famous Western Japanologists, as well as some Japanese scholars familiar with Western Japanology, were active in the ASJ, and they made pioneering contributions to the study of various aspects of Japanese tradition.[24]

Even with due recognition of the numerous positive aspects resulting from the strong impact of Western civilization on modern Japan, we should not ignore some of the negative features. On this score, it is not unreasonable to ask whether the Japanology that emerged in the late nineteenth century and the modern Japanese linguistic and thought systems (heavily modified under the impact of Western civilization), both of which were rooted in the provincial Western convention of dividing human experience into a particular series of autonomous compartments (as well as in notions of *anthropos* and history), can adequately reveal the meanings of ancient or pre-modern Japanese traditions. Do they, unconsciously to be sure, superimpose Western concepts and logic on Japanese traditions, whereby data about ancient or medieval Japan become ingredients to be analyzed by and potentially absorbed into what Hegel and Husserl regarded as the only world civilization, the *telos* of which is to be determined exclusively by the West? The question might also be asked whether Japanese tradition, before it came under the powerful influence of the West, possessed a worthwhile system of meaning that was an alternative to that of the Europocentric modern world. Or could the encounter and dialogue between cultures—Western versus pre-modern or modern Japanese, for example—take place only "*in* a Westernized world, under conditions shaped by Western ways of thinking?"[25]

Since the end of World War II, these have become very pertinent questions in Japan with regard to our understanding and interpretation of various facets of the historical Japanese tradition. For, living as we do in the latter part of the twentieth century, we often forget the decisive importance of 1945, that it represents a dividing line between two different worlds of experience for the

24) See Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Some Reflections on Foreign Scholars' Understanding of Japanese Culture and Shinto," which originally appeared in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference for Shinto Studies* (Tokyo: Kokugakuin University, 1968), pp. 122–34; included in Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 286–96.

25) Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 440.

Japanese people. Indeed, Japan's wartime experiences compelled the creation of a new page in its own scholarly studies. J. H. Kamstra was no doubt correct when he observed that: "Up to 1945, Japanese historians lacked the freedom and the right to [study the origin of the Japanese state]. Excessive nationalism formed an obstacle for a long time to these studies."[26]

Similar observations can be made with regard to other scholarly investigations of ancient Japan. Two related but qualitatively different perspectives and approaches characterize the post-war scholarship on ancient Japan. The first, which could be characterized as "modern Western Japanology," is a sophisticated approach rooted in traditional Japanology, yet greatly enriched by the contributions both of up-to-date humanistic scholarship and of the social sciences—for example, psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology—all of which are being interfused to disclose the hitherto unearthed meanings of the historical Japanese tradition. Some scholars who subscribe to this approach also appropriate neo-Marxist insights and post-structuralist criticism, among other perspectives, to enhance their methods.

The second approach might be called "neoclassicism." It is a new spirit or attitude because it is critical of traditional Japanology, arguing that the peculiarly Western concepts, categories, and logic that dominate its perspectives and methods may not be the best tools for our study of ancient Japanese traditions. In other words, what the second approach aims to achieve in the study of the historical Japanese tradition is a "re-visioning" and not simply a "revising" of our methods and data in accordance with more modern (Westernized) scholarship. Donald Philippi's study of *norito* as a "performed text" of ancient Japanese religion is an excellent example of this second approach. (It must be pointed out, however, that this "second approach" remains relatively unknown today among many Japanologists in both Japan and the West.)

ANCIENT JAPANESE RELIGION

I was very impressed by Donald Philippi's work when I first became acquainted with it, in the form of a translation of the little-known ancient inscription called "Songs on the Buddha's Foot-Prints."[27] Evidently, this inscription

26) J. H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism: The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Leiden, Holland: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 22.

27) Donald L. Philippi, "Songs on the Buddha's Foot-Prints," *Nihonbunka-Kenkyūsho-Kiyō* no. 2 (1958): 145–48.

caught Philippi's attention because the text's anonymous Japanese poet used the inherited, native tradition of the divine visitor from beyond the sea (*marebito* or *marōdo*) to frame the event of the Buddha's coming, rather than using the usual Buddhist rationale. Indeed, so much of the ancient Japanese tradition, like mother-of-pearl, has many shades and meanings, which can be interpreted differently when seen from various perspectives. Such elusiveness is the intellectual challenge of the ancient Japanese tradition.

Fascinating though the study of Japan's prehistory may be (and there have been considerable advances made in this field during the post-war period), we will not take it up as part of our agenda here.[28] For in spite of numerous theories and hypotheses proposed by scholars in recent years concerning Japan's early history, it remains the case that their conclusions lack consensus on many key points. For the most part, scholars are stymied by the paucity of convincing materials. The two earliest mytho-historical writings, the *Kojiki* ("The Ancient Matters")—which incidentally was retranslated by Philippi[29]—and the *Nihongi* ("Chronicles of Japan"),[30] were compiled in the eighth century, two or three centuries after Japan had been exposed to Sino-Korean civilization and Buddhism. Even though they, and a series of local topologies called the *Fudoki*,[31] no doubt contain many ancient indigenous materials, it is extremely difficult to decide which legends or historical accounts are free from later foreign influences. Even the *Man'yōshū* (the so-called "Myriad Leaves"),[32] the earliest collection of Japanese verses, betrays infiltration by some Buddhistic themes.

Nevertheless, many scholars have pieced together as evidence the scattered references to Japan in Chinese and Korean documents, in a yeomanly effort to reconstruct various facets of ancient Japanese life, despite the fact

28) Those who are interested in this subject are referred to Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Prehistoric Background of Japanese Religion," *History of Religions* 2, no. 2 (Winter 1963): 292–328; reprinted in Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, pp. 3–40.

29) It is instructive to compare Donald Philippi's new translation of *Kojiki* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968) with the old translation by the nineteenth century's leading Japanologist, Basil Hall Chamberlain, trans., "*Ko-ji-ki*: Records of Ancient Matters," *Supplement to TASJ* 10 (1882).

30) William George Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (two volumes in one now available from Rutland and Tokyo: C. E. Tuttle, 1972).

31) Two of them are available in English now: Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki, trans., *Izumo Fudoki* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1971); and Morita Tohru, ed., "*Hitachi Fudoki*," *Traditions* 1, no. 2 (1976): 23–47, and 1, no. 3 (1977): 55–78.

32) See the Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai translation of *The Manyōshū* (reissued, New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

that the reality of ancient Japanese life, on both the individual and the collective levels, clearly defies many of the modern categories derived from the Western division of human experience. Take, for example, the term *uji*, which, though usually translated into English as "lineage group," or "clan," was essentially an all-embracing reality, referring, among other things, to a sociological, economic, political, and religious solidarity unit.[33] Another term that has engendered an endless amount of confusion is *kami*, often translated as "deity," "spirit," or "above," but probably more profitably rendered as "sacred," because the ancient Japanese seem to have accepted the sacrality of the total world as permeated by the *kami* ("sacred") nature; thus, by implication, they also affirmed the plurality of the *kami* as separate beings, though without any moralistic qualifications attached to them.[34]

As far as we can ascertain, the ancient Japanese took it for granted that the world was confined to that known to them in the Japanese islands. They also affirmed that the natural world was the sacred, original world, and that there was no order of meaning behind the world experienced by them—at least until later, when, from Chinese civilization and Buddhism, they learned other ways of perceiving the world. In modern lingo: They lived close to the hallowed world of nature.[35] As for the patriarchal *uji* ("lineage") system, many scholars think it was originally of Altaic origin, and that it became a dominant pattern early in Japan's history.[36] Each *uji* had *uji-bito* ("clansmen and -women") with professional service personnel and slaves. The life of each *uji* centered around the *uji-gami* ("*kami* of the *uji*"), who was usually attended to by the *uji-no-kami* ("*uji*-chieftain"). It is believed that the *uji*-chieftain owned the land and people in his jurisdiction, and it was he who directed all the activities of the *uji*, including its economics and agriculture.

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33) For the relationships between *uji* and other terms, see Richard J. Miller, *Ancient Japanese Nobility: The Kabane Ranking System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

34) Tsuda Sōkichi wrote a careful exposition of this subject in his article, "The Idea of *Kami* in Ancient Japanese Classics," *T'oung Pao* 52 (1966): chaps. 4–5.

35) According to Langdon Warner, "No tree could be marked for felling, no bush tapped for lacquer juice, no oven built for smelting or for pottery, and no forge fire lit without appeal to the *kami* residing in each." Langdon Warner, *The Enduring Art of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 19.

36) Shortly after the end of World War II, some scholars advanced "invasion theories," speculating that an alien group migrated to Japan during its early history and superimposed its beliefs, cultural fashions, and even the *uji* system on the country. Evidently, the "invasion theory" is not very influential today. See Egami Namio, *The Formation of the People and the Origin of the State in Japan* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, Memoirs of the Research Department, no. 23, 1967); and Gary Ledyard, "Galloping along with the Horseriders: Looking for the Founders of Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1, no. 2 (1975): 217–54.

If we view Japan's broad historical canvas, we note that sometime during the early centuries of the Common Era there developed the so-called Yamato kingdom, which was in essence a primitive tribal-feudalistic confederation of semi-autonomous *uji*-based social, cultural, religious, and political units; its ruler, or rather the head of its ruling *uji* (later called the "imperial house"), was more like a *primus inter pares* than an absolute monarch. In time, Yamato rulers paid tribute to Chinese courts, from which they received kingly titles. The Yamato leader was basically the chieftain of his *uji*, and it was his binding duty to serve (*matsurau*) his *uji* ancestral spirits; yet he was simultaneously a ruler, and as such, had to attend to the political administration (*matsuri-goto*) of the Yamato federation according to the divine will transmitted to him through dreams and divinations. As Manabu Waida rightly observes, the chieftain of the ruling *uji*, having received his kingly title from China, bestowed the sacred seed for the rice field upon his subjects and conferred various court ranks on them.[37] In other words, the ruler's performance of religious ceremonials (*matsuri*) to serve his *uji* ancestral spirits and his carrying out of the duties of political administration (*matsuri-goto*) were considered to be two sides of the same coin.

The course of historical events in East Asia from the fourth century onward brought Japan close to the Asiatic continent; hence, Japan was destined to fall under the strong influence of both Chinese civilization (notably, Confucianism, Taoism, Legalism, and the Yin-Yang system, as well as Chinese legal, educational, and political traditions) and Buddhism. This development resulted in the need to create appropriate designations for the hitherto unnamed and unsystematized indigenous magico-religious-cultic traditions in Japan, so that they could be integrated into the necessarily changed social and political orders. Accordingly, a Sinicized term, *Shinto*, was adopted to signify the "way of the *kami*" (*Kannagara*). Then, inspired by China's unification by the Sui dynasty in A.D. 581, the Yamato leaders in Japan made every effort to unify the nation, leading them to establish the first, self-conscious, major form of religious/cultural/social/economic/political synthesis, the Ritsuryō ("imperial edict") system. Elsewhere, I have explained that the Ritsuryō synthesis—a form of "immanental theocracy"—anchored itself upon three major principles: 1) mutual dependence between the "sovereign's law"—a blending

37) See Manabu Waida, "Sacred Kingship in Early Japan: A Historical Introduction," *History of Religions* 15, no. 4 (May 1976): 319–42.

of the indigenous way of the *kami* underlying the monarchical claim and the continental features taken from Confucianism, Taoism, Legalism, and the Yin-Yang system—and "Buddha's Law" (*ōbō-Buppō*); 2) Shinto-Buddhist institutional syncretism (*Shin-Butsu Shūgō*); and 3) belief in Japanese deities as manifestations of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in India (*Honji Suijaku*).[38]

The Ritsuryō paradigm attempted to establish a "soteriological community" in Japan, with the sovereign serving in three capacities simultaneously. First, the sovereign was the ruler of the nation. Second, he was the nation's supreme priest. Third, he was the living or Manifest *kami* (*Akitsu-Kami*), and as such wielded power on two counts: 1) as a genealogical descendant of his *uji* ancestress, Amaterasu-Ō-mikami (whose gender was fixed as female by the sixth or seventh century), and, due to her "divine" commandment, was thus entitled to govern the nation; and 2) as the Manifest *kami*, the sovereign was inherently the object of peoples' veneration and worship. In short, the sacrality of the imperial system was believed to provide "cosmic legitimation" to the Ritsuryō synthesis. Accordingly, the stylized court rituals were propagated as the earthly replica of the heavenly rituals as told in myths.

Although the Ritsuryō polity acknowledged the mutual dependence between the sovereign's and the Buddha's laws, the government's real intention was to place narrow restrictions on the Buddhist religion, as exemplified by the "Law Governing Monks and Nuns,"[39] which tried to keep them within the walls of monasteries and nunneries. Evidently, however, the government could not prevent numerous activities of popular Buddhist movements led by various types of unauthorized clerics.

The most revealing aspect of the Ritsuryō paradigm was the structure of its central government, which was divided into two separate departments of equal standing, namely, the Department of *Kami-* or Shinto-Affairs (*Jingi-kan*), in charge of all sacred ceremonials (*matsuri*), and the Great Council of State (*Dajō-kan*), in charge of political administration (*matsuri-goto*). Such a dual structure symbolized the underlying principle of the unity of religion and state (*saisei-itchi*). (It is interesting to note that the Yin-Yang Bureau, known variously as *On'yō-ryō* or *On'myō-ryō*, which was in charge of the observation of heavenly movements, geomancy, fortune-telling, and exorcism, was estab-

38) See the "Introduction" to Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, pp. xii–xiii.
39) See W-T Chan, I. R. al Fārūqī, J. M. Kitagawa, and P. T. Raju, *The Great Asian Religions: An Anthology* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 258–59.

lished within the Council of State and not within the Department of *Kami*-Affairs.)[40]

The leaders of the Ritsuryō government were astute enough to recognize the importance of history, and it was they who were responsible for the compilation of the two mytho-historical writings mentioned earlier, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. They also generated many writings dealing with administration, including the *ritsu* (a sort of penal code) and the *ryō* (administrative and civil codes). In principle, however, the entire body of rules and laws was subservient to the sovereign's *semmyō* ("imperial proclamations"), which, unlike *choku* ("edicts"), were believed to be "revealed words issued by the living *kami*." Even so, the Ritsuryō government was determined to compile a collection of minute administrative regulations, court laws, and rules on etiquette. The actual undertaking of such an ambitious collection, however, did not begin until 905, the fifth year of the Engi Era; hence this collection came to be called the *Engi-shiki* ("Procedures of the Engi Era"). (Although it was completed in 927, it was not promulgated until 967. Ironically, by that time much of the compilation proved to be too cumbersome to be applied in actual situations of governmental administration.) The first ten books of the *Engi-shiki*, which deal with various aspects of Shinto—for example, the festivals of the four seasons, extraordinary festivals, the Grand Shrine of Ise, and the Enthronement of a new sovereign—have been regarded as authoritative guides in Shinto affairs. Fortunately, Felicia Bock has provided us with an excellent English translation of the first ten chapters.[41] Significantly, Book Eight is devoted to twenty-seven *norito* ("ritual prayers"), the oldest segment (according to present scholarship) within the *Engi-shiki*, and the subject of Donald Philippi's study.

NORITO, THE PERFORMED TEXTS OF ANCIENT JAPANESE RITUAL PRAYERS

Etymology and Development of *Norito*

Norito is a compound word. As Felicia Bock explains:

> The first part, *nori*, is the conjunctive stem of the verb *noru*—to tell, recite, command (superior to inferior), reveal (as the divine will), de-

40) See Felicia G. Bock, trans. and annot., *Classical Learning and Taoist Practices in Early Japan* (Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Asian Studies, Occasional Paper no. 17, 1985).

41) Felicia G. Bock, trans. (with introduction and notes), *Engi-Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era*, vols. 1 and 2 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970 and 1972).

cree—and the second part is *to*, a noun. *To* has been taken by some scholars of the past to stand for *koto*, but that would be redundant in this case. The theory of modern scholars . . . is that *to* means a spell or magical device. Thus the compound *norito* would mean the chanting or reciting of the spell. The combined form of *norito-koto* then is "words for reciting a spell."[42]

Bock also points out that:

> Cognates of *noru* are: *inoru*, to pray; *nori*, law, rule; *norou*, to curse, to imprecate; *noroi*, a curse, a malediction; *noberu* or *noburu*, to tell, express, relate, narrate, state; *notama(f)u*, to speak, to tell (superior to inferior). . . . Cognates of the archaic word *to*, a spell, are: *tona(f)u*, to make sounds, and the verb *tonaeru*, to name or call.[43]

Although the origin of *norito* is shrouded in the misty past, it is safe to conjecture that in earlier days there was no fixed form of *norito* as such. Rather, the phenomenon in question—which later came to be classified as *norito*—most likely embraced a wide variety of prayers, charms, and spells that had been developed in different places by respective *uji*-s.

During the early centuries of the Common Era, with the gradual formation of the Yamato kingdom, the ceremonial traditions of various *uji*-s began to be integrated into that of the ruling *uji*. Through it all, it was the intent of the chieftain of the ruling *uji* to appropriate the worship of the *kami* claimed by other *uji* chieftains as belonging to their *uji*-s.[44] Increasingly, divinities of various *uji*-s became integrated into the pantheon of the ruling *uji* tradition, and the corresponding ritual forms of originally disparate groups, such as prayers and incantations, also became more centralized within the framework of the ruling *uji*.

The increasing importance of Shinto as the spiritual engine of the ruling *uji* advanced the cause and prestige of hereditary priestly families within their ranks. As might be expected, the Taika ("Great Change") Reform, which inaugurated the Ritsuryō synthesis in 645, also affirmed the principle of *saisei-itchi* ("unity of religion and government"). Subsequently, the Urabe family, which had established itself as the leading priestly family of the court, in charge of composing and reciting ritual prayers (*norito*), was given the new

42) Ibid., vol. 2, p. 61. 43) Ibid., p. 62 n. 291.
44) Ishida Ichirō, *Kami to Nihon-Bunka* ("Kami and Japanese Culture"), (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1983), p. 22.

family name of Nakatomi (literally *Nakatori-omi*, or "the one who mediates between the *kami* and the sovereign"); and this family came to monopolize the control of the new Department of *Kami*-Affairs. Many scholars suspect that the Buddhist *sūtra* reading, which came into vogue in Japan after the sixth century, probably influenced the form of *norito* recitation.[45]

Undoubtedly, the task of conforming the Chinese script—with its highly developed pictographs, ideographs, and phonetic compounds—to Japanese words was very complex. Nevertheless, from the sixth century onward the Japanese intelligentsia managed to learn enough written Chinese to write their own historical and official records of the court. One writing system used Chinese characters that were *read* in Japanese; the complexity of such a system, which was used in the *Kojiki*, is such that, as Philippi explains, "the modern reader of the *Kojiki* . . . has a sort of bilingual puzzle which he must decipher as he goes along."[46] Another system disregarded the lexical meaning of Chinese characters and utilized them only for their sound value, with the aim of approximating Japanese sounds. This system was usually referred to as the *Man'yō-gana* (a form of syllabary used in the *Man'yōshū*, or "Myriad Leaves").[47] The method used for codifying *norito* is referred to as "imperial decree writing" (*semmyō-gaki*), and it is on the whole close to the *Man'yō-gana* system. However, in various forms of recorded *norito*, "the stems and undeclined words were [written] in large characters (mostly phonetically used) and the terminations and particles in small-size characters"[48] to facilitate the correct recitation of *norito*.

We are told that the first collection of *norito* was included in the *Kōnin-shiki* ("Procedures of the Kōnin Era," A.D. 810–24); then it was included in the *Jōgan-shiki* ("Procedures of the Jōgan Era," A.D. 859–74). By far the most comprehensive corpus is the collection of twenty-seven *norito* included in the *Engi-shiki* ("Procedures of the Engi Era," A.D. 901–22). These dates are somewhat misleading, however, because some of the *norito*, even when compiled for the first time, were already considered ancient. It is pertinent to add in this connection that Philippi's volume has, in addition to the twenty-seven *norito* of the *Engi-shiki*, five additional texts—two from the *Nihongi*,

45) See Tamura Enchō, *Fujiwara Kamatari* (Tokyo: Hanawa-shobo, 1966), p. 20.
46) Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 28.
47) G. B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1943), p. 138.
48) Bock, *Engi-Shiki*, vol. 2, p. 59.

one from the *Kojiki*, one from the *Hitachi Fudoki*, and one from the twelfth-century diary of a Fujiwara nobleman.[49] It is safe to assume that the codification of some of the *norito* texts was done in the heyday of the continental influence (i.e., the influence of Chinese civilization and Buddhism) on Japan.

Inevitably, the Chinese literary style left its mark on the way *norito* was composed, for example, its verse prose and its frequent dependence upon "alternating parallelism" (*kakku tsui*). As Konishi Jin'ichi cogently observed, even though alternating parallelism had existed in Yamato songs from the Archaic Age, the appearance of the particular alternating couplets in *norito* was greatly inspired by the Chinese literary model, with which the compilers would have been familiar.[50]

Even from the brief historical background I have attempted, it is clear, I hope, that *norito* is a unique form of stylized prayer that developed out of the tradition of the ruling *uji* in the Yamato kingdom at a time when it was greatly influenced by Chinese civilization and Buddhism. These fixed prayers were recited on various sacred occasions, both at regularly recurring festivals and at special or temporary events, either as words of *kami* uttered to assembled people or as a petition to *kami* on behalf of people. *Norito* also reflects the self-authenticating circular orientation of the ruling *uji*, in the sense that the sovereign, by virtue of his (or her) allegedly being the physical descendant of the ancestress-*kami*, Amaterasu-Ō-mikami, is the legitimate ruler of the nation as well as being the Manifest *kami*. Thus, *norito* has a heavy dose of *yogoto*, a formula for blessing the reign of the sovereign to ensure that the ruler's era will be prosperous. However, it is well to remember that *norito* is not a text of doctrine; rather, it is what might be called "performed text." That is to say, *norito* was not a book of doctrines or dogmas from which people learned the meaning of life and the world; its aim was to provide people with proper orientations for the practical performance of rituals, prayers, and charms.

Hermeneutical Distance

Although from the tenth century onward most Shinto practitioners and courtiers were intimately familiar with *norito*, as well as with such formulas of blessing as *yogoto* and *iwaigoto* (both of which are often classified under the broader category of *norito*), systematic scholarly studies of ancient ritual

49) Philippi, *Norito* (1959), p. 1.

50) See Konishi Jin'ichi et al., *A History of Japanese Literature*, vol. 1: *The Archaic and Ancient Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 306.

prayers as such did not emerge in Japan until the eighteenth century. Oddly enough, it was the philological-philosophical exploration of Chinese classics by a learned Japanese Confucianist, Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), that inspired a lay Shinto priest, Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736), to apply the former's scholarly method to the study of ancient Japanese language and literature. Soon the National Learning School (*koku-gaku*), to which Kada contributed mightily, grew into an important movement and joined forces with the many disgruntled Shinto leaders and nationalistic Japanese Confucianists who were preparing the way for the royalist cause.

Inspired by the insights of Kada, his disciple Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769) pursued the study of the literary and poetical works of the eighth century (Nara period), especially the earliest collection of verses, *Man'yōshū* and *norito*. Important though Kamo's study was, it was colored too much by his personal and scholarly agenda.[51] Kamo was firmly convinced that all poetical works after the *Man'yōshū* showed evidence of the ancient Japanese spirit of spontaneity having been corrupted by alien (i.e., Chinese) influence. Another scholar of the National Learning School, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), well-known for his massive study of the *Kojiki*, evidently was also interested in *norito*. However, his detailed study of it seems to have been confined only to the Great Purification Ritual (*Ōharaye no kotoba*). Parenthetically, like Kamo, Motoori's study of *norito* depended heavily on his own intuition and conjectures.

Significantly, soon after the exposure of modern Japan to Western nations, some talented Western Japanologists lost no time in pursuing the study of *norito*, as exemplified by Sir Ernest Satow's and Karl Florenz's detailed studies of the subject.[52] In his 1879 article, Satow enumerates various forms of Shinto,[53] and suggests that *norito* is a precious resource for reconstructing the religious tradition of the primitive Japanese.[54]

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51) See Muraoka Tsunetsugu, *Studies in Shinto Thought*, trans. D. M. Brown and J. T. Araki (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1964), p. 113.

52) E. M. Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)* 7, pt. 1 (1879): 97–132; idem, "Ancient Japanese Rituals, Part III," *TASJ* 9 (1881): 182–211; and Karl Florenz, "Ancient Japanese Rituals, Part IV," *TASJ* 27, pt. 1 (1899): 1–112.

53) See Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals" (1879), pp. 98–99.

54) Many Western Japanologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, influenced by revolutionary views about "religion," were greatly concerned with the origins of the Japanese people, Japanese language, and Japanese religion. See, for example, E. M. Satow, "The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese," *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, n.s., 54 (1878); William George Aston, "A Comparative Study of the Japanese and

The careful, well-researched studies of *norito* by Western Japanologists had the salutary effect of broadening the intellectual vistas of serious Japanese scholars. In dealing with *norito*, or any other ancient text for that matter, both Western Japanologists and Japanese scholars—in their respective ways, to be sure—have been compelled to contemplate such precarious problems as prejudgment and historical distance, both of which were cogently discussed by Hans-Georg Gadamer.[55]

All of us invariably bring some sort of "prejudgment" to our attempt to understand any alien or ancient text. In many instances our prejudgment is modified or transformed in the process of confronting the text itself. Sometimes, however, especially when we have firmly entrenched preconceived notions—for example, a certain political ideology, evolutionary dogma, or doctrinaire religious belief—our prejudgment becomes a stumbling block to understanding the text in question. In the case of the aforementioned scholar, Kamo Mabuchi, the learned student of the *Man'yōshū* and *norito*, his interests in these texts were not simply historical, philological, or literary. He was convinced, as Muraoka Tsunetsugu astutely observes, that the "Ancient Way" was not "simply a way that prevailed in the past. He thought of it as a *Way that emerged out of the past to be followed in the present.*"[56] Accordingly, he interpreted both *Man'yōshū* and *norito* in this light. Another example is the translation of the *Man'yōshū* (therein spelled *Manyōshū*) by the Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai (the Society for the Promotion of Japanese Science). In the preface, which reflects the cultural nationalism of the text's pre–World War II publication, we read:

> The Manyōman lived in a world peopled by multitudes of gods [*kami*] and spirits, genii and fairies. And it is noteworthy that despite the wide acceptance of Confucianism and Buddhism, almost all the gods he sang, or who fed the well-spring of his lyric inspiration, were purely Japanese. They were gods of the indigenous cult which was named Shinto.[57]

Korean Languages," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3, pt. 11 (1879); Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods* (London, 1905); Chamberlain, "*Ko-ji-ki*"; and Chamberlain, "The Language, Mythology and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan Viewed in the Light of Aino Studies," *Memoirs of the Literature College* no. 1 (Tokyo: Imperial University, 1887).

55) See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method (Wahrheit und Methode)*, trans. Garret Barden and W. G. Doerpel (New York: Seabury Press, 1975).

56) Muraoka, *Studies in Shinto Thought*, p. 126. My italics.

57) Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, *The Manyōshū*, p. xxxviii.

Such a statement clearly indicates the idealized and narcissistic prejudgment of the pre-war "Special Manyōshū Committee" of the Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, which was proud to claim the lyrical character of the Man'yō verses as ancient Japan's indigenous product. Many Western Japanologists of the past, wedded to their own evolutionary scheme of humankind, were inclined to regard *norito* simply as an example of primitive religious mentality. In contrast, some contemporary Japanese scholars unduly stress the uniqueness of *norito* as enduring, native Japanese religious notions and practices, unsullied by Chinese or Buddhist influences.

Related to the precarious nature of our "prejudgment" is our dangerous proclivity for overlooking the reality of the "historical distance" that exists, as Gadamer often reminds us, between us as modern individuals and the ancient text of, say, *norito*. Also, we seem to separate the "text" from the people who produced and used it. To make the matter more complex, most of us, including Western scholars and Western-inspired Japanese scholars, have been conditioned by Western logics and the provincial Western convention of dividing human experience into the previously mentioned series of semi-autonomous compartments—religion, culture, aesthetics, ethics, economics, politics, and so on. And, when we encounter such ancient texts as the *Man'yōshū* and *norito*, we tend to forget, in our attempt to explain the Japanese world view by means of our own contemporary concepts, syntaxes, taxonomy, or logics, that the ancient Japanese had their own (at least very different from contemporary Western) way of perceiving human experience.

Happily today there is a small (but gradually increasing) number of scholars who are painfully conscious of the problem of "hermeneutical distance"—the combination of deeply rooted prejudgment and historical distance—when dealing with ancient, and often foreign, texts. Donald Philippi's work in the present volume, *Norito*, is a good example of such a perceptive approach to an ancient text. Many readers may have already come across his translation of the *Kojiki*. Fortunately for us, his helpful Introduction to *Kojiki* includes discussions of "The Archaic Japanese Language," "Writing Systems in Early Japan," and "Manuscripts and Historical Criticism"—all of which directly enhance our understanding of *Norito* as well. Especially noteworthy is his serious attempt to reconstruct the ancient Japanese language, its characteristic vowels, consonants, and syllables.[58] And he demonstrates sim-

58) Philippi, *Kojiki*, pp. 20–25.

ilar sensitivity to hermeneutical distance in his study of the epic tradition of the Ainu, as well.[59]

Lex orandi, lex credendi, "As We Pray, So We Believe"

Earlier I suggested that *norito* developed out of the tradition of the ruling *uji* in the ancient Yamato kingdom, which soon came under the massive influence of Chinese civilization and Buddhism. This particular combination of internal and external factors enabled the Yamato kingdom to solidify itself and to develop the impressive Ritsuryō system. This system, as already described above, was an intricate interfusing of 1) the earlier confederation of Shinto-inspired tribal *uji* and 2) Confucian, Taoist, Yin-Yang, and Buddhist features. Understandably, the appropriation of the Chinese writing system as the basis of the Japanese written language; the borrowing of Chinese models of educational, legal, and government institutions; and the importation of Chinese and Buddhist religious, metaphysical, and artistic notions brought about great changes in Japan.

Soon—in A.D. 673, to be exact, when Temmu successfully usurped the throne from the reigning sovereign—the Ritsuryō framework was destined to undergo internal transformations. Not beholden to powerful *uji* leaders, who initially were bulwarks of the Ritsuryō polity, Temmu appointed to important court positions only those he trusted, for example, members of his immediate family, scions of the Fujiwara (formerly known as the Nakatomi) house, and other loyal cronies.[60]

It was Temmu who ordered the compilation of the aforementioned mytho-historical writings, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, no doubt in an effort to authenticate his claim to the throne through the assertion of his alleged genealogical connections to earlier sovereigns and even to solar deities. In addition, he ordered chroniclers to "eliminate falsehoods" from available records, "discarding the mistaken and establishing the true."[61] Following Temmu's command, his court chroniclers "read history backward" in compiling the *Kojiki*

59) Donald L. Philippi, *Songs of Gods, Songs of Humans—The Epic Tradition of the Ainu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1979).

60) See Miller, *Ancient Japanese Nobility*.

61) Philippi, *Kojiki*, p. 41. Ebersole is of the opinion that "the *Kojiki*, the *Nihonshoki*, and the *Man'yōshū* are all part of the Court's larger historiographic project." Gary L. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 10. That may well be the case; however, as I shall discuss presently, I am inclined to think that an additional factor entered into the *Man'yōshū* when it was being edited.

and the *Nihongi*.[62] At the same time, Temmu firmly advocated that Buddhism should be established as the religion for protecting the throne and the nation. He was extremely conscious of his own virtue and accomplishment, and as a follower of the Yin-Yang School as well, he aspired to hold "the mean between the Two Essences [*yin* and *yang*], and [to regulate] the order of Five Elements."[63] Evidently, he even used the Taoist term *mahito* ("one who has attained the Taoist Truth") in his own name, Ame no Nunahara no Mahito, while appropriating another term of Taoist origin, *tennō* (designation of a Heavenly Deity), in lieu of the traditional term, *ten-ō* ("heavenly monarch").[64]

Clearly, Temmu must have had a unique vision as the sovereign of the Ritsuryō state, and his descendants wanted to monopolize the throne in his fashion. Thus, according to G. B. Sansom, when Temmu died in 686:

> he was succeeded not by one of his numerous sons, but by his widow, the Empress Jitō. That lady abdicated in 697, and was succeeded by the Emperor Mommu, her grandson, who was then only a minor. . . . The preamble of the edict pronounced by the Emperor Mommu on his succession [reads]:
>
> "He says: —Harken all ye assembled August Children . . . to the Word which he speaks even as the Word of the *Sovereign that is a Manifest [kami]* ruling over the Great Land of Many Islands."[65]

Under the rule of the successive sovereigns in Temmu's line, all of whom were pious Buddhists and generous benefactors to Buddhist institutions, yet not known for other talents or virtues (despite their claims to divinity), Japan suffered from official corruption, power struggle in the court, financial bankruptcy, and ecclesiastical intrigue. Meanwhile, according to Sansom:

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62) That is why in a previous essay I used the expression "A Past of Things Present," twisting Augustine's famous expression, "A Present of Things Past." See Joseph M. Kitagawa, "A Past of Things Present," *History of Religions* 20, nos. 1, and 2 (August-November 1980): 27–42.

63) Tsunoda, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, p. 59.

64) To the envoy of Silla (one of the Korean principalities) Temmu stated, "*Sumera no Mikoto* [Emperor] having newly attained peace [in his domain] under Heaven [*ame no shita*] has now assumed the imperial dignity." My rendering is slightly more literal than Aston's; see Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. 2, p. 324.

65) Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, p. 177. My italics.

> After Mommu's death, the throne was occupied by his mother, the Empress Gemmyō, who soon abdicated in favour of Genshō, her daughter. She in turn abdicated, in view of the instructions of her predecessors, who had nominated Mommu's son, [Shōmu], then a small child. Shōmu . . . was succeeded in 749 by his daughter, the Empress Kōken. . . . In 758, the Empress Kōken abdicated in favour of the Emperor Jōnin. . . . The ex-Empress Kōken was advised by a monk named Dōkyō who . . . had seduced his imperial mistress. . . . [Soon Jōnin] was deprived of the title emperor . . . and sent to the distant island of Awaji, where he was strangled not long after. Meanwhile the ex-Empress Kōken, having resumed the throne as the Empress Shōtoku, [appointed Dōkyō to a series of high-ranking positions including that of] Hō-ō, a word today used to translate "Pope," and similar to the appellation at that time assumed by abdicated emperors on joining the priesthood.[66]

To make a long story short, Dōkyō's audacious and abortive attempt to ascend to the throne, coming as it did from an unworldly monk, shocked even the lovelorn empress, who had herself taken tonsure just as her father, the ex-Emperor Shōmu, had done before her. Fortunately, the immediate crisis surrounding the throne was averted, so we are told, by the oracle of the *kami* in Kyushu island, who rejected Dōkyō's attempt. In fact, Dōkyō was banished from the capital soon after the death of the Empress Shōtoku.

. . .

Following the death of Shōtoku in A.D. 770, Kōnin, a mature son of the poet-prince Shiki, and not in the Temmu Emperor's line (as were the emperors before him), ascended to the throne. The reign by a well-seasoned and level-headed non-Temmu-oriented monarch gave the intelligentsia of his day a rare opportunity to reappraise Japan's cultural, religious, social, and political self-identity. This subtle and contradictory thrust—affirming much of the reality of the Ritsuryō synthesis, especially the semideification of the sovereign, yet reacting against the dictatorial policies of monarchs in the Temmu Emperor's line while clinging nostalgically to the old Yamato mores, beliefs, and practices as well as to its literature and poetry—characterized the intellectual climate of the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Taking account of these contradictory trends might provide us with important clues as we attempt to

66) Ibid., pp. 179–82.

discern and penetrate the distinct qualities of such works as the *Man'yōshū* (most likely edited during the latter part of the eighth century); the *Kogo-Shūi* ("Gleanings from Ancient Stories," written in A.D. 807); and *Norito* (collected for the first time in the early ninth century).

To be sure, Japanese intellectuals at that time had a realistic understanding and appreciation of Buddhism and of Chinese philosophical, ethical, and legal notions, as well as Chinese literary and poetical styles. (After all, the *Kaifūsō*, or "Fond Recollection of Poetry," the first collection of Chinese verses by Japanese poets, had been compiled earlier, in A.D. 751.) Yet, they were also haunted by a lingering affection for Japan's old heritage that predated the massive impact of Chinese civilization and Buddhism. Curiously, however, they too read history backward in the sense of transposing some of the contemporary traditions familiar to them—for example, the semidivine claim of the sovereigns—to the ancient Yamato heritage.

The prevailing sense of ambivalence that characterized the intellectual climate of the late eighth and early ninth centuries in Japan might be conveniently illustrated by the *Kogo-Shūi*, in effect a lamentation about the once-glorious but by then seriously slighted Imbe family. Although this small volume contains some precious materials about ancient Yamato practices of *kami* worship, its main demerit is its narrow family orientation.[67] In comparison with the *Kogo-Shūi*, the *Man'yōshū* and *Norito*, which share such important notions as the *koto-dama* ("the spiritual power residing in words") and were produced roughly in the same period, are much more pertinent for our purposes.

. . .

As noted earlier, the *Man'yōshū* is a collection of poetic verses that reflects the spiritual and aesthetic ethos of the early Japanese people, with their unusually penetrating insight into words, sounds, and songs.[68] There is good reason to speculate that the ruling *uji* of Yamato was always served by the Ōtomo and the Ōkume, who were, among other things, experts in negotiating with the spirits residing in words (*koto-dama*) and songs. It was they who helped

67) Jinja Honchō, Kokugakuin University, and the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, *Basic Terms of Shinto* (Tokyo: Kokugakuin University, 1958), p. 32.

68) See Nakanishi Susumu, *Man'yō no Sekai (The World of the Man'yōshū)* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1973), pp. 3–5.

the sovereigns invoke the power and authority of the *koto-dama*; such an act was called *koto-age* (literally, "lifting up words").[69] The ruling *uji* of Yamato also kept a number of court poets, who as resident semi-priests offered spontaneous or stereotyped poems on a variety of occasions, for example, the sovereign's official land-viewing (*kunimi*), the enthronement of a new sovereign, or the death of royalty. Many of these poems were later collected in the *Man'yōshū*. The poems in this volume were taken roughly from the period between A.D. 645 (the year of the Taika Reform, which initiated the Ritsuryō synthesis) and A.D. 759, thereby reflecting the checkered development of Japanese civilization, including the penetration of Chinese civilization and Buddhism; the refinement of the poetic tradition (called the *Man'yō-waka*); and the rise and decline of the Ōtomo *uji*, whose members' verses provided the core of the *Man'yōshū* collection. Many scholars believe that the collection was actually edited by Ōtomo Yakamochi around 770, the year of the Shōtoku Empress's death and the ascension of the Kōnin Emperor.

The age of the *Man'yōshū* is usually subdivided into four periods. The female court poets (*o'una*), who were active during the *first period*, were superseded during the *second period* by male court reciters (*kataribe*), including the celebrated Kakinomoto Hitomaro. Incidentally, the "poems of praise and lament of the sovereign's family" by Hitomaro had something in common with *norito*'s formula of blessing the sovereign. It was the task of the *kataribe* to craft "iconic images which 'prove' the divinity of [the sovereign]."[70] The poems of the *third period* included many non-court themes. By the *fourth period* (roughly between 729 and 759), ritual functions traditionally performed in the court by female or male poets were already taken over by new specialists in sacred affairs, for example, Buddhist and Shinto clerics.[71] Given the rapid social and cultural changes that were taking place in Japan during the eighth century, we can sympathize with the determination of Ōtomo Yakamochi (if indeed he was the actual editor) to make references to the meritorious achievements of generations of the Ōtomo *uji* who had served the sov-

69) See Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, p. 22; and Konishi et al., *A History of Japanese Literature*, p. 100.

70) See Ian Hideo Levy, trans., *The Ten Thousand Leaves: A Translation of Man'yoshu, Japan's Premier Anthology of Classical Poetry: Volume I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 14–15.

71) Nakanishi, *Man'yō no Sekai*, pp. 14–42.

ereign's house faithfully as specialists in words and songs, as poets, as statesmen, and as military leaders.[72]

. . .

Undoubtedly, the intention behind collecting *norito* was akin to that behind the compilation of the *Man'yōshū*: the desire to preserve early Japanese forms of rituals and prayers. Although the collectors of *norito* were fully aware of the enormous power and prestige of both Buddhism and Chinese civilization, they wanted government leaders always to remember the statement made by the Mononobe and the Nakatomi *uji* chieftains in the mid–sixth century, when Buddhist statues were presented from Paekche to the Yamato court: "Those who have ruled the Empire in this our State always made it their care to worship in Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter the 180 [*kami*] of Heaven and Earth, and the [*kami*] of the Land and of Grain."[73]

As mentioned earlier, there are two distinct types of *norito*: 1) those classified as *senge-tai*, in which *kami*'s words—through intermediaries, of course—are "intoned down" to the people in sentences ending with " . . . *noru*" ("Thus I declare" or "Thus I speak," as translated by Philippi);[74] and 2) those classified as *sōjō-tai*, in which prayers are said on behalf of the people to *kami* in sentences ending with ". . . *mōsu*" ("Thus I humbly speak").[75] Scholarly opinions vary as to which style of *norito*—*senge-tai* or *sōjō-tai*—was more ancient, but it is commonly accepted that many of the older *norito* belong to the first type, as they deal with more "official" or "public" situations. Incidentally, the twenty-seven *norito* texts collected in the *Engi-shiki* are divided into two other categories: those recited on regular, recurring occasions (*shiji-sai*, Nos. 1–22)—for example, the "Grain-Petitioning Festival" (No. 1); the "Monthly Festival of the Sixth Month" (No. 7); the "Blessing of the Great Palace" (No. 8); the "Great Exorcism of the Last Day of the Sixth Month" (No. 10); and the "Festival of the First Fruits Banquet" (No. 14)—and those recited on one-time occasions (*rinji-sai*, Nos. 23–27)—for example, "When the High Priestess Assumes Her Office" (at the Grand Shrine of Ise,

72) Ibid., p. 14.

73) Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. 2, p. 67.

74) The following *norito* in Philippi's *Norito*—Nos. I, III, IV, VII, X, XIV, XVIII, XIX, and XXII—belong to the *senge-tai* group.

75) Other *norito*, for example, Nos. II, V, and VI in Philippi's *Norito*, belong to the *sōjō-tai* group.

No. 23); "To Drive Away A Vengeful Deity" (No. 25); and "Presenting Offerings on Dispatching an Envoy to China" (No. 26).

Many scholars agree with Donald Philippi, who observed that "the Japanese scholars love to dwell on the role of the *koto-dama*, the mystical power believed to dwell in words, or in words arranged in certain magical formula."[76] But there is a wide variety of opinions concerning the *koto-dama* itself. I happen to share Konishi's view on the subject. Konishi, citing a *Man'yōshū* poem presented to a Japanese ambassador to the T'ang court—a poem that describes Yamato as "a land where the *kotodama* / Brings us good fortune"—suggests that the *koto-dama* was a "concept formed from an awakening consciousness of the existence of one's own country [as well as the uniqueness of the Yamato language] in contrast to foreign lands."[77] He further states:

> The ideal of the *kotodama* may have been further emphasized by a contemporary perception that the heyday of the *kotodama* was long past. In other words, the *kotodama*, which had functioned vigorously in the Archaic Age, attenuated in the Ancient Age. But as people directed their consciousness toward foreign matters [during the eighth and ninth centuries], the *kotodama* was rediscovered.[78]

Norito also makes reference to many other pertinent beliefs, myths, and practices that enable us to penetrate the spiritual, ethical, and cultic heritage of the old Yamato, for example, *harai* (purification); *kegare* (pollution); *misogi* (a practice in which water was used to remove sin and pollution from the body and soul); *tsumi* (sin); *chinkon* or *tama-shizume* (a cult for the purpose of preventing the soul from leaving the body); and *musubi* (the spirit of birth and becoming).

Though *Norito* is an important resource for our understanding of the religious, ethical, cultic, and devotional life of the early Japanese people, it was not meant to be a book on doctrines and dogmas. It was first and foremost a practical manual for prayers and *matsuri* ("religious ceremonials"), that is, *matsuri* as whole life, *matsuri* as an expression in rites, and *matsuri* as a mental and inward attitude. In addition, Ono Sokyō calls our attention to another

76) Philippi, *Norito* (1959), p. 3.
77) Konishi et al., *A History of Japanese Literature*, p. 203.
78) Ibid., p. 204.

aspect of *matsuri*, namely, the importance of the "element of mystery," implying such ideas as "mysterious power," "power of reconciliation," and "power of unity." He emphasizes that the true meaning of *matsuri* "expresses the faith that there is some power which works between the worshippers and the worshipped. . . . It is in this mysterious power that not only *kami* but all human beings are united."[79] That is, *Norito* does not explicate all these beliefs and doctrines theoretically; it simply presents correct forms and prayers for various occasions of *matsuri*. In this sense, *Norito* is in harmony with a well-known Western principle of profound spiritual significance: *Lex orandi, lex credendi*, "As We Pray, So We Believe."

79) Ono Sokyō, "The Concept of *Kami* in Shinto," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference for Shinto Studies: Continuity and Change* (Jito to Henka) (Tokyo: Kokugakuin University, 1968), p. 16.

INTRODUCTION

The extant literature of ancient Japanese ritual prayers is somewhat limited in quantity and scope, being confined to the 27 official rituals found in volume 8 of the Engi-shiki, the compilation of laws and minute legal regulations of 927 AD, and a few other similar formulas recorded in other ancient documents.[1]

The Engi-shiki is a voluminous compilation of minute regulations and customary usages; like previous compilations (also called *shiki*), none of which have come down to us, it was meant to complement and amplify the basic laws contained in the *Ritsu* and *Ryō,* the fundamental laws of the land. The Engi-shiki (meaning the *shiki* of the Engi era) was completed in 927 AD after 20 years of compilation. The *norito* are grouped together in one volume in the same part of the work devoted to the duties and activities of the Jingi-kan (Office of Rites), the government ministry encharged with formal and official worship of the Shinto deities.

The official—one almost has to say bureaucratic—nature of the rituals determines their diction to a great extent. The Engi-shiki rituals are as a rule extremely repetitive. Several of them are almost identical with one another; and stereotyped phrases and sentiments appear again and again throughout with surprising regularity.

The rituals are cast in antique language of the most flowery sort. Sentences are long and loosely-connected; the grammatical relationship of parts is difficult to determine; the meaning of many words is unclear; and everywhere semantic clarity is sacrificed to sonority. Some of the frequent techniques are: repetition, parallelism, long enumerations of names of deities and offerings, metaphors, the use of mythological accounts to explain the origin of certain forms of worship, and the all-pervading sonority.

1) In this compilation I have included five additional texts (nos. XXVIII to XXXII), all of great literary quality. Two are from the the Nihon Shoki (720 AD), one from the Kojiki (712 AD), one from the Hitachi Fudoki (after 715 AD), and one from the diary *Taiki* by Fujiwara no Yorinaga in the twelfth century. Thus they all precede the Engi-shiki by 207–215 years, or, in the last case, are 215 years later.

That they are sonorous, in a rather heavy-handed sort of way, is unquestionable. The best of them—the Great Exorcism of the Last Day of the Sixth Month, the Divine Congratulatory Words of the Kuni-no-miyatuko of Idumo, and a few others—often attain a massive, surging power by means of this sonorous language—a power strikingly similar to that attained with many of the same methods by Hitomaro in his Manyō *chōka.*

It is also interesting to note that there is evidence that there was a special musical technique for reciting these rituals, and that there were books of musical notation for this purpose.

However, in most cases, the *Norito* are more interesting to us as examples of ancient Japanese ritual, as a mirror of the religious concepts and the stately ritual language of the ancient Japanese, than as works of great and enduring literary value.

Oddly enough, there is no single universally accepted theory to explain the meaning of the word *Norito.* The element *nori* is plainly related with the verbs *noru* 'to speak,' *inoru* 'to pray,' and *norofu* 'to curse.' The element *to* has been variously explained to mean 'place' (as in *tokoro*), 'word' (as in *koto*), and 'magic.' No matter what the etymology, it is probably safe to agree with one recent writer that in the primitive period, *norito* was "a general term meaning magic by means of words."[1]

Besides the word *norito* (which frequently occurs in compounds such as the one I have translated: "the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words" —*ama-tu-norito no futo-norito-goto*), there are other related terms about which there is also much confusion. For example, there are the words *hogahi,* which I have rendered 'blessing,' *ihahi-goto,* which I also understand as meaning something like 'words of blessing,' and *yogoto,* which I translate as 'congratulatory words.'

Japanese scholars have recently been emphasizing the fact that there is no essentail difference between *semmyō* and *norito.* If one were to make a distinction, *semmyō* (usually translated as 'Imperial edict') is the formula used on governmental and official occasions, in addressing the subjects of the throne; while *norito* is the formula used

1) Shiraishi, Mitsukuni, writing in Hisamatsu, Senichi, ed., *Nihon bungaku shi : jōdai* (1955), p. 247.

in religious ceremonies, in addressing deities. The *semmyō,* so to speak, "speak down," as a sovereign to a subject, while the *norito,* one would be entitled to expect, use a respectful, subservient form of diction. However, this is not wholly true. There are some *norito* phrased in respectful-style diction; these all end in the formula 'I humbly speak' (*mawosu*). There are also many *norito* in the *semmyō*-style diction, ending with formulas such as: 'Hear me, all of you. Thus I speak' (*kikosi-mese to noru*). The Japanese verbs *mawosu* and *noru* have been here consistently translated as, respectively: 'humbly speak' and 'speak,' in order to preserve, however artificially, this rather important distinction in style.

What are the sentiments expressed in the *Norito*? Some of them, it is true, are petitionary prayers; for instance, the central portion of the Grain-Petitioning Festival *norito* can be summarized: "If you, oh Deities of the Grain, vouchsafe an abundant harvest, such-and-such desirable offerings will be presented to you." However, a close examination of the texts reveals that a large number of the older *norito* contain elements more akin to incantation than prayer. The Japanese scholars love to dwell on the rôle of the *koto-dama,* the mystical power believed to dwell in words, or in words arranged in certain magical formulas. Surely there exist elements of sympathetic magic in, for example, the beautiful passage in the Divine Congratulatory Words of the Kuni-no-miyatuko of Idumo which begins:

As the white jewels,
May you abide with hoary hairs

and in the entire first paragraph of the House Blessing Formula of Prince Woke. It is abundantly clear that the ancient Japanese delighted in the pronouncing of "blessings" designed to ensure longevity and prosperity by referring adroitly to, for instance, the abundance of the grass thatched on the roof or the firmness of the ropes tied in place around the beams. It is also quite possible that divine authorship was attributed to these blessing formulas; and that the person pronouncing them, when possessed of the necessary qualifications, assumed the sanctity and blessing-potentiality of the original deity, somewhat like the priest in the Catholic sacrament of the eucharist.

The present translations have been made with the object of rescuing

the objective meaning of the texts from the obscurity of their stately style, of incorporating recent exegetical knowledge, and of making them available to the reader in a fairly readable English form. It was felt that voluminous foot-notes would needlessly clutter the pages; information felt to be absolutely necessary for comprehension of the texts has been appended in a glossary at the end, but no attempt was made at a word-for-word commentary. Words and phrases treated in the glossary are indicated whenever they appear by raised numerals.

NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL NORITO

I. GRAIN-PETITIONING FESTIVAL

This, the longest of the *norito,* is a prayer for abundant crops and for the prosperity of the Imperial House addressed to all the deities in the land. It was recited at the Grain-petitioning Festival (Tosi-gohi no maturi) every year on the fourth day of the second month in the capital and in the local seats of government; the officiant was a priest of the Nakatomi (cf. Glossary) clan, who recited it within the hearing of priests assembled from throughout the country. It is believed that the prayer to the Sovereign Deities of the Grain is the essential part, while the other parts are all borrowed from other sources.

II. KASUGA FESTIVAL

This is the *norito* recited at the festival of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara, held twice each year in the second and eleventh months. The Kasuga Shrine was the family shrine of the powerful Fujiwara family, an offshoot of the Nakatomi clan, and its festival was celebrated with great pomp and pageantry. In this *norito,* the officiant, a priest of the Nakatomi clan, prays to the tutelary gods of the Fujiwara family (deities introduced to Kasuga from Kasima, Katori, and Hirawoka, respectively) for blessings upon the Imperial Court and the noble families serving it.

The *norito* is followed by a rubric saying: "The *norito* of Oho-harano, Hirawoka, etc., also follow this," meaning that the *norito* recited at the festivals of the other tutelary shrines of the Fujiwara family were patterned after this.

III. FESTIVAL OF OHO-IMI IN HIROSE

This *norito* was recited by an Imperial messenger dispatched to attend the festival of the Hirose Shrine (in present-day Nara prefecture), held in the fourth and eleventh months. Its object is to pray for abundant crops to the Food-goddess enshrined at Hirose. The *norito* is addressed to the goddess within the hearing of the local priests and those dwelling on the Imperial plantations (cf. Glossary).

Oho-imi (Great Abstaining) is an alternate name for the festival.

IV. FESTIVAL OF THE WIND DEITIES OF TATUTA

This *norito* is one recited by an Imperial messenger sent to officiate at the festival of the Tatuta Shrine (in present-day Nara prefecture), celebrated on the same day in the fourth and seventh months as that of the Hirose Shrine. Its object is to pray for abundant crops and their protection from damage caused by wind and water to the two Wind Deities of Tatuta. The *norito* is addressed to the deities within the hearing of the local priests and inhabitants of the Imperial plantations.

As other *norito,* this *norito* contains a legendary account of the origin of the worship of the particular shrine.

V. HIRANO FESTIVAL

This *norito* was recited by an Imperial messenger at the festival of the Hirano Shrine (in present-day Kyōto) in the fourth and eleventh months in order to pray for blessings on the Imperial Court.

This particular prayer is addressed to the deity of Imaki. In the Hirano Shrine, besides the deity of Imaki, were also enshrined deities called Kudo and Furu-aki, to which the following *norito,* almost identical in wording, was addressed.

VI. KUDO AND FURU-AKI

This was believed to have been recited upon the same occasion as the preceding *norito.* Little is known concerning the nature and origin of these deities, but it is believed that they are the ancestral deities of families of Korean immigrants who married into the Japanese imperial family. Scholars are in disagreement as to the correct reading of Furu-aki.

VII. MONTHLY FESTIVAL OF THE SIXTH MONTH

This was recited at the *tuki-nami,* or 'monthly' festival celebrated twice a year—on the eleventh day of the sixth and twelfth months—to pray for the prosperity of the Emperor and the Imperial House. It was recited by a priest of the Nakatomi clan within the hearing of priests assembled from throughout the country.

This *norito* is practically identical with that recited at the Grain-petitioning Festival.

VIII. BLESSING OF THE GREAT PALACE

This is a blessing or incantation formula to safeguard the palace of the Emperor. It was recited in a hushed voice by a priest of the Imibe (cf. Glossary) clan during the various Palace-blessing ceremonies, which were ordinarily performed on the twelfth day of the sixth and twelfth months (the day after the preceding 'Monthly' Festival of these months) but also on special occasions such as the removal to a new palace, etc.

IX. FESTIVAL OF THE GATES

A blessing or incantation formula to ensure the protection of the deities which guard the gates of the Imperial Palace. It was recited by a priest of the Imibe clan and is believed to have been said directly after the preceding Blessing of the Great Palace. This explains its lack of the usual opening formula.

X. GREAT EXORCISM OF THE LAST DAY OF THE SIXTH MONTH

This is the exorcism formula read at the Great Exorcism (Oho-harahe) held twice a year: on the last days of the sixth and twelfth months. Its purpose was, of course, to remove all sins from the entire kingdom; however, it would seem that sin (*tumi*) referred more precisely to what we would call pollutions. The sins of the nobles, courtiers, and palace functionaries were all rubbed off onto 'sin-bearers'—the 'heavenly narrow pieces of wood' and the 'heavenly sedge reeds' which figure in the ritual—which were taken and thrown into the river.

The *norito* was recited in the presence of a great assembly of courtiers and nobles; it was spoken by either a Nakatomi or an Urabe (cf. Glossary: Diviners); or perhaps each read part. For a discussion of this, see Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 427-432.

XI. INCANTATION FORMULA WHEN THE SWORD IS PRESENTED BY THE FUMI-NO-IMIKI OF YAMATO

This is an incantation entirely in Chinese spoken before the Emperor by representatives of two Korean immigrant families: the Fumi-no-imiki of Yamato and the Fumibe of Kafuti.

It was pronounced on the day of the Great Exorcism twice a year before the reading of the Great Exorcism *norito,* and the Emperor was presented with two gold-plated swords (the 'golden sword' of the formula) and two human figures decorated with gold and silver (the 'man of happiness' of the formula)—one by each family.

The Emperor breathed upon these in order to transfer misfortune to them. Thus they became a sort of 'sin-bearer' for the Emperor.

XII. FIRE-PACIFYING FESTIVAL

This was recited at a festival performed in the sixth and twelfth months—probably on the same day as the Great Exorcism—in order to prevent fires in the Palace. The festival was celebrated in the four corners of the Palace by the Urabe clan (cf. Glossary: DIVINERS).

The mythological account contained in this *norito* differs in many respects from the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki.

XIII. MITI-AHE NO MATURI

Literally, 'Festival of the Road-Feasts,' this festival was performed twice a year, in the sixth and twelfth months—on the same day as the Fire-Pacifying Festival—by the same Urabe clan. The purpose of the ceremony was to offer food on the roads of the four corners of the capital in order to expel any evil spirits who seek to enter from without.

The intention and wording of the formula are quite similar to those of the Festival of the Gates (IX). It was later performed frequently whenever pestilences or epidemics occurred.

XIV. FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST FRUITS BANQUET

This rather matter-of-fact *norito* was pronounced at the Oho-nihe no maturi (also Daijōsai, Ōnamesai), the autumn harvest festival cerebrated at the Imperial Court usually in the eleventh month—the date was later fixed as the last day of the Hare of the eleventh month.

In the Engi-shiki, the harvest festival celebrated every year is called Nihi-name no maturi (also Shinjōsai)—New Grain Banquet Festival—while the first harvest festival to be celebrated during the reign of each new Emperor was celebrated with special ceremony and was called by a separate name—Oho-name no maturi, Great Banquet Festival.

On this occasion offerings were sent to all government-supported shrines throughout the country; and the Emperor ceremonially partook of a banquet of the newly harvested grains, which he also presented to the deities. This festival was perhaps the most important of all the yearly religious festivals observed at Court, and documentary evidence shows that it was widely observed among the populace as a yearly harvest festival.

This *norito* was pronounced by the Nakatomi priest before the priests assembled from throughout the country in order to receive the offerings which they had brought. This ceremony was probably only a small part of the rites connected with the festival; this fact accounts for the relative brevity and perfunctory diction of the *norito.*

XV. MI-TAMA-SIDUME NO IHAHI-TO NO MATURI

This *norito* was recited by the Nakatomi priest during the twelfth month when the Emperor's spirit, which had been secured and pacified at the preceding festival called Tamasidume no maturi (or Chinkonsai, Spirit-Pacifying Festival), was enshrined for another year in the shrine Ihahi-to Shinden in the Office of Rites sanctuary.

The same *norito* was recited at similar ceremonies for the Empress and Crown Prince. The *norito,* strangely, does not refer clearly to the purpose of the ceremony.

XVI. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: GRAIN-PETITIONING IN THE SECOND MONTH; REGULAR FESTIVALS OF THE SIXTH AND TWELFTH MONTHS

This is the first of nine rather business-like *norito* connected with the Grand Shrine of Ise.

This is the *norito* spoken by the Imperial messenger, a Nakatomi priest, when presenting the Imperial offerings in the Inner Shrine (Naikū) at these three high festivals.

XVII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: TOYO-UKE-NO-MIYA (SAME FESTIVALS)

This is the *norito* pronounced by the Imperial messenger at the Outer Shrine (Gekū) on the same occasions as the preceding *norito*.

XVIII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: DIVINE GARMENTS FESTIVAL OF THE FOURTH MONTH

This *norito* was pronounced by the High Priest (gūji) of the Grand Shrine of Ise during the festivals twice a year—on the fourteenth of the fourth and ninth months—when sacred cloths woven by members of the Hatori and Womi clans were presented at the Inner Shrine and at the Ara-maturi-no-miya (see Glossary).

The ceremony, long in disuse, was revived in recent times and is still performed.

XIX. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: REGULAR FESTIVAL OF THE SIXTH MONTH

This is the *norito* spoken by the High Priest (gūji) of the Grand Shrine at the regular festivals of the sixth and twelfth months; it follows that (XVI) spoken by the Imperial messenger on these occasions.

XX. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: FESTIVAL OF THE DIVINE FIRST FRUITS BANQUET OF THE NINTH MONTH

At the Festival of the Divine First Fruits Banquet (Kamu-nihe no maturi—also Kamu-name-maturi) held in the ninth month (at present on October 17), a prince was sent as the Imperial messenger, accompanied by a Nakatomi and an Imibe (later also by an Urabe).

At the festival this *norito* was recited by the Nakatomi.

The festival was one in which the new grains were offered to the deities of the Grand Shrine of Ise.

XXI. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: SAME FESTIVAL AT TOYO-UKE-NO-MIYA

This is the *norito* spoken by the Nakatomi at the Outer Shrine (Gekū) the day before the preceding *norito*.

XXII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: SAME, DIVINE FIRST FRUITS BANQUET

This is the *norito* spoken by the High Priest (gūji) of the Grand Shrine at the Inner and Outer Shrines on the same occasions as the two preceding *norito*.

XXIII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: WHEN THE HIGH PRIESTESS ASSUMES HER OFFICE

This is a *norito* spoken by the Nakatomi priest at the Festival of the Divine First Fruits Banquet in which a new High Priestess (cf. Glossary: PRIESTESSES) of Ise officiates for the first time. Thus it follows directly after XX.

XXIV. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: NORITO ON MOVING THE SHRINE OF THE GREAT DEITY

The Grand Shrine is rebuilt with new materials once every twenty years, and the sacred treasures are moved from the old shrine building.

This is the *norito* used in both the Inner and Outer Shrines when the new shrines are decorated with articles of clothing and furnishings brought from the old buildings.

XXV. TO DRIVE AWAY A VENGEFUL DEITY

This interesting *norito* was recited occasionally at times of pestilence or calamity in order to drive the deities responsible for the misfortune out of the capital and to restore tranquillity.

The *norito* has two sections: first, a section giving a mythological account of the origin of the throne, emphasizing the subjugation of the unruly deities before the Sovereign Grandchild descended from the Heavens; second, a section entreating, almost cajoling, the vengeful deities to go to some other place, and enumerating various offerings.

The ancient Japanese believed that all misfortunes and calamities were the result of the will of various deities, who had to be placated and thus diverted from their harmful intentions. In some cases, as in the Miti-ahe no maturi (XIII), an appeal is made to certain tutelary deities to drive out the ravaging deities. In this case, however, prayer

and offerings are presented directly to the wrong-doing deities. The intention is not to subjugate them, but rather to persuade them to go peacefully somewhere else.

XXVI. PRESENTING OFFERINGS ON DISPATCHING AN ENVOY TO CHINA

This *norito,* despite its title, was probably the formula spoken by a government messenger at the festival dedicating a new port at Sumi-no-ye (modern Ōsaka), from which envoys to China set out on their perilous voyages. The contents of the *norito* do not seem at all appropriate for a prayer on dispatching an envoy.

XXVII. DIVINE CONGRATULATORY WORDS OF THE KUNI-NO-MIYATUKO OF IDUMO

This, the last and best of the Engi-shiki *norito,* was recited in the Court whenever a new kuni-no-miyatuko (see Glossary) of Idumo (modern Izumo, Shimane prefecture) was appointed.

The new kuni-no-miyatuko first was appointed in a ceremony in the Dajōkan, then was invested with ceremonial gifts called *ohi-sati-no-mono* in the Jingi-kan (Office of Rites); after these appointment ceremonies, he returned to Idumo and observed ritual abstinence (*kes-sai*) for one year.

After one year, he returned to the Court and presented offerings (including jewels, a sword, a mirror, rustic cloth, a white horse, two white swans, and many carriages of game—many of these are alluded to in the formula). At this time he recited this formula.

Then once more he returned and observed ritual abstinence for another year, after which period he came once more to the Court and presented the same offerings and recited the same formula again.

This is one of the oldest of the ritual formulas in the Engi-shiki and is praised by most authorities as the most beautiful and impressive of them all.

XXVIII. CONGRATULATORY WORDS OF THE NAKATOMI

This is a formula pronounced by the Nakatomi head-priest in the eleventh month of the year 1142 at the Daijōsai (Oho-nihe no maturi,

Great Banquet Festival, see XIV) held at the accession ceremonies of Emperor Konoe.

Many old books mention that on the accession of a new Emperor to the throne, the Nakatomi recites the 'Congratulatory Words of the Heavenly Deities' *ama-tu-kami no yogoto,* and the Imibe presents the mirror and sword, the sacred regalia. It also seems that this formula was read every year at the Harvest Festival in the Court (Nihi-name no maturi).

The text of the formula appears in the appendix to a diary (called *Taiki*) kept in the late Heian period by the *sadaijin* Fujiwara no Yorinaga (1120-1156). Although the recorded text is of the particular formula read in the year 1142, much later in time than the Engi-shiki, it is believed that it preserves faithfully the old forms, so that this formula is considered as being on a par with those of the Engi-shiki.

After a brief introductory passage, the formula gives a mythological account of divine instructions about the obtaining of sacred water for the Emperor's meals. The second part describes the method in which the ceremonial first fruits have been obtained and presented, and invokes divine blessings upon the Emperor.

XXIX. HOUSE-BLESSING FORMULA (Muro-hogi) OF PRINCE WOKE

This formula, recorded in the Nihon Shoki (720 AD), is believed to be an authentic house-blessing formula of great antiquity; it is certainly among the oldest extant ritual formulas—the Nihon Shoki preceded the Engi-shiki by some 207 years.

According to the Nihon Shoki account, Princes Oke (Emperor Ninken) and Woke (Emperor Kensō), the grandsons of Emperor Richū, fled and went into hiding when their father, Iti-no-be no Osi-ha no miko, was killed by Emperor Yūryaku. The two princes fled to the land of Harima, concealed their names and rank, and were employed incognito as servants of a local ruler called Sizimi no Miyake no obito. In 481 AD, the second year of the reign of Emperor Seinei, their employer held a dedication celebration for a new house (*nihi-muro-hogi*) in the presence of the governor of the land of Harima, Iyo no Kume-be no Wodate. During the night-long festivities, the two princes were com-

manded to dance. After Prince Oke had first danced, Prince Woke arose and first pronounced this house-blessing formula (*muro-hogi*). Then he revealed his and his brother's identity, causing much astonishment to the assembled crowd.

The first section is a magical formula imparting blessings on the lord of the house by analogy with various portions of the house. The second section contains an invitation to drink, and the third section seems to have something to do with a deer-dance, a common performance in ancient Japan.

XXX. WORDS SPOKEN BY KUSI-YA-TAMA-NO-KAMI

This formula, recorded in the Kojiki (712 AD), appears to be a fragment of an old *norito* used at the Great Shrine of Idumo at Kiduki. There is an obvious connection with the old practice at this shrine of kindling sacred fire.

According to the Kojiki account, after the god Oho-kuni-nusi had relinquished the rule of his lands to the descendants of the Heavenly Deities, he built his shrine on the beach of Tagisi in Idumo and dwelt there pacified.

The words of the Kojiki continue:

"The grandson of the deity of the sea-straits, Kusi-ya-tama-no-kami, became the food-server; and when he presented the heavenly viands, he pronounced the blessing.

"Kusi-ya-tama-no-kami turned into a cormorant and, diving to the bottom of the sea, carried out in his mouth clay from the bottom; with this he made heavenly myriad flat vessels. Cutting the stems of sea-weed, he made a fire-drilling mortar; with stems of *komo* sea-weed, he made a fire-drilling pestle; and with these he drilled the fire, saying:"

Then follows the formula.

XXXI. BLESSING FORMULA OF MI-OYA-NO-KAMI-NO-MI-KOTO

This is a formula recorded completely in 4-syllable Chinese verse in the Hitachi Fudoki (a geographical account of the land of Hitachi—in present Ibaraki prefecture—completed probably shortly after 715 AD) as a song sung by Mi-oya-no-kami (Ancestral Deity) about Mount

Tsukuba.

The account behind it is that when Mi-oya-no-kami was visiting the various deities he was refused lodging by the deity of Mt. Fuji, who gave as an excuse that his house was observing ritual abstinence (*mono-imi*) in preparation for the harvest festival (*nihi-name*)—there being an ancient custom of refusing to admit strangers during periods of *mono-imi*. Mi-oya-no-kami pronounced a curse on Mt. Fuji and went on to Mt. Tsukuba, the deity of which, despite the ritual taboo, entertained him warmly. Hereupon, Mi-oya-no-kami, overjoyed, sang this song. That is why to this day, says the Fudoki, no one climbs the continually snow-capped Mt. Fuji, but the people all come to Mt. Tsukuba to sing and dance, to eat and drink.

The Chinese text is easier to translate into English than to reconstruct into ancient Japanese. Because the Chinese text observes a proper rhyming scheme, it may not be a direct translation of a Japanese original, but at any rate it deserves to be included here as an extremely ancient example of a ritual formula.

XXXII. WORDS SPOKEN BY ITODE

This is a formula recorded in the Nihon Shoki (720 AD) as having been spoken in the year 199 AD by a local ruler in Northern Kyūshū named Itode before Emperor Chūai.

When the Emperor made a progress in the vicinity, Itode heard of his arrival and, to greet him, uprooted many-branched *sakaki* trees, which he set up in the bow and stern of his boat. On the upper branches of these trees he hung curved beads of large dimensions; on the middle branches he hung clear mirrors of white copper; and on the lower branches he hung a sword ten hands long. Then, coming to greet the Emperor at the island of Hike-sima in Anato, he presented these as offerings to him and said this formula.

Here again the formula skillfully weaves the items being presented in as material for pronouncing ritual blessings.

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I. GRAIN-PETITIONING FESTIVAL

(*Tosi-gohi no maturi*)

Hear me, all of you assembled *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26]. Thus I speak.

The *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'
The same below whenever 'Thus I speak' occurs.

I humbly speak before you,
The Sovereign Deities[28] whose praises are fulfilled[24] as
Heavenly Shrines and Earthly Shrines[12]
By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27]
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15]:
This year, in the second month,
Just as grain cultivation is about to begin,
I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And, as the morning sun rises in effulgent glory,
Fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before you,
The Sovereign Deities of the Grain[8]:
The latter grain to be vouchsafed by you [to the Sovereign
Grandchild[29]],
The latter grain to be harvested
With foam dripping from the elbows,
To be pulled hither
With mud adhering to both thighs—
If this grain be vouchsafed by you
In ears many hands long,
In luxuriant ears;
Then the first fruits will be presented
In a thousand stalks, eight hundred stalks;
Raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
Both in liquor and in stalks I will fulfill your praises[24].
From that which grows in the vast fields and plains—

The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
To that which lives in the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
As well as garments
Of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
Plain cloth, and coarse cloth—
In these I will fulfill your praises[24].
Before the Sovereign Deities of the Grain[8]
I will provide a white horse, a white boar, a white cock,
And various types of offerings,
And will present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled[24] by the High Priestess[25]:
I speak your names:
Kami-musu-bi, Taka-mi-musu-bi, Iku-musu-bi, Taru-musu-bi,
Tama-tume-musu-bi,
Oho-miya-no-me, Oho-mi-ke-tu-kami, Koto-siro-nusi,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because you bless the reign of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
As a long reign, eternal and unmoving,
And prosper it as an abundant reign.
Therefore as our Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[24],
To you I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled by the priestesses of Wigasuri[25]:
I speak your names:
Iku-wi, Saku-wi, Tu-naga-wi,
Asuha, Hahiki,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because in the bed-rock below, where you hold sway, the palace posts are firmly planted,

And the cross-beams of the roof soar high towards the
High Heavenly Plain[15],
And the noble palace of the Sovereign Grandchild[29] is constructed,
Where, as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11], he dwells hidden,
And tranquilly rules the lands of the four quarters as a
peaceful land.
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled by the priestesses of the Gates[25]:
I speak your names:
Kusi-iha-mato-no-mikoto,
Toyo-iha-mato-no-mikoto,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because you dwell massively imbedded like sacred massed rocks
In the gates of the four quarters;
You open the gates in the morning
And close the gates in the evening;
If an unfriendly spirit goes from below, you guard below,
If it goes from above, you guard above,
And guard in the guarding by night and the guarding by day.
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled by the priestesses of Iku-sima[25]:
I speak your names:
Iku-kuni,
Taru-kuni,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because in each of the myriad islands[18]
In which you hold away,
As far as the toad can crawl,
And as far as the briny bubbles can reach—
The narrow land is made wide,

The steep land is made level,
And without omitting one of the myriad islands[18],
You entrust them all [to the Sovereign Grandchild[29]].
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak with special words in the solemn presence
Of the deity Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami[1],
Who dwells at Ise:
The lands of the four quarters, upon which you gaze out,
As far as the heavens stand as partitions,
As far as the land extends in the distance,
As far as the bluish clouds trail across the sky,
As far as the white clouds hang down on the horizon:
On the blue ocean
As far as the prows of the ships can reach,
Without stopping to dry their oars,
On the great ocean the ships teem continuously;
On the roads by land
As far as the horses' hooves can penetrate,
The ropes of the [tribute] packages tightly tied,
Treading over the rocks and roots of trees,
They move over the long roads without pause, continuously;
The narrow land is made wide,
The steep land is made level;
And you entrust the distant lands [to the Sovereign Granchild[29]]
As if casting myriad ropes about them and drawing them hither.
[If you vouchsafe to do all this], then in your solemn presence
The first fruits of the tribute will be piled up
Like a long mountain range,
And of the rest [the Sovereign Granchild[29]] will partake tranquilly.
Also because you bless the reign of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
As a long reign, eternal and unmoving,
And prosper it as an abundant reign,
As my Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],*

* Or, by the command of my Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses

Like a cormorant bending my neck low,
I present to you the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who dwell in the Imperial Plantations[17],
Speaking your names:
Taketi, Kaduraki, Tohoti,
Siki, Yamanobe, Sofu.
Because the sweet herbs and the bitter herbs
Which grow in these six Imperial Plantations[17]
Are brought forth and presented
As the eternal food, the everlasting food of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who dwell at the Mountain Entrances[21],
Speaking your names:
Asuka, Ihare, Osaka,
Hatuse, Unebi, Miminasi.
Because the big trees and the small trees
Growing on the far mountains and the near mountains
Are cut off at the tops and bottoms and brought hither,
And used to construct the noble palace of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
Where, as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11], he dwells hidden,
And tranquilly rules the lands of the four quarters as a peaceful land,
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who dwell in the Water-partings[33].
I speak your names:

Yosino, Uda,
Tuke, Kaduraki,
And fulfill your praises[24]—
If the latter grain to be vouchsafed by you [to the Sovereign Grandchild[29]]
Be vouchsafed in ears many hands long,
In luxuriant ears;
Then to you the first fruits in both stalks and liquor [will be presented],
Raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim,
To fulfill your praises;
Of the rest, the Sovereign Grandchild[29] will partake
With a ruddy countenance
As the food of his morning meal and evening meal,
As his eternal food, his everlasting food.
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Granchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Hear me, all of you. Thus I speak.

Speaking in special words, [I say]:
Let the *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26] receive the offerings
Which the Imibe[16],
Hanging thick sashes over their weak shoulders,
Have purified and presented;
And let them, without any slightest error,
Bear them and present them. Thus I speak.

II. KASUGA FESTIVAL

(*Kasuga maturi*)

By command of the Emperor[5],
I humbly speak in the solemn presence
Of the four Sovereign Deities[28], dread and awesome:
Take-mika-duti-no-mikoto, who dwells in Kasima,
Ihahi-nusi-no-mikoto, who dwells in Katori,
Ame-no-ko-yane-no-mikoto, who dwells in Hirawoka,
And [his] spouse Hime-gami:

In accordance with your desires, oh great deities,
On Mount Mikasa in Kasuga,
The shrine posts broadly planted in the bed-rock below,
The cross-beams of the roof soaring towards the
High Heavenly Plain[15],
[A shrine] is established as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11];
There the divine treasures are presented:
Mirrors, swords, bows,
Spears and horses have been provided;
Garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
Plain cloth, and coarse cloth have been presented;
And the first fruits of the tribute presented by the lands of
the four quarters have been arranged in rows:
The fruits of the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
As well as the fruits of the mountains and plains—
The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
The wine—raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim—
And the various offerings are piled up
Like a long mountain range.
And I (office, rank, surname, and name) having been designated
as *kamu-nusi*[26],

Do present the noble solemn offerings,
Which I pray you to receive tranquilly and peacefully
As offerings of ease,
As offerings of abundance.
[With this prayer] I fulfill your praises[24],
Oh Great Sovereign Deities[28]. Thus I humbly speak.

As a result of this worship,
Do, I pray, now and in the future,
Bless the court of the Emperor[5] tranquilly and peacefully,
Making it an overflowing reign, an abundant reign;
Prosper it as eternal and unmoving;
Grant that the many regions, houses, princes and court nobles serving therein may be tranquil
And that they may serve in the Emperor's[5] court
As luxuriant, flourishing trees
And may flourish and prosper.
[With this prayer] I fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

The *norito* of Ohoharano, Hirawoka, etc., also follow this.

III. FESTIVAL OF OHO-IMI IN HIROSE

(*Hirose no Oho-imi no maturi*)

I humbly speak the name of the Sovereign Deity[28]
    Whose praises are fulfilled[24] at Kahahi in Hirose:
Humbly speaking her name:
    Waka-uka-no-me-no-mikoto, the patron of [the Emperor's] food,
    I fulfill her praises[24] in her sovereign presence.
And bearing the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
    The princes and courtiers, as messengers, fulfill her praises[24]—
Hear me, all of you *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26]. Thus I speak.

I present the noble offerings:
    Garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
        Plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
    The five types of things[6];
    Shields, spears, horses;
    And wine, raising high the soaring necks
        Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
    The soft grain and the coarse grain;
    That which lives in the mountains—
        The soft-furred and the coarse-furred animals—
    That which grows in the vast fields and plains—
        The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
    As well as that which lives in the blue ocean—
        The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
        The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
    All these I place in abundance:
Thus humbly speak before the Sovereign Deity[28]. Thus I speak.

Receive, I pray, in your heart tranquilly and peacefully,
  oh Sovereign Deity[28],
    The noble offerings thus presented
        As offerings of ease,
        As offerings of abundance,

[And of the rest] the Sovereign Grandchild[29] will partake
With a ruddy countenance
As his eternal food, his everlasting food.

First of all, in your sacred fields, oh Sovereign Deity[28],
[As well as the fields of] the princes of the blood, the princes, the courtiers, and the common people of the kingdom—
May the latter grain harvested by them,
May the latter grain to be harvested
With foam dripping from the elbows,
Pulled hither with mud adhering to both thighs—
May this grain be prospered by you, oh Sovereign Deity[28],
In ears many hands long—
Then the first fruits in both liquor and stalks
Will be set up, a thousand ears, eight thousand ears,
And piled high like a long mountain range,
And will be presented in the autumn festival.
Thus humbly speak before the Sovereign Deity[28]. Thus I speak.

Also before you,
The Sovereign Deities[28] dwelling in the mountain entrances[21] of the six Imperial Plantations[17] in the land of Yamato,
Do I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]:
The colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
The five types of things[6];
As well as the shields and spears.
When I thus present them,
If the waters which you send surging down
From the entrances of the mountains[21] where you hold sway
Are received as sweet [fructifying] waters,
And if you* prosper the latter grains
Harvested by the common people of the kingdom,
Sparing them from bad winds and rough waters,
Then [I will bring] the first fruits in both liquor and stalks,

* Singular; evidently refers back to the deity of Hirose.

Raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim,
And will pile them up like a long mountain range.

Thus we, the princes, courtiers, all the many officials,
The functionaries of the six Imperial Plantations[17] in the land of Yamato,
As well as even the [common] men and women,
Have all come forth on such-and-such a day of such-and-such a month of this year,
And before you, oh Sovereign Deity*, like cormorants bending our necks low,
As the morning sun rises in effulgent glory,
Do we fulfill your praises[24].
Hear me, all of you *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26]. Thus I speak.

* The expressions here are unmistakeably singular and evidently refer back to the deity of Hirose, rather than the deities of the plantations of Yamato.

IV. FESTIVAL OF THE WIND DEITIES OF TATUTA

(*Tatuta no káze no kami no maturi*)

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
    Whose praises are fulfilled[24] at Tatuta:
During the reign of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
    Who ruled the Great Eight-Island Land[9] in Sikisima[30],
Everything from the five grains
    To be consumed with a ruddy countenance
    [By the Emperor] as his eternal food, his everlasting food,
    To the products harvested by the common people of the kingdom,
    Until the last blade of grass,
    Did not come to fruition.
Not only for one year or two years,
    But they were spoiled for many years.
Therefore [the Emperor] commanded the many wise men
    To divine and discover which deity's will this was.
Although the many wise men made their divinations,
    They reported that they could not discover which deity's will
      this was.
Hearing this, the Sovereign Grandchild[29] said:
    'I have thought that the praises of all the deities are being fulfilled
    'As Heavenly Shrines and Earthly Shrines[12],
    'Without forgetting or omitting any;
    'Which deity is it, then,
    'Who spoils and brings not to fruition
    'All of the products harvested by the common people of the
      kingdom?
    'Reveal to me who you are.'
    Thus he prayed.

At this time it was revealed to the Sovereign Grandchild[29] in a dream:
    '[We are the ones who] afflict with bad winds and rough waters
    'All the products harvested by the common people of the kingdom,
    'And spoil them, bringing them not to fruition.

'Our names are Ame-no-mi-hasira-no-mikoto,
'And Kuni-no-mi-hasira-no-mikoto.'
Thus they revealed their names, [and said further]:
'If you present before us offerings
'Of garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
'Plain cloth, and coarse cloth,
'The five types of things[6],
'Providing shields, spears, horses and saddles,
'And providing various types of offerings;
'If you establish our shrine
'In the place where the morning sun shines its rays,
'The place where the evening sun is radiant,
'The field of Tatino in Tatuta;
'And if you worship before us, fulfilling our praises[24]—
'Then all the products harvested by the common people of the kingdom,
'From the five grains until the last blade of grass,
'We will prosper and bring to fruition.'
Thus they revealed to him.
Then in the place taught and revealed by the Sovereign Deities[28]
The shrine posts were established,
And in order to worship before these Sovereign Deities[28] and fulfill their praises[24],
The Sovereign Grandchild[29] causes his noble offerings to be borne hither
And delegates the princes and courtiers as his messengers
And fulfills their praises[24].
Thus I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28].
Hear me, all of you *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26]. Thus I speak.

I present noble offerings to the male deity:
Garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
Plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
The five types of things[6];
Providing shields, spears, horses, and saddles,
And presenting various types of offerings.

To the female deity I provide garments;
A golden thread-box, a golden skein-holder, a golden reel;
Colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
The five types of things[6];
Furnishing horses with saddles,
And presenting various offerings;
Wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
The soft grain and the coarse grain;
That which lives in the mountains—
The soft-furred and the coarse-furred animals;
That which grows in the vast fields and plains—
The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
As well as that which lives in the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
These all are piled up like a long mountain range and presented.

If you receive in your hearts tranquilly and peacefully
These noble offerings thus presented
As offerings of ease,
As offerings of abundance,
And if you spare all the products harvested by the common people of the kingdom
From bad winds and rough waters
And prosper them and bring them to fruition—
Then the first fruits, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim,
Will be set up, in both liquor and stalks,
Eight hundred ears, a thousand ears,
And will be presented in the autumn festival.

Thus we, the princes, courtiers, all the many officials,
The functionaries of the six Imperial Plantations[17] in the land of Yamato,
As well as even the [common] men and women,

Have all gathered here in the fourth month of this year

In the seventh month say: in the seventh month of this year

And before you, oh Sovereign Deities[28], like cormorants bending our necks low,

As the morning sun today rises in effulgent glory,

Do we fulfill your praises[24].

You *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26], receive the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]

And present them without the slightest negligence.

Hear, all of you, this command which I speak. Thus I speak.

V. HIRANO FESTIVAL

(*Hirano no maturi*)

By command of the Emperor[5],
I humbly speak in the solemn presence
Of the Great Sovereign Deity[28]
Who has been brought hither from Imaki and worshipped:

In accordance with your desires, oh Great Sovereign Deity[28],
In this place,
The shrine posts have been broadly set up in the bed-rock below,
The cross-beams of the roof soaring towards the
High Heavenly Plain[15],
And [a shrine] established as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11].
And I (office, rank, surname, and name) of the Office of Rites,
having been designated as *kamu-nusi*[26],
Do present the divine treasures:
Bows, swords, mirrors, bells,
Silken awnings, and horses have been lined up in rows;
Garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
Plain cloth, and coarse cloth have been provided;
The first fruits of the tribute presented by the lands of the
four quarters have been lined up:
The wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels filled to the brim;
The fruits of the mountain fields—
The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
As well as the fruits of the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of
the shore—
All these various offerings do I place, raising them high
like a long mountain range, and present.
Receive, then, tranquilly, I pray, these noble offerings;
Bless the reign of the Emperor[5] as eternal and unmoving,

Prosper it as an abundant reign,
And grant that he may abide for a myriad ages.
[Thus praying] I fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

Also I humbly speak:
Guard, I pray, the princes of the blood, the princes,
The courtiers, and the many officials here assembled
Who serve [the Emperor[5]];
Guard them in the guarding by night and the guarding by day,
And grant that they may serve in the Emperor's[5] court
Ever higher, ever wider, always prospering
Like luxuriant, flourishing trees.
[Thus praying] I fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

VI. KUDO AND FURU-AKI

(*Kudo Furu-aki*)

By command of the Emperor[5],
I humbly speak in the solemn presence
Of the Great Sovereign Deities[28]
Who have been brought and worshipped at the two shrines of Kudo and Furu-aki:

In accordance with your desires, oh Great Sovereign Deities[28],
In this place,
The shrine posts have been broadly set up in the bed-rock below,
The cross-beams of the roof soaring towards the High Heavenly Plain[15],
And [a shrine] established as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11].
And I (office, rank, surname, and name), having been designated as *kamu-nusi*[26],
Do present the divine treasures:
Bows, swords, mirrors, bells,
Silken awnings, and horses have been lined up in rows;
Garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth,
Plain cloth, and coarse cloth have been provided;
The first fruits of the tribute presented by the lands of the four quarters have been lined up:
The wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
The fruits of the mountain fields—
The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
As well as the fruits of the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
All these various offerings do I place, raising them high like a long mountain range, and present.
Receive, then, tranquilly, I pray, these noble offerings;

Bless the reign of the Emperor[5] as eternal and unmoving,
    Prosper it as an abundant reign,
And grant that he may abide for a myriad ages.
[Thus praying] I fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

Also I humbly speak:
Guard, I pray, the princes of the blood, the princes,
    The courtiers, and the many officials here assembled
    Who serve [the Emperor[5]];
    Guard them in the guarding by night and the guarding by day,
And grant that they may serve in the Emperor's[5] court
    Ever higher, ever wider, always prospering
    Like luxuriant, flourishing trees.
[Thus praying] I fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

VII. MONTHLY FESTIVAL OF THE SIXTH MONTH

(*Minaduki no tuki-nami no maturi*)

Hear me, all of you assembled *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before you,
The Sovereign Deities[28] whose praises are fulfilled[24] as
Heavenly Shrines and Earthly Shrines[12]
By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27]
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15]:
This year, I have provided the regular monthly offerings of
the sixth month:

In the twelfth month say: the regular monthly offerings of the twelfth month

Colored cloth, radiant cloth,
Plain cloth, and coarse cloth,
And, as the morning sun rises in effulgent glory,
Present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled[24] by the High Priestess[25]:
I speak your names:
Kami-musu-bi, Taka-mi-musubi, Iku-musubi, Taru-musubi,
Tama-tume-musu-bi,
Oho-miya-no-me, Mi-ke-tu-kami, Koto-siro-nusi,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because you bless the reign of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
As a long reign, eternal and unmoving,
And prosper it as an abundant reign.
Therefore as our Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
To you I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled[24] by the priestesses of Wigasuri[25]:
I speak your names:
Iku-wi, Saku-wi, Tu-naga-wi,
Asuha, Hahiki,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because in the bed-rock below, where you hold sway, the palace posts are firmly planted,
And the cross-beams of the roof soar high toward the High Heavenly Plain[15],
And the noble palace of the Sovereign Grandchild[29] is constructed,
Where, as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11], he dwells hidden,
And tranquilly rules the lands of the four quarters as a peaceful land.
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled[24] by the priestesses of the Gates[25]:
I speak your names:
Kusi-iha-mato-no-mikoto,
Toyo-iha-mato-no-mikoto,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because you dwell massively imbedded like sacred massed rocks
In the gates of the four quarters;
You open the gates in the morning
And close the gates in the evening;
If an unfriendly spirit goes from below, you guard below,
If it goes from above, you guard above,
And guard in the guarding by night and the guarding by day.
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled by the priestesses of Iku-sima[25]:
I speak your names:

Iku-kuni,
Taru-kuni,
And fulfill your praises[24]
Because in each of the myriad islands[18]
In which you hold sway,
As far as the toad can crawl,
And as far as the briny bubbles can reach—
The narrow land is made wide,
The steep land is made level,
And without omitting one of the myriad islands[18],
You entrust them all [to the Sovereign Grandchild[29]].
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak with special words in the solemn presence
Of the deity Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami[1],
Who dwells at Ise:
The lands of the four quarters, upon which you gaze out,
As far as the heavens stand as partitions,
As far as the land extends in the distance,
As far as the bluish clouds trail across the sky,
As far as the white clouds hang down on the horizon:
On the blue ocean
As far as the prows of the ships can reach,
Without stopping to dry their oars,
On the great ocean the ships teem continuously;
On the roads by land
As far as the horses' hooves can penetrate,
The ropes of the [tribute] packages tightly tied,
Treading over the rocks and roots of trees,
They move over the long roads without pause, continuously;
The narrow land is made wide,
The steep land is made level;
And you entrust the distant lands [to the Sovereign Grandchild[29]]
As if casting myriad ropes about them and drawing them hither.
[If you vouchsafe to do all this], then in your presence

The first fruits of the tribute will be piled up
Like a long mountain range,
And of the rest [the Sovereign Grandchild[29]] will partake tranquilly.
Also because you bless the reign of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
As a long reign, eternal and unmoving,
And prosper it as an abundant reign,
As my Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],*
Like a cormorant bending my neck low,
I present to you the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24] Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who dwell in the Imperial Plantations[17],
Speaking your names:
Taketi, Kaduraki, Tohoti,
Siki, Yamanobe, Sofu.
Because the sweet herbs and the bitter herbs
Which grow in these six Imperial Plantations[17]
Are brought forth and presented
As the eternal food, the everlasting food of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who dwell at the Mountain Entrances[21],
Speaking your names:
Asuka, Ihare, Osaka.
Hatuse, Unebi, Miminasi.
Because the big trees and the small trees
Growing on the far mountains and the near mountains
Are cut off at the tops and bottoms and brought hither,
And used to construct the noble palace of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],

* Or, by the command of my Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses

Where, as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11], he dwells hidden
And tranquilly rules the lands of the four quarters as a
peaceful land,
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who dwell in the Water-partings[33]:
I speak your names:
Yosino, Uda,
Tuke, Kaduraki,
And fulfill your praises[24]—
If the latter grain to be vouchsafed by you [to the Sovereign
Grandchild[29]]
Be vouchsafed in ears many hands long,
In luxuriant ears;
Then to you the first fruits in both stalks and liquor [will be presented],
Raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim,
To fulfill your praises[24];
Of the rest, the Sovereign Grandchild[29] will partake
With a ruddy countenance
As the food of his morning meal and evening meal,
As his eternal food, his everlasting food.
Therefore I present the noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
And fulfill your praises[24]. Hear me, all of you. Thus I speak.

Speaking in special words, [I say]:
Let the *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26] receive the offerings
Which the Imibe[16],
Hanging thick sashes over their weak shoulders,
Have purified and presented;
And let them, without any slightest error,
Bear them and present them. Thus I speak.

VIII. BLESSING OF THE GREAT PALACE

(*Oho-tono-hogahi*)

The Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
Commanded the Sovereign Grandchild[29] to occupy the heavenly high seat,
And presenting unto him the mirror and sword, the heavenly signs [of the imperial succession],
Said in blessing:
'Our sovereign noble child, oh Sovereign Grandchild[29],
'Occupying this heavenly high seat,
'[Retain] the heavenly sun-lineage[14] for myriads of thousands of long autumns,
'And rule tranquilly the Great Eight-Island Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Ears of Grain[10] as a peaceful land.'
Thus entrusting the land to him,
By means of a heavenly council,
They silenced to the last leaf
The rocks and the stumps of the trees,
Which had been able to speak,
And [caused him to] descend from the heavens
To reign over this kingdom
[As] the Sovereign Grandchild[29] ruling the heavenly sun-lineage[14]—
Whose palace is now [built] with trees
Standing in the large valleys
And the small valleys of the mountain fastnesses,
Which are cut down with the consecrated axes of the Imibe[16] clan,
The tops and bottoms offered to the deities of the mountain,
And the middle portions are brought out
And with a consecrated spade are erected as consecrated posts,
And made into the noble palace built for the Sovereign Grandchild[29]

As a heavenly shelter, a sun-shelter[11]:
To you, [oh palace deity] Ya-bune-no-mikoto, [do I address] marvellous heavenly words of blessing,
And bless and pacify, humbly speaking:

In the location of the great palace where he holds sway,
To the farthest extent of the bed-rock beneath,
May there be no woes from the roots of vines and from creeping insects;
As far as the blue clouds drift in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
May there be no woes from blood dripping [from the heavens] and from flying birds,
May there be no moving and creaking of the firmly implanted posts, beams, rafters, doors, and windows,
May there be no loosening of the firmly bound cords,
No disheveling of the grass thatched on the roof,
No commotion in the flooring,
No panic and fearful appearances during the night.
I speak the names of the deities who thus tranquilly and peacefully give their protection:
Ya-bune-kuku-no-ti-no-mikoto

This is the tree-spirit

And Ya-bune-toyo-uke-hime-no-mikoto

This is the spirit of the rice plants, commonly called Uka-no-mi-tama. This is of the same order as the custom of today of placing pieces of wood with the tops shaved and bundles of rice stalks by the door of a parturition hut, and scattering rice grains within the house.

Thus praising your names—
Because you protect the reign of the Sovereign Grandchild[29] as eternal and unmoving,
And prosper it as an abundant reign, an overflowing reign, a long reign;
Therefore, onto the long strings of myriad *mi-fuki* noble beads,
Which have been purified and sanctified by the sacred bead-makers,

Have been attached colored cloth, radiant cloth;
And I, Imibe-no-sukune[16] So-and-so, hanging a thick sash over my weak shoulders,
Bless and pacify—
Grant that any error or omission in this
May be heard rectified and beheld rectified
By [the rectifying deities] Kamu-naho-bi-no-mikoto and Oho-naho-bi-no-mikoto,
And that they may hear and receive it tranquilly and peacefully.
Thus I humbly speak.

I humbly speak with special words regarding the name of Oho-miya-no-me-no-mikoto,
Who dwells massively imbedded within the same palace as the Sovereign Grandchild[29];
Rules the selection of those who go in and those who go out;
Rectifies by words and soothes the sudden invasions and ravages of the deities;
Prevents from errors of the hand and errors of the feet
The scarf-wearing women attendants
And the sash-wearing men attendants
Who serve at the Sovereign Grandchild's[29] morning meal and evening meal;
Prevents the princes of the blood, the princes, the court nobles, and all the officials
From each following his own separate way;
Enables them to serve in the palace wholeheartedly,
To work in the palace energetically,
Without any evil intentions or impure intentions;
And if there be any fault or error,
Beholds it rectified and hears it rectified,
And causes them to serve tranquilly and peacefully.
Because of this, [I speak] her name as
Oho-miya-no-me-no-mikoto
And fulfill her praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

IX. FESTIVAL OF THE GATES

(*Mi-kado no maturi*)

I humbly speak your names:
    Kusi-iha-mato,
    Toyo-iha-mato-no-mikoto,
Because you dwell massively imbedded like sacred massed rocks
    In the inner and outer gates of the four quarters,
Because if from the four quarters and the four corners
    There should come the unfriendly and unruly deity called
      Ame-no-maga-tu-hi,
    You are not bewitched and do not speak consent to his evil words—
    If he goes from above,
        You guard above,
    If he goes from below,
        You guard below,
    And lie in wait to protect
        And to drive away
        And to repulse him with words;
Because you open the gates in the morning
    And close the gates in the evening;
You inquire and know the names
    Of those who go in and those who go out;
And if there be any fault or error,
    In the manner of [the rectifying deities] Kamu-naho-bi
      and Oho-naho-bi
    You behold it rectified and hear it rectified,
And cause [the court attendants] to serve tranquilly and peacefully.

Therefore [I speak] your names:
    Toyo-iha-mato-no-mikoto and
    Kusi-iha-mato-no-mikoto
And fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

X. GREAT EXORCISM OF THE LAST DAY OF THE SIXTH MONTH

(*Minaduki tugomori no oho-harahe*)

Hear me, all of you assembled princes of the blood, princes,
court nobles, and all officials. Thus I speak.

The various sins perpetrated and committed
By those who serve in the Emperor's[5] court,
The scarf-wearing women attendants,
The sash-wearing men attendants,
The quiver-bearing guard attendants,
The sword-bearing guard attendants,
As well as all those who serve in various offices—
These sins are to be exorcised, are to be purified
In the great exorcism of the last day of the sixth month
of this year—
Hear me, all of you. Thus I speak.

By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
The eight myriad deities were convoked in a divine convocation,
Consulted in a divine consultation,
And spoke these words of entrusting:
'Our Sovereign Grandchild[29] is to rule
'The Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains of the Fresh Ears
of Grain[10]
'Tranquilly as a peaceful land.'
Having thus entrusted the land,
They inquired with a divine inquiry
Of the unruly deities in the land,
And expelled them with a divine expulsion;
They silenced to the last leaf
The rocks and the stumps of the trees,
Which had been able to speak,

And caused him to descend from the heavens,
Leaving the heavenly rock-seat,
And pushing with an awesome pushing
Through the myriad layers of heavenly clouds—
Thus they entrusted [the land to him].

The lands of the four quarters thus entrusted,
Great Yamato, the Land of the Sun-Seen-on-High,
Was pacified and made a peaceful land;
The palace posts were firmly planted in the bed-rock below,
The cross-beams soaring high towards the High Heavenly Plain[15],
And the noble palace of the Sovereign Grandchild[29] constructed,
Where, as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11],
he dwells hidden,
And rules [the kingdom] tranquilly as a peaceful land.

The various sins perpetrated and committed
By the heavenly ever-increasing people to come into existence
In this land which he is to rule tranquilly as a peaceful land:
First, the heavenly sins[13]:
Breaking down the ridges,
Covering up the ditches,
Releasing the irrigation sluices,
Double planting,
Setting up stakes,
Skinning alive, skinning backwards,
Defecation—
Many sins [such as these] are distinguished and called the heavenly sins[13].
The earthly sins[4]:
Cutting living flesh, cutting dead flesh,
White leprosy, skin excrescences,
The sin of violating one's own mother,
The sin of violating one's own child,
The sin of violating a mother and her child,
The sin of violating a child and her mother,

The sin of transgression with animals,
Woes from creeping insects,
Woes from the deities of on high,
Woes from the birds of on high,
Killing animals, the sin of witchcraft—
Many sins [such as these] shall appear.

When they thus appear,
By the heavenly shrine usage,
Let the Great Nakatomi[22] cut off the bottom and cut off the top
Of heavenly narrow pieces of wood,
And place them in abundance on a thousand tables;
Let him cut off the bottom and cut off the top
Of heavenly sedge reeds
And cut them up into myriad strips;
And let him pronounce the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words.
When he thus pronounces them,
The heavenly deities will push open the heavenly rock door,
And pushing with an awesome pushing
Through the myriad layers of heavenly clouds,
Will hear and receive [these words].
Then the earthly deities will climb up
To the summits of the high mountains and to the summits of the low mountains,
And pushing aside the mists of the high mountains and the mists of the low mountains,
Will hear and receive [these words].

When they thus hear and receive,
Then, beginning with the court of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
In the lands of the four quarters under the heavens,
Each and every sin will be gone.
As the gusty wind blows apart the myriad layers of heavenly clouds;
As the morning mist, the evening mist is blown away by the morning wind, the evening wind;

As the large ship anchored in the spacious port is untied
at the prow and untied at the stern
And pushed out into the great ocean;
As the luxuriant clump of trees on yonder [hill]
Is cut away at the base with a tempered sickle, a sharp sickle—
As a result of the exorcism and the purification,
There will be no sins left.
They will be taken into the grea ocean
By the goddess called Se-ori-tu-hime,
Who dwells in the rapids of the rapid-running rivers
Which fall surging perpendicular
From the summits of the high mountains and the summits
of the low mountains.
When she thus takes them,
They will be swallowed with a gulp
By the goddess called Haya-aki-tu-hime,
Who dwells in the wild brine, the myriad currents
of the brine,
In the myriad meeting-place of the brine of
the many briny currents.
When she thus swallows them with a gulp,
The deity called Ibuki-do-nusi,
Who dwells in the Ibuki-do*,
Will blow them away with his breath to the land of Hades,
the under-world.
When he thus blows them away,
The deity called Haya-sasura-hime,
Who dwells in the land of Hades, the under-world,
Will wander off with them and lose them.
When she thus loses them,
Beginning with the many officials serving in the Emperor's[5] court,
In the four quarters under the heavens,
Beginning from today,
Each and every sin will be gone.

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* lit., Breath-blowing-entrance

Holding the horses
Which stand listening,
Pricking up their ears towards the High Heavenly Plain[15],
Hear me, all of you:
Know that [all the sins] have been exorcised and purified
In the great exorcism performed in the waning of the evening sun
On the last day of the sixth month of this year. Thus I speak.

Oh diviners[3] of the four lands,
Carry them out to the great river
And cast them away. Thus I speak.

XI. INCANTATION FORMULA WHEN THE SWORD IS PRESENTED BY THE FUMI-NO-IMIKI OF YAMATO

I respectifully pray:
Oh Supreme Ruler of Heaven,
Oh Great Ruler of the Three Extremities,
Oh sun and moon and stars,
Oh gods of the eight quarters,
Oh deities arbiting human destiny,
Oh King of the East on the left,
And Queen of the West on the right,
Oh five rulers of the five directions,
Oh four seasons and four weathers:

I present you with a man of happiness
And pray you to remove all disasters.
I present you with a golden sword
And pray you to extend the imperial reign.

I speak the incantation:

To the East as far as the Land of the Extreme East,
To the West as far as the Land where the sun sets,
To the South as far as the Land of Blazing Light,
To the North as far as the Weak Waters,
May the thousand cities and hundred lands
Be ruled in peace for ten thousand years,
Ten thousand years,
Ten thousand years.

XII. FIRE-PACIFYING FESTIVAL

(*Hi-sidume no maturi*)

I humbly speak by means of the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words entrusted
At the time that the kingdom was entrusted
By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
To the Sovereign Grandchild[29], saying:
'Rule tranquilly the Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Ears of Grain[10] as a peaceful land.'

The two deities Izanagi and Izanami,
Becoming wedded man and wife,
Gave birth to each of the myriad lands and each of the myriad islands[18],
And gave birth to the eight myriads of deities;
As their final child [Izanami] gave birth to Ho-musu-bi-no-kami,
And thereby burning her genitals,
Concealed herself within the rock and said:
'For seven nights and seven days do not look upon me, my beloved husband.'
Before the expiration of these seven days,
He thought her concealment strange and looked upon her:
He found that she was burnt in her genitals from giving birth to fire.
At that time, she said:
'Although I told my beloved husband not to look upon me,
'He has rashly looked upon me.
'My beloved husband shall rule the Upper Lands,
'And I will rule the Lower Lands.'
Thus saying, she concealed herself in the rock.
Arriving at the pass Yomo-tu-hira-saka, she remembered:
'I have born and left a child of evil disposition
'In the Upper Lands to be ruled by my beloved husband.'

Thus saying, she returned and gave birth to further children of four kinds:

The water deity,
The gourd [dipper],
The river greens,
And [the earth deity] Hani-yama-hime,
And instructed and advised:
'If this child of evil disposition become wildly disposed,
'Let the water deity take the gourd, and Hani-yama-hime the river greens, and pacify him!'

Because of this, I fulfill your praises[24],
And, in order that he do not wreak havoc in the court of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
I make offerings:
Furnishing colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, coarse cloth;
The five types of things[6];
As well as that which lives in the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
And wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
And even to the soft grain and the coarse grain—
I pile these high like a long mountain range,
And, by means of the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words,
Fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

XIII. MITI-AHE NO MATURI

[As a tradition which] began in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[29]
Who dwell massively imbedded like sacred massed rocks
In the myriad great thoroughfares,
Whose praises are fulfilled[24] by command of the
Sovereign Grandchild[29]:

I humbly speak your names:
Ya-timata-hiko,
Ya-timata-hime,
Kunato,
And fulfill your praises[24]

[With the prayer] that you will not be bewitched and will not speak consent
To the unfriendly and unruly spirits
Who come from the land of Hades, the underworld;
If they go below, you will guard below,
If they go above, you will guard above,
And will guard in the guarding by night and the guarding by day,
And will bless.

With this prayer I present offerings,
Furnishing garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
And wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
In both liquor and in stalks;
That which lives in the mountains and plains—
The soft-furred and the coarse-furred animals;
As well as that which lives in the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—

These will be placed abundantly like a long mountain range.
Receive, then, tranquilly, I pray, these noble offerings here presented,
And, dwelling massively imbedded like sacred massed rocks
In the myriad great thoroughfares,
Bless the Sovereign Grandchild[29] eternal and unmoving,
And prosper him as an abundant reign. Thus I humbly speak.

Further, [with the prayer] that you may bless tranquilly
The princes of the blood, the princes, the courtiers,
the many officials,
As well as even the common people of the kingdom,
I, as priest[26], fulfill your praises[24]
By the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words.
Thus I humbly speak.

XIV. FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST FRUITS BANQUET

(*Oho-nihe no maturi*)

Hear me, all of you assembled *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26]. Thus I speak.

I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities[28]
Who hold sway as Heavenly Shrines and Earthly Shrines[12]
By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27]
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15]:

Whereas on the second day of the Hare in the eleventh month of this year
The Sovereign Grandchild[29] is to partake of the banquet of the first fruits
As his heavenly food, his eternal food, his everlasting food,

Because you Sovereign Deities[28], concurring together,
Deign to bless him as eternal and unmoving
And to prosper him as an abundant reign,
He will partake tranquilly and peacefully for a thousand autumns, for five hundred autumns,
And will feast with a ruddy countenance at the abundant banquet.

The noble offerings of the Sovereign Grandchild[29] are furnished:
The colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
And, as the morning sun rises in effugent glory,
I fulfill your praises[24].
Hear me, all of you. Thus I speak.

Speaking in special words, [I say]:
Let the *kamu-nusi*[26] and *hafuri*[26] receive the offerings
Which the Imibe[16],
Hanging thick sashes over their weak shoulders,
Have purified and presented,
And let them, without the slightest omission,
Bear them and present them. Thus I speak.

XV. MI-TAMA-SIDUME NO IHAHI-TO NO MATURI

By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
The Sovereign Grandchild[29], making the Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Ears of Grain[10] a peaceful land,
And firmly rooting the shrine posts in the bed-rock below,
The cross-beams of the roof soaring high towards the High Heavenly Plain[15],
As a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11],
Does fulfill your praises[24],
And present garments, providing both the upper and the lower garments,
And his noble offerings:
Colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, and coarse cloth;
The five types of things[6];
And wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
The fruits of the mountains and plains—
The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
As well as the fruits of the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
All these various offerings he places and raises high like a long mountain range, and presents them.

Receive, then, tranquilly, I pray, these noble offerings
As offerings of peace,
As offerings of plenty;
Bless the court of the Emperor[5] as eternal and unmoving,
Prosper it as an abundant reign,
And grant that [his spirit] may abide tranquilly here in its abode
From this twelfth month
Until the twelfth month to come.
With this prayer, on the such-and-such day of the twelfth month of this year,
I bless and pacify [his spirit]. Thus I humbly speak.

XVI. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: GRAIN-PETITIONING IN THE SECOND MONTH; REGULAR FESTIVALS OF THE SIXTH AND TWELFTH MONTHS

By the solemn command of the Emperor[5],
I humbly speak before you,
Great Sovereign Deity[28], whose praises are fulfilled[24]
In the bed-rock below
On the upper reaches of the Isuzu river
At Udi in Watarahi:

I humbly speak his solemn command
To bring and present the great offerings
Habitually presented at the Grain-petitioning of the Second month

At the regular festivals merely replace with the words: at the regular festival of the sixth month

Sending me (office, rank, surname, name) as his messenger.
Thus I humbly speak.

XVII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: TOYO-UKE-NO-MIYA (SAME FESTIVALS)

By the solemn command of the Emperor[5],
I humbly speak before you,
Toyo-uke-no-sume-gami,
Whose praises are fulfilled[24]
In the bed-rock below
Of the field of Yamada in Watarahi:

I humbly speak his solemn command
To bring and present the great offerings
Habitually presented at the Grain-petitioning of the second month

At the regular festivals merely replace with the words:
at the regular festival of the sixth month

Sending me (office, rank, surname, name) as his messenger.
Thus I humbly speak.

XVIII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: DIVINE GARMENTS FESTIVAL OF THE FOURTH MONTH

(*Uduki no Kamu-miso no maturi*)

(*Use also for that of the ninth month*)

I humbly speak in the solemn presence
Of Ama-terasi-masu-sume-oho-mi-kami[1],
Whose praises are fulfilled[24],
Where the great shrine posts are firmly planted
And the cross-beams of the roof soar towards the
High Heavenly Plain[15],
In the upper reaches of the Isuzu river
At Udi in Watarahi:

I humbly say that the presentation is made
Of the woven garments of plain cloth and coarse cloth
Habitually presented
By the people of the Hatori and the Womi.
Thus I humbly speak.

Say this and present them
Also in the Ara-maturi-no-miya[2]. Thus I speak.

The *negi*[26] and *uti-bito*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'

XIX. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: REGULAR FESTIVAL OF THE SIXTH MONTH

(Use also for that of the Twelfth Month)

All of you *kamu-nusi-be*[26] and *mono-imi*[26], hear the heavenly ritual,
the solemn ritual words
Which I humbly speak in the solemn presence of
Ama-terasi-masu-oho-mi-kami[1],
Whose praises are fulfilled[24],
With the great shrine-posts firmly rooted
And the cross-beams of the roof soaring high towards the High Heavenly Plain[15],
On the upper reaches of the Isuzu river
At Udi in Watarahi. Thus I speak.

The *negi*[26] and *uti-bito*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'

By the solemn command of the Emperor[5],
[I pray] that you make his life a long life,
Prospering [his reign] as an abundant reign,
Eternal and unmoving as the sacred massed rocks,
That you favor also the princes which are born,
That you [protect] long and tranquilly
The various officials,
As well as even the common people of the lands of the four quarters of the kingdom,
And that you cause to flourish in abundance
The five grains which they harvest.
With this prayer [I offer]
The tribute threads habitually presented by the people of the Kamube[19]
Established in the three counties and in the various lands and various places,
And the great wine and the great first fruits prepared in ritual purity,

Placing these in abundance like a long mountain range.
I, the great Nakatomi[22], abiding concealed behind
the solemn *tama-gusi*[31]
On the seventeenth day of the sixth month of this year,
Do humbly speak your praises as the morning sun rises in effugent glory.
Hear me, all of you *kamu-nusi-be*[26] and *mono-imi*[26]. Thus I speak.

The *kamu-nusi-be*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'

Say this and present them
Also in the Ara-maturi-no-miya[2]
And in the Tuku-yomi-no-miya[32]. Thus I speak.

The *kamu-nusi-be*[26] again respond: 'ôô.'

XX. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: FESTIVAL OF THE DIVINE FIRST FRUITS BANQUET OF THE NINTH MONTH

(*Nagatuki no Kamu-nihe no maturi*)

By the solemn command of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
I humbly speak in the solemn presence of Ama-terasi-masu-oho-mikami[1],
Whose praises are fulfilled[24]
On the upper reaches of the Isuzu river
In Watarahi of Ise:

I humbly speak his solemn command
Concerning the great offerings
Which are habitually presented at the Divine First-fruits
Banquet of the ninth month:
[To the effect that] prince (office, rank, name) and I (office, rank, name) of the Nakatomi[22], be sent as his messengers
And that [the offerings] should be brought by the Imibe[16],
Having thick sashes over their weak shoulders,
Be purified and presented. Thus I humbly speak.

XXI. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: SAME FESTIVAL AT TOYO-UKE-NO-MIYA

By the command of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deity[28]
Whose praises are fulfilled[24]
In the field of Yamada in Watarahi:

I humbly speak his great command
Concerning the great offerings
Which are habitually presented at the Divine First-fruits
Banquet of the ninth month:
[To the effect that] prince (office, rank, name) and I (office, rank, name) of the Nakatomi[22], be sent as his messengers
And that [the offerings] should be brought by the Imibe[16],
Hanging thick sashes over their shoulders,
Be purified and presented. Thus I humbly speak.

XXII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: SAME, DIVINE FIRST FRUITS BANQUET

(*Kamu-nihe no maturi*)

All of you *kamu-nusi-be*[26] and *mono-imi*[26], hear the heavenly ritual,
the solemn ritual words
Which I humbly speak in the solemn presence of
Ama-terasi-masu-sume-oho-mi-kami[1],
Whose praises are fulfilled[24]
With the great shrine posts firmly rooted
And the cross-beams of the roof soaring high towards
the High Heavenly Plain[15],
On the upper reaches of the Isuzu river
At Udi in Watarahi. Thus I speak.

The *negi*[26] and *uti-bito*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'

By the solemn command of the Emperor[5],
[I pray] that you make his life a long life,
Prospering [his reign] as an abundant reign,
Eternal and unmoving as the sacred massed rocks,
That you favor also the princes which are born,
And that you guard, favor, and prosper long and tranquilly
The various officials,
As well as even the common people of the lands of the four
quarters of the kingdom.
With this prayer [I offer]
The great wine and the great first-fruits prepared in ritual purity
Habitually presented by the people of the Kamube[19]
Established in the three counties and in the various
lands and various places
As well as their tribute suspended,
The thousand-fold and five-hundred-fold tribute,
Placing these abundantly like a long mountain range.
I, the great Nakatomi[22], abiding concealed behind the solemn

tama-gusi[31],
On the seventeenth day of the ninth month of this year,
Do humbly praise you with the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words
As the morning sun rises in effulgent glory.
Hear me, all of you *kamu-nusi-be*[26] and *mono-imi*[26]. Thus I speak.

The *negi*[26] and *uti-bito*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'

Say this and present them
Also in the Ara-maturi-no-miya[2]
And in the Tuku-yomi-no-miya[32]. Thus I speak.

The *kamu-nusi-be*[26] together respond: 'ôô.'

XXIII. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: WHEN THE HIGH PRIESTESS ASSUMES HER OFFICE

(Ituki-no-hime-miko wo Ire-maturu toki)

After finishing speaking the words for presenting the offerings of the Divine First Fruits Banquet, the following is said:

I humbly speak in special words:
The Consecrated Princess[25] now being presented, has been,
According to the ancient custom,
Blessed and purified for three years
And designated as your handmaiden
[With the prayer] that you do grant that the Sovereign Grandchild[29] may abide tranquilly and peacefully
Together with the heaven and earth, with the sun and moon,
Eternal and unmoving.
The great command to present her as your handmaiden
Is relayed as an intermediary
By the great Nakatomi[22],
As if grasping an awesome spear in the middle,
And fearfully and reverently spoken. Thus I humbly speak.

XXIV. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: NORITO ON MOVING THE SHRINE OF THE GREAT DEITY

(*Use also for the Toyo-uke-no-miya*)

By the solemn command of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
I humbly speak in the solemn presence of the Great Sovereign Deity[28]:

In accordance with the ancient custom,
The great shrine is built anew once in twenty years,
The various articles of clothing of fifty-four types,
And the sacred treasures of twenty-one types are provided,
And exorcism, purification, and cleansing is performed.

I, the functionary participating (rank, surname, name), have been dispatched
To say the manner in which the offerings are to be presented.
Thus I humbly speak.

XXV. TO DRIVE AWAY A VENGEFUL DEYTY

(Tataru Kami wo Utusi-yaru)

By the command of the Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
And who began matters,
The eight myriad deities were convoked in a divine convocation
in the high meeting-place of Heaven,
And consulted in a divine consultation, [saying]:
'Our Sovereign Grandchild[29] is to rule
'The Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of
the Fresh Ears of Grain[10]
'Tranquilly as a peaceful land.'
Thus he left the heavenly rock-seat,
And descended from the heavens,
Pushing with an awesome pushing through the myriad layers
of heavenly clouds
And was entrusted [with the land]—
Then they consulted with a divine consultation, [saying]:
'Which deity should first be dispatched
'To expel with a divine expulsion and to pacify
'The unruly deities in the Land of the Fresh Ears of Grain[10]?'
Then the numerous deities all consulted and said:
'Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto should be sent to pacify them.'
Then when he was dispatched down from the heavens,
He did not return to report on his mission.
Next Take-mi-kuma-no-mikoto was also dispatched,
But he also, obeying his father's words, did not return
to report on his mission.
Again, Ame-waka-hiko was also dispatched,
But he did not return to report on his mission,
But because of woe from a bird of on high
Immediately lost his life.
Hereupon by the command of the Heavenly Deities
Another consultation was held,

And the two deities:
Futu-nusi-no-mikoto
And Take-mika-duti-no-mikoto
Were caused to descend from the heavens;
They expelled with a divine expulsion the unruly deities
And pacified with a divine pacification;
They silenced to the last leaf
The rocks and the stumps of the trees,
Which had been able to speak,
And when the Sovereign Grandchild[29] descended from the heavens,
Entrusted [the land to him].

The lands of the four quarters thus entrusted [to him when he] descended from the heavens,
Great Yamato, the land of the Sun-Seen-on-High, was determined as a peaceful land;
The palace posts were firmly rooted in the bed-rock below,
The cross-beams of the roof soaring high towards the High Heavenly Plain[15],
And [the palace of the Emperor] constructed as a heavenly shelter, as a sun-shelter[11]
In this land which he is to rule tranquilly as a peaceful land.
May the Sovereign Deities[28] dwelling within the heavenly palace
Not rage and not ravage,
Because as deities they are well acquainted
With the matters begun in the High Heavenly Plain[15];
May they rectify [their hearts] in the manner of [the rectifying deities] Kamu-naho-bi and Oho-naho-bi,
And may they go from this place
And move to another place of lovely mountains and rivers
Where they can look out over the four quarters,
And may they reign over that as their place.

With this prayer I present offerings,
Providing garments of colored cloth, radiant cloth, plain cloth, and coarse cloth;

A mirror as something to see clearly with,
A jewel as something to play with,
A bow and arrow as something to shoot with,
A sword as something to cut with,
A horse as something to ride on;
Wine, raising high the soaring necks
Of the countless wine vessels, filled to the brim;
In rice and in stalks;
That which lives in the mountains—
The soft-furred and the coarse-furred animals—
That which grows in the vast fields and plains—
The sweet herbs and the bitter herbs—
As well as that which lives in the blue ocean—
The wide-finned and the narrow-finned fishes,
The sea-weeds of the deep and the sea-weeds of the shore—
I place these noble offerings in abundance upon tables
Like a long mountain range and present them
Praying that the Sovereign Deities[28]
Will with a pure heart receive them tranquilly
As offerings of ease,
As offerings of abundance,
And will not seek vengeance and not ravage,
But will move to a place of wide and lovely mountains and rivers,
And will as deities dwell there pacified.
With this prayer, I fulfill your praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

XXVI. PRESENTING OFFERINGS ON DISPATCHING AN ENVOY TO CHINA

By the solemn command of the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
I humbly speak before you,
    The deities whose praises are fulfilled[24] in Sumi-no-ye:

Because there was no suitable port
    For dispatching envoys to China,
[The Emperor] was considering
    Having them board ship from the land of Harima.
Just then, a divine command came, instructing and teaching:
    'I will build a port.'
Exactly in accordance with this instruction and teaching,
    A port was built.
Whereupon [the Emperor] was glad and rejoiced
    And as tokens of reverence
    Had [me] (office, rank, surname, name) bring and present
      to you these offerings. Thus I humbly speak.

XXVII. DIVINE CONGRATULATORY WORDS OF THE KUNI-NO-MIYATUKO[20] OF IDUMO

(*Idumo no Kuni-no-miyatuko no Kamu-yogoto*)

Although there may be many days,
    Today, this day of life, this day of plenty
Is when I (surname, name), kuni-no-miyatuko[20] of Idumo,
    Fearfully and reverently do speak:

Awesome to mention is the incarnate deity
    Who rules the Great Eight-Island Land[9]
And whose reign is to be blessed
    As a long reign, a secure reign.

In the land of Idumo, fenced round about
    With a wall of green mountains,
The shrine posts are firmly planted in the bed-rock below,
    And the cross-beams of the roof soar high towards the
        High Heavenly Plain[15]:

At this shrine dwell two deities:
    The beloved offspring of Izanagi, the ancestral god[27],
    The great deity of Kumano, Kusi-mi-ke-no-no-mikoto;
    And the land-creator Oho-namoti-no-mikoto;

Which two deities, besides all the Sovereign Deities[28]
    Dwelling in the hundred and eighty-six shrines, [I worship]:
        Hanging thick sashes over my weak shoulders,
        Securing the cord of the sacred cloths
            Worn on the head as a heavenly head-gear,
        In the sacred abode mowing and spreading out
            Wild grasses as a sacred sitting-mat,
        Blackening well the sacred cooking vessels;
            And with the heavenly wine-distilling vats in peace,
        I do thus remain confined in ritual abstinence,

And do abstain and pacify [them] in the pacifying-shrine
And, as the morning sun rises in effulgent glory,
Do humbly speak the congratulatory words of divine blessing
As a report on this worship.
Thus I humbly speak.

When the deities of High Heaven:
Take-mi-musu-bi
And Kamu-musu-bi-no-mikoto
Entrusted to the rule of the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
the Great Eight-Island Land[9],
The distant ancestor of the omi[20] of Idumo,
Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto,
Was dispatched to inspect the land.
Pushing through the myriad layers of heavenly clouds,
Flying the heavens and flying the earth,
He looked throughout the kingdom,
And then reported on his search:
'The Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Ears of Grain[10]
'During the day seethes as with summer flies,
'And during the night is overrun with gods which shine as sparks of fire.
'The very rocks, the stumps of trees,
'The bubbles of water all speak,
'And it is truly an unruly land.
'But I shall pacify and subjugate it,
'And shall have it ruled tranquilly
'By the Sovereign Grandchild[29] as a peaceful land.'
Thus saying, he dispatched his son
Ame-no-hina-dori-no-mikoto,
Together with Futu-nusi-no-mikoto,
And caused them to descend from the heavens.
The two swept away and subjugated the unruly deities,
Propitiated and pacified the great Land-creator,
And caused him to relinquish the rule
Of the visible, material things in the Great Eight-Island Land[9].

Then Oho-namoti-no-mikoto said:
'The Sovereign Grandchild[29] will dwell peacefully in the land of Yamato.'
Thus saying, he attached his peaceful spirit
To a mirror of large dimensions,
Eulogizing it by the name
Yamato-no-oho-mono-nusi-Kusi-mika-tama-no-mikoto,
And had it dwell in the sacred grove of Oho-miwa.
He caused the spirit of his son
Adi-suki-taka-hiko-ne-no-mikoto
To dwell in the sacred grove of Kamo in Kaduraki;
Caused the spirit of Koto-siro-nusi-no-mikoto
To dwell in Unade;
And caused the spirit of Kayanarumi-no-mikoto
To dwell in the sacred grove of Asuka.
[These deities]he presented to the Sovereign Grandchild[29]
As his close protector-deities,
And himself dwelt peacefully
In the shrine of Kiduki of the myriad clay.
Then the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27] said:
'Do you, oh Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto, bless the long reign, the great reign of the Emperor[5]
'As eternal and unmoving,
'And do you prosper it as an abundant reign.'
Thus do I, inheriting this tradition,
Perform the worship service,
And as the morning sun rises in effulgent glory
Do present, as tokens of homage of the deities and as tokens of homage of the omi[20],
The sacred treasures of blessing. Thus I humbly speak.

As the white jewels,
May you abide with hoary hairs;
As the bright red jewels,
May you abide with ruddy features;

As the blue jewels,
Arranged in orderly strings of noble beads,
May you rule as an incarnate deity
The Great Eight-Island Land[9],
And may your long reign, your great reign
Be as a broad-bladed sword, tempered and hardened well.
The prancing of the hooves of the fore-legs
And of the hind-legs of the white horse
Is to stamp firm the posts
Of the inner and outer palace gates unto the upper rocks
And to stamp them hard unto the bed-rock below;
The pricking up of its ears
Is as a blessing of your rule.
As the white swans [presented] for your pleasure as a live tribute,
And as the rustic striped cloth, may your heart be firm.
As the young ponds which spring up
By this old river bank and that old river bank,
May you always be young with an ever more exuberant youth.
As the waters [run] in the pool where purification ablutions are made,
May you ever become younger with a continual rejuvenation.
In the manner of wiping clean and viewing
The surface of a smooth, clear mirror,
May you, the incarnate deity, rule [clearly] the Great Eight-Island Land[9]
Together with heaven and earth, sun and moon,
Peacefully and tranquilly; as a sign thereof
I bear the divine treasures of blessing
[And present them] as tokens of homage of the deities and tokens of homage of the omi[20],
And fearfully and reverently,
Do humbly speak the congratulatory words of divine blessing of heavenly tradition. Thus I humbly speak.

XXVIII. CONGRATULATORY WORDS OF THE NAKATOMI

(Nakatomi no Yogoto)

Before the Emperor Oho-yamato-neko[23],
Who rules the Great Eight-Island Land[9] as an incarnate deity,
I [speak] the congratulatory words of the heavenly deities
And fulfill his praises[24]. Thus I humbly speak.

By the command of the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27],
Who divinely remain in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
The eight myriad deities were convoked, [and the command given]:
'From the beginning in the High Heavenly Plain[15],
'The Sovereign Grandchild[29] is commanded to rule
'The Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Ears of Grain[10]
'Tranquilly as a peaceful land.
'Abiding upon the heavenly high seat of the heavenly sun-lineage[14],
'He is to partake tranquilly and peacefully in the sacred ceremonial place
'Of the fresh ears of grain for a thousand autumns, for five hundred autumns
'As his heavenly food, his eternal food, his everlasting food.'
Receiving this trust,
He descended from the heavens.
After this, Ame-no-ko-yane-no-mikoto,
The distant ancestor of the Nakatomi[22],
Served before the Sovereign Grandchild[29],
And sent [his son] Ame-no-osi-kumo-ne-no-kami up to the heavenly double-peaked [mountain]
And had him speak humbly before the Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27] in order to receive [their words].
He instructed him to speak humbly:
'We wish to present to the Sovereign Grandchild[29] at his meals
'Water of the visible lands, to which heavenly water has

been added.'

In accordance with this, Ame-no-osi-kumo-ne-no-kami, riding on a heavenly floating cloud,

Went up to the heavenly double-peaked [mountain]

And spoke humbly before the Ancestral Gods and Goddesses[27].

Then they entrusted him with a heavenly jeweled comb [and commanded]:

'Stand this jeweled comb up,

'And from the time that the waning sun goes down until the morning sun shines

'Recite the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words.

'If you thus recite,

'As a sign, sacred manifold bamboo shoots will sprout forth like young water plants,

'And from underneath many heavenly springs will gush forth.

'Take this water and have him partake of it as heavenly water.'

Thus it was entrusted.

In accordance with this trust, he partakes of the fresh ears of grain in the sacred ceremonial place:

The diviners[3] of the four lands have divined by means of the grand divination

And have ceremonially determined as the Yuki[34] [the county of] Yasu in the land of Afumi

And as the Suki[34] [the county of] Higami in the land of Taniha.

Those in charge of the ceremonial paddy[7]:

The saka-tu-ko,

The saka-nami,

The ko-basiri,

The hahi-yaki,

The kamagi-kori,

The ahi-dukuri,

And the ina-no-mi-no-kimi

Have all [performed their duties] and brought [the rice] to the sacred ceremonial place of the banquet of the first fruits.

Thus, on the second day of the Hare of the eleventh month of this year,

[The rice] has been solemnly and strictly,
Fearfully and reverently purified and presented,
And a day in the month chosen and determined
For the great wine, the black wine and the white wine of the Yuki[34] and the Suki[34],
To be consumed by the Emperor Yamato-neko[23]
With a ruddy countenance
As his heavenly food, his eternal food, his everlasting food,
In liquor and in fruit,
And for him to feast with ruddy countenance at the abundant banquet.

May the Sovereign Deities[28] also,
Whose praises are fulfilled[24] with these congratulatory words of the Heavenly Deities,
Concur together in this common first-fruit banquet of a thousand autumns and five hundred autumns,
Bless him as unmoving and eternal,
And cause [his reign] to flourish as an abundant reign;
And from this first year of Kōdi [1142]
May he, together with heaven and earth, with the sun and the moon,
Continue to give out light and radiance.
[With this prayer] as an intermediary,
As if grasping—not the top or bottom—
But the middle of an awesome spear,
I, the Nakatomi[22] head-priest, Nakatomi no asomi Kiyotika, greater fourth court rank, higher official rank, assistant minister of the Office of Rites,
Fulfill your praises[24] with congratulatory words.
Thus I humbly speak.

Again I humbly speak:
You princes of the blood, princes, court nobles, many officials,
Who serve at the Emperor's[5] court,
As well as the common people of the lands of the four quarters of

the kingdom,
Assemble all together and see,
Feel reverence,
Rejoice,
And hear.
May these words,
Praying that the Emperor's[5] court will flourish as an abundant reign, like luxuriant trees,
Be heard. Thus do I fearfully and reverently pray.
Thus I humbly speak.

XXIX. HOUSE-BLESSING FORMULA (Muro-hogi) OF PRINCE WOKE

The ropes of the young *muro* house built up,
The pillars built up
    Are the mainstay of the heart of the lord of this house.
The beams laid in place
    Are the flourishing of the heart of the lord of this house.
The rafters laid in place
    Are the setting in order of the heart of the lord of this house.
The crosspieces laid in place
    Are the levelness of the heart of the lord of this house.
The ropes tied in place
    Are the firm securing of the life of the lord of this house.
The grass thatched on the roof
    Is the abundance of the wealth of the lord of this house.

Idumo is newly cultivated;
The rice ears, ten hands long, of the newly cultivated fields
    Have been distilled to wine in shallow vessels;
Partake thereof with pleasure,
    Oh my lads.

As I dance,
    Lifting up the horns
    Of a deer of these hills—
You cannot buy such as this
    In the market of Wega of the tasty wine!
So clap your hands heartily,
    My eternal ones!

XXX. WORDS SPOKEN BY KUSI-YA-TAMA-NO-KAMI

This fire which I drill—
May it burn upwards
Until, on the plentiful heavenly new lattice
Of Kami-musu-bi-no-mi-oya-no-mikoto
In the High Heavenly Plain
The soot hangs down eight hands long;
And until, under the ground,
The bottom bed-rock is burned solid.
The fishermen fishing spread out the *taku* ropes,
The thousand-fathom ropes;
And, with a rustling, rustling sound,
Draw hither and raise up the wide-mouthed, broad-finned perch.
Thus I will present the heavenly sea-food viands
Until the very split-bamboo trays
Bend down under the weight!

XXXI. BLESSING FORMULA OF MI-OYA-NO-KAMI-NO-MIKOTO

How dear my descendants!
    How lofty the divine shrine!
Even with heaven and earth,
    Together with the sun and moon.
The people assemble in joy;
    Food and drink is abundant.
For all generations without end,
    Day by day ever more flourishing,
Until myriads of years hence
    The pleasure will not cease.

XXXII. WORDS SPOKEN BY ITODE

I, your humble servant, do present these offerings
[With the prayer] that you may rule the land minutely
As the curves of the large-dimensioned beads,
That you may look upon the mountains, rivers, and the ocean clearly
As the white copper mirror.
Take, therefore, this sword, ten hands long,
And with it pacify the kingdom.

GLOSSARY

1 AMA-TERASU-OHO-MI-KAMI

Modern reading: Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami.

Also: Ama-terasi-masu-sume-oho-mi-kami; Ama-terasi-masu-oho-mi-kami.

'Great Deity Illuminating the Heavens.' The Sun-Goddess worshipped at the Grand Shrine of Ise.

I VII XVIII XX XXII

2 ARA-MATURI-NO-MIYA

Modern reading: Ara-matsuri-no-miya.

A subsidiary shrine within the precincts of the Grand Shrine of Ise where the *ara-mi-tama*, 'rough spirit' of the Sun-Goddess is enshrined. It is the first of the subsidiary shrines of Ise.

XVIII XIX XXII

3 DIVINERS *urabe*

Urabe is the common title for those who practiced divination. In ancient times the diviners of the lands of Izu, Iki, and Tsushima were renowned; and the word Urabe was adopted by many as their surname. In the Norito, it is not clear which lands are meant by "diviners of the four lands."

In the Great Exorcism, it is the diviners who carry away the sin-bearing articles and cast them into the river. In the Congratulatory Words of the Nakatomi, it is they who determine by divination the ceremonial rice fields Yuki and Suki (q.v.). The Urabe clan pronounce the *norito* of the Fire-Pacifying Festival and the Miti-ahe no Maturi, and possibly that of the Great Exorcism.

X XXVIII

4 EARTHLY SINS *kuni-tu-tumi*

Modern reading: kuni-tsu-tsumi.

The sins to be exorcised in the Great Exorcism are divided into Heavenly Sins *ama-tu-tumi* (q.v.) and Earthly Sins *kuni-tu-tumi*. The earthly sins enumerated here seem to include a number which we would identify as 'pollutions,' such as skin diseases, impurities emanating from insects, etc., as well as forbidden sexual relations.

(cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 446-459)
X

5 EMPEROR *Sumera*

The Emperor is referred to as either *Sumera* or as *Sume-mi-ma-no-mikoto* (Sovereign Grandchild, q.v.). *Sumera* is related etymologically with the element *sume.* See SOVEREIGN ANCESTRAL GODS AND GODDESSES.
II V VI X XV XVI XVII XXII XXVII XXVIII

6 FIVE TYPES OF THINGS *itu-iro no mono*

Modern reading: itsu-iro no mono.
Traditionally regarded as meaning 'thin coarse-silk of five colors.' Other interpretations are 'the five sacred treasures.' Kaneko reads as *ikusa no mono* and interprets as meaning 'weapons.' (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 371-375)
III XII XV

7 FUNCTIONARIES OF THE CEREMONIAL PADDY

In the Congratulatory Words of the Nakatomi, the following offices are mentioned in connection with the Yuki and Suki ceremonial paddies (see YUKI AND SUKI):

a. Saka-tu-ko—a virgin who played the most important role in ceremonial rice production; her main duty was to distill the black wine and the white wine.
b. Saka-nami—a woman who served as assistant to the Saka-tu-ko.
c. Ko-basiri—a woman whose duty was sifting.
d. Hahi-yaki—literally 'ash-burner;' a man whose duty was to make the ash preparation used to flavor the black wine and the white wine.
e. Kamagi-kori—four men who served as wood-cutters, gathering fuel to prepare the first fruits.
f. Ahi-dukuri—two women assistants who helped in distilling the wine.
g. Ina-no-mi-no-kami—a man porter whose duty was to carry the rice stalks.

XXVIII

8 GRAIN DEITIES *Mi-tosi no sume-gami-tati*

Modern reading: Mi-toshi no sume-gami-tachi.

The Sovereign Deities of the Grain seem to include all those deities who are in charge of the grain crop. The word *tosi,* which means 'year' in modern Japanese, here means 'grain,' particularly 'rice.'

I

9 GREAT EIGHT-ISLAND LAND *Oho-yasima-guni*

Modern reading: Ō-yashima-guni.

According to the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki, the eight major Japanese islands created by the godly couple Izanagi and Izanami; therefore, the land of Japan. (see also ISLANDS.)

IV XXVII XXVIII

10 GREAT EIGHT-ISLAND LAND OF THE PLENTIFUL REED PLAINS AND OF THE FRESH EARS OF GRAIN *Oho-yasima Toyo-asi-hara no Midu-ho no kuni*

Also: Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Ears of Grain *Toyo-asi-hara no Midu-ho no kuni*; Land of the Fresh Ears of Grain *Midu-ho no kuni.*

Modern reading: Ō-yashima Toyo-ashi-hara no Mizu-ho no kuni.

Eulogistic names for Japan. They appear also in the mythological sections of the Kojiki.

VIII X XII XXV XXVII XXVIII

GREAT NAKATOMI—see NAKATOMI

GREAT SOVEREIGN DEITY—see SOVEREIGN DEITY

11 HEAVENLY SHELTER, SUN-SHELTER *ame no mi-kage, hi no mi-kage*

A phrase frequently applied to a palace or shrine in which the Emperor or a deity is said to dwell. There have been many theories about its meaning:

a. 'a building covering the heavens, a building covering the sun.'

b. 'a shelter from the rain, a shelter from the sun.'

c. 'a place receiving the heavenly rays, the rays of the sun.'

Satow translates as: 'a shade from the heavens, a shade from the sun.'

I follow Kaneko in interpreting *ame no* and *hi no* as being eulogisms having no essential semantic relation to the word *mi-kage,* which means 'shade,' 'shelter,' 'ray,' 'shadow.' Both *ame no* and *hi no* have lost their original meanings and are used as formalized eulogistic modifiers. (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 356-361)

I II V VIII X XV XXV

12 HEAVENLY SHRINES, EARTHLY SHRINES *Ama-tu-yasiro kuni-tu-yasiro*

Modern reading: Ama-tsu-yashiro kuni-tsu-yashiro.

An expression meaning the sum total of all shrines which received government support. The term seems often to be used in the sense of 'the deities enshrined in the Heavenly Shrines and Earthly Shrines' —in other words, the enshrined deity and the shrine wherein enshrined were verbally confused.

The elements *ama-tu* 'heavenly' and *kuni-tu* 'earthly' are also found in the parallel phrases *ama-tu-kami* 'heavenly deities' and *kuni-tu-kami* 'earthly deities'; for this reason, the traditional interpretation has been: 'shrines wherein are enshrined heavenly deities and earthly deities.' Kaneko holds that in this case the elements *ama-tu* and *kuni-tu* are merely formal modifiers having no essential semantic relation to the word *yasiro* 'shrine'. (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 330-333)

I IV VII XIV

13 HEAVENLY SINS *ama-tu-tumi*

Modern reading: ama-tsu-tsumi.

The sins to be exorcised in the Great Exorcism are divided into Heavenly Sins *ama-tu-tumi* and Earthly Sins *kuni-tu-tumi* (q.v.) A similarity between the heavenly sins enumerated in the *norito* for the Great Exorcism and the various misdemeanors perpetrated by the god Susa-no-wo in Heaven has been noted; and the connection of these Heavenly Sins with agriculture has also been frequently remarked upon. A fairly new theory advanced by Kaneko is that the Heavenly Sins include many—such as causing ritual impurity by defecation—which are black magic practices. (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 446-459)

X

14 HEAVENLY SUN-LINEAGE *ama-tu-hi-tugi*

Modern reading: ama-tsu-hi-tsugi.

Eulogism for the Imperial lineage. Kaneko regards *ama-tu* and *hi* as mere formal modifiers having no essential semantic relation with *tugi* 'succession,' 'lineage.' (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 403-407)

VIII XXVIII

15 HIGH HEAVENLY PLAIN *Takama-no-hara*

The abode of the heavenly deities as distinguished from the visible world of men. "In Shinto, *ame* or Heaven is a lofty, sacred world, the home and dwelling place of the *Ama-tsu-kami* or Heavenly Gods. The word *Takama no Hara* is used eulogistically of it. . . *Takama no Hara* is the Upper World in a religious sense." *Basic Terms of Shinto,* p. 68.

I II V VI VII VIII X XII XIII XV XVIII XXII XXV XXVII XXVIII

16 IMIBE

Modern reading: Imube, Imbe.

One of the clan groups called *be* which in the ancient social system served the Court by practicing a definite occupation. This clan, dwelling in various localities throughout the country, practiced ritual abstinence (*imi, mono-imi*) and was in charge of preparing offerings and ritual paraphernalia and offering them to the deities.

These local clans were ruled by the Imibe clan (*uzi*), the family, claiming descent from the deity Ame-no-futo-tama-no-mikoto, which was in charge of making offerings in the Yamato Court—while the Nakatomi clan (q.v.) was in charge of reciting the *norito.* In the early ninth century AD the Imibe family was eclipsed by the Nakatomi family.

The Engi-shiki states that the *norito* of the Blessing of the Great Palace (VIII) and the Festival of the Gates (IX) were recited by the Imibe clan, and they figure also in various other *norito.*

I VII VIII XIV XX XXI

17 IMPERIAL PLANTATIONS *mi-agata*

Lands in the Home Provinces belonging directly to the Imperial Court,

where food for the Emperor's table was grown. There were six of them in these ancient locations: Taketi, Kaduraki, Tohoti, Siki, Yamanobe, and Sofu. The head of the plantation was called *agata-nusi*. Later, these plantations were established throughout the country. Each plantation was protected by a tutelary deity which was worshipped at different occasions throughout the year.

I III IV VII

18 ISLANDS *sima*

Modern reading: shima.

Although in modern Japanese *shima* means 'island,' anciently the word was more or less synonymous with *kuni* 'land.' Thus *sima* in the *norito* may always refer to a region or district, one not necessarily bounded by water. However, I have consistently translated the word here as 'island.'

I VII XII

19 KAMUBE

Modern reading: Kambe, Kōbe.

Groups of peasantry attached to certain lands the income of which was devoted to the support of a shrine.

XIX XXII

20 KUNI-NO-MIYATUKO

A title given to local rulers in the political system before the Taika Reform (645 AD). Some of these local rulers were the hereditary rulers of formerly independent regions which became possessions of the Yamato Court, while others were appointed and sent out by the central government.

The word literally means 'ruler of a land,' but the land *kuni* which they ruled was not as large as the *kuni* in the later administrative system, but corresponded more to the subsequent *kohori* 'county.'

The *kuni-no-miyatuko* of Idumo, after the Taika Reform, devoted themselves largely to religious matters. In the Divine Congratulatory Words of the Kuni-no-miyatuko of Idumo (XXVII) the *kuni-no-miyatuko* refers to himself as the *omi* of Idumo: *omi* was at this time a hereditary rank, while *kuni-no-miyatuko* was then a ceremonial office.

XXVII

LAND OF THE PLENTIFUL REED PLAINS AND OF THE FRESH EARS OF GRAIN—see GREAT EIGHT-ISLAND LAND OF THE PLENTIFUL REED PLAINS AND OF THE FRESH EARS OF GRAIN.

21 MOUNTAIN ENTRANCES *yama-no-kuti*

Modern reading: yama-no-kuchi.

Worship was paid to the deities of the Mountain Entrances of six mountains in the Yamato area: Asuka, Ihara, Osaka, Hatuse, Unebi, and Miminasi. The lumber used in palace construction was traditionally cut from these mountains.

I III VII

22 NAKATOMI

An ancient family, claiming descent from the deity Ame-no-ko-yane-no-mikoto, which served the Yamato Court in a priestly capacity together with the rival Imibe family (q.v.). Their duties were to recite the *norito*, and the Engi-shiki states—mistakenly—that all the *norito* in volume 8 except the two (VIII and IX) recited by the Imibe, were recited by the Nakatomi. In the early ninth century a quarrel developed between the Nakatomi and the Imibe, and the Nakatomi eventually won supremacy.

The Great Nakatomi *Oho-Nakatomi* evidently refers to the member of the family who officiated at ritual functions; thus it was no doubt the name of an office held by a single individual of the family rather than a family title.

X XIX XX XXI XXIII XXVIII

23 OHO-YAMATO-NEKO

Modern reading: Ō-yamato-neko.

Also: *Yamato-neko.*

A title belonging to the Emperor, meaning 'ruler of Great Yamato.' Does not necessarily refer to any one Emperor.

XXVIII

PLANTATIONS—see IMPERIAL PLANTATIONS.

24 PRAISES ARE FULFILLED *tatahe-goto wohe-maturu*

Modern reading: tatae-goto oe-matsuru.

A *norito* stock phrase, meaning literally, 'to complete, to exhaust the words of praise.' Used in various contexts to mean: 'to praise to the full,' 'to fulfill all the requirements of worship of,' 'to present to.'

25 PRIESTESSES

Usually *mi-kamunagi, kamunagi*. Women who serve the deities, more modernly called *miko*. The word *kamunagi* is believed to be derived from *kamu* 'deity' plus *nagi* 'pacification,' i.e., one who pacifies a deity. Various types are mentioned in the *norito*:

a. *oho-mi-kamunagi* 'High Priestess.' She was in charge of the worship of the eight protecting deities within the Imperial Court: Kami-musu-bi, Taka-mi-musu-bi, Iku-musu-bi, Taru-musu-bi, Tama-tume-musu-bi, Oho-miya-no-me, Oho-mi-ke-tu-kami, and Koto-siro-nusi.
   I VII

b. *Wigasuri no mi-kamunagi* 'Priestess of Wigasuri.' This priestess worshipped the deities who protected the land where the Palace was located: Iku-wi, Saku-wi, Tu-naga-wi, Asuha, and Hahiki.
   I VII

c. *Mi-kado no mi-kamunagi* 'Priestess of the Gates.' This priestess worshipped the protecting deities of the entrances to the Imperial Palace: Kusi-iha-mato-no-mikoto and Toyo-iha-mato-no-mikoto.
   I VII

d. *Iku-sima no mi-kamunagi* 'Priestess of Iku-sima.' The priestess who worshipped the deities of Iku-sima, the spirits of the entire land of Japan: Iku-kuni and Taru-kuni.
   I VII

e. *Ituki-no-hime-miko* 'The Consecrated Princess.' A virgin princess of the blood selected to serve as the High Priestess of the Grand Shrine of Ise. Her term of office lasted as long as the reign of the Emperor, and she retired at the end of the reign. She was purified by special rites for three years before going to assume her office in Ise.
   XXIII

26 PRIESTS

Various types of priests appear in the *norito*:

a. *kamu-dukasa* 'priest.' Appears only in the Miti-ahe no maturi and is believed to refer to the member of the Urabe (see

DIVINERS) family who was in charge of reciting this *norito.*
XIII

b. *kamu-nusi* (modern reading: kannushi) The person responsible for performing a certain ceremony of worship. "Literally, the head of those who serve a deity; one who, ranking above the *negi* and the *hafuri,* was in charge of everything concerned with divine worship." Tsugita, *Norito Shinkō,* p. 58. In early times *kamu-nusi* was not, as later, the name of a professional class of priests.
I II III IV V VI VII XIV

c. *kamu-nusi-be. be* is a clan of persons sharing the same occupation. Here, the priestly clan or class. Believed to be inclusive of *negi* and *uti-bito.*
XIX XXII

d. *hafuri* A professional class of priests. Etymology unclear; variously interpreted as 'slaughterers,' 'those who bury the dead,' 'prophets,' 'sleeve-flutterers,' 'exorcists.' The first two seem most plausible.
I III IV VII XIV

e. *mono-imi* Virgins—including some boys—remaining in a state of ritual abstinence (*imi*) who served the Sun-Goddess at Ise.
XIX XXII

f. *negi* A priestly rank in the Grand Shrine of Ise. Ranks above *uti-bito.*
XVIII XIX XXII

g. *uti-bito* (modern reading: uchindo) A priestly rank in the Grand Shrine of Ise. Ranks below *negi.*
XVIII XIX XXII

See also NAKATOMI, IMIBE, DIVINERS.

SIX PLANTATIONS—see IMPERIAL PLANTATIONS.

27 SOVEREIGN ANCESTRAL GODS AND GODDESSES *sume-mutu-kamurogi kamuromi*

Modern reading: sume-mutsu-kamurogi kamuromi.

Also: Ancestral Gods and Goddesses *mutu-kamurogi kamuromi.*

A term denoting two or more deities of the highest rank, often corresponding with Taka-mi-musu-bi and Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami, the ancestors of the Imperial House. In XXVII *kaburogi* 'the ancestral

god' is applied to Kusi-mi-ke-no-no-mikoto (i.e., Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto).

The element *sume* or *sube,* written with the Chinese character 皇, 'Imperial,' has been traditionally interpreted as connected with the verb *suberu* 'to rule,' 'to reign'; thus the usual English rendering as 'sovereign,' 'sovran.' Kaneko accepts Motowori's theory that *sume* is merely an honorific and is not necessarily connected with ruling or reigning. (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō,* p. 318-319)

The element *mutu* (modern reading: mutsu) is generally agreed to mean 'affectionate,' 'akin,' 'related,' therefore 'ancestral.' It is connected with modern Japanese *mutsumajii* 'harmonious,' 'intimate,' 'friendly.'

The elements *kamurogi kamuromi* are less clear etymologically. *kamu* is generally regarded as equivalent to the word *kami* 'deity', and the endings *-gi* and *-mi* are usually endings denoting, respectively, masculine and feminine, as in *Izanagi* and *Izanami. ro* is regarded as a word-building particle without independent meaning.

Kaneko agrees with Motowori in reading this term *sumera ga mutu-kamurogi kamuromi* 'The Emperor's ancestral gods and goddesses' instead of the more frequent *sume-mutu-kamurogi kamuromi* 'sovereign ancestral gods and goddesses.'

See also EMPEROR *Sumera.*

I VII VIII X XII XIV XV XXV XXVII XXVIII

SOVEREIGN DEITIES OF THE GRAIN—see GRAIN DEITIES

28 SOVEREIGN DEITY *sume-gami*

Also: Great Sovereign Deity *sume-oho-mi-kami.*

A eulogistic term applied to various deities.

For the meaning of the element *sume* 'sovereign' see SOVEREIGN ANCESTRAL GODS AND GODDESSES.

I II III IV V VI VII XIII XIV XVI XXI XXV XXVIII

29 SOVEREIGN GRANDCHILD *sume-mi-ma-no-mikoto*

A term referring to the Emperor. Originally applied to the god Hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto (or Ninigi-no-mikoto), the ancestor of the Imperial House. Emphasizes the lineal descendancy of the Emperor from his ancestors the Heavenly Deities.

For the meaning of the element *sume* 'sovereign' see SOVEREIGN

ANCESTRAL GODS AND GODDESSES.
See also EMPEROR *Sumera*.
I III IV VII VIII X XII XIII XIV XV XX XXI XXIII XXIV XXV XXVI XXVII XXVIII

30 THE SOVEREIGN GRANDCHILD WHO RULED THE GREAT EIGHT-ISLAND LAND IN SIKISIMA *Sikisima ni Oho-yasima-guni sirosisi sume-mi-ma-no-mikoto*

Traditionally believed to refer to Emperor Sujin (traditional dates of reign 97-30 BC), who is said to have had his palace in Siki (a place in present Nara prefecture). However, Emperor Kimmei (traditional dates of reign 539-571 AD) also reigned in a place called Sikisima. Kaneko regards Sikisima as meaning Yamato as a whole, and says that no particular single Emperor is referred to here. (cf. Kaneko, *Engi-shiki Norito Kō*, p. 386-391)
IV

SUMERA—see EMPEROR

31 TAMA-GUSI

Modern reading: tama-gushi.
A type of sacred implement held by an officiant. It consisted of a branch or sprig of a sacred tree to which strips of *yufu* (modern reading: yū) cloth (or modernly, strips of paper) have been attached. In modern days *tama-gusi* are offered when formal worship is paid to a deity, or preserved as amulets to which the spirit of a deity is expected to attach itself.
Here the phrase is *futo-tama-gusi* 'solemn tama-gusi.'
XIX XXII

32 TUKU-YOMI-NO-MIYA

Modern reading: Tsuku-yomi-no-miya.
A subsidiary shrine within the precincts of the Grand Shrine of Ise where the Moon Deity Tuku-yomi-no-mikoto is enshrined.
XIX XXII

URABE—see DIVINERS

33 WATER-PARTINGS *mi-kumari*

Believed to refer to the water-shed, the peak where the waters divide.

The deities of these peaks were worshipped as the tutelary deities of irrigation. Four mountain regions are mentioned as places of worship: Yosino, Uda, Tuke, and Kaduraki.
I VII

YAMATO-NEKO—see OHO-YAMATO-NEKO

34 YUKI AND SUKI

The regions chosen by divination for growing the rice to be used as sacred offerings in the Great First-fruits Festival.
See FUNCTIONARIES OF THE CEREMONIAL PADDY.
XXVIII

The Kojiki

Basil Hall Chamberlain

Global Grey ebooks

A TRANSLATION OF THE "KO-JI-KI,"

OR

"RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS."

(古 事 記)

BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN

1919

The Kojiki By Basil Hall Chamberlain.

This edition was created and published by Global Grey

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CONTENTS

Introduction

1. The Text And Its Authenticity, Together With Bibliographical Notes

2. Methods Of Translation

3. The "Chronicles Of Japan."

4. Manners And Customs Of The Early Japanese

5. Religious And Political Ideas Of The Early Japanese, Beginnings Of The Japanese Nation, And Credibility Of The National Records

VOLUME 1

Preface

Section 1. The Beginning Of Heaven And Earth

Section 2. The Seven Divine Generations

Section 3. The Island Of Onogoro

Section 4. Courtship Of The Deities The Male-Who-Invites And The Female Who-Invites

Section 5. Birth Of The Eight Islands

Section 6. Birth Of The Various Deities

Section 7. Retirement Of Her Augustness The Princess-Who-Invites

Section 8. The Slaying Of The Fire-Deity

Section 9. The Land Of Hades

Section 10. The Purification Of The August Person

Section 11. Investiture Of The Three Deities; The Illustrious August Children

Section 12. The Crying And Weeping Of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness

Section 13. The August Oath

Section 14. The August Declaration Of The Division Of The August Male Children And The August Female Children

Section 15. The August Ravages Of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness

Section 16. The Door Of The Heavenly Rock-Dwelling

Section 17. The August Expulsion Of His-Impetuous-Male-Augustness

Section 18. The Eight-Forked Serpent

Section 19. The Palace Of Suga

Section 20. The August Ancestors Of The Deity-Master-Of-The-Great Land

Section 21. The White Hare Of Inaba

Section 22. Mount Tema

Section 23. The Nether-Distant-Land

Section 24. The Wooing Of The Deity-Of-Eight-Thousand-Spears

Section 25. The Cup Pledge

Section 26. The Deities The August Descendants Of The Deity Master-Of-The-Great-Land

Section 27. The Little-Prince-The-Renowned-Deity

Section 28. The August-Luck-Spirit-The-August-Wondrous-Spirit

Section 29. The August Children Of The Great-Harvest-Deity And Of The Swift-Mountain-Deity

Section 30. The August Deliberation For Pacifying The Land

Section 31. The Heavenly-Young-Prince

Section 32. Abdication Of The Deity Master-Of-The-Great-Land

Section 33. The August Descent From Heaven Of His Augustness The August Grandchild

Section 34. The August Reign In Himuka Of His Augustness Prince Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty

Section 35. The Duchess Of Saru

Section 36. The Deity Prince Of Saruta At Azaka

Section 37. The Curse Of The Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor

Section 38. The August Child-Bearing Of Princess-Blossoming Brilliantly-Like-The-Flowers-Of-The-Trees

Section 39. The August Exchange Of Luck

Section 40. The Palace Of The Ocean-Possessor

Section 41. Submission Of His Augustness Fire-Shine

Section 42. The Parturition-House Of Cormorants' Feathers

Section 43. The August Children Of His Augustness Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely

VOLUME 2

Section 44. Reign Of The Emperor Jim-Mu (Part I.—His Progress Eastward, And Death Of His Elder Brother)

Section 45. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part II.—The Cross-Sword Sent Down From Heaven)

Section 46. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part III.—The Gigantic Crow And Gods With Tails)

Section 47. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part IV.—The Ukashi Brethren)

Section 48. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part V.—The Earth-Spider Of The Cave Of Osaka)

Section 49. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part. VI.—The Prince Of Tomi And The Shiki Brethren)

Section 50. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part VII.—The Empire Pacified)

Section 51. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part. VIII.—He Weds I-Suke-Yori-Hime)

Section 52. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part. IX—Troubles Which Followed His Decease)

Section 53. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part X.—Genealogies)

Section 54. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part XI.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 55. Emperor Sui-Zei

Section 56. Emperor An-Nei

Section 57. Emperor I-Toku

Section 58. Emperor Ko-Sho

Section 59. Emperor Koan

Section 60. Emperor Kō-Rei

Section 61. Emperor Kō-Gen

Section 62. Emperor Kai-Kuwa

Section 63. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part I.—Genealogies)

Section 64. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part II.—A Pestilence Is Staid By Oho-Tata-Ne-Ko)

Section 65. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part III: Story Of Oho-Tata-Ne-Ko's Birth)

Section 66. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part IV.—War With King Take-Hani-Yasu)

Section 67. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part V.—Peace Restored And Tribute Levied)

Section 68. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part VI.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 69. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part I.—Genealogies)

Section 70. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part II. Conspiracy Of King Saho-Biko And The Empress Saho-Bime)

Section 71. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part III.—Birth Of Prince Homu-Chi-Wake And Death Of The Conspirators)

Section 72. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part IV.—The Dumb Prince Homu-Chi-Wake)

Section 73. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part. V.—His Later Wives.)

Section 74. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part VI.—Taji-Mori Brings Back The Orange From The Eternal Land.)

Section 75. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part VII.—His Death And That Of The Empress Hibasu.)

Section 76. Empress Kei-Ko (Part I,—Genealogies)

Section 77. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part II.—The Maidens Ye-Hime And Oto-Hime)

Section 78. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part III. Various Deeds.)

Section 79. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part IV.—Yamato-Take Slays His Elder Brother)

Section 80. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part V.—Yamato-Take Slays The Kumaso Bravoes)

Section 81. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part VI.—Yamato-Take Slays The Idzumo Bravo)

Section 82. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part VII.—Yamato-Take Is Sent To Subdue The East, And Visits His Aunt At Ise)

Section 83. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part VIII.—Yamato-Take Slays The Rulers Of Sagamu.)

Section 84. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part IX.—Yamato-Take's Empress Stills The Waves.)

Section 85. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part X.—Yamato-Take Slays The Deity Of The Ashigara Pass.)

Section 86. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XI.—Yamato-Take Dwells In The Palace Of Sakawori.)

Section 87. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XII.—Yamato-Take Wooes Princess Miyazu)

Section 88. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XIII.—Yamato-Take Meets The Deity Of Mount Ibuki)

Section 89. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XIV.—The Death Of Yamato-Take)

Section 90. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XV.—Yamato-Take Turns Into A White Bird)

Section 91. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XVI.—Yamato-Take's Butler)

Section 92. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XVII.—Yamato-Take's Descendants)

Section 93. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XVIII. His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 94. Emperor Sei-Mu

Section 95. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part I.—Genealogies)

Section 96. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part II.—The Possession Of Korea Divinely Promised)

Section 97. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part III. Preparations For The Conquest Of Korea)

Section 98. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part IV.—The Empress Jin-Gō Conquers Korea)

Section 99. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part V.—The Empress Jin-Gō Fishes In Tsukushi)

Section 100. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part VI.—The Empress Jin-Gō Subdues Yamato)

Section 101. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part VIII.—The Heir Apparent Exchanges Names With The Great Deity Izasa-Wake)

Section 102. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part VIII.—The Empress Jin-Gō Presents Liquor To The Heir Apparent)

Section 103. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part IX.—His Death And That Of The Empress Jin-Gō)

Section 104. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part I.—Genealogies)

Section 105. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part II.—He Divides The Inheritance Between His Three Sons)

Section 106. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part III.—He Wooes Princess Miya-Nushi-Ya-Kaha-Ye)

Section 107. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part IV.—He Grants Princess Kaminaga To His Son Oho-Sazaki)

Section 108. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part V.—Songs Of The Territorial Owners Of Yeshinu)

Section 109. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part VI.—Various Deeds)

Section 110. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part VIII.—Tribute From Korea)

Section 111. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part VIII.—The Emperor Intoxicated)

Section 112. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part IX.—Troubles Which Followed His Decease)

Section 113. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part X.—Princes Oho-Sazaki And Uji-No-Waki-Iratsuko Cede The Empire To Each Other)

Section 114. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XI.—Ama-No-Hi-Boko Crosses Over To Japan)

Section 115. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XII.—Descendants Of Ama-No-Hi-Boko, And Treasures Brought By Him.)

Section 116. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XIII.—The Youth-Of-The-Glow-On-The-Autumn-Mountains And The Youth-Of-The-Haze-On-The-Spring-Mountains)

Section 117. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XVI.—Genealogies)

Section 118. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XV.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

VOLUME 3

Section 119. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part I.—Genealogies)

Section 120. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part II.—Various Deeds)

Section 121. Emperor Nin-Toku [Part III.—He Remits The Taxes)

Section 122. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part IV.—He Loves Princess Kuro)

Section 123. Emperor Nin-Toku Part V.—The Empress Retires To Yamashiro)

Section 124. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part VI.—He Follows The Empress Into Yamashiro)

Section 125. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part VIII.—He Loves Yata-No-Waki-Iratsume)

Section 126. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part VIII.—Death Of King Hayabusa-Wake And Queen Medori)

Section 127. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part VIII.—Queen Medori's Armlet)

Section 128. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part IX.—A Wild-Goose Lays An Egg)

Section 129. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part X.—A Vessel Is Made Into A Lute)

Section 130. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part XI.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 131. Emperor Ri-Chiu (Part I.—Genealogies)

Section 132. Emperor Ri-Chiu (Part II.—He Is Taken To Iso-No-Kami)

Section 133. Emperor.—Ri-Chiu (Part III.—His Rebellious Brother And The Latter's Retainer Sobakari Are Slain)

Section 134. Emperor Ri-Chiu (Part IV.—Various Deeds)

Section 135. Emperor Ri-Chiu (Part V.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 136. Emperor Han-Zei

Section 137. Emperor In-Giyō (Part I—Genealogies)

Section 138. Emperor In-Giyō (Part II.—His Sickness Is Cured By A Korean Physician)

Section 139. Emperor In-Giyō (Part III. He Rectifies The People's Names)

Section 140. Emperor In-Giyō (Part IV.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 141. Emperor In-Giyō (Part V.—Prince Karu Loves His Sister Princess So-Tohoshi)

Section 142. Emperor In-Giyō (Part VI.—War Between Prince Karu And Prince Anaho)

Section 143. Emperor In-Giyō (Part VII.—Death Of Prince Karu And Princess So-Tohoshi)

Section 144. Emperor An-Kō (Part I.—He Slays King Oho-Kusaka)

Section 145. Emperor An-Kō (Part II.—He Is Slain By King Ma-Yowa)

Section 146. Emperor An-Kō (Part III.—Prince Oho Hatsuse Slays Princes Kuro-Biko And Shiro-Biro)

Section 147. Emperor An-Kō (Part IV.—Death Of Prince Ma-Yowa And Of The Grandee Tsubura)

Section 148. Emperor An-Kō (Part V:—Prince Oho-Hatsuse Slays Prince Oshiha)

Section 149. Emperor An-Kō (Part VI.—Flight Of Princes Ohoke And Woke)

Section 150. Emperor Yū-Riyaku, (I.—Genealogies)

Section 151. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part II.—Various Deeds)

Section 152. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part III.—The Roof Of The House Of The Great Departmental Lord Of Shiki)

Section 153. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part IV.—He Wooes Princess Waka-Kusaka-Be)

Section 154. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part V.—Story Of The Woman Akawi-Ko)

Section 155. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part VI.—He Makes A Progress To Yeshinu)

Section 156. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part VII.—The Horse-Fly And The Dragon-Fly)

Section 157. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part VII.—Adventure With A Wild Boar)

Section 158. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part IX.—Revelation Of The Great Deity Of Kadzuraki, Lord Of One Word)

Section 159. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part X.—The Mound Of The Metal Spade)

Section 160. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part XI.—The Leaf In The Cup)

Section 161. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part XII.—Songs By The Emperor And Princess Wodo)

Section 162. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part XIII.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 163. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part I.—Search For A Successor To Him)

Section 164. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part II.—Princes Ohoke And Woke Are Discovered)

Section 165. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part III.—The Grandee Shibi)

Section 166. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part IV.—Prince Ohoke Cedes The Empire To Prince Woke)

Section 167. Emperor Ken-Zō (Part I.—The Old Woman Oki-Me)

Section 168. Emperor Ken-Zō (Part II.—He Slays The Boar-Herd)

Section 169. Emperor Ken-Zō (Part III.—The Emperor Yū-Riyaku's Mausoleum Is Disfigured)

Section 170. Emperor Ken-Zō (Part IV.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

Section 171. Emperor Nin-Ken

Section 172. Emperor Mu-Retsu

Section 173. Emperor Kei-Tai

Section 174. Emperor Kan-An

Section 175. Emperor Sen-Kuwa

Section 176. Emperor Kim-Mei

Section 177. Emperor Bi-Datsu

Section 178. Emperor Yōmei

Section 179. Emperor Su-Jun

Section 180. Empress Sui-Ko

INTRODUCTION

Of all the mass of Japanese literature, which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making, the most important Monument is the work entitled "*Ko-ji-ki*" or "Records of Ancient Matters," which was completed in A. D. 712. It is the most important because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language, [2] and the traditional history of Ancient Japan. Indeed it is the earliest authentic connected literary product of that large division of the human race which, has been variously denominated Turanian, Scythian and Altaic, and it even precedes by at least a century the most ancient extant literary compositions of non-Aryan India. Soon after the date of its compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture, and it is to these "Records" and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and the Shintō Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled in attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent.

It is of course not pretended that even these "Records" are untouched by Chinese influence: that influence is patent in the very characters with which the text is written. But the influence is less, and of another kind. If in the traditions preserved and in the customs alluded to we detect the Early Japanese in the act of borrowing from China and perhaps even from India, there is at least on our author's part no ostentatious decking out in Chinese trappings of what he believed to be original matter, after the fashion of the writers who immediately succeeded him. It is true that this abstinence on his part makes his compilation less pleasant to the ordinary native taste than that of subsequent historians, who put fine Chinese phrases into the mouths of emperors and heroes supposed to have lived before the time when .intercourse with China began. But the European student, who reads all such books, not as a pastime but in order to search for facts, will prefer the more genuine composition. It is also accorded the first place by the most learned of the native *literati*.

Of late years this paramount importance of the "Records of Ancient Matters" to investigators of Japanese subjects generally has become well-known to European scholars; and even versions of a few passages are to be found scattered through the pages of their writings. Thus Mr. Aston has given us, in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," a couple of interesting extracts; Mr. Satow has illustrated by occasional extracts his elaborate papers on the Shintō Rituals printed in these "Transactions," and a remarkable essay by Mr. Kempermann published in the Fourth [3] Number of the "Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens," though containing no actual translations, bases on the account given in the "Records" some conjectures regarding the *origines* of Japanese civilization which are fully substantiated by more minute research. All that has yet appeared in any European language does not, however, amount to one-twentieth part of the whole, and the most erroneous views of the style and scope of the book and its contents have found their way into popular works on Japan. It is hoped that the true nature of the book, and also the true nature of the traditions, customs, and ideas of the Early Japanese, will be made clearer by the present translation the object of which is to give the entire work in a continuous English version, and thus to furnish the European student with a text to quote from, or at least to use as a guide in consulting the original. The only object aimed at has been a rigid and literal conformity with the Japanese text. Fortunately for this endeavour (though less fortunately for the student), one of the difficulties which often beset the translator of an Oriental classic is absent in the present case. There is no beauty of style, to preserve some trace of which he may be tempted to sacrifice a certain amount of accuracy. The "Records" sound queer and bald in Japanese, as will be noticed further on, and it is therefore right, even from a stylistic point of view, that they should sound bald and queer in English. The only portions of the text which, from obvious reasons, refuse to lend themselves to translation into English after this fashion are the indecent portions. But it has been thought that there could be no objection to rendering them into Latin,—Latin as rigidly literal as is the English of the greater part.

After these preliminary remarks, it will be most convenient to take the several points which a study of the "Records" and the turning of them

into English suggest, and to consider the same one by one. These points are:

I.—Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes.
II.—Details concerning the Method of Translation.
III.—The "*Nihon-Gi*" or "Chronicles of Japan"
IV.—Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese.
[4] V.—Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese.
Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions.

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1. The Text And Its Authenticity, Together With Bibliographical Notes

The latter portion of the Preface to the "Records of Ancient Matters" is the only documentary authority for the origin of the work. It likewise explains its scope. But though in so doing the author descends to a more matter of fact style than the high-sounding Chinese phrases and elaborate allusions with which he had set forth, still his meaning may be found to lack somewhat of clearness, and it will be as well to have the facts put into language more intelligible to the European student. This having already been done by Mr. Satow in his paper on the "Revival of Pure Shintō," it will be best simply to quote his words. They are as follows: "The Emperor Temmu, at what portion of his reign is not mentioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had the records carefully examined, compared, and weeded of their faults. There happened to be in his household a person of marvellous memory named Hiyeda no Are, who could repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. Temmu Tennō took the pains to instruct this person in the genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages,' and to make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. 'Before the undertaking was completed,' which probably means before it could be committed to writing, the Emperor died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole depository of what afterwards received the title of *Kojiki* or *Furu-koto-bumi* as it is read by Motoori. At the end of this interval the Empress Gemmiō ordered [5] Yasumaro to write it down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the completion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months and a half. Are's age at this date is not stated, but as he was twenty-eight years of age some time in the reign of Temmu Tennō, it could not possibly have been more than sixty-eight, while taking into account the previous order of Temmu Tennō in 681 for the compilation of a history, and the statement that he was engaged on the composition of the Kojiki at the time of his death in 686, it would not be unreasonable

to conclude that it belongs to about the last year of his reign, in which case Are was only fifty-three in 711."

The previous order of the Emperor Temmu mentioned in the above extract is usually supposed to have resulted in the compilation of a history which was early lost. But Hirata gives reasons for supposing that this and the project of the "Records of Ancient Matters" were identical. If this opinion be accepted, the "Records," while the oldest *existing* Japanese book, are, not the third, but the second historical work of which mention has been preserved, one such having been compiled in the year 620, but lost in a fire in the year 645. It will thus be seen that it is rather hard to say whom we should designate as the author of the work. The Emperor Tem-mu, Hiyeda no Are, Yasumaro may all three lay claim to the title. The question, however, is of no importance to us, and the share taken by Are may well have been exaggerated in the telling. What seems to remain as the residue of fact is that the plan of a purely national history originated with the Emperor Temmu and was finally carried out under his successor by Yasumaro, one of the Court Nobles.

Fuller evidence and confirmatory evidence from other sources as to the origin of our "Records" would doubtless be very acceptable. But the very small number of readers and writers at that early date, and the almost simultaneous compilation of a history (the "Chronicles of Japan") which was better calculated to bit the taste of the age, make the absence of such evidence almost unavoidable. In any case, and only noticing in passing the fact that Japan was never till quite recent years noted for such wholesale literary forgeries (for Motowori's condemnation of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" has been considered rash by later scholars),—it cannot be too much emphasized that in this instance authenticity is sufficiently proved by internal evidence. It is hard to believe that any forger living later than the eighth century of our era should have been so well able to discard the Chinese "padding" to the old traditions, which after the acceptance by the Court of the "Chronicles of Japan," had come to be generally regarded as an integral portion of those very traditions; and it is more unlikely still that he should have invented a style so little calculated to bring his handiwork into repute. He would either have written in fair Chinese, like the mass of early Japanese prose writers (and his Preface shows that he could do so if he were so minded); or, if the tradition of there having been a history written in the native

tongue had reached him, he would have made his composition unmistakably Japanese in form by arranging consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations, after the fashion followed in the Rituals, and developed (apparently before the close of the ninth century) into what is technically known as the "Mixed Phonetic Style" (*Kana-mazhiri*), which has remained ever since as the most convenient vehicle for writing the language. As it is, his quasi-Chinese construction, which breaks down every now and then to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements. What however is simply incredible is that, if the supposed forger lived even only a hundred years later than A.D. 712, he should so well have imitated or divined the archaisms of that early period. For the eighth century of our era was a great turning point in the Japanese language, the Archaic Dialect being then replaced by the Classical; and as the Chinese language and literature were alone thenceforward considered worthy the student's attention, there was no means of keeping up an acquaintance with the diction of earlier reigns, neither do we find the poets of the time ever attempting to adorn their verse with obsolete phraseology. That was an affectation reserved for a later epoch, when the diffusion of books rendered it possible. The poets of the seventh, eighth. and ninth centuries apparently wrote as they spoke; and the test of language alone would almost allow of our arranging their compositions half century by half century, even without the dates which are given in many instances in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and in the "Collection of Songs [7] Ancient and Modern,"—the first two collections of poems published by imperial decree in the middle of the eighth, and at the commencement of the tenth, century respectively.

The above remarks are meant to apply more especially to the occasional Japanese words,—all of them Archaic,—which, as mentioned above, are used from time to time in the prose text of the "Records," to help out the author's meaning and to preserve names whose exact pronunciation he wished handed down. That he should have invented the Songs would be too monstrous a supposition for any one to entertain, even if we had not many of the same and other similar ones preserved in the pages of the "Chronicles of Japan," a work which was undoubtedly completed in A.D. 720. The history of the Japanese language is too well known to us, we

can trace its development and decay in too many documents reaching from the eighth century to the present time, for it to be possible to entertain the notion that the latest of these Songs, which have been handed down with minute care in a syllabic transcription, is posterior to the first half of the eighth century, while the majority must be ascribed to an earlier, though uncertain, date. If we refer the greater number of them in their present form to the sixth century, and allow a further antiquity of one or two centuries to others more ancient in sentiment and in grammatical usage, we shall probably be making a moderate estimate. It is an estimate, moreover, which obtains confirmation from the fact that the first notice we have of the use of writing in Japan dates from early in the fifth century; for it is natural to suppose that the Songs believed to have been composed by the gods and heroes of antiquity should have been among the first things to be written down, while the reverence in which they were held would in some cases cause them to be transcribed exactly as tradition had bequeathed them, even if unintelligible or nearly so, while in others the same feeling would lead to the correction of what were supposed to be errors or inelegancies. Finally it may be well to observe that the authenticity of the "Records" has never been doubted, though, as has already been stated, some of the native commentators have not hesitated to charge with spuriousness another of their esteemed ancient histories. Now it is unlikely [8] that, in the war which has been waged between the partisans of the "Records" and those of the "Chronicles," some flaw in the former's title to genuineness and to priority should not have been discovered and pointed out if it existed.

During the Middle Ages, when no native Japanese works were printed, and not many others excepting the Chinese Classics and Buddhist Scriptures, the "Records of Ancient Matters" remained in manuscript in the hands of the Shintō priesthood. They were first printed in the year 1644, at the time when, peace having been finally restored to the country and the taste for reading become diffused, the great mass of the native literature first began to emerge from the manuscript state. This very rare edition (which was reprinted in facsimile in 1798) is indispensable to any one who would make of the "Records" a special study. The next edition was by a Shintō priest, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, and appeared in 1687. It has marginal notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the "Old

Printed Edition" (舊印本), but has no title beyond that of the original work,—"Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings" (標頭古事記). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789-1822 by Motowori's great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" (古事記傳). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tōkyō possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (古訓古事記), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's *Kana* reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is [9] a misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (古事記標註), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic Character" (假名古事記) by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern *Kana* reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other departures from the actual text, as the *ipissima verba* of the original work; the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (校正古事記), by Uematsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (神法古事記), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern *Kana* reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be

characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of their country and naméd "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters," there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" (神代正語) by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled "*Tokiha-Gusa*" (神代正語常盤草) by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" (古史徵) and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (古史傳), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819,—works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable; the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" (稜威道別), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the [19] "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" (稜威語別), by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the "Chronicles the Examination of Difficult Words" (難語考, also entitled 山彦册子), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (日本書記通證), by Tanigaha Shisei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "*Kō Gan Shō*," (厚顏抄), a commentary on the Songs contained in the "Chronicles" and "Records" composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiū, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keichiū's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The "*Kō Gan Shō*" which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" (和名類聚鈔), the "Catalogue of Family Names" (姓氏錄), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's "*Tōga*" (東雅), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the

dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his "Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chimori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachibana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the unpublished portions Of the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and the "*Idzu no Katō-Waki*," works indispensable to the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the "Records." To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

[11] Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *Manyō-Gana*, *i.e.* entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms." But irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese *literati*, who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a

single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the "Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to [11] whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston in denying to this conjectural restoration the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the "Records.'

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2. METHODS OF TRANSLATION

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not any one's,—not even Motowori's—private and particular reading of it. For this reason none of the Honorifics, which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed, character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently be shown to have arisen from careless copying of characters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings occur, and has mentioned them in the Notes when they seemed of sufficient importance. In some few cases he has preferred a reading not approved by Motowori, but he always mentions Motowori's reading in a Foot-note.

The main body of the text contains but little to perplex any one who has made a special study of the early Japanese writings, and it has already been noticed that there is an admirable exegetical literature at the student's command. With the Songs embedded in the prose text the case is different, as some of them are among the most difficult things in the language, and the commentators frequently arrive at most discordant interpretations of the obscurer passages. In the present version particulars concerning each Song have, except in a very few cases where comment appeared superfluous, been given [13] in a Foot-note, the general sense being usually first indicated, the meaning of particular expressions then explained, and various opinions mentioned when they seemed worthy of notice. Besides one or two terms of Japanese grammar, the only technical knowledge with which the readers of the Notes are necessarily credited is that of the use by the Japanese poets of what have been styled Pillow-Words, Pivots, and Prefaces; and those Pillow-Words which are founded on a *jeu-de-mots* or are of doubtful

signification form, with the one exception mentioned below, the only case where anything contained in the original is omitted from the English version. After some consideration, it has been deemed advisable to print in an Appendix the Japanese text of all the Songs, transliterated into Roman. Students will thus find it easier to form their own opinion on the interpretation of doubtful passages. The importance likewise of these Songs, as the most ancient specimens of Altaic speech, makes it right to give them as much publicity as possible.

The text of the "Records" is, like many other Japanese texts, completely devoid of breaks corresponding to the chapters and paragraphs into which European works are divided. With the occasional exception of a pause after a catalogue of gods or princes, and of notes inserted in smaller type and generally containing genealogies or indicating the pronunciation of certain words, the whole story, prose and verse, runs on from beginning to end with no interruptions other than those marked by the conclusion of Vol. I and by the death of each emperor in Vols. II and III. Faithfulness however scarcely seems to demand more than this statement; for a similarly continuous printing of the English version would attain no end but that of making a very dry piece of reading more arduous still. Moreover there are certain traditional names by which the various episodes of the so-called "Divine Age" are known to the native scholars, and according to which the text of Vol. I may naturally be divided. The reigns of the emperors form a similar foundation for the analysis of Vols. II and III, which contain the account of the "Human Age." It has been thought that it would be well to mark such natural [14] divisions by the use of numbered Sections with marginal headings. The titles proposed by Motowori in the Prolegomena to his Commentary have been adopted with scarcely any alteration in the case of Vol. I. In Vols. II and III, where his sections mostly embrace the whole reign of an emperor, and the title given by him to each Section consists only of the name of the palace where each emperor is said to have resided, there is less advantage in following him; for those Sections are often inordinately long, and their titles occasionally misleading and always inconvenient for purposes of reference, as the Japanese emperors are commonly known, not by the names of their places of residence, but by their "canonical names." Motowori, as an ardent nationalist, of course rejected these "canonical names," because they were first applied to the Japanese

emperors at a comparatively late date in imitation of Chinese usage. But to a foreigner this need be no sufficient reason for discarding them. The Sections in the translation of Vols. II and III have therefore been obtained by breaking up the longer reigns into appropriate portions; and in such Sections, as also in the Foot-notes, the emperors are always mentioned by their "canonical names." The Vol. mentioned in brackets on every right-hand page is that of Motowori's Commentary which treats of the Section contained in that page.

The Notes translated from the original are indented, and are printed small when they are in small type in the Japanese text. Those only which give directions for pronouncing certain characters phonetically have been omitted, as they have no significance when the original tongue and method of writing are exchanged for foreign vehicles of thought and expression. The songs have likewise been indented for the sake of clearness, and each one printed as a separate paragraph. The occasionally unavoidable insertion in the translation of important words not occurring in the Japanese text has been indicated by [15] printing such words within square brackets. The translator's Notes, which figure at the bottom of each page, do not aim at anything more than the exegesis of the actual text. To illustrate its subject-matter from other sources, as Motowori does, and to enlarge on all the subjects connected with Japanese antiquity which are sometimes merely alluded to in a single phrase, would require several more volumes the size of this one, many years of labour on the part of the investigator, and an unusually large stock of patience on the reader's part. The Notes terminate with the death of the Emperor Kenzō, after which the text ceases to offer any interest, except as a comment on the genealogies given in the "Chronicles of Japan.'

Without forgetting the fact that so-called equivalent terms in two languages rarely quite cover each other, and that it may therefore be necessary in some cases to render one Japanese word by two or three different English words according to the context, the translator has striven to keep such diversity within the narrowest limits, as it tends to give a false impression of the original, implying that it possesses a versatility of thought which is indeed characteristic of Modern Europe, but not at all of Early Japan. With reference to this point a certain class of words must be mentioned, as the English translation is unavoidably

defective in their case, owing to the fact of our language not possessing sufficiently close synonyms for them. They are chiefly the names of titles, and are the following:—

Agata-no-atahe	Roughly	rendered	by:	*Departmental Suzerain.*
Agata-nushi	"	"	"	*Departmental Lord.*
Asomi (*Ason*)	"	"	"	*Court Noble.*
Atahe	"	"	"	*Suzerain.*
Hiko	"	"	"	*Prince.*
Hime	"	"	"	*Princess.*
Inaki	"	"	"	*Territorial Lord.*
Iratsuko	"	"	"	*Lord.*
Iratsume	"	"	"	*Lady.*
Kami	"	"	"	*Deity.*
Kimi	"	"	"	*Duke.*
Ma	"	"	"	*True.*
Miko (王)	"	"	"	*King.*
Mi Ko (御子)	"	"	"	*August Child.*[16]
Mikoto	"	"	"	*Augustness.*
Miyatsuko	"	"	"	*Ruler.*
Murazhi	"	"	"	*Chief.*

Omi	"	"	"	*Grandee.*
Sukune	"	"	"	*Noble.*
Wake (in the names of human beings)	"	"	"	*Lord.*

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as "Duke," "Suzerain" etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name." Where possible, indeed, the etymological meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus *omi* seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from *ohomi*, "great body"; and "grandee" is therefore the nearest English equivalent. Similarly *murazhi*, "chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe." On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of *wake* are extremely doubtful. *Hiko* and *hime* again, if they really come from *hi ko*, "sun-child" and *hi me*, "sun-female" (or "fire child" and "fire female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words "prince and princess," or "lord and lady,"—in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than "youth and maiden."

The four words *kami*, *ma*, *miko* and *mikoto* alone call for special notice; and *ma* may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific *mi*, rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character 眞, the translator renders it in English by "true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a [17] compound, *mi koto*, "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and "Highness," being suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of

clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: *Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto*, His Augustness Yamato-Take.

With regard to the title read *miko* by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a *young* prince is denoted by it, we find the characters 御子, "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of *infante*. But in other cases it is written with the single character 王 "King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as *miko* is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings" may have been kings indeed after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of "prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is 王, "King."

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest. Indeed there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If therefore it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word "deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for *kami*, and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper meaning of the word "*kami*" is "top," or "above"; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the *top* of the head,—not the hair on the face,—is so designated. Similarly the Government, in popular phraseology, is *O Kami*, literally "the honorably above"; and down to a few years ago *Kami* was the name of a certain titular [11] provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods." A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word *Kami* the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the

words "deity" and "god," with their very different associations. In using the word "deity," therefore; to translate the Japanese term *Kami* we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact *Kami* does not mean much more than "superior." This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word *Kami* itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed the treatment of Proper Names is always an embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what is a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has therefore first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place, and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name; or preserve the original name and thus fail to render the meaning,—a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance "*Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami*," the "Deity Master of the Great Land," is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty of the "Great Land," *i.e.* of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with. Again *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*, which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moor, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears,—of a Thousand [19] Autumns,—of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific *description* of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand it is plain that *Tema* was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases,—the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no

satisfactory solution possible. The translator may therefore merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number of instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-note when the translation has the name in English, and *vice versâ*, while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

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3. THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is indeed generally known, that the "Records of Ancient Matters" do not stand alone. To say nothing of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Age" whose genuineness is disputed, there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled *Nihon-Gi, i.e.*, "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the "Records," which it has always excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the 'Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyo.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpretending simplicity [20] of the elder word. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese,—in fact to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese phrases,—but the subject-matter is touched up, re-arranged, and polished, so as to make the work resemble a Chinese history so far as that was possible. Chinese philosophical speculations and moral precepts are intermingled with the cruder traditions that had descended from Japanese antiquity. Thus the naturalistic Japanese account of the creation is ushered in by a few sentences which trace the origin of all things to *Yin* and *Yang* (陰陽), the Passive and Active Essences of Chinese philosophy. The legendary Emperor Jim-mu is credited with speeches made up of quotations from the "*Yi Ching*," the "*Li Chi*," and other standard Chinese works. A few of the most childish of the national traditions are omitted, for instance the story of the "White Hare of Inaba," that of the gods obtaining counsel of a toad, and that of the hospitality which a speaking mouse extended to the deity Master-of-the Great-Land. Sometimes the original tradition is simply softened down or explained away. A notable instance of this occurs in the account of the visit of the deity Izanagi to Hades, whither he goes in quest of his dead wife, and among other things has to scale the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." In the tradition preserved in the "Records" and indeed even in the "Chronicles," this pass or hill is

mentioned as a literal geographical fact. But the compiler of the latter work, whose object it was to appear and to make his forefathers appear, as reasonable as a learned Chinese, acids a gloss to the effect that "One account says that the Even Hill of Hades is no distinct place, but simply the moment when breathing ceases at the time of death";—not a happy guess certainly, for this pass is mentioned in connection with Izanagi's return to the land of the living. In short we may say of this work what was said of the Septuagint,—that it *rationalizes*.

Perhaps it will be asked, how can it have come to pass [21] that a book in which the national traditions are thus unmistakably tampered with, and which is moreover written in Chinese instead of in the native tongue, has enjoyed such a much greater share of popularity than the more genuine work?

The answer lies on the surface: the concessions made to Chinese notions went far towards satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods. People are rarely quite logical in such matters, particularly in an early stage of society; and difficulties are glossed over rather than insisted upon. The beginning of the world, for instance, or, to use Japanese phraseology. the "separation of heaven and earth" took place a long time ago; and perhaps, although there could of course be no philosophical doubt as to the course of this event having been the interaction of the Passive and Active Essences, it might also somehow be true that Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male-Who-Invites" and the "Female-Who-Invites") were the progenitor and progenitrix of Japan. Who knows but what in them the formative principles may not have been embodied, represented, or figured forth after a fashion not quite determined, but none the less real? As a matter of fact, the two deities in question have often been spoken of in Japanese books under such designations as the "*Yin* Deity" and the "*Yang* Deity," and in his Chinese Preface the very compiler of these "Records" lends his sanction to the use of such phraseology, though, if we look closely at the part taken by the gods in the legend narrated in Sect. IV, it would seem but imperfectly applicable. If again early sovereigns, such as the Empress Jin-gō, address their troops in sentences cribbed from the "*Shu Ching*," or, like the Emperor Kei-kō, describe the Ainos in terms that would only suit the pages of a

Chinese topographer,—both these personages being supposed to have lived prior to the opening up of intercourse with the continent of Asia,—the anachronism was partly hidden by the fact of the work which thus recorded their doings being itself written in the Chinese language, where such phrases only sounded natural. In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native [22] one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shintō priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into desuetude. Whether indeed this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. The use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle for counting years, months, and days is another instance of the imported usage having become so thoroughly incorporated with native habits of mind as to make the anachronism of employing it when speaking of a period confessedly anterior to the introduction of continental civilization pass unnoticed. As for the (to a modern European) grotesque notion of pretending to give the precise months and days of events supposed to have occurred a thousand years before the date assigned to the introduction of astronomical instruments, of observatories, and even of the art of writing, that is another of those inconsistencies which, while lying on the very surface, yet so easily escape the uncritical Oriental mind. Semi-civilized people tire of asking questions, and to question antiquity, which fills so great a place in their thoughts, is the last thing that would occur to any of their learned men, whose mental attitude is characteristically represented by Confucius when he calls himself "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients." As regards the question of language, standard Chinese soon became easier to understand than Archaic Japanese, as the former [23] alone was taught in the schools and the native language changed rapidly during the century or two that followed the diffusion of the foreign tongue and civilization. We have only to call to mind the relative facility to most of ourselves of a Latin book and of one written in Early English. Of course, as soon as the principles of the Japanese *Renaissance* had taken hold of men's minds in

the eighteenth century, the more genuine, more national work assumed its proper place in the estimation of students. But the uncouthness of the style according to modern ideas, and the greater amount of explanation of all sorts that is required in order to make the "Records of Ancient Matters" intelligible, must always prevent them from attaining to the popularity of the sister history. Thus, though published almost simultaneously, the tendencies of the two works were very different, and their fate has differed accordingly.

To the European student the chief value of the "Chronicles of Japan" lies in the fact that their author, in treating of the so-called "Divine Age," often gives a number of various forms of the same legend under the heading of 'One account says," suffixed in the form of a note to the main text. No phrase is more commonly met with in later treatises on Japanese history than this,—"One account in the 'Chronicles of Japan' says," and it will be met with occasionally in the Foot-notes to the present translation. There are likewise instances of the author of the "Chronicles" having preserved, either in the text or in "One account," traditions omitted by the compiler of the "Records." Such are, for instance, the quaint legend invented to explain the fact that the sun and moon do not shine simultaneously, and the curious development of the legend of the expulsion of the deity [24] *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male"), telling us of the hospitality which was refused to him by the other gods when he appeared before them to beg for shelter. Many of the Songs, too, in the "Chronicles" are different from those in the "Records," and make a precious addition to our vocabulary of Archaic Japanese. The prose text, likewise, contains in the shape of notes, numbers of readings by which the pronunciation of words written ideographically, or the meaning of words written phonetically in the "Records" may be ascertained. Finally the "Chronicles" give us the annals of seventy-two years not comprised in the plan of the "Records," by carrying down to A.D. 700 the history which in the "Records" stops at the year 628. Although therefore it is a mistake to assert, as some have done, that the "Chronicles of Japan" must be placed at the head of all the Japanese historical works, their assistance can in no wise be dispensed with by the student of Japanese mythology and of the Japanese language.

4. Manners And Customs Of The Early Japanese

The Japanese of the mythical period, as pictured in the legends preserved by the compiler of the "Records of Ancient Matters," were a race who had long emerged from the savage state, and had attained to a high level of barbaric skill. The Stone Age was forgotten by them—or nearly so,—and the evidence points to their never having passed through a genuine Bronze Age, though the knowledge of bronze was at a later period introduced from the neighbouring continent. They used iron for [25] manufacturing spears, swords, and knives of various shapes, and likewise for the more peaceful purpose of making hooks wherewith to angle, or to fasten the doors of their huts. Their other warlike and hunting implements (besides traps and gins, which appear to have been used equally for catching beasts and birds and for destroying human enemies) were bows and elbow-pads,—the latter seemingly of skin, while special allusion is made to the fact that the arrows were feathered. Perhaps clubs should be added to the list. Of the bows and arrows, swords and knives, there is perpetual mention; but nowhere do we hear of the tools with which they were manufactured, and there is the same remarkable silence regarding such widely spread domestic implements as the saw and the axe, We hear, however, of the pestle and fire-drill, of the wedge, of the sickle, and of the shuttle used in weaving.

Navigation seems to have been in a very elementary stage. Indeed the art of sailing was, as we know from the classical literature of the country, but little practised in Japan even so late as the middle of the tenth century of our era subsequent to the general diffusion of Chinese civilization, though rowing and punting are often mentioned by the early poets. In one passage of the "Records" and in another of the "Chronicles," mention is made of a "two-forked boat" used on inland pools or lakes; but, as a rule, in the earlier portions of those works, we read only of people going to sea or being sent down from heaven in water-proof baskets without oars, and reaching their destination not through any efforts of their own, but through supernatural inter-position.

To what we should call towns or villages very little [26] reference is made anywhere in the "Records" or in that portion of the "Chronicles" which contains the account of the so-called "Divine Age." But from what we

learn incidentally, it would seem that the scanty population was chiefly distributed in small hamlets and isolated dwellings along the coast and up the course of the larger streams. Of house-building there is frequent mention,—especially of the building of palaces or temples for sovereigns or gods,—the words "palace" and "temple" being (it should be mentioned) represented in Japanese by the same term. Sometimes, in describing the construction of such a sacred dwelling, the author of the "Records," abandoning his usual fiat and monotonous style, soars away on poetic wings, as when, for instance, he tells how the monarch of Idzumo, on abdicating in favour of the Sun-Goddess's descendant, covenanted that the latter should "make stout his temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the plain of High Heaven." It must not, however, be inferred from such language that these so-called palaces and temples were of very gorgeous and imposing aspect. The more exact notices to be culled from the ancient Shintō Rituals (which are but little posterior to the "Records" and in no wise contradict the inferences to be drawn from the latter) having been already summarized by Mr. Satow, it may be as well to quote that gentleman's words. He says: "The palace of the Japanese sovereign was a wooden hut, with its pillars planted in the ground, instead of being erected upon broad fiat stories as in modern buildings. The whole frame-work, consisting of posts, beams, rafters, door-posts and window-frames, was tied together with cords made by twisting the long fibrous stems of climbing plants, such as Pueraria Thunbergiana (*kuzu*) and Wistaria Sinensis (*fuji*), The floor must have been low down, so that the occupants of the building, as they squatted or lay on their mats, were exposed to the stealthy attacks of venomous snakes, which were probably far more numerous in the earliest ages when the country was for the most part uncultivated, than at the present day . . . There seems some reason to think that the *yuka*, here translated floor, was originally nothing but a couch which ran round the sides of the hut, the rest [27] of the space being simply a mud-floor, and that the size of the couch was gradually increased until it occupied the whole interior. The rafters projected upward beyond the ridge-pole, crossing each other as is seen in the roofs of modem Shin-tau temples, whether their architecture be in conformity with early traditions (in which case all the rafters are so crossed) or modified in accordance with more advanced principles of construction, and the crossed rafters retained only as ornaments at the

two ends of the ridge. The roof was thatched, and perhaps had a gable at each end, with a hole to allow the smoke of the wood-fire to escape, so that it was possible for birds flying in and perching on the beams overhead, to defile the food, or the fire with which it was cooked." To this description it need only be added that fences were in use, and that the wooden doors, sometimes fastened by means of hooks, resembled those with which we are familiar in Europe rather than the sliding, screen-like doors of modem Japan. The windows seem to have been mere holes. Rugs of skins and rush matting were occasionally brought in to sit upon, and we even hear once or twice of "silk rugs" being used for the same purpose by the noble and wealthy.

The habits of personal cleanliness which so pleasantly distinguish the modern Japanese from their neighbours, in continental Asia, though less fully developed than at present, would seem to have existed in the germ in early times, as we read more than once of bathing in rivers, and are told of bathing-women being specially attached to the person of a certain imperial infant. Lustrations, too, formed part of the religious practices of the race. Latrines are mentioned several times. They would appear to have been situated away from the houses and to have generally been placed over a running stream, whence doubtless the name for latrine in the Archaic Dialect, *kaha-ya i.e.* "river house." A well-known Japanese classic of the tenth century. the "Yamato Tales," tells us indeed that "in older days the people dwelt in houses raised on platforms built out on the river Ikuta," and goes on to relate a story which presupposes such a method of architecture. A passage in the account of the reign of the Emperor Jim-mu which occurs both in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," and another in the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin occurring in the "Records" only, might be interpreted so as to support this statement. But both are extremely obscure, and beyond the fact that people who habitually lived near the water may have built their houses after the aquatic fashion practised in different parts of the world by certain savage tribes both ancient and modem, the present writer is not aware of any authority for the assertion that they actually did so except the isolated passage in the "Yamato Tales" just quoted.

A peculiar sort of dwelling-place which the two old histories bring prominently under our notice, is the so called "Parturition-house,"—a one-roomed hut without windows which a woman was expected to build

and retire into for the purpose of being delivered unseen. It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly-married couples retired into a specially built hut for the purpose [29] of consummating the marriage, and it is certain that for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.

Castles are not distinctly spoken of till a period which, though still mythical in the opinion of the present writer, coincides according to the received chronology with the first century B. C. We then first meet with the curious term "rice-castle," whose precise signification is a matter of dispute among the native commentators, but which, on comparison with Chinese descriptions of the Early Japanese, should probably be understood to mean a kind of palisade serving the purpose of a redoubt, behind which the warriors could ensconce themselves. If this conjecture be correct, we have here a good instance of a word, so to speak, moving upward with the march of civilization, the term, which formerly denoted something not much better than a fence, having later come to convey the idea of a stone castle.

To conclude the subject of dwelling-places, it should be stated that cave-dwellers are sometimes alluded to. The legend of the retirement of the Sun-Goddess into a cavern may possibly suggest to some the idea of an early period when such habitations were the normal abodes of the ancestors of the Japanese race. But at the time when the national traditions assumed their present shape, such a state of things had certainly quite passed away, if it ever existed, and only barbarous Ainos and rough bands of robbers are credited with the construction of such primitive retreats. Natural caves (it may be well to state) are rare in Japan, and the caves that are alluded to were mostly artificial, as may be gathered from the context.

The food of the Early Japanese consisted of fish and of the flesh of the wild creatures which fell by the hunter's arrow or were taken in the trapper's snare,—an animal diet with which Buddhist prohibitions had not yet interfered, as they began to do in early historical times. Rice is the only cereal of which there is such mention made as to place it beyond a doubt that its [30] cultivation dates back to time immemorial. Beans, millet, and barley are indeed named once, together with silkworms, in the account of the "Divine Age." But the passage has every aspect of an

interpolation in the legend, perhaps not dating back long before the time of the eighth century compiler. A few unimportant vegetables and fruits, of most of which there is but a single mention, will be found in the list of plants given below. The intoxicating liquor called *sake* was known in Japan during the mythical period and so were chopsticks for eating the food with. Cooking-pots and cups and dishes—the latter both of earthenware and of leaves of trees,—are also mentioned; but of the use of fire for warming purposes we hear nothing. Tables are named several times, but never in connection with food. They would seem to have been exclusively used for the purpose of presenting offerings on, and were probably quite small and low,—in fact rather trays than tables according to European ideas.

In the use of clothing and the specialization of garments the Early Japanese had reached a high level. We read in the most ancient legends of upper garments, skirts, trowsers, girdles, veils, and hats, while both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces, bracelets, and head-ornaments of stones considered precious,—in this respect offering a striking contrast to their descendants in modern times, of whose attire jewelry forms no part. The material of their clothes was hempen cloth and paper-mulberry bark, coloured by being rubbed with madder, and probably with woad and other tinctorial plants. All the garments, so far as we may judge, were woven, sewing being nowhere mentioned, and it being expressly stated by the Chinese commentator on the "*Shan Hai Ching*," who wrote early in the fourth century, that the Japanese had no needles. From the great place which the chase occupied in daily life we are led to suppose that skins also were used to make garments of. There is in the "Records" at least one passage which favours this supposition, and the "Chronicles" in one place mention the straw rain-coat and broad-brimmed hat, which still form the [31] Japanese peasant's effectual protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The tendrils of creeping plants served the purposes of string, and bound the warrior's sword round his waist. Combs are mentioned, and it is evident that much attention was devoted to the dressing of the hair. The men seem to have bound up their hair in two bunches, one on each side of the head, whilst the young boys tied theirs into a topknot, the unmarried girls let their locks hang down over their necks, and the married women dressed theirs after a fashion which apparently

combined the two last-named methods. There is no mention in any of the old books of cutting the hair or beard except in token of disgrace; neither do we gather that the sexes, but for this matter of the headdress, were distinguished by a diversity of apparel and ornamentation.

With regard to the precious stones mentioned above as having been used as ornaments for the head, neck, and arms, the texts themselves give us little or no information as to the identity of the stones meant to be referred to. Indeed it is plain (and the native commentators admit the fact) that a variety of Chinese characters properly denoting different sort of jewels were used indiscriminately by the early Japanese writers to represent the single native word *tama* which is the only one the language contains to denote any hard substance on which a special value is set, and which often refers chiefly to the rounded shape, so that it might in fact be translated by the word "bead" as fittingly as by the word "jewel." We know, however, from the specimens which have rewarded the labours of archaeological research in Japan that agate, crystal, glass, jade, serpentine, and steatite are the most usual materials, and carved and pierced cylindrical shapes (*maga-tama* and *kuda-tama*), the commonest forms.

The horse (which was ridden, but not driven), the barn-door fowl, and the cormorant used for fishing) are the only domesticated creatures mentioned in the earlier traditions, with the doubtful exception of the silkworm, to [32] which reference has already been made. In the later portions of the "Records" and "Chronicles," dogs and cattle are alluded to; but sheep, swine, and even cats were apparently not yet introduced. Indeed sheep were scarcely to be seen in Japan until a few years ago, goats are still almost unknown, and swine and all poultry excepting the barn-door fowl extremely uncommon.

The following enumeration of the animals and plants mentioned in the earlier portion of the "Records" may be of interest. The Japanese equivalents, some few of which are obsolete, are put in parenthesis, together with the Chinese characters used to write them:

MAMMALS.

Bear, (*kuma* 熊).
Boar, (*wi* 猪).

Deer, (*shika* 鹿).
Hare, (*usagi* 兎).
Horse, (uma 馬 and *koma* 駒).
Mouse or Rat (*nedzumi* 鼠).
"Sea-ass" [Seal or Sea-lion?] (*michi* 海鱸).
Whale, (*kujira* 鯨).

BIRDS.

Barndoor-fowl, (*kake* 鷄).
Cormorant, (*u* 鵜).
Crow or Raven, (*karasu* 烏).
Dotterel *or* Plover *or* Sand-piper, (*chidori* 千鳥).
Heron *or* Egret (*sagi* 鷺).
Kingfisher (*soni-dori* 翠鳥), *Nuye* (鵺).
Pheasant (*kigishi* 雉).
Snipe, (*shigi* 鴫).
Swan, (*shiro-tori* 白鳥)
Wild-duck, (*kamo* 鴨).
Wild-goose, (*kari* 鴈).

REPTILES.

Crocodile, (*wani* 鰐).
Tortoise (*kame* 龜).
Toad *or* Frog, (*taniguku*, written phonetically).
Serpent, (*worochi* 蛇).
Snake [smaller than the preceding], (*hemi* 蛇).

INSECTS.

Centipede, (*mukade* 蜈松).
Dragon-fly, (*akidzu* 蜻蛉).
Fly, (*hahi* 蠅).
Louse, (*shirami* 虱).
Silk-worm, (*kahiko* 蠶).
Wasp *or* Bee, (*hachi* 蜂).

FISHES, ETC.

Pagrus cardinalis [probably], (*aka-dahi* 赤鯛) [or perhaps the *Pagrus cardinalis* (*tai* 鯛) is intended.]
Perch [*Percalabrax japonicus*] (*su-dzuki* 鱸).
Beche-de-mer [genus *Pentacta*] (*ko* 海鼠).
Medusa, (*kurage*, written phonetically).

SHELLS.

Arca Subcrenata [?] (*hirabu-kahi*, written phonetically).
Cockle [*Arca Inflata*] (*kisa-gahi* 蜆貝).
Turbinidæ [a shell of the family] (*shitadami* 細螺).

PLANTS.

Ampelopsis serianæfolia [?] (*kaga-mi* 羅摩).
Aphanarthe aspera, (*muku*, written phonetically).
Aucuba japonica [probably] *aha-gi*, written phonetically).
Bamboo, (*take* 竹).
Bamboo-grass [*Bambusa chino*], (*sasa* 小竹).
Barley [or wheat?], (*mugi* 麥).
Beans [two kinds, viz., *Soja glycine* and *Phaselus radiatus* (the general name is *mame* 豆, that of the latter species in particular *adzuki* 小豆).
Bulrush [*Typha japonica*] (*kama* 蒲黃).
Bush-clover [*Lespedeza* of various species], (*hagi* 萩).
Camellia japonica (*tsuba-ki* 椿).
Cassia [Chinese mythical; or perhaps the native *Cercidiphyllum japonica*], (*katsura*, variously written).
Chamæcyparis obtusa, (*hi-no-ki* 檜)
Cleyera japonica [and another allied but undetermined species) (*saka-ki* 榊).
Clubmoss, (*hi-koge* 日景).
Cocculus thunbergi [probably] (*tsu-dzura* 黑葛).
Cryptomeria japonica, (*sugi* 杉).
Eulalia japonica (*kaya* 茅草).
Evonymus japonica, (*masa-ki* 眞賢木).
Ginger, [or perhaps the *Xanthoxylon* is intended] (*hazhikami* 薑).
Halocholoa macrantha [but it is not certain that this is the sea-weed intended] (*komo* 海苔).

Holly [or rather the *Olea aquifolium*, which closely resembles holly], (*hihira-gi* 柊).
Knot-grass [*Polygonum tinctorium*] (*awi* 藍).
Lily, (*sawi* written phonetically, *yamayuri-gusa* 山由理草, and *saki-kusa* 三枝草).
Madder. (*akane* 茜).
Millet [*Panicum italicum*], (*aha* 粟).
Moss, (*koke* 蘿).
Oak (two species, one evergreen and one deciduous,—*Quercus myrsinæfolia*, *Q. dentata* (*kashi* 白樫, *kashiwa* 柏).
Peach, (*momo* 桃).
Photinia glabra [?], (*soba*, written phonetically).
Pine-tree, (*matsu* 松).
Pueraria thumbergiana, (*kudzu* 葛).
Reed, (*ashi* 葦).
Rice, (*ine* 稻).
Sea-weed [or the original term may designate a particular species], (*me* 海布).
Sedge [*Scriptus marintimus*], (*suge* 菅).
Spindle-tree [*Evonymus radians*], (*masaki no kadzura* 眞柝蔓).
Vegetable Wax-tree [*Rhus succedanea*], (*hazhi* 櫨).
Vine, (*yebi-kadsura* 蔦蒲). p. xliv
Wild cherry [or birch?], (*hahaka* 朱櫻).
Wild chive [or rather the *allium* and *odorum*, which closely resembles it], (*ka-mira* 臭韮).
Winter-cherry [*Physalis alkekengi*] *aka-kagachi* written phonetically, also (*hohodzuki* 酸醬).

The later portions of the work furnish in addition the following:—

ANIMALS.

Cow (*ushi* 牛).
Dog, (*inu* 犬).
Crane, [genus *Grus*] (*tadzu* 鶴).
[35] Dove *or* Pigeon, (*hato* 鳩).
Grebe, (*niho-dori* 鸕鷀).
Lark, (*hibari* 雲雀).

Peregrine falcon, (*hayabusa* 隼).
Red-throated quail (*udzura* 鶉)
Tree-sparrow (*susume* 雀).
Wag-tail, [probably] (*mana-bashira*), written phonetically.
Wren, (*sazaki* 鷦鷯).
Dolphin, (*iruka* 入鹿魚).
Trout, [*Plecoglossus altivelis*] (*ayu* 年魚).
Tunny, [a kind of, viz. *Thynnus sibi*] (*shibi* 鮪).
Crab, (*kani* 蟹).
Horse-fly (*amu* 虻).
Oyster (*kaki*) 蠣.

PLANTS.

Alder [*Alnus maritima*] (*hari-no-ki* 榛).
Aralia (*mi-tsuna gashiwa* 御綱柏).
Brasenia peltata (*nunaha*) 蓴.
Cabbage [*brassica*] (*aona* 菘菜).
Catalpa Kaempfri [but some say the cherry is meant (*adzusa* 梓).
Chestnut (*kuri* 栗).
Dioscorea quinqueloba (*tokoro-dzura* 解葛).
Evonymus sieboldianus mayumi 木檀)
Gourd (*hisago* 瓢).
Hedysarum esculentum (*wogi* 荻).
Hydropyrum latifolium (*komo* 菰).
Kadzura japonica (*sen kadzura* 蕺).
Livistona sinensis (*aji-masa* 檳榔).
Lotus [*nelumbium*] (*hachisu* 蓮).
Musk-melon (*hozoahi* 熟瓜).
Oak, [three species, *Quercus serrata* (*kunugi* 櫪木) and *Q. glandifera* (*nara* 楢), both deciduous; *Q. gilva* (*ichihi* 赤樹) [evergreen].
Orange (*tachibana* 橘).
Podocarpus macrophylla (*maki* 檜).
Radish, [*Raphanus sativus*] (*oho-ne* 大根).
Sashibu (written phonetically) [not identified].
Water caltrop, [*Trapa bispinosa*] (*hishi* 菱).
Wild garlic [*Allium nipponicum*] (*nubiru* 野蒜).
Zelkowa keaki [probably] (*tsuki* 槻).

A few more are probably preserved in the names of places. Thus in Shinano, the name of a province, we seem to have the *shina* (*Tilia cordata*), and in Tadetsu the *tade* (*Polygonum japonicum*). But the identification in these cases is mostly uncertain. It must also be remembered that, as in the case of all non-scientific nomenclatures, several species, and occasionally even more than one genus, are included in a single Japanese term. The *chi-dori* (here always rendered "dotterel") is the name of any kind of sand-piper, plover or dotterel. *Kari* is a general name applied to geese, but not to all the species, and also to the great bustard. Again it should not be forgotten that there may have been, and probably were, in the application of some of these terms, differences of usage between the present day and eleven or twelve centuries ago. Absolute precision is therefore not attainable.

Noticeable in the above lists is the abundant mention of plant-names in a work which is in no ways occupied with botany. Equally noticeable is the absence of some of those which are most common at the present day, such as the tea-plant and the plum-tree, while of the orange we are specially informed that it was introduced from abroad. The difference between the various stones and metals seems, on the other hand, to have attracted [36] very little attention from the Early Japanese. In late times the chief metals were named mostly according to their colour, as follows:

Yellow metal	(gold).
White metal	(silver).
Red metal	(copper).
Black metal	(iron).
Chinese (or Korean) metal	(bronze).

But in the "Records" the only metal of which it is implied that it was in use from time immemorial is iron, while "various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards," are only referred to once as existing in the far-western land of Korea. Red clay is the sole kind of earth specially named.

Black.
Blue (including Green).
Red.
Piebald (of horses).
White.

Yellow is not mentioned (except in the foreign Chinese phrase "the Yellow Stream," signifying Hades, and not to be counted in this context), neither are any of the numerous terms which in Modem Japanese serve to distinguish delicate shades of colour. We hear of the "blue (or green) (*i.e.* black) clouds" and also of the "blue (or green), sea"; but the "blue sky" is conspicuous by its absence here as in so many other early literatures, though strangely enough it does occur in the oldest written monuments of the Chinese.

With regard to the subject of names for the different degrees of relationship,—a subject of sufficient interest to the student of sociology to warrant its being discussed at some length,—it may be stated that in modern Japanese parlance the categories according to which relationship is conceived of do not materially differ from those that are current in Europe. Thus we find father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, nephew. stepfather, stepson, father-in-law, and the corresponding terms for females,—mother, grandmother etc.,—as well as such vaguer designations as parents, ancestors, cousins, and kinsmen, The only striking difference is that brothers and sisters, instead of being considered as all mutually related in the same manner, are divided into two categories, viz:

Ani	兄	elder brother(s),
Otouto	弟	younger brother(s),
Ane	姉	elder sister(s),
Imouto	妹	younger sister(s).

in exact accordance with Chinese usage.

Now in Archaic times there seems to have been a different and more complicated system, somewhat resembling that which still obtains among the natives of Korea, and which the introduction of Chinese ideas and especially the use of the Chinese written characters must have caused to be afterwards abandoned. There are indications of it in some of the phonetically written fragments of the "Records." But they are not of themselves sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation, and the subject has puzzled the native *literati* themselves. Moreover the English language fails us at this point, and elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister are the only terms at the translator's command. It may therefore be as well to quote *in extenso* Motowori's elucidation of the Archaic usage to be found in vol. XIII, p. 63-4 of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters." He says: "Anciently, when brothers and sisters were spoken of, the elder brother was called *se* or *ani* in contradistinction to the younger brothers and younger sisters, and the younger brother also was called *se* in contradistinction to the elder sister. The elder sister was called *ane* in contradistinction to the younger sister, and the younger brother also would use the word *ane* in speaking of his elder sister himself. The younger brother was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the younger sister also was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder sister. The younger sister was called *imo* in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the elder sister also was called *imo* in [38] contradistinction to the younger brother. It was also the custom among brothers and sisters to use the words *iro-se* for *se*, *iro-ne* for *ane*, and *iro-do* for *oto*, and analogy forces us to conclude that *iro-mo* was used for *imo*." (Motowori elsewhere explains *iro* as a term of endearment identical with the word *iro*, "love"; but we may hesitate to accept this view.) It will be observed that the foundation of this system of nomenclature was a subordination of the younger to the elder-born modified by a subordination of the females to the males. In the East, especially in primitive times, it is not "*Place aux dames*," but "*Place aux messieurs*."

Another important point to notice is that, though in a few passages of the "Records" we find a distinction drawn between the chief and the secondary wives, perhaps nothing more than the favorite or better-born, and the less well-born, are meant to be thus designated,—yet not only is this distinction not drawn throughout, but the wife is constantly spoken

of as *imo*, *i.e.* "younger sister." It fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas; and what in a later stage of Japanese, as of Western, civilization is abhorred as incest was in Archaic Japanese times the common practice. We also hear of marriages with half-sisters, with stepmothers, and with aunts; and to wed two or three sisters at the same time was a recognized usage. Most such unions were naturally so contrary to Chinese ethical ideas, that one of the first traces of the influence of the latter in Japan was the stigmatizing of them as incest; and the conflict between the old native custom and the imported moral code is seen to have resulted in political troubles. Marriage with sisters was naturally the first to disappear, and indeed it is only mentioned in the legends of the gods; but unions with half-sisters, aunts, etc., lasted on into the historic epoch. Of exogamy, such as obtains in China, there is no trace in any Japanese document, nor do any other artificial impediments seem to have stood in the way of the free choice of the Early Japanese man, who also (in some cases at least) received a dowry with his bride or brides.

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If, taking as our guides the incidental notices which are scattered up and down the pages of the earlier [39] portion of the "Records" we endeavour to follow an Archaic Japanese through the chief events of his life from the cradle to the tomb, it will be necessary to begin by recalling what has already been alluded to as the 'parturition-house' built by the mother, and in which, as we are specially told that it was made windowless, it would perhaps be contradictory to say that the infant first saw the light. Soon after birth a name was given to it,—given to it by the mother,—such name generally containing some appropriate personal reference. In the most ancient times each person (so far as we can judge) bore but one name, or rather one string of words compounded together into a sort of personal designation. But already at the dawn of the historical epoch we are met by the mention of surnames and of what, in the absence of a more fitting word, the translator has ventured to call "gentile names," bestowed by the sovereign as a recompense for some noteworthy deed.

It may be gathered from our text that the idea of calling in the services of wet-nurses in exceptional case had already suggested itself to the minds of the ruling class, whose infants were likewise sometimes attended by

special bathing-women. To what we should call education, whether mental or physical, there is absolutely no reference made in the histories. All that can be inferred is that, when old enough to do so, the boys began to follow one of the callings of hunter or fisherman, while the girls staid at home weaving the garments of the family. There was also a great deal of fighting, generally of a treacherous kind, in the intervals of which the warriors occupied themselves in cultivating patches of ground. The very little which is to be gathered concerning the treatment of old people would seem to indicate that they were well cared for.

We are nowhere told of any wedding ceremonies except the giving of presents by the bride or her father, the probable reason being that no such ceremonies [40] existed. Indeed late on into the Middle Age cohabitation alone constituted matrimony,—cohabitation often secret at first, but afterwards acknowledged, when, instead of going round under cover of night to visit his mistress, the young man brought her back publicly to his parents' house. Mistress, wife, and concubine were thus terms which were not distinguished, and the woman could naturally be discarded at any moment. She indeed was expected to remain faithful to the man with whom she had had more than a passing intimacy, but no reciprocal obligation bound him to her. Thus the wife of one of the gods is made to address her husband in a poem which says:

"Thou . . . indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But I, alas! being a woman, have no spouse except thee," etc., etc.

In this sombre picture the only graceful touch is the custom which lovers or spouses had of tieing each other's girdles when about to part for a time,—a ceremony by which they implied that they would be constant to each other during the period of absence. What became of the children in cases of conjugal separation does not clearly appear. In the only instance which is related at length, we find the child left with the father; but this instance is not a normal one. Adoption is not mentioned in the earliest traditions; so that when we meet with it later on we shall probably be justified in tracing its introduction to Chinese sources.

Of death-bed scenes and dying speeches we hear but little, and that little need not detain us. The burial rites are more important. The various

ceremonies observed on such an occasion are indeed not explicitly detailed. But we gather thus much: that the hut tenanted by the deceased was abandoned,—an ancient custom to whose former existence the removal of the capital at the commencement of each reign long [41] continued to bear witness,—and that the body was first deposited for some days in a "mourning-house," during which interval the survivors (though their tears and lamentations are also mentioned) held a carousal, feasting perhaps on the food which was specially prepared as an offering to the dead person. Afterwards, the corpse was interred, presumably in a wooden bier, as the introduction of stone tombs is specially noted by the historian as having taken place at the end of the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin, and was therefore believed by those who handed down the legendary history to have been a comparatively recent innovation, the date assigned to this monarch by the author of the "Chronicles" coinciding with the latter part of our first, and the first half of our second centuries. To a time not long anterior is attributed the abolition of a custom previously observed at the interments of royal personages. This custom was the burying alive of some of their retainers in the neighbourhood of the tomb. We know also, both from other early literary sources and from the finds which have recently rewarded the labours of archaeologists, that articles of Clothing, ornaments, etc., were buried with the corpse. it is all the more curious that the "Records" should nowhere make any reference to such a custom, and is a proof (if any be needed) of the necessity of not relying exclusively on any single authority, however respectable, if the full and true picture of Japanese antiquity is to be restored. A few details as to the abolition of the custom of burying retainers alive round their master's tomb, and of the substitution for this cruel holocaust of images in clay will be found in Sect. LXIII, Note 23, and in Sect. LXXV, Note 4, of the following translation. If the custom be one which is properly included under the heading of human sacrifices, it is the only form of such sacrifices of which the earliest recorded Japanese social state retained any trace. The absence of slavery is another honourable feature. On the other hand, the most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrongdoers. Their nails were extracted, the sinews of their knees were cut, they were buried up to the neck so that their eyes burst, etc. Death, too, was inflicted for the [42] most trivial offences. Of branding, or rather tattooing, the face as a punishment there are one or two incidental

mentions. But as no tattooing or other marking or painting of the body for any other purpose is ever alluded to, with the solitary exception in one passage of the painting of her eyebrows by a woman, it is possible that the penal use of tattooing may have been borrowed from the Chinese, to whom it was not unknown.

The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the "Records" bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. It is true that decency, as we understand it, is a very modern product, and is not to be looked for in any society in the barbarous stage. At the same time, the whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naïve filthiness of the passage forming Sect. IV of the following translation, or to the extraordinary topic which the hero Yamato-Take and his mistress Miyazu are made to select as the theme of poetical repartee. One passage likewise would lead us to suppose that the most beastly crimes were commonly committed.

To conclude this portion of the subject, it may be useful for the sake of comparison to call attention to a few arts and products with which the early Japanese were *not* acquainted, Thus they had no tea, no fans, no porcelain, no lacquer,—none of the things, in fact, by which in later times they have been chiefly known. They did not yet use vehicles of any kind. They had no accurate method of computing time, no money, scarcely any knowledge of medicine. Neither, though they possessed some sort of music, and poems a few of which at least are not without merit, do we hear anything of the art of drawing. But the most important art of which they were ignorant is that of writing. As some misapprehension has existed on this head, and scholars in [43] Europe have been misled by the inventions of zealous champions of the Shintō religion into a belief in the so-called "Divine Characters," by them alleged to have been invented by the Japanese gods and to have been used by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese ideographic writing, it must be stated precisely that all the traditions of the "Divine Age," and of the reigns of the earlier Emperors down to the third century of our era according to the received chronology, maintain a complete silence on the subject of writing materials, and records of every kind. Books are nowhere mentioned till a period confessedly posterior to the opening up of intercourse with the Asiatic continent, and the first books whose names occur are the "Lun Yü" and the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên," which are said

to have been brought over to Japan during the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin,—according to the same chronology in the year 284 after Christ. That even this statement is antedated, is shown by the fact that the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên," was not written till more than two centuries later,—a fact which is worthy the attention of those who have been disposed simply to take on trust the assertions of the Japanese historians. It should likewise be mentioned that, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Aston, the Japanese terms *fumi* "written document," and *fude* "pen," are probably corruptions of foreign words. The present, indeed, is not the [44] place to discuss the whole question of the so-called "Divine Characters" which Motowori, the most patriotic as well as the most learned of the Japanese literati, dismisses in a note to the Prolegomena of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" with the remark that they "are a late forgery over which no words need be wasted." But as this mare's nest has been imported into the discussion of the Early Japanese social state, and as the point is one on which the absolute silence of the early traditions bears such clear testimony, it was impossible to pass it by without some brief allusion.

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5. Religious And Political Ideas Of The Early Japanese, Beginnings Of The Japanese Nation, And Credibility Of The National Records

The religious beliefs of the modern upholders of Shintō may be ascertained without much difficulty by a perusal of the works of the leaders of the movement which has endeavoured during the last century and a half to destroy the influence of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophy, and which has latterly succeeded to some extent in supplanting those two foreign systems. But in Japan, as elsewhere, it has been impossible for men really to turn back a thousand years In religious thought and act; and when we try to discover the primitive opinions that were entertained by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese culture, we are met by difficulties that at first seem insuperable. The documents are scanty, and the modern commentaries untrustworthy, for they are all written under the influence of a preconceived opinion. Moreover, the problem is apparently complicated by a mixture of races and mythologies, and by a filtering in of Chinese ideas previous to the compilation of documents of any sort, though these are considerations which have hitherto scarcely been taken into account by foreigners, and are designedly neglected and obscured by such narrowly patriotic native writers as Motowori and Hirata.

In the political field the difficulties are not less, but [45] rather greater; for when once the Imperial house and the centralized Japanese polity, as we know it from the sixth or seventh century of our era downwards, became fully established, it was but too clearly in the interest of the powers that be to efface as far as possible the trace of different government arrangements which may have preceded them, and to cause it to be believed that, as things were then, so had they always been. The Emperor Tem-mu, with his anxiety to amend "the deviations from truth and the empty falsehoods" of the historical documents preserved by the various families, and the author of the "Chronicles of Japan" with his elaborate system of fictitious dates, recur to our minds, and we ask ourselves to what extent similar garblings of history,—sometimes unintentional,—may have gone on during earlier ages, when there was even less to check them than there was in the eighth century. If,

therefore, the translator here gives expression to a few opinions founded chiefly on a careful study of the text of the "Records of Ancient Matters" helped out by a study of the "Chronicles of Japan," he would be understood to do so with great diffidence, especially with regard to his few (so to speak) constructive remarks. As to the destructive side of the criticism, there need be less hesitation; for the old histories bear evidence too conclusively against themselves for it to be possible for the earlier portions of them, at least, to stand the test of sober investigation. Before endeavouring to piece together the little that is found in the "Records" to illustrate the beliefs of Archaic Japanese times, it will be necessary, at the risk of dullness, to give a summary of the old traditions as they lie before us in their entirety, after which will be hazarded a few speculations on the subject of the earlier tribes which combined to form the Japanese people; for the four questions of religious beliefs, of political arrangements, of race, and of the credibility of documents, all hang closely together and, properly speaking, form but one highly complex problem.

Greatly condensed, the Early Japanese traditions amount to this: After an indefinitely long period, during which were born a number of abstract deities, who are differently enumerated in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," two of these deities, a brother and sister named Izanagi and Izanami (*i.e.*, the "Male who Invites" and the "Female Who Invites"), are united in marriage, and give birth to the various islands of the Japanese archipelago. When they have finished producing islands, they proceed to the production of a large number of gods and goddesses, many of whom correspond to what we should call personifications of the powers of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptations, is foreign to the Japanese mind. The birth of the Fire-God causes Izanami's death, and the most striking episode of the whole mythology then ensues, when her husband, Orpheus-like, visits her in the under-world to implore her to return to him. She would willingly do so, and bids him wait while she consults with the deities of the place. But he, impatient at her long tarrying, breaks off one of the end-teeth of the comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, lights it and goes in, only to find her a hideous mass of corruption, in whose midst are seated the eight Gods of Thunder. This episode ends with the deification of [58] three peaches who had assisted him in his retreat before the

armies of the under-world, and with bitter words exchanged between him and his wife, who herself pursues him as far as the "Even Pass of Hades."

Returning to Himuka in south-western Japan, Izanagi purifies himself by bathing in a stream, and, as he does so, fresh deities are born from each article of clothing that he throws down on the river-bank, and from each part of his person. One of these deities was the Sun-Goddess, who was born from his left eye, while the Moon-God sprang from his right eye, and the last born of all, Susa-no-Wo, whose name the translator renders by "the Impetuous Male," was born from his nose. Between these three children their father divides the inheritance of the universe.

At this point the story loses its unity. The Moon-God is no more heard of, and the traditions concerning the Sun-Goddess and those concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" diverge in a manner which is productive of inconsistencies in the remainder of the mythology. The Sun-Goddess and the "Impetuous Male Deity" have a violent quarrel, and at last the latter breaks a hole in the roof of the hall in Heaven where his sister is sitting at work with the celestial weaving-maidens, and through it lets fall "a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The consequences of this act were so disastrous, that the Sun-Goddess withdrew for a season into a cave, from which the rest of the eight hundred myriad (according to the "Chronicles" eighty myriad) deities with difficulty allured her. The "Impetuous Male Deity" was thereupon banished, and the Sun-Goddess remained mistress of the field. Yet, strange to say, she thenceforward retires into the background, and the most bulky section of the mythology consists of stories concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" and his descendants, who are represented as the monarchs of Japan, or rather of the province of Idzumo. The "Impetuous Male Deity" himself, whom his father had charged with the dominion of the sea, never assumes that rule, but first has a curiously told amorous adventure and an encounter with an eight-forked serpent in Idzumo, and afterwards reappears as the capricious and filthy deity of Hades, who however seems to retain some power over the land of the living, as he invests his descendant of the sixth generation with the sovereignty of Japan. Of this latter personage a whole cycle of stories is told, all centering in Idzumo. We learn of his conversations with a hare and with a mouse, of the prowess and cleverness which he displayed on the

occasion of a visit to his ancestor in Hades, which is in this cycle of traditions a much less mysterious place than the Hades visited by Izanagi, of his amours, of his triumph over his eighty brethren, of his reconciliation with his jealous empress, and of his numerous descendants, many of whom have names that are particularly difficult of comprehension. We hear too in a tradition, which ends in a pointless manner, of a microscopic deity who comes across the sea to ask this monarch of Idzumo to share the sovereignty with him.

This last-mentioned legend repeats itself in the sequel. The Sun-Goddess, who on her second appearance is constantly represented as acting in concert with the "High August Producing Wondrous Deity,"—one of the abstractions mentioned at the commencement of the "Records,"—resolves to bestow the sovereignty of Japan on a child of whom it is doubtful whether he were hers or that of her brother the "Impetuous Male Deity." Three embassies are sent from Heaven to Idzumo to arrange matters, but it is only a fourth that is successful, the final ambassadors obtaining the submission of the monarch [48] or deity of Idzumo, who surrenders his sovereignty and promises to serve the new dynasty (apparently in the under-world), if a palace or temple be built for him and he be appropriately worshipped. Thereupon the child of the deity whom the Sun-Goddess had originally wished to make sovereign of Japan, descends to earth,—not to Idzumo in the north-west, be it mentioned, as the logical sequence of the story would lead one to expect,—but to the peak of a mountain in the south-western island of Kiushiu.

Here follows a quaint tale accounting for the old appearance of the bèche-le-mer, and another to account for the shortness of the lives of mortals, after which we are told of the birth under peculiar circumstances of the heaven-descended deity's three sons. Two of these, Ho-deri and Howori, whose names may be Englished as "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Subside," are the heroes of a very curious legend, which includes an elaborate account of a visit paid by the latter to the palace of the God of Ocean, and of a curse or spell which gained for him the victory over his elder brother, and enabled him to dwell peacefully in his palace at Takachiho for the space of five hundred and eighty years,—the first statement resembling a date which the "Records" contain. This personage's son married his own aunt, and was the father of four

children, one of whom "treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land," while a second "went into the sea plain," and the two others moved eastward, fighting with the chiefs of Kibi and Yamato, having adventures with gods both with and without tails, being assisted by a miraculous sword and a gigantic crow, and naming the various places they passed through after incidents in their own career, as "the Impetuous Male" and other divine personages had done before them. One of these brothers was Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko, who (the other having died before him) was first given the title of Jim-mu Ten-no more than fourteen, centuries after the date which in the "Chronicles" is assigned as that of his decease.

Henceforth Yamato, which had scarcely been mentioned before, and the provinces adjacent to it become the centre of the story, and Idzumo again emerges into importance. A very indecent love-tale forms a bridge which unites the two fragments of the mythology; and the "Great Deity of Miwa," who is identified with the deposed monarch of Idzumo, appears on the scene. Indeed during the rest of the story this "Great Deity of Miwa," and [49] his colleague the "Small August Deity" (Sukuna-Mi-Kami), the deity Izasa-Wake, the three Water-Gods of Sumi, and the "Great Deity of Kadzuraki," of whom there is so striking a mention in Sect. CLVIII, form, with the Sun-Goddess and with a certain divine sword preserved at the temple of Isonokami in Yamato, the only objects of worship specially named, the other gods and goddesses being no more heard of. This portion of the story is closed by an account of the troubles which inaugurated the reign of Jim-mu's successor, Sui-sei, and then occurs a blank of (according to the accepted chronology) five hundred years, during which absolutely nothing is told us excepting dreary genealogies, the place where each sovereign dwelt and where he was buried, and the age to which he lived,—this after the minute details which had previously been given concerning the successive gods or monarchs down to Sui-sei inclusive. It should likewise be noted that the average age of the first seventeen monarchs (counting Jim-mu Ten-nō as the first according to received ideas) is nearly 96 years if we follow the "Records," and over a hundred if we follow the accepted chronology which is based chiefly on the constantly divergent statements contained in the "Chronicles." The age of several of the monarchs exceeds 120 years.

The above-mentioned lapse of an almost blank period, of five centuries brings us to the reign of the Emperor known to history by the name of Sū-jin, whose life of one hundred and sixty-eight years (one hundred and twenty according to the "Chronicles") is supposed to have immediately preceded the Christian era. In this reign the former monarch of Idzumo or god of Miwa again appears and produces a pestilence, of the manner of staying which Sū-jin is warned in a dream, while a curious but highly indecent episode tells us how a person called Oho-Taka-Ne-Ko was known to be a son of the deity in question, and was therefore appointed high-priest of his temple. In the ensuing reign an elaborate legend, involving a variety of circumstances as miraculous as any in the earlier portion of the mythology, again centres in the necessity of pacifying the great god of Idzumo; and this, with details of internecine strife in the Imperial family, of the sovereign's amours, and of the importation of the orange from the "Eternal Land," brings us to the cycle of traditions of which Yamato-Take, a son of the Emperor Kei-kō, is the hero. This prince, after slaying one of his brothers in the privy, accomplishes the task of subduing both western and eastern Japan; and, notwithstanding certain details which are unsavoury to the European taste, his story, taken as a whole, is one of the most striking in the book. He performs marvels of valour, disguises himself as a woman to slay the brigands, is the possessor of a magic sword and fire-striker, has a devoted wife who stills the fury of the waves by sitting down upon their surface, has encounters with a deer and with a boar who are really gods in disguise, and finally dies on his way westward before he can reach his home in Yamato. His death is followed by a highly mythological account of the laying to rest of the white bird into which he ended by being transformed.

The succeeding reign is a blank, and the next after that transports us without a word of warning to quite another scene. The sovereign's home is now in Tsukushi, the south-western island of the Japanese archipelago, and four of the gods, through the medium of the sovereign's wife, who is known to history as the Empress Jin-gō, reveal the existence of the land of Korea, of which, however, this is not the first mention. The Emperor disbelieves the divine message, and is punished by death for his incredulity. But the Empress, after a special consultation between her prime minister and the gods, and the performance of various religious

ceremonies, marshals her fleet, and, with the assistance of the fishes both great and small and of a miraculous wave, reaches Shirai (one of the ancient divisions of Korea), and subdues it. She then returns to Japan, the legend ending with a curiously naive tale of how she sat a-fishing one day on a shoal in the river Wo-gawa in Tsukushi with threads picked out of her skirt for lines.

The next section shows her going up by sea to Yamato,—another joint in the story, by means of which [51] the Yamato cycle of legends and the Tsukushi cycle are brought into apparent unity. The "Chronicles of Japan" have even improved upon this by making Jingō's husbands dwell in Yamato at the commencement of his reign and only remove to Tsukushi later, so that if the less elaborated "Records" had not been preserved, the two threads of the tradition would have been still more difficult to unravel. The Empress's army defeats the troops raised by the native kings or princes, who are represented as her step-sons; and from that time forward the story runs on in a single channel and always centres in Yamato. China likewise is now first mentioned, books are said to have been brought over from the mainland, and we hear of the gradual introduction of various useful arts. Even the annals of the reign of O-jin however, during which this civilizing impulse from abroad is said to have commenced, are not free from details as miraculous as any in the earlier portions of the book. Indeed Sects. CXIV-CXVI of the following translation, which form part of the narrative of his reign, are occupied with the recital of one of the most fanciful tales of the whole mythology. The monarch himself is said to have lived a hundred and thirty years, while his successor lived eighty-three (according to the "Chronicles," O-jin lived a hundred and ten and his successor Nin-toku reigned eighty-seven years). It is not till the next reign that the miraculous ceases, a fact which significantly coincides with the reign in which, according to a statement in the "Chronicles," "historiographers were first appointed to all the provinces to record words and events and forward archives from all directions." This brings us to the commencement of the fifth century of our era, just three centuries before the compilation of our histories, but only two centuries before the compilation of the first history of which mention has been preserved. From that time the story in the "Records," though not well told, gives us some very curious pictures, and reads as if it were reliable. It is tolerably full for a few reigns, after which it again

dwindles into mere genealogies, carrying us down to the commencement of the seventh century. The "Chronicles," on the contrary, give us full details down to A.D. 701, that is to within nineteen years of the date of their compilation.

The reader who has followed this summary, or who will take the trouble to read through the whole text for himself will perceive that there is no break in the story,—at least no chronological break,—and no break between the fabulous and the real, unless indeed it be at the commencement of the fifth century of our era, *i.e.* more than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted as the commencement of genuine Japanese history. The only breaks are,—not chronological,—but topographical.

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard national histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the last century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. In this particular, the elasticity of the Japanese word for "deity," *kami*, which has already been noticed, stood the eastern Euhemerus in good stead. Some of his explanations are however extremely comical, and it is evident that such a system enables the person who uses it to prove whatever he has a mind to. In the present century a diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Moribe, who, although endeavouring to remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) uselessly miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. Such, for instance, are the story of the speaking mouse, and that of Izanagi's head-dress turning into a bunch of grapes. He accounts for many of these details by the supposition that they are what he calls *wosana-goto*, *i.e.* "child-like words," and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, and are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. He is also willing to allow that some

passages show traces of Chinese influence, and he blames Motowori's uncompromising championship of every iota of the existing text of the "Records of Ancient Matters." As belonging to this same school of what may perhaps be termed "rationalistic believers" in Japanese mythology, a contemporary Christian writer, Mr. Takahashi Gorō, must also be mentioned. Treading in the foot-steps of Arawi Hakuseki, but bringing to bear on the legends of his own country some knowledge of the mythology of other lands, he for instance explains the traditions of the Sun-Goddess and of the Eight-Forked Serpent of Yamada by postulating the existence of an ancient queen called Sun, whose brother, after having been banished from her realm for his improper behaviour, killed an enemy whose name was Serpent, etc., while such statements as that the microscopic deity who came over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo would not tell his name, are explained by the assertion that, being a foreigner, he was unintelligible for some time until he had learnt the language. It is certainly strange that such theorists should not see that they are undermining with one hand that which they endeavour to prop up with the other, and that their own individual fancy is made by them the sole standard of historic truth. Yet Mr. Takahashi confidently asserts that "his explanations have nothing forced or fanciful" in them, and that "they cannot fail to solve the doubts even of the greatest of doubters."

The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day,—*i.e.* of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated,—seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore, the history of the gods,
while implicitly accepting the history of the emperors from Jim-mu downwards; and in so doing they have been followed with but little reserve by most Europeans, almanacs, histories and cyclopædias all continuing to repeat on the antiquated authority of such writers as Kaempfer and Titsingh, that Japan possesses an authentic history covering more that two thousand years, while Siebold and Hoffmann even go the length of discussing the *hour* of Jim-mu's accession in the year 660 B.C.! This is the attitude of mind now sanctioned by the governing class. Thus, in the historical compilations used at text-books in the schools, [54] the stories of the gods,—that is to say the Japanese traditions down to Jim-mu exclusive,—are either passed over in silence or dismissed in a few sentences, while the annals of the human

sovereigns,—that is to say the Japanese traditions from Jim-mu inclusive,—are treated precisely as if the events therein related had happened yesterday, and were as incontrovertibly historical as later statements, for which there is contemporary evidence. The same plan is pursued elsewhere in official publications. Thus, to take out one example among many, the Imperial Commissioners to the Vienna Exhibition, in their "Notice sur l'Empire du Japan," tell us that "L'histoire de la dynastie impériale remonte très-haut. L'obscurité entoure ses débuts, vu l'absence de documents réguliers ou d'un calendrier parfait. Le premier Empereur de la dynastie présente, dont il reste des annales dignes de confiance, est Jin-mou-ten-nō qui organisa un soulèvement dans la province de Hiuga, marcha à l'Est avec ses compagnons, fonda sa capitale dans la vallée de Kashihara dans le Yamato, et monta sur le trône comme Empereur. C'est de cet Empereur que descend, par une succession régulière, la présente famille régnante du Japon. C'est de l'année de l'avènement de Jin-mou-ten-nō que date l'ère japonaise (Année 1—660 avant Jésus-Christ)."

As for the *ère Japonaise* mentioned by the commissioners, it may be permitted to observe that it was only introduced by an edict dated 15th Dec., 1872 that is to say just a fortnight before the publication of their report. *And this era, this accession, is confidently placed thirteen or fourteen centuries before the first history which records it was written, nine centuries before (at the earliest computation) the art of writing was introduced into the country, and on the sole authority of books teeming with miraculous legends!!* Does such a proceeding need any comment after once being formulated in precise terms, and can any unprejudiced person continue to accept the early Japanese chronology and the first thousand years of the so-called history of Japan.

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Leaving this discussion, let us now see whether [55] any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles." There are fragments of information,—fragments of two sorts,—some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. Let us take the positive fragments first—the notice as to Cosmological ideas, dreams, prayers, etc.

The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogma, the code of morals, and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. What we find is a bundle is miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system. Dreams evidently were credited with great importance, the future being supposed to be foretold in them, and the will of the gods made known. Sometimes even an actual object, such as a wonderful sword, was sent down in a dream, thus to our ideas mixing the material with the spiritual. The subject did not, however, present itself in that light to the Early Japanese, to whom there was evidently but one order of phenomena,—what we should call the natural order. Heaven, or rather the Sky, was an actual place,—not more ethereal than earth, nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death,—but simply "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some of those powerful personages called *kami*,—a word which we must make shift to translate by "god" or a "goddess," or "deity." An arrow shot from earth could reach Heaven, and make a hole in it. There was at least one mountain in Heaven, and one river with a broad stony bed like those with which the traveller in Japan becomes familiar, one or two caves, one or more wells, and animals, and trees. There is, however, some confusion as to the mountain,—the celebrated Mount Kagu,—for there is one of that name in the Province of Yamato.

Some of the gods dwelt here on earth, or descended hither from Heaven, and had children by human women. Such, for instance, was the emperor Jim-mu's great-grandfather. Some few gods had tails or were otherwise personally [56] remarkable; and "savage deities" are often mentioned as inhabiting certain portions of Japan, both in the so-called "Divine Age" and during the reigns of the human emperors down to a time corresponding, according to the generally received chronology, with the first or second century of the Christian era. The human emperors themselves, moreover, were sometimes spoken of as deities, and even made personal use of that designation. The gods occasionally transformed themselves into animals, and at other times simple tangible

objects were called gods,—or at least they were called *kami*; for the gulf separating the Japanese from the English term can never be too often recalled to mind. The word *kami*, as previously mentioned, properly signifies "superior," and it would be putting more into it than it really implies to say that the Early Japanese "deified,"—in our sense of the verb to "deify,"—the peaches which Izanagi used to pelt his assailants with, or any other natural objects whatsoever. It would, indeed, be to, attribute to them a flight of imagination of which they were not capable, and a habit of personification not in accordance with the genius of their language. Some of the gods are mentioned collectively as "bad Deities like unto the flies in the fifth moon"; but there is nothing approaching a systematic division into good spirits and bad spirits. In fact the word "spirit" itself is not applicable at all to the gods of Archaic Japan. They were, like the gods of Greece, conceived of only as more powerful human beings. They were born, and some of them died, though here again there is inconsistency, as the death of some of them is mentioned in a manner leading one to suppose that they were conceived of as being then at an end, whereas in other cases such death seems simply to denote transference to Hades, or to what is called "the One Road," which is believed to be a synonym for Hades. Sometimes, again, a journey to Hades is undertaken by a god without any reference to his death. Nothing, indeed, could be less consistent than the various details.

Hades itself is another instance of this inconsistency. In the legend of Oho-Kuni-Nushi (the "Master of the Great Land"),—one of the Idzumo cycle of legends,—Hades is described exactly as if it were part of the land of the living, or exactly as if it were Heaven, which indeed comes to the same thing. It has its trees, its houses, its family quarrels, etc., etc. In the legend of Izanagi, on the other hand, Hades means simply the abode of horrible putrefaction and of the vindictive dead, and is fitly described by the god himself who had ventured thither as "a hideous and polluted land." The only point in which the legends agree is in placing between the upper earth and Hades a barrier called the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world, whether good or evil.

The objects of worship were of course the gods, or some of them. It has already been stated that during the later portions of the story, whose scene is laid almost exclusively on earth, the Sun-Goddess, the deity

Izasa-Wake, the Divine Sword of Isonokami, the Small August Deity (*Sukuna-Mi-Kami*), the "Great Gods" of Miwa and of Kadzuraki and the three Water-Deities of Sumi, alone are mentioned as having been specially worshipped. Of these the first and the last appear together, forming a sort of quaternion, while the other five appear singly and have no connection with each other. The deities of the mountains, the deities of the rivers, the deities of the sea, etc., are also mentioned in the aggregate, as are likewise the heavenly deities and the earthly deities; and the Empress Jin-gō is represented as conciliating them all previous to her departure for Korea by putting into a gourd the ashes "of a *maki* tree, and likewise making a quantity of chopsticks and also "of leaf-platters, and scattering them all on the waves."

This brings us to the subject of religious rites,—a subject on which we long for fuller information than the texts afford. That the conciliatory offerings made to the gods were of a miscellaneous nature will be expected from the quotation just made. Nevertheless, a very natural method was in the main followed; for the people offered the things by which they themselves set most store, as we bear at a late period of the poet Tsurayuki, when in a storm at sea, flinging his mirror into the waves because he had but one. The Early Japanese made offerings [58] of two kinds of cloth, one being hempen cloth and the other cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper mulberry, offerings very precious in their eyes, but which have in modern times been allowed to degenerate into useless strips of paper. They likewise offered shields, spears, and other things. Food was offered both to the gods and to the dead; indeed, the palace or tomb of the dead monarch and the temple of the god cannot always be distinguished from each other, and, as has already been mentioned, the Japanese use the same word *miya* for "palace" and for "temple." Etymologically signifying "august house," it is naturally susceptible of what are to us two distinct meanings.

With but one exception, the "Records" do not give us the words of any prayers (or, as the Japanese term *norito* has elsewhere been translated, "rituals.") Conversations with the gods are indeed detailed, but no devotional utterances. Fortunately, however, a number of very ancient prayers have been preserved in other books, and translations of some of them by Mr. Satow will be found scattered through the volumes of the Transactions of this Society. They consist mostly of declarations of praise

and statements of offerings made, either in return for favours received or conditionally on favours being granted. They are all in prose, and hymns do not seem to have been in use. Indeed of the hundred and eleven Songs preserved in the "Records," not one has any religious reference.

The sacred rite of which most frequent mention is made is purification by water. Trial by hot water is also alluded to in both histories, but not till a time confessedly posterior to the commencement of intercourse with the mainland. We likewise hear of compacts occasionally entered into with a god, and somewhat resembling our European wager, oath, or curse. Priests are spoken of in a few passages, but without any details. We do not hear of their functions being in any way mediatorial, and the impression conveyed is that they did not exist in very early times as a separate class. When they did come into existence, the profession soon became hereditary, according to the general tendency in Japan towards the hereditability of offices and occupations.

Miscellaneous superstitions crop up in many places. Some of these were evidently obsolescent or unintelligible [59] at the time when the legends crystallized into their present shape, and stories are told purporting to give their origin. Thus we learn either in the "Records" or in the "Chronicles," or in both works, why it is unlucky to use only one light, to break off the teeth of a comb at night-time, and to enter the house with straw hat and rain-coat on. The word-wide dread of going against the sun is connected with the Jim-mu legend, and recurs elsewhere. We also hear of charms,—for instance, of the wondrous "Herb-Quelling Sabre" found by Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") inside a serpent's tail and still preserved as one of the Imperial *regalia*. Other such charms were the "tide-flowing jewel" and "tide-ebbing jewel," that obtained for Jim-mu's grandfather the victory over his elder brother, together with the fishhook which figures so largely in the same legend. Divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a stag was a favourite means of ascertaining the will of the gods. Sometimes also human beings seem to have been credited in a vague manner with the power of prophetic utterance. Earthenware pots were buried at the point of his departure by an intending traveller. In a fight the initial arrow was regarded with superstitious awe. The great precautions with which the Empress Jin-gō is said to have set out on her expedition to Korea have already been

alluded to, and indeed the commencement of any action or enterprise seems to have had special importance attributed to it.

To conclude this survey of the religious beliefs of the Early Japanese by referring, as was clone in the case of the arts of life, to certain notable features which are [60] conspicuous by their absence, attention may be called to the fact that there is no tradition of a deluge, no testimony to any effect produced on the imagination by the earthquakes from which the Japanese islanders suffer such constant alarms, no trace of star-worship, no notion of incarnation or of transmigration. This last remark goes to show that the Japanese mythology had assumed its present shape before the first echo of Buddhism reverberated on these shores. But the absence of any tradition of a deluge or inundation is still more remarkable, both because such catastrophes are likely to occur occasionally in all lands, and because the imagination of most nations seems to have been greatly impressed by their occurrence. Moreover what is specifically known to us as *the* Deluge has been lately claimed as an ancient Altaïc myth. Yet here we have the oldest of the *undoubtedly* Altaïc nations without any legend of the kind. As for the neglect of the stars, round whose names the imagination of other races has twined such fanciful conceits, it is as characteristic of Modern as of Archaic Japan. The Chinese designations of the constellations, and some few Chinese legends relating to them, have been borrowed in historic times; but no Japanese writer has ever thought of looking in the stars for "the poetry of heaven." Another detail worthy of mention is that the number seven, which in so many countries has been considered sacred, is here not prominent in any way, its place being taken by eight. Thus we have Eight Great Islands, an Eight-forked Serpent, a beard Eighty Hand-breadths long, a God named "Eight Thousand Spears," Eighty or Eight Hundred Myriads of Deities, etc., etc. The commentators think it necessary to tell us that all these eights and eighties need not be taken literally, as they simply mean a great number. The fact remains that the number eight had, for some unknown reason, a special significance attached to it; and as the documents which mention eight also mention nine and ten, besides higher numbers, and as in some test cases, such as that of the Eight Great Islands, each of the eight is separately enumerated, it is plain that when the Early Japanese said eight they

meant eight, though they may doubtless have used that number in a vague manner, as we do a dozen, a hundred, and a thousand.

How glaringly different all this is from the fanciful accounts of Shintō that have been given by some recent [60] popular writers calls for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority, tells us that Shintō "consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree impregnated with it, and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are everywhere worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes."(!) Truly, when one peruses such utterly groundless assertions,—for that here quoted is but one among many, one is tempted to believe that the nineteenth century must form part of the early mythopœic age.

With regard to the question of government, we learn little beyond such vague statements as that to so-and-so was yielded by his eighty brethren the sovereignty of the land of Idzumo, or that Izanagi divided the dominion over all things between his three children, bestowing on one the "Plain of High Heaven," on another the Dominion of the Night, and on the third the "Sea-Plain." But we do not in the earlier legends see such sovereignty actually administered. The heavenly gods seem rather to have been conceived as forming a sort of commonwealth, who decided things by meeting together in counsel in the stony bed of the "River of Heaven," and taking the advice of the shrewdest of their number. Indeed the various divine assemblies, to which the story in the "Records" and "Chronicles" introduces us, remind us of nothing so much as of the village assemblies of primitive tribes in many parts of the world, where the cleverness of one and the general willingness to follow his suggestions fill the place of the more definite organization of later times.

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called "Divine Age" but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that

any kind of political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead [62] their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly we find that the "Territorial Owners" of Yamato, and the "Rulers" of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural, as if to intimate that they exerted a divided sovereignty. During the whole of the so-called "Human Age" we meet, both in parts of the country which were already subject to the Imperial rule and in others which were not yet annexed, with local magnates bearing these same titles of "Territorial Owners," "Rulers," "Chiefs," etc.; and the impression left on the mind is that in early historical times the sovereign's power was not exercised directly over all parts of Japan, but that in many cases the local chieftains continued to hold sway though owning some sort of allegiance to the emperor in Yamato, while in others the emperor was strong enough to depose these local rulers, and to put in their place his own kindred or retainers, who however exercised unlimited authority in their own districts, and used the same titles as had been borne by the former native rulers,—that, in fact, the government was feudal rather than centralized. This characteristic of the political organization of Early Japan has not altogether escaped the attention of the native commentators. Indeed the great Shintō scholar Hirata not only recognizes the fact, but endeavours to prove that the system of centralization which obtained during the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth centuries, and which has been revived in our own day, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese bureaucratic system; and he asserts that an organized feudalism, similar to that which existed from the twelfth century down to the year 1867, was the sole really ancient and national Japanese form of government. The translator cannot follow Hirata to such lengths, as he sees no evidence in the early histories of the intricate organization of mediaeval Japan. But that, beyond the immediate limits of the Imperial domain, the government *resembled* feudalism rather than centralization seems indisputable. [63] It is also true that the seventh century witnessed a sudden move in the direction of bureaucratic organization,

many of the titles which had up till that time denoted actual Provincial chieftains being then either suppressed, or else allowed to sink into mere "gentile names." Another remark which is suggested by a careful perusal of the two ancient histories is that the Imperial succession was in early historical times very irregular. Strange gaps occur as late as the sixth century of our era; and even when it was one of the children who inherited his father's throne, that child was rarely the eldest son.

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What now are we to gather from its analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions as to the still remoter history and tribal divisions of Japan, and as to the origin of the Japanese legends? Very little that is certain, perhaps; but, in the opinion of the present writer, two or three interesting probabilities.

In view of the multiplicity of gods and the complications of the so-called historical traditions, he thinks that it would be *a priori* difficult to believe that the development of Japanese civilization should have run on in a single stream broken only in the third century by the commencement of intercourse with the mainland of Asia. We are, however, not left to such a merely theoretical consideration. There are clear indications of there having been three centres of legendary cycles, three streams which mixed together to form the Japan which meets us at the dawn of authentic history in the fifth century of Our era. One of these centres,—the most important in the mythology,—is Idzumo; the second is Yamato: the third is Tsukushi, called in modern times Kiushiu. Eastern and Northern Japan count for nothing; indeed, much of the North-East and North was, down to comparatively recent times, occupied by the barbarous Ainos or, as they are called by the Japanese, Yemishi, Yebisu, or Yezo. That the legends or traditions derived from the three parts of the country here mentioned accord but imperfectly together is an opinion which has already been alluded to, and upon which light may perhaps be thrown by a more thorough shifting of the myths and beliefs classified according to this three-fold system. The question of the ancient division of Japan into several independent states is, however, not completely a matter of [64] opinion. For we have in the "*Shan Hai Ching*" a positive statement concerning a Northern and a

Southern Yamato (倭), and the Chinese annals of both the Han dynasties tell us of the division of the country into a much larger number of kingdoms, of which, according to the annals of he later Han dynasty, Yamato (邪馬臺) was the most powerful. A later official Chinese historian also tells us that *Jih-pên* (日本, our Japan) and Yamato had been two different states, and that *Jih-pên* was reported to have swallowed up Yamato. By *Jih-pên* the author evidently meant to speak of the island of Tsukushi or of part of it. That the Chinese were fairly well acquainted with Japan is shown by the fact of there being in the old Chinese literature more than one mention of "the country of the hairy people beyond the mountains in the East and North."—that is of the Yemishi or Ainos. No Chinese book would seem to mention Idzumo as having formed a separate country; and this evidence must be allowed its whole weight. It is possible, of course, that Idzumo may have been incorporated with Yamato before the conquest of the latter by the Tsukushi people, and in this case some of the inconsistencies of the history may be traceable to a confusion of the traditions concerning the conquest of Idzumo by Yamato and of those concerning the conquest of Yamato by Tsukushi. Perhaps too (for so almost impossible a task is it to reconstruct history out of legend) there may not, after all, be sufficient warrant for believing in the former existence of Idzumo as a separate state, though it certainly seems hard to account otherwise for the peculiar place that Idzumo occupies in mythic story. In any case, and whatever light may hereafter be thrown on this very obscure question, it must be remembered that, so far as clear native documentary evidence reaches, 400 A.D. is approximately the highest limit of reliable Japanese history. Beyond that date we are at once confronted with the miraculous; and if any facts relative to earlier Japan are to be extracted from the pages of the "Records" and "Chronicles," it must be by a process very different from that of simply reading and taking their assertions upon trust.

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability [65] of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact, it bids us wait to interpret it until such time as further research shall have shown which legends belong together. For if they are of

heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in discussions on this subject,—"the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,"—ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geographically by belonging to different parts of the country. Furthermore it may not be superfluous to call attention to the fact that the gods who are mentioned in the opening phrases of the histories as we now have them are not therefore necessarily the gods that were most anciently worshipped. Surely in religions, as in books, it is not often the preface that is written first. And yet this simple consideration has been constantly neglected, and, one after another, European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, without so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter,—viz., the "Records" and the "Chronicles," differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps indeed mere inventions of individuals priests. There is nothing either in the histories or in the Shintō Rituals to show that these gods, or some one or more of them, were in early days, as has been sometimes supposed, the objects of a pure worship which was afterwards obscured by the legends of Izanagi, Izanami, and their numerous descendants. On the contrary, with the exception of the deity Taka-Mi-Musu-Bi, they are no sooner mentioned than they vanish into space.

Whether it is intrinsically likely that so rude a race [66] as the Early Japanese, and a race so little given to metaphysical speculation as the Japanese at all times of their history, should have commenced by a highly abstract worship which they afterwards completely abandoned, is a question which may better be left to those whose general knowledge of early peoples and early religious beliefs entitles their decisions to respect. Their assistance likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into its several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology should be interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in

England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively late times. Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to enlarge the area of the three later divisions more than would be prudent in the case of the highly imaginative Aryans, and to point out that, though some few Japanese legends portions of legends can be traced to face etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are therefore true myths in the strict acceptation of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects,—a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology,—is altogether alien to the Japanese genius, and indeed to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a "disease of language." But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. Thus not only have Japanese Nouns no Genders and Japanese Verbs no Persons, but the names of inanimate objects cannot even be used as the subjects of Transitive Verbs. Nowhere for instance in Japanese, whether Archaic, Classical, or Modem, do we meet with such metaphorical,—mythological,—phrases as "the hot wind melts the ice," or "his conversation delights me," where the words "wind" and "conversation" are spoken of as if they were personal agents. No, the idea is invariably rendered in some other and impersonal way. Yet what a distance separates such statements, in which the ordinary European reader unacquainted with any Altaic tongue would scarcely recognize the existence of any personification at all, from the bolder flights of Aryan metaphor! Indeed, though Altaic Asia has produced very few wise men, the words of its languages closely correspond to the definition of words as "the wise man's counters;" for they are colourless and matter-of-fact, and rarely if ever carry him who speaks them above the level of sober reality. At the same time, it is patent that the sun plays *some* part in the Japanese mythology; and even the legend of Prince Yamato-Take, which has hitherto been generally accepted as historical or semi-historical, bears such close resemblance to legends in other countries which have been pronounced to be solar by great authorities that it may at least be

worth while to subject it to investigation from that point of view. The present writer has already expressed his conviction that this matter is not one for the specialist to decide alone. He would only, from the Japanese point of view, suggest very particular caution in the application to Japanese legend of a method of interpretation which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results.

A further particular which is deserving of notice is the almost certain fact of a recension of the various traditions at a comparatively late date. This is partly shown by the amount of geographical knowledge displayed in the enumeration of the various islands supposed to have been given birth to by Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male who Invites" and the 'Female who Invites"),—an amount and an exactness of knowledge unattainable at a time prior to the union under one rule of all the provinces mentioned, and significantly not extending much beyond those provinces. Such a recension may likewise be inferred,—if the opinion of the manifold origin of the Japanese traditions be accepted,—from the fairly ingenious Manner in which their component parts have generally been welded together. The way in which one or two legends,—for instance, that of the curious curse pronounced [68] by the younger brother Ho-wori on the elder Ho-deri—are repeated more than once exemplifies a less intelligent revision. Under this heading may, perhaps, be included the legends of the conquest of Yamato by the Emperor Jim-mu and of the conquest of the same country by the Empress Jin-go, which certainly bear a suspicious likeness to each other. Of the subjection of Korea by this last-named personage it should be observed that the Chinese and Korean histories, so far as they are known to us, make no mention, and indeed the dates, as more specially given in the "Chronicles," clearly show the inconsistency of the whole story; for Jin-gō's husband, the Emperor Chiū-ai, is said to have been born in the 19th year of the reign of Sei-mu, *i.e.* in A.D. 149, while his father, Prince Yamato-Take, is said to have died in the 43rd year of Kei-kō, *i.e.* in A.D. 113, so that there is an interval of thirty-six years between the death of the father and the birth of the son!

One peculiarly interesting piece of information to be derived from a careful study of the "Records" and "Chronicles" (though it is one on which the patriotic Japanese commentators preserve complete silence) is that, at the very earliest period to which the twilight of legend stretches

back, Chinese influence had already begun to make itself felt in these islands, communicating to the inhabitants both implements and ideas. This is surely a fact of very particular importance, lending, as it does, its weight to the mass of evidence which goes to prove that in almost all known cases culture has been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed. The traces of Chinese influence are indeed not numerous, but they are unmistakable. Thus we find chopsticks mentioned both in the Idzumo and in the Kiushu legendary cycle. The legend of the birth of the Sun-Goddess [69] and Moon-God from Izanagi's eyes is a scarcely altered fragment of the Chinese myth of P'an Ku; the superstition that peaches had assisted Izanagi to repel the hosts of Hades can almost certainly be traced to a Chinese source, and the hand-maidens of the Japanese Sun-Goddess are mentioned under the exact title of the Spinning Damsel of Chinese myth (天衣織女), while the River of Heaven (天河), which figures in the same legend; is equally Chinese,—for surely both names cannot be mere coincidences. A like remark applies to the name of the Deity of the Kitchen, and to the way in which that deity is mentioned. The art of making an intoxicating liquor is referred to in the very earliest Japanese legends. Are we to believe that its invention here was independent of its invention on the continent? In this instance moreover the old histories bear witness against themselves; for they mention this same liquor in terms showing that it was a curious rarity in what, according to the accepted chronology, corresponds to the century immediately preceding the Christian era, and again in the third century of that era. The whole story of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the "cassia-tree" (桂) mentioned in it is certainly Chinese, as are the crocodiles. That the so-called *maga-tama*, or "curved jewels," which figure so largely in the Japanese mythology, and with which the Early Japanese adorned themselves, were derived from China was already suspected by Mr. Henry von Siebold; and quite latterly Mr. Milne has thrown light on this subject from an altogether unexpected quarter. He has remarked, namely, that jade or the jade-like stone of which many of the *maga-tama* are made, is a mineral which has never yet been met with in Japan. We therefore know that some at least of the "curved jewels" or of the material for them came from the mainland, and the probability that the idea of carving these very oddly shaped ornaments was likewise imported thence gains in probability. The peculiar kind of arrow called *nari-kabura* (鳴鏑) is another trace of

Chinese influence in the material order, and a thorough search by a competent Chinese scholar would perhaps reveal others. But enough at least has been said to show the indisputable existence of that influence. From other sources we know that the more recent mythic fancy of Japan has shown itself as little impenetrable to such influence as have the manners and customs of the people. The only difference is that assimilation has of late proceeded with much greater rapidity.

In this language is another guide; for, though the discoverable traces of Chinese influence are comparatively few in the Archaic Dialect, yet they are there. This is a subject which has as yet scarcely been touched. Two Japanese authors of an elder generation, Kahibara and Arawi Hakuseki, did indeed point out the existence of some such traces. But they drew no inference from them, they did not set to work to discover new ones, and their indications, except in one or two obvious cases, have received little attention from later writer's whether native or foreign. But when we compare such words as *kane*, *kume*, *kuni*, *saka*, *tana*, *uma*, and many others with the pronunciation now given, or with that which the phonetic laws of the language in its earlier stage would have caused to be given, to their Chinese equivalents 金, 軍, 郡, 尺, 壇, 馬, etc., the idea forces way that such coincidences of sound and sense cannot all be purely accidental; and when moreover we find that the great majority of the words in question denote things or ideas that were almost certainly imported, we perceive that a more thorough sifting of Archaic Japanese (especially of botanical and zoological names and of the names of implements and manufactures) would probably be the best means of discovering at least the negative features of an antiquity remoter than all written documents, remoter even than the crystallization of the legends which these documents have preserved. In dealing with Korean words found in Archaic Japanese we tread on more delicate ground; for there we have a language which, unlike Chinese, stands to Japanese in the closest family relationship, making it plain that many coincidences of sound and sense should be ascribed to radical affinity rather than to later intercourse. At the same time it appears more probable that, for instance, such seemingly indigenous Japanese terms as *Hotoke*, "Buddha," and *tera*, "Buddhist temple," should have been in fact borrowed from the corresponding Korean words *Puchhö* and *chöl* than that both nations should have independently chosen homonyms to

denote the same foreign ideas. Indeed, it will perhaps not be too bold to assume that [71] in the case of *Hotoke*, "Buddha," we have before us a word whose journeyings consist of many stages, it having been first brought from India to China, then from China to Korea, and thirdly from Korea to Japan, where finally the ingenuity of philologists has discovered for it a Japanese etymology (*hito ke*, "human spirit") with which in reality it has nothing whatever to do.

These introductory remarks have already extended to such a length that a reference to the strikingly parallel case of borrowed customs and ideas which is presented by the Ainos in this same archipelago must be left undeveloped. In conclusion, it need only be remarked that a simple translation of one book, such as is here given, does not nearly exhaust the work which might be expended even on the elucidation of that single book, and much less can it fill the gap which still lies between us and a proper knowledge of Japanese antiquity. To do this, the co-operation of the archaeologist must be obtained, while even in the field of the critical investigation of documents there is an immense deal still to be clone. Not only must all the available Japanese sources be made to yield up the information which they contain, but the assistance of Chinese and Korean records must be called in. A large quantity of Chinese literature has already been ransacked for a similar purpose by Matsushita Ken-rin, a translation of part of whose very useful compilation entitled "An Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" (異國日本傳) would be one of the greatest helps towards the desired knowledge. In fact there still remains to be done for Japanese antiquity from our standpoint what Hirata has done for it from the standpoint of a Japanese Shintoist. Except in some of Mr. Satow's papers published in these "Transactions," the subject has scarcely yet been studied in this spirit, and it is possible that the Japanese members of our Society may be somewhat alarmed at the idea of their national history being treated with so little reverence. Perhaps, however, the discovery, of the interest of the field of study thus only waiting to be investigated may reconcile them to the view here propounded. In any case if the early history of Japan is not all true, no amount of make believe can make it so. What we would like to do is to sift the true from the false. As an eminent writer on anthropology has recently said, "Historical criticism, that is, judgment, is practised [72] not for the purpose of disbelieving, but of believing. Its object is not to

find fault with the author, but to ascertain how much of what he says may be reasonably taken as true." Moreover, even in what is not to be accepted as historic fact there is often much that is valuable from other points of view. If, therefore, we lose a thousand years of so-called Japanese history, it must not be forgotten that Japanese mythology remains as the oldest existing product of the Altaic mind.

* * *

The following is a list of all the Japanese works quoted in this Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation. For the sake of convenience to the English reader all the titles have been translated excepting some few which, mostly on account of their embodying recondite allusion, do not admit of translation:—

Catalogue of Family Names, 姓氏錄, by Prince Mata
Chronicles of Japan (generally quoted as the "Chronicles") 日本紀 or 日本書紀 by Prince Toneri and others.
Chronicles of Japan Continued, 續日本紀, by Sugano Ason Mamichi, Fujihara no Ason TSUGUNAHA and others.
Chronicles of Japan Explained, 釋日本記, by URABE no Yasukata.
Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, 先代舊事記, authorship uncertain.
Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by TACHIBANA NO MORAYE (probably).
Collection of Japanese Songs Ancient and Modem, 古今和歌集, by Kino TSURAYUKI and others.
Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by Kamo no MABUCHI.
[73] Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, 謠曲拾葉集,by Jinkō.
Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞後釋, MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Correct Account of the Divine Age, 神代正語, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Dictionary of Pillow-Words, 冠辭考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.
Digest of the Imperial Genealogies, 纂輯御系圖, by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo and Kurokaha Saneyori.

Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞歷不審考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Examination of Difficult Words, 難語考, by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, 國號考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Explanation of Japanese Names, 日本譯名, by KAHIBARA Tokushin.
Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, 日本紀歌廼解, by Arikida no HISAOI.
Exposition of the Ancient Histories, 古史傳, by HIRATA Atsutane.
Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, 異稱日本傳, by Matsushita Ken-rin.
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (usually) quoted simply as "Motowori's Commentary"), 古事記傳, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Exposition of the Record of Ancient Matters Criticized (usually quoted as "Moribe's Critique on Motowori's Commentary,") 難古事記傳, by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Gleanings from Ancient Story, 古語拾遺, by Imibe no HIRONARI.
Idzu no Chi-Waki, 稜威道別, by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Idzu no Koto-waki, 稜威言別, by (*sentence ends*)
Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of the Provinces (MS.), 諸國名義考, by Fujihara no Hitomaro.
Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞歷考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Japanese Words Classified and Explained, 和名類聚鈔, by MINAMO NO SHITAGAFU.
Ko-Chi Tsū, 古史通, by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.
Ko-Gan Shō, (MS.), 厚顏抄, by KEI-CHIYU.

[74] Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (usually quoted as "Tanigaha Shisei's Commentary,") 日本書記通證, by TANIGAHA SHISEI.
Records of Ancient Matters (often quoted simply as the "Records"), 古事記, by Futo no YASUMARO.
Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character, 神字古事記, by Fujihara no Masaoki.
Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllable Character. 假名古事記, by Sakata no Kaneyasu.

Records of Ancient Matters Revised, 校正古事記, Anonymous.
Records of Ancient Matters With Marginal Notes (usually quoted as "the Edition of 1687"), 鼇頭古事記, by Deguchi NOBUYOSHI.

Records of Ancient Matters With the Ancient Reading, 古訓古事記, by Nagase no Masachi (published with Motowori's, sanction)
Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings, 標註古事記, by Murakami Tadayoshi.

Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞, Authorship Uncertain.
Shintō Discussed Afresh, 神道新論, by Takahashi Gorō.
Sources of the Ancient Histories, 古史徵, by HIRATA Atsutane.

Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, 竹取物語 Authorship Uncertain.
Tama-Katsuma, 玉勝間, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Tokihara-Gusa (the full title is *Jin-Dai-Sei-Go Tokiha-Gusa*), 常盤草, (神代正語常盤草), Hosoda TOMINOBU.
Topography of Yamashiro, 山城風土紀, Authorship Uncertain.
Tō-Ga (MS.), 東雅, by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.
Wa-Kun Shiwori, 和訓栞, by TANIGAWA SHISEI.

Yamato Tales, 大和物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Besides these two or three standard Chinese works are referred to such as the "*Yi Chin*" or "Book of Changes" (易經), and the "*Shan Hai Ching*" or "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經); but they are very few, and so easily recognized that it were unnecessary to enumerate them. All Japanese words properly so called are transliterated according to Mr. Satow's "Orthographic System," which, while representing the native spelling, does not in their case differ very greatly from the modern pronunciation.

In the case of Sinico-Japanese words, where the divergence between the "Orthographic" spelling and the pronunciation is often considerable, a phonetic spelling has been preferred. With but two or three exceptions, which have been specially noted, Sinico-Japanese words are found only in proper names mentioned in the Preface and in the translator's Introduction, Footnotes, and Sectional Headings. The few Chinese words that occur in the Introduction and Notes are transliterated according to

the method introduced by Sir Thomas Wade, and now so widely used by students of Chinese.

VOLUME 1

PREFACE

The peculiar nature of this Preface, which is but a tour de force meant to show that, the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so, has been already hinted at in the Introduction. It is indeed a laboured little composition, and, but for the facts stated in its latter portion, has no value except perhaps as a specimen of the manner in which the legends of one country may be made to change aspect by being presented through the medium of the philosophical terminology and set phrases of another. It may be divided into five parts. In the first the writer, in a succession of brief allusions antithetically balanced, summarizes the most striking of the legends that are detailed in the pages of his "Records," and in a few words paints the exploits of some of the early emperors. In the second the troubles that ushered in the reign of the Emperor Tem-mu and his triumph over Prince Ohotomo are related at greater length in high-flown allusive phrases borrowed from the Chinese-historians. The third division gives us the Emperor Temmu's decree ordering the compilation of the "Records," and the fourth tells how the execution of that decree was delayed till the reign of the Empress Gemmiyō (A.D. 703-715), on whom likewise a panegyric is pronounced. In the fifth and last the compiler enters into some details concerning the style and method he has adopted.

I Yasumaro say:

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and [4] form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape? Nevertheless Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the Passive and Active Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things. Therefore did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions of his person? So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we, by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men. Truly do we know that a mirror was hung up, that [5] jewels were spat out, and that then an Hundred Kings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish. By deliberations in the Tranquil River the Empire was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was

purified. Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi first descended to the Peak of Takachi, and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato did traverse the [6] Island of the Dragon-Fly. A weird bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura. They with tails obstructed the path, and a great crow guided him to Yeshinu. Dancing in rows they destroyed the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen. Being instructed in a dream, he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was therefore styled the Wise Monarch, having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people, and is therefore remembered as the Emperor-Sage. Determining the frontiers and civilising the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi; reforming the [7] surnames and selecting the gentile names, he held sway at the Further Asuka. Though each differed in caution and in ardour, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution.

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka, the Hidden Dragon put on perfection, the Reiterated Thunder came at the appointed moment. Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless Heaven's time was not yet, and he escaped like the cicada to the Southern Mountains; both men and matters were favourable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the Imperial Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to [9] the

Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped Ken-Kō, in virtue he surpassed Shiū-Ō. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences, and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason herewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its fervour, clearly observed former ages.

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: "I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth deter. mined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after ages." At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that [10] he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears. Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless time elapsed and the age changed, and the thing was not yet carried out.

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire,—being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people. Ruling from the Purple Palace, Her virtue reaches to the utmost limits of the horse's hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations. In fame She must be pronounced

superior to Bum-Mei, in virtue more eminent than Ten-Itsu. Hereupon, regretting the errors in the old words, and wishing to correct the misstatements in; the former chronicles, She, on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wa-do commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words learnt by heart by Hiyeda no Are according to the Imperial Decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her.

In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters. To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy. For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic [12] and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy? Again, in such cases as calling the surname 日下 *Kusaka*, and the personal name written with the character 帶 *Tarashi*, I have followed usage without alteration. Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Woharida. So from the [13] Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Oho-Sazaki down to the great palace of Woharida makes the Third Volume. Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present. I Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wa-dō.

SECTION 1. THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

The names of the Deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity, next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. [16] These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities.

SECTION 2. THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity. These two Deities were likewise [17] Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady; next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister the Life-Integrating-Deity; next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place; next the Deity Perfect-Exterior, [18] next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady; next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites, next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites.

From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations.

(The two solitary Deities above [-mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of deities is called a generation.)

SECTION 3. THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear, they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed [19] down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stiffed the brine till it went curdle-curdle, and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro.

Section 4. Courtship Of The Deities The Male-Who-Invites And The Female Who-Invites

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of an hall of eight fathoms. Tunc [20] quæsivit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] a minore sorore Augustâ Feminâ-Qui-Invitat: "Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?" Respondit dicens: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ non crevit continua." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut hanc corporis mei partem quæ crevit, superflua in tui corporis partem quæ non crevit continua inseram, et regiones procreem?" Augusta Femina-Quæ-Invitat respondit dicens: "Bonum erit." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Quod quum ita sit, ego et tu hanc cœlestem augustam, columnam circumeuntes mutuoque occurrentes, augustarum [*i.e.* privatarum] partium augustam coitionem faciemus." Hâc pactione factâ, dixit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat]: "Tu a dexterâ circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistrâ occurram." Absolutâ pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat primum inquit: "O venuste et amabilis adolescens!" Deinde Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat inquit: "O venusta et amabilis virgo!" Postquam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] locutus est sorori, dicens: "Non decet feminam primum verba facere." Nihilominus in thalamo [opus procreationis] inceperunt, et filium [nomine] Hirudinem [vel Hirudini similem] pepererunt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha. This likewise is not reckoned among their children.

SECTION 5. BIRTH OF THE EIGHT ISLANDS

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: "The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august [21] place of the Heavenly Deities." They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination, and ordered them, saying: "They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words." So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: "Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden! Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: "Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!" Tali modo quun orationi finem fecerant, auguste coierunt et pepererunt a child the Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Futa-no in Iyo. This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess; the Land of Sanuki is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice; the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food; the Land of Tosa is called Brave-Good-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go near Oki, another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth. This island likewise has one body and four faces and each face has a name. So the land of Tsukushi is called White-Sun-Youth; the Land of Toyo is called Luxuriant-Sun-Youth; the Land of Hi is called Brave Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth; the Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Iki, another name for which is Heaven's One-Pillar. Next they gave birth to the Island of Tsu, another name for which is Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess. Next they gave birth to the Island of Sado. Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly, another name for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth. [24] The name of "Land-of -the- Eight-Great-Islands" therefore originated in these eight islands having been born first. After that, when they had returned, they gave birth to the Island of Ko[-shima] in Kibi, another name for which [island] is Brave-Sun Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of

Adzuki, another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima], another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Hime, another name for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth to the Island of Chika, another name for which is Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island[s] of Futa-go, another name for which is Heaven's-Two-Houses, (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko, in Kibi to the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses).

SECTION 6. BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing; next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-Prince; next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Nest-Princess; [26] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth; next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing-Male; next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince; next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male; next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor; next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn; next they gave birth to his younger sister the Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities in all from the Deity-Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.) The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and [27] Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm; next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor; next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind. Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder, next they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess, another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from the Deity Prince-of Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given [28] birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary; next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door; next the

Deity Earthly Dark-Door; next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince; next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-tree-Boat, another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat. Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. Next they gave [29] birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity, another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

SECTION 7. RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she sickened and lay down. The names of the Deities born from her vomit were the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-Princess. The names of the Deities that were born from her faeces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess. The names of the Deities that were next born from her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity. The child of this Deity was called the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess. So the Deity [30] the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired. (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.)

The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of Onogoro, was not given birth to and moreover the Leech-Child and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children).

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh that I should have exchanged thee for this single child!"

And as he crept round her august pillow, and [31] as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu, and whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity. So he buried the divinely retired Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo and the Land of Hahaki.

SECTION 8. THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-invites, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, [32] cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Hereupon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock-misses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter, next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Awfully-Swift-Deity, next the Fire-Swift-Deity, next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity, and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected [33] on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: the Deity *Kura-okami*and next the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*.

All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*, are Deities that were born from the august sword.

The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder, who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying, Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains). So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-

Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic Point-Blade-Extended.

SECTION 9. THE LAND OF HADES

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades. So when from the palace she raised the [35] door and came out to meet him, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying: "Lamentable indeed that thou earnest not sooner! I have eaten of the furnace of Hades. Nevertheless, as I reverence the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely elder brother, I wish to return. Moreover I will discuss it particularly with the Deities of Hades. Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming. and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, [36] in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her left hand dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot dwelt the Couchant-Thunder:—altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there. Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his Younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue [37] him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand; and as they still pursued, he

took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades, three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living people in the Central Land of Reed-Plains when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!"—and he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit. Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock, and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings; and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness! If *thou* do this, *I* will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses. In this manner each day a thousand people would surely be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades. Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity. Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-back, and again it is called the Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades. So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass in the Land of Idzumo.

SECTION 10. THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON

Therefore the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites said: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land,—I have! So I will perform the purification of my august person." So he went out to a plain [covered with] *ahagi* at a small river-mouth near Tachibana in Himuka in [the island of] Tsukushi, and purified and cleansed himself. So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-Place. The name of [40] the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space. The name of the Deity that was born from the august skirt which he next threw down was the Deity Loosen-Put. The name of the Deity that was born from the august upper garment which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-Trouble. The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork-Deity. The name of the Deity that was born from the august hat which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-the-Open-Mouth. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august left hand which he next threw down were the Deities Offing-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august right hand [41] which he next threw down were: the Deity Shore-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore.

The twelve Deities mentioned in the foregoing list from the Deity Come-Not-Place down to the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore are Deities that were born from his taking off the things that were on his person.

Thereupon saying: "The water in the upper reach is [too] rapid; the water in the lower reach is [too] sluggish," he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and, as he washed, there was first born the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, and next the Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils. These two Deities are the Deities that were born from the filth [he contracted] when he went to that polluted, hideous land. The names of the Deities that were next born to rectify those evils were: the Divine-

Rectifying-Wondrous Deity, next the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, next the Female-Deity-Idzu. The names of the Deities that were next born, as he bathed at the bottom of the water, were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Bottom, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed in the middle [of the water] were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed at the top of the water were the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Surface, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface. These three Ocean-Possessing Deities are the Deities held in reverence as their ancestral Deities by the Chiefs of Adzumi. So the Chiefs of Adzumi are the descendants of His Augustness *Utsushi-hi-gana-saku*, a child of these Ocean-Possessing Deities. These three Deities His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, and His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface are the three Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. The name of the Deity that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye was the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his right august eye was His Augustness, Moon-Night Possessor. The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his august nose was His Brave-Swift-impetuous-Male-Augustness.

The fourteen Deities in the foregoing list from the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils down to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness are Deities born from the bathing of his august person.

SECTION 11. INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES; THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN

At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying; "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten. three illustrious children," [with which words,] at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was the August-Store-house-Shelf-Deity. Next he said of His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the "Night." Thus he charged him. Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Plain."

SECTION 12. THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS

So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach. The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains, and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas. For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they all swarmed, and in all things every portent of woe arose. So the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail and weep?" He replied, saying: "I wail because I wish to depart to my [45] deceased mother's land, to the Nether Distant Land." Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shall not dwell in this land," and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. So the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites dwells at Taga in Afumi.

SECTION 13. THE AUGUST OATH

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave of the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: 'The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother is surely no good intent. It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to [46] her left and her right august arm, she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels, and slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding [thereto] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad, and brandished and stuck her bow upright so that the top shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs, kicking away [the earth] like rotten snow, and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August-Deity [our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause [47] of my wailing and weeping, I said 'I wail because I wish to go to my deceased mother's land,'—whereupon the Great-August-Deity said: 'Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is therefore solely with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?' Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let each of us swear, and produce children." So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness to hand her the ten-grasp sabre which was girded on him

and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, the [48] Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, another august name for whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness, Princess-of-the-Torrent. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining. Great-August-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool. Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conquer-I-Conqueror-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the [49] jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august head-dress, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu. (Five Deities in all).

SECTION 14. THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN

Hereupon the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity said to His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "As for the seed of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the seed of the three female Deities [50] born first, their birth was from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division. So Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity born first, dwells in the Inner temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, dwells in the middle temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent, dwells in the outer temple of Munakata. These three Deities are the three Great Deities held in reverence by the Dukes of Munakata. So His Augustness Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, child of His Augustness Ame-no-hohi, one of the five children born afterwards (this is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Idzumo, of the Rulers of the Land of Musashi, of the Rulers of the Upper Land of Unakami, of the Rulers of the Lower Land of Unakami, of the Rulers of the Land of Izhimu, of the Departmental Suzerains of the Island of Tsu and of the Rulers of the Land of Tohotsu-Afumi). The next, His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven (is the Ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Ofushi-kafuchi, of the Chiefs of Nukatabe-no-yuwe, of the Rulers of the Land of Ki, of the Suzerains of Tanaka in Yamato, of the Rulers of the Land of Yamashiro, of the Rulers of the Land of Umaguta, of the Rulers of the Land of Kine in Michi-no-Shiri, of the Rulers of the Land of Suhau, of the Rulers of Amuchi, in Yamato, of the Departmental Suzerains of Takechi, of the Territorial Lords of Kamafu, and of the Rulers of Sakikusabe).

SECTION 15. THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS

Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity: "Owing to the sincerity of my intentions I have, in begetting children, gotten delicate females. judging from this, I have undoubtedly gained the victory! With these words, and impetuous with victory, he broke down the divisions of the ricefields laid out by the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, filled up the ditches, and moreover strewed [53] excrements in the palace where she partook of the great food. So, though he did thus, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity upbraided him not, but said: "What looks like excrements must be something that His Augustness mine elder brother has vomited through drunkenness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the rice fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he grudges the land [they occupy] that His Augustness mine elder brother acts thus." But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful weaving-hall seeing to the weaving of, the august garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse [54] which he had flayed with a backward flaying, at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that impegerunt privatas partes adversis radiis et obierunt.

SECTION 16. THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK-DWELLING

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, made it fast, and retired. Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe all arose. Therefore did the eight hundred myriad Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer, child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron from [55] the Heavenly Metal-Mountains, calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra, charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness jewel-Ancestor to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord [56] and His Augustness Great-Jewel, and causing them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and take cherrybark from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination, and pulling up by pulling its roots a true *cleyera japonica* with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [57] [long],—of five hundred jewels,—and taking and tying to the middle branches the mirror eight feet [long], and taking and hanging upon its lower branches the white pacificatory offerings and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august Offerings, and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies, and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming Female hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss of the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash, and

making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress, and binding the [58] leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, and laying a soundingboard before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity, and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privates partes. Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: "Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of Heaven would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-Alarming-Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke saying: "We rejoice and are glad because there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-jewel drew the bottom-tied rope [59] along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light.

SECTION 17. THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS

Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel together, and imposed on High-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness a fine of a thousand tables, and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion. Again he begged food of the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. Then the Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and her fundament, and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. So the things that were born in the body of the Deity who had been killed were [60] [as follows]: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born rice-seeds, in her two ears was born millet, in her nose were born small beans, in her private parts was born barley, in her fundament were born large beans. So His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor caused them to be taken and used as seeds.

SECTION 18. THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT

So, having been expelled, [His-Swift-impetuous-Male-Augustness] descended to a place [called] Tori-kami at the head-waters of the River Hi in the Land of Idzumo. At this time some chopsticks came floating down the stream. So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman,—two of them,—who had a young girl between them, and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity, child of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. I am called by the name of Foot-Stroking-Elder, my wife is called by the [61] name of Hand-Stroking Elder, and my daughter is called by the name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess." Again he asked: What is the cause of your crying?" [The old man answered] saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-forked serpent of Koshi has come every year and devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *akakagachi*, it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover on its body grows moss, and also chamaecyparis and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly [62] bloody and inflamed." (What is called here *akakagachi* is the modern *hohodzuki*.) Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence, but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroker-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do you distill some eight-fold refined liquor. Also make a fence round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie [together] eight platforms, on each platform put a liquor-vat, and into each vat

pour [63] the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp sabre, that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword.

SECTION 19. THE PALACE OF SUGA

So thereupon His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness sought in the land of Idzumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga, and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is pure,"—and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga. When this Great Deity first built the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song. That song said:

"Eight clouds arise. The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh! that eight-fold fence."

[65] Then he called the Deity Foot-Stroking-Elder and said: "Thee do I appoint Headman of my palace;" and moreover bestowed on him the name of Master-of-the-Temple-of-Inada-Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga.

SECTION 20. THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND

Quare, quum incepit in thalamo [opus procreationis] cum Mirâ-Herâ-Inadâ, procreavit Deum nomine Eight-Island Ruler. And again, having wedded the Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty, daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, he begot children: the Great-Harvest Deity and the August-Spirit-of-Food. The elder brother the Deity Eight-Island-Ruler wedded Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Fuha-no-moji-Ku-nu-su-nu. This Deity wedded Princess Hikaha, daughter of the Deity Okami, and begot a child: Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-Fuka-buchi. This Deity [67] wedded the Deity Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne, and begot a child: the Deity Great-Water-Master. This Deity wedded the Deity Grand-Ears daughter of the Deity Funu-dzu-nu, and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord. This Deity wedded the Young-Princess-of-the-Small-Country, daughter of the Great-Deity-of-the-Small-Country, and begot a child: the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, another name for whom is the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, and another name is the Deity-of-the-Reed-Plains, and another name is the Deity of Eight-Thousand-Spears, and another name is the Deity-Spirit-of-the-Living-Land. In all there were five names.

SECTION 21. THE WHITE HARE OF INABA

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land had eighty Deities his brethren; but they all left the land to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. The reason for their leaving it was this: Each of these eighty Deities had in his heart the wish to marry the Princess of Yakami in Inaba, and they went together to Inaba, putting their bag on [the back of] the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, whom they took with them as an attendant. Hereupon. when they arrived at Cape Keta, [they found] a naked hare lying down. Then the eighty Deities spoke to the hare, saying: "What thou shouldest do is to bathe in the sea-water here, and lie on the slope of a high mountain exposed to the blowing of the wind." So the hare followed the instructions of the eighty Deities, and lay down. Then, as the sea-water dried, the skin of its body all split with the blowing of the wind, so that it lay weeping with pain. But the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, who came last of all, saw the hare, and said: "Why liest thou weeping?" The hare replied, saying: "I was in the Island of Oki, and wished to cross over to this land, but had no means of crossing over. For this reason [69] I deceived the crocodiles of the sea, saying: 'Let you and me compete, and compute the numbers of our [respective] tribes. So do you go and fetch every member of your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from this island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them, and count them as I run across. Hereby shall we know whether it or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they were deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them and counted them as I came across, and was just about to get on land, when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' As soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who lay the last of all seized me and stripped off all my clothing. As I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty Deities who went by before [thee] commanded and exhorted me, saying: 'Bathe in the salt water, and lie down exposed to the wind.' So, on my doing as they had instructed me, my whole body was hurt." Thereupon the Deity Great-Name-Possessor instructed the hare, saying: "Go quickly now to the river-mouth, wash thy body with the fresh water, then take the pollen of the sedges [growing] at the river-mouth, spread it about, and roll about upon it, whereupon thy body will certainly be restored to its original state." So [the hare] did as it was

instructed, and its body became as it had been originally. This was the White Hare of Inaba. It is now called the Hare Deity. So the hare said to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor: "These eighty Deities shall certainly not get the Princess of Yakami. Though thou bearest the bag, Thine Augustness shall obtain her."

SECTION 22. MOUNT TEMA

Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the Deity Great-Name-Possessor." So [70] the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot of Tema in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, do thou wait and catch it. If thou do not wait and catch it, we will certainly slay thee." Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then, as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it, he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness, who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell and Prince Clam to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and smeared [him] as with mother's milk, whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Deities, seeing [this], again deceived him, [71] taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree, and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death. Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him: "If thou remain here, thou wilt at last be destroyed by the eighty Deities." Then she sent him swiftly off to the august place of the Deity Great-House-Prince in the land of Ki. Then when the eighty Deities searched and pursued till they came up to him, and fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by clipping under the fork of a tree, and disappeared.

SECTION 23. THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND

[The Deity Great-House-Prince spoke to him] saying: "Thou must set off to the Nether-Distant-Land where [72] dwells His Impetuous-Mate-Augustness. That Great Deity will certainly counsel thee." So on his obeying her command and arriving at the august place of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness, the latter's daughter the Forward-Princess came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married, and [she] went in again, and told her father, saying: "A very beautiful Deity has come." Then the Great Deity went out and looked, and said: 'This is the Ugly-Male-Deity-of-the-Reed-Plain," and at once calling him in, made him sleep in the snake-house. Hereupon his wife, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, gave her husband a snake-scarf, saying: "When the snakes are about to bite thee, drive them away by waving this scarf thrice." So, on his doing as she had instructed, the snakes became quiet, so that he came forth after calm slumbers. Again on the night of the next day [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] put him into the centipede and wasp-house; but as she again gave him a centipede and wasp-scarf, and instructed him as before, he came forth calmly. Again [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] shot a whizzing barb into the middle of a large moor, and sent him to fetch the arrow and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round. Thereupon, while he [stood] knowing no place of exit, a mouse came and said: "The inside is hollow-hollow; the outside is narrow-narrow." Owing to its speaking thus, he trod on the place, where, upon he fell in and hid himself, during which time the fire burnt past. Then the mouse brought out in its mouth and presented to him the whizzing barb. The feathers of the arrow were brought in their mouths by all the mouse's children. Hereupon his wife the Forward-Princess came bearing mourning-implements, and crying. Her father the Great Deity, thinking that [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] was already dead and done for, went out and stood on the moor, whereupon [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] brought the arrow and presented it to him, upon which [the Great Deity], taking him into the house and calling him into an eight-foot spaced large room, made him take the lice off his head. So, on looking at the head [he saw that] there were many centipedes [there]. Thereupon, as his wife gave to her

husband berries of the *muku* tree and red earth, he chewed the berries to pieces, and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that the Great Deity believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor], grasping the Great Deity's hair, tied it fast to the various rafters of the house, and, blocking up the floor of the house with a five hundred draught rock, and taking his wife the Forward Princess on his back, then carried off [74] the Great Deity's great life-sword and life-bow-and-arrows, as also his heavenly speaking-lute, and ran out. But the heavenly speaking-lute brushed against a tree, and the earth resounded. So the Great Deity, who was sleeping, started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair which was tied to the rafters, [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to the Even Pass of Hades, and gazing on him from afar, he called out to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, saying: "With the great life-sword and the life-bow-and-arrows which thou earnest, pursue thy half-brethren till they crouch on the august slopes of the passes, and pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers, and do thou, wretch! become the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land; and moreover, becoming the Deity Spirit-of-the-Living-Land, and making my daughter the Forward-Princess thy [75] consort, do thou make stout the temple-pillars at the foot of Mount Uka in the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven, and dwell [there], thou villain!" So when, bearing the great sword and bow, he pursued and scattered the eighty Deities, he did pursue them till they crouched on the august slope of every pass, he did pursue them till they were swept into every river, and then he began to make the land. Quamobrem Hera Yamaki, secundum anterius pactum, [cum eo] in thalamo coivit. So he brought her with him; but, fearing his consort the Forward Princess, she stuck into the fork of a tree the child that she had borne, and went back. So the child was called by the name of the Tree-Fork-Deity, and another name was the Deity-of-August-Wells.

SECTION 24. THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS

This Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears, when he went forth to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, in the land of Koshi, on arriving at the house of the Princess of Nuna kaha sang, saying:

"[I] His Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears, [76] having been unable to find a spouse in the Land of the Eight islands, and having heard that in the far off Land of Koshi there is a wise maiden, having heard that there is a beauteous maiden, I am standing [here] to truly woo her, I am going backwards and forwards to woo her. Without having yet untied even the cord of my sword, without having yet untied even my veil, I push back the plank-door shut by the maiden; while I am standing [here], I pull it forward. While I am standing [here], the *nuye* sings upon the green mountain, and [the voice of] the true bird of the moor, the pheasant, resounds; the bird of the yard, the cock, crows. Oh! the pity that [the] birds should sing! Oh! these birds! Would that I could beat them till they were sick! Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger, the tradition of the thing, too, this!"

Then the Princess of Nuna-kaha, without yet opening [77] the door, sang from the inside saying:—

"Thine Augustness the Deity-Of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! Being a maiden like a drooping plant, my heart is just a bird on a sand-bank by the shore; it will now indeed be a dotterel. Afterwards it will be a gentle bird; so as for thy life, do not deign to die. Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger! the tradition of the thing, too, this!"

[78] [*Second Song of the Princess*.]

When the sun shall hide behind the green mountains, in the night [black as] the true jewels of the moor will I come forth. Coming radiant with smiles like the morning sun, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry-bark shall softly pat [my] breast soft as the melting snow; and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's] jewel-arms,— true jewel-arms,—and with outstretched

legs, will we sleep. So speak not too lovingly, Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! The tradition of the thing, too, this!"

Quamobrem eâ nocte non coierunt, sed sequentis diei nocte auguste coierunt.

SECTION 25. THE CUP PLEDGE

[79] Again this Deity's Chief Empress, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, was very jealous. So the Deity her husband, being distressed, was about to go up from Idzumo to the Land of Yamato; and as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup, he sang, saying:

"When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments black as the true jewels of the moor, and, like the birds of the offing, look at my breast,—though I raise my fins, [I say that] these are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments green as the kingfisher, and, like the birds of the oiling, look at my breast.—though I raise my fins, [I say that] these, too, are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my raiment dyed in the sap of the dye-tree, the pounded madder sought in the mountain fields, and. like the birds of the offing. look at my breast,—though I raise my fins, [I say that] they are good. My dear young sister. Thine Augustness! Though thou say that thou wilt not weep,—if like the flocking birds, I flock and depart, if, like the led birds, I am led away and depart, thou wilt hang down thy head like a single eulalia upon the mountain and thy weeping shall indeed rise as the mist of [80] the morning shower. Thine Augustness [my] spouse like the young herbs! The tradition of the thing, too, this!"

Then his Empress, taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, sang, saying:—

"Oh! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! [Thou], my [dear] Master-of-the-Great-Land indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands [81] that thou seest, and on every beach headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But as for me alas! being a woman, I have no man except thee; I have no spouse except thee. Beneath the fluttering of the ornamented fence, beneath the softness of the warm coverlet, beneath the rustling of the cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry bark softly patting [my] breast soft as the melting snow, and patting [each other] interlaced,

stretching out and pillowing [our selves] on [each others arms],—true jewel arms, and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. Lift up the luxuriant august liquor!"

She having thus sung, they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks, and are at rest till the present time. These are called divine words.

SECTION 26. THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity dwelling in the inner temple of Munakata. and begot children: the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne, next his younger sister Her Augustness High-Princess, another name for whom is Her Augustness Princess Under-Shining. This Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is he who is now called the Great August Deity of Kamo. Again the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Princess Divine-House-Shield and begot a child: the Deity Thing-Sign-Master. Again he wedded the Deity Bird-Ears, daughter of the Deity Eight-Island-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Bird-Growing-Ears. This Deity wedded Hina-teri-nakata-bichi-wo-ikochini, and begot a child: the Deity Land-Great-Wealth. This Deity wedded the Deity Ashi-nadaka, another name for whom is Princess-Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets, and begot a child: the Deity Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Land-Ruler. This Deity wedded Princess Luck-Spirit, daughter of the [84] Deity Heavenly-Awful-Master, and begot a child: the Deity Awful-Master-Prince. This Deity wedded Princess Hina-rashi, daughter of the Deity Okami, and begot a child: the Deity Tahiri-kishi-marumi. This Deity wedded the Deity Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit, daughter of the Deity Waiting-to-See-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly, and begot a child: the Deity Mira-na-mi. This Deity wedded Princess Awo-numa-oshi, daughter of the Master-of-Shiki-yama, and begot a child: the Deity Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi. This Deity wedded the Young-Day-Female-Deity, and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth. This Deity wedded the Deity Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne, daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Pass Boundary, and begot a child: the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi.

From the above-mentioned Deity Eight-Island-Ruler down to the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi are called the Deities of seventeen generations.

SECTION 27. THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY

So when the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land dwelt at the august cape of Miho in Idzumo, there came riding on the crest of the waves in a boat of heavenly *Kagami* a Deity dressed in skins of geese flayed with a complete [85] flaying, who, when asked his name, replied not; moreover the Deities who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad spoke, saying: "As for this, the Crumbling Prince will surely know it." Thereupon [the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land] summoned and asked the Crumbling-Prince, who replied. saying: "This is the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity. the august child of the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Deity." So on their then respectfully informing His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my hand. So do he and thou become [87] brethren, and make and consolidate this land." So from that time forward the two Deities the Great-Name-Possessor and the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity crossed over to the Eternal Land. So [the Deity here] called the Crumbling Prince, who revealed the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity, is what is now [called] the scarecrow in the mountain fields. This Deity, though his legs do not walk, is a Deity who knows everything in the Empire.

SECTION 28. THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT

In the "Chronicles," this is given as the designation of the Deity who came over the sea, and Motowori therefore adopts it as the heading of this Section.

Thereupon the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land lamented himself, and said: "How shall I alone be able to make this land? Together with what Deity can I make this land?" At this time there came a Deity illuminating the sea. This Deity said: "If thou wilt lay me to rest well, I can make it together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made." Then the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land said: "If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?" He replied, saying: "Reverently worship me on Yamato's green fence, the eastern mountain's top." This is the Deity who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro.

SECTION 29. THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY

So the Great-Harvest-Deity wedded the Princess [of?] Inu, daughter of the Divine-Life-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, and begot children: the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land; [89] next the Deity of Kara; next the Deity Sohori; next the Deity White-Sun; next the Sage-Deity. (Five Deities). Again he wedded the Refulgent-Princess, and begot children: the Deity Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, next the August-Harvest-Deity. Again he wedded Princess Ame-shiru-karu-midzu, and begot children: the Deity Oki-tsu-hiko, next Her Augustness Oki-tsu-hime, another name for whom is [90] the Deity Great Furnace-Princess—this is the Deity of the Furnace held in reverence by all people—next the Deity Great-Mountain-Integrator, another name for whom is the Deity-Great-Master-of-the-Mountain-End: this Deity dwells on Mount Hiye in the land of Chika-tsu-Afumi, and is likewise the Deity dwelling at Matsu-no-wo in Kadzunu, who uses the whizzing barb. Next the Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard; next the Deity Asahi; next the Deity Hahigi; next the Deity Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee; next the Deity [91] Swift-Mountain-Dwelling; next the High Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard; next the Great-Earth-Deity, another name for whom is the Deity August-Ancestor-of-Earth. (Nine Deities)

In the above paragraph the children of the Great-Harvest-Deity, from the Deity August-Spirit-of-the Great-Land down to the Great-Earth-Deity, are altogether sixteen Deities.

The Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling wedded the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food, and begot children: the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator; next the Young-Harvest-Deity; next his younger sister the Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity; next the Water-Sprinkling-Deity; next the Deity-of-the-High-Sun-of-Summer, another name for whom is the Female-Deity-of-Summer; next the Autumn-Princess; next the Deity Stem-Harvest; next the Deity Lord-Stem-Tree-Young-House-Rope.

In the above paragraph the children of the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, from the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator down to the Deity Lord-Young-House-Rope, are altogether eight Deities.

SECTION 30. THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND

The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded, saying: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,—Of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is the land which my august child His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears shall govern." Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she sent him down from Heaven. Hereupon His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, said: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,—of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is painfully uproarious,—it is." With this announcement, he immediately re-ascended, and informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. Then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded the eight hundred myriad Deities to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and caused the Deity Thought-Includer to think [of a plan], and said: "This Central Land of Reed-Plains is the land with which we have deigned to charge our august child as the land which he shall govern. So as he deems that violent and savage Earthly Deities are numerous in this land, [69] which Deity shall we send to subdue them?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel and said: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi is the one that should be sent." So they sent the Deity Ame-no-ho-hi; but he at once curried favour with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and for three years brought back no report.

SECTION 31. THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE

Therefore the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, saying. "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, is long of bringing back a report. Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince, son of the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit should be sent." So they bestowed on him the Heavenly feathered arrows, and sent him. Thereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining, daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no [95] report. So then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince is long of bringing back a report. Which Deity shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's long tarrying?" Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The pheasant the Name-Crying-Female should be sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity] charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the Heavenly-Young-Prince is this: 'The reason for which thou wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to subdue and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for eight years bringest thou back no report?'" So then the Crying-Female, descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree at the Heavenly-Young-Prince's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman, having heard the bird's words, spoke to the Heavenly-Young-Prince, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very bad. So thou shouldest shoot it to earth." On her [thus] urging him, the Heavenly-Young-Prince at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree [96] bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up upside down through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where the

Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: "This arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the Heavenly-Young-Prince," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the Heavenly-Young-Prince in obedience to our command, let it not hit him. If he has a foul heart, let the Heavenly-Young-Prince perish by this arrow." With these words, the took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole, so that it hit the Heavenly-Young-Prince on the top of his breast as he was sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the origin of [the saying] Beware of a returning arrow.) Moreover the pheasant returned not. So this is the origin of the modern proverb which speaks of 'the pheasant as sole messenger.' So the sound of the wailings of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there, and made the wild goose of the river the head-hanging bearer the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman, [98] the pheasant the weeping woman; and, having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves for eight days and eight nights, At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne came and condoled on the mourning for the Heavenly-Young-Prince, whereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves, saying: "My child is not dead, no! My lord is not dead, no!" and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely resembled each other in countenance: so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity Ajishi-ki-taka-hiko-ne was very angry, and said: "It was only because he was my dear friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to an unclean dead person?"—and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces]

with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning at the source of the River Awimi in the land of Minu. The great sword with which he cut [the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Great-Blade-Mower, another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Sabre. So when the [99] Deity Aji-shiki-toba-hiko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Her Augustness the High-Princess in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying:

"Oh! 'tis the Deity Aji-shiki-Taka-Hiko-Ne traversing two august valleys with the refulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of the august assembled jewels worn round her neck by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven!"

This Song is of a Rustic Style.

SECTION 32. ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise all the Deities said: "He who is named the Deity Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling by the source of the Tranquil River of Heaven, is the one that should be sent: or if not this Deity, then this Deity's child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, might be sent. Moreover, owing to this Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended having blocked up and turned back the waters of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road blocked up, other Deities cannot go [thither]. So the Heavenly-Deer-Deity should be sent specially to ask him." So then the Heavenly-Deer-Deity was sent to ask the Deity Heaven-Point-Blade-Extended, who replied, saying: "I will obey, and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless on this errand ye should send my child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,"—[and with these words] immediately offered [his son to Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity]. So the Deity Heavenly-Bird-Boat was attached to the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and they were sent off. Therefore these two Deities, descending to the little shore of Inasa in the land of Idzumo, [101] drew their swords ten hand-breadths long, stuck them upside down on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged on the points of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying "The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: 'We have deigned to charge our august child with thy dominion, the Central Land of Reed-Plains, as the land which he should govern. So how is thy heart?'" He replied, saying: "I am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to Cape Miho to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet returned." So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou] respectfully present this land to the august child of the Heavenly Deity;"—and thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his

heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches, and disappeared. So then they asked [102] the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "Thy son the Deity Thing-Sign-Master has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who should speak?" Hereupon he spoke again, saying: "There is my other son, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm. There is none beside him." While he was thus speaking, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm came up, bearing on the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock, and said: "Who is it that has come to our land, and thus secretly talks? If that be so, I should like to have a trial of strength. So I should like to begin by taking thine august hand." So on his letting him take his august hand, his touch at once turned it into an icicle, and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade. So then he was frightened and drew back. Then on the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity wishing to take the hand of the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed it as if it were taking a young reed, and cast it aside, upon which [the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm] fled away. So when [the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea of Suha in the land of Shinanu, and was about to slay him, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. I will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master. I Will yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains according to the command of the august child of the Heavenly Deities." So they returned again, and asked the Deity Master-of-the Great-Land [saying]: "Thy children the two Deities the Deity Thing-Sign-Master and the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm have said that they will follow and not go against the commands of the august child of the Heavenly Deities. So how is thy heart?" Then he replied, saying: According as the two Deities my children have said, I too will not go against them. In accordance with the [heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains. But as to my place of residence, if ye will make stout the temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of Heaven's sun, and will deign to establish me, I will hide in the eighty (less than a hundred) road-windings, and wait on him. Again, as for my children the hundred and

eighty Deities, if the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be the Deities, august rear and van and will respectfully serve them, [104] there will be no disobedient Deities." Having thus spoken [he hid himself. So in accordance with his word,] they built a heavenly august abode on the shore of Tagishi in the land of Idzumo; and the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits, grandson of the Deity Of Water-Gates, was made butler to offer up the heavenly august banquet, when, having said prayers, the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits turned into a cormorant, went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red earth from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters, and, cutting sea-weed stalks, made a fire-drill mortar, and made a fire-drill pestle out of stalks of *komo*, and drilled out fire, saying: "This fire which I have drilled [105] will I burn until, in the Plain of High Heaven, the soot on the heavenly new lattice of the gable of His Augustness the Wondrous-Divine-Producer-the-August-Ancestor hang down eight hand-breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake down to the nethermost rock-bottom, and,—the fishing sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and landed the large-mouthed small-finned perch,—I will offer up the heavenly true fish-food so that the split bamboos bend." So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity re-ascended [to Heaven], and reported how he had subdued and pacified the Central Land of Reed-Plains.

Section 33. The August Descent From Heaven Of His Augustness The August Grandchild

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrity-Deity commanded and charged the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears [saying: The Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished-pacifying the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So do thou, in accordance with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I have been getting ready to descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name is His August ness Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. This child should be sent down." [As for this august child, he was augustly [107] joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess, daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity, and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy and next His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears is the land over which thou shalt rule." So [he replied]: "I will descend from Heaven according to your commands." So when His Augustness-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of [108] Reed-Plains. So then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity and the High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity [saying]: Though thou art but a delicate female, thou art a Deity who conquers in facing Deities. So be thou the one to go and ask thus: 'This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?'" So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I am an Earthly Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta. The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer

myself as His Augustness's vanguard." Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor, in all five chiefs of companies, they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-foot [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling,] and, also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener of Eternal Night, and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us." Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu. The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food. is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi. The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity,—this Deity of the August Gate. The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male, dwells in Sanagata. Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains); His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen); Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains); His Augustness-jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains).

SECTION 34. THE AUGUST REIGN IN HIMUKA OF HIS AUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY

Motowori makes Sect. XXXIV commence here, and it seems on the whole best to follow him in so doing, as the entire period of the reign on earth of the first of the heaven-descended gods is thus included in one Section. On the other hand, the "Descent from Heaven," which gives its name to the preceding Sect., cannot properly be said to be accomplished until the end of this first sentence of Sect. XXXIV. It will be remembered that the Japanese name of this first deity-king is (in its abbreviated and most commonly used form) Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi.

So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat, pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and descended from Heaven onto the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsu-kushi. [112] So His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes, both taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers, taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords, taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow, and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords) Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite to the "land of Kara." One comes straight across to the august Cape of Kasasa; and it is a land whereon [113] the morning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place." Having thus spoken, he made stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven, and dwelt there.

SECTION 35. THE DUCHESS OF SARU

So then he charged Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female [saying]: "Do thou, who wast the one to make known this Great Deity Prince of Saruta who respectfully served as my august vanguard, respectfully escort him [back]; and do thou likewise bear the august name of that Deity, and respectfully serve me." Wherefore the Duchesses of Saru bear the name of the Male Deity the Prince of Saruta, and the women are Duchesses of Saru.

SECTION 36. THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA

Now when this Deity Prince of Saruta dwelt at Azaka, he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a *hirabu* shell-fish, and was drowned in the brine of the sea. So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was the Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit; the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was the Gurgling-up-August-Spirit; the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was the Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit. Thereupon [Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female], having escorted [back] the Deity Prince of Saruta, came back, and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin, and asked them, saying: "Will ye respectfully serve the august son of the "Heavenly Deities? "—upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the bèche-de-mer said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the bèche-de-mer, saying: "Ah! this mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!"—and [with these words] slit the mouth with her stiletto. So at the present day the [115] bèche-de-mer has a slit mouth. Wherefore [from august reign to] august reign, when the offerings of the first-fruits of Shima are presented [to the Emperor], a portion of them is granted to the Duchesses of Saru.

SECTION 37. THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR

Hereupon His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty met a beautiful person at the august cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor, and my name is the Divine-Princess-of-Ata, another name by which I am called being Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees." Again he asked: "Hast thou any brethren?" She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks." Then he charged her, [saying]: "Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum. Tibi quomodo videtur?" She replied, saying: "I am not able to say. My father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor will say." So he sent a request [for her] to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her [116] elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred. So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night.

Then the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message [to His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], saying: "My reason for respectfully presenting both my daughters together was that, by sending Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity, though the snow fall and the wind blow, might live eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again that by sending Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, [they] might live flourishingly like unto the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to insure this, I offered them. But owing to thy thus sending back Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail as the flowers of the

trees. So it is for this [117] reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns are not long.

Section 38. The August Child-Bearing Of Princess-Blossoming Brilliantly-Like-The-Flowers-Of-The-Trees

So later on Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees waited on [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, and said: "I am pregnant, and now the time for my delivery approaches. "It is not fit for me to be delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately; so I tell thee." Then [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] said: "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly! what! pregnant after one night! It cannot be my child. It must surely be the child of an Earthly Deity." Then she replied, saying: "If the child with [118] which I am pregnant be the child of an Earthly Deity, my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be the august child of the Heavenly Deity, it will be fortunate;"—and thereupon she built a hall eight fathoms [long] without doors, went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance] with earth; and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered. So the name of the child that was born when the fire was burning most fiercely was His Augustness Fire-Shine (this is the ancestor of the Hayabito, Dukes of Ata); the name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Climax; the august name of the child born next was His Augustness [119] Fire-Subside, another name for whom is His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears (three Deities in all).

SECTION 39. THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OF LUCK

So His Augustness Fire-Shine was a prince who got his luck on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. His Augustness Fire-Subside was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside said to his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine: "Let us mutually exchange, and use each other's luck." [Nevertheless], though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not accede [to it]; but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish; and moreover he lost the fish-hook in the sea. Thereupon his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine asked him for the fish-hook, saying: "A mountain-luck is a luck of its own, and a sea-luck is a luck of its own. Let each of us now restore [to the other] his luck." To which the younger brother His Augustness Fire-Subside replied, saying: "As for thy fish-hook, I did not get a single fish by angling with it; and at last I lost it in the sea." But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So the younger brother, breaking his ten grasp sabre that was augustly girded [120] on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not receive them, saying: "I still want the real original fish-hook."

SECTION 40. THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR

Hereupon, as the younger brother was weeping and lamenting by the sea-shore, the Deity Salt-Possessor came and asked him, saying: "What is the cause of the Sky's-Sun-Height's weeping and lamentation? "He replied, saying: "I had exchanged a fish-hook with my elder brother, and have lost that fish-hook; and as he asks me for it, I have given him many fish-hooks as compensation; but he will not receive them, saying, 'I [121] still want the original fish-hook.' So I weep and lament for this." Then the Deity Salt-Possessor said: "I will give good counsel to Thine Augustness;"—and there-with built a stout little boat without interstices, and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: "When I shall have pushed the boat off, go on for some time. There will be a savoury august road; and if thou goest in the boat along that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes' scales,—which is the palace of the Deity, Ocean-Possessor. When thou reachest the august gate of that deity['s palace], there will be a multitudinous[-ly branching] cassia-tree above the well at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the Sea-Deity's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee." So following [these] instructions, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] went a little [way], and everything happened as [the Deity Salt-Possessor] had said; and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the hand-maidens of the Sea-Deity's daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, bearing jewelled vessels, were about to draw water, there was a light in the well. On looking up, there was a beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. [122] Then His Augustness Fire-Subside saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it into a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then, without drinking the water, he loosened the jewel at his august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel. Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from the vessel]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it, and presented it to Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess. Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her hand-maidens, saying: "Is there perhaps some one outside the gate?" They replied, saying: "There is some one sitting on the top of the cassia-tree

above our well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illustrious even than our king. Lo, as he begged for water, we respectfully gave him water; but, without drinking the water, he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to separate this [from the other], we have brought [the vessel] with [the jewel] in it to present to thee." Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted at the sight. They exchanged glances, after which she spoke to her father, saying: "There is a beautiful person at our gate." Then the Sea-Deity him-self went out to look, and saying: "This person is the Sky's-Sun-Height, the august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height," led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of sea-asses skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred, made an august banquet, and forthwith gave him his daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess in marriage. So he dwelt in that land for three years. Hereupon His Augustness Fire-Subside [123] thought of what had gone before, and heaved one deep sigh. So Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: "Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause of it?" The Great Deity her father asked his son-in-law saying: "This morning I heard my daughter speak, saying: 'Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh.' What may the cause be? Moreover what was the cause of thy coming here?" Then [His Augustness Fire-Subside] told the Great Deity exactly how his elder brother had pressed him for the lost fish-hook. Thereupon the Sea-Deity summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: "Is there perchance any fish that has taken this fish-hook?" So all the fishes replied: "Lately the *tahi* has complained of something sticking in its throat preventing it from eating; so it doubtless has taken [the hook]." On the throat of the *tahi*being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to His Augustness Fire-Subside, whom the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor then instructed, saying: "What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to thine elder brother [is as follows]: 'This fish-hook is a big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook.' Having [thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back hand. [124] Having

done thus,—if thine elder brother make high fields, do Thine Augustness make low fields; and if thine elder brother make low fields, do Thine Augustness make high fields. If thou do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him. If he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to let him live. Thus shalt thou harass him." With these words, [the Sea-Deity] gave [to His Augustness Fire-Subside] the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel,—two in all,—and forthwith summoned together all the crocodiles, and asked them, saying: "The Sky's-Sun-Height, august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height, is now about to proceed out to the Upper-Land. Who will in how many days respectfully escort him, and bring back a report?" So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days,—one of them, a crocodile one fathom [long], saying: "I will escort him, and come back in one day." So then [the Sea-Deity] [125] said to the crocodile one fathom [long]: "If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing the middle of the sea, do not alarm him!" Forthwith he seated him upon the crocodile's head, and saw him off. So [the crocodile] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the crocodile was about to return, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] untied the stiletto which was girded on him, and, setting it on the crocodile's neck, sent [the latter] back. So the crocodile one fathom [long] is now called the Deity Blade-Possessor.

SECTION 41. SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE

Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother], exactly according to the Sea-Deity's words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer, and poorer, and, with renewed savage intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack [His Augustness Fire-Subside, the latter] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him; on his expressing grief, he put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head, saying: "I henceforward will be Thine Augustness's guard by day and night, and respectfully serve thee." So down to the present day his various posturings when drowning are ceaselessly served up.

SECTION 42. THE PARTURITION-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS

Hereupon the Sea-Deity's daughter Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess herself waited on [His Augustness Fire-Subside], and said: "I am already with child, and the time for my delivery now approaches. But me-thought that the august child of an Heavenly Deity ought not to be born in the Sea-Plain. So I have waited on thee here." Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore she built a parturition-hall, using cormorants' feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed, she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-hall. Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband [saying]: "Whenever a foreigner is about to be delivered, she takes the shape of her native land to be delivered. So I now will take my native shape to be delivered. Pray look not upon [127] me!" Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside], thinking these words strange, stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a crocodile eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about; and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away. Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess knew that he had peeped; and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: 'I had wished always to come and go across the sea-path. But thy having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-faced,"—and she forthwith closed the sea-boundary, and went down again. Therefore the name by which the august child whom she had borne was called was his Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely. Nevertheless afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she entrusted to her younger sister Jewel-Good-Princess, on the occasion of her nursing the august child, a Song to be presented [to His [128] Augustness Fire-Subside]. The Song said:

"As for red jewels, though even the string [they are strung on] shines, the aspect of [my] lord [who is] like unto white jewels is [more] illustrious."

Then her husband replied by a Song, which said:

"As for my younger sister, whom I took to sleep [with me] on the island where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing, I shall not forget her till the end of my life."

So His Augustness-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years His august mausoleum is likewise on the west of Mount Takachiho.

Section 43. The August Children Of His Augustness Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely

His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely wedded his maternal aunt Her Augustness Jewel-Good-Princess, and begot august children named: His Augustness Five-Reaches; next His Augustness Boiled-Rice; next His Augustness August-Food-Master; next His Augustness Young-August-Food-Master, another name for whom is His Augustness Luxuriant-August-Food-Master, and another name is His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince. So His Augustness August-Food-Master, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land. His Augustness Boiled-Rice went into the Sea-Plain, it being his deceased mother's land.

VOLUME 2

SECTION 44. REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART I.—HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER)

Jim-mu signifies "divine valour." It is the "canonical name" of the Emperor Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko

The two Deities His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko and his elder brother His Augustness Itsu-se, dwelling in the palace of Takachiho. took counsel, saying: "By dwelling in what place shall we [most] quietly carry on the government of the Empire? It were probably best to go east." Forthwith they left Himuka on their progress to Tsukushi. So when they arrived at Usa in the Land of Toyo, two of the natives, whose names were Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime built a palace raised on one foot, and offered them a great august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one [131] year at the palace of Wokoda in Tsukushi. Again making a progress up from that land, they dwelt seven years at the palace of Takeri in the land of Agi. Again removing, and making a progress up from that land, they dwelt eight years at the palace of Takashima in Kibi. So when they made their progress up from that land, they met in the Hayasuhi Channel a person riding towards them on the carapace of a tortoise, and raising his wings as he angled. Then they called to him to approach, and asked him, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity. " Again they asked him, saying: "Knowest thou the sea-path?" He replied, saying: "I know it well." Again they asked him, saying: "Wilt thou follow and respectfully serve us?" He replied, saying: "I will respectfully serve you." So they pushed a pole across to him, drew him into the august vessel, and forthwith conferred [132] on him the designation of Sawa-ne-tsu-hiko (This is the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Yamato.) So when they went up from that land they passed the Namihaya Crossing, and brought up at the haven of Shirakata. At this time Nagasune-biko of Tomi raised an army, and waited to go out to fight [against them]. Then they took the shields that had been put in the august vessel, and disembarked. So they called that place by the name of Tate-dzu. It is what is now called the Tadetsu of Kusaka. Therefore when fighting with the Prince of Tomi, His Augustness Itsu-se was pierced in his august hand by the Prince of

Tomi's hurtful arrow. So then he said: "It is not right for me, an august child of the Sun-Deity, to fight facing the sun. It is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched villain's hurtful hand. I will henceforward turn round, and smite him with my back to the sun." Having [thus] decided, he, on making a progress round from the southern side, reached the sea of Chinu, and washed the blood on his august hand: so it is called the sea of Chinu. Making a progress round from thence, and arriving at the river-mouth of Wo in the land of Ki, he said: "Ah! that I should die stricken by the wretched villain's hand!" and expired as a valiant man. So that river-mouth was called the river mouth of Wo. The Mausoleum, too, is on Mount Kama in the land of Ki.

SECTION 45. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II.—THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN)

So when His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko made a progress round from thence, and reached the village of Kumanu, a large bear came out of the mountain, and forthwith disappeared into it. Then His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko suddenly fainted away, and his august army likewise all fainted and fell prostrate. At this time Takakurazhi (this is the name of a person) of Kumanu came bearing one cross-sword to the place where the august-child of the Deity was lying prostrate, and presented it to him, upon which the august child of the Heavenly Deity forthwith rose up, and said: "How long I have slept!" So when he accepted the cross-sword, the savage Deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously fell cut down. Then the whole august army, that had been bewildered and had fallen prostrate, awoke and rose up. So the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked him how he had got the cross-sword. Takakurazhi [135] replied, saying: "I was told in a dream that

the two Deities the Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity and the High Integrating Deity commanded and summoned the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and charged him [thus]: 'The Central Land of Reed-Plain is painfully uproarious,—it is. Our august children must be ill at ease. As [therefore] the Central Land of Reed-Plains is a land which thou specially subduedst, thou the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity shalt descend [thither].' Then he replied, saying: 'I will not descend [myself], but I have the cross-sword wherewith I specially subdued the land. (The name by which this sword is called is the Deity Thrust-Snap; another name by which it is called is the Deity Awful-Snap, and another name for it is the August-Snap-Spirit, This sword dwells in the temple of the Deity of Isonokami) The manner in which I will send this sword down will be to perforate the ridge of [the roof of] Takakurazhi's stone-house, and drop it through. (So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity instructed me, saying: 'I will perforate the ridge of [the roof of] thy store-house, and drop this sword through.) So do thou, with the good eyes of [136] morning, take it and present it to the august child of the Heavenly Deity.' So, on my searching my store-house early next morning

in accordance with the instructions of the dream, there really was a cross-sword there. So I just present this cross-sword to thee."

SECTION 46. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III.—THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS)

"Then His Augustness the Great-High-Integrating-Deity again commanded and taught, saying: "August son of the Heavenly Deity! make no progress hence into the interior. The savage Deities are very numerous. I will now send from Heaven a crow eight feet [long]. So that crow eight feet [long] shall guide thee. Thou must make thy progress following after it as it goes." So on [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress following after the crow eight feet [long] in obedience to the Deity's instructions, he reached the lower course of the Yeshinu river, where there was a [137] person catching fish in a weir. Then the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity and am called by the name of Nihe-motsu no Ko." (This is the ancestor of the Cormorant-Keepers of Aha.) On [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress thence, a person with a tail came out of a well. The well shone. Then [His Augustness] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Wi-hika." This is the ancestor of the Headmen of Yeshinu). On his forthwith entering the mountains, His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko again met a person with a tail. This person came forth pushing the cliffs apart. Then [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying; "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Iha-oshi-waku no Ko. I heard [just] now that the august son of the Heavenly Deity was making his progress. So it is for that that I have come to meet thee." (This is the ancestor of the Territorial [138] Owners of Yeshinu). Thence [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] penetrated over on foot to Uda. So they say: "The Ugachi of Uda."

SECTION 47. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IV.—THE UKASHI BRETHREN)

So then there were in Uda two persons, Ukashi the Elder Brother and Ukashi the Younger Brother. So [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] sent the crow eight feet [long] in advance to ask these persons, saying: "The august child of the Heavenly Deity has made a progress [hither]. Will ye respectfully serve him?" Hereupon Ukashi the Elder Brother waited for and shot at the messenger with a whizzing barb to make him turn back. So the place where the whizzing barb fell is called Kabura-zaki. Saying that he intended to wait for and smite [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], he [tried to] collect an army. But being unable to collect an army he said deceitfully that he would respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], and built a great palace, and in that palace set a pitfall, and waited. Then Ukashi the Younger Brother came out to [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] beforehand, and made obeisance, saying: "Mine elder brother Ukashi the Elder Brother has shot at and turned back the messenger [139] of the august child of the Heavenly Deity, and, intending to wait for and attack thee, has [tried to] collect an army; but, being unable to collect it, he has built a great palace, and set a gin within it, intending to wait for and catch thee. So I have come out to inform [thee of this]." Then the two persons His Augustness Michi-no-Omi, ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains, and His Augustness Ohokume, ancestor of the Kume Lords, summoned Ukashi the Elder Brother and reviled him, saying: "Into the great palace which thou hast built to respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], be thou the first to enter, and declare plainly the manner in which thou intendest respectfully to serve him; "—and forthwith grasping the hilts of their cross-swords, playing with their spears, and fixing arrows [in their bows], they drove him in, whereupon he was caught in the gin which he himself had set, and died. So they forthwith pulled him out, and cut him in pieces. So the place is called Uda-no-Chihara. Having done thus, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] bestowed on his august army the whole of the great banquet presented [to him] by Ukashi the Younger Brother. At this time he sang, saying:

"The woodcock, for which I laid a wood-cock-snare [140] and waited in the high castle of Uda, strikes not against it; but a valiant whale strikes against it. If the elder wife ask for fish, slice off a little like the berries of the stand soba; if the younger wife ask for fish, slice off a quantity like the berries of the vigorous *sasaki*."

"Ugh! pfui! dolt! This is saying thou rascal. Ah! pfui! dolt! This is laughing [141] [him] to scorn."

So Ukashi the Younger Brother (he is the ancestor of the Water Directors of Uda).

Section 48. Emperor Jim-Mu (Part V.—The Earth-Spider Of The Cave Of Osaka)

When [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] made his progress, and reached the great cave of Osaka, earth-spiders with tails, [namely] eighty bravoes, were in the cave awaiting him. So then the august son of the Heavenly Deity commanded that a banquet be bestowed on the eighty bravoes. Thereupon he set eighty butlers, one for each of the eighty bravoes, and girded each of them with a sword, and instructed the butlers, saying: [142] "When ye hear me sing, cut [them down] simultaneously." So the Song by which he made clear to them to set about smiting the earth-spiders said:

"Into the great cave of Osaka people have entered in abundance, and are p. 174 [there]. Though people have entered in abundance, and are [there], the children of the augustly powerful warriors will smite and finish them with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords]: the children of the augustly powerful warriors, with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords], would now do well to smite."

Having thus sung, they drew their swords, and simultaneously smote them to death.

SECTION 49. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VI.—THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN)

After this, when about to smite the Prince of Tomi, he sang, saying: [143]

"The children of the augustly powerful army will smite and finish the one stem of smelly chive in the millet-field,—the stem of its root, both its root and shoots."

Again he sang:

"The ginger, which the children of the augustly powerful army planted near the hedge, resounds in the mouth. I shall not forget it. I will smite and finish it."

[144] Again he sang, saying:

"Like the *turbinidæ* creeping round the great rock in the sea of Ise [on which blows] the divine wind, [so] will we creep round, and smite and finish them."

Again when he smote Shiki the Elder Brother and Shiki the Younger Brother, the august army was temporarily exhausted. Then he sang, saying:

"As we fight placing our shields in a row, going and watching from between the trees on Mount Inasa, oh! we are famished. Ye keepers of cormorants, the birds of the island, come now to our rescue!"

SECTION 50. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII.—THE EMPIRE PACIFIED)

So then His Augustness Nigi-hayabi waited on and said to the august child of the Heavenly Deity: "As I heard that [thou], the august child of the Heavenly Deity, hadst descended from Heaven, I have followed down to wait on thee." Forthwith presenting to him the heavenly symbols, he respectfully served him. So His Augustness Nigi-hayabi wedded the Princess of Tomi, [145] sister of the Prince of Tomi, and begot a child, His Augustness *Umashi-ma-ji*. (He was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Warrior-Clan, of the Grandees of Hodzumi; and of the Grandees of the Neck-Clan). So having thus subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] dwelt at the palace of Kashibara near Unebi and ruled the Empire.

SECTION 51. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VIII.—HE WEDS I-SUKE-YORI-HIME)

So when he dwelt in Himuka, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] wedded Princess Ahira, younger sister of the Duke of Wobashi in Ata, and begot children: [146] there were two,—His Augustness Tagishi-mimi, next His Augustness Kisu-mimi. But when he sought for a beautiful maiden to make her his Chief Empress, His Augustness Oho-kume said: "There is here a beauteous maiden who is called the august child of a Deity. The reason why she is called the august child of a Deity is that the Princess Seya-datara, daughter of Mizokuhi of Mishima, was admired on account of her beauty by the Great-Master-of-Things the Deity of Miwa, qui, quum pulchra puella oletum fecit, in sagittam rubro [colore] fucatam se convertit, et ab inferiori parte cloacae [ad usum] faciendi oleti virginis privatas partes transfixit. Tunc pulchra virgo consternata est, et surrexit, et trepide fugit. Statim sagittam attulit, et juxta thalamum posuit. Subito [sagitta] formosus adolescens facta [147] est, qui cito pulchram puellam sibi in matrimonio junxit, et filiam procreavit nomine Hoto-tarara-i-susugi-hime; et est nomen alternativum Hime-tatara-i-suke-yori-hime. (Id est posterior mutatio nominis, quoniam abhorruit facere mentionem privatarum partium). So therefore she is called the august child of a Deity. Hereupon seven beauteous maidens were out playing on the moor of Takasazhi, and I-suke-yori-hime was among them. His Augustness Ohokume, seeing I-suke-yori-hime, spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign in a Song, saying:

"Seven maidens on the moor of Takasazhi in Yamato:—which shall be interlaced?"

Then I-suke-yori-hime was standing first among the beauteous maidens. Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign, having looked at the beauteous maidens, and knowing in his august heart that I-suke-yori-hime was standing in the very front, replied by a Song, saying:

"Even [after nought but] a fragment[ary glimpse], I will intertwine the lovely [one] standing in the very front.

Then His Augustness Ohokume informed I-suke-yori-hime [148] of the Heavenly Sovereign's decree, whereupon she, seeing the slit sharp eyes of His Augustness Ohokume, sang in her astonishment, saying:

" ? ?

" ? ?

"Wherefore the slit sharp eye?

Then His Augustness Ohokume replied by a Song, saying:

"My slit sharp eyes [are] in order to find the maiden immediately."

So the maiden said that she would respectfully serve [the Heavenly Sovereign]. Hereupon the house of Her Augustness I-suke-yori-hime was on [the back of] the River Sawi. The Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the abode of I-suke-yori-hime, and augustly slept [149] [there] one night. (The reason why that river was called the River Sawi was that on the River's banks the mountain-lily-plant grew in abundance. So the name of the mountain-lily-plant was taken, and the designation of River Sawi [bestowed]. The name by which the mountain-lily-plant was originally called was *sawi*). Afterwards, when I-suke-yori-hime came and entered into the palace, the Heavenly Sovereign sang augustly saying:

"In a damp hut on the reed-moor having spread layer upon layer of sedge mats, we two slept!

The names of the august children thus born were: His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi, next His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi, next His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi" (Three Deities.)

SECTION 52. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. IX—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE)

So when, after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, [150] the elder half-brother, His Augustness Tagishi-mimi, wedded the Empress I-suke-yori-hime, he plotted how he might slay his three younger brethren, pending which their august parent I-suke-yori-hime lamented, and made [the plot] known to her august children by a Song. The song said:

"From the River Sawi the clouds have risen across, and the leaves of the trees have rustled on Mount Unebi: the wind is about to blow."

Again she sang, saying:

"Ah! What rest on Mount Unebi as clouds in the day-time, will surely blow as wind at night-fall, [whence] the rustling of the leaves!"

When hereupon her august children, hearing and knowing [of the danger], were alarmed and forthwith were about to slay Tagishi-mimi, His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi said to his elder brother His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi: "Thy dear Augustness, [do thou] take a weapon, and go in and slay Tagishi-mimi." So he took a weapon and went in, and was about to slay him. But his arms and legs trembled so, that he was unable to slay him. So then the younger brother His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begged [to be allowed] to take the weapon which his elder brother held, and [151] went in and slew Tagishi-mimi. So again, in praise of his august name, he was called His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi. Then His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi resigned [in favour of] the younger brother His Augustness Take-nuha-kaha-mimi, saying: "I could not slay the foeman; but Thine Augustness was at once able to slay him. So, though I be the elder brother, it is not right that I should be the superior. Wherefore do Thine Augustness be the superior, and rule [all] beneath the Heaven. I will assist Thine Augustness, becoming a priest, and respectfully serving thee."

SECTION 53. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X.—GENEALOGIES)

So His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi (is the ancestor of the Chieftains of Mamuta, and of the Chieftains of Teshima.) His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi (is the ancestor of the Grandees of Oho, of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Chihisako, of the chieftains of [152] the Tribe of Sahahi, of the Dukes of Hi, of the Dukes of Ohokida, of the Dukes of Aso, of the Chieftains of the Granaries of Tsukushi, of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe, of the Rulers of the Tribe of Sazaki, of the Rulers of Wo-Hatsuse, of the Suzerains of Tsuke, of the Rulers of the land of Iyo, of the Rulers of the land of Shinanu, of the Rulers of the land of Ihaki in Michinoku, of the Rulers of the Land of Naka [153] in Hitachi, of the Rulers of the land of Nagasa, of the Suzerains of Funaki in Ise, of the Grandees of Niha in Wohari, and of the Grandees of Shimada.)

SECTION 54. EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL)

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi ruled the Empire. Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko were one hundred and thirty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the top of the Kashi Spur on the northern side of Mount Unebi.

SECTION 55. EMPEROR SUI-ZEI

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi dwelt at the palace of Takawoka in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kaha-mata-bime, ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki, and begot [154] an august child: His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi (one Deity), The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tsukida.

SECTION 56. EMPEROR AN-NEI

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi dwelt in the palace of Ukiana at Kata-shiha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Akuto-hime, daughter of the Departmental Lord Haye, elder brother of Kaha-mata-bime, and begot august children: His Augustness Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone, next His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo, next His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko. Of the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign,—three Deities,—His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. There were two Kings, children of the next [brother], His Augustness [155] Shiki-tsu-hiko. One child (was the ancestor of the Territorial Lords of Suchi in Iga, of the Territorial Lords of Nabari, and of the Territorial Lords of Minu); one child, His Augustness Wa-chi-tsumi, dwelt in the palace of Miwi in Ahaji. So this King had two daughters: the name of the elder was Hahe-irone, and another name for her was Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are: the name of the younger was Hahe-irodo. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-nine. Augustness mausoleum est in privatis partibus Montis Unebi.

SECTION 57. EMPEROR I-TOKU

His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo dwelt in the palace of Sakahiwo at Karu, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded her Augustness Princess Futo-ma-waka, another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Ihi-bi, ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki, and begot august children: His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-wake-shine, next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (two Deities). So His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Chinu, of the Lords of Take in Tajima, and of the Territorial Lords of Ashiwi). The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is above the Vale of Manago by Mount Unebi.

SECTION 58. EMPEROR KO-SHO

His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine dwelt at the palace of Waki-no-kami in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness [157] Princess Yoso-taho, younger sister of Oki-tsu-yoso ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari, and begot august children: His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko, and next His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito (two Deities). Now the younger brother, His Augustness Tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The elder brother His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kasuga, the Grandees of Ohoyake, the Grandees of Ahata, the Grandees of Wonu; the Grandees of Kaki-no-moto, the Grandees of Ichihiwi; the Grandees of Ohosaka, the Grandees of Ana, the Grandees of Taki: [158] the Grandees of Haguri, the Grandees of Chita, the Grandees of Muza; the Grandees of Tsunuyama, the Dukes of Ihitaka in Ise, the Dukes of Ichishi, and the Rulers of the Land of Chika-tsu-Afumi).

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-three. His August mausoleum is on Mount Hakata at Waki-no-kami.

SECTION 59. EMPEROR KOAN

His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito dwelt in the palace of Akidzushima at Muro in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded his niece Her Augustness Princess Oshika, and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi, next His Augustness, Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni (two Deities). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [159] [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tamade.

SECTION 60. EMPEROR KŌ-REI

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni dwelt at the Palace of Ihodo at Kuruda, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuhashi, daughter of Ohome, ancestor of the Departmental Lords of Tohochi, and begot an august child: His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru (one Deity). Again he wedded Princess Chiji-haya-ma-waka of Kasuga, and begot an august child: Her Augustness Princess Chiji-haya (one Deity). Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are, he begot august children: Her Augustness Yamato-to-mo-so-bime, next His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake; next His [160] Augustness Hiko-isa-seri-biko, another name for whom is His Augustness Oho-biki-tsu-hiko: next Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime (four Deities). Again he wedded Haheirodo, younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Are, and begot august children,—His Augustness Hiko-same-ma, next His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all eleven Deities (five kings and three queens). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The two Deities His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko and His Augustness Waka-take-kibi-tsu-hiko together set sacred jars at the front of the River Hi in Hari-ma; and, making Harima the mouth of the road, subdued and pacified the Land of Kibi. So His Augustness [161] Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kamu-tsu-michi in Kibi) The next, His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kiki-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Shimo-tsu-michi in Kibi and of the Grandees of Kasa). The next His Augustness Hiko-same-ma (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uzhika in Harima). The next, His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tonami in Koshi, of the Grandees of Kunisaki in the Land of Toyo, of the Dukes of Ihobara, and of the Maritime Suzerains of Tsunuga). The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and six. His august mausoleum is at Umasaka at Kotawoka.

SECTION 61. EMPEROR KŌ-GEN

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko -kuni-kuru dwelt in the palace of Sakaki-bara at Karu, and ruled the Empire. This heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Utsu-shiko-me, younger sister of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi, and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-biko, next His Augustness Sukuna-biko-take-wi-goro; next His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi (three Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me, daughter of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, he begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-makoto. Again, wedding Princess Haniyasu, daughter of Awotama of Kafuchi, he begot an august child: His Augustness Take-hani-yasu-biko (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered in all five Deities]. So His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of [163] his elder brother, His Augustness Oho-biko, were His Augustness Take-numa-kaha-wake (ancestor of the Grandees of Abe); next His Augustness Hiko-inakoshi-wake (This was the ancestor of the Butler Grandees.) His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-mikoto wedded Princess Takachina of Kadzuraki, young sister of Cho-nabi, ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari, and begot a child: the Noble Umashi Uchi. (This was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uchi in Yamashiro.) Again, wedding Princess Yama-shita-kage, younger sister of Udzu-hiko, ancestor of the Rulers of the Lord of Ki, he begot a child, the Noble Take-Uchi The children of this Noble Take-Uchi [numbered] in all nine (seven males and two females),— namely] the Noble of Hata-no-Yashiro, [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Hata, of the Grandees of Hayashi, of the Grandees of Hami, of the Grandees of Hoshikaha, of the Grandees of Afumi, and of the Dukes of the Hatsuse Tribe); next the Noble Kose-no-Wo-Kara [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kose, of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe, and of the Grandees of the Karu Tribe); next the Noble Soga no Ishikaha [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Soga, of the Grandees of Kahanobe, of the Grandees of Tanaka, of the Grandees of Takamuko, of the Grandees of Woharida of the Grandees of Sakurawi, and of the Grandees of Kishida); next the Noble Heguri-no-Tsuku, [who] (was the

ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri, of the Grandees of Sawara, and of the Uma-mi-kuhi Chiefs) next the Noble Kino-Tsunu [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Ki, of the Grandees of Tsumu; and of the Grandees of Sakamoto) next Princess Mato of Kume; next Princess Nu-no-iro; next Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tamade, of the Grandees of Ikuha, of the Grandees [166] of Ikuye and of the Grandees of Agina), moreover [there was] the Noble Waku-go (the ancestor of the Grandees of Yenuma). This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the mound in the middle of the Pool of Tsurugi.

SECTION 62. EMPEROR KAI-KUWA

His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-ōho-bibi dwelt in the palace of Izakaha at Kasuga, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Princess of Takanu, daughter of Yugori the Great Departmental Lord of Taniha, and begot an august child: His [167] Augustness Hiko-yumusumi, (one Deity). Again he wedded his step-mother, Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me, and begot august children: His Augustness Mima-kiri-biko-iniwe; next Her Augustness Mima-tsuhime (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Oke-tsu-hime, younger sister of His Augustness Hiko-kuni-oketsu, ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, and begot an august child: King Hiko-imasu (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Washi, daughter of the Noble Kadzuraki-no-tarumi, he begot an august child,—King Take-tayo-hadzura-wake (one Deity); The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all five Deities (four Kings and one Queen), So His Augustness Mi-maki-iri-biko-iniwe [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, King Hiko-yumusumi were: King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne; next King Sanugi-tari-ne (two Kings). There [168] were five Deities daughters of these two Kings. Next King Hiko-imasu wedded the Princess of Yena in Yamashiro, another name for whom was Kari-bata-tobe, and begot children: King Ohō-mata; next King Wo-mata; next King Noble [of?] Shibumi (three Deities). Again, wedding Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome, daughter of Take-kuni-katsu-tome, of Kasuga, he begot children: King Saho-biko; next King Wo-zaho; next Her Augustness Saho-bime, another name for whom is Sahaji-hime (Her Augustness Saho-bime here mentioned was consort of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume); and King Muro-biko, (four Deities). Again, wedding Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime, daughter of the [169] Heavenly Deity Mikage, who is held in reverence by the deacons of Mikami in Chika-tsu-Afumi, he begot children: King Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha; next King Midzuho-no-ma-wa-ka; next King Kamu-oho-ne, another name for whom is King Yatsuri-iri-biko; next Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime; next Mimi-tsu-hime; (three Deities). Again, wedding his mother's younger sister Her Augustness Woke-tsu-hime, he begot children: King Ma-wata of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro; next King Hiko-

osu; next king Iri-ne (two Deities). Altogether the children of King Hiko-imasu [numbered] in all eleven Kings. So the children of the elder brother King Oho, mata were: King Ake-tatsu; next King Unakami [170] (two Deities). This King Ake-tatsu (was the ancestor of the Dukes of the Homuji Tribe in Ise and of the Rulers of Sana in Ise) King Una-kami (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Himeda. The next King Wo-mata (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Magari in Tagima). The next King Noble Shibumi (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Sasa) The next King Saho-biko (was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Kusaka Tribe and of the Rulers of the Land of Kahi). The next, King Wo-zaho (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kadzunu and the Lords of Kanu in Chika-tsu-Afumi.) The next King Muro-biko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Mimi in Wakasa.). King Michi-no-ushi wedded the Lady Masu of Kahakami in Taniha, and begot children:

Her Augustness Princess Hibasu; next Her Augustness Princess Matonu; next Her Augustness Oto-hime; next King Mi-kado-wake (four Deities). This King Mikado-wake [171] (was the ancestor of the Lords of Ho in Mikaha). Prince Midzuho-no-ma-waka, younger brother of this King Michi-no-ushi, (was the ancestor of the Suzerains of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi). The next, King Kamu-oho-be (was the ancestor of the [Rulers of] the Land of Minu, of the Rulers of the land of Motosu, and of the Chiefs of the Nagahata Tribe) The next, King Mawaka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yama-shiro wedded Princess Ajisaha of Mone, daughter of his younger brother Irine, and begot a child: King Kami-me-ikadzuchi.

This King wedded Princess Takaki, daughter of the Grandee Tohotsu of Taniha and begot a child: King Noble Okinaga. This king wedded the Princess of Takanuka in Kadzuraki, and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi next Her Augustness Sora-tsu-hime; next King Prince Okinaga (three Deities. This [172] King was the ancestor of the Dukes of Homuji in Kibi, and of the Dukes of Aso in Harima). Again King Noble Okinaga wedded Princess Inayori of Kahamata and begot a child: King Oho-tama-saka (This was the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Tajima). The above-mentioned Take-toyo-hadzu-ra-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Chimori, of the Rulers of the Oshinumi Tribe, of the Rulers of the Mima Tribe, of the Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba, of the Lords of Takanu in Taniba, and of the Abiko of

Yosami). The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-three. His august mausoleum is at the top of the hill of Izakaha.

SECTION 63. EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe dwelt at the Palace of Midzu-gaki at Shiki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Tohotsu-no-ayu-me-me-kuhashi, daughter of Arakaha-to-be, Ruler of the land of Ki, and begot august children: His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko, and next Her Augustness Toyo-suki-iri-bime (two Deities). Again, wedding the Great Princess of Ama, 7 ancestress of the Chiefs of Wohori, he begot august children: His Augustness Oho-iri-ki; next His Augustness Ya-saka-no-iri-biko; next Her Augustness Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime; next Her Augustness Towochi-no-iri-bime (four Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Mimatsu, daughter of His Augustness Oho-biko, he begot august children: His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka; next Her Augustness Princess Kuni-kata; next Her Augustness [159] Princess Chiji-tsuku-yamato; next Her Augustness Princess Iga; next His Augustness Yamato-Hiko (six Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all twelve Deities (seven Kings and Queens). So His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko (was the ancestor [of the Dukes] of Kami-tsu ke-nu, and the Dukes of Shimo-tsu-ke-nu). The younger sister, Her Augustness Princess Toyo-Suki (was high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise.) The next brother, His Augustness Oho-iri-ki (was ancestor of the Grandees of Noto). The next, His Augustness Yamato-hiko,—(in the time of this King a hedge of men was the first time set in the mausoleum).

SECTION 64. EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART II.—A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO)

In the reign of this Heavenly Sovereign a great pestilence arose, and the people died as if none were to be left. Then the Heavenly Sovereign grieved and lamented, and at night, while on his divine couch, there appeared [to him] in an august dream the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things, and said: "This is my august doing. So if thou wilt cause me to be worshipped by Oho-tata-ne-ko, the divine spirit shall not arise, and the land will be tranquillized." When, therefore, couriers were dispatched in every direction to search for the person [named] Oho-tata-ne-ko, he was discovered in the village of Minu in Kafuchi, and was respectfully sent [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask: "Whose child art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am Oho-tats-ne-ko, child of His Augustness Take-mika-dzu-chi [who was] child of His Augustness Ihi-gata-sumi, [who was] child of His Augustness Kushi-mi-gata, [who was] child of the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things by his wife Iku-tama-yori-bime, daughter of His Augustness Suwe-tsu-mimi. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being greatly rejoiced, commanded that the Empire should be tranquil, and the people flourish, and forthwith made His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko high priest to worship the Great Deity of Great Miwa on Mount Mimoro. Again he ordered His Augustness Igaka-shiko-wo to make eighty heavenly platters, and reverently to establish the shrines of the Earthly Deities; likewise to worship with a red-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Sumi-saka at Uda, and with a black-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Oho-sake; likewise to present august offerings of cloth to all the Deities of the august declivities of the hills and to all the Deities of the reaches of the rivers, without neglecting any. In consequence of this the pestilential vapour ceased altogether, and the country was tranquillized.

Section 65. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part III: Story Of Oho-Tata-Ne-Ko's Birth)

The reason why this person called Oho-tata-ne-ko was known to be a Deity's child, was that the above-mentioned Iku-tama-yori-bime was regularly beautiful, whereupon a [divine] youth [who thought] the majesty of her appearance without comparison in the world, came suddenly to her in the middle of the night, So, as they loved each other and lived in matrimony together, the maiden ere long was pregnant. Then the father and mother, astonished at their daughter being pregnant, asked her, saying: "Thou art pregnant by thyself. How art thou with child without [having known] a man?" She replied, saying: I have naturally conceived through a beautiful young man, whose name I know not, coming here every evening and staying with me." Therefore the father and mother, wishing to know the man, instructed their daughter, saying: "Sprinkle red earth in front of the couch, and pass a skein of hemp through a needle, and pierce [therewith] the skirt of his garment." So she did as they had instructed, and, on looking in the morning, the hemp that had been put in the needle went out through the hole of the door-hook, and all the hemp that remained was three twists only. Then forthwith, knowing how he had gone out by the hook-hole, they went on their quest following the thread, which, reaching Mount Miwa, stopped at the shrine of the Deity, So they knew [that Oho-tata-neko was] the child of the Deity [residing] there. So the place was called by the name of Miwa on account of the three twists of hemp that had remained. (His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko, here referred to, was the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa and of the Dukes of Kamo.)

SECTION 66. EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART IV.—WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU)

Again in this august reign His Augustness Oho-biko was sent to the circuit of Koshi, and his son, His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake, was sent to the twelve circuits to the eastward to quiet the unsubmissive people. Again Hiko-imasu was sent to the land of Taniha to slay Kugamimi-no-mikasa (this is the name of a person). So when His Augustness Oho-biko was going away to the land of Koshi, a young girl wearing a loin-skirt stood on the Pass of Hera in Yamashiro, and sang, saying:

[180] "Now then! Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri! Oh Prince Mi-ma-ki-iri! Ignorant that they, to steal and slay one's life, cross backwards and forwards by the back-door, cross backwards and forwards by the front door and spy,—Oh, Prince Mima-ki-iri!"

Hereupon His Augustness Oho-kiko, thinking it strange, turned his horse back, and asked the young girl, saying: "These words that thou speakest, what are they?" The young girl replied, saying: "I said nothing; I was only singing a song,"—and thereupon she suddenly vanished, none could see whither. So his Augustness Oho-biko returned up again [to the capital] and made a report [of the matter] to the Heavenly Sovereign, who replied and charged him [saying]: "Methinks this is a sign that my half-brother, King Take-hani-yasu, who dwells in the land of Yamashiro, is planning some foul plot. [Do thou,] uncle, raise an army, and go [after him]." When he forthwith sent him off, joining to him his Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku, ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, they set sacred jars on the Pass of Wani, and went away. Thereupon, when they reached the River Wakara [181] in Yamashiro, King Take-hani-yasu, who had raised an army, was waiting to intercept [their passage], and [the two hosts] stood confronting and challenging each other with the river between them. So the place was called by the name of Idomi,—what is now called Idzumi. Then His Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku spoke, begging the other side to let fly the first arrow. Then King Take-hani-yasu shot, but could not strike. Thereupon, on his Augustness Kuni-buku shooting an arrow, it forthwith struck King Take-hani-yasu dead. So the whole army was

routed, and fled in confusion. Then the [Imperial troops pursued] after the fugitive army as far as the ferry of Kusuba, when harassed by the pursuit, exterunt [hostium] excrementa, quae bracis adhaeserunt. Quare isti loco impositum est nomen Kusobakama. In prœsenti nominatur Kusu-ba. Again, on being intercepted in their flight and cut down, [their bodies] floated like cormorants in the river. So the river was called by the name of U-kaha. Again, because the warriors were cut to pieces, the place was called by the name of Hafuri-sono. Having thus finished [the work of] pacification, they went up [to the capital] to make their report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

SECTION 67. EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART V.—PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED)

So His Augustness Oho-biko went away to Koshi in accordance with the previous [Imperial] commands. Then Take-nuna-kaha-wake, who had been sent round by the east, and his father Oho-biko met together in Ahidzu. So the place was called by the name of Ahidzu. Wherefore, each of them, having settled the government of the land to which he had been sent, made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Empire was at peace and the people prosperous. Thereupon tribute on the arrow-notches of the men and tribute on the finger-tips of the women was first levied. So in praise of this august reign they said: "The Heavenly Sovereign Mimaki, who ruled the first land." Again, in this reign the Pool of Yosami was made; moreover the Pool of Sakawori at Karu was made.

Section 68. Emperor Sū-Jin (Part VI.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and sixty-eight. His august mausoleum is on the mound at the corner of the Yamanobe road.

SECTION 69. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi dwelt at the palace of Tama-kaki in Shiki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness the Princess Sahaji, younger sister of His Augustness Saho-biko, and begot an august child: His Augustness Homo-tsu-wake (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness the Princess Hibasu, daughter of King Tatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha, he begot august children: His Augustness Ini-shiki-no-iri-biko; next His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake; next His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko; next His Augustness Yamato-hime; next His Augustness Waka-ki-iri-biko (five Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bika, younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, he begot august children: His Augustness Nu-tarashi-wake; next His Augustness Iga-tarashi-hiko (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Azami-no-iri-bime, younger [184] sister of His Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bime, he begot august children: His Augustness Ikobaya-wake; next Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Kagu-ya-hime, daughter of King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, he begot an august child: King Wozabe (one Deity). Again, wedding Karibata-tobe daughter of Fuchi Ohokuni in Yamashiro, he begot august children: King Ochi-wake; next King Ika-tarashi-hiko; next King Itoshi-wake. Again, wedding Oto-karibata-tobe, daughter of Fuchi of Otokuni, he begot august children: King Iha-tsuku-wake; next Her Augustness Iha-tsuku-bime, another name for whom was Her Augustness Futaji-no-iri-bime (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether sixteen (thirteen Kings and three Queens). So His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. (His august stature was ten feet [185] two inches: the length of his august shank was four feet one inch), The next, His Augustness Inishi-no-iri-biko made the pool of Chinu; again he made the pool of Sayama, again he made the pool of Takatsu at Kusaka Again he dwelt at the palace of Kahakami at Totori, and caused a thousand cross-swords to be made, and presented them to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami. Forthwith he dwelt at that palace, and established the Kahakami Tribe, The next, His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, (was the ancestor of

the Lords of Yamanobe, of the Saki. kusa, of the Lords of Inaki, Lords of the Ada, of the Lords of Minui in the Land of Wohari: of the Lords of Ihanashi in Kibi, of the Lords of Koromo, of the Lords of Takasuka, of the Dukes of [186] Asuka, and of the Lords of Mure). The next, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, (was the high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise). The next, King Ikobaya-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords Anahobe at Saho). The next, Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (was married to King Inase-biko). The next, King Ochi-wake (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Wotsuki and of the Duke of Koromo in Mikaha). The next, King Ika-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes Kasuga, of the Dukes of Ike in Koshi, and of the Dukes of Kasugahe). The next, King Itoshi-wake (owing to his having no children, made the Itoshi Tribe his proxy). The next, King Iha-tsuku-wake, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Haguchi and of the Dukes of Miwo). The next, Her Augustness Futaji-no-Iri-hime (became the empress of His Augustness Yamato-take).

Section 70. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part II. Conspiracy Of King Saho-Biko And The Empress Saho-Bime)

When this Heavenly Sovereign made Saho-bime his Empress, Her Augustness Saho-bime's elder brother, King Saho-biko, asked his younger sister, saying: "Which is dearer [to thee], thine elder brother or thy husband?" She replied, saying "Mine elder brother is dearer." Then King Saho-biko conspired, saying: "If I be truly the dearer to thee, let me and thee rule the empire," and forthwith he made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to his younger sister, saying: "Slay the Heavenly Sovereign in his sleep with this small knife." So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress' august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with the stiletto; but though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing onto [the Heavenly Sovereign's] august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "I have had a strange dream: A violent shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted my face; again a small damask-coloured snake coiled itself round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?" Then the Empress, thinking it improper to dispute, forthwith informed the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Mine elder brother King Saho-biko asked me, saying: 'Which is dearer [to thee], thy husband or thine elder brother?' So, as I was embarrassed by [this] direct question, I replied, saying: 'Oh! mine elder brother is the dearer.' Then he charged me, saying: 'I and thou will together rule the [188] Empire; so the Heavenly Sovereign must be slain;'—and so saying, he made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to me. Therefore I wanted to cut thine august throat; but though I thrice lifted [the weapon], a feeling of regret suddenly arose, so that I could not cut thy throat, and the tears that I wept fell and wetted thine august face. [The dream] was surely the omen of this." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "How nearly have I been destroyed! "and forthwith he raised an army to smite King Saho-biko, whereupon the King made a rice-castle to await the fray. At this time Her Augustness Saho-bime, unable to forget her

elder brother, fled out through the back-gate [of the palace], and came into the rice-castle.

Section 71. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part III.—Birth Of Prince Homu-Chi-Wake And Death Of The Conspirators)

At this time the Empress was pregnant. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign could not restrain [his pity for] the Empress, who was pregnant and whom he had loved for now three years. So he turned his army aside, and did not hasten the attack. During this delay, the august child that she had conceived was born. So having put out the august child and set it outside the rice-castle. she caused [these words(to be said to the Heavenly Sovereign: "If this august child be considered to be [189] the Heavenly Sovereign's august child, let him deign to undertake it." Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign said: "Although detesting the elder brother, I yet cannot repress my love for the Empress," and forthwith planned to secure the Empress. Wherefore, choosing from among his warriors a band of the strongest and deftest, he charged [them, saying]: "When ye take the august child, likewise abduct the queen its mother. Whether by the hair or by the hands, or wherever ye may best lay hold of her, clutch her and drag her out." Then the Empress, knowing his intention beforehand, shaved off all her hair and covered her head with her hair, and likewise made her jewel-string rotten and wound it thrice round her arm, and moreover made her august garments rotten by means of rice-liquor and put on the garments as if they were whole. Having made these preparations, she took the august child in her arms and pushed it outside the castle. Then the strong men, taking the august child, forthwith clutched at the august parent. Then, on their clutching her august hair, the august hair fell off of itself; on their clutching her august arms, the jewel-string likewise snapped; on their clutching her august garments, the august garments at once tore. Therefore they obtained the august child, but did not get the august parent. So the warriors came back [to the Sovereign], and reported, saying: "On account of her august hair falling off of itself, of her august garments easily tearing, and moreover of the jewel-string which was wound round her august hand at once snapping, we have not got the august parent; but we have obtained the august child." Then the Heavenly Sovereign, sorry and angry, hated the people who made the jewels, [190] and

deprived them all of their lands. So the proverb says: "Landless jewels-makers." Again did the Heavenly Sovereign cause the Empress to be told, saying: "A child's name must be given by the mother; by what august name shall this child be called?" Then she replied, saying: "As he was born now at the time of the castle being burnt with fire and in the midst of the fire, it were proper to call him by the august name of Prince Homu-chi-wake." And again he caused her to be asked: "How shall he be reared?" She replied, saying: "He must be reared by taking an august mother and fixing on old bathing-women and young bathing-women." So he was respectfully reared in accordance with the Empress's instructions. Again he asked the Empress, saying: "Who shall loosen the fresh small pendant which thou elitist make fast?" She replied, [191] saying: "It were proper that Ye-hime and Oto-hime, daughters of King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi prince of Taniha, should serve thee, for these two queens are of unsullied parentage." So at last [the Heavenly Sovereign] slew King Saho-biko, and his younger sister followed him.

SECTION 72. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV.—THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE)

So the way they led about and amused the august child was by making a two-forked boat out of a two-forked cryptomeria from Ahidzu in Wohari, bringing it up and floating it on the Pool of Ichishi and on the Pool of Karu in Yamato, [thus] leading about and amusing the august child. Nevertheless the august child spoke never a word, though his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach. So it was on hearing the cry of a high-flying swan that he made his first utterance. Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent Yamanobe-no-Ohotaka (this is a name of a person) to catch the bird. So this person, pursuing the swan, arrived in the Land of Harima from the Land of Ki, and again in his pursuit crossed over to the Land of Inaba, then reaching the Land of Taniba and the Land of Tajima; [thence] pursuing round [193] to the eastward, he reached the Land of Afumi. and thereupon crossed over into the Land of Minu; and, passing along by the Land of Wohari, pursued it into the Land of Shinanu, and at length, reaching in his pursuit the Land of Koshi, spread a net in the Estuary of Wanami, and, having caught the bird, brought it up [to the capital] and presented it [to the Sovereign]. So that estuary is called the Estuary of Wanami. It had been thought that, on seeing the bird again, he would speak; but he did not speak, as had been thought. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, deigning to be grieved, augustly fell asleep, when, in an august dream, he was instructed, saying: "If thou wilt build my temple like unto thine august abode, the august child shall surely speak." When he had been thus instructed, [the Heavenly Sovereign] made grand divination to seek what Deity's desire this might be. Then [it was discovered that] the curse was the august doing of the Great Deity of Idzumo. So when about to send the august child to worship [at] that Great Deity's temple, [he made divination to discover] by whom it were well to have him attended. Then the lot fell on King Ake-tatsu. So he [194] made King Ake-tatsu swear, saying: "If there is truly to be an answer to our adoration of this Great Deity, may the heron dwelling on the tree by the Pool of Sagisu here fall [through my] oath." When he thus spoke, the heron that had been sworn by fell to the ground dead. Again on his commanding it

to come to life] in answer to his] oath, it then came to life again. Moreover he caused to wither by an oath and again brought to life again by an oath a broad-foliaged bear-oak on Cape Amakashi. Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] granted to Prince Ake-tatsu the name of Prince Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-tomi-toyo-asakura-ake-tatsu. So when the august child was sent off with the two Princes, Prince Ake-tatsu and Prince Una-kami, as his attendants, it was divined that [if they went out] by the Nara gate, [195] they would meet a lame person and a blind person; [if they went out] by the Ohosaka gate, they would likewise meet a lame person and a blind person, and that only the Ki gate,—a side gate,—would be the lucky gate; and when they started off, they established the Homuji clan in every place they arrived at. So when they had reached Idzumo and had finished worshipping the Great Deity, and were returning up [to the capital], they made in the middle of the River Hi a black plaited bridge and respectfully offered a temporary palace [for the august child] to dwell in. Then when the ancestor of the rulers of the Land of Idzumo, whose name was Kihisa-tsu-mi, [196] having made an imitation green-leafed mountain, placed [it] in the lower reach of the river, and was about to present the great august food the august child spoke, saying: "What here resembles a green-leafed mountain in the lower [reach of the] river; looks like a mountain, but is not a mountain. Is it perchance the great court of the deacons who holds in reverence the Great Deity Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains that dwells in the temple of So at Ihakuma in Idzumo? [Thus] he deigned to ask. Then the Kings, who had been sent in august attendance [on him], hearing with joy and seeing with delight, set the august child to dwell in the palace of Nagaho at Ajimasa, and despatched a courier [to inform the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the august child wedded [197] Princess Hinaga for one night. So, on looking privately at the beautiful maiden, [he found her] to be a serpent, at the sight of which he fled away alarmed. Then Princess Hinaga was vexed, and, illuminating the sea-plain, pursued after them in a ship; and they, more and more alarmed at the sight, pulled the august vessel across the mountain-folds, and went fleeing up [to the capital]. Thereupon they made a report, saying: "We have come up [to the capital] because thy great and august child has become able to speak through worship-ping the Great Deity." So the Heavenly Sovereign, delighted, forthwith sent King Unakami back to build the Deity's temple. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, on account

of this august child, established the Totori Clan, the Torikahi Clan, the Homuji Clan, the Ohoyuwe and the Wakayuwe.

SECTION 73. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART. V.—HIS LATER WIVES.)

Again, in accordance with the Emperor's words, he summoned Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, next Her Augustness Princess Oto, next Her Augustness Princess Utakori, next Her Augustness Princess Matonu, daughters of Prince Michi-no-ushi—four Deities in all. Now he [198] kept the two Deities Her Augustness Princess Hibasu and Her Augustness Princess Oto; but as for the two Deities the younger queens, he sent them back to their native place on account of their extreme hideousness. Thereupon Princess Matonu said with mortification: "When it is known in the neighbouring villages that, among sisters of the same family, we have been sent back on account of our ugliness, it will be extremely mortifying;" and, on reaching Sagaraka in the Land of Yamashiro, she tried to kill herself by hanging herself from a branch of a tree. So that place was called by the name of Sagariki. It is now called Sagaraka. Again, on reaching Otokuni, she at last killed herself by jumping into a deep pool. So that place was called by the name of Ochikuni. It is now called Otokuni.

Section 74. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part VI.—Taji-Mori Brings Back The Orange From The Eternal Land.)

Again the Heavenly Sovereign sent Tajima-mori, ancestor of the Chiefs of Miyake, to the Eternal Land to fetch the fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree. So Tajima-mori at last reached that country, plucked the fruit of the tree, and brought of clubmoss eight and of spears eight; but meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign had died. Then Tajima-mori set apart of clubmoss four and of spears four, which he presented to the Great Empress, and set up of clubmoss four and of spears four as an offering at the door of the Heavenly Sovereign's august mausoleum, and, raising on high the fruit of the tree, wailed and wept, saying: "Bringing the fruit of the ever-lasting fragrant tree from the Eternal Land, I have come to serve thee;" and at last he wailed and wept himself to death. This fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree is what is now called the orange.

Section 75. Emperor Sui-Nin (Part VII.—His Death And That Of The Empress Hibasu.)

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and fifty-three. His august mausoleum is in the middle of the moor of Mitachi at Sugahara. Again in the time of the Great Empress Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, the Stone-Coffin-Makers were established, and also the Earthenware-Masters' Clan was established. This Empress was buried in the mausoleum of Terama near Saki.

SECTION 76. EMPRESS KEI-KO (PART I,—GENEALOGIES)

The Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake dwelt in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Elder Lady of Inabi in Harima, daughter of Waka-take, Prince of Kibi ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi, and begot august children: King Kushi-tsunu-wake; next His Augustness Ohousu; next His Augustness Wo-usu, another name for whom is His Augustness Yamato wo-guna; next His Augustness Yamato-ne-ko; next King Kamu-kushi. Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Yasaka-no-iri, [202] daughter of His Augustness Prince Yasaka-no-iri, he begot august children: His Augustness Prince Waka-rarashi; next His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri; next His Augustness Oshi-no-wake; next Her Augustness Princess Iho-ki-no-iri. Children by another concubine were: King Toyo-to-wake; next the Lady Nunoshiro. Children by another concubine were: the Lady Nunaki; next Her Augustness Princess Kago-yori; next King Prince Waka-ki-no-iri; next King the Elder Prince of Kibi-no-ye next Her Augustness Princess Takaki; next Her Augustness Princess Oto. Again wedding Princess Mi-hakashi of Himuku, he begot an august child: King Toyo-kuni-wake. Again wedding the Younger Lady of Inabi, younger sister of the Elder Lady of Inabi, he begot august children: King Ma-waka; next King Hiko-hito-no-oho-ye. Again wedding Princess [203] Ka-guro, daughter of King Princess Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko, great-grand-child of His Augustness Yamato-take, he begot an august child: King Oho-ye. The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko numbered in all twenty-one kings and queens of whom there is a register, and fifty-nine kings and queens of whom there is no record,—eighty kings and queens altogether, out of whom His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko and also His Augustness Yamato-take, and also His Augustness Prince I-ho-ki-no-iri,—these three Kings,—bore the name of Heirs Apparent. The seventy-seven kings and queens beside these were all granted Rulerships in the various lands, or else [posts as] Lords, Territorial Lords or Departmental Chiefs. So His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko [was he who afterward] ruled the Empire. His Augustness Wo-usu subdued the savage deities and likewise the unsubmissive people in the East [204] and West. The next, King Kushi-

tsunu-wake (was the ancestor of the chiefs of Mamuta). The next, His Augustness Oho-Usu, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mori, of the Dukes of Ohota and of the Dukes of Shimada.) The next, King Kamukushi, (was the ancestor of the Sakabe Abiko in the Land of Ki, and of the Sakabe of Uda). The next, King Toyo-kuni-wake (was the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Himuka.)

Section 77. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part II.—The Maidens Ye-Hime And Oto-Hime)

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, to assure himself of what he had heard of the beauty of the two maidens Ye-hime and Oto-hime, daughters of King Kamu-ohone, ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Minu, sent his august child, His Augustness Oho-usu, to summon them up [to the Capital]. So His Augustness Oho-usu who had been sent, instead of summoning them up, forthwith wedded both the maidens himself, and then sought other women, to whom he falsely gave the maidens' names, and sent them up [to his father]. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, knowing them to be other women, frequently subjected them to his long glances; but, never wedding them, caused them to sorrow. So the child that His Augustness Oho-usu begot on wedding Ye-hime, [205] was King Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Lords of Unesu in Minu.) Again, the child that he begot on wedding Oto-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mugetsu.)

SECTION 78. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART III. VARIOUS DEEDS.)

In this august reign the Labourers' Tribe was established; again, the port of Aha in the East was established; again, the Great Butlers' Tribe was established; again, the granaries of Yamato were established; again, the Pool of Sakate was made, and bamboos planted on the bank.

Section 79. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part IV.—Yamato-Take Slays His Elder Brother)

The Heavenly Sovereign said to His Augustness Wo-usu: "Why does not thine elder brother come forth to the morning and evening great august repasts? Be thou the one to take the trouble to teach him [his duty]." Thus he commanded; but for five days after, still [the prince] came not forth. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask His Augustness Wo-usu [saying]: "Why is thine elder brother so long of coming? Hast thou perchance not yet taught him [his duty]?" He replied, [206] saying: "I have been at that trouble." Again [the Heavenly Sovereign] said "How didst thou take the trouble?" He replied, saying: "In the early morning when he went into the privy, I grasped hold of him and crushed him, and, pulling off his limbs, wrapped them in matting and flung them away."

SECTION 80. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART V.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES)

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him, saying: "In the West there are two Kumaso bravoes,—unsubmissive and disrespectful men. So take them,"—and [with this command] he sent him off. It happened that at this time his august hair was bound at the brow. Then His Augustness Wo-usu was granted by his aunt Her Augustness Yamato-hime her august [upper] garment and august skirt; and, with a sabre hidden in his august bosom, he went forth. So, on reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, he saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave to dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave, were getting food ready. So [Prince Wo-usu sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the [207] rejoicing. Then when the day of the rejoicing came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up, and having put on his aunt's august [upper] garment and august skirt, he looked quite like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women, went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when [the feast was] at its height, [His Augustness Wo-usu], drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching Kumaso by the collar of his garment, thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the steps of the cave, and catching him by the back, [Prince Wo-usu] thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I have something to say." Then [His Augustness Wo-usu], respited him for a moment, holding him down [as he lay] prostrate. Hereupon [the bravo] said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: "I am the august child of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, the Heavenly Sovereign who, dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, rules the Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King Yamato-wo-guna. Hearing that you two [fellows], the Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmissive and disrespectful, [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent me with

the command to take and slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: "That must [208] be true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong as we two. Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a man braver than we two,—there is. Therefore will I offer thee an august name. From this time forward it is right that thou be praised as the August Child Yamato-take." As soon as he had finished saying this, [the Prince] ripped him up like a ripe melon, and slew him. So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of his Augustness Yamato-take. When he returned up [to the capital] after doing this, he subdued and pacified every one of the Deities of the mountains and of the Deities of the rivers and likewise of the Deities of Anado, and then went up to [the capital].

Section 81. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part VI.—Yamato-Take Slays The Idzumo Bravo)

Forthwith entering the Land of Idzumo, and wishing to slay the Idzumo bravo, he on arriving, forthwith bound [himself to him in] friendship. So, having secretly [209] made [the wood of] an oak [-trees] into a false sword and augustly girded it, he went with the bravo to bathe the River Hi. Then, His Augustness Yamato-take getting out of the river first, and taking and girding on the sword that the Idzumo bravo had taken off and laid down, said: "Let us exchange swords!" So afterwards the Idzumo bravo, getting out of the river, girded on His Augustness Yamato-take's false sword. Hereupon His Augustness Yamato-take, suggested, saying: "Come on! let us cross swords." Then on drawing his sword, the Idzumo bravo could not draw the false sword. Forthwith His Augustness Yamato-take drew his sword and slew the Idzumo bravo. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"Alas that the sword girded on the Idzumo bravo, and wound round with many a creeper, should have had no true blade!"

So having thus extirpated the [bravoes] and made [the land] orderly, he went up [to the capital], and made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

Section 82. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part VII.—Yamato-Take Is Sent To Subdue The East, And Visits His Aunt At Ise)

Then the Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on His Augustness Yamato-take, saying: "Subdue and pacify the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of the twelve roads of the East;" and when he sent him off, joining to him Prince Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take, ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi, he bestowed on [210] him a holly-wood spear eight fathoms [long]. So when he had received the [Imperial] command and started off, he went into the temple of the Great August Deity of Ise, and worshipped the Deity's court, forthwith speaking to his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, saying: "It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign thinks I may die quickly; for after sending me to smite the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up again [to the capital] than, without bestowing on me an army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked people of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently I think that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." When he departed with lamentations and tears, Her Augustness Yamato-hime bestowed on him the "Herb-Quelling-Sabre," and likewise bestowed on him an august bag, and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag."

SECTION 83. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VIII.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU.)

So reaching the Land of Wohari, he went into the house of Princess Miyadzu, ancestress of the Rulers of Wohari, and forthwith thought to wed her; but thinking again that he would wed her when he should return up [toward the capital], and having plighted his troth, he went [on] into the Eastern Lands, and subdued and pacified all the savage Deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and rivers. So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu, the Ruler of the land lied, saying: "In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a very violent Deity." Hereupon [Yamato-take] entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime had bestowed on him, and saw that inside of it there was a fire-striker. Hereupon he first mowed away the herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt [the herbage] and drove back [the other fire], and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the Rulers of that Land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them. So [that place] is now called Yakidzu.

Section 84. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part IX.—Yamato-Take's Empress Stills The Waves.)

When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-midzu, the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then [Yamato-take's] Empress, whose name was Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana said: "I will enter the sea instead of the august child. The august child must complete the service on which he has been sent, and take back a report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]." When she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs, eight thicknesses of skin rugs and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on the top of the waves, and sat down on the top [of them] Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the. Empress sang, saying:

"Ah! thou [whom I] enquired of, standing in the midst of the flames of the fire burning on the little moor of Sagamu, where the true peak pierces!"

So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb [213] drifted onto the sea-beach,—Which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.

SECTION 85. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART X.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS.)

When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up [to the capital], he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass, was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood [before him]. Then forthwith, on his waiting and striking [the deer] with a scrap of wild chive, [the deer] was hit in the eye and struck dead. So, mounting to the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "*Adzuma ha ya!*" So that land is called by the name of Adzuma.

Section 86. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XI.—Yamato-Take Dwells In The Palace Of Sakawori.)

When, forthwith crossing over from that land out into Kahi, he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori, he sang, saying:

"How many nights have I slept since passing Nihibari and Tsukuha?"

Then the old man, who was the lighter of the august fire, completed the august Song, and sang, saying:

"Oh! having put the days in a row, there are of nights nine nights, and of days ten days!"

Therefore [Yamato-take] praised the old man, and forthwith bestowed [on him] the Rulership of the Eastern Land[s].

SECTION 87. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XII.—YAMATO-TAKE WOOES PRINCESS MIYAZU)

Having crossed over from that land into the land of Shinanu and subdued the Deity of the Shinanu pass, he came back to the land of Wohari, and went to dwell in the house of Princess Miyazu, to whom he had before plighted his troth. Hereupon, when presenting to him the great august food, Princess Miyazu lifted up a great liquor-cup and presented it to him. Tunc Heræ Miyazu veli oræ adhæserunt menstrua. Quare [Augustus Yamato-take] ilia menstrua vidit, et auguste cecinit, dicens:

"Ego volui reclinare [caput] in fragili, molli brachiolo [tuo, quod est simile] vallo impingenti acutæ falci in Monte Kagu in cœlo formato quasi cucurbita;—ego desideravi dormire [tecum]. Sed in orâ veli quod induis luna surrexit."

Tunc Heræ Miyazu augusto cantui respondit, dicens: [216]

"Altè resplendentis solis auguste puer! Placidè administrationem faciens mi magne domine! Renovatis annis venientibus et effluentibus, renovatæ lunæ eunt veniendo patienter expecto, luna suàpte surgit in orâ veli quod ego induo!"

Quare tune [ille] coivit [cum illâ], after which, placing in Princess Miyazu's house his august sword "the Grass-Quelling Sabre," he went forth to take the Deity of [Mount] Ibuki.

Section 88. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XIII.—Yamato-Take Meets The Deity Of Mount Ibuki)

Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, I will simply take him empty-handed."—and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull. Then he lifted up words, and said: "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity. Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"—and [so saying.] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity, but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting up of words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take.]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kuro-be and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat. So that fresh spring is called by the name of the fresh spring of Wi-same.

SECTION 89. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIV.—THE DEATH OF YAMATO-TAKE)

When he departed thence and reached the moor of [218] Tagi he said: "Whereas my heart always felt like flying through the sky, my legs are now unable to walk. They have become rudder-shaped." So that place was called by the name of Tagi. Owing to his being very weary with progressing a little further beyond that place, he leant upon an august staff to walk a little. So that place is called by the name of the Tsuwetsuki pass. On arriving at the single pine-tree on Cape Wotsu, an august sword, which he had forgotten at that place before when augustly eating, was still [there] not lost. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree that art on Cape Wotsu which directly faces Mohari! If thou, single pine-tree! wert a person, I would gird [my] sword [upon thee], I would clothe thee with [my] garments,—O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree!"

When he departed thence and reached the village of Mihe, he again said: "My legs are like three-fold crooks, and very weary." So that place was called by [219] the name of Mihe. When he departed thence and reached the moor of Nobe, he, regretting [his native] land, sang, saying:

"As for Yamato, the most secluded of lands—Yamato, retired behind Mount Awogaki encompassing it with its folds is delightful!"

Again he sang, saying:

"Let those whose life may be complete stick [in their hair] as a head-dress the leaves of the bear-oak from Mount Heguri,—those children!"

This song is a Land-Regretting Song. Again he sang, saying:

"How sweet! ah! from the direction of home clouds are rising and coming!"

This is an Incomplete Song. At this time, his august sickness was very urgent. Then, he sang augustly, saying:

"The sabre-sword which I placed at the maiden's bed-side, alas! that sword!"

As soon as he had finished singing, he died, Then a courier was despatched [to the Heavenly Sovereign.]

SECTION 90. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XV.—YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD)

Thereupon [his] Empresses and likewise [his] august [221] children, who dwelt in Yamato, all went down and built an august mausoleum, and, forthwith crawling hither and thither in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]. sobbed out a Song, saying:

"The *Dioscorea quinqueloba* crawling hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum] . . ."

Thereupon [the dead prince], turning into a white dotterel eight fathoms [long], and soaring up to Heaven, flew off towards the shore. Then the Empress and likewise the august children, though they tore their feet treading on the stubble of the bamboo-grass, forgot the pain, and pursued him with lamentations. At that time they sang, saying:

"Our loins are impeded in the plain [over-grown with] short bamboo-grass. We are not going through the sky, but oh! we are on foot."

[222] Again when they entered the salt sea, and suffered as they went, they sang, saying.

"As we go through the sea, our loins are impeded,—tottering in the sea like herbs growing in a great river-bed."

Again when [the bird] flew and perched on the sea-side, they sang, saying:

"The dotterel of the beach goes not on the beach, but follows the seaside."

These four Songs were all sung at [Yamato-take's] august interment. So to the present day these Songs are sung at the great interment of a Heavenly Sovereign. So [the bird] flew off from that country, and stopped at Shiki in the land of Kafuchi. So they made an august mausoleum there, and laid [Yamato-take] to rest. Forthwith that august mausoleum was called by the [223] name of the "August-Mausoleum of

the White-Bird." Nevertheless the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away.

SECTION 91. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVI.—YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER)

During all the time that this [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take went about pacifying countries, Nana-tsuka-hagi, ancestor of the Suzerains of Kuna, always followed and respectfully served him as butler.

SECTION 92. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVII.—YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS)

This [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take wedded Her Augustness Princess Futaji-no-iri, daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume, and begot an august child: His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana who [afterwards] entered the sea, he begot an august child: King Waka-take (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess [224] Futaji, daughter of Oho-tamu-wake, ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi, he begot an august child: King Ine-yori-wake (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Oho-kibi-take, younger sister of Take-hiko [ancestor of the] Grandees of Kiki, he begot an august child: King Take-kahiko (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Kukuma-mori of Yamashiro, he begot an august child, King Ashi-kagami-wake (one Deity). A child by another wife was King Okinaga-ta-wake. Al-together the entire [number] of the august children of His Augustness Yamato-take was six Deities. So His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, King Ine-yori-wake (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Inukami and of the Dukes of Takebe.) [225] The next, King Take-kahiko (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Aya in Sanugi, the Dukes of Wake in Iyo, the Lords of Towo, the Headmen of Masa and the Lords of Miyaji.) King Ashi-kagami-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kamakura, the Dukes of Wodzu, the Lords of Ihashiro and the Lords of Fukita.) The child of the next, King Okinaga-ta-wake was King Kuhi-mata-naga-hiko. This King's children were: Her Augustness Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, next Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime, next Oto-hime (three Deities). So the above mentioned King Waka-take wedded Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, [226] and begot King Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko. This King wedded Princess Shibanu, daughter of Shibanu-iri-ki of Afumi, and begot a child, Her Augustness Princess Kaguro. So the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko wedded this [lady] Her Augustness Princess Kaguro, and begot King Oho-ye (one Deity). This King wedded his younger half-sister Queen Shiro-kane, and begot children: King Oho-na-gata, and next Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-

hime (two Deities). So this [Lady] Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime was the august mother of King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma.

Section 93. Emperor Kei-Kō (Part XVIII. His Age And Place Of Burial)

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and thirty-seven, and his august mausoleum is above the Yamanobe road.

SECTION 94. EMPEROR SEI-MU

The Heavenly Sovereign Wata-tarashi-hiko dwelt at the palace of Taka-anaho at Shiga in Chika-tsu-Afumi and ruled the empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded [227] the Lady Oho-takara, daughter of Take-oshiyama-tari-ne, ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi, and begot an august child: King Wata-nuke (one Deity). So [the Heavenly Sovereign] raised the Noble Take-uchi [to the office of] Prince Minister, deigned to settle the Rulers of the Great Countries and Small Countries, and likewise deigned to settle the boundaries of the various countries, as also the Department Lords of the Great Departments and Small Departments. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-five, and his august mausoleum is at Tatanami near Saki.

SECTION 95. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART I.—GENEALOGIES)

The Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko dwelt at the palace of Toyora at Anado, and likewise at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, and ruled the Empire. [328] This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime, daughter of King Oho-ye, and begot august children: King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. This Empress gave birth to august children: His Augustness Homu-ya-wake, and next His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake, another name for whom was His Augustness Homuda-wake. The reason why this Heir Apparent was given the august name of His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake was that when first born, he had on his august arm [a protuberance of] flesh resembling an elbow-pad, whence the august name bestowed on him. By this it was known while he was in the womb that he would rule countries. In this august reign the granaries of Ahaji were established.

SECTION 96. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART II.—THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED)

This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time, divinely possessed. So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso, the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime Minster the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court, requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea;" and saying, "They are lying Deities," he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!" Hereupon the Prince Minister the Noble Take-uchi said; "[I am filled with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign! Continue playing thy great [230] august lute." Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead.

Section 97. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part III. Preparations For The Conquest Of Korea)

Then, astonished and alarmed, they set him in a mortuary palace, and again taking the country's great offerings, seeking out all sorts of crimes, such as flaying alive and flaying backwards, breaking down the divisions of rice-fields, filling up ditches, evacuating excrements and urine, marriages between superiors and inferiors, marriages with horses, marriages with cattle, marriages with fowls, and marriages with dogs, and having made a great purification of the land, the Noble Takeuchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: "Altogether this land is a land to be ruled over by the august child in Thine Augustness's august womb." Then the Noble Take-uchi said, "[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities] The august child in this Deity's [231] womb, what [sort of] child may it be?" [The Deities] replied, saying: "It is a male child." Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: "I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose words have now thus instructed us." Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing of the Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing Male and Surface-Possessing-Male.

(At this time the august names of these three great Deities were revealed.) If now thou truly thinkest to seek that land, thou must, after presenting the offerings to every one of the Heavenly Deities and Earthly Deities, and likewise of the Deities of the mountains and also of all the Deities of the river and of the sea, and setting our august spirits on the top of thy vessel, put into gourds the ashes of the *podocarpus macrophylla* tree, and likewise make a quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf platters, and must scatter [232] them all on the waves of the great sea, that thou mayest cross over."

So when [she] punctually fulfilled these instructions, equipped an army, marshalled [her vessels, and crossed over, the fishes of the sea-plain,

both great and small, all bore the august vessels across their backs, and a strong favourable wind arose, and the august vessel followed the billows.

SECTION 98. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IV.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ CONQUERS KOREA)

So the wave of the august vessel pushed up onto the land of Shiragi reaching to the middle of the country. Thereupon the chieftain of the country, alarmed and trembling. petitioned [the Empress], saying: "From this time forward obedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I will feed his august horses and will marshal vessels every year, nor ever let the vessels' keels dry or their poles and oars dry, and will respectfully serve him without drawing back while heaven and earth shall last." So therefore the Land of Shiragi was constituted the feeder of the august horses, and the Land of Kudara [133] was constituted the crossing store. Then the Empress stuck her august staff on the gate of the chieftain of Shiragi, and having made the Rough August Spirits of the Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi the guardian Deities of the land, she laid them to rest, and crossed back. So while this business was yet unconcluded, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born. Forthwith, in order to restrain her august womb, she took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august skirt, and the august child was born after she had crossed [back] to the Land of Tsukushi. So the name by which the place was called where the [234] august child was born was Umi. Again the stone which she wound round her august skirt is at the village of Ito in the Land of Tsukushi.

SECTION 99. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART V.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ FISHES IN TSUKUSHI)

Again when, having reached the village of Tamashima in the Department of Matsura in Tsukushi, she partook of an august meal on the bank of the river, it being then the first decade of the fourth moon, she then sat on a shoal in the middle of the river, picked out threads from her august skirt, used grains of rice as bait, and hooked the trout in the river. (The name by which the river is called is the Wo-gaha; again the name by which the shoal is called is Kachi-do-hime.) So down to the present time it is an uninterrupted [custom] for women in the first decade of the fourth moon to pick out threads from their skirts, use grains as bait, and hook trout.

SECTION 100. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VI.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ SUBDUES YAMATO)

Hereupon, when Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was returning up to Yamato, she, owing to doubts concerning the disposition of the people, prepared a mourning-vessel, set the august child in that mourning-vessel, and let a report ooze out that the august child was already dead. While she went up thus, King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma, having heard [of the circumstance], thought to waylay her, went forth to the moor of Toga, and hunted for an omen. Then King Kagosaka climbed up an oak-tree, and then a large and angry boar came forth, dug up the oak-tree, and forthwith devoured King Kagosaka. His younger brother, King Oshikuma, undaunted by this circumstance, raised an army and lay in wait [for the Empress], to close with the mourning-vessel as being an empty vessel. Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel, and joined in combat [with the opposing forces]. At this time King Oshikuma made the Noble Isahi, ancestor of [236] the Kishi Clan of Naniha, his generalissimo; and on the august side of the Heir Apparent His Augustness Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma, ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, was made generalissimo. So when [the Empress's troops] had driven [King Oshikuma's troops] as far as Yamashiro, [the latter] turned and made a stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating. Then His Augustness Take-furu-kuma planned, and caused it to be said that, as Her Augustness Okinaga-tarashi was already dead, there was no need for further fighting,—forthwith snapping his bowstrings and feigning submission. Therefore King Oshikuma's generalissimo, believing the falsehood, unbent his bows and put away his arms. Then [the Empress's troops] picked out of their topknots some prepared bowstrings (one name [of the bowstrings] was *usa-yu-dzuru*;) stretched [their bows] again, and pursued and smote [the enemy]. So [these] fled away to Afusaka, rallied, and fought again. Then [the Empress's troops] pursued on, and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami. Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea, and sang, saying:

"Come on, my lord! rather than be stricken [237] by Furu-kuma's hurtful hand, I will plunge like the grebe into the Sea of Afumi,—I will!"

Forthwith they plunged into the sea, and died together.

Section 101. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part VIII.—The Heir Apparent Exchanges Names With The Great Deity Izasa-Wake)

So when His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, taking with him the Heir Apparent for the purpose of purification, passed through the lands of Afumi and Wakasa, he built a temporary palace at Tsunuga at the mouth of the Road of Koshi [for the Heir Apparent] to dwell in. Then His Augustness the Great Deity Izasa-wake, who dwelt in that place, appeared at night in a dream, and said: "I wish to exchange my name for the august name of the august child." Then [the dreamer of the dream] prayed, saying: "[I] am filled with awe! The name shall be respectfully exchanged according to thy command." Again the Deity charged [him, saying]: "To-morrow morning [the Heir Apparent] must go out on the beach; I will present my [thank] offering for the name [given me] in exchange." So when [the Heir Apparent] went out in the morning to the beach, the [238] whole shore was lined with broken-nosed dolphin-fishes. Thereupon the august child caused the Deity to be addressed, saying: "Thou bestowest on me fish of thine august food." So again his august name was honoured by his being called the Great Deity of August Food. " So he is now styled the Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity. Again the blood from the noses of the dolphin-fishes stank. So the strand was called by the name of Chiura. It is now styled Tsunuga.

Section 102. Emperor Chiū-Ai (Part VIII.—The Empress Jin-Gō Presents Liquor To The Heir Apparent)

Hereupon, when the [Heir Apparent] returned up [to the Capital], his august parent, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. distilled some waiting-liquor, and presented it to him. Then his august parent sang augustly, saying:

"This august liquor is not my august liquor;—oh! it is august liquor respectfully brought as a divine congratulation, a repeated congratulation, a bountiful congratulation, a reiterated congratulation by the Small August Deity, who dwells eternally, [239] firmly standing. Partake not shallowly! Go on! go on!"

Having thus sung, she presented to him the great august liquor. Then His Augustness the Noble Takeuchi replied for the august child and sang, saying:

"Whatever person distilled this august liquor must surely have distilled it singing the while with that drum on the mortar,—must surely have distilled it dancing the while, for this august liquor, august liquor, to be ever more and more joyful. Go on! go on!"

These are Drinking Songs.

SECTION 103. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IX.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ)

Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko were fifty-two. His august mausoleum is at Nagaye, near Wega, in Kafuchi. (The Empress died at the august age of one hundred. She was buried in the mausoleum of Tatanami in Saki.)

SECTION 104. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Homuda-wake dwelt at the palace of Akira at Karushima, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded three queens, daughters of King Homuda-no-Ma-waka, the name of one of whom was Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri; of the next, Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime; and of the next, Her Augustness Oto-hime. (The father of these Queens, King Homuda-no-ma-Waka, was the son of His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-noiri, by his [241] wife Shiritsuki-tome, daughter of the Noble Take-inada, ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari.) So the august children of Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri were: His Augustness Nakuta-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko; next His Augustness Oho-yama-mori; next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka; next his younger sister the Lady of Ohohara; next the Lady of Komuku. (Five Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime were: the Lady of Arata in Ki; next His Augustness Oho-sazaki; next His Augustness Netori. (Three Deities). The august [242] children of Her Augustness Oto-hime were: the Lady Abe; next the Lady of Mihara in Ahaji; next the Lady of Unu in Ki; next the Lady of Minu (five Deities). Again he wedded the Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye, daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and begot august children: Uji-no-waki-iratsuko; next his younger sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume; next Queen Medori. (Three Deities). Again he wedded Wo-nabe-no-iratsume, younger sister of Yakaha-ye-hime, and begot an august child: Uji-no-iratsume. (one Deity). Again he wedded Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hima," daughter of King Kuhimata-naga-hiko, and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke-futa-mata (one Deity). Again he wedded the Princess of Itowi, daughter of Shima-tari-ne, ancestor [243] of the Agricultural Chiefs of Sakurawi, and begot an august child; His Augustness Hayabusa-wake (one Deity). Again, he wedded Naga-hime of Idzumi in Himuka, and begot august children: King Oho-haye, next King Wo-haye; next Hata-bi-no-waki-iratsume (three Deities). Again he wedded Princess Ka-guro, and begot august children: Kaha-rada-no-iratsume; next, Tama-no-iratsume, next, Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime; next, Toho-hi-no-iratsume; next, King Kataji (five Deities). Again, he wedded Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki, and begot an august [244] child:

King Iza-no-ma-waka, (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether twenty-six (eleven Kings and fifteen Queens). Of these His Augustness Oho-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

SECTION 105. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART II.—HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS)

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign asked His Augustness Oho-yama-mori and His Augustness Oho-sazaki, saying: "Which think ye the dearer, an elder child or a younger child?" (The reason why the Heavenly Sovereign propounded this question was because it was his intention to make Uji-no-waki-iratsuko rule the Empire). Then His Augustness Oho-yama-mori said: "The elder child is the dearer." Next His Augustness Oho-sazaki, knowing the august feeling which made the Heavenly Sovereign deign to ask [the question], said: "The elder child, having already become a man, gives no trouble; but the younger child, not being yet a man, is the dearer." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "My lord Sazaki's words agree with my thoughts," and forthwith ordained the division [of the inheritance] thus: His Augustness Oho-yama-mori to administer the government of the mountains and the sea, His Augustness Oho-sazaki to take and deign to report on the government of the realm, and Uji-no waki-iratsuko to rule the succession of Heaven's sun. So His Augustness Oho-sazaki was not disobedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands.

SECTION 106. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART III.—HE WOOES PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE)

One day the Heavenly Sovereign, when he had crossed over into the land of Afumi, augustly stood on the moor of Uji, gazed on the moor of Kadzu, and sang, saying: [245]

"As I look on the Moor of Kadzu in Chiba. both the hundred thousand-fold abundant house-places are visible, and the land's acme is visible."

So when he reached the village of Kohara, a beautiful maiden met him at a fork in the road, Then the Heavenly Sovereign asked the maiden, saying: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "I am the daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and my name is Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye." The Heavenly Sovereign forthwith said to the maiden: "When I return on my progress to-morrow, I will enter into thy house." So Princess Ya-kaha-ye told her father all that [had happened]. Thereupon her father replied, saying: "Ah! it was the Heavenly Sovereign! [His commands are] to be respected. My child, respectfully serve him!"—and so saying he grandly decorated the house, and awaited [the Heaven ly Sovereign's return], whereupon he came in on the next day. So when [the father] served [the Heavenly Sovereign] a great august feast, he made his daughter Her Augustness Princess Ya-kaha take the great august [246] liquor-cup and present it. Thereupon, while taking the great liquor-cup, the Heavenly Sovereign augustly sang, saying:

"Oh this crab! whence this crab? [It is] a crab from far-distant Tsunuga. Whither reaches its sideward motion? [It has] come towards Ichiji-shima and Mi-shima. It must be because, plunging and breathless like the grebe, I went without stopping along the up and down road by the wavelets, that the maiden I met on the Kohata road has a back oh! like a small shield, a row of teeth like acorns. Oh! the earth of the Wani pass at Ichihiwi! Owing to the skin of the first earth being ruddy, to the last p. 306 earth being of a reddish black, she, without exposing to the actual sun that makes one bend one's head the middle earth like three chestnuts, draws thickly down her drawn eye-brows;—the women I met, the child I saw and wanted in this way, the child I saw and wanted in that

way, oh! she is opposite to me at the height of the feast! oh! she is at my side!"

[247] Ita auguste coivit [cum illâ], et procreavit filium Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.

SECTION 107. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IV.—HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMINAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI)

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the beauty of Princess Kaminaga, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in the land of Himuka, and thinking to employ her sent down for her, whereupon the Heir Apparent His Augustness Oho-sazaki, having seen the maiden land at [248] the port of Naniha, and being charmed with the grace of her appearance, forthwith directed the Prince Minister the Noble Taka-uchi, to intercede for him in the august presence of the Heavenly Sovereign, and make [the latter] grant to him Princess Kami-naga, whom he had sent down for. Then on the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi requesting the great commands, the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith granted Princess Kami-naga to his august child. The way he granted her was this:—the Heavenly Sovereign, on a day when he partook of a copious feast, gave Princess Kami-naga the great august liquor oak-[leaf] to present to the Heir Apparent. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"Come on, children! oh! the fragrant flowering orange-tree on my way as I go to pluck the wild garlic,—to pluck the garlic,—has its uppermost branches withered by birds perching on them, and its lowest branches withered through people plucking from them. But the budding fruit on the middle branch, like three chestnuts,—the ruddy maiden, oh! if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good, oh!'

[249] Again he augustly sang, saying:

"Driving the dyke-piles into Lake Yosami where the water collects, my heart (ignorant of the pricking of the stumps of the water-caltrop, ignorant of the creeping of the roots of the *Brasenia peltata*), being more and more laughable, is now indeed repentant."

Having thus sung, he bestowed [her on the Heir Apparent]. So after having been granted the maiden, the Heir Apparent sang, saying:

"Oh! the maiden of Kohada in the back of the road! though I heard of her like the thunder, we mutually intertwine [our arms] as pillows."

Again he sang saying":

"I think lovingly ah! of how the maiden [250] of Kohada in the back of the road sleeps [with me] without disputing"

Section 108. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part V.—Songs Of The Territorial Owners Of Yeshinu)

Again, the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu, seeing the august sword which was girded on His Augustness Oho sazaki, sang, saying:

"Sharp is the beginning, freezing is the end of the sword girded on Oho-sazaki, Oho, sazaki, the solar august child of Homuda,—[it is] chilly, chilly like the trees beneath the trunks of the winter trees."

Again, having made a cross-mortar at Kashifu in [251] Yeshinu, and having in that cross-mortar distilled some great august liquor, they, when they presented the great august liquor [to the Heavenly Sovereign], sang as follows, drumming with their mouths:

"We have made a side-mortar at Kashinofu, and in the side-mortar we have distilled some great august liquor, which do thou sweetly partake of, oh our lord!"

This Song is one which it is the custom to chant down to the present day when, from time to time, the Territorial Owners present a great feast [to the Sovereign].

SECTION 109. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VI.—VARIOUS DEEDS)

In this august reign were graciously established the Fisher Tribe, the Mountain Tribe, the Mountain Warden Tribe, and the Ise Tribe. Again the Pool of Tsurugi was made. Again there came over [to Japan] some people from Shiragi. Therefore His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, having taken them with him and set them to labour on pools and embankments, made the Pool of Kudara.

SECTION 110. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII.—TRIBUTE FROM KOREA)

Again King Shō-ko, the Chieftain of the land of Kudara, sent as tribute by Achi-kishi one stallion and one mare. (This Achi-kishi was the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes.) Again he sent as tribute a cross-sword, and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. Therefore receiving the [Imperial] commands, he sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi, and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian Analects in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay in one volume,—altogether eleven volumes. [253] (This Wani-kishi was the ancestor of the Fumi Grandees.) Again he sent as tribute two artisans,—a smith from Kara named Taku-so and a weaver from Go named Sai-so.

SECTION 111. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII.—THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED)

Again there came over [to Japan] the ancestor of the Hada Rulers, the ancestor of the Aya Suzerains, and likewise a man who knew how to distil liquor, and whose name was Nim-pan, while another name for him was Susukori. So this [man] Susukori distilled some great august liquor, and presented it to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, excited with the great august liquor that had been presented to him augustly sang, saying:

"I have become intoxicated with the august liquor distilled by Susukori. I have become intoxicated with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor."

On his walking out singing thus, he hit with his [254] august staff a large stone in the middle of the Ohosaka road, upon which the stone ran away. So the proverb says: "Hard stones get out of a drunkard's way."

SECTION 112. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IX.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE)

So after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, His Augustness Ohosazaki, in conformity with the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, ceded the Empire to Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. Thereupon His Augustness Ohoyama-mori, disobeying the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, and anxious in spite thereof to obtain the Empire, had the design to slay the Prince his younger brother, secretly raised an army, and prepared to attack him. Then His Augustness Oho-sazaki, hearing that his elder brother had prepared an army, forthwith despatched a messenger to apprise Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. So, startled at the news, [the latter] set troops in ambush by the river-bank, and likewise, after having drawn a fence of curtains and raised a tent on the top of the hill, placed there publicly on a throne one of his retainers to pretend that he was the King, the manner in which all the officials reverentially went and came being just like that [usual] in the King's presence. And moreover, preparing for the time [255] when the King his elder brother should cross the river, he arranged and decorated a boat and oars, and moreover ground [in a mortar] the root of the *Kadzura japonica*, and having taken the slime of its juice, rubbed therewith the grating inside the boat, so as to make any who should tread on it fall down, and then himself put on a cloth coat and trowsers, and having assumed the appearance of a common fellow, stood in the boat holding the oar. Hereupon, when the King his elder brother, having hid his troops in ambush and put on armour beneath his clothes, reached the river-bank and was about to get into the boat, he gazed at the grandly decorated place [on the hill], thought the King his younger brother was sitting on the throne, being altogether ignorant [of the fact] that he was standing in the boat holding the oar, and forthwith asked the fellow who was holding the oar, saying: "It has been reported to me that on this mountain there is a large and angry boar. I wish to take that boar. Shall I peradventure get that boar? "Then the fellow holding the oar replied, saying: "Thou canst not." Again he asked, saying: "For what reason?" [The boat-man] answered, saying: "He is not to be got, however often and in however many places he be chased. Wherefore I say that thou canst not [catch

him either]. "When they had crossed as far as the middle of the river, [Prince Uji-no-waki-iratsuko] caused the boat to be tilted over, and [his elder brother] to fall into the water. Then forthwith he rose to the surface, and floated down with the current. Forthwith, as he floated, he sang, saying:

"Whoever is swiftest among the boatmen of the Uji ferry will come to me."'

Thereupon the troops that had been hidden on the [256] river-bank rose up simultaneously on this side and on that side, and fixing their arrows [in their bows], let him go floating down. So he sank on reaching Kawara Point. So on their searching with hooks the place where he had sunk, [the hooks] struck on the armour inside his clothes, and made a rattling sound. So the place was called by the name of Kawara Point. Then when they hooked up his bones, the younger King, sang saying:

"*Catalpa* bow, *Evonymus* standing by the ferry-bank of Uji! My heart had thought to cut [you], my heart had thought to take [you]; but at the base methought of the lord, at the extremity methought of the younger sister; grievously methought of this, sorrowfully methought of, that; and I came [back] without cutting it,—the *Catalpa* bow, the *Evonymus*."

[257] So the bones of His Augustness Oho-yama-mori were buried on the Nara mountain. His Augustness Oho-yama-mori (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Hijikata, the Dukes of Heki, and the Dukes of Harihara.)

Section 113. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part X.—Princes Oho-Sazaki And Uji-No-Waki-Iratsuko Cede The Empire To Each Other)

Thereupon while the two Deities His Augustness Oho-sazaki and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko were, each of them, ceding the Empire to the other, a fisherman came with a great feast as tribute. So they each resigned it to the other. So the elder brother refused it, and caused [258] it to be offered to the younger brother, and the younger brother refused it, and caused it to be offered to the elder brother, during which mutual cedings many days elapsed. As such mutual ceding took place not [only] once or twice, the fisherman wept from the fatigue of going backwards and forwards. So the proverb says: "Ah! the fisherman weeps on account of his own things." Meanwhile Uji-no-waki-iratsuko died early. So His Augustness Oho-sazaki did rule the Empire.

Section 114. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XI.—Ama-No-Hi-Boko Crosses Over To Japan)

Moreover of old there had been [a man] called by the name of Ama-no-hi-boko, child of the ruler of the land of Shiragi. This person crossed over here [to Japan]. The reason of his crossing over here was [this]: In the land of Shiragi there was a certain lagoon, called by the name of the Agu Lagoon. On the bank of this lagoon a certain poor girl was [taking her] midday sleep. Tunc solis radii, coelesti arcui similes, in privatas partes impegerunt. Again there was a certain poor man, [259] who, thinking this occurrence strange, constantly watched the woman's behaviour. So the woman, having conceived from the time of that midday sleep, gave birth to a red jewel. Then the poor man who had watched her begged [to be allowed] to take the jewel, and kept it constantly wrapped up by his side. This person, having planted a rice-field in a valley, had loaded a cow with food for the labourers, and was getting into the middle of the valley, when he met the ruler's son, Ama-no-hi-boko, who thereupon asked him, saying: "Why enterest thou the valley with a load of food upon a cow? Thou wilt surely kill this cow and eat her." Forthwith he seized the man and was about to put him into prison, when the man replied, saying: "I was not going to kill the cow. I was simply taking food to the people in the fields." But still [the ruler's child] would not let him go. 'Then he undid the jewel [which hung] at his side, and [therewith] bribed [the ruler's child]. So [the latter] let the poor man go, brought the jewel [home], and placed it beside his couch. Forthwith it was transformed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded, and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child [grew] proud in his heart, and reviled his wife. But the woman said: "I am not a woman who ought to be the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my ancestors;"—and forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat, and fled away across here [to Japan], and landed at Naniha. (This is the deity called Princess Akaru, who dwells in the shrine of Hime-goso at Naniha.) Thereupon Ame-no-hi-boko, hearing [260] of his wife's flight, forthwith pursued her across hither, and was about to arrive at Naniha, when the

Deity of the passage prevented his entrance. So he went back again, and landed in the country of Tajima.

Section 115. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XII.—Descendants Of Ama-No-Hi-Boko, And Treasures Brought By Him.)

Forthwith staying in that country, he wedded Saki-tsu-mi, daughter of Tajima-no-matawo, and begot a child: Tajima-morosuku. The latter's child was Tajima-hi-ne. The latter's child was Tajima-hinaraki. The latter's children were Tajima-mori, next Tajima-hitaka, next Kiyo-hiko (three Deities). This Kiyo-hiko wedded Tagima-no-mehi, and begot children: Suga-no-morowo, next his younger sister Suga-kama-yura-domi. So the above mentioned Tajima-hitaka wedded his niece Yura-domi, and begot a child: Her Augustness Princess Takanuka of Kadzuraki. (This was the august parent of Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi.) So the things which Ama-no-hi-boko brought over here, and which were called the "precious treasures," were: two strings of pearls: likewise a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, and a wind-cutting scarf; likewise a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore,—eight articles in all. (These are the Eight Great Deities of Idzushi.)

Section 116. Emperor Ō-Jin (Part XIII.—The Youth-Of-The-Glow-On-The-Autumn-Mountains And The Youth-Of-The-Haze-On-The-Spring-Mountains)

So this Deity had a daughter whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi. So eighty Deities wished to [262] obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains. So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for the Maiden of Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou [be able] to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height, and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers [and give them to thee] in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trowsers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trowsers, [263] etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them [home, the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains] followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to a child. Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Mayden-of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when [the younger brother] complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well imitated; moreover it must be because he imitates mortal men that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a jointed bamboo from an island in the

River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes, and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine, wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo and caused this curse to be spoken: "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, [do thou] become green and wither! [264] Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine [do thou] flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, [do thou] sink and be prostrate! "Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed [the basket] over the smoke. Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and fears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. Thereupon his body became sound as it had been before. (This is the origin of the term "a divine wager payment.")

SECTION 117. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XVI.—GENEALOGIES)

Again this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda's august child King Wake-nuke-futa-mata wedded his mother's younger sister Momo-shiki-iro-be, another name for whom was Her Augustness Oto-hime-ma-wake-hime, and begot children: Oho-iratsuko, another name for whom [265] was King Ohohodo; next her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime: next Tawi-no-naka-tsu-hime; next Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime; next Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-ira-tsume; next Queen Torime; next King Sane. (Seven Kings (and Queens).) So King Oho-hodo (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mikuni, the Dukes of Hata, the Dukes of Okinaga, the Dukes of Sakahito of Sakata, the Dukes of Yamaji, the Dukes of [266] Meta in Tsukushi, and the Dukes of Fuse.) Again King Netori wedded his younger half-sister the Lady Mihara, and begot children: King Naka-tsu-hiko; next King Iwa-shiha (Two Kings.) Again the child of King Kata-shiha was King Kuni.

SECTION 118. EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL)

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda were altogether one hundred and thirty. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Mofusu at Wega in Kafuchi.

VOLUME 3

SECTION 119. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Oho-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Takatsu at Naniha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded (the Empress) Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, daughter of Kadzuraki-no-sotsu-biko, and begot august children: His Augustness Ohoye-no-izaho-wake; next the Middle King of the Inlet of Sumi; next His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake of Tajihi; next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go (four Deities.) Again he wedded Princess Kami-naga, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka, as mentioned above, and begot august children: Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko, another [268] name for whom was the King of Great Kusaka; next Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume, another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Nagahi, and another name was Her Augustness Waka-kusaka-be (Two Deities.) Again he wedded his younger half-sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume Again he wedded his younger half-sister Uji-no-waki-iratsume. These two Deities had no august children. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-sakaki [numbered] in all six Deities, (Five Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Izaho-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tajihi-no midzu-ha-wake likewise ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness the Noble Oh-asadzuma-no-waku-go likewise ruled the Empire.

SECTION 120. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS)

In the august reign of this Heavenly Sovereign the Kadzuraki Tribe was established as the august proxy of the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime. Again the Mibu Tribe was established as the august proxy of the Heir Apparent, His Augustness Izaho-wake. Again the Tajihi Tribe was established as the august proxy of His Augustness Midzuna-wake. Again the Oho-kusaka Tribe was [269] established as the august proxy of King Oho-kusaka, and the Waka-kusaka Tribe was established as the august proxy of King Waga-kusake-be. Again people from Hada were set to labour, and the embankment at Mamuta and also the granaries of Manuta were made. Again the Pool of Wani and the Pool of Yosemi were made. Again the Naniha Channel was dug, and [the waters of the rivers] led to the sea. Again the Wobashi Channel was dug. Again the port of the inlet of Sumi was established.

SECTION 121. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU [PART III.—HE REMITS THE TAXES)

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, ascending a lofty mountain and looking on the land all round, spoke, saying: "In the whole land there rises no smoke; the land is all poverty-stricken. So I remit all people's taxes and [forced labour] from now till three years [hence.]" Therefore the great palace became dilapidated, and the rain leaked in everywhere; but no repairs were made. The rain that leaked in was caught in troughs, and [the inmates] removed from [its reach] to places where there was no leakage. When later [the Heavenly Sovereign]] looked on all the land, the smoke was abundant in the land. So finding the people rich, he now exacted taxes and forced labour. Therefore the peasantry prospered, and did not suffer from forced labour. So in praise of that august reign, it was called the reign of the Emperor-Sage.

SECTION 122. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV.—HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO)

His Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, was exceedingly jealous. So the concubines employed by the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep inside the palace; and if anything happened, [the Empress] stamped with jealousy. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the regular beauty of Princess Kuro, daughter of the Suzerain of Ama in Kibi, and having sent for her, employed her. But she, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, fled down to her native land, The Heavenly [271] Sovereign, gazing from an upper story upon Princess Kuro's departure by boat upon the sea, sang saying:

"In the offing there are rows of small boats. My wife Masadzuko of Kurozaki goes down towards her [native] land."

So the Empress was very angry on hearing this august Song, and sent people to the great strand to drive Princess Kuro ashore, and chase her away on foot. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, for love of Princess Kuro, deceived the Empress, saying that he wanted to see the Island of Ahaji. And when he made his progress and was in the Island of Ahaji, he, gazing afar, sang saying:

"When, having departed from the point of wave-beaten Naniha, I look at the country,—the Island of Aha, the Is-land of Onogoro, and also the Island of Ajimasa are visible. The Island of Saketsu is visible."

Forthwith passing on from that island, he made a progress to the land of Kibi. Then Her Augustness Princess Kuro- made him grandly reside at a place among the mountain-fields, and presented to him great august food, When for this [purpose] she plucked cabbage in that place to boil into great august soup, the Heavenly Sovereign went to the place where the maiden was plucking the cabbage, and sang, saying:

"Oh! how delightful it is to pluck with a person of Kibi the cabbage sown in the mountain fields!"

When the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress up,

Princess Kuro presented an august Song saying:

"Even though the west wind blow up towards Yamato, and the clouds part, and we be separated, shall I forget [thee]?"

[273] Again she sang, saying:

"Whose spouse is it that goes towards Yamato? Whose spouse is it that creeps from beneath like hidden water?"

SECTION 123. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU PART V.—THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO)

After this time the Empress made a progress to the land of Ki in order to pluck aralia-leaves for a copious feast; and in the mean while the Heavenly Sovereign wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume. Hereupon, when the Empress was returning in her august vessel loaded full of aralia-leaves, a coolie from Kozhima in the land of Kibi, who was in the service of the Superintendent of the Water-Directors, being on his way off to his own country, met at the great passage of Naniha the vessel of a lady of the train who had got behind, and forthwith told her, saying: "The Heavenly Sovereign has [274] recently wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume, and plays with her day and night. It must probably be because the Empress has not heard of this thing, that she quietly makes progress for pleasure." Then the lady of the train, having heard this narrative, forthwith pursued and reached the august vessel, and reported everything exactly as the coolie had told it. Hereupon the Empress, greatly vexed and angry, threw away into the sea all the aralia-leaves which she had put on board the august vessel. So the place,[where she did so] is called by the name of Cape Mitsu. Forthwith without entering the palace, but taking her august vessel [from it] and ascending the channel against the current, she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the river; At this time she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend the river, oh! on the bank of the river [there] stands growing a *sashibu!*—a *sashibu*-tree; below it stands growing a broad-foliaged five hundred[-fold branching] true camellia-tree; oh! he who is brilliant like its blossoms, widely powerful like its foliage, is the great lord."

Forthwith going round by Yamashiro, and arriving at [275] the entrance of the Nara Mountain, she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend to Miya, I pass Nara, I pass Yamato with its shield of mountains; and the country I fain would see is Takamiya in Kadzuraki, the neighbourhood of my home."

[276] Having sung thus, she returned and entered for some time into the house of a person from Kara named Nurinomi at Tsutsuki.

SECTION 124. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI.—HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO)

The Heavenly Sovereign, having heard that the Empress had made a progress up by Yamashiro, made a person,—a retainer called by the name of Toriyama,—give an august Song, which said:

"Reach [her] in Yamashiro, Toriyama! Reach [her]! reach [her]! Ah! wilt thou reach and meet my beloved spouse?"

Again he continued by despatching Kuchiko, Grandee of Wani, and sang, saying: [277]

"Wilt thou be without thinking even of the Heart that is in the moor of Ohowiko, the moor of Ohowiko, that is by Takaki at Mimoro?"

Again he sang, saying:

"If indeed I had pillowed [my head] on the white arm like the whiteness of the roots, the great roots, that were beaten with wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession, [then] mightest thou say, 'I know [thee] not'."

So when the Grandee of Kuchiko was repeating this [278] august Song [to the Empress,] it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red colour. Now the Grandee of Kuchiko's younger sister Princess Kuchi was in the service of the Empress. So Princess Kuchi sang saying:

"Oh! how tearful is my lord-elder brother, saying things in the palace of Tsutsuki in Yamashiro!"

Then when the Empress asked the reason, she replied, saying: "He is my brother the Grandee of Kuchiko." Thereupon the Grandee of Kuchiko and also his younger sister Princess Kuchi and likewise Nurinomi [all] three took counsel [together,] and sent to report to the Heavenly [279] Sovereign, saying: "The reason of the Empress's progress is that there are [some] insects reared by Nurinomi,—strange insects changing in three ways, once becoming creeping insects, once becoming cocoons, and once becoming flying birds—and it is only to go and look at them that she has entered into [Nurinomi's house.] She has no strange intentions." When they had thus reported, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "That being so, I want to go and see [these insects,] as I think [they must be] strange; [and with these words] he made a progress up from the great palace. When he entered into Nurinomi's house, Nurinomi, had already presented to the Empress the three-fold insects reared by him. Then the Heavenly Sovereign augustly stood at the door of the palace where the Empress-dwelt, and sang, saying:

"Pure as the great roots that were beaten with their wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedings grow in succession:—it is because thou spokest tumultuously that I come in here [with my retainers numerous] as the more and more flourishing trees that I look across at."

[280] These six Songs by the Heavenly Sovereign and by the Empress are Changing Songs which are Quiet Songs.

SECTION 125. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME)

The Heavenly Sovereign, loving Yata-no-waki-iratsume, deigned to send her an august Song. That Song said:

"Will the one sedge-stem of Yata, having no children, wither as it stands? Poor sedge-moor! Sedge-moor indeed is what I may *say*—poor pure girl!"

Then Yata-no-waki-iratsume replied in a Song, saying:

"Even though the one sedge stem of Yata be alone, if the Great Lord say it is right even though it be alone [it is right.]"

So the Yata Tribe was established as the august proxy of Yata-no-waki-iratsume.

Section 126. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part VIII.—Death Of King Hayabusa-Wake And Queen Medori)

Again the Heavenly Sovereign begged for his younger half-sister Queen Medori, using as middle-man his younger brother King Haya-busa-wake. Then Queen Medori [281] spoke to King Hayabusa-wake, saying: "Owing to the violence of the Empress, [the Heavenly Sovereign] has not deigned to take Yata-no-waki-iratsume [into the Palace.] So I will not respectfully serve him. I will become the wife of Thine Augustness." Forthwith they wedded each other, wherefore King Hayabusa-wake made no report [to the Heavenly Sovereign.] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, going straight to the place where Queen Medori dwelt, stood on the door-sill of the palace. Hereupon, Queen Medori being at her loom, was weaving garments. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang saying:

"Oh! for whom may be the garments that my Great Lady Medori weaves?"

Queen Medori replied in a Song saying:

"For an august veil for the high-going Falcon-Lord."

So the Heavenly Sovereign, perceiving her feelings, returned into the palace. At this time when her husband King Hayabusa-wake came, his wife Queen Medori sang, saying:

"The lark flies to heaven. Oh! high-going Falcon-Lord, catch the wren."

[282] The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing this Song, forthwith raised an army, wishing to slay King Hayabusa and Queen Medori, who then fled away together, and ascended Mount Kurahashi. Thereupon King Hayabusa-wake sang, saying:

"Owing to the steepness of ladder-like Mount Kurahashi, being unable to clamber [up] the rocks, oh! she takes my hand!

Again he sang, saying:

"Though ladder-like Mount Kurahashi be steep, it is not steep when I ascend it with my younger sister."

So when they fled thence, and reached Soni in Uda, the Imperials army pursued, overtook, and slew them.

SECTION 127. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET)

Chief Ohotate of Yamabe, who was the generalissimo of that army, took the jewelled armlet which was wound round Queen Medori's august arm, and gave it to his own wife. After this time, when a copious feast was to be held, the women of the various families all went to court. Then the wife of Chief Ohotate came with that Queen's jewelled armlet wound round her own arm. [283] Thereupon the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, herself took the oak-leaves [full] of great august liquor and graciously gave them to the women of the various families. Then the Empress, recognizing the jewelled armlet, gave [the wearer] no oak-leaf[-full] of great august liquor, but forthwith sent her away; and sending. for the husband, Chief Ohotate, said: "Owing to that King and Queen's impropriety, [the Emperor] deigned to send them away. This was nothing strange. And a slave such as thou despoils of the jewelled armlet that was wound round her august arm the body of his lady [that was still] warm, and gives it to his own wife!"—and forthwith he was condemned to death.

SECTION 128. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX.—A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG)

Another time, the Heavenly Sovereign, when about to hold a copious feast, made a progress to the Island of Hime, just when a wild-goose had laid an egg on that island. Then, sending for His Augustness the Noble Takeuchi, he asked him in a Song about the laying of an egg by a wild goose. This Song said:

"Court Noble of Uchi! thou indeed art a long-lived person. Hast thou [ever] heard of a wild-goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato?"

Hereupon the Noble Take-uchi spoke in a song, saying: [284]

"August Child of the high-shining Sun, it is indeed natural that thou shouldest deign to ask, it is indeed right that thou shouldest ask. I indeed am a long-lived person, [but] have not yet heard of a wild goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato."

Having thus spoken, he was granted the august lute and sang saying:

"Oh thou prince! the wild goose must have laid the egg because thou wilt at last rule."

This is a Congratulatory Incomplete Song.

Section 129. Emperor Nin-Toku (Part X.—A Vessel Is Made Into A Lute)

In this august reign there was a tall tree on the west of the river Tsuki. The shadow of this tree, on its being struck by the morning sun, reached to the Island of Ahaji: and on its being struck by the evening sun, it crossed Mount Takayasu. So the tree was cut down and made into a vessel, and a very swift-going vessel it was. At the time, this vessel was called by the name of Karanu. So with this vessel the water of the Island of Ahaji was drawn morning and evening, and presented as the great august water. The broken [pieces] of this vessel were used [as fuel] to burn salt and the pieces of wood that remained over from the burning were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles [off]. So [some one] sang, saying:

"Karanu was burnt [as fuel] for salt; the remainder was made into a lute; oh! when struck, it sounds like the wet plants standing rocked on the reefs in the middle of the harbour, the harbour of Yura."

This is a Changing Song which is a Quiet song. [285]

SECTION 130. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL)

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign were eighty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Ear-Moor of Mozu.

SECTION 131. EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Iza-ho-wake dwelt in the palace of Wakasakura at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuro, daughter of the Noble of Ashida, child of So-tsu-biko [287] of Kadzuraki, and begot august children: King Oshiha of Ichinobe; next King Mima: next his younger sister Awomi-no-iratsume, another name for whom was Ichi-toyo-no-iratsume.

SECTION 132. EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART II.—HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI)

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting, was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. Thereupon the Suzerain of Achi, ancestor of the Suzerains of Aya in Yamato, having taken him away by stealth, set him on an august horse, and caused him to make a progress into Yamato. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] awoke on reaching the moor of Tajihi, and said: "What place is this?" Then the Suzerain of Achi said: "King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu set fire to the great palace; so I am fleeing with thee into Yamato." Then the Sovereign sang, saying: [257]

"Had I known that I should sleep on the Moor of Tajihi, oh! I would have brought my dividing matting, had I known that I should sleep!"

On reaching the Pass of Hanifu and gazing at the palace of Naniha, the fire was still bright. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang again, saying:

"The group of houses sparklingly burning, as I stand and look from the Pass of Hanifu, is in the direction of the house of my spouse."

So when they reached the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, they met one woman. This woman said: "A number of men bearing weapons are barring [the way across] the mountain. Thou shouldst cross it going round by way of Tagima. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Oh! on asking the way of the maiden we met at Ohosaka, she tells not [the] direct [way], but tells of the Tagima way."

So making his progress up, he dwelt in the temple of [289] the Deity of Isonokami.

Section 133. Emperor.—Ri-Chiu (Part III.—His Rebellious Brother And The Latter's Retainer Sobakari Are Slain)

Thereupon his younger brother His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake came, and sent [to ask for] an audience. Then the Heavenly Sovereign caused him to be told [these words]: As I am in doubt whether perhaps Thine Augustness may [not] be of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, I will not meet and speak with thee." [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. I am not of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu." [The Heavenly Sovereign] again caused him to be told [these words]: "If that be so, [do thou] now return down, and slay King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, and come up [again hither]. At that time I will surely meet and speak with thee." So he forthwith returned down to Naniha, and deceived [a man] named Sobakari, a man-at-arms in the personal service of King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, saying: "If thou wilt obey my words, I shall become Heavenly Sovereign, and will make thee prime Minister, to rule the Empire. How [would this be]?" Sobakari replied, saying "" [I [290] will do] according to thy command." Then plenteously endowing that man-at-arms, he said: "If that be so, slay the King." Thereupon Sobakari watched for the time when his King went into the privy, and thrust him to death with a spear. So when [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] was making his progress to Yamato taking Sobakari with him, he, on reaching the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, thought [thus]: "Although Sobakari deserves very well of me, he has truly slain his lord. This is unrighteous. Nevertheless if I reward not his deed, I may be called untruthful; and if I quite carry out my promise, his intentions are on the contrary to be feared. So, though recompensing his deed, I will destroy his actual person." Therefore he said to Sobakari: "I will halt here to-day and bestow on thee the rank of Prime Minister, and to-morrow will [continue my] progress up." So a halt was made at the entrance to the mountain, a temporary palace forthwith built, a copious feast suddenly held, the rank of Prime Minister forthwith bestowed on the man-at-arms, and all the officials made to do obeisance [to him]. The man-at-arms, delighted, thought that he had accomplished his design. Then [His Augustness

Midzu-ha-wake] said to the man-at-arms: "To-day I will drink liquor from the same cup as the Prime Minister." And when they drank together, a bowls large [enough] to hide the face was filled with the liquor presented. Hereupon the King's child drank first, and the man-at-arms drank afterwards. So when the man-at-arms was drinking, the great cup covered his face. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] drew forth a sabre which he had laid under the matting, and cut off the head of the man-at-arms. Forthwith on the morrow he made his progress up. So the place was called by the name of Chika-tsu-Asuka. [291] Going up and reaching Yamato, he said: "I will halt here to-day and, having purified myself, will go forth to-morrow and worship at the temple of the Deity." So that place is called by the name of Toho-tsu-Asuka. So going forth to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami, he sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign that he had come up to serve him after accomplishing the work [with which he had been entrusted]. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for, and met, and spoke with him.

SECTION 134. EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART IV.—VARIOUS DEEDS)

The Heavenly Sovereign thereupon first appointed the Suzerain of Achi to the office of Treasurer, and likewise bestowed on him domains. Again in this august reign the name of Waka-sakura Tribe was granted to the Grandees of the Waka-sakura Tribe. Again the gentile name of Dukes of Himeda was granted to the Dukes of Himeda. Again the Ihare Clan was established.

SECTION 135. EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART V.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL)

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-four. His august mausoleum is at Mozu.

SECTION 136. EMPEROR HAN-ZEI

His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake dwelt in the palace of Shibakaki at Tajihi, and ruled the Empire. The length of this Heavenly sovereign's august person was nine feet two inches and a half. The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, [like jewels strung together]. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady of Tsunu, daughter of Kogoto, Grandee of Wani, and begot august children: the Lady of Kahi; next the Lady of Tsubura (two Deities). Again he wedded Oto-hime, daughter of the same Grandee, and begot august children: King Takara; next the Lady of Takabe.—-altogether four Kings [and Queens]. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty. His august mausoleum is on the Moor of Mozu.

SECTION 137. EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART I—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Wo-asa-dzu-ma-waku-go-no-sukune dwelt in the Palace of Toho-tsu-Asuka, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime, younger sister of King Oho-hodo, and begot august children: King Karu of Kinashi; next Nagata-no-oho-iratsume; next King Kurohiko of Sakahi; next His Augustness Anaho; next Karu-no-oho-iratsume another name for whom is Sotohoshi-no-iratsume. (the reason for her being given the august name of Queen So-tohoshi was that the refulgence of her person passed through her garments); next King Shiro-biko of Yatsuri; next His Augustness [294] Oho-hatsuse: (nine Deities). Altogether the Heavenly Sovereign's august children [numbered] nine Deities—(five Kings and four Queens). Of these nine Kings and Queens, His Augustness Anaho [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next his Augustness Oho-hatsuse ruled the Empire.

Section 138. Emperor In-Giyō (Part II.—His Sickness Is Cured By A Korean Physician)

The Heavenly Sovereign, when first about to rule the succession of Heaven's Sun, declined, saying: "I have a long sickness; I cannot rule the sun's succession." Nevertheless, as from the Empress downwards all the magnates strongly urged him, he forthwith ruled the Empire. At this time the ruler of Shiragi dutifully sent eighty-one vessels with august tribute. Then the chief envoy sent with the august tribute, whose name was Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu, was a man deeply versed in the medical art. So he cured the Heavenly Sovereign's august sickness.

Section 139. Emperor In-Giyō (Part III. He Rectifies The People's Names)

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, lamenting the transgressions in the surnames and gentile names of the people of all the surnames and names in the Empire placed jars [for trial by] hot water at the Wondrous Cape of Eighty Evils in Words at Amakashi, and deigned to establish the surnames and gentile names of the eighty heads of companies. Again the Karu Tribe was established as the august proxy of King Karu of Ki-nashi; the Osaka Tribe was established as the Empress's august proxy; and the Kaha Tribe was established as the august proxy of the Empress's younger sister Ta-wi no Naka-tsu-hime.

Section 140. Emperor In-Giyō (Part IV.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were seventy-eight. His august mausoleum is at Naga-ye near Wega in Kafuchi.

Section 141. Emperor In-Giyō (Part V.—Prince Karu Loves His Sister Princess So-Tohoshi)

After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, it was settled that King Karu of Ki-nashi should rule the Sun's succession. But in the interval before his accession, he debauched his younger sister the Great Lady of Karu, and sang, saying:

"Making rice-fields on the mountain, making hidden conduits run on account of the mountain's height:—to-day indeed [my] body easily touches the younger sister whom I wooed with a hidden wooing, the spouse for whom I wept with a hidden weeping."

This is a Hind-Lifting Song. Again he sang, saying:

"The rattle-rattle of the hail against the bamboo-grass:—After I shall have certainly slept, what though I be plotted against by people! When I shall have slept delightfully, if there is the disorder of the cut *Hydropyrum latifolium*, let there be disorder,—when I shall have slept a good [297] sleep!"

This is a Rustic Lifting Song.

SECTION 142. EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VI.—WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO)

Therefore all the officials and likewise the people of the Empire turned against the Heir Apparent Karu, and towards the August Child Anaho. Then the Heir Apparent Karu, being alarmed, fled into the house of the Grandee the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe, and made a provision of implements of war. (The arrows made at this [298] time were provided with copper arrow-insides: so those arrows are called by the name of Karu arrows.)

Prince Anaho likewise made implements of war. (The arrows made by this Prince were just the arrows of the present time: they are called Anaho arrows.) Thereupon Anaho raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the noble Oho-make Wo-mahe. Then, when he reached the gate, heavy ice-rainwas falling. So he sang, saying:

"Come thus under cover of the metal gate of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe! We will stand till the rain stops."

Then the Noble Oho-mahe came singing, lifting his hands, striking his knees, dancing, and waving his arms. The Song said:

"The courtiers are tumultuous, [saying] that the small bell of the garter of the courtiers has fallen off. Country-people, too, beware!"

This Song is of a Courtier's Style. Singing thus, he [299] came near and said:

"August Child of our Heavenly Sovereign! Come not with arms against the King thine elder brother. If thou shouldst come against him with arms, people will surely laugh. I will secure him and present him to thee." The Prince Anaho disbanded his troops and went away. So the Noble Oho-make Wo-mahe secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. The captive Prince sang, saying:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! if thou cry violently, people will know. Cry quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa."

Again he sang:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! Come and sleep, and [then] pass on, oh maiden of Karu!"

SECTION 143. EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VII.—DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI)

So Prince Karu was banished to the hot waters of Iyo. Again when about to be banished, he sang saying:

"The heaven-soaring birds, too, are indeed messengers. When thou hearest the voice of the crane, ask my name."

These three songs are of a Heaven-Soaring style. Again he sang, saying:

"If they banish the Great Lord to an island, he will indeed make the remaining return voyage. Beware of my mat! Mat indeed in words,—beware of my spouse!

[301] This Song is of a Partly Lowered Rustic style. Queen So-tohoshi presented a Song [to him]. That Song said:

"Let not thy feet tread on the oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine with its summer herbs! Pass there [after] having made clear!"

So when afterwards again, being unable to restrain her love, she went after him, she sang, saying:

"Thy going has become long past. I will go, oh! to meet thee. Wait! I can not wait." (What is here called *yama-tadzu* is [what is] now [known by the name of] *tatsuge*.)

So when in her pursuit she reached [the place where Prince Karu was, he, who had been] pensively waiting, sang, saying:

"Alas! beloved spouse, who settledst the [302] whereabouts of our grave, setting up flags in the great vale, setting up flags in the little vale of Hatsuse the hidden castle! Alas! beloved spouse, whom I see after [our many troubles], prostrate like a *tsuki* bow, standing like an *adzusa* bow!"

Again he sang, saying:

"Driving sacred piles in the upper reach, driving true piles in the lower reach of the river of secluded Hatsuse, and hanging on 303 the sacrificial piles a mirror, bunging on the true piles true jewels:—if they said that the

younger sister whom I love like a true jewel, that the spouse whom I love like a mirror were [there], I would go home, I would long for my country."

Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together. So these two songs are Reading Songs.

SECTION 144. EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART I.—HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA)

The august child Anaho dwelt at the palace of Anaho at Isonokami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign sent the Grandee of Ne, ancestor of the Grandees of Sakamoto, to the residence of King Oho-kusaka, on behalf of his younger brother Prince Oho-hatsuse to command thus: "I wish Thine Augustness's younger sister Queen Waka-kusaka to wed Prince Oho-hatsuse. So do thou present her." Then King Oho-kusaka did obeisance four times, and said: "Owing to a supposition that there might be some such Great Commands, I have kept her always indoor. With reverence will I respectfully offer her according to the Great Commands." Nevertheless, thinking it disrespectful [merely] to send a message, he forthwith, as a ceremonial gift from his younger sister, made [the Grandee of Ne] take a pushwood jewel head-dress to present [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. The Grandee of Ne forthwith stole the jewel headdress meant as a ceremonial gift, and slandered King Oho-kusaka, saying: "King Oho-kusaka would not receive the Imperial Commands, but said: "An soror mea fiet ejusdem stirpis [viri] inferior storea?" and, grasping the hilt of his cross-sword, was angry." So the Heavenly Sovereign, having in his great anger slain King Oho-kusaka, took that King's chief wife Nagata-no-oho-iratsume, and made her Empress.

Section 145. Emperor An-Kō (Part II.—He Is Slain By King Ma-Yowa)

After this, the Heavenly Sovereign, being on [his] divine couch, was sleeping at midday. Then he spoke to his Empress, saying: "Is there anything on thy mind?" She replied, saying: "Being the object of the Heavenly Sovereign's generous favour, what, can there be on my mind?" Hereupon the Empress's former child, King Ma-yowa, who was seven years old that year, happened to be just then playing outside the apartment. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, not Knowing that the young King was playing outside the apartment, spoke to the Empress, saying: "I have constantly something upon my mind, namely [the fear] that thy child King Ma-yowa, when he comes to man's estate, may, on learning that I slew the King his father, requite me with a foul heart." Thereupon King Ma-yowa, who had been playing outside the apartment, and whose ear had caught these words, forthwith watched for the Heavenly Sovereign to be augustly asleep, and, taking the great sword [that lay] by his side, forthwith struck off the Heavenly Sovereign's head, and fled into the house of the Grandee Tsubura. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-six, His august masoleumis on the mound of Fushimi at Sugahara.

Section 146. Emperor An-Kō (Part III.—Prince Oho Hatsuse Slays Princes Kuro-Biko And Shiro-Biro)

Then Prince Oho-hatsuse, who at that time was a lad, was forthwith grieved and furious on hearing of this event, and went forthwith to his elder brother King Kurobiko, and said: "They have slain the Heavenly Sovereign. What shall be done?" But King Kurobiko was not startled, and was of unconcerned heart. There upon King Oho-hatsuse reviled his elder brother, saying: "For one thing it being the Heavenly Sovereign, for another thing it being thy brother, how is thy heart without concern? What! not startled, but unconcerned on hearing that they have slain thine elder brother!"—and forthwith he clutched him by the collar; dragged him out, drew his sword, and slew him. Again, going to his elder brother King Shiro-biko, he told him the circumstances as before. The unconcernedness again was like [that shown by] King Kuro-biko. [So King Oho-hatsuse,] having forthwith clutched him by the collar, pulled him along, and dug a pit on reaching Woharida, buried him as he stood, so that by the time he had been buried up to the loins, both his eyes burst out, and he died.

Section 147. Emperor An-Kō (Part IV.—Death Of Prince Ma-Yowa And Of The Grandee Tsubura)

Again he raised an army and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Tsubura. Then [the other side also] raised an army to resist the attack, and the arrows that were shot forth were like unto the falling down of the [ears of the] reeds. Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse, using his spear as a staff, peeped in, and said: "Is perchance the maiden, with whom I spoke, in this house?" Then the Grandee Tsubura, hearing these commands, came forth himself, and having taken off the weapons with which he was girded, did obeisance eight times, and said: "The maiden Princess Kara, whom anon thou deignedst to woo, is at thy service. Again in addition I will present to thee five granaries. (What are called the five granaries are now the gardeners of the five villages of Kadzuraki:) Meanwhile the reason why she does not come out to meet thee in person is that from of old down to the present time grandees and chiefs have been known to hide in the palaces of Kings, but Kings have not yet been known to hide in the houses of grandees. Therefore I think that, though a vile slave of a grandees exerting his utmost strength in the fight can scarcely conquer, yet must he die rather than desert a Prince who, trusting in him, has entered into his house." Having thus spoken, he again took his weapons and went in again to fight. Then, their strength being exhausted and their arrows finished, he said to the Prince: "My hands are wounded, and our arrows likewise are finished. We cannot now fight. What shall be done? "The Prince [266] replied, saying: "If that be so, there is nothing more to do. [Do thou] now slay me. "So [the Grandee Tsubura] thrust the Prince to death with his sword, and forthwith killed himself by cutting off his own head.

SECTION 148. EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART V:—PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA)

After this Karu-fukuro, ancestor of the Dukes of Yama of Sasaki in Afumi, said [to King Oho-hatsuse]: "At Kuta [and?] on the moor of Kaya at Wata in Afumi, boars and deer are abundant. Their legs as they stand are like a moor [covered] with *wogi*; the horns they point up are like withered trees." At this time [King Oho-hatsuse], taking with him King Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, made a progress to Afumi, and on reaching this moor, each of them built a separate temporary palace to lodge in. Then next morning, before the sun had risen, King Oshiha with a tranquil heart rode along on his august horse, and, reaching and standing beside King Oho-hatsuse's temporary Palace, said to King Oho-hatsuse's attendants: "Is he not awake yet? He must [309] be told quickly [that I am come]. It is already day-light. He must come to the hunting-ground,"—and forthwith urging his horse, he went forth. Then the people who served the august person of King Oho-hatsuse said: "As [King Oshiha] is a violent-spoken Prince, thou shouldst be on thy guard, and likewise it were well to arm thine august person." Forthwith he put on armour underneath his clothes, took and girded on him his bow and arrows, rode off on horseback, and in a sudden interval setting his horse by the side [of the other King's], took out an arrow, shot King Oshiha down, forthwith moreover cut his body [to pieces], put [them] into a horse's manger, and buried them level with the earth.

Section 149. Emperor An-Kō (Part VI.—Flight Of Princes Ohoke And Woke)

Hereupon King Ichi-no-be's children King Ohoke and King Woke (two Deities), having heard of this affray, fled away. So when they reached Karibawi in Yamashiro and were eating their august provisions, an old man with a tattooed face came and seized the provisions. Then the two Kings said: "We do not grudge the provisions. But who art thou? "He replied, saying: "I am a boar-herd in Yamashiro." So they fled across the River Kusuba, reached the land of Harima, entered the house of a native of that country named Shizhimu, hid their persons, and worked as grooms and cow-herds.

SECTION 150. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU, (I.—GENEALOGIES)

His Augustness Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take dwelt in the palace of Asakura at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Queen Wake-kusaka-be, younger sister of King Oho-kusaka (no children). Again he wedded Princess Karu, daughter of the Grandee Tsubura, and begot august children: His Augustness Shiraka; next his younger sister Her Augustness Princess Waka-tarashi (two Deities).

SECTION 151. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS)

So the Shiraka Clan was established as the august proxy of Prince Shiraka. Again the Hatsuse-Clan-Retainers were established. At this time there came over people from Kure. Again the Kahase Retainers were established. These people from Kure were lodged at Kure-hara. So the place was called by the name of Kure-hara.

SECTION 152. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART III.—THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OF SHIKI)

In the beginning, when the Empress dwelt at Kusaka, [the Heavenly Sovereign] made a progress in Kafuchi by way of the Tadagoye road at Kusaka. Then, on climbing to the top of the mountain and gazing on the interior of the country, [he perceived that] there was a house built with a raised roof-frame. The Heavenly Sovereign sent to ask [concerning] that house, saying: "Whose roof with a raised frame is that?" The answer was: "It is the house of the great Departmental Lord of Shiki." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "What! a slave builds his own house in imitation of the august abode of the Heavenly Sovereign!" . . . . and forthwith he sent men to burn the house [down], when the Great Departmental Lord, with trembling and dread, bowed his head, saying: "Being a slave, I like a slave did not understand, and have built overmuch. I am in great dread." So the thing that he presented as an august offering [in token] of his entreaty was a white dog [312] clothed in cloth and with a bell hung [round its neck]; and he made a kinsman of his own, named Koshihaki, lead it by a string and present it [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. So the Heavenly Sovereign ordered them to desist from burning [the house].

SECTION 153. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IV.—HE WOOES PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE)

Forthwith making a progress to the residence of Queen Wakakusaka-be the Heavenly Sovereign sent the dog as a message, saying: "This thing is a strange thing which I got to day on the road. So it is a thing to woo with,"—and so saying, sent it in as a present. Thereupon Queen Waka-kusaka-be sent to say to the Heavenly Sovereign: "It is very alarming that thou shouldst make a progress with thy back to the sun. So I will come up straight [to the capital], and respectfully serve thee." When therefore he returned up and dwelt in the palace, he went and stood on the ascent of that mountain, and sang, saying:

"In the hollow between the nearer and the further mountain, this Mount Kusakabe and Mount Heguri, [is] growing the flourishing broad-leafed boar-oak; at the base grow intertwining bamboos; on the top grow luxuriant bamboos:—we sleep not [now] intertwined like the intertwining bamboos, we sleep not certainly like the luxuriant bamboos: [but] oh! my beloved [313] spouse, with whom [I] shall afterwards sleep intertwined!"

And he forthwith sent back a messenger with this Song.

SECTION 154. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART V.—STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO)

Again once when the Heavenly Sovereign going out for amusement, reached the River Miwa, there was a girl, whose aspect was very beautiful, washing clothes by the river-side. The Heavenly Sovereign asked the girl, [saying]: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "My name is Akawi-ko of the Hiketa Tribe." Then he caused her to be told, saying: "Do not thou [314] marry a husband. I will send for thee, "—and [with these words] he returned to the palace. So eighty years had already passed while she reverently awaited the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. Thereupon Akawi-ko thought: "As, while looking for the [Imperial] commands, I have already passed many years, and as my face and form are lean and withered, there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, if I do not show [the Heavenly Sovereign] how truly I have waited, my disappointment will be unbearable;"—and [so saying] she caused merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred, and came forth and presented [these gifts as] tribute. Thereat the Heavenly Sovereign, who had quite forgotten what he had formerly commanded, asked Akawi-ko, saying: "What old woman art thou, and why art thou come hither?" Then Akawiko replied, saying: "Having in such and such a month of such and such a year received the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I have been reverently awaiting the great command until this day, and eighty years have past by. Now my appearance is quite decrepit, and there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless I have come forth in order to show and declare my faithfulness." Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign was greatly startled [and exclaimed]: "I had quite forgotten the former circumstance; and thou meanwhile, ever faithfully awaiting my commands, hast vainly let pass by the years of thy prime. This is very pitiful." In his heart he wished to marry her, but shrank from her extreme age, and could not make the marriage; but he conferred on her an august Song. That Song said:

"How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-tree of the august dwelling! Maiden of the oak-plain!"

Again he sang, saying: [315]

"The younger chestnut orchard plain of Hiketa:—o si dormivissem cum iliâ in juventâ! Oh! how old she has become!"

Then the tears that Akawi-ko wept quite drenched the red-dyed sleeve that she had on. In reply to the great august Song, she sang, saying:

"Left over from the piling up of the jewel-wall piled up round the august dwelling,—to whom shall the person of the Deity's temple go?"

[316] Again she sang, saying:

"Oh! how enviable is she who is in her bloom like the flowering lotus,—the lotus of the inlet, of the inlet of Kusaka!"

Then the old woman was sent back plentifully endowed. So these four Songs are Quiet Songs.

SECTION 155. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VI.—HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU)

When the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the palace of Yeshinu, there was on the bank of the Yeshinu river a girl of beautiful appearance. So having wedded this girl, he returned to the Palace. Afterwards, when he again made a progress to Yeshinu, he halted where he had met the girl, and in that place raised a great august throne, seated himself on that august throne, played on his august lute, and made the maiden dance. Then he composed an august Song on account of the maiden's good dancing. That Song said:

"Oh! that the maiden dancing to the lute-playing, of the august hand of the Deity seated on the throne might continue for ever!"

Section 156. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part VII.—The Horse-Fly And The Dragon-Fly)

When forthwith he made a progress to the Moor of Akidzu, and augustly hunted, the Heavenly Sovereign sat on an august throne. Then a horse-fly bit his august arm, and forthwith a dragon-fly came and ate up the horse-fly, and flew [away]. Thereupon he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Who is it tells in the great presence that game is lying on the peak of Womuro at Mi-yeshinu? Our Great Lord, who tranquilly carries on the government, being seated on the throne to await the game, a horse-fly alights on and stings the fleshy part of his arm fully clad in a sleeve of white stuff, and a dragon-fly quickly eats up that horse-fly. That it might properly bear its name, the land of Yamato was called the Island of the Dragon-Fly."

So from that time that moor was called by the name [318] of Akidzu-nu.

Section 157. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part VII.—Adventure With A Wild Boar)

Again once the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up to the summit of Mount Kadzuraki. Then a large [wild] boar ran out. When the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith shot the boar with a whizzing barb, the boar, furious, came towards him roaring. So the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the roaring, climbed up to the top of an alder. Then he sang, saying:

"The branch of the alder-tree on the opportune mound which I climbed in my flight on account of the terribleness of the roaring of the boar, of the wounded boar, which our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government had been pleased to shoot!"

Section 158. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part IX.—Revelation Of The Great Deity Of Kadzuraki, Lord Of One Word)

Again once, when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up Mount Kadzuraki, the various officials were all clothed in green-stained garments with red cords that had been granted to them. At that time there were people ascending the mountain on the opposite mountain acclivity quite similar to the order of the Heavenly Monarch's retinue. Again the style of the habiliments and likewise the people were similar and not distinguishable. Then the Heavenly Sovereign gazed, and sent to ask, saying: "There being no other King in Yamato excepting myself, what person goeth thus?" The style of the reply again was like unto the commands of a Heavenly Sovereign. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being very angry, fixed his arrow [in his bow], and the various officials all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. Then those people also all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. So the Heavenly Sovereign again sent to ask, saying: "Then tell thy name. Then let each of us tell his name, and [then] let fly his arrow." Thereupon [the other] replied, saying: "As I was the first to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good,—the Great Deity of Kadzuraki, Lord of One [320] Word." The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understood not that thy great person would be revealed;"—and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on, and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity]. Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands, accepted the offering. So when the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress back, the Great Deity came down the mountain, and respectfully escorted him to the entrance of the Hatsuse mountain. So it was at that time the Great Deity Lord of One Word was revealed.

SECTION 159. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART X.—THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE)

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to Kasuga to wed Princess Wodo, daughter of the Grandee Satsuki of Wani, a maiden met him by the way, and forthwith seeing the Imperial progress, ran and hid on the side of a mound. So he composed an august Song. That august Song said:

"Oh! the mound where the maiden is hiding! Oh for five hundred metal spades! then might [we] dig her out!"

So that mound was called by the name of the Mound [321] of the Metal Spade.

SECTION 160. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XI.—THE LEAF IN THE CUP)

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a copious feast under a hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree at Hatsuse, a female attendant from Mihe in the land of Ise lifted up the great august cup, and presented it to him. Then from the hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree there fell a leaf and floated in the great august cup. The female attendant, not knowing that the fallen leaf was floating in the cup, did not desist from presenting the great august liquor to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, perceiving the leaf floating in the cup, knocked the female attendant down, put his sword to her neck, and was about to cut off her head, when the female attendant spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Slay me not! There is something that I must say to thee:" and forthwith she sang, saying:

"The palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a palace where shines the morning sun, a palace where glistens the evening sun, a palace plentifully rooted as the root of the bamboo, a palace with spreading roots like the roots of the trees, a palace pestled with oh! eight hundred [loads of] earth, As for the branches of the hundred-fold flourishing *tsuki*-tree growing by the house of new licking at the august gate [made of] [322] *chamæcyparis* [wood], the uppermost branch has the sky above it, the middle branch has the east above it, the lowest branch has the country above it. A leaf from the tip of the uppermost branch falls against the middle branch; a leaf from the tip of the middle branch falls against the lowest branch; a leaf from the tip of the lowest branch, falling into the oil floating in the fresh jewelled goblet which the maid of Mihe is lifting up, all [goes] curdle-curdle. Ah! this is very awful, August Child of the High-Shining Sun! The tradition of the thing, too this!"

So on her presenting this Song, her crime was [323] pardoned. Then the Empress sang. Her Song said:

"Present the luxuriant august liquor to the august child of the high-shining sun, who is broad like the leaves, who is brilliant like the blossoms of the broad-foliaged five hundred[-fold branching] true

camellia-tree that stands growing by the house of new licking in this high metropolis of Yamato, on this high-timbered mound of the metropolis The tradition of this thing, too this!"

Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying: [324]

"The people of the great palace, having put on scarfs like the quail-birds having put their tails together like wagtails' and congregated together like the yard-sparrows, may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in liquor,—the people of the palace of the high-shining sun. The tradition of the thing, too, this."

These three Songs are Songs of Heavenly Words. [325] So at this copious feast this female attendant from Mihe was praised and plentifully endowed.

Section 161. Emperor Yū-Riyaku (Part XII.—Songs By The Emperor And Princess Wodo)

On the day of this copious feast the Heavenly Sovereign, when Princess Wodo of Kasuga presented to him the great august liquor, sang again, saying:

"Oh! the grandee's daughter holding the excellent flagon! [If] thou hold the excellent flagon, hold it firmly! Hold it quite firmly, more and more firmly, child holding the excellent flagon."

This is a Cup Song. Then Princess Wodo presented [326] a Song. That Song said:

"Would that I were [thou,] the lower board of the arm-rest whereon our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government stands leaning at morn, stands leaning at eve! Oh! mine elder brother!"

This is a Quiet Song.

SECTION 162. EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XIII.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL)

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-four. His august mausoleum is at Takawashi in Tajihi in Kafuchi,

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Section 163. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part I.—Search For A Successor To Him)

His Augustness Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko dwelt at the palace of Mikakuri at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign had no Empress, and likewise no august children. So the Shiraka-Clan was established as his august proxy. So after the Heavenly Sovereign's decease, there was no King to rule the Empire. Thereupon, on enquiry [being made] for a King who should rule the sun's succession, Oshinumi-no-iratsume, another name for whom was Princess Ihi-toyo, younger sister of Prince Ichinobe-oshiha-wake, [was found to be] residing at the palace of Tsunusashi at Takaki in Oshinumi in Kadzuraki.

Section 164. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part II.—Princes Ohoke And Woke Are Discovered)

Then Wodate, Chief of the Mountain Clan when appointed governor of the land of Harima, arrived just at [328] [the time of] a rejoicing for the new cave of an inhabitant called Shizhimu. Hereupon, when the feasting and the drinking were at their height, they all danced in turn. So two young children [employed] to light the fire sat beside the furnace. These young children were made to dance. Then one of the young children said: "Do thou the elder brother dance first." The elder brother likewise said: "Do thou the younger brother dance first." When they thus yielded to each other, the people who were met together laughed at their manner of yielding to each other. So at last the elder brother danced, [and when he had] finished, the younger when about to dance chanted, saying:

"On the bamboos on the mountain-slopes, behind which are hidden as soon as they appear my warrior-mate's sword, on whose hilt red earth was daubed, for whose cord red cloth was cut, and his red flags that were set up!:—Beggarly descendants of King Ichinobe-no-oshiha, august child of the Heavenly Sovereign Izaho-wake, who ruled the Empire as it were cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities, and like playing on an eight-stringed lute!"

[329] Then forthwith Chief Wodate, starting at the sound [of these words], and rolling off his couch, drove away the people of the cave; and having set the two princes [one] on his left knee and [the other] on his right and wept and lamented, he collected the people together, and having built a temporary palace, and set [the two princes] to dwell in that temporary palace, he sent a courier up [to the capital]. Thereupon their aunt, Queen Ihi-toyo, delighted to hear [the news], made them come up to the palace.

SECTION 165. EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART III.—THE GRANDEE SHIBI)

So when the government of the Empire was about to be assumed, the Grandee Shibi, ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri mixed in the Songs, and took the hand of the beautiful person whom His Augustness Woke was about to wed. This maiden was a daughter of one of the Headmen of Uda, and her name was Ofuwo. Then His Augustness Woke likewise mixed in the Song-Hedge. Thereupon the Grandee Shibi sang, saying:

(iv) "The further fin of the roof of the great palace is bent down at the corner."

When he had thus sung, and requested the conclusion of the Song, His Augustness Woke sang, saying:

(v) "It is on account of the great carpenter's [331] awkwardness that it is bent down at the corner."

Then the Grandee Shibi sang again, saying:

(viii)"The great lord, on account of the magnanimity of his heart, does not enter and stand in the eight-fold hedge of branches of the child of a grandee."

Hereupon the Prince sang again, saying:

(i) "Looking on the breakers of the briny current, I see my spouse standing by the fin of the tunny that comes sporting."

Then the Grandee Shibi, getting more and more angry sang, saying:

(ix) "[Though] the eight-fold hedge of branches of the Prince the Great Lord be made fast at eight places, be made fast all round, ’tis a hedge that shall be cut, ’tis a hedge that shall be burnt."

Then the Prince again sang, saying:

(ii) "Oh fisherman that spearest the tunny, the great fish! He being [there], thou must be sad at heart, tunny-spearing fisherman!"

Having thus sung, the feast was concluded at dawn, [332] and they all retired. Next morning the two Deities, His Augustness Ohoke and His Augustness Woke, took counsel, saying: "All the people of the Court go to Court in the morning, and assemble at Shibi 's gate at noon. So Shibi must surely now be sleeping, and, [333] moreover there will be nobody at the gate. So unless it be now, it were hard to plot against him,"—and forthwith they at once raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Shibi, and slew him.

Section 166. Emperor Sei-Nei (Part IV.—Prince Ohoke Cedes The Empire To Prince Woke)

Then each of the two Princes ceded the Empire to the other, and His Augustness Ohoke [finally] ceded it to the younger brother His Augustness Woke, saying: "Had not Thine Augustness revealed our names when we dwelt in the house of Shizhimu in Harima, we should never have arrived at being the lords of the Empire. This is quite owing to Thine Augustness's deed. So, though I be the elder brother, do Thine Augustness rule the Empire first,"—and [with these words] he urgently ceded [his claim]. So, being unable to refuse, His Augustness Woke ruled the Empire first.

SECTION 167. EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART I.—THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME)

His Augustness Woke-no-ihasu-wake dwelt at the palace of Chika-tsu-Asuka, and ruled the Empire for eight years. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Queen of Naniha, daughter of the King of Ihaki. He had no children.

At the time when this Heavenly Sovereign was searching for the august bones of the King his father, King Ichinobe, there came out from the land of Afumi [to the palace] a poor old woman, who said: "The place where the prince's august bones are buried is specially well known to me, and moreover [his skeleton] can be known by his august teeth." (His august teeth were teeth uneven like a lily.)

Then people were set to dig the [334] ground and search for the august bones; and the bones having been forthwith obtained, an august mausoleum was made on the mountain east of the Moor of Kaya, and they were interred, and the children of Kara-fukuro were made to guard the august mausoleum. Afterwards the august bones were brought up [to the Capital]. So having returned up [to the Capital, the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for the old woman, praised her for having, without forgetting, kept the place in mind, and conferred upon her the name of the Old Woman Oki-me: thus did he send for her into the palace, and deign to treat her with deep and wide kindness. So he built a house for the old woman to dwell in dose to the palace, and always sent for her every day.

So he hung a bell by the door of the great hall, and always rang it when he wished to call the old woman. So he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Oh! the far-distant bell tinkles when she has past the moor with its low eulalias and the little valley. Oh! Oki-me must be coming!"

Hereupon the old woman said: "I am very aged, [335] and would fain depart to my native land." So when the Heavenly Sovereign let her depart according to her request, he saw her off and sang, saying:

"Ah Okime! Okime from Afumi! from to-morrow [onwards] wilt [thou] be hidden behind the deep mountains, and alas! not seen!"

SECTION 168. EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART II.—HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD)

The Heavenly Sovereign searched for the old boar-herd who had seized his august provisions at the time when he first met with adversity and was fleeing; and, having sought him out, sent for him up [to the Capital], beheaded him in the bed of the River Asuka, and cut the knee-tendons of all his kindred. Wherefore down to the present time his descendants, on the day when they [285] come up to Yamato, always limp of their own accord. So the man's abode had been well seen and divined. So the place was named Shimesu.

SECTION 169. EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART III.—THE EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED)

The Heavenly Sovereign, deeply hating the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, who had slain the King his father, wished to be revenged on his spirit. So when wishing to destroy the august mausoleum of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, he [was about to] send people [to execute this design], his elder brother, His Augustness Ohoke, addressed' him, saying: "To demolish this august mausoleum thou shouldst not send other people. None but myself shall go, and I will demolish it according to the Heavenly Sovereign's august heart. Then the Heavenly Sovereign commanded: "Make thy progress, then, according to thy decree," Wherefore His Augustness Ohoke, having proceeded down himself, slightly excavated the side of the august mausoleum, and returned up [to the capital], and reported that he had dug up and demolished it. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, astonished at the quickness of his return up, asked how he had demolished it. He replied, saying: "I slightly excavated the earth at the side of the august mausoleum." The Heavenly Sovereign said: "Wishing to be revenged on the enemy, of the King our father, I had counted on. the complete demolition of the mausoleum, Why hast thou [only] slightly excavated it? "He replied, saying: [337] "The reason why I did so was that the wish to be revenged on the spirit of the foe of the King our father is truly just. Nevertheless the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, though he were our father's foe, was still our uncle, and moreover was an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire. So if we now, simply from the consideration of his having been our father's enemy, were completely to demolish the mausoleum of an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire, after-generations would surely revile us. Meanwhile the wrongs of the King our father must not be unrevenged. So I slightly excavated the side of the mausoleum. This insult will quite suffice as a token to future ages." On his thus addressing him, the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'This also is very just, Be it as thou sayest."

Section 170. Emperor Ken-Zō (Part IV.—His Age And Place Of Burial)

So the Heavenly Sovereign died, and His Augustness Ohoke ruled the succession of Heaven's sun. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were thirty-eight years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Katawoka.

SECTION 171. EMPEROR NIN-KEN

His Augustness Ohoke dwelt at the palace of Hirataka at Isono-kami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kasuga-no-oho-iratsume, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take, and begot august children: Takaki-no-iratsume; next Takara-no-iratsume; next Kasubi-no-iratsume; next Tashiraka-no-iratsume; next His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki; next Prince Ma-waka. The child born to him by his next wife Naka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma (?) of [338] Wani, was: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered seven altogether. Of these His Augustness Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

SECTION 172. EMPEROR MU-RETSU

His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Namiki at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire for eight years. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. So the Wo-hatsuse Tribe was established as his august proxy. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Karawoka. On the death of this Heavenly Monarch there was no prince to inherit the Empire, So His Augustness Ohodo, the fifth descendant of the Heavenly Monarch Homuda, was sent for down to the land of Afumi, and married to her Augustness Tashiraka, and presented with the Empire.

SECTION 173. EMPEROR KEI-TAI

His Augustness Ohodo dwelt in the Palace of Tamaho at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. The (two) august children born to this Heavenly Monarch by Waka-hime, ancestress of the Dukes of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsuko, next Idzumo-no-iratsume.

The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Meko-no-iratsume, sister of the Chieftain Ofushi, ancestor of the Chieftains of Wohari, were: His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-taka-kana-hi; next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife (the Great Empress) Her Augustness Tashiraka, the august daughter of the Heavenly Monarch Ohoke, was: His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, daughter of Prince Okinaga-no-mate, was:

Sasage-no-iratsume. The three august children born to him by his next wife Kuro-hime, daughter of Prince Sakata-no-oho-mata, were: Kamu-saki-no-iratsume; next Mamuta-no-iratsume; next Uma-tsuta-no-iratsume. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Seki-hime, daughter of Womochi Grandee of Mamuta were: Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume; next Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume; next Wo-nu-no-iratsume, another name for whom is Naga-me-hime. The (four) children born to him by his [339] next wife Yamato-hime, younger sister of Katabu Duke of Miwo, were:

Oho-iratsume (?); next Prince Maroko; next Prince Mimi; next Aka-hime-no-iratsume. The (three) children born to him by his next wife Abe-no-haye-hime, were: Waka-ya-no-iratsume; next Tsubura-no-iratsume; next Prince Adzu. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered nineteen in all (seven Kings and twelve Queens). Of these His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi ruled the Empire; the next, Queen Sasage, presided at the temple of the Deity of Ise. In this august reign Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, was disobedient to the Imperial Decrees, and was exceedingly disrespectful. Soy the Great Chieftain Mononobe-no-arakawi and the

Chieftain Ohotomo-no-kanamura were both sent to slay Ihawi. The august years of this Heavenly Monarch were forty-three. His august mausoleum is at Awi in Mishima.

SECTION 174. EMPEROR KAN-AN

His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-*kana*-hi dwelt in the Palace of Kanahashi at Magari, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. His august grave is at the village of Takaya in Furuchi in Kafuchi.

SECTION 175. EMPEROR SEN-KUWA

His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate dwelt in the Palace of Ihorinu at Hinokuma, and ruled the Empire. The august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Her Augustness Tachi-bana-no-naka-tsu-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ohoke, were: Her Augustness Ishi-hime; next Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime; next King Kura-no-waka-ye. The august children born to him by his next wife, Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, were: King Honoho; next King Weha. The august children of this Heavenly [340] Sovereign numbered altogether five (three Kings and two Queens). So King Honoho (was the ancestor of the Dukes Shihida.) Prince Weha (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Wina and of the Dukes of Tajihi.)

SECTION 176. EMPEROR KIM-MEI

The Heavenly Sovereign Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha dwelt in the Great Palace of Shikishima, and ruled the Empire. The (three) august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, Her Augustness Ishi-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Hi-no-kuma, were: King Yata; next His Augustness Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki; next King Kasanuhi. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, younger sister [of the first one], was: King Kami. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Nukako-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Kasuga, were: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume; next King Maroko; next King Soga-no-kura. The (thirteen) children born to him by his next wife Kitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the Noble Inawe of Soga were: His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi; next his younger sister Queen Ihakumo; next King Atori; next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime; next King Mata-maroko; next King Oho-yake; next King Imigako; next King [of?] Yamashiro; next his younger sister Queen Oho-tomo; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari; next King Manu; next King Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go; next King Tone. The five august children born to him by his next wife Wo-ye-hime, aunt of Her Augustness Kitashi-hime, were: King Umaki; next King Kadzuraki; next King Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be; next King Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, another name for whom was Sume-irodo; next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered twenty-five Kings and Queens. Of these His Augustness Nu-na-kura-futo-tama-shiki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi ruled the Empire. Next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-hashiki-ya-hime ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Hatsusebe-no-waka-sazaki ruled the Empire. In all there were four Kings and Queens that ruled the Empire.

SECTION 177. EMPEROR BI-DATSU

His Augustness Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki dwelt in the Palace of Wosada, and ruled the Empire for fourteen years. The (eight) children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, his half-sister Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, were: King Shidzu-kahi, another name for whom was Kahi-dako; next King Takeda, another name for whom was King Wo-kahi; next King Woharita; next King Umori; next King Wohari; next King Tame; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife Wo-kuma ko-no-iratsume, daughter of the Headman Ohoka of Ise, were: Her Augustness Futo-hime; next Queen Takara, another name for whom was Queen Nukade-hime. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Hiro-hime, daughter of King Okinaga-no-made, were: King Osako-no-hiko-hito, another name for whom was King Maroko; next King Saka-nobori; next King Uji. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife Omina-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, were: King Naniha; next King Kuhada; next King Kasuga; next King Oho-mata. Of the august children of this Heavenly Monarch,—seventeen Kings and Queens altogether,—King Hiko-hito begot by his wife his half-sister Queen Tamura, another name for whom was Her Augustness Nukade-hime, (three) august children, namely: the Heavenly Sovereign that ruled the Empire from the Palace of Wokamoto; next King Nakatsu; next King Tara. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Queen Ohomata, younger sister of King Aya, were: King Chinu; next his younger sister Queen Kuhada. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife his half-sister Princess Yumi-hari, were: King Yamashiro; next Queen Kasanuhi,—altogether seven Kings and Queens, The august mausoleum [of the Heavenly Sovereign Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki] is at Shinaga in Kafuchi.

SECTION 178. EMPEROR YŌMEI

His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi dwelt in the Palace of Ikenobe, and ruled the Empire for three years. The one august child born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Oho-gitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the noble name, was: King Tame. The (four) [342] august children born to him by his next wife, his half-sister Princess Hashi-bito-no-anaho-be, were: His Augustness Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi; next King Kume; next King We-kuri; next King Mamuta. The august children born to him by his next wife Ihime-no-ko, daughter of Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, were: King Tagima; next his younger sister Sugashiroko-no-iratsume. The august mausoleum of this Heavenly Sovereign, which had been by the borders of Lake Ihare, was afterwards removed to the middle sepulchre of Shinaga.

SECTION 179. EMPEROR SU-JUN

The Heavenly Sovereign Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki dwelt at the Palace of Shibabaki at Kurahashi, and ruled the Empire for four years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Kurahashi.

SECTION 180. EMPRESS SUI-KO

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime dwelt at the Palace of Wohorida, and ruled the Empire for thirty seven years. Her august mausoleum, which had been on the mound of Ohonu, was afterwards removed to the great sepulchre at Shinaga.

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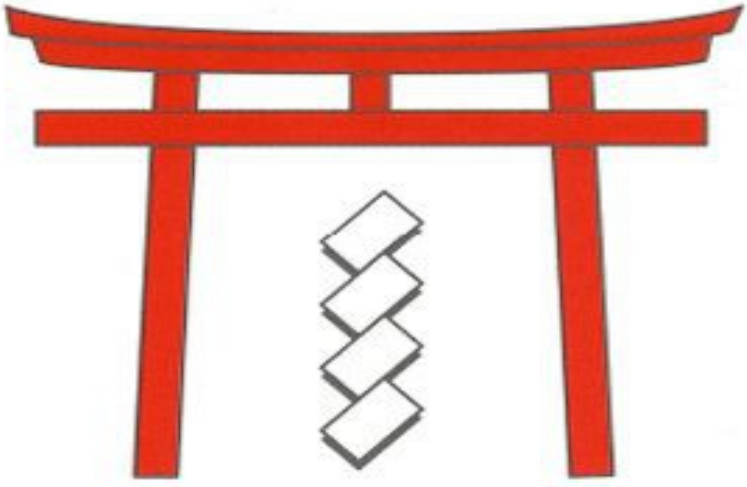
SHINTO

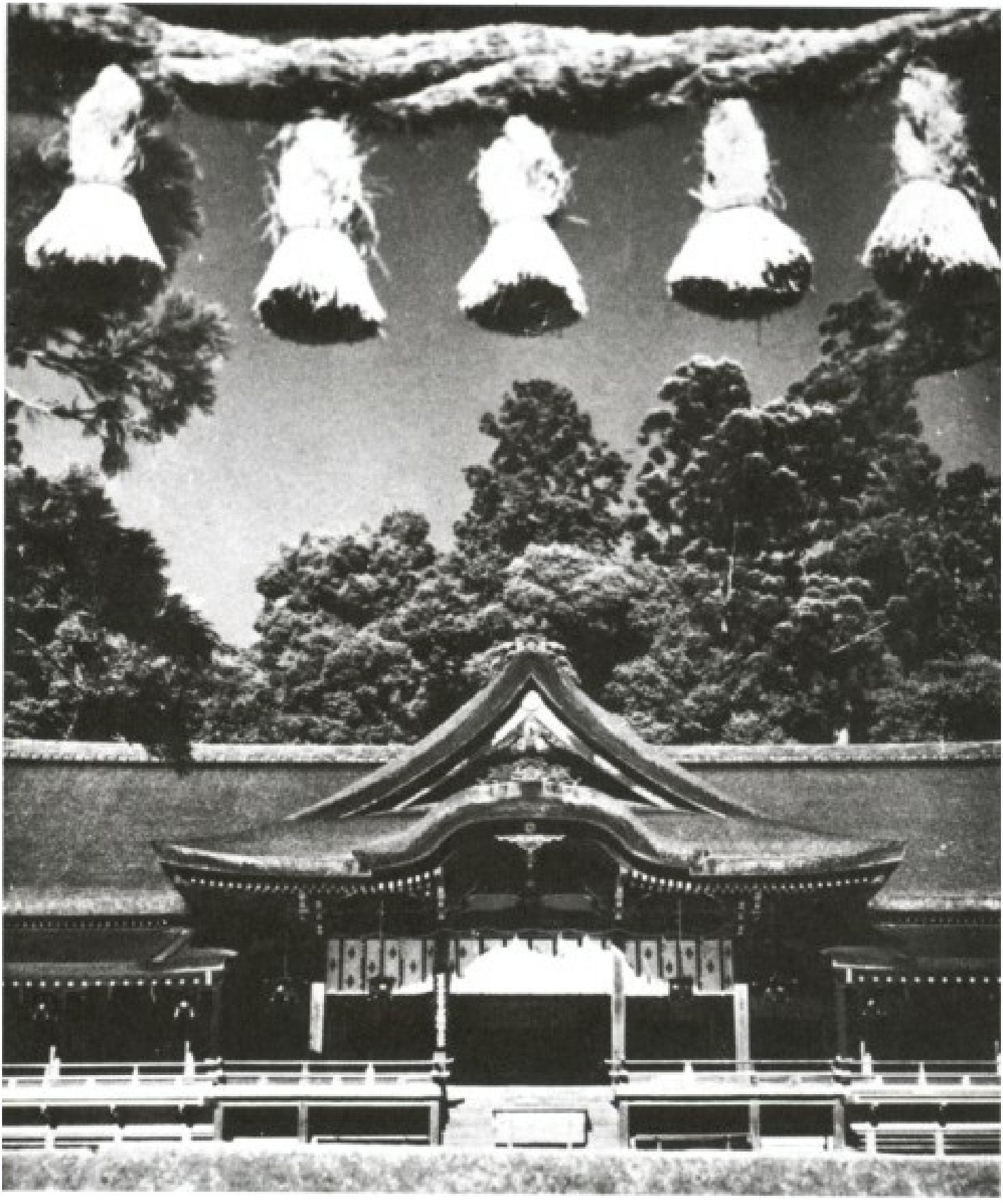
THE KAMI WAY

道



SOKYO ONO

PLATE 1 (see overleaf). OMIVA JINJA,NARA. Front view of the worshipping hall showing the offering box at the foot of the steps. In the upper foreground is the sacred rope suspended between the entrance pillars.



Shinto
THE KAMI WAY

by
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Lecturer, Association of Shinto Shrines

in collaboration with
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sketches by
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TUTTLE Publishing
Tokyo | Rutland, Vermont | Singapore

Published by Tuttle Publishing, an imprint of Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd., with editorial offices at 364 Innovation Drive, North Clarendon, VT 05759 USA and 61 Tai Seng Avenue #02-12, Singapore 534167.

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LCC Card No. 61014033
ISBN 978-1-4629-0083-1

First edition, 1962

Printed in Singapore

Distributed by:

Japan
Tuttle Publishing
Yaekari Building, 3rd Floor
5-4-12 Osaki, Shinagawa-ku
Tokyo 141-0032
Tel: (81)3 5437 0171; Fax: (81)3 5437 0755
Email: tuttle-sales@gol.com

North America, Latin America & Europe
Tuttle Publishing
364 Innovation Drive
North Clarendon, VT 05759-9436 USA
Tel: 1 (802) 773 8930; Fax: 1 (802) 773 6993
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www.tuttlepublishing.com

Asia Pacific
Berkeley Books Pte. Ltd.
61 Tai Seng, Avenue, #02-12
Singapore 534167
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Fax: (65) 6280 6290
Email: inquiries@periplus.com.sg
www.periplus.com

15 14 13 12 11 10 38 37 36 35 34

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CONTENTS

Foreword

Preface

I THE KAMI WAY

Introduction, Mythology, Kami, Scriptures, Types of Shinto, Organization

II SHRINES

Shrines and Shrine Paraphernalia, Precincts, Architecture, Priests and Shrine Functionaries, Parishes and Parishioners

III WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS

Worship, Four Elements of Worship, Worship in the Home, Shrine Worship, Festivals

IV POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Government Policy, the Arts, Economic Life, Relation with other Religions, Everyday Customs

V SOME SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Transmission of the Faith, Shrines and Nature; World, Man, Salvation and Death, Universality of Shinto

Index

FOREWORD

This book was first published in 1960 as Bulletin No. 8 of the International Institute for the Study of Religions, Tokyo, under the title *The Kami Way: An Introduction to Shrine Shinto*. The author, Dr. Sokyo Ono, professor of Kokugakuin University and lecturer for the Association of Shinto Shrines, compiled the material as a modern presentation of the meaning of Shrine Shinto to one who has devoted his entire professional life to the study of this faith, and the enriched understanding of it by leaders of the shrine world. Mr. William P. Woodard, Director of Research for the Institute, served as collaborator and editor of the work. The illustrative sketches were prepared by Sadao Sakamoto, a priest at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo.

The International Institute for the Study of Religions is a non-profit, non-sectarian organization incorporated by the Ministry of Education of the Japanese Government. Its primary purpose is to assist scholars and interested laymen in gaining a better understanding of religions in Japan. To accomplish this purpose the Institute conducts research, promotes lectures and conferences, plans tours, arranges interviews with Japanese scholars and religious leaders,

publishes directories, bulletins, and booklets, maintains a reference library on contemporary Japanese religions, and carries on related activities. The Institute also assists Japanese scholars and religious leaders in their study of religions in Japan and abroad.

It has indeed been gratifying to us in the Institute to see the favorable reception enjoyed by this issue of one of its bulletins, and we are pleased that the work is now being published in a revised edition which will receive still wider distribution throughout the world.

Hideo Kishimoto
Director, International Institute
for the Study of Religions

PREFACE

Shinto, the indigenous faith of the Japanese people, has long been a source of fascination for both the casual visitor and old-timer. The strange symbolism, exotic rites, ceremonies, and festivals, and the mystic atmosphere of the shrines constitute a never-ending lure for those who would pry into the recesses of the religious faith of this people. However, except for the student who has the interest, ability, and almost inexhaustible resources in time for his investigation, Shinto remains practically a closed book.

Actually there are very few people, Japanese or foreign, who understand Shinto thoroughly and are able to explain it in detail. These scholars, including the author of this booklet, are the first to admit that there are many things which cannot be clearly explained because in some areas there is still no certain knowledge. To be sure, in the course of the centuries many Japanese have written extensively on Shinto but these are largely expressions of their individual points of view. Except for the relatively short three-quarters of a century of regimentation after the Meiji Restoration, when there was an artificial,

government-created authoritative interpretation of Shinto, there has not been any large body of interpretation that is generally accepted.

Free, untrammelled, scientific research in this field is a post-World-War-II phenomenon. Consequently, it is not strange that, relatively speaking, much of it is terra incognita even to many scholars. Today, an increasing number of people are working in the area and it may be that as a result something in the nature of an accepted interpretation will emerge. There are, of course, some excellent scholarly pre-World-War-II books on Shinto, which all who wish to be informed on the subject should read; but these are all out of print and in some cases very much out of date. There is nothing available that discusses at all adequately the nature and state of Shinto, particularly Shrine Shinto, as it exists in Japan today.

In *The Kami Way,* the International Institute for the Study of Religions has attempted to provide a simple introduction to this subject. Dr. Sokyo Ono, the author, is eminently qualified to do this. As a professor of the great Shinto university, Kokugakuin Daigaku, he is training Shinto priests and scholars and, as a lecturer for the national Association of Shinto Shrines, he is endeavoring to clarify the faith for the active priesthood of the country. Dr. Ono has been a director and loyal supporter of the Institute since its foundation, and the Institute is indebted

to him for the careful thought he has given to the preparation of his manuscript.

In *The Kami Way* Dr. Ono out of his rich experience has given the reader a very brief explanation of Shinto shrines and some basic concepts of the kami-faith. Of necessity much that he writes is the expression of his own personal faith. However, in view of his position in the shrine world, it is reasonable to assume that his general position is rather widely accepted. Thus, irrespective of the question of general agreement, the reader will find here an authentic presentation of the kami-faith by one who is deeply immersed in it and is devoting his professional career to its exposition.

In reading *The Kami Way*, some will no doubt feel the explanations are too simple. For them it is unfortunate that a more comprehensive work could not have been published. Others will appreciate the simple, straightforward explanations, but will be confused by what they will regard as a lack of clarity. They may even feel that more questions have been raised than answered. Perhaps most readers will feel this way about the explanation of the kami-concept and chapters four and five which deal with ideological matters. But as Dr. Ono says, "it is impossible to make explicit and clear that which fundamentally by its very nature is vague." (p. 8)

Every possible effort was made to avoid errors. After

the original manuscript was translated by Mr. Chido Takeda, who was then a member of the Institute's staff, it was checked and edited by other staff members and parts were re-translated back into Japanese for verification. Finally, before being sent to the press, the revised manuscript was read by a competent Japanese Shinto scholar, whose suggested changes were incorporated.

In regard to the title, the editor must assume full responsibility. In the past *Shinto* has generally been translated as the "Way of the Gods," but to equate the term *kami* with the word "god" is to create a serious misunderstanding. In some cases, Izanagi and Izanami, for example, the kami are as much like people as the gods of Greece and Rome. In others, such as in the case of the phenomenon of growth, natural objects, the spirit dwelling in trees, and the forces of nature, the term is hardly applicable. Because of this, it is believed that the time has come when the word "kami" should be incorporated into the English language in the same way that Allah, Jehovah, Yahweh and other similar words have been.

In closing, a personal expression of appreciation is due to Dr. Ono not only for his manuscript, but for his patience during long hours of discussion regarding the meaning of certain expressions. The experience has been both pleasant and instructive.

Needless to say, the editor and collaborator is solely

responsible for any errors.

William P. Woodard
Director of Research
International
Institute for
the Study of Religions

- NOTE -

In writing Japanese names the practice of Japanese English-language newspapers is followed: the personal name is written first, then the family name.

神 Ⅱ 道

THE KAMI WAY

Shinto, the indigenous faith of the Japanese people, is relatively unknown among the religions of the world. Many people are familiar with the *torii*, the typical gateway to Shinto shrines, and some have a vague impression of the unique ornamentation which adorns many shrine roofs. Yet to all but a few, the shrines to which the *torii* leads and the Shinto faith which it symbolizes are very much of an enigma.

Introduction

From time immemorial the Japanese people have believed in and worshipped kami* as an expression of their native racial faith which arose in the mystic days of remote antiquity. To be sure, foreign influences are evident. This kami-faith cannot be fully understood without some reference to them. Yet it is as indigenous as the people that brought the Japanese nation into existence and ushered in its new civilization; and like that civilization, the kami-faith has progressively developed throughout the centuries and still continues to do so in modern times.

Torii

The word *Shintō** (literally, the "Kami Way"), the modern term for this kami-faith, was not current in very primitive times. Nevertheless, it is relatively ancient. The earliest extant Japanese record of its use is in the *Nilion*

*Shoki*** ("Chronicles of Japan,") which was published early in the eighth century. There it was newly employed for the purpose of distinguishing the traditional faith of the people from Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, the continental ways of thinking and believing, which in recent centuries had entered the land. There is no evidence, however, that the term in the sense in which it appears in the *Nihon Shoki* was in general use at that time, either among the people as a whole or among scholars.

Shintō is composed of two ideographs 神 (*shin*), which is equated with the indigenous term *kami*, and 道. (dō or tō), which is equated with the term *michi,* meaning "way." Originally Chinese (*Shêntao* 神道*)* in a Confucian context it was used both in the sense of the mystic rules of nature, and to refer to any path leading to a grave. In a Taoist setting, it meant the magical powers peculiar to that faith. In Chinese Buddhist writings there is one instance where Gautama's teachings are called 神道, and another in which the term refers to the concept of the mystic soul. Buddhism in Japan used the word most popularly, however, in the sense of native deities (kami) or the realm of the kami, in which case it meant ghostly beings of a lower order than buddhas (*hotoke*). It is generally in this sense that the word was used in Japanese literature subsequent to the *Nihon Shoki;* but about the 13th century, in order to distinguish between it and Buddhism and Confucianism,

which had by that time spread throughout the country, the kami-faith was commonly referred to as *Shintō, a usage which continues to this day.*

Unlike Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, Shinto has neither a founder, such as Gautama the Enlightened One, Jesus the Messiah, or Mohammed the Prophet; nor does it have sacred scriptures, such as the sutras of Buddhism, the Bible, or the Qur'an (Koran).

In its personal aspects "Shinto" implies faith in the kami, usages practiced in accordance with the mind of the kami, and spiritual life attained through the worship of and in communion with the kami. To those who worship kami, "Shinto" is a collective noun denoting all faiths. It is an all-inclusive term embracing the various faiths which are comprehended in the kami-idea. Its usage by Shintoists, therefore, differs from calling Buddha's teaching "Buddhism" and Christ's teaching "Christianity."

In its general aspects Shinto is more than a religious faith. It is an amalgam of attitudes, ideas, and ways of doing things that through two millenniums and more have become an integral part of the *way* of the Japanese people. Thus, Shinto is both a personal faith in the kami and a communal way of life according to the mind of the kami, which emerged in the course of the centuries as various ethnic and cultural influences, both indigenous and foreign, were fused, and the country attained unity under the Imperial

Family.

Mythology

The Age of the Kami, the mythological age, sets the Shinto pattern for daily life and worship. In the mythology the names and order of appearance of the kami differ with the various records. According to the *Kojiki*[*] the Kami of the Center of Heaven (Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami) appeared first and then the kami of birth and growth (Taka-mimusubi-no-mikoto and Kami-musubi-no-mikoto). However, it is not until the creative couple, Izanagi-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto, appear that the mythology really begins. These two, descending from the High Plain of Heaven, gave birth to the Great Eight Islands, that is, Japan, and all things, including many kami. Three of the kami were the most august: the Sun Goddess (Ama-terasu-ō-mikami), the kami of the High Plain of Heaven; her brother (Susa-no-o-no-mikoto), who was in charge of the earth; and the Moon Goddess, (Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto), who was the kami of the realm of darkness.

The brother, however, according to the *Kojiki* behaved so very badly and committed so many outrages that the Sun Goddess became angry and hid herself in a celestial cave, which caused the heavens and earth to become darkened. Astonished at this turn of events, the heavenly kami put on

an entertainment, including dancing, which brought her out of the cave; and thus light returned to the world. For his misdemeanor the brother was banished to the lower world, where by his good behavior he returned to the favor of the other kami, and a descendant of his, the Kami of Izumo (Ōkuni-nushi-no-kami), became a very benevolent kami, who ruled over the Great Eight Islands* and blessed the people. Little is said in the mythology of the Moon Kami.

Subsequently, the grandson of the Sun Goddess, Ninigi-no-mikoto, received instructions to descend and rule Japan. To symbolize his authority he was given three divine treasures: a mirror, a sword, and a string of jewels. Moreover, he was accompanied on his journey by the kami that had participated in the entertainment outside the celestial cave. However, to accomplish his mission it was necessary to negotiate with the Kami of Izumo, who after some discussion agreed to hand over the visible world, while retaining the invisible. At the same time, the Kami of Izumo pledged to protect the heavenly grandson. Ninigi-no-mikoto's great grandson, Emperor Jimmu, became the first human ruler of Japan.

This, in very simple form, is the basic myth which explained for primitive Japanese their origin and the basis of their social structure. It is a description of the evolution of Japanese thought in regard to the origin of life, the birth of the kami and all things out of chaos, the differentiation

of all phenomena, and the emergence and evolution of order and harmony. In a sense, the myth amounts to something like a simple constitution for the country. However, in the ancient records the account is not uniform. There are several versions of a number of events, some of which are contradictory. Thus, the traditions of the various clans were preserved and to a certain extent recognized as valid.

Shinto recognizes today that its beliefs are a continuation of those of this mythological age. In its ritual forms and paraphernalia, this faith fully retains much that is ancient. But just as the Grand Shrine of Ise, which aims at preserving the oldest style of buildings and ancient rituals, has created the most beautiful architectural style in the country today, so Shrine Shinto has outgrown much of its historic mythology. The buds of truth have appeared and have been refined for the people of modern Japan.

Kami

Kami* are the object of worship in Shinto. What is meant by "kami"? Fundamentally, the term is an honorific for noble, sacred spirits, which implies a sense of adoration for their virtues and authority. All beings have such spirits, so in a sense all beings can be called kami or be regarded as potential kami. However, because the term is an honorific, it is not customary to apply it to ordinary individuals or beings. We do not use honorifics in referring to ourselves, or to persons of our own group, whether that group be large or small. Thus, while Shinto teaches that people should be worshipped as kami, they are not in fact usually called *kami*.

Among the objects or phenomena designated from ancient times as kami are the qualities of growth, fertility, and production ; natural phenomena, such as wind and thunder ; natural objects, such as the sun, mountains, rivers, trees and rocks; some animals; and ancestral spirits. In the last-named category are the spirits of the Imperial ancestors, the ancestors of noble families, and in a sense all ancestral spirits. Also regarded as kami are the guardian spirits of the land, occupations, and skills; the spirits of national heroes, men of outstanding deeds or virtues, and

those who have contributed to civilization, culture, and human welfare; those who have died for the state or the community; and the pitiable dead. Not only spirits superior to man, but even some that are regarded as pitiable and weak have nonetheless been considered to be kami.

It is true, that in many instances there are kami which apparently cannot be distinguished from the deities or spirits of animism or animatism, but in modern Shinto all kami are conceived in a refined sense to be spirits with nobility and authority. The kami-concept today includes the idea of justice, order, and divine favor (blessing), and implies the basic principle that the kami function harmoniously in cooperation with one another and rejoice in the evidence of harmony and cooperation in this world.

In Shinto there is no absolute deity that is the creator and ruler of all. The creative function of the world is realized through the harmonious cooperation of the kami in the performance of their respective missions. Even the of the Imperial Family, the Sun Goddess, the kami who brightens the world with the virtue of the sun and is commonly regarded as the supreme kami of Shinto, consults the opinion of other kami, calls upon them for help, and at times makes concessions to them.

Generally speaking, there is considerable difference between the kami-concept at present and in ancient times. That is, the concept, while remaining in the same basic

tradition, has been greatly refined. Nevertheless, the refined and unrefined concepts may still be found side by side.

There are many points about the kami-concept that cannot be fully understood, and there is some disagreement even among modern scholars on this subject. The Japanese people themselves do not have a clear idea regarding the kami. They are aware of the kami intuitively at the depth of their consciousness and communicate with the kami directly without having formed the kami-idea conceptually or theologically. Therefore, it is impossible to make explicit and clear that which fundamentally by its very nature is vague. Only in recent times have Shinto leaders been endeavoring to develop a unified theology regarding the kami. Thus although increasing attention is being paid to this subject, there are still many matters that are not clear even among Shintoists.

Guardian Kami

Each kami may be said to have its own special characteristics, capacity, and mission; and in a sense each is worshipped as the founder or guardian of some definite object or phenomenon. For example, one is concerned with the distribution of water, another with the manufacture of medicine, and still another with the healing process. Then there are ancestral kami that are the protectors of a given group, and those that are the patrons of a given territory or of clans, that is, social groups based on kinship. It is quite proper to ask what almost any kami protects, but a clear answer cannot always be given.

Prominent among the kami are the guardians of the clans *(uji)*. These are generally called *ujigami*, and are always worshipped in shrines. Throughout the country there are many shrines of this origin. But with the increasing mobility of the people and the gradual break-up of the clans the term *ujigami* was also applied to the guardians of the residents of a given area as well as the area itself. Thus, while in the past lineal descent was a primary factor, today the common community relationship has come to assume greater importance. Nevertheless, in many cases the consciousness of lineal descent from a clan is still strong

and some persons regularly return to their native places to take part in the festivals of their guardian kami.

Scriptures

Shinto does not possess sacred scriptures, such as are found In many other religions,—a fact which is a significant indication of the character of the Shinto faith itself. Nevertheless, there are certain ancient records that are regarded as authoritative and provide its historical as well as its spiritual basis.

The earliest of these were compiled by Imperial order and contain the mythology and early history of the Japanese people. The *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters") is the oldest extant Japanese historical record. Its date is 712 of the Christian era. It provides an account of events down to the year 628. Though written in Chinese ideographs the style is ancient, pure Japanese and through it we can know something of the style of the earlier oral transmission from generation to generation. Consequently it is especially valued. The *Nihongi* or *Nikon Shoki* ("Chronicles of Japan"), which appeared eight years later and brings the record down to the year 697, was written in Chinese and thus changed the form of transmission. However, it is more detailed than the *Kojiki*; and because several mythologies or versions are given of some events, it has a special value in matters in which the *Kojiki* is

lacking.

These two documents are especially highly regarded by Shintoists. They contain the only extant ancient records of the Imperial Family and of the several clans which formed the Japanese nation. Their purpose was to make clear the origin of the Imperial Throne, clan lineage, and other matters which constitute the basis of Japanese society and customs. They are, nonetheless, rich in information regarding ancient Shinto rituals and practices, and the established functions and inviolable rights of the several clans in relation to the state cult. They are an expression of the claims of the respective clans in relation to Japan's social structure, and are of such a nature that without them disintegration of the clan system would have been almost inevitable.

The *Kujiki* ("Chronicle of Ancient Events"), *Kogoshui* ("Gleanings from Ancient Stories") and *Engi Shiki* ("Detailed Laws of the Engi Period") are also primary sources of information. The *Kujiki* claims to have been first written about the year 620, or one hundred years before the *Nihongi,* but the extant version is almost certainly a forgery. Nevertheless, it is very ancient and is of some value even though it contains much that is also found in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* Unfortunately, it has not been translated. The *Kogoshui* was written in 807 and adds somewhat to our information about early Shinto. The *Engi*

Shiki was published in 927 and is the principal source of information on early Shinto, ceremonial prayers, rituals, and the manner of administering divine affairs.

It must be stressed, however, that none of these writings are regarded as holy writ in the sense that the term is used in Christianity and Islam. They are primarily historical records which, in addition to their political or dynastic interest, embody the ancient forms of the kami-faith.

Shinto did not develop a canon because, in the first place, the shrine and its ritual mediated the kami-faith to the people ; and in the second place, the acceptance of the shrine as the symbol of their communal faith made it unnecessary to guide the people by means of doctrine and instruction. In the course of history very few people have evaded their communal obligation with respect to Shrine worship.

To be sure, there have been times in the past when, due to the confrontation of foreign faiths and the threatened collapse of traditions, the development of a canon seemed essential; but in no case did conditions actually become very serious, so no continuous effort has been made to establish one. The social changes and confusion of thought which exist today confront Shrine Shinto with a new situation that appears to call for the development of something that will serve as a means of maintaining and deepening Shrine Shinto faith. As yet, however, there is no

clear indication as to how this can be accomplished.

Types of Shinto

Popular Shinto There are several types of Shinto. The least tangible is Popular Shinto. Kami-worship is deeply rooted in the everyday life of the people. Many of the ideas and customs associated with it in primitive times have been preserved through the centuries in unorganized folkways. These, along with much that is of foreign origin, are called "Folk Shinto" or "Popular Faith."

Domestic Shinto Domestic Shinto, refers to the religious practices centering in the Shinto home altar. This is described briefly in Chapter III under "Worship in the Home."

Sectarian Shinto Sectarian Shinto is composed of a number of heterogeneous groups which the Meiji government, in connection with the nationalization of shrines and the emphasis on shrine worship as a state cult, placed under the supervision of a separate government office. Subsequently, most of the principal groups became independent religious bodies and were officially classified as "Sectarian Shinto." There were thirteen such sects in pre-war days.

Imperial Household Shinto Imperial Household Shinto is the name given to the religious rites conducted at the three shrines within the palace grounds, which are exclusively for the use of the Imperial Family, and to certain related matters. The central shrine (Kashiko-dokoro), which is dedicated to the mythological ancestress of the Imperial Family, goes back for its origin to the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto, the grandson of the Sun Goddess to whom the sacred mirror (Yata-no-kagami) was given. After being kept in the palace for some centuries, a replica was made that was enshrined in the Kashiko-dokoro and the sacred symbol itself was enshrined at the Inner Shrine (Naiku) of Ise. This mirror is symbolic of the spirit of the Sun Goddess and is one of the three articles of the Imperial Regalia, handed down by the emperors from generation to generation. On the west side of the central shrine is the Ancestral Spirits Sanctuary (Kōrei-den) which, as the name implies, enshrines the divine spirits of the successive emperors. On the east side is the Sanctuary of the Kami (Shin-den), which is sacred to all the kami of heaven and earth.

In ancient times responsibility for the Shinto ceremonies conducted at the court was in the hands of the Nakatomi and Imbe families, who handed down to their respective descendants the traditional procedures that each

performed. Today, the hereditary system no longer exists; but the ceremonies conducted at the palace shrines are almost the same as the rites provided for in the Imperial Ceremonies Law of 1908. The ritualists, officials of the Imperial Household, conduct some of the ceremonies, but at the most important ceremonies the Emperor himself, in accordance with ancient tradition, leads the official ritualists in the rites. In April, 1959, these sanctuaries came to the public notice when the wedding of H. I. H. the Crown Prince was conducted there. A phase of Imperial Household Shinto is the practice of sending Imperial messengers to make offerings at certain shrines and mausolea which have a special connection with the Imperial Family.

Shrine Shinto The oldest and most prevalent type of the kami-faith is Shrine Shinto. Shrines date from very earliest times. There were shrines even before the dawn of Japanese history. During the course of the centuries, as the clans expanded throughout the length and breadth of the land, the number of shrines gradually increased until at the beginning of the twentieth century there were nearly two hundred thousand. After the Meiji Restoration they were nationalized, organized into what became known as the "Shrine System," and later were gradually reduced to about one hundred ten thousand. At the end of World War II

shrines were disestablished and became private institutions. There are approximately eighty thousand today.

The Grand Shrine of Ise The Grand Shrine of Ise is unique among the shrines of the country and deserves special mention. Its principal deity, the Sun Goddess, was originally the tutelary kami of the Yamato clan from which emerged the Imperial Family that has ruled Japan throughout its history. With the ascendancy of the Yamato clan to suzerainty over the entire country, the shrine became in a sense the tutelary shrine of the nation. The Grand Shrine of Ise is generally regarded as standing at the apex of all shrines. Worship there is more than an expression of faith in the enshrined kami. It is the highest expression of respect to the Emperor and to all that is best in the culture, history, and racial consciousness of the Japanese people.

State Shinto Imperial Household Shinto and Shrine Shinto, along with certain well-defined ideas regarding Japanese origins and history, constituted what was formerly known as "State Shinto" This ceased to exist when the shrines were disestablished.

Organization

From the dawn of history until the Meiji Restoration, with the exception of a few that were closely related to the Imperial Family, the shrines were primarily communal institutions. Then for a period of approximately seventy years, they were state institutions under the supervision of the national government. Finally, as a result of the Shinto Directive issued by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers on December 15, 1945, they were disestablished and became private institutions.

The Directive was nothing short of revolutionary. It confronted shrines with a totally novel and extremely difficult situation. Historically, a few shrines had been closely connected with the Imperial Family, and some had been in the hands of the nobility, but for the most part they were either held by the common people or had something of a dual status. Regardless of this, however, with a few notable exceptions all the shrines had been closely connected with the common people. Even though they received gifts of land and money from the central government, the nobility, feudal lords, or influential families, the position and authority of the traditional priesthood and the responsibility of the local parishioners

for the performance of rites and festivals were usually respected.

At the time of the Meiji Restoration this situation was greatly changed. Shrines were made state institutions and the priests became government officials. However, control and supervision was very strict only in respect to the two hundred twenty-four shrines (*kankoku-heisha*) supervised by the national government: yet in the last analysis all shrines were subject to the decisions of the appropriate government offices and dependent on them in all important matters relative to personnel, property, rites, and festivals. This situation prevailed for about three-quarters of a century.

Prior to the Shinto Directive there were three national organizations which in a general way were concerned with Shrine Shinto. These were the National Association of Shrine Priests (Jingi Kai), the Research Institute for the Japanese Classics (Kōten Kōkyū Sho), and the Grand Shrine Supporters Association (Jingū Hōsai Kai). But affiliation was on an individual basis and the organizations themselves had nothing to do directly with shrine administration or shrine activities. As for the individual shrines, there was no connection whatsoever between them, not even among those in a given geographical area or those that had the same objects of worship.

Consequently, when the Directive suddenly removed

government control and supervision, no one had any idea about what should be done. The pertinent section of the Directive prohibited forthwith the "sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of Shinto" by any government agency or employee acting in an official capacity, but it contained no provisions regarding any subsequent reorganization of the shrines and there were no suggestions by Occupation authorities as to what should be done. Thus, each of the hundred thousand and more shrines was temporarily completely stranded without any organic or connectional relations whatsoever, and with no recognized leadership. The priests, of course, lost their official status and became private individuals.

By February 3, 1946, however, the above-mentioned national organizations had dissolved and the leaders had established a new comprehensive body, called the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō), which invited local shrines throughout the country to affiliate. All but a few agreed to do so. About 1,000 remained independent and some 250 formed small associations, primarily geographical in scope, such as the Southern Hokkaido Shrine Association (Hokkaidō Jinja Kyōkai), the Shrine Association (Jinja Honkyō) of Kyoto, and the Kiso Mitake Shrine Association (Kiso Mitake Honkyō) in Nagano Prefecture. Of those that have remained entirely independent, only sixteen are large, important shrines

which were formerly under the control of the national government. Thus, it can be seen that the shrines succeeded better than some other religious organizations in maintaining their unity in the post-World-War-II period.

The Association of Shinto Shrines is under the administration of a board of councillors, composed of representatives from forty-six prefectural associations (Jinja-chō), which selects an executive secretary and is responsible for all major policy decisions. There are six departments in the headquarters which carry on activities appropriate to their names: secretariat, finance, general administration, teaching (*kyō-gaku*), investigation, and mutual aid. The headquarters of the Association is located at Wakagi-chō, Shibuya-ku in Tokyo. The late Honorable Nobusuke Takatsukasa, chief priest of Meiji Shrine, was the first President. Yukitada Sasaki, former chief priest of the Grand Shrine of Ise, is his successor. Madame Fusako Kitashirakawa, the High Priestess of Ise, is the Honorary President. As of June, 1958, a total of 79,457 shrines were affiliated with the Association. This is not the number of separate shrines, but the number that are incorporated. In some cases one incorporated body includes several shrines.

On the local level the shrines are managed by the priests and committees composed of representatives of the worshippers. They are usually incorporated as religious

juridical persons. They own their land and buildings, and raise funds for their own support through private gifts and offerings.

The Association is closely connected with the Kokugakuin University, the only Shinto institution of higher education in Japan. It is also affiliated with the Religions League of Japan (Nihon Shūkyō Renmei). The *Jinja Shinpō* ("Shrine News"), an independent weekly publication, is more or less the unofficial spokesman for the Shrine Shinto world.

Typical Approach to a Shrine

Footnotes

* See p. 6

* In this and the next paragraph Shinto is being treated as a Japanese word. Elsewhere in the text it is considered an English word and is not italicized.

** See p. 10

* See p. 10

* See p. 4

* The word kami is an indigenous Japanese term which is written with the Chinese character In combination with other characters 神, this is pronounced shin or jin. Thus, we have the word "Shintō" 神道, that is, "Kami Way," and "jinja 神社," that is, "kami dwelling." It is generally-customary to translate the ideographs 神 with the words "god" or "deity" in the singular or plural form, and in some cases this is quite correct. However, in this monograph, with a few exceptions it will be left untranslated or be translated with the words "divine" or "sacred." When it is necessary to express a plural concept, such terms as kami-gami 神々 and yaoyorozu no kami (八百万の神), literally, "eight hundred myriads of kami" are used.

神 III 道

SHRINES

Shrines and Shrine Paraphernalia

Shrines are a spontaneous manifestation of the people's faith in the kami, and shrine rites and festivals are the highest expression of that faith.

Originally the kami-rites were performed at significant places, particularly those where a manifestation of some kami was first observed or experienced, regardless of the convenience of the site. As the population increased and civilization became more complex, structures were erected which were usually more readily accessible. In some cases these were only worship halls, such as may be seen today at the Ōmiwa Shrine in Yamato, Nara Prefecture, which considers Mount Miwa itself to be the dwelling of the kami. In most cases, however, sanctuaries were constructed with inner chambers where the kami were regarded as symbolically present at all times.

Divine Dwellings The primary purpose of a shrine is to provide a dwelling place for one or more kami and a place where the kami can be served, that is, worshipped in accordance with Shinto beliefs and practices. Shrines are not erected in order to propagate the faith nor to teach doctrine, although both are regarded as important.

PLATE 2. MEIJI SHRINE, TOKYO. Dedicated to the Emperor Meiji (1867-1912), the roofs of this shrine are fine examples of the Nagare, or flowing style.

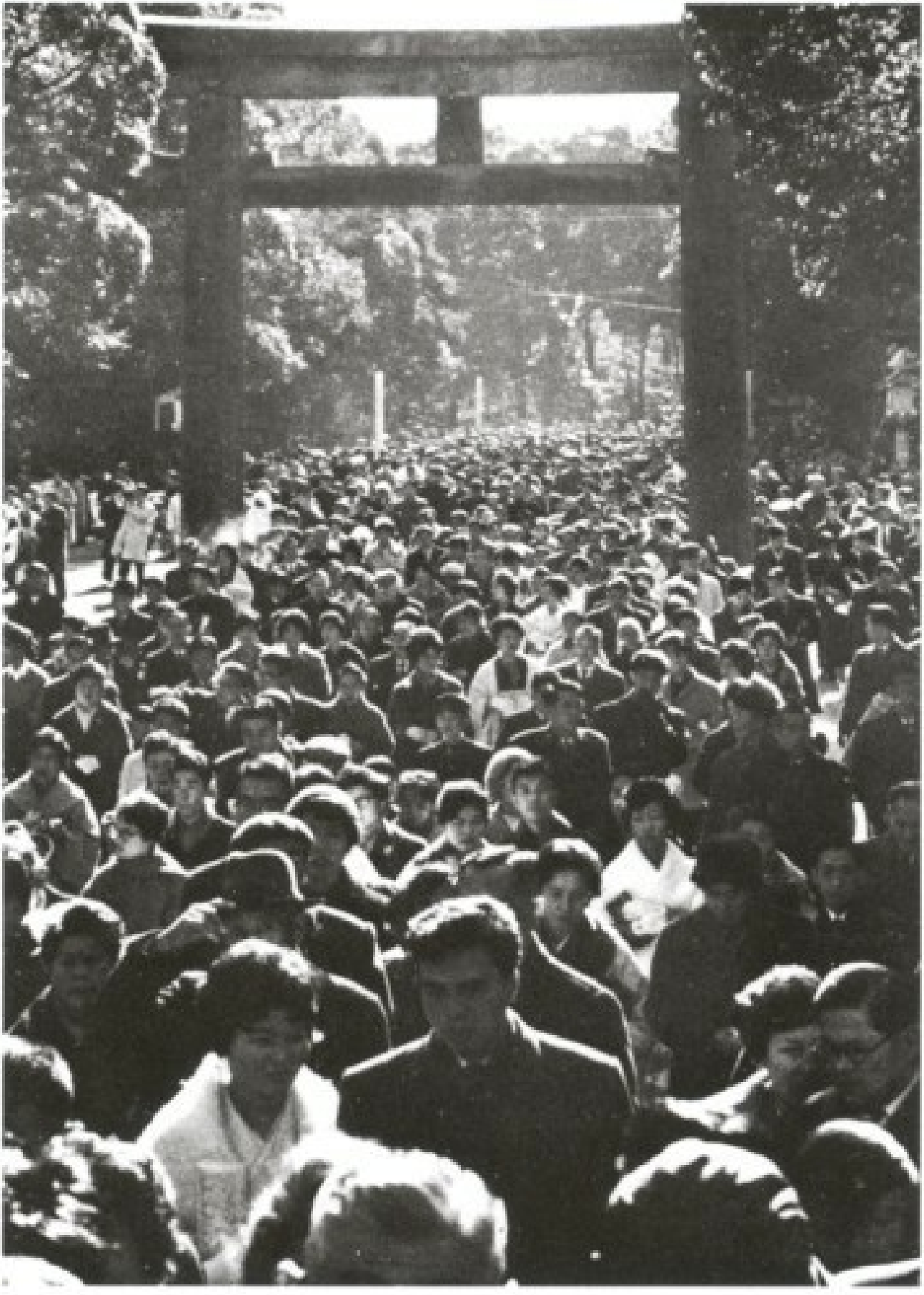


PLATE 3. MEIJI SHRINE, TOKYO. Worshippers throng the shrine precincts on New Year's Day.

Divine Symbols Symbolic of the kami's presence is a sacred object, called the "divine body" *(shintai)* or "august-spirit-substitute" *(mitamashiro)*. This object is housed within the innermost chamber of the shrine sanctuary. When the sacred symbol is present, the inner sanctuary is inviolable. And, since the building itself, as well as the precincts and auxiliary structures, partakes in some measure of the sanctity of the kami, they are considered objects worthy of great respect, if not worship. It is the presence of the symbol that makes a building a sanctuary. If the symbol is removed, the religious meaning of the area ceases to exist.

Sanctuary Plan Except for a few unusual cases such, as the ōmiwa Shrine, mentioned above, and the Grand Shrine of Izumo, in its simplest form and irrespective of size, a shrine generally consists of an inner compartment, a holy of holies, for the sacred symbol, and a space in front for offerings either within or without the structure. As the sanctuary increases in size, the interior may become both more spacious and more elaborate, but the basic arrangement of an inner sanctuary and a place in front for offerings remains unchanged.

Two swinging doors at the front of the inner compartment, which are always kept closed and locked except during special rites, protect the sacred symbol from

being violated. Even when the doors are opened, a curtain of split bamboo or some other material hangs in the entrance-way and prevents the priest and worshippers alike from looking within. Before this inner compartment are set tables upon which offerings are placed. At either side, there are sometimes banners and human or animal images. Seated human figures with bows and arrows and dressed in ancient court costumes, Korean dogs (*Koma Inu)* and similar images are usual in the larger shrines. Ordinarily, in a central position on the offering table or behind it, there is at least one perpendicular wand from the top of which, suspended on either side, is some flat paper, usually white, folded in a unique style. At one side is a purification wand, also placed perpendicular in a stand, from which hang white strips of paper and flax streamers. Not infrequently there is a mirror in the center between the offering table and the doors to the inner chamber. This mirror has a symbolic meaning, but is not an object of worship. There may be exceptions but, as a rule, pictures are not hung on shrine walls. Framed ideographs drawn by some famous scholar, calligrapher, or well-known person are frequently found hanging above the entrance to a shrine or on an inner transom.

Before the sanctuary stands an offering box. Directly above it may hang a bell to which a rope is attached; but a great many shrines do not have bells.

A shrine which is devoted to the worship of more than one kami may have an equal number of separate inner compartments, each of which has its own sacred symbol. In this case, there is usually one principal and one or more subordinate kami. In not a few cases an enshrined kami has a plural nature. *Mirrors* The mirror is one of the most common symbols of Shinto. In a shrine it may be a sacred object of worship, in which case it is within the inner compartment and is never visible to either priest or worshipper. Or it may be an ornament. As an ornament it is always placed directly in front of the doors to the inner compartment.

A mirror has a clean light that reflects everything as it is. It symbolizes the stainless mind of the kami, and at the same time is regarded as a sacred symbolic embodiment of the fidelity of the worshipper towards the kami.

In mythology the mirror is a mysterious object. In ancient society it was an object of ceremonial and religious significance rather than of daily use. In order to catch her spirit, a mirror was hung outside the cave where the Sun Goddess hid. Ninigi-no-mikoto was told by the Sun Goddess "to honor and worship the mirror" as "her spirit."

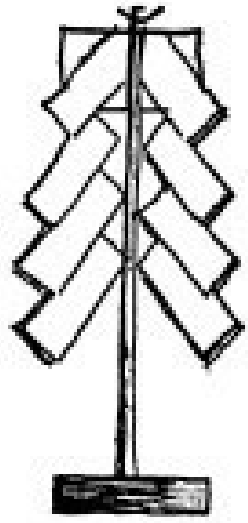
Teachings about the significance of the mirror vary. The *Jinnō Shōtōki* (1339) by Chikafusa Kitabatake states that

> the mirror hides nothing. It shines without a selfish

mind. Everything good and bad, right and wrong, is reflected without fail. The mirror is the source of honesty because it has the virtue of responding according to the shape of objects. It points out the fairness and impartiality of the divine will.

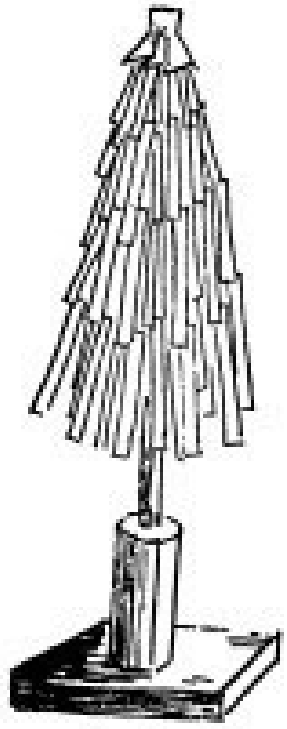
The mirror is the sacred symbol at the Grand Shrine of Ise as well as at many other shrines. The mirror that stands before the inner sanctuary at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is an ornament, which is especially valued because it was a gift from Emperor Meiji.

Symbolic Offering The *Gohei,* which consists of a wand with strips of paper folded in a zigzag fashion hanging at either side and stands in a central position before the doors of the inner chamber, is a symbolic offering and at the same time indicates the presence of the kami in the sanctuary. Usually there is only one *gohei* and the paper is white; but in some shrines there are several, one for each enshrined kami. The paper is sometimes gold, silver, red, or dark blue, and not infrequently metal or cloth is used instead of paper. This wand with paper inserted into the split end is believed to be a relic of the time when cloth was presented in this manner at shrines as an offering.



Gohei

Purification Wand The wand *(Harai-gushi*), which has many long paper streamers and a few strands of flax, is for the rite of purification. In performing this rite the wand is removed from its stand by a priest who, facing the worshipper or object to be purified, waves it first over his left, then the right, and finally back to the left shoulder with a characteristic flourish before replacing it. Sometimes a small branch of the sacred *sakaki* tree is used instead of this wand



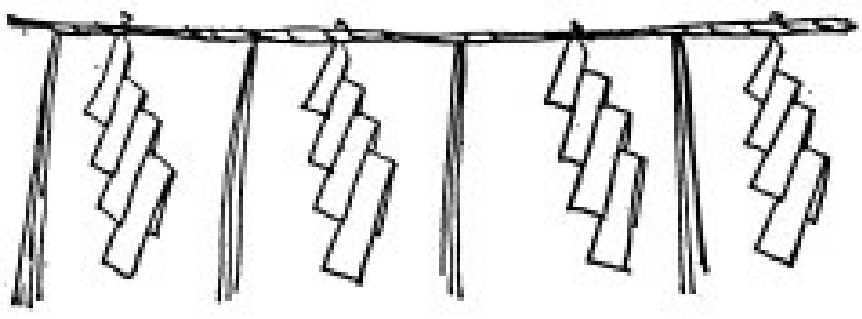
Haraigushi
Purification Wand

Banners Banners symbolize the presence of the kami and are at the same time offerings to the kami. Some banners of Chinese style have figures of the sun, moon, clouds, or possibly animals. These presumably express the idea that the kami are heavenly beings which provide protection. Some banners have the same origin as the *gohei.* Generally speaking, however, the banners are probably ornamental rather than symbolic, and merely add dignity to the shrine.

Sword, Halberd and Shield The sword and jewels, which are enclosed in brocade and are hung from the banner standards, as well as the halberd and shield, symbolize both the power to defend the kami from evil and

the power of the kami to protect justice and peace: Some understand the mirror, jewel, and sword to symbolize the virtues of wisdom, benevolence, and courage respectively.

Sacred Rope Straw rope *(shimenawa)* from which depend short strips of zigzag-cut paper may be seen stretched between the pillars at the entrance to shrines as well as elsewhere, both within and without the main buildings. These ropes are used to symbolically indicate sacred places where kami are believed to dwell or objects offered to the kami. They are also sometimes used in ordinary buildings during the New Year's season, at festival times, and on special occasions. There are various types, some of which are unique with certain shrines, as for example, the extremely heavy tapering rope at the Grand Shrine of Izumo. However, the shape has no special religious significance.



Shimenawa
Sacred rope with paper and flax pendants

Shrine Buildings and Compounds

A shrine may consist of a single sanctuary or a group of sanctuaries with numerous auxiliary buildings located either within a single precinct or in one or more detached precincts. Small, single-structure shrines are most numerous; but the typical shrine compound has an oratory, which stands directly in front of the main sanctuary, an ablution pavilion, and several auxiliary buildings. Sometimes there is an offering hall and a place for reciting prayers between the main sanctuary and the oratory, but under a common or connecting roof. A sacred place to prepare food offerings is always essential. Among the most common auxiliary buildings are subordinate shrines, a shrine office, a place to prepare offerings, a hall for sacred dances, and a pavilion for picture votive offerings. Other buildings often found at the large shrines include a ceremonial hall, the priests' quarters, a sacred stable, a storehouse for the sacred palanquin, a treasure house, and a theater for Noh plays. Within the compound there may be also a *sumō* arena, a sacred bridge, memorial tablets, and stone or metal lanterns. Statues are relatively rare. Occasionally there is burial ground adjoining a shrine compound, that is usually for the war-dead, who are

venerated at the shrine, or for former priests and their families. Generally, however, there are no burial grounds near shrines.

Shrine compounds vary considerably both in their layout and the number of buildings. Some cover only small areas, others constitute large tracts of land, such as, for example, the Kirishima Shrine which covers several thousand acres. When the contour of the land does not determine the lines, the area is usually rectangular in shape.

Location The location of a shrine is not merely a matter of finding a vacant piece of land. As a general rule shrines are related in some manner to their natural surroundings. They are in a given location because of some special tree, grove, rock, cave, mountain, river, or the seashore, for example; or because of a close relationship with an ancient family, perhaps the pioneer that opened up the area. Not infrequently in rural communities shrines are so completely concealed in dense groves or forests that only the local residents are aware of their existence.

All too often in downtown metropolitan areas shrines have been forced by circumstances beyond their control to give up the original natural beauty of their surroundings and be satisfied with an almost barren site totally devoid of foliage. This is ordinarily the result of population pressures which have transformed a relatively secluded site into a

throbbing commercial or industrial center. In some cases, of course, the location is due merely to the availability of the site, and without any meaningful ties either to the land or to the vicinity.

In every case, however, once a kami has been enshrined, the precincts, like the shrine itself, acquire a special sanctity; and every effort is made, when the surroundings themselves are not naturally beautiful or impressive, to create a beauty which will instill in the minds of the worshippers a mystic sense of closeness to the unseen divine world and to nature. The natural beauty imparts to the worshipper a religious impetus to move from the mundane to the higher and deeper divine world, which can transform his life into one of closer fellowship with the kami.

Walls A fence or wall often surrounds the compound in order to protect it from desecration. In the case of large shrines, there may also be a second one, which encloses a smaller inner area, and finally a third which surrounds the inner sanctuary and worship hall.

Torii With rare exceptions the entrance to shrines, other than small wayside shrines, is marked by one or more *torii,* the gateway which symbolically marks off the mundane world from the world of the kami, the secular from the spiritual. The origin of the gateway, which may or

may not have come from the Asiatic mainland, and the reason for writing the word with the characters meaning "bird" (鳥 *tori)* and "to be" (居 - i), that is, "bird perch," need not detain us here. The origin is obscure and has no particular relevance to its present use.

In ancient Japan the *torii* was in common use as a gateway but in the course of time it was limited to Shinto sanctuaries, Imperial mausolea, and a few graves. Occasionally, a *torii* will be found at the foot of trees or beside a rock or well.

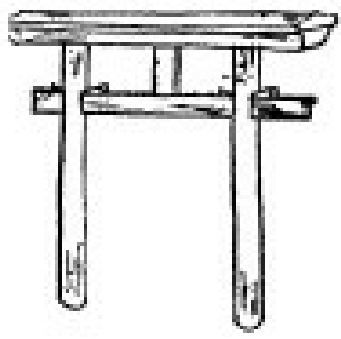
In 1884 public use of the *torii* was officially restricted by law to only state shrines and certain sanctuaries of the Shūsei and Taisei sects of Shinto, which at the time were using it as a gateway. Today, even though this restriction is not in force, the *torii* continues to be seen only at Shinto shrines, a few sanctuaries of the above-named sects, at the entrance to Imperial mausolea, and in connection with some graves. When found at the entrance to or within a Buddhist temple compound, other than a burial ground, there is almost certain to be a shrine of some sort nearby, often at the summit of a miniature mountain.

Some shrines encourage the devout to present *torii* as votive offerings. These are frequently erected close together along the approach to the main or a subordinate sanctuary so as to form an archway. Inari shrines, notably Fushimi Inari south of Kyoto, are famous for these

picturesque approaches.

In a relatively few cases a *torii* may stand astride a public thoroughfare. One of the best known of these is in front of the Heian Shrine in Kyoto. In some instances, such as the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura, there may be a long approach outside the shrine compound itself on which stand several *torii*. Such symbolic gateways remind the people of the presence of the kami in the community. At one time such approaches were probably considered as a part of the shrine compound.

Ryōbu Torii



Kasuga Torii

Myōjin Torii

Originally, the *torii* was of very simple construction. It consisted of unfinished wooden pillars and two crossbeams in characteristic proportions. Later the pillars and beams were planed but unpainted. Then, due to continental influence, they were painted and became more complicated in structure until in some cases, such as the magnificent lacquered red *torii* which stands in the water at Miyajima before the Itsukushima Shrine, they became very ornate.

Torii are generally made of timber, but in modern times stone and metal have been substituted and of late some have been made of concrete. There are more than twenty different types of *torii* most of which are named from the shrines with which they are associated. For example, there is an Ise *torii*, a Hachiman *torii* from the Iwashimizu Hachi-man Shrine, and a Miwa *torii* from the Ōmiwa Shrine.

Other Gates In addition to *torii,* many large shrines have gates which can be closed at night. Some of these are very imposing. Two types prevail. Those constructed after the separation of Buddhism and Shinto, having unpainted timbers and a thatched, tiled, or copper roof, such as those at Yasukuni and Meiji shrines in Tokyo, are generally in the style of "pure" Shinto. A second type usually consists of a massive, somewhat ornate, red or black-lacquered two-storey structure with enclosures on either side which house two or sometimes four images. The enclosures are often protected by wire meshing to prevent the images from being injured or defaced. This style was introduced during the period when Buddhism generally dominated the shrine world. The magnificent Yōmeimon at the Tōshōgū in Nikkō is the example par excellence of this style. The gates at the Yasaka (Gion) Shrine and Kamo shrines in Kyoto, and the Hakozaki Shrine in Fukuoka are also good examples. In a

few exceptional cases there are gates which are very unusual. Such is the Suiten-mon of the Akama Shrine in Yamaguchi Prefecture and the gate of the Oyama Shrine in Kanazawa City, which was designed by a Dutch engineer.

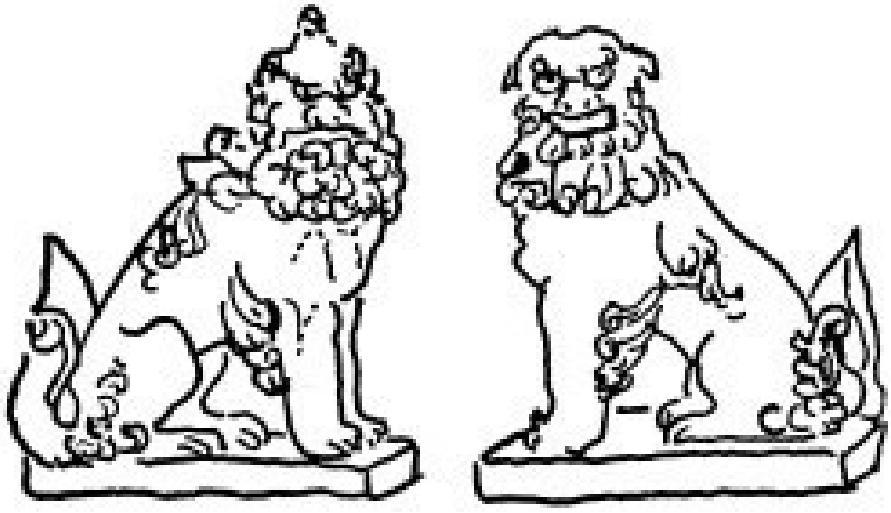
The Approach A road or path leading to a shrine is called "the approach" (*sandō*). Technically speaking the approach is the path leading from the first *torn* to the oratory or sanctuary, but in common parlance even public roads which lead to a shrine may be so designated. This is especially the case when one or more *torii* stand on public roads; but even when there are no *torii*, the term is sometimes applied. Thus, in Tokyo the broad highway leading to Meiji Shrine is called the "main approach" (*omote sandō*), while the other two roads are called the "west approach"and "east approach," respectively.

Within the compound the approach is often a dirt road or path on the surface of which small stones or pebbles have been spread. In some cases the entire area in front of a shrine may be covered with neatly-raked gravel or fine sand. This is done to maintain a harmonious natural atmosphere and creates a pure, pleasant feeling in the mind of the worshippers.

If the traditional pattern is followed, the approach turns somewhere between the first *torii* and the oratory or sanctuary. However, as conditions do not always permit a

strict observance of this tradition, direct approaches are common.

Guardians of the Gate and Precincts The precincts are symbolically protected in several ways from evil spirits and misfortune. Sometimes in front and on either side of the entrance there are miniature shrines that are guardians of the entrance. Then, if there is a large gate, within the enclosure on either side may be found two rather ferocious-looking beings with semi-human features and of more than human dimensions. These Deva kings (*Niō-sama*) are of Indian origin and more commonly are found in the gates of Buddhist temples. They are actually kindly in nature, their ferocious countenance being a means of warding off evil spirits. Also within these enclosures, sometimes facing the shrine and sometimes facing outward, are two austere dignitaries in a sitting position, dressed in ancient court costumes with a sheathed sword at the belt and arrows in a holder on their backs, while in their hands they hold bows. These figures represent two mythological kami and are likewise traditional guardians.



Guardian Lions

Animal images constitute a third type of symbolic protectors. These are in pairs, male and female, and ordinarily stand on pedestals on either side near the first *torii* or along the approach. They may also be placed on either side of the approach directly in front of the sanctuary or even within the sanctuary itself. The most common types of guardian animals are images of dogs and lions.

Finally, there is sometimes a guardian kami of the land that is housed in a sanctuary within the precinct.

At Inari shrines, where fox images are found, and at Kasuga shrines, where there are deer, the animals are believed to be the attendants or messengers of the kami, rather than guardians. The messenger of the Mitsumine Shrine is a wolf, and that of Hie Shrine is a monkey. An image of a horse, is a symbolic mount for the kami.

Lanterns, Memorial Tablets, and Statues On either side of the approach, both within and outside the shrine compound, are frequently found stone or bronze lanterns. The lanterns as a rule are gifts from devout parishioners, either individually or as associations. The idea of giving lanterns, which have the utilitarian value of marking the approach, may have originated from the custom of making fires in order to greet and honor the kami. Occasionally, there are statues of local heroes or some personages connected with the local community. More often there are memorial tablets, also the gifts of devout parishioners, that recall some significant local or national historic event. Not infrequently one finds along the approach a stone pillar, a "hundred-times stone" *(hyakudo ishi)*, as it is called, which marks the place from which worshippers walk back and forth to the sanctuary or oratory in order to more earnestly seek the fulfillment of a prayer. In some cases there are devices, such as small tabs on a cord, for counting the number of times.

Ablution Pavilion Somewhere along the approach, probably not very far from the oratory, is an ablution pavilion (te*mizuya)* for ceremonial purification by means of rinsing the mouth and pouring water over the finger tips. This symbolic cleansing is considered indispensable as a preparation for worship and no shrine fails to provide some

such facility. Usually there is a simple open pavilion with a stone basin filled with clear water and one or more wooden dippers. With this rite evil and pollution are ceremonially removed and the worshipper becomes once again pure. Originally purification was performed at a spring or stream, as at the Inner Shrine at Ise, for example, or by the seashore, and this is still considered somewhat ideal.

List of Donors Sometimes seen at the entrance or along the approach are rough, unsightly, wooden frames, with wooden slabs on which are written sums of money and the names of individuals. This constitutes a list of those who have contributed to some special project of the shrine, such as repairs or reconstruction. The normal gifts made periodically at festival time or in connection with some special service are not posted in this manner.

Sacred Trees Not infrequently there is one tree in a compound that is within an enclosure and about which hangs a straw rope with short paper streamers *(shimenawa)*. This is often a very large and old tree, and is regarded as uniquely sacred. In addition there may also be one or more *sakaki (Cleyera ochnacca)* trees, an evergreen, which is the sacred tree of Shinto.

Shrine Stalls Either in connection with the shrine

office or in a small separate structure there will be a place to secure charms, amulets, postcards and articles used in connection with worship in the home. Technically these things are not for sale but are given in return for a small offering.

Architecture

Shrine architecture manifests considerable variety of style, which in most cases reflects the age and to some extent the place in which certain shrines arose and sometimes the historical periods through which they have passed. Many shrine structures show the effect of continental influence, but there are two relatively pure Japanese types, that are very ancient and are generally considered to be typical of Shinto. One is the Shinmei, literally, "divine-brightness" style which is best represented by the Grand Shrine of Ise. This type is also known as the Tenchi Kongen, literally, "heaven-earth origin" style. The other is the Taisha style, which is typified by the Grand Shrine of lzumo.

Traditionally shrines have been constructed of cypress and thatched with miscanthus or cypress bark. Today, however, because of the increased fire hazard, reinforced concrete is frequently used in cities and roofs covered with tile or copper are common. In rare cases stone shrines are to be found. Paint and ornamentation are an indication of continental influence.

Roof Ornamentation

Among the characteristic features of shrine architecture, the ornamentation of the roof with *chigi* and *katsuogi* is the most unique and striking to foreign visitors. For the shrine worshipper these add a peculiarly mystic quality to the atmosphere. The *chigi* were originally formed by an extension of the end beams of the roof which cross at both ends of the ridge and continue upward at an angle for several feet. The short logs, which are now made of finished wood and taper at each end, are called *katsuogi*, because of their resemblance to the shape of the dried fish (*katsuo-bushi) used in Japanese cooking. Usually there are three, five, or seven katsuogi*; but the Inner Shrine at Ise has ten and the Outer Shrine nine. Originally a structural necessity in order to hold the roof down and in place, in later times the *chigi* and *katsuogi* became purely decorative and today are rarely seen except on shrines. Both are thought of as symbols of Shrine Shinto, yet many shrines do not have them, and only the *chigi* are mentioned in the ritual prayers and other ceremonial documents.

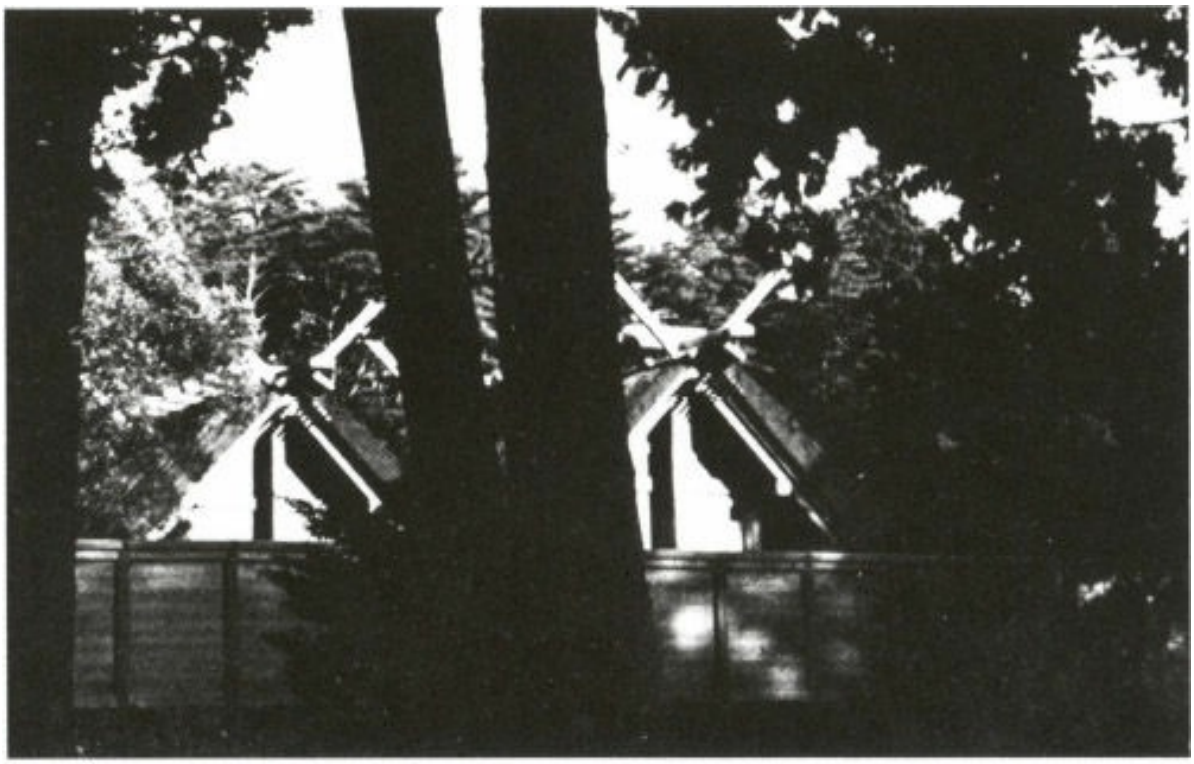
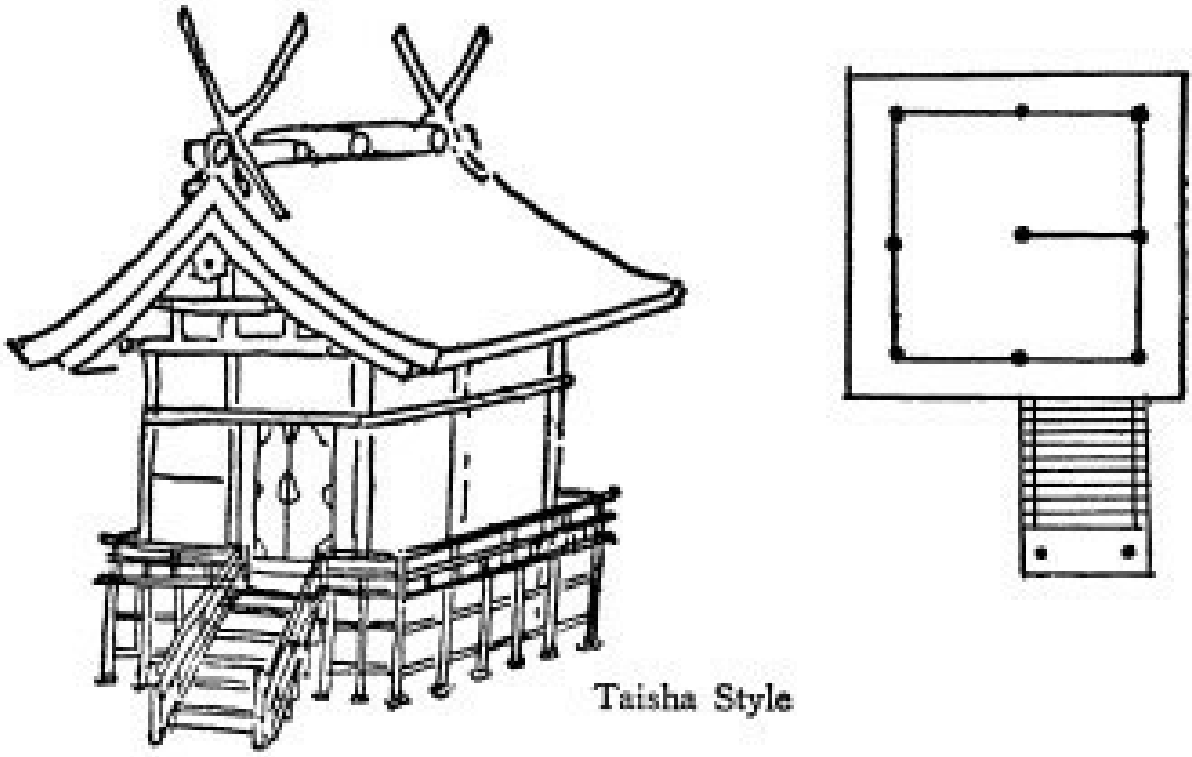


PLATE 4. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: INNER SHRINE. An example of the Shinmei type of shrine structure. Shinmei (literally "divine brightness") is a relatively pure Japanese style in shrine architecture.

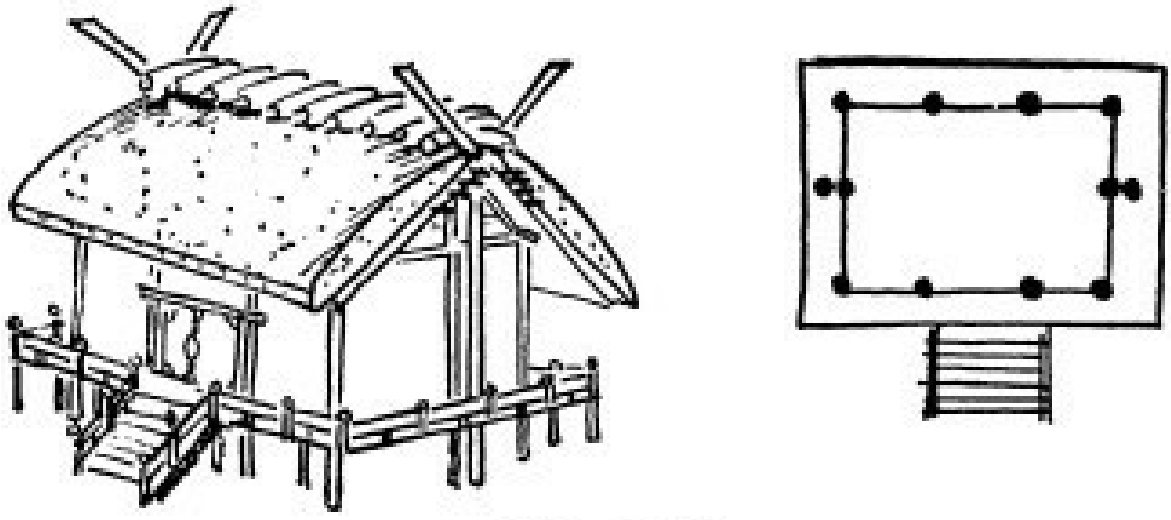
PLATE 5. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: GATE OF INNER SHRINE. A *torii*, the gateway which symbolically marks off the mundane world from the world of the kami, guards the way to the inner precincts.

PLATE 6. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: OUTER SHRINE. Walls enclose inner and outer compounds of shrines. Precincts, as well as shrine, acquire a special sanctity.

PLATE 7. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: OUTER SHRINE. At a ceremonial service white-robed priests are garbed in the style of Heian period.



Taisha Style



Shinmei Style

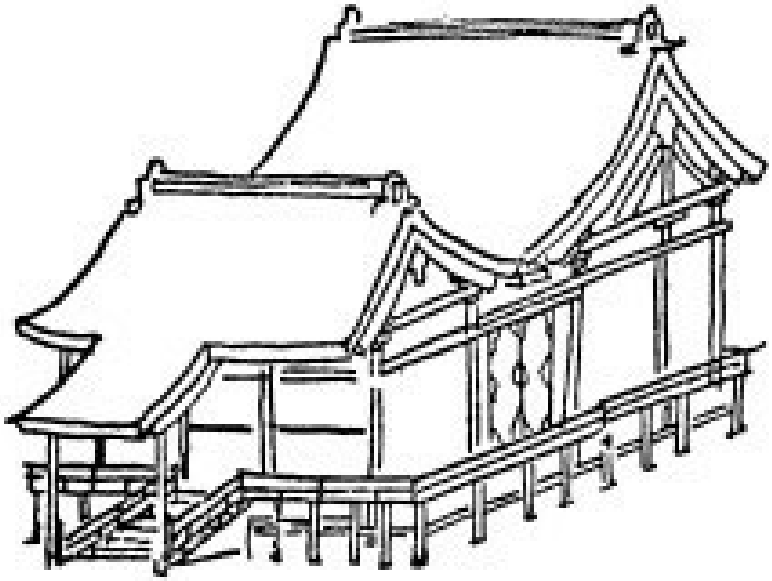
In addition to the Shinmei and Taisha styles mentioned above, there are a number of other styles which are designated by the names of well-known representative shrines (ōtori, Sumiyoshi, Kasuga, Hachiman, Hiyoshi, Gion, Kibitsu and Sengen). A few have descriptive names,

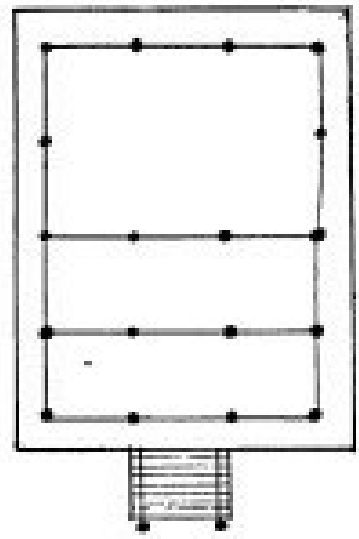
such as *Gongen* (Incarnation) and *Nagare* (Flowing). Generally, shrines having the same name, Kasuga shrines, for example, adopt the style of architecture of the original shrine bearing that name. Thus examples of the various kinds of architecture may be found in many parts of the country.

Only a very few shrines are distinctly unique in their construction. The two shrines at Ise are, of course, among these, but the two-storied sanctuary of Fuji Sengen in Fuji-nomiya, Shizuoka Prefecture, is almost without parallel, and the same is true of the Kibitsu Shrine in Okayama Prefecture, that is noted for its large sanctuary which measures 62.4 feet by 49.8 feet. Except for the Shinmei, Taisha, Ōtori, and Sumiyoshi styles, foreign influence is very noticeable in all those mentioned above. All are painted, most of them in red. The Kasuga style is unique for its curved *chigi*. The Nagare style, the finest examples of which can be seen in the very modern Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, can be recognized by the flowing lines of the roof which extends down in front over a stairway. The Irimoya style has a roof that is gabled in the upper part and hipped or sloping in the lower part. Kashiwara Shrine, dedicated to the veneration of Jimmu Tennō, the first emperor, is an outstanding example of this style.

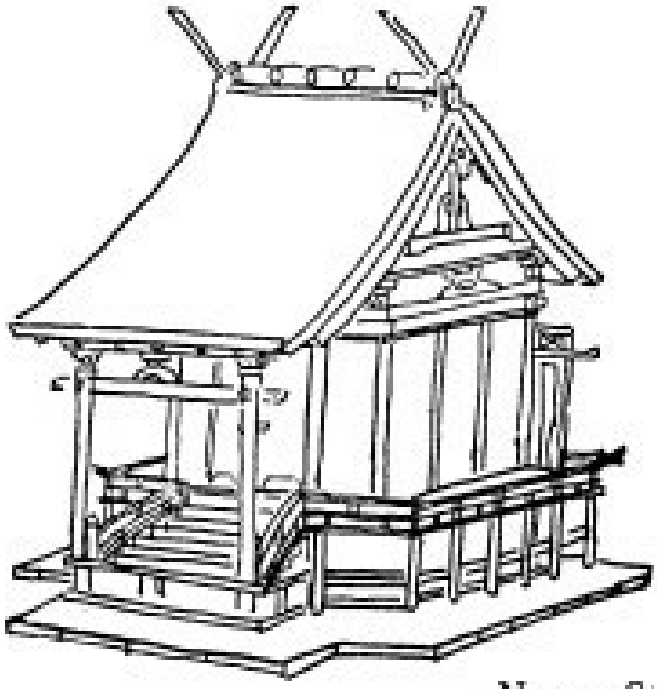
Generally speaking the changing styles of shrine architecture appear to reflect the development from

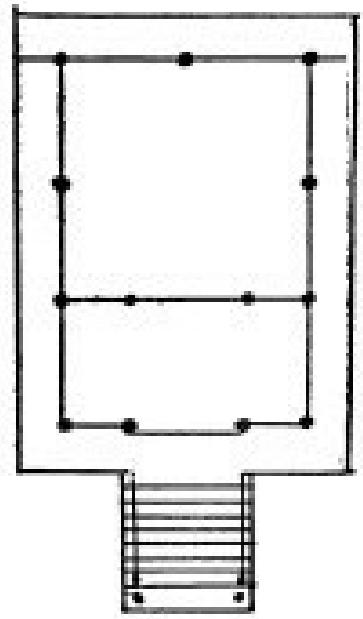
century to century of Buddhist temples, castles and Japanese dwellings, especially those of the upper classes. From a simple, single-frame structure the houses were gradually enlarged and as more rooms were brought under one roof or closely connected by adjacent roofs, the external features changed accordingly. The Irimoya style, for example, was at first used by the nobility and later adopted by shrines. The same is true of the much broader Gion style. The Gongen style, which is most gorgeously represented by the Tōshōgu of Nikkō, and the Yatsumune (Eight Roof) style, typified by the Kitano Shrine in Kyoto, notably reveal the influence of Buddhism on shrine construction.





Hachiman Style





Nagare Style

Priests and Shrine Functionaries

Shrines are served by priests, who are primarily ritualists. In very primitive society there appear to have been no priestly orders. The observance of communal rites and ceremonies was the responsibility of all the people. However, there were shaman, frequently women, who were thought to possess special occult power which enabled them, by observing the ritualistic requirements for purification, to achieve a position of prestige and respect in the community and to function as mediums for contact with the kami. These shaman performed many of the local rites. Later, on the clan level, the heads of the clans or local families performed the most important rituals on behalf of their people, while other ceremonies were conducted by minor officials or specifically designated individuals. In time, these functions became the prerogative of certain families and a hereditary local priesthood emerged.

Priest

About the middle of the first millennium, according to Occidental chronology, four priestly classes had authority at the court. These were the ritualists, mainly from the Nakatomi family, who had charge of ceremonies and read the official ritual prayers; the abstainers, the Imbe family, that maintained ceremonial purity in order to ward off pollution and keep constant contact with the kami; the diviners, the Urabe family, that was responsible for learning the will of the kami; and the dancers and musicians *(sarume*). Except for a few very important priestly rites, which were performed by the Emperor personally, these priestly classes were responsible for the rituals both at the court and at shrines closely related to the Imperial Family.

The administration of state ceremonies and control of the local priesthood in the eighth century was vested in the head of an Office of Divine Affairs *(Jingi Kan),* which occupied a position above the cabinet. Except for the head, officials of this Office were mainly members of the Nakatomi family, as were also the Imperial messengers sent to certain designated shrines. The head of the Office for many centuries (11th—19th) was a member of the Shirakawa family, which was descended from Emperor Kazan (985—986). When a substitute was required, this official took the emperor's place in performing certain court rituals. The profession of diviners was controlled for many centuries by the Yoshida family.

At the beginning of the Restoration the hereditary priesthood was abolished and the priests were made government officials, their appointment being the responsibility of the government office in charge of the shrines they served. Prior to World War II only persons of high social standing could become the chief priests of certain important shrines. Today, the priests are private citizens and have no official status other than that which derives from their recognition by the Association of Shinto Shrines or by the shrines they serve. They hold their position by appointment of the president of the Association who acts on the recommendation of the official boards which govern their individual shrines. Of course, there are

many who inherit their father's position. The priests marry and live with their families, either in quarters provided within the shrine's precincts or in ordinary private dwellings.

Being primarily a ritualist, a priest must know how to conduct the rites, ceremonies, and festivals, including the preparation and intoning of the appropriate liturgy. This training can be secured either from other priests, by attending classes sponsored by the Association of Shinto Shrines and its prefectural branches, or by enrolling in courses offered at the Kokugakuin University or some seminary. Such training qualifies a person without further examination for one of the four grades of the priesthood. Without such qualification no one is appointed as a priest by the Association of Shinto Shrines.

Each shrine is in charge of a chief priest (*gūji*), but a large shrine may have an assistant chief priest (*gon-gūji)* and several other priests of the two lower ranks *(negi* and *gon-negi).* At Ise Shrine, there is also a High Priestess *(saishu*). This is an ancient office which traditionally has been held by an Imperial princess. It was abolished in 1868, but was revived in 1946.

When not performing ceremonies or duties at the shrine, ordinary civilian clothes are worn by the priests. It is very unusual to see a shrine priest on the street in his priestly garb. Those who serve large shrines or a number of

small ones—even twenty or thirty—give full time to their priestly functions. Many, however, are teachers, officials, office workers, or have some regular occupation and give only part time to shrine affairs. In such cases an assistant or a member of the family is usually on the premises to attend to the needs of worshippers and essential business. A large number of small, relatively unimportant shrines have no regular priests and receive the ministration of a priest only on festival days or by special arrangement. Some shrines have a large number of priests. At Yasukuni Shrine, for example, there are twenty-five. According to the latest available statistics of the Ministry of Education (March, 1959), there are 21,020 priests serving the 80,005 shrines.

An unusual postwar development is the emergence of women as shrine priests. This began when the wives were left in charge of shrines, while the husbands were in military service. When they did not return their widows remained in charge. Subsequently, the Association of Shinto Shrines made provisions for women to become regular priests.

The young ladies (*miko*) in white kimono and vermilion divided skirts are not, as is sometimes supposed, vestal virgins. They are the daughters of priests or local residents whose primary function is the performance of ceremonial dances before the kami; but they also engage in such minor duties as may be required. When they marry their places

are taken by others.

The musicians and other members of the shrine staff may or may not be priests. Most shrine priests are administrators as well as ritualists. The raising of funds and maintenance of the property is often a very heavy responsibility. In the larger shrines there are usually a number of persons who are simply employees.

Ceremonial Dress

The priest's garb is modeled after the costume of court officials of the Heian period. It has no symbolic meaning and is not intended as a means of distinguishing the clergy from laymen. When laymen perform ritual functions, if they are officials of the shrine, they also wear the garb. In accordance with ancient tradition, the color and style indicate the class or rank of the wearer.

Kimono, etc. The simplest garb consists of a kimono, a formal divided skirt, a large-sleeved outer robe which hangs to the knees, a hat, and shoes. The kimono is generally white, a color that symbolizes purity. The divided skirt may be in white or in colors which indicate the rank of the wearer, and the formal outer robe likewise may be in white or in color. In some cases, however, all the priests irrespective of rank wear only white. The informal outer robe is called in Japanese *kariginu*, that is, "hunting garment," from the fact that the style originated as a hunting garment in the Heian Period.

Hats There are two types of headgear. The simpler form, called *eboshi*, is worn when a priest wears the low-class robe; the more elaborate, called *kanmuri*, is worn as

full ceremonial dress or high-class robe.

Eboshi

Shose Within the shrine, the uniquely Japanese white socks *(Jabi)* are worn on all ceremonial occasions. When a priest in ceremonial robes is outdoors, special black lacquered shoes made of a piece of hollowed paulownia wood, called *asa-gutsu*, are worn. The common sandals with white thongs are worn by the lower-class priests and by all priests as informal wear.

Mace The tapering wooden slab (*shaku*), which during rituals is held at the narrow end vertically by the priests at about the level of the abdomen or is placed within the robes under the belt, is a sort of mace, that is, a symbol of the office of priest and is believed to lend dignity to his appearance.

Costumes of Girl Attendants

Like the priest's garb, the costume of the young girl attendants at shrines, including the fan which is made of cypress resembles the costume of the court dress of the Heian period. Its most noticeable features are the white kimono and the vermilion divided skirt. When performing the *kagura* the hair, which may or may not be natural, hangs down the back in a long strand and is tied with a vermilion ribbon. On the feet there are white socks (*tabi).* Outdoors ordinary sandals with white thongs are worn.

Parishes and Parishioners

Shrines not only have a close connection with their natural surroundings and local history, but they are also usually closely related to the local residents. As social conditions in ancient Japan changed, much of the mythology and records lost their meaning and authority; but the rites and ceremonies centering in the shrines acquired an enhanced significance.

In early times, while the chieftains unified their clans and conducted the communal rites, all members of the clan had both the right and obligation to participate and, according to the rules of some, to officiate at shrine functions. Thus they had a common status as clan members. Maintenance of the local shrine and participation in its rites and festivals, rather than being considered as a duty imposed from ancient times, has been considered both a right and a precious responsibility, or even an honor which was jealously guarded. The leading inhabitants of a district usually insisted, as some continue to insist even today, on their authority to carry out certain prescribed functions in connection with the shrine rites and festivals.

From an historical point of view, the centrality of blood ties is inherent in the nature of shrine worship; and where

the blood relationship continues to be dominant the bond of union in a shrine is strong. But even where the blood relationship of a community is weak, there has been a common bond, irrespective of family ties, in the performance of shrine services. And this bond has continued to operate even when individuals have lived at some distance from their native communities. Wherever possible people have expected—and have been expected by their community—to return home to fulfill their obligations.

However, as distances increased and the difficulties of returning home became more formidable, branch shrines for the local and clan kami were established throughout the country, and in this way the individual was able to maintain his spiritual relationship. Yet even today it is not uncommon for many people to return to their ancestral homes to participate in the annual festivals.

The parish boundaries of shrines are often very complicated. Sometimes they overlap. Not infrequently the borders are based on ancient contours of the area which modern developments have obliterated. Moreover, as a result of the elimination of all distinction between the clan kami and the kami of the land, and the proliferation of historic shrines, not to mention the establishment of entirely new ones, many individuals today frequently find themselves related to more than one shrine either as

worshippers (*sūkeisha*) or as parishioners (*ujiko).*

Shrines, such as the Grand Shrine of Ise, Meiji and Yasukuni in Tokyo, Heian in Kyoto, and the Dazaifu in Fukuoka, for example, do not have geographical areas which are regarded as parishes. In a sense all Japan is their parish and all the Japanese people are their potential worshippers. Similarly such local shrines as those for the war-dead or local celebrities have no parish system. Nevertheless, all the local residents are regarded as worshippers, although there is no inherent tie between them and the shrines. Their attitude in such cases is essentially a matter of individual choice.

In the case of shrines dedicated to the worship of clan kami or kami having a close relationship to the land, there are definite geographical limits within which they function. Each such shrine has a parish and it is taken for granted that all local residents will assume their proper responsibility for its support. In some cases they are also expected to participate in the performance of religious functions. This is not a relationship growing out of conversion. It is because of their being Japanese, which may sound very formal and rigid to an outsider, but it has in fact a spiritual basis. The relationship between a tutelary kami and the parishioners is a spiritual relationship like that between parent and children. People are born, brought up, and live from generation to generation under the protection of the

kami. Thus, the commonly accepted idea is that they all without exception have an inherent and unbreakable kami relationship.

Shrine Shinto was disestablished as a state cult in 1945, but this did not seriously affect the relationship between the shrines and the local residents. On the contrary, generally speaking, the people have continued to regard themselves as parishioners. They make small monetary gifts in connection with annual festivals, and on special occasions assist the shrines in various ways. And although when shrines were disestablished the local neighborhood associations lost their political status, these associations still continue to function in many localities as private organizations. They not only decide on neighborhood problems, but also very often constitute the controlling groups for the local shrines.

神 IIII 道

WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS

Introduction

In Shinto all life is lived in communion and in accord with the mind of the kami, which afford the devout constant protection. Daily life is regarded as "service to the kami" that is, as *matsuri*, a term generally associated with only gala occasions and elaborate processions, but which has its deeper meaning of service and worship.

Shinto rites and ceremonies commemorate life: ordinary daily life as well as the major events in the life of the individual, community, and nation. Ceremonies may be observed on such occasions in the home or in some public place, but primarily they are observed in shrines.

Shrine rites and ceremonies are intended to ward off or ameliorate any misfortune and secure or augment the cooperation of the kami in promoting the happiness and peace of the individual and the community. They include prayer for divine protection, communion with the kami, praise of the kami's virtue, comfort for the kami's mind, reports to the kami on the affairs of daily life, and pledges offering the whole life to the kami. Therefore, the ceremonies are performed on the assumption that a profession of faith in the kami has been made, offerings good and beautiful have been presented, the mind and body

have been purified, sincerity has been fulfilled, conduct has been courteous and proper, the evil heart, selfish desire, strife, dispute, hatred and the like have been dissolved, conciliation has been practiced, and a feeling of goodwill, cooperation and affection has been realized among the people.

The ceremonies vary greatly in complexity from the simple, individual acts of worship in front of a home altar or a local sanctuary, and the morning arid evening presentation of offerings by priests, to the annual festivals which in some cases include great processions with much paraphernalia and hundreds or even thousands of people participating. Generally speaking, the larger and more important shrines have more elaborate and magnificent functions, but there are some exceptions.

The Four Elements of Worship

All ceremonies, except the simple act of worship performed by an individual before a shrine, involve four elements: purification (*harai*), an offering (*shinsen*), prayer *(norito*), and a symbolic feast (*naorai*). These may be observed either simply or elaborately, depending upon the occasion. It is a distinctive feature of Shinto that kami-worship is expressed not only from the depth of one's heart, but in a concrete act of religious ritual.

Purification Purification is for the purpose of removing all pollution, unrighteousness, and evil which may hinder life according to the kami-way and the efficacy of worship. Purification may be performed by the worshippers or by priests.

Ordinarily purification is accomplished by the individual worshipper, layman, or priest, symbolically rinsing the mouth and pouring clear water over the finger tips. This is called *temizu*, literally, "hand water." Formal purification is accomplished by a priest first reciting a prayer of purification and then waving a purification wand in the characteristic manner in front of an individual, group, or object to be purified. This is often accompanied by

lightly sprinkling salt or salt water. Purification by bathing is usually called *misogi*. The ceremony of purifying the nation or the whole world is called *Ōharai*, literally, "Great Purification."

In purifying a shrine for a festival, the buildings and paraphernalia are all cleaned and the precincts are swept. As symbols of purification, pieces of bamboo, sprigs of *sakaki*, or rice-straw rope to which paper and flax pendants are attached are hung at appropriate places.

Purification of a priest before a festival involves a period of abstinence (see page 64).

Offerings The minimum ritual requirement for the kami is a periodic presentation of offerings. Ideally this should be done daily. In some cases it is performed twice a day. If this simple act is neglected, it is believed that the kami, particularly the ancestral spirits, will be unhappy and that misfortune will be experienced often by individuals who are remiss in observing this duty. Although there are many small wayside shrines or shrines located in remote, inaccessible areas, which appear to be neglected, there are probably very few shrines that are not cared for sometime during the year, either by a priest or some devout resident.

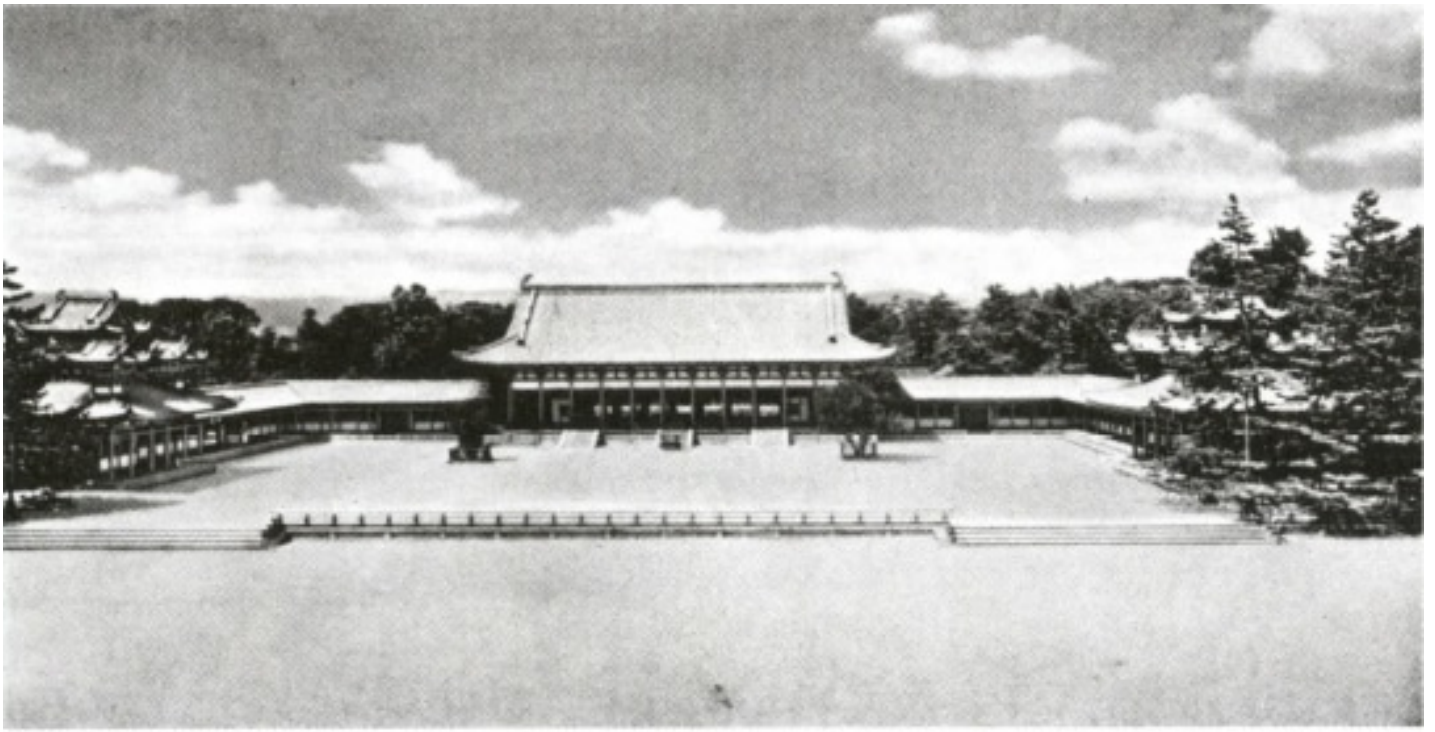


PLATE 8. HEIAN SHRINE, KYOTO. A panoramic view of the main buildings with the Daigokuden or Hall of State in the center.

PLATE 9. SUMIYOSHI SHRINE, OSAKA. An example of a style of shrine architecture that shows early continental influences on pure Japanese style. This shrine has three main sanctuaries for three deities.

PLATE 10. TOSHO SHRINE, NIKKO: YOMEI GATE. A magnificent example of the massive and ornate two-story type of shrine gate. The structure of this shrine is typical of the period of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

In shrines of any great importance, the offerings are quite elaborate and much detailed attention goes into their preparation, especially at the time of the annual festival. But whether the shrine is large or small the manner of preparing offerings is probably prescribed in considerable detail in the shrine records. Generally they are prepared in a specially designated room and purified. Then they are

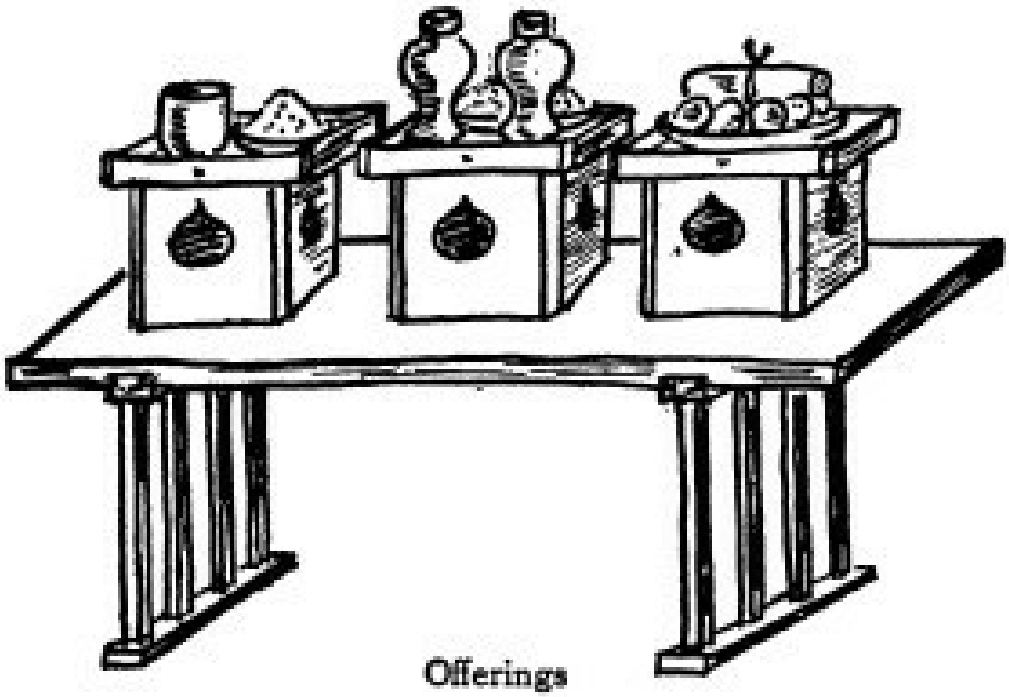
placed with much formality on separate dishes or trays, and carried into the sanctuary, where they are arranged on high stands, which are usually of unpainted wood. In some cases red or black lacquered stands are used that blend with the interior of the sanctuary.

The offerings generally conform to very ancient tradition; the most simple ones being rice, salt, water, and perhaps a sprig of *sakaki*. Offerings of cut flowers are also often seen, especially at wayside shrines. Considerable variety may be noted, even in the regular daily offerings, because much depends on what the individual worshippers may bring.

Four kinds of offerings are commonly presented: money, food and drink, material, and symbolic objects. Money gifts are made by tossing a coin into the offering box in front of the sanctuary or oratory, by presenting a small sum wrapped in formal paper as a gift for a special service, or by a donation in connection with receiving the shrine tablet, the reconstruction or repair of shrine property, or some other special project. Drink offerings consist mainly of water or rice wine; but sometimes other beverages may be noted. Where water is offered it may have been drawn from a sacred well in the precincts.

Food offerings may be either cooked or uncooked. Among food offerings frequently noted are: rice, fish, seaweed, vegetables, grain, fruit and cakes, Rice offerings

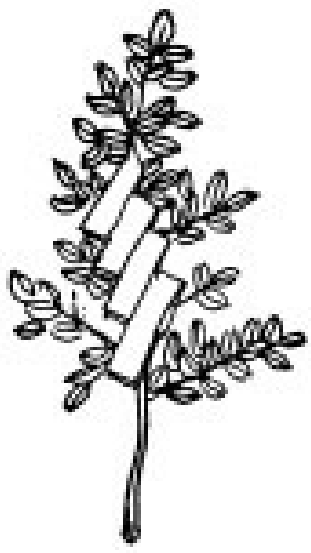
in many cases, especially at festival time, are in the form of dumpling-shaped cakes made of pounded rice. When the kami is regarded as an historical person, items of which the individual concerned was especially fond are also presented.



Offerings

Material offerings may include a great variety of objects. From ancient times paper, silk or cotton cloth, money, jewels, weapons, and even farm implements have been common. Gifts by the Emperor, the Imperial Household, or the Association of Shinto Shrines are invariably cloth, either silk or cotton, or money may be used as a substitute. If the kami is a patron of some occupation, a characteristic product may be offered. There are instances in ancient writings of white horses, white chickens, and white boars being presented to shrines. At

some shrines animal offerings are made even today. At Ise, for example, two of the Emperor's former white mounts are in special stables, and a variety of chickens, not necessarily white, may be seen wandering about the precincts. In a few cases, in place of a living horse, a life-size image of a horse may be noted standing in a stall facing a path along which worshippers pass. The one at the Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto, for example, is supplied with a magnificent saddle, bridle, and other appurtenances.



Tamagushi

Symbolic offerings usually take the form of a sprig of the sacred *sakaki* tree to which are attached strips of flax and paper. The *gohei*, which stands in a central position before the inner sanctuary, is a type of symbolic offering. The various forms of entertainment, such as the dances, drama, wrestling, and archery, are in a sense also regarded as offerings to the kami.

Prayers The ceremonial prayers, that are read, or rather recited, at shrines by the priest, are in classical Japanese, which was intelligible when it was the prevailing language, but is not understood today by people unless they have made a special study of the subject. In ancient times, a great many historical and other important records were written in beautiful, rhythmic poems in order to facilitate their transmission to posterity. Prayers were also composed in this style in order that the mystic feeling embodied in the manner of addressing the kami, which had been inherited from great antiquity, might be transmitted intact to future generations. This was especially necessary because the new, short and to Japanese ears somewhat harsh Chinese words without melody, which had been introduced from the mainland and had modified the Japanese language, were not deemed suitable to preserve the meaning and spirit of the ancient ceremonies-

Until the Meiji era the prayers were composed by the priests of each shrine in any manner deemed appropriate. In April, 1875, as part of the policy to nationalize Shrine Shinto, the government took over this responsibility, prepared the prayers in accordance with the "Detailed Laws of the Engi Period," and required their use in the stated rites and festivals of all shrines. These were revised first in March, 1914, and again in 1927. Today, prayers drafted by

the Association of Shinto Shrines are in general use among member shrines, but the priests are free to write their own if they wish to do so.

As a rule the prayers open with words in praise of the kami; make some reference to the origin and possibly the history of the specific rite, festival or occasion being observed; express thanksgiving, report to or petition the kami, as may be appropriate; enumerate the offerings presented; give the status and name of the officiant; and finally add some parting words of respect and awe. The prayer read at a funeral is addressed to the spirit of the deceased as a "message of condolence." It is expressed with deep emotion and is usually filled with recollections and terms of deep affection.

Sacred Feast At the end of any Shinto ceremony, except when only the simple act of worship is performed before a shrine, whether it be in a home or shrine, or for an individual, group, wedding, or grand festival, there is a sacred feast, called *naorai*, which means "to eat together with the kami." In the case of the worshippers, this consists of formally drinking a sip of rice wine served by a priest or one of the girl attendants. In the case of a shrine festival the priests, prominent laymen, and special guests gather in the priests' quarters or some other place and, after partaking solemnly of a few sips of rice wine, enjoy a relaxing and

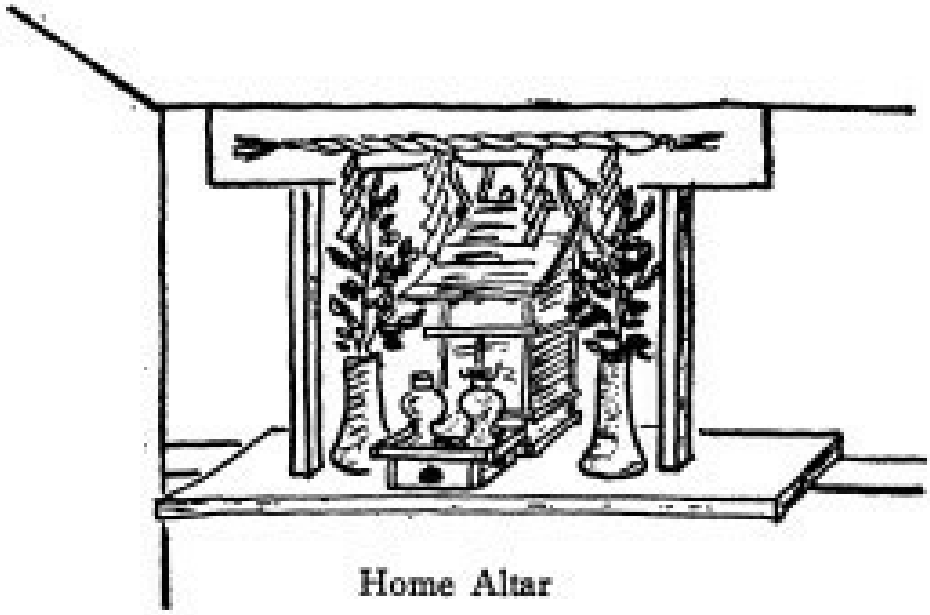
even hilarious meal at which much more wine is consumed.

Worship in the Home

Worship requires preparation. Man cannot shift his mind from the mundane to the spiritual as he transfers his body at an intersection from one street car to another. Preparation begins at home.

To awaken early, wash the face, rinse the mouth, and purify the body and mind by worshipping the kami and the ancestral spirits gives meaning to the day and enables one to begin work with a pure feeling. The kami are sincere and always guard those who have faith. One's ancestors add unseen strength and help. Thus one is able to live a righteous life.

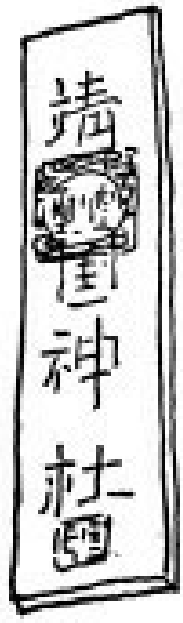
Some homes have small private shrines in their gardens, but in most cases there is only a high shelf (*kami-dana)* in some clean, quiet, convenient place on which a miniature shrine is placed. The size and quality will depend on the financial ability as well as on the faith of the head of the household. In front of the shrine there is often a small mirror, on either side of which there may be small lanterns and a sprig of *sakaki*, while above and across the length of the shelf a straw rope with small paper pendants is usually stretched. Sometimes a curtain is draped in front.



Home Altar

Within the shrine itself the central place is usually occupied by a talisman of the Grand Shrine of Ise placed vertically—with one for the tutelary kami on the right and one or more for any other kami that may be special objects of faith on the left. In case the shrine is small, the talisman are placed together, with the one from Ise in front, the one of the tutelary kami next, and the others behind.

For the ancestral spirits a somewhat lower, separate shelf is sometimes provided on which is placed a small box containing the memorial tablets of relatives and a mirror. Special care is taken at all times to keep the kami-shelf clean and undefiled.



Talisman

The offerings, which should be fresh and presented as first fruits, consist in their simplest form of clean rice, either cooked or uncooked, water, and salt. On special occasions small portions of such things as uncooked rice, rice cakes, sea fish, wild fowl or water fowl, seaweed, vegetables, fruits, cakes or the products of the farm or garden are also offered. On ancestral days it is customary to offer something of which the deceased was fond, and on occasion a diploma, a certificate of appointment to a new position, the monthly salary, or similar items may be placed before the kami as a token of thanksgiving.

The procedure for worship in the home is very simple and not always uniform. Having washed the hands, rinsed the mouth, and placed fresh offerings before the kami, the worshipper stands or seats himself on a mat facing the miniature shrine and makes first a slight bow and then two

deep bows. Following this whatever comes to mind as a prayer is repeated either audibly or in silence. Two deep bows, two claps with the hands in a raised position at about the level of the chest, a deep bow, a slight bow and the rite is over. Later the special food offerings are removed and served at meal time. Before eating, however, the devout Shintoist closes his eyes, slightly bows the head, and either silently or audibly claps the hand as a token of gratitude to the kami.

This, of course, is a description of the ideal behavior. In actual practice in most homes someone, probably one of the older members of the family, will tidy the shelf, change the offerings, and pause silently for a moment with hands together in an attitude of prayer. Others may or may not pay a slight token of respect as they hasten off to the work of the day.

Worship at a Shrine

On special occasions, when the local shrine is to be visited, the devout, being particularly careful in their ablutions, will put on clean linen and, after paying respect to the kami in morning devotions before the home altar and at the meal, will proceed to the shrine on foot or in some conveyance. En route, if other shrines are passed, these will be acknowledged by a bow in the direction of the sanctuary.

When the shrine compound is reached, the worshipper proceeds on foot. Passing beneath the first *torii,* a sense of being purified in heart is experienced as he walks along the path and hears the sound of crunching stone beneath his feet. No one with any illness, open wound, flowing blood, or in mourning should worship at shrines, but sometimes this taboo is not observed today. On either side of the path there may be lanterns, memorial tablets, a sacred dance pavilion, a hall for picture votive offerings, trees, and at festival time, perhaps two poles from which flags or long streamers in five colors wave in the breeze. Everything will be neat and in order because the priests will have been up for many hours already, and have swept the grounds and purified the precinct and buildings.

At the ablution pavilion the hat, scarf, and overcoat are removed. The mouth and hands are symbolically purified by the use of water taken with a wooden dipper provided for this purpose. On unusual occasions, a priest with a wooden bucket of water, dipper, and folded white paper to wipe the fingers may stand along the approach in order to provide for this rite. In front of the worship hall, after placing his hat, scarf, and overcoat to one side, the worshipper may jangle a bell, if there is one hanging over the offering box. This drives off evil spirits and produces a calm feeling by its pure sound * Then he stands quietly and performs the simple acts of devotion by tossing a coin (in rural areas sometimes a few grains of rice wrapped in paper) into the offering box, bowing slightly first, then twice deeply, or offering a silent prayer and bowing twice deeply, clapping the hands twice at the level of the chest, bowing once deeply and then only slightly before turning away. (Sometimes a written prayer is read, but this is rather rare.)

If the occasion is one of special significance and the shrine facilities are adequate, the worshipper may make his wishes known at the shrine office and, after presenting a small money or material gift, he and those with him are taken into the oratory or sanctuary. There, sitting on the mats behind the priest who faces the inner sanctuary, a more formal ritual is observed, which includes the reading of a prayer, indicating among other things the date,

occasion, names of the participants, and the presentation of a sprig of *sakaki* as a token offering. Before the ceremony begins the money or material mentioned above is placed by one of the shrine staff on the offering tables.

Simple rites of this type are requested on numerous occasions such as when a new business venture is being undertaken, when a child enters school or a youth the university, when some significant event has occurred, or to offer thanks for some special benefit.

Wedding ceremonies are also very commonly performed at shrines.

Before leaving the shrine precincts most worshippers who have come from any distance will usually stop at a stall where postcards, charms, and equipment for household shrines are available. For a small sum a number may be drawn from a box and a printed oracle received which tells what fortune or misfortune lies ahead. After a reading these oracles are usually folded and twisted around a twig of some tree or in the wire meshing of the enclosures on either side of the gates as a petition for their fulfillment, if good fortune is foretold, or for a safeguard, if the omen is unfavorable. The shrine talisman, a symbol of the kami which the worshippers can secure for a very small offering, is to be placed in a manner already described in the household altars. This consists of a piece of good quality paper on which the name of the kami is inscribed; but it

may also contain a very small piece of shaving from the timbers of a former shrine building. Everything about the shrine—its buildings, its paraphernalia, its rites, its surroundings—contributes to the worship of the kami.

Festivals

Many types of shrine festivals are observed, which vary considerably in accordance with their respective traditions and local conditions. The most important occasion in any shrine is its annual or semi-annual festival (*reisai*) which is usually a spring festival (preparation for farming), an autumn harvest festival, a festival to commemorate the dedication of the shrine to the worship of one or more kami, a festival commemorating the decease of the enshrined spirit, or a festival having some significant connection with the faith of the shrine. In addition, a number of other festivals are observed which have a relationship with national traditions and seasonal customs.

Preparation of the Shrine

When an important festival approaches, shrine personnel are exceedingly busy with preparations. The buildings and compound are cleaned in advance, and on the festival day the final touches are put on the shrine compound and buildings. If not done already, small sprigs of *sakaki* are fastened on the pillars of the *torii*, fresh straw ropes with white paper pendants attached are strung in front of or below the crossbeams of the *torii* and gates, over doorways, beneath the eaves of the main buildings, and around the place for purification; and any special decorations, such as the long streamers in the five auspicious colors (white, yellow red, blue, purple), "symbolic of clouds of good omen," or trays of plants and flowers prepared by a flower arrangement society, are put in place.

Within the sanctuary, if they are not ordinarily there, brocade banners mounted on two poles capped with sprigs of *sakaki* with white paper cuttings, are often placed at either side of the offering table. To the standard on the right, silk or gold brocade bags, one containing a metal mirror and the other a string of curved stone beads (*maga-tama*), are attached; and to the standard on the left, a short

sword, which is also enclosed in a gold brocade case, is hung. These three—the mirror, sword and jewels—although they are generally symbolic of the Imperial Regalia, are not in the shrine for that reason. They are there because it is an ancient Shinto custom to regard them as sacred.

Abstinence Preceding Festival

From the evening of the previous day those who are to officiate must prepare themselves spiritually by entering the priests' quarters, if there is one, or by secluding themselves from other people. This is called *saikai*, literally "restraint and rules" They bathe (*kessai*) frequently, put on clean clothes, take only specified food, and lead a calm and continent life, abstaining from all forbidden acts. If they violate the regulations or something occurs during this period, such as death, injury, or a fire, they are disqualified from participating in the festival and sometimes the festival itself is postponed.

The Ritual

At the designated hour the priests and musicians, some of whom may have come from other shrines to assist, the representatives of the worshippers who are to participate in the ceremony, and the bearer of the symbolic offering proceed to the purification place and, after the purification rite is performed, take their places before the inner sanctuary. Then, the assembled worshippers having been purified, the chief priest bows deeply and, as all present prostrate themselves, proceeds to open the doors of the inner sanctuary to the accompaniment of music and a weird oo-ing sound, which is said to clear the way for the kami.

The offering of food which follows is the center of the ritual. In this the various kinds of food offerings, having been ceremonially prepared and purified, are served on small wooden stands, which the priests pass from one to another until the one next in rank to the chief priest places them before the kami. During this process sacred music is played, and then a prayer is read by the chief priest.

In addition to the prescribed offerings of the shrine, there may be an offering from the Association of Shinto Shrines and, if a shrine is a very important one that is related in some way to the Royal Family, there will also be

an offering from the Imperial Household. These are brought to the shrine by special messengers and separately presented by the chief priest in a somewhat more elaborate manner. Then, after each offering is made, while all present prostrate themselves, a prayer is read by the messenger. Sometimes there are sacred dances (*kagura*) by one or more of the priests, specially trained dancers, or the young maiden attendants.

Following this the chief priest and then individual worshippers, beginning with the most prominent, go forward, place on a centrally located stand a symbolic offering, that is, a sprig of the sacred *sakaki*, bow twice, clap the hands twice and then bow in an attitude of prayer before returning to their seats. In case the number of worshippers is large, one individual often acts on behalf of the majority. When this is done, all those represented stand in their places, bow, and after the sprig of *sakaki* has been laid on the stand, bow twice, clap their hands twice and bow in unison.

After this the offerings are removed by the priests and, while all prostrate themselves, the chief priest closes the doors of the inner sanctuary, again to the accompaniment of a weird oo-ing sound. Then the priests and others who have participated directly withdraw, and finally the ceremony ends with the worshippers partaking of a symbolic feast of a sip of sacred wine, and the priests and

shrine officials retiring somewhere for the concluding sacred feast (*naorai).*

In some cases, the food offerings are later shared with persons in the parish; but as a rule they are eaten by the priests and their families. When there is a quantity of rice cakes (*mochi*), they are removed after several days, and small portions are given to the parishioners.

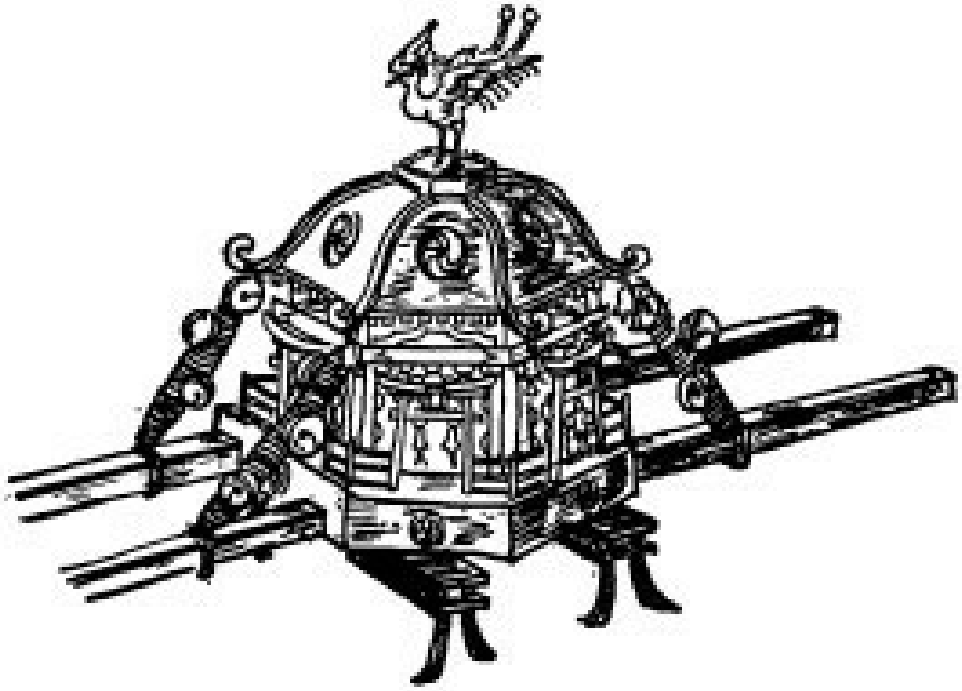
Sacred Dances

In addition to the formal rituals at which priests officiate, most of the larger shrines make some provision, at least at their annual festivals, for the presentation of sacred dances *(kagura)* accompanied by traditional music. At many of the larger shrines dances are performed daily on request by worshippers who present a small monetary gift. The *kagura* dance, which is characteristically Japanese in its emphasis on posturing and gestures rather than the motion of the feet, is in the first instance an offering for the pleasure of the kami, and is said to have originated in the dance performed when the Sun Goddess became angry with her brother and hid in a cave. That is why performers always face the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the dances are also enjoyed and admired by the worshippers.

The *kagura*, which developed as a dance drama in the middle ages, depicts the events of the ancient Shinto mythology. There are thirty-five traditional dramas of this type. A few original dances have been created in recent years and these likewise are presented with great solemnity before the enshrined kami. *Bugaku*, the ancient court dance, came from the Asiatic continent, and has become a sort of *kagura*.

Music The musical accompaniment during the solemn part of the ceremonies and dances is patterned after the ancient court music (*gagaku*). The musicians may or may not have a priest's status.

Processions For the community-at-large, the procession is the most exciting and at the same time the most meaningful part of a festival. The essence of the procession, as the Japanese term meaning "august-divine-going" suggests is the movement of the kami through the parish. This is accomplished by a symbolic transfer of the kami from the inner sanctuary to an ornate and gilded sacred palanquin *(mikoshi*), which becomes temporarily the abode of the kami. Actually, the sacred symbol itself usually is not removed. Instead, after an appropriate ritual, some symbolic substitute, such as a sacred mirror *(shinkyo)* or a *gokei,* is used. But in addition to the main palanquin, there are many others made by the parishioners, including some small ones for the children to carry. Within these, as a symbol of the kami, is placed a piece of paper on which the kami's name is written. Besides these palanquin it is not uncommon for a procession to include beautifully decorated vehicles, somewhat resembling floats, on which musicians and dancers often perform.



Sacred Palanquin

PLATE 11. FUSHIMI INAHAGI SHRINE, KYOTO. Shrine rites and festivals are the highest expression of the people's faith in the kami. Above is depicted a fire festival, which is one of the special divine services.

PLATE 12. BUGAKU PERFORMANCE AT ISE. These ancient court dances are performed annually at the Grande Shrine of Ise in honor of the Imperial ancestors.

Central in the procession, in fact, the only reason for there being a procession, is the sacred palanquin with its sacred symbol. This is generally carried on the shoulders of sturdy young men in the parish, who usually zigzag down the road jostling it up and down as they shout "wassho, wassho!" But this custom is relatively modern, and is said to be in order to make the kami happy. The ancient practice was to carry the sacred palanquin in a solemn, stately manner and this is still done by some shrines.

Usually, the sacred palanquin is carried to some place in the community where it rests for a short while, or even all night, before it is returned to the shrine. In some cases this resting place (*otabisho*) is a permanent structure, while in others a temporary shelter is erected or the front part of a home or building of a local parishioner is used. In a few instances, the resting place seems to be considered the most sacred place to the kami, the shrine itself being merely an abode for the kami between festivals. At the resting place a short ceremony, including prayer and offerings, is always observed.

As a rule, the procession may be said to have one or more of the following meanings: (1) It may signify the going out to welcome to the shrine a kami coming from a far-away world or coming down from the kami-world (*shinkai*). This may be the reason why in some cases a procession in starting from a shrine is calm, as if travelling incognito, while on the return journey it is sometimes merrily animated or proceeds in the darkness with all the lights in the shrine extinguished. (2) It may signify a visit to some place in the parish which has a special spiritual or historical significance for the kami. (3) It may be an occasion for the kami to pass through the parish and bless the homes of the faithful. (4) And finally it may commemorate the historic processions of some Imperial messengers or feudal lords on their way to the shrine.

Probably in most cases the procession has some historical significance related either to the appearance of the kami, the founding of the shrine, or some outstanding historical event in the life of the community. In a sense processions are historical religious pageants. For example, the semi-annual procession at Nikko (May and October 17) commemorates the visits of Imperial messengers to the tomb of the first shogun, Ieyasu Tokugawa; the Gion Festival (Yasaka Shrine) in Kyoto (July 17) commemorates the worship of an ancient emperor in praying for the end of a terrible plague; and the *jidai* Festival is a pageant of the manners and costumes of the period between the emperors, who had their palaces in Kyoto and who are enshrined at the Heian Shrine in that city.

Although some shrines, Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, for example, do not have sacred palanquins and hence do not hold processions, practically all of the older tutelary shrines do. However, because the significance of each procession is often unique and the different types of costumes, vehicles, and paraphernalia are so numerous, it is not possible to discuss them here in detail.

Entertainment A great many forms of entertainment are provided at a shrine or in the parish during festival time so that a festival combines both solemn and light features, and sometimes turns a whole community into something like a carnival. In practice the light features constitute

entertainment for the populace, but in origin and spirit most of them in the first instance were regarded as offerings for the pleasure of the enshrined kami. This is why they are called *kan-nigiwai*, that is, "divine amusement."

Among the many forms of entertainment provided in shrines are sacred dances (*kagura*), music, classical dances *(bugaku*), archery contests, archery on horseback, *(yabusame)* horse racing, and Japanese wrestling (*sumo).*

Other forms of entertainment somewhat more hilarious, which according to their original nature are also offerings for the kami, are primarily for the enjoyment of the worshippers. Many shrines are noted for special types of entertainment which draw huge crowds from the countryside at festival time. Divine music made by drums, flutes and bells cheers the crowds. When village *kagura* plays, that is, popular *kagura*, are presented, they are usually performed by professional or local talent and include considerable humor, not to mention buffoonery, but the basis is still episodes in Shinto mythology.

Footnote

* Some authorities interpret the ringing of the bell as "purifying the mind," and others as "calling the attention of the enshrined kami." Ed.

神 IV 道

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Political Life

The Meiji Restoration had two parallel and complementary objectives. One was political, the other religious. The political objective was the restoration of the direct rule of the Emperor, who for centuries had been relegated to a position of political impotence. The religious objective was to revive the Kami Way as the spiritual basis for government and society. In a sense they were identical. Consequently, it was but natural that Shinto was made the official cult of the new government.

Government Policy The first steps toward the religious goal included an order separating Buddhism from Shinto, the establishment of a Department of Shinto modelled after the Office of Divine Affairs (Jingi Kan) of the seventh century, and a declaration to the effect that Shinto would be the religious foundation of the new government. In 1871 shrines were given official grades based on their relationship to the Imperial Family and placed under the administrative control of an appropriate national, prefectural, or local government office.

At the same time the hereditary priesthood was abolished and priests were put under the direction of the appropriate government offices in regard to appointment,

support, discipline, and dismissal; but, except for the national shrines (*kankokuhei-sha)*, the hereditary system continued to be generally respected. Title to all shrine property was taken over by the government in 1872 and in 1875 new rituals and ceremonies, based on the "*Detailed Laws of the Engi Period*" were promulgated for shrines of all grades. Then, on April 25, 1869, Emperor Meiji led a procession to the Ceremonial Hall of the palace, where he performed priestly functions before all the kami of the Shinto pantheon, read the Charter Oath, and explained its meaning to the assembled dignitaries. In this ceremony the new government demonstrated the re-establishment of the principle of the unity of Shinto worship and government *(saisei itchi),* which has been regarded from time immemorial as one of the fundamental concepts in the spiritual foundation of Japanese society. Thus, in every respect shrines became government institutions and Shrine Shinto became the state cult.

When exaltation of the above-mentioned Department of Shinto with the accompanying effort to suppress Buddhism failed to achieve the desired results, an Ecclesiastical Department (Kyobu Sho) was established (1872), which provided for cooperative effort on the part of both Shinto and Buddhist priests, with the latter in a position of inferiority. But this also failed and from 1874 Shinto sects were permitted to organize independently and the

Buddhists were permitted to freely carry on their propaganda. In 1877 the administration of religious affairs was transferred to a Bureau of Shrines and Temples in a newly organized Ministry of Home Affairs, and in 1882 a distinct line was drawn between shrine priests and other religious teachers. Moreover, a distinction was made between shrines as national, non-religious community-morality establishments and the temples and churches. Then, in 1900 this bureau was divided into a Bureau of Shrines and a Bureau of Religions, and thirteen years later the Bureau of Religions was transferred to the Ministry of Education. In this way, the administration of shrines was separated from the general field of religion and it seemed that a relatively permanent arrangement had been devised for dealing with both Shrine Shinto and religion.

Many Shintoists, however, were far from satisfied and with the development of the so-called "Showa Restoration Movement" in the nineteen-thirties a demand again arose, as in the Meiji Restoration, for the re-establishment of an Office of Divine Affairs (Jingi Kan) as a department of government having precedence over the regular cabinet ministries. Yet, in spite of the great pressure exerted at that time, all that could be achieved was the creation of a Divine Affairs Board (Jingi-in) within the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Defeat, surrender, and a military occupation brought

about a revolutionary change in the status of Shrine Shinto. As a result of the Shinto Directive, shrines were disestablished as state institutions and the observance, support, and sponsorship of Shinto rites and teachings in any form by any government agency were strictly forbidden. Finally, the Constitution incorporated in its provisions the basic principles of religious freedom, and a rigid separation of religion and state became the law of the land. Today, Shinto shrines have no relation with the state. They are private institutions supported and managed entirely by the shrine parishioners and worshippers.

The State The Shinto faith brings not only the individual, the neighborhood and society into direct relationship with the kami and makes them more ideal; it does the same for the political world. Even in ancient times when Japan had not yet become well unified, the clans regarded shrine rites as an important factor in political life, and as the country become consolidated this attitude became more pronounced. The intimate manner in which, throughout the centuries, Shinto has been connected with the political state is evident in many ways. On the one hand, the court rites already mentioned have been observed exclusively by the Imperial Family, that is, the state; while on the other hand, the performance of shrine worship has been primarily a function of the people, and the state has made offerings at

the shrines for the peace and welfare of the country.

According to the mythology, when the Imperial ancestor, Ninigi-no-mikoto, descended from heaven and secured the allegiance of Okuni-nushi, the Kami of Izumo, he promised in return to build a sacred palace, that is, a shrine, and serve the kami eternally. This is the origin of the Grand Shrine of Izumo, which is located on the west coast of Japan in Shimane Prefecture near the city of Matsue.

Moreover, from earliest times the emperors, regarding the Sun Goddess as their ancestress in faith, have employed hereditary ritual officials to perform kami-rites for the court Some of these are purely ancestral rites for the Imperial Family. Others are political in nature. The distinction is not always clear. Some, such as the Great Purification, for example, concern the entire country. Others, such as the wedding of the Crown Prince, concern primarily the Imperial Family.

In ancient society, the emperor and high court officials, in a sense were mainly ritualists who carefully observed certain rites and practices for the purpose of insuring the happiness of the people and the peace of the country. Government meant the guidance of society in the cooperative performance of kami-rites, which it was believed would produce communal tranquility. Worship, that is, the performance of these kami-rites, was a

fundamental element in government itself. The word *matsurigoto*, literally, "worship affairs," covered what would be regarded today as both religious rites and civil administration, but was formerly considered to be a single, undifferentiated experience. This was true on a local as well as a national level. The festivals and rites for the various tutelary kami and the administration of clans and local society were essentially a single function. A term that describes this identity of kami-rites and civil administration is *saisei itchi*, which means the unity *(itchi*) of worship *(sai*) and government *(sei).*

Throughout history the palace rites have been prescribed by law. In a legal code promulgated in the Taiho era* (670—720) there were twenty articles related to Shinto which dealt mainly with court rites. The *Detailed Laws of the Engi Period* prescribed the ceremonies for shrines related to the Imperial Family, the offering of prayers (*norito*) at shrines, and a list of kami (3,132) venerated by the state.

After the Shogunate was established the care of Shinto establishments was neglected, but early in the Meiji Restoration most of them were revived.

Just as the *Kojiki Nihon Shoki*, and the other writings already mentioned, were vehicles for the transmission of the dynastic claims of the Imperial Family and the clans, so the shrines, which constituted the ritual basis for

maintaining the unity of the local community established on the dual foundation of a common clan and a common geographical relationship, became national institutions and were expected to conduct rites for the kami in the name of the state. At the same time the state along with the people offered thanks to the kami and prayed not only for the peace of the country and the welfare and prosperity of the land, but also that those in positions of political responsibility would, with sincere faith, perform their duties in a spirit of fairness and service. This change of focus from the immediate locality to the entire nation reflected the political change which was effected when loyalty to the clan ruler was superseded by loyalty to the national ruler, and the shrines welcomed the change as being consonant with their essential character.

Broadening the shrine's horizon had the salutary effect of enlarging the outlook of the worshippers, and from this standpoint nationalization was beneficial for both the shrines and the people. Thus, it was the ideal of State Shinto to become the political conscience of the country.

However, with the disestablishment of Shinto in 1945 the rites of the court, on the one hand, including the sending of Imperial messengers to certain shrines, became the responsibility of the Imperial Family and constitute what is known today as Imperial Household Shinto, while the shrines became private religious institutions controlled

by their respective priests and representatives of the parishioners.

In a great many cases the shrines are very flourishing. The reason for this is relatively simple. The effect of the abolition of State Shinto and the disestablishment of shrines was not as serious as some feared because, while from ancient times shrines have had a very close relationship with the state, the sponsoring of shrine rites has always been the responsibility of the people themselves.

Nationalism Shinto has been generally regarded abroad as synonymous with ultranationalism, militarism, and emperor worship. This is not strange because Shinto was unquestionably used by the militarists and those in power to unify the mind and strengthen the loyalty of the people. It was probably inevitable historically that this should have happened. Threatened with oppression and even absorption by Buddhism and Confucianism, Shinto became a bulwark for the preservation and independence of the racial culture.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century the fear of intrusion from Western nations resulted in the suppression of Christianity and the exclusion of foreigners. In the first half of the nineteenth century the expanding power of an imperialistic Occident jeopardized the country's long history of independence. Threatened thus by

invasion from without and suffering from serious evils caused by feudalism within, many leaders longed for a revival of the days when the emperor himself would again rule the land. In this situation it was only natural that Shinto, which had a close relationship with the Imperial Family and had experienced oppression and even absorption by Buddhism and Confucianism, should become the spiritual basis for the preservation and independence of the racial culture, and the protection of the country from alien domination.

Consequently Shinto acquired a very nationalistic character and it was natural that during World War II patriotism would find in it a source of strong spiritual support. Indeed, Shinto then seemed to have an exclusively nationalistic character. However, fundamentally, Shinto is a faith which is based on the belief that the many kami cooperate together. Shrine Shinto is worship to unite and harmonize the various kinds of kami. The spirit of tolerance and cooperation is a hitherto unnoticed aspect of Shinto. Since the war's end, as a result of reflection upon the narrow-minded nationalism of the past, this unnoticed aspect is coming to be increasingly recognized.

Emperor Worship Central in the movement to develop a modern state was the enhancement of veneration for the Emperor as the foundation of the state; and in this shrines

played a most important role. Yet it is an interesting fact that only relatively few shrines are dedicated to the worship of specific emperors. Including Emperor Ojin, who is worshipped at Hachiman shrines, which constitute a special case and number many thousands, only twenty of the 124 rulers of Japan have special shrines in their honor.

Among these twenty emperors, seven met with misfortune and their enshrinement takes the form of consolation of their spirits for the mistreatment accorded them. In addition, eleven Imperial princes are enshrined, all of whom sacrified their lives in loyal and valiant service to the throne. The most famous shrines to emperors are Kashiwara Shrine in Nara Prefecture and Miyazaki Shrine in Kyushu, where the Emperor Jimmu is venerated; Heian Shrine in Kyoto, which is dedicated to the Emperor Kammu, who founded the capital in Kyoto, and Emperor Komei, the last one to reside in Kyoto before the capital was moved to Tokyo; and Meiji Shrine, where the spirits of Emperor Meiji and his consort, Empress Shoken, are enshrined.

In spite of nationalization and the extreme perversion of the shrines and emperor worship by the militarists and ultranationalists, it does not seem that the emphasis on emperor worship and the accompanying pressures in connection with shrine worship in the past century necessarily brought the people under the special influence

of those particular shrines that had a close relationship with the Imperial Family and the foundation of the nation. Today, some of the important shrines, which hold a unique position in the mythology of the nation, are in serious financial straits, while other equally important ones, are flourishing in spite of the loss of state support. In the case of the Grand Shrine of Ise, for example, which has the closest connection of any with the Imperial Family, it may be noted that the shrine saw its greatest prosperity in the pre-Meiji Era at the time when the influence of the Imperial court was at low ebb. Thus, it can be seen that the faith of the populace itself and not government pressure really determines the popularity of shrines.

Hakko Ichi-u When anyone looks closely at the shrines and understands the rites, which are performed as the people pray for peace and prosperity amidst the beauty of the countryside and the joyous atmosphere of the festivals, he can clearly understand how far removed the spirit of shrine worship is from reckless acts of violence. Among the expressions most frequently thought to typify world military expansion, none has been quoted more frequently than "*Hakko Ichi-u,*" which means "To cover the eight corners of the world under one roof." Yet when originally used by the first emperor it meant to bring peace and establish an ideal state.

The harmony and reconciliation which are the essence of Shrine Shinto, are nowhere better expressed than in a poem by the Emperor Meiji, who wrote,

"When all the seas, I deem, are our brethren,

四方の海　みなはらからと思ふ世に

Why do the winds and waves noisily rise?"

など波風の　立ちさはぐらん

The Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho) expresses the true feelings of the people and the true nature of Shrine Shinto in the following three foundation principles:

1. To express gratitude for divine favor and the benefits of ancestors, and with a bright, pure, sincere mind to devote ourselves to the shrine rites and festivals.
2. To serve society and others and, in the realization of ourselves as divine messengers, to endeavor to improve and consolidate the world.
3. To identify our minds with the Emperor's mind and, in loving and being friendly with one another, to pray for the country's prosperity and for peaceful co-existence and co-prosperity for the people of the world.

Thus, the shrines today as in the past endeavor to fulfill

their mission to become the political conscience of the people.

THE ARTS

Shrines as a rule do not have images as objects of worship.* Generally speaking, only symbolic objects are used for this purpose, and these are kept within the holy of holies. No one is ever allowed to see them.** Consequently, in comparison with Buddhism and Hinduism, for example, there has been relatively little Shinto art. Nevertheless, Shinto has made a not inconsiderable contribution to the field of art indirectly through the use of images of guardian animals, the employment of the finest artists and artisans in the construction and decoration of sanctuaries, in the making of gardens, and in the preservation of natural beauty surrounding shrines. Moreover, by encouraging the presentation of the finest products of one's skill as offerings to the kami, it has provided an incentive for those with special skills to exert themselves to the utmost to achieve perfection of expression, and some shrines have been responsible for more than a thousand years for the preservation and transmission of ancient techniques.

Although there is no great amount of distinctly Shinto literature, the kami-faith has furnished countless subjects for poets, many of whom have presented their masterpieces

to the kami as offerings. The same is the case with calligraphers, painters, and sculptors. Furthermore, through the preservation of the sacred dances (*kagura*) and patronage of classical music (*gagaku*) and dances (*bugaku*), drama (*Noh),* and the transmission of popular forms of local entertainment, such as village drama (*sato kagura*), the shrines have made a lasting contribution to these fields of art.

The most unique contribution, however, has been in the field of shrine architecture, which is best epitomized in the Grand Shrine of Ise. Bruno Taut, the famous critic, in his *Houses and People of Japan* says that

> The shrines of Ise are Japan's greatest and completely original creation in general world architecture. We encounter here something entirely different from the most beautiful cathedrals, mosques, the Indian and Siamese temples or pagodas, and even from the temples of China. The Parthenon on the Acropolis is to the present day a visible sign of the beautiful gifts that the men of Athens bestowed on their symbol of wisdom and intelligence, Athena. It is the greatest and most aesthetically sublime building in stone as are the Ise shrines in wood.

Economic Life

Shinto is concerned not only with the sacred but also with the secular. Commercial and industrial activities, everything necessary for the production of food, clothing and shelter, everything for the development of culture and giving happiness to the world, has a direct connection with the kami. Commercial activities which are closely connected with the kami are good. Those that promote one's own happiness, should also promote the happiness of society. But this is not enough. We are happiest when we make others happy. If commercial life is not directly connected with the kami, it is bad and drives us toward misfortune.

Shinto does not look lightly upon material things. It does not regard the absence of material goods as admirable, nor does it regard the desire for things as necessarily evil. On the contrary, it considers such a desire as a natural development of a life of adoration of the kami. Consequently, as long as the desire for material things is related to the kami, and is for the sake of the public welfare, it is good and must be blessed by the kami. But seeking after and using wealth for selfish purposes or in ways that injure others is not in accord with the way of the

kami.

When Japan was primarily an agricultural country, through the shrine festivals the people sought after good crops in the spring and expressed gratitude for rich harvest in the fall. Throughout the season prayers were offered for protection against destructive wind, rain, drought, and insects. In spirit this took the form of making an offering of the first fruits to the kami, and in expressing thanks for the "remnant" left for personal use. This practice continues today in rural areas, and the same is true for those engaged in hunting, fishing, industrial arts, industry and commerce. All offer prayers of petition and thanksgiving.

PLATE 13. TOGAKUSHI JINJA, NAGANO. A performance of the *mikomai*, one of the main types of female Shinto dance. The young girls in the picture each carry a small baton with bells.

PLATE 14. YOSHIDA JINJA, KYOTO. Girl dancers with their flowery headdresses perform divine service at the annual spring festival.

PLATE 15. MINATOGAWA JINJA, HYOGO. The kami or a symbolic substitute travels through the streets on festival days, born aloft in an ornate and gilded "divine palanquin."

The holding of fairs and markets in the precincts of shrines developed from the custom of people coming together at festival time to make offerings to the kami and then exchanging goods (divine gifts). The word meaning market *(ichiba*), implies a "sacred place." Medieval commerce and industry developed under the shadow of large Buddhist temples and Shinto Shrines. This was not

especially related to Shinto, but arose from the government policy of protecting religion. Nevertheless, it accorded with the basic spirit of the relationship between shrines and the economic life of the parishioners. The shrine festival itself involves great expense and draws many visitors. Markets are set up, which contribute much to the communities, but they also may sometimes cause difficulty by the misuse of the festival.

Historical Relations with Other Religions

When Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced into Japan from the Chinese mainland during the fifth and sixth centuries, some conflict took place between Shinto and Buddhism. Later, in the eighth century, a compromise was reached which resulted in the teaching that the kami were pleased to receive Buddhist sutras as offerings and to hear them recited in worship. As a consequence Buddhist temples were established alongside shrines, ostensibly to satisfy the kami, make them into Buddhist believers, and finally raise them to the level of buddhas. (At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many such temples adjacent to even small shrines.) Then in the ninth century some shrine kami became the guardians of Buddhist temples. For example, the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine in Sakamoto at the foot of Mount Hiei became the guardian of the Tendai monastery, Enryakuji, and the kami of Nibutsu Hime Shrine in Wakayama Prefecture was the protector of the Shingon monastery, Kongobuji, on Mount Koya.

Moreover, a syncretistic faith taught by Buddhists emerged which claimed that the buddhas were the prime

noumenon, while the kami were their Japanese manifestations. In Shingon Buddhism for example, the Sun Goddess was said to be the avatar of the Cosmic Buddha.

Thus in later centuries each major division of Buddhism developed its own special variety of syncretism to correspond to its sectarian doctrine. In the 13th century Tendai Buddhism developed Sanno Shinto, and Shingon Buddhism Ryobu (Dual Aspect) Shinto,* and in the 15th century, Nichiren Buddhism propounded Hokke Shinto.

One illustration of how this trend manifested itself may be seen in the erection in the 17th century of the three famous Hachiman Shrines (Usa Hachiman-gu, Iwashimizu Hachiman-gu, and Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu,) and the To-shogu at Nikko, the latter being based on Sanno Ichijitsu Shinto, a branch of Sanno Shinto.

However, Shinto leaders could not view with equanimity this attempt of a foreign religion to absorb the indigenous faith, so at the same time in the 13th and 14th centuries a reaction set in, which produced several counter-movements aimed at placing Shinto in a position of ascendancy. One such was Yui-itsu or Yoshida Shinto, which first appeared in the early 13th century, but was not fully developed until the 15th century when Kanetomo Yoshida became its proponent and made his slogan: "Kami, primary, Buddha secondary." Another was Ise Shinto, also known as Watarai Shinto. Although tolerant toward

Buddhism, Ise Shinto stressed purity and sincerity as the highest virtues, faithfully maintained the purity of its tradition, and firmly rejected the idea that Buddhist deities were the manifestation of the prime noumenon. These two schools, along with several others, were the forerunners of Revival Shinto of which Norinaga Motoori (1730—1801) and Atsutane Hirata (1776 —1843), who claimed to advocate "pure" Shinto, were the outstanding exponents.

It was Revival Shinto that became dominant and finally provided important spiritual motivation for the Meiji Restoration of 1868. But the effort to revive "pure" Shinto was only partially successful. To be sure, most of the Buddhist elements were eliminated from Shinto shrines, but it was impossible to remove them all. In the thousand years of syncretism the relationship had become too close. The effect of Buddhism on Shinto architecture was, of course, ineradicable, but there were other cases also, such as Inari worship in the Toyokawa Inari, for example, where the separation movement failed.

Modern Relations with Other Religions

Historically on a local level there has always been cooperation between shrines and other religious institutions. Cooperation on a "denominational" or national level is a postwar phenomenon. Today the Association of Shinto Shrines is active as one of the five associations which constitute the Religions League of Japan *(Nikon Shūkyō Ren-mei*), the other four being the Japan Buddhist Federation *(Zen Nippon Bukkyō Kai*), the Sectarian Shinto Federation *(Nikon Kyōha Shinto Renmei*), the Christian Liaison Committee *(Kirisutokyō Rengo Kai*), and the Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan *(Shin Nippon Shūkyo Dantai Rengo Kai).* Moreover, it encourages local shrines to cooperate in the Japan Council for Interfaith Cooperation *(Nihon Shukyo Kyūryōku Kyōgi Kai).*

This interest in associating with other religious organizations may seem somewhat strange but, since its fundamental spirit is one that emphasizes harmony and cooperation, it is only natural that Shrine Shinto should be tolerant and friendly toward other religious bodies and

approve of the parishioners affiliating with them. Under government control shrine worship was regarded as transcending rather than conflicting with the acceptance of another religious faith, and this seems to be an ideal which does not limit the religious faith of shrine worshippers. But until government control was withdrawn it was not possible for the shrine world to cooperate. Today, however, the inherent tendency of Shrine Shinto has come to the surface and the Association of Shinto Shrines is actively participating in the religious world on all levels.

Dual Faith As far as Shrine Shinto is concerned the so-called dual religious affiliation of the parishioners is taken as a matter of course. Not only is there no objection on the part of shrines to their parishioners being adherents of some denomination of Buddhism, Christianity, Shinto, or some other religion; it is assumed that they will. Shrine Shinto regards the shrines as something distinctly different from the institutions of other religions and in no way in conflict with them. But Shrine Shinto leaders, while being deeply interested in the activities of the religious world and eager to promote common causes, are concerned about the unfavorable restrictions which they must accept because of being classified with other religions. Therefore, the Association of Shinto Shrines is seeking ways to remove these handicaps.

Everyday Customs

As in most countries there is a close relationship in Japan between many common customs and the indigenous faith of the people. Shrine worship consists primarily in the celebration of the events of daily life, great and small, personal and communal, so it is natural that many of the common customs of the people should be closely associated with, if not actually derived from, Shrine Shinto practices.

At New Year's time the people decorate their homes with the traditional symbols of Shinto and as early as possible on New Year's Day worship their tutelary kami, famous shrines, and shrines located in fixed directions. Originally, New Year's Day fell at the close of winter and ushered in the spring. Then came the festival of rice planting, prayers for good crops, thanksgiving for the harvest and the Great Purification in the middle and at the end of the year. Some of these have been taken over by Buddhists, but historically they are in fact derived from primitive Shinto customs.

While probably of Chinese rather than indigenous origin, the Girl's Festival of March 3, the Boy's Festival of May 5, and the Star Festival of July 7 are popularly

regarded as closely related to Shinto.

After the land has been cleared and before construction of a building is begun, a ceremony of purifying the site and consoling the land kami is always observed. Formerly this was done by the people concerned without outside assistance, but now it is customary to call in a shrine priest to officiate. Completion of the frame of a new building is celebrated by placing a symbol of the presence of the kami (*gohei*) at the center of the ridge pole and the passing out of rice cakes, sweets, and rice wine to the workers and neighbors. This is known as the the "Ceremony of Placing the Ridge Pole"*(jōtō-sai*), although generally no priest is present.

The semi-annual house-cleaning, which in modern times is observed throughout the nation in spring and fall as a sanitary measure promoted by local public health officials, is a development of the Great Purification ceremony of ancient Shinto, although the original meaning has been almost completely forgotten by the general public. The custom of settling accounts in June and December is of the same derivation. Moreover, in the business world there is a custom of merchants clapping their hands when a business deal has been successfully negotiated or when a dispute has been amicably settled, thus calling the kami to witness the consummation of the matter.

It can be seen from these illustrations, which are only a few of the many that might have been used, that there is a very close relationship between Shinto customs and the everyday life of the people.

Footnotes

* The code that we have now is not the Taiho Code itself, but the code as amended in 718 in the Yoro era.

* This statement will surprise many who have heard that there are no images in shrines. As a matter of fact there are very few. The oldest of such images (jinzo) are two at the Matsuo Shrine on the outskirts of Kyoto.

** An exception to this prohibition occurred early in the Meiji Restoration when government officials inspected the shrines and temples to determine whether the structures should be classified as shrines or temples.

* The term "*ryōbu*" has two usages. In the first instance it was applied in Shingon Buddhism to two aspects of the universe, the noumenal and the phenomenal. Later it was combined with the word "Shinto" to describe the concept that Shinto kami were Japanese manifestations of Buddhist deities (*honji suijaku).*

神 V 道

SOME SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Transmission of the Faith

Shrine Shinto has always been so intimately associated with the daily life of the people that little need has been felt to formulate Shinto thought into any doctrinal system. The kami faith itself, participation in its rites, and the observance of Shinto-related customs have been taken as a matter of course by the individual and community. In the transmission of Shinto from generation to generation not much attention has been given to the philosophical or doctrinal expositions of the faith. Efforts have been made to preserve the record of shrine history and customs, but very little literature has been written to aid worshippers in understanding the nature of the enshrined kami and the meaning of shrine rites and practices.

How then has the faith been transmitted from generation to generation, from century to century, through more than two millenniums? It has been caught and not taught. Dependence has been placed almost entirely on the sensory appeal of the rites and festivals, as well as of the shrines themselves. The kami-faith was transmitted from heart to heart through daily life.

It is not easy to express the meaning of this faith in creed, doctrine, or philosophy. Yet, even though a

systematic exposition may be lacking, there can be no question but that after the spiritual wandering and indifference of youth have spent their course, the sensory appeal, the feeling of awe and mystery, and the consciousness of a relationship with the past which these engender bring many an individual back to the patrimonial shrine and the only spiritual home he has ever known. The strength of Shrine Shinto is in its emphasis on sensory experience derived from mystic rites and natural phenomena rather than on theological discourses. Thus, the kami-faith is one that is maintained through the observance of traditional ways rather than by overt propaganda.

Except for the pre-war teaching in public schools in connection with history and morals, Shrine Shinto has never had anything that resembles religious education. During the eighty years of government supervision, any such activity on the part of shrines themselves was forbidden. Consequently, it is not strange that many people, even some who are professionally associated with shrines, are unable to state in clear, succinct language the nature of Shinto. This does not mean, however, that the layman, who says he knows nothing about Shinto, has disassociated himself from the shrines or has lost interest in shrine practices. Many parishioners are hardly aware of the extent to which they are linked to and unconsciously controlled by the shrine and all that it means.

There is a tingle of excitement, a thrill of joy as one enters into a grove which surrounds a shrine, or stands within view of the *torii* and sanctuary as a ritual is being performed. Especially at the Grand Shrine of Ise, the magnificent cryptomeria and cypress trees create within the devout an inexpressible feeling of awe and wonder. When young men in *happi* coats and with towels wrapped tightly about their heads shout *"wassho, wassho"* as they zigzag down the streets with the sacred palanquin hoisted on their shoulders, they experience an exhilaration unimagined by those who do not enter into the spirit of the occasion. The kami-faith is caught not taught; and the experience begins when a baby is first carried to the shrine on the mother's back.

This method of transmission from life to life and heart to heart throughout the ages might have been insufficient if Shinto had been a matter of individual faith centering in the acceptance of certain doctrines or a creed. But historically Shinto has involved the observance of communal rituals in which both leaders of the national and local governments publicly officiated and all the people participated. Naturally, then, it is difficult for outsiders to understand Shrine Shinto, even though every effort is made to explain it. In some cases, such as Lafcadio Hearn, for example, it is possible to understand the Shinto way of thinking without really understanding Shinto.

Prayer-Priests The nearest the shrines ever came to engaging in propaganda was in the Middle Ages when the system of prayer-priests (*oshi*) came into existence. These were not regular priests. They lived in separate buildings close to certain large shrines, some of which were far from the centers of population. There they provided lodging accommodations for pilgrims, distributed shrine charms, offered prayers, and led the pilgrims to the shrine sanctuaries where obeisance was offered to the kami. Thus, they were very useful in developing the faith of the pilgrims. However, when the Meiji government forcibly separated the shrines from Buddhism, and ordered the separation of the shrine priests from the teachers of "Sectarian Shinto," this prayer-priest system was officially abolished. As a result, although the system has survived in a modified form in some instances and can be observed even today, the influence of shrines in isolated regions has greatly declined.

Associations Associations (*kōsha*) of worshippers constituted a second type of propaganda agency. These developed throughout the country in more recent times in order to promote the worship of certain kami and in some cases the observance of certain somewhat unique religious practices. In addition to this they also served as

cooperatives for raising funds so that annually one or more of their number could go on a pilgrimage. Some associations were developed by prayer-priests (*oshi*), but sometimes they were informal, local organizations of worshippers, and were not in any way directly connected with any shrine. When the Meiji government nationalized the shrines some of these associations, notably those that worshipped the Grand Shrine of Izumo, Mount Fuji, and Mount Ontake, became sects of what is known as "Sectarian Shinto." Others, such as those centering in the worship of Ise and Fushimi Inari continued to exist without following their example. In recent years, as travel has become easier and excursion buses more common, these associations have diminished in importance. In their heyday, however, they were very effective propaganda agencies.

Primarily, shrines have depended on the development of a close relationship with the parishioners to foster the kami-faith. To accomplish this, participation in the activities related to shrine festivals has been considered most effective. However, at the end of World War II, when the supervision of the shrines by the government was abolished, the relationship tended to deteriorate and the shrines needed to devise some means of training new worshippers. Hence, regardless of what the conditions were in the past, the necessity for some propaganda activities has become very evident. To meet this situation

some literature has been produced for both the priests and people, and lectures and audio-visual techniques have been promoted both nationally and locally.

Moreover, while shrines have always been centers of considerable community activity, which helped to maintain the interest of the local residents, in recent years this phase of shrine life has greatly increased. For example, besides directly sponsoring meetings in the shrines for children, youth and adults, especially classes in flower arrangement and meetings for local community organizations, a number of shrines have added new structures or have used their facilities for kindergartens, nursery schools, and playgrounds. That there are now (1961) 180 organized shrine kindergartens may not seem significant to the outsider but, when it is remembered that no activities of this nature were permitted when the shrines were national institutions, this development is impressive. Thus, today in addition to the traditional activities related to the festivals, shrines are contributing to social welfare, and in this way, rather than by the spread of doctrine, faith in the kami is being strengthened. This is not to say that more must not be done in the development of teachings, but the shrines will probably never depend as much on preaching and teaching as do other religions.

Shrines and Nature

Irrespective of the enshrined kami, the shrines themselves cannot be considered without some reference to their relation to the natural beauty which traditionally has surrounded them. Shrine worship is closely associated with a keen sense of the beautiful,—a mystic sense of nature which plays an important part in leading the mind of man from the mundane to the higher and deeper world of the divine and in transforming his life into an experience of living with the kami. No amount of artificial beauty is an adequate substitute for the beauty of nature. Throughout the country the most beautiful spot in any community is generally the site of a shrine.

City life, of course, tends to crowd out much, if not all, of the natural beauty that has been considered an essential element for shrines. This cannot be helped, and downtown city shrines have adapted themselves to the inevitable lack of much natural beauty in their surroundings; but this does not alter the fundamental fact that ideally shrines should be located where the mind of man can be brought close to nature. Hence, in order to adequately understand shrine worship, it is necessary to consider those located in the midst of groves or forests, unaffected by the modern city.

Most noteworthy of all such shrines are the Toshogu at Nikko and the shrines at Ise. At Nikko the structures are elaborate and ornate, and are located on a mountain side. At Ise they are plain and undecorated, and are situated on relatively level ground. Yet the beauty of the buildings in both cases harmonizes completely with the world of nature, especially the magnificent cryptomeria which tower above. Visitors, whether devout or profane, can hardly leave without being deeply impressed.

Tree Worship Tree worship is very common in Shinto. Whether a shrine stands silently in the midst of a small grove by the wayside or within the limits of a bustling city, town, or village, the worshipper will find the presence of trees a help in his approach to the kami. A great many shrines, perhaps the majority, are still located within small groves and some are in forests. In rural areas especially, the devout are reminded of the nearness of the kami simply by looking towards the wooded area in which a shrine is nestled. This close relationship between trees and shrines can be seen in the ancient use of the word meaning "forest" *(mori)* to designate a shrine, and the word meaning "shelter of a kami" *(kannabi)* for the surrounding woods.

Within the precincts there is frequently one tree in particular which is regarded as especially sacred and is protected by an enclosure or has a straw rope around its

trunk from which short paper strips depend. These trees are believed to be the special abode of some kami. In primitive times people believed that through such trees the spirit of the kami could be understood; but today the tree is only an expression of the divine consciousness.

A different kind of sacred tree is one that has a peculiar shape and is thought to possess unique qualities derived from the kami or the divine spirit which uses the tree as its abode. Such trees may or may not be within the precinct of a shrine. Quite often there are small *torii* and other Shinto symbols at their base. In a few rare cases, there are shrines with only an oratory which regard a single tree, a grove or a forest as the object of worship. One such shrine is Ten'itsu Jinja in Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture. But perhaps one of the most significant indications of this general regard for trees is the fact that the *sakaki* is a sacred tree of Shinto and is always used in formal rituals.

Sacred Mountains Lofty mountains, like groves and forests, also play an important role in creating an atmosphere of dignity for shrines. In not a few cases shrines are located on lonely summits or on the slopes of mountains far removed from any community,—a fact which vividly illustrates the point that shrines are not places for propaganda or evangelism, but are primarily sacred dwelling places for kami.

Mountain worship is one of the oldest types of Shinto. In ancient times many of Japan's famous mountains were regarded as sacred, but today most of them are no longer special objects of worship.

A mountain, which is regarded as the dwelling of a kami is called a "spirit mountain" (*reizan*) or a "divine body mountain" (*shintai-zan*). In very ancient times there were, of course, no shrine buildings for this type of worship. None were deemed necessary. But in the course of the centuries pavilions, that is, worship halls, were erected and subsequently many sanctuaries were also constructed with a symbolic object in the holy of holies as a "divine body."

In a few cases, where the mountain has remained visible, no sanctuary has been erected. Only an oratory exists to provide facilities for worship. One such is the ōmiwa Shrine in Nara Prefecture which, except for the absence of a main sanctuary, has other characteristic buildings. Opposite the entrance of the oratory and facing the sacred mountain is an opening in which a split bamboo curtain is hung and before which are placed the usual paraphernalia of worship, including tables for offerings. Because the mountain itself is regarded as sacred, none except the priests are ever allowed to ascend it or even to enter the area. Nowadays usually the mountain is not worshipped as the kami, but is regarded as a sacred place appropriate for worshipping the kami or for meditating on

spiritual matters.

The most famous sacred mountain in Japan is, of course, Mount Fuji, which is devoted to the worship of Kono-hana-sakuyahime-no-mikoto, consort of Ninigi-no-mikoto, great grandfather of the first emperor. On the edge of the crater is a small shrine, while at several places around the base of the mountain are large shrines dedicated to this same kami. The principal one of these is at Fujinomiya in Shizuoka Prefecture.

Mount Nantai near Nikko is another famous sacred mountain. In this case the main shrine, Futarasan Shrine, is in Nikkō near the Toshogū, the Inner Shrine is at the peak, and an intermediate shrine is located near the shore of Lake Chūzenji. The annual festival in August features an ascent of the mountain participated in by tens of thousands of worshippers, most of whom start from the intermediate shrine by the lake.

The phenomenon of mountain worship in Japan is not limited to Shinto. There are sacred mountains in Buddhism also, and there is a special type of Shinto-Buddhistic faith, called Shugen-do, which is famous for its priests, who are called *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics), but a discussion of these is outside the scope of this volume.

Other Natural Objects: Caves, Rocks, etc.

Other natural objects, such as rock and caves, are also venerated as the abode of the kami. For example, a cave on the island of Enoshima near Kamakura is sacred to the Enoshima Shrine, which worships the kami Ben ten. The largest and most famous sacred cave in Japan is in Miyazaki Prefecture where the sanctuary of the Udo Shrine stands within the cave itself. The object of worship there is the spirit of the father of Jimmu Tenno, Japan's first emperor who is said to have been born in this cave. Suwa Shrine in Nagano Prefecture has a rock as its object of worship; the Itsukushima Shrine in Hiroshima Prefecture worships the island, Miyajima, on which it stands; and the Kumano Shrine in Wakayama Prefecture is dedicated to the worship of the Nachi waterfalls.

The World, Man, Salvation, and Death

The World In ancient Shinto, the idea of another world was expressed by such concepts as the High Plain of Heaven (Takama-ga-hara), the dwelling place of the most august kami, the Country of Abundant, Eternal Life (Tokoyo-no-kuni), and the world of dead ghosts, evil spirits (*magatsuhi)* and pollution, that is, the World of Darkness (Yomi-no-kuni). Modern Shrine Shinto, however, does not present such traditional explanations to the people. There is considerable uncertainly regarding them. Moreover, such metaphysical concepts are not directly related to the people, and to look upon the spirits of the other world is regarded as taboo. Instead of developing theoretical explanations of the invisible world, shrines were established as sacred places to which the kami could be invited and where man could experience their presence.

This world in which we live is progressing from chaos to order, from the confusion of contradictions to a state of harmony and unity. Just as organic life (develops,, so in society good order is evolving as the result of mutual aid and cooperation. Shinto believes that this world gives

promise of an unlimited development of life-power.

The world of Shinto is not an isolated one. It is an all-inclusive one. It includes all things organic and inorganic. All nature—man, animals, mountains, rivers, herbs and trees —come into existence by virtue of the kami, and their limitless blessings should contribute to the well-being of the world.

The world is not in contrast with nor in opposition to man. On the contrary, it is filled with the blessings of the kami and is developing through the power of harmony and cooperation. Shinto is not a pessimistic faith. It is an optimistic faith. This world is inherently good. That which interferes with man's happiness should be expelled. It belongs to another world.

Man Man is a child of kami, he also is inherently good. Yet there is no clear line of distinction between himself and the kami. In one sense men are kami, in another they will become kami. Man owes his life, which is sacred, to the kami and to his ancestors. He is loved and protected by them. He is endowed with the life and spirit of the kami, but at the same time he receives his life from his parents, grandparents, and ancestors through countless ages. Man is dependent for his continued existence on both nature and society. He is a social being. He cannot live in isolation.

Man owes gratitude to the kami and his ancestors for his life, and for their all-encompassing love. He also owes much to his present family, his community, and the nation. His life is full of blessings and so he must accept his obligations to society and contribute to the vital development of all things entrusted to him.

Man possesses a personality, which is distinct in each individual. To this personality given by the kami there is added the tradition of the family and the contributions of many individuals and the society in which he lives. These together constitute his characteristics.

There is no place for egotism in Shinto. Egotism runs counter to the spirit of worship. Worship makes the interest of the community and public welfare paramount. This does not mean that the rights of the individual and the family are ignored. On the contrary, against the background of religious rites, the nature of the individual and the authority of the family are fully supported by society. The spirit of the people guarantees this.

Man is born with a purpose, a mission, in life. On the one hand, he has the responsibility of realizing the hopes and ideals of his ancestors. On the other hand, he has the inescapable duty of treating his descendants with even greater love and care, so that they too may realize the hopes and ideals of the ancestral spirits. Ancestors and descendants are lineally one. Reverence for ancestors must

never be neglected. It is the only way in which man's life can be lived which will fulfill the reason for his coming into this world.

In order that man may be his best, he is theoretically regarded as kami. He is blessed with words of praise, with the power of words (*kotodama*), which can bring about a transformation in his character. In practice, however, men are not as a rule called kami until after death, when they achieve a new dimension.

Ethics: Good and Evil The pattern for the behavior of the people, individually and communally, was at first transmitted orally from generation to generation. Later it was set down in such records as the *Kojiki, Nikon Shoki*, and the *Taiho-ryo* which were accepted as standards.

The stability of ancient Japanese society was maintained by the requirements of traditions and customs, which were flexible and could respond to the demands of each new age. Thus, moral judgements as to what was considered to be good or bad were not a fixed system of standards, but varied considerably depending on each specific situation. The Shinto manner of grasping truth takes into consideration the fact that values are constantly changing. For example, in Shinto ethics nothing—sex, wealth, killing, etc.,—is regarded as unconditionally evil.

Under the clan system, in which the members of each

community were bound together by a common blood relationship, mutual understanding prevailed rather generally and social order was maintained by somewhat simple standards consonant with the relatively simple social organization then in existence. Within social units having a common blood or geographical relationship there were relatively few antisocial elements. The spiritual center of society was in the kami-rites. Human relations were essentially the relationship of those who mutually served the kami. Human behavior was to a large extent determined by the relationship established in performing the kami-rites, that is, worship *(matsuri).*

However, when continental civilization, including Buddhism and Confucianism, was introduced, social life in Japan became more complicated and the development of a legal system and the organization of a state which stressed ethical government became necessary. Moreover, Shinto became mixed with Confucianism, so that all clear distinctions were lost. Thus, purely Shinto conceptions of behavior disappeared, but the ethical attitude produced by the kami-rites survived and is relatively unchanged even today.

In ancient Shinto the concept of moral good and evil, good and bad fortune, good and bad quality in material were all expressed in terms meaning to have or to lack worldly value: *yoshi* (good) and *ashi* (bad). The soul of man is

good. Shinto does not have the concept of original sin. Man by nature is inherently good, and the world in which he lives is good. This is the kami-world. Evil then cannot originate in man or in this world. It is an intruder. Evil comes from without. The source of temptation and evil is the world of darkness. The cause is evil spirits, called *magatsuhi*. Evil caused by *magatsuhi* is called *maga*. Moral evil is thus an affliction,—a temporary affliction. While man's soul is good, the flesh and senses readily succumb to temptation. Man commits evil because he has lost, has been deprived of, the capacity for normal action.

In modern Shinto there is no fixed and unalterable moral code. Good and evil are relative. The meaning and value of an action depends on its circumstances, motives, purpose, time, place, etc. Generally speaking, however, man's heart must be sincere ; his conduct must be courteous and proper; an evil heart, selfish desire, strife, and hatred must be removed ; conciliation must be practiced; and feelings of goodwill, cooperation and affection must be realized. That which disturbs the social order, causes misfortune, and obstructs worship of the kami and the peaceful development of this world of kami is evil. Sin and evil, including disasters, pollution, and even the abnormal are all caused by evil spirits which must be exorcised. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between good and evil.

That by which good and evil can be distinguished is the soul of man. This distinction is made possible by the help of the kami. A correct judgement, one which accords with the mind of the kami, is possible when there is a state of unity between the divine and the human, when man can approach the kami with a clear bright mind in worship.

Salvation The world of the kami does not transcend that of man, and man does not need to seek to enter a divine, transcendental world to attain salvation. He seeks salvation by bringing the kami into the human world, into the daily life of the home, the market place, and the cooperation of the people. Man experiences the kami in this world and salvation is attained in the harmonious development of the world. This is epitomized in the myths in which the kami descend from the sacred heavenly country. (Takama-ga-hara) to the world of man, which is also the abode of the kami. In worship (*matsuri*), the spirits (*reikon*), the kami, and ancestral spirits are invited to the shrine or to some purified place from the High Heavenly Plain, the Eternal Country; and the evil spirits (*magatsuhi*) are expelled, because they interfere with man's relations with and approach to the kami and ancestral spirits. Therefore, before worship is possible there must be purification. The rite of purification drives away evil, the intruder. But purification does not relieve a person of

responsibility for his past acts. On the contrary, it lays this upon him anew. By restoring the original nature of man, one will restore this capacity to do good. At the same time he will become sensible of the obligation to expiate evil and will become able to make amends for his past sins and failures.

Death In Shinto life is good, death is evil; but because for so many centuries funeral rites have been conducted almost exclusively by Buddhist priests, people today, even many Japanese, are unaware of the Shinto attitude towards death or the fact that funerals are conducted in accordance with Shinto rites.

Shinto regards death as evil or a curse ; but it is incorrect to say that the reason shrines have no contact with the dead or rites for the dead is in order to avoid pollution. As a matter of fact, although Shinto regards death as an evil, it does not necessarily regard it as pollution. For example, the word *kegare*, which is used in reference to death also means "abnormality" or "misfortune." Moreover, when relatives or superiors died, officials were given a day off and people were excused from the service at shrine affairs. Shinto priests, however, devoted themselves to the service of the kami, and so did not become involved in funeral services. In ancient times funerals were conducted by the people themselves in accordance with Shinto rites.

Moreover, in some few cases there are graves either within the shrine precinct itself or immediately adjacent and it appears that some shrines originally were built in front of burial mounds. Furthermore, there are a great many shrines devoted to commemoration of the departed spirits of historical persons. The Tenmangu shrines are dedicated to the spirit of the great scholar, Michizane Sugawara, the Toshogu shrines to Ieyasu Tokugawa; the Nogi Shrine to General Maresuke Nogi of Russo-Japanese War fame; the Ninomiya Shrine to Sontoku Ninomiya, the economist and moral teacher and Yasukuni Shrine and many local shrines to the veneration and consolation of those who made the supreme sacrifice for their country. Thus Shinto, that should treat all ancestral spirits in the same way and worship them as kami, under the impact of Buddhism which has pre-empted the place of Shinto in this field, today generally enshrines only a limited number of those who served the state and society.

The ancient Japanese believed that the dead continued to live as spirits (*reikon*) and from time to time visited this world, received services (rites) from their descendants, and in turn blessed them. As expressions of happiness and gratitude to the ancestral spirits, fine tombs were built for the dead and at harvest time festivals were conducted and offerings of first fruits were presented. This was an integral part of the Shinto faith and the duty of all people.

With the introduction of Chinese civilization and the consequent spread of Buddhism, however, the building of gigantic tombs and the conduct of elaborate funerals was restricted. But ancient customs and beliefs could not be swept away, so Buddhism adapted itself to Japanese ideas and incorporated the indigenous customs regarding the dead into its rituals. Thus, the care of tombs, the chanting of sutras like magic formulae, and the presentation of offerings, as well as belief in rebirth in the Pure Land, became an integral part of Japanese Buddhism.

This was a relatively simple development at first, because the bodies of the dead were not permitted within shrine precincts and shrine priests did not as a rule concern themselves with funeral rites. Then in later centuries Buddhism became further entrenched in this field because the Tokugawa government (1603—1868), in connection with its suppression of Christianity, required all people to be buried exclusively by Buddhist priests. Consequently Buddhism, which fundamentally is opposed to such practices, became preoccupied with funerals and memorial services, and the fact that these were originally indigenous customs based on Shinto ideas has been generally forgotten.

There were two reasons why shrine priests did not concern themselves with the dead and with funeral rites. In the first place, the Shrines were dedicated to the service of

the enshrined kami, and were not places for other rites or functions. In the second place, the priests were devoted solely to the service of the enshrined kami. Therefore, generally speaking, the performance of religious rites for other than the enshrined kami was outside the responsibility of the shrines and the priesthood.

During the Meiji era and subsequently, government regulations prohibited the priests of shrines of the higher grades from performing funerals, but this restriction no longer exists and services are frequently conducted by priests irrespective of the shrine they serve. However, the services are conducted at homes or in public funeral halls. They are never held in shrines or even in shrine precincts.

Universal Nature of Shinto

Shinto is a racial religion. It is inextricably interwoven with the fabric of Japanese customs and ways of thinking. It is impossible to separate it from the communal and national life of the people. Among the kami of Shrine Shinto many have a special claim to worship from the Japanese people alone and are not such as can be venerated by the peoples of the world in the sense that the Japanese people do. Although non-Japanese may pay great respect to the Emperor Meiji, for example, it is inconceivable that they should ever regard him as a kami in the same sense as do the Japanese. Therefore, this phase of the kami-faith is not suitable for dissemination abroad.

But this does not mean that there is no concern in Shinto for the people and welfare of mankind; nor does it mean that Shinto is not worthy of respect from those of other faiths in the world at large. People of all races and climes cannot help but express gratitude to the spirits of the land and of nature, to their ancestors, to the benefactors of society and the state. In so far as they recognize this feeling within them, they cannot but understand the spirit of Shinto, and find in it an undeniable truth which supports and heightens man's noblest values. Thus, while Shinto is a

racial faith, it possesses a universality which can enrich the lives of all people everywhere.

INDEX

ablution pavilion 34
Ama-terasu-ō-mikami 天照大神 4
Ame-no-minakanushi-no-kami 天御中主神 4
approach 31, 32
architecture 35—40; styles of(-*zukuri* 造), Gion 祇園, Hachiman 八幡, Gongen 権現, Hiyoshi日吉, Irimoya 入母屋, Kasuga 春日, Nagare 流 38, Ōtori 大鳥, Shinmei 神明, Sumiyoshi 住吉, Taisha 大社, Tenchi Kongen 天地根元, Yatsumune 八棟
asa-gutsu 浅沓 45
ashi 悪し 106
Association of Shinto Shrines 17, 18, 42, 43, 65, 81, 89
banners 25
bell 22, 61
Buddhism 72, 73, 78, 79, 85, 89, 106, 108, 109, 110
bugaku 舞楽 67, 68, 71, 83
caves 101
ceremonies 50 ff,
charms 35
Charter Oath: Gokajō no Goseimon 五箇条の御誓文 73
chigi 千木 36—37, 38
Christianity 89, 110
Confucianism 85, 78, 106
Crown Prince, wedding of 13, 76
death 102, 108
deer 33
eboshi 烏帽子 45
Emperor 79—82; Jimmu 神武 5, 38 80, 101; Kammu 桓武 80; Kazan 花山 41; Kōmei 弘明 80; Meiji 明治 73, 80, 81, 111; Ōjin 応神 80
Engi Shiki 延喜式 11, 56
Enryakuji 延暦寺 86
entertainment 71
evil 72
feast, symbolic 51, 57
festival 祭 50 ff. annual-: *reisai* 例祭 63, Boys- 90, Gion- 祇園 70, Girls- 90, Jidai- 時代 70, Star- 90
fox 33
fuda 札 62
funerals 57, 108
gagaku 雅楽 83
gates 30, 32
gohei 御幣 24, 68
gon-gūji 権宮司 42, *gon-negi* 権禰宜 42
good and evil 105—6
graves 27
gūji 宮司 42
Hakkō Ichi-u 八紘一宇 81
halberd 25
harai 祓 51—2
haraigushi 祓串 24
Hirata, Atsutane 平田篤胤 87
Hokkaido Jinja Kyōkai, 北海道神社協会 18
horses, sacred: *shinme* 神馬 33, 55
hyakudo ishi 百度石 34
ichiba 市場 85
images of kami: *shinzō* 神像 24
Imbe 忌部 14, 41
Imperial Family 8, 13, 15, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81
Imperial messenger: *chokushi* 勅使 14, 41, 65, 70
Imperial Palace shrines: Kyūchū-sanden 宮中三殿 13
Imperial Regalia: *Sanshu no Shinki* 三種の神器 13
Inari shrines 稲荷神社 29, 33

Inari, Toyokawa 豊川稲荷 88
Ise, Grand Shrine of 6, 13, 15, 23, 34, 35, 36, 42, 47, 58, 81, 83, 94, 96, 98; Inner Shrine: Naikū 内宮 37 High Priestess: *saishu* 祭主 42, Outer Shrine: Gekū 外宮 37; talisman: *taima* 58
Izanagi-no-mikoto 伊弉諾尊, 伊邪那岐命 4
Izanami-no-mikoto 伊弉冊尊, 伊邪那美命 4
Izumo, kami of 出雲神 5, 75, 95; Grand Shrine of- 出雲大社 21, 26, 36
jewels: tama 玉 5, 64
Jingi Kai 神祇会 17
Jingi Kan 神祇官 41, 72
Jingū Hōsai Kai 神宮奉斎会 17
Jinja-chō 神社庁 18
Jinja Honchō 神社本庁 17, 18
Jinja Honkyō 神社本教 18
Jinnō Shōtōki 神皇正統記 23
jōtō-sai 上棟祭 90
kannabi 神奈備 98
kankokuhei-sha 官国幣社 73
kagura 神楽 45, 62, 66, 67, 71, 83;
kami 6, 9, 50; guardian 9, 32, 47
kami-dana 神棚 58
Kami-musubi-no-mikoto 神皇産霊尊, -kami 神産巣日神 4
kanmuri 冠 45
kan-nigiwai 神賑 71
kariginu 狩衣 44
Kashiko-dokoro 賢所 13
katsuogi 鰹木 36, 37
kegare 穢 108
kessai 潔斎 64
Kiso Mitake Honkyō 木曾御嶽本教 18
Kitabatake, Chikafusa 北畠親房 23
kindergartens 96, 97
Kirisutokyō Rengō Kai 基督教連合会 88
kotodama 言霊 104
Kogoshūi 古語拾遺 11
Kojiki 古事記 4, 10, 11, 78, 101
Kokugakuin Daigaku 国学院大学 42
koma inu 狛犬 22
Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 86
Kono-hana-sakayahime-no-mikoto 木花咲耶姫命 100
Kōrei-den 皇霊殿 13
kōsha 講社 95
Kōten Kōkyū Sho 皇典講究所 17
Kujiki 旧事紀 11
Kyōbu Shō 教部省 73
lanterns 34
maga 禍 107
magatama 曲玉 64
magatsuhi 禍津日 102, 106
man 102—103
matsuri 祭 50 ff., 106, 107; *matsuri-goto* 祭事 76
Meiji Restoration 明治維新 72, 87
miko 巫女 43, 66
mikoshi 神輿 26, 68
Ministry of Education 43, 74
mirror 5, 13, 22, 23
misogi 禊 52
mitamashiro 霊代 21
monkey 33
mochi 餅 66
Moon Goddess 4, 5
mori 森 98
Motoori, Norinaga 本居宣長 87
mountain, sacred 99
Mount Fuji 富士山 95, 100; Ontake 御嶽 95; Nantai 男体 101
music 67
musicians 41, 44
mythology 4, 6
Nakatomi 中臣 14, 41
naorai 直会 51, 57, 66
nationalism 78
nature 97

negi 禰宜 42
Nihongi 日本紀, *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 2, 3, 10, 11, 77, 105
Nihon Kyōha Shintō Renmei 日本教派神道連盟 88
Nihon Shūkyō Kyōryoku Kyōgi Kai 日本宗教協力協議会 88
neighborhood associations 49
Nikkō 日光 31, 70, 98, 101
Ninigi-no-mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊 5, 13, 23, 75, 100
Niō-san (or *-sama*) 仁王さん 32
Noh 能 83
norito 祝詞 5, 55, 56, 77
nursery schools 96
Occupation, Allied 15, 16, 17, 74
offering hall: *shinsen-den* 神饌殿 26
offerings *shinsen* 神饌 51—53, 59
Ōharai 大祓 52
Ōkuni-nushi-no-kami 大国主神 5, 75
oracles, printed: *mikuji* 御籤 62
oratory: *haiden* 拝殿 26
oshi 御師 94, 95
otabisho 御旅所 69
parish 46—48; parishioners 46—48
prayers 26, 51, 55
precincts: *keidai* 境内 27—28, 32
priest: *shinshoku* 神職, *kan-nushi* 神主 40, 42—44; costumes 44—46; prayer-priests 94, quarters: *saikan* 祭官 26, shaman 40, women priests 40
processions: *goshinkō* 御神幸 67—70
playgrounds 97
purification 24, 34, 51, 52, 108
reikon 霊魂 107, 109
reisai 例祭 63
rocks 101
saikai 斎戒 64
saisei itchi 祭政一致 73, 76
sakaki 榊 24, 52, 58, 62, 64, 66, 99
salvation 102, 107
sanctuary: *shinden* 神殿, *honden* 本殿 21
sandō 参道 31—32;
Sannō Ichijitsu 山王一実, -Shintō 神道 87
Sarume 猿女 41
scriptures 9, 12
Sectarian (Kyōha 教派) Shinto 12
shaku 笏 45
shaman 40
shimenawa 七五三縄 25, 35
Shin-den 神殿 13
shinkai 神界 69
shinkyō 神鏡 68
Shin Nippon Shūkyō Dantai Rengō Kai 新日本宗教団体連合会 88
shintai 神体 21, *-zan* 神体山 99
Shirakawa 白河 41
Shinto 2—3; Directive 15, 16, 17, 74; type of: Domestic 12; Imperial Household 13; Ise 87; Popular 12; Revival 87; Sannō 山王 87; Sectarian 12, 73, 95; Shrine 14, 15, 48, 79; State 15; Watarai 渡会 87; Yoshida 吉田 87; Yuitsu 唯一 87; Universal Nature of 111
Shrine Association of Kyoto 18
shrine organizations 17—18; -office: *shamusho* 社務所 26
Shrines: Akama 赤間 31; Dazaifu 太宰府 47; Enoshima 江島 101; Fuji Sengen 富士浅間 38; Fushimi Inari 伏見稲荷 29, 55, 96; Futara 二荒 101; Hachiman 八幡 29, 87; Heian 平安 47, 70; Hiyoshi 日吉 33, 86; Ise (see Ise); Itsukushima 厳島 102; Izumo Taisha 出雲大社 75; Kashiwara 橿原 38; Kibitsu 吉備津 38; Kirishima 霧島 27; Kitano 北野 40; Kumano 熊野 102; Meiji 明治 38, 47, 70; Mitsumine 三峯 33; Miyazaki 宮崎 80; Nibu-

tsu Hime 丹生都比売 86; Ninomiya 二宮 109; Nogi 乃木 108; Ōmiwa 大神 20, 21, 30, 100; Ōyama 大山 31 Suwa 諏訪 102; Ten'itsu 天一 99; Tōshōgū 東照宮 87, 98, 109; Udo 鵜戸 101; Yasaka 八坂 70; Yasukuni 靖国 23, 43, 47
Shugendō 修験道 101
statistics 43
sukeisha 崇敬者 47
suiten-mon 水天門 31
Sun Goddess 4, 13, 15, 23
Susano-o-no-mikoto 素戔嗚尊, 須佐之男命 4
Sword, sacred 5, 25
Taihō-ryō 大宝令 105
Takama-ga-hara 高天原 102, 107
Taka-mimusubi-no-mikoto 高皇産霊尊, -kami 高御産巣日神 4
talisman: *fuda* 62
tamagushi 玉串 55
temizu 手水 52, -ya 手水舎 34
Tokoyo-no-kuni 常世国 102
Tokugawa, Ieyasu 徳川家康 70
torii 鳥居 1, 28, 29, 30, 31, 60; types of- 30
tree worship 35, 98, 99; sacred tree: *shinboku* 神木 35, 99
Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto 月読尊 4
ujigami 氏神 9, 47; *ujiko* 氏子 47
Urabe 卜部 41
waterfalls (Nachi 那智) 102
wolf 33
women attendants: *ujiko* 43, 45, 66, priests 43
worship 50 ff., 104, worship hall; *haiden* 拝殿 100
Yabusame 流鏑馬 71
Yamabushi 山伏 101
Yata-no-kagami 八咫鏡 13
Yomi-no-kuni 黄泉国 102
yoshi 善し 106
Yoshida, Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 87
Zen Nippon Bukkyō Kai 全日本仏教会 88

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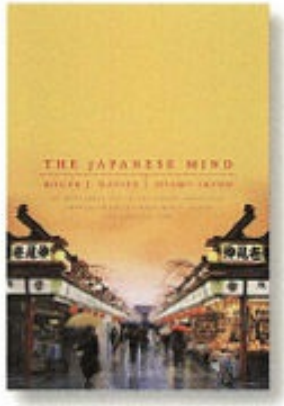

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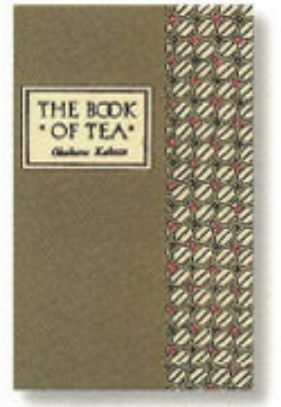

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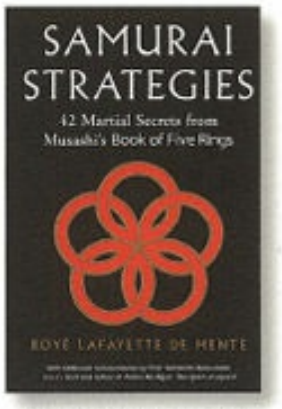

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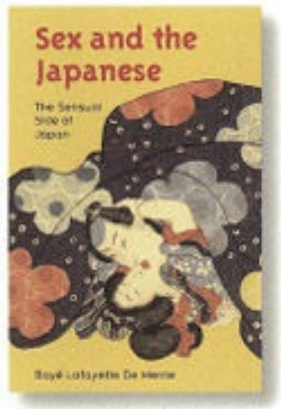

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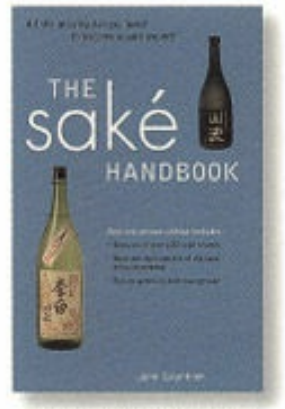

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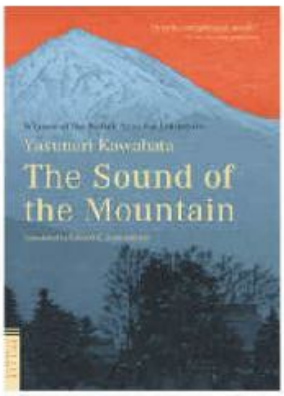

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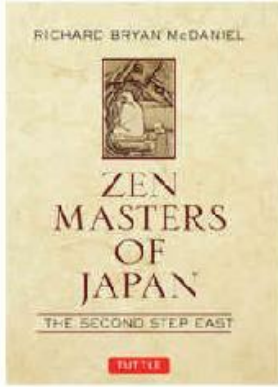

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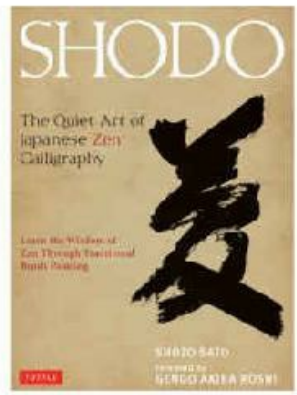

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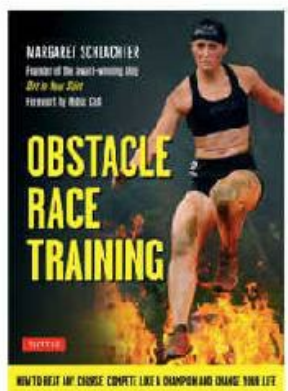

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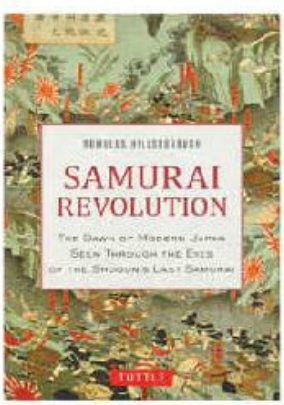

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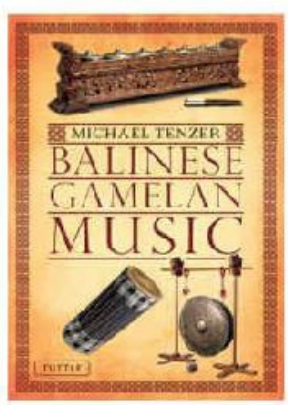

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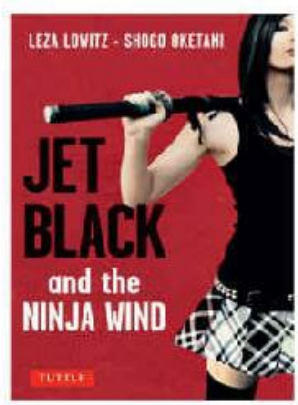

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"An excellently rounded introduction by an eminent Shinto scholar." —*Library Journal*

Shinto, the indigenous faith of the Japanese people, continues to fascinate and mystify both the casual visitor to Japan and the long-time resident. This introduction unveils Shinto's spiritual characteristics and discusses the architecture and function of Shinto shrines. Further examination of Shinto's lively festivals, worship, music, and sacred regalia illustrates Shinto's influence on all levels of Japanese life.

Fifteen photographs and numerous drawings introduce the reader to two millenia of indigenous Japanese belief in the *kami*—the sacred spirits worshipped in Shinto—and in communal life, the way of the *kami*.

Dr. Sokyo Ono was a professor at Kokugakuin Daigaku, a Shinto university in Tokyo, and has lectured for the National Association of Shinto Shrines. He also served as Executive Director of the International Institute for the Study of Religions and the Japan Religious Co-operative Council.

William Woodard directed the research unit of the Religious and Cultural Resources Division, Civil Information & Education Section, SCAP from 1946 to 1952.

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THE KAMI WAY

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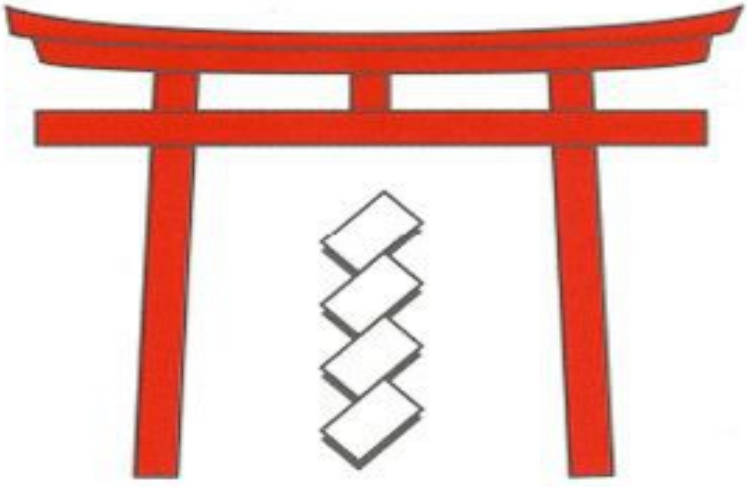
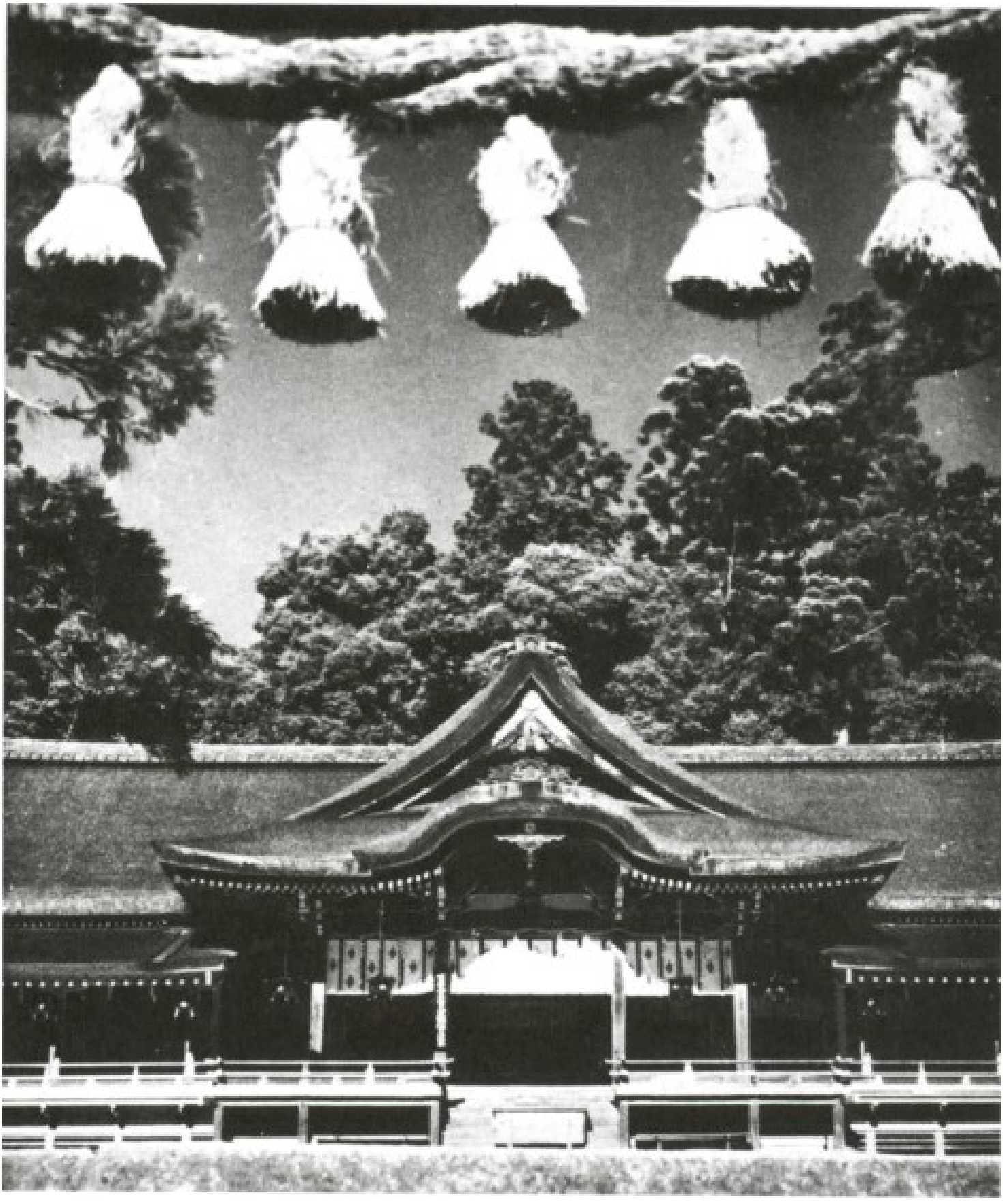


SOKYO ONO

PLATE 1 (see overleaf). OMIVA JINJA,NARA. Front view of the worshipping hall showing the offering box at the foot of the steps. In the upper foreground is the sacred rope suspended between the entrance pillars.



Shinto
THE KAMI WAY

by
DR. SOKYO ONO
Professor, Kokugakuin University
Lecturer, Association of Shinto Shrines

in collaboration with
WILLIAM P. WOODARD

sketches by
SADAO SAKAMOTO
Priest, Yasukuni Shrine

TUTTLE Publishing
Tokyo | Rutland, Vermont | Singapore

Published by Tuttle Publishing, an imprint of Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd., with editorial offices at 364 Innovation Drive, North Clarendon, VT 05759 USA and 61 Tai Seng Avenue #02-12, Singapore 534167.

© 1962 by Charles E. Tuttle Publishing Company, Limited
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LCC Card No. 61014033
ISBN 978-1-4629-0083-1

First edition, 1962

Printed in Singapore

Distributed by:

Japan
Tuttle Publishing
Yaekari Building, 3rd Floor
5-4-12 Osaki, Shinagawa-ku
Tokyo 141-0032
Tel: (81)3 5437 0171; Fax: (81)3 5437 0755
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15 14 13 12 11 10 38 37 36 35 34

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CONTENTS

Foreword

Preface

I THE KAMI WAY

Introduction, Mythology, Kami, Scriptures, Types of Shinto, Organization

II SHRINES

Shrines and Shrine Paraphernalia, Precincts, Architecture, Priests and Shrine Functionaries, Parishes and Parishioners

III WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS

Worship, Four Elements of Worship, Worship in the Home, Shrine Worship, Festivals

IV POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Government Policy, the Arts, Economic Life, Relation with other Religions, Everyday Customs

V SOME SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Transmission of the Faith, Shrines and Nature; World, Man, Salvation and Death, Universality of Shinto

Index

FOREWORD

This book was first published in 1960 as Bulletin No. 8 of the International Institute for the Study of Religions, Tokyo, under the title *The Kami Way: An Introduction to Shrine Shinto*. The author, Dr. Sokyo Ono, professor of Kokugakuin University and lecturer for the Association of Shinto Shrines, compiled the material as a modern presentation of the meaning of Shrine Shinto to one who has devoted his entire professional life to the study of this faith, and the enriched understanding of it by leaders of the shrine world. Mr. William P. Woodard, Director of Research for the Institute, served as collaborator and editor of the work. The illustrative sketches were prepared by Sadao Sakamoto, a priest at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo.

The International Institute for the Study of Religions is a non-profit, non-sectarian organization incorporated by the Ministry of Education of the Japanese Government. Its primary purpose is to assist scholars and interested laymen in gaining a better understanding of religions in Japan. To accomplish this purpose the Institute conducts research, promotes lectures and conferences, plans tours, arranges interviews with Japanese scholars and religious leaders,

publishes directories, bulletins, and booklets, maintains a reference library on contemporary Japanese religions, and carries on related activities. The Institute also assists Japanese scholars and religious leaders in their study of religions in Japan and abroad.

It has indeed been gratifying to us in the Institute to see the favorable reception enjoyed by this issue of one of its bulletins, and we are pleased that the work is now being published in a revised edition which will receive still wider distribution throughout the world.

Hideo Kishimoto
Director, International Institute
for the Study of Religions

PREFACE

Shinto, the indigenous faith of the Japanese people, has long been a source of fascination for both the casual visitor and old-timer. The strange symbolism, exotic rites, ceremonies, and festivals, and the mystic atmosphere of the shrines constitute a never-ending lure for those who would pry into the recesses of the religious faith of this people. However, except for the student who has the interest, ability, and almost inexhaustible resources in time for his investigation, Shinto remains practically a closed book.

Actually there are very few people, Japanese or foreign, who understand Shinto thoroughly and are able to explain it in detail. These scholars, including the author of this booklet, are the first to admit that there are many things which cannot be clearly explained because in some areas there is still no certain knowledge. To be sure, in the course of the centuries many Japanese have written extensively on Shinto but these are largely expressions of their individual points of view. Except for the relatively short three-quarters of a century of regimentation after the Meiji Restoration, when there was an artificial,

government-created authoritative interpretation of Shinto, there has not been any large body of interpretation that is generally accepted.

Free, untrammelled, scientific research in this field is a post-World-War-II phenomenon. Consequently, it is not strange that, relatively speaking, much of it is terra incognita even to many scholars. Today, an increasing number of people are working in the area and it may be that as a result something in the nature of an accepted interpretation will emerge. There are, of course, some excellent scholarly pre-World-War-II books on Shinto, which all who wish to be informed on the subject should read; but these are all out of print and in some cases very much out of date. There is nothing available that discusses at all adequately the nature and state of Shinto, particularly Shrine Shinto, as it exists in Japan today.

In *The Kami Way,* the International Institute for the Study of Religions has attempted to provide a simple introduction to this subject. Dr. Sokyo Ono, the author, is eminently qualified to do this. As a professor of the great Shinto university, Kokugakuin Daigaku, he is training Shinto priests and scholars and, as a lecturer for the national Association of Shinto Shrines, he is endeavoring to clarify the faith for the active priesthood of the country. Dr. Ono has been a director and loyal supporter of the Institute since its foundation, and the Institute is indebted

to him for the careful thought he has given to the preparation of his manuscript.

In *The Kami Way* Dr. Ono out of his rich experience has given the reader a very brief explanation of Shinto shrines and some basic concepts of the kami-faith. Of necessity much that he writes is the expression of his own personal faith. However, in view of his position in the shrine world, it is reasonable to assume that his general position is rather widely accepted. Thus, irrespective of the question of general agreement, the reader will find here an authentic presentation of the kami-faith by one who is deeply immersed in it and is devoting his professional career to its exposition.

In reading *The Kami Way*, some will no doubt feel the explanations are too simple. For them it is unfortunate that a more comprehensive work could not have been published. Others will appreciate the simple, straightforward explanations, but will be confused by what they will regard as a lack of clarity. They may even feel that more questions have been raised than answered. Perhaps most readers will feel this way about the explanation of the kami-concept and chapters four and five which deal with ideological matters. But as Dr. Ono says, "it is impossible to make explicit and clear that which fundamentally by its very nature is vague." (p. 8)

Every possible effort was made to avoid errors. After

the original manuscript was translated by Mr. Chido Takeda, who was then a member of the Institute's staff, it was checked and edited by other staff members and parts were re-translated back into Japanese for verification. Finally, before being sent to the press, the revised manuscript was read by a competent Japanese Shinto scholar, whose suggested changes were incorporated.

In regard to the title, the editor must assume full responsibility. In the past *Shinto* has generally been translated as the "Way of the Gods," but to equate the term *kami* with the word "god" is to create a serious misunderstanding. In some cases, Izanagi and Izanami, for example, the kami are as much like people as the gods of Greece and Rome. In others, such as in the case of the phenomenon of growth, natural objects, the spirit dwelling in trees, and the forces of nature, the term is hardly applicable. Because of this, it is believed that the time has come when the word "kami" should be incorporated into the English language in the same way that Allah, Jehovah, Yahweh and other similar words have been.

In closing, a personal expression of appreciation is due to Dr. Ono not only for his manuscript, but for his patience during long hours of discussion regarding the meaning of certain expressions. The experience has been both pleasant and instructive.

Needless to say, the editor and collaborator is solely

responsible for any errors.

William P. Woodard
Director of Research
International
Institute for
the Study of Religions

- NOTE -

In writing Japanese names the practice of Japanese English-language newspapers is followed: the personal name is written first, then the family name.

神 Ⅱ 道

THE KAMI WAY

Shinto, the indigenous faith of the Japanese people, is relatively unknown among the religions of the world. Many people are familiar with the *torii*, the typical gateway to Shinto shrines, and some have a vague impression of the unique ornamentation which adorns many shrine roofs. Yet to all but a few, the shrines to which the *torii* leads and the Shinto faith which it symbolizes are very much of an enigma.

Introduction

From time immemorial the Japanese people have believed in and worshipped kami* as an expression of their native racial faith which arose in the mystic days of remote antiquity. To be sure, foreign influences are evident. This kami-faith cannot be fully understood without some reference to them. Yet it is as indigenous as the people that brought the Japanese nation into existence and ushered in its new civilization; and like that civilization, the kami-faith has progressively developed throughout the centuries and still continues to do so in modern times.

Torii

The word *Shintō** (literally, the "Kami Way"), the modern term for this kami-faith, was not current in very primitive times. Nevertheless, it is relatively ancient. The earliest extant Japanese record of its use is in the *Nilion*

*Shoki*** ("Chronicles of Japan,") which was published early in the eighth century. There it was newly employed for the purpose of distinguishing the traditional faith of the people from Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, the continental ways of thinking and believing, which in recent centuries had entered the land. There is no evidence, however, that the term in the sense in which it appears in the *Nihon Shoki* was in general use at that time, either among the people as a whole or among scholars.

Shintō is composed of two ideographs 神 (*shin*), which is equated with the indigenous term *kami*, and 道. (dō or tō), which is equated with the term *michi,* meaning "way." Originally Chinese (*Shêntao* 神道*)* in a Confucian context it was used both in the sense of the mystic rules of nature, and to refer to any path leading to a grave. In a Taoist setting, it meant the magical powers peculiar to that faith. In Chinese Buddhist writings there is one instance where Gautama's teachings are called 神道, and another in which the term refers to the concept of the mystic soul. Buddhism in Japan used the word most popularly, however, in the sense of native deities (kami) or the realm of the kami, in which case it meant ghostly beings of a lower order than buddhas (*hotoke*). It is generally in this sense that the word was used in Japanese literature subsequent to the *Nihon Shoki;* but about the 13th century, in order to distinguish between it and Buddhism and Confucianism,

which had by that time spread throughout the country, the kami-faith was commonly referred to as *Shintō, a usage which continues to this day.*

Unlike Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, Shinto has neither a founder, such as Gautama the Enlightened One, Jesus the Messiah, or Mohammed the Prophet; nor does it have sacred scriptures, such as the sutras of Buddhism, the Bible, or the Qur'an (Koran).

In its personal aspects "Shinto" implies faith in the kami, usages practiced in accordance with the mind of the kami, and spiritual life attained through the worship of and in communion with the kami. To those who worship kami, "Shinto" is a collective noun denoting all faiths. It is an all-inclusive term embracing the various faiths which are comprehended in the kami-idea. Its usage by Shintoists, therefore, differs from calling Buddha's teaching "Buddhism" and Christ's teaching "Christianity."

In its general aspects Shinto is more than a religious faith. It is an amalgam of attitudes, ideas, and ways of doing things that through two millenniums and more have become an integral part of the *way* of the Japanese people. Thus, Shinto is both a personal faith in the kami and a communal way of life according to the mind of the kami, which emerged in the course of the centuries as various ethnic and cultural influences, both indigenous and foreign, were fused, and the country attained unity under the Imperial

Family.

Mythology

The Age of the Kami, the mythological age, sets the Shinto pattern for daily life and worship. In the mythology the names and order of appearance of the kami differ with the various records. According to the *Kojiki*[*] the Kami of the Center of Heaven (Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami) appeared first and then the kami of birth and growth (Taka-mimusubi-no-mikoto and Kami-musubi-no-mikoto). However, it is not until the creative couple, Izanagi-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto, appear that the mythology really begins. These two, descending from the High Plain of Heaven, gave birth to the Great Eight Islands, that is, Japan, and all things, including many kami. Three of the kami were the most august: the Sun Goddess (Ama-terasu-ō-mikami), the kami of the High Plain of Heaven; her brother (Susa-no-o-no-mikoto), who was in charge of the earth; and the Moon Goddess, (Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto), who was the kami of the realm of darkness.

The brother, however, according to the *Kojiki* behaved so very badly and committed so many outrages that the Sun Goddess became angry and hid herself in a celestial cave, which caused the heavens and earth to become darkened. Astonished at this turn of events, the heavenly kami put on

an entertainment, including dancing, which brought her out of the cave; and thus light returned to the world. For his misdemeanor the brother was banished to the lower world, where by his good behavior he returned to the favor of the other kami, and a descendant of his, the Kami of Izumo (Ōkuni-nushi-no-kami), became a very benevolent kami, who ruled over the Great Eight Islands* and blessed the people. Little is said in the mythology of the Moon Kami.

Subsequently, the grandson of the Sun Goddess, Ninigi-no-mikoto, received instructions to descend and rule Japan. To symbolize his authority he was given three divine treasures: a mirror, a sword, and a string of jewels. Moreover, he was accompanied on his journey by the kami that had participated in the entertainment outside the celestial cave. However, to accomplish his mission it was necessary to negotiate with the Kami of Izumo, who after some discussion agreed to hand over the visible world, while retaining the invisible. At the same time, the Kami of Izumo pledged to protect the heavenly grandson. Ninigi-no-mikoto's great grandson, Emperor Jimmu, became the first human ruler of Japan.

This, in very simple form, is the basic myth which explained for primitive Japanese their origin and the basis of their social structure. It is a description of the evolution of Japanese thought in regard to the origin of life, the birth of the kami and all things out of chaos, the differentiation

of all phenomena, and the emergence and evolution of order and harmony. In a sense, the myth amounts to something like a simple constitution for the country. However, in the ancient records the account is not uniform. There are several versions of a number of events, some of which are contradictory. Thus, the traditions of the various clans were preserved and to a certain extent recognized as valid.

Shinto recognizes today that its beliefs are a continuation of those of this mythological age. In its ritual forms and paraphernalia, this faith fully retains much that is ancient. But just as the Grand Shrine of Ise, which aims at preserving the oldest style of buildings and ancient rituals, has created the most beautiful architectural style in the country today, so Shrine Shinto has outgrown much of its historic mythology. The buds of truth have appeared and have been refined for the people of modern Japan.

Kami

Kami* are the object of worship in Shinto. What is meant by "kami"? Fundamentally, the term is an honorific for noble, sacred spirits, which implies a sense of adoration for their virtues and authority. All beings have such spirits, so in a sense all beings can be called kami or be regarded as potential kami. However, because the term is an honorific, it is not customary to apply it to ordinary individuals or beings. We do not use honorifics in referring to ourselves, or to persons of our own group, whether that group be large or small. Thus, while Shinto teaches that people should be worshipped as kami, they are not in fact usually called *kami*.

Among the objects or phenomena designated from ancient times as kami are the qualities of growth, fertility, and production ; natural phenomena, such as wind and thunder ; natural objects, such as the sun, mountains, rivers, trees and rocks; some animals; and ancestral spirits. In the last-named category are the spirits of the Imperial ancestors, the ancestors of noble families, and in a sense all ancestral spirits. Also regarded as kami are the guardian spirits of the land, occupations, and skills; the spirits of national heroes, men of outstanding deeds or virtues, and

those who have contributed to civilization, culture, and human welfare; those who have died for the state or the community; and the pitiable dead. Not only spirits superior to man, but even some that are regarded as pitiable and weak have nonetheless been considered to be kami.

It is true, that in many instances there are kami which apparently cannot be distinguished from the deities or spirits of animism or animatism, but in modern Shinto all kami are conceived in a refined sense to be spirits with nobility and authority. The kami-concept today includes the idea of justice, order, and divine favor (blessing), and implies the basic principle that the kami function harmoniously in cooperation with one another and rejoice in the evidence of harmony and cooperation in this world.

In Shinto there is no absolute deity that is the creator and ruler of all. The creative function of the world is realized through the harmonious cooperation of the kami in the performance of their respective missions. Even the of the Imperial Family, the Sun Goddess, the kami who brightens the world with the virtue of the sun and is commonly regarded as the supreme kami of Shinto, consults the opinion of other kami, calls upon them for help, and at times makes concessions to them.

Generally speaking, there is considerable difference between the kami-concept at present and in ancient times. That is, the concept, while remaining in the same basic

tradition, has been greatly refined. Nevertheless, the refined and unrefined concepts may still be found side by side.

There are many points about the kami-concept that cannot be fully understood, and there is some disagreement even among modern scholars on this subject. The Japanese people themselves do not have a clear idea regarding the kami. They are aware of the kami intuitively at the depth of their consciousness and communicate with the kami directly without having formed the kami-idea conceptually or theologically. Therefore, it is impossible to make explicit and clear that which fundamentally by its very nature is vague. Only in recent times have Shinto leaders been endeavoring to develop a unified theology regarding the kami. Thus although increasing attention is being paid to this subject, there are still many matters that are not clear even among Shintoists.

Guardian Kami

Each kami may be said to have its own special characteristics, capacity, and mission; and in a sense each is worshipped as the founder or guardian of some definite object or phenomenon. For example, one is concerned with the distribution of water, another with the manufacture of medicine, and still another with the healing process. Then there are ancestral kami that are the protectors of a given group, and those that are the patrons of a given territory or of clans, that is, social groups based on kinship. It is quite proper to ask what almost any kami protects, but a clear answer cannot always be given.

Prominent among the kami are the guardians of the clans *(uji)*. These are generally called *ujigami*, and are always worshipped in shrines. Throughout the country there are many shrines of this origin. But with the increasing mobility of the people and the gradual break-up of the clans the term *ujigami* was also applied to the guardians of the residents of a given area as well as the area itself. Thus, while in the past lineal descent was a primary factor, today the common community relationship has come to assume greater importance. Nevertheless, in many cases the consciousness of lineal descent from a clan is still strong

and some persons regularly return to their native places to take part in the festivals of their guardian kami.

Scriptures

Shinto does not possess sacred scriptures, such as are found In many other religions,—a fact which is a significant indication of the character of the Shinto faith itself. Nevertheless, there are certain ancient records that are regarded as authoritative and provide its historical as well as its spiritual basis.

The earliest of these were compiled by Imperial order and contain the mythology and early history of the Japanese people. The *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters") is the oldest extant Japanese historical record. Its date is 712 of the Christian era. It provides an account of events down to the year 628. Though written in Chinese ideographs the style is ancient, pure Japanese and through it we can know something of the style of the earlier oral transmission from generation to generation. Consequently it is especially valued. The *Nihongi* or *Nikon Shoki* ("Chronicles of Japan"), which appeared eight years later and brings the record down to the year 697, was written in Chinese and thus changed the form of transmission. However, it is more detailed than the *Kojiki*; and because several mythologies or versions are given of some events, it has a special value in matters in which the *Kojiki* is

lacking.

These two documents are especially highly regarded by Shintoists. They contain the only extant ancient records of the Imperial Family and of the several clans which formed the Japanese nation. Their purpose was to make clear the origin of the Imperial Throne, clan lineage, and other matters which constitute the basis of Japanese society and customs. They are, nonetheless, rich in information regarding ancient Shinto rituals and practices, and the established functions and inviolable rights of the several clans in relation to the state cult. They are an expression of the claims of the respective clans in relation to Japan's social structure, and are of such a nature that without them disintegration of the clan system would have been almost inevitable.

The *Kujiki* ("Chronicle of Ancient Events"), *Kogoshui* ("Gleanings from Ancient Stories") and *Engi Shiki* ("Detailed Laws of the Engi Period") are also primary sources of information. The *Kujiki* claims to have been first written about the year 620, or one hundred years before the *Nihongi,* but the extant version is almost certainly a forgery. Nevertheless, it is very ancient and is of some value even though it contains much that is also found in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* Unfortunately, it has not been translated. The *Kogoshui* was written in 807 and adds somewhat to our information about early Shinto. The *Engi*

Shiki was published in 927 and is the principal source of information on early Shinto, ceremonial prayers, rituals, and the manner of administering divine affairs.

It must be stressed, however, that none of these writings are regarded as holy writ in the sense that the term is used in Christianity and Islam. They are primarily historical records which, in addition to their political or dynastic interest, embody the ancient forms of the kami-faith.

Shinto did not develop a canon because, in the first place, the shrine and its ritual mediated the kami-faith to the people ; and in the second place, the acceptance of the shrine as the symbol of their communal faith made it unnecessary to guide the people by means of doctrine and instruction. In the course of history very few people have evaded their communal obligation with respect to Shrine worship.

To be sure, there have been times in the past when, due to the confrontation of foreign faiths and the threatened collapse of traditions, the development of a canon seemed essential; but in no case did conditions actually become very serious, so no continuous effort has been made to establish one. The social changes and confusion of thought which exist today confront Shrine Shinto with a new situation that appears to call for the development of something that will serve as a means of maintaining and deepening Shrine Shinto faith. As yet, however, there is no

clear indication as to how this can be accomplished.

Types of Shinto

Popular Shinto There are several types of Shinto. The least tangible is Popular Shinto. Kami-worship is deeply rooted in the everyday life of the people. Many of the ideas and customs associated with it in primitive times have been preserved through the centuries in unorganized folkways. These, along with much that is of foreign origin, are called "Folk Shinto" or "Popular Faith."

Domestic Shinto Domestic Shinto, refers to the religious practices centering in the Shinto home altar. This is described briefly in Chapter III under "Worship in the Home."

Sectarian Shinto Sectarian Shinto is composed of a number of heterogeneous groups which the Meiji government, in connection with the nationalization of shrines and the emphasis on shrine worship as a state cult, placed under the supervision of a separate government office. Subsequently, most of the principal groups became independent religious bodies and were officially classified as "Sectarian Shinto." There were thirteen such sects in pre-war days.

Imperial Household Shinto Imperial Household Shinto is the name given to the religious rites conducted at the three shrines within the palace grounds, which are exclusively for the use of the Imperial Family, and to certain related matters. The central shrine (Kashiko-dokoro), which is dedicated to the mythological ancestress of the Imperial Family, goes back for its origin to the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto, the grandson of the Sun Goddess to whom the sacred mirror (Yata-no-kagami) was given. After being kept in the palace for some centuries, a replica was made that was enshrined in the Kashiko-dokoro and the sacred symbol itself was enshrined at the Inner Shrine (Naiku) of Ise. This mirror is symbolic of the spirit of the Sun Goddess and is one of the three articles of the Imperial Regalia, handed down by the emperors from generation to generation. On the west side of the central shrine is the Ancestral Spirits Sanctuary (Kōrei-den) which, as the name implies, enshrines the divine spirits of the successive emperors. On the east side is the Sanctuary of the Kami (Shin-den), which is sacred to all the kami of heaven and earth.

In ancient times responsibility for the Shinto ceremonies conducted at the court was in the hands of the Nakatomi and Imbe families, who handed down to their respective descendants the traditional procedures that each

performed. Today, the hereditary system no longer exists; but the ceremonies conducted at the palace shrines are almost the same as the rites provided for in the Imperial Ceremonies Law of 1908. The ritualists, officials of the Imperial Household, conduct some of the ceremonies, but at the most important ceremonies the Emperor himself, in accordance with ancient tradition, leads the official ritualists in the rites. In April, 1959, these sanctuaries came to the public notice when the wedding of H. I. H. the Crown Prince was conducted there. A phase of Imperial Household Shinto is the practice of sending Imperial messengers to make offerings at certain shrines and mausolea which have a special connection with the Imperial Family.

Shrine Shinto The oldest and most prevalent type of the kami-faith is Shrine Shinto. Shrines date from very earliest times. There were shrines even before the dawn of Japanese history. During the course of the centuries, as the clans expanded throughout the length and breadth of the land, the number of shrines gradually increased until at the beginning of the twentieth century there were nearly two hundred thousand. After the Meiji Restoration they were nationalized, organized into what became known as the "Shrine System," and later were gradually reduced to about one hundred ten thousand. At the end of World War II

shrines were disestablished and became private institutions. There are approximately eighty thousand today.

The Grand Shrine of Ise The Grand Shrine of Ise is unique among the shrines of the country and deserves special mention. Its principal deity, the Sun Goddess, was originally the tutelary kami of the Yamato clan from which emerged the Imperial Family that has ruled Japan throughout its history. With the ascendancy of the Yamato clan to suzerainty over the entire country, the shrine became in a sense the tutelary shrine of the nation. The Grand Shrine of Ise is generally regarded as standing at the apex of all shrines. Worship there is more than an expression of faith in the enshrined kami. It is the highest expression of respect to the Emperor and to all that is best in the culture, history, and racial consciousness of the Japanese people.

State Shinto Imperial Household Shinto and Shrine Shinto, along with certain well-defined ideas regarding Japanese origins and history, constituted what was formerly known as "State Shinto" This ceased to exist when the shrines were disestablished.

Organization

From the dawn of history until the Meiji Restoration, with the exception of a few that were closely related to the Imperial Family, the shrines were primarily communal institutions. Then for a period of approximately seventy years, they were state institutions under the supervision of the national government. Finally, as a result of the Shinto Directive issued by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers on December 15, 1945, they were disestablished and became private institutions.

The Directive was nothing short of revolutionary. It confronted shrines with a totally novel and extremely difficult situation. Historically, a few shrines had been closely connected with the Imperial Family, and some had been in the hands of the nobility, but for the most part they were either held by the common people or had something of a dual status. Regardless of this, however, with a few notable exceptions all the shrines had been closely connected with the common people. Even though they received gifts of land and money from the central government, the nobility, feudal lords, or influential families, the position and authority of the traditional priesthood and the responsibility of the local parishioners

for the performance of rites and festivals were usually respected.

At the time of the Meiji Restoration this situation was greatly changed. Shrines were made state institutions and the priests became government officials. However, control and supervision was very strict only in respect to the two hundred twenty-four shrines (*kankoku-heisha*) supervised by the national government: yet in the last analysis all shrines were subject to the decisions of the appropriate government offices and dependent on them in all important matters relative to personnel, property, rites, and festivals. This situation prevailed for about three-quarters of a century.

Prior to the Shinto Directive there were three national organizations which in a general way were concerned with Shrine Shinto. These were the National Association of Shrine Priests (Jingi Kai), the Research Institute for the Japanese Classics (Kōten Kōkyū Sho), and the Grand Shrine Supporters Association (Jingū Hōsai Kai). But affiliation was on an individual basis and the organizations themselves had nothing to do directly with shrine administration or shrine activities. As for the individual shrines, there was no connection whatsoever between them, not even among those in a given geographical area or those that had the same objects of worship.

Consequently, when the Directive suddenly removed

government control and supervision, no one had any idea about what should be done. The pertinent section of the Directive prohibited forthwith the "sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of Shinto" by any government agency or employee acting in an official capacity, but it contained no provisions regarding any subsequent reorganization of the shrines and there were no suggestions by Occupation authorities as to what should be done. Thus, each of the hundred thousand and more shrines was temporarily completely stranded without any organic or connectional relations whatsoever, and with no recognized leadership. The priests, of course, lost their official status and became private individuals.

By February 3, 1946, however, the above-mentioned national organizations had dissolved and the leaders had established a new comprehensive body, called the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō), which invited local shrines throughout the country to affiliate. All but a few agreed to do so. About 1,000 remained independent and some 250 formed small associations, primarily geographical in scope, such as the Southern Hokkaido Shrine Association (Hokkaidō Jinja Kyōkai), the Shrine Association (Jinja Honkyō) of Kyoto, and the Kiso Mitake Shrine Association (Kiso Mitake Honkyō) in Nagano Prefecture. Of those that have remained entirely independent, only sixteen are large, important shrines

which were formerly under the control of the national government. Thus, it can be seen that the shrines succeeded better than some other religious organizations in maintaining their unity in the post-World-War-II period.

The Association of Shinto Shrines is under the administration of a board of councillors, composed of representatives from forty-six prefectural associations (Jinja-chō), which selects an executive secretary and is responsible for all major policy decisions. There are six departments in the headquarters which carry on activities appropriate to their names: secretariat, finance, general administration, teaching (*kyō-gaku*), investigation, and mutual aid. The headquarters of the Association is located at Wakagi-chō, Shibuya-ku in Tokyo. The late Honorable Nobusuke Takatsukasa, chief priest of Meiji Shrine, was the first President. Yukitada Sasaki, former chief priest of the Grand Shrine of Ise, is his successor. Madame Fusako Kitashirakawa, the High Priestess of Ise, is the Honorary President. As of June, 1958, a total of 79,457 shrines were affiliated with the Association. This is not the number of separate shrines, but the number that are incorporated. In some cases one incorporated body includes several shrines.

On the local level the shrines are managed by the priests and committees composed of representatives of the worshippers. They are usually incorporated as religious

juridical persons. They own their land and buildings, and raise funds for their own support through private gifts and offerings.

The Association is closely connected with the Kokugakuin University, the only Shinto institution of higher education in Japan. It is also affiliated with the Religions League of Japan (Nihon Shūkyō Renmei). The *Jinja Shinpō* ("Shrine News"), an independent weekly publication, is more or less the unofficial spokesman for the Shrine Shinto world.

Typical Approach to a Shrine

Footnotes

* See p. 6

* In this and the next paragraph Shinto is being treated as a Japanese word. Elsewhere in the text it is considered an English word and is not italicized.

** See p. 10

* See p. 10

* See p. 4

* The word kami is an indigenous Japanese term which is written with the Chinese character In combination with other characters 神, this is pronounced shin or jin. Thus, we have the word "Shintō" 神道, that is, "Kami Way," and "jinja 神社," that is, "kami dwelling." It is generally-customary to translate the ideographs 神 with the words "god" or "deity" in the singular or plural form, and in some cases this is quite correct. However, in this monograph, with a few exceptions it will be left untranslated or be translated with the words "divine" or "sacred." When it is necessary to express a plural concept, such terms as kami-gami 神々 and yaoyorozu no kami (八百万の神), literally, "eight hundred myriads of kami" are used.

神 III 道

SHRINES

Shrines and Shrine Paraphernalia

Shrines are a spontaneous manifestation of the people's faith in the kami, and shrine rites and festivals are the highest expression of that faith.

Originally the kami-rites were performed at significant places, particularly those where a manifestation of some kami was first observed or experienced, regardless of the convenience of the site. As the population increased and civilization became more complex, structures were erected which were usually more readily accessible. In some cases these were only worship halls, such as may be seen today at the Ōmiwa Shrine in Yamato, Nara Prefecture, which considers Mount Miwa itself to be the dwelling of the kami. In most cases, however, sanctuaries were constructed with inner chambers where the kami were regarded as symbolically present at all times.

Divine Dwellings The primary purpose of a shrine is to provide a dwelling place for one or more kami and a place where the kami can be served, that is, worshipped in accordance with Shinto beliefs and practices. Shrines are not erected in order to propagate the faith nor to teach doctrine, although both are regarded as important.

PLATE 2. MEIJI SHRINE, TOKYO. Dedicated to the Emperor Meiji (1867-1912), the roofs of this shrine are fine examples of the Nagare, or flowing style.

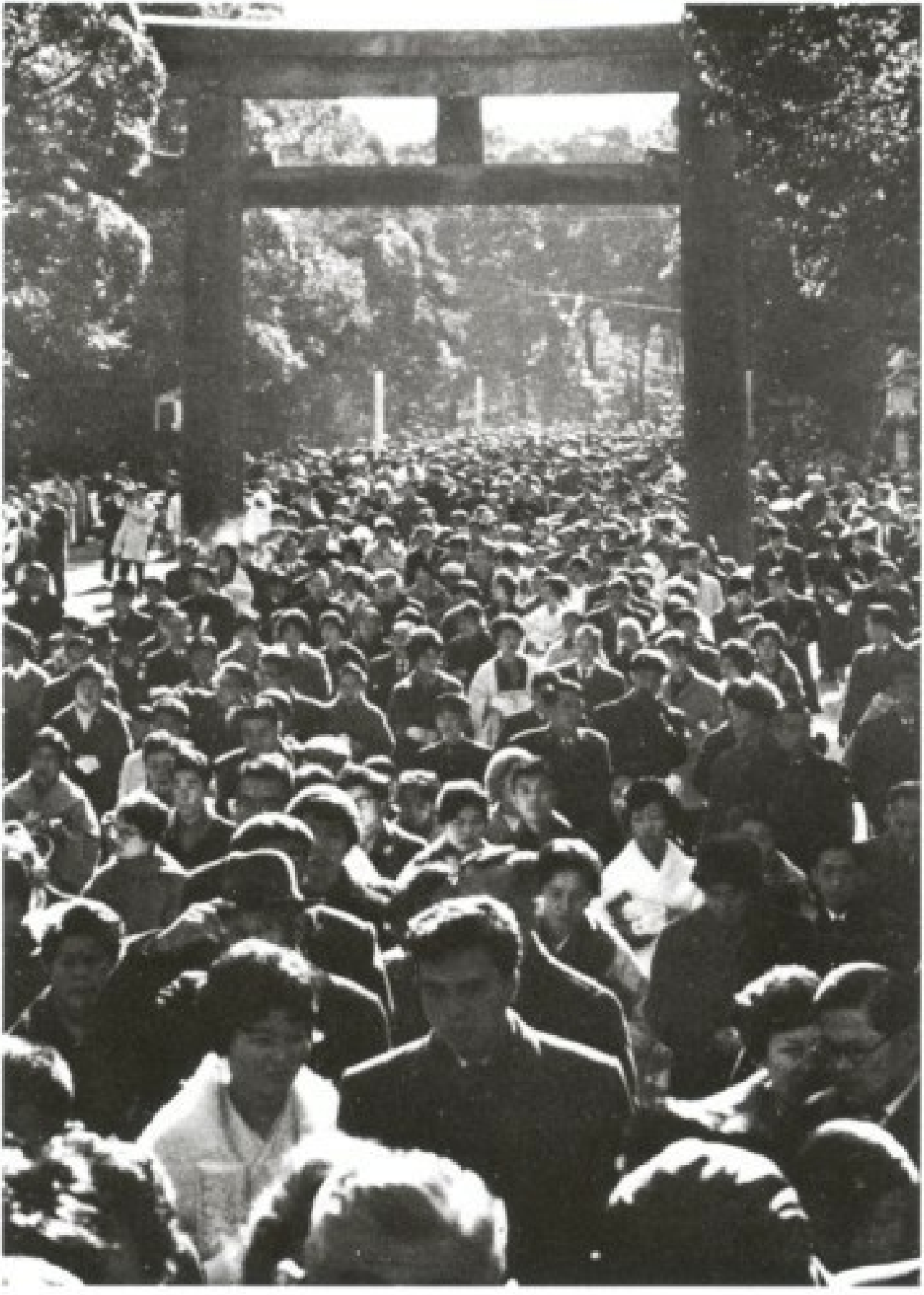


PLATE 3. MEIJI SHRINE, TOKYO. Worshippers throng the shrine precincts on New Year's Day.

Divine Symbols Symbolic of the kami's presence is a sacred object, called the "divine body" *(shintai)* or "august-spirit-substitute" *(mitamashiro)*. This object is housed within the innermost chamber of the shrine sanctuary. When the sacred symbol is present, the inner sanctuary is inviolable. And, since the building itself, as well as the precincts and auxiliary structures, partakes in some measure of the sanctity of the kami, they are considered objects worthy of great respect, if not worship. It is the presence of the symbol that makes a building a sanctuary. If the symbol is removed, the religious meaning of the area ceases to exist.

Sanctuary Plan Except for a few unusual cases such, as the ōmiwa Shrine, mentioned above, and the Grand Shrine of Izumo, in its simplest form and irrespective of size, a shrine generally consists of an inner compartment, a holy of holies, for the sacred symbol, and a space in front for offerings either within or without the structure. As the sanctuary increases in size, the interior may become both more spacious and more elaborate, but the basic arrangement of an inner sanctuary and a place in front for offerings remains unchanged.

Two swinging doors at the front of the inner compartment, which are always kept closed and locked except during special rites, protect the sacred symbol from

being violated. Even when the doors are opened, a curtain of split bamboo or some other material hangs in the entrance-way and prevents the priest and worshippers alike from looking within. Before this inner compartment are set tables upon which offerings are placed. At either side, there are sometimes banners and human or animal images. Seated human figures with bows and arrows and dressed in ancient court costumes, Korean dogs (*Koma Inu)* and similar images are usual in the larger shrines. Ordinarily, in a central position on the offering table or behind it, there is at least one perpendicular wand from the top of which, suspended on either side, is some flat paper, usually white, folded in a unique style. At one side is a purification wand, also placed perpendicular in a stand, from which hang white strips of paper and flax streamers. Not infrequently there is a mirror in the center between the offering table and the doors to the inner chamber. This mirror has a symbolic meaning, but is not an object of worship. There may be exceptions but, as a rule, pictures are not hung on shrine walls. Framed ideographs drawn by some famous scholar, calligrapher, or well-known person are frequently found hanging above the entrance to a shrine or on an inner transom.

Before the sanctuary stands an offering box. Directly above it may hang a bell to which a rope is attached; but a great many shrines do not have bells.

A shrine which is devoted to the worship of more than one kami may have an equal number of separate inner compartments, each of which has its own sacred symbol. In this case, there is usually one principal and one or more subordinate kami. In not a few cases an enshrined kami has a plural nature. *Mirrors* The mirror is one of the most common symbols of Shinto. In a shrine it may be a sacred object of worship, in which case it is within the inner compartment and is never visible to either priest or worshipper. Or it may be an ornament. As an ornament it is always placed directly in front of the doors to the inner compartment.

A mirror has a clean light that reflects everything as it is. It symbolizes the stainless mind of the kami, and at the same time is regarded as a sacred symbolic embodiment of the fidelity of the worshipper towards the kami.

In mythology the mirror is a mysterious object. In ancient society it was an object of ceremonial and religious significance rather than of daily use. In order to catch her spirit, a mirror was hung outside the cave where the Sun Goddess hid. Ninigi-no-mikoto was told by the Sun Goddess "to honor and worship the mirror" as "her spirit."

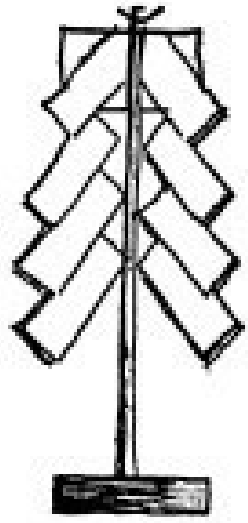
Teachings about the significance of the mirror vary. The *Jinnō Shōtōki* (1339) by Chikafusa Kitabatake states that

> the mirror hides nothing. It shines without a selfish

mind. Everything good and bad, right and wrong, is reflected without fail. The mirror is the source of honesty because it has the virtue of responding according to the shape of objects. It points out the fairness and impartiality of the divine will.

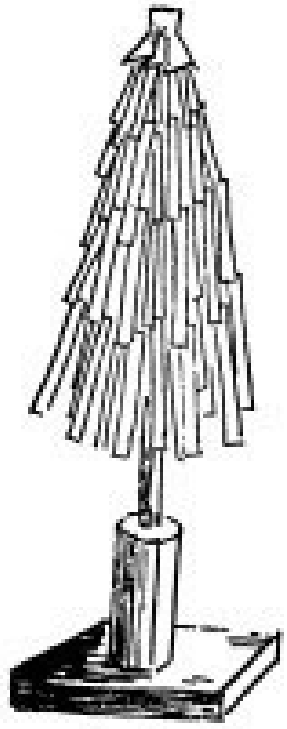
The mirror is the sacred symbol at the Grand Shrine of Ise as well as at many other shrines. The mirror that stands before the inner sanctuary at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is an ornament, which is especially valued because it was a gift from Emperor Meiji.

Symbolic Offering The *Gohei,* which consists of a wand with strips of paper folded in a zigzag fashion hanging at either side and stands in a central position before the doors of the inner chamber, is a symbolic offering and at the same time indicates the presence of the kami in the sanctuary. Usually there is only one *gohei* and the paper is white; but in some shrines there are several, one for each enshrined kami. The paper is sometimes gold, silver, red, or dark blue, and not infrequently metal or cloth is used instead of paper. This wand with paper inserted into the split end is believed to be a relic of the time when cloth was presented in this manner at shrines as an offering.



Gohei

Purification Wand The wand *(Harai-gushi*), which has many long paper streamers and a few strands of flax, is for the rite of purification. In performing this rite the wand is removed from its stand by a priest who, facing the worshipper or object to be purified, waves it first over his left, then the right, and finally back to the left shoulder with a characteristic flourish before replacing it. Sometimes a small branch of the sacred *sakaki* tree is used instead of this wand



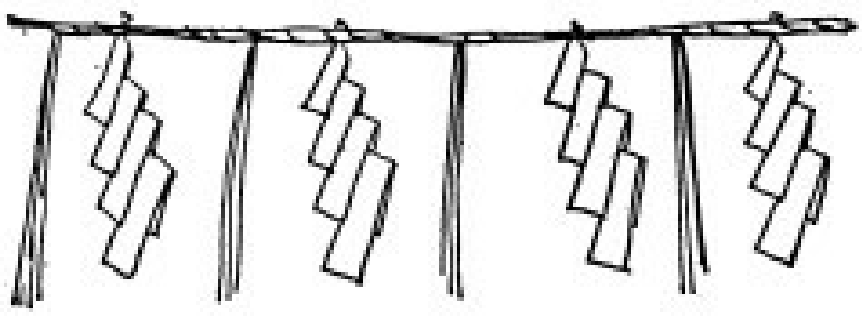
Haraigushi
Purification Wand

Banners Banners symbolize the presence of the kami and are at the same time offerings to the kami. Some banners of Chinese style have figures of the sun, moon, clouds, or possibly animals. These presumably express the idea that the kami are heavenly beings which provide protection. Some banners have the same origin as the *gohei.* Generally speaking, however, the banners are probably ornamental rather than symbolic, and merely add dignity to the shrine.

Sword, Halberd and Shield The sword and jewels, which are enclosed in brocade and are hung from the banner standards, as well as the halberd and shield, symbolize both the power to defend the kami from evil and

the power of the kami to protect justice and peace: Some understand the mirror, jewel, and sword to symbolize the virtues of wisdom, benevolence, and courage respectively.

Sacred Rope Straw rope *(shimenawa)* from which depend short strips of zigzag-cut paper may be seen stretched between the pillars at the entrance to shrines as well as elsewhere, both within and without the main buildings. These ropes are used to symbolically indicate sacred places where kami are believed to dwell or objects offered to the kami. They are also sometimes used in ordinary buildings during the New Year's season, at festival times, and on special occasions. There are various types, some of which are unique with certain shrines, as for example, the extremely heavy tapering rope at the Grand Shrine of Izumo. However, the shape has no special religious significance.



Shimenawa
Sacred rope with paper and flax pendants

Shrine Buildings and Compounds

A shrine may consist of a single sanctuary or a group of sanctuaries with numerous auxiliary buildings located either within a single precinct or in one or more detached precincts. Small, single-structure shrines are most numerous; but the typical shrine compound has an oratory, which stands directly in front of the main sanctuary, an ablution pavilion, and several auxiliary buildings. Sometimes there is an offering hall and a place for reciting prayers between the main sanctuary and the oratory, but under a common or connecting roof. A sacred place to prepare food offerings is always essential. Among the most common auxiliary buildings are subordinate shrines, a shrine office, a place to prepare offerings, a hall for sacred dances, and a pavilion for picture votive offerings. Other buildings often found at the large shrines include a ceremonial hall, the priests' quarters, a sacred stable, a storehouse for the sacred palanquin, a treasure house, and a theater for Noh plays. Within the compound there may be also a *sumō* arena, a sacred bridge, memorial tablets, and stone or metal lanterns. Statues are relatively rare. Occasionally there is burial ground adjoining a shrine compound, that is usually for the war-dead, who are

venerated at the shrine, or for former priests and their families. Generally, however, there are no burial grounds near shrines.

Shrine compounds vary considerably both in their layout and the number of buildings. Some cover only small areas, others constitute large tracts of land, such as, for example, the Kirishima Shrine which covers several thousand acres. When the contour of the land does not determine the lines, the area is usually rectangular in shape.

Location The location of a shrine is not merely a matter of finding a vacant piece of land. As a general rule shrines are related in some manner to their natural surroundings. They are in a given location because of some special tree, grove, rock, cave, mountain, river, or the seashore, for example; or because of a close relationship with an ancient family, perhaps the pioneer that opened up the area. Not infrequently in rural communities shrines are so completely concealed in dense groves or forests that only the local residents are aware of their existence.

All too often in downtown metropolitan areas shrines have been forced by circumstances beyond their control to give up the original natural beauty of their surroundings and be satisfied with an almost barren site totally devoid of foliage. This is ordinarily the result of population pressures which have transformed a relatively secluded site into a

throbbing commercial or industrial center. In some cases, of course, the location is due merely to the availability of the site, and without any meaningful ties either to the land or to the vicinity.

In every case, however, once a kami has been enshrined, the precincts, like the shrine itself, acquire a special sanctity; and every effort is made, when the surroundings themselves are not naturally beautiful or impressive, to create a beauty which will instill in the minds of the worshippers a mystic sense of closeness to the unseen divine world and to nature. The natural beauty imparts to the worshipper a religious impetus to move from the mundane to the higher and deeper divine world, which can transform his life into one of closer fellowship with the kami.

Walls A fence or wall often surrounds the compound in order to protect it from desecration. In the case of large shrines, there may also be a second one, which encloses a smaller inner area, and finally a third which surrounds the inner sanctuary and worship hall.

Torii With rare exceptions the entrance to shrines, other than small wayside shrines, is marked by one or more *torii,* the gateway which symbolically marks off the mundane world from the world of the kami, the secular from the spiritual. The origin of the gateway, which may or

may not have come from the Asiatic mainland, and the reason for writing the word with the characters meaning "bird" (鳥 *tori)* and "to be" (居 - i), that is, "bird perch," need not detain us here. The origin is obscure and has no particular relevance to its present use.

In ancient Japan the *torii* was in common use as a gateway but in the course of time it was limited to Shinto sanctuaries, Imperial mausolea, and a few graves. Occasionally, a *torii* will be found at the foot of trees or beside a rock or well.

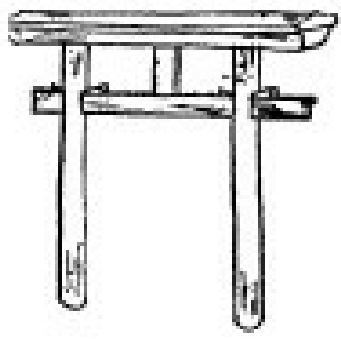
In 1884 public use of the *torii* was officially restricted by law to only state shrines and certain sanctuaries of the Shūsei and Taisei sects of Shinto, which at the time were using it as a gateway. Today, even though this restriction is not in force, the *torii* continues to be seen only at Shinto shrines, a few sanctuaries of the above-named sects, at the entrance to Imperial mausolea, and in connection with some graves. When found at the entrance to or within a Buddhist temple compound, other than a burial ground, there is almost certain to be a shrine of some sort nearby, often at the summit of a miniature mountain.

Some shrines encourage the devout to present *torii* as votive offerings. These are frequently erected close together along the approach to the main or a subordinate sanctuary so as to form an archway. Inari shrines, notably Fushimi Inari south of Kyoto, are famous for these

picturesque approaches.

In a relatively few cases a *torii* may stand astride a public thoroughfare. One of the best known of these is in front of the Heian Shrine in Kyoto. In some instances, such as the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura, there may be a long approach outside the shrine compound itself on which stand several *torii*. Such symbolic gateways remind the people of the presence of the kami in the community. At one time such approaches were probably considered as a part of the shrine compound.

Ryōbu Torii



Kasuga Torii

Myōjin Torii

Originally, the *torii* was of very simple construction. It consisted of unfinished wooden pillars and two crossbeams in characteristic proportions. Later the pillars and beams were planed but unpainted. Then, due to continental influence, they were painted and became more complicated in structure until in some cases, such as the magnificent lacquered red *torii* which stands in the water at Miyajima before the Itsukushima Shrine, they became very ornate.

Torii are generally made of timber, but in modern times stone and metal have been substituted and of late some have been made of concrete. There are more than twenty different types of *torii* most of which are named from the shrines with which they are associated. For example, there is an Ise *torii*, a Hachiman *torii* from the Iwashimizu Hachi-man Shrine, and a Miwa *torii* from the Ōmiwa Shrine.

Other Gates In addition to *torii,* many large shrines have gates which can be closed at night. Some of these are very imposing. Two types prevail. Those constructed after the separation of Buddhism and Shinto, having unpainted timbers and a thatched, tiled, or copper roof, such as those at Yasukuni and Meiji shrines in Tokyo, are generally in the style of "pure" Shinto. A second type usually consists of a massive, somewhat ornate, red or black-lacquered two-storey structure with enclosures on either side which house two or sometimes four images. The enclosures are often protected by wire meshing to prevent the images from being injured or defaced. This style was introduced during the period when Buddhism generally dominated the shrine world. The magnificent Yōmeimon at the Tōshōgū in Nikkō is the example par excellence of this style. The gates at the Yasaka (Gion) Shrine and Kamo shrines in Kyoto, and the Hakozaki Shrine in Fukuoka are also good examples. In a

few exceptional cases there are gates which are very unusual. Such is the Suiten-mon of the Akama Shrine in Yamaguchi Prefecture and the gate of the Oyama Shrine in Kanazawa City, which was designed by a Dutch engineer.

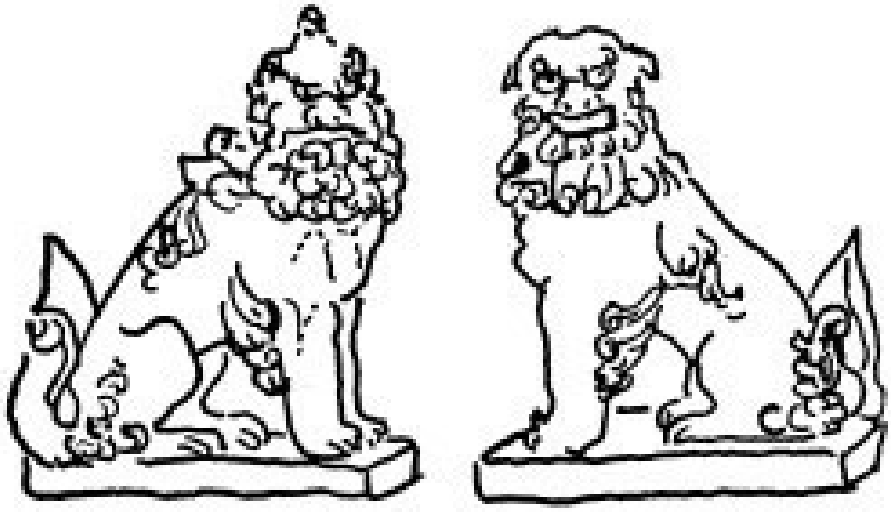
The Approach A road or path leading to a shrine is called "the approach" (*sandō*). Technically speaking the approach is the path leading from the first *torn* to the oratory or sanctuary, but in common parlance even public roads which lead to a shrine may be so designated. This is especially the case when one or more *torii* stand on public roads; but even when there are no *torii*, the term is sometimes applied. Thus, in Tokyo the broad highway leading to Meiji Shrine is called the "main approach" (*omote sandō*), while the other two roads are called the "west approach"and "east approach," respectively.

Within the compound the approach is often a dirt road or path on the surface of which small stones or pebbles have been spread. In some cases the entire area in front of a shrine may be covered with neatly-raked gravel or fine sand. This is done to maintain a harmonious natural atmosphere and creates a pure, pleasant feeling in the mind of the worshippers.

If the traditional pattern is followed, the approach turns somewhere between the first *torii* and the oratory or sanctuary. However, as conditions do not always permit a

strict observance of this tradition, direct approaches are common.

Guardians of the Gate and Precincts The precincts are symbolically protected in several ways from evil spirits and misfortune. Sometimes in front and on either side of the entrance there are miniature shrines that are guardians of the entrance. Then, if there is a large gate, within the enclosure on either side may be found two rather ferocious-looking beings with semi-human features and of more than human dimensions. These Deva kings (*Niō-sama*) are of Indian origin and more commonly are found in the gates of Buddhist temples. They are actually kindly in nature, their ferocious countenance being a means of warding off evil spirits. Also within these enclosures, sometimes facing the shrine and sometimes facing outward, are two austere dignitaries in a sitting position, dressed in ancient court costumes with a sheathed sword at the belt and arrows in a holder on their backs, while in their hands they hold bows. These figures represent two mythological kami and are likewise traditional guardians.



Guardian Lions

Animal images constitute a third type of symbolic protectors. These are in pairs, male and female, and ordinarily stand on pedestals on either side near the first *torii* or along the approach. They may also be placed on either side of the approach directly in front of the sanctuary or even within the sanctuary itself. The most common types of guardian animals are images of dogs and lions.

Finally, there is sometimes a guardian kami of the land that is housed in a sanctuary within the precinct.

At Inari shrines, where fox images are found, and at Kasuga shrines, where there are deer, the animals are believed to be the attendants or messengers of the kami, rather than guardians. The messenger of the Mitsumine Shrine is a wolf, and that of Hie Shrine is a monkey. An image of a horse, is a symbolic mount for the kami.

Lanterns, Memorial Tablets, and Statues On either side of the approach, both within and outside the shrine compound, are frequently found stone or bronze lanterns. The lanterns as a rule are gifts from devout parishioners, either individually or as associations. The idea of giving lanterns, which have the utilitarian value of marking the approach, may have originated from the custom of making fires in order to greet and honor the kami. Occasionally, there are statues of local heroes or some personages connected with the local community. More often there are memorial tablets, also the gifts of devout parishioners, that recall some significant local or national historic event. Not infrequently one finds along the approach a stone pillar, a "hundred-times stone" *(hyakudo ishi)*, as it is called, which marks the place from which worshippers walk back and forth to the sanctuary or oratory in order to more earnestly seek the fulfillment of a prayer. In some cases there are devices, such as small tabs on a cord, for counting the number of times.

Ablution Pavilion Somewhere along the approach, probably not very far from the oratory, is an ablution pavilion (te*mizuya)* for ceremonial purification by means of rinsing the mouth and pouring water over the finger tips. This symbolic cleansing is considered indispensable as a preparation for worship and no shrine fails to provide some

such facility. Usually there is a simple open pavilion with a stone basin filled with clear water and one or more wooden dippers. With this rite evil and pollution are ceremonially removed and the worshipper becomes once again pure. Originally purification was performed at a spring or stream, as at the Inner Shrine at Ise, for example, or by the seashore, and this is still considered somewhat ideal.

List of Donors Sometimes seen at the entrance or along the approach are rough, unsightly, wooden frames, with wooden slabs on which are written sums of money and the names of individuals. This constitutes a list of those who have contributed to some special project of the shrine, such as repairs or reconstruction. The normal gifts made periodically at festival time or in connection with some special service are not posted in this manner.

Sacred Trees Not infrequently there is one tree in a compound that is within an enclosure and about which hangs a straw rope with short paper streamers *(shimenawa)*. This is often a very large and old tree, and is regarded as uniquely sacred. In addition there may also be one or more *sakaki (Cleyera ochnacca)* trees, an evergreen, which is the sacred tree of Shinto.

Shrine Stalls Either in connection with the shrine

office or in a small separate structure there will be a place to secure charms, amulets, postcards and articles used in connection with worship in the home. Technically these things are not for sale but are given in return for a small offering.

Architecture

Shrine architecture manifests considerable variety of style, which in most cases reflects the age and to some extent the place in which certain shrines arose and sometimes the historical periods through which they have passed. Many shrine structures show the effect of continental influence, but there are two relatively pure Japanese types, that are very ancient and are generally considered to be typical of Shinto. One is the Shinmei, literally, "divine-brightness" style which is best represented by the Grand Shrine of Ise. This type is also known as the Tenchi Kongen, literally, "heaven-earth origin" style. The other is the Taisha style, which is typified by the Grand Shrine of lzumo.

Traditionally shrines have been constructed of cypress and thatched with miscanthus or cypress bark. Today, however, because of the increased fire hazard, reinforced concrete is frequently used in cities and roofs covered with tile or copper are common. In rare cases stone shrines are to be found. Paint and ornamentation are an indication of continental influence.

Roof Ornamentation

Among the characteristic features of shrine architecture, the ornamentation of the roof with *chigi* and *katsuogi* is the most unique and striking to foreign visitors. For the shrine worshipper these add a peculiarly mystic quality to the atmosphere. The *chigi* were originally formed by an extension of the end beams of the roof which cross at both ends of the ridge and continue upward at an angle for several feet. The short logs, which are now made of finished wood and taper at each end, are called *katsuogi*, because of their resemblance to the shape of the dried fish (*katsuo-bushi) used in Japanese cooking. Usually there are three, five, or seven katsuogi*; but the Inner Shrine at Ise has ten and the Outer Shrine nine. Originally a structural necessity in order to hold the roof down and in place, in later times the *chigi* and *katsuogi* became purely decorative and today are rarely seen except on shrines. Both are thought of as symbols of Shrine Shinto, yet many shrines do not have them, and only the *chigi* are mentioned in the ritual prayers and other ceremonial documents.

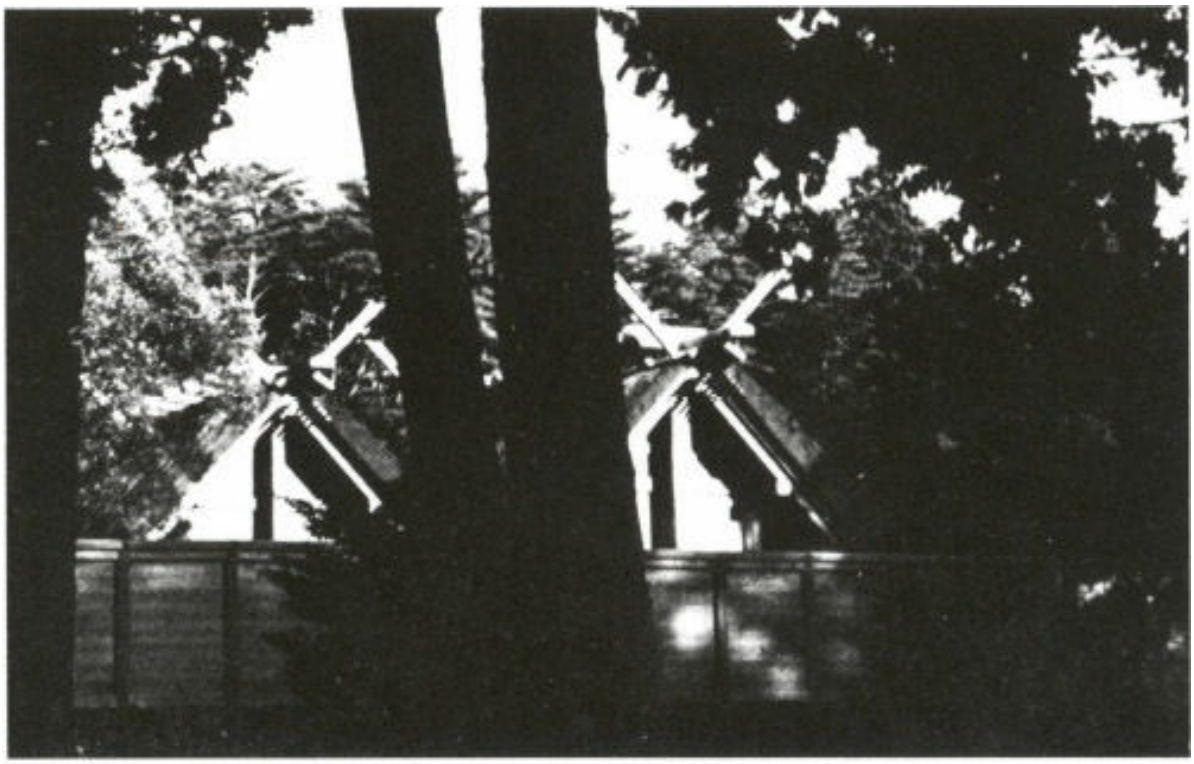
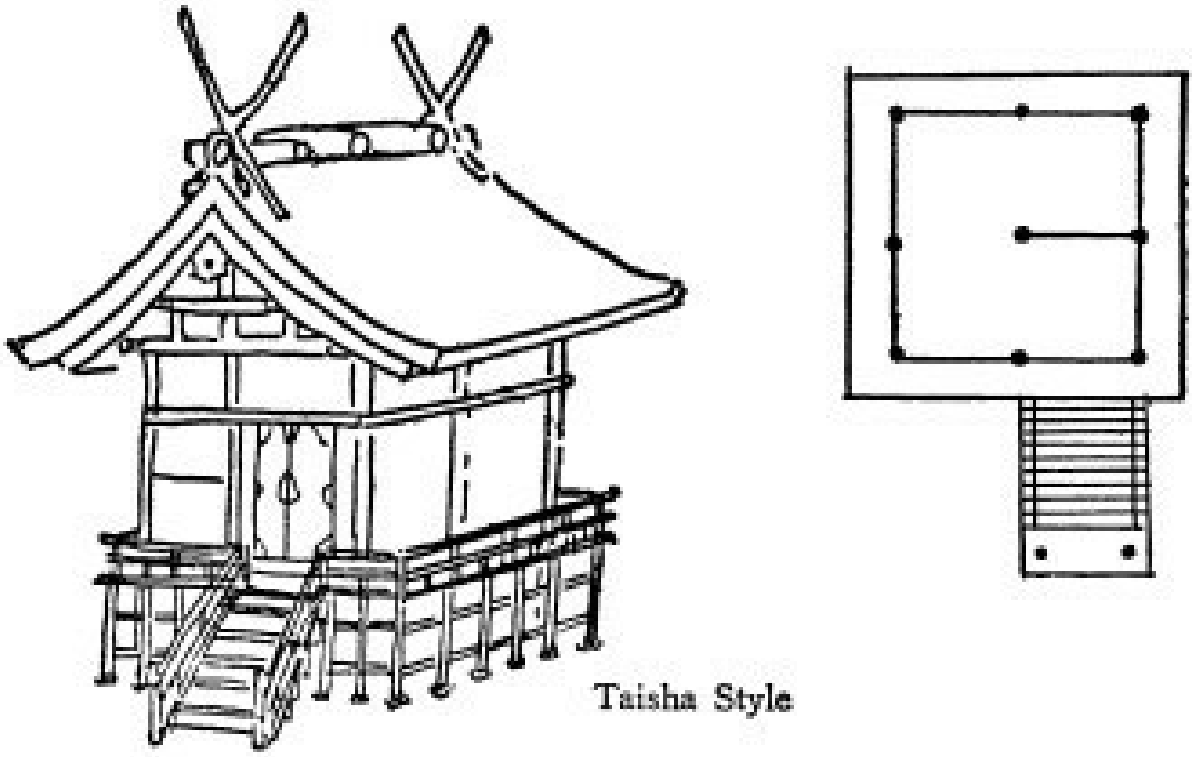


PLATE 4. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: INNER SHRINE. An example of the Shinmei type of shrine structure. Shinmei (literally "divine brightness") is a relatively pure Japanese style in shrine architecture.

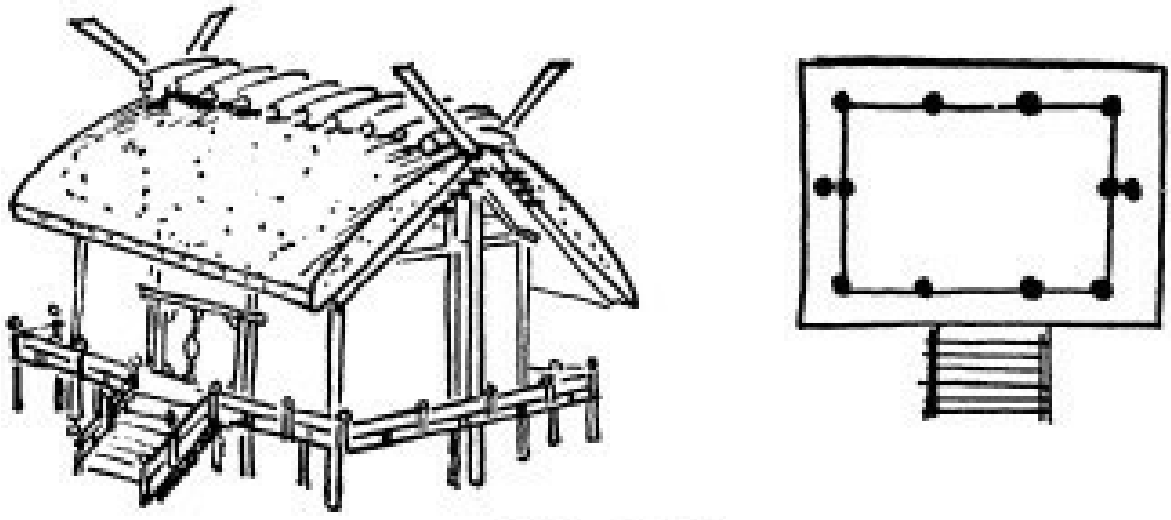
PLATE 5. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: GATE OF INNER SHRINE. A *torii*, the gateway which symbolically marks off the mundane world from the world of the kami, guards the way to the inner precincts.

PLATE 6. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: OUTER SHRINE. Walls enclose inner and outer compounds of shrines. Precincts, as well as shrine, acquire a special sanctity.

PLATE 7. GRAND SHRINE OF ISE: OUTER SHRINE. At a ceremonial service white-robed priests are garbed in the style of Heian period.



Taisha Style



Shinmei Style

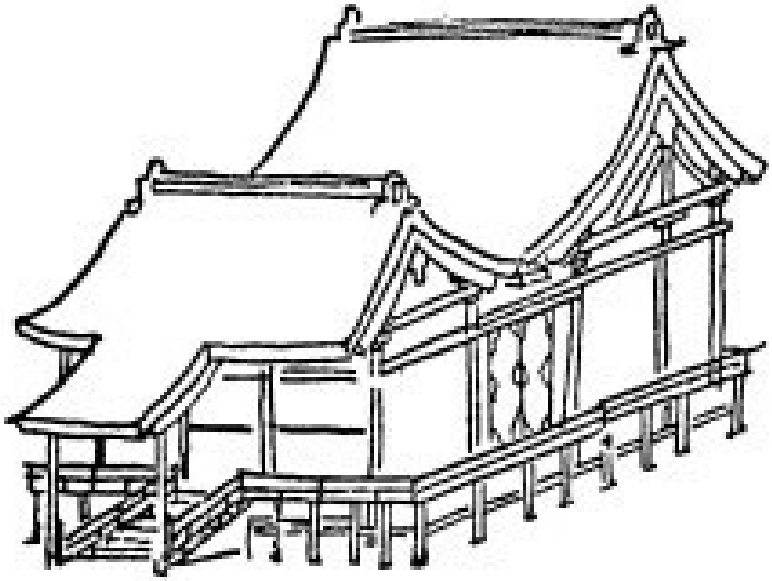
In addition to the Shinmei and Taisha styles mentioned above, there are a number of other styles which are designated by the names of well-known representative shrines (ōtori, Sumiyoshi, Kasuga, Hachiman, Hiyoshi, Gion, Kibitsu and Sengen). A few have descriptive names,

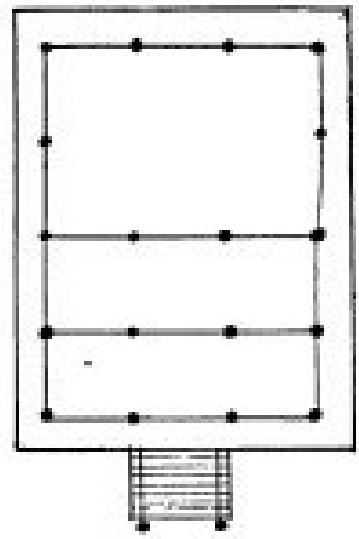
such as *Gongen* (Incarnation) and *Nagare* (Flowing). Generally, shrines having the same name, Kasuga shrines, for example, adopt the style of architecture of the original shrine bearing that name. Thus examples of the various kinds of architecture may be found in many parts of the country.

Only a very few shrines are distinctly unique in their construction. The two shrines at Ise are, of course, among these, but the two-storied sanctuary of Fuji Sengen in Fuji-nomiya, Shizuoka Prefecture, is almost without parallel, and the same is true of the Kibitsu Shrine in Okayama Prefecture, that is noted for its large sanctuary which measures 62.4 feet by 49.8 feet. Except for the Shinmei, Taisha, Ōtori, and Sumiyoshi styles, foreign influence is very noticeable in all those mentioned above. All are painted, most of them in red. The Kasuga style is unique for its curved *chigi*. The Nagare style, the finest examples of which can be seen in the very modern Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, can be recognized by the flowing lines of the roof which extends down in front over a stairway. The Irimoya style has a roof that is gabled in the upper part and hipped or sloping in the lower part. Kashiwara Shrine, dedicated to the veneration of Jimmu Tennō, the first emperor, is an outstanding example of this style.

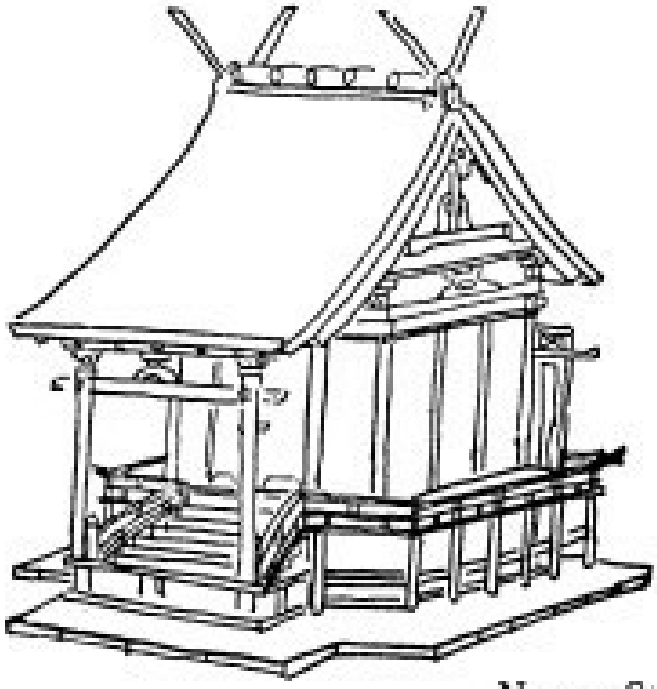
Generally speaking the changing styles of shrine architecture appear to reflect the development from

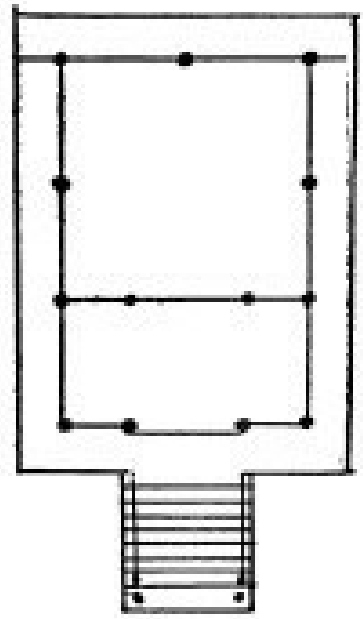
century to century of Buddhist temples, castles and Japanese dwellings, especially those of the upper classes. From a simple, single-frame structure the houses were gradually enlarged and as more rooms were brought under one roof or closely connected by adjacent roofs, the external features changed accordingly. The Irimoya style, for example, was at first used by the nobility and later adopted by shrines. The same is true of the much broader Gion style. The Gongen style, which is most gorgeously represented by the Tōshōgu of Nikkō, and the Yatsumune (Eight Roof) style, typified by the Kitano Shrine in Kyoto, notably reveal the influence of Buddhism on shrine construction.





Hachiman Style





Nagare Style

Priests and Shrine Functionaries

Shrines are served by priests, who are primarily ritualists. In very primitive society there appear to have been no priestly orders. The observance of communal rites and ceremonies was the responsibility of all the people. However, there were shaman, frequently women, who were thought to possess special occult power which enabled them, by observing the ritualistic requirements for purification, to achieve a position of prestige and respect in the community and to function as mediums for contact with the kami. These shaman performed many of the local rites. Later, on the clan level, the heads of the clans or local families performed the most important rituals on behalf of their people, while other ceremonies were conducted by minor officials or specifically designated individuals. In time, these functions became the prerogative of certain families and a hereditary local priesthood emerged.

Priest

About the middle of the first millennium, according to Occidental chronology, four priestly classes had authority at the court. These were the ritualists, mainly from the Nakatomi family, who had charge of ceremonies and read the official ritual prayers; the abstainers, the Imbe family, that maintained ceremonial purity in order to ward off pollution and keep constant contact with the kami; the diviners, the Urabe family, that was responsible for learning the will of the kami; and the dancers and musicians *(sarume*). Except for a few very important priestly rites, which were performed by the Emperor personally, these priestly classes were responsible for the rituals both at the court and at shrines closely related to the Imperial Family.

The administration of state ceremonies and control of the local priesthood in the eighth century was vested in the head of an Office of Divine Affairs *(Jingi Kan),* which occupied a position above the cabinet. Except for the head, officials of this Office were mainly members of the Nakatomi family, as were also the Imperial messengers sent to certain designated shrines. The head of the Office for many centuries (11th—19th) was a member of the Shirakawa family, which was descended from Emperor Kazan (985—986). When a substitute was required, this official took the emperor's place in performing certain court rituals. The profession of diviners was controlled for many centuries by the Yoshida family.

At the beginning of the Restoration the hereditary priesthood was abolished and the priests were made government officials, their appointment being the responsibility of the government office in charge of the shrines they served. Prior to World War II only persons of high social standing could become the chief priests of certain important shrines. Today, the priests are private citizens and have no official status other than that which derives from their recognition by the Association of Shinto Shrines or by the shrines they serve. They hold their position by appointment of the president of the Association who acts on the recommendation of the official boards which govern their individual shrines. Of course, there are

many who inherit their father's position. The priests marry and live with their families, either in quarters provided within the shrine's precincts or in ordinary private dwellings.

Being primarily a ritualist, a priest must know how to conduct the rites, ceremonies, and festivals, including the preparation and intoning of the appropriate liturgy. This training can be secured either from other priests, by attending classes sponsored by the Association of Shinto Shrines and its prefectural branches, or by enrolling in courses offered at the Kokugakuin University or some seminary. Such training qualifies a person without further examination for one of the four grades of the priesthood. Without such qualification no one is appointed as a priest by the Association of Shinto Shrines.

Each shrine is in charge of a chief priest (*gūji*), but a large shrine may have an assistant chief priest (*gon-gūji)* and several other priests of the two lower ranks *(negi* and *gon-negi).* At Ise Shrine, there is also a High Priestess *(saishu*). This is an ancient office which traditionally has been held by an Imperial princess. It was abolished in 1868, but was revived in 1946.

When not performing ceremonies or duties at the shrine, ordinary civilian clothes are worn by the priests. It is very unusual to see a shrine priest on the street in his priestly garb. Those who serve large shrines or a number of

small ones—even twenty or thirty—give full time to their priestly functions. Many, however, are teachers, officials, office workers, or have some regular occupation and give only part time to shrine affairs. In such cases an assistant or a member of the family is usually on the premises to attend to the needs of worshippers and essential business. A large number of small, relatively unimportant shrines have no regular priests and receive the ministration of a priest only on festival days or by special arrangement. Some shrines have a large number of priests. At Yasukuni Shrine, for example, there are twenty-five. According to the latest available statistics of the Ministry of Education (March, 1959), there are 21,020 priests serving the 80,005 shrines.

An unusual postwar development is the emergence of women as shrine priests. This began when the wives were left in charge of shrines, while the husbands were in military service. When they did not return their widows remained in charge. Subsequently, the Association of Shinto Shrines made provisions for women to become regular priests.

The young ladies (*miko*) in white kimono and vermilion divided skirts are not, as is sometimes supposed, vestal virgins. They are the daughters of priests or local residents whose primary function is the performance of ceremonial dances before the kami; but they also engage in such minor duties as may be required. When they marry their places

are taken by others.

The musicians and other members of the shrine staff may or may not be priests. Most shrine priests are administrators as well as ritualists. The raising of funds and maintenance of the property is often a very heavy responsibility. In the larger shrines there are usually a number of persons who are simply employees.

Ceremonial Dress

The priest's garb is modeled after the costume of court officials of the Heian period. It has no symbolic meaning and is not intended as a means of distinguishing the clergy from laymen. When laymen perform ritual functions, if they are officials of the shrine, they also wear the garb. In accordance with ancient tradition, the color and style indicate the class or rank of the wearer.

Kimono, etc. The simplest garb consists of a kimono, a formal divided skirt, a large-sleeved outer robe which hangs to the knees, a hat, and shoes. The kimono is generally white, a color that symbolizes purity. The divided skirt may be in white or in colors which indicate the rank of the wearer, and the formal outer robe likewise may be in white or in color. In some cases, however, all the priests irrespective of rank wear only white. The informal outer robe is called in Japanese *kariginu*, that is, "hunting garment," from the fact that the style originated as a hunting garment in the Heian Period.

Hats There are two types of headgear. The simpler form, called *eboshi*, is worn when a priest wears the low-class robe; the more elaborate, called *kanmuri*, is worn as

full ceremonial dress or high-class robe.

Eboshi

Shose Within the shrine, the uniquely Japanese white socks *(Jabi)* are worn on all ceremonial occasions. When a priest in ceremonial robes is outdoors, special black lacquered shoes made of a piece of hollowed paulownia wood, called *asa-gutsu*, are worn. The common sandals with white thongs are worn by the lower-class priests and by all priests as informal wear.

Mace The tapering wooden slab (*shaku*), which during rituals is held at the narrow end vertically by the priests at about the level of the abdomen or is placed within the robes under the belt, is a sort of mace, that is, a symbol of the office of priest and is believed to lend dignity to his appearance.

Costumes of Girl Attendants

Like the priest's garb, the costume of the young girl attendants at shrines, including the fan which is made of cypress resembles the costume of the court dress of the Heian period. Its most noticeable features are the white kimono and the vermilion divided skirt. When performing the *kagura* the hair, which may or may not be natural, hangs down the back in a long strand and is tied with a vermilion ribbon. On the feet there are white socks (*tabi).* Outdoors ordinary sandals with white thongs are worn.

Parishes and Parishioners

Shrines not only have a close connection with their natural surroundings and local history, but they are also usually closely related to the local residents. As social conditions in ancient Japan changed, much of the mythology and records lost their meaning and authority; but the rites and ceremonies centering in the shrines acquired an enhanced significance.

In early times, while the chieftains unified their clans and conducted the communal rites, all members of the clan had both the right and obligation to participate and, according to the rules of some, to officiate at shrine functions. Thus they had a common status as clan members. Maintenance of the local shrine and participation in its rites and festivals, rather than being considered as a duty imposed from ancient times, has been considered both a right and a precious responsibility, or even an honor which was jealously guarded. The leading inhabitants of a district usually insisted, as some continue to insist even today, on their authority to carry out certain prescribed functions in connection with the shrine rites and festivals.

From an historical point of view, the centrality of blood ties is inherent in the nature of shrine worship; and where

the blood relationship continues to be dominant the bond of union in a shrine is strong. But even where the blood relationship of a community is weak, there has been a common bond, irrespective of family ties, in the performance of shrine services. And this bond has continued to operate even when individuals have lived at some distance from their native communities. Wherever possible people have expected—and have been expected by their community—to return home to fulfill their obligations.

However, as distances increased and the difficulties of returning home became more formidable, branch shrines for the local and clan kami were established throughout the country, and in this way the individual was able to maintain his spiritual relationship. Yet even today it is not uncommon for many people to return to their ancestral homes to participate in the annual festivals.

The parish boundaries of shrines are often very complicated. Sometimes they overlap. Not infrequently the borders are based on ancient contours of the area which modern developments have obliterated. Moreover, as a result of the elimination of all distinction between the clan kami and the kami of the land, and the proliferation of historic shrines, not to mention the establishment of entirely new ones, many individuals today frequently find themselves related to more than one shrine either as

worshippers (*sūkeisha*) or as parishioners (*ujiko).*

Shrines, such as the Grand Shrine of Ise, Meiji and Yasukuni in Tokyo, Heian in Kyoto, and the Dazaifu in Fukuoka, for example, do not have geographical areas which are regarded as parishes. In a sense all Japan is their parish and all the Japanese people are their potential worshippers. Similarly such local shrines as those for the war-dead or local celebrities have no parish system. Nevertheless, all the local residents are regarded as worshippers, although there is no inherent tie between them and the shrines. Their attitude in such cases is essentially a matter of individual choice.

In the case of shrines dedicated to the worship of clan kami or kami having a close relationship to the land, there are definite geographical limits within which they function. Each such shrine has a parish and it is taken for granted that all local residents will assume their proper responsibility for its support. In some cases they are also expected to participate in the performance of religious functions. This is not a relationship growing out of conversion. It is because of their being Japanese, which may sound very formal and rigid to an outsider, but it has in fact a spiritual basis. The relationship between a tutelary kami and the parishioners is a spiritual relationship like that between parent and children. People are born, brought up, and live from generation to generation under the protection of the

kami. Thus, the commonly accepted idea is that they all without exception have an inherent and unbreakable kami relationship.

Shrine Shinto was disestablished as a state cult in 1945, but this did not seriously affect the relationship between the shrines and the local residents. On the contrary, generally speaking, the people have continued to regard themselves as parishioners. They make small monetary gifts in connection with annual festivals, and on special occasions assist the shrines in various ways. And although when shrines were disestablished the local neighborhood associations lost their political status, these associations still continue to function in many localities as private organizations. They not only decide on neighborhood problems, but also very often constitute the controlling groups for the local shrines.

神 IIII 道

WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS

Introduction

In Shinto all life is lived in communion and in accord with the mind of the kami, which afford the devout constant protection. Daily life is regarded as "service to the kami" that is, as *matsuri*, a term generally associated with only gala occasions and elaborate processions, but which has its deeper meaning of service and worship.

Shinto rites and ceremonies commemorate life: ordinary daily life as well as the major events in the life of the individual, community, and nation. Ceremonies may be observed on such occasions in the home or in some public place, but primarily they are observed in shrines.

Shrine rites and ceremonies are intended to ward off or ameliorate any misfortune and secure or augment the cooperation of the kami in promoting the happiness and peace of the individual and the community. They include prayer for divine protection, communion with the kami, praise of the kami's virtue, comfort for the kami's mind, reports to the kami on the affairs of daily life, and pledges offering the whole life to the kami. Therefore, the ceremonies are performed on the assumption that a profession of faith in the kami has been made, offerings good and beautiful have been presented, the mind and body

have been purified, sincerity has been fulfilled, conduct has been courteous and proper, the evil heart, selfish desire, strife, dispute, hatred and the like have been dissolved, conciliation has been practiced, and a feeling of goodwill, cooperation and affection has been realized among the people.

The ceremonies vary greatly in complexity from the simple, individual acts of worship in front of a home altar or a local sanctuary, and the morning arid evening presentation of offerings by priests, to the annual festivals which in some cases include great processions with much paraphernalia and hundreds or even thousands of people participating. Generally speaking, the larger and more important shrines have more elaborate and magnificent functions, but there are some exceptions.

The Four Elements of Worship

All ceremonies, except the simple act of worship performed by an individual before a shrine, involve four elements: purification (*harai*), an offering (*shinsen*), prayer *(norito*), and a symbolic feast (*naorai*). These may be observed either simply or elaborately, depending upon the occasion. It is a distinctive feature of Shinto that kami-worship is expressed not only from the depth of one's heart, but in a concrete act of religious ritual.

Purification Purification is for the purpose of removing all pollution, unrighteousness, and evil which may hinder life according to the kami-way and the efficacy of worship. Purification may be performed by the worshippers or by priests.

Ordinarily purification is accomplished by the individual worshipper, layman, or priest, symbolically rinsing the mouth and pouring clear water over the finger tips. This is called *temizu*, literally, "hand water." Formal purification is accomplished by a priest first reciting a prayer of purification and then waving a purification wand in the characteristic manner in front of an individual, group, or object to be purified. This is often accompanied by

lightly sprinkling salt or salt water. Purification by bathing is usually called *misogi*. The ceremony of purifying the nation or the whole world is called *Ōharai*, literally, "Great Purification."

In purifying a shrine for a festival, the buildings and paraphernalia are all cleaned and the precincts are swept. As symbols of purification, pieces of bamboo, sprigs of *sakaki*, or rice-straw rope to which paper and flax pendants are attached are hung at appropriate places.

Purification of a priest before a festival involves a period of abstinence (see page 64).

Offerings The minimum ritual requirement for the kami is a periodic presentation of offerings. Ideally this should be done daily. In some cases it is performed twice a day. If this simple act is neglected, it is believed that the kami, particularly the ancestral spirits, will be unhappy and that misfortune will be experienced often by individuals who are remiss in observing this duty. Although there are many small wayside shrines or shrines located in remote, inaccessible areas, which appear to be neglected, there are probably very few shrines that are not cared for sometime during the year, either by a priest or some devout resident.

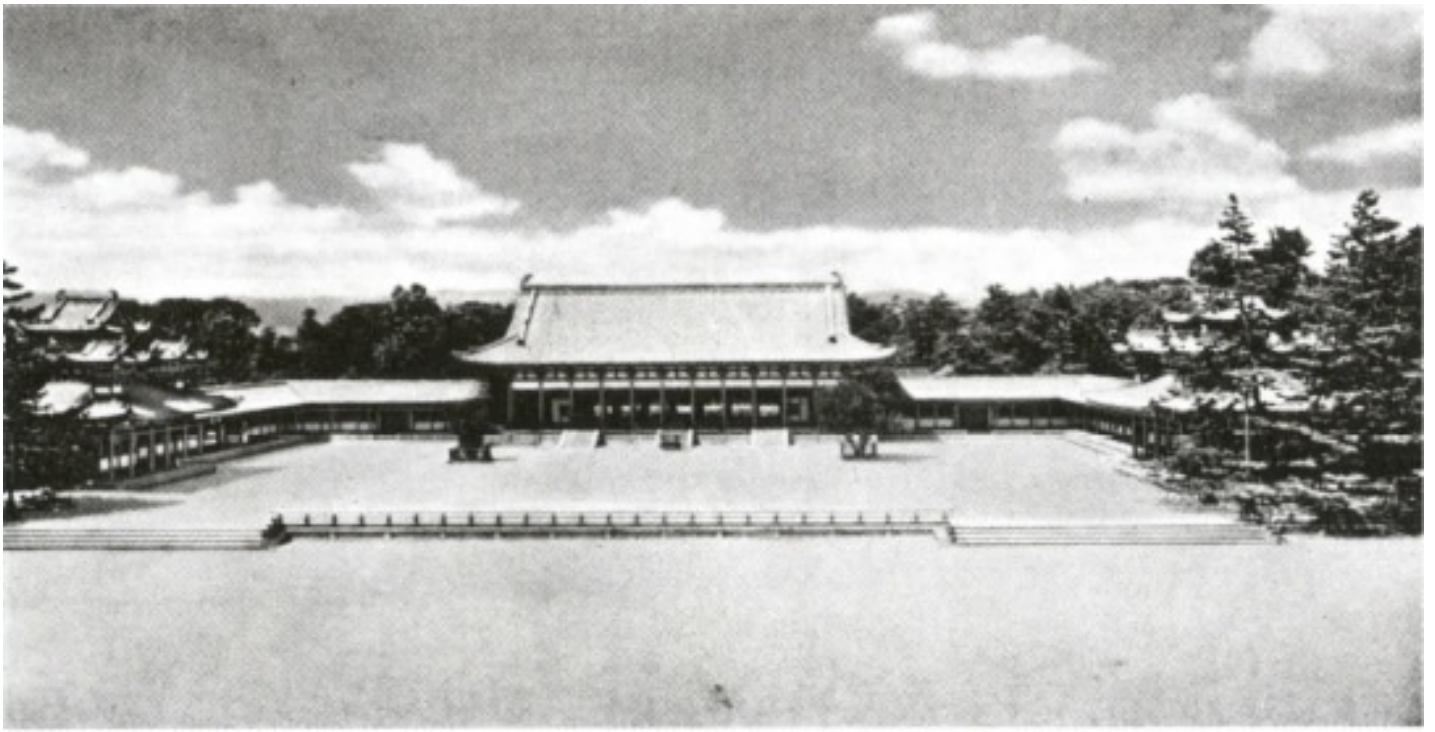


PLATE 8. HEIAN SHRINE, KYOTO. A panoramic view of the main buildings with the Daigokuden or Hall of State in the center.

PLATE 9. SUMIYOSHI SHRINE, OSAKA. An example of a style of shrine architecture that shows early continental influences on pure Japanese style. This shrine has three main sanctuaries for three deities.

PLATE 10. TOSHO SHRINE, NIKKO: YOMEI GATE. A magnificent example of the massive and ornate two-story type of shrine gate. The structure of this shrine is typical of the period of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

In shrines of any great importance, the offerings are quite elaborate and much detailed attention goes into their preparation, especially at the time of the annual festival. But whether the shrine is large or small the manner of preparing offerings is probably prescribed in considerable detail in the shrine records. Generally they are prepared in a specially designated room and purified. Then they are

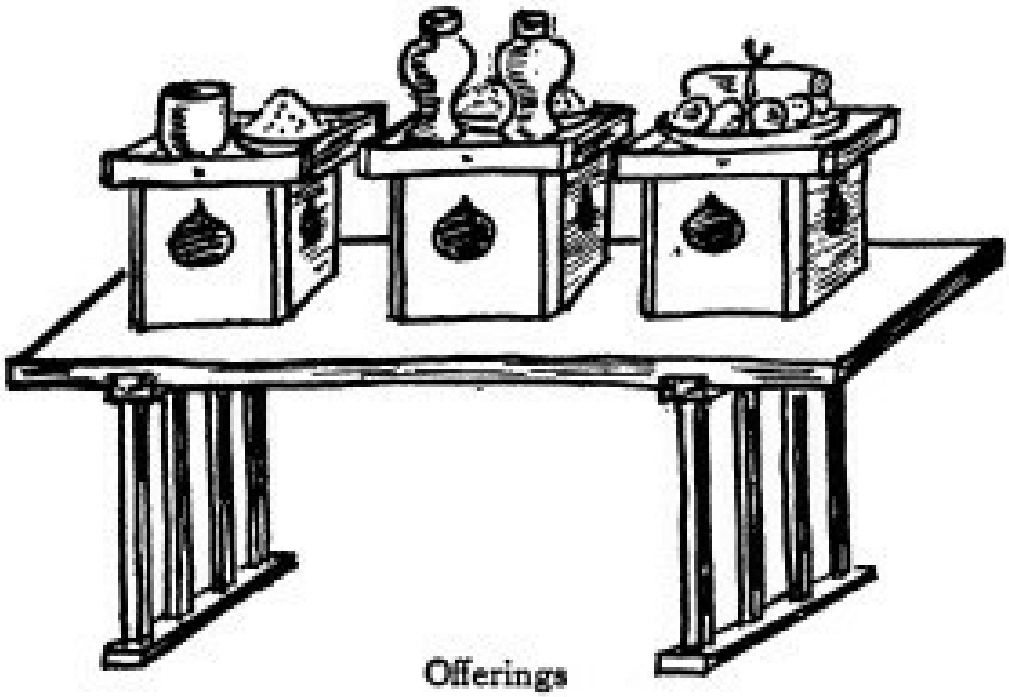
placed with much formality on separate dishes or trays, and carried into the sanctuary, where they are arranged on high stands, which are usually of unpainted wood. In some cases red or black lacquered stands are used that blend with the interior of the sanctuary.

The offerings generally conform to very ancient tradition; the most simple ones being rice, salt, water, and perhaps a sprig of *sakaki*. Offerings of cut flowers are also often seen, especially at wayside shrines. Considerable variety may be noted, even in the regular daily offerings, because much depends on what the individual worshippers may bring.

Four kinds of offerings are commonly presented: money, food and drink, material, and symbolic objects. Money gifts are made by tossing a coin into the offering box in front of the sanctuary or oratory, by presenting a small sum wrapped in formal paper as a gift for a special service, or by a donation in connection with receiving the shrine tablet, the reconstruction or repair of shrine property, or some other special project. Drink offerings consist mainly of water or rice wine; but sometimes other beverages may be noted. Where water is offered it may have been drawn from a sacred well in the precincts.

Food offerings may be either cooked or uncooked. Among food offerings frequently noted are: rice, fish, seaweed, vegetables, grain, fruit and cakes, Rice offerings

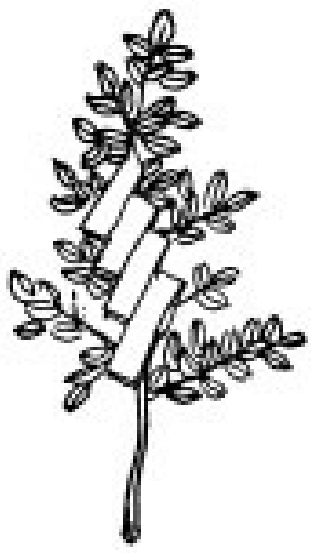
in many cases, especially at festival time, are in the form of dumpling-shaped cakes made of pounded rice. When the kami is regarded as an historical person, items of which the individual concerned was especially fond are also presented.



Offerings

Material offerings may include a great variety of objects. From ancient times paper, silk or cotton cloth, money, jewels, weapons, and even farm implements have been common. Gifts by the Emperor, the Imperial Household, or the Association of Shinto Shrines are invariably cloth, either silk or cotton, or money may be used as a substitute. If the kami is a patron of some occupation, a characteristic product may be offered. There are instances in ancient writings of white horses, white chickens, and white boars being presented to shrines. At

some shrines animal offerings are made even today. At Ise, for example, two of the Emperor's former white mounts are in special stables, and a variety of chickens, not necessarily white, may be seen wandering about the precincts. In a few cases, in place of a living horse, a life-size image of a horse may be noted standing in a stall facing a path along which worshippers pass. The one at the Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto, for example, is supplied with a magnificent saddle, bridle, and other appurtenances.



Tamagushi

Symbolic offerings usually take the form of a sprig of the sacred *sakaki* tree to which are attached strips of flax and paper. The *gohei*, which stands in a central position before the inner sanctuary, is a type of symbolic offering. The various forms of entertainment, such as the dances, drama, wrestling, and archery, are in a sense also regarded as offerings to the kami.

Prayers The ceremonial prayers, that are read, or rather recited, at shrines by the priest, are in classical Japanese, which was intelligible when it was the prevailing language, but is not understood today by people unless they have made a special study of the subject. In ancient times, a great many historical and other important records were written in beautiful, rhythmic poems in order to facilitate their transmission to posterity. Prayers were also composed in this style in order that the mystic feeling embodied in the manner of addressing the kami, which had been inherited from great antiquity, might be transmitted intact to future generations. This was especially necessary because the new, short and to Japanese ears somewhat harsh Chinese words without melody, which had been introduced from the mainland and had modified the Japanese language, were not deemed suitable to preserve the meaning and spirit of the ancient ceremonies-

Until the Meiji era the prayers were composed by the priests of each shrine in any manner deemed appropriate. In April, 1875, as part of the policy to nationalize Shrine Shinto, the government took over this responsibility, prepared the prayers in accordance with the "Detailed Laws of the Engi Period," and required their use in the stated rites and festivals of all shrines. These were revised first in March, 1914, and again in 1927. Today, prayers drafted by

the Association of Shinto Shrines are in general use among member shrines, but the priests are free to write their own if they wish to do so.

As a rule the prayers open with words in praise of the kami; make some reference to the origin and possibly the history of the specific rite, festival or occasion being observed; express thanksgiving, report to or petition the kami, as may be appropriate; enumerate the offerings presented; give the status and name of the officiant; and finally add some parting words of respect and awe. The prayer read at a funeral is addressed to the spirit of the deceased as a "message of condolence." It is expressed with deep emotion and is usually filled with recollections and terms of deep affection.

Sacred Feast At the end of any Shinto ceremony, except when only the simple act of worship is performed before a shrine, whether it be in a home or shrine, or for an individual, group, wedding, or grand festival, there is a sacred feast, called *naorai*, which means "to eat together with the kami." In the case of the worshippers, this consists of formally drinking a sip of rice wine served by a priest or one of the girl attendants. In the case of a shrine festival the priests, prominent laymen, and special guests gather in the priests' quarters or some other place and, after partaking solemnly of a few sips of rice wine, enjoy a relaxing and

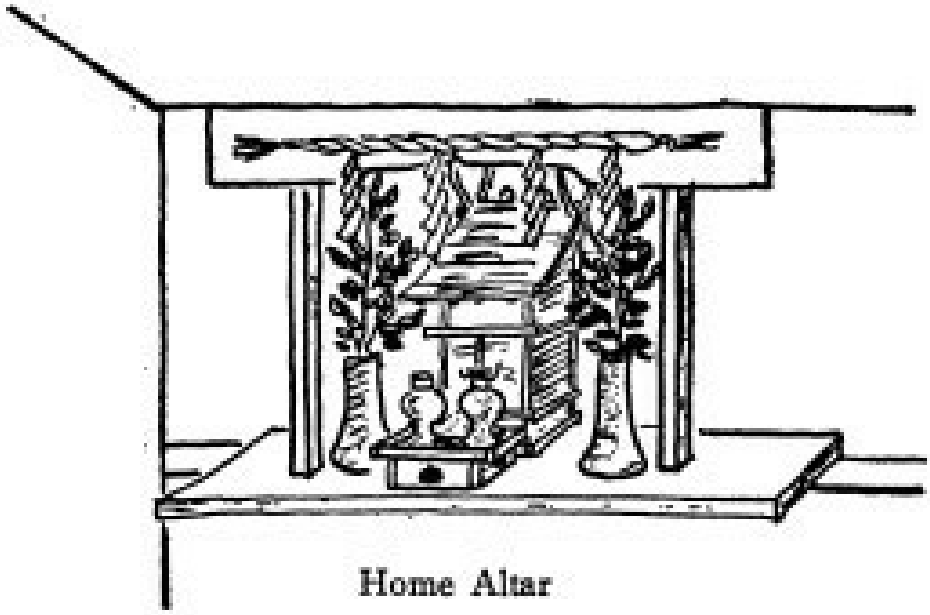
even hilarious meal at which much more wine is consumed.

Worship in the Home

Worship requires preparation. Man cannot shift his mind from the mundane to the spiritual as he transfers his body at an intersection from one street car to another. Preparation begins at home.

To awaken early, wash the face, rinse the mouth, and purify the body and mind by worshipping the kami and the ancestral spirits gives meaning to the day and enables one to begin work with a pure feeling. The kami are sincere and always guard those who have faith. One's ancestors add unseen strength and help. Thus one is able to live a righteous life.

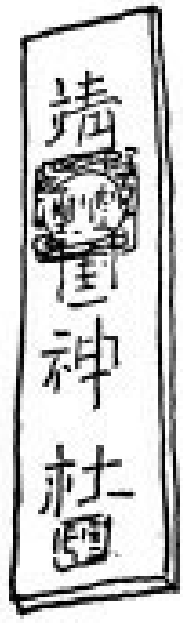
Some homes have small private shrines in their gardens, but in most cases there is only a high shelf (*kami-dana)* in some clean, quiet, convenient place on which a miniature shrine is placed. The size and quality will depend on the financial ability as well as on the faith of the head of the household. In front of the shrine there is often a small mirror, on either side of which there may be small lanterns and a sprig of *sakaki*, while above and across the length of the shelf a straw rope with small paper pendants is usually stretched. Sometimes a curtain is draped in front.



Home Altar

Within the shrine itself the central place is usually occupied by a talisman of the Grand Shrine of Ise placed vertically—with one for the tutelary kami on the right and one or more for any other kami that may be special objects of faith on the left. In case the shrine is small, the talisman are placed together, with the one from Ise in front, the one of the tutelary kami next, and the others behind.

For the ancestral spirits a somewhat lower, separate shelf is sometimes provided on which is placed a small box containing the memorial tablets of relatives and a mirror. Special care is taken at all times to keep the kami-shelf clean and undefiled.



Talisman

The offerings, which should be fresh and presented as first fruits, consist in their simplest form of clean rice, either cooked or uncooked, water, and salt. On special occasions small portions of such things as uncooked rice, rice cakes, sea fish, wild fowl or water fowl, seaweed, vegetables, fruits, cakes or the products of the farm or garden are also offered. On ancestral days it is customary to offer something of which the deceased was fond, and on occasion a diploma, a certificate of appointment to a new position, the monthly salary, or similar items may be placed before the kami as a token of thanksgiving.

The procedure for worship in the home is very simple and not always uniform. Having washed the hands, rinsed the mouth, and placed fresh offerings before the kami, the worshipper stands or seats himself on a mat facing the miniature shrine and makes first a slight bow and then two

deep bows. Following this whatever comes to mind as a prayer is repeated either audibly or in silence. Two deep bows, two claps with the hands in a raised position at about the level of the chest, a deep bow, a slight bow and the rite is over. Later the special food offerings are removed and served at meal time. Before eating, however, the devout Shintoist closes his eyes, slightly bows the head, and either silently or audibly claps the hand as a token of gratitude to the kami.

This, of course, is a description of the ideal behavior. In actual practice in most homes someone, probably one of the older members of the family, will tidy the shelf, change the offerings, and pause silently for a moment with hands together in an attitude of prayer. Others may or may not pay a slight token of respect as they hasten off to the work of the day.

Worship at a Shrine

On special occasions, when the local shrine is to be visited, the devout, being particularly careful in their ablutions, will put on clean linen and, after paying respect to the kami in morning devotions before the home altar and at the meal, will proceed to the shrine on foot or in some conveyance. En route, if other shrines are passed, these will be acknowledged by a bow in the direction of the sanctuary.

When the shrine compound is reached, the worshipper proceeds on foot. Passing beneath the first *torii,* a sense of being purified in heart is experienced as he walks along the path and hears the sound of crunching stone beneath his feet. No one with any illness, open wound, flowing blood, or in mourning should worship at shrines, but sometimes this taboo is not observed today. On either side of the path there may be lanterns, memorial tablets, a sacred dance pavilion, a hall for picture votive offerings, trees, and at festival time, perhaps two poles from which flags or long streamers in five colors wave in the breeze. Everything will be neat and in order because the priests will have been up for many hours already, and have swept the grounds and purified the precinct and buildings.

At the ablution pavilion the hat, scarf, and overcoat are removed. The mouth and hands are symbolically purified by the use of water taken with a wooden dipper provided for this purpose. On unusual occasions, a priest with a wooden bucket of water, dipper, and folded white paper to wipe the fingers may stand along the approach in order to provide for this rite. In front of the worship hall, after placing his hat, scarf, and overcoat to one side, the worshipper may jangle a bell, if there is one hanging over the offering box. This drives off evil spirits and produces a calm feeling by its pure sound * Then he stands quietly and performs the simple acts of devotion by tossing a coin (in rural areas sometimes a few grains of rice wrapped in paper) into the offering box, bowing slightly first, then twice deeply, or offering a silent prayer and bowing twice deeply, clapping the hands twice at the level of the chest, bowing once deeply and then only slightly before turning away. (Sometimes a written prayer is read, but this is rather rare.)

If the occasion is one of special significance and the shrine facilities are adequate, the worshipper may make his wishes known at the shrine office and, after presenting a small money or material gift, he and those with him are taken into the oratory or sanctuary. There, sitting on the mats behind the priest who faces the inner sanctuary, a more formal ritual is observed, which includes the reading of a prayer, indicating among other things the date,

occasion, names of the participants, and the presentation of a sprig of *sakaki* as a token offering. Before the ceremony begins the money or material mentioned above is placed by one of the shrine staff on the offering tables.

Simple rites of this type are requested on numerous occasions such as when a new business venture is being undertaken, when a child enters school or a youth the university, when some significant event has occurred, or to offer thanks for some special benefit.

Wedding ceremonies are also very commonly performed at shrines.

Before leaving the shrine precincts most worshippers who have come from any distance will usually stop at a stall where postcards, charms, and equipment for household shrines are available. For a small sum a number may be drawn from a box and a printed oracle received which tells what fortune or misfortune lies ahead. After a reading these oracles are usually folded and twisted around a twig of some tree or in the wire meshing of the enclosures on either side of the gates as a petition for their fulfillment, if good fortune is foretold, or for a safeguard, if the omen is unfavorable. The shrine talisman, a symbol of the kami which the worshippers can secure for a very small offering, is to be placed in a manner already described in the household altars. This consists of a piece of good quality paper on which the name of the kami is inscribed; but it

may also contain a very small piece of shaving from the timbers of a former shrine building. Everything about the shrine—its buildings, its paraphernalia, its rites, its surroundings—contributes to the worship of the kami.

Festivals

Many types of shrine festivals are observed, which vary considerably in accordance with their respective traditions and local conditions. The most important occasion in any shrine is its annual or semi-annual festival (*reisai*) which is usually a spring festival (preparation for farming), an autumn harvest festival, a festival to commemorate the dedication of the shrine to the worship of one or more kami, a festival commemorating the decease of the enshrined spirit, or a festival having some significant connection with the faith of the shrine. In addition, a number of other festivals are observed which have a relationship with national traditions and seasonal customs.

Preparation of the Shrine

When an important festival approaches, shrine personnel are exceedingly busy with preparations. The buildings and compound are cleaned in advance, and on the festival day the final touches are put on the shrine compound and buildings. If not done already, small sprigs of *sakaki* are fastened on the pillars of the *torii*, fresh straw ropes with white paper pendants attached are strung in front of or below the crossbeams of the *torii* and gates, over doorways, beneath the eaves of the main buildings, and around the place for purification; and any special decorations, such as the long streamers in the five auspicious colors (white, yellow red, blue, purple), "symbolic of clouds of good omen," or trays of plants and flowers prepared by a flower arrangement society, are put in place.

Within the sanctuary, if they are not ordinarily there, brocade banners mounted on two poles capped with sprigs of *sakaki* with white paper cuttings, are often placed at either side of the offering table. To the standard on the right, silk or gold brocade bags, one containing a metal mirror and the other a string of curved stone beads (*maga-tama*), are attached; and to the standard on the left, a short

sword, which is also enclosed in a gold brocade case, is hung. These three—the mirror, sword and jewels—although they are generally symbolic of the Imperial Regalia, are not in the shrine for that reason. They are there because it is an ancient Shinto custom to regard them as sacred.

Abstinence Preceding Festival

From the evening of the previous day those who are to officiate must prepare themselves spiritually by entering the priests' quarters, if there is one, or by secluding themselves from other people. This is called *saikai*, literally "restraint and rules" They bathe (*kessai*) frequently, put on clean clothes, take only specified food, and lead a calm and continent life, abstaining from all forbidden acts. If they violate the regulations or something occurs during this period, such as death, injury, or a fire, they are disqualified from participating in the festival and sometimes the festival itself is postponed.

The Ritual

At the designated hour the priests and musicians, some of whom may have come from other shrines to assist, the representatives of the worshippers who are to participate in the ceremony, and the bearer of the symbolic offering proceed to the purification place and, after the purification rite is performed, take their places before the inner sanctuary. Then, the assembled worshippers having been purified, the chief priest bows deeply and, as all present prostrate themselves, proceeds to open the doors of the inner sanctuary to the accompaniment of music and a weird oo-ing sound, which is said to clear the way for the kami.

The offering of food which follows is the center of the ritual. In this the various kinds of food offerings, having been ceremonially prepared and purified, are served on small wooden stands, which the priests pass from one to another until the one next in rank to the chief priest places them before the kami. During this process sacred music is played, and then a prayer is read by the chief priest.

In addition to the prescribed offerings of the shrine, there may be an offering from the Association of Shinto Shrines and, if a shrine is a very important one that is related in some way to the Royal Family, there will also be

an offering from the Imperial Household. These are brought to the shrine by special messengers and separately presented by the chief priest in a somewhat more elaborate manner. Then, after each offering is made, while all present prostrate themselves, a prayer is read by the messenger. Sometimes there are sacred dances (*kagura*) by one or more of the priests, specially trained dancers, or the young maiden attendants.

Following this the chief priest and then individual worshippers, beginning with the most prominent, go forward, place on a centrally located stand a symbolic offering, that is, a sprig of the sacred *sakaki*, bow twice, clap the hands twice and then bow in an attitude of prayer before returning to their seats. In case the number of worshippers is large, one individual often acts on behalf of the majority. When this is done, all those represented stand in their places, bow, and after the sprig of *sakaki* has been laid on the stand, bow twice, clap their hands twice and bow in unison.

After this the offerings are removed by the priests and, while all prostrate themselves, the chief priest closes the doors of the inner sanctuary, again to the accompaniment of a weird oo-ing sound. Then the priests and others who have participated directly withdraw, and finally the ceremony ends with the worshippers partaking of a symbolic feast of a sip of sacred wine, and the priests and

shrine officials retiring somewhere for the concluding sacred feast (*naorai).*

In some cases, the food offerings are later shared with persons in the parish; but as a rule they are eaten by the priests and their families. When there is a quantity of rice cakes (*mochi*), they are removed after several days, and small portions are given to the parishioners.

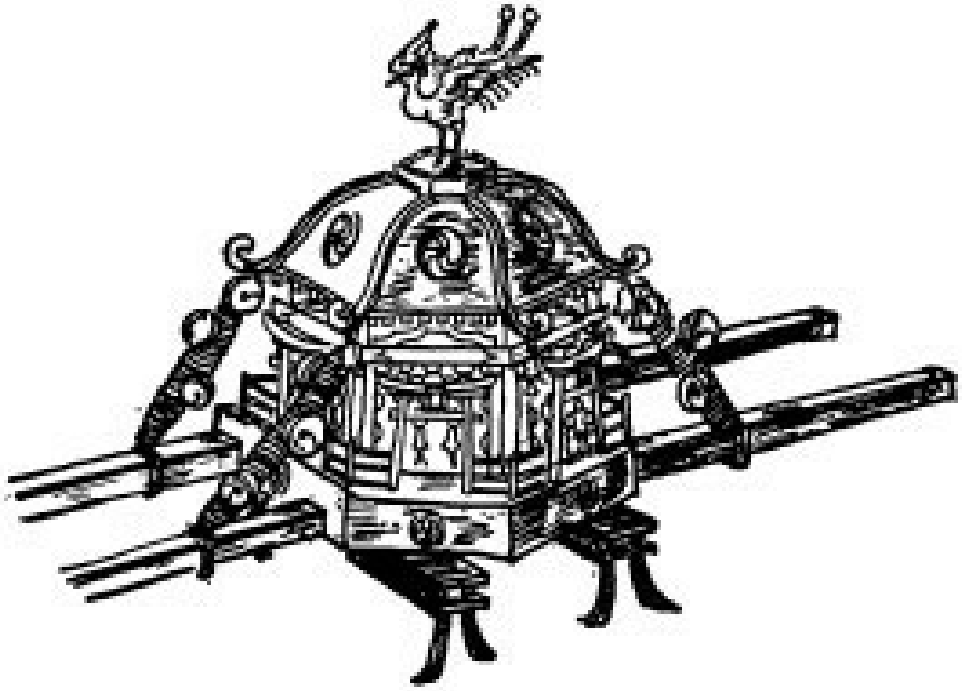
Sacred Dances

In addition to the formal rituals at which priests officiate, most of the larger shrines make some provision, at least at their annual festivals, for the presentation of sacred dances *(kagura)* accompanied by traditional music. At many of the larger shrines dances are performed daily on request by worshippers who present a small monetary gift. The *kagura* dance, which is characteristically Japanese in its emphasis on posturing and gestures rather than the motion of the feet, is in the first instance an offering for the pleasure of the kami, and is said to have originated in the dance performed when the Sun Goddess became angry with her brother and hid in a cave. That is why performers always face the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the dances are also enjoyed and admired by the worshippers.

The *kagura*, which developed as a dance drama in the middle ages, depicts the events of the ancient Shinto mythology. There are thirty-five traditional dramas of this type. A few original dances have been created in recent years and these likewise are presented with great solemnity before the enshrined kami. *Bugaku*, the ancient court dance, came from the Asiatic continent, and has become a sort of *kagura*.

Music The musical accompaniment during the solemn part of the ceremonies and dances is patterned after the ancient court music (*gagaku*). The musicians may or may not have a priest's status.

Processions For the community-at-large, the procession is the most exciting and at the same time the most meaningful part of a festival. The essence of the procession, as the Japanese term meaning "august-divine-going" suggests is the movement of the kami through the parish. This is accomplished by a symbolic transfer of the kami from the inner sanctuary to an ornate and gilded sacred palanquin *(mikoshi*), which becomes temporarily the abode of the kami. Actually, the sacred symbol itself usually is not removed. Instead, after an appropriate ritual, some symbolic substitute, such as a sacred mirror *(shinkyo)* or a *gokei,* is used. But in addition to the main palanquin, there are many others made by the parishioners, including some small ones for the children to carry. Within these, as a symbol of the kami, is placed a piece of paper on which the kami's name is written. Besides these palanquin it is not uncommon for a procession to include beautifully decorated vehicles, somewhat resembling floats, on which musicians and dancers often perform.



Sacred Palanquin

PLATE 11. FUSHIMI INAHAGI SHRINE, KYOTO. Shrine rites and festivals are the highest expression of the people's faith in the kami. Above is depicted a fire festival, which is one of the special divine services.

PLATE 12. BUGAKU PERFORMANCE AT ISE. These ancient court dances are performed annually at the Grande Shrine of Ise in honor of the Imperial ancestors.

Central in the procession, in fact, the only reason for there being a procession, is the sacred palanquin with its sacred symbol. This is generally carried on the shoulders of sturdy young men in the parish, who usually zigzag down the road jostling it up and down as they shout "wassho, wassho!" But this custom is relatively modern, and is said to be in order to make the kami happy. The ancient practice was to carry the sacred palanquin in a solemn, stately manner and this is still done by some shrines.

Usually, the sacred palanquin is carried to some place in the community where it rests for a short while, or even all night, before it is returned to the shrine. In some cases this resting place (*otabisho*) is a permanent structure, while in others a temporary shelter is erected or the front part of a home or building of a local parishioner is used. In a few instances, the resting place seems to be considered the most sacred place to the kami, the shrine itself being merely an abode for the kami between festivals. At the resting place a short ceremony, including prayer and offerings, is always observed.

As a rule, the procession may be said to have one or more of the following meanings: (1) It may signify the going out to welcome to the shrine a kami coming from a far-away world or coming down from the kami-world (*shinkai*). This may be the reason why in some cases a procession in starting from a shrine is calm, as if travelling incognito, while on the return journey it is sometimes merrily animated or proceeds in the darkness with all the lights in the shrine extinguished. (2) It may signify a visit to some place in the parish which has a special spiritual or historical significance for the kami. (3) It may be an occasion for the kami to pass through the parish and bless the homes of the faithful. (4) And finally it may commemorate the historic processions of some Imperial messengers or feudal lords on their way to the shrine.

Probably in most cases the procession has some historical significance related either to the appearance of the kami, the founding of the shrine, or some outstanding historical event in the life of the community. In a sense processions are historical religious pageants. For example, the semi-annual procession at Nikko (May and October 17) commemorates the visits of Imperial messengers to the tomb of the first shogun, Ieyasu Tokugawa; the Gion Festival (Yasaka Shrine) in Kyoto (July 17) commemorates the worship of an ancient emperor in praying for the end of a terrible plague; and the *jidai* Festival is a pageant of the manners and costumes of the period between the emperors, who had their palaces in Kyoto and who are enshrined at the Heian Shrine in that city.

Although some shrines, Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, for example, do not have sacred palanquins and hence do not hold processions, practically all of the older tutelary shrines do. However, because the significance of each procession is often unique and the different types of costumes, vehicles, and paraphernalia are so numerous, it is not possible to discuss them here in detail.

Entertainment A great many forms of entertainment are provided at a shrine or in the parish during festival time so that a festival combines both solemn and light features, and sometimes turns a whole community into something like a carnival. In practice the light features constitute

entertainment for the populace, but in origin and spirit most of them in the first instance were regarded as offerings for the pleasure of the enshrined kami. This is why they are called *kan-nigiwai*, that is, "divine amusement."

Among the many forms of entertainment provided in shrines are sacred dances (*kagura*), music, classical dances *(bugaku*), archery contests, archery on horseback, *(yabusame)* horse racing, and Japanese wrestling (*sumo).*

Other forms of entertainment somewhat more hilarious, which according to their original nature are also offerings for the kami, are primarily for the enjoyment of the worshippers. Many shrines are noted for special types of entertainment which draw huge crowds from the countryside at festival time. Divine music made by drums, flutes and bells cheers the crowds. When village *kagura* plays, that is, popular *kagura*, are presented, they are usually performed by professional or local talent and include considerable humor, not to mention buffoonery, but the basis is still episodes in Shinto mythology.

Footnote

* Some authorities interpret the ringing of the bell as "purifying the mind," and others as "calling the attention of the enshrined kami." Ed.

神 IV 道

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Political Life

The Meiji Restoration had two parallel and complementary objectives. One was political, the other religious. The political objective was the restoration of the direct rule of the Emperor, who for centuries had been relegated to a position of political impotence. The religious objective was to revive the Kami Way as the spiritual basis for government and society. In a sense they were identical. Consequently, it was but natural that Shinto was made the official cult of the new government.

Government Policy The first steps toward the religious goal included an order separating Buddhism from Shinto, the establishment of a Department of Shinto modelled after the Office of Divine Affairs (Jingi Kan) of the seventh century, and a declaration to the effect that Shinto would be the religious foundation of the new government. In 1871 shrines were given official grades based on their relationship to the Imperial Family and placed under the administrative control of an appropriate national, prefectural, or local government office.

At the same time the hereditary priesthood was abolished and priests were put under the direction of the appropriate government offices in regard to appointment,

support, discipline, and dismissal; but, except for the national shrines (*kankokuhei-sha)*, the hereditary system continued to be generally respected. Title to all shrine property was taken over by the government in 1872 and in 1875 new rituals and ceremonies, based on the "*Detailed Laws of the Engi Period*" were promulgated for shrines of all grades. Then, on April 25, 1869, Emperor Meiji led a procession to the Ceremonial Hall of the palace, where he performed priestly functions before all the kami of the Shinto pantheon, read the Charter Oath, and explained its meaning to the assembled dignitaries. In this ceremony the new government demonstrated the re-establishment of the principle of the unity of Shinto worship and government *(saisei itchi),* which has been regarded from time immemorial as one of the fundamental concepts in the spiritual foundation of Japanese society. Thus, in every respect shrines became government institutions and Shrine Shinto became the state cult.

When exaltation of the above-mentioned Department of Shinto with the accompanying effort to suppress Buddhism failed to achieve the desired results, an Ecclesiastical Department (Kyobu Sho) was established (1872), which provided for cooperative effort on the part of both Shinto and Buddhist priests, with the latter in a position of inferiority. But this also failed and from 1874 Shinto sects were permitted to organize independently and the

Buddhists were permitted to freely carry on their propaganda. In 1877 the administration of religious affairs was transferred to a Bureau of Shrines and Temples in a newly organized Ministry of Home Affairs, and in 1882 a distinct line was drawn between shrine priests and other religious teachers. Moreover, a distinction was made between shrines as national, non-religious community-morality establishments and the temples and churches. Then, in 1900 this bureau was divided into a Bureau of Shrines and a Bureau of Religions, and thirteen years later the Bureau of Religions was transferred to the Ministry of Education. In this way, the administration of shrines was separated from the general field of religion and it seemed that a relatively permanent arrangement had been devised for dealing with both Shrine Shinto and religion.

Many Shintoists, however, were far from satisfied and with the development of the so-called "Showa Restoration Movement" in the nineteen-thirties a demand again arose, as in the Meiji Restoration, for the re-establishment of an Office of Divine Affairs (Jingi Kan) as a department of government having precedence over the regular cabinet ministries. Yet, in spite of the great pressure exerted at that time, all that could be achieved was the creation of a Divine Affairs Board (Jingi-in) within the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Defeat, surrender, and a military occupation brought

about a revolutionary change in the status of Shrine Shinto. As a result of the Shinto Directive, shrines were disestablished as state institutions and the observance, support, and sponsorship of Shinto rites and teachings in any form by any government agency were strictly forbidden. Finally, the Constitution incorporated in its provisions the basic principles of religious freedom, and a rigid separation of religion and state became the law of the land. Today, Shinto shrines have no relation with the state. They are private institutions supported and managed entirely by the shrine parishioners and worshippers.

The State The Shinto faith brings not only the individual, the neighborhood and society into direct relationship with the kami and makes them more ideal; it does the same for the political world. Even in ancient times when Japan had not yet become well unified, the clans regarded shrine rites as an important factor in political life, and as the country become consolidated this attitude became more pronounced. The intimate manner in which, throughout the centuries, Shinto has been connected with the political state is evident in many ways. On the one hand, the court rites already mentioned have been observed exclusively by the Imperial Family, that is, the state; while on the other hand, the performance of shrine worship has been primarily a function of the people, and the state has made offerings at

the shrines for the peace and welfare of the country.

According to the mythology, when the Imperial ancestor, Ninigi-no-mikoto, descended from heaven and secured the allegiance of Okuni-nushi, the Kami of Izumo, he promised in return to build a sacred palace, that is, a shrine, and serve the kami eternally. This is the origin of the Grand Shrine of Izumo, which is located on the west coast of Japan in Shimane Prefecture near the city of Matsue.

Moreover, from earliest times the emperors, regarding the Sun Goddess as their ancestress in faith, have employed hereditary ritual officials to perform kami-rites for the court Some of these are purely ancestral rites for the Imperial Family. Others are political in nature. The distinction is not always clear. Some, such as the Great Purification, for example, concern the entire country. Others, such as the wedding of the Crown Prince, concern primarily the Imperial Family.

In ancient society, the emperor and high court officials, in a sense were mainly ritualists who carefully observed certain rites and practices for the purpose of insuring the happiness of the people and the peace of the country. Government meant the guidance of society in the cooperative performance of kami-rites, which it was believed would produce communal tranquility. Worship, that is, the performance of these kami-rites, was a

fundamental element in government itself. The word *matsurigoto*, literally, "worship affairs," covered what would be regarded today as both religious rites and civil administration, but was formerly considered to be a single, undifferentiated experience. This was true on a local as well as a national level. The festivals and rites for the various tutelary kami and the administration of clans and local society were essentially a single function. A term that describes this identity of kami-rites and civil administration is *saisei itchi*, which means the unity *(itchi*) of worship *(sai*) and government *(sei).*

Throughout history the palace rites have been prescribed by law. In a legal code promulgated in the Taiho era* (670—720) there were twenty articles related to Shinto which dealt mainly with court rites. The *Detailed Laws of the Engi Period* prescribed the ceremonies for shrines related to the Imperial Family, the offering of prayers (*norito*) at shrines, and a list of kami (3,132) venerated by the state.

After the Shogunate was established the care of Shinto establishments was neglected, but early in the Meiji Restoration most of them were revived.

Just as the *Kojiki Nihon Shoki*, and the other writings already mentioned, were vehicles for the transmission of the dynastic claims of the Imperial Family and the clans, so the shrines, which constituted the ritual basis for

maintaining the unity of the local community established on the dual foundation of a common clan and a common geographical relationship, became national institutions and were expected to conduct rites for the kami in the name of the state. At the same time the state along with the people offered thanks to the kami and prayed not only for the peace of the country and the welfare and prosperity of the land, but also that those in positions of political responsibility would, with sincere faith, perform their duties in a spirit of fairness and service. This change of focus from the immediate locality to the entire nation reflected the political change which was effected when loyalty to the clan ruler was superseded by loyalty to the national ruler, and the shrines welcomed the change as being consonant with their essential character.

Broadening the shrine's horizon had the salutary effect of enlarging the outlook of the worshippers, and from this standpoint nationalization was beneficial for both the shrines and the people. Thus, it was the ideal of State Shinto to become the political conscience of the country.

However, with the disestablishment of Shinto in 1945 the rites of the court, on the one hand, including the sending of Imperial messengers to certain shrines, became the responsibility of the Imperial Family and constitute what is known today as Imperial Household Shinto, while the shrines became private religious institutions controlled

by their respective priests and representatives of the parishioners.

In a great many cases the shrines are very flourishing. The reason for this is relatively simple. The effect of the abolition of State Shinto and the disestablishment of shrines was not as serious as some feared because, while from ancient times shrines have had a very close relationship with the state, the sponsoring of shrine rites has always been the responsibility of the people themselves.

Nationalism Shinto has been generally regarded abroad as synonymous with ultranationalism, militarism, and emperor worship. This is not strange because Shinto was unquestionably used by the militarists and those in power to unify the mind and strengthen the loyalty of the people. It was probably inevitable historically that this should have happened. Threatened with oppression and even absorption by Buddhism and Confucianism, Shinto became a bulwark for the preservation and independence of the racial culture.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century the fear of intrusion from Western nations resulted in the suppression of Christianity and the exclusion of foreigners. In the first half of the nineteenth century the expanding power of an imperialistic Occident jeopardized the country's long history of independence. Threatened thus by

invasion from without and suffering from serious evils caused by feudalism within, many leaders longed for a revival of the days when the emperor himself would again rule the land. In this situation it was only natural that Shinto, which had a close relationship with the Imperial Family and had experienced oppression and even absorption by Buddhism and Confucianism, should become the spiritual basis for the preservation and independence of the racial culture, and the protection of the country from alien domination.

Consequently Shinto acquired a very nationalistic character and it was natural that during World War II patriotism would find in it a source of strong spiritual support. Indeed, Shinto then seemed to have an exclusively nationalistic character. However, fundamentally, Shinto is a faith which is based on the belief that the many kami cooperate together. Shrine Shinto is worship to unite and harmonize the various kinds of kami. The spirit of tolerance and cooperation is a hitherto unnoticed aspect of Shinto. Since the war's end, as a result of reflection upon the narrow-minded nationalism of the past, this unnoticed aspect is coming to be increasingly recognized.

Emperor Worship Central in the movement to develop a modern state was the enhancement of veneration for the Emperor as the foundation of the state; and in this shrines

played a most important role. Yet it is an interesting fact that only relatively few shrines are dedicated to the worship of specific emperors. Including Emperor Ojin, who is worshipped at Hachiman shrines, which constitute a special case and number many thousands, only twenty of the 124 rulers of Japan have special shrines in their honor.

Among these twenty emperors, seven met with misfortune and their enshrinement takes the form of consolation of their spirits for the mistreatment accorded them. In addition, eleven Imperial princes are enshrined, all of whom sacrified their lives in loyal and valiant service to the throne. The most famous shrines to emperors are Kashiwara Shrine in Nara Prefecture and Miyazaki Shrine in Kyushu, where the Emperor Jimmu is venerated; Heian Shrine in Kyoto, which is dedicated to the Emperor Kammu, who founded the capital in Kyoto, and Emperor Komei, the last one to reside in Kyoto before the capital was moved to Tokyo; and Meiji Shrine, where the spirits of Emperor Meiji and his consort, Empress Shoken, are enshrined.

In spite of nationalization and the extreme perversion of the shrines and emperor worship by the militarists and ultranationalists, it does not seem that the emphasis on emperor worship and the accompanying pressures in connection with shrine worship in the past century necessarily brought the people under the special influence

of those particular shrines that had a close relationship with the Imperial Family and the foundation of the nation. Today, some of the important shrines, which hold a unique position in the mythology of the nation, are in serious financial straits, while other equally important ones, are flourishing in spite of the loss of state support. In the case of the Grand Shrine of Ise, for example, which has the closest connection of any with the Imperial Family, it may be noted that the shrine saw its greatest prosperity in the pre-Meiji Era at the time when the influence of the Imperial court was at low ebb. Thus, it can be seen that the faith of the populace itself and not government pressure really determines the popularity of shrines.

Hakko Ichi-u When anyone looks closely at the shrines and understands the rites, which are performed as the people pray for peace and prosperity amidst the beauty of the countryside and the joyous atmosphere of the festivals, he can clearly understand how far removed the spirit of shrine worship is from reckless acts of violence. Among the expressions most frequently thought to typify world military expansion, none has been quoted more frequently than "*Hakko Ichi-u,*" which means "To cover the eight corners of the world under one roof." Yet when originally used by the first emperor it meant to bring peace and establish an ideal state.

The harmony and reconciliation which are the essence of Shrine Shinto, are nowhere better expressed than in a poem by the Emperor Meiji, who wrote,

"When all the seas, I deem, are our brethren,

四方の海　みなはらからと思ふ世に

Why do the winds and waves noisily rise?"

など波風の　立ちさはぐらん

The Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho) expresses the true feelings of the people and the true nature of Shrine Shinto in the following three foundation principles:

1. To express gratitude for divine favor and the benefits of ancestors, and with a bright, pure, sincere mind to devote ourselves to the shrine rites and festivals.
2. To serve society and others and, in the realization of ourselves as divine messengers, to endeavor to improve and consolidate the world.
3. To identify our minds with the Emperor's mind and, in loving and being friendly with one another, to pray for the country's prosperity and for peaceful co-existence and co-prosperity for the people of the world.

Thus, the shrines today as in the past endeavor to fulfill

their mission to become the political conscience of the people.

THE ARTS

Shrines as a rule do not have images as objects of worship.* Generally speaking, only symbolic objects are used for this purpose, and these are kept within the holy of holies. No one is ever allowed to see them.** Consequently, in comparison with Buddhism and Hinduism, for example, there has been relatively little Shinto art. Nevertheless, Shinto has made a not inconsiderable contribution to the field of art indirectly through the use of images of guardian animals, the employment of the finest artists and artisans in the construction and decoration of sanctuaries, in the making of gardens, and in the preservation of natural beauty surrounding shrines. Moreover, by encouraging the presentation of the finest products of one's skill as offerings to the kami, it has provided an incentive for those with special skills to exert themselves to the utmost to achieve perfection of expression, and some shrines have been responsible for more than a thousand years for the preservation and transmission of ancient techniques.

Although there is no great amount of distinctly Shinto literature, the kami-faith has furnished countless subjects for poets, many of whom have presented their masterpieces

to the kami as offerings. The same is the case with calligraphers, painters, and sculptors. Furthermore, through the preservation of the sacred dances (*kagura*) and patronage of classical music (*gagaku*) and dances (*bugaku*), drama (*Noh),* and the transmission of popular forms of local entertainment, such as village drama (*sato kagura*), the shrines have made a lasting contribution to these fields of art.

The most unique contribution, however, has been in the field of shrine architecture, which is best epitomized in the Grand Shrine of Ise. Bruno Taut, the famous critic, in his *Houses and People of Japan* says that

> The shrines of Ise are Japan's greatest and completely original creation in general world architecture. We encounter here something entirely different from the most beautiful cathedrals, mosques, the Indian and Siamese temples or pagodas, and even from the temples of China. The Parthenon on the Acropolis is to the present day a visible sign of the beautiful gifts that the men of Athens bestowed on their symbol of wisdom and intelligence, Athena. It is the greatest and most aesthetically sublime building in stone as are the Ise shrines in wood.

Economic Life

Shinto is concerned not only with the sacred but also with the secular. Commercial and industrial activities, everything necessary for the production of food, clothing and shelter, everything for the development of culture and giving happiness to the world, has a direct connection with the kami. Commercial activities which are closely connected with the kami are good. Those that promote one's own happiness, should also promote the happiness of society. But this is not enough. We are happiest when we make others happy. If commercial life is not directly connected with the kami, it is bad and drives us toward misfortune.

Shinto does not look lightly upon material things. It does not regard the absence of material goods as admirable, nor does it regard the desire for things as necessarily evil. On the contrary, it considers such a desire as a natural development of a life of adoration of the kami. Consequently, as long as the desire for material things is related to the kami, and is for the sake of the public welfare, it is good and must be blessed by the kami. But seeking after and using wealth for selfish purposes or in ways that injure others is not in accord with the way of the

kami.

When Japan was primarily an agricultural country, through the shrine festivals the people sought after good crops in the spring and expressed gratitude for rich harvest in the fall. Throughout the season prayers were offered for protection against destructive wind, rain, drought, and insects. In spirit this took the form of making an offering of the first fruits to the kami, and in expressing thanks for the "remnant" left for personal use. This practice continues today in rural areas, and the same is true for those engaged in hunting, fishing, industrial arts, industry and commerce. All offer prayers of petition and thanksgiving.

PLATE 13. TOGAKUSHI JINJA, NAGANO. A performance of the *mikomai*, one of the main types of female Shinto dance. The young girls in the picture each carry a small baton with bells.

PLATE 14. YOSHIDA JINJA, KYOTO. Girl dancers with their flowery headdresses perform divine service at the annual spring festival.

PLATE 15. MINATOGAWA JINJA, HYOGO. The kami or a symbolic substitute travels through the streets on festival days, born aloft in an ornate and gilded "divine palanquin."

The holding of fairs and markets in the precincts of shrines developed from the custom of people coming together at festival time to make offerings to the kami and then exchanging goods (divine gifts). The word meaning market *(ichiba*), implies a "sacred place." Medieval commerce and industry developed under the shadow of large Buddhist temples and Shinto Shrines. This was not

especially related to Shinto, but arose from the government policy of protecting religion. Nevertheless, it accorded with the basic spirit of the relationship between shrines and the economic life of the parishioners. The shrine festival itself involves great expense and draws many visitors. Markets are set up, which contribute much to the communities, but they also may sometimes cause difficulty by the misuse of the festival.

Historical Relations with Other Religions

When Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced into Japan from the Chinese mainland during the fifth and sixth centuries, some conflict took place between Shinto and Buddhism. Later, in the eighth century, a compromise was reached which resulted in the teaching that the kami were pleased to receive Buddhist sutras as offerings and to hear them recited in worship. As a consequence Buddhist temples were established alongside shrines, ostensibly to satisfy the kami, make them into Buddhist believers, and finally raise them to the level of buddhas. (At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many such temples adjacent to even small shrines.) Then in the ninth century some shrine kami became the guardians of Buddhist temples. For example, the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine in Sakamoto at the foot of Mount Hiei became the guardian of the Tendai monastery, Enryakuji, and the kami of Nibutsu Hime Shrine in Wakayama Prefecture was the protector of the Shingon monastery, Kongobuji, on Mount Koya.

Moreover, a syncretistic faith taught by Buddhists emerged which claimed that the buddhas were the prime

noumenon, while the kami were their Japanese manifestations. In Shingon Buddhism for example, the Sun Goddess was said to be the avatar of the Cosmic Buddha.

Thus in later centuries each major division of Buddhism developed its own special variety of syncretism to correspond to its sectarian doctrine. In the 13th century Tendai Buddhism developed Sanno Shinto, and Shingon Buddhism Ryobu (Dual Aspect) Shinto,* and in the 15th century, Nichiren Buddhism propounded Hokke Shinto.

One illustration of how this trend manifested itself may be seen in the erection in the 17th century of the three famous Hachiman Shrines (Usa Hachiman-gu, Iwashimizu Hachiman-gu, and Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu,) and the To-shogu at Nikko, the latter being based on Sanno Ichijitsu Shinto, a branch of Sanno Shinto.

However, Shinto leaders could not view with equanimity this attempt of a foreign religion to absorb the indigenous faith, so at the same time in the 13th and 14th centuries a reaction set in, which produced several counter-movements aimed at placing Shinto in a position of ascendancy. One such was Yui-itsu or Yoshida Shinto, which first appeared in the early 13th century, but was not fully developed until the 15th century when Kanetomo Yoshida became its proponent and made his slogan: "Kami, primary, Buddha secondary." Another was Ise Shinto, also known as Watarai Shinto. Although tolerant toward

Buddhism, Ise Shinto stressed purity and sincerity as the highest virtues, faithfully maintained the purity of its tradition, and firmly rejected the idea that Buddhist deities were the manifestation of the prime noumenon. These two schools, along with several others, were the forerunners of Revival Shinto of which Norinaga Motoori (1730—1801) and Atsutane Hirata (1776 —1843), who claimed to advocate "pure" Shinto, were the outstanding exponents.

It was Revival Shinto that became dominant and finally provided important spiritual motivation for the Meiji Restoration of 1868. But the effort to revive "pure" Shinto was only partially successful. To be sure, most of the Buddhist elements were eliminated from Shinto shrines, but it was impossible to remove them all. In the thousand years of syncretism the relationship had become too close. The effect of Buddhism on Shinto architecture was, of course, ineradicable, but there were other cases also, such as Inari worship in the Toyokawa Inari, for example, where the separation movement failed.

Modern Relations with Other Religions

Historically on a local level there has always been cooperation between shrines and other religious institutions. Cooperation on a "denominational" or national level is a postwar phenomenon. Today the Association of Shinto Shrines is active as one of the five associations which constitute the Religions League of Japan *(Nikon Shūkyō Ren-mei*), the other four being the Japan Buddhist Federation *(Zen Nippon Bukkyō Kai*), the Sectarian Shinto Federation *(Nikon Kyōha Shinto Renmei*), the Christian Liaison Committee *(Kirisutokyō Rengo Kai*), and the Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan *(Shin Nippon Shūkyo Dantai Rengo Kai).* Moreover, it encourages local shrines to cooperate in the Japan Council for Interfaith Cooperation *(Nihon Shukyo Kyūryōku Kyōgi Kai).*

This interest in associating with other religious organizations may seem somewhat strange but, since its fundamental spirit is one that emphasizes harmony and cooperation, it is only natural that Shrine Shinto should be tolerant and friendly toward other religious bodies and

approve of the parishioners affiliating with them. Under government control shrine worship was regarded as transcending rather than conflicting with the acceptance of another religious faith, and this seems to be an ideal which does not limit the religious faith of shrine worshippers. But until government control was withdrawn it was not possible for the shrine world to cooperate. Today, however, the inherent tendency of Shrine Shinto has come to the surface and the Association of Shinto Shrines is actively participating in the religious world on all levels.

Dual Faith As far as Shrine Shinto is concerned the so-called dual religious affiliation of the parishioners is taken as a matter of course. Not only is there no objection on the part of shrines to their parishioners being adherents of some denomination of Buddhism, Christianity, Shinto, or some other religion; it is assumed that they will. Shrine Shinto regards the shrines as something distinctly different from the institutions of other religions and in no way in conflict with them. But Shrine Shinto leaders, while being deeply interested in the activities of the religious world and eager to promote common causes, are concerned about the unfavorable restrictions which they must accept because of being classified with other religions. Therefore, the Association of Shinto Shrines is seeking ways to remove these handicaps.

Everyday Customs

As in most countries there is a close relationship in Japan between many common customs and the indigenous faith of the people. Shrine worship consists primarily in the celebration of the events of daily life, great and small, personal and communal, so it is natural that many of the common customs of the people should be closely associated with, if not actually derived from, Shrine Shinto practices.

At New Year's time the people decorate their homes with the traditional symbols of Shinto and as early as possible on New Year's Day worship their tutelary kami, famous shrines, and shrines located in fixed directions. Originally, New Year's Day fell at the close of winter and ushered in the spring. Then came the festival of rice planting, prayers for good crops, thanksgiving for the harvest and the Great Purification in the middle and at the end of the year. Some of these have been taken over by Buddhists, but historically they are in fact derived from primitive Shinto customs.

While probably of Chinese rather than indigenous origin, the Girl's Festival of March 3, the Boy's Festival of May 5, and the Star Festival of July 7 are popularly

regarded as closely related to Shinto.

After the land has been cleared and before construction of a building is begun, a ceremony of purifying the site and consoling the land kami is always observed. Formerly this was done by the people concerned without outside assistance, but now it is customary to call in a shrine priest to officiate. Completion of the frame of a new building is celebrated by placing a symbol of the presence of the kami (*gohei*) at the center of the ridge pole and the passing out of rice cakes, sweets, and rice wine to the workers and neighbors. This is known as the the "Ceremony of Placing the Ridge Pole"*(jōtō-sai*), although generally no priest is present.

The semi-annual house-cleaning, which in modern times is observed throughout the nation in spring and fall as a sanitary measure promoted by local public health officials, is a development of the Great Purification ceremony of ancient Shinto, although the original meaning has been almost completely forgotten by the general public. The custom of settling accounts in June and December is of the same derivation. Moreover, in the business world there is a custom of merchants clapping their hands when a business deal has been successfully negotiated or when a dispute has been amicably settled, thus calling the kami to witness the consummation of the matter.

It can be seen from these illustrations, which are only a few of the many that might have been used, that there is a very close relationship between Shinto customs and the everyday life of the people.

Footnotes

* The code that we have now is not the Taiho Code itself, but the code as amended in 718 in the Yoro era.

* This statement will surprise many who have heard that there are no images in shrines. As a matter of fact there are very few. The oldest of such images (jinzo) are two at the Matsuo Shrine on the outskirts of Kyoto.

** An exception to this prohibition occurred early in the Meiji Restoration when government officials inspected the shrines and temples to determine whether the structures should be classified as shrines or temples.

* The term "*ryōbu*" has two usages. In the first instance it was applied in Shingon Buddhism to two aspects of the universe, the noumenal and the phenomenal. Later it was combined with the word "Shinto" to describe the concept that Shinto kami were Japanese manifestations of Buddhist deities (*honji suijaku).*

神 V 道

SOME SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Transmission of the Faith

Shrine Shinto has always been so intimately associated with the daily life of the people that little need has been felt to formulate Shinto thought into any doctrinal system. The kami faith itself, participation in its rites, and the observance of Shinto-related customs have been taken as a matter of course by the individual and community. In the transmission of Shinto from generation to generation not much attention has been given to the philosophical or doctrinal expositions of the faith. Efforts have been made to preserve the record of shrine history and customs, but very little literature has been written to aid worshippers in understanding the nature of the enshrined kami and the meaning of shrine rites and practices.

How then has the faith been transmitted from generation to generation, from century to century, through more than two millenniums? It has been caught and not taught. Dependence has been placed almost entirely on the sensory appeal of the rites and festivals, as well as of the shrines themselves. The kami-faith was transmitted from heart to heart through daily life.

It is not easy to express the meaning of this faith in creed, doctrine, or philosophy. Yet, even though a

systematic exposition may be lacking, there can be no question but that after the spiritual wandering and indifference of youth have spent their course, the sensory appeal, the feeling of awe and mystery, and the consciousness of a relationship with the past which these engender bring many an individual back to the patrimonial shrine and the only spiritual home he has ever known. The strength of Shrine Shinto is in its emphasis on sensory experience derived from mystic rites and natural phenomena rather than on theological discourses. Thus, the kami-faith is one that is maintained through the observance of traditional ways rather than by overt propaganda.

Except for the pre-war teaching in public schools in connection with history and morals, Shrine Shinto has never had anything that resembles religious education. During the eighty years of government supervision, any such activity on the part of shrines themselves was forbidden. Consequently, it is not strange that many people, even some who are professionally associated with shrines, are unable to state in clear, succinct language the nature of Shinto. This does not mean, however, that the layman, who says he knows nothing about Shinto, has disassociated himself from the shrines or has lost interest in shrine practices. Many parishioners are hardly aware of the extent to which they are linked to and unconsciously controlled by the shrine and all that it means.

There is a tingle of excitement, a thrill of joy as one enters into a grove which surrounds a shrine, or stands within view of the *torii* and sanctuary as a ritual is being performed. Especially at the Grand Shrine of Ise, the magnificent cryptomeria and cypress trees create within the devout an inexpressible feeling of awe and wonder. When young men in *happi* coats and with towels wrapped tightly about their heads shout *"wassho, wassho"* as they zigzag down the streets with the sacred palanquin hoisted on their shoulders, they experience an exhilaration unimagined by those who do not enter into the spirit of the occasion. The kami-faith is caught not taught; and the experience begins when a baby is first carried to the shrine on the mother's back.

This method of transmission from life to life and heart to heart throughout the ages might have been insufficient if Shinto had been a matter of individual faith centering in the acceptance of certain doctrines or a creed. But historically Shinto has involved the observance of communal rituals in which both leaders of the national and local governments publicly officiated and all the people participated. Naturally, then, it is difficult for outsiders to understand Shrine Shinto, even though every effort is made to explain it. In some cases, such as Lafcadio Hearn, for example, it is possible to understand the Shinto way of thinking without really understanding Shinto.

Prayer-Priests The nearest the shrines ever came to engaging in propaganda was in the Middle Ages when the system of prayer-priests (*oshi*) came into existence. These were not regular priests. They lived in separate buildings close to certain large shrines, some of which were far from the centers of population. There they provided lodging accommodations for pilgrims, distributed shrine charms, offered prayers, and led the pilgrims to the shrine sanctuaries where obeisance was offered to the kami. Thus, they were very useful in developing the faith of the pilgrims. However, when the Meiji government forcibly separated the shrines from Buddhism, and ordered the separation of the shrine priests from the teachers of "Sectarian Shinto," this prayer-priest system was officially abolished. As a result, although the system has survived in a modified form in some instances and can be observed even today, the influence of shrines in isolated regions has greatly declined.

Associations Associations (*kōsha*) of worshippers constituted a second type of propaganda agency. These developed throughout the country in more recent times in order to promote the worship of certain kami and in some cases the observance of certain somewhat unique religious practices. In addition to this they also served as

cooperatives for raising funds so that annually one or more of their number could go on a pilgrimage. Some associations were developed by prayer-priests (*oshi*), but sometimes they were informal, local organizations of worshippers, and were not in any way directly connected with any shrine. When the Meiji government nationalized the shrines some of these associations, notably those that worshipped the Grand Shrine of Izumo, Mount Fuji, and Mount Ontake, became sects of what is known as "Sectarian Shinto." Others, such as those centering in the worship of Ise and Fushimi Inari continued to exist without following their example. In recent years, as travel has become easier and excursion buses more common, these associations have diminished in importance. In their heyday, however, they were very effective propaganda agencies.

Primarily, shrines have depended on the development of a close relationship with the parishioners to foster the kami-faith. To accomplish this, participation in the activities related to shrine festivals has been considered most effective. However, at the end of World War II, when the supervision of the shrines by the government was abolished, the relationship tended to deteriorate and the shrines needed to devise some means of training new worshippers. Hence, regardless of what the conditions were in the past, the necessity for some propaganda activities has become very evident. To meet this situation

some literature has been produced for both the priests and people, and lectures and audio-visual techniques have been promoted both nationally and locally.

Moreover, while shrines have always been centers of considerable community activity, which helped to maintain the interest of the local residents, in recent years this phase of shrine life has greatly increased. For example, besides directly sponsoring meetings in the shrines for children, youth and adults, especially classes in flower arrangement and meetings for local community organizations, a number of shrines have added new structures or have used their facilities for kindergartens, nursery schools, and playgrounds. That there are now (1961) 180 organized shrine kindergartens may not seem significant to the outsider but, when it is remembered that no activities of this nature were permitted when the shrines were national institutions, this development is impressive. Thus, today in addition to the traditional activities related to the festivals, shrines are contributing to social welfare, and in this way, rather than by the spread of doctrine, faith in the kami is being strengthened. This is not to say that more must not be done in the development of teachings, but the shrines will probably never depend as much on preaching and teaching as do other religions.

Shrines and Nature

Irrespective of the enshrined kami, the shrines themselves cannot be considered without some reference to their relation to the natural beauty which traditionally has surrounded them. Shrine worship is closely associated with a keen sense of the beautiful,—a mystic sense of nature which plays an important part in leading the mind of man from the mundane to the higher and deeper world of the divine and in transforming his life into an experience of living with the kami. No amount of artificial beauty is an adequate substitute for the beauty of nature. Throughout the country the most beautiful spot in any community is generally the site of a shrine.

City life, of course, tends to crowd out much, if not all, of the natural beauty that has been considered an essential element for shrines. This cannot be helped, and downtown city shrines have adapted themselves to the inevitable lack of much natural beauty in their surroundings; but this does not alter the fundamental fact that ideally shrines should be located where the mind of man can be brought close to nature. Hence, in order to adequately understand shrine worship, it is necessary to consider those located in the midst of groves or forests, unaffected by the modern city.

Most noteworthy of all such shrines are the Toshogu at Nikko and the shrines at Ise. At Nikko the structures are elaborate and ornate, and are located on a mountain side. At Ise they are plain and undecorated, and are situated on relatively level ground. Yet the beauty of the buildings in both cases harmonizes completely with the world of nature, especially the magnificent cryptomeria which tower above. Visitors, whether devout or profane, can hardly leave without being deeply impressed.

Tree Worship Tree worship is very common in Shinto. Whether a shrine stands silently in the midst of a small grove by the wayside or within the limits of a bustling city, town, or village, the worshipper will find the presence of trees a help in his approach to the kami. A great many shrines, perhaps the majority, are still located within small groves and some are in forests. In rural areas especially, the devout are reminded of the nearness of the kami simply by looking towards the wooded area in which a shrine is nestled. This close relationship between trees and shrines can be seen in the ancient use of the word meaning "forest" *(mori)* to designate a shrine, and the word meaning "shelter of a kami" *(kannabi)* for the surrounding woods.

Within the precincts there is frequently one tree in particular which is regarded as especially sacred and is protected by an enclosure or has a straw rope around its

trunk from which short paper strips depend. These trees are believed to be the special abode of some kami. In primitive times people believed that through such trees the spirit of the kami could be understood; but today the tree is only an expression of the divine consciousness.

A different kind of sacred tree is one that has a peculiar shape and is thought to possess unique qualities derived from the kami or the divine spirit which uses the tree as its abode. Such trees may or may not be within the precinct of a shrine. Quite often there are small *torii* and other Shinto symbols at their base. In a few rare cases, there are shrines with only an oratory which regard a single tree, a grove or a forest as the object of worship. One such shrine is Ten'itsu Jinja in Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture. But perhaps one of the most significant indications of this general regard for trees is the fact that the *sakaki* is a sacred tree of Shinto and is always used in formal rituals.

Sacred Mountains Lofty mountains, like groves and forests, also play an important role in creating an atmosphere of dignity for shrines. In not a few cases shrines are located on lonely summits or on the slopes of mountains far removed from any community,—a fact which vividly illustrates the point that shrines are not places for propaganda or evangelism, but are primarily sacred dwelling places for kami.

Mountain worship is one of the oldest types of Shinto. In ancient times many of Japan's famous mountains were regarded as sacred, but today most of them are no longer special objects of worship.

A mountain, which is regarded as the dwelling of a kami is called a "spirit mountain" (*reizan*) or a "divine body mountain" (*shintai-zan*). In very ancient times there were, of course, no shrine buildings for this type of worship. None were deemed necessary. But in the course of the centuries pavilions, that is, worship halls, were erected and subsequently many sanctuaries were also constructed with a symbolic object in the holy of holies as a "divine body."

In a few cases, where the mountain has remained visible, no sanctuary has been erected. Only an oratory exists to provide facilities for worship. One such is the ōmiwa Shrine in Nara Prefecture which, except for the absence of a main sanctuary, has other characteristic buildings. Opposite the entrance of the oratory and facing the sacred mountain is an opening in which a split bamboo curtain is hung and before which are placed the usual paraphernalia of worship, including tables for offerings. Because the mountain itself is regarded as sacred, none except the priests are ever allowed to ascend it or even to enter the area. Nowadays usually the mountain is not worshipped as the kami, but is regarded as a sacred place appropriate for worshipping the kami or for meditating on

spiritual matters.

The most famous sacred mountain in Japan is, of course, Mount Fuji, which is devoted to the worship of Kono-hana-sakuyahime-no-mikoto, consort of Ninigi-no-mikoto, great grandfather of the first emperor. On the edge of the crater is a small shrine, while at several places around the base of the mountain are large shrines dedicated to this same kami. The principal one of these is at Fujinomiya in Shizuoka Prefecture.

Mount Nantai near Nikko is another famous sacred mountain. In this case the main shrine, Futarasan Shrine, is in Nikkō near the Toshogū, the Inner Shrine is at the peak, and an intermediate shrine is located near the shore of Lake Chūzenji. The annual festival in August features an ascent of the mountain participated in by tens of thousands of worshippers, most of whom start from the intermediate shrine by the lake.

The phenomenon of mountain worship in Japan is not limited to Shinto. There are sacred mountains in Buddhism also, and there is a special type of Shinto-Buddhistic faith, called Shugen-do, which is famous for its priests, who are called *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics), but a discussion of these is outside the scope of this volume.

Other Natural Objects: Caves, Rocks, etc.

Other natural objects, such as rock and caves, are also venerated as the abode of the kami. For example, a cave on the island of Enoshima near Kamakura is sacred to the Enoshima Shrine, which worships the kami Ben ten. The largest and most famous sacred cave in Japan is in Miyazaki Prefecture where the sanctuary of the Udo Shrine stands within the cave itself. The object of worship there is the spirit of the father of Jimmu Tenno, Japan's first emperor who is said to have been born in this cave. Suwa Shrine in Nagano Prefecture has a rock as its object of worship; the Itsukushima Shrine in Hiroshima Prefecture worships the island, Miyajima, on which it stands; and the Kumano Shrine in Wakayama Prefecture is dedicated to the worship of the Nachi waterfalls.

The World, Man, Salvation, and Death

The World In ancient Shinto, the idea of another world was expressed by such concepts as the High Plain of Heaven (Takama-ga-hara), the dwelling place of the most august kami, the Country of Abundant, Eternal Life (Tokoyo-no-kuni), and the world of dead ghosts, evil spirits (*magatsuhi)* and pollution, that is, the World of Darkness (Yomi-no-kuni). Modern Shrine Shinto, however, does not present such traditional explanations to the people. There is considerable uncertainly regarding them. Moreover, such metaphysical concepts are not directly related to the people, and to look upon the spirits of the other world is regarded as taboo. Instead of developing theoretical explanations of the invisible world, shrines were established as sacred places to which the kami could be invited and where man could experience their presence.

This world in which we live is progressing from chaos to order, from the confusion of contradictions to a state of harmony and unity. Just as organic life (develops,, so in society good order is evolving as the result of mutual aid and cooperation. Shinto believes that this world gives

promise of an unlimited development of life-power.

The world of Shinto is not an isolated one. It is an all-inclusive one. It includes all things organic and inorganic. All nature—man, animals, mountains, rivers, herbs and trees —come into existence by virtue of the kami, and their limitless blessings should contribute to the well-being of the world.

The world is not in contrast with nor in opposition to man. On the contrary, it is filled with the blessings of the kami and is developing through the power of harmony and cooperation. Shinto is not a pessimistic faith. It is an optimistic faith. This world is inherently good. That which interferes with man's happiness should be expelled. It belongs to another world.

Man Man is a child of kami, he also is inherently good. Yet there is no clear line of distinction between himself and the kami. In one sense men are kami, in another they will become kami. Man owes his life, which is sacred, to the kami and to his ancestors. He is loved and protected by them. He is endowed with the life and spirit of the kami, but at the same time he receives his life from his parents, grandparents, and ancestors through countless ages. Man is dependent for his continued existence on both nature and society. He is a social being. He cannot live in isolation.

Man owes gratitude to the kami and his ancestors for his life, and for their all-encompassing love. He also owes much to his present family, his community, and the nation. His life is full of blessings and so he must accept his obligations to society and contribute to the vital development of all things entrusted to him.

Man possesses a personality, which is distinct in each individual. To this personality given by the kami there is added the tradition of the family and the contributions of many individuals and the society in which he lives. These together constitute his characteristics.

There is no place for egotism in Shinto. Egotism runs counter to the spirit of worship. Worship makes the interest of the community and public welfare paramount. This does not mean that the rights of the individual and the family are ignored. On the contrary, against the background of religious rites, the nature of the individual and the authority of the family are fully supported by society. The spirit of the people guarantees this.

Man is born with a purpose, a mission, in life. On the one hand, he has the responsibility of realizing the hopes and ideals of his ancestors. On the other hand, he has the inescapable duty of treating his descendants with even greater love and care, so that they too may realize the hopes and ideals of the ancestral spirits. Ancestors and descendants are lineally one. Reverence for ancestors must

never be neglected. It is the only way in which man's life can be lived which will fulfill the reason for his coming into this world.

In order that man may be his best, he is theoretically regarded as kami. He is blessed with words of praise, with the power of words (*kotodama*), which can bring about a transformation in his character. In practice, however, men are not as a rule called kami until after death, when they achieve a new dimension.

Ethics: Good and Evil The pattern for the behavior of the people, individually and communally, was at first transmitted orally from generation to generation. Later it was set down in such records as the *Kojiki, Nikon Shoki*, and the *Taiho-ryo* which were accepted as standards.

The stability of ancient Japanese society was maintained by the requirements of traditions and customs, which were flexible and could respond to the demands of each new age. Thus, moral judgements as to what was considered to be good or bad were not a fixed system of standards, but varied considerably depending on each specific situation. The Shinto manner of grasping truth takes into consideration the fact that values are constantly changing. For example, in Shinto ethics nothing—sex, wealth, killing, etc.,—is regarded as unconditionally evil.

Under the clan system, in which the members of each

community were bound together by a common blood relationship, mutual understanding prevailed rather generally and social order was maintained by somewhat simple standards consonant with the relatively simple social organization then in existence. Within social units having a common blood or geographical relationship there were relatively few antisocial elements. The spiritual center of society was in the kami-rites. Human relations were essentially the relationship of those who mutually served the kami. Human behavior was to a large extent determined by the relationship established in performing the kami-rites, that is, worship *(matsuri).*

However, when continental civilization, including Buddhism and Confucianism, was introduced, social life in Japan became more complicated and the development of a legal system and the organization of a state which stressed ethical government became necessary. Moreover, Shinto became mixed with Confucianism, so that all clear distinctions were lost. Thus, purely Shinto conceptions of behavior disappeared, but the ethical attitude produced by the kami-rites survived and is relatively unchanged even today.

In ancient Shinto the concept of moral good and evil, good and bad fortune, good and bad quality in material were all expressed in terms meaning to have or to lack worldly value: *yoshi* (good) and *ashi* (bad). The soul of man is

good. Shinto does not have the concept of original sin. Man by nature is inherently good, and the world in which he lives is good. This is the kami-world. Evil then cannot originate in man or in this world. It is an intruder. Evil comes from without. The source of temptation and evil is the world of darkness. The cause is evil spirits, called *magatsuhi*. Evil caused by *magatsuhi* is called *maga*. Moral evil is thus an affliction,—a temporary affliction. While man's soul is good, the flesh and senses readily succumb to temptation. Man commits evil because he has lost, has been deprived of, the capacity for normal action.

In modern Shinto there is no fixed and unalterable moral code. Good and evil are relative. The meaning and value of an action depends on its circumstances, motives, purpose, time, place, etc. Generally speaking, however, man's heart must be sincere ; his conduct must be courteous and proper; an evil heart, selfish desire, strife, and hatred must be removed ; conciliation must be practiced; and feelings of goodwill, cooperation and affection must be realized. That which disturbs the social order, causes misfortune, and obstructs worship of the kami and the peaceful development of this world of kami is evil. Sin and evil, including disasters, pollution, and even the abnormal are all caused by evil spirits which must be exorcised. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between good and evil.

That by which good and evil can be distinguished is the soul of man. This distinction is made possible by the help of the kami. A correct judgement, one which accords with the mind of the kami, is possible when there is a state of unity between the divine and the human, when man can approach the kami with a clear bright mind in worship.

Salvation The world of the kami does not transcend that of man, and man does not need to seek to enter a divine, transcendental world to attain salvation. He seeks salvation by bringing the kami into the human world, into the daily life of the home, the market place, and the cooperation of the people. Man experiences the kami in this world and salvation is attained in the harmonious development of the world. This is epitomized in the myths in which the kami descend from the sacred heavenly country. (Takama-ga-hara) to the world of man, which is also the abode of the kami. In worship (*matsuri*), the spirits (*reikon*), the kami, and ancestral spirits are invited to the shrine or to some purified place from the High Heavenly Plain, the Eternal Country; and the evil spirits (*magatsuhi*) are expelled, because they interfere with man's relations with and approach to the kami and ancestral spirits. Therefore, before worship is possible there must be purification. The rite of purification drives away evil, the intruder. But purification does not relieve a person of

responsibility for his past acts. On the contrary, it lays this upon him anew. By restoring the original nature of man, one will restore this capacity to do good. At the same time he will become sensible of the obligation to expiate evil and will become able to make amends for his past sins and failures.

Death In Shinto life is good, death is evil; but because for so many centuries funeral rites have been conducted almost exclusively by Buddhist priests, people today, even many Japanese, are unaware of the Shinto attitude towards death or the fact that funerals are conducted in accordance with Shinto rites.

Shinto regards death as evil or a curse ; but it is incorrect to say that the reason shrines have no contact with the dead or rites for the dead is in order to avoid pollution. As a matter of fact, although Shinto regards death as an evil, it does not necessarily regard it as pollution. For example, the word *kegare*, which is used in reference to death also means "abnormality" or "misfortune." Moreover, when relatives or superiors died, officials were given a day off and people were excused from the service at shrine affairs. Shinto priests, however, devoted themselves to the service of the kami, and so did not become involved in funeral services. In ancient times funerals were conducted by the people themselves in accordance with Shinto rites.

Moreover, in some few cases there are graves either within the shrine precinct itself or immediately adjacent and it appears that some shrines originally were built in front of burial mounds. Furthermore, there are a great many shrines devoted to commemoration of the departed spirits of historical persons. The Tenmangu shrines are dedicated to the spirit of the great scholar, Michizane Sugawara, the Toshogu shrines to Ieyasu Tokugawa; the Nogi Shrine to General Maresuke Nogi of Russo-Japanese War fame; the Ninomiya Shrine to Sontoku Ninomiya, the economist and moral teacher and Yasukuni Shrine and many local shrines to the veneration and consolation of those who made the supreme sacrifice for their country. Thus Shinto, that should treat all ancestral spirits in the same way and worship them as kami, under the impact of Buddhism which has pre-empted the place of Shinto in this field, today generally enshrines only a limited number of those who served the state and society.

The ancient Japanese believed that the dead continued to live as spirits (*reikon*) and from time to time visited this world, received services (rites) from their descendants, and in turn blessed them. As expressions of happiness and gratitude to the ancestral spirits, fine tombs were built for the dead and at harvest time festivals were conducted and offerings of first fruits were presented. This was an integral part of the Shinto faith and the duty of all people.

With the introduction of Chinese civilization and the consequent spread of Buddhism, however, the building of gigantic tombs and the conduct of elaborate funerals was restricted. But ancient customs and beliefs could not be swept away, so Buddhism adapted itself to Japanese ideas and incorporated the indigenous customs regarding the dead into its rituals. Thus, the care of tombs, the chanting of sutras like magic formulae, and the presentation of offerings, as well as belief in rebirth in the Pure Land, became an integral part of Japanese Buddhism.

This was a relatively simple development at first, because the bodies of the dead were not permitted within shrine precincts and shrine priests did not as a rule concern themselves with funeral rites. Then in later centuries Buddhism became further entrenched in this field because the Tokugawa government (1603—1868), in connection with its suppression of Christianity, required all people to be buried exclusively by Buddhist priests. Consequently Buddhism, which fundamentally is opposed to such practices, became preoccupied with funerals and memorial services, and the fact that these were originally indigenous customs based on Shinto ideas has been generally forgotten.

There were two reasons why shrine priests did not concern themselves with the dead and with funeral rites. In the first place, the Shrines were dedicated to the service of

the enshrined kami, and were not places for other rites or functions. In the second place, the priests were devoted solely to the service of the enshrined kami. Therefore, generally speaking, the performance of religious rites for other than the enshrined kami was outside the responsibility of the shrines and the priesthood.

During the Meiji era and subsequently, government regulations prohibited the priests of shrines of the higher grades from performing funerals, but this restriction no longer exists and services are frequently conducted by priests irrespective of the shrine they serve. However, the services are conducted at homes or in public funeral halls. They are never held in shrines or even in shrine precincts.

Universal Nature of Shinto

Shinto is a racial religion. It is inextricably interwoven with the fabric of Japanese customs and ways of thinking. It is impossible to separate it from the communal and national life of the people. Among the kami of Shrine Shinto many have a special claim to worship from the Japanese people alone and are not such as can be venerated by the peoples of the world in the sense that the Japanese people do. Although non-Japanese may pay great respect to the Emperor Meiji, for example, it is inconceivable that they should ever regard him as a kami in the same sense as do the Japanese. Therefore, this phase of the kami-faith is not suitable for dissemination abroad.

But this does not mean that there is no concern in Shinto for the people and welfare of mankind; nor does it mean that Shinto is not worthy of respect from those of other faiths in the world at large. People of all races and climes cannot help but express gratitude to the spirits of the land and of nature, to their ancestors, to the benefactors of society and the state. In so far as they recognize this feeling within them, they cannot but understand the spirit of Shinto, and find in it an undeniable truth which supports and heightens man's noblest values. Thus, while Shinto is a

racial faith, it possesses a universality which can enrich the lives of all people everywhere.

INDEX

ablution pavilion 34
Ama-terasu-ō-mikami 天照大神 4
Ame-no-minakanushi-no-kami 天御中主神 4
approach 31, 32
architecture 35—40; styles of(-*zukuri* 造), Gion 祇園, Hachiman 八幡, Gongen 権現, Hiyoshi日吉, Irimoya 入母屋, Kasuga 春日, Nagare 流 38, Ōtori 大鳥, Shinmei 神明, Sumiyoshi 住吉, Taisha 大社, Tenchi Kongen 天地根元, Yatsumune 八棟
asa-gutsu 浅沓 45
ashi 悪し 106
Association of Shinto Shrines 17, 18, 42, 43, 65, 81, 89
banners 25
bell 22, 61
Buddhism 72, 73, 78, 79, 85, 89, 106, 108, 109, 110
bugaku 舞楽 67, 68, 71, 83
caves 101
ceremonies 50 ff,
charms 35
Charter Oath: Gokajō no Goseimon 五箇条の御誓文 73
chigi 千木 36—37, 38
Christianity 89, 110
Confucianism 85, 78, 106
Crown Prince, wedding of 13, 76
death 102, 108
deer 33
eboshi 烏帽子 45
Emperor 79—82; Jimmu 神武 5, 38 80, 101; Kammu 桓武 80; Kazan 花山 41; Kōmei 弘明 80; Meiji 明治 73, 80, 81, 111; Ōjin 応神 80
Engi Shiki 延喜式 11, 56
Enryakuji 延暦寺 86
entertainment 71
evil 72
feast, symbolic 51, 57
festival 祭 50 ff. annual-: *reisai* 例祭 63, Boys- 90, Gion- 祇園 70, Girls- 90, Jidai- 時代 70, Star- 90
fox 33
fuda 札 62
funerals 57, 108
gagaku 雅楽 83
gates 30, 32
gohei 御幣 24, 68
gon-gūji 権宮司 42, *gon-negi* 権禰宜 42
good and evil 105—6
graves 27
gūji 宮司 42
Hakkō Ichi-u 八紘一宇 81
halberd 25
harai 祓 51—2
haraigushi 祓串 24
Hirata, Atsutane 平田篤胤 87
Hokkaido Jinja Kyōkai, 北海道神社協会 18
horses, sacred: *shinme* 神馬 33, 55
hyakudo ishi 百度石 34
ichiba 市場 85
images of kami: *shinzō* 神像 24
Imbe 忌部 14, 41
Imperial Family 8, 13, 15, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81
Imperial messenger: *chokushi* 勅使 14, 41, 65, 70
Imperial Palace shrines: Kyūchū-sanden 宮中三殿 13
Imperial Regalia: *Sanshu no Shinki* 三種の神器 13
Inari shrines 稲荷神社 29, 33

Inari, Toyokawa 豊川稲荷 88
Ise, Grand Shrine of 6, 13, 15, 23, 34, 35, 36, 42, 47, 58, 81, 83, 94, 96, 98; Inner Shrine: Naikū 内宮 37 High Priestess: *saishu* 祭主 42, Outer Shrine: Gekū 外宮 37; talisman: *taima* 58
Izanagi-no-mikoto 伊弉諾尊, 伊邪那岐命 4
Izanami-no-mikoto 伊弉冊尊, 伊邪那美命 4
Izumo, kami of 出雲神 5, 75, 95; Grand Shrine of- 出雲大社 21, 26, 36
jewels: tama 玉 5, 64
Jingi Kai 神祇会 17
Jingi Kan 神祇官 41, 72
Jingū Hōsai Kai 神宮奉斎会 17
Jinja-chō 神社庁 18
Jinja Honchō 神社本庁 17, 18
Jinja Honkyō 神社本教 18
Jinnō Shōtōki 神皇正統記 23
jōtō-sai 上棟祭 90
kannabi 神奈備 98
kankokuhei-sha 官国幣社 73
kagura 神楽 45, 62, 66, 67, 71, 83;
kami 6, 9, 50; guardian 9, 32, 47
kami-dana 神棚 58
Kami-musubi-no-mikoto 神皇産霊尊, -kami 神産巣日神 4
kanmuri 冠 45
kan-nigiwai 神賑 71
kariginu 狩衣 44
Kashiko-dokoro 賢所 13
katsuogi 鰹木 36, 37
kegare 穢 108
kessai 潔斎 64
Kiso Mitake Honkyō 木曾御嶽本教 18
Kitabatake, Chikafusa 北畠親房 23
kindergartens 96, 97
Kirisutokyō Rengō Kai 基督教連合会 88
kotodama 言霊 104
Kogoshūi 古語拾遺 11
Kojiki 古事記 4, 10, 11, 78, 101
Kokugakuin Daigaku 国学院大学 42
koma inu 狛犬 22
Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 86
Kono-hana-sakayahime-no-mikoto 木花咲耶姫命 100
Kōrei-den 皇霊殿 13
kōsha 講社 95
Kōten Kōkyū Sho 皇典講究所 17
Kujiki 旧事紀 11
Kyōbu Shō 教部省 73
lanterns 34
maga 禍 107
magatama 曲玉 64
magatsuhi 禍津日 102, 106
man 102—103
matsuri 祭 50 ff., 106, 107; *matsuri-goto* 祭事 76
Meiji Restoration 明治維新 72, 87
miko 巫女 43, 66
mikoshi 神輿 26, 68
Ministry of Education 43, 74
mirror 5, 13, 22, 23
misogi 禊 52
mitamashiro 霊代 21
monkey 33
mochi 餅 66
Moon Goddess 4, 5
mori 森 98
Motoori, Norinaga 本居宣長 87
mountain, sacred 99
Mount Fuji 富士山 95, 100; Ontake 御嶽 95; Nantai 男体 101
music 67
musicians 41, 44
mythology 4, 6
Nakatomi 中臣 14, 41
naorai 直会 51, 57, 66
nationalism 78
nature 97

negi 禰宜 42
Nihongi 日本紀, *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 2, 3, 10, 11, 77, 105
Nihon Kyōha Shintō Renmei 日本教派神道連盟 88
Nihon Shūkyō Kyōryoku Kyōgi Kai 日本宗教協力協議会 88
neighborhood associations 49
Nikkō 日光 31, 70, 98, 101
Ninigi-no-mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊 5, 13, 23, 75, 100
Niō-san (or *-sama*) 仁王さん 32
Noh 能 83
norito 祝詞 5, 55, 56, 77
nursery schools 96
Occupation, Allied 15, 16, 17, 74
offering hall: *shinsen-den* 神饌殿 26
offerings *shinsen* 神饌 51—53, 59
Ōharai 大祓 52
Ōkuni-nushi-no-kami 大国主神 5, 75
oracles, printed: *mikuji* 御籤 62
oratory: *haiden* 拝殿 26
oshi 御師 94, 95
otabisho 御旅所 69
parish 46—48; parishioners 46—48
prayers 26, 51, 55
precincts: *keidai* 境内 27—28, 32
priest: *shinshoku* 神職, *kan-nushi* 神主 40, 42—44; costumes 44—46; prayer-priests 94, quarters: *saikan* 祭官 26, shaman 40, women priests 40
processions: *goshinkō* 御神幸 67—70
playgrounds 97
purification 24, 34, 51, 52, 108
reikon 霊魂 107, 109
reisai 例祭 63
rocks 101
saikai 斎戒 64
saisei itchi 祭政一致 73, 76
sakaki 榊 24, 52, 58, 62, 64, 66, 99
salvation 102, 107
sanctuary: *shinden* 神殿, *honden* 本殿 21
sandō 参道 31—32;
Sannō Ichijitsu 山王一実, -Shintō 神道 87
Sarume 猿女 41
scriptures 9, 12
Sectarian (Kyōha 教派) Shinto 12
shaku 笏 45
shaman 40
shimenawa 七五三縄 25, 35
Shin-den 神殿 13
shinkai 神界 69
shinkyō 神鏡 68
Shin Nippon Shūkyō Dantai Rengō Kai 新日本宗教団体連合会 88
shintai 神体 21, *-zan* 神体山 99
Shirakawa 白河 41
Shinto 2—3; Directive 15, 16, 17, 74; type of: Domestic 12; Imperial Household 13; Ise 87; Popular 12; Revival 87; Sannō 山王 87; Sectarian 12, 73, 95; Shrine 14, 15, 48, 79; State 15; Watarai 渡会 87; Yoshida 吉田 87; Yuitsu 唯一 87; Universal Nature of 111
Shrine Association of Kyoto 18
shrine organizations 17—18; -office: *shamusho* 社務所 26
Shrines: Akama 赤間 31; Dazaifu 太宰府 47; Enoshima 江島 101; Fuji Sengen 富士浅間 38; Fushimi Inari 伏見稲荷 29, 55, 96; Futara 二荒 101; Hachiman 八幡 29, 87; Heian 平安 47, 70; Hiyoshi 日吉 33, 86; Ise (see Ise); Itsukushima 厳島 102; Izumo Taisha 出雲大社 75; Kashiwara 橿原 38; Kibitsu 吉備津 38; Kirishima 霧島 27; Kitano 北野 40; Kumano 熊野 102; Meiji 明治 38, 47, 70; Mitsumine 三峯 33; Miyazaki 宮崎 80; Nibu-

tsu Hime 丹生都比売 86; Ninomiya 二宮 109; Nogi 乃木 108; Ōmiwa 大神 20, 21, 30, 100; Ōyama 大山 31 Suwa 諏訪 102; Ten'itsu 天一 99; Tōshōgū 東照宮 87, 98, 109; Udo 鵜戸 101; Yasaka 八坂 70; Yasukuni 靖国 23, 43, 47
Shugendō 修験道 101
statistics 43
sukeisha 崇敬者 47
suiten-mon 水天門 31
Sun Goddess 4, 13, 15, 23
Susano-o-no-mikoto 素戔嗚尊, 須佐之男命 4
Sword, sacred 5, 25
Taihō-ryō 大宝令 105
Takama-ga-hara 高天原 102, 107
Taka-mimusubi-no-mikoto 高皇産霊尊, -kami 高御産巣日神 4
talisman: *fuda* 62
tamagushi 玉串 55
temizu 手水 52, -ya 手水舎 34
Tokoyo-no-kuni 常世国 102
Tokugawa, Ieyasu 徳川家康 70
torii 鳥居 1, 28, 29, 30, 31, 60; types of- 30
tree worship 35, 98, 99; sacred tree: *shinboku* 神木 35, 99
Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto 月読尊 4
ujigami 氏神 9, 47; *ujiko* 氏子 47
Urabe 卜部 41
waterfalls (Nachi 那智) 102
wolf 33
women attendants: *ujiko* 43, 45, 66, priests 43
worship 50 ff., 104, worship hall; *haiden* 拝殿 100
Yabusame 流鏑馬 71
Yamabushi 山伏 101
Yata-no-kagami 八咫鏡 13
Yomi-no-kuni 黄泉国 102
yoshi 善し 106
Yoshida, Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 87
Zen Nippon Bukkyō Kai 全日本仏教会 88

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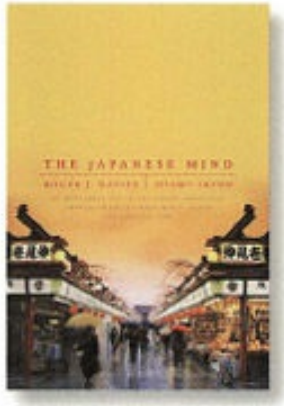

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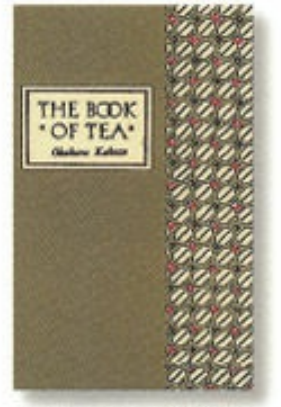

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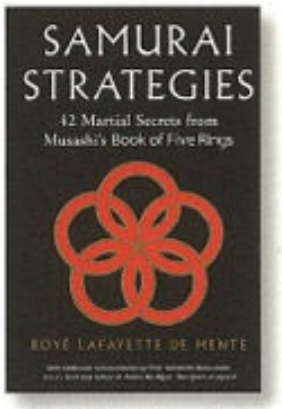

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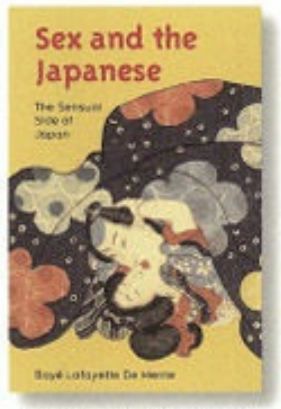

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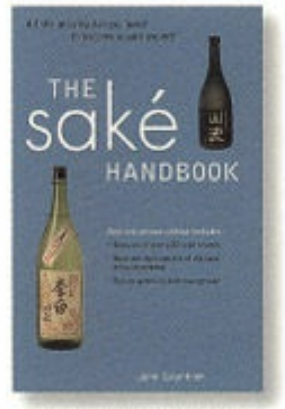

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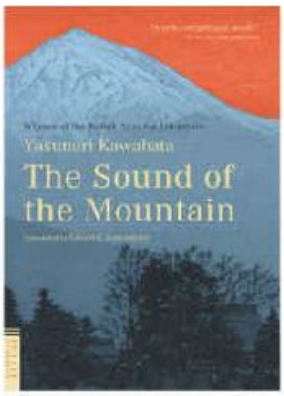

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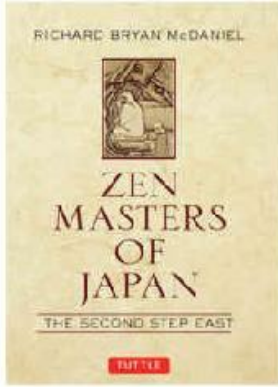

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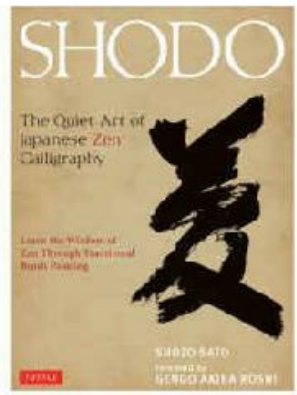

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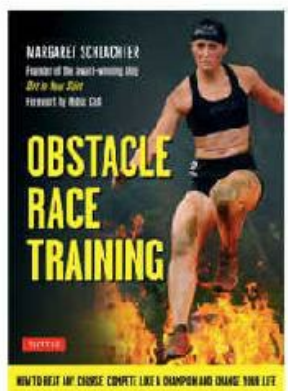

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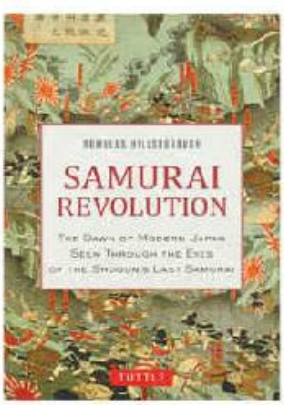

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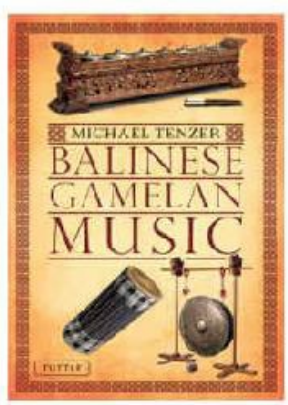

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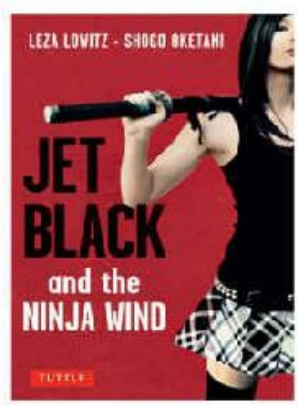

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Dr. Sokyo Ono was a professor at Kokugakuin Daigaku, a Shinto university in Tokyo, and has lectured for the National Association of Shinto Shrines. He also served as Executive Director of the International Institute for the Study of Religions and the Japan Religious Co-operative Council.

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TUTTLE

www.tuttlepublishing.com

Printed in Singapore

ISBN 978-1-4629-0083-1

51295

9 781462 900831 US $12.95

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Shinto, Third Edition

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Chelsea House
An imprint of Infobase Publishing
132 West 31st Street
New York NY 10001

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Hartz, Paula.
Shinto / by Paula R. Hartz. — 3rd ed.
p. cm. — (World religions)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-60413-113-0
1. Shinto—Juvenile literature. I. Hartz, Paula. Shinto. II. Title.
BL2220.H36 2009
299.5'61—dc22
2008029661

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This book was produced for Chelsea House by Bender Richardson White, Uxbridge, U.K.
Project Editor: Lionel Bender
Text Editor: Ronne Randall
Designer: Ben White
Picture Researchers: Joanne O'Brien and Kim Richardson
Maps and symbols: Stefan Chabluk

Printed in the United States of America

CP BRW 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
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CONTENTS

	Preface	**6**
CHAPTER 1	**Introduction: Shinto and Japanese Life**	**8**
CHAPTER 2	**The Mythic Origins of Shinto**	**16**
CHAPTER 3	**Early Shinto and its Chinese Influences**	**36**
CHAPTER 4	**Japanese Religion in Medieval Times**	**50**
CHAPTER 5	**Shinto and Japanese Nationalism: 1868–1945**	**64**
CHAPTER 6	**Shinto Belief and Ritual**	**82**
CHAPTER 7	**The Shinto Year: Festivals and Rites of Passage**	**94**
CHAPTER 8	**Sacred Places and Spaces**	**108**
CHAPTER 9	**Shinto Today**	**126**
	Fact File and Bibliography	**138**
	Further Reading and Web Sites	**139**
	Glossary	**140**
	Index	**142**
	About the Author and Series Editors	**144**
	Picture Credits	**144**

Preface

Almost from the start of civilization, more than 10,000 years ago, religion has shaped human history. Today more than half the world's population practice a major religion or indigenous spiritual tradition. In many 21st-century societies, including the United States, religion still shapes people's lives and plays a key role in politics and culture. And in societies throughout the world increasing ethnic and cultural diversity has led to a variety of religions being practiced side by side. This makes it vital that we understand as much as we can about the world's religions.

The World Religions series, of which this book is a part, sets out to achieve this aim. It is written and designed to appeal to both students and general readers. The books offer clear, accessible overviews of the major religious traditions and institutions of our time. Each volume in the series describes where a particular religion is practiced, its origins and history, its central beliefs and important rituals, and its contributions to world civilization. Carefully chosen photographs complement the text, and sidebars, a map, fact file, glossary, bibliography, and index are included to help readers gain a more complete understanding of the subject at hand.

These books will help clarify what religion is all about and reveal both the similarities and differences in the great spiritual traditions practiced around the world today.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: SHINTO AND JAPANESE LIFE

Shinto is Japan's native religion. It developed in prehistoric times on the Japanese islands, and it is deeply etched in the minds and hearts of the Japanese people. Because of its close association with the land's geography and history, Shinto is very nearly synonymous with the Japanese character. It has both shaped and been shaped by all of Japanese culture.

Traditionally followers of Asian religions are inclusive and tolerant of other faiths; thus people may practice more than one religious tradition at the same time. They see no inconsistency in being both Shinto and something else—usually Buddhist. Of the 128 million Japanese, according to the statistics of the Agency for Cultural Affairs for 2006, 107 million identify themselves as Shinto and 89 million identify themselves as Buddhist. In effect, then, every Japanese person is religious and the vast majority may be considered in some fashion to be followers of Shintoism. Of the others, many belong to the "New Religions," or the religious movements that have emerged since the 19th century, and

Shinto priests performing a purification ceremony at an international inter-faith environmental celebration in collaboration with the World Wildlife Fund and Alliance of Religions and Conservation. The celebration in Kathmandu, Nepal, highlighted environmental projects carried out in partnerships with government and environment agencies.

the remainder include Christians (3 million), Muslims (120,000), and Jews (2,000).

Shinto has been closely associated with Buddhism for centuries, even sharing its temples and rituals. The Japanese have a saying, "Born Shinto, die Buddhist," which indicates their dual reliance on these two traditions at different points in their lives.

WHAT IS SHINTO?

Shinto is the Chinese name for the Japanese phrase *kami no michi,* which means "the way of the *kami*"—the *kami* are spirits or deities whose presence is felt everywhere. Shinto had no formal name at all until Buddhism, "the way of Buddha," came to Japan in the sixth century C.E. and people found it necessary to make some distinction. Before that the Japanese people had simply followed rituals and beliefs that had, it seemed, always been a part of their world—those many rituals and beliefs that had served them well.

GODS AND SPIRITS

In contrast to many other world religions, such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, most of which focus their belief on a single, transcendent god, Shinto is polytheistic—that is, it has many deities. The title *god* suggests a division between the human and the divine that followers of Shinto do not make. While some Shinto deities, such as the sun goddess Amaterasu, are referred to as gods, most of the deities of Shinto are simple spirits that inhabit the world along with humans. The Shinto world is a continuous stream of creation, from the deities on the high plains of heaven to the trees, rocks, and dust of earth and everything below. All things may have spirits and may speak in their own voices. Humans are not specially created but are simply a part of the world like everything else.

Kami, spirits, are everywhere, and almost anything in creation may be

Origin of Name

The name *Shinto* is made up of two Chinese words, *shin* (神), meaning "divine," and *dao* (道), meaning "way." It is a translation of the Japanese phrase *kami no michi,* or "the way of the *kami*."

kami. Natural phenomena—rocks, trees, mountains, streams, waterfalls, animals, thunder—may be *kami,* especially if they are unusual or outstanding in some way. Not every natural object is *kami,* but in the Shinto world respect for natural creation is encouraged because even the most humble object may turn out to be invested with spirit.

Meaning of *Kami*

To understand the Shinto religion it is important to understand the concept of *kami*. *Kami,* which is both singular and plural, literally means "high" or "superior." It is sometimes translated as "god" or "deity" but more often as "spirit."

Shinto has no known founder and no central figure like Muhammad, Buddha, or Jesus. In some respects it is similar to Daoism or Native American religions, which also trace their origins to prehistory and also venerate many spirit beings. Shinto does not, however, include the concept of a vast overarching power, such as the Dao of Daoism or the Great Spirit of Native Americans.

PRAYERS AND PURIFICATION

Another way in which Shinto differs from most world religions is that it has no fixed scripture or holy book such as the Bible, Torah, Guru Granth Sahib, or the Quran. It does have ancient prayers, *norito* or *norii,* that were handed down orally for many centuries before being recorded in writing. One of the beliefs of Shinto is that special words, properly and beautifully spoken, can bring about good results. These prayers are recited to the *kami* at Shinto shrines by priests during key rituals and annual festivals, or *matsuri*.

Although there is no fixed dogma, or body of belief, to which a Shinto follower must adhere, Shinto does provide its followers with a code of values and a way of thinking that is deeply ingrained in Japanese life. Cleanliness and purification are emphasized. The grounds on which Shinto shrines are placed always include running water, often a spring or a stream, and as a sign of respect, worshippers bathe their hands and cleanse their mouths before approaching a shrine. The Shinto ideal is to lead a pure and sincere life that is pleasing to the many *kami*.

SHINTO AND THE LAND OF JAPAN

The country of Japan itself is an important element in the religion. While people do not worship their native land, they learn from childhood to love and respect it. Japan is a country of great natural beauty and variety, from snow-capped volcanoes and high mountains to ocean shores and peaceful inlets. Its trees and rocks, streams and waterfalls, along with its living creatures, are all seen as having a spiritual nature.

Shinto practice began among clans in small farming and fishing villages; thus the religion is deeply rooted in the land itself. As a result Shinto has never spread far from Japanese shores, and Japan's emperors have always been regarded as the keepers of the faith. Shinto's followers outside Japan are mainly Japanese-born people who continue to follow the religious customs of their native land. Unlike Christianity or Islam, which practice organized outreach, mainstream Shinto has never sent out missionaries to spread the faith, nor has it attempted to convert nonbelievers, although some modern-day Shinto sects welcome converts.

As a rule people do not join Shinto in any formal way. They are born to it and grow up in it, learning to identify themselves as followers of Shinto in much the same way that they identify with their family, their town, their island, or their country. Throughout their lives, whether they consider themselves religious or not, followers observe Shinto festivals and follow Shinto practices.

THE TORII

A symbol of Shinto, the torii, is the open gateway that stands at the entrance to every Shinto shrine. *Torii* literally means "bird-dwelling"; its crossbeams resemble bird wings reaching to the skies. The torii symbolically leads worshippers to the heavenly *kami* and is physically a doorway to the shrine.

A wooden torii at the entrance to the Meiji Shrine, Tokyo.

THE VARIETIES OF SHINTO

Throughout Japanese history Shinto has readily adapted itself to conditions and to the needs of its followers. When Chinese religions came to Japanese shores, around

200 C.E., Shinto incorporated aspects of Daoism and Confucianism. From the sixth century to the mid-19th century Shinto was so closely allied with Buddhism that it almost disappeared. It has always reasserted itself, however, and adapted to circumstance and changed with new influences and with time. It continues to do so today.

STATE SHINTO

After centuries of being overshadowed by Buddhism, Shinto rebounded as a separate entity in the late 1800s under Emperor Meiji. He encouraged Shinto worship and used government money to support Shinto shrines and priests. The form of Shinto that developed under Meiji's reform was known as State Shinto. It stressed patriotism and obedience to the emperor as the descendant and representative of the gods. State Shinto lasted until the end of World War II in 1945, when it was abolished by the government, and then under occupation by the Allied powers after Japan's surrender.

SECT SHINTO

While State Shinto was emerging under Emperor Meiji in the 1800s, a religious renaissance was taking place, mostly among the peasants and farmers. These people began to follow charismatic leaders who drew their teachings from Shinto, Buddhism, folk religion, and other traditions. These leaders, called living *kami*, and their so-called New Religions established large followings. Although the New Religions differed in many ways from traditional Shinto, their similarities allowed them to be known as Sect Shinto. Of the 13 recognized Shinto sects, the largest and best known is Tenrikyo, which is still attracting followers today.

IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD SHINTO

In the Shinto religion Japan's emperor has long been revered as the keeper of the faith. The imperial palace grounds contain three special shrines at which the emperor himself worships. The imperial family also maintains a special relationship with the shrines of the sun goddess at Ise, Japan, the holiest of Shinto shrines. At festival times the emperor sends special offerings to that shrine, often with a member of the imperial family as his representative. Traditionally a senior family member serves as high priest there, and important announcements regarding the imperial family are made there as well. The tradition that links the emperor and the Shinto religion is called Imperial Household Shinto.

SHRINE SHINTO

Shrine Shinto arose after World War II ended in 1945, when Japan's new constitution guaranteed freedom of religion and barred the government from supporting Shinto as a state religion, and the agency that had administered shrine finances and other business was dissolved.

There were more than 80,000 shrines, the sacred structures where people went to worship the *kami,* spread across Japan, and with their country ravaged by war, people felt the need of faith. In order to keep their shrines going priests and other shrine leaders banded together in an organization called the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho), which still continues to oversee the festival calendar and the upkeep and day-to-day running of Shinto shrines.

FOLK SHINTO

Many people who practice Shinto do so without belonging to an organized shrine. At small, independent, local shrines, and at home, they follow the customs of their forebears, worshipping local *kami* of the home and of the farm. This form of religion is known as Folk Shinto. It preserves the traditions of Shinto as it was practiced centuries ago and from which come present-day beliefs and practices. Although people who follow folk beliefs may also be members of an organized Shinto shrine, the heart of their worship is personal.

Above all Shinto is family centered. Many people practice domestic Shinto, maintaining a home altar to the *kami* and following simple prayer rituals on a regular basis. During the festival year the *kami* of local shrines are placed in portable shrines and processed around the town to visit the areas under their guidance. This is often an occasion for considerable celebration among the community.

Torii gates leading to a shrine in Tokyo. In modern-day Japan the Association of Shinto Shrines oversees the upkeep of most shrines, the training of priests, and the calendar of religious festivals.

SHINTO IN JAPANESE LIFE

Shinto stresses purity and uprightness. As children mature they are taught to listen to the dictates of the heart; to respect their ancestors, their leaders, and the natural world; and to show gratitude to the *kami* for the many blessings they have received. This is the essence of Shinto.

Shinto festivals often include a parade in which young men carry *mikoshi,* or portable shrines, around the town precincts. The procession takes the local *kami,* who are believed to be inside the *mikoshi,* to all parts of the area under their guidance and care and allows the people to show reverence to their guardian *kami.* This *mikoshi* being pushed in the rain is part of the parade for the Gion *matsuri* (festival) held on July 17 in the ancient capital of Kyoto.

SHINTOISM IN INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

Originally a religion of rural places, Shinto has adapted along with its people to modern society. In some cases industries have taken on the role once held by small local communities, even constructing shrines on company property. City worshippers now petition *kami* once associated with fields and streams for good grades and success in their work. Many central city shrines will have a specific area set aside for the ritual blessing of, for example, new cars or trucks for a company. Shinto priests will also often perform groundbreaking ceremonies for new buildings such as high-rise office towers. The role of Shinto is purely ritualistic. It does not include any role in public education or advocacy.

NATURE AND THE HEAVENLY *KAMI*

In this most industrialized nation of Asia, Shinto continues to connect the people to their land by creating an appreciation of nature. The tourist industry thrives on taking Japanese travelers on day trips to Shinto shrines and to the natural wonders long associated with Japan's *kami.*

According to Japanese lore the beautiful islands of Japan, with their snow-capped mountains and sparkling shores, their waterfalls and lush vegetation, were created by heavenly *kami* who then peopled the islands with their descendants. Although few modern-day Japanese people accept Shinto beliefs literally, they continue to express respect and gratitude to the *kami* who are traditionally believed to have created their land and its people.

CHAPTER 2

THE MYTHIC ORIGINS OF SHINTO

Although Shinto does not have a sacred scripture like the Bible or the Quran, it does have two highly revered texts whose origins date back to the eighth century C.E. At that time Emperor Temmu was concerned that the already ancient stories of the celestial origins of the imperial line and the Japanese people were being forgotten and might be lost. Temmu ordered the ancient stories committed to memory. The job fell to one of his servants, Hiyeda no Are. She learned two by heart: "The Successions of Emperors" and "The Ancient Traditions of the Past Ages."

Temmu's successor, Empress Gemmyo, ordered that the oral histories be written down. The first volume, the *Kojiki,* or "Record of Ancient Matters," was begun under her reign, in 712 C.E., to trace the succession of emperors. The *Nihongi,* or *Nihon Shoki* ("Chronicles of Japan"), completed around 720, tells the story of the divine origins of Japan.

These two books contain the foundation of all Shinto beliefs and customs. Other books, detailing the actions of the many Shinto *kami* (deities), appeared later. The first 10 books of the

These "Wedded Rocks" at Futamigaura in Iso Bay, near the Grand Shrines at Ise, are believed to have sheltered the Creative Pair, Izanagi and Izanami, the legendary creators of Japan.

Engishiki, a compilation of Shinto ceremonies dated to 927, are devoted to the *kami* and their stories.

The versions of the Shinto tales in the different books vary slightly, in much the same way that a story may differ in each Gospel of the Bible. Yet the essential messages about good and evil, life and death, are the same.

Shinto's rich mythology tells the story of the heavenly and earthly *kami* and the creation of the Japanese islands and all creatures and beings on them. It also explains such natural phenomena as night and day and answers questions traditionally answered by religions, such as why there is death and suffering in the world. Significantly for the Japanese, it establishes the divine origin of the line of emperors, tracing their ancestry to the sun goddess Amaterasu O-Mikami herself.

THE CREATION OF JAPAN'S ISLANDS

According to Shinto belief the universe was not created but simply always existed. In its earliest stage it was an unformed, oily, reedy sea. Eventually the sea divided into three parts: the sky, or heaven; a middle level, still covered by sea, which would become the earth; and Yomi-tsu-kuni, the land of darkness.

As the universe divided, three invisible *kami* beings arose from the sea and found their way to the high plains of heaven, the broad expanses of sky above the earth. There they remained, giving birth to other invisible deities. After several generations of being born one by one, the heavenly *kami* were born in pairs, always a male and a female.

The fifth pair of *kami* to be born were Izanagi and Izanami, a heavenly brother and sister who had more or less human form. This pair had a special destiny. The other heavenly *kami* sent Izanagi and Izanami down from the heavens to bring order to the unformed world below. They became the creators of Japan.

Izanagi and Izanami descended by way of the Rainbow Bridge of Heaven to a point just above the waters of the sea. Standing on the Rainbow Bridge, Izanagi drew his sword and dipped it into the sea. As he pulled it out, the briny water that dripped from it

solidified and formed the island of Onokoro. Izanagi and Izanami stepped off the Rainbow Bridge onto the first island of Japan.

Izanagi and Izanami wed. Their fertile union produced the eight principal islands of Japan—Awaji, Shikoku, Oki, Kyushu, Iki, Tsu, Sado, and Oyamato. Izanami also gave birth to many major *kami*—the god of the sea, Ohowata-tsumi; the god of the wind, Shima-Tsu-Hiko; the god of the trees, Kuku-no-shi; the god of the mountains, Ohoyama-tsumi; and many others. Izanagi and Izanami were the parents of all of the geography of Japan—its mountains, trees, waterfalls, flowers, wind, and rain. At his birth Shima-Tsu-Hiko, the wind god, blew away the mists that covered the islands, and Izanagi and Izanami saw their handiwork for the first time.

THE DEATH OF IZANAMI

The couple's last-born child, Homu-subi, was the fire god, and Izanami died giving birth to him. Crazed with grief, Izanagi cut up the young god with his sword, and from each piece arose a new deity.

The grieving Izanagi followed his wife into Yomi-tsu-kuni, the land of darkness. Knowing that she was hideous in death, Izanami hid herself from Izanagi, calling to him from the darkness that she had already eaten the food of the underworld and could not return with him. Izanagi begged her to return with him, and Izanami agreed to petition the spirits of Yomi to make an exception for her. However, she made Izanagi promise to wait and not to try to see her.

Izanagi became impatient with waiting and tried to find Izanami. Instead of his beloved wife, he found her rotting body, guarded by the Eight Thunders and the Ugly Hags of the underworld. Furious that Izanagi had broken his promise to wait,

Japanese cherry blossom trees in bloom at the edge of a lake backed by snow-capped mountains. Shinto is deeply rooted in the land of Japan, which is believed to have been created by the heavenly *kami* who inhabit the natural features of the landscape and the elements of nature.

Izanami cried out that she had been betrayed and humiliated, and the guardians of the underworld jumped to the attack. Izanagi fled, barely eluding capture. He flung his stick at them, slowing them down enough that he could escape. Finally he reached the gateway back to earth and blocked it with a huge rock. Thus were the dead eternally separated from the living.

Izanami screamed after him that in revenge for his betrayal she would destroy 1,000 of the earth's inhabitants each day. Izanagi replied that he would create 1,500 new inhabitants each day, thereby peopling the islands. Life would always outpace death, and Japan would flourish.

THE BIRTH OF AMATERASU, THE SUN GODDESS

Feeling unclean after his encounter with death, Izanagi plunged into the river Woto to purify himself. From his discarded clothes sprang 12 new deities. As he bathed, more deities appeared. As Izanagi washed his nose he gave birth to the storm god, Susano-wo, to whom he gave the kingdom of the ocean. As he cleaned his right eye, out came Tsuki-yomi, the god of the moon. As he washed his left eye, he gave birth to supreme heavenly *kami* Amaterasu O-Mikami, the sun goddess.

The *Nihongi* tells another version of the creation story. In the *Nihongi* Izanagi and Izanami, having given birth to the islands of Japan, the rivers, the trees, and the mountains, bring about the birth of Amaterasu and place her in the sky to rule the lands. Izanami next gives birth to Tsuki-yomi, the moon goddess, and lastly to Susano-wo, the storm god. Many tales refer to Izanami as the mother of the heavenly trio, although others credit Izanagi with their creation.

Ruled by Amaterasu, the heavenly *kami* lived on the high plains of heaven, a vast area of sky through which ran a wide river that is recognized today as the Milky Way.

Land of the Rising Sun

Amaterasu O-Mikami means "The Great *Kami* Shining in Heaven." She was considered so lovely and glorious that Izanagi, one of the Creative Pair, placed her in the heavens as the sun goddess. Amaterasu is considered the highest of the heavenly *kami,* and in her honor Japan is called the Land of the Rising Sun.

The *kami* held council on the riverbanks and decided the fate of people below. Although Amaterasu herself never descended to earth, other gods and their messengers visited at will. A heavenly bridge connected the heavens and the earth, enabling the deities to go back and forth. One day it collapsed, forming the isthmus, or narrow strip of land, west of Kyoto, Japan.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN SUN AND STORM

Amaterasu's brother, the storm god Susanowo, was a troublemaker. He wept and blustered, bringing destruction to the fields and mountains of the earth until everything was in turmoil and ruin. Finally Izanagi decided to banish him to the underworld to be with his mother if he did not mend his ways.

The crafty Susanowo played for time. He begged to be allowed to visit his sister, Amaterasu, before he left, and his wish was granted. Knowing her brother's reputation for mischief, Amaterasu asked him for a sign of good faith. As the supreme heavenly *kami,* Amaterasu knew she could create deities at will. Could Susanowo? They agreed on a test. Each would create new deities. If Susanowo could create male deities, Amaterasu would accept his word and let him into her kingdom. If he failed he would have to return to earth.

First Amaterasu broke Susanowo's sword into pieces and ate them. She spat out a mist that became three new female deities. Then she gave Susanowo a string of her jewels, which he ate, spitting out five new male *kami.* Amaterasu took the creation of these deities as proof of Susanowo's good intent. She presented him with the three deities of her own making and admitted him to her realm.

No sooner was Susanowo there than he began to bedevil Amaterasu and her kingdom. He tore down trees. He broke the heavenly dikes and flooded the divine rice fields. He destroyed palace rooms. Finally he seized a celestial horse and skinned it alive, dropping the bloody horse skin onto his heavenly sister and her ladies-in-waiting as they sat peacefully weaving. Then he stood back and laughed at the havoc he had caused.

Amaterasu emerges from the cave, bringing light to the world. She had retreated to the cave following her brother's destructive behavior, but after much encouragement she was finally drawn out by seeing her own dazzling reflection in a mirror.

Furious, Amaterasu retreated to a heavenly cave and refused to come out. Her action plunged the whole earth into darkness, and evil spirits took over the world.

The Sun Goddess

The story of Amaterasu's disappearance when she felt herself insulted by her brother, Susanowo, may arise from some natural phenomenon such as an eclipse of the sun. The importance of the tale, however, is that it gives listeners the assurance that Amaterasu, the sun goddess, will never desert them, and that her power will continue forever.

LIGHT RETURNS TO THE WORLD

No amount of coaxing could persuade Amaterasu to return. Finally the heavenly *kami* assembled outside the cave to discuss what to do. There they came up with a plan. First they brought roosters to crow, to give the illusion of the coming of day. Then they brought a great tree to the mouth of the cave, and from it they hung the soft white cloth of the gods and glorious jewels. Finally they positioned a mirror at the mouth of the cave and stationed Tajikara-wo, the god of strength, beside it.

The mirth goddess, Uzume, began to dance. Uzume was not beautiful, but her good humor and merrymaking were contagious. Soon everyone was laughing. The merriment of the gods partying outside her cave made Amaterasu curious. Finally she could stand it no longer and approached the opening of the cave. "Come out and see," the *kami* called. "There is someone out here more beautiful than you." (In J. Hacklin and Clement Huart, *Asiatic Mythology,* a translation from the *Kojiki*.) Amaterasu peeked out, and she was met by her own dazzling reflection in the mirror. Astonished, she stepped outside and Tajikara-wo caught her. Quickly the *kami* placed a rice-straw rope across the cave opening so she could not return to her hiding place, and light came into the world again. The jewels and the mirror that brought Amaterasu from her cave became symbols of her power and part of her heavenly regalia.

THE CREATION OF THE ANCESTORS

The heavenly *kami* punished Susanowo for his outrageous behavior. First they required him to bring to the council table the objects

PRINCIPAL SHINTO *KAMI*

Amaterasu—The sun goddess and the highest of the heavenly *kami;* she was born from Izanagi's left eye after the death of Izanami.
Hoho'demi—Youngest son of Ninigi; he was the founder of the imperial line.
Inari—*Kami* of rice and protector of all food, prosperity, and lovers and married people, and restorer of stolen items.
Izanagi—One of the Creative Pair. With his wife, Izanami, he was parent to the islands of Japan and many of the major deities.
Izanami—One of the Creative Pair and wife of Izanagi.
Jimmu Tenno—Imperial name of **Toyo-mike-nu,** grandson of Hoho-demi and great-grandson of Ninigi; legendary first emperor of Japan.
Ninigi—Grandson of Amaterasu, the sun goddess, who was sent by her to establish her government on earth.
Oho-kuni-nushi—Descendant of Susano-wo; powerful lord of Izumo Province who ceded his land to Ninigi to establish an earthly kingdom.
Susanowo—The storm god; born from Izanagi's nose after the death of Izanami.
Uzume—The mirth goddess, whose humorous dance enticed Amaterasu from the cave of darkness.
Yomi, or Yomi-tsu-kuni—Land of darkness; the Shinto kingdom of death; the underworld.

that symbolized his misdeeds. These were thrown into the sea, carrying with them the evil they contained. Although Susano-wo retained a capacity to bring flood and storm, he could never again make the kind of trouble he had caused in Amaterasu's realm. The *kami* then sent him back to earth, banishing him from heaven.

Susanowo took with him to earth the eight deities he and his sister had created. The deities descended to the province of Izumo. There Susanowo wandered the earth. Truly sorry for his misdeeds, he set out to redeem himself in the eyes of his sister and father.

One day Susanowo met an elderly couple and their beautiful young daughter, all weeping. He asked the couple why they were crying, and they told him that they had once had eight beautiful daughters, but a monstrous, eight-headed serpent had come every year and seized a daughter. It had already killed seven daughters, and the couple feared that the time was coming when it would appear and devour this one, their last. Susanowo offered to kill the serpent in exchange for the hand of the daughter, Kushinada-hime, in marriage.

The clever Susanowo filled eight cups with strong rice wine and left them for the serpent. It soon appeared, its eight mouths spitting fire, and quickly lapped up the wine with its eight tongues. When it fell down drunk Susanowo leaped from his hiding place and cut off its eight heads, killing it. Susanowo cut open the serpent's

belly. Inside he found a glorious, jewel-encrusted sword. Susanowo presented the sword to Amaterasu as a token of apology for all the trouble he had caused in heaven. The sword became part of Amaterasu's heavenly regalia.

Susanowo wed Kushinada-hime and together they had many children, who grew up and married local *kami* and became the ancestors of all the people of Japan. Eventually Susanowo's descendants spread over all of Izumo province. One, Ohu-kuninushi, became the powerful lord of Izumo.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IMPERIAL LINE

As told in the *Nihongi*, most of the activities of the *kami* took place in the heavens, where Amaterasu reigned supreme.

A dragon sculpted on the bowl of an incense burner. These mythical serpent-like creatures are associated with water and are frequently the emblem of the emperor. The sword, part of Amaterasu's heavenly regalia, was found in the body of a serpent who terrorized the daughters of a family until it was killed by Susanowo.

Other deities visited earth for short periods of time, but local *kami,* some beneficial and others troublesome, along with the many descendants of Susanowo and his children, managed on earth as best they could.

Amaterasu, looking down from on high, noticed that the earth was in continual disorder. Most of Susanowo's descendants behaved decently, but others fought among themselves, and evil spirits ran loose. The world was a noisy place where even the rocks and the trees clamored for their say in how things should go. Amaterasu decided to take the world in hand. At first she turned to her son Amano-Oshihomimi, asking him to go to earth to rule her earthly kingdom. As he stood on the Rainbow Bridge and looked down, he saw so much clamor and dissent in the world that he declined.

Amaterasu then convened a council of the *kami.* They sent a messenger, Amano-Hohi, to earth to look around and report back. When three years had passed with no word from him, the heavenly *kami* sent another messenger, this one armed with bow and arrows. The new messenger, Ame-waka-hiko, had no sooner arrived on earth than he met a maiden whose charms persuaded him to marry her. Eight more years passed with not a single word from earth.

Growing impatient, the heavenly *kami* sent yet another messenger, this time a bird, to search the earth. Ame-waka-hiko mistakenly shot the bird, which barely made it back to heaven. But the *kami* recognized the arrow and realized that their messenger, Ame-waka-hiko, had gone astray.

Now Amaterasu sent two of the heavenly *kami,* Takemikazuchi, the god of thunder, and Futsu-nushi, the god of fire, to earth. Following Amaterasu's orders, the two heavenly *kami* went directly to Izumo, where they met with Oho-kuni-nushi, lord of Izumo and Susanowo's descendant, and asked him to submit to the rule of Amaterasu.

While Oho-kuni-nushi pondered their request, his son tried to resist and attempted to take on the heavenly *kami* in battle. In a one-sided fight, the *kami* defeated him. His sorrowful father

withdrew to Yomi, the land of darkness, to rule over the evil spirits and keep them from harming the living, ceding control of the earth to the *kami*.

The two *kami* returned to the high plains of heaven, where they reported their success to Amaterasu. Once again she turned to her son Amano-Oshihomimi and asked him to go to earth and govern it. Once again he declined, proposing that his son go in his place.

NINIGI, ANCESTOR OF THE IMPERIAL LINE

Ninigi, Amaterasu's grandson, agreed to go to earth to rule. Amaterasu gave him the symbols of her power—the mirror made by the heavenly *kami* to lure her from the cave, her jewels, and the sword taken by Susanowo from the belly of the serpent. "Consider this mirror as you would my soul, and honor it as myself," she told him. The mirror thus became Amaterasu's *shintai,* the object in which her *kami*-spirit lived. Her final words to her grandson were, "May prosperity attend your dynasty and may it, like heaven and earth, endure forever." (In J. Hacklin and Clement Huart, *Asiatic Mythology*, a translation from the *Kojiki*.)

With three *kami* and five exalted beings who served the heavenly *kami,* Ninigi descended to earth. He went first to the island of Kyushu, proceeding to the province of Satsuma. To the five chiefs who accompanied him he gave the responsibility of religious tasks. These exalted beings became the legendary ancestors of the families who formed the Shinto priesthood. Each had a special duty. One guarded the chants and prayers, another cared for shrines and ritual objects, a third was in charge of religious dances, the fourth was to make the sacred mirrors, and the fifth the jeweled swords.

Ninigi fell in love with a young woman of the Satsuma province and asked for her hand in marriage. The young woman's father offered him instead his elder daughter, who, he said, was stronger. But Ninigi

Shintai

The *shintai* is a sacred object symbolizing the essence of the *kami* to whom the shrine is dedicated. The *shintai* is wrapped in silk and placed in a box that is never opened.

chose the younger daughter because, although she was weaker, she was more beautiful. Ninigi's choice, says the *Kojiki*, is the reason that many emperors of Japan do not live long lives.

THE CHILDREN OF NINIGI

Living in Satsuma, Kyushu, Ninigi and his new bride had three sons. The eldest, Ho-deri, grew to be a strong man with a violent temper. He had a magical fishhook that enabled him to catch great numbers of fish. One day his little brother Hoho-demi borrowed the fishhook and lost it. Fearing his brother's anger, Hoho-demi sat weeping on the seashore. The sea deity Shiho-tsuchi found him there and asked what the problem was. He advised Hoho-demi to go to the land of the ruler of the sea, Ohowata-tsumi.

Hoho-demi took the boat Shiho-tsuchi built for him and steered it to the sea god's palace. At the palace gate, he climbed a tree so he could see inside, and he was noticed by Toyo-Tama-bimi, one of the sea god's daughters. She reported the youth's presence to her father, who invited the young prince inside. The two soon married.

Hoho-demi became homesick living in the palace in the land of the sea, and the fishhook was still lost. The sea god Ohowa-ta-tsumi called all the fish of the ocean together. Finally a fish appeared with a sore mouth, and the hook was found. Ohowa-ta-tsumi returned the fishhook to his son-in-law, warning him that his bad-tempered brother might still try to harm him. But Ohowata-tsumi promised that he would help the young man by making water flow wherever he planted rice. He gave Hoho-demi the two magical jewels with which the sea gods ruled the waters: One jewel caused water to rise up, and the other caused it to subside. These jewels gave Hoho-demi great power.

Hoho-demi and Toyo-Tama-bimi went to Hoho-demi's home in Kyushu. Ho-deri was indeed still angry, but Hoho-demi used his magic jewels to make Ho-deri submit to him, and he became the lord of all the nearby lands.

When Toyo-Tama-bimi was about to bear the couple's first child, she asked Hoho-demi to build her a private hut where she

could be alone. He did as she asked, but while she was giving birth, he peeked into the hut and there he saw that his beautiful wife had changed into a sharklike sea monster. Hoho-demi fled and Toyo-Tama-bimi, disgraced, abandoned the child and returned to her home beneath the sea.

JIMMU TENNO, FIRST EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Toyo-Tama-bimi sent her younger sister to Kyushu to care for the young boy she had left behind. When he was grown the two were joined in marriage and had four sons. The youngest of these sons was named Toyo-mike-nu. He left Kyushu and went to the province of Yamato. There he became the first emperor of Japan, taking the name Jimmu Tenno. Later he wed a great-granddaughter of Oho-kuni-nushi, one of Susanowo's descendants, so the two powerful heavenly families of Amaterasu and Susanowo were joined in marriage.

Jimmu Tenno became the legendary founder of the imperial family. The imperial family has occupied the throne since 660 B.C.E. and continues to do so to this day. Today's imperial family traces its ancestry directly to Jimmu Tenno, said to be the great-grandson of Ninigi, the grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu.

OTHER SHINTO *KAMI*

While the heavenly *kami* and their stories are significant to the imperial line, other *kami* play important roles in the lives of ordinary people.

The wind fills the void between earth and sky so that the sky does not fall. There are four wind gods—a male and a female and their two *kami* helpers. Ancient prayers are addressed to the wind *kami* to keep winds and storms from destroying crops at harvesttime, and many shrines are devoted to the *kami* of wind and thunder. There is also a god of whirlwinds, who must be kept under control so he will not do great harm.

The rain god Taki-okami is a mountain-dwelling *kami;* Kura-okami is a god of rain and snow inhabiting the valleys. Each takes the shape of a dragon or a serpent. But it is the god of waterfalls,

Rice growing in a Japanese field. Hoho-demi was given magic jewels by the ruler of the sea. These jewels made the waters rise whenever rice was planted and subside when it needed harvesting.

Taki-tsu-hiko, who brings rain in time of drought, and Shinto ceremonies for rain are addressed to him.

Kami of springs and wells make water come from the earth. *Kami* inhabit the rivers and traditionally are continually venerated to keep them happy so they will not cause the rivers to overflow their banks. Other *kami* dwell at the mouths of rivers.

THE IMPERIAL LINE AS ESTABLISHED BY THE *KOJIKI*

Izanagi and Izanami, the Creative Pair

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Amaterasu, the sun goddess

|

Amano-Oshihomimi

|

Ninigi

|

Hoho-demi, founder of the imperial line

|

(**a son,** name unknown)

|

Jimmu Tenno, legendary first emperor of Japan

TREES AND ROCKS

Kami of the fields and woods are numerous. The *kami* of fields is assisted by the *kami* of herbs. But of the earth's flora, trees are especially important. In the countryside a tree may be surrounded by a rice-straw rope to indicate its *kami* nature. The sacred sakaki tree, *Cleyera japonica,* is often planted on shrine grounds; it was a sakaki tree on which the *kami* hung the jewels and mirror that lured Amaterasu out of her cave, and sakaki branches are used in some Shinto rituals. Cypress trees, honored for their long life, also grace many shrines. Trees are richly endowed with *kami:* one deity guards the trunk, the other the leaves; and before one cuts down a tree it is traditional to request permission from Yama-tsumi, a mountain *kami.*

Rocks, which are great and unchanging, may inspire reverence. The god Ohoiwa-Daimyo-jin takes the form of a rock. Rocks and stones are also the *shintai,* or symbols, of many deities, including Taki-tsu-hiko, the god of waterfalls.

LIGHTNING, THUNDER, AND FIRE

The god of sky thunder, representing both thunder and lightning, is called by two names: Kami-nari, "the divine muttering," and Naru-kami, "the thundering god." The thunder god is the patron of bows and arrows, petitioned in times of invasion and threat of war. He also protects trees, bringing on violent storms if they are

The coastline at Shirahama in Kansai province, Japan. Two major sea deities, Ohowata-tsumi and Shiho-tsuchi, hold the jewels that make the sea ebb and flow. Sailors might call upon them for safe journeys on the ocean.

wrongfully cut. Trees struck and disfigured by lightning show the presence of *kami*.

There are also the eight gods of thunder, the Ika-zuchi, who guarded the body of Izanami and chased Izanagi out of Yomi-tsu-kuni. They represent underground rumblings such as earthquakes and volcanoes.

The god of fire, Homu-subi, caused the death of Izanami. But although he may bring destruction, he also starts fire for warmth and for ritual. Special prayers are offered to soothe him.

After his journey to Yomi-tsu-kuni, Izanagi created the Sae-no-kami, or gods of the road. These *kami* protect travelers and keep evil spirits away from them. Their *shintai* is the stick, repre-

senting the one Izanagi threw at his pursuers when he was escaping from the land of the dead.

FOOD AND HOME

There are many *kami* of food, but Inari, the god of rice, is the most highly venerated, and many shrines are dedicated to him. Inari is usually shown riding on a fox, his symbol, and carrying a bag of rice; sometimes Inari himself appears as a fox. As the protector of rice, he is also respected as the provider of all food and of all prosperity. He helps at difficult times of life, protects lovers and married people, and even recovers stolen items. He was long ago considered the patron of swordsmiths; now his patronage is extended to all tradespeople.

The home is the center of much Shinto worship, so each home has its own *kami*—the *kami* of the hearth. There may be a *kami* of the kitchen stove, a *kami* of the hall and of the bedroom, even a *kami* of the toilet, who keeps evil and illness away. In Shinto *kami* are, indeed, everywhere.

A cup and bowls at a tap in the grounds of a shrine. Before entering a shrine to pray to the *kami,* visitors first wash their hands and take a sip of water to cleanse their mouths, but do not touch the original water source with their lips.

SHINTO MYTHOLOGY ANDJAPANESE CULTURE

The traditional tales of Shinto serve many of the same purposes as those of other religions. They answer questions about the origins of a people and their relationship with the heavenly pow-

Each mountain has its own special *kami*. In the summer people make pilgrimages to the great mountains, either to view the mountains from afar or to climb them. Mount Fuji, or Fujiyama, an inactive volcano and Japan's highest, most famous, and most sacred peak, is home to the *kami* Sengen Sama.

ers, and about life and death, and good and evil. In the case of Shinto, however, those tales especially bind the Japanese people to their land and to their history.

In the centuries after Emperor Jimmu Tenno mythical tales gradually gave way to historical records. Yet the celestial origins of Japan and the Japanese people have remained a continuous thread in the national consciousness. The tales of the heavenly *kami* and the creation of Japan have long been a unifying force for the Japanese people, who have traditionally seen themselves as uniquely blessed. As a people they trace their existence to the so-called Creative Pair, Izanagi and Izanami, and their offspring. In a sense the *kami* of Shinto are their distant relatives, and they feel a special kinship with these spirits of their native land.

DIVINE GIFTS TODAY: SEALED FROM HUMAN EYES

The mirror and jewels that Amaterasu gave to Ninigi when she sent him to earth are believed to have been handed down through the imperial line. They are said to be enshrined at Ise, the most sacred of all Shinto shrines. Wrapped in silk and sealed in special containers, they are never seen, even by the priests who guard them. The sword of Susanowo, the third insignia of imperial power, also sealed from human eyes, rests in the shrine at Atsuta, near Nagoya.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY SHINTO AND ITS CHINESE INFLUENCES

No one knows when the people now known as the Japanese first migrated to the Japanese archipelago, or chain of islands, and began to make a home there. They settled on the Yamato Plain south of Nara, the area identified by historians as the place where Japanese culture began. These people had no written language, so their exact origins are unknown; they may have come from the South Seas, Korea, or mainland China, or from other parts of Asia. Archaeological evidence dating from the first millennium B.C.E. suggests that these forerunners of today's Japanese people were a society of hunter-gatherers and fishers. There were native people, the Ainu, on the islands when they arrived, but the newcomers did not mix with them, forming instead their own small farming and fishing villages and settling them with family groups.

Generally people living in a particular geographical area were related, either by blood or by marriage, and they gathered loosely into *uji,* or clans. They came together to celebrate social events such as births, marriages, and deaths, and seasonal events such

Musicians at the Grand Shrine at Ise are shown here performing *Gakaku,* the ancient court music of Japan. Music and dance became important features in Shinto rites, and they remain so, fully supported by the special patronage of the emperor.

as spring planting and fall harvest. The earliest records of Shinto reflect close ties to ancestors and to agricultural fertility and the rhythms of the natural world.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SHINTO RELIGION

The *uji* turned to the spirits of nature to be given the blessings of children and crops. They paid respect to natural forces—sun, wind, rain, and tides. Shinto grew out of this tradition, and echoes of it continue to survive in folk practices such as the prayers that greet the rising sun. Shinto festivals still follow the agricultural calendar of spring rice planting and fall harvest.

Each village and clan had its own local *kami,* mostly related to the region's natural phenomena. Living close to nature, the villagers were dependent on their blessings and whims. From Shinto's earliest beginnings there has been no clear division between religion and culture. People understood that they were continually in the presence of the *kami,* which they saw manifested in great trees and dark woods, large boulders, mountains, and waterfalls. They paid honor and respect to anything they saw that seemed extraordinary, wonderful, or awe-inspiring. Thus there came to be *kami* of fire, wind, rain, thunder, springs, mountains, rivers, food, rice, and all vegetation; *kami* of paths and roads and stones; *kami* of the sea and the rivers; *kami* of home and hearth; *kami* everywhere.

THE *NORITO*

Early Shinto did not have a priesthood. The hereditary head of each *uji* also served as its chief priest. His responsibility as clan chief included being attuned to the instructions of the *kami* and speaking the words that would ensure their continued goodwill. Shinto followers believed that beautiful words, carefully spoken, had a beneficent effect on the *kami* who heard them, bringing blessings, good health, and prosperity.

Oral Links

Mystical words and prayers, called *norito* or *norii,* were handed down orally from father to son, along with the leadership of the clan. *Norito* continue to be used in Shinto rituals.

The *norito,* mystical words and prayers, already ancient in the oral tradition when they were first copied down around the eighth century C.E., are the earliest existing record of prehistoric Shinto. Because the words and phrasing of the *norito* were believed to have ritual power, it is thought that they came down through the ages and generations almost unchanged. Many *norito* are for the success of the rice harvest, because rice was the mainstay of Japanese agricultural life.

NORITO FOR EXORCISM AND PURIFICATION, FROM THE GREAT EXORCISM OF THE LAST DAY OF THE SIXTH MONTH

The Great Exorcism, or Great Purification, takes place at the end of June. It is a ritual to renew the world by removing all impurities and sins. In this *norito* (prayer), as in all Shinto rituals, the words carry great power. Beautiful words of ancient Japanese, recited by Shinto priests, are believed to be pleasing to the *kami,* or deities.

As the gusty wind blows apart the myriad layers of heavenly clouds;
As the morning mists, the evening mist is blown away by the morning wind, the evening wind;
As the large ship anchored in the spacious port is untied at the prow and at the stern
And pushed out into the great ocean;
As the luxuriant clump of trees on yonder [hill]
Is cut away at the base with a tempered sickle, a sharp sickle—
As a result of the exorcism and purification,
There will be no sins left.
They will be taken into the great ocean
By the goddess called Se-ori-tu-hime,
Who dwells in the rapids of the rapid-running rivers
Which fall surging perpendicular
From the summits of the high mountains and the summits
of the low mountains.

(In *Norito—A New Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers,* translated by Donald L. Philippi.)

The *Kami* Power of Stones

The Japanese empress Jingo (170–269 C.E.) was expecting a child when war broke out between Japan and Korea. Almost at the point of giving birth, she still felt it necessary to be with her army. She put stones on her belly, and with their aid she was able to lead her soldiers in battle. The stones, which came to be known as the stones that lighten the pains of childbirth, became objects of respect and worship. Today they are preserved at a shrine in Hizen province in Kyushu.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY SHINTO

The ritual year in Shinto followed the farming cycle. Although different villages might celebrate at slightly different times, in general the people came together to celebrate spring planting, fall harvest, the new year, and events in between and to ask for aid or give thanks for blessings. At each festival people gathered to ask that their sins be taken away and that they be made pure, to request blessings, and to thank the *kami* for their goodness toward their village or region.

In addition to the heavenly *kami,* the local *kami,* and the *kami* of nature being venerated, ancestors, outstanding people, and the imperial family came to be considered *kami* as well, so that the pantheon, or collection of all Shinto deities, eventually swelled to about 8 million. Many of these *kami* were tutelary deities; that is, they were the special *kami* of a particular village, region, or even household, and thus not universally worshipped or even known outside their own districts. Each village had boundary deities at its entrance and a town or village shrine where people gathered to pay their respects to clan *kami,* those deities under whose special protection they lived. In addition there might be other sacred sites for particular *kami:* a waterfall, a hill, a place where a *kami* had appeared or where *kami* presence had been experienced.

THE SACRED PLACES OF EARLY SHINTO

At first there were no shrines or temple buildings. People worshipped in natural places that had *kami* presence—at waterfalls and on mountaintops, beneath great trees, beside majestic rocks, on the shore—and they marked these places with ropes of rice-straw, signifying their *kami* nature. To these places the people brought objects such as mirrors, jewels, and swords, which they

felt captured the mystical presence of the *kami*. Later they began to build small, simple structures in the style of their own homes and storage buildings as shrines to which the *kami* might be called. Shinto shrines were never built as gathering places where worshippers could assemble. They were for the use of the *kami* only. Rituals at which people gathered were held outdoors, not inside the shrines.

THE GROWTH OF THE CLANS

In the centuries before 600 B.C.E. the clans grew and strengthened their influence. The *uji* joined together, with the larger, more powerful clans absorbing the smaller, weaker ones. When one clan took over another, its guardian *kami* became the other clan's *kami* as well, and people turned to worship the deity of their new

The Ainu, the indigenous people of Japan, performing a ceremony to honor the spirits of nature. According to tradition, Jimmu Tenno, believed to be the first emperor of Japan and founder of the imperial line that has occupied the throne to this day, drove the native people, the Ainu, from the islands of Japan in 660 B.C.E. The culture of the Ainu people has, however, survived and communities live primarily in Hokkaido, northern Japan.

leaders. Amaterasu, the sun goddess, was originally the deity of the Yamato clan, from which the Japanese imperial line emerged. As that clan grew in power and prestige, Amaterasu was eventuelevated to the position of supreme heavenly *kami* of all Japan.

According to tradition Jimmu Tenno, the legendary first emperor of Japan, arrived among the *uji* around 660 B.C.E., driving the native Ainu from the Yamato region of central Japan and becoming the clans' priest and ruler. By the end of the second century C.E. the imperial system was well established, with powerful clan rulers paying homage to an emperor who presided over the imperial court.

Most Japanese, however, were little affected by the doings of the court. They lived as peasants, farming or fishing as their ancestors had before them, paying their respects to the tutelary *kami* of their own village and shrine.

THE ARRIVAL OF CHINESE CULTURE

Not far from Japan's shores lies China, with its ancient and highly developed culture. During the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), China invaded and colonized Korea, bringing Chinese influence even closer to Japan. From as early as 57 C.E. Chinese scholars and artisans traveled to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese court, and Chinese culture became especially strong from around 200 C.E.

Japan at the time was still quite undeveloped. It had no writing system and therefore no recorded poetry or literature. It had crafts but little graphic art (drawing or painting) and no centralized government—all things that China had had for more than a thousand years.

The written word was one of the most important cultural advances to come from China to Japan. Gradually the Japanese adopted the Chinese writing sys-

CONFUCIAN RULES AND CONDUCT

In the Confucian system each person had a duty to the other, and specific rules of conduct and courtesy governed all relationships. For example, in the parent-to-child relationship, parents had a duty to love and care for their child, and the child had a duty to love and be obedient to his or her parents, both in life and after death. The relationship of ruler to subject was similar, and of central importance to Confucianism. Husbands and wives had a duty to live harmoniously, and friends had a duty to be honest and fair in their dealings with one another.

tem, fitting it to their own language. This advance eventually enabled them to write down the oral history of their country and the basis of the Shinto religion. But in addition to the written word, the Chinese brought something that had a profound effect on Japan: their religions. In China Confucianism and Daoism were already highly developed religious traditions. Each would influence Shinto in its own way.

The Confucian Ideal

Confucianism held intelligence and learning in high regard. Because education was mainly a Confucian ideal, the Chinese teachers from whom the Japanese elite learned reading and writing were Confucian. As they learned writing the Japanese naturally acquired the Confucian worldview and the philosophy of its teachers.

CONFUCIANISM

The orderly Confucian system had a powerful influence on the Japanese people. With its emphasis on proper relationships between people, respect for ancestors, and order and moderation, Confucianism appealed greatly to the Japanese court. Confucianism taught that everything in nature, of which people are a part, had its place. Therefore, each person too had a place in one of the five human relationships: three within the family and two without. According to Confucianism harmony in families, in society, and finally between earth and heaven came from the proper observance of these five relationships: parent to child, husband to wife, older brother to younger brother, friend to friend, and ruler to subject.

In Confucianism the Japanese recognized truths inherent in Shinto. Honesty, fairness, harmony, and ancestor worship were all Shinto ideals. The Confucian emphasis on family, too, was familiar and helped to reinforce the importance of the imperial line. The Japanese adopted many of the Confucian principles, particularly the familial duties, while retaining their belief in the *kami* and worshipping at Shinto shrines.

DAOISM

Although Confucianism was the dominant religious and philosophical tradition of China, China's other religious tradition, Daoism, was also strong, especially among the laboring classes.

The Waving Cat

An emperor one day passed by a cat, which seemed to wave to him. Taking the cat's motion as a sign, the emperor paused and went to it. Diverted from his journey, he realized that he had avoided a trap that had been laid for him just ahead. Since that time, cats have been considered wise and lucky spirits in the Shinto religion. Many shrines and homes include a figurine of a cat with one paw upraised—the waving cat.

So along with Confucianism the Chinese, through teachers and merchants, brought their Daoist beliefs to Japan. Daoism emphasized being in harmony with the flow of the universe. Like Shinto, it regarded nature with respect. Daoism's focus on the *Dao,* the great force behind all things in the universe, and its contemplative side had little impact on the Japanese mind of the time. But the practice of "religious" Daoism, which, like Shinto, had folk origins, fitted in well with Shinto belief.

Daoism never had the lasting effect on Japanese life that Confucianism had, but it did influence Shinto belief and practice in more subtle ways. Daoism was more highly developed than Shinto. It had more ritual and customs than Shinto did. It had a variety of gods who represented natural phenomena, much like Shinto, and some of those gods were incorporated into the Japanese pantheon. Daoism was also concerned with an intricate calendar of good and bad days, and this calendar become part of Shinto as well.

Daoist practitioners had rituals for interpreting signs, foretelling the future, and choosing appropriate places for siting buildings, practices that were eventually linked to Shinto. By the early eighth century C.E. the Japanese court had set up a bureau of divination, modeled on a similar Chinese agency, to determine lucky dates for governmental events and to interpret omens such as natural phenomena.

BUDDHISM

While the Japanese government was allying itself with Confucianism and reforming itself along Confucian lines, another religion, Buddhism, came to Japan at approximately the same time. That religion was by far the most influential religious tradition to enter Japan from the outside world.

Buddhism came to Japan from China by way of Korea, as Confucianism and Daoism had earlier. The official date for Buddhism's introduction to Japan is 552 C.E., although Buddhist priests had no doubt visited Japanese shores centuries earlier. But sometime in the mid-sixth century a Korean king sent a delegation to the Yamato ruler asking for military aid. With the delegation came priests in saffron-yellow robes, banging on gongs and chanting and carrying with them ceremonial umbrellas, banners, Buddhist scriptures, and an image of the Buddha crafted of fine metals such as gold.

Statue of a seated Buddha holding an alms bowl in the grounds of a Buddhist temple. Buddhism had a great appeal to the Japanese people who appreciated its ethics, philosophy, and rituals and it quickly became influential.

A Shinto shrine in a remote setting at the top of a mountain in Sendai, Japan. Shrines in these natural settings are often associated with *kami* who dwell in the features of the landscape and whose presence had been felt in that area.

Buddhism had an immediate and powerful effect on the Japanese people. It came to Japan as a mature, established tradition with a highly developed philosophy and elaborate rituals. Its color and pageantry, as well as its ethics, appealed to both the rulers and the masses, and it spread quickly throughout the country. Buddhist philosophy, particularly the elimination of earthly suffering through awakening to a higher peace, was also attractive to the Japanese mind.

Although it was new to Japan, Buddhism had traits that were familiar to Shinto worshippers. Like Shinto, it had many deities, a similarity that helped to foster its acceptance. Also like Shinto, it was tolerant of other beliefs and adapted easily to different situations.

On the other hand, Buddhism provided belief systems through the Buddha's teachings on karma, samsara, and nirvana and the path to achieve final release from rebirth through the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. Shinto had not offered this type of teaching and people had not found it in the orderly Confucian system, with its emphasis on rules for proper relationships between people, and on good government.

Buddhism also satisfied an important need that Shinto had not addressed. It offered the comfort of life after death, whereas Shinto, more deeply rooted in naturalism, offered a realistic view of the natural world and merely accepted death as the end of existence. Following a death Shintoists purified themselves to remove death's polluting taint. Worthy dead, particularly members of the imperial family, might become *kami,* but Shinto offered no passage to a better place. Buddhism did, and it also had funeral rites, which Shinto lacked. Shinto followers embraced this aspect of Buddhism, along with its philosophy and ritual.

PRINCE SHOTOKU AND TAIKA REFORM

The rise of strong clan rule had been marked by strife among the various clan heads, with the Yamato clan generally emerging as the most powerful. After the clans gave way to the imperial throne in the sixth century, the imperial line continued to experience conflict within itself. Around 600 C.E. a family power struggle led to the removal of Empress Suiko's authority. Her nephew, a young prince named Shotoku, became her regent, ruling the country in her name. In Shotoku the religious traditions of Japan and China blended to create an individual of great refinement and statecraft.

Prince Shotoku is credited with creating a 17-article Japanese constitution. This document, written in 609, blended Buddhist

ethics with Confucian governmental structure. More than a statement of law, it was a collection of ethical beliefs by which governmental officials were to conduct themselves. In 645, some years after Shotoku's death, Kotoku became emperor and instituted changes in the Japanese government along Confucian lines, known as the Taika Reform.

Principally Shotoku's constitution encouraged people to abandon the custom of having power divided among many clan chiefs, of which some were more powerful than others, and to look on the emperor as the supreme ruler of the land. The Taika Reform strengthened the central government and instituted ranks at the imperial court. Its laws controlled Japanese life and still have an impact today.

THE ALLIANCE OF CONFUCIANISM AND SHINTO

The emphasis placed on a strong imperial line by the Taika Reform worked to Shinto's advantage. Confucians benefited from their alliance with the imperial court, and the court was Shinto. The Confucians supported Shinto, and Shinto and Confucianism complemented each other. Confucianism brought education, organization, and a political system to the Japanese court, while Shinto provided the mythological basis for imperial power. Among other things, the government built and maintained Shinto shrines.

It was during this period, in 673, that Emperor Temmu ordered a court historian to commit the oral history of Japan to memory so that the "records of ancient matters," particularly those establishing the celestial origins of the imperial line, would not be lost or corrupted by change. By 712 that history was recorded in the *Kojiki*, the written account of the mythic beginnings of Japan and the Japanese people. It was followed in 720 by the *Nihongi*, the record of the earliest emperors.

Together the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* established Shinto orthodoxy and the divine origins of the imperial line and firmly established Shinto as the religion of the emperor's court in Japan. Their influence lasted many centuries.

SHINTO AND THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA

For the Japanese, Daoism's appeal lay in its appreciation of nature and its many deities, closely paralleling Shinto beliefs, and from it they took its practices of divining the future. Confucianism stressed respect for the emperor and order, which had been Shinto ideals, but it had evolved into an orderly bureaucratic system of government that was practical and efficient. The Japanese eventually adopted this Confucian model and incorporated it into their Shinto system, along with its code of ethics. Buddhism had many aspects in common with Shinto, but it offered more color and ceremony as well as philosophical depth, and had wide appeal for Shinto followers.

Shinto took on characteristics of the competing religions. During the time that the capital was at Nara, from 644 to 764, the emphasis on Shinto rites in a natural setting gave way to the idea that the shrine was the home of the *kami*. A form of Shrine Shinto emerged in which priests performed rites as if the *kami* were present. A *shimpo,* or divine treasure, was placed in the shrine to signify the presence of *kami*. The treasure was often swords; archery equipment, such as a bow and arrows, arm guards, and quiver; ceremonial clothing; and harps and bells made by the finest artisans. Every 20 years the shrine was rebuilt with new materials and the divine treasure renewed. The old treasures and materials were ceremoniously buried on shrine grounds.

CHAPTER 4

JAPANESE RELIGION IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

From its earliest beginnings Shinto had always been concerned with earthly life. The introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century C.E. brought notions of the end of earthly suffering and an awakening to a higher plane of consciousness. These were exciting new ideas to the Japanese, and from its first appearance in Japan, Buddhism found fertile ground for growth. The form of Buddhism that came to Japan was known as Mahayana Buddhism, which liberally interpreted the Buddha's teachings, making it easier for Buddhism to adapt to Japanese ways.

THE TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA

Buddhism originated in India around the sixth century B.C.E. According to legend a young Indian prince, Siddhartha Gautama, later known as Sakyamuni, who had been carefully protected by his loving family from the cares of the world, suddenly became aware of the suffering around him. He vowed to find the cause and solution for worldly sorrow and pain.

Gautama left his family to join a group of Hindu ascetics, or people who give up pleasures and sometimes even the necessi-

A photograph of a torii leading to a Shinto shrine taken at the turn of the 20th century by a European traveler, Richard Gordon Smith.

ties of life for religious purposes, but his new life did not reveal the answers he sought. He left them and sat beneath a tree to meditate. Many temptations later he came to an understanding that human suffering came from desire. Having defeated desire and achieved inner harmony, Gautama became Buddha, the Enlightened One. Buddha gathered followers and preached his message of the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, which were rules for living .

BUDDHA'S RULES AND GUIDELINES

Buddha's Four Noble Truths were these:

- *Suffering consists of disease, old age, and death; of separation from those we love; of craving what we cannot obtain; and of hating what we cannot avoid.*
- *All suffering is caused by desire and the attempt to satisfy our desires.*
- *Therefore, suffering can be overcome by ceasing to desire.*
- *The way to end desire is to follow the Eightfold Path.*

(In Madhu Bazaz Wangu, *World Religions: Buddhism.*)

The Eightfold Path was a series of eight stages that led a Buddhist follower to the end of desire. The stages on the Eightfold Path were these:

- Right opinion
- Right intentions
- Right speech
- Right conduct
- Right livelihood
- Right effort
- Right mindfulness
- Right concentration

FOLLOWING THE PATH

Buddha's rules for living were simple enough to be readily understood, but they were deceptively difficult to achieve. The early steps on the Eightfold Path were fairly easy for people to follow, but in the later stages the path grew progressively more challenging. The path required that followers conquer all evil thoughts and actions, keeping only good in their minds and hearts, something that could be accomplished only through great discipline and determination. Yet the clarity and simplicity of the eight stages of the path held out the hope that they could be achieved by anyone who was willing to strive for them, a key to Buddhism's great popular appeal.

REACHING NIRVANA

Buddha also cautioned his followers to avoid extremes, either in pleasure-seeking or in severe self-denial, and to take the path of moderation, another ideal that people found appealing.

Since pain and suffering in life were caused by desire, people could reach nirvana, a higher state of consciousness or

A Japanese Buddhist monk collecting food alms from visitors on the path to a temple. Giving alms to monks is a way of accumulating merit and improving karma.

enlightenment, by controlling desire for earthly things. Meditation was the way to control desire. Buddhism also offered life after death through reincarnation. This tenet of Buddhism held that people may have to live through several lives, with each life controlled by karma, or fate. A person's karma determined rewards or punishments according to past lives.

BUDDHISM SPREADS

Buddhism spread quickly beyond India's boundaries and across China and other East Asian countries. By the time it reached Japan it was highly organized. It had a monastic community, a strong philosophical basis, and many rituals. The Japanese delighted not only in its philosophy but also in its beauty and pageantry.

While continuing to rely on Shinto to provide a rationale for the authority of the emperor through his divine origins, the Japanese court of the sixth century C.E. embraced Buddhism. By the seventh century the government required every family to belong to a Buddhist temple and every home to have a Buddhist altar. It was mandatory for every province to have a 16-foot image of the Buddha and to support the building of Buddhist monasteries and 7-storied pagodas, temples built like multilevel towers.

BUDDHISM AND SHINTO IN HARMONY

Shinto altars remained, however, and the two religions began a long and close relationship, with people celebrating local Shinto festivals as well as celebrating Buddhist holy days and worshipping deities of both religions. The grounds of Buddhist temples, which were large and very elaborate buildings, often contained smaller, simpler Shinto shrines so that people on their way to worship in one might also conveniently worship at the other.

Late in the sixth century, shortly after Buddhism had begun to take root, Japan

Links with Shinto

The union of Buddhism and Shinto in the sixth century is described in the *Nihongi*. According to that source the Japanese were at first afraid that worshipping Buddhist gods would make the *kami* angry and jealous. But Buddhism's appeal was so strong that people began worshipping the Buddhas regardless.

suffered an epidemic that sickened and killed large numbers. The people took it as a sign that the *kami* were angry that they had begun to worship Buddhist gods. They threw away their Buddhist statues and returned to the Shinto shrines. But soon another omen was interpreted to mean that the *kami* and the Buddhist gods might work together in harmony. Buddhism returned, this time to stay. By the seventh century it was well established.

SHINGON BUDDHISM

At the beginning of the ninth century C.E. a Japanese Buddhist scholar named Kukai (774–835) traveled to China to study. When he returned he founded a Buddhist sect on Japan's Mount Koya (near Osaka). Kukai, later known as Kobo Daishi, or the Great Teacher Kobo, is remembered and honored not only for his role as a religious leader but also for his talents in the arts and literature. His form of Buddhism, Shingon, with its elaborate rituals and art, quickly won acceptance in the Japanese court.

RYOBU SHINTO

Kobo Daishi also created the doctrine of Ryobu, or double-aspect Shinto. He incorporated many elements of Shinto into his teachings, blending the two religions. Shingon Buddhism identified major Shinto deities with manifestations of Buddhas, the many forms in which Buddha appeared to the faithful.

Buddhist scholars taught that the Buddhist deities were the true forms of spiritual reality, and that Shinto deities were the reflection of that reality. The heavenly Shinto sun goddess Amaterasu was identified with an important Buddha who was originally a sun god. Amaterasu's storm-god brother, Susanowo, became identified with a Buddhist deity of love and marriage, a manifestation of Bhaisajya-guru, the Buddhist deity of healing.

Buddhist priests served at Shinto shrines, bringing with them Buddhist art, music, and ritual. They celebrated festivals along with Shinto priests and took to performing funerals, which had never been conducted at Shinto shrines. Shrines lost their simple, stripped-down character, becoming more elaborate both

HACHIMAN

More Shinto shrines are dedicated to the deity Hachiman than to any other single *kami*. Originally Hachiman was the *kami* associated with copper mining and with the Minamoto clan. When the building of Buddhist temples required vast amounts of precious metals, emissaries of the emperor went to his shrine to appeal for more gold to be discovered. Gold was found, and a shrine to Hachiman was erected in the capital, where he was much honored for the blessings he had provided. The court turned to Hachiman for protection against epidemics and to calm social unrest. Later he took on the role of war deity and was asked to protect Japan in battle.

Emperor Ojin (ca. 270–ca. 310) was believed to be the spirit of Hachiman reborn into a living *kami*. Ojin/Hachiman was revered by Kobo Daishi, founder of Shingon Buddhism, and he came to be worshipped in the Buddhist faith as well. Hachiman inspired a great deal of Ryobu Shinto art. By the ninth century statues and paintings portray him as a Buddhist monk, in an early blending of Shinto and Buddhism. He frequently appears in works of art as part of a triad of *kami,* along with his mother, Empress Jingo, and his principal wife, Nakatsu-himi, who are considered *kami* as well.

in architecture and in decoration. It soon became difficult to tell a Buddhist temple from a Shinto shrine.

Although many branches of the imperial family tree were Buddhist, Shinto remained the official religion of the Japanese court. Ryobu Shinto, which began as an accommodation to Buddhism, endured into the 19th century.

TENDAI BUDDHISM

Late in the ninth century, at about the same time that Shingon was founded by Kobo Daishi, the Buddhist monk Saicho, also known as Dengyo Daishi, founded the Tendai sect at Mount Hiei, near Kyoto, Japan. The Tendai Buddhists believed that simple acts, such as reciting words of faith to the Buddhist deity Amida, could bring enlightenment. The Tendai Buddhists took their close relationship to the mountain on which their sect was located from Shinto, as it was long associated with the worship of mountain *kami*. Both Shingon and Tendai Buddhism incorporated elements of Shinto that made them more readily acceptable to the Japanese people.

BUDDHISM GROWS AND CHANGES

Between the 12th and 14th centuries three new Buddhist sects appeared in Japan. They were Pure Land, Nirichen, and Zen Buddhism. Their founders were originally Tendai Buddhists, but they each took different directions. Under their teachings a simpler, more direct form of Buddhism moved out of the monasteries to the Japanese people.

PURE LAND

Like Tendai Buddhists, the Pure Land Buddhists focused their worship on the Amitabha Buddha, who lives in a heavenly land located in the west, called the Western Pure Land. This sect was simplicity itself, requiring only that worshippers place complete faith in the benevolence of Amitabha. By reciting the words namu Amida Butsu, "I place my faith in Amida Buddha," anyone might be reborn into paradise. Pure Land Buddhism became very popular throughout Japan.

NICHIREN

Nichiren (1222–81) was a Buddhist reformer who wanted to eliminate all other forms of Buddhism. He preached that Japan could become an earthly paradise if people followed his way and his way only, to the benefit of both the individual and the state. Nichiren taught that the phrase namu Myho Rengekyo, "I place my faith in the Lotus Sutra," would bring about a resolution of problems. Nichiren Buddhism appealed to the nationalistic feelings that had long been fostered by Shinto.

ZEN BUDDHISM AND SHINTO

Zen Buddhism came to Japan in the 12th century by way of China, where it had incorporated many elements of Daoism. It brought the belief that all creatures carry the Buddha nature within them and that enlightenment may come intuitively, through meditation. Its simplicity and discipline, its refinement, and particularly the belief in the Buddha nature of all things appealed to the Japanese, who found in it echoes of the Shinto belief in the *kami* nature of all things.

By now Shinto and Buddhist priests, temples, and festivals had become almost interchangeable, and it was difficult to tell the difference between Buddhism and Shinto. Like Shinto, Zen celebrated the beauties of nature and held people to standards of purity and goodness. The art and culture that grew out of this period—stylized gardens; *ikebana,* or flower arranging; *sumi-e,* ink-brush drawings with delicate shading and simplicity of line;

Rocks and raked gravel in the garden of a Zen monastery symbolizing a natural landscape of mountains and water to encourage calm meditation and clarity of mind. These gardens were influenced by the Chinese idea of the garden as a world in miniature and in Japan this idea was simplified even further.

haiku, poems that portray a single image in 17 syllables—reflect both Buddhist and Shinto ideals, and many of the arts of the period are claimed by both traditions.

THE RISE OF THE SHOGUNS

Although revered by the people, Japanese emperors rarely ruled the country directly. They were often figureheads, presiding over little more than the imperial court. Real power shifted from place to place as various families emerged as regional leaders. By the time Zen arrived in Japan in the 12th century, the emperor was a powerless but sacred personage living in splendid isolation from the people and serving as the high priest of the Shinto religion.

Beyond the imperial walls, however, a fierce power struggle was going on between clans. At the end of the century the Minamoto clan emerged as the victors in the struggle, and they reorganized the government along military lines. The land was ruled by a powerful shogun, a title that corresponds roughly to "highest general."

The shogun divided Japan into feudal territories, each ruled by a daimyo, or lord, a regional ruler who kept peace with the aid of samurai, a warrior class. Japan continued to be governed by mili-

tary leaders and periodically torn by civil war for the next 400 years.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SHINTO GOVERNMENT

In 1549, during this period of civil turmoil, Jesuit priests from Spain, led by Francisco de Xavier—who was declared Saint Francis Xavier by the Catholic Church in 1622—brought Christianity to Japan. Although Japan, like all of Asia, had a long history of welcoming and incorporating other traditions into its religious mix, Christianity never truly prospered there.

Christianity was very different from other faiths that the Japanese had known. The Judeo-Christian notion of God and the requirement of faith in a heavenly father diverged widely from a world with 8 million *kami* who resided in all of the forces of nature. The insistence of the missionaries that would-be Christians abandon all other gods and follow the one true God baffled people who were accustomed to believing in many gods and practicing more than one religion simultaneously. Buddhism, like Daoism and Confucianism, had accommodated itself to Shinto ways, and vice versa. Christianity would not do that.

A traditional samurai helmet being worn during the reenactment of a feudal battle between rival shoguns.

Initially the officially Shinto government welcomed Christian missionaries and allowed them to set up missions in the hope that Christianity would help to weaken Buddhism, which had acquired great political clout. Over the next hundred years, however, Christianity gained enough of a toehold to be perceived by the Japanese government as a threat. Christian missionaries would go into a territory and attempt to convert the daimyo, who might then order all of the people in his district to become Christians as well.

The number of Christian converts was relatively small, but in abandoning Shinto and Buddhism, those converts were rejecting the whole foundation on which the imperial system and the Japanese government were based. Moreover, the Christians were under the influence of European forces, as represented by the Spanish priests. The government therefore viewed the budding Christian movement with alarm.

TOKUGAWA RULE

A powerful shogun named Ieyasu emerged in 1603. By 1615 he and his family of military rulers, the Tokugawa, had unified Japan and centralized their power. They moved the capital from Kyoto, where it had been since 794, to Edo (now Tokyo). Under the Tokugawa, Japan would remain at peace for the next 250 years.

The Tokugawa government required all families to register as "members" of their local Buddhist temple, and temple membership was made hereditary. These policies enabled the rulers to

Nijo castle in Kyoto. The original castle was built between 1602 and1603 by Tokugawa leyasu as a residence and as headquarters of the Tokugawa shogunate. The official establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603 and the resignation of the final shogun in 1867 both took place at Nijo castle.

keep track of the populace. People had to report to the temple all births, marriages, deaths, and changes of address.

Along with the requirement to join a Buddhist temple came an attempt to suppress Christianity as an unhealthy foreign influence. This ultimately led to an armed uprising of Japanese Christians. The uprising only served to amplify the government's fears about European tampering in Japanese affairs. After the unsuccessful uprising Christianity was officially banned. The Christian movement went underground, where it remained in secret for the next 200 years.

In the 1630s the third Tokugawa ruler, Iemitsu, expelled all foreigners from Japan and closed its ports to all European traders. Because they had not tried to spread Christianity among the Japanese, a few Dutch merchants were permitted to carry on restricted trade from the island of Deshima in Nagasaki Bay, but they were not allowed to leave the island except to report to the shogun at Edo once a year. At the same time laws were passed forbidding Japanese to leave Japan. A curtain of isolation fell between Japan and the rest of the world. This period lasted for 215 years.

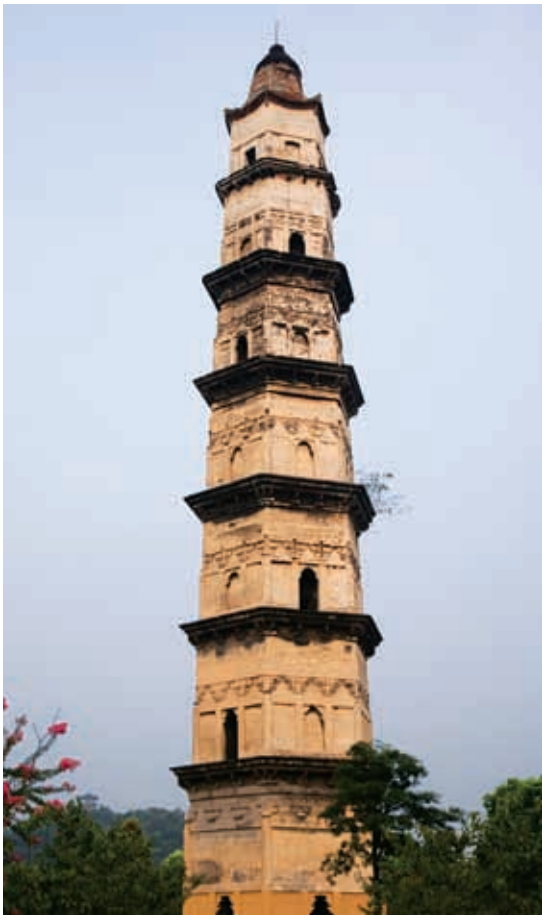
SHINTO UNDER THE TOKUGAWA

Although it was mandated, Buddhism never completely replaced other religions in Japan. Shinto *kami* were worshipped in Buddhist temples, and Shinto shrines still attracted families for spring and fall festivals, new year celebrations, and special occasions such as the birth of a child.

Shinto continued to flourish during Tokugawa times. The Tokugawa government, officially Shinto, was arranged on Confucian lines, and Confucianism and Shinto had long been allied. What came to be known as Tokugawa values and traditions permeated Japanese culture. They included reverence for the *kami* for the blessings of nature, respect for parents and worship of ancestors, and loyalty to the government. Fundamentally Confucian but imbued with Shinto, those values continue to underlie Japanese culture.

Tokugawa society was arranged in a strict hierarchical structure that stressed loyalty and service to the government. Warriors, because they protected the state, had the highest status. Farmers, who produced food for the people, came next, followed by workers, who served others and were therefore good for society. At the bottom of the list were merchants, who lived by selling what others produced. There was little movement between classes. Most people continued to live by agriculture, farming, and fishing, as their ancestors had before them.

Great Mercy Pagoda, Shaoxing, China. After the arrival of Buddhism in Japan in the sixth century, Buddhist architectural styles began to exert an influence over traditional Shinto design. Japanese carpenters adapted the Chinese style of pagoda, combining their own techniques with imported styles.



SHINTO RENEWAL

The Tokugawa shoguns demanded order, obedience, loyalty, and calm. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries a relative peace settled on the Japanese islands. As the period of warfare and civil strife faded into memory, scholars turned their attention to history, literature, and the arts. At first they concentrated on the Chinese classics and Buddhism, but soon they began to study Japan's native culture. One daimyo of the Tokugawa line brought together scholars and assembled the first history of Japan.

Scholars turned next to early Shinto literature, collecting tales and writing them down. The Shinto calendar of lucky and unlucky days, based on the Chinese/Daoist tradition, was revived, and Shinto festivals were encouraged. The government still maintained Shinto shrines, and people gathered regularly at festivals to give thanks to the *kami* for their many blessings.

Buddhist scholars had long taught that Buddhist deities represented divine reality, and that the Japanese *kami* were their

NORITO FOR A GOOD HARVEST

Not all *norito*—mystical words and prayers believed to have ritual power—were passed down (originally orally) from ancient times. Some, like this one, were composed later, and some even continue to be written today. Typically, these more recently written *norito* call on the *kami* to hear the prayers of the people for help with practical concerns of the time, including a rich harvest and the continuing bounty of the earth.

> *Now that His Imperial Majesty, about to make the beginning of the rice crop for this year, has caused offerings to be presented in abundance, do we [coming] cleansed and purified into thy great presence, make offerings—of food offerings: soft rice and rough rice; of drink offerings: making high the tops of the wine jars and arranging in full rows the bellies of the wine jars; of things that live in the blue sea-plain, things broad of fin and things narrow of fin, even to grasses of the offing and grasses of the shore—all these do we offer in abundance; and as the full and glorious sun of this day of life and plenty rises, do thou hear to the end these words of praise, in tranquillity and peace. [Grant that] all things that may be grown, beginning with the late-ripening rice which will be produced by the people by stirring with arms and hands the foamy waters and by drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, and extending even to the part blade of grass, [grant that they] may not meet with evil winds or violent waters; prosper them with abundance and luxuriance, and make the Festival of New Food to be celebrated in sublimity and loveliness. Thus, with dread, we declare the ending of the words of praise.*
>
> (In Daniel C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan*.)

worldly "trace" or reflection. Now Shinto scholars reversed the doctrine, holding that the *kami* were the true divinities of Japan and that the Buddhist deities were a reflection of them. Confucianism and Buddhism were de-emphasized, and Shinto was once again elevated in religious importance.

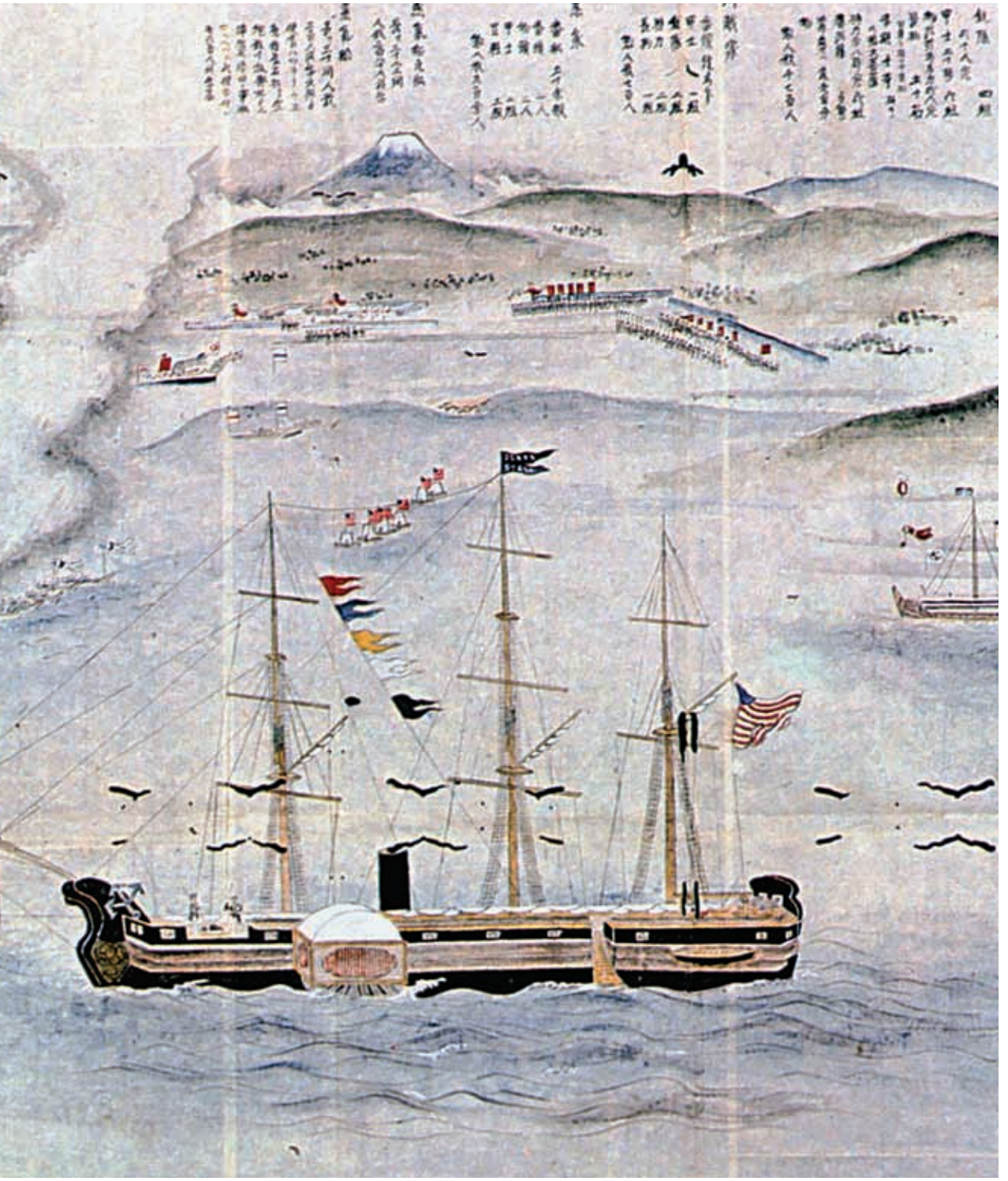
CHAPTER 5

SHINTO AND JAPANESE NATIONALISM: 1868–1945

By the mid-1800s Japan had been effectively isolated from the rest of the world for more than 200 years. Japanese society was organized along the lines of feudalism, with military leaders holding vast tracts of land that were worked by peasants—a system that had died out in western Europe some 300 years earlier. The imperial court had become mainly a place of art and refinement, where the emperor reigned with pomp and pageantry but had little real influence. Powerful shoguns (a title that corresponds roughly to "highest general") controlled large areas that were administered by daimyo, or lords, and farmed by peasants.

In western Europe and America the invention of the steam engine had ushered in the industrial revolution. People had moved in droves from the farm to the factory; canals and railroads linked growing cities. But Japan's door was closed to nearly all foreigners and the changes they might bring. What trade was

This painting portrays United States Commodore Matthew C. Perry meeting with the Japanese imperial commissioners after his return in 1854 with warships and troops. Perry's return signaled the reopening of Japanese ports and the resumption of foreign trade.



permitted with the outside world was accomplished through the Dutch agents on the tiny island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor who had been there since the 1630s (tolerated because they did not try to spread their Christian beliefs to the Japanese). A few modern improvements made their way to the imperial court, but for the most part the Japanese people continued to live as their ancestors had lived, farming and fishing, mostly in peasant villages and small towns.

Indeed, many Japanese barely knew that the rest of the world existed. Scholars managed to get around the ban on foreign literature, and they learned about the botany, medicine, military tactics, and mathematics of the day. Literacy was not widespread, however. Various reformers did bring improvements in irrigation and farming, though not many.

THE WANING OF THE SHOGUNATE

Japan's isolation delayed progress, but it also promoted a sense of national unity. While the rest of the world went through upheaval and change, the Japanese enjoyed a period of relative calm and, in the ruling classes, a certain luxury. The resurgence of Shinto during the period of isolation also brought renewed respect for the emperor, and the once-total authority of the powerful shogun began to lose its luster and gradually wane.

In this long period of domestic peace, the warrior class lost its true purpose. The daimyo and the samurai (a warrior class) turned to education and the arts. Among other things, they studied Shinto, learning about the sacred history of their islands and the divine origins of their emperor.

JAPAN OPENS ITS GATES

By the 1850s the outside world had changed dramatically. Steamships were circling the world. Firearms had revolutionized warfare. The invention of the power loom was the starting point for the age of factories. Japan, meanwhile, remained a living relic of feudalism, mired in its own past and turning away any foreign ship that wandered into its waters.

Perched on the edge of the Pacific Rim, an important socioeconomic region of countries surrounding the Pacific Ocean, Japan was ideally located for many reasons. Foreign ships on long sea journeys could stop there for provisions and fresh water. Whalers and fur traders could seek safe harbor from the typhoons that blew up unexpectedly in the Pacific. But Japan's isolationist policies forbade those typical "outsiders" from stopping on its shores. Indeed, sailors were met with outright hostility if their ships needed assistance in Japanese waters or if they were shipwrecked on Japanese land. Often those sailors were attacked or worse, killed, rather than assisted. As world trade grew and more and more ships sailed the Pacific, the situation became increasingly worse.

In 1853, when U.S. president Franklin Pierce initiated negotiations for trade with Japan, his goal was to make Japanese harbors accessible to ships from the United States. He sent Commodore Matthew C. Perry to Japan with orders to secure a trade relations treaty with the Japanese government.

After several unsuccessful attempts to present the United States' demands to either the emperor or the shogun in power, Perry left, saying that he would return for their reply. In February 1854 Perry steamed into Tokyo harbor with nine warships and 1,600 troops. He carried a letter from the president asking that the ports be opened to foreign trade and that American sailors be given better treatment.

Many of the daimyo had planned to resist the American overtures, but Perry's display of might left no room whatsoever for

TANKA

The tanka is an ancient Japanese poetic form. It has 31 syllables, divided into phrases of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables. Although often used by Buddhist and Zen poets, the tanka has distinctly Shinto origins. Tanka appear in the *Kojiki* and were part of the oral tradition before they were written down. According to legend the first tanka was composed by Susanowo, the storm deity. Emperor Meiji is said to have written 100,000 tanka, many in the classic style, with Shinto themes, celebrating the beauties of nature.

The morning sun
Rises so splendidly
Into the sky:
Oh, that we could attain
Such a clear reviving soul!
In the palace tower
Each and every window
Was opened widely
And then in four directions
We viewed the cherry in full bloom!

—Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912)

argument. The Japanese had no choice but to welcome Perry's delegation to their shores.

In the end the warlords yielded to the demands of the United States. Two ports were to be opened to limited trade, shipwrecked sailors would be well treated, and an American consul would be allowed to reside in Japan. Japan was open to the outside world for the first time in more than two centuries.

The concession to America further weakened the shogun's power. The more fiercely nationalistic of the warlords still felt that Japan should have resisted the United States' demands, while those who had complied defended their position. Political wrangling eventually led to the downfall of Tokugawa, the end of the shogunate in Japan, and the return of imperial rule.

THE MEIJI RESTORATION

In 1868 the 16-year-old Emperor Mutsuhito took the throne. He adopted the title Meiji and began his rule, like many emperors before him, as a figurehead. His actions as emperor, however, and the series of events surrounding his rise to power had vast implications for Shinto and the Japanese people.

For centuries Japan's emperors had been politically ineffective, with shoguns doing the actual ruling. Now, however, winds of change were sweeping across Japan. The shogun's power had eroded. As a reaction to new foreign influences entering Japan, Shinto, the native Japanese religion, was enjoying a resurgence. Western trade was expanding. Meiji and his advisers felt that the time was ripe for other changes as well. It was clear to them that they would have to make friends with the United States and Europe in order to acquire Western technology and become an equal player on the world stage. If not, they would risk being forever behind technologically and possibly falling under Western domination. Meiji and his advisers decided to cultivate the West deliberately as a strategy for becoming a world power. The young emperor took over the shogun's palace in Edo and renamed the city Tokyo, or "eastern capital," replacing Kyoto as the seat of government.

Portrait of the 122nd imperial ruler of Japan, Emperor Meiji (1852–1912), who established Shinto as the national religion of Japan in 1869.

The immediate goals of the new administration were to restore the authority of the imperial throne and to return Shinto to its rightful position as the national religion of Japan. Both goals would be served by Shinto worship, which emphasized the divine origins of the imperial line and promoted a sense of national pride and unity that had waned under Buddhism. Revival Shinto was to be the spiritual foundation for the "new Japan" that would emerge under Meiji.

THE CHARTER OATH

The young emperor Meiji almost immediately signed a document called the Imperial Charter Oath. Its articles called for the establishment of assemblies for public discussion of national policy; the inclusion of all classes in carrying out affairs of state; the opening of career paths to men from all social classes; an end to the "evil customs of the past"; and, most important, the strengthening of imperial rule. Japan's key to the future would be its ancient and honored customs and beliefs combined with modern knowledge.

Under the Meiji Restoration, as the movement came to be called, a parliamentary system of government replaced feudalism. For the first time people could choose where they would live. Occupations that had once been hereditary were opened to all. The shogun who had ruled from Edo was gone. In 1869 four powerful daimyo voluntarily turned over their holdings to the emperor. Other daimyo soon did the same. They were given pensions and allowed to retire. The samurai were released from service. Those able and educated men quickly found new outlets for their administrative talents. Many became businessmen; others went into politics.

At this time the government inaugurated trade and diplomatic relations with Europe and the United States. Education was made compulsory for all children, and military service was required of adult men. This was a period of intense social change and industrial growth in Japan, and the young emperor's power and prestige continued to soar.

Keeper of the Faith

The actions of Emperor Meiji revived "pure" Shinto, which stressed the emperor's divine right to rule and the ascendancy of the *kami* over the gods of other religions. Shinto was officially made the national religion. Under the new Charter Oath, the emperor was venerated by the people as a living *kami*.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE SHINTO

On April 25, 1869, Emperor Meiji, in his role as chief priest, appeared before Japan's leaders. He led Shinto ceremonies, addressing all the *kami,* and then read the newly issued Imperial Charter Oath, officially making it the law of the land. His

Prayers asking for blessings of the *kami* are written on strips of paper and hung in a Shinto temple. In larger shrines, there are booths selling prayers or fortune slips that can be left at the temple or taken back to be laid at a home altar.

actions reestablished the age-old principle of the unity of Shinto worship and government.

The centuries-old alliance of Shinto and Buddhism ended. Shinto objects of worship were removed from Buddhist temples, Buddhist statues and art were removed from Shinto shrines, and the two religions were required to separate and set up independent places of worship. Originally the government's aim had been to suppress Buddhism, but Buddhism was too deeply entrenched in Japanese culture. Buddhism was not suppressed, but the two religions officially separated, taking over different shrines and temples and developing distinct identities. Ryobu, or double-aspect Shinto, the combination of Shinto and Buddhism, passed into history.

Under the new charter a department of divinity was created. Its purpose was to advance the Shinto doctrine of the divine origins of the imperial line as a rationale for restoring the power of the emperor. Instead of achieving priesthood through heredity, priests were appointed by the government. Most of the Shinto priests who had inherited their positions were reappointed, but now they reported to a governmental agency that had the power to discipline or dismiss them.

SHINTO AS A STATE INSTITUTION

One of the effects of making Shinto a state institution was that people began to view Shinto and religion as two different things. The Shinto priesthood had no problem with performing rituals for the benefit of the nation, but they saw this as different from "religion," which they associated with worship, doctrine, rites such as funerals, and prayer. Japanese scholars began to debate whether Shinto was a religion.

The government declared Shinto to be nonreligious, but its observation was made a patriotic duty. Among other things, this fulfilled the constitutional promise of freedom of religion, while mandating Shinto. Shrines were declared national establishments for promoting community and morality, and they were supported by the state. Schools taught National Ethics, a blend of Shinto and Confucianism that included the celestial origins of the emperor and the sacred character of the Japanese nation and its people. Whole classes of schoolchildren were taken to the shrines to pay their respects to their country and their emperor.

EMPERORS AS LIVING *KAMI*

The government established new shrines that elevated emperors and members of the imperial family to the level of deities. Emperors were considered *kami* during their lifetime, until Emperor Hirohito renounced his divinity in January 1946, the year after World War II ended. Military heroes were also enshrined. It was considered a great honor to have died for Japan in battle. The Yas-

ukuni Shrine in Tokyo, which enshrined the war dead, became one of the country's most important shrines. The emperor himself conducted rituals there, and fallen soldiers were worshipped as *kami*. All of these things served to make Japan intensely nationalistic and played a role in the unification of its people during World War II.

SECT SHINTO—THE NEW RELIGIONS

Many people felt religiously adrift as Buddhism lost its influence and the state promoted "nonreligious" Shinto. A number of people turned to religious movements that had sprung up in the countryside, mostly among the ordinary people. Some of these "New Religions" traced their origins to pre-Meiji times, and others appeared both during and after the Meiji period. Although not literally new, they were new compared with the ancient traditions of Buddhism and Shinto. The Meiji government classified 13 sects of these New Religions as Sect Shinto and allowed them to continue their religious practices as separate from the Shinto mandated by the state.

Some of the New Religions had distinct Folk Shinto characteristics. Some had evolved from the mountain-worship cults, whose deities were thought to reside in great sacred mountains such as Mount Fuji. Others concentrated on stressing the importance of purification of water for body and mind. Several combined aspects of Revival Shinto and Confucianism, logically connecting State Shinto with the Confucian ideal of good government. Most, however, were basically Shinto.

TENRIKYO

There were also sects organized around a founder who gathered followers, usually after a divine revelation or ecstatic experience, and made faith healing a part of their

The Eight Mental Dusts

Tenrikyo doctrine teaches that wrong use of the mind causes illness, and purification of the mind relieves it. Nakayama identified the eight "mental dusts" that caused wrong use of the mind: miserliness, or stingy, ungenerous behavior; covetousness, or wanting what others have; hatred; self-love; enmity, or bitter feelings toward another; anger; greed; and arrogance.

SOKA GAKKAI

Like Shintoism, Buddhism also produced new religions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Soka Gakkai, one of the largest of the New Religions, was founded in the early 1900s, an offshoot of the Nichiren Buddhist tradition. Followers chant the Lotus Sutra scripture, believing that placing total faith in its strength will solve all worldly problems.

belief. Of these, the best known is Tenrikyo, "Teaching of the Heavenly Truth," or the religion of divine wisdom.

Tenrikyo was founded in 1838 by Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), a woman from a small village in central Japan. While attending a healing ceremony for her son, Nakayama had an ecstatic experience in which she was visited by a creator deity, God the Parent, the original parent of humanity. Nakayama became a "living *kami*." The deity, speaking through her, caused her to teach and preach about her experience, exhorting followers to remove the impurities from their lives and live joyously, helping others. Everything associated with Nakayama became *kami*. Her life is its sacred model, her writings its scripture.

Tenrikyo grew rapidly. Followers built dwellings near Nakayama's little village, and eventually it grew to become a city, Tenri, which includes Tenrikyo church headquarters, dormitories, schools, and a hospital.

KUROZUMIKYO

Another of the older New Religions, Kurozumikyo, was founded at the end of the Tokugawa era by Kurozumi Munetada, a hereditary Shinto priest of the samurai class.

Kurozumi, a devout worshipper of the Shinto sun goddess, Amaterasu, received a revelation in which the sun seemed to enter his body through his mouth, uniting him with the divinity. Kurozumi was himself a healer, and people began coming to him for help and guidance. He vowed to teach ordinary people enlightenment and to spread the way to others. The cornerstone of his doctrine was daily worship of the sun and the recitation of the Great Purification Prayer. Kurozumi developed an organization that included disciples who won converts to him and his doctrine. The sect was officially recognized by the Meiji government in 1876.

The popularity and growth of the sects during Meiji times reflected the needs of the populace for a belief system. The sects differed from State Shinto in that they were "religious" in character; and from classic Shinto in that they introduced elements of Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, folk belief, and even Christianity; yet most were recognizably Shinto. The sects of Sect Shinto mainly rejected shrine worship, instead building assembly halls that were called churches, not shrines.

THE RISE OF MILITARISM

The Japanese had always been a proud people. Their failure as a nation of warriors to drive off Commodore Perry and the Americans in their modern ships in 1854 continued to bother the Japanese military and the extreme nationalists. They used Shinto as a rationale to persuade the emperor that Japan's empire should be expanded in Asia. Was he not the grandson of the gods? Did he not, then, have a divine right to rule over a wider domain than the Japanese islands?

Japan had a long military tradition. It soon became a formidable military machine. It looked first at the other countries of Asia. In 1895 Japanese forces attacked China, which had been weakened by civil war, and won. As a result China conceeded to Japan Port Arthur, an important seaport on the Liaotung Peninsula off western Korea in the Yellow Sea. But Russia, Germany, and France demanded that Japan give the land back, and Japan yielded. Three years later Russia seized Manchuria, a part of China just across the Russian border. Manchuria included the same territory that Japan had earlier won and returned, and Russia's act infuriated the Japanese. This time it was Japan that demanded that the land be returned to China. Russia was slow to respond, and in 1905 Japan attacked the Russian navy at Port Arthur. Japan won, becoming the first Asian country to defeat a European power. Its accomplishment was all the more impressive because the ships and firearms it used had been built in Japan, which had, in one short generation, gone from feudalism to industrial power. In 1910 Japan invaded and took over Korea.

Emperor Meiji's Tanka for Peace

Emperor Hirohito of Japan (1926–89) recited a tanka, an ancient Japanese poetic form, written by Emperor Meiji as he signed Japan's declaration of war against the United States. When the declaration of war was presented to him the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) in the Hawaiian Islands had already taken place.

It is our hope
That all the world's oceans
Be joined in peace,
So why do the winds and waves
Now rise up in angry rage?

—Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912)

JAPAN IN WORLD WAR I

In 1914, at the start of World War I, Japan, as an ally of Great Britain, declared war on Germany. Japan attacked German holdings on the Shantung Peninsula in China and quickly took control of them. It also gained control of the German-owned islands in the Pacific—the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall islands. At the close of the war Japan applied to the League of Nations for permanent rights to those Pacific islands formerly held by Germany, and it succeeded. It also received special rights in Shantung.

Japan thus emerged from the war as one of the "Big Five" world powers. It spent the next 20 years in a period of industrial growth and social change. Japan had benefited from the war not just politically, but economically. Books and newspapers flooded the country, and with their newfound universal education, the Japanese devoured them.

Military power continued to increase. Boys began military training at 14. Many were from peasant backgrounds and saw the army as a step up in their lives. They had a better life as soldiers than as laborers, and they were given respect. In military service to the emperor, direct descendant of the sun goddess, these young men had a divine mission. To die for Japan would be an honor.

WORLD WAR II

In the 1930s a worldwide depression caused widespread suffering. In Japan people in the countryside were starving. Desperate parents sold their children for small sums in the hope that the children would find a better life with someone else. Japan's economic woes crippled the civil government, which seemed powerless to help.

A portrait of Hirohito after being crowned emperor of Japan in 1928. Emperors were considered *kami* during their lifetime, but after the Japanese defeat in World War II Emperor Hirohito renounced his divinity.

Defender of the Faith

As a rationale for Japan's expansion In the 1930s, military leaders quoted the legendary emperor Jimmu Tenno: "The imperial rule shall be extended to all the cardinal points and the whole world shall be brought under one roof." (In H. Byron Earhart, *Religions of Japan*.) They claimed that because the emperor had received his power directly from Amaterasu, the sun goddess, he was the only rightful ruler on earth.

The Japanese military, always strong, seized even greater power. Many soldiers came from rural backgrounds, and they felt the suffering of the farmers and peasants keenly. Within the army resentment of the civilian government grew. With military leaders holding most of the positions of power in the government, they began a campaign to bring the whole world under the rule of the emperor. As a result Japan began an unyielding march across Asia.

In 1931 Japan seized Chinese Manchuria, with its rich iron and steel industries, and forced the people there to produce steel for the empire. In 1937, at a time when China was weakened by civil war, Japan invaded northern China. China resisted with help from the British and the United States, and Japan's attack ended in a standoff.

WAR IN EUROPE

By then war had broken out in Europe. After the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, Britain was forced to declare war on Poland. This was followed by Germany's invasion of Belgium and France. Belgium collapsed and France was defeated in 1940. After the invasion of France, Germany proceeded to attack Denmark, Holland, and Norway, who all fell to Germany in 1940. By mid-1941 Germany had invaded Greece, Yugoslavia, and Crete, and by July 1941 the Russians were also at war, following the invasion of Russian territory by Germany.

Suicidal

Kamikazes means "winds of the gods" and was the name given to Japanese pilots who were willing to commit suicide during missions to attack the enemy.

In the later part of 1941 Hitler had declared Germany to be an ally of Japan. Many Japanese believed that Germany would be the winner in this world war. In 1941 the Japanese Imperial Council secretly voted to go to war against the United

The Peace Park monument in Hiroshima commemorates those who died after the United States dropped an atomic bomb on the city on August 6, 1945. Three days later a bomb was dropped on Nagasaki leading to Japanese surrender.

States because the United States had made it clear they were not prepared to tolerate Japanese aggression in the Pacific.

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, a U.S. territory lying in the North Pacific Ocean, thus bringing the United States into World War II. For Japan this proved to be a great tactical error. The United States responded fiercely. Over the next three years all of Japan's ports were destroyed, along with three-quarters of its naval fleet, and

90 of its major cities were firebombed. Half of all its industry was damaged beyond repair. The Japanese people, taught from birth that their emperor was descended from the gods and that death in the service of the emperor would bring them the status of *kami,* fought on in the face of ever-lengthening odds. Japanese kamikaze pilots by the hundreds flew their bomb-laden airplanes directly into their targets and died in the crash.

Excerpt from Emperor Hirohito's Address to the Japanese People, January 1, 1946

…we know that the spirit of love of home and the spirit of love of country are especially strong in our nation. Now in truth is the time for expanding this and for putting forth sacrificial efforts for the consummation of the love of mankind. When we reflect on the results of the long-continued war which has ended in our defeat, we fear that there is danger that our people find the situation hard to bear and that they sink to the depths of discouragement. As the winds of adversity gradually heighten, there is peril in the weakening of moral principles and the marked confusion of thought that they bring.

We stand together with you our countrymen. Our gains and losses have ever been one. We desire that our woe and weal should be shared. The bonds between us and our countrymen have been tied together from first to last by mutual trust and affection. They do not originate in mere myth and legend. They do not have their basis in the fictitious ideas that the emperor is manifest god and that the Japanese people are a race superior to other races and therefore destined to rule the world…

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE

At the Potsdam Conference held in Germany in July 1945, the United States, Great Britain, and China demanded unconditional surrender by the Japanese or they would suffer "prompt and utter destruction." When the Japanese did not respond, the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945; three days later a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. On August 10 Emperor Hirohito broke a deadlock in the Imperial Council by agreeing to surrender, and on August 14 the Allies received word from Japan that it would accept the terms of the Potsdam Conference.

SHINTO IN POSTWAR JAPAN

In the aftermath of the war the Japanese adopted a new constitution, giving power to the people of Japan and making the emperor a constitutional monarch and the "Symbol of the State." Japan gave up its right to use force to settle international disputes and to raise a military force.

The new constitution guaranteed freedom of religion. Government support for Shinto or any other religion was outlawed. Shinto would survive as the principal religion of the Japanese people, but it would never again be state mandated or supported. In an address to the people on New Year's Day 1946, Emperor Hirohito renounced forever any claim to divinity.

No longer a state religion, Shinto regrouped. Many shrines came together to form an organization called the Association of Shinto Shrines. This organization coordinates most of the activities of the more than 81,000 Shinto shrines in Japan.

The emperor still acts as chief priest of Imperial Shinto today, carrying on worship at the three shrines inside the palace. The ancient rites of Imperial Shinto ask the blessing of the *kami* on the land and its people. The imperial line also maintains a special relationship with the shrine at Ise, which is devoted to the goddess Amaterasu, the legendary ancestor of the emperor.

CHAPTER 6

SHINTO BELIEF AND RITUAL

Shinto is often described as a happy religion. It assumes a basic goodness in people and in the universe. Its believers express their religion joyously in festivals that bring people together for worship and celebration. Shinto stresses worldly virtues such as gratitude, sincerity, cooperation, and harmony with other people and with nature. Shinto virtues flow throughout every level of Japanese life, from the home to the workplace, and are the bedrock of the culture.

SHINTO BELIEF

Shinto has no catechism, no sacred book to study, and no written commandments or specific moral code to learn. People are simply expected to try to live in accordance with the will of the *kami*. Because all Japanese people believe they are distantly descended from the heavenly *kami,* they also believe that the knowledge of what is right and good can be found within their own hearts. This does not mean that there will never be trouble in life or that people will never act in ways that cause pain to others, but it is felt that those people are misguided rather than sinful or evil.

Two women offering prayers at a Shinto shrine in Kyoto. Individual worship is central to Shinto and from an early age people learn to express their gratitude to the *kami* through prayer and ritual.

SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL PURITY

Shinto encourages simplicity and cleanliness as signs of inner goodness. There is a steady emphasis on spiritual and physical purity. Shinto asks its followers to be pure in heart and mind and to be grateful for the many blessings bestowed on them by the *kami*. How they fulfill those obligations is left to the conscience of the individual. Expectations for living the way of the *kami* are transmitted by example and through tales and legends, early history, and the *norito,* or ancient Shinto prayers.

From Shinto mythology people learn that the *kami* can act unpredictably and are prone to all-too-human failings such as jealousy, rage, annoyance, vanity, and thoughtlessness. The story of the storm god Susanowo and his sister, the sun goddess Amaterasu, for example, teaches many lessons. The conflict portrays the deities at their worst—Susanowo betraying his word and causing trouble, Amaterasu sulking in the heavenly cave. But Susanowo's rampage through the heavenly fields is understood as mischievous, not malicious. In the end he redeems himself by casting the symbols of his troublemaking into the sea and doing good on earth, by using his cleverness to kill the eight-headed serpent, and by making amends with Amaterasu by giving her the jeweled sword found inside the serpent's belly. Uzume, the mirth goddess who brings Amaterasu out of her cave with her humorous dance, demonstrates the value of laughter to the world.

BLESSINGS OF THE *KAMI*

The purpose of Shinto worship is to maintain close harmony among people, nature, and the *kami*. The *kami* embody the life force and can bring blessings to humans, yet they may act in unpredictable ways, disrupting the natural order, as when Amaterasu darkened the world by withdrawing to the cave. People remind the *kami* of human presence by continually venerating and thanking them for the beauty and bounty of nature and for health and prosperity.

Shinto followers focus on life on this earth, to which they give the highest value and greatest importance. The *kami* are the

spiritual forces that inspire the world, giving it life and protecting from harm those who live in it.

INDIVIDUAL WORSHIP

In Shinto individual worship is more important than doctrine or belief, and people learn from birth the habit of gratitude to the *kami*. There are no regular services as such. Rather, people observe Shinto practices as they feel the need. Some limit their participation to annual festivals; others stop at their local shrine every day or perform simple rites before their *kamidana,* or home altar. Those rites may consist only of freshening the arrangement of gifts on the altar and pausing for a few seconds to bow with clasped hands.

Before they make a formal visit to a shrine, Shinto worshippers customarily follow simple rituals to prepare themselves for worship. Because cleanliness, which symbolizes purity, is a Shinto virtue, many people bathe and put on clean clothes in anticipation of worship and also wash their hands and cleanse their mouths when they arrive at a temple. Worshippers then approach their shrine through the *torii,* or ritual gate. A path runs from the gate to the shrine itself, and along the path is running water in some form—either a natural spring or pond or a fountain—with a stone basin that worshippers use for ritual purification.

A stone basin with clean water for worshippers to purify themselves before entering a Shinto shrine.

It is customary but not essential to leave a small offering of money or food, such as a few coins or a few grains of rice wrapped in paper, a rice cake, or a little sake (Japanese rice wine), for the *kami*. Worshippers may write prayer requests on slips of white paper and attach them to the sacred sakaki tree that is usually nearby. If the shrine is a large one, there may be a booth on the grounds where people may buy prayer or wooden fortune boards, which they may either leave behind or take back to their *kamidana,* if they have one. The offerings

Summoning the *Kami*

Shinto worship takes place outside the shrine, not within. To get the attention of the *kami* within the shrine, the worshipper bows low twice and then rings a shrine bell and claps twice. The *kami* having been summoned, the worshipper bows again and offers a prayer, either asking for the blessing of the resident *kami* or thanking them for their goodness.

SHINTO CLERICAL TITLES

saishu—Highest-ranking priest or priestess at the Grand Shrine, Ise.
guji—The chief priest; responsible for all administrative and ceremonial functions at a shrine or shrines.
kannushi—General term for members of the priesthood; one with chief responsibility for a shrine.
negi—Senior priest; directly subordinate to *guji*.
hafuri,* or *hafuribe— Originally the term for the person responsible for liturgy; next in rank to *negi*. Also a general term for priest.
tayu—A general term for those serving at Ise.
jinin—Lower-ranking clergy with shrine duties.
toya—Lower-ranking or part-time priest; lay position with ceremonial duties.
miko—Female attendants at shrines; usually sacred dancers.

made to the *kami* are tokens of appreciation, not sacrifices. Sacrifice is unknown in Shinto. People approach the *kami* with pure hearts, and they leave satisfied that their prayer has been heard.

RITUAL IN SHINTO WORSHIP

Having no creed or scripture, Shinto relies greatly on ritual to transmit religious thought and feeling. The *kami* are believed to appreciate and respond to ritual, and correctly performing ritual is an important way to communicate with them.

Apart from the simple rituals performed by individuals, Shinto ritual is conducted by priests who have studied its ancient forms. All ceremonies contain four elements: purification, offering, supplication, and feast.

HARAI

Purification, or *harai,* removes the pollution, unrighteousness, and evil that keep worshippers from being able to communicate with the *kami*. The symbolic rinsing of hands and mouth before proceeding to a shrine is a simple purification ritual for individuals. Performed by a priest, it includes a prayer, the waving of a purification wand, and often the sprinkling of salt or salt water, which has purifying powers.

SHINSHEN

Offerings, or *shinshen,* are simple gifts made to the *kami* on a regular basis, ideally at least once a day. Shinto followers believe

that if this duty to the *kami* is neglected, the *kami* will be unhappy and will fail to provide their continued support and blessings. In homes and at small shrines offerings may be a few coins, bits of food, or flowers. At larger shrines offerings are presented according to the ritual of the shrine, often after priests have purified them. Food and drink—particularly rice and sake, but also water and other food, such as fish and vegetables—are frequent offerings. Other gifts may include silk or cotton cloth, money, jewelry, and perhaps the product of an industry. Sacred dances, sports, and drama, which entertain the *kami,* are also forms of offering.

Led by Shinto priests, visitors to the shrine at Sanno in Tokyo walk through a large ring of reeds during the purification ceremony. It is believed the unique purification rites will bring good health and luck to its participants.

NORITO

The classic prayers, or *norito,* of Shinto are spoken in ancient Japanese, which modern speakers no longer understand. The prayers were composed in antiquity in rhythmic poetry that was believed to be pleasing to the ear of the *kami.* A *norito* must be pronounced exactly as it was composed or it loses its effectiveness in reaching the *kami.* Newer prayers are drafted by the Association of Shinto Shrines for use in its shrines, and prayers may be composed by priests as well. In general the prayers begin with praise of the *kami,* refer to the origin of the ritual being performed, offer thanks, make appropriate requests, and end with words of respect for the *kami's* powers. All formal Shinto ceremonies end with a symbolic feast, or *naorai,* which means "to eat with the *kami.*" At the close of the ceremony worshippers are offered a sip of sake or water; during festivals people may adjourn to enjoy a festive meal.

ORIGINS OF THE SHINTO PRIESTHOOD

Originally the priestly duties of Shinto were carried out by clan leaders. But as the clans combined and recombined into larger and larger units, several families began to dominate and a priestly class emerged. The priesthood became hereditary. The priestly families traced their ancestry back to the *kami* who accompanied Amaterasu's grandson, Ninigi, from the high plains of heaven on his mission to rule the earth.

The early imperial court granted authority to four families. One was in charge of rituals and ceremonies. A second was charged with remaining ritually pure and keeping in constant contact with the *kami.* A third was responsible for learning the will of the *kami,* and the members of the fourth family were the dancers and musicians. A few ceremonies were performed by the emperor alone, but for the most part those four families were in charge of all Shinto rites. Shinto priests were not required to be celibate. Prayers and rituals were passed down from father to son, generation to generation.

The establishment of State Shinto in the 1800s changed the makeup of the priesthood. Hereditary positions were abolished

and priests were appointed by the government. In practice many of the priests under the hereditary system were reappointed by local officials, but at important shrines in the cities the positions were given to well-connected people of high social standing.

THE MODERN PRIESTHOOD

Today Shinto priests are private citizens. Except for those who administer large shrines, many work at other jobs. They can be teachers, office workers, or businesspeople. They marry and live with their families, occasionally in houses on shrine grounds but often in the community. Unless they are conducting ritual at a shrine, they dress in ordinary street clothes.

The priest's job is to know Shinto ritual and liturgy and how to conduct Shinto festivals and ceremonies. People study to be priests, either privately with another priest, by attending classes sponsored by the Association of Shinto Shrines, or by taking courses at a seminary or university. Trained candidates are appointed by the Association of Shinto Shrines.

Before a festival the priests who will conduct the ceremony seclude themselves to prepare themselves spiritually. They bathe, put on clean clothes, eat only certain foods—for example, they are forbidden to eat meat—and concentrate on leading a calm and controlled life. Any violation of the rules of abstinence disqualifies them from participating in the ceremonies.

WOMEN PRIESTS

Although the Shinto priesthood is traditionally male, there has never been a rule

SHINTO CEREMONIAL DRESS

Shinto priests wear clothes modeled after court dress of the late Heian period (858–1158 C.E.). The priests' attire consists of a kimono made of uncut squares of cloth, a formal divided skirt, an outer robe, a hat, and shoes. Usually the kimono is white, symbolizing purity. The skirt and outer robe may also be white, or they may be in a color that in ancient times signified the rank of the wearer. Hats, also from Heian times, may be simple or elaborate. All priests wear white *tabi,* or socks, inside the shrine. Outside, shoes for ceremonial wear are special black-lacquered sandals made from a single piece of hollowed wood, although lower-ranking priests may wear ordinary white ones. The priest carries a symbol of the priestly office, a tapering wooden slab that may be placed under the belt.

Shrine maidens similarly wear attire from the Heian period. Their outfit is a white kimono and a red divided skirt. For ceremonial dances their hair hangs down the back and is tied with a red ribbon. They too wear *tabi,* covered outdoors by sandals with white thongs.

against women priests. At those times when the ruler of Japan was an empress, the role of head priest passed to her. The shrine to the sun goddess Amaterasu at Ise, considered the most sacred of all Shinto shrines, traditionally has a high priestess, usually a member of the imperial family, in addition to a high priest. During World War II, when most Japanese men were engaged in the

Shinto priests and temple members from the local community performing an offering ritual during a ceremony at their shrine.

war effort, their wives and daughters took over priestly duties. Many women proved to be able administrators of large shrines. After the war's end in 1945 the newly formed Association of Shinto Shrines recognized the women's service to the Shinto religion and welcomed their participation. Equality of men and women in the Shinto priesthood continues today.

SHRINE MAIDENS

In addition to a staff of priests, many larger shrines also have *miko,* or shrine maidens, who participate in Shinto ceremonies. *Miko* are young, unmarried women, the daughters of priests or local shrine members, who learn the sacred dances and perform them as a part of Shinto ritual. The *miko* wear a traditional costume of white kimono and red divided skirt. In addition to ceremonial dance, *miko* may perform other parts of the ritual, such as distributing the symbolic feast to the people after the ceremony or selling talismans and charms on shrine grounds.

Like other celebrants of Shinto, *miko* otherwise lead ordinary lives, attending school and living in the community. When they marry, other girls and young women take their place.

THE SHINTO CEREMONY

Before a Shinto ceremony the priests and musicians gather, along with the local dignitaries and their representatives who will also participate. They go in procession to the place of purification. After purification they proceed to the inner sanctuary of the shrine. All bow deeply. As music plays and

the other participants remain in a position of deep reverence, the chief priest opens the doors of the inner sanctuary. He chants a special "*ooo*-ing" sound that attracts the *kami*. The priests then make offerings of food and any other gifts. After each offering there is a prayer, and a priest or other specially trained person performs a sacred dance.

The worshippers then go one by one to make a symbolic offering, usually a sprig of the sacred sakaki tree, placing it on a special stand, clapping and bowing in the traditional Shinto way. In a large festival one representative is chosen to make the offering for all, who clap and bow in unison. After all offerings have been made the worshippers bow deeply again, and the priest removes the offerings and closes the door to the sanctuary, again with special chanting. The priests and other participants withdraw to partake of the symbolic feast. The worshippers receive a sip of wine or water. Food offerings may later be shared with the members of the shrine.

PURIFICATION RITUAL

A typical purification ritual is *yutate,* or immersion in hot water. The priests heat two cauldrons of water over a fire. When the water is hot they put out the fire. Then the head priest takes a branch of the sacred sakaki tree to which strips of white paper, symbolizing the *kami,* are attached and waves it over the head of the other priests, the shrine maidens, and the officials and patrons of the shrine, usually local businesspeople. The priest speaks a *norito.* Then the shrine maidens do a sacred dance. Finally one maiden, dressed in white, tosses salt onto the ground around the cauldrons to purify it and adds small amounts of rice and sake to the cauldrons in a ritual manner. She then takes a wooden bowl and scoop and, from the air above, scoops

THE IMPORTANCE OF WORSHIP

Regular individual worship and proper ritual are vital parts of Shinto. Through these forms people express their gratitude to the *kami,* the life force behind all things in creation. This expression of gratitude maintains the balance among humans, the natural world, and *kami.* The relationship is reciprocal; having been thanked and revered, the *kami* return the favor by continuing to provide blessings to the people. Thus worship of the *kami* gives people access to their life-giving powers.

nectar of the *kami* and pours it into the cauldrons. Next she fills the bowl from a cauldron and gives it to a priest, who carries it into the shrine to the altar, thus making it sacred.

The shrine maiden then stirs the sacred water with leafy bamboo branches and waves the branches over the people, sprinkling them lightly with drops of warm water as she speaks special words. The water from the cauldrons is then passed around for all to drink, uniting them with the *kami*.

The purification ritual incorporates the basic Shinto values of purification, renewal, gratitude, and respect for the *kami*. It also shares the powers of the *kami* with the people and creates a heightened sense of community and cooperation. As always its aim is to maintain a harmonious relationship between the *kami* and the people.

CHAPTER 7

THE SHINTO YEAR: FESTIVALS AND RITES OF PASSAGE

Shinto is a religion of festivals and celebration. Each shrine has its own yearly calendar of rituals and festivals, and each calendar can vary from shrine to shrine. The festivals of the Shinto calendar often overlap with the religious holidays of other traditions, and all are part of the annual events, or *nenju gyoji,* of Japan. These include both religious festivals and regional and national celebrations. Although today many Shinto festivals, or *matsuri,* seem more secular than religious, most began as religious celebrations, and the word *matsuri* connotes prayer and worship along with festival and fun.

Shinto began in a farming society, and its festivals follow the agricultural calendar. Spring festivals mark the time of rice planting, a critical time in rice culture. In the fall there are festivals to commemorate harvest and thanksgiving. The new year is celebrated as a time of purification and renewal and is very important because it symbolizes a new start. But festivals also celebrate

During a *matsuri* procession in the Gion district of Kyoto, crowds of people surround a *mikoshi,* a decorated box containing a *shintai,* a sacred object symbolizing the essence of the *kami.*

盛夏百貨大廉売
週刊新潮

smaller wonders: cherry blossoms in the spring, the blooms of summer, and the changing of leaves in the fall.

Occupations have guardian deities, and yearly festivals are held to thank them for their protection. In addition, apart from the yearly activities that occur at all Shinto shrines, each shrine celebrates a festival for its own particular guardian deity or deities.

SHINTO FESTIVALS

Festivals are, first of all, times to enjoy. When festival days arrive, businesses, educational establishments, and factories shut down, and families, friends, and neighbors get together, frequently on the spacious grounds surrounding a shrine. The larger shrines often have outbuildings in which people can gather for entertainment. Actors may present Noh, classic dance-dramas that depict stories of the *kami*, plays about early Shinto history, or comedies, because the *kami* love to laugh. Shrine maidens perform dances to entertain the *kami*. Merchants set up stalls on shrine grounds to sell snacks, drinks, souvenirs, and games.

Festivals may last one day or as long as a week. They may include jugglers, wrestlers, horse races, archery, bonfires, boat races; some of the larger festivals involve the entire population, even in major cities like Kyoto.

Within every shrine is a *shintai*—a sacred object symbolizing the essence of the *kami* to whom the shrine is dedicated. This sacred object is wrapped in silk and enclosed in a box that is never opened. The *shintai* is never seen, even by the priests, and worshippers take its existence on faith. At festival time priests place this box in a *mikoshi*, or palanquin, a decorated chest carried by means of long, horizontal poles. Strong young men carry this palanquin around the town so the *kami* can see the locale over which they preside and

RICE CULTURE

Rice, the food that has sustained the Japanese since prehistory, is planted by broadcasting the grains freely in a small field and flooding the area with water. Three or four weeks later the young seedlings are transplanted into carefully spaced rows about 18 inches apart in a larger walled field, which is then also flooded. Transplanting is a critical stage in rice culture; if the grain fails to sprout it can be replanted, but if transplantation fails the crop is lost. Shinto festivals to ensure the success of the rice crop are therefore held not at planting time, but at the time the rice is transplanted.

bless it or simply enjoy it. The men make sure that the *mikoshi* passes each house in the town so that the relationship between the *kami* and the people is reinforced. Important, too, is the fact that the very act of carrying the *mikoshi* requires close cooperation among the men. A small palanquin may require four to eight bearers; some of the larger ones may require 30. The shared task reminds the men of their dependence on one another, a traditional Shinto virtue.

At larger festivals processions may also include huge wheeled floats, sometimes two stories high, colorfully decorated, and pulled by young men. The floats may present historical scenes or may carry dancers and musicians who perform for the crowds. People join the processions dressed in historical costumes—traditional kimonos and court dress or the regalia of ancient warriors.

Shinto ritual, of course, is an important part of every festival. Priests perform ancient rituals of purification, offering, supplication, and feast. Colorfully dressed shrine maidens dance for the entertainment of the *kami*. Prayers ask for a continuation of the blessings of the *kami*. Throughout the festival worshippers approach the shrine, ring the shrine bell, clap, and present their own offerings and prayers to the *kami*.

THE NEW YEAR FESTIVAL

The New Year Festival, which lasts for seven days, is the country's most important Shinto celebration. It is both a national holiday and a religious event—a time to celebrate, pay debts, make amends, and begin anew. During this festival people dress in kimonos, and women do their hair in traditional styles. The streets are festooned with banners and other colorful decorations.

Before the New Year Festival begins people clean their homes, symbolically sweeping out the old year, with its bad luck and sorrow, and making room for the new. Around the house they hang pine branches, which symbolize renewal of life, and rice-straw ropes, which define sacred space and ward off evil. It is also customary to put pine boughs in bamboo baskets because in Japan

bamboo is a symbol of strength and growth. Some people set up a special altar in their homes to welcome ancestors and rice *kami,* who return in January.

VISITING THE SHRINE

For a Shinto family one of the first acts of the new year is to visit the local shrine. Beginning at midnight on New Year's Eve, worshippers approach the shrine to pay respects and to ask the *kami* for help in the coming year. Outside the shrine may be hung a rice-straw rope through which the people pass before they enter the shrine precincts, symbolically leaving their impurities behind so that they may be fresh and pure when they meet the *kami.* Inside they toss coins into a box as a symbolic offering, then offer their prayers. Often they make resolutions for the new year and request assistance in keeping them. This visit to the shrine is an act of purification, the shedding of old impurities and the beginning of a new life.

The New Year Festival includes the formal Shinto ritual in which priests chant *norito,* or ancient Shinto prayers. Shrine maidens, the young girls whose families are members of the shrine, wear traditional costumes and dance *kagura,* or sacred dances, to entertain the *kami.* Shrine maidens also participate in some of the rituals and help in the business of the shrine, selling talismans (old charms) and giving blessings. New Year Festival rites help people begin the new year pure in heart and in contact with *kami.*

During these festivities it is customary for businesses and other organizations to make substantial gifts to the local shrine, thanking the *kami* for their support in the past and asking for success in the future. Gifts may be related to the contributor's business but are more commonly food and sake. Sake is a popular gift. After it has been consecrated, it is shared by the worshippers, adding to the festival atmosphere.

On the first night of the New Year people may celebrate all night. At the smaller countryside shrines worshippers drift away by one o'clock in the morning. But many leave to board trains

NEW YEAR CHARMS

At New Year, Shinto visitors may buy new charms to place on their altar. A popular charm takes the shape of an arrow, a Shinto symbol that carries the meaning of destroying evil. They may also purchase *ema,* wooden votive tablets, on which to write their requests, and fortune slips on white paper, which they read and then tie to temple trees. In this way the whole community shares any good luck included in the fortune, while any bad luck may blow away.

A stand selling *ema,* wooden votive tablets, on which requests to the *kami* are written. These are purchased by visitors to the shrine and hung in the temple grounds.

that run through the night to nearby national shrines. Major shrines, such as the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo and Fushimi Inari in Kyoto, boast huge crowds of more than a million people on New Year's night.

After the first night the celebration becomes quieter, but people continue to gather in a holiday mood. Extended families get together at this time, and spirits of ancestors are believed to visit as well, so the celebrations include both living members and ancestor spirits. They give *oseibo,* or year-end gifts, a custom adopted from Europe and America.

LITTLE NEW YEAR

The talismans, bought during the past year and left at the local shrine during the New Year Festival, become part of the next Shinto ceremony. On January 15, or Little New Year, priests ritually destroy the old charms by burning them while chanting ancient Shinto prayers. The fire eradicates the bad luck absorbed by the charms over the year, reinforcing the renewal of the new year. This ritual also welcomes the rice *kami* back for another year of prosperity.

THE GREAT PURIFICATION

Purification is an essential part of all Shinto worship, and the New Year Festival includes the Shinto rite known as the Great Purification. This rite removes the impurities people have accumulated since the last purification ritual.

The Great Purification ritual symbolically re-creates Izanagi's act of bathing when he returned from his trip to Yomi, the underworld. As he purified himself he brought forth new *kami,* including Susanowo and Amaterasu. Thus purification has power over death, and living people may return to a state of purity. Purification brings people closer to the *kami.*

Chanting

The *Oharai* is a song in praise of life, spoken in the ancient Yamato language from which modern Japanese comes. Shinto followers believe that each word has its own soul, and when the words of a *norito* are chanted together as they have been chanted since the time of the *kami,* they unite people with the *kami.*

SUMO WRESTLING—ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE *KAMI*

Sumo wrestling, a Japanese sporting activity, began as entertainment for the *kami*. Originally held at Shinto shrines during festivals, sumo matches now take place in arenas. They are associated with many rituals and customs. A canopy draped above the arena ring represents the shrine roof. The rules of sumo are simple. A wrestler who touches the clay with any part of his body but the soles of his feet, or who moves any part of his body outside the ring, loses. Before entering the ring, the wrestlers perform a simple purification rite by washing their hands and mouth, as they would if visiting a shrine. They clap their hands to attract the *kami,* then extend their arms and turn their palms up to show that they are not carrying weapons. They stamp their feet vigorously to drive evil spirits into the ground, away from the ring, and sprinkle salt on the ground to purify it. In the intervals between rounds, the sumo wrestlers again stamp and clap.

The wrestler's dress is the *mewashi,* or loincloth, and his hair is tied into a topknot to cushion his head during a fall. Sumo wrestling is very popular in Japan, where it is considered the national sport.

NENJU GYOJI: THE NATIONAL EVENTS

In Japan there are national holidays or major festivals almost every month, featuring parades, parties, games, and dressing up in traditional clothes. The New Year Festival is the biggest, but there are many other occasions for celebration.

Beginning of Spring

February 3 is celebrated as the last day of winter and the beginning of spring. People throw soybeans out of their houses and symbolically drive out evil and impurity. Children gather soybeans that are tossed out of the shrines by the shrine attendants and bring them home for luck.

Spring Equinox

On a day close to the spring equinox, around March 21, local shrines conduct a spring festival during which people visit the shrines to make offerings to the *kami,* a reminder of the seasonal rhythms and the links between humans, the *kami,* and nature.

Flower Festival

Early April brings a flower festival. This was traditionally the time when the mountain *kami* came down from the hills and entered the rice fields to be rice *kami* for the rest of the season. In celebration, people climbed the mountains and carried down armloads of flowers, signifying the coming of spring and the bounty of nature. Today people picnic and hike in the mountains to celebrate the festival.

Festival of the Dead

After the Great Purification in June comes the Festival of the Dead in July. Originally a Buddhist festival, this event is now commemorated by all. Homes are cleaned and ancestors are welcomed with special offerings. Families visit cemeteries and decorate memorial stones with flowers.

Fall Festival

Close to the fall equinox in mid-September is a fall festival, a kind of Thanksgiving that marks the return of the rice *kami* to the mountains for another year and thanks them for the rice harvest. People again visit graves to honor ancestors and receive their blessing.

Preparation for the New Year

In December comes the preparation for the New Year Festival, and the ritual year begins again.

The Great Purification takes place at all local shrines twice a year, during the New Year Festival and at the end of June or the beginning of July. A priest recites the *Oharai,* or Great Purification *norito,* and then waves a purification wand in a ritual pattern before the assembled worshippers.

Listeners to the *Oharai* are exhorted to feel the rhythm and spirit of the prayer, which is directed at washing away impurities in themselves and in the nation as a whole. During the Great Purification, people may rub a human figure cut from paper over their bodies, symbolically rubbing away impurity. The paper, like the talismans at the New Year Festival, is later ritually destroyed by the priests, ridding the people of anything impure.

RITES OF PASSAGE

Shinto, like all religions, marks times in human life: birth, marriage, and death. It places great emphasis on beginnings, fertility, and growth, so birth and childhood are much celebrated in Shinto families with special events for children.

MIYAMAIRI

At birth children receive their souls from their birth *kami,* the guardian of the place where they were born. When babies are one month old and free from the impurities associated with birth, their parents take them to their local shrine for *miyamairi,* a birth ritual. At that time a baby becomes *ujiko,* a parishioner of that shrine, and comes under the protection of the shrine's guardian *kami*. Traditionally this is the baby's first trip outside of his or her home. By taking their baby to the shrine, parents accept for their child the responsibility of supporting the shrine and participating in festivals and Shinto ritual. The birth ritual affirms that the *kami* are the source of the child's life and establishes a relationship between the child and the *kami.*

BOYS' AND GIRLS' FESTIVALS

Many other celebrations with Shinto roots mark the life of a child. Boys and girls have their own festivals. Girls may partici-

Shichigosan

The annual Shichigosan, or seven-five-three, is a day of prayer for the welfare of children. Widely celebrated, it takes place in November. Girls of three and seven and boys of five are dressed in their best clothes or in traditional costumes and taken for a visit to their tutelary shrine. There they pray to the *kami* to protect them and help them to grow and be pure and strong.

pate in the Doll Festival (Hinu Matsuri), which takes place on March 3. During this festival girls arrange displays of intricately carved dolls, many of which have been handed down through generations, and invite friends and neighbors for tea. At one time this was a time of purification, when people made paper figures to which they transferred their impurities and threw them into the sea.

A Boy's Festival (Tango no Sekku) takes place on May 5. Soldier dolls placed outside the entrance to the house symbolically drive away evil. Boys arrange displays of miniature samurai (warriors), signifying strength and courage, and hang wind socks that depict the carp, the symbol of strength and vitality.

These boy and girl festivals, which are now celebrated more as times of family get-togethers than as religious holidays, have lost most of their religious significance, but they still serve to remind children of the nearness of the *kami* to their lives.

COMING OF AGE

Coming-of-age rites have disappeared from Shinto worship, although January 15 is celebrated across Japan as an official coming of age for all those who reach the age of 20 that year and thus can marry without parental consent. In the countryside a young man's coming to maturity is marked by inviting him to help carry the palanquin in a festival parade.

MARRIAGE BEFORE *KAMI*

One widely observed celebration is the Shinto wedding. In the past Shinto weddings were conducted at home, but today Shinto shrines with beautiful grounds are popular places for "marriage before *kami*," and many Japanese couples choose a Shinto ceremony. Marriage in Japan has always been viewed as a contract

A young girl, dressed in a kimono, is taken by her mother to a shrine to celebrate the Shichigosan festival. Prayers are offered during the ritual to help protect the young girl as she grows up. This festival takes place when girls are three and seven years old.

between two families, so it is not conducted by a priest, but by the couple themselves.

In Japan October is the month for weddings. The bride may wear a modern Western-style wedding dress, or she may choose traditional Japanese wedding clothes: a special kimono and a tall

A bride in a wedding kimono, accompanied by family and friends dressed in traditional clothes, makes her way through the precincts of a Shinto temple. Shinto shrines are becoming increasingly popular places for marriage "before the *kami*."

wig with long hairpins and a wide white headband. According to custom the headdress hides the "horns" of female jealousy. Traditional garb for the groom was a kimono and divided pants, but today most grooms choose to wear a Western-style suit or tuxedo. As a pledge of their union the couple sip rice wine from three cups. Their families then sip the wine to show loyalty to the new family that is being formed. A wedding feast follows the ceremony.

FUNERALS

Old Shinto did not have funeral rites, which came into the religion from Buddhism. Most Japanese are still "born Shinto, die Buddhist," choosing Buddhist ceremonies for funerals. But Shinto priests may conduct solemn prayers for the dead at Shinto shrines as well. The funeral ceremony marks the beginning of the dead person's new life as an ancestor who, having lived life to the fullest in accordance with the will of the *kami,* will continue to bring prosperity and blessings to the living.

THE SHINTO CALENDAR IN JAPANESE LIFE

Shinto festivals have different focuses. Some aim to ensure the well-being of particular communities by appealing for assistance from their *kami* and the souls of their ancestors. The goals of such celebrations are to attain fruitful harvests, to escape crop damage, or to avoid natural disasters. Purification rites are meant to cleanse the participants of the pollutions that separate them from the *kami* and the revered dead. Ritual prayers seek a favorable response from gods and ancestors. Other festivals are more active, including various contests on horses or in boats, ceremonial dances, and physically taxing processions. The latter are meant to increase the vitality of the *kami* and the participants as the time of planting or harvesting draws near. Such celebrations might be religious for some, but for others they are just rituals of modern society. The Snow Festival held at the city of Sapporo is a secular celebration that aims mainly to draw tourists to the area.

Festivals such as the Doll Festival (Hinu Matsuri) on March 3 or the Boy's Festival (Tango no Sekku) on May 5 are not tied to the land and its fruits, but rather are celebrations centered in family life together with friends and neighbors. Other festivals go beyond the borders of farm communities or families in their aims. The New Year Festival is a national and religious holiday. It is viewed as a time to pay debts, make apologies, and start anew.

Fortune slips and prayers containing requests to the *kami* have been written on paper and tied by visitors to a tree in the grounds of Kyoto Imperial Palace.

CHAPTER 8

SACRED PLACES AND SPACES

Japan, a country about the size of the state of California, has more than 80,000 Shinto shrines. Some are elaborate buildings patterned after Buddhist temples, with lanterns, statues, and paintings. Most are small, simple structures in peaceful natural settings or along the roadside. Still others are not buildings at all, but natural objects marked with a rice-straw rope to signify sacred space.

THE SACRED LAND

In early times people worshipped in nature. They climbed mountains to catch the first glimpse of Amaterasu, the rising sun, at dawn, and they went to ocean shores near where the sea *kami* (spirit) controlled the tides and the fish that fed the village. They found evidence of *kami* presence in great rocks and enormous trees, in deep valleys and beside rushing water, and they worshipped beside them. Those traditions still remain.

Every town and locality has its own shrine housing its guardian *kami*. Many towns also have shrines that commemorate special people or events. Shinto shrines belong to everyone and are

A Myojin-style torii gateway stands in the sea at Itsukushima Shrine, which is dedicated to a *kami* of the sea. Visitors can walk to the torii at low tide.

everyone's responsibility. Even in rural areas, at shrines that stand deep in wooded areas many miles from towns or cities, and even where there are no regular priests, it is rare to find shrine grounds that are not carefully tended. The shrines and the grounds on which they stand are all sacred land, treated with reverence.

In a larger sense, all of Japan is sacred ground. It was formed by the *kami* for the Japanese people, and everything in it is inhabited by *kami*. *Kami* dwell in all its geographical features, its mountains, trees, and flowers, the sea and the rivers, and even the highways and roads. There is no part of Japan that the *kami* do not touch, for *kami* can be anywhere and are everywhere. All of the land therefore demands, and receives, great respect from its inhabitants.

Young girls in kimonos looking out toward the city of Kyoto from Kyomizudera Temple.

The Japanese are a nation of people who love to visit the beautiful places in their own country. As "tourists" they often plan their vacations around visits to sacred waterfalls or mountains, which symbolize the presence of *kami* everywhere. To climb Mount Fuji is not merely to go sightseeing but to be in the presence of the sacred, and many Japanese tours include an element of pilgrimage.

THE SHINTO HOME

According to Shinto tradition the home itself is blessed by the *kami* and therefore sacred. It is the center of Shinto religious life. Ritual is performed within it, and *kami* reside there. Family worship within the home is central to the Shinto tradition.

Shinto ritual accompanies the building of a house. Special ceremonies consecrate the homesite and accompany various stages of the actual building, such as laying the

foundation or raising the roof. There are *kami* in every part of the house: threshold *kami,* kitchen *kami,* fireplace *kami,* even toilet *kami,* who keep away impurity and disease.

LOCAL SHRINES

Shinto began as a local religion, and every area has its own shrine with its own tutelary, or guardian, *kami.* By custom people come under the protection of the guardian *kami* of the place where they were born, and they remain under that *kami's* protection all their lives. Annual religious events, such as the New Year Festival or the Great Purification, are held at the local shrine, as are local festivals. People go individually to their shrine to give thanks to the *kami* for blessings in their own lives and in the community as a whole.

Besides being a place for ritual, festival, and private worship, the grounds of the local shrine serve as a community center in which meetings and recreational activities are held. People use shrine precincts as they would a park, for picnics and games, or just to sit and enjoy the pleasant surroundings.

Beyond the locality there may be area shrines honoring other *kami.* A seaside village, for example, might have both a shrine to its guardian deities and a shrine to the *kami* of fishers or the *kami* of sailors.

During annual festivals families traditionally visit their local shrine and participate in the rituals that bring them into

Sacred Sites

Cities as well as rural areas can have sacred associations. Kyoto and Nara, both former Japanese capitals, are sacred cities because their history is entwined with that of the imperial line. These cities have many shrines that date back to ancient times.

THE *KAMIDANA*

At one time every Japanese house had a *kamidana,* or *kami* shelf, enshrining *kami* in the home. This small altar contained a replica of a Shinto-style shrine. Each day household members made prayers and offerings at the *kamidana* as they would at a shrine, by bowing and clapping to summon ancestors and the guardian *kami* of their home and offering thanks. They kept the offerings on the *kamidana* fresh, replenishing foodstuffs, such as a rice cake or a little sake, morning and night, or adding fresh flowers. The *kamidana* also held talismans and charms bought at the local shrine or at one of the national shrines during a trip or pilgrimage, bringing the blessings of those *kami* to the home as well. During the seventh century, when Buddhist altars were mandatory in Japanese homes, *kamidana* remained, often side by side with the Buddhist altar, and people paid their respects to the deities at both altars. Many modern Japanese homes no longer have *kamidana,* although traditional households still follow the custom.

closer contact with their tutelary *kami*. At the shrines people can buy talismans and charms to take back to their homes, thus ensuring the presence there of the guardian *kami*. So the protection of the local *kami* is transferred to the home, completing the circle of sacredness.

SHRINE STRUCTURE

At its simplest a Shinto shrine is a rectangular space to which the *kami* come. A traditional shrine is made of natural materials such as rough-hewn timber, unpainted wood, thatch, and stone. Shrines are not particularly large. Priests enter them to perform rites, but people stand outside to worship. Inside the shrine is an altar or an inner sanctuary tended by Shinto priests and containing a silk-lined box, which holds an object that symbolizes the heavenly *kami*.

A pull for a bell woven in straw. The bell is rung by visitors to the shrine to announce their presence to the *kami*.

The interior of a shrine has no decoration. There are no representations of *kami* within a shrine, neither pictures nor statues. There may be a display of ordinary objects such as stones, swords or bow and arrows, beads, and perhaps a mirror, any of which might be sacred to the various *kami,* but images of them are unnecessary because the *kami* themselves are there.

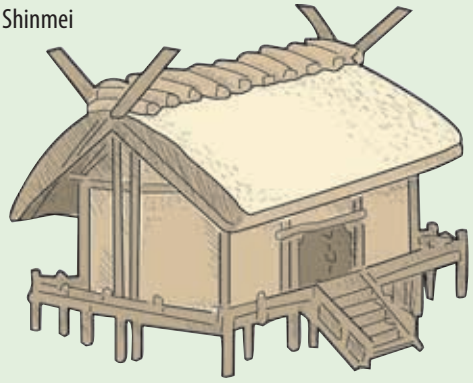
Small shrines often stand alone, but larger shrines may be part of a complex containing a number of sanctuaries and auxiliary buildings. A large shrine compound may have an oratory, or speaker's stand, a pavilion with flowing water for ritual purification, a building in which to prepare food offerings, a shrine office, an auditorium for sacred dances, and a pavilion where people may leave votive tablets or other offerings, along with one or more sanctuaries and other structures.

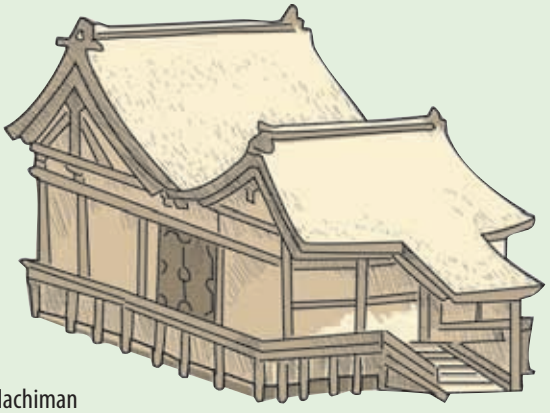
FOUR TYPICAL SHRINE STYLES

The earliest Shinto shrines were modeled after Japanese dwellings and storage buildings. Most were simple, with a single chamber on a raised platform and a peaked roof. Later shrines were influenced by Chinese architecture, particularly Buddhist temples, and became more elaborate. Here are four traditional designs.

Taisha

Shinmei





Hachiman

Nagare

Whenever possible shrines are placed near water, and many shrine grounds still contain a spring, a brook, or a pond. In ancient times worshippers scooped up a little water from a stream or the sea to rinse their hands and mouths. Today every shrine approach has an ablution pavilion, a place where people may stop to purify themselves ritually before they worship. Often this pavilion is an open shed with a stone basin and running water.

A line of torii leading to a temple. The torii mark the entry to a sacred Shinto space and delineate the boundaries between the worlds of the secular and the sacred.

Many shrines include stalls or a small shop from which people can get charms and talismans for their *kamidana,* or home altar, in return for a small offering. Throughout the year these are sold to pilgrims and visitors at festivals and at the larger national shrines.

THE SHRINE GROUNDS

Shrine grounds are themselves sacred land. Over centuries many shrines have been carefully sited in places that evoke feelings of respect and awe because of their natural beauty, perhaps near a mountain, a grove of trees, or a river, or overlooking the ocean. Others are located where some historical event took place or where an ancient and respected family lived.

Much effort goes into making the shrine grounds a place of peaceful beauty. Even in cities, where land is scarce and grounds may be small, trees and plantings evoke a natural setting and suggest the closeness of nature.

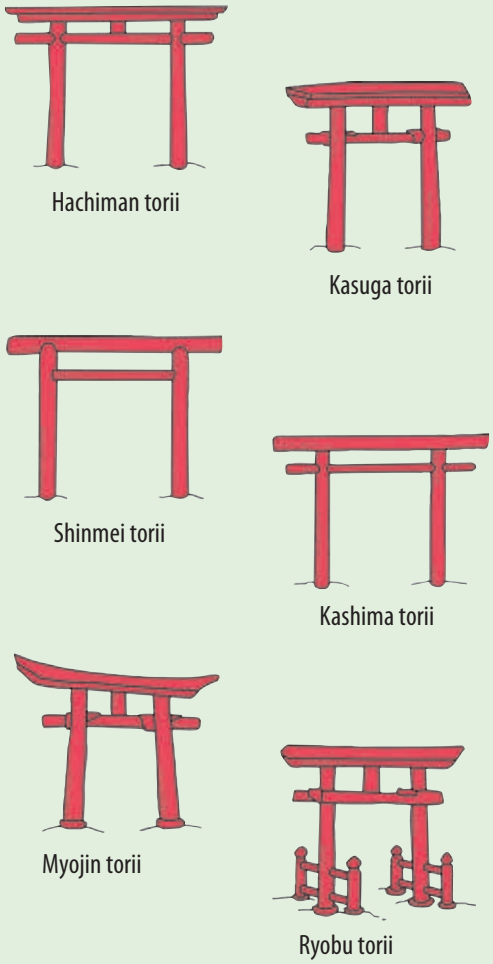
Shrines usually face south or sometimes east; north and west are considered unlucky directions. Customarily a fence or a wall surrounds the shrine grounds, and there may be inner fences as well, perhaps enclosed by a gate.

TORII, THE SYMBOL OF SHINTO

Worshippers enter the shrine through a torii, a gateway that symbolizes the separation of the outside world from the world of the *kami* and marks the entrance into

TORII—GATEWAY TO SHINTO SHRINES

Torii, the open gateways that mark the approach to a shrine, come in a variety of styles both simple and elaborate. Originally of rough–hewn, natural timber, they are now made of other materials, including metal and concrete, and often painted red.



sacred space. There are many styles of torii, but each is distinctive in basic design. Originally the torii consisted of two unfinished wooden pillars with two crossbeams. Later, under outside architectural influences, the pillars were planed smooth and painted, usually red, and eventually came to be made of other materials, such as metal or concrete.

A large shrine may have a row of torii through which worshippers pass. The Fushimi Inari Shrine in Tokyo has more than 10,000 scarlet-painted torii, in a line almost 2½ miles (4 kilometers) long.

THE APPROACH

Worshippers pass through the torii on a path that leads to the shrine. This is the *sando,* or approach. It is usually a dirt path spread with pebbles or neatly raked packed sand, and it contributes to the natural atmosphere. Ideally the path winds through the grounds, but if the area is small it may go directly to the shrine.

Lanterns made of stone or bronze, donated by worshippers, often line the approach. Elaborate lanterns are a borrowing from Buddhism, but fire, a purifying element in Shinto ritual, has always been a traditional means of greeting the *kami.* Along the path, too, may be stone tablets memorializing local national historic events. There may also be a stone pillar called a *hykudo ishi,* or "hundred times stone." Worshippers with a particularly urgent request may walk back and forth 100 times between the stone and the shrine to emphasize their plea.

Since many shrines are in natural settings the grounds may contain ancient trees or great rocks that traditionally have *kami* presence. If so, these often have a rice-straw rope around them to show their special sacredness. Almost every shrine has on its grounds a sakaki tree, the

Lion statue guarding the entrance to a temple in Miyajima island, Japan. At Shinto shrines animal images are symbolic of protection.

sacred tree of Shinto, the tree that the *kami* hung with jewels and cloth and the mirror to lure the sun goddess Amaterasu out of her cave.

SHRINE GUARDIANS

Beside the shrine entrance may be guardians of the shrine precincts. Sometimes these take the form of miniature shrines. At large shrines the guardians may be huge semihuman figures with angry expressions to ward off evil. These figures were originally Buddhist, but they came to be guardians of Shinto shrines as well. Another traditional guardian pair are two seated figures, each dressed in ancient court garb and each carrying a bow and arrows. They represent mythological *kami.*

Animal protectors also appear. The most common are male and female lions or dogs, which stand on pedestals along the approach. At Inari shrines the image is a fox, which is believed to be an attendant of Inari, the rice *kami.* At Kasuga shrines the animal guardian is a deer. Other animal images include horses, the traditional mount of the *kami,* or monkeys and wolves. Like other statuary on Shinto grounds, these shrine guardians reflect Buddhist influence.

SHRINE CONSTRUCTION

The earliest Shinto shrines were built like the homes of the Japanese people of the day. They were unadorned square or rectangular structures placed on a platform with a low railing and a stairway to the door. Most were one-room buildings with an inner chamber to hold a sacred symbol of the *kami,* and a place for offerings either outside or just inside the building. Traditional shrines were made of unpainted, rough-hewn wood, usually cypress, thatched with bark. The buildings themselves were much less impressive than

Refreshing the *Kami*

Following ancient traditions and practices, every 20 years a shrine is taken down and rebuilt in a ceremony of shrine renewal. At that time the shrine's divine treasures are renewed as well, and the old ones are buried on the shrine grounds. Shrine renewal is more than just refurbishment of old shrines. The accompanying Shinto ritual refreshes and renews the spiritual life of the *kami* in that place.

their surroundings and, in their simplicity and naturalness, they were designed to merge with the surrounding area.

Many Shinto shrines have a characteristic roof style. The end beams, or *chigi,* form an X, crossing at the ridge and continuing upward. The ridgepole lies across them, cradled by the crossed beams. On top of the ridgepole are short beams, or *katsuogi.* Originally they held down the roof, although with modern construction methods they are now purely decorative. The distinctive roof design of a Shinto shrine carries no religious significance. It is simply an antique design that has been carried over into modern times.

As Buddhism gained in popularity Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines became more similar in design. Under the influence of Buddhism shrines became more elaborate and colorful. Shrine interiors were divided into rooms, sometimes under separate roof beams. Later shrines were often painted, most of them a rich ocre-red.

WITHIN THE SHRINE

Within the shrine sanctuary is an inner chamber with two swinging doors that are kept locked except when a priest is performing sacred rites. Inside, on a raised platform or altar, lies the *shintai,* the sacred object or divine embodiment of the *kami* enshrined there. The divine object is wrapped in silk and enclosed in a box, which is never opened. A curtain, usually made of split bamboo, hides the box from view, even by the priest. Not all shrines have *shintai.* Some have *mitamashiro,* or substitute divine treasures, which are usually representations of *shintai,* such as mirrors or swords. To the Shinto worshipper, it does not matter whether the sacred object is *shintai* or *mitamashiro.* The presence of the object sanctifies the building and makes it a home of the *kami.* If the object is removed the building is no longer sacred.

THE OFFERING TABLE

In front of the inner chamber is a table for offerings. On or behind the offering table is a *gohei,* a wand hung with paper folded and

The window of a shrine sanctuary in a Shinto temple. Only the priest performs rituals inside the shrine sanctuary, where there is a locked inner chamber containing the *shintai.*

placed in a ritual manner. The *gohei* symbolizes the presence of *kami* and is also a symbolic offering to the *kami.*

An *onusa,* a purification wand with long strips of white paper and flax attached at one end, stands nearby. During a ceremony the priest removes it from its stand and waves it over the person or object to be purified. A branch of the sacred sakaki tree is sometimes used in place of or in addition to the purification wand, and if so, it also rests on the offering table.

OTHER SHRINE OBJECTS

The *Kojiki*, the first volume of Japan's history, tells that Izanagi, one of the creators of Japan, gave his children a polished disk of silver and told them to look at themselves in it to be sure that it reflected only a pure spirit. Many shrines contain mir-

The Mirror

The mirror hides nothing. It shines without a selfish mind. Everything good and bad, right and wrong, is reflected without fail. The mirror is the source of honesty because it has the virtue of responding according to the shape of objects. It points out the fairness and impartiality of the divine will.

(In Chikafusa Kitabatake, *Jinno Shotoki,* from 1339.)

rors as sacred objects, but in addition, mirrors are often placed before the doors of the inner compartment of a sanctuary as ornaments. Banners may be hung nearby, an ornamental borrowing from Buddhism now signifying the presence of *kami.* A sword and shield and jewels are often hung with the banners as symbols of the power of the *kami* to protect and bless the people, and of the will of the people to defend the *kami.* Shinto believers understand that the mirror symbolizes wisdom; the jewels, a giving and benevolent spirit; and the sword, courage.

Beginning around the seventh century C.E. shrine buildings also housed divine treasures for use by the *kami,* who were deemed to be always within. Daggers, swords, archery equipment, furniture, clothing, jewelry, and musical instruments were made by master craftspeople and displayed. Shinto artists produced paintings and sculpture for the honor of the *kami* as well. Many works

The Shrine at Ise is a complex of shrines that is officially known as Jingu. Within the complex, the inner shrine of Naiku is the most sacred of Japanese shrines and Amaterasu, the ancestral *kami* of the imperial line, is worshipped here.

of sculpture were monumental or life-size images of *kami* carved from single tree trunks, thus preserving their *kami* nature. They too went to the shrines, where they were placed behind a screen or curtain so as not to distract the worshipper.

THE SHRINES AT ISE

The shrine of the sun goddess Amaterasu at Ise is the most revered of all Shinto shrines. Amaterasu, the guardian deity of the imperial line, is worshipped there at the inner shrine, Naiku, as the symbol of the Japanese state. The Ise Shrine compound also contains a second major shrine about 4 miles (7.2 kilometers) away—the outer shrine, Geku, to the harvest *kami*.

THE SHRINE GROUNDS

The shrine grounds at Ise are large and ancient. Three torii mark the entrance to the shrines. Huge cedars, *Cryptomeria japonica,* some more than 50 feet (15 meters) tall and densely planted, line the way. The Isuzu River runs through the grounds, and the winding gravel approach takes worshippers close to the water so they may use it to cleanse their hands and mouths according to ancient custom. The crunching of gravel and stones underfoot discourages talk so people move mostly in silence along the approach, feeling the presence of the divine. Worshippers customarily do not take requests to Ise but go in purity of heart and mind to hear the will of the *kami*.

The main shrine buildings, in pure classical Shinmei style and surrounded by raked white stones, sit behind four high fences, or curtains. They are simple rectangles, about 47 by 30 feet (15 by 9 meters) and rising about 35 feet (12 meters). The thatched roofs are about 3 feet (1 meter)

Renewal of the Ise Shrines

The buildings at the shrines at Ise are renewed every 20 years, following an order of Emperor Temmu, who reigned from 672 to 686 C.E. They have been rebuilt more than 60 times, always in exact replica. The bridges and walkways that link the buildings are renewed as well in a continuous program of rebuilding. The teams of carpenters who maintain the shrine wear white, the color of purity, and ritually purify themselves as they work. If so much as one drop of blood falls on a piece of wood it is discarded so that ritual purity may be maintained in the building.

thick, topped by *katsuogi*—10 on the shrine to Amaterasu, nine on the Naiku Shrine. The shrines at Ise date to 685 and the reign of Emperor Temmu. By his order its design cannot be used or copied in other buildings, so it is unique. However, the buildings at the shrines are renewed every 20 years

NAIKU—THE INNER SHRINE

The Naiku Shrine at Ise has a long association with the imperial family. Only high-ranking priests and priestesses and members of the imperial family or their representatives enter the shrine. By custom, the emperor visits Ise at the times of important national festivals and other national events to inform Amaterasu personally. In modern times Emperor Hirohito (r. 1926–89) went to the shrine as a young man before traveling out of the country, on the occasion of his wedding, and at his coronation. During World War II he kept Amaterasu apprised of the course of the war, and after Japan's defeat he returned to Ise to explain and apologize for what had happened. Important national events are announced at Ise. When the crown prince was married he and his bride went first to Ise.

The sacred object at the Naiku Shrine is the mirror given by Amaterasu to her great-grandson Ninigi when she sent him to rule earth, telling him to worship it as her spirit. Originally it was handed down within the imperial family and kept at the palace shrine, but because of its great significance to the nation and the Japanese people it was moved to the grand shrine at Ise. The imperial shrine now has a replica. The imperial family retains Amaterasu's jewels. The third piece of imperial regalia, the sword of Susanowo, the storm god, is kept at the Atsuta Shrine in Nagoya.

The shrines at Ise attract many visitors each year. Families, schoolchildren, young and old people, businesspeople and workers, all travel to Ise to enjoy its beauty and to be spiritually refreshed by its sacredness. The shrines at Ise are among Japan's greatest national shrines. Worship there is the highest expression of respect to the emperor, the country, and all Japanese cul-

ture as well as to Amaterasu. Pilgrims travel there for prayer and spiritual renewal; a pilgrimage to Ise connects the Japanese to the *kami* power that founded their nation. They buy paper talismans to take back to their *kamidana,* carrying the blessing of the sun goddess into their homes.

OTHER SHRINES

Famous and beautiful shrines of all kinds dot Japan. Many have great national significance. One of these is the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. This is a special shrine for war dead, who were believed to become *kami* when they gave their lives for their country. During the time of State Shinto in the 1800s the Yasukuni Shrine was one of the largest and most influential in the nation, and it is still prized for its historical significance. The shrine has, however, become a center for extreme right-wing activity as some of the dead were declared war criminals after World War II ended in 1945 by Japan's opponents in the war. A visit by any leading Japanese politician is seen by countries such as China or Korea, who suffered under Japanese rule, as an insult to them.

The Meiji Shrine commemorates Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912), and other great emperors have shrines dedicated to them as well. On the coast of Honshu opposite Ise is the shrine of Izumo, where Susanowo fought with the eight-headed serpent. An ancient shrine, it is believed to stand on the site where Susanowo's descendant Oho-kuni-nushi had his palace, and where Ninigi first took control of the country.

In Toyokawa the shrine to Inari draws huge crowds. Inari, once a Buddhist god of rice harvest, is now associated with success in business. The shrine is part of a Buddhist temple complex, reflecting the time when Buddhist grounds included Shinto shrines. Huge crowds gather there at festivals, especially the New Year Festival, to enjoy the festivities and pray for success in business and for prosperity.

The shrine of Itsukushima is dedicated to the sea *kami.* Its torii rise from the water at high tide. The shrine of Kasuga stands in deep woods where deer, the messengers of that *kami,* wander free-

The All–Powerful

A leaflet handed out by the Jishu Shrine in Kyoto praises family life and marriage and says, in part:

"There are still many things in this world that are unattainable through human power alone. At such times how grateful we are that we can depend on the power of the kami to eliminate all the hindrances..."

(In Ian Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan.*)

ly. These and other such shrines emphasize the closeness and power of nature.

Some shrines specialize in a particular kind of blessing. A seashore shrine, for example, might offer the blessing of good fishing. At exam time students visit the shrine of *kami* associated with good grades. Often people who are seeking marriage visit shrines associated with *ryoen,* making good marriages, and *enmusubi,* linking people together as a couple. The Izumo Shrine is popular with couples and with singles seeking partners. During his long transformation from troublemaker to benefactor Susanowo became associated with love and now receives petitions for suitable matches.

Some shrines attract visitors and tourists because of their well-kept grounds and interesting histories. Others receive pilgrims, individuals who make a pledge to the *kami* to visit a particular shrine or a group of shrines. Devotees may try to visit as many of Japan's more than 80,000 shrines as they can.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SACRED SPACES

Sacred spaces for the Japanese are not limited to shrine buildings and their immediate surroundings. Sacred spaces can be found wherever there are *kami*. There are *kami* in great rocks and enormous trees; in the thresholds, kitchens, fireplaces, and *kami* shelves of homes; in the villages of fishermen; and on the ships of sailors, making all these and many more places sacred spaces, too. Additional sacred spaces include those places where babies have been born or where they celebrate their birth rituals or coming-of-age rites. They are also the beautiful grounds of shrines where marriages are celebrated.

The Japanese people constantly need to recall that every corner of their homeland and every aspect of their cultural life has a further spiritual dimension. They must see this if they are to

be truly aware and appreciative of the bounty of nature and the unpredictable character of good and bad fortune. They are always conscious of the blessings of the *kami* from whom all things come, and they are continually aware of the rhythms of life that are marked by good and bad times.

Even if they are not religious the Japanese people derive a strong spiritual dimension from their Shinto traditions. This enables them to draw joy and spiritual refreshment from the land and sea that surround them, from the homes and families that nourish them, and from remembered and venerated ancestors who, through example, inspire them continually to develop courage, determination, and strength. Shinto values pulse through all that they do.

Sacred spaces are everywhere the *kami* are, and the *kami* inhabit every corner of Japan. They are the sacred spiritual powers informing Japan's lands, its people, and its government.

CHAPTER 9

SHINTO TODAY

When one knows the nature and history of Shinto, it is difficult to imagine it surviving in the modern world. Shinto has been so tied to an agrarian lifestyle—with its natural rhythms, its *kami* of farms and woodlands, and its center in family life—that one can hardly picture it having a role in an urban industrial setting. Its preservation seemed guaranteed more than a century ago only because Japan had chosen to keep itself cut off from the developing Western industrial world.

Today Japan is one of the world's strongest industrial nations. Upon the ruins of World War II modern Japan rebuilt itself into a country of active, thriving cities and commerce. Its factories compete throughout the world, challenging the chief car- and truck-exporting countries of the West, replacing American and European firms as leaders in the field of electronics, exporting appliances throughout the globe, and sharing the lead in technology with the great industrial countries of the world.

Shinto has traditionally played a twofold role in Japanese society. First, it has helped members of families to find meaning

Mount Fuji, the highest mountain in Japan at 12,388 feet (3,754 meters), seen from Lake Ashi on the island of Honshu in Japan. There is a torii gate on the shore of the lake that symbolically welcomes worshippers to the heavenly *kami* present in the land.

in life and, with the aid of the *kami,* to meet the challenges they face in all the different areas of their existence. This first role has been the concern of religious Shinto from its earliest days. Second, Shinto has also nurtured in the Japanese people a feeling of solidarity and has attempted to unite all Japanese as citizens of a larger national society. This effort has been supported by traditional religious Shinto and by State Shinto, the nonreligious form of Shinto that treats its members as followers of a cultural, rather than a religious, tradition.

SHINTO IN POSTWAR JAPAN

After World War II ended in 1945 the forces of occupation ordered the Japanese government to cut all ties with Shinto shrines. This was the way they believed nationalism and worship of the emperor would be weakened and eventually eradicated. No public funds could be used to support Shinto shrines. The government attempted to preserve Shinto tradition by declaring State Shinto to be cultural, not religious. In this way the Japanese people could continue many of their traditions. Visits to shrines, however, waned and Shinto festivals diminished. To continue the disappearing religious dimensions of Shinto, some Japanese quietly switched to Buddhism to meet their spiritual needs. Others joined the New Religions of Sect Shinto that had developed to adapt Shinto to the modern world and its demands.

SHINTO AND CITY LIFE

The war, however, had changed Japanese life appreciably. As the people attempted to rebuild their homeland they inexorably pursued opportunities available in the offices and factories of the growing cities. Once again, but much more dramatically, the people lost contact with the agricultural rhythms that have been the foundation of the Shinto way of life. Not only did they lose contact with the shrines of their rural backgrounds, they also lost, more and more, their tight bonds to the families that had preserved their Shinto religious roots. Likewise city life divorced people from the natural life of the rural areas that had contin-

Torii gateway leading to a Shinto shrine in the heart of a modern Japanese city. As cities grew and people moved away from rural areas, many lost contact with the agricultural patterns that shaped the Shinto way of life, but the city shrines meet the needs and prayers of people living in an urban setting and often provide the only tree-filled green area.

ually acknowledged the presence of *kami*. In the bustling cities fewer homes had *kamidana,* and many religious ceremonies were no longer celebrated. Sacred ceremonies were reduced to purely secular celebrations.

THE PEACE CONSTITUTION OF 1946

Although the Peace Constitution of 1946 guaranteed freedom of religion, it also ordered the Japanese government to sever all ties with Shinto shrines and forbade the use of public funds to support these shrines. While this was a serious blow to Shrine Shinto, private support of the people became strong, and the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho) was formed to rebuild ruined shrines and to revive religious practices. More than 80,000 shrines of various sizes now exist in Japan. Some of the larger ones, which have become tourist attractions, are more secular in character and are administered by government appointees. Others are purely shrines where many Japanese, weary from the hustle and bustle of modern commercial life, seek spiritual refreshment through their Shinto ritual traditions.

ASSOCIATION OF SHINTO SHRINES

The Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho), formed after the end of World War II in 1945, sets forth its goals for modern Shinto in three principles:

1. To express gratitude for divine favor and the benefits of ancestors, and with a bright, pure, sincere mind to devote ourselves to the shrine rites and festivals.
2. To serve society and others and, in the realization of ourselves as divine messengers, to endeavor to improve and consolidate the world.
3. To identify our minds with the emperor's mind and, in loving and being friendly with one another, to pray for the country's prosperity and for peaceful coexistence and co-prosperity for the people of the world.

(In Sokyo Ono, *Shinto, the Kami Way*.)

The tensions between those who want to preserve the traditional religious dimensions of Shinto and those who wish for a more secular interpretation of Shinto traditions are very strong.

The case of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is a good example of these tensions. It was a great honor to be enshrined at Yasukuni as a person of religious dedication to one's country. Yasukuni is both a shrine and a war memorial. As a religious shrine, support for it is forbidden. As a war memorial, many military leaders and the families of those who died in war have lobbied to nationalize the shrine. Opposing this measure are those who fear the revival of the kind of intense nationalism that marked the identification of the state and Shinto religion.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS IN A SECULAR AGE

The Peace Constitution of 1946 forced government officials at every level to avoid public support of religion. One way of fulfilling this requirement has been to turn the traditional religious festivals into cultural events that draw crowds of tourists. The festivals have become secular events that bring people back to nature, put them in touch again with *kami*, and promote harmony and unity among the participants. Since these festivals include religious rituals, religious participants enjoy spiritual renewal, whereas nonreligious participants share in the joy and warmth of cultural remembrances.

Cultural celebrations often draw people on the basis of their renown. Advertising and promotions tend to entice crowds to the national shrines such as Meiji in Tokyo, Sumiyoshi in Osaka, Atsuta in Nagoya, and Fushimi Inari in Kyoto. At these popu-

A *mikoshi,* or portable shrine containing a *kami,* is carried through the streets by young men at festival time. The procession enables the *kami* to visit the area under its protection and allows the community to show reverence to their local *kami.*

lar shrines visitors often number in the millions. Smaller local shrines tend to draw lesser numbers, but the participants are distinctly religious, pursuing visits that are much more marked by prayer and meditation.

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGES

As Americans might visit Yosemite Park, the Grand Canyon, or the Liberty Bell, so many Japanese plan their vacations around the more than 80,000 shrines throughout Japan. Many tourists are courted by the advertising of famous shrines or of those in scenic areas. Some shrines have large collections of art that make them equivalent to museums. Others offer lessons in national pride that supplement family outings and picnics. Many of the smaller shrines in rural areas, now quite depopulated by the exodus to the cities, sell charms for luck, or memorabilia, or offer tours for visitors.

In contrast to these cultural excursions, however, modern Shinto believers also make pilgrimages. They may choose to visit a group of shrines or a particular shrine repeatedly to show special respect to the *kami* of that shrine. Often they make their pilgrimages on foot, walking from shrine to shrine in a spirit of special devotion. At times urban Shinto believers will visit their favorite shrine before work or during lunchtime.

SHINTO IN THE WORLD OF BIG BUSINESS

The Shinto values of honesty, cooperation, loyalty, and unified effort are very much prized by Japanese businesses. With the great migration of people from the village to the larger cities, companies have taken over the role of the village, encouraging workers to imagine themselves as parts of an extended corporate family. People are hired for a position in a company very much as if they are joining a family. It is as if they are told, "This business will be your home for life."

Shinto ideals are inculcated from birth and set the tone for a workplace that is envied by manufacturers throughout the world. Western companies study the methods of cooperation,

teamwork, and loyalty in Japanese businesses to try to improve production in their own worlds.

The companies have gone beyond pursuing Shinto ideals. They imitate Shinto practices by constructing their own office buildings and setting up altars where they pray for assistance and make offerings to the building *kami*. Businesses have at times even erected shrines in their office buildings to provide a quiet place of beauty for nonreligious staff and a spiritual home to facilitate devotions for those who want to observe them.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEW RELIGIONS

From the perspectives of the New Religions, the 13 denominations classified as Sect Shinto during the State Shinto period stand in contrast to the established mainstream Japanese religions, Shinto and Buddhism. The established religions were viewed as institutionalized and grounded in the social setting of the household rather than on individual faith and commitment. They are portrayed by the New Religions as hierarchical, bureaucratic, and out of touch with the lives and spiritual needs of ordinary individuals.

It is important to keep this portrait of the established religions in mind in order to understand the appeal of the New Religions. They represent themselves as a confident and continuing effort to provide an individually based faith that would be relevant to individual believers in their everyday life. Joining a new religion is at first a matter of conversion and personal faith, not a matter of social circumstances. The general tendency among the New Religions is to think of the older new religions as tending to become stale and routine. Even the older new religions often

INTERFAITH RELATIONS

In recent years the Association of Shinto Shrines has begun to take a significant role in interfaith relationships. In particular Shinto, as an indigenous religion, has taken a special interest in indigenous traditions and cultures worldwide. These communities are often under considerable pressure from the modern world, and Shinto offers encouragement and respect for ancient traditions. For example many such indigenous communities live in forested areas where commercial forestry and the inroads of a secular worldview are taking a toll on traditional lifestyles. In the last few years the Jinja Honcho has become an active partner in creating awareness of the religious significance of forests as a sacred landscape essential to the well-being of peoples and the planet.

LIFE-GIVING *KAMI*

Shinto priests and leaders have been active in attending many international interfaith events, enabling an exchange of ideas between traditions. With this has come a broadening of traditional Shinto thinking whereby the whole world is seen as sacred, imbued with *kami*. This is well expressed in the following Jinja Honcho Statement on Nature, issued in 2000:

> *Shinto regards the land and its environment as children of Kami. In other words, Shinto sees nature as the divinity itself. These days people often say, "Be gentle to nature" or "Be gentle to the earth." But these expressions sound somehow like the fault of putting the cart before the horse. We feel it is humanity's arrogance. It seems that humans can dominate nature as the master and ultimately "repair" nature, using technical-scientific means. But Kami are the origin of all lives, and the life of all things is deeply connected to them. This leads to an awareness of the sacredness of life and an appreciation for life given by Kami.*

The Shinto have never been a missionary group. This is still the case today. In their interfaith work the Shinto try to bring a deeper understanding of their own tradition and hope that through a better understanding of what they are and do, other major world faiths will perhaps better understand indigenous religions and their distinctive contribution to a better world.

lose members to the newer and more dynamic groups such as Rissho Kosei Kai, which was founded in 1948 with a highly personalized structure for members and powerful teachings about how to live a good life.

The Sect Shinto groups were suppressed, or at least discouraged, when State Shinto was obligatory, but with the Peace Constitution's guarantee of freedom of religion, they have attracted many followers. Each new religion tends more to reinterpret and to provide an alternative reformulation of extant religions rather than to present new ideas. They make what already exists more relevant for people in contemporary society. New religions tend either to focus on the declarations of their founders as divine messages and their writings as revealed scriptures, or, if they are connected to Buddhism, to base their reforms on particular texts from the Buddhist canon.

No matter what the source of their inspiration, the New Religions stress the importance of ancestral spirits and believe that misfortunes are spiritual trials that require religious and ritual solutions. Through techniques learned in the New Religion and through the grace of its leaders and *kami,* people can find liberation, solve their problems, and have happy lives. The New Religions are religions of this world—they have an attitude that is positive and supportive, often asserting that the aim of existence is to live a good,

happy, and positive life here on earth. The New Religions are religions for people who have lost their natural communities and want to belong to a group of like-minded people. It is their way of re-creating a community feeling.

THE ENDURING VITALITY OF SHRINE SHINTO

Many Japanese sense that a great deal of their spiritual heritage has been buried under the pressures of the secularization that dominates modern society. They see cultural Shinto as totally nonreligious. They view the New Religions as competitors for the hearts and minds of those who want their religion to be relevant. Religious Shinto, however, has always found ways to adapt. It has adapted to the challenges of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism throughout its history. More recently it has kept its identity despite the challenges of State Shinto.

As their shrines began to fall into ruin when State Shinto was forbidden to support their upkeep and repair, the believing Shinto community raised money to refurbish them. When deserted villages left few people to pray to the *kami* of the rice harvest, or when fishermen deserted their boats and neglected the *kami* of the sea, the Shinto faithful in the cities discovered new *kami*—the *kami* of businesses. Shinto believers discovered new *kami* in the many new arenas of their lives. Students made pilgrimages to Tenmanju Shrines to ask

FROM THE *DOKA* OF KUROZUMI MUNETADA

Kurozumi Munetada, the founder of Jurozomi Shinto, expressed his religious beliefs in *doka,* or "poems of the way." Munetada's *doka* are 276 verses written as tanka, the 31-syllable poetic form that dates to before the *Kojiki*, the first volume of the history of Japan. This is a selection from a group of 62 *doka* translated by Harold Wright. They express the appreciation of natural beauty, the hopefulness, and the joy that are typical of both ancient and modern Shinto belief. The first verse here is to Amaterasu, the sun goddess.

The divine virtue
of Amaterasu
fills Heaven and Earth;
Ah, in such abundance
is this limitless grace.

If we remember
that all things around us
are divine reflections
Whether asleep or awake
we will know such gratitude

Day after day
we face the morning sun
aware in our hearts
That our lives are limitless
A feeling of such joy.

In this world of ours
we have all come together
to form a Circle
Let us pray to be joined
by the Heart of all our hearts.

the *kami* of study to help them get good grades. Athletes at the 1972 Winter Olympics at Sapporo and the 1998 Winter Olympics at Nagano prayed to the *kami* of the mountains to give them victory in their contests. Businessmen visited shrines before work and appealed to the *kami* to bring them financial prosperity. Praying and honoring the *kami* still remains strong, meeting the needs that arise in an ever-changing urban setting.

SHINTO, THE SPIRITUAL ROOTS OF JAPANESE CULTURE

It is in the Shinto festivals that the heart of Japan can be seen. Shinto is judged at times not to be a religion because it has neither scriptures nor saints. Yet the Latin *ligare,* one of the roots of the word religion, means "to bind," and Shinto is a binding force within society. Japanese religion is based on feelings rather than doctrines, and these feelings are best revealed in the celebration of festivals where the Japanese people reveal their contact with the divine in its simpler aspects.

In these acts of celebration the Japanese people reveal their spiritual view of nature and their deep reverence for their ancestors. In both cases the festival participants reveal their sense of dependence on natural forces beyond themselves in all the activities they perform throughout the year. They also acknowledge their indebtedness to their ancestors for giving them the gift of life and all the benefits that allow them to enjoy it. Along with this sense of dependence is the awareness of the need for thanksgiving that they should be expressing to their *kami*. Awareness of dependency and gratitude for the various gifts of life are central to the Shinto way of life.

This fundamental Shinto approach to life is revealed most of all in the family, which is the backbone of society. Children become aware of how parents protect and

A World Religion?

In recent years Shintoism has had to grapple with whether it is a world religion. This is due to the rise in the number of Japanese communities overseas—for example in Hawaii and Canada—and the need to maintain both a sense of being Japanese as well as a relationship with the physical environment of these new communities. This has led to a wider sense of the sacred and a belief that the *kami* are not just present in Japan, but worldwide.

care for them, and they realize that they can never repay the debt they owe to their parents. They also learn that the interests of the family are more important than those of the individual. These are lessons not learned from books or lectures, but from the lived experience of how the family functions and celebrates its connection to others, and how the family expresses its gratitude to all the *kami* that have brought special benefits to it.

A similar set of attitudes is developed in the collection of families called a village. This is the natural extension of family life that manifests further dependence on other families for assistance and support in all the endeavors of human life. For this help, the Shinto families all express their gratitude to those who surround them. This extends further to regional and national dependency and gratitude and builds a cohesiveness and spirit of cooperation and unity among all the Japanese people.

A mother and daughter praying at Senso-ji Temple in Tokyo. The inhabitants of the city find new *kami* that are relevant to the lives and needs of their families.

Shinto has been preserved not by doctrines but by experiences in the family, the village, the region, and the whole of Japanese society. Those experiences mirror the basic attitudes of Japanese culture. Japanese society is based on natural groupings, such as the family and the village, rather than on groups centered in education, occupations, or individual preferences. Even as these natural settings have been tainted by modern alterations of life, the culture of the Japanese is so rooted in its Shinto past that companies and businesses follow the rhythms of the family and village as they develop. They are directed by the Shinto values of honesty, cooperation, loyalty, and unity of effort. Shinto is the very basis of Japanese culture.

FACT FILE

Worldwide Numbers
Shinto worship exists almost exclusively in Japan, where the majority of the 128 million population identify themselves as Shinto. There may be 3 or 4 million followers of Shinto in other parts of the world.

Holy Symbol
The torii gate consisting of two upright bars and two crossbars marks all Shinto shrines and places associated with the mystical powers of nature.

Holy Writings
Two books, *Nihongi* and *Kojiki,* are seen as important. They are written versions of oral traditions, myths, and beliefs.

Holy Places
Acts of worship take place at shrines, which are also homes to *kami,* the gods. The shrine at Ise is the most important. Mount Fuji is regarded as the home of the gods.

Founders
There is no founder as such: The faith developed through the ancient traditions, myths, and customs of the Japanese people.

Festivals
The New Year's Day festival is the biggest celebration but there are festivals almost every month.

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WEB SITES

Further facts and figures, history, and current status of the religion can be found on the following Web sites:

http://www.religioustolerance.org/shinto.htm
A basic introduction to the Shinto religion can be found on this Web site, which also acts as a portal to other sites about Shinto beliefs and traditions.

http://jinja.jp/english
Information produced by The Shinto Online Network Association giving a good insight into all aspects of Shinto religion.

www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/shinto
A comprehensive look at the Shinto religion, including details of festivals, rites, and rituals. There is also a history of Shinto.

www.japan-guide.com
A Japanese Web site with up-to-date information about tourism, travel, and events in Japan, including Shinto festivals and shrines.

GLOSSARY

Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho)—Organization that oversees Shinto shrines, the Shinto priesthood, and the calendar of religious festivals in modern Japan.

chigi—Characteristic crossed end-beams of the roof of some Shinto shrines.

daimyo—Nobles who administered large land holdings and peasants during feudal times under the shoguns.

doka—"Poetry of the way," religious tanka, especially that written by Kurozumi Munetada, founder of Kurozumi Shinto.

Engishiki—Collection of ancient Shinto myths.

Folk Shinto—Ancient form of Shinto on which most modern Shinto practices and beliefs are based.

gohei—Symbolic offering to the *kami;* a wand hung with folded strips of white paper.

Imperial Household Shinto—Shinto worship carried on by the emperor as chief priest.

Ise—Location of the shrine complex dedicated to Amaterasu and containing the Naiku Shrine, most sacred of all Shinto shrines.

kagura—Sacred dances performed during Shinto ceremonies and festivals.

kami—A god or gods worshipped in Shinto, who represent natural phenomena or mythological ancestors, such as Amaterasu, the sun goddess.

kamidana—Shinto *kami* shelf, or altar, usually found in the home.

Kojiki—"Record of Ancient Matters," thought to be written in 712 C.E. and recording the mythological origins of Japan and the imperial line.

matsuri—Term for a Shinto festival.

Meiji—Emperor whose rule began in 1868 and whose policies ushered in Japan's technological growth, interaction with Western powers, and development of State Shinto.

Meiji Restoration—Period beginning with Meiji's rule during which power was restored to the emperor from the shoguns. Shinto was separated from Buddhism and given prominence as the established state religion.

miko—Shrine maiden; a young woman who performs ritual dances and other shrine duties.

mikoshi—A palanquin (chest) on long poles in which the *kami* are symbolically carried around a town during a festival.

miyamairi—Presentation of a new-born child to the family's local shrine.

New Religions—Religious movements, some based on Shinto and others on Buddhism, that were classified as Sect Shinto during the Meiji period.

***Nihongi* (also *Nihon Shoki*)**—"Chronicles of Ancient Japan," completed in the eighth century, recording the traditions of Shinto and the *kami* from prehistoric times.

***norito* (also *norii*)**—Ancient prayers used by priests in Shinto ceremonies.

Oharai—The *norito,* or song or prayer, of the Great Purification ritual.

polytheistic—Having many deities, characteristic of Shinto.

Ryobu Shinto—So-called double-aspect Shinto, which associated Shinto deities with Buddhist gods.

sakaki—Sacred tree of Shinto. It is widely planted on shrine grounds and its branches are sometimes used in Shinto purification rites.

samurai—Japanese warrior class in feudal times.

sando—The approach to a shrine.

Sect Shinto—New Religions, or religious sects classified by the Meiji government.

Shichigosan—The annual seven-five-three festival, a day of prayer for the welfare of children, when boys of five and girls of three and seven visit their shrine.

shintai—A sacred symbol of *kami,* such as the mirror enshrined at Ise, which is the *shintai* of Amaterasu.

Shinto—Japanese religion that developed from prehistoric folk religions, featuring the worship of *kami.*

shogun—Military dictator. Shoguns ruled Japan from the end of the 12th century to 1867.

shrine—Shinto sacred building where *kami* are enshrined and prayers are offered.

Shrine Shinto (Jinja Honcho)—A form of Shinto in which priests perform rites as if *kami* are present.

State Shinto—A nonreligious form of Shinto, made obligatory during the Meiji Restoration and banned after World War II.

Tenrikyo—A religion founded by Miki Nakayama in 1838, based on Shinto. It was the first of the New Religions to gain many followers and is still attracting adherents.

Tokugawa Period—A period of strict rule by Tokugawa shoguns, from 1603 to 1864.

torii—Sacred gateway to a Shinto shrine.

tutelary *kami*—Guardian kami of local shrines; the *kami* that protect people living in a given area.

uji—Clan

Yamato—Geographical area south of Nara in central Japan; clan from which the imperial line emerged.

Yasukuni—Tokyo shrine that enshrines war dead as *kami*.

zen—Form of Buddhism widely practiced in Japan.

INDEX

A
Amano-Oshihomimi 26, 27
Amaterasu O-Mikami (sun goddess) 10, 18, 20–23, 24, 26–27, 35, 42, 55, 84, 122
Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honcho) 14, 81, 89, 91, 129, 130, 133

B
birth ritual *(miyamairi)* 103
Boy's Festival (Tango no Sekku) 104, 107
buddhism 10, 13, 44–47, 49, 50–58, 61, 71, 74, 118
business, Shinto in 132–133

C
ceremonies 91–92
charms 99, 100, 115
children, rites of passage 103–104
Chinese culture 42–47
cleanliness 11, 84, 85
coming-of-age rituals 104
Confucianism 13, 42, 43, 48, 49
creation of Japan 18–19

D
Daoism 11, 13, 43–44, 48
death 47; Festival of the Dead 102; funerals 107
Dengyo Daishi 56
doka ("poems of the way") 135
Doll Festival (Hinu Matsuri) 104, 107
domestic Shinto 14, 33, 111
dress: ceremonial 89; weddings 105–106

E
education 15, 66, 70, 72
eight "mental dusts" 73
Eightfold Path 52
ethics 48, 49, 72, 132–133, 137
exorcism 39

F
festivals 38, 40, 54, 55, 62, 89, 94–103, 107, 130–132, 136; children's festivals 103–104; Nenju Gyoji 102; New Year Festival 97–100
flower festival 102
Folk Shinto 14
food, gods of 24, 33
Four Noble Truths 52
funerals 107
Fushini Inari Shrine, Tokyo 100, 116
Futsu-nushi (god of fire) 26

G
Gautama, Siddhartha 50–51
gods and spirits *See kami*
Great Exorcism or Purification 39, 100–103
guardians of the shrine 117

H
Hachiman (god) 56
harai See purification
Hinu Matsuri (Doll Festival) 104, 107
Hirohito, Emperor 72, 80, 81
Hoho-demi 24, 28
home, gods of the 33, 111
hykudo ("hundred times stone") 116

I
Imperial Charter Oath 70
Imperial Household Shinto 13
imperial line, established by the *kojiki* 29, 31
Inari (god of rice) 24, 33
Izanagi and Izanami 18–20, 24, 32, 100

J
Japan: the creation of 18–19; culture and Shinto mythology 34; history of Shinto in 12–14, 36–42; invasion of China 78; Japanese life, Shinto in 15; militarism in 75–80; nationalism in 64–81; postwar Japan 128–137; religion in 8–10, 42–47, 49, 50–63, 70–75; the shoguns 58–64, 68; Taika Reform 47–48; trade in 66–68; World War I (1914–18) 76; World War II (1939–45) 76–80
Jimmu Tenno 24, 29, 42, 78
Jingo, Empress 40
Jishu Shrine, Kyoto 124

K
Kami-nari (god of sky thunder) 31
kami no michi (the way of the *kami*) 10
kami (spirits, gods) 10–11, 16–35, 40–41, 135–136; blessings of 84–85; and the Buddhist gods 54, 55; the creation of Japan 18–19; Emperors living as 72–73; Hachiman 56; in the home 33, 110–111; principal *kami* 24; refreshing the *kami* 117; rituals and 86–88; soldiers as 72–73; summoning the *kami* 86; writings on 16–18
kamikazes ("winds of the gods") 78, 80
Kasuga Shrine 123

Kobo Daishi (774–835) 55, 56
Kojiki ("Record of Ancient Matters") 16, 48, 67, 119
Kukai (774-835) 55, 56
Kuku-no-shi (god of the trees) 19
Kura-okami (god of rain and snow) 29
Kurozumikyo sect 74–75
Kushinada-hime 24–25

M
marriage 104–106
Meiji, Emperor 13, 67, 68–71, 76, 123
Miki, Nakayama (1798–1887) 73, 74
miko (shrine maidens) 89, 91
mikoshi 96–97
militarism: the rise of 75–80; soldiers as *kami* 72–73
mirrors 27, 35, 118, 119–120, 122
miyamairi (birth ritual) 103
Munetada, Kurozumi 74–75, 135
Mutsuhito, Emperor *see* Meiji, Emperor

N
Narkari (god of sky thunder) 31
nature, spirits and 10–11, 15, 38, 108
New Religions *See* Sect Shinto
New Year Festival 97–100, 102
Nihongi ("Chronicles of Japan") 16, 20, 25, 48, 54
Ninigi 24, 27–28, 35, 122
nirvana 52–53
norito (prayers) 11, 38–39, 63, 88, 103

O
offerings *(shinsen)* 85, 86–87, 92, 118
Oho-kuni-nushi 24, 25, 26–27

P
Peace Constitution (1946) 129, 130
pilgrimages 132
poetry: *doka* 135; the tanka 67, 76
prayers 11, 38–39, 63, 84, 88, 97, 103
priests 72, 86, 88–91
purification *(harai)* 11, 39, 84, 119; after a death 47; festivals and 100–103; of the mind 73; before visiting shrines 85; *yutate* ritual 92–93

R
rites of passage 103–107
rituals: death 47; *harai* (purification) 11, 39, 47, 73, 84, 85, 86, 92–93, 100–103, 119; *norito* (prayers) 11, 38–39, 63, 88; rites of passage 103–107; *shinsen* (offerings) 85, 86–87, 92, 118; before visiting shrines 85
Ryobu Shinto 55–56, 71

S
sakaki tree *(Cleyera japonica)* 31, 92, 116–117, 119
samurai 66, 70
Sect Shinto 13, 73–75, 128, 133–135
shinsen (offerings) 85, 86–87, 92, 118
shintai 27, 32–33, 96, 118
shoguns, the 58–64, 68
Shotoku, Prince 47–48
shrine maidens *(miko)* 89, 91
Shrine Shinto 14, 49
shrines 11, 41, 54, 55–56, 108–125, 129, 135–136; festivals and 96, 98; Folk Shinto and 14; Fushini Inari Shrine 100, 116; Imperial Household Shinto 1313; Inari Shrine 123; Ise Shrines 81, 121–123; Itsukushima Shrine 123; Izumo Shrine 124; Jishu Shrine 124; Kasuga Shrine 123; Meiji Shrine 100, 123; *miyamairi* (birth ritual) 103; refreshing the *kami* 117; rituals before visiting 85; shrine maidens *(miko)* 89, 91; the torii 12, 115–116; tourism and 15, 110, 129, 132; Yasukuni Shrine 72–73, 123, 130
spirits *See Kami*
State Shinto 13, 70–73, 128
Susanowo (storm god) 20, 21–25, 35, 55, 67, 84

T
Taika Reform 47–48
Tango no Sekku Festival 104, 107
tanka, the 67, 76
Temmu, Emperor 16, 48, 121, 122
Tenrikyo sect 13, 73–74
Tokugawa government 60–63
torii, 12, 115–116
tourism 15, 110, 129, 132
Toyo-Tama-bimi 28–29

U
uji (clans) 36–38, 41–42
Uzume (goddess of mirth) 23, 24, 84

W
weddings 104–106
women, as priests 89–91

Y
Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo 72–73, 123, 130
Yomi-tsu-kuni (land of darkness) 19, 24, 32
yutate (purification) ritual 92–93

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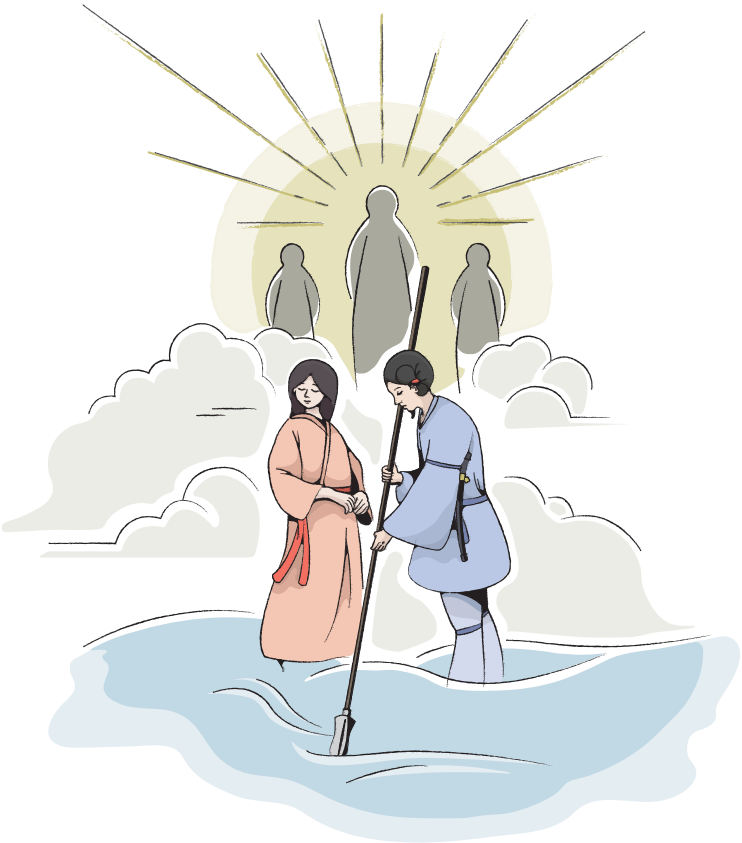
Shinto Myths

The Beginning

When the heavens and the earth first appeared, three kami came into existence in Takamanohara (the High Plains of the Heavens). Their names were Amenominakanushi-no-Kami, Takamimusuhi-no-Kami, and Kamimusuhi-no-Kami. Each of these kami was self-sufficient, and their forms were hidden.



The land was still unformed, floating like oil on water and pulsing like a jellyfish. Next, a kami arose there from the power of growth, emerging like a reed pushing its shoots out of the mud. This kami was called Umashiashikabihikoji-no-Kami. The next kami to appear was Amenotokotachi-no-Kami. These two kami were also self-sufficienr, and their forms were hidden. These five kami are the special kami of the heavens.

Next, the seven generations of the age of the kami were born. The first two generations were self-sufficient kami with hidden forms, but the next five generations were pairs of kami, one male and one female. The first of the seven generations was Kuninotokotachi-no-Kami, and the seventh generation was Izanagi-no-Kami and Izanami-no-Kami.

The kami of the heavens now spoke to Izanagi and Izanami, presenting them with the jewelled spear of heaven and telling them to go to the unformed earth to establish it and make it solid. So Izanagi and Izanami stood on Amenoukihashi (the Floating Bridge of the Heavens), and thrust the spear into the waters of the sea, stirring them around and around. As they raised the spear from the waters, salt fell, drop by drop, from its tip, and built up the island of Onogoroshima.

Izanagi and Izanami went down to this island, where they set up the pillar of the heavens and a great hall.

Origins

These myths tell of the origins of the world, called “Tenchikaibyaku” in Japanese. There does not seem to be a single kami (deity) responsible for the process, and it seems to be described, for the most part, as a natural process of birth and growth.

Izanagi and Izanami

On Onogoroshima, Izanagi and Izanami shared their attraction for each other, and agreed to get married. Izanagi proposed that they walk round the pillar of the heavens, Izanami from the right and he from the left, and confirm their marriage when they met.

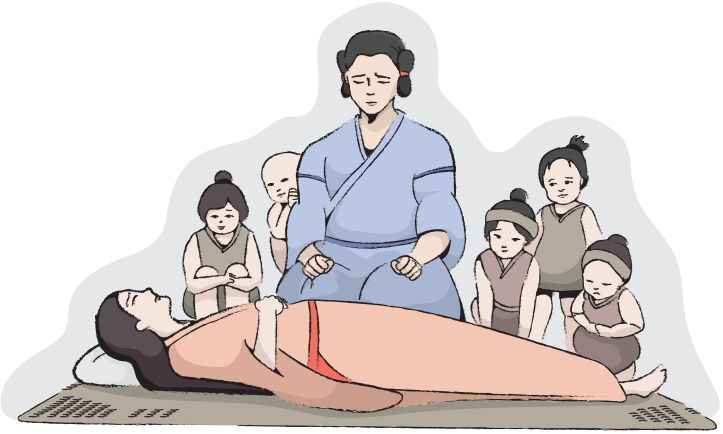
So they walked around the pillar, and when they met Izanami said,

"Oh! What a lovely man!"

"Oh! What a lovely woman!" replied Izanagi.

They made love, and Hiruko was born. This child was placed in a boat of reeds, and cast away on the sea. Then Awashima was born, and this child is also not counted as one of their children.

The two kami were unable to bear suitable children. They discussed what to do about the problem, and agreed to consult the kami of the heavens. So the two kami returned to Takamanohara and asked what they should do. The kami of the heavens cast an oracle, and determined that it had happened because the woman had spoken first. They told Izanagi and Izanami to return to the earth and try again.



The two kami descended once more to Onogoroshima, and once more walked around the pillar, just as before. This time, when they met, Izanagi spoke first.

"Oh! What a lovely woman!"

"Oh! What a lovely man!" Izanami replied.

This time, Izanami gave birth to many healthy children. First she bore all the islands of the Japanese archipelago, and then she bore the kami of the earth and the winds, the plains and the mountains, the trees and the grasses, the rivers and the seas. Finally, she bore the kami of fire, but in giving birth to him she was badly burned. From her suffering she birthed the kami of metals and of soil and of springs, but at last she died and left this world.

Marriage and Birth

This myth is generally taken to tell of the origins of marriage, and of the various places and phenomena that make up the islands of Japan. Hiruko is now often identified with Ebisu, one of the most popular kami.

Yomi-no-Kuni and Amaterasu Ōmikami

In his grief at his wife's death, Izanagi descended to Yomi-no-Kuni, the land of the dead, to seek her out. He found the door closed to him, and called out, "Oh, my beloved wife! The country we were creating together is not yet finished! Come back to me!".

"Ah! If only you had come a little sooner! I have eaten the food of Yomi-no-Kuni, and now cannot return. But I will consult the kami of this land as to whether something can be done. Do not look at me yet!"

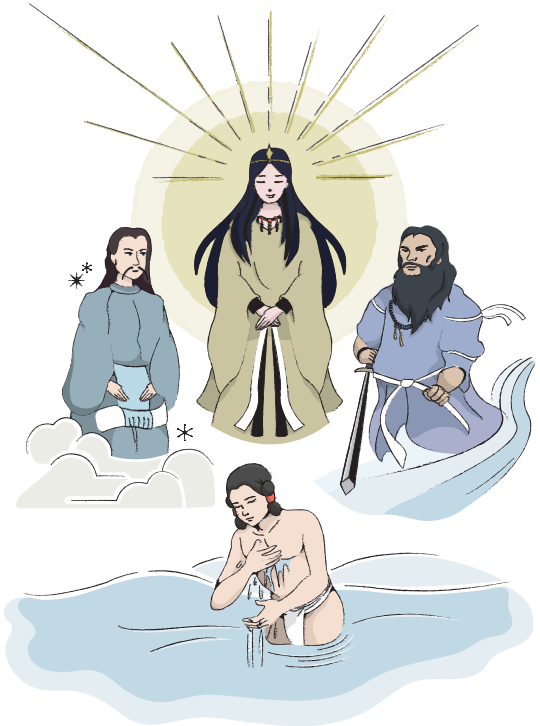
Izanagi waited in the dark outside the door, but Izanami did not return for a long time, and he could wait no longer. He snapped a single tine off one of his combs, and lit it. In the light of that flame, he saw Izanami's body, writhing with maggots, and with thunders squatting over the whole of it. In his terror, he fled.

Crying "You have so embarrassed me!", Izanami gave chase, pursuing Izanagi to Yomotsuhirasaka, the boundary between the worlds. There, Izanagi took a stone that even a thousand men would find it hard to move, and blocked the path. Izanami raged from beyond it.

"My beloved husband, if you do this, then I will kill one thousand people of your country every day."

"My beloved wife, I you do that, I will cause fifteen hundred people to be born every day." And there they parted.

Izanagi saw that he had become polluted in his visit to Yomi-no-Kuni, and went to the seashore to purify himself. As he threw off his clothes, many kami were born from them. When he entered the water, the first kami born were kami of defilement, but after them were born kami of purification. As Izanagi washed in the lower currents, middle currents, and upper currents,



three kami of the sea and three kami of voyages upon it were born.

Finally, when he washed his left eye, Amaterasu Ōmikami was born. When he washed his right eye, Tsukuyomi-no-Kami was born. And when he washed his nose, Susano'o-no-Kami was born. Izanagi rejoiced when he saw these noble children, and set Amaterasu Ōmikami to rule the heavens, Tsukuyomi to rule the night, and Susano'o to rule the seas.

Death and Purification

This myth is thought to tell of the origins of death, and resembles myths from around the world of journeys to the land of the dead to retrieve a loved one. Death has been widely regarded as a source of defilement in the history of Shinto, and Izanagi's actions to purify himself are often seen as the origin of purification customs, which play a major part in the veneration of the kami. The birth of Amaterasu Ōmikami is a very important moment in the legends.

Amaterasu and Susano'o

Alas, Susano'o would not rule his country, but spent all his time crying, weeping so hard that the forests on the mountains withered and died. Izanagi demanded to know why he was crying, and Susano'o replied that he wanted to go to his mother's country. Izanagi was furious.

"In that case, get out and go to your mother!"

Susano'o left, but felt that he should bid his sister, Amaterasu Ōmikami, farewell first, and climbed to Takamanohara, his footsteps shaking the mountains and rivers. Amaterasu Ōmikami feared that he was coming to seize her land, so she armed and dressed herself as a man and went to meet him, planting her feet and blocking his path.

"Why have you come here?" she demanded.

"I have no ill intent!" Susano'o protested. "I simply came to bid you farewell."

"How can you prove that?"

"Let us bear children to determine the truth," Susano'o replied.

So Amaterasu Ōmikami took Susano'o's sword, folded it in three, and chewed it up. Three female kami were born from the mist she spit out.

Then Susano'o took Amaterasu Ōmikami's jewels, chewed them up, and spit out mist from which five male kami were born, of whom the eldest was Oshihomimi-no-Mikoto.

Amaterasu Ōmikami said, "The male kami were born from my jewels, so they are my children, while the female kami are yours."

Susano'o replied, "That proves that my heart is pure, as I gave birth to gentle women."

And so Amaterasu Ōmikami allowed him into Takamanohara, but Susano'o broke the dikes around her rice fields and defiled the sacred hall for venerating the kami with grain offerings. Even then, Amaterasu Ōmikami defended him. But then he skinned a horse backwards and dropped the body through a hole in the roof of the sacred weaving hall. In her shock, the weaver stabbed herself with the shuttle and died.

At this, Amaterasu Ōmikami could bear no more, and she hid herself in Ameno'iwayato, the Cave of the Heavens, closing herself within it.

Divination and Crimes

The confrontation between Susano'o and Amaterasu Ōmikami is widely believed to be a kind of fortune-telling, "ukei" in Japanese, but there is little agreement about the details, and other versions of the myth provide different explanations of the meaning of the results. The actions of Susano'o in Takamanohara are the crimes listed as the "crimes of the heavens" in the oldest surviving purification prayer in Shinto, and most scholars agree that they are all concerned with harm to the community and interference with the rites performed in honour of the kami.

The Cave of the Heavens

When Amaterasu Ōmikami withdrew to Ameno'iwayato, unrelenting darkness covered the heavens and the earth. The myriad kami gathered on the banks of a river, and decided to ask the son of Takamimusuhi, Omoikane-no-Kami, for advice on what they should do.

They gathered the long-calling cockerels of the eternal land, and had them call. Stone and metal were gathered from Takamanohara, and Ishikoridome-no-Mikoto fashioned a mirror, while Tamano'oya-no-Mikoto crafted strings of hundreds of jewels.

Amenokoyane-no-Mikoto and Futodama-no-Mikoto heated the shoulder blade of a stag from the mountain of Amenokaguyama to divine the proper thing to do.

Then Amenokoyane and Futodama uprooted a sakaki tree from Amenokaguyama, and hung the beads on its upper branches, the mirror on its middle branches, and white and blue cloth on its lower branches. Futodama carried this before the cave as an offering, and Amenokoyane recited a prayer of celebration, as Amenotajikarao-no-Kami hid himself beside the entrance to Ameno'iwayato.

Amenouzume-no-Mikoto adorned herself with a sash and crown made of the plants of Amenokaguyama, and, bearing bundles of bamboo leaves in her hands, stepped onto an upturned vessel before Ameno'iwayato to dance, pounding the vessel with her feat. As she danced, she became lost in the dance, opened her robes to expose her nakedness.

The gathered kami laughed at this, and within the cave Amaterasu Ōmikami was puzzled.

"It must be dark outside, so why are the kami so happy?"

From outside the cave, Amenouzume called her reply.

"A greater kami than you has come, and so we rejoice."

Amenokoyane and Futodama held the mirror out to where Amaterasu Ōmikami was peeping out of the cave, and she became even more suspicious, pushing the door to the cave open slightly.

As she did, Tajikarao seized her arm and pulled her out of the cave, and Futodama immediately stretched a sacred rope across the entrance so that she could not return.

Light was returned to the world.

Matsuri

Luring Amaterasu Ōmikami from the cave is one of the central myths of Shinto, and is generally believed to be modelled on early Shinto ceremonies. Offerings, prayers of celebration, and sacred dance are still important parts of modern rites, although the details of what is offered, and of the dances, have changed considerably.

The Descent from the Heavens

Time passed, and Amaterasu Ōmikami's son, Oshihomimi, married Takamimusuhi's daughter, Yorozuhatatoyoakitsushihime-no-Mikoto. Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takamimusuhi decided that Oshihomimi should rule the islands of Japan, and sent other kami to pacify the lands first. When they returned, Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takamimusuhi told Oshihomimi that it was time for him to descend to earth, but he said,

"While I was preparing, my son Hononinigi-no-Mikoto was born. He should rule the islands instead."

And so Hononinigi was sent to earth in his father's place. Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takamimusuhi commanded Amenokoyane, Futodama, Amenouzume, Ishikoridome, and Tamano'oya to accompany him.

Before he left, Amaterasu Ōmikami gave Hononinigi the mirror that had hung outside Ameno'iwayato, and told him,

"Honour this mirror as my spirit, and revere it as if you were before me."

Then Hononinigi and his companions left the heavens, parted the many layered clouds before them, descended Amenoukihashi and reached the earth at Takachiho. Hononinigi said,

"This land faces the ocean, and is lit by the rising sun in the morning, and the setting sun in the evening. This is a good land." And there he built a palace with pillars reaching down to foundations of the earth and roofbeams reaching up to the heavens. Hononinigi's descendants became the Tennō, in a line that continues today.

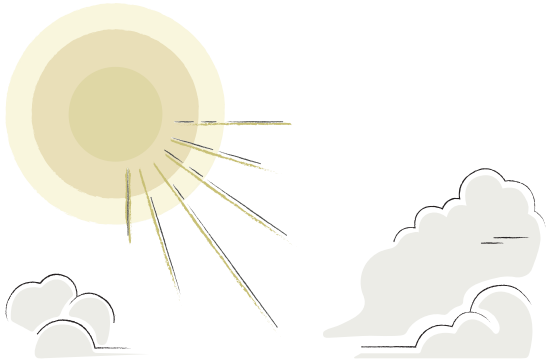
Tennō

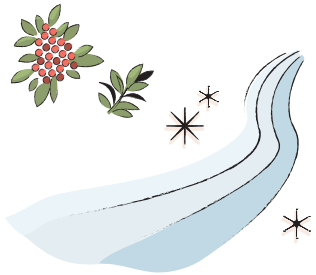
This myth, known as "Tensonkōrin" in Japanese, tells of the origin of the line of the Tennō, which is said to have continued to the present day. The first to take the formal title ("Sumeramikoto" in old Japanese) was Hononinigi's great-grandson, Jinmu Tennō. The kami who descend with Hononinigi are those who played an important role in the myth of the cave of the heavens, and the mirror is still today the sacred object at Jingū, in Ise, the most sacred site in Japan.

Sources of Myths

There are several ancient texts that record the myths of Japan. The oldest, and the one that was used as the basis for the myths told in this booklet, is the *Kojiki*, or *Record of Ancient Matters*, which was completed in 712. The *Kojiki* organises the myths into a single narrative, and it is the most important source for the myths today.

The *Nihonshoki*, or *Record of Japan*, was completed in 720. It was the first of the official histories compiled by the ancient Japanese state, and its first two volumes deal with the activities of the kami. The *Nihonshoki* records multiple versions of most myths, and sometimes they differ in very important ways. For example, in the main text of the *Nihonshoki* Izanami gives birth to Amaterasu Ōmikami, Tsukuyomi, and Susano'o after all the other kami, when she and Izanagi decide that it is time to give birth to kami who can rule the lands they have created. Many of the myths in the *Kojiki* appear as one of the versions in the *Nihonshoki*, but not all.

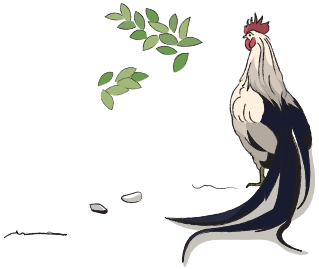




Other surviving sources include the *Kogoshūi* and *Sendaikujihongi*, slightly later texts that tell much the same stories as the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshok*i, but with a few important differences and additions, and the Fudoki, eighth century records of the regions of Japan that include brief myths, or fragments of myths, associated with the area they are describing.

These myths, and the kami that appear in them, remain important in Shinto. They illustrate important truths about the world, about the history of Japan, and about the origins of Shinto ritual. The myth of the cave of heaven, for example, is a description of early Shinto ritual.

There are many myths that are not described in this booklet, and English translations of the *Kojiki* are available if you would like to know more.



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Published in November 2024

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Research Work
Shinto-Japanese Gods

Yerevan 2024

Contents

Introduction
Chapter one: Shinto Religion /Mythology
Chapter two: The Gods

- Izanami and Izanagi
- Izanagi-Purification Ceremony and the Birth of Mihashira no uzuno miko (three noble children)
- Izanami- Shinigami
- Mihashira no uzuno miko (three noble children)
- Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi
- Amaterasu and Susanoo
- Amaterasu descendants

Chapter three: Shinto Shrines

- Shinto architecture
- Etiquette of shrines
- Gods' shrines

Conclusion

Introduction

Learning different religions is just as important and interesting as any other subject. Learning them does not necessarily mean changing your faith, they don't only teach faith, they give knowledge. I myself view them as an art and philosophy.
Today, Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam are the major religions practiced worldwide, each with millions of followers. However, well before these religions emerged, ancient civilizations such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome had had diverse beliefs. Despite differences, these ancient beliefs shared similarities, often beginning with cosmogony, the creation of the world. Although historians commonly label them as mythologies or legends rather than religions, they played a significant role in shaping the cultural and spiritual landscape of their respective societies.
My curiosity in Shinto, started when I got interested in Japan and their language. Mythology plays a very big role in their culture. Most of their art, drama, literature and tradition are based on their myths and legends, I'll go in much more detail in the next chapters.
In chapter one I'm going to talk about Shinto religion, its role and everything in general. Chapter two is about the Gods, their duties, legends and so on. And the third one will be about their shrines.

For better understanding I made a folder of photos so you'll have an idea of what I'm talking about.

Chapter one: Shinto Religion /Mythology

Shintoism, Japan's native religion, has been practiced since ancient times, serving as a link between modern Japan and its historical roots. Broadly speaking, Shinto has no founder. It was already present when Japanese culture began to take shape. Unlike religions like Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, Shinto doesn't have an official scripture like the Bible or the Qur'an. Instead, the Kojiki ("Records of Ancient Matters") and the Nihon shoki ("Chronicles of Japan"), written in 712 and 720 CE respectively, are considered important texts. They compile oral traditions of ancient Shinto and also discuss the history, geography, and literature of ancient Japan. Despite its long history, many of the well-known Shinto traditions, like hatsumode and matsuri, were developed during and after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.
When a 15-year-old boy was made into the Emperor of Japan during the Meiji era, the court looked for more than just a bloodline to secure the Emperor's position. Wanting to distance themselves from Buddhism, associated with the Tokugawa Shoguns who had ruled for over 200 years, the new court embraced Shinto as the symbol of the Emperor. However, to refine Shinto for public representation, new festivities and traditions were introduced during this period.

The term "Shinto" translates to 'the way of the gods.' Shinto beliefs revolve around celebrating nature, where everything is believed to possess a spirit called kami. In fact, there are 8 million Shinto gods. This spiritual essence is found in ancient trees, mountains, and waterfalls, as well as celebrations of the beauty of each season. Shinto philosophies center around life and existence, offering beautiful and encouraging beliefs. In Shinto, there are no strict absolutes of right and wrong, and perfection is not expected. Shinto it's an optimistic faith, as humans are thought to be fundamentally good, and evil is believed to be caused by evil spirits. Shinto rituals focus on purifying and protecting against these spirits through prayers, offerings, and ceremonies dedicated to the kami (Shinto deities).

The essence of Shinto is purity. As a matter of fact, it is the purity of literally everything: spirit, body and even mind. Even nowadays, this can be seen in the way Japanese people live, like avoiding shrine visits when sick due to the impurity of body. Another example, many wedding ceremonies are held in Shinto style. Death, however, is considered a source of impurity and is left to Buddhism to deal with. So, there are more or less no Shinto cemeteries, and most funerals are held in Buddhist style.

Shintoism dates back to the 8th century AD, originally existing as a collection of beliefs and myths rather than a unified religion. Despite the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, Shintoism continued and even unified with Buddhism. This unification allowed Buddhist figures to take on Shinto identities, and Shinto kami were believed to pursue Buddhist knowledge. This coexistence allowed people to embrace both religions without abandoning their traditional beliefs, making Buddhism more accessible to a wide range of people.
The influence of Buddhism, known for creating images of deities, introduced the production of statues and paintings portraying Shinto deities around the eighth century. Since there were no specific descriptions of the appearance of kami in scriptures, early craftsmen portrayed them as men and women in courtly clothing. These images were

typically kept hidden in the inner safe house of shrines, worshipped from the outside by practitioners.

The earliest holy objects in Shinto were mirrors, swords, and jewels discovered in ancient burial sites.
Shintoism also includes elements of magic and totemism. A cherished tradition involves carrying a talisman called omamori. Originally designed for protection against hostile deities, these charms are now used for good luck in various aspects of life such as studies, love, marriage, work, exams and so on.

Shinto has lots of holidays, with festivals (matsuri) being particularly significant. During these occasions, religious dances are performed, and a common modern practice involves offering cash as a sacrifice at shrines. These shrines host festivals to connect with the kami and show the outside world to them. The most important Shinto celebration is the New Year, symbolizing fresh beginnings and the arrival of spring. People visit shrines, pray, get good luck charms and seek blessings for success in the new year.

The primary goddess in Shinto is Amaterasu. She is the one who created the universe, and the Imperial Family bears her bloodline. Amaterasu is the goddess of the sun. I'll dive deeper into her story in the next chapter.
The most important shrine in Shinto is "Ise Jingu". As you might have guessed, it is dedicated to Amaterasu. It is actually a shrine complex and is visited by hundreds if not thousands of people on daily basis.

Shinto art highlights key elements like shrine architecture, Japanese tea ceremony, flower arrangement and the commitment to preserving ancient art forms such as Noh theater, calligraphy, and court music (gagaku), it's a dance music that originated in the courts of Tang China (618-907).

Understanding Shintoism is quite easy. In Shinto belief, when a family member dies, they become a kami—a protective spirit for their descendants. As I have already mentioned above, the Emperor is considered as a direct descendant of Amaterasu, making them divine. However, even ordinary individuals can become kami after death. In essence, Shintoism revolves around the idea of ancestors becoming kami and offering protection to their living relatives.

Chapter two: The Gods

"Shinto gods" are called kami. They are sacred spirits which take the form of things and concepts important to life, such as wind, rain, mountains, trees, rivers and fertility. Humans become kami after they die and are revered by their families as ancestral kami.

Izanami and Izanagi

Izanagi and Izanami, a divine couple in Japanese mythology, played a key role in creating Japan's islands and gave birth to many important kami. Their story is found in the Kojiki, a mythological text from the 8th century CE.

In the beginning, there were two realms: the heavens, called Takamagahara, and the earth, known as Ashihara-no-nakatsukuni. The heavens were populated by many gods, while the earth remained chaotic mass, much like drops of oil floating on water, or jellyfish drifting aimlessly.
From three primal gods- Amenominakanushi, Takamimusubi, and Kamimusubi-came seven generations of gods and goddesses. The seventh generation consisting of the male kami Izanagi (he who invites) and the female kami Izanami (she who invites).

Izanagi and Izanami were tasked by the older generations of kami to bring order to the chaotic world. They were given a jeweled spear called Ama no Nuboko to help them. From the Heavenly Floating Bridge, they looked down at the chaos and began stirring it with the spear. When they lifted it, a drop fell, creating the island of Onogoro. They decided to make their home there and built a palace there called the Eight Measure Palace, with a pillar called the Heavenly August Pillar at its center.

Izanami and Izanagi, settled in their new home, decided it was time to start a family. They circled the Heavenly August Pillar, Izanagi to the left and Izanami to the right, meeting each other. In spontaneous delight, Izanami called out, "What a fine young man!" Izanagi replied, "What a fine young woman!" However, he complained that Izanami should have let him take the lead.
The couple, unsure of their next steps, received guidance from two friendly wagtails. Eventually, Izanami gave birth to a son named Hiruko, yet he was born limbless and without bones—a leech child. They placed him on a reed boat, destined to drift away to a melancholy destiny. Despite a second attempt, Izanami and Izanagi faced disappointment once more with their offspring.

Sad and disappointed, Izanami and Izanagi went to Heaven seeking guidance from the elder kami. The gods confirmed Izanagi’s suspicion that Izanami greeting her husband first was the mistake, it was unnatural for the female partner to take the lead, causing their children to be misshapen. They returned home, and this time, when they circled the pillar, Izanagi greeted his wife first, leading to a better outcome.

Afterward, Izanami gave birth to the islands of Awaji, Shikoku, Oki Kyushu and Tsushima. The biggest island, Honshu, was born last. They named this land Oyashimakumi, meaning the Land of Eight Great Islands. Later, Izanami also gave birth to the smaller surrounding islands.

Having given birth to the land, Izanami began to give birth to the kami that would give it shape.

- Ukemochi, goddess of food
- Ogetsuhime, goddess of food, water, and happiness
- Kaya-no-hime, goddess of grass and fields
- Kagu-tsuchi, god of fire
- Suijin, god of water
- Kuraokami, god of rain and snow
- Iwasaku, god of stone masonry
- Narukami, god of thunder
- Fujin, god of wind

In giving birth to the kami of fire, Kagutsuchi, she burned her genitalia, got sick, and eventually died, despite her husband's attempts to save her. As Izanami died, further kami were born from her urine, faeces and vomit. Death and sorrow had also entered the world.
Grief-stricken, Izanagi wept and his tears created more kami. Enraged, he cut off Kagutsuchi's head, the one whose birth had caused his wife's death. More kami emerged from his sword covered in blood.
According to the "Kojiki," Izanami's body was buried in Hibanoyama Mountain, now Hakuta-cho, Yasugi City, Shimane Prefecture. However, an addition to the "Nihonshoki" states that her body was buried in Arima-mura, Kumano, Kii Province, specifically at Hananoiwaya-jinja Shrine in Arima, Kumano City, Mie Prefecture.

After mourning Izanami's loss deeply, Izanagi resolved to bring her back. He set off on a dangerous journey to Yomi, the Land of the Dead. Upon reaching a grand mansion guarded by terrifying demons, he sneaked in through a back entrance. Inside, he found his wife, and their reunion filled them both with joy.

Izanagi begged Izanami to come back to the living world with him, but she sadly explained that she couldn't because she had eaten food in Yomi. It was believed that eating anything from the land of the dead would bind one to that realm, a concept known as Yomotsu-hegui. Despite this, Izanami agreed to speak with the resident deities to see if there was any possibility of returning with Izanagi.

Before leaving, Izanami asked her husband not to enter the mansion or look at her. He agreed, but after a day passed with no sign of her, Izanagi couldn't resist and went inside, looking for her. He broke the teeth off a comb called Yutsutsuna-kushi, which he was wearing in his left hair-bunch (mizura, a male hairstyle), lit a fire with them, and looked into the building.
Wandering within the mansion by the frail light of his torch, Izanagi was horrified to come across the body of his wife. That once beautiful Izanami was now just decaying flesh filled with maggots, her voice strangled and choked, and on top of that, eight thunder gods were clinging to her body.

Terrified by her appearance, Izanagi tried to run back. However, Izanami felt shame at her repulsive appearance being seen, and commanded Yomotsu-shikome (a hag from Yomi) and had her chase Izanagi.
Izanagi tossed aside the vine loop on his head, which then turned into grapes, distracting Yomotsu-shikome as she ate them. But she kept chasing him. So, he threw his bamboo comb called Yutsutsuna-kushi, which he was wearing in his right hair-bunch, it instantly grew into bamboo shoots, giving him another chance to escape while she was busy eating them.
In addition, Izanami sent the eight thunder gods and soldiers from the land of the dead after Izanagi. Despite him fending them off with a Totsuka no Tsurugi sword, they continued to pursue him. Upon reaching Yomotsu Hirasaka (the slope that leads to the land of the dead), where was the boundary between the land of the dead and the living, Izanagi threw three peaches at his pursuers, causing them to flee.
Here, Izanagi said to the peaches 'please help people as well when they are in trouble,' and named them Okamuzumi no mikoto.

In the end, Izanami chased Izanagi as he closed off the Yomotsu Hirasaka with a huge boulder that would take a thousand people to move it, so that no evil spirits could come out. They stood on opposite sides, deciding to part ways. Izanami, behind the barrier, threatened to kill a thousand people daily and give birth to evil spirits and yokai (spirits) of death. In response, Izanagi vowed that one thousand five hundred people would be born every day. This resolved the conflict, ensuring the safety of the living world.

Following that event, Izanami earned the titles Yomotsu Okami (the great god of the Underworld) or Chishiki no Okami (the god who caught up with Izanagi). The boulder used to seal the entrance to the Underworld is known as Chikaeshi no Okami (the god of the return path to the Yominokuni) or Yomito no Okami (the god of the Underworld's entrance). Additionally, according to the Kojiki, Yomotsu Hirasaka is located at the Ifuya no saka pass in Izumo Province, which is now Higashi Izumo Town in Shimane Prefecture.

Izanagi later performed a purification and cleansing ritual called 'harai' after seeing his wife's decaying body. This act is considered the origin of harai, a key purification practice in Shinto.

Izanagi-Purification Ceremony and the Birth of Mihashira no uzuno miko (three noble children)

Izanagi went to Awaaki-hara near the Tachibana river mouth in Himuka, Tsukushi, to purify himself from the impurity of Yominokuni. As he removed his clothes, twelve gods were born.
When he entered the middle stream to cleanse himself, saying, 'The upper stream flows too swift and downstream too weak,' two gods were born. These gods were born from the impurity of the Yominokuni.
Next, he tried to heal the evil, and another three gods were born.
Another two gods were born by him purifying himself at the bottom of the water.

Another two were born by him purifying himself in the middle of the water.
Another two were born by him purifying himself on the surface of the water.

Sokotsu Watatsumi no Kami (the sea god of the bottom), Nakatsu Watatsumi no Kami (the sea god of the middle), and Uwatsu Watatsumi no Kami (the sea god of the upper) were believed in by people like the Azumi no Muraji, bureaucrats in the seventh century. They were thought to be the descendants of Utsushi Hikana Saku no Mikoto, the son of these three gods.

The three great gods of Sumie(Sumiyoshi-taisha Shrine), also known as Sumiyoshi Sanjin, are Sokotsutsu no O no Kami (god of navigation at the bottom), Nakatsutsu no O no Kami (god of navigation in the middle), and Uwatsutsu no O no Kami (god of navigation in the upper).

After Izanagi washed different parts of his body, three important deities were born: Amaterasu Omikami, the Sun Goddess, from his left eye; Tsukuyomi, the Moon Reader, from his right eye; and Susano, born from his nose. Izanagi was delighted that he got Mihashira no uzuno miko (three noble children) at last. He gave a necklace of beads, called Mikura Tana no Kami, to Amaterasu and tasked her with ruling Takamanohara, the high heaven. Tsukuyomi was entrusted with the realm of the night (Yoru no Osukuni), while Susano with the ocean.
While Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi happily took control of their realms, Susano did not. He acted out, rebelling against Amaterasu and the other gods in Takamagahara. It got so bad that he was driven out of Takamagahara and banished to earth.

Izanami- Shinigami

Initially, Izanami is seen as a mother goddess alongside her husband, Izanagi. Like a caring mother, she nurtures and protects women and children, and has the power to heal wounds. In this capacity, she is worshipped as a fertility goddess, ensuring the well-being and prosperity of her children and followers.
After Izanami dies, she becomes less nurturing and healing. Instead, she now oversees the souls of the dead. Despite this big change, her role remains crucial. Souls still need someone to guide them after death. So, although Izanami's role has changed, it's vital for the cycle of life and death to continue smoothly.

Izanami's name, meaning 'she who invites,' fits both her roles perfectly. As a nurturing mother goddess, she invites new life and offers comfort and protection. Similarly, death, though frightening, is also inviting as it brings an end to suffering. From the moment we're born, death beckons us, and we gradually move towards it.

In Japanese mythology death is often represented by the figure of Shinigami. The word Shinigami is composed of: "shi," meaning death, and "Kami". Traditionally, 4 is an unlucky number because it is sometimes pronounced shi.

Shinigami, gods of death or death spirits, don't cause death directly. Instead, they guide or invite individuals towards their own demise. The term "Shinigami" isn't tied to a specific deity or spirit; it refers to various entities believed to bring death. Izanami is who many consider to be an example of the very first Shinigami.

Describing what they look like can be tricky because Shinigami can appear in many forms, such as gods, spirits, or demon-like figures. In early Japanese literature, they weren't really described as physical beings.

The Shinigami are similar to other aspects of Shinto religion, but their history isn't as ancient because they're a relatively recent creation. Their concept began to evolve when Japan encountered Western ideas about gods of death. Unlike Western cultures, where there were few such figures, Japan developed numerous Shinigami, often working together in pairs or groups.

In the 18th and 19th century classical literature, the portrayal of Shinigami started evolving. For instance, in works like Ehon Hyaku Monogatari, known as the picture book of a hundred stories, various yokai and supernatural beings are depicted.
In the story of 'Shinigami,' the Shinigami is portrayed as the spirit of someone who died but still holds onto negative intentions, much like a ghost or a poltergeist. It would influence the living to make bad choices, guiding them to locations where tragic events had taken place before. For instance, it might lead a suicidal person to spots where others had taken their lives, hoping to repeat history. This type of Shinigami was thought to possess individuals, gradually weakening their willpower and pushing them towards a desire for death.
In later years, it was believed that being possessed by this type of spirit would lead to difficulty in telling the truth or even speaking at all. These effects were seen as tactics used by the Shinigami to isolate their hosts from loved ones, making it harder for them to seek help. It was thought that the spirit could invade a person's thoughts, compelling them to relive past traumas until death seemed like the only escape.

Shinigami are not responsible for every death that occurs but they can sometimes end lives sooner than Intended.
There was an interesting tale about a man who felt completely fed up with his life. He thought about ending it all, but before he could, a Shinigami appeared before him. The Shinigami told him that his time hadn't come yet and explained that everyone's life is measured on a candle — once the flame burns out, that's when they die.

The way Shinigami are portrayed in this story is quite different from earlier depictions. Originally, they were shown as vengeful spirits, but now they seem to have no control over who lives or dies. Instead, they're simply informed when someone's time is up. They might even have the ability to sense when someone's time is near when the figurative candle is about to burn out.

To prevent the man from taking his own life, the Shinigami offers him a way to gain wealth. The man would pretend to be a doctor who claims he could cure any disease.

He was given a magical phrase that would send any Shinigami back to the underworld, thereby extending someone's life. However, the phrase would only work if the Shinigami is sitting at the foot of a person's bed. If the Shinigami is at the head of the bed, using the magical phrase would only result in the sick person's death. With his newfound knowledge the man indeed grew very rich.
One day, while visiting a sick patient, the man encountered the Shinigami hovering at the head of the bed. The family pleaded with him to save their loved one, offering him a large amount of money. Consumed by greed, the man accepted. When the Shinigami fell asleep, the patient cleverly switched the ends of the bed, uttering the magical words that banished the spirit back to the underworld. When the man got home, he found the same Shinigami, infuriated of what he had just done, waiting for him. The Shinigami proposed that all would be forgotten if they went for a drink to celebrate the man's newfound fortune. The man, unaware of the trick, agreed. He was taken to a candle-filled building and shown his own almost burnt-out candle, a result of his actions. He was told he could extend his life by transferring his candle's wick and wax to another, but it was a trick. Failing the task, he dropped his candle and died.

This story demonstrates that Shinigami are not only unpredictable but also have unique personalities. The first Shinigami was friendly, explaining death and even assisting the man in improving his life. But the following spirit was a vengeful Shinigami, furious over the man's interference, swore revenge and took his life as payment for the soul he had prevented the Shinigami from claiming.

In other cultures, death-related deities are typically portrayed as selfless figures doing a thankless job. However, Shinigami stand out because there are many of them, each with distinct personalities.

Over time in Japan, the role of the Shinigami has evolved significantly. Initially, they were associated with explaining death, especially suicide. Later, they transformed into vengeful spirits, capable of possessing and driving people to insanity until death. In recent depictions, they are depicted as demon-like gods who make deals with mortals to extend their own lives. The Shinigami are most definitely a mixed bag.

Mihashira no uzuno miko (three noble children)

During Izanagi's sacred bath, he birthed numerous deities and spirits. The god's eyes burned with sadness and between his tears, Amaterasu emerged from his left eye, shining brighter than any other deity, illuminating all around her. From his right eye came Tsukuyomi, who, while not as bright as his sister, possessed a charming luminosity. Finally dripping from his nose emerged the indomitable Susanoo, full of energy and spirit. Izanagi was proud of them, calling them his three noble children. Izanagi felt his task of filling the world was complete. Before departing for the high plain of heaven, he gifted his daughter Amaterasu a stunning necklace filled with magical jewels. From then on, she ruled over the heavens, bringing light to the world by day.

Tsukuyomi took charge of the night, becoming a lunar deity who governed the night and tides. Susanoo, known for his wild nature, was entrusted with the seas and storms.

Amaterasu is the radiant goddess of the sun, embodying Japan and the rising sun. As queen of the kami and ruler of the universe, she holds a central place in Shinto and Japanese spiritual beliefs.
Amaterasu translates to “Shines from Heaven”, with “heaven” represented by the character 天 and “shines” by -. It’s short for Amaterasu- ōmikami, written as 天照大神, 天照大御神, and 天照皇大神, meaning “the great and glorious kami who illuminates from Heaven”. Her main title is Ōhirume-no-muchi-no-kami, which means “The great sun of the kami”
The Japanese Imperial family, tracing their lineage back to Amaterasu, hold a prominent position in Japanese society. Their connection to Amaterasu, which symbolizes order and justice, was used as a justification for the caste system in pre-modern Japan. The Japanese Imperial family has historically played a key role in legitimizing political power. They've used their position to mirror the authority of Amaterasu, the Queen of Heaven, in their governance. So, the earthly courts and their sense of justice are seen as reflections of Amaterasu's divine justice, even though she isn't directly associated with justice herself; she serves as its ultimate judge. She maintains harmony and balance in both the natural world and human society.
Before the Meiji Restoration, Amaterasu was significant throughout Japan, even before Shinto became formalized. When Shinto was established as a state religion, Amaterasu's importance grew, and the Imperial family regained their position as leaders of Japan, which had become a democracy. Despite State Shinto being abolished after World War II, Amaterasu and the Imperial family continue to hold significance in Japanese spiritual beliefs.

Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto is the Japanese god of the moon, a proud deity of order and beauty.
Tsukuyomi, also known as Tsukuyomi-no-Mikoto, is often written as 月読尊 or simply 月読 in Kanji. The name means "moon-reading" and refers to the ancient Japanese tradition of staying up all night to gaze at the moon and read poetry. Another interpretation of the Kanji is "moon-light watching." Sometimes Tsukuyomi is referred to as Tsukuyomi Otoko or Tsukuhito Otoko, meaning "moon-reading man."
Tsukuyomi is all about beauty, calmness, and order. He's so committed to keeping things proper that he'll even resort to violence, even though that goes against the very rules he's trying to uphold. Thus, there is irony in Tsukuyomi’s strict adherence to etiquette: to enforce it, he is willing to break it.
Tsukuyomi wedded his sister Amaterasu, but whether he's the father of her children isn't certain. Some suggest he might be an ancestor of the Japanese Imperial Family, but it's not widely accepted.

Susanoo-no-Mikoto is the Japanese god of the sea and storms. A powerful and wild guardian kami, Susanoo’s moods are often as temperamental as his actions are chaotic.
Susanoo has various spellings and forms both in Japanese and English. In Japanese,

his name can be written as 建速須佐之男命 (Takehaya-Susanoo-no-Mikoto), 神須佐能袁命 (Kamususanoo), or simply as Susanoo: 素戔男尊、素戔嗚尊等、須佐乃袁尊, and 須佐能乎命. All of these can be translated as "the Great God Susanoo." In English, historically, his name has had various translations due to the ambiguity of the double o's, reflecting the lack of standardized Romaji after the Meiji Restoration (1868). Besides "Susanoo," common spellings include "Susan'o." Older translations include "Susano-o," "Susano'o," "Susano-no-O," and "Susanowo".
Susanoo is quite unpredictable, mirroring his domain over storms. He's often depicted as chaotic and untidy, matching his role as the god of storms. His shrines dot the South Japanese coast, reflecting his connection to the tempestuous seas there. Susanoo, like other storm and sea spirits, can be both helpful and harmful. Despite this ambiguity, he's still highly revered. His most famous deed is battling and defeating an eight-headed dragon.
Susanoo's family differs in each story, he has numerous wives and children. Besides his marriages, he's had many other partners and children with various women and kami.

Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi

Tsukuyomi and Amaterasu were always together. When you looked up at the sky, you'd see both the sun and the moon shining side by side. It was like day and night blurred into one.
Amaterasu was invited to a feast hosted by Ukemochi, the food goddess. Since she couldn't go, she sent her brother Tsukuyomi in her place. At the banquet, Tsukuyomi saw a table packed with delicious food. Suddenly, Ukemochi, holding an empty tray, appeared from behind a rock. But in the blink of an eye, she reappeared on the other side of the rock with the tray full of food. Tsukuyomi was amazed and wondered how she did it. The curious god peeked behind the rock and was stunned. Ukemochi vomited the rice she was about to serve, plucked vegetables and roots from her ears, milk flowed from her nose, and even unworthy holes produced food.
Tsukuyomi was disgusted by the grotesque scene and attacked the food goddess with his sword. As she fell, her pieces scattered, giving birth to various vegetables where they landed.
Amaterasu got really angry when she found out about her brother's violent actions while he was supposed to be representing her. She expelled him to the other side of the world. This split between Tsukuyomi and Amaterasu is the origin of day and night. Forever, Tsukuyomi will chase Amaterasu across the night sky but will never catch her. Even during an eclipse, the sun runs away from the moon.

Amaterasu and Susanoo
The gods saw how amazing Amaterasu was, she was hailed as the new ruler of the heavens, towering above the others. Susanoo was very angered when she was named the top deity. So, he started to cause trouble. He dried up rivers and the green vegetation of the sacred mountains began to dry up and die.
Izanagi noticed the chaos his son was creating and asked why he was acting that way, Susanoo explained his frustration at not being given an important role like his sister. He declared he'd rather be in the kingdom of the dead with his mother, Izanami. Izanagi

was enraged to hear that his son preferred living in the dirty underworld. So, he expelled him and told him to never come back. But before leaving for good, Susanoo wanted to see his sister one more time in her heavenly home.
Amaterasu heard thunder, signaling an approaching storm, likely caused by her impetuous brother. Anticipating his challenge, she tied her hair back and prepared for battle. When Susanoo arrived, he was awestruck by Amaterasu's imposing and powerful presence. Her sister questioned the reason for the visit and Susanoo reassured Amaterasu that his visit had no ill intentions. However, Amaterasu remained doubtful. To convince her otherwise, Susanoo gave her his sword. The gods decided to creatively compete, Amaterasu broke Susanoo's sword into three pieces and from these pieces she created three female deities (Tagorihime, Tagitsuhime, and Ichikishimahime), Susanoo used Amaterasu's jewelry beads to create five male deities (Ame-no-Oshihomimi, Ame no Hohi, Amatsuhikone, Ikutsuhikone, and Kumanokusubi). The impetuous god celebrated his win over the mighty goddess because he had made more deities. But the clever Amaterasu challenged her brother's victory, arguing that since he created life from the goddess's jewels, those five deities were actually her children. The three female deities born from Susanoo's sword belonged to him, therefore she was the actual winner of the clash. Susanoo was furious with his sister's interpretation, so he wreaked havoc in the realm of the solar goddess. He caused chaos, wrecking sacred rice fields and making a mess in his sister's palace, but worst was yet to come.

In Amaterasu's domains there was a building in which the sacred weavers wove the god's clothes and cloaks. They wove a new cloak every night. the color of the cloak influenced the next day's weather, strong vivid colors meant a sunny clean day, darker color forecasted a cloudy day. Susanoo wanted to scare the weavers, he opened a hole in the roof of their room, causing one of Amaterasu's sacred ponies to fall from the sky. The weavers were terrified, and tragically, one of them had a fatal accident. Amaterasu, devastated by the destruction of her fields, the empty palace, and the loss of a beloved weaver, was overwhelmed with sadness.

The radiant goddess gave up her tasks, entered a cave, and sealed it with a big stone. Night filled the sky, and daylight vanished. Darkness covered both the heavens and the earth, marking the start of the first winter. The other gods watched as the world wilted—plants lost their health, animals began to perish, and evil spirits roamed freely. The gods knew they had to lure Amaterasu out of her cave. They tried convincing her, but she was stubborn. The god wisdom, Omoikane, realized they couldn't get her out by persuasion but they could by cunning. Nonetheless The great celestial blacksmith crafted a sacred mirror, and a party was held outside the cave where Amaterasu was hiding. They planted a sacred tree called Sakaki, the sacred 500 branch tree, in front of the cave's entrance and hung the beautiful mirror on it. Amaterasu, inside the cave, heard a cock's crow. Surprised, she wondered how that could be if the world was taken by darkness. Then, the sound of drums reached her ears, hinting at a party outside. As she suspected, gods had gathered, watching Ame-no-Uzume's dance. The goddess of dance was trying a striptease, much to the amusement of the gods, who responded with loud laughter. Amaterasu, filled with curiosity, peeked out from her cave to see what

was making the gods so joyful. To her amazement, she discovered a stunning new goddess of light whom they worshipped. Enchanted by her beauty, Amaterasu emerged from the cave to get a closer look. When Amaterasu emerged, light flooded the world, banishing darkness and driving evil away. Joy filled the land as she returned. The god of physical power, Ame-no-Tajikarao, pushed the stone back to its place, preventing the goddess from returning to the cave. Finally, Amaterasu recognized that the stunning goddess she saw was her own reflection. She realized how magnificent she truly was and understood that keeping her brilliance hidden was unfair to the world. The gods welcomed back the goddess with joy, but they hadn't forgotten that Susanoo was the real culprit for that whole conundrum. So, they punished him by cutting off his beard, pulling out his nails, and banishing him from the god's house.

Susanoo descended to Earth by a river in Izumo province. The stormy god, feeling lonely, drifted along the river on two trunks, searching for companionship. Along the riverbanks, he encountered an elderly couple and a beautiful maiden, all of them in deep sorrow and shedding tears. Intrigued, Susanoo approached them to understand the cause of their distress. The old man explained that he used to have eight daughters. Each year, a massive dragon would come and take one as tribute. Only one daughter remained, but the dragon would soon return to claim his last. The god was amazed by the old man's daughter's beauty and vowed to safeguard her. In return, he asked for her hand in marriage. Grateful and honored, the girl's parents agreed to Susanoo's proposal. Susanoo had a big challenge ahead. He wasn't up against just any creature, but the mighty dragon, Yamata no Orochi. This dragon had eight heads and eight tails, making it incredibly strong, Susanoo knew he couldn't defeat it head-on. But he wasn't scared. He planned a strategy to protect his beloved and take down the beast. Susanoo turned Kushinadahime (the Goddess of agriculture, marriage, and childbirth) into a comb, placing it atop his head to hold his hair. As he did, the massive dragon emerged, shaking the earth, demanding its tribute with a deafening roar. The dragon saw a peasant filling eight barrels with pure sake. The peasant explained that it was a gift to the mighty creature, who always conquered everything he wanted. Flattered, Yamata no Orochi accepted the offering, and each of his heads drank from a barrel. Susanoo took advantage of the dragon's drunken slumber to remove his disguise and attack. When the dragon woke, a head was already missing. Enraged upon awakening, the dragon lashed out at him, it tried to devour Susanoo, who dodged and fought back with lightning and sword strikes. Susanoo cut off each of the dragon's heads one by one until the beast was defeated. Even without its heads, the dragon's body continued to fight. Susanoo dealt a powerful blow to the dragon's tail, but his sword broke in the process. Inside the monster's tale there was hidden an invaluable sacred sword known as Kusanagi no Tsurugi, Susanoo acknowledging the artifact's massive value, knew exactly what to do with it. The sea and storm god visited Amaterasu. He knelt before her and offered the glorious sword as an apology for his misdeeds. Amaterasu, already splendid, became even more so with the Kusanagi sword. Susanoo then departed to be with his wife Kushinadahime, and they lived happily, building a grand palace and having many children. Izanagi asked Susanoo to be the guardian of Yomi, the Land of the Dead, as a way to make amends for the past. Susanoo accepted the offer and still holds that role today. His connection to death makes sense since storms and chaos often

bring death.
Susanoo had three wives, Kushinadahime, Kamuōichihime and Samirahime-no-Mikoto, not only that he has had lots of affairs with other women and kamis and has children with them. With Kushinadahime, he had Okuninushi. With Kamuōichihime, he had Ōtoshi-no-Kami and Ukanomitama-no-Kami. Children who were either born without a female partner or whose mother is unidentified are Suseribime-no-Mikoto, Isotakeru / Itakeru-no-Mikoto, Ōyatsuhime-no-Mikoto, Tsumatsuhime-no-Mikoto and The Munakata goddesses (who were born by Amaterasu breaking Susanoo's sword).

Amaterasu descendants
Amaterasu asked her son, Ama-no-Oshihomimi, to rule over the terrestrial kingdom (middle degree of glory in heaven). But when he looked down from Ama-no-hashidate, the bridge which linked heaven to earth, and saw chaos among the earthly deities, he stubbornly declined the responsibility. Amaterasu consulted Taka-mi-Musubi, the god of agriculture, for advice. They gathered all the gods in a council, deciding to send Ama-no-Hohi to earth to assess the situation. But after three years passed without any updates from Ama-no-Hohi, they called for another council. This time the gods sent Ame-wakahiko armed with his divine bow and arrows. He too, though, proved a less than reliable envoy when he was distracted by and married Shitateruhime (the daughter of Okuninushi) so that he forgot completely his original mission. After eight years of silence, the gods finally sent a pheasant named Nanakime to find Ame-wakahiko. But when Ame-wakahiko saw the bird, he thought it was a bad sign and shot it with an arrow. However, since the arrow was divine, it pierced through the pheasant and flew up to heaven, landing at the feet of Taka-mi-Musubi. Annoyed by this, Taka-mi-Musubi threw the arrow back to earth, hitting Ame-wakahiko and killing him outright.

To settle a dispute, the gods held a third council. They chose Take-mikazuchi, the god of thunder, and Futsunushi, the god of fire, to talk to Okuninushi, the earthly ruler. Their goal was to convince him to recognize Amaterasu's authority over both the earth and the heavens. Okuninushi didn't want to give up his power easily. He asked his two sons for advice. The older son, Koto-shironushi, said to give in peacefully, but the younger son, Take-minakata, advised resistance. Later then unwisely fought with Take-mikazuchi but he was no match for the thunder god and was easily defeated. Seeing the hopelessness of his position, Okuninushi graciously gave up his domination to Amaterasu and left to rule the underworld instead.

After resolving matters on earth, Amaterasu once more approached her son, Ama-no-Oshihomimi, to rule over it. He declined again, suggesting his son, Ninigi-no-Mikoto, instead. To this Amaterasu agreed and gave Ninigi three gifts to help him on his way. These were the Yasakani-no-Magatama, a jewel (or pearls), source of the ancient quarrel between Amaterasu and Susanoo; Yata-no-Kagami, the mirror from the cave incident; and Kusanagi, the sword Susanoo had plucked from the monster's tail. These would become Ninigi's power symbols, known as the "sanshu no jingi," and later became the imperial regalia of Japan's emperors. Jimmu (r. 660-585 BCE), the first emperor who established the state in 660 BCE, was believed to directly descend from

Amaterasu. This belief enabled future emperors to assert divine lineage and wield absolute authority.

Chapter three: Shinto Shrines

Shinto shrines, known as jinja (神社), are special places where people worship kami, which are divine spirits. Inside the shrine, there's a hidden chamber where sacred objects representing the kami are kept. Sometimes, natural features like mountains or waterfalls near the shrine are also considered objects of worship.

People go to shrines to honor the kami spirits and seek blessings. Shrines are often placed nearby where people can worship and are visited during special occasions like New Year, Setsubun, Shichigosan, and festivals. These events allow people to connect with the kami, share their joys and hopes and show the outside world to them. Additionally, newborns are often taken to shrines a few weeks after birth, and many couples choose to have their weddings there.

Shinto priests do ceremonies at shrines and often live there. Men and women can be priests, get married, and have children. In rituals, young unmarried women called miko assist the priests. They wear white kimono and are usually the priests' daughters.

Shinto architecture

At first, Shinto didn't have any shrine buildings. During festivals, people would mark sacred places with tree symbols or set up temporary shrines to invite kami. Over time, they started building permanent shrines where kami were believed to stay permanently.

Shrines come in various sizes, from small local ones to large complexes like Ise Jingu or Izumo Taisha (Grand Shrine of Izumo, in Shimane prefecture). The number of buildings with a complex can vary, but generally, they include a building called a honden, where the shrine's deity live in. The interior of the honden is usually off-limits to the public, only accessible to the shrine priest. Inside, there's a sacred object called the goshintai, which serves as an entry for the deity. These are sacred “treasures” like swords, mirrors, or curved jewels known as magatama.
They may be wrapped in cloth to keep them hidden, even from the head priest. During festivals, the goshintai is removed from the main shrine building (honden) and placed in a decorated portable shrine called omikoshi. Then they're paraded around the shrine grounds or neighborhood. This is believed to allow the kami to go for a stroll, in a sense. At a shrine, there's another important building called the haiden, or hall of worship. This is where people stand to pray. Inside, priests conduct ceremonies like shichigosan, a rite of passage, or Shinto weddings. Depending on the shrine's design, honden and haiden can be separate or combined in one building.

A shrine complex may also have sub-shrines for related kami (kami can have a family), a treasure hall, and a kaguraden for sacred dances or noh theater.

The appearance of a shrine can reveal its history. For instance, we can categorize architectural styles into two periods: before the arrival of Buddhism and after.
Pre-Buddhist style tends to feature simplicity with clean lines, while post-Buddhism influences from the sixth century onwards lean towards more ornate designs.
Certainly, over time, wooden shrines may burn down and require rebuilding, sometimes leading to changes in architectural style. However, there's a noticeable difference between older shrines such as Ise Jingu and those built more recently.
Shrine buildings, especially the honden, have a special design, usually with a triangular roof. These roofs often have decorative features. The log-shaped decorations, known as katsuogi, were initially used to secure the straw roof in place but are now a part of tradition. Chigi, the forked decorations at the roof's ridge in a V or X shape, can indicate whether the kami is male or female. A vertical cut at the top suggests a male kami, while a horizontal one suggests a female kami.

Torii gate
The Torii gate is the iconic symbol of Japanese Shinto shrines, it’s the magnificent gate that stands as the entrance to the shrine. It's often made of wood or stone, and painted red. In Japanese culture, red represents the sun and life, a color that helps keep the bad things away.
When we walk through this gate, we become purified and rid of negative energies. It ensures that only positive energies enter the sacred space where the gods live. The Torii Gates mark the boundary between the realm of the gods and the human world. It's customary to bow before entering and leaving the gate. Since this gate is also the way God passes, it's respectful to avoid walking directly through the center. Instead, we follow the path to the left or right of the gate.
Torii gates come in different sizes and numbers, depending on the characteristics of the shrine itself. Some shrines have thousands of them, and the closer they are to the main shrine building, the more sacred they are considered. Japanese people often donate money to build these gates. For example, Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto is famous for having a whole series of corridors made up of Torii gates, each of which is marked with the donor’s name.

Komainu- Guardian statues
A key feature of shrines is the pair of guardian lion statues, known as komainu, placed on either side of the main entrance to the honden. Despite their name meaning "Korean dogs," they actually represent Asiatic lions. This tradition originated from Tang-era China through Korea, which explains the name. The statues come in pairs, typically with one having an open mouth and the other a closed one.
In many shrines, instead of the usual komainu guardians, you'll find other animals. At Inari shrines, foxes (kitsune) are common, believed to be messengers of the kami, Inari. Kasuga shrines feature deer (shika), while Mitsumine Shrine in Chiba Prefecture has wolves (ookami). Even mice (nezumi) can be seen at Otoyo Shrine in Kyoto.

Shimenawa and Shide
Shimenawa ropes are strong ropes made from dried straw fibers woven together. They're hung on Torii gates or in front of some places of worship in shrines. Legend says they originated from the tale of the god Susanoo of Tottori, who told people to make big ropes from dried fibers and hang them along roads to keep evil spirits away. You can often spot Shide, which are white paper sheets shaped like zigzags, hanging from Shimenawa ropes. These symbolize lightning, accompanied with the image of rain helping plants and trees to flourish, and are believed to bring blessings for a prosperous harvest, as they were traditionally hung to pray for good harvest.

Etiquette of shrines

Before meeting the Gods, you must cleanse your body and mind with water from the Temizuya water tank at a small area located inside the shrine area. Use the provided ladle to wash your hands and mouth according to some specific steps.
First, use your right hand to hold the ladle and scoop water, then pour water on your left hand to wash it. Next, hold the ladle with your left hand and pour water over your right hand to wash that one. Then, pour some water from the ladle into your left hand, rinse your mouth, and spit out the water next to the tank. Never let the ladle touch your mouth. Finally, wash the ladle by holding it upright so that the remaining water flows down to the handle. Put it back in place.

A common way to make a prayer at a Shinto Shrine is:

- Quietly toss a coin into the offering box.
- Ring the bell to greet the gods.
- Bow twice.
- Clap your hands twice to express your joy and reverence for the deity.
- Pray while keeping your hands together.
- Bow once again.

Omikuji is a fortune-telling paper found at Shinto shrines. You pay a small fee, usually 100 Japanese Yen, and randomly pick one. If it's lucky, you keep it in your wallet for good fortune. If it's not so lucky, tradition says hanging it on a tree branch at the shrine can help resolve any bad luck, as it's believed the gods will intervene.

People who visit shrines in Japan often write their wishes on wooden plaques called Ema and hang them there. They wish for things like good health, success in work, passing exams, or happiness. Omikuji, Ema, and charm pouches are the most popular good luck charms that people get at the beginning of the year.

Gods’ shrines

Izanagi-Jingu Shrine
The shrine stands on Awaji Island, believed to be Japan's first island in ancient mythology. It's dedicated to Izanagi, one of the important deities. As the main grand

shrine in Hyogo Prefecture, it's said to be the oldest in Japan.
The shrine feels old-fashioned, mainly with buildings from the Meiji era. There are some special trees too, like a huge camphor tree planted by Emperor Hirohito. The Meoto-no-okusu is a 900-year-old camphor tree standing about 30 meters tall. It's special because it started as two separate trees that grew together into one massive tree, earning the nickname "husband and wife."
The sacred tree is where people believe the spirits of Izanagi and Izanami, the marriage deities, reside. Even now, many worship the tree, hoping it will bless their relationships, marriage, and childbearing. You can approach the tree, touch it, and feel its mystical energy for yourself.
In honor of the god and goddess, visitors frequent this shrine all year. Most guests from inside and outside the island come especially during the new year festivities.

Iya Shrine
This shrine is dedicated to the goddess Izanami.
Iya Shrine and Yomotsuhirasaka, found east of central Matsue in Higashi-izumo, are famous for their connection to the entrance of Yomi no kuni.
This place is special. You'll see a shimenawa hanging over the trail as you approach. People leave coins and letters near a big rock, and there's a mailbox where you can leave letters for those who have passed away. It's about a 20-minute walk from Yomotsuhirasaka to Iya Shrine. Local historical records from the 8th century mention this shrine, which means it has existed at least since then.
Visitors today can buy omamori at the shrine office or offer prayers at the main hall. Some local travel sources say that prayers related to women’s health are powerful here, while others suggest praying for Izanami to rest in peace.

Ise Jingu
Ise Shrine is a major Shintō shrine in Mie prefecture, close to Ise city. It has many buildings, with the Inner Shrine (Naikū) and Outer Shrine (Gekū) as the main ones. They're about 4 miles (6 km) apart.
The Inner Shrine, officially named Kōtai Jingū, is said to have been built around 4 BCE. But some experts think the actual earliest version might have been built a bit later, maybe in the 3rd century CE. It is dedicated to Amaterasu. The Ise Grand Shrine preserves the Sacred Mirror, one of Japan's Three Sacred Treasures. The Outer Shrine, officially Toyouke-daijingū, was established in the late 5th century and honors Toyuke Ōkami, the deity of food, clothing, and housing.
Both shrines have traditional Japanese-style thatched huts made of Japanese cypress (hinoki). Since the 7th century, they've followed a ritual called shikinen sengū, rebuilding the main buildings and bridges every 20 years. That tradition has been carried on almost continuously since then, although there were interruptions in the cycle during the so-called “warring states era” (sengoku-jidai) in the 15th and 16th centuries. Trees grown in the nearby forests were used to build the shrine complex. In 2013, the reconstruction finished with a big ceremony in October. Tens of thousands of people attended as the deities were moved from the old buildings to the new ones.

Tsukiyomi Shrine
Tsukiyomi Shrine, found in Nishikyō Ward, Kyoto, holds significance as a Myōjin Taisha, a revered shrine according to the ancient Japanese text Engishiki. It's part of the "Matsuo Seven Shrines" and sits just 400 meters south of its distinctive red torii gate, close to Matsui-Taisha Station. It's a smaller shrine connected to Matsunoo Taisha Shrine. This shrine is dedicated to Tsukuyomi.
A bunch of special rocks, like the Tsukinobeishi or Anzanishi, are believed to help with having kids and safe childbirth if you rub them. There's also the Inyoishi, two rocks next to each other that grant wishes if you rub them. Plus, there's a shrine for Prince Shotoku, who's the god of scholarship, and the Ofunesha boat shrine dedicated to Amenotorifune-no-Mikoto, the god of maritime transportation. They have an annual festival on October 3; the day before the god of the Matsunoo Taisha Shrine is ritually and temporarily transferred to the Ofunesha.

Susanoo Shrine
Susanoo Shrine goes back over 1,200 years to the Heian period. In this area, a disciple of En no Ozunu, Shugendo's founder, named Kokuchin, resided. Near his home was a small mound with a strangely shaped stone on top.
Kurochin prayed to the sacred stone every day. One day, in the 14th year of Enryaku (795 AD), while praying, Susanoo Okami and Asuka Okami (god of wisdom, business, fishery) appeared before him. They asked him to build a shrine to honor them, promising protection from plague and making the land prosperous. Following their request, Kurochin built the shrine where the deities had appeared, marking the start of Susanoo Shrine.

Conclusion

In my research, I delved into Shintoism, covering its history, meaning, traditions, and holidays briefly. I explored five key Shinto gods, detailing their legends, roles, and significance in modern society. The final chapter focused on Shinto shrines, discussing their architecture, proper etiquette, and highlighting shrines dedicated to the gods I talked about in my research work.

The most interesting and fascinating part for me is how the gods aren't flawless; they make mistakes and have distinct personalities, just like us. Take Izanagi and Izanami, for instance. Despite Izanagi's deep love for Izanami, he abandoned her in Yomi when her appearance changed drastically. That's hardly the actions of a perfect deity, making them much more relatable to us humans.

There’s no all-knowing, all-powerful God, every god in Shinto is connected to each other in some way or another, just like nature, animals and humans.
I love the idea of humans praying and worshiping the mother nature. Everything belongs to the nature, we come from nature and our souls return to it after death. Our whole existence relies on nature and it will be the reason of our death as well. While my personal faith lies in Jesus Christ and the concept of a singular, supreme God, if I try to think in more logical way, I believe we should pay respect and worship what surrounds us. As time goes by we become more and more disrespectful to the source that keeps us alive, one day the mother nature will get its revenge of the human race and we completely deserve it.
You don’t necessarily need to believe there’s an actual god in the tree or the rock, for example in Japan every year people come together to do a “mountain opening” ceremony, where anyone who is related to the mountain (a famous mountain) such as forest workers, search and rescue, farmers near the mountain, etc. comes out for a ceremony to be blessed by the “kami” of the mountain. Very few, if any, believes that there is a supernatural being in the mountain blessing them, it is more about coming together and paying respects and reminding us to the beauty and the dangers of this mountain. Over 80% of Japanese people participate in Shinto practices, but only 3 to 4% identify themselves as believers in Shinto. These practices have become more like traditions for them just like Trndez and Vardavar are for Armenians.

Unfortunately, I couldn't complete all my work this year. There's just too much fascinating information to squeeze into one research project, especially when I still have another year ahead. So, next year, I'll be introducing you to 13 more gods, including Hachiman (god of war), Tenjin (god of academics), Okuninushi (god of agriculture and medicine), Raijin and Fujin (gods of wind and thunder), Inari (god of rice cultivation), Uzume (god of dance and celebration), and the seven lucky gods. Not only that, I'll also dive deeper into their traditions, like Sado, Japanese tea ceremony, and Ikebana (also known as kado), the Japanese art of flower arrangement. Plus, I'll introduce some captivating festivals as well.

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Shinto

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Amaterasu

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Izanagi-jingu Shrine

Ise shrine

Tsukiyomi Shrine

Tsukiyomi Shrine

Guide to Susanoo Shrine (Arakawa, Tokyo)

THE KOJIKI

Records of Ancient Matters

translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain

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Second Edition
With Annotations

by

the late

W. G. Aston
Sometimes Japanese Secretary to the
British Legation, Tokyo

TUTTLE Publishing

Tokyo | Rutland, Vermont | Singapore

Published by Tuttle Publishing, an imprint of Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd.

www.tuttlepublishing.com

© 1981 by Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc.
Cover image: Christie's Images, London

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Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 81-52934

ISBN: 978-1-4629-0511-9 (ebook)

Distributed by:

North America, Latin America & Europe
Tuttle Publishing
364 Innovation Drive, North Clarendon,
VT 05759-9436 U.S.A.
Tel: 1 (802) 773-8930 Fax: 1 (802) 773-6993
info@tuttlepublishing.com
www.tuttlepublishing.com

Japan
Tuttle Publishing
Yaekari Building, 3rd Floor, 5-4-12 Osaki,
Shinagawa-ku, Tokyo 141-0032
Tel: (81) 3 5437-0171 Fax: (81) 3 5437-0755
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Asia Pacific
Berkeley Books Pte. Ltd.
61 Tai Seng Avenue, #02-12,
Singapore 534167
Tel: (65) 6280-1330 Fax: (65) 6280-6290
inquiries@periplus.com.sg
www.periplus.com

First Tuttle edition published 1982

15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5

Printed in Singapore 1109TP

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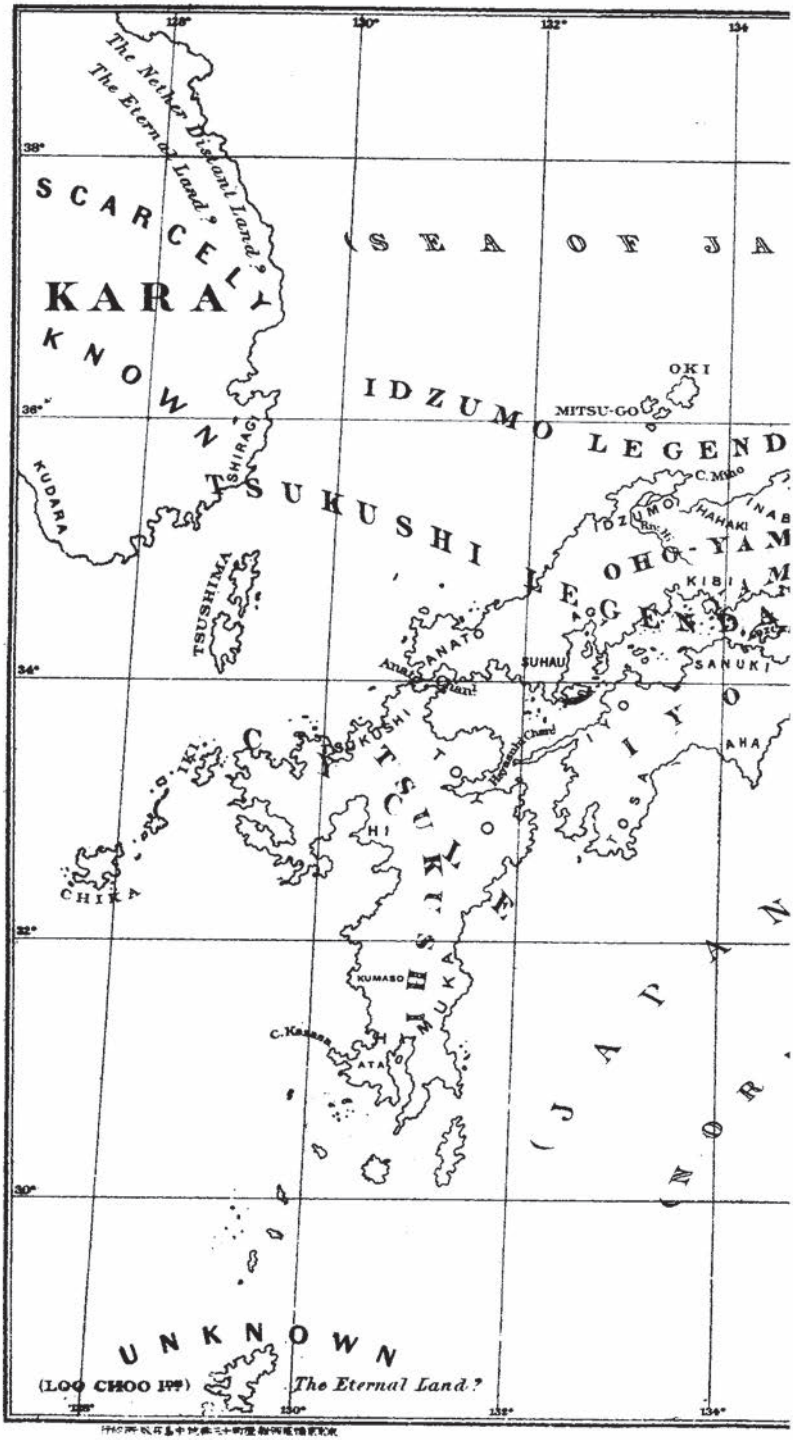
Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) one of the foremost Western interpreters of things Japanese. Born of a distinguished family in Southampton, England, on October 18th, 1850, he was educated in Europe and England. His father intended him to be a banker, but at age 18 he became ill. His physician recommended travel, and Chamberlain landed in Japan on May 29th, 1873. He taught at the Imperial Naval School in Tokyo from 1874 to 1882. His most important position, however, was as Professor of Japanese and Philology at Tokyo University beginning in 1886. It was here that he gained his reputation as a student of Japanese language and literature. His many works include the first translation of the *Kojiki* into English (1906), *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (1888), *Things Japanese* (1890), and *A Practical Guide to the Study of Japanese Writing* (1905). With W. B. Mason he wrote *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1891), which went through numerous editions. He retired to Geneva, Switzerland, in 1911. In 1935, Count Aisuke Kabayama paid him a rare tribute when he said, "Professor Chamberlain, a foreigner, an Englishman, taught Japanese and Japan to the Japanese."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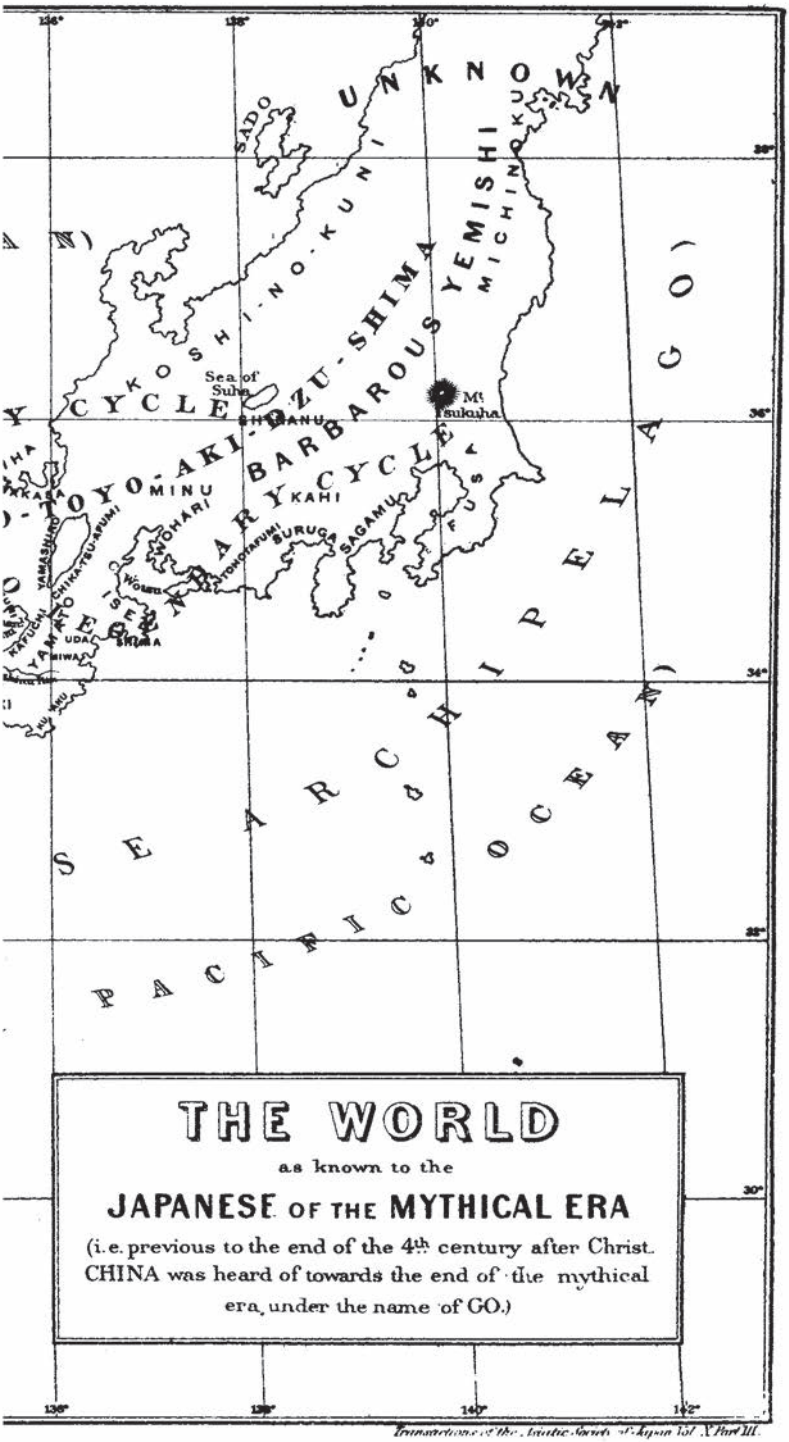

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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

The *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) provides a panorama of Japan in the throws of its formation. As a compendium of history and mythology, and a record of early Japanese life and beliefs, it offers invaluable insight into the historical roots of the Japanese people.

The *Kojiki* was taken down by one Yasumaro from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man of extraordinary memory, and presented to the imperial court in A.D. 712, making it the oldest surviving Japanese book. A more factual history called the *Nihongi* or *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan) was completed in A.D. 720, but the *Kojiki* remains the better known, perhaps because of its special concern with the legends of the gods, with the divine descent of the imperial family, and with native Shinto. Both works have immense value as records of the development of Japan into a unified state with a well-defined character. Indeed, even the mythological aspects were accepted as fact throughout most of subsequent Japanese history—until the defeat and disillusionment of the nation in 1945.

Basil Hall Chamberlain was one of the pioneering Western scholars on Japan. In 1882 he read this, the first translation of the *Kojiki*, before the Asiatic Society of Japan. It was published as a Supplement to Vol. X of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, and later reprinted in 1919 and 1920. It is upon these latter that the present edition is based.

At the turn of the century, Professor Chamberlain remarked that "to have lived through the transition stage of modern Japan makes a man feel preternaturally old; for here he is in modern times, with the air full of talk about bicycles and bacilli and 'spheres of influence,' and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages." How much more has Japan changed in the decades since that was written. And yet the *Kojiki*, relating as it does the origins of the race, remains a key to this country of jammed commuter trains and ultramodern industrial technology.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE TO THIS EDITION

Professor Chamberlain's translation of the "Kojiki" first appeared in the year 1882 as a supplement to Vol. X of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, all remaining stocks of which publication were destroyed in the great earthquake-fire of 1923.

The present edition has been prepared from a copy of that supplement which belonged to the late Mr. W.G. Aston and contains many annotations by that eminent scholar, the fly-leaf bearing in Mr. Aston's handwriting the following words: "As for the remarks scribbled here,—*stunt bona; sunt quaendam; mediveria sunt mala plura.*" This volume was ultimately presented to the library of the Asiatic Society of Japan by Professor Chamberlain with an inscription by him on the title-page reading: "Copy of Kojiki with annotations by Aston, given to me by him on the 13th May 1892, at Seaton, Devon. To be used in making new edition."

In this reprint Professor Chamberlain's translation has been reproduced as it stood in the original—no alterations whatever, beyond the correction of a few typographical errors, having been made. Mr. Aston's annotations, sometimes in pencil and sometimes in ink, were written around the margins or even between the lines of the pages, and in a few places they have been partly cut off in the process of trimming when the volume was being rebound. Great care has been observed in copying out the notes and only in one or two instances have they had to be given up as indecipherable,—even then only in the case of single words not materially affecting the meaning. Every one of the major annotations is here rendered. While each of Professor Chamberlain's notes bears, as in the original, a number of way of reference, those of Mr. Aston are distinguished by asterisks, etc., and by the initials "W.G.A." placed after them. Mr. Aston's translation of the *Nihongi* or *Chronicles of Japan* had not yet been published at the time he was making his annotations on the *Kojiki*, but for the convenience of readers references to that translation are now added, within brackets, where they seem desirable. In allusions to the *Rituals* reference is intended to Vol. II of the reprints of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.

We gladly record our thanks to Professor Genchi Kato, to Mr. G.B. Sansom, and to the Rev. S.H. Wainwright for their advice and encouragement in the present undertaking; to Professor Uru Tsugita for the list of Japanese Works published on the *Kojiki* since 1883, which, included as Appendix III, will we trust be useful to students; and to Mr. Shuten Inouye who very kindly verified the correct reprinting of the ideographs throughout the book. To Mr. James Stewart we are under special obligation for unwearied attention to the reading and correcting of the proofs generally, a task which owing to its peculiar nature entailed an uncommon degree of patient care. Nor will we omit acknowledgment to the Japanese compositors and printers who have plogged along cheerfully through the months during which the work has been in the press.

The index, compiled by Mr. H.J. Griffiths, will, it is hoped, appeal to all interested in the book.

CONTENTS

Map of Japan ..... Avi
Publisher's Foreword ..... Aix
Publisher's Note ..... Axi
Translator's Introduction i
Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes iv
Details concerning the Method of Translation xiii
The "*Nihon-Gi*" or "Chronicles of Japan" xxi
Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese xxvii
Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese, Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions l
List of Japanese Works quoted in the Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation lxxxii
Preface 3
Translation of the *Kojiki*
Vol. I. 17
Vol. II. 157
Vol. III. 324
Appendix
I. Japanese Text of the Songs Preserved in the *Kojiki*, transliterated into Roman 414
II. The Hitherto accepted Chronology of the Early Japanese Sovereigns mentioned in the *Kojiki* and in the *Nihon-Gi* 440
III. List of Books on the *Kojiki* published since 1883 442
Index 445

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION.

Of all the mass of Japanese literature, which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making, the most important monument is the work entitled "*Ko-ji-ki*"[1] or "Records of Ancient Matters," which was completed in A. D. 712. It is the most important because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language, and the traditional history of Ancient Japan. Indeed it is the earliest authentic connected literary product of that large division of the human race which has been variously denominated Turanian, Scythian and Altaïc, and it even precedes by at least a century the most ancient extant literary compositions of non-Aryan India. Soon after the date of its compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture, and it is to these "Records" and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and the Shintō Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled into attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent.

It is of course not pretended that even these "Records" are untouched by Chinese influence: that influence is patent

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[1] Should the claim of Accadian to be considered an Altaïc language be substantiated, then Archaic Japanese will have to be content with the second place in the Altaïc family. Taking the word Altaïc in its usual acceptation, viz., as the generic name of all the languages belonging to the Mantchu, Mongolian, Turkish and Finnish groups, not only the Archaic, but the Classical, literature of Japan carries us back several centuries beyond the earliest extant documents of any other Altaïc tongue.—For a discussion of the age of the most ancient Tamil documents see the Introduction to Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages." p. 91 *et seq.*

in the very characters with which the text is written. But the influence is less, and of another kind. If in the traditions preserved and in the customs alluded to we detect the Early Japanese in the act of borrowing from China and perhaps even from India, there is at least on our author's part no ostentatious decking out in Chinese trappings of what he believed to be original matter, after the fashion of the writers who immediately succeeded him. It is true that this abstinence on his part makes his compilation less pleasant to the ordinary native taste than that of subsequent historians, who put fine Chinese phrases into the mouths of emperors and heroes supposed to have lived before the time when intercourse with China began. But the European student, who reads all such books not as a pastime but in order to search for facts, will prefer the more genuine composition. It is also accorded the first place by the most learned of the native *literati*.

Of late years this paramount importance of the "Records of Ancient Matters" to investigators of Japanese subjects generally has become well known to European scholars; and even versions of a few passages are to be found scattered through the pages of their writings. Thus Mr. Aston has given us, in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," a couple of interesting extracts; Mr. Satow has illustrated by occasional extracts his elaborate papers on the Shintō Rituals printed in these "Transactions," and a remarkable essay by Mr. Kempermann published in the Fourth Number of the "Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens," though containing no actual translations, bases on the accounts given in the "Records" some conjectures regarding the *origines* of Japanese civilization whith are fully substantiated by more minute research. All that has yet appeared in any European language does not, however, amount to one-twentieth part of the whole, and the most erroneous views of the style and scope of the book and its contents have found their way into popular works on Japan. It is hoped that the true nature of

the book, and also the true nature of the traditions, customs, and ideas of the Early Japanese, will be made clearer by the present translation, the object of which is to give the entire work in a continuous English version, and thus to furnish the European student with a text to quote from, or at least to use as a guide in consulting the original. The only object aimed at has been a rigid and literal conformity with the Japanese text. Fortunately for this endeavour (though less fortunately for the student), one of the difficulties which often beset the translator of an Oriental classic is absent in the present case. There is no beauty of style, to preserve some trace of which he may be tempted to sacrifice a certain amount of accuracy. The "Records" sound queer and bald in Japanese, as will be noticed further on; and it is therefore right, even from a stylistic point of view, that they should sound bald and queer in English. The only portions of the text which, from obvious reasons, refuse to lend themselves to translation into English after this fashion are the indecent portions. But it has been thought that there could be no objection to rendering them into Latin,—Latin as rigidly literal as is the English of the greater part.

After these preliminary remarks. it will be most convenient to take the several points which a study of the "Records" and the turning of them into English suggest, and to consider the same one by one. These points are:

I.—Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes.

II.—Details concerning the Method of Translation.

III.—The "*Nihon-Gi*" or "Chronicles of Japan."

IV.—Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese.

V.—Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese. Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions.

I.

THE TEXT AND ITS AUTHENTICITY, TOGETHER WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The latter portion of the Preface to the "Records of Ancient Matters" is the only documentary authority for the origin of the work. It likewise explains its scope. But though in so doing the author descends to a more matter-of-fact style than the high-sounding Chinese phrases and elaborate allusions with which he had set forth, still his meaning may be found to lack somewhat of clearness, and it will be as well to have the facts put into language more intelligible to the European student. This having already been done by Mr. Satow in his paper on the "Revival of Pure Shintô,"[2] it will be best simply to quote his words. They are as follows: "The "Emperor Temmu, at what portion of his reign is not men- "tioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief "families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to "preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had "the records carefully examined, compared, and weeded of "their faults. There happened to be in his household a person "of marvellous memory named Hiyeda no Are,* who could "repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had "ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. "Temmu Tennô[3] took the pains to instruct this person in the "genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages,' and to "make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. "'Before the undertaking was completed,' which probably "means before it could be committed to writing, the Emperor "died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole "depository of what afterwards received the title of *Kojiki*[4] or

[2] Published in Vol. iii, Pt. I, of these "Transactions."

* The 古道大意 (Kodō Taii) by one of Hirata's pupils calls Are a woman. Vol. I, p. 28.—(W.G.A.)

[3] *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu.

[4] *I.e.*, "Records of Ancient Matters." The alternative reading,

"*Furu-koto-bumi* as it is read by Motoori. At the end of this "interval the Empress Gemmiō ordered Yasumaro to write it "down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the com-"pletion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months "and a half. Are's age at this date is not stated, but as he "was twenty-eight years of age some time in the reign of "Temmu Tennô, it could not possibly have been more than "sixty-eight, while taking into account the previous order of "Temmu Tennô in 681 for the compilation of a history, and "the statement that he was engaged on the composition of the "Kojiki at the time of his death in 686, it would not be un-"reasonable to conclude that it belongs to about the last year "of his reign, in which case Are was only fifty-three in 711."

The previous order of the Emperor Tem-mu mentioned in the above extract is usually supposed to have resulted in the compilation of a history which was early lost. But Hirata gives reasons for supposing that this and the project of the "Records of Ancient Matters" were identical. If this opinion be accepted, the "Records," while the oldest *existing* Japanese book, are, not the third, but the second historical work of which mention has been preserved, one such having been compiled in the year 620, but lost in a fire in the year 645. It will thus be seen that it is rather hard to say whom we should designate as the author of the work. The Emperor Tem-mu, Hiyeda no Are, and Yasumaro may all three lay claim to that title. The question, however, is of no importance to us, and the share taken by Are may well have been exaggerated in the telling. What seems to remain as the residue of fact is that the plan of a purely national history originated with the Emperor Tem-mu and was finally carried out under his successor by Yasumaro, one of the Court Nobles.

Fuller evidence and confirmatory evidence from other sources as to the origin of our "Records" would doubtless

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which is probably but an invention of Motowori's, gives the same meaning in pure Japanese (instead of Sinico-Japanese) sounds.

be very acceptable. But the very small number of readers and writers at that early date, and the almost simultaneous compilation of a history (the "Chronicles of Japan") which was better calculated to hit the taste of the age, make the absence of such evidence almost unavoidable. In any case, and only noticing in passing the fact that Japan was never till quite recent years noted for such wholesale literary forgeries (for Motowori's condemnation of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" has been considered rash by later scholars),—it cannot be too much emphasized that in this instance authenticity is sufficiently proved by internal evidence. It is hard to believe that any forger living later than the eighth century of our era should have been so well able to discard the Chinese "padding" to the old traditions, which, after the acceptance by the Court of the "Chronicles of Japan," had come to be generally regarded as an integral portion of those very traditions; and it is more unlikely still that he should have invented a style so little calculated to bring his handiwork into repute. He would either have written in fair Chinese, like the mass of early Japanese prose writers (and his Preface shows that he could do so if he were so minded); or, if the tradition of there having been a history written in the native tongue had reached him, he would have made his composition unmistakably Japanese in form by arranging the characters in the order demanded by Japanese syntax, and by the consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations, after the fashion followed in the Rituals, and developed (apparently before the close of the ninth century) into what is technically known as the "Mixed Phonetic Style" (*Kana-mazhiri*), which has remained ever since as the most convenient vehicle for writing the language. As it is, his quasi-Chinese construction, which breaks down every now and then to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements. What however is simply incredible is that, if the supposed

forger lived even only a hundred years later than A.D. 712, he should so well have imitated or divined the archaisms of that early period. For the eighth century of our era was a great turning point in the Japanese language, the Archaic Dialect being then replaced by the Classical; and as the Chinese language and literature were alone thenceforward considered worthy the student's attention, there was no means of keeping up an acquaintance with the diction of earlier reigns, neither do we find the poets of the time ever attempting to adorn their verse with obsolete phraseology. That was an affectation reserved for a later epoch, when the diffusion of books rendered it possible. The poets of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries apparently wrote as they spoke; and the test of language alone would almost allow of our arranging their compositions half century by half century, even without the dates which are given in many instances in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and in the "Collection of Songs Ancient and Modern," — the first two collections of poems published by imperial decree in the middle of the eighth, and at the commencement of the tenth, century respectively.

The above remarks are meant to apply more especially to the occasional Japanese words,—all of them Archaic,—which, as mentioned above, are used from time to time in the prose text of the "Records," to help out the author's meaning and to preserve names whose exact pronunciation he wished handed down. That he should have invented the Songs would be too monstrous a supposition for any one to entertain, even if we had not many of the same and other similar ones preserved in the pages of the "Chronicles of Japan," a work which was undoubtedly completed in A.D. 720. The history of the Japanese language is too well known to us, we can trace its development and decay in too many documents reaching from the eighth century to the present time, for it to be possible to entertain the notion that the latest of these Songs, which have been handed down with minute care in a syllabic trans-

cription, is posterior to the first half of the eighth century, while the majority must be ascribed to an earlier, though uncertain, date. If we refer the greater number of them in their present form to the sixth century, and allow a further antiquity of one or two centuries to others more ancient in sentiment and in grammatical usage, we shall probably be making a moderate estimate. It is an estimate, moreover, which obtains confirmation from the fact that the first notice we have of the use of writing in Japan dates from early in the fifth century; for it is natural to suppose that the Songs believed to have been composed by the gods and heroes of antiquity should have been among the first things to be written down, while the reverence in which they were held would in some cases cause them to be transcribed exactly as tradition had bequeathed them, even if unintelligible or nearly so, while in others the same feeling would lead to the correction of what were supposed to be errors or inelegancies. Finally it may be well to observe that the authenticity of the "Records" has never been doubted, though, as has already been stated, some of the native commentators have not hesitated to charge with spuriousness another of their esteemed ancient histories. Now it is unlikely that, in the war which has been waged between the partisans of the "Records" and those of the "Chronicles," some flaw in the former's title to genuineness and to priority should not have been discovered and pointed out if it existed.

During the Middle Ages, when no native Japanese works were printed, and not many others excepting the Chinese Classics and Buddhist Scriptures, the "Records of Ancient Matters" remained in manuscript in the hands of the Shintō priesthood, They were first printed in the year 1644, at the time when, peace having been finally restored to the country and the taste for reading having become diffused, the great mass of the native literature first began to emerge from the manuscript state. This very rare edition (which was reprinted in fac-simile in 1798) is indispensable to any one who would make of the "Records" a special study. The next edition

was by a Shintō priest, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, and appeared in 1687. It has marginal notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the "Old Printed Edition" (舊印本), but has no title beyond that of the original work,—"Records of Ancient Matters." The name of the other is "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings" (鼇頭古事記). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789-1822 by Motowori's great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" (古事記傳). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tōkiō possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (古訓古事記), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's *Kana* reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is a misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (古事記標註), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic Character" (假名古事記), by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern *Kana* reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other departures from the actual text, as the *ipsissima verba* of the original work; the

"Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (校正古事記), by Uyematsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (神字古事記), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern *Kana* reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of their country and named "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters," there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" (神代正語), by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled "*Tokiha-Gusa*" (神代正語常盤草) by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" (古史徵) and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (古史傳), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819,—works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable[5]; the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" (稜威道別), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the "*Idzu no*

[5] Unfortunately the portion already printed does not carry the history down even to the close of the "Divine Age." The work is as colossal in extent as it is minute in research, forty-one volumes (including the eleven forming the "Sources") having already appeared. The "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" are still similarly incomplete.

Koto-Waki" (稜威語別), by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the 'Chronicles"; the "Examination of Difficult Words" (難語考, also entitled 山彦冊子), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (日本書記通證), by Tanigaha Shihei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "*Kō Gan Shō*" (厚顏抄), a commentary on the Songs contained in the "Chronicles" and "Records" composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiū, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keichiū's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The "*Kō Gan Shō*," which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" (和名類聚鈔), the "Catalogue of Family Names" (姓氏錄), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's "*Tōga*" (東雅), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his "Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chimori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachibana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the manuscript of the unpublished portions of the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and the "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*," works indispensable to

the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the "Records." To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *Manyō-Gana*, *i.e.* entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character[6]), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms," but irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese *literati*, who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to

[6] The translator adopts the term "ideographic," because it is that commonly used and understood, and because this is not the place to demonstrate its inappropriateness. Strictly speaking, "logographic" would be preferable to "ideographic," the difference between Chinese characters and alphabetic writing being that the former represent in their entirety the Chinese words for things and ideas, whereas the latter dissects into their component sounds the words of the languages which it is employed to write.

be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the "Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston[7] in denying to this conjectural restoration the the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the "Records."

II.

METHOD OF TRANSLATION.

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not any one's,—not even Motowori's,—private and particular reading of it. For this reason none of the Honorifics which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed, character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently be shown to have arisen from careless copying of charac-

[7] "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," Second Edition, Appendix II., p. VI.

ters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings occur, and has mentioned them in the Notes when they seemed of sufficient importance. In some few cases he has preferred a reading not approved by Motowori, but he always mentions Motowori's reading in a Foot-note.

The main body of the text contains but little to perplex any one who has made a special study of the early Japanese writings, and it has already been noticed that there is an admirable exegetical literature at the student's command. With the Songs embedded in the prose text the case is different, as some of them are among the most difficult things in the language, and the commentators frequently arrive at most discordant interpretations of the obscurer passages. In the present version particulars concerning each Song have, except in a very few cases where comment appeared superfluous, been given in a Foot-note, the general sense being usually first indicated, the meaning of particular expressions then explained, and various opinions mentioned when they seemed worthy of notice. Besides one or two terms of Japanese grammar, the only technical knowledge with which the readers of the Notes are necessarily credited is that of the use by the Japanese poets of what have been styled Pillow-Words, Pivots, and Prefaces; and those Pillow-Words which are founded on a *jeu-de-mots* or are of doubtful signification form, with the one exception mentioned below, the only case where anything contained in the original is omitted from the English version.[8] After some consideration, it has been deemed advisable to print in an Appendix the Japanese text of all the Songs, transliterated into Roman. Students will thus find it easier to form their own opinion on the interpretation of doubtful

[8] For a special account of the Pillow-Words, etc., see a paper by the present writer in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 *et seq.* of these "Transactions," and for a briefer notice, his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," pp. 5 and 6.

passages. The importance likewise of these Songs, as the most ancient specimens of Altaïc speech, makes it right to give them as much publicity as possible.

The text of the "Records" is, like many other Japanese texts, completely devoid of breaks corresponding to the chapters and paragraphs into which European works are divided. With the occasional exception of a pause after a catalogue of gods or princes, and of notes inserted in smaller type and generally containing genealogies or indicating the pronunciation of certain words, the whole story, prose and verse, runs on from beginning to end with no interruptions other than those marked by the conclusiou of Vol. I and by the death of each emperor in Vols. II and III. Faithfulness however scarcely seems to demand more than this statement; for a similarly continuous printing of the English version would attain no end but that of making a very dry piece of reading more arduous still. Moreover there are certain traditional names by which the various episodes of the history of the so-called "Divine Age" are known to the native scholars, and according to which the text of Vol. I may naturally be divided. The reigns of the emperors form a similar foundation for the analysis of Vols. II and III, which contain the account of the "Human Age." It has been thought that it would be well to mark such natural divisions by the use of numbered Sections with marginal headings. The titles proposed by Motowori in the Prolegomena to his Commentary have been adopted with scarcely any alteration in the case of Vol. I. In Vols. II and III, where his sections mostly embrace the whole reign of an emperor, and the titles given by him to each Section consists only of the name of the palace where each emperor is said to have resided, there is less advantage in following him; for those Sections are often inordinately long, and their titles occasionally misleading and always inconvenient for purposes of reference, as the Japanese emperors are commonly known, not by the names of their places of residence, but by their "canonical names." Motowori, as an ardent nationalist, of course rejected

these "canonical names," because they were first applied to the Japanese emperors at a comparatively late date in imitation of Chinese usage. But to a foreigner this need be no sufficient reason for discarding them. The Sections in the translation of Vols. II and III have therefore been obtained by breaking up the longer reigns into appropriate portions; and in such Sections, as also in the Foot-notes, the emperors are always mentioned by their "canonical names."[9] The Vol. mentioned in brackets on every right-hand page is that of Motowori's Commentary which treats of the Section contained in that page.

The Notes translated from the original are indented, and are printed small when they are in small type in the Japanese text. Those only which give directions for pronouncing certain characters phonetically have been omitted, as they have no significance when the original tongue and method of writing are exchanged for foreign vehicles of thought and expression. The Songs have likewise been indented for the sake of clearness, and each one printed as a separate paragraph. The occasionally unavoidable insertion in the translation of important words not occurring in the Japanese text has been indicated by printing such words within square brackets. The translator's Notes, which figure at the bottom of each page, do not aim at anything more than the exegesis of the actual text. To illustrate its subject-matter from other sources, as Motowori does, and to enlarge on all the subjects connected with Japanese antiquity which are sometimes merely alluded to in a single phrase, would require several more volumes the size of this one, many years of labour on the part of the investigator, and

[9] The practice of bestowing a canonical name (*okurina* 諡) on an emperor after his decease dates from the latter part of the eighth century of our era when, at the command of the emperor Kuwam-mu, a scholar named Mifune-no-Mahito selected suitable "canonical names" for all the previous sovereigns, from Jim-mu down to Kuwam-mu's immediate predecessor. From that time forward every emperor has received his "canonical name" soon after death, and it is generally by it alone that he is known to history.

an unusually large stock of patience on the reader's part. The Notes terminate with the death of the Emperor Ken-zō, after which the text ceases to offer any interest, except as a comment on the genealogies given in the "Chronicles of Japan."

Without forgetting the fact that so-called equivalent terms in two languages rarely quite cover each other, and that it may therefore be necessary in some cases to render one Japanese word by two or three different English words according to the context, the translator has striven to keep such diversity within the narrowest limits, as it tends to give a false impression of the original, implying that it possesses a versatility of thought which is indeed characteristic of Modern Europe, but not at all of Early Japan. With reference to this point a certain class of words must be mentioned, as the English translation is unavoidably defective in their case, owing to the fact of our language not possessing sufficiently close synonyms for them. They are chiefly the names of titles, and are the following:—

Agata-no-atahe	roughly	rendered	by	*Departmental Suzerain.*
Agata-nushi	"	"	"	*Departmental Lord.*
Asomi (*Ason*)	"	"	"	*Court Noble.*
Atahe	"	"	"	*Suzerain.*
Hiko	"	"	"	*Prince.*
Hime	"	"	"	*Princess.*
Inaki	"	"	"	*Territorial Lord.*
Iratsuko	"	"	"	*Lord.*
Iratsume	"	"	"	*Lady.*
Kami	"	"	"	*Deity.*
Kimi	"	"	"	*Duke.*
Ma	"	"	"	*True.*
Miko (王)	"	"	"	*King.*
Mi ko (御子)	"	"	"	*August Child.*
Mikoto	"	"	"	*Augustness.*
Miyatsuko	"	"	"	*Ruler.*
Murazhi	"	"	"	*Chief.*
Omi	"	"	"	*Grandee.*
Sukune	"	"	"	*Noble.*

Wake (in the names of human beings) *Lord.*

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as "Duke," "Suzerain," etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name,"[10] Where possible, indeed, the etymological meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus *omi* seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from *oho-mi*, "great body"; and "grandee" is therefore the nearest English equivalent. Similarly *murazhi*, "chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe." On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of *wake** are extremely doubtful. *Hiko* and *hime* again, if they really come from *hi ko*, "sun-child" and *hi me*, "sun-female" (or "fire-child" and "fire-female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words "prince and princess," or "lord and lady," — in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than "youth and maiden."

The four words *kami*, *ma*, *miko* and *mikoto* alone call for special notice; and *ma* may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific *mi*, rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character 真, the translator renders it in English by "true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a compound, *mi koto*, "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and "Highness," being

[10] See Sect. IV. of this Introduction and Sect. XIV. Note 5 of the Translation.

* c.f. Nihongi, VII, p. 6.—W.G.A. (page 191 Aston's translation in Transactions of the Japan Society, London).

suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: *Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto*, His Augustness Yamato-Take.

With regard to the title read *miko* by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a *young* prince is denoted by it, we find the characters 御子, "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of *infante*. But in other cases it is written with the single character 王, "King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as *miko* is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings," may have been kings indeed after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of "prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is 王, "King."[11]

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest. Indeed there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If therefore it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word "deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for *kami*, and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper meaning of the word "*kami*" is "top," or "above"; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the *top* of the head,—not the hair on the face,—is so desig-

[11] *Conf.* Section LVI. Note 7.

nated. Similarly the Government, in popular phraseology, is *O Kami*, literally "the honorably above"; and down to a few years ago *Kami* was the name of a certain titular provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods." A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word *Kami* the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the words "deity" and "god," with their very different associations. In using the word "deity," therefore, to translate the Japanese term *Kami* we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact *Kami* does not mean much more than "superior." This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word *Kami* itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed the treatment of Proper Names is always an embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what *is* a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has therefore first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place, and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name, or preserve the original name and thus fail to render the meaning,—a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami*, "the Deity Master of the Great Land," is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty

of the "Great Land," *i.e.* of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with.[12] Again *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*, which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moors, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears,—of a Thousand Autumns, —of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific *description* of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand it is plain that *Tema* was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases,—the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no satisfactory solution possible. The translator may therefore merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number of instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-note when the translation has the name in English, and *vice versa*, while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

III.

THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is indeed generally known, that the "Records of Ancient Matters" do not stand alone. To say nothing of the

[12] See the legend in Sect. XXIII.

"Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages," whose genuineness is disputed. there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled "*Nihon-Gi*," i.e., "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the "Records," which it has always excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the "Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyō.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpretending simplicity of the elder work. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese,—in fact to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese phrases,—but the subject-matter is touched up, re-arranged, and polished, so as to make the work resemble a Chinese history so far as that was possible. Chinese philosophical speculations and moral precepts are intermingled with the cruder traditions that had descended from Japanese antiquity. Thus the naturalistic Japanese account of the creation is ushered in by a few sentences which trace the origin of all things to *Yin* and *Yang* (陰陽), the Passive and Active Essences of Chinese philosophy. The legendary Emperor Jim-mu is credited with speeches made up of quotations from the "*Yi Ching*,[13]" the "*Li Chi*,[14]" and other standard Chinese works. A few of the most childish of the national traditions are omitted, for instance the story of the "White Hare of Inaba," that of the gods obtaining counsel of a toad, and that of the hospitality which a speaking mouse extended to the deity Master-of-the Great-Land.[15] Sometimes the original tradition is simply softened down or explained away. A notable instance of this occurs in the account of the visit of the deity Izanagi[16] to Hades, whither he goes in quest

[13] 易經.

[14] 禮記.

[15] See Sects. XXI. XXVII and XXIII.

of his dead wife, and among other things has to scale the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades."[17] In the tradition preserved in the "Records" and indeed even in the "Chronicles," this pass or hill is mentioned as a literal geographical fact. But the compiler of the latter work, whose object it was to appear and to make his forefathers appear, as reasonable as a learned Chinese, adds a gloss to the effect that "One account says that the Even Hill of Hades is no distinct place, but simply the moment when breathing ceases at the time of death";—not a happy guess certainly, for this pass is mentioned in connection with Izanagi's return to the land of the living. In short we may say of this work what was said of the Septuagint,—that it *rationalizes*.

Perhaps it will be asked, how can it have come to pass that a book in which the national traditions are thus unmistakably tampered with, and which is moreover written in Chinese instead of in the native tongue, has enjoyed such a much greater share of popularity than the more genuine work?

The answer lies on the surface: the concessions made to Chinese notions went far towards satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods. People are rarely quite logical in such matters, particularly in an early stage of society; and difficulties are glossed over rather than insisted upon. The beginning of the world, for instance, or, to use Japanese phraseology, the "separation of heaven and and earth" took place a long time ago; and perhaps, although there could of course be no philosophical doubt as to the cause of this event having been the interaction of the Passive and Active Essences, it might also somehow be true that Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male-Who-Invites" and the "Female-Who-Invites") were the progenitor and progenitrix

[16] Rendered in the English translation by "the Male-Who-Invites."

[17] *Yomo tsu Hira-Saka.*

of Japan. Who knows but what in them the formative principles may not have been embodied, represented, or figured forth after a fashion not quite determined, but none the less real? As a matter of fact, the two deities in question have often been spoken of in Japanese books under such designations as the "*Yin* Deity" and the "*Yang* Deity," and in his Chinese Preface the very compiler of these "Records" lends his sanction to the use of such phraseology, though, if we look closely at the part taken by the goddess in the legend narrated in Sect. IV, it would seem but imperfectly applicable. If again early sovereigns, such as the Empress Jin-gō, address their troops in sentences cribbed from the "*Shu Ching*,"[18] or. like the Emperor Kei-kō, describe the Ainos in terms that would only suit the pages of a Chinese topographer,—both these personages being supposed to have lived prior to the opening up of intercourse with the continent of Asia,—the anachronism was partly hidden by the fact of the work which thus recorded their doings being itself written in the Chinese language, where such phrases only sounded natural. In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shintō priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into desuetude. Whether indeed this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. The use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle for counting years, months, and days is another instance of the imported usage having become so thoroughly incorporated with native habits of mind as to make

[18] 書經.

the anachronism of employing it when speaking of a period confessedly anterior to the introduction of continental civilization pass unnoticed. As for the (to a modern European) grotesque notion of pretending to give the precise months and days of events supposed to have occurred a thousand years before the date assigned to the introduction of astronomical instruments, of observatories, and even of the art of writing, that is another of those inconsistencies which, while lying on the very surface, yet so easily escape the uncritical Oriental mind.[19] Semi-civilized people tire of asking questions, and to question antiquity, which fills so great a place in their thoughts, is the last thing that would occur to any of their learned men, whose mental attitude is characteristically represented by Confucius when he calls himself "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients."[20] As regards the question of language, standard Chinese soon became easier to understand than Archaic Japanese, as the former alone was taught in the schools, and the native language changed rapidly during the century or two that followed the diffusion of the foreign tongue and civilization. We have only to call to mind the relative facility to most of ourselves of a Latin book and of one written in Early English. Of course, as soon as the principles of the Japanese *Renaissance* had taken hold of men's minds in the eighteenth century, the more genuine, more national work assumed its proper place

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[19] Details as to the adoption by the Japanese of the Chinese system of computing time will be found in the late Mr. Bramsen's "Japanese Chronological Tables," where that lamented scholar brands "the whole system of fictitious dates applied in the first histories of Japan," as "one of the greatest literary frauds ever perpetrated, from which we may infer how little trust can be placed in the early Japanese historical works." See also Motowori's "Inquiry into the True Chronology," pp. 33–36, and his second work on the same subject entitled "Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology," p.p. 46 *et seq.*

[20] "Confucian Analects," Book VII. Chap. I. Dr. Legge's translation.

in the estimation of students. But the uncouthness of the style according to modern ideas, and the greater amount of explanation of all sorts that is required in order to make the "Records of Ancient Matters" intelligible, must always prevent them from attaining to the popularity of the sister history. Thus, though published almost simultaneously, the tendencies of the two works were very different, and their fate has differed accordingly.

To the European student the chief value of the "Chronicles of Japan" lies in the fact that their author, in treating of the so-called "Divine Age," often gives a number of various forms of the same legend—under the heading of "One account says," suffixed in the form of a note to the main text. No phrase is more commonly met with in later treatises on Japanese history than this,—"One account in the 'Chronicles of Japan' says," and it will be met with occasionally in the Foot-notes to the present translation. There are likewise instances of the author of the "Chronicles" having preserved, either in the text or in "One account," traditions omitted by the compiler of the "Records." Such are, for instance, the quaint legend invented to explain the fact that the sun and moon do not shine simultaneously,[21] and the curious develop-

[21] It may perhaps be worth while to quote this legend in full. It is as follows:

"One account says that the Heaven-Shining Great Deity, being in "Heaven, said: 'I hear that in the Central Land of Reed-Plains (*i.e.* "Japan) there is a Food-Possessing Deity. Do thou, Thine August-"ness Moon-Night-Possessor, go and see.' His Augustness the Moon-"Night-Possessor, having received these orders, descended [to earth], "and arrived at the place where the Food-Possessing Deity was. The "Food-Possessing Deity forthwith, on turning her head towards the "land, produced rice from her mouth; again, on turning to the sea, "she also produced from her mouth things broad of fin and things "narrow of fin; again, on turning to the mountains, she also produced "from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. "Having collected together all these things, she offered them [to the "Moon-God] as a feast on a hundred tables. At this time His

ment of the legend of the expulsion of the deity *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male"), telling us of the hospitality which was refused to him by the other gods when he appeared before them to beg for shelter. Many of the Songs, too, in the "Chronicles" are different from those in the "Records," and make a precious addition to our vocabulary of Archaic Japanese. The prose text, likewise, contains, in the shape of notes, numbers of readings by which the pronunciation of words written ideograpically, or the meaning of words written phonetically in the "Records" may be ascertained. Finally the "Chronicles" give us the annals of seventy-two years not comprised in the plan of the "Records," by carrying down to A.D. 700 the history which in the "Records" steps at the year 628. Although therefore it is a mistake to assert, as some have done, that the "Chronicles of Japan" must be placed at the head of all the Japanese historical works, their assistance can in no wise be dispensed with by the student of Japanese mythology and of the Japanese language.[22]

IV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

The Japanese of the mythical period, as pictured in the legends preserved by the compiler of the "Records of Ancient Matters," were a race who had long emerged from the savage

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"Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor, being angry and colouring "up, said: 'How filthy! how vulgar! What! shalt thou dare to feed "me with things spat out from thy mouth?' [and with these words,] "he drew his sabre and slew her. Afterwards he made his report [to "the Sun-Goddess]. When he told her all the particulars, the Heaven-"Shining Great Deity was very angry, and said: 'Thou art a wicked "Deity, whom it is not right for me to see';—and forthwith she and "His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor dwelt separately day and "night." The partly parallel legend given in these "Records" forms the subject of Sect. XVII of the Translation.

[22] Compare Mr. Satow's remarks on this subject in Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 21–23 of these "Transactions."

state, and had attained to a high level of barbaric skill. The Stone Age was forgotten by them—or nearly so,—and the evidence points to their never having passed through a genuine Bronze Age, though the knowledge of bronze was at a later period introduced from the neighbouring continent. They used iron for manufacturing spears, swords, and knives of various shapes, and likewise for the more peaceful purpose of making hooks wherewith to angle, or to fasten the doors of their huts. Their other warlike and hunting implements (besides traps and gins which appear to have been used equally for catching beasts and birds and for destroying human enemies) were bows and arrows, spears and elbow-pads,*—the latter seemingly of skin, while special allusion is made to the fact that the arrows were feathered. Perhaps clubs should be added to the list. Of the bows and arrows, swords and knives, there is perpetual mention; but nowhere do we hear of the tools with which they were manufactured, and there is the same remarkable silence regarding such widely spread domestic implements as the saw and the axe. We hear, however, of the pestle and mortar,† of the fire-drill, of the wedge, of the sickle, and of the shuttle used in weaving.

Navigation seems to have been in a very elementary stage. Indeed the art of sailing was, as we know from the classical literature of the country, but little practised in Japan even so late as the middle of the tenth century of our era subsequent to the general diffusion of Chinese civilization, though rowing and punting are often mentioned by the early poets. In one passage of the "Records" and in another of the "Chronicles," mention is made of a "two-forked boat"‡ used on inland pools or lakes; but, as a rule, in the earlier portions of those works, we read only of people going to sea or being sent down from heaven in water-proof baskets without oars, and reaching their

* Wrist pads?—W.G.A.

† The quern?—W.G.A.

‡ The two-forked boat was a mere caprice.—W.G.A.

destination not through any efforts of their own, but through supernatural interposition.[23]

To what we should call towns or villages very little reference is made anywhere in the "Records" or in that portion of the "Chronicles" which contains the account of the so-called "Divine Age." But from what we learn incidentally, it would seem that the scanty population was chiefly distributed in small hamlets and isolated dwellings along the coast and up the course of the larger streams. Of house-building there is frequent mention,—especially of the building of palaces or temples for sovereigns or gods,—the words "palace" and "temple" being (it should be mentioned) represented in Japanese by the same term. Sometimes, in describing the construction of such a sacred dwelling, the author of the "Records," abandoning his usual flat and monotonous style, soars away on poetic wings, as when, for instance, he tells how the monarch of Idzumo, on abdicating in favour of the Sun-Goddess's descendant, covenanted that the latter should "make stout his temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the plain of High Heaven."[24] It must not, however, be inferred from such language that these so-called palaces and temples were of very gorgeous and imposing aspect. The more exact notices to be culled from the ancient Shintō Rituals (which are but little posterior to the "Records" and in no wise contradict the inferences to be drawn from the latter)

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[23] A curious scrap of the history of Japanese civilization is preserved in the word *kaji*, whose exclusive acceptation in the modern tongue is "rudder." In archaic Japanese it meant "oar," a signification which is now expressed by the term *ro*, which has been borrowed from the the Chinese. It is a matter of debate whether the ancient Japanese boats possessed such an appliance as a *rudder*, and the word *tagishi* or *taishi* has been credited with that meaning. The more likely opinion seems to be that both the thing and the word were specialized in later times, the early Japanese boatmen having made any oar do duty for a rudder when circumstances necessitated the use of one.

[24] See the end of Sect. XXXII.

having been already summarized by Mr. Satow, it may be as well to quote that gentleman's words. He says:[25] "The "palace of the Japanese sovereign was a wooden hut, with its "pillars planted in the ground, instead of being erected upon "broad flat stones as in modern buildings. The whole frame-"work, consisting of posts, beams, rafters, door-posts and "window-frames, was tied together with cords made by twisting "the long fibrous stems of climbing plants, such as Pueraria "Thunbergiana (*kuzu*) and Wistaria Sinensis (*fuji*). The floor "must have been low down, so that the occupants of the "building, as they squatted or lay on their mats, were exposed "to the stealthy attacks of venomous snakes, which were pro-"bably far more numerous in the earliest ages when the "country was for the most part uncultivated, than at the "present day.....There seems some reason to think that the "*yuka*, here translated floor, was originally nothing but a couch "which ran round the sides of the hut, the rest of the space "being simply a mud-floor, and that the size of the couch was "gradually increased until it occupied the whole interior. The "rafters projected upward beyond the ridge-pole, crossing each "other as is seen in the roofs of modern Shin-tau temples, "whether their architecture be in conformity with early tradi-"tions (in which case all the rafters are so crossed) or modified "in accordance with more advanced principles of construction, "and the crossed rafters retained only as ornaments at the two "ends of the ridge. The roof was thatched, and perhaps had "a gable at each end, with a hole to allow the smoke of the "wood-fire to escape, so that it was possible for birds flying "in and perching on the beams overhead, to defile the food, "or the fire with which it was cooked." To this description it need only be added that fences were in use, and that the wooden doors, sometimes fastened by means of hooks, resembled those with which we are familiar in Europe rather than the sliding, screen-like doors of modern Japan. The windows

[25] See Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 191–192, of these "Transactions."

seem to have been mere holes. Rugs of skins and rush matting were occasionally brought in to sit upon, and we even hear once or twice of "silk rugs" being used for the same purpose by the noble and wealthy.

The habits of personal cleanliness which so pleasantly distinguish the modern Japanese from their neighbours in continental Asia, though less fully developed than at present, would seem to have existed in the germ in early times, as we read more than once of bathing in rivers, and are told of bathing-women being specially attached to the person of a certain imperial infant. Lustrations, too, formed part of the religious practices of the race. Latrines are mentioned several times. They would appear to have been situated away from the houses and to have generally been placed over a running stream, whence doubtless the name for latrine in the Archaic Dialect,—*kaha-ya*, i. e. "river-house." A well-known Japanese classic of the tenth century, the "Yamato Tales,"[26] tells us indeed that "in older days the people dwelt in houses raised "on platforms built out on the river Ikuta," and goes on to relate a story which presupposes such a method of architecture.[27] A passage in the account of the reign of the Emperor Jim-mu which occurs both in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," and another in the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin occurring in the "Records" only, might be interpreted so as to support this statement.[28] But both are extremely obscure, and beyond the fact that people who habitually lived near the water *may* have built their houses after the aquatic fashion practised in different parts of the world by certain savage tribes both ancient and modern, the present writer is not aware of any authority for the assertion that they actually did so except the isolated passage in the "Yamato Tales" just quoted.

A peculiar sort of dwelling-place which the two old his-

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[26] "*Yamato Mono-gatari.*"

[27] For a translation of this story see the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese", pp 42–44.

[28] See sect. XLIV, Note 12 and Sect. LXXII, Note 29.

tories bring prominently under our notice, is the so-called "parturition-house,"—a one-roomed hut without windows which a woman was expected to build and retire into for the purpose of being delivered unseen.[29] It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly-married couples retired into a specially built hut for the purpose of consummating the marriage, and it is certain that for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.

Castles are not distinctly spoken of till a period which,

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[29] Mr. Ernest Satow, who in 1878 visited the island of Hachijo, gives the following details concerning the observance down to modern times in that remote corner of the Japanese Empire of the custom mentioned in the text: "In Hachijo women, when about to become "mothers, were formerly driven out to the huts on the mountain-side, "and according to the accounts of native writers, left to shift for "themselves, the result not unfrequently being the death of the new-"born infant, or if it survived the rude circumstances under which it "first saw the light, the seeds of disease were sown which clung to "it throughout its after life. The rule of non-intercourse was so "strictly enforced, that the woman was not allowed to leave the hut "even to visit her own parents at the point of death, and besides the "injurious effects that this solitary confinement must have had on the "wives themselves, their prolonged absence was a serious loss to "households, where there were elder children and large establishments "to be superintended. The rigour of the custom was so far relaxed "in modern times, that the huts were no longer built on the hills, "but were constructed inside the homestead. It was a subject of "wonder to people from other parts of Japan that the senseless "practice should still be kept up, and its abolition was often recom-"mended, but the administration of the Shôguns was not animated "by a reforming spirit, and it remained for the Government of the "Mikado to exhort the islanders to abandon this and the previously "mentioned custom. They are therefore no longer sanctioned by "official authority and the force of social opinion against them is "increasing, so that before long these relics of ancient ceremonial "religion will in all probability have disappeared from the group of "islands." (Trans. of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan, Vol. VI, Pt. III, pp. 455–6.)

though still mythical in the opinion of the present writer, coincides according to the received chronology with the first century B. C. We then first meet with the curious term "rice-castle," whose precise signification is a matter of dispute among the native commentators, but which, on comparison with Chinese descriptions of the Early Japanese, should probably be understood to mean a kind of palisade serving the purpose of a redoubt, behind which the warriors could ensconce themselves.[30] If this conjecture be correct, we have here a good instance of a word, so to speak, moving upward with the march of civilization, the term, which formerly denoted something not much better than a fence, having later come to convey the idea of a stone castle.

To conclude the subject of dwelling-places, it should be stated that cave-dwellers are sometimes alluded to. The legend of the retirement of the Sun-Goddess into a cavern may possibly suggest to some the idea of an early period when such habitations were the normal abodes of the ancestors of the Japanese race.[31] But at the time when the national traditions assumed their present shape, such a state of things had certainly quite passed away, if it ever existed, and only barbarous Ainos and rough bands of robbers are credited with the construction of such primitive retreats. Natural caves (it may be well to state) are rare in Japan, and the caves that are alluded to were mostly artificial,* as may be gathered from the context.

The food of the Early Japanese consisted of fish and of the flesh of the wild creatures which fell by the hunter's arrow or were taken in the trapper's snare,—an animal diet with which Buddhist prohibitions had not yet interfered, as they began to do in early historical times. Rice is the only cereal

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[30] See Sect. LXX, Note 6. The Japanese term is *ina-ki*, *ki* being an Archaic term for "castle."

[31] See Sect. XVI. Mention of cave-dwellers will also be found in Sects. XLVIII, and LXXX.

* Pits ?—W G.A.

of which there is such mention made as to place it beyond a doubt that its cultivation dates back to time immemorial. Beans, millet, and barley are indeed named once, together with silkworms, in the account of the "Divine Age."[32] But the passage has every aspect of an interpolation in the legend, perhaps not dating back long before the time of the eighth century compiler. A few unimportant vegetables and fruits, of most of which there is but a single mention, will be found in the list of plants given below. The intoxicating liquor called *sake* was known in Japan during the mythical period,[33] and so were chopsticks for eating the food with. Cooking-pots and cups and dishes—the latter both of earthenware and of leaves of trees,—are also mentioned; but of the use of fire for warming purposes we hear nothing. Tables are named several times, but never in connection with food. They would seem to have been exclusively used for the purpose of presenting offerings on, and were probably quite small and low,—in fact rather trays than tables according to European ideas.

In the use of clothing and the specialization of garments the Early Japanese had reached a high level. We read in the most ancient legends of upper garments, skirts, trowsers, girdles, veils, and hats, while both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces, bracelets, and head-ornaments of stones considered precious,—in this respect offering a striking contrast to their descendants in modern times, of whose attire jewelry forms no part. The material of their clothes was hempen cloth and paper-mulberry bark, coloured by being rubbed with madder, and probably with woad and other tinctorial plants. All the garments, so far as we may judge, were woven, sewing being nowhere mentioned, and it being expressly stated by the Chinese commentator on the "*Shan Hai Ching*,"[34] who wrote early in the fourth century, that the Japanese had no needles.[35]

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[32] See the latter part of Sect. XVII.

[33] See Sect. XVIII, Note 16.

[34] 山海經.

[35] See, however, the legend in Sect. LXV.

From the great place which the chase occupied in daily life we are led to suppose that skins also were used to make garments of. There is in the "Records" at least one passage which favours this supposition,[36] and the "Chronicles" in one place mention the straw rain-coat and broad-brimmed hat, which still form the Japanese peasant's effectual protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The tendrils* of creeping plants served the purposes of string, and bound the warrior's sword round his waist. Combs are mentioned, and it is evident that much attention was devoted to the dressing of the hair. The men seem to have bound up their hair in two bunches, one on each side of the head, whilst the young boys tied theirs into a topknot, the unmarried girls let their locks hang down over their necks, and the married women dressed theirs after a fashion which apparently combined the two last-named methods. There is no mention in any of the old books of cutting the hair or beard except in token of disgrace; neither do we gather that the sexes, but for this matter of the head-dress, were distinguished by a diversity of apparel and ornamentation.

With regard to the precious stones mentioned above as having been used as ornaments for the head, neck, and arms, the texts themselves give us little or no information as to the identity of the stones meant to be referred to. Indeed it is plain (and the native commentators admit the fact) that a variety of Chinese characters properly denoting different sorts of jewels were used indiscriminately by the early Japanese writers to represent the single native word *tama*, which is the only one the language contains to denote any hard substance on which a special value is set, and which often refers chiefly to the rounded shape, so that it might in fact be translated by the word "bead" as fittingly as by the word "jewel." We know, however, from the specimens which have rewarded the labours of archæological research in Japan that agate, crystal, glass, jade, serpentine, and steatite are the most usual materials,

[36] See beginning of Sect. XXVII.

* Stems?—W.G.A.

and curved and pierced cylindrical shapes (*maga-tama* and *kuda-tama*), the commonest forms.[37]

The horse (which was ridden, but not driven), the barn-door fowl, and the cormorant used for fishing, are the only domesticated creatures mentioned in the earlier traditions, with the doubtful exception of the silkworm, to which reference has already been made.[38] In the later portions of the "Records" and "Chronicles", dogs and cattle are alluded to; but sheep, swine, and even cats were apparently not yet introduced. Indeed sheep were scarcely to be seen in Japan until a few years ago, goats are still almost unknown, and swine and all poultry excepting the barn-door fowl are extremely uncommon.

The following enumeration of the animals and plants mentioned in the earlier portion[39] of the "Records" may be of interest. The Japanese equivalents, some few of which are obsolete, are put in parenthesis, together with the Chinese characters used to write them:

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[37] For details on this subject and illustrations, see Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archæology," p. 15 and Table XI, and a paper by Professor Milne on the "Stone Age in Japan," read before the Anthropological Society of Great Britain on the 25th May, 1880, pp. 10 and 11.

[38] The tradition preserved in Sect. CXXIV, shows that in times almost, if not quite, historical (the 4th century of our era) the silk-worm was a curious novelty, apparently imported from Korea. It is not only possible, but probable, that silken fabrics were occasionally imported into Japan from the mainland at an earlier period, which would account for the mention of "silk rugs" in Sects XL and LXXXIV.

[39] The (necessarily somewhat arbitrary) line between earlier and later times has been drawn at the epoch of the traditional conquest of Korea by the Empress Jin-go at the commencement of the third century of our era, it being then, according to the received opinions, that the Japanese first came in contact with their continental neighbours, and began to borrow from them. (See however the concluding Section of this Introduction for a demonstration of the untrustworthiness of all the so-called history of Japan down to the commencement of the fifth century of the Christian era.)

MAMMALS.

Bear, (*kuma* 熊).
Boar, (*wi* 猪).
Deer, (*shika* 鹿).
Hare, (*usagi* 兎).
Horse, (*uma* 馬 and *koma* 駒).
Mouse *or* Rat, (*nedzumi* 鼠).
"Sea-ass" [Seal or Sea-lion?], (*michi* 海驢).
Whale, (*kujira* 鯨).

BIRDS.

Barndoor-fowl, (*kakei* 家鶏).
Cormorant, (*u* 鵜).
Crow *or* Raven, (*karasu* 烏).
Dotterel *or* Plover *or* Sandpiper, (*chidori* 千鳥).
Heron *or* Egret, (*sagi* 鷺).
Kingfisher, (*soni-dori* 翠鳥).
Nuye, (鵺).[40]
Pheasant, (*kigishi* 雉).
Snipe, (*shigi* 鴫).
Swan, (*shiro-tori* 白鳥).
Wild-duck, (*kamo* 鴨).
Wild-goose, (*kari* 鴈).

REPTILES.

Crocodile, (*wani* 鰐).[41] *
Tortoise, (*kame* 龜).
Toad *or* Frog, (*taniguku*, written phonetically).
Serpent, (*worochi* 蛇).
Snake [smaller than the preceding], (*hebi* 蛇).

INSECTS.

Centipede, (*mukade* 蜈蚣).
Dragon-fly, (*akidzu* 蜻蛉).
Fly, (*hahi* 蠅).
Louse, (*shirami* 虱).
Silkworm, (*kahiko* 蠶).

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[40] See Sect. XXIV, Note 4.

[41] Mr. Satow, in his translation of a passage of the "Records of Ancient Matters" forming part of a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II of these "Transactions", renders *wani* by "shark." There is perhaps some want of clearness in the old historical books in the details concerning the creature in question, and its *fin* is mentioned in the "Chronicles." But the accounts point rather to an amphibious creature, conceived of as being somewhat similar to the serpent, than to a fish, and the Chinese descriptions quoted by the Japanese commentators unmistakably refer to the crocodile. The translator therefore sees no sufficient reason for abandoning the usually accepted interpretation of *wani* (鰐) as "crocodile". It should be noticed that the *wani* is never introduced into any but patently fabulous stories, and that the example of other nations, and indeed of Japan itself, shows that myth-makers have no objection to embellish their tales by the mention of wonders supposed to exist in foreign lands.

* May not the *wani* have been a cetacean; perhaps the porpoise? I have translated *wani* by "Sea-monster"—W.G.A.

Wasp *or* Bee, (*hachi* 蜂).

FISHES, ETC.

Pagrus cardinalis [probably], (*aka-dahi* 赤鯛) [or perhaps the *Pagrus cardinalis* (*tai* 鯛) is intended].

Perch [*Percalabrax japonicus*], (*su-dzuki* 鱸).

Bêche-de-mer [genus *Pentacta*], (*ko* 海鼠).

Medusa, (*kurage*, written phonetically).

SHELLS.

Arca Subcrenata [?], (*hirabu-kahi*, written phonetically).

Cockle [*Arca Inflata*], (*kisa-gahi* 蜆貝).

Turbinidæ [a shell of the family], (*shitadami* 細螺).

PLANTS.

Ampelopsis serianæfolia [?], (*kagami* 蘿蔔).

Aphananthe aspera, (*muku*, written phonetically).

Aucuba japonica [probably], (*aha-gi*, written phonetically).

Bamboo, (*take* 竹).

Bamboo-grass [*Bambusa chino*], (*sasa* 小竹).

Barley [or wheat ?], (*mugi* 麥).

Beans [two kinds, viz., *Soja glycine* and *Phaseolus radiatus*], (the general name is *mame* 豆, that of the latter species in particular *adzuki* 小豆).

Bulrush [*Typha japonica*], (*kama* 香蒲).

Bush-clover [*Lespedeza* of various species], (*hagi* 萩).

Camellia japonica, (*tsuba-ki* 椿).

Cassia [Chinese mythical; or perhaps the native *Cercidiphyllum japonica*], (*katsura*, variously written).

Chamæcyparis obtusa, (*hi-no-ki* 檜).

Cleyera japonica [and another allied but undetermined species], (*saka-ki* 榊).

Clubmoss, (*hi-kage* 日景).

Cocculus thunbergi [probably], (*tsu-dzura* 黑葛).

Cryptomeria japonica, (*sugi* 杉).

Eulalia japonica, (*kaya* 茅草).

Euonymus japonica, (*masa-ki* 眞賢木).

Ginger [or perhaps the *Xanthoxylon* is intended], (*hazhikami* 薑).

Halochloa macrantha [but it is not certain that this is the sea-weed intended], (*komo* 海藻).

Holly [or rather the *Olea aquifolium*, which closely resembles holly], (*hihira-gi* 柊).

Knot-grass [*Polygonum tinctorium*], (*awi* 藍).

Lily, (*sawi* written phonetically, *yama-yuri-gusa* 山由理草, and *saki-kusa* 三枝草).

Madder, (*akane* 茜).

Millet [*Panicum italicum*], (*awa* 粟).

Moss, (*koke* 蘚).

Oak [two species, one evergreen and one deciduous,—*Quercus myrsinæfolia Q. dentata*], (*kashi* 白樫, *kashiwa* 柏)].

Peach, (*momo* 桃).

Photinia glabra [?], (*soba*, written phonetically).

Pine-tree, (*matsu* 松).
Pueraria thunbergiana, (*kudzu* 葛).
Reed, (*ashi* 葦).
Rice, (*ine* 稻).
Sea-weed [or the original term may designate a particular species], (*me* 海布).
Sedge [*Scirpus maritimus*], (*suge* 菅).
Spindle-tree [*Euonymus radicans*], (*masaki no kadzura* 眞柝蔓).
Vegetable Wax-tree [*Rhus succedanea*], (*hazhi* 櫨).
Vine, (*yebi-kadzura* 葡蒲).
Wild cherry [or birch ?], (*hahaka* 朱櫻).
Wiid chive [or rather the *allium odorum*, which closely resembles it], (*ka-mira* 臭韮).
Winter-cherry [*Physalis alkekengi*], (*aka-kagachi* written phonetically, and also *hohodzuki* 酸醬).

The later portions of the work furnish in addition the following:

ANIMALS.

Cow, (*ushi* 牛).
Dog, (*inu* 犬).
Crane [genus *Grus*], (*tadzu* 鶴).
Dove *or* Pigeon, (*hato* 鳩).
Grebe, (*niho-dori* 鸊鷉).
Lark, (*hibari* 雲雀).
Peregrine falcon, (*hayabusa* 隼).
Red-throated quail, (*udzura* 鶉).
Tree-sparrow, (*suzume* 雀).
Wagtail [probably], (*mana-bashira*, written phonetically).
Wren, (*sazaki* 鷦鷯).
Dolphin, (*iruka* 入鹿魚).
Trout [*Plecoglossus altivelis*], (*ayu* 年魚).
Tunny [a kind of, viz. *Thynnus sibi*], (*shibi* 鮪).
Crab, (*kani* 蟹).
Horse-fly, (*amu* 虻).
Oyster, (*kaki* 蠣).

PLANTS.

Alder [*Alnus maritima*], (*hari-no-ki* 榛).
Aralia, (*mi-tsuna-gashiha* 御綱柏).
Brasenia peltata, (*nunaha* 蓴).
Cabbage [*brassica*], (*awona* 菘菜).
Catalpa Kaempferi [but some say the cherry is meant], (*adzusa* 梓).
Chestnut, (*kuri* 栗).
Dioscorea quinqueloba, (*tokoro-dzura* 薯蕷).
Euonymus sieboldianus, (*mayumi* 木檀).
Gourd, (*hisago* 瓢).
Hedysarum esculentum, (*wogi* 荻).
Hydropyrum latifolium, (*komo* 菰).
Kadzura japonica, (*sana-kadzura* 藷).
Livistona sinensis, (*ajimasa* 檳榔).
Lotus [*nelumbium*], (*hachisu* 蓮).
Musk-melon, (*hozochi* 熟瓜).
Oak, [three species, *Quercus serrata* (*kunugi* 櫟木), and *Q. glandulifera* (*nara* 楢), both deciduous; *Q. gilva* (*ichihi* 赤樹) evergreen].
Orange, (*tachibana* 橘).
Podocarpus macrophylla, (*maki* 檜).
Radish [*Raphanus sativus*], (*oho-ne* 大根),
Sashibu (written phonetically), [not identified].

Water caltrop [*Trapa bispinosa*], (*hishi* 菱).
Wild garlic [*Allium nipponicum*], (*nubiru* 野蒜).
Zelkowa keaki [probably], (*tsuki* 槻).

A few more are probably preserved in the names of places. Thus in Shinano, the name of a province, we seem to have the *shina* (*Tilia cordata*), and in Tadetsu the *tade* (*Polygonum japonicum*). But the identification in these cases is mostly uncertain. It must also be remembered that, as in the case of all non-scientific nomenclatures, several species, and occasionally even more than one genus, are included in a single Japanese term. Thus *chi-dori* (here always rendered "dotterel") is the name of any kind of sandpiper, plover or dotterel. *Kari* is a general name applied to geese, but not to all the species, and also to the great bustard. Again it should not be forgotten that there may have been, and probably were, in the application of some of these terms, differences of usage between the present day and eleven or twelve centuries ago. Absolute precision is therefore not attainable.[42]

Noticeable in the above lists is the abundant mention of plant-names in a work which is in no ways occupied with botany. Equally noticeable is the absence of some of those which are most common at the present day, such as the tea-plant and the plum-tree, while of the orange we are specially informed that it was introduced from abroad.[43] The difference between the various stones and metals seems, on the other hand, to have attracted very little attention from the Early Japanese. In later times the chief metals were named mostly according to their colour, as follows:

Yellow metal ..... (gold).
White " ..... (silver).

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[42] Sect. CXXVIII preserves a very early ornithological observation in the shape of the Songs composed by the Emperor Nin-toku and his Minister Take-Uchi on the subject of a wild-goose laying eggs in Central Japan. These birds are not known to breed even so far south as the island of Yezo.

[43] See the legend in Sect. LXXIV.

Red metal ..... (copper).
Black " ..... (iron).
Chinese (or Korean)... (bronze).

But in the "Records" the only metal of which it is implied that it was in use from time immemorial is iron, while "various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards," are only referred to once as existing in the far-western land of Korea. Red clay is the sole kind of earth specially named.

The words relative to colour which occur are:

Black.
Blue (including Green).
Red.
Piebald (of horses).
White.

Yellow is not mentioned (except in the foreign Chinese phrase "the Yellow Stream," signifying Hades, and not to be counted in this context), neither are any of the numerous terms which in modern Japanese serve to distinguish delicate shades of colour. We hear of the "blue (or green), *i.e.* black[44] clouds" and also of the "blue (or green), sea"; but the "blue sky" is conspicuous by its absence here as in so many other early literatures, though strangely enough it does occur in the oldest written documents of the Chinese.

With regard to the subject of names for the different degrees of relationship,—a subject of sufficient interest to the student of sociology to warrant its being discussed at some length,—it may be stated that in modern Japanese parlance the categories according to which relationship is conceived of do not materially differ from those that are current in Europe. Thus we find father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, nephew, stepfather, stepson, father-in-law, son-in-law, and the corresponding terms for females,—mother, grandmother, etc.,—

[44] Mr. Satow suggests that *awo* ("blue" or "green") means properly any colour derived from the *awi* plant (*Polygonum tinctorium*).

as well as such vaguer designations as parents, ancestors, cousins, and kinsmen. The only striking difference is that brothers and sisters, instead of being considered as all mutually related in the same manner, are divided into two categories, viz.:

Ani 兄..... elder brother(s),
Otouto 弟..... younger brother(s),
Ane 姉..... elder sister(s),
Imouto 妹..... younger sister(s),

in exact accordance with Chinese usage.

Now in Archaic times there seems to have been a different and more complicated system, somewhat resembling that which still obtains among the natives of Korea, and which the introduction of Chinese ideas and especially the use of the Chinese written characters must have caused to be afterwards abandoned. There are indications of it in some of the phonetically written fragments of the "Records." But they are not of themselves sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation, and the subject has puzzled the native *literati* themselves. Moreover the English language fails us at this point, and elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister are the only terms at the translator's command. It may therefore be as well to quote *in extenso* Motowori's elucidation of the Archaic usage to be found in Vol. XIII, pp. 63-4 of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters."[45] He says: "Anciently, when brothers "and sisters were spoken of, the elder brother was called *se* "or *ani* in contradistinction to the younger brothers and "younger sisters, and the younger brother also was called *se* "in contradistinction to the elder sister. The elder sister was "called *ane* in contradistinction to the younger sister, and the "younger brother also would use the word *ane* in speaking of "his elder sister himself. The younger brother was called *oto* "in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the younger "sister also was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder

[45] Only the foot-notes of the original are omitted, as not being essential.

"sister. The younger sister was called *imo* in contradistinction "to the elder brother, and the elder sister also was called *imo* "in contradistinction to the younger brother. It was also the "custom among brothers and sisters to use the words *iro-se* "for *se*, *iro-ne* for *ane*, and *iro-do* for *oto*, and analogy forces "us to conclude that *iro-mo* was used for *imo*." (Motowori elsewhere explains *iro* as a term of endearment indentical with the word *iro*, "love;" but we may hesitate to accept this view.) It will be observed that the foundation of this system of nomenclature was a subordination of the younger to the elder-born modified by a subordination of the females to the males. In the East, especially in primitive times, it is not "*place aux dames*," but "*place aux messieurs*".

Another important point to notice is that, though in a few passages of the "Records" we find a distinction drawn between the chief and the secondary wives,—perhaps nothing more than the favorite or better-born, and the less well-born, are meant to be thus designated,—yet not only is this distinction not drawn throughout, but the wife is constantly spoken of as *imo*, *i.e.* "younger sister." In fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas; and what in a later stage of Japanese, as of Western, civilization is abhorred as incest was in Archaic Japanese times the common practice. We also hear of marriages with half-sisters, with stepmothers, and with aunts; and to wed two or three sisters at the same time was a recognized usage. Most such unions were naturally so contrary to Chinese ethical ideas, that one of the first traces of the influence of the latter in Japan was the stigmatizing of them as incest; and the conflict between the old native custom and the imported moral code is seen to have resulted in political troubles.[46] Marriage with sisters was naturally the first to disappear, and indeed it is only mentioned in the legends of the gods; but unions with half-sisters, aunts, etc., lasted on into the historic

[46] See the story of Prince Karu, which is probably historical, in Sects. CXLI *et seq.*

epoch. Of exogamy, such as obtains in China, there is no trace in any Japanese document, nor do any other artificial impediments seem to have stood in the way of the free choice of the Early Japanese man, who also (in some cases at least) received a dowry with his bride or brides.

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If, taking as our guides the incidental notices which are scattered up and down the pages of the earlier portion of the "Records", we endeavour to follow an Archaic Japanese through the chief events of his life from the cradle to the tomb, it will be necessary to begin by recalling what has already been alluded to as the "parturition-house" built by the mother, and in which, as we are specially told that it was made windowless, it would perhaps be contradictory to say that the infant first saw the light. Soon after birth a name was given to it,—given to it by the mother,—such name generally containing some appropriate personal reference. In the most ancient times each person (so far as we can judge) bore but one name, or rather one string of words compounded together into a sort of personal designation. But already at the dawn of the historical epoch we are met by the mention of surnames and of what, in the absence of a more fitting word, the translator has ventured to call "gentile names," bestowed by the sovereign as a recompense for some noteworthy deed.[47]

It may be gathered from our text that the idea of calling in the services of wet-nurses in certain exceptional cases had already suggested itself to the minds of the ruling class, whose infants were likewise sometimes attended by special bathing-women. To what we should call education, whether

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[47] The custom of using surnames was certainly borrowed from China, although the Japanese have not, like the Koreans, gone so far as to adopt the actual surnames in use in that country. The "gentile names" may have sprung up more naturally, though they too show traces of Chinese influence. Those most frequently met with are *Agata-nushi*, *Ason*, *Atahe*, *Kimi*, *Miyatsuko*, *Murazhi*, *Omi*, *Sukune*, and *Wake*. See above, pp. xvii-xviii.

mental or physical, there is absolutely no reference made in the histories. All that can be inferred is that, when old enough to do so, the boys began to follow one of the callings of hunter or fisherman, while the girls staid at home weaving the garments of the family. There was also a great deal of fighting, generally of a treacherous kind, in the intervals of which the warriors occupied themselves in cultivating patches of ground. The very little which is to be gathered concerning the treatment of old people would seem to indicate that they were well cared for.

We are nowhere told of any wedding ceremonies except the giving of presents by the bride or her father, the probable reason being that no such ceremonies existed. Indeed late on into the Middle Ages cohabitation alone constituted matrimony, —cohabitation often secret at first, but afterwards acknowledged, when, instead of going round under cover of night to visit his mistress, the young man brought her back publicly to his parents' house. Mistress, wife, and concubine were thus terms which were not distinguished, and the woman could naturally be discarded at any moment. She indeed was expected to remain faithful to the man with whom she had had more than a passing intimacy, but no reciprocal obligation bound him to her. Thus the wife of one of the gods is made to address her husband in a poem which says:

"Thou.....indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But I, alas! being a woman, have no man except thee; I have no spouse except thee," etc., etc.[48]

In this sombre picture the only graceful touch is the custom which lovers or spouses had of tying each other's girdles when about to part for a time,—a ceremony by which they implied that they would be constant to each other during the period of absence.[49] What became of the children in cases

[48] See Sect. XXV, (the second Song in that Section).

[49] See Sect. LXXI, Note 12.

of conjugal separation does not clearly appear. In the only instance which is related at length, we find the child left with the father; but this instance is not a normal one.[50] Adoption is not mentioned in the earliest traditions; so that when we meet with it later on we shall probably be justified in tracing its introduction to Chinese sources.

Of death-bed scenes and dying speeches we hear but little, and that little need not detain us. The burial rites are more important. The various ceremonies observed on such an occasion are indeed not explicitly detailed. But we gather thus much: that the hut tenanted by the deceased was abandoned,—an ancient custom to whose former existence the removal of the capital at the commencement of each new sovereign's reign long continued to bear witness,—and that the body was first deposited for some days in a "mourning-house," during which interval the survivors (though their tears and lamentations are also mentioned) held a carousal, feasting perhaps on the food which was specially prepared as an offering to the dead person. Afterwards, the corpse was interred, presumably in a wooden bier, as the introduction of stone tombs is specially noted by the historian as having taken place at the end of the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin, and was therefore believed by those who handed down the legendary history to have been a comparatively recent innovation, the date assigned to this monarch by the author of the "Chronicles" coinciding with the latter part of our first, and the first half of our second centuries. To a time not long anterior is attributed the abolition of a custom previously observed at the interments of royal personages. This custom was the burying alive of some of their retainers in the neighbourhood of the tomb. We know also, both from other early literary sources and from the finds which have recently rewarded the labours of archæologists, that articles of clothing, ornaments, etc., were buried with the corpse. It is

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[50] See Sect. XLII.

all the more curious that the "Records" should nowhere make any reference to such a custom, and is a proof (if any be needed) of the necessity of not relying exclusively on any single authority, however respectable, if the full and true picture of Japanese antiquity is to be restored. A few details as to the abolition of the custom of burying retainers alive round their master's tomb, and of the substitution for this cruel holocaust of images in clay will be found in Sect. LXIII, Note 23, and in Sect. LXXV, Note 4, of the following translation.[51] If the custom be one which is properly included under the heading of human sacrifices, it is the only form of such sacrifices of which the earliest recorded Japanese social state retained any trace. The absence of slavery is another honourable feature. On the other hand, the most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrongdoers. Their nails were extracted, the sinews of their knees were cut, they were buried up to the neck so that their eyes burst, etc. Death, too, was inflicted for the most trivial offences. Of branding, or rather tattooing, the face as a punishment there are one or two incidental mentions. But as no tattooing or other marking or painting of the body for any other purpose is ever alluded to, with the solitary exception in one passage of the painting of her eyebrows by a woman, it is possible that the penal use of tattooing may have been borrowed from the Chinese, to whom it was not unknown.*

The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the "Records" bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. It is true that decency, as we understand it, is a very modern product, and is not to

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[51] Representations of these clay images (*tsuchi-nin-giyō*) will be found in Table XII of Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archæology," and in Mr. Satow's paper on "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke" published in Vol. VII, Pt. III, pp. 313 *et seq.* of these "Transactions."

* The Chinese notices of Japan speak of their tattooing themselves thus indicating distinctions of rank —W.G.A.

be looked for in any society in the barbarous stage. At the same time, the whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naïve filthiness of the passage forming Sect. IV. of the following translation, or to the extraordinary topic which the hero Yamato-Take and his mistress Miyazu are made to select as the theme of poetical repartee.[52] One passage likewise would lead us to suppose that the most beastly crimes were commonly committed.[53]

To conclude this portion of the subject, it may be useful for the sake of comparison to call attention to a few arts and products with which the Early Japanese were *not* acquainted. Thus they had no tea, no fans, no porcelain, no lacquer,—none of the things, in fact, by which in later times they have been chiefly known. They did not yet use vehicles of any kind. They had no accurate method of computing time, no money, scarcely any knowledge of medicine. Neither, though they possessed some sort of music, and poems a few of which at least are not without merit,[54] do we hear anything of the art of drawing. But the most important art of which they were ignorant is that of writing. As some misapprehension has existed on this head, and scholars in Europe have been misled by the inventions of zealous champions of the Shintō religion into a belief in the so-called "Divine Characters," by them alleged to have been invented by the Japanese gods and to have been used by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese ideographic writing, it must be stated precisely

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[52] See Sect. LXXXVII.

[53] See Sect. XCVII.

[54] A translation,—especially a literal prose translation,—is not calculated to show off to best advantage the poetry of an alien race. But even subject to this drawback, the present writer would be surprised if it were not granted that poetic fire and grace are displayed in some of the Love-Songs (for instance the third Song in Sect. XXIV and both Songs in Sect. XXV), and a quaint pathos in certain others (for instance in Yamato-Take's address to his "elder brother the pine-tree," and in his Death-Songs contained in Sect. LXXXIX).

that all the traditions of the "Divine Age," and of the reigns of the earlier Emperors down to the third century of our era according to the received chronology, maintain a complete silence on the subject of writing, writing materials, and records of every kind. Books are nowhere mentioned till a period confessedly posterior to the opening up of intercourse with the Asiatic continent, and the first books whose names occur are the "Lun Yü" and the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên[55]," which are said to have been brought over to Japan during the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin,—according to the same chronology in the year 284 after Christ. That even this statement is antedated, is shown by the fact that the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên" was not written till more than two centuries later,—a fact which is worthy the attention of those who have been disposed simply to take on trust the assertions of the Japanese historians. It should likewise be mentioned that, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Aston, the Japanese terms *fumi* "written document," and *fude* "pen," are probably corruptions of foreign words.[56] The present, indeed, is not the place to discuss the whole question of the so-called "Divine Characters," which Motowori,

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[55] 論語 and 千字文.

[56] Viz. of the Chinese 文 and 筆 (in the modern Mandarin pronunciation *wen* and *pi*). Mr. Aston would seem to derive both the Japanese term *fude* and the Korean *put* independently from the Chinese 筆. The present writer thinks it more likely that the Japanese *fude* was borrowed mediately through the Korean *put*. In any case, as it regularly corresponds with the latter according to the laws of letter-change subsisting between the two languages, it will be observed that the Japanese term would still have to be considered borrowed, even if the derivation of *put* from 筆 had to be abandoned; for we can hardly suppose Korean and Japanese to have independently selected the same root to denote such a thing as a "pen." As to the correctness of the derivation of *fumi* from 文 there can be little doubt, and it had long ago struck even the Japanese themselves, who are not prompt to acknowledge such loans. They usually derive *fude* from *fumi-te*, "document hand," and thus again we are brought back to the Chinese 文 as the origin of the Japanese word for "pen."

the most patriotic as well as the most learned of the Japanese *literati*, dismisses in a note to the Prolegomena of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" with the remark that they "are a late forgery over which no words need be wasted." But as this mare's nest has been imported into the discussion of the Early Japanese social state, and as the point is one on which the absolute silence of the early traditions bears such clear testimony, it was impossible to pass it by without some brief allusion.

V.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE, BEGINNINGS OF THE JAPANESE NATION, AND CREDIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS.

The religious beliefs of the modern upholders of Shintō[57] may be ascertained without much difficulty by a perusal of the works of the leaders of the movement which has endeavoured during the last century and a half to destroy the influence of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophy, and which has latterly succeeded to some extent in supplanting those two foreign systems. But in Japan, as elsewhere, it has been impossible for men really to turn back a thousand years in religious thought and act; and when we try to discover the primitive opinions that were entertained by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese culture, we are met by difficulties that at first seem insuperable. The documents are scanty, and the modern commentaries untrustworthy, for they are all written under the influence of a preconceived opinion. Moreover, the problem is apparently complicated by a mixture of races and mythologies, and by a filtering in of Chinese ideas previous to the compilation of documents of any sort, though these are considerations which have hitherto scarcely

[57] The Chinese characters used to write this word are 神道, which signify the "Way of the Gods." The term was adopted in order to distinguish the old native beliefs from Buddhism and Confucianism.

been taken into account by foreigners, and are designedly neglected and obscured by such narrowly patriotic native writers as Motowori and Hirata.

In the political field the difficulties are not less, but rather greater; for when once the Imperial House and the centralized Japanese polity, as we know it from the sixth or seventh century of our era downwards, became fully established, it was but too clearly in the interest of the powers that be to efface as far as possible the trace of different governmental arrangements which may have preceded them, and to cause it to be believed that, as things were then, so had they always been. The Emperor Tem-mu, with his anxiety to amend "the deviations from truth and the empty falsehoods" of the historical documents preserved by the various families, and the author of the "Chronicles of Japan" with his elaborate system of fictitious dates, recur to our minds, and we ask ourselves to what extent similar garblings of history,—sometimes intentional, sometimes unintentional,—may have gone on during earlier ages, when there was even less to check them than there was in the eighth century. If, therefore, the translator here gives expression to a few opinions founded chiefly on a careful study of the text of the "Records of Ancient Matters" helped out by a study of the "Chronicles of Japan," he would be understood to do so with great diffidence, especially with regard to his few (so to speak) constructive remarks. As to the destructive side of the criticism, there need be less hesitation; for the old histories bear evidence too conclusively against themselves for it to be possible for the earlier portions of them, at least, to stand the test of sober investigation. Before endeavouring to piece together the little that is found in the "Records" to illustrate the beliefs of Archaic Japanese times, it will be necessary, at the risk of dulness, to give a summary of the old traditions as they lie before us in their entirety, after which will be hazarded a few speculations on the subject of the earlier tribes which combined to form the Japanese people; for the four questions of religious beliefs, of

political arrangements, of race, and of the credibility of documents, all hang closely together and, properly speaking, form but one highly complex problem.

Greatly condensed, the Early Japanese traditions amount to this: After an indefinitely long period, during which were born a number of abstract deities, who are differently enumerated in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," two of these deities, a brother and sister named Izanagi and Izanami (*i.e.*, the "Male Who Invites" and the "Female Who Invites"), are united in marriage, and give birth to the various islands of the Japanese archipelago. When they have finished producing islands, they proceed to the production of a large number of gods and goddesses, many of whom correspond to what we should call personifications of the powers of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptation, is foreign to the Japanese mind. The birth of the Fire-God causes Izanami's death, and the most striking episode of the whole mythology then ensues, when her husband, Orpheus-like, visits her in the under-world to implore her to return to him. She would willingly do so, and bids him wait while she consults with the deities of the place. But he, impatient at her long tarrying, breaks off one of the end-teeth of the comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, lights it and goes in, only to find her a hideous mass of corruption, in whose midst are seated the eight Gods of Thunder. This episode ends with the deification[58] of three peaches who had assisted him in his retreat before the armies of the under-world, and with bitter words exchanged between him and his wife, who herself pursues him as far as the "Even Pass of Hades."

Returning to Himuka in south-western Japan, Izanagi purifies himself by bathing in a stream, and, as he does so, fresh deities are born from each article of clothing that he throws down on the river-bank, and from each part of his

[58] *Conf.* p. xix, last paragraph for the modified sense in which alone the word "deification" can be used in speaking of the Early Japanese worship.

person. One of these deities was the Sun-Goddess, who was born from his left eye, while the Moon-God sprang from his right eye, and the last born of all, Susa-no-Wo, whose name the translator renders by "the Impetuous Male," was born from his nose. Between these three children their father divides the inheritance of the universe.

At this point the story loses its unity. The Moon-God is no more heard of, and the traditions concerning the Sun-Goddess and those concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" diverge in a manner which is productive of inconsistencies in the remainder of the mythology. The Sun-Goddess and the "Impetuous Male Deity" have a violent quarrel, and at last the latter breaks a hole in the roof of the hall in Heaven where his sister is sitting at work with the celestial weaving-maidens, and through it lets fall "a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The consequences of this act were so disastrous that the Sun-Goddess withdrew for a season into a cave, from which the rest of the eight hundred myriad (according to the "Chronicles" eighty myriad) deities with difficulty allured her. The "Impetuous Male Deity" was thereupon banished, and the Sun-Goddess remained mistress of the field. Yet, strange to say, she thenceforward retires into the background, and the most bulky section of the mythology consists of stories concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" and his descendants, who are represented as the monarchs of Japan, or rather of the province of Idzumo. The "Impetuous Male Deity" himself, whom his father had charged with the dominion of the sea, never assumes that rule, but first has a curiously told amorous adventure and an encounter with an eight-forked serpent in Izumo, and afterwards reappears as the capricious and filthy deity of Hades, who however seems to retain some power over the land of the living, as he invests his descendant of the sixth generation with the sovereignty of Japan. Of this latter personage a whole cycle of stories is told, all centering in Idzumo. We learn of his conversations with a hare and with a mouse, of

the prowess and cleverness which he displayed on the occasion of a visit to his ancestor in Hades, which is in this cycle of traditions a much less mysterious place than the Hades visited by Izanagi, of his amours, of his triumph over his eighty brethren, of his reconciliation with his jealous empress, and of his numerous descendants, many of whom have names that are particularly difficult of comprehension. We hear too in a tradition, which ends in a pointless manner, of a microscopic deity who comes across the sea to ask this monarch of Idzumo to share the sovereignty with him.

This last-mentioned legend repeats itself in the sequel. The Sun-Goddess, who on her second appearance is constantly represented as acting in concert with the "High August Producing Wondrous Deity,"—one of the abstractions mentioned at the commencement of the "Records,"—resolves to bestow the sovereignty of Japan on a child of whom it is doubtful whether he were hers or that of her brother the "Impetuous Male Deity." Three embassies are sent from Heaven to Idzumo to arrange matters, but it is only a fourth that is successful, the final ambassadors obtaining the submission of the monarch or deity of Idzumo, who surrenders his sovereignty and promises to serve the new dynasty (apparently in the under-world), if a palace or temple be built for him and he be appropriately worshipped. Thereupon the child of the deity whom the Sun-Goddess had originally wished to make sovereign of Japan, descends to earth,—not to Idzumo in the north-west, be it mentioned, as the logical sequence of the story would lead one to expect,—but to the peak of a mountain in the south-western island of Kiushiu.

Here follows a quaint tale accounting for the odd appearance of the bêche-de-mer, and another to account for the shortness of the lives of mortals, after which we are told of the birth under peculiar circumstances of the heaven-descended deity's three sons. Two of these, Ho-deri and Ho-wori, whose names may be Englished as "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Subside," are the heroes of a very curious legend, which includes an

elaborate account of a visit paid by the latter to the palace of the God of Ocean, and of a curse or spell which gained for him the victory over his elder brother, and enabled him to dwell peacefully in his palace at Takachiho for the space of five hundred and eighty years,—the first statement resembling a date which the "Records" contain. This personage's son married his own aunt, and was the father of four children, one of whom "treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land," while a second "went into the sea plain," and the two others moved eastward, fighting with the chiefs of Kibi and Yamato, having adventures with gods both with and without tails, being assisted by a miraculous sword and a gigantic crow, and naming the various places they passed through after incidents in their own career, as "the Impetuous Male" and other divine personages had done before them. One of these brothers was Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko, who (the other having died before him) was first given the title of Jim-mu Ten-nō more than fourteen centuries after the date which in the "Chronicles" is assigned as that of his decease.

Henceforth Yamato, which had scarcely been mentioned before, and the provinces adjacent to it become the centre of the story, and Idzumo again emerges into importance. A very indecent love-tale forms a bridge which unites the two fragments of the mythology; and the "Great Deity of Miwa," who is identified with the deposed monarch of Idzumo, appears on the scene. Indeed during the rest of the story this "Great Deity of Miwa," and his colleague the "Small August Deity" (Sukuna-Mi-Kami[59]), the deity Izasa-Wake, the three Water-Gods of Sumi, and the "Great Deity of Kadzuraki," of whom there is so striking a mention in Sect. CLVIII, form, with the Sun-Goddess and with a certain divine sword preserved at the temple of Isonokami in Yamato, the only objects of worship specially named, the other gods and goddesses being

[59] In Sect. XXVII, where this deity is first mentioned, he is called *Sukuna-Biko-Na-no-Kami*, the "Little Prince the Renowned Deity."

no more heard of. This portion of the story is closed by an account of the troubles which inaugurated the reign of Jim-mu's successor, Sui-sei, and then occurs a blank of (according to the accepted chronology) five hundred years, during which absolutely nothing is told us excepting dreary genealogies, the place where each sovereign dwelt and where he was buried, and the age to which he lived,—this after the minute details which had previously been given concerning the successive gods or monarchs down to Sui-sei inclusive. It should likewise be noted that the average age of the first seventeen monarchs (counting Jim-mu Ten-nō as the first according to received ideas) is nearly 96 years if we follow the "Records" and over a hundred if we follow the accepted chronology which is based chiefly on the constantly divergent statements contained in the "Chronicles." The age of several of the monarchs exceeds 120 years.[60]

The above-mentioned lapse of an almost blank period of five centuries brings us to the reign of the Emperor known to history by the name of Sū-jin, whose life of one hundred and sixty-eight years (one hundred and twenty according to the "Chronicles") is supposed to have immediately preceded the Christian era. In this reign the former monarch of Idzumo or god of Miwa again appears and produces a pestilence, of the manner of staying which Sū-jin is warned in a dream, while a curious but highly indecent episode tells us how a person called Oho-Tata-Ne-Ko was known to be a son of the deity in question, and was therefore appointed high priest of his temple. In the ensuing reign an elaborate legend, involving a variety of circumstances as miraculous as any in the earlier portion of the mythology, again centres in the necessity of pacifying the great god of Idzumo; and this, with details of internecine strife in the Imperial family, of the sovereign's amours, and of the importation of the orange from the "Eternal Land," brings us to the cycle of traditions of which Yamato-

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[60] See Appendix II.

Take, a son of the Emperor Kei-kō, is the hero. This prince, after slaying one of his brothers in the privy, accomplishes the task of subduing both western and eastern Japan; and, notwithstanding certain details which are unsavoury to the European taste, his story, taken as a whole, is one of the most striking in the book. He performs marvels of valour, disguises himself as a woman to slay the brigands, is the possessor of a magic sword and fire-striker, has a devoted wife who stills the fury of the waves by sitting down upon their surface, has encounters with a deer and with a boar who are really gods in disguise, and finally dies on his way westward before he can reach his home in Yamato. His death is followed by a highly mythological account of the laying to rest of the white bird into which he ended by being transformed.

The succeeding reign is a blank, and the next after that transports us without a word of warning to quite another scene. The sovereign's home is now in Tsukushi, the south-western island of the Japanese archipelago, and four of the gods, through the medium of the sovereign's wife, who is known to history as the Empress Jin-gō, reveal the existence of the land of Korea, of which, however, this is not the first mention. The Emperor disbelieves the divine message, and is punished by death for his incredulity. But the Empress, after a special consultation between her prime minister and the gods, and the performance of various religious ceremonies, marshals her fleet, and, with the assistance of the fishes both great and small and of a miraculous wave, reaches Shiragi[61] (one of the ancient divisions of Korea), and subdues it. She then returns to Japan, the legend ending with a curiously naïve tale of how she sat a-fishing one day on a shoal in the river Wo-gawa in Tsukushi with threads picked out of her skirt for lines.

The next section shows her going up by sea to Yamato,—another joint in the story, by means of which the Yamato cycle of legends and the Tsukushi cycle are brought into apparent

[61] 新羅.

unity. The "Chronicles of Japan" have even improved upon this by making Jin-gō's husband dwell in Yamato at the commencement of his reign and only remove to Tsukushi later, so that if the less elaborated "Records" had not been preserved, the two threads of the tradition would have been still more difficult to unravel. The Empress's army defeats the troops raised by the native kings or princes, who are represented as her step-sons; and from that time forward the story runs on in a single channel and always centres in Yamato. China likewise is now first mentioned, books are said to have been brought over from the mainland, and we hear of the gradual introduction of various useful arts. Even the annals of the reign of Ō-jin however, during which this civilizing impulse from abroad is said to have commenced, are not free from details as miraculous as any in the earlier portions of the book. Indeed Sects. CXIV-CXVI of the following translation, which form part of the narrative of his reign, are occupied with the recital of one of the most fanciful tales of the whole mythology. The monarch himself is said to have lived a hundred and thirty years, while his successor lived eighty-three (according to the "Chronicles" Ō-jin lived a hundred and ten and his successor Nin-toku reigned eighty-seven years). It is not till the next reign that the miraculous ceases, a fact which significantly coincides with the reign in which, according to a statement in the "Chronicles," "historiographers were first appointed to all the provinces to record words and events, and forward archives from all directions." This brings us to the commencement of the fifth century of our era, just three centuries before the compilation of our histories, but only two centuries before the compilation of the first history of which mention has been preserved. From that time the story in the "Records," though not well told, gives us some very curious pictures, and reads as if it were reliable. It is tolerably full for a few reigns, after which it again dwindles into mere genealogies, carrying us down to the commencement of the seventh century. The "Chronicles," on the contrary, give us

full details down to A.D. 701, that is to within nineteen years of the date of their compilation.

The reader who has followed this summary, or who will take the trouble to read through the whole text for himself, will perceive that there is no break in the story,—at least no chronological break,—and no break between the fabulous and the real, unless indeed it be at the commencement of the fifth century of our era, *i.e.* more than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted as the commencement of genuine Japanese history. The only breaks are,—not chronological,—but topographical.

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard national histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the eighteenth century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. In this particular, the elasticity of the Japanese word for "deity," *kami*, which has already been noticed, stood the eastern Euhemerus in good stead. Some of his explanations are however extremely comical, and it is evident that such a system enables the person who uses it to prove whatever he has a mind to.[62] In the nineteenth century a

[62] As a specimen of the flexibility of his sytem, the reader to whom the Japanese language and Japanese legend are familiar is recommended to peruse pp. 13–24 of Vol. I of Arawi Hakuseki's "*Ko Shi Tsū*" (古史通), where an elaborate rationalistic interpretation is applied to the story of the amours of Izanagi and Izanami. It is amusing in its very gravity, and one finds it difficult to believe that the writer can have been in earnest when he penned it.

diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Moribe, who, although endeavouring to remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) uselessly miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. Such, for instance, are the story of the speaking mouse, and that of Izanagi's head-dress turning into a bunch of grapes. He accounts for many of these details by the supposition that they are what he calls *wosana-goto*, i.e. "child-like words," and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, aud are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. He is also willing to allow that some passages show traces of Chinese influence, and he blames Motowori's uncompromising championship of every iota of the existing text of the "Records of Ancient Matters." As belonging to this same school of what may perhaps be termed "rationalistic believers" in Japanese mythology, a contemporary Christian writer, Mr. Takahashi Gorō, must also be mentioned. Treading in the foot-steps of Arawi Hakuseki, but bringing to bear on the legends of his own country some knowledge of the mythology of other lands, he for instance explains the traditions of the Sun-Goddess and of the Eight-Forked Serpent of Yamada by postulating the existence of an ancient queen called Sun, whose brother, after having been banished from her realm for his improper behaviour, killed an enemy whose name was Serpent, etc., while such statements as that the microscopic deity who came over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo would not tell his name, are explained by the assertion that, being a foreigner, he was unintelligible for some time until he had learnt the language. It is certainly strange that such theorists should not see that they are undermining with one hand that which they endeavour to prop up with the other, and that their own individual fancy is made by them the sole standard of historic truth. Yet Mr. Takahashi confidently asserts that "his explanations have nothing forced or fanciful" in them, and that "they cannot fail to solve the doubts even of the greatest of doubters."[63]

The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day,—*i.e.* of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated,—seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore, the history of the gods, while implicitly accepting the history of the emperors from Jim-mu downwards; and in so doing they have been followed with but little reserve by most Europeans,—almanacs, histories and cyclopædias all continuing to repeat on the antiquated authority of such writers as Kaempfer and Titsingh, that Japan possesses an authentic history covering more than two thousand years, while Siebold and Hoffman even go the length of discussing the *hour* of Jim-mu's accession in the year 660 B.C.! This is the attitude of mind now sanctioned by the governing class. Thus, in the historical compilations used as text-books in the schools, the stories of the gods,—that is to say the Japanese traditions down to Jim-mu exclusive,—are either passed over in silence or dismissed in a few sentences, while the annals of the human sovereigns,—that is to say the Japanese traditions from Jim-mu inclusive,—are treated precisely as if the events therein related had happened yesterday, and were as incontrovertibly historical as later statements for which there is contemporary evidence. The same plan is pursued elsewhere in official publications. Thus, to take but one example among many, the Imperial Commissioners to the Vienna Exhibition, in their "Notice sur l'Empire du Japon," tell us that "L'histoire de la dynastie "impériale remonte très-haut. L'obscurité entoure ses débuts, "vu l'absence de documents réguliers ou d'un calendrier par-"fait. Le premier Empereur de la dynastie présente, dont il "reste des annales dignes de confiance, est Jin-mou-ten-nô[64] "qui organisa un soulèvement dans la province de Hiuga, "marcha à l'Est avec ses compagnons, fonda sa capitale dans "la vallée de Kashi-hara dans le Yamato, et monta sur le

[63] Mr. Takahashi Goro's book here alluded to is his "Shinto Discussed Afresh."

[64] *I.e.* the Emperor Jim-mu,—*ten-nō*, written 天皇, being simply the Sinico-Japanese word for "emperor."

"trône comme Empereur. C'est de cet Empereur que descend, "per une succession régulière, la présente famille régnante du "Japon. C'est de l'année de l'avènement de Jin-mou-ten-nô "que date l'ère japonaise (Année 1-660 avant Jésus-Christ.")

As for the *ère Japonaise* mentioned by the commissioners, it may be pertinent to observe that it was only introduced by an edict dated 15th Dec., 1872,[65] that is to say just a fortnight before the publication of their report. *And this era, this accession, is confidently placed thirteen or fourteen centuries before the first history which records it was written, nine centuries before (at the earliest computation) the art of writing was introduced into the country, and on the sole authority of books teeming with miraculous legends!!* Does such a proceeding need any comment after once being formulated in precise terms, and can any unprejudiced person continue to accept the early Japanese chronology and the first thousand years of the so-called history of Japan?

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Leaving this discussion, let us now see whether any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles." There are fragments of information,—fragments of two sorts,—some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. Let us take the positive fragments first—the notices as to cosmological ideas, dreams, prayers, etc.

The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogma, the code of morals, and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. What we find is a bundle of miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system. Dreams evidently were credited with great

[65] 15th day of 11th moon of 5th year of Meiji.

importance, the future being supposed to be foretold in them, and the will of the gods made known. Sometimes even an actual object, such as a wonderful sword, was sent down in a dream, thus to our ideas mixing the material with the spiritual. The subject did not, however, present itself in that light to the Early Japanese, to whom there was evidently but one order of phenomena,—what we should call the natural order. Heaven, or rather the Sky, was an actual place,—not more ethereal than earth, nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death—but simply a "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some of those powerful personages called *kami*,—a word which we must make shift to translate by "god" or "goddess," or "deity." An arrow shot from earth could reach Heaven, and make a hole in it. There was at least one mountain in Heaven, and one river with a broad stony bed like those with which the traveller in Japan becomes familiar, one or two caves, one or more wells, and animals, and trees. There is, however, some confusion as to the mountain,—the celebrated Mount Kagu,—for there is one of that name in the province of Yamato.

Some of the gods dwelt here on earth, or descended hither from Heaven, and had children by human women. Such, for instance, was the Emperor Jim-mu's great-grandfather. Some few gods had tails or were otherwise personally remarkable; and "savage deities" are often mentioned as inhabiting certain portions of Japan, both in the so-called "Divine Age" and during the reigns of the human emperors down to a time corresponding, according to the generally received chronology, with the first or second century of the Christian era. The human emperors themselves, moreover, were sometimes spoken of as deities, and even made personal use of that designation. The gods occasionally transformed themselves into animals, and at other times simple tangible objects were called gods,—or at least they were called *kami;* for the gulf separating the Japanese from the English term can never be too often recalled

to mind. The word *kami*, as previously mentioned, properly signifies "superior," and it would be putting more into it than it really implies to say that the Early Japanese "deified,"—in our sense of the verb to "deify,"—the peaches which Izanagi used to pelt his assailants with, or any other natural objects whatsoever. It would, indeed, be to attribute to them a flight of imagination of which they were not capable, and a habit of personification not in accordance with the genius of their language. Some of the gods are mentioned collectively as "bad Deities like unto the flies in the fifth moon"; but there is nothing approaching a systematic division into good spirits and bad spirits. In fact the word "spirit" itself is not applicable at all to the gods of Archaic Japan. They were, like the gods of Greece, conceived of only as more powerful human beings. They were born, and some of them died, though here again there is inconsistency, as the death of some of them is mentioned in a manner leading one to suppose that they were conceived of as being then at an end, whereas in other cases such death seems simply to denote transference to Hades, or to what is called "the One Road," which is believed to be a synonym for Hades. Sometimes, again, a journey to Hades is undertaken by a god without any reference to his death. Nothing, indeed, could be less consistent than the various details.

Hades[66] itself is another instance of this inconsistency. In the legend of Oho-Kuni-Nushi (the "Master of the Great Land"),—one of the Idzumo cycle of legends,—Hades is described exactly as if it were part of the land of the living, or exactly as if it were Heaven, which indeed comes to the same thing. It has its trees, its houses, its family quarrels, etc., etc. In the legend of Izanagi, on the other hand, Hades means simply the abode of horrible putrefaction and of the vindictive dead, and is fitly described by the god himself who had

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[66] For the use of this word to represent the Japanese *Yomo* or *Yomi*, see Sect. IX, Note 1

ventured thither as "a hideous and polluted land." The only point in which the legends agree is in placing between the upper earth and Hades a barrier called the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world, whether good or evil.

The objects of worship were of course the gods, or some of them. It has already been stated that during the later portions of the story, whose scene is laid almost exclusively on earth, the Sun-Goddess, the deity Izasa-Wake, the Divine Sword of Isonokami, the Small August Deity (*Sukuna-Mi-Kami*), the "Great Gods" of Miwa and of Kadzuraki and the three Water-Deities of Sumi, alone are mentioned as having been specially worshipped. Of these the first and the last appear together, forming a sort of quaternion, while the other five appear singly and have no connection with each other. The deities of the mountains, the deities of the rivers, the deities of the sea, etc., are also mentioned in the aggregate, as are likewise the heavenly deities and the earthly deities; and the Empress Jin-gō is represented as conciliating them all previous to her departure for Korea by "putting into a gourd the ashes of a *maki* tree,[67] and likewise "making a quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf-platters, and "scattering them all on the waves."

This brings us to the subject of religious rites,—a subject on which we long for fuller information than the texts afford.[68] That the conciliatory offerings made to the gods were of a miscellaneous nature will be expected from the quotation just made. Nevertheless, a very natural method was in the main followed; for the people offered the things by which they themselves set most store, as we hear at a later period of the poet Tsurayuki, when in a storm at sea, flinging his mirror into the waves because he had but one. The Early Japanese made offerings of two kinds of cloth, one being hempen cloth and the

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[67] *Podocarpus macrophylla.*

[68] The least meagre account will be found in Sects. XVI. and XXXII.

other cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper-mulberry, —offerings very precious in their eyes, but which have in modern times been allowed to degenerate into useless strips of paper. They likewise offered shields, spears, and other things. Food was offered both to the gods and to the dead; indeed, the palace or tomb of the dead monarch and the temple of the god cannot always be distinguished from each other, and, as has already been mentioned, the Japanese use the same word *miya* for "palace" and for "temple." Etymologically signifying "august house," it is naturally susceptible of what are to us two distinct meanings.

With but one exception,[69] the "Records" do not give us the words of any prayers (or, as the Japanese term *norito* has elsewhere been translated, "rituals"). Conversations with the gods are indeed detailed, but no devotional utterances. Fortunately however a number of very ancient prayers have been preserved in other books, and translations of some of them by Mr. Satow will be found scattered through the volumes of the Transactions of this Society. They consist mostly of declarations of praise and statements of offerings made, either in return for favours received or conditionally on favours being granted. They are all in prose, and hymns do not seem to have been in use. Indeed of the hundred and eleven Songs preserved in the "Records," not one has any religious reference.

The sacred rite of which most frequent mention is made is purification by water. Trial by hot water is also alluded to in both histories, but not till a time confessedly posterior to the commencement of intercourse with the mainland. We likewise hear of compacts occasionally entered into with a god, and somewhat resembling our European wager, oath, or curse. Priests are spoken of in a few passages, but without any details. We do not hear of their functions being in any way mediatorial, and the impression conveyed is that they did not exist in very early times as a separate class.* When they did come into

[69] To be found at the end of Sect. XXXII.

* The Imbe?—W.G.A.

existence, the profession soon became hereditary, according to the general tendency in Japan towards the hereditability of offices and occupations.

Miscellaneous superstitions crop up in many places. Some of these were evidently obsolescent or unintelligible at the time when the legends crystallized into their present shape, and stories are told purporting to give their origin. Thus we learn either in the "Records" or in the "Chronicles," or in both works, why it is unlucky to use only one light, to break off the teeth of a comb at night-time, and to enter the house with straw hat and rain-coat on. The world-wide dread of going against the sun is connected with the Jim-mu legend, and recurs elsewhere.[70] We also hear of charms,—for instance, of the wondrous "Herb-Quelling Sabre" found by Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") inside a serpent's tail, and still preserved as one of the Imperial *regalia*. Other such charms were the "tide-flowing jewel" and "tide-ebbing jewel," that obtained for Jim-mu's grandfather the victory over his elder brother, together with the fish-hook which figures so largely in the same legend.[71] Divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a stag was a favourite means of ascertaining the will of the gods. Sometimes also human beings seem to have been credited in a vague manner with the power of prophetic utterance. Earthenware pots were buried at the point of his departure by an intending traveller. In a fight the initial arrow was regarded with superstitious awe.

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[70] In the Jim-mu legend we have the more usual form of the superstition, that, viz., which makes it unlucky to go from West to East, which is the contrary of the course pursued by the sun In Sect. CLIII, on the other hand, the Emperor Yū-riaku is found fault with for acting in precisely the reverse manner, viz., for going from East to West, *i.e.* with his back to the sun. The idea is the same, though its practical application may thus diametrically differ, the fundamental objection being to going *against* the sun, in whatever manner the word *against*, or some kindred expression, may be interpreted.

[71] See Sects. XXXIX to XLI. For the "Herb-Quelling Sabre" see Sects. XVIII and LXXXII, *et seq.*

The great precautions with which the Empress Jin-gō is said to have set out on her expedition to Korea have already been alluded to, and indeed the commencement of any action or enterprise seems to have had special importance attributed to it.

To conclude this survey of the religious beliefs of the Early Japanese by referring, as was done in the case of the arts of life, to certain notable features which are conspicuous by their absence, attention may be called to the fact that there is no tradition of a deluge, no testimony to any effect produced on the imagination by the earthquakes from which the Japanese islanders suffer such constant alarms, no trace of star-worship, no notion of incarnation or of transmigration. This last remark goes to show that the Japanese mythology had assumed its present shape before the first echo of Buddhism reverberated on these shores. But the absence of any tradition of a deluge or inundation is still more remarkable, both because such catastrophes are likely to occur occasionally in all lands, and because the imagination of most nations seems to have been greatly impressed by their occurrence. Moreover what is specifically known to us as *the* Deluge has been lately claimed as an ancient Altaïc myth. Yet here we have the oldest of the *undoubtedly* Altaïc nations without any legend of the kind. As for the neglect of the stars, round whose names the imagination of other races has twined such fanciful conceits, it is as characteristic of Modern as of Archaic Japan. The Chinese designations of the constellations, and some few Chinese legends relating to them, have been borrowed in historic times; but no Japanese writer has ever thought of looking in the stars for "the poetry of heaven." Another detail worthy of mention is that the number seven, which in so many countries has been considered sacred, is here not prominent in any way, its place being taken by eight. Thus we have Eight Great Islands, an Eight-forked Serpent, a beard Eighty Handbreadths long, a God named "Eight-Thousand Spears," Eighty or Eight Hundred Myriads of Deities, etc., etc. The commentators think it necessary to tell us that all these eights and eighties need not be taken literally, as they

simply mean a great number. The fact remains that the number eight had, for some unknown reason, a special significance attached to it; and as the documents which mention eight also mention nine and ten, besides higher numbers, and as in some test cases, such as that of the Eight Great Islands, each of the eight is separately enumerated, it is plain that when the Early Japanese said eight they meant eight, though they may doubtless have used that number in a vague manner, as we do a dozen, a hundred, and a thousand.

How glaringly different all this is from the fanciful accounts of Shintō that have been given by some recent popular writers calls for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority,[72] tells us that Shintō "consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree impregnated with it, and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are everywhere worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes."(!) Truly, when one peruses such utterly groundless assertions,—for that here quoted is but one among many,—one is tempted to believe that the nineteenth century must form part of the early mythopœic age.

With regard to the question of government, we learn little beyond such vague statements as that to so and-so was yielded by his eighty brethren the sovereignty of the land of Idzumo, or that Izanagi divided the dominion over all things between his three children, bestowing on one the "Plain of High Heaven," on another the Dominion of the Night, and on the third the "Sea-Plain." But we do not in the earlier legends see

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[72] General Le Gendre, quoted by Sir Edward Reed.

such sovereignty actually administered. The heavenly gods seem rather to have been conceived as forming a sort of commonwealth, who decided things by meeting together in council in the stony bed of the "River of Heaven," and taking the advice of the shrewdest of their number. Indeed the various divine assemblies, to which the story in the "Records" and "Chronicles" introduces us, remind us of nothing so much as of the village assemblies of primitive tribes in many parts of the world, where the cleverness of one and the general willingness to follow his suggestions fill the place of the more definite organization of later times.

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called "Divine Age" but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that any kind of political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly we find that the "Territorial Owners" of Yamato, and the "Rulers" of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural, as if to intimate that they exercised a divided sovereignty. During the whole of the so-called "Human Age" we meet, both in parts of the country which were already subject to the Imperial rule and in others which were not yet annexed, with local magnates bearing these same titles of "Territorial Owners," "Rulers," "Chiefs," etc.; and the impression left on the mind is that in early historical times the sovereign's power was not exercised directly over all parts of Japan, but that in many cases the local chieftains continued to hold sway though owning some sort of allegiance to the emperor in Yamato, while in others the emperor was strong enough to

depose these local rulers, and to put in their place his own kindred or retainers, who however exercised unlimited authority in their own districts, and used the same titles as had been borne by the former native rulers,—that, in fact, the government was feudal rather than centralized. This characteristic of the political organization of Early Japan has not altogether escaped the attention of the native commentators. Indeed the great Shintō scholar Hirata not only recognizes the fact, but endeavours to prove that the system of centralization which obtained during the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth centuries, and which has been revived in our own day, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese bureaucratic system; and he asserts that an organized feudalism, similar to that which existed from the twelfth century down to the year 1867, was the sole really ancient and national Japanese form of government. The translator cannot follow Hirata to such lengths, as he sees no evidence in the early histories of the intricate organization of mediæval Japan. But that, beyond the immediate limits of the Imperial domain, the government *resembled* feudalism rather than centralization seems indisputable. It is also true that the seventh century witnessed a sudden move in the direction of bureaucratic organization, many of the titles which had up till that time denoted actual provincial chieftains being then either suppressed, or else allowed to sink into mere "gentile names." Another remark which is suggested by a careful perusal of the two ancient histories is that the Imperial succession was in early historical times very irregular. Strange gaps occur as late as the sixth century of our era; and even when it was one of the children who inherited his father's throne, that child was rarely the eldest son.

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What now are we to gather from this analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions as to the still remoter history and tribal divisions of Japan, and as to the

origin of the Japanese legends? Very little that is certain, perhaps; but, in the opinion of the present writer, two or three interesting probabilities.

In view of the multiplicity of gods and the complications of the so-called historical traditions, he thinks that it would be *à priori* difficult to believe that the development of Japanese civilization should have run on in a single stream broken only in the third century by the commencement of intercourse with the mainland of Asia. We are, however, not left to such a merely theoretical consideration. There are clear indications of there having been three centres of legendary cycles, three streams which mixed together to form the Japan which meets us at the dawn of authentic history in the fifth century of our era. One of these centres,—the most important in the mythology,—is Idzumo; the second is Yamato; the third is Tsukushi, called in modern times Kiushiu. Eastern and Northern Japan count for nothing; indeed, much of the North-East and North was, down to comparatively recent times, occupied by the barbarous Ainos or, as they are called by the Japanese Yemishi, Yebisu or Yezo. That the legends or traditions derived from the three parts of the country here mentioned accord but imperfectly together is an opinion which has already been alluded to, and upon which light may perhaps be thrown by a more thorough sifting of the myths and beliefs classified according to this three-fold system. The question of the ancient division of Japan into several independent states is, however, not completely a matter of opinion. For we have in the "*Shan Hai Ching*[73]" a positive statement concerning a Northern and a Southern Yamato (倭), and the Chinese annals of both the Han dynasties tell us of the division of the country into a much larger number of kingdoms, of which, according to the annals of the later Han dynasty, Yamato (邪馬臺) was the most powerful. A later official Chinese historian also tells us that *Jih-pên* (日本, our *Japan*) and Yamato had been two different states, and that *Jih-*

[73] 山海經.

pên was reported to have swallowed up Yamato. By *fih-pên* the author evidently meant to speak of the island of Tsukushi or of part of it. That the Chinese were fairly well acquainted with Japan is shown by the fact of there being in the old Chinese literature more than one mention of "the country of the hairy people beyond the mountains in the East and North,"—that is of the Yemishi or Ainos. No Chinese book would seem to mention Idzumo as having formed a separate country; and this evidence must be allowed its full weight. It is possible, of course, that Idzumo may have been incorporated with Yamato before the conquest of the latter by the Tsukushi people, and in this case some of the inconsistencies of the history may be traceable to a confusion of the traditions concerning the conquest of Idzumo by Yamato and of those concerning the conquest of Yamato by Tsukushi. Perhaps too (for so almost impossible a task is it to reconstruct history out of legend) there may not, after all, be sufficient warrant for believing in the former existence of Idzumo as a separate state, though it certainly seems hard to account otherwise for the peculiar place that Idzumo occupies in mythic story. In any case, and whatever light may hereafter be thrown on this very obscure question, it must be remembered that, so far as clear native documentary evidence reaches, 400 A.D. is approximately the highest limit of reliable* Japanese history, Beyond that date we are at once confronted with the miraculous; and if any facts relative to earlier Japan are to be extracted from the pages of the "Records" and "Chronicles," it must be by a process very different from that of simply reading and taking their assertions upon trust.

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact it bids us wait to interpret it until such time as further research shall have shown which

* trustworthy—W.G.A.

legends belong together. For if they are of heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in discussions on this subject,—"the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,"—ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geographically by belonging to different parts of the country. Furthermore it may not be superfluous to call attention to the fact that the gods who are mentioned in the opening phrases of the histories as we now have them are not therefore necessarily the gods that were most anciently worshipped. Surely in religions, as in books, it is not often the preface that is written first. And yet this simple consideration has been constantly neglected, and, one after another, European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, without so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter,—viz., the "Records" and the "Chronicles,"—differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps indeed mere inventions of individual priests. There is nothing either in the histories or in the Shintō Rituals to show that these gods, or some one or more of them, were in early days, as has been sometimes supposed, the objects of a purer worship which was afterwards obscured by the legends of Izanagi, Izanami, and their numerous descendants. On the contrary, with the exception of the deity Taka-Mi-Musu-Bi,[74] they are no sooner mentioned than they vanish into space.

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[74] *I.e.* the High August Producing Wondrous Deity. He is the second divine personage whose birth is mentioned in the "Records" (see Sect. I Note 5). In the story of the creation given in the "Chronicles" he does not appear except in "One account."

Whether it is intrinsically likely that so rude a race as the Early Japanese, and a race so little given to metaphysical speculation as the Japanese at all times of their history, should have commenced by a highly abstract worship which they afterwards completely abandoned, is a question which may better be left to those whose general knowledge of early peoples and early religious beliefs entitles their decisions to respect. Their assistance, likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into its several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology should be interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively late times.[75] Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to enlarge the area of the three latter divisions more than would be prudent in the case of the highly imaginative Aryans, and to point out that, though some few Japanese legends or portions of legends can be traced to false etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are therefore true myths in the strictest acceptation of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects,—a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology,—is altogether alien to the Japanese genius, and indeed to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a "disease of language." But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. Thus not only

[75] Sect. XXXVII is a good instance of the third of these categories. For an elaborate myth founded on the name of a place see Sect. LXV. Lesser instances occur in Sects. XLIV, LXV, and LXXIII.

have Japanese Nouns no Genders and Japanese Verbs no Persons, but the names of inanimate objects cannot even be used as the subjects of Transitive Verbs. Nowhere for instance in Japanese, whether Archaic, Classical, or Modern, do we meet with such metaphorical,—mythological,—phrases as "the hot wind melts the ice," or "his conversation delights me," where the words "wind" and "conversation" are spoken of as if they were personal agents. No, the idea is invariably rendered in some other and impersonal way. Yet what a distance separates such statements, in which the ordinary European reader unacquainted with any Altaïc tongue would scarcely recognize the existence of any personification at all, from the bolder flights of Aryan metaphor! Indeed, though Altaïc Asia has produced very few wise men, the words of its languages closely correspond to the definition of words as "the wise man's counters"; for they are colourless and matter-of-fact, and rarely if ever carry him who speaks them above the level of sober reality. At the same time, it is patent that the sun plays *some* part in the Japanese mythology; and even the legend of Prince Yamato-Take, which has hitherto been generally accepted as historical or semi-historical, bears such close resemblance to legends in other countries which have been pronounced to be solar by great authorities that it may at least be worth while to subject it to investigation from that point of view.[76] The present writer has already expressed his conviction that this matter is not one for the specialist to decide alone. He would only, from the Japanese point of view, suggest very particular caution in the application to Japanese legend of a method of interpretation which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results.

A further particular which is deserving of notice is the almost certain fact of a recension of the various traditions at a comparatively late date. This is partly shown by the amount of geographical knowledge displayed in the enumeration of the various islands supposed to have been given birth to by Izanagi

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[76] See Sects. LXXIX-XCI.

and Izanami (the "Male who Invites" and the "Female who Invites"),—an amount and an exactness of knowledge unattainable at a time prior to the union under one rule of all the provinces mentioned, and significantly not extending much beyond those provinces. Such a recension may likewise be inferred,—if the opinion of the manifold origin of the Japanese traditions be accepted,—from the fairly ingenious manner in which their component parts have generally been welded together. The way in which one or two legends,—for instance, that of the curious curse pronounced by the younger brother Ho-wori on the elder Ho-deri—are repeated more than once exemplifies a less intelligent revision.[77] Under this heading may, perhaps, be included the legends of the conquest of Yamato by the Emperor Jim-mu and of the conquest of the same country by the Empress Jin-gō, which certainly bear a suspicious likeness to each other. Of the subjection of Korea by this last-named personage it should be observed that the Chinese and Korean histories, so far as they are known to us, make no mention, and indeed the dates, as more specifically given in the "Chronicles," clearly show the inconsistency of the whole story; for Jin-gō's husband, the Emperor Chiū-ai, is said to have been born in the 19th year of the reign of Sei-mu, *i.e.* in A. D. 149, while his father, Prince Yamato-Take, is said to have died in the 43rd year of Kei-kō, *i.e.* in A. D. 113, so that there is an interval of thirty-six years between the death of the father and the birth of the son![78]

One peculiarly interesting piece of information to be derived

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[77] See this legend as first given in Scets. XL and XLI. and afterwards in quite another context in Sect. CXVI. The way in which "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan" tells the story of the ravages committed on the fields of the Sun-Goddess by her brother, the "Impetuous Male Deity," might perhaps justify the opinion that that likewise is but the same tale in another form. The legend is evidently a very important one.

[78] The translator's attention was drawn to the inconsistency of these dates by Mr. Ernest Satow.

from a careful study of the "Records" and "Chronicles" (though it is one on which the patriotic Japanese commentators preserve complete silence) is that, at the very earliest period to which the twilight of legend stretches back, Chinese influence had already begun to make itself felt in these islands, communicating to the inhabitants both implements and ideas. This is surely a fact of very particular importance, lending, as it does, its weight to the mass of evidence which goes to prove that in almost all known cases culture has been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed. The traces of Chinese influence are indeed not numerous, but they are unmistakable. Thus we find chopsticks mentioned both in the Idzumo and in the Kiushiu legendary cycle. The legend of the birth of the Sun-Goddess and Moon-God from Izanagi's eyes is a scarcely altered fragment of the Chinese myth of P'an Ku; the superstition that peaches had assisted Izanagi to repel the hosts of Hades can almost certainly be traced to a Chinese source, and the hand-maidens of the Japanese Sun-Goddess are mentioned under the exact title of the Spinning Damsel of Chinese myth (天衣織女), while the River of Heaven (天河), which figures in the same legend, is equally Chinese,—for surely both names cannot be mere coincidences. A like remark applies to the name of the Deity of the Kitchen, and to the way in which that deity is mentioned.[79] The art of making an intoxicationg liquor is referred to in the very earliest Japanese legends. Are we to believe that its invention here was independent of its invention on the continent? In this instance moreover the old histories bear witness against themselves; for they mention this same liquor in terms showing that it was a curious rarity in what, according to the accepted chronology, corresponds to the century immediately preceding the Christian era, and again in the third century of that era. The whole story of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and "cassia-tree" (桂) mentioned in it is certainly Chinese, as are the crocodiles. That the so-

[79] See Sect. XXIX, Note 16.

called *maga-tama*, or "curved jewels," which figure so largely in the Japanese mythology, and with which the Early Japanese adorned themselves, were derived from China was already suspected by Mr. Henry von Siebold; and quite latterly Mr. Milne has thrown light on this subject from an altogether unexpected quarter. He has remarked, namely, that jade or the jade-like stone of which many of the *maga-tama* are made, is a mineral which has never yet been met with in Japan. We therefore know that *some* at least of the "curved jewels" or of the material for them came from the mainland, and the probability that the idea of curving these very oddly shaped ornaments was likewise imported thence gains in probability. The peculiar kind of arrow called *narikabura* (鳴鏑) is another trace of Chinese influence in the material order, and a thorough search by a competent Chinese scholar would perhaps reveal others. But enough at least has been said to show the indisputable existence of that influence. From other sources we know that the more recent mythic fancy of Japan has shown itself as little impenetrable to such influence as have the manners and customs of the people. The only difference is that assimilation has of late proceeded with much greater rapidity.

In this, language is another guide; for, though the discoverable traces of Chinese influence are comparatively few in the Archaic Dialect, yet they are there. This is a subject which has as yet scarcely been touched. Two Japanese authors of an elder generation, Kahibara and Arawi Hakuseki, did indeed point out the existence of some such traces. But they drew no inference from them, they did not set to work to discover new ones, and their indications, except in one or two obvious cases, have received little attention from later writers whether native or foreign. But when we compare such words as *kane*, *kume*, *kuni*, *saka*, *tana*, *uma*, and many others with the pronunciation now given, or with that which the phonetic laws of the language in its earlier stage would have caused to be given, to their Chinese equivalents 金. 軍, 郡, 尺, 擅, 馬, etc., the idea forces way that such coincidences of sound and sense cannot all be purely

accidental; and when moreover we find that the great majority of the words in question denote things or ideas that were almost certainly imported, we perceive that a more thorough sifting of Archaic Japanese (especially of botanical and zoological names and of the names of implements and manufactures) would probably be the best means of discovering at least the negative features of an antiquity remoter than all written documents, remoter even than the crystallization of the legends which those documents have preserved. In dealing with Korean words found in Archaic Japanese we tread on more delicate ground; for there we have a language which, unlike Chinese, stands to Japanese in the closest family relationship, making it plain that many coincidences of sound and sense should be ascribed to radical affinity rather than to later intercourse. At the same time it appears more probable that, for instance, such seemingly indigenous Japanese terms as *Hotoke*, "Buddha," and *tera*, "Buddhist temple," should have been in fact borrowed from the corresponding Korean words *Puchhö* and *chöl* than that both nations should have independently chosen homonyms to denote the same foreign ideas. Indeed, it will perhaps not be too bold to assume that in the case of *Hotoke*, "Buddha," we have before us a word whose journeyings consist of many stages, it having been first brought from India to China, then from China to Korea, and thirdly from Korea to Japan, where finally the ingenuity of philologists has discovered for it a Japanese etymology (*hito ke*, "human spirit") with which in reality it has nothing whatever to do.

These introductory remarks have already extended to such a length that a reference to the strikingly parallel case of borrowed customs and ideas which is presented by the Ainos in this same archipelago must be left undeveloped. In conclusion, it need only be remarked that a simple translation of one book, such as is here given, does not nearly exhaust the work which might be expended even on the elucidation of that single book, and much less can it fill the gap which still lies between us and a proper knowledge of Japanese antiquity. To do this, the

co-operation of the archæologist must be obtained, while even in the field of the critical investigation of documents there is an immense deal still to be done. Not only must all the available Japanese sources be made to yield up the information which they contain, but the assistance of Chinese and Korean records must be called in. A large quantity of Chinese literature has already been ransacked for a similar purpose by Matsushita Ken-rin, a translation of part of whose very useful compilation entitled "An Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" (異稱日本傳) would be one of the greatest helps towards the desired knowledge. In fact there still remains to be done for Japanese antiquity from our standpoint what Hirata has done for it from the standpoint of a Japanese Shintoist. Except in some of Mr. Satow's papers published in these "Transactions," the subject has scarcely yet been studied in this spirit, and it is possible that the Japanese members of our Society may be somewhat alarmed at the idea of their national history being treated with so little reverence. Perhaps, however, the discovery of the interest of the field of study thus only waiting to be investigated may reconcile them to the view here propounded. In any case if the early history of Japan is not all true, no amount of make-believe can make it so. What we would like to do is to sift the true from the false. As an eminent writer on anthropology[80] has recently said, "Historical criticism, that is, judgment, is "practised not for the purpose of disbelieving, but of believing. "Its object is not to find fault with the author, but to ascertain "how much of what he says may be reasonably taken as true." Moreover, even in what is not to be accepted as historic fact there is often much that is valuable from other points of view. If, therefore, we lose a thousand years of so-called Japanese history, it must not be forgotten that Japanese mythology remains as the oldest existing product of the Altaïc mind.

* * *

[80] Dr. Tylor in his "Anthopology," Chap. XV.

The following is a list of all the Japanese works quoted in this Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation. For the sake of convenience to the English reader all the titles have been translated excepting some few which, mostly on account of their embodying a recondite allusion, do not admit of translation :—

Catalogue of Family Names, 姓氏錄, by Prince Mata.[81]

Chronicles of Japan (generally quoted as the "Chronicles"), 日本紀 or 日本書紀, by Prince Toneri and others.

Chronicles of Japan Continued, 續日本紀, by Sugano Ason Mamichi, Fujihara no Ason TSUGUNAHA and others.

Chronicles of Japan Explained, 釋日本紀, by URABE no Yasukata.

Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, 先代舊事記, authorship uncertain.

Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by TACHIBANA NO MOROYE (probably).

Collection of Japanese Songs Ancient and Modern, 古今和歌集, by Ki no TSURAYUKI and others.

Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.

Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, 謠曲拾葉集, by Jin-kō.

Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞後釋, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Correct Account of the Divine Age, 神代正語, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

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[81] The names in small capitals are those by which the authors (or compilers) are best known, and are mostly either their surname or personal name. Japanese usage is however very fluctuating, and sanctions moreover the use of a variety of *noms de plume*. Thus Motowori is not only often mentioned by his personal name Norinaga, but also by the designation of *Suzunoya no Ushi*, Mabuchi by the designation of *Agatawi no Ushi*, etc.

Dictionary of Pillow-Words, 冠辭考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.

Digest of the Imperial Genealogies, 纂輯御系圖, by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo and Kurokaha Saneyori.

Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞曆不審考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Examination of Difficult Words, 難語考, by Tachibana no MORIBE.

Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, 國號考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Explanation of Japanese Names, 日本譯名, by KAHIBARA Tokushin.

Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, 日本紀歌廼解, by Arakida no HISAOI.

Exposition of the Ancient Histories, 古史傳, by HIRATA Atsutane.

Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, 異稱日本傳, by Matsushita Ken-rin.

Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (usually quoted simply as "Motowori's Commentary"), 古事記傳, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters Criticized (usually quoted as "Moribe's Critique on Motowori's Commentary"), 難古事記傳, by Tachibana no MORIBE.

Gleanings from Ancient Story, 古語拾遺, by Imibe no HIRONARI.

Idzu no Chi-Waki, 稜威道別, by Tachibana no MORIBE.

Idzu no Koto-waki, 稜威言別, by do.

Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of All the Provinces (MS.), 諸國名義考, by Fujihara no Hitomaro.

Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞曆考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Japanese Words Classified and Explained, 和名類聚鈔, by MINAMOTO NO SHITAGAFU.

Ko-Shi Tsu, 古史通, by ARAWI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.

Kō-Gan Shō (MS.), 厚顔抄, by KEI-CHIYU.

Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (usually quoted as "Tanigaha Shisei's Commentary"), 日本書記通證, by TANIGAHA SHISEI.

Records of Ancient Matters (often quoted simply as the "Records"), 古事記, by Futo no YASUMARO.

Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character, 神字古事記, by Fujihara no Masaoki.

Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic Character, 假名古事記, by Sakata no Kaneyasu.

Records of Ancient Matters Revised, 校正古事記, Anonymous.

Records of Ancient Matters With Marginal Notes (usually quoted as "the Edition of 1687"), 鼇頭古事記, by Deguchi NOBUYOSHI.

Records of Ancient Matters With the Ancient Reading, 古訓古事記, by Nagase no Masachi (published with Motowori's sanction).

Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings, 標註古事記, by Murakami Tadayoshi.

Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞, Authorship Uncertain.

Shintō Discussed Afresh, 神道新論, by Takahashi Gorō.

Sources of the Ancient Histories, 古史徵, by HIRATA Atsutane.

Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, 竹取物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Tama-Katsuma, 玉勝間, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Tokiha-Gusa (the full title is *Jin-Dai Sei-Go Tokiha-Gusa*), 常盤草 (神代正語常盤草), Hosoda TOMINOBU.

Topography of Yamashiro, 山城風土記, Authorship Uncertain.

Tō-Ga (MS.), 東雅, by ARAWI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.

Wa-Kun Shiwori, 和訓桑, by TANIGAHA SHISEI.

Yamato Tales, 大和物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Besides these, two or three standard Chinese works are referred to, such as the "*Yi Ching*" or "Book of Changes" (易經), and the "*Shan Hai Ching*" or "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經); but they are very few, and so easily recognized that it were unnecessary to enumerate them. All Japanese words properly so called are transliterated according to Mr. Satow's "Orthographic System," which, while representing the native spelling, does not in their case differ very greatly from the modern pronunciation. In the case of Sinico-Japanese words, where the divergence between the "Orthographic" spelling and the pronunciation is often considerable, a phonetic spelling has been preferred. With but two or three exceptions, which have been specially noted, Sinico-Japanese words are found only in proper names mentioned in the Preface and in the translator's Introduction, Foot-notes, and Sectional Headings. The few Chinese words that occur in the Introduction and Notes are transliterated according to the method introduced by Sir Thomas Wade, and now so widely used by students of Chinese.

THE

"KO-JI-KI,"

OR

"RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS."

THE KO-JI-KI

OR

RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS

VOL. I.[1]

PREFACE.[2]

I[3] Yasumaro[4] say :[5]

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[1] Literally "Upper Volume," there being three in all, and it being the common Japanese practice (borrowed from the Chinese) to use the words Upper, Middle, and Lower to denote the First, Second and Third Volumes of a work respectively.

[2] The peculiar nature of this Preface, which is but a *tour de force* meant to show that the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so, has been already hinted at in the Introduction. It is indeed a laboured little composition, and, but for the facts stated in its latter portion, has no value except perhaps as a specimen of the manner in which the legends of one country may be made to change aspect by being presented through the medium of the philosophical terminology and set phrases of another. It may be divided into five parts. In the first the writer, in a succession of brief allusions antithetically balanced, summarizes the most striking of the legends that are detailed in the pages of his "Records," and in a few words paints the exploits of some of the early emperors. In the second the troubles that ushered in the reign of the Emperor Tem-mu and his triumph over Prince Ohotomo are related at greater length in high-flown allusive phrases borrowed from the Chinese historians. The third division gives us the Emperor Tem-mu's decree ordering the compilation of the "Records," and the fourth tells how the execution of that decree was delayed till the reign of the Empress Gem-miyō (A.D. 708-715), on whom likewise a panegyric is pronounced. In the fifth and last the compiler enters into some details concerning the style and method which he has adopted.

[3] The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 臣, "vassal," used in China by a subject when addressing his sovereign in writing.

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape?[6] Nevertheless† Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the Passive and Active Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things.[7] Therefore[8] did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions

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* This number and that in the corner of every succeeding page of the Translation is the number of the Volume of Motowori's Commentary treating of of the Section in question.

† Shikō shite (然して) = The next stage was that.—W.G.A.

[4] This is the compiler's personal name. His full name and titles, as given at the end of this preface, were 正五位上勳五等太朝臣安萬侶, *i.e.*, the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit. The family of Futo claimed to descend from His Augustness Kamu-yawi-mimi, second son of the Emperor Jim-mu. Yasumaro's death is recorded in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued," under date of 30th August, A.D. 723.

[5] *I.e.*, I report as follows to Her Majesty the Empress.

[6] *I.e.*, in the primeval void which preceded all phenomena there was neither form nor movement, and it was therefore unnamed and unknowable.

[7] This sentence summarizes the first eight Sections of the text of the "Records." The "three Deities" are the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, and the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (see Sect. I. Notes 4, 5, and 6). The two Spirits representing the "Passive and Active Elements" are the creatrix and creator Izanami and Izanagi (the "Female-Who-Invites" and the "Male-Who-Invites,"—see Sect. II, Note 8), the procreation by whom of the islands of the Japanese archipelago and of a large number of gods and goddesses forms the subject of Sections III.-VII.

[8] The word "therefore" is not appropriate in this place, and Motowori accordingly warns the reader to lay no stress upon it.

of his person ?[9] So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we, by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men.[10] Truly do we know that a mirror was hung up, that jewels were spat out, and that then an Hundred Kings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish,[11] By deliberations in the Tranquil River the Empire

[9] This sentence alludes to Izanagi's visit to Hades, and to the purification of his person on his return to the Upper World (see Sects. IX. and X). It also refers to the birth of the Sun-Goddess and of the Moon-God from his left and from his right eye respectively, and to that of a large number of lesser gods and goddesses, who were produced from every article of his wearing apparel and from every part of his person on the occasion of his performing those ablutions (see Sect. X).

[10] The "original teaching" here mentioned means the original traditions of Japanese antiquity. The "former sages,"—a term which in China fitly designates such philosophers as Confucius and Mencius, but which it is difficult to invest with any particular sense here in Japan where no sages have ever arisen,—may be best taken to mean those unknown persons who transmitted the legends of the gods and early emperors. The "establishment of men" probably alludes to the investiture of the sovereignty of Japan in the human descendants of the Sun-Goddess. The expression is however obscure, and Motowori himself has nothing satisfactory to tell us about it.

[11] The mirror here mentioned is that by means of which the Sun-Goddess was allured out of the cave (see Sect. XVI); the jewels are those which Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") begged of his sister the Sun-Goddess, and crunched into fragments (see Sect. XIII); the blade that was bitten to pieces by the Sun-Goddess figures in the same legend; the serpent is that slain by Susa-no-Wo after his banishment from Heaven (see Sect. XVIII); the "Myriad Deities" are supposed by Motowori to be this same god's numerous descendants (see Sect. XX), who ruled in Idzumo. There remains the phrase "an Hundred Kings," which is lacking in clearness. The only rational interpretation of it is as designating the Japanese imperial line, and yet the reference seems to have no special appropriateness in this context.

was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was purified.[12] Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi[13] first descended to the Peak of Takachi,[14] and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato[15] did traverse the Island of the Dragon-Fly.[16] A weird* bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura.[17] They with tails obstructed the path,

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* 化—W.G.A.

[12] For the Tranquil River of Heaven, in whose stony bed the gods were wont to meet in council, see Sect. XIII, Note 12. The divine deliberations here referred to are those which resulted in the investiture of the sovereignty of Japan in the grandson of the Sun-Goddess (see Sects. XXX-XXXIII). The "discussions on the Little Shore" allude to the parleys on the beach of Inasa in Idzumo which preceded the abdication of the Deity who had held sway over that part of country prior to the descent of the Sun-Goddess' grandson (see Sect. XXXII).

[13] The abbreviated form of the name of the Sun-Goddess' grandson (see Sect. XXXIII, Notes 5 and 10).

[14] *I.e.*, Mount Takachiho (see Sect. XXXIV, Note 5). The final syllable is here apocopated, in order to preserve the rhythmical balance of the sentence by using only three Chinese characters to write this name, the "Island of the Dragon-Fly" being likewise written with three characters.

[15] *I.e.*, the first "human emperor" Jim-mu, whose full native Japanese name is Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko. For the account of his reign see Sects. XLIV-LII.

[16] *I.e.*, Japan. For the traditional origin of this poetical synonym of Japan see Sect. V, Note 26 and also the legend in Sect. CLVI. The word "traverse" in this sentence alludes to the Emperor Jim-mu's victorious progress from Western Japan to Yamato in the centre of the country, which he is said to have subdued, and where it is related that he established his capital (see Sects. XLIV-L).

[17] For the mention of the bear, whose appearance caused the Emperor Jim-mu and his army to faint away, see commencement of Sect. XLV. Motowori thinks that the character 爪, "claws," is a copyist's error for 山, "mountain" or 穴, "hole," (*Conf.* Sect. XLV, Note 2). For the curious legend of the sabre see the same Section, and for the name of Takakura see more especially Note 3 to that Section.

and a great crow guided him to Yeshinu.[18] Dancing in rows they destroyed* the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen.[19] Being instructed in a dream, he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was therefore styled the Wise Monarch;[20]† having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people, and is therefore remembered as the the Emperor-Sage.[21] Determining the frontiers and civilizing the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi;[22] reforming the surnames and selecting the gentile names,

* Expel ?—W.G.A.

† Jingo ? Motoori—W.G.A.

18 For the gods with tails who met and conversed with the Emperor Jim-mu in Yamato, see the latter part of Sect. XLVI, a perusal of of which will however show that the phrase "obstructed the path,' which is here used of them, is not exactly applicable. The miraculous crow, which was sent down from Heaven to assist Jim-mu in his conquests, is mentioned at the commencement of the same Section and again at the commencement of Sect. XLVII. For Yeshinu (modern Yoshino) see Sect. XLVI, note 3.

19 The word "dancing" in this sentence must not be too closely pressed, as it is used simply to balance the word "song" in the parallel clause,—which clause itself does but echo the sense of that which precedes it. The reference is to the song which Jim-mu sang as a signal to his followers to destroy the "earth-spiders" (see Sect. XLVIII), and perhaps also to the songs in Sect. XLIX.

20 "The Emperor Sū-jin" must be mentally supplied as the logical subject of this clause. For the story of his dream see Sect. LXIV, and for the origin of the laudatory designation here mentioned see the end of Sect. LXVII, which is however obscure.

21 "The Emperor Nin-toku" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. The allusion to the smoke and the laudatory designation here mentioned will be understood by reference to Sect. CXXI. The "black-haired people" is a common Chinese phrase for the peasantry or the people in general.

22 "The Emperor Sei-mu" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. His labours are briefly recapitulated in Sect. XCIV. For the province called Nearer Afumi (*Chika-tsu-Afumi*,) see Sect. XXIX Note 20. Its name is here rhythmically balanced against "Further Asuka" in the following clause.

he held sway at the Further Asuka.[23] Though each differed in caution and in ardour, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution.[24]

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka,[25] the Hidden Dragon put on perfection, the Reiterated*

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* Reverberating.—W.G.A.

[23] "The Emperor Ingiyō" must be supplied as the logical subject of this sentence. This Sovereign's rectification of the names forms the subject of Sect. CXXXIX. For Further Asuka (*Toho-tsu-Asuka*) see Sect. CXXXIII, Notes 13 and 11.

[24] *I.e.*, though unlike in character, some of the ancient emperors excelling in caution and others in ardour, some being remarkable for their attainments and others for their native worth, yet was there not one without a claim to greatness, not one who did not regard antiquity as the standard by which modern times should be judged, and repair the deviations from antique perfection that successively arose during the lapse of ages.—How marvellously inapplicable is this rodomontade to the early monarchs of Japan the student of Japanese history need scarcely be told, and Motowori himself allows that "it is not completely appropriate." Here the first part of the Preface terminates.

[25] Viz., the Emperor Tem-mu, whose struggle for the crown in the latter part of the seventh century of our era against the contending claims of Prince Ohotomo is related at great length in the pages of the "Chronicles," though naturally beyond the scope of these "Records," which close in A.D. 628. The "Eight Great Islands" is one of the synonyms of Japan (see Sect. V. Note 27). The reason for the specially laudatory mention in this place of the Emperor Tem-mu is the fact that it was with him that the idea of compiling these Records originated, as is indeed stated a little further on. He is here alluded to by the expressions Hidden Dragon and Reiterated Thunder, metaphorical names borrowed from the "*Yi Ching*" and denoting the heir apparent, Tem-mu not having ascended the throne till some time after his predecessor's death, as Prince Ohotomo disputed by force of

Thunder came at the appointed moment. Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless Heaven's time was not yet, and he escaped like the cicada to the Southern Mountains; both men and matters were favourable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the Imperial

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arms his right to the succession. "The phrases "put on perfection" and "came at the appointed moment" are attempts at representing the original 體元, and 應期. The meaning is that the Emperor Tem-mu was the man for the age, and that he took his proper and exalted place in it. In the following sentences we have a flowery *résumé* of the story of the successful war by which he obtained the crown. The reference to the "song in a dream" is indeed obscure; but the "water at night" is the River Yoko, which we read of in the "Chronicles" as having been crossed by him. The characters somewhat freely rendered by the English words "succession" and "inheritance" are 業 and 基, which approximate to that sense in this context. The "Southern Mountains" are the Mountains of Yoshino, whither he escaped for a season as a cicada escapes from its cast-off shell; the "Eastern land" denotes the eastern provinces of Japan where he organized his army. The "Six Divisions" and the "Three Hosts" are Chinese designations of the Imperial troops, while the "ill-omened crew" of course refers to Tem-mu's enemies,—Prince Ohotomo and his followers. In the ensuing sentence we see peace restored: Tem-mu has returned to the capital (for which the words "Flowery Summer" are a Chinese periphrasis), he has taken in his hands the insignia of office, and reigns supreme over the Six Cardinal Points (North, South, East, West, Above, and Below) and over the "Eight Wildernesses" (*i.e.*, the barbarous regions on all sides). The writer concludes this division of his Preface by a glowing panegyric of the Monarch, who was, he says, superior to Hsüan Hou (軒后 Jap. Ken-Kō), and Chou Wang (周王 Jap. Shiū-O), famous Chinese sovereigns of the legendary period. So intelligent were his efforts, so perfect was his conformity with the ways of Heaven as displayed in the workings of the Active and Passive Essences, that the Five Elements (Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, and Earth) all interacted with due regularity, and laudable usages alone prevailed throughout the land. Up to this point the preface may be said to be purely ornamental.

Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day* had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon.[26] At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to the Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped Ken-Kō, in virtue he surpassed Shiū-Ō. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences,[27] and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason wherewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its† fervour, clearly observed former ages.

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: "I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the "original words in the possession of the various families deviate "from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods.

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* Why not adopt Motoori's explanation 12 days.—W.G.A.

† Glowing and luminous.—W.G.A.

[26] *I.e.*, March (20th as the "Chronicles" tell us), A.D. 673. The original, to denote the year and the month mentioned, uses the periphrases 歲次大梁 and 月踵夾鍾, but doubtless without any reference to the original proper meaning of those terms.

[27] The text literally reads thus: "He rode in the exactness of the Two Essences." But the author's intention is to tell us that Tem-mu acted according to the golden mean, keeping the balance even, and not inclining unduly either to the Active or the Passive side.

"If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, "ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the "great basis[28] of the country, the grand foundation of the "monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the "chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old "words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and "truth determined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after "ages."[29] At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears.[30] Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless time elapsed and the age changed,* and the thing was not yet carried out.[31]

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire,—being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people.[32] Ruling from the Purple Palace,

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* *I.e.*, there was a new reign.—W.G.A.

[28] Literally "warp and woof," *i.e.*, canon, standard, mainspring, first necessity.

[29] This is the imperial decree ordering the compilation of the "Records of Ancient Matters." The expressions "original words" (本辭) and "old words" (舊辭) are curious, and Motowori is probably right in arguing from the emphatic manner in which they are repeated that the Emperor Tem-mu attached special importance to the actual archaic phraseology in which some at least of the early documents or traditions had been handed down.

[30] *I.e.*, he could repeat the contents of any document that he had once seen and remember all that he had ever heard.

[31] *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu died before the plan of the compilation of these "Records" had been carried into execution, viz., it may be presumed, before a selection from the various original documents committed to memory by Are had been reduced to writing.

[32] 得一光宅通三亭育, For the phrase "obtaining Unity," which is borrowed from Lao Tzu, the student should consult Stanislas Julien's

Her virtue reaches to the utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations.* In fame She must be pronounced superior to Bum-Mei, in virtue more eminent than Ten-Itsu.[33] Here-

"Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu," pp. 144-149. The "Triad" is the threefold intelligence of Heaven, Earth, and Man. The general meaning of the sentence is that the Empress' perfect virtue, which is in complete accord with the heavenly ordinances, is spread abroad throughout the empire, and that with her all-penetrating insight she nourishes and sustains her people.

*Does not 重譯 mean simply "interpreters" cf. Nihongi IX. 33 (Page 252 Aston's Translation) extract from Tsin book. Also Parker translates so in early Japanese History.—W.G.A.

[33] In the above four sentences the compiler expresses his respectful admiration of the Empress Gem-miyō, who was on the throne at the time when he wrote, and tells us how wide was her rule and how prosperous her reign. The "Purple Palace" is one of the ornamental names borrowed from the Chinese to denote the imperial residence. The "Sombre Retinue"* (if such indeed is the correct rendering of the original expression 玄扈) is a phrase on which no authority consulted by the translator throws any light. The "utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks" and the "furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows" are favourite phrases in the old literature of Japan to express extreme distance (see, for instance, Mr. Satow's translation of the Ritual of the Praying for Harvest," Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 111 of these "Transactions," and the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 111). Such unusual phenomena as connected stalks, *i.e.*, trunks springing from the same root and uniting again higher up, and "joint rice-ears," *i.e.*, two rice-ears growing on a single stem, are considered lucky omens by the Chinese, and their appearance is duly chronicled in those Japanese histories that are composed after the Chinese model. The "continuous beacon-fires"† and the "repeated interpretations" are phrases alluding to the foreign lands (*i.e.*, the various small

upon,[34] regretting the errors in the old words, and wishing to correct the misstatements in the former chronicles, She, on the eighteenth day of the ninth moon of the fourth year of Wa-dō,[35] commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words learnt by heart by Hiyeda no Are according to the Imperial Decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her.[36]

In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters.[37] To relate

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Korean states) speaking strange languages, whence tribute was sent to Japan. The text, as it stands, gives the impression that the arrival of the tribute-ships was announced by beacon-fires being lighted. Motowori however wishes us to understand the author's meaning to be that foreign states which, in the natural course of events, would be inimical, and the approach of whose ships would be signalized by the lighting of beacon-fires, now peacefully sent gifts to the Japanese monarch. It may by added that the whole sentence is borrowed scarcely without alteration from the "*Wen Hsüan*" (文選). Bum-mei is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 文命, the original name of Yü (禹), a celebrated legendary emperor of China. Ten-Itsu is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 天乙, the original name of the ancient emperor T'ang (湯), who is said to have founded the Shang dynasty in the eighteenth century B.C.

* Vide Legge's Annals of the Bamboo Books. "The characters for Sombre Retinue" are the name of a place where the Emperor Hwangti had his throne, above Loy Ang.—W.G.A.

† *Cf.* passage quoted by Motoori, but vide Williams Chinese Dictionary p. 1094. The phrase is borrowed from China where it is more applicable than in Japan. In Korea nightly signals are made to the capital from the provinces, by beacon fires, to signify that all is well, perhaps some such practice is alluded to. My Chinese beacon customs.—W.G.A.

[34] This word is here used as an initial particle without special significance.

[35] *I.e.*, 3rd November, A.D. 711. Wa-dō (和銅) is the name of a Japanese "year-period" which lasted from A.D. 708 to 714.

[36] *I.e.*, present them to her. With this sentence ends the fourth division of the preface.

everything in ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy.[38] For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy?[39] Again, in such cases as calling the surname 日下 *Kusaka*, and the personal name written with the character

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[37] *I.e.*, the simplicity of speech and thought in Early Japan renders it too hard a task to rearrange the old documents committed to memory by Are in such a manner as to make them conform to the rules of Chinese style.

[38] *I.e.*, if I adopted in its entirety the Chinese ideographic method of writing, I should often fail of giving a true impression of the original documents (*conf.* the preceding Note). If, on the other hand, I consistently used the Chinese characters, syllable by syllable, as phonetic symbols for Japanese sounds, this work would attain to inordinate proportions, on account of the great length of the polysyllabic Japanese as compared with the monosyllabic Chinese. The author's meaning may be illustrated by referring to the first clause of the "Records," 天地初發之時 ("when Heaven and Earth began"), which is thus written ideographically with six Chinese characters, whereas it would require no less than eleven to write it phonetically so as to represent the sound of the Japanese words *ame tsuchi no hazhime no toki*, viz., 阿米都知能波士賣能登伎. It should be noticed that in this passage the author employs the technical expressions *on* and *kun* (音 and 訓) in a manner which is the precise reverse of that sanctioned by modern usage, *on* being with him the phonetic, and *kun* the ideographic, acceptation of the Chinese characters.

[39] It will be seen by perusing the following translation that the author can scarcely be said to have vouchsafed as much exegetical matter as this statement would lead us to expect. Indeed his "comments" are mostly confined to information concerning the pronunciation of certain characters. See however Motowori's remarks on this sentence in Vol. II pp. 19-20 of his Commentary.

帶 *Tarashi*, I have followed usage without alteration.[40] Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Woharida.[41] So from the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Oho-Sazaki down to the great palace of Woharida makes the Third Volume.[42] Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present.[43] I Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble* Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of

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* Motowori has "Oho" why Futo? And Oho no Ason does not look like *oho* being part of the name. Is it not simply the Great Court Noble? *Ason* is a mean title "Respectfully presented."—W.G.A.

[40] The author here refers to a certain class of Japanese words which offer peculiar difficulties because written neither ideographically nor phonetically, but in a completely arbitrary manner, the result of a freak of usage. His manner of expressing himself is, however, ambigous. What he meant to say is, as Motowori points out: "Again in such cases as writing the surname *Kusaka* with the characters 日下, and the personal name *Tarashi* with the character 帶, I have followed usage without alteration." It is his imperfect mastery over the Chinese construction that makes him fall into such errors,—errors easily rectifiable, however, by the more widely read modern Japanese *literati*.

[41] *I.e.*, commence with the creation, and end with the death of the Empress Sui-ko (A.D 628), who resided at Woharida.

[42] For the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of Heaven see Sect. I, Note 4, and for Prince-Wave-Limit, etc., see Sect. XLII, Note 15. Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko is the proper native Japanese name of the emperor commonly known by the Chinese "canonical name" of Jimmu. Homuda is part of the native Japanese name of the Emperor O-jin (see Sects. XCIV to CXVIII). Oho-Sazaki is the native Japanese name of the Emperor Nin-toku (see Sects. CXIX to CXXX).

[43] *Q.d.*, to the Empress.

the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wa-dō.[44]

[44] *I.e.*, 10th March, A.D. 712.

THE KO-JI-KI

OR

RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS.

[SECT. I.—THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.]

The names of the Deities[1] that were born[2] in the Plain of High Heaven[3] when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven,[4] next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity,[5] next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity.[6] These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons.[7] The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a

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[1] For this rendering of the Japanese word *kami* see Introduction, pp. xix-xx.

[2] Literally, "that became" (成). Such "becoming" is concisely defined by Motowori as "the birth of that which did not exist before."

[3] In Japanese *Takama-no-hara.*

[4] *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami.*

[5] *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami.* It is open to doubt whether the syllable *bi*, instead of signifying "wondrous," may not simply be a verbal termination, in which case the three syllables *musubi* would mean, not "wondrous producing," but simply "producing," *i.e.*, if we adopt the interpretation of the Verb *musubu* as "to produce" in the Active sense of the word, an interpretation as to whose propriety there is some room for doubt. In the absence of certainty the translator has followed the view expressed by Motowori and adopted by Hirata The same remark applies to the following and other similar names.

[6] *Kami-musu-bi-no-kami.* This name reappears in later Sections under the lengthened form of *Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, i.e., His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, and also in abbreviated forms.

[7] *I.e.*, they all came into existence without being procreated in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, *i.e.*, died.

reed-shoot when the earth,[8] young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity,[9] next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity.[10] * These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities.[11]

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[8] Here and elsewhere the character 國, properly "country" (*regio*), is used where "earth" (*tellus*) better suits the sense. Apparently in the old language the word *kuni* (written 國), which is now restricted to the former meaning, was used ambiguously somewhat like our word "land."

[9] *Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami.* For *hiko* here and elsewhere rendered "prince" see Introduction p. xviii; *ji* is rendered "elder" in accordance with the opinion expressed by Motowori and Hirata, who say that it is "an Honorific designation of males identical with the *ji* meaning old man."

[10] Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven, *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami.* The translation of the name here given follows the natural meaning of the characters composing it, and has the sanction of Tanigaha Shisei. Motowori and Hirata take *toko* to stand for *soko*, "bottom," and interpret accordingly; but this is probably but one of the many instances in which the Japanese philologists allow themselves to be led by the boldness of their etymological speculations into identifying words radically distinct.

* Might not this mean: the Deity by whom Heaven stands for ever?—W.G.A.

[11] This is a note in the original, where such notes are indented, as has also been done in the translation. The author's obscure phrase is explained by Motowori to mean that these Heavenly Deities were separate from those who came into existence afterwards, and especially from the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity (*Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*) who in the "Chronicles" is the first divine being of whom mention in made. These five were, he says, "separate" and had nothing to do with the creation of the world. It should be stated that the sentence will also bear the interpretation "The five Deities in the above list are Deities who divided Heaven" (*i.e.*, presumably from Earth); but this rendering has against it the authority of all the native editors. As the expressions "Heavenly Deity" and "Earthly Deity" (lit.,

[SECT. II.—THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS.]

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity,[1] next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity.[2] These two Deities were likewise Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord, next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady;[3] next the Germ-

"Country Deity") are of frequent occurrence in these "Records," it may be as well to state that, according to Motowori, the "Heavenly Deities" were such as either dwelt in Heaven or had originally descended to Earth from Heaven, whereas the Earthly Deities were those born and dwelling in Japan.

[1] Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-on-Earth, *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*. *Conf.* Note 10 to Sect. I.

[2] *Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami*. There is much doubt as to the proper interpretation of this name. The characters 雲野 ("cloud-moor"), with which the syllables read *kumo-nu* are written, are almost certainly phonetic, and the translator has followed Motowori's view as corrected by Hirata, according to which *kumo* is taken to stand for *kumu*, "integrating," and *nu* is considered to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master" (or more vaguely "the person who presides at or does a thing"). Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-words," Article *Sasu-take*, argues that the syllables in question should be interpreted in the sense of "coagulated mud"; but this is less satisfactory.

[3] *U-hiji-ni-no-kami* and *Su-hiji-ni-no-kami*. The names of this pair lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. Motowori's view of the meaning of the first three syllables in each seems best, as it is founded on the Chinese characters with which they are written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles", and it has therefore been adopted here. Hirata interprets the names thus: First-Mud-Lord and First-Sand-Lady, and takes *ni* to be an alternative form of the Honorific *ne* found in so many proper names. This view of the meaning of *ni* has been followed by the translator. On the other hand Mabuchi explains the names to mean respectively Floating-Mud-Earth and Sinking-Mud-Earth. The only thing therefore that is granted by all is that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made.—The reader will bear in mind that "younger sister" and "wife" are convertible names in Archaic Japanese. (See Introduction p. XLIII.)

Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister* the Life-Integrating-Deity;[4] next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place;[5] next the Deity Perfect-Exterior,[6] next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady;[7] next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites,† next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites.[8]

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* Or young woman.—W.G.A.

[4] *Tsunu-guhi-no-kami* and *Iku-guhi-no-kami*. The interpretation given is one in which the commentators agree, and which has some probability in its favour. It must however only be accepted with reservation.

[5] *Oho-to-no-ji-no-kami* and *Oho-to-no-be-no-kami*.

[6] *Omo-daru-no-kami*. We might also render *omo-daru* by "perfect-face," *i.e.*, "perfectly beautiful."

[7] *Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami*. For "awful" we might substitute "venerable." Hirata, commentating on this name and the seven which precede it, says: "*U-hiji-ni* and *Su-hiji-ni* are so named from their "having contained the germs of what was to become the earth. *Oho-*"*to-no-ji* and *Oho-to-no-be* are so called from the appearance of the "incipient earth. *Tsunu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi* are so called from the "united appearance of the earth and the Deities as they came into "existence. *Omo-daru* and *Kashiko-ne* are so called from the com-"pletion of the august persons of the Deities. Thus their names were "given to them from the gradal progress [of creation]."

† Incites?—W.G.A.

[8] *Izana-gi-no-kami* and *Izana-mi-no-kami*. There is some slight diversity of opinion as to the literal signification of the component parts of the names of these the best-known of the Deities hitherto mentioned, though the gist of the meaning remains unchanged. Motowori would prefer to read *Iza-na-gi* and *Iza-na-mi*, taking the syllable *na* as the Second Personal Pronoun "thou," and understanding the name thus: "the Prince-Who-Invites-Thee" and the "Princess-Who-Invites-Thee." It seems however more natural to look on *izana* as forming but one word, viz., the Root of the Verb *Izanafu*, "to invite." The older native commentators mean the same thing when they tell us that *na* is an Expletive. The syllables *gi* and *mi* are of uncertain etymology, but occur in other Archaic words to denote the male and female of a pair. The appropriateness of the names of these deities will be seen by referring to Sect. IV.

From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations. (The two solitary Deities above [-mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of deities is called a generation.)[9]

[SECT. III.—THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO.]

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness[1] the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear,[2] they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[3] pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with

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[9] For explanatory notes which are printed in small type in the original, small type is likewise used in the translation.

[1] For this rendering of the Japanese title *Mikoto* see Introduction, p. xviii, last paragraph.

[2] The characters translated "jewelled spear" are 沼矛, whose proper Chinese signification would be quite different. But the first of the two almost certainly stands phonetically for 瓊 or 玉,—the syllable *nu*, which is its sound, having apparently been an ancient word for "jewel" or "bead", the better-known Japanese term being *tama*. In many places the word "jewel" (or "jewelled") seems to be used simply as an adjective expressive of beauty. But Motowori and Hirata credit it in this instance with its proper signification, and the translator always renders it literally, leaving the reader to consider it to be used metaphorically if and where he pleases.

[3] *Ama-no-uki-hashi* or *Ame-no-uki-hashi*, The best authorities are at variance as to the nature of this bridge uniting Heaven with Earth. Hirata identifies it with the Heavenly-Rock-Boat (*Ame-no-iha-fune*) mentioned in some ancient writings, whereas Motowori takes it to have been a real bridge, and finds traces of it and of similar bridges in the so-called "Heavenly Stairs" (*Ama-no-hashi-date*) which are found on several points of the coast, forming a kind of natural breakwater just above water-level.

it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle-curdle,[4] and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro.[5]

[SECT. IV.—COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE-WHO-INVITES.]

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection[1] of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of an hall of eight fathoms.[2] Tunc quæsivit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] a minore sorore Augustâ Feminâ-Qui-Invitat:

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[4] *I.e.*, "till it became thick and glutinous." It is not easy to find in English a word which will aptly render the original Japanese onomatopœia *koworo-koworo.* The meaning may also be "till it made a curdling sound." But though the character 鳴, "to make a noise," sanctions this view, it is not the view approved by the commentators, and 鳴 is probably* only written phonetically for a homonymous word signifying "to become," which we find in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

* Yes.—W.G.A.

[5] *I.e.*, "Self-Curdling," "Self-Condensed." It is supposed to have been one of the islets off the coast of the larger island of Ahaji.

[1] The original of this quasi-causative phrase, of which there is no other example in Japanese literature so far as the translator's reading goes, is interpreted by Motowori in the sense of the English locution to which it literally corresponds, and it has here been rendered accordingly, though with considerable hesitation. Hirata does not approve of Motowori's view; but then the different text which he here adopts imposes on him the necessity of another interpretation. (See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 39–40.)

[2] The original word *hiro* (written 尋) is defined as the distance between the hands when the arms are outstretched. The word rendered "hall" may also be translated "palace."—The text of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" is "they made the Island of Onogoro the central pillar of the land,"—a statement which seems more rational and more in accordance with general tradition than that of these "Records."

"Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?" Respondit dicens: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed una pars est quæ non crevit continua." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut hanc corporis mei partem quæ crevit superflua in tui corporis partem quæ non crevit continua inseram, et regiones procreem?" Augusta Femina-Quæ-Invitat respondit dicens: "Bonum erit." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Quod quum ita sit, ego et tu, hanc cœlestem augustam columnam circumenutes mutuoque occurrentes,* augustarum [i.e. privatarum] partium augustam coitionem faciemus."[3] Hâc pactione factâ, dixit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat]: "Tu a dexterâ circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistrâ occurram." Absolutâ pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat primum inquit: "O venuste et amabilis adolescens!" Deinde Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat inquit: "O venusta et amabilis virgo! Postquam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] locutus est sorori, dicens: "Non decet feminam primum verba facere." Nihilominus in thalamo [opus procreationis] inceperunt, et filium [nomine] Hirudinem[4] [vel Hirudini similem] pepererunt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha.[5] This likewise is not reckoned among their children.[6]

[SECT. V.—BIRTH OF THE EIGHT GREAT ISLANDS.]

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: "The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august place[1] of the

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* May not *mi tomo maguwai* (美斗能麻具波比) mean simply "nuptial-chamber-intercourse" as opposed to irregular chance connection. The author seems to take pains to represent the union of *Izanami* and *Izanagi* as a regular marriage.—W.G.A.

[3] This is Hirata's view of the import of the somewhat obscure original (see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 61–64). Motowori's interpretation is: "auguste in thalamo coibimus."

[4] The name in the original is Hiru-go, an instance of the fortuitous

Heavenly Deities." They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination,[2] and ordered them, saying: "They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words." So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: "Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden!" Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: "Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!" Tali modo quum orationi finem fecerunt, auguste coierunt et pepererunt a child, the Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake.[3] Next they gave birth to the Island of Futa-na

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verbal resemblances occasionally found between unrelated languages.

[5] Literally "foam." It is supposed to have been an islet near the island of Ahaji in the province of Sanuki.

[6] Hiru-go was not so reckoned, because he was a failure.

[1] The characters 御所, here translated "august place" (the proper Chinese signification is "imperial place") are those still in common use to denote the Mikado's palace.

[2] For an elaborate account of the various methods of divination practised by the Ancient Japanese see Note 5 to Mr. Satow's translation of the "Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta" in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 425 *et seq.* "The most important mode of divination practised by the "primitive Japanese was that of scorching the shoulder-blade of a "deer over a clear fire, and finding omens in the cracks produced by "the heat."

[3] *Aha-ji* signifies "foam-way," *i.e.*, "the way to Foam (Aha)-Island,"* on account, it is said, of its intermediate position between the mainland and the province of Aha in what is in modern parlance the Island of Shikoku. The author of the "Chronicles of Old Affairs" fancifully derives the name from *a haji* "my shame." The etymology of Ho-no-sa-wake is disputed; but Hirata, who in the body of Vol. III of his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" had already expended much ingenuity in discussing it, gives the most satisfactory interpretation that has yet been proposed in a postscript to that volume where he explains it to signify "Rice-ear-True-Youth." *Wake* (sometimes

in Iyo.[4] This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess;[5] the Land of Sanuki[6] is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice;[7] the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food;[8] the Land

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waki or *waku*) is a word of frequent occurrence in the names of gods and heroes. Whether it really signifies "youth," as Hirata believes and as it is most natural to suppose, or whether Motowori's guess that it is an Honorific title corrupted from *wage kimi ye* (lit. "my prince elder brother," more freely "lord") remains undecided. When it is used as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "lord," as that in such cases is its import apart from the question of derivation. *Sa*, rendered "true," may almost be considered to have dwindled down to a simple Honorific.—It is this little island which is said by the author of the "Chronicles" to have been the caul with which the great island of Yamato was born. Ahaji and Ho-no-sa-wake must be understood to be alternative names, the latter being what in other cases is prefaced by the phrase "another name for whom."

* I should say Awaji originally meant the millet country, foam being an afterthought.—W.G.A.

[4] *Futa-na* is written with characters signifying "two names" and Motowori's derivation from *futa-narabi*, "two abreast," does not carry conviction. The etymology of Iyo is quite uncertain. It is here taken as the name of the whole island called in modern times Shikoku; but immediately below we find it in its usual modern acceptation of one of the four provinces into which that island is divided. A similar remark applies to Tsukushi a little further on.

[5] *Ye-hime.* For the rendering of *hiko* and *hime* as "prince" and "princess" see Introduction, p. xviii.

[6] Probably derived, as Hirata shows, from *saho-ki*, "pole-trees,"* a tribute of poles† having anciently been paid by that province. Motowori adopts the unusual reading of the name given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," viz. Sanugi, with the last syllable *nigori*'ed.

* Shaft trees.—W.G.A.

† Spear shafts?—W.G.A.

[7] *Ih'-yori-hiko.* The translator, though with some hesitation, follows Motowori in looking on *yori* as a contraction of *yoroshi*, "good." The character used for it in the original is 依.

of Tosa[9] is called Brave-Good-Youth.[10] Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go[11] near Oki.[12] another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth.[13] Next they gave birth to the island of Tsukushi.[14] This island likewise has one body and four faces,[15] and each face has a name. So the Land of Tsukushi is called White-Sun-Youth;[16] the Land of Toyo[17]

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[8] *Oho-ge-tsu-hime.* Remember that *aha* signifies not only "foam" but "millet," so that we need not be astonished to find that the alternative designation of the island so designated is that of a food-goddess.

[9] Etymology uncertain, only fanciful derivations being proposed by the native philologists.

[10] *Take-yori-wake.*

[11] *Mitsu-go* signifies "triplets," lit., "three children." The three islets intended are *Ama-no-shima, Mukafu-no-shima* and *Chiburi-no-shima.*

[12] *Oki* probably here signifies "offing," which is its usual acceptation.

[13] *Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake.* The syllables *oshi*, which recur in the names of many gods and heroes, are rendered "great" in accordance which Motowori's plausible conjecture that they are an abbreviation of *ohoshi* ("great," not "many" as in the later language). The translation of *koro* by "heart" follows a conjecture of Hirata's (Motowori acknowledged that he could make nothing of the word), according to which it is taken to be an abbreviated form of *kokoro*, "heart."

[14] None but fanciful derivations of this word are suggested by the native philologists.

[15] A note to the edition of 1687 says: "Should the word 'four' be changed to 'five'?" For most texts enumerate five countries in this passage with sight variations in the names, Himuka (Hiuga), which it certainly seems strange to omit, being the fourth on the list with the alternative name of Toyokuzhi-hine-wake, while the alternative name Hi is Haya-hi-wake. Motowori argues that an enumeration of four agrees better with the context, while Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary decides in favour of the five. There are thus texts and authorities in favour of both views,

[16] *Shira-bi-wake.*

[17] *Toyo* means "luxuriant" or "fertile." *Hi* appears to signify "fire" or "sun." *Kumaso* is properly a compound, *Kuma-so*, as the

is called Luxuriant-Sun-Youth;[18] the Land of Hi is called Brave-Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth;[19] the Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth.[20] Next they gave birth to the Island of Iki,[21] another name for which is Heaven's One-Pillar.[22] Next they gave birth to the Island of Tsu,[23] another name for which is Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess.[24] Next they gave birth to the Island of Sado.[25] Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly,[26]

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district is often mentioned by the simple name of *So*. *Kuma* signifies "bear," and Motowori suggests that the use of the name of this the fiercest of beasts as a prefix may be traced to the evil reputation of that part of the country for robbers and outlaws. He quotes similar compounds with *kuma* in support of this view.

18 *Toyo-bi-wake.*

19 *Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake.* The interpretation of this name follows Motowori.

20 *Take-bi-wake.*

21 Etymology uncertain, but there seems reason to suppose that the name was originally pronounced Yiki or Yuki.

22 *Ame-hito-tsu-bashira.*

23 *Tsu* (Tsu-shima) means "port," "anchorage," a name probably given to this island on account of its being the midway halting-place for junks plying between Japan and Korea.

24 *Ame-no-sade-yori-hime.* The interpretation of *sade* (rendered "hand-net") is uncertain. The translator has followed that sanctioned by an ode in Vol. I of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by a passage in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained." Hirata takes *sa* to be an Honorific and *te* to be the usual word for "hand," while Motowori gives up the name in despair.

25 Etymology uncertain.

26 *Oho-yamato-toyo-aki-dzu-shima* (the original of the alternative personal name is *Ama-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake*). The etymology of Yamato is much disputed. Mabuchi, in his "Addenda to the Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," derives the name from *yama-to*, "mountain-gate." Motowori, in a learned discussion to be found in his "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," pp. 24–27, proposes three other possible derivations, viz. *yama-to*, "mountain-place," *yama-to* (supposed to stand for *yama-tsubo* and to mean

another name for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth. The name of "Land-of-the-Eight-Great-Islands"[27] therefore originated in these eight islands having been born first. After that, when they had returned,[28] they gave birth to the Island of Ko [-zhima][29] in Kibi,[30] another

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"mountain-secluded"), and *yama-utsu* (*utsu* being a supposititious Archaic from of *uchi*), "within the mountains." Other derivations are *yama-to* (山外), "without the mountains," *yama-ato,* "mountain-traces" and *yama-todomi*, "mountains stopping," *i.e.* (as Moribe, who proposes it, explains), "far as the mountains can be seen." Another disputed point is whether the name of Yamato which here designates the Main Island of the Archipelago, but which in the common parlance of both ancient and modern times is the denomination on the one hand of the single province of Yamato and on the other of the whole Empire of Japan, originally had the wider application or the more restricted one. Motowori and the author of the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" seem to the present writer to make out the case in favour of the latter view. Motowori supposes the name to have denoted first a village and then a district, before being applied to a large province and finally to the entire country. The "Island of the Dragon-fly" is a favourite name for Japan in the language of the Japanese poets. It is traced to a remark of the Emperor Jim-mu, who is said to have compared the shape of the country round Mount Hohoma to "a dragon-fly drinking with its tail." *Conf.* also the tradition forming the subject of Sec. CLVI of the present translation.

[27] *Oho-ya-shima-kuni.* A perhaps still more literal English rendering of this name would be "Land of the Grand Eight Islands" or "Grand Land of the Eight Islands," for the word *oho* must be regarded rather as an Honorific than as actually meant to convey an idea of size.

[28] "To the Island of Onogoro,"* says Motowori; but we are not told that the god and goddess had ever left it.

* The idea plainly is that the God and Goddess went on a circuit depositing islands on their way.—W.G.A.

[29] *Ko* means "infant" or "small." The original of the alternative personal name is *Take-hi-gata-wake. Gata* (or, without the *nigori*, *Kata*) here and in other names offers some difficulty. The translator renders it by the equivalent of the usual Japanese signification of the character 方, "direction," with which it is written.

[30] Etymology uncertain.

name for which [island] is Brave-Sun-Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Adzuki,[31] another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima],[32] another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Hime,[33] another name for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth to the Island of Chika,[34] another name for which is Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island[s] of Futa-go,[35] another name for which is Heaven's-Two-Houses. (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko in Kibi to the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses.)

[SECT. VI.—BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.]

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing;[1] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-

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31 *Adzuki* is writen with the characters 小豆, which signify a kind of bean (the *Phaseolus radiatus*); but it is possible that they represent the sound, and not the sense, of the name. In the alternative personal name *oho* signifies "great," and *hime* "princess," while the syllables *nu-de* are of altogether uncertain interpretation. Motowori suggests that *nu* may mean "moor" and *de* (for *te*) "clapper-bell."

32 *I.e.*, Great Island. The word *tamaru* in the alternative personal name is so obscure that not even any plausible conjecture concerning it has been ventured and the name is therefore of necessity left untranslated.

33 *Hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-hito-tsu-ne.*

34 Etymology uncertain. Motowori would take the name in a Plural sense as standing for the modern islands of Hirado and Go-tō (Goto). The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-no-oshi-wo*, in which as usual, *oshi* is supposed to represent *ohoshi* (大), "great."

35 *Futa-go* means "twins." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-futa-ya.*

1 *Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami.* "The Male-Enduring-Great-Things" would be a possible, but less good rendering. This god is identified

prince;[2] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Nest-Princess;[3] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth;[4] next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing-Male;[5] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince;[6] next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male;[7] next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose

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by Motowori with *Koto-toke-no-wo* mentioned in "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan."

[2] The original *Iha-tsuchi-biko-no-kami* (石土毘古神) is identified by Motowori with *Uha-dzutsu-no-wo* (上筒之男) mentioned in Sect. X (Note 18). He would interpret the first *tsu* (*dzu*) as the Genitive particle and the second as identical with the "Honorific appellation *ji* of males," which occurs in such words as *Hiko-ji*, *Oho-to-no-ji*, etc. If this surmise were correct, the entire name would signify Upper-Lord-Prince; but it is safer to be guided by the characters in the text.

[3] *Iha-zu-bime-no-kami.* Here too Motowori takes the syllable *zu* to be "connected with" the syllables *tsu-tsu* interpreted as above, forgetting apparently that the second *tsu* (*ji*) is said to occur only in the names of males.

[4] *Oho-to-bi-wake-no-kami*, a name which Motowori, by supposing corruptions of the text and by making a plentiful use of the pliant and powerful system of derivation with which the Japanese etymologists lay siege to the difficulties of their language, identifies with *Oho-naho-bi-no-kami*, "the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity," mentioned in Sect. X (Note 16).

[5] *Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami*, identified by Motowori with *I-buki-do-nushi* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification." (See his Commentary on this Ritual, Vol. II, pp. 29–32.)

[6] *Oho-ya-biko-no-kami*, identified by Motowori with *Oho-aya-tsu-bi* mentioned in "One account" of the Chronicles.

[7] *Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami.* Motowori's conjectural interpretation has been followed; but both the reading and the meaning of the original are encompassed with difficulties. Motowori identifies this deity with *Soko-dzutsu-wo* mentioned in Sect. X. (Note 18), and with *Haya-sasura-hime* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification."

name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor;[8] next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates,[9] whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn;[10] next they gave birth to his younger sister the Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities in all from the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.[11]) The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm;[12] next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; Next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider;[13] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor;[14] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince

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8 *Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami.* The interpretation of *mi* as equivalent to *mochi*, "possessor," though not absolutely sure, has for it the weight both of authority and of likelihood.

9 *I.e.*, river-mouths, estuaries, or ports. In the original *Minato-no-kami.*

10 *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko-no-kami. Aki*, whose proper signification is "autumn," might also by metonymy be interpreted to mean "dragon-fly" or "Japan." Motowori, *apropos* of this name, launches forth on very bold derivations and identifications with the names of other gods. The original of the name of the sister-deity is *Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami.*

11 The text here omits the word "Swift" from this name.

12 The original names of this deity and the three that follow are *Awa-nagi-no-kami, Awa-nami-no-kami, Tsura-nagi-no-kami*, and *Tsura-nami-no-kami.* The interpretation of the component parts is open to doubt, but that here adopted has the authority of Motowori and Hirata.

13 *Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami.* The following deity is *Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami.*

14 This deity and the next are in the original *Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami.* The etymology is obtained by comparison with a passage in the "Ritual for Averting Fire" (鎮火祭祝詞).

to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind.[15] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder,[16] next they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.[17] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess,[18] another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes, next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes;[19] next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary,

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15 *Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami.* The original of this name is explained by Motowori, who founds his view on two passages in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," to signify Prince-of-Long-*Breath.* But the translator feels confident that *shi-na*, by him interpreted in the sense of "long breath" (or rather "long of breath") should be connected with *shi*, an old word for wind which we see in *ara-shi* "storm-wind"), *ni-shi* ("west-wind"), *hi-gashi* ("east wind"), and perhaps under a slightly altered form in *kaze*, "wind," whereas *shi* nowhere occurs in the sense of "breath." Hirata notices approvingly this etymology of *shi* ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. III, p. 63), though without venturing flatly to contradict his predecessor's decision as to the import of the name in question. The difference in the meaning is after all slight. *Na* is to be taken as an apocopated form of *nagaki*, "long." In later times *Shinato* has been used as a name for the north-west wind.

16 Such seems to be the meaning of the original *Kuku-no-chi-no-kami.*

17 *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami.*

18 *Kaya-nu-hime-no-kami.* The etymology of the alternative personal name (in the original *Nu-dzu-chi-no-kami*) is not quite certain.

19 The original of these two names is *Ame-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami.* Their signification is obscure, but the translator has, after some hesitation, followed Motowori's inter-

next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary;[20] next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door, next the Deity Earthly-Dark-Door;[21] next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince, next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.[22] (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they[23] next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-tree-Boat,[24] another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat.

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pretation. The words "heavenly" and "earthly" should probably be considered as qualifying "passes." This word "pass," used here and elsewhere to render the Japanese term *saka** (*sa*), must be understood to include lesser ascents than those very arduous ones which are alone denoted by the word "pass" in ordinary English parlance. In the later language of Japan the word *tauge* (*tōge*) generally denotes "passes" properly so called, while *saka* is restricted to the meaning of small ascents or hills. But this distinction is by no means strictly observed.

* *Saka* is the Scotch "brae."—W.G.A.

20 *Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sa-giri-no-kami*. *Sa* seems to be rightly considered, as in the two preceding names, to be an archaic form of *saka* (properly *sa-ka*, "hill-place"), and *giri* as an apocopated form of *kagiri*, (properly *ka-giri*, "place cutting"), "limit" or "boundary." Hirata however, following the Chinese character with which *kiri* is written, interprets it in the sense of "mist.'

21 *Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami*. Motowori explains *kura* (闇, "dark") by *tani* (谷, "valley"), and *to* (戸, "door"), by *tokoro* (處, "place").

22 Such appears to be the proper interpretation of the originals of these two names, *Oho-tomato-hiko-no-kami* and *Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami*, *tomato* being plausibly referred to *towomaru*. It is difficult to find an English word to represent exactly the idea, which is rather that of a gentle *fold* in the mountains than of the narrower and steeper hollow which we call a "valley."

23 *I.e.*, the Prince-Who-Invites and the Princess-Who-Invites (*Izanagi* and *Izana-mi*).

24 *Tori-no-iha-kusa-bune-no-kami*. The alternative name is *Ame-no-tori-bune*, from which the title of Deity is omitted. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. V. pp. 52–53 should be consulted on the subject of this deity.

Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food.[25] Next they gave birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity,[26] another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

[SECT. VII.—RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES.]

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she sickened and lay down.[1] The names of the Deities born from her vomit were the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-princess.[2] The names of the Deities that were born from her fæces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess.[3] The names of the Deities that were next born from

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[25] Homonymous with the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha. (See Sect. V. Note 8.)

[26] *Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami.* If, as seems likely, *yagi* is an incorrect reading for *kagi*, we should have to translate by "shining" the word here rendered "burning." The alternative names are *Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami* and *Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami.* In "One account" of the "Chronicles" and elsewhere in the "Ritual" this fire-god is called *Ho-musubi, i.e.*, "the Fire-Producer."

[1] "Lying down" (*koyasu*) is a term often used in the Archaic language in the sense of "dying." But here it must be taken literally, the death ("divine retirement") of the goddess being narrated a few lines further on.

[2] *Kana-yama-biko-no-kami* and *Kana-yama-bime-no-kami.* The translation of this pair of names follows the plain sense of the characters 金山 with which they are written, and which seems appropriate enough, coming as they do between the deity of fire and deities of clay. Motowori however, declaring both characters to be merely phonetic, derives *kana-yama* from *kare-nayamasu*, "to cause to wither and suffer," and interprets the names accordingly. This is at any rate ingenious.

[3] *Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami* and *Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami.*

her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome[4] and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity.[5] The child of this Deity was called the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.[6] So the Deity the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired.[7] (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.[8])

The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity the Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of Onogoro was not given birth to,[9] and moreover the Leech-Child[10] and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children.)

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: "Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh! that I should

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[4] The signification of this name is not to be ascertained. In the text it is written phonetically 彌都波能賣, and two passages in the "Chronicles," where this deity is mentioned as 水神罔象女 and 水名爲嚴罔象女 with directions in each case to read the name with the sounds here given to it, do not help us much, except in so far as they show that Mitsuhanome was conceived of as the deity of water and as a female.

[5] *Waku-musu-bi-no-kami.*

[6] *Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami.*

[7] *I.e.*, "died."

[8] There is here an error in the computation, as *nine* deities are mentioned. The total of thirty-five deities given immediately below is still more erroneous, as no less than *forty* are named in the preceding passage. Motowori makes an ingenious effort to reconcile arithmetic and revelation by supposing the five pairs of brothers and sisters with parallel names to have been considered as each forming but one deity.

[9] See Sect. III. This island was not *born*, but arose spontaneously from drops of brine.

[10] *Hiru-go.* See the latter part of Sect. IV for these two names. Hiru-go was not counted among the children of these Deities for the reason that the latter abandoned him as soon as he was born, he being a failure. The reason for omitting Aha from the computation is not so clear.

have exchanged thee for this single child!"[11] And as he crept round her august pillow, and as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born* from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu,[12] and

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[11] The text here is very peculiar, the characters rendered "single child" being 子之一木 where we should expect 子之一人 or 子一人. Hirata proposes to consider 木, "tree," which most scholars agree in reading *ke* instead of *ki* in this place, as phonetic for *ke* (毛) "hair," and to interpret the god's words to signify that he values the child no more than a single hair in comparison with the wife whom that child's birth has lost for him. Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," s.v. *Ko no hito-tsu ki* (Vol. I. p. 8 *et seq.*), ingeniously argues that *ki* was an old native Japanese "Auxiliary Numeral" for animals, afterwards driven out by the somewhat like-sounding Chinese word *hiki* (匹) which is now in common use, and that the god employs this degrading Auxiliary Numeral in speaking of his child on account of the resentment which he feels against him. On the other hand we gather from the "Chronicles of Japan Explained" that 木 was used in its natural sense as an "Auxiliary Numeral" for gods and for men of exalted rank. This seems to the translator the better view to follow and it is supported by the use of 柱, *hashira*, as the regular "Auxiliary Numeral" for divine personages. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has simply 一兒 "one infant."

* And crept round her august feet and wept, thereupon there was born.—W.G.A.

[12] This reading is but tentative; for it is not certain that Hirata, whose view has been here adopted, is right in regarding Konomoto and Unewo as names of places. If we followed the older authorities, we should have to translate thus: "The Deity that dwells at the foot of the trees on the slope of the spur of Mount Kagu." The etymology of the name of this celebrated mountain (knows also as *Ame-no-kagu-yama* or *Ama-no-kagu-yama*, i.e., "Heavenly Mount Kagu") is disputed. But Hirata's view, according to which it should be connected with *kago*, "deer," is the most plausible. If it were established we should be tempted to follow him in rendering by "deer-possessor" the name of the deity *Kagu-tsu-chi*, of whom were born the eight gods of mountains, and whose slaying forms the title of the next section. That the fire-deity should be connected with the mountain-deities, and thereby with the deer who roam about the mountains and

whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity.[13] So he buried the divinely retired[14] Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba[15] at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo[16] and the Land of Hahaki.[17]

[SECT. VIII.—THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY.]

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, drawing the ten-grasp* sabre[1] † that was augustly girded on him, cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Hereupon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter,[2] next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity.[3] The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood

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furnish the hunter with a motive for penetrating into their recesses, is of course but natural. The character 香 with which Kagu is written signifies "fragrant"; but it has been suggested that the Japanese word may be connected with an expression signifying "heaven-descended," in allusion to the supposed origin of the mountain as related in an old geographical work (now lost) treating of the Province of Iyo.

13 *Naki-saha-me-no-kami.* The sense of the second word of the compound is "marsh" or "stream"; but Motowori seems right in considering the character 澤 to be here used phonetically as an abbreviation of *isaha* from *isatsu*, "to weep."

14 *I.e.*, dead.

15 Etymology uncertain.

16 For this name see Sect XIX. Note 6.

17 Etymology uncertain.

* Or ten spans long.—W.G.A.

1 One "grasp" is defined as "the breadth of four fingers when the hand is clenched," so that the meaning intended to be conveyed is of a big sabre ten hand-breadths long. The length of sabres and of beards was measured by such "grasps" or "hand-breadths."

† The sabre is curved, but the ancient Japanese sword was straight. —W.G.A.

2 The original names of this deity and the next are *Iha-saku-no-kami* and *Ne-saku-no-kami.*

3 Or the Rock-Elder-Male-Deity, *i.e.*, the Male Deity the Elder of

that stuck to the upper part[4] of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Awfully-Swift-Deity,[5] next the Fire-Swift-Deity,[6]* next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[7] another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity,[8] and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping-Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: the Deity *Kura-okami* and next the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*.[9]

All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*, are Deities that were born from the august sword.

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the Rocks, if with Motowori we regard the second *tsu* of the original name *Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami* as being equivalent to *chi* or *ji*, supposed to be "the honorific appellation of males" elsewhere rendered "elder." The translation in the text proceeds on the assumption that this *tsu* represents *mochi*. The purport of the name remains much the same whichever of these two views be adopted.

[4] Explained by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" through a character signifying "the knob at the end of the guard of the sword."†--(Williams' "Syllabic Dictionary.")

† I have seen in the Tokio Museum an ancient sword the hilt of which ended in a ring, and a definition of 鐔 given in the Shoki Shukai (書紀集解) is "sword-ring."—W.G.A.

[5] *Mika-haya-bi-no-kami.* Motowori seems to be right in regarding *mika* as equivalent to *ika*, the root of *ikameshiki*, "stern," "awful," and *bi* as the root of *buru*, a verbalising suffix.

[6] *Hi haya-bi-no-kami.*

* The character in the Shoki is 熯=*Hiru*, to parch, to scorch, to dry in the sun.—W.G.A.

[7] *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami*, written with the characters 建御雷之男神. The translator has without much hesitation followed Motowori's interpretation.

[8] *Take-futsu-no-kami.* The next name is *Toyo-futsu-no-kami. Futsu* is interpreted in the sense of "the sound of snapping" by reference to a passage in the "Chronicles" where it occurs written both ideographically and phonetically in the name of the deity *Futsu-no-mi-tama.*

[9] The etymology of both these names is obscure. *Kura*, the first element of each compound, signifies "dark."

The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains.[10] The name of the Deity that was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains.[11] The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost Mountains.[12] The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand[13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand[13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot[14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot[14] was

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10 This is the explanation of the original name *Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* which is given in the "Secret of the Chronicles of Japan," and is approved by the later commentators.

11 *Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami.* The English rendering is uncertain, as it rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, deriving *odo* from *ori-do* (下處), "descending place," way down.

12 The original names of this and the following five deities are: *Oku-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Hara-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* and *To-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*. *Shigi*, here translated "dense," seems to be almost certainly a contraction of *shigeki*, which has that signification. *Ha-yama* is a term for which it is hard to find an exact English equivalent. It denotes the lesser hills or first visibly rising ground forming the approach to an actual mountain-range. The signification of *to* in the last name of the set is disputed. Mabuchi takes it in the sense of "gate." The translator prefers Motowori's view; but after all, the difference in meaning does not amount to much. A third derivation proposed by Motowori is *tawa-yama*, i.e. "mountains with folds."*

* See the Nihongi on this passage.—W.G.A

13 Or "arm."

14 Or "leg."

the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains.) So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended.[15]

[SECT. IX.—THE LAND OF HADES.]

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades.[1] So when from the palace she raised the door and came out to meet him,[2] His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I

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[15] These two names are in the original *Ame-no-wo-ha-bari* and *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari*. Their import is not absolutely clear, but they seem to designate a weapon broad towards the point, such as is represented in the illustrations given in Vol. I, pp. 19–20 and Vol. II, pp. 4–5 of the "*Tokiha-Gusa*."

[1] The characters in the original which are here rendered Hades are 黄泉, lit. "Yellow Stream," a Chinese name for the Underworld to which a remark of Mencius and a story in the "*Tso Chuan*" appear to have given rise. They here represent the Japanese word *Yomo* or *Yomi*, which we find phonetically written with the characters 豫母 in the name of *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me* a little further on, and which is defined by Motowori as "an underworld,..... the habitation of the dead,..... the land whither, when they die, go all men, whether noble or mean, virtuous or wicked." The orthodox Japanese derivation of *Yomi* is from *Yoru*, "night," which would give us for *Yomo-tsu-kuni* some such rendering as "the Land of Gloom." A suggestion quoted by Arawi Hakuseki ("*Tōga*," art. *Idzumi*) that the word may really be but a mispronunciation of *Yama*, the Sanscrit name of the Buddhist god of hell, is however worthy of consideration; and it seems best on the whole to translate *Yomi* or *Yomo* by "Hades," a term which is itself of uncertain derivation, and the signification attached to which closely resembles the Japanese *Shintō* notion of the world beyond, or rather beneath, the grave.

"and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying: "Lamentable indeed that thou camest not sooner! I "have eaten of the furnace of Hades.†[3] Nevertheless, as I "reverence[4] the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely "elder brother, I wish to return.[5] Moreover[6] I will discuss it

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[2] The original text 爾自殿騰戸出向之時 seems to be corrupt, and Motowori, unable to make anything of 騰戸, leaves 騰 without any Japanese reading (see the remarks in his Commentary, Vol. VI. pp. 5–6). Mr. Aston, in the version of this passage given in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," follows Motowori in not translating 騰,* but does not allude to the difficulty.

* This character should I think be read *agari*, a 'temporary burying place,' but this does not remove the whole difficulty. See the Nihon Shoki in this passage.—W.G.A.

† A wide-spread idea that once having eaten of the food of a place one is bound to remain?—W.G.A.

[3] *I.e.*, "of the food of Hades." It would be more obvious (following the text) to translate "I have eaten in the doors [*i.e.*, in the house] of Hades"; but the character 戸 in this place stands almost certainly for 竈,‡ "a place for cooking," "a furnace."

‡ As in the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[4] The word *kashikoshi* (恐), here translated "reverence," exactly corresponds to the modern polite idiom *osore-iri-mashita*, for which there is no precise equivalent in English, but which conveys some such sentiment as "I am overpowered by the honour you do me," "I am sorry you should have taken the trouble."

[5] *Q.d.* "with thee to the land of the living."

[6] The original here has the character 且 which signifies "moreover" as in the translation, and Motowori's proposed emendation to 旦 has for it the authority of no manuscript or earlier printed edition. In his "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" he actually substitutes this very *new* reading, accompanying it in *kana* with the Japanese words *ashita ni*, "in the morning." But what is to become of the text if we are at liberty to alter it to suit our convenience,—for there is more than one other pasage where 且 is similarly used?

"particularly with the Deities of Hades.[7] Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth[8] of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light[9] and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming, and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her belly dwelt the Black-Thunder, in her private parts dwelt the Cleaving-Thunder, in her left hand[10] dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand[10] dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot[11] dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot[11] dwelt the Couchant-Thunder;—altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there.[12] Hereupon His Augustness the

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[7] *Yomo-tsu-kami,* Both Motowori and Hirata take the word "Deities" in the Plural, and the translator therefore renders it in that number, though the Singular would be at least equally suitable to the text as it stands. Of the Deities of Hades little or nothing is known. Conf. Note 23 to this Section.

[8] Literally "the male pillar," *i.e.* the large tooth of which there is one at each end of the comb.

[9] The use of the expression "lit *one* light," where it would have been more natural to say simply "lit [a] light," is explained by a gloss in the "Chronicles," which informs us that "at the present day" the lighting of a single light is considered unlucky, as is also the throwing away of a comb at night-time. It is allowed that the gloss is a late addition, and its statement might perhaps be considered a mere invention made to account for the peculiar expression in the text. Motowori tells us however that "it is said by a native" that these actions are still (latter part of 18th century) considered unlucky in the province of Ihami, and the same superstition also survives, as the translator is assured, in Yedo itself. It is to be understood that it was the large tooth broken off from the comb which the god lighted.

[10] Or "arm."

[11] Or "leg."

[12] The Japanese names of the eight Thunder-Deities are: *Oho-ikadzuchi, Ho-no-ikadzuchi, Kuro-ikadzuchi, Saku-ikadzuchi, Waki-ikadzuchi, Tsuchi-ikadzuchi, Nara-ikadzuchi and Fushi-ikadzuchi.* Moribe,

Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades[13] to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress[14] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into† grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand;[15] and as they still pursued, be took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades,[16] three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced

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in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, has some observations on the appropriateness of each of these names which the student will do well to consult if the work should be published.*

* The Nihongi makes eight of these.—W.G.A.

† Why not "produced"? The Nihongi has "changed into."—W.G.A.

13 *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me.*

14 We might perhaps with equal propriety render by "wreath" the word here translated head-dress,—leaves and flowers having been the earliest ornaments for the hair. In later times, however, it has been used to designate any sort of head-dress, and that is also the dictionary meaning of the Chinese character with which it is written. The Japanese words for "head-dress" and "creeper" are homonymous, and indeed the former is probably but a specialised acceptation of the latter.

15 *I.e.* brandishing it behind him.

16 Or Flat Hill of Hades, *Yomo-tsu-hira-saka,* said by Motowori to form the frontier-line between Hades and the World of the Living. See also Note 27 to this Section.

to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help "all living people[17] in the Central Land of Reed-Plains[18] when "they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!" —and he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit.[19] Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock,[20] and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings;[21] and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, thine August-

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[17] The three characters 青人草* here rendered "people" are evidently (Motowori notwithstanding) meant to be equivalent to the common Chinese expression 蒼生, which has that signification. The word translated "living" means literally "present," "visible."

* Yes. It is applied to people in this actual visible world as opposed to the gods and spirits who cannot be seen and is the expression used in the corresponding passage of the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[18] *Ashi-hara-no-waka-tsu-kuni*, a common periphrastic designation of Japan. It is better to translate the name thus than to render it by "the Land in the Middle of the Reed-Plains," a forced interpretation which Motowori and Hirata would only seem to adopt in order to veil the fact that one of the most ancient and revered names of their native land was imitated from that of China,—everything Chinese being an abomination in the sight of these ardent Shintoists. Yamazaki Suiga, as quoted by Tanigaha Shisei, is more sensible when he remarks that each country naturally considers itself central and foreign countries barbarous, and that Japan is not peculiar in being looked on by its inhabitants as the centre of the universe. This is also the view taken by the other earlier scholars.

[19] *Oho-kamu-dzu-mi-no-mikoto.* The difference between Singular and Plural is not often present to the Japanese mind, and though there were three peaches, we might just as well render their name by the words "His Augustness, etc.," considering the three as forming together but one divinity. The interpretation of the name here adopted is the simple and natural one which Motowori borrowed from Tanigaha Shisei.

[20] *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

"ness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to "death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, "Thine Augustness! If *thou* do this *I* will in one day set up "a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses.[22] In this "manner each day a thousand people would surely die, and "each day a thousand and five hundred people would surely "be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades.[23] Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity.[24] Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-back,[25] and again it is called the

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[21] That some kind of leave-taking and separation is intended seems certain; but the precise import of the characters 度事戸 in the text is not to be ascertained. Motowori's "Commentary," Vol. VI, pp. 29–30 and Vol. X, pp. 52–55, should be consulted for an elaborate discussion of the various interpretations which they may be made to bear. Moribe, in his Critique on this Commentary, argues that "divorced each other" is the proper signification of the words, and supports his opinion by the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

[22] *I.e.*, "I will cause fifteen hundred women to bear children." (For the custom of erecting a separate hut for a woman about to be delivered see Introduction p. xxxii.)

[23] *Yomo-tsu-oho-kami.* On this rather embarrassing statement Motowori is silent, and Hirata simply says: "It must be supposed that "the 'Deities of Hades' previously mentioned had been its 'Great "Deities' up to this time, a position which was henceforward assumed "by Her Augustness Izana-mi (the Female-Who-Invites.") Conf. Note 7 to this Section.

[24] *Chi-shiki-no-oho-kami.* [This is Motowori's reading. We might also read *Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami.*] Motowori conclusively proves that "reaching" is the signification of the word *shiki* which is here so translated. That it was already obscure at the time of the compilation of these "Records" is however shown by the fact that it is written syllabically in the first instance, and with a "borrowed character" (*i.e.*, a homonymous word) in the second.

[25] Because the goddess was turned back by it on the road where

Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades.[26] So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass[27] in the Land of Idzumo.

[SECT. X.—THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON.]

Therefore the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites said: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land,—"I have![*] So I will perform the purification of my august "person." So he went out to a plain [covered with] *ahagi*[2] at a small river-mouth near Tachibana[3] in Himuka[4] in [the

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she was pursuing her brother-husband. The original is *Chi-gaheshi* [or *Michi-gaheshi*]-*no-oho-kami*.

[26] *Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-oho-kami*.

[27] *Ifuya-zaka*. Moribe in his "*Idzu-no-chi-waki*" conjectures that Ifuya may be derived from *Yufu-yami*, "evening darkness," an etymology which has at least the merit of suiting the legend.

[*] That I have.—W.G.A.

[1] The words "I have" thus repeated are an attempt to render the concluding words *ari keri* of the sentence in the original, by which, though they have no particular sense, the author evidently set great store, as he writes them syllabically. They may be considered to emphasize what goes before and, says Motowori, "convey the idea of lamentation."[†] The idiom occurs some half-dozen times in the course of the present work.

[†] Exclamation.—W.G.A.

[2] This botanical name is identified by Arawi Hakuseki and Hirata with the modern *hagi*, or "bushclover" (*lespedeza* of various species). The received opinion used to be that the *awoki* (*Aucuba Japonica*) was here intended.

[3] Tachibana is understood to be the general designation of trees of the orange tribe. (See however Sect, LXXIV, Note 7.) Here it is used as a proper name.

[4] This name, which signifies "sun-confronting," was not unnaturally bestowed on a province in the eastern part of the westernmost of the larger Japanese islands, as it might well be conceived as lying "opposite the sun." It has, however, been supposed to have originally denoted the whole of the island in question. In any case the name is not inappropriate, as the island has a long eastern sea-board.

island of] Tsukushi and purified and cleansed himself. So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-Place.[5] The name of the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space.[6] The name of Deity that was born from the august skirt which he next threw down was the Deity Loosen-Put.[7] The name of the Deity that was born from the august upper garment which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-Trouble.[8] The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork Deity.[9] The name of the Deity that was born from the august hat which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-the-Open-Mouth.[10]

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[5] In our text *Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do.*[*] But *funa* should almost certainly be *ku-na* and the name (which has here been translated accordingly) is then illustrated by the more extended version of this myth which is given in the "Chronicles," where we read that the god (probably addressing his sister) threw down his staff with the words: "Come no further." "Stand" must be understood in a Transitive sense: the god *stood* his staff up by thrusting it into the sand.

[*] *Fu* of *funa* may be a Verb meaning "to pass" containing the same root as *heru*. *Funada* and *Kunado* would then have the same signification. Was there a practice of setting up a post to warn people not to approach too closely where a *harai* was being performed?—W.G.A.

[6] This is Moribe's explanation ("*Idzu-no-Chi-waki.*" Vol. IV, p. 44) of the meaning of the original name *Michi-no-naga-chi-ha-no-kami*, the syllable *ha* of which is considered by him to be an alternative form of *ma* (間, "space"). It is however a great crux and Motowori confesses his inability to explain it satisfactorily. Other views as to the import of the syllable in question will be found in the "*Jin-dai no maki Mo-shi'ho-gusa,*" Vol. II, p. 29.

[7] This seems to be the meaning of the original name, if we retain the reading *Toki-okashi-no-kami*. See however Motowori's remarks *in loco*.

[8] *Wadzurahi-no-ushi-no-kami.*

[9] *Chi-mata-no-kami.*

[10] *Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami.* The English rendering of this obscure name proceeds on the assumption that Motowori is correct when he

The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august left hand[11] which he next threw down were the Deity Offing-Distant,[12] next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august right hand which he next threw down were: the Deity Shore-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore.

The twelve Deities mentioned in the foregoing[13] list from the Deity Come-Not-Place down to the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore are Deities that were born from his taking off the things that were on his person.

Thereupon saying: "The water in the upper reach is "[too] rapid; the water in the lower reach is [too] sluggish," he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and, as he

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proposes to consider *kuhi* as equivalent in this place to *kuchi*, "mouth." The gaping trousers no longer filled by the deity's legs would perhaps suggest the idea of an open mouth, though it is true that this is not the deity said to have been actually born from that portion of the attire.

[11] Or "arm."

[12] The names of this deity and the five who follow are in the original *Oki-zakaru-no-kami*, *Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami*, *Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami*, *He-zakaru-no-kami*, *He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami* and *He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami*. The word "wash," by which for want of a better one the Substantive *nagisa* has been rendered, must be understood to signify the part nearest to the strand of the sea or of a river,—the boundary of the waves. The third and sixth of this set of names, in which the syllables *kahi-bera* (here represented by "Intermediate Direction") offer a good deal of difficulty, have been translated in accordance with Motowori's explanation of their probable meaning.

[13] Lit. "right." In Chinese and Japanese compositions the lines follow each other from right to left instead of from top to bottom as with us. "Right" therefore signifies "foregoing," and "left," "following."

washed, there was first born the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, and next the Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils.[14] These two Deities are the Deities that were born from the filth [he contracted] when he went to that polluted, hideous land.[15] The names of the Deities that were next born to rectify those evils were: the Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, next the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity,[16] next the Female-Deity-Idzu.[17] The names of the Deities that were next born, as he bathed at the bottom of the water, were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Bottom,[18] and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the Bottom. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed in the middle [of the water] were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed at the top of the water were the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Surface, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface. These three Ocean-Possessing Deities are the Deities held in reverence as their ancestral Deities by the Chiefs of

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[14] The names of these two deities in the original are *Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami* and *Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami*.

[15] Viz. to Hades.

[16] The names of these two deities in the original are *Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami* and *Oho-naho-bi-no-kami*.

[17] *Idzu-ne-me-no-kami*. The word *Idzu* is incomprehensible, unless indeed, following Motowori, we identify this goddess with the god and goddess *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko* and *Haya-aki-dzu-hime* mentioned in Sect. VI. Note 10, and consider *idzu* as standing by apheresis for *ak.-dzu*.

[18] The original names of this deity and the five who follow are *Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto*, *Nika-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto*, *Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-komi* and *Uha-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto*. There is the usual doubt as to the signification to be assigned to the syllable *tsu* in the second, fourth and last of these names. If it really means, not "elder" but "possessor," we should be obliged to translate by "the Bottom-*Possessing*-Male," etc.

Adzumi.[19] So the Chiefs of Adzumi are the descendants of His Augustness *Utsushi-hi-gana-saku*,[20] a child of these Ocean-Possessing Deities.[21] These three Deities His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, and His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface are the three Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi.[22] The name of the Deity that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye was the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity.[23] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his right august eye was His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor.[24] The name

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[19] *Adzumi no murazhi.* This name is said by Motowori to be taken from that of a place in the province of Shinano. Bnt Moribe shows that at any rate the etymology of the word may be traced to *ama-tsu-mochi*, "possessors of fishermen."

[20] It is impossible to translate this name which, according to Motowori, is derived from those of two districts in Shinano to which the word *utsushi* (for *utsutsu*, "present" or "living") is prefixed.

[21] Attention must again be drawn to the vagueness of the Japanese perception of the distinction between Singular and Plural. As three deities are particularly and repeatedly mentioned in the foregoing text, we are forced to translate this passage in the Plural; and yet how could one child have three fathers?

[22] *Sumi-no-ye*, also called *Sumi-yoshi*, *i.e.*, by a play upon words, "pleasant to dwell in." The real etymology of *sumi* is not certain.—Instead of "the three Great Deities," we might translate by "the Great Deities of the Three Shrines."

[23] *Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami* (天照大御神). The reading *terasu*, which is established by the authority of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by almost universal usage, must not mislead the student into imagining that the Verb, because it is Causative in form, has a Causative meaning which would require some such English translation as "Heaven-Illuminating." The Causative form is simply Honorific, and the two words *ama terasu* signify, as Motowori explains, "shining in heaven."

[24] *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami.* There is no doubt as to a moon-god being intended, but the precise import of the name is disputed. The translator has followed Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori, and which is supported by the fact that, from classical times down to the present

of the Deity that was next born as he washed his august nose was His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness.[25]

The fourteen Deities in the foregoing list from the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils down to His Swift-Inpetuous-Male-Augustness are Deities born from the bathing of his august person,

[SECT. XI—INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN.]

At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying: "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten three illustrious children," [with which words,] at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string[1] forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was the August-Store-house-Shelf-Deity.[2] Next he said to His

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day, *tsuku-yo* or *tsuki-yo* has been a word in common use to denote a fine moonlight night. It we were to take *yomi* as one word, we should have to render it either by "Moon-Hades" or by "Moon-Darkness," which seem less appropriate designations, though still of plain enough intent. The characters 月讀, 月弓, and 月夜見, with which the name is variously written, seem all phonetic unless we might take the second set 月弓 to mean the crescent (lit. "moon-bow").

[25] *Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto. Susa,* which is sometimes read *Sosa,* is rendered by the word "impetuous" in accordance with Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori. The first member of this compound name is frequently omitted.*

* But possibly the derivation from *Susanu* may have suggested some features of the myths connected with him. See Idzumo Fudoki Vol. III, 77, the Kana edition, from which it may be gathered that *Susa no wo* is only a description. *Susa* being the seat of fire worship.—W.G.A.

[1] *I.e.*, "the string of jewels." For these so-called "jewels" see Introduction, p. xxxv.

Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the Night."[3] Thus he charged him. Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Plain."[4]

[SECT. XII—THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard[1] reached to the pit of his stomach.[2] The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas.[3*] For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon[4] as they all swarmed,[5] and in all things[6] every portent of woe arose. So

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2 *Mi-kura-tana-no-kami.* Motowori comments on this name by saying that the necklace was doubtless so precious that it was carefully kept by the goddess on a shelf in her store-house.

3 *Yoru-no-wosu-kuni.*

4 *Una-bara.*

1 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

2 Lit, "in front of his heart."

3 *Sic* in the original, to the perplexity of commentators.

* The God being the Sea-God perhaps it is meant that by his weeping he wasted away his own substance, *i.e.*, the sea, the rivers, and all moisture everywhere so as to leave everything dry.—W.G.A.

4 "Flies in the fifth moon" is the received interpretation of the original term *sa-bahe.* *Conf. sa-tsuki*, the old native name for the fifth moon.

5 The text has here the character 滿, "to be full," for which Motowori somewhat arbitrarily reads 湧, "to bubble up," taking this word in the sense of swarming. The translator has endeavoured to preserve the vagueness of the original Japanese, which leaves it doubtful at first sight whether the flies or the deities should be

the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead "of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail "and weep?" He replied, saying: "I[7] wail because I wish "to depart to my deceased mother's[8] land, to the Nether Dis-"tant Land."[9] Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shalt "not dwell in this land,"[10] and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. So the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites dwells at Taga[11] in Afumi.[12]

[SECT. XIII.—THE AUGUST OATH.]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave[1] of the Heaven-Shining-Great-

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regarded as the logical subject of the Verb. There is an almost identical passage near the beginning of Sect. XVI.

6 Lit. "a myriad things," a Chinese phrase for totality.

7 The Chinese character for the First-Personal Pronoun used here and below by this deity is the humble one 僕 signifying literally "servant." The commentators read it simply "I."

8 The Japanese authorities simply read "Mother." But the character 妣, which is used in this place, specially designates a mother who is deceased.

9 *I.e.*, Hades. The translation follows Motowori's explanation of the original term *Ne-no-kata-su-kuni*, which is obscure.

10 *I.e.*, say the commentators, "in this realm of ocean which I granted to thee as thy domain." Probably, however, this is reading into the text more than it was meant to contain.

11 Derivation unknown.

12 From *aha-umi*, "fresh sea," *i.e.*, "lake." The province of Afumi was doubtless so called from Lake Biha which occupies a great portion of its surface. It is also known as *Chika-tsu-Afumi*, *i.e.*, "the Nearer Afumi," in contradistinction to *Toho-tsu-fumi* (in modern pronunciation *Tōtōmi*), *i.e.*, "Distant Afumi," a province further to the East. The modern pronunciation of *Afumi* is *Omi*.

1 The English locution "to take leave" exactly represents the Chinese character here used which, from having the sense of "asking permission," has come to mean "bidding adieu."

"August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: "The "reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder "brother[2] is surely no good intent.[3] It is only that he wishes "to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to her left and her right august arm,[4] she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,[5] and, slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding

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[2] He was her younger brother.* But see what is said on the subject of names expressive of relationship on p. xli of Introduction. The phonetic characters 那勢 are here used to represent 兄, "elder brother."

* The Nihongi has the Chinese character for younger brother, rendered by *nase no mikoto* in the Kana gloss.—W.G.A.

[3] Literally "heart," here and elsewhere.

[4] Or "hand,"

[5] The original is here obscure, but the translator has, as usual, followed the Chinese characters as for as possible, and has been chiefly guided by Moribe's interpretation. According to this, the "eight feet" (which Moribe takes to mean simply "several feet") must be supposed to refer to the length of the necklace which, he says, probably resembled a Buddhist rosary, only that the beads were somewhat larger. For a discussion of the various interpretations to which this phrase descriptive of the Sun-Goddess's ornaments may be subjected, see Note 4 to Mr. Satow's third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 198 of these "Transactions," and Moribe's "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II. pp. 4–5, *s.v. Ya-saka-ni no iho-tsu no mi sumaru no tama.* Mr. Satow, adopting some of the bolder etymologies of the Japanese commentators, translates thus: the "ever-bright curved (or glittering) jewels, the many assembled jewels," and concludes that "a long string of, perhaps, claw-shaped stone beads" was what the author meant to describe.

[thereto][6] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad,[7] and brandished* and stuck her bow upright so that the top[8] shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs,[9] kicking away [the earth] like rotten snow,[10] † and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "I have "no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August Deity "[our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause of my "wailing and weeping, I said: 'I wail because I wish to go "to my deceased mother's land,'—whereupon the Great-August "Deity said: 'Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned "to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is therefore solely "with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that "I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "If that

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6 Hirata supposes this additional quiver to have been slung in front.

7 Motowori's long note on the expression *taka-tomo*, to be found in Vol. VII, pp. 39–40 of his "Commentary" seems to prove that "high-sounding elbow-pad" (竹 being written phonetically for 鳴) is the most likely meaning,—these pads, of which one was worn on the left elbow, having been made of skin. Arawi Hakuseki however takes 竹 in its literal sense of "bamboo," and Moribe suggests the *take* (健) which occurs so often in proper names with the signification of "bold," "brave," or "stout."

* Does this not mean simply that she brandished it top upwards, *i.e.*, in a position for shooting? *furi* being an adverb qualifying *tateru* and indicating a swift motion. cf. *furikayeru* etc.—W.G.A.

8 The reading *yu-hara*, here rendered "top [of the bow]" is doubtful, and *yu-hadzu*, "bow-notch," has been proposed as an emendation.

9 *I.e.*, "both legs penetrated into the ground up to the thigh," a proof of the vigour with which she used her limbs in stamping.

10 Lit. "bubble-snow."

† Or the foam-like snow?—W.G.A.

"be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?" Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let each of us swear,[11] and produce children."* So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven,[12] the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness to hand her the ten-grasp sabre which was girded on him and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound[13] having brandished and washed† them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven,[14] and having crunchingly crunched them, the

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[11] *I.e.*, "pledge our faith," "bind ourselves," in order to show forth the sincerity of our intentions.—Hirata has a long note on the word *ukehi*, here rendered "swear" (elsewhere as a Substantive, "oath") which the student will do well to consult. It is contained in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. VII, pp. 61–63.

* According to the Nihonshoki the oath was to prove the sincerity of his intentions. If the children were male his intentions were to be considered good, but if female, otherwise.—W.G.A.

[12] *Ame-no-yasu-kaha* (according to Motowori's reading *Ame-no-ya-su-no-kaha*), our Milky Way. The "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" perhaps preserve the true etymology of the word by writing it *Ama no ya-se kaha*, *i.e.*, "the Heavenly River of eight currents (or reaches)." This would mean simply "a broad river." The text literally says: "having placed the Tranquil River of Heaven in the middle," etc., but the sense of the clause is that given in the translation.

[13] These words seem, as Motowori says, to have been erroneously brought in here from the next sentence, where they come in appropriately.

† Rinsed *furi* one description of the style of washing.—W.G.A.

[14] *Ame-no-ma-na-wi*. The interpretation adopted is that which has the authority of Motowori and Hirata. Perhaps only "Heavenly Well" is intended. The above authorities warn us that the word *wi*, "well," was not in ancient days restricted to its modern sense, but was used to designate any place at which water could be drawn, and Motowori thinks that Heaven contained several such. That mentioned in the text seems to have been a pool in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven.

Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess,[15] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the-Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess,[16] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent.[17] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.[18] The august name of the

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[15] This is the interpretation of the original name *Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto* which is proposed by Motibe. It is less far-fetched, and agrees better with the name of the sister deity Princess-of-the-Torrent, than do the other explanations that have been attempted. The alternative name is *Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto.*

[16] *Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto, ichiki* being an unusual form of *itsuki.* The island, which is in the Inland Sea, is still celebrated, but bears in common parlance the name of *Miya-zhima, i.e.,* "Temple Island." The alternative name is *Sa-yori-bime-no-mikoto,* in which *sa* is an Ornamental Prefix not calling for translation.

[17] *Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.*

[18] *Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto.* The word *mimi** (耳 "ears") forms part of a large number of Ancient Japanese proper names. Motowori, who of course passes over in silence the fact that large ears are considered lucky, not only in Japan, *but also in China and Korea,* suggests the etymology *hi hi* or *bi bi* (霊々), *i.e.,* the word "wondrous" or "miraculous" repeated. But there are examples of such names in which the interpretation of *mimi* as "ears" is unavoidable. Thus Prince Umayado (commonly called *Shō-toku Tai-sh*) had also the name of *Ya-tsu-mimi no Tai-shi* 八耳太子 bestowed upon him on account of his extraordinary intelligence. Is it not therefore simpler in all cases to allow to the word this its

Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi.[19] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august head-dress, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven.[20] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm,[21] and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life.[22] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm,[21] and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu.[23] (Five Deities in all.)

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natural meaning? The proper names in *mi* do however undoubtedly offer some difficulty, and Motowori scarcely seems content with his own derivation of the troublesome syllable. *Oshi*, as in other cases, is taken to represent *ohoshi*, "great"; and after much hesitation the translator has followed Motowori in regarding *ho* likewise as an abbreviated form of that word.

* *Mimi* is the name given to certain governors of provinces by the Chinese writers quoted in the Isho Nihon Den.—**W.G.A.**

19 *Ame-no* signifies "of Heaven" or "heavenly." The syllables *hohi* are incomprehensible.

20 *Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto.*

21 Or "hand."

22 *Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto.*

23 This god does not seem to be known by any other name, but is conjectured by Hirata to be identical with *Ame-no-hohi*, the second of these divine brothers. *Kumanu*, or less archaically *Kumano*, is said to be, not the well-known Kumano in the province of Kishiu, but a place in Idzumo near Suga (see Sect. XIX, Notes 1 and 2). The

[SECT. XIV.—THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN.]

Hereupon the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity said to His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "As for the seed[1] "of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things "of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the "seed of the three female Deities born first; their birth was "from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division. So Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity born first, dwells in the Inner temple of Munakata.[2] The next, Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, dwells in the middle temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent, dwells in the outer temple[3] of Munakata. These three Deities are the three Great Deities[4] held in reverence by the Dukes of Munakata.[5] So His August-

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name is written with the characters 熊野, "bear moor." The native commentators however interpret it as a corruption of *Komori-nu*, 隱野, "the moor of retirement," on account of a tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" of Izanami (the Female-Who-Invites) having been interred at the Kishiu Kumano.

[1] *I.e.*, the origin.

[2] A place in the province of Chikuzen. The name signifies either "breast-shape" or "body-shape."

[3] Or "sea-shore temple."

[4] Or "the Great Deities of the three shrines."

[5] *Munakata no kimi.* Remember that all the names in this and similar lists are hereditary "gentile names" (see Introduction, p. xviii), and that "Duke" and the other titles used in this translation to designate them must only be regarded as approximations towards giving the force of the Japanese originals, which are themselves by no means always clear, either etymologically or historically. Indeed Motowori in a chapter entitled "*Kuni no Miyatsuko*" (國造) in his "*Tama-Katsuma*," Vol. VI, p. 25, remarks that the distinctions obtaining between the various titles of *Kimi*, *Wake*, *Murazhi*, etc., are

ness Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, child of His Augustness Ame-no-hohi, one of the five children born afterwards ([6]this is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Idzumo,[7] of the Rulers of the Land of Muzashi,[8] of the Rulers of the Upper Land of Unakami,[9] of the Rulers of the Lower Land of Unakami,[10] of the Rulers of the

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no longer to be ascertained, if indeed they were ever sharply drawn, and that *Kuni no Miyatsuko* (here rendered "Rulers of the Land") seems to have been a general term including all the rest, and roughly corresponding to the modern title of *Daimiō*.—It must be well understood that all these names, though properly and originally denoting an office, were inherited as titles, and ended (after the custom of conferring new ones had died out) by being little more than an extra surname appended to the surname proper (*uji*). This kind of quasi-official quasi-titular surname is what is called by the Japanese a *kabane*, which the translator, for want of a better equivalent, renders by "gentile name." Motowori's learned note in Vol. XXXIX, pp. 14–15 of his Commentary, should be consulted for a full exposition of this somewhat intricate subject, on which there has been much misapprehension, chiefly owing to the want of a fitting Chinese character to denote the word *kabane*.

[6] Here and throughout the work passages of this nature containing genealogies are in all the editions printed small, and might therefore be supposed to be either intended as foot-notes, or to be later glosses. Motowori however rightly rejects such an inference. To an English reader the word "this" may seem, by disturbing the grammar of the sentence, to support that inference; but in Japanese construction little importance need be attached to the presence of this double Nominative.—The name in the original of the ancestral deity whose children are here enumerated is *Take-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto* and the interpretation thereof in the sense given in the translation is Motowori's, *Hira-tori* being supposed by him to stand for *Hina-teri*.

[7] *Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.*

[8] *Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* In classical and modern usage *Musashi* does not take the *nigori*.

[9] *Kami-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* Unakami was a part of what forms the modern province of Kadzusa. The name probably signifies "on the sea."

[10] *Shimo-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.*

Land of Izhimu,[11] of the Departmental Suzerains of the Island of Tsu[12] and of the Rulers of the Land of Toho-tsu-Afumi.[13]) The next, His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven (is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Ofushi-kafuchi,[14] of the Chiefs of Nukatabe-no-yuwe,[15] of the Rulers of the Land of Ki,[16] of the Suzerains of Tanaka[17] in Yamato, of the Rulers of the Land of Yamashiro,[18] of the Rulers of the Land of Umaguta,[19] of the Rulers of the Land of Kihe[20] in Michi-

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11 *Izhimu-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* Izhimu (given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" as *Izhimi*) was a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is unknown.

12 *Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe.*

13 *Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* In modern times *Toho-tsu-afumi* has been contracted to *Tohotafumi* and is pronounced *Tōtōmi.* The name signifies "distant fresh sea" (*i.e.*, "distant lake"), the province which bears it being thus designated in reference to a large lagoon which it contains, and in contradistinction to *Chika-tsu-afumi*, "near fresh sea," the name of the province in which lies Lake Biwa. In modern times the latter has come to be known simply as Afumi (pronounced Omi), and the original connection of ideas between its name and that of Tōtōmi is lost sight of.

14 *Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ohoshi-kafuchi* (in modern times pronounced *Ōchikōchi*) signifies "within the great rivers."

15 *Nakatabe-no-yuwe-no-murazhi.* The meaning of this name is not certain, but *yuwe* seems to be the word for "bathing woman" mentioned in Sect. LXXI (Note 11). See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIV, p. 56 of his "Commentary" and the story of the origin of the name given in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, pp. 8–9 (edit. of 1834.)

16 *Ki-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ki* signifies "tree," and the province doubtless received this name from its forests. Motowori supposes the character 茨 to have been lost in this place, and reads *Ubaraki* (the modern *Ibaraki*), a portion of the province of Hitachi. See Vol. VII, pp. 75–76 of his "Commentary."

17 *Tanaka-no-atahe.* The word *ta-naka* signifies "in the middle of the ricefields."

18 *Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Yama-shiro* signifies "behind the mountains," though it is now, by a play upon words, written with characters signifying "mountain-castle."

19 *Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* Umaguta is a portion of the

no-Shiri,[21] of the Rulers of the Land of Suhau,[22] of the Rulers of Amuchi,[23] in Yamato, of the Departmental Suzerains of Takechi,[24] of the Territorial Lords of Kamafu,[25] and of the Rulers of Sakikusabe[26]).

[SECT. XV.—THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity: "Owing to the sincerity "of my intentions I have, in begetting children, gotten delicate "females. Judging from this,[1] I have undoubtedly gained the "victory." With these words, and impetuous with victory, he broke down the divisions of the ricefields[2] laid out by the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, filled up the ditches, and

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modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is not known.

[20] *Kihe-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* The etymology of the name and the position of the place are equally obscure.

[21] The modern province of Echigo, or perhaps any not well defined district in the north of the Main Island. (See Section LX, Note 20.)

[22] *Suhau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* The etymology of Suhau is not known; but the name sounds Chinese.

[23] *Amuchi-no-miyatsuko.* The derivation of Amuchi is unknown.

[24] *Takechi-no-agata-nushi.* Takechi means "high market" or "high town."

[25] *Kamafu-no-inaki.* Kamafu was a portion of Afumi. Motowori's suggestion that the name may be derived from *kama* (*gama*), "a bull-frog," does not seem a happy one.

[26] *Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko. Sakikusa-be* means literally "lily clan," *sakikusa,* the old name for the lily (or one species of lily) being literally "the luckplant." The story of the origin of this cognomen is to be found in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, p. 9.

[1] Literally "if one speak from this."

[2] The character used is 田, which in Chinese does not necessarily signify a *rice*-field. But in Japanese it seems to have been always limited to this narrower meaning, to which likewise the context here clearly points.

moreover strewed excrements[3]* in the palace where she partook of the great food.[4] So, though he did thus, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity upbraided him not,[5] but said: "What looks like excrements must be something that His "Augustness mine elder brother has vomited through drunken-"ness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the "rice-fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he "grudges the land [they occupy[6]] that His Augustness mine "elder brother acts thus." But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful[7]‡ weaving-hall[8] seeing to the weaving of the august

* See the offences enumerated in the Oho-harahi norito.—W.G.A. (For translation of this norito see T.A.S.J. reprints Vol. II. 1927.)

3 In the original written 屎麻理, which is partly ideographic and partly phonetic for *kuso-mari*. Motowori interprets it to signify "excrements and urine";† but the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" which he himself quotes goes to prove that *mari* had not the latter meaning, as does also another well-known passage in the "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter."

† What Motoori says is that *mari* means to pass either excrements or urine.—W.G.A.

4 大嘗 read *oho-nihe*. The word *nihe* now denotes "a sacrifice," and *oho-nihe no matsuri* is the religious festival of the tasting of the first new rice of the season.

5 We might, following classical usage, translate the Verb *togamezu*, which is written phonetically, by the words "took no heed" or "made no observation"; but in this passage it certainly seems to have the stronger and more specialized signification of "upbraiding," "scolding," which attaches to it in the colloquial dialect.

6 *I.e.*, he thinks that none of the land should be wasted in ditches and embankments, but should all be devoted to the production of food.

7 The character used is 忌, "to shun," which in Japanese has approximately the meaning of "sacred." Thus a certain family of priests was called by the name of *Imibe*, lit. "the shunning clan," on account of the uncleanness from which they were bound to abstain.

‡ Is it not possible that *Imi* may have meant "taboo," an ancient form of our "No admittance except on business"?—W.G.A.

garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top[9] of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying,[10] at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that impegerunt privatas partes adversis radiis et obierunt.[11]

[SECT. XVI.—THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK DWELLING.]

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling,[1] made it fast,[2] and retired, Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured* and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal[3] night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad[4] Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they

[8] Written with characters signifying literally "garment-house," but the meaning, as understood by the native commentators, is that given in the text.

[9] 項. This character is taken by the native commentators in the sense of 棟, *mune*, "ridge-pole."

[10] *I.e.*, it is supposed, beginning at the tail. That this was considered criminal may be seen by comparing Sect. XCVII, Note 3.

[11] In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" it is the goddess who injures herself with her shuttle, but without dying of the effects of the accident.

[1] Motowori says that the word "rock" need not here be taken literally. But it is always (and the translator thinks rightly) so understood, and the compound considered to mean a cave in the rocks, which is also the expression found in the "Chronicles" (岩窟).

[2] The word *sasu*, which is here used, implies that the goddess made the door fast either by sticking something against it or by bolting it,—perhaps with one of the metal hooks of which mention is made in Sect. LXV (Note 7).

* In my copy the section ends here.—W.G.A.

[3] *Toko-yo*, here properly written 常夜, and a few lines lower down semi-phonetically 常世.

[4] Motowori supposes "myriad" to be a copyist's error for "evil." This clause is a repetition of one in Sect. XII.

swarm and a myriad portents of woe arose. Therefore did the eight hundred myriad[5] Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed[6] of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer,[7] child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night[8] and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron[9] from the Heavenly Metal-Mountains,[10] calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra,[11] charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me[12] to make

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[5] The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "eighty myriads."

[6] The Japanese word *kahara*, translated "bed," is thus defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary, 2nd Edit. *s.v. kawara:* "That part of the stony bed of a river which is dry except in high water."

[7] *Omohi-kane-no-kami.* "He *included* in his single mind the thoughts and contrivances of many," says Motowori.

[8] *I.e.*, as is generally believed, the barndoor fowl.

[9] The text has the character 鐵, "iron," which Hirata reads *ma-gane*, lit. "true metal," the common Japanese term being *kuro-gane*, lit. "black metal." Motowori prefers to read simply *kane*, "metal" in general. The main text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" omits to mention the metal of which the mirror was made; but "One account" has the character 金, "metal" in general, often in Chinese, but rarely if ever in old Japanese, with the specific sense of "gold." The "Chronicles of Old Matters" alone, which are of very doubtful authenticity, say that the mirror was made of copper. (Copper* was not discovered in Japan till the eight century of the Christian era, a few years before the discovery of gold.) The best and most obvious course is to adhere to the character in the text, which is, as above stated "iron."

* But was known. *Hakudo* 白銅, white copper, is frequently mentioned in the Nihongi, the Kana reading being *masumi*, "clear." —W.G A.

[10] *I.e.*, the mines. The original expression is *Ame no kana-yama.*

[11] *Ama tsu* signifies "of Heaven," but the rest of this name is not to be explained. Motowori adopts from the "Chronicles" the reading *Ama-tsu-ma-ura*, where the character used for *ma* signifies "true," and that for *ura* signifies "seashore." (It should be remarked that

a mirror, and charging His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor[13] to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,[14]—and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord[15] and His Augustness Grand-Jewel,[16] and causing them to pull out with a complete

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the forging of a spear by this personage is referred by the author of the "Chronicles," not to the "Divine Age" but to the reign of the Emperor Sui-zei.) Motowori also proposes to supplement after the name the words "to make a spear." Hirata identifies this god with *Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto*, His Augustness Heavenly-One-Eye,* who is however not mentioned in these "Records." Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret "Cœlestis Penis," sed nullius commentatoris anctoritate commendatur.

* Unlikely.—W.G.A.

12 This name is written in the "Chronicles" with characters signifying Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, which however seem to be as merely phonetic as those in the present text (伊斯許理度賣). Motowori proposes the interpretation of "Again-Forging Old-Woman" (鑄重老女, *I-shikiri-tome*) which is supported by a tradition preserved in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story," where it is related that the mirror, not having given satisfaction at first, was forged a second time. There is a long note on the subject of this name in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. IX, p. 56, where that author propounds the novel opinion that I-shi-ko-ri-do-me was not a goddess at all, but a god.

13 *Tama-noya-no-mikoto.* The "Chronicles" write this name with characters signifying "Jewel-House," but such a reading seems less good.

14 See Sect. XIII, Note 5.

15 *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto*, also read *Ama-no* etc. and *Ama-tsu* etc. The signification of the syllables *ko-ya*, rendered "beckoning ancestor" in accordance with Motowori's view connecting the name with the share taken by the god who bore it in the legend here narrated, is obscure. Mr. Satow thinks that Koya may be the name of a place (see these "Transactions" Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 400).

16 *Futo-tama-no-mikoto.* The name is here rendered in accordance with the import of the Chinese characters with which it is written. Motowori, however, emits a plausible opinion when he proposes to consider *tama* as an abbreviation of *tamuke*, "holding in the hands as

pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true[17] stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu,[18] and take cherry-bark[19] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination,[20*] and pulling up by pulling its roots a true *cleyera japonica*[21] with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—and taking and tying to the middle branches[22] the mirror eight feet [long],[23] and taking and hanging upon its lower branches

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an offering," in connection with what we are told below about this deity and *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne* holding the symbolic offerings.

17 The word "true" (*ma*) here and below is not much more than an Honorific.

18 We might also, though less well, translate by "Mount Kagu in Heaven." This would suit the view of Motowori, who is naturally averse to the identification of this Mount Kagu with the well-known mountain of that name in Yamato (see Sect. VII, Note 12). But of course an European scholar cannot allow of such a distinction being drawn.

19 Or perhaps the bark of the common birch is intended. The word in the original is *haha-ka*.

20 See Mr. Satow's already quoted note in Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 425 *et seq*, and more especially pp. 430-432, of these "Transactions."

* In order to roast the shoulder-blade with.—W.G.A.

21 In Japanese *saka-ki*. It is commonly planted in the precincts of Shintō temples.

22 We might also translate in the Singular "to a middle branch," in order to conform to the rigid distinction which our language draws between Singular and Plural.

23 A note to the edition of 1687 proposes to substitute the characters 八咫 for 八尺, and a note in the original tells us to read them not *ya-ta*,† but *ya-ata*. Hereupon Motowori founds his derivation of *ya-ta* from *ya-atama*, "eight heads," and supposes the mirror to have been, not eight feet in length, but octangular, while Moribe, who in the case of the jewels accepts the obvious interpretation "eight feet [long]," thinks that the mirror had "an eight-fold flowery pattern" (*ya-hana-gata*) round its border. But both these etymologies are unsupported by the other cases in which the word *ya-ta* occurs, and

the white pacificatory offerings[24] and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-Jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august offerings,[25] and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies,[26] and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity[27] standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female[28] hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss from the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash,[29] and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress,[30]

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are rendered specially untenable by the fact of the mirror and curved beads being spoken of together further on as the 八尺勾璁鏡 (Sect. XXXIII, Note 20).

† If the reading *yata* is accepted, I prefer the interpretation "8 spans" *ta=te*, "hand," or perhaps "8 cubits."—W.G.A.

22 In rendering the original word *nigi-te* (here written phonetically, but elsewhere with the characters 和幣), the explanation given by Tanigaha Shisei, and indeed suggested by the characters themselves, has been followed. Motowori's view does not materially differ, but he considers "pacificatory" or "softening" to be equivalent to "soft" applied to the offerings themselves, which consisted of soft cloth, the syllable *te* of *nigi-te* being believed to be a contraction of *tahe* which signifies cloth. The white cloth in ancient times was made of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), and the blue of hemp.

25 The original word is written with the same character as the *te* of *nigi-te*, translated "offerings" above.

26 Or in the Singular "a grand liturgy," or "ritual."

27 *Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami.*

28 *Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto.* The translator has followed the best authorities in rendering the obscure syllables *uzu* by the word "alarming." Another interpretation quoted in Tanigaha Shisei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" and adopted by Moribe in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," is that *uzu* means head-dress, and that the goddess took her name from the head-dress of spindle-tree leaves which she wore. The character 鈿, with which the syllables in question (here written phonetically) are rendered ideographically in the "Chronicles," signifies "metal head-gear," "flowers of gold or silver."

29 *Tasuki*, "a cord or sash passed over the shoulders, round the "back of the neck, and attached to the wrists, to strengthen the hands

and binding the leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, laying† a sounding-board[31] before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity,[32] and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privatas partes.[33] Then the

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"for the support of weights, whence the name, which means 'hand-"helper.' It was thus different both in form and use from the modern "*tasuki*, a cord with its two ends joined which is worn behind the "neck, under the arms and round the back, to keep the modern loose "sleeves out of the way when household duties are being performed." (E. Satow).

30 *I.e.*, making for himself a head-dress of spindle-tree leaves.*

* The club-moss seems a more likely material than the spindle tree for a head-dress—*vide* Motoori. Later writers mention a *Hikage-Kadzura*, never (?) a *Misaki-Kadzura*.—W.G.A.

† And laying bottom upward a sounding-board.—W.G.A.

31 The original of these words, *uke fusete*, is written phonetically, and the exact meaning of *uke*, here rendered "sounding-board," is open to doubt. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has the character 槽, which signifies a "trough," "manger" or "tub,"‡ and the commentators seem therefore right in supposing that the meaning intended to be conveyed in both histories is that of some kind of improvised wooden structure used for the purpose of amplifying sound.

‡ Why not a tub, *sans* phrase?—W.G.A.

32 Neither the text nor Motowori's Commentary (which Hirata adopts word for word) is absolutely explicit, but the imitation and not the reality of divine possession appears to be here intended. In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," on the other hand, we seem to be reading of genuine possession.

33 The subject of the Verb is not clear in many of the clauses of this immensely long sentence, which does not properly hang together. Some clauses read as if the different deities who take a part in the action did so of their own free will; but the intention of the author must have been to let a Causative sense be understood throughout, as he begins by telling us that a plan was *devised* by the deity Thought-Includer, which plan must have influenced all the subsequent details.

Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: "Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of Heaven "would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains "would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-Alarming-"Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred "myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke, saying: "We rejoice and are glad because "there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-Jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-Jewel drew the bottom-tied rope[34] along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in "than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light.[35]

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[34] *Shiri-kume-naha, i.e.*, rope made of straw drawn up by the roots, which stick out from the end of the rope. Straw-ropes thus manufactured are still used in certain ceremonies and are called *shime-naha*, a corruption of the Archaic term. Motowori's explanation shows that this is more likely to be the proper signification of the word than "back-limiting-rope" (*shiri-he-kagiri-me-naha*), which had been previously suggested by Mabuchi with reference to its supposed origin at the time of the event narrated in this legend.

[35] Motowori plausibly conjectures the character 得 in the concluding words of this passage to be a copyist's error for 復, and the translator has accordingly rendered it by the English word "again." As it stands, the clause 自得照明, though making sense, does not read like the composition of a Japanese.

[SECT. XVII.—THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel together, and imposed on His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness a fine of a thousand tables,[1] and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion. Again he begged food of the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food.[2] Then the Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and even her fundament, and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. So the things that were born in the body of the Deity who had been killed were [as follows]: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born rice-seeds, in her two ears was born millet,[3] in her nose were born small beans,[4] in her private parts was born barley,[5] in her fundament were born large beans.[6] So His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor[7] caused them to be taken and used as seeds.

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1 *I.e.*, "an immense fine." The student should consult Motowori's elaborate note on this passage in Vol. IX, pp. 1-5 of his Commentary. Tables of gifts are mentioned in Sect. XXXVII, Note 7 and Sect. XL, Note 13.

2 *Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami.* This personage (but without the title of "Deity") has already appeared in Section V. (Note 8) as the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha.

3 *Panicum Italicum.*

4 *Phaseolus Radiatus.*

5 Or less probably "wheat."*

* Is the Japanese *O-mugi* really "barley?" Is it not "bearded wheat"—a different thing?—W.G.A.

6 *Soja Glycine.*

7 *Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, the same deity as the one mentioned at the beginning of these "Records" under the shorter title of *Kami-musu-bi-no-kami.* (See Sect. I. Note 6.)

[SECT. XVIII.—THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT]

So, having been expelled, [His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness] descended to a place [called] Tori-kami[1] at the head-waters of the River Hi[2] in the Land of Idzumo. At this time some chopsticks[3] came floating down the stream. So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman,—two of them,—who had a young girl between them,[4] and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied, saying: "I[5] am an Earthly Deity,[6] child of "the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.[7] I am called by the "name of Foot-Stroking-Elder,[8] my wife is called by the name

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[1] Written with the character 鳥髮, "bird's hair," but these must surely be phonetic. In the "Chronicles" the same name is written 鳥上.

[2] Or Hii, the chief river in Idzumo. The name is supposed by some to have been derived from the name of the god *Hi-hayabi* (see Section VIII, Note 6).

[3] Or in the Singular, "a chopstick."

[4] Literally "had placed a young girl between them," a similar construction to that in Sect. XIII, (Note 12).

[5] The humble character 僕 "servant" is used by the old man for the First Personal Pronoun.

[6] 國神. Being generally used antithetically to 天神, "Heaven Deity," it seems better to translate the characters thus than by "Country Deity" or "Deity of the Land." (See Section I, Note 11).

[7] *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, first mentioned in sect. VI, (Note 17).

[8] *Ashi-nadzu-chi*, the wife's name being *Te-nadzu-chi*. "One account" in the "Chronicles" gives *Ashi-nadzu-te-nadzu* (足摩手摩) as the name of the old father alone, while the mother is called *Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-ya-tsu-mimi*. (*Inada-no-miya-nushi* signifies "Mistress of the Temple of Inada; the signification of the second compound, which forms the name properly so called is not clear, but should probably be interpreted to mean "Impetuous-Eight-Ears," the word *susa*, "impetuous," containing an allusion to the name of her divine visitor, and "eight ears" being Honorific.)

"of Hand-Stroking-Elder, and my daughter is called by the "name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess."[9] Again he asked: "What "is the cause of your crying?" [The old man] answered, saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But "the eight-forked serpent of Koshi[10] has come every year and "devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore "we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *aka-*"*kagachi*,[11] it has one body with eight heads, and eight tails. "Moreover on its body grows moss, and also chamæcyparis[12] "and crpytomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and "eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly "bloody and inflamed." (What is here called *akakagachi* is the

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[9] *Kushi-[I]nada-hime*, Inada (*i.e.*, *ina-da*, "rice-field") being the the name of a place. *Kushi* signifies not only "wondrous" but "comb," and is indeed here written with the character for "comb" 櫛, so that there is a play on the word in connection with the incident of her transformation into a comb which is mentioned immediately below, though most authorities agree in considering 櫛 to be here used phonetically for 奇, which is the reading in the "Chronicles." Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*" suggests the etymology *Kush-itadaki-hime* (櫛項姫) *i.e.*, "Princess [used as] a comb [for] the head."

[10] Derivation quite obscure. Motowori quotes an absurd etymology given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," which identifies the name of *Koshi* with the Past Tense of the Verb *kuru*, "to come"! There is a district (*kohori*) named Koshi in the modern province of Echigo; but Koshi was down to historical times a somewhat vague designation of all the north-western provinces,—Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchiu, and Echigo. A tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" tells us that it was meant to denote the Island of Yezo (or rather, perhaps, the land of the Yezo, *i.e.*, the Ainos). The expression in the first Song in Sect. XXIV, and other similar ones in the early literature show that it was not looked upon as a part of Japan proper.

[11] See Note 13.

[12] A coniferous tree, the *Chamæcyparis obtsusa*, in Japanese *hi-no-ki*. The cryptomeria is *Cryptomeria japonica*.

modern *hohodzuki*[13]) Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou "offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence,[14] "but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother[15] to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-"Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do "you distil some eight-fold refined liquor.[16] Also make a fence

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[13] The winter-cherry, *Physalis Alkekengi.*

[14] For the word "reverence" here and a few lines further on, *cnf.* Sect. IX, Note 4.

[15] He was her younger brother; but see Introduction, p. xlii.

[16] In Japanese *sake*, and archaically *ki*, written with the character 酒 and generally translated "rice-beer," but by Dr. Rein "rice-brandy" (*Reis-brannt-wein*). The modern *sake* resembles the Chinese '*huang chiu* (黄酒). If we translated it by "rice-beer," we should of course have to render by "to brew" the Verb *kamu* or *kamosu* (醸) here rendered "to distil."* It should be mentioned that Professor Atkinson who, like Dr. Rein, has studied the subject specially, uses the word "brewing;" but apparently no English term exactly represents the process which the liquor undergoes in the course of preparation. A curious question is suggested by the fact that the old Japanese word for "distilling" or "brewing" liquor is homonymous with the Verb "to chew." But there is not, beyond this isolated verbal resemblance, any documentary evidence in favour of the Japanese ever having practised a method of making liquor which still obtains in some of the South Sea Islands.—"One account" of the Chronicles of Japan makes *Susa-no-wo* say "Take *all the fruits*, and distil liquor."

* *Kamu* is surely "brew," not "distil." The process seems to be to add to the malt first water, next fresh malt to the result of this operation, and so on for eight times, the liquor thus gaining in strength every time. A still is too complicated an apparatus for these primitive times, nor have I seen one in a Japanese brewery.—W.G.A.

"round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie "[together] eight platforms,[17] on each platform put a liquor-"vat, and into each vat pour the eight-fold refined liquor, and "wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all* [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp sabre,[18] that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a sharp great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity.[19] This is the Herb-Quelling Great

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17 The author doubtless intended, as Motowori suggests, to speak only of eight platforms,† — one at each gate,—and not of sixty-four. But what he actually says is as in the translation.

† *Azuki*, the modern *sajiki* in a theatre.—W.G.A.

* A conjecture of Motoori.—W.G A.

18 See Section VIII, Note 1.

19 The text is not quite clear, but the above gives the interpretation to which the words most naturally lend themselves. Motowori, influenced by the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says explicitly that the sword itself was sent up to the Sun-Goddess, reads the passage thus: "thinking it a strange thing, he sent it up with a message to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity"; and Mr. Satow follows him in thus translating (see Note 4 to Ritual 8, Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 198-200 of these "Transactions," where the whole of this legend is translated with one or two slight verbal differences from the version here given). In the opinion of the present writer,‡ Hirata's arguments in favour of the view here taken are conclusive (see his "Sources of the Ancient Histories," Section LXXII, in the second part of Vol. III. pp. 66-67). That the sword afterwards appears at

Sword.[20]

[SECT. XIX.—THE PALACE OF SUGA.]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness sought in the land of Idzumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga,[2] and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is pure,"[1]—and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga.[2] When this Great Deity first built[3] the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song.[4] That song said:[5]

"Eight clouds arise. The eight-fold fence
"of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence

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the temple of the Sun-Goddess in Ise (see end of Section LXXXII), by the high-priestess of which it is bestowed on the legendary hero Yamato-take, is not to the point in this connection, as it is not necessary that all the parts of a myth should be perfectly consistent.

‡ I agree.—W.G.A.

20 *Kusa-nagi no tachi.* For the applicability of this name see Sect. LXXXIII.

1 *I.e.*, "I feel refreshed." The Japanese term used is *suga-sugashi*, whence the origin ascribed to the name of the place Suga. But more probably the name gave rise to this detail of the legend.

2 The real derivation of Suga is unknown, all the native commentators accepting the statement in the text, and Motowori supposing that up to the time of the Deity's arrival it had borne the name of Inada. We may perhaps conjecture some connection between *Suga* and *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. IX, p. 49), and it may be mentioned that the "Eight-Eared Deity of Suga" is also mentioned as the "Eight-Eared Deity of Susa."

3 Or "began to build."

4 "Ode" is another rendering of the Japanese term *uta*, which has been used by the present writer and by others. *Uta* being however connected with *utafu*, "to sing," it seems more consistent to translate it by the English word "song."

5 Or perhaps rather "in that song he said."

"for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh!
"that eight-fold fence."[6]

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[6] This difficult song has been rather differently rendered by Mr. Aston in the Second Appendix to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language" (2nd Edition), and again by Mr. Satow in the note to his translation of the Ritual already quoted. Mr. Aston (premising that he follows Motowori's interpretation) translates it thus:

"Many clouds arise:
"The clouds which come forth (are) a manifold fence:
"For the husband and wife to retire within
"They have formed a manifold fence:
"Oh! that manifold fence!"

Mr. Satow's translation is as follows:

"Many clouds arise.
"The manifold fence of the forth-issuing clouds
"Makes a manifold fence
"For the spouses to be within.
"Oh! that manifold fence."[6]

In any case the meaning simply is that the multitudinous clouds rose up like a fence or screen behind which the newly-married deities might retire from public gaze, and Moribe suggests that the repetitions are an after-addition made to bring up to the usual number of thirty-one syllables what were originally but the three lines—

Tachi-idzuru kumo mo
Tsuma-gome ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru yo!

I.e.—

"The uprising clouds even, to shut up the
"spouses, make an eight-fold fence."

(See his discussion on this song in the "*Idzu no Koto-waki*," Vol. I, pp. 1-3)—The present writer has already stated in the Introtion (see p. lxix), his reasons for always rendering the native word for "eight" (*ya*) by "eight," instead of by "many" or "numerous," as is done by the two eminent scholars above quoted. With regard to the word *Idzumo*† which they, in deference to the opinions of the native commentators, render by "clouds which come forth" or "forth-issuing clouds" (the Chinese characters 出雲 with which the word is written having that signification), the present writer cannot persuade

Then he called the Deity Foot-Stroking-Elder and said: "Thee do I appoint Headman[7] of my palace;" and moreover bestowed on him the name of Master-of-the-Temple-of-Inada Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga.[8]

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himself that such a corruption as *idzumo* for *ide-kumo* either retained at the time of the composition of the song, or should now be credited with, the signification which this its supposed etymology assigns to it. The etmology moreover is far from being established, and in this, as in many other cases, the Chinese characters used to write the name of the province of Idzumo may well have rested on nothing more than a vague similarity of sound, and probably no European scholar would endorse the opinion of the native commentators, to whom the "Records" are a sacred book, that the province of Idzumo received its name from this very poem. On the other hand, we need have no difficulty in conceding that the Pillow-Word *ya-kumo-tatsu*, by which Idzumo is preceded in poetical compositions, did probably here originate.—This song is in the "Chronicles" only quoted in a note, for which reason some authorities dispute its antiquity. In the note in question, we find the reading *-gome* (the "Records" have *-gomi*), *i.e.*, the Transitive form instead of the Intransitive. If this were adopted, the translation would have to run thus:....."The eight-fold "fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence to shut up the spouse[s ?] "in;" and probably "spouse" should be understood in the Feminine to mean "wife."

* The regularity of this poem as to metre is suspicious; most of the ancient poetry departs from the 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 rule. The punning, too, suggests a late origin. I suggest that Idzumo as the name of a place means awful or sacred quarter.—W.G.A.

† While I adhere to the translation given by me, there is no doubt a punning allusion to the name of the province Idzumo which is lost in my translation. (A later suggestion: Why not take *Idzumo* as the same as *idzure mo*, "each," a pun being of course meant ?)—W.G.A.

[7] *Obito*, written with the Chinese character 首, while the Japanese word is probably derived from *oho-bito*, "great man." When used, as it often is, as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "Grandee."

[8] *Inada-no-miya-nushi Suga-no-ya-tsu-mimi-no-kami*. It should be stated that Motowori, as usual, objects to the view that *mimi* signifies

[SECT. XX.—THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND.]

Quare. quum incepit in thalamo [opus procreationis] cum Mirâ-Herâ-Inadâ, procreavit Deum nomine Eight-Island Ruler.[1] And again, having wedded the Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty,[2] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, he begot children: the Great-Harvest Deity[3] and the August-Spirit-of-Food.[4] The elder brother the Deity Eight-Island-Ruler wedded Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees,[5]

"ears" (its proper meaning) in this name. But he has no better explanation to offer, and the Chinese characters give us *ya-tsu mimi*, "eight ears." The author of the "*Tokiha-gusa*" ingeniously proposes to consider *ya-tsu mimi* as a corruption of *yatsuko mi mi* (奴御身) "servant august body," but this cannot be seriously entertained (Conf. Sect. XIII, Note 18).

[1] *Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi.* *Ya-shima* means "eight islands." The syllables *zhi-nu-mi* are obscure, but the translator has little doubt that "ruler" fairly represents their import. Motowori takes *zhi* to be an apocopated and *nigori'ed* form of *shiru*, "to rule," *nu* to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master," and *mi* to be an apocopated form of the "Honorific termination *mimi*." Tanigaha Shisei considers *zhinu* to stand for *shidzumuru*, "to govern," which comes to the same thing so far as the sense is concerned.

[2] *Kamu-oho-ichi-hime.* The rendering of *Oho-ichi* as "Great Majesty" rests on a plausible conjecture of Hirata's, who proposes to identify *ichi* with *idzu* (稜威). Motowori thinks that *Oho-ichi* should be taken as the name of a place; but this seems less good.

[3] *Oho-toshi-no-kami*, written 大年神, the obvious rendering of which would be "great year." But the Japanese term *toshi* is believed to have originally signified, not "year" in the abstract, but that which was produced each year, viz., the harvest (conf. *toru*, "to take").

[4] *Uka-no-mi-tama.*

[5] *Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime*, so called, says Motowori, because she probably died young, as a blossom that falls from the tree. We might however perhaps take the Verb *chiru* in a Causative sense, and consider the name to signify "the Princess-Who-Causes-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Fall." A sister of this goddess appears in the pretty legend narrated in Sect. XXXVII under the parallel name of the

daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Fuha-no-moji-Ku-nu-su-nu.[6] This Deity wedded Princess Hikaha,[7] daughter of the Deity Okami,[8] and begot a child: Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-Fuka-buchi.[9] This Deity wedded the Deity Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne,[10] and begot a child: the Deity Great-Water-Master.[11] This Deity wedded the Deity Grand-Ears,[12] daughter of the Deity Funu-dzu-nu,[13] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord.[14] This Deity wedded the Young-Princess-of-the-Small-

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Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. See Note 3 to that Sect.

[6] *Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-no-kami.* The import of this name is quite uncertain. *Fuha* however seems to be the name of a place.

[7] *Hi-kaha-hime. Hi-kaha* (lit. "sun-river") is supposed to stand for the name of a place in Musashi, which is however written "ice-river" (氷河 and not 日河), the old Japanese words for "ice" and "sun" being homonymous.

[8] See Sect. VIII, (Note 9), where the name is given as *Kura-okami.*

[9] *Fuka-buchi-no-midzu-yare-hana.* If Fuka-buchi were ascertained to be not, as is supposed, the name of a place, we should have to render it "deep pool," and the whole would mean in English "Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-the-Deep-Pool."

[10] *Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami.* In this name nothing is clear but the first three syllables, which signify "heavenly." But if Mabuchi's conjecture as to the meaning of the rest were accepted, we should have to translate the whole by "Heavenly-Assembling-Town-Lady,"

[11] This is the meaning plausibly assigned by Motowori to the original *O-midzu-nu-no-kami.*

[12] *Fute-mimi-no-kami*, plausibly conjectured by Tominobu to stand for *Futo-mimi*, etc., which gives the sense here adopted,

[13] *Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami.* Motowori believes Funu to be the name of a place, and interprets the name to signify "Master of Funu." But this seems highly uncertain.

[14] *Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami* (Motowori's reading) or *Ama-no*, etc. (Hirata's reading). The translation of the name follows Hirata's explanation, which is based on Motowori's, and according to which the characters 冬衣 ("winter garments") in this text, and 葺根 read *Fuki-*

Country,[15] daughter of the Great-Deity-of-the-Small-Country,[16] and begot a child: the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land,[17] another name for whom is the Deity Great-Name-Possessor,[18] and another name is the Deity-of-the-Reed-Plains,[19] and another name is the Deity of Eight-Thousand-Spears,[20] and another name is the Deity-Spirit-of-the-Living-Land.[21] In all there were five names.[22]

[SECT. XXI.—THE WHITE HARE OF INABA.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land had eighty Deities his brethren; but they all left the land to the Deity Master-

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ne in the "Chronicles," are merely phonetic, while the meaning is derived from a comparison of the sounds given by each. Though himself believing in the soundness of Hirata's conclusion, the taanslator must admit that it is not indisputable.

15 *Sasu-kuni-waka-hime*, or *Sashi-kuni*, etc. The former reading, which Hirata adopts, seems best. The meaning of *sasu*, here rendered "small," is open to doubt.

16 *Sasu-kuni-oho-*[*no-*]*kami*, or *Sashi*, etc. The syllable *no* in the Japanese reading seems to be a superfluous addition of the modern commentators.

17 *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami*.

18 *Oho-na-muji-no-kami*, to which Tominobu proposes to give the sense of "Great Hole-Possessor," in connection with the story of the mouse-hole in which he took refuge from the fire lit by the Impetuous-Male-Deity (*Susa-no-wo*) for his destruction (see Sect. XXIII). But the interpretation followed in the translation is the most likely as well as the orthodox one, this Deity being entitled the possessor of a Great Name or of Great Names on account of his renown in Japanese mythic story.

19 *Ashi-hara-shiko-wo-no-kami*. The "reed-plains" are doubtless put by metonymy for Japan.

20 *Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami*.

21 *Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami*. The name must be understood to mean "Spirit of the Land of the Living," and to be antithetical to that of one of his fathers-in-law, the Impetuous Male-Deity (*Susa-no-wo*) who became the god of Hades.

22 Or "he had five names."

of-the-Great-Land. The reason for their leaving it was this: Each of these eighty Deities had in his heart the wish to marry the Princess of Yakami[1] in Inaba,[2] and they went together to Inaba, putting their bag on [the back of] the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, whom they took with them as an attendant. Hereupon, when they arrived at Cape Keta,[3] [they found] a naked hare lying down. Then the eighty Deities spoke to the hare, saying: "What thou shouldst do is to bathe in the "sea-water here, and lie on the slope* of a high mountain "exposed to the blowing of the wind." So the hare followed the intructions of the eighty Deities, and lay down. Then, as the sea-water dried, the skin of its body all split with the blowing of the wind, so that it lay weeping with pain. But the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, who came last of all, saw the hare, and said: "Why liest thou weeping?" The hare replied, saying: "I was in the Island of Oki,[4] and wished to "cross over to this land, but had no means of crossing over "For this reason I deceived the crocodiles[5] of the sea, saying "'Let you and me compete, and compute the numbers of our "'[respective] tribes. So do you go and fetch every member "'of your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from "'this island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them, and "'count them as I run across. Hereby shall we know whether "'it or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they "were deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them

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1 *Yakami-hime.* The etymology is uncertain.

2 The name of a province not far from that of Idzumo. The word may possibly, as Motowori suggests, be derived from *ina-ba*, "rice-leaves."

3 *Keta-no-saki.* The etymology of the name seems uncertain. The meaning of the word *keta* is "the cross-beams of a roof, the yards of a sail." But perhaps *Keta* and *keta* may be nothing more than homonyms of independent origin.

* Spur?—W.G.A.

4 Not far from the coast of Idzumo and of Inaba.

5 See Translator's Introduction, p. xxxvii, Note 41.

"and counted them as I came across, and was just about to "get on land, when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' "As soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who lay "the last of all seized me and stripped off all my clothing. "As I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty "Deities who went by before [thee] commanded and exhorted "me, saying: 'Bathe in the salt water, and lie down exposed "'to the wind.' So, on my doing as they had instructed me, "my whole body was hurt." Thereupon the Deity Great-Name-Possessor instructed the hare, saying: "Go quickly "now to the river-mouth, wash thy body with the fresh water, "then take the pollen of the sedges [growing] at the river-"mouth, spread it about, and roll about upon it, whereupon "thy body will certainly be restored to its original state."[6] So [the hare] did as it was instructed, and its body became as it had been originally. This was the White Hare of Inaba.[7] It is now called the Hare Deity. So the hare said to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor: "These eighty Deities shall certainly "not get the Princess of Yakami. Though thou bearest the "bag, Thine Augustness shall obtain her."

[SECT. XXII.—MOUNT TEMA.]

Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered[1] the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean "to marry the Deity Great-Name-Possessor." So the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot

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[6] Literally "to its original skin"; that is to say that its skin would again be covered with fur.

[7] Motowori and Moribe agree in considering that the word "white" means "bare" in this place, and the latter in his Critique of the former's Commentary quotes examples which show that their view is probably correct.

[1] It must be understood that in the meantime they had arrived at her dwelling and begun to court her.

of Tema[2] in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this "mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, "do thou wait and catch it. If thou do not wait and catch "it, we will certainly slay thee." Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it,[3] he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent[4] cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness,[5] who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell[6] and Princess Clam[7] to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched[8] [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and smeared [him] as with mother's[9] milk,

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[2] Etymology unknown.

[3] The text is here concise to obscurity, but yet there ought not to be much doubt as to the author's intention.

[4] The text has the character 祖, signifying properly "grand-parent," but frequently used in Archaic Japanese writings in the sense of "mother." It is then read *oya*, which the English word "parent" exactly represents.

[5] *Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto.* See Sect. I, Note 6.

[6] *Kisa-gahi-hime.* The *kisa-gahi* here mentioned is the modern *aka-gahi*, a cockle, the *Arca inflata.*

[7] *Umugi-hime.* The *umugi* here mentioned is the modern *hama-guri*, a clam of the family *Mactridæ*, the *Cytherea Meretrix.*

[8] The character used is 集, "collected," "gathered together." But the combined authority of Mabuchi, Motowori and Hirata obliges us either to consider it a copyist's error for 焦, "scorched," or else to believe that in early times in Japan the two characters were used interchangeably.

[9] Or "nurse's". The meaning is that a paste like milk was made of the triturated and calcined shell mixed with water. There is in this passage a play upon words which it is impossible to reproduce in English, the Japanese term for "triturating," *kisage* (which the author has taken care to write phonetically) resembling the name of Princess *Kisa-gahi*, (Cockle-Shell), while *omo*, "mother" or "nurse," similarly recalls that of Princess *Umugi* (Clam). Motowori traces the names of the shell-fish in question to this exploit of the two goddesses.

whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Deities, seeing [this], again deceived him, taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree,[10] and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death.[11] Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him:[12] "If thou remain here, thou wilt at "last be destroyed by the eighty Deities." Then she sent him swiftly off to the august place of the Deity Great-House-Prince[13] in the land of Ki.[14] Then when the eighty Deities searched and pursued till they came up to him, and fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by dipping under the fork of a tree, and disappeared.

We shall be justified in applying an inverse interpretation to the legend.

[10] The original of this clause, 茄矢打立其木, or according to another reading 茹矢, etc. is a great crux to the native commentators, who can make sure neither of the exact sense nor of the Japanese reading of the first two characters, which seem to be ideographic for three others occuring immediately below, 冰目矢, which are themselves of doubtful import. An elaborate discussion of the question will be found in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XVII. pp. 25–27. The general sense at all events is that here given.

[11] The characters 拷殺也, here rendered "tortured him to death." are by the modern commentators read *uchi-koroshiki,* which simply means "killed [him]."

[12] Literally "to her child."

[13] *Oha-ya-biko-no-kami.* This Deity is identified with the Deity *I-dakeru* mentioned in the "Chronicles" as a son of *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male Deity"), and as the introducer into the Island of Tsukushi in particular and into all the "Eight Great Islands" of Japan of the seeds of plants and trees. Motowori's note on this name in Vol. X, pp. 28–29, is worth consulting, though his idea of connecting the agricultural and arboricultural renown of the Deity bearing it with the name of the province of Ki is doubtless quite fanciful.

[14] *I.e.,* "the land of trees" (木國). Later the character 木 was

[SECT. XXIII.—THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND.]

[The Deity Great-House-Prince spoke to him[1]], saying: "Thou must set off to the Nether-Distant-Land where dwells "His Impetuous-Male-Augustness. That Great Deity will "certainly counsel thee." So on his obeying her commands and arriving at the august place[2] of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness, the latter's daughter the Forward-Prineess[3] came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married, and [she] went in again and told her father, saying: "A "very beautiful Deity has come." Then the Great Deity went out and looked, and said: "This is the Ugly-Male-Deity-of-"the-Reed-Plains,"[4] and at once calling him in, made him

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replaced by 紀, which in Sinico-Japanese has the same sound *ki*, while a second one, 伊, was added in order to conform to an edict of the Empress Gem-miyō (A. D. 713) to the effect that all names of places were to be written with two Chinese characters, as was usual in China and Korea. The second character in this case simply carried on the *i* sound with which the first ends, so that the name became *Kii*.

[1] Literally, "to the child." The words placed in brackets, and which are not to be found in either of the early printed editions, are supplied in accordance with a suggestion of Moribe's contained in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary. Motowori himself had supplied the words "Her Augustness his august parent spoke to him," which seem less appropriate. It is true that one MS. is quoted by Motowori as favouring his view; but such authority is insufficient, and the mistake, moreover, peculiarly easy for a copyist to make (*mi oya* for *oho-ya*).

[2] *I.e.*, the Palace.

[3] This is Motowori's view of the import of the original name *Suseri-bime*, which he connects with *susumu*, "to advance," "to press forward," and explains by reference to the bold, forward conduct of the young goddess.

[4] One of the alternative names of this Deity, who is mostly mentioned by one of his other four designations, for a list of which see Sect. XX. (Notes 17 to 21).

sleep in the snake-house. Hereupon his wife, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, gave her husband a snake-scarf,[5] saying: "When the snakes are about to bite thee, drive them away "by waving this scarf thrice." So, on his doing as she had instructed, the snakes became quiet, so that he came forth after calm slumbers. Again on the night of the next day [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] put him into the centipede and wasp-house;[6] but as she again gave him a centipede and wasp-scarf, and instructed him as before, he came forth calmly. Again [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] shot a whizzing barb[7] into the middle of a large moor, and sent him to fetch the arrow, and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round. Thereupon, while he [stood] knowing no place of exit, a mouse[8] came and said: "The inside is hollow-hollow; "the outside is narrow-narrow."[9] Owing to its speaking thus, he trod on the place, whereupon he fell in and hid himself, during which time the fire burnt past. Then the mouse brought out in its mouth and presented to him the whizzing barb. The feathers of the arrow were brought in their mouths by all the mouse's children. Hereupon his wife the Forward-Princess came bearing mourning-implements,[10] and crying. Her

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[5] *I.e.*, "a scarf by waving which he might keep off the snakes." Similarly the "centipede and wasp-scarf" mentioned a little farther on must be understood to mean "a scarf to ward off centipedes and wasps with."

[6] The word *hachi*, translated "wasp," is a general name including other insects of the family of *Vespidæ*.

[7] *I.e.*, "arrow." The original expression is *nari-kabura* (鳴鏑), which has survived in the modern language under the modified form of *kabura-ya*, defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary as "an arrow with a head shaped like turnip, having a hole in it, which causes it to hum as it flies." It was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty.

[8] Or "rat."

[9] The translator cannot think of any better English equivalents for the child-like onomatopœias *hora-hora* and *subu-subu* of the Japanese original.

[10] The edition of 1687 reads the two characters 喪貝 (here trans-

father the great Deity, thinking that [the Deity-Great-Name-Possessor] was already dead and done for, went out and stood on the moor, whereupon [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] brought the arrow and presented it to him, upon which [the Great Deity], taking him into the house and calling him into an eight-foot spaced large room,[11] made him take the lice off his head. So, on looking at the head, [he saw that] there were many centipedes [there]. Thereupon, as his wife gave to her husband berries of the *muku* tree[12] and red earth, he chewed the berries to pieces, and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that the Great Deity believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor], grasping the Great Deity's hair, tied it fast to the various rafters of the house, and, blocking up the floor of the house with a five hundred draught rock,[13] and taking his wife the Forward-Princess on his back, then carried off the Great Deity's great life-sword[14] and life-bow-and-arrows,[15] as also his heavenly speaking-lute,[16] and ran out.

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lated "mourning implements,") *mo-gari no sonahe, i.e.*, "preparations for the funeral." Such preparations are detailed in the latter part of Sect. XXXI.

[11] This is Mabuchi's interpretation, as quoted by Motowori, of the expression *ya-ta-ma no oho-muro-ya.* Motowori's own view it that *ya-ta* stands for *ya-tsu,* which would give us in English "an eight-spaced large room." The character 間, "space" has been in later times used as a measure of length (six Japanese feet). Altogether the precise meaning of the expression is not quite clear, but the general sense is a "large spacious room."

[12] *Aphananthe Aspera*, also sometimes called *Celtis Muku.*

[13] *I.e.*, "a rock which it would require five hundred men to lift."

[14] *Iku-tachi* (生大刀), supposed by Motowori to be "a sword "having the virtue of conferring long life upon its possessor."

[15] *Iku-yumi-ya* (生弓矢).

[16] *Ame no nori-goto* (天詔琴), so called because, as will be seen in Sect. XCVI, divine messages were conveyed through a person playing on the lute. Hirata, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," invents the reading *ame no nu-goto* (天詔琴), "heavenly jewelled lute."

But the heavenly speaking-lute brushed against a tree, and the earth resounded. So the Great Deity, who was sleeping, started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair which was tied to the rafters, [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to the Even Pass of Hades,[17] and gazing on him from afar, he called out to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, saying: "With the great life-sword and the life-"bow-and-arrows which thou carriest, pursue thy half-brethren[18] "till they crouch on the august slopes of the passes,[19] and "pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers, "and do thou, wretch![20] become the Deity Master-of-the-"Great-Land;[21] and moreover, becoming the Deity Spirit-of-"the-Living-Land, and making my daughter the Forward-"Princess thy consort,[22] do thou make stout the temple-pillars "at the foot of Mount Uka[23] in the nethermost rock-bottom, "and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven,

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[17] See Sect. IX (Note 16).

[18] They were not born of the same mother. The Chinese characters in the text (庶兄弟) imply, properly speaking, that the eighty brethren of the Great-Name-Possessor were the sons of concubines. But Motowori denies that such is the Japanese usage with regard to the characters in question.

[19] Or "hills."

[20] The word in the next is *ore*, an insulting equivalent Second Personal Pronoun. If we were translating into German, we might perhaps approximately represent its force by "*er*."

[21] Thus, according to this legend, "Master-of-the-Great-Land" (*Oho-kuni-nushi*) was not the original name of the Deity commonly designated by it, and his sovereignty over the Land of the Living (whence the appropriateness of the second name in this context) was derived by investiture from the god of the Land of the Dead.

[22] The characters 嫡妻, which are here used, designate specifically the chief or legitimate wife, as opposed to the lesser wives or concubines.

[23] *Uka-no-yama*. No satisfactory etymology of *Uka* is forthcoming.

"and dwell [there], thou villain!"[24] So when, bearing the great sword and bow, he pursued and scattered the eighty Deities, he did pursue them till they crouched on the august slope of every pass,[25] he did pursue them till they were swept into every river, and then he began to make the land.[26] Quamobrem Hera Yakami, secundum anterius pactum, [cum eo] in thalamo coivit. So he brought her with him; but, fearing his consort the Forward Princess, she stuck into the fork of a tree the child that she had borne, and went back.[27] So the child was called by the name of the Tree-Fork-Deity,[28] and another name was the Deity-of-August-Wells.[29]

[SECT. XXIV.—THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS.]

This Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears,[1] when he went forth[2] to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha[3] in the land of Koshi,

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[24] *I.e.*, "Firmly planting in the rock the pillars forming the foun-"dation of thy palace, and rearing its fabric to the skies, do thou "rule therefrom the Land of the Living, thou powerful wretch, who hast so successfully braved me"!

[25] Or "hill."

[26] This is taken to mean that he continued the act of creation which had been interrupted by the death of *Izanami* (the "Female "Who-Invites"). See Sect IX, p. 35, where her husband Izanagi says to her: "The lands that I and thou made are not yet finished "making." The words *Kuni tsukuri* (作國), here used for "making the land," became a title for "Ruler-of-the-Land" and finally a "gentile name" (*kabane*).

[27] *Q.d.*, to Inaba.

[28] *Ki-no-mata-no-kami.*

[29] *Mi-wi-no-kami.* He is supposed to have benefitted the country by digging wells in many places.

[1] In this Section, the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is spoken of under this *alias* (See Sect. XX, Note 20).

[2] The characters 幸行 here, in accordance with the reading of the commentators, rendered by the words "went forth," are Honorific, being only properly applied to the progresses of a sovereign.

on arriving at the house of the Princess of Nuna-kaha sang, saying:

"[I] His Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-
"Thousand-Spears, having been unable to
"find a spouse in the Land of the Eight
"Islands, and having heard that in the
"far-off Land of Koshi there is a wise
"maiden, having heard that there is a
"beauteous maiden, I am standing [here]
"to truly woo her, I am going backwards
"and forwards to woo her. Without having
"yet untied even the cord of my sword,
"without having yet untied even my veil,
"I push back the plank-door shut by the
"maiden; while I am standing [here], I pull
"it forward. While I am standing [here],
"the *nuye* sings upon the green mountain,
"and [the voice of] the true bird of the
"moor, the pheasant, resounds; the bird of
"the yard, the cock, crows. Oh! the pity[*]
"that [the] birds should sing! Oh! these
"birds! Would that I could beat them till
"they were sick! Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-
"racing messenger, the tradition of the
"thing, too, this!"[4]

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[3] *Nuna-kawa-hime.* *Nuna-kaha* or *Nu-na-kaha* ("lagoon-river") is supposed to be the name of a place in the province of Echigo.

[*] How annoying! what a nuisance!—W.G.A.

[4] The drift of this poem needs but little elucidation:—After giving his reasons for coming to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, the god declares that he is in such haste to penetrate to her chamber, that he does not even stay to ungird his sword or take off his veil, but tries to push or pull open the door at once. During these vain endeavours, the mountain-side begins to re-echo with the cries of the birds announcing the dawn, when lovers must slink away. Would that he could kill these unwelcome harbingers of day, and bring back

Then the Princess of Nuna-kaha, without yet opening the door, sang from the inside saying:—

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the darkness!—The Land of the Eight Islands (*i.e.*, Japan proper, beyond whose boundaries lay the barbarous northern country of Koshi) is in the original *Ya-shima-kuni* (Conf. Sect. V, Note 27).—The *nuye* is a bird which must be fabulous if most of the accounts given of it are accepted. The "Commentary on the Lyric Dramas" tells us (with variations) that "it has the head of a monkey, the body "of a racoon-faced dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands (*sic*) and feet of a tiger," adding, as the reader will make no difficulty in allowing, that "it is a strange and peculiar creature." The *Wa-Kun Shiwori* says that "it is a bird much larger than a pigeon, and having "a loud and mournful cry." It is likewise said to come out at night-time and retire during the day, for which reason doubtless Mabuchi likens it to the owl. A very ancient and curious Chinese book entitled the "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經), the modern editions of which contain extremely droll illustrations of fabulous creatures, tells us of a bird called the "white *nuye* (白鵺), which is "like a pheasant, "with markings on its head, white wings, and yellow feet, and whose "flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough." The characters 鵺 and 鵺, with which, as well as with 鵺, the word *nuye* is variously written, seem to be unauthorized.—The line here (following Motowori and Moribe's view) rendered "Would that I could beat them till they "were sick!" will also bear the interpretation formerly proposed by Keichiyu, "Would that I could beat them till they left off!"—The last five lines, here rendered "Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger," etc., are extremely obscure. It is possible that *ishi tafu ya* (rendered "Oh! swiftly flying," in deference to Motowori's and Moribe's view) may be but a meaningless *refrain*. "Heaven-racing "messenger" is tolerably certain. Of the rest it is not easy to make sense. Motowori proposes to credit the five lines in question with the following general meaning: "May this song like a messenger, "run down to future ages, preserving for them the tradition of this "event!" Moribe, in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary, supposes the lines in question to be an addition made by the official singers, who in later times sang these songs as an accompaniment to dances. Whatever their origin and proper signification, it is plain that they had come to be used as a *refrain*, from which the first two lines were sometimes omitted, as we see in some of the songs further on.

"Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-
"Thousand-Spears! Being a maiden like
"a drooping plant, my heart is just a bird
"on a sand-bank by the shore; it will now
"indeed be a dotterel. Afterwards it will
"be a gentle bird; so as for thy life, do not
"deign to die. Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-
"racing messenger! the tradition of the
"thing, too, this!"[5]

[*Second Song of the Princess.*[6]]

"When the sun shall hide behind the green
"mountains, in the night [black as] the true
"jewels of the moor will I come forth.
"Coming radiant with smiles like the morn-

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[5] The drift of the poem is this: "Being a tender maiden, my "heart flutters like the birds on the sandy islets by the beach, and I "cannot yet be thine. Yet do not die of despair; for I will soon "comply with their desires."—The word *nuye-kusa* (here rendered "drooping plant," in accordance with the views of the commentators) is a Pillow-Word of somewhat obscure derivation.—The word *chidori* (rendered "dotterel" throughout this translation) denotes in its modern acceptation, according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer, "any kind of "sandpiper, plover, or dotterel." Its proper and original signification is, however, greatly debated by the commentators, and some think that it is not the specific name of any kind of bird, but stands simply by apocope for *tachi-dori*, "rising bird," thus designating any kind of small bird that rises and flies along near the beach.—The word *na-dori* (here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered "gentle bird") is taken by Motowori to mean simply "gentle," "compliant." But both the construction and the context seem to impose on us the interpretation here given. Keichiyu, in his "*Kō-gan Shō*," interprets the whole passage differently; but in order to do so he, without sufficient authority, changes the readings of the text into *wa tori*, "my bird," and *na tori*, "thy bird."—The *refrain* is the same as in the previous song.

[6] There is no break in the text; but the commentators rightly consider the following to be a separate poem.

"ing sun, [thine] arms white as rope of
"paper-mulberry-bark shall softly pat [my]
"breast soft as the melting snow; and
"patting [each other] interlaced, stretching
"out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each
"other's] jewel-arms,—true jewel-arms,—
"and with outstretched legs, will we sleep.
"So speak not too lovingly, Thine August-
"ness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears!
"The tradition of the thing, too, this!"[7]

Quamobrem eâ nocte non coierunt, sed sequentis diei nocte auguste coierunt.

[SECT. XXV.—THE CUP PLEDGE.]

Again this Deity's Chief Empress,[1] Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, was very jealous. So the Deity her husband, being distressed, was about to go up from Idzumo to the Land of Yamato; and as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup, he sang, saying:

"When I take and attire myself so carefully
"in my august garments black as the true
"jewels of the moor, and, like the birds of the
"offing, look at my breast,—though I raise

[7] The import of this very plain-spoken poem needs no elucidation.—*Nubatama* (here rendered "true jewels of the moor") is the Pillow-Word for things black or related to darkness. The "true jewels of the moor" are supposed to be the jet-black berries of the *hiafugi* (pron. *hiōgi*. *Ixia chinensis*). The whole etymology is, however, not absolutely certain.—Of which of the two lovers the words "coming radiant" with "smiles" are spoken, is not clear; but they probably refer to the male deity, as do the white arms, strange though such an expression may appear as applied to a man. The goddess represents herself and her lover as using each other's arms for pillows. The word "jewel-arms" means simply "beautiful arms."

[1] *I.e.*, chief wife.

"my fins, [I say that] these are not good,
"and cast them off on the waves on the
"beach. When I take and attire myself so
"carefully in my august garments green as
"the kingfisher, and, like the birds of the
"offing, look at my breast,—though I raise
"my fins, [I say that] these, too, are not
"good, and cast them off on the waves on
"the beach. When I take and attire myself
"so carefully in my raiment dyed in the sap
"of the dye-tree, the pounded madder sought
"in the mountain fields, and, like the birds
"of the offing, look at my breast,—though
"I raise my fins, [I say that] they are good.
"My dear younger sister, Thine Augustness!
"Though thou say that thou wilt not weep,—
"if like the flocking birds, I flock and depart,
"if, like the led birds, I am led away and
"depart, thou wilt hang down thy head like
"a single eulalia upon the mountain and
"thy weeping shall indeed rise as the mist of
"the morning shower. Thine Augustness
"[my] spouse like the young herbs! The
"tradition of the thing, too, this!"[2]

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[2] The meaning of this poem is:—"I start for Yamato, there to search for a better wife, and I carefully array myself for the journey. Black,—the colour of mourning,—is not fair enough, and red is more beautiful than green; so it is on my red garments that my choice rests. And thou, jealous and imperious woman! for all that thou sayest that thou wilt not heed my going, thou wilt weep when I depart with my retainers as departs a flock of birds, and thou wilt bury thy head in thy hands, and thy tears shall be as the misty drops of the morning shower."—The words *hata tagi* (rendered in accordance with Motowori's view by "raise my fins") are supposed to signify "raise my sleeve." If the last syllable were found in any text written with a character not requiring the use of the *nigori* in

Then his Empress, taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, sang, saying:—

"Oh! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-
"Thousand-Spears! [Thou], my [dear]
"Master-of-the-Great-Land indeed, being a
"man, probably hast on the various island-
"headlands that thou seest, and on every
"beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife
"like the young herbs. But as for me, alas!
"being a woman, I have no man except
"thee; I have no spouse except thee. Be-
"neath the fluttering of the ornamented
"fence, beneath the softness of the warm
"coverlet, beneath the rustling of the

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the Japanese transcription, we should get the more satisfactory reading *ha tataki*, i.e., "beat my wings;" but the syllable in question does not seem to be anywhere so written.—The "madder" is in the original *akane*, here written (but doubtless only through the error of some copyist) *atane*. The words rendered "sought in the mountain fields" might also be translated "sown in the mountain fields," *magishi*, "sought," and *makishi*, "sowed" being thought to be convertible.—The words "my beloved" represent the Japanese *itokoya no*, whose meaning is obscure and much disputed.—The words "when I am led away" must be understood as if they were Active instead of Passive, signifying as they do "when I lead away my retinue of followers."—The eulalia (*Eulalia japonica*) is a long kind of grass very often alluded to in the later classical poetry.—The words "on the mountain" represent the Japanese words *yama-to no*, in accordance with Motowori's and Hirata's view of the meaning of the latter (山處 or 山本). The *primâ facie* interpretation of "in the province of Yamato," which Keichiyu adopts, will not bear investigation.—It is not quite clear whether "the mist of the morning shower" means mist separate from the rain, or is simply a phrase for the rain-drops themselves. Motowori adopts the former opinion.—"Young herbs," *waka-kusa*, is the Pillow-Word for "spouse,"—newly married youths and maidens being likened to the fresh-grown grass. The *refrain* is an abbreviated form of that found in the two previous poems.

"cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of
"paper-mulberry bark softly patting [my]
"breast soft as the melting snow, and patting
"[each other] interlaced, stretching out
"and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's
"arms],—true jewel-arms, and with out-
"stretched legs, will we sleep. Lift up the
"luxuriant august liquor!"[3]

She having thus sung, they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks,[4] and are at rest till the present time. These are called divine words.[5]

[SECT. XXVI.—THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her

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[3] The import of this poem needs little explanation:—The goddess says to her husband, "Come back and live with me, and quaff this goblet as a sign of reconciliation; for though thou, as a man, mayest have a wife on every shore, I shall be left solitary if thou depart."—The "ornamented fence" is supposed to mean "a curtain round the sleeping place."—The latter part of the poem (excepting the concluding phrase) is a repetition of lines that have already occurred in the last ode of Sect XXIV (note 7). The word *tate-matsurase* (here rendered "lift up") occasions some difficulty. It properly signifies "present to a superior;" but here it must be taken to mean "partake of," as the goddess is speaking to her spouse himself, unless indeed we suppose the final words of the song to be a command addressed to one of her attendants to present the cup to their common lord and master.

[4] This is the probable and generally accepted meaning of the original of this clause, which is written phonetically.

[5] Explained by Moribe to mean, with reference to the whole story, "conversation about divine events." Motowori proposes to supplement the character 歌, "song," to the two (神語) in the text, and to take the three together as designating the nature of the preceding songs, in accordance with the usage in other cases,—"Rustic Songs," "Courtiers' Songs," etc. If this view were adopted, we should have to translate by "Divine Converse Songs."

Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity dwelling in the inner temple of Munakata,[1] and begot children: the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne,[2] next his younger sister Her Augustness High-Princess,[3] another name for whom is Her Augustness Princess Under-Shining.[4] This Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is he who is now called the Great August Deity of Kamo.[5] Again the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Princess Divine-House-Shield[6] and begot a child: the Deity Thing-Sign-Master.[7] Again he wedded the Deity Bird-

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[1] See Sect. XIII, Note 15 and Sect. XIV, Note 2.

[2] *Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami.* The meaning of the first two members of this compound name is altogether obscure: *Taka-hiko-ne*, signifies "high-prince lord."

[3] *Taka-hime-no-mikoto. Taka-hime* is suppossd by Hirata to be a mutilated form of *Taka-teru-hime*, "High-Shining-Princess," which would make the two names of this personage properly complementary.

[4] *Shita-teru-hime-no-mikoto.* This goddess is popularly supposed to have been extremely beautiful, whence perhaps the name, which might be taken to imply that her beauty shone forth from under her garments as in the case of *So-towori-hime* (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9).

[5] Because there worshipped. The etymology of Kamo is not clear.

[6] *Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto.* The translation here follows the Chinese characters. Another proposal of Motowori's is to regard the syllables *ya-tate* as a corruption of *iya-taka-teri*, "more and more high shining," which would give us for the whole name in English "Divine-More-and-More-High-Shining-Princess."

[7] *I.e.*, "the Deity who gave a sign of the thing he did." The Japanese original is *Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami.* The translation of the name here given follows Motowori' interpretation, which takes it to contain an allusion to the act by which its bearer symbolized his surrender of the sovereignty of the land to the descendant of the Sun-Goddess. Lengthened forms of the name are *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* ("the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master") and *Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami*, the first three syllables of which latter are obscure. Both of the lengthened forms are supposed to contain a reference to the manifold "green branches" mentioned in the legend referred to,—that, viz., which forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII,

Ears,[8] daughter of the Deity Eight-Island-Possessor,[9] and begot a child: the Deity Bird-Growing-Ears.[10] This Deity wedded Hina-teri-nakata-bichi-wo-ikochini,[11] and begot a child: the Deity Land-Great-Wealth.[12] This Deity wedded the Deity Ashi-nadaka,[13] another name for whom is Princess-Eight-Rivers-

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[8] *Tori-mimi-no-kami.* Motowori suggests that *tori*, "bird," may be but the name of a place in Yamato.

[9] *Ya-shima-muji-no-kami.* "Possessor" is the probable meaning of *muji*, regarded here and elsewhere as an alternative from of *mochi*. Motowori suggests that Yashima may be meant for the name of a district in Yamato, in which case both this god and his daughter would have been named from the places of their birth or residence, which are near each other in the same province.

[10] *Tori-naru-mi-no-kami.* The above interpretation, which is proposed by Motowori, seems more acceptable than "Bird-Sounding-Sea," which the Chinese characters yield, *Tori*, "bird," if taken above to be the name of a place, must be likewise so considered here.—Motowori reasonably conjectures that a clause to the following effect is here omitted: "He wedded such and such a princess, daughter of "such and such a Deity, and begot a child: the Deity *Take-mi-na-"gata"* [*i.e.*, probably Brave-August-Name-Firm] (See Sect. XXXII, Note 21). Hirata's text, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," is 娶高志之沼河比賣命而令生給之子謂御穗須美命亦名健御名方神.

[11] The text is here evidently corrupt, and Motowori proposes to read either *Hina-teri-nukata-bichi-wo-no-kami no musume Iko-chini-no-kami*, which would give us in English "the Deity Ikochini, daughter of the male Deity Hina-teri-nukata-bichi," or else to take the whole as the father's name, and to suppose that the name of the daughter has been accidentally omitted. *Hina-teri* means "Rustic Illuminator," and the name resembles that of a deity mentioned in Sect. XIV, Note 6. *Nukata* and *Bichi* (or *Hiji*, reversing the position of the *nigori*) are supposed to be names of places. *Ikochini* is altogether obscure.

[12] *Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami*, *oshi*, as in other instances, being considered a contraction of *ohoshi*, "great."

[13] *Ashi-nadaka-no-kami.* It is not clear whether this is a personal name or, as Motowori supposes, the name of the place where the

and-Inlets,[14] and begot a child: the Deity Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Lord-Ruler.[15] This Deity wedded Princess Luck-Spirit,[16] daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Awful-Master,[17] and begot a child: the Deity Awful-Master-Prince.[18] This Deity wedded Princess Hina-rashi,[19] daughter of the Deity Okami,[20] and begot a child: the Deity Tahiri-kishi-marumi.[21] This Deity wedded the Deity Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit,[22] daughter of the Deity Waiting-to-See-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly,[23]

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goddess resided. He quotes places named Ashidaka and Ashida; but this hardly seems satisfactory. In any case the name remains obscure.

[14] *Ya-kaha-ye-hime.* The translation follows the meaning of the Chinese characters with which the name is written. It is, however, also open to us to consider *Yaka-ha-ye* as a corruption of *iya-ko-haye*, "more and more flourishing."

[15] *Haya-mika-no-take-sahaya-ji-nu-mi-no-kami.* The syllables *sahaya* are obscure, and Motowori's proposal to consider them as the name of a place has only been followed in the translation for want of something more satisfactory.

[16] *Saki-tama-bime.*

[17] *Ame-no-mika-nushi-no-kami.*

[18] *Mika-nushi-hiko-no-kami.*

[19] *Hina-rashi-bime.* Motowori takes Hina to be the name of a place, and *rashi* to be an apocopated form of *tarashi* or some such word. But this is mere guesswork.

[20] *Okami-no-kami.* See Sect. VIII, Note 9.

[21] *Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami.* The meaning of this name is quite obscure. Motowori throws out the suggestion that *Tahiri* may stand for *Tari-hiri* and *Kishi-marumi* for *Kizhima-tsu-mi,—Tari-hiri* and *Kizhima* being names of places, and *tsu-mi*, as usual, being credited with the signification of "possessor."

[22] *Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime.*

[23] *Hihira-gi-no-sono-hana-madzu-mi-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name here given is conjectural as far as the words "waiting to see" (taken on Tominobu's authority to be the most likely meaning of *madzu-mi*) are concerned. Motowori suggests that *hihira-gi no* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word, and not part of the actual name at all, and the remaining characters corrupted, *Hihira-gi* rendered "holly," is properly the *Olea Aquifolia.*

and begot a child: the Deity Miro-na-mi.[24] This Deity wedded Princess Awo-numa-nu-oshi,[25] daughter of the Deity Master-of-Shiki-yama,[26] and begot a child: the Deity Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi.[27] This Deity wedded the Young-Day-Female-Deity,[28] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth.[29] This Deity wedded the Deity Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne,[30] daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Pass Boundary,[31] and begot a child: the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi.[32]

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[24] *Miro-na-mi-no-kami.* Meaning obscure. *Miro* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place, and *na* and *mi* to be Honorific appellations.

[25] *Awo-numa-nu-oshi-hime.* Meaning obscure.

[26] *Shiki-yama-nushi-no-kami.* *Shiki-yama* is supposed to be the name of a place in Echizen.

[27] *Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi-no-kami.* *Nunoshi* is supposed to be the name of a place, and identical with *Nunoshi*, which forms part of the mother's name. Motowori takes *tomi* to be an Honorific, and *Tori*, as previously in the case of the deities *Tori-mimi* and *Tori-naru-mi* (See Notes 8 and 10), to be the name of another place. The translator would prefer to take both words in their common signification, and (leaving *nunoshi* aside as incomprehensible) to render the rest of the name thus: "Wealth-Bird-Growing-Ears."

[28] *Waka-hiru-me-no-kami.*

[29] *Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes Hibara to be the name of a place, a view which the translator has adopted for want of a better.

[30] *Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne-no-kami.* Motowori supposes Tohotsu to be the name of a place, and the remaining syllables to be Honorifics.

[31] See Sect. VI. Note 20.

[32] *Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi-no-kami.* *Toho-tsu* (lit. "distant") and *yama-zaki* ("mountain-cape") are both considered by Motowori to be names of places. *Tarashi* signifies "perfect" or "perfection." We might perhaps render the name thus: "Perfection-of-the-Distant-Mountain-Cape."

[33] *I.e.*, "seventeen generations of Deities." But the construction is curious. Motowori points out that there is here an error in the computation, as the text enumerates but fifteen generations. The names of the gods and goddesses mentioned in this section offer

From the above-mentioned Deity Eight-Island-Ruler down to the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi are called the Deities of seventeen generations.[33]

[SECT. XXVII.—THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY.]

So when the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land dwelt at the august cape of Miho[1] in Idzumo, there came riding on the crest[2] of the waves in a boat of heavenly *Kagami*[3] a Deity dressed in skins of geese[4*] flayed with a complete flaying, who,

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unusual difficulties. Motowori says that it is with hesitation that he proposes many of his interpretations, and it is with still greater hesitation that the translator has accepted them.

[1] Not to be confounded with the better known Miho in Suruga. The derivation of the name seems uncertain.

[2] The character used is 穗, which properly denotes an ear of rice or other grain.

[3] What plant the author intends by this name is not quite certain. The characters 蘿摩 and 蔓 are variously used to write it in the native works of reference, where also we learn that it probably corresponds to the plant known in different provinces of modern Japan as *chichi-gusa, tombo-no-chichi. kagarahi* and *gaga-imo.* We may best understand the *Ampelopsis serianæfolia* to have been intended, as the plant is described as having a berry three or four inches long shaped like a towel-gourd (*hechima*), so that, if scooped out, it would fairly resemble a boat in miniature.

[4] All the authorities are agreed in considering the character 鵝, "goose," to be a copyist's error; but there is no agreement as to the character which should be substituted for it. Hirata reads 鶺, "wren" changing the phonetic. "Wren" also is the reading in "One account" of the "Chronicles," and Moribe, commenting thereon in his "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*," thinks that "wren" must have been the bird originally intended by the framers of the tradition. Motowori, following a suggestion of the editor of 1687, prefers to consider the radical for "bird" to have been put by mistake for the radical for "insect," and reads 蛾 which signifies "moth," especially the "silkworm moth." Motowori, however, proceeds to give to the character in question the Japanese reading of *hi-mushi* (lit. "fire-insect," i.e. "ephemera"), which is not warranted. The proper Japanese reading is *hihiru.* The

when asked his name, replied not; moreover the Deities who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad[5] spoke, saying: "As for this, the Crumbling "Prince[6] will surely know it." Thereupon [the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land] summoned and asked the Crumbling-Prince, who replied, saying: "This is the Little-Prince-the-"Renowned-Deity,[7] the august child of the Deity-Producing-"Wondrous-Deity."[8] So on their then respectfully informing[9] His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ances-

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best would seem to be to adopt the reading 蛾, "moth."

*The only reason is that goose-skin is thought too large for such a very small god whose boat is a gourd. This does not seem sufficient. The "moth" seems purely hypothetical. There is really no necessity to make the moth fit the conveyance. Dean Swift does not do so.—W.G.A.

[5] The original word is *tani-guku.* Its derivation and the name of the species which it denoted are alike unknown. Indeed we might equally well translate by "frog."

[6] *Kuye-biko.* The interpretation of the name here adopted is Motowori's. Tominobu takes *Kuye* to be the name of a place, and the personage in question to have been the inventor of scarecrows, whence the tradition connected with his name.

[7] *Sukuna-biko-na-no-kami*, or without the *nigori*, *Sukuna-hiko-na-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name here followed is that proposed by Motowori, but not followed by Hirata and Moribe, who prefer to consider it antithetical to that of *Oho-na-muji*, "the Great-Name-Possessor."

[8] First mentioned in Sect. I, Note 6. Immediately below, his name is given in the lengthened form.

[9] Motowori (who, strange to say, is followed by Hirata,—conf. Sect. XVIII, Note 18) interprets the two characters 白上 (here in accordance with general usage taken to signify "respectfully informed") as "informed and took up," thus making it appear that the diminutive deity was personally taken up to Heaven. Surely a recollection of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says that "a messenger was sent up to inform the Heavenly Deities," should have preserved the commentators from thus offending against both grammar and common sense.

tor, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among "my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my "hand.[10] So do he and thou become brethren, and make and "consolidate this land."[11] So from that time forward the two Deities the Great-Name-Possessor and the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity crossed over to the Eternal Land.[12] So [the Deity here] called the

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[10] *I.e.*, "slipped away between my fingers." In the legend as given in the "Chronicles," the father explains more particularly that the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity had been a bad boy who ran away.

[11] For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII, Note 26.

[12] *Toko-yo-no-kuni* (常世國). Some kind of Paradise or Hades is meant, as is proved by innumerable references in the early literature of Japan: and we may suppose the idea to have been borrowed from the Chinese or through them from Buddhism, and to have been afterwards vaguely located in some distant country. In Sect. LXXIV we are told of the orange having been brought from the "Eternal Land" by Tajima-mori, who is said to have been of Korean extraction. Korea, which is to the west of Japan, and the Buddhist paradise in the west might well be confounded by tradition, though it is equally open to discussion whether Southern China or even the Loochoo Islands might not have been thus vaguely designated. In any case it was a distant place, imperfectly known, though specifically named. In the "Chronicles," Tajima-mori is made to say that it is "the retreat of Gods and Fairies, and not to be reached by common men."—Motowori's immense note on this word (see Vol. XII, pp. 10–13 of his Commentary) is a specimen of the specious arguments by which he endeavours to ward off from the Early Japanese the imputation of ever having borrowed any ideas from their neighbours. He would have us believe that *Toko-yo* is derived from *soko yori.* "thence" (!) and that the name simply denotes foreign countries in general. This is on a par with the opinion emitted by Arawi Hakuseki in his "*Ko-shi Tsū,*" to the effect that the "Eternal Land" was simply a place in the province of Hitachi. The latter good old commentator apparently founded himself on no better reasons than his general rejection of supernatural or otherwise perplexing details,

Crumbling Prince, who revealed the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity, is what is now [called] the scarecrow in the mountain fields. This Deity, though his legs do not walk, is a Deity who knows everything in the Empire.[13]*

[SECT. XXVIII.—THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT.[1]]

Thereupon the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land lamented himself, and said: "How shall I alone be able to make this "land?[2] Together with what Deity can I make this land?" At this time there came a Deity illuminating the sea. This Deity said: "If thou wilt lay me to rest[3] well, I can make it "together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made." Then the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land said: "If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?" He replied, saying: "Reverently worship me on Yamato's green

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and the fact that one of the characters with which the name of the province in question is written is 常, which also forms part of the name of *Toko-yo-no-kuni*.

[13] Literally "everything beneath Heaven." "Beneath Heaven" (天下), *i.e.*, "all that is beneath the Heavens," is a common Chinese phrase for the Chinese Empire, which was in ancient days not unnaturally supposed by its inhabitants to form the whole civilized world. The expression was borrowed by the Japanese to designate their one country. But its use by them had not the same plea of ignorance of other civilised lands, as they were acquainted with China and Korea, and had thence obtained nearly all the arts of life.

* This statement puzzles the commentators.—W.G.A.

[1] In the "Chronicles," this is given as the designation of the Deity who came over the sea, and Motowori therefore adopts it as the heading of this Section.

[2] For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII. Note 26.

[3] *I.e.*, "if thou wilt build me a temple." Ths original might also be rendered "if thou wilt worship before me," or "at my shrine," or "if thou wilt establish a temple to me.

"fence, the eastern mountain's top."[4] This is the Deity who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro.[5]

[SECT. XXIX.—THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY.]

So the Great-Harvest-Deity wedded the Princess [of?] Inu,[1] daughter of the Divine-Life-Producing-Wondrous-Deity,[2] and begot children: the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land,[3] next the Deity of Kara,[4] next the Deity Sohori,[5] next the Deity White-Sun,[6] next the Sage-Deity.[7] (Five Deities.[8]) Again

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[4] *I.e.*, on Mount Mimoro which stands as a protecting fence in the eastern part of the province of Yamato. *Awo-kaki-yama*, "green fence mountain," became a proper name used alternatively for Mount Mimoro (or, according to the later pronunciation, Mimuro). In like manner *Himukashi-yama* (in the later language *Higashi-yama*) "eastern mountain," has by some been considered to be a proper name.

[5] *I.e.*, "august house;" so called probably from the temple of the deity.

[1] *Inu-hime*. Motowori supposes *Inu* to be the name of a place. The word properly signifies "dog."

[2] *Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami*.

[3] *Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami*.

[4] *Kara-no-kami*, 韓神. *Kara* signifies Korea or China, and the Deity thus named appears in the "Chronicles" under the name of *I-so-takeru* ("Fifty-fold-Valiant), of whom it is related that he was taken over to Korea by his father *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male).

[5] *Sohori-no-kami*. The etymology is not clear. Hirata derives the name from a Verb *soru*, "to ride," "to go in a boat," in connection with the story (mentioned in the preceding note) of I-so-takeru having been taken over to Korea. According to this view, *Sohori*, like *Kara-no-kami*, would be an alternative name of *I-so-takeru*. But the derivation is hazardous, to say the least.

[6] *Shira-hi-no-kami*. Motowori supposes *shira hi* (白日) to be a copyist's error for *mukahi* (向日). The latter, however, does not make satisfactory sense, and Tominobu proposes to invert the charac-

he wedded the Refulgent-Princess,[9] and begot children: the Deity Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee,[10] next the August-Harvest-Deity.[11] Again he wedded Princess Ame-shiru-karu-midzu,[12] and begot children: the Deity Oki-tsu-hiko,[13] next Her Augustness Oki-tsu-hime,[14] another name for whom

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ters, thus: 日向, which means "sun-confronting." Motowori suggests that the word may, after all, be but the name of a place.

[7] *Hizhiri-no-kami*, written with the characters 聖神. The first of these is defined as signifying him who is intuitively wise and good, *i.e.*, the perfect sage. But perhaps we should in Archaic Japanese take the term *hizhiri* in what is its probable native etymological sense, viz. "sun-governing" (*hi-zhiri*, 日知), a title properly applied to the Japanese Emperors as descendants of the Sun-Goddess, and of which the character 聖, which is used of the Chinese Monarchs, is only an equivalent in so far as it, too, is employed as an Honorific title.

[8] Viz. from the August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land to the Sage-Deity inclusive.

[9] *Kagayo-hime.*

[10] *Oho-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami.* The translation follows Hirata's interpretation, which nearly agrees with that proposed by Mabuchi.

[11] *Mi-toshi-no-kami.* For the meaning of "harvest" attributed to the word *toshi* see Sect. XX, Note 3.

[12] *Ame-shiru-karu-midzu-hime.* The name might tentatively be translated thus: Heaven-Governing-Fresh-Princess-of-Karu. Motowori suggests that *ame-shiru* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word for the rest of the name. *Ama-tobu* is, however, the only Pillow-Word for Karu found in the poems. After all, Karu may not here be the name of a place at all.

[13] *Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami.* The translator ventures to think that the names of this deity and the next might simply be rendered (in accordance with the first character, 奥, entering into their composition) "Inner Prince" and "Inner Princess" or "Prince of the Interior" and "Princess of the Interior." Motowori however suggests that *Okitsu* may be the name of a place, while Hirata derives the names from *oki-tsuchi*, "laid earth," finding therein a reference to the furnace (made of clay) mentioned immediately below

[14] *Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.*

is the Deity Great Furnace-Princess:[15]—this is the Deity of the Furnace[16] held in reverence by all people. Next the Deity Great-Mountain-Integrator,[17] another name for whom is the Deity-Great-Master-of-the-Mountain End:[18] this Deity dwells on Mount Hiye[19] in the land of Chika-tsu-Afumi,[20] and is likewise the Deity dwelling at Matsu-no-wo[21] in Kadzunu,[22] who uses the whizzing barb.[23]* Next the Deity-of-the-Fire-in-

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15 *Oho-be-hime-no-kami.*

16 *Kama-no-kami* (竈神). The "furnace" means the "kitchen." Neither Motowori nor Hirata informs us that the immense popularity of this Goddess, as well as her name, can clearly be traced to China.

17 *Oho-yama-kuhi-no-kami.* The meaning of *kuhi*, here (as in the case of *Tsunu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi*, see Sect. II, Note 4) rendered by the word "integrator," is open to doubt.

18 *Yama-suwe-no-oho-nushi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes the word *suwe*, "end," to have the signification of "top."

19 As it stands, the etymology of this name is not clear. In later times the mountain was called *Hi-yei* (比叡). But whether the, to outward appearance, native name *Hiye* is but a corruption of this Chinese one, or whether it be true that the latter (on this hypothesis bestowed on account of its likeness in sound to the native designation) was not used till the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, as is commonly stated, is difficult to decide.

20 *I.e.*, "Close-Fresh-Sea." *Afumi* (modern pron. *Ōmi*, for *aha-um*) alone signifies "fresh sea," *i.e.*, "lake." This province contains the large lake commonly known as Lake Biha (Biwa), but anciently simply called "the Fresh Sea," as being the lake *par excellence* of Japan. When one of the eastern provinces received, on account of a large lagoon or inlet which it contains, the name of *Toho-tsu-Afumi* (in modern pronunciation *Tōtōmi*), *i.e.*, "Distant-Fresh-Sea." the epithet Close was prefixed to the name of the province nearer to the ancient centre of government.

21 *I.e.*, Pine-tree-Declivity.

22 *I.e.*, Pueraria-Moor.

23 This passage (用鳴鏑神者也) must be corrupt. Mabuchi proposes to insert the character 祭 before 神, and to understand the author to have meant to tell us that the deity was worshipped with arrows, that is to say, that arrows were offered at his shrine. Motowori's proposal to consider 用 as an error for 成 or 化, and to

the-Yard;[24] next the Deity Asuha;[25] next the Deity Hahigi;[26] next the Deity Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee;[27] next the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling;[28] next the High Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard;[29] next the Great-Earth-Deity,[30] another

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interpret the clause thus: "the Deity who was changed into an arrow" is also worthy of notice. But a further suggestion of his to read 丹 for 用 and to interpret thus: "the Deity of the Red Arrow," seems best of all when taken in connection with the tradition, which he quotes from the "Topography of Yamashiro," to the effect that this god took the shape of a red arrow to gain access to his mistress *Tama-yori-hime*, such a transformation being one of the common-places of Japanese myth.

* Why barb and not simply arrow-head? An arrow-head has two barbs.—W.G.A.

[24] *Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami.* The interpretation of this name here adopted is not Motowori's, who takes *hi* in the sense of "wondrous," but Hirata's. The latter author makes it clear that this deity (for whom *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami*, *i.e.*, "the High-Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard," is but a slightly amplified designation) was none other than the above-mentioned Deity of the Kitchen, and his name an inclusive one for the pair of deities *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime.*

[25] *Asuha-no-kami.* The signification of this name is obscure, and Motowori's proposal to derive it from *ashi-niha*, "foot-place," because the god in question may be supposed to protect the place on which people stand, is not altogether convincing, In fact he himself only advances it with hesitation. It should be added, however, that Hirata stamps it with his special approval, as he does also Motowori's derivation of the following name, *Hahigi.*

[26] *Hahigi-no-kami.* Obscure, but ingeniously derived by Motowori from *hahi-iri-gimi*, *i.e.*, "entering prince," the deity in question being supposed to have been the special protector of the entrances to houses, and to have thence received his name. Mr. Satow has translated it in the Rituals as "Entrance Limit."

[27] *Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami.* The name is almost identical with that in note 10.

[28] *Ha-yama-to-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori, and which seems tolerably satisfactory.

[29] *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami.* See Note 24.

[30] *Oho-tsuchi-no-kami.*

name for whom is the Deity August-Ancestor-of-Earth.[31] (Nine Deities.[32])

In the above paragraph the children of the Great-Harvest-Deity, from the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land down to the Great-Earth-Deity, are altogether sixteen Deities.

The Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling[33] wedded the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food,[34] and begot children: the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator;[35] next the Young-Harvest-Deity;[36] next his younger sister the Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity;[37] next the Water-Sprinkling-Deity;[38] next the Deity-of-the-High-Sun-of-Summer,[39] another name for whom is the Female-Deity-of-Summer;[40] next the Autumn-Princess;[41] next

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31 *Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-no-kami.*

32 This number is obtained if (as is perhaps permissible from a Japanese point of view) we consider *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime* as forming a single deity. Otherwise there are ten. A similar remark applies to the number sixteen mentioned immediately below.

33 See Note 28.

34 See Sect. V, Note 8. The fact that this goddess is related to have been previously killed (see Sect. XVII) causes Motowori some embarrassment.

35 *Waka-yama-kuhi-no-kami.*

36 *Waka-toshi-no-kami.* Motowori proposes (considering this name in connection with the four that follow) to take *waka-toshi* in this place in the signification of "the first sprouting" of the young rice. The five deities whose birth is here mentioned seem collectively to represent the natural succession of agricultural operations throughout the year.

37 *Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami.*

38 *Midzu-maki-no-kami.*

39 *Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami.* Motowori's interpretation of *hi* as "wondrous" is perhaps as good as that here adopted, according to which it signifies "sun." His view would give us in English "the Summer-High-Wondrous-Deity."

40 *Natsu-no-me-no-kami.*

41 *Aki-hime-no-kami.*

the Deity Stem-Harvest;[42] next the Deity Lord-Stem-Tree-Young-House-Rope.[43]

In the above paragraph the children of the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, from the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator down to the Deity Lord-Young-House-Rope,[44] are altogether eight Deities.

[SECT. XXX.—THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND.]

The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded, saying: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-"ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,—of Long-Five-Hundred-Au-"tumns[1] is the land which my august child His Augustness "Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-"Great-Great-Ears[2] shall govern." Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she sent him down from Heaven.[3] Hereupon His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, standing on the Float-

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[42] *Kuku-toshi-no-kami.* The word *kuku*, "stem," seems to allude to the length of the well-grown rice.

[43] *Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami.* Motowori supposes this god to have been the protector of houses, and interprets the name to denote the beams, and the ropes with which the beams were bound together. The word here read *tsuna*, "rope," is written with the character, 葛, and might perhaps be rendered "pueraria." But as in early times the tendrils of such creeping plants formed the only substitute for rope, the two renderings come to have very nearly the same signification.

[44] The name is here abbreviated in the original to *Waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami.*

[1] *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*, *i.e.*, freely rendered, "ever fruitful Japan with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant ricefields."

[2] See Sect. XIII, Note 18. Henceforward this tremendous name is mostly abbreviated to *Ame-no-oshi-no-mimi* (probably signifying "Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.")

[3] So in the original. The sense, however, is rather "told him to descend from Heaven;" for he did not actually go further than the top of the "Floating Bridge," and never came down to earth.

ing Bridge of Heaven,[4] said: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-"the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,—of "Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is painfully uproarious,—it is."[5] With this announcement, he immediately re-ascended, and informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. Then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity[6] and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded the eight hundred myriad Deities to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven,[7] and caused the Deity Thought-Includer[8] to think [of a plan], and said:[9] "This Central Land* "of Reed-Plains is the land with which we have deigned to "charge our august child as the land which he shall govern. "So as he deems that violent and savage Earthly Deities[10] are "numerous in this land, which Deity shall we send to subdue "them?" Then the deity Thought-Includer and likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel and said: "The "Deity Ame-no-ho-hi;[11] is the one that should be sent." So they sent the Deity Ame-no-ho-hi; but he at once curried favour with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and for three years brought back no report.

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[4] See Sect, III, Note 3.

[5] The words "it is" stand for *ari keri* in the original. *Conf.* Sect. X, Note 1.

[6] *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami*, first mentioned at the very commencement of the work. In this legend this god's name is constantly coupled with that of the Sun-Goddess, who alone, up to this point, had appeared as the ruler of Heaven.

[7] See Sect. XIII, Note 12.

[8] See Sect. XVI, Note 7.

[9] The meaning must be, as Motowori suggests, that the story was told first, and the Deity Thought-Includer asked for his advice after he had heard it.

* Chinese touch.—W.G.A.

[10] See Sect. I, Note 11.

[11] See Sect. XIII, Note 19.

[SECT: XXXI.—THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.]

Therefore the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, saying: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we "sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, is long of "bringing back a report.[1] Which Deity were it best to send "on a fresh mission?"[2] Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince,[3] son of the "Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit[4] should be sent." So they bestowed on the Heavenly-Young-Prince the heavenly true deer-bow and the heavenly feathered arrows,[5] and sent him. Thereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining,[6] daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land,[7] and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no report. So then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The Heavenly-Young-"Prince is long of bringing back a report.[8] Which Deity "shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of the

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[1] Literally, "long brings back no report."

[2] Literally, "to send again." The same expression occurs below.

[3] *Ame-waka-hiko.* All the commentators agree that it is in order to express disapprobation of this god's wickedness that the title of Deity or Augustness is never coupled with his name.

[4] *Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami.*

[5] *Ame-no-kako-yumi* and *ame-no-haha-ya.* In Sect. XXXIV these weapons are mentioned under the slightly altered names of *ame-no-hazhi-yumi* ("heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow") and *ame-no-kaku-ya* ("heavenly deer-arrows.") A large bow made of vegetable wax-tree (*Rhus succedanea*) wood, and arrows with broad feathers, are supposed to be intended.

[6] *Shita-teru-hime.* See Sect. XXVI. Note 4.

[7] *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami.* See Sect. XX, Note 17

[8] Literally, "long brings back no report."

"Heavenly-Young-Prince's long tarrying?" Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The pheasant the Name-Crying-Female[9] should be "sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity] charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the "Heavenly-Young-Prince is this: 'The reason for which thou "'wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to sub-"'due and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for "'eight years bringest thou back no report?'" So then the Crying-Female, descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree[10] at the Heavenly-Young-Prince's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman,[11] having heard the bird's words, spoke to the Heavenly-Young-Prince, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very "bad. So thou shouldest shoot it to death." On her [thus]

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[9] *Na-naki-me.* If the view here taken of the meaning of the Japanese expression be correct (it is that preferred by Motowori and Hirata), the pheasant would seem to have been supposed to cry out its own name,—in Archaic Japanese *kigishi.* The syllables *na naki me,* however, lend themselves equally well to the interpretation of "nameless female," and are in the "Chronicles" found written with characters having that signification. Another reasonable opinion is that the name should be connected with the tradition mentioned further on of the pheasant having been the mourner (lit. "crying female," *naki-me*) at the funeral of the Heavenly-Young-Prince. In this case the word *na,* "name," would have to be considered redundant, and it will be observed that, the next time the name is mentioned, we find simply *naki-me,* "crying female," without the syllable in question.

[10] *Katsura-no-ki,* variously written 桂, 楓, 香木, 杜木, and phonetically 加都羅. Though it is not absolutely certain what tree is intended, the weight of authority and of probability is in favour of its being the cassia, which plays a part in Chinese mythology. In modern parlance the *katsura* is a tree whose Latin name is *Cercidiphyllum japonicum.*

[11] *Ama-no-sagu-me.*

urging him, the Heavenly-Young-Prince at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up upside down[12] through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where the Heaven-Shining-Great-Angust-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity[13] were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-Integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: "This "arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the Heavenly-"Young-Prince," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If "this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the Heavenly-"Young-Prince in obedience to our command, let it not hit "him. If he has a foul heart, let the Heavenly-Young-Prince "perish[14] by this arrow." With these words, he took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole,[15] so that it hit the Heavenly-Young-Prince on the top of his breast[16] as he was sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the

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[12] This expression, as Motowori explains, signifies only that, as the arrow was shot from below straight up at a pheasant perching on a branch overhead, the feathers, which are properly considered to form the top part of the arrow, were naturally underneath.

[13] *Taka-gi-no-kami.* The name is writen with the characters 高木神, which, taken ideographically, would give us in English "High-Tree-Deity." But the translator has little doubt but that Motowori is correct in considering 木 to be here used phonetically, and the syllable *gi*, which it represents, to be a contraction of *guhi* (for *kuhi*), itself derived from *kumu*, and best rendered by the Verb "to integrate."

[14] In Japanese *magare*, lit. "turn aside," "become crooked," *i.e.*, "come to a bad end."

[15] *I.e.*, through the hole in the bottom of the sky through which the arrow had entered, or which the arrow had made for itself.

[16] Literally "high breast-hill."

origin of [the saying] 'Beware of a returning arrow.'[17]) Moreover the pheasant returned not. So this is the origin of the modern proverb which speaks of 'the pheasant as sole messenger.'[18] So the sound of the wailings of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children[19] who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there,[20] and made the wild goose of the river[21] the head-hanging bearer,[22] the heron the

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[17] The sentence placed between brackets is supposed by Motowori to be an addition to the text made by some copyist who had in his mind the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." In the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" the two characters answering to our word "beware" are omitted, and the resulting meaning is: "This was the origin of the practice of sending back arrows," *i.e.*, of shooting an enemy with the arrow he had himself just used.

[18] The import of the proverb seems to be that an embassy should always consist of more than one person. This is Motowori's view, based on his interpretation of the character 雉 as *hita*, which he identifies with *hito*, "one"; and it agrees well with the story in the text. Hirata, who, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," following the version of the legend given in the "Chronicles," narrates two pheasant embassies,—the male bird being sent first and (as it did not return) the female afterwards,—takes the character in the proper sense belonging to it in Chinese, and interprets the words of the proverb to mean "the pheasant's hurried embassy."

[19] *I.e.*, the wife and children of the Heavenly-Young-Prince, who had been left behind by him in Heaven when he went on his embassy to Idzumo.

[20] *I.e.*, in the place where he died. The "mourning house" was used to keep the corpse in till it was finally buried.

[21] Some of the commentators believe this bird to be a separate species, and Moribe, who says that he saw one at the estuary near Kuhana in Ise, describes it as "rather slenderer than an ordinary wild goose, with longer legs and a higher back." If we accepted this, the better English translation would be "river wild goose."

[22] The original of this expression (*kisari-mochi*) is very obscure

broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman,[23] the pheasant the weeping woman; and having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves[24] for eight days and eight nights,* At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne[25] came and condoled on the mourning for the Heavenly-Young-Prince, whereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves,[26] saying: "My child is not dead, "no! My lord is not dead, no!" and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely

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even in the "Chronicles," by whose ideographic reading the translator has been guided, and being here written phonetically become more conjectural still. The most likely opinion is that it signifies one bearing on his head the food to be offered to the corpse, though if this view be adopted, the office of the mourner in question may seem to resemble too closely that of the kingfisher. The latter has however been supposed to have brought fish, while the goose may have brought rice. Another proposal is that the goose brought the food and the kingfisher cooked it, while the sparrow, as mentioned below, performed the intermediate operation of pounding the rice. (See Motowori's elaborate note on this word in Vol. XIII, pp. 47–48 of his Commentary).

23 Or simply, "the pounder."

24 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us that "they wept and wailed and sang† for eight nights."

† The words "wail and sing" are probably a compound, they are joined by a line in the Japanese. Sang dirges?—**W.G.A.**

* See paper on early Japanese history p. 54. Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, while their friends come singing, dancing and making music.—**W.G.A.**

25 See Sect. XXVI, Note 2. He was brother to the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife.

26 The author of the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" tells us that these tears were tears of joy. Doubtless such is the meaning of the text; yet the repetition of the words "bewailing" and "lamenting" is curious.

resembled each other in countenance: so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity Ajishi-ki-taka-hiko-ne was very angry, and said: "It was only because he was my dear "friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to "an unclean dead person?"—and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sabre[27] that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning[28] at the source of the River Awimi[29] in the land of Minu.[30] The great sword with which he cut [the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Great-Blade-Mower,[31] another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Sabre.[32] So when the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hoko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Her Augustness the High-Princess in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying:

"Oh! 'tis the Deity Aji-shiki-Taka-Hiko-Ne
"traversing two august valleys with the re-
"fulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of
"the august assembled jewels worn round
"her neck by the Weaving Maiden in
"Heaven!"[33]

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27 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

28 *Mo-yama.* No such mountain is now known.

29 *Awimi-gaha.* No such river is now known. According to the characters with which it is written the name signifies "Knot-grass-Seeing River."

30 Afterwards called Mino. This province probably received its name, as the author of the "Explanation of Japanese Names" suggests, from *mi nu, i.e.*, "three moors," from the large moors of Kagami, Awo, and Seki-ga-hara which it contains. The modern commentators prefer to derive it from *ma nu*, "true moor."

31 *Oho-ha-kari.* The name might also be rendered "Great-Leaf-Mower." The translator has followed Hirata in omitting the *nigori* from the syllable *ka.*

32 *Kamu-do-tsurugi.*

33 The meaning of the Song is: "Oh! this is *Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-*"*ne*, whose refulgence, similar to that of the jewels worn by the

This Song is of a Rustie Style.[34]

[SECT. XXXII.—ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?"[1] Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise all the Deities said: "He who is named the Deity Majestic-Point-Blade-"Extended[2] and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling by the

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"Weaving Maiden in Heaven, shines afar across hills and valleys."—The translator does not follow those commentators who emend *ana-dama*, "hole-jewels" to *aka-dama*, "red," *i.e.*, "resplendent jewels," as the frequent reference in this and the other ancient books to the string on which beads were strung, and the presence in ancient tombs, etc. of numbers of such beads with holes drilled through them (they are now known by the name of *kuda-tama*, *i.e.*, "tube-jewels,") renders such an emendation unnecessary. The "Weaving Maiden in Heaven" is evidently, notwithstanding Motowori's endeavour to disprove the fact, the Chinese *Chih Nü*, a personification of *α* Lyræ, to whom there are countless allusions in Chinese literature, and who also became a frequent theme of the later Japanese poets.

[34] Or, "barbarous style." Motowori endeavours to explain away the various names of styles of Songs found in the early literature by asserting that they are simply derived from the initial words of the Song in question, and that, for instance, in the present case, the title of Rustic Song was bestowed on the poem only because in the "Chronicles" it is coupled with another which lends itself to such an interpretation. Moribe gives his sanction to this view; but, though it is difficult to explain many of the titles on any other theory, the translator thinks that it cannot be accepted as generally satisfactory in the face of the numerous cases which contradict it, and of which its supporters can give no satisfactory explanation. The whole subject of the titles, of the manner of singing, etc., of the ancient poems is indeed involved in obscurity.

[1] Literally, "to send again."

[2] *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari no kami.* We have already seen (Sect. VIII, Note 15) this name (*minus* the title of Deity) as the appellation of

"source of the Tranquil River of Heaven, is the one that "should be sent; or if not this Deity, then this Deity's child, "the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[3] might be sent, "Moreover,[4] owing to this Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Exten-"ded having blocked up and turned back the waters of the "Tranquil River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road "blocked up, other Deities cannot go [thither]. So the Hea-"venly-Deer-Deity[5] should be sent specially to ask him." So then the Heavenly-Deer-Deity was sent to ask the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, who replied, saying: "I will "obey, and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless on this "errand[6] ye should send my[7] child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-"Male-Deity,"[8]—[and with these words] immediately offered [his son to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity]. So the Deity Heavenly-Bird-Boat[9] was attached to the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and they were sent off. Therefore

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the sword with which Izanagi ("the Male-Who-Invites") decapitated his son Kagu-tsu-chi ("Shining Elder") for having by his birth caused the death of Izanami ("the Female-Who-Invites"). This sword's alternative name appears immediately below as the alternative name of this deity,—*Ame-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami*, *i.e.*, "the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended." Motowori's gloss to the effect that the deity was the *spirit* of the sword has no warrant from the text.

[3] *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami.* See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

[4] Here, as in Sect. IX. (Note 6) the character 且, "moreover," occurs where some other Conjunction would seem more appropriate both in Japanese and in English. We may here understand it to be used for "but."

[5] *Ame-no-kaku-no-kami.* The interpretation of *kaku* as "deer" is Hirata's, See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXII, p. 6, and *conf.* the remarks on Mount Kagu in Sect. VII, Note 12 of this translation.

[6] Literally, "in this road."

[7] The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant."

[8] See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

[9] *Tori-bune-no-kami.* See Sect. VI, Note 24.

these two Deities, descending to the little shore[10] of Inasa[11] in the land of Idzumo, drew their swords ten hand-breadths long,[12] stuck them upside down[13] on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged[14] on the point of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "The Heaven-"Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity "have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: 'We have "'deigned to charge our august child with thy dominion, the "'Central Land of Reed-Plains, as the land which he should "'govern. So how is thy heart?'"[15] He replied, saying: "I[16] am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-"Sign-Master[17] will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to "Cape Miho[18] to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet "returned." So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou[19]] respectfully present this land to "the august child of the Heavenly Deity;"—and thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches,

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10 The word "little" is merely a sort of Honorific Expletive.

11 The true etymology of this word is doubtful; for Motowori's proposal to derive if from *ina se*, supposed to mean "no or yes" (諾否), in allusion to the question here put to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is a mere fancy, and does not provide for the alternative forms *Itasa* and *Isasa*, which occur in other documents.

12 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

13 *I.e.*, as Motowori explains, hilt downwards.

14 The "Chronicles" say that they "squatted."

15 *I.e.*, "What sayest thou to this our decree?"

16 Here and below the humble character 僕, "servant," is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

17 *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nu-shi-no-kami.* For this difficult name see Sect. XXVI, Note 7.

18 See Sect. XXVII, Note 1.

19 Or, "We will."

and disappeared.[20] So then they asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "Thy son the Deity Thing-Sign-"Master has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who "should speak?" Hereupon he spoke again, saying: "There "is my other son, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm.[21] There "is none beside him." While he was thus speaking, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm came up, bearing on the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock,[22] and said: "Who is "it that has come to our land, and thus secretly talks? If "that be so,[23] I should like to have a trial of strength. So I "should like to begin by taking thine august hand." So on his letting him take his august hand, his touch at once turned it into an icicle, and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade.[24] So then he was frightened and drew back. Then on

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[20] *I.e.*, He capsized his boat and himself into the sea,—the place being one where (as is still done in Japan) a large space of shallow water had been fenced in with posts, and stuck over with branches of trees, a single opening being left for fish to enter by,—then clapped his hands in token of departure, and sank to the bottom.—This is Hirata's interpretation of the passage, which is a difficult one, and is differently understood by Motowori, whom Mr. Satow has followed in one of his notes to the Rituals (see Vol. VII, Pt II, p. 122 of these "Transactions"), rendering it thus: "He then trod upon the edge "of his boat so as to overturn it, and with his hands crossed back to "back (in token of consent), transformed his boat into a green fence "of branches, and disappeared." A careful comparison of the remarks in Motowori's Commentary (Vol. XIV, pp. 16–19) with those in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (Vol. XXII, pp. 50–55) and with the text itself, as also with the text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," has however left no doubt in the mind of the translator that Hirata's view is the correct one.

[21] *Take-mi-na-gata-no-kami*. The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori.

[22] *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

[23] This expression seems here, as Motowori says, to be used in the sense of "Come on!" It has survived in the modern word *saraba*, which sometimes has that meaning.

[24] *I.e.*, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity's hand turned first

the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity wishing to take the hand of the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed it as if it were taking a young reed, and cast it aside, upon which [the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm] fled away. So when [the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea of Suha[25] in the land of Shinanu,[26] and was about to slay him, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to "no other place but this, neither will I go against the com-"mand of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. I "will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-"Sign-Master. I will yield up this Central Land of Reed-"Plains according to the command of the august child of the "Heavenly Deities." So they returned again, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land [saying]: "Thy children the "two Deities the Deity Thing-Sign-Master and the Deity "Brave-August-Name-Firm have said that they will follow and "not go against the commands of the august child of the "Heavenly Deities. So how is thy heart?" Then he replied, "saying: According as the two Deities my children have said, "I too will not go against them. In accordance with the "[heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central "Land of Reed-Plains. But as to my place of residence, if "ye will make stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost "rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain of "High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the

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into an icicle and next into a sword-blade on being touched by the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, to the alarm and hurt of the latter.

[25] *I.e.*, the Lake of Suha. No satisfactory etymology of the name is forthcoming.

[26] In later times called *Shinano*. The usual derivation of the word is that which connects it with *shina-zaka*, "mountainous ascents," —an appropriate enough name for the province in question. It is, however, more probably derived from *shina*, the name of a tree resembling the lime (*Tilia cordata*) and *nu* or *no*, "moor."

"august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of "Heaven's sun, and will deign to establish me, I will hide in "the eighty (less than a hundred) road-windings, and wait on "him. Again, as for my children the hundred and eighty "Deities, if the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be "the Deities' august rear and van and will respectfully serve "them, there will be no disobedient Deities."[27] Having thus spoken [he hid himself.[28] So in accordance with his word,[29]] they built a heavenly august abode on the shore[30] of Tagishi[31]

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[27] *I.e.*, "If ye will build me a temple founded on the nethermost "rocks and reaching up to Heaven like unto the august residence of "the Heavenly Deity who is coming to replace me as sovereign "upon earth, I will vanish to Hades, and serve him there; and as for "the Gods my children, none of them will rebel against their new "Lord, if the Deity Thing-Sign-Master be accepted as the protector "of his escort."—Some of the expressions in the original stand in need of explanation. *Su*, here rendered "nest" in accordance with the character 巣 employed in writing it, may mean "lattice" (簀), and refer to the lattice-work over the hole in the chimney of the roof. The "succession of Heaven's sun" (in Japanese *ama tsu hi-tsug*) means the inheritance of the sovereignty of Japan, or of Idzumo. *Momotaradzu* ("less than a hundred") is the Pillow-Word for *ya-so*, "eighty," and for some other words; it must be disregarded in making sense of any sentence in which it occurs. The "eighty road-windings" signify, says Motowori, "an immensely long way," and are here meant for the long road leading to Hades or for Hades itself (Conf, Sect. XCVI, Note 7). In rendering the last sentence of the passage (that commencing "Again, as for my children," etc.), which is particularly vague, the translator has been guided by Motowori's opinion, which seems the most satisfactory one. It must be understood that the deities whose rear and van the Deity Thing-Sign-Master is to become, are those who are about to escort the new sovereign down from heaven.

[28] *I.e.*, disappeared.

[29] The passage placed within brackets is supplied by Motowori to fill up an evident omission in the text.

[30] Literally "little shore." See Note 10 to this Section.

[31] The derivation of *Tagishi* is doubtful; but *conf.* Sect. LXXXIX,

in the land of Idzumo; and the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits,[32] grandson of the Deity of Water-Gates,[33] was made butler to offer up the heavenly august banquet, when,[34] having said prayers, the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits turned into a cormorant, went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red earth from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters, and, cutting sea-weed[35] stalks, made a fire-drill mortar, and made a fire-drill pestle out of stalks of *komo*,[36] and drilled out fire, saying: "This fire which I have drilled will I burn "until, in the Plain of High Heaven, the soot on the heavenly "new lattice of the gable of His Augustness the Wondrous-"Divine-Producer-the-August-Ancestor[37] hang down eight hand-"breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake "down to the nethermost rock-bottom, and, — the fishing "sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-"mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and

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Note 2. Motowori remarks that we seem to have here the old name of the place now known only, on account of the temple which it contains, as *Kidzuki no Oho-yashiro, i.e.*, "the pestle-hardened great shrine."

[32] *Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami.* Motowori proposes to consider *tama* as a contraction of *tamuke*, "offering," and to take the name to signify "the Deity of Wondrous Increasing Offerings." Hirata's interpretation, which is followed in the translation, seems better, as the term "eight spirits" or "eight [fold] spirit" accords with the religious role attributed to this Deity without necessitating any hazardous philological conjectures. The actual character used to write the disputed word is 玉, "jewel."

[33] See Sect. VI. Note 9.

[34] The word "when" must be understood resumptively, as signifying that the way in which he carried out his task was by turning into a cormorant, making platters, etc.

[35] It is uncertain whether the word *me* (海布), here rendered sea-weed, is a general designation or the name of a particular species.

[36] Supposed to be the same as, or similar to, the modern *hondahara* (*Halochloa macrantha*).

[37] *Kumu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami.*

"landed the large-mouthed small-finned perch,—I will offer up "the heavenly true fish-food so that the split bamboos bend."[38] So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity re-ascended [to

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[38] The translator has followed Moribe in the interpretation of the first part and Hirata in the interpretation of the latter part of this extremely difficult passage, which is a crux to all the commentators, but whose general sense at least is this: "I will continue drilling "fire for the God's kitchen, until the soot hangs down from the roof "of the temple of the Ancestral Deity in Heaven above, and until "the earth below is baked down to its nethermost rocks; and with "the fire thus drilled will I cook for him the fish brought in by the "fishermen, and present them to him in baskets woven of split bam-"boos which will bend beneath their weight."—Another plausible interpretation of the original expression rendered by these last two words is that they are simply the Pillow-Word for *towowo-towowo ni*, "bending." The rope with which the fishermen are supposed to have angled is described in detail by Hirata ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXIV. p. 21) as a long rope from which other strings, each with a hook attached, depended, and is said by him to be still in use in the provinces of Shimofusa (Shimōsa) and Hitachi. The "lattice of the gable" must be understood to mean bamboo lattice covering a hole beneath the gable, which served as a chimney. Motowori's remarks on this passage will be found in Vol. XIV. pp. 39–42 of his Commentary, and Moribe's on the words *todaru ama no nihi-su* (rendered "on the heavenly new lattice of the gable" in his "Examination of Difficult-Words," Vol. II, pp. 26–29; the latter especially are well worth perusal by the student. Mr. Satow, in one of the notes to his translation of the Rituals, (See Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 209 of these "Transactions"), gives a somewhat divergent rendering of this passage, following, as he does, the interpretation given by Motowori. It is as follows: "The fire which I have drilled "will I burn until the soot of the rich and sufficing heavenly new "nest of the PARENT Kami-musubi in heaven hangs down many hand-"breadths long, and the earth below will I bake down to its bottom-"most rocks, and stretching a thousand fathoms of paper-mulberry "rope, will draw together and bring ashore the fisherman's large-"mouthed small-finned *suzuki*, [and] will offer up the heavenly fish-"food on bending split bamboos."

Heaven], and reported how he had subdued and pacified the Central Land of Reed-Plains.

[SECT. XXXIII.—THE AUGUST DESCENT FROM HEAVEN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS THE AUGUST GRANDCHILD.]

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity[1] commanded and charged the Heir Apparent[2] His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears[3] [saying: "The Brave-Awful-Pos-"sessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished pacifying "the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So do thou, in accordance "with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule "over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I[4] have been getting ready to "descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name "is His Augustness Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-"Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.[5] This child should be

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[1] *Taka-gi-no-kami.* See Sect. XXXI, Note 13.

[2] It will be remembered that this god was son of the Sun-goddess (or of her brother *Susa-no-wo*, "the Impetuous Male";—see Sect. XII, Note 18, and also the first two sentences of Sect. XIV and the first sentence of Sect. XV). The characters rendered "Heir Apparent" are 太子, which form the usual Chinese equivalent of that term, and were borrowed by the Japanese. Motowori's reading of them as *Hi-tsugi no miko*, "Prince of the Sun's Succession," has no authority but his own patriotic fancy.

[3] For this tremendous name see Sect. XIII Note 18.

[4] The humble character 僕, "servant" is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

[5] *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mi-koto.* Excepting as regards the final *gi* of *ni-nigi*, which it is surely better with Hirata to consider as helping to form the word *nigi*, "plenty," than to take it as a separate word signifying "lord," as Motowori does, the translation follows Motowori's interpretation of the various component parts of this tremendous name, which is

"sent down." [[6]As for this august child,[7] he was augustly joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess,[8] daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity,

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mostly abbreviated to its latter portion. It is precisely to this latter portion (the syllables *hiko-ho-no-nigi*) that considerable doubt attaches. *Ho* might mean "fire" rather that "rice-ears," and Motowori himself suggests that *ni-nigi* should perhaps be regarded as a corruption of *nigi-kahi*, "plentiful spikes of grain," rather than as "ruddy plenty." About the meaning of the rest of the name there cannot be much doubt. "Heaven's Sun Height" must be understood as an honorific designation signifying "high as the sun in heaven."

[6] The translator puts this sentence between brackets because it is an evident interruption of the main story. Indeed the edition of 1687 prints it as a note to the text. The grammar of it is curious, as, on a first reading, one would be tempted to suppose that "this child," *i.e.*, His Augustness *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*, was the father of *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*. But the latter name is but an abbreviated form of the former, and the god could not be his own father. The meaning rather is (and such a construction is not so forced in Japanese as it sounds in English): "As for the parentage of this child, he was born of the marriage [of His Augustness Truly-Conquerer-etc.] with Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-etc. Princess". There is, however, real confusion in the traditional genealogy, as the "Chronicles" make the deity in question father to His Augustness Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy, instead of younger brother.

[7] Viz. His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.

[8] *Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto.* Mabuchi, as quoted by Motowori, suggests that *yorodzu*, "myriad," should be connected with the word *yoroshi* "good," as signifying an extreme degree, the *ne plus ultra*. But, though perhaps a good guess at the origin of the word, it need not affect our estimate of its actual signification. The translator has, however, followed Mabuchi in considering the syllable *shi* as an apocopated form of *shima*, "island," and *Aki-dzu-shi* [*ma*] as having its usual signification of "Dragon-fly Island" (more literally "Island of the Autumn Insect) rather than accept Motowori's explanation of *shi* as representing the Verb *chijimu*, "to be puckered," and of the whole compound *aki-dzu-shi* as signifying "crape like dragon-flies' wings," Not only is there no mention of crape in other pas-

and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly Rice-ear-Ruddy,[9] and next His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.[10]] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This "Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears[11] is the land "over which thou shalt rule." So [he replied]: "I will "descend from Heaven according to your commands." So when His Augustness Prince-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity[12] [saying]: "Though thou art "but a delicate female, thou art a Deity who conquers in "facing Deities.[13] So be thou the one to go and ask thus: "'This being the road by which our august child is about to "'descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?'"[14] So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I[15] am an Earthly

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sages of these "Records," but the derivation does not, to say the least, recommend itself on philological grounds.

[9] *Ame-no-ho-akari no mikoto.* The word rendered "ripe" will bear equally well the interpretation of "red."

[10] *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*, the abbreviated form of the name in Note 5.

[11] *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni.* This periphrastic synonym of Japan has appeared under a slightly shorter form in Sect. IX (Note 18).

[12] *Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami*, the goddess whose loud, bold merriment was the chief cause of the Sun-Goddess emerging from her retreat in the cavern (see Sect. XVI, Note 28).

[13] *I.e.*, "Thy brazen-facedness allows thee to stare others out of countenance, and make them uneasy."

[14] Between this sentence and the next, the Alarming-Female-Deity must be supposed to have gone on her embassy and to have delivered the message with which she had been entrusted.

[15] Written 僕, literally "servant."

"Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta.[16] The reason for "my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] "descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have "come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as "His Augustness's vanguard."[17] Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor,[18] in all five chiefs of companies,[19] they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-feet [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling,[20]] and also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword,[21] and likewise the Deity

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[16] *Saruta-biko no kami.* This is Motowori's reading. The more usual reading is *Saruda-hiko*, transposing the *nigori*. Hirata prefers to read *Sada-biko*, and takes *Saruta* or *Sada* to be the name of a place, which indeed seems the most acceptable view. The name actually signifies "monkey field." Motowori's interpretation of its import is a marvellous example of Japanese etymological gymnastics (see Vol. XV, p. 16 of his Commentary). Moribe's derivation from *Sari-hate-hiko* (避果彦) is no better.

[17] Or "guide."

[18] For these five names and for the Deity Thought-Includer and the [Heavenly-] Hand-Strength-Male-Deity mentioned a few lines further on, see Sect. XVI, Notes 15, 16, 28, 12, 13, 7, and 27 respectively.

[19] *Tomo-no-wo.* This expression is here taken to refer to the various offices assumed by the five deities in question at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun-Goddess into the cave. It signifies properly the head of a company.

[20] The allusion is to the story in Sect. XVI. Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, points out that it was only the mirror which allured the goddess from the cave. In the Japanese original of this passage, however, even more than in the English translation, the expression "that had allured" is made to refer to both objects.

[21] Obtained from the tail of the Serpent of Koshi. See the story in Sect. XVIII.

Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener[22] of Eternal Night,[23] and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were "our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us."[24] Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in "hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu[25] The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food,[26] is the Deity dwelling in the

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[22] *Ame-no-iha-to-wake no kami.* Hirata observes that this must not be considered as the name of an independent Deity, but be taken simply as an alternative name of *Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami* (the "Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity"). The part taken by this Deity in the legend narrated in Sect. XVI seems a sufficient warrant for such an opinion, though a little lower down in this Section the two are again mentioned separately.

[23] *Toko-yo.* These words, which, according to the rules of Japanese construction, are placed at the commencement of the clause, must be understood to apply either to the three gods collectively or to the first-mentioned (the Deity Thought-Includer) alone.

[24] Or "worshipping before us," or "in our presence." The strictly logical concordance of an English sentence makes it appear as if the mirror were to be taken to represent the spirit of both Deities whose names are the subjects of the first clause. In Japanese, however, all such concordances are much more loosely observed, and it is only the spirit of the Sun-Goddess that we must understand to be here intended.

[25] *Isuzu* (literally "fifty bells," or else perhaps the name of a kind of grass with which the neighbourhood may originally have been overgrown) is the name of the site of the "Inner Temple" of Ise. It is in the Japanese text preceded by the Pillow-Word *saku-kushiro*, literally "rent bracelet." See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" *s.v.*

[26] *Toyo-uke-ne-kami*, the same as *Toyo-uke-bime* (see Sect. VII, Note 6). The mention of this goddess in this place is curious, as she would not seem to be connected with the legend. Motowori, however, supposes that it is through some accidental omission that she does not figure in the list of deities said to have accompanied the heaven-descended Sovereign.

outer temple of Watarahi.[27] The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity,[28]—this Deity is the Deity of the August Gate.[29] The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male, dwells in Sanagata.[30] Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains);[31] His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen);[32] Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru[33]); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains);[34]

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[27] This name signifies "meeting when crossing" or "crossing to meet," and is connected by the commentators with an unimportant tradition, for which see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XV. p. 48.

[28] These two names are in the original *Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami* and *Toyo-iha-mado-no-kami*. The tradition in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story" makes them two separate deities.

[29] Viz. of the gate or gates of the Imperial Palace.

[30] Etymology obscure.

[31] *Nakatomi no Murazhi*. *Nakatomi* is taken by Motowori to be a contraction of *naka-tori-omi*, and by Mabuchi to be a contraction of *naka-tsu-omi*, either of which may be freely rendered "middlemen," "intercessors," referring to the religious functions which were hereditary in this family. (See "Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification," Vol. II. pp. 2–3.)

[32] *Imibe no obito*. *Imibe* is derived from *imu*, "to avoid," *i.e.*, "to abstain from," and *mure*, "a flock" or "collection of persons," "a clan," and refers to the religious duties of this hereditary class of priests, which naturally required their avoidance of all ceremonial uncleanness. The word "priest" would fairly, though freely, represent the meaning of the compound.

[33] *Saru me no kimi*. For the traditional origin of this name see Sect. XXXV. These "duchesses" were priestesses: but it is a matter of dispute between the commentators whether the title was simply an official one, or hereditary in the female line.

[34] *Kagami-tsukuri no murazhi*. Of this family nothing would seem to be known.

His Augustness-Jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains).[35]

[SECT. XXXIV.—THE AUGUST REIGN IN HIMUKA OF HIS AUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY.]

[1] So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded[2] His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat,[3] pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[4] and

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[35] *Tama-no-ya* (or *Tama n' Oya*) *no murazhi*. But the name should probably be *Tama-tsukuri no murazhi*, *i.e.*, "Jewel-Making Chieftains," a "gentile name" which is found in the later literature. Perhaps, however, we should understand both this name and the previous one to be simple inventions by means of which divine ancestry was claimed for the hereditary guilds of jewellers and mirror-makers.

[1] Motowori makes Sect. XXXIV commence here, and it seems on the whole best to follow him in so doing, as the entire period of the reign on earth of the first of the heaven-descended gods is thus included in one Section. On the other hand, the "Descent from Heaven," which gives its name to the preceding Sect, cannot properly be said to be accomplished until the end of this first sentence of Sect. XXXIV. It will be remembered that the Japanese name of this first deity-king is (in its abbreviated and most commonly used form) *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*.

[2] Motowori proposes to suppress the character 詔, "commanded," in this clause, and the character 而, "and," at the beginning of the next, and to take the Prince as the subject of the whole sentence. This would be convenient; but the characters 詔 and 而 are in all the texts.

[3] *I.e.*, his place in Heaven. The original Japanese of the term is *ama-no-iha-kura*.

[4] The translator has adopted the interpretation proposed by Hirata, the only commentator who gives an acceptable view of this extremely difficult clause, which Motowori admitted that he did not understand. It must be remembered that Hirata identifies the

descended from Heaven on to the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsukushi.[5*] So His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness[6] and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes,[7] both[8] taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers,[9] taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords,[10] taking in their

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"Floating Bridge of Heaven" with the "Heavenly Rock-Boat." (For details see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXVII, pp. 31–32).

[5] Tsukushi, anciently the name of the whole of the large island forming the South-Western corner of Japan, and Himuka (in modern pronunciation Hiuga), one of the provinces into which that island is divided, have already been mentioned in Sect. V, Note 14 and Sect. X, Note 4 respectively. It is uncertain whether the mountain here named is the modern Takachiho-yama or Kirishima-yama, but the latter view is generally preferred. *Kuzhifuru* is explained (perhaps somewhat hazardously) as meaning "wondrous," while *Taka-chi-ho* signifies "high-thousand-rice-ears."

[*] Takachiho in Himuka in Tsukushi.—W.G.A.

[6] *Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto.* The interpretation is only conjectural.

[7] *Ama-tsu-kume no mikoto.* The traditional origin of this curious name will be found below in the third and fourth Songs of Sect. LI (see Note 21 and 22 to that Section), where the "sharp slit eyes" of of this worthy are specially referred to. But Moribe seems to prove that *kume* is in reality not a personal name at all, but simply the old term for "army," through a misconception of the original import of which has arisen the idea that *Oho-kumo* and *Oho-tomo* were two distinct personages. The elaborate and interesting note on this subject in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II, pp. 46–55 is well worth consulting. The only point in which the present writer differs from him is with regard to the etymology of the word *kume*, which Moribe connects with *kumi*, "a company," and *kuma*, "a bravo," whereas in the opinion of the former it is probably nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word *chün* (軍) modern Japanese *gun*, "army," "troops."

[8] The Auxiliary Numeral here used is that properly denoting human beings, not deities,—*futari* (二人), instead of *futa-hashira* (二柱).

[9] In Japanese *ama no iha-yugi*.

[10] This is the generally received interpretation of the obscure

hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow,[11] and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness (is the ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains);[12] His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords).[13] Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite "to the land of Kara.[14] One comes straight across to the "august Cape of Kasasa;[15] and it is a land whereon the mor-"ning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's "sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place."[16] Having thus spoken, he made stout the temple-

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original term *kabu-tsuchi* (or *kabu-tsutsui*) *no tachi*, the parallel term *ishi-tsutsui* being understood to mean "a mallet-headed sword made of stone." (Both names appear below in the Song at the end of Sect. XLVIII, Note 4). Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," rejecting the opinion that any part of the swords were made of stone, explains *kabu-tsutsui* in the sense of "broad-tempered" and *ishi-tsutsui* in that of "hard-tempered."

11 For the bows and arrows here mentioned see Sect. XXXI, Note 5.

12 *Ohotomo no murazhi*, a common "gentile name" down to historical times. *Oho-tomo* means "numerous companies" or "large tribe," in allusion, as Moribe supposes, to the force of which the personage here mentioned was the general.

13 *Kume no atahe. Conf.* Note 7.

14 Or *Kan* according to the Sinico-Japanese reading. We might render it in English by Korea. The Chinese character is 韓.

15 Etymology uncertain. An alternative form of this name, which is preserved in the "Chronicles," is *Nagasa*, which Hirata thinks may stand for *Nagasaki*.

16 This is the sense of the original Japanese text of this passage as literally as it can be rendered, and so the older editors understood it. Motowori however, though not daring actually to alter the characters, assumes that they are corrupt, and in his *kana* rendering gives us this instead: "Thereupon, passing searchingly through a bare-"backed empty country, he arrived at the august cape of Kasasa, and "said: 'This land is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, "etc.'" His evident reason for wishing to alter the reading is simply

pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven,[17] and dwelt there.

[SECT. XXXV.—THE DUCHESS OF SARU.]

So then he charged Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female [saying]: "Do thou, who wast the one to make "known this Great Deity Prince of Saruta who respectfully "served as my august vanguard,[1] respectfully escort him [back]; "and do thou likewise bear the august name of that Deity, "and respectfully serve me." Wherefore the Duchesses of Saru bear the name of the Male Deity the Prince of Saruta, and the women are Duchesses of Saru.[2]

[SECT. XXXVI. THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA.]

Now when this Deity Prince of Saruta dwelt at Azaka,[1]

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and solely to conceal the fact that Korea is mentioned, and mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age, *i.e.*, long before the epoch of its so-called revelation and conquest by the Empress Jin-gō (see Sects. XCVI to XCVIII). That the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" lends some sanction to his view is no excuse for so dishonest a treatment of the text he undertakes to commentate; for the "Records" and the "Chronicles" often differ greatly in the accounts they have preserved. One of Motowori's arguments is that, as Kasasa is said to have been in the province of Hiuga, it could not have been opposite to Korea, seeing that Hiuga faces east and not west. He here forgets that a little later on in his own same Commentary (Vol. XVII, p. 86) he asserts that Hiuga in ancient times included the provinces of Ohosumi and Satsuma, the latter of which does face west.

[17] *I.e.*, he built himself a palace to dwell in (Conf. Sect. XXXII, Note 27).

[1] See Sect. XXXIII from a little before Note 11 to Note 17.

[2] *Q.d.*, instead of the men being Dukes, as would be more natural. The title was confined to females (see Sect. XXXIII, Note 33).

[1] Etymology unknown.

he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a *hirabu* shell-fish,[2] and was drowned in the brine of the sea. So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was the Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit;[3] the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was the Gurgling-Up-August-Spirit;[4] the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was the Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit.[5] Thereupon [Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female], having escorted [back] the Deity Prince of Saruta, came back,[6] and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin,[7] and asked them, saying: "Will ye "respectfully serve the august son of the Heavenly Deities?"—upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the bèche-de-mer said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the bèche-

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[2] What species was denoted by this ancient name is not clear; but one of Motowori's suggestions, to the effect that it may have been identical with the modern *sarubo-gahi* (a shell of the family *Arcadæ*, probably *Arca suberenata*), the origin of whose name would thus be traced up to the mythological age, is at least ingenious.

[3] *Soko-doku-mi-tama.*

[4] *Tsubo-tatsu-mi-tama.*

[5] *Aha-saku-mi-tama.* *Saku* might be translated by "opening," "forming," etc. It is the same word as that used to express the blossoming of a flower.

[6] The characters rendered "came back" are 還到. Motowori and Hirata believe 還 to be put erroneously for 罷, which would give the sense of "arrived there," and would thus enable us to locate the episode of the fishes at Ise instead of in Hiuga, which would better suit the concluding clause of this Section narrating the participation of the Duchesses of Saru in the first-fruits of the province of Shima. If the word Shima however here means, not the province of that name, but simply "islands" in general, there is nothing to be gained by the proposed emendation, which has moreover no sanction from any text; and it may be added that no notice is to be found in any history of the custom here said to have existed.

[7] *I.e.*, all the fishes both great and small.

de-mer, saying: "Ah! this mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!"—and [with these words] slit the mouth with her stiletto.[8] So at the present day the bèche-de-mer has a slit mouth. Wherefore [from august reign to] august reign, when the offerings of the first-fruits of Shima[9] are presented [to the Emperor, a portion of them] is granted to the Duchesses of Saru.

[SECT. XXXVII.—THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty met a beautiful person at the august cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of the Deity Great-"Mountain-Possessor,[1] and my name is the Divine-Princess-"of-Ata,[2] another name by which I am called being Princess-"Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees."[3] Again

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[8] Literally, "small string-sword," supposed to have been so called from its having been carried inside the garments, attached to the under-belt.*

* The *tsuchi-ningio* have usually a very short sword not unlike an Aino knife, which is apparently suspended by one or two cords from the girdle.—W.G.A.

[9] The smallest of the Japanese provinces, situated to the East of Ise. The name signifies "island," and it is posible that it ought here to be taken in that sense as a common noun.

[1] See Sect. VI, Note 17.

[2] *Kamu-ata-tsu-hime. Ata* is a place in Satsuma.

[3] Or "Tree" *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime.* Perhaps (though there is no native authority for doing so) we might rather understand *saku* as a Causative in intention, though not in form, and render the name thus: "Princess-Causing-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Blossom." The tree alluded to is doubtless the cherry. The deity is now worshipped as the goddess of Mount Fuzhi (Fusiyama), and in common parlance the last member of the compound forming her name does not receive the *nigori*,—*hime* instead of *bime.* The syllable *ya* has no signification

he asked: "Hast thou any brethren?"[4] She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks."[5] Then he charged her, [saying]: "Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum. "Tibi quomodo videtur?" She replied, saying: "I[6] am not "able to say. My father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor "will say." So be sent a request [for her] to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred.[7] So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night. Then the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message [to His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], saying: "My reason for respectfully presenting "both my daughters together was that, by sending Princess-"Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring[8] of the Heavenly "Deity,[9] though the snow[10] fall and the wind blow, might live

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in this and similar names. It will be remembered that there was another sister named "Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. (See Sect. XX, Note 5.)

[4] Or perhaps, though written 兄弟, the original expression were here better rendered by "sisters."

[5] *I.e.*, as enduring as the rocks. The original name is *Iha-naga-hime*,

[6] The character used here and immediately below for the First Personal Pronoun is 僕, "servant."

[7] *I.e.*, every kind of goods as a dowry for his daughters.

[8] The usual word child (子) is employed in the text; but it here almost certainly has, as Motowori suggests, a more extended meaning, and signifies the posterity of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty generally, i.e., the Emperors of Japan. The vaguer term "offspring" is therefore nearer to the author's intention.

[9] *I.e.*, either of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-

"eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again "that by sending Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-"Flowers-of-the-Trees, [they] might live flourishingly like unto "the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to insure this,[11] "I offered[12] them. But owing to thy thus sending back[13] "Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess-Blos-"soming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august "offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail[14] as the "flowers of the trees." So it is for this reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns[15] are not long.

Plenty. There is no difference in the sense, whichever of these two deities we take the speaker to refer to. The Sun-Goddess was his ancestress, and he was ancestor of the Japanese Emperors.

[10] Or "snow and rain," the reading being uncertain.

[11] Or "having sworn this," or "pledged [myself to the accomplishment of] this."

[1] The Chinese characters used are those properly denoting the presenting of tribute.

[13] Motowori proposes an emendation in this passage of 此令 to 爾今, which would not materially alter the sense.

[14] The precise meaning of the syllables *a-ma-hi-no-mi*, here rendered by the words "but as frail" in accordance with Motowori's and Moribe's tentative interpretation, is extremely obscure. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" is 木華之移落, i.e., "fading and falling like the flowers of the trees."

[15] The characters rendered "Heavenly Sovereign" are 天皇, a common Japanese designation of the Emperor. It would, especially in the later volumes of this work where the expression is repeated on almost every page, be more convenient to translate by the single word "Emperor." But the commentators lay great stress on the high significance of the component portions of the title, which, they contend, was not borrowed from China, but was first used in Japan. It is first met with in Chinese history in the middle of the seventh century of our era, just early enough indeed for it to have been borrowed before the time of the compilation of these "Records." But as there was no difficulty in putting together the two component parts "Heavenly, Sovereign," it is possible that the contention of the

[SECT. XXXVIII.—THE AUGUST CHILD-BEARING OF PRINCESS-BLOSSOMING-BRILLIANTLY-LIKE-THE-FLOWERS-OF-THE-TREES.]

So later on Princess - Blossoming - Brilliantly - Like - the - Flowers-of-the-Trees waited on[1] [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], and said: "I[2] am pregnant, and now the "time for my delivery approaches. It is not fit for me to be "delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately;[3] so I "tell thee." Then [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] said: "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly![4] what! pregnant "after one night![5] It cannot be my child. It must surely be "the child of an Earthly Deity."[6] Then she replied, saying: "If the child with which I am pregnant be the child of an "Earthly Deity, my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be "the august child of the Heavenly Deity,[7] it will be fortunate;" —and thereupon she built a hall eight fathoms [long] without doors,[8] went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance]

Japanese commentators is correct. The ancient pure native term seems to have been *Sumera-mikoto*, for which Mr. Satow has proposed the rendering of "Sovran Augustness."

[1] More literally "came to"; but the character which is employed implies that her visit was to a superior.

[2] Written with the character 妾, a "concubine" or "handmaid," a common self-depreciatory equivalent of the First Personal Pronoun in Chinese, when the speaker is a woman.

[3] *I.e.*, "secretly," "without telling thee."

[4] In this one instance only is the name thus abbreviated. Motowori supposes it to be on account of the scorn implied in the god's words.

[5] Literally, "one sojourn."

[6] See Sect. I. Note 11. Here of course one of the gods of the same country-side is meant.

[7] *I.e.*, "thy child and the Sun-Goddess descendant."

[8] That is to say that it remained doorless after she had, as stated immediately below, plastered up the entrance.

with earth; and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered.[9] So the name of the child that was born when the fire was burning most fiercely was His Augustness Fire-Shine[10] (this is the ancestor of the Hayabito, Dukes of Ata);[11] the name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Climax;[12] the august[13] name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Subside,[14] another name for

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[9] Viz. of child, not from the flames. There is no ambiguity in the Japanese expression.

[10] *Ho-deri-no-mikoto.*

[11] *Hayabito-ata-no-kami.* Ata is, as has been already stated in Note 2 to Sect. XXXVII, the name of a place in Satsuma *Haya-bito* ("swift men," "bold men," literally, if we follow the Chinese characters "falcon-men") was an ancient designation of the inhabitants of the south-western corner of Japan which was subsequently divided into the provinces of Satsuma and Ohosumi, and came by metonymy to be used to denote the province of Satsuma itself, for which reason it remained as the Pillow-Word for the word Satsuma even after the exclusive use of this latter name had been established. In after times the *hayabito* (also contracted to *hayato* and *haito*) were chiefly known as forming the Infantry of the Imperial Guard, a curious choice of provincials for which mythological sanction was invoked. They are also said to have furnished the performers of a symbolic dance mentioned at the end of Sect. XLI (see Note 3 to that Sect.). In later Sections of this work, the translator has ventured to render *hayabito* by "man-at-arms."

[12] *Ho-suseri-no-mikoto.*

[13] The Honorific is doubtless prefixed in this case and not in the others, because it was to this prince or deity that the Imperial House traced its descent. Motowori's *kana* reading, which prefixes Honorifics to all such names indifferently, obliterates this delicate distinction.

[14] *Ho-wori-no-mikoto.* The derivation of this name is less clear than that of his elder brothers. Motowori's proposal to consider it as a corruption of *ho-yohari*, "fire weakening," is however plausible; and as this triad of names is evidently intended to paint the stages in the progress of the conflagration, the import of the third must be something very like what Motowori suggests, even if his guess at the original form of the word be not quite correct. The names of all three brethren differ more or less in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

whom is His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears[15] (three Deities[16] [in all]).

[SECT. XXXIX.—THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OF LUCK.]

So His Augustness Fire-Shine was a prince who got his luck[1] on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. His Augustness Fire-Subside was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside said to his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine: "Let "us mutually exchange, and use each other's luck." [Nevertheless], though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not accede [to it]; but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish; and moreover he lost the fish-hook in the sea. Thereupon his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine asked him for the fish-hook, saying: "A mountain-luck is a luck of its "own, and a sea-luck is a luck of its own. Let each of us "now restore [to the other] his luck."[2] To which the younger

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[15] *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto.* The interpretation of the last four members of this compound name is extremely doubtful.

[16] The actual word in the text is not *kami*, "deity," but its Auxiliary Numeral *hashira.*

[1] For the archaic Japanese word *sachi*, here rendered "luck," there is no satisfactory English equivalent. Its original and most usual signification is "luck," "happiness;" then that which a man is lucky in or skilful at,—his "*forte*;" and finally that which he procures by his luck or skill and the implements which he uses in procuring it. The exchange negociated below was doubtless that of the bow and arrows of one deity for the other deity's fish-hook.

[2] *I.e.*, "Some men are naturally good hunters, and others naturally "good fishermen. Let us therefore restore to each other the imple-"ments necessary to the successful following of our respective avoca-"tions."—The clause rendered "Let each of us now restore to the "other his luck" is a little confused in the original; but the *kana*

brother His Augustness Fire-Subside replied, saying: "As for "thy fish-hook, I did not get a single fish by angling with it; "and at last I lost it in the sea." But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So the younger brother, breaking his ten grasp sabre[3] that was augustly girded on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not receive them, saying: "I still want the real original fish-hook."

[SECT. XL.—THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon, as the younger brother was weeping and lamenting by the sea-shore, the Deity Salt-Possessor[1] came and asked him, saying: "What is the cause of the Sky's-Sun-Height's[2] "weeping and lamentation?" He replied, saying: "I had

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readings both old and new agree in interpreting it as has here been done.

[3] See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

[1] *Shiho-tsuchi no kami.* The view of the meaning of this name which has here been taken is founded on the persistent use in all documents of the character 塩, "salt," to write the first element of the compound, and of varying characters to write the syllables *tsu* and *chi*, an indication that the latter are to be taken phonetically and may therefore be interpreted to signify *tsu mochi*, "possessor of," as in numerous other instances. The fact that this god is known as the god of salt-manufacturers (see Tanigaha Shisei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" Vol. VII, p. 3) adds another reason for rejecting both Motowori's far-fetched derivation of the name from *Shiri-oho-tsu-mochi*, "Great Possessor of Knowledge," and his assertion that it denotes no individual deity, but any one gifted with superior wisdom.

[2] *Sora-tsu-hi-daka.* It will be remembered that *Ama-tsu-hi-daka*, "Heaven's-Sun-Height," was the first part of Prince Fire-Subside's alternative name (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 15). The distinction between these two almost identical appellations would seem to be that the former is used of the Heir Apparent, the latter of the reigning sovereign. Both were therefore equally applicable to Prince Fire-

"exchanged a fish-hook with my elder brother,[3] and have lost "that fish-hook; and as he asks me for it, I have given him "many fish-hooks as compensation; but he will not receive "them, saying, 'I still want the original fish-hook.' So I weep "and lament for this." Then the Deity Salt-Possessor said: "I will give good counsel to Thine Augustness;"—and therewith built a stout little boat without interstices,[4] and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: "When I shall have "pushed the boat off, go on for some time. There will be a "savoury august road;[5] and if thou goest in the boat along "that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes' scales, "—which is the palace of the Deity-Ocean-Possessor.[6] When "thou reachest the august gate of that deity['s palace], there "will be a multitudinous[-ly branching] cassia-tree[7] above the "well at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the "Sea-Deity's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee." So following [these] instructions, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] went a little [way], and everything happened as [the Deity

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Subside; and while that which he eventually bore is mentioned where his names are first given, he is naturally spoken of in this place, when his father may be supposed to have been still living, by that variation of the name properly marking the Heir Apparent. These names, *Ama-tsu-hi-daka* and *Sora-tsu-hi-daka*, will be met with again below applied to other personages.

[3] *I.e.*, "I had received a fish-hook from my elder brother in "exchange for a bow." The text is here concise to obscurity.

[4] *I.e.*, as is supposed, a punt or tub made of strips of bamboo plaited so tightly that no water could find its way in between them.

[5] *I.e.*, simply "a pleasant road." *Michi*, "a road" is properly a compound,—*mi-chi*, "august road,"—the single syllable *chi* being the most archaic Japanese word for "road." It is in this place written 御路, showing that the etymology was not yet quite forgotten at the time of the compilation of these "Records." Generally, however, throughout the work we have 路 or 道 alone.

[6] See Sect. VI, Note 8, where the Adjective "Great" is prefixed to the name.

[7] See Sect. XXXI, Note 10.

Salt-Possessor] had said; and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the handmaidens of the Sea-Deity's daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess,[8] bearing jewelled vessels, were about to draw water, there was a light in the well.[9] On looking up, there was a beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it into a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then, without drinking the water, he loosened the jewel at his august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel. Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from the vessel]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it, and presented it to Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess. Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her handmaidens, saying: "Is there perhaps "some one outside the gate?" They replied, saying: "There "is some one sitting on the top of the cassia-tree above our "well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illus-"trious even than our king. So, as he begged for water, we "respectfully gave him water; but, without drinking the water, "he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to

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[8] *Toyo-tama-bime.*

[9] The character 光, properly "light," "refulgence," is here taken by Motowori in the precisely opposite sense of "shadow" (the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" having 人影, "human shadow"), and his view is absolved from unreasonableness by the fact of the confusion between light and shade which has always existed in Japanese phraseology. Thus *hi-kage* may signify either "sunlight" or "a shadow cast by the sun." It is safest, however, to adhere to the Chinese characters employed by the author; and in this special instance we may well suppose him to have intended to say that a celestial light shone from the body of the god in question. Such an idea is not foreign to classical Japanese ways of thought and expression. See also Sect. XLVI, Notes 9–10.*

* These seem to me quite decisive.—W.G.A.

"separate this [from the other],[10] we have brought [the vessel] "with [the jewel] in it to present to thee." Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted* at the sight. They exchanged glances, after which she spoke to her father, saying: "There "is a beautiful person at our gate." Then the Sea-Deity himself went out to look, and saying, "This person is the "Sky's-Sun-Height, the august child of the Heaven's-Sun-"Height,"[11] led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of sea-asses'[12] skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred,[13] made an august banquet, and forthwith gave him his daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess in marriage. So he dwelt in that land for three years. Hereupon His Augustness Fire-Subside thought of what had gone before,[14] and heaved one[15] deep sigh. So Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: "Though he "has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but "this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause "of it?" The Great Deity her father asked his son-in-law,

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[10] Or, taking the character 是 as an initial Particle, "So as we "were not able to separate [one from the other]."

* The Chinese character indicates something more than pleasure. — W.G.A.

[11] See Note 2 to this Section.

[12] This is a literal translation of the Chinese character 海驢, by which the Archaic word *michi*, here written phonetically, is elsewhere represented. Perhaps the sea-lion (*Otaria arsina*) or a species of seal may be intended.

[13] See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

[14] Literally, "thought of the first things."

[15] As the character for "one" is thrice repeated in this passage, Motowori is probably right in saying that it should be given its proper signification, and the translator therefore renders it by the Numeral "one" rather than by the Indefinite Article "a."

saying: "This morning I hear my daughter speak, saying: "'Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never "'sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh.' What "may the cause be? Moreover what was the cause of thy "coming here?" Then [His Augustness Fire-Subside] told the Great Deity exactly how his elder brother had pressed him for the lost fish-hook. Thereupon the Sea-Deity summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: "Is there perchance any fish that has taken this "fish-hook?" So all the fishes replied: "Lately the *tahi*[16] "has complained of something sticking in its throat[17] preventing "it from eating; so it doubtless has taken [the hook]." On the throat of the *tahi* being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to His Augustness Fire-Subside, whom the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor then instructed, saying: "What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to "thine elder brother [is as follows]. 'This fish-hook is a big "'hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook.'[18*] Having

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[16] Pronounced *tai* in modern parlance. Perhaps we should rather read *aka-dahi*, "red *tahi*," as in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." Both these fishes belong to the family *Sparoidei*, the former being the *Pagrus cardinalis*, the latter probably the P. *major*.†

† Does not the term *tai* include both varieties? The "Chronicles" have 赤女 *akame*.—W G.A.

[17] Or, "of a fish-bone in its throat."

* The version of the imprecation given in Vol. II p. 38 of the "Chronicles" (pp. 97 and 98 Aston's translation) is much more intelligible than this. Cf. also Vol. II p. 41 of Nihongi (pp. 100 and 101 Aston's translation).—W.G.A.

[18] Tanigaha Shisei, quoting from Urabe no Kaneyoshi, comments thus on the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," where the whole of this legend is given several times in slightly varying forms: "By *big* "hook is meant one that will not serve its purpose [because too big]; "*eager* signifies that which [endeavours to, but] cannot advance; *silly* "meant unintelligent: hence we have a hook which, not serving its "purpose, will be of no use whatever, but rather a road to lead [him

"[thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back hand.[19] Having done "thus,—if thine elder brother make high fields,[20] do Thine "Augustness make low fields; and if thine elder brother make "low fields, do Thine Augustness make high fields. If thou "do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished "in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. "If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should "attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel[21] to drown him. "If he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to let "him live. Thus shalt thou harass him." With these words, [the Sea-Deity] gave [to His Augustness Fire-Subside] the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel,—two in all,—and forthwith summoned together all the crocodiles,[22] and asked them, saying: "The Sky's-Sun-Height, august child of the "Heaven's-Sun-Height, is now about to proceed out to the "Upper-Land.[23] Who will in how many days respectfully

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"who possesses it] to poverty. Poor outwardly, and inwardly silly, "he will be the most useless creature in the Empire." It should be noted, however, that Motowori interprets in the sense of "gloomy," and Moribe in the sense of "drowning," the phonetically written and obscure word *obo*, here rendered "great."

[19] *I.e.*, "with thy hand behind thy back." This is supposed by the commentators to have been a sort of charm by which evil was averted from the person of him who practised it, and they point out that Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") brandished his sword behind him when he was pursued by the hosts of Hades (see Sect. IX, Note 15).

[20] By "high fields" and "low fields" are meant respectively upland rice-fields where the rice is planted in the dry, and "paddy-fields" properly so called, where the rice perpetually stands in the water. Different varieties of rice are used for these different methods of culture.

[21] *Shiho mitsu tama.* The "tide-ebbing jewel" mentioned in the next sentence is in the Japanese *shiho hiru tama.*

[22] See Introduction p. xxxvii, Note 41.

[23] *Uha tsu kuni*, 上國.

"escort him, and bring back a report."[24] So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days,—one of them, a crocodile one fathom [long], saying: "I[25] will escort him, and come back in one day." So then [the Sea-Deity] said to the crocodile one fathom [long]: "If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing "the middle of the sea, do not alarm him."[26] Forthwith he seated him upon the crocodile's head, and saw him off. So [the crocodile] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the crocodile was about to return, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] untied the stiletto[27] which was girded on him, and, setting it on the crocodile's neck,[28] sent [the latter] back. So the crocodile one fathom [long] is now called the Deity Blade-Possessor.[29]

[SECT. XLI.—SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE.]

Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother], exactly according to the Sea-Deity's words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer and poorer, and, with renewed savage intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack [His Augustness Fire-Subside, the latter] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him; on his expressing grief, he put forth

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[24] *I.e.*, "Which of you will most speedily escort him home to the "upper world, and bring back news of his safe arrival there?"

[25] Written with the respectful character 僕, "servant."

[26] There is in this sentence a character, 若, which is hard to explain if read *moshi*, "if," as usual in Japanese. Probably, however, it simply stands for 汝, "thou," and we might translate thus: "While thou art crossing," etc.

[27] See Sect. XXXVI, Note 8.

[28] *I.e.*, probably, tying it round the crocodile's neck.

[29] *Sahi-mochi-no-kami.* "Blade" is the probable signification of *sahi* or *sabi*, though this particular proper name is written in the "Chronicles" with the Chinese character 鋤, "hoe" or "mattock." Here the syllables *sa hi* are written phonetically.

the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head,[1] saying: "I[2] henceforward will "be Thine Augustness's guard by day and night, and respect-"fully serve thee." So down to the present day his various posturings when drowning are ceaselesly served up.[3]

[SECT. XLII.—THE PARTURITON-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS.]

Hereupon the Sea-Deity's daughter Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess herself waited on[1] [His Augustness Fire-Subside], and said: "I[2] am already with child, and the time "for my delivery now approaches. But methought that the "august child of an Heavenly Deity[3] ought not to be born in

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[1] *I.e.*, "did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground." The Old Printed Edition has 稽白 instead of 稽首白, and the *kana* gloss *kamugahe-mausu*, *i.e.*, "reflected and said": but this reading, though interesting, is less good.

[2] Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

[3] *I.e.*, "Prince Fire-Shine's descendants the *Hayabito* (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11) still constantly perform before the Court dances and posturings symbolical of the antics which their divine ancestor went through for the amusement of his younger brother, after the latter had saved him from drowning. "One account" in the "Chronicles" relates these antics at full, telling us that they represented the straits to which he was put as the waters gradually rose higher and higher; and we learn from other passages in the same work and in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued" that the *Hayabito* did really down to historical times combine the office of Court Jesters with that of Imperial Guardsmen.

[1] For "waited on" see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 1. The word "herself" (自 *midzukara*) has no particular force or meaning in the Japanese original, where it is simply placed in imitation of the Chinese style.

[2] See Sect. XXXVIII, Note 2.

[3] Or "of *the* Heavenly Deity," *i.e.*, "thyself." But it seems better to understand the speaker to intimate that it would be unfitting for one who properly belonged to Heaven to be born in the sea, which was another country or kingdom.

"the Sea-Plain.[4] So I have waited on thee here."[5] Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore she built a parturition-hall,[6] using cormorants' feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed,[7] she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-hall. Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband,[8] [saying]: "Whenever a foreigner "is about to be delivered, she takes the shape of her native "land to be delivered.[9] So I now will take my native shape "to be delivered. Pray look not upon me!" Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside], thinking these words strange, stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a crocodile[10] eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about; and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away. Then her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess knew that he had peeped; and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: "I had "wished always to come and go across the sea-path.[11] But thy

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[4] *I.e.*, in the sea.

[5] Literally, "come out and arrived."

[6] It has been noticed in the Introduction, p. xxxii, that in Early Japan a parturient woman was expected to build for herself a special hut in which to give birth to her child.

[7] Or, completely put on; literally, "thatched [so as] to meet."

[8] The text here has 日子, "prince," literally "sun-child," and so the older editors understood the expression. The translator, however, prefers Motowori's view, according to which the character 遲 should be supplied, and the whole read phonetically as *hikoji*, "husband," a word which occurs again a few lines further on.

[9] *I.e.*, she assumes the shape proper to her in her native land.

[10] According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," she turned into a dragon. "One account" however agrees with our text.

[11] The original of this passage is rather confused; but the interpretation here adopted from the Old Printed Edition is more natural than Motowori's, according to which the Verbs are to be taken in a Causative sense, to the following effect: "I had always wished to let people come and go across the sea-path." Probably it was only in

"having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-"faced,"[12*]—and she forthwith closed the sea-boundary,[13] and went down again.[14] Therefore the name by which the august child whom she had borne was called was His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely.[15] Nevertheless afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she entrusted to her younger sister Jewel-Good-Princess,[16] on the occasion of her nursing the august child,[17] a Song to be presented [to His Augustness Fire-Subside]. The Song said:

"As for red jewels, though even the string
"[they are strung on] shines, the aspect of

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order to make this clause fit in better with the following sentence, in which we are told that the crocodile-princess "closed the sea-boundary," and with the fact that there is at present no path leading to the Sea-God's palace, that Motowori was induced to sanction such a view of the grammar of this passage.

[12] This is Motowori's interpretation of the clause, he having emended 作, "action," "doing," which is found in the older editions, to 怍, "shame-faced." (The edition of 1687 mentions 恠, "strange," as an alternative reading.) If we followed the older reading, we should have to translate thus: "thy having peeped at my [real] shape is an outrageous action."

* Cf. Nihongi Vol. II. p. 35, (p. 95 Aston's translation).—W.G.A.

[13] *I.e.*, the boundary dividing the dominions of the Sea-God from the world of men.

[14] Viz., to the Sea-God's palace.

[15] *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no mikoto.* The older editors read *ahasezu* for *ahezu*, *i.e.*, "causing to meet," instead of "meeting." Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, would have us believe that the name comes from *umi-ga kayohi fuki-ahezu* (海陸往來乳養不得), *i.e.*, "going and coming on sea and land "and being unable to suckle"!

[16] *Tama-yori-bime.*

[17] *I.e.*, of Jewel-Good-Princess nursing the child. The mother did not return to the upper world, and so sent this poetic message by her sister, who had consented to act as the child's nurse.

"[my] lord [who is] like unto white jewels
"is [more] illustrious."[18]

Then her husband replied by a Song, which said:

"As for my younger sister, whom I took to
"sleep [with me] on the island where light
"the wild-duck, the birds of the offing, I
"shall not forget her till the end of my life."[19]

So His Augustness-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears[20] dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years.[21] His august mausoleum[22] is likewise on the west of Mount Takachiho.

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[18] "The meaning of the Song," says Motowori, "is this: 'Al-
"'though red jewels are so charming that the very string [whereon
"'they are strung] doth shine, the august aspect of my lord, who is like
"'unto white jewels, is still more lovely.' Thus does she express her
"loving feelings."—Moribe supposes the "red jewels" (or "jewel" in the Singular) to be meant for the child, than whom her husband is yet dearer to her heart. The word *kimi*, here etymologically rendered "[my] lord," is commonly used in the sense of "thou," especially in poetry.

[19] *I.e.*, "I shall never forget thee who wast my wife in the realm of the Sea-God. The "birds of the offing" are a description of the wild duck, used as a Pillow-Word for their name. In the same manner the whole phrase, "where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing," may be taken simply as a "Preface" to the word "island." The Sea-God's dwelling is called an island, because it is beyond the sea. The words *yo no koto-goto ni*, here in deference to the views of the best commentators rendered by "till the end of my life," will also bear the interpretation of "night by night."

[20] The alternative name of the deity Fire-Subside.

[21] Probably the writer means us to understand that the total age reached by this deity was five hundred and eighty years. This is the first mention in these "Records" of anything approaching a date. The way in which it is recorded resembles that in which the chronicle of each Emperor's reign is brought to a close in the later volumes of the work.

[SECT. XLIII.—THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS CORMORANT-THATCH-MEETING-INCOMPLETELY.]

His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely wedded his maternal aunt Her Augustness Jewel-Good-Princess, and begot august children named: His Augustness Five-Reaches;[1] next His Augustness Boiled-Rice;[2] next His Augustness August-Food-Master;[3] next His Augustness Young-August-Food-Master,[4] another name for whom is His Augustness Luxuriant-August-Food-Master,[5] and another name is His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince.[6]* So His Augustness August-

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22 The character 陵 might also be rendered by the simpler word "grave." But neither it nor its Japanese reading *misasaki* are ever used except honorifically of the Imperial tombs, and "mausoleum" seems therefore a more suitable English equivalent.

1 *Itsu-se-no-mikoto.* The "reaches" are the reaches of a river; at least this seems the most natural view to take of the meaning of the name. Motowori and Moribe, however, consider it to be a corruption of *idzu-shine,* to which they assign the signification of "powerful rice." Excepting for the fact of its bringing this name into harmony with the three that follow, and which all relate to food, there seems little to recommend so far-fetched a derivation.

2 *Ina-hi-no-mikoto.* If Motowori's derivation of the name from *ina-ihi* is correct, it might be rendered with greater exactness "Rice-Boiled-rice," *ine* denoting rice in the husk and *ihi* the same when boiled.

3 *Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto.* This name has been translated in accordance with Motowori's interpretation of the syllables that compose it.

4 *Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mihoto. Conf.* preceding Note.

5 *Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto. Conf.* Note 3.

6 *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto. Yamato* being the name of the province where this prince, the first Emperor of the so-called "human age," fixed his capital, it appropriately forms part of his name. For a discussion of the etymology of the word Yamato, see Scct. V, Note 26. *Ihare,* a word which is said to signify "assembling," is the name of a village in that province.

* Four deities.—W.G.A.

Food-Master, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land.[7] His Augustness Boiled-Rice went into the Sea-Plain, it being his deceased mother's[8] land.

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[7] See Seet. XXVII, Note 12.

[8] See Sect. XII, Note 8.

VOL. II.[1]

[SECT. XLIV.—REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU[2] (PART I.—HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The two Deities His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko[3*] and his elder brother His Augustness Itsu-se, dwelling in the palace of Takachiho,[4] took counsel, saying: "By dwelling in "what place shall we [most] quietly carry on the government "of the Empire?[5] It were probably best to go east." Forthwith they left Himuka[6] on their progress[7] to T'sukushi.[8] So

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[1] Literally, "Middle Volume," there being three in all. See Author's Preface, Note 1.

[2] *Jim-mu* signifies "divine valour." It is the "canonical name" of the Emperor *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko* (see Introduction, p. xvi).

[3] In the preceding Section this name was rendered "Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince." But in the translation of Vols. II and III of this work, the Japanese proper names are not Englished, unless there be a special reason for so doing. (See Introduction, pp. xx and xxi).

* Granting that there is any truth in the story of *Jim-mu Tenno* he could not have been called "Yamato etc.," until he had conquered that part of the country. Why should a Kyushu chieftain have a "Yamato" in his name? It seems to have been invented by someone who lived in the days when "Yamato" had become a national designation and it was therefore introduced into the name of the national hero. Compare, *Yamato Take no mikoto.* The Nihongi says his youthful name was *Sano*, and that *Kamu*, etc., was a title given him after he had conquered Yamato.—W.G.A.

[4] See Sect. XXXIV, Note 5.

[5] See Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

[6] See Sect. X, Note 4.

[7] The Japanese expression here used is one which exclusively denotes an Imperial Progress, and not the movements of lesser people. It recurs perpetually in this and the following Volume.

when they arrived at Usa[9] in the land of Toyo,[10] two of the natives, whose names were Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime[11] built a palace raised on one foot,[12] and offered them a great august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one year at the palace of Wokada[13] in Tsukushi. Again making a progress up[14] from that land, they dwelt seven years at the palace of Takeri[15] in the land of Agi.[16] Again removing, and making a progress up from that land, they dwelt eight years at the palace of Takashima[17] in Kibi.[18] So when they made their progress up from that land, they met in the Hayasuhi[19] Channel a person riding towards them on the carapace of a tortoise, and raising his wings[20] as he angled. Then they called to him to approach, and asked him, saying: "Who art thou?"

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8 See Sect. V, Note 14.

9 Etymology uncertain.

10 See Sect. V, Note 17.

11 *I.e.*, Prince of Usa and Princess of Usa.

12 In the original 足一騰宮, read *ashi hito-tsu agari no miya.* The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has 一柱騰宮 which is directed to be read in the same manner. 柱 (*hashira*) however means, not "foot," but "pillar"; and the commentators understand both passages to allude to a single pillar, which supported the weight of the entire building,—either as being in the middle of it, or (as Motowori opines) by standing in the water, the edifice, according to this view, being built on a river-bank overhanging the stream.

13 This name signifies "hillock rice-field."

14 *Q.d.*, towards Yamato, the province where the capital was eventually fixed. In Japanese, as in English, people are said to go *up* to the capital and *down* to the country.

15 Etymology uncertain.

16 Etymology uncertain. This name is better known (without the *nigori* of the second syllable) as Aki. Aki is one of the provinces on the northern shore of the Inland Sea.

17 This name signifies "high island."

18 Etymology uncertain. Kibi is the name of a province.

19 This name signifies "quick sucking."

20 *I.e.*, as Motowori supposes, beckoning by waving his sleeve.

He replied, saying: "I[21] am an Earthly Deity."[22] Again they asked him, saying: "Knowest thou the sea-path?" He replied, saying: "I know it well" Again they asked him, saying: "Wilt thou follow and respectfully serve us?" He replied, saying: "I will respectfully serve you." So they pushed a pole[23] across to him, drew him into the august vessel, and forthwith conferred on him the designation of Sawo-ne-tsu-hiko.[24] (This is the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Yamato).[25] So when they went up from that land they passed the Nami-haya[26] Crossing, and brought up at the haven of Shirakata.[27]

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[21] The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the humble character 僕, "servant."

[22] See Sect, I, Note 11. Motowori wishes us here to understand this expression to mean "I am a Deity (*i.e.*, a person) of the country-side." But there is no sufficient reason for departing from the precedent of rendering the characters 國神, which are constantly used antithetically to 天神, by "Earthly Deity" (as opposed to "Heavenly Deity"). Motowori likewise proposes to append to this sentence the clause "and my name is Udzu-biko," which is found in the "Chronicles." The name may be taken to signify "precious prince."

[23] The characters 槁機 are evidently, as Motowori says, meant to represent the Japanese word *sawo*, "pole," though they do not properly convey that meaning. Probably they are corrupt.†

† Cf. Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[24] *I.e.*, if we suppress the syllable *ne*, which seems to be either Expletive or Honorific, the "prince of the pole."

[25] *Yamato no kuni no Miyatsuko.*

[26] This is the reading of the name preferred by Mabuchi and Motowori; but the usual from *Naniha* seems to be at least as well supported by early documentary evidence. The "Chronicles" tell us that the place was called *Nami-haya* 浪速, *i.e.*, "wave-swift," in allusion to the strong current which the Emperor Jim-mu here encountered; and at the present day it is still a dangerous place for navigation. The name properly denotes the water‡ at the mouth of the River Yodo, on which stands the modern town of Ohosaka (Ōzaka), for whose name Naniha is still often used as a poetical synonym. 浪華, "wave-flowers," and 難浪, "dangerous waves," are alternative ways of writing it.

‡ The water on the bar at the mouth.—W.G.A.

At this time Nagasune-hiko[28] of Tomi[29] raised an army, and waited to go out to fight [against them]. Then they took the shields that had been put in the august vessel, and disembarked. So they called that place by the name of Tate-dzu.[30] It is what is now called the Tadetsu of Kusaka.[31] Therefore when fighting with the Prince of Tomi,[32] His Augustness Itsu-se was pierced in his august hand by the Prince of Tomi's hurtful arrow.[33] So then he said: "It is not right for me,

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[27] Motowori says that he cannot explain the etymology of this word; but "white sandbank" would seem a simple and obvious derivation. The Shirakata here mentioned is, according to Motowori, that situated in the province of Idzumo.†

* *Awa-Kumo.* Pillow-Word?—W.G.A.

† Impossible.—W.G.A.

[28] *I.e.*, the Prince of Nagasune. A plausible interpretation of *nagasune* would be "long-shank," which would give us Prince Long-Shank as the name of the worthy here mentioned; but the "Chronicles" state that Nagasune was properly the name of a place. The characters with which it is written, moreover, signify not exactly "long *shank*," but "long *marrow*," a designation which would have no evident personal applicability.

[29] A legend in the "Chronicles" connects the name of this place with the word *tobi*, "a kite," it being there related that a miraculous gold-coloured kite came and perched on the Emperor Jim-mu's bow, and helped him to the victory. Probably the legend grew out of the name of *Tobi*, which is obscure and may have had nothing to do with a "kite" originally.

[30] *I.e.*, "shield-haven." But *conf.* next Note.

[31] The real etymology of *Tade-tsu* seems to be "knot-grass-haven," and probably *Taka-tsu* (for *Taketsu*), which is mentioned in Sect. LXIX, Note 29, is but another form of the same name. Kusaka is a well-known name in the annals of early Japan. Its signification is obscure, and characters (日下), with which it is written, are particularly curious. There were two Kusakas, one in the province of Kahachi and the other in Idzumi.

[32] Viz., *Nagasune-biko.*

[33] The wording of the original 負登美毗古之痛矢串‡ is very curious. Motowori reads it *Tomi-biko ga ita-ya-gushi wo ohashiki.* Immediately

"an august child of the Sun-Deity, to fight facing the sun. "It is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched "villain's[34] hurtful hand. I will henceforward turn round, and "smite him with my back to the sun." Having [thus] decided, he, on making a progress round from the southern side, reached the sea of Chinu,[35] and washed the blood on his august hand: so it is called the sea of Chinu.[36] Making a progress round from thence, and arriving at the river-mouth of Wo[37] in the land of Ki,[38] he said: "Ah! that I should die stricken by "the wretched villain's hand!" and expired[39] as a valiant man.[40] So that river-mouth was called the river-mouth of Wo.[41] The mausoleum, too, is on Mount Kama[42] in the land of Ki.

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below we have 負賤奴之痛手.

‡ Cf. Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[34] The character is 奴, properly "slave."

[35] The most likely derivation of this name is from *chi-numa*, "eulalia lagoon," the fact that it will also bear the interpretation of "blood-lagoon" being probably but a coincidence of which the mythopœic faculty took advantage.

[36] Here written with characters signifying "blood-lagoon."

[37] The characters rendered "river-mouth" are 水門, literally "water-gate;" but here, as elsewhere, "river-mouth" seems to be the signification meant to be conveyed. Rivers in Japan, even at the present day, do not bear one continuous name along their entire course, and there would be nothing unnatural in the fact of the water at the mouth of the river having a special designation. One of the significations of *wo* is "man," and the legendary etymology of the name given immediately below rests on the assumption that such is the meaning of *wo* in this place. Even Motowori, however, is not satisfied with it, and it is probably erroneous.

[38] See Sect. XXII, Note 14.

[39] The Chinese character 崩, which is here used, is one that specially denotes the demise of an Emperor.

[40] Probably the sense meant to be conveyed is that he expired with a gesture of anger and defiance.

[41] Here written 男, "man." *Conf.*, Note 37.

[42] *Kama-yama*, *i.e.*, "furnace-mountain."

[SECT. XLV.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II.—THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN).]

So when His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko made a progress round from thence, and reached the village of Kumanu,[1] a large bear came out of the mountain,[2] and forthwith disappeared into it.* Then His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko suddenly fainted away, and his august army likewise all fainted and fell prostrate. At this time Takakurazhi[3] (this is the name of a person)[4] of Kumanu came bearing one cross-sword[5] to the place where the august child of the Deity

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[1] This name signifies "bear-moor." The name is now generally pronounced *Kumano.*

[2] Motowori ingenously conjectures the text of this passage 大熊髪出, which makes no sense, to be a copyist's error for 大熊從山出, which gives the meaning rendered in the translation. The running hand form of 從山 might well be mistaken for that of the character 髪. The editor of 1687 is less happy in his conjecture that the character intended may be 鰐, "crocodile." This incident of the bear was thought important enough by the compiler for a mention of it to be inserted in his Preface. (See p. 6).

*The mention a few lines further on of *Arafurá Kami* savage Deities as the enemies of Jim-mu Tenno, on this occasion would point to a different emendation of the term. *Kuma* is perhaps an epithet of a savage tribe. Cf. *Kumaso.* Even the present reading "Great Bear-plain," as the name of a tribe of hairy men is not wholly preposterous. *Kuma* means savage sometimes.—W.G.A.

[3] The signification of this name is not clear. Taking *zhi* as an apocopated *nigori*'ed form of the Postposition *shita,* we might suppose *taka-kura-zhi* to signify "under the high store-house" in allusion to the legend which forms the subject of this Section. There are, however, reasons for doubting this etymology (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol XVIII, p. 48). In the Preface we have simply *Takakura,* without the final syllable *zhi;* but the omission of *zhi* in that place is almost certainly to be accounted for on euphonic grounds.

[4] This note to the original is believed to be an an interpolation.

[5] 横刀. Motowori avers the character 横, "cross," has no importance, and should be neglected in reading. But this assertion seems

was lying prostrate, and presented it to him, upon which the august child of the Heavenly Deity forthwith rose up, and said: "How long I have slept!" So when he accepted the cross-sword, the savage Deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously fell cut down.[6] Then the whole august army, that had been bewildered and had fallen prostrate, awoke and rose up. So the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked him how he had got the cross-sword. Takakurazhi replied, saying: "I was told in a dream that the two Deities the "Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity[7] and the High Integrating "Deity[8] commanded and summoned the Brave-Awful-Possessing-"Male-Deity,[9] and charged him [thus]: 'The Central Land "'of Reed-Plains[10] is painfully uproarious,—it is.[11] Our august "'children must be ill at ease. As [therefore] the Central "'Land of Reed-Plains is a land which thou specially sub-"'duedst, thou the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity shalt "'descend [thither].' Then he replied, saying: 'I[12] will not "'descend [myself], but I have the cross-sword wherewith I "'specially subdued the land. (The name by which this sword "'is called is the Deity Thrust-Snap;[13] another name by which it is

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gratuitous in the face of, for instance, such a Chinese locution as 横磨劍. We may be justified, perhaps, in paying no special heed to the Numeral "one" in this place, which Motowori neglects in his *kana* reading of the text.

[6] *I.e.*, they fell down cut to pieces before they had even been cut at with this wonderful sword.

[7] The character 御, "august," which should form the penultimate member of this compound name, is here omitted.

[8] See Sect. I, Note 5.

[9] See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

[10] See Sect. IX, Note 18.

[11] Conf. Sect. X, Note 1.

[12] The humble character 僕, "servant," is here used.

[13] *Sazhi-futsu no kami*. The translator follows Tanigaha Shisei in considering *sazhi* (Tanigaha Shisei in his "Perpetual Commentary" reads *sashi* without the *nigori*) to mean "thrust." For the rendering of *futsu* as "snap" in this and the two following names *conf.* Sect.

"'called is the Deity Awful-Snap,[14] and another name for it is the "'August-Snap-Spirit.[15] This sword dwells in the temple of the "'Deity of Isonokami.)[6] The manner in which I will send "'this sword down will be to perforate the ridge of [the "'roof of] Takakurazhi's store-house,[17] and drop it though!' "{So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity instructed me, "saying: 'I will perforate the ridge of [the roof of] thy "'store-house, and drop this sword through.[18]} So do thou, "'with the good eyes of morning,[19] take it and present it to "'the august child of the Heavenly Deity.' So on my search-"ing my store-house early next morning in accordance with "the instructions of the dream, there really was a cross-sword "there. So I just present this cross-sword to thee."

[SECT. XLVI.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III.—THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS).]

"Then His[1] Augustness the Great-High-Integrating-Deity "again commanded and taught, saying: 'August son of the

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VIII, Note 8. Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," asserts that *futsu* is but an alternative form of *futo*, "broad," "thick," or "vast," as shown by the existence of the phrase *ma-futsu no kagami*, "a true vast mirror."

[14] *Mika-futsu no kam*.

[15] *Futsu no mi tama.*

[16] The name of this place, which is in the province of Yamato, seems to signify "above the rock." It is well known as the Pillow-Word for the syllables *furu*.

[17] Properly what is known to Anglo-Orientals as a "godown."

[18] The sentence here placed between braces is proposed by Motowori to supplement an evident lacuna in the text.

[19] Or, "luckily with morning eyes." Motowori remarks that, even in modern times, special joy is felt at a good discovery made in the morning.

[1] The intention of the writer is here obscure, but he probably meant the following passage to form part of the dream, as is the case in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." The inverted commas are therefore continued in the translation.

"'Heavenly Deity! make no progress hence into the interior.
"'The savage Deities are very numerous. I will now send
"'from Heaven a crow eight feet [long].[2] So that crow eight
"'feet [long] shall guide thee. Thou must make thy progress
"'following after it as it goes.'" So on [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress following after the crow eight feet [long] in obedience to the Deity's instructions, he reached the lower course of the Yeshinu[3] river where there was a person catching fish in a weir.[4*] Then the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I[5] am an earthly Deity[6] and am called by

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[2] The characters 八咫烏† (*ya-ta-garasu*), with which the original of this expression is written, combined with the mention in the Preface of the "great crow," have determined the translator to adopt the interpretation favoured by Tanigaha Shisei, viz., a "crow eight feet [long]." Motowori understands the expression to mean "an eight-headed crow." For the arguments on both sides see the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VIII, p. 16, and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60–62, and Vol. VIII, pp. 34–38. See also for the translation of a parallel passage Sect. XVI, Note 23.

† *Vide,— Wamiōshō* beginning 陽烏.

[3] Better known by the classical and modern form of the name, *Yoshino.* It seems to signify "good moor." Yoshino, which is in the province of Yamato, has from the earliest times been renowned for the beauty of its cherry-blossoms, and also figures largely in the early and mediæval history. Motowori points out geographical difficulties in the Imperial progress as here detailed. In the "Chronicles," the verisimilitudes of the journey are better observed.

[4] The character 筌, here rendered "weir" for want of a better word, is defined as signifying "a bamboo trap for catching fish."

* Fish-trap?—W.G.A.

[5] The first Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant." The other tailed deity mentioned immediately below uses the same expression.

[6] See Sect. I, Note 11 and Sect. XLIV, Note 22, for the considerations that make it better to translate thus than to render by "I am a Deity of the Land"

"the name of Nihe-motsu no Ko."[7] (This is the ancestor of the Cormorant-Keepers of Ada).[8] On [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress thence, a person with a tail[9] came out of a well. The well shone. Then [His Augustness asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an "Earthly Deity, and my name is Wi-hika.[10]" (This is the ancestor of the Headmen of Yeshinu).[11] On his forthwith entering the mountains,[12] His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko again met a person with a tail. This person came forth pushing the cliffs apart. Then [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an "Eathly Deity, and my name is Iha-oshi-waku no Ko. I heard "[just] now that the august son of the Heavenly Deity was "making his progress. So it is for that that I have come to "meet thee." (This is the ancestor of the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu).[13] Thence [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] penetrated over on foot to Uda.[14] So they say: "The "Ugachi of Uda."[15]

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[7] *I.e.*, "Offering-Bearing Child." Here and elsewhere the word *ko*, "child," as part of a proper name, should be understood as a kind of Honorific, employed probably in imitation of Chinese usage.

[8] *Ada no U-kahi.* This must be understood to be a "gentile name" (*kabane*). The etymology of Ada is uncertain. The practice of fishing with the help of cormorants, though now almost obsolete, seems to have been very common in Japan down to the Middle Ages.

[9] Commenting on a similar passage a little further on, Motowori naïvely remarks: "It appears that in very ancient times such persons were occasionally to be met with." It should be added that they are also mentioned in Chinese literature.

[10] *I.e.*, "Well-Shine."

[11] *Yeshinu no obito.* For Yeshinu see Note 3.

[12] *I.e.*, disappearing among the mountains.

[13] *Yeshinu no kuzu. Kuzu* is a contraction of *kuni-nushi* (properly 國主, with which characters the name is found written at the commencement of Sect. CVIII, though elsewhere the semi-phonetic rendering 國巢 or 國栖 is employed).

[14] Etymology obscure.

[15] *Uda no ugachi.* The meaning of the sentence is: "Hence the

[SECT. XLVII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IV.—THE UKASHI BRETHREN).]

So then there were in Uda two persons, Ukashi the the Elder Brother and Ukashi the Younger Brother.[1] So [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] sent the crow eight feet [long] in advance to ask these persons, saying: "The august "child of the Heavenly Deity has made a progress [hither]. "Will ye respectfully serve him?" Hereupon Ukashi the Elder Brother waited for and shot at the messenger with a whizzing barb* to make him turn back. So the place where the whizzing barb fell is called Kabura-zaki.[2] Saying that he intended to wait for and smite [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], he [tried to] collect an army. But being unable to collect an army, he said deceitfully that he would respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], and built a great palace,[3] and in that palace set a pitfall, and waited. Then Ukashi the Younger Brother came out to[4] [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] beforehand, and made obeisance, saying: "Mine[5] elder brother Ukashi the Elder Brother has shot at "and turned back the messenger of the august child of the "Heavenly Deity, and, intending to wait for and attack thee, has "[tried to] collect an army; but, being unable to collect it, he has

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name of the Ugachi of Uda." *Ugachi* signifies "to penetrate." But the etymology seems a forced one, and Motowori is probably correct in identifying this "gentile name" with that of Ukashi, mentioned in the next sentence.

[1] *Ye-ukashi* and *Oto-ukashi*. *Ukashi*, as in the other compounds where it occurs, is probably in reality the name of a place. Its etymology is doubtful.

* Arrow.—W.G.A.

[2] *I.e.*, Barb Point or Cape.

[3] Or, hall.

[4] The original has a respectful expression, which is elsewhere translated "waited on."

[5] The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕, "servant."

"built a great palace, and set[6] a gin within it, intending to wait "for and catch thee. So I have come out to inform [thee of this]." Then the two persons His Augustness Michi-no-Omi,[7] ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains,[8] and His Augustness Ohokume,[9] ancestor of the Kume Lords,[10] summoned Ukashi the Elder Brother and reviled him, saying: "Into the great palace which "thou[11] hast built to respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-"yamato-ihare-biko], be thou[12] the first to enter, and declare "plainly the manner in which thou intendest respectfully to "serve him;"—and forthwith grasping the hilts of their cross-swords, playing with their spears,[13] and fixing arrows [in their bows], they drove him in, whereupon he was caught in[14] the gin which he himself had set, and died. So they forthwith pulled him out, and cut him in pieces. So the place is called Uda-no-Chihara.[15] Having done thus, [His Augustness Kamu-

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[6] Literally, "spread." This gin is supposed to have been of the kind whose top closes down after the man or animal has fallen into it.

[7] *I.e.*, "Grandee of the Way." This "gentile name" is said in the "Chronicles" to have been bestowed on this worthy in consideration of his services as a guide to his master the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's progress eastward.

[8] See Sect. XXXIV, Note 12.

[9] *I.e.*, perhaps "Great Round Eyes," supposed to be a descendant of His Augustness *Ama-tsu-kume* (see however Sect. XXXIV, Note 7 for a discussion of the etymology of *Kume*).

[10] See Sect. XXXIV, Note 13.

[11] The expression *i ga*, here rendered "thou," is, as Motowori remarks, "extremely hard to understand," and its interpretation as an insulting form of the Second Personal Pronoun is merely tentative. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

[12] The insulting Second Personal Pronoun *ore* is here employed.

[13] Here again we have an expression written phonetically and of uncertain import. The translator has followed Motowori in tentatively rendering it according to the ideographic reading of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

[14] Literally "struck by."

[15] *I.e.*, Uda's Blood-Plain."

yamato-ihare-biko] bestowed on his august army the whole of the great banquet presented [to him] by Ukashi the Younger Brother. At this time he sang, saying:

> "The woodcock, for which I laid a wood-
> "cock-snare and waited in the high castle
> "of Uda, strikes not against it; but a
> "valiant whale strikes against it. If the
> "elder wife ask for fish, slice off a little like
> "the berries of the standing *soba*; if the
> "younger wife ask for fish, slice off a
> "quantity like the berries of the vigorous
> "*sakaki*."[16]

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[16] This Song is unusually difficult of comprehension: and the latest important commentator, Moribe, seems to show satisfactorily that all his predecessors, Motowori included, more or less misunderstood it. He had at least the advantage of coming after them, and the translator has followed his interpretation excepting with regard to *isukuhashi*, the Pillow-Word for "whale," which is here rendered "valiant," in accordance with the traditional view of its signification. The *soba* tree is identified by Motowori with the *kaname-mochi*, "*Photinia glabra*." The *saka-ki*, taken together with its Prefix *ichi* (here rendered "vigorous") is supposed in this place to signify, not the usual *Cleyera japonica*, but another species popularly known as the *bishiya-gaki*, whose English or Latin name the translator has failed to ascertain. It has a large berry, whereas the *soba* has a small one.—The following is the gist of Moribe's exposition of the general signification of the Song: "If for Ukashi's mean design to kill the "Emperor in a gin there be sought a term of comparison in the "whales and woodcock forming the Imperial banquet, then in lieu of "the woodcock that he expected to catch in the trap that he set, that "great whale, the Imperial host, has rushed up against it. Again if, "as the fishermen's wives might do, your (*i.e.*, you soldiers') wives "ask you for fish, then let each of you give to his elder wife, of "whom he must have grown weary, only a small and bony portion, "and to his younger wife, who is doubtless his heart's favourite, a "good fleshy piece. So jocular a guess at the *penchants* of the young "warriors excites their ardour, which they give vent to in the "following shouts."

"Ugh![17] pfui! dolt! This is saying thou
"rascal. Ah! pfui! dolt! This is laugh-
"ing [him] to scorn."

So Ukashi the Younger Brother (he is the ancestor of the Water-Directors of Uda).[18]

[SECT. XLVIII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART V,—THE EARTH-SPIDERS OF THE CAVE OF OSAKA).]

When [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] made his progress, and reached the great cave of Osaka,[1] earth-spiders[2]

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[17] Some of the Japanese originals of this string of Interjections are of uncertain import. The translator has been guided by Motowori's conjectures, with which Moribe mostly agrees. The exclamations are supposed not to form part of the actual Song, but to proceed from the mouths of the Imperial soldiers. The words rendered "this is saying thou rascal" (such is apparently their meaning) and those rendered "this is laughing [him] to scorn" seem to be glosses as old as the text, which had already become obscure in the eighth century. They are not written altogether phonetically.*

* Omitted in the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[18] *Uda no Mohitori.* This tribe or guild of "water-directors" was entrusted with the charge of the water, the ice, and the gruel used in the Imperial household. In later times the word *Mohitori* was corrupted to *Mondo.*

[1] The etymology of this name is not clear, but readers will of course not confound it with that of the modern town of Ohosaka (Ōzaka). The character rendered "cave" is 室, which signifies simply "apartment;" but the traditional reading is *muro,* which means a cave or pit dug in the earth. That the latter is the idea which the author wishes to convey becomes clear by comparison with a great number of passages in the older literature. For a more particular discussion of this subject see Mr. Milne's paper entitled "Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate," published in Vol. VIII, Part I of these "Transactions," p. 76 *et seq.,* where a number of passages relative to the "earth-spiders" are likewise brought together.

[2] *Tsuchi-gumo,*† generally written 土蜘蛛, but here semi-phonetically 土雲. There is little doubt that by this well-known name, which

with tails, [namely] eighty bravoes,[3] were in the cave* awaiting him. So then the august son of the Heavenly Deity commanded that a banquet be bestowed on the eighty bravoes. Thereupon he set eighty butlers, one for each of the eighty bravoes, and girded each of them with a sword, and instructed the butlers, saying: "When ye hear me sing, cut [them down] "simultaneously." So the Song by which he made clear to them to set about smiting the earth-spiders said:

"Into the great cave of Osaka people have
"entered in abundance, and are [there].
"Though people have entered in abundance,
"and are [there], the children of the augustly
"powerful warriors will smite and finish them
"with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their]
"stone-mallet [swords]: the children of the

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has given rise to much conjecture, a race of cave-dwelling savages or a class of cave-dwelling robbers is intended. Motowori supposes that their name had its origin in a comparison of their habits with those of the spider. But it were surely more rational to regard it as a corruption of *tsuchi-gomori*, "earth-*hiders*,"† a designation as obvious as it is appropriate. The "Chronicles" describe one tribe of them as "being short in stature, and having long arms and legs like pigmies." For a further discussion of the subject see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XIX, pp. 30–31, the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VIII, p. 35, the "*Tou-ga*," Vol. XX, *s.v. kumo* and the "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II, pp. 55 *et seq.*

* Pit-dwelling. *Muro* can hardly be both "cave" and pits," the latter only, I think, is the correct word. I have seen at Oyama a pit about four feet deep and perhaps 12 feet square, roofed with thatch on a wooden framework, for the accommodation of pilgrims; also in Korea I have seen a smaller pit used as a dwelling, strong oil-paper taking the place of thatch, *vide* Satow and Hawes' Guide Book, 1884 edition, p. 207, where the ladder necessary to go down into such a pit is mentioned. The *muro* of gardeners at the present day are pits covered with a roof.—W.G.A.

† But is not *kumo* really the same word, "the hider."?—W.G.A.

[3] The original term is *takeru* (梟帥), which might also be rendered "bandit," or "robber chief."

"augustly powerful warriors, with [their]
"mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet
"[swords], would now do well to smite."[4]

Having thus sung, they drew their swords, and simultaneously smote them to death.

[SECT. XLIX.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VI.—THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN).]

After this, when about to smite the Prince of Tomi,[1] he sang, saying:

"The children of the augustly powerful
"army will smite and finish the one stem
"of smelly chive in the millet-field,—the
"stem of its root, both its root and shoots."[2]

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[4] The import of this poem is too clear to stand in need of explanation. The word *mitsumitsushi*, here rendered "augustly powerful" in accordance with Moribe's view, is understood by Motowori to mean "perfectly full," in allusion to the fully or perfectly round eyes of the deity Kume, to whose name he supposes there to be a reference. Mabuchi, on the other hand, explains the word to signify "young and flourishing." But Moribe's view both of this and of the import of *kume* as "warriors" seems so greatly preferable to any other, that the translator has not hesitated to follow him (*conf.* Sect. XXXIV, Note 7). The "*children* of the warriors" are of course the warriors themselves. With regard to the signification of the two kinds of swords here mentioned it has, however, been thought best to adhere to the usual view, and Note 10 to Sect. XXXIV should be referred to.

[1] See Sect. XLIV, Notes 28 *et seq.* The apparent want of sequence in this portion of the narrative is not noticed by Motowori. We might endeavour to harmonize it by supposing that after having slain the "earth-spiders," etc., the Emperor Jim-mu turned round again to fight with the Prince of Tomi, who had harassed him in the earlier portion of his career as conqueror of Central Japan.

[2] The wild chive growing among the millet is of course the enemy, the Prince of Tomi and his host; and the gist of the Song is that the Imperial troops will smite and destroy them root and branch. The commentators suppose the simile to have been taken from the

Again he sang:

"The ginger, which the children of the
"augustly powerful army planted near the
"hedge, resounds* in the mouth. I shall not
"forget it. I will smite and finish it."[3]

Again he sang, saying:

"Like the *turbinidæ* creeping round the
"great rock in the sea of Ise [on which
"blows] the divine wind, [so] will we creep
"round, and smite and finish them."[4]

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fields of millet which Jim-mu's troops planted for their subsistence during the long drawn out campaigns of early days.—The "stem of its root," *so ne ga moto*, is a curious expression, which is perhaps best accounted for by Moribe's supposition that we have here a pun on *Sune ga moto*, "Sune's house," *Sune* being a natural abbreviation of *Nagasune*, the name of the Prince of Tomi (see Sect. XLIV, Note 28).

* *I.e.*, makes the mouth to tingle, cf. the use of the word *chindo* in speaking of a perfume.—W.G.A.

[3] The sense of this Song is: "I shall not forget the bitterness of seeing my brother slain by Prince Nagasune's arrow (see the latter part of Sect. XLIV). The word *hazhikami*, here rendered ginger in accordance with Motowori's dictum, is taken by Moribe to signify the xanthoxylon. "Resounding in the mouth" is a curious phrase here used to express bitterness.

[4] Motowori thus paraphrases this Song: "As the innumerable "*turbinidæ* [-shells] creep round the great rock,† so will I with the "myriads of the Imperial host encompass the Prince of Tomi on "every side, that there may be no outlet whereby he can escape." The shell here mentioned is a kind of small conch.‡ *Kumu-kaze no*, lit. "of divine wind," is the Pillow-Word for Ise, and is of disputed derivation, as is the word Ise itself. The curious reader should rèfer to Fujihara no Hikomaro's "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" *s.v.* for the legend to which the name of Ise and its Pillow-Word were anciently traced and other conjectures on the point. The "great rock" here mentioned is not otherwise known.

† The "great rock" may well be the *Moto-seki* known to ancient

Again when he smote Shiki the Elder Brother and Shiki the Younger Brother,[5] the august army was temporarily exhausted. Then he sang, saying:

"As we fight placing our shields in a row,
"going and watching from between the trees
"on Mount Inasa, oh! we are famished.
"Ye keepers of cormorants, the birds of the
"island, come now to our rescue!"[6*]

[SECT. L.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII.—THE EMPIRE PACIFIED).]

So then His Augustness Nigi-hayabi[1] waited on and said

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legend. *Vide* Satow and Hawes' Handbook of Japan p. 176. Also Ise Meisho near end of Vol. 5.—W.G.A.

‡ Whelk?—W.G.A.

5 *Ye-shiki* and *Otoshiki*. Shiki is the name of a district in the province of Yamato.

6 This Song is a request for provisions made by the Emperor to some fishermen, who were working their cormorants along the mountain-streams. Moribe refers it to an incident, not in the war, but in the hunt, and interprets differently the word here, in accordance with its usual meaning and with older authority, rendered "as we fight." He attributes to it the sense of "as we put our shields together," and thinks that the poet may have compared to shields the trunks of the trees. According to this view, the Song should be viewed rather as a joke. It may be mentioned that there is good authority for considering the words *tata namete*, "placing shields in a row," as a Punning Preface or Pillow-Word for words commencing with *i* (*i* being the Root of *iru*, "to shoot"), so that Moribe's explanation need not involve any tautology. It seems however somewhat far-fetched.—The position of mount Inasa is uncertain, and the name itself of obscure derivation.

* Compare Nihongi Vol. III, p. 15 (p. 119 Aston's translation): "Then skirting the river, he proceeded westward, when there appeared a man who had made a fish-trap and was catching fish. On the Emperor enquiring of him, he answered and said: 'Thy servant is the son of Nihemotsu.' He it is who was the first ancestor of the clan of U-kahi cormorant keepers of Ada." Or above p. 166.—W.G.A.

1 The component parts of this name, rendered according to the

to the august child of the Heavenly Deity: "As I heard that "[thou], the august child of the Heavenly Deity, hadst "descended from Heaven, I have followed down to wait on "thee." Forthwith presenting to him the heavenly symbols,[2] he respectfully served him. So His Augustness Nigi-hayabi wedded the Princess of Tomi,[3] sister of the Prince of Tomi, and begot a child, His Augustness Umashi-ma-ji.[4] (He was the ancestor of the Chief of the Warrior-Clan,[5] of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[6] and of the Grandees of the Neck-Clan.)[7] So having thus subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] dwelt at the palace of Kashibara[8] near Unebi,[9] and ruled

analogy of that in Sect. XXXIII, Note 5, may be interpreted to signify "Plenty-Swift." The genealogy of this god is not known.

[2] *I.e.*, the swords, quivers, bows, and arrows mentioned in Sect. XXXIII, as having been brought down from Heaven by the divine attendants of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather.

[3] *Tomi-ya-bime.* The syllable *ya** is inexplicable, but perhaps merely an Expletive.

* Cf. *Kagu-ya-hime* and others.—W.G.A.

[4] The signification of this name is by no means clear; but, rendered according to the characters with which it is written in the "Chronicles," it would mean "Savoury-True-Hand."

[5] *Mononobe no murazhi.* This and the two following are of course "gentile names."

[6] *Hodzumi no omi.* Hodzumi, which is the name of a place, signifies "rice-ears piled up."

[7] *Une-be no omi.* The interpretation of this name is given according to Motowori, who explains that the members of this family,—in particular the female members,—waited at the Emperor's table, and wore veils over their necks when so employed. The name is commonly corrupted to *uneme.*†

† Seems very improbable.—W.G.A.

[8] Better known as Kashihabara. The name signifies "oak-moor," or rather "a place planted with oaks." This is usually, though without sufficient foundation, reckoned the earliest of the historical capitals of Japan. It is in Yamato.

[9] Unebi is the name of a hill in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure.

the Empire.[10]

[SECT. LI.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VIII.—HE WEDS I-SUKE-YORI-HIME).]

So when he dwelt in Himuka, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] wedded[1] Princess Ahira,[2] younger sister of the Duke of Wobashi[3] in Ata,[4] and begot children: there were two,[5]—His Augustness Tagishi-mimi,[6*] next His Augustness Kisu-mimi.[7] But when he sought for a beautiful maiden to make her his Chief Empress,[8] His Augustness Oho-kume said: "There is here a beauteous maiden who is called the august

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[10] *I.e.*, "ruled the Empire from his palace of Kashibara near Unebi. For the expression 天下 (literally "[all] beneath Heaven"), here rendered "Empire," see Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

[1] Or, "*had* wedded;" for the episode here related must be supposed to have taken place before Jim-mu and his army started eastward on their career of conquest.

[2] *Ahira-hime.* Ahira is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. Its etymology is quite obscure.

[3] *Wobashi no kimi.* Wobashi is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. The characters with which it is generally written mean "small bridge."

[4] Ata is a place in Satsuma.

[5] Or, "there were two Deities." The character employed is not that which itself actually signifies "deity," but is the Auxiliary Numeral for divine beings.

[6] *I.e.*, perhaps "rudder-ears."

[*] *Vide* Early Japanese History, p. 57, where *Mimi* is an official title. *Kikoshimesu* meaning "to govern," why should not *mimi* be "governor"? *Oho-mimi*=Governor-General.—W.G.A.

[7] Motowori adduces good reasons for believing this name to be but a slightly altered form of the preceding one, and for holding that in the original form of the tradition there was but one child mentioned.

[8] See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 10–13, for the reasons for thus interpreting the characters 大后 in the text. Elsewhere it has generally, for the sake of convenience, been simply rendered "Empress."

"child of a Deity. The reason why she is called the august "child of a Deity is that the Princess Seya-datara,[9] daughter "of Mizokuhi[10] of Mishima,[11] was admired on account of her "beauty by the Great-Master-of-Things the Deity of Miwa,[12] "qui, quum pulchra puella oletum fecit, in sagittam rubro "[colore] fucatam se convertit, et ab inferiori parte cloacæ [ad „usum] faciendi oleti virginis privatas partes transfixit. Tunc "pulchra virgo consternata est, et surrexit, et trepide fugit. Sta-"tim sagittam attulit, et juxta thalamum posuit. Subito [sagitta] "formosus adolescens facta est, qui cito pulchram puellam sibi "in matrimonio junxit, et filiam procreavit nomine Hoto-tatara-"i-susugi-hime;[13] et est nomen alternativum Hime-tatara-i-suke-"yori-hime.[14] (Id est posterior mutatio nominis, quoniam abhorruit "facere mentionem privatarum partium). So therefore she is called "the august child of a Deity." Hereupon seven beauteous

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[9] *Seya-datara-hime.* This signification of the name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Seya* to be a place and *tatara* (*nigori*'ed to *datara*) perhaps a plant written with the Chinese character 莘, said by Dr. Williams in his "Syllabic Dictionary" to be possibly a species of *Heterotropa.*

[10] It is uncertain whether this name should, or should not, be regarded as properly that of a place. The meaning is equally obscure. The Chinese characters with which it is here written signify "ditch-eater," whereas those employed in the "Chronicles" signify "ditch-stake." Perhaps both transcriptions are simply phonetic.

[11] A district in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name signifies "three islands."

[12] *Miwa-no-oho-mono-mushi-no-kami.* This god is supposed to be identical with Oho-kuni-nushi (the "Master of the Great Land," see end of Sect. XX and following Sects.) The rigidly literal rendering of the name as here given would be "the Deity Great Master of Things of Miwa"; but the more intelligible version here given represents the Japanese author's meaning. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the story related in Sect. LXV.

[13] *Hoto* significat partes privatas. Verbi *tatara* sensum supra *s.v. Seya-datara-hime* pertractavimus. *I* est vox expletiva. *Susugi* sensus est "trepide fugiens." Hime indicat regiam puellam.

[14] *I.e.*, Princess Tatara-Startled-Good-Princess.

maidens were out playing on the moor of Takasazhi,[15] and I-suke-yori-hime[16] was among them. His Augustness Ohokume, seeing I-suke-yori-hime, spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign in a Song, saying:

"Seven maidens on the moor of Takasazhi
"in Yamato:—which shall be interlaced?"[17]

Then I-suke-yori-hime was standing first among the beauteous maidens. Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign, having looked at the beauteous maidens, and knowing in his august heart[18] that I-suke-yori-hime was standing in the very front, replied by a Song, saying:

"Even [after nought but] a fragment [-ary
"glimpse], I will intertwine the lovely [one]
"standing in the very front."[19]

Then His Augustness Ohokume informed I-suke-yori-hime of the Heavenly Sovereign's decree, whereupon she, seeing the slit sharp eyes[20] of His Augustness Ohokume, sang in her astonishment, saying:

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[15] Etymology obscure.

[16] An abbreviated form of the princess' alternative name.

[17] The meaning of this Song is: "To which of the seven maidens "now disporting themselves on the moor of Takasazhi shall I convey "the Emperor's command to come that he may make her his consort, "and sleep with his arms intertwined in hers?"—Motowori, overlooking the difference between *maku*, which is the word in the text, and the *nigori*'ed form *magu* met with in some other passages, misinterprets the last clause thus: "Which shall be sought?" He makes the same mistake in his explanation of the next Song.

[18] *I.e.*, "having a presentiment."

[19] The translation of this Song follows Moribe's exegesis. Motowori interprets it thus: "Well, well! I will seek the lovely one standing in the very front." As here rendered, the little poem is quite clear,—simply a declaration on the Emperor's part that he will make the girl standing in front his wife.

[20] *Sukeru-to-me*, the original of the phrase here rendered "slit sharp eyes," is obscure and variously understood by the commentators.

" ? ?
" ? ?
" Wherefore the slit sharp eyes ?"[21]

Then His Augustness Ohokume replied by a Song, saying:
" My slit sharp eyes [are] in order to find
" the maiden immediately."[22]

So the maiden said that she would respectfully serve [the Heavenly Sovereign].[23] Hereupon[24] the house of Her Augustness[25] I-suke-yori-hime was on [the bank of] the River Sawi.[26]

Moribe supposes the god to have worn a casque with a vizor, and the slit to have been made in the latter, and not actually in, or rather near, the eyes. It should however be observed that, though the Japanese word *saku* means "to slit," the Chinese character in the text properly signifies "to tattoo (or brand) with ink," and is used with that meaning at the end of Sect. CXLIX, and elsewhere in the ancient books. The present writer, after comparing various passages in which the term occurs, thinks that we may understand a tattooing of the outer corners of the eyes, which would give to the latter the appearance of being long and sharp, or, if the tattooing were very dark, of being actually slit.

[21] The first lines of this short poem are so hopelessly unintelligble that the commentators are not even agreed as to how the syllables composing them should be divided into words. For the straits to which Motowori and his predecessors were driven in their efforts to obtain some plausible signification, see his Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 27–29, and for Moribe's totally divergent interpretation see "*Idzu no Koto-waki*," Vol. II, pp. 30–31. It is not worth while to quote here such mere conjectures.—For the doubt attaching to the precise signification of the words rendered by "slit sharp eyes," see the preceding Note.

[22] The signification of this Song is as plain as that of the preceding one is obscure.

[23] *Q.d.*, as his wife.

[24] This initial expression is meaningless.

[25] Having become the Emperor's consort, this Honorific title is now prefixed for the first time to her name.

[26] *Sawi-gaha*. *Sawi*, as we learn from the compiler's note below, was the name of a kind of lily.

The Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the abode of I-suke-yori-hime, and augustly slept [there] one night.[27] (The reason why that river was called the River Sawi was that on the River's banks the mountain-lily-plant grew in abundance. So the name of the mountain-lily-plant was taken, and the designation of River Sawi [bestowed]. The name by which the mountain-lily-plant was originally called was *sawi*). Afterwards, when I-suke-yori-hime came and entered into the palace, the Heavenly Sovereign sang augustly saying:

"In a damp hut on the reed-moor having
"spread layer upon layer of sedge mats, we
"two slept!"[28]

The names of the august children thus born were: His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi,[29] next His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi,[30] next His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi,[31] (Three Deities).[32]

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[27] Literally, "one sojourn."

[28] The signification of this Song is: "Now indeed thou comest "to share the majesty of the palace. But the beginning of our "intimacy was on that night when I came to thy humble dwelling "on the reed-grown moor where, when we slept together, we had to "pile mat upon mat to keep out the damp."—The translator has followed Moribe's interpretation throughout. Motowori takes in the sense of "ugly" the word here rendered "damp," and he and all previous commentators give a different explanation of the words *iya saya shikite*, here translated by "spreading layer upon layer." They take them to mean "spreading more and more cleanlily."

[29] This name may signify "prince eight-wells." But the interpretation of *ya wi* as "eight wells" in this and the following name is doubtful.

[30] This name may signify "divine-eight-wells-ears." But see preceding Note.

[31] This name may signify "divine-lagoon-river-ears." But perhaps *Nuna-kaha* is the name of a place.

[32] The character in the next is not actually "Deity," but 柱, *hashira*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities, which is constantly throughout these "Records" used in speaking of members of the Imperial family.

[SECT. LII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IX.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So when, after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign,[1] the* elder half-brother, His Augustness Tagishi-mimi,[2] wedded[3] the Empress I-suke-yori-hime, he plotted how he might slay his three younger brethren, pending which their august[4] parent I-suke-yori-hime lamented, and made [the plot] known to her august children by a song. The Song said:

"From the River Sawi the clouds have risen
"across, and the leaves of the trees have
"rustled on Mount Unebi: the wind is about
"to blow."[5]

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[1] *I.e.*, the Emperor Jim-mu. His decease is not otherwise specially mentioned; but a formula at the end of the Section, which is repeated *mutatis mutandis* in the case of each Emperor, tells us the number of years he lived or reigned, and the place of his sepulture. Throughout these "Records," much matter is often placed in the reign of a Monarch already deceased, and which, according to our ideas, would more naturally be narrated under the heading of his successor.

* The Japanese is *sono* which looks as if it was Jim-mu Tenno's elder brother who was intended. Perhaps 兄 is a mistake for 子.—W.G.A.

[2] Who was the deceased Emperor's son by Princess Ahira (see Sect. LI, Note 6), and consequently step-son to the Empress and half-brother to her three sons.

[3] This is the meaning of the Chinese character in the text. Motowori tries to save the Empress-Dowager's reputation for conjugal fidelity by rendering it in his *kana* reading by a word signifying "raped."†

† *Tawakuru* is more comprehensive than "raped"; it would also include "seduced," "had illicit intercourse with." Vol. XXX, p. 36, verse last line "*Tawake wa aumajiki hito ni au nari.*" But Motowori does speak of "rape" in the Commentary.—W.G.A.

[4] See Sect. XXII, Note 4.

[5] The import of this metaphorical poem, taken in its context, is too clear to need much comment. The rising of the clouds and the

Again she sang, saying:

"Ah! What rests on Mount Unebi as clouds
"in the day-time, will surely blow as wind
"at night-fall, [whence] the rustling of the
"leaves!"[6]

When hereupon her august children, hearing and knowing [of the danger], were alarmed and forthwith were about to slay Tagishi-mimi, His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi said to his elder brother His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi: "Thy "dear Augustness, [do thou] take a weapon, and go in and slay "Tagishi-mimi." So he took a weapon and went in, and was about to slay him. But his arms and legs trembled so, that he was unable to slay him. So then the younger brother His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begged [to be allowed] to take the weapon which his elder brother held, and went in and slew Tagishi-mimi. So again, in praise of his august name, he was called His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi.[7] Then His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi resigned [in favour of] the younger brother His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi, saying: "I could not slay the foeman; but Thine Augustness "was at once able to slay him. So, though I be the elder "brother, it is not right that I should be the superior.[8] Where-"fore do Thine Augustness be the superior, and rule [all]

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rustling of the leaves may be supposed to represent the murderer's preparations, and the blowing of the wind his actual onslaught.

[6] The meaning of this Song is: "The would-be murderer remains quiet during the day-time like the clouds hanging to the mountain-side; but at night he will burst upon you like the storm-wind. Already I hear the leaves begin to rustle; already he is gathering his men together.

[7] The word *take* prefixed to the name of this prince signifies "brave."

[8] *I.e.*, either "superior to thee," or as Motowori understands the phrase, "*the* superior of all," *scil.* the Emperor.[*]

[*] I prefer Motowori's view. In Korea the single character 上상 is constantly used for the king.—W.G.A

"beneath the Heaven. I[9] will assist Thine Augustness, becom-
"ing a priest,[10] and respectfully serving thee."

[SECT. LIII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X.—GENEALOGIES).]

So His Augustness Hoko-ya-wi (is the ancestor of the Chieftains of Mamuta,[1] and of the Chieftains of Teshima[2]). His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi (is the ancestor of the Grandees of Oho,[3] of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Chihisako,[4] of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Sakahi,[5] of the Dukes of Hi,[6] of the Dukes of Ohokida,[7] of the

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[9] Though the elder brother, he here uses the humble character 僕, "servant," to show his respect and deference.

[10] Literally, "a person who shuns," *q.d.* who shuns all pollution, and avoids certain food at certain seasons. *Conf.* the "gentile name" *Imi-be* commented on in Sect. XXXIII, Note 32.

[1] *Mamuta no murazhi.* Mamuta is said to have been a place in the province of Kahachi. The etymology of the name is obscure.

[2] *Teshima no murazhi.* Teshima is said to have been a place in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name may signify "luxuriant island."

[3] *Oho no omi.* Oho is said to have been a place in the province of Yamato. The name is mostly written with characters signifying "vast" or "numerous."

[4] *Chihisako-be no murazhi.* Chihisako is said to have been a place in the province of Etchiu. But the name of this family has also been traced to an incident mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" as having occurred in the reign of the Emperor Yu-riyaku, when, owing to a verbal error, a tax was collected in children instead of in cocoons. The monarch, amused at the mistake, is said to have granted to the tax-collector the "gentile name" of *Chihisa-ko, i.e.*, "Little Child."

[5] *Sakahi-be no murazhi. Sakahi* signifies "boundary," and this "gentile name" is traced to the fact, mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names," that the founder of the family distinguished himself by setting up boundary-marks on the frontiers of different provinces in the reign of the Emperor In-giyō (first half of the fifth century of the Christian era.)

[6] *Hi no kimi.* Hi (肥) is the name of a province (now two provinces) in the south-western island of Tsukushi. It is first mentioned in Sect. V, Note 17.

Dukes of Aso,[8] of the Chieftains of the Granaries of Tsukushi,[9] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe,[10] of the Rulers of the Tribe of Sazaki,[11] of the Rulers of Wo-Hatsuse,[12] of the Suzerains of Tsuke,[13] of the Rulers of the land of Iyo,[14] of the Rulers of the land of Shinanu,[15] of the Rulers of the land of Ihaki in Michinoku,[16] of the Rulers of the Land of Naka in Hitachi,[17] of the Rulers of the land of Nagasa,[18] of the

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[7] *Ohokida no Kimi.* Ohokida is the name of a district in the province of Toyo.

[8] *Aso no kimi.* Aso is the name of a district in Higo, containing a celebrated volcano.

[9] *Tsukushi no miyake no murazhi.*

[10] *Sazaki-be no omi.* This name is connected by the compiler of the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" with that of the Emperor Nin-toku (Oho-sazaki no Mikoto), for which see Sect. CIV, Note 18.

[11] *Sazaki-be no miyatsuko.*

[12] *Wo-hatsuse no miyatsuko.* This name is connected with that of the Emperor Mu-retsu, whose name was Wo-Hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki.

[13] *Tsuke no atahe.* Tsuke is the name of a place in Yamato.

[14] *Iyo no kuni no miyatsuko.* For the province of Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4.

[15] *Shinanu no kuni no miyatsuko.* For the province of *Shinanu* (*Shinano*) see Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

[16] *Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko.* A popular derivation of *Michinoku* is from *michi no kuni*, "the country of the road;" but a more likely one, sanctioned by Motowori, is from *michi no oku*, the furthest or most distant part of the road" (For the word "road," as here used, *conf.* Sect, LXV, Note 2). It was for many centuries, and is still in poetry, a vague name for the entire north of Japan. *Ihaki*, sometimes considered a province, and at others only ranking as a district, formed its south-eastern portion along the Pacific sea-board. The name seems to signify "rock (or hard)-castle."

[17] *Hitachi no Naka no kuni no miyatsuko.* Hitachi is a province to the south of Ihaki. Motowori quotes more than one traditional derivation of its name, the best of which, taken from the old Topography of the province, is *hita-michi*, "plain road," referring to the level nature of that part of the country. *Naka* is the name of a district. The word signifies "middle," and may have arisen from the fact of the district bearing it being situated between two considerable rivers.

Suzerains of Funaki in Ise,[19] of the Grandees of Niha in Wohari,[20] and of the Grandees of Shimada.)[21]

[SECT. LIV.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi ruled the Empire. Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko were one hundred and thirty-seven.[1] His august mausoleum is on the top of the Kashi Spur on the northern side of Mount Unebi.[2]

[SECT. LV.—EMPEROR SUI-ZIE.]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi dwelt at the palace of Takawoka in Kadzuraki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This

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[18] *Nagasa no kuni no miyatsuko.* *Nagasa* is a district in that portion of the old province of Kadzusa which was in very early historical times cut off to form the little province of Aha. The import of the name is not clear.

[19] *Ise no Funaki no atahe.* For Ise see Sect. XLIX, Note 4. Of Funaki nothing is known. The characters with which the name is written signify "boat-tree."

[20] *Ohari no Niha no omi.* Wohari is one of the central provinces of Japan. The name is of uncertain origin. Niha is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

[21] *Shimada no omi.* Shimada is the name of a district in Wohari, and signifies "island rice-fields."

[1] The author's confused style must not here mislead the student. It is *after* the decease of the Emperor Jim-mu (Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko), who attains to the age of a hundred and thirty-seven, that the Emperor Suwi-zei (Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi) begins to rule.

[2] For *Unebi* see Sect. LI, Note 9. *Kashi* signifies "oak." The word rendered "spur" is *wo.*

[1] In the province of Yamato. *Taka-woka* signifies "high mound." *Kadzura-ki* means "pueraria castle," a name accounted for by a legend in the "Chronicles," which relates how an earth-spider was caught in this place by means of a net made of pueraria tendrils. Kadzuraki was the name, not only of a town, but of a district.

Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kaha-mata-bime,[2] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki,[3] and begot an august child: His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi[4] (one Deity). The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tsukida.[5]

[SECT. LVI.—EMPEROR AN-NEI.]

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi dwelt in the palace of Ukiana at Kata-shiha,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Akuto-hime,[2] daughter of the Departmental Lord Haye,[3] elder brother of Kaha-mata-bime, and begot august children: His Augustness Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone,[4] next His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo,[5] next

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[2] *I.e.*, the Princess of Kahamata, a place in Kahachi. The name signifies "river fork." For the omission in this and a few other places of the words "daughter of," etc., which might be expected instead of "ancestress," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 4.

[3] *Shiki no agata-nushi.* Shiki is in Yamato. The signification of the name seems to be "stone castle."

[4] *Shiki-tsu-hiko* signifies "Prince of Shiki." Motowori believes Tamade to be in like manner the name of a place, while he interprets *mi* as the common abbreviation of the Honorific(?) *mimi.*

[5] A place in Yamato. Motowori derives the name from *tsuki* (modern *toki*), the "ibis," and *ta*, "rice-field."

[1] In Kahachi: *uki-ana* signifies "floating hole." *Kata-shiha* is said to signify "hard rock" (*kata-iha*); but this seems doubtful, and the reading given by the characters in the text is not *Kata-shiha*, but *Kata-shiho.*

[2] *I.e.*, Princess of Akuto, or Akuta, — for the latter form of the name is more common. There exists a place thus called in Settsu. The derivation of the word is obscure.

[3] *Agata-nushi Haye.* The reading of this name is obscure, and its derivation uncertain.

[4] *Irone* signifies "elder brother" or "elder sister." The rest of the compound is obscure.

[5] The first three elements of the compound signify "Great Yamato Prince." The last two are obscure, but Motowori identifies *suki* with *shiki* (see Note 3 to preceding Sect.).

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko.[6] Of the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign,—three Deities,—His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. There were two Kings,[7] children of the next [brother], His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko. One child[8] (was the ancestor of the Territorial Lords of Suchi in Iga,[9] of the Territorial Lords of Nabari,[10] and of the Territorial Lords of Minu);[11] one child,[12] His Augustness Wa-chi-tsumi,[13] dwelt in the palace of Miwi in Ahaji.[14] So this King had two daughters: the name of the

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6 *I.e.*, "Prince of Shiki"; so called, it is supposed, with reference to the place of residence of his grandfather.

7 The character thus translated is 王, of which "King" is the original and proper signification. To judge by some other passages in the ancient histories, it had not yet in the 8th century altogether paled to the lesser meaning of "prince," which has belonged to it in later times when denoting Japanese personages. It is still, as far as possible, used to denote the rulers of all countries excepting Japan, the zealous admirers of the native literature and institutions even designating by it the Emperor of China, who, one would have thought, had a special right to the more Honorific title of Emperor, which his own subjects were the first to invent. On the whole, therefore, "King" seems to be the most appropriate rendering. The characters 女王 are, by analogy, rendered "Queen."

8 The text has "descendant;" but it must here be corrupt or at least faulty, as may be seen by the omission of the proper name.

9 *Iga no Suchi no inaki.* The etymology of *Iga* and that of *Suchi* are alike obscure. See however Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 13, for the traditional derivation of the former. It is the name of a small province, which in very ancient times formed part of the province of Ise.

10 *Nabari no inaki.* Nabari is in Iga. The name signifies "hiding."

11 *Minu no inaki.* Minu, not to be confounded with the province of the same name, is a place in Iga. The name probably signifies "three moors."

12 *I.e.*, the other child.

13 Motowori reads *Chichitsumi.* In any case, the name remains obscure.

14 For Ahaji see Sect. VI, Note 3. *Mi-wi* signifies "august well,"

elder was Hahe-irone,[15] and another name for her was Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are;[16] the name of the younger was Hahe-irodo.[17] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-nine. Augustum mausoleum est in privatis partibus* Montis Unebi.[18]

[SECT. LVII.—EMPEROR I-TOKU.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo dwelt in the palace of Sakahiwo at Karu,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded her Augustness Princess Futo-ma-waka,[2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Ihi-bi,[3] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-

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and the name is traced to the custom of bringing water from the Island of Ahaji for use in the Imperial Palace, as mentioned in Sect. CXXIX of the present work, and elsewhere in the early literature.

[15] *Irone* means "elder sister." *Hahe* is of uncertain import, it being written with completely different characters in the two histories.

[16] *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto.* *Oho-yamato-kuni* signifies "the land of Great Yamato," and *hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." Motowori suggests that *are*, which is an obscure word, may signify "pure."

[17] *Irodo* signifies "younger sister." For *hahe conf.* Note 15.

[18] *Scil.* in interiori parte montis, *e. g.* in spelunca. Motowori explains the use of the term by reference to such words as *foot*, where the name of a portion of the human body is applied to a mountain. In Japanese there are others besides *ashi* ("foot"), such as *itadaki*, *hara*, and *koshi*.

* Vagina, womb, English good enough.—W.G.A.

[1] Karu, which still remains as a village in the province of Yamato, was famous down to the early historical days of Japan, being often mentioned by the poets. The derivation of the name is quite uncertain. *Sakahi-wo* probably signifies "boundary mound."

[2] *Futo-ma-waka-hime-no-mikoto.* The compound signifies "vast, true, and young princess."

[3] *Ihi-bi-hime-no-mikoto.* The name seems to signify "rice-sun-princess."

shine,[5] next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko[6] (two Deities). So His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Chinu,[7] of the Lords of Take in Tajima,[8] and of the Territorial Lords of Ashiwi).[9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is above the Vale of Manago by Mount Unebi.[10]

[SECT, LVIII.—EMPEROR KŌ-SHŌ.]

His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine dwelt at the palace of Waki-no-kami in Kadzuraki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Yoso-taho,[2] younger sister of Oki-tsu-yoso,[3] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness

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[4] See Sect. LV, Note 3.

[5] The import of this name is obscure.

[6] *I.e.*, perhaps "rudder prince."

[7] *Chinu no wake.* For Chinu see Sect. XLIV, Notes 35 and 36.

[8] *Tajima no Take no wake.* Motowori tells us that no mention of any place called Take in the province of Tajima is to be found in any other book.

[9] *Ashiwi no inaki.* The same remark applies to this name as to the last. The two "gentile names" here mentioned are equally unknown except from this passage.

[10] *Unebi-yama no Manago-dani.* It is in Yamato, and is now called *Masago.* The name signifies "a sandy place, or desert."

[1] In Yamato. The name of Waki-no-kami is of uncertain derivation. In the "Chronicles" the Emperor Kō-shō is said to have "dwelt at the palace of Ikegokoro at Waki-no-kami." For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

[2] *Yoso-taho-bime-no-mikoto.* Here witten phonetically, this name appears in the "Chronicles" written with characters according to which the signification of "perfectly ornamented princess" should be attributed to it.

[3] The signification of this name is obscure, but it seems to be connected in some way with that of the other sister.

[4] *Wohari no murazhi.*

Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko,[5] and next His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito[6] (two Deities). Now the younger brother, His Augustness Tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The elder brother His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kasuga,[7] the Grandees of Ohoyake,[8] the Grandees of Ahata,[9] the Grandees of Wonu,[10] the Grandees of Kaki-no-moto,[11] the Grandees of Ichihiwi,[12] the Grandees of Ohosaka,[13] the Grandees of Ana,[14] the Grandees of Taki,[15] the Grandees of Haguri,[16] the Grandees of

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[5] *I.e.*, "heavenly great perfect prince."

[6] *I.e.*, "great Yamato perfect prince, country great man." This name appears in an abbreviated form in the next sentence.

[7] *Kasuga no omi.* Kasuga is a celebrated place in the province of Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin, though the "Catalogue of Family Names" gives a story referring it to *Kasu-gaki* (糟垣), *i.e.*, "lees fence." The curious combination of characters with which Kasuga is written,—春日,—may be traced to the Pillow-Word *haru-hi no* (春日之) which was not unnaturally prefixed to a name which so much resembled the Verb *kasumu*, "to be misty."

[8] *Ohoyake no omi.* Ohoyake is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "great granary."

[9] *Ahata no omi.* Ahata is a place in Yamashiro. The name signifies "millet-field."

[10] *Wonu no omi.* Wonu is a place in Afumi. The name signifies "little moor."

[11] *Kakinomoto-no-omi.* *Kaki-no-moto* signifies "at the bottom of the persimmon-tree," and the name is said by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to have been granted to this family in allusion to a persimmon-tree which grew near their gate. This name was rendered illustrious in the eighth century by the poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro (see the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 217 *et seq.*).

[12] *Ichihiwi no omi.* Ichihiwi is in Yamato. The name may signify "oak-well."

[13] *Ohosaka no omi.* Ohosaka is a place in Bingo. The name signifies "great hill, or pass."

[14] *Ana no omi.* Ana is a department in Bingo. The name signifies "hole" or "cave."

[15] *Taki no omi.* Taki is a district in Tamba. The name, which

Chita,[17] the Grandees of Muza,[18] the Grandees of Tsunuyama,[19] the Dukes of Ihitaka in Ise,[20] the Dukes of Ichishi,[21] and the Rulers of the Land of Chika-tsu-Afumi).[22]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-three. His august mausoleum is on Mount Hakata[23] at Waki-no-kami.

[SECT. LIX.—EMPEROR KŌ-AN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito dwelt in the palace of Akidzushima at Muro[1] in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded his niece Her Augustness Princess Oshika,[2] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi,[3] next His

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is a common one in Japan, means "waterfall"

[16] *Haguri no omi.* Haguri is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

[17] *Chita no omi.* Chita is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

[18] *Muza no omi.* Muza is a district in Kadzusa. The name seems to be a corruption of the Chinese words 武射, "warlike archer."

[19] *Tsunuyama no omi.* The family, the place, and the signification of the name are alike obscure.

[20] *Ise no Ihitaka no kimi.* Ihitaka is the name of a district, and is traced to the signification of "abundant rice."

[21] *Ichishi no kimi.* Ichishi is a district in Ise. The signification of the name is obscure.

[22] *Chika-tsu-Afumi no kuni-no-miyatsuko.* For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect, XXIX, Note 20.

[23] In Yamato. The signification of the name is obscure.

[1] In Yamato. *Muro* signifies "cave" or "pit." *Aki-dzu-shima,* "the Island of the Dragon-Fly," is frequently used as an alternative name of Japan (see Sect. V, Note 26). See also the Emperor Yū-riyaku's song given in Sect. CLVI.

[2] *Oshika-hime-no-mikoto.* The name *Oshika,* which is obscure, appears in the "Chronicles" under the form of *Oshi,* which has generally been interpreted by Motowori (whom the translator follows) as a corruption of *ohoshi,* "great." This version of the name makes it harmonize with that of the Princess's father.

[3] See Sect. LX, Note 11.

Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni[4] (two Deities). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tamade.[5]

[SECT. LX.—EMPEROR KŌ-REI.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni dwelt at the palace of Ihodo at Kuruda,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuhashi,[2] daughter of Ohome,[3] ancestor of the Departmental Lords of Tohochi,[4] and begot an august child: His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru[5] (one Deity). Again he wedded Princess Chiji-haya-ma-waka of Kasuga,[6] and begot an august child: Her Augustness Princess Chiji-haya[7] (one Deity). Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are,[8] he begot august children: Her Augustness Yamato-to-mo-so-

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[4] This name seems to signify "Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel."

[5] *Tamade no woka.* In Yamato. For this name see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, pp. 37–38.

[1] In Yamato. *Iho-do* signifies "hut door." *Kuru-da* (*Kuro-da* would be the more natural reading) signifies "black rice-field."

[2] *Kuhashi-hime-no-mikoto.* The name signifies "beautiful princess."

[3] This seems to have been originally not a personal name, but the name of a place in Wohari.

[4] *Tohochi no agata-nushi.* Tohochi is a district in Yamato. The name seems to signify "ten marts."

[5] This name signifies "great Yamato's lord prince who rules the land."

[6] *Kasuga-no-chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime.* This name probably signifies "the thousand-fold brilliant truly young princess of Kasuga." For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7.

[7] *Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto, i.e.,* probably "thousand-fold brilliant princess."

[8] *Oho-yamato--kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto.* See Sect. LVI, Note 16.

bime;[9] next His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake;[10] next His Augustness Hiko-isa-seri-biko,[11] another name for whom is His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko; next Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime[12] (four Deities). Again he wedded Hahe-irodo,[13] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Are, and begot august children: His Augustness Hiko-same-ma,[14] next His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko[15] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all eleven Deities (five kings and three queens) So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The two Deities His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko and His Augustness Waka-take-kibi-tsu-hiko together set sacred jars[16] at the front[17] of the River Hi[18] in Harima;[19] and

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[9] Motowori assigns to this name the signification of "Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious princess," and has a very long note on the subject in Vol. XXI, p. 42, *et. seq.*

[10] The signification of this name is not clear.

[11] *I.e.*, "prince valorously advancing prince." The alternative name signifies "Great Prince of Kibi," and both refer to his conquest of the province of Kibi as related a little further on in this Section. Motowori gives good reasons for supposing that *Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi, i.e.*, "He Who Completely Advances in Great Kibi," is but another form of the same name, erroneously inserted in the account of the preceding reign (see Sect. LIX, Note 3).

[12] *I.e.*, perhaps "Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental princess." The name resembles that of the elder sister.

[13] For this and the next following names see Sect. LVI, Notes 17 and 16 respectively.

[14] This name is obscure, and differs from that given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," where we read Sashima. The latter sounds more authentic.

[15] *I.e.*, "the young prince the brave prince of Kibi." This name refers to his conquest of Kibi, as related a few lines further on.

[16] *I.e.*, earthenware jars of a moderate size, probably intended to hold the rice-liquor offered to the gods. Being easily broken, they were planted in the ground up to a certain height.*

* The ancient jars had in very many cases rounded bottoms, so

making Harima the mouth of the road,[20] subdued and pacified the Land of Kibi. So His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kamu-tsu-michi in Kibi).[21] The next, His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Shimo-tsu-michi in Kibi,[22] and of the

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that to make them stand upright it would be necessary to plant them in the ground.—W.G.A.

[17] The probable meaning of this peculiar expression is "a bend in the river."

[18] Written with the character, 氷, "ice," which may however be only phonetic. No river of this name is anywhere else mentioned as flowing through the province of Harima, and one is tempted to suppose that there is some confusion with the celebrated river Hi, which figures so frequently in the Idzumo cycle of legends.

[19] One of the central provinces of Japan, on the northern shores of the Inland Sea. Some derive the name from *hagi-hara*, "lespedeza moor," while others connect it with *hari*, a "needle." Neither etymology has much to recommend it.

[20] *I.e.*, "their point of departure." It must also be remembered that "road" came to have the sense of "circuit" or "province," so that we might translate this phrase by "the commencement of the circuit." *Conf.* such denominations as *Koshi no michi no kuchi*, *Koshi no michi no naka*, and *Koshi no michi no shiri* for what are in modern parlance the provinces of Echizen, Etchiū and Echigo. The region nearest to the capital was called the mouth, while equally graphic designations were bestowed on the more remote districts. It was, as we learn by comparison with a passage in the history of the reign of the Emperor Sū-jin (see Sect. LXVI, Note 13), customary thus to plant earthenware jars in the earth at the point whence an army started on an expedition, this being considered a means of invoking upon it the blessing of the gods. Not only so, but down to the Middle Ages travellers in general were in the habit of worshipping at the shrine of the god of roads. For "road" in the sense of "circuit," "province," or "administrative division" see Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

[21] *Kibi no kamu-tsu-michi no omi. Kamu-tsu-michi, i.e.*, "the Upper Road" or "Circuit," was the ancient name of the province of Bizen (or of a portion of it), which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

[22] *Kibi no shimo-tsu-michi no omi. Shimo-tsu-michi* means "the lower road," and was the ancient name of a portion of the province

Grandees of Kasa).[23] The next His Augustness Hiko-same-ma (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uzhika in Harima).[24] The next, His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tonami in Koshi,[25] of the Grandees of Kunisaki in the land of Toyo,[26] of the Dukes of Ihobara,[27] and of the Maritime Suzerains of Tsunuga).[28] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and six. His august mausoleum is at Umasaka at Katawoka.[29]

[SECT. LXI.—EMPEROR KŌ-GEN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru dwelt in the palace of Sakahi-bara at Karu,[1] and ruled the Empire.

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of Bitchiū, which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

[23] *Kasa no omi, i.e.,* "Grandees of the Hat," a "gentile name" which is referred by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to an incident in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, which he however by no means clearly relates (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, pp. 57–58).

[24] *Harima no Uzhika no omi.* Uzhika is the name of a place. It is written with characters signifying "cow and deer," but the true derivation is quite uncertain.

[25] *Koshi no Tonami no omi.* Tonami is a district in Etchiū. The signification of the name is uncertain.

[26] *Toyo-kuni no Kunisaki no omi.* Kunisaki is a district in Bungo. The name seems to signify "land's end."

[27] *Ihobara no kimi.* Ihobara is a district in Suruga. The signification of the name is obscure.

[28] *Tsunuga no ama no atahe.* For Tsunuga see Sect. CI, Notes 3 and 12. Perhaps the name should rather be rendered "the Suzerains of Ama in Tsunuga," as Ama may, after all, as Motowori suggests, be here the name of a place.

[29] In the province ot Yamato. *Kata-woka* signifies "side-mound" or "incomplete mound." *Uma-saka* signifies "horse-hill" or "horse-pass." Umasaka should perhaps be understood as the particular designation of a portion of the ascent of Katawoka, which is mentioned in the "Chronicles" as the name of a mountain.

[1] In Yamato. For Kuru see Sect. LVII, Note 1. *Sakahi-bara* signifies "boundary moor."

This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Utsu-shiko-me,[2] younger sister of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-biko,[5] next His Augustness Sukuna-biko-take-wi-gokoro;[6] next His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi[7] (three Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me,[8] daughter of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, he begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-futsu-oshi-no-makoto.[9] Again, wedding Princess Haniyasu,[10] daughter of Awotama[11] of Kafuchi, he begot an august child: His Augustness Take-haniyasu-biko[12] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered in all five Deities]. So His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, His Augustness Oho-biko, were His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake[13] (ancestor of the Grandees of Abe);[14] next His Augustness

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[2] *I.e.*, perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming female."

[3] *I.e.*, perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming male."

[4] *Hodzumi no omi.* There are several places called Hodzumi in various provinces. The name appears to signify "piling up rice-ears."

[5] *I.e.*, "great prince."

[6] *I.e.*, "little prince-fierce-boar-heart," the boar being known for its savage desposition.

[7] Excluding the last member of the compound, this name signifies "young-Yamato-lord-prince-great." *Bibi* is identified by Motowori with the word *mimi*, which so often recurs in proper names (see Sect. XIII, Note 18).

[8] Motowori explains this name in the sense of "brilliant-alarming-female," but some doubt must attach to it.

[9] *I.e.*, perhaps, "prince vast-great-truth."

[10] *Hani-yasu-bime*, This name has already been met with in Sect. VII, Note 3. Motowori however supposes that in this place Haniyasu should be considered to be the name of a place in Yamato.

[11] *I.e.*, a man called "green jewel" who lived in the province of Kafuchi.

[12] *Take* signifies "brave." For the rest of the name see Note 10.

[13] *Take* signifies "brave." *Wake* is either "young" or "lord." For *Nuna-kaha* see Sect. LI, Note 31.

Hiko-inakoshi-wake.[15] (This was the ancestor of the Butler Grandees.)[16] His Augustness Hiko-futsu-oshi-no-makoto wedded Princess Takachina of Kadzuraki,[17] younger sister of Oho-nabi,[18] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari,[19] and begot a child: the Noble Umashi Uchi.[20] (This was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uchi in Yamashiro.)[21] Again, wedding Princess Yama-shita-kage,[22] younger sister of Udzu-hiko,[23] ancestor of the Rulers of the Lord of Ki,[24] he begot a child: the Noble Take-Uchi.[25]

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[14] *Abe no omi.* There are several places called Abe, and it is doubtful to which of them the text here refers.

[15] The signification of *inakoshi* seems to be "rice-chariot." *Hiko* is "prince," and *wake* either "young" or "lord."

[16] *Kashihade no omi.* This name is traditionally referred to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Kei-kō, who is said to have bestowed it on one of his attendants who served up to him a particularly savoury dish of shell-fish. "Butlers" (perhaps the word might also be rendered "cooks") have been mentioned towards the end of Sect. XXXII, and again in the legend of Jim-mu's slaughter of the "earth-spiders" related in Sect. XLVIII.

[17] *Kadzuraki-no-takachina-bime-no-mikoto.* The signification of *Takachina* is obscure.

[18] By aphæresis for *Oho-inabi*, the form of the name given in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages," itself perhaps standing by apocope for *Oho-ina-biko*, which would signify "great rice-prince."

[19] *Wohari no murazhi.*

[20] *Umashi Uchi no sukune. Umashi* signifies "sweet," and *Uchi* is the name of a place in Yamashiro.

[21] *Yamashiro no Uchi no omi.*

[22] This name may be rendered literally "the shade beneath the mountains"; but the signification is "the glow from the autumn leaves on the mountain-side."

[23] *I.e.*, probably "wonderful (or precious) prince."

[24] *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko no oya.*

[25] *Take-Uchi no sukune. Take* signifies "brave," and *Uchi* is the name of a district in Yamato. The common, but erroneous, reading of this name is *Take no Uchi no sukune.* This celebrated personage, who may be styled the Methuselah of Japan, is said to have lived during the reigns of five Emperors, who themselves averaged over a

The children of this Noble Take-Uchi [numbered] in all nine (seven males and two females),—[namely] the Noble of Hata-no-Yashiro,[26] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Hata,[27] of the Grandees of Hayashi,[28] of the Grandees of Hami,[29] of the Grandees of Hoshikaha,[30] of the Grandees of Afumi,[31] and of the Dukes of the Hatsuse Tribe);[32] next the Noble Kose-no-Wo-Kara[33] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kose,[34] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe,[35] and of the Grandees of the Karu Tribe);[36] next the Noble Soga no Ishikaha[37] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Soga,[38] of the Grandees of Kahanobe[39] of the Grandees of Tanaka,[40]

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hundred years of life each. His own age is variously given as 255, 260, etc., up to 360 years.

[26] *Hata no Yashiro no sukune.* *Hata* and *Yashiro* are supposed by Motowori to be the names of places in Yamato. *Yashiro* signifies "shrine." *Hata* is of uncertain derivation.

[27] *Hata no omi.*

[28] *Hayashi no omi.* Hayashi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and signifies "forest."

[29] *Hami no omi.* There is a Hami in Afumi and another in Tamba. The signification of the name is obscure.

[30] *Hoshikaha no omi.* Hoshikaha is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "star river."

[31] *Afumi no omi.* For Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

[32] *Hatsuse-be no Kimi.* For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8.

[33] *Kose no Wo-kara no sukune.* Kose is the name of a place in Yamato. The meaning of Wo-kara is obscure.

[34] *Kose no omi.*

[35] *Sazakibe no omi.* See Sect. LIII, Note 10.

[36] *Kurube no omi.*

[37] *Soga no Ishikaha no sukune.* Soga is a place in Yamato, and Ishikaha a district in Kahachi. In cases like this it must generally be presumed that the family had two seats, or was divided into two branches residing in different places. Sometimes, however, the original seat and that to which the family afterwards removed are meant to be indicated.

[38] *Soga no omi.* The signification of Soga is obscure.

[39] *Kahanobe no omi.* Kahanobe is the name of a district in Settsu, and signifies "river-bank."

[40] *Tanaka no omi.* Tanaka is the name of a place in Yamato,

of the Grandees of Takamuko,[41] of the Grandees of Woharida,[42] of the Grandees of Sakurawi,[43] and of the Grandees of Kishida);[44] next the Noble Heguri-no-Tsuku,[45] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri,[46] of the Grandees of Sawara,[47] and of the Uma-mi-kuhi Chiefs);[48] next the Noble Ki-no-Tsunu[49] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Ki,[50] of the Grandees of Tsunu,[51] and of the Grandees of Sakamoto);[52] next Princess Mato of Kume,[53] next

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and signifies "among the rice-fields."

41 *Takamuko no omi.* Takamuko seems to be the name of a place in Echizen. Its signification is uncertain.

42 *Woharida no omi.* Woharida is a place in Yamato. The name seems to mean "little ploughed field."

43 *Sakurawi no omi.* Sakurawi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and signifies "cherry-tree well."

44 *Kishida no omi.* Kishida is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is not clear.

45 *Heguri no Tsuku no sukune.* Heguri is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain signification. *Tsuku* (modern *dzuku*), "owl," is a name which is referred to a tradition that will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

46 *Heguri no omi.*

47 *Sawara no omi.* Sawara was perhaps a district in Chikuzen. The signification of the name is obscure.

48 *Uma-mi-kuhi no murazhi.* The literal significance of the characters with which *Uma-mi-kuhi* is written is "horse august post." But whether this name had any relation to horses, or whether it should simply be regarded as the name of a place is quite uncertain.

49 *Ki no Tsunu no sukune.* Ki is the name of a province, and Tsunu that of a district in another province,—the province of Suhau (Suwō). *Conf.* Note 37.

50 *Ki no omi.*

51 *Tsunu no omi.*

52 *Sakamoto no omi.* Sakamoto is the name of a place in Idzumi, and signifies "base of the hill."

53 *Kume no Ma-ito-hime.* *Kume* may be, as Motowori says, the name of a place. But see Sect. XXXIV, Note 7. In any case the place, if it existed, was probably called after some person of the name of Kume. The signification of Ma-ito is obscure.

Princess Nu-no-iro;[54] next Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko[55] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tamade,[56] of the Grandees of Ikuha,[57] of the Grandees of Ikuye[58] and of the Grandees of Agina);[59] moreover [there was] the Noble Waku-go[60] (the ancestor of the Grandees of Yenuma).[61] This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the mound in the middle of the Pool of Tsurugi.[62]

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[54] *Nu-no-iro-hime.* The meaning of this name is obscure.

[55] Kadzuraki is the already frequently mentioned name of a district in Yamato, and Nagaye is likewise the name of a place,—whether in Yamato or in Kahachi is not certain. It signifies "long inlet." Motowori thinks that the syllable *so* in this place is the same as the *so* of *kuma-so*, and signifies "valiant" or "fierce."

[56] *Tamade no omi.* There is a Tamade in Yamato and another in in Kahachi. The signification of the name is uncertain.

[57] *Ikuha no omi.* The "Chronicles of Japan" tell us that the original form of this name *Ikuha* was *uki-ha, i.e.*, "floating leaf," and give a story to account for it. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, pp. 36–37, where the reason traditionally given to explain the fact of the name Ikuha being written with the character 的 is also mentioned at length.

[58] *Ikuye no omi.* Ikuye must have been the name of a place; but nothing is known of it.

[59] *Agina no omi.* The same observation applies to this as to the preceding name.

[60] *Waku-go no sukune.* *Waku-go* signifies "young child" or "youth," an Honorific designation.

[61] *Yenuma no omi.* Yenuma is the name of a district in Kaga, and signifies "inlet-lagoon."

[62] In Yamato. This pool or lake* is often mentioned in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and was celebrated for its lotus-flowers. We hear of it in the "Chronicles of Japan," as having been dug in the reign of the Emperor Ō-Jin, but it was probably, like many others, a natural pool or marsh, which was afterwards improved. The name signifies "sabre."

* Most of the old misasagi are surrounded by an artificial lake.—W.G.A.

[SECT. LXII.—EMPEROR KAI-KUWA.]

His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi dwelt in the palace of Izakaha at Kasuga,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Princess of Takanu,[2] daughter of Yugori[3] the Great Departmental Lord of Taniha,[4] and begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-yumusumi,[5] (one Deity). Again he wedded his step-mother, Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me,[6] and begot august children: His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe,[7] next Her Augustness Mima-tsu-hime[8] (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Oke-tsu-hime,[9] younger sister of His Augustness Hiko-kuni-oketsu,[10] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[11] and begot an august child: King

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[1] For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7. Izakaha is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is uncertain.

[2] *Takanu-hime.* Takanu is the name of a district in Tango, and signifies "bamboo moor."

[3] The signification of this name is quite obscure.

[4] *Taniha no oho-agata-nushi. Taniha* (modern *Tamba*) is the name of a province (formerly including the province of Tango) in Central Japan. It is supposed to mean "the place of rice-fields," the rice offered at the shrine of the Sun-Goddess in Ise being brought thence.

[5] *Hiko* signifies "prince." The other syllables of the name are obscure.

[6] See Sect, LXI, Note 8.

[7] *Biko* (*hiko*) signifies "prince." The other elements of this compound are obscure.

[8] One is tempted to render this name by Princess of Mima. But there is no authority for regarding Mima either in this or in the preceding personal name as originally the name of a place.

[9] Motowori has no explanation to offer of the syllables Oke-tsu. *Hime* means "princess."

[10] *Hiko* means "prince" and *kuni* means "country."

[11] *Wani no omi. Wani* is a place in Yamato, and there is a pass or hill of that name (*Wani-zaka*). The only signification belonging to the word *wani* is "crocodile."

Hiko-imasu[12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Washi,[13] daughter of the Noble Kadzuraki-no-tarumi,[14] he begot an august child: King Take-tayo-hadzura-wake[15] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all five Deities (four Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Mi-maki-iri-biko-iniwe [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, King Hiko-yumusumi were: King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne,[16] next King Sanugi-tari-ne[17] (two Kings). There were five Deities daughters of these two Kings. Next King Hiko-imasu wedded the Princess of Yena in Yamashiro,[18] another name for whom was Karibata-tobe,[19] and begot children: King Oho-mata,[20] next King Wo-mata,[21] next King Noble [of?] Shibumi[22] (three Deities).

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12 *Hiko-imasu no miko.* Signification obscure.

13 Or "the Princess of Washi" or "the Eagle Princess." In Japanese *Washi-hime.*

14 *Kadzuraki* is the name of a district in Yamato, and Motowori believes Tarumi to be the name of a place in Settsu.*

* There is a Tarumi near Akashi.—W.G.A.

15 *Take-toyo-hadzura-wake no miko.* The first two elements of the compound signify respectively "brave" and "luxuriant," while the last probably means "lord." The signification of *hadzura* is obscure.

16 *Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne no miko.* Tsutsuki being the name of a district in Yamashiro, the whole compound signifies "prince great sufficing lord of Tsutsuki" or "prince sufficing lord of great Tsutsuki."

17 *Sanugi-tari-ne no miko, i.e.,* "prince sufficing lord of Sanugi," (Sanuki,—see Sect. V, Note 6).

18 *Yamashiro no Yena tsu Hime.* Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Yena that of a place in Settsu. The signification of the latter name is obscure.

19 Motowori believes *Karibata* to be the name of a place, and *tobe* (*to-me*) to signify "old woman," as in the name *I-shi-ko-ri-do-me,* which latter is however extremely obscure (see Sect. XVI, Note 12).

20 *Oho-mata no miko.* The signification of this name and of the parallel name of the younger brother is obscure.

21 *Wo-mata no miko.*

22 *Shibumi no Sukune no miko.* Shibumi is probably the name of a place, there being a Shibumi in Ise.

Again, wedding Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome,[23] daughter of Take-kuni-katsu-tome, of Kasuga,[24] he begot children: King Saho-biko;[25] next King Wo-zaho;[26] next Her Augustness Saho-bime,[27] another name for whom is Sahaji-hime[28] (Her Augustness Saho-bime here mentioned was consort of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume);[29] and King Muro-biko[30] (four Deities). Again, wedding Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime,[31] daughter of the Heavenly Deity Mikage,[32] who is held in reverence by the deacons of Mikami in Chika-tsu-Afumi,[33] he begot children: King Tatasu-michi-

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[23] *Saho* is the name of a well-known place in Yamato, and *Kurami* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Wakasa. Both names are obscure. *Oho* means "great," and *tome*, according to Motowori, means "old woman" or simply "female." Conf. Note 19.

[24] *Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome.* Motowori supposes this to be the name, not of the father, but the mother of the princess just mentioned. *Take* signifies "brave," and *kuni* "land." The meaning of *katsu* is obscure.

[25] *Soho-biko no miko, i.e.,* "prince of Saho."

[26] *Wo-zaho no miko, i.e.,* "little (*q.d.* 'younger') prince of Saho."

[27] *I.e.,* the princess of Saho.

[28] It is uncertain whether we should understand this name to signify "princess Sahaji" or "the princess of Sahaji," but the latter seems the more probable.

[29] *I.e.,* the Emperor Sui-nin.

[30] *Muro-biko no miko. Muro-biko* signifies "Prince of Muro," Muro being a place in Yamato. It signifies "dwelling" and specifically "cave."

[31] *I.e.,* "flourishing and good princess of Okinaga," the latter being the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). Its signification is not clear.

[32] *Ame no Mikage no kami.* The signification of Mikage is obscure, as is also the connection between this deity and the deacons of Mikami.

[33] The signification of the name Mikami is obscure. The word rendered "deacon" is *hafuri*, the name of an inferior class of Shintō priests. See for a discussion of the etymology of the word, etc., Mr. Satow's remarks on p. 112 of Vol. VII, Pt. II, of these Transactions. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

no-ushi, Prince of Taniha;[34] next King Midzuho-no-ma-waka;[35] next King Kamu-oho-ne,[36] another name for whom is King Yatsuri-iri-biko;[37] next Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime;[38] next Mimi-tsu-hime[39] (five Deities). Again, wedding his mother's younger sister Her Augustness Woke-tsu-hime,[40] he begot children: King Ma-waka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro;[41] next King Hiko-osu;[42] next King Iri-ne[43] (three Deities). Altogether the children of King Hiko-imasu [numbered] in all eleven Kings. So the children of the elder brother King Oho-mata were: King Ake-tatsu;[44] next King Unakami[45] (two Deities). This King Ake-tatsu (was the ancestor of the Dukes of the Homuji Tribe in Ise[46] and of the Rulers of Sana in Ise[47]). King

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[34] *Taniha no hiko Tatasu-michi-no-ushi no miko.* The signification of *Tatasu* is obscure, but we may accept it as the personal name of the worthy here mentioned. *Michi-no-ushi* means "master of the road," *i.e.*, "lord of the province."

[35] *Midzuho no ma-waka no miko, i.e.*, "the True Young King of Midzuho," Midzuho being the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "fresh young rice-ears."

[36] *Kamu-oho-ne no miko, i.e.*, probably, "prince divine great lord."

[37] *Yatsuri-iri-biko no miko.* Yatsuri is the name of a village in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. The signification of *iri* is obscure.

[38] *I-ho* signifies "five hundred" and *yori* probably signifies "good." The compound may therefore be taken to mean "manifoldly excellent princess of Midzuho."

[39] *I.e.*, probably "the Princess Miwi" (Miwi-dera in Afumi). *Mi-wi* signifies "three wells."

[40] This name is parallel to that which has been commented on in Note 9 to this Section.

[41] *Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko.* All the elements of this compound have already appeared in this Section.

[42] *Hiko-osu no miko.* The signification of *osu* is obscure.

[43] *Iri-ne no miko.* Signification obscure.

[44] *Ake-tatsu no miko.* See Sect. LXXII, Note 20.

[45] *Unakami no miko.* See Sect. LXXII, Note 19.

[46] *Ise no Homuji-be no kimi.* See the mention of the establishment of this Clan at the end of Sect. LXXII.

[47] *Ise no Sana no miyatsuko.* The etymology of Sana is obscure.

Una-kami (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Himeda[48]). The next King Wo-mata (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Magari in Tagima[49]). The next King Noble Shibumi (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Sasa).[50] The next King Saho-biko (was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Kusaka Tribe[51] and of the Rulers of the Land of Kahi).[52] The next, King Wo-zaho (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kadzunu[53] and the Lords of Kanu in Chika-tsu-Afumi).[54] The next King Muro-biko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Mimi in Wakasa).[55] King Michi-no-ushi wedded the Lady Masu of Kahakami in Taniha,[56] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Hibasu;[57] next Her Augustness Princess Matonu;[58] next Her Augustness Oho-hime;[59] next King Mi-kado-wake[60] (four Deities). This King Mikado-wake (was the ancestor of the

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[48] *Himeda no kimi.* Himeda is a place in Afumi. The signification of the name is obscure.

[49] *Tagima no Magari no kimi.* Tagima is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. Magari is the name of a place, and means "crook" or "bend."

[50] *Sasa no kimi.* Sasa is the name of a place in Iga, and is of uncertain signification.

[51] *Kusaka-be no murazhi.*

[52] *Kahi no kuni no miyatsuko.* For Kahi see Sect. LXXXVI, Note 1.

[53] *Kadzunu no wake.* Kadzunu is the name of a district in Yamashiro, and signifies "pueraria moor."

[54] *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kanu no wake.* Kanu is a village in Afumi. The name is written with characters signifying "mosquito moor."

[55] *Wakasa no Mimi no wake.* Mimi is the name of a village, and is of uncertain signification.

[56] *Taniha no Kahakami no Masu no iratsume.* Masu is of uncertain derivation. Kahakami is the name of a village, now comprised in the province of Tango. It signifies "river-head."

[57] *Hibasu-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

[58] *Matonu-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

[59] *I.e.,* "the younger princess."

[60] This name, which is written 朝廷別王, is curious, and Motowori has no suggestion to make touching its interpretation.

Lords of Ho in Mikaha).[61] Prince Midzuho-no-ma-waka, younger brother of this King Michi-no-ushi, (was the ancestor of the Suzerains of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi).[62] The next, King Kamu-oho-be (was the ancestor of the [Rulers of] the Land of Minu,[63] of the Rulers of the land of Motosu,[64] and of the Chiefs of the Nagahata Tribe).[65] The next, King Mawaka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yama-shiro wedded Princess Ajisaha of Mone,[66] daughter of his younger brother* Iri-ne, and begot a child: King Kani-me-ikadzuchi.[67] This King wedded Princess Takaki,[68] daughter of the Grandee Tohotsu of Taniha;[69] and begot a child: King Noble Okinaga.[70] This King wedded the Princess of Takanuka in Kadzuraki,[71] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi;[72] next Her Augustness Sora-tsu-hime;[73] next

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[61] *Mikaha no Ho no wake.* Ho is the name of a district, and is of obscure derivation. Mikaha is the name of a maritime province. It signifies "three rivers," with reference to two large rivers which flow through it and to another which forms the boundary between it and the province of Wohari.

[62] *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no atahe.* Yasu is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

[63] *Minu no kuni no [miyatsuko].* The word *miyatsuko*, which is not in the text, is supplied in Motowori's *kana* reading.

[64] *Motosu no kuni no miyatsuko.* Motosu is the name of a district in Mino, and seems to signify "original dwelling-place."

[65] *Nagahata-be no murazhi.* Nagahata is the name of a place in Hitachi, and seems to signify "long loom."

[66] *Mone no Ajisaha-bime.* This name is particularly obscure, and Mone probably corrupt.

* By the same mother.

[67] *Kani-me-ikadzuchi no miko.* Motowori thinks that this name signifies "fierce like a crab's eye," with reference perhaps to some personal peculiarity of the prince who bore it.

[68] *Takaki-hime.* This name is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

[69] *Taniha no Tohotsu omi.* This name is obscure.

[70] *Okinaga no sukune no miko.* For Okinaga see Note 31 to this Section.

[71] *Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime.* Takanuka is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "high brow."

[72] *Okinaga-tarashi-hime.* Okinaga is the name of a place (see Note

King Prince Okinaga.[74] (Three Deities. This King was the ancestor of the Dukes of Homuji in Kibi,[75] and of the Dukes of Aso in Harima)[76] Again King Noble Okinaga wedded Princess Inayori of Kahamata,[77] and begot a child: King Oho-tamu-saka.[78] (This was the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Tajima.)[79] The above-mentioned Take-toyo-hadzura-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Chimori,[80] of the Rulers of the Oshinumi Tribe,[81] of the Rulers of the Mina Tribe.[82] of the Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba,[83] of

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31). *Tarashi* is an Honorific designation, signifying literally "sufficient," *i.e.*, "perfect," and is supposed by Motowori to have been bestowed after death on this princess, who was the celebrated conqueror of Korea, and is better known to fame by her "canonical name" of Jingō Kōgō.

[73] *I.e.*, "the princess of the sky."

[74] *Okinaga-hiko no miko.*

[75] *Kibi no Homuji no kimi.* Homuji is the name of a district in the modern province of Bingo, and may perhaps be of Chinese origin.

[76] *Harima no Aso no kimi.* Aso is the name of a place, and is of uncertain origin.

[77] *Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime.* Kahamata ("river-fork") is the name of a place in Kahachi. *Ina* signifies "rice," and *yori* probably signifies "good" in this and numerous other proper names.

[78] *Oho-tamu-saka no miko.* This name is obscure. Motowori thinks that *Tamu-saka* may be the name of a place, and signifying "winding ascent."

[79] *Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko.* For *Tajima* see Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

[80] *Chimori no omi. Chi-mori* signifies "road-keeper," and perhaps we should translate this "gentile name" by "road-keeping grandees," and suppose that anciently they may have performed some function in which the bestowal of it originated.

[81] *Oshinumi-be no miyatsuko.* Oshinumi is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain import.

[82] *Mina-be no miyatsuko.* Perhaps we should rather translate thus, "the Rulers of Minabe," for the name is altogether obscure.

[83] *Inaba no Oshinumi-be.* Motowori supposes a branch of this family, which was originally established in Yamato, to have removed to the province of Inaba.

the Lords of Takanu in Taniha,[84] and of the Abiko of Yosami).[85] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-three. His august mausoleum is at the top of the hill of Izakaha.[86]

[SECT. LXIII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe dwelt at the Palace of Midzu-gaki at Shiki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Tohotsu-no-ayu-me-me-kuhashi-hime,[2] daughter of Arakaha-to-be,[3] Ruler of the land of Ki,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko,[5] and next

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[84] *Taniha no Takanu no wake.* Takanu is the name of a district in the modern province of Tango. It signifies "high moor."

[85] *Yosami no abiko.* Yosami is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin, though the legends connect it with the word *ami*, "a net" (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, pp. 81). It is chiefly known on account of its lake or pool, which is often mentioned in the early poetry. *Abiko* is a very rare "gentile name," which in the "Catalogue of Family Names" is written with the characters 我孫, but is derived by Motowori from 吾彦, *i.e.*, "my grandchildren."

[86] In Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin.

[1] In Yamato. *Shiki* probably signifies "stone castle" (*ishi-ki*). *Midzugaki* signifies "fresh young hedge,"—an Honorific designation of the hedge round the Emperor's abode, which passed into a Proper Name.

[2] According to Motowori's exegesis, this name is a rather remarkable instance of verbal usage, *ayu-me* ("trout-eyes") being not properly part of the name at all, but only a Pillow-Word for what follows, viz., *Me-kuhashi-hime, i.e.*, "Princess Beautiful Eyes." *Tohotsu* is the name of a place in the province of Ki, signifying "far harbour."

[3] *Arakaha* is the name of a place in Ki, and signifies "rough (*i.e.*, impetuous and dangerous) river." The syllables *to-be** are of uncertain import.

* *Tobe*, this shows that Tobe is not confined to women.—W.G.A.

[4] *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko.*

[5] *Toyo* signifies "luxuriant" and *biko* (*hiko*) "prince." The other elements of the compound are obscure.

Her Augustness Toyo-suki-iri-bime[6] (two Deities.) Again, wedding the Great Princess of Ama,[7] ancestress of the Chiefs of Wohari,[8] he begot august children: His Augustness Oho-iri-ki;[9] next His Augustness Ya-saka-no-iri-biko; next Her Augustness Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime; next Her Augustness Towochi-no-iri-bime[10] (four Deities.) Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Mimatsu,[11] daughter of His Augustness Oho-biko, he begot august chidren: His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi;[12] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka;[13] next Her Augustness Princess Kuni-kata;[14] next Her Augustness Princess Chiji-tsuku-yamato;[15] next Her Augustness Princess Iga;[16] next His Augustness Yamato-Hiko[17] (six Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all twelve Deities (seven Kings and five Queens). So His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko (was the ancestor [of the Dukes] of Kami-tsu-ke-nu,[18] and the Dukes of Shimo-tsu-ke-nu).[19]

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[6] *Bime* (*hime*) signifies "princess," and *suki* is identified by Motowori with Shiki, the name of the residence of the monarch whose daughter this princess was.

[7] *Oho-ama-hime.* Ama is the name of a district in Wohari, and probably signifies "fisherman."

[8] *Wohari no murazhi.*

[9] The signification of this and the two following names is uncertain.

[10] *Towochi* is the name of a district in Yamato.

[11] *Mimatsu-hime.* Signification uncertain.

[12] Signification uncertain.

[13] The syllables *ma* and *waka*, literally "true and young" or "truly young" are Honorific. *Iza* is of doubtful signification.

[14] *Kuni-kata-hime. Kuni* means "country" and *kata* here probably signifies "hard" or "firm."

[15] *Chiji-tsuku-yamato-hime. Chiji* probably means "a thousand," and *Yamato* is the name of a province. *Tsuku* is obscure.

[16] *Iga-hime. Iga* is the name of a district and of a province (see Sect. LVI, Note 9).

[17] *I.e.*, "Yamato Prince."

[18] *Kami-tsu-ke-nu* [*no kimi*]. The character 君 (Dukes) is supplied by Motowori. This is the ancient form of the name now pronounced

The younger sister Her Augustness Princess Toyo-Suki (was high-priestess of[20] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise).[21] The next brother, His Augustness Oho-iri-ki (was ancestor of the Grandees of Noto).[22] The next, His Augustness Yamato-hiko,—(in the time of this King a hedge of men was for the first time set at the mausoleum).[23]

Kōdzuke (*conf. Shimo-tsu-ke-nu* corrupted to *Shimotsuke*). The author of the "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" draws attention to the curious fact that, whereas the final syllable *nu* of the original word is dropped in speaking, it is the *ke* which is dropped in writing—the original form of the name, as written, being 上毛野, whereas now only the first two of these three characters are used. Its signification is supposed to be "upper vegetation-moor," *ke* (毛) being regarded as an Archaic general term for trees and grasses, identical with the *ke* that means "hairs," vegetation having struck the early speakers of the language as being similar to the hairs on the bodies of men and beasts.

19 *Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi. Shimo* means "lower." For the rest of the name see preceding Note. Both names are those of provinces in Eastern Japan.

20 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

21 *Viz.*, of the Sun-Goddess (*Ama-terasu*).

22 *Noto no omi.* Noto, formerly a part of the province of Echizen, is the name of the peninsula that juts out into the Sea of Japan on the western coast of the Main Island. The etymology of the name is obscure.

23 The meaning of this imperfectly formed sentence is: "On the "occasion of the interment of the next prince, His Augustness "Yamato-hiko, the custom of setting a row of the deceased prince's "retainers round his grave and burying them alive was first intro-"duced." For a further notice of this custom see Sect. LXXV, Note 4. According to the "Chronicles," the "ancient" custom of burying retainers up to their necks in the neighbourhood of their lord's grave was abolished after this very same interment. Motowori endeavours to reconcile the two statements by supposing that the custom was really an old one, but that on the occasion here mentioned the number of victims was increased to an unprecedented degree,* so that, as related in the "Chronicles," their cries, while their heads were being

[SECT. LXIV.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART II.—A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO).]

In the reign of this Heavenly Sovereign a great pestilence arose, and the people died as if none were to be left.[1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign grieved and lamented, and at night, while on his divine couch,[2] there appeared [to him] in an august dream the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things,[3] and said: "This is my august doing.[4] So if thou wilt cause "me to be worshipped[5] by Oho-tata-ne-ko,[6] the divine spirit "shall not arise,[7] and the land will be tranquillized." When, therefore, couriers[8] were dispatched in every direction[9] to search for the person [named] Oho-tata-ne-ko, he was discov-

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pulled to pieces by the crows and dogs, filled the Emperor with commiseration.

* So that for the first time they formed a hedge. But there is something to be said for the reading which asserts "this custom first ceased at the death of this prince."—W.G.A.

[1] Literally, "about to be exhausted."

[2] This expression, which recurs at the commencement of Sect. CXLV, is difficult to explain. See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIII, pp. 24–25, and again in Vol. XL. pp. 14–15, of his Commentary.

[3] See Sect. LI, Note 12.

[4] Literally, "my august heart."

[5] Or, "cause my shrine to be worshipped at." The import of the god's words is that he wishes Oho-tata-ne-ko to be appointed chief priest of his temple. For the origin of this latter see the second half of Sect. XXXII (pp. 103–105).

[6] *Oho* signifies "great," *Ta'a* (or *Tada*) is taken to be the name of a place, and the syllables *ne* and *ko* are regarded as Honorifics. The whole name may therefore, though with some hesitation, be interpreted to mean "the Lord of the Great [Shrine of] Tata."

[7] *I.e.*, "the divine anger shall no longer be kindled."

[8] Mounted couriers are almost certainly intended.

[9] Literally, "distributed to the four sides,"—"four sides" being a Chinese phrase for every direction.

ered in the village of Minu[10] in Kafuchi, and was respectfully sent [to the Heavenly Sovereign].[11] Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask: "Whose child art thou?" He replied, saying: "I[12] am Oho-tata-ne-ko, child of His Augustness "Taka-mika-dzu-chi[13] [who was] child of His Augustness Ihi-"gata-sumi,[14] [who was] child of His Augustness Kushi-mi-"gata,[15] [who was] child of the Great Deity the Great-Master-"of-Things by his wife Iku-tama-yori-bime,[16] daughter of His "Augustness Suwe-tsu-mimi."[17] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being greatly rejoiced, commanded that the Empire should be tranquil, and the people flourish, and forthwith made His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko high-priest[18] to worship[19] the Great Deity of Great Miwa[20] on Mount Mimoro.[21] Again

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[10] This name may signify either "three moors" or "august moor." The village of Minu must not be confounded with the province of Minu.

[11] The characters used are those which properly denote the presenting of tribute to the Monarch.

[12] Here and below the First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕, "servant."

[13] See Sect. VIII, Note 7, for the explanation of this name. But probably the deity here intended is another.

[14] The etymology and signification of this name are alike obscure.

[15] Motowori interprets *kushi* in the sense of "wondrous," and *Migata* as the name of a place, which also occurs under the form of Higata.

[16] *I.e.*, "life-jewel-good-princess."

[17] The precise signification of this name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Suwe* to be the name of a place; *tsu* is the Genitive Particle, and *mimi* the Honorific of doubtful import, whose meaning has been discussed in Note 18 to Sect. XIII.

[18] The exact meaning of the characters used to write the word *kamu-nushi* (modern *kannushi*), here rendered "high priest," is "owner of the Deity." Though commonly used in modern parlance to denote any Shintō priest, it properly signifies only the chief priest in charge of a temple, whence the odd-sounding name.

[19] Or, "conduct the worship at the shrine of."

[20] Viz., the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. For the traditional

he ordered His Augustness Igaka-shiko-wo[22] to make eighty heavenly platters, and reverently to establish the shrines of the Heavenly Deities and the Earthly Deities;[23] likewise to worship with a red-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Sumisaka[24] at Uda, and with a black-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Ohosaka;[25] likewise to present august offerings of cloth to all the Deities of the august declivities of the hills and to all the Deities of the reaches of the rivers, without neglecting any.[26] [27] In consequence of this the pestilential vapour ceased altogether, and the country was tranquillized.

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etymology of Miwa see the legend in Sect. LXV.

[21] See Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5.

[22] Or *Ikaga-shiko-wo.* The probable meaning of this name, proposed by Motowori, is (neglecting the initial letter *i* as expletive) "the refulgent ugly male."

[23] See Sect. I, Note 11.

[24] *Sumisaka* probably signifies "charcoal-hill." Uda, which has already been mentioned in Sect. XLVI, is in Yamato. This passage may equally well be rendered thus: "to present a red-coloured shield and spear to the Deity of Sumisaka," and similarly in the following clause. The meaning comes nearly to the same.

[25] Literally, "great hill," or "great pass." It is at the boundary of the provinces of Yamato and Kahachi. Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei sanctions the view of the elder scholars, who fancied they saw in the distinction of red and black some mysterious import connected with the four cardinal points.

[26] In the Old Printed Edition the text of this passage differs slightly from that adopted by Motowori; but the meaning is exactly the same.

[27] A large lacuna here occurs in the "Old Printed Edition," in which the four hundred and forty-five Chinese characters forming the original of the following part of the translation, from the words, "In consequence of this" down to the words immediately preceding "Methinks this is a sign" on p. 217 are missing. Both the editor of 1687 and Motowori are silent as to the manner in which they supplied the deficiency; but it may be presumed from their silence that the MS. authorities furnished them with what had accidentally been omitted from the printed text.

[SECT. LXV.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART III.—STORY OF OHO-TATA-NE-KO'S BIRTH).]

The reason why this person called Oho-tata-ne-ko was known to be a Deity's child, was that the above-mentioned Iku-tama-yori-bime was regularly beautiful,[1] whereupon a [divine[2]] youth [who thought] the majesty of her appearance without comparison in the world,[3] came suddenly to her in the middle of the night. So, as they loved each other and lived in matrimony together, the maiden ere long was pregnant. Then the father and mother, astonished at their daughter being pregnant, asked her,[4] saying: "Thou art pregnant by "thyself. How art thou with child without [having known] a "man?" She replied, saying: "I have naturally conceived "through a beautiful young man, whose name[5] I know not, "coming here every evening and staying with me." Therefore the father and mother, wishing to know the man, instructed their daughter, saying: "Sprinkle red earth in front of the

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[1] It is not easy to render literally into English the force of the characters 容姿端正, containing this description of the maiden's beauty, and of 形姿威儀 in the next clause. But it is hoped that at least the translation represents them better than do Motowori's readings *kaho yokariki* and *kaho sugata.*

[2] This word, which is not in most texts, was supplied by the editor of 1687, and is adopted by Motowori on apparently satisfactory grounds.*

* I cannot agree with this. And was not the "majestic appearance" that of the youth, not of the maiden?—W.G.A.

[3] Literally, "in the time."

[4] The text places the word "daughter" here, instead of in the preceding clause. For the sake of clearness, the translator has taken the liberty of transposing it.

[5] The Chinese characters are 姓名, *i.e.*, "surname and personal (what we should call 'Christian') name." But Motowori's simple reading *na*, "name," approves itself as probably nearer to the author's intention.

"couch,[6] and pass a skein* of hemp through a needle, and "pierce [therewith] the skirt of his garment." So she did as they had instructed, and, on looking in the morning, the hemp that had been put in the needle went out through the hole of the door-hook,[7] and all the hemp that remained was three twists[8]† only. Then forthwith, knowing how he had gone out by the hook-hole, they went on their quest following the thread, which, reaching Mount Miwa, stopped at the shrine of the Deity. So they knew [that Oho-tata-ne-ko was] the child of the Deity [residing] there. So the place was called by the name of Miwa on account of the three twists of hemp that had remained. (His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko, here referred to, was the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa[9] and of the Dukes of Kamo.)[10]

[SECT. LXVI.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART IV.—WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU).]

Again in this august reign His Augustness Oho-biko[1] was

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[6] Motowori indulges in several conjectures as to the meaning of this detail, which, it will be seen, is not referred to in the sequel, and is therefore pointless.

* *Heso* is "ball." *Vide* Hepburn. Probably from its shape with a hole through it,—W.G.A.

[7] The same Japanese word *kagi*,‡ which is used as the equivalent of the Chinese characters 鉤, "hook," came in later times to denote a key.

‡ I have seen ancient keys shaped thus [⊓], nearly a "hook." Kagi always included both key and hook.—W.G.A.

[8] "Three threads" are in Japanese *mi wa*, whence the etymology of the name of Miwa given below in the text. The real derivation is altogether doubtful. The shrine of Miwa was in very early times regarded with such extraordinary reverence, that the term *Oho-gami*, "Great Deity," unless otherwise qualified, was commonly understood to refer to the god of Miwa.

† Rounds of the ball.

[9] *Miwa no kimi*, written simply 神君 (literally, "Divine Dukes"), another sign of the estimation in which the shrine of Miwa was held.

[10] *Kamo no kimi.*

sent to the circuit of Koshi,[2] and his son, His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake,[3] was sent to the twelve circuits to the eastward to quiet the unsubmissive people Again Hiko-imasu was sent to the land of Taniha[4] to slay Kugamimi-no-mikasa[5] (this is the name of a person). So when His Augustness Oho-biko was going away to the land of Koshi, a young girl

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[1] See Sect. LXI, Note 5.

[2] Literally, "to the road of Koshi," *i.e.*, "to the land of Koshi." Which provinces are intended by the "twelve circuits to the eastward" mentioned immediately below is uncertain; but Motowori hazards the guess that we should understand Ise (including Iga and Shima), Wohari, Mikaha, Tohotafuni (pron. Tōtōmi), Suruga, Kahi, Idzu, Sagami, Musashi, Fusa (the modern Kadzusa, Shimofusa, and Aha), Hitachi, and Michinoku (a vague name for the north-eastern portions of the Main Island of Japan). This would include the whole east and north-east of the country. He likewise supposes the use of the word "road" for circuit or province to have had its origin in the "road" along which the Imperial officers despatched to the outlying provinces had to travel to reach their post, and remarks very pertinently in another passage of his Commentary that the term "road" denotes a province more especially from the point of view of its subjugation or government. His explanation is, however, rendered untenable by the fact that the division of the country into such "roads" or "circuits" was an idea evidently borrowed from the neighbouring peninsula of Korea. At first, as in this passage, somewhat vaguely used in the sense of "province," it settled down into the designation of "a set of adjacent provinces." Thus tha Tō-kai-dō, or "Eastern Maritime Circuit," includes fifteen provinces, the Hoku-roku-dō or "Northern Land Circuit," includes seven provinces, and so on. *Conf.* Sect. LX, Note 20.

[3] *I.e.*, "brave-lagoon-river-youth."

[4] See Sect LXII, Note 4.

[5] Motowori is unable to help us to any understanding of this name,—or names,—for he suggests that the character 之, *no*, may be an error for 又, *mata* ("also"), and that two individuals may be intended. The note in the original telling us that "this in the name of a person" might equally well be translated in the Plural,—"these are the names of persons."

wearing a loin-skirt[6] stood on the Pass of Hera[7] in Yamashiro, and sang, saying:

"Now then! Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri!* Oh
"Prince Mi-ma-ki-iri!, Ignorant that they
"to steal and slay one's life, cross back-
"wards and forwards by the back-door,
"cross backwards and forwards by the front
"door and spy,—Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri!"[8]

Hereupon His Augustness Oho-biko, thinking it strange, turned his horse back, and asked the young girl, saying: "These words that thou speakest, what are they?" The young girl replied, saying: "I said nothing; I was only "singing a song,"– and thereupon she suddenly vanished, none could see whither. So His Augustness Oho-biko returned up again [to the capital] and made a report [of the matter] to the Heavenly Sovereign, who replied and charged him, [saying]: "Methinks this is a sign that my half-brother, King Take-

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[6] The nature of this garment is not known. One would suppose, from the way it is mentioned in the text, that there was perhaps something contrary to custom in its use by a young girl.† The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" does not mention it.

† Perhaps the unusual thing was that she had nothing else on, very young girls were perhaps dressed so.—**W.G.A.**

[7] Or, "Hill of Hera,"—*Hera-zaka*. The "Chronicles" write this name with the characters 平坂 *Hira-zaka*, *i.e.*, "Even Pass" or "Hill."

* From this poem it would appear that Mima-ki-iri was not a posthumous name.—**W.G.A.**

[8] The meaning of this poem, which must be considered as one prolonged exclamation, is: "Oh my sovereign! oh my sovereign! "Heedless or ignorant of the plots hatched against thy life near the "very precincts of thy palace, thou sendest away thy soldiers to fight "in distant parts. Oh my sovereign!"—It will be remembered that Prince Mima-ki-iri was the (abbreviated) native name of the reigning monarch, commonly known to posterity by his "canonical name" of Sūjin. The word rendered "life" is literally "thread," and the Impersonal Pronoun "one's," used in the translation, must be understood to refer to the Emperor.

"hani-yasu,[9] who dwells in the land of Yamashiro, is planning "some foul plot.[10] [Do thou,] uncle, raise an army, and go "[after him]." When he forthwith sent him off, joining to him his Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku,[11] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[12] they set sacred jars on the Pass of Wani,[13] and went away. Thereupon, when they reached the River Wakara[14] in Yamashiro, King Take-hani-yasu, who had raised an army, was waiting to intercept [their passage], and [the two hosts] stood confronting and challenging each other with the river between them.[15] So the place was called by the name of Idomi,[16]—what is now called Idzumi. Then His Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku spoke, begging the other side[17] to let fly the first arrow.[18] Then King Take-hani-yasu shot, but could not

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[9] See Sect. LXI, Notes 12 and 10.

[10] Literally, "foul heart."

[11] *I.e.*, probably, "prince land-pacifier." The first element of the compound is sometines omitted.

[12] *Wani no omi.* Wani ("crocodile") is the name of a place in the province of Yamato.

[13] *Wani-saka.* For the setting of jars *conf.* Sect. LX, Note 20.

[14] *Wakara-gaha.* It is what is now called the Idzumi-gaha. Of Wakara we have nothing but an altogether untenable etymology given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

[15] More literally, "each having put the river in the middle, and mutually challenging."

[16] *I.e.*, "challenging." The more likely etymology of *Idzumi*, which is written with the character 泉, is "source" or "spring."

[17] The original has the very curious expression 廂人, literally, "people of the side-building," which was a great crux to the early editors. Motowori is probably right in interpreting it in the sense of "the other side," i.e., "the enemy."

[18] 忌矢, literally "the arrow to be shunned, or avoided,"—but rather, in accordance with Archaic Japanese parlance, "the sacred arrow." Motowori says: "At the commencement of a battle it was "the custom for each side to let fly an initial arrow. Being the "commencement of the affair, this arrow was considered specially "important, and was shot off reverently with prayers to the Gods,— "whence its name."

strike. Thereupon, on His Augustness Kuni-buku shooting an arrow, it forthwith struck King Take-hani-yasu dead. So the whole army was routed, and fled in confusion. Then the [Imperial troops pursued] after the fugitive army as far as the ferry of Kusuba, when, harassed by the pursuit, exierunt [hostium]* excrementa, quæ bracis adhæserunt. Quare isti loco impositum est nomen Kuso-bakama. In præsenti nominatur Kusu-ba.[19] Again, on being intercepted in their fight and cut down, [their bodies] floated like cormorants in the river. So the river was called by the name of U-kaha.[20] Again, because the warriors were cut to pieces, the place was called by the name of Hafuri-sono.[21] Having thus finished [the work of] pacification, they went up [to the capital] to make their report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

[SECT. LXVII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART V.—PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED).]

So His Augustness Oho-biko went away to Koshi in accordance with the previous [Imperial] commands. Then Take-nuna-kaha-wake, who had been sent round by the east, and his father Oho-biko met together in Ahidzu. So the place was called by the name of Ahidzu.[1] Wherefore, each of them, having settled the government of the land to which he had been sent, made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Empire was at peace and the people prosperous.

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* Surely their own, from fear.—**W.G.A.**

[19] *I.e.*, "excrementis [fœdatæ] bracæ." But it is not at all probable that this is the correct etymology of the name. The stream is a small one in the eastern part of the province of Kahachi.

[20] *I.e.*, "cormorant-river."

[21] *I.e.*, "the garden of cutting-to-pieces."

[1] A district forming the southern part of the modern province of Ihashiro in north-eastern Japan. The derivation here given, from *ahi-dzu*, "meeting port," seems fanciful.

Thereupon tribute on the arrow-notches* of the men and tribute on the finger-tips of the women was first levied.[2] So in praise of this august reign they said: "the Heavenly Sovereign Mima-ki, who ruled the first land."[3] Again, in this august reign the Pool of Yosami[4] was made; moreover the Pool of Sakawori at Karu[5] was made.

[SECT. LXVIII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART VI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and sixty-eight. His august mausoleum is on the mound at the corner of the Yamanobe road.[1]

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* "Bow-tips" seems a preferable rendering, the Chinese character is 弓.—W.G.A.

[2] *I.e.*, taxes levied on the produce of the chase, by which the men gained their livelihood, and on the domestic handiwork of the women.

[3] Motowori has a not particularly satisfactory note, in which he endeavours to explain this obscure phrase. The word "first" should evidently qualify the Verb "ruled," and not the Substantive "land," and the applicability of the saying to a sovereign, of whom it is not recorded that he initiated anything save the taxes, is not apparent.† The author of the "Chronicles" observes the verisimilitudes better by applying a synonymous designation to the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu.

† Compare Chronicles V. 16. (p. 161, Aston's Translation).—W.G.A.

[4] See Sect. LXII, Note 85.

[5] Reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" shows that probably a couple of words are here omitted from the text, which should read "the Pool of Karu and the Pool of Sakawori" (*Karu no ike, Sakawori no ike*). Karu is the celebrated ancient capital mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1. Sakawori is quite unknown except from this notice of it, and the derivation of the name is uncertain.

[1] This place, where the Emperor Kei-kō is likewise said to have been interred, was in the province of Yamato, and the road mentioned is supposed by Motowori to have been the highway from Hatsuse

[SECT. LXIX.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi dwelt at the palace of Tama-kaki in Shiki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness the Princess Sahaji,[2] younger sister of His Augustness Saho-biko, and begot an august child: His Augustness Homu-tsu-wake[3] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness the Princess Hibasu, daughter of King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha, he begot august children: His Augustness Ini-shiki-no iri-biko;[4] next His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake;[5] next His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko;[6] next Her Augustness Yamato-hime;[7] next His Augustness Waka-ki-iri-biko[8] (five Deities.) Again, wedding Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-biko,[9] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, he begot august children: His Augustness Nu-tarashi-wake;[10] next His Augustness Iga-tarashi-

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into the province of Yamashiro. The word Yamanobe signifies "in the neighbourhood of the mountain" (*yama no he*).

[1] For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1. *Tama-kaki* signifies "jewel (*i.e.*, beautiful) hedge."

[2] This name and the next have already been met with in Sect. LXII, as have those of Princess Hibasu, King Tatasu-michi, King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, Princess Kari-bata-tobe, and King Inase-biko.

[3] See Sect. LXXI, Note 8.

[4] The signification of this name is not clear, but Motowori identifies Shiki with the place of the same name.

[5] This name seems to be a string of Honorifics signifying "great perfect prince ruling lord."

[6] *I.e.*, "great middle prince," he being the third of five children.

[7] *I.e.*, "Yamato princess." She is a very celebrated personage in Japanese legendary story,—high priestess of Ise and aunt of the hero Yamato-take. A miraculous tale is related of her birth, and she is supposed to have lived several hundreds of years.

[8] The signification of this name is obscure.

[9] The signification of this name is obscure.

[10] Motowori's conjectural interpretation of this name is "jewel-perfect-lord."

hiko[11] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Azami-no-iri-bime,[12] younger sister of Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bime,[13] he begot august children: His Augustness Ikobaya-wake;[14] next Her Augustness the Princess of Azami[15] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Kagu-ya-hime,[16] daughter of King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, he begot an august child: King Wozabe[17] (one Deity). Again, wedding Karibata-tobe daughter of Fuchi of Ohokuni in Yamashiro,[18] he begot august children: King Ochi-wake;[19] next King Ika-tarashi-hiko;[20] next King Itoshi-wake.[21] Again, wedding Oto-karibata-tobe,[22] daughter of Fuchi of Otokuni, he begot august children: King Iha-tsuku-wake;[23] next Her Augustness Iha-tsuku-bime,

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[11] The signification of *iga* is obscure. The other two elements of the compound signify "perfect prince."

[12] Signification obscure.

[13] Signification obscure.

[14] Signification obscure. The "Chronicles" read this name *Ike-baya*.

[15] *Azami-tsu-hime*. Signification obscure.

[16] *I.e.*, probably "the refulgent princess," the syllable *ya* being void of signification as in *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime* (see Sect. XXXVII, Note 3). This name is celebrated as that of the heroine of the fairy-tale entitled "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter," though there is no reason for identifying the two personages.

[17] This name is obscure, and Motowori suspects it of being corrupt.

[18] *Yamashiro no ohokuni no fuchi*. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Ohokuni ("great land") that of a village, while Fuchi is a personal name written with a character signifying "deep pool."

[19] *Ochiwake no miko*. Motowori derives *ochi* from *oho*, "great," and *chi*, supposed to be an Honorific, while *wake* is taken to mean "lord." After all, the signification of the name remains obscure.

[20] *Ika-tarashi-hiko no miko*. The name probably signifies "severe (or dignified) perfect prince."

[21] This name is obscure.

[22] *I.e.*, Karibata-tobe, the younger sister.

[23] This name and the next are obscure. The first of the two is not in the older editions, but Motowori supplies what appears to be

another name for whom was Her Augustness Futaji-no-iri-bime[24] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether sixteen (thirteen Kings and three Queens). So His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. (His august stature was ten feet[25] two inches; the length of his august shank was four feet one inch) The next, His Augustness Inishiki-no-iri-biko made the pool of Chinu;[26] again he made the pool of Sayama;[27] again he made the pool of Takatsu at Kusaka.[28] Again he dwelt at the palace of Kahakami at Totori,[29] and caused a thousand cross-swords[30] to be made, and presented them to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami.[31] Forthwith he dwelt at that palace,[32] and established the Kahakami Tribe.[33] The next, His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, (was the ancestor of the

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a lacuna in the text by adding the five characters 石衝別王次.

[24] Signification obscure.

[25] The actual word "feet" is not in the original, but an equivalent Chinese measure is used.

[26] *Chinu no ike.* The "Sea of Chinu" in the province of Idzumi, which is the same as the "Pool" here mentioned, has been mentioned in Sect. XLIV, Note 36.

[27] *Sayama no ike,* in the province of Kahachi. The name probably signifies a "gorge" or "defile."

[28] See above Sect. XLIV, Note 31.

[29] *Totori* (lit. "bird-catching") was in the province of Idzumi, and the name is said to have been derived from the place having been one of those through which Ohotaka of Yamanobe passed when pursuing the bird whose sight was to make Prince Homuchi-wake obtain the power of speech. (See the story as given at the beginning of the next Section.) The name of Kaha-kami ("head-waters of the river"), as we learn by comparison with the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," is to be traced to the River Udo, near whose head-waters the palace in question is said to have been situated.

[30] See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

[31] See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

[32] Or, "in that temple."

[33] *Kahakami-be.*

Lords of Yamanobe,[34] of the Lords of Sakikusa,[35] of the Lords of Inaki,[36] of the Lords of Ada,[37] of the Lords of Minu in the Land of Wohari;[38] of the Lords of Ihanashi in Kibi,[39] of the Lords of Koromo,[40] of the Lords of Takasuka,[41] of the Dukes of Asuka,[42] and of the Lords of Mure).[43] The next, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, (was high-priestess of[44] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise). The next, King Ikobaya-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Anahobe at Saho).[45] The next, Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (was married to King Inase-biko). The next, King Ochi-wake

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[34] *Yamanobe no wake.* Yamanobe (or Yamabe) is the name of a district in Yamato and signifies "mountain-slope."

[35] *Sakikusa no wake.* Of Sakikusa nothing is known. The word means "lily."

[36] *Inaki no wake.* Which Inaki is meant is not known, there being several places of that name in Japan. The name is connected with the word *ine*, "rice."

[37] *Ada no wake.* Of Ada nothing is known,

[38] *Wohari no kuni no Minu no wake.* Minu is the name of a village, and signifies "three moors."

[39] *Kibi no Ihanashi no wake.* Ihanashi is the name of a district forming part of the modern province of Bizen, and seems to signify "rockless."

[40] *Koromo no wake.* Motowori supposes this name to be corrupt. Koromo is the name of a village in Mikaha.

[41] *Takasuka no wake.* Nothing is known either of the place or of the family.

[42] *Asuka no kimi.* It is not known where was this Asuka, which must not be confounded with the famous Asuka mentioned in Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

[43] *Mure no wake.* There are several places called Mure. The signification of the name is obscure.

[44] Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

[45] *Saho no Anahobe-wake.* The name Anahobe is derived from Anaho, the name of the Emperor Yū-riyaku, and *be* "a tribe;" it being related in the "Chronicles" that the tribe which was established as his "name-proxy" was so called.

(was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Wotsuki[46] and of the Dukes of Koromo in Mikaha).[47] The next, King Ika-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Kasuga,[48] of the Dukes of Ike in Koshi,[49] and of the Dukes of Kasugabe).[50] The next, King Itoshi-wake (owing to his having no children, made the Itoshi Tribe[51] his proxy). The next, King Iha-tsuku-wake, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Haguhi[52] and of the Dukes of Miwo.)[53] The next, Her Augustness Futaji-no-Iri-bime (became the Empress of His Augustness Yamato-take).

[SECT. LXX.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART II.—CONSPIRACY OF KING SAHO-BIKO AND THE EMPRESS SAHO-BIME).]

When this Heavenly Sovereign made Saho-bime his Empress, Her Augustness Saho-bime's elder brother, King Saho-biko, asked his younger sister, saying: "Which is dearer [to "thee], thine elder brother or thy husband?" She replied,

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46 *Wotsuki no yama no kami.* Wotsuki is the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). The family name must be interpreted to signify that they were wardens of the mountain.

47 *Mikaha no Koromo no kimi.* *Conf.* the name in Note 40, with which this is probably identical. Motowori suspects an error in the text.

48 *Kasuga no yama no kimi.* *Conf.* the name in Note 46.

49 *Koshi no ike no kimi.* Nothing is known of the place or of the family, Koshi may or may not be the northern province of that name.

50 *Kasugabe no kimi.* There were two places of the name of Kasugabe (*i.e.*, "Kasuga Clan," so called perhaps after a family that had resided there). It is not known which is here alluded to.

51 *Itoshi-be.* The name, which is thus restored by Motowori, is variously mutilated in the older editions. This is the first mention of adoption, lit. in Japanese "child-proxy making" or "name-proxy making." The custom is perpetually referred to in the later portion of these "Records."

52 *Haguhi no kimi.* Haguhi is the name of a district in Noto. The derivation is obscure.

53 *Miwo no kimi.* Miwo is the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "three mountain-folds."

saying: "Mine elder brother is dearer." Then King Saho-biko conspired, saying. "If I be truly the dearer to thee, let "me and thee rule the empire," and forthwith he made an eight times tempered stiletto,[1] and handed it to his younger sister, saying: "Slay the Heavenly Sovereign in his sleep "with this small knife." So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress's august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with the stiletto; but though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing[2] onto [the Heavenly Sovereign's] august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "I have had a strange dream: a violent "shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted "my face; again a small damask-coloured* snake coiled itself "round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?" Then the Empress, thinking it improper to dispute,[3] forthwith informed the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Mine elder bro-"ther King Saho-biko, asked me,[4] saying, 'Which is dearer "'[to thee], thy husband or thine elder brother?' So as I "was embarrassed by [this] direct question, I replied, saying,

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[1] For stiletto see above, Sect. XXXVI, Note 8. The curious word *ya-shiho-wori* (八鹽折) in the text seems to have the sense of "eight times tempered," *i.e.*, tempered over and over again, which Motowori assigns to it. The same expression is used in Sect. XVIII (Note 16) to denote the refining of rice-liquor.

[2] This word "overflowing" is more appropriately placed in the version of the story given in the "Chronicles," where the author makes her tears first fill her sleeve (a common Japanese figure of speech), and thence "overflow" on to the sleeping Monarch's face.

[3] *I.e.*, seeing that it would be vain to deny the truth.

[4] The First Personal Pronoun is written with the self-depreciatory character 妾, "concubine."

* Brocade? Hepburn speaks of a *nishiki hebi* as a kind of mottled snake.—W.G.A.

"'Oh! mine elder brother is the dearer.' Then he charged[5] "me, saying: 'I and thou will together rule the Empire; so "'the Heavenly Sovereign must be slain;'—and so saying, be "made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to me. "Therefore I wanted to cut thine august throat; but though "I thrice lifted [the weapon], a feeling of regret suddenly "arose, so that I could not cut thy throat, and the tears that "I wept fell and wetted thine august face. [The dream] was "surely the omen of this." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "How nearly have I been betrayed!"—and forthwith he raised an army to smite King Saho-biko, whereupon the King made a rice-castle[6] to await the fray.* At this time Her Augustness Saho-bime, unable to forget her elder brother, fled out through the back-gate [of the palace], and came into the rice-castle.

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[5] Or "enticed."

[6] This expression, which is repeated elsewhere, is one which has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The "Chronicles" tell us expressly that "rice [-stalks] were piled up to make a castle,"—an assertion which, as Motowori remarks, is simply incredible. He therefore adopts Mabuchi's suggestion that a castle *like* a rice-castle† is what is intended,—"rice-castle" being taken to mean "rice-store" or "granary," such granaries having probably been stoutly built in order to protect them from thieves.‡ The historian of the Tang dynasty quoted in the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" says that the Japanese had no castles, but only palisades of timber. The latter might well however have been called castles by the Japanese, though they would not have been accounted such by the Chinese, who already built theirs of stone.

† Rice-castle also mentioned in Yū-riyaku, year 14, where a hasty construction is rather implied. Nihongi.—W.G.A.

‡ I cannot see the likelihood of this. Sheaves of rice piled up might very well make a bulwark. The story shows that it was a hastily prepared work, not at all of the nature of a rice granary. The Nihongi says the Empress crossed over it in coming out.—W.G.A.

* *I.e.*, stood on the defensive.—W.G.A.

[SECT. LXXI.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART III.—BIRTH OF PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE AND DEATH OF THE CONSPIRATORS).]

At this time the Empress[1] was pregnant. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign could not restrain [his pity for] the Empress, who was pregnant and whom he had loved for now three years. So he turned his army aside, and did not hasten the attack. During this delay, the august child that she had conceived was born. So having put out the august child and set it outside the rice-castle, she caused [these words] to be said to the Heavenly Sovereign: "If this august child be con-"sidered to be the Heavenly Sovereign's august child, let him[2] "deign to undertake* it." Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign said:[3] "Although detesting the elder brother, I yet cannot "repress my love for the Empress," and forthwith planned to secure the Empress. Wherefore, choosing from among his warriors a band of the strongest and deftest,† he charged [them, saying]: "When ye take the august child, likewise "abduct the queen its mother. Whether by the hair or by "the hands, or wherever ye may best lay hold of her, clutch "her and drag her out." Then the Empress, knowing his intention beforehand, shaved off all her hair and covered her

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[1] *I.e.*, Her Augustness Saho-bime, who was the subject of the preceding sentence.

[2] *I.e.*, the Sovereign. The import of this passage is, according to Motowori, that the Empress imagined that her own conduct might perhaps influence the Emperor to refuse to give to the child she bore him its proper rank,—not from doubts as to its legitimacy, but as having a rebel mother. By "undertaking" the child is of course meant "undertaking" the care and education of it.

* Why not, "take charge of"?—W.G.A.

[3] Motowori supposes the Chinese character rendered "said" to be an error, and prefers to consider this clause as containing not the words, but the thought of the Monarch. It would certainly be more convenient to adopt this view, if it were sanctioned by any text.

† Nimblest?—W.G.A.

head with the hair, and likewise made her jewel-string rotten and wound it thrice round her arm, and moreover made her august garments rotten by means of rice-liquor and put on the garments as if they were whole. Having made these preparations, she took the august child in her arms and pushed it outside the castle. Then the strong men, taking the august child, forthwith clutched at the august parent. Then, on their clutching her august hair, the august hair fell off of itself; on their clutching her august arms, the jewel-string likewise snapped; on their clutching her august garments, the august garments at once tore. Therefore they obtained the august child, but did not get the august parent. So the warriors came back [to the Sovereign], and reported, saying: "On "account of her august hair falling off of itself, of her august "garments easily tearing, and moreover of the jewel-string "which was wound round her august hand at once snapping, "we have not got the august parent; but we have obtained "the august child." Then the Heavenly Sovereign, sorry and angry,* hated the people who made the jewels,† and deprived them all of their lands.[4] So the proverb says: "Landless "jewel-makers."[5] Again did the Heavenly Sovereign cause[6] the Empress to be told, saying: "A child's name must be "given by the mother: by what august name shall this child

* Disappointed.—W.G.A.

† Seems rather hard on the jewel-makers, who cannot have been in the rice-castle, and could not have been responsible.—W.G.A.

[4] Or, as Motowori prefers to read, "deprived them of all their lands."

[5] There is nowhere else any reference to this saying. Motowori supposes it to point to those who, hoping for reward, get punishment instead, these jewellers having doubtless rotted the string on which the beads were strung by special desire of the Empress, whereas they ended by getting nothing but confiscation for their pains.

[6] Motowori (following Mabuchi) is evidently correct in supposing the character 命 in this place, and again a little further on, to be a copyist's error for 令, "caused," and the translator has rendered it accordingly.

"be called?" Then she replied, saying: "As he was born "now at the time of the castle being burnt with fire and in "the midst of the fire, it were proper to call him by the "august name of Prince[7] Homu-chi-wake."[8] And again he caused her to be asked: "How shall he be reared?"[9] She replied, saying: "He must be reared by taking an august "mother[10] and fixing on old bathing-women and young bathing-women.[11]" So he was respectfully reared in accordance with the Empress's instructions. Again he asked the Empress, saying: "Who shall loosen the fresh small pendant[12]* which

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[7] "Prince" is here written 御子.

[8] This name may also be read *Ho-muchi-wake,* and is in the "Chronicles" given as *Ho-mutsu-wake* while it appears as *Homu-tsu-wake* at the commencement of Sect. LXIX. The first two elements apparently signify "fire-possessing," while *wake* is the frequently recurring Honorific signifying either "lord" or "young and flourishing."

[9] Lit., "his days be reverently prolonged." The same expression is repeated thrice below.

[10] *I.e.,* foster-mother.

[11] The characters 大湯坐若湯坐 used in the original of this passage would, if they stood alone, be of difficult interpretation. But a comparison with the passage in "One account" of the "Chronicles," which relates the nursing of Fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, the father of the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu, leaves no doubt that the author intended to speak of bathing-women attached to the service of the Imperial infant.

* Why not "girdle"?—W.G.A.

[12] The words *midzu no wo-himo,* literally rendered "fresh small pendant," call for some explanation. *Midzu,* which includes in a single term the ideas of youth, freshness, and beauty, is here used as an Honorific. The "small pendant" is interpreted by Mabuchi and Motowori to signify the "inner girdle," which held together the under-garment of either sex. The old literature of Japan teems with allusions to the custom of lovers or spouses making fast each other's inner girdle, which might not be untied till they met again, and the poets perpetually make a lover ask some such question as "When I "am far from thee, who shall loosen my girdle?" The translator cannot refrain from here quoting, for the benefit of the lover of

thou didst make fast?" She replied, saying: "It were proper "that Ye-hime and Oto-hime,[13] daughters of King Tatasu-michi-"no-ushi[14] prince of Taniha, should serve thee, for these two "queens are of unsullied parentage."[15] So at last [the Heavenly Sovereign] slew King Saho-biko, and his younger sister followed him.[16]

Japanese verse (though he will not attempt to translate them), the two most graceful of the many stanzas from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" brought together by Motowori to illustrate this passage:

Wagimoko ga
Yuhitcshi himo wo
Tokame ya mo:
Toyeba tayu to mo
Tada ni afu made ni.

Una-bara wo
Tohoku watarite
Toshi fu to mo:
Ko-ra ga musuberu
Himo toku na yume.

Tanigaha Shisei also appropriately quotes the following:

Futari shite
Musubishi himo wo
Hitori shite
Ware ha toki-mizhi
Tada ni afu made ha.

A literal rendering of which would run thus: "I will not, till "we meet face to face, loosen alone the girdle which we two tied "together."

[13] *I.e.*, the "Elder Princess and the Younger Princess."

[14] Motowori is probably right in explaining *tatasu* as the Honorific Causative of *tatsu*, "to stand" and *michi no ushi* as *michi-nushi* or *kuni-nushi*, *i.e.*, "owner of the province," "ruler."

[15] Lit., "are pure subjects."*

* What about the character 公?—W.G.A.

[16] *I.e.*, was slain with him.

[SECT. LXXII.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV.—THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE).]

So the way they led about and amused the august child was by making a two-forked boat[1] out of a two-forked cryptomeria from Ahidzu in Wohari,[2] bringing it up and floating it on the Pool of Ichishi and on the Pool of Karu[3] in Yamato, [thus] leading about and amusing the august child. Nevertheless the august child spoke never a word, though his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach.[4] So[5] it was on hearing the cry of a high-flying swan[6] that he made his first utterance.[7] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent Yamanobe-no-Ohotaka[8] (this is the name of a person) to catch the bird. So

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[1] From a comparison with a passage in the "Chronicles," where the same expression occurs, one is led to suppose that the craft here mentioned was a sort of double boat, in each half of which passengers could sit.

[2] Nothing is known of any place called Ahidzu in the province of Wohari.

[3] Karu has been mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1. The Pool of Ichishi (*Ichishi-no ike*) is supposed by Motowori to be identical with the better known Pool of Ihare.

[4] Lit., "in front of his heart." This phrase descriptive of a long beard has already occurred at the commencement of Sect. XII.

[5] Motowori reasonably supposes the character 今 in this sentence to be a copyist's error for the emphatic 爾, and the translation has been made accordingly.

[6] The original has the character 鵠, which is now applied to a small species of swan (*Cygnus minor*, Pallas; *Cygnus Bewickii*, Yarrel). But it is uncertain what bird is intended by the author.

[7] A more or less inarticulate utterance is probably meant; but the expression in the original is obscure.

[8] Motowori supposes the Note in the original to refer only to the word Ohotaka, while he takes Yamanobe to be the name of a place (already mentioned in Sect. LXVIII, Note 1). The surname of Ohotaka, signifying "great hawk," was, according to the same commentator, given to the worthy here mentioned in consequence of the incident

this person, pursuing the swan, arrived in the Land of Harima* from the Land of Ki, and again in his pursuit crossed over to the Land of Inaba, then reaching the Land of Taniha and the Land of Tajima; [thence] pursuing round to the eastward, he reached the Land of Afumi, and thereupon crossed over into the Land of Minu; and, passing along by the Land of Wohari, pursued it into the Land of Shinanu, and at length, reaching in his pursuit the Land of Koshi, spread a net in the Estuary of Wanami,[9] and, having caught the bird, brought it up [to the capital] and presented it [to the Sovereign]. So that estuary is called the Estuary of Wanami. It had been thought that, on seeing the bird again, he would speak; but he did not speak, as had been thought.[10] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, deigning to be grieved, augustly fell asleep, when, in an august dream, he was instructed, saying: "If thou wilt "build my temple like unto thine august abode, the august "child shall surely speak." When he had been thus instructed, [the Heavenly Sovereign] made grand divination to seek what Deity's desire[11] this might be. Then [it was discovered that]

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related in the text. As the bird was not a hawk, this does not seem very convincing, and Motowori's apparent idea that the man was likened to a hawk because he pursued the other bird as a hawk would do, is extremely far-fetched. It is moreover doubtful whether the name should not be read *Oho-washi* (this is Mabuchi's reading), "great eagle." The "Chronicles" give an altogether different name, viz., *Ame-no-yukaha-tana.*

* The Chronicles say that the swan was caught in the land of Idzumo, and makes no mention of the other places.—W.G.A.

[9] No such place is now known. The name may be interpreted to mean "snare-net" in allusion to this story, as stated in the next sentence of the text.

[10] The various texts and printed editions all differ slightly in their reading of this passage, and from some it might be gathered that the prince did indeed speak as it had been thought that he would do, but could not speak freely. The translation follows Motowori's emended text.

[11] Literally, "heart."

the curse was the august doing of the Great Deity of Idzumo.[12] So when about to send the august child to worship [at] that Great Deity's temple, [he made divination to discover[13]] by whom it were well to have him attended. Then the lot fell on King Ake-tatsu.[14] So he made King Ake-tatsu swear,[15] saying: "If there is truly to be an answer[16] to our adoration "of this Great Deity, may the heron dwelling on the tree by "the Pool of Sagisu[17] here fall [through my] oath." When he thus spoke, the heron that had been sworn by fell to the ground dead. Again on his commanding it to come to life [in answer to his] oath, it then came to life again.[18] Moreover he caused to wither by an oath and again brought to life again by an oath a broad-foliaged bear-oak on Cape Amakashi.[19] Then

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[12] *I.e.*, *Oho-kuni-nushi*, (the Master of the Great Land), the aboriginal monarch of Idzumo, the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, whose abdication of the sovereignty of Japan in favour of the descendant of the Sun-Goddess forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII. The word *tatari*, here written with the Chinese character 祟 and rendered "curse," signifies properly the vengeance of a spirit, *i.e.*, either of a deity or of the ghost of a dead man. The word translated "doing" is literally "heart."

[13] That some such words must be supplied is evident, and the translator has followed Mabuchi and Motowori in supplying them.

[14] Lit., "King Ake-tatsu ate the divination."

[15] Remember that the original word *ukehi* combines the meanings of our words "wager," "oath," "pledge," "curse," etc,—being in fact a general name for all words to which any mysterious importance attaches.

[16] Lit., a "sign," a "proof."

[17] *Sagisu no ike*, a pool in Yamato. *Sagi-su* signifies "heron's nest."

[18] The reading of the characters 爾者 (rendered "then") in this passage has been a crux to all the editors. Fortunately they make no difference to the sense.

[19] *Amakashi no saki*. Perhaps "Amakashi Point" would be a better rendering if, as Motowori supposes, an inland place in the province of Yamato is meant. It might be the point or extremity of a hill or bluff. *Ama-kashi* signifies literally "sweet oak." The "broad-foliaged

[the Heavenly Sovereign] granted to Prince Ake-tatsu the name of Prince Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-toyo-asakura-ake-tatsu.[20] So when the august child was sent off with the two Princes, Prince Ake-tatsu and Prince Una-kami,[21] as his attendants, it was divined[22] that [if they went out] by the Nara gate,[23] they would meet a lame person and a blind person;[24] that [if they went out] by the Ohosaka[25] gate, they would likewise meet a lame

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bear-oak" mentioned immediately above is supposed by Motowori to be the usual evergreen oak, and not any special kind. The epithet "broad-foliaged" is not, as he remarks, specially appropriate, and he moreover supposes the word *kuma*, "bear," to be a corruption of *kumi* or *komori*, words which would refer to the thick luxuriance of the foliage. The dictionaries do not help us much to a decision on the point.

20 The component parts of this tremendous name, which is happily abbreviated to Ake-tatsu in the subsequent portions of the text, are somewhat obscure, especially the word *oyu*, which reading rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, who emends the evidently erroneous character 者 to 老 (*oyu*), "old." *Toyo*, "luxuriant," is an Honorific, *ake* and *tatsu* signify respectively "dawn" and "rise," while the rest seem to be names of places of which this Prince may be supposed to have been the possessor.

21 Or, the Prince of Unakami, as Unakami is the name of a place in Kadzusa.

22 *I.e.*, shown by divination.

23 Nara in Yamato, which is here mentioned for the first time, was the capital of Japan from A.D. 710 to 784, and has always been famous in Japanese history and literature. The name is derived by the author of the "Chronicles" from the verb *narasu*, "to cause to resound," the hosts of the Emperor Sū-jin having, it is said, caused the earth to resound with their trampling when they went out to do battle with Hani-yasu. A more probable derivation is from *nara*, the name of a kind of deciduous oak, the *Quercus glandulifera*. The word rendered "gate" should possibly be taken simply in the sense of "exit" or "approach."

24 Or, "lame people and blind people," a peculiarly unlucky omen for travellers, to whom, as Motowori remarks, sound feet and good eyesight are indispensable to carry them on their way.

25 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

person and a blind person, and that only the Ki gate,—a side gate,[26]—would be the lucky gate; and when they started off, they established the Homuji clan[27] in every place they arrived at. So when they had reached Idzumo and had finished worshipping the Great Deity, and were returning up [to the capital], they made in the middle of the River Hi[28] a black plaited bridge and respectfully offered a temporary palace [for the august child] to dwell in.[29] Then when the ancestor of the rulers of the Land of Idzumo, whose name was Kihisa-tsu-mi,[30] having made an imitation green-leafed mountain,[31]

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[26] In the text the word "gate" is here, by a copyist's error, written "moon." When the author says that the Ki gate, *i.e.*, gate or exit leading to the province of Ki, is a "side-gate," he means that it was not the one by which travellers would naturally have left the town: —the province of Ki, indeed, is to the South of Yamato where the capital was, whereas the province of Idzumo, whither they were bound, was to the north-west. This road into Ki over Matsuchi-yama is one famous in the classical poetry of Japan.

[27] *Homuji-be.* The meaning of the clause is that they granted the surname of Homuji to persons in every important locality through which they passed on their journey.

[28] See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

[29] The signification of this passage is: "They built as a temporary abode for the prince a house in the River Hi (whether with its foundations actually in the water or on an island is left undetermined), connecting it with the main land by a bridge made of branches of of trees twisted together and with their bark left on them" (this is here the import of the word "black"). Such bridges have been met with by the translator in the remote northern province of Deha, where the country people call them *shiba-bashi* (or, rather, in their patois *suba-bashi*,* *i.e.*, "twig-bridges"). The traveller is so likely to fall through interstices into the stream below, that it is not to be wondered at that they should now be confined to the rudest localities.

* Hurdle-bridge.—W.G.A.

[30] Motowori supposes *Kihisa* to be the name of a place, and *tsu-mi* to stand as usual for *tsu mochi*, "possessor," according to which view the name would mean "lord" or "possessor" of Kihisa.

placed [it] in the lower reach of the river, and was about to present the great august food,[32] the august child spoke, saying: "What here resembles a green-leafed mountain in the lower "[reach of the] river, looks like a mountain, but is not a "mountain. Is it perchance the great court[33] of the deacon[34] "who holds in reverence the Great Deity Ugly-Male-of-the-"Reed-Plains[35] that dwells in the temple of So at Ihakuma in "Idzumo?"[36] [Thus] he deigned to ask. Then the Kings, who had been sent in august attendance [on him], hearing with joy and seeing with delight,[37] set the august child to dwell in the palace of Nagaho at Ajimasa,[38] and despatched a

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[31] No book of reference with which the translator is acquainted throws any light on this curious expression, and there is no parallel passage in the "Chronicles" to which to look for help.

[32] Viz., to the Prince ("the august child"). The preparations which *Kihisa-tsu-mi* is here said to have made are supposed by Motowori to have been prompted by a desire to add beauty to the feast. But the whole passage is very obscure.

[33] Viz., the court in front of, or the approach to, the shrine, which would naturally be planted with the sacred tree, the *saka-ki* (*Cleyera japonica*), and thus justify the prince's comparison to it of the artificial grove at which he was looking.

[34] *I.e.*, the priest attached to the worship of, etc. For "deacon" see Note 33 to Sect. LXII.

[35] *Ashihara-shiko-wo*, one of the many names of the Deity *Oho-kuni-nushi* ("Master of the Great Land," see Sect. XX, Note 19), the Deity whom the Prince and his followers had just been worshipping.

[36] These names cannot now be identified, and are of uncertain etymology. Ihakuma seems, however, to mean "curve in the rock." One would have expected in this place, instead of these unkown names, to find a reference to the main temple of the Deity, which was styled *Kidzuki no oho-yashiro, i.e.*, "the great shrine of Kidzuki."

[37] Some such words as "the changed and more intelligent appearance of the Prince, and his attainment of the power of speech" must be mentally supplied in order to bring out the sense which the author intends to convey.

[38] These names cannot be identified. *Nagaho* signifies "long rice-ear," while *ajimasa* in modern usage is the name of a palm (the

courier [to inform the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the august child wedded Princess Hinaga[39] for one night. So, on looking privately at the beautiful maiden, [he found her] to be a serpent, at the sight of which he fled away alarmed. Then Princess Hinaga was vexed, and, illuminating the sea-plain,[40] pursued after them in a ship; and they, more and more alarmed at the sight, pulled the august vessel across the mountain-folds,[41] and went fleeing up [to the capital]. Thereupon they made a report, saying: "We have come up [to "the capital] because thy great and august child has become "able to speak through worshipping the Great Deity." So the Heavenly Sovereign, delighted, forthwith sent King Unakami back to build the Deity's temple. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, on account of this august child, established the Totori Clan, the Torikahi Clan, the Homuji Clan, the Ohoyuwe and the Wakayuwe.[42]

Levistona Sinensis); but Motowori supposes that it formerly designated the palmetto or some cognate tree.

[39] *Hi-naga-hime.* The signification of the name is obscure, but it would seem most natural to suppose it connected with the River Hi which figures in the Idzumo cycle of legends. A proposal of Motowori's to read *Koye-naga* instead of the traditional *Hi-naga* seems scarcely to be meant in earnest. If accepted, it would give us the meaning of "fat and long princess," with reference to the story of her being a serpent.

[40] It will be remembered that the Province of Idzumo is a maritime one, and that the fugitives might be supposed to reach the sea-shore in their flight. It is true that this is exactly the reverse of the direction which they would be obliged to take in travelling up to the capital, which was in Yamato.

[41] *I.e.*, the depressions or valleys separating one mountain from another.

[42] In the original *Totori-be, Torikahi-be, Homuji-be, Oho- yuwe* and *Waka-yuwe.* All these "gentile names" have a meaning connecting them either really or apparently with the story above related,—*to-tori* signifying "bird-catcher" and *tori-kahi* "bird-feeder," while the name of the *Homuji* Clan is of course derived from that

[SECT. LXXIII.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART V.—HIS LATER WIVES).]

Again, in accordance with the Empress's words, he summoned Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, next Her Augustness Princess Oto, next Her August Princess Utakori, next Her Augustness Princess Matonu,[1] daughters of Princess Michi-no-ushi,—four Deities in all. Now he kept the two Deities Her Augustness Princess Hibasu and Her Augustness Princess Oho; but as for the two Deities the younger queens, he sent them back to their native place on account of their extreme hideousness. Thereupon Princess Matonu said with mortification: "When it is known in the neighbouring vlllages that, among "sisters of the same family, we have been sent back on "account of our ugliness, it will be extremely mortifying;" and, on reaching Sagaraka[2] in the Land of Yamashiro, she tried to kill herself[3] by hanging herself from a branch of a

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of the Prince (Homuchi or Homuji), and *Oho-yuwe* and *Waha-yuwe* signify respectively "elder bather" and "younger bather."

[1] *Hibasu-hime, Oto-hime* and *Matonu-hime.* The first two of these names have already appeared above, where the etymology of *Hibasu* was said to be doubtful, while *Oto* signifies "younger sister." *Matonu* has likewise already appeared, and is of uncertain derivation. Motowori supposes this last name to be in this place but an alias for *Utakori*, which he explains in the sense of "sad heart," with reference to the story of this princess as here told. In any case there is confusion in the legend, for in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" five princesses are mentioned, whereas at the end of Sect. LXXI of these "Records" the Empress is made to speak of only two. The father's name has been already there explained.

[2] The real derivation of this name is obscure. The ancient (perhaps here and elsewhere supposititious ancient) form *Sagari-ki* signifies "hanging-tree." *Saga-raka* is written 相樂, a good example of the free manner in which some Chinese characters were anciently used for phonetic purposes. *Sau-raku, Sa-raku* or *Sa-gara* would be the only readings possible in the modern tongue.

[3] Literally, "wished to die." Motowori supposes that her design was frustrated by her attendants.

tree. So that place was called by the name of Sagariki. It is now called Sagaraka. Again, on reaching Otokuni,[4] she at last killed herself by jumping[5] into a deep pool. So that place was called by the name of Ochikuni. It is now called Otokuni.

[SECT. LXXIV.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VI.—TAJIMA-MORI BRINGS BACK THE ORANGE FROM THE ETERNAL LAND).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign sent Tajima-mori,[1] ancestor of the Chiefs of Miyake,[2] to the Eternal Land[3] to fetch the fruit of the everlasting[4] fragrant tree. So Tajima-mori at last reached that country, plucked the fruit of the tree, and brought of clubmoss eight and of spears eight;[5] but meanwhile the

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[4] Written with characters signifying "*younger country*," but here supposed by the author to be derived from *ochi-kuni*, "falling country," in connection with this legend.

[5] Lit., "died by falling."

[1] The meaning of this name, which is written phonetically both here and in the "Chronicles," has given rise to differences of opinion, some deriving it from the name of the province of Tajima (itself of obscure origin) and from the word *mori* "keeper," while others think it comes from *tachibana*, the Japanese word for orange, with reference to the story here told. The supporters of the former view, on the other hand, derive the word *tachibana* from *Tajima-mori*.

[2] *Miyake no murazhi*. Whether *miyake* is simply the name of a place or whether it should be taken in the sense of "store" or "granary," is uncertain. If the latter view be adopted, it would be natural to suppose that this family had originally furnished the superintendents of the Imperial granaries. In any case it traced its origin to a Korean source (see the "Catalogue of Family Names," and the genealogies in Sect. CXV).

[3] See Sect. XXVII, Note 12.

[4] Written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" with characters signifying literally "timeless." The whole of this circumlocution for the orange has indeed to be interpreted by the help of the "Chronicles," it being here written phonetically and offering some difficulties as it stands.

Heavenly Sovereign had died. Then Tajima-mori set apart of clubmoss four and of spears four, which he presented to the Great Empress,[6] and set up of clubmoss four and of spears four as an offering at the door of the Heavenly Sovereign's august mausoleum, and, raising on high the fruit of the tree, wailed and wept, saying: "Bringing the fruit of the everlasting "fragrant tree from the Eternal Land, I have come to serve "thee;" and at last he wailed and wept himself to death. This fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree is what is now called the orange.[7]

[SECT. LXXV.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VII.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS HIBASU).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and fifty-three. His august mausoleum is in the middle of the moor of Mitachi at Sugahara.[1] Again in the time of the Great Empress Her Augustness Princess Hibasu,[2] the Stone-

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[5] This corrupt and obscure passage seems to be well restored by Motowori, whose explanation of it is likewise as convincing as it is ingenious. Tne expression "clubmoss-oranges" signifies oranges as they grow on the branch surrounded by leaves, while "spear-oranges" are the same divested of leaves and hanging to the bare twig. Thus the words "clubmoss" and "spear" came to be used as "Auxiliary Numerals" for oranges plucked in these two different manners.*

* I hae my doots.—W.G.A.

[6] Viz., says Motowori, Princess Hibasu, who however, according to the account in the "Chronicles," was already dead at this time.

[7] The word *tachibana* (written 橘) in the text should probably be taken as a specific and not as a general term. In modern usage it designates the *Citrus japonica*. But it is a matter of dispute whether the application of the term has not altered since ancient times, and whether we should not understand by it one of the other kinds of orange now to be found in Japan,—perhaps the *Citrus nobilis*.

[1] Both the locality and the etymology of *Mitachi* are obscure. *Sugahara* ("sedge-moor") is known to be in the province of Yámato.

[2] *I.e.*, at the time of the burial of the great Empress, etc.

Coffin-Makers'[3] were established, and also the Earthenware-Masters' Clan[4] was established. This Empress was buried in the mausoleum of Terama near Saki.[5]

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[3] The character 祝 ("to pray") in the text is indubitably a copyist's error for "棺, coffin." These stone coffins are described by Mr. Henry von Siebold in his "Notes on Japanese Archæology" p. 5. It must be understood that, from being the name of an office, Stone-Coffin-Maker (*Ishi-ki-tsukuri*) became a "gentile name."

[4] *Hanishi-be.* The meaning of this expression becomes clear by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," which it may be worth while to quote at length from Mr. Satow's translation in pp. 329–330 of Vol. VIII, Pt. III, of these Transactions: "In "the autumn of the 32nd year, on the *tsuchi no to u* day of the moon, "which rose on the *ki no ye inu* day, the empress Hi-ba-su hime no "Mikoto (in another source called Hi-ba-su ne no Mikoto) died, and "they were several days going to bury her. The Mikado commanded "all his high officers, saying: 'We knew before that the practice of "'following the dead is not good. In the case of the present burying, "'what shall be done?' Thereupon Nomi no Sukune advanced and "said: 'It is not good to bury living men standing at the sepulchre "'of a prince, and this cannot be handed down to posterity. I pray "'leave now to propose a convenient plan, and to lay this before the "'sovereign.' And he sent messengers to summon up a hundred of "the clay-workers' tribe of the country of Idzumo, and he himself "directed the men of the clay-workers' tribe in taking clay and "forming shapes of men, horses and various things, and presented "them to the Mikado, saying: 'From now and henceforward let it be "'the law for posterity to exchange things of clay for living men, "'and set them up at sepulchres.' Thereupon the Mikado rejoiced, "and commended Nomi no Sukune, saying: 'Thy expedient plan "has truly pleased Our heart;' and the things of clay were for the "first time set up at the tomb of Hi-ba-su hime no Mikoto. Where-"fore these things were called *haniwa* (a circle of clay). Then he sent "down an order, saying: 'From now and henceforward, be sure to "'set up these things of clay at sepulchres, and let not men be slain.' "The Mikado bountifully praised Nomi no Sukune, bestowed on him "a kneading-place, and appointed him to the charge of the clay-"workers' tribe."

[7] In the province of Yamato. In the old poetry there are many

[SECT. LXXVI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake dwelt in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Elder Lady of Inabi in Harima,[2] daughter of Waka-take, Prince of Kibi,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi,[4] and begot august children: King Kushi-tsunu-wake;[5] next His Augustness Oho-usu:[6]

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plays on this word *Saki*, which is homonymous with the Verb "to blossom." But whether that be its real derivation, it were hard to say. *Terama** appears to signify "Budhist temple-space," an etymology which is embarrassing to the Shintō commentators who, accepting every word of our text as authentic history, are hard-driven to explain how Buddhist temples could have existed in Japan before the date assigned for the introduction of Buddhism.

* Tera is a Chinese word which came to Japan through the Corean 절.—W.G.A.

[1] In the province of Yamato. The etymology of *Makimuku* is obscure. *Hi-shiro*, is tentatively derived by Motowori from *hi*, the *Chamæcyparis obtusa* (a kind of conifer), and *shiro*, "an enclosure."

[2] *Harima no inabi no oho-iratsume.* Inabi is also known under the alternative form of *Inami:* etymology uncertain.

[3] *Waka-take Kibi tsu hiko. Waka-take* signifies "young brave."

[4] *Kibi no omi.*

[5] *Kushi* signifies "wondrous," and *wake* either "young." or "lord." The meaning of *tsunu* is obscure.

[6] The names of this prince and the next signify respectively "great foot-pestle"† and "little foot-pestle," the origin of the bestowal of which singular designations is thus related in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles:" "The Imperial child Oho-usu and His Augustness "Wo-usu were born together the same day as twins. The Heavenly "Sovereign, astonished, informed the foot-pestle. So the two Kings "were called Great Foot-pestle and Little foot-pestle." What the import of this passage may be is, however, a mystery both to Tanigaha Shisei and to Motowori.

† Is it not *usu*, the "mortar"? See note in the "Chronicles" where it is thought the upper and lower stones of the quern or hand-mill are meant.—W.G.A.

next His Augustness Wo-usu, another name for whom is His Augustness Yamato-wo-guna ;[7] next His Augustness Yamato-ne-ko ;[8] next King Kamu-kushi.[9] Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Yasaka-no-iri,[10] daughter of His Augustness Prince Yasaka-no-iri, he begot august children: His Augustness Prince Waka-tarashi ;[11] next His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri ;[12] next His Augustness Oshi-no-wake ;[13] next Her Augustness Princess Iho-ki-no-iri.[14] Children by another concubine were: King Toyo-to-wake ;[15] next the Lady Nunoshiro.[16] Children by another concubine were: the Lady Nunaki ;[17] next Her Augustness Princess Kago-yori ;[18] next King Prince Waka-ki-no-iri ;[19] next King the Elder Prince of Kibi-no-ye ;[20] next Her

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[7] Motowori supposes *wo-guna* to have been an archaic word for "boy," *me-guna* signifying "girl." *Yamato wo-guna* would thus signify "*the* boy of Japan," a not inappropriate designation for this prince, who under his later name of Yamato-take (Japan Brave, *i.e.*, "*the* brave man of Japan") has remained as the chief legendary type of the martial prowess of his native land,

[8] *I.e.*, Yamato Prince.

[9] *Kamu-kushi no miko, i.e.*, "divine wondrous."

[10] *Ya-saka no iri-bime no mikoto.* The signification of this name and of the next (*Ya-saka no iri-biko no mikoto*) is obscure.*

* Saka from the Chinese Shaku?—W.G.A.

[11] *Waka-tarashi-hiko no mikoto, i.e.*, "young and perfect prince."

[12] *I-ho-ki no iri-biko no mikoto.* Signification obscure.

[13] Or, *Oshi-wake, i.e.*, perhaps "Great Lord."

[14] *I-ho-ki no iri-bime no mikoto.* Signification obscure.

[15] *Toyo-to-wake no mikoto, i.e.*, perhaps "luxuriant swift prince."

[16] *Nunoshiro no iratsume.* Signification obscure.

[17] *Nunaki no iratsume.* Signification obscure.

[18] *Kago-yori-hime no mikoto. Yori-hime* probably means "good princess." The sense of *kago* is very doubtful, for it may either be the name of a place, or else identical with the Verb *kagayaku* "to shine," or with *kago*, "a stag."

[19] *Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto.* The signification of this name is obscure.

[20] *Kibi no ye-hiko no mikoto.*

Augustness Princess Takaki;[21] next Her Augustness Princess Oto.[22] Again wedding Princess Mi-hakashi of Himuka,[23] he begot an august child: King Toyo-kuni-wake.[24] Again wedding the Younger Lady of Inabi,[25] younger sister of the Elder Lady of Inabi, he begot august children: King Ma-waka;[26] next King Hiko-hito-no-oho-ye.[27] Again wedding Princess Ka-guro,[28] daughter of King Prince Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko,[29] great-grandchild of His Augustness Yamato-take,[30] he begot an august

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21 *Takaki-hime no mikoto.* The meaning of *takaki* in this place is not certain.

22 *Oto-hime no mikoto, i.e.,* "the younger princess."

23 *Himuka no Mi-hakashi-bime. Mi hakashi* signifies "august sabre." See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXVI, p. 11, for a gloss on this curious name.

24 *Toyo-kuni-wake no miko, i.e.,* perhaps "lord of the luxuriant land," or else "lord of the land of Toyo," the Emperor Kei-kō having, according to the account in the "Chronicles," spent some years fighting in South-Western Japan, where the province of Toyo is situated.

25 *Inabi no waki-iratsume.* See Note 2 to this Section.

26 *Ma-waka no miko, i.e.,* "truly young prince."

27 *Hiko-hito no oho-ye no miko. Hiko* signifies "prince," *hito* is "person" (or here, according to Motowori, "headman"), and *oho-ye* is "great elder brother."

28 *Ka-guro-hime, i.e.,* probably "the black-haired princess."

29 *Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto.* The signification of this name is not clear. Motowori identifies *sume* with the like-sounding Verb signifying "to be supreme." *Oho-naka-tsu-hiko* may signify "great middle prince," referring to the comparative ages of this prince and his brethren.

30 There is here an evident error in the genealogy, as it would make the emperor marry his own great-great-grand daughter! A guess of the editor of 1687 that for Yamato-take we should read Waka-take (a son of the Emperor Kō-rei) is approved by Motowori, and may be adopted as probably correct,—*i.e.,* (what is but little likely) if this portion of the "Records" should eventually be proved to be historically trustworthy. The question is discussed by Motowori in Vol. XXVI, pp. 12–14, of his Commentary.

child: King Oho-ye.[31] The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko numbered in all twenty-one kings and queens[32] of whom there is a register, and fifty-nine kings and queens of whom there is no record,—eighty kings and queens altogether, out of whom His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko and also His Augustness Yamato-take, and also His Augustness Prince I-ho-ki-no-iri,—these three Kings,—bore the name of Heirs Apparent.[33] The seventy-seven kings and and queens beside these[34] were all granted Rulerships in the various lands, or else [posts as] Lords, Territorial Lords or Departmental Chiefs.[35] So His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko [was he who afterward] ruled the Empire. His Augustness Wo-usu subdued the savage deities and likewise the unsubmissive people in the East and West. The next, King Kushi-tsunu-wake (was the ancestor of the chiefs of Mamuta).[36] The next, His Augustness Oho-Usu, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mori,[37] of the Dukes of Ohota[38] and of the Dukes of Shimada).[39] The next, King

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31 *Oho-ye no miko.* This name would, as Motowori remarks, appear to have erroneously crept in here through the influence of the name mentioned in Note 27, the whole account of this union with Princess Ka-guro being corrupt.

32 The Japanese term (王 *miko*) includes both males and females.

33 太子.

34 As above remarked, the Japanese term includes both males and females, and moreover some of the female children are specially mentioned. The difficulty as to how females could have been appointed to the offices here mentioned is not solved by Motowori, whose note on this passage is evasive.

35 The four names of offices (also used as "gentile names") here mentioned are in the original Japanese *Kuni no Miyatsuko*, *Wake*, *Inaki* and *Agata-nushi*. (See Introduction, p. xvi.)

36 *Mamuta no murazhi.* (See Sect. LIII, Note 1).

37 *Mori no kimi.* *Mori* seems to be the name of a place (perhaps in Mino); but nothing is known of this family.

33 *Ohota no kimi.* *Ohota* is the name of a place in Mino, and signifies "great rice-fields."

39 *Shimada no kimi.* *Shimada* is perhaps the name of a place in Wohari. It signifies "island rice-field."

Kamu-kushi, (was the ancestor of the Sakabe Abiko in the Land of Ki,[40] and of the Sakabe of Uda).[41] The next, King Toyo-kuni-wake (was the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Himuka).[42]

[SECT. LXXVII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART II.—THE MAIDENS YE-HIME AND OTO-HIME).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, to assure himself* of what he had heard of the beauty of the two maidens Ye-hime and Oto-hime,[1] daughters of King Kamu-oho-ne,[2] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Minu,[3] sent his august child, His Augustness Oho-usu, to summon them up [to the Capital]. So His Augustness Oho-usu who had been sent, instead of summoning them up, forthwith wedded both the maidens himself, and then sought other women, to whom he falsely gave the maidens' names, and sent them up [to his father]. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, knowing them to be other women, frequently subjected them to his long glances;[4] but, never wedding them, caused them† to sorrow. So the child that His Augustness Oho-usu begot on wedding Ye-hime, was King

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40 *Ki no kuni no sakabe no abiko.* For *abiko* see Sect. LXXII, Note 85. *Sakabe* seems to signify "liquor tribe," this family and the next having been entrusted with the management of the Imperial feasts.

41 *Uda no Sakabe, i.e.*, the "Liquor Tribe of Uda" (in Yamato).

42 *Himuka no kuni no miyatsuko.*

* This is Motowori, but is hardly satisfactory. Probably the text is corrupt.—W.G.A.

1 *I.e.*, the elder princess and the younger princess

2 See Sect. LXII, Note 36.

3 *Minu no kuni no miyatsuko.*

4 *I.e.*, "gazed at them intently." The Classical word *nagamuru*, "to gaze," is properly a compound of *naga*, "long," and *miru*, "to see."

† There is no causative in the Chinese, and the 'sorrow' might be the Tenno's. The causative form given by Motowori is probably meant to be Honorific only.—W.G.A.

Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko[5] (he was the ancestor of the Lords of Unesu in Minu).[6] Again, the child that he begot on wedding Oto-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mugetsu).[7]

[SECT. LXXVIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART III.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In this august reign the Labourers' Tribe[1] was established; again, the port of Aha in the East was established; again, the Great Butlers' Tribe[2] was established; again, the granaries of Yamato were established; again, the Pool of Sakate was made, and bamboos planted on its bank.[3]

[SECT. LXXIX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IV.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The Heavenly Sovereign said to His Augustness Wo-usu: "Why does not thine elder brother come forth to the morning "and evening great august repasts?[1] Be thou the one to take "the trouble to teach him [his duty]." Thus he commanded;

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[5] The meaning of the syllables *oshi* in this name and the companion one (*Oshi-kuro no oto-hiko*) immediately below is probably "great;" *kuro* is obscure; *ye-hiko* signifies "elder prince" and *oto-hiko* "younger prince."

[6] *Minu no Unesu no wake.* Of Unesu nothing is known.

[7] *Mugetsu no kimi.* Mugetsu or Muge was in the province of Minu (Mino).

[1] Such is the reasonable explanation of the original term *tabe* (田部) given by Motowori. It seems to have become a "gentile name."

[2] *Kashihade no oho-tomo-be.* This "gentile name" originally denoted one who was butler, steward, or cook, in the Emperor's household. The tradition of its origin is preserved in the "Chronicles."

[3] Motowori supposes that the mention both is this history and in the "Chronicles of Japan" of the planting of bamboos on the banks of this pool or lake should be attributed to the rarity of such a proceeding in ancient times.

[1] Viz., to attend on his Imperial father.

but for five days after, still [the prince] came not forth. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask His Augustness Wo-usu [saying]: "Why is thine elder brother so long of coming? "Hast thou perchance not yet taught him [his duty]?" He replied, saying: "I have been at that trouble." Again [the Heavenly Sovereign] said: "How didst thou take the trouble?"[2] He replied, saying: "In the early morning when he "went into the privy, I grasped hold of him and crushed "him, and, pulling off his limbs,[3] wrapped them in matting "and flung them away."*

[SECT. LXXX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART V.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him, saying: "In the West there are two Kumaso bravoes,[1]— "unsubmissive and disrespectful men. So take[2] them,"—and [with this command] he sent him off. It happened that at this time his august hair was bound at the brow.[3] Then His Augustness Wo-usu was granted by his aunt Her Augustness Yamato-hime[4] her august [upper] garment and august skirt;

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[2] *I.e.*, "How didst thou do it?"

[3] Literally, "branches."

* Motowori thinks he may have survived this treatment!—W.G.A.

[1] *I.e.*, presumably "bravoes at Kumaso;" but it is to be remarked that in this and like compounds with *takeru* ("bravo") the Japanese language uses no Post-position. For Kumaso see Sect. V, Note 17.

[2] Motowori seems right in interpreting "take" here and elsewhere in the sense of "slay.". But "take" is in the text.

[3] *I.e.*, caught up from the brow and tied together on the crown of the head. This being the way in which the hair of boys was dressed, the author thus intimates that His Augustness was still a youth.

[4] Who was high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise, as mentioned in Sect. LXIX (Note 44).

and, with a sabre hidden in his august bosom, he went forth.[5] So, on reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, he saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave[6] to* dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave,[7] were getting food ready. So [Prince Wo-usu] sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the rejoicing. Then when the day of the rejoicing† came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up,[8] and having put on his aunt's august [upper] garment and august skirt, he looked quite like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women,[9] went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when [the feast was] at its height, [His Augustness Wo-usu,] drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching Kumaso[10] by the collar of his garment, thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the steps[11] of the cave, and catching him by

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[5] The characters used for these last two words are those properly restricted to the mention of an Imperial progress, but Yamato-take is constantly spoken of as if he had actually sat on the throne.

[6] The character used is 室, which simply means apartment; but see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1.

* Were they not actually dwelling in it?—W.G.A.

[7] Motowori reads "*New* cave," but the word "august" is in the text. At the same time we see that this feast was intended as a house-warming. *Conf.* the commencement of Sect. CLXIV.

† Merry-making? "Rejoicing" a little too comprehensive.—W.G.A.

[8] The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" puts the same meaning into plainer words. It says: "He undid his hair, and made it appear like a girl's."

[9] Or, according to the old reading, "mixing with the concubines."

[10] *I.e.*, the elder bravo of Kumaso.

[11] The word rendered "steps" is of doubtful interpretation.

the back,[12] [Prince Wo-usu] thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I[13] have something to say." Then [His Augustness Wo-usu], respited him for a moment, holding him down [as he lay] prostrate. Hereupon [the bravo] said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: "I am the august child "of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, the Heavenly Sovereign who, "dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, rules the "Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King "Yamato-wo-guna. Hearing that you two [fellows[14]], the "Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmissive and disrespectful, [the "Heavenly Sovereign] sent me with the command to take and "slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: "That must be "true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong "as we two.[15] Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a "man braver than we two,—there is.[16]* Therefore will I offer "thee an august name. From this time forward it is right "that thou be praised as the August Child Yamato-take.[17]"

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[12] Or perhaps "the skin of his back" or "the [beast's?] skin on his back." But Motowori is probably right† in supposing the character 皮, "skin" to be an error for 以, "with," to be construed with the word "sabre." (In the English idiom this Particle falls away.)

† Yes.—**W.G.A.**

[13] Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

[14] The contemptuous Second Personal Pronoun *ore* is used here and in the next clause.

[15] There is Motowori's authority for thus understanding the bravo's words. Taken still more literally, they would seem to imply that there were no brave and strong men in the West *excepting* himself and his brother.

[16] The words "there is" are an attempt at rendering the termination *keri* of the original. See Sect. X, Note 1.

* The force of *Keri* here is somewhat like: "Yet in the land," etc.—"it has appeared that,"—"it has turned out that,"—"it would seem that"—"it has come to pass that,"—"I find that."—**W.G.A.**

[17] *I.e.*, "Yamato-Brave," *q.d.*, "the Bravest in Yamato." It is by his name that the hero is always commonly spoken of. Remember

As soon as he had finished saying this, [the Prince] ripped him up[18] like a ripe melon,[19] and slew him.[20] So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of[20] his Augustness Yamato-take. When he returned up [to the capital] after doing this, he subdued and pacified every one of the Deities of the mountains and of the Deities of the rivers and likewise of the Deities of Anado,[22] and then went up to [the capital].

[SECT. LXXXI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VI.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE IDZUMO BRAVO).]

Forthwith entering the Land of Idzumo, and wishing to slay the Idzumo bravo, he, on arriving, forthwith bound [himself to him in] friendship. So, having secretly made [the wood of] an oak [-tree[1]] into a false sword and augustly girded it, he went with the bravo to bathe in the River Hi.[2] Then, His Augustness Yamato-take, getting out of the river first, and taking and girding on the sword* that the Idzumo bravo had

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that "august child" signifies prince.

18 折, "broke," in the text is, as the commentators observe, an evident error for 析, "ripped."

19 Or specifically, the "musk-melon."

20 The translator has followed Motowori's restoration of this passage, in which, by the transposition of the characters 也 and 故, the end of this sentence and the beginning of the next were mixed together in the older editions.

21 Lit., "[they] praised the august name, calling him," etc.

22 Or, "of the Ana passage" (lit. door), the modern Strait of Shimonoseki. The word *ana* signifies "hole," and there is a tradition (which Motowori quotes in his note on this name in Vol. XXVII, pp. 26–29 of his Commentary) to the effect that formerly the Main Island and the island of Kiushiu were continuous at this point, there being only a sort of natural tunnel, through which junks could pass.

1 The species mentioned (*'chihi*) is the *Quercus gilva.*

2 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

* Cross-sword.—W.G.A.

taken off and laid down, said: "Let us exchange swords!" So afterwards the Idzumo bravo, getting out of the river, girded on His Augustness Yamato-take's false sword. Hereupon His Augustness Yamato-take, suggested, saying: "Come on! let us cross[3] swords." Then on drawing his sword, the Idzumo bravo could not draw the false sword. Forthwith His Augustness Yamato-take drew his sword and slew the Idzumo bravo. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"Alas that the sword girded on the Idzumo
"bravo, and wound round with many a
"creeper, should have had no true blade!"[4]

So having thus extirpated the [bravoes] and made [the land] orderly, he went up [to the capital], and made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

[SECT. LXXXII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VII.—YAMATO-TAKE IS SENT TO SUBDUE THE EAST, AND VISITS HIS AUNT AT ISE).]

Then the Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on His Augustness Yamato-take, saying: "Subdue and pacify "the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of "the twelve roads of the East;"[1] and when he sent him off, "joining to him Prince Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take,[2] ancestor of

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[3] Lit., "let us join swords." The word "suggested" (誘) in this sentence is an emendation of Motowori's, the text having 誹, "slandered." The older printed editions, while retaining the character 誹, read it *azamukite*, "deceived."

[4] In its position in the present text, this Song must be taken as an ironical lament of the Prince for the dead bravo. In the "Chronicles" the time and the heroes of the episode, and the singers of the Song are all different, and in that context the lament sounds like a genuine one. The reader will remember what was said in the Introduction as to the use of creepers for string. That mentioned in the text is supposed to be the *Cocculus thunbergi*.

[1] See Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

[2] *Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take-hiko*. *Mi* is an Honorific, *mimi* probably

"the Grandees of Kibi,[3] he bestowed on him a holly-wood[4] spear eight fathoms [long]. So when he had received the [Imperial] commands and started off, he went into the temple of the Great August Deity of Ise, and worshipped the Deity's court,[5] forthwith speaking to his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, saying: "It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign "thinks[6] I may die quickly; for after sending me to smite "the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up "again [to the capital] than, without bestowing on me an "army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked peo-"ple of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently I think "that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." When he departed with lamentations and tears, Her Augustness Yamato-hime bestowed on him the "Herb-Quelling-Sabre,"[7] and like-wise bestowed on him an august bag,[6] and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag."

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signifies "ears," and *take* means "brave." The words *suki* and *tomo* are obscure.

[3] *Kibi no omi.*

[4] Properly the *Olea aquifolium*, which resembles holly. Motowori supposes that an entirely wooden spear or stick is here meant to be spoken of, and not the weapon with a metal point which is commonly understood by the word "spear" (*hoko*).

[5] Perhaps we should write "august court," for the characters 朝廷 in the text are evidently intended for the homonymous 御門. The court in front of the Deity's temple is what is here alluded to, and it would perhaps be a not unpardonable departure from the text to insert the Preposition "at" or "in,"* and translate thus: "worshipped *in* the Deity's court.

* *Conf. mi-maye.*—**W.G.A.**

[6] Here and below, the word "thinks" may be understood to mean "wishes."

[7] *Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.* The discovery of this sword by the deity Susa-no-wo ("Impetuous Male") inside one of the tails of the eight-headed serpent which he had slain, is narrated at the end of Sect. XVIII.

[8] The use of the contents of this bag will be seen in the next Section.

[SECT. LXXXIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VIII.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU).]

So reaching the Land of Wohari, he went into the house of Princess Miyadzu,[1] ancestress of the Rulers of Wohari,[2] and forthwith thought to wed her; but thinking again that he would wed her when he should return up [toward the capital], and having plighted his troth, he went [on] into the Eastern Lands, and subdued and pacified all the savage Deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and rivers. So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu,[3] the Ruler of the land lied, saying: "In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, "and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a "very violent Deity." Hereupon [Yamato-take] entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime had bestowed on him, and saw that inside of it there was a fire-striker.[4] Hereupon he first mowed away the

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[1] *Miyazu-hime* (in the "Chronicles" and in the printed editions of these "Records" previous to Motowori's written *Miyasu-hime* without the *nigori*). Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei makes any suggestion as to the signification of this name.

[2] *Wohari no miyatsuko.*

[3] In later times *Sagami.* No authority great or small has given a satisfactory etymology of this name, though numerous and elaborate attempts have been made to explain it.

[4] In the original *hi-uchi* (火打). Mr. Satow, who has given a translation of this passage in a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" to be found in Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 202 of these "Transactions," renders this word by "steel." The present writer prefers not to prejudge the question as to whether the "fire-striker"* intended by the author was a steel, or a wooden fire-drill. Motowori would seem to have held the latter view, as in his gloss on this passage he refers to the previous passage near the end of Sect. XXXII, where the fire-drill is explicitly mentioned. He also quotes an ancient ode

herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt [the herbage] and drove back [the other fire], and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the Rulers[5] of that Land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them. So [that place] is now called Yakidzu.[6]

[SECT. LXXXIV.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IX.—YAMATO-TAKE'S EMPRESS STILLS THE WAVES).]

When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-midzu,[1] the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then [Yamato-take's] Empress,[2] whose name was Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana[3] said: "I[4] will enter the sea instead "of the august child.[5] The august child must complete the "service[6] on which he has been sent, and take back a report "[to the Heavenly Sovereign]." When she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs,[7] eight

in which "a fire-striker of metal" is specially referred to, so that it would seem that all fire-strikers were not of that material.

* The word "strike," seems hardly applicable to a fire-drill.—W.G.A.

5 Remember that this word "Ruler" (*Miyatsuko*) had the acceptation of a "gentile name" as well as of the name of an office, so that we may understand the author to mean that Yamato-take destroyed the whole Ruling Family of Sagami. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has "he burnt all that rebel band, and destroyed them."

6 The words rendered "that place" are supplied by Motowori, their omission being evidently a copyist's error. *Yaki-dzu* signifies "the port of burning."

1 *I.e.*, "running water."

2 *I.e.*, his consort. Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.

3 *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto.* (See Sect. XCII, Note 3.)

4 Written with the humble character 妾, literally "concubine."

5 *I.e.*, "instead of thee, the Prince."

6 More literally, "finish the government."

7 Or "mats." But the same word is used as that which must be translated "rugs" immediately below.

thicknesses of skin rugs and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on the top of the waves, and sat down on the top [of them]. Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the Empress sang, saying:

"Ah! thou [whom I] enquired of, standing
"in the midst of the flames of the fire burn-
"ing on the little moor of Sugamu, where
"the true peak pierces!"[3]

So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb drifted onto the sea-beach,—which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.

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[3] This Song gives much trouble to the commentators, whose remarks (to be found in Motowori's "Commentary," Vol. XXVII, pp. 67–9, and Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto-waki*," Vol. III, pp. 6–9) should be consulted by the student desirous of forming an opinion of his own. The general purport of the poem is of course to allude to Yamato-take's adventure on the burning moor, and at the same time to the love which bound him and his consort together; but almost each individual line offers matter for doubt. Thus it is not certain whether the Verb *tohishi*, here rendered "enquired of" (*i.e.*, attended upon *q.d.*, by the Empress), should not rather be given the word "thou" as Subject, in which case the signification would be "thou who enquiredst of [*i.e.*, wooedst]." The word used for "thou" is the Honorific equivalent of that Pronoun, signifying literally "prince." Moribe disputes the propriety of considering Sagamu in this place as the name of a province; and the word *sanesashi*, here translated "where the true peak pierces" (Mt. Fuji being by some supposed to be thus alluded to) is of very doubtful interpretation. Motowori tells us that the final Particles *ha mo*, rendered by the initial Interjection "Oh," should here be understood as an exclamation of grief,* a signification more forcible than that which usually belongs to them. Finally Moribe points out that the Song does not suit the context in which it is found, and has probably been erroneously inserted here instead of in an earlier portion of the text.

* *Nageki-kotoba* is simply an interjection,—not necessarily of grief. —W.G.A.

[SECT. LXXXV.—EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART X.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS).]

When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi[1] and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up [to the capital], he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass,[2] was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood [before him]. Then forthwith, on his waiting[3] and striking [the deer] with a scrap of wild chive,[4]* [the deer] was hit in the eye and struck dead. So mounting to the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "*Adzuma ha ya!*"[5] So that land is called by the name of Adzuma.

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[1] This is the traditional ancient reading of what is according to the modern pronunciation *Yezo*, while the Chinese characters 蝦夷, with which the name is written, signify "Prawn Barbarians," in allusion (if Motowori may be trusted) to the long beards which make their faces resemble a prawn's head. The hairy barbarians known to English readers as *Ainos*, and whose name of *Yezo* is applied by the Japanese to the northernmost large island of the Japanese Archipelago, which is still chiefly tenanted by them, are almost certainly here referred to. In ancient times they inhabited a great part of the Main Island of Japan. The translator may add that the genuineness of the so-called ancient reading "*Yemishi*" appears to him doubtful. The name known to the people themselves, and which apparently can be traced as far as Kamschatka, is *Yezo*.

[2] *Ashigara-zaka*, one of the passes from Sagami into Suruga leading towards Mount Fuji.

[3] *I.e.*, lying in ambush.

[4] *Nira*, the *Allium odorum*.

* With a scrap of the wild chive which was left over from his meal.—W.G.A.

[5] *I.e.*, "Oh! my wife!" *Adzuma* is still used as a poetical designation of Eastern Japan. The translator doubts the correctness of the derivation of it given in the text, although it is universally accep-

[SECT. LXXXVI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XI.—YAMATO-TAKE DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SAKAWORI).]

When, forthwith crossing over from that land out into Kahi,[1] he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori,[2] he sang saying;

"How many nights have I slept since passing
"Nihibari and Tsukuha?"[3]

Then the old man, who was the lighter of the august fire,[4] completed* the august Song, and sang, saying:

"Oh! having put the days in a row, there
"are of nights nine nights, and of days ten
"days!"[5]

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ted and certainly fits in well with the graceful legend by which it is here accounted for.

[1] This name is identified by the native etymologists with an homonymous Substantive signifying "a place between mountains."

[2] The etymology of this name is uncertain. But the most likely opinion is that it signifies "a zigzag road down a pass."

[3] *I.e.*, since leaving the province of Hitachi, of which Tsukuha (in modern parlance *Tsukuba*, with the last syllable *niyori*'ed) and Nihibari (modern *Nihiharu*) are two districts. In the later poetry *Nihibari no* is often used as a Pillow-Word for ths name of Mount Tsukuba. The etymology of both names is uncertain, but "newly tilled" seems to be the most probable etymology of the first of the two.

[4] Not necessarily a fire kindled for the sake of obtaining warmth, but fire in general, including, as Motowori suggests, torches and fires lit to drive away mosquitoes. There are frequent mentions in the classical literature of this latter sort of fire, which may indeed still be met with in some districts where mosquito-nets are not yet in common use.

* Continued.—W.G.A.

[5] The meaning is: "On counting up, I find that we have been ten days and nine nights."—Previous to Motowori the expression *ka-ga nabete*, "having put in a row (*i.e.*, counted) the days" was curiously misunderstood, and subjected to various far-fetched interpretations. There can however be no doubt but that Motowori is right.—The

Therefore [Yamato-take] praised the old man, and forthwith bestowed [on him] the Rulership of the Eastern Land[s].[6]

[SECT. LXXXVII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XII.—YAMATO-TAKE WOOS PRINCESS MIYAZU).]

Having crossed over from that land into the land of Shinanu[1] and subdued the Deity of the Shinanu pass,[2] he came back to the land of Wohari, and went to dwell in the house of Princess Miyazu, to whom he had before plighted his troth. Hereupon, when presenting to him the great august food, princess Miyazu lifted up a great august liquor-cup and presented it to him. Tunc Heræ Miyazu veli oræ adhæserunt menstrua. Quare [Augustus Yamato-take] illa menstrua vidit et auguste cecinit, dicens:

"Ego volui reclinare [caput] in fragili,
"molli brachiolo [tuo, quod est simile] vallo
"impingenti acutæ falci in Monti Kagu in
"cœlo formato quasi cucurbita;—ego de-
"sideravi dormire [tecum]. Sed in orâ veli
"quod induis luna surrexit."[3]

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reason why the old man is said to have "completed"* the Prince's song is that the former taken alone is of incomplete rhythm.†

* Continued.—W.G.A.

† Metre; but with the old man's verse added, no verse of any recognised metre is produced.—W.G.A.

[6] Or, as Motowori would prefer to consider it, "the Rulership of *an* Eastern Land," viz., one out of the twelve Eastern provinces.

[1] See Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

[2] *Shinanu no saka,* a pass between the provinces of Shinano and Mino which is no longer used.

[3] Even taken apart from its immediate context, the import of this Song is plain, notwithstanding Moribe's efforts to explain away its indelicacy. The details of the first part, however, require some comment in order to make them comprehensible to the European reader, the words in question being those which might in English be rendered "thy fragile, slender, delicate arm [which resembles] a post

Tunc Hera Miyazu augusto cantui respondit, dicens:
"Altè resplendentis solis auguste puer!
"Placidè administrationem faciens mî magne
"domine! Renovatis annis venientibus et
"effluentibus, renovatæ lunæ eunt veniendo
"et effluendo. Sane, sane, dum te im-
"patienter exspecto, luna suâpte surgit in
"orâ veli quod ego induo!"[4]

"striking against the sharp sickle on Mount Kagu of the gourd-"shaped heaven." In Japanese they run thus:

Hisa-kata no
Ame no Kagu--yama
To-kama ni
Sa-wataru kuhi:—
Hiha-boso
Ta-waya-gahina wo, etc.

It will he remarked that the first four lines form a "Punning Preface" to the fifth. Such Punning Prefaces have not necessarily any logical connection with what follows, as has been explained by the present writer in a paper "On the Use of Pillow-Words and Plays upon Words in Japanees Poetry," to be found in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 *et seq.* of these "Transactions." In this particular case, however, there is sufficient continuity of sense to warrant the continuous translation above given. The word "post," though such a use of it is very curious, must be understood to denote not a dead, but a living trunk, or rather the stem of some delicate plant or grass which falls beneath the sickle of the mower on Mount Kagu in Heaven, or, as it may better be understood, on the Heavenly Mount Kagu [in Yamato]. "Gourd-shaped" is the translation of *hisa-kata no* or *hisa-gata no*, the Pillow-Word for "heaven." Its meaning is disputed, but Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" and Motowori agree in giving to it the sense here adopted (see the above-mentioned paper "On the Use of Pillow-Words, etc.," p. 81).

[4] The total sense of this Song is quite plain.—In the first lines of it the Prince is addressed as if he were the reigning sovereign. The words *placidè administrationem faciens* represent the Japanese *yasumishishi*, the Pillow-Word for *wa ga oho-kimi*, "my great lord." Elsewhere the English rendering "who tranquilly carries on the

Quare tunc [ille] coivit [cum illâ], after which, placing in Princess Miyazu's house his august sword "the Grass-Quelling Sabre," he went forth[5] to take the Deity of [Mount] Ibuki.[6]

[SECT. LXXXVIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIII.—YAMATO-TAKE MEETS THE DEITY OF MOUNT IBUKI).]

Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, "I will simply take him empty-handed,"[1]—and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull.[2] Then he lifted up words,[3] and said: "This creature that is transformed "into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity.[4] "Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"—and [so saying,] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy

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government" has been adopted. The word *aratama no*, rendered by the adjective *renovatis*, is the Pillow-Word for "sun," "moon" and "year," and is of not quite certain import. The interpretation here adopted has, however, for it the weight of probability and of native authority, Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" deriving it from the Verb *aratamaru*, "to be renewed."

[5] The characters in the text might also be rendered "he made a progress," as they are those only properly applied to the movements of a reigning sovereign. Here and elsewhere, however, they are used in speaking of Yamato-take. (Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.)

[6] On the frontier of Afumi (Ōmi) and Mino. *Ibuki* seems to signify "blowing," in allusion, it is said, to the pestilential breath or influence of the god by whom the place was tenanted. The word rendered "Mount" is supplied by the editor of 1687.

[1] *I.e.*, without weapons, and specifically without the magic sword which he had left behind in Princess Miyazu's house.

[2] Or "ox," or "cow," the original word not distinguishing between the sexes.

[3] The Japanese expression *koto-age shite*, here rendered "lifted up words," very frequently has the signification of "lifting up a prayer" to some superhuman being. In this passage, however, it conveys no more than its proper etymological meaning,

[4] Viz., the god of Mount Ibuki.

ice-rain[5] to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity,[6] but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting up of words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take.[6]]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kura-be[7] and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat.[8] So that fresh spring is called by the name of the fresh spring of Wi-same.

[SECT. LXXXIX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIV.—YAMATO-TAKE SICKENS AND DIES).]

When he departed thence and reached the moor of Tagi,[1] he said: "Whereas my heart always felt like flying through

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[5] Perhaps "hail" may be intended by this expression, and so Motowori decides. But this interpretation of the term seems to agree less well with the Song in Sect. CXLII.

[6] The commentators disagree as to whether this note should or should not be considered to form part of the original text. Motowori so considers it. He however, in the opinion of the translator, is not happy in his alteration of the *kana* reading given by the editor of 1687, which latter has accordingly been followed in the English version.

[7] The literal meaning of this name is "jewel-store-tribe;" but complete uncertainty attaches both to the etymology of the word and to the position of the place. The first printed edition has *Tama-kuhi-be.*

[8] He had been misled and dazed, but now came to himself again. Thence, according to the etymology of our author, the name of *Wi-same,* which signifies "dwelling (resting) aud awaking," given to the spring.

[1] *Tagi-nu.* We might, following the Chinese characters, translate thus: "and arrived on the Moor of Tagi." But the character 上 has in this context scarcely any meaning. The real etymology of *Tagi* (in classical and modern parlance *taki* without the *nigori*) is "rapid" or "waterfall," the cascade formed by the River Yō-rō in Mino being alluded to. The derivation in the next sentence of the text from *tagishi*, supposed to mean "a rudder," is a mere fancy.

"the sky, my legs are now unable to walk. They have become "rudder-shaped."[2] So that place was called by the name of Tagi. Owing to his being very weary with progressing a little further beyond that place, he lent upon an august staff to walk a little. So that place is called by the name of the Tsuwe-tsuki pass.[3] On arriving at the* single pine-tree on Cape Wotsu,[4] an august sword, which he had forgotten at that place before when augustly eating,[5] was still [there] not lost. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree
"that art on Cape Wotsu which directly
"faces Wohari! If thou, single pine-tree!
"wert a person, I would gird [my] sword
"[upon thee], I would clothe thee with
"[my] garments,—O mine elder brother,
"the single pine-tree!"[6]

When he departed thence and reached the village of Mihe, he again said: "My legs are like three-fold crooks,[8] and very

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[2] The word here rendered "rudder" is *tagishi*, which is written phonetically and does not occur elsewhere, except in a few Proper Names of doubtful import. There is however some probability in favour of the meaning assigned to it by the native commentators.

[3] *Tsuwe-tsuki-zaka*, *i.e.*, "the pass of leaning on a staff." It is in the province of Ise between Yokaichi and Ishi-yakushi.

* Motowori says *mote mae* means post, so that the translation should be "at the post of the single pine-tree."—W.G.A.

[4] *Wotsu-no-saki*, in the province of Ise. The name probably signifies "harbour of the mountain declivity."

[5] The former portion of the text tells us nothing either of the meal or of the sword here mentioned.

[6] This quaintly simple and apparently very ancient poem needs no elucidation.

[7] In Ise. *Mi-he* signifies "three-fold."

[8] This is the literal rendering of the text. Motowori thinks, however, that we should understand that there were various swellings on his legs, such as would be produced if the limb were tightly tied round with cord in three places.

weary." So that place was called by the name of Mihe. When he departed thence and reached the Moor of Nobo,[9] he, regretting[10] [his native] land,[11] sang, saying:

"As for Yamato, the most secluded of
"lands — Yamato, retired behind Mount
"Awogaki encompassing it with its folds, is
"delightful."[12]

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[9] *Nobo-nu* in the province of Ise. The name seems to signify "the moor of mounting."

[10] The Chinese character here used signifies simply "thinking of;" but in such a context its common Japanese interpretation is "loving" or "regretting,"* and so Motowori means us to understand it when he reads *shinuhashite.*

* Longing for.—W.G.A.

[11] Viz., Yamato.

[12] This Song and the two following form but one in the pages of the "Chronicles," where they appear with several verbal differences, and are attributed, not to the Prince, but to his father the Emperor. Moribe decides that in the latter particular the text of these "Records" gives the preferable account, but that the "Chronicles" are right in making the three Songs one continuous poem. The expression "this Song is a Land-Regretting Song" strongly supports this view; for though we might also render in the Plural "these Songs are, etc.," such a translation would be less natural, as in similar cases the numeral is used, thus "these *two* Songs are, etc." The expression "this is an Incomplete Song" points as decidedly to some mutilation of the original document, from which the compiler of the "Records" copied this passage. Taking then the three Songs as one, the entire drift is that of a pæan on Yamato, the poet's native land, which he could not hope ever to see again:--Commencing by praising its still seclusion as it lies there behind its barrier of protecting mountains, he goes on to mention the rural pleasures enjoyed by those who, wandering over the hill-sides, deck their hair with garlands of leaves and flowers. For himself indeed these delights are no more; "but," says he, "do you, ye children full of health and happiness! pursue "your innocent enjoyment!" In conclusion he lovingly apostrophises the clouds which, rising up from the south-west, are, as it were, messengers from home. The word *mahoroba*, rendered "secluded," is

Again he sang, saying:

"Let those whose life may be complete stick
"[in their hair] as a head-dress the leaves
"of the bear-oak from Mount Heguri,—
"those children!"

This Song is a Land-Regretting Song.[13] Again he sang, saying:

"How sweet! ah! from the direction of
"home clouds are rising and coming!"

This is an Incomplete Song.[14] At this time, his august sickness was very urgent. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"The sabre-sword which I placed at the

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a great crux to the commentators, and Motowori's "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," pp. 17–18, and Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto Waki*," Vol. III, p. 31, should be consulted by the student desirous of forming his own opinion on the point. Another apparent difficulty is the word *gomoreru*, whose position in the sentence Motowori seems to have misunderstood. By following Moribe, and taking it as compounded with the word *Awogaki-yama* into *Awogaki-yama-gomoreru* the difficulty vanishes, and we are likewise relieved from the necessity of supposing anything so highly improbable as that the Verb *komoreru*, when not compounded, should have commenced with a *nigori*'ed syllable. "Complete" signifies "healthy." Mount Heguri is preceded in the original by *tatamikomo* (Moribe reads *tatamigomo* with the *nigori*), a Pillow-Word whose import is disputed. In any case, being a punning one, it cannot be translated. For the "bear-oak" see Sect. LXXII, Note 19. Moribe labours, but without success, to prove that "come," the last word of the translation, signifies "go," and imagines that the prince is expressing his envy of the clouds which are rising and going off in the direction of the home which he will never revisit.

[13] *I.e.*, a Song of loving regret for his native land.

[14] "Incomplete Song" must be understood as the designation of a poem of a certain number of lines, viz., three, and was probably given by comparison with the greater length of poetical compositions in general,*

* This seems hardly consistent with the statement on the preceding page that a mutilation of the original poem is implied.—W.G.A.

"maiden's bed-side alas! that sword!"[15]

As soon as he had finished singing, he died. Then a courier was despatched [to the Heavenly Sovereign.]

[SECT. XC.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XV.—YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD).]

Thereupon [his] Empresses[1] and likewise [his] august children, who dwelt in Yamato, all went down[2] and built an august mausoleum, and, forthwith crawling hither and thither in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum], sobbed out a Song, saying;

"The *Dioscorea quinqueloba* crawling hither
"and thither among the rice-stubble, among
"the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encom-
"passing [the mausoleum]....."[3]

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[15] This poem is an exclamation of distress at the thought of the sword which he had left with his mistress Princess Miyazu and which, if he had had it with him, would doubtless have preserved him from the evil influences of the god of Mount Ibuki, which were the beginning of his end.—"Sabre-sword" (*tsurugi no tachi*) is a curious expression, which Motowori interprets as signifying "sharp sword," while Moribe thinks it means "double-edged sword."

[1] *I.e.*, wives. It will be remembered that the historian habitually mentions Yamato-take as if he had been Emperor.

[2] *Q.d.*, to the land of Ise.

[3] The drift of the Song is a comparison of the helpless wanderings of the mourners in the neighbourhood of the tomb to the convolutions of the *Dioscorea quinqueloba* (a creeping plant) growing among the rice in the adjacent fields. But there are evidently some lines omitted. If we were to adopt the elegant verses conjecturally supplied by Moribe, the entire translation would run thus: "The *Dioscorea* "*quinqueloba* crawls hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among "the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]; "but though, like it, we crawl hither and thither and weep and speak "to thee, thou answerest not a word"—Moribe supposes this poem to be the Empress's composition, and the following three to have proceeded from the children.

Thereupon [the dead prince], turning into a white dotterel[4] eight fathoms [long], and soaring up* to Heaven, flew off towards the shore. Then the Empresses and likewise the august children, though they tore their feet treading on the stubble of the bamboo-grass, forgot the pain, and pursued him with lamentations. At that time they sang, saying:

"Our loins are impeded in the plain [over-
"grown with] short bamboo-grass. We are
"not going through the sky, but oh! we
"are on foot."[5]

Again when they entered the salt sea,[6] and suffered as they went, they sang, saying:

"As we go through the sea, our loins are
"impeded,—tottering in the sea like herbs
"growing in a great river-bed."[7]

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[4] As usual when the word *chidori* (defined as "any kind of dotterel, plover or sandpiper") is used, it is doubtful what bird is really intended. At the end of this Section we are told that the Mausoleum was called the "Mausoleum of the White Bird (白鳥)." Specifically, however, these characters are used with their Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of *haku-chō* as the name of the swan. But as swans are nowhere else mentioned is these "Records," and as moreover their habits are not such as to accord with the legend here narrated, it will perhaps be safer to retain "dotterel" in the translation. "Heron"† also has been suggested.

† I have observed that several of the *misazagi* are favourite haunts of the white egret (paddy bird) for roosting at night and for nesting. They are usually overgrown with trees, and are protected by a moat and also by their sacred character. Compare Nihongi viii, 2, (pp. 217-218 Aston's translation.)--W.G.A.

* Across.—W.G.A.

[5] The signification of this Song is: "It is easy enough for thee, "thou bird-spirit! to fly through the air. But remember that we are "on foot, and that our feet are getting torn by the short stubble of "the bamboo-grass (*Bambusa shino.*)"

[6] When the bird flew over the sea, they too waded after it through the waves.

[7] The signification of the Song is: "As we pursue thee through

Again when [the bird] flew and perched on the seaside, they sang, saying:

"The dotterel of the beach goes not on the
"beach, but follows the seaside."[3]

These four Songs were all sung at [Yamato-take's] august interment. So to the present day these Songs are sung at the great august interment of a Heavenly Sovereign. So [the bird] flew off from that country,[9] and stopped at Shiki in the land of Kafuchi.[10] So they made an august mausoleum there, and laid [Yamato-take] to rest.[11] Forthwith that august mausoleum

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"the sea, we sink in the waves up to our middles, and totter like the "water-plants against which strikes the current of a great river."—The word *uwe-gusa*, lit. "herbs planted," is curious; but it simply means "herbs growing," as in the translation (*conf.* our word "plant"). The latter part of the poem is in the original highly elliptical.

[8] The point of this Song seems to rest on a delicate distinction between the words *hama*, "beach" and *iso*,* "seaside," which does not obtain in the later Japanese language any more than it does in English. Both *hama* and *iso*, "beach" and "seaside," denote the boundary-line between sea and land; but we must suppose with the commentators that, while the former was used with special reference to the land, the latter considered the idea (so to speak) from the point of view of the sea. The import of the Song is therefore to upbraid the bird for flying over the waves instead of flying along the adjacent shore.

* *Iso* seems related to *ishi* and *iwa*. The Chinese character also contains the element 石 "stone." Could *iso* therefore be "a rocky beach," *hama*, corresponding rather to our word "strand"? The dotterel is fond of sandy places close to the sea rather than of stones and rocks.—**W.G.A.**

[9] *I.e.*, says Motowori, from Ise.

[10] Not to be confounded with the Shiki in Yamato, which is written with different phonetic characters.

[11] The Verb used in the original is *shidzumeru*, "to repress," "to quiet," "to lay," "to establish," hence "to build a temple to a god," "to worship." The grammatical vagueness of the Japanese language helps in all this passage to preserve the connection of ideas in a manner which it is difficult to render in an English translation. Using

was called by the name of the "August-Mausoleum of the White-Bird.[12] Nevertheless the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away.

[SECT. XCI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVI.—YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER).]

During all the time that this [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take went about pacifying countries, Nana-tsuka-hagi,[1] ancestor of the Suzerains of Kume,[2] always followed and respectfully served him as butler.

[SECT. XCII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVII.—YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS)]

This [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take wedded Her Augustness Princess Futaji-no-iri,[1] daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume, and begot an august child: His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko[2] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her August-

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no pronouns, it does not require to specialise in each instance whether it is the bird that is meant, or Yamato-take, but the two are confounded together in language as they were in thought.

[12] *Sh'ra-tori no misasaki.* According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," it was not only this tomb in Kafuchi, but the previously mentioned tomb at Nobonu, and also another in Yamato, which were severally known by this designation.

[1] The name signifies "seven-grasp shins," implying that the worthy here mentioned was so big and strong as to have shins seven hand-breadths* in length. For the use of the word "grasp" as a measure of length, see Sect. VIII, Note 1.

* Spans ?—W.G.A.

[2] This family has already been mentioned at the end of Sect. XXXIV, as descended from Ama-tsu-kume no Mikoto, one of the companions of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather on the occasion of his descent from Heaven. But see Note 7 to that Sect. for the probable mistake with regard to ths origin of the name.

[1] For this name see Sect. LXIX, Note 24.

[2] *I.e.*, "the perfect middle prince," a name which is justified by

ness Princess Oto-tachibana[3] who [afterwards] entered the sea,[4] he begot an august child: King Waka-take[5] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Futaji,[6] daughter of Oho-tamu-wake,[7] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi,[8] he begot an august child: King Ine-yori-wake[9] (one Deity). Again wedding Princess Oho-kibi-take,[10] younger sister of Take-hiko, [ancestor of the] Grandees of Kibi,[11] he begot an august child: King Take-kahiko[12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Kukuma-mori of Yamashiro,[13] he begot an august child, King

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the genealogy as given in the "Chronicles," where he is mentioned as the second of three sons borne by this princess.

3 *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto.* *Oto* signifies "younger [sister]," and *tachibana* is the name of the orange.

4 See the story in Sect. LXXXIV.

5 *Waka-take no mikoto.* This name signifies "young brave."

6 *Futaji-hime.* Signification obscure. Futaji may be the name of a place.*

* The Nihongi makes her the same person as the princess of that name.—**W.G.A.**

7 If *Tamu* is, as Motowori surmises, the name of a place, this personal name signifies "Great Lord of Tamu."

8 *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no kuni no miyatsuko.* For *Yasu* see Sect. LXII, Note 62.

9 *Ine-yori-wake no miko.* This name probably signifies "rice-good-lord."

10 *Oho-kibi-take-hime.* *Oho* signifies "great." For the other two elements of the compound see next Note.

11 The text has *Kibi no omi Take-hiko,* as if this worthy had been himself the "Grandee of Kibi." Motowori however compares the commencement of Sect. LXXXII (Note 2 and 3), and supplies the words "ancestor of." *Kibi* is of course the province of that name (the modern Bizen, Bitchiū, and Bingo), and *take* signifies "brave."

12 *Take-kahiko no miko.* *Take* signifies "brave," *kahiko* is either "egg" or "cocoon," or else perhaps a corruption of some other word.

13 *Yamashiro no Kukuma-mori-hime.* This name is obscure. Motowori identifies *Kukuma* with a place called *Kurikuma,* and *mori* is probably the Verb "to guard."

Ashi-kagami-wake[14] (one Deity). A child by another wife was King Okinaga-ta-wake.[15] Altogether the entire [number] of the august children of His Augustness Yamato-take was six Deities. So His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, King Ine-yori-wake (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Inukami[16] and of the Dukes of Takebe)[17] The next, King Take-kahiko (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Aya in Sanugi,[18] the Dukes of Wake in Iyo,[19] the Lords of Towo,[20] the Headmen of Masa[21] and the Lords of Miyaji.)[22] King Ashi-kagami-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kamakura,[23] the

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[14] *Ashi-kagami-wake no miko.* This name is written with characters signifying "foot-mirror-[lord]."*

* Or *kagami* is "bent,"—"club-foot"?—W.G.A.

[15] *Okinaga-ta-wake no miko.* This name is obscure. Motowori believes Okinaga to be the name of a place in Afumi, but has no explanation to offer of *ta.*

[16] *Inukami no kimi.* Inukami is the name of a district in Afumi. Its signification is not clear.

[17] *Takebe no kimi. Takebe* became the name of a place in Idzumo, but it originally signified "brave tribe," the family having, as in so many other cases, given its name to the place of its residence, instead of being called after the latter. See the origin of the name, given in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXIX, pp. 35–36.

[18] *Sanugi no Aya no kimi.* For *Sanugi* see Sect. V, Note 6. *Aya* is a district in the province; the name is of doubtful origin.

[19] *Iyo no wake no kimi.* For *Iyo* see Sect. V, Note 4. (The text here has *Ise* for Iyo, and the word *wake* is missing, but Motowori's emendation may be accepted.) *Wake* is the name of a district in Iyo.

[20] *Towo no wake.* Of *Towo* nothing is known.

[21] *Masa no obito.* Of *Masa* nothing is known.

[22] *Miyaji* (宮道) *no wake.* This is Motowori's ingenious emendation of the characters in the text, 宮首, out of which it is impossible to make a family name. *Miyaji* is the name of a place in the province of Mikaha, and signifies "temple road.

[23] *Kamakura no wake.* Kamakura is the name of a district in the province of Sagami, which became famous during the Middle Ages as the site of an immense town,—the capital of the Shōguns, and the centre of the feudalism which then ruled Japan. The import of the

Dukes of Wodzu,[24] the Lords of Ihashiro[25] and the Lords of Fukita.)[26] The child of the next, King Okinaga-ta-wake was King Kuhimata-naga-hiko.[27] This King's children were: Her Augustness Princess Ihinu-ma-guro,[28] next Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime,[29] next Oto-hime[30] (three Deities). So the above mentioned King Waka-take wedded Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, and begot King Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko.[31] This King wedded princess Shibanu,[32] daughter of Shibanu-iri-ki[33] of Afumi, and begot a child, Her Augustness Princess Kaguro.[34] So the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko wedded this [lady] Her Augustness

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name (literally "sickle-store") is not clear, though it has been fancifully explained by native etymologists.

[24] *Wodzu no kimi.* The words *no kimi* are supplied by Motowori, this name and the next being in the text run into one. Wodzu seems to be the name of a place in Afumi, and signifies "little mart."

[25] *Ihashiro no wake.* Motowori says that this Ihashiro is not the province of that name, but a placc in Kishiū. The meaning of the name is obscure.

[26] *Fukita mo wake.* This is but Motowori's conjectural restoration (founded on a statement in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages") of the name as given in the text, 漁田.

[27] *Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko. Kuhimata* (modern *Kumata*) is the name of a place in Settsu. The signification is obscure. *Naga-hiko* means "long prince."

[28] *Ihinu-ma-guro-hime,* i.e., "quite black princess of Ihinu," the blackness* being doubtless predicated of her hair. *Ihinu* is the name of a district in Ise, aud is written with characters signifying "boiled-rice-moor."

* Where everybody's hair is black this is not much of a distinction.—W.G.A.

[29] For *Okinaga* see Note 15. *Ma-waka* means "truly young." *Naka-tsu-hime* means "middle princess," referring to her being the second of three.

[30] *I.e.,* "younger princess."

[31] See Sect. LXXVI, Note 29.

[32] *Shibanu-hime.* This name is obscure.

[33] *Shibanu iri-ko.* This name is obscure.

[34] *Ka-guro-hime,* see Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

Princess Kaguro, and begot King Oho-ye[35] (one Deity). This King wedded his younger half-sister Queen Shiro-kane,[36] and begot children: King Oho-na-gata,[37] and next Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime[38] (two Deities). So this [lady] Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime was the august mother[39] of King Kagosaka[40] and King Oshikuma.[41]

[SECT. XCIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVIII.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and thirty-seven, and his august mausoleum is above the Yamanobe road.[1]

[SECT. XCIV.—EMPEROR SEI-MU.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Wata-tarashi-hiko dwelt at the palace of Taka-anaho at Shiga[1] in Chika-tsu-Afumi and ruled the empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady Oto-

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[35] For the confusion in this portion of the genealogy see Sect. LXXVI, Note 30.

[36] *Shiro-kane no miko.* *Shiro-kane* means "silver," but Motowori suspects corruption in the text.

[37] *Oho-nagata no miko,* i,e., "great prince of Nagata," the latter being the name of a place in Settsu, signifying "long rice-field."

[38] *I.e.,* "great middle princess."

[39] Literally, "ancestress."

[40] Or, "the King of Kagosaka," for it is uncertain whether Kagosaka should or should not be regarded as the name of a place. The etymology of the name may be *kago,* "a stag" and *saka,* "an ascent." The original form of the name and title is *Kagosaka no miko.*

[41] Or, "the King of Oshikuma," *Oshikuma no miko.* *Oshikuma* is a word of doubtful etymology.

[1] See Sect. LXVIII, Note 1.

[1] *Shiga no Taka-anaho.* *Shiga* is the name of a well known district, and is of uncertain signification, as is also *Taka-anaho.* For *Chika-tsu-Afumi* see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

takara,[2] daughter of Take-oshiyama-tari-ne,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[4] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke[5] (one Deity). So [the Heavenly Sovereign] raised the Noble Take-uchi[6] [to the office of] Prime Minister,[7] deigned to settle the Rulers of the Great Countries and Small Countries,[8] and likewise deigned to settle the boundaries of the various countries, as also the Departmental Lords of the Great Departments and Small Departments.[9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-five, and his august mausoleum is at Tatanami near Saki.[10]

[SECT. XCV.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko dwelt at the palace of Toyora at Anado,[1] and likewise at the palace of

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[2] *Oto-takara no iratsume.* *Oto* signifies "younger [sister]," and *takara* is "treasure."

[3] *Oshiyama* is the name of a place in Ise, *take* signifies "brave," and *tari* and *ne* are Honorifics of frequent occurrence.

[4] *Hodzumi no omi.* See Sect. LXI, Note 4.

[5] *Waka-nuke no miko.* This name is of doubtful signification, and Motowori suspects that it is corrupt, and that the true reading would be *Waka-take*, "young-brave."

[6] See Sect. LXI, Note 25.

[7] 大臣. Motowori tries to prove that in the earliest times this official title was simply an Honorific surname formed by prefixing the Adjective 大, "great" to 臣, a surname read "*Omi*" (the character signifies properly "attendant," "subject"). Probably like other "gentile names" it combined both characters, and had a tendency to become hereditary.

[8] *Oho-kuni wo-kuni no kuni no miyatsuko.*

[9] *Oho-agata wo-agata no agata nushi* (大縣小縣之縣主). Their duties are supposed to have consisted in supervising the government farms.

[10] For *Saki* see Sect. LXXV, Note 5. *Tatanami* may perhaps signify "putting shields is a row."

[1] For *Anado* see Sect. LXXX (Note 22). *Toyora* (for *Toyo-ura*) signifies "fertile shore."

Kashihi[2] in Tsukushi, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime,[3] daughter of King Oho-ye, and begot august children: King Kago-saka and King Oshikuma (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. This Empress[4] gave birth to august children: His Augustness Homu-ya-wake,[5] and next His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake,[6] another name for whom was His Augustness Homuda-wake.[7] The reason why this Heir Apparent[8] was given the august name of His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake was that when first[9] born, he had on his august arm [a protuberance of] flesh resembling an elbow-pad,[10] whence the august name bestowed on him. By this it was known while he was in the womb that he would rule countries.[11] In this august reign the granaries of Ahaji were established.

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[2] This name seems to be derived from that of the evergreen oak. It will be noticed that both these capitals are in the South-Western Island of Kiushiu, whereas, from Jim-mu downwards, the capitals of all the Emperors previously mentioned are either in Yamato or in one of the adjacent central provinces.

[3] For this and the three following names see Sect. XCII, and for *Okinaga tarashi* Sect. LXII, Note 72.

[4] Written 大后. It is she who is celebrated in Japanese history under the name of Jin-gō Kō-gō, and in the "Chronicles" her reign is counted separately. In these "Records," however, the period of her rule is considered as forming part of the reign of her son O-jin.

[5] The signification of this name is obscure.

[6] *I.e.*, "great elbow-pad lord," *tomo* signifying "elbow-pad." The next sentence of the text gives the traditional origin of this curious name.

[7] *I.e.*, lord of Homuda. *Homuda* is supposed by Motowori and Moribe to be the name of a place, they (apparently with reason) rejecting as a late addition a note to the "Chronicles," which states that *homuda* was synonymous with *tomo* "elbow-pad."

[8] For "heir apparent" see Sect. XXXIII, Note 2.

[9] This word, says Motowori, is redundant.

[10] For the use of elbow-pads in war see Sect XIII, Note 7.

[11] The word rendered "rule" (*shiru*, 知) is supplied by the editor

[SECT. XCVI.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART II.—THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED).]

This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time[1] divinely possessed.* So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso,[2] the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court,[3] requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to "the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various

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of 1687. Motowori supplies the evident lacuna in the text by the word "establish" (*sadamuru* 定); but this seems less good. Motowori's reasons for taking the word *kuni* ("country") in the Plural are, however, convincing,—the three countries into which Korea was anciently divided, and which are appropriately designated by the title of *San Kan* (三韓), being evidently designated by the expression in the text, as may be seen both by reference to the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," and also by considering that in this manner that warlike implement the elbow-pad, with the semblance of which the young Emperor was born, obtains its proper significance. This Emperor (for it is he who is known as O-jin Ten-nō) is sometimes designated by the name of the "Emperor in the Womb" (胎中天皇).

[1] At what time, we are not told.

* Himeko in the Chinese historical notices of Japan was skilled in magic, with which she deluded the people. Compare the Biblical expression "to be in the spirit," with *Ki-Shin*.

[2] See Sect. V, Note 17.

[3] This is Motowori's interpretation of the obscure original word *sa-niha*,† which is written phonetically. He supposes it to have been so called as being a place used for enquiring the will of the gods, and therefore kept clean and held in reverence. "Place" would perhaps represent the Japanese word *niha* as well as "court," though "court" has been its usual acceptation in later times.

† *Sa* is phonetic, but not *niha*. See Notes on this word in Nihongi IX, 2, (p. 255 Aston's translation.)—W.G.A.

"treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver down-"wards.[4] I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high "place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There "is only the great sea;" and saying,[5] "they are lying Deities,"[6] he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altoge-"ther as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou "oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!"[7] Hereupon the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi said: "[I am filled "with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign![8] Continue playing thy "great august lute." Then he slowly* drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead.

[SECT. XCVII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART III.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF KOREA).]

Then, astonished and alarmed, they set him in a mortuary

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[4] Literally, "making gold and silver the origin."

[5] Motowori tells us to understand "saying" in the sense of "thinking."

[6] As already frequently remarked, the Japanese mind does not occupy itself much with the distinction (to us all-important) of Singular and Plural. The reason why the translator renders the word *kami* by the Plural "Deities" throughout this passage is because we learn later on that four divine personages were intended by the author.

[7] With the commentators we must accept this as an alternative name of Hades, without being able satisfactorily to explain it. The expression "eighty road-windings" (*yaso kumade*) in Sect. XXXII (Note 27) may be compared with this one.

[8] *I.e.*, "I tremble, Sire, for the consequences of thine impiety."

* By and by,—after a little.—W.G.A.

palace,[1]* and again taking the country's great offerings,[2] seeking out all sorts of crimes,† such as flaying alive and flaying backwards,[3]‡ breaking down the divisions of rice-fields, filling up ditches, evacuating excrements and urine,§ marriages between superiors and inferiors,[4] marriages with horses, marriages with cattle, marriages with fowls, and marriages with dogs, and having made a great purification of the land,[5] the Noble Take-uchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: "Altogether this land "is a land to be ruled over by the august child in Thine "Augustness's august womb."[6] Then the Noble Take-uchi

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[1] A temporary resting-place for the corpse before interment. (See Sect. XXXI, Note 20).

* Chapel?—W.G.A.

[2] Or if, with Motowori, we take country in the Plural, "the great offerings of the countries," *i.e.*, of the various countries or provinces of Japan or of Kiushiu. These "offerings" (*nusa*) are the same as those mentioned in Sect. XVI (Notes 24 and 25) under the names *nigi-te* and *mitegura*. They consisted of cloth, for which in later times paper has been substituted.

† Motowori well observes that *tsumi* includes *kegare* (pollutions) *ashiki waza* (ill deeds) and *wazawa* (calamities). But in this passage it is unnccessary to take the word in its widest sense.—W.G.A.

[3] There are different views as to the exact bearing of this curious expression. Conf. Sect. XV, Note 10.

‡ Motowori thinks the live flaying is the same as the *sakahagi* which I suppose he understands to be "wrongful" flaying.—W.G.A.

§ Urine is not mentioned. See page 63 of this translation, and compare with the *Oho-harahi norito* translation in T. A. S. J. reprints Vol. II, 1927. Would it not be possible to take the last of these two characters 尿戸 as an ideograph? The meaning would them be committing a nuisance in a house or at a door. A comparison of the doings of *Susa-no-o* favours the former of the two suppositions.—W.G.A.

[4] *I.e.*, incest between parents and children.

[5] *I.e.*, a general purification.

[6] The Deities now speak to, as well as through, the Empress. Before the quotation marks announcing their words we must under-

said, "[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities! The august "child in this Deity's womb,[7] what [sort of] child may it be?" [The Deities] replied, saying: "It is a male child." Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: "I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose "words have now thus instructed us." Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing[8] of the Great-August-"Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities "Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing Male and Surface-"Possessing-Male.[9] (At this time the august names of these three "great Deities were revealed.[10]) If now thou truly thinkest to "seek that land, thou must, after presenting the offerings[11] to "every one of the Heavenly Deities and Earthly Deities,[12] and "likewise of the Deities of the mountains and also of all the "Deities of the river and of the sea, and setting our august

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stand some such clause as "and they added this divine charge." It would also be possible to translate the whole passage thus: "Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was '[Things] being exactly as on the former day, altogether this land,'" etc., etc.

7 *I.e.*, in the Empress's womb. Motowori supposes that she is thus spoken of as a Deity on account of her being at that moment divinely possessed.

8 Literally, "heart."

9 *Soko-dzu-tsu-no-wo*, *Naka-dzu-tsu-no-wo*, and *Uha-dzu-tsu-no-wo*, three of the deities born at the time of the purification of Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") on his return from Hades, and known collectively as the Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. (See Sect. X, Notes 18 and 22.) The grammar of this sentence is, as Motowori remarks, not lucid. One would expect the author to say that it was "the august doing" of all the four deities mentioned.

10 *I.e.*, says Motowori, they then first informed Take-uchi who they were. Up to that time, it had not been known by what Deities the Empress was possessed. Mabuchi, however, rejected this gloss as a later addition.

11 *I.e.*, the sacred offerings of white and blue cloth.

12 Here written with the Chinese locution 天神地祇, by some rendered "the Spirits of Heaven and Earth." *Conf.* Sect. I, Note 11.

"spirits[13] on the top of* thy vessel, put into gourds[14] the ashes "of the *Podocarpus macrophylla* tree,[15] and likewise make a "quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf-platters,[16] and must "scatter them all on the waves of the great sea, that thou "mayest cross over." So when [she] punctually fulfilled these intructions, equipped an army, marshalled her vessels, and crossed over, the fishes of the sea-plain, both great and small, all bore the august vessel[17] across on their backs, and a strong favourable wind arose, and the august vessel followed the billows.

[SECT. XCVIII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IV.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ CONQUERS KOREA).]

So the wave[1] of the august vessel pushed up onto the land of Shiragi,[2] reaching to the middle of the country. There-

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[13] Here, as before, the Singular would be at least as natural an interpretation as the Plural. The three ocean-deities are supposed to be specially referred to, and in that case, the three being easily conceived as one (like the deified peaches mentioned in Sect. IX, Note 19) owing to the want of discrimination in Japanese between Singular and Plural, we might retain the Singular in English. Altogether the Sun-Goddess seems out of place in this passage, and it would be satisfactory to have some authority for expunging from it the mention of her name.

* In, on, on board of?—W.G.A.

[14] Or, "into a gourd."

[15] In the original *maki* (眞木). In modern parlance *ma-'ki* signifies the *P. macrophylla*, as in the translation. It is however uncertain whether that or the *Chamœcyparis obtusa* (both being conifers), or simply any "true (*i.e.*, good) tree" is here intended by the author.

[16] *I.e.*, broad shallow platters made of the leaves of the oak-tree, and used for placing food on.

[17] *Viz.*, that in which the Empress herself took passage.

[1] *I.e.*, "the wave on which the august vessel was riding."

[2] In Sinico-Japanese *Shin-ra* (新羅), one of the three states into which Korea was anciently divided, the other two being known in pure Japanese as *Kudara* and *Koma* (in Sinico-Japanese *Hiyaku-sai*

upon the chieftain[3] of the country, alarmed and trembling, petitioned[4] [the Empress], saying: "From this time forward "obedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I will feed "his august horses and will marshal vessels every year, nor "ever let the vessels' keels[5] dry or their poles and oars dry, "and will respectfully serve him without drawing back while "heaven and earth shall last."[6] So therefore the Land of Shiragi was constituted the feeder of the august horses, and the Land of Kudara[7] was constituted the crossing store.[8] Then the Empress stuck* her august staff on the gate of the chieftain of Shiragi, and having made the Rough August Spirits[9]

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and *Kō-rai*, 百濟 and 高麗). *Shiragi* is evidently a mere corruption of the Sinico-Japanese form, which closely resembles the native Korean *Sin-la*. The origin of the pure Japanese forms of the other two names is obscure.

[3] The editions previous to Motowori's have "King" (王 instead of 主); but as the latter character is used in all parallel passages of this work, we must attribute the occurrence of the former in this single place to a copyist's error, and accuse the author rather than his commentator of the ill-natured degradation of the Korean King into a mere chieftain (more literally a "master").

[4] The character 奏, which is here used, is that employed in speaking of a subject addressing his sovereign.

[5] Literally "bellies."

[6] Literally, "with heaven and earth."

[7] See Note 2.

[8] *I.e.*, "the sea-store." The author means to say that from the Land of Kudara tribute was to be paid with the regularity implied by the King's asseveration to the effect that the keels, poles, and oars of the [tribute-bearing] vessels should never remain dry.

* Planted her august staff at the gate, etc. *Cf.* the Nihongi version.—W.G.A.

[9] *Ara-mi-tama*, the antithetical term to which is *Nigi-mi-tama*, "Gentle August Spirit." We also find *Saki-mi-tama*, and *Kushi-mi-tama*, which signify respectively "August Luck-Spirit" and "Wondrous August Spirit." In this passage it must be understood that the spirits which floated above the Imperial junk to protect it were the "Gentle August Spirits," while the "Rough August Spirits" presided

of the Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi[10] the guardian Deities of the land, she laid them to rest,[11] and crossed back. So while this business[12] was yet unconcluded, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born. Forthwith, in order to restrain her august womb, she took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august skirt,[13] and the august child was born after she had crossed [back] to the Land of Tsukushi.[14] So the name by which the place was called where the august child was born was Umi.[15] Again the stone which she wound round her august skirt is at the village of Ito[16] in the Land of Tsukushi.

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at the Empress's feats of arms and kept the enemy in subjection. Motowori warns us not to fall into the mistake of supposing that the Rough and Gentle Spirits of a god were separate individualities, they being only, according to him, various manifestations of the same individuality. The student is advised to consult his beautifully written note on the subject of these spirits in Vol. XXX, pp. 72–75 of his Commentary.

10 See Sect. X, Note 22.

11 Literally "established and worshipped." Motowori says that this mention of their being laid to rest is made with an implied reference to the journey on which the deities in question had accompanied the Imperial army. He also tries to prove that this laying to rest of the deities must have occurred after the return of the Empress to Japan, as it is not possible to suppose that the gods could find a home in a foreign land (!). But the wording of the text is against him.

12 Literally "government."

13 *I.e.*, as Motowori suggests, "she wrapped the stone up, and tied it onto the waist of her skirt in something resembling a sash."

14 In South-Western Japan.

15 *I.e.*, "bearing." The word, however, also signifies "sea." According to the "Chronicles" the original name of the village was Kada.

16 This word signifies "thread," and would therefore, one might think, find a more appropriate place in the legend next narrated, where the "threads" of the Empress's garment are specially mentioned.

[SECT. XCIX.*—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART V.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ FISHES IN TSUKUSHI).]

Again when, having reached the village of Tamashima[1] in the Department of Matsura[2] in Tsukushi, she partook of an august meal on the bank of the river, it being then the first decade of the fourth moon, she then sat on a shoal[3] in the middle of the river, picked out threads from her august skirt, used grains of rice as bait, and hooked the trout[4] in the river. (The name by which the river is called is the Wo-gaha;[5] again the name by which the shoal is called is Kachi-do-hime.[6]) So down to the present time it is an uninterrupted [custom] for women in the first decade of the fourth moon to pick out threads from their skirts, use grains as bait, and hook trout.

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* The Nihongi places this section before the Korean expedition.—W.G.A.

1 *I.e.*, "jewel-island."

2 *Matsura-gata.* The "Chronicles" give an absurd derivation of Matsura from the Adjective *medzurashi*, "astonishing," which the Empress is supposed to have ejaculated on finding a trout hooked to her line! The obvious etymology is *matsu-ura*, "pine-beach."

3 The character in the original is 磯 (for 磯), in Japanese *iso*, which may or may not be connected with the word *ishi*, "stone." In any case Motowori is not justified in saying that it must be understood to mean "stone" in this place, as *iso* means rather a sandy than a stony place, rising above the water level.

4 In Japanese *ayu*, a small species of the salmon family (*Plecoglossus altivelis*).

5 *I.e.*, "little river."

6 *I.e.*, "princess of the gate of victory." But though the words lend themselves to this interpretation, it can hardly be supposed that such is their real etymology, and indeed the editor of 1687 draws attention in a Note to the difficulty of accepting the statement in the text.

[SECT. C.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VI.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GO SUBDUES YAMATO).]

Hereupon, when Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was returning up to Yamato, she, owing to doubts concerning the disposition[1] of the people, prepared a mourning-vessel,[2*] set the august child in that mourning-vessel, and let a report ooze out that the august child was already dead. While she went up thus, King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma,[3] having heard [of the circumstance], thought to waylay[4] her, went forth to the moor of Toga,[5] and hunted for an omen.‡ Then King Kagosaka climbed up an oak-tree,[6] and then[7] a large and angry boar came forth, dug up the oak-tree, and forthwith devoured King Kagosaka. His younger brother, King Oshikuma, undaunted by this circumstance,[8] raised an army and lay in wait

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[1] Literally, "the hearts."

[2] *I.e.*, a boat or junk containing a coffin. We might also (adopting the interpretation given by the older editors to the character in this passage) translate by "specially prepared a mourning-vessel."

* *I.e.*, ship.—W.G.A.

[3] These two princes, who are first mentioned at the end of Sect. XCII (Notes 40 and 41), were, according to the story, elder sons of the late monarch Chiū-ai, and therefore step-sons of the Empress Jin-gō and half-brothers to the young Emperor Ō-jin.

[4] Literally, "wait for and catch." This "catch" is always taken† by Motowori to mean "slay."

† Rightly, I think.—W.G.A.

[5] *Toga-nu.* It was in the province of Settsu. The etymology of the name is obscure.

‡ Meaning, I suppose, that they hunted wild beasts in order to judge of their fortune by the results of the chase.—W.G.A.

[6] The species mentioned in the text in the *Quercus serrata.*

[7] Motowori's conjecture that the character 是, "then," is a copyist's error for 見, "saw" or "looked," seems hardly called for, and the translator has therefore not departed from the traditional reading.

[8] *I.e.*, this evil omen.—W.G.A.

[for the Empress], to close with the mourning-vessel as being an empty[8] vessel. Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel,[9] and joined in combat [with the opposing forces]. At this time King Oshikuma made the Noble Isahi,[10] ancestor of the Kishi Clan of Naniha,[11] his generalissimo;[12] and on the august side of the Heir Apparent His Augustness Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma,[13] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[14] was made generalissimo. So when [the Empress's troops] had driven [King Oshikuma's troops] as far as Yamashiro, [the latter] turned and made a stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating. Then His Augustness Take-furu-kuma planned, and caused it to be said that, as Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was already dead, there was no need for further fighting,—forthwith snapping his bowstrings and feigning submission. Therefore King Oshikuma's generalissimo, believing the falsehood, unbent his bows and put away his arms. Then [the Empress's troops] picked out of their top-knots some prepared bowstrings (one name [of the bowstrings] was *usa-yu-dzuru*,[15]) stretched [their bows] again, and pursued

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[8] *I.e.*, defenceless, not filled with troops.

[9] Which of course was in reality no mourning-vessel, but full of the soldiers who had just returned from conquering Korea.

[10] *Isahi no Sukune. Isahi* or *Isachi* is supposed to mean "leading elder."

[11] *Naniha no Kishi-be.* Naniha is the old name of the sea and river-shore on which now stands the town of Ohosaka. The name Kishi is said by Motowori to be properly a Korean official designation (吉士), but it is one whose origin is to be sought in China.

[12] 將軍, *Shōgun.* This is the earliest mention of this office, which, passing from the military to the political sphere, played such a great part in the mediæval and modern history of Japan.

[13] The signification of all the elements of this compound name is not clear, but it is partly Honorific and descriptive of the bravery of its bearer.

[14] *Wani no omi* (see Sect. LXII, Note 11).

[15] The text is here somewhat obscure, and the note in small print is of doubtful authenticity. If we retain it, we must understand it

and smote [the enemy]. So [these] fled away to Afusaka, rallied, and fought again. Then [the Empress's troops] pursued, pressed on, and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami.[17] Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea, and sang, saying:

"Come on, my lord! rather than be stricken
"by Furu-kuma's hurtful hand, I will plunge
"like the grebe into the Sea of Afumi,—I
"will!"[18]

Forthwith they plunged into the sea, and died together.

[SECT. CI.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VII.—THE HEIR APPARENT EXCHANGES NAMES WITH THE GREAT DEITY IZASA-WAKE).]

So when His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, taking with him the Heir Apparent for the purpose of purification,[1] passed

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to mean that *usa-yu-dzuru*, a term whose derivation is by no means clear, was an alternative name of the *make-dzuru*, *i.e.*, "prepared bowstrings," such as they had brought with them concealed in their top-knots.

[16] *I.e.*, "the pass [or hill] of meeting." It was on the boundaries of the provinces of Yamashiro and Afumi.* The modern pronunciation is *Osaka* (not to be confounded with the like-sounding name of a well-known town in Central Japan).

* The railway now passes under it in a tunnel.—W.G.A.

[17] *I.e.*, in Afumi. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," explains this name to mean "bamboo-grass bending." Motowori, following the *Shim-puku-ji* MS., alters the character 於 before the word *Sasanami* to 出, but without sufficient warrant.

[18] The meaning of the poem is: "Rather than fall beneath the "attacks of the enemy, let us drown ourselves in the Sea of Afumi" (Lake Biwa).—For the expression "stricken by a hurtful hand" see Sect. XLIV, Note 33.

[1] Viz., by water, as described in Sect. X.

through the lands of Afumi and Wakasa,[2] he built a temporary palace at Tsunuga[3] at the mouth of the Road of Koshi[4] [for the Heir Apparent] to dwell in. Then His Augustness the Great Deity Izasa-wake,[5] who dwelt in that place, appeared at night in a dream,[6] and said: "I wish to exchange my name "for the august name of the august child." Then [the dreamer of the dream] prayed, saying: ["I] am filled with awe![7] "The name shall be respectfully exchanged according to thy command." Again the Deity charged [him, saying]: "To-"morrow morning [the Heir Apparent] must go out on the "beach; I will present my [thank-] offering for the name "[given me] in exchange." So when [the Heir Apparent] went out in the morning to the beach, the whole shore was lined with broken-nosed dolphin-fishes.[8] Thereupon the august child caused the Deity to be addressed, saying: "Thou bestowest on me fish of thine august food."[9] So again his

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[2] Etymology obscure.

[3] The marvellous etymology of this name which the author seems to adopt will be found at the end of this Section (Note 12). The compiler of the "Chronicles" is probably nearer the truth when he derives it from *tsunu-ga*, "horned stag."

[4] For the meaning of this curious expression see Sect. LX, Note 20.

[5] The commentators give no explanation of this one of the three names of the deity in question. It would appear to be made up of of a word expressive of solicitation and of a portion of the Heir Apparent's name, thus signifying perhaps "Come on, Wake, [give me thy name]" with reference to the legend here narrated.

[6] To which of the two personages of the legend is not clear. Motowori, however, prefers to suppose that it was to Take-uchi, as, if the prince himself were intended, the word "dream" would probably receive the Honorific 御.

[7] Or, "I reverence [thy commands]."

[8] Motowori supposes that they were caught by being speared in the nose.

[9] *I.e.*, "fish that would naturally have formed part of thine august food." It is less good to translate by "fish for *mine* august food." As usual, the original Japanese text has no Personal Pronouns to

august name was honoured by his being called the Great Deity of August Food.[10] So he is now styled the Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity.[11] Again the blood from the noses of the dolphin-fishes stank. So the strand was called by the name of Chiura.[12] It is now styled Tsunuga.

[SECT. CII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ PRESENTS LIQUOR TO THE HEIR APPARENT).]

Hereupon, when the [Heir Apparent] returned up [to the Capital], his august parent, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, distilled some waiting-liquor,[1] and presented it to him. Then his august parent sang augustly, saying:

"This august liquor is not my august
"liquor:—oh! it is august liquor respect-
"fully brought as a divine congratulation, a
"repeated congratulation,* a bountiful con-
"gratulation, a reiterated congratulation, by
"the Small August Deity, who dwells

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guide the reader; but, though Emperors are sometimes made to use the Honorific in speaking of themselves, this is not the custom in the case of princes, and Ō-jin is supposed to have not yet assumed the Imperial dignity.

10 *Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami.* Motowori mentions several Deities of this name, who were, according to him, separate beings.

11 *Kehi no oho-kami.* The meaning of the syllable *hi*, rendered by "wondrous" in accordance with Motowori's suggestion, is not certain.

12 *I.e.*, "the strand of blood." From *chi-ura* Motowori is obliged to derive Tsunuga as well as he can in order not to throw discredit on the implied assertion of the author that the latter is but a mispronunciation of the former. The true derivation of Tsunuga is is probably from *tsunu-ga* "horned stag," as already stated in Note 3.

1 *Machi-sake.* This expression, which recurs in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," signifies liquor distilled for an absent friend by those who are awaiting his return.

* How would it do to take *Kamu hogi* and *Toyo hogi* as Accusatives governed by the Verbs of the succeeding clauses?—W.G.A.

"eternally, firmly standing. Partake not
"shallowly! Go on! go on!"[2]*

Having thus sung, she presented to him the great august liquor. Then His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi replied for the august child and sang, saying:

"Whatever person distilled† this august
"liquor must surely have distilled it sing-
"ing the while with that drum on the
"mortar,—must surely have distilled it
"dancing the while, for this august liquor,
"august liquor, to be ever more and more
"joyful. Go on! go on!"[3]

These are Drinking Songs.[4]

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[2] The general signification of the Song is: "Think not that this "liquor was made by me. 'Tis a present from the Small August "Deity (*Sukuna-biko-na*), who dwells forever in unshaken power and "who sends it to thee with endless congratulations. Come on! come "on! drink deeply!—Some of the expressions in this Song are a subject of debate among the commentators. Excepting the clause "partake not shallowly," in which the translator has adopted the opinion of the author of the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," Moribe's interpretation has been followed throughout. The latter critic would identify *asazu* ("not shallowly") with *amasazu* ("without leaving anything"). But there seems no warrant for supposing such an elision of the syllable *sa*. The use of the expressions *kuruhoshi* and *motohoshi* to express reiteration is worthy of notice. It will be remembered that the Deity here mentioned was the microscopic personage who came riding over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (see Sect. XXVII).

* Where does *Kushi no Kami* come in?—W.G.A.

† Brewed.—W.G.A.

[3] This Song signifies: "Such a joyful feast must surely have "been preceded by joyful distilling of the liquor for it. Continue to "drink, oh Prince!"—The commentators disagree on the subject of one or two of the words of this Song, in which the translator has followed Motowori's interpretation throughout. The words "that drum" are the chief difficulty. Motowori supposes that drums, being

[SECT. CIII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IX.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ).]

Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko[1] were fifty-two. His august mausoleum is at Nagaye,[2] near Wega,[3] in Kafuchi. (The Empress died at the august age of one hundred. She was buried in the mausoleum of Tatanami in Saki,[4])

[SECT. CIV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN[1] (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Homuda-wake dwelt at the palace of Akira at Karushima,[2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded three[3] queens, daughters of King Homuda-no-

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originally unknown in Japan, were first seen by the Japanese on the occasion of the conquest of Korea in this very reign, and thinks that the drum would be placed by the side of the mortar during the pounding of the rice out of which the liquor was to be made. "That drum" means the drum belonging to the pounder of the rice. The original words *so no*, "that," might also be rendered by "his."

[4] Literally, "liquor-rejoicing songs."

[1] The Emperor Chiū-ai. The author of these "Records" not recognizing, as does the author of the "Chronicles," the time during which the Empress Jin-gō held sway as a separate reign, Chiū-ai is by a fiction supposed to have reigned down to the moment when his posthumous son Ō-jin mounted the throne after the conquest of Korea and of Yamato.

[2] *I.e.*, "long branch," or perhaps "long inlet."

[3] Etymology obscure.

[4] Mabuchi and Motowori seem right in supposing the sentence in small type to be an addition to the text, copied from the "Chronicles." But as all the MSS. and printed editions previous to Motowori's contain it, it has been retained in the translation.

[1] Son of the Emperor Chiū-ai and the Empress Jin-gō.

[2] In Yamato. *Akira* signifies "brilliant." *Karushima* seems to mean "the neighbourhood of Karu, Karu being the often mentioned place of that name in Yamato.

[3] The Auxiliary Numeral for deities is here used.

ma-waka,[4] the name of one of whom was Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri;[5] of the next, Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime;[6] and of the next, Her Augustness Oto-hime.[7] (The father of these Queens, King Homuda-no-ma-waka, was the son of His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri[8] by his wife Shiritsuki-tome,[9] daughter of the Noble Take-inada,[10] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari.)[11] So the august children of Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri were: His Augustness Nukata-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko;[12] next His Augustness Oho-yama-mori;[13] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka;[14] next his younger sister the Lady of Ohohara;[15] next the Lady of Komuku.[16] (Five Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime were: the Lady of

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[4] *Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko.* *Homuda* has already been met with as the name of a place in Kahachi. *Ma-waka* signifies "truly young." The name might therefore be rendered "truly young king of Homuda."

[5] *Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto.* Motowori identifies this princess with the *Takaki-hime* of Sect. LXXVI, Note 21.

[6] *I.e.*, "middle princess," she being the second of three sisters.

[7] *I.e.*, "younger princess," she being the youngest of the sisters.

[8] *I-ho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto.* See Sect. LXXVI, Note 12.

[9] *I.e.*, probably "old woman of Shiritsuki." But it is not certain that Shiritsuki is the name of a place.

[10] *Take-inada no sukune.* In the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" the name is written *Take-ina-dane,* and it may therefore mean "brave-rice-seed."

[11] *Wohari no murazhi.*

[12] *I.e.*, "great middle prince of Nukata," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. It is of uncertain signification.

[13] *I.e.*, "great mountain-warden." For the appropriateness of this namè *conf.* Sect. CV.

[14] The same name has appeared in Sect. LXIII, Note 13.

[15] *Ohohara no iratsume.* Ohohara is the name of a place in Yamato. It signifies "great moor."

[16] *Komuku no iratsume.* This name is written 高目, and its reading as *Komuku* is somewhat hypothetical. It is the name of a place in Kahachi, and probably signifies "an overflowing pool of water."

Arata in Ki;[17] next His Augustness Oho-sazaki;[18]* next His Augustness Netori.[19] (Three Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Oto-hime were: the Lady Abe;[20] next the Lady of Mihara in Ahaji;[21] next the Lady of Unu in Ki;[22] next the Lady of Minu.[23] (Five Deities).[24] Again he wedded

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[17] *Ki no Arata no iratsume.* *Ki* is the province of that name, and Arata is a place in it. The latter name probably means "uncultivated fields."

[18] This name signifies "Great Wren," and is thus accounted for by the author of the "Chronicles": "On the day when the Emperor "[this Prince became the Emperor Nin-toku] was born, an owl flew "into the parturition-hall. Next morning early, the Heavenly Sove-"reign Homuda [*i.e.*, the Emperor Ō-jin] sent for the Prime Minister "the Noble Take-uchi, and asked him whereof this might be a sign. "The Prime Minister replied, saying: 'It is a good omen. Moreover "'yesterday, when they servant's wife was delivered of child, a wren "'flew into the parturition-house, likewise a strange thing. Then "the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'It is a portent from Heaven that "'my child and thine should he born on the same day, and both be "'attended by a good omen. So let the names of the birds be taken, "'and each used for the name of the other [*i.e.*, the name of the owl "'for him into whose parturition-house the wren flew, and *vice-versâ*], "'as a covenant for the future.' So the wren's name was bestowed "on the Heir Apparent, who was called Great-Wren Prince, and the "owl's name was given to the Prime Minister's child, who was called "the Noble Owl."

* The modern form of this word is *sasagi*.—**W.G.A.**

[19] This name is obscure.

[20] *Abe no iratsume.* Abe is the name of several places in different provinces, and is of obscure derivation and import.

[21] *Ahaji no Mihara no iratsume.* The text properly has *Ayuchi*, but Motowori emends this to *Ahaji* on the authority of the "Chronicles." Mihara is the name of a district in the island of Ahaji, and probably signifies "three moors."

[22] *Ki no Unu no iratsume.* *Ki* is the province of that name, and *Unu* a place in it. The latter name is of uncertain import.

[23] *Minu no iratsume.* *Minu* (*Mino*) is the province of that name.

[24] "Five" must here be a mistake for "four."

the Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye,[25] daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and begot august children: Uji-no-waki-iratsuko;[26] next his younger sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume;[27] next Queen Medori.[28] (Three Deities). Again he wedded Wo-nabe-no-iratsume,[29] younger sister of Yakaha-ye-hime, and begot an august child: Uji-no-waki-iratsume.[30] (One Deity). Again he wedded Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime,[31] daughter of King Kuhimata-naga-hiko,[32] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke-futa-mata[33] (One Deity). Again he wedded the Princess of Itowi,[34] daughter of Shima-tari-ne,[35] ancestor of the Agricultural Chiefs of Sakurawi,[36] and begot an august child: His Augustness Hayabusa-wake[37] (One Deity). Again, he wedded Naga-hime of Idzumi in Himuka,[38] and begot august children: King

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[25] For this name and the next see Sect. CVI, Notes 5 and 4.

[26] *I.e.*, "the young lord of Uji." Uji is the name of a district in Yamashiro, famous in classical and modern times for its tea. The etymology is obscure.

[27] *I.e.*, "the young lady of Yata." Yata is the name of a place in Yamato. The etymology is obscure.

[28] *Medori no miko.* *Medori* signifies "hen-bird;" but the reason for the application of so strange a name to this princess, whose fortunes are related at some length in Sects. CXXVI and CXXVII, does not appear. A similar remark applies to the next name.

[29] *I.e.*, probably "the lady of the little kettle."

[30] *I.e.*, "the young lady of Uji."

[31] *I.e.*, "the truly young middle princess of Okinaga."

[32] See Sect. XCII, Note 27.

[33] *Waka-nuke-futa-mata no miko.* This name is obscure.

[34] *Itowi-hime.* Itowi is the name of a place in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin.

[35] *Shima* is probably the name of a place, while *tari* and *ne* are the frequently recurring Honorifics rendered respectively "perfect" and "lord" in former parts of this translation.

[36] *Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi.* *Ta-be*, rendered "agricultural," is literally "rice-field tribe." *Sakurawi* ("cherry-well") is the name of a place in Kahachi.

[37] *I.e.*, falcon-lord.

[38] *Himuka no Idzumi no Naga-hime.* Himuka is the name of a

Oho-haye,[39] next King Wo-haye;[40] next Hata-bi-no-waki-iratsume.[41] (Three Deities). Again he wedded Princess Ka-guro,[42] and begot august children: Kaharada-no-iratsume;[43] next, Tama-no-iratsume;[44] next, Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime;[45] next, Tohoshi-no-iratsume;[46] next, King Kataji.[47] (Five Deities). Again, he wedded Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki,[48] and begot an august child: King Iza-no-ma-waka.[49] (One Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether twenty-six (eleven Kings and fifteen Queens). Of these His Augustness Oho-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART II.—HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign asked His Augustness

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province, and Idzumi that of a district now comprised within the limits of Satsuma. *Naga-hime,* literally "long princess," probably signifies "elder princess."

[39] *Oho-haye no miko.* Signification obscure.

[40] *Wo-haye no miko.* Signification obscure. The antithesis of the Adjectives *oho* and *wo* ("great" and "small") shows however that the names partly served to distinguish the elder from the younger brother.

[41] *Waki-iratsume* is "young lady." *Hata-bi* is incomprehensible.

[42] See Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

[43] *I.e.,* probably "the lady of Kaharada." The latter name (literally "rice-field on the border of a river") is often met with.

[44] *I.e.,* "the jewel lady."

[45] *I.e.,* "the great middle lady of Osaka," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato (see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1).

[46] Motowori identifies this name with that of *Koto-fushi no iratsume* in Sect. CXVII, *q.v.,* and thinks that both this and the preceding name have only crept into this Section by mistake.

[47] *Kataji no miko.* Signification obscure.

[48] *Kadzuraki no Nu-iro-me.* All the elements of this name have already been met with several times.

[49] This child has already appeared early in this Section, and the name is here doubtless only repeated through some copyist's error.

Oho-yama-mori and His Augustness Oho-sazaki,* saying: "Which think ye the dearer, an elder child or a younger child?" (The reason why the Heavenly Sovereign propounded this question was because it was his intention[1] to make Uji-no-waki-iratsuko rule the Empire). Then His Augustness Oho-yama-mori said: "The elder child is the dearer." Next His Augustness Oho-sazaki, knowing the august feeling which made the Heavenly Sovereign deign to ask [the question], said: "The elder "child, having already become a man, gives no trouble; but "the younger child, not being yet a man, is the dearer." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "My lord Sazaki's words "agree with my thoughts," and forthwith ordained the division [of the inheritance] thus: His Augustness Oho-yama-mori to administer the government of the mountains and the sea,[2] His Augustness Oho-sazaki to take and deign to report on the government of the realm,[3] and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko to rule the succession of Heaven's sun.[4] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki was not disobedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands.[5]

[SECT. CVI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART III.—HE WOOS PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE).]

One day[1] the Heavenly Sovereign, when he had crossed over into the land of Afumi, augustly stood on the moor of Uji, gazed† on the moor of Kadzu, and sang, saying:

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* Satow's chronology has Oho-sasagi.—W.G.A.

[1] Literally, "heart."

[2] *I.e.*, Motowori thinks, to have control over the guilds of foresters and fishermen.

[3] *I.e.*, to act as regent or minister.

[4] *I.e.*, to inherit the empire.—It will be remembered that the Japanese Emperors claim to descend from the Sun-Goddess.

[5] This statement refers proleptically to the contrary course which was taken by the elder Oho-yama-mori.

[1] Literally, "one time."

† Gazed down.—W.G.A.

"As I look on the Moor of Kadzu in Chiba
"both the hundred thousand-fold abundant
"house-places are visisble, and the land's
"acme is visible."[2]

So when he reached the village of Kohata,[3] a beautiful maiden met him at a fork in the road. Then the Heavenly Sovereign asked the maiden, saying: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "I am the daughter of the Grandee "Wani-no-Hifure,[4] and my name is Princess Miya-nushi-ya-"kaha-ye."[5] The Heavenly Sovereign forthwith said to the maiden: "When I return on my progress to-morrow, I will "enter into thy house." So Princess Ya-kaha-ye told her father all that [had happened]. Thereupon her father replied, saying: "Ah! it was the Heavenly Sovereign! [His com-"mands are to be respected. My child, respectfully serve

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[2] According to Moribe, whose interpretation has been followed throughout, this Song signifies: "As I gaze across from Uji to the "Moor of Toba, I see the numerous and prosperous homesteads of "the people, I see the most fertile portion of the country."—On this view Chiba is identified with Toba, the name of a district; and the word *ho*, rendered "acme," is taken to mean the best, highest, most showy part of anything. For Motowori's opinion, which is that of the older commentators as well, that *chi-ba* is a Pillow-Word, there is much to be said, and if we followed it, we should have to render the first two lines thus: "As I look on the thousand-leafed pueraria-moor," etc. (*kadzu* signifying "pueraria.") Motowori's explanation of *momo-chi-daru* (here rendered by "hundred thousand-fold abundant") as referring to the soot of the peasant's roofs, and of *ho* as signifying "a plain surrounded by mountains" seems much less good than Moribe's interpretation of those difficult expressions.

[3] In the district of Uji in the province of Yamashiro. The characters with which the name is written signify "tree-flag."

[4] *Wani no Hifure no omi.* For *Wani no omi* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. The meaning of *Hifure* is obscure.

[5] *Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-hime.* *Miya-nushi* is "priestess," or more literally "temple-guardian." For the rest of the name see Sect. XXVI, Note 14, though the personages are of course meant to be different.

"him!"—and so saying, he grandly decorated the house, and awaited [the Heavenly Sovereign's return], whereupon he came in on the next day.[6] So when [the father] served [the Heavenly Sovereign] a great august feast, he made his daughter Her Augustness[7] Princess Ya-kaha take the great august liquor-cup and present it. Thereupon, while taking the great august liquor-cup, the Heavenly Sovereign augustly sang, saying:

"Oh this crab! whence this crab? [It is]
"a crab from far-distant Tsunuga. Whither
"reaches its sideward motion? [It has]
"come towards Ichiji-shima and Mi-shima.
"It must be because, plunging and breathless
"like the grebe, I went without stopping
"along the up and down road by the wavelets,
"that the maiden I met on the Kohata road
"has a back oh! like a small shield, a row
"of teeth like acorns. Oh! the earth of the
"Wani pass at Ichihiwi! Owing to the skin
"of the first earth being ruddy, to the last
"earth being of a reddish black, she,
"without exposing to the actual sun that
"makes one bend one's head the middle
"earth like three chestnuts, draws thickly
"down her drawn eye-brows;—the woman
"I met, the child I saw and wanted in this
"way, the child I saw and wanted in that
"way, oh! she is opposite to me at the
"height of the feast! oh! she is at my side!"[8*]

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[6] *I.e.*, that day having passed by, the Emperor came on the next day according to his promise.

[7] Motowori supposes with apparent reason that the character 命, "Augustness," has only crept into the text through the attraction of the following character 令, "made," which it resembles in appearance.

[*] I should be pleased to think that the text of the bulk of the middle part of this Song is corrupt.—W.G.A.

[8] It must be understood that in this Song the Imperial singer

Ita auguste coivit [cum illâ], et procreavit filium Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.

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commences by referring to what doubtless formed part of the feast,—a crab,—and thence passes on by an imperceptible transition to allude to his own adventure with the maiden. As the crab when alive walked sideways, so was the Emperor zigzagging up and down the road that lines the shore of Lake Biwa, pursuing his breathless course like that of the busy grebe that perpetually plunges into the water, when the maiden met him near Kohata. Beautiful indeed was she: her back straight as a shield, her teeth like a row of acorns, and the artificial eye-brows painted a dark colour on her forehead drawn low down in a perfect crescent-shape. She had been careful in selecting the clay to make the paint, rejecting the upper layer of earth, for that was of too bright a red, rejecting likewise the lower layer, for that was too dark, but taking the middle, which was of the correct blue tint, and drying it, not in the fierce, but in a mildly tempered, sunlight. And now this maiden, for whom his heart had been panting and turning this way and that ever since the previous day, is actually seated opposite to him, nay! at his very side, and he is feasting in her sweet company.—Tsunuga is the name of a place in the province of Echizen. "Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt at rendering the force of the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutafu*, which implies that the traveller must pass through a hundred other places before reaching his destination. "Whither reaches its sideward motion?" signifies "whi-"ther is it going with its sideward motion?" Ichiji-shima and Mishima are places of which nothing is known, so that the allusion to them is obscure. At this point Motowori's interpretation diverges from that of Moribe, which has been followed throughout. *Sasanami*, here rendered "wavelets," is taken by him, as by the older commentators, as the name of a place, and the description of the maiden's teeth is misundertood to signify that she had a beak filled with a row of teeth like the water-caltrop! Motowori also would here divide the Song in two, a proceeding for which there is not sufficient warrant. On other minor points, too, his decisions do not seem so happy as Moribe's. The views of both commentators will be found at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXII, pp. 33–51, and in Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto-waki*," *in loco*. "Three chestnuts" (*mitsu-guri no*) is a common Pillow-Word for *naka*, "middle," founded on the fact, real or supposed, that one burr always contains three nuts, whereof one of course is in the middle, between the other two.

[SECT. CVII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IV.—HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMI-NAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the beauty of Princess Kami-naga,[1] daughter of the Duke of Muragata[2] in the land of Himuka, and thinking to employ her,[3] sent down for her,[4] whereupon the Heir Apparent[5] His Augustness Oho-sazaki, having seen the maiden land* at the port of Naniha, and being charmed with the grace of her appearance, forthwith directed the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi, to intercede for him in the great august presence of the Heavenly Sovereign, and make [the latter] grant to him Princess Kami-naga, whom he had sent down for. Then on the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi requesting the great commands,[6] the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith granted Princess Kami-naga to his august child. The way he granted her was this:—the Heavenly Sovereign, on a day when he partook of a copious feast,[7] gave

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1 *Kami-naga-hime.* The name signifies "the long-haired princess."

2 *Muragata no kimi.* *Muragata* seems to signify "many towns."

3 *I.e.*, wed her.

4 Literally, "summoned her up." The same phrase occurs immediately below.

5 太子. Mabuchi thinks that 御子, "august child," should be substituted for the reading in the text. But Motowori insists that the title translated Heir Apparent was anciently borne by all the sons of an Emperor, and that consequently no emendation is called for.

* Arrive ?—W.G.A.

6 *I.e.*, the Emperor's orders.

7 The native term translated "copious feast" is *toyo no akari*, variously written with the characters 豐明, 豐樂, 宴樂, etc., etc. It literally signifies "copious brightness," in allusion to the ruddy glow which wine gives to the faces of the revellers, and henceforward perpetually recurs in this history. In later times it specifically denoted the festival of the tasting of the first rice, but anciently its meaning was not thus limited. Motowori's note on the subject, in Vol. XXXII, pp. 57–59 of his Commentary, may be consulted with advantage.

Princess Kami-naga the great august liquor oak- [leaf[8]] to present to the Heir Apparent. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"Come on, children! oh! the fragrant
"flowering orange-tree on my way as I
"go to pluck the wild garlic,—to pluck
"the garlic,—has its uppermost branches
"withered by birds perching on them, and its
"lowest branches withered through people
"plucking from them. But the budding
"fruit on the middle branch, like three
"chestnuts,—the ruddy maiden, oh! if
"thou lead her off with thee, it will be
"good, oh!"[9]

Again he augustly sang, saying:

"Driving the dyke-piles into Lake Yosami
"where the water collects, my heart (ignor-
"ant of the pricking of the stumps of the

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[8] *I.e.*, an oak-leaf which was used as a cup to sip out of. Leaf-platters for food have already been mentioned. Motowori says that the word *kashiha** (properly the name of a deciduous oak, the *Quercus dentata*) was employed to denote any kind of leaf thus used.

* Has not the *kashiwa* a smallish leaf,—too small for this purpose? If the authorities were not against it, I should have understood a cup made of the wood of the *kashiwa*.—**W.G.A.**

[9] The whole gist of this Song is contained in the last three lines. "The ruddy maiden, oh! if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good,"—*i.e.*, "thou and the maiden will form a fitting couple." All that goes before is what is technically called a "Preface," though its bearing is so clear as to admit of translation, and even in English to form an appropriate introduction to the Song:—It is not the stinking garlic, but the fragrant orange that the singer has met by the way, and it is the choicest young fruit in the very middle of the tree that forms a suitable comparison for the lovely young girl.—With the favourite allusion to upper, middle, and lower the reader is already familiar, and the Pillow-Word "three chestnuts" was explained in the note on the preceding Song (Sect. CVI, Note 8).

"water-caltrop, ignorant of the creeping* of
"the roots of the *Brasenia peltata*), being
"more and more laughable, is now indeed
"repentant"[10]

Having thus sung, he bestowed [her on the Heir Apparent]. So after having been granted the maiden, the Heir Apparent sang, saying:

"Oh! the maiden of Kohada in the back of
"the road! though I heard of her like the
"thunder, we mutually intertwine [our
"arms] as pillows."[11]

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* Growing?—W.G.A.

[10] The gist of the Song is:† "I knew not that thou, my son, "hadst conceived a secret passion for the maiden; but I am now "conscious of my own mistake, and my foolish old heart is ashamed "of itself." With this explanation the elaborate comparison between the state of the monarch's mind and the condition of the peasant driving piles for the foundation of a dyke, and having his feet either lacerated by the stumps of the water-caltrop, or made slimy by brushing against the roots of the *Brasenia peltata* at the bottom of the water, becomes intelligible and appropriate.—The word *kuri*, rendered "roots," perplexed Motowori, who suggests that it may be but a second name of the *Brasenia*, appended to the first; but Moribe's suggestion that it is to be identified with *kori*, and taken in the signification of "roots," though not quite convincing, is at least more plausible. The text of this Song is corrupt in these "Records" and has to be corrected by a comparison with that of the "Chronicles." Moribe goes into an amusing ecstasy over the picture of ancient manners which it presents, and lauds the simplicity of days when a father and son could so peacefully woo the same maiden without mutual concealment or disastrous consequences!

† The Nihongi makes this song a reply by the young Prince to the previous one. I prefer the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[11] The meaning of this Song is: "At first I heard of the maiden "of Kohada in the furthest parts of Himuka as one hears the distant "thunder; but now she is mine, and we sleep locked in each other's "arms."—This Kohada in Himuka must not be confounded‡ with the Kohata in Yamashiro mentioned in the preceding Section. The

Again he sang, saying:

"I think lovingly ah! of how the maiden of
"Kohada in the back of the road sleeps [with
"me] without disputing."[12]

[SECT. CVIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART V.—SONGS OF THE TERRITORIAL OWNERS OF YESHINU).]

Again, the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu,[1] seeing† the august sword which was girded on His Augustness Oho-sazaki, sang, saying:

"Sharp is the beginning, freezing is the end
"of the sword girded on Oho-sazaki, Oho-
"sazaki, the solar august child of Homuda,—
"[it is] chilly, chilly like the trees beneath
"the trunks of the winter trees."[2]‡

"back of the road" means the remotest portion (conf. Sect. LX, Note 20). The thunder must be understood to refer to a very faint and distant sound: the Prince had first heard of the maiden vaguely, but now she is his and has been his for some time; for this Song must be supposed to have been composed after the occasion of the feast with the story of which it is here connected.

‡ Or else there is some confusion in the text,—not unlikely.—**W.G.A.**

[12] The meaning of this Song is: "I love this maiden of Kohada "in Himuka, who disputed not my desire and my father's grant, but "willingly became my wife."—It is hard to render in English the force of the string of Particles *wo shi zo mo* in the penultimate line.

[1] Yeshinu is the modern Yoshino, in the province of Yamato (see Sect. XLVI, Note 3). For the title of *kudzu** see Sect. XLVI, Note 13, where it also occurs in connection with Yeshinu.

* Where it is spelt *kuzu*.— **W.G.A.**

† The Chinese character means "look up to," "to reverence," "to revere," "to regard very respectfully." The writer evidently meant this and not simply 見 "see."—W.G.A.

[2] According to Moribe, whose interpretation seems best to the translator, the signification of this difficult poem is: "The sword

Again, having made a cross-mortar[3] at Kashifu[4] in Yeshinu, and having in that cross-mortar distilled[5]† some great august liquor, they, when they presented the great august liquor [to the Heavenly Sovereign], sang as follows, drumming with their mouths :‡

"We have made a side-mortar at Kashinofu,
"and in the side-mortar we have distilled

"worn by Prince Oho-sazaki, son of the Emperor Homuda (Ō-jin) is "double-edged at its upper part, and like glistening ice towards its "point;—oh! 'tis like the icicles on the plants that cluster about the "trunks of the dead trees in winter!" Almost every line, however (excepting those giving the name and title of the Prince), is a subject of controversy, and the "*Kō-gan Shō*" *in loco* and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 2–5, should be consulted for Keichiū's, Mabuchi's and Motowori's views on the disputed point.—The expression "solar august child" signifies "sun-descended prince," in allusion to the supposed descent of the Japanese monarchs from the Sun-Goddess.

[2] If this poem were composed at the time stated, it would negative the supposition that Ōsasagi is a posthumous name. It proves at any rate that the author of the Kojiki did not consider it so.

[3] *Yoko-usu* or *yokusu* (横臼). It is not plain what sort of mortar the author intended to designate by this term. Motowori supposes it to mean a broad flat mortar in contradistinction to a high and narrow one. Keichiū's view, which he quotes, to the effect that it was a mortar that had been carved out of the block against the grain of the wood, seems an equally good guess, where all is guess-work.

[4] In the Song this same name is read *Kashinofu;* but the commentators tell us that the Genitive Particle *no* ("of") is simply inserted for the sake of rhythm, and it is not unlikely that they are right. The name seems to signify "[a place where] oak-trees grow."

[5] See Sect. XVIII, Note 16. The character 醸, rendered by "distil" or "brew," according to the view which one may take of the resulting liquor, would seem to be here used in the sense of "to pound."

† You cannot distil a thing in a mortar.—W.G.A.

‡ *Waza wo noshite,* "and making gestures."—W.G.A.

"some great august liquor, which do thou
"sweetly partake of, oh our lord!"[6]

This Song is one which it is the custom to chant down to the present day when, from time to time, the Territorial Owners present a great feast [to the Sovereign].

[SECT. CIX.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VI.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In this august reign were graciously established the Fisher Tribe,[1] the Mountain Tribe,[2] the Mountain Warden Tribe,[3] and the Ise Tribe.[4] Again the Pool of Tsurugi was made. Again there came over [to Japan] some people from Shiragi. Therefore His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, having taken them with him and set them to labour on pools and embankments, made the Pool of Kudara.[5]

[SECT. CX—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VII.—TRIBUTE FROM KOREA).]

Again King Shō-ko,[1] the Chieftain of the land of Kudara,

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[6] In this simple Song the Territorial Owners of Yoshino beg the Monarch to deign to partake of the *sake* which they have made.

[1] *Ama-be* (written 海部 and read *Una-be* in the Old Printed Edition and in the edition of 1687, and perhaps better rendered "Sea-Tribe") The name of this guild or clan does not seem to have remained, like the two mentioned together with it, as a "gentile name."

[2] *Yama-be.* Motowori thinks that this word has crept into the text erroneously through the influence of that next mentioned, as the functions of the tribes or guilds thus separately named were identical. The differentiation may have taken place after the terms had come to be used as "gentile names."

[3] *Yama-mori-be.*

[4] *Ise-be.* Nothing is known of this tribe or guild.

[5] Doubtless so named after the Korean labourers employed upon it,—Kudara and Shiragi, as different parts of the same peninsula, being confounded in thought.*

* Called, in the Nihongi, "the pool of the Han men."—W.G.A.

sent as tribute by Achi-kishi[2] one stallion and one mare. (This Achi-kishi was the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes.[3]) Again be sent as tribute a cross-sword,[4] and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden[5] to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. Therefore, receiving the [Imperial] commands, he sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi,[6] and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian Analects[7] in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay[8] in one volume,—altogether eleven volumes. (This Wani-kishi was the ancestor of the Fumi Grandees.[9]) Again he sent as tribute two artisans,—a smith from Kara named Taku-so[10] and a weaver from Go[11] named Sai-so.[12]

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[1] 照古王, according to the Japanese *kana* spelling, *Seu-ko.**

† King Ahwa it was,—not *Shō-ko.*—W.G.A.

[2] 阿知吉師. Other forms of the name are *Ajiki* and *Atogi*, and all three are but attempts at transcribing phonetically into Japanese a Korean name, the proper characters for which are not given. 吉士 is not properly part of the name, but is simply an official title (師 here stands for 士).

[3] *Achiki no fumi-bito. Fumi-bito* abbreviated to *Fubito*) became a "gentile name."

[4] See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

[5] *Q.d.*, by the Japanese Emperor.

[6] Here written phonetically 和邇吉師, but properly 王仁吉士, *i.e.*, "the Official Wang-In." He is generally spoken of simply as *Wani.*

[7] 論語. ("*Lun Yü,*" or according to the Japanese pronunciation "*Ron-go.*")

[8] 千字文. ("*Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên,*" or according to the Japanese pronunciation "*Sen-ji-mon.*") See the translator's remarks on this subject in the Introduction, p. xlix. The "Chronicles" more prudently mention only "various classics."

[9] *Fumi no obito. Fumi* signifies "any written document," so that this "gentile name" is equivalent to our word "scribe."

[10] 卓素. The transliteration of this, as of all other such names here occurring, is the Sinico-Japanese transliteration. *Kara* (Korea) is written 韓.

[11] 吳 (*Wu*, Jap. *Go*), one of the states into which China was

[SECT. CXI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII.—THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED).]

Again there came over [to Japan] the ancestor of the Hada Rulers,[1] the ancestor of the Aya Suzerains,[2] and likewise a man who knew how to distil liquor, and whose name was Nim-pan,[3] while another name for him was Susukori.[4] So this [man] Susukori distilled* some great august liquor, and presented it to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, excited with the great august liquor that had been presented to him, augustly sang, saying:

"I have become intoxicated with the august
"liquor distilled* by Susukori. I have be-
"come intoxicated with the soothing liquor,
"with the smiling liquor."[5]

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divided during the third century of our era. A draper's shop is still called *go-fuku-ya*, *i.e.*, "Wu-garments-house" in memory of the introduction of wearing apparel from that country.

[12] 酉素.

[1] *Hada no miyatsuko*, 秦造, a "gentile name." *Hada* is the native Japanese word used as the equivalent of the Chinese name 秦, *Ch'in*. Its origin is uncertain.

[2] *Aya no atahe* 漢直, a "gentile name." The use of Aya to represent the Chinese name 漢, *Han*, is as difficult to account for as is that of Hada mentioned in the preceding Note.

[3] 仁番. Another and more Japanese-like reading, *Niho*, is invented by Motowori; but the older editors read *Nim-pan* according to the usual Sinico-Japanese sound of the characters. The modern Korean reading would be In-pön.

[4] Written phonetically 須須許理.

* Brewed.—W.G.A.

[5] Thus translated, this Song is too clear to need any explanation. The lines, however, which are rendered by "with the soothing liquor, "with the smiling liquor,"—in Japanese *koto nagu shi we-gushi-ni*,—are in reality extremely obscure, and Moribe understands them to signify, "Oh! how difficult it is for me to speak! Oh! how ill at ease I am!" In order to do so he has, however, to change and add to the text;

On his walking out singing thus, he hit with his august staff a large stone in the middle of the Ohosaka[6] road, upon which the stone ran away. So the proverb says: "Hard "stones get out of a drunkard's way."

[SECT. CXII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IX.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, His Augustness Oho-sazaki, in conformity with the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, ceded* the Empire to Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. Thereupon His Augustness Oho-yama-mori, disobeying the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, and anxious in spite thereof to obtain the Empire, had the design to slay the Prince[1] his younger brother, secretly raised an army, and prepared to attack him. Then His Augustness Oho-sazaki, hearing that his elder brother had prepared an army, forthwith despatched a messenger to apprise Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. So, startled at the news, [the latter] set troops in ambush by the river-bank, and likewise, after having drawn a fence of curtains and raised a tent on the top of the hill, placed there publicly on a throne[2] one of his retainers to pretend that he was the King,[3] the manner in which all the officials[4] reverentially went and came being just like that [usual] in the King's presence. And

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and the translator, though not sure of being in the right path, has preferred to follow Motowori, whose interpretation, without requiring any such extreme measures, yet gives a very plausible sense.

[6] See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

* I don't dispute the translation, but how could he cede what he had not?—W.G.A.

[1] 皇子. This is the only passage in the work where this expression occurs. *Uji-no-waki-iratsuko* is the personage thus designated.

[2] The same expression has been in Sect. XXXI (near Note 16) rendered "couch." The characters in the original are 臭床 or 胡床.

[3] *I.e., Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.*

[4] The Chinese phrase 百官, "the hundred officials," is here used.

moreover, preparing for the time when the King his elder brother[5] should cross the river, he arranged and decorated a boat and oars, and moreover[6] ground* [in a mortar] the root of the *Kadzura japonica*, and having taken the slime of its juice, rubbed therewith the grating[7] inside the boat, so as to make any who should tread on it fall down, and then himself[8] put on a cloth coat and trowsers, and having assumed the appearance of a common fellow, stood in the boat holding the oar. Hereupon, when the King his elder brother, having hid his troops in ambush and put on armour beneath his clothes, reached the river-bank and was about to get into the boat, he gazed at the grandly decorated place [on the hill], thought the King his younger brother was sitting on the throne, being altogether ignorant [of the fact] that he was standing in the boat holding the oar, and forthwith asked the fellow who was holding the oar, saying: "It has been reported to me that "on this mountain there is a large and angry boar. I wish "to take that boar. Shall I peradventure get that boar?" Then the fellow holding the oar replied, saying: "Thou "canst not." Again he asked, saying: "For what reason?" [The boat-man] answered, saying: "He is not to be got, "however often and in however many places he be chased. "Wherefore I say that thou canst not [catch him either]." When they had crossed as far as the middle of the river, [Prince Uji-no-waki-iratsuko] caused the boat to be tilted over,

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[5] *Q.d.*, his Augustness Oho-yama-mori.

[6] The text has the character 者, which, in combination with the preceding word "oars," gives the sense of "oarsman," "boatman." But Motowori reasonably suggests that it is an error for 赤, the grass-hand forms of the two characters closely resembling each other, and 赤 making much better sense; for who would talk of "decorating an oarsman?"

* Or "pounded."—W.G.A.

[7] A bamboo grating.

[8] Literally "that king's son."

and [his elder brother] to fall into the water.[9] Then forthwith he rose to the surface and floated down with the current. Forthwith, as he floated, he sang, saying:

"Whoever is swiftest among the boatmen
"of the Uji ferry will come to me."[10]

Thereupon the troops that had been hidden on the river-bank rose up simultaneously on this side and on that side, and fixing their arrows [in their bows], let him go floating down. So he sank on reaching Kawara Point.[11] So on their searching with hooks[12] the place where he had sunk, [the hooks] struck

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[9] It must be understood that Uji-no-waki-iratsuko and his men, having planned to act thus, were on their guard, and did not fall into the water as did Oho-yama-mori, who was taken unawares.*

* Oyama-Mori was probably thinking of the *ukei-gari* mentioned above. He wished to judge of his luck from the answer he received. —W.G.A.

[10] This is Motowori's view of the meaning of the Song, which he interprets as a request for help to some friendly boatman. Moribe adopts quite a different view, and thinks that the drowning prince is rather giving vent to sentiments of pride and defiance. He says (speaking in the Prince's name): "It is not that I have been cap-"sized out of the boat into the river, but that I am swimming off "after a pole which has fallen into the water. If there be any strong "and willing fellows among my partizans, let them swim after me." It must be explained that the word rendered "boatmen" in the translation is literally "pole-takers" (or, according to Moribe's view, "to take a pole"). Motowori's interpretation seems to do less violence to the wording of the original, and Moribe's has not even the merit of accounting for the use of the Future *komu* where the Imperative *kome* would be what we should naturally expect.—*Uji* is preceded by the, in this context, untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayaburu* (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *s.v.*).

[11] *Kawara no saki.* The author, in the next sentence, derives this name from the rattling sound made by the hooks as they struck on the armour. But there seems a great deal to be said in favour of Arawi Hakuseki's view that *kawara* is an old word itself signifying "armour."

[12] The word *kagi* here used occurs elsewhere to denote the hooks

on the armour inside his clothes, and made a rattling sound.[13] So the place was called by the name of Kawara Point. Then when they hooked up[14] his bones the younger King sang, saying:

> "*Catalpa* bow, *Euonymus* standing by the
> "ferry-bank of Uji! My heart had thought
> "to cut [you], my heart had thought to
> "take [you]; but at the base methought of
> "the lord, at the extremity methought of the
> "younger sister; grievously methought of
> "this, sorrowfully methought of that; and
> "I come [back] without cutting it,—the
> "*Catalpa* bow, the *Euonymus*."[15]

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employed for fastening doors, and in later times took the specific meaning of "key."

[13] Literally, "sounded *kawara*."

[14] The text has the characters 掛出. But Motowori says that 掛 stands for 搔, and that we must interpret the passage to mean that they scratched [about to find] and take out [his corpse].

[15] The signification of this Song is: "I came here meaning to "kill thee as I might cut down and kill that *Catalpa* tree, that "*Euonymus*, growing on the river-bank. But the thought of our "father and of thy sister (or wife) touched me with pity, and I return "without having drawn my bow at thee."—Uji is preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayahito* (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" *s.v.*;—Motowori reads it *chihaya-hito* without the *nigori*).—The words *adzusa-yumi mayumi*, here respectively rendered "*Catalpa* bow" and "*Euonymus*," are difficult, and the doubt as to whether we should understand the prince to be speaking simply of the trees, or to intend likewise to allude to his bow which was made of the wood of one of those trees, is probably not to be settled, as the words in question have always oscillated between the two meanings, and here evidently contain a double allusion. Motowori thinks that the first of the two forms only a sort of Pillow-Word for the second.—The word rendered "bank," in accordance with Moribe's suggestion, is literally "reach."—No special importance must be attached to the expressions "base" (or "main part") and "extremity," though they may doubtless be thought to allude to the father and sister, the

So the bones of His Augustness Oho-yama-mori were buried on the Nara[16] mountain. His Augustness Oho-yama-mori (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Hijikata,[17] the Dukes of Heki,[18] and the Dukes of Harihara.[19])

[SECT. CXIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART X.—PRINCES OHO-SAZAKI AND UJI-NO-WAKI-IRATSUKO CEDE THE EMPIRE TO EACH OTHER).]

Thereupon while the two Deities[1] His Augustness Oho-sazaki and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko were, each of them, ceding the Empire to the other,[2] a fisherman[3] came with a great feast as tribute.[4] So they each resigned it to the other. So the elder brother refused it, and caused it to be offered to the younger brother, and the younger brother refused it and caused it to be offered to the elder brother, during which mutual cedings many days elapsed. As such mutual ceding took place not [only] once or twice, the fisherman wept from the fatigue of going backwards and forwards. So the proverb says: "Ah!

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recollection of whom softened the victorious younger brother's heart. The word *iranakeku*, rendered "grievously," is of not quite certain interpretation.—It must be understood that though, by overturning the boat, Uji-no-waki-iratsuko did constructively cause Oho-yama-mori's death, he did not actually shoot at and slay him when in the water, but followed down the river-side lamenting over what had happened.—This Song is singled out by Moribe for special praise.

16 See Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

17 In Tohotafumi (Tōtōmi.). In the original *Hijikata no kimi.*

18 *Heki no kimi.* Of Heki nothing is known.

19 *Harihara no kimi.* In Tohotafumi. *Harihara* signifies "alder plantation."

1 It is not actually the word *kami*, "deity," that is here used in the original, but *hashira*, which is the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.*

* Not exclusively.—W.G.A.

2 Neither being willing to accept the Imperial dignity.

3 Or, "some fishermen," and similarly in the Plural throughout.

4 *I.e.*, came to present fish to His Majesty.

"the fisherman weeps on account of his own things."[5] Meanwhile Uji-no-waki-iratsuko died early.[6] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki did rule the Empire.

[SECT. CXIV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XI.—AMA-NO-HI-BOKO CROSSES OVER TO JAPAN).]

Moreover of old there had been [a man] called by the name of Ama-no-hi-boko,[1] child of the ruler of the land of Shiragi. This person crossed over here [to Japan]. The reason of his crossing over here was [this]: In the land of Shiragi there was a certain lagoon,[2] called by the name of the Agu Lagoon.[3] On the bank of this lagoon[4] a certain poor girl

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[5] Motowori is probably right in saying that the point of this proverb lies in the consideration that, whereas people in general weep for that which they have not, this fisherman wept on account of the trouble which was caused to him by the fish which he had.*

* And which he could not get rid of.—W.G.A.

[6] Or, "died first." The use in this place of the character 崩, properly confined to the meaning of the "death of an Emperor," is remarkable. See Motowori's observations on the point in Vol. XXXIII, pp. 78–80,

[1] Or, according to Motowori's reading, *Ame-no-hi-boko.* The character in the text, 天之日矛, signify "heavenly sun-spear." But the homonymous characters 海槍槍, with which the name is written in the "Gleanings from Ancient Story," and which are approved of both by Motowori and by Tanigaha Shisei, signify "fisherman's chamæcyparis spear."

[2] Apparently nothing more is meant than that there was "*a* lagoon;" but still the *one* (一) in this context is curious, and Motowori retains it as *hito-tsu no* in the Japanese reading. "A certain" seems best to render its force in English, as again in the following sentences, where Motowori interprets it by the character 或. It is of strangely frequent recurrence in the opening sentences of this Section, which are altogether peculiar in style.*

* Curiously it is in accordance with Korean idiom to use "one" (一) for the indefinite article "a".

[3] *Agu-numa.* The meaning of this name is unknown.

was [taking her] midday sleep. Tunc solis radii, cœlesti arcui similes, in privatas partes impegerunt. Again there was a certain poor man, who, thinking this occurrence[5] strange, constantly watched the woman's behaviour. So the woman, having conceived from the time of that midday sleep, gave birth to a red jewel. Then the poor man who had watched her begged [to be allowed] to take the jewel, and kept it constantly wrapped up by his side.[6] This person, having planted a rice-field in a valley,[7] had loaded a cow[8] with food for the labourers, and was getting into the middle of the valley, when he met the ruler's son, Ama-no-hi-boko, who thereupon asked him, saying: "Why enterest thou the valley with a load of "food upon a cow. Thou wilt surely kill this cow and eat "her." Forthwith he seized the man and was about to put him into prison, when the man replied, saying: "I was not "going to kill the cow. I was simply taking food to the "people in the fields." But still [the ruler's child] would not let him go. Then he undid the jewel [which hung] at his side, and [therewith] bribed [the ruler's child]. So [the latter] let the poor man go, brought the jewel [home], and placed it beside his couch. Forthwith it was transformed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded, and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child [grew] proud in his heart, and reviled his wife. But the woman said: "I am not a woman who ought to be "the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my

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[4] The Old Printed Edition has the word "mud" instead of "lagoon."

[5] Literally, "this appearance."

[6] Literally, "attached to his loins."

[7] The words rendered "in a valley" are in the text 山谷之間, of which the commentators find it difficult to make proper Japanese. The translator has followed them in neglecting the character 山, "mountain."

[8] Or bull, or bullock; for Japanese does not distinguish Genders.

"ancestors;"—and forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat, and fled away across here [to Japan], and landed[9] at Naniha.[10] (This is the deity called princess Akaru,[11] who dwells in the shrine of Hime-goso[12] at Naniha.) Thereupon Ama-no-hi-boko, hearing of his wife's flight, forthwith pursued her across hither, and was about to arrive at Naniha, when the Deity of the passage[13] prevented his entrance. So he went back again, and landed in the country of Tajima.[14]

[SECT. CXV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XII.—DESCENDANTS OF AMA-NO-HI-BOKO, AND TREASURES BROUGHT BY HIM).]

Forthwith staying in that country, he wedded Saki-tsu-mi,[1] daughter of Tajima-no-matawo,[2] and begot a child: Tajima-morosuku.[3] The latter's child was Tajima-hi-ne.[4] The latter's child was Tajima-hinaraki.[5] The latter's children were Tajima-

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[9] Literally, "stopped."

[10] See Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

[11] *Akaru-hime i.e.*, "Brilliant Princess."

[12] The signification of this name is obscure. Motowori identifies the place with the modern Kōdzu (高津).

[13] *I.e.*, the water-god of the portion of the sea near Naniha.

[14] See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

[1] This name may mean "lucky ears," or "possessor of luck;" but it is obscure, and is moreover in the "Chronicles" (where it is given as the name, not of the daughter, but of the father) read *Mahe-tsu-mi*,—a reading which will not bear either of these interpretations.

[2] *Matawo* seems to signify "complete (*i.e.*, healthy or vigorous) male." Observe that the word Tajima enters into the designations of most of his descendants.

[3] In the "Chronicles" *Morosuke*, and elsewhere *Morosugi*. The etymology of these names is obscure except that of the last-mentioned, which signifies "many cryptomerias."

[4] *Hi-ne* may perhaps signify "wondrous lord."

[5] The meaning of this name is obscure, but that of *Hina-rashi-bime* in Sect. XXVI (Note 19) may be compared.

mori,[6] next Tajima-hitaka,[7] next Kiyo-hiko[8] (Three Deities).[9] This Kiyo-hiko wedded Tagima-no-mehi,[10] and begot children: Suga-no-morowo,[11] next his younger sister Suga-kama-yura-domi.[12] So the above mentioned Tajima-hitaka wedded his niece Yura-domi, and begot a child: Her Augustness Princess Takanuka of Kadzuraki.[13] (This was the august parent[14] of Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi.) So the things which Ama-no-hi-boko brought over here, and which were called the "precious treasures,"[15] were: two strings of pearls;[16] likewise a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, and a wind-cutting scarf;[17] likewise a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore;[18]—eight articles in all. (These are the Eight Great Deities of Idzushi.)

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6 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

7 *Hi-taka* may signify either "sun-height" or "wondrous height."

8 This name signifies "pure prince."

9 As usual, it is not the actual word Deity that is used, but the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

10 *Tagima* is the name of a place, not to be confounded with the province of Tajima. The signification of *mehi* is quite obscure.

11 *Suga* may either be the name of place in Tajima, as proposed by Motowori, or identical with the Suga of Sect. XIX. The meaning of *Morowo* is obscure.

12 The signification of this name is obscure. But Suga, Kama, and Yura are apparently the names of places.

13 *Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime.* Kadzuraki is the name of a department, and Takanuka that of a place in that department, in the province of Yamato.

14 Literally, "ancestress." But see Sect. XXII, Note 4. It will be remembered that *Okinaga-tarashi-hime* was the Empress Jin-gō.

15 Literally, "treasures of jewels."

16 Or, "beads."

17 *I.e.*, a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind. *Conf.* the magic scarfs mentioned near the beginning of Sect. XXIII, by waving which the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (*Oho-kuni-nushi*) kept off the snakes, the wasps and the centipedes.

18 This seems to be the signification of the original terms *oki tsu*

[SECT. CXVI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIII.—THE YOUTH-OF-THE-GLOW-ON-THE-AUTUMN-MOUNTAINS AND THE YOUTH-OF-THE-HAZE-ON-THE-SPRING-MOUNTAINS).]

So this Deity had a daughter whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi.[1] So eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so[2] Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains,[3] and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-

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kagami and *he tsu kagami*, but we are not hereby helped to a very clear understanding of the nature of the articles which the author meant to describe. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us of a "sun-mirror." Indeed it enumerates the "eight precious treasures" in a manner that diverges a great deal from the account given in these "Records."

[19] Or, the "Eight-fold Great Deity." As has already frequently been remarked, the distinction which we so rigorously draw between Singular and Plural does not occupy the Japanese mind, and "eight" and "eight-fold" are taken to mean much the same thing. In the following sentence we find these eight deities (or this eight-fold deity) spoken of in such a manner as to necessitate the use of the Singular Number in the translation. Motowori supposes that they (or he) took the form of a young man (as in several other legends) to become the father of the Goddess mentioned in the text.—*Idzushi* seems to signify wonderful stone."*

* Sacred? Fetish?—W.G.A.

[1] *Idzushi-wotome no kami.*

[2] Literally "eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi, but none could wed [her]." But the sense is that given in the translation.

[3] *Aki-yama no shita-bi-wotoko.* The explanation of the name is that given by Motowori (following Mabuchi), who sees in it a reference to the ruddy brilliance of the leaves, which is so marked a feature of the Japanese woods in autumn. The Chinese characters used have, indeed, the signification of the lower ice of the autumn mountains; but "lower ice" may well be simply phonetic in this case.

the-Spring-Mountains.[4] So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for[5] the Maiden of Idzushi, "I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou [be able] to "obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain "this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, "and distil liquor in a jar of my own height,[6] and prepare "all the things of the mountains and of the rivers,[7] [and give "them to thee] in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trowsers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrow, and clothed him in this upper garment, trowsers, etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria blossoms. Thereupon

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[4] *Haru-yama no kasumi-wotoko.*

[5] In Japanese *kohedomo,* written with the characters 雖乞. Perhaps Motowori is right in supposing this Verb to have been originally identical with *kofuru,* "to love" (戀), whose corresponding form is *kofuredomo.* If so, the author may have meant to make his hero say, "though I love the maiden, etc." But it is better to be guided by the characters, and to suppose that he referred to the request made to her mother to grant her to him.

[6] Literally, "compute the height of my person and distil liquor in a jar."

[7] *I.e.,* all the valuable produce of the chase and of the fisheries, such as are perpetually mentioned in the Shintō "Rituals" as being presented to the gods. Thus in the "Service of the Goddess of Food" (see Mr. Satow's translation in Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 414 of these "Transactions,") we read that the worshipper offered: "as to "things which dwell in the mountains—things soft of hair and things "rough of hair; as to things which grow in the great-field-plain— "sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue- "sea-plain—things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to "weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore."

the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them [home, the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains] followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to a child.[8] Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Maiden-"of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when [the younger brother] complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well "imitated; moreover it must be because he imitates mortal "men[9] that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a jointed bamboo[10]† from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes,[11] and took stones from the river, and mixing them

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[8] Literally, "one child."

[9] The Japanese original of the words here unavoidably rendered by "mortal men" in order to mark the antithesis to the word "Deities," has been more literally translated by "living people" in an earlier passage of the work (see Sect. IX, Note 17). The signification of the entire sentence is: During my lifetime, thy brother should be careful to imitate the upright conduct of the gods. For if, instead of doing so, he be dishonest and untruthful as are the sons of men, it will be at his own peril."*

* So long as I live, he might behave as a gentleman, and not refuse to pay, like a cad.—W.G.A.

[10] Or, according to the more usual reading, "a one-jointed bamboo;" but in either case the meaning is obscure. Motowori, who adopts the reading that has been followed in the translation, suggests that the expression may simply be a periphrasis for the bamboo in general.

† Why not plural?—W.G.A.

[11] 八目荒籠. Motowori remarks that the word "eight" in this place (where, to indicate a considerable number, we should rather expect "eighty") is curious, and he surmises that 八 may be an error

with brine, wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo[12] and caused this curse to be spoken:[13] "Like unto the becoming "green of these bamboo-leaves,* [do thou] become green and "wither! Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this "brine,[14] [do thou] flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking "of these stones, [do thou] sink and be prostrate!" Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed [the basket] over the smoke.[15] Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate[16] for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and tears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed.[17] Thereupon his body became sound[18] as it had been before. (This is the origin of the term "a divine wager-payment."[19])

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for 大, "large." The word "coarse" itself is sufficient to show that the apertures left in the plaiting of the basket were large.

[12] *Seil.* of which the basket was woven.

[13] *Seil.* by her younger son.

* Like unto the withering of these bamboo leaves.—W.G.A.

[14] In this case, as Motowori remarks, it is the sea-water that is intended to be spoken of, whereas the allusion in the previous sentence is to hard salt. But the Japanese language uses the same word for both, and the same Chinese character is here also used in both contexts For this curse *conf.* Sect. XL (Note 18 *et. seq.*) and Sect. XLI.

[15] *Seil.* of the furnace (kitchen) in the younger brother's house, as Motowori suggests.

[16] The text has the character 枯, which signifies "to wither" or "dry up" (spoken of trees). But the translator agrees with Motowori in considering it to be in all probability an error for 臥, "to lie prostrate;" and in any case it could not here be rendered by either of the verbs "dry up" or "wither" without introducing into the English version a tautology which does not exist in the Japanese original.

[17] Such seems to be the meaning of the obscure original *sono tokohi-do wo kahesashimeki* (令返其詛戸). Motowori would understand it in a rather more specialized sense to signify that "she caused the implement of the curse (*i.e.*, the basket) to be taken away."

[18] Literally, "was pacified."

[SECT. CXVII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIV.—GENEALOGIES).]

Again this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda's[1] august child King Waka-nuke-futa-mata wedded his mother's younger sister Momo-shiki-iro-be,[2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Oto-hime-ma-waka-hime,[3] and begot children: Oho-ira-tsuko,[4] another name for whom was King Oho-hodo;[5] next Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime;[6] next Tawi-no-naka-tsu-hime;[7] next Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime;[8] next Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-iratsume;[9] next Queen Torime;[10] next King Sane.[11] (Seven Kings [and Queens].[12]) So King Oho-hodo (was

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[19] Or, if we take 言 in the text as equivalent to 事, "this is the "origin of divine wager-payments."

[1] *I.e.*, the Emperor Ō-jin's.

[2] The import of this compound is not clear.

[3] *I.e.*, "the younger princess, the truly young princess."

[4] *I.e.*, "the great lord."

[5] *Oho-hodo no miko.* The signification of *Oho-hodo* is obscure. Motowori surmises it to have been originally the name of a place.

[6] *I.e.*, "the great middle princess of Osaka." Osaka is the name of a place in Yamato. The word "middle" should by the analogy of other such genealogies indicate the fact that this princess was the fourth child out of seven. Here however she is mentioned second, and the same designation is applied to the two next daughters. There is evidently some confusion in the tradition.

[7] *I.e.*, "the middle princess of Tawi,"—a place in Kahachi.

[8] *I.e.*, "the middle princess of Tamiya,"—a place in Kahachi.

[9] *I.e.*, "the lady Koto-fushi of Fujihara." But the meaning of *Koto-fushi* is obscure, and Motowori surmises it to be an alternative or corrupt form of *Sotohoshi.* (For the celebrated princess of the latter name see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9). Fujihara is the name of a place in Yamato, and signifies "wistaria-moor."

[10] *Torime no miko.* This name is obscure.

[11] *Sane no miko.* Motowori believes *sane* to stand erroneously for *sami;* but both forms are obscure.

[12] The Japanese word includes both genders.

the ancestor of the Dukes of Mikuni,[13] the Dukes of Hata,[14] the Dukes of Okinaga,[15] the Dukes of Sakabito of Sakata,[16] the Dukes of Yamaji,[17] the Dukes of Meta in Tsukushi,[18] and the Dukes of Fuse).[19] Again King Netori wedded his younger half-sister the Lady Mihara, and begot children: King Naka-tsu-hiko;[20] next King Iwashima.[21] (Two Kings.) Again the child of King Katashiha[22] was King Kunu.[23]

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[13] *Mikuni no kimi.* *Mikuni* is the name of a well-known place in the province of Echizen. It signifies "three countries."

[14] *Hata no kimi.* There are several places called Hata, and it is not known which of them is here intended. The signification of the name is also uncertain.

[15] *Okinaga no kimi.* See Sect. LXII, Note 31.

[16] *Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi.* This is Motowori's restoration of an apparently corrupt text. Sakata and Sakabito are both taken to be names of places, the first of a district in Afumi, the second of a place in Settsu. *Sakabito* (酒人) seems a very curious compound for the name of a place. Moreover the double title is unusual, and it may be thought that the word "Dukes" has fallen out of the text, and that in reality two families were intended to be spoken of.

[17] *Yamaji no kimi.* *Yamaji* ("mountain road") is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place,—perhaps in the province of Higo.

[18] *Tsukushi no Meta no kimi.* Tsukushi is the old name of the whole of the South-Western island of the Japanese archipelago and Meta the name of a place in the province of Hizen in that island. The etymology of Meta is uncertain.

[19] *Fuse no kimi.* Fuse is a name of uncertain import found in several provinces. It is not known which is meant to be here designated.

[20] *Naka-tsu-hiko no miko,* i.e., "the middle prince," a designation which would lead one to expect to find mention of an elder brother.

[21] *Iwashima no miko.* Iwashima seems to be the name of a place, but the signification of *Iha* (not to be confounded with *iha,* "stone" or "rock") is altogether obscure.

[22] *Katashiha no miko.* This prince has not been mentioned in the previous genealogies, which is curious. Katashiha is the name of a place in Chikuzen, and signifies "hard rock."

[23] *Kunu no miko.* *Kunu* is altogether obscure.

[SECT. CXVIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda were altogether one hundred and thirty. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Mofusu[1] at Wega in Kafuchi.

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[1] Or, as Motowori reads it, *Mofushi*. The etymology is uncertain. *Wega* has already appeared in Sect. CIII (Note 3). The Old Printed Edition and some Manuscripts have at the conclusion of this volume the following note: 百舌鳥陵也. "It is the mausoleum of Mozu." But Mozu is in the province of Idzumi, and all the later editions discard this note as an interpolation.

VOL. III.[1]

[SECT. CXIX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Takatsu[2] at Naniha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded (the Empress[3]) Her Augustness Iha-no-hime,[4] daughter of Kadzuraki-no-so-tsu-biko,[5] and begot august children: His Augustness Ohoye-no-izaho-wake;[6] next the Middle King of the Inlet of Sumi;[7] next His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake of Tajihi;[8] next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go[9] (Four Deities). Again he wedded Princess Kami-naga,

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[1] Literally, "lower volume" (there being three in all). See Author's Preface, Note 1.

[2] *I.e.*, "high port."

[3] Motowori surmises that the reason why the characters signifying "Empress"* are in all the texts here written in small characters is on account of this personage not having been of Imperial birth.

* The same characters applied to the same person are written full size in the next chapter. Here it is probably only a note which has crept into the text suggested by its occurence lower down.—W.G.A.

[4] *I.e.*, "the rock princess." Motowori supposes the name to be indicative of prosperity and long life.

[5] See Sect. LXI, Note 55.

[6] *I.e.*, "the elder brother lord Izaho," the latter name being of uncertain import.

[7] *Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu-miko.* Both the phrase "middle king" and the Inlet of Sumi have been already commented on.

[8] *Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake.* Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi. The traditional origin of its application to this will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, p. 6. *Midzu-ha-wake* probably means "the lord with the beautiful teeth."

[9] *Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go no sukune.* Asadzuma is the name of a place in Yamato, and *wo* (though written 男) seems to be the slightly Honorific Prefix *wo* (小) whose proper signification is "small." *Waku-go* means "younger child."

daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka, as mentioned above,[10] and begot august children: Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko,[11] another name for whom was the King of Great Kusaka;[12] next Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume,[13] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Nagahi,[14] and another name was Her Augustness Waka-kusaka-be.[15] (Two Deities.) Again he wedded his younger half-sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume.[16] Again he wedded his younger half-sister Uji-no-waki-iratsume. These two Deities had no august children. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-sazaki [numbered] in all six Deities. (Five Kings and one Queen.) So His Augustness Izaho-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tajihi-no-midzu-ha-wake likewise ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go likewise ruled the Empire.[17]

[SECT. CXX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In the august reign of this Heavenly Sovereign the Kadzuraki Tribe[1] was established as the august proxy of the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime. Again the Mibu Tribe[2]

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10 See Sect. CVII.

11 *I.e.*, "the great lord of Hatabi." *Hatabi* is altogether obscure.

12 *Oho-kusaka no miko.* For *Kusaka* see Sect. CL, Note 2.

13 *I.e.*, "the young lady of Hatabi." Conf. Note 11.

14 *Nagahi-hime.* This name it obscure.

15 *Kusaka-be* is an alternative form of *Kusaka.* The compound therefore signifies "young princess of Kusaka,"

16 This name and the following have already appeared in the genealogies of the preceding reign (Sect. CIV).

17 These were the Emperors Ri-chiū, Han-zei, and In-giyō.

1 *Kadzuraki-be.* For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 *Mibu-be.* Motowori quotes approvingly a derivation of the "gentile name" of Mibu from *Bi-fuku-mon* (美福門), the name of a gate which the first bearer of the name is related to have constructed. Taking into account the letter-changes which occurred in older times in the passage of words from Chinese into Japanese, the etymology is plausible enough.

was established as the august proxy of the Heir Apparent, His Augustness Izaho-wake. Again the Tajihi Tribe[3] was established as the august proxy of His Augustness Midzuha-wake. Again the Oho-kusaka Tribe[4] was established as the august proxy of King Oho-kusaka, and the Waka-kusaka Tribe[5] was established as the august proxy of King Waka-kusaka-be. Again people from Hada were set to labour, and the embankment at Mamuta[6] and also the granaries of Mamuta were made.* Again the Pool of Wani[7] and the Pool of Yosami were made. Again the Niniha Channel[8] was dug, and [the waters of the rivers] led to the sea. Again the Wobashi Channel[9] was dug. Again the port of the Inlet of Sumi[10] was established.

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[3] *Tajihi-be.* Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin

[4] *Oho-kusaka-be.* This tribe of course took its name simply from that of Prince Oho-kusaka.

[5] *Waka-kusaka-be.* A similar observation to that in the last applies to this name.

[6] See Sect. LIII, Note 1.

*This is suspiciously like some of the works of the ancient Chinese Emperors.—W.G.A.

[7] *Wani no ike,* in the province of Kahachi. *Wani* signifies "crocodile," and it was also the name of the Korean personage mentioned in Sect. CX (Note 6). But the reason why the Pool here spoken of was so called does not appear. The Pool of Yosami has already been mentioned in Sect. LXII (Note 85). Motowori supposes that it must have dried up during the interim.

[8] *Naniha no hori-ye.* Motowori tells us that the regularization of the channels of the Yodo and Yamato Rivers, whose mouths nearly meet at this point with various intersecting branches. is what is here intended to be referred to.

[9] *Wobashi no ye.* *Wo-bashi* ("little bridge") is the name of a village in the province of Settsu.

[10] *Suminoye no tsu.* Close to Naniha; it is the modern *Sumiyoshi.* Conf. Sect. X, Note 22.

[SECT. CXXI.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART III.—HE REMITS THE TAXES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, ascending a lofty mountain and looking on the land all round, spoke, saying: "In the whole land there rises no smoke; the land is all "poverty-stricken. So I remit[1] all the people's taxes and "[forced labour*] from now till three years [hence]." Therefore the great palace became dilapidated, and the rain leaked in everywhere; but no repairs were made. The rain that leaked in was caught in troughs,[2] and [the inmates] removed from [its reach] to places where there was no leakage. When later [the Heavenly Sovereign] looked on all the land, the smoke was abundant in the land. So finding the people rich, he now exacted taxes and forced labour. Therefore the peasantry[3] prospered, and did not suffer from forced labour. So in praise of that august reign, it was called the reign of the Emperor-Sage.[4]

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[1] Motowori's reading of this Verb in the Imperative Mood (as if containing an order addressed by the monarch to his ministers) seems less natural than the older reading in the Indicative, which accordingly the translator has followed.

* Why in brackets?—W.G.A.

[2] There is uncertainty as to the exact character in the original. But the older editions read it as the Japanese word *hako*, "boxes," while Motowori prefers *hi*, "tubes." "Troughs" seems to conciliate both views, and to be also appropriate to the use mentioned in the text.

[3] Or simply, "the people," But the expression 百姓 is generally used in Japanese of the peasantry only.

[4] 聖帝. If, following most texts, we omitted the final character 世, "reign," the English translation would be "in praise of that "august reign, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was called the Emperor-"Sage."

[SECT. CXXII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV.—HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO).]

His Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, was exceedingly jealous. So the concubines employed by the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep inside* the palace; and if anything happened,[1] [the Empress] stamped with jealousy. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the regular beauty of Princess Kuro,[2] daughter of the Suzerain of Ama in Kibi,[3] and having sent for her, employed her. But she, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, fled down to her native land. The Heavenly Sovereign, gazing from an upper story upon Princess Kuro's departure by boat upon the sea, sang, saying:

"In the offing there are rows of small boats.
"My wife Masadzuko of Kurozaki goes
"down towards her [native] land."[4]

So the Empress was very angry on hearing this august

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* Approach?—W.G.A.

[1] Motowori shows by collating various passages in other ancient works that this is the probable signification of the curious expression in the original, *koto-dateba* (言立者 for 事立者). The reference of course is to the occurrence of anything noteworthy among the concubines, such as the birth of a son, etc.

[2] *Kuro-hime, i.e.,* "black princess," probably meaning "black-haired princess."

[3] *Kibi no Ama no atahe.* Of this family nothing is known. *Ama* signifies "fisherman." *Kibi* is the name of a province.

[4] Thus interpreted (according to Moribe), the general sense of the Song is quite clear. The word *Masadzuko,* considered by Moribe to be one of the names of Princess Kuro, is however not so understood by Motowori, who is inclined to see in it rather an Honorific description of her. *Kurozaki* likewise (*i.e.,* "black cape," the word *kuro* seemingly containing an allusion to the name of the Princess) is but the best of many emendations of the name as it stands in the text, viz., *Furozaya.* See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, p. 33, for all the possible emendations proposed by him or his predecessors.

Song, and sent people to the great strand[5] to drive Princess Kuro ashore, and chase her away on foot.[6] Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, for love of Princess Kuro, deceived the Empress, saying that he wanted to see the Island of Ahaji.[7] And when he made his progress and was in the Island of Ahaji, he, gazing afar, sang, saying:

"When, having departed from the point of
"wave-beaten Naniha, I look at the coun-
"try,—the Island of Aha, the Island of Ono-
"goro, and also the Island of Ajimasa are
"visible. The Island of Saketsu is visible."[8]

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[5] *Scil.* of the neighbourhood of Naniha. Or possibly *Oho-ura* ("Great Strand") should be taken as the name of a place, though Motowori does not suggest such a view.

[6] *I.e.*, to make her perform the journey on foot.

[7] See Sect. V, Note 3.

[8] Moribe, commenting on the import of this Song, says: "Though "the alleged reason was a tour of inspection, it was truly out of love "for Princess Kuro that the Monarch had undertaken the journey. "When her vessel could no longer be descried, he could still, alas! "see the islands that remained behind,—the Island of Aha and the "Island of Ajimasa; he could still, alas! see the Islands of Ono-goro "and Saketsu. Alas for him left alone, parted from his love! Though "he spoke not openly, yet those around him understood the under-"current of his words."*—"Wave-beaten" is the accepted interpretation of *oshiteru ya* (or *oshiteru*), the Pillow-Word for Naniha. For the Islands of Aha and Onogoro see respectively Sect. IV, Note 5 and Sect. III, Note 5. Of the Islands of Ajimasa and Saketsu nothing is known. *Ajimasa* is the name of a species of palm, the *Livistona sinensis*, and Motowori supposes that one of the islands in that neighbourhood may anciently have received its name from the palm-trees growing on it. Palms of any kind are, however, not very common in Japan, and seem only to grow when specially cultivated.

* This seems rather nonsensical. There is perhaps an allusion intended by the names of the places. *Naniwa*, which he has left, may refer to his stormy domestic life. *Awa* may be for *awamu*, "will meet," *i.e.*, the Princess Kurohime, who may also be intended by the *Ono go* (*Ono ko* "our child") of Onogoro Shima. *Ajimasa*, "taste preferable,"

Forthwith passing on from that island, he made a progress to the land of Kibi. Then Her Augustness Princess Kuro made him grandly reside at a place among the mountain-fields,[9] and presented to him great august food. When for this [purpose] she plucked cabbage† in that place to boil into great august soup, the Heavenly Sovereign went to the place where the maiden was plucking the cabbage, and sang, saying:

"Oh! how delightful it is to pluck with a
"person of Kibi the cabbage sown in the
"mountain fields!"[10]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress up,[11] Princess Kuro presented an august[12] Song, saying:

"Even though the west wind blow up
"towards Yamato, and the clouds part, and
"we be separated, shall I forget [thee]?"[13]

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may be a compliment to her, and *saketsu* my suggest *sakebu*, "to shout" (with delight when he meets her). But this is doubtless fantastic and and far-fetched.—W.G.A.

[9] Motowori thinks we should in this place understand the word *yamagata* (for *yama-agata*) as the name of a place. But in the Song which immediately follows, it must certainly be taken in its etymological sense of "mountain-fields," and it seems therefore quite inconsistent to translate it differently here. Moreover it is allowed that no such place as Yamagata in Kibi is anywhere made mention of.*

* I don't feel quite clear about this.—W.G.A.

† Is not cabbage (*awona*) a little too specific? pot-herbs?—W.G.A.

[10] The import of this Song is perfectly clear, "the person of Kibi" being of course the Imperial poet's lady-love.

[11] *I.e.*, was about to start back to the capital, which was in the province of Settsu.

[12] This Honorific seems so out of place (seeing that it is not applied to the Emperor's own Songs given in this Section), that it is supposed by the Commentators to be an erroneous addition to the text.

[13] We might also translate thus: "Even though we be separated,‡ "as the clouds that part owing to the west wind blowing up towards "Yamato, etc.;"—for the initial lines of the poem which contain the

Again she sang, saying:

"Whose spouse is it that goes towards
"Yamato? Whose spouse is it that creeps
"from beneath like hidden water?"[14]

[SECT. CXXIII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART V.—THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO).]

After this time the Empress made a progress to the land of Ki in order to pluck aralia-leaves for a copious feast;[1] and in the meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume. Hereupon, when the Empress was returning in her august vessel loaded full of aralia-leaves, a coolie from Kozhima[2] in the land of Kibi, who was in the service of the Superintendent of the Water-Directors,[3] being on his way off

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allusion to the wind and to the clouds are simply a Preface, and their import may therefore at will be either considered separately, or else made continuous with that of the rest of the poem.

‡ *Kumo-banare*: I fancy this phrase must be taken twice, once with what precedes in the sense given above, and a second time as a fuller equivalent of and introductory to the words *soki-ori* "separated." It might then be translated "under different skies." *Kumo* has this meaning in the compound *Awo-kumo*, "blue skies," *banare*, "skies divided."—W.G.A.

[14] The meaning of this Song is: "Whose spouse is it that returns "to Yamato? Whose spouse is it that comes thus secretly to make "love to me, like a stream flowing underground?"—The allusion contained in the twice repeated words "whose spouse" is of course to the Empress. The poetess, full of tenderness for the Emperor, regrets for his sake, as well as for her own, that he should he the husband of so jealous a wife. "Hidden water" is the accepted interpretation of the Pillow-Word *komoridzu no*, which is with apparent reason supposed to be a contraction of *komori-midzu no*.

[1] See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

[2] *I.e.*, "small island." It is first mentioned in Sect, V (Note 29).

[3] See Sect. XLVII, Note 18.

to his own country, met at the great passage[4] of Naniha the vessel of a lady of the train[5] who had got behind, and forthwith told her, saying: "The Heavenly Sovereign has recently[6] "wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume, and plays with her day and "night. It must probably be because the Empress has not "heard of this thing, that she quietly makes progresses for "pleasure." Then the lady of the train, having heard this narrative, forthwith pursued and reached the august vessel, and reported everything exactly as the coolie had told it. Hereupon the Empress, greatly vexed and angry, threw away into the sea all the aralia-leaves which she had put on board the august vessel. So the place [where she did so] is called by the name of Cape Mitsu.[7] Forthwith without entering the palace, but taking her august vessel away [from it][8] and ascending the channel[9] against the current, she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the river.[10] At this time she sang, saying:

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[4] *Oho-watari.* The mouth of the River Yodo is meant to be designated by this name.

[5] The original expression *kura-bito-me* (倉人女) is obscure, being met with nowhere else in Japanese literature. Motowori conjectures that the function exercised by this lady was one connected with the Empress's privy purse.

[6] The text has the character 皆, "all," which makes no sense; and Motowori (following Mabuchi) reasonably emends it to 比日, "recently," "just now."

[7] *Mitsu no saki. Mitsu,* signifying "three," is supposed by the author to refer to the three-cornered leaves of the aralia (the name of the latter being *mi-tsuna-gashiha*); but a more likely opinion is that which would have us take *mitsu* as two words, in the sense of "august harbour." In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," we are told that the place was called *Kashiha no watari, i.e.,* "Oak passage."

[8] *I.e.,* going on up the river without stopping at Naniha where the palace was.

[9] *I.e.,* the artificial bed of the river mentioned in Sect. CXX, Note 8.

[10] *I.e.,* the River Yodo.

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the
"seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend,
"ascend the river, oh! on the bank of the
"river [there] stands growing a *sashibu!*—
"a *sashibu*-tree; below it stands growing a
"broad-foliaged five hundred [-fold branch-
"ing] true camellia-tree; oh! he who is
"brilliant like its blossoms, widely powerful
"like its foliage, is the great lord."[11]

Forthwith going round by Yamashiro,[12] and arriving at the entrance of the Nara Mountain,[13] she sang, saying:

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[11] The meaning of this Song is: "As I make my way up the "river by boat, I see a *sashibu* (the name of a tree which cannot now "be identified), below which,—that is to say nearer to the water,— "there grows a camellia-tree, wide-spreading and full of blossoms. "Ah! how the sight of the sturdy brilliant beauty of this camellia- "tree brings back my lord and master to my mind!"—It must be remembered that in Japan the camellia-trees grow to a size far superior to that reached by their representatives in Europe. *Tsuginefu*, rendered according to the view taken by Motowori and Moribe by the phrase "where the seedlings grow in succession," is the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, and its import is disputed. The interpretation here adopted considers it to refer to the regular succession of young trees planted on a mountain's side when a tract of older timber has been cut down. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," sees in it, on the contrary, a reference to the rising of peak upon peak in a mountainous district (*tsugi-ne fu*=次嶺經). Both interpretations rest on the connection between this term and *yama*, the first half of the name of the province of Yamashiro, which it qualifies. "Five hundred "[-fold branching]" and "true" are ornamental epithets applied by the poetess to the camellia-tree. Moribe would take the syllable *ma*, "true," in the sense of *ha*, "leaf;" but this seems less good.

[12] For the straight road from Naniha in Settsu to Nara in Yamato would have taken her through the province of Kafuchi, and not through Yamashiro.

[13] *I.e.*, the pass or hill leading from the district of Sagara in Yamashiro to Nara in Yamato. For Nara see Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the
"seedlings grow in succession! As I
"ascend, ascend to Miya, I pass Nara, I
"pass Yamato with its shield of mountains;
"and the country I fain would see is Taka-
"miya in Kadzuraki, the neighbourhood of
"my home."[14]

Having sung thus, she returned and entered for some time into the house of a person from Kara[15] named Nurinomi[16] at Tsutsuki.[17]

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[14] This Song expresses the Empress's desire to return to her parental house at Takamiya in the district of Kadzuraki,—a desire which, however, her restless frame of mind did not allow her to fulfil.—The Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, which here recurs, has already been discussed in Note 11. There are two other Pillow-Words in this Song,—*awoniyoshi*, which is prefixed to Nara, and *wo-date* (or *wo-date-yama* according to the old reading, or *wo-date tatsu* according to another reading), which is prefixed to Yamato. The former of these is so obscure that, rather than attempt to render it into English, the translator prefers to refer the student to the remarks of the various commentators,—Mabuchi *s.v.* in his "Dictionary of "Pillow-Words," Motowori in his Commentary Vol. XXXVI, pp. 22–24, and Moribe *in loco*. *Wodate* [*-yama*] seems to refer undoubtedly to the circle of mountains that guard the approach to the province of Yamato, and it has been rendered accordingly. The great difficulty of the Song lies in the line rendered "ascend to Miya," and the commentators from Keichiū downwards make all sorts of efforts to explain it. Moribe's view, according to which the word should be regarded as a familiar abbreviation of Takamiya, naturally used by one whose native place it was, seems the most acceptable. Motowori takes the line to signify: "When I ascend past the palace [of Naniha];"

[15] 韓, *i.e.*, Korea.

[16] For *Nuri no omi*, *i.e.*, "the Grandee of Nuri." Nuri* is probably a corrupt form of some Korean name.

* 누리 (*nuri*) in Korean is a kind of caterpillar.—W.G.A.

[17] Or Tsudzuki, in Yamashiro. Etymology obscure.

[SECT. CXXIV.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI.—HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, having heard that the Empress had made a progress up by Yamashiro, made a person,—a retainer called by the name of Toriyama,[1]—give an august Song,[2] which said:

"Reach [her] in Yamashiro, Toriyama!
"Reach [her]! reach [her]! Ah! wilt thou
"reach and meet my beloved spouse?"[3]

Again he continued by despatching Kuchiko, Grandee of Wani,[4] and sang, saying:

"Wilt thou be without thinking even of the
"Heart that is in the moor of Ohowiko, the

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[1] This name signifies "bird-mountain." The commentators presume that it contains an allusion to the fact of its bearer being an Imperial courier.

[2] This is the actual sense conveyed by the original 使舍人名謂鳥山人送御歌, and we naturally infer that Toriyama was made the bearer to the Empress of the following Song. The Song itself, however, is addressed not to her, but to Toriyama on his departure. On the other hand, the two poems which follow are evidently for the Empress, and it is impossible to suppose that the first messenger was not likewise intended to convey to her some poetic missive. All that we can do is to render the text as it stands, and to suppose it corrupt.

[3] The meaning of this Song is: "Oh Toriyama! pursue her into Yamashiro! "I tremble at the thought of the possibility of thy not finding her."

[4] *Wani no omi Kuchiko* (further on he is mentioned as *Kuchiko no omi*, *i.e.*, "the Grandee [of] Kuchiko"). *Kuchi-ko* may be interpreted to mean "mouth-child," and Moribe thinks that this personage was so called on account of the verbal messages of which he was made the bearer. The translator would prefer to consider *ko* as an abbreviation of *hiko*, "prince," especially as the sister's name is *Kuchi-hime*, where the word *hime* must mean "princess."

"moor of Ohowiko, that is by Takaki at
"Mimoro?"[5]

Again he sang, saying:

"If indeed I had not pillowed [my head] on
"thy white arm like the whiteness of the
"roots, the great roots, that were beaten with
"wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro
"where the seedlings grow in succession,
"[then] mightest thou say, 'I know [thee]
"'not!'"[6]

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[5] This Song is so obscure that Motowori and Moribe differ completely as to its interpretation. The translator has followed Moribe, though by no means persuaded that the latter has hit on the proper signification. According to this view, the Emperor makes a pun on the word "heart," which is supposed to have been the name of a pool situated on the moor of Ohowiko near Takaki at Mimoro,—all names of places with which the Empress was familiar,—and reproaches her for having no thought of *his* heart which beats so lovingly for her. Motowori, on the other hand, thinks that the poem proper consists only of its last two lines (in the English translation they necessarily come first): "Wilt thou be without thinking even "of the heart?"—and that all the rest is a "Preface" to the Pillow-Word *kimo-mukafu* by which the word *kokoro*, "heart," is preceded. As for *oho-wi-ko* and *takaki*, they are taken, not as names of places, but as Common Nouns. According to this view of the structure of the Song, it ceases (with the exception of its last two lines) to have any rational signification, and it is needless to attempt to translate it for the English reader. Persons familiar with Japanese are therefore referred to Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 34–36.

[6] The meaning of this Song is: "If thou and I had not so long "been spouses, then indeed mightest thou break with me, and declare "that thou knowest me not. But how canst thou so far forget our "wedded life as to desert me now?"—The "great root," *oho-ne*, is the modern *dai-kon* (*Raphanus sativus*), a kind of radish which is a favourite vegetable with the Japanese and is distinguished by its brilliantly white appearance. "Beaten" here signifies "dug up." The use of the Past Tense is curious. *Ko-guha*, here in accordance with Motowori's view rendered "wooden hoes," is interpreted by Moribe

So when the Grandee of Kuchiko was repeating this august Song [to the Empress], it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace,[7] she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams† of water[8] reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed[9] green and with a red cord, the streams† of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red colour. Now the Grandee of Kuchiko's younger sister Princess Kuchi[10] was in the service of the Empress.[11] So Princess Kuchi sang, saying:

"Oh! how tearful is my lord elder brother,
"saying things in the palace of Tsutsuki in
"Yamashiro!"[12]

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to mean "little hoes." "Where the seedlings grow in succession" is the English rendering of *tsugi-ne fu*, the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro (see Sect. CXXIII Note 11).

[7] The Empress was lodging with a private individual, but her presence warrants the application of the term "palace"* to his house.

* It is *tono*, not *miya*. The Nihongi says she built herself a palace at Tsutsuki.—W.G.A.

[8] It was raining too hard for the water to stop on the surface in the shape of puddles, so it streamed off in little rivulets.

† "Puddle" is the translation given by Williams.—W.G.A.

[9] Literally, "rubbed." See Introduction p. xxx. Instead of "green," we might equally well translate by "blue." The garment intended must be the upper garment or coat.

[10] *Kuchi-hime.*

[11] Literally, "respectfully served the Empress."

[12] The meaning of these lines, which can only be called poëtry because they are in metre, is plain: in them the speaker draws the Empress's attention to the pitiful condition of the messenger who is doing his best to deliver to her the Emperor's message. Probably the reading in our text has been corrupted; for that in the "Chroni-

Then when the Empress asked the reason,[13] she replied, saying: "He is my brother, the Grandee of Kuchiko." Thereupon the Grandee of Kuchiko and also his younger sister Princess Kuchi and likewise Nurinomi [all] three took counsel [together], and sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "The reason of the Empress's progress is that there "are [some] insects reared by Nurinomi,—strange insects "changing in three ways,[14] once becoming creeping insects, "once becoming cocoons,[15] and once becoming flying birds,[16]— "and it is only to go and look at them that she has entered "into [Nurinomi's house]. She has no strange intentions."[17] When they had thus reported, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "That being so, I want to go and see [these insects], as I "think [they must be] strange;" [and with these words] he made a progress up from the great palace. When he entered into Nurinomi's house, Nurinomi had already presented to the Empress the three-fold insects reared by him. Then the Heavenly Sovereign augustly stood at the door of the palace where the Empress dwelt and sang, saying:

"Pure as the great roots that were beaten
"with their wooden hoes by the women of
"Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in
"succession:—it is because thou spokest
"tumultuously that I come in here [with
"my retainers numerous] as the more and

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cles," which may be translated thus: "Oh! how tearful am I when "I see my lord elder brother," etc., is much preferable.*

* But will not the Kojiki version bear this meaning? Vide Motowori's commentary.—W.G.A.

13 *Seil.* of her attendant thus taking the messenger's part.

14 Literally, "colours."

15 This is Motowori's conjectural restoration of the reading of this word, which in all the texts is hopelessly corrupt.

16 According to another reading, "flying insects."

17 *I.e.*, "she is not meditating any evil conduct."

"more flourishing trees that I look across
"at."[18]

These six Songs sung by the Heavenly Sovereign and by the Empress are Changing Songs which are Quiet Songs.[19]

[SECT. CXXV.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VII.—HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, loving Yata-no-waki-iratsume, deigned to send her an august Song. That Song said:

"Will the one sedge-stem of Yata, having
"no children, wither as it stands? Poor

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[18] This Song consists of two divisions, the first of which is but a Preface for the second, the pivot being formed by the word *sawa-sawa ni*, which has the meaning of "pure," "cool," or "refreshing," with reference to what precedes it, and the meaning of "tumultuously" (*sawa-sawa ni*=*sawagashiku*) when taken together with what follows. The difficulties which present themselves in the first division have all been explained in Note 11 to the last and Note 6 to the present Section. The general sense of the second division is plain enough; but the precise application of the comparison to the "more and more flourishing trees" is obscure. Motowori's view has been adopted by the translator, and the words in brackets supplemented accordingly. Moribe prefers to consider that the reference is to the repeated visits first of the Emperor's messengers and afterwards of the Emperor himself. The words "look across at" must be explained by supposing that the trees were in the neighbourhood of Nurinomi's house; they were shoots springing up from roots that had been cut down close to the ground.

[19] The commentators thus explain these obscure expressions: "A "Quiet Song is one which is sung to a tranquil tune. A Changing "Song is one temporarily* sung while the tone (mode?)† is changing." The six Songs in question must be supposed to have combined both characteristics.

* Or could *kayeshi-uta* mean "sung as a duet"?—W.G.A.

† Key?—W.G.A.

"sedge-moor! Sedge-moor indeed is what
"I may *say*—poor pure girl![1]

Then Yata-no-waki-iratsume replied in a Song, saying:

"Even though the one sedge-stem of Yata
"be alone, if the Great Lord say it is right,
"even though it be alone [it is right]."[2]

So the Yata Tribe[3] was established as the august proxy of Yata-no-waki-iratsume.

[SECT. CXXVI.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—DEATH OF KING HAYABUSA-WAKE AND QUEEN MEDORI).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign begged for his younger half-sister Queen Medori, using as middle-man his younger brother King Hayabusa-wake. Then Queen Medori spoke to King Hayabusa-wake, saying: "Owing to the violence of the "Empress, [the Heavenly Sovereign] has not deigned to take "Yata-no-waki-iratsume [into the Palace]. So I will not res-"pectfully serve him. I will become the wife of Thine "Augustness." Forthwith they wedded each other, wherefore King Hayabusa-wake made no report [to the Heavenly Sovereign[1]]. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, going straight to the place where Queen Medori dwelt, stood on the door-sill of the palace. Hereupon, Queen Medori being at her loom, was weaving garments. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

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[1] In this Song the Emperor condoles with his mistress on her childlessness: "Will the single sedge on the moor of Yata die with-"out leaving any offspring? Sedge, indeed! Yes, sedge is the term "I use for my metaphor, but what is in my thoughts is the girl I "love."—There is in the original a *jeu-de-mots*, not capable of translation into English, between *suge* or *suga*, "sedge," and *sugashi*, "pure."

[2] The girl replies: "Even though I be childless, I care not if "my lord cares not."

[3] *Yata-be.*

[1] *Scil.* of the success of his mediation.

"Oh! for whom may be the garments that
"my Great Lady Medori weaves?"[2]

Queen Medori replied in a Song, saying:

"For an august veil* for the high-going
"Falcon-Lord."[3]

So the Heavenly Sovereign, perceiving her feelings, returned into the palace. At this time[4] when her husband King Hayabusa-wake came, his wife Queen Medori sang, saying:

"The lark flies to heaven. Oh! high-going
"Falcon-Lord, catch the wren."[5]†

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing this Song,[6] forthwith raised an army, wishing to slay King Hayabusa and Queen

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[2] Or, "for whom is the loom [employed], with which my Great "Lady Medori weaves?"—The word *hata* in Archaic Japanese signifies both "garment" and the instrument which is used to weave a garment, *i.e.*, a "loom" (服 and 機). In later times the second meaning has prevailed to the exclusion of the first.

* Mantle?—W.G.A.

[3] There is here a play on the name of the Queen's paramour Hayabusa-wake, which signifies "Falcon-Lord" as in the translation.—The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" gives these two Songs as a single one which is put into the mouth of Queen Medori's handmaidens,—a more acceptable version of the incident.

[4] Motowori suspects that there is here an error in the text, which should, according to him, read: "After this."

[5] The gist of this Song is an instigation to murder the Emperor (whose name was *Oho-sazaki*, *i.e.*, "Great Wren" conf. Sect. CIV, Note 18), addressed to the singer's husbánd (whose name was *Hayabusa-wake*, *i.e.*, "Falcon Lord"). But the allusion to the lark remains obscure. Keichiū suggests that it is simply mentioned as a term of comparison for the falcon's power of flight, while Motowori opines that the meaning rather is: "The lark flies so high up to heaven "that it would be hard to catch it; but the wren is an easy prey."*

* If there is any truth in this story, it would contradict the conjecture that *Ōsazaki* or *sasagi* in a posthumous name.—W.G.A.

† A different version in the Nihongi, in which there is no lark.—W.G.A.

[6] Viz., as may be supposed, repeated by some Fourth person.

Medori, who then fled away together, and ascended Mount Kurahashi.[7] Thereupon King Hayabusa-wake sang, saying:

"Owing to the steepness of ladder-like
"Mount Kurahashi, being unable to clamber
"[up] the rocks, oh! she takes my hand!"[8]

Again he sang, saying:

"Though ladder-like Mount Kurahashi be
"steep, it is not steep when I ascend it
"with my younger sister."

So when they fled thence, and reached Soni in Uda,[9] the Imperial[10] army pursued, overtook, and slew them.

[SECT. CXXVII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET).]

Chief Ohotate of Yamabe,[1] who was the generalissimo of that army, took the jewelled armlet which was wound round Queen Medori's august arm, and gave it to his own wife. After this time, when a copious feast[2] was to be held, the women of the various families all went to court. Then the wife of Chief Ohotate came with that Queen's jewelled armlet

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[7] *Kurahashi-yama*, in Yamato.

[8] This Song, like the next, is too clear to stand in need of explanation. "Ladder-like" is an attempt to render the force of the Pillow-Word *hashi-tate*. See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *s.v.*, for the exact force attributed to it by Mabuchi.

[9] For Uda see Sect. XLVI, Note 14. The etymology of Soni is equally obscure.

[10] The character 御, though read by the commentators with the usual Japanese Honorific *mi*, "august," has here its proper Chinese signification of "Imperial."

[1] *Yamabe no Ohotate no murazhi*. The "gentile name" was *Yamabe no murazhi*, and the personal name *Ohotate*, though the confused wording of this passage does not make it appear so. *Yama-be* signifies mountain (*i.e.*, hunters') tribe. *Oho-tate* is "big shield."

[2] See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

wound round her own arm. Thereupon the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime,* herself took the oak-leaves[3] [full] of great august liquor and graciously gave them to the women of the various families. Then the Empress, recognizing the jewelled armlet, gave [the wearer] no oak-leaf [-full] of great august liquor, but forthwith sent her away;[4] and sending for the husband, Chief Ohotate, said: "Owing to that King and "Queen's impropriety, [the Emperor] deigned to send them "away. This was nothing strange. And a slave such as thou "despoils of the jewelled armlet that was wound round her "august arm the body of his lady [that was still] warm, and "gives it to his own wife!"—and forthwith he was condemned to death.[5]†

[SECT. CXXVIII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX.—A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG).]

Another time, the Heavenly Sovereign, when about to hold a copious feast,[1] made a progress to the Island of Hime,[2] just when a wild-goose had laid an egg on that island. Then, sending for His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, he asked him in a Song about the laying of an egg by a wild goose. This Song said:

"Court Noble of Uchi! thou indeed art a
"long-lived person. Hast thou [ever] heard

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* *Iha-no-hime* was dead at this time, acccording to the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

[3] Or, perhaps rather "aralia-leaves" (*Conf.* Sect. CXXIII).

[4] Or, "had her dragged away."

[5] Literally, "was granted the punishment of death," or "[the Emperor] deigned to condemn him to death."

† Executed?—W.G.A.

[1] See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

[2] *Hime-shima, i.e.,* "Princess Island." The name is supposed to be connected with that of the goddess of Himegoso mentioned near the end of Sect. CXIV, and first occurs in Sect. V (Note 33).

"of a wild-goose laying an egg in the land
"of Yamato?"[3]

Hereupon the Noble Take-uchi spoke in a Song, saying:

"August Child of the High-Shining Sun, it is
"indeed natural that thou shouldest deign
"to ask, it is indeed right that thou
"shouldest ask. I indeed am a long-lived
"person, [but] have not yet heard of a
"wild-goose laying an egg in the land of
"Yamato."[4]

Having thus spoken, he was granted the august[5] lute, and sang, saying:

"Oh thou prince! the wild-goose must have
"laid the egg because thou wilt at last
"rule."[6]

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[3] The wild-goose goes far north at the approach of spring, and the translator is informed by Capt. Blakiston that the latter has not known of any breeding even on the island of Yezo. The Emperor was therefore naturally astonished at so strange an occurrence as that of a wild-goose laying an egg in Yamato, and asks the Noble Take-uchi whether he had ever heard of the like of it before, Take-uchi being at that time more than two hundred years old (!) according to the chronology of the "Chronicles," and therefore the oldest and most experienced man in the Empire.—"Court Noble" represents the Japanese word *Aso* (for *Asomi*, believed by Motowori and Moribe to be derived from *a se omi* 吾兄臣, lit. "my elder brother minister" but used simply as a title).* The words *Uchi* and *Yamato* are preceded in the original by their respective Pillow-Words *tamaki-haru* and *sora-mitsu*, whose force it is impossible to render in English, and whose origin indeed is obscure. The words rendered "laying an egg" are literally "giving birth to a child."

* *Ason* is a Korean title.—W.G.A.

[4] This Song is too clear to need explanation. As in the preceding one, Yamato is accompanied by the Pillow-Word *sora-mitsu*.

[5] Or, "Imperial."

[6] *I.e.*, say Motowori and Moribe, who refer this episode to a time previous to Nin-toku's accession, "The wild-goose has laid an egg in

This is a Congratulatory Incomplete Song.[7]

[SECT. CXXIX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART X.—A VESSEL IS MADE INTO A LUTE).]

In this august reign there was a tall tree on the west of the river Tsuki.[1] The shadow of this tree, on its being struck by the morning sun, reached to the Island of Ahaji;[2] and on its being struck by the evening sun, it crossed Mount Takayasu.[3] So the tree was cut down and made into a vessel,—and a very swift-going vessel it was. At the time, this vessel was called by the name of Karanu.[4] So with this vessel the water* of the Island of Ahaji was drawn morning and evening, and presented as the great august water.[5] The broken [pieces]

"taken of thy future accession to the throne." The translator prefers the view expressed by Keichiū in his *Kō-Gan Shō*, and adopted in the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," that the words *tsuhi ni*, "at last," must here be taken in the sense of "long," and the Song interpreted to mean "The wild-goose lays an egg as an omen that thy reign will be a long one." This view is supported by the story in the "Chronicles," which places the Song in the Emperor's fiftieth year and gives him thirty-six years of subsequent exsitence, thus making the prophecy amply fulfil itself, as one would expect that it should do in the pages of such a work. According to the other view, the text of the "Chronicles" calls for emendation.

[7] *Hogi-uta no kata-uta.* For "Incomplete Song" see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 14.

[1] This is Moribe's reading (given without any comment) of the original characters 兎寸. Motowori pronounces them corrupt; but, having no emendation to propose, simply leaves them without any *kana* reading.

[2] See Sect. V, Note 3.

[3] *Takayasu no yama*, in the province of Kahachi. The characters with which the name is written signify "high and easy."

[4] The significance of this name, written 枯野, remains obscure notwithstanding the efforts of the commentators to explain it.

* Scarcely full enough for 寒泉.—W.G.A.

[5] *I.e.*, this vessel was used to bring over every morning and

of this vessel were used [as fuel] to burn salt, and the pieces of wood that remained over from the burning were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles[6] [off]. So [some one[7]] sang, saying:

"Karanu was burnt [as fuel] for salt; the
"remainder was made into a lute; oh!
"when struck, it sounds like the wet plants
"standing rocked on the reefs in the middle
"of the harbour,—the harbour of Yura."[8]

This is a Changing Song which is a Quiet song.[9]

[SECT. CXXX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign were eighty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Ear-Moor of Mozu.[1]

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evening the water for the Imperial household, which was drawn on the Island of Ahaji.

[6] 里, the Chinese *li*, Japanese *ri*. The length of the *ri* has varied greatly at different times and in different parts of the country. The modern standard Japanese *ri* is equivalent to about 2.44 English statute miles; but Motowori supposes the *ri* of the epoch mentioned in our text to have been less than one-seventh of that distance.

[7] In the "Chronicles" this story is placed in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, and the Song is attributed to that monarch.

[8] In this Song the sound of the twanging of the lute that had been made from the remnant of the boat Karanu is compared to the rustling of the plants standing half out of water on the reefs in the harbour of Yura.—The compound word *kaki-hiku*, rendered by "struck," signifies literally "scratched and struck," the lute being struck with the nail. The onomatopoetic word *saya-saya*, of which "sound" is but a colourless equivalent, represents both the delightful ring of the lute and the rustling of the sea-plants. What plants are intended by the expression "wet plants" (*nadzu no ki*) is a point that has been much disputed. Moribe even thinks that the term is meant for the name of a particular species of (apparently) coral now found in the island of Hachijō. Yura is in the Island of Ahaji.

[9] See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[SECT. CXXXI.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Iza-ho-wake dwelt in the palace of Waka-sakura at Ihare,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuro,[2] daughter of the Noble of Ashida,[3] child of So-tsu-biko of Kadzuraki,[4] and begot august children: King Oshiha of Ichinobe;[5] next King Mima;[6] next his younger sister Awomi-no-iratsume,[7]

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[1] *Mozu no mimi-hara.* The origin of this singular name is thus explained in the "Chronicles" (Emperor Nin-toku, 67th year, Winter, 10th Moon): "[The Emperor] made a progress to the moor of "Ishidzu in Kafuchi to fix the site of his mausoleum. On the day "when the construction of his mausoleum was begun, a deer suddenly "ran out from the middle of the moor, rushed into the midst of the "coolies, fell down, and died. The suddenness of its death causing "astonishment, its wound was looked for, whereupon a shrike came "out of its ear, and flew away. So on looking into the ear, it was "found to be all eaten away. So that is the reason why the place is "called *Mozu no mimi-hara* (the 'Shrike's Ear-Moor')."

[1] For *Ihare* see Sect. XLIII, Note 28. *Waka-sakura* signifies "young cherry-tree." The origin of the name is traced, rightly or wrongly, to an incident mentioned in the "Chronicles" under the reign of this Emperor, 3rd year.

[2] *Kuro-hime, i.e.,* "black princess." The same name occurs several times, and has reference to the black hair* of the person so designated.

* But all Japanese hair is black. I should rather say complexion.—W.G.A.

[3] *Ashida no sukune. Ashi-da* signifies "reed-moor." It is the name of a place in Yamato.

[4] *Kadzuraki no So-tsu-biko.* For this name, which is here abbreviated, see Sect. LXI, Note 55.

[5] *Ichinobe no Oshiha no miko.* Ichinobe is in the province of Yamashiro, and the name seems to mean "near the market." The name of *Oshiha* refers to the "uneven teeth" of this personage which are mentioned in Sect. CLXVII (near Note 5).

[6] *Mima no miko.* The signification of this name is quite obscure.

another name for whom was Ihi-toyo-no-iratsume.[8]

[SECT. CXXXII.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART II.—HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI).]

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting,[1] was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. Thereupon the Suzerain of Achi,[2] ancestor of the Suzerains of Aya[3] in Yamato, having taken him away by stealth, set him on an august horse, and caused him to make a progress into Yamato. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] awoke on reaching the moor of Tajihi,[4] and said: "What place is this?" Then the Suzerain of Achi said: "King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu set fire to the great palace; so "I am fleeing with thee into Yamato." Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Had I known that I should sleep on the
"Moor of Tajihi, oh! I would have brought
"my dividing matting,—had I known that I
"should sleep!"[5]

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[7] *Awomi no iratsume.* *Awomi* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place.

[8] *Ihitoyo no iratsume.* *Ihitoyo* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a bird, perhaps a kind of owl.

[1] *I.e.*, on the occasion of his performing the religious ceremony of tasting the first rice of the season.

[2] *Achi no atahe,* supposed to be of Korean origin, and to be a descendant of 阿知, great grandson of the Chinese Emperor 靈帝.

[3] *Aya no atahe.* This family was of continental origin, *Aya* being the Japanese reading of the character 漢; see Sect. CXI, Note 2.

[4] *Tajihi no mu,* in the province of Kahachi. The signification of the name is obscure.

[5] This Song expresses the Monarch's regret at not having brought his mats with him.—From the expression used in the text (*tatsu-gomo*),

On reaching the Pass of Hanifu[6] and gazing at the palace of Naniha, the fire was still bright. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang again, saying:

"The group of houses sparklingly burning,
"as I stand and look from the Pass of
"Hanifu, is in the direction of the house
"of my spouse."[7]

So when they reached the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain,[8] they met one woman. This woman said: "A number "of men bearing weapons are barring [the way across] the "mountain. Thou shouldst cross it going round by way of "Tagima."[9] Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Oh! on asking the way of the maiden we
"met at Ohosaka, she tells not [the] direct
"[way], but tells of the Tagima way."[10]

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the commentators suppose that such mats were used as a sort of screen to avert draughts. One proposal is to consider *tatsu* as the Verb *tatsuru*, "to set up," because these mats must have been "set up" round the room. But it agrees better with grammatical usage to take it in its other sense of "cutting," or "dividing," and to suppose that the mats were so called because they "cut off" the draught from the person sitting behind them.

[6] Or "Hill of Hanifu," *Hanifu-zaka*, in the province of Kahachi.

[7] The meaning of this Song is perfectly clear.

[8] See Sect. LXIV, Note 25. The word rendered "entrance" here and below in the same context is literally "mouth."

[9] See Sect. LXII, Note 49.

[10] Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "If the maiden whom I met at Ohosaka and whom I sought direction of had been a common mortal, she would have simply told me the shortest road. But now I see why it was that she bid me go round by way of Tagima: it was to preserve me from danger. Ah! she must have been a Goddess."—The words *tada ni* generally have the sense of "directly," "immediately," and are indeed here so understood by Motowori. Moribe's interpretation, which has been followed by the translator, does but little violence to the text, and suits the general meaning better.

So, making his progress up, he dwelt in the temple of the Deity of Isonokami.[11]

[SECT. CXXXIII.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART III.—HIS REBELLIOUS BROTHER AND THE LATTER'S RETAINER SOBAKARI ARE SLAIN).]

Thereupon his younger brother His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake came, and sent [to ask for] an audience.[1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign caused him to be told [these words]: "As I am in doubt whether perhaps Thine Augustness may "[not] be of like mind[2] with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, I "will not meet and speak with thee." [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. I am not "of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu." [The Heavenly Sovereign] again caused him to be told [these words]: "If that be so, [do thou] now return down, and "slay King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, and come up [again "hither]. At that time I will surely meet and speak with "thee." So he forthwith returned down to Naniha, and deceived [a man] named Sobakari,[3] a man-at-arms[4] in the personal service of[5] King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, saying: "If "thou wilt obey my words, I shall become Heavenly Sovereign, "and will make thee prime Minister, to rule the Empire.[6]

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[11] See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

[1] The original of this clause is very elliptical, consisting only of the two characters 令謁. The old reading joins thereto the characters 爾天皇, which according to Motowori form the commencement of the next sentence. The meaning is not affected by the change.

[2] Literally, "heart." Similarly below, where the word "intent" is used in the translation.

[3] The signification of this name is quite obscure.

[4] *Hayabito.* The reader should compare Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11.

[5] Literally, "closely accustomed to."

[6] The original leaves it uncertain whether the words "to rule the Empire" should be applied to the speaker, to Sobakari, or to both; and the ambiguous application has therefore been preserved in the translation.

"How [would this be]?" Sobakari replied, saying: "[I will "do] according to thy command." Then plenteously endowing that man-at-arms, he said: "If that be so, slay the King." Thereupon Sobakari watched for the time when his King went into the privy, and thrust him to death with a spear. So when [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] was making his progress to Yamato taking Sobakari with him, he, on reaching the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, thought [thus]: "Al-"though Sobakari deserves very well of me, he has truly[7] slain "his lord. This is unrighteous. Nevertheless if I reward not "his deed, I may be called untruthful; and if I quite carry "out my promise, his intentions are on the contrary to be "feared. So, though recompensing his deed, I will destroy "his actual person." Therefore he said to Sobakari: "I will "halt here to-day and bestow on thee the rank of Prime "Minister, and to-morrow will [continue my] progress up." So a halt was made at the entrance to the mountain, a temporary palace forthwith built, a copious feast[8] suddenly held, the rank of Prime Minister forthwith bestowed on the man-at-arms, and all the officials[9] made to do obeisance [to him]. The man-at-arms, delighted, thought that he had accomplished his design. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] said to the man-at-arms: "To-day I will drink liquor from the same "cup as the Prime Minister." And when they drank together, a bowl[10] large [enough] to hide the face was filled with the liquor presented.[11] Hereupon the King's child drank first, and the man-at-arms drank afterwards. So when the man-at-arms was drinking, the great cup covered his face. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] drew forth a sabre which he had

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[7] Literally, "already."

[8] See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

[9] Literally, "the hundred officials," a Chinese phrase, which has been met with before.

[10] The character 鋺 used in the text implies by its radical that the bowl was of metal. It is an unauthorized form of 椀 or 碗.

[11] *Scil.* by the prince to the man-at-arms.

laid under the matting, and cut off the head of the man-at-arms. Forthwith on the morrow he made his progress up. So the place was called by the name of Chika-tsu-Asuka.[12] Going up and reaching Yamato, he said: "I will halt here "to-day and, having purified myself, will go forth to-morrow "and worship at the temple of the Deity."[13] So that place is called by the name of Toho-tsu-Asuka.[14] So going forth to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami, he sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign that he had come up to serve him after accomplishing the work [with which he had been entrusted].[15] So [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for, and met, and spoke with him.

[SECT. CXXXIV.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART IV.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

The Heavenly Sovereign thereupon first appointed the Suzerain of Achi to the office of Treasurer,[1] and likewise bestowed on him domains.[2] Again in this august reign the name of Waka-sakura Tribe[3] was granted to the Grandees of the Waka-sakura Tribe.[4] Again the "gentile name"[5] of Dukes of

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[12] *I.e.*, Nearer Asuka. The name is written 近飛鳥. The student should consult Motowori's note on this passage in Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 38-39 of his Commentary, to see what can be done towards reconciling the name, the characters it is written with, and the origin ascribed to it, all of which are so apparently incongruous.

[13] *Scil.* of *Isonokami.* This deity was the sword forming the subject of the legend narrated in Seet. XLV.

[14] 遠飛鳥, *i.e.*, Further Asuka. *Conf.* Note 11.

[15] This is the gist of the original phrase, which will not bear literal translation into English: 政既平訖參上侍之.

[1] In Japanese the same word is used for a "store-house" and for the "treasury." But the appointment here mentioned would seem really to correspond to what we should call Lord of the Treasury or Minister of Finance. The characters in the original are 藏官.

[2] Literally, "ration grounds."

[3] *Waka-sakura-be.*

[4] *Waka-sakura-be no omi.* Conf. Sect. CXXXI, Note 1.

Himeda[5] was granted to the Dukes of Himeda. Again the Ihare Clan[7] was established.

[SECT. CXXXV.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART V.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-four. His august mausoleum is at Mozu.[1]

[SECT. CXXXVI.—EMPEROR HAN-ZEI.]

His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake dwelt in the palace of Shibakaki at Tajihi,[1] and ruled the Empire. The length of this Heavenly Sovereign's august person was nine feet two inches and a half.[2] The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung [together]. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady of Tsunu,[3] daughter of

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[5] All the editors agree in here reading as *kabane* ("gentile name," see Sect. XIV, Note 5) the character 姓, which signifies properly "family name."

[6] *Himeda no kimi.* Nothing is known of this family.

[7] *Ihare-be.* For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 6. It will be remembered that the Emperor of whose reign the present Section forms part held his court at Ihare.

[1] See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

[1] For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. *Shiba-kaki* (or *Shiba-yaki*) signifies "a fence of brushwood."

[2] As to the ancient Japanese measures we have no accurate information, and the English equivalents used in this passage correspond but approximately to the modern Japanese standards. The character rendered "line" is 分, which denotes the tenth part of a 寸 or "inch." Motowori remarks that the dimensions of the teeth are not anything extraordinary judged by the present standard, and supposes that anciently the measures of length must have been smaller than at present.

[3] *Tsunu no iratsume.* The signification of this name is obscure.

Kogoto, Grandee of Wani,[4] and begot august children: the Lady of Kahi;[5] next the Lady of Tsubura[6] (two Deities). Again he wedded Oto-hime,[7] daughter of the same Grandee, and begot august children: King Takara;[8] next the Lady of Takabe,[9]—altogether four Kings [and Queens].[10] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty. His august mausoleum is on the Moor of Mozu.[11]

[SECT. CXXXVII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ[1] (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Wo-asa-dzu-ma-waku-go-no-sukune dwelt in the Palace of Toho-tsu-Asuka,[2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime,[3] younger sister of King Oho-hodo, and begot august children: King Karu of Kinashi;[4] next Nagata-no-oho-iratsume;[5] next King Kuro-hiko of Sakahi;[6] next His

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4 *Wani no kogoto no omi.* The meaning of Kogoto is obscure. Wani has already often appeared.

5 *Kahi no iratsume.* Kahi is the name of a province, but it cannot be said for certain that it is from it that this Princess derived her name.

6 *Tsubura no iratsume.* The meaning of *Tsubura* is obscure.

7 *I.e.*, "the younger princess."

8 *Takara no miko. Takara* signifies "treasure."

9 *Takabe no iratsume. Takabe* seems to be the name of a place, unless it be considered to be connected with the word *taka*, "hawk."

10 Remember that the single character 王 includes both sexes.

11 See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

1 Also pronounced *In-kiyō.*

2 See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 13.

3 This name and the next have already appeared in Sect. CXVII.

4 *Kinashi no Karu no miko.* Karu is properly the name of a place in Yamato which has already often appeared in the text. It is uncertain whether *kinashi* is likewise the name of a place or of a particular kind of pear; but Motowori inclines to the former view.

5 *I.e.*, "the great lord of Nagata." There are many places of this name (lit. "long rice-field"), and it is not known which is here intended.

Augustness Anaho;[7] next Karu-no-oho-iratsume,[8] another name for whom is So-tohoshi-no-iratsume[9] (the reason for her being given the august name of Queen So-tohoshi was that the refulgence of her person passed through her garments); next King Shiro-biko of Yatsuri;[10] next His Augustness Oho-hatsuse;[11] next Tachibana-no-oho-iratsume;[12] next Sakami-no-iratsume[13] (nine Deities). Altogether the Heavenly Sovereign's august children [numbered] nine Deities (five Kings and four Queens). Of these nine Kings and Queens, His Augustness Anaho [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next his Augustness Oho-hatsuse ruled the Empire.

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[6] *I.e.*, "the black prince of Sakahi." The latter word signifies "frontier." It is not known where Sakahi is, neither is the reason for the name of "black prince" applied to this personage known (*Conf.* the "white prince" mentioned a little further on).

[7] Or, "of Anaho," for Anaho is properly the name of a place in Yamato. Its import is not clear.

[8] *I.e.*, "the great lady of Karu."

[9] Written 衣通郎女, *i.e.*, "the garment-passing lady." *So-tohoshi* is Motowori's reading of the characters, the usual reading being *So-tohori* (the Intransitive instead of the Transitive form of the Verb). He likewise identifies Koto-fushi (see Sect. CXVII, Note 9) with this celebrated princess, who is commonly worshipped as Goddess of Poetry. There is much confusion in the traditions concerning her, and Motowori's notes on the subject in Vol. XXXIV, pp. 53–54 and in Vol. XXXIX of his Commentary, p. 3, should be consulted.

[10] *Yatsuri no shiro-biko no miko, i.e.*, "the white prince of Yatsuri." Yatsuri is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "eight melons."

[11] *I.e.*, "great Hatsuse," so called from Hatsuse, a celebrated place in Yamato, which has already been mentioned.

[12] *I.e.*, "the great lady of Tachibana," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. The word signifies "orange."

[13] *I.e.*, "the lady of Sakami," the latter being apparently the name of a place either in Harima or in Wohari. Its derivation is not clear.

[SECT. CXXXVIII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART II.—HIS SICKNESS IS CURED BY A KOREAN PHYSICIAN).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, when first about to rule the succession of Heaven's Sun,[1] declined, saying: "I have a long "sickness; I cannot rule the sun's succession." Nevertheless, as from the Empress downwards all the magnates strongly urged him, he forthwith ruled the Empire. At this time the ruler of Shiragi[2] dutifully sent eighty-one vessels with august tribute. Then the chief envoy[3] sent with the august tribute, whose name was Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu,[4] was a man deeply versed in the medical art. So he cured the Heavenly Sovereign's august sickness.

[SECT. CXXXIX.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART III.—HE RECTIFIES THE PEOPLE'S NAMES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, lamenting the transgressions in the surnames and "gentile names" of the people of all the surnames and names in the Empire[1] placed jars [for trial by] hot water[2] at the Wondrous Cape of Eighty Evils in

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[1] For this expression see Sect. XXXII, Note 27. The story of the refusal of this monarch to accept the crown which was offered to him by the magnates of the nation is told at considerable length in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." According to the same authority he belonged to a collateral branch of the Imperial family, and was therefore not in the regular line of succession.

[2] See Sect. XCVIII, Note 2.

[3] Literally, "great messenger."

[4] 金波鎭漢紀武. Motowori decides that 金 is the surname, 波鎭 an official title, 漢紀 an official designation of the kinsmen of the Korean King, and 武 the personal name.

* The Nihongi makes the 80 vessels sent after his death. Vide Ingiō, 42nd Year of his reign, (pp. 323-324 Aston's translation).—W.G.A.

[1] The original is: 天下氏氏名名人等之氏姓, which Motowori reads *ame no shita no uji-uji na-na no hito-domo no uji kabane.*

[2] We learn from the "Chronicles" that he whose hand was

Words at Amakashi.[3] and deigned to establish the surnames and "gentile names" of the eighty heads of companies.[4] Again the Karu Tribe[5] was established as the august proxy of King Karu of Ki-nashi; the Osaka Tribe[6] was established as the Empress's august proxy; and the Kaha Tribe[7] was established as the august proxy of the Empress's younger sister Ta-wi no Naka-tsu-hime.[8]

[SECT. CXL.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART IV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were seventy-eight. His august mausoleum is at Naga-ye near Wega in Kafuchi.[1]

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injured in the process of dipping it into the jar of boiling water was pronounced a deceiver, while those who stood the trial unhurt were considered to be telling the truth.

[3] *Amakashi no koto-ya-so-maga-tsu-hi no saki.* Motowori truly observes that this does not sound like an actual geographical name, but was rather, it may be supposed, a new designation given to Cape Amakashi (see Sect. LXXII, Note 19) on account of the incident here mentioned. The name reminds us of that of one of the deities born from the purification of the person of the creator Izanagi after his return from Hades (see Sect. X, Note 14).

[4] *Ya-so tomo-no-wo.* See Sect. XXXIII, Note 19.

[5] *Karu-be.*

[6] *Osaka-be*, so called after the Empress's native place (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 3, and Sect, CXVII, Note 6). The reading of *Osaka-be* is given in all the editions to the characters in the text, 刑部, where we should expect 忍坂部. Motowori's explanation of the reason why the name was thus written will be found in Vol. XXXIX, p. 19, of his Commentary.

[7] *Kaha-be.* Motowori supposes that there is here some corruption of the text, as no connection can be discovered between the name of this Tribe and that of the Princess whose proxy the tribe became.

[8] See Sect. CXVII, Note 7.

[1] See Sect. CIII, Notes 2 and 3.

[SECT. CXLI.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART V.—PRINCE KARU LOVES HIS SISTER PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, it was settled that King Karu of Ki-nashi should rule the Sun's succession.[1] But in the interval before his accession, he debauched his younger sister the Great Lady of Karu, and sang, saying:

"Making rice-fields on the mountain, making
"hidden conduits run on account of the
"mountain's height:—to-day indeed [my]
"body easily touches the younger sister
"whom I wooed with a hidden wooing, the
"spouse for whom I wept with a hidden
"weeping."[2]

This is a Hind-Lifting Song.[3] Again he sang, saying:

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[1] See Sect. XXXII, Note 27. The wording of this sentence would make it appear that it was only *after* the Emperor In-giyō's death that King Karu was chosen to succeed him. But probably King Karu had been appointed Heir Apparent (皇太子) during his father's life-time, as is indeed expressly stated in the "Chronicles," and is implied in later passages of this work; and what our author meant to say was: "It was settled that King Karu should rule the "Empire after the former Sovereign's decease," etc.

[2] The meaning of the Song is: "The sister, the mistress, whom "I wooed with such difficulty, is now easily mine."—The first phrase, down to "mountain's height," is but a "Preface" to the poem properly so called, serving to introduce by a *jeu-de-mots* the word *shita-dohi*, which means not only "hidden conduit," but "hidden wooing." At the same time the implied comparison of the poet's secret love of one so difficult to obtain as his own sister, to the course of the water in hidden conduits which is carried up the mountain's side to irrigate a field perched in a spot almost inaccessible, is by no means devoid of aptness. The word "mountain" (*yama*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *ashihiki* (or *ashibiki*) *no*, whose signification is obscure and much disputed.

[3] *Shirage-uta* (written phonetically). The interpretation of the term here adopted is that which has the sanction of Motowori and

"The rattle-rattle of the hail against the
"bamboo-grass: — After I shall have cer-
"tainly slept, what though I be plotted
"against by people! When I shall have
"slept a good sleep delightfully, if there is
"the disorder of the cut *Hydropyrum lati-*
"*folium*, let there be disorder, — when I
"shall have slept a good sleep!"[4]

This is a Rustic Lifting Song.[5]

[SECT. CXLII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VI.—WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO).]

Therefore all the officials[1] and likewise the people of the Empire turned against the Heir Apparent Karu, and towards the August Child Anaho. Then the Heir Apparent Karu,

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Moribe. They explain it to signify that the voice rose gradually towards the latter part of the Song.

[4] As in the case of the preceding Song, the first phrase is but a Preface, which plays on the coincidence in sound between the words *tash'-dash'*, "rattling," and *tashika*, "certainly," *i.e.*, "undisturbedly." The signification of the Song proper is: "If I shall but have grati-
"fied my passion, what care I however men may plot against me?
"If I can but press my beloved to my bosom, let all things go to
"rack and ruin, like the *Hydropyrum latifolium*, a grass which, when
"cut, falls into disorder!"—Of the sentiment of the Song, the less said the better; but viewed simply from a literary point of view, it is certainly one of the most fascinating little productions of the early Japanese muse, and the literal rendering of it into English does it woful injustice. Moribe rightly rejects Motowori's proposal to divide the poem in two after the words *hito hakayu to mo*, "plotted against by people." *Kari-komo no*, "of the *Hydropyrum latifolium*," is a Pillow-Word.

[5] *Hinaburi no age-uta.* The commentators have nothing more precise to tell us concerning the expression "Lifting-Song" than that "it refers to the lifting of the voice in singing."

[1] See Sect. CXII, Note 4.

being alarmed, fled into the house of the Grandee the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe,[2] and made a provision of implements of war. (The arrows made at this time[3] were provided with copper arrow-insides;[4] so those arrows are called by the name of Karu arrows.) Prince Anaho likewise made implements of war. (The arrows made by this Prince were just the arrows of the present time:[5] they are called Anaho arrows.) Thereupon Anaho raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe. Then, when he reached the gate, heavy ice-rain[6] was falling. So he sang, saying:

"Come thus under cover of the metal gate
"of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe! We
"will stand till the rain stops."[7]

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[2] *Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune no omi* (according to the old reading *Oho-saki Wo-saki*, etc.). Motowori considers this double name to denote two brothers, the words *oho* and *wo* ("great" and "small") naturally lending themselves to the interpretation of "elder" and "younger." Moribe, on the contrary, thinks that there was but one, and is supported both by the authority of the "Chronicles of Japan" and by the fact that, except in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages," which is believed to be a forgery, no second brother is anywhere mentioned. He explains the use of the double name in the prose text as having crept in through the influence of the text of the following Song (see Note 7 below). This seems to the translator the better view.

[3] *I.e.*, "on this occasion."

[4] There is here an evident corruption of the text, and Motowori aptly conjectures that arrow-*heads*, or, as they are called in Japanese, arrow-*points*, are intended. He adds that up till then arrow-heads had always been made of iron.

[5] The author's style is here rather at fault; for he apparently wishes to say that the arrows employed by Prince Anaho were those which had been used in ancient times and were still the most universally employed—that, in fact, they were the usual style of arrow in contradistinction to those of Prince Karu's invention.

[6] See Sect, LXXXVIII, Note 5.

[7] The prince, in this Song, bids his troops follow his example, and take refuge from the rain under cover of the gate of Oho-mahe's

Then the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe came singing, lifting his hands, striking his knees, dancing, and waving his arms. The Song said:

"The courtiers are tumultuous, [saying]
"that the small bell of the garter of the
"courtiers has fallen off. Country-people,
"too, beware!"[3]

This Song is of a Courtier's Style.[9] Singing thus, he came near and said: "August Child of our Heavenly Sove-"reign! Come not with arms against the King thine elder "brother. If thou shouldst come against him with arms, "people will surely laugh. I[10] will secure him and present "him to thee."[1] Then Prince Anaho disbanded his troops

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house. Such, at least, is the actual sense of the words used; but Motowori sees in them nothing less than a slightly veiled exhortation to his followers to attack the castle, while Moribe, on the other hand, thinks they were meant to convey to Oho-mahe a hint of his presence, and enable the beleaguered prince, for whom (as being his elder brother) Prince Anaho retained a great affection and respect, to devise some method of escape. This seems extremely far-fetched.—The word "metal" probably refers only to the fastenings of the gate, and not to its whole structure.

[8] The exact purport and application of this Song is disputed, but this much seems clear: that the composer of it seeks to quiet both the besieging army (out of politeness called courtiers), and the peasants who had joined the fray, by making light of the whole occurrence, which he compares to so trival an accident as the falling of a bell from a man's "garter" or "leggings." The custom of ornamenting this article of dress with a small bell is, however, not mentioned elsewhere.* The word *yume*, which concludes the Song and is here rendered "beware," is identified by Motowori and Moribe with the Imperative of the Verb *imu*, "to avoid," "to shun," "not to do."

* Motowori does not say so.—W.G.A.

[9] *Miya-hito-buri*. This is one of the cases which lend support to Motowori's view that the names of the so-called styles of Songs are derived from their initial words.

[10] Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

and went away. So the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. The captive Prince sang, saying:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! if thou
"cry violently, people will know. Cry
"quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa."[12]

Again he sang:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! Come†
"and sleep, and [then] pass on, oh maiden
"of Karu!"[13]

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[11] The word used in the text, here and also in the next sentence, is that which properly denotes the presenting of tribute.

[12] Another reading gives this sense:

"As, if the maiden of heaven-soaring Karu cried
"violently, people would know, she cries quietly
"like the doves on Mount Hasa."

According to this reading, the poet simply explains the reason of the undemonstrativeness of his mistress's grief; according to that in the text, he implores her not to weep too passionately.—*Amadamu* or *amatobu ya*, "heaven-soaring," is the Pillow-Word for Karu, applied to it punningly on account of its similarity in sound to the word *kari*, "a wild-goose," which well deserves the epithet "heaven-soaring." Of Mount Hasa nothing is known.

† *Shitata ni.*—W.G.A.

[13] Rendered thus according to Moribe's exegesis, which quite approves itself to the translator's mind, this Song signifies: "Oh! "maiden of Karu! come and sleep with me but once, before my "impending banishment renders it hard for us to meet again." Motowori chooses to interpret *nete* as a crasis of *nayete*, "bending," and sees in the Song an invitation to the maiden to come quietly bending her head and passing along quietly so as not to attract observation.—The final word, translated "maiden," is *wotome-domo*, properly a Plural, but here used in a Singular sense, as *watakushi-domo*, "I" (properly "we"), so constantly is in the modern Colloquial Dialect. For the Pillow-Word "heaven-soaring" see preceding Note.

[SECT. CXLIII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VII.—DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

So Prince Karu was banished to the hot waters of Iyo.[1] Again when about to be banished, he sang, saying:

"The heaven-soaring birds, too, are indeed
"messengers. When thou hearest the voice
"of the crane, ask my name."[2]

These three songs are of a Heaven-Soaring style.[3] Again he sang, saying:

"If they banish the Great Lord to an island,
"he will indeed make the remaining return
"voyage. Beware of my mat! Mat indeed
"in words,—beware of my spouse!"[4]

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[1] For Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4. Its hot springs are often mentioned in early documents. Motowori identifies them with a place now called Dō-go (道後).

[2] The meaning of this Song is: "I go where perchance no "messengers will reach me. But thou must ask tidings of me from "the birds."

[3] *Ama-da-buri.* The title seems to be derived from the initial Pillow-Word of these three Songs.

[4] The meaning of this Song seems to the translator to be: "Even "if they dare to banish me now, I shall some day return again. "Respect my mat during my absence. Mat, indeed! It is my wife "that must be respected." The commentators consider the concluding words to be a command addressed to the wife, and interpret the phrase to mean, "My spouse, beware!" But surely this makes less good sense, and moreover fails to suit the exactly parallel passage in the first Song of Sect. CXXV. By the words "Great Lord" the princely poet denotes himself,—perhaps with a touch of anger at the indignity to which he is subjected. The difficult expression *funa-amari* is here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered by the words "remaining voyage," *i.e.*, "the voyage homeward," which is that part of a voyage that may be said to remain over for an outward-bound vessel when she has reached her destination. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 50–51, should be consulted for older

This Song is of a Partly Lowered Rustic style.[5] Queen So-tohoshi presented a Song [to him]. That Song said:

"Let not thy feet tread on the oyster-shells
"of the shore of Ahine with its summer
"herbs! Pass there [after] having made
"clear!"[6]

So when afterwards again, being unable to restrain her love, she went after him, she sang, saying:

"Thy going has become long past. I will
"go, oh! to meet thee. Wait! I cannot
"wait."* (What is here called *yama-tadzu* is

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views of the meaning of the term. The expression "beware of my mat" reminds us that in early days the entire floor of a Japanese room was not matted according to the modern custom, but that each individual had his own mat on which to sit and sleep. Great care was always taken not to defile another's mat. *Conf.* an elegy from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" translated by the present writer in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 79.

[5] *Hina-buri no kata-oroshi.* Like most of the names of styles of Songs, this one is extremely obscure. The commentators suppose that one part was sung in a lower voice than the rest. But they are merely guessing.

[6] The actual words of the Song signify: "Lacerate not thy feet "by walking on the unseen oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine that "is covered with the summer herbs; but walk there after dawn." (This is Keichiū's interpretation of the word *akashite*, "having made clear," and is the best in the present writer's opinion; the later commentators see in it a recommendation to the exiled prince to clear the grass away on either side.) The word *Ahine* calls, however, for special explanation in order that the full import of the poem may be brought out. It properly signifies "sleeping together" or "lying on each other," and is therefore applicable either to the two spouses or to the summer grass. Indeed it is doubtful if it be the name of any real place at all. The word *natsu-kusa* may also be taken simply as a Pillow-Word for Ahine.—The total gist of the Song is in any case a warning from the maiden to her lover to guard himself against the perils of the journey.

* Motowori's rendering of *ke* here seems unsatisfactory.—W.G.A.

[what is] now [known by the name of] *tatsuge.*)[7]

So when in her pursuit she reached [the place where Prince Karu was, he, who had been] pensively waiting, sang, saying:

"Alas! beloved spouse, who settledst the
"whereabouts of our grave, setting up
"flags in the great vale, setting up flags in
"the little vale of Hatsuse the hidden castle!
"Alas! beloved spouse, whom I see after
"[our many troubles], prostrate like a *tsuki*
"bow, standing like an *adzusa* bow!"[8]

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[7] The meaning of this Song is: "It is too long since thy departure. I can wait no longer, but will go and meet thee."—The Verb "to meet" (*mukahe*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *yama-tadzu*, which forms the subject of the note appended to the poem by the compiler. The commentators are not agreed as to the precise nature of the instrument intended; but it seems to have been some kind of axe. The cause of its use as a Pillow-Word for "meeting" is equally disputed. It only occurs written phonetically. The term *tatsu-ge*, by which it is explained in the text, is there written 造木, which does not help us much towards understanding what is meant to be designated.

[8] So obscure is this Song in the original, that Motowori confesses himself unable to make any sense of it. The translator has adopted Moribe's interpretation, according to which the gist of it is this: "Alas! my dear wife, who wast so willing to be for ever united to "me that thou didst even fix on the spot in the funereal vale of "Hatsuse where we should one day be buried together! Alas for "thee, whom at last I now see again!"—In order to arrive at this meaning, Moribe is obliged to prove more or less satisfactorily that the thrice repeated word *wo* signifies "vale" or "mountain-fold" the first two times that it occurs, and "grave" the third, and that *komoriku no hatsuse*, usually interpreted as secluded "Hatsuse," means "the hidden castle," the "final place," *i.e.*, "the tomb." It is also necessary to suppose, without authority, that the flags mentioned by the poet are meant for funeral flags, and that the words "prostrate "like a *tsuki* bow," etc., which, according to the laws of Japanese construction, precede instead of following the phrase "alas! beloved

Again he sang, saying:

"Driving sacred piles in the upper reach,
"driving true piles in the lower reach of the
"river of secluded Hatsuse, and hanging on
"the sacrificial piles a mirror, hanging on
"the true piles true jewels:—if they said
"that the younger sister whom I love like a
"true jewel, that the spouse whom I love
"like a mirror were [there], I would go
"home, I would long for my country."[9]

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spouse," etc., are but a Preface for the latter.—It will be seen that the foundation on which Moribe's interpretation rests is slight, and that Motowori was scarcely to be blamed for pronouncing the Song incomprehensible. At the same time the translator has thought it better, by following Moribe, to give *some* translation of it than to leave the passage blank. With this warning, the student may search for other possible meanings if he pleases.—Hatsuse is a still existent and celebrated place among the mountains of Yamato. The etymology of the name, unless we accept Moribe's mentioned above, is obscure. It is now usually pronounced *Hase.* The *tsuki* is said to be almost indistinguishable from the *keyaki* tree (*Zelkowa keaki*). The *adzusa* seems to be the *Catalpa kaempferi*, but some believe it to be the cherry-tree.

[9] The first half of this Song down to the words "hanging on the true piles true jewels" is a Preface for what follows. The signification of the rest is: "If my dearly loved sister-wife were still at Hatsuse "in Yamato, I would fly to her either in thought or deed; but now "that she has followed me into exile, the land of exile is good "enough."—Moribe, while allowing the first half of the Song to be a Preface for the rest, contends that it also should be credited with a signification bearing on the subject-matter of the main part of the Song. He supposes, namely, the religious ceremony, whatever it was, of driving piles into the bed or bank of the river and of decorating them with beads and a mirror, to have been one really performed by Princess So-tohoshi to compass her lover's return. In the translator's opinion, it is more elegant and more in accordance with Archaic usage to consider the Preface as having no special significance or connection (otherwise than verbal) with the rest of the poem. The

Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together.[10] So these two songs are Reading Songs.[11]

[SECT. CXLIV.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART I.—HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA).]

The august child[1] Anaho dwelt at the palace of Anaho at Isono-kami,[2] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign sent the Grandee of Ne,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Sakamoto, to the residence of King Oho-kusaka, on behalf of his younger brother Prince Oho-hatsuse to command thus: "I "wish Thine Augustness's younger sister Queen Waka-kusaka "to wed Prince Oho-hatsuse. So do thou present her."[4] Then King Oho-kusaka did obeisance four times, and said: "Owing to a supposition that there might be some such Great

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word *i-kuhi* or *i-guhi*, rendered "sacred piles," occasions some difficulty; for it is not certain whether Motowori is right in giving to the initial syllable *i* the meaning of "sacred." It may be simply what has been termed an "Ornamental Prefix," devoid of meaning. Motowori however points out that this usage of it is restricted to Verbs, and does not occur with Substantives. *Komoriku no*, the Pillow-Word for Hatsuse, is rendered by "secluded" in accordance with Mabuchi's usually accepted derivation from *komori-kuni*, "retired land." Moribe, notwithstanding what he has said in his exegesis of the preceding poem (Note 8), is willing to allow that, though perhaps not its original, this was its common, meaning even in ancient times.

10 *I.e.*, committed suicide together.

11 This expression is interpreted to mean that these Songs were recited in monotone, as one would read a book or tell a tale.

1 *I.e.*, Prince. In all other cases we find the word *mikoto*, "Augustness," as the title by which the Sovereign is mentioned at the commencement of his reign.

2 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

3 *Ne no omi*. The etymology of *ne* is obscure.

4 Literally, as "tribute."

"Commands, I have kept her always indoors.[5] With reverence[6] "will I respectfully offer her according to the Great Com-"mands." Nevertheless, thinking it disrespectful [merely] to send a message,[7] he forthwith, as a ceremonial gift[8] from his younger sister, made [the Grandee of Ne] take a pushwood jewel headdress[9] to present [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. The Grandee of Ne forthwith stole the jewel headdress meant as a ceremonial gift, and slandered King Oho-kusaka, saying: "King Oho-kusaka would not receive the Imperial Commands, "but said: 'An soror mea fiet eædem stirpis [viri] inferior "'storea?'"[10] and, grasping the hilt of his cross-sword,[11] was "angry." So the Heavenly Sovereign, having in his great anger slain King Oho-kusaka, took that King's chief wife Nagata-no-oho-iratsume,[12] and made her Empress.

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[5] More literally, "I have kept her without putting her out of "doors."

[6] *Conf.* Sect. IX, Note 4 and Sect. XVIII, Note 14.

[7] Motowori surmises that 其 may be an error for 者 in the original of this clause 然言以白事其思无禮.

[8] 禮物. The term corresponds to the modern 結納, the name by which the presents which are exchanged at the time of betrothal are designated.

[9] The original term *oshi-ki no tama-kadzura* is extremely obscure. One of Motowori's conjectures is that the "push-wood" was a kind of frame by which the jewels or beads, strung on an erect stem of some hard material, were kept firmly attached to the head. Perhaps some notion of the *coiffure* intended may be gathered from the plate opposite p. 354 of Part III of Vol. VIII of these "Transactions," (Mr. J. Conder's paper on "The History of Japanese Costume").

[10] *I.e.*, "An soror mea, cujus pater Imperator Nin-toku, fiet uxor præsentis Imperatoris?" — Hujus similitudinis rusticitas et ipsis Japonicis commentatoribus pudori est.

[11] See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

[12] See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 5.

[SECT. CXLV.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART II.—HE IS SLAIN BY KING MA-YOWA).]

After this, the Heavenly Sovereign, being on [his] divine couch,[1] was sleeping at midday. Then he spoke to his Empress, saying: "Is there anything on thy mind?"[2] She replied, saying: "Being the object of the Heavenly Sovereign's "generous favour, what can there be on my mind?" Hereupon the Empress's former child,[3] King Ma-yowa, who was seven years old that year, happened to be just then playing outside the apartment.[4] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing that the young King was playing outside the apartment, spoke to the Empress, saying: "I have constantly "something upon my mind, namely [the fear] that thy child "King Ma-yowa, when he comes to man's estate, may, on "learning that I slew the King his father, requite me with a "foul heart."[5] Thereupon King Ma-yowa, who had been playing outside the apartment, and whose ear had caught these words, forthwith watched for the Heavenly Sovereign to be augustly asleep, and, taking the great sword [that lay] by his side,[6] forthwith struck off the Heavenly Sovereign's head, and fled into the house of the Grandee Tsubura.[7] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-six. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Fushimi at Sugahara.[8]

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[1] *Conf.* Sect. LXIV, Note 2.

[2] Literally, "Hast thou anything to think about?" The same construction is used in the next sentence.

[3] *I.e.*, her son by her former husband King Oho-kusaka.

[4] Literally, "below the palace." The same expression recurs further on. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "below the upper storey," *i.e.*, in the court or garden of a two-storeyed house. With the small proportions assumed by Japanese architecture, conversation could well be overheard under these conditions.

[5] *I.e.*, "take vengeance upon me.

[6] *Scil.* by the Emperor's side.

[7] *Tsubura omi.* The etymology of Tsubura is obscure.

[SECT. CXLVI.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART III.—PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCES KURO-BIKO AND SHIRO-BIKO).]

Then Prince Oho-hatsuse,[1] who at that time was a lad, was forthwith grieved and furious on hearing of this event, and went forthwith to his elder brother King Kuro-biko,[2] and said: "They have slain[3] the Heavenly Sovereign. What shall "be done?" But King Kuro-biko was not startled, and was of unconcerned heart.[4] Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse reviled his elder brother, saying: "For one thing it being the Hea-"venly Sovereign, for another thing it being thy brother, how "is thy heart without concern?[5] What! not startled, but "unconcerned on hearing that they have slain thine elder "brother!"—and forthwith he clutched him by the collar, dragged him out, drew his sword, and slew him. Again, going to his elder brother King Shiro-biko, he told him the circumstances as before. The unconcernedness again was like [that shown by] King Kuro-biko. [So King Oho-hatsuse,] having forthwith clutched him by the collar, pulled him along, and dug a pit on reaching Woharida,[6] buried him as he stood,[7] so

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[8] For Sugahara see Sect. LXXV, Note 1. The Fushimi here mentioned, which is in Yamato, must not be confounded with the better known Fushimi in Yamashiro. The popular etymology of this name (and it is to be found in many books) traces it to *fushi-mi*, *i.e.*, "lying three," in connection with the story of a man who "lay on the mound for three years." Probably *fuse-midzu*, "water laid on," a name perhaps given on account of an aqueduct or of water-pipes, was the original designation, which has been corrupted.

[1] See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 11.

[2] See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 6.

[3] Literally, "taken."

[4] *I.e.*, treated the matter with indifference.

[5] Literally, "without relying," as if the speaker meant to say that the dead man could not rely on him for vengeance.

[6] In Yamato. The name seems to mean "new tilled field."

[7] Written 隨立 in the text followed by Motowori. The other reading 墮立 is untenable.

that by the time he had been buried up to the loins, both his eyes burst out, and he died.[8]

[SECT. CXLVII.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART IV.—DEATH OF PRINCE MA-YOWA AND OF THE GRANDEE TSUBURA).]

Again he raised an army and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Tsubura. Then [the other side also] raised an army to resist the attack,[1] and the arrows that were shot forth were like unto the falling down of the [ears of the] reeds.[2] Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse, using his spear as a staff, peeped in,[3] and said: "Is perchance the maiden, with whom I spoke, "in this house?"[4] Then the Grandee Tsubura, hearing these commands,[5] came forth himself, and having taken off the weapons with which he was girded, did obeisance eight times, and said: "The maiden Princess Kara, whom anon thou "deignedst to woo, is at thy service. Again in addition I will present to thee five granaries. (What are called the five granaries

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[8] In order to account for such an effect from so apparently insufficient a cause, Motowori supposes that after the prince had been made to stand up to the height of his loins in the pit, the latter was filled by having stones thrown into it, whereby his feet and legs would be crushed.

[1] Literally, "to wait and fight."

[2] The character 來, "to come" (here in accordance with English idiom rendered by "down") is supposed to be an error. One conjectural emendation of it, viz., 盛, would suggest the "plentiful" falling of the flowers of the reeds.

[3] *I.e.*, he lifted himself on tiptoe by leaning on his spear, so as to be able to peep in.

[4] The maiden thus suddenly introduced into the story is Tsubura's daughter Kara, whom it must be supposed that the Prince had previously been wooing.

[5] Or rather, "Imperial words." The application of the characters 詔命 to the words of one who was not yet actually Emperor is curious.

are now the gardeners of the five villages of Kadzuraki:[6]) Meanwhile the reason why she does not come out to meet thee in person is that from of old down to the present time grandees and chiefs have been known to hide in the palaces of Kings, but Kings have not yet been known to hide in the houses of grandees.[7] Therefore I think that, though a vile slave of a grandee[8] exerting his utmost strength in the fight can scarcely conquer, yet must he die rather than desert a Prince who, trusting in him, has entered into his house."[9] Having thus spoken, he again took his weapons and went in again to fight. Then, their strength being exhausted and their arrows finished, he said to the Prince: "My[10] hands are wounded, and our

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[6] *I.e.*, the places where the five granaries originally were are now the five villages inhabited by the men who cultivate the Imperial gardens. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

[7] Or we may, following Motowori's proposal, take the character 臣 in this clause in its slightly different acceptation of "subject," which better suits the sense. The partly phonetic wording of the next sentence 賤奴意富美者 shows how the writer was perplexed by the double use of the term.

[8] *Q.d.*, in comparison with a prince of the Imperial family, even a grandee was but a vile slave.

[9] The character 隨 in the original of this passage 入坐于隨家 is corrupt. But the sense remains clear, and it is scarcely worth while looking about for a probable emendation. Motowori has no satisfactory proposal to make.

[10] The humble character 僕, "servant" is here used for the First Personal Pronoun. The expression 僕者手悉傷, here literally rendered "my hands are all wounded," is very curious. Motowori reads it *ita-te ohinu*, *i.e.*, "I have received (or suffered from) hurtful hands," and compares two somewhat similar expressions found in Sect. XLIV (see Note 33 to that Sect.). The translator may however point out that the similarity is much more apparent in Motowori's *kana* reading than it is in the Chinese text itself. May not the sense of the present passage rather be: "All our men are wounded?" for the word *te* (手) "hand," is frequently used in Japanese,—in compounds at least,—in the sense of "man," somewhat as it is in English naval, mining, and other technical parlance.

"arrows likewise are finished. We cannot now fight. What "shall be done?" The Prince replied, saying: "If that be "so, there is nothing more to do. [Do thou] now slay me." So [the Grandee Tsubura] thrust the Prince to death with his sword, and forthwith killed himself by cutting off his own head.

[SECT. CXLVIII.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART V.—PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA).]

After this Kara-fukuro,[1] ancestor of the Dukes of Yama of Sasaki in Afumi,[2] said [to King Oho-hatsuse]: "At Kuta[3] "[and?] on the moor of Kaya at Wata in Afumi, boars and "deer are abundant. Their legs as they stand are like a moor "[covered] with *wogi*,[4] the horns they point up are like withered "trees." At this time [King Oho-hatsuse], taking with him King Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, made a progress to Afumi, and on reaching this moor, each of them built a separate temporary palace to lodge in. Then next morning, before the sun had risen, King Oshiha with a tranquil heart rode along on his august horse, and, reaching and standing beside King Oho-hatsuse's temporary Palace, said to King Oho-hatsuse's august attendants: "Is he not awake yet? He must be told quickly "[that I am come]. It is already daylight.[5] He must come "to the hunting-ground,"—and forthwith urging his horse, he

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[1] This name has the curious signification of "Korean (or Chinese) bag."*

* There was also a *Yamato bukuro* (*no sukune*), or Japanese bag.—W.G.A.

[2] *Afumi no Sasaki no yama no kimi. Conf.* Sect. LXIX, Note 46.

[3] This and the following names are altogether obscure, neither is it evident whether two places are meant, or only one. The present passage reads as if two were intended, but a little further down the author seems to be speaking of but one,

[4] The *Hedysarum esculentum.*

[5] Literally, "the night has already finished dawning."

went forth. Then the people who served the august person of King Oho-hatsuse said: "As [King Oshiha] is a violent-"spoken[6] Prince, thou shouldst be on thy guard, and likewise "it were well to arm thine august person." Forthwith he put on armour underneath his clothes, took and girded on him his bow and arrows, rode off on horseback, and in a sudden interval setting his horse by the side [of the other King's], took out an arrow, shot King Oshiha down, forthwith moreover cut his body [to pieces], put [them] into a horse's manger, and buried them level with the earth.*

[SECT. CXLIX.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART VI.—FLIGHT OF PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE).]

Hereupon King Ichi-no-be's children[1] King Ohoke and King Woke (two Deities), having heard of this affray, fled away. So when they reached Karibawi[2] in Yamashiro and were eating their august provisions, an old man with a tattooed face came and seized the provisions. Then the two Kings said: "We "do not grudge the provisions. But who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am a boar-herd in Yamashiro." So they fled across the River Kusuba,[3] reached the land of Harima,[4] entered the house of a native of that country named Shizhimu,[5] hid their persons, and worked as grooms and cow-herds.

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[6] Motowori endeavours, not very successfully, to explain the use of this epithet by Prince Oho-Hatsuse's attendants. As the sequel shows, the violence was all on the other side.

* *I.e.*, without raising a tumulus over them.—W.G.A.

[1] Literally "prince" (王子). Their names apparently signify "big basket" and "little basket."

[2] Known in later times as Kaniha and Kabawi. The name signifies (if the characters with which it is written may be relied on) "the well where the leaves were cut."

[3] See Sect. LXVI, Note 19.

[4] See Sect. LX, Note 19.

[5] Or Shizhimi. Properly the name of a village, it is here used as the name of a man. The etymology is obscure.

[SECT. CL.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take dwelt in the palace of Asakura at Hatsuse,[1] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Queen Wake-kusaka-be, younger sister of King Oho-kusaka (no children). Again be wedded Princess Kara, daughter of the Grandee Tsubura, and begot august children: His Augustness Shiraka; next his younger sister Her Augustness Princess Waka-tarashi (two Deities).

[SECT. CLI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

So the Shiraka Clan[1] was established as the august proxy of Prince Shiraka. Again the Hatsuse-Clan-Retainers[2] were established. At this time there came over people from Kure. Again the Kahase Retainers[3] were established. These people from Kure[4] were lodged[5] at Kure-hara. So the place was

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[1] For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8. Several Asakuras are named in the pages of these "Records." That here named is in Yamato. The name seems to mean "morning store-house."

[1] *Shiraka-be.*

[2] *Hatsuse-be no toneri.* This Clan was called after the reigning Emperor. Remember that the word "Retainers" is here a "gentile name."

[3] *Kahase no toneri. Kaha-se* signifies "river-reach," and the "Chronicles," under date of the eleventh year of this reign, tell a story of the appearance of a white cormorant, to commemorate which this family was established. Cormorants, it will be remembered, were used for catching fish in rivers: hence the appropriateness of the name bestowed on the family in question.

[4] The name given by the Early Japanese to Wu (吳), an ancient state in Eastern China to the South of the Yang-tzŭ River. In Japanese it however, like other names of portions of China, often denotes the whole of that country in a somewhat vague manner. The derivation of the word *Kure* is obscure. The most acceptable proposition is that which would see in it corruption of the original

called by the name of Kure-hara.[6]

[SECT. CLII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART III.—THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OE SHIKI).]

In the beginning, when the Empress[1] dwelt at Kusaka,[2] [the Heavenly Sovereign] made a progress into Kafuchi by way of the Tadagoye[3] road at Kusaka. Then, on climbing to the top of the mountain and gazing on the interior of the country, [he perceived that] there was a house built with a raised roof-frame.[4] The Heavenly Sovereign sent to ask [con-

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Chinese term *Wu*, of which *Go* is the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation. But what of the second syllable *re?*

[5] The phrase 安置 is in this place used for "lodged."*

* "Settled?"—W.G.A.

[6] *I.e.*, Kure Moor. It is in Yamato. According to the "Chronicles," the former name of the place had been *Himokuma-mu.*

[1] *I.e.*, *Waka-kusaka-be.*

[2] See Sect XLIV, Note 31. The Kusaka here mentioned is that in Kafuchi.

[3] From *tada*, "straight" and *koyuru* "to cross," this being a short cut over the mountains.

[4] The original of this clause is 有上堅魚作舍屋之家 which is read *katsuwo wo agete ya wo tsukureru ihe ari.* The *katsuwo* (properly *katsuwo-gi* 堅魚木) is the name of the uppermost portion of the roof in modern Shintō temples, and apparently in ancient times also in houses that were not devoted to religious purposes. The difficulty is not with the sense, but with the derivation of the word *katsuwo-gi.* Following the characters with which it is here and elsewhere written, Motowori sees in it a reference to the shape of the blocks of wood resembling "dried bonitoes," which is the modern signification of *katsuwo.* But Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," proposes a derivation which approves itself more to the present writer's mind, viz., *kadzuku wo-gi* (戴小木), "small timbers atop" (see his "Examination of Difficult Words," *s.v.*). Motowori's commentary, Vol. XLI, pp. 11–14, should be consulted for a discussion of the whole question of the use of these frames in ancient times, and for the special force to be attributed to the word "raised" (上) in this passage.

cerning] that house, saying: "Whose roof with a raised frame is that?" The answer was: "It is the house of the great "Departmental Lord of Shiki."[5] Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "What! a slave builds his own house in imitation of "the august abode of the Heavenly Sovereign!"—and forthwith he sent men to burn the house [down], when the Great Departmental Lord, with trembling and dread, bowed his head,[6] saying: "Being a slave, I like a slave did not under-"stand, and have built overmuch. I am in great dread."[7] So the thing that he presented as an august offering [in token] of his entreaty was a white dog clothed in cloth,[8] and with a bell hung [round its neck]; and he made a kinsman of his own, named Koshihaki,[9] lead it by a string and present it [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. So the Heavenly Sovereign ordered them to desist from burning [the house].

[SECT. CLIII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IV.—HE WOOS PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE).]

Forthwith making a progress to the residence of Queen Waka-kusaka-be, the Heavenly Sovereign sent the dog as a present with a message, saying: "This thing is a strange "thing which I got to-day on the road. So it is a thing to "woo with,"—and so saying, sent it in as a present. Thereupon Queen Waka-kusaka-be sent to say to the Heavenly Sovereign: "It is very alarming that thou shouldst make a "progress with thy back to the sun.[1] So I will come up

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[5] *Shiki no oho-agata-mushi.* For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1.

[6] *I.e.*, did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground.

[7] Or, according to the older reading. "This (*i.e.*, thy command) [is to be received with] awe."

[8] Or, "tied with [a string of] cloth." The translation follows Motowori's interpretation.

[9] The name signifies "loin-girded," *i.e.*, as may be presumed, "wearing a sword."

[1] For he had come from Yamato in the East to Kafuchi in the West.

"straight [to the capital], and respectfully serve thee."[2] When therefore he returned up and dwelt in the palace, he went and stood on the ascent[3] of that mountain, and sang, saying:

"In the hollow between the nearer and the
"further mountain, this Mount Kusaka-
"be and Mount Heguri, [is] growing the
"flourishing broad-leafed bear-oak; at the
"base grow intertwining bamboos; on the
"top grow luxuriant bamboos:—we sleep
"not [now] intertwined like the intertwining
"bamboos, we sleep not certainly like the
"luxuriant bamboos: [but] oh! my beloved
"spouse, with whom [I] shall afterwards
"sleep interwined!"[4]

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[2] The meaning is: "Thy Majesty must not come to woo me "here, as the direction is unlucky. But I will myself come up "straightway to the palace to be thine Empress."

[3] The ascent or way up here mentioned is, says Motowori, the Tadagoye Road, and the mountain is Mount Kusaka. See Sect. CLII, Note 2 and 3.

[4] In this Song the Emperor consoles himself for the delay in his union with Princess Waka-kusaka-be by reflecting that after all she will soon be his.—The first half of the poem down to the colon and dash is a Preface to the rest. Most of the difficult words occurring in it have been explained in previous notes: for the "broad-leafed bear-oak" see Sect, LXXII, Note 19; for *tatami-komo*, the Pillow-Word by which Heguri is preceded in the Japanese text, see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 12. *Kusaka-be* is curious, for whereas it properly signifies Kusaka-Tribe,—this tribe or family being called after the place where they resided,—the place itself came to be renamed after them when the fact of the posterior origin of the family designation had been forgotten. The reason for the mention in the Preface of the oak-tree, which is not referred to in the main text of the poem, is difficult to ascertain. Moribe thinks, however, that it is on account of the luxuriance of its foliage which, as if it were a Preface within the Preface, paves the way for the mention of the thick-growing bamboos. The punning connection between *tashimi-dake*, "luxuriant bamboos," and *tashi ni ha wi-nezu*, "we sleep not certainly," is neces-

And he forthwith sent back a messenger with this Song.[5]

[SECT. CLIV.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART V.—STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO).]

Again once when the Heavenly Sovereign, going out for amusement, reached the River Miwa,[1] there was a girl, whose aspect was very beautiful, washing clothes by the river-side. The Heavenly Sovereign asked the girl, [saying]: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "My name is Akawi-ko of the Hiketa Tribe."[2] Then he caused her to be told, saying: "Do not thou marry a husband. I will send for thee,"—and [with these words] he returned to the palace. So eighty years had already passed while she reverently awaited the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. Thereupon Akawi-ko thought: "As, "while looking for the [Imperial] commands, I have already "passed many years, and as my face and form are lean and "withered, there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, if I do "not show [the Heavenly Sovereign] how truly I have waited, "my disappointment will be unbearable;"—and [so saying] she caused merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred,[3] and came forth and presented [these gifts as] tribute. Thereat the Heavenly Sovereign, who had quite forgotten what

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sarily obliterated in the English translation. "Certainly" must be taken in the sense of "undisturbedly."

[5] *I.e.*, as may be conjectured, a messenger dispatched to him by his mistress. It seems best to suppose the author to represent the Emperor as not having actually gone to her house at all, but as having only communicated with her by messenger.

[1] *Miwa-gawa.* It is the stream which flows past Hatsuse. For Miwa see Sect. LXV, Note 8.

[2] *Hiketa-be no Akawi-ko. Hiketa* is in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure. *Akawi-ko* signifies "red boar child;" but the appropriateness of the name to the woman in the story is not made to appear.

[3] See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

he had formerly commanded, asked Akawi-ko, saying: "What "old woman art thou, and why art thou come hither?" Then Akawi-ko replied, saying: "Having in such and such a month "of such and such a year received the Heavenly Sovereign's "commands, I have been reverently awaiting the great com-"mand until this day, and eighty years have past by. Now "my appearance is quite decrepit, and there is no longer any "hope. Nevertheless I have come forth in order to show and "declare my faithfulness." Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign was greatly startled [,and exclaimed]: "I had quite forgotten "the former circumstance; and thou meanwhile, ever faithfully "awaiting my commands, hast vainly let pass by the years of "thy prime. This is very pitiful." In his heart he wished to marry her, but shrank from her extreme age, and could not make the marriage; but he conferred on her an august Song. That Song said:

"How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-
"tree of the august dwelling! Maiden of
"the oak-plain!"[4]

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[4] Moribe says that, in this Song, the forgetful Monarch calls to mind the majestic and awful appearance of the sacred tree in the temple-grounds, and is moved by this religious thought to repent of his neglectful treatment of her who had so patiently waited for him through so many years. Motowori, on the contrary, sees in the words nothing more than a comparison of the old woman to some sacred tree of immemorial age, and the aversion felt by the monarch to an union with her. — The oak mentioned (the *Kashi*, *Quercus myrsinæfolia*) is an evergreen species. Both Motowori and Moribe consider that *mimoro* in the original Japanese of this Song should be taken, not as a proper name (see Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5), but simply as signifying "a sacred dwelling." As Miwa is mentioned in the earlier part of the story, it might seem more natural to regard *mimoro* as likewise being a Proper Name. But the word *mimoro* itself signifying "sacred spot," the difference between the two views does not amount to much, and it is best to follow native authority. "Oak-plain" (*kashi-hara*) means "a place planted with oak trees." The first sentence of the Song must be looked on as a sort of Preface to the second.

Again he sang, saying:

"The younger chestnut orchard plain of
"Hiketa:—o si dormivissem cum illâ in
"juventâ! Oh! how old she has become!"[5]

Then the tears that Akawi-ko wept quite drenched the red-dyed sleeve that she had on.[6] In reply to the great august Song, she sang, saying:

"Left over from the piling up of the jewel-
"wall piled up round the august dwelling,
"—to whom shall the person of the Deity's
"temple go?"[7]

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[5] The first words of this Song down to the colon and dash are a Preface to the Song proper, whose meaning stands in need of no explanation.—Moribe surmises that the word *kuri*, "chestnut," was formerly a general name for all sorts of fruits, somewhat like our English word "berry."

[6] The drenching of the sleeve with tears is a common figure in Japanese poetry.

[7] Or we might (following Moribe) render thus: "Left over from "the guarding of the jewel-grove guarded at the august dwelling," etc. The wording of this Song is far from clear. While Motowori sees in it a reference to the construction of a wall round the grounds of a temple, the overplus of the materials for which sacred wall could not, it may be presumed, be applied to any profane purpose, Moribe disputes the propriety of such an interpretation of the word *kaki* which, according to him, denotes the grove planted in temple-grounds, temples never having been surrounded by walls such as Motowori assumes the existence of, nor even by "hedges" or "fences," which is the more usual acceptation of the term. He thinks, therefore, that the superficial signification of the actual words of the Song is that the priest, who has all his life been in the service of one particular shrine, cannot desert it for the adoration of some other deity. The underlying deeper significance of the little poem is in either case the same: Akawi-ko had, during her long waiting of eighty years, remained true to her first love the Emperor. For every reason it had been impossible for her ever to give her affections to another, and she had now come up to the capital to demonstrate to him who had forgotten her the unchangeable nature of her feelings.

Again she sang, saying:

"Oh! how enviable is she who is in her
"bloom like the flowering lotus,—the lotus
"of the inlet, of the inlet of Kusaka."[8]

Then the old woman was sent back plentifully endowed. So these four Songs are Quiet Songs.[9]

[SECT. CLV.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VI.—HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU).]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the palace of Yeshinu,[1] there was on the bank of the Yeshinu river a girl of beautiful appearance. So having wedded this girl, he returned to the Palace. Afterwards, when he again made a progress to Yeshinu, he halted where he had met the girl, and in that place raised a great august throne,[2] seated himself on that august throne, played on his august lute, and made the maiden dance. Then he composed an august Song on account of the maiden's good dancing. That Song said:

"Oh! that the maiden dancing to the lute-
"playing of the august hand of the Deity
"seated on the throne might continue for
"ever!"[3]

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[8] This pretty little poem is too clear to need any comment. Moribe supposes that some lotuses brought from Kusaka may have been among the presents made by Akawi-ko to the Emperor. In the original Japanese the reference to the lotuses comes first, as a sort of preface to the rest of the poem. The laws of English construction necessitate its being put last in the translation.

[9] See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[1] See Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

[2] See Sect. CXII, Note 2.

[3] This Song presents no difficulties. In it the Emperor speaks of himself as a Deity, and is enthusiastically praised by the commentator Moribe for so doing.

[SECT. CLVI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII.—THE HORSE-FLY AND THE DRAGON-FLY).]

When forthwith he made a progress to the Moor of Akidzu,[1] and augustly hunted, the Heavenly Sovereign sat on an august throne. Then a horse-fly bit his august arm, and forthwith a dragon-fly came and ate up[2] the horse-fly,* and flew [away]. Thereupon he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Who is it tells in the great presence that
"game is lying on the peak of Womuro at
"Mi-yeshinu? Our Great Lord, who tran-
"quilly carries on the government, being
"seated on the throne to await the game, a
"horse-fly alights on and stings the fleshy
"part of his arm fully clad in a sleeve of
"white stuff, and a dragon-fly quickly eats
"up that horse-fly. That it might properly
"bear its name,† the land of Yamato was
"called the Island of the Dragon-Fly."[3]

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[1] *Akidzu-nu*. See Note 4 to this Section.

[2] Or "bit."

* Is the *abu* not the gad-fly? I thought the horse-fly was a somewhat smaller insect, but I may be mistaken.—**W.G.A.**

† *Na ni oü* means "to be famous." The meaning is "in order to render the dragon-fly famous its name was given to the country of Japan."—**W.G.A.**

[3] The signification of the greater portion of this Song is clear enough, and is sufficiently explained by the context. The word "who" however admits of two interpretations, Motowori taking it to signify "some one," whereas Moribe, keeping the literal meaning of "who?", sees in it an angry exclamation of the monarch's at having been brought out to the hunt under exaggerated promises of game. *Wo-muro* means "little cave," but is here a proper name. *Mi-yeshinu* is a form of the word Yoshino which is frequently met with in poetry, the syllable *mi* being probably, as Mabuchi tells us in his

So from that time that moor was called by the name of Akidzu-nu.[4]

[SECT. CLVII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VIII,—ADVENTURE WITH A WILD BOAR).]

Again once the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up to the summit of Mount Kadzuraki.[1] Then a large [wild] boar ran out. When the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith shot the boar with a whizzing barb,[2]* the boar, furious, came towards him roaring.[3]† So the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the roaring, climbed up to the top of an alder. Then he sang, saying:

"Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," equivalent to *ma*, and therefore simply an "Ornamental Prefix." The phrase "tranquilly carries on the government" represents the Japanese *yasumi-shishi*, the Pillow-word for *wa ga oho-kimi*, "our Great Lord," which latter phrase descriptive of the Sovereign is here put into the Sovereign's own mouth. "Of white stuff," *shiro-tahe no*, is another Pillow-Word. The only real difficulty in this Song meets us in the interpretation of its concluding sentence. The meaning apparently intended to be conveyed is that it was in order to prove itself worthy of its name that the dragon-fly performed the loyal deed which forms the subject of the tale. But if so, the author forgets that it was not the dragon-fly that was called after Japan, but Japan that was called after the dragon-fly (*Akidzu-shima*, "Dragon-fly-Island," from *akidzu*, "dragon-fly"). What should be the point of the whole poem therefore fails of application. The name "Island of the Dragon-Fly" has already appeared in Sect V (Note 26).

[4] *I.e.*, Dragon-Fly Moor. See Motowori's remarks in his "Examination of the Synonyms for Japan," p. 26.

[1] See Sect. LV, Note 1.

[2] See Sect. XXIII, Note 7.

* Arrow?—W.G.A.

[3] This is the sense attributed by the commentators to the obscure word *utaki*, which seems to be only found written phonetically.

† Grunting? Snorting?—W.G.A.

"The branch of the alder-tree on the op-
"portune mound which I climbed in my
"flight on account of the terribleness of the
"roaring of the boar, of the wounded boar,
"which our great lord who tranquilly
"carries on the government had been
"pleased to shoot!"[4] †

[SECT. CLVIII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IX.—REVELATION OF THE GREAT DEITY OF KADZURAKI, LORD OF ONE WORD).]

Again once, when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress

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[4] Our author cannot be right in attributing this Song to the Emperor, and we need not hesitate to accept the different version of the story given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," where the Monarch, as might be expected from all the other details that have been preserved concerning him, bravely faces the boar, while it is one of his attendants who runs away and climbs a tree to be out of danger, and afterwards composes these lines. This Song is a good instance of what Mr. Aston (in his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd Edit., p. 194) has said concerning some of the short poems of a later date: "These sentences are not statements "of fact; they merely picture to the mind a state of things without "making any assertion respecting it." Here we, as it were, simply see the frightened courtier sitting breathless aud terrified amid the branches of the alder, and the whole verse has but the meaning of an exclamation. The term *ari-wo*, rendered "opportune mound," is the only word in the text which raises any difficulties of interpretation.. Moribe's exegesis has here been followed. According to the older view it signifies "barren mound." For the words "our "great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" see Sect. CLVI, Note 3.

† Motowori sticks to the Kojiki version and understands the poem accordingly. The addition of one word *toneri* after Heavenly Sovereign would make it all right. The Kojiki puts Yuriyaku's proceedings always in the most favourable light and it is impossible to accept the ordinary text as correct.— W.G.A.

up Mount Kadzuraki, the various officials[1] were all clothed in green-stained garments with red cords that had been granted to them. At that time there were people ascending the mountain on the opposite mountain acclivity quite similar to the order of the Heavenly Monarch's retinue. Again the style of the habiliments and likewise the people were similar and not distinguishable.[2] Then the Heavenly Sovereign gazed, and sent to ask, saying: "There being no other king in Yamato "excepting myself, what person goeth thus?" The style of the reply again was like unto the commands of a Heavenly Sovereign. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being very angry, fixed his arrow [in his bow], and the various officials all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. Then those people also all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. So the Heavenly Sovereign again sent to ask, saying: "Then tell thy name. Then "let each of us tell his name, and [then] let fly his arrow." Thereupon [the other] replied, saying: "As I was the first "to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the "Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the "good,—the Great Deity of Kadzuraki, Lord of One Word."[3] The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I "reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understood not that

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[1] Literally, "the hundred officials." This Chinese phrase has been met with before in the "Records," and recurs in this Section.

[2] The original has the character 傾, out of which it is hard to make sense. Motowori's proposal to consider it put by error for 頒 has therefore been adopted, though the translator feels by no means sure that it is a happy one. According to the strict Chinese sense of 頒, it would not fit with this passage any better than 傾; but in Japanese we may be justified in understanding 不頒 to mean "not distinguishable."

[3] In the original: 吾者雖惡事而一言雖善事而一言言離之神葛城之一言主之大神者也. The import of the obscure expression "dispelling with a word the good" is not rendered much more intelligible by Motowori's attempt to explain it. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

"thy great person would be revealed;"[4]—and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise his bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity].[5] Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands,[6] accepted the offering. So when the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress back, the Great Deity came down the mountain,[7] and respectfully escorted him to the entrance[8] of the Hatsuse mountain. So it was at that time that the Great Deity Lord of One Word was revealed.

[SECT. CLIX.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART X.—THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to Kasuga to wed Princess Wodo,[1] daughter of the Grandee Satsuki of Wani,[2] a maiden met him by the way, and forthwith seeing the Imperial progress, ran and hid on the side of a mound. So he composed an august Song. That august Song said:

"Oh! the mound where the maiden is
"hiding! Oh for five hundred metal spades!
"then might [we] dig her out!"[3]

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[4] Literally, "that there would be a present (or manifest) great person."

[5] *I.e.*, he kept nothing for himself, but from his own sword and bow and arrows down to the ceremonial garments in which his followers were clad, gave every thing to the god.

[6] In token of joy, says Motowori.

[7] The characters 滿山末, rendered by "came down the mountain," are evidently the result of a copyist's carelessness. The translation follows Motowori's proposal to emend the text to 降山來.

[8] Literally "mouth."

[1] *Wodo-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

[2] *Wani no Satsuki no omi.* For *Wani* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. *Satsuki* is the old Japanese name of the fifth moon.

[3] Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "The Monarch had met

So that mount was called by the name of the Mound of the Metal Spade.[4]

[SECT. CLX.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XI.—THE LEAF IN THE CUP).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a copious feast under a hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree[1] at Hatsuse, a female attendant from Mihe[2] in the land of Ise lifted up the great august cup, and presented it to him. Then from the hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree there fell a leaf and floated in the great august cup. The female attendant, not knowing that the fallen leaf was floating in the cup, did not desist from presenting[3] the great august liquor to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, perceiving the leaf floating in the cup, knocked the female attendant down,* put his sword to her neck, and was about to cut off her head, when the female attendant spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Slay me not! There is some-"thing that I must say to thee;" and forthwith she sang, saying:

"The palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a
"palace where shines the morning sun, a

"a girl carrying a spade in her hand, and, as she was beautiful, "wished to address her; but she ran off and hid on the hill-side, "leaving her spade behind her. His words express a desire for five "hundred spades like hers, with which to break down the hill-side "and dig her out.....It is in joke that he talks of the maiden who "was on the *other side* of the hill as being *inside* it." That in ancient times all digging implements were not made of metal will be seen by reference to Sect. CXXIV, Note 6.

[4] *Kanasuki no waka.*

[1] Said to be scarcely distinguishable from the *keyaki* (*Zelkowa keaki*).

[2] See Sect. LXXXIX, Note 7.

[3] Literally, "still presented."

* On her face.—W.G.A.

"palace where glistens the evening sun, a
"palace plentifully rooted as the roots of the
"bamboo, a palace with spreading roots like
"the roots of the trees, a palace pestled with
"oh! eight hundred [loads of] earth. As for
"the branches of the hundred-fold flourishing
"*tsuki*-tree growing by the house of new
"licking at the august gate [made of]
"*chamæcyparis* [wood], the uppermost
"branch has the sky above it, the middle
"branch has the east above it, the lowest
"branch has the country above it. A leaf
"from the tip of the uppermost branch falls
"against the middle branch; a leaf from the
"tip of the middle branch falls against the
"lowest branch; a leaf from the tip of the
"lowest branch, falling into the oil floating
"in the fresh jewelled goblet which the maid
"of Mihe is lifting up, all [goes] curdle-
"curdle. Ah! this is very awful, August
"Child of the High-Shining Sun! The
"tradition of the thing, too this!"[4]

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[4] To understand the allusion at the beginning of this Song to the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, which had been the residence of the Emperor Kei-kō (see Sect. LXXVI, Note 1), it must be known that in the account of the reign of that monarch as given in the "Chronicles" there is a story which, like that in the text, turns on carelessness in dealing with a goblet,—carelessness which Kei-kō graciously pardoned. Moreover the scene of the incident here related was in the immediate neighbourhood of the old palace of Hishiro. There was therefore a double reason for referring to that place; and the under-current of insinuation is that, as Kei-kō in the olden time forgave the courtiers who forgot his goblet, wilt not the present Sovereign forgive the maid of Mihe for letting a leaf fall into his? The poetess, after describing the splendour and solidity of the Imperial abode, passes on to a mention of the luxuriant and many-branching *tsuki*-tree growing near "the house of new licking," *i.e.*,

So on her presenting this Song, her crime was pardoned. Then the Empress sang. Her Song said:

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the sacred hall where the Sovereign performed each year the ceremony of tasting the first-fruits of the harvest. The "gate" may either be taken in its literal acceptation, or else regarded as used by metonymy for the palace itself. The description of that which the middle and lowest branches "have above them" is somewhat obscure, and perhaps the words should not be too strictly pressed for perfectly rational meaning, their chief use being as metrical parallelisms. The supposition of the commentators is however that the poetess, in speaking of this immense tree, meant to say that the middle branch (or branches) spread eastward, and the lowest branches westward. Next we are told of the fall of the fatal leaf into the oil, *i.e.*, into the liquor, contained in the Imperial goblet; and the poetess, before acknowledging the awfulness of her misdemeanour, skilfully brings in an allusion to the Japanese account of the creation, when the drops that fell from the spear used by the creator and creatrix Izanagi and Izanami to make the brine "go curdle-curdle" did very good work indeed; for they were piled up and became the first-formed island of the Japanese archipelago (see Sect. III): for drops to fall down, or for leaves to fall into drops (of wine), must therefore surely be a good omen rather than a crime. Conformably with the hesitating nature of her allusion, the maiden leaves it quite uncertain what is conceived of as "going curdle-curdle" in the present instance. In fact, neither must the thought be pressed too far, nor the sentence searched too rigorously from a grammatical point of view. Such intentional vagueness is one of the specific characteristics of a great deal of the poetry of Japan. The words "the tradition of the thing, too, this!", which conclude the poem, are obscure in another and more usual sense; but, having been already treated of in Note 4 to Sect. XXIV, they need not detain us here. They do not affect the sense of the rest of the poem. Two points more remain to be noticed: one is that the words *Mihe* and *hi no mi kado* "august gate of *chamæcyparis*") are respectively preceded by the Pillow-Words *ariginu no*, whose signification is disputed, and *makisaku*, which signifies "splitting true trees;" the other, that the original of the word "glistens" near the commencement of the poem only has that sense if, following Moribe, we identify *hi-gakeru* with *hi-kagayakeru*. As it stands, the word *kakeru* lends itself more naturally to the interpre-

"Present the luxuriant august liquor to the
"august child of the high-shining sun, who
"is broad like the leaves, who is brilliant
"like the blossoms of the broad-foliaged five
"hundred [-fold branching] true camellia-
"tree that stands growing by the house
"of new licking in this high metropolis of
"Yamato, on the high-timbered mound of
"the metropolis. The tradition of the thing,
"too, this!"[5]

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tation of "sets." But the logical difficulty of accepting the phrase "where the sun sets" in such a context, where on the contrary some phrase of good omen is alone appropriate, seems greater than the philological difficulty of deriving *hi-gakeru* by a process of contraction from *hi-kagayakeru*. The designation of the Emperor or Heir Apparent by the title of "august child of the high-shining sun" has been met with before, and needs no explanation when the solar ancestry claimed by the Japanese monarchs is called to mind.

[5] The gist of this Song, which must be supposed to be addressed to the female attendant, is simply: "Present the goblet full of liquor "to the Emperor."—In accordance with the rules of Japanese construction, the Imperative "present," which is the chief Verb of the sentence, comes last, and is preceded by the comparison of the Monarch to the leaves and flowers of the camellia-tree, while the comparatively unimportant words describing the position of the tree come at the beginning. Thus in a literal English translation the climax is necessarily spoilt through the reversal of the order of the words. The "broad-leafed camellia" has already appeared in Sect. CXXIII, Note 11, the "house of new licking" has been explained in the note immediately preceding the present one, and the incomprehensible concluding exclamation has been discussed in Sect. XXIV, Note 4. The "high metropolis" of Yamato is of course the then capital. There is however some doubt whether the word *takechi*, which is here thus rendered, should not rather be considered as a proper name. The expression *ko-dakaru*, rendered "high-timbered," is also doubtful. Motowori interprets it simply as "slightly high." Moribe seems right in explaining the word *tsukasa* to mean "a mound."

Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"The people of the great palace, having put
"on scarfs like the quail-birds, having put
"their tails together like wagtails, and con-
"gregated together like the yard-sparrows,
"may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in
"liquor,—the people of the palace of the
"high-shining sun. The tradition of the
"thing, too, this."[6]

These three Songs are Songs of Heavenly Words.[7] So at

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[6] This Song is here out of place, and is supposed by Motowori to have been composed, not by the Emperor, but by some court lady who was absent from the feast. The meaning simply is: "Ah yes, "'tis to-day that the court ladies are drinking their fill of rice-liquor "[,—and would that I were with them]!"—The picture here presented of the manners of the court is not attractive; but the comparison of the ladies' appearance with that of various birds is quaint. The commentators tell us that the appropriateness of the use of the word "scarfs" as applied to the quail lies in the peculiar plumage of that bird, which makes it look as if it had a scarf on. "Having put their tails together" means "standing with their trains in a row." The epithet "yard" applied to the sparrows paints the habits of that bird. The words "great palace" are in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *momoshiki no*, whose signification is disputed. After the lines

Kefu mo ka mo
Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi,

rendered "may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in liquor," Moribe would like to consider the lines

Asu mo ka mo
Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi,

i.e., "may perhaps to-morrow be truly steeped in liquor" to have been accidentally omitted. There is no doubt but that their insertion would add to the effect of the poem from the point of view of style.

[7] 天語歌, read *ama-koto-uta*. This expression is altogether obscure, and the commentators differ In their interpretations of it. Mabuchi, following the characters, sees in them an allusion to the words "august child of the high-shining sun," which recurs in each of the three Songs thus bracketed together. Motowori thinks that *ama-koto*

this copious feast* this female attendant from Mihe was praised and plentifully endowed.

[SECT. CLXI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XII.—SONGS BY THE EMPEROR AND PRINCESS WODO).

On the day of this copious feast the Heavenly Sovereign, when Princess Wodo of Kasuga[1] presented to him the great august liquor, sang again, saying:

"Oh! the grandee's daughter holding the
"excellent flagon! [If] thou hold the ex-
"cellent flagon, hold it firmly! Hold it
"quite firmly, more and more firmly, child
"holding the excellent flagon"[2]

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should be regarded as standing for *amari-goto* (餘語) "surplus words," in allusion to the meaningless *refrain* with which the Songs in question terminate. Other Songs, however, which end in the same manner, are not thus designated. Moribe's exegesis, though founded on Motowori's, is preferable to it. Accepting *ama-koto* as a contraction of *amari-goto*, he would take the second half of the compound in the sense of "things," not "words" (事 not 語), and regard the whole as signifying that the Songs were composed or sung after the conclusion of the actual feast. Against this view must be set the fact that the Chinese characters lend it no support. The translator, has, as usual when in doubt, preferred to adhere to the sense given by the characters.

* Banquet.—W.G.A.

[1] *Kasuga no Wodo-hime.* See Sect. CLIX, Note 1.

[2] This Song is simply a reiterated and playful injunction to the maiden to hold firmly the flagon containing the intoxicating liquor; and Motowori is, as Moribe remarks, putting more into the words than they are really meant to convey, when he says that they imply *praise* on the Monarch's part.—The English words "grandee's daughter" represent the Japanese *omi no omina,* a somewhat remarkable expression, which is interpreted by Motowori to signify "attendant maiden." The translator prefers the view propounded in Moribe's comment on this Song, and has therefore adopted it. The expression

This is a Cup Song.[3] Then Princess Wodo presented a Song. That Song said:

"Would that I were [thou,] the lower
"board of the arm-rest whereon our great
"lord who tranquilly carries on the govern-
"ment stands leaning at morn, stands lean-
"ing at eve! Oh! mine elder brother!"[4]

This is a Quiet Song.

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in question is in the original preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *minasosoku* (Moribe reads the last syllable with the *nigori*,—*gu*). The word rendered "excellent flagon" is *ho-dari*, the first element of the compound being explained by the commentators in the sense of "excellent," *i.e.*, "big," while the second is the same as the modern word *taru*, "a cask." In ancient times, however, the signification of *tari* or *taru* was that of a vessel to pour liquor from, not to store liquor in,—*i.e.*, a flagon, not a cask. The words "quite firmly, more "and more firmly" represent the Japanese *shita-gataku ya-gataku* according to Moribe's exegesis. Motowori's interpretation of them in the sense of "[take the] bottom firmly and the top firmly" is less acceptable.

[3] Thus does the editor of 1687, who is followed by Moribe, understand the original expression *uki-uta*. Motowori's interpretation, "Floating Song," seems less good.

[4] So enamoured is the maiden of the Sovereign that she would fain be even the board of the arm-rest on which he leans.—The expression "lower board" is misleading, for it refers simply to the self-evident fact that the board forming the top of the little low table used as an arm-rest by one squatting on his mat is below the arm, as whose support it serves. The words "stands leaning" must probably be understood to signify "sits" or "squats leaning." The expression "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" is a frequently recurring periphrasis for the word "Emperor," and has been explained in Sect. LXXXVII, Note 4. The words "at morn" and "at eve" are literally in the original "at morning doors" and "at evening doors," the reference being to the fact that the doors of a house are respectively opened and closed in the early morning and at nightfall. The exclamation "Oh! mine elder brother" is addressed to the board of the arm-rest. *Conf.* the first Song in

[SECT. CLXII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XIII.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-four. His august mausoleum is at Takawashi in Tajihi[1] in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXIII.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART I.—SEARCH FOR A SUCCESSOR TO HIM).]

His Augustness Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko dwelt at the palace of Mikakuri at Ihare,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign had no Empress, and likewise no august children. So the Shiraka Clan[2] was established as his august proxy. So after the Heavenly Sovereign's decease, there was no King to rule the Empire. Thereupon, on enquiry [being made] for a King who should rule the sun's succession, Oshinumi-no-iratsume,[3] another name for whom was Princess Ihitoyo, younger sister of Prince Ichinobe-oshiha-wake,[4] [was found to be] residing at the palace of Tsunusashi at Takaki in Oshinumi in Kadzuraki.[5]

Sect. LXXXIX, where Yamato-take apostrophizes a pine-tree in the same terms.

[1] For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4, *Taka-washi* signifies "high eagle."

[1] For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. *Mika-kuri* signifies "jar-chestnut."

[2] *Shiraka-be.*

[3] In Sect. CXXXI (Note 7) this name appears as *Awomi-no-iratsume.* Both *Awomi* and *Oshinumi* are supposed to be names of places. The latter is the name of a district in Yamato. Its etymology is obscure. For *Ihi-toyo* see Sect. CXXXI, Note 8.

[4] See Sect. CXXXI (Note 5), where however the title of *wake* ("Lord") is omitted.

[5] For *Kadzuraki* see Sect. LV, Note 1, and for *Oshinumi* see

[SECT. CLXIV.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART II.—PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE ARE DISCOVERED).]

Then Wodate, Chief of the Mountain Clan,[1] when appointed governor of the land of Harima, arrived just at [the time of] a rejoicing* for the new cave† of an inhabitant called Shizhimu.[2] Hereupon, when the feasting and the drinking were at their height, they all danced in turn. So two young children[3] [employed] to light the fire‡ sat beside the furnace.[4] These young children were made to dance. Then one of the young children said: "Do thou the elder brother dance first." The elder brother likewise said: "Do thou the younger "brother dance first." When they thus yielded to each other, the people who were met together laughed at their manner of yielding to each other.[5] So at last the elder brother danced, [and when he had] finished, the younger when about to dance chanted, saying:

Note 3 to the present Sect. *Takaki* seems to signify "high castle," while *Tsunusashi* is obscure. (See Motowori's remarks on these two names in Vol. XLIII, p. 3, of his Commentary.)

[1] *Yama-be no murazhi wodate.* *Yama-be* has already appeared. *Wo-date* signifies "small shield."

* House-warming.—G.W.A.

† Motowori interprets this to mean "arrived at the new *muro*."—W.G.A.

[2] For this name see Sect. CXLIX, Note 5. A similar festival at the inauguration of a new cave is mentioned in Sect. LXXX.

[3] Motowori's vain attempts to reconcile the dates with this statement of Princes Ohoke and Woke being "young children" at this time, after an interval of two reigns since the death of their father, will be found in Vol. XLIII, pp. 10–11, of his Commentary.

‡ Is not *hitaki* rather "attend to the fire" than "light the fire"?—W.G.A.

[4] *I.e.*, as the commentators suppose, a place or vessel holding a light with which to kindle other lights for the feast. The word can scarcely here have its common signification of a "kitchen-range."

[5] *I.e.*, at the fact of their being so courteous to each other.

"Oh! the bamboos on the mountain-slope,
"behind which are hidden as soon as they
"appear my warrior-mate's sword, on whose
"hilt red earth was daubed, for whose cord
"red cloth was cut, and his red flags that
"were set up!:—Beggarly descendants of
"King Ichinobe-no-oshiha, august child of
"the Heavenly Sovereign Izaho-wake, who
"ruled the Empire as it were cutting the
"[bamboos'] roots and bending down their
"extremities, and like playing on an eight-
"stringed lute!"*[6]

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*The Nihongi and the Kiujiki give different speeches.—**W.G.A.**

[6] This so-called "chant,"—it is not a Song, because not in metre, and is accordingly not transcribed syllabically,—is at first sight so difficult as to seem to defy translation, and to make the student apply to the whole of his interpretation Motowori's closing remark on his exegesis of one of the phrases contained in it,—"this is mere guess-work, and the text demands further consideration." A little inspection shows, however, that the drift of the words is by no means so inscrutable as its partly ideographic and partly phonetic transcription makes it appear. The first part down to the colon and dash is a "Preface" to the second, the "Pivot" joining the two parts in the original Japanese being the word "bamboos." The laws of English construction unfortunately do not admit of the force of the original, which entirely depends on the position of the words, being rendered into our language. The appropriateness of the Preface to the body of the chant rests on the consideration that the *bright* articles mentioned in it, viz., the sword painted and decorated with red streamers (or perhaps tied on with a red sash) and also the red banners are easily *hidden* behind the thick leaves of a bamboo-grove, just as the Imperial origin of the two young Princes was hidden beneath the vile office which they filled in Shizhimu's household. The clause "cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities" forms the chief difficulty. Indeed the word "roots" is supplied by Motowori, and his interpretation of the phrase is merely tentative. We may, however, until some better explanation is offered, see in it a reference to the energetic manner in which the Empire was ruled by the young

Then forthwith Chief Wodate, starting at the sound [of these words], and rolling off his couch,[7] drove away the people of the cave; and, having set the two[8] princes [one] on his left knee and [the other] on his right and wept and lamented, he collected the people together, and having built a temporary palace, and set [the two princes] to dwell in that temporary palace, he sent a courier up [to the capital]. Thereupon their aunt, Queen Ihi-toyo, delighted to hear [the news], made them come up to palace.

[SECT. CLXV.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART III.—THE GRANDEE SHIBI).[1]]

So when the government of the Empire was about to be

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princes' grandfather, the Emperor Izaho-wake (Ri-chiū), or else perhaps by their father Ichinobe-no-Oshiha. This latter view is preferred by Motowori, though according to the history Ichinobe-no-oshiha never actually ascended the throne. The position of the Verb "ruled" in the Japanese text permits of either interpretation. The comparison of the government of the Empire to playing on a lute is poetical and appropriate. It should be noticed that in the Japanese text the construction of the sentence forming the main body of the chant is the reverse of what it is made to appear to be in the translation. The words "beggarly descendants," by which, as a climax, the singer reveals his own and his brother's illustrious descent, therefore come last of all and produce on Wodate the startling effect which we read of in the next sentence.

[7] Or, "seat." In ancient times each person in a room sat on a special mat, and it is that small mat which is here meant.

[8] The Numeral is accompanied by the Auxiliary *hashira*, properly used for gods and goddesses.

[1] The student should compare the version of the story in this Sect. with that given in the "Chronicles of Japan," where it is placed some yeare later at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Mu-retsu, and not only do many of the details disagree, but the arrangement and number of the Songs is different. It is impossible to make a consistent whole out of the story as here given; so, while noticing the linguistic peculiarities of each of the Songs in the order in which they appear in the present text, the translator has thought

assumed,[2] the Grandee Shibi,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri,[4] mixed in the Songs, and took the hand of the beautiful person whom His Augustness Woke was about to wed. This maiden was a daughter of one of the Headmen of Uda,[5] and her name was Ofuwo.[6] Then His Augustness Wobe likewise mixed in the Song-Hedge.[7] Thereupon the Grandee Shibi sang, saying:

(IV) "The further fin of the roof of the great
"palace is bent down at the corner."[8]

When he had thus sung, and requested the conclusion of the Song, His Augustness Woke sang, saying:

(V) "It is on account of the great carpenter's
"awkwardness that it is bent down at the
"corner."[9]

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in advisable, following Moribe, to give in Note 12 a consistent scheme of interpretation for the whole. The small Roman numbers placed in brackets at the commencement of each Song indicate its place in the text as restored by Moribe.

[2] By one or other of the two Princes Ohoke and Woke. "Each," we are afterwards told "ceded the Empire to the other," and it therefore remained for some time uncertain which was to be the Sovereign.

[3] *Shibi no omi.* In some of the Songs that follow there is a play on the identity of this name with that of the tunny-fish (*shibi*). But whether that be really the derivation it is difficult to ascertain.

[4] *Heguri no omi.* *Conf.* Sect. LXI, Note 45.

[5] *Uda no obito-ra.* *Uda* is the name of a place in Yamato.

[6] *I.e.*, "big fish." But see the remark on this name in Note 12.

[7] *Uta-gaki.* The derivation of this curious expression is disputed; but the meaning seems to be "strophic" or "choric song," or "a place where singing in which more than one takes part is going on."

[8] In this Song the "further fin" (*woto tsu hata-de*, explained by the characters 彼鰭手 or 彼端手) is supposed to signify a pent-roof, or the eaves of the roof, or else an out-house connected by a slanting roof with the main building. The "great palace" is the palace of Prince Woke.

[9] The "great carpenter" is the carpenter employed to build the roof above-mentioned.

Then the Grandee Shibi sang again, saying:

(VIII) "The great lord, on account of the mag-
"nanimity of his heart, does not enter and
"stand in the eight-fold hedge of branches
"of the child of a grandee.[10]

Hereupon the Prince sang again, saying:

(I) "Looking on the breakers of the briny cur-
"rent, I see my spouse standing by the
"fin of the tunny that comes sporting."

Then the Grandee Shibi, getting more and more angry, sang, saying:

(IX) "[Though] the eight-fold hedge of branches
"of the Prince the Great Lord be made fast
"at eight places, be made fast all round, 'tis
"a hedge that shall be cut, 'tis a hedge
"that shall be burnt."[11]

Then the Prince again sang, saying:

(II) "Oh fisherman that spearest the tunny,
"the great fish! He being [there], thou
"must be sad at heart, tunny-spearing
"fisherman!"[12]

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[10] The "eight-fold hedge of branches" is simply a "hedge," and the "child of a grandee" the Grandee Shibi himself.

[11] The words "made fast" refer to the tying of the fence at certain places to give it strength. If we accepted Moribe's emendation of the final Verb *yakemu*, "burn," to *yaremu*, we should have to translate the last clause thus: "'tis a fence that shall be broken.

[12] "The great fish" (*ɣ'uwo yo sh.*) is the Pillow-Word for *shibi*, "tunny." The word "he" (which might also be rendered "*it*,"—the original being *so*) must be taken to refer both to the fish itself and to the Grandee Shibi (*i.e.*, the grandee Tunny), who bore its name.—Following Moribe's acceptable restoration of the original story, which is founded on a comparison of the text of these "Records" with that of the "Chronicles of Japan," we find that in the first Song of the series the young Prince half jokingly remarks on the fact of the Grandee Shibi appearing in public with the damsel who was to have

Having thus sung, the feast was concluded at dawn, and they all retired.* Next morning the two Deities,[13] His Augustness Ohoke and His Augustness Woke, took counsel, saying: "All the people of the Court go to Court in the morning,

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been his (the Prince's) bride. Shibi's name, which, as already stated, signifies "tunny," furnishes the occasion for the marine metaphors borrowed from the currents and the breakers. Shibi's answer (Song II,—in the "Records" wrongly ascribed to the prince), takes up the same strain, but in a more taunting tone: the prince is likened to a fisherman who would fain make a futile attempt to spear the great tunny, and his (the tunny's, *i.e.*, the Grandee Shibi's) presence must indeed be pain and grief to him. In a third Song, which is given in the "Chronicles," but not in the "Records," the prince retorts that he relies on his good sword to win the girl for him in the end, and in Song IV the Grandee jeers at the dilapidated condition of his palace, and by implication at the sorry state of his fortunes,—a taunt to which the prince replies in Song V by saying that if the palace is dilapidated, and the Empire in disorder, the fault belongs to none other than to the Grandee himself. Songs VI and VII, which are not found in the "Records," only serve to continue the growing war of words, which in Song VIII (in the "Records" wrongly attributed to the Grandee) comes to a climax by the prince exclaiming that if he does not force his way into the Grandee's mansion to seize his lady-love, it is only on account of the magnanimity of his disposition. To this the Grandee replies in Song IX (in the "Records" erroneously attributed to the prince) by a sort of *tu quoque*, vowing that he will cut and burn his way into the prince's palace. This is not the end of the dispute in the pages of the "Chronicles," but it is all that need detain the reader of the "Records." It should, however, be mentioned that in the "Chronicles" the name of the girl is *Kage-hime: Ofuwo*, "Big Fish," which is here given, would seem to be nothing more than a nickname, which perhaps arose from the incidents of this metrical war of words.

* I do not see sufficient reason for rejecting the reading 競 (*tatakau*, —to contend). The meaning would be "contended (in this contest of verse) until the morning."—W.G.A.

[13] The word used in the original is *hashira*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities. It recurs at the commencement of the next Section, where however it is not convenient to translate it.

"and assemble at Shibi's gate at noon. So[14] Shibi must "surely now be sleeping, and moreover there will be nobody "at the gate. So unless it be now, it were hard to plot "against him,"[15]—and forthwith they at once raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Shibi, and slew him.

[SECT. CLXVI.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART IV.—PRINCE OHOKE CEDES THE EMPIRE TO PRINCE WOKE).]

Then each of the two Princes ceded the Empire to the other, and His Augustness Ohoke [finally] ceded it to the younger brother His Augustness Woke, saying: "Had not "Thine Augustness revealed our names when we dwelt in the "house of Shizhimu in Harima, we should never have arrived "at being the lords of the Empire. This is quite owing to "Thine Augustness's deed. So, though I be the elder brother, "do Thine Augustness rule the Empire first,"—and [with these words] he urgently ceded [his claim]. So, being unable to refuse, His Augustness Woke ruled the Empire first.

[SECT. CLXVII.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART I.—THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME).]

His Augustness Woke-no-ihasu-wake dwelt at the palace of Chika-tsu-Asuka,[1] and ruled the Empire for eight years. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Queen of Naniha,[2]

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[14] The original here has the character 亦, "again" or "moreover." But this must be, as Motowori points out, a copyist's error. Almost immediately below the same character recurs where it is equally out of place. The translator has followed Motowori in rendering it the first time by "so," and the second by "surely."

[15] *I.e.*, There is no time like the present for plotting against him.

[1] See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

[2] *Naniha no miko.* For Naniha see Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

daughter of the King of Ihaki.[3] He had no children. At the time when this Heavenly Sovereign was searching for the august bones of the King his father, King Ichinobe,[4] there came out from the land of Afumi [to the palace] a poor old woman, who said: "The place where the prince's august "bones are buried is specially well known to me,[5] and more-"over [his skeleton] can be known by his august teeth."* (His august teeth were teeth uneven like a lily.) Then people were set[6] to dig the ground and search for the august bones; and the bones having been forthwith obtained, an august mausoleum was made on the mountain east of the Moor of Kaya,[7] and they were interred, and the children of Kara-fukuro[8] were made to guard the august mausoleum. Afterwards the august bones were brought up [to the Capital]. So having returned up [to tne Capital, the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for the old woman, praised her for having, without forgetting, kept the place in mind, and conferred upon her the name of the Old Woman Oki-me:[9] thus did he send for her into the palace,

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[3] *Ihaki no miko.*

[4] Who had been treacherously slain by the Emperor Yū-riyaku (see Sect. CXLVIII).

[5] *I.e.*, says Motowori, "it is known to me, and to none besides."

* The Nihongi says the skeleton of the Prince was distinguished from that of a retainer who was buried with him, by the latter having lost his upper teeth.—W.G.A.

[6] The character used is 起, which is more applicable to the *raising* of troops than to the *setting to work* of peasants. It seems however here to be used in the latter sense; or perhaps we should consider it to mean that people *were got together*.

[7] See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 3. Possibly the "mountain east" should be a Proper Name,—Eastern Mountain,—but it is not taken as such by Motowori.

[8] See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 1.

[9] *I.e.*, "keeping an eye," *q.d.*, on the place of burial of the Emperor's father. Grammar would lead us to expect the order of the words forming the name to be reversed thus, *Me-oki;* but see Motowori's remarks in Vol. XLIII, p. 56.

and deign to treat her with deep and wide kindness. So he built a house for the old woman to dwell in close to the palace, and always sent for her every day. So he hung a bell by the door of the great hall, and always rang it when he wished to call the old woman. So he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Oh! the far-distant bell tinkles when she
"has past the moor with its low eulalias
"and the little valley. Oh! Oki-me must
"be coming!"[10]

Hereupon* the old woman said: "I am very aged, and "would fain depart to my native land." So when the Heavenly Sovereign let her depart according to her request, he saw her off and sang, saying:

"Ah Okime! Okime from Afumi! from to-
"morrow [onwards] wilt [thou] be hidden
"behind the deep mountains, and alas! not
"seen!"[11]

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[10] This Song is not comprehensible except by reference to the text of the "Chronicles," whose author gives a somewhat varying version of the story. He tells us that, as a support of the infirm old lady, the Emperor had a string or rope stretched as a sort of hand-rest along the way she was obliged to pass in order to reach the Imperial apartments, and that at the end of the rope was a bell whose tinkling notified the Emperor of her approach. The conjectural exclamation which closes the little poem has therefore an obvious sense, which would be wanting if the bell were at the other end, as in the version here given; for the Emperor would not give expression to surprise at her approach, if he had himself just rung for her to come.—"Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt to represent the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutafu*, which here alludes to the stages along which the old woman may be supposed to be travelling. The valley and the moor overgrown with short grass form an allusion to the way,—long and arduous for her,—which Oki-me had to traverse to reach the Imperial apartments, and they contain possibly a further allusion to her original journey to the capital.

* The Nihongi allows a more reasonable interval.—W.G.A.

[SECT. CLXVIII.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART II.—HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD).]

The Heavenly Sovereign searched for the old boar-herd who had seized his august provisions at the time when he first met with adversity and was fleeing;[1] and, having sought him out, sent for him up [to the Capital], beheaded him in the bed[2] of the River Asuka,[3] and cut the knee-tendons of all his kindred, Wherefore down to the present time his descendants, on the day when[4] they come up to Yamato, always limp of their own accord. So the man's abode had been well seen and divined.[5] So the place was named Shimesu.[6]

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11 The meaning of this Song is quite clear.—The second time the name *Oki-me* occurs, it might, instead of being as here taken as an exclamation, be made the subject of the sentence, thus: "Oki-me "from Afumi will by to morrow, etc." The words "wilt [thou]," which represent *ka* of the original Japanese may be taken either as an exclamation properly so-called, or as a sort of rhetorical interrogation whose force is simply exclamatory. The meaning comes to the same in either case, and is literally rendered by the same English words; but according to the latter view, we should have to replace the point of exclamation by a point of interrogation.

1 See Sect. CXLIX.

2 Motowori would have us understand the text to mean "in the neighbourhood of the river." There is, however, no difficulty in accepting the author's statement literally, as any one who is acquainted with the broad, stony beds of Japanese rivers will readily admit.

3 *Asuka-gaha*. For Asuka see Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

4 *I.e.*, probably "whenever."

5 *I.e.*, "discovered by augury" or else simply "found and pointed out,"—by whom does not appear.

6 The real etymology of this name is obscure but the author's intention is to connect it with the "divining" or "pointing out" mentioned in the preceding sentence, which is given phonetically as [*mi*] *shimeki*.

[SECT. CLXIX.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART III.—THE EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, deeply hating the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, who had slain the King his father, wished to be revenged on his spirit.[1] So when, wishing to destroy the august mausoleum of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, he [was about to] send people [to execute this design], his elder brother, His Augustness Ohoke, addressed[2] him, saying: "To demolish this august mausoleum thou "shouldst not send other people. None but myself shall go, "and I will demolish it according to the Heavenly Sovereign's "august heart."[3] Then the Heavenly Sovereign commanded: "Make thy progress, then, according to thy decree." Wherefore His Augustness Ohoke, having proceeded down himself, slightly excavated the side of the august mausoleum, and returned up [to the capital], and reported that he had dug up and demolished it. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, astonished at the quickness of his return up, asked how he had demolished it. He replied, saying: "I slightly excavated the earth "at the side of the august mausoleum."* The Heavenly

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[1] 靈, read *mi tama* or *tamashihi*. We might also translate it by the word "ghost."

[2] The respectful character 奏 is used for this word, and again below we have the First Personal Pronoun represented by 僕, "servant."

[3] This sentence ends in the original with the characters 以參出, which it is not necessary to render into English. They imply that the speaker will come back, and report on what he has done.

* It is curious that the tumulus of *Yū-riaku Tenno* is very considerably mutilated. Here is a copy of a note taken after a visit to this tumulus. "This mausoleum is at the present day a round single mound encircled by a moat, but there are sufficient remains of the second mound and of the original moat to show that it was once a double-topped misasagi of the ordinary type. A large quantity of earth must have been removed to deprive this tomb of its distinctive

Sovereign said: "Wishing to be revenged on the enemy of "the King our father, I had counted on the complete demo-"lition of the mausoleum. Why hast thou [only] slightly "excavated it?" He replied, saying: "The reason why I "did so was that the wish to be revenged on the spirit of the "foe of the King our father is truly just. Nevertheless the "Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, though he were our father's "foe, was still our uncle, and moreover was an Heavenly "Sovereign who ruled the Empire. So if we now, simply "from the consideration of his having been our father's enemy, "were completely to demolish the mausoleum of an Heavenly "Sovereign who ruled the Empire, after-generations would "surely revile us. Meanwhile the wrongs of the King our "father must not be unrevenged. So I slightly excavated the "side of the mausoleum. This insult will quite suffice as a "token to future ages." On his thus addressing him, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "This also is very just. Be it as "thou sayest."

[SECT. CLXX.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART IV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

So the Heavenly Sovereign died, and His Augustness Ohoke ruled the succession of Heaven's sun.[1] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were thirty-eight, and he ruled the Empire for eight years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Katawoka.[2]

[SECT. CLXXI.—EMPEROR NIN-KEN][1]

His Augustness Ohoke dwelt at the palace of Hirataka at

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character as an Imperial mausoleum and to give it the appearance of the tomb of a mere subject."—W.G.A.

[1] See Sect. XXXII, Note 27.

[2] For *Katawoka* see Sect. LX, Note 29. *Iha-tsuki* probably means "rock-platter," and seems to have been the name of a little plateau.

[1] For the discontinuance of explanatory foot-notes in this con-

Isonokami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kasuga-no-oho-iratsume, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take, and begot august children: Takaki-no-iratsume; next Takara-no-iratsume; next Kusubi-no-iratsume; next Tashiraka-no-iratsume; next His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-wake-sazaki; next Prince Ma-waka. The child born to him by his next wife Nuka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Wani, was: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered seven altogether. Of these His Augustness Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXII.—EMPEROR MU-RETSU.]

His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Namiki at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire for eight years. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. So the Wo-hatsuse Tribe was established as his august proxy. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Kara-woka. On the death of this Heavenly Monarch there was no prince to inherit the Empire. So His Augustness Ohodo, the fifth descendant of the Heavenly Monarch Homuda, was sent for down to the land of Afumi, and married to her Augustness Tashiraka, and presented with the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXIII.—EMPEROR KEI-TAI.]

His Augustness Ohodo dwelt in the Palace of Tamaho at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. The (two) august children born to this Heavenly Monarch by Waka-hime, ancestress of the Dukes of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsuko, next Idzumo-no-iratsume. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife,

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cluding portion of the translation see Translator's Introduction, Sect. II, near the top of page xv.

Meko-no-iratsume, sister of the Chieftain Ofushi, ancestor of the Chieftains of Wohari, were: His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi, next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife (the Great Empress) Her Augustness Tashiraka, the august daughter of the Heavenly Monarch Ohoke, was: His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, daughter of Prince Okinaga-no-mate, was: Sasage-no-iratsume. The three august children born to him by his next wife Kuro-hime, daughter of Prince Sakata-no-oho-mata, were: Kamu-saki-no-iratsume, next Mamuta-no-iratsume, next Umakuta-no-iratsume. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Seki-hime, daughter of Womochi Grandee of Mamuta, were: Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume, next Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume, next Wo-nu-no-iratsume, another name for whom is Naga-me-hime. The (four) children born to him by his next wife Yamato-hime, younger sister of Katabu Duke of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsume, next Prince Maroko, next Prince Mimi, next Aka-hime-no-iratsume. The (three) children born to him by his next wife Abe-no-haye-hime, were: Waka-ya-no-iratsume, next Tsubura-no-iratsume, next Prince Adzu. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered nineteen in all (seven Kings and twelve Queens). Of these His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate ruled the Empire; the next, Queen Sasage, presided at the temple of the Deity of Ise. In this august reign Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, was disobedient to the Imperial Decrees, and was exceedingly disrespectful. So the Great Chieftain Mononobe-no-arakawi and the Chieftain Ohotomo-no-kanamura were both sent to slay Ihawi.[1] The august years of this

[1] Details of this struggle and its causes are given in the "Chronicles of Japan," and are discussed at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLIV, pp. 15–20. They are of no special interest.

Heavenly Monarch were forty-three. His august mausoleum is at Awi is Mishima.

[SECT. CLXXIV.—EMPEROR AN-KAN.]

His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi dwelt in the Palace of Kanahashi at Magari, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. His august grave is at the village of Takaya in Furuchi in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXV.—EMPEROR SEN-KUWA.]

His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate dwelt in the Palace of Ihorinu at Hinokuma, and ruled the Empire. The august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Her Augustness Tachibana-no-naka-tsu-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ohoke, were: Her Augustness Ishi-hime, next Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, next King Kura-no-waka-ye. The august children born to him by his next wife, Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, were: King Honoho, next King Weha. The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered altogether five (three Kings and two Queens). So King Honoho (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Shihida). Prince Weha (was the ancester of the Dukes of Wina and of the Dukes of Tajihi).

[SECT. CLXXVI.—EMPEROR KIM-MEI.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha dwelt in the Great Palace of Shikishima, and ruled the Empire. The (three) august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, Her Augustness Ishi-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Hi-no-kuma, were: King Yata; next His Augustness Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki; next King Kasanuhi, The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, younger sister [of the first

one] was: King Kami. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Nukako-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Kasuga, were: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume, next King Maroko, next King Soga-no-kura. The (thirteen) children born to him by his next wife Kitashi-hime, daughter of the prime Minister the Noble Inawe of Soga were: His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi, next his younger sister Queen Ihakumo, next King Atori, next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, next King Mata-maroko, next King Oho-yake, next King Imigako, next King [of?] Yamashiro, next his younger sister Queen Oho-tomo, next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari, next King Manu, next King Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go, next King Tone. The five august children born to him by his next wife Wo-ye-hime, aunt of Her Augustness Kitashi-hime, were: King Umaki, next King Kadzuraki, next King Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be, next King Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, another name for whom was Sume-irodo, next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered twenty-five Kings and Queens. Of these His Augustness Nu-na-kura-futo-tama-shiki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi ruled the Empire. Next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki ruled the Empire. In all there were four Kings and Queens that ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXVII.—EMPEROR BI-DATSU.]

His Augustness Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki dwelt in the Palace of Wosada, and ruled the Empire for fourteen years. The (eight) children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, his half-sister Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, were: King Shidzu-kahi, another name for whom was Kahi-dako; next King Takeda, another name for whom was King Wo-kahi; next King Woharita, next King Umori, next King

Wohari, next King Tame, next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife Wokuma-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of the Headman Ohoka of Ise, were: Her Augustness Futo-hime, next Queen Takara, another name for whom was Queen Nukade-hime. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Hiro-hime, daughter of King Okinaga-no-ma-de, were: King Osaka-no-hiko-hito, another name for whom was King Maroko; next King Saka-nobori, next King Uji. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife Omina-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, were: King Naniha, next King Kuhada, next King Kasuga, next King Oho-mata. Of the august children of this Heavenly Monarch,—seventeen Kings and Queens altogether,—King Hiko-hito begot by his wife his half-sister Queen Tamura, another name for whom was Her Augustness Nukade-hime, (three) august children, namely: the Heavenly Sovereign that ruled the Empire from the Palace of Wokamoto, next King Naka-tsu, next King Tara. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Queen Ohomata, younger sister of King Aya, were: King Chinu, next his younger sister Queen Kuhada. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife his half-sister Princess Yumi-hari, were: King Yamashiro, next Queen Kasanuhi,—altogether seven Kings and Queens. The august mausoleum [of the Heavenly Sovereign Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki] is at Shinaga in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXVIII.—EMPEROR YŌ-MEI.]

His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi dwelt in the Palace of Ikeno-be, and ruled the Empire for three years. The one august child born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Oho-gitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the Noble Iname, was: King Tame. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife, his half-sister Princess Hashi-bito-no-anaho-be, were: His Augustness Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-

dono-toyo-to-mimi; next King Kume, next King We-kuri, next King Mamuta. The august children born to him by his next wife Ihi-me-no-ko, daughter of Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, were: King Tagima, next his younger sister Sugashiroko-no-iratsume. The august mausoleum of this Heavenly Sovereign, which had been by the borders of Lake Ihare, was afterwards removed to the middle sepulchre of Shinaga.

[SECT. CLXXIX.—EMPEROR SU-JUN.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki* dwelt at the Palace of Shibakaki at Kurahashi, and ruled the Empire for four years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Kurahashi.

[SECT. CLXXX.—EMPRESS SUI-KO.]

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime dwelt at the Palace of Wōharida, and ruled the Empire for thirty-seven years. Her august mausoleum, which had been on the mound of Ohonu, was afterwards removed to the great sepulchre at Shinaga.

THE END.

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* I am afraid I must abandon my suggestion that Osazaki was a posthumous name.—W.G.A.

APPENDIX I.

JAPANESE TEXT OF THE SONGS PRESERVED IN THE "KO-JI-KI," OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS," TRANSLITERATED INTO ROMAN.[1]

I. (Sect. xix, Note 6.)

Ya-kumo tatsu Idzumo ya-he-gaki
Tsuma-gomi ni Ya-he-gaki tsukuru
Sono ya-he-gaki wo

II. (Sect. xxiv, Note 4.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ha
Ya-shima-kuni Tsuma magi-kanete
Toho-tohoshi Koshi no kuni ni
Sakashi-me wo Ari to kikashite
Kuhashi-me wo Ari to kikoshite
Sa-yobahi ni Ari-tatashi
Yobahi ni Ari-kayohase
Tachi ga wo mo Imada tokazute

[1] There are few various readings of the text of these poems. Where any occur, the translator has been guided by the decisions of Motowori and Moribe. Occasionally these two authorities differ as to the division of the words into lines, and Moribe in particular does not hesitate to propose such emendations as seem to him neccessary. The translator has in almost all cases adhered to the traditional text, but gives in foot-notes such emendations as appear worthy of notice. Moribe's division of the lines being in almost every case preferable to Motowori's, it has however here been generally adopted.

Osuhi wo mo
Wotome no
Osoburahi
Hikodzurahi
Awo-yama ni
Sa-nu tsu tori
Niha tsu tori
Uretaku mo
Kono tori mo
Ishitafu ya
Koto no

Imada tokaneba
Nasu ya ita-to wo
Wa ga tatasereba
Wa ga tatasereba
Nuye ha naki
Kigishi ha toyomu
Kake ha naku
Naku-naru tori ka
Uchi-yame-kosene
Ama-hase-dzukahi
Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

III. (Sect. xxiv, Note 5.)

Ya-chi-hoko no
Nuye-kusa no
Wa ga kokoro
Ima koso ha
Nochi ha
Inochi ha
Ishi-tafu ya
Koto no

Kami no mikoto
Me ni shi areba
Ura-su no tori zo
Chi-dori ni arame
Na-dori ni aramu wo
Na shise-tamahi so
Ama-hase-dzukahi
Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

IV. (Sect. xxiv, Note 7.)

Awo-yama ni
Nuba-tama no
Asa-hi no
Taku-dzunu no
Awa-yuki no
So-dataki
Ma-tama-de
Momo-naga ni
Aya ni

Hi ga kakuraba
Yo ha ide-namu
Wemi-sakaye-kite
Shiroki tadamuki
Wakayaru mune wo
Tataki-managari
Tama-de sashi-maki
I ha nasamu wo
Na kohi-kikoshi

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

V. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 2.)

Nuba-tama no Kuroki mi keshi wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Kore ha fusahazu
He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute
So-ni-dori no Awoki mi keshi wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Ko mo fusahazu
He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute
Yama-gata ni Magishi atane tsuki[2]
Some-ki ga shiru ni Shime-koromo wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Ko shi yoroshi
Itokoya no Imo no mikoto
Mura-tori no Wa ga mure-i-naba
Hike-tori no Wa ga hike-i-naba
Nakazhi to ha Na ha ifu to mo
Yamato no Hito-moto susuki
Unakabushi Na ga nakasamaku
Asa-ame no Sa-giri ni tatamu zo[3]
Waka-kusa no Tsuma no mikoto
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

VI. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 3.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ya

---

[2] Motowori reads *Magishi Atane tsuki* as two lines.
[3] Motowori reads *Sagiri ni Tatamu zo* as two lines.

A ga oho-kuni Nushi koso ha
Wo ni i-maseba Uchi-miru
Shima no saki-zaki
Kaki-miru Iso no saki ochizu
Waka-kusa no Tsuma motase-rame
A ha mo yo Me ni shi areba
Na wokite Wo ha nashi
Na wokite Tsuma ha nashi
Aya-kaki no Fuhaya ga shita ni
Mushi-busuma Nikoya ga shita ni
Taku-busuma Sayagu ga shita ni
Awa-yuki no Wakayaru mune wo
Taku-dzunu no Shiroki tadamuki
So-dataki Tataki-managari
Ma-tama-de Tama-de sashi-maki
Momo-naga ni I wo shi nase
Toyo mi ki Tate-matsurase

VII. (Sect. xxxi, Note 33.)

Ame naru ya Oto-tanabata no
Unagaseru Tama no mi sumaru
Mi sumaru ni Ana-dama haya
Mi tani futa watarasu[4]
Ajishiki Taka-hiko-ne no
Kami zo ya

VIII. (Sect. xlii, Note 18.)

Aka-dama ha Wo sahe hikaredo
Shira-tama no Kimi ga yosohi shi
Tafutoku ari-keri

IX. (Sect. xlii, Note 19.)

Oki tsu tori Kamo-doku shima ni

[4] Motowori reads *Mi tani Futa watarasu* as two lines.

Waga wi-neshi Imo ha wasurezhi
Yo no koto-goto ni

X. (SECT. XLVII, NOTES 16 AND 17.)

Uda no taka-ki ni[5] Shigi-wana haru[6]
Wa ga matsu ya Shigi ha sayarazu
Isukuhashi Kujira sayaru
Konami ga Na kohasaba
Tachi-soba no Mi no nakeku wo[7]
Kokishi hiwene Uhanari ga*
Na kohasaba Ichi-saka-ki mi no
Ohokeku wo Kokida hiwene
Ye ye† Shi ya ko shi ya
[Ko ha igonofu zo] Aa shi yo ko shi ya

XI. (SECT. XLVIII, NOTE 4.)

Osaka no Oho-muro-ya ni
Hito saha ni Ki-iri-wori
Hito saha ni Iri-wori to mo
Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi
Uchite shi yamamu
Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi
Ima utaba yorashi

XII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 2.)

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Aha-fu ni ha Ka-mira hito moto

---

[5] Motowori reads *Uda no Taka-ki ni* as two lines.

[6] Moribe emends *haru* to *hari*.

[7] Motowori divides these lines thus: *Tachi-soba no mi no Nakeku wo.*

* *Uhanari ga* should form the first half of the line so as to correspond with *Konami ga*.—W.G.A.

† From *Ye ye* to the end of the poem is omitted in the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

So ne ga moto So ne me tsunagite
Uchite shi yamamu

XIII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 3.)

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kaki-moto ni Uweshi hazhikami
Kuchi hibiku Ware ha wasurezhi
Uchite shi yamamu

XIV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 4.)

Kamu-kaze no Ise no umi no
Ohishi ni Hahi-motohorofu
Shitadami no I-hahi-motohori
Uchite shi yamamu

XV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 6.)

Tata namete Inasa no yama no
Ko no ma yo mo I-yuki-mamorahi
Tatakaheba Ware ha ya wenu
Shima tsu tori U-kahi ga tomo
Ima suke ni kone

XVI. (SECT. LI, NOTE 17.)

Yamoto no Takasazhi-nu wo
Nana-yuku Wotome-domo
Tare wo shi makamu

XVII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 19.)

Katsu-gatsu mo Iya-saki-dateru
Ye wo shi makamu

XVIII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 21.)

A me tsu tsu Chi dori mashi to to [?]
Nado sakeru to-me

XIX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 22.)

Wotome ni Tada ni ahamu to
Wa ga sakeru to-me

XX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 28.)

Ashi-hara no Shigekoki wo-ya ni
Suga-tatami Iyasaya shikite
Wa ga futari neshi

XXI. (SECT. LII, NOTE 6.)

Sawi-gaha yo Kumo tachi-watari
Unebi-yama Ko no ha sayaginu
Kaze fukamu to su

XXII. (SECT. LII, NOTE 5.)

Unebi-yama Hiru ha kumo to wi
Yufu sareba Kaze fukamu to zo
Ko no ha sayageru

XXIII. (SECT. LXVI, NOTE 7.)

Ko ha ya Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya
Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya Ono ga wo wo
Nusumi shi semu to Shiri tsu to yo
I-yuki-tagahi Mahe tsu to yo
I-yuki-tagahi Ukagahaku
Shirani to Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

XXIV. (SECT. LXXXI, NOTE 4.)

Yatsumesasu Idzumo-takeru ga
Hakeru tachi Tsudzura saha maki
Sa-mi nashi ni ahare

XXV. (SECT. LXXXIV, NOTE 8.)

Sanesashi Sagamu no wo-nu ni
Moyuru hi no Ho-naka ni tachite
Tohishi kimi ha mo

XXVI. (SECT. LXXXVI, NOTES 3 AND 5.)

Nihibari Tsukuha wo sugite
Iku yo ka netsuru —
Ka-ga nabete Yo ni ha kokono-yo
Hi ni ha towo-ka wo

XXVII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 3.)

Hisa-kata no Ame no Kagu-yama
To-kama ni Sa-wataru kuhi
Hiha-boso Tawaya-gahina wo
Makamu to ha Are ha suredo
Se-nemu to ha Are ha omohedo
Na ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni
Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXVIII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko
Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi
Aratama no Toshi ga ki-fureba
Aratama no Tsuki ha kihe-yuku
Ubena-ubena Kimi machi-gata ni
Wa ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni
Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXIX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 6.)

Wohari ni Tada ni mukaheru
Wotsu no saki naru Hito-tsu matsu a se wo

Hito-tsu matsu Hito ni ariseba
Tachi hake-mashi wo Kinu kise-mashi wo
Hito-tsu matsu o se wo

XXX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 12.)

Yamato ha Kuni no mahoroba
Tatanatsuku Awo-kaki yama-gomoreru
Yamato shi uruhashi[8]

XXXI. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 12.)

Inochi no Mata-kemu hito ha
Tatami-komo Heguri no yama no
Kuma-kashi ga ha wo Uzu ni sase
Sono ko

XXXII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 12.)

Hashikeyashi Wagihe no kata yo
Kumo-wi tachi-ku mo

XXXIII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 15.)

Wotomo no Toko no be ni
Wa ga okishi Tsurugi no tachi
Sono tachi ha ya

XXXIV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 3.)

Nadzuki no Ta no ina-gara ni
Ina-gara ni Hahi-motorofu
Tokoro-dzura[9]

. . . . . .

---

[8] Motowori reads *gomoreru* as a line by itself, and similarly *uruhashi* as a line by itself.

[9] Moribe restores the reading of the first line of this poem to *Nadzuki-ta no*, and both he and Motowori suggest conjectural con-

XXXV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 5.)

Asa-zhinu-hara Koshi nadzumu
Sora ha yukazu Ashi yo yuku na

XXXVI. (SECT. XC, NOTE 7.)

Umi-ga yukeba Koshi nadzumu
Oho-kahara no Uwe-gusa
Umi-ga ha Isayofu[10]

XXXVII. (SECT. XC, NOTE 8).

Hama tsu chi-dori Hama yo ha yukazu
Iso-dzutafu

XXXVIII. (SECT. C, NOTE 18.)

Isa agi Furu-kuma ga
Itate ohazuha Niho-dori no
Afumi no umi ni Kadzuki sena wa

XXXIX. (SECT. CII, NOTE 2.)

Kono mi ki ha Wa ga mi ki narazu
Kushi no kami Toko-yo ni i-masu
Iha tatasu Sukuna mi kami no
Kamu-hogi Hogi-kuruhoshi
Toyo-hogi Hogi-motohoshi
Matsuri-koshi Mi ki zo
Asazu wose sa sa

---

cluding lines to supplement the evidently incomplete text. Moribe's are very elegant:

Shi ga tsura no I-hahi motohori
Motohorite Ne-naki tohedomo
Koto mo norasanu.

[10] Moribe reads *Umi-ga ha isahofu* as one line. It is difficult, on any method of division, to find rhythm* in this Song.

* Metre ?—W.G.A.

XL. (SECT. CII, NOTE 3.)

Kono mi ki wo
Sono tsudzumi
Utahi-tsutsu
Mahi-tsutsu
Kono miki no
Kami-kemu hito ha
Usu ni tatete
Kami-kere ka mo
Kami-kere ka mo
Mi ki no aya ni[11]
Uta-danushi [ki] sa sa

XLI. (SECT. CVI, NOTE 2.)

Chiba no
Momo-chi-daru
Kadzu-nu wo mireba
Ya-niha mo miyu
Kuni no ho mo miyu

XLII. (SECT. CVI, NOTE 8.)

Kono kani ya
Momo-dzutafu
Yoko-sarafu
Ichiji-shima
Niho-dori no
Shina-dayufu
Suku-suku to
Kohata no michi ni
Ushiro-de ha
Ha-nami ha
Ichihiwi no
Hatsu-ni ha
Shiha-ni ha
Mi-tsu-guri no
Kabu-tsuku
Idzuku no kani
Tsunuga no kani
Idzuku ni itaru
Mi-shima ni to ki
Kadzuki iki-dzuki
Sasa-nami-ji wo
Wa ga i-maseba ya
Ahashishi wotome
Wo-date ro ka mo
Shihi (shi) nasu[12]
Wanisa no ni wo
Hada akarakemi
Ni-guroki yuwe
Sono naka tsu ni wo
Ma-hi ni ha atezu

---

[11] Motowori strangely makes *Mi ki no Aya ni* into two lines. The syllable *ki* in the last line of the Song is supplied by Moribe.

[12] Motowori divides these lines thus: *Hana mi ha shi Hishi nasu.* He also proposes here to divide the poem in two.

Mayo-gaki Ko ni kaki-tare[13]
Ahashishi womina
Ka mo ga to Wa ga mishi ko-ra
Kaku mo ga to A ga mishi ko ni
Utadakeni Mukahi-woru ka mo
I-sohi-woru ka mo

XLIII. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 9.)

Iza ko-domo Nu-biru tsumi ni
Hiru tsumi ni Wa ga yuku michi no
Kaguhashi Hana-tachibana wo
Ho tsu ye ha Tori wi-garashi
Shi dzu ye ha Hito tori-garashi
Mi-tsu-guri no Naka tsu ye no
Hotsumori Akara-wotome wo
Izasasaba Yorashi na

XLIV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 10.)

Midzu tamaru Yosami no ike no
Wi-guhi uchi [Hishi] ga-[ra no][14]
Sashi-keru shirani Nunaha-kuri
Hahe-keku shirani Wa ga kokoro shi
Iya woko ni shite Ima zo kuyashiki

XLV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 11.)

Michi no shiri Kohada-wotome wo
Kami no goto Kikoyeshikadomo
Ahi-makuramaku

XLVI. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 12.)

Michi no shiri Kohada-wotome ha

---

[13] Motowori divides these lines thus: *Mayo-gaki ko ni Kaki tare.*

[14] The defective text of this line is restored by the help of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles."

Arasohazu Ne-shiku wo shi zo mo
Uruhashimi-omofu

XLVII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 2.)

Homuda no Hi no mi ko
Oho-sazaki Oho-sazaki
Hakaseru tachi Moto-tsurugi
Suwe fuyu Fuyu-ki no su
Kara ga shita-ki no Saya-saya

XLVIII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 6.)

Kashinofu ni Yokusu wo tsukuri
Yokusu ni Kamishi oho-mi-ki
Umara ni Kikoshi-mochi-wose
Maro ga chi

XLIX. (SECT. CXI, NOTE 5.)

Susukori ga Kamishi mi ki ni
Ware wehi ni keri
Koto nagu shi We-gushi ni
Ware wehi ni keri.[15]

L. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 10.)

Chihayaburu Uji no watari no
Sawo-tori ni Haya-kemu hito shi
Wa ga moko ni komu

LI. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 15.)

Chihaya-hito Uji no watari ni
Watari-ze ni tateru Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi

---

[15] Moribe proposes to emend the second half of this poem to
Koto nagushi we Kokoro-gushi we
Ware wehi ni keri.

I-kiramu to Kokoro ha mohedo
I-toramu to Kokoro ha mohedo
Moto-he ha Kimi wo omohi-de
Suwe-he ha Imo wo omohi-de
Iranakeku Soko ni omohi-de
Kanashikeku Koko ni omohi-de
I-kirazu zo kuru Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi[16]

LII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 4.)

Oki-he ni ha Wo-bune tsuraraku
Kuro-zaki[17] no Masazu-ko wagimo
Kuni he kudarasu

LIII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 8.)

Oshi-teru ya Naniha no saki yo
Ide-tachite Wa ga kuni mireba
Aha-shima Onogoro-shima
Ajimasa no Shima mo miyu
Saketsu-shima miyu

LIV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 10.)

Yama-gata ni Makeru awo-na mo
Kibi-hito to Tomo ni shi tsumeba
Tanushiku mo aru ka

LV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 13.)

Yamato-he ni Nishi fuki-agete

---

[16] Near the commencement of this Song Motowori divides the lines thus:

Watari-ze ni Tateru
Adzusa-yumi Ma-yumi

and again at the end:

I-kirazu zo kuru Adzusa-yumi
Ma-yumi.

[17] See Sect. CXXII, Note 4, for this doubtful word.

Kumo-banare Soki-wori to mo
Ware wasureme ya

LVI. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 14.)

Yamato-he ni Yuku ha ta ga tsuma
Komoridzu no Shita yo hahe-tsutsu
Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

LVII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE 11.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo
Kaha-nobori Wa ga noboreba
Kaha no he ni Ohi-dateru
Sashibu wo Sashibu no ki
Shi ga shita ni Ohi-dateru
Ha-biro yu-tsu matsuba-ki[18]
Shi ga hana no Teri-i-mashi
Shi ga ha no Hirori-i-masu ha
Oho-kimi ro ka mo

LVIII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE 14.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo
Miya-nobori Wa ga noboreba
Awoniyoshi Nara wo sugi
Wo-date Yamato wo sugi
Wa ga migahoshi kuni ha
Kadzuraki Takamiya Wagihe no atari[19]

LIX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 3.)

Yamashiro ni I-shike Toriyama

---

[18] Motowori divides this line in two, thus: *Habiro Yutsuma-tsubaki.*

[19] Instead of these concluding long lines Motowori divides thus:

Wa ga mikahoshi Kuni ha
Kadzuraki Taka-miya
Wagihe no atari.

I-shike i-shike A ga hashi-dzuma ni
I-shiki-ahamu ka mo

LX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 5.)

Mimoro no Sono Takaki naru
Ohowiko ga hara Ohowiko ga hara ni aru[20]
Kimo-mukafu Kokoro wo dani ka
Ahi-omohazu aramu

LXI. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 6.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no
Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne
Ne-zhiro no Shiro-tadamuki
Makazukeba koso Shirazu to mo ihame

LXII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 12.)

Yamashiro no Tsutsuki no mi-ya ni
Mono mawosu A ga se no kimi ha
Namita-gumashi mo

LXIII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 18.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no
Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne
Sawa-sawa ni Na ga ihese koso
Uchi-watasu Yagahaye nasu
Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 1.)

Yata no Hito-moto suge ha
Ko motazu Tachi ka are-namu
Atara-suga-hara Koto wo koso
Suge-hara to ihame Atara-sugashi-me

[20] Motowori reads the words *Hara ni aru* as a separate line.

LXV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 2.)

Yata no Hito-moto suge ha
Hitori wori to mo Oho-kimi shi
Yoshi to kikosaba Hitori wori to mo

LXVI. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 2.)

Medori no Wa ga oho-kimi no
Orosu hata Taga kane ro ka mo

LXVII. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 3.)

Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake no
Mi osuhi-gane

LXVIII. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 5.)

Hibari ha Ame ni kakeru
Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake
Sazaki torasane

LXIX. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura hashi-yama wo
Sagashimi to Iha kaki-kanete
Wa ga te torasu mo

LXX. (SECT. CXXVI. NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura-hashi-yama ha
Sagashikedo Imo to noboreba
Sagashiku mo arazu

LXXI. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 3.)

Tamakiharu Uchi no aso
Na koso ha Yo no naga-hito

Sora mitsu Yamato no kuni ni
Kari ko 'mu to Kiku ya

LXXII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko
Ube shi koso Tohi-tamahe
Ma koso ni Tohi-tamahe
Are koso ha Yo no naga-hito
Sora-mitsu Yamato no kuni ni
Kari ko 'mu to Imada kikazu

LXXIII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 6.)

Na ga mi ko ya Tsuhi ni shiramu to
Kari ha ko 'murashi

LXXIV. (SECT. CXXIX, NOTE 8.)

Karanu wo Shiho ni yaki
Shi ga amari Koto ni tsukuri
Kaki-hiku ya Yura no to no
To-naka no Ikuri ni
Fure-tatsu Nadzu no ki no
Saya-saya

LXXV. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 5.)

Tajihi-nu ni Nemu to shiriseba
Tatsu-gomo mo Mochite
Ko-mashi mono Nemu to shiriseba

LXXVI. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 7.)

Hanifu-zaka Wa ga tachi-mireba
Kagirohi no Moyuru ihe-mura
Tsuma ga ihe no atari

LXXVII. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 10.)

Oho-saka ni Afu ya wotome wo
Michi toheba Tada ni ha norazu
Tagima-chi wo noru

LXXVIII. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 2.)

Ashihiki no Yama-da wo tsukuri
Yama-dakami Shita-bi wo washise
Shita-dohi ni Wa ga tofu imo wo
Shita-naki ni Wa ga naku tsuma wo
Kofu koso ha Yasuku hada fure

LXXIX. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 4.)

Sasa-ba ni Utsu ya arare no
Tashi-dashi ni Wi-netemu nochi ha
Hito hakayu to mo
Uruhashi to Sa-ne shi sa-neteba
Kari-komo no Midareba midare
Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

LXXX. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 7.)

Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune ga
Kana-to kage Kaku yori-kone
Ame tachi-yamemu

LXXXI. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 8.)

Miya-hito no Ayuhi no ko-suzu
Ochi ni ki to Miya-hito toyomu
Sato-bito mo yume

LXXXII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 12.)

Ama-damu Karu no wotome

Ita nakaba Hito shirinu-beshi
Hasa no yama no hato no
Shita-naki ni naku[21]

LXXXIII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 13.)

Ama-damu Karu-wotome
Shita-ta ni mo Yori-nete tohore
Karu-wotome-domo

LXXXIV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 2.)

Ama tobu Tori mo tsukahi zo
Tadzu ga ne no Kikoyemu toki ha
Wa ga na tohasane

LXXXV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 4.)

Oho-kimi wo Shima hi haburaba
Funa-amari I-gaheri-komu zo
Wa ga tatami yume Koto wo koso
Tatami to ihame Wa ga tsuma ha yume

LXXXVI. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 6.)

Natsu-kusa no Ahine no hama no
Kaki-gahi ni Ashi[22] fumasu na
Akashite tohore

LXXXVII. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 7.)

Kimi ga yuki Ke-nagaku narinu

---

[21] Moribe, following the reading in the "Chronicles," omits the Postposition *no* after *Karu;* and Motowori reads *hato no* as a line by itself.

[22] To the word *ashi* Moribe would prefix the Honorific *mi*, which he finds in an old MS. The metre would gain by this emendation of the line.

Yama-tadzu no Mukahe wo yukamu
Matsu ni ha matazhi

LXXXVIII. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 8.)

Komoriku no Hatsuse no yama no
Oho-wo ni ha Hata hari-date
So-wo-wo ni ha Hata hari-date
Oho-wo ni shi Na ga[23] sadameru
Omohi-dzuma ahare
Tsuku-yumi no Koyaru koyari mo
Adzusa-yumi Tateri tateri mo
Nochi mo tori-miru
Omohi-dzuma ahare

LXXXIX. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 9.)

Komoriku no Hatsuse no kaha no
Kami tsu se ni I-kuhi wo uchi
Shimo tsu se ni Ma-kuhi wo uchi
I-kuhi ni ha Kagami wo kake
Ma-kuhi ni ha Ma-tama wo kake
Ma-tama nasu A ga mofu imo
Kagami nasu Aga mofu tsuma
Ari to ihaba koso ni
Ihe ni mo yukame Kuni wo mo shinubame[24]

XC. (SECT. CLIII, NOTE 4.)

Kusaka-be no Kochi no yama to
Tatami-komo Heguri no yama no
Kochi-gochi no Yama no kahi ni
Tachi-zakayuru Ha-biro kuma-kashi
Moto ni ha I-kumi-dake ohi

---

[23] This is Moribe's emendation of the usual reading *ka*.

[24] Motowori divides *Ari to ihaba koso ni* into two lines after the Particle *to*, and Moribe omits the Particle *ni* after *koso*.

Suwe-he ni ha Tashimi-dake ohi
I-kumi-dake I-kumi ha nezu
Tashimi-dake Tashi ni ha wi-nezu
Nochi mo kumi-nemu Sono omohi-dzuma
Ahare

XCI. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 9.)

Mimoro no Itsu-kashi ga moto
Kashi ga moto Yuyushiki ka mo
Kashi-hara-wotome

XCII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 10.)

Hiketa no Waka-kuru-su-bara
Wakaku-he ni Wi-nete-mashi mono
Oi ni keru ka mo

XCIII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 12.)

Mimoro ni Tsuku ya tama-kaki
Tsuki-amashi Ta ni ka mo yoramu
Kami no miya-hito

XCIV. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 13.)

Kusaka-ye no Iri-ye no hachisu
Hana-bachisu Mi no sakari-bito
Tomoshiki ro ka mo

XCV. (SECT. CLV, NOTE 3.)

Agura-wi no Kami no mi te mochi
Hiku koto ni Mahi suru womina
Toko-yo ni mo ka mo

XCVI. (SECT. CLVI, NOTE 3.)

Mi-yeshinu no Womuro ga take ni

Shishi fusu to — Tare zo oho-mahe ni mawosu[25]
Yasumishishi — Wa ga oho-kimi no
Shishi matsu to — Agura ni i-mashi
Shiro-tahe no — Sode ki-sonafu
Ta-komura ni — Amu kaki-tsuki
So no amu wo — Akidzu haya kuhi
Kaku no goto — Na ni ohamu to
Sora-mitsu — Yamato no kuni wo
Akidzu-shima tofu

XCVII. (SECT. CLVII, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi — Wa ga oho-kimi no
Asobashishi — Shishi no yami-shishi no
Utaki kashikomi — Wa ga nige-noborishi
Ari-wo no — Hari-no-ki no yeda[26]

XCVIII. (SECT. CLIX, NOTE 3.)

Wotome no — I-kakuru woka wo
Kana-suki mo — I-hochi mo ga mo
Suki-banuru mono

XCIX. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 4.)

Makimuku no — Hishiro no mi-ya ha
Asa-hi no — Hi-deru mi-ya
Yufu-hi no — Hi-gakeru mi-ya

---

[25] It seems less good to divide thus with Motowori:

Tare zo oho-mahe ni Mawosu,

or thus with Mabuchi:

Tare zo Oho-maye ni mawosu.

[26] Motowori divides the lines of this Song thus:

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no
Asobashishi Shishi no
Yami-shishi no Utaki kashikomi
Wa ga nige Noborishi
Ari-wo no Hari no ki no yeda.

Take no ne no — Nedaru-mi-ya
Ko no ne no — Ne-bafu mi-ya
Yahoniyoshi — I-kidzuki no mi-ya
Ma-ki-saku — Hi no mi kado
Nihi-nahe-ya ni — Ohi-dateru
Momo-daru — Tsuki ga ye ha
Ho tsu ye ha — Ame wo oheri
Naka tsu ye ha — Adzuma wo oheri
Shi dzu ye ha — Hina wo oheri
Ho tsu ye no — Ye no ura-ba ha
Naka tsu ye ni — Ochi-furabahe
Naka tsu ye no — Ye no ura-ba ha
Shimo tsu ye ni — Ochi-furabahe
Shi dzu ye no — Ye no ura-ba ha
Ari-ginu no — Mihe no ko ga
Sasagaseru — Midzu-tama-uki ni
Ukishi aburà — Ochi-nadzusahi
Mina koworo-koworo ni[27]
Ko shi mo — Aya ni kashikoshi
Taka-hikaru — Hi no mi ko
Koto no — Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

C. (Sect. clx, Note 5.)

Yamato no — Kono takechi ni
Ko-dakaru — Ichi no tsukasa
Nihi-nahe-ya ni — Ohi-dateru
Ha-biro yu-tsu ma-tsubaki[28]
So ga ha no — Hirori-i-mashi
So no hana no — Teri-i-masu
Taka-hikaru — Hi no mi ko ni
To-yo mi ki — Tate-matsurase

---

[27] Motowori divides this line in two, thus:
Mina koworo Koworo ni.

[28] Motowori divides this line in two after the word *ha-biro.*

Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

CI. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 6.)

Momoshiki no Oho-miya-hito ha
Udzura-tori Hire tori-kakete
Mana-bashira Wo yuki-ahe
Niha-suzume Uzu-sumari-wite
Kefu mo ka mo Saka mi-dzuku-rashi
Taka-hikaru Hi no miya-hito
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

CII. (SECT. CLXI, NOTE 2.)

Mina-sosoku Omi no wotome
Ho-dari torasu mo Ho-dari tori
Kataku torase Shita-gataku
Ya-gataku torase Ho-dari torasu ko

CIII. (SECT. CLXI, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no
Asa-to ni ha I-yori-datashi
Yufu-to ni ha I-yori-datasu
Waki-dzuki ga Shita no
Ita ni mo ga A se wo

CIV. (SECT. CLXV, NOTES 8 AND 12.)

Oho-miya no Woto tsu hata-de
Sumi katabukeri

CV. (SECT. CLXV, NOTES 9 AND 12.)

Oho-takumi Wojinami koso
Sumi katabukere

CVI. (SECT. CLXV. NOTE 10 AND 12.)

Oho-kimi no Kokoro wo yurami
Omi no ko no Ya-he no shiba-kaki
Iri-tatazu ari

CVII. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 12.)

Shiho-se no Na-wori wo mireba
Asobi-kuru Shibi ga hata-de ni
Tsuma tateri miyu

CVIII. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 11 AND 12.)

Oho-kimi no Mi ko no shiba-kaki
Ya-fu-zhimari Shimari-motohoshi
Kiremu shiba-kaki Yakemu shiba-kaki[29]

CIX. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 12.)

Ofuwo yo shi Shibi tsuku ama yo
Shi ga areba Ura-kohoshi-kemu
Shibi tsuku ama[30]

CX. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE 10.)

Asa-ji-hara Wo-dani wo sugite
Momo-dzutafu Nute yuraku mo
Oki-me kurashi mo

CXI. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE 11.)

Oki-me mo ya Afumi no Oki-me
Asu yori ha Mi-yama-gakurite
Miyezu ka mo aramu

---

[29] Moribe's proposal to emend *yakemu* to *yaremu* would be acceptable if it were supported by the authority of any texts.

[30] Motowori's edition and most other texts have *shibi* as the final word. But Moribe's emendation to *ama* is necessary to the sense, and has at least the authority of one MS. to support it.

APPENDIX II.

THE HITHERTO ACCEPTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY JAPANESE SOVEREIGNS MENTIONED IN THE "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS" ("*KO-JI-KI*") AND IN THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN" ("*NIHON-GI*").

[This "Accepted Chronology" is contained in the first three columns of figures, whereof the first two, giving the corresponding dates according to the European reckoning, are transcribed from some Comparative Chronological Tables by Mr. Ernest Satow, printed for private distribution in 1874. The ages of the monarchs in the third column are from "The Digest of the Imperial Pedigree," a work published by the Imperial Japanese Government in 1877, and therefore carrying with it the weight of authority. It might perhaps be too much to say that even its decisions are universally bowed to by the native *literati;* but the differences between various writers are all slight, and excepting on points that affect only a very few years, the chronology contained in the first three columns may justly be styled the "Accepted Chronology" both as far as natives and as far as foreigners are concerned. It will be seen that it is founded in the main on the statements contained in the "Chronicles of Japan," though sometimes differing therefrom as well as from the "Records." The fourth column contains the ages of the monarchs according to the "Records," and the fifth their ages according to the "Chronicles." The portion printed in italics, and including a little over a thousand years, is that which has been shown in Section V. of the Translator's Introduction to be undeserving of credence.]

	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	AGE.	AGE ACCORD. TO "RECORDS."	AGE ACCORD. TO "CHRONICLES."
Jim-mu	*660(B.C.)*	*585(B.C.)*	*127*	*137*	*127*
Sui-zei.....	*581*	*549*	*84*	*45*	*80*

	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	AGE.	AGE ACCORD. TO "RECORDS."	AGE ACCORD. TO "CHRONICLES."
An-nei	*548*	*511*	*57*	*49*	*57*
I-toku	*510*	*477*	*77*	*45*	*77*
Kō-shō	*475*	*393*	*114*	*93*	*113*
Kō-an	*392*	*291*	*137*	*123*	*reigned 102 years*
Kō-rei	*290*	*215*	*128*	*106*	*„ 76 „*
Kō-gen	*214*	*158*	*116*	*57*	*„ 57 „*
Kai-kuwa	*157*	*98*	*111*	*63*	*„ 60*
Sū-jin	*97*	*30*	*119*	*168*	*120*
Sui-nin	*29*	*70(A.D.)*	*141*	*153*	*140*
Kei-kō	*71(A.D.)*	*130*	*143*	*137*	*106*
Sei-mu	*131*	*190*	*108*	*95*	*107*
Chiū-ai	*192*	*200*	*52*	*52*	*52*
Jin-go[1]	*201*	*269*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Ō-jin	*270*	*310*	*111*	*130*	*110*
Nin-toku	*313*	*399*	*110*	*83*	*reigned 87 years*
Ri-chiū	400	405	67	64	70
Han-zei	406	411	60	60	reigned 6 years
In-giyō	412	453	80	78	" 42 "
An-kō	454	456	56	56	„ 3 „
Yū-riyaku	457	479	age omitted	124	„ 23 „
Sei-nei	480	484	41	not given	„ 5 „
Ken-zō	485	487	age omitted	38	„ 3 „
Nin-ken	488	498	50	not given	„ 11 „
Mu-retsu	499	506	18	reigned 8 years	„ 8 „
Kei-tai	507	531	82	43	82
An-kan	534	535	70	not given	70
Sen-kuwa	536	539	73	„	73
Kim-mei	540	571	63	„	reigned 32 years
Bi-datsu	572	585	48	reigned 14 years	„ 14 „
Yō-mei	586	587	69	„ 3 „	„ 2 „
Su-jun	588	592	73	„ 4 „	„ 5 „
Sui-ko	593	628	75	„ 37 „	75

[1] The reign of this Empress is in the "Records" not counted separately, but included in that of her son Ō-jin. For the mention of her age in the "Records" conf. Sect. CIII, Note 4.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF BOOKS DEALING WITH THE "KOJIKI" PUBLISHED SINCE 1883.

Compiled by
PROF. URŪ TSUGITA
of The Peers School, Tōkyō.

PART I. BOOKS WRITTEN ON THE KOJIKI SINCE 1883.

Concise "Exposition of the Kojiki," 古事記傳略
by Yoshioka Noriaki. 1883.

Explanations on the Kojiki, 古事記講義
by Saiki Ariyoshi. 1891.

The Kojiki Explained, 古事記講義
by Ōkubo Hatsuo. 1893.

Commentary on the Kojiki, 古事記考
by Inoue Yorikuni. 1909.

The Kojiki Explained, 古事記通釋
by Ikebe Yoshikata. 1911.

The Kojiki Newly Explained, 古事記新釋
by Uematsu Yashushi. 1919.

New Explanations on the Kojiki, 古事記新講
by Tsugita Urū. 1924.

Studies on Special Method of Readings in the Kojiki,
古事記に於ける特殊なる訓法の研究
by Mitsuya Shigematsu. 1925.

The Kojiki Wholely Explained, 古事記全釋
by Uyematsu Yasushi and Ōtsuka Tatsuo. 1925.

New Studies in the Kojiki, 古事記の新研究
by Kurano Kenshi. 1927.

A General Treatise on the Kojiki, 古事記概論
by Tanaka Yoshinori. 1929.

The Kojiki with Critical Notes and Comments, 古事記評釋
by Nakashima Etsuji. 1930.

PART II. BOOKS FOR SECONDARY READING.

The Nihonshoki Explained, 日本書紀通釋
(A voluminous and representative edition of the Nihonshoki with commentary.)
by Iida Takesato.

The Kogoshūi, (A History of Japan)
(Translated into English, with an Introduction and Notes.)
by Katō Genchi and Hoshino Hikoshirō. 1925.

The Kogoshūi Newly Explained, 古語拾遺新註
by Ikebe Mahari. 1928.

The Kogoshūi Explained, 古語拾遺講義
by Kurita Hiroshi. 1929.

The Ancient Japanese Culture, 日本古代文化
by Watsuji Tetsuo. 1920.

Literature relating to the Gods and their Worshippers in Japan, 神と神を祭る者との文學
by Takeda Yūkichi. 1924.

Studies in History of the Period of Gods, 神代史の研究
by Tsuda Sōkichi. 1924.

New Studies in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki,
古事記及日本書紀の新研究
Tsuda Sōkichi. 1924.

Studies in Japanese Classics, 日本古典研究
by Ueki Naoichirō. 1927.

Studies in the Ancient Japanese Literature, 古代文學研究
by Kurano Kenshi. 1929.

Investigations of the Ancient Ages, (Japanese) 古代研究
Part I, Folklore, Part II, Japanese Literature,
by Origuchi Nobuo. 1929,

Studies in the Ancient History of Japan, 日本上代史研究
by Tsuda Sōkichi. 1930.

A History of Ancient Japanese Literature, 上代日本文學史
by Takeda Yūkichi. 1930.

Weltanschauung of the Ancient Japanese, 古代日本人の世界觀
by Kido Hata-tarō. 1930.

Commentary on the Ancient Japanese Literature, 原始國文學考
by Tokuda Kiyoshi. 1930.

The Birth and Development of Japanese Poetry,
國歌の胎生及び發達
by Igarashi Tsutomu. 1924.

Ancient Songs and Ballads of Japan, 上代の歌謠
(Part III of the Philosophical Study of Japanese Literature.)
by Tsuchida Kyōson. 1929.

Studies in Ancient Songs and Ballads of Japan,
上代歌謠の研究
by Yasuda Kiyokado. 1931.

INDEX

Throughtout the index the words "August" and "Augustness" have been abbreviated to "A." After some of the Japanese names the equivalent English title is given in brackets, thus, "Kagosaka no miko (King)."

Abe-no-hayè-hime, 409
Abe no iratsume (Lady), 293
Abe no omi (Grandees of), 196, 197
Abiko of Yosami, 208
Accadian, i
Achi-kishi, 306
Achiki no fumi-bito (scribes), 306
Achi-no-atahe (Suzerain of), 348, 352
Active Essence, 4
Ada no U-kahi (Cormorant-keepers of Ada), 166
Ada no wake (Lords of Ada), 224
Adoption, xlvi, 225
Adzu, Prince, 409
Adzuki, Island of, 29
Adzuma, 258
Adzuma, Land of, 258
Adzumi-no-murazhi (Chiefs of), 49, 50
Afumi, Land of, 190, 204, 205, 225, 233, 273, 287, 288, 296, 322, 373, 403, 404, 408
Afumi, Nearer, 7, 61, 205, 274
Afumi no omi (Grandees of), 198
Afumi, Sea of, 287
Afusaka, 287
Agate, xxxv
Agi, Land of, 158
Agina no omi (Grandees of), 200
Agu Lagoon, 313
Aha, Island of, 23, 25, 35, 329
Aha, Port of, 248
Aha, Province of, 185
Ahaji, Granaries of, 276
Ahaji, Island of, 22, 24, 25, 187, 293, 329, 345
Aha-saku-mi-tama, 137
Ahata no omi (Grandees of), 190
Ahidzu, 219, 232
Ahine, 364
Ahira-hime (Princess), 176, 181
Aino, xxiv, xxxiii, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxx, 258
Ajimasa, 237
Ajimasa, Island of, 329
Ajisaha-bime (Princess), 206
Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami (Deity), 98, 117, 118
Aka-hime-no-iratsume, 409
Akaru-hime (Princess), 315
Akashi, 202
Akawi-ko, 379, 380, 381, 382
Ake-tatsu no miko (King), 204, 234, 235
Aki-bime-no-kami, 110
Akidzu, Moor of, 383, 384
Akidzushima, Palace of, 191
Akira, Palace of, 291
Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami, 47
Akuto-hime (Princess), 186
Alder (Alnus maritima), xxxix
Altaic, i, xv, lxxvi, lxxxi
Ama, 328
Ama, Princess, 209

Ama-be, 305
Amakashi, Cape, 234, 357
Ama-no-hi-boko, 313, 314, 315, 316
Ama-no-kagu-yama, 36
Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto, 66
Ama-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake, 27
Ama-no-sagu-me, 114
Ama-no-uki-hashi, 21
Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami, 50
Ama-tsu-hi-daka, 144, 145
Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto, 143
Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, 153.
Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, 58
Ama-tsu-kume-no-mikoto, 134, 168, 270.
Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami, 113
Ama-tsu-ma-ura, 65
Ame-hito-tsu-bashira, 27
Ame-hito-tsu-ne, 29
Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha, His A., 409, 410
Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mikoto, 127, 128
Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami, 30
Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami, 80
Ame-no-haha-ya, 113
Ame-no-hako-yume, 113
Ame-no-hazhi-yumi, 113
Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami, 101
Ame-no-ho-akari no mikoto, 129
Ame-no-hohi, 58, 60, 112, 113
Ame-no-iha-to-wake no kami, 131
Ame-no-kagu-yama, 36
Ame-no-kaku-no-kami, 120
Ame-no-kaku-ya, 113
Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto, 66
Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami, 31
Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami, 33
Ame-no-ma-na-wi, 56
Ame no Mikage no kami, 203
Ame-no-mika-nushi-no-kami, 100
Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, 31
Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami, 17
Ame-no-nori-goto, 88
Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto, 134
Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake, 26
Ame-no-oshi-no-mimi, 111
Ame-no-oshi-wo, 29
Ame-no-sade-yori-hime, 27
Ame-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami, 32
Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami, 33
Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami, 68, 131
Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 18
Ame-no-tori-bune, 33
Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami, 80
Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami, 129
Ame-no-uki-hashi, 21
Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto, 68
Ame-waka-hiko, 113
Ame-no-wo-ha-bari, 40
Ame-no-wo-ha-bari no kami, 120
Ame-no-yasu-kaha, 56
Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko, 190
Ame-shiru-karu-midzu-no-kami, 107
Ampelopsis serianæfolia, xxxviii, 102
Amuchi, in Yamato, 62
Amuchi-no-miyotsuko (Rulers of), 62

Anado, 275
Anado, Deities of, 252
Anaho, His A., 355, 359, 360, 361 362, 367
Anaho, Palace of, 367
Anahobe Wake (Lords), 224
Ana no omi (Grandees of). 190
An-Kan Tenno, 410
An-Ko Tenno, 367, 369, 370, 371, 373, 374
An-nei Tenno, 186
Aphananthe aspera, xxxviii, 88
Arakaha-to-be, 208
Aralia, xxxix, 331, 332, 343
Ara-mi-tama. 282
Arata, 293
Arata no iratsume (Lady), 293
Arawi Hakuseki, xi, lix, lx, lxxix, lxxxiv, 40, 45, 55, 104
Arca Subcrenata, xxxviii, 137
Are, Hiyeda no, iv, v, 11, 13
Are, Princess, 193
Arrows, xxviii, 54, 55, 87, 88, 89, 113, 115, 135, 160, 168, 175, 218, 219, 318, 319, 360, 371, 373, 374
Arrows, Anaho, 360
Arrows, Karu, 360
Artizans, 306
Arts, xlviii
Aryan Mythology, lxxv
Aryans, lxxv, lxxvi
Asakura, 375
Ashida no Sukune (The Noble), 347
Ashigara Pass, 258
Ashi - hara - no - naka - tsu - kuni (Japan), 44
Ashi - hara - shiko - no - wo-no-kami (Deity), 81
Ashi-kagami-wake no miko (King), 272
Ashi-nadaka-no-kami (Deity), 99.
Ashi-nadzu-chi, 72
Ashiwi no inaki (Territorial Lords of), 189
Assasination of Ri-Chiū Tenno attempted, 348
Aso no kimi (Dukes of), 184, 207
Aston, W. G., ii, xiii, xlix, 41, 77, 385
Asuha-no-kami (Deity), 109
Asuka no kimi (Dukes of), 224
Ashida, 100
Ashidaka, 100
Asuka, Further, 7, 8
Asuka, River, 405
Ata, Divine Princess of, 138
Ata, Dukes of, 142
Atori, King, 411
Aucuba japonica, xxxviii, 46
August-Ancestor-of-Earth, Deity, 110
August Food, Great Deity of, 289
August Luck-Spirit, 282
August - Luck - Spirit - the-August-Wondrous-Spirit, 105
August-Snap-Spirit, 164
August - Store - house-Shelf-Deity, 51
August - Spirit-of-the-Great-Land, Deity, 106, 107, 110
August-Wells, Deity of, 90
Autumn-Princes, 110
Awaji, Island of, see Ahaji
Awa-nagi-no-kami, 31
Awa-nami-no-kami, 31
Awful-Master-Prince, Deity, 100
Awful-Snap Deity, 164
Awfully-Swift-Deity, 38
Awi in Mishima, 410
Awimi-gaha, River, 118

Awogaki, Mount, 265
Awomi-no-iratsumé, 347
Awo-numa-nu-oshi-himé (Princess), 101
Awotama, 196
Axe, xxviii
Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami, 20
Aya, King, 412
Aya no Atahe (Suzerains), 307, 348
Aya no kimi (Dukes of), 272
Azaka, 136
Azami-no-iri-bime, Her A., 222
Azami-tsu-hime (Princess), 222, 224

Bamboo, xxxviii, 319, 320, 378, 397
Bamboo-cutter, tale of the, 63
Bamboo grass, xxxviii, 69, 268
Bamboo-sprouts, 43
Barb, the whizzing, 108
Barley, xxxiv, xxxviii
  Birth of, 71
Barndoor-fowl, xxxvii
Basket, 319
Bathing, xxxi, 230
Beads, xxxv
Beans, xxxiv, xxxviii
  Birth of, 71
Bear, xxxvii, 6
Beautiful but alarming female, 196
Beautiful but alarming male, 196
Bêche-de-mer, xxxviii, 137, 138
Bee. xxxviii, 316
Bi-Datsu Tenno, 411
Biha, Lake (or Lake Biwa), 53, 61, 108
Bingo, Province of, 207, 271
Birds, xxxvii
Bird-boat, Deity, 121
Bird-Ears, Deity, 98
Bird-Growing-Ears, Deity, 99
Bird's-Rock-Camphor-Tree-Boat, Deity, 33
Bird-Sounding-Sea, Deity, 99
Birth-control, 283
Bitchiu, Province of, 194, 271
Biwa, Lake, 299
Bizen, Province of, 194, 224, 271
Blakiston, Capt., xii, 93, 344
Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-door-of-Hades, 46
Black-Thunder Deity, 42
Blade-Possessor Deity, 150
Boar, wild. xxxvii, 84, 262, 263, 285, 307, 373, 384
Boat, the two-forked, xxviii, 232
Boiled-Rice, His A., 155, 156
Books, xlix, lvlll, 306
"Book of Changes," lxxxv
Bottom-possessing-Male, 280
Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit, 137
Bows, xxviii, 88, 89, 90, 113, 114, 135, 168, 175, 286, 318, 319, 374
Bow-Tips, 220
Bracelets, xxxiv
"Brae," 33
Brasenia peltata, xxxix, 302
Brave-August-Name-Firm, Deity, 99, 122, 123
Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, 38, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 163, 164
Brave-Good-Youth, 26
Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, His A., 60
Brave-Snapping Deity, 38
Brave-Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth, Land of, 27

Brave-Sun-Direction-Youth, Island of, 29
Brave-Sun-Youth, Land of, 27
Brave - Swift - Impetuous - Male - Augustness, 51, 52 (see also Susa-no-wo).
Brilliant-Alarming-Female, 196
Bravoes, eighty, slaughtered, 171, 172
Bronze, xlii
Bronze Age, xxviii
Bubble - Bursting - August - Spirit, 137
Bubble-Calm, Deity, 31
Bubble-Waves, Deity, 31
Buddhism, l, lxii, lxviii, 104
Bulrush, xxxviii
Bum-Mei, (A Chinese Emperor), 12, 13
Bungo, Province of, 195
Burial, xlvi
Burial Alive, xlvi, xlvii, 210, 242
Bush-clover, xxxviii, 46
Butler Grandees, ancestors of the 197

Cabbage, xxxix, 329
Caldwell, Bishop, i
Camellia japonica, xxxviii, 333
Cassia, xxxviii, lxxviii, 114, 145, 146, 281
Castles, xxxii, xxxiii
Catalogue of Family Names, xi, lxxxii, 61, 62, 190, 195, 208, 240
Catalpa Kaempferi, xxxix, 311, 366
Cats, xxxvi
Cattle, xxxvi
Cave-Dwellers, xxxiii, 171
Centipedes, xxxvii, 87, 88
Central Land of Reed-Plains. 44, 64, 70, 163
Chamœyparis obtusa, xxxviii, 73, 389
Charms, lxvii
Cherry Bark, 67
Chestnut, xxxix, 299, 300
Chiba, 297
Chien Tzu Wen, xlix
Chihisako-be no murazhi, (Chieftains of the Tribe of), 183
Chih Nü, 119
Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto (Princess), 192
Chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime, Kasuga-no (Princess), 192
Chiji-tsuku-yamato-hime (Princess), 209
Chika, Island of, 29
Chika-tsu-Afumi, 108, 203, 205, 271
Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kuni no Miyatsuko (Rulers of the Land of), 191
Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no atahe (Suzerains of), 206
Chika-tsu-Asuka, 352
Palace of, 402
Chikuzen, Province of, 59, 169, 322
Chi-mata-no-kami, 47
Chimori no omi (Grandees of), 207
China, ii, lviii, 104, 105, 106
China, Emperor of, 187
Chinese Culture, l
Chinese Histories, lxxvii
Chinese Influence, i, ii, lx, lxxviii, xlxxix, 112
Chinese Philosophy, l
Chinu, King, 412
Chinu no wake (Lords of), 189

Chinu, Pool of, 223
Chinu, Sea of, 161
Chi-shiki-no-oho-kami, 45
Chita no omi (Grandees of), 191
Chiū-ai Tenno, lxxvii, 275, 277, 278, 281, 284. 285, 287, 289, 291
Chiura, 289
Chopsticks, xxxiv, lxxviii, 72, 281
Chou Wang (Shiū-o), 9
Christianity, lxii
Chronicles of Japan, iii, vi, vii, x, xvii, xxi, xxii, xxvi, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxv, xxxvi, li, lii, liii, lv, lvi, lviii, lxii, lxvii, lxx, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvii, lxxxiii, lxxxii, 8, 19, 22, 34, 35, 36, 38, 45, 47, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 72, 74, 75, 78, 81, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 114, 116, 117, 119, 121, 122, 128, 136, 140, 142, 146, 148, 150, 152, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 168, 171, 175, 189, 191, 193, 195, 200, 210, 220, 224, 226, 230, 233, 239, 302, 306, 315, 317, 332, 337, 341, 344, 345, 346, 347, 375, 398, 400, 401, 404
Chronicles of Japan Continued, 4, 151
Chronicles of Japan Explained, lxxxii, 36
Chronicles of Old Affairs, 24, 65
Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages, vi, xxii, lxxxii, 56, 197, 273, 292, 360
Clam, Princess, 84
Classical Poetry of the Japanese, 12, 190, 364
Clay-Viscid-Prince, Deity, 34
Clay-Viscid-Princess, Deity, 34
Cleaving-Thunder, Deity, 42
Cleyera japonica, xxxviii, 67, 169, 237
Cloth, lxv, lxvi, 213
Clothing, xxxiv, xxxv
Clubmoss, xxxviii, 68, 69
Coat, rain, xxxv
Cocculus thunbergi, xxxviii, 253
Cock, the, 91
Cockle, xxxviii, 84
Cockle-shell, Princess, 84
Coffins, stone, 242
Collection of a Myriad Leaves, i, vii, lxxxii, 27, 32, 50, 200, 231, 364
Collection of Songs Ancient and Modern, vii. lxxxii
Colours, xli
Combs, xxxv, 42, 43, 73, 257
Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, lxxxii, 27, 384
Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, lxxxii, 92
Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, lxxxii
Cormorants, xxxvi, xxxvii, 125, 166, 375
Cormorant Keepers, 166, 174
Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely, His A., 155
Concubines, 89, 238
Confucian Analects, 306
Confucius, 5
Cooking Pots, xxxiv
Copper, xli, 65
Coral, 346
Correct Account of the Divine Age, x, lxxxii
Couchant-Thunder, Deity, 42
Cow, xxxix, 314

Crab, xxxix, 298
Crane, xxxix
Creation, Commencement of, 4, 5
Crimes, 279
Crocodiles, xxxvii, lxxviii, 82, 83, 149, 150, 152
Cross-sword, 162, 163, 164, 168, 223, 306
Crow, xxxvii, 164, 165
Crumbling Prince, the, 103, 105
Cryptomeria japonica, xxxviii, 73, 232
Crystal, xxxv
Cups, xxxiv
Curse, 320

Dances, 151, 396
Death, xlvi
Deer, xxxvii, 38, 373
Deguchi Nobuyoshi, ix
Deities, Assemblage of, 65, 71
Deities, birth of, 17, 18, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31–51, 56–60, 62, 80, 90, 98–101, 106–111, 142, 143, 152
Deities, death of, 17, 18, 19
Deites, laugh, 70
Deities, the eight-hundred myriad, 112, 113, 114, 119
Deities, the hundred and eighty, 124
Deities, violent and savage earthly, 112, 114, 162, 163, 165, 175
Deity - Great - Master - of - the - Mountain-End, 108
Deity-Ocean-Possessor, place of, 145
Deity - of - the - Fire - in-the - Yard, 108
Deity-of- the -High-Sun - of-Summer, 110
Deity - Producing - Wondrous-Ancestor, 71, 103
Deity-Spirit -of-the - Living-Land, 89
Deluge, lxviii
Dictionary of Pillow-Words, lxxxiii, 19, 131, 261, 262, 287, 333, 334
Digest of Imperial Genealogies, lxxxiii
Dioscorea quinqueloba, xxxix
Discussion of the Objections to the Enquiry into the True Chronology, lxxxiii
Dishes, xxxiv
Divination, xxiv, lxvii, 24, 67
Divine Age, xxxiv, xlix, lxiii, lxx, 66
Divine Characters, xlviii, xlix
Divine-eight-wells-ears, 180
Divine-House-Shield, Princess, 98
Divine-Keen-Sabre, 118
Divine-Lagoon-River-Ears, 180
Divine - Life - Producing - Wondrous-Deity, 106
Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty, 79
Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, 4, 17, 84
Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, 49
Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince, His A., 155, 157
Dogs, xxxvi, xxxix, 377
Dolphin xxxix, 288, 289
Dotterel, xxxvii, xl, 93, 268, 269
Dove, xxxix
Dragon-fly, xxxvii, 383
Dragon-fly, Island of the, 6, 28, 383
Dravidian Languages, i
Dreams, lxii
Drum, 291

Earthenware-Masters Clan, 242
Earth-hiders, 171
Earthly-Dark-Door, Deity, 33
Earthly-Deities, lxv, 19
Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes, Deity, 32
Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, 18, 19, 21
Earthly-Pass-Boundary, Deity, 33
Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor, Deity, 31, 32
Earthly-Water-Divider, Deity, 31
Earth-spiders, 7, 170, 171, 172
Earth-Thunder, Deity, 42
Earthquakes, lxviii
Eastern Lands, rulership of, 255
Echigo, Province of, 62, 73, 194
Echizen, Province of, 73, 101, 194, 210, 299, 322
Education, xliv, xlv
Eight, the number, lxviii, lxix
Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, Deity, 121, 123, 124
Eight-forked Serpent, liii, lx, lxviii, 73, 75, 130
Eight Great Islands, 8, 23, 28, 91
Eight-Island-Possessor, Deity, 99
Eight-Island Ruler, 79, 102
Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets, Princess, 99
Eight-Thousand-Spears, Deity of, 81, 90
  Song sung by, 91, 94, 95
Eight-Wells, Prince, 180
Eighty Deities, the, 82, 83, 85, 90
Eighty Evils, Wondrous Cape of, 358
Elbow Pads, xxviii, 55, 276
Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place-Deity, 20
Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, Deity, 49, 50
Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, Deity, 49, 50
Elder-Male-of-the-Surface, Deity, 49, 50
Elder-of-the-Great-Place, Deity, 20
Emperor, the, 138
Emperors', Virtues and Accomplishments of the, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Etchu, Province of, 73, 183, 194, 195
Eternal Land, the, 104, 156, 240, 241
Eulalia japonica, xxxviii, 96
Euonymus japonica, xxxviii, 311
Euonymus sieboldianus, xxxix, 267
Examination of Difficult Words, xi, lxxxiii, 36, 54, 126, 134, 376
Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, lxxxiii, 27.
Excrements, 279
Explanation of Japanese Names, lxxxiii
Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, lxxxiii, 290, 345
Exposition of the Ancient Histories, x, lxxxiii, 22, 24, 32, 56, 66, 85, 88, 99, 116, 122, 126, 134
Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, lxxxi, lxxxiii, 28, 227
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters, xlii, l, lxxxiii
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters Criticised, lxxxiii

Falcon-lord, 294, 341
Fans, xlviii

Female-Deity of Idzu, 49
Female-Deity-of-Summer, 110
Female who invites, see Izanami
Feudalism, lxxi
Fighting, xlv
Finnish, i
Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity, 34
Fire-Climax, His A., 142
Fire-Deity, 35, 36
  slaying of, 37
Fire-drill, xxviii, 125, 126, 255, 256
Fire God, birth of, lii, 35
Fire-Producer, Deity, 34
Fire-Shine, see Ho-deri
Fire-Shining-Elder-Deity, 34, 37
Fire-Shining-Prince, Deity, 34
Fire-Subside, see Ho-wori
Fire-Swift-Deity, 38
Fire-Thunder-Deity, 42
Fish, xxxiii, xxxviii
Fisher Tribe, 305
Five-Reaches, His A., 155
Flesh, xxxiii
Floating Bridge of Heaven, 21, 112, 133, 134
Fly, xxxvii
Foam-Calm, Deity, 31
Foam-Waves, Deity, 31
Food, xxxiii
Food-Master, His A., 155, 156
Food of Hades, 41
Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity, 289
Foot-Stroking-Elder, Deity, 72, 74, 78
Forced labour, 327
Forward-Princess, the, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94
  Song sung by the, 96, 97
Fowls, xxxvi, xxxvii, 65
Frog, xxxvii, 103
Fuchi of Otokuni, 222
Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-no-kami, 80
Fuji, Mount, 138, 257
Fujihara, 321
Fujihara no Ason Tsugunaha, lxxxii
Fujihara no Hitomaru, lxxxiii, 173
Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-ira-tsume (Lady), 321
Fujihara no Masaoki, x, lxxxiv
Fuka-buchi-no-midzu-yare-hana, 80
Fukita no wake, (Lords of), 273
Fumi no obito, (Grandees), 306
Funaki no atahe, (Suzerains of), 185
Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami, (Deity), 80
Furu-koto-bumi, v
Furu-kuma, 287
Furnace, Deity of, 108
Fuse no kimi, 322
Fushi-ikadzuchi, 42
Fushimi, Mound of, 369
Futa-go, Islands of, 29
Futaji-hime, (Princess), 271
Futaji-no-iri-bime, Her A., 223, 225, 270
Futa-na, Island of, 24
Fute-mimi-no-kami, 80
Futo-hime, 412
Futo-ma-waka-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 188
Futo-Tama-no-mikoto, 66
Fuzhi, Mount, see Fuji Mount

Garlic, 301
Gate, Deity of the August, 132
Gemmio, or Gem-miyo, Empress, v, xxii, 3, 12, 86

Generations, Seven divine, 21
"Gentile Name," xviii
Gentle August Spirit, 282
Germ-Integrating-Deity, 19, 20
Gins, xxviii
Ginger xxxviii, 173
Girdles, xxxiv, 230
Glass, xxxv
Gleanings from Ancient Story, lxxxiii, 66, 132, 313
Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, Youth of the, 317
Go, the country, 306
Goats, xxxvi
Gods with Tails, 166
Gold, xl, 278
Good-Boiled-Rice, Prince, 25
Good-Princess, 57
Goose, wild, xxxvii, 102, 116, 343, 344, 345
Goto, Islands of, 29
Gourds, xxxix, 281
Government, lxix, lxx, lxxi
Granaries, 248, 276, 326, 371
Grandee of the Way, 168
Grand-Ears-Deity, 80
Grand-Jewel, His A., 66, 68, 70, 130, 132
Grapes, 43
Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, 280
Great-Blade-Mower, a sword, 118
Great Butlers Tribe, 248
Great-Deity-of-Hades, 45
Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-Back, 45
Great-Divine-Fruit, Deities, 44
Great-Door-Sun-Youth, Deity, 30
Great-Earth-Deity, 109, 110
Great-Food, Princess, Land of, 25
Great-Furnace-Princess, Deity, 108
Great-Harvest-Deity, 79, 106, 110
Great-House-Prince, Deity, 30, 85, 86
Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing, Deity of, 29, 31
Great-Master-of-Things, 177, 211, 212
Great-Mountain-Integrator, Deity, 108
Great-Mountain-Possessor, Deity, 32, 79, 80, 138
  Child of, 72
Great-Name-Possessor, Deity, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 104
  attempts on the life of, 87, 88
  brought to life again, 84, 85
  killed, 84, 85
Great-Ocean-Possessor, Deity, 31, 147, 148
  Palace of, 145
Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, 49
Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, Deity, 107
Great-Thunder, Deity, 42
Great-Vale-Prince, Deity, 33
Great-Vale-Princess, Deity, 33
Great-Water-Master, Deity, 80
Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel, 192
Great Yamato's Lord Prince who Rules the Land, 192
Great Yamato Perfect Prince, Country Great Man, 190
Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly, 27
Grebe, xxxix, 298
Guard, Imperial, 142, 151
Gurgling-Up-August-Spirit, 137

Hachijo, Island of, xxxii, 346
Hada, 326
Hada no Miyatsuko, (Rulers), 307
Hades, lxiv, lxv, 40, 49, 53, 278, 280
Hades, Deities of, 42
Hades, Even Pass of, lii, 43, 44, 45, 46, 89
Hades, Great Deity of, 45
Hades, Warriors of, 43
Hafuri-sono, 219
Hagi (Bush-clover), xxxviii, 46
Haguhi no kimi, (Dukes of), 225
Haguri no omi, (Grandees of), 190, 191
Hahaki, Land of, 37, 84
Hahe-irodo, 188, 193
Hahe-irone, 188
Hahigi-no-kami, 109
Hakata, Mount, 191
Hall of eight fathoms, 22
Halochloa macrantha, xxxviii, 125
Hami no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, 130, 131, 132
Hand-Stroking-Elder, Deity, 73, 74
Hanifu, Pass of, 349
Hanishi-be, 242
Hani-yasu, 235
Haniyasu, Princess, 196
Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami, 34
Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami, 34
Han men, pool of the, 305
Hanzei Tenno, 325, 353
Hara-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Hare, xxxvii
Hare Deity, 83
Hare, the white of Inaba, 82, 83
Harihara no kimi, (Dukes of), 312
Harima, 193, 194, 195, 233, 243, 355, 374, 396
Harima no Aso no kimi, 207
Harima no Uzhika no omi, 195
Harvest-Deity, the August, 107
Hasa, Mount, 362
Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be, King, 411
Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be, Princess, 412
Hashiri-midzu, Sea of, 256
Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko, 325
Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume, 295, 325
Hata no kimi (Dukes of), 322
Hata no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Hata no Yashiro no sukune, (the Noble), 198
Hats, xxxiv
broad-brimmed, xxxv
Hatsuse, 220, 365, 366, 375, 408
Hatsuse-be no Kimi (Dukes of the Hatsuse tribe), 198
Hatsuse-be no toneri (Retainer), 375
Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki, His A., 411, 413
Haya-aki-dzu-hiko-no-kami, 31, 49
Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami, 31, 49
Hayabito-ata-no-kami, 142
Hayabusa-wake, 294, 340, 341, 342
Ha-yama-to-no-kami, 109
Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Haya-mika-no-take-sahaya-ji-nu-mi-no-kami, 100
Haya-sasura-hime, 30
Hayashi no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Haye, Lord, 186
Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountain, Youth-of-the, 317, 319

Head-ornaments, xxxiv, 368
Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her A., 68, 70, 129, 130, 132, 136, 137
Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth, Land of, 28
Heavenly-Awful-Master-Deity, 100
Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His A., 66, 68, 70, 130, 132
Heavenly-Bird-Boat, Deity, 33, 35, 120
Heavenly-Blowing-Male, Deity, 30
Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord, Deity, 80
Heavenly-Dark-Door, Deity, 33
Heavenly-Deer-Deity, 120
Heavenly Deities, lxv, 18, 21, 24
Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes, Deity, 32, 33
Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, 18
Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, His A., 111
Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth, Islands of, 26
Heavenly-Great-Male, Island of, 29
Heavenly-Great-Perfect-Prince, 190
Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness, 134, 135
Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess, Island of, 27
Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, 68, 70, 131
Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth, Deity, 101
Heavenly Metal-Mountains, 65
Heavenly-One-Eye, His A., 66
Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, Deity, 32, 101
Heavenly-Pointed-Blade-Extended, 40, 120
Heavenly-Rice-Ear-Ruddy, His A., 129
Heavenly-Rock-Boat, 21, 134
Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, 64, 69, 70
Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, Deity, 131, 132
Heavenly-Rock-Seat, 133
Heavenly Sovereigns, 140
Heavenly-Spying-Woman, 114
Heavenly Stairs, 21
Heavenly-Water-Divider, Deity, 31
Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor, Deity, 31
Heavenly-Young-Prince, the, 113, 114
  killed, 115
  shoots a pheasant, 115
  mourning for, 117
Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heavens-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty, His A., 127, 138
Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 74, 75, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 163
  retires into cave, 64, 65
  lured out of cave, 70
Heaven's-Earth-Spirit-Deity, 113, 116
Heaven's-One-Pillar, Island of, 27
Heaven's-One-Root, Island of, 29

Heaven's-Round-Eyes, His A., 134, 135
Heaven's - Sun - Height - Prince - Great-Rice - Ears - Lord- Ears, His A., 143, 154
Heaven's - Sun - Height - Prince - Wave - Limit - Brave - Cormorant-Thatch- Meeting-Incompletely, 153, 155
Heaven's-Two-Houses, Islands of, 29
Hedysarum esculentum, xxxix, 373
Heguri, Mount, 378
Heguri no omi, (Grandees of), 199, 399
Heguri no Tsuku no sukune, (the Noble), 199
Heki no kimi, (Dukes of), 312
Hepburn's Dictionary, 65
Hera, Pass of, 217
Herb-Quelling-Sabre, lxvii
Heron, xxxvii, 268
He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami, 48
He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami, 48
Hi, Land of, 27
Hi no kimi, (Dukes of), 183
Hi, River, 72, 75, 193, 194, 236, 252
Hiba, Mount, 37
Hibasu, Princess, 205, 221, 239, 241, 242
High August Producing Wondrous Deity, liv, 4, 17, 65, 103, 112, 113, 114, 115
High Deity - of - the - Fire-in - the - Yard, 109
High-Integrating-Deity, 115, 121, 127, 128, 129, 133, 163, 164
High-Princess, Her A., 98
sings, 118
High-Shining, Princess, 98
Higo, Province of, 184, 322
Hi haya-bi-no-kami, 38
Hihira-gi-no - sono - hana - madzumi-no-kami, 100
Hijikata no kimi, (Dukes of), 312
Hi-kaha-hime, (Princess), 80
Hiketa tribe, 379
Hiko-futsu - oshi-no - makoto, 196, 197
Hiko - hito - no- oho - ye no miko, (King), 245
Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi, 128, 129, 133
Hiko-imasu no miko, (King), 202, 204, 216
Hiko-inakoshi-wake, 197
Hiko-isa-seri-biko, 193
Hiko-kuni-buku, His A., 218, 219
Hiko-kuni-oketsu, 201
Hiko-osu, King, 204
Hiko-same-ma, 193, 195
Hiko-sashi-kata-wake, 193, 195
Hiko-ya-wi, His A., 180
Hiko-yumusumi, 201, 202
Himeda, Ancestor of the Dukes of, 205
Himeda no kimi, (Dukes of), 353
Hime-goso, Shrine of, 315
Hime, Island of, 29, 343
Himeko, 277
Himuka, lii, 133, 134, 176, 245, 247, 294, 300, 302, 325
Hinaga-hime, (Princess), 238
Hina-rashi-bime, (Princess), 100, 315
Hina-teri-nakata-bichi-wo - ikochi-ni, Deity, 99
Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami, 34
Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami, 34
Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami, 34
Hinokuma, 410
Hirado, Island of, 29
Hirata, Atsutane, v, x, li, lxxi, lxxxi,

lxxxiii, lxxxiv, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
Hirataka, 407
Hiro-hime, Her A., 412
Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi, 409, 410
Hironari, Imibe no, lxxxiii
Hirudinem, (Leech Child), 23
Hiru-go, 35
Hisaoi, Arakida no, lxxxiii
Hishiro, Palace of, 243, 251, 389
Hitachi no Naka no kuni no miya-tsuko, 184
Hitachi, Province of, 104, 126, 184, 206
Hi-tsugi-no-miko, 127
Hitsuma, Grandee, 408, 411
Hiuga, Land of, 26, 134, 136, 137
Hiye, Mount, 108
Hizen, Province of, 322
Ho, Lords of, 206
Ho-deri-no-mikoto, liv, lxxvii, 142, 143. 144, 148, 149, 150
Hodzumi no omi. (Grandees of), 175, 196
Hoffmann, lxi
Hoes, 336
Hohoma, Mount, 28
Hoko-ya-wi, 183
Hoku-roku-do, 216
Holly, xxxviii, 100, 254
Homuchi-wake, (Prince), 223, 228, 229, 230, 232
Ho-musubi, 34
Homo-tsu-wake, His A., 221
Homuda, 15, 303
Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko, (King), 291, 292, 408
Homuda-wake, 276, 291, 293, 321, 323
Homuji clan, 236, 238
Homuji, Dukes of, 207
Homuji tribe, Ancestor of, 204
Homu-ya-wake, 276
Honoho, King, 410
Ho-no-ikadzuchi, 42
Ho-no-ni-ni-gi, 6
Hooks, xxviii
Horse, xxxvi, xxxvii, 306
Horse-fly, xxxix, 383
Hoshikaha no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Ho-suseri-no-mikoto, 142
Hot Water, Trial by, 356
Ho-wori-no-mikoto, liv, lxxvii, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150, 154
Hsüan Hou, (Kenko), 9
"Human Age," lxx
Hydropyrum latifolium, xxxix, 359

Ibukí, Deity of, 262, 263, 267
Ibuki-do-nushi, 30
Ice-rain, 263, 360
Ichihiwi, 298
Ichihiwi no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Ichijishima, 298, 299
Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto, 57
Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, King, 373, 374, 395, 397, 398, 403
Ichishi-no-kimi, (Dukes of), 191
Ichishi, Pool of, 232
Idomi, 218
Idzumi, Province of, 160, 199, 218, 223, 294, 323
Idzumo Bravo, slain by Yamato Take, 253
Idzumo Fudoki, 51
Idzumo, Great August Deity of, 234, 236
Idzumo, Great God of, lvi, 236
Idzumo-no-iratsume, 408

Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (rulers of the land of), 60, 236
Idzumo, Province of, liii, liv, lv, lx, lxiv, lxix, lxx, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxviii, 5, 37, 46, 58, 60, 76, 78, 82, 94, 102, 116, 121, 124, 125, 160, 233, 237, 238, 252, 272
Idzu-ne-me-no-kami, 49
Idzu no Chi-Waki, x, xi, lxxxiii, 47, 68, 73, 102, 135, 164
Idzu no Koto-Waki, x, xi, lxxxiii, 77, 179, 257, 299
Idzushi, Eight great deities of, 316
Maiden of, 317, 318, 319
River, 319
Ifuya-zaka, (Pass), 46
Iga-hime, (Princess), 209
Iga, Land of, 187, 205
I-gaka-shiko-me, 196, 200
Igaka-shiko-wo, His A., 213
Iga no Suchi no inaki, 187
Iga-tarashi-hiko, His A., 221
Ihaki, King, 403
Ihakuma, 237
Ihakumo, Queen, 411
Ihami, Province of, 42
Iha-naga-hime, (Princess), 139
Ihanashi no wake, (Lords of), 224
Iha-no-hime, (Empress), 324, 325, 328, 331, 335, 343
Iha-oshi-waku no Ko, 166
Ihare, 347, 395, 408
Ihare-be, (Clan), 353
Ihare, Lake, 413
Iha-saku-no-kami, 37
Ihashiro no wake, (Lords of), 273,
Iha-tsuchi-biko-no-kami, 30
Ihatsuki, Mound of, 407, 408
Iha-tsuku-bime, Her A., 222
Iha-tsuku-wake, (King), 222, 225
Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami, 38
Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, 409
Iha-zu-bime-no-kami, 30
Ihi-bi-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 188
Ihigata-sumi, His A., 212
Ihi-me-no-ko, 413
Ihinu-ma-guro-hime, (Princess), 273
Ihitaka, Dukes of, 191
Ihi-toyo-no-iratsume, 348, 395, 398
Ihi-yori-hiko, 25
Ihobara no kimi, (Dukes of), 195
Ihodo, Palace of, 192
Iho-ki-no-iri-bime no mikoto, (Princess), 244
Iho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto, (Prince) 244, 246, 292
Ihorinu, Palace of, 410
Ikahi no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the land of), 184
Ikahi no miko, (King), 403
Ika-tarashi-hiko no miko, (King), 222, 225
Ikeno-be, Palace of, 412
Ike no kimi, (Dukes of), 225
Ikegokoro, Palace of, 189
Iki, Island of, 27
Ikobaya-wake, His A., 222, 224
Ikochini, Deity, 99
Iku-guhi-no-kami, 20
Ikuha-no-omi, (Grandees of), 200
Ikume-iri-biko-isachi, His A., 209, 221, 270
Ikume Tenno, 203
Ikuta, River, xxxi
Iku-tachi, 88
Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime, (Princess), 100
Iku-tama-yori-bime, (Princess), 212, 214

Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, His A., 58
Ikuye no omi, (Grandees of), 200
Iku-yumi-ya, 88
Imbe, the, lxvi
Imibe no Hironari, lxxxiii
Imibe no obito, (Headmen), 132, 183
Imigako, King, 411
Imperial Family, strife in the, lvi
Imperial House, li
Impetuous Male Deity, see Susa-no-wo
Inaba, Land of, 82, 207, 233
Inaba no Oshinumi-be, 207
Inabi no oho iratsume, (Elder Lady of), 243
Inabi no waki-iratsume, 245
Inada-no-miya-nushi-Suga-no-ya-tsu-mimi-no-kami, 78
Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-ya-tsu-mimi, 72
Ina-hi-no-mikoto, His A,, 155
Iname, the Noble, 412
Inaki no wake, (Lords of), 224
Inasa, 6, 121, 174
Inase-biko, (King), 224
Inawe, the Noble, 411
Inayori, Princess, 207
India, i, ii
Ine-yori-wake, (King), 271, 272
Ingiyo Tenno, 8, 183, 325, 354, 356, 357, 363
illness of, 356
Ini-shiki-no iri-biko, 221, 233
Inner Prince, 107
Inner Princess, 107
Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of All the Provinces, lxxxiii
Inquiry into the True Chronology, lxxxiii
Insects, xxxvii, 210
Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing, Deity, 48
Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore, Deity, 48
Inu-hime, (Princess), 106
Inukami no kimi, (Dukes), 272
Iri-ne no miko, (King), 204, 206
Iron, xxviii, xlii, 65
Isahi-no-sukune, (the Noble), 286, 287
Isaza-Wake, 287, 288
Ise, 137, 138, 185, 187, 191, 202, 267, 275
Ise-be, (Tribe), 305
Ise, Great Deity of, 210, 224, 249, 409
Ise, Inner Temple of, 131, 254
Ise no Funaki no atahe, (Suzerains), 185
Ise no Ihitaka no kimi, (Dukes of), 191
Ishidzu, 347
Ishi-hime, 410
I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, 65, 130, 132
Islam, lxii
Island of the Dragon-Fly, 191
Islands, birth of, 23–29, 35
Isonokami, 367, 408
Isonokami, Deity of, 164, 223
Isonokami, Divine Sword of, lxv
Isonokami, Temple of, lv, 348, 350, 352
I-suke-yori-hime, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181
Isuzu, 131
Ito, 283
I-toku Tenno, 188
Itoshi-be, (Tribe), 225
Itoshi-wake, (King), 222, 225

Itowi-hime, (Princess), 294
Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari, 40
Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami, 119
Itsu-se-no-mikoto, 155, 157, 160, 161
Iwashima no miko, (King), 322
Iyo, Land of, 25, 37, 184, 272, 363
Iyo, Rulers of the Land of, 184
Izaho-wake, His A., 325, 326, 347, 397, 398
Izakaha, Hill of, 208
Izakaha, palace of, 201
Izanagi, (The Male who invites), xxii, xxiii, lii, liv, lix, lx, lxiv, lxix, lxxiv, lxxvii, lxxviii, 4, 5, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43–48, 51, 53, 55, 57, 81–89, 120, 149, 280, 357
  bargains for a young girl, 74
  builds a palace. 76
  composes a song, 70, 77
  punished and expelled, 71, 72
  slays a serpent, 75
  visits the underworld, lii, liv, 40.
Izanami, (The Female who invites), xxiii, lii, lix, lxxiv, lxxvii, 4, 20–24, 33, 34, 35, 40–45, 90, 120
  burial of, 37, 59
  death of, 35
Iza-no-ma-waka, His A., 209, 292, 295
Izasa-wake, lv
Izhimu, Land of, 61
Izhimu-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61

Jade, xxxv
Japan, lxxii, 27, 315
Japanese, original religious beliefs of, lxiv, lxxiv, lxxv
Japanese Words Classified and Explained, xi, lxxxiii, 25, 27, 61, 73
Jars, sacred, 193, 194, 218
Jewels, xxxv, lxvii, 5, 51, 54, 56, 57, 58, 66, 67, 68, 118, 119, 130, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 229, 314, 316, 342, 366.
Jewel Ancestor, Chieftains, 133
Jewel Ancestor, His A., 66, 130, 133
Jewel-Good-Princess, 153, 155
Jewel-string, 229
Jih-pén, lxxii, lxxiii
Jim-mu Tenno, xvi, xxxi, lv, lvi, lxi, 4, 6, 7, 28, 157, 162, 164, 167, 170, 172, 174, 176, 181, 183, 220, 276
  legend, lxvii, lxx, lxxvii
  grandfather of, lxvii
  age of, 185
  burial of, 185
  see also under Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto
Jin-go Kō-gō, xxiv, xxxvi, lvii, lxv, lxviii, lxxvii, 6, 7, 136, 207, 276, 281, 284, 285, 289, 291, 316
  conquers Korea, lxxvii, 281, 282
  husband of, lvii, lviii, lxxvii
  practises birth control, 281, 282, 283
  subdues Yamato, 285, 286, 287
Jin-kō, lxxxii
Junk, 282

Kabura-zaki, 167
Kachi-do-hime, 284
Kadzura japonica, xxxix, 309
Kazuraki, 185, 189, 191, 197, 334, 372, 395
Kadzaraki-be, (Tribe), 325
Kadzuraki, Great Deity of, lv, lxv,

385, 386, 387
Kadzuraki, King, 411
Kadzuraki, Mount, 384, 386
Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko, 200
Kadzuraki-no-so-tsu-biko, 324
Kadzuraki-no-Takachina-bime-no-mikoto, 197
Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime, 206
Kadzuraki-no-tarumi, (Noble), 202
Kadzu, 296, 297.
Kadzunu, 108
Kadzunu no wake, (Lords of), 205
Kadzusa, Province of, 60, 61, 62, 185, 191, 235
Kaempfer, lxi
Kafuchi, 196, 212, 269, 291, 323, 347, 357, 376, 395, 410
Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, 410
Kaga, Province of, 73, 200
Kagami-tsukuri-no-murazhi, 132
Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami, 109
Kagayo-hime, 107
Kagosaka no miko, (King), 274, 276, 285
Kago-yori-ihme no mikoto, (Princess), 244
Kagu, Mount, lxiii, 36, 37, 67, 69, 120, 260, 261
Ka-guro-hime, (Princess), 245, 246, 273, 274, 295
Kagu-tsu-chi, 36
Kagu-ya-hime, Her A., 175, 222
Kaha-be, (Tribe), 357
Kahachi, Province of, 160, 183, 186, 199, 200, 208, 223, 294, 326, 348
Kahakami be, (Tribe), 223
Kahakami, Palace of, 223
Kahakami, Village of, 205
Kaha-mata-bime, (Princess), 186
Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime, (Princess), 207
Kahanobe no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Kaharada-no-iratsume, 295
Kahase no toneri, (Retainers), 375
Kahi, Land of, 205, 259
Kahibara Tokushin, lxxix, lxxxiii
Kahi-dako, 411
Kahi no iratsume, (Lady of), 354
Kahi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of the land of), 205
Kai-Kuwa Tenno, 201
Kakinomoto Hitomaru, 190
Kakinomoto no omi,(Grandees of), 190
Kama, Mount, 161
Kamafu-no-inaki, (Lords of), 62
Kamakura no wake,(Lords of), 272
Kama-no-kami, 108
Kami, lxiii, lxiv
Kami, King, 411
Kami-musu-bi-no-kami, or Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto, 17, 71
Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto, 84
Kami-naga-hime, (Princess), 300, 301, 324
Kami-tsu-ke-nu no kimi, (Dukes of), 209
Kami-tsu-Unakamino-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 60
Kamo, Great August Deity of, 98
Kamo no kimi, (Dukes of), 215
Kamu-do-tsurugi, 118
Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami, 106
Kamu-kushi no miko, (King), 244, 247
Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi, His A., 180, 182, 185
Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami, 49
Kamu-oho-ichi-hime, 79

Kamu-oho-ne no miko,(King), 204, 206, 247
Kamu-saki-no-iratsume, 409
Kamu-tsu-michi no omi, (Grandees of), 194
Kamu - ya - tate - hime-no - mikoto, 98
Kamu - yamato - ihare - biko - no - mikoto, lv, 5, 15, 155, 157, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180
age of, 185
burial of, 185
Kamu-yawi-mimi, His A., 4., 180, 182, 183
Kanahashi, Palace of, 410
Kana-yama-biko-no-kami, 34
Kana-yama-bime-no-kami, 34
Kani - me - ikadzuchi no miko, (King), 206
Kanu, Lords of, 205
Kara, 306
Kara-fukuro, 373
Kara-fukuro, children of, 403
Kara, Land of, 135
Kara no kami, (Deity), 106
Kara, Princess, 371, 375
Karanu, the ship, 345, 846
Karawoka, 408
Kari-bata-tobe, 202, 222
Karibawi, 374
Karu, 195, 220
Karu-be, (Tribe), 357
Karu, Land of, 188
Karu, Prince, xliii
Karu, pool of, 232
Karu-be no omi, (Grandees of), 198.
Karu no miko, (King), 354, 357, 358, 359, 361, 365, 363
Karu - no - oho - iratsume, (Lady), 355, 358
Karushima, 291
Kasa no omi, (Grandees of) ,194, 195
Kasanuhi, King, 410
Kasanuhi, Queen, 412
Kasasa, Cape of, 135, 136, 138
Kashi Spur, 185
Kashibara or Kashihabara, 175, 176
Kashifu, 304
Kashihade no omi, (Grandees of), 197
Kashihi, Palace of, 276, 277
Kasuga, 192, 201, 203, 387
Kasuga, King, 412
Kasuga-no-chiji - haya - ma - waka - hime, (Princess), 192
Kasugabe no kimi, (Dukes of), 225
Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, 412
Kasuga - no - oho - iratsume, (Princess), 408
Kasuga no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome, 203
Kasuga-no- yamada - no - iratsume, (Princess), 408, 411
Kasuga no yama no kimi, (Mountain Dukes of), 225
Katabu, Duke of Miwo, 409
Kataji no miko, (King), 295
Kata-shita, 186
Katashiha no miko, (King), 322
Katsura-no-ki, 114
Katawoka, 195, 407
Kawara Point, 310, 311
Kaya, Moor of, 373, 403
Kaya-nu-hime-no-kami, 32
Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi - wo-no-kami, 30
Keichiu, or Kei-Chiyu, xi, lxxxiv,

92, 93, 96, 304, 341, 345, 364
Kehi no oho-kami, 289
Kei-ko, (Year period), lxxvii
Kei-kō Tenno, xxiv, lvii, 197, 220, 243, 245, 247, 248, 252, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 267, 270, 274. 389
Kempermann, Mr., ii
Ken-kō, 9, 10
Ken-zō Tenno, xvii, 402, 405, 406, 407
Keta, Cape, 82
Ki, Land of, 61, 85, 161, 208, 233, 236, 247, 293, 331
Ki, Lord of, 197
Ki, Ruler of the Land of, 208
Ki-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61
Ki-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko no oya, 197
Ki-no-mata-no-kami, 90
Ki no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Ki no Tsunu no sukune, 199
Ki no Tsurayuki, lxxxii
Kibi, 28, 158, 193, 194, 224, 271, 328, 330, 331
Kibi, Chiefs, lv
Kibi, Great Prince of, 193
Kibi, Prince of, 243
Kibi, the Young Prince the Brave Prince of, 193
Kibi no Homuji no kimi, 207
Kibi no omi, (Grandees of), 243, 254, 271
Kibi no ye-hiko no mikoto, (King), 244
Kidzuki no oho-yashiro, 237
Kihe, Land of, 61
Kihe-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 62
Kihisa-tsu-mi, 236
Kim-mei Tenno, 410
Ki-nashi, 354, 357
Kingfisher, xxxvii, 117
Kirishima-yama, 134
Kisa-gahi-hime, 84
Kishi-be, (Clan), 286
Kishida no Omi, (Grandees of), 199
Kishiu, 58, 59
Kisu-mimi, His A., 176
Kitashi-hime, (Princess), 411
Kitchen, Deity of, lxxviii
Kiujiki, 397
Kiushu, liv, lxxii, lxxviii, 273, 276
Kiyo-hiko, 316
Kiyomihara, Palace of, 8, 10
Knives, xxviii
Knot-grass, xxxviii
Ko, Island of, 28
Kō-An Tenno, 191
Kodo Taii, iv
Ko Gan Sho, xi, lxxxiv, 93, 345
Kō-Gen Tenno, 195
Kogoto, 354
Kohada, Maiden of, 302, 303
Kohata, Village of, 297
Kojiki, see under *Records of Ancient Matters.*
Koma, 281
Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu, 356
Komuku no iratsune, (Lady), 292
Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime, 79
Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime, 138
Konomoto, The Deity that Dwells at, 36
Korai, 282
Korea, xxxvi, xlii, lvii, lxv, lxviii, lxxvii, 13, 27, 104, 105, 106, 135, 136, 216, 276, 278, 281, 282, 291, 334
Korea, tribute from, 305, 306
Korean Histories, lxxvii

Korean Language, lxxx
Korean Physician, 356
Kō-Rei Tenno, 192, 245
Koromo no wake, (Lords of), 224, 225
Kose no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Kose no Wo-Kara no sukune, (The Noble), 198
Koshi, 73, 90, 91, 195
Koshi, Circuit of, 216, 219, 225, 233
Koshihaki, 377
Koshi, Road of, 288
Koshi no Tonami no omi, (Grandees of), 195
Ko Shi Tsu, lix, lxxxiv
Kō-Shō Tenno, 189
Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 98
Koto-toke-no-wo, 30
Kozhima, 331
Kuchi-hime, (Princess), 337, 338
Kuchiko, 335
Kuchiko no omi, (Grandees of), 335, 338
Kudara, 281, 282, 305, 306
Kudara, Pool of, 305
Kuda-tama, xxxvi
Kugamimi-no-mikasa, 216
Kuhada, King, 412
Kuhada, Queen, 412
Kuhana, 116
Kuhashi-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 192
Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko, (King), 273, 274
Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami, 111
Kukuma-mori-hime, (Princess), 271
Kuku-no-chi-no-kami, 32
Kuku-toshi-no-kami, 111
Kumano or Kumanu, 58, 59, 162, 163
Kumanu, His Wondrous Augustness of, 58
Kumaso bravoes, 249
slain, 250–252
Kumaso, Land of, 27, 277
Kumata, 273
Kume, King, 413
Kume, Lords of, 135, 168
Kume no atahe, (Suzerains of), 135, 270
Kume no Ma-ito-hime, (Princess), 199
Kumu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami, 125
Kuni-kata-hime, (Princess), 209
Kuni-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami, 31
Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami, 33
Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, 31
Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami, 32
Kuni-no-sa-giri-no-kami, 33
Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 18, 19
Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami, 99
Kunisaki no omi, (Grandees of), 195
Kunu no miko, (King), 322
Kurahashi, 413
Kurahashi, Mount, 342
Kura-Mitsuha, Deity, 38
Kura-no-waka-ye, King, 410
Kura-Okami, Deity, 38
Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Kure, 375
Kure-hara, 375, 376
Kuro-hiko, (King), 354, 355, 370
Kuro-hime, (Princess), 328, 329, 330, 347, 409

Kuro-ikadzuchi, 42
Kurube omi, (Grandees of), 198
Kuruda, 192
Kurukoha Saneyori, lxxxiii
Kusaka, 160, 223, 376, 378
Kusaka-be, (Tribe), 205
Kusaka, King of Great, 325
Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami, 132
Kushi-Inada-hime, 73
Kushi-mi-gata, His A., 212
Kushi-tsunu-wake, (King), 243, 246
Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami, 125
Kusuba, Ferry of, 219
Kusuba, River, 374
Kusubi-no-iratsume, 408
Kuta, 373
Kuwam-mu Tenno, xvi
Kuye-biko, (King), 103
Kuzhifuru, Peak of, 134

Labourers Tribe, 248
Lacquer, xlviii
Land-Great-Wealth, Deity, 99
Language, the Japanese, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxix, lxxx
Lao Tzu, 11
Lark, xxxix, 341
Latrines, xxxi
Leech Child, 23, 35
Le Gendre, General, lxix
Lespedeza, xxxviii, 46
Life-Integrating-Deity, 20
Lily, xxxviii, 179, 180
Liquor, 289, 290, 291, 304, 307, 317, 348, 351, 393
Little - prince - fierce - boar -heart, 196
Little - Prince-the -Renowned-Deity, 102, 103, 104, 105
dies, 104
Little Shore, discussion on the, 6
Liturgies, 68
Livistona sinensis, xxxix, 238
Long-shank, Prince, 160
Loochoo Islands, 104
Loosen-Put, Deity, 47
Lord - Stem-Tree - Young - House - Rope, Deity, 111
Lord-Young-House-Rope, Deity, 111
Lotus, xxxix
Louse, xxxvii, 88
Lovely-Island-Princess, 57, 59
Lovely-Princess, 25
Luck, Exchange of, 143
Luck-Spirit, Princess, 100
Lun Yu, xlix
Lute, 277, 278, 344, 345, 346
Lute, A heavenly-speaking, 88, 89
Luxuriant - August - Food - Master, His A. 155
Luxuriant-Food, Deity of, 131
Luxuriant - Food - Princess, Deity, 35
Luxuriant - Integrating - Master - Deity, 19
Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, 146, 147, 151, 152, 153, 154
Luxuriant-Reed -Plains-the-Land-of - Fresh - Rice - Ears - of - a - Thousand-Autumns-of-Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns, Land of, 111, 112, 129
Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, 132
Luxuriant Snapping Deity, 38
Luxuriant-Sun-Youth, Land of, 27

Mabuchi, ix, lxxxii, lxxxiii, 19, 27, 39, 50, 51, 70, 80, 84, 88, 107, 108, 128, 131, 132, 159,

172, 227, 229, 234, 261, 262, 280, 287, 291, 300, 304, 317, 333, 334, 367, 392
Madder, xxxiv, xxxviii
Magari, 410
Magari, Ancestor of the Dukes of, 205
Maga-tama, xxxvi, lxxix
Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended, Deity, 40, 119
Makimuku, 243
Male-who-invites, see Izanagi
Mammals, xxxvii
Mamuta, 326
Mamuta, King, 413
Mamuta-no-iratsume, 409
Mamuta, no murazhi (Chieftains of), 183
Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume, 409
Manago, Vale of, 189
Manu, King, 411
Mantchu, i
Maiden-of-Idzushi, Deity, 317, 318, 319
Maroko, King, 411, 412
Maroko, Prince, 409
Marriage, xliii, xlv, 279
Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mi-koto, 57
Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Masa no obito, (Headmen of), 272
Master-of-Shiki-Yama, Deity, 101
Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-heaven, Deity of, 4, 15, 17
Master-of-the-Great-Land, Deity, 79, 81, 89, 97, 98, 102, 105, 112, 113, 121, 122, 123
various names of, 81
Master-of-the-Open-Mouth, Deity, 47
Master-of-the-temple-of-Inada Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga, 78
Master-of-Trouble, Deity, 47
Masu, Lady, 205
Mata, Prince, lxxxii
Mata-maroko, King, 411
Mato, Princess, 199
Motonu-hime, (Princess), 205, 239
Matsuchi-yama, 236
Matsu-no-wo, 108
Matsura-gata, (Department of), 284
Matsushita Ken-rin, lxxxi, lxxxiii
Mausoleum, 154, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 195, 200, 208, 220, 241, 242, 257, 267, 268, 269, 270, 274, 275, 291, 322, 353, 354, 357, 369, 395, 403, 406, 408, 410, 412, 413
Ma-waka, King, 204, 206, 245
Ma-waka, Prince, 408
Ma-Yowa, King, 369, 370
Medori no miko, (Queen), 294, 340, 341, 342
Medusa, xxxviii
Meko-no-iratsume, 409
Mencius, 5, 40
Metal-Mountain-Prince, Deity, 34
Metal-Mountain-Princess, Deity, 34
Mibu-be, (Tribe), 325
Michi-no-naga-chi-ha-no-kami, 47
Michi-no-Omi, His A., 168
Michi-no-ushi-hime, (Princess), 239
Michinoku, 184
Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko, 184
Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami, 45
Middle-Possessing-Male, 280

Midzu-gaki, Palace of, 208
Midzu-ha-wake, (King), 350, 351, 353
kills Sobakari, 351
Midzu-maki-no-kami, 110
Midzuho-no-ma-waka no miko, (King), 204, 206
Midzuha-wake, 326
Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime, 204
Mifune-no-Mahito, xvi
Mihakashi bime, (Princess), 245
Mihara no iratsume, (Lady), 293, 322
Mihe, 393
Mihe, Village of, 264, 265
Miho, Cape, 102, 121
Mi-kado-wake, King, 205
Mikage, The Heavenly Deity, 203
Mikaha, Province of, 206, 225, 272
Mikaha-no-ho-no-wake, 206
Mika-haya-bi-no-kami, 38
Mikakuri, 395
Mikami, Deacons of, 203
Mika-nushi-hiko-no-kami, 100
Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 155
Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami, 289
Mikuni no kimi, (Dukes of), 322
Mi-kura-tana-no-kami, 52
Millet, xxxiv, xxxviii, 71, 172, 173
birth of, 71
Milne, Prof., xxxvi, lxxix, 170
Mima-ki-iri, Prince, 217, 220
Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe, 201, 202, 208
Mima no miko, (King), 347
Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine, His A. 188, 189
Mima-tsu-hime, 201, 209
Mimi, Lords of, 205
Mimi, Prince, 409
Mimi-tsu-hime, 204
Mimoro, 336
Mimoro, Mount, 106, 212
Mina-be no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the), 207
Minamoto no Shitagafu, lxxxiii
Minato-no-kami, 31
Mino, Province of, 118
Minu, Land of, 118, 233
Minu no inaki, (Territorial Lords of), 187
Minu no iratsume, 293
Minu no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the Land of), 206, 247
Minu no wake, (Lords of), 224
Minu, Prince of, 293
Minu, Village of, 212
Miraculous, Cessation of the, lviii
Mira-na-mi-no-kami, 100
Miro-na-mi, Deity, 101
Mirror, 5, 66, 67, 68, 70, 130, 131, 316, 317, 366, 393
Mirror-Making Chieftains, 132
Misasaki, 155
Mi-shima, 298, 299
Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take, Prince, 253
Mitachi, 241
Mi-toshi-no-kami, 107
Mitsu, Cape, 332
Mitsu-go, Islands of, 26
Mitsuhanome, Deity, 35
Miwa, 177
Miwa, Great Deity of, lv, lvi, lxv, 177, 212, 215
Miwa, Mount, 215
Miwa no kimi (Dukes of), 215
Miwa-no-oho-mono-nushi-no-kami, 177
Miwa, River, 379

Mi-wi-no-kami, 90
Miwi, Palace of, 187
Miwo no kimi (Dukes of), 225, 408
Miya, lxvi, 334
Miyadzu-hime (Princess), 255, 267
Miyaji no wake (Lords of), 272
Miyake no murazhi (Ancestor of the Chiefs of), 240
Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye, Princess, 294 296, 297, 298
Miyazu, xlviii
Miyazu, Princess, 260, 262
Mizokuhi, 177
Mofusu, Mound of, 323
Momo-shiki-iro-be, 321
Mone no Ajisaha-bime, 206
Mongolian, i
Mononobe-no-arakawi, Chieftain, 409
Mononobe no murazhi, 175
Moon, 4
Moon-God, liii, lxxviii, 5
Moon-Night-Possessor, 50, 52
Moors, Deity of, 32
Moor-Elder, Deity, 32
Moribe, Tachibana no, a scholar very frequently referred to in the notes throughout the book.
Mori no kimi (Dukes of), 246
Mortar, xxviii, 243, 291, 304
Moss, xxxviii
Moth, 102, 103
Motosu no kuni no miyatsuko (Rulers ot the Land of), 206
Motowori Norinaga, spelt Motoori by Satow, a scholar referred to in the notes on nearly every page of this book.
Mount Mourning, 118
Mountain and Sea Classic, lxxxv, 92
Mountains, Deites of the, lxv, 32, 36
Mountains, the Heavenlv Metal, 65
Mountain Tribe, 305
Mountain Warden Tribe, 305
Mourning House, 116, 113
Mourning Implements, 87
Mourning Vessel, 285
Mouse, xxxvii, 87
Mo-yama, 118
Mozu, 323, 353
Mozu, Ear-Moor of, 346, 347, 354
Mud-Earth-Lady-Deity, 19
Mud-Earth-Lord-Deity, 19
Mugetsu no kimi (Dukes of), 248
Munakata, no kimi (Dukes of), 59
Munakata, Temple of, 59, 98
Muragata no kimi (Duke of), 300, 325
Murakami Tadanori, ix
Murakami Tadayoshi, lxxxiv
Mure no wake (Lords of), 224
Muretsu Tenno, 184, 398, 408
Muro, 191
Muro-biko, (King), 203
Muro-biko no miko, (King), 203 205
Musashi, Land of, 60, 80
Music, xlviii
Musk-melon, xxxix, 252
Muza no omi, (Grandees of), 191
Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of the Land of), 60
Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess, 128

Nabari no inaki, (Territorial Lords of), 187
Nagahata-be no murazhi, (Chiefs of), 206
Naga-hime, (Princess), 294

Nagahi-hime, (Princess), 325
Nagaho, Palace of, 237
Naga-me-hime, 409
Nagasa no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the Land of), 184, 185
Nagasune-hiko, 160
Nagata-no-oho-iratsume, 354, 368
Nagaye, 291, 357
Naka, Rulers of the Land of, 184
Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 49, 280
Nakatomi-no-murazhi, (Chieftains), 132
Naka-tsu, King, 412
Naka-tsu-hiko-no miko,(King), 322
Naka-tsu-hime, (Princess), 292
Naki-saha-me-no-kami, 37
Names, xliv
Names rectified, 356, 357
Namihaya Crossing, 159
Namiki, Palace of, 408
Namiye Motokichi, xii
Na-naki-me, 114
Nana-tsuka-hagi, 270
Naniha, 286, 300, 315, 324, 329, 332, 333
Naniha Channel, 326
Naniha, King, 412
Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma, 286
Naniha no miko, (Queen), 402
Naniha, Palace of, 348
Nara, 235, 333, 334
Nara-ikadzuchi, 42
Nara Mountain, 312, 333
Natsu-no-me-no-kami, 110
Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami, 110
Navigation, xxviii
Neck Clan, Grandees of, 175
Necklaces, xxxiv, 51, 52
Needles, xxxiv
Ne-no-kata-su-kuni, 53
Ne no omi, (Grandees of), 367, 368
Ne-saku no-kami, 37
Nether Distant Land, 53, 86
Netori, His A., 293, 322
Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names, 183, 184
Night, Dominion of the, 52
Nigi-hayabi, 174, 175
Niha no omi, (Grandees of), 185
Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami, 109
Nihe-motsu--no-Ko, 166, 174
Nihibari (Nihiharu), 259
Nihon Shoki 41, 56
Nihongi (see also Chronicles), iii, xviii, 12, 39, 43, 44, 54, 284, 397
Nika-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 49
Nim-pan, 307
Nin-ken Tenno, 407
Nintoku Tenno, xl, lviii, 7, 15, 184, 293, 324, 325, 327, 328, 331, 335, 339, 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347
Nobo, Moor of, 265
Nomi no Sukune, 242
Norito, see Rituals
Notes an Japanese Archaeology, 242
Noto no omi (Grandees of), 210
Noto, Province of, 73, 225
Nubata-no-iri-biko, 221
Nubata-no-iri-bime, Her A., 222
Nu-dzu-chi-no-kami, 32
Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki, 295
Nukade-hime (Princess), 412
Nukade-hime (Queen), 412
Nuka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume (Princess), 408
Nukako-no-iratsume(Princess),411
Nukata-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko, 292

Nukatabe - no - yuwe - no-murazhi, 61
Nuna-kaha, Princess, 90, 91, 92, song sung by, 93, 94
Nuna-kawa-hime, 91
Nunaki no iratsume (Lady), 244
Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime, Her A., 209
Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki, 410, 411, 412
Nu-no-iro-hime (Princess), 200
Nunoshi - tomi - tori - naru-mi-no-kami (Deity), 101
Nunoshiro no iratsume (Lady), 244
Nurinomi, 334, 338
Nu-tarashi-wake, His A., 221
Nuye, xxxvii, 91, 92

Oak, xxxviii, xxxix, 234, 235, 252, 285, 301, 378
Oar, xxix
Oaths, lxvi
Obscenity, xlvii-xlviii
Ocean, God of, lv
Ocean-Possessing Deities, 50
Ochikuni, 240
Ochi-wake no miko, (King), 222, 224
Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Offering-bearing-child, 166
Offerings to Gods, lxv, lxvi, 68, 213
Offing-Distant, Deity, 48
Offspring of the Heavenly Deity, short lived, 140
Ofushi, Chieftain, 409
Ofushi-kafuchi, Land of, 61
Ofuwo, The maiden, 399
Ohari no niha no omi, (Grandees of), 185
Oha-ya-biko-no-kami, 85
Oha-ama-hime, 209
Oh-Awful-lady-Deity, 20
Oho-aya-tsu-bi, 30
Oho-be-hime-no-kami, 108
Oho-biko, 196, 209, 215, 216, 217, 219
Ohodo, His A., 408
Oho-ge-tsu-hime, 26
Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami, 71
Oho-gitashi-hime, 412
Oho-ha-kari, 118
Oho-harahi norito, 63
Ohohara no iratsume, (Princess), 292
Oho-hatsuse, His A., 355, 406, 408
Oho-hatsuse, Prince, 367 370, 371, 373, 374, 375, 406
Oho-haye no miko, (King), 295
Ohoka, Headman of Ise, 412
Oho-hime, 205
Oho-hodo, King, 354
Oho-hodo no mikoto, (King), 321
Oho-ikadzuchi, 42
Oho-ina-biko, 197
Oho-ira-tsuko, 321, 408
Oho-iratsume, (Princess), 409
Oho-iri-ki, His A., 209, 210
Oho - kaga - yama - to-omi-no-kami, 107
Ohoke, Prince, 374, 396, 399, 401, 402, 406, 407, 409, 410.
Oho - kibi - no - moro-susumi, 191, 193
Oho-kibi-take, 271
Oho-kibi-tsu-biko, 193, 194
Ohokida, Dukes of, 183, 184
Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami, 29
Oho-Kume, His A., 168, 176, 178, 179
Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami, 106
Oho-kuni-nushi no-kami, lxiv, 81,

89, 113, 117, 234, 236, 237, 316
Oho-kusaka-be, (Tribe), 326
Oho-kusaka-no miko, (King), 325, 326, 367, 368, 369, 375
Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami, 49
Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune no omi, (Grandee the Noble), 360, 361, 362
Oho-mata no miko, (King), 202, 204, 412
Ohomata, Queen, 412
Ohome, 192
Oho-nabi, 197
Oho-nagata no miko, (King), 274
Oho-naho-bi-no-kami, 49
Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, His A., 221, 223
Oho-naka-tsu-hime, (Princess), 274
Oho-na-muji-no-kami, 81
Oho no omi, (Grandees of), 183
Oho-Nu-De-Hime, Island of, 29
Ohonu, Mound of, 413
Ohosaka, 159, 235
Ohosaka, Deity of, 213
Ohosaka, Mountain, 349, 351
Ohosaka no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Oho-sazaki no mikoto, 15, 184, 293, 295, 296, 300, 303, 304, 308, 312, 313, 324, 325, 341
Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miya-tsuko, 61
Ohosumi, Province of, 136, 142
Ohotaka, 223
Oho-Tamaru-Wake, Island of, 29
Oho-tamu-saka no miko, (King), 207, 271
Ohota no kimi, (Dukes of), 246
Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, His A., 221, 223, 243, 246, 251, 273
Ohotate, Chief, 342, 343
Oho-tata-ne-ko, lvi, 211, 212, 214, 215
Oho-tomato-hiko-no-kami, 33
Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami, 33
Ohotomo-no-kanamura. 409
Ohotomo no murazhi, (Chieftains), 135, 168
Ohotomo, Prince, 3, 8. 9
Oho-tomo, Queen, 411
Oho-tomo-wake, 276
Oho-to-bi-wake-no-kami, 30
Oho-to-no-be-no-kami, 20
Oho-to-no-ji-no-kami, 20
Oho-toshi-no-kami, 79
Oho-tsuchi-no-kami, I09
Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne no miko, (King), 202, 222
Oho-usu, His A., 243, 247
Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 31
Ohowiko, Moor of, 335, 336
Oho-ya-biko-no-kami, 30
Oho-yake, King, 411
Ohoyake no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Oho-yama-kuhi-no-kami, 108
Oho-yama-mori, 292, 296, 308, 309, 310, 312
Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 32, 72
Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 188. 192, 193
Oho-yamato-kiko-suki-tomo, 186, 187, 188
Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni, His A., 192
Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru, 192, 193, 195
Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito, His A., 190
Oho-yamato-toyo-aki-dzu-shima,

27
Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 32
Oho-ya-shima-kuni, 28
Ohoye-no-izaho-wake, 324
Oho-ye no miko, (King), 246, 274
Ohoyuwe-be, (Clan), 238
Ō-jin Tenno, xiii, xlix, lviii, 15, 195, 200, 276, 277, 285, 289, 291, 293, 295, 296, 300, 303, 304, 305, 308, 312, 313, 315, 317, 321, 323, 346
drunk, 307
Okami-no-kami, (Deity), 80, 100
Oke-tsu-hime, 201
Oki, Island of, 26, 82
Oki-me, 402, 403, 404
Okinaga - hiko - no - miko, (King Prince), 207
Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime, (Princess), 273, 294
Okinaga no kimi, (Dukes), 322
Okinaga-no-ma-de, King, 412
Okinaga no-mate, Prince, 409
Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime, 203
Okinaga no sukune no miko, (King Noble), 206
Okinaga-tarashi-hime, (Princess), 206, 276, 277, 285, 286, 289, 316
Okinaga - ta - wake - no - mikoto, (King), 272, 273
Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami, (Deity), 107, 109, 110
Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, Her A., 107, 109, 110
Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami, 48
Oki-tsu-nagisa-biho-no-kami, 48
Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto, 57
Oki-tsu-yoso. 189
Okuyama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Okurina, xvi
Oki-zakura-no-kami, 48
Omi, Province of, 61
O-midzu-nu-no-kami, 80
Omina-ko-no-iratsume, 412
Omo-daru-no-kami, 20
Omohi-kane-no-kami, 65
"One Account" of the "Chronicles of Japan," 30
Onogoro, Island of, 21, 22, 28, 35, 329
Orange, xxxix, xl, lvi, 104, 301, 240, 241, 271
Osaka-be, (Tribe), 357
Osaka, Cave of, 170, 171
Osaka-no-hiko-hito, (King), 412
Osaka - no - oho - naka - tsu - hime, (Princess), 295, 321, 354
Osaka, The Great Middle Princess of, 321
Oshiha no miko, (King), 347
Oshiha, Prince, 373, 374
Oshika-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 191
Oshikuma no miko, (King), 274, 276, 285, 386, 287
Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (King), 248
Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko (King), 248
Oshi-no-wake, His A., 244
Oshinumi, 395
Oshinumi-be no miyatsuko (Rulers of), 207
Oshi-numi-no-iratsume (Princess), 395
Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba, 207
Oto - hime - ma - waka - hime (Princess), 321
Oto-hime no mikoto, Her A., 231 239, 245, 248, 273, 292, 354
Oto-karibata-tobe, 222
Otokuni, 240
Otoshiki, 174

Oto - tachibana - hime - no - mikoto (Princess), 256, 271
Oto - takara - no - iratsume, (Lady), 274, 275
Owl, 293
Oyster, xxxix, 364

Pagrus cardinalis, xxxviii, 148
Palace, xxix, xxx, xxxii
P'an Ku, lxxviii
Parturition Houses, xxxii, xliv, 45, 141, 152, 293
Passive and Active Essence, 4
Peach, xxxviii, 43, 44
Pearls, 316
People with tails, 166
Perch, xxxviii, 126
Peregrine falcon, xxxix, 294
Perfect-Exterior-Deity, 20
"Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," xi, lxxxiv, 68, 117, 165, 171
Pestilence, 211
Pestle, xxviii
Pheasant, xxxvii, 91, 117
Pheasant the Name-Crying-Female 114, 116
  killed, 115
Photinia glabra, xxxviii, 169
Pine-tree, xxxix
Pits, xxxiii, 171
Plain of High Heaven, 17, 51, 129
  shakes, 70
Platters, 213
Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder, Deity, 18
Plenty-Swift, Deity, 175
Plover, xxxvii, xl
Plum-tree, xl
Podocarpus macrophylla, xxxix, 281
Poems, xlviii. See also under Songs, and for the Japanese texts see Appendix i
Porcelain, xlviii
Porpoise, xxxvii
Possessor - of - Descent-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor-of-the-Dense (ly wooded) -Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor - of - the - Innermost - Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor - of - the - Ocean - Bottom, Deity, 49
Possessor - of - the - Ocean-Middle, Deity, 49
Possessor - of - the - Ocean - Surface, Deity, 49
Possessor - of - the - Outer - Mountains, Deity, 40
Possessor - of-the-Outlying-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor - or - the - True - Pass - Mountains, Deity, 39, 40
Poverty, 327
Prayers, lxii, lxvi
Priests, lxvi
Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice, 25
Prince-Lord-of-Life, 58
Prince-Lord-of-Heaven, 58, 61
Prince-of-Long-Wind, Deity, 32
Prince-Swift-Autumn, Deity, 31
Prince - valorously - advancing - prince, 193
Prince-vast-great-truth, 196
Princess - Blossoming - Brilliantly, Like - the - Flowers - of - the - Trees, 138, 139, 140, 141

Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, 79, 139
Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit, Deity, 100
Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks, 139, 140
Princess-of-Great-Food, Deity, 25, 34, 110
  killed, 71
Princess-of-Swift-Autumn, Deity, 31
Princess-of-the-Island-of-the-Offing, 57
Princess-of-the-Torrent, 57, 59
Pryer, Mr, 93
Pueraria Thunbergiana, xxx, xxxix, 297
Punishments, xlvii
Purification, 287

Quail, xxxix
Quern, xxviii, 343,
Quivers, Heavenly-rock-, 134

Radish, xxxix, 336
Raven, xxxvii
"Records of Ancient Matters," throughout translator's introduction, 3, 8, 22, 66, 78, 181, 225, 245, 255, 268, 302, 317, 401
  Decree ordering compilation of, 11, 13
  Editions of, viii, ix
  Exposition of by Motowori, ix
  first printed in the year 1644, viii
  in the Divine Characters, x, lxxxiv
  in the Syllabic Characters, ix, lxxxiv
  Method of compilation, 14
  revised, x, lxxxiv, 116
  Text and its authenticity, iv
  with Marginal Notes, ix
  with Marginal Readings, ix, lxxxiv
  with the ancient reading, ix, x, 41
Red-throated Quail, xxxix
Reed, xxxix
Reed, Sir Edward, lxix
Reed-Plains, Central Land of, 112 113, 114, 121, 123, 127, 129
Reed-Plains, Deity of the, 81
Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, Deity, 109
Refulgent-Princess, 107
Relationships, xli, xlii, xliii
Religion of the Early Japanese, lxii
Religious rites, lxv, lxvi
Reptiles, xxxvii
Revival of Pure Shinto, iv
Rice, xxxiii, xxxix, 201, 284, 291
Rice-Castle, xxxiii, 227
Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty, Prince, 129, 133, 139, 141
Rice-seeds born, 71
Rice-Ear-True-Youth, 24
Ri-chiū Tenno, 325, 347, 348, 350, 352, 353, 398
  intoxicated, 348
  attempted assassination of, 348
Rituals, xxxvii, lxvi, 68, 75, 109, 122, 255, 318
Ritual for averting fire, 31, 34
Ritual of the General Purification, lxxxiv, 30, 63, 132, 279
Ritual of the Praying for Harvest, 12
Rivers, Deities of the, lxv
River of Heaven, lxx, lxxviii, 6, 56, 65, 112, 115, 120
Road-Fork-Deity, 47
Road-Long-Space-Deity, 47
Road-Reaching-Great-Deity, 45
Rock-princess, 324

Rock, a thousand-draught, 44
Rock-Dwelling, the Heavenly, 119, 130
Rock-Earth-Prince, Deity, 29
Rock-Elder-Male-Deity, 37
Rock-Nest-Princess, Deity, 30
Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity, 37
Rock-Splitter, Deity, 37, 38
Root-Splitter, Deity, 37,
Rough Augüst Spirits, 282
Rudder, xxix
Rugs of silk, xxxi
Rugs of skin, xxxi
Rumbling-Thunder, Deity, 42

Sabre, a heavenly, 6
Sabre, ten-grasp, 118, 144
Sado, Island of, 27
Sagami, see Sagamu.
Sagamu, Land of, 255, 257, 258, 272
Sagamu, Ruler of, 255
Sagara, 333
Sagaraka, 239, 240
Sagariki, 240
Sage-Deity, 106, 107
Sagisu, Pool of, 234
Sahaji-hime, 203, 221
Sahi-mochi-no-kami, 150
Saho, 224, 225
Saho-biko no miko, (King), 203, 205, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231
Saho-bime, Her A., 203, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230,231
Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome, 203
Sai-so, 306
Sakabe Abiko, 247
Sakabe of Uda, 247
Sakahi, 354
Sakahi-bara, Palace of, 195
Sakahi-be no murazhi, 183
Sakahi, Chieftains of the Tribe of, 183
Sakahiwo, Palace of, 188
Sakamoto, Grandees of, 199, 367
Saka-nobori, King, 412
Sakata no Kaneyasu, ix, lxxxiv
Sakata no-oho-mata, Prince, 409
Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi, (Dukes), 322
Sakate, Pool of, 248
Sakawori, Palace of, 259
Sakawori, Pool of, 220
Sake, xxxiv, 74, 289, 290, 305
Saketsu, Island of, 329
Saki, 242, 275
Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, King, 411
Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 62
Sakikusa-no-wake, (Lcrds of), 224
Saki-tama-bime, 100
Saki-tsu-mi, 315
Saku-ikadzuchi, 42
Sakurawi, Grandees of, 199
Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi, 294
Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari, King, 411, 412
Salt, 346
Salt-Possessor-Deity, 144, 145, 146
Sana, Ancestor of the rulers of, 204
Sanagata, 132
Sandpiper, xxxvii, xl
Sane no miko, (King), 321
Sanugi, Prince sufficing Lord of, 202
Sanugi-tari-ne no miko, (King), 202
Sanuki, Land of, 24, 25, 202, 272
Saru, Duchesses of, 132, 136. 137,

138
Saru me no kimi, 132
Saruta, Deity Prince of, 130, 136, 137
drowned, 137
Saruto-biko-no-kami, 130
Sasa, 205
Sasage-no-iratsume, 409
Sasaki, Dukes of Yama of, 373
Sasaki Tribe, Grandees of the, 184
Rulers of the, 184
Sasanami, 287
Sashibu, xxxix. 333
Sasu-kuni-Oho (no) kami, or Sashi- etc., 81
Sasu-kuni-waka-hime, or Sashi-kuni-waka-hime, 81
Satow, Sir Ernest, ii, iv, xii, xxvii, xxxii, xxxvii, xli, xlvii, lxvii, lxxvii, lxxxi, lxxxv, 12, 24, 54, 66, 67, 69, 75, 77, 109, 122, 126, 141, 203, 242, 255, 296, 318
Satow and Hawes Guide Book, 171, 174
Satsuma, Province of, 136, 138, 142, 176
Saw, xxviii
Sawara no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Sawi, River, 179, 180, 181
Sawo-ne-tsu-hiko, 159
Sayama, Pool of, 223
Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-oho-kami, 46
Sa-yori-bime-no-mikoto, 57
Sazaki-be no miyatsuko, 184
Sazaki-be no omi, (Grandees of), 184, 198
Scythian, i
"Sea-ass," xxxvii, 147
Sea, Deities of the, lxv
Sea-Deity, 30, 147, 148, 150
Sea-Deity's Daughter, 145, 146
Sea-God's Palace, lxxviii, 153
Sea-monster, xxxvii
Sea-Plain, 52, 156
Sea-weed, xxxix
Secret of the Chronicles of Japan, 39
Sedge, xxxix
Sei-mu Tenno, lxxvii, 7, 274
Sei-nei Tenno, 395, 396, 398, 402
Seki-hime, 409
Sen-Kuwa Tenno, 410
Serpent, xxxvii
the eight-forked, liii, 73
slain, 75, 130
Serpentine, xxxv
Service of the Goddess of Food 318
Settsu, Province of, 183, 186, 202, 273, 385, 322, 326, 330
Seya-datara, Princess, 177
Shan Hai Ching xxxiv, lxxii, lxxxv
Shark, xxxvii
Sheep, xxxvi
Shibakaki, Palace of, 353, 413
Shibanu-hime, (Princess), 273
Shibanu-iri-ki, 273
Shibi no omi, (Grandees of), 399, 400, 401, 402
Shibumi no Sukune no miko, (King, the Noble of), 202, 205
Shidzu-kahi, King, 411
Shields, lxvi, 213
Shiga, 274
Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Shihida, Dukes of, 410
Shiho hiru tama, 149
Shiho mitsu tama, 149
Shiho-tsuchi no kami, 144
Shiki, 208, 221, 269
Shiki Brethren, 172, 174

Shiki, Departmental Lords of, 186, 188, 376, 377
Shiki no agata-nushi, 186
Shiki, Prince of, 187
Shikishima, Palace of, 410
Shiki-tsu-hiko, 187
Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi, 186
Shikoku, Island of, 24
Shima, Province of, 137, 138
Shimada no kimi, (Dukes of), 246
Shimada no omi, (Grandees of), 185
Shima-tari-ne, 294
Shimesu, 405
Shimosa, Province of, 126
Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi, (Dukes of), 209, 210
Shimo-tsu-michi, Grandees of, 194
Shimo-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 60
Shinaga, 412
Shinaga, Sepulchre of, 413
Shinanu or Shinano, xl, 50, 123, 184, 233, 260
Shinanu (or Shinano) no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the land of), 184
Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami, 32
Shining-Elder Deity, 39
Shinto, xlviii, l, lxix
Shinto Discussed Afresh, lxxxiv
Shintoists, modern, lix
Shinto Priests, 203, 212
Shinto Rituals, see also Rituals, i, ii, xxix, lxxiv
Shira-bi-wake, 26
Shiragi, lvii, 281, 282, 305, 313, 356
Shira-hi-no-kami, 106
Shiraka, His A., 375
Shiraka-be, (Clan), 375, 395
Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko, 395
Shirakata, Haven of, 159
Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume, 409
Shiri-kume-naha, 70
Shiritsuki-tome, 292
Shiro-biko no miko, (King), 355
Shiro-biko, Prince, 370
Shiro-kane no miko (Queen), 274
Shita-teru-hime, (Princess), 98, 113
Shiū-O, 9, 10
Shizhimu, 374, 396, 402
Shoki Shukai, 38
Shō-ko, King, 305
Shore-distant Deity, 48
Shotoku Tai-shi, 57
Shrike, 347
Shuttle, xxviii
Sickle, xxviii
Siebold, Mr. Henry von, xxxvi, xlvii lxi, lxxix, 242
Silk Rugs, xxxi, xxxvi
Silkworms, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, 338
  birth of, 71
Silver, xl, 278
Skirts, xxxiv
Slavery, xlvii
Small-August-Deity, lv, lx, lxv, 289
Small-Country, Great-Deity-of-the, 81
Small-Country, Young-Princess-of-the, Deity, 80
Snakes, xxx, xxxvii, 87, 225, 316
Snipe, xxxvii
Sobakari, 350, 351
Sobakari, killed, 352
Soga no Ishikaha, Noble, 198
Soga-no-kura, King, 411
Soga no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Sohori-no-kami, (Deity), 106
Soko-doku-mi-tama, 137

Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 64, 280
Soko-dzutsu-wo, 30
Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 49
Songs, English translations of, lxvi, 91–97, 153, 154, 169–174, 178–182, 217, 231, 253, 257, 259–261, 264–269, 287, 289, 290, 297, 298, 301–305, 307, 310, 311, 328–331, 333–346, 348, 349, 358–366, 378, 380–383, 385, 387–389, 391–394, 397, 399, 400, 404
  Japanese texts of the, See appendix i
Soni, 342
Sora-tsu-hi-daka, 144, 145
Sora-tsu-hime, (Princess), 206, 207
So, Temple of, 237
So-Tohoshi-no-iratsume, (Queen), 355
So-Tohoshi, Princess, 363, 364
So-towori-hime, (Princess), 98
So-tsu-biko, 347
Sounding-Board, 69
Sources of the Ancient Histories, x, lxxxiv, 75
Spears, xxviii, lxvi, 21, 168, 213, 254
Spelling of Japanese and Sinico-Japanese words, lxxxv
Spindle-tree, xxxix, 68, 69
Spinning Damsel, lxxviii
Spirit-of-Food, the August, 79
Spirit-of-the-Living-Land, Deity, 81
Stag, shoulder-blade of, 67
Star-worship, lxviii
Steatite, xxxv
Stem-Elder, Deity, 32
Stem-Harvest, Deity, 111
Stiletto, 226, 227
Stone Age, xxviii
Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, 66
Stone-Coffin Makers, 241, 242
String, xxxv
Succession, lxxi
Suchi, Territorial Lords of, 187
Suga, 58, 76
Sugahara, 241, 369
Suga-kama-yura-domi, 316
Sugano Ason Mamichi, lxxxii
Suga-no-morowo, 316
Sugashiroko-no-iratsume, 413
Suha, Sea of, 123
Suhau, Land of, 62
Suhau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 62
Su-hiji-ni-no-kami, 19, 20
Suiko Kogo, 15, 413
Sui-nin Tenno, xxxi, 203, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 239, 240, 241
Sui-sei Tenno, lvi, 66
Sui-zei Tenno, 185
Su-jin Tenno, lvi, 7, 208, 211, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 235
Su-jun Tenno, 413
Sukuna-biko-na-no-kami, 103
Sukuna-biko-take-wi-gokoro, 196
Sukuna-Mi-Kami, see Small August Deity
Sume-irodo, 411
Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto, (King), 245, 273
Sumera-mikoto, 141
Sumi, Inlet of, 50, 280, 283, 326
Sumi, Middle King of the Inlet of, 324
Sumi, Water Gods of, lv, lxv
Sumi-no-ye, 50
Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu-miko,

(King), 324, 348, 350
attempts to assassinate Ri-chiu Tenno, 348
Sumisaka, Deity of, 213
Sumi-yoshi, 50
Sun, 4
Sun-Deity, child of the, 161
fights with his back to the sun, 161
Sun-Goddess, xxxiii, liii, liv, lv, lx, lxv, lxxviii, 5, 6, 201, 234
Superstitions, lxvii, lxviii
Surface-Possessing-Male, 280
Suruga, 195, 258
Susa-no-Wo, xxvii, liii, liv, lxvii, 5, 55, 56, 59, 62, 106, 127
ravages of, 62–64
weeping of, 52, 53
Suseri-bime, 86
Susukori, 307
Suwe-tsu-mimi, His A., 212
Suwo, Province of, 199
Swan, xxxvii, 232, 233, 268
Swine, xxxvi
Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Lord-Ruler, Deity, 100
Swift-Mountain-Deity, 106
Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, Deity, 109, 110, 111
Swords, xxviii, xxxv, 37, 38, 40, 43, 56, 88, 89, 90, 118, 120, 121, 175, 253, 267, 303
Sword, Cross-, 162–164, 168, 223, 306
Sword, Herb-Quelling-Great, 75, 130, 254, 256, 262
Swords, Mallett-headed, 134, 171, 172
Swords, names of, 40, 118
Swords, Stone-mallett, 171, 172
T'ang, the Enperor, 13
Tables, xxxiv
Tachibana in Himuka, 46
Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go, King, 411
Tachibana no Chimori, xl
Tachibana no Moribe, x, xi, lx, lxxxii
Tachibana-no-naka-tsu-hime, 410
Tachibana-no-oho-iratsume, (Lady), 355
Tachibana-no-toyo-hi, 411, 412
Tadagoye Road, 376
Tadetsu of Kusaka, 160
Taga in Afumi, 53
Tagi, Moor of, 263, 264
Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, 57
Tagima, 205, 233, 315, 349
Tagima, King, 413
Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, 413
Tagima-no-mehi, 316
Tagishi, 124
Tagishi-hiko, His A., 189
Tagishi-Mimi, 176, 181, 182
Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami, (Deity), 100
Tajihi, 348, 353, 395
Tajihi-be, (Tribe), 326
Tajihi, Dukes of, 410
Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake, 324, 326
Tajima-hinaraki, 315
Tajima-hi-ne, 315
Tajima-hitaka, 316
Tajima, Land of, 189
Tajima-mori, 104, 240, 241, 316
Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers), 207
Tajima-no-matawo, 315
Tajima-morosuku, 315
Tajima-no-take-no-wake, 189
Taka-anaho, Palace of, 274

Takabe no iratsume, (Lady), 354
Takachi, Peak of, 6
Takachiho, Palace of, 154, 157
Takachina, Princess, 197
Takachiho, lv, 134,
Takachiho, Mount, 154
Taka-gi-no-kami, 115, 127
Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto, (Princess), 292
Takahashi, Gori, lx, lxxxiv
Taka-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto, 51
Taka-hime-no-mikoto, 98
Takaki, 336, 395
Takaki-hime no mikoto, (Princess), 206, 245
Takaki-no-iratsume, 408
Takakura, 6
Takakurazhi, 162, 163, 164
Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami, lxxiv, 17, 112
Taka-miya, 334
Takamuko no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Takanu-hime, (Princess), 201
Takanuka-hime, (Princess), 206, 316
Takara-no-iratsume, 408
Takara no miko, (King), 354
Takara, Queen, 412
Takasazhi, Moor of, 178
Takasuka no wake, (Lords of), 224
Takatsu, Palace of, 324
Takatsu, Pool of, 223
Takawashi, 395
Takawoka, Palace of, 185
Takaya, 410
Takayasu, Mount, 345
Take, Lords of, 189
Takebe no kimi, (Dukes), 272
Take-bi-wake, 27
Takechi-no-agata-nushi, (Suzerains of), 62
Takeda, King, 411
Take-furu-kuma, His A., 286
Take-futsu-no-kami, 38
Take-hani-yasu-biko, 196, 215, 217, 218, 219
Take-hi-ga-wake, 28
Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake, 27
Take-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto, 60
Take-inada no sukune, (Noble), 292
Take-kahiko no miko, (King), 271, 272
Take-hiko, 271
Take-kuni-katsu-tome, 203
Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami, 38, 120, 212
Take-nuna-kaha-mimi, 182
Take-nuna-kaha-wake, 196, 216, 219
Take-oshiyama-tari-ne, 275
Takeri, Palace of, 158
Takeshima, Palace of, 158
Take-tayo-hadzura-wake no miko, (King), 202, 207
Take-uchi no sukune, (the Noble), xl, 197, 198, 275, 277, 279, 280, 287, 290, 293, 300, 305, 343, 344
Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate, 409, 410
Take-yori-wake, 26
Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto, 57
Taki no omi, (Grandees), 190
Taku-so, 306
Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, lxxxiv
Tamade no woka, 192
Tamade, Mound of, 192
Tamade no omi, (Grandees of), 200

Tamaho, Palace of, 408
Tama-kaki, Palace of, 221
Tama-Katsuma, lxxxiv
Tama-kura-be, Spring of, 263
Tama-no-iratsume, 295
Tama-noya-no-mikoto, 66
Tama-no-ya no murazhi, 133
Tamashima, 284
Tama-yori-bime, 109, 153
Tamba, see Taniha
Tame, King, 412
Tamil, i
Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime, 321
Tamiya, the middle Princess of, 321
Tamura, Queen, 412
Tanaka in Yamato, 61
Tanaka-no-atahe, 61
Tanaka no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Tango, Province of, 205
Tanigaha Shihei, or Shisei, xi, lxxxiv, 18, 44, 68, 79, 148, 163, 165, 213, 231, 243, 255, 313
Taniha or Tamba, Province of, 201, 205
Taniha, Land of, 216, 233
Taniha no hiko Tatasu-michi-no-ushi no miko, (Prince), 203, 204, 205, 206, 221, 231
Taniha no oho agata-nushi, (Great Departmental Lords of), 201
Taniha no Takunu no wake, (Lords of), 208
Tara, King, 412
Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko, 270, 272, 275, 291
Tarumi, 202
Tashiraka-no-iratsume, (Princess), 408, 409
Tasuki, 68, 69
Tatanami, 275, 291
Tatara - Startled - Good - Princess, Princess, 177
Tate-dzu, 160
Tattooing, xlvii
Tawi - no - naka - tsu - hime, (the Middle Princess of, 321, 357
Taxes, 220, 327
Tea, xl, xlviii, 294
Tema, 84
Tem-mu Tenno, iv, v, li, 5, 8, 9, 11
Temple, xxix
Te-nadzu-chi, 72
Ten-Itsu, 12, 13
Terama, 242, 243
Teshima no murazhi, (Chieftains), 183
Thatch-Moor-Princess, Deity, 32
Thing - Sign - Master, Deity, 98, 122, 123
Thought-Includer, Deity, 65, 69, 112, 113, 114, 119, 130, 131
Thousand Character Essay, 306
Thousand-fold Brilliant Princess, 192
Thousand - fold Brilliant Truly Young Princess of Kasuga, 192
Thrust - Erect - Come - Not - place, Deity, 47, 48
Thrust-Snap, Deity, 163
Thunder, Eight Gods of, lii, 42, 43
Tide-ebbing Jewel, lxvii
Tide-flowing Jewel, lxvii
Titsingh, lxi
Titles, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, 59, 60
Toad, a speaking, xxxvii, 103
To-Ga, xi, lxxxiv
Toga, Moor of, 285

Tohochi no agata-nushi, (Departmental Lords of), 192
Tohoshi-no-iratsume, 295
Toho-tsu-Afumi, 61
Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miya-tsuko, 61
Toho-tsu-Asuka, 352
Toho-tsu-Asuka, Palace of, 354
Toho - tsu - ma - chi - ne - no - kami, Deity, 101
Tohotsu - no - ayu-me-me-kuhashi-hime, (Princess), 208
Tohotsu no omi, (Grandee of), 206
Toho - tsu - yama-zaki - tarashi - no-kami, (Deity), 101, 102
Tokaido, 216
Tokiha Gusa, x, lxxxiv, 49, 79
Toki-okashi-no-kami, 47
Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone, 186
Tomi, 160
Tomi, Prince of, 160, 172
Tomi, Princess of, 175
Tomi, Province of, 160, 175
Tominobu, Hosoda, lxxxiv, 80, 81, 100, 103, 106
Tomi-ya-hime, 175
Tonami no omi, (Grandees of), 195
Tone, King, 411
Toneri, Prince, lxxxii
Topography of Yamashiro, lxxxiv
Tori-bune-no-kami, 120
Torikahi-be, (Clan), 238
Tori-kami, 72
Torime no miko, (Queen), 321
Tori-mimi-no-kami, 99
Tori-naru-mi-no-kami, 99
Tori - no - iha-kusa - bune-no-kami, 33
Toriyama, 335
Torrent-Mist-Princess, 57, 59, 98
Tortoise, xxxvii
Tosa, Land of, 26
Totomi, 61, 108
Totori, 223
Totori-be, (Clan), 238
Towns, xxix
Towochi-no-iri-bime, Her A., 209
Towo no wake, (Lords of), 272
Toyo, Land of, 26, 158, 184, 195
Toyo, Province of, 245
Toyo - ashi - hara - no - chi - aki - wo-naga-i - ho-aki - no - midzu - ho-no-kuni, 111
Toyo - ashi - hara-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, 129
Toyo-bi-wake, 27
Toyo-iha mado-no-kami, 132
Toyo-ki-iri-biko, (Prince), 208, 209
Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami, 19
Toyo-kuni no kunisaki no omi, (Grandees, 195
Toyo-kuni-wake no miko, (King) 245, 247
Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, Her A., 411, 413
Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 155
Toyora, Palace of, 275
Toyo - suke - iri - bime, (Princess), 209, 210
Toyo-tama-bime, 146
Toyo-to-wake no mikoto, (King), 244
To-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami, 35, 131
Toyo-yo-no-kuni, 104
Traditions, recension of, lxxvi, lxxvii
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, lxvi, lxxxi, 12, 54, 63, 75, 126, 132, 170, 242, 255, 261, 279, 318, 368
Traps, xxviii

Trees, Deity of, 32
Tree-Fork-Deity, 90
Tree-Sparrow, xxxix, 117
Trout, xxxix, 284
Trowsers, xxxiv
Truly - Conqueror - I - Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, 57, 111, 127, 128
Tso Chuan, 40
Tsu, Island of, 27, 61
Tsubo-tatsu-mi-tama, 137
Tsubura no iratsume, (Lady), 354, 409
Tsubura no omi, (Grandee of), 369, 371, 373, 375
Tsuchi-gumo, 170
Tsuchi-ikadzuchi, 42
Tsuchi-ningio, 138
Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-no kami, 110
Tsuke no atahe, (Suzerains of), 184
Tsuki, River, 345
Tsuki-tree, 389
Tsukida, Mound of, 186
Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do, 47
Tsuki-yomi-no-kami, 50
Tsukuha, or Tsukuba, 259
Tsukushi, lvii, lviii, lxx, lxxii, lxxiii, 25, 26, 47, 134, 158, 183, 276, 277, 283, 284
Tsukushi no Meta no kimi, (Dukes), 322
Tsukushi no miyako no murazhi, (Chieftains of the Granaries of), 184
Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 98
Tsunu-guhi-no-kami, 20
Tsunu no iratsume, (Lady), 353
Tsunu no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Tsunuga, 288, 289, 298, 299
Tsunuga no ama no atahe, (Maritime Suzerains of), 195
Tsunusashi, Palace of, 395
Tsunuyama no omi, (Grandees of), 191
Tsura-nagi-no-kami, 31
Tsura-nami-no-kami, 31
Tsurayuki, lxv
Tsurugi, Pool of, 200, 305
Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe, 61
Tsutsuki, 334
Tsutsuki, Palace of, 337
Tsutsuki, Prince Sufficing Lord of Great, 202
Tsuwe-tsuki, Pass, 264
Tunny, xxxix
Turanian, i
Turbinidae, xxxviii, 173
Turkish, i

Uchi no omi, (Grandees of). 197
Uda, 166, 167, 213, 342
Uda-no-Chihara, 168,
Uda-no-Mohitori, (Water directors of), 170
Uda no obito-ra, (Headmen of), 399
Uda no ugachi, 166
Udo, River, 223
Udzu-biko, 159
Udzu-hiko, 197
Uematsu Shigewoka, x
Ugly-Female-of-Hades, 43
Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains, Great Deity, 86, 237
Uha-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 49, 280
Uha tsu kuni, 149
Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 49
Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi, His A., 412

U-hiji-ni-no-kami, 19, 20
Uji, 294, 296, 297
Uji Ferry, 310, 311
Uji, King, 412
Uji-no-waki-iratsuko, 294, 299, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313
Uji-no-waki-iratsume, 294, 325
Uka-no-mi-tama, 79
Uka-no-yama, (Mount), 89
Ukashi Brethren, 167, 168, 169, 170
Ukiana, Palace of, 186
Umaguta, 61
Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61
Umaki, King, 411
Umakuta-no-iratsume, 409
Uma-mi-kuhi, (Chiefs), 199
Umasaka, 195
Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami, 18
Umashi-ma-ji, His A., 175
Umashi Uchi no sukune, 197
Umayado, Prince, 57
Umi, 283
Umori, King, 411
Umugi-hime, 84
Unakami, Land of, 60
Unakami-no-miko, (King), 204, 205, 235, 238
Under-Shining-Princess, 98, 113, 116
Une-be no omi, (Grandees of), 175
Unebi, 175, 176, 181, 182, 185, 189
Unebi-yama no Manago-dani, 189
Unesu, Lords of, 248
Unewo, 36
Unu, 293
Unu no iratsume, (Lady), 293
Urabe no Kaneyoshi, 148
Urabe no Yasukata, lxxxii
Urine, 279
Usa, 158
Usa-tsu-hiko, (Prinee), 158
Usa-tsu-hime, (Princess), 158
Utakori-hime, (Princess), 239
Utsushi-hi-gana-saku, 50
Utsu-shiko-me, 196
Utsu-shiko-wo, 196
Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami, 81
Uzhika no omi, (Grandees of), 195

Vegetable Wax-tree, xxxix
Veils, xxxiv
Villages, xxix
Vine, xxxix

Wa-chi-tsumi, His A., 187
Wade, Sir Thomas, lxxxv
Wadō, name of a period, 16
Wadzurahí-no-ushi-no-kami, 47
Wager, lxvi
Wagtail, xxxix
Waiting-to-see-Flowers-of-the-Holly, Deity, 100
Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko, 193, 194
Waka-hime, 408
Waka-hiru-me-no-kami, 101
Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto, (King), 244
Waka-ki-iri-biko, His A., 221
Waka-kusaka, Queen, 367, 376
Waka-kusaka-be, (Princess), 325, 326, 375, 377, 378
Waka-kusaka-be, (Tribe), 326
Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 155
Waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami, 111
Waka-nuke-futa-mata no miko, (King), 294, 321
Waka-nuke no miko, (King), 275
Wakara, River, 218

Wakasa, 203, 288
Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami, 110
Wakasa no Mimi no wake, 205
Waka-sakura-be, (Tribe), 352
Wakasakura, Palace of, 347
Waka-take, Prince, 243, 245, 271, 273
Waka - tarashi - hiko no mikoto, (Prince), 244, 246
Waka-tarashi, Princess, 375
Waka-toshi-no-kami, 110
Waka-yama-kuhi-no-kami, 110
Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi, 196, 201
Waka-ya-no-iratsume, 409
Wakayuwe-be, (Clan), 238
Wake no kimi, (Dukes), 272
Waki-ikadzuchi, 42
Waki no kami, 191
Waki-no-kami, Palace of, 189
Wa-Kun Shiwori, lxxxiv
Waku-go no sukune, 200
Waku-musu-bi-no-kami, 35
Wanami, Estuary of, 233
Wani-kishi, 306
Wani-no-Hifure no omi, (Grandee of), 294, 297
Wani no omi, (Grandees of), 201, 218, 286, 335. 354
Wani, Pass of, 218, 298
Wani, Pool of, 326
Warrior Clan, Ancestor of the, 175
Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, Deity, 48
Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, 48
Washi-hime, (Princess), 202
Wasp, xxxviii, 87
Wata, 373
Watarahi, outer temple of, 132
Wata-tarashi-hiko, 274
Water, 345
Water Caltrop, xl, 302
Water-Directors, 331
Water-Gates, Deity of, 31, 125
Water, hot, trial by, lxvi
Water, purification by, lxvi
Water - Spoilt - Blossom - of Fuka-buchi, (the Deep Pool), 80
Water-Sprinkling-Deity, 110
Wave - Limit - Cormorant - Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely, Prince, 15
Weaving Maiden, 119
Wedge, xxviii
Wega, 291, 323, 357
Weha, King, 410
Wells, August-Deity-of, 90
Well, True-Pool-, 56, 57
We-kuri, King, 413
Wen Hsüan, 13
Wet-nurses, xliv
Whale, xxxvii
Wheat, 71
Wheat, bearded, 71
White-Copper, 65
White-Sun, Deity, 106
White-Sun-Youth, Land of, 26
Wi-hika, Deity, 166
Wild cherry, xxxix, 366
Wild chive, xxxix, 172, 258
Wild-duck, xxxvii
Wild-goose, xxxvii, xl
Williams, Dr., 177
Wina, Dukes of, 410
Wind, Deity of, 32
Winter-cherry, xxxix, 74
Wi-same, Spring of, 263
Wistaria, xxx, 318
Wo, River, 161
Woad, xxxiv
Wo - asadzuma - no - waku - go no sukune, (Noble), 324, 325, 354

Wobashi Channel, 326
Wobashi-no-kimi, (Duke of), 176
Wobe, His A. 399
Wodate, 396, 398
Wodo-hime, (Princess), 387, 393, 394
Wodzu no kimi, (Dukes of), 273
Wo-gaha, (River), lxii, 284
Wohari, King, 412
Wohari no murazhi, Chiefs of, 189, 197, 209, 292
Wohari, Province of, 185, 191, 192, 206, 224, 232, 233, 246, 255, 260, 355
Woharida, 15, 370
Woharida no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Woharida, Palace of, 413
Woharita, King, 411
Wo-haye no miko, (King), 295
Wo-hatsuse Tribe, 408
Wo-hatsuse no miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 184
Wo-hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki, 184
Wo-hatsuse-no-wake-sazaki, His Grandeur, 408
Wo-ishi-hime, 410
Wokada, Palace of, 158
Wo-kahi, King, 411
Wokamoto, Palace of, 412
Woke-no-ihasu-wake, 402
Woke, Prince, 374, 396, 399, 400, 401, 402
Woke-tsu-hime, 204
Wo-kuma-ko-no-iratsume, 412
Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, (Princess), 409
Wo-mata no miko, (King), 202, 205
Womochi, 409
Womuro, Peak of, 383
Wondrous August Spirit, 282
Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, 49, 51
Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils, 49
Wondrous-Divine-Producer-the August-Ancestor, 125
Wondrous-Eight-Spirits, Deity, 125
Wondrous-Inada-Princess, 73
Wondrous Increasing Offerings, Deity of, 125
Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, 132
Wo-nu-no-iratsume, 409
Wonu no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Worship, objects of, lxv
Wosada, Palace of, 411
Wosada Tominobu, x
Wotsu, Cape, 264
Wotsuki no yama no kami, (Mountain Dukes of), 225
Wo-usu, His A., 243, 246, 248, 249
  slays Deity of Ashigahara Pass, 258
  slays his brother, 249
  slays Idzumo Bravo, 252, 253
  slays Kumaso Bravoes, 250–252
  slays Rulers of Sagamu, 255, 256
Wo-ye-hime, 411
Wozabe, King, 222
Wo-zaho no miko, (King), 203, 205
Wren, xxxix, 102, 293, 341
Wrist Pads, xxviii
Writing, xlviii, xlix

Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami, 81
Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 98, 121
Ya-kaha-ye-hime, 100, 294
Yakami-hime, (Princess), 82, 83, 90

Yakidzu, 256
Yamabe, see Yamanobe
Yama-be, (Tribe), 305
Yamaji no kimi, (Dukes of), 322
Yama-mori-be, 305
Yamanobe, or Yamabe, 224, 274, 342
Yamanobe-no-ohotaka, 232
Yamanobe no wake, (Lords of), 224
Yamanobe, Road, 220
Yamashiro, King of, 411, 412
Yamashiro, Land of, 61, 190, 197, 202, 205, 206, 217, 218, 221, 222, 239, 271, 286, 287, 294, 297, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 374
Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61
Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko, 204
Yamashiro no Uchi no omi, (Grandees of), 197
Yamashiro, River, 333
Yamashiro Topography of, 109
Yama-shita-kage, Princess, 197
Yama-suwe-no-oho-nushi-no-kami, 108
Yamato, Ancestors of the Rulers of the Land of, 159
Yamato, Chiefs of, lv, lxx
Yamato, conquest of, lxxvii, 291
Yamato, Province of, lv, lvii, lviii, lxxii, lxxiii, 25, 27, 28, 94, 106, 155, 164, 175, 183, 184, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 200, 202, 203, 205, 207, 208, 209, 213, 220, 224, 232, 234, 236, 238, 241, 242, 251, 265, 276, 285, 292, 294, 321, 330, 331, 334, 344, 348, 351, 352, 354, 355, 366, 370, 383, 391, 395, 399, 405
Yamato-hiko, (Prince), 209, 210
Yamato hime, Her A., 221, 224, 249, 254, 255, 409
Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental Princess, 193
Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious Princess, 193
"*Yamato Monogatari*," (Tales of), xxxi, lxxxiv
Yamato-ne-ko, His A., 244
Yamato-no-kuni no miyatsuko, 159
Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-toyo-asa-kura-ake-tatsu, 235
Yamato-Take, see also Wo-usu, xlviii, lvi, lvii, lxxvi, lxxvii, 157, 221, 225, 244, 245, 246, 248, 251, 252, 253, 257, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 267, 268, 270, 272
  death of, 267
  turns into a white bird, 268
Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime, 193
Yamato-wo-guna, His A. 244
Yamazaki Suiga, 44
Yasaka-no-iri-biko-no-mikoto, (Prince), 209, 244
Yasaka-no-iri-bime no mikoto, (Princess), 244
Ya-shima-muji-no-kami, 99
Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi, 79
Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami, 49
Yasu, Suzerains of, 206
Yasu, Land of, 271
Yasumaro, Futo no, v, lxxxiv, 3, 4, 13, 15
Yata, 294
Yata, King, 410

Yata-be, (Tribe), 340
Yata-no-waki-iratsume, 294, 325, 331, 332, 339, 340
Yatsu-mimi-no-Tai-shi, 57
Yatsuri, 355
Yatsuri-iri-biko no miko, (King), 204
Yatsuri, Village of, 204
Yena, Princess, 202
Yebisu, lxxii
Ye-hime, 231, 247
Yemishi, lxxii, lxxiii, 258
Yenuma no omi, (Grandees of), 200
Yeshiki, 174
Yeshinu or Yoshino, 7, 303, 304, 382
Yeshinu, River, 165, 382
Yeshinu no kuzu, (Territorial owners of), 166, 303, 305
Yeshinu no obito, (Headmen of), 166
Yezo, lxxii,, 73, 258, 344
Yi Ching, lxxxv, 8
Yodo, River, 159, 332
Yoko, River, 9
Yokoyama Yoshikiyo, lxxxiii
Yō-mei Tenno, 412
Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, 43
Yomo-tsu-kami, 42
Yomo-tsu-oho-kami, 45
Yomo-tsu-shiko-me, 43
Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto, 128
Yoru-no-wosu-kuni, 52
Yosami, Pool of, 220, 301, 326
Yoshino, see Yeshinu
Yoshino, Mountains of, 9
Yoso-taho-bimė-no mikoto, (Princess), 189
Young-August-Food-Master, His A., 155
Young-Day-Female-Deity, 101
Young-Harvest-Deity, 110
Young-Mountain-Integrator, Deity, 110, 111
Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity, 110
Young-Thunder, Deity, 42
Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity, 35
Young-Yamato-lord-prince-great, 196
Younger Princess, the Truly Young Princess, 321
Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male, Deity, 30
Yugori, 201
Yumi-hari, Princess, 412
Yura, Harbour of, 346
Yū-riaku Tenno, lxvii, 183, 191, 224, 227, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 392, 393, 395, 403, 406

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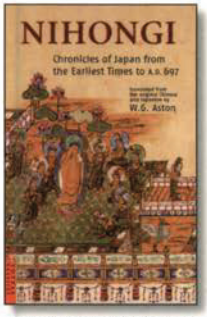

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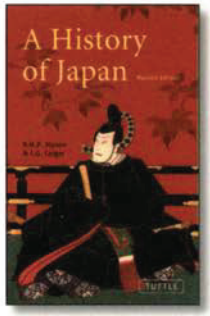

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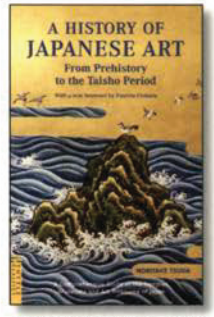

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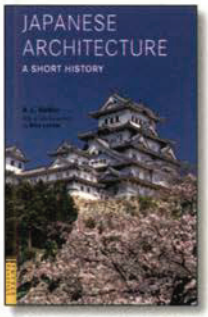

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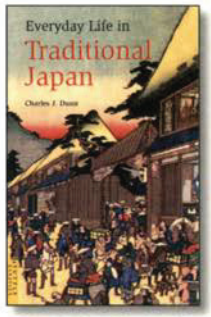

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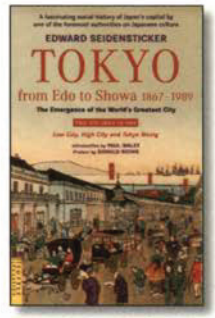

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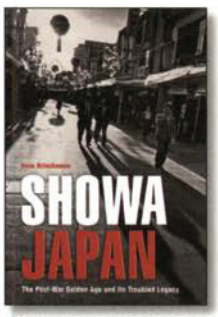

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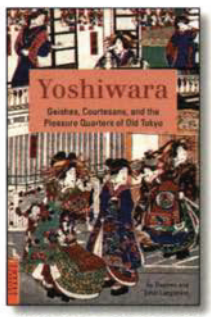

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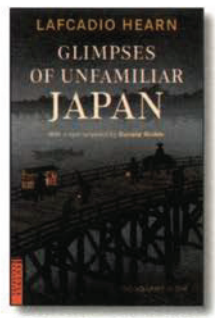

ISBN 978-4-8053-1025-0

*For sale in Japan only

THE KOJIKI

Records of Ancient Matters

translated by

Basil Hall Chamberlain

古事記

H
TUT BOOKS

The *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) stands as one of the greatest monuments of Japanese literature, because it preserves more faithfully than any other book the mythology, manners, language, and traditions of Japan. Written by imperial command in the 8th century, this national history is Japan's oldest connected literary work, and the fundamental scripture of Shinto. It provides, furthermore, a vivid account of a nation in the making.

The work opens "when chaos had begun to condense, but force and form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done. . . ." It recounts the mythological creation of Japan by the divine brother and sister Izanami and Izanagi, tales of the Sun Goddess and other deities, the divine origin of Jimmu the first emperor, and the histories of subsequent reigns. Epic material is complemented by a fresh bucolic vein expressed in songs and poetry.

The *Kojiki* is important not only because it was accepted as fact until quite recently, but also for its wealth of information on early Japanese life. In its pages, one can trace the development of the Japanese character and institutions.

This famous translation by Basil Hall Chamberlain, the British scholar who "taught Japanese and Japan to the Japanese," is enhanced by notes on the text and an extensive introduction discussing early Japanese society, as well as the *Kojiki* and its background.

As Japan's classic of classics, the *Kojiki* is a key

(continued on inside back cover)

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Charles E. Tuttle Company
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Published by the Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc.
of Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan
with editorial offices at
Suido 1-chome, 2-6, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, Japan

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Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 81-52934
International Standard Book No. 0-8048-1439-2

First Tuttle edition, 1982
Fourth printing, 1990

PRINTED IN JAPAN

PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

The *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) provides a panorama of Japan in the throws of its formation. As a compendium of history and mythology, and a record of early Japanese life and beliefs, it offers invaluable insight into the historical roots of the Japanese people.

The *Kojiki* was taken down by one Yasumaro from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man of extraordinary memory, and presented to the imperial court in A.D. 712, making it the oldest surviving Japanese book. A more factual history called the *Nihongi* or *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan) was completed in A.D. 720, but the *Kojiki* remains the better known, perhaps because of its special concern with the legends of the gods, with the divine descent of the imperial family, and with native Shinto. Both works have immense value as records of the development of Japan into a unified state with a well-defined character. Indeed, even the mythological aspects were accepted as fact throughout most of subsequent Japanese history—until the defeat and disillusionment of the nation in 1945.

Basil Hall Chamberlain was one of the pioneering Western scholars on Japan. In 1882 he read this, the first translation of the *Kojiki*, before the Asiatic Society of Japan. It was published as a Supplement to Vol. X of the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society, and later reprinted in 1919 and 1920. It is upon these latter that the present edition is based.

At the turn of the century, Professor Chamberlain remarked that "to have lived through the transition stage of modern Japan makes a man feel preternaturally old; for here he is in modern times, with

the air full of talk about bicycles and bacilli and 'spheres of influence,' and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages." How much more has Japan changed in the decades since that was written. And yet the *Kojiki*, relating as it does the origins of the race, remains a key to this country of jammed commuter trains and ultramodern industrial technology.

A Translation of the "Ko-ji-ki,"

OR

"RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS."

(古 事 記)

By Basil Hall Chamberlain.

[*Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan April 12th, May 10th, and June 21st,* 1882.]
[*Reprinted, May,* 1919.]

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the mass of Japanese literature, which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making, the most important monument is the work entitled "*Ko-ji-ki*"[1] or "Records of Ancient Matters," which was completed in A. D. 712. It is the most important because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language,

1. Should the claim of Accadian to be considered an Altaic language be substantiated, then Archaic Japanese will have to be content with the second place in the Altaic family. Taking the word Altaic in its usual acceptation, viz., as the generic name of all the languages belonging to the Mantchu, Mongolia, Turkish and Finnish groups, not only the Archaic, but the Classical, literature of Japan carries us back several centuries beyond the earliest extant documents of any other Altaic tongue.—For a discussion of the age of the most ancient Tamil documents see the Introduction to Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," p. 91 *et seq.*

2 and the traditional history of Ancient Japan. Indeed it is the earliest authentic connected literary product of that large division of the human race which has been variously denominated Turanian, Scythian and Altaic, and it even precedes by at least a century the most ancient extant literary compositions of non-Aryan India. Soon after the date of its compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese cultnre, and it is to these "Records" and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and the Shintō Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled in attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent.

It is of course not pretended that even these "Records" are untouched by Chinese influence: that influence is patent in the very characters with which the text is written. But the influence is less, and of another kind. If in the traditions preserved and in the customs alluded to we detect the Early Japanese in the act of borrowing from China and perhaps even from India, there is at least on our author's part no ostentatious decking out in Chinese trappings of what he believed to be original matter, after the fashion of the writers who immediately succeeded him. It is true that this abstinence on his part makes his compilation less pleasant to the ordinary native taste than that of subsequent historians, who put fine Chinese phrases into the mouths of emperors and heroes supposed to have lived before the time when intercourse with China began. But the European student,

who reads all such books, not as a pastime but in order to search for facts, will prefer the more genuine composition. It is also accorded the first place by the most learned of the native *literati.*

Of late years this paramount importance of the "Records of Ancient Matters" to investigators of Japanese subjects generally has become well-known to European scholars; and even versions of a few passages are to be found scattered through the pages of their writings. Thus Mr. Aston has given us, in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," a couple of interesting extracts; Mr. Satow has illustrated by occasional extracts his elaborate papers on the Shintō Rituals printed in these "Transactions," and a remarkable essay by Mr. Kempermann published in the Fourth 3 Number of the "Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens," though containing no actual translations, bases on the account given in the "Records" some conjectures regarding the *origines* of Japanese civilization which are fully substantiated by more minute research. All that has yet appeared in any European language does not, however, amount to one-twentieth part of the whole, and the most erroneous views of the style and scope of the book and its contents have found their way into popular works on Japan. It is hoped that the true nature of the book, and also the true nature of the traditions, customs, and ideas of the Early Japanese, will be made clearer by the present translation the object of which is to give the entire work in a continuous English version, and thus to furnish the European student with a text to quote from, or at least to use as a guide in consulting the original. The only object aimed

at has been a rigid and literal conformity with the Japanese text. Fortunately for this endeavour (though less fortunately for the student), one of the difficulties which often beset the translator of an Oriental classic is absent in the present case. There is no beauty of style, to preserve some trace of which he may be tempted to sacrifice a certain amount of accuracy. The "Records" sound queer and bald in Japanese, as will be noticed further on; and it is therefore right, even from a stylistic point of view, that they should sound bald and queer in English. The only portions of the text which, from obvious reasons, refuse to lend themselves to translation into English after this fashion are the indecent portions. But it has been thought that there could be no objection to rendering them into Latin,—Latin as rigidly literal as is the English of the greater part.

After these preliminary remarks, it will be most convenient to take the several points which a study of the "Records" and the turning ot them into English suggest, and to consider the same one by one. These points are:

I.—Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes.

II.—Details concerning the Method of Translation.

III.—The "*Nihon-Gi*" or "Chronicles of Japan."

IV.—Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese.

4 V.—Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese. Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions.

I.

THE TEXT AND ITS AUTHENTICITY, TOGETHER WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The latter portion of the Preface to the "Records of Ancient Matters" is the only documentary authority for the origin of the work. It likewise explains its scope. But though in so doing the author descends to a more matter of fact style than the high-sounding Chinese phrases and elaborate allusions with which he had set forth, still his meaning may be found to lack somewhat of clearness, and it will be as well to have the facts put into language more intelligible to the European student. This having already been done by Mr. Satow in his paper on the "Revival of Pure Shintō,"[2] it will be best simply to quote his words. They are as follows: "The Emperor Temmu, at what portion of his reign is not mentioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had the records carefully examined, compared, and weeded of their faults. There happened to be in his household a person of marvellous memory named Hiyeda no Are, who could repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. Temmu Tennō[3] took the pains to instruct this person in the genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages,' and to make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. 'Before the undertaking was completed,' which probably means before it could be committed to writing,

2. Published in Vol. iii, Pt. I, of these "Transactions."
3. *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu.

the Emperor died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole depository of what afterwards received the title of *Kojiki*[4] or *Furu-koto-bumi* as it is read by Motoori. At the end of this interval the Empress Gemmiō ordered
5 Yasumaro to write it down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the completion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months and a half. Are's age at this date is not stated, but as he was twenty-eight years of age some time in the reign of Temmu Tennō, it could not possibly have been more than sixty-eight, while taking into account the previous order of Temmu Tennō in 681 for the compilation of a history, and the statement that he was engaged on the composition of the Kojiki at the time of his death in 686, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that it belongs to about the last year of his reign, in which case Are was only fifty-three in 711."

The previous order of the Emperor Temmu mentioned in the above extract is usually supposed to have resulted in the compilation of a history which was early lost. But Hirata gives reasons for supposing that this and the project of the "Records of Ancient Matters" were identical. If this opinion be accepted, the "Records," while the oldest *existing* Japanese book, are, not the third, but the second historical work of which mention has been preserved, one such having been compiled in the year 620, but lost in a fire in the year 645. It will thus be seen that it is rather hard to say whom we should designate as the author of the work.

4. *I.e.*, "Records of Ancient Matters." The alternative reading, which is probably but an invention of Motowori's, gives the same meaning in pure Japanese (instead of Sinico-Japanese) sounds.

The Emperor Tem-mu, Hiyeda no Are, Yasumaro may all three lay claim to the title. The question, however, is of no importance to us, and the share taken by Are may well have been exaggerated in the telling. What seems to remain as the residue of fact is that the plan of a purely national history originated with the Emperor Temmu and was finally carried out under his successor by Yasumaro, one of the Court Nobles.

Fuller evidence and confirmatory evidence from other sources as to the origin of our "Records" would doubtless be very acceptable. But the very small number of readers and writers at that early date, and the almost simultaneous compilation of a history (the "Chronicles of Japan") which was better calculated to hit the taste of the age, make the absence of such evidence almost unavoidable. In any case, and only noticing in passing the fact that Japan was never till quite recent years noted for such wholesale literary forgeries (for Motowori's condemnation of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" has been considered rash by later scholars),—it cannot be too much emphasized that in this instance authenticity is sufficiently proved by internal evidence. It is hard to believe that any forger living later than the eighth century of our era should have been so well able to discard the Chinese "padding" to the old traditions, which after the acceptance by the Court of the "Chronicles of Japan," had come to be generally regarded as an integral portion of those very traditions; and it is more unlikely still that he should have invented a style so little calculated to bring his handiwork into repute. He would either have written in fair Chinese, like the mass of early Japanese prose writers (and his Preface

shows that he could do so if he were so minded); or, if the tradition of there having been a history written in the native tongue had reached him, he would have made his composition unmistakably Japanese in form by arranging consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations, after the fashion followed in the Rituals, and developed (apparently before the close of the ninth century) into what is technically known as the "Mixed Phonetic Style" (*Kana-mazhiri*), which has remained ever since as the most convenient vehicle for writing the language. As it is, his quasi-Chinese construction, which breaks down every now and then to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements. What however is simply incredible is that, if the supposed forger lived even only a hundred years later than A.D. 712, he should so well have imitated or divined the archaisms of that early period. For the eighth century of our era was a great turning point in the Japanese language, the Archaic Dialect being then replaced by the Classical; and as the Chinese language and literature were alone thenceforward considered worthy the student's attention, there was no means of keeping up an acquaintance with the diction of earlier reigns, neither do we find the poets of the time ever attempting to adorn their verse with obsolete phraseology. That was an affectation reserved for a later epoch, when the diffusion of books rendered it possible. The poets of the seventh, eighth. and ninth centuries apparently wrote as they spoke; and the test of language alone would almost allow of our arranging their compositions half century by half century, even without the dates

which are given in many instances in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and in the "Collection of Songs 7 Ancient and Modern,"—the first two collections of poems published by imperial decree in the middle of the eighth, and at the commencement of the tenth, century respectively.

The above remarks are meant to apply more especially to the occasional Japanese words,—all of them Archaic, —which, as mentioned above, are used from time to time in the prose text of the "Records," to help out the author's meaning and to preserve names whose exact pronunciation he wished handed down. That he should have invented the Songs would be too monstrous a supposition for any one to entertain, even if we had not many of the same and other similar ones preserved in the pages of the "Chronicles of Japan," a work which was undoubtedly completed in A.D. 720. The history of the Japanese language is too well known to us, we can trace its development and decay in too many documents reaching from the eighth century to the present time, for it to be possible to entertain the notion that the latest of these Songs, which have been handed down with minute care in a syllabic transcription, is posterior to the first half of the eighth century, while the majority must be ascribed to an earlier, though uncertain, date. If we refer the greater number of them in their present form to the sixth century, and allow a further antiquity of one or two centuries to others more ancient in sentiment and in grammatical usage, we shall probably be making a moderate estimate. It is an estimate, moreover, which obtains confirmation from the fact that the first notice we have of the use of writing in Japan dates from

early in the fifth century; for it is natural to suppose that the Songs believed to have been composed by the gods and heroes of antiquity should have been among the first things to be written down, while the reverence in which they were held would in some cases cause them to be transcribed exactly as tradition had bequeathed them, even if unintelligible or nearly so, while in others the same feeling would lead to the correction of what were supposed to be errors or inelegancies. Finally it may be well to observe that the authenticity of the "Records" has never been doubted, though, as has already been stated, some of the native commentators have not hesitated to charge with spuriousness another of their esteemed ancient histories. Now it is unlikely
8 that, in the war which has been waged between the partisans of the "Records" and those of the "Chronicles," some flaw in the former's title to genuineness and to priority should not have been discovered and pointed out if it existed.

During the Middle Ages, when no native Japanese works were printed, and not many others excepting the Chinese Classics and Buddhist Scriptures, the "Records of Ancient Matters" remained in manuscript in the hands of the Shintō priesthood. They were first printed in the year 1644, at the time when, peace having been finally restored to the country and the taste for reading become diffused, the great mass of the native literature first began to emerge from the manuscript state. This very rare edition (which was reprinted in fac-simile in 1798) is indispensable to any one who would make of the "Records" a special study. The next edition was by a Shintō priest, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, and appeared in 1687. It has mar-

ginal notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the "Old Printed Edition" (舊印本), but has no title beyond that of the original work,—"Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings" (鼇頭古事記). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789–1822 by Motowori's great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" (古事記傳). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tōkyō possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (古訓古事記), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's *Kana* reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is a misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (古事記標註), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic

Character" (假名古事記), by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern *Kana* reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other departures from the actual text, as the *ipissima verba* of the original work; the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (校正古事記), by Uematsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (神法古事記), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern *Kana* reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of their country and naméd "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters, there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" (神代正語) by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled "*Tokiha-Gusa*" (神代正語常盤草) by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" (古史徵) and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (古史傳), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819,—works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find

the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable;[5] the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" (稜威道別), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the 19
"*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" (稜威語別), by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the "Chronicles"; the Examination of Difficult Words" (難語考, also entitled 山彦册子), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (日本書記通證), by Tanigaha Shisei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "*Kō Gan Shō*," (厚顏抄), a commentary on the Songs contained in the "Chronicles" and "Records" composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiū, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keichiū's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The "*Kō Gan Shō*" which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and

5. Unfortunately the portion already printed does not carry the history down even to the close of the "Divine Age." The work is as colossal in extent as it is minute in research, forty-one volumes (including the eleven forming the "Sources") having already appeared. The "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" are similarly incomplete.

Explained" (和名類聚鈔), the "Catalogue of Family Names" (姓氏錄), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's "*Tōga*" (東雅), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his "Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chimori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachibana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the unpublished portions of the "*Idzn no Chi-Waki*" and the "*Idzu no Katō-Waki*," works indispensable to the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the "Records." To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

11 Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *Manyō-Gana*, *i. e.* entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character[5]), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms," but

irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese *literati*, who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the "Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other

6. The translator adopts the term "ideographic," because it is that commonly used and understood, and because this is not the place to demonstrate its inappropriateness. Strictly speaking, "logographic" would be preferable to "ideographic," the difference between Chinese characters and alphabetic writing being that the former represent in their entirety the Chinese words for things and ideas, whereas the latter dissects into their component sounds the words of the languages which it is employed to write.

Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to
11 whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston[7] in denying to this conjectural restoration the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the "Records."

II.

METHODS OF TRANSLATION.

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not any one's,—not even Motowori's—private and particular reading of it. For this reason none of the Honorifics which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed, character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently bc shown to have arisen from careless copying of characters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings

7. "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," Second Edition, Appendix II., p. VI.

occur, and has mentioned them in the Notes when they seemed of sufficient importance. In some few cases he has preferred a reading not approved by Motowori, but he always mentions Motowori's reading in a Foot-note.

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Agata-no-atahe	roughly rendered	by		*Departmental Suzerain.*
Agata-nushi	"	"	"	*Departmental Lord.*
Asomi (*Ason*)	"	"	"	*Court Noble.*
Atahe	"	"	"	*Suzerain.*
Hiko	"	"	"	*Prince.*
Hime	"	"	"	*Princess.*
Inaki	"	"	"	*Territorial Lord.*
Iratsuko	"	"	"	*Lord.*
Iratsume	"	"	"	*Lady.*
Kami	"	"	"	*Deity.*
Kimi	"	"	"	*Duke.*
Ma	"	"	"	*True.*
Miko (王)	"	"	"	*King.*
Mi Ko (御子)	"	"	"	*August Child.*
Mikoto	"	"	"	*Augustness.*
Miyatsuko	"	"	"	*Ruler.*
Murazhi	"	"	"	*Chief.*
Omi	"	"	"	*Grandee.*
Sukune	"	"	"	*Noble.*
Wake (in the names of human beings)				*Lord.*

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as "Duke," "Suzerain," etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name."[10] Where possible, indeed, the etymological

10. See Sect. IV. of this Introduction and Sect. XIV, Note 5 of the Translation.

meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus *omi* seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from *ohomi*, "great body"; and "grandee" is therefore the nearest English equivalent. Similarly *murazhi*, chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe." On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of *wake* are extremely doubtful. *Hiko* and *hime* again, if they really come from *hi ko*, "sun-child" and *hi me*, "sun-female" (or "fire child" and "fire female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words "prince and princess," or "lord and lady,"—in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than "youth and maiden."

The four words *kami*, *ma*, *miko* and *mikoto* alone call for special notice; and *ma* may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific *mi*, rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character 眞, the translator renders it in English by "true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a com-
17 pound, *mi koto*, "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and "Highness," being suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: *Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto*, His Augustness Yamato-Take.

With regard to the title read *miko* by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a *young* prince is denoted by it, we find the characters 御子, "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of *infante*. But in other cases it is written with the single character 王, "King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as *miko* is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings" may have been kings indeed after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of "prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is 王, "King."[11]

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest. Indeed there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If therefore it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word "deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for *kami*, and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper meaning of the word "*kami*" is "top," or "above"; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the *top*

11. *Conf.* Section LVI, Note 7.

of the head,—not the hair on the face,—is so designated. Similarly the Government, in popular phraseology, is *O Kami*, literally "the honorably above"; and down to a few years ago *Kami* was the name of a certain titular
11 provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods." A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word *Kami* the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the words "deity" and "god," with their very different associations. In using the word "deity," therefore; to translate the Japanese term *Kami* we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact *Kami* does not mean much more than "superior." This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word *Kami* itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed the treatment of Proper Names is always an embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what *is* a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has therefore first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place,

and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name; or preserve the original name and thus fail to render the meaning,—a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami,* "the Deity Master of the Great Land," is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty of the "Great Land," *i.e.* of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with.[12] Again *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni,* which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moor, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears,—of a Thousand 19
Autumns,—of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific *description* of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand it is plain that *Tema* was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases,—the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no satisfactory solution possible. The translator may therefore merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which

12. See the legend in Sect. XXIII.

are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number of instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-note when the translation has the name in English, and *vice versâ*, while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

III.

THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is indeed generally known, that the "Records of Ancient Matters" do not stand alone. To say nothing of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Age" whose genuineness is disputed, there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled *Nihon-Gi*, i.e., "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the "Records," which it has always excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the "Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyo.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpre-
20 tending simplicity of the elder work. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese,—in fact to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese

ginal notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the "Old Printed Edition" (舊印本), but has no title beyond that of the original work,—"Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings" (鼇頭古事記). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789–1822 by Motowori's great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" (古事記傳). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tōkyō possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (古訓古事記), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's *Kana* reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is 9
a misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (古事記標註), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic

Character" (假名古事記), by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern *Kana* reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other departures from the actual text, as the *ipissima verba* of the original work; the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (校正古事記), by Uematsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (神法古事記), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern *Kana* reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of their country and naméd "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters, there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" (神代正語) by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled "*Tokiha-Gusa*" (神代正語常盤草) by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" (古史徵) and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (古史傳), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819,—works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find

the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable;[5] the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" (稜威道別), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the 19
"*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" (稜威語別), by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the "Chronicles"; the Examination of Difficult Words" (難語考, also entitled 山彦册子), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (日本書記通證), by Tanigaha Shisei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "*Kō Gan Shō*," (厚顏抄), a commentary on the Songs contained in the "Chronicles" and "Records" composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiū, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keichiū's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The "*Kō Gan Shō*" which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and

5. Unfortunately the portion already printed does not carry the history down even to the close of the "Divine Age." The work is as colossal in extent as it is minute in research, forty-one volumes (including the eleven forming the "Sources") having already appeared. The "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" are similarly incomplete.

Explained" (和名類聚鈔), the "Catalogue of Family Names" (姓氏錄), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's "*Tōga*" (東雅), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his "Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chimori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachibana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the unpublished portions of the "*Idzn no Chi-Waki*" and the "*Idzu no Katō-Waki*," works indispensable to the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the "Records." To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

11 Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *Manyō-Gana*, *i. e.* entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character[8]), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms," but

irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese *literati*, who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the "Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other

6. The translator adopts the term "ideographic," because it is that commonly used and understood, and because this is not the place to demonstrate its inappropriateness. Strictly speaking, "logographic" would be preferable to "ideographic," the difference between Chinese characters and alphabetic writing being that the former represent in their entirety the Chinese words for things and ideas, whereas the latter dissects into their component sounds the words of the languages which it is employed to write.

Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to
11 whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston[7] in denying to this conjectural restoration the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the "Records."

II.

METHODS OF TRANSLATION.

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not any one's,—not even Motowori's—private and particular reading of it. For this reason none of the Honorifics which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed, character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently be shown to have arisen from careless copying of characters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings

7. "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," Second Edition, Appendix II., p. VI.

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Asomi (*Ason*)	"	"	"	*Court Noble.*
Atahe	"	"	"	*Suzerain.*
Hiko	"	"	"	*Prince.*
Hime	"	"	"	*Princess.*
Inaki	"	"	"	*Territorial Lord.*
Iratsuko	"	"	"	*Lord.*
Iratsume	"	"	"	*Lady.*
Kami	"	"	"	*Deity.*
Kimi	"	"	"	*Duke.*
Ma	"	"	"	*True.*
Miko (王)	"	"	"	*King.*
Mi Ko (御子)	"	"	"	*August Child.*
Mikoto	"	"	"	*Augustness.*
Miyatsuko	"	"	"	*Ruler.*
Murazhi	"	"	"	*Chief.*
Ovni	"	"	"	*Grandee.*
Sukune	"	"	"	*Noble.*
Wake (in the names of human beings)				*Lord.*

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as "Duke," "Suzerain," etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name."[10] Where possible, indeed, the etymological

10. See Sect. IV. of this Introduction and Sect. XIV, Note 5 of the Translation.

meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus *omi* seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from *ohomi*, "great body"; and "grandee" is therefore the nearest English equivalent. Similarly *murazhi*, chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe." On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of *wake* are extremely doubtful. *Hiko* and *hime* again, if they really come from *hi ko*, "sun-child" and *hi me*, "sun-female" (or "fire child" and "fire female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words "prince and princess," or "lord and lady,"—in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than "youth and maiden."

The four words *kami*, *ma*, *miko* and *mikoto* alone call for special notice; and *ma* may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific *mi*, rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character 眞, the translator renders it in English by "true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a com-
17 pound, *mi koto*, "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and "Highness," being suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: *Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto*, His Augustness Yamato-Take.

With regard to the title read *miko* by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a *young* prince is denoted by it, we find the characters 御子, "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of *infante*. But in other cases it is written with the single character 王, "King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as *miko* is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings" may have been kings indeed after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of "prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is 王, "King."[11]

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest. Indeed there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If therefore it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word "deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for *kami*, and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper meaning of the word "*kami*" is "top," or "above"; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the *top*

11. *Conf.* Section LVI, Note 7.

of the head,—not the hair on the face,—is so designated. Similarly the Government, in popular phraseology, is *O Kami,* literally "the honorably above"; and down to a few years ago *Kami* was the name of a certain titular
11 provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods." A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word *Kami* the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the words "deity" and "god," with their very different associations. In using the word "deity," therefore; to translate the Japanese term *Kami* we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact *Kami* does not mean much more than "superior." This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word *Kami* itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed the treatment of Proper Names is always an embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what *is* a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has therefore first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place,

and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name; or preserve the original name and thus fail to render the meaning,—a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami*, "the Deity Master of the Great Land," is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty of the "Great Land," *i.e.* of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with.[12] Again *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*, which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moor, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears,—of a Thousand 19
Autumns,—of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific *description* of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand it is plain that *Tema* was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases,—the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no satisfactory solution possible. The translator may therefore merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which

12. See the legend in Sect. XXIII.

are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number of instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-note when the translation has the name in English, and *vice versâ*, while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

III.

THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is indeed generally known, that the "Records of Ancient Matters" do not stand alone. To say nothing of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Age" whose genuineness is disputed, there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled *Nihon-Gi*, i.e., "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the "Records," which it has always excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the "Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyo.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpre-
20 tending simplicity of the elder work. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese,—in fact to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese

phrases,—but the subject-matter is touched up, re-arranged, and polished, so as to make the work resemble a Chinese history so far as that was possible. Chinese philosophical speculations and moral precepts are intermingled with the cruder traditions that had descended from Japanese antiquity. Thus the naturalistic Japanese account of the creation is ushered in by a few sentences which trace the origin of all things to *Yin* and *Yang* (陰陽), the Passive and Active Essences of Chinese philosophy. The legendary Emperor Jim-mu is credited with speeches made up of quotations from the "*Yi Ching*,"[13] the "*Li Chi*,"[14] and other standard Chinese works. A few of the most childish of the national traditions are omitted, for instance the story of the "White Hare of Inaba," that of the gods obtaining counsel of a toad, and that of the hospitality which a speaking mouse extended to the deity Master-of-the Great-Land.[15] Sometimes the original tradition is simply softened down or explained away. A notable instance of this occurs in the account of the visit of the deity Izanagi[16] to Hades, whither he goes in quest of his dead wife, and among other things has to scale the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades."[17] In the tradition preserved in the "Records" and indeed even in the "Chronicles," this pass or hill is mentioned as a literal geographical fact. But the compiler of the latter work, whose object it was to appear and to make his forefathers appear, as reasonable as a learned Chinese, adds a gloss to the effect that "One account

13. 易經. 14. 禮記
15. See Sects. XXI., XXVII and XXIII.
16. Rendered in the English translation by "the Male-Who-Invites."
17. *Yomo tsu Hira-Saka.*

says that the Even Hill of Hades is no distinct place, but simply the moment when breathing ceases at the time of death";—not a happy guess certainly, for this pass is mentioned in connection with Izanagi's return to the land of the living. In short we may say of this work what was said of the Septuagint,—that it *rationalizes*.

Perhaps it will be asked, how can it have come to pass
21 that a book in which the national traditions are thus unmistakably tampered with, and which is moreover written in Chinese instead of in the native tongue, has enjoyed such a much greater share of popularity than the more genuine work?

The answer lies on the surface: the concessions made to Chinese notions went far towards satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods. People are rarely quite logical in such matters, particularly in an early stage of society; and difficulties are glossed over rather than insisted upon. The beginning of the world, for instance, or, to use Japanese phraseology. the "separation of heaven and earth" took place a long time ago; and perhaps, although there could of course be no philosophical doubt as to the course of this event having been the interaction of the Passive and Active Essences, it might also somehow be true that Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male Who-Invites" and the "Female-Who-Invites") were the progenitor and progenitrix of Japan. Who knows but what in them the formative principles may not have been embodied, represented, or figured forth after a fashion not quite determined, but none the less real? As a matter of fact, the

two deities in question have often been spoken of in Japanese books under such designations as the "*Yin* Deity" and the "*Yang* Deity," and in his Chinese Preface the very compiler of these "Records" lends his sanction to the use of such phraseology, though, if we look closely at the part taken by the gods in the legend narrated in Sect. IV, it would seem but imperfectly applicable. If again early sovereigns, such as the Empress Jin-gō, address their troops in sentences cribbed from the "*Shu Ching*,"[18] or, like the Emperor Kei-kō, describe the Ainos in terms that would only suit the pages of a Chinese topographer,—both these personages being supposed to have lived prior to the opening up of intercourse with the continent of Asia,—the anachronism was partly hidden by the fact of the work which thus recorded their doings being itself written in the Chinese language, where such phrases only sounded natural. In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native 22
one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shintō priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into desuetude. Whether indeed this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. The use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle for counting years, months, and days is another instance of the im-

18. 書經

ported usage having become so thoroughly incorporated with native habits of mind as to make the anachronism of employing it when speaking of a period confessedly anterior to the introduction of continental civilization pass unnoticed. As for the (to a modern European) grotesque notion of pretending to give the precise months and days of events supposed to have occurred a thousand years before the date assigned to the introduction of astronomical instruments, of observatories, and even of the art of writing, that is another of those inconsistencies which, while lying on the very surface, yet so easily escape the uncritical Oriental mind.[19] Semi-civilized people tire of asking questions, and to question antiquity, which fills so great a place in their thoughts, is the last thing that would occur to any of their learned men, whose mental attitude is characteristically represented by Confucius when he calls himself "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients."[20] As regards the question of language, standard Chinese soon became easier to understand than Archaic Japanese, as the former
23 alone was taught in the schools and the native language changed rapidly during the century or two that followed the diffusion of the foreign tongue and civilization. We

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19. Details as to the adoption by the Japanese of the Chinese system of computing time will be found in the late Mr. Bramsen's "Japanese Chronological Tables," where that lamented scholar brands "the whole system of fictitious dates applied in the first histories of Japan," as one of the greatest literary frauds over perpetrated, from which we may infer how little trust can be placed in the early Japanese historical works. See also Motowori's "Inquiry into the True Chronology," pp. 33-36, and his second work on the same subject entitled "Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology," pp. 46 *et seq.*

20. "Confucian Analects," Book VII. Chap. I. Dr. Legge's translation.

have only to call to mind the relative facility to most of ourselves of a Latin book and of one written in Early English. Of course, as soon as the principles of the Japanese *Renaissance* had taken hold of men's minds in the eighteenth century, the more genuine, more national work assumed its proper place in the estimation of students. But the uncouthness of the style according to modern ideas, and the greater amount of explanation of all sorts that is required in order to make the "Records of Ancient Matters" intelligible, must always prevent them from attaining to the popularity of the sister history. Thus, though published almost simultaneously, the tendencies of the two works were very different, and their fate has differed accordingly.

To the European student the chief value of the "Chronicles of Japan" lies in the fact that their author, in treating of the so-called "Divine Age," often gives a number of various forms of the same legend under the heading of "One account says," suffixed in the form of a note to the main text. No phrase is more commonly met with in later treatises on Japanese history than this, —"One account in the 'Chronicles of Japan' says," and it will be met with occasionally in the Foot-notes to the present translation. There are likewise instances of the author of the "Chronicles" having preserved, either in the text or in "One account," traditions omitted by the compiler of the "Records." Such are, for instance, the quaint legend invented to explain the fact that the sun and moon do not shine simultaneously,[21] and the curious development of the legend of the expulsion of the deity 24

21. It may perhaps be worth while to quote this legend in full. It is as follows:

Susa-no-wo ("Impetuous Male"), telling us of the hospitality which was refused to him by the other gods when he appeared before them to beg for shelter. Many of the Songs, too, in the "Chronicles" are different from those in the "Records," and make a precious addition to our vocabulary of Archaic Japanese. The prose text, likewise, contains in the shape of notes, numbers of readings by which the pronunciation of words written ideographically, or the meaning of words written phonetically in the "Records" may be ascertained. Finally the "Chronicles" give us the annals of seventy-two years not comprised in the plan of the "Records," by carrying down to A.D. 700 the history which in the "Records" stops at the year 628. Although therefore it is a mistake

"One account says that the Heaven-Shining Great Deity, being in Heaven said: 'I hear that in the Central Land of Reed-Plains (*i.e.* Japan) there is a Food-Possessing Deity. Do, thou, Thine Augustness Moon-Night Possessor, go and see.' His Augustness the Moon-Night Possessor, having received these orders, descended [to earth], and arrived at the place where the Food-Possessing Deity was. The Food-Possessing Deity forthwith, on turning her head towards the land, produced rice from her mouth; again, on turning to the sea, she also produced from her mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin; again, on turning to the mountains, she also produced from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Having collected together all these things, she offered them [to the Moon-God] as a feast on a hundred tables. At this time His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor, being angry and colouring up, said: 'How filthy! how vulgar! What! shalt thou dare to feed me with things spat out from thy mouth?' [and with these words], he drew his sabre and slew her. Afterwards he made his report [to the Sun-Goddess]. When he told her all the particulars, the Heaven-Shining Great Deity was very angry, and said: 'Thou art a wicked Deity, whom it is not right for me to see;'—and forthwith she and His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor dwelt separately day and night." The partly parallel legend given in these "Records" forms the subject of Sect. XVII of the Translation.

to assert, as some have done, that the "Chronicles of Japan" must be placed at the head of all the Japanese historical works, their assistance can in no wise be dispensed with by the student of Japanese mythology and of the Japanese language.[22]

IV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

The Japanese of the mythical period, as pictured in the legends preserved by the compiler of the "Records of Ancient Matters," were a race who had long emerged from the savage state, and had attained to a high level of barbaric skill. The Stone Age was forgotten by them —or nearly so,—and the evidence points to their never having passed through a genuine Bronze Age, though the knowledge of bronze was at a later period introduced from the neighbouring continent. They used iron for 25
manufacturing spears, swords, and knives of various shapes, and likewise for the more peaceful purpose of making hooks wherewith to angle, or to fasten the doors of their huts. Their other warlike and hunting implements (besides traps and gins, which appear to have been used equally for catching beasts and birds and for destroying human enemies) were bows and elbow-pads,—the latter seemingly of skin, while special allusion is made to the fact that the arrows were feathered. Perhaps clubs should be added to the list. Of the bows and arrows, swords and knives, there is perpetual mention; but nowhere do we hear of the tools

22. Compare Mr. Satow's remarks on this subject in Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 21-23 of these "Transactions."

with which they were manufactured, and there is the same remarkable silence regarding such widely spread domestic implements as the saw and the axe, We hear, however, of the pestle and fire-drill, of the wedge, of the sickle, and of the shuttle used in weaving.

Navigation seems to have been in a very elementary stage. Indeed the art of sailing was, as we know from the classical literature of the country, but little practised in Japan even so late as the middle of the tenth century of our era subsequent to the general diffusion of Chinese civilization, though rowing and punting are often mentioned by the early poets. In one passage of the "Records" and in another of the "Chronicles," mention is made of a "two-forked boat" used on inland pools or lakes; but, as a rule, in the earlier portions of those works, we read only of people going to sea or being sent down from heaven in water-proof baskets without oars, and reaching their destination not through any efforts of their own, but through supernatural inter-position.[23]

To what we should call towns or villages very little
62 reference is made anywhere in the "Records" or in that portion of the "Chronicles" which contains the account of the so-called "Divine Age." But from what

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23. A curious scrap of the history of Japanese civilization is preserved in the word *kaji*, whose exclusive acceptation in the modern tongue is "rudder." In archaic Japanese it meant "oar," a signification which is now expressed by the term *ro*, which has been borrowed from the Chinese. It is a matter of debate whether the ancient Japanese boats possessed such an appliance as a *rudder*, and the word *tagishi* or *iaishi* has been credited with that meaning. The more likely opinion seems to be that both the thing and the word were specialized in later times, the early Japanese boatmen having made any oar do duty for a rudder when circumstances necessitated the use of one.

we learn incidentally, it would seem that the scanty population was chiefly distributed in small hamlets and isolated dwellings along the coast and up the course of the larger streams. Of house-building there is frequent mention,—especially of the building of palaces or temples for sovereigns or gods,—the words "palace" and "temple" being (it should be mentioned) represented in Japanese by the same term. Sometimes, in describing the construction of such a sacred dwelling, the author of the "Records," abandoning his usual flat and monotonous style, soars away on poetic wings, as when, for instance, he tells how the monarch of Idzumo, on abdicating in favour of the Sun-Goddess's descendant, covenanted that the latter should "make stout his temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the plain of High Heaven."[24] It must not, however, be inferred from such language that these so-called palaces and temples were of very gorgeous and imposing aspect. The more exact notices to be culled from the ancient Shintō Rituals (which are but little posterior to the "Records" and in no wise contradict the inferences to be drawn from the latter) having been already summarized by Mr. Satow, it may be as well to quote that gentleman's words. He says:[25] "The palace of the Japanese sovereign was a wooden hut, with its pillars planted in the ground, instead of being erected upon broad flat stones as in modern buildings. The whole frame-work, consisting of posts, beams, rafters, door-posts and window-frames, was tied together with cords made by twisting the long fibrous stems of climbing plants, such as Pueraria

24. See the end of Sect. XXXII.
25. See Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 191-192, of these "Transactions."

Thunbergiana (*kuzu*) and Wistaria Sinensis (*fuji*). The floor must have been low down, so that the occupants of the building, as they squatted or lay on their mats, were exposed to the stealthy attacks of venomous snakes, which were probably far more numerous in the earliest ages when the country was for the most part uncultivated, than at the present day . . . There seems some reason to think that the *yuka*, here translated floor, was originally nothing but a couch which ran round the sides of the hut, the rest
27 of the space being simply a mud-floor, and that the size of the couch was gradually increased until it occupied the whole interior. The rafters projected upward beyond the ridge-pole, crossing each other as is seen in the roofs of modern Shin-tau temples, whether their architecture be in conformity with early traditions (in which case all the rafters are so crossed) or modified in accordance with more advanced principles of construction, and the crossed rafters retained only as ornaments at the two ends of the ridge. The roof was thatched, and perhaps had a gable at each end, with a hole to allow the smoke of the wood-fire to escape, so that it was possible for birds flying in and perching on the beams overhead, to defile the food, or the fire with which it was cooked." To this description it need only be added that fences were in use, and that the wooden doors, sometimes fastened by means of hooks, resembled those with which we are familiar in Europe rather than the sliding, screen-like doors of modern Japan. The windows seem to have been mere holes. Rugs of skins and rush matting were occasionally brought in to sit upon, and we even hear once or twice of "silk rugs" being used for the same purpose by the noble and wealthy.

The habits of personal cleanliness which so pleasantly distinguish the modern Japanese from their neighbours in continental Asia, though less fully developed than at present, would seem to have existed in the germ in early times, as we read more than once of bathing in rivers, and are told of bathing-women being specially attached to the person of a certain imperial infant. Lustrations, too, formed part of the religious practices of the race. Latrines are mentioned several times. They would appear to have been situated away from the houses and to have generally been placed over a running stream, whence doubtless the name for latrine in the Archaic Dialect,—*kaha-ya* i.e. "river house." A well-known Japanese classic of the tenth century, the "Yamato Tales,"[26] tells us indeed that "in older days the people dwelt in houses raised on "plat-forms built out on the river Ikuta," and goes on to relate a story which presupposes such a method of architecture.[27] A passage in the account of 28
the reign of the Emperor Jim-mu which occurs both in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," and another in the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin occurring in the "Records" only, might be interpreted so as to support this statement.[28] But both are extremely obscure, and beyond the fact that people who habitually lived near the water *may* have built their houses after the aquatic fashion practised in different parts of the world by certain savage tribes both ancient and modern, the present writer is not aware of any authority for the assertion that they actually

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26. *Yamato Monogatari.*

27. For a translation of this story see the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," pp. 42.44.

28. See Sect. XLIV, Note 12 and Sect. LXXII, Note 29.

did so except the isolated passage in the "Yamato Tales" just quoted.

A peculiar sort of dwelling-place which the two old histories bring prominently under our notice, is the so-called "parturition-house,"—a one-roomed hut without windows which a woman was expected to build and retire into for the purpose of being delivered unseen.[29] It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly-married couples retired into a specially built hut for the purpose
29 of consummating the marriage, and it is certain that

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29. Mr. Ernest Satow, who in 1898 visited the island of Hachijo, gives the following detail concerning the observance down to modern times in that remote corner of the Japanese Empire of the custom mentioned in the text: "In Hachijo women, when about to become mothers, were formerly driven out to the huts on the mountain-side, and according to the accounts of native writers, left to shift for themselves, the result not unfrequently being the death of the newborn infant, or if it survived the rude circumstances under which it first saw the light, the seeds of disease were sown which clung to it throughout its after life. The rule of non-intercourse was so strictly enforced, that the woman was not allowed to leave the hut even to visit her own parents at the point of death, and besides the injurious effects that this solitary confinement must have had on the wives themselves, their prolonged absence was a serious loss to households, where there were elder children and large establishments to be superintended. The rigour of the custom was so far relaxed in modern times, that the huts were no longer built on the hills, but were constructed inside the homestead. It was a subject of wonder to people from other parts of Japan that the senseless practice should still be kept up, and its abolition was often recommended, but the administration of the Shoguns was not animated by a reforming spirit, and it remained for the Government of the Mikado to exhort the islanders to abandon this and the previously mentioned custom. They are therefore no longer sanctioned by official authority and the force of social opinion against them is increasing, so that before long these relics of ancient ceremonial religion will in all probability have disappeared from the group of islands." (Trans. of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 455-6.)

for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.

Castles are not distinctly spoken of till a period which, though still mythical in the opinion of the present writer, coincides according to the received chronology with the first century B. C. We then first meet with the curious term "rice-castle," whose precise signification is a matter of dispute among the native commentators, but which, on comparison with Chinese descriptions of the Early Japanese, should probably be understood to mean a kind of palisade serving the purpose of a redoubt, behind which the warriors could ensconce themselves.[30] If this conjecture be correct, we have here a good instance of a word, so to speak, moving upward with the march of civilization, the term, which formerly denoted something not much better than a fence, having later come to convey the idea of a stone castle.

To conclude the subject of dwelling-places, it should be stated that cave-dwellers are sometimes alluded to. The legend of the retirement of the Sun-Goddess into a cavern may possibly suggest to some the idea of an early period when such habitations were the normal abodes of the ancestors of the Japanese race.[31] But at the time when the national traditions assumed their present shape, such a state of things had certainly quite passed away, if it ever existed, and only barbarous Ainos and rough bands of robbers are credited with the construction of such primitive retreats. Natural caves

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30. See Sect. LXX, Note 6. The Japanese term is *ina-ki*, *ki* being an Archaic term for "castle."

31. See Sect. XVI. Mention of cave-dwellers will also be found in Sects. XLVIII, and LXXX.

(it may be well to state) are rare in Japan, and the caves that are alluded to were mostly artificial, as may be gathered from the context.

The food of the Early Japanese consisted of fish and of the flesh of the wild creatures which fell by the hunter's arrow or were taken in the trapper's snare,—an animal diet with which Buddhist prohibitions had not yet interfered, as they began to do in early historical times. Rice is the only cereal of which there is such mention made as to place it beyond a doubt that its
30 cultivation dates back to time immemorial. Beans, millet, and barley are indeed named once, together with silk-worms, in the account of the "Divine Age."[32] But the passage has every aspect of an interpolation in the legend, perhaps not dating back long before the time of the eighth century compiler. A few unimportant vegetables and fruits, of most of which there is but a single mention, will be found in the list of plants given below. The intoxicating liquor called *sake* was known in Japan during the mythical period[33] and so were chopsticks for eating the food with. Cooking-pots and cups and dishes—the latter both of earthenware and of leaves of trees,—are also mentioned; but of the use of fire for warming purposes we hear nothing. Tables are named several times, but never in connection with food. They would seem to have been exclusively used for the purpose of presenting offerings on, and were probably quite small and low,—in fact rather trays than tables according to European ideas.

In the use of clothing and the specialization of garments

32. See the latter part of Sect. XVII.
33. See Sect. XVIII, Note 16.

the Early Japanese had reached a high level. We read in the most ancient legends of upper garments, skirts, trowsers, girdles, veils, and hats, while both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces, bracelets, and head-ornaments of stones considered precious,—in this respect offering a striking contrast to their descendants in modern times, of whose attire jewelry forms no part. The material of their clothes was hempen cloth and paper-mulberry bark, coloured by being rubbed with madder, and probably with woad and other tinctorial plants. All the garments, so far as we may judge, were woven, sewing being nowhere mentioned, and it being expressly stated by the Chinese commentator on the "*Shan Hai Ching*,"[34] who wrote early in the fourth century, that the Japanese had no needles.[35] From the great place which the chase occupied in daily life we are led to suppose that skins also were used to make garments of. There is in the "Records" at least one passage which favours this supposition,[36] and the "Chronicles" in one place mention the straw rain-coat and broad-brimmed hat, which still form the 31
Japanese peasant's effectual protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The tendrils of creeping plants served the purposes of string, and bound the warrior's sword round his waist. Combs are mentioned, and it is evident that much attention was devoted to the dressing of the hair. The men seem to have bound up their hair in two bunches, one on each side of the head, whilst the young boys tied theirs into a topknot, the unmarried girls let their locks hang down over their necks, and the

34. 山海經.
35. See, however, the legend in Sect. LXV.
36. See beginning of Sect. XXVII.

married women dressed theirs after a fashion which apparently combined the two last-named methods. There is no mention in any of the old books of cutting the hair or beard except in token of disgrace; neither do we gather that the sexes, but for this matter of the head-dress, were distinguished by a diversity of apparel and ornamentation.

With regard to the precious stones mentioned above as having been used as ornaments for the head, neck, and arms, the texts themselves give us little or no information as to the identity of the stones meant to be referred to. Indeed it is plain (and the native commentators admit the fact) that a variety of Chinese characters properly denoting different sort of jewels were used indiscriminately by the early Japanese writers to represent the single native word *tama* which is the only one the language contains to denote any hard substance on which a special value is set, and which often refers chiefly to the rounded shape, so that it might in fact be translated by the word "bead" as fittingly as by the word "jewel." We know, however, from the specimens which have rewarded the labours of archaeological research in Japan that agate, crystal, glass, jade, serpentine, and steatite are the most usual materials, and carved and pierced cylindrical shapes (*maga-tama* and *kuda-tama*), the commonest forms.[37]

The horse (which was ridden, but not driven), the

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37. For details on this subject and illustrations, see Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," p. 15 and Table XI, and a paper by Professor Milne on the "Stone Age in Japan," read before the Anthropological Society of Great Britain on the 25th May, 1880, pp. 10 and 11.

barn-door fowl, and the cormorant used for fishing, are the only domesticated creatures mentioned in the earlier traditions, with the doubtful exception of the silkworm, to 32
which reference has already been made.[38] In the later portions of the "Records" and "Chronicles," dogs and cattle are alluded to; but sheep, swine, and even cats were apparently not yet introduced. Indeed sheep were scarcely to be seen in Japan until a few years ago, goats are still almost unknown, and swine and all poultry excepting the barn-door fowl extremely uncommon.

The following enumeration of the animals and plants mentioned in the earlier portion[39] of the "Records" may be of interest. The Japanese equivalents, some few of which are obsolete, are put in parenthesis, together with the Chinese characters used to write them:

MAMMALS.

Bear, (*kuma* 熊).
Boar, (*wi* 猪).
Deer, (*shika* 鹿).
Hare, (*usagi* 兎).
Horse, (uma 馬 and *koma* 駒).
Mouse or Rat (*nedzumi* 鼠).
"Sea-ass" [Seal or Sea-lion?] (*michi* 海鱸).
Whale, (*kujira* 鯨).

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38. The tradition preserved in Sect. CXXIV, shows that in times almost, if not quite, historical (the 4th century of our era) the silkworm was a curious novelty, apparently imported from Korea. It is not only possible, but probable, that silken fabrics were occasionally imported into Japan from the mainland at an earlier period, which would account for the mention of "silk rugs" in Sects XL and LXXXIV.

39. The (necessarily somewhat arbitrary) line between earlier and later times has been drawn at the epoch of the traditional conquest of Korea by the Empress Jin-go at the commencement of the third century of our era, it being then, according to the received opinions, that the Japanese first eame in contact with their continental neighbours, and began to borrow from them. (See however the concluding Section of this Introduction for a demonstration of the untrustworthiness of all the so-called history of Japan down to the commencement of the fifth century of the Christian era).

BIRDS.

Barndoor-fowl, (*kake* 鶏).
Cormorant, (*u* 鵜.)
Crow *or* Raven, (*karasu* 烏).
Dotterel *or* Plover *or* Sand-piper, (*chidori* 千鳥).
Heron *or* Egret (*sagi* 鷺).
Kingfisher (*soni-dori* 翠鳥).
Nuye (鵺).[40]
Pheasant (*kigishi* 雉).
Snipe, (*shigi* 鴫).
Swan, (*shiro-tori* 白鳥).
Wild-duck, (*kamo* 鴨).
Wild-goose, (*kari* 鴈).

REPTILES.

Crocodile, (*wani* 鰐).[41]
Tortoise (*kame* 龜).
Toad *or* Frog, (*taniguku*, written phonetically).
Serpent, (*worochi* 蛇).
Snake [smaller than the preceding], (*hemi* 蛇).

INSECTS.

Centipede, (*mukade* 蜈松).
Dragon-fly, (*akidzu* 蜻蛉).
Fly, (*hahi* 蠅).
Louse, (*shirami* 虱).
Silk-worm, (*kahiko* 蠶).
Wasp *or* Bee, (*hachi* 蜂).

FISHES, ETC.

Pagrus cardinalis [probably], (*aka-dahi* 赤鯛) [or perhaps the *Pagrus cardinalis* (*tai* 鯛) is intended.]
Perch [*Percalabrax japonicus*] *su-dzuki* 鱸).
Beche-de-mer [genus *Pentacta*] (*ko* 海鼠).
Medusa, (*kurage*, written phonetically).

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40. See Sect. XXIV, Note 4.

41. Mr. Satow, in his translation of a passage of the "Records of Ancient Matters" forming part of a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II of these "Transactions," renders *wani* by "shark." There is perhaps some want of clearness in the old historical books in the details concerning the creature in question, and its *fin* is mentioned in the "Chronicles." But the accounts point rather to an amphibious creature, conceived of as being somewhat similar to the serpent, than to a fish, and the Chinese descriptions quoted by the Japanese commentators unmistakably refer to the crocodile. The translator therefore sees no sufficient reason for abandoning the usually accepted interpretation of *wani* (鰐) as "crocodile." It should be noticed that the *wani* is never introduced into any but patently fabulous stories, and that the example of other nations, and indeed of Japan itself, shows that myth-makers have no objection to embellish their tales by the mention of wonders supposed to exist in foreign lands.

SHELLS.

Arca Subcrenata [?] *hirabu-kahi*, written phonetically).

Cockle [*Arca Inflata*](*kisa-gahi* 蜆貝).

Turbinidæ [a shell of the family] (*shitadami* 細螺).

PLANTS.

Ampelopsis seriauæfolia [?] (*kagami* 羅臘).

Aphanarthe aspera, (*muku*, written phonetically).

Aucuba japonica [probably] *aha-gi*, written phonetically).

Bamboo, (*take* 竹).

Bamboo-grass [*Bambusa chino*], *sasa* 小竹).

Barley [or wheat?], (*mugi* 麥).

Beans [two kinds, viz., *Soja glycine* and *Phaselus radiatus* (the general name is *mame* 豆, that of the latter species in particular *adzuki* 小豆).

Bulrush [*Typha japonica*] (*kama* 蒲黃).

Bush-clover [*Lespedeza* of various species], (*hagi* 萩).

Camellia japonica (*tsuba-ki* 椿).

Cassia [Chinese mythical; or perhaps the native *Cercidiphyllum japonica*], (*katsura*, variously written).

Chamæcyparis obtusa, (*hi-no-ki* 檜).

Cleyera japonica [and another allied but undetermined species], *saka-ki* 榊).

Clubmoss, (*hi-koge* 日蔓).

Cocculus thunbergi [probably] (*tsu-dzura* 黑葛).

Cryptomeria japonica, (*sugi* 杉).

Eulalia japonica (*kaya* 茅草).

Evonymus japonica, (*masa-ki* 眞賢木).

Ginger, [or perhaps the *Xanthoxylon* is intended] *hazhikami* 薑).

Halocholoa macrantha [but it is not certain that this is the sea-weed intended] *komo* 海專).

Holly [or rather the *Olea aquifolium*, which closely resembles holly], *hihira-gi* 柊).

Knot-grass [*Polygonum tinctorium* (*awi* 藍).

Lily, (*sawi* written phonetically, *yamayuri-gusa* 山由理草, and *saki-kusa* 三枝草).

Madder, (*akane* 茜).

Millet [*Panicum italicum*], (*aha* 粟).

Moss, *koke* 蘿).

Oak (two species, one evergreen and one deciduous,—*Quercus myrsinæfolia*, *Q. dentata* (*kashi* 白櫧, *kashi-wa* 柏)].

Peach, (*momo* 桃).

Photinia glabra [?], *soba*, written phonetically).

Pine-tree, (*matsu* 松).

Pueraria thunbergiana, (*kudzu* 葛).

Reed, (*ashi* 葦).

Rice, (*ine* 稻).

Sea-weed [or the original term may designate a particular species], (*me* 海布).

Sedge [*Scirpus maritimus*], (*suge* 菅).

Spindle-tree [*Evonymus radicans*], (*masaki no kadzura* 眞柝蔓).

Vegetable Wax-tree [*Rhus succedanea*], (*haahi* 櫨).

Vine, *yebi-kadzura* 蔦蒲).

Wild cherry [or birch?], *hahaka* 朱櫻).

Wild chive [or rather the *allium odorum*, which closely resembles t], (*ka-mira* 臭韮).

Winter-cherry [*Physalis alkekengi*] *aka-kagachi* written phonetically, and also *hohodzuki* 酸醬).

The later portions of the work furnish in addition the following :—

ANIMALS.

Cow (*ushi* 牛).

Dog, (*inu* 犬).

Crane, [genus *Grus*] *tadzu* 鶴).

35 Dove *or* Pigeon, (*hato* 鳩).

Grebe, (*niño-dori* 鸕鷀鳥).

Lark, (*hibari* 雲雀).

Peregrine falcon, (*hayabusa* 隼).

Red-throated quail (*udzura* 鶉).

Tree-sparrow (*suzume* 雀).

Wag-tail, [probably] [*mana-bashira*), written phonetically).

Wren, (*sazaki* 鷦鷯).

Dolphin, (*iruka* 入鹿魚).

Trout, [*Plecoglossus altivelis*] (*ayu* 年魚).

Tunny, [a kind of, viz. *Thynnus sibi*] (*shibi* 鮪).

Crab, (*kani* 蟹).

Horse-fly (*amu* 虻).

Oyster (*kaki*) 蠣.

PLANTS.

Alder [*Alnus maritima*] *hari-no-ki* 榛).

Aralia (*mi-tsuna gashiwa* 御綱柏).

Brasenia peltata (*nunaha*) 蓴.

Cabbage [*brassica*] (*aona* 菘菜).

Catalpa Kaempfri [but some say the cherry is meant (*adzusa* 梓).

Chestnut (*kuri* 栗).

Dioscorea quinqueloba (*tokoro-dzura* 解葛).

Evonymus sieboldianus mayumi 木檀).

Gourd (*hisago* 瓢).

Hedysarum esculentum (*wogi* 荻).

Hydropyrum latifolium (*komo* 菰).

Kadzura japonica (*sen kadzura* 蕁).

Livistona sinensis (*aji-masa* 檳榔).

Lotus [*nelumbium*] (*hachisu* 蓮).

Musk-melon (*hozoahi* 熟瓜).

Oak, [three species, *Quercus serrata* (*kunugi* 櫪木) and *Q. glandulifera* (*nara* 楢), both deciduous; *Q. gilva* (*ichihi* 赤樹) [evergreen].

Orange (*tachibana* 橘).

Podocarpus macrophylla (*maki* 檜).

Radish, [*Raphanus sativus*] *oho-ne* 大根).

Sashibu (written phonetically) [not identified].

Water caltrop, [*Trapa bispinosa*] (*hishi* 菱).

Wild garlic [*Allium nipponicum*] (*nubiru* 野蒜).

Zelkowa keaki [probably] (*tsuki* 槻).

A few more are probably preserved in the names of places. Thus in Shinano, the name of a province, we seem to have the *shina* (*Tilia cordata*), and in Tadetsu the *tade* (*Polygonum japonicum*). But the identification in these cases is mostly uncertain. It must also be remembered that, as in the case of all non-scientific nomenclatures, several species, and occasionally even more than one genus, are included in a single Japanese term. The *chi-dori* (here always rendered "dotterel") is the name of any kind of sand-piper, plover or dotterel. *Kari* is a general name applied to geese, but not to all the species, and also to the great bustard. Again it should not be forgotten that there may have been, and probably were, in the application of some of these terms, differences of usage between the present day and eleven or twelve centuries ago. Absolute precision is therefore not attainable.[42]

Noticeable in the above lists is the abundant mention of plant-names in a work which is in no ways occupied with botany. Equally noticeable is the absence of some of those which are most common at the present day, such as the tea-plant and the plum-tree, while of the orange we are specially informed that it was introduced from abroad.[43] The difference between the various stones and metals seems, on the other hand, to have attracted 36
very little attention from the Early Japanese. In late

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42. Sect. CXXVIII preserves a very early ornithological observation in the shape of the Songs composed by the Emperor Nin-toku and his Minister Take-Uchi on the subject of a wild-goose laying eggs in Central Japan. These birds are not known to breed even so far South as the island of Yezo.

43. See the legend in Sect. LXXIV.

times the chief metals were named mostly according to their colour, as follows:

Yellow metal	....	(gold).
White ,,	....	(silver).
Red ,,	....	(copper).
Black ,,	....	(iron).
Chinese (or Korean)	....	(bronze).

But in the "Records" the only metal of which it is implied that it was in use from time immemorial is iron, while "various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards," are only referred to once as existing in the far-western land of Korea. Red clay is the sole kind of earth specially named.

Black.
Blue (including Green).
Red.
Piebald (of horses).
White.

Yellow is not mentioned (except in the foreign Chinese phrase "the Yellow Stream," signifying Hades, and not to be counted in this context), neither are any of the numerous terms which in Modern Japanese serve to distinguish delicate shades of colour. We hear of the "blue (or green) *i.e.* black[44]) clouds" and also of the "blue (or green), sea"; but the "blue sky" is conspicuous by its absence here as in so many other early literatures, though strangely enough it does occur in the oldest written monuments of the Chinese.

With regard to the subject of names for the different degrees of relationship,—a subject of sufficient interest

44. Mr. Satow suggests that *awo* ("blue" or "green") means properly any colour derived from the *awi* plant (*Polygonum tinctorium.*)

to the student of sociology to warrant its being discussed at some length,—it may be stated that in modern Japanese parlance the categories according to which relationship is conceived of do not materially differ from those that are current in Europe. Thus we find father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, nephew. stepfather, stepson, 37 father-in-law, and the corresponding terms for females, —mother, grandmother etc.,—as well as such vaguer designations as parents, ancestors, cousins, and kinsmen, The only striking difference is that brothers and sisters, instead of being considered as all mutually related in the same manner, are divided into two categories, viz :

Ani	兄	elder brother(s),
Otouto	弟	younger brother(s),
Ane	姉	elder sister(s),
Imouto	妹	younger sister(s).

in exact accordance with Chinese usage.

Now in Archaic times there seems to have been a different and more complicated system, somewhat resembling that which still obtains among the natives of Korea, and which the introduction of Chinese ideas and especially the use of the Chinese written characters must have caused to be afterwards abandoned. There are indications of it in some of the phonetically written fragments of the "Records." But they are not of themselves sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation, and the subject has puzzled the native *literati* themselves. Moreover the English language fails us at this point, and elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister are the only terms at the translator's command. It may therefore be as well to quote *in extenso* Motowori's elucidation of the Archaic usage to be found

in vol. XIII, p. 63–4 of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters."[45] He says: "Anciently, when brothers and sisters were spoken of, the elder brother was called *se* or *ani* in contradistinction to the younger brothers and younger sisters, and the younger brother also was called *se* in contradistinction to the elder sister. The elder sister was called *ane* in contradistinction to the younger sister, and the younger brother also would use the word *ane* in speaking of his elder sister himself. The younger brother was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the younger sister also was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder sister. The younger sister was called *imo* in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the elder sister also was called *imo* in
38 contradistinction to the younger brother. It was also the custom among brothers and sisters to use the words *iro-se* for *se*, *iro-ne* for *ane*, and *iro-do* for *oto*, and analogy forces us to conclude that *iro-mo* was used for *imo*." (Motowori elsewhere explains *iro* as a term of endearment identical with the word *iro*, "love"; but we may hesitate to accept this view.) It will be observed that the foundation of this system of nomenclature was a subordination of the younger to the elder-born modified by a subordination of the females to the males. In the East, especially in primitive times, it is not "*place aux dames*," but "*place aux messieurs*."

Another important point to notice is that, though in a few passages of the "Records" we find a distinction drawn between the chief and the secondary wives,—perhaps nothing more than the favorite or better-born,

45. Only the foot-notes of the original are omitted, as not being essential.

and the less well-born, are meant to be thus designated, —yet not only is this distinction not drawn throughout, but the wife is constantly spoken of as *imo, i.e.* "younger sister." It fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas; and what in a later stage of Japanese, as of Western, civilization is abhorred as incest was in Archaic Japanese times the common practice. We also hear of marriages with half-sisters, with stepmothers, and with aunts; and to wed two or three sisters at the same time was a recognized usage. Most such unions were naturally so contrary to Chinese ethical ideas, that one of the first traces of the influence of the latter in Japan was the stigmatizing of them as incest; and the conflict between the old native custom and the imported moral code is seen to have resulted in political troubles.[46] Marriage with sisters was naturally the first to disappear, and indeed it is only mentioned in the legends of the gods; but unions with half-sisters, aunts, etc., lasted on into the historic epoch. Of exogamy, such as obtains in China, there is no trace in any Japanese document, nor do any other artificial impediments seem to have stood in the way of the free choice of the Early Japanese man, who also (in some cases at least) received a dowry with his bride or brides.

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If, taking as our guides the incidental notices which are scattered up and down the pages of the earlier 39
portion of the "Records" we endeavour to follow an Archaic Japanese through the chief events of his life

46. See the story of Prince Karu, which is probably historical, in Sects. CXLI *et seq.*

from the cradle to the tomb, it will be necessary to begin by recalling what has already been alluded to as the "parturition-house" built by the mother, and in which, as we are specially told that it was made windowless, it would perhaps be contradictory to say that the infant first saw the light. Soon after birth a name was given to it,—given to it by the mother,—such name generally containing some appropriate personal reference. In the most ancient times each person (so far as we can judge) bore but one name, or rather one string of words compounded together into a sort of personal designation. But already at the dawn of the historical epoch we are met by the mention of surnames and of what, in the absence of a more fitting word, the translator has ventured to call "gentile names," bestowed by the sovereign as a recompense for some noteworthy deed.[47]

It may be gathered from our text that the idea of calling in the services of wet-nurses in exceptional cases had already suggested itself to the minds of the ruling class, whose infants were likewise sometimes attended by special bathing-women. To what we should call education, whether mental or physical, there is absolutely no reference made in the histories. All that can be inferred is that, when old enough to do so, the boys began to follow one of the callings of hunter or fisherman,

47. The custom of using surnames was certainly borrowed from China, although the Japanese have not, like the Koreans, gone so far as to adopt the actual surnames in use in that country. The "gentile names" may have sprung up more naturally, though they too show traces of Chinese influence. Those most frequently met with are *Agatanushi*, *Ason*, *Atahe*, *Kimi*, *Miyatsuko*, *Murazhi*, *Omi*, *Sukune*, and *Wake*. See above, pp. xv-xvi.

while the girls staid at home weaving the garments of the family. There was also a great deal of fighting, generally of a treacherous kind, in the intervals of which the warriors occupied themselves in cultivating patches of ground. The very little which is to be gathered concerning the treatment of old people would seem to indicate that they were well cared for.

We are nowhere told of any wedding ceremonies except the giving of presents by the bride or her father, the probable reason being that no such ceremonies 40
existed. Indeed late on into the Middle Age cohabitation alone constituted matrimony,—cohabitation often secret at first, but afterwards acknowledged, when, instead of going round under cover of night to visit his mistress, the young man brought her back publicly to his parents' house. Mistress, wife, and concubine were thus terms which were not distinguished, and the woman could naturally be discarded at any moment. She indeed was expected to remain faithful to the man with whom she had had more than a passing intimacy, but no reciprocal obligation bound him to her. Thus the wife of one of the gods is made to address her husband in a poem which says:

"Thou . . . indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But I, alas! being a woman, have no spouse except thee," etc., etc.[48]

In this sombre picture the only graceful touch is the custom which lovers or spouses had of tieing each other's girdles when about to part for a time,—a ceremony by

48. See Sect. XXV (the second Song in that Section).

which they implied that they would be constant to each other during the period of absence.[49] What became of the children in cases of conjugal separation does not clearly appear. In the only instance which is related at length, we find the child left with the father; but this instance is not a normal one.[50] Adoption is not mentioned in the earliest traditions; so that when we meet with it later on we shall probably be justified in tracing its introduction to Chinese sources.

Of death-bed scenes and dying speeches we hear but little, and that little need not detain us. The burial rites are more important. The various ceremonies observed on such an occasion are indeed not explicitly detailed. But we gather thus much: that the hut tenanted by the deceased was abandoned,—an ancient custom to whose former existence the removal of the capital at the commencement of each reign long
41 continued to bear witness,—and that the body was first deposited for some days in a "mourning-house," during which interval the survivors (though their tears and lamentations are also mentioned) held a carousal, feasting perhaps on the food which was specially prepared as an offering to the dead person. Afterwards, the corpse was interred, presumably in a wooden bier, as the introduction of stone tombs is specially noted by the historian as having taken place at the end of the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin, and was therefore believed by those who handed down the legendary history to have been a comparatively recent innovation, the date assigned to this monarch by the author of the "Chronicles" coin-

49. See Sect. LXXI, Note 12.
50. See Sect. XLII.

ciding with the latter part of our first, and the first half of our second centuries. To a time not long anterior is attributed the abolition of a custom previously observed at the interments of royal personages. This custom was the burying alive of some of their retainers in the neighbourhood of the tomb. We know also, both from other early literary sources and from the finds which have recently rewarded the labours of archæologists, that articles of clothing, ornaments, etc., were buried with the corpse. It is all the more curious that the "Records" should nowhere make any reference to such a custom, and is a proof (if any be needed) of the necessity of not relying exclusively on any single authority, however respectable, if the full and true picture of Japanese antiquity is to be restored. A few details as to the abolition of the custom of burying retainers alive round their master's tomb, and of the substitution for this cruel holocaust of images in clay will be found in Sect. LXIII, Note 23, and in Sect. LXXV, Note 4, of the following translation.[51] If the custom be one which is properly included under the heading of human sacrifices, it is the only form of such sacrifices of which the earliest recorded Japanese social state retained any trace. The absence of slavery is another honourable feature. On the other hand, the most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrongdoers. Their nails were extracted, the sinews of their knees were cut, they were buried up to the neck so that their eyes burst, etc. Death, too, was inflicted for the 42

51. Representations of these clay images (*Tsuchi-nin-giyō*) will be found in Table XII of Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archæology," and in Mr. Satow's paper on "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke" published in Vol. VII, Pt. III, pp. 313 *et seq.* of these "Transactions."

most trivial offences, Of branding, or rather tattooing, the face as a punishment there are one or two incidental mentions. But as no tattooing or other marking or painting of the body for any other purpose is ever alluded to, with the solitary exception in one passage of the painting of her eyebrows by a woman, it is possible that the penal use of tattooing may have been borrowed from the Chinese, to whom it was not unknown.

The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the "Records" bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. It is true that decency, as we understand it, is a very modern product, and is not to be looked for in any society in the barbarous stage. At the same time, the whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naïve filthiness of the passage forming Sect. IV of the following translation, or to the extraordinary topic which the hero Yamato-Take and his mistress Miyazu are made to select as the theme of poetical repartee.[52] One passage likewise would lead us to suppose that the most beastly crimes were commonly committed.[53]

To conclude this portion of the subject, it may be useful for the sake of comparison to call attention to a few arts and products with which the early Japanese were *not* acquainted, Thus they had no tea, no fans, no porcelain, no lacquer,—none of the things, in fact, by which in later times they have been chiefly known. They did not yet use vehicles of any kind. They had no accurate method of computing time, no money, scarcely any

52. See Sect. LXXXVII.
53. See Sect. XCVII.

knowledge of medicine. Neither, though they possessed some sort of music, and poems a few of which at least are not without merit,[54] do we hear anything of the art of drawing. But the most important art of which they were ignorant is that of writing. As some misapprehension has existed on this head, and scholars in 43
Europe have been misled by the inventions of zealous champions of the Shintō religion into a belief in the so-called "Divine Characters," by them alleged to have been invented by the Japanese gods and to have been used by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese ideographic writing, it must be stated precisely that all the traditions of the "Divine Age," and of the reigns of the earlier Emperors down to the third century of our era according to the received chronology, maintain a complete silence on the subject of writing materials, and records of every kind. Books are nowhere mentioned till a period confessedly posterior to the opening up of intercourse with the Asiatic continent, and the first books whose names occur are the "Lun Yü" and the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên,"[55] which are said to have been brought over to Japan during the reign of the Emperor O-jin,—according to the same chronology in the year 284 after Christ. That even

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54. A translation,—especially a literal prose translation,—is not calculated to show off to best advantage the poetry of an alien race. But even subject to this drawback, the present writer would be surprised if it were not granted that poetic fire and grace are displayed in some of the Love-Songs (for instance the third Song in Sect. XXIV and both Songs Yamato-Take's address to his "elder brother the pine-tree," and in his Death-Songs contained in Sect. LXXXIX).

55. 論語 and 千字文.

this statement is antedated, is shown by the fact that the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên" was not written till more than two centuries later,—a fact which is worthy the attention of those who have been disposed simply to take on trust the assertions of the Japanese historians. It should likewise be mentioned that, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Aston, the Japanese terms *fumi* "written document," and *fude* "pen," are probably corruptions of foreign words.[56] The present, indeed, is not the
44 place to discuss the whole question of the so-called "Divine Characters," which Motowori, the most patriotic as well as the most learned of the Japanese *literati*, dismisses in a note to the Prolegomena of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" with the remark that they "are a late forgery over which no words need be wasted." But as this mare's nest has been imported into the discussion of the Early Japanese social state, and as the point is one on which the absolute silence of the early traditions bears such clear testimony, it was impossible to pass it by without some brief allusion.

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56. Viz. of the Chinese 文 and 筆 (in the modern Mandarin pronunciation *wên* and *pi*). Mr. Aston would seem to derive both the Japanese term *fude* and the Korean *put* independently from the Chinese 筆. The present writer thinks it more likely that the Japanese *fude* was borrowed mediately through the Korean *put*. In any case, as it regularly corresponds with the latter according to the laws of letter-change subsisting between the two languages, it will be observed that the Japanese term would still have to be considered borrowed, even if the derivation of *put* from 筆 had to be abandoned; for we can hardly suppose Korean and Japanese to have independently selected the same root to denote such a thing as a "pen." As to the correctness of the derivation of *fumi* from 文 there can be little doubt, and it had long ago struck even the Japanese themselves, who are not prompt to acknowledge such loans. They usually derive *fude* from *fumi-te*, "document hand," and thus again we are brought back to the Chinese 文 as the origin of the Japanese word for "pen."

V.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE, BEGINNINGS OF THE JAPANESE NATION, AND CREDIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS.

The religious beliefs of the modern upholders of Shintō[57] may be ascertained without much difficulty by a perusal of the works of the leaders of the movement which has endeavoured during the last century and a half to destroy the influence of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophy, and which has latterly succeeded to some extent in supplanting those two foreign systems. But in Japan, as elsewhere, it has been impossible for men really to turn back a thousand years in religious thought and act; and when we try to discover the primitive opinions that were entertained by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese culture, we are met by difficulties that at first seem insuperable. The documents are scanty, and the modern commentaries untrustworthy, for they are all written under the influence of a preconceived opinion. Moreover, the problem is apparently complicated by a mixture of races and mythologies, and by a filtering in of Chinese ideas previous to the compilation of documents of any sort, though these are considerations which have hitherto scarcely been taken into account by foreigners, and are designedly neglected and obscured by such narrowly patriotic native writers as Motowori and Hirata.

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57. The Chinese characters used to write this word are 神道, which signify the "Way of the Gods." The term was adopted in order to distinguish the old native beliefs from Buddhism and Confucianism.

In the political field the difficulties are not less, but
45 rather greater; for when once the Imperial house and the centralized Japanese polity, as we know it from the sixth or seventh century of our era downwards, became fully established, it was but too clearly in the interest of the powers that be to efface as far as possible the trace of different government arrangements which may have preceded them, and to cause it to be believed that, as things were then, so had they always been. The Emperor Tem-mu, with his anxiety to amend "the deviations from truth and the empty falsehoods" of the historical documents preserved by the various families, and the author of the "Chronicles of Japan" with his elaborate system of fictitious dates, recur to our minds, and we ask ourselves to what extent similar garblings of history,—sometimes unintentional,—may have gone on during earlier ages, when there was even less to check them than there was in the eighth century. If, therefore, the translator here gives expression to a few opinions founded chiefly on a careful study of the text of the "Records of Ancient Matters" helped out by a study of the "Chronicles of Japan," he would be understood to do so with great diffidence, especially with regard to his few (so to speak) constructive remarks. As to the destructive side of the criticism, there need be less hesitation; for the old histories bear evidence too conclusively against themselves for it to be possible for the earlier portions of them, at least, to stand the test of sober investigation. Before endeavouring to piece together the little that is found in the "Records" to illustrate the beliefs of Archaic Japanese times, it will be necessary, at the risk of dullness, to give a summary of the old traditions as they lie before us in

their entirety, after which will be hazarded a few speculations on the subject of the earlier tribes which combined to form the Japanese people; for the four questions of religious beliefs, of political arrangements, of race, and of the credibility of documents, all hang closely together and, properly speaking, form but one highly complex problem.

Greatly condensed, the Early Japanese traditions amount to this: After an indefinitely long period, during which were born a number of abstract deities, who are differently enumerated in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," two of these deities, a brother and sister named Izanagi and Izanami (*i.e.*, the "Male who Invites" and the "Female Who Invites"), are united in marriage, and give birth to the various islands of the Japanese archi- 46
pelago. When they have finished producing islands, they proceed to the production of a large number of gods and goddesses, many of whom correspond to what we should call personifications of the powers of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptations, is foreign to the Japanese mind. The birth of the Fire-God causes Izanami's death, and the most striking episode of the whole mythology then ensues, when her husband, Orpheus-like, visits her in the under-world to implore her to return to him. She would willingly do so, and bids him wait while she consults with the deities of the place. But he, impatient at her long tarrying, breaks off one of the end-teeth of the comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, lights it and goes in, only to find her a hideous mass of corruption, in whose midst are seated the eight Gods of Thunder. This episode ends with the deification of

58 three peaches[58] who had assisted him in his retreat before the armies of the under-world, and with bitter words exchanged between him and his wife, who herself pursues him as far as the "Even Pass of Hades."

Returning to Himuka in south-western Japan, Izanagi purifies himself by bathing in a stream, and, as he does so, fresh deities are born from each article of clothing that he throws down on the river-bank, and from each part of his person. One of these deities was the Sun-Goddess, who was born from his left eye, while the Moon-God sprang from his right eye, and the last born of all, Susa-no-Wo, whose name the translator renders by "the Impetuous Male," was born from his nose. Between these three children their father divides the inheritance of the universe.

At this point the story loses its unity. The Moon-God is no more heard of, and the traditions concerning the Sun-Goddess and those concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" diverge in a manner which is productive of inconsistencies in the remainder of the mythology. The Sun-Goddess and the "Impetuous Male Deity" have a violent quarrel, and at last the latter breaks a hole in the roof of the hall in Heaven where his sister is sitting at work with the celestial weaving-maidens, and through it lets fall "a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The consequences of this act were so disastrous, that the Sun-Goddess withdrew for a season into a cave, from which the rest of the eight hundred myriad (according to the "Chronicles" eighty

58. *Conf.* p. xvii, last paragraph for the modified sense in which alone the word "deification" can be used in speaking of the Early Japanese worship.

myriad) deities with difficulty allured her. The "Impetuous Male Deity" was thereupon banished, and the Sun-Goddess remained mistress of the field. Yet, strange to say, she thenceforward retires into the background, and the most bulky section of the mythology consists of stories concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" and his descendants, who are represented as the monarchs of Japan, or rather of the province of Idzumo. The "Impetuous Male Deity" himself, whom his father had charged with the dominion of the sea, never assumes that rule, but first has a curiously told amorous adventure; and an encounter with an eight-forked serpent in Idzumo, and afterwards reappears as the capricious and filthy deity of Hades, who however seems to retain some power over the land of the living, as he invests his descendant of the sixth generation with the sovereignty of Japan. Of this latter personage a whole cycle of stories is told, all centering in Idzumo. We learn of his conversations with a hare and with a mouse, of the prowess and cleverness which he displayed on the occasion of a visit to his ancestor in Hades, which is in this cycle of traditions a much less mysterious place than the Hades visited by Izanagi, of his amours, of his triumph over his eighty brethren, of his reconciliation with his jealous empress, and of his numerous descendants, many of whom have names that are particularly difficult of comprehension. We hear too in a tradition, which ends in a pointless manner, of a microscopic deity who comes across the sea to ask this monarch of Idzumo to share the sovereignty with him.

This last-mentioned legend repeats itself in the sequel. The Sun-Goddess, who on her second appearance is con-

stantly represented as acting in concert with the "High August Producing Wondrous Deity,"—one of the abstractions mentioned at the commencement of the "Records,"—resolves to bestow the sovereignty of Japan on a child of whom it is doubtful whether he were hers or that of her brother the "Impetuous Male Deity." Three embassies are sent from Heaven to Idzumo to arrange matters, but it is only a fourth that is successful, the final ambassadors obtaining the submission of the monarch
48 or deity of Idzumo, who surrenders his sovereignty and promises to serve the new dynasty (apparently in the under-world), if a palace or temple be built for him and he be appropriately worshipped. Thereupon the child of the deity whom the Sun-Goddess had originally wished to make sovereign of Japan, descends to earth,—not to Idzumo in the north-west, be it mentioned, as the logical sequence of the story would lead one to expect,—but to the peak of a mountain in the south-western island of Kiushiu.

Here follows a quaint tale accounting for the old appearance of the bèche-de-mer, and another to account for the shortness of the lives of mortals, after which we are told of the birth under peculiar circumstances of the heaven-descended deity's three sons. Two of these, Ho-deri and Howori, whose names may be Englished as "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Subside," are the heroes of a very curious legend, which includes an elaborate account of a visit paid by the latter to the palace of the God of Ocean, and of a curse or spell which gained for him the victory over his elder brother, and enabled him to dwell peacefully in his palace at Takachiho for the space of five hundred and eighty years,—the first statement re-

sembling a date which the "Records" contain. This personage's son married his own aunt, and was the father of four children, one of whom "treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land," while a second "went into the sea plain," and the two others moved eastward, fighting with the chiefs of Kibi and Yamato, having adventures with gods both with and without tails, being assisted by a miraculous sword and a gigantic crow, and naming the various places they passed through after incidents in their own career, as "the Impetuous Male" and other divine personages had done before them. One of these brothers was Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko, who (the other having died before him) was first given the title of Jim-mu Ten-nō more than fourteen centuries after the date which in the "Chronicles" is assigned as that of his decease.

Henceforth Yamato, which had scarcely been mentioned before, and the provinces adjacent to it become the centre of the story, and Idzumo again emerges into importance. A very indecent love-tale forms a bridge which unites the two fragments of the mythology; and the "Great Deity of Miwa," who is identified with the deposed monarch of Idzumo, appears on the scene. Indeed during the rest of the story this "Great Deity of Miwa," and 49
his colleague the "Small August Deity" (Sukuna-Mi-Kami[59]), the deity Izasa-Wake, the three Water-Gods of Sumi, and the "Great Deity of Kadzuraki," of whom there is so striking a mention in Sect. CLVIII, form, with the Sun-Goddess and with a certain divine sword

59. In Sect. XXVII, where this deity is first mentioned, he is called *Sukuna Biko-Na-no-Kami*, the "Little Prince the Renowned Deity."

preserved at the temple of Isonokami in Yamato, the only objects of worship specially named, the other gods and goddesses being no more heard of. This portion of the story is closed by an account of the troubles which inaugurated the reign of Jim-mu's successor, Sui-sei, and then occurs a blank of (according to the accepted chronology) five hundred years, during which absolutely nothing is told us excepting dreary genealogies, the place where each sovereign dwelt and where he was buried, and the age to which he lived,—this after the minute details which had previously been given concerning the successive gods or monarchs down to Sui-sei inclusive. It should likewise be noted that the average age of the first seventeen monarchs (counting Jim-mu Ten-nō as the first according to received ideas) is nearly 96 years if we follow the "Records," and over a hundred if we follow the accepted chronology which is based chiefly on the constantly divergent statements contained in the "Chronicles." The age of several of the monarchs exceeds 120 years.[60]

The above-mentioned lapse of an almost blank period of five centuries brings us to the reign of the Emperor known to history by the name of Sū-jin, whose life of one hundred and sixty-eight years (one hundred and twenty according to the "Chronicles") is supposed to have immediately preceded the Christian era. In this reign the former monarch of Idzumo or god of Miwa again appears and produces a pestilence, of the manner of staying which Sū-jin is warned in a dream, while a curious but highly indecent episode tells us how a person called Oho-Taka-Ne-Ko was known to be a son of the

60. See Appendix II.

deity in question, and was therefore appointed high priest of his temple. In the ensuing reign an elaborate legend, involving a variety of circumstances as miraculous as any in the earlier portion of the mythology, again centres in the necessity of pacifying the great god of 50 Idzumo; and this, with details of internecine strife in the Imperial family, of the sovereign's amours, and of the importation of the orange from the "Eternal Land," brings us to the cycle of traditions of which Yamato-Take, a son of the Emperor Kei-kō, is the hero. This prince, after slaying one of his brothers in the privy, accomplishes the task of subduing both western and eastern Japan; and, notwithstanding certain details which are unsavoury to the European taste, his story, taken as a whole, is one of the most striking in the book. He performs marvels of valour, disguises himself as a woman to slay the brigands, is the possessor of a magic sword and fire-striker, has a devoted wife who stills the fury of the waves by sitting down upon their surface, has encounters with a deer and with a boar who are really gods in disguise, and finally dies on his way westward before he can reach his home in Yamato. His death is followed by a highly mythological account of the laying to rest of the white bird into which he ended by being transformed.

The succeeding reign is a blank, and the next after that transports us without a word of warning to quite another scene. The sovereign's home is now in Tsukushi, the south-western island of the Japanese archipelago, and four of the gods, through the medium of the sovereign's wife, who is known to history as the Empress Jin-gō, reveal the existence of the land of Korea, of

which, however, this is not the first mention. The Emperor disbelieves the divine message, and is punished by death for his incredulity. But the Empress, after a special consultation between her prime minister and the gods, and the performance of various religious ceremonies, marshals her fleet, and, with the assistance of the fishes both great and small and of a miraculous wave, reaches Shirai[61] (one of the ancient divisions of Korea), and subdues it. She then returns to Japan, the legend ending with a curiously naïve tale of how she sat a-fishing one day on a shoal in the river Wo-gawa in Tsukushi with threads picked out of her skirt for lines.

The next section shows her going up by sea to Yamato,—another joint in the story, by means of which
51 the Yamato cycle of legends and the Tsukushi cycle are brought into apparent unity. The "Chronicles of Japan" have even improved upon this by making Jingō's husbands dwell in Yamato at the commencement of his reign and only remove to Tsukushi later, so that if the less elaborated "Records" had not been preserved, the two threads of the tradition would have been still more difficult to unravel. The Empress's army defeats the troops raised by the native kings or princes, who are represented as her step-sons; and from that time forward the story runs on in a single channel and always centres in Yamato. China likewise is now first mentioned, books are said to have been brought over from the mainland, and we hear of the gradual introduction of various useful arts. Even the annals of the reign of O-jin however, during which this civilizing impulse from abroad is said to have commenced, are not free from

61. 新羅.

details as miraculous as any in the earlier portions of the book. Indeed Sects. CXIV-CXVI of the following translation, which form part of the narrative of his reign, are occupied with the recital of one of the most fanciful tales of the whole mythology. The monarch himself is said to have lived a hundred and thirty years, while his successor lived eighty-three (according to the "Chronicles," O-jin lived a hundred and ten and his successor Nin-toku reigned eighty-seven years). It is not till the next reign that the miraculous ceases, a fact which significantly coincides with the reign in which, according to a statement in the "Chronicles," historiographers were first appointed to all the provinces to record words and events, and forward archives from all directions." This brings us to the commencement of the fifth century of our era, just three centuries before the compilation of our histories, but only two centuries before the compilation of the first history of which mention has been preserved. From that time the story in the "Records," though not well told, gives us some very curious pictures, and reads as if it were reliable. It is tolerably full for a few reigns, after which it again dwindles into mere genealogies, carrying us down to the commencement of the seventh century. The "Chronicles," on the contrary, give us full details down to A.D. 701, that is to within nineteen years of the date of their compilation.

The reader who has followed this summary, or who will take the trouble to read through the whole text for himself will perceive that there is no break in the story, —at least no chronological break,—and no break between 52
the fabulous and the real, unless indeed it be at the commencement of the fifth century of our era, *i.e.* more

than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted as the commencement of genuine Japanese history. The only breaks are,—not chronological,—but topographical.

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard national histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the last century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. In this particular, the elasticity of the Japanese word for "deity," *kami*, which has already been noticed, stood the eastern Euhemerus in good stead. Some of his explanations are however extremely comical, and it is evident that such a system enables the person who uses it to prove whatever he has a mind to.[62] In the present century a diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Moribe, who, although endeavouring to remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) useless-

62. As a specimen of the flexibility of his system, the reader to whom the Japanese language and Japanese legend are familiar is recommended to peruse pp. 13-24 of Vol. I of Arawi Hakuseki's "*Kō Shi Tsū*" (古史通), where an elaborate rationalistic interpretation is applied to the story of the amours of Izanagi and Izanami. It is amusing in its very gravity, and one finds it difficult to believe that the writer can have been in earnest when he penned it.

ly miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. Such, for instance, are the story of the speaking mouse, and that of Izanagi's head-dress turning into a bunch of grapes. He accounts for many of these details by the supposition that they are what he calls *wosana-goto*, i.e. "child-like words," and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, and are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. He is also willing to allow that some passages show traces of Chinese influence, and he blames 53
Motowori's uncompromising championship of every iota of the existing text of the "Records of Ancient Matters." As belonging to this same school of what may perhaps be termed "rationalistic believers" in Japanese mythology, a contemporary Christian writer, Mr. Takahashi Gorō, must also be mentioned. Treading in the foot-steps of Arawi Hakuseki, but bringing to bear on the legends of his own country some knowledge of the mythology of other lands, he for instance explains the traditions of the Sun-Goddess and of the Eight-Forked Serpent of Yamada by postulating the existence of an ancient queen called Sun, whose brother, after having been banished from her realm for his improper behaviour, killed an enemy whose name was Serpent, etc., while such statements as that the microscopic deity who came over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo would not tell his name, are explained by the assertion that, being a foreigner, he was unintelligible for some time until he had learnt the language. It is certainly strange that such theorists should not see that they are undermining with one hand that which they endeavour to prop up with the other, and that their own individual fancy is made by them the

sole standard of historic truth. Yet Mr. Takahashi confidently asserts that "his explanations have nothing forced or fanciful" in them, and that "they cannot fail to solve the doubts even of the greatest of doubters."[63]

The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day,—*i.e.* of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated,—seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore, the history of the gods, while implicity accepting the history of the emperors from Jim-mu downwards; and in so doing they have been followed with but little reserve by most Europeans,—almanacs, histories and cyclopædias all continuing to repeat on the antiquated authority of such writers as Kaempfer and Titsingh, that Japan possesses an authentic history covering more that two thousand years, while Siebold and Hoffmann even go the length of discussing the *hour* of Jim-mu's accession in the year 660 B. C.! This is the attitude of mind now sanctioned by the governing class. Thus, in the historical compilations used at text-books in the schools,
54 the stories of the gods,—that is to say the Japanese traditions down to Jim-mu exclusive,—are either passed over in silence or dismissed in a few sentences, while the annals of the human sovereigns,—that is to say the Japanese traditions from Jim-mu inclusive,—are treated precisely as if the events therein related had happened yesterday, and were as incontrovertibly historical as later statements, for which there is contemporary evidence. The same plan is pursued elsewhere in official publications. Thus, to take out one example among many, the Imperial Commissioners to the Vienna Exhibition, in their

63. Mr. Takahashi Gorō's book here alluded to is his "Shintō Discussed Afresh."

"Notice sur l'Empire du Japan," tell us that "L'histoire de la dynastie impériale remonte très-haut. L'obscurité entoure ses débuts, vu l'absence de documents réguliers ou d'un calendrier parfait. Le premier Empereur de la dynastie présente, dont il reste des annales dignes de confiance, est Jin-mou-ten-nô[64] qui organisa un soulèvement dans la province de Hiuga, marcha à l'Est avec ses compagnons, fonda sa capitale dans la vallée de Kashihara dans le Yamato, et monta sur le trône comme Empereur. C'est de cet Empereur que descend, par une succession régulière, la présente famille régnante du Japon. C'est de l'année de l'avènement de Jin-mou-ten-nô que date l'ère japonaise (Année 1—660 avant Jésus-Christ)."

As for the *ère Japonaise* mentioned by the commissioners, it may be permitted to observe that it was only introduced by an edict dated 15th Dec., 1872[65] that is to say just a fortnight before the publication of their report. *And this era, this accession, is confidently placed thirteen or fourteen centuries before the first history which records it was written, nine centuries before* (*at the earliest computation*) *the art of writing was introduced into the country, and on the sole authority of books teeming with miraculous legends!!* Does such a proceeding need any comment after once being formulated in precise terms, and can any unprejudiced person continue to accept the early Japanese chronology and the first thousand years of the so-called history of Japan.

* * *

Leaving this discussion, let us now see whether

64. *I. e.* the emperor Jim-mu,—*ten-nō* written 天皇, being simply the Sinico-Japanese word for "emperor."

65. 15th day of 11th moon of 5th year of Meiji.

55 any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles." There are fragments of information,—fragments of two sorts,— some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. Let us take the positive fragments first—the notice as to cosmological ideas, dreams, prayers, etc.

The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogma, the code of morals, and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. What we find is a bundle is miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system. Dreams evidently were credited with great importance, the future being supposed to be foretold in them, and the will of the gods made known. Sometimes even an actual object, such as a wonderful sword, was sent down in a dream, thus to our ideas mixing the material with the spiritual. The subject did not, however, present itself in that light to the Early Japanese, to whom there was evidently but one order of phenomena,—what we should call the natural order. Heaven, or rather the Sky, was an actual place,—not more ethereal than earth, nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death,—but simply a "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some of those powerful personages called *kami*,—a word which we must make shift to translate by "god"

or "goddess," or "deity." An arrow shot from earth could reach Heaven, and make a hole in it. There was at least one mountain in Heaven, and one river with a broad stony bed like those with which the traveller in Japan becomes familiar, one or two caves, one or more wells, and animals, and trees. There is, however, some confusion as to the mountain,—the celebrated Mount Kagu,—for there is one of that name in the Province of Yamato.

Some of the gods dwelt here on earth, or descended hither from Heaven, and had children by human women. Such, for instance, was the emperor Jim-mu's great-grandfather. Some few gods had tails or were otherwise per- 56
sonally remarkable; and "savage deities" are often mentioned as inhabiting certain portions of Japan, both in the so-called "Divine Age" and during the reigns of the human emperors down to a time corresponding, according to the generally received chronology, with the first or second century of the Christian era. The human emperors themselves, moreover, were sometimes spoken of as deities, and even made personal use of that designation. The gods occasionally transformed themselves into animals, and at other times simple tangible objects were called gods,—or at least they were called *kami;* for the gulf separating the Japanese from the English term can never be too often recalled to mind. The word *kami*, as previously mentioned, properly signifies "superior," and it would be putting more into it than it really implies to say that the Early Japanese "deified,"—in our sense of the verb to "deify,"—the peaches which Izanagi used to pelt his assailants with, or any other natural objects whatsoever. It would, indeed, be to attribute to them a

flight of imagination of which they were not capable, and a habit of personification not in accordance with the genius of their language. Some of the gods are mentioned collectively as "bad Deities like unto the flies in the fifth moon"; but there is nothing approaching a systematic division into good spirits and bad spirits. In fact the word "spirit" itself is not applicable at all to the gods of Archaic Japan. They were, like the gods of Greece, conceived of only as more powerful human beings. They were born, and some of them died, though here again there is inconsistency, as the death of some of them is mentioned in a manner leading one to suppose that they were conceived of as being then at an end, whereas in other cases such death seems simply to denote transference to Hades, or to what is called "the One Road," which is believed to be a synonym for Hades. Sometimes, again, a journey to Hades is undertaken by a god without any reference to his death. Nothing, indeed, could be less consistent than the various details.

Hades[66] itself is another instance of this inconsistency. In the legend of Oho-Kuni-Nushi (the "Master of the Great Land"),—one of the Idzumo cycle of legends,—
57 Hades is described exactly as if it were part of the land of the living, or exactly as if it were Heaven, which indeed comes to the same thing. It has its trees, its houses, its family quarrels, etc., etc. In the legend of Izanagi, on the other hand, Hades means simply the abode of horrible putrefaction and of the vindictive dead, and is fitly described by the god himself who had ventured thither as "a hideous and polluted land." The

66. For the use of this word to represent the Japanese *Yomo* or *Yomi*, see Sect. IX., Note 1.

only point in which the legends agree is in placing between the upper earth and Hades a barrier called the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world, whether good or evil.

The objects of worship were of course the gods, or some of them. It has already been stated that during the later portions of the story, whose scene is laid almost exclusively on earth, the Sun-Goddess, the deity Izasa-Wake, the Divine Sword of Isonokami, the Small August Deity (*Sukuna-Mi-Kami*), the "Great Gods" of Miwa and of Kadzuraki and the three Water-Deities of Sumi, alone are mentioned as having been specially worshipped. Of these the first and the last appear together, forming a sort of quaternion, while the other five appear singly and have no connection with each other. The deities of the mountains, the deities of the rivers, the deities of the sea, etc., are also mentioned in the aggregate, as are likewise the heavenly deities and the earthly deities; and the Empress Jin-gō is represented as conciliating them all previous to her departure for Korea by "putting into a gourd the ashes "of a *maki* tree,[67] and likewise making a quantity of chopsticks and also "of leaf-platters, and scattering them all on the waves."

This brings us to the subject of religious rites,—a subject on which we long for fuller information than the texts afford.[68] That the conciliatory offerings made to the gods were of a miscellaneous nature will be expected from the quotation just made. Nevertheless, a very

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67. *Podocarpus macrophylla.*

68. The least meagre account will be found in Sects. XVI and XXXII.

natural method was in the main followed; for the people offered the things by which they themselves set most store, as we hear at a later period of the poet Tsurayuki, when in a storm at sea, flinging his mirror into the waves because he had but one. The Early Japanese made offer-
58 ings of two kinds of cloth, one being hempen cloth and the other cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper mulberry,—offerings very precious in their eyes, but which have in modern times been allowed to degenerate into useless strips of paper. They likewise offered shields, spears, and other things. Food was offered both to the gods and to the dead; indeed, the palace or tomb of the dead monarch and the temple of the god cannot always be distinguished from each other, and, as has already been mentioned, the Japanese use the same word *miya* for "palace" and for "temple." Etymologically signifying "august house," it is naturally susceptible of what are to us two distinct meanings.

With but one exception,[69] the "Records" do not give us the words of any prayers (or, as the Japanese term *norito* has elsewhere been translated, "rituals.") Conversations with the gods are indeed detailed, but no devotional utterances. Fortunately, however, a number of very ancient prayers have been preserved in other books, and translations of some of them by Mr. Satow will be found scattered through the volumes of the Transactions of this Society. They consist mostly of declarations of praise and statements of offerings made, either in return for favours received or conditionally on favours being granted. They are all in prose, and hymns do not seem to have been in use. Indeed of the hundred and eleven

69. To be found at the end of Sect. XXXII.

Songs preserved in the "Records," not one has any religious reference.

The sacred rite of which most frequent mention is made is purification by water. Trial by hot water is also alluded to in both histories, but not till a time confessedly posterior to the commencement of intercourse with the mainland. We likewise hear of compacts occasionally entered into with a god, and somewhat resembling our European wager, oath, or curse. Priests are spoken of in a few passages, but without any details. We do not hear of their functions being in any way mediatorial, and the impression conveyed is that they did not exist in very early times as a separate class. When they did come into existence, the profession soon became hereditary, according to the general tendency in Japan towards the hereditability of offices and occupations.

Miscellaneous superstitions crop up in many places. Some of these were evidently obsolescent or unintelligible 59
at the time when the legends crystallized into their present shape, and stories are told purporting to give their origin. Thus we learn either in the "Records" or in the "Chronicles," or in both works, why it is unlucky to use only one light, to break off the teeth of a comb at night-time, and to enter the house with straw hat and rain-coat on. The word-wide dread of going against the sun is connected with the Jim-mu legend, and recurs elsewhere.[70] We also hear of charms,—for instance, of

70. In the Jin-mu legend we have the more usual form of the superstition, that, viz., which makes it unlucky to go from West to East, which is the contrary of the course pursued by the sun. In Sect. CLIII, on the other hand, the Emperor Yū-riaku is found fault with for acting in precisely the reverse manner, viz., for going from East to West,

the wondrous "Herb-Quelling Sabre" found by Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") inside a serpent's tail, and still preserved as one of the Imperial *regalia*, Other such charms were the "tide-flowing jewel" and "tide-ebbing jewel," that obtained for Jim-mu's grandfather the victory over his elder brother, together with the fish-hook which figures so largely in the same legend.[71] Divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a stag was a favourite means of ascertaining the will of the gods. Sometimes also human beings seem to have been credited in a vague manner with the power of prophetic utterance. Earthenware pots were buried at the point of his departure by an intending traveller. In a fight the initial arrow was regarded with superstitious awe. The great precautions with which the Empress Jin-gō is said to have set out on her expedition to Korea have already been alluded to, and indeed the commencement of any action or enterprise seems to have had special importance attributed to it.

To conclude this survey of the religious beliefs of the Early Japanese by referring, as was done in the case of the arts of life, to certain notable features which are
60 conspicuous by their absenee, attention may be called to the fact that there is no tradition of a deluge, no testimony to any effect produced on the imagination by the earthquakes from which the Japanese islanders suffer such constant alarms, no trace of star-worship, no notion

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i.e. with his back to the sun. The idea is the same, though its practical application may thus diametrically differ, the fundamental objection being to going *against* the sun, in whatever manner the word *against*, or some kindred expression, may be interpreted.

71. See Sects. XXXIX to XLI. For the "Herb-Quelling Sabre" see Sects. XVIII and LXXXII, *et. seq.*

of incarnation or of transmigration. This last remark goes to show that the Japanese mythology had assumed its present shape before the first echo of Buddhism reverberated on these shores. But the absence of any tradition of a deluge or inundation is still more remarkable, both because such catastrophes are likely to occur occasionally in all lands, and because the imagination of most nations seems to have been greatly impressed by their occurrence. Moreover what is specifically known to us as *the* Deluge has been lately claimed as an ancient Altaïc myth. Yet here we have the oldest of the *undoubtedly* Altaic nations without any legend of the kind. As for the neglect of the stars, round whose names the imagination of other races has twined such fanciful conceits, it is as characteristic of Modern as of Archaic Japan. The Chinese designations of the constellations, and some few Chinese legends relating to them, have been borrowed in historic times; but no Japanese writer has ever thought of looking in the stars for "the poetry of heaven." Another detail worthy of mention is that the number seven, which in so many countries has been considered sacred, is here not prominent in any way, its place being taken by eight. Thus we have Eight Great Islands, an Eight-forked Serpent, a beard Eighty Hand-breadths long, a God named "Eight-Thousand Spears," Eighty or Eight Hundred Myriads of Deities, etc., etc. The commentators think it necessary to tell us that all these eights and eighties need not be taken literally, as they simply mean a great number. The fact remains that the number eight had, for some unknown reason, a special significance attached to it; and as the documents which mention eight also mention

nine and ten, besides higher numbers, and as in some test cases, such as that of the Eight Great Islands, each of the eight is separately enumerated, it is plain that when the Early Japanese said eight they meant eight, though they may doubtless have used that number in a vague manner, as we do a dozen, a hundred, and a thousand.

How glaringly different all this is from the fanciful accounts of Shintō that have been given by some recent
60 popular writers calls for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority,[72] tells us that Shintō "consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree jmpregnated with it, and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are everywhere worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes."(!) Truly, when one peruses such utterly groundless assertions,—for that here quoted is but one among many,—one is tempted to believe that the nineteenth century must form part of the early mythopœic age.

With regard to the question of government, we learn little beyond such vague statements as that to so-and-so was yielded by his eighty brethren the sovereignty of the land of Idzumo, or that Izanagi divided the dominion

72. General Le Gendre, quoted by Sir Edward Reed.

over all things between his three children, bestowing on one the "Plain of High Heaven," on another the Dominion of the Night, and on the third the "Sea-Plain." But we do not in the earlier legends see such sovereignty actually administered. The heavenly gods seem rather to have been conceived as forming a sort of commonwealth, who decided things by meeting together in counsel in the stony bed of the "River of Heaven," and taking the advice of the shrewdest of their number. Indeed the various divine assemblies, to which the story in the "Records" and "Chronicles" introduces us, remind us of nothing so much as of the village assemblies of primitive tribes in many parts of the world, where the cleverness of one and the general willingness to follow his suggestions fill the place of the more definite organization of later times.

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called "Divine Age" but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that any kind of political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead 62
their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly we find that the "Territorial Owners" of Yamato, and the "Rulers" of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural,

as if to intimate that they exerted a divided sovereignty. During the whole of the so-called "Human Age" we meet, both in parts of the country which were already subject to the Imperial rule and in others which were not yet annexed, with local magnates bearing these same titles of "Territorial Owners," "Rulers," "Chiefs," etc.; and the impression left on the mind is that in early historical times the sovereign's power was not exercised directly over all parts of Japan, but that in many cases the local chieftains continued to hold sway though owning some sort of allegiance to the emperor in Yamato, while in others the emperor was strong enough to depose these local rulers, and to put in their place his own kindred or retainers, who however exercised unlimited authority in their own districts, and used the same titles as had been borne by the former native rulers,—that, in fact, the government was feudal rather than centralized. This characteristic of the political organization of Early Japan has not altogether escaped the attention of the native commentators. Indeed the great Shintō scholar Hirata not only recognizes the fact, but endeavours to prove that the system of centralization which obtained during the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth centuries, and which has been revived in our own day, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese bureaucratic system; and he asserts that an organized feudalism, similar to that which existed from the twelfth century down to the yest 1867, was the sole really ancient and national Japanese form of government. The translator cannot follow Hirata to such lengths, as he sees no evidence in the early histories of the intricate organization of mediæval Japan. But that, beyond the immediate

limits of the Imperial domain, the government *resembled* feudalism rather than centralization seems indisputable. 63 It is also true that the seventh century witnessed a sudden move in the direction of bureaucratic organization, many of the titles which had up till that time denoted actual provincial chieftains being then either suppressed, or else allowed to sink into mere "gentile names." Another remark which is suggested by a careful perusal of the two ancient histories is that the Imperial succession was in early historical times very irregular. Strange gaps occur as late as the sixth century of our era; and even when it was one of the children who inherited his father's throne, that child was rarely the eldest son.

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What now are we to gather from its analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions as to the still remoter history and tribal divisions of Japan, and as to the origin of the Japanese legends? Very little that is certain, perhaps; but, in the opinion of the present writer, two or three interesting probabilities.

In view of the multiplicity of gods and the complications of the so-called historical traditions, he thinks that it would be *a priori* difficult to believe that the development of Japanese civilization should have run on in a single stream broken only in the third century by the commencement of intercourse with the mainland of Asia. We are, however, not left to such a merely theoretical consideration. There are clear indications of there having been three centres of legendary cycles, three streams which mixed together to form the Japan which meets us

at the dawn of authentic history in the fifth century of our era. One of these centres,—the most important in the mythology,—is Idzumo; the second is Yamato: the third is Tsukushi, called in modern times Kiushiu. Eastern and Northern Japan count for nothing; indeed, much of the North-East and North was, down to comparatively recent times, occupied by the barbarous Ainos or, as they are called by the Japanese, Yemishi, Yebisu, or Yezo. That the legends or traditions derived from the three parts of the country here mentioned accord but imperfectly together is an opinion which has already been alluded to, and upon which light may perhaps be thrown by a more thorough shifting of the myths and beliefs classified according to this three-fold system. The question of the ancient division of Japan into several independent states is, however, not completely a matter of
64 opinion. For we have in the "*Shan Hai Ching*"[73] a positive statement concerning a Northern and a Southern Yamato (倭), and the Chinese annals of both the Han dynasties tell us of the division of the country into a much larger number of kingdoms, of which, according to the annals of .he later Han dynasty, Yamato (邪馬臺) was the most powerful. A later official Chinese historian also tells us that *Jih-pên* (日本, our *Japan*) and Yamato had been two different states, and that *Jih-pên* was reported to have swallowed up Yamato. By *Jih-pên* the author evidently meant to speak of the island of Tsukushi or of part of it. That the Chinese were fairly well acquainted with Japan is shown by the fact of there being in the old Chinese literature more than one mention of "the country of the hairy people beyond the mountains in the

73. 山海經.

East and North."—that is of the Yemishi or Ainos. No Chinese book would seem to mention Idzumo as having formed a separate country; and this evidence must be allowed its whole weight. It is possible, of course, that Idzumo may have been incorporated with Yamato before the conquest of the latter by the Tsukushi people, and in this case some of the inconsistencies of the history may be traceable to a confusion of the traditions concerning the conquest of Idzumo by Yamato and of those concerning the conquest of Yamato by Tsukushi. Perhaps too (for so almost impossible a task is it to reconstruct history out of legend) there may not, after all, be sufficient warrant for believing in the former existence of Idzumo as a separate state, though it certainly seems hard to account otherwise for the peculiar place that Idzumo occupies in mythic story. In any case, and whatever light may hereafter be thrown on this very obscure question, it must be remembered that, so far as clear native documentary evidence reaches, 400 A.D. is approximately the highest limit of reliable Japanese history. Beyond that date we are at once confronted with the miraculous; and if any facts relative to earlier Japan are to be extracted from the pages of the "Records" and "Chronicles," it must be by a process very different from that of simply reading and taking their assertions upon trust.

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability 65
of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact, it bids us wait to interpret it until

such time as further research shall have shown which legends belong together. For if they are of heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in discusions on this subject,—"the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,"—ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geograpically by belonging to different parts of the country. Furthermore it may not be superfluous to call attention to the fact that the gods who are mentioned in the opening phrases of the histories as we now have them are not therefore necessarily the gods that were most anciently worshipped. Surely in religions, as in books, it is not often the preface that is written first. And yet this simple consideration has been constantly neglected, and, one after another, European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, withont so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter,—viz., the "Records" and the "Chronicles,"—differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps indeed mere inventions of individuals priests. There is nothing either in the histories or in the Shintō Rituals to show that these gods, or some one or more of them, were in early days, as has been sometimes supposed, the objects of a pure worship which was

afterwards obscured by the legends of Izanagi, Izanami, and their numerous descendants. On the contrary, with the exception of the deity Taka-Mi-Musu-Bi,[74] they are no sooner mentioned than they vanish into space.

Whether it is intrinsically likely that so rude a race 66
as the Early Japanese, and a race so little given to metaphysical speculation as the Japanese at all times of their history, should have commenced by a highly abstract worship which they afterwards completely abandoned, is a question which may better be left to those whose general knowledge of early peoples and early religious beliefs entitles their decisions to respect. Their assistance likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into its several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology should he interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively late times.[75] Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to enlarge the area of the three later divisions more than would be prudent in the case of the highly imaginative Aryans, and to point out that, though some few Japanese legends

74. *I.e.* the High August Producing Wondrous Deity. He is the second divine personage whose birth is mentioned in the "Records" (see Sect. I, Note 5). In the story of the creation given in the "Chronicles" he does not appear except in "One account."

75. Sect. XXXVII is a good instance of the third of these catagories. For an elaborate myth founded on the name of a place see Sect. LXV. Lesser instances occur in Sects. XLIV, LXV, and LXXIII.

or portions of legends can be traced to face etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are therefore true myths in the strict acception of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects,—a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology,—is altogether alien to the Japanese genius, and indeed to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a "disease of language." But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. Thus not only have Japanese Nouns no Genders and Japanese Verbs no Persons, but the names of inanimate objects cannot even be used as the subjects of Transitive Verbs. Nowhere for instance in Japanese, whether Archaic, Classical, or
67 Modern, do we meet with such metaphorical,—mythological,—phrases at "the hot wind melts the ice," or "his conversation delights me," where the words "wind" and "conversation" are spoken of as if they were personal agents. No, the idea is invariably rendered in some other and impersonal way. Yet what a distance separates such statements, in which the ordinary European reader unacquainted with any Altaïc tongue would scarcely recognize the existence of any personification at all, from the bolder flights of Aryan metaphor! Indeed, though Altaïc Asia has produced very few wise men, the words of its languages closely correspond to the definition of words as "the wise man's counters;" for they are colourless and matter-of-fact, and rarely if ever carry him who

speaks them above the level of sober reality. At the same time, it is patent that the sun plays *some* part in the Japanese mythology; and even the legend of Prince Yamato-Take, which has hitherto been generally accepted as historical or semi-historical, bears such close resemblance to legends in other countries which have been pronounced to be solar by great authorities that it may at least be worth while to subject it to investigation from that point of view.[76] The present writer has already expressed his conviction that this matter is not one for the specialist to decide alone. He would only, from the Japanese point of view, suggest very particular caution in the application to Japanese legend of a method of interpretation which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results.

A further particular which is deserving of notice is the almost certain fact of a recension of the various traditions at a comparatively late date. This is partly shown by the amount of geographical knowledge displayed in the enumeration of the various islands supposed to have been given birth to by Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male who Invites" and the "Female who Invites"),—an amount and an exactness of knowledge unattainable at a time prior to the union under one rule of all the provinces mentioned, and significantly not extending much beyond those provinces. Such a recension may likewise be inferred,—if the opinion of the manifold origin of the Japanese traditions be accepted,—from the fairly ingenious manner in which their component parts have generally been welded together. The way in which one or two legends,—for instance, that of the curious curse pro- 68

76. See Sects. LXXIX-XCI.

nounced by the younger brother Ho-wori on the elder Ho-deri—are repeated more than once exemplifies a less intelligent revision.[77] Under this heading may, perhaps, be included the legends of the conquest of Yamato by the Emperor Jim-mu and of the conquest of the same country by the Empress Jin-gō, which certainly bear a suspicious likeness to each other. Of the subjection of Korea by this last-named personage it should be observed that the Chinese and Korean histories, so far as they are known to us, make no mention, and indeed the dates, as more specially given in the "Chronicles," clearly show the inconsistency of the whole story; for Jin-gō's husband, the Emperor Chiū-ai, is said to have been born in the 19th year of the reign of Sei-mu, *i.e.* in A.D. 149, while his father, Prince Yamato-Take, is said to have died in the 43rd year of Kei-kō, *i.e.* in A.D. 113, so that there is an interval of thirty-six years between the death of the father and the birth of the son!"[78]

One peculiarly interesting piece of information to be derived from a careful study of the "Records" and "Chronicles" (though it is one on which the patriotic Japanese commentators preserve complete silence) is that, at the very earliest period to which the twilight of legend stretches back, Chinese influence had already begun to

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77. See this legend as first given in Sects. XL and XLI and afterwards in quite another context in Sect. CXVI. The way in which "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan" tells the story of the ravages committed on the fields of the Sun-Goddess by her brother, the "Impetuous Male Deity," might perhaps justify the opinion that that likewise is but the same tale in another form. The legend is evidently a very important one.

78. The translator's attention was drawn to the inconsistency of these dates by Mr. Ernest Satow.

make itself felt in these islands, communicating to the inhabitants both implements and ideas. This is surely a fact of very particular importance, lending, as it does, its weight to the mass of evidence which goes to prove that in almost all known cases culture has been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed. The traces of Chinese influence are indeed not numerous, but they are unmistakable. Thus we find chopsticks mentioned both in the Idzumo and in the Kiushu legendary cycle. The legend of the birth of the Sun- 69
Goddess and Moon-God from Izanagi's eyes is a scarcely altered fragment of the Chinese myth of P'an Ku; the superstition that peaches had assisted Izanagi to repel the hosts of Hades can almost certainly be traced to a Chinese source, and the hand-maidens of the Japanese Sun-Goddess are mentioned under the exact title of the Spinning Damsel of Chinese myth (天衣織女), while the River of Heaven (天河), which figures in the same legend, is equally Chinese,—for surely both names cannot be mere coincidences. A like remark applies to the name of the Deity of the Kitchen, and to the way in which that deity is mentioned.[79] The art of making an intoxicating liquor is referred to in the very earliest Japanese legends. Are we to believe that its invention here was independent of its invention on the continent? In this instance moreover the old histories bear witness against themselves; for they mention this same liquor in terms showing that it was a curious rarity in what, according to the accepted chronology, corresponds to the century immediately preceding the Christian era, and again in the third century of that era. The whole story

79. See Sect. XXIX, Note 16.

of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the "cassia-tree" (桂) mentioned in it is certainly Chinese, as are the crocodiles. That the so-called *maga-tama*, or "curved jewels," which figure so largely in the Japanese mythology, and with which the Early Japanese adorned themselves, were derived from China was already suspected by Mr. Henry von Siebold; and quite latterly Mr. Milne has thrown light on this subject from an altogether unexpected quarter. He has remarked, namely, that jade or the jade-like stone of which many of the *maga-tama* are made, is a mineral which has never yet been met with in Japan. We therefore know that *some* at least of the "curved jewels" or of the material for them came from the mainland, and the probability that the idea of carving these very oddly shaped ornaments was likewise imported thence gains in probability. The peculiar kind of arrow called *nari-kabura* (鳴鏑) is another trace of Chinese influence in the material order, and a thorough search by a competent Chinese scholar would perhaps reveal others. But enough at least has been said to show the indisputable existence of that influence.
70 From other sources we know that the more recent mythic fancy of Japan has shown itself as little impenetrable to such influence as have the manners and customs of the people. The only difference is that assimilation has of late proceeded with much greater rapidity.

In this language is another guide; for, though the discoverable traces of Chinese influence are comparatively few in the Archaic Dialect, yet they are there. This is a subject which has as yet scarcely been touched. Two Japanese authors of an elder generation, Kahibara and

Arawi Hakuseki, did indeed point out the existence of some such traces. But they drew no inference from them, they did not set to work to discover new ones, and their indications, except in one or two obvious cases, have received little attention from later writers whether native or foreign. But when we compare such words as *kane*, *kume*, *kuni*, *saka*, *tana*, *uma*, and many others with the pronunciation now given, or with that which the phonetic laws of the language in its earlier stage would have caused to be given, to their Chinese equivalents 金, 軍, 郡, 尺, 壇, 馬, etc., the idea forces way that such coincidences of sound and sense cannot all be purely accidental; and when moreover we find that the great majority of the words in question denote things or ideas that were almost certainly imported, we perceive that a more thorough sifting of Archaic Japanese (especially of botanical and zoological names and of the names of implements and manufactures) would probably be the best means of discovering at least the negative features of an antiquity remoter than all written documents, remoter even than the crystallization of the legends which these documents have preserved. In dealing with Korean words found in Archaic Japanese we tread on more delicate ground; for there we have a language which, unlike Chinese, stands to Japanese in the closest family relationship, making it plain that many coincidences of sound and sense should be ascribed to radical affinity rather than to later intercourse. At the same time it appears more probable that, for instance, such seemingly indigenous Japanese terms as *Hotoke*, "Buddha," and *tera*, "Buddhist temple," should have been in fact borrowed from the corresponding Korean words *Puchhö* and

chöl than that both nations should have independently chosen homonyms to denote the same foreign ideas. Indeed, it will perhaps not be too bold to assume that
71 in the case of *Hotoke*, "Buddha," we have before us a word whose journeyings consist of many stages, it having been first brought from India to China, then from China to Korea, and thirdly from Korea to Japan, where finally the ingenuity of philologists has discovered for it a Japanese etymology (*hito ke*, "human spirit") with which in reality it has nothing whatever to do.

These introductory remarks have already extended to such a length that a reference to the strikingly parallel case of borrowed customs and ideas which is presented by the Ainos in this same archipelago must be left undeveloped. In conclusion, it need only be remarked that a simple translation of one book, such as is here given, does not nearly exhaust the work which might be expended even on the elucidation of that single book, and much less can it fill the gap which still lies between us and a proper knowledge of Japanese antiquity. To do this, the co-operation of the archæologist must be obtained, while even in the field of the critical investigation of documents there is an immense deal still to be done. Not only must all the available Japanese sources be made to yield up the information which they contain, but the assistance of Chinese and Korean records must be called in. A large quantity of Chinese literature has already been ransacked for a similar purpose by Matsushita Ken-rin, a translation of part of whose very useful compilation entitled "An Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" (異稱日本傳) would be one of the greatest helps towards the desired knowledge. In fact

there still remains to be done for Japanese antiquity from our standpoint what Hirata has done for it from the standpoint of a Japanese Shintoist. Except in some of Mr. Satow's papers published in these "Transactions," the subject has scarcely yet been studied in this spirit, and it is possible that the Japanese members of our Society may be somewhat alarmed at the idea of their national history being treated with so little reverence. Perhaps, however, the discovery, of the interest of the field of study thus only waiting to be investigated may reconcile them to the view here propounded. In any case if the early history of Japan is not all true, no amount of make believe can make it so. What we would like to do is to sift the true from the false. As an eminent writer on anthropology[80] has recently said, "Historical criticism, that is, judgment, is practised 72
not for the purpose of disbelieving, but of believing. Its object is not to find fault with the author, but to ascertain how much of what he says may be reasonably taken as true." Moreover, even in what is not to be accepted as historic fact there is often much that is valuable from other points of view. If, therefore, we lose a thousand years of so-called Japanese history, it must not be forgotten that Japanese mythology remains as the oldest existing product of the Altaïc mind.

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The following is a list of all the Japanese works quoted in this Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation. For the sake of convenience to the English reader all the titles have been translated excepting some

80. Dr. Tylor in his "Anthropology," Chap. XV.

few which, mostly on account of their embodying a recondite allusion, do not admit of translation :—

Catalogue of Family Names, 姓氏錄, by Prince Mata.[81]

Chronicles of Japan (generally quoted as the "Chronicles,") 日本紀 or 日本書紀, by Prince Toneri and others.

Chronicles of Japan Continued, 續日本紀, by Sugano Ason Mamichi, Fujihara no Ason TSUGUNAHA and others.

Chronicles of Japan Explained, 釋日本記, by URABE no Yasukata.

Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, 先代舊事記, authorship uncertain.

Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by TACHIBANA NO MORAYE (probably).

Collection of Japanese Songs Ancient and Modern, 古今和歌集, by Ki no TSURAYUKI and others.

Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.

73 Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, 謠曲拾葉集, by Jinkō.

Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞後釋, MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Correct Account of the Divine Age, 神代正語, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Dictionary of Pillow-Words, 冠辭考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.

Digest of the Imperial Genealogies, 纂輯御系圖, by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo and Kurokaha Saneyori.

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81. The names in small CAPITALS are those by which the authors (or compilers) are best known, and are mostly either their surname or personal name. Japanese usage is however very fluctuating, and sanctions moreover the use of a variety of *noms de plume*. Thus Motowori is not only often mentioned by his personal name Norinaga, but also by the designation of *Suzunoya no Ushi*, Mabuchi by the designation of *Agatawi no Ushi*, etc.

Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞歷不審考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Examination of Difficult Words, 雜語考, by Tachibana no MORIBE.

Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, 國號考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Explanation of Japanese Names, 日本譯名, by KAHIBARA Tokushin.

Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, 日本紀歌廼解, by Arikida no HISAOI.

Exposition of the Ancient Histories, 古史傳, by HIRATA Atsutane.

Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, 異稱日本傳 by, Matsushita Ken-rin.

Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (usually) quoted simply as "Motowori's Commentary"), 古事記傳, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Exposition of tho Record of Ancient Matters Criticized (usually quoted as "Moribe's Critique on Motowori's Commentary,") 雜古事記傳, by Tachibana no MORIBE.

Gleanings from Ancient Story, 古語拾遺, by Imibe no HIRONARI.

Idzu no Chi-Waki, 稜威道別, by Tachibana no MORIBE.

Idzu no Koto-waki, 稜威言別, by

Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of the Provinces (MS.), 諸國名義考, by Fujihara no Hitomaro.

Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞歷考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Japanese Words Classified and Explained, 和名類聚鈔, by MINAMO NO SHITAGAFU.

Ko-Chi Tsū, 古史通, by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.

Kō-Gan Shō, (MS.), 厚顏抄, by KEI-CHIYU.

74 Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (usually quoted as "Tanigaha Shisei's Commentary,") 日本書記通證, by TANIGAHA SHISEI.

Records of Ancient Matters (often quoted simply as the "Records"), 古事記, by Futo no YASUMARO.

Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character, 神字古事記, by Fujihara no Masaoki.

Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllable Character. 假名古事記, by Sakata no Kaneyasu.

Records of Ancient Matters Revised, 校正古事記, Anonymous.

Records of Ancient Matters With Marginal Notes (usually quoted as "the Edition of 1687"), 鼇頭古事記, by Deguchi NOBUYOSHI.

Records of Ancient Matters With the Ancient Reading, 古訓古事記, by Nagase no Masachi (published with Motowori's sanction)

Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings, 標訓古事記, by Murakami Tadayoshi.

Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞, Authorship Uncertain.

Shintō Discussed Afresh, 神道新論, by Takahashi Gorō.

Sources of the Ancient Histories, 古史徵, by HIRATA Atsutane.

Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, 竹取物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Tama-Katsuma, 玉勝間, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.

Tokihara-Gusa (the full title is *Jin-Dai-Sei-Go Tokiha-Gusa*), 常盤草, (神代正語常盤草), Hosoda TOMINOBU.

Topography of Yamashiro, 山城風土紀, Authorship Uncertain.

Tō-Ga (MS.), 東雅, by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.

Wa-Kun Shiwori, 和訓栞, by TANIGAWA SHISEI.

Yamato Tales, 大和物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Besides these two or three standard Chinese works are referred to such as the "*Yi Chin*" or "Book of Changes" (易經), and the "*Shan Hai Ching*" or "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經; but they are very few, and so easily recognized that it were unnecessary to enumerate them. All Japanese words properly so called are transliterated according to Mr. Satow's "Orthographic System," which, while representing the native spelling, does not in their case differ very greatly from the modern pronunciation. In the case of Sinico-Japanese words, where the divergence between the "Orthographic" spel- 75
ling and the pronunciation is often considerable, a phonetic spelling has been preferred. With but two or three exceptions, which have been specially noted, Sinico-Japanese words are found only in proper names mentioned in the Preface and in the translator's Introduction, Footnotes, and Sectional Headings. The few Chinese words that occur in the Introduction and Notes are transliterated according to the method introduced by Sir Thomas Wade, and now so widely used by students of Chisese.

THE KOJIKI

VOL. I.[1]

PREFACE.[2]

I[3] Yasumaro[4] say :[5]

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and 4
form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape ?[6] Nevertheless Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation ; the Passive and Active Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things.[7] Therefore[8] did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes ; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions of his person ?[9] So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands ; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we, by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men.[10]
Truly do we know that a mirror was hung up, that 5
jewels were spat out, and that then an Hundred Kings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish.[11] By deliberations in the Tranquil River the

Empire was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was purified.[12] Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi[13] first descended to the Peak of Takachi,[14] and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato[15] did traverse the
6 Island of the Dragon-Fly.[16] A weird bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura.[17] They with tails obstructed the path, and a great crow guided him to Yeshinu.[18] Dancing in rows they destroyed the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen.[19] Being instructed in a dream, he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was therefore styled the Wise Monarch,[20] having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people, and is therefore remembered as the Emperor-Sage.[21] Determining the frontiers and civilising the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi;[22] reforming the
7 surnames and selecting the gentile names, he held sway at the Further Asuka.[23] Though each differed in caution and in ardour, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution.[24]

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka,[25] the Hidden Dragon put on
8 perfection, the Reiterated Thunder came at the appointed moment. Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless Heaven's time was not yet, and he escaped like the cicada to the Southern Mountains;

both men and matters were favourable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the Imperial Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon.[26] At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to 9
the Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped Ken-Kō, in virtue he surpassed Shiū-Ō. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences,[27] and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason wherewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its fervour, clearly observed former ages.

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: "I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by

empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis[29] of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth determined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after ages.[29] At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that
10 he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears.[30] Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless time elapsed and the age changed, and the thing was not yet carried out.[31]

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire,—being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people.[32] Ruling from the Purple Palace, Her virtue reaches to the utmost limits of the horse's hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations. In fame She must be pronounced superior to Bum-Mei, in virtue more eminent than Ten-Itsu.[33]
11 Hereupon,[34] regretting the errors in the old words, and

wishing to correct the misstatements in the former chronicles, She, on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wa-do[35], commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words learnt by heart by Hiyeda no Are according to the Imperial Decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her.[36]

In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters.[37] To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic 12
method would make the story of events unduly lengthy.[38] For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy?[39] Again, in such cases as calling the surname 日下 *Kusaka*, and the personal name written with the character 帶 *Tarashi*, I have followed usage without alteration.[40] Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Woharida.[41] So from the 13
Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Oho-Sazaki down to the

great palace of Woharida makes the Third Volume.[42] Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present.[43] I Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wa-dō.[44]

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1. Literally "Upper Volumes," there being three in all, and it being the common Japanese practice (borrowed from the Chinese) to use the words Upper, Middle, and Lower to denote the First, Second and Third Volumes of a work respectively.

2. The peculiar nature of this Preface, which is but a *tour de force* meant to show that the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so, has been already hinted at in the Introduction. It is indeed a laboured little composition, and, but for the facts stated in its latter portion, has no value except perhaps as a specimen of the manner in which the legends of one country may be made to change aspect by being presented through the medium of the philosophical terminology and set phrases of another. It may be divided into five parts. In the first the writer, in a succession of brief allusions antithetically balanced, summarizes the most striking of the legends that are detailed in the pages of his "Records," and in a few words paints the exploits of some of the early emperors. In the second the troubles that ushered in the reign of the Emperor Tem-mu and his triumph over Prince Ohotomo are related at greater length in high-flown allusive phrases borrowed from the Chinese historians. The third division gives us the Emperor Tem-mu's decree ordering the compilation of the "Records," and the fourth tells how the execution of that decree was delayed till the reign of the Empress Gemmiyō (A.D. 708-715), on whom likewise a panegyric is pronounced. In the fifth and last the compiler enters into some details concerning the style and method he has adopted.

3. The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 臣, "vassal," used in China by a subject when addressing his sovereign in writing.

4. This is the compiler's personal name. His full name and titles, as given at the end of this preface, were 正五位上勳五等太朝臣安萬侶, *i.e.*, the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit. The family of Futo claimed to descend from His Augustness Kamu-yawi-mimi, second son of the Emperor Jim-mu. Yasumaro's death is recorded in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued," under date of 30th August, A.D. 723.

5. *I.e.*, I report as follows to Her Majesty the Empress.

* This number and that in the corner of every succeeding page of the Translation is the number of the Volume of Motowori's Commentary treating of the Section in question.

6. *I.e.*, in the primeval void which preceded all phenomena there was neither form nor movement, and it was therefore unnamed and unknowable.

7. This sentence summarizes the first eight Sections of the text of the "Records." The "three Deities" are the Deity Master-of-the August-Centre-of-Heaven, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (see Sect. I, Notes 4, 5, and 6.) The two Spirits representing the "Passive and Active Elements" are the creatrix and creator Izanami and Izanagi (the "Female-Who-Invites" and the "Male-Who-Invites,"—see Sect. II, Note 8), the procreation by whom of the islands of the Japanese archipelago and of a large number of gods and goddesses forms the subject of Sections III-VII.

8. The word "therefore" is not appropriate in this place, and Motowori accordingly warns the reader to lay no stress upon it.

9. This sentence alludes to Izanagi's visit to Hades, and to the purification of his person on his return to the Upper World (see Sects. IX and X). It also refers to the birth of the Sun-Goddess and of the Moon-God from his left and from his right eye respectively, and to that of a large number of lesser gods and goddesses, who were produced from every article of his wearing apparel and from every part of his person on the occasion of his performing those ablutions (see Sect. X.)

10. The "original teaching" here mentioned means the original traditions of Japanese antiquity, The "former sages,"—a term which in China fitly designates such philosophers as Confucius, and Mencius, but which it is difficult to invest with any particular sense here in Japan where no sages have ever arisen,—may be best taken to mean those unknown persons who transmitted the legends of the gods and early emperors. The "establishment of men" probably alludes to the investiture of the

sovereignty of Japan in the human descendants of the Sun-Goddess. The expression is however obscure, and Motowori himself has nothing satisfactory to tell us about it.

11. The mirror here mentioned is that by means of which the Sun-Goddess was allured out of the cave (see Sect. XVI); the jewels are those which Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") begged of his sister the Sun-Goddess, and crunched into fragments (see Sect. XIII); the blade that was bitten to pieces by the Sun-Goddess figures in the same legend; the serpent is that slain by Susa-no-Wo after his banishment from Heaven (see Sect. XVIII); the "Myriad Deities" are supposed by Motowori to be this same god's numerous descendants (see Sect. XX), who ruled in Idzumo. There remains the phrase "an Hundred Kings," which is lacking in clearness. The only rational interpretation of it is as designating the Japanese imperial line, and yet the reference seems to have no special appropriateness in this context.

12. For the Tranquil River of Heaven, in whose stony bed the gods were wont to meet in council, see Sect. XIII, Note 12. The divine deliberations here referred to are those which resulted in the investiture of the sovereignty of Japan in the grandson of the Sun-Goddess (see Sects. XXX-XXXIII). The "discussions on the Little Shore" allude to the parleys on the beach of Inasa in Idzumo which preceded the abdication of the Deity who had held sway over that part of the country prior to the descent of the Sun-Goddess's grandson (see Sect. XXXII).

13. The abbreviated form of the name of the Sun-Goddess's grandson (see Sect. XXXIII, Notes 5 and 10).

14. *I.e.*, Mount Takachiho (see Sect. XXXIV, Note 5). The final syllable is here apocopated, in order to preserve the rhythmical balance of the sentence by using only three Chinese characters to write this name, the "Island of the Dragon-Fly" being likewise written with three characters.

15. *I.e.*, the first "human Emperor" Jim-mu, whose full native Japanese name is Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko. For the account of his reign see Sects. XLIV-LII.

16. *I.e.*, Japan. For the traditional origin of this poetical synonym of Japan see Sect. V, Note 26 and also the legend in Sect. CLVI. The word "traverse" in this sentence alludes to the Emperor Jim-mu's victorious progress from Western Japan to Yamato in the centre of the country, which he is said to have subdued, and where it is related that he established his capital (see Sect. XLIV-L).

17. For the mention of the bear, whose appearance caused the Emperor Jim-mu and his army to faint away, see commencement of Sect. XLV. Motowori thinks that the character 爪, "claws," is a copyist's error for 山, "mountain" or 穴, "hole," *Conf.* Sect. XLV, Note 2). For the curious legend of the sabre see the same Section; and for the name of Takakura see more especially Note 3 to that Section.

18. For the Gods with tails who met and conversed with the Emperor Jim-mu in Yamato, see the latter part of Sect. XLVI, a perusal of which will however show that the phrase "obstructed the path," which is here used of them, is not exactly applicable. The miraculous crow which was sent down from Heaven to assist Jim-mu in his conquests, is mentioned at the commencement of the same Section and again at the commencement of Sect. XLVII. For Yeshinu (modern Yoshino) see Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

19. The word "dancing" in this sentence must not be too closely pressed, as it is used simply to balance the word "song" in the parallel clause,—which clause itself does but echo the sense of that which precedes it. The reference is to the song which Jim-mu sang as a signal to his followers to destroy the "earth-spiders" (see Sect. XLVIII), and perhaps also to the songs in Sect. XLIX.

20. "The Emperor Su-jin" must be mentally supplied as the logical subject of this clause. For the story of his dream see Sect. LXIV, and for the origin of the laudatory designation here mentioned see the end of Sect. LXVII, which is however obscure.

21. "The Emperor Nin-toku" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. The allusion to the smoke and the laudatory designation here mentioned will be understood by reference to Sect. CXXI. The "black-haired people" is a common Chinese phrase for the peasantry or the people in general.

22. "The Emperor Sei-mu" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. His labours are briefly recapitulated in Sect. XCIV. For the province called Nearer Afumi (*Chika-tsu-Afumi*), see Sect. XXIX, Note 20. Its name is here rhythmically balanced against "Further Asuka" in the following clause.

23. "The Emperor In-giyo" must be supplied as the logical subject of this sentence. This Sovereign's rectification of the names forms the subject of Sect. CXXXIX. For Further Asuka (*Toho-tsu-Asuka*) see Sect. CXXXIII, Notes 13 and 11.

24. *I.e.*, though unlike in character, some of the ancient emperors excelling in caution and others in ardour, some being remarkable for their

attainments others for their native worth, yet was there not one without a claim to greatness, not one who did not regard antiquity as the standard by which modern times should be judged, and repair the deviations from antique perfection that successively arose during the lapse of ages.—How marvellously inapplicable is this rodomontade to the early monarchs of Japan the student of Japanese history need scarcely be told, and Motowori himself allows that "it is not completely appropriate." Here the first part of the Preface terminates.

25. Viz., the Emperor Tem-mu, whose struggle for the crown in the latter part of the seventh century of our era against the contending claims of Prince Ohotomo is related at great length in the pages of the "Chronicles," though naturally beyond the scope of these "Records," which close in A.D. 628. The "Eight Great Islands" is one of the synonyms of Japan (see Sect. V, Note 27). The reason for the specially laudatory mention in this place of the Emperor Tem-mu is the fact that it was with him that the idea of compiling these Records originated, as is indeed stated a little further on. He is here alluded to by the expressions Hidden Dragon and Reiterated Thunder, metaphorical names borrowed from the "*Yi Ching*" and denoting the heir apparent, Tem-mu not having ascended the throne till some time after his predecessor's death, as Prince Ohotomo disputed by force of arms his right to the succession. The phrases "put on perfection" and "came at the appointed moment" are attempts at representing the original 體元 and 應期. The meaning is that the Emperor Tem-mu was the man for the age, and that he took his proper and exalted place in it. In the following sentences we have a flowery *résumé* of the story of the successful war by which he obtained the crown. The reference to the "song in a dream" is indeed obscure; but the "water at night" is the River Yoko, which we read of in the "Chronicles" as having been crossed by him. The characters somewhat freely rendered by the English words "succession" and "inheritance" are 業 and 基, which approximate to that sense in this context. The "Southern Mountains" are the Mountains of Yoshino, whither he escaped for a season as a cicada escapes from its cast-off shell; the "Eastern Land" denotes the eastern provinces of Japan where he organized his army. The "Six Divisions" and the "Three Hosts" are Chinese designations of the Imperial troops, while the "ill-omened crew" of course refers to Tem-mu's enemies.—Prince Ohotomo and his followers. In the ensuing sentence we see peace restored: Tem-mu has returned to the capital (for which the words "Flowery Summer" are a Chinese periphrasis), he has taken in his hands the insignia of office, and reigns

supreme over the Six Cardinal Points (North, South, East, West, Above, and Below) and over the "Eight Wildernesses" (*i.e.*, the barbarous regions on all sides). The writer concludes this divison of his Preface by a glowing panegyric of the Monarch, who was, he says, superior to Hsüan Hou (軒后 Jap. Ken-Kō), and Chou Wang (周王 Jap, Shiū-O), famous Chinese sovereigns of the legendary period. So intelligent were his efforts, so perfect was his conformity with the ways of Heaven as displayed in the workings of the Active and Passive Essences, that the Five Elements (Water Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth) all interacted with due regularity, and laudable usages alone prevailed throughout the land. Up to this point the preface may be said to be purely ornamental.

I.e., March (20th as the "Chronicles" tell us), A. D. 673. The original, to denote the year and the month mentioned, uses the periphrases 歲次大梁 and 月踵夾鍾, but doubtless without any reference to the originat proper meaning of those terms.

27. The text literally reads thus: "He rode in the exactness of the Two Essences." But the author's intention is to tell us that Tem-mu acted according to the golden mean, keeping the balance even, and not inclining unduly either to the Active or the Passive side.

28. Literally "warp and woof," *i.e.*, cannon, standard, mainspring, first necessity.

29. This is the imperial decree ordering the compilation of the "Records of Ancient matters." The expressions "original words" (本辭) and "old words" (舊辭) are curious, and Motowori is probably right in arguing from the emphatic manner in which they are repeated that the Emperor Tem-mu attached special importance to the actual archaic phraseology in which some at least of the early documents or traditions had been handed down.

30. *I.e.*, he could repeat the contents of any document that he had once seen and remember all that he had ever heard.

31. *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu died before the plan of the compilation of these "Records" had been carried into execution, viz., it may be presumed, before a selection from the various original documents committed to memory by Are had been reduced to writing.

32. 得一光宅通三亭育. For the phrase "obtaining Unity," which is borrowed from Lao Tzū, the student should consult Stanislas Judien's "Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu," pp. 144-149. The "Triad" is the threefold intelligence of Heaven. Earth, and Man. The general meaning of the sentence is that the Empress's perfect virtue, which is in complete

accord with the heavenly ordinances, is spread abroad throughout the empire, and that with her all-penetrating insight she nourishes and sustains her people.

33. In the above four sentences the compiler expresses his respectful admiration of the Empress Gem-miyō, who was on the throne at the time when he wrote, and tells us how wide was her rule and how prosperous her reign. The "Purple Palace" is one of the ornamental names borrowed from the Chinese to denote the imperial residence. The "Sombre Retinue" (if such indeed is the correct rendering of the original expression 玄扈) is a phrase on which no authority consulted by the translator throws any light. The "utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks" and the "furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows" are favourite phrases in the old literature of Japan to express extreme distance (see, for instance, Mr. Satow's translations of the Ritual of the Praying for Harvest," Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 111 of these "Transactions" and the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 111. Such unusual phenomena as connected stalks, *i.e*, trunks springing from the same root and uniting again higher up and "joint rice-ears," *i.e.*, two rice-ears growing on a single stem, are considered lucky omens by the Chinese, and their appearance is duly chronicled in those Japanese histories that are composed after the Chinese model. The "continuous beacon-fires" and the "repeated interpretations" are phrases alluding to the foreign lands (*i.e.*, the various small Korean states) speaking strange languages, whence tribute was sent to Japan, The text, as it stands, gives the impression that the arrival of the tribute-ships was announced by beacon-fires being lighted. Motowori however wishes us to understand the author's meaning to be that foreign states which, in the natural course of events, would be inimical, and the approach of whose ships would be signalized by the lighting of beacon-fires, now peacefully sent gifts to the Japanese monarch. It may be added that the whole sentence is borrowed scarcely without alteration from the "*Wên Hsüan*" (文選). Bum-mei is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 文命, the original name of Yü (禹) a celebrated legendary emperor of China. Ten-ltsu is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 天乙, the original name of the ancient emperor T'ang (湯), who is said to have founded the Shang dynasty in the eighteenth century B.C.

34. This word is here used as an initial particle without special significance.

35. *I.e.*, 3rd November A. D. 711. Wa-dō (和銅) is the name of a Japanese "year-period" which lasted from A.D. 708 to 714.

36. *I.e.*, present them to her. With this sentence ends the fourth division of the preface.

37. *I.e.*, the simplicity of speech and thought in Early Japan renders it too hard a task to rearrange the old documents committed to memory by Are in such a manner as to make them conform to the rules of Chinese style.

38. *I.e.*, if I adopted in its entirety the Chinese ideographic method of writing, I should often fail of giving a true impreasion of the nature of the original documents (*conf.* the preceding Note). If, on the other hand, I consistently used the Chinese characters, syllable by syllable, as phonetic symbols for Japanese sounds, this work would attain to inordinate proportions, on account of the great length of the polysyllabic Japanese as compared with the monosyllabic Chinese. The author's meaning may be illustrated by referring to the first clause of the "Records," 天地初發之時 ("when Heaven and Earth began"), which is thus written ideographically with six Chinese characters, whereas it would require no less than eleven to write it phonetically so as to represent the sound of the Japanese words *ame tsuchi no hazhime no toki*, viz., 阿米都知能波士賣能登伎. It should be noticed that in this passage the author employs the technical expressions *on* and *kun* (音 and 訓) in a manner which is the precise reverse of that sanctioned by modern usage, *on* being with him the phonetic, and *kun* the ideographic, acceptation of the Chinese characters.

39. It will be seen by perusing the following translation that the author can scarcely be said to have vouchsafed as much exegetical matter as this statement would lead us to expect. Indeed his "comments" are mostly confined to information concerning the pronunciation of certain characters. See however Motowori's remarks on this sentence in Vol. II, pp. 19-20 of this Commentary.

40. The author here refers to a certain class of Japanese words which offer peculiar difficulties because written neither ideographically nor phonetically, but in a completely arbitrary manner, the result of a freak of usage. His manner of expressing himself is, however, ambiguous. What he meant to say is, as Motowori points out: "Again in such cases as writing the surname *Kusaka*, with the characters 日下, and the personal name *Tarashi* with the character 帶, I have followed usage without alteration." It is his imperfect mastery over the Chinese construction that makes him fall into such errors,—errors easily rectifiable, however, by the more widely read modern Japanese *literati*.

I.e., commence with the creation, and end with the death of the Empress Sui-ko (A. D. 628), who resided at Woharida.

42. For the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of Heaven see Sect. I, Note 4, and for Prince-Wave-Limit, etc., see Sect. XLII, Note 15. Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko is the proper native Japanese name of the emperor commonly known by the Chinese "canonical name" of Jim-mu. Homuda is part of the native Japanese name of the Emperor Ojin (see Sects. XCIV to CXVIII). Oho-Sazaki is the native Japanese name of the Emperor Nin-toku (see Sects. CXIX to CXXX.)

43. *Q.d.*, to the Empress.

44. *I.e.*, 10th March, A. D. 712.

RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS. 15

[SECT. I.— THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.]

The names of the Deities[1] that were born[2] in the Plain of High Heaven[3] when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven,[4] next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity,[5] next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity.[6] These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons.[7] The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth,[8] young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity,[9] next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing- 16
Deity.[10] These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities.[11]

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1. For this rendering of the Japanese word *kami* see Introduction, pp. xvii-xviii.

2. Literally, "that became" (成). Such "becoming" is concisely defined by Motowori as "the birth of that which did not exist before."

3. In Japanese *Takama-no-hara.*

4. *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami.*

5. *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami.* It is open to doubt whether the syllable *bi*, instead of signifying "wondrous," may not simply be a verbal termination, in which case the three syllables *musubi* would mean, not "wondrous producing," but simple "producing," *i.e*, if we adopt the interpretation of the Verb *musubu* as "to produce" in the Active sense of the word, an interpretation as to whose propriety there is some room for doubt. In the absence of certainty the translator has followed the view expressed by Motowori and adopted by Hirata. The same remark applies to the following and other similar names.

6. *Kami-musu-bi-no-kami.* This name reappears in later Sections under the lengthened form of *ami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, i.e., His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, and also in abbreviated forms.

7. *I.e.*, they all came into existence without being procreated in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, *i.e.*, died.

9. Here and elsewhere the character 國, properly "country" (*regio*), is used where "earth" (*tellus*) better suits the sense. Apparently in the old language the word *kuni* (written 國), which is now restricted to the former meaning, was used ambiguously somewhat like our word "land."

9. *Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami.* For *hiko* here and elsswhere rendered "prince" see Introduction p. xvi; *ji* is rendered. "elder" in accordance with the opinion expressed by Motowori and Hirata, who say that it is "an Honorific designation of males identical with the *ji* meaning old man."

10. Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven, *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami.* The translation of the name here given follows the natural meaning of the characters composing it, and has the sanction of Tanigaha Shisai. Motowori and Hirata take *toko* to stand for *soko*, "bottom," and interpret accordingly; but this is probably but one of the many instances in which the Japanese philologists allow themselves to be led by the boldness of their etymological speculations into identifying words radically distinct.

11. This is a note in the original, where such notes are indented, as has also been done In the translation. The author's obscure phrase is explained by Motowori to mean that these Heavenly Deities were separate from those who came into existence afterwards, and especially from the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity (*Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*) who in the "Chronicles" is the first divine being of whom mention is made. These five were, he says, "separate" and had nothing to do with the creation of the world. It should be stated that the sentence will also bear the interpretation "The five Deities in the above list are Deities who divided Heaven" (presumably from Earth;) but this rendering has against it the authority of all the native editors. As the expressions "Heavenly Deity" and "Earthly Deity" (lit., Country Deity" are of frequent occurrence in these "Records," it may be as well to state that, according to Motowori, the "Heavenly Deities" were such as either dwelt in Heaven or had originally descended to Earth from Heaven, whereas the Earthly Deities were those born and dwelling in Japan.

[SECT. II.—THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS.]

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity,[1] next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity.[2] These two Deities were likewise 17
Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady;[3] next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister the Life-Integrating-Deity;[4] next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place;[5] next the Deity 18
Perfect-Exterior,[6] next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady;[7] next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites, next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites.[8]

From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations. (The two solitary Deities above [-mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of deities is called a generation.[9]

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1. Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-on-Earth, *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*, *Conf.* Note 10 to Sect. 1.

2. *Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami*. There is much doubt as to the proper interpretation of this name. The characters 雲野 ("cloud-moor"), with which the syllables read *kumo-nu* are written, are almost certainly phonetic, and the translator has followed Motowori's view as corrected by Hirata, according to which *kumo* is taken to stand for *kumu*, "integrating," and *nu* is considered to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master" (or more vaguely "the person who presides at or does a thing"). Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-words," Article *Sasutake*, argues that the syllables in question should be interpreted in the sense of "coagulated mud"; out this is less satisfactory.

3. *U-hiji-ni-no-kami* and *Su-hiji-ni-no-kami.* The names of this pair lend themseles to a variety of interpretations. Motowori's view of the meaning of the first three syllables in each seems best, if it is founded on the Chinese characters with which they are written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," and it has therefore been adopted here. Hirata interprets the names thus: First-Mud-Lord and First-Sand-Lady, and takes *ni* to be an alternative form of the Honorific *ne* found in so many proper names. This view of the meaning of *ni* has been followed by the translator. On the other hand Mabuchi explains the names to mean respectively Floating-Mud-Earth and Sinking-Mud-Earth. The only thing therefore that is granted by all is that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made. The reader will bear in mind that "younger-sister" and "wife" are convertible names in Archaic Japanese. (See Introduction p. XXXVIII.)

4. *Tsunu-guhi-no-kami* and *Iku-guhi-no-kami.* The interpretation given is one in which the commentators agree, and which has some probability in its favour. It must however only be accepted with reservation.

5. *Oho-to-no ji-no-kami* and *Oho-to-no-be-no-kami.*

6. *Omo-daru-no.kami.* We might also render *omo-daru* by "perfect-face," *i.e.*, perfectly beautiful."

7. *Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami.* For "awful" we might substitute "venerable." Hirata, commentating on this name and the seven which precede it, says: *U-hiji-ni* and *Su-hiji-ni* are so named from their having contained the germs of what was to become the earth. *Oho-to-no-ji* and *Oho-to-no-be* are so called from the appearance of the incipient earth. *Tsunu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi* are so called from the united appearance of the earth and the Deities as they came into existence. *Omo-daru* and *Kashiko-ne* are so called from the completion of the august persons of the Deities. Thus their names were given to them from the gradual progress [of creation]."

8. *Izana-gi-no-kami* and *Izana-mi-no-kami.* There is some slight diversity of opinion as to the literal signification of the component parts of the names of these the best-known of the Deities hitherto mentioned, though the gist of the meaning remains unchanged. Motowori would prefer to read *Iza-na-gi* and *Iza-na-mi*, taking the syllable *na* as the Second Personal Pronoun "thou," and understanding the names thus: "the Prince-Who-Invites-Thee" and the "Princess-Who-Invites-Thee." It seems however more natural to look on *izana* as forming but one word, viz., the Root of the Verb *Izanafu*, "to invite." The older native com-

mentators mean the same thing when they tell us that *na* is an Expletive. The syllables *gi* and *mi* are of uncertain etymology, but occur in other Archaic words to denote the female and male of a pair. The appropriateness of the names of these deities will be seen by referring to Sect. IV.

9. For explanatory notes which are printed in small type in the original, small type is likewise used in this translation.

[SECT. III.—THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO]

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness' the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness[1] the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting tō them an heavenly jewelled spear,[2] they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[3] pushed 19
down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdlecurdle,[4] and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro.[5]

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1. For this rendering of the Japanese title *Mikoto* see Introduction, p. xvi, last paragraph.

2. The characters translated "jewelled spear" are 沼矛, whose proper Chinese signification would be quite different. But the first of the two almost certainly stands phonetically for 瓊 or 玉,—the syllable *nu*, which is its sound, having apparently been an ancient word for "jewel" or "bead," the better-known Japanese term being *tama*. In many places the word "jewel" (or "jewelled") seems to be used simply as an adjective expressive of beauty. But Motowori and Hirata credit it in this instance with its proper signification, and the translator always renders it literally, leaving the reader to consider it to be used metaphorically if and where he pleases.

3. *Ama-no-uki-hashi* or *Ame-no-uki-hashi.* The best authorities are at variance as to the nature of this bridge uniting Heaven with Earth. Hirata identifies it with the Heavenly-Rock-Boat (*Ame-no-iha-fune*) mentioned in some ancient writings, whereaa Motowori takes it to have been a real bridge, and finds traces of it and of similar bridges in the so-called "Heavenly Stairs" (*Ama-no-hashi-date*) which are found on several points of the coast, forming a kind of natural breakwater just above water-level.

4. *I.e.*, "till it became thick and glutinous." It is not easy to find in English a word which will aptly render the original Japanese onomatopoeia *koworokoworo.* The meaning may also be "till it made a curdling sound." But though the character 鳴, "to make a noise," sanctions this view, it is not the view approved by the commentators, and 鳴 is probably only written phonetically for a homonymous word signifying "to become," which we find in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

5. *I.e.*, "Self-Curdling," "Self-Condensed." It is supposed to have been one of the islets off the coast of the larger island of Ahaji.

[SECT. IV.—COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE-WHO-INVITES.]

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection[1] of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of an hall of eight fathoms.[2] Tunc
20 quæsivit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] a minore sorore Augustâ Feminâ-Qui-Invitat: "Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?" Respondit dicens: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ non crevit continua." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut hanc corporis mei partem quæ crevit superflua in tui corporis partem quæ non crevit continua inseram, et regiones procreem?" Augusta Femina-Quæ-Invitat respondit dicens: "Bonum erit." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Quod

quum ita sit, ego et tu' hanc cœlestem augustam columnam circumeuntes mutuoque occurrentes, augustarum [i.e. privatarum] partium augustam coitionem faciemus."[3] Hàc pactione factâ, dixit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat]: "Tu a dexterâ circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistrâ occurram." Absolutâ pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat primum inquit: "O venuste et amabilis adolescens!" Deinde Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat inquit: "O venusta et amabilis virgo!" Postquam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] locutus est sorori, dicens: "Non decet feminam primum verba facere." Nihilominus in thalamo [opus procreationis] inceperunt, et filium [nomine] Hirudinem[4] [vel Hirudini similem] pepererunt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha.[5] This likewise is not reckoned among their children.[6]

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1. The original of this quasi-causative phrase, of which there is no other example in Japanese literature so far as the translator's reading goes, is interpreted by Motowori in the sense of the English locution to which it literally corresponds, and it has here been rendered accordingly, though with considerable hesitation. Hirata does not approve of Motowori's view; but then the different text which he here adopts imposes on him the necessity of another interpretation. (See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 39-40).

2. The original word *hiro* (written 尋) is defined as the distance between the hands when the arms are outstretched. The word rendered "hall" may also be translated "palace."—The text of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" is "they made the Island of Onogoro the central pillar of the land,"—a statement which seems more rational and more in accordance with general tradition than that of these "Records."

3. This is Hirata's view of the import of the somewhat obscure original (see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 61-64). Motowori's interpretation is: "auguste in thalamo coibimus."

4. The name in the original is Hiru-go, an instance of the fortuitous verbal resemblances occasionally found between unrelated languages.

5. Literary "foam." It is supposed to have been an islet near the island of Ahaji in the province of Sanuki.

6. Hiru-go was not so reckoned, because he was a failure.

[SECT. V.—BIRTH OF THE EIGHT ISLANDS.]

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: "The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august
21 place[1] of the Heavenly Deities." They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination,[2] and ordered them, saying: "They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words." So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: "Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden! Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: "Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!" Tali modo quun orationi finem fecerant, auguste coierunt et pepererunt a child the Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake.[3] Next they
22 gave birth to the Island of Futa-no in Iyo.[4] This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess;[5] the Land of Sanuki[6] is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice;[7] the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food;[8] the Land of Tosa[9] is called Brave-Good-Youth.[10] Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go[11] near Oki,[12] another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth-[13]

This island likewise has one body and four faces[15] and
each face has a name. So the Land of Tsukushi is
called White-Sun-Youth;[16] the Land of Toyo[17] is called 23
Luxuriant-Sun-Youth;[18] the Land of Hi is called Brave
Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth;[19] the
Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth.[20] Next they
gave birth to the Island of Iki,[21] another name for which
is Heaven's One-Pillar.[22] Next they gave birth to the
Island of Tsu,[23] another name for which is Heavenly-
Hand-net-Good-Princess.[24] Next they gave birth to the
Island of Sado.[25] Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-
the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly,[26] another name
for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly- 24
Lord-Youth. The name of "Land-of-the-Eight-Great-
Islands"[27] therefore originated in these eight islands
having been born first. After that, when they had
returned,[28] they gave birth to the Island of Ko [-shima][29]
in Kibi,[30] another name for which [island] is Brave-Sun[9]
Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of
Adzuki,[31] another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. 25
Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima],[32]
another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next
they gave birth to the Island of Hime,[33] another name
for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth
to the Island of Chika,[34] another name for which is
Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island
[s] of Futa-go,[35] another name for which is Heaven's-
Two-Houses. (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko in Kibi to
the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses.

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1. The characters 御所, here translated "august place" (the proper Chinese signification is "imperial place") are those still in common use to denote the Mikado's palace.

2. For an elaborate account of the various methods of divination practised by the Ancient Japanese see Note 5 to Mr. Satow's translation of the "Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta" in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 425 *et seq.* "The most important mode of divination practised by the primitive Japanese was that of scorching the shoulder-blade of a deer over a clear fire, and finding, omens in the cracks produced by the heat."

3. *Aha-ji* signifies "foam-way," *i.e*, "the way to Foam (Aha)-Island," on account, it is said, of its intermediate position between the mainland and the province of Aha in what is in modern parlance the Island of Shikoku. The author of the "Chronicles of Old Affairs" fancifully derives the name from *a haji* "my shame." The etymology of Ho-no-sa-wake is disputed; but Hirata, who in the body of Vol. III of his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" had already expended much ingenuity in discussing it, gives the most satisfactory interpretation that has yet been proposed in a postscript to that volume, where he explains it to signify "Rice-ear-True-Youth." *Wake* (sometimes *wake* or *waku*) is a word of frequent occurrence in the names of gods and heroes. Whether it really signifies "youth," as Hirata believes and as it is most natural to suppose, or whether Motowori's guess that it is an Honorific title corrupted from *waga kimi ye* (lit. "my prince elder brother," more freely "lord.") remains undecided. When it is used as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "lord," as that in such cases is its import apart from the question of derivation. *Sa*, rendered "true," may almost be considered to have dwindled down to a simple Honorific.—It is this little island which is said by the author of the "Chronicles" to have been the caul with which the great island of Yamato was born. Ahaji and Ho-no-sa-wake must be understood to be alternative names, the latter being what in other cases is prefaced by the phrase "another name for whom."

4. *Futa-na* is written with characters signifying "two names," and Motowori's derivation from *futa-narabi*, "two abreast," does not carry conviction. The etymology of Iyo is quite uncertain. It is here taken as the name of the whole island called in modern times Shikoku; but immediately below we find it in its usual modern acceptation of one of the four provinces into which that island is divided. A similar remark applies to Tsukushi a little further on.

5. *Ye-hime*. For the rendering of *hiko* and *hime* as "prince" and "princess" see introduction, p. xvi.

6. Probably derived, as Hirata shows, from *saho-ki*, "pole-trees," a

tribute of poles having anciently been paid by that province. Motowori adopts the unusual reading of the name given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," viz. Sanugi, with the last syllable *nigori*'ed.

7. *Ihi-yori-hiko.* The translator, though with some hesitation, follows Motowori in looking on *yori* as a contraction of *yorishi*, "good." The character used for it in the original is 依.

8. *Oho-ge-tsu-hime.* Remember that *aha* signifies not only "foam" but "millet," so that we need not be astonished to find that the alternative designation of the island so designated is that of a food-goddess.

9. Etymology uncertain, only fanciful derivations being proposed by the native philologists.

10. *Take-yori-wake*

11. *Mitsu-go* signifies "triplets," lit., "three children." The three islets intended are *Ama-na-shima*, *Mukafu-no-shima* and *Chiburi-no-shima*

12. *Oki* probably here signifies "offing," which is its usual acceptation.

13. *Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake* The syllables *oshi*, which recur in the names of many gods and heroes, are rendered "great" in accordance with Motowori's plausible conjecture that they are an abbreviation of *ohoshi* ("great," not "many" as in the later language). The translation of *koro* by "heart" follows a conjecture of Hirata's (Motowori acknowledged that he could make nothing of the word), according to which it is taken to be an abbreviated form of *kokoro*, "heart."

14. None but fanciful derivations of this word are suggested by the native philologists.

15. A note to the edition of 1687 says: "Should the word 'four' be changed to 'five?'" For most texts enumerate five countries in this passage with slight variations in the names, Himuka, (Hiuga), which it certainly seems strange to omit, being the fourth on the list with the alternative name of Toyokuzhi-hine-wake, while the alternative name of Hi is Haya-hi-wake, Motowori argues that an enumeration of four agrees better with the context, while Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary decides in favour of the five. There are thus texts and authorities in favour of both views.

16. *Shira-bi-wake.*

17. *Tiyo* means "luxuriant" or "fertile." *Hi* appears to signify "fire" or "sun." *Kumaso* is properly a compound, *Kuma-so*, as the district is often mentioned by the simple name of *So-* *Kuma* signifies "bear," and Motowori suggests that the use of the name of this the fiercest of

beasts as a prefix may be traced to the evil reputation of that part of the country for robbers and outlaws. He quotes similar compounds with *kuma* in support of this view.

18. *Toyo-bi-wake.*

10. *Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake.* The interpretation of this name follows Motowori.

20. *Take-bi-wake.*

21. Etymology uncertain, but there seems reason to suppose that the name was originally pronounced Yiki or Yuki.

22. *Ame-hito-tsu-bashira.*

23. *Tsu* (Tsu-shima) means "port," "anchorage," a name probably given to this island on account of its being the midway halting-place for junks plying between Japan and Korea.

24. *Ame-nc-sade-yori-hime.* The interpretation of *sade* (rendered "hand-net") is uncertain. The translator has followed that sanctioned by an ode in Vol. I of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by a passage in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained." Hirata takes *sa* to be an Honorific and *te* to be the usual word for "hand," while Motowori gives up the name in despair.

25. Etymology uncertain.

26. *Oho-yamato-toyo-aki-dzu-shima* (the original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake*). The etymology of Yamato is much disputed. Mabuchi, in his "Addenda to the Commentray on the Collection of a Myrial Leaves," derives the name from *yama-to*, "mountain-gate." Motowori, in a learned discussion to be found in his "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," pp. 24.27, proposes three other possible derivations, viz. *yama-to*, "mountain-place," *yama-to* (supposed to stand for *yama-tsubo* and to mean "mountain-secluded"), and *yama-utsu* (*utsu* being a supposititious Archaic form of *uchi*,) "within the mountains." Other derivations are *yama to* (山外), "without the mountains," *yama-ato*, "mountain-traces" and *yama-todomi*, "mountains stopping," *i.e.* (as Moribe, who proposes it, explains), "far as the mountains can be seen." Another disputed point is whether the name of Yamato which here designates the Main Island of the Archipelago, but which in the common parlance of both ancient and modern times is the denomination on the one hand of the single province of Yamato and on the other of the whole Empire of Japan, originally had the wider application or the more restricted one. Motowori and the author of the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" seem to the present writer to make

out the case in favour of the latter view. Motowori supposes the name to have denoted first a village and then a district, before being applied to a large province and finally to the entire country. The "Island of the Dragon-fly" is a favourite name for Japan in the language of the Japanese poets. It is traced to a remark of the Emperor Jim-mu, who is said to have compared the shape of the country round Mountain Hohoma to "a dragon-fly drinking with its tail." "*Conf.* also the tradition forming the subject of Sec. CLVI of the present translation.

27. *Oho-ya-shima-huni.* A perhaps still more literal English rendering of this name would be "Land of the Grand Eight Islands" or "Grand Land of the Eight Islands," for the word *oho* must be regarded rather as an Honorific than as actually meant to convey an idea of size.

28. "To the Island of Onogoro," says Motowori; but we are not told that the god and goddess had ever left it.

29. *Ko* means "infant" or "small." The original of the alternative personal name is *Take-hi-gata-wake. Gata* (or, without the *nigori*, *Kata*) here and in other names offers some difficulty. The translator renders it by the equivalent of the usual Japanese signification of the character 方, "direction," with which it is written.

30. Etymology uncertain.

31. *Adzuki* is written with the characters 小豆, which signify a kind of bean (the *Phaseolus radiatus*); but it is possible that they represent the sound, and not the sense, of the name. In the alternative personal name *oho* signifies "great," and *hime* "princess," while the syllables *nu-de* are of altogether uncertain interpretation. Motowori suggests that *nu* may mean "moor" and *de* (for *te*) "clapper-bell."

32. *I.e.*, Great Island. The word *tamaru* in the alternative personal name is so obscure that not even any plausible conjecture concerning it has been ventured and the name is therefore of necessity left untranslated.

33. *Hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-hito-tsu-ne.*

34. Etymology uncertain. Motowori would take the name in a plural sense as standing for the modern islands of Hirado and Go-tō (Goto). The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-no-oshi-wo;* in which as usual, *oshi* is supposed to represent *ohoshi* (大), "great."

35. *Futa-go* means "twins." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-futa-ya.*

[SECT.VI.—BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.]

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing;[1] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-Prince;[2] next they gave birth to the Deity
26 Rock-Nest-Princess;[3] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth;[4] next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing-Male;[5] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince;[6] next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male;[7] next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor;[8] next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates,[9] whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn;[10] next they gave birth to his younger sister the Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities, in all from the Deity-Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.)[11] The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and
27 Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm;[12] next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider;[13] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor;[14] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind.[15] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder,[16] next

they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.[17] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess,[18] another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from the Deity Prince-of Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given 28
birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes;[19] next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary;[20] next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door; next the Deity Earthly Dark-Door;[21] next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince; next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.[22] (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they[23] next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-tree-Boat,[24] another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat. Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food.[25] Next they gave 29
birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity,[26] another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

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1. *Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami.* "The Male-Enduring-Great-Things" would be a possible, but less good rendering. This god is identified by Motowori with *Koto-toke-no-wo* mentioned in "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan."

2. The original *Ika-tsuchi-biko-no-kami* (石土毘古神) is identified by Motowori with *Uha-zutsu-no-wo*, (上筒之男) mentioned in Sect. X (Note 18). He would interpret the first *tsu* (*dzu*) as the Genitive particle and the second as identical with the "Honorific appellation *ji* of males," such as *Hikoji*, *Oho-to-no-ji*, etc. If this surmise were correct, the entire name would signify Upper-Lord-Prince; but it is safer to be guided by the characters in the text.

3. *Iha-zu-bime-no-kami.* Here too Motowori takes the syllable *zu-* to be "connected with" the syllables *tsu-tsu* interpreted as above, forgetting apparently that the second *tsu* (*ji*) is said to occur only in the names of males.

4. *Oho-to-bi-wake-na-kami,* a name which Motowori, by supposing corruptions of the text and by making a plentiful use of the pliant and powerful system of derivation with which the Japanese etymologists lay siege to the difficulties of their language, identifies with *Oho-naho-bi-no-kami,* "the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous.Deity," mentioned in Sect. X (Note 16).

5. *Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami,* identified by Motowori with *I-buki-do-nushi* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification." (See his Commentary on this Ritual, Vol. II, pp. 29-32.)

6. *Ohoyabikonokami,* identified by Motowori with *Oho-aya-tsui-bi* mentioned in "One account" of the Chronicles."

7. *Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami.* Motowori's conjectural interpretation has been followed; but both the reading and the meaning of the original are encompassed with difficulties. Motowori identifies this deity with *Soko-sasura-hime* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification."

8. *Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami.* The interpretation of *mochi,* "possessor," though not absolutely sure, has for it the weight both of authority and of likelihood.

9. *I.e.,* river-mouths, estuaries, or ports. In the original *Minato-no-kami.*

10. *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko. Aki,* whose proper signification is "autumn," might also by metonymy be interpreted to mean "dragon-fly" or "Japan." Motowori, *apropos* of this name, launches forth on very bold derivations and identifications with the names of other gods. The original of the sister-deity is *Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami.*

11. The text here omits the word "Swift" from this name.

12. The original names of this deity and the three that follow are *Awa-nagi.no-kami, Awa-nami-no-kami, Tsura-nagi-no-kami,* and *Tsura-nami, no-kami.* The interpretation of the component parts is open to doubt, but that here adopted has the authority of Motowori and Hirata.

13. *Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami.* The following deity is *Kuni-nomi-kumari-no-kami.*

15. This Deity and the next are in the original *Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami.* The etymology is obtained by comparison with a passage in the "Ritual for Averting Fire" (鎮火祭祝詞).

15. *Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami.* The original of this name is explained by Motowori, who founds his view on two passages in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," to signify Prince-of-Long-*Breath.* But the translator feels confident that *shi-na,* by him interpreted in the sense of "long breath" (or rather "long of breath") should be connected with *shi,* an old word for wind which we see in *ara-shi* ("storm-wind"), *ni-shi* ("west-wind"), *hi-gashi* ("east wind"), and perhaps under a slightly altered form in *kaze,* "wind," whereas *shi* nowhere occurs in the sense of "breath." Hirata notices approvingly this etymology of *shi* ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. III. p. 63), though without venturing flatly to contradict his precedessor's decision as to the import of the name in question. The difference in the meaning is after all slight. *Na* is to be taken as an apocopated form of *nagaki,* "long." In later times *Shinato* has been used as a name for the north-west wind.

16. Such seems to be the meaning of the original *Kuku-no-chi-no-kam* .

17. *Oho-yama-tsuna-ka-mi.*

18. *Kaya-nu-himi-no-kami.* The etymology of the alternative personal name (in the original *Nu-dzn-chi-no-kami*) is not quite certain.

19. The original of these two names is *Ame-no-sa--dzu-chi-no.kami* and *Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami.* Their signification is obscure, but the translator has, after some hesitation, followed Motowori's interpretation. The words "heavenly" and "earthly" should probably be considered as qualifying "passes." This word "pass," used here and elsewhere to render the Japanese term *saka* (*sa*), must be understood to include lesser ascents than those very arduous ones which are alone denoted by the word "pass" in ordinary English parlance. In the later language of Japan the word *tauge* (*tōge*) generally denotes "passes" properly so called, while *saka* is restricted to the meaning of small ascents or hills. But this distinction is by no means strictly observed.

20. *Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sagiri-no-kami. Sa* seems to be rightly considered, as in the two preceding names, to be an archaic form of *saka* (properly *sa-ka,* "hill-place"), and *giri* as an apocopated form of *kagiri,* (properly *ka-giri,* "place-cutting") "limit" or "boundary." Hirata however, following the Chinese character with which *kiri* is written, interprets it in the sense of "mist."

21. *Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami.* Motowori explains *kura* (闇, dark") by *tani* (谷, "valley"), and *to* "door") by *tokoro* (處, "place").

22. Such appears to be the proper interpretation of the originals of these two names, *Oko-tomato-hiko-no-kami* and *Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami*, *tomato* being plausibly referred to *towomaru* and *tawamu.* It is difficult to find an English word to represent exactly the idea, which is rather that of a gentle *fold* in the mountains than of the narrower and steeper hollow which we call a "valley."

23. *I.e.*, the Prince-Who-Invites and the Princess-Who-Invites (*Izanagi* and *Iza-nami*).

24. *Tori-no-iha-kusa-bune-no-kami.* The alternative name is *Ame-no-tori-bune*, from which the title of Deity is omitted. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. V, pp. 52-53 should be consulted on the subject of this deity.

25. Homonymous with the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha. (See Sect. V, Note 8).

26. *Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami.* If, as seems likely, *yagi*, is an incorrect reading for *kagi*, we should have to translate by "shining" the word here rendered "burning." The alternative names are *Hino-kaga-biko-no-kami* and *Hino-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami.* In "One account" of the "Chronicles" and elsewhere in the "Rituals" this fire-god is called *Ho-musubi* i.e. "the Fire-Producer."

[SECT. VII.—RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES.]

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she sickened and lay down.[1] The names of the Deities born from her vomit were the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-Princess.[2] The names of the Deities that were born from her faeces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess.[3] The names of the Deities that were next born from her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome[4] and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity.[5] The child of this Deity was called

the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.[6] So the Deity 30
the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired.[7] (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.[8])

The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five.. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of Onogoro was not given birth to,[9] and moreover the Leech-Child[10] and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children).

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh! that I should have exchanged thee for this single child!"[11] And as he crept round her august pillow, and 31
as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu,[12] and whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity.[13] So he buried the divinely retired[14] Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba[15] at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo[16] and the Land of Hahaki.[17]

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1. "Lying down" (*koyasu*) is a term often used in the Archaic language in the sense of "dying." But here it must be taken literally, the death ("divine retirement") of the goddess being narrated a few lines further on.

2. *Kana-yama-biko-no-kami* and *Kana-yama bime-no-kami*. The translation of this pair of names follows the plain sense of the characters 金山 with which they are written, and which seems appropriate enough, coming as they do between the deity of fire and deities of clay. Motowori however, declaring both characters to be merely phonetic, derives *kana-yama* from *korena-yamasu*, "to cause to wither and suffer," and interprets the names accordingly. This is at any rate ingenious.

3. *Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami* and *Hani-yasu-bime-no kami*.

4. The signification of this name is not to be ascertained. In the text it is written phonetically 彌都波能賣, and two passages in the "Chronicles," where this deity is mentioned as 爲殿問象女 and 水名水神問象女 with directions in each case to read the name with the sounds here given to it, do not help us much, except in so far as they show that Mitsuhanome was conceived of as the deity of water and as a female.

5. *Waku-musu-bi-no-kami.*

6. *Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami.*

7. *I.e.*, "died."

8. There is here an error in the computation, as *nine* deities are mentioned. The total of thirty-five deities given immediately below is still more erroneous, as no less than *forty* are named in the preceding passage. Motowori makes an ingenious effort to reconcile arithmetic and revelation by supposing the five pairs of brothers and sisters with parallel names to have been considered as each forming but one day.

9. See Sect. III. This island was not *born*, but arose, spontaneously from drops of brine.

10. *Hiru-go.* See the latter part of Sect. IV for these two names, Hiru-go was not counted among the children of these Deities for the reason that the latter abandoned him as soon as he was born, he being a failure. The reason for omitting Aha from the computation is not so clear.

11. The text here is very peculiar, the characters rendered "single child" being 子之一木 where we should expect 子之一人 or 子一人. Hirata proposes to consider 木, "tree," while most scholars agree in reading *ke* instead of *ki* in this place, as phonetic for *ke* (毛) "hair," and to interpret the god's words to signify that he values the child no more than a single hair in comparison with the wife whom that child's birth has lost for him. Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," s.v. *Ko no hito-tsu ki* (Vol. I. p. 8 *et seq.*), ingeniously argues that *ki* was an old native Japanese "Auxiliary Numeral" for animals, afterwards driven out by the somewhat like-sounding Chinese word *hiki* (匹) which is now in common use, and that the god employs this degrading Auxiliary Numeral in speaking of his child on account of the resentment which he feels against him. On the other hand we gather from the "Chronicles of Japan Explained" that 木 was used in its natural sense as an "Auxiliary Numeral" for gods and for men of exalted rank. This seems to the translator the better view to follow, and it is supported by the use of

柱, *hashira*, as the regular "Auxiliary Numeral" for divine personages. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has simply 一兒 "one infant."

12. This rendering is but tentative; for it is not certain that Hirata, whose view has been adopted, is right in regarding Konomoto and Unewo as names of places. If we followed the older authorities, we should have to translate thus: "The Deity that dwells at the foot of the trees on the slope of the spur of Mount Kagu." The etymology of the name of this celebrated mountain (known also as *Ame-no-kagu-yama* or *Ama-no-kagu-yama*, i.e. "Heavenly Mount Kagu") is disputed. But Hirata's view, according to which it should be connected with *kago*, "deer," is the most plausible. If it were established, we should be tempted to follow him in rendering by "deer-possessor" the name of the deity *Kagu-tsu-chi*, of whom were born the eight gods of mountains, and whose slaying forms the title of the next section. That the fire-deity should be connected with the mountain-deities, and thereby with the deer who roam about the mountains and furnish the hunter with a motive for penetrating into their recesses, is of course but natural. The character 香 with which Kagu is written signifies "fragrant"; but it has been suggested that the Japanese word may be connected with an expresion signifying "heaven-descended," in allusion to the supposed origin of the mountain as related in an old geographical work (now lost) treating of the Province of Iyo.

13. *Naki-saha-me-no-kami.* The sense of the second word of the compound is "marsh" or "stream"; but Motowori seems right in considering the character 澤 to be here used phonetically as an abbreviation of *isaha* from *isatsu*, "to weep."

14. *I.e.*, dead.

15. Etymology uncertain.

16. For this name see Sect. XIX, Note 6.

17. Etymology uncertain.

[SECT. VIII.—THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY.]

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, drawing the ten-grasp sabre[1] that was augustly girded on him, 32
cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Hereupon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword

and bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter,[2] next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity.[3] The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part[4] of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Awfully-Swift-Deity,[5] next the Fire-Swift-Deity,[6] next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[7] another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity,[8] and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected
33 on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: the Deity *Kura-okami* and next the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*.[9]

All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*, are Deities that were born from the august sword.

The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder, who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains.[10] The name of the Deity that was was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains.[11] The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost Mountains.[12] The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand[13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand[13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot[14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-

Moorland-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot[14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer Mountains). So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic Point-Blade-Extended.[15] 34

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1. One "grasp" is defined as "the breadth of four fingers when the hand is clenched," so that the meaning intended to be conveyed is of a big sabre ten hand-breadths long. The length of sabres and of beards was measured by such "grasps" or "hand-breadths."

2. The original names of this deity and the next are *Iha-saku-no-kami* and *Ne-saki-no-kami.*

3. Or the Rock-Elder, *i.e.*, the Male Deity the Elder of the Rocks, if with Motowori we regard the second *tsu* of the original name *Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami* as being equivalent to *chi* or *ji*, supposed to be "the honorific appellation of males" elsewhere rendered "elder." The translation in the text proceeds on the assumption that this *tsu* represents *mochi:* The purport of the name remains much the same whichever of these two views be adopted.

4. Explained by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" through a character signifying "the knob at the end of the guard of the sword."—(Williams' "Syllabic Dictionary."

5. *Mika-haya-bi-no-kami.* Motowori seems to be right in regarding *mika* as equivalent to *ika*, the root of *ikameshiki*, "stern," "awful," and *bi* as the root of *buru*, a verbalising suffix.

6. *Hi-haya-bi-no-kami.*

7. *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami*, written with the characters 建御雷之男神. The translator has without much hesitation followed Motowori's interpretation.

8. *Take-futsu-no-kami.* The text name is *Toyo futsu-no-kami. Futsu* is interpreted in the sense of "the sound of snapping" by reference to a passage in the "Chronicles" where it occurs written both ideographically and phonetically in the name of the deity *Futsu-no-mi-tama.*

9. The etymology of both these name is obscure. *Kura*, the first element of each compound, signifies "dark."

10. This is the explanation of the original name *Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* which is given in the "Secret of the Chronicles of Japan," and is approved by the later commentators.

11. *Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami.* The English rendering is uncertain, as it rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, deriving *odo* from *ori do* (下處), "descending place," "way down."

12. The original names of this and the following five deities are: *Oku-yama-tsumi-no-kami, Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Hayama-tsu-mi-no-kami* and *To-yama-tsumi-no-kami.Shigi*, here translated "dense," seems to be almost certainly a contraction of *Shigeki*, which has that signification. *Ha-yama* is a term for which it is hard to find an exact English equivalent. It denotes the lesser hills or first visibly rising ground forming the approach to an actual mountain-range. The signification of *to* in the last name of the set is disputed. Mabuchi takes it in the sense of "gate." The translator prefers Motowori's view: but after all, the difference in meaning does not amount to much. A third derivation proposed by Motowori is *tawa-yama*, i.e. "mountains with folds."

13. Or "arm."

14. Or "leg."

15. These two names are in the original *Ame-no-wo-ha-bori* and *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bori.* Their import is not absolutely clear, but they seem to designate a weapon broad towards the point, such as is represented in the illustrations given in Vol. I, pp. 19-20 and Vol. II, pp. 4-5 of the "*Tokiha-Gusa.*"

[SECT. IX.—THE LAND OF HADES.]

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades.[1] So when from the palace she raised the door
35 and came out to meet him,[2] His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying:

"Lamentable indeed that thou camest not sooner! I have eaten of the furnace of Hades.[3] Nevertheless, as I reverence[4] the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely elder brother, I wish to return.[5] Moreover[6] I will discuss it particularly with the Deities of Hades.[7] Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth[8] of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light[9] and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming, and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great- 36
Thunder, in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her left hand[10] dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand[10] dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot[11] dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her rightfoot[11] dwelt the Couchant-Thunder:—altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there.[12] Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades[13] to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress[14] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue 37

him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand;[15] and as they still pursued, he took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades,[16] three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living people[17] in the Central Land of Reed-Plains[18] when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!"—and he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit.[19] Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock,[20] and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and
38 placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings;[21] and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness! If *thou* do this, *I* will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses.[22] In this manner each day a thousand people would surely be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades.[23] Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity.[24] Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-

back,[25] and again it is called the Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades.[26] So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass[27] in the Land of Idzumo. 39

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1. The characters in the original which are here rendered Hades are 黄泉, lit. "Yellow Stream," a Chinese name for the Underworld to which a remark of Mencius and a story in the "*Tso Chuan*" appear to have given rise. They here represent the Japanese word *Yomo* or *Yomi*, which we find phonetically written with the characters 豫母 in the name of *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me* a little further on, and which is defined by Motowori as "an underworld,....the habitation of the dead,....the land whither, when they die, go all men, whether noble or mean, virtuous or wicked." The orthodox Japanese derivation of *Yomi* is from *Yoru*, "night," which would give us for *Yomo-tsu-kuni* some such rendering as "the Land of Gloom." A suggestion quoted by Arawi Hakuseki ("*Tōga*," art. *Idzumi*) that the word may really be but a mispronunciation of *Yama*, the Sanscrit name of the Buddhist god of hell, is however worthy of consideration; but it seems best on the whole to translate *Yomi* or *Yomo* by "Hades," a term which is itself of uncertain derivation, and the signification attached to which closely resembles the Japanese *Shintō* notion of the world beyond, or rather beneath, the grave.

2. The original text 爾自殿騰戸出向之時 seems to be corrupt, and Motowori, unable to make anything of 騰戸, leaves 騰 without any Japanese reading (see the remarks in his Commentary, Vol. VI. pp. 5-6). Mr. Aston, in the version of this passage given in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," follows Motowori in not translating 騰, but does not allude to the difficulty.

I.e. "of the food of Hades." It would be more obvious (following the text) to translate "I have eaten in the doors [*i.e.* in the house] of Hades;" but the character 戸 in this place stands almost certainly for 竈, "a place for cooking," "a furnace."

4. The word *kashikoshi* (恐), here translated "reverence," exactly corresponds to the modern polite idiom *osore-iri-mashita*, for which there is no precise equivalent in English, but which conveys some such sentiment as "I am overpowered by the honour you do me," "I am sorry you should have taken the trouble.,'

5. *Q.d.* "with thee to the land of the living."

6. The original here has the character 且 which signifies "moreover" as in this translation, and Motowori's proposed emendation to 日 has for it the authority of no manuscript or earlier printed edition. In his "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" he actually substitutes this very *new* reading, accompanying it in *kana* with the Japanese words *ashita ni*, "in the morning." But what is to become of the text if we are at liberty to alter it to suit our convenience,—for there is more than one other passage where 日 is similarly used?

7. *Yomo-tsu-kami.* Both Motowori and Hirata take the word "Deities" in the Plural, and the translator therefore renders it in that number, though the Singular would be at least equally suitable to the text as it stands. Of the Deities of Hades little or nothing is known. Conf. Note 23 to this Section.

8. Literally "the male pillar," *i.e.* the large tooth of which there is one at each end of the comb.

9. The use of the expression "lit *one* light," where it would have been more natural to say simply "lit [a] light," is explained by a gloss in the "Chronicles," which informs us that "at the present day" the lighting of a single light is considered unlucky, as is also the throwing away of a comb at night-time. It is allowed that the gloss is a late addition, and its statement might perhaps be considered a mere invention made to account for the peculiar expression in the text. Motowori tells us however that "it is said by the natives" that these actions are still (latter part of 18th century) considered unlucky in the province of Ihami, and the same superstition also survives, as the translator is assured, in Yedo itself. It is to be understood that it was the large tooth broken off from the comb which the god lighted.

10. Or "arm."

11. Or "leg."

12. The Japanese names of the eight Thunder-Deities are: *Oho-ikadzuchi, Ho-no-ikadzuchi, Kuro-ikadzuchi, Saka-ikadzuchi, Waki-Ikadzuchi, Tsuchi-ikadzuchi, Naru-ikadzuchi, and Fushi-ikadzuchi.* Moribe-in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, has some observation on the appropriateness of each of these names which the student will do well to consult if the work should be published.

13. *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me.*

14. We might perhaps with equal propriety render by "wreath" the word here translated head-dress,—leaves and flowers having been the earliest ornaments for the hair. In later time, however, it has been used

to designate any sort of head-dress, and that is also the dictionary meaning of the Chinese character with which it is written. The Japanese words for "head-dress" and "creeper" are homonymous, and indeed the former is probably but a specialised acceptation of the latter.

15. *I.e.*, brandishing it behind him.

16. Or Flat Hill of Hades, *Yomo-tsu-hira-saka*, said by Motowori to form the frontier-line between Hades and the World of the Living. See also Note 27 to this Section.

17. The three characters 青人草 here rendered "people" are evidently (Motowori notwithstanding) meant to be equivalent to the common Chinese expression 蒼生, which has that signification. The word translated "living" means literally "present," "visible."

18. *Ashi-hara-no-naka-tsu-kuni*, a common periphrastic designation of Japan. It is better to translate the name thus than to render it by "the Land in the Middle of the Reed-Plains," a forced interpretation which Motowori and Hirata would only seem to adopt in order to veil the fact that one of the most ancient and revered names of their native land was imitated from that of China,—everything Chinese being an abomination in the sight of these ardent Shintoists. Yamazaki Suiga, as quoted by. Tanigaha Shisei, is more sensible when he remarks that each country naturally considers itself central and foreign countries barbarous, and that Japan is not peculiar in being looked on by its inhabitants as the centre of the universe. This is also the view taken by the other earlier scholars.

19. *Oho-kamu-dzumi-no-mikoto.* The difference between Singular and Plural is not often present to the Japanese mind, and though there were three peaches, we might just as well render their name by the words "His Augustness, etc.," considering the three as forming together but one divinity. The interpretation of the name here adopted is the simple and natural one which Motowori borrowed from Tanigaha Shisei.

20. *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

21. That some kind of leave-taking and separation is intended seems certain; but the precise import of the characters 度事戸 in the text is not to be ascertained. Motowori's "Commentary, Vol. VI, pp. 29-30 and Vol. X, pp. 52-55, should be consulted for an elaborate discussion of the various interpretations which they may be made to bear. Moribe, in his Critique on this Commentary, argues that "divorced each other" is the proper signification of the words, and supports his opinion by the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

22. *I.e.*, "I will cause fifteen hundred women to bear children." For the custom of erecting a separate hut for a woman about to be delivered see Introduction, p. xxviii.)

23. *Yomo-tsu-oho-kami.* On this rather embarrassing statement Motowori is silent, and Hirata simply says: "It must be supposed that the 'Deities of Hades' previously mentioned had been its 'Great Deities' up to this time, a position which was henceforward assumed by Her Augustness Izana-mi (the Female-Who-Invites"). Conf. Note 7 to this Section.

24. *Chi-shiki-no-oho-kami.* [This is Motowori's reading. We might also read *Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami*]. Motowori conclusively proves that "reaching" is the signification of the word *shiki* which is here so translated. That it was already obscure at the time of the compilation of these "Records" is however shown by the fact that it is written syllabically in the first instance, and with a "borrowed character" (*i.e.*, a homonymous word) in the second,

25. Because the goddess was turned back by it on the road where she was pursuing her brother-husband. The original is *Chi-gaheshi* [or *Michi-gaheshi*]-*no-oho-kami.*

26. *Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-oho-kami.*

27. *Ifuya-zaka.* Moribe in his "*Idzu-no-chi-waki*" conjectures that Ifuya may be derived from *Yufu-yami*, "evening darkness," an etymology which has at least the merit of suiting the legend.

[SECT. X.—THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON.]

Therefore the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites said: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land,—I have![1] So I will perform the purification of my august person." So he went out to a plain [covered with] *ahagi*[2] at a small river-mouth near Tachibana[3] in Himuka[4] in [the island of] Tsukushi, and purified and cleansed himself. So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-Place.[5] The name of
40 the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space.

The name of the Deity that was born from the august skirt which he next threw down was the Deity Loosen-Put.[7] The name of the Deity that was born from the august upper garment which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-Trouble.[8] The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork-Deity.[9] The name of the Deity that was born from the august hat which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-the-Open-Mouth.[10] The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august left hand[11] which he next threw down were the Deities Offing-Distant,[12] next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august right hand 41 which he next threw down were: the Deity Shore-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore.

The twelve Deities mentioned in the foregoing[13] list from the Deity Come-Not-Place down to the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore are Deities that were born from his taking off the things that were on his person.

Thereupon saying: "The water in the upper reach is [too] rapid; the water in the lower reach is [too] sluggish," he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and, as he washed, there was first born the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, and next the Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils.[14] These two Deities are the Deities that were born from the filth [he contracted] when he went to that polluted, hideous land.[15] The names of the Deities that were next born to rectify those evils were:

the Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous Deity, next the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity,[16] next the Female-Deity-Idzu.[17] The names of the Deities that were next born, as he bathed at the bottom of the water, were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Bottom,[18] and next His
42 Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed in the middle [of the water] were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed at the top of the water were the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Surface, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface. These three Ocean-Possessing Deities are the Deities held in reverence as their ancestral Deities by the Chiefs of Adzumi.[19] So the Chiefs of Adzumi are the descendants of His Augustness *Utsushi-hi-gana-saku*,[20] a child of these Ocean-Possessing Deities.[21] These three Deities His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, and His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface are the three Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi.[22] The name of the Deity that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye was the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity.[23] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his right august
43 eye was His Augustness Moon-Night Possessor.[24] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his august nose was His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness.[25]

The fourteen Deities in the foregoing list from the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils down to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness are Deities born from the bathing of his august person.

1. The words "I have" thus repeated are an-attempt to render the concluding words *ari keri* of the sentence in the original, by which, though they have no particular sense, the author evidently set great store, as he writes them syllabically. They may be considered to emphasize what goes before and, says Motowori, "convey the idea of lamentation." The idiom occurs some half-dozen times in the course of the present work.

2. This botanical name is identified by Arawi Hakuseki and Hirata with the modern *hagi*, or "bushclover" (*lespedeza* of various species). The received opinion used to be that the *awoki* (*Aucuba Japonica*) was here intended.

3. Tachibana is understood to be the general designation of trees of the orange tribe. (See however Sect. LXXIV, Note 7). Here it is used as a proper name.

4. This name, which signifies "sun-confronting," was not unnaturally bestowed on a province in the eastern part of the westernmost of the larger Japanese islands, as it might well be conceived as lying "opposite the sun." It has, however, been supposd to have originally denoted the whole of the island in question. In any case the name is not inappropriate, as the island has a long eastern sea-board.

5. In our text *Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do*. But *funa* should almost certainly be *ku-na*, and the name (which has here been translated accordingly) is then illustrated by the more extended version of this myth which is given in the "Chronicles," where we read that the god (probably addressing his sister) threw down his staff with the words: "Come no further." "Stand" must be understood in a Transitive sense: the god *stood* his staff up by thrusting it into the sand.

6. This is Moribe's explanation ("*Idzu-no-Chi-waki*." Vol. IV, p. 44) of the meaning of the original name *Michi-no-naga-chiha-no-kami*, the syllable *ha* of which is considered by him to be an alternative form of *ma* (間, "space"). It is however a great crux, and Motowori confesses his inability to explain it satisfactorily. Other views as to the import of the syllable in question will be found in the "*Jin-dai no maki Mo-shiho-gusa*," Vol. II. p, 29.

7. This seems to be the meaning of the original name, if we retain the reading *Toki-okashi-no-kami*. See however Motowori's remarks *in loco*.

8. *Wadsurahi-no-ushi-no-kami*.

9. *Chi-mata-no-kami*.

10. *Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami.* The English rendering of this obscure name proceeds on the assumption that Motowori is correct when he proposes to consider *kuhi* as equivalent in this place to *kuchi*, "mouth." The gaping trousers no longer filled by the deity's legs would perhaps suggest the idea of an open mouth, though it is true that this is not the deity said to have been actually born from that portion of the attire.

11. Or "arm."

12. The names of this deity and the five who follow are in the original *Oki-zakaru-no-kami*, *Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami*, *Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami*, *He-zakaru-no-kami*, *He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami* and *He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami.* The word "wash," by which for want of a better one the Substantive *nagisa* has been rendered, must be understood to signify the part nearest to the strand o the sea or of a river,—the boundary of the waves. The third and sixth of this set of names, in which the syllables *kahi-bera* (here represented by "Intermediate Direction") offer a good deal of difficulty, have been translated in accordance with Motowori's explanation of their probable meaning.

13. Lit. "right." In Chinese and Japanese compositions the lines follow each other from right to left instead of from top to bottom as with us. "Right" therefore signifies "foregoing," and "left," "following."

14. The names of these two deities in the original are *Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-hami* and *Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami.*

15. Viv. to Hades.

16. The names of these two deities in the original are *Kamu-naho-bi-no kami* and *Oho-na-ho-bi-no-kami.*

17. *Idzu-no-me-no-kami.* The word *Idzu* is incomprehensible, unless indeed, following Motowori, we identify this goddess with the god and goddess *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko* and *Haya-aki-dsu-hime* mentioned in Sect. VI, Note 10, and consider *idzu* as standing by apheresis for *aki-dsu*,

18. The original names of this deity and the five who follow are *Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mi-koto*, *Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-mikoto*, *Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, and *Uha-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto.* There is the usual doubt as to the signification to be assigned to the syllable *tsu* in the second, fourth and last of these names. If it really means, not "elder" but "possessor," we should be obliged to translate by "the Bottom-*Possesssing*-Male," etc.

19. *Adumi-no-murazhi.* This name is said by Motowori to be taken from that of a place in the province of Shinano. But Moribe shows that

at any rate the etymology of the word may be traced to *ama-tsu-mochi*, "possessors of fishermen."

20. It is impossible to translate this name which, according to Motowori, is derived from those of two districts in Shinano to which the word *utsushi* (for *utsutsu*, "present" or "living") is prefixed.

21. Attention must again be drawn to the vagueness of the Japanese perception of the distinction between Singular and Plural. As three deities are particularly and repeatedly mentioned in the foregoing text, we are forced to translate this passage in the Plural; and yet how could one child have three fathers?

22. *Sumi-no-ye*, also called *Sumi-yoshi*, *i.e.*, by a play upon words, "pleasant to dwell in." The real etymology of *sumi* is not certain.—Instead of "the three Great Deities," we might translate by "the Great Deities of the Three Shrines."

23. *Ama-terasu-oño-mi-kami* (天照大御神). The reading *terasu*, which is established by the authority of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by almost universal usage, must not mislead the student into imagining that the Verb, because it is Causative in form, has a Causative meaning which would require some such English translation as "Heaven-Illuminating." The Causative form is simply Honorific, and the two words *ama terasu* signify, as Motowori explains, "shining in heaven."

24. *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami*. There is no doubt as to a moon-god being intended, but the precise import of the name is disputed. The translator has followed Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori, and which is supported by the fact that, from classical times down to the present day, *tsuku-yo* or *tsuki-yo* has been a word in common use to denote a fine moonlight night. If we were to take *yomi* as one word, we should have to render it either by "Moon-Hades" or by "Moon-Darkness," which seem less appropriate designations, though still of plain enough intent. The characters 月讀, 月弓, and 月夜見, with which the name is variously written, seem all phonetic unless we might take the second set 月弓 to mean the crescent (lit. "moon-bow).

25. *Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. *Susa*, which is sometimes read *Sosa*, is rendered by the word "impetuous" in accordance with Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori. The first member of this compound name is frequently omitted.

[SECT. XI.—INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN.]

At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying: "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten three illustrious children," [with which words,] at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string[1] forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was the August-Store-house-Shelf-Deity.[2] Next he said of His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the "Night."[3] Thus he charged him. Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Plain."[4]

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1. *I.e.*, "the string of jewels." For these so-called "jewels" see Introduction, p. xxxi.

2. *Mi-kura-tana-no-kami.* Motowori comments on this name by saying that the necklace was doubtless so precious, that it was carefully kept by the goddess on a shelf in her store-house.

3. *Yoru-no-wosu-kuni.*

4. *Una-bara.*

[SECT. XII.—THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule

[of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard[1] reached to the pit of his stomach.[2] The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains, and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas.[3] For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon[4] as they all swarmed,[5] and in all things[6] every portent of woe arose. So the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail and weep?" He replied, saying: "I[7] wail because I wish to depart to my 45
deceased mother's[8] land, to the Nether Distant Land."[9] Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shall not dwell in this land,"[10] and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. So the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites dwells at Taga[11] in Afumi.[12]

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1. See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

2. Lit, "in front of his heart."

3. *Sic* in the original, to the perplexity of commentators.

4. "Flies in the fifth moon" is the received interpretation of the original term *sa-bahe. Conf. sa-tsuki*, the old native name for the fifth moon.

5. The text has here the character 滿, "to be full," for which Motowori somewhat arbitrarily reads 涌, "to bubble up," taking this word in the sense of swarming. The translator has endeavoured to preserve the vagueness of the original Japanese, which leaves it doubtful at first sight whether the flies or the deities should be regarded as the logical subject of the Verb. There is an almost identical passage near the beginning of Sect. XVI.

6. Lit. "a myriad things," a Chinese phrase for totality.

7. The Chinese character for the First-Personal Pronoun used here

and below by this deity is the humble one 僕 signifying literally "servant." The commentators read it simply "I."

8. The Japanese authorities simply read "mother." But the character 妣, which is used in this place, specially designates a mother who is deceased.

9. *I.e.*, Hades. The translation follows Motowori's explanation of the original term *Ne-no-kata-su-kuni*, which is obscure.

10. *I.e.*, say the commentators, "in this realm of ocean which I granted to thee as thy domain." Probably, however, this is reading into the text more than it was meant to contain.

11. Derivation unknown.

12. From *aha-umi*, "fresh sea," *i.e.*, "lake." The province of Afumi was doubtless so called from Lake Biha which occupies a great portion of its surface. It is also known as *Chiku-tsu-Afumi*, *i.e.*, "the Nearer Afumi," in contradistinction to *Toho-tsu-fumi* (in modern pronunciations *Tōtōmi*), *i.e.*, "Distant Afumi," a province further to the East. The modern pronunciation of *Afumi* is *Omi*.

[SECT. XIII.—THE AUGUST OATH]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave[1] of the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: "The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother[2] is surely no good intent.[3] It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to
46 her left and her right august arm,[4] she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet

[long],—of five hundred jewels,[6] and slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding [thereto][5] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad,[7] and brandished and stuck her bow upright so that the top[8] shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs,[9] kicking away [the earth] like rotten snow,[10] and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August-Deity [our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause 47
of my wailing and weeping, I said 'I wail because I wish to go to my deceased mother's land,'—whereupon the Great-August-Deity said: "Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is therefore solely with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?" Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let each of us swear," and produce children." So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven,[12] the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness to hand her the ten-grasp sabre which was girded on him and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound[13] having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of

Heaven,[14] and having crunchingly crunched them, the
48 Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess,[15] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess,[16] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent.[17] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conquer-I-Conqueror-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.[18] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the
49 jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi.[19] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august head-dress, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven.[20] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm,[21] and having crunchingly crunched them.

he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life.[22] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm,[23] and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu.[24] (Five Deities in all).

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1. The English locution "to take leave" exactly represents the Chinese character here used which, from having the sense of "asking permission," has come to mean "bidding adieu."

2. He was her younger brother. But see what is said on the subject of names expressive of relationship on p. xxxvii of Introduction. The phonetic characters 那勢 are here used to represent 兄, "elder brother."

3. Literally "heart," here and elsewhere.

4. Or "hand."

5. The original is here obscure, but the translator has, as usual, followed the Chinese characters as far as possible, and has been chiefly guided by Moribe's interpretation. According to this, the "eight feet" (which Moribe takes to mean simply "several feet") must be supposed to refer to the length of the necklace which, he says, probably resembled a Buddhist rosary, only that the beads were somewhat larger. For a discussion of the various interpretations to which this phrase descriptive of the Sun-Goddess's ornaments may be subjected, see Note 4 to Mr. Satow's third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 198 of these "Transactions," and Moribe's "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II. pp. 4-5, *s.v. Ya-saka-ni no iho-tsu no mi sumaru no tama.* Mr. Satow, adopting some of the bolder etymologies of the Japanese commentators, translates thus: "the ever-bright curved (or glittering) jewels, the many assembled jewels," and concludes that "a long string of, perhaps, claw-shaped stone beads" was what the author meant to describe.

6. Hirata supposes this additional quiver to have been slung in front.

7. Motowori's long note on the expression *taka-tomo*, to be found in Vol. VII, pp. 39-40 of his "Commentary" seems to prove that "high-sounding elbow-pad" (竹 being written phonetically for 高) is the most likely meaning,—these pads, of which one was worn on the left elbow, having been made of skin. Arawi Hakuseki however takes 竹 in its

literal sense of "bamboo," and Moribe suggests the (健) which occurs so often in proper names with the signification of "bold," "brave," or "stout."

8. The reading *yu-hara*, here rendered "top of the bow]" is doubtful, and *yu-hadsu*, "bow-notch," has been proposed as an emendation.

9. *I.e.*, "both legs penetrated into the ground up to the thigh," a proof of the vigour with which she used her limbs in stamping.

10. Lit. "bubble-snow."

11. *I.e.*, "pledge our faith," "bind ourselves," in order to show forth the sincerity of our intentions.—Hirata has a long note on the word *ukehi*, here rendered "swear" (elsewhere as a Substantive, "oath,") which the student will do well to consult. It is contained in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. VII, pp. 61-63.

12. *Ame-no-yasu-kaha* (according to Motowori's reading *Ame-no-yasu-no-kaha*), our Milky Way. The "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" perhaps preserve the true etymology of the word by writing it *Ama-no-ya-se-kaha*, *i.e.*, "the Heavenly River of eight currents (or reaches)." This would mean simply "a broad river." The text literally says: "having placed the Tranquil River of Heaven in the middle," etc.; but the sense of the clause is that given in the translation.

13. These words seem, as Motowori says, to have been erroneously brought in here from the next sentence, where they come in appropriately.

14. *Ame-no-ma-na-wi*. The interpretation adopted is that which has the authority of Motowori and Hirata. Perhaps only "Heavenly Well" is intended. The above authorities warn us that the word *wi*, "well," was not in ancient days restricted to its modern sense, but was used to designate any place at which water could be drawn, and Motowori thinks that Heaven contained several such. That mentioned in the text seems to have been a pool in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven.

15. This is the interpretation of the original name *Ta-kiri-hime-no-mikoto* which is proposed by Moribe. It is less far-fetched, and agrees better with the name of the sister deity Princess-of-the-Torrent, than do the other explanations that have been attempted. The alternative name is *Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto*.

16. *Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto*, *ichiki* being an unusual form of *itsuki*. The island, which is in the Inland Sea, is still celebrated, but bears in common parlance the name of *Miya-shima*, i.e., "Temple Island."

The alternative name is *Sa-yori-hime-no-mikoto*, in which *sa* is an Ornamental Prefix not calling for translation.

17. *Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.*

18. *Masa - ka-a - katsu - kachi - hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto.* The word *mimi* (耳 "ears") forms part of a large number of Ancient Japanese proper names. Motowori, who of conrse passes over in silence the fact that large ears are considered lucky, not only in Japan, *but also in China and Korea*, suggests the etymology *hi hi* or *bi bi* (靈々), *i.e.*, the word "wondrous" or "miraculous" repeated. But there are examples of such names in which the interpretation of *mimi* as "ears" is unavoidable. Thus Prince Umayado (commonly called *Shō-to-ku Tai-shi*) had also the name of *Yatsu-mimi no Tai-shi* 八耳太子 bestowed upon him on account of his extraordinary intelligence. Is it not therefore simpler in all cases to allow to the word this its natural meaning? The proper names in *mi* do however undoubtedly offer some difficulty, and Motowori scarcely seems content with his own derivation of the troublesome syllable. *Oshi*, as in other cases, is taken to represent *ohoshi*, "great"; and after much hesitation the translator has followed Motowori in regarding *ho* likewise as an abbreviated form of that word.

19. *Ame-no* signifies "of Heaven" or "heavenly." The syllables *hoki* are incomprehensible.

20. *Amatsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto.*

21. Or "hand."

22. *Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto.*

23. This god does not seem to be known by any other name: but is conjectured by Hirata to be identical with *Ame-no-hohi*, the second of these divine brothers. *Kumanu*, or less archaically *Kumano*, is said to be, not the well-known Kumano in the province of Kishiu, but a place in Idzumo near Suga (see Sect. XIX, Notes 1 and 2). The name is written with the characters, 熊野, "bear moor." The native commentators however interpret it as a corruption of *Komori-nu*, 隱野, "the moor of retirement," on account of a tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" of Izanami (the Female-Who-Invites) having been interred at the Kishiu Kumano.

[SECT.—XIV. THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN.]

Hereupon the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity said to His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "As for the seed[1] of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the seed of the three female Deities
50 born first, their birth was from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division. So Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity born first, dwells in the Inner temple of Munakata.[2] The next, Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, dwells in the middle temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent, dwells in the outer temple[3] of Munakata. These three Deities are the three Great Deities[4] held in reverence by the Dukes of Munakata.[5] So His Augustness Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, child of His Augustness Ame-no-hohi, one of the five children born afterwards ([6]this is the ancestor of the Rulers
51 of the Land of Idzumo,[7] of the Rulers of the Land of Musashi,[8] of the Rulers of the Upper Land of Unakami,[9] of the Rulers of the Lower Land of Unakami,[10] of the Rulers of the Land of Izhimu,[11] of the Departmental Suzerains of the Island of Tsu[12] and of the Rulers of the Land of Toho-tsu-Afumi[13]). The next, His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven (is the Ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Ofushi-kafuchi,[14] of the Chiefs of Nukatabe-no-yuwe,[15] of the Rulers of the Land of Ki,[16]
52 of the Suzerains of Tanaka[17] in Yamato, of the Rulers of the Land of Yamashiro,[18] of the Rulers of the Land of Umaguta,[19] of the Rulers of the Land of Kine[20] in Michi-no-Shiri,[21] of the Rulers of the Land of Suhau,[22] of the Rulers of Amuchi,[23] in Yamato, of the Departmental Suzerains of Takechi,[24] of the Territorial Lords of Kamafu,[25] and of the Rulers of Sakikusabe[26]).

1. *I.e.*, the origin.

2. A place in the province of Chikuzen. The name signifies either "breast-shape" or "body-shape."

3. Or "sea-shore temple."

4. Or "the Great Deities of the three shrines."

5. *Munakata-no-kimi.* Remember that all the names in this and similar lists are hereditary "gentile names" (see Introduction, p. xvi), and that "Duke" and the other titles used in this translation to designate them must only be regarded as approximations towards giving the force of the Japanese originals, which are themselves by no means always clear, either etymologically or historically. Indeed Motowori in a chapter entitled "*Kuni no Miyatsuko*" (國造) in his "*Tama-Katsuma*," Vol. VI, p. 25, remarks that the distinctions obtaining between the various titles of *Kimi*, *Wake*, *Murazhi*, etc., are no longer to be ascertained, if indeed they were ever sharply drawn, and that *Kuni no Miyatsuko* (here rendered "Rulers of the Land") seems to have been a general term including all the rest, and roughly corresponding to the modern title of *Daimyo*.—It must be well understood that all these names, though properly and originally denoting an office, were inherited as titles, and ended (after the custom of conferring new ones had died out) by being little more than an extra surname appended to the surname proper (*uji*). This kind of quasi-official quasi-titular surname is what is called by the Japanese a *kabane*, which the translator, for want of a better equivalent, renders, by "gentile name." Motowori's learned note in Vol. XXXIX, pp. 14-15 of his Commentary, should be consulted for a full exposition of this somewhat intricate subject, on which there has been much misapprehension, chiefly owing to the want of a fitting Chinsse character to denote the word *kabane*.

6. Here and throughout the work passages of this nature containing genealogies are in all the editions printed small, and might therefore be supposed to be either intended as foot-notes, or to be later glosses. Motowori however rightly rejects such an inference. To an English reader the word "this" may seem, by disturbing the grammar of the sentence, to support that inference; but in Japanese (construction little importance need be attached to the presence of this double Nominative.—The name in the original of the ancestral deity whose children are here enumerated is *Taka-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto*, and the interpretation thereof in the sense given in the translation is Motowori's *Hira-tori* being supposed by him to stand for *Hina-teri*.

7. *Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.*

8. *Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* In classical and modern nsage *Musashi* does not take the *nigori.*

9. *Kami-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* Unakami was a part of what forms the modern province of Kadzusa. The name probably signifies "on the sea."

10. *Shimo-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.*

11. *Izhimu-no-kuni-miyatsuko.* Izhimu (given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" as *Izhimi*) was a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is unknown.

12. *Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe.*

13. *Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* In modern times *Toho-tsu-afumi* has been contracted te *Tohotafumi* and is pronounced *Tōtōmi.* The name signifies "distant fresh sea" (i.e. "distant lake") the province which bears it being thus designated in reference to a large lagoon which it contains, and in contradistinction to *Chika-tsu-afumi,* "near fresh sea." the name of the province in which lies Lake Biha. In modern times the latter has come to be known simply as Afumi (pronounced Omi), and the original connection of ideas between its name and that of Tōtōmi is lost sight of.

14. *Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ohoshi-kafuchi* (in modern times pronounced *Ochikochi*) signifies "within the great rivers."

15. *Nukatabe-no-yuwe-no-murazhi.* The meaning of this name is not certain, but *yuwe* seems to be the word for "bathing woman" mentioned in Sect. LXXI (Note 11). See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIV, p. 56 of his "Commentary" and the story of the origin of the name given in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, pp. 8-9) edit. of 1834).

16. *Kino-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ki* signifies "tree," and the province doubtless received this name from its forests. Motowori supposes the character 茨 to have been lost in this place, and reads *Ubaraki* (the modern *Ibaraki*), a portion of the province of Hitachi. See Vol. VII, pp. 75-76 of his "Commentary."

17. *Tanaka-no-atahe.* The word *tana-ka* signifies "in the middle of rice-fields."

18. *Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Yama-shiro* signifies "behind the mountains," though it is now, by a play upon words, written with characters signifying "mountain-castle."

19. *Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko,* Umaguta is a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is not known.

20. *Kiuhe-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* The etymology of the name and the position of the place are equally obscure.

21. The modern province of Echigo, or perhaps any not well defined district in the north of Main Island. (See Section LX, Note 20.)

22. *Suhau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.* The etymology of Suhau is not known; but the name sounds Chinese.

23. *Amuchi-no-miyatsubo.* The derivation of Amuchi is unknown.

24. *Takechi-no-agata-nushi.* Takechi means "high market" or "high town."

25. *Kamafu-no-inaki.* Kamafu was a portion of Afumi. Motowori's suggestion that the name may be derived from *kama* (*gama*), "a bull-frog," does not seem a happy one.

26. *Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko. Sakikusa-be* means literally "lily clan," *saki-kusa*, the old name for the lily (or one species of lily) being literally "the luck-plant." The story of the origin of this cognomen is to be found in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, p. 9.

[SECT XV.—THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS]

Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity: "Owing to the sincerity of my intentions I have, in begetting children, gotten delicate females. Judging from this,[1] I have undoubtedly gained the victory." With these words, and impetuous with victory, he broke down the divisions of the ricefields[2] laid out by the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, filled up the ditches, and moreover strewed 53
excrements[3] in the palace where she partook of the great food.[4] So, though he did thus, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity upbraided him not,[5] but said: "What looks like excrements must be something that His Augustness mine elder brother has vomited through drunkenness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the rice-

fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he grudges the land [they occupy[6]] that His Augustness mine elder brother acts thus." But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful[7] weaving-hall[8] seeing to the weaving of the august garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top[9] of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse
54 which he had flayed with a backward flaying,[10] at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that impegerunt privatas partes adversis radiis et obierunt.[11]

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1. Literally "if one speak from this."

2. The character used is 田, which in Chinese does not necessarily signify a *rice*-field. But in Japanese it seems to have been always limited to this narrower meaning, to which likewise the context here clearly points.

3. In the original written 屎麻理, which is partly ideographic and partly phonetic for *kuso-mari*. Motowori interprets it to signify "excrements and urine"; but the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" which he himself quotes goes to prove that *mari* had not the latter meaning, as does also another well-known passage in the "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter."

4. 大嘗 read *oh-nihe*. The word *nihe* now denotes "a sacrifice," and *oh-nihe no matsuri* is the religious festival of the tasting of the first new rice of the season..

5. We might, following classical usage, translate the Verb *togamezu*, which is written phonetically, by the words "took no heed" or "made no observation"; but in this passage it certainly seems to have the stronger and more specialized signification of "upbraiding," "scolding," which attaches to it in the colloquial dialect.

6. *I.e.*, he thinks that none of the land should be wasted in ditches and embankments, but should all be devoted to the production of food.

7. The character used is 忌, "to shun," which in Japanese has approximately the meaning of "sacred." Thus a certain family of priests

was called by the name of *Imibe*, lit. "the shunning clan," on account of the uncleanness from which they were bound to abstain.

8. Written with characters signifying literally "garment-house," but the meaning, as understood by the native commentators is that given in the text.

9. 項. This character is taken by the native commentators in the sense of 棟, *mune*, "ridge-pole."

10. *i.e.*, it is supposed, beginning at the tail. That this was considered criminal may be seen by comparing Sect. XCVII, Note 3.

11. In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" it is the goddess who injures herself with her shuttle, but without dying of the effects of the accident.

[SECT. XVI.—THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK-DWELLING.]

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling,[0] made it fast,[2] and retired. Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal[3] night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad[4] Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe all arose. Therefore did the eight hundred myriad[5] Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed[6] of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer,[7] child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night[8] and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron[9] from 55
the Heavenly Metal-Mountains,[10] calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra,[11] charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-

me[12] to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor[13] to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,[14]—and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-
56 Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord[15] and His Augustness Great-Jewel,[16] and causing them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true[17] stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu,[18] and take cherrybark[19] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination,[20] and pulling up by pulling its roots a true *cleyera japonica*[21] with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—and taking and tying to the middle branches[22] the mirror eight feet
57 [long],[23] and taking and hanging upon its lower branches the white pacificatory offerings[24] and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-Jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august offerings,[25] and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies,[26] and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity[27] standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female[28] hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss of the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash,[29] and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress,[30] and binding the
58 leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, and laying a soundingboard[31] before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity,[32] and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privates

partes.[33] Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: "Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of Heaven would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-Alarming-Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke saying: "We rejoice and are "glad because there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-Jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-Jewel drew the bottom-tied rope[34] 59
along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light.[35]

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1. Motowori says that the word "rock" need not here be taken literally. But it is always (and the translator thinks rightly) so understood, and the compound considered to mean a cave in the rocks, which is also the expression found in the "Chronicles" (岩窟).

2. The word *sasu*, which is here used, implies that the goddess

made the door fast either by sticking something against it or by bolting it,—perhaps with one of the metal hooks of which mentioned is made in Sect. LXV (Note 7).

3. *Toko-yo*, here properly written 常夜, and a few lines lower down semi-phonetically 常世.

4. Motowori supposes "myriad" to be a copyist's error for "evil." This clause is a repetition of one in Sect. XII.

5. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "eighty myriads."

6. The Japanese word *kohara*, translated "bed," is thus defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary, 2nd Edit. *s.v. Kawara*: "That part of the stony bed of a river which is dry except in high water."

7. *Omohi-kane-no-kami*, "He *included* in his single mind the thoughts and "contrivances of many," says Motowori.

8. *I.e.*, as is generally believed, the barndoor fowl.

9. The text has the character 鐵, "iron," which Hirata reads *ma-gane*, lit. "true metal," the common Japanese term being *kuro-gane*, lit, "black metal," Motowori prefers to read simply *kane*, "metal" in general. The main text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" omits to mention the metal of which the mirror was made; but "One account" has the character 金, "metal" in general, often in Chinese, but rarely if ever in old Japanese, with the specific sense of "gold." The "Chronicles of Old Matters" alone, which are of very doubtful authenticity, say that the mirror was made of copper. (Copper was not discovered in Japan till the eighth century of the Christian era, a few years before the discovery of gold). The best and most obvious course is to adhere to the character in the text, which is, as above stated, "iron."

10. *I.e.*, the mines. The original expression is *Ame no kana-yama.*

11. *Ama-tsu* signifies "of Heaven," but the rest of this name is not to be explained. Motowori adopts from the "Chronicles" the reading, *Ama-tsu-ma-ura*, where the character used for *ma* signifies "true," and that for *ura* signifies "sea-shore." (It should be remarked that the forging of a spear by this personage is referred by the author of the "Chronicles," not to the "Divine Age" but to the reign of the Emperor Sui-zei.) Motowori also proposes to supplement after the name the words "to make a spear." Hirata identifies this god with *Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto*, His Augustness Heavenly-One-Eye, who is however not mentioned in the "Records." Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret "Coelestis Penis," sed nullius commentatoris auctoritate commendatur.

12. This name is written in the "Chronicles" with characters signifying Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, which however seem to be as

merely phonetic as those in the present text (伊斯許理度賣). Motowori proposes the interpretation of "Again-Forging-Old-Woman" (鑄重老女, *I-shikiri-tome*) which is supported by a tradition preserved in the "Gleanings of the Ancient Story," where it is related that the mirror, not having given satisfaction at first, was forged a second time. There is a long note on the subjects of this name in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. IX, p. 56, where that author propounds the novel opinion that I-shi-ko-ri-do-me was not a goddess at all, but a god.

13. *Tama-noya-no-mikoto.* The "Chronicles" write this name with characters signifying "Jewel-House," but such a reading seems less good.

14. See Sect. XIII, Note 5.

15. *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto*, also reads *Ame-no* etc. and *Ama tsu* etc. The signification of the syllables *ko-ya*, rendered "beckoning ancestor" in accordance with Motowori's view connecting the name with the share taken by the god who bore it in the legend here narrated, is obscure. Mr. Satow thinks that Koya may be the name of a place (see these "Transactions" Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 400).

16. *Futo-tama-no-mikoto.* The name is here rendered in accordance with the import of the Chinese characters with which it is written. Motowori, however, emits a plausible opinion when he proposes to consider *tama* as an abbreviation of *tamuke*, "holding in the hands as an offering," in connection with what we are told below about this deity and *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne* holding the symbolic offerings.

17. The word "true" (*ma*) here and below is not much more than an Honorific.

18. We might also, though less well, translate by "Mount Kagu in Heaven." This would suit the view of Motowori, who is naturally averse to the identification of this Mount Kagu with the well-known mountain of that name in Yamato (see Sect. VII, Note 12). But of course an European scholar cannot allow of such a distinction being drawn.

19. Or perhaps the bark of the common birch is intended. The word in the original is *haha-ka*.

20. See Mr. Satow's already quoted note in Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 425 *et seq*, and more especially pp. 430-432, of these "Transactions."

21. In Japanese *saka-ki*. It is commonly planted in the precincts of Shintō temples.

22. We might also translate in the Singular "to a middle branch," in order to conform to the rigid distinction which our language draws between Singular and Plural.

23. A note to the edition of 1687 proposes to substitute the characters 八咫 for 八尺, and a note in the original tells us to read them not *ya-ta*, but *ya-ata*. Hereupon Motowori founds his derivation of *ya-ta* from *ya-atama*, "eight heads," and supposes the mirror to have been, not eight feet in length, but octangular, while Moribe, who in the case of the jewels accepts the obvious interpretation "eight feet [long]," thinks that the mirror had "an eightfold flowery pattern" (*yaha-na-gata*) round its border. But both these etymologies are unsupported by the other cases in which the word *ya-ta* occurs, and are rendered specially untenable by the fact of the mirror and curved beads being spoken of together further on as the 八尺勾璁鏡 (Sect. XXXIII, Note 20).

24. In rendering the original word *nigi-te* (here written phonetically, but elsewhere with the characters 和幣), the explanation given by Tanigaha Shisei, and indeed suggested by the characters, has been followed. Motowori's view does not materially differ, but he considers "pacificatory" or "softening" to be equivalent to "soft" applied to the offerings themselves, which consisted of soft cloth, the syllable *te* of *nigi-te* being believed to be a contraction of *tahe* which signifies cloth. The white cloth in ancient times was made of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), and the blue of hemp.

25. The original word is written with the ssme character as the *te* of *nigi-te* translated "offerings" above.

26. Or in the Singular "a grand liturgy," or "ritual."

27. *Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami.*

28. *Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto.* The translator has followed the best authorities in rendering the obscure syllable *uzu* by the word "alarming." Another interpretation quoted in Tanigaha Shisei's "Perpetual Gommentary on the Chronicles of Japan" and adopted by Moribe in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," is that *uzu* means head-dress, and that the goddess took her name from the head-dress of spindle-tree leaves which she wore. The character 鈿, with which the syllables in question (here written phonetically) are rendered ideographically in the "Chronicles," signifies "metal head-gear," "flowers of gold or silver."

29. *Tasuki*, "a cord or sash passed over the shoulders, round the back of the neck, and attached to the wrists, to strengthen the hands for the support of weights, whence the name, which means 'hand-helper.' It was thus different both in form and use from the modern *tasuki*, a cord with its two ends joined which is worn behind the neck, under the

arms and round the back, to keep the modern loose sleeves out of the way when household duties are being performed." (E. Satow).

30. *I.e.*, making for herself a head-dress of spindle-tree leaves.

31. The original of these words, *uke fusete*, is written phonetically, and the exact meaning of *uke*, here rendered "sounding-board," is open to doubt. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has the character, 槽, which signifies a "trough," "manger" or "tub," and the commentators seem therefore right in supposing that the meaning intended to be conveyed in both histories is that of some kind of improvised wooden structure used for the purpose of amplifying sound.

32. Neither the text nor Motowori's Commentary (which Hirata adopts word for word) is absolutely explicit, but the imitation and not the reality of divine possession appears to be here intended. In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," on the other hand, we seem to be reading of genuine possession.

33. The subject of the Verb is not clear in many of the clauses of this immensely long sentence, which does not properly hang together. Some clauses read as if the different deities who take a part in the action did so of their own free will; but the intention of the author must have been to let a Causative sense be understood throughout, as he begins by telling us that a plan was *devised* by the deity Thought-Includer, which plan must have influenced all the subsequent details.

34. *Shiri-kume-naha*, *i.e.*, rope made of straw drawn up by the roots, which stick out from the end of the rope. Straw-ropes thus manufactured are still used in certain ceremonies and are called *shime-naha*, a corruption of the Archaic term, Motowori's explanation shows that this is more likely to be the proper signification of the word than "back-limiting-rope" (*shiri-ho-kagiri-me-naha*), which had been previously suggested by Mabuchi with reference to its supposed origin at the time of the event narrated in this legend.

35. Motowori plausibly conjectures the character 得 in the concluding words of this passage to be a copyist's error for 復, and the translator has accordingly rendered it by the English word "again." As it stands, the clause 自得照明, though making sense, does not read like the composition of a Japanese.

[SECT. XVII.—THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel together, and imposed on High-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness a fine of a thousand tables,[1] and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion. Again he begged food of the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food.[2] Then the Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and her fundament, and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. So the things that were born in the body of the Deity who had been killed were
60 [as follows]: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born rice-seeds, in her two ears was born millet,[3] in her nose were born small beans,[4] in her private parts was born barley,[5] in her fundament were born large beans.[6] So His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor[7] caused them to be taken and used as seeds.

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1. *I.e.*, "an immense fine." The student should consult Motowori's elaborate note on this passage in Vol. IX, pp. 1-5 of his Commentary. Tables of gifts are mentioned in Sect. XXXVII, Note 7 and Sect. XL, Note 13.

2. *Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami.* This personage (but without the title of "Deity") has already appeared in Section V, (Note 8) as the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha.

3. *Panicum Italicum.*

4. *Phaseolus Radiatus.*
5. Or less probably "wheat."
6. *Soja Glycine.*
7. *Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, the same deity as the one mentioned at the beginning of these "Records" under the shorter title of *Kami-musu-hi-no-kami.* (See Sect. I, Note 6.)

[SECL. XVIII.—THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT.]

So, having been expelled, [His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness] descended to a place [called] Tori-kami[1] at the head-waters of the River Hi[2] in the Land of Idzumo. At this time some chopsticks[3] came floating down the stream. So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman,—two of them,—who had a young girl between them,[4] and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied, saying: "I[5] am an Earthly Deity,[6] child of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.[7] I am called by the name of Foot-Stroking-Elder,[8] my wife is called by the 61
name of Hand-Stroking Elder, and my daughter is called by the name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess."[9] Again he asked: What is the cause of your crying?" [The old man answered,] saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-forked serpent of Koshi[10] has come every year and devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *akahagachi*,[11] it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover on

its body grows moss, and also chamaecyparis[12] and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly
62 bloody and inflamed." (What is called here *akakagachi* is the modern *hohodzuki*.[13]) Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence,[14] but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother[15] to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroker-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do you distill some eight-fold refined liquor.[16] Also make a fence round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie [together] eight platforms,[17] on each platform put a liquor-vat, and into each vat pour the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding,
63 the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp sabre,[18] that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it

strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity.[19] This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword.[20].

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1. Written with the characters 鳥髮, "bird's hairs," but these must surely be phonetic. In the "Chronicles" the same name is written 鳥上.

2. Or Hii, the chief river in Idzumo. The name is supposed by some to have been derived from tbe name of the god *Hi-hayabi* (see Section VIII, Note 6).

Or in the Singular, "a chopstick."

4. Literally "had placed a young girl between them," a similar construction to that in Section XIII, (Note 11).

5. The humble character 僕 "servant" is used by the old man for the First Personal Pronoun.

6. 國神. Being generally used antithetically to 天神, "Heavenly Deity," it seems better to translate the characters thus than by "Country "Deity" or "Deity of the Land." (See Section I, Note 11).

7. *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, first mentioned in Sect. VI, (Note 17).

8. *Ashi-nadzu-chi*, the wife's being *Te-nadzu-chi*. "One account" in the "Chronicles" gives *Ashi nadsu-te-nadzu* (足摩手摩) as the name of the old father alone, while the mother is called *Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-yatsu-mimi*. (*Inada-no-miya-nushi* signifies "Mistress of the Temple of Inada; the signification of the second compound, which forms the name properly so called is not clear, but should probably be interpreted to mean "Impetuous-Eight-Ears," the word *susa*, "impetuous," containing an allusion to the name of her divine visitor, and "eight ears" being Honorific).

9. *Kushi-[/]nada-hime*, Inada (*i.e. ina-da*, "rice-field") being the name of a place. *Kushi* signifies not only "wondrous" but "comb," and is indeed here written with the character for "comb" 櫛, so that there is a play on the word in connection with the incident of her transformation into a comb which is mentioned immediately below, though most authorities agree in considering 櫛 to be here used phonetically for 奇, which is the reading in the "Chronicles." Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*" suggests the etymology *Kushi-itadaki-hime* (櫛頂姫) *i.e*, "Princess [used as] a comb [for] the head."

10. Derivation quite obscure. Motowori quotes an absurd etymology given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," which identifies the name of *Koshi* with the Past Tense of the Verb *kuru*, "to come"! There is a district (*kohori*) named Koshi in the modern province of Echigo; but Koshi was down to historical times a somewhat vague designation of all the north-western provinees,—Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchiu, and Echigo. A tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" tells us that it was meant to denote the Island of Yezo (or rather, perhaps, the land of the Yezo, *i.e.* the Ainos). The expression in the first Song in Sect. XXIV, and other similar ones in the early literature show that it was not looked upon as a part of Japan proper.

11. See Note 13.

12. A coniferous tree, the *Chamæcyparis obtusa*, in Japanese *hi-no-ki*. The cryptomeria is *Cryptomeria japonica*.

13. The winter-cherry, *Physalis Alkekengi*.

14. For the word "reverence" here and a few lines further on. *conf.* Sect. IX, Note 4.

15. He was her younger brother; but see Introduction, p. xxxvii.

16. In Japanese *sake*, and archaically *ki*, written with the character 酒 and generally translated "rice-beer," but by Dr. Rein "rice-brandy" (*Reis-branntwein*). The modern *sake* resembles the Chinese *huang chiu* (黃酒). If we translated it by "rice-beer," we should of course have to render by "to brew" the Verb *kamu* or *kamosu* (醸) here rendered "to distill." It should be mentioned that Professor Atkinson who, like Dr. Rein, has studied the subject specially, uses the word "brewing;" but apparently no English term exactly represents the process which the liquor undergoes in the course of preparation. A curious question is suggested by the fact that the old Japanese word for "distilling" or "brewing" liquor is homonymous with the "Verb "to chew," But there is not, beyond this isolated verbal resemblance, any documentary evidence in favour of the Japanese ever having practised a method of making liquor which still obtains in some of the South Sea Islands.—"One account" of the Chronicles of Japan makes *Susa-no-wo* say "Take *all the fruits*, and distill liquor."

17. The author doubtless intended, as Motowori suggests, to speak only of eight platforms,—one at each gate,—and not of sixty-four. But what he actually says is as in the translation.

18. See Section VIII, Note 1.

19. The text is not quite clear, but the above gives the interpretation to which the words most naturally lend themselves. Motowori, influenced by the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says explicitly that the sword itself was sent up to the Sun-Goddess, reads the passage thus: "thinking it a strange thing, he sent it up with a message to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity"; and Mr. Satow follows him in thus translating (see Note 4 to Ritual 8, Vol. IX, Pt. II, 198-200 of these "Transactions," where the whole of this legend is translated with one or two slight verbal differences from the version here given). In the opinion of the present writer, Hirata's arguments in favour of the view here taken are conclusive (see his "Sources of the Ancient Histories," Section LXXII, in the second part of Vol. III, pp. 66-67). That the sword afterwards appears at the temple of the Sun-Goddess in Ise (see end of Section LXXXII), by the high-priestess of which it is bestowed on the legendary hero Yamato-take, is not to the point in this connection, as it is not necessary that all the parts of a myth should be perfectly consistent.

20. *Kusa-nagi no tachi.* For the applicability of this name see Sect. LXXXIII.

[SECT. XIX.—THE PALACE OF SUGA.]

So thereupon His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness sought in the land of Idzumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga,[2] and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is pure,"[1]—and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga.[2] When this Great Deity first built[3] the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song.[4] That song said:[5]

> "Eight clouds arise. The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh! that eight-fold fence."[6]

65 Then he called the Deity Foot-Stroking-Elder and said: "Thee do I appoint Headman[7] of my palace;" and moreover bestowed on him the name of Master-of-the-Temple-of-Inada-Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga.[8]

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1. *I.e.*, "I feel refreshed." The Japanese term used is *suga-sugashi*, whence the origin ascribed to the name of the place Suga. But more probably the name gave rise to this detail of the legend.

2. The real derivation of Suga is unknown, all the native commentators accepting the statement in the text, and Motowori supposing that up to the time of the Deity's arrival it had borne the name of Inada. We may perhaps conjecture some connection between *Suga* and *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. IX, p. 49), and it may be mentioned that the "Eight-Eared Deity of Suga" is also mentioned as the "Eight-Eared Deity of Susa."

3. Or "began to build."

4. "Ode" is another rendering of the Japanese term *uta*, which has been used by the present writer and by others. *Uta* being however connected with *utafu*, "to sing," it seems more consistent to translate it by the English word "song."

5. Or perhaps rather "in that song he said."

6. This difficult song has been rather differently rendered by Mr. Aston in the Second Appendix to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language" (2nd Edition), and again by Mr. Satow in the note to his translation of the Ritual already quoted. Mr. Aston (premising that he follows Motowori's interpretation) translates it thus:

"Many clouds arise:
The clouds which come forth (are) a manifold fence:
For the husband and wife to retire within
They have formed a manifold fence:
Oh! that manifold fence!"

Mr. Satow's translation is as follows:

"Many clouds arise.
The manifold fence of the forth-issuing clouds
Makes a manifold fence
For the spouses to be within.
Oh! that manifold fence."

In any case the meaning simply is that the multitudinous clouds rose up like a fence or screen behind which the newly-married deities might retire from public gaze, and Moribe suggests that the repetitions are an after-addition made to bring up to the usual number of thirty-one syllables what were originally but the three lines—

Tachi-idzuru kumo mo
Tsuma-gome ni
Yo-he-gahi tsukuru yo!

I.e.—

"The uprising clouds even, to shut up
the spouses, make an eight-fold fence."

(See his discussion on this song in the "*Idzu no Kotowaki*," Vol. I, pp. 1-3.)—The present writer has already stated in the Introduction (see p. lx,) his reasons for always rendering the native word for "eight" (*ya*) by "eight" instead of by "many" or "numerous," as is done by the two eminent scholars above quoted. With regard to the word *Idzumo* which they, in deference to the opinions of the native commentators, render by "clouds which come forth" or "forth-issuing clouds" (the Chinese characters 出雲 with which the word is written having that signification), the present writer cannot persuade himself that such a corruption as *idzumo* for *ide-kumo* either retained at the time of the composition of the song, or should now be credited with, the signification which this its supposed etymology assigns to it. The etymology moreover is far from being established, and in this, as in many other cases, the Chinese characters used to write the name of the province of Idzumo may well have rested on nothing more than a vague similarity of sound, and probably no European scholar would endorse the opinion of the native commentators, to whom the "Records" are a sacred book, that the province of Idzumo received its name from this very poem. On the other hand, we need have no difficulty in conceding that the Pillow-Word *ya-kumo-tatsu*, by which Idzumo is preceded in poetical compositions, did probably here originate.—This song is in the "Chronicles" only quoted in a note, for which reason some authorities dispute its antiquity. In the note in question, we find the reading *-gome* (the "Records" have *-gomi*), *i.e.*, the Transitive form instead of the Intransitive. If this were adopted, the translation would have to run thus:...."The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence to shut up the spouse[s?] in;" and probably "spouse" should be understood in the Feminine to mean "wife."

7. *Chito*, written with the Chinese character 首, while the Japanese word is probably derived from *oho-bito*, "great man." When used, as it often is, as a "gentle name," the translator renders it by "Grandee."

8. *Inada-no-miya-nushi Suga-no ya-tsu-mimi-no-kami.* It should be stated that Motowori, as usual, objects to the view that *mimi* signifies "ears" (its proper meaning) in this name. But he has no better explanation to offer, and the Chinese characters give us *ya-tsu mimi*, "eight ears." The author of the "*Tokiha-gusa*" ingeniously proposes to consider *ya-tsu mimi* as a corruption of *yatsuko mi mi* (奴御身) "[servant august body," but this cannot be seriously entertained (Conf. Sect. XIII, Note 18).

[SECT. XX.—THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND.]

Quare, quum incepit in thalamo [opus procreationis] cum Mirâ-Herâ-Inadâ, procreavit Deum nomine Eight-Island Ruler.[1] And again, having wedded the Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty,[2] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, he begot children: the Great-Harvest Deity[3] and the August-Spirit-of-Food.[4] The elder brother the Deity Eight-Island-Ruler wedded Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees,[5] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Fuha-no-moji-Ku-nu-su-nu.[6] This Deity wedded Princess Hikaha,[7] daughter of the Deity Okami,[8] and begot a child: Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-Fuka-buchi.[9] This Deity
67 wedded the Deity Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne,[10] and begot a child: the Deity Great-Water-Master.[11] This Deity wedded the Deity Grand-Ears,[12] daughter of the Deity Funu-dzu-nu,[02] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord.[14] This Deity wedded the Young-Princess-of-the-Small-Country,[15] daughter of the Great-Deity-of-the-Small-Country,[16] and begot a child: the

Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land,[17] another name for whom is the Deity Great-Name-Possessor,[18] and another name is the Deity-of-the-Reed-Plains,[19] and another name is the 68
Deity of Eight-Thousand-Spears,[20] and another name is the Deity-Spirit-of-the-Living-Land.[21] In all there were five names.[22]

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1. *Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi.* *Ya-shima* means "eight islands." The syllables *zhi-nu-mi* are obscure, but the translator has little doubt "ruler" fairly represents their import. Motowori takes *zhi* to be an apocopated and *nigori*'ed form of *shiru*, "to rule," *nu* to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master," and *mi* to be an apocopated form of the "Honorific termination *mimi*. Tanigaha Shisei considers *zhinu* to stand for *shidzu-muru*, "to govern," which comes to the same thing so far as the sense is concerned.

2. *Kamu-oho-ichi-hime.* The rendering of *Oho-ichi* as "Great Majesty" rests on a plausible conjecture of Hirata's, who proposes to identify *ichi* with *idzu* (稜威). Motowori thinks that *Oho-ichi* should be taken as the name of a place; but this seems less good.

3. *Oho-toshi-no-kami*, written 大年神, the obvious rendering of which would be "great year." But the Japanese term *toshi* is believed to have originally signified, not "year" in the abstract, but that which was produced each year, viz., the harvest (conf. *toru*, "to take").

4. *Uka-no-mi-tama.*

5. *Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime*, so called, says Motowori, because she probably died young, as a blossom that falls from the tree. We might however perhaps take the Verb *chiru* in a Causative sense, and consider the name to signify "the Princess-Who-Causes-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Fall. A sister of this goddess appears in the pretty legend narrated in Sect. XXXVII under the parallel name of the Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. See Note 3 to that Sect.

6. *Fuha-ni-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-no-kami.* The import of this name is quite uncertain. *Fuha* however seems to be the name of a place.

7. *"Hi-kaha-mime. Hi-kaha* (lit. "sun-river") is supposed to stand for the name of a place in Musashi, which is however written "ice-river" (氷河, and not 日河), the old Japanese words for "ice" and "sun" being homonymous.

8. See Sect. VIII. (Note 9), where the name is given as *Kura okami.*

9. *Fuka-buchi-no-midzu-yare-hana.* If Fuka-buchi were sscertained to be not, as is supposed, the name of a place, we should have to render it "deep pool," and the whole would mean in English "Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-the-Deep-Pool."

10. *Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami.* In this name nothing is clear but the first three syllables, which signify "heavenly." But if Mabuchi's conjecture as to the meaning of the rest were accepted, we should have to translate the whole by "Heavenly-Assembling-Town-Lady."

11. This is the meaning plausibly assigned by Motowori to the original *O-midzu-nu-no-kami.*

12. *Fute-mimi-no-kami,* plausibly conjectured by Tominobu to stand for *Futo-mimi,* etc., which gives the sense here adopted.

13. *Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami.* Motowori believes Funu to be the name of a place, and interprets the name to signify "Master of Funu." But this seems highly uncertain.

14. *Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami* (Motowori's reading) or *Ama-no,* etc. (Hirata's reading). The translation of the name follows Hirata's explanation, which is based on Motowori's, and according to which the characters 冬衣 ("winter garments") in this text, and 葺根 read *Fuki-ne* in the "Chronicles," are merely phonetic, while the meaning is derived from a comparison of the sounds given by each. Though himself believing in the soundness of Hirata's conclusion, the translator must admit that it is not indisputable.

15. *Sasu-kuni-waka-hime,* or *Sashi-kuni,* etc. The former reading, which Hirata's adopts, seems best. The meaning of *sasu,* here rendered "small," is open to doubt.

16. *Sasu-kuni-oho-[no-]kami,* or *Sashi,* etc. The syllable *no* in the Japanese reading seems to be a superfluous addition of the modern commentators.

17. *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami.*

17. *Oho-na-muji-no-kami,* to which Tominobu proposes to give the sense of "Great Hole-Possessor," in connection with the story of the mouse-hole in which he took refuge from the fire lit by the Impetuous-Male-Deity (*Susa-no-wo*) for his destruction (see Sect. XXIII). But the interpretation followed in the translation is the most likely as well as the orthodox one, this Deity being entitled the possessor of a Great Name or of Great Names on account of his renown in Japanese mythic story.

19. *Ashi-hara-shiko-wo-no-kami.* The "reed-plains" are doubtless put by metonymy for Japan.

20. *Yachi-hoko-no-kami.*

21. *Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami.* The name must be understood to mean "Spirit of the Land of the Living," and to be antithetical to that of one of his fathers-in-law, the Impetuous Male-Deity (*Susa-no-wo*) who became the god of Hades.

22. Or "he had five names."

[SECT. XXI—THE WHITE HARE OF INABA.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land had eighty Deities his brethren; but they all left the land to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. The reason for their leaving it was this: Each of these eighty Deities had in his heart the wish to marry the Princess of Yakami[1] in Inaba,[2] and they went together to Inaba, putting their bag on [the back of] the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, whom they took with them as an attendant. Hereupon, when they arrived at Cape Keta,[3] [they found] a naked hare lying down. Then the eighty Deities spoke to the hare, saying: "What thou shouldest do is to bathe in the sea-water here, and lie on the slope of a high mountain exposed to the blowing of the wind." So the hare followed the instructions of the eighty Deities, and lay down. Then, as the sea-water dried, the skin of its body all split with the blowing of the wind, so that it lay weeping with pain. But the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, who came last of all, saw the hare, and said: "Why liest thou weeping?" The hare replied, saying: "I was in the Island of Oki,[4] and wished to cross over to this land, but had no means of crossing over. For this reason 69
I deceived the crocodiles[5] of the sea, saying: 'Let you

and me compete, and compute the numbers of our [respective] tribes. So do you go and fetch every member of your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from this island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them, and count them as I run across. Hereby shall we know whether it or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they were deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them and counted them as I came across, and was just about to get on land, when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' As soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who lay the last of all seized me and stripped off all my clothing. As I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty Deities who went by before [thee] commanded and exhorted me, saying: 'Bathe in the salt water, and lie down exposed to the wind.' So, on my doing as they had instructed me, my whole body was hurt." Thereupon the Deity Great-Name-Possessor instructed the hare, saying: "Go quickly now to the river-mouth, wash thy body with the fresh water, then take the pollen of the sedges [growing] at the river-mouth, spread it about, and roll about upon it, whereupon thy body will certainly be restored to its original state."[6] So [the hare] did as it was instructed, and its body became as it had been originally. This was the White Hare of Inaba.[7] It is now called the Hare Deity. So the hare said to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor: "These eighty Deities shall certainly not get the Princess of Yakami. Though thou bearest the bag, Thine Augustness shall obtain her."

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1. *Yakami-hime.* The etymology is uncertain.

2. The name of a province not far from that of Idzumo. The word may possibly, as Motowori suggests, be derived from *ina-ba*, "rice-leaves."

3. *Kita-no-saki.* The etymology of the name seems uncertain. The meaning of the word *keta* is "the-beams of a roof, the yards of a sail." But perhaps *Keta* and *keta* may be nothing more than homonyms of independent origin.

4. Not far from the coast of Iduzmo and of Inaba.

5. See Translator's Introduction, p. xxxiii, Note 41.

6. Literally "to its original skin"; that is to say that its skin would again be covered with fur.

7; Motowori and Moribe agree in considering that the word "white" means "bare" in this place, and the latter in his Critique of the former's Commentary quotes examples which show that their view is probably correct.

[SECT. XXII.—MOUNT TEMA.]

Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered[1] the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the "Deity Great-Name-Possessor." So 70
the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot of Tema[2] in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, do thou wait and catch it. If thou do not wait and catch it, we will certainly slay thee." Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then, as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it,[2] he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent[4] cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness,[5] who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell[6] and Prince Clam[7] to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched[8] [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and

smeared [him] as with mother's[9] milk, whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Deities, seeing [this], again deceived him,
71 taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree,[10] and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death.[11] Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him:[12] "If thou remain here, thou wilt at last be "destroyed by the eighty Deities." Then she sent him swiftly off to the august place of the Deity Great-House-Prince[13] in the land of Ki.[14] Then when the eighty Deities searched and pursued till they came up to him, and fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by dipping under the fork of a tree, and disappeared.

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1. It must be understood that in the meantime they had arrived at her dwelling and begun to court her.

2. Etymology unknown.

3. The text is here concise to obscurity, but yet there ought not to be much doubt as to the author's intention.

4. The text has the character 祖, signifying properly "grand-parent," but frequently used in Archaic Japanese writings in the sense of "mother." It is then read *oya*, which the English word "parent" exactly represents.

5. *Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto.* See Sect. I, Note 6.

6. *Kisa-gahi-hime.* The *kiga-gahi* here mentioned is the modern *aka-gahi*, a cockle, the *Arca inflata.*

7. *Umugi-hime.* The *umugi* here mentioned is the modern *hamaguri*, a clam of the family *Mactridæ*, the *Cytherea Mereirix.*

8. The character used is 集, "collected," "gathered together." But the combined authority of Mabuchi, Motowori and Hirata obliges us either to consider it a copyist's error for 焦, "scorched," or else to believe that in early time in Japan the two characters were used interchangeably.

9. Or "nurse's." The meaning is that a paste like milk was made of the triturated and calcined shell mixed with water. There is in this passage a play upon words which it is impossible to reproduce in English, the Japanese term for "triturating," *kisage* (which the author has taken care to write phonetically) resembling the name of Princess *Kisa-gahi* (Cockle-Shell), while *omo*, "mother" or "nurse," similarly recalls that of Princess *Umugi* (Clam). Motowori traces the names of the shell-fish in question to this exploit of the two goddesses. We shall be justified in applying an inverse interpretation to the legend.

10. The original of this clause. 茹矢打立其木, or according to another reading 茹矢, etc. is a great crux to the native commentators, who ean make sure neither of the exact sense nor of the Japanese reading of the first two characters, which seem to be ideographic for three others occurring immediately below, 氷目矢, which are themselves of doubtful import. An elaborate discussion of the question will be found in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XVII, pp. 25-27. The general sense at all events is that here given.

11. The characters 拷殺也, here rendered "tortured him to death." are by the modern commentators read *uchi-koroshiki*, which simply means "killed [him]."

12. Literally "to her child."

13. *Oha-ya-biko-no-kami.* This Deity is identified with the Deity *I-dakeru* mentioned in the "Chronicle" as a son of *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male-Deity"), and as the introducer into the Island of Tsukushi in particular and into all the "Eight Great Islands" of Japan of the seeds of plants and trees. Motowori's note on this name in Vol. X, pp. 28-29, is worth consulting, though his idea of connecting the agricultural and arboricultural renown of the Deity bearing it with the name of the province of Ki is doubtless quite fanciful.

14. *Ie*, "the land of tree" (木國). Later the character 木 was replaced by 紀, which in Sinico-Japanese has the same sound *ki*, while a second one, 伊, was added in order to conform to an edict of the Empress Gem-miyō (A. D. 713) to the effect that all names of places were to be written with two Chinese characters, as was usual in China and Korea. The second character in this case simply carried on the *i* sound with which the first ends, so that the name became *Kii*.

[SECT. XXIII.—THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND.]

[The Deity Great-House-Prince spoke to him[1]] saying: "Thou must set off to the Nether-Distant-Land where
72 dwells His Impetuous-Male-Augustness. That Great Deity will certainly counsel thee." So on his obeying her command and arriving at the august place[2] of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness, the latter's daughter the Forward-Princess[3] came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married, and [she] went in again, and told her father, saying: "A very beautiful Deity has come." Then the Great Deity went out and looked, and said: "This is the Ugly-Male-Deity-of-the-Reed-Plain,"[4] and at once calling him in, made him sleep in the snake-house. Hereupon his wife, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, gave her husband a snake-scarf,[5] saying: "When the snakes are about to bite thee, drive them away" by waving this scarf thrice." So, on his doing as she had instructed, the snakes became quiet, so that he came forth after calm slumbers. Again on the night of the next day [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] put him into the centipede and wasp-house;[6] but as she again gave him a centipede and wasp-scarf, and instructed him as before, he came forth calmly. Again [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] shot a whizzing barb[7] into the middle of a large moor, and sent him to fetch the arrow,
73 and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round. Thereupon, while he [stood] knowing no place of exit, a mouse[8] came and said: "The inside is hollow-hollow; the outside is narrow-narrow."[9] Owing to its speaking thus, he trod on the place, whereupon he fell in and hid himself, during which time the

fire burnt past. Then the mouse brought out in its mouth and presented to him the whizzing barb. The feathers of the arrow were brought in their mouths by all the mouse's children. Hereupon his wife the Forward-Princess came bearing mourning-implements,[10] and crying. Her father the Great Deity, thinking that [the Deity-Great-Name-Possessor] was already dead and done for, went out and stood on the moor, whereupon [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] brought the arrow and presented it to him, upon which [the Great Deity], taking him into the house and calling him into an eight-foot spaced large room,[11] made him take the lice off his head. So, on looking at the head [he saw that] there were many centipedes [there]. Thereupon, as his wife gave to her husband berries of the *muku* tree[12] and red earth, he chewed the berries to pieces, and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that the Great Deity believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor], grasping the Great Deity's hair, tied it fast to the various rafters of the house, and, blocking up the floor of the house with a five hundred draught rock,[13] and taking his wife the Forward Princess on his back, then carried off 74
the Great Deity's great life-sword[14] and life-bow-and-arrows,[15] as also his heavenly speaking-lute, and ran out. But the heavenly speaking-lute brushed against a tree, and the earth resounded. So the Great Deity, who was sleeping, started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair which was tied to the rafters, [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor[fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to the Even Pass

of Hades,[17] and gazing on him from afar, he called out to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, saying: "With the great life-sword and the life-bow-and-arrows which thou carriest, pursue thy half-brethren[18] till they crouch on the august slopes of the passes,[19] and pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers, and do thou, wretch![22] become the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land;[21] and moreover, becoming the Deity Spirit-of-the-Living-Land, and making my daughter the Forward-Princess thy
75 consort,[21] do thou make stout the temple-pillars at the foot of Mount Uka[23] in the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven, and dwell [there], thou villain!"[24] So when, bearing the great sword and bow, he pursued and scattered the eighty Deities, he did pursue them till they crouched on the august slope of every pass,[25] he did pursue them till they were swept into every river, and then he began to make the land.[26] Quamobrem Hera Yamaki, secundum anterius pactum, [cum eo] in thalamo coivit. So he brought her with him; but, fearing his consort the Forward Princess, she stuck into the fork of a tree the child that she had borne, and went back.[27] So the child was called by the name of the Tree-Fork-Deity,[28] and another name was the Deity-of-August-Wells.[29]

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1. Literally, "to the child." The words placed in brackets, and which are not to be found in either of the early printed editions, are supplied in accordance with a suggestion of Moribe's contained in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary. Motowori himself had supplied the words "Her Augustness his august parent spoke to him," which seem less appropriate. It is true that one MS. is quoted by Motowori as favouring his view; but such authority is insufficient, and the mistake, moreover, peculiarly easy for a copyist to make (*mi oya* for *oho-ya*).

2. *I.e.*, the Palace.

3. This is Motowori's view of the import of the original name *Suseri-bime*, which he connects with *susumu*, "to advance," "to press forward," and explains by reference to the bold, forward conduct of the young goddess.

4. One of the alternative names of this Deity, who is mostly mentioned by one of his other four designations, for a list of which see Sect. XX, (Notes 17 to 21).

5. *I.e.*, "a scarf by waving which he might keep off the snakes." Similarly the "centipede and wasp-scarf" mentioned a little farther on must be understood to mean "a scarf to ward off centipedes and wasps with."

6. The word *hachi*, translated "wasp," is a general name including other insects of the family of *Vespidæ*.

7. *I.e*, "arrow." The original expression is *nari-kabura* (鳴鏑), which has survived in the modern language under the modified form of *kabura-ya*, defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary as "an arrow with a head shaped like a turnip, having a hole in it, which causes it to hum as it flies." It was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty.

8. Or "rat."

9. The translator cannot think of any better English equivalents for the child-like onomatopoeias *hora-hora* and *subu-subu* of the Japanese original.

10. The edition of 1687 reads the two characters 喪具 (here translated "mourning implements,") *mo-gari no sonahe*, *i.e.*, "preparations for the funeral." Such preparations are detailed in the latter part of Sect. XXXI.

11. This is Mabuchi's interpretation, as quoted by Motowori, of the expression *ya ta-ma no oho muro-ya*. Motowori's own view is that *ya-ta* stands for *ya-tzu*, which give us in English "an eight-spaced large room." The character 間, "space" has been in later times used as a measure of length (six Japanese feet.) Altogether the precise meaning of the expression is not quite clear, but the general sense is a "large spacious room."

12. *Aphananthe Aspera*, also sometimes called *Celtis Muku*.

13. *I.e.*, "a rock which it would require five hundred men to lift."

14. *Iku-tachi* (生大刀), supposed by Motowori to be "a sword having the virtue of conferring long life upon its possessor."

15. *Iku-yumi-ya* (生弓矢).

16. *Ame no nori goto* (天詔琴), so called because, as will be seen in Sect. XCVI, divine messages were conveyed through a person playing

on the lute. Hirata, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," invents the reading *ame no nu-goto* (天詔琴), "heavenly jewelled lute."

17. See Sect. IX, (Note 16).

18. They were not born of the same mother. The Chinese characters in the text (庶兄弟) imply, properly speaking, that the eighty brethren of the Great-Name-Possessor were the sons of concubines. But Motowori denies that such is the Japanese usage with regard to the characters in question.

19. Or "hills."

20. The word in the text is *ore*, an insulting equivalent Second Personal Pronoun. If we were translating into German, we might perhaps approximately represent its force by "*er*."

21. Thus according to this legend, "Master-of-the-Great-Land" (*Oho-kuni-nushi*) was not the original name of the Deity commonly designated by it, and his sovereignty over the Land of the Living (whence the appropriateness of the second name in this context) was derived by investiture from the god of the Land of the Dead.

22. The characters 嫡妻, which are here used, designate specifically the chief or legitimate wife, as opposed to the lesser wives or concubines.

23. *Uka-no-yama*. No satisfactory etymology of *Uka* is forthcoming.

24. "*I.e.*, "Firmly planting in the rock the pillars forming the foundation of thy palace, and rearing its fabric to the skies, do thou rule therefrom the Land of the Living, thou powerful wretch, who hast so successfully braved me!"

25. Or "hill."

26. This is taken to mean that he continued the act of creation which had been] interrupted by the death of *Izanami* (the "Female-Who-Invites"). See Sect. IX, p. 35, where her husband Izanagi says to her: "The lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making." The words "*Kuni tsukuri* (國作), here used for "making the land," became a title for "Ruler-of-the-Land" and finally a "gentile name" (*kabane*).

27. *Q.d.*, to Inaba.

28. *Ki-no-mata-no-kami.*

29. *Mi-wi-no-kami.* He is supposed to have benefitted the country by digging wells in many places.

[SECT. XXIV.—THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS.]

This Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears,[1] when he went forth[2] to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha,[3] in the land of Koshi, on arriving at the house of the Princess of Nuna-kaha sang, saying:

"[1] His Augusthess the Deity-of-Eight Thousand-Spears, having been unable to find a spouse in the Land of the Eight Islands, and having heard that in the far-off Land of Koshi there is a wise maiden, having heard that there is a beauteous maiden, I am standing [here] to truly woo her, I am going backwards and forwards to woo her. Without having yet untied even the cord of my sword, without having yet untied even my veil, I push back the plank-door shut by the maiden; while I am standing [here], I pull it forward. While I am standing [here], the *nuye* sings upon the green mountain, and [the voice of] the true bird of the moor, the pheasant, resounds; the bird of the yard, the cock, crows. Oh! the pity that [the] birds should sing! Oh! these birds! Would that I could beat them till they were sick! Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger, the tradition of the thing, too, this!"[4] 76

Then the Princess of Nuna-kaha, without yet opening the door, sang from the inside saying:— 77

"Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! Being a maiden like a drooping plant, my heart is just a bird on a sand-bank by the shore; it will now indeed be a dotterel. Afterwards it will be a gentle bird; so as for thy life, do not deign to die. Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger! the tradition of the thing, too, this!"[5]

78 [*Second Song of the Princess.*[6]]

"When the sun shall hide behind the green mountains, in the night [black as] the true jewels of the moor will I come forth. Coming radiant with smiles like the morning sun, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry-bark shall softly pat [my] breast soft as the melting snow; and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's] jewel-arms,—true jewel-arms,—and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. So speak not too lovingly, Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! The tradition of the thing, too, this!"[7]

Quamobrem eâ nocte non coierunt, sed sequentis diei nocte auguste coierunt.

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1. In this Section, the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is spoken of under this *alias* (See Sect. XX, Note 20).

2. The characters 幸行 here, in accordance with the reading of the commentators, rendered by the words "went forth," as Honorific, being only properly applied to the progresses of a sovereign.

3. *Nuna-kawa-hime*. *Nuna-kaha* or *Nu-na-kaha* ("lagoon-river") is supposed to be the name of a place in the province of Echigo.

4. The drift of this poem needs but little elucidation:—After giving his reasons for coming to woo the Princess ot Nuna-kaha, the god declares that he is in such haste to penetrate to her chamber, that he does not even stay to ungird his sword or take off his veil, but tries to push or pull open the door at once. During these vain endeavours, the mountain-side begins to re-echo with the cries of the birds announcing the dawn, when lovers must slink away. Would that he could kill these unwelcome harbingers of day, and bring back the darkness!—The Land of the Eight Islands (*i.e.* Japan proper, beyond whose boundaries lay the barbarous northern country of Koshi) is in the original *Ya-shima-huni* (Conf. Sect. V, Note 27).—The *nuye* is a bird which must be fabulous if most of the accounts given of it are accepted. The "Commentary on the Lyric Dramas" tells us (with variations) that "it has the head of a monkey, the body of a racoon-faced "dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands (*sic*) and feet of a tiger," adding, as the reader will make no difficulty in allowing, that "it is a strange and peculiar creature." The *Wa-Kun Shiwori* says that "it is a bird much larger than a pigeon, and having a loud and mournful cry." It is likewise said to come out at night-time and retire during the day, for which reason doubtless Mabuchi likens it to the owl. A very ancient and curious Chinese book entitled the "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經), the modern editions of which contain extremely droll illustrations of fabulous creatures, tells us of a bird called the "white *nuye* (白鵺), which is "like a pheasant, with markings on its head, white wings, and yellow feet, and whose flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough." The character 發 and 弋, with which, as well as with ス, the word *nuye* is variously written, seem to be unauthorized—The line here (following Motowori and Moribe's view) rendered "Would that I could beat them till they were sick!" will also bear the interpretation formerly proposed by Keichiyu, "Would that I could beat them till they left off!"- The last five lines, here rendered "Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger," etc., are extremely obscure. It is possible that *ishi tafu ya* (rendered "Oh! swiftly flying," in deference to Motowori's and Moribe's view) may be but a meaningless *refrain*. "Heaven-racing messenger" is tolerably certain. Of the rest it is not easy to make sense. Motowori proposes to credit the five lines in question with the following general meaning: "May this song, like a messenger, "run down to future ages, preserving for them the tradition of this event!" Moribe, in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary, supposes the lines in question to be an addition made by the official singers, who in later

times sang these songs as an accompaniment to dances. Whatever their origin and proper signification, it is plain that they had come to be used as a *refrain*, from which the first two lines were sometimes omitted, as we see in some of the songs further on.

5. The drift of the poem is this: "Being a tender maiden, my heart flutters like the birds on the sandy islets by the beach, and I cannot yet be thine. Yet do not die of despair; for I will soon comply with thy desires."—The word *nuye-kusa* (here rendered "drooping plant," in accordance with the views of the commentators) is a Pillow-Word of somewhat obscure derivation.—The word *chidori* (rendered "dotterel" throughout this translation) denotes in its modern acceptation, according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer, "any kind of sandpiper, plover or dotterel." Its proper and original signification is, however, greatly debated by the commentators, and some think that it is not the specific name of any kind of bird, but stands simply by apocope for *tachi-dori*, "rising bird," thus designating any kind of small bird that rises and flies along near the beach.—The word *na-dori* (here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered "gentle bird") is taken by Motowori to mean simply "gentle," "compliant." But both the construction and the context seem to impose on us the interpretation here given. Keichiyu, in his '*Kōgan-Shō*,' interprets the whole passage differently; but in order to do so he, without sufficient authority, changes the readings of the text into *wa tori*, "my bird," and *na tori* "thy bird."—The *refrain* is the same as in the previous song.

6. There is no break in the text; but the commentators rightly consider the following to be a separate poem.

7. The import of this very plain-spoken poem needs no elucidation.—*Nubatama* (here rendered "true jewels of the moor") is the Pillow-Word for things black or related to darkness. The "true jewels of the moor" are supposed to be the jet-black berries of the *hiafugi* (pron. *hiōgi*, *Ixia chinensis*). The whole etymology is, however, not absolutely certain.—Of which of the two lovers the words "coming radiant" with "smiles" are spoken, is not clear; but they probably refer to the male deity, as do the white arms, strange though such an expression may appear as applied to a man. The goddess represents herself and her lover as using each other's arms for pillows. The word "jewel-arms" means simply "beautiful arms."

Again this Deity's Chief Empress,[8] Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, was very jealous. So the Deity her husband, being distressed, was about to go up from Idzumo to the Land of Yamato; and as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup, he sang, saying:

> "When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments black as the true jewels of the moor, and, like the birds of the offing, look at my breast,—though I raise my fins, [I say that] these are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments green as the kingfisher, and, like the birds of the offing, look at my breast,—though I raise my fins, [I say that] these, too, are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my raiment dyed in the sap of the dye-tree, the pounded madder sought in the mountain fields, and, like the birds of the offing, look at my breast,—though I raise my fins, [I say that] they are good. My dear young sister, Thine Augustness! Though thou say that thou wilt not weep,—if like the flocking birds, I flock and depart, if, like the led birds, I am led away and depart, thou wilt hang down thy head like

a single eulalia upon the mountain and thy
weeping shall indeed rise as the mist of
80 the morning shower. Thine Augustness
[my] spouse like the young herbs! The
tradition of the thing, too, this!"[3]

Then his Empress, taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, sang, saying:—

"Oh! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! [Thou], my [dear] Master-of-the-Great-Land indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-head-
81 lands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But as for me alas! being a woman, I have no man except thee; I have no spouse except thee. Beneath the fluttering of the ornamented fence, beneath the softness of the warm coverlet, beneath the rustling of the cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry bark softly patting [my] breast soft as the melting snow, and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's arms],—true jewel-arms, and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. Lift up the luxuriant august liquor!"[3]

She having thus sung, they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks,[4] and are at rest till the present time. These are called divine words.[5]

1. *I.e.*, chief wife.

2. The meaning of this poem is:—"I start for Yamato, there to search for a better wife, and I carefully array myself for the journey. Black,—the colour of mourning,—is not fair enough, and red is more beautiful than green; so it is on my red garments that my choice rests. And thou, jealous and imperious woman! for all that thou sayest that thou wilt not heed my going, thou wilt weep when I depart with my retainers as departs a flock of birds, and thou wilt bury thy head in thy hands, and thy tears shall be as the misty drops of the morning shower."—The words *hatu tagi* (rendered in accordance with Motowori's view by "raise my fins") are supposed to signify "raise my sleeve." If the last syllable were found in any text written with a character not requiring the use of the *nigori* in the Japanese transcription, we should get the more satisfactory reading *ha tataki*, i.e. "beat my wings;" but the syllable in question does not seem to be anywhere so written:—The "madder" is in the original *akane*, here written (but doubtless only through the error of some copyist) *atane*. The words rendered "sought in the mountain fields" might also be translated "sown in the mountain fields," *magashi*, "sought," and *makishi*, "sowed" being thought to be convertible.—The words "my beloved" represent the Japanese *itokoya no*, whose meaning is obscure and much disputed.—The words "when I am led away" must be understood as if they were Active instead of Passive, signifying as they do "when I lead away my retinue of followers."—The eulalia (*Eulalia japonica*) is a long king of grass very often alluded to in the later classical poetry.—The words "on the mountain" represent the Japanese words *yama-to no*, in accordance with Motowori's and Hirata's view of the meaning of the latter (山處 or 山本). The *prima facie* interpretation of "in the province of Yamato," which Keichiyu adopts, will not bear investigation.—It is not quite clear whether "the mist of the morning shower" means mist separate from the rain, or is simply a phrase for the rain-drops themselves. Motowori adopts the former opinion.—"Young herbs," *waka-kusa*, is the Pillow-Word for "spouse,"—newly married youths and maidens being likened to the fresh-grown grass. The *refrain* is an abbreviated form of that found in the two previous poems.

3. The import of this poem needs little explanation:—The goddess says to her husband, "Come back and live with me, and quaff this goblet as a sign of reconciliation; for though thou, as a man, mayest have a wife on every shore, I shall be left solitary if thou depart."—

The "ornamented fence" is supposed to mean "a curtain round the sleeping place."—The latter part to the poem (excepting the concluding phrase) is a repetition of lines that have already occurred in the last one of Sect. XXIV (note 7). The word *tate-matsurase* (here rendered "lift up") occasions some difficulty. It properly signifies "present to a superior;" but here it must be taken to mean "partake of," as the goddess is speaking to her spouse himself, unless indeed we suppose the final words of the song to be a command addressed to one of her attendants to present the cup to their common lord and master.

4. This is the probable and generally accepted meaning of the original of this clause, which is written phonetically.

5. Explained by Moribe to mean, with reference to the whole story, "conversation about divine events." Motowori proposes to supplement the character 歌, "song," to the two (神語) in the text, and to take the three together as designating the nature of the preceding songs, in accordance with the usage in other cases,—"Rustic Songs," "Courtier's Songs," etc. If this view were adopted, we should have to translate by "Divine Converse Songs."

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82 [SECT. XXVI.—THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity dwelling in the inner temple of Munakata,[1] and begot children: the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne,[2] next his younger sister Her Augustness High-Princess,[3] another name for whom is Her Augustness Princess Under-Shining.[4] This Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is he who is now called the Great August Deity of Kamo.[5] Again the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Princess Divine-House-Shield[6] and begot a child: the Deity Thing-Sign-Master.[7] Again he wedded the Deity Bird-Ears,[8]
83 daughter of the Deity Eight-Island-Possessor, and begot

a child: the Deity Bird-Growing-Ears.[10] This Deity wedded Hina-teri'nakata'bichi'wo'ikochini[11],[1] and begot a child: the Deity Land-Great-Wealth.[12] This Deity wedded the Deity Ashi-nadaka,[13] another name for whom is Princess-Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets,[14] and begot a child: the Deity Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Land-Ruler.[15] This Deity wedded Princess Luck-Spirit,[16] daughter of the 84
Deity Heavenly-Awful-Master,[17] and begot a child: the Deity Awful-Master-Prince.[18] This Deity wedded Princess Hina-rashi,[19] daughter of the Deity Okami,[20] and begot a child: the Deity Tahiri-kishi-marumi.[21] This Deity wedded the Deity Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit,[22] daughter of the Deity Waiting-to-See-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly,[23] and begot a child: the Deity Miro-na-mi.[24] This Deity wedded Princess Awo-numa-oshi,[25] daughter of the Master-of-Shiki-yama,[26] and begot a child: the Deity Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi.[27] This Deity wedded the Young-Day-Female-Deity,[28] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth.[29] This Deity wedded 85
the Deity Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne,[30] daughter of the Deity Heavenly'Pass Boundary,[31] and begot a child: the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi.[32]

From the above-mentioned Deity Eight-Island-Ruler down to the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi are called the Deities of seventeen generations.[33]

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1. See Sect. XIII, Note 15 and Sect. XIV, Note 2.

2. *Aji-shiki taka-hiko-ne no-kami.* The meaning of the first two members of this compound name is altogether obscure. *Taka-hiko-ne* signifies "high-prince lord."

3. *Taka-hime-no-mikoto. Taka-hime* is supposed by Hirata to be a mutilated form of *Taka-teru-hime,* "High-Shining-Princess," which would make the two names of this personage properly complementary.

4. *Shita-teru-hime-no-mikoto.* This goddess is popularly supposed to have been extremely beautiful, whence perhaps the name, which might be taken to imply that her beauty shone forth from under her garments as in the case of *So-towori-hime* (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9).

5. Because there worshipped. The etymology of Kamo is not clear.

6. *Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto.* The translation here follows the Chinese characters. Another proposal of Motowori's is to regard the syllables *ya-tate* as a corruption of *iya-taka-teri*, "more and more high shining," which would give us for the whole name in English "Divine-More-and-More-High-Shining-Princess."

7. *Le.*, "the Deity who gave a sign of the thing he did." The Japanese original is *Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami.* The translation of the name here given follows Motowori's interpretation, which takes it to contain an allusion to the act by which its bearer symbolized his surrender of the sovereignty of the land to the descendant of the Sun-Goddess. Lengthened forms of the name are *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* ("the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master") and *Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami*, the first three syllables of which latter are obscure. Both of the lengthened forms are supposed to contain a reference to the manifold "green branches" mentioned in the legend referred to,—that, viz., which forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII.

8. *Tori-mimi-no-kami.* "Motowori suggests that *tori*, "bird," may be but the name of a place in Yamato.

Ya-shima-muji-no-kami. "Possessor" is the probable meaning of *muji*, regarded here and elsewhere as an alternative form of *mochi*. Motowori suggests that Yashima may be meant for the name of a district in Yamato, in which case both this god and his daughter would have been named from the places of their birth or residence, which are near each other in the same province.

10. *Tori-naru-mi-no-kami.* The above interpretation, which is proposed by Motowori, seems more acceptable than "Bird-Sounding-Sea," which the Chinese characters yield. *Tori* "bird," if taken above to be the name of a place, must be likewise so considered here.—Motowori reasonably conjectures that a clause to the following effect is here omitted: "He wedded such and such a princess, daughter "of such and such a Deity, and begot a child: the Deity *Take-mina-gata*" [i.e. probably Brave-August-Name-Firm] (See Sect. XXXII, Note 21). Hirata's text, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," is 娶高志之沼河北寰命而令生給之子謂御穗須美命亦名健御名方神.

11. The text is here evidently corrupt, and Motowori proposes to read either *Hina-teri-nukata-bichi-wo-no-kami no musume Iko-chi-ni-no-kami*, which would give us in English "the Deity Ikochini, daughter of the male Deity Hina-teri-nukata-bichi," or else to take the whole as the father's name, and to suppose that the name of the daughter has been accidentally omitted. *Hina-teri* means "Rustic Illuminator," and the name resembles that of a deity mentioned in Sect. XIV, Note 6. *Nukata* and *Bichi* (or *Hiji*, reversing the position of the *nigori*) are supposed to be names of places. *Ikochini* is altogether obscure.

12. *Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami*, *oshi*, as in other instances, being considered a contraction of *ohoshi*, "great."

13. *Ashi-nakada-no-kami.* It is not clear whether this is a personal name or, as Motowori supposes, the name of the place where tha goddess resided. He quotes places named Ashidaka and Ashida; but this hardly seems satisfactory. In any case the name remains obscure.

14. *Ya-kaha-ye-hime.* The translation follows the meaning of the Chinese characters with which the name is written. It is, however, also open to us to consider *Yaka-ha-ye* as a corruption of *iya-ko-haye*, "more flourishing."

15. *Haya-mika-no-take sahaya-ji nu mi-no-kami.* The syllables *sahaya* are obscure, and Motowori's proposal to consider them as the name of a place has only been followed in the translation for want of something more satisfactory,

16. *Saki-tama-hime.*

17. *Ame-no-mika-nushi-no-kami.*

18. *uika-nushi-hiko-no kami.*

19. *Hina-rashi-hime.* Motowori takes Hina to be the name of a place, and *rashi*, to be an apocopated form of *tarashi* or some such word. But this is mere guess-work.

20. *Okami-no-kami.* See Sect. VIII, Note 9.

21. *Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami.* The meaning of this name is quite obscure. Motowori throws out the suggestion that *Tahiri* may stand for *Tari niri* and *Kishi-marumi* for *Kishima-tsu-mi*,—*Tarihi* and *Kishima* being names of places, and *tsu-mi*, as usual, being credited with the signification of "possessor."

22. *Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime.*

23. *Hhira-gino-sono-hana-madzu mi-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name here given is conjectural as far as the words "waiting to see" (taken on Tominobu's authority to be the most likely meaning of *madzu-mi*)

are concerned. Motowori suggests that *hihira-gi-no* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word, and not part of the actual name at all, and the remaining characters corrupted. *Hihira-gi* rendered "holly," is properly the *Olea Aquifolia*.

24. *Miro-nami-no-kami.* Meaning obscure. *Miro* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place, and *na* and *mi* to be Honorific appellations.

35. *Awo-numa-nu-oshi-hime.* Meaning obscure.

26. *Shiki-yama-nushi-no-kami.* *Shiki-yama* is supposed to be the name of a place in Echizen.

27. *Nunoshi-tomi-tori-nara-mi-no-kami.* *Nunoshi* is supposed to be the name of a place, and identical with *Nunoshi*, which forms part of the mother's name. Motowori takes *tomi* to be an Honorific, and *Tori* (as previously in the case of the deities *Tori-mimi* and *Tori-naru-mi* (See Notes 8 and 10) to be the name of another place. The translator would prefer to take both words in their common signification, and (leaving *nunoshi* aside as incomprehensible) to render the rest of the name thus: "Wealth-Bird-Growing-Ears."

28. *Waka-hiru-me-na-kami.*

29. *Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes Hibara to be the name of a place, a view which the translator has adopted for want of a better.

30. *Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne-no-kami.* Motowori supposes Tohotsu to be the name of a place, and the remaining syllables to be Honorific.

32. *Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi-no-kami.* *Toho-tsu* (lit. "distant") and *yamazaki* ("mountain-cape" are both considered by Motowori to be names of places. *Tarashi* signifies "perfect" or "perfection." We might perhaps render the name thus: "Perfection-of-the-Distant-Mountain-Cape."

33. *I.e.* "seventeen generations of Deities." But the construction is curious. Motowori points out that there is here an error in the computation, as the text enumerates but fifteen generations. The names of the gods and goddess mentioned in this section offer unusual difficulties Motowori says that it is with hesitation that he proposes many of his interpretations, and it is with still greater hesitation that the translator has accepted them.

SECT. XXVII.—THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY.

So when the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land dwelt at the august cape of Miho[1] in Idzumo, there came riding on the crest[2] of the waves in a boat of heavenly *Kagami*[3] a Deity dressed in skins of geese[4] flayed with a complete 86
flaying, who, when asked his name, replied not; moreover the Deities who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad[5] spoke, saying: "As for this, the Crumbling Prince[6] will surely know it." Thereupon [the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land] summoned and asked the Crumbling-Prince, who replied. saying: "This is the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity,[7] the august child of the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Deity."[8] So on their then respectfully informing[9] His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my hand.[10] So do he and thou become 87
brethren, and make and consolidate this land."[11] So from that time forward the two Deities the Great-Name-Possessor and the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity crossed over to the Eternal Land.[12] So [the Deity here] called the Crumbling Prince, who revealed the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity, is what is now [called] the scarecrow in the mountain fields. This Deity, though his legs do not walk, is a Deity who knows everything in the Empire.[13]

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1. Not to be confounded with the better known Miho in Suruga. derivation of the name seems uncertain.

2. The character used is 穗, which properly denotes an ear of rice or other grain.

3. What plant the author intends by this name is not quite certain. The characters 蔓摩 and 蔓 are variously used to write it in the native work of reference, where also we learn that it probably corresponds to the plant known in different provinces of modern Japan as *chichi-gusa, tombo-no-chichi, kagarahi and gaga-imo,* We may best understand the *Ampelopsis serianæfolia* to have been intended, as the plant is described as having a berry three or four inches long shaped like a towel-gourd, (*hechima*), so that, if scooped out, it would fairly resemble a boat in miniature.

4. All the authorities are agreed in considering the character 鷺, "goose," to be a copyist's error; but there is no agreement as to the character which should be substituted for it. Hirata reads 鶺, "wren," changing the phonetic. "Wren" also is the reading in "One account" of the "Chronicles," and Moribe, commenting thereon in his "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*," thinks that "wren" must have been the bird originally intended by the framers of the tradition. Motowori, following a suggestion of the editor of 1687, prefers to consider the radical for "bird" to have been put by mistake for the radical for "insect," and reads 蛾 which signifies "moth," especially the "silkworm moth." Motowori, however, proceeds to give to the character in question the Japanese reading of *hi mushi* (lit. "fire-insect," i.e. "ephemera"), which is not warranted. The proper Japanese reading is *hihiru.* The best would seem to be to adopt the reading 蛾 "moth."

5. The original word is *tani-guku.* Its derivation and the name of the species which it denoted are alike unknown. Indeed we might equally well translate by "frog."

6. *Kuye-biko.* The interpretation of the name here adopted is Motowori's. Tominobu takes *Kuye* to be the name of a place, and the personage in question to have been the inventor of scarecrows, whence the tradition connected with his name.

7. *Sukuna-biko-na-no-kami*, or without the *nigori*, *Sukuna-hiko-na-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name here followed is that proposed by Motowori, but not followed by Hirata and Moribe, who prefer to consider it antithetical to that of *Oho-na--muji*, "the Great-name Possessor."

8. First mentioned in Sect. 1, Note 6. Immediately below, his name is given in the lengthened form.

9. Motowori (who, strange to say, is followed by Hirata, - conf. Sect. XVIII, Note 18) interprets the two characters 白上 (here in accordance

with general usage taken to signify "respectfully informed") as "informed and took up," thus making it appear that the diminutive deity was personally taken up to Heaven. Surely a recollection of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says that "a messenger was sent up to inform the Heavenly Deities," should have preserved the commentators from thus offending against both grammar and common sense.

10. *I.e.*, "slipped away between my fingers." In the legend as given in the "Chronicles," the father explains more particularly that the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity had been a bad boy who ran away.

11. For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII, Note 26.

12. *Toko-yo-no-kuai* (常世國). Some kind of Paradise or Hades is meant, as is proved by innumerable references in the early literature of Japan: and we may suppose the idea to have been borrowed from the Chinese or through them from Buddhism, and to have heen afterwards vaguely located in some distant country. In Sect. LXXIV we are told of the orange having been brought from the "Eternal Land" by Tajima-mori, who is said to have been of Korean extraction. Korea, which is to the west of Japan, and the Buddhist paradise in the west might well he confounded by tradition, though it is equally open to discussion whether Southern China or even the Loochoo Islands might not have been thus vaguely designated. In any case it was a distant place, imperfectly known, though specifically named. In the "Chronicles," Tajima-mori is made to say that it is "the retreat of Gods and Fairies, and not to be reached by common men."—Motowori's immense note on this word (see Vol. XXI, pp. 10-13 of his Commentary) is a specimen of the specious arguments by which he endeavours to ward off from the Early Japanese the imputation of ever having borrowed any ideas from their neighbours. He would have us believe that *Toko-yo* is derived from *soko yori*, "thence" (!) and that the name simply denotes foreign countries in general. This is on a par with the opinion emitted by Arawi Hakuseki in his "*Ko-shi Tsū*," to the effect that the "Eternal Land" was simply a place in the province of Hitachi. The latter good old commentator apparently founded himself on no better reasons than his general rejection of supernatural or otherwise perplexing details, and the fact that one of the characters with which the name of the province in question written is 常, which also ferms part of the name of *Toko-yo-no-kuni*.

13. Literally "everything beneath Heaven." "Beneath Heaven" (天下), i.e. "all that is beneath the Heavens," is a common Chinese phrase for the Chinese Empire, which was in ancient days not unnaturally

supposed by its inhabitants to form the whole civilized world. The expression was borrowed by the Japanese to designate their own country. But its use by them had not the same plea of ignorance of other civilized lands, as they were acquainted with China and Korea, and had hence obtained nearly all the arts of life.

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88 [SECT. XXVIII.—THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT.][1]

Thereupon the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land lamented himself, and said: "How shall I alone be able to make this land?[2] Together with what Deity can I make this land?" At this time there came a Deity illuminating the sea. This Deity said: "If thou wilt lay me to rest[3] well, I can make it together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made." Then the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land said: "If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?" He replied, saying:- "Reverently worship me on Yamato's green fence, the eastern mountain's top."[4] This is the Deity who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro.[5]

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1. In the "Chronicles," this is given as the designation of the Deity who came over the sea, aad Motowori therefore adopts it as the heading of this Section.

2, For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII, Note 26.

3. *I.e.* "if thou wilt build me a temple." The original might also be rendered "if thou wilt worship before me," or "at my shrine," or "if thou wilt establish a temple to me."

4. *I.e.* on Mount Mimoro which stands as a protecting fence in the eastern part of the province of Yamato. *Awo-kaki-yama,* "green fence mountain," became a proper name used alternatively for Mount Mimoro (or, according to the later pronunciation, Mimuro). In like manner *Himukashi-yama* (in the later language *Higashi-yama*) "eastern mountain," has by some been considered to be a proper name.

5. *I.e.* "august house;" so called probably from the temple of the deity.

[SECT. XXIX.—THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY.]

So the Great-Harvest-Deity wedded the Princess [of?] Inu,[1] daughter of the Divine-Life-Producing-Wondrous-Deity,[2] and begot children: the Deity August-Spirit-of- 8
the-Great-Land;[3] next the Deity of Kara;[4] next the Deity Sohori;[5] next the Deity White-Sun;[6] next the Sage-Deity.[7] (Five Deities[8]). Again he wedded the Refulgent-Princess,[9] and begot children: the Deity Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee,[10] next the August-Harvest-Deity.[11] Again he wedded Princess Ame-shiru-karu-midzu,[12] and begot children: the Deity Oki-tsu-hiko,[13] next Her Augustness Oki-tsu-hime,[14] another name for whom is 90
the Deity Great Furnace-Princess[15]—this is the Deity of the Furnace[16] held in reverence by all people—next the Deity Great-Mountain-Integrator,[17] another name for whom is the Deity-Great-Master-of-the-Mountain-End:[18] this Deity dwells on Mount Hiye[19] in the land of Chika-tsu-Afumi,[20] and is likewise the Deity dwelling at Matsu-no-wo[21] in Kadzunu,[22] who uses the whizzing barb.[23] Next the Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard;[24] next the Deity Asahi;[25] next the Deity Hahigi;[26] next the Deity 91
Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee;[27] next the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling;[28] next the High Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard;[29] next the Great-Earth-Deity,[30] another name for whom is the Deity August-Ancestor-of-Earth.[31] (Nine Deities.[32])

In the above paragraph the children of the Great- 92
Harvest-Deity, from the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land down to the Great-Earth-Deity, are altogether sixteen Deities.

The Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling[33] wedded the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food,[34] and begot children: the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator;[35] next the Young-Harvest-Deity;[36] next his younger sister the Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity,;[37] next the Water-Sprinkling-Deity;[38] next the Deity-of-the-High-Sun-of-Summer,[39] another name for whom is the Female-Deity-of-Summer;[40] next the Autumn-Princess;[41] next the Deity Stem-Harvest;[42] next the Deity Lord-Stem-Tree-Young-House-Rope.[43]

In the above paragraph the children of the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, from the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator down to the Deity Lord-Young-House-Rope,[44] are altogether eight Deities.

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1. *Inu-hime.* Motowori supposes *Inu* to be the name of a place. The word properly signifies "dog."

2. *Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami.*

3. *Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami.*

4. *Kara-no-kami,* 韓神. *Kara* signifies Korea and China, and the Deity thus named appears in the "Chronicle" under the name of *I-so-takeru* ("Fifty-fold-Valiant), of whom it is related that he was taken over to Korea by his father *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male).

5. *Sohori-no-kami.* The etymology is not clecr. Hirata derives the name from a Verb *soru,* "to ride," "to go in a boat," in connection with the story (mentioned in the preceding note) of I-so-takeru having been taken over to Korea. According to this view, *Sohori,* like *Kara-no-kami,* would be an alternative name of *I-so-takeru.* But the derivation is hazardous, to say the least.

6. *Shira-hi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes *shira hi* (白日) to be a copyist's error for *makahi* (向日). The latter, however, does not make satisfactory sense, and Tomonobu proposes to invert the characters, thus: 日向, which means "sun-confronting." Motowori suggests that the word tmay, after all, be but the name of a place.

7. *Hizhiri-no-kami,* written with the characters 聖神. The first of hese is defined as signifying him who is intuitively wise and good, i.e.

the perfect sage. But perhaps we should in Archaic Japanese take the term *hizhiri* in what is its probable native etymological sense, viz. "sun-governing" (*hizhiri*, 日知), a title properly applied to the Japanese Emperors as descendants of the Sun-God, and of which the character 聖, which is used of the Chinese Monarchs, is only an equivalent in so far as it, too, is employed as an Honorific title.

8. Viz. from the August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land to the Sage-Deity inclusive.

9. *Kagaya-hime.*

10. *Oho-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami.* The translation follows Hirata's interpretation, which nearly agrees with that proposed by Mabuchi.

11. *Mi-toshi-no-kami.* For the meaning of "harvest" attributed to the word *toshi* see Sect. XX, Note 3.

12. *Ame-shiru-karu-midzu-hime.* The name might tentatively be translated thus: Heaven-Governing-Fresh-Princess-of Karu. Motowori suggests that *amerishiru* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word for the rest of the name. *Ama-tobu* is, however, the only Pillow-word for Karu found in the poems. After all, Karu may not here be the name of a place at all.

13. *Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami.* The translator ventures to think that the names of this deity and the next might simply be rendered (in accordance with the first character, 奥, entering into their composing) "Inner Prince" and "Inner Princess" or "Prince of the Interior" and "Princess of the Interior." Motowori however suggests that *Okitsu* may be the name of a place, while Hirata derives the names from *oki-tsuchi*, "laid earth," finding therein a reference to the furnace (made of clay) mentioned immediately below.

14. *Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.*

15. *Oho-be-hime-no-kami.*

16. *Kama-no-kami* (竈神). The "furnace" means the "kitchen." Neither Motowori nor Hirata informs us that the immense popularity of this Goddess, as well as her name, can clearly be traced to China.

17. *Oho-yama-kuni-no-kami.* The meaning of *kuhi*, here (as in the case of *Tsumu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi* (see Sect. II, Note 4) rendered by the word "interior," is open to doubt.

18. *Yama-suwe-no-oko-mushi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes the word *suwe*, "end," to have the signification of "top."

19. As it stands, the etymology of this name is not clear. In later times the mountain was called *Hiyei* (比叡). But whether the, to outward appearance, native *Hiye* is but a corruption of this Chinese one, or

whether it be true that the latter (on this hypothesis bestowed on account of its likeness in sound to the native designation) was not used till the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, as is commonly stated, is difficult to decide.

20. *L.e.* "Close-Fresh-Sea." *Afumi* (modern pron. *Omi*, for *aha-umi*) alone signifies "fresh sea," *i.e.* "lake." This province contains the large lake commonly known as Lake Biha (Biwa), but anciently simply called "the Fresh Sea," as being the lake *par excellence* of Japan. When one of the eastern provinces receivod, on account of a large lagoon or inlet which it contains, the name of *Toho-tsu-Afumi* (in modern pronunciation *Tō-tōmi*), *i.e.* "Distant-Fresh-Sea," the epithet Close was prefixed to the name of the province nearer to the ancient centre of government.

21. *I.e.* Pine-tree-Declivity.

22. *I.e.* Pueraria-Moor.

33. This passage (用鴨鏑神者也) must be corrupt. Mabuchi proposes to insert the character 祭 before 神, and to understand the author to have meant to tell us that the deity was worshipped with arrows, that is to say, that arrows were offered at his shrine. Motowori's proposal to consider 用 as an error for 成 or 化, and to interpret the clause thus: "the Deity who was changed into an arrow" is also worthy of notice. But a further suggestion of his to read 丹 for 用 and to interpret thus: "the Deity of the Red Arrow." seems best of all when taken in connection with the tradition, which he quotes from the "Topography of Yamashiro," to the effect that this god took the shape of a red arrow to gain access to his mistress *Tama-yori hime*, such a transformation being one of the common-places of Japanese myth.

24. *Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami.* The interpretation of this name here adopted is not Motowori's, who takes *hi* in the sense of "wondrous," but Hirata's. The latter author makes it clear that this deity (for whom *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami*, i.e. "The High-Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard," is but a slightly amplified designation) was none other than the above-mentioned Deity of the Kitchen, and his name an inclusive one for the pair of deities *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime.*

25. *Asuha-ho-kami.* The signification of this name is obscure, and Motowori's proposal to derive it from *ashi-niha*, "foot-place," because the god in question may be supposed to protect the place on which people stand, is not altogether convincing. In fact he himself only advances it with hesitation. It should be added, however, that Hirata stamps it with his special approval, as he does also Motowori's derivation of the following name, *Hahigi.*

26. *Hahi-gino-kami.* Obscure, but ingeniously derived by Motowori from *hachi-iri-gimi*, i.e. "entering prince," the deity in question being supposed to have been the special protcetor of the entrances to houses, and to have thence received his name. Mr. Satow has translated it in the Rituals as "Entrance Limit."

27. *Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami.* The name is almost identical with that in Note 10.

28. *Ha-yama-to-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori, and which seems tolerably satisfactory.

29. *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no kami.* See note 24.

30. *Oho-tsuchi-no-kami.*

31. *Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-kami.*

32. This number is obtained if (as is perhaps permissible from a Japanese point of view) we consider *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime* as forming a single deity. Otherwise there are ten. A similar remark applies to the number sixteen mentioned immediately below.

33. See Note 28.

34. See Sect. V, Note 8. The fact that this goddess is related to have been previously killed (see Sect. XVII) causes Motowori some embarassmeut.

35. *Waka yama-kuhi-no-kami.*

36. *Waka-toshi-no-kami.* Motowori proposes (considering this name in connection with the four that follow) to take *waka-toshi* in this place in the signification of the "the first sprouting" of the young rice. The five deities whose birth is here mentioned seem collectively to represent the natural succession of agricultural operations throughout the year.

37. *Waka-sa-name-no-kami.*

38. *Midcu-maki-no-kami.*

39. *Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami.* Motowori's interpretation of *hi* as "wondrous" is perhaps as good as that here adopted, according to which it signifies "sun." His view would give us in English "the Summer-High-Wondrous-Deity."

40. *Natsu-no-me-no-kami.*

41. *Aki-hime no-kami.*

42. *Kuku-toshi-no-kami.* The word *kuku*, "stem," seems to allude to the length of the well-grown rice.

43. *Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsunane-no-kami.* Motowori supposes this god to have been the protector of houses, and interprets the name to denote the beams, and the ropes with which the beams were bound together. The word here read *tsuna,* "rope;" is written with the character, and might perhaps be rendered "pueraria." But as in early times the tendrils of such creeping plants formed the only substitute for rope, the two renderings come to have very nearly the same signification.

44. The name is here abbreviated in the original to *Waka-muro-tsuna-ne no-kami.*

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93 [SECT. XXX.—THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND.]

The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded, saying: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh. Rice-ears-of-a-Thous-and-Autumns, — of Long-Five-Hund, red-Autumns[1] is the land which my august child His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears[2] shall govern." Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she sent him down from Heaven.[3] Hereupon His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[4] said: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns, — of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is painfully uproarious,—it is."[5] With this announcement, he immediately re-ascended, and informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. Then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity[6] and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded the eight hundred myriad Deities to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven,[7] and caused the Deity Thought-Includer[8] to think [of a plan], and said:[9] "This Central Land of Reed-Plains is the land with which we

have deigned to charge our august child as the land which he shall govern. So as he deems that violent and savage Earthly Deities[10] are numerous in this land, 69 which Deity shall we send to subdue them?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel and said: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi[11] is the one that should be sent." So they sent the Deity Ame-no-ho-hi; but he at once curried favour with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and for three years brought back no report.

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1. *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*, i.e., freely rendered, "ever fruitful Japan with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant rice-fields."

2, See Sect. XIII, Note 18. Henceforward this tremendous name is mostly abbreviated to *Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi* (probably signifying "Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.")

3. So in the original. The sense, however, is rather "told him to descend from Heaven;" for he did not actually go further than the top of the "Floating Bridge," and never came down to earth.

4. See Sect. III, Note 3.

5. The words "it is" stand for *ari keri* in the original. *Conf.* Sect. X, Note 1.

6. *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami*, first mentioned at the very commencement of the work. In this legend this god's name is constantly coupled with that of the Sun-Goddess, who alone, up to this point, had appeared as the ruler of Heaven.

7. See Sect. XIII, Note 12.

8. See Sect. XVI, Note 7.

6. The meaning must be, as Motowori suggests, that the story was told first, and the Deity Thought-Includer asked for his advice after he had heard it.

10. See Sect. I, Note 11.

11. See Sect. XIII, Note 19.

[SECT. XXXI.—THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.]

Therefore the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, saying. "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, is long of bringing back a report.[1] Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?"[2] Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince,[3] son of the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit[4] should be sent." So they bestowed on him the Heavenly feathered arrows,[5] and sent him. Thereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining,[6] daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land,[7] and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no
95 report. So then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince is long of bringing back a report.[8] Which Deity shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's long tarrying?" Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The pheasant the Name-Crying-Female[9] should be sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity] charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the Heavenly-Young-Prince is this: 'The reason for which thou wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to subdue and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for eight years bringest thou back no report?'" So then the Crying-

Female, descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree[10] at the Heavenly-Young-Prince's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman,[11] having heard the bird's words, spoke to the Heavenly-Young-Prince, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very bad. So thou shouldest shoot it to earth." On her [thus] urging him, the Heavenly-Young-Prince at once took the heavenly vegetable wax- 96
tree bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up upside down[12] through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity[13] were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-Integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: "This arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the Heavenly-Young-Prince," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the Heavenly-Young-Prince in obedience to our command, let it not hit him. If he has a foul heart, let the Heavenly-Young-Prince perish[14] by this arrow." With these words, the took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole,[15] so that it hit the Heavenly-Young-Prince on the top of his breast[16] as he was sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the origin of [the saying] Beware of a returning arrow.'[17]) Moreover the pheasant returned not. So this is the 97

origin of the modern proverb which speaks of 'the pheasant as sole messenger.'[18] So the sound of the wailings of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children[19] who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there,[20] and made the wild goose of the river[20] the head-hanging bearer,[22] the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-
98 woman,[20] the pheasant the weeping woman; and, having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves[24] for eight days and eight nights, At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne[25] came and condoled on the mourning for the Heavenly-Young-Prince, whereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves,[26] saying: "My child is not dead, no! My lord is not dead, no!" and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely resembled each other in countenance: so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity Ajishi-ki-taka-hiko-ne was very angry, and said: "It was only because he was my dear friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to an unclean dead person?"—and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sabre[27] that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning[28] at the source of the River Awimi[29] in the land of Minu.[30] The great sword with which he cut

[the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Great-Blade-Mower,[00] another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Sabre.[32] So when the 99
Deity Aji-shiki-toba-hiko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Her Augustness the High-Princess in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying :

> "Oh ! 'tis the Deity Aji-shiki-Taka-Hiko-Ne traversing two august valleys with the refulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of the august assembled jewels worn round her neck by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven !"[33]

This Song is of a Rustic Style.[34]

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1. Literally, "long brings back no report."

2. Literally, "to send again." The same expression occurs below.

3. *Ame-waka-hiko.* All the commentators agree that it is in order to express disapprobation of this god's wickedness that the title of Deity or Augustness is never coupled with his name.

4. *Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami.*

5. *Ame-no-koko-yumi* and *ame-no-haha-ya.* In Sect. XXXIV these weapons are mentioned under the slightly altered names of *ama-no-hazhi-yumi* ("heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow") and *ama no-kaku-ya* ("heavenly deer-arrows.") A large bow made of vegetable wax-tree (*Rhus succedanea*) wood, and arrows with broad feathers, are supposed to be intended.

6. *Shita-teru-hime.* See Sect. XXVI, Note 4.

7. *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami.* See Sect. XX, Note 17.

8. Literally, "long brings back no report."

9. *Na-naki-me.* If the view here taken of the meaning of the Japanese expression be correct (it is that preferred by Motowori and Hirata), the pheasant would seem to have been supposed to cry out its own name,—in Archaic Japanese *kigishi.* The syllables *na naki me*, however, lend, themselves equally well to the interpretation of "nameless female," and are in the "Chronicles" found written with characters having that signification. Another reasonable opinion is that the name should be connected with the tradition mentioned further on of the

pheasant having been the mourner (lit. "crying female," *naki-me*) at the funeral of the Heavenly-Young-Prince. In this case the word *na*, "name," would have to be considered redundant, and it will be observed thar, the next time the name is mentioned, we find simply *naki-me*, "crying female," without the syllable in question.

10. *Katsura no-ki*, variously written 桂, 楓, 香木, 杜木, and phonetically 加都羅. Though it is not absolutely certain what tree is intended, the weight of authority and of probability is in favour of its being the cassia, which plays a part in Chinese mythology. In modern parlance the *katsura* is a tree whose Latin name is *Cercidiphyllum japonicum*.

11. *Ama-no-sagu-me*.

12. This expression, as Motowori explains, signifies only that, as the arrow was shot from below straight up at a pheasant perching on a branch overhead, the feathers, which are properly considered to form the top part of the arrow, were naturally underneath.

13. *Taka-gi-no-kami*. The name is written with the characters 高木神, which, taken ideographically, would give us in English "High-Tree-Deity." But the translator has little doubt but that Motowori is correct in considerinx 木 to be here used phonetically, and the syllable *gi*, which it represents, to be a contraction of *guhi* (for *kuhi*), itself derived from *kumu*, and best rendered by the Verb "to integrate."

14. In Japanese *magare*, lit. "turn aside," "become crooked," i.e., "come to a bad end."

15. *I.e.*, through the hole in the bottom of the sky through which the arrow had entered, or which the arrow had made for itself.

16. Literally "high breast-hill."

17. The sentence placed between brackets is supposed by Motowori to be an addition to the text made by some copyist who had in his mind the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." In the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" the two characters answering to our word "beware" are omitted, and the resulting meaning is: "This was the origin of the practice of sending back arrows," *i.e.*, of shooting an enemy with the arrow he had himself just used.

18. The import of the proverb seems to be that an embassy should always consist of more than one person. This is Motowori's view, based on his interpretation of the character 頓 as *hita*, which he identifies with *hito*, "one"; and it agrees well with the story in the text. Hirata, who, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," following the version

of the legend given in the "Chronicles." narrates two pheasant embassies, —the male bird being sent first and (as it did not return) the female afterwards,—takes the character in the proper sense belonging to it in Chinese, and interprets the words of the proverb to mean "the pheasant's hurried embassy."

19. *I.e.*, the wife and children of the Heavenly-Young-Prince, who had been left behind by him in Heaven when he went on his embassy to Idzumo.

20. *I.e.*, in the place where he died. The "mourning house" was used to keep the corpse in till it was finally buried.

21. Some of the commentators believe this bird to be a separate species, and Moribe, who says that he saw one at the estuary near Kuhana in Ise, describes it as "rather slenderer than an ordinary wild goose, with longer legs and a higher back." If we accepted this, the better English translation would be "river wild goose."

22. The original of this expression (*kisari-mochi*) is very obscure even in the "Chronicles," by whose ideographic reading the translator has been guided, and being here written phonetically becomes more conjectural still. The most likely opinion is that it signifies one bearing on his head the food to be offered to the corpse, though if this view be adopted, the office of the mourner in question may seem to resemble too closely that of the kingfisher. The latter has however been supposed to have brought fish, while the goose may have brought rice. Another proposal is that the goose brought the food and the kingfisher cooked it, while the sparrow, as mentioned below, performed the intermediate operation of pounding the rice. (See Motowori's elaborate note on this word in Vol. XIII, pp. 47-48 of his Commentary).

23. Or simply, "the pounder."

24. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us that "they wept and wailed and sang for eight days and eight nights."

25. See Sect. XXVI, Note 2. He was brother to the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife.

26. The author of the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" tells us that these tears were tears of joy. Doubtless such is the meaning of the text; yet the repetition of the words "bewailing" and "lamenting" is curious.

27. See Sect. VIII. Note 4.

28. *Mo-yama.* No such mountain is now known.

29. *Awimi-gaha.* No such river is now known. According to the characters with which it is written the name signifies "Knot-grass-Seeing River."

30. Afterwards called Mino. This province probably received its name, as the author of the "Explanation of Japanese Names" suggests, from *mi nu, i.e.*, "three moors," from the large moors of Kagami, Awo, and Seki-ga-hara which it contains. The modern commentators prefer to derive it from *ma nu*, "true moor."

31. *Oho-ha-kari.* The name might also be rendered "Great Leaf-Mower." The translator has followed Hirata in omitting the *nigori* from the syllable *ka.*

32. *Kamudo-tsurugi.*

33. The meaning of the Song is: "Oh! this is *Aji-shihi-taka-hikone*, whose refulgence, similar to that of the jewels worn by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven, shines afar across hills and valleys."—The translator does not follow those commentators who emend *ana-dama*, "hole-jewels" to *aka-dama*, "red," *i.e.* "resplendent jewels," as the frequent reference in this and the other ancient books to the string on which beads were strung, and the presence in ancient tombs, etc. of numbers of such beads with holes drilled through them (they are now known by the name of *kuda-dama, i.e.* "tube-jewels") renders such an emendation unnecessary The "Weaving Maiden in Heaven" is evidently, notwithstanding Motowori's endeavour to disprove the fact, the Chinese *Chih Nü*, a personification of *a* Lyrae, to whom there are countless allusions in Chinese literature, and who also became a frequent theme of the later Japanese poets.

34. Or, "barbarous style" Motowori endeavours to explain away the various names of styles of Songs found in the early literature by asserting that they are simply derived from the initial words of the Song in question, and that, for instance, in the present case, the title of Rustic Song was bestowed on the poem only because in the "Chronicles" it is coupled with another which lends itself to such an interpretation. Moribe gives his sanction to this view; but, though it is difficult to explain many of the titles on any other theory, the translator thinks that it cannot be accepted as generally satisfactory in the face of the numerous cases which contradict it, and of which its supporters can give no satisfactory explanation. The whole subject of the titles, of the manner of singing, etc., of the ancient poems is indeed involved in obscurity.

[SECT. XXXII.—ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.] 100

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?"[1] Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise all the Deities said: "He who is named the Deity Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended[2] and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling by the source of the Tranquil River of Heaven, is the one that should be sent: or if not this Deity, then this Deity's child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[3] might be sent. Moreover,[4] owing to this Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended having blocked up and turned back the waters of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road blocked up, other Deities cannot go [thither]. So the Heavenly-Deer-Deity[5] should be sent specially to ask him." So then the Heavenly-Deer-Deity was sent to ask the Deity Heaven-Point-Blade-Extended, who replied, saying: "I will obey, and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless on this errand[6] ye should send my[7] child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,"[8]—[and with these words] immediately offered [his son to Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity]. So the Deity Heavenly-Bird-Boat[9] was attached to the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and they were sent off. Therefore these two Deities, descending to the little shore[10] of Inasa[11] in the land of Idzumo, 101
drew their swords ten hand-breadths long,[12] stuck them upside down[13] on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged[14] on the points of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-

Deity have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: 'We have deigned to charge our august child with thy dominion, the Central Land of Reed-Plains, as the land which he should govern. So how is thy heart?' "[15] He replied, saying: "I[16] am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master[17] will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to Cape Miho[18] to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet returned." So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou][19] respectfully present this land to the august child of the Heavenly Deity;"—and thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches, and disappeared.[20] So then they asked
102 the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "Thy son the Deity Thing-Sign-Master has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who should speak?" Hereupon he spoke again, saying: "There is my other son, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm.[21] There is none beside him." While he was thus speaking, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm came up, bearing on the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock,[22] and said: "Who is it that has come to our land, and thus secretly talks? If that be so,[23] I should like to have a trial of strength. So I should like to begin by taking thine august hand." So on his letting him take his august hand, his touch at once turned it into an icicle, and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade.[24] So then he was frightened and drew back. Then on the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity wishing to take the hand of the Deity

Brave-August-Name-Firm, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed it as if it were taking a young reed, and cast it aside, upon which [the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm] fled away. So when [the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea of Suha[25] in the land of Shinanu,[26] and was about to slay him, the Deity 103
Brave-August-Name-Firm said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. I will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master. I will yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains according to the command of the august child of the Heavenly Deities." So they returned again, and asked the Deity Master-of-the Great-Land [saying]: "Thy children the two Deities the Deity Thing-Sign-Master and the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm have said that they will follow and not go against the commands of the august child of the Heavenly Deities. So how is thy heart?" Then he replied, saying: According as the two Deities my children have said, I too will not go against them. In accordance with the [heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains. But as to my place of residence, if ye will make stout the temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of Heaven's sun, and will deign to establish me, I will hide in the eighty (less than a hundred) road-windings, and wait on him. Again, as for my children the hundred and eighty Deities, if the

Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be the Deities, august rear and van and will respectfully serve them.
104 there will be no disobedient Deities."[27] Having thus spoken [he hid himself.[28] So in accordance with his word,[29]] they built a heavenly august abode on the shore[30] of Tagishi[31] in the land of Idzumo; and the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits,[32] grandson of the Deity of Water-Gates,[33] was made butler to offer up the heavenly august banquet, when,[34] having said prayers, the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits turned into a cormorant, went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red earth from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters, and, cutting sea-weed[35] stalks, made a fire-drill mortar, and made a fire-drill pestle out of stalks of *komo*,[36] and drilled out fire, saying: "This fire which I have drilled
105 will I burn until, in the Plain of High Heaven, the soot on the heavenly new lattice of the gable of His Augustness the Wondrous-Divine-Producer-the-August-Ancestor[37] hang down eight hand-breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake down to the nethermost rock-bottom, and,—the fishing sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and landed the large-mouthed small-finned perch,—I will offer up the heavenly true fish-food so that the split bamboos bend."[38] So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity re-ascended [to Heaven], and reported how he had subdued and pacified the Central Land of Reed-Plains.

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1. Literally, "to send again."

2. *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari no kami.* We have already seen (Sect. VIII, Note 15) this name (*minus* the title of Deity) as the appellation of the sword with which Izanagi ("the-Male-Who-Invites") decapitated his son

Kagu-tsu-chi ("Shining Elder") for having by his birth caused the death of Izanami ("the Female-Who-Invites.") This sword's alternative name appears immediately below as the alternative name of this deity,—*Ame-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami*, i.e., "the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended." Motowori's gloss to the effect that the deity was the *spirit* of the sword has no warrant from the text.

3. *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami.* See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

4. Here, as in Sect. IX, (Note 6) the character 且, "moreover," occurs where some other Conjunction would seem more appropriate both in Japanese and in English. We may here understand it to be used for "but."

5. *Ame-no-kaku-no-kami.* The interpretation of *kaku* as "deer" is Hirata's. See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXII, p. 6, and *conf.* the remarks on Mount Kagu in Sect. VII, Note 12 of this translation.

6. Literally, "in this road."

7. The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant."

8. See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

9. *Tori-bune-no-kami.* See Sect. VI, Note 24.

10. The word "little" is merely a sort of Honorific Expletive.

11. The true etymology of this word is doubtful; for Motowori's proposal to derive it from *ina se*, supposed to mean "no or yes" (諾否), in allusion to the question here put to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is a mere fancy, and does not provide for the alternative forms *Itasa* and *Isasa*, which occur in other documents.

12. See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

13. *I.e.*, as Motowori explains, hilt downwards.

14. The "Chronicles" say that they "squatted."

15. *I.e.*, "What sayest thou to this our decree?"

16. Here and below the humble character 僕, "servant," is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

17. *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nu-shi-no-kami.* For this difficult name see Sect. XXVI, Note 7.

18. See Sect. XXVII, Note 1.

19. Or, "We will."

20. *I.e.*, He capsized his boat and himself into the sea,—the place being one where (as is still done in Japan) a large space of shallow water had been fenced in with posts, and stuck over with branches of

trees, a single opening being left for fish to enter by,—then clapped his hands in token of departure, and sank to the bottom.—This is Hirata's interpretation of the passage, which is a difficult one, and is differently understood by Motowori, whom Mr. Satow has followed in one of his notes to the Rituals (see Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 122 of these "Transactions"), rendering it thus: "He then trod upon the edge of his boat so as to overturn it, and with his hands crossed back to back (in token of consent), transformed his boat into a green fence of branches, and disappeared." A careful comparison of the remarks in Motowori's Commentary (Vol. XIV, pp. 16-19) with those in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (Vol. XXII, pp. 50-55) and with the text itself, as also with the text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," has however left no doubt in the mind of the translator that Hirata's view is the correct one.

21. *Take-mi-gata-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori.

22. *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

23. This expression seems here, as Motowori says, to be used in the sense of "Come on!" It has survived in the modern word *saraba*, which sometimes has that meaning.

24. *I.e.*, the Brave-Awful-Male-Deity's hand turned first into an icicle and next into a sword-blade on being touched by the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, to the alarm and hurt of the latter.

25. *I.e.*, the Lake of Suha. No satisfactory etymology of the name is forthcoming.

26. In later times called *Shinano.* The usual derivation of the word is that which connects it with *shina--zaka*; "mountainous ascents,"—an appropriate enough name for the province in question. It is, however, more probably derived from *shina*, the name of a tree resembling the lime (*Tilia cordata*) and *nu* or *no*, "moor."

27. *I.e.* "If ye will build me a temple founded on the nethermost rocks and reaching up to Heaven like unto the august residence of the Heavenly Deity who is coming to replace me as sovereign upon earth, I will vanish to Hades, and serve him there; and as for the Gods my children, none of them will rebel against their new Lord, if the Deity Thing-Sign-Master be accepted as the protector of his escort."—Some of the expressions in the original stand in need of explanation. *Su*, here rendered "nest" in accordance with the character 巢 employed in writing it, may mean "lattice" (簀), and refer to the lattice-work over the hole

in the chimney of the roof. The "succession of Heaven's sun" (in Japanese *ama-tsu-hi-tsugi*) means the inheritance of the sovereignty of Japan, or of Idzumo. *Momotaradzu* ("less than a hundred") is the Pillow-Word for *va se*, "eighty," and for some other words; it must be disregarded in making sense of any sentence in which it occurs. The "eighty road-windings" signify, says Motowori, an immensely long way," and are here meant for the long road leading to Hades or for Hades itself (Conf. Sect. XCVI, Note 7). In rendering the last sentence of the passage (that commencing "Again, as for my children," etc.), which is particularly vague, the translator has been guided by Motowori's opinion, which seems the most satisfactory one. It must be understood that the deities whose rear and van the Deity Thing-Sign-Master is to become, are those who are about to escort the new sovereign down from heaven.

28. *I.e.*, disappeared.

29. The passage placed within brackets is supplied by Motowori to fill up an evident omission in the text.

30. Literally "little shore." See Note 10 to this Section.

31. The derivation of *Tagishi* is doubtful; but *conf.* Sect. LXXIX, Note 2. Motowori remarks that we seem to have here the old name of the place now known only, on account of the temple which it contains, as *Kidzuki no Oho-yoshiro*, *i.e.* "the pestle-hardened great shrine."

32. *Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami.* Motowori proposes to consider *tama* as a contraction of *tamuke*, "offering," and to take the name to signify "the Deity of Wondrous Increasing Offerings." Hirata's interpretation, which is followed in the translation, seems better, as the term "eight spirits" or "eight [fold] spirit" accords with the religious role attributed to this Deity without necessitating any hazardous philological conjectures. The actual character used to write the disputed word is 玉, "jewel."

33. See Sect. VI, Note 9.

34. The word "when" must be understood resumptively, as signifying that the way in which he carried out his task was by turning into a cormorant, making platters, etc.

35. It is uncertain whether the word *me* (海布), here rendered seaweed, is a general designation or the name of the particular species.

36. Supposed to be the same as, or similar to, the modern *hondahara* (*Halochola macrantha*).

37. *Kamu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami.*

38. The translator has followed Moribe in the interpretation of the first part and Hirata in the interpretation of the latter part of this extremely difficult passage, which is a crux to all the commentators, but

whose general sense at least is this: "I will continue drilling fire for the God's kitchen, until the soot hangs down from the roof of the temple of the Ancestral Deity in Heaven above, and until the earth below is baked down to its nethermost rocks; and with the fire thus drilled will I cook for him the fish brought in by the fishermen, and present them to him in baskets woven of split bamboos which will bend beneath their weight."—Another plausible interpretation of the original expression rendered by these last two words is that they are simply the Pillow-Word for *towowo-towowo ni*, "bending." The rope with which the fishermen are supposed to have angled is described in detail by Hirata ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXIV, p. 21) as a long rope from which other strings, each with a hook attached, depended, and is said by him to be still in use in the provinces of Shimofusa (Shimōsa) and Hitachi. The "lattice of the gable" must be understood to mean bamboo lattice covering a hole beneath the gable, which served as a chimney. Motowori's remarks on this passage will be found in Vol. XIV, pp. 39-42 of his Commentary, and Moribe's on the words *to-daru ama no nihi-su* (rendered "on the heavenly new lattice of the gable") in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II, pp. 26-29; the latter especially are well worth perusal by the student. Mr. Satow, in one of the notes to his translation of the Rituals, (See Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 209 of these "Transactions"), gives a somewhat divergent rendering of this passage, following, as he does, the interpretation given by Motowori. It is as follows: "The fire which I have drilled will I burn until the soot of the rich and sufficing heavenly new nest of the PARENT Kami-musubi in heaven hangs down many hand-breadths long, and the earth below will I bake down to its bottom-most rocks, and stretching a thousand fathoms of paper-mulberry rope, will draw together and bring ashore the fisherman's large-mouthed small-finned *suzuki*, [and] will offer up the heavenly fish-food on bending split bamboos."

[SECT. XXXIII.—THE AUGUST DESCENT FROM HEAVEN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS THE AUGUST GRANDCHILD.]

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrity-Deity[1] commanded and charged the Heir Apparent[2] His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-

Swift Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears[3] [saying: "The Brave, Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished-pacifying the Central Land of Reed-Plaius. So do thou, in accordance with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I[4] have been getting ready to descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name is His Augustness Heaven-Plenty - Earth - Plenty - Heaven's - Sun - Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.[5] This child should be sent down." [[6]As for this august child,[7] he was augustly 107
joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess,[8] daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity, and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly Rice-ear-Ruddy[9] and next His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.[10]] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears[11] is the land over which thou shalt rule." So [he replied]: "I will descend from Heaven according to your commands." So when His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of 108
Reed-Plains. So then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity[12] [saying]: Though thou art but a delicate female, thou art a Deity who conquers in facing Deities.[13] So be thou the

one to go and ask thus: 'This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?'"[14] So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I[15] am an Earthly Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta.[16] The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as His Augustness's vanguard."[17] Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor,[18] in all five chiefs of companies,[19] they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they
109 joined to him the eight-foot [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling,[20]] and also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword,[21] and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener[22] of Eternal Night,[23] and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us."[24] Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu.[25] The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-
110 Food,[26] is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi.[27] The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity,[28]—this Deity of the August Gate.[29] The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male,

dwells in Sanagata.[30] Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains);[31] His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen);[32] Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru[33]); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains);[34] His Augustness-Jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains).[35]

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1. *Taka-no kami.* See Sect. XXXI, Note 13.

2. It will be remembered that this god was son of the Sun-goddess (or of her brother *Susa-no-wo*, "the Impetuous Male";—see Sect. XII, Note 18, and also the first two sentences of Sect. XIV and the first sentence of Sect. XV). The characters rendered "Heir Apparent are 太子, which form the usual Chinese equivalent of that term, and were borrowed by the Japanese. Motowori's reading of them as *Hi-tsugi-no-miko*, "Prince of the Sun's Succession," has no authority but his own patriotic fancy.

3. For this tremendous name see Sect. XIII, Note 18.

4. The humble character 僕, "servant" is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

5. *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mi-koto.* Excepting as regards the final *gi* of *ni-nigi*, which it is surely better with Hirata to consider as helping to form the word *nigi*, "plenty," than to take it as a separate word signifying "lord," as Motowori does, the translation follows Motowori's interpretation of the various component parts of this tremendous name, which is mostly abbreviated to its latter portion. It is precisely to this latter portion (the syllables *hiko ho-no nigi*) that considerable doubt attaches. *Ho* might mean "fire" rather than "rice-ears," and Motowori himself suggests that *ni-nigi* should perhaps be regarded as a corruption of *nigi-kahi*, "plentiful spikes of grain," rather than as "ruddy plenty." About the meaning of the rest of the name there cannot be much doubt. "Heaven's Sun Height" must be understood as an honorific designation signifying "high as the sun in heaven."

6. The translator puts this sentence between brackets because it is an evident interruption of the main story. Indeed the edition of 1688 prints it as a note to the text. The grammar of it is curious, as, on a first

reading, one would be tempted to suppose that "this child," i.e., His August *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-amatsu-hi-doka-hiko-ho ni-nigi*, was the father of *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*. But the latter name is but an abbreviated form of the former, and the god could not be his own father. The meaning rather is (and such a construction is not so forced in Japanese as it sounds in English): "As for the parentage of this child, he was born of the marriage [of His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.] with Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-etc. Princess. There is, however, real confusion in the traditional genealogy, as the "Chronicles" make the deity in question father to His Augustness Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy, instead of younger brother.

7. Viz. His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.

8. *Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto.* Mabuchi, as quoted by Motowori, suggests that *yorodzu*, "myriad," should be connected with the word *yoroshi* "good," as signifying an extreme degree, the *ne plus ultra*. But, though perhaps a good guess at the origin in the word, it need not affect our estimate of its actual signification. The translator has, however, followed Mabuchi in considering the syllable *shi* as an apocopated form of *shima*, "island," and *Aki-dzu-shi*[*ma*] as having its usual signification of "Dragon-fly Island" (more literally "Island of the Autumn Insect) rather than accept Motowori's explanation of *shi* as representing the Verb *chijimu*, "to be puckered," and of the whole compound *aki-dzu-shi* as signifying "crape like dragon-flies' wings." Not only is there no mention of crape in other passages of these "Records," but the derivation does not, to say the least, recommend itself on philological grounds.

9. *Ame-no-ho-akari-no-Mikoto.* The word rendered "ripe" will bear equally well the interpretation "red."

10. *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*, the abbreviated form of the name in Note 6.

11. *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-hono-kuni.* This periphrastic synonym of Japan has appeared under a slightly shorter form in Sect. IX (Note 18).

12. *Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami*, the goddess whose loud, bold merriment was the chief cause of the Sun-Goddess emerging from her retreat in the cavern (see Sect. XVI, Note 28).

13. *I.e.*, "The brazen-facedness allows thee to stare others out of countenance, and make them uneasy."

14. Between this sentence and the next, the Alarming-Female-Deity must be supposed to have gone on her embassy and to have delivered the message with which she had been entrusted.

15. Written 僕, literally "servant."

16. *Saruta-biko-no-kami.* This is Motowori's reading. The more usual reading is *Saruda-hiko*, transposing the *nigori*. Hirata prefers to read *Sada-biko*, and takes *Saruda* or *Sada* to be the name of a place, which indeed seems the most acceptable view. The name actually signifies "monkey field." Motowori's interpretation of its import is a marvellous example of Japanese etymological gymnastics (see Vol. XV, p. 16 of his Commentary). Moribe's derivation from *sari-hate-hiko* 避果彦) is no better.

17. Or "guide."

18. For these five names and for the Deity Thought-Includer and the [Heavenly] Hand-Strength-Male-Deity mentioned a few lines further on, see Sect. XVI, Notes 15, 16, 28, 12, 13, 7, and 27 respectively.

19. *Tomo-no-wo.* This expression is here taken to refer to the various offices assumed by the five deities in question at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun-Goddess into the cave. It signifies properly the head of a company.

20. The allusion is to the story in Sect. XVI. Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, points out that it was only the mirror which allured the goddess from the cave. In the Japanese original of this passage, however, even more than in the English translation, the expression "that had allured" is made to both objects.

21. Obtained from the tail of the Serpent of Koshi. See the story in Sect. XVIII.

22. *Ame-no-iha-to-wake-no-kami.* Hirata observes that this must not be considered as the name of an independent Deity, but be taken simply as an alternative name of *Ame-no-ta-jikara-woo-no-kami* (the "Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity"). The part taken by this Deity in the legend narrated in Sect. XVI. seems a sufficient warrant for such an opinion, though a little lower down in this Section the two are again mentioned separately.

23. *Toko-yo.* These words, which, according to the rules of Japanese construction, are placed at the commencement of the clause, must be understood to apply either to the three gods collectively or to the first-mentioned (the Deity Thought-Includer) alone.

24. Or "worshipping before us," or "in our presence." The strictly logical concordance of an English sentence makes it appear as if the mirror were to be taken to represent the spirit of both Deities whose names are subjects of the first clause. In Japanese, however, all such concordances are much more loosely observed, and it is only the spirit of the Sun-Goddess that we must understand to be here intended.

25. *Isuzu* (literally "fifty bells," or else perhaps the name of a kind of grass with which the neighbourhood may originally have been overgrown) is the name of the site of the "Inner Temple" of Ise. It is in the Japanese text preceded by the Pillow-Word *saku-kushiro*, literally "rent bracelet." See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" *s. v.*

26. *Toyo-uke-no-kami*, the same as *Toyo-uke-bime* (see Sect. VII, Note 6). The mention of this goddess in this place is curious, as she would not seem to be connected with the legend. Motowori, however, supposes that it is through some accidental omission that she does not figure in the list of deities said to have accompanied the heaven-descended Sovereign.

27. This name signifies "meeting when crossing" or "crossing to meet," and is connected by the commentators with an unimportant tradition, for which see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XV, p. 48.

28. These two names are in the original *Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami* and *Toyo-iha-mado-no-kami*. The tradition in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story" makes them two separate deities.

29. Viz. of the gate or gates of the Imperial Palace.

30. Etymology obscure.

31. *Nakatomi no murazhi. Nakatomi* is taken by Motowori to be a contraction of *naka-tori-omi*, and by Mabuchi to be a contraction of *naka-tsu-ami*, either of which may be freely rendered "middemen," "intercessors," referring to the religious functions which were hereditary in this family. See "Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification," Vol. II, pp. 2-3.)

32. *Imibe no obito. Imibe* is derived from *imu*, "to avoid," *i.e.* "to abstain from," and *mure*, "a flock" or "collection of persons," "a clan," and refers to the religious duties of this hereditary class of priests, which naturally required their avoidance of all ceremonial uncleanness. The word "priest" would fairly, though freely, represent the meaning of the compound.

33. *Saru me no kimi.* For the traditional origin of this name see Sect. XXXV. These "duchesses" were priestesses: but it is a matter of dispute between the commentators whether the title was simply an official one, or hereditary in the female line.

34. *Kagami-tsukuri no murazhi.* Of this family nothing would seem to be known.

35. *Tama-no-ya* (or *Tama n'Oya*) *no murazhi*. But the name should probably be *Tama-tsukuri no murazhi*, *i.e.* "Jewel-Making Chieftains," a "gentile name" which is found in the later literature. Perhaps, however, we should understand both this means and the previous one to be simple inventions by names of which divine ancestry was claimed for the hereditary guilds of jewellers and mirror-makers.

[SECT. XXXIV.—THE AUGUST REIGN IN HIMUKA OF HIS AUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY.][1] 111

So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded[2] His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat,[3] pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[4] and descended from Heaven onto the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsu- 112
kushi.[5] So His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness[6] and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes,[7] both[8] taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers,[9] taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords,[10] taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow,[11] and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness[12] (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords).[13] Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite to the "land of Kara.'[14] One comes straight across to the august Cape of Kasasa;[15] and it is a land whereon 113
the morning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place."[16] Having thus spoken, he made stout the

temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven,[17] and dwelt there.

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1. Motowori makes Sect. XXXIV commence here, and it seems on the whole best to follow him in so doing, as the entire period of the reign on earth of the first of the heaven-descended gods is thus included in one Section. On the other hand, the "Descent from Heaven," which gives its name to the preceding Sect., cannot properly be said to be accomplished until the end of this first sentence of Sect. XXXIV. It will be remembered that the Japanese name of this first deity-king is (in its abbreviated and most commonly used form) *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*.

2. Motowori proposes to suppress the character 詔, "commanded," in this clause, and the character 而, "and," at the beginning of the next, and to take the Prince as the subject of the whole sentence. This would be convenient; but the characters 詔 and 而 are in all the texts.

3. *I.e.*, his place in Heaven. The original Japanese of the term is *ama-no-ihakura*.

4. The translator has adopted the interpretation proposed by Hirata, the only commentator who gives an acceptable view of this extremely difficult clause, which Motowori admitted that he did not understand. It must be remembered that Hirata identifies the "Floating Bridge of Heaven" with the "Heavenly Rock-Boat." (For details see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXVII, pp. 31-32).

5. Tsukushi, anciently the name of the whole of the large island forming the South-Western corner of Japan, and Himuka (in modern pronunciation Hiuga), one of the provinces into which that island is divided, have already been mentioned in Sect. V, Note 14 and Sect. X, Note 4 respectively. It is uncertain whether the mountain here named is the modern Takachiho-yama or Kirishima-yama, but the latter view is generally preferred. *Kushifuru* is explained (perhaps somewhat hazardously) as meaning "wondrous," while *Taka-chi-ho* signifies "high-thousand-rice-ears."

6. *Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto.* The interpretation is only conjectural.

7. *Ama-tsu-kume no mikoto.* The traditional origin of this curious name will be found below in the third and fourth Songs of Sect. LI (see Notes 21 and 22 to that Section), where the "sharp slit eyes" of this worthy are specially referred to. But Moribe seems to prove that *kume* is in reality not a personal name at all, but simply the old term for

"army," through a misconception of the original import of which has arisen the idea that *Oho-kume* and *Oho-tomo* were two distinct personages. The elaborate and interesting note on this subject in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II., pp. 46-55 is well worth consulting. The only point in which the present writer differs from him is with regard to the etymology of the word *kume*, which Moribe connects with *kumi*, "a company," and *kuma*, "a bravo," whereas in the opinion of the former it is probably nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word *chun* (軍) modern Japanese *gun*, "army," "troops."

8. The Auxiliary Numeral here used is that properly denoting human beings, not deities,—*futari* (二人), instead of *futa-hashira* (二柱).

9. In Japanese *ama no iha-yugi.*

10. This is the generally received interpretation of the obscure original term *kabu-tsuchi* (or *kabu-tsutsui*) *no tachi*, the parallel term *ishi-tsutsui* being understood to mean "a mallet-headed sword made of stone." (Both names appear below in the Song at the end of Sect. XLVIII, Note 4). Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," rejecting the opinion that any part of the swords were made of stone, explains *kabu-tsutsui* in the sense of "broad-tempered" and *ishi-tsutsui* in that of "hard-tempered."

11. For the bows and arrows here mentioned see XXXI. Note 5.

12. *Ohotomo no murazhi*, a common "gentile name" down to historical times. *Oho-tomo* means "numerous companies" or "large tribe," in allusion, as Moribe supposes, to the force of which the personage here mentioned was the general.

13. *Kume no atahe. Conf.* Note 7.

14. Or *Kan* according to the Sinico-Japanese reading. We might render it in English by Korea. The Chinese character is 韓.

15. Etymology uncertain. An alternative form of this name, which is preserved in the "Chronicle," is *Nagasa*, which Hirata thinks may stand for *Nagasaki.*

16. This is the sense of the original Japanese text of this passage as literally as it can be rendered, and so the older editors understood it. Motowori however, though not daring actually to alter the characters, assumes that they are corrupt, and in his *kana* rendering gives us this instead: "Thereupon, passing searchingly through a bare-backed empty country, he arrived at the august cape of Kasasa, and said: "This land is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, etc.'" His evident reason for wishing to alter the reading is simply and solely to conceal

the fact that Korea is mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age, *i.e.* long before the epoch of its so-called revelation and conquest by the Empress Jin-gō (see Sect. XCVI to XCVIII). That the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" lends some sanction to his view is no excuse for so dishonest a treatment of the text he undertakes to commentate; for the "Records" and the "Chronicles" often differ greatly in the accounts they have preserved. One of Motowori's arguments is that, as Kasasa is said to have been in the province of Hiuga, it could not have been opposite to Korea, seeing that Hiuga faces east and not west. He here forgets that a little later on in his own same Commentary (Vol. XVII, p. 86) he asserts that Hiuga in ancient times included the provinces of Ohosumi and Satsuma, the latter of which does face west.

17. *I.e.*, he built himself a palace to dwell in (Conf. Sect. XXXII, Note 27).

[SECT. XXXV.—THE DUCHESS OF SARU.]

So then he charged Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female [saying]: "Do thou, who wast the one to make known this Great Deity Prince of Saruta who respectfully served as my august vanguard,[1] respectfully escort him [back]; and do thou likewise bear the august name of that Deity, and respectfully serve me." Wherefore the Duchesses of Saru bear the name of the Male Deity the Prince of Saruta, and the women are Duchesses of Saru.[2]

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1. See Sect. XXXIII from a little before Note 11 to Note 17.

2. *Q.d.*, instead of the men being Dukes, as would be more natural. The title was confined to females (see Sect. XXXIII, Note 33).

[SECT. XXXVI.—THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA.] 114

Now when this Deity Prince of Saruta dwelt at Azaka,[1] he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a *hirabu* shell-fish,[2] and was drowned in the brine of the sea. So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was the Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit;[3] the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was the Gurgling-up-August-Spirit;[4] the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was the Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit.[5] Thereupon [Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female], having escorted [back] the Deity Prince of Saruta, came back,[6] and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin,[7] and asked them, saying: "Will ye respectfully serve the august son of the "Heavenly Deities?"—upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the bèche-de-mer said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the bèche-de-mer, saying: "Ah! this mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!"—and [with these words] slit the mouth with her stiletto.[8] So at the present day the 115
bèche-de-mer has a slit mouth. Wherefore [from august reign to] august reign, when the offerings of the first-fruits of Shima[9] are presented [to the Emperor], a portion of them is granted to the Duchesses of Saru.

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1. Etymology unknown.

2. What species was denoted by this ancient name is not clear; but one of Motowori's suggestion, to the effect that it may have been identical with the modern *sarubo-yahi* (a shell of a family *Arcadæ*, probably *Arca subcrenata*), the origin of whose name would thus be traced up to the mythological age, is at least ingenious.

3. *Soko-daku-mi-tama.*

4. *Tsubu-tatsu-mi-tama.*

5. *Aha-saku-mi-tama. Saku* might be translated by "opening," "forming," etc. It is the same word as that used to express the blossoming of a flower.

6. The characters rendered "came back" are 還到. Motowori and Hirata believe 還 to be put erroneously for 罷, which would give the sense of "arrived there," and would thus enable us to locate the episode of the fishes at Ise instead of in Hiuga, which would better suit the concluding clause of this Section narrating the participation of the Duchesses of Saru in the first-fruits of the province of Shima. If the word Shima however here means, not the province of that name, but simply "islands" in general, there is nothing to be gained by the proposed emendation, which has moreover no sanction from any text; and it may be added that no notice is to be found in any history of the custom here said to have existed.

7. *I.e.* all the fishes both great and small.

8. Literally, "small string-sword," supposed to have been so called from its having been carried inside the garments, attached to the under-belt.

The smallest of the Japanese provinces, situated to the East of Ise. The name signifies "island," and it is possible that it ought here to be taken in that sense as a common noun.

[SECT. XXXVII.—THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty met a beautiful person at the august cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor,[9] and my name is the Divine-Princess-of-Ata,[2] another name by which I am called being Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees."[8] Again he asked: "Hast thou

any brethren?"[4] She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks."[5] Then he charged her, [saying]: "Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum. Tibi quomodo videtur?" She replied, saying: "I[6] am not able to say. My father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor will say." So he sent a request [for her] to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her 116
elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred.[7] So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night. Then the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message [to His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], saying: "My reason for respectfully presenting both my daughters together was that, by sending Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring[8] of the Heavenly Deity,[9] though the snow[10] fall and the wind blow, might live eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again that by sending Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, [they] might live flourishingly like unto the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to insure this,[11] I offered[12] them. But owing to thy thus sending back[13] Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail[14] as the flowers of the trees." So it is for this 117

reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns[15] are not long.

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1. See Sect. VI. Note 17.

2. *Kamu-ata-tsu-hime. Ata* is a place in Satsuma.

3. Or "Tree." *Ko-no-hama-saku-ya-hime.* Perhaps (though there is no native authority for doing so) we might rather understand *saku* as a Causative in intention, though not in form, and render the name thus: "Princess-Causing-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Blossom." The tree alluded to is doubtless the cherry. This deity is now worshipped as the goddess of Mount Fuzhi (Fusiyama), and in common parlance the last member of the compound forming her name does not receive the *nigori,* — *hime* instead of *bime.* The syllable *ya* has no signification in this and similar names. It will be remembered that there was another sister named "Princess-Falling-like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. (See Sect. XX, Note 5).

4. Or perhaps, so written 兄弟, the original expression were here better rendered by "sisters."

5. *I.e.,* as enduring as the rocks. The original name is *Iha-naga-hime.*

6. The character used here and immediately below for the First Personal Pronoun is 僕, "servant."

7. *I.e.,* every kind of goods as a dowry for his daughters.

8. The usual word child (子) is employed in the text; but it here almost certainly has, as Motowori suggests, a more extended meaning, and signifies the posterity of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty generally, i.e. the Emperors of Japan. The vaguer term "offspring" is therefore nearer to the author's intention.

9. *I.e.,* either of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. There is no difference in the sense, whichever of these two deities we take the speaker to refer to. The Sun-Goddess was his ancestress, and he was ancestor of the Japanese Emperors.

10. Or "snow and rain," the reading being uncertain.

11. Or "having sworn this," or "pledged [myself to the accomplishment of] this."

12. The Chinese characters used are those properly denoting the presenting of tribute.

13. Motowori proposes an emendation in this passage of 此令 to 爾令, which would not materially alter the sense.

14. The precise meaning of the syllables *a-ma-hi-no-mi*, here rendered by the words "but as frail" in accordance with Motowori's and Moribe's tentative interpretation, is extremely obscure. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" is 木華之移落, i.e. "fading and falling like the flowers of the trees."

15. The characters rendered "Heavenly Sovereign" are 天皇, a common Japanese designation of the Emperor. It would, especially in the later volumes of this work where the expression is repeated on almost every page, be more convenient to translate by the single word "Emperor." But the commentators lay great stress on the high significance of the component portions of the title, which, they contend, was not borrowed from China, but was first used in Japan. It is first met with in Chinese history in the middle of the seventh century of our era, just early enough indeed for it to have been borrowed before the time of the compilation of these "Records." But as there was no difficulty in putting together the two component parts "Heavenly, Sovereign," it is possible that the contention of the Japanese commentators is correct. The ancient pure native term seems to have been *Sumera-mikoto*, for which Mr. Satow has proposed the rendering of "Sovereign Augustness."

[SECT. XXXVIII.—THE AUGUST CHILD-BEARING OF PRINCESS-BLOSSOMING BRILLIANTLY-LIKE-THE-FLOWERS-OF-THE-TREES.]

So later on Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees waited on[1] [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. and said: "I[2] am pregnant, and now the time for my delivery approaches. "It is not fit for me to be delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately;[3] so I tell thee." Then [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] said: "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly![4] what! pregnant after one night![5] It cannot be my child. It must surely be the child of an Earthly Deity."[6] Then she replied, saying: "If the child with 118
which I am pregnant be the child of an Earthly Deity,

my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be the august child of the Heavenly Deity,[7] it will be fortunate;[8]—and thereupon she built a hall eight fathoms [long] without doors.[8] went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance] with earth; and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered.[9] So the name of the child that was born when the fire was burning most fiercely was His Augustness Fire-Shine[10] (this is the ancestor of the Hayabito, Dukes of Ata;[11] the name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Climax;[12] the august[13] name of the child born next was His August-
119 ness Fire-Subside,[14] another name for whom is His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears[15] (three Deities in all).

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1. More literally "came to"; but the character which is employed implies that her visit was to a superior.

2. Written with the character 妾, a "concubine" or "handmaid a common self-depreciatory equivalent of the First Personal Pronoun in Chinese, when the speaker is a woman.

3. *I.e.* "secretly," "without telling thee."

4. In this one instance only is the name thus abbreviated. Motowori supposes it to be on account of the scorn implied in the god's words

5. Literally, "one sojourn."

6. See Sect. I, Note II. Here of course one of the gods of the same country-side is meant.

7. *I.e.* "thy child and the Sun-Goddess descendant."

8. That is to say that it remained doorless after she had, as stated immediately below, plastered up the entrance.

9. Viz. of child, not from the flames. There is no ambiguity in the Japanese expression.

10. *Ho-deri-na-mikoto.*

11. *Hayabito-ata-no-kimi.* Ata is, as has been already stated in Note 2 to Sect. XXXVII, the name of a place in Satsuma. *Haya-bito* ("swift men," "bold men," literally, if we follow the Chinese characters "falcon men") was an ancient designation of the inhabitants of the south-western corner of Japan which was subsequently divided into the provinces

of Satsuma and Ohosumi, and came by metonymy to be used to denote the province of Satsuma itself, for which reason it remained as the Pillow-Word for the word Satsuma even after the exclusive use of this latter name had been established. In after times the *hayabito* (also contracted to *hayato* and *haito*) were chiefly known as forming the Infantry of the Imperial Guard, a curious choice of provincials for which mythological sanction was invoked. They are also said to have furnished the performers of a symbolic dance mentioned at the end of Sect. XLI (see Note 3 to that Sect.) In later Sections of this work, the translator has ventured to render *hayabito* by "man-at-arms."

12. *Ho-suseri-no-mikoto.*

13. The Honorific is doubtless prefixed in this case and not in the others, because it was to this prince or deity that the Imperial House traced its descent. Motowori's *kana* reading, which prefixes Honorifics to all such names indifferently, obliterates this delicate distinction.

14. *Ho-wori-no-mikoto.* The derivation of this name is less clear than that of his elder brothers. Motowori's proposal to consider it as a corruption of *ho-yohari*, "fire weakening," is however plausible; and as this triad of names is evidently intended to paint the stages in the progress of the conflagration, the import of the third must be something very like what Motowori suggests, even if his guess at the original form of the word be not quite correct. The names of all three brethren differ more or less in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles".

15. *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto.* The interpretation of the last four members of this compound name is extremely doubtful.

16. The actual word in the text is not *kumi*, "deity," but its Auxiliary Numeral *hashira.*

[SECT. XXXIX.—THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OF LUCK.]

So His Augustness Fire-Shine was a prince who got his luck[1] on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. His Augustness Fire-Subside was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside said to his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine: "Let us mutually exchange,

and use each other's luck." [Nevertheless], though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not accede [to it]; but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish; and moreover he lost the fish-hook in the sea. Thereupon his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine asked him for the fish-hook, saying: "A mountain-luck is a luck of its own, and a sea-luck is a luck of its own. Let each of us now restore [to the other] his luck."[2] To which the younger brother His Augustness Fire-Subside replied, saying: "As for thy fish-hook, I did not get a single fish by angling with it; and at last I lost it in the sea." But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So the younger brother, breaking his ten grasp sabre[3] that was augustly girded
120 on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not receive them, saying: "I still want the real original fish-hook.

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1. For the archaic Japanese work *sachi*, here rendered "luck," there is no satisfactory English equivalent. Its original and most usual signification is "luck," "happiness;" then that which a man is lucky in or skilful at,—his "*forte;*" and finally that which he procures by his luck or skill and the implements which he uses in procuring it. The exchange negociated below was doubtless that of the bow and arrows of one deity for the other deity's fish-hook.

2. *I.e.*, "Some men are naturally good hunters, and others naturally good fishermen. Let us therefore restore to each other the implements necessary to the successful following of our respective avocations."—The clause rendered "Let each of us now restore to the other his luck" is a little confused in the original; but the *kana* readings both old and new agree in interpreting it as has here been done.

3. See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

[SECT. XL.—THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon, as the younger brother was weeping and lamenting by the sea-shore, the Deity Salt-Possessor[1] came and asked him, saying: "What is the cause of the Sky's-Sun-Height's[2] weeping and lamentation?" He replied, saying: "I had exchanged a fish-hook with my elder brother,[3] and have lost that fish-hook; and as he asks me for it, I have given him many fish-hooks as compensation; but he will not receive them, saying, 'I 121
still want the original fish-hook.' So I weep and lament for this." Then the Deity Salt-Possessor said: "I will give good counsel to Thine Augustness;"—and therewith built a stout little boat without interstices,[4] and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: "When I shall have pushed the boat off, go on for some time. There will be a savoury august road;[5] and if thou goest in the boat along that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes' scales,—which is the palace of the Deity, Ocean-Possessor.[6] When thou reachest the august gate of that deity['s palace], there will be a multitudinous[-ly branching] cassia-tree[7] above the well at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the Sea-Deity's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee." So following [these] instructions, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] went a little [way], and everything happened as [the Deity Salt-Possessor] had said; and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the hand-maidens of the Sea-Deity's daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess,[8] bearing jewelled vessels, were about to draw water, there was a light in the well.[9] On looking up, there was a
beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. 122

Then His Augustness Fire-Subside saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it into a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then, without drinking the water, he loosened the jewel at his august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel. Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from the vessel]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it, and presented it to Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess. Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her handmaidens, saying: "Is there perhaps some one outside the gate?" They replied, saying: "There is some one sitting on the top of the cassia-tree above our well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illustrious even than our king. Lo, as he begged for water, we respectfully gave him water; but, without drinking the water, he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to separate this [from the other],[10] we have brought [the vessel] with [the jewel] in it to present to thee." Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted at the sight. They exchanged glances, after which she spoke to her father, saying: "There is a beautiful person at our gate." Then the Sea-Deity himself went out to look, and saying: "This person is the Sky's-Sun-Height, the august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height,"[11] led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of sea-asses[12] skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred,[13] made an august banquet,

and forthwith gave him his daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess in marriage. So he dwelt in that land for three years. Hereupon His Augustness Fire-Subside 123
thought of what had gone before,[14] and heaved one[15] deep sigh. So Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: "Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause of it?" The Great Deity her father asked his son-in-law saying: "This morning I heard my daughter speak, saying: 'Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh.' What may the cause be? Moreover what was the cause of thy coming here?" Then [His Augustness Fire-Subside] told the Great Deity exactly how his elder brother had pressed him for the lost fish-hook. Thereupon the Sea-Deity summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: "Is there perchance any fish that has taken this fish-hook?" So all the fishes replied: "Lately the *tahi*[16] has complained of something sticking in its throat[17] preventing it from eating]; so it doubtless has taken [the hook]." On the throat of the *tahi* being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to His Augustness Fire-Subside, whom the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor then instructed, saying: "What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to thine elder brother [is as follows]: 'This fish-hook is a big hook, an eager hook, 'a poor hook, a silly hook.'[18] Having [thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back hand.[19] 124
Having done thus,—if thine elder brother make high

fields,[20] do Thine Augustness make low fields; and if thine elder brother make low fields, do Thine Augustness make high fields. If thou do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel[21] to drown him. If he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to let him live. Thus shalt thou harass him." With these words, [the Sea-Deity] gave [to His Augustness Fire-Subside] the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel,—two in all, —and forthwith summoned together all the crocodiles,[22] and asked them, saying: "The Sky's-Sun-Height, august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height, is now about to proceed out to the Upper-Land.[23] Who will in how many days respectfully escort him, and bring back a report?"[24] So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days,—one of them, a crocodile one fathom [long], saying: "I[25] will escort him, and come back in one day." So then [the Sea-
125 Deity] said to the crocodile one fathom [long]: "If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing the middle of the sea, do not alarm him."[25] Forthwith he seated him upon the crocodile's head, and saw him off. So [the crocodile] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the crocodile was about to return, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] untied the stiletto[27] which was girded on him, and, setting it on the crocodile's neck,[23] sent [the latter] back. So the crocodile one fathom [long] is now called the Deity Blade-Possessor.[29]

1. *Shiho-tsuchi no kami.* The view of the meaning of this name which has here been taken is founded on the persistent use in all documents of the character 鹽, "salt," to write the first element of the compound, and of varying characters to write the syllables *tsu* and *chi*, an indication that the latter are to be taken phonetically and may therefore be interpreted to signify *tsu mochi*, "possessor of," as in numerous other instances. The fact that this god is known as the god of salt-manufacturers (see Tanigaha Shinsei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" Vol. VII, p. 3) adds another reason for rejecting both Motowori's far-fetched derivation of the name for *Shiri-oho-tsu-mochi*, "Great Possessor of Knowledge," and his assertion that it denotes no indiviual deity, but any one gifted with superior wisdom.

2. *Sora-tsu-hi-daka.* It will be remembered that *Ama-tsu-hi-daka*, "Heaven's-Sun-Height," was the first part of Prince Fire-Subsides's alternative name (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 15). The distinction between these two almost identical appellations would seem to be that the former is used of the Heir Apparent, the latter of the reigning sovereign. Both were therefore equally applicable to Prince Fire-Subside; and while that which he eventually bore is mentioned where his names are first given he is naturally spoken of in this place, when his father may be supposed to have been still living, by that variation of the name properly marking the Heir Apparent. These names, *Ama-tsu-hi-daka* and *Sora-tsu-hi-daka*, will be met with again below applied to other personages.

3. *I.e.*, "I had received a fish-hook from my elder brother in exchange for a "bow." The text is here concise to obscurity.

4. *I.e.*, as is supposed, a punt or tub made of strips of bamboo plaited so tightly that no water could find its way in between them.

5. *I.e.*, simply "a pleasant road." *Michi*, "a road" is properly a compound,—*mi-chi*, "august road,"—the single syllable *chi* being the most archaic Japanese word for "road." It is in this place written 御路, showing that the etymology was not yet quite forgotten at the time of the compilation of these "Records." Generally, however, throughout the work we have 路 or .. alone.

6. See Sect. VI, Note 8, where the Adjective "Great" is prefixed to the name.

7. See Sect. XXXI, Note 10.

8. *Toyo-tama-hime.*

9. The character 光 properly "light," "refulgence," is here taken by Motowori in the precisely opposite sense of "shadow" (the parallel

passage in the "Chronicles" having 人影 "human shadow"), and his view is absolved from unreasonableness by the fact of the confusion between light and shade which has always existed in Japanese phraseology. Thus *hi-kage* may signify either "sunlight" or "a shadow cast by the sun." It is safest, however, to adhere to the Chinese characters employed by the author; and in this special instance we may well suppose him to have intended to say that a celestial light shone from the body of the god in question. Such an idea is not foreign to classical Japanese ways of thought and expression. See also Sect. XLVI, Note 9-10.

10. Or, taking the character 是 as an initial Particle, "So, as we were not able to separate [one from the other]."

11. See Note 2 to this Section.

12. This is a literal translation of the Chinese characters 海鹽, by which the Archaic word *michi*, here written phonetically, is elsewhere represented. Perhaps the sea-lion (*Otaria arsina*) or a species of seal may be intended.

13. See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

14. Literally, "thought of the first things."

15. As the character for "one" is thrice repeated in this passage, Motowori is probably right in saying that it should be given its proper signification, and the translator therefore renders it by the Numeral "one" rather than by the Indefinite Article "a."

16. Pronounced *tai* in modern parlance. Perhaps we should rather add *aka-dahi*, "red *tahi*," as in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." Both these fishes belong to the family *Sparoidei*, the former being the *Pagrus cardinalis*, the latter probably the P. *major*,

17. Or, "of a fish-bone in its throat."

18. Tanigaha Shisei, quoting from Urabe no Kaneyoshi, comments thus on the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," where the whole of this legend is given several times in slightly varying forms: "By *big* hook is meant one that will not serve its purpose [because too big]; *eager* signifies that which [endeavours to, but] cannot advance; *silly* means unintelligent; hence we have a hook which, not serving its purpose, will be of no use whatever, but rather a road to lead [him who possesses it] to poverty. Poor outwardly, and inwardly silly, he will be the most useless creature in the Empire." It should be noted, however, that Motowori interprets in the sense of "gloomy," and Moribe in the sense of "drowning," the phonetically written and obscure word *obo*, here rendered "great."

19. *I.e.*, "with thy hand behind thy back." This is supposed by the commentators to have been a sort of charm by which evil was averted from the person of him who practised it, and they point out that Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") brandished his sword behind him when he was pursued by the hosts of Hades (see Sect. IX, Note 15).

20. By "high fields" and "low fields" are meant respective upland rice-fields where the rice is planted in the dry, and "paddy-fields" properly so called, where the rice perpetually stands in the water. Different varieties of rice are used for these different methods of culture.

21. *Shiho mitsu tama.* The "tide-ebbing jewel" mentioned in the next sentence is in the Japanese *shiho hiru tama.*

22. See Introduction, p. xxxiii, Note 41.

23. *Uha tsu kuni*, 國上.

24. *I.e.*, "Which of you will most speedily escort him home to the upper world, and bring back news of his safe arrival there?"

25. Written with the respectful 僕, "servant."

26. There is in this sentence a character 若, which is hard to explain if read *moshi*, "if," as usual in Japanese. Probably, however, it simply stands for 汝, "thou," and we might translate thus: "While thou art crossing," etc.

27. See Sect. XXXVI, Note 8.

28. *I.e.*, probably, tying it round the crocodile's neck.

29. *Sahi-mochi-no-kami.* "Blade" is the probable signification of *sahi* or *sabi*, though this particular proper name is written in the "Chronicles" with the Chinese character 鋤, "hoe" or "mattock." Here the syllables *sa hi* are written phonetically.

[SECT. XLI.—SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE]. 125

Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother], exactly according to the Sea-Deity's words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer, and poorer, and, with renewed savage intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack [His Augustness Fire-Subside, the latter] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him; on

his expressing grief, he put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head,[1] saying: "I[2] henceforward will be Thine Augustness's guard by day and night, and respectfully serve thee." So down to the present day his various posturings when drowning are ceaselessly served up.[3]

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1. *I.e.*, "did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground." The Old Printed Edition has 稽白 instead of 稽首白, and the *kana* gloss *kamugahemausu*, *i.e.* "reflected and said": but this reading, though interesting, is less good.

2. Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

3. *I.e.*, "Prince Fire-Shine's descendants the *Hayabito* (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11) still constantly perform before the Court dances and posturings symbolical of the antics which their divine ancestor went through for the amusement of his younger brother, after the latter had saved him from drowning. "One account" in the "Chronicles" relates these antics at full, telling us that they represented the straits to which he was put as the waters gradually rose higher and higher; and we learn from other passages in the same work and in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued" that the *Hayabito* did really down to historical times combine the office of Court Jesters with that of Imperial Guardsmen.

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126 [SECT. XLII.—THE PARTURITION-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS]

Hereupon the Sea-Deity's daughter Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess herself waited on[1] [His August, ness Fire-Subside], and said: "I[2] am already with child, and the time for my delivery now approaches. But methought that the august child of an Heavenly Deity[3] ought not to be born in the Sea-Plain.[4] So I have waited on thee here."[5] Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore she built a parturition-hall,[6] using

cormorants' feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed,[7] she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-hall. Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband[8] [saying]: "Whenever a foreigner is about to be delivered, she takes the shape of her native land to be delivered.[9] So I now will take my native "shape to be delivered. Pray look not upon 127
me!" Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside], thinking these words strange, stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a crocodile[10] eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about; and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away. Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess knew that he had peeped; and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: "I had wished always to come and go across the sea-path.[11] But thy having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-faced,"[12]—and she forthwith closed the sea-boundary,[13] and went down again.[14] Therefore the name by which the august child whom she had borne was called was his Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely.[15] Nevertheless afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she entrusted to her younger sister Jewel-Good-Princess,[16] on the occasion of her nursing the august child,[17] a Song to be presented [to His 128
Augustness Fire-Subside]. The Song said:

> "As for red jewels, though even the string [they are strung on] shines, the aspect of [my] lord [who is] like unto white jewels is [more] illustrious."[18]

Then her husband replied by a Song, which said:

"As for my younger sister, whom I took to sleep [with me] on the island where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing, I shall not forget her till the end of my life."[19]

So His Augustness-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears[20] dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years.[21] His august mausoleum[22] is likewise on the west of Mount Takachiho.

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1. For "waited on" see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 1. The word "herself" (自 *midzukara*) has no particular force or meaning in the Japanese original, where it is simply placed in imitation of the Chinese style.

2. See Sect. XXXVIII, Note 2.

3. Or "of *the* Heavenly Deity," *i.e.*, "thyself." But it seems better to understand the speaker to intimate that it would be unfitting for one who properly belonged to Heaven to be born in the sea, which was another country or kingdom.

4. *I.e.*, in the sea.

5. Literally "come out and arrived."

6. It has been noticed in the Introduction, p. xxviii, that in early Japan a parturient woman was expected to build for herself a special hut in which to give birth to her child.

7. Or, completely put on; literally, "thatched [so as] to meet."

8. The text here has 日子. "prince," literally "sun-child," and so the older editors understood the expression. The translator, however, prefers Motowori's view, according to which the character 遲 should be supplied, and the whole read phonetically as *hikoi*, "husband," a word which occurs again a few lines further on.

9. *I.e.*, she assumes the shape proper to her in her native land.

10. According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," she turned into a dragon. "One account" however agrees with our text.

11. The original of this passage is rather confused; but the interpretation here adopted from the Old Printed Edition is more natural than Motowori's according to which the Verbs are to be taken in a Causative sense, to the following effect: "I had always wished to let people come

and go across the sea-path." Probably it was only in order to make this clause fit in better with the following sentence, in which we are told that the crocodile-princess "closed the sea-boundary," and with the fact that there is at present no path leading to the Sea-God's palace, that Motowori was induced to sanction such a view of the grammar of this passage.

12. This is Motowori's interpretation of the clause, he having emended 作, "action," "doing," which is found in the older editions, to 怍, "shame-faced." (The edition of 1687 mentions 怪, "strange," as an alternative reading). If we followed the older reading, we should have to translate thus: "Thy having peeped at my [real] shape is an outrageous action."

13. *I.e.*, the boundary dividing the dominions of the Sea-God from the world of men.

14. Viz., to the Sea-God's palace.

15. *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no mikoto.* The older editors read *ahasezu* for *ahezu*, i.e. "causing to meet," instead of "meeting." Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, would have us believe that the name comes from *umi-ga kayohi fuki-ahezu* (海陸往來乳養不得), i.e. "going and coming on sea and land and being unable to suckle"!

16. *Tama-yori-bime.*

17. *I.e.*, of Jewel-Good-Princess nursing the child, The mother did not return to the upper world, and so sent this poetic message by her sister, who had consented to act as the child's nurse.

18. "The meaning of the Song," says Motowori, "is this: Although red jewels are so charming that the very string [whereon they are strung] doth shine, the august aspect of my lord, who is like unto white jewels, is still more lovely. Thus does she express her loving feeling."—Moribe supposed the "red jewels" (or "jewel" in the Singular) to be meant for the child, than whom her husband is yet dearer to her heart. The word *kimi*, here etymologically rendered "[my] lord," is commonly used in the sense of "thou," especially in poetry.

19. *I.e.*, "I shall never forget thee who wast my wife in the realm of the Sea-God. The "birds of the offiing" are a description of the wild duck, used as a Pillow-Word for their name. In the same manner the whole phrase, "where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing," may be taken simply as a "Preface" to the word "island." The Sea-God's dwelling is called an island because it is beyond the sea. The words

yo no koto-goto ni, here in deference to the views of the best commentators rendered by "till the end of my life," will also bear the interpretation of "night by night."

20. The alternative name of the deity Fire-Subside.

21. Probably the writer means us to understand that the total age reached by this deity was five hundred and eighty years. This is the first mention in these "Records" of anything approaching a date. The way in which it is recorded resembles that in which the chronicle of each Emperor's reign is brought to a close in the later volumes of the work.

22. The character 陵 might also be rendered by the simple word "grave." But neither it nor its Japanese reading *misasaki* are ever used except honorifically of the Imperial tombs, and "mausoleum" seems therefore a more suitable English equivalent.

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129 [SECT. XLIII.—THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS CORMORANT-THATCH-MEETING-INCOMPLETELY.]

His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely wedded his maternal aunt Her Augustness Jewel-Good-Princess, and begot august children named: His Augustness Five-Reaches;[1] next His Augustness Boiled-Rice;[2] next His Augustness August-Food-Master;[3] next His Augustness Young-August-Food-Master,[4] another name for whom is His Augustness Luxuriant-August-Food-Master,[5] and another name is His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince.[6] So His Augustness August-Food-Master, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land.[7] His Augustness Boiled-Rice went into the Sea-Plain, it being his deceased mother's[8] land.

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1. *Itsu-se-no-mikoto*. The "reaches" are the reaches of a river: at least this seems the most natural view to take of the meaning of the name. Motowori and Moribe, however, consider it to be a corruption of *idzu-shine*, to which they assign the signification of "powerful rice."

Excepting for the fact of its bringing this name into harmony with the three that follow, and which all relate to food, there seems little to recommend so far-fetched a derivation.

2. *Inu-hi-na-mikoto.* If Motowori's derivatiou of the name from *ina-ihi* is correct, it might be rendered with greater exactness "Rice-boiled-rice," *ine* denoting rice in the husk and *ihi* the same when boiled.

3. *Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto.* This name has heen translated in accordance with Motowori's interpretation of the syllables that compose it.

4. *Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto. Conf.* preceding Note.

5. *Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto. Conf.* Note 3.

6. *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto. Yamato* being the name of the province where this prince, the first Emperor of the so-called "human age," fixed his capital, it appropriately forms part of his name. For a discussion of the etymology of the word Yamato, see Sect. V, Note 26. *Ihare,* a word which is said to signify "assembling," is the name of a village in that province.

7. See Sect. XXVII, Note 12.

8. See Sect. XII, Note 8.

VOL. II.[1]

[SECT. XLIV.—REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU[2] (PART I.—HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER).] 130

The two Deities His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko[3] and his elder brother His Augustness Itsu-se, dwelling in the palace of Takachiho.[4] took counsel, saying: "By dwelling in what place shall we [most] quietly carry on the government of the Empire?[5] It were probably best to go east." Forthwith they left Himuka[6] on their progress[7] to Tsukushi.[8] So when they arrived at Usa[9] in the Land of Toyo,[10] two of the natives, whose names were Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime[11] built a

palace raised on one foot,[12] and offered them a great
august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one
131 year at the palace of Wokoda[13] in Tsukushi. Again
making a progress up[14] from that land, they dwelt seven
years at the palace of Takeri[15] in the land of Agi.[16]
Again removing, and making a progress up from that
land, they dwelt eight years at the palace of Takashima[17]
in Kibi.[18] So when they made their progress up from
that land, they met in the Hayasuhi[19] Channel a person
riding towards them on the carapace of a tortoise, and
raising his wings[20] as he angled. Then they called to
him to approach, and asked him, saying: "Who art
thou?" He replied, saying: "I[21] am an Earthly Deity."[22]
Again they asked him, saying: "Knowest thou the sea-
path?" He replied, saying: "I know it well." Again
they asked him, saying: "Wilt thou follow and respect-
fully serve us?" He replied, saying: "I will respect-
fully serve you." So they pushed a pole[23] across to him,
drew him into the august vessel, and forthwith conferred
132 on him the designation of Sawa-ne-tsu-hiko.[24] (This is the
ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Yamato.)[25] So when they
went up from that land they passed the Namihaya[26]
Crossing, and brought up at the haven of Shirakata.[27]
At this time Nagasune-biko[28] of Tomi[29] raised an army,
and waited to go out to fight [against them]. Then
they took the shields that had been put in the august
vessel, and disembarked. So they called that place by
the name of Tate-dzu.[30] It is what is now called the
Tadetsu of Kusaka.[31] Therefore when fighting with the
Prince of Tomi,[32] His Augustness Itsu-se was pierced in
his august hand by the Prince of Tomi's hurtful arrow.[33]
So then he said: "It is not right for me, an august

child of the Sun-Deity, to fight facing the sun. It is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched villain's[34] hurtful hand. I will henceforward turn round, and smite him with my back to the sun." Having [thus] decided, he, on making a progress round from the southern side, reached the sea of Chinu,[35] and washed the blood on his august hand: so it is called the sea of Chinu.[36] Making a progress round from thence, and arriving at the river-mouth of Wo[37] in the land of Ki,[38] he said: "Ah! that I should die stricken by the wretched villain's hand!" and expired[39] as a valiant man.[40] So that river-mouth was called the river mouth of Wo.[41] The Mausoleum, too, is on Mount Kama[42] in the land of Ki.

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1. Literally, "Middle Volume," there being three in all. See Author's Preface, Note 1.

2. *Jim-mu* signifies "divine valour." It is the "canonical name" of the Emperor *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko* (see Introduction, p. xiv).

3. In the preceding Section this name was rendered "Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince." But in the translation of Vols. II and III of this work, the Japanese proper names are not Englished, unless there be a special reason for so doing. (See Introduction, pp. xviii and xix.)

4. See Sect. XXXIV, Note 5.

5. See Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

6. See Sect. X, Note 4.

7. The Japanese expression here used is one which exclusively denotes an Imperial Progress, and not the movements of lesser people. It recurs perpetually in this and the following Volume.

8. See Sect. V, Note 14.

9. Etymology uncertain.

10. See Sect. V, Note 17.

11. *I.e.*, Prince of Usa and Princess of Usa.

12. In the original 足一騰宮, read *ashi hito-tsu agari no miya*. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has 一柱騰宮 which is directed to be read in the same manner. 柱 (*hashira*) however means, not "foot," but "pillar"; and the commentators understand both passages to allude

to a single pillar, which supported the weight of the entire building,—either as being in the middle of it, or (as Motowori opines) by standing in the water, the edifice, according to this view, being built on a river-bank overhanging the stream.

13. This name signifies "hillock rice-field."

14. *Q.d.* towards Yamato, the province where the capital was eventually fixed. In Japanese, as in English, people are said to go *up* to the capital and *down* to the country.

15. Etymology uncertain.

16. Etymology uncertain. This name is better known (without the *nigori* of the second syllable) as Aki. Aki is one of the provinces on the northern shore of the Inland Sea.

17. This name signifies "high island."

18. Etymology uncertain. Kibi is the name of a province.

19. This name signifies "quick sucking."

20. *I.e.*, as Motowori supposes, beckoning by waving his sleeve.

21. The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the humble character 僕, "servant."

22. See Sect. I, Note 11. Motowori wishes us here to understand this expression to mean "I am a Deity (i.e. a person) of the country-side." But there is no sufficient reason for departing from the precedent of rendering the characters 國神, which are constantly used antithetically to 天神, by "Earthly Deity" (as opposed to "Heavenly Deity.") Motowori likewise proposes to append to this sentence the clause "and my name is Udzu-biko," which is found in the "Chronicles." The name may be taken to signify "precious prince."

23. The characters 槁機 are evidently, as Motowori says, meant to represent the Japanese word *sawo*, "pole," though they do not properly convey that meaning. Probably they are corrupt.

24. *I.e.*, if we suppress the syllable *ne*, which seems to be either Expletive or Honorific, the "prince of the pole."

25. *Yamato no kuni no Miyadzuko.*

26. This is the reading of the name preferred by Mabuchi and Motowori; but the usual form *Vaniha* seems to be at least as well supported by early documentary evidence. The "Chronicles" tell us that the place was called *Vami-haya* 浪速, i.e. "wave swift," in allusion to the strong current which the Emperor Jim-mu here encountered; and at the present day it is still a dangerous place for navigation. The name properly denotes the water at the mouth of the River Yodo, on

which stands the modern town of Ohosaka (Ōzaka), for whose name Naniha is still often used as a poetical synonym. 浪華, "wave flowers," and 難浪, "dangerous waves," are alternative ways of writing it.

27. Motowori says that he cannot explain the etymology of this word; but "white sandbank" would seem a simple and obvious derivation. The Shirakata here mentioned is, according to Motowori, that situated in the province of Idzumo.

28. *I.e.*, the Prince of Nagasune. A plausible interpretation of *nagasune* would be "long-shank," which would give us Prince Long-Shank as the name of the worthy here mentioned; but the "Chronicles" states that Nagasune was properly the name of a place. The characters with which it is written, moreover, signify not exactly "long *shank*," but "long *marrow*," a designation which would have no evident personal applicability.

29. A legend in the "Chronicles" connects the name of this place with the word *tobi*, "a kite," it being there related that a miraculous gold-coloured kite came and perched on the Emperor Jim-mu's bow, and helped him to the victory. Probably the legend grew out of the name of *Tobi*, which is obscure and may have had had nothing to do with a "kite" originally.

30. *I.e.*, "shield-haven." But *conf.* next Note.

31. The real etymology of *Tada-tsu* seems to be "knot-grass-haven," nad probably *Taka-tsu* (for *Takatsu*), which is mentioned in Sect. LXIX, Note 29, is but another form of the same name. Kusaka is a well-known name in the annals of early Japan. Its signification is obscure, and the characters (日下), with which it is written, are particularly curious. There were two Kusaka, one in the province of Kahachi and the other in Idzumi.

32. Viz., *Nagasune-biko.*

33. The wording of the original 頁登美毗古之痛矢串 is very curious. Motowori reads it *Tomi-biko ga ita-ya wo ohashite.* Immediately below we have 頁毗奴之痛手.

34. The character is 奴, properly "slave."

35. The most likely derivation of this name is from *chi-numa*, "eulalia lagoon," the fact that it will also bear the interpretation of "blood-lagoon" being probably but a coincidence of which the mythopoeic faculty took advantage.

36. Here written with characters signifying "blood-lagoon."

37. The characters rendered "river-mouth" are 水門, literally "water-gate; but here, as elsewhere, "river-mouth" seems to be the signification meant to be conveyed. Rivers in Jagan, even at the present day, do not bear one continuous name along their entire course, and there would be nothing unnatural in the fact of the water at the mouth of the river having a special designation. One of the significations of *wo* is "man," and the legendary etymology of the name given immediately below rests on the assumption that such is the meaning of *wo* in this place. Even Motowori, however, is not satisfied with it, and it is probably erroneous.

38. See Sect. XXII, Note 14.

39. The Chinese character 崩, which is here used, is one that specially denotes the demise of an Emperor.

40. Probably the sense meant to be conveyed is that he expired with a gest of anger and defiance.

41. Here written 男, "man." *Conf.* Note 37.

42. *Kama-yama, i.e.* furnace-mountain."

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134 [SECT. XLV.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II.—THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN).]

So when His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko made a progress round from thence, and reached the village of Kumanu,[1] a large bear came out of the mountain,[2] and forthwith disappeared into it. Then His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko suddenly fainted away, and his august army likewise all fainted and fell prostrate. At this time Takakurazhi[3] (this is the name of a person)[4] of Kumanu came bearing one cross-sword[5] to the place where the august-child of the Deity was lying prostrate, and presented it to him, upon which the august child of the Heavenly Deity forthwith rose up, and said: "How long I have slept!" So when he accepted the cross-sword, the savage Deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously fell cut down.[6] Then the whole august

army, that had been bewildered and had fallen prostrate, awoke and rose up. So the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked him how he had got the cross-sword. Taka- 135
kurazhi replied, saying: "I was told in a dream that the two Deities the Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity[7] and the High Integrating Deity[8] commanded and summoned the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[9] and charged him [thus]: 'The Central Land of Reed-Plains[10] is painfully uproarious,—it is.[11] Our august children must be ill at ease. As [therefore] the Central Land of Reed-Plains is a land which thou specially subduedst, thou the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity shalt descend [thither].' Then he replied, saying: 'I[12] will not descend [myself], but I have the cross-sword wherewith I specially subdued the land. (The name by which this sword is called is the Deity Thrust-Snap;[13] another name by which it is called is the Deity Awful-Snap,[14] and another name for it is the August-Snap-Spirit,[15] This sword dwells in the temple of the Deity of Isonokami).[16] The manner in which I will send this sword down will be to perforate the ridge of [the roof of] Takakurazhi's stone-house,[17] and drop it through!' (So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity instructed me, saying: 'I will perforate the ridge of [the roof of] thy store-house, and drop this sword through.[18]) So do thou, with the good eyes of 136
morning,[19] take it and present it to the august child of the Heavenly Deity.' So, on my searching my store-house early next morning in accordance with the instructions of the dream, there really was a cross-sword there. So I just present this cross-sword to thee."

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1. This name signifies "bear-moor." The name is now generally pronounced *Kumano*.

2. Motowori ingeniously conjectures the text of this passage 大熊髮出, which makes no sense, to be a copyist's error for 大熊從山出, which

gives the meaning rendered in the translation. The running hand form of 從山 might well be mistaken for that of the single character 髮. The editor of 1687 is less happy in his conjecture that the character intended may be 鰐, "crocodile." This incident of the bear was thought important by the compiler for a mention of it to be inserted in his Preface. (See p. 5).

3. The signification of this name is not clear. Taking *zhi* as an apocopated *nigori*'ed form of the Postposition *shita*, we might suppose *taka-kura-zhi* to signify "under the high store house" in allusion to the legend which forms the subject of this section. There are, however, reasons for doubting this etymology. (See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, p. 48). In the Preface we have simply *Takakura*, without the final syllable *zhi*; but the omission of *zhi* in that place is almost certainly to be accounted for on euphonic grounds.

4. This note to the original is believed to be an interpolation.

5. 横刀. Motowori avers that the character 横, "cross," has no importance, and should be neglected in reading. But this assertion seems gratuitous in the face of, for instance, such a Chinese locution as 横磨劍. We may be justified, perhaps, in paying no special heed to the Numeral "one" in this place, which Motowori neglects in his *kana* reading of the text.

6. *I.e.*, they fell down cut to pieces before they had even been cut at with this wonderful sword.

7. The character 御, "august," which should form the penultimate member of this compound name, is here omitted.

8. See Sect. I, Note 5.

9. See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

10. See Sect. IX, Note 18.

11. Conf. Sect. X, Note 1.

12. The humble character 僕, "servant," is here used.

13. *Sazhi-futsu no kami.* The translator follows Tanigaha Shisei in considering *sazhi* (Tanigaha Shisei in his "Perpetual Commentary" reads *sashi* without the *nigori*) to mean "thrust." For the rendering of *futsu* as "snap" in this and the two following names *conf.* Sect. VIII, Note 8. Moribe, however, in his "*Ikzu no Chi-waki*, asserts that *futsu* is but an alternative form of *futo*, "broad," "thick," or "vast," as shown by the existence of the phrase *ma-futsu no kagami*, "a true vast mirror."

14. *Mika-futsu no kami.*

15. *Futsu no mi tama.*

16. The name of this place, which is in the province of Yamato, seems to signify "above the rock." It is well known as the Pillow-Word for the syllables *furu*.

17. Properly what is known to Anglo-Orientals as a "godown."

18. The sentence here placed between braces is proposed by Motowori to supplement an evident lacuna in the text.

19. Or, "luckily with morning eyes." Motowori remarks that even in modern times, special joy is felt at a good discovery made in the morning.

[SECT. XLVI.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III.—THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS).]

"Then His[1] Augustness the Great-High-Integrating-Deity again commanded and taught, saying: "August son of the Heavenly Deity! make no progress hence into the interior. The savage Deities are very numerous. I will now send from Heaven a crow eight feet [long].[2] So that crow eight feet [long] shall guide thee. Thou must make thy progress following after it as it goes." So on [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress following after the crow eight feet [long] in obedience to the Deity's instructions, he reached the lower course of the Yeshinu[3] river, where there was a 137
person catching fish in a weir.[4] Then the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I[5] am an Earthly Deity[6] and am called by the name of Nihe-motsu no Ko."[7] This is the ancestor of the Cormorant-Keepers of Aha.)[8] On [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress thence, a person with a tail[9] came out of a well. The well shone. Then [His Augustness] asked: "Who art thou?" He

replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Wi-hika."[10] This is the ancestor of the Headmen of Yeshinu).[11] On his forthwith entering the mountains,[12] His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko again met a person with a tail. This person came forth pushing the cliffs apart. Then [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying; "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Iha-oshi-waku no Ko. I heard [just] now that the august son of the Heavenly Deity was making his progress. So it is for that that I have come to meet thee." (This is the ancestor of the Territorial
138 Owners of Yeshinu).[13] Thence [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] penetrated over on foot to Uda.[14] So they say: "The Ugachi of Uda."[15]

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1. The intention of the writer is here obscure, but he probably meant the following passage to form part of the dream, as is the case in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." The inverted commas are therefore continued in the translation.

2. The characters 八咫烏 (*ya ta-garasu*), with which the original of this expression is written, combined with the mention in the Preface of the "great crow," have determined the translator to adopt the interpretation favoured by Tanigaha Shisei, viz., a "crow eight feet [long]." Motowori understands the expression to mean "an eight-headed crow." For the arguments on both sides see the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VII, p. 16, and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60-62, and Vol. VIII, pp. 34-58. See also for the translation of a parallel passage Sect. XVI, Note 23.

3. Better known by the classical and modern form of the name, *Yoshino*. It seems to signify "good moor." Yoshino, which is in the province of Yamato, has from the earliest times been renowned for the beauty of its cherry-blossoms, and also figures largely in the early and mediaeval history. Motowori points out geographical difficulties in the Imperial progress as here detailed. In the "Chronicles," the verisimilitudes of the journey are better observed.

4. The character 筌, here rendered "weir" for want of a better word, is defined as signifying "a bamboo trap for catching fish."

5. The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant." The other tailed deity mentioned immediately below uses the same expression.

6. See Sect. I, Note 11, and Sect. XLIV, Note 22, for the considerations that make it better to translate thus than to render by "I am a Deity of the Land."

7. *I.e.*, "Offering-Bearing Child." Here and elsewhere the word *ko*, "child," as part of a proper name, should be understood as a kind of Honorific, employed probably in imitation of Chinese usage.

8. *Ada* No *Ukahi*. This must be understood to be a "gentile name" (*kabane*). The etymology of Ada is uncertain. The practice of fishing with the help of cormorants, though now almost obsolete, seems to have been very common in Japan down to the Middle ages.

9. Commenting on a similar passage a little further on, Motowori, naïvely remarks: "It appears that in very ancient times such persons were occasionally "to be met with." It should be added that they are also mentioned in Chinese literature.

10. *I.e.*, "Well-Shine."

11. *Yeshinu no obito*. For Yeshinu see Note 3.

12. *I.e.*, disappearing among the mountains.

13. *Yeshinu no kuzu*. *Kuzu* is a contraction of *kuni-nushi* (properly 國主, with which characters the name is found written at the commencement of Sect. CVIII, though elsewhere the semi-phonetic rendering 國巢 or 國栖 is employed).

14. Etymologyy obscure.

15. *Uda no ugachi*. The meaning of the sentence is: "Hence the name of the Ugachi of Uda." *Ugachi* signifies "to penetrate." But the etymology seems a forced one, and Motowori is probably correct in identifying this "gentile name" with that of Ukashi, mentioned in the next sentence.

[SECT. XLVII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (ART IV.—THE UKASHI BRETHREN).]

So then there were in Uda two persons, Ukashi the Elder Brother and Ukashi the Younger Brother.[1] So

[His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] sent the crow eight feet [long] in advance to ask these persons, saying: "The august child of the Heavenly Deity has made a progress [hither]. Will ye respectfully serve him?" Hereupon Ukashi the Elder Brother waited for and shot at the messenger with a whizzing barb to make him turn back. So the place where the whizzing barb fell is called Kabura-zaki.[2] Saying that he intended to wait for and smite [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], he [tried to] collect an army. But being unable to collect an army he said deceitfully that he would respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], and built a great palace,[3] and in that palace set a pitfall, and waited. Then Ukashi the Younger Brother came out to[4] [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] beforehand, and made obeisance, saying: "Mine[5] elder brother Ukashi the Elder Brother has shot at and turned back the mes-
139 senger of the august child of the Heavenly Deity, and, intending to wait for and attack thee, has [tried to] collect an army; but, being unable to collect it, he has built a great palace, and set[6] a gin within it, intending to wait for and catch thee. So I have come out to inform [thee of this]." Then the two persons His Augustness Michi-no-Omi,[7] ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains,[8] and His Augustness Ohokume,[9] ancestor of the Kume Lords,[10] summoned Ukashi the Elder Brother and reviled him, saying: "Into the great palace which thou[11] hast built to respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], be thou[12] the first to enter, and declare plainly the manner in which thou intendest respectfully to serve him;"—and forthwith grasping the hilts of their cross-swords, playing with their spears,[13] and fixing arrows [in

their bows], they drove him in, whereupon he was caught in[14] the gin which he himself had set, and died. So they forthwith pulled him out, and cut him in pieces. So the place is called Uda-no-Chihara.[15] Having done thus, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] bestowed on his august army the whole of the great banquet presented [to him] by Ukashi the Younger Brother. At this time he sang, saying:

"The woodcock, for which I laid a woodcock-snare and waited in the high castle of Uda, strikes not against it; but a valiant whale strikes against it. If the elder wife ask for fish, slice off a little like the berries of the stand *soba;* if the younger wife ask for fish, slice off a quantity like the berries of the vigorous *sasaki.*"[16] 140

"Ugh![17] pfui! dolt! This is saying thou rascal. Ah! pfui! dolt! This is laughing [him] to scorn." 141

So Ukashi the Younger Brother (he is the ancestor of the Water Directors of Uda).[18]

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1. *Ye-ukashi* and *Oto-ukashi*. *Ukashi*, as in the other compounds where it occurs, is probably in reality the name of a place. Its etymology is doubtful.

2. *I.e.*, Barb Point or Cape.

3. Or, hall.

4. The original has a respectful expression, which is elsewhere translated "waited on."

5. The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕 "servant."

6. Literally, "spread." This gin is supposed to have been of the kind whose top closes down after the man or animal has fallen into it.

7. *I.e.*, "Grandee of the Way." This gentile name is said in the "Chronicles" to have been bestowed on this worthy in consideration of the services as a guide to his master the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's progress eastward.

8. See Sect. XXXIV, Note 12.

9. *I.e.*, perhaps "Great Round Eyes," supposed to be a descendant of His Augustness *Ama-tsu-kume* (see however Sect. XXXIV, Note 7 for a discussion of the etymology of *Kume*).

10. See Sect. XXXIV, Note 13.

11. The expression *i ga*, here rendered "thou," is, as Motowori remarks, "extremely hard to understand," and its interpretation as an insulting form of the Second Personal Pronoun is merely tentative. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

12. The insulting Second Pronoun *ore* is here employed.

13. Here again we have an expression written phonetically and of uncertain import. The translator has followed Motowori in tentatively rendering it according to the ideographic reading of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

14. Literally "struck by."

15. *I.e.*, Uda's Blood-Plain.

16. This Song is unusually difficult of comprehension: and the latest important commentator, Moribe, seems to show satisfactorily that all his predecessors, Motowori included, more or less misunderstood it. He had at least the advantage of coming after them, and the translator has followed his interpretation excepting with regard to *isukuhashi*, the Pillow-Word for "whale," which is here rendered "valiant," in accordance with the traditional view of its signification. The *soba* tree is identified by Motowori with the *Kaname-mochi*, "*Photinia glabra*." Ths *saka-ki*, taken together with its Prefix *ichi* (here rendered "vigorous") is supposed in this place to signify, not the usual *Cleyera japonica*, but another species popularly known as the *bishiya-gaki*, whose English or Latin name the translator has failed to ascertain. It has a large berry, whereas the *soba* has a small one...The following is the gist of Moribe's exposition of the general signification of the Song: "If for Ukashi's mean design to kill the Emperor in a gin there be sought a term of comparison in the whales and woodcock forming the Imperial banquet, then in lieu of the woodcock that he expected to catch in the trap that he set, that great whale, the Imperial host, has rushed up "against it. Again if, as the fishermen's wives might do, your (*i.e.*, you soldiers') wives ask you

for fish, then let each of you give to his elder wife, of whom he must have grown weary, only a small and bony portion, and to his younger wife, who is doubtless his heart's favourite, a good fleshy piece. So jocular a guess at the "*penchants* of the young warriors excites their ardour, which they give vent to in the following shouts."

17. Some of the Japanese originals of this string of Interjections are of uncertain import. The translator has been guided by Motowori's conjectures, with which Moribe mostly agrees. The exclamations are supposed not to form part of the actual Song, but to proceed from the mouths of the Imperial soldiers. The words rendered "this is saying thou rascal" (such is apparently their meaning) and those rendered "this is laughing [him] to scorn" seem to be glosses as old as the text, which had already been obscure in the eighth century. They are not written altogether phonetically.

18. *Uda na Mohitori.* This tribe or guild of "water-directors" was entrusted with the charge of the water, the ice, and the gruel used in the Imperial household. In later times the word *Mohitori* was corrupted to *Mondo*,

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[SECT. XLVIII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART V.—THE EARTH-SPIDER OF THE CAVE OF OSAKA).]

When [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] made his progress, and reached the great cave of Osaka,[1] earth-spiders[2] with tails, [namely] eighty bravoes,[3] were in the cave awaiting him. So then the august son of the Heavenly Deity commanded that a banquet be bestowed on the eighty bravoes. Thereupon he set eighty butlers, one for each of the eighty bravoes, and girded each of them with a sword, and instructed the butlers, saying: 142
"When ye hear me sing, cut [them down] simultaneously." So the Song by which he made clear to them to set about smiting the earth-spiders said:

"Into the great cave uf Osaka people
have entered in abundance, and are

[there]. Though people have entered in abundance, and are [there], the children of the augustly powerful warriors will smite and finish them with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords]: the children of the augustly powerful warriors, with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords], would now do well to smite."[4]

Having thus sung, they drew their swords, and simultaneously smote them to death.

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1. The etymology of this name is not clear, but readers will of course not confound it with that of the modern town of Ohosaka (Ozaka). The character rendered "cave," 室, signifies simply "apartment;" but the traditional reading is *muro*, which means a cave or pit dug in the earth. That the latter is the idea which the author wishes to convey becomes clear by comparison with a greater number of passages in the older literature. For a more particular discussion of this subject see Mr. Milne's paper entitled "Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate," published in Vol. VIII, part I of these "Transactions," p. 76 *et seq.*, where a number of passages relative to the "earth-spiders" are likewise brought together.

2. *Tsuchi-gumo*, generally written 土蜘蛛, but here semi-phonetically 土雲. There is little doubt that by this well-known name, which has given rise to much conjecture, a race of cave-dwelling savages or a class of cave-dwelling robbers is intended. Motowori supposes that their name had its origin in a comparison of their habits with those of the spider. But it were surely more rational to regard it as a corruption of *tsuchi-gomori*, "earth-*hiders*," a designation as obvious as it is appropriate. The "Chronicles" describe one tribe of them as "being short in stature, and having long arms and legs like pigmies." For a further discussion of the subject see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XIX, pp. 30-31, the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VIII, p. 35, the "*Tou-ya*," Vol. XX, *s. v. kumo* and the "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II, pp. 55 *et seq.*

3. The original term is *takeru* (梟師), which might also be rendered "bandit," or "robber chief."

4. The import of this poem is too clear to stand in need of explanation. The word *mitsumitsushi*, here rendered "augustly powerful" in accordance with Moribe's view, is understood by Motowori to mean "perfectly full," in allusion to the fully or perfectly round eyes of the deity Kume, to whose name he supposes there to be a reference. Mabuchi, on the other hand, explains the word to signify "young and flourishing." But Moribe's view both of this and of the import of *kume* as "warriors" seems so greatly preferable to any other, that the translator has not hesitated to follow him (*conf.* Sect. XXXIV, Note 7). The "*children* of the warriors" are of course the warriors themselves. With regard to the signification of the two kinds of swords here mentioned it has, however, been thought best to adhere to the usual view, and Note 10 to Sect. XXXIV should be referred to.

[SECT. XLIX.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VI.—THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN).]

After this, when about to smite the Prince of Tomi,[1] he sang, saying: 143

"The children of the augustly powerful
army will smite and finish the one stem
of smelly chive in the millet-field,—the
stem of its root, both its root and
shoots."[2]

Again he sang:

"The ginger, which the children of the
augustly powerful army planted near
the hedge, resounds in the mouth. I
shall not forget it. I will smite and
finish it."[3]

144 Again he sang, saying:

"Like the *turbinidæ* creeping round the great rock in the sea of Ise [on which blows] the divine wind, [so] will we creep round, and smite and finish them."[4]

Again when he smote Shiki the Elder Brother and Shiki the Younger Brother,[5] the august army was temporarily exhausted. Then he sang, saying:

"As we fight placing our shields in a row, going and watching from between the trees on Mount Inasa, oh! we are famished. Ye keepers of cormorants, the birds of the island, come now to our rescue!"[6]

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1. See Sect. XLIV, Notes 28 *et seq.* The apparent want of sequence in this portion of the narrative is not noticed by Motowori. We might endeavour to harmonize it by supposing that after having slain the "earth-spiders," etc., the Emperor Jim-mu turned round again to fight with the Prince of Tomi, who had harassed him in the earlier portion of his career as conqueror of Central Japan.

2. The wild chive growing among the millet is of course the enemy, the Prince of Tomi and his host; and the gist of the Song is that the Imperial troops will smite and destroy them root and branch. The commentators suppose the simile to have been taken from the fields of millet which Jim-mu's troops planted for their subsistenee during the long drawn out campaigns of early days.—The "stem of its root," *so ne ga moto*, is a curious expression, which is perhaps best accounted for by Moribe's supposition that we have here a pun on *Sune ga moto*, "Sune's house," *Sune* being a natural abbreviation of *Nagasune*, the name of the Prince of Tomi (see Sect. XLIV, Note 28).

3. The sense of this Song is: "I shall not forget the bitterness of seeing my brother slain by Prince Nagasune's arrow (see the latter part of Sect. XLIV). The word *hazhikami*, here rendered ginger in accordance with Motowori's dictum, is taken by Moribe to signify the xanthoxylon.

"Resounding in the mouth" is a curious phrase here used to express bitterness.

4. Motowori thus paraphrases this Song: "As the innumerable *turbinidæ* [-shells] creep round the great rock, so will I with the myriads of the Imperial host encompass the Prince of Tomi on every side, that there may be no outlet whereby he can escape." The shell here mentioned is a kind of small conch. *Kamu-kaze no*, lit, "of divine wind," is the Pillow-Word for Ise, and is of disputed derivation, as is the word Ise itself. The curious reader should refer to Fujihara no Hikomaro's "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" *s.v.* for the legend to which the name of Ise and its Pillow-Word were anciently traced and other conjectures on the point. The "great rock" here mentioned is not otherwise known.

5. *Ye-shiki* and *Otoshiki*. Shiki is the name of a district in the province of Yamato.

6. This Song is a request for provisions made by the Emperor to some fishermen, who were working their cormorants along the mountain-streams. Moribe refers it to an incident, not in the war, but in the hunt, and interprets differently the word here, in accordance with its usual meaning and with older authority, rendered "as we fight." He attributes to it the sense of "as we put our shields together," and thinks that the poet may have compared to shields the trunks of the trees. According to this view, the Song should be viewed rather as a joke. It may be mentioned that there is good authority for considering the word *tata namete*, "placing shields in a row," as a Punning Preface or Pillow-Word for words commencing with *i* (*i* being the Root of *iru*, to shoot"), so that Moribe's explanation need not involve any tautology. It seems however somewhat far-fetched.—The position of Mount Inasa is uncertain, and the name itself of obscure derivation.

[SECT. L.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII.—THE EMPIRE PACIFIED).]

So then His Augustness Nigi-hayabi[1] waited on and said to the august child of the Heavenly Deity: "As I heard that [thou], the august child of the Heavenly Deity, hadst descended from Heaven, I have followed

down to wait on thee."[1] Forthwith presenting to him the heavenly symbols,[2] he respectfully served him. So His Augustness Nigi-hayabi wedded the Princess of Tomi,[3]
145 sister of the Prince of Tomi, and begot a child, His Augustness Umashi-ma-ji.[4] (He was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Warrior-Clan,[5] of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[6] and of the Grandees of the Neck-Clan).[7] So having thus subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] dwelt at the palace of Kashibara[8] near Unebi[9] and ruled the Empire.[10]

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1. The component parts of this name, rendered according to the analogy of that in Sect. XXXIII, Note 5, may be interpreted to signify "Plenty-Swift." The genealogy of this god is not known.

2. *I.e.*, the swords, quivers, bow, and arrows mentioned in Sect. XXXIII, as having been brought down from Heaven by the divine attendants of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather.

3. *Tomi-ya-bime.* The syllable *ya* is inexplicable, but perhaps merely an Expletive.

4. The signification of this name is by no means clear; but, rendered according to the characters with which it is written in the "Chronicles," it would mean "Savoury-True-Hand."

5. *Mononobe no murazhi.* This and the two following are of course "gentile names."

6. *Hodzumi no omi.* Hodzumi, which is the name of a place, signifies "rice-ears piled up.

7. *Une-be no omi.* The interpretation of this name is given according to Motowori, who explains that the members of this family,—in particular the female members,—waited at the Emperor's table, and wore veils over their necks when so employed. The name is commonly corrupted to *uneme.*

8. Better known as Kashihabara. The name signifies "oak-moor," or rather "a place planted with oaks." This is usually, though without sufficient foundation, reckoned the earliest of the historical capitals of Japan. It is in Yamato.

9. Unebi is the name of a hill in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure.

10. *Lt.*, "ruled the Empire from his palace of Kashihara near Unebi. For the expression 天下 (literally "[all] beneath Heaven"), here rendered "Empire," see Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

[SECT. LI.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VIII.—HE WEDS I-SURE-YORI-HIME).]

So when he dwelt in Himuka, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] wedded[1] Princess Ahira,[2] younger sister of the Duke of Wobashi[3] in Ata,[4] and begot child- 146
ren: there were two,[5]—His Augustness Tagishi-mimi,[6] next His Augustness Kisu-mimi.[7] But when he sought for a beautiful maiden to make her his Chief Empress,[8] His Augustness Oho-kume said: "There is here a beauteous maiden who is called the august child of a Deity. The reason why she is called the august child of a Deity is that the Princess Seya-datara,[9] daughter of Mizokuhi[10] of Mishima,[11] was admired on account of her beauty by the Great-Master-of-Things the Deity of Miwa,[12] qui, quum pulchra puella oletum fecit, in sagittam rubro [colore] fucatam se convertit, et ab inferiori parte cloacae [ad usum] faciendi oleti virginis privatas partes transfixit. Tunc pulchra virgo consternata est, et surrexit, et trepide fugit. Statim sagittam attulit, et juxta thala-mum posuit. Subito [sagitta] formosus adolescens facta 147
est, qui cito pulchram puellam sibi in matrimonio junxit, et filiam procreavit nomine Hoto-tarara-i-susugi-hime;[13] et est nomen alternativum Hime-tatara-i-suke-yori-hime.[14] (Id est posterior mutatio nominis, quoniam abhorruit facere mentionem privatarum partium). So therefore she is called the august child of a Deity. Hereupon seven beauteous maidens were out playing on the moor of Takasazhi,[15] and I-suke-yori-hime[16] was among them. His Augustness Ohokume,

seeing I-suke-yori-hime, spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign in a Song, saying:

"Seven maidens on the moor of Taka-
sazhi in Yamato:—which shall be in-
terlaced?"[17]

Then I-suke-yori-hime was standing first among the beauteous maidens. Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign, having looked at the beauteous maidens, and knowing in his august heart[18] that I-suke-yori-hime was standing in the very front, replied by a Song, saying:

"Even [after nought but] a fragment[ary
glimpse], I will intertwine the lovely
[one] standing in the very front.[19]

Then His Augustness Ohokume informed I-suke-yori-
148 hime of the Heavenly Sovereign's decree, whereupon she, seeing the slit sharp eyes[20] of His Augustness Ohokume, sang in her astonishment, saying:

" ? ?
" ? ?
"Wherefore the slit sharp eye?"[21]

Then His Augustness Ohokume replied by a Song, saying:

"My slit sharp eyes [are] in order to
find the maiden immediately."[22]

So the maiden said that she would respectfully serve [the Heavenly Sovereign].[23] Hereupon[24] the house of Her Augustness[25] I-suke-yori-hime was on [the back of] the River Sawi.[26] The Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the abode of I-suke-yori-hime, and augustly slept
149 [there] one night.[27] (The reason why that river was called the River Sawi was that on the River's banks the mountain-lily-plant grew in abundance. So the name of the mountain-lily-plant was taken, and the de-

signation of River Sawi [bestowed]. The name by which the mountain-lily-plant was originally called was *sawi*). Afterwards, when I-suke-yori-hime came and entered into the palace, the Heavenly Sovereign sang augustly saying:

> "In a damp hut on the reed-moor having spread layer upon layer of sedge mats, we two slept!"[28]

The names of the august children thus born were: His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi,[29] next His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi,[30] next His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi[31] (Three Deities.)[32]

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1. Or. "*had* wedded; for the episode here related must be supposed to have taken place befere Jim-mu and his army started eastward on their career of conquest.

2. *Ahira-hime.* Ahira is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. Its etymology is quite obscure.

3. *Wobashi no kimi.* Wobashi is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. The characters with which it is generally written mean "small bridge."

4. Ata is a place in Satsuma.

5. Or, "there were two Deities." The character emgloyed is not that which itself actually signifies "deity," but is the Auxiliary Numera for divine beings.

6. *I.e.*, perhaps "rudder-ears."

7. Motowori adduces good reasons for believing this name to be but a slightly altered form of the preceding one, and for holding that in the original form of the tradition there was but one child mentioned.

8. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 10-15, for the reasons for thus interpreting the characters 大后 in the text. Elsewhere it has generally, for the sake of convenience, been simply rendered "Empress."

9. *Seya-dotara-hime.* The signification of the name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Seya* to be a place and *tatara* (*nigori*'ed to *datara*) perhaps a plant written with the Chinese character 華, said by Dr. Williams in his "Syllabic Dictionary" to be possibly a species of *Heteroiropa.*

10. It is uncertain whether this name should, or should not, be

regarded as properly that of a place. The meaning is equally obscure. The Chinese characters with which it is here written signify "ditch-eater," whereas those employed in the "Chronicles" signify "ditch-stake." Perhaps both transcriptions are simply phonetic.

11. A district in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name signifies "three islands."

12. *Miwa-no-oho-mono-mushi-no-kami.* This god is supposed to be identical with Oho-kuni-nushi (the "Master of the Great Land," see end of Sect. XX and following Sects). The rigidly literal rendering of the name as here given would be "the Deity Great Master of Things of Miwa"; but the more intelligible version here given represents the Japanese author's meaning. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the story related in Sect LXV.

13. *Hoto* significat partes privatas. Verbi *tatara* sensum supra s. v. *Seya-datara-hime* pertractavimus. *I* est vox expletiva. *Susugi* sensus est "trepide fugiens." Hime indicat regiam puellam.

14. *I.e.*, Princess Tatara-Startled-Good-Princess.

15. Etymology obscure.

16. An abbreviated form of the princess's alternative name.

17. The meaning of this Song is: "To which of the seven maidens now disporting themselves on the moor of Takasazhi shall I convey the Emperor's command to come that he may make her his consort, and sleep with his arms intertwined in hers?"—Motowori, overlooking the difference between *maku*, which is the word in the text, and the *nigori*'ed form *magu* met with in some other passages, misinterprets the last clause thus: "Which shall be sought?" He makes the same mistake in his explanation of the next Song.

18. *I.e.*, "having a presentiment."

19. The translation of this Song follows Moribe's exegesis. Motowori interprets it thus; "Well, well! I will seek the lovely one standing in the very front." As here rendered, the little poem is quite clear,—simply a declaration on the Emperor's part that he will make the girl standing in front his wife.

20. *Sakeru-to-me*, the original of the phrase here rendered "slit sharp eyes," is obscure and variously understood by the commentators. Moribe supposes the god to have worn a casque with a vizor, and the slit to have been made in the latter, and not actually in, or rather near, the eyes. It should however be observed that, though the Japanese word *saku* means "to slit," the Chinese character in the text properly signifies

"to tattoo (or brand) with ink," and is used with that meaning at the end of Sect. CXLIX, and elsewhere in the ancient books. The present writer, after comparing various passages in which the term occurs, thinks that we may understand a tattooing of the outer corners of the eyes, which would give to the latter the appearance of being long and sharp, or, if the tattooing were very dark, of being actually slit.

21. The first lines of this short poem are so hopelessly unintelligible that the commentators are not even agreed as to how the syllables composing them should be divided into words. For the straits to which Motowori and his predecessors were driven in their efforts to obtain some plausible signification, see his Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 27-29, and for Moribe's totally divergent interpretation see "*Idzu no Koto-waki*," Vol. II, pp. 30-31. It is not worth while to quote here more such conjectures.—For the doubt attaching to the precise signification of the words rendered "slit sharp eyes," see the preceding Note.

22. The signification of this Song is as plain as that of the preceding one is obscure.

23. *Q.d.*, as his wife.

24. This initial expression is meaningless.

25. Having become the Emperor's consort, this Honorific title is now prefixed for the first time to her name.

26. *Sawi-gaha. Sawi*, as we learn from the compiler's note below, was the name of a kind of lily.

27. Literally, "one sojourn."

28. The signification of this Song is: "Now indeed thou comest to share the majesty of the palace. But the beginning of our intimacy was on that night when I came to thy humble dwelling on the reed-grown moor where, when we slept together, we had to pile mat upon mat to keep out the damp."—The translator has followed Moribe's interpretation throughout. Motowori takes in the sense of "ugly" the word here rendered "damp," and all the previous commentators give a different explanation of the words *iya saya shikite*, here translated by "spreading layer upon layer." They take them to mean "spreading more and more cleanlily."

29. This name may signify "prince eight-wells." But the interpretation of *ya wi* as "eight wells" in his and the following name is doubtful.

30. This name may signify "divine-eight-wells-ears." But see preceding Note.

31. This name may signify "divine-lagoon-river-ears." But perhaps *Nuna-kaha* is the name of a place.

32. The character in the text is not actually "Deity," but 柱, *hashira*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities, which is constantly throughout these "Records" used in speaking of members of the Imperial family.

[SECT. LII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. IX—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So when, after the decease af the Heavenly Sovereign,[1]
150 the elder half-brother, His Augustness Tagishi-mimi,[2] wedded[3] the Empress I-suke-yori-hime, he plotted how he might slay his three younger brethren, pending which their august[4] parent I-suke-yori-hime lamented, and made [the plot] known to her august children by a Song. The song said:

> "From the River Sawi the clouds have risen across, and the leaves of the trees have rustled on Mount Unebi: the wind is about to blow."[5]

Again she sang, saying:

> "Ah! What rest on Mount Unebi as clouds in the day-time, will surely blow as wind at night-fall, [whence] the rustling of the leaves!"[6]

When hereupon her august children, hearing and knowing [of the danger], were alarmed and forthwith were about to slay Tagishi-mimi, His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi said to his elder brother His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi: "Thy dear Augustness, [do thou] take a weapon, and go in and slay Tagishi-mimi." So he took a weapon and went in, and was about to slay him. But his arms and legs trembled so, that he was

unable to slay him. So then the younger brother His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begged [to be allowed] to take the weapon which his elder brother held, and 151
went in and slew Tagishi-mimi. So again, in praise of his august name, he was called His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi.[7] Then His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi resigned [in favour of] the younger brother His Augustness Take-nuha-kaha-mimi, saying: "I could not slay the foeman; but Thine Augustness was at once able to slay him. So, though I be the elder brother, it is not right that I should be the superior.[8] Wherefore do Thine Augustness be the superior, and rule [all] beneath the Heaven. I[9] will assist Thine Augustness, becoming a priest,[10] and respectfully serving thee."

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1. *I.e.*, the Emperor Jim-mu. His decease is not otherwise specially mentioned; but a formula at the end of the Section, which is repeated *mutatis mutandis* in the case of each Emperor, tells us the number of years he lived or reigned, and the place of his sepulture. Throughout these "Records," much matter is often placed in the reign of a Monarch already deceased, and which, according to our ideas, would more naturally be narrated under the heading of his successor.

2. Who was the deceased Emperor's son by Princess Ahira (see Sect. LI, Note 6.) and consequently step-son to the Empress and half-brother to her three sons.

3. This is the meaning of the Chinese character in the text, Motowori tries to save the Empress-Dowager's reputation for conjugal fidelity by rendering it in his *kana* reading by a word signifying "raped."

4. See Sect. XXII, Note 4.

5. The import of this metaphorical poem, taken in its context, is too clear to need much comment. The rising of the clouds and the rustling of the leaves may be supposed to represent the murderer's preparations, and the blowing of the wind his actual onslaught.

6. The meaning of this Song is: "The would-be murderer remains quiet during the day-time like the clouds hanging to the mountain-side; but at night he will burst upon you like the storm-wind. Already I

hear the leaves begin to rustle; already he is gathering his men together."

7. The word *take* prefixed to the name of this prince signifies "brave."

8. *I.e.*, either "superior to thee," or as Motowori understands the phrase, "*the* superior of all," *scil.* the Emperor.

9. Though the elder brother, he here uses the humble character 僕 "servant," to show his respect aud deference.

10. Literally, "a person who shuns," *q.d.* who shuns all pollution, and avoids certain food at certain seasons. *Conf.* the gentile name *Imi-be* commented on in Sect. XXXIII, Note 32.

[SECT. LIII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X.—GENEALOGIES).]

So His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi (is the ancestor of the Chieftains of Mamuta,[1] and of the Chieftains of Teshima.)[2] His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi (is the ancestor of the Grandees of Oho,[3] of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Chihisako,[4] of the chieftains of
152 the Tribe of Sahahi,[5] of the Dukes ol Hi,[6] of the Dukes of Ohokida,[7] of the Dukes of Aso,[7] of the Chieftains of the Granaries of Tsukushi,[9] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe,[10] of the Rulers of the Tribe of Sazaki,[11] of the Rulers of Wo-Hatsuse,[12] of the Suzerains of Tsuke,[13] of the Rulers of the land of Iyo,[14] of the Rulers of the land of Shinanu,[15] of the Rulers of the land of Ihaki in Michinoku,[16] of the Rulers of the Land of Naka
153 in Hitachi,[17] of the Rulers of the land of Nagasa,[18] of the Suzerains of Funaki in Ise,[19] of the Grandees of Niha in Wohari,[20] and of the Grandees of Shimada.)[21]

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1. *Mamuta no murazhi.* Mamuta is said to have been a place in the province of Kahachi. The etymology of the name is obscure.

2. *Teshima no murazhi.* Teshima is said to have been a place in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name may signify "luxuriant island."

3. *Oho no omi.* Oho is said to have been a place in the province of Yamato. The name is mostly written with characters signifying "vast" or "numerous."

4. *Chihisako-be no murazhi.* Chihisako is said to have been a place in the province of Etchiū. But the name of this family has also been traced to an incident mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" as having occurred in the reign of the Emperor Yū-

riyaku, when, owing to a verbal error, a tax was collected in children instead of in cocoons. The monarch, amused at the mistake, is said to have granted to the tax-collector the "gentile name" of *Chihisako*, i.e, "Little Child."

5. *Sakahi-be no muhazhi.* *Sakahi* signifies "boundary," and this "gentile name" is traced to the fact, mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names," that the founder of the family distinguished himself by setting up boundary-marks on the frontiers of different provinces in the reign of the Emperor In-giyō (first half of the fifth century of the Christian era).

6. *Hi no kimi.* Hi (肥) is the name of a province (now two provinces) in the south-western island of Tsukushi. It is first mentioned in Sect. V, Note 17.

7. *Ohokida no kimi* Ohokida is the name of a district in the province of Toyo.

8. *Aso no himi.* Aso is the name of a district in Higo, containing a celebrated volcano.

9. *Tsukushi no miyake no murazhi.*

10. *Sazaki-be no omi.* This name is connected by the compiler of the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" with that of the Emperor Nin-toku (Oho-sazaki no Mikoto), for which see Sect. CIV, Note 18.

11. *Sazaki-be no miyatsuko.*

12. *Wo hatsuse no miyatsuko.* This name is connected with that of the Emperor Mu-retsu, whose name was Wo-Hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki.

13. *Tsuke no atahe.* Tsuke is the name of a place in Yamato.

14. *Iyo no kuni no miyatsuko.* For the province of Iyo see Sect. V, Note 26.

15. *Shinanu no kuni no miyatsuko.* For the province of *Shinanu* (*Shinano*) see Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

16. *Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko.* A popular derivation of *Michinoku* is from *michi no kuni*, "the country of the road;" but a more likely one, sanctioned by Motowori, is from *michi no oku*, the furthest or more distant part of the road." (For the word "road," as here used, *conf.* Sect. LXV, Note 2.). It was for many centuries, and is still in poetry, a vague name for the entire north of Japan. *Ihaki*, sometimes considered a province, and at others only ranking as a district, formed its south-eastern portion along the Pacific sea-board. The name seems to signify "rock (or hard) castle."

17. *Hitachi no naka no huni no miyatzuko.* Hitachi is a province to the south of Ihaki. Motowori quotes more than one traditional derivation of its name, the best of which, taken from the old Topography of the province, is *hita-michi,* "plain road," referring to the level nature of that part of the country. *Naka* is the name of a district. The word signifies "middle," and may have arisen from the fact of the district bearing it being situated between two considerable rivers.

18. *Nagasa no kuni no miyatsuko. Nagasa* is a district in that portion of the old province of Kadzusa which was in very early historical times cut off from the little province of Aha. The import of the name is not clear.

19. *Ise no Funaki no atahe.* For Ise see Sect. XLIX, Note 4. Of Funaki nothing is known. The characters with which the name is written signify "boat-tree."

20. *Ohari no Niha no omi.* Wohari is one of the central provinces of Japan. The name is of uncertain origin. Niha is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

21. *Shimada no omi.* Shimada is the name of a district in Wohari, and signifies "island rice-fields."

[SECT. LIV.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi ruled the Empire. Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko were one hundred and thirty-seven.[1] His august mausoleum is on the top of the Kashi Spur on the northern side of Mount Unebi.[2]

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1. The author's confused style must not here mislead the student. It is *after* the decease of the Emperor Jim-mu (Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko), who attains to the age of a hundred and thirty-seven, that the Emperor Suwi-zei (Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begins to rule.

2. For *Unebi* see Sect. LI, Note 9. *Kashi* signifies "oak." The word rendered "spur" is *wo.*

[SECT. LV.—EMPEROR SUI-ZEI.]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi dwelt at the palace of Takawoka in Kadzuraki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kaha-mata-bime,[2] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki,[3] and begot 154
an august child: His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi[4] (one Deity). The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tsukida.[5]

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1. In the province of Yamato. *Taka-woka* signifies "high mound." *Kadzuraki* means "pueraria castle," a name accounted for by a legend in the "Chronicles," which relates how an earth-spider was caught in this place by means of a net made of pueraria tendrils. Kadzuraki was the name, not only of a town, but of a district.

2. *I.e.*, the Princess of Kahamata, a place in Kahachi. The name signifies "river-fork." For the omission in this and a few other places of the words "daughter of," etc., which might be expected instead of "ancestress," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 4.

3. *Shiki na agata-nushi.* Shiki is in Yamato. The signification of the name seems to be "stone castle."

4. *Shiki-tsu-hiko* signifies "Prince of Shiki." Motowori believes Tamade to be in like manner the name of a place, while he interprets *mi* as the common abbreviation of the Honorific (?) *mimi.*

5. A place in Yamato. Motowori derives the name from *tsuki* modern *toki*), the "ibis," and *ta*, "rice-field."

[SECT. LVI.—EMPEROR AN-NEI.]

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi dwelt in the palace of Ukiana at Kata-shiha,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Akuto-hime,[2] daughter of the Departmental Lord Haye,[3] elder brother of Kaha-mata-bime, and begot august children: His Augustness

Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone,[4] next His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo,[5] next His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko.[6] Of the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign,—three Deities, — His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. There were two Kings,[7] children of the next [brother], His August-
155 ness Shiki-tsu-hiko. One child[8] (was the ancestor of the Territorial Lords of Suchi in Iga,[9] of the Territorial Lords of Nabari,[10] and of the Territorial Lords of Minu);[11] one child,[12] His Augustness Wa-chi-tsumi,[13] dwelt in the palace of Miwi in Ahaji.[14] So this King had two daughters: the name of the elder was Hahe-irone,[15] and another name for her was Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are:[16] the name of the younger was Hahe-irodo.[17] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-nine. Augustness mausoleum est in privatis partibus Montis Unebi.[18]

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1. In Kahachi: *uki-ana* signifies "floating hole," *Kata-shiha* is said to signify "hard rock" (*kata-iha*); but this seems doubtful, and the reading given by the characters in the text is not *Kata-shiha*, but *Kata-shiho*.

2. *I.e.*, Princess of Akuto, or Akuta,—for the latter form of the name is more common. There exists a place thus called in Settsu. The derivation of the word is obscure.

3. *Agata-nushi-Haye*. The reading of this name is obscure, and its derivation uncertain.

4. *Irone* signifies "elder brother" or "elder sister." The rest of the compound is obscure.

5. The first three elements of the compound signify "Great Yamato Prince." The last two are obscure, but Motowori identifies *suki* (see Note 3 to preceding Sect.)

6. *I.e.*, "Prince of Shiki"; so called, it is supposed, with reference to the place of residence of his grandfather.

7. The character thus translated is 王, of which "King" is the original and proper signification. To judge by some other passages in the ancient histories, it had not yet in the 8th century altogether paled to

the lesser meaning of "prince," which has belonged to it in later times when denoting Japanese personages. It is still, as far as possible, used to denote the rulers of all countries excepting Japan, the zealous admirers of the native literature and institutions even designating by it the Emperor of China, who, one would have thought, had a special right to the more Honorific title of Emperor, which his own subjects were the first to invent. On the whole, therefore, "King" seems to be the most appropriate readering. The characters 王女 are, by analogy, rendered "Queen."

8. The text has "descendant"; but it must here be corrupt or at least faulty, as may be seen by the omission of the proper name.

9. *Iga no Suchi no inaki.* The etymology of *Iga* and that of *Suchi* are alike obscure. See however Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 13, for the traditional derivation of the former. It is the name of a small province which in very ancient times formed part of the province of Ise.

10. *Nabari no inaki.* Nabari is in Iga. The name signifies, "hiding."

11. *Minu no inaki.* Minu, not to be confounded with the province of the same name, is a place in Iga. The name probably signifies "three moors."

12. *Ie*, the other child.

13. Motowori reads *Chichitsumi.* In any case, the name remains obscure.

14. For Ahaji see Sect. VI, Note 3. *Mi-wi* signifies "august well," and the name is traced to the custom of bringing water from the Island of Ahaji for use in the Imperial Palace, as mentioned in Sect. CXXIX of the present work, and elsewhere in the early literature.

15. *Irone* means "elder sister." *Hahe* is of uncertain import, it being written with completely different characters in the two histories.

16. *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto. Ono-yamato-kuni* signifies "the land of Great Yamato," and *hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." Motowori suggests that *are*, which is an obscure word, may signify "pure."

17. *Irodo* signifies "younger sister." For *hahe conf.* Note 15.

18. *Scil.* in interiori parte montis, *e.g.* in spelunca. Motowori explains the use of the term by reference to such words as *foot*, where the name of a portion of the human body is applied to a mountain. In Japanese there are others besides *ashi* ("foot"), such as *itadaki*, *hara* and *koshi.*

156 [SECT. LVII.—EMPEROR I-TOKU.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo dwelt in the palace of Sakahiwo at Karu,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded her Augustness Princess Futo-ma-waka,[2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Ihi-bi,[3] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-wake-shine,[5] next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko[6] (two Deities). So His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Chinu,[7] of the Lords of Take in Tajima,[8] and of the Territorial Lords of Ashiwi).[9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is above the Vale of Manago by Mount Unebi.[10]

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1. Karu, which still remains as a village in the province of Yamato, was famous down to the early historical days of Japan, being often mentioned by the poets. The derivation of the name is quite uncertain. *Sakahi-wo* probably signifies "boundary mound."

2. *Futo-ma-waka-hime-no-mikoto.* The compound signifies "vast, true, and young princess."

3. *Ihibi-hime-no-mikoto.* The name seems to signify "rice-sun-princess."

4. See Sect. LV, Note 3.

5. The import of this name is obscure.

6. *I.e.*, perhaps "rudder prince."

7. *Chinu no wake.* For Chinu see Sect. XLIV, Notes 35 and 36.

8. *Tajima no Take no wake.* Motowori tells us that no mention of any place called Take in the province of Tajima is to be found in any other book.

9. *Ashiwi no inaki.* The same remark applies to this name as to the last. The two "gentile names" here mentioned are equally unknown except from this passage.

10. *Unebi-yama no Manago-dani.* It is in Yamato, and is now called *Masago.* The name signifies "a sandy place, or desert."

[SECT. LVIII.—EMPEROR KO-SHO.]

His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine dwelt at the palace of Waki-no-kami in Kadzuraki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her August- 157
ness Princess Yoso-taho,[2] younger sister of Oki-tsu-yoso[3] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko,[5] and next His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito[6] (two Deities). Now the younger brother, His Augustness Tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The elder brother His Augustnsss Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kasuga,[7] the Grandees of Ohoyake,[8] the Grandees of Ahata,[9] the Grandees of Wonu,[10] the Grandees of Kaki-no-moto,[11] the Grandees of Ichihiwi,[12] the Grandees of Ohosaka,[13] the Grandees of Ana,[14] the Grandees of Taki,[15] 158
the Grandees of Haguri,[16] the Grandees of Chita,[17] the Grandees of Muza,[18] the Grandees of Tsunuyama,[19] the Dukes of Ihitaka in Ise,[20] the Dukes of Ichishi,[21] and the Rulers of the Land of Chika-tsu-Afumi).[22]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-three. His August mausoleum is on Mount Hakata[22] at Waki-no-kami.

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1. In Yamato. The name of Waki-no-kami is of uncertain derivation. In the "Chronicles" the Emperor Kō-shō is said to have "dwelt at the palace of Ikegokoro at Waki-no-kami." For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2. *Yoso-taho-bime-no-mikoto.* Here written phonetically, this name appears in the "Chronicles" written with characters to which the signification of "perfectly ornamented princess" should be attributed.

3. The signification of this name is obscure, but it seems to be connected in some way with that of the other sister.

4. *Wohari no murazhi.*

5. *I.e.*, heavenly great perfect prince."

6. *I.e.*, "great Yamato perfect prince, country great man." This name appears in an abbreviated form in the next sentence.

7. *Kasuga na omi.* Kasuga is a celebrated place in the province of Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin, though the "Catalogue of Family Names" gives a story referring it to *Kasu gaki* (糟垣), *i.e.*, "lees fence." The curious combination of characters with which Kasuga is written,—春日, —may be traced to the Pillow-Word *haru-hi no* (春日之) which was not unnaturally prefixed to a name which so much resembled the Verb *kasumu*, "to be misty."

8. *Ohoyake no omi.* Ohoyake is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "great granary."

9. *Ahata no omi.* Ahata is a place in Yamashiro. The name signifies "millet-field."

10. *Wonu no omi.* Wonu is a place in Afumi. The name signifies "little moor."

11. *Kakinnomoto-uo-omi.* *Kaki-no-moto* signifies "at the bottom of the persimmon-tree," and the name is said by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to have been granted to this family in allusion to a persimmon-tree which grew near their gate. This name was rendered illustrious in the eighth century by the poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro (See the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 217 *et seq.*).

12. *Ichihizi no omi.* Ichihiwi is in Yamato. The name may signify "oak-well."

13. *Ohosaka no omi.* Ohosaka is a place in Bingo. The name signifies "great hill, or pass,"

14, *Ana no omi.* Ana is a department in Bingo. The name signifies "hole" or "cave."

15. *Taki no omi.* Taki is a district in Tamba. The name, which is a common one in Japan, means "water-falls."

16. *Haguri no omi.* Haguri is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

17. *Chita no omi.* Chita is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

18. *Muza no omi.* Mudza is a district in Kadzusa. The name seems to be a corruption of the Chinese words 武射. "warlike archer."

19. *Tsunuyama no omi.* The family, the place, and the signification of the name are alike obscure.

20. *Ise no Ihitaka no kimi.* Ihitaka is the name of a district, and is traced to the signification of "abundant rice."

21. *Ichishi no kimi.* Ichishi is a district in Ise. The signification of the name is obscure.

22. *Chika tsu Afumi no kuni-no-miyatsuko.* For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

23. In Yamato. The signification of the name is obscure.

[SECT. LIX.—EMPEROR KOAN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito dwelt in the palace of Akidzushima at Muro[1] in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded his niece Her Augustness Princess Oshika,[2] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi,[3] next His Augustness, Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni[4] (two Deities). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne- 159
ko-hiko-futo-ni [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tamade.[5]

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1. In Yamato. *Muro* signifies "cave" or "pit." *Aki-dzu-shima*, "the Island of the Dragon-Fly," is frequently used as an alternative name of Japan (see Sect. V, Note 26). See also the Emperor Yū-riyaku's song given in Sect. CLVI.

2. *Oshika-hime-no-mikoto.* The name *Oshika*, which is obscure, appears in the "Chronicles" under the form of *Oshi*, which has generally been interpreted by Motowori (whom the translator follows) as a corruption of *ohoshi*, "great." This version of the name makes it harmonize with that of the Princess's father.

3. See Sect. LX, Note 11.

4. This name seems to signify "Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel."

5. *Tamade no woka.* In Yamato. For this name see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38.

[SECT. LX.—EMPEROR KŌ-REI.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni dwelt at the Palace of Ihodo at Kuruda,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuhashi,[2] daughter of Ohomé,[3] ancestor of the Departmental Lords of Tohochi,[4] and begot an august child: His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru[5] (one Deity). Again he wedded Princess Chiji-haya-ma-waka of Kasuga,[6] and begot an august child: Her Augustness Princess Chiji-haya[7] (one Deity). Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are,[8] he begot august children: Her Augustness Yamato-to-mo-so-bime,[9] next His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake;[10] next His
160 Augustness Hiko-isa-seri-biko,[11] another name for whom is His Augustness Oho-biki-tsu-hiko: next Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime[12] (four Deities). Again he wedded Haheirodo,[13] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Are, and begot august children,—His Augustness Hiko-same-ma,[14] next His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko[15] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all eleven Deities (five kings and three queens). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The two Deities His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko and His Augustness Waka-take-kibi-tsu-hiko together set sacred jars[16] at the front[17] of the River Hi[18] in Harima;[19] and, making Harima the mouth of the road,[20] subdued and pacified the Land of Kibi. So His Augustness
161 Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kamu-tsu-michi in Kibi).[21] The next, His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kiki-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Shimo-tsu-michi in

Kibi[22] and of the Grandees of Kasa[23]). The next His Augustness Hiko-same-ma (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uzhika in Harima[42]). The next, His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tonami in Koshi,[25] of the Grandees of Kuni-saki in the Land of Toyo,[26] of the Dukes of Ihobara,[27] and of the Maritime Suzerains of Tsunuga).[28] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and six. His august mausoleum is at Umasaka at Kotawoka.

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1. In Yamato. *Iho-do* signifies "hut door." *Kuru-da* (*Kuroda* would be the more natural reading) signifies "black rice-field."

2. *Kuhashi-hime-no-mikoto.* The name signifies "beautiful princess."

3. This seems to have been originally not a personal name, but the name of a place in Wohari.

4. *To-hochi no agata-mushi.* Tohochi is a district in Yamato. The name seems to signify "ten marts."

5. This name signifies "great Yamato's lord prince who rules the land."

6. *Kasuga no-chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime.* This name probably signifies "the thousand-fold brilliant truly young princess of Kasuga." For Kasuga see Sect, LVIII, Note 7.

7. *Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto, i.e.,* probably "thousand-fold brilliant princess."

8. *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto.* See Sect. LVI, Note 16.

9. Motowori assigns to this name the signification of "Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious princess," and has a very long note on the subject in Vol. XXI, p. 42, *et. seq.*

10. The signification of this name is not clear.

11. *I.e.,* "prince valorously advancing prince." The alternative name signifies "Great Prince of Kibi," and both refer to his conquest of the province of Kibi as related a little further on in this Section. Motowori gives good reasons for supposing that *Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi,* i.e. "He Who Completely Advances in Great Kibi," is but another form of the same name, erroneously inserted in the account of the preceding reign (see Sect, LIX, Note 3).

12. *I.e.,* perhaps "Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental Princess." The name resembles that of the elder sister.

13. For this and the next following names see Sect. LVI, Notes 17 and 16 respectively.

14. This name is obscure, and differs from that given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," where we read Sashima. The latter sounds more authentic.

15. *I.e.*, "the young prince the brave prince of Kibi." This name refers to his conquest of Kibi, as related a few lines further on.

16. *I.e.*, earthenware jars of a moderate size, probably intended to hold the rice-liquor offered to the gods. Being easily broken, they were planted in the ground up to a certain height.

17. The probable meaning of this peculiar expression is "a bend in the river."

18. Written with the character 氷, "ice," which may however be only phonetic. No river of this name is anywhere else mentioned as flowing through the province of Harima, aud one is tempted to suppose that there is some confusion with the celebrated river Hi, which figures so frequently in the Idzumo cycle of legends.

19. One of the central provinces of Japan, on the northern shores of the Inland Sea. Some derive the name from *hagi-hara*, "lespedeza moor," while others, connect it with *hari*, a "needle." Neither etymology has much to recommend it.

20. *I.e.*, "their point of departure." It must also be remembered that "road" came to have the sense of "circuit" or "province," so that we might translate this phrase by "the commencement of the circuit." *Conf.* such denominations as *Koshi no michi no kuchi*, *Koshi no michi no naka*, and *Koshi no michi no shiri* for what are in modern parlance the provinces of Echizen, Etchiu and Echigo. The region nearest to the capital was called the mouth, while equally graphic designations were bestowed on the more remote districts. It was, as we learn by comparison with a passage in the history of the reign of the Emperor Su-jin (see Sect. LXVI, Note 13), customary thus to plant earthenware jars in the earth at the point whence an army started on an expedition, this being considered a means of invoking upon it the blessing of the gods. Not only so, but down to the Middle Ages travellers in general were in the habit of worshipping at the shrine of the god of roads. For "road" in the sense of "circuit," "province," or "administrative division" see Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

21. *Kibi no kamu-tsu-michi no omi. Kamu-tsu-michi i.e.*, "the Upper Road" or "Circuit," was the ancient name of the province of Bizen (or of a portion of it), which formerly was a part of the Land of Kibi.

22. *Kibi no shimo-tsu-michi no omi.* *Shimo-tsu-michi* means "the lower road," and was the ancient name of a portion of the province of Bitchiū, which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

23. *Kasa no omi, i.e.,* "Grandees of the Hat," a "gentile name" which is referred by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to an incident in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, which he however by no means clearly relates (See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI; p.p. 57-58).

24. *Harima no Uzhika no omi.* Uzhika is the name of a place. It is written with characters signifying "cow and deer," but the true derivation is quite uncertain.

25. *Koshi no Tonami no omi.* Tonami is a district in Etchiū. he signification of the name is uncertain.

26. *Toyo-kuni no Kunisaki no omi.* Kunisaki is a district in Bungo. The name seems to signify "land's end."

27. *Ihobara no kimi.* Ihobara is a district in Suruga. The signification of the name is obscure.

28. *Tsunuga no ama no atahe.* For Tsunuga see Sect. CI, Notes 3 and 12. Perhaps the name should rather be rendered "the Suzerains of Ama in Tsunuga," as Ama may, after all, as Motowori suggests, be here the name of a place.

29. In the Province of Yamato. *Kata-woka* signifies "side-mound" or "incomplete mound." *Uma-saka* signifies "horse-hill" or "horse-pass." Umasaka should perhaps be understood as the particular designation of a portion of the ascent of Katawoka, which is mentioned in the "Chronicles" as the name of a mountain.

[SECT. XLI.—EMPEROR KŌ-GEN. 162

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru dwelt in the palace of Sakaki-bara at Karu,[1] and ruled the Empire. This heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Utsu-shiko-me,[2] younger sister of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-biko,[5] next His Augustness Sukuna-biko-take-wi-goro;[6] next His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi[7] (three Deities).

Again, wedding Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me,[8] daughter of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, he begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-makoto.[9] Again, wedding Princess Haniyasu,[10] daughter of Awotama[11] of Kafuchi, he begot an august child: His Augustness Take-hani-yasu-biko[12] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered in all five Deities]. So His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of
163 his elder brother, His Augustness Oho-biko, were His Augustness Take-numa-kaha-wake[13] (ancestor of the Grandees of Abe);[14] next His Augustness Hiko-inakoshi-wake.[15] (This was the ancestor of the Butler Grandees.)[16] His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-mikoto wedded Princess Takachina of Kadzu-raki,[17] young sister of Cho-nabi,[18] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari,[19] and begot a child: the Noble Umashi Uchi.[20] (This was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uchi in Yamashiro.)[21] Again, wedding Princess Yama-shita-kage,[22] younger sister of Udzu-hiko,[23] ancestor of the Rulers of the Lord of Ki,[24] he begot a child, the Noble Take-Uchi.[24] The children of this Noble Take-Uchi [numbered] in all nine (seven males and two females),— namely] the Noble of Hata-no-Yashiro,[25] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Hata,[27] of the Grandees of Hayashi,[28] of the Grandees of Hami,[29] of the Grandees of Hoshikaha,[30] of the Grandees of Afumi,[31] and of the Dukes of the Hatsuse Tribe);[32] next the Noble Kose-no-Wo-Kara[33] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kose,[34] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe,[35] and of the Grandees of the Karu Tribe);[36] next the Noble Soga no Ishikaha[37] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Soga,[38] of the Grandees of Kahanobe,[39] of the Grandees of Tanaka,[40] of the Grandees of Takamuko,[41] of the Grandees of Woharida,[42] of the Grandees of Sakurawi,[43] and of the Grandees of Kishida);[44] next the Noble Heguri-no-Tsuku,[45]

[who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri,[46] of the Grandees of Sawara,[47] and of the Uma-mi-kuhi Chiefs);[48] next the Noble Ki-no-Tsunu[49] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Ki,[50] of the Grandees of Tsumu,[51] and of the Grandees of Sakamoto);[52] next Princess Mato of Kume;[53] next Princess Nu-no-iro;[54] next Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko[55] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tamade,[56] of the Grandees of Ikuha,[57] of the Grandees 166
of Ikuye[58] and of the Grandees of Agina),[59] moreover [there was] the Noble Waku-go[60] (the ancestor of the Grandees of Yenuma).[61] This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the mound in the middle of the Pool of Tsurugi.[62]

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1. In Yamato. For Karu see Sect. LVII, Note 1. *Sakahi-bara* signifies "boundary moor,"

2. *I.e.*, perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming female."

3. *I.e.*, perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming male."

4. *Hodzumi no omi.* There are several places called Hodzumi in various provinces. The name appears to signify "piling up rice-ears."

5. *I.e.*, "great prince."

6. *I.e.*, "little prince-fierce-boar-heart," the boar being known for its savage disposition.

7. Excluding the last member of the compound, this name signifies "young-Yamato-lord-prince-great." *Bibi* is identified by Motowori with the word *mimi*, which so often recurs in proper names (see Sect. XIII, Note 18).

8. Motowori explains this name in the sense of "brilliant-alarming-female," but some doubt must attach to it.

9. *I.e.*, perhaps, "prince vast-great-truth."

10. *Hani-yasu-bime.* This name has already been met with in Sect. VII, Note 3. Motowori however supposes that in this place Haniyasu should be considered to be the name of a place in Yamato.

11. *I.e.*, a man called "green jewel" who lived in the province of Kafuchi.

12. *Take* signifies "brave." For the rest of the name see Note 10.

13. *Take* signifies "brave." *Wake* is either "young" or "lord." For *Nuna-kaha* see Sect. LI, Note 31.

14. *Abe no omi.* There are several places called Abe, and it is doubtful to which of them the text here refers.

15. The signification of *inakoshi* seems to be "rice-chariot". *Hiko* is "prince," and *wake* either "young" or "lord."

16, *Kashihade no omi.* This name is traditionally referred to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Kei-kō, who is said to have bestowed it on one of his attendants who served up to him a particularly savoury dish of shell-fish. "Butlers" (perhaps the word might also be rendered "cooks") have been mentioned towards the end of Sect. XXXII, and again in the legend of Jim-mu's slaughter of the "earth-spiders" related in Sect. XLVIII.

17. *Katsuraki-no-takachina-bime-no-mikoto.* The signification of *Taka-china* is obscure.

18. By aphaeresis for *Oho-inabi*, the form of the name given in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages," itself perhaps standing by apocope for *Oho-ina-biko*, which would signify "great rice-prince."

19. *Wohari no Murazhi,*

20. *Umashi Uchi no sukune.* *Umashi* signifies "sweet," and *Uchi* is the name of a place in Yamashiro.

21. *Yamashiro no Uchi no omi.*

22, This name may be rendered literally "the shade beneath the mountains," but the signification is "the glow from the autumn leaves on the mountain-side."

23. *I.e.*, probably "wonderful (or precious) prince."

24. *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko no aya.*

25. *Take-Uchi no sukune.* *Take* signifies "brave," and *Uchi* is the name of a district in Yamato. The common, but erroneous, reading of this name is *Take no Uchi no sukune.* The celebrated personage, who may be styled the Methuselah of Japan, is said to have lived during the reigns of five Emperors, who themselves averaged over a hundred years of life each. His own age is variously given as 255, 260, etc. up to 360 years.

26. *Hata no Yashiro no sukune.* *Hata* and *Yashiro* are supposed by Motowori to be the names of places in Yamato. *Yashiro* signifies "shrine." *Hata* is of uncertain derivation.

27. *Hata no omi.*

28. *Hayashi no omi.* Hayashi is the name of a place in Kawachi, and signifies "forest."

29. *Hami no omi.* There is a Hami in Afumi and another in Tamba. The signification of the name is obscure.

30. *Hoshikaha no omi.* Hoshikaha is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "star river."

31. *Afumi no omi.* For Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

32. *Hatsuse-be no Kimi.* For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8.

33. *Kose no Wo-kara no sukune.* Kose is the name of a place in Yamato. The meaning of Wo-kara is obscure.

34. *Kose no omi.*

35. *Sazakibe no omi.* See Sect. LIII, Note 10.

36. *Kurube no omi.*

37. *Soga no Ishikaha no sukune.* Soga is a place in Yamato, and Ishikaha a district in Kahachi. In cases like this it must generally be presumed that the family had two seats, or was divided into two branches residing in different places. Sometimes, however, the original seat and that to which the family afterwards removed are meant to be indicated.

38. *Soga no omi.* The signification of Soga is obscure.

39. *Kahanobe no omi.* Kahanobe is the name of a district in Settsu, and signifies "river-bank."

40. *Tanaka no omi.* Tanaka is the name of a place in Yamato and signifies "among the rice-fields."

41. *Takamuko no omi.* Takamuko seems to be the name of a place in Echizen. Its signification is uncertain.

42. *Woharida no omi.* Woharida is a place in Yamato. The name seems to mean "little ploughed field."

43. *Sakurawi no omi.* Sakurawi is the name of a place in Kahachi and signifies "cherry-tree well."

44. *Kishida no omi.* Kishida is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is not clear.

45. *Heguri no Tsuku no sukune.* Heguri is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain signification. *Tsuku* (modern *dzuku*), "owl," is a name which is referred to a tradition that will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

46. *Heguri no omi.*

47. *Sawara no omi.* Sawara was perhaps a district in Chikuzen. The signification of the name is obscure.

48. *Uma mi-kuhi no murazhi.* The literal significance of the characters with which *Uma-mi-kuhi* is written is "horse august post." But whether this name had any relation to horses, or whether it should simply be regarded as the name of a place is quite uncertain.

49. *Kī no Tsunu no sukune.* Ki is the name of a province, and

Tsunu that of a district in another province,—the province of Suhau (Suwō). *Conf.* Note 37.

50. *Kī no omi.*

51. *Tsunu no omi.*

52. *Sakamoto no omi.* Sakamoto is the name of a place in Idzumi, and signifies "base of the hill."

53. *Kume no Ma-ito-hime.* *Kume* may be, as Motowori says, the name of a place. But see Sect. XXXIV, Note 7. In any case the place, if it existed, was probably called after some person of the name of Kume. The signification of Ma-iro is obscure.

54. *Nu-no-iro-hime.* The meaning of this name is obscure.

55. Kadzuraki is the already frequently mentioned name of a district in Yamato, and Nagaye is likewise the name of a place,—whether in Yamato or in Kahachi is not certain. It signifies "long inlet." Motowori thinks that the syllable *so* in this place is the same as the of *kuma-so*, and signifies "valiant" or "fierce."

56. *Tamade no omi.* There is a Tamade in Yamato and another in Kahachi. The signification of the name is uncertain.

57. *Ikuha no omi.* The "Chronicles of Japan" tell us that the original form of this name *Ikuha* was *uki-ha, i.e.*, "floating leaf," and give a story to account for it. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, pp. 36-37, where the reason traditionally given to explain the fact of the name Ikuha being written with the character 的 is also mentioned at length.

58, *Ikuye no omi.* Ikuye must have been the name of a place; but nothing is known of it.

59. *Agina no omi.* The same observation applies to this as to the preceding name.

60. *Waku-go no sukune.* *Waku-go* signifies "young child" or "youth," an Honorific designation.

61. *Yenuma no omi.* Yenuma is the name of a district in Kaga, and signifies "inlet-lagoon."

62. In Yamato. This pool or lake is often mentioned in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and was celebrated for its lotus-flowers. We hear of it in the "Chronicles of Japan," as having been dug in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, but it was probably, like many others, a natural pool or marsh, which was afterwards improved. The name signifies "sabre."

[SECT. LXII.—EMPEROR KAI-KUWA.]

His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-ōho-bibi dwelt in the palace of Izakaha at Kasuga,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Princess of Takanu,[2] daughter of Yugori[3] the Gréat Departmental Lord of Taniha,[4] and begot an august child: His 167
Augustness Hiko-yumusumi,[5] (one Deity). Again he wedded his step-mother, Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me,[6] and begot august children: His Augustness Mima-kiri-biko-iniwe;[7] next Her Augustness Mima-tsuhime[8] (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Oke-tsu-hime,[9] younger sister of His Augustness Hiko-kuni-oketsu,[10] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[11] and begot an august child: King Hiko-imasu[12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Washi,[13] daughter of the Noble Kadzuraki-no-tarumi,[14] he begot an august child,—King Take-tayo-hadzura-wake[15] (one Deity); The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all five Deities (four Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Mi-maki-iri-biko-iniwe [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, King Hiko-yumusumi were: King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne;[16] next King Sanugi-tari-ne[17] (two Kings). There 168
were five Deities daughters of these two Kings. Next King Hiko-imasu wedded the Princess of Yena in Yamashiro,[18] another name for whom was Kari-bata-tobe,[19] and begot children: King Ohô-mata;[20] next King Wo-mata;[21] next King Noble [of?] Shibumi[22] (three Deities). Again, wedding Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome,[23] daughter of Take-kuni-katsu-tome, of Kasuga,[24] he begot children: King Saho-biko;[25] next King Wo-zaho;[26] next Her Augustness Saho-bime,[27] another name for whom is Sahaji-hime[28]

(Her Augustness Saho-bime here mentioned was consort of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume);[29] and King Muro-biko,[30] (four Deities). Again, wedding Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime,[31] daughter of the
169 Heavenly Deity Mikage,[32] who is held in reverence by the deacons of Mikami in Chika-tsu-Afumi,[33] he begot children: King Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha;[34] next King Midzuho-no-ma-wa-ka;[35] next King Kamu-oho-ne,[36] another name for whom is King Yatsuri-iri-biko;[37] next Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime;[38] next Mimi-tsu-hime;[39] (three Deities). Again, wedding his mother's younger sister Her Augustness Woke-tsu-hime,[40] he begot children: King Ma-wata of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro;[41] next King Hiko-osu;[42] next king Iri-ne[43] (two Deities). Altogether the children of King Hiko-imasu [numbered] in all eleven Kings. So the children of the elder brother King Oho-mata were: King Ake-tatsu;[44] next King Unakami[45]
170 (two Deities). This King Ake-tatsu (was the ancestor of the Dukes of the Homuji Tribe in Ise[46] and of the Rulers of Sana in Ise).[47] King Una-kami (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Himeda.).[48] The next King Wo-mata (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Magari in Tagima).[49] The next King Noble Shibumi (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Sasa).[50] The next King Saho-biko (was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Kusaka Tribe[51] and of the Rulers of the Land of Kahi).[52] The next, King Wo-zaho (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kadzunu[53] and the Lords of Kanu in Chika-tsu-Afumi.)[54] The next King Muro-biko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Mimi in Wakasa).[55] King Michi-no-ushi wedded the Lady Masu of Kahakami in Taniha,[56] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Hibasu;[57] next Her Augustness Princess Matonu;[58] next Her Augustness Oto-hime;[59] next King Mi-kado-wake[60] (four Deities). This King Mikado-
171 wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Ho in Mikaha).[61] Prince Midzuho-no-ma-waka, younger brother of this King Michi-

no-ushi, (was the ancestor of the Suzerains of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi).[62] The next, King Kamu-oho-be (was the ancestor of the [Rulers of] the Land of Minu,[63] of the Rulers of the land of Motosu,[64] and of the Chiefs of the Nagahata Tribe).[65] The next, King Mawaka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yama-shiro wedded Princess Ajisaha of Mone,[66] daughter of his younger brother Irine, and begot a child: King Kami-me-ikadzuchi.[67] This King wedded Princess Takaki,[68] daughter of the Grandee Tohotsu of Taniha,[69] and begot a child: King Noble Okinaga.[70] This king wedded the Princess of Takanuka in Kadzuraki,[71] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi;[72] next Her Augustness Soratsu-hime;[73] next King Prince Okinaga[74] (three Deities. This 172
King was the ancestor of the Dukes of Homuji in Kibi,[75] and of the Dukes of Aso in Harima).[76] Again King Noble Okinaga wedded Princess Inayori of Kahamata,[77] and begot a child: King Oho-tama-saka.[78] (This was the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Tajima).[79] The above-mentioned Take-toyo-hadzura-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Chimori,[80] of the Rulers of the Oshinumi Tribe,[81] of the Rulers of the Mima Tribe,[82] of the Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba,[83] of the Lords of Takanu in Taniba,[84] and of the Abiko of Yosami).[85] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-three. His august mausoleum is at the top of the hill of Izakaha.[86]

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1. For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7. Izakaha is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is uncertain.

2. *Takanu-hime.* Takanu is the name of a district in Tango, and signifies "bamboo moor."

3. The signification of this name is quite obscure.

4. *Taniha no oho-agata-nushi.* *Taniha* (modern *Tamba*) is the name of a province (formerly including the province of Tango) in Central Japan. It is supposed to mean "the place of rice-fields," the rice offered at the shrine of the Sun-Goddess in Ise being brought thence.

5. *Hiko* signifies "prince." The other syllables of the name are obscure.

6. See Sect. LXI, Note 8.

7. *Biko* (*hiko*) signifies "prince." The other elements of this compound are obscure.

8. One is tempted to render this name by Princess of Mima. But there is no authority for regarding Mima either in this or in the preceding personal name as originally the name of a place.

9. Motowori has no explanation to offer of the syllables Oke-tsu. *Hime* means "princess."

10. *Hiko* means "prince" and *kuni* means "country."

11. *Wani no omi. Wani* is a place in Yamato, and there is a pass or hill of that name (*Wani-zaka*). The only signification belonging to the word *wani* is "crocodile."

12. *Hiko-imasu no miko.* Signification obscure.

13. Or "the Princess of Washi" or "the Eagle Princess." In Japanese *Washihime*.

14. *Kadzuraki* is the name of a district in Yamato, and Motowori believes Tarumi to be the name of a place in Settsu.

15. *Take-toyo-hadzura-wake no miko.* The first two elements of the compound signify respectively "brave" and "luxuriant" while the last probably means "lord." The signification of *hadzura* is obscure.

16. *Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne- no miko.* Tsutsuki being the name of a district in Yamashiro, the whole compound signifies "prince great sufficing lord of great Tsutsuki."

17. *Sanugi-tari-ne no miko,* i.e., "prince sufficing lord of Sanugi," (Sanuki,—see Sect. V, Note 6).

18. *Yamashiro no Yena tsu Hime.* Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Yena that of a place in Settsu. The signification of the latter name is obscure.

19. Motowori believes *Karibata* to be the name of a place, and *tobe* (*to-me*) to signify "old woman," as in the name *Ishi-ko-ri-do-me*, which latter is however extremely obscure (see Sect. XVI, Note 12).

20. *Oho-mata no miko.* The signification of this name and of the parallel name of the younger brother is obscure.

21. *Wo-mata no miko.*

22. *Shibumi no Sukune no miko.* Shibumi is probably the name of a place, there being a Shibumi in Ise.

23. *Saho* is the name of a well-known place in Yamato, and *Kurami*

is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Wakasa. *Oho* means "great," and *tome*, according to Motowori, means "old woman" or simply "female." Conf. Note 19.

24. *Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome.* Motowori supposes this to be the name, not of the father, but the mother of the princess just mentioned. *Take* signifies "brave," and *kuni* "land." The meaning of *katsu* is obscure.

25. *Saho-biko no miko*, i.e., "Prince of Saho."

26. *Wō-zaho no miko*, i.e., "little (*q.d.* 'younger') prince of Saho."

27. *I.e.*, the princess of Saho.

28. It is uncertain whether we should understand this name to signify "princess Sahaji" or "the princess of Sahaji," but the latter seems the more probable.

29. *I.e.*, the Emperor Sui-nin.

30. *Muro-biko no miko. Muro-biko* signifies "Prince of Muro." Muro being a place in Yamato. It signifies "dwelling" and specially "cave."

31. *I.e.*, "flourishing and good princess of Okinaga," the latter being the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). Its signification is not clear.

32. *Ame no Mikaga no kami.* The signification of Mikaga is obscure, as is also the connection between this deity and the deacons of Mikami.

33. The signification of the name Mikami is obscure. The word rendered "deacon" is *hufuri*, the name of an inferior class of Shintō priests. See for a discussion of the etymology of the word, etc., Mr. Satow's remarks on p. 112 of Vol. VII of these Transactions. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

34. *Taniha no hiko Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi no miko.* The signification of *Tatatsu* is obscure, but we may accept it as the personal name of the worthy here mentioned. *Michi-no-ushi* means "master of the road," i.e. "lord of the province."

35. *Midzuho no ma-waka no miko*, i.e. "the True Young King of Midzuho," Midzuho being the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "fresh young rice-ears."

36. *Kamu-oho-ne no miko*, i.e., probably, "prince divine great lord."

37. *Yatsuri-iri-biko no miko.* Yatsuri is the name of a village in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. The signification of *iri* is obscure.

38. *I-ho* signifies "five hundred" and *yori* probably signifies "good." The compound may therefore be taken to mean "manifoldly excellent princess of Midzuho."

39. *I.e.*, probably "the Princess Miwi" (Miwi-dera in Afumi). *Mi-wi* signifies "three wells."

40. This name is parallel to that which has been commented on in Note 9 to this Section.

41. *Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko.* All the elements of this compound have already appeared in this Section.

42. *Hiko-osu no miko.* The signification of *osu* is obscure,

43. *Iri-ne no miko.* Signification obscure.

44. *Ake-tatsu no miko.* See Sect. LXXII, Note 20.

45. *Unakami no miko.* See Sect. LXXII, Note 19.

46. *Ise no Homuji-be no kimi.* See the mention of the establishment of this Clan at the end of Sect. LXXII.

47. *Ise no Sana no miyatsuko.* The etymology of Sana is obscure.

48. *Himeda no kimi.* Himeda is a place in Afumi. The signification of the name is obscure.

49. *Tagima no Magari no kimi.* Tagima is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. Magari is the name of a place, and means "crook" or "bend."

50. *Sasa no kimi.* Sasa is the name of a place in Iga, and is of uncertain signification.

51. *Kusakabe no murazhi.*

52. *Kahi no kuni no miyatsuko.* For Kahi see Sect. LXXXVI, Note 1.

53. *Kadzunu no wake.* Kadzunu is the name of a district in Yamashiro, and signifies "pueraria moor."

54. *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kanu no wake.* Kanu is a village in Afumi. The name is written with characters signifying "mosquito moor."

55. *Wakasa no Mimi no wake.* Mimi is the name of a village, and is of uncertain signification.

56. *Taniha no Kahakami no Masu no iratsume.* Masu is of uncertain derivation. Kahakami is the name of a village, now comprised in the province of Tango. It signifies "river-land."

57. *Hibasu-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

58. *Matonu-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

59. *I.e.*, "the younger princess."

60. This name, which is written 朝廷別王, is curious, and Motoworf has no suggestion to make touching its interpretation.

61. *Mikaha no Ho no wake.* Ho is the name of a district, and is oi obscure derivation. Mikaha is the name of a maritime province. It

signifies "three rivers," with reference to two large rivers which flow through it and to another which forms the boundary between it and the province of Wohari.

62. *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no atahe.* Yasu is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

63. *Minu no kuni no* [*miyatsuko*]. The word *miyatsuko*, which is not in the text, is supplied in Motowori's *kana* reading.

64. *Motosu no kuni no miyatsuko.* Motosu is the name of a district in Mino, and seems to signify "original dwelling-place."

65. *Nagahata-be no murazhi.* Nagahata is the name of a place in Hitachi, and seems to signify "long loom."

66. *Mone no Ajisaha-bime.* This name is particularly obscure, and Mone probably corrupt.

67. *Kani-me-ikadzuchi no miko.* Motowori thinks that this name signifies "fierce like a crab's eye," with reference perhaps to some personal peculiarity of the prince who bore it.

68. *Takaki-hime.* This name is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

69. *Taniha no Tohotsu omi.* This name is obscure.

70. *Okinaga no sukune no miko.* For Okinaga see Note 31 to this Section.

71. *Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime.* Takanuka is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "high brow."

72. *Okinaga-tarashi-hime.* Okinaga is the name of a place (see Note 31). *Tarashi* is an honorific designation, signifying literally "sufficient," *i.e.*, "perfect," and is supposed by Motowori to have been bestowed after death on this princess, who was the celebrated conqueror of Korea, and is better known to fame by her "canonical name" of Jingō Kōgō.

73. *I.e.*, "the princess of the sky."

74. *Okinaga-hiko no miko.*

75. *Kibi no Homuji no kimi.* Homuji is the name of a district in the modern province of Bingo, and may perhaps be of Chinese origin.

76. *Harima no Aso no kimi.* Aso is the name of a place, and is of uncertain origin.

77. *Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime.* Kahamata ("river-fork") is the name of a place in Kohachi. *Ina* signifies "rice," and *yori* probably signifies "good" in this and numerous other proper names.

78. *Oho-tamu-saka no miko.* This name is obscure. Motowori thinks that *Tamu-saka* may be the name of a place, and signifying "winding ascent."

79. *Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko.* For *Tajima* see Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

80. *Chi-mori no omi.* *Chi-mori* signifies "road-keeper," and perhaps we should translate this "gentile name," by "road-keeping grandees," and suppose that anciently they may have performed some functions in which the bestowal of it originated.

81. *Oshinumi-be no miyatsuko.* Oshinumi is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain import.

82. *Mina-be no miyatsuko.* Perhaps we should rather translate thus, "the Rulers of Minabe," for the name is altogether obscure.

83. *Inaba no Oshinumi-be.* Motowori supposes a branch of this family, which was originally established in Yamato, to have removed to the province of Inaba.

84. *Taniha no Takanu no wake.* Takanu is the name of a district in the modern province of Tango. It signifies "high moor."

85. *Yosami no obiko.* Yosami is the name of a place in Kahachi and is of uncertain origin, though the legends connect with the word *ami*, "a net" (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, p. 81). It is chiefly known on account of its lake or pool, which is often mentioned in the early poetry. *Abiko* is a very rare "gentile name," which in the "Catalogue of Family Names" is written with the characters 我孫, but is derived by Motowori from 吾彦, *i.e.*, "my grandchildren."

86. In Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin.

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173 [(SECT. LXIII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe dwelt at the Palace of Midzu-gaki at Shiki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Tohotsu-no-ayu-me-me-kuhashi,[2] daughter of Arakaha-to-be,[3] Ruler of the land of Ki,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko,[5] and next Her Augustness Toyo-suki-iri-bime[6] (two Deities). Again, wedding the Great Princess of Ama, ancestress of the Chiefs of Wohori,[8] he begot august children: His Augustness Oho-iri-ki;[9] next His August-

ness Ya-saka-no-iri-biko; next Her Augustness Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime; next Her Augustness Towochi-no-iri-bime[10] (four Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Mimatsu,[11] daughter of His Augustness Oho-biko, he begot august children: His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi[12] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka;[13] next Her Augustness Princess Kuni-kata;[14] next Her August- 159
ness Princess Chiji-tsuku-yamato;[15] next Her Augustness Princess Iga;[16] next His Augustness Yamato-Hiko[17] (six Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all twelve Deities (seven Kings and Queens). So His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko (was the ancestor [of the Dukes] of Kami-tsu ke-nu,[18] and the Dukes of Shimo-tsu-ke-nu).[19] The younger sister, Her Augustness Princess Toyo-Suki (was high-priestess of[20] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise.)[21] The next brother, His Augustness Oho-iri-ki (was ancestor of the Grandees of Noto).[22] The next, His Augustness Yamato-hiko,—(in the time of this King a hedge of men was the first time set in the mausoleum).[23]

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1. In Yamato. *Shiki* probably signifies "stone castle" (*ishi-ki*). *Midzugaki* signifies "fresh young hedge,"—an Honorific designation of the hedge round the Emperor's abode, which passed into a Proper Name.

2. According to Motowori's exegesis, this name is a rather remarkable instance of verbal usage, *ayu-me* ("trout-eyes") being not properly part of the name at all, but only a Pillow-Word for what follows, viz., *Me-kakushi-hime*, *i.e.* "Princess Beautiful Eyes." *Tohotsu* is the name of a place in the province of Ki, signifying "far harbour."

3. *Arakaha* is the name of a place in Ki, and signifies "rough (*i.e.* impetuous and dangerous) river." The syllables *to-be* are of uncertain import.

4. *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko.*

5. *Toyo* signifies "luxuriant" and *biko* (*hiko*) "prince." The other elements of the compound are obscure.

6. *Bime* (*himé*) signifies "princess," and *suki* is identified by Motowori with Shiki, the name of the residence of the monarch whose daughter this princess was.

7. *Oho-ama-hime.* Ama is the name of a district in Wohari, and probably signifies "fisherman."

8. *Wohari no murazhi.*

9. The signification of this and the two following names is uncertain.

10. *Towochi* is the name of a district in Yamato.

11. *Mimatsu-hime.* Signification uncertain.

12. Signification uncertain.

13. The syllables *ma* and *waka*, literally "true and young" or "truly young" are honorific. *Iza* is of doubtful signification.

14. *Kuni-kata-hime. Kuni* means "country," and *kata* here probably signifies "hard" or "firm."

15. *Chiji-tsuku-yamato-hime. Ohiji* probably means "a thousand," and *Yamato* is the name of a province. *Tsuku* is obscure.

16. *Iga-hime. Iga* is the name of a district and of a province (see Sect. LVI, Note 9).

17. *I.e.*, "Yamato Prince."

18. *Kami-tsu-ke-nu* [*no kimi*]. The character 君 (Dukes) is supplied by Motowori. This is the ancient form of the name now pronounced *Kōdzuke* (*conf. Shimo-tsu-ke-nu* corrupted to *Shimotsuke*). The author of the "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" draws attention to the curious fact that, whereas the final syllable *nu* of the original word is dropped in speaking, it is the *ke* which is dropped in writing—the original form of the name, as written. being 上毛野, whereas now only the first two of these three characters are used. Its signification is supposed to be "upper vegetation-moor," *ke* (毛) being regarded as the Archaic general term for trees and grasses, identical with *ke* that means "hairs," vegetation having struck the early speakers of the language as being similar to the hairs on the bodies of men and beasts.

19. *Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi. Shimo* means "lower." For the rest of the name see preceding Note. Both names are those of provinces in Eastern Japan.

20. Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

21. *Viz.*, of the Sun-Goddess (*Ama-terasu*).

22. *Noto no omi.* Noto, formerly a part of the province of Echizen,

is the name of the peninsula that juts out into the Sea of Japan on the western coast of the Main Island. The etymology of the name is obscure.

23. The meaning of this imperfectly formed sentence is: On the occasion of "the interment of the next prince, His Augustness Yamato-hiko, the custom of setting a row of the deceased prince's retainers round his grave and burying them alive was first introduced." For a further notice of this custom see Sect. LXXV, Note 4. According to the "Chronicles," the "ancient" custom of burying retainers up to their necks in the neighbourhood of their lord's grave was abolished after this very same interment. Motowori endeavours to reconcile the two statements by supposing that the custom was really an old one, but that on the occasion here mentioned the number of victims was increased to an unprecedented degree, so that, as related in the "Chronicles," their cries, while their heads were being pulled to pieces by the crows and dogs, filled the Emperor with commiseration.

[SECT. LXIV.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART II.—A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO).] 175

In the reign of this Heavenly Sovereign a great pestilence arose, and the people died as if none were to be left.[1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign grieved and lamented, and at night, while on his divine couch,[2] there appeared [to him] in an august dream the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things,[3] and said: "This is my august doing.[4] So if thou wilt cause me to be worshipped[5] by Oho-tata-ne-ko,[6] the divine spirit shall not arise,[7] and the land will be tranquillized." When, therefore, couriers[8] were dispatched in every direction[9] to search for the person [named] Oho-tata-ne-ko, he was discovered in the village of Minu[10] in Kafuchi, and was respectfully sent [to the Heavenly Sovereign].[11] Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask: "Whose child art thou?" He replied, saying: "I[12] am Oho-tata-ne-ko, child of

His Augustness Take-mika-dzu-chi[13] [who was] child of His Augustness Ihi-gata-sumi, [14] [who was] child of His Augustness Kushi-mi-gata,[15] [who was] child of the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things by his wife Iku-tama-yori-bime,[16] daughter of His Augustness Suwe-tsu-mimi.[17] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being greatly rejoiced, commanded that the Empire should be tranquil, and the people flourish, and forthwith made His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko high priest[18] to worship[19] the Great Deity of Great Miwa[20] on Mount Mimoro.[21] Again he ordered His Augustness Igaka-shiko-wo[22] to make eighty heavenly platters, and reverently to establish the shrines of the Earthly Deities;[23] likewise to worship with a red-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Sumi-saka[24] at Uda, and with a black-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Oho-saka;[25] likewise to present august offerings of cloth to all the Deities of the august declivities of the hills and to all the Deities of the reaches of the rivers, without neglecting any.[25] [27] In consequence of this the pestilential vapour ceased altogether, and the country was tranquillized.

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1. Literally, "about to be exhausted."

2. This expression, which recurs at the commencement of Sect. CXLV, is difficult to explain. See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIII, pp. 24-25, and again in Vol. XL, pp. 14-15, of his Commentary.

3. See Sect. LI, Note 12.

4. Literally, "my august heart."

5. Or. "cause my shrine to be worshipped at." The import of the god's words is that he wishes Oho-tata-ne-ko to be appointed chief priest of his temple. For the origin of this latter see the second half of Sect. XXXII (pp. 103-105).

6. *Oho* signifies "great," *Tata* (or *Tada*) is taken to be the name of a place, and the syllables *ne* and *ko* are regarded as Honorifics. The

whole name may therefore, though with some hesitation, be interpreted to mean "the Lord of the Great [Shrine of] Tata."

7. *I.e.*, "the divine anger shall no longer be kindled."

8. Mounted couriers are almost certainly intended.

9. Literally, "distributed to the four sides,"—"four sides" being a Chinese phrase for every direction.

10. This name may signify either "three moors" or "august moor." The village of Minu must not be confounded with the province of Minu.

11. The characters used are those which properly denote the presenting of tribute to the Monarch.

12. Here and below the First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕, "servant."

13. See Sect. VIII, Note 7, for the explanation of this name. But probably the deity here intended is another.

14. The etymology and signification of this name are alike obscure.

15. Motowori interprets *kushi* in the sense of "wondrous," and *Migata* as the name of a place, which also occurs under the form of Higata.

16. *I.e.*, "life-jewel-good-princess."

17. The precise signification of this name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Suwe* to be the name of a place; *tsu* is the Genitive Particle, and *mimi* the Honorific of doubtful import, whose meaning has been discussed in Note 18 to Sect. XIII.

18. The exact meaning of the characters used to write the word *kamu-nushi* (modern *kamushi*), here rendered "high-priest," is "owner of the Deity." Though commonly used in modern parlance to denote any Shintō priest, it properly signifies only the chief priest in charge of a temple, whence the odd-sounding name.

19. Or, "conduct the worship at the shrine of."

20. Viz., the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the legend in Sect. LXV.

21. See Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5.

22. Or, *Ikaga-shiko-wo*. The probable meaning of this name, proposed by Motowori, is (neglecting the initial letter *i* as expletive) "the refulgent ugly male."

23. See Sect. I, Note 11.

24. *Sumisaka* probably signifies "charcoal-hill." Uda, which has already been mentioned in Sect. XLVI, is in Yamato. This passage may equally well be rendered thus: "to present a red-coloured shield and

spear to the Deity of Sumisaka," and similarly in the following clause. The meaning comes nearly to the same.

25. Literally, "great hill," or "great pass." It is at the boundary of the province of Yamato and Kahachi. Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei sanctions the view of the elder scholars, who fancied they saw in tbe distinction of red and black some mysterious import connected with the four cardinal points.

26. In the Old Printed Edition the text of this passage differs slightly from that adopted by Motowori; but the meaning is exactly the same.

27. A large lacuna here occurs in the "Old Printed Edition," in which the four hundred and forty-five Chinese characters forming the original of the following part of the translation, from the words, "In consequence of this" down to the words immediately preceding 'Methinks this is a sign" on p. 180 are missing. Both the editor of 1687 and Motowori are silent as to the manner in which they supplied the deficiency; but it may be presumed from their silence that the MS. authorities furnished them with what had accidentally been omitted from the printed text.

[SECT. LXV.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART III.—STORY OF OHO-TATA-NE-KO'S BIRTH).]

The reason why this person called Oho-tata-ne-ko was known to be a Deity's child, was that the above-mentioned Iku-tama-yori-bime was regularly beautiful,[1] whereupon a [divine[2]] youth [who thought] the majesty of her appearance without comparison in the world,[3] came suddenly to her in the middle of the night. So, as they loved each other and lived in matrimony together, the maiden ere long was pregnant. Then the father and mother, astonished at their daughter being pregnant, asked her,[4] saying: "Thou art pregnant by thyself. How art thou with child without [having known] a man?" She replied, saying: "I have naturally conceived through a beautiful young

man, whose name[5] I know not, coming here every evening and staying with me." Therefore the father and mother, wishing to know the man, instructed their daughter, saying: "Sprinkle red earth in front of the couch,[6] and pass a skein of hemp through a needle, and pierce [therewith] the skirt of his garment." So she did as they had instructed, and, on looking in the morning, the hemp that had been put in the needle went out through the hole of the door-hook,[7] and all the hemp that remained was three twists[8] only. Then forthwith, knowing how he had gone out by the hook-hole, they went on their quest following the thread, which, reaching Mount Miwa, stopped at the shrine of the Deity. So they knew [that Oho-tata-neko was] the child of the Deity [residing] there. So the place was called by the name of Miwa on account of the three twists of hemp that had remained. (His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko, here referred to, was the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa[9] and of the Dukes of Kamo.)[10]

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1. It is not easy to render literally into English the force of the characters 容姿端正, containing this description of the maiden's beauty, and of 形姿威儀 in the next clause. But it is hoped that at least the translation represents them better than do Motowori's readings *kaho yokariki* and *kaho sugata*.

2. This word, which is not in most texts, was supplied by the editor of 1687, and is adopted by Motowori on apparently satisfactory grounds.

3. Literally, "in the time."

4. The text places the word "daughter" here, instead of in the preceding clause. For the sake of clearness, the translator has taken the liberty of transposing it.

5. The Chinese characters are 姓名, *i.e.*, "surname and personal (what we should call 'Christian') name." But Motowori's simple reading *na*, "name," approves itself as probably near to the author's intention.

6. Motowori indulges in several conjectures as to the meaning of

this detail, which, it will be seen, is not referred to in the sequel, and is therefore pointless.

7. The same Japanese word *kagi*, which is used as the equivalent of the Chinese character 鈎, "hook," came in latter times to denote a key.

8. "Three threads" are in Japanese *mi wa*, whence the etymology of the name of Miwa given below in the text. The real derivation is altogether doubtful. The shrine of Miwa was in very early times regarded with such extraordinary reverence, that the term *Oho-gami*, "Great Deity," unless otherwise qualified, was commonly understood to refer to the god of Miwa.

9. *Miwa no kimi*, written simply 神君 (literally, "Divine Dukes,") another sign of the estimation in which the shrine of Miwa was held.

10. *Kama no kimi*.

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179 [SECT. LXVI.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART IV.—WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU).]

Again in this august reign His Augustness Oho-biko[1] was sent to the circuit of Koshi,[2] and his son, His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake,[3] was sent to the twelve circuits to the eastward to quiet the unsubmissive people. Again Hiko-imasu was sent to the land of Taniha[4] to slay Kugamimi-no-mikasa[5] (this is the name of a person). So when His Augustness Oho-biko was going away to the land of Koshi, a young girl wearing a loin-skirt[6] stood on the Pass of Hera[7] in Yamashiro, and sang, saying:

180 "Now then! Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri! Oh Prince Mi-ma-ki-iri! Ignorant that they, to steal and slay one's life, cross backwards and forwards by the back-door, cross backwards and forwards by the front door and spy,—Oh, Prince Mima-ki-iri!"[8]

Hereupon His Augustness Oho-kiko, thinking it strange, turned his horse back, and asked the young girl, saying: "These words that thou speakest, what are they?" The young girl replied, saying: "I said nothing; I was only singing a song,"—and thereupon she suddenly vanished, none could see whither. So his Augustness Oho-biko returned up again [to the capital] and made a report [of the matter] to the Heavenly Sovereign, who replied and charged him [saying]: "Methinks this is a sign that my half-brother, King Take-hani-yasu,[9] who dwells in the land of Yamashiro, is planning some foul plot.[10] [Do thou,] uncle, raise an army, and go [after him]." When he forthwith sent him off, joining to him his Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku,[11] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[12] they set sacred jars on the Pass of Wani,[13] and went away. Thereupon, when they reached the River Wakara[14] 181
in Yamashiro, King Take-hani-yasu, who had raised an army, was waiting to intercept [their passage], and [the two hosts] stood confronting and challenging each other with the river between them.[15] So the place was called by the name of Idomi,[16]—what is now called Idzumi. Then His Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku spoke, begging the other side[17] to let fly the first arrow.[18] Then King Take-hani-yasu shot, but could not strike. Thereupon, on his Augustness Kuni-buku shooting an arrow, it forthwith struck King Take-hani-yasu dead. So the whole army was routed, and fled in confusion. Then the [Imperial troops pursued] after the fugitive army as far as the ferry of Kusuba, when harassed by the pursuit, exterunt [hostium] excrementa. quae bracis adhaeserunt. Quare isti loco impositum est nomen Kuso-bakama. In præsenti nominatur Kusu-ba.[19] Again, on

being intercepted in their flight and cut down, [their bodies] floated like cormorants in the river. So the river was called by the name of U-kaha.[20] Again, because the warriors were cut to pieces, the place was called by the name of Hafuri-sono.[21] Having thus finished [the work of] pacification, they went up [to the capital] to make their report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

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1. See Sect. LXI, Note 5.

2. Literally, "to the Lord of Koshi," *i.e.*, "to the land of Koshi;" which provinces are intended by the "twelve circuits to the eastward" mentioned immediately below is uncertain; but Motowori hazards the guess that we should understand Ise (including Iga and Shima), Wohari, Mikaha, Tohotafumi (pron, Tōtōmi), Suruga, Kahi, Idzu, Sagami Musashi, Fusa (the modern Kadzusa, Shimofusa, and Aha), Hitachi, and Michinoku (a vague name for the north-eastern portions of the Main Island of the whole east and north-east of the country. He likewise supposes the use of the word "road" for circuit or province to have had its origin in the "road" along which the Imperial officers despatched to the outlying provinces had to travel to reach their post, and remarks very pertinently in another passage of his commentary that the term "road" denotes a province more especially from the point of view of its subjugation or government. His explanation is, however, rendered untenable by the fact that the division of the country into such "roads" or "circuits" was an idea evidently borrowed from the neighbouring peninsula of Korea. At first, as in this passage, somewhat vaguely used in the sense of province," it settled down into the designation of "a set of adjacent provinces." Thus the Tō-kai-dō, or "Eastern Maritime Circuit," includes fifteen provinces, the Hoku-roku-dō or "Northern Land Circuit," includes seven provinces, and so on. *Conf.* Sect. LXII, Note 20.

3. *I.e.*, "brave-lagoon-river-youth."

4. See Sect. LXII, Note 4.

5. Motowori is unable to help us to any understanding of this name.—or names,—for he suggests that the character 之, *no*, may be an error for 又, *mata* ("also"), and that two individuals may be intended. The note in the original telling us that "this is the name of a person" might equally well be translated in the Plural,—"these are the names of persons."

6. The nature of this garment is not known. One would suppose, from the way it is mentioned in the text, that there was perhaps something contrary to custom in its use by a young girl. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" does not mention it.

7. Or, "Hill of Hera,"—*Hera-zaka.* The "Chronicles" write this name with the characters 平坂 *Hira-zaka, i.e.*, "Even Pass" or "Hill."

8. The meaning of this poem, which must be considered as one prolonged exclamation, is: "Oh my sovereign! Oh my sovereign! Heedless or ignorant of "the plots hatched against thy life near the very precincts of thy palace. thou "sendest away thy soldiers to fight in distant parts. Oh my sovereign!"—It will be remembered that Prince Mima-ki-ri was the (abbreviated) native name of the reigning monarch, commonly known to posterity by his "canonical name" of Sūjin. The word rendered "life" is literally "thread" and the Impersonal Pronoun "one's" used in the translation, must be understood to refer to the Emperor.

9. See Sect. LXI, Notes 12 and 10.

10. Literally, "foul heart."

11. *I.e.*, probably. "prince land-pacifi ." The first ele ent of the compound is sometimes omitted.

12. *Wani no omi.* Wani ("crocodile") is the name of a place in the province of Yamato.

13. *Wani-zaka.* For the setting of jars *conf.* Sect LX, Note 20.

14. *Wakara gaha.* It is what is now called the Idzumi-gaha. Of Wakara we have nothing but an altogether untenable etymology given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

15. More literally, "each having put the river in the middle, and mutually challenging."

16. *I.e.*, "challenging." The more likely etymology of *Idzumi*, which is written with the character 泉, is "source" or "spring."

17. The original has the very curious expressions 廂人, literally," people of the side-building," which was a great crux to the early editors, Motowori is probably right in interpreting it in the sense of "the other side," i.e., "the enemy."

18. 忌矢; literally "the arrow to be shunned, or avoided,"—but rather, in accordance with Archaic Japanese parlance, "the sacred arrow." Motowori says: "At the commencement of a battle it was the custom for each side to let fly an "initial arrow." Being the commencement of

the affair, the arrow was considered "specially important and was shot off reverently with prayers to the Gods,—"whence its name."

19. *I.e.*, "excrements [fœdatæ] bracæ." But it is not at all probable that this is the correct etymology of the name. The stream is a small one in the eastern part of the province of Kahachi.

20. *I.e.*, "cormorant-river."

21. *I.e.*, "the garden of cutting-to-pieces."

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182 SECT. LXVII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART V.—PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED).]

So His Augustness Oho-biko went away to Koshi in accordance with the previous [Imperial] commands. Then Take-nuna-kaha-wake, who had been sent round by the east, and his father Oho-biko met together in Ahidzu. So the place was called by the name of Ahidzu.[1] Wherefore, each of them, having settled the government of the land to which he had been sent, made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Empire was at peace and the people prosperous. Thereupon tribute on the arrow-notches of the men and tribute on the finger-tips of the women was first levied.[2] So in praise of this august reign they said: "The Heavenly Sovereign Mimaki, who ruled the first land."[3] Again, in this reign the Pool of Yosami[4] was made; moreover the Pool of Sakawori at Karu[5] was made.

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1. A district forming the southern part of the modern province of Ihashiro in north-eastern Japan. The derivation here given, from *ahi-dzu* "meeting port," seems fanciful.

2. *I.e.*, taxes levied on the produce of the chase, by which the men gained their livelihood, and on the domestic handwork of the women.

3. Motowori has a not particularly satisfactory note, in which he endeavours to explain this obscure phrase. The word "first" should evidently qualify the Verb "ruled," and not the Substantive "land," and the applicability of the saying to a sovereign, of whom it is not recorded that he initiated anything save the taxes, is not apparent. The author of the "Chronicles" observes the verisimilitudes better by applying a synonymous designation to the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu.

4. See Sect. LXII, Note 85.

5. Reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" shows that probably a couple of words are here omitted from the text, which should read "the Pool of Karu and the Pool of Sakawori" (*Karu no ike, Sakawori no ike*). Karu is the celebrated ancient capital mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1, Sakawori is quite unknown except from this notice of it, and the derivation of the name is uncertain.

[SECT. LXVIII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART VI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL.).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and sixty-eight. His august mausoleum is on the mound at the corner of the Yamanobe road.[1]

1. This place, where the Emperor Kei-kō is likewise said to have been interred, was in the province of Yamato, and the road mentioned is supposed by Motowori to have been the highway from Hatsuse into the province of Yamashiro. The word Yamanobe signifies "in the neighbourhood of the mountain" (*yama no he*).

[SECT. LXIX.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).] 183

His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi dwelt at the palace of Tama-kaki in Shiki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness the

Princess Sahaji,[3] younger sister of His Augustness Saho-biko, and begot an august child: His Augustness Homotsu-wake[8] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness the Princess Hibasu, daughter of King Tatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha, he begot august children: His Augustness Ini-shiki-no-iri-biko;[4] next His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake;[5] next His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko;[6] next His Augustness Yamato-hime;[7] next His Augustness Waka-ki-iri-biko[8] (five Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bika,[9] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, he begot august children: His Augustness Nu-tarashi-wake;[10] next His Augustness Iga-tarashi-hiko[11] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Azami-no-iri-bime,[12] younger
184 sister of His Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bime,[13] he begot august children: His Augustness Ikobaya-wake;[14] next Her Augustness the Princess of Azami[15] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Kagu-ya-hime.[16] daughter of King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, he begot an august child: King Wozabe[17] (one Deity). Again, wedding Karibata-tobe daughter of Fuchi Ohokuni in Yamashiro,[18] he begot august children: King Ochi-wake;[19] next King Ika-tarashi-hiko;[20] next King Itoshi-wake.[21] Again, wedding Oto-karibata-tobe,[22] daughter of Fuchi of Otokuni, he begot august children: King Iha-tsuku-wake;[23] next Her Augustness Iha-tsuku-bime, another name for whom was Her Augustness Futaji-no-iri-bime[24] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether sixteen (thirteen Kings and three Queens). So His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. (His august stature was ten feet[25]
185 two inches: the length of his august shank was four feet one inch),

The next, His Augustness Inishi-no-iri-biko made the pool of Chinu;[25] again he made the pool of Sayama,[27] again he made the pool of Takatsu at Kusaka.[28] Again he dwelt at the palace of Kahakami at Totori,[29] and caused a thousand cross-swords[30] to be made, and presented them to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami.[31] Forthwith he dwelt at that palace,[32] and established the Kahakami Tribe,[33] The next, His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, (was the ancestor of the Lords of Yamanobe,[34] of the Saki-kusa,[35] of the Lords of Inaki,[36] Lords of the Ada,[37] of the Lords of Minui in the Land of Wohari:[38] of the Lords of Ihanashi in Kibi,[39] of the Lords of Koromo,[40] of the Lords of Takasuka,[41] of the Dukes of 186
Asuka,[42] and of the Lords of Mure).[43] The next, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, (was the high-priestess of[44] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise). The next, King Ikobaya-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords Anahobe at Saho).[45] The next, Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (was married to King Inase-biko). The next, King Ochi-wake (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Wotsuki[46] and of the Duke of Koromo in Mikaha).[47] The next, King Ika-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes Kasuga,[48] of the Dukes of Ike in Koshi,[49] and of the Dukes of Kasugahe).[50] The next, King Itoshi-wake (owing to his having no children, made the Itoshi Tribe[51] his proxy). The next, King Iha-tsuku-wake, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Haguchi[52] and of the Dukes of Miwo).[53] The next, Her Augustness Futaji-no-Iri-bime (became the empress of His Augustness Yamato-take).

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1. For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1. *Tama-kaki* signifies "jewel (i.e,, beautiful) hedge."

2. This name and the next have already been met with in Sect. LXI, as have those of Princess Hibasu, King Tatasu-mechi, King Oho-tsutsuki-ne, Princess Kari-bata-tobe, and King Inase-biko-

3. See Sect. LXXI, Note 8.

4. The signification of this name is not clear, but Motowori identifies Shiki with the place of the same name.

5. This name seems to be a string of Honorifics signiying "great perfect prince ruling lord."

6. *I.e.*, "great middle prince," he being third of five children.

7. *I.e.*, "Yamato princess." She is a very celebrated personage in Japanese legendary story,—high priestess of Ise and aunt of the hero Yamato-take. A miraculous tale is related of her birth, and she is supposed to have lived several hundreds of years.

8. The signification of this name is obscure.

9. The signification of this name is obscure.

10. Motowori's conjectural interpretation of this name is "jewel-perfect-lord."

11. The signification of *iga* is obscure. The other two elements of the compound signify "perfect prince."

12. Signification obscure.

13. Signification obscure.

14. Signification obscure. The "Chronicles" read this name *Ike-baya*.

15. *Azami-tsu-hime*. Signification obscure.

16. *I.e.*, probably "the refulgent princess," the syllable *ya* being void of signification as in *Ka-no-hana-saku-ya-hime* (see Sect. XXXVII, Note 3). This name is celebrated as that of the heroine of the fairy-tale entitled "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter." though there is no reason for identifying the two personages.

17. This name is obscure, and Motowori suspects it of being corrupt.

18. *Yamashiro no ohokunino fuchi*. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Ohokuni ("great land" that of a village, while Fuchi is a personal name written with a character signifying "deep pool."

19. *Ochiwake no miko*. Motowori derives *ochi* from *oho*, "great," and *chi*, supposed to be an Honorific, while *wake* is taken to mean "lord." After all, the signification of the name remains obscure.

20. *Iha-tarashi-hiko no miko*. The name probably signifies "severe (or dignified) perfect prince."

21. This name is obscure.

22. *I.e.*, Karibata-tobe, the younger sister.

23. This name and the next are obscure. The first of the two is not in the older editions, but Motowori supplies what appears to be a lacuna in the text by adding the five characters 石衝別王次.

24. Signification obscure.

25. The actual word "feet" is not in the original, but an equivalent Chinese measure is used.

26. *Chiiu no ike.* The "Sea of Chinu" in the province of Idzumi, which is the same as the "Pool" here mentioned, has been mentioned in Sect. XLIV, Note 36.

27. *Sayama no ike*, in the province of Kahachi. The name probably signifies a "gorge" or "defile."

28. See above Sect. XLIV, Note 31.

29. *Totori* (lit. "bird-catching") was in the province of Idzumi, and the name is said to have been derived from the place having been one of those through which Ohotaka of Yamanobe passed when pursuing the bird whose sight was to make Prince Homachi-wake obtain the power of speech. (See the story as given at the beginning of the next Section). The name of Kaha-kami ("head-waters of the river"), as we learn by comparison with the parallel yassage of the "Chronicles," is to be traced to the River Udo, near whose head waters the palace in question is said to have been situated.

30. See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

31. See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

32. Or, "in that temple."

33. *Kahakami-be.*

34. *Yamanobe no wake.* Yamanobe (or Yamabe) is the name of a district in Yamato and signifies "mountain-slope."

35. *Sakikusa no wake.* Of Sakikusa nothing is known. The word means "lily."

36. *Inaki no wake.* Which Inaki is meant is not known, there being several places of that name in Japan. The name is connected with the word *ine*, "rice."

37. *Ada no wake.* Of Ada nothing is known.

38. *Wohari no kuni no Minu no wake.* Minu is the name of a village, and signifies "three moors."

59. *Kibi no Ihanashi no wake.* Ihanashi is the name of a district. forming part of the modern province of Bizen, and seems to signify "rockless."

40. *Koromo no wake.* Motowori supposes this name to be corrupt. Koromo is the name of a village in Mikaha.

41. *Takasuka no wake.* Nothing is known either of the place or of the family.

42. *Asuka no kimi.* It is not known where was this Asuka, which must not be confounded with the famous Asuka mentioned in Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

43. *Mure no wake* There are several places called Mure. The signification of the name is obscure.

44. Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

45. *Saho no Anahobe-wake.* The name Anahobe is derived from Anahobe, the name of the Emperor Yu-riyaku, and *be* "a tribe," it being related in the "Chronicles" that the tribe which was established as his "name-proxy" was so called.

46. *Wotsuki no yama no kimi.* Wotsuki is the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). The family name must be interpreted to signify that they were wardens of the mountain.

47. *Mikaha no Koromo no kimi. Conf.* the name in Note 40, with which this is probably identical. Motowori suspects an error in the text.

48. *Kazuga no yama no kimi. Conf.* the name in Note 46.

49. *Koshi no ike no kimi.* Nothing is known of the place or of the family; Koshi may or may not be the northern province of that name.

50. *Kasugabe no kimi.* There were two places of the name of Kasugabe (i.e. "Kasuga Clan," so called perhaps after a family that had resided there). It is not known which is here alluded to.

51. *Itoshi-be.* The name, which is thus restored by Motowori, is variously mutilated in the older editions. This is the first mention of adoption, lit. in Japanese "child-proxy making." The custom is perpetually referred to in the later portion of these "Records."

52. *Haguhi no kimi.* Haguhi is the name of a district in Noto. The derivation is obscure.

53. *Miwo no kimi.* Miwo is the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "three mountain-folds."

[SECT. LXX.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART II.—CONSPIRACY OF
187 KING SAHO-BIKO AND THE EMPRESS SAHO-BIME).]

When this Heavenly Sovereign made Saho-bime his Empress, Her Augustness Saho-bime's elder brother, King Saho-biko, asked his younger sister, saying: "Which is dearer [to thee], thine elder brother or thy

husband?" She replied, saying "Mine elder brother is dearer." Then King Saho-biko conspired, saying: "If I be truly the dearer to thee, let me and thee rule the empire," and forthwith he made an eight times tempered stiletto,[1] and handed it to his younger sister, saying: "Slay the Heavenly Sovereign in his sleep with this small knife." So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress' august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with the stiletto; but though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling ot sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing[2] onto [the Heavenly Sovereign's] august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "I have had a strange dream: A violent shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted my face; again a small damask-coloured snake coiled itself round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?" Then the Empress, thinking it improper to dispute,[3] forthwith informed the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Mine elder brother King Saho-biko asked me,[4] saying: 'Which is dearer [to thee], thy husband or thine elder brother?' So, as I was embarrassed by [this] direct question, I replied, saying: 'Oh! mine elder brother is the dearer.' Then he charged[5] me, saying: 'I and thou will together rule the 188
Empire; so the Heavenly Sovereign must be slain;'—and so saying, he made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to me. Therefore I wanted to cut thine august throat; but though I thrice lifted [the weapon], a feeling of regret suddenly arose, so that I could not cut thy throat, and the tears that I wept fell and wetted

thine august face. [The dream] was surely the omen of this." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "How nearly have I been destroyed!" and forthwith he raised an army to smite King Saho-biko, whereupon the King made a rice-castle[6] to await the fray. At this time Her Augustness Saho-bime, unable to forget her elder brother, fled out through the back-gate [of the palace], and came into the rice-castle.

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1. For stiletto see above, Sect. XXXVI, Note 8. The curious word *ya-shio-wori* (八塩折) in the text seems to have the sense of "eight times tempered," i.e., tempered over and over again, which Motowori assigns to it. The same expression is used in Sect. XVIII (Note 16) to denote the refining of rice-liquor.

2. This word "overflowing" is more appropriately placed in the version of the story given in the "Chronicles," where the author makes her tears first fill her sleeve (a common Japanese figure of speech), and thence "overflow" on to the sleeping Monarch's face.

3. *I.e.*, seeing that it would be vain in deny the truth.

4. The First Personal Pronoun is written with the self-depreciatory character 妾, "concubine."

5. Or "enticed."

6. This expression, which is repeated elsewhere, is one which has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The "Chronicles" tell us expressly that "rice [stalks] were piled up to make a castle,"—an assertion which, as Motowori remarks, is simply incredible. He therefore adopts Mabuchi's suggestion that a castle *like* a rice-castle is what is intended,—"rice-castle" being taken "to mean rice-store" or "granary," such granaries having probably been stoutly built in order to protect them from thieves. The historian of the Tang dynasty quoted in the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" says that the Japanese had no castles, but only palisades of timber. The latter might well however have been called castles by the Japanese, though they wonld not have been accounted such by the Chinese, who already built theirs of stone.

[SECT. LXXI.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART III.—BIRTH OF PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE AND DEATH OF THE CONSPIRATORS).]

At this time the Empress[1] was pregnant. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign could not restrain [his pity for] the Empress, who was pregnant and whom he had loved for now three years. So he turned his army aside, and did not hasten the attack. During this delay, the august child that she had conceived was born. So having put out the august child and set it outside the rice-castle, she caused [these words[to be said to the Heavenly Sovereign: "If this august child be considered to be 189
the Heavenly Sovereign's august child, let him[2] deign to undertake it." Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign said:[3] "Although detesting the elder brother, I yet cannot repress my love for the Empress," and forthwith planned to secure the Empress. Wherefore, choosing from among his warriors a band of the strongest and deftest, he charged [them, saying]: "When ye take the august child, likewise abduct the queen its mother. Whether by the hair or by the hands, or wherever ye may best lay hold of her, clutch her and drag her out." Then the Empress, knowing his intention beforehand, shaved off all her hair and covered her head with her hair, and likewise made her jewel-string rotten and wound it thrice round her arm, and moreover made her august garments rotten by means of rice-liquor and put on the garments as if they were whole. Having made these preparations, she took the august child in her arms and pushed it outside the castle. Then the strong men, taking the august child, forthwith clutched at the august parent. Then, on their clutching her august hair, the august hair

fell off of itself; on their clutching her august arms, the jewel-string likewise snapped; on their clutching her august garments, the august garments at once tore. Therefore they obtained the august child, but did not get the august parent. So the warriors came back [to the Sovereign], and reported, saying: "On account of her august hair falling off of itself, of her august garments easily tearing, and moreover of the jewel-string which was wound round her august hand at once snapping, we have not got the august parent; but we have obtained the august child." Then the Heavenly Sovereign, sorry and angry, hated the people who made the jewels,
190 and deprived them all of their lands.[4] So the proverb says: "Landless jewels-makers."[5] Again did the Heavenly Sovereign cause[6] the Empress to be told, saying; "A child's name must be given by the mother; by what august name shall this child be called?" Then she replied, saying: "As he was born now at the time of the castle being burnt with fire and in the midst of the fire, it were proper to call him by the august name of Prince[7] Homu-chi-wake."[8] And again he caused her to be asked: "How shall he be reared?"[9] She replied, saying: "He must be reared by taking an august mother[10] and fixing on old bathing-women and young bathing-women."[11] So he was respectfully reared in accordance with the Empress's instructions. Again he asked the Empress, saying: "Who shall loosen the fresh small pendant[12] which thou didst make fast?" She replied,
191 saying: "It were proper that Ye-hime and Oto-hime,[13] daughters of King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi[14] prince of Taniha, should serve thee, for these two queens are of unsullied parentage."[15] So at last [the Heavenly Sovereign] slew King Saho-biko, and his younger sister followed him.[16]

1. *I.e.*, Her Augustness Saho-bime, who was the subject of the preceding sentence.

2. *I.e.*, the Sovereign. The import of this passage is, according to Motowori, that the Empress imagined that her own conduct might perhaps influence the Emperor to refuse to give the child she bore him its proper rank,—not from doubts as to its legitimacy, but as having a rebel mother. By "undertaking" the child is of course meant undertaking the care and education of it.

3. Motowori supposes the Chinese character rendered "said" to be an crror, and prefers to consider this clause as containing not the words. but the thought of the Monarch. It would certainly be more convenient to adopt this view. if it were sanctioned by any text.

4. Or, as Motowori prefers to read, "deprived them of all their landa."

5. There is nowhere else any reference to this saying. Motowori supposes it to point to those who, hoping for reward, get punishment instead, these jewellers having doubtless rotted the string on which the beads were strung by special desire of the Empress, whereas they ended by getting nothing but confiscation for their pains.

6. Motowori (following Mabuchi) is evidently correct in supposing the character 命 in this place, and again a little further on, to be a copyist's error for 令, "caused," and the translator has rendered it accordingly.

7. "Prince" is here written 御子.

8. This name may also be read *Ho-muchi-wake*, and is in the "Chronicles" given as *Ho-muchi-wake* while it appears as *Homuchi-wake* at the commencement of Sect. LXIX. The first two elements apparently signify "fire-possessing," while *wake* is the frequently recurring Honorific signifying either "lord" or "young and flourishing."

9. Lit., "his days be reverently prolonged." The same expression is repeated thrice below.

10. *I.e.*, foster-mother.

11, The characters 大湯坐若湯坐 used in the original of this passage would, if they stood alone, be of difficult interpretation. But a comparison with the passage in "One account" of "Chronicles," which relates the nursing of Fuki-ahez-no-mikoto, the father of the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu, leaves no doubt that the author intended to speak of bathing-women attached to the service of the Imperial infant.

12. The words *midzu no wo-himo*, literally rendered "fresh small pendant," call for some explanation. *Midzu*, which includes in a single

term the ideas of youth, freshness, and beauty, is here used as an Honorific. The "small pendant" is interpreted by Mabuchi and Motowori to signify the "inner girdle" which held together the under-garment of either sex. The old literature of Japan teems with allusions to the custom of lovers or spouses making fast each other's inner girdle, which might not be untied till they met again, and the poets perpetually make a lover ask some such question as "When I am far from thee, who shall loosen my girdle?" The translator cannot refrain from here quoting, for the benefit of the lover of Japanese verse (though he will not attempt to translate them), the two most graceful of the many stanzas from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" brought together by Motowori to illustrate this passage:

Wagimoko ga
Yuhiteshi himo wo
Tokame ya mo:
Toyeba tayu to mo
Tada ni afu made ni.
Unabara wo
Tohoku watarite
Toshifu to mo:
Ko-ra ga musuberu
Himo toku na yume.

Tanigaha Shisei also appropriately quotes the following:

Futari shite
Musubishi himo wo
Hitori shite
Ware ha toki-mizhi
Tada ni afu made ha.

a literal rendering of which would run thus: "I will not, till we meet face to face, loosen alone the girdle which we two tied together."

13. *I.e.*, the "Elder Princess and the Younger Princess."

14. Motowori is probably right in explaining *tatasu* as the Honorific Causative of *tatsu*, "to stand" and *michi no ushi* as *michi-nushi* or *kuni-nushi*, *i.e.*, "owner of the province," "ruler."

15. Lit., "are pure subjects."

16. *I.e.*, was slain with him.

[SECT. LXXII.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV.—THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE).] 192

So the way they led about and amused the august child was by making a two-forked boat[1] out of a two-forked cryptomeria from Ahidzu in Wohari,[2] bringing it up and floating it on the Pool of Ichishi and on the Pool of Karu[3] in Yamato, [thus] leading about and amusing the august child. Nevertheless the august child spoke never a word, though his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach.[4] So[5] it was on hearing the cry of a high-flying swan[6] that he made his first utterance.[7] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent Yamanobe-no-Ohotaka[8] (this is a name of a person) to catch the bird. So this person, pursuing the swan, arrived in the Land of Harima from the Land of Ki, and again in his pursuit crossed over to the Land of Inaba, then reaching the Land of Taniba and the Land of Tajima; [thence] pursuing round 193
to the eastward, he reached the Land of Afumi. and thereupon crossed over into the Land of Minu; and, passing along by the Land of Wohari, pursued it into the Land of Shinanu, and at length, reaching in his pursuit the Land of Koshi, spread a net in the Estuary of Wanami,[9] and, having caught the bird, brought it up [to the capital] and presented it [to the Sovereign]. So that estuary is called the Estuary of Wanami. It had been thought that, on seeing the bird again, he would speak; but he did not speak, as had been thought.[10] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, deigning to be grieved, augustly fell asleep, when, in an august dream, he was instructed, saying: "If thou wilt build my temple like unto thine august abode, the august child shall surely speak." When he had been thus instructed, [the Heaven-

ly Sovereign] made grand divination to seek what Deity's desire[11] this might be. Then [it was discovered that] the curse was the august doing of the Great Deity of Idzumo.[12] So when about to send the august child to worship [at] that Great Deity's temple, [he made divination to discover[13]] by whom it were well to have him attended. Then the lot fell on King Ake-tatsu.[14] So he
194 made King Ake-tatsu swear,[15] saying: "If there is truly to be an answer[16] to our adoration of this Great Deity, may the heron dwelling on the tree by the Pool of Sagisu[17] here fall [through my] oath." When he thus spoke, the heron that had been sworn by fell to the ground `dead. Again on his commanding it to come to life] in answer to his] oath, it then came to life again.[18] Moreover he caused to wither by an oath and again brought to life again by an oath a broad-foliaged bear-oak on Cape Amakashi.[19] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] granted to Prince Ake-tatsu the name of Prince Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-tomi-toyo-asakura-ake-tatsu.[20] So when the august child was sent off with the two Princes, Prince Ake-tatsu and Prince Una-kami,[21] as his attendants, it was divined[22] that [if they went out[by the Nara gate,[23]
195 they would meet a lame person and a blind person;[24] [if they went out] by the Ohosaka[25] gate, they would likewise meet a lame person and a blind person, and that only the Ki gate,—a side gate,[26]—would be the lucky gate; and when they started off, they established the Homuji clan[27] in every place they arrived at. So when they had reached Idzumo and had finished worshipping the Great Deity, and weré returning up [to the capital], they made in the middle of the River Hi[28] a black plaited bridge and respectfully offered a temporary palace [for the august

child] to dwell in.[29] Then when the ancestor of the rulers of the Land of Idzumo, whose name was Kihisa- 196
tsu-mi,[30] having made an imitation green-leafed mountain,[31] placed [it] in the lower reach of the river, and was about to present the great august food the august child spoke, saying: "What here resembles a green-leafed mountain in the lower [reach of the] river; looks like a mountain, but is not a mountain. Is it perchance the great court[33] of the deacon[34] who holds in reverence the Great Deity Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains[35] that dwells in the temple of So at Ihakuma in Idzúmo?"[36] [Thus] he deigned to ask. Then the Kings, who had been sent in august attendance [on him], hearing with joy and seeing with delight,[37] set the august child to dwell in the palace of Nagaho at Ajimasa,[38] and despatched a courier [to inform the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the august child wedded 197
Princess Hinaga[39] for one night. So, on looking privately at the beautiful maiden, [he found her] to be a serpent, at the sight of which he fled away alarmed. Then Princess Hinaga was vexed, and, illuminating the sea-plain,[40] pursued after them in a ship; and they, more and more alarmed at the sight, pulled the august vessel across the mountain-folds,[41] and went fleeing up [to the capital]. Thereupon they made a report, saying: "We have come up [to the capital] because thy great and august child has become able to speak through worshipping the Great Deity." So the Heavenly Sovereign, delighted, forthwith sent King Unakami back to build the Deity's temple. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, on account of this august child, established the Totori Clan, the Torikahi Clan, the Homuji Clan, the Ohoyuwe and the Wakayuwe.[42]

1. From a comparison with a passage in the "Chronicles," where the same expression occurs, one is led to suppose that the craft here mentioned was a sort of double boat, in each half of which passengers could sit.

2. Nothing is known of any place called Ahidzu in the province of Wohari.

3. Karu has been mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1. The Pool of Ihare.

4. Lit., "in front of his heart." This phrase descriptive of a long beard has already occurred at the commencement of Sect. XII.

5. Motowori reasonably supposes the character 今 in this sentence to be a copyist's error for the emphatic 爾, and the translation has been made accordingly.

6. The original has the character 鵠, which is now applied to a small species of swan (*Cignus minor*, Pallas; *Cygnus Bewickii*, Yarrell). But it is uncertain what bird is intended by the author.

7. A more or less inarticulate utterance is probably meant; but the expression in the original is obscure.

8. Motowori supposes the Note in the original to refer only to the word Ohotaka, while he takes Yamamobe to be the name of a place (already mentioned in Sect. LXVIII, Note 1). The surname of Ohotaka, signifying "great hawk," was, according to the same commentator, given to the worthy here mentioned in consequence of the incident related in the text. As the bird was not a hawk, this does not seem very convincing, and Motowori's apparent idea that the man was likened to a hawk because he pursued the other bird as a hawk would do, is extremely far-fetched. It is moreover doubtful whether the name should not be read *Oho-washi* (this is Mabuchi's reading). "great." The "Chronicles" give an altogether different name, viz., *Ame-no-yukaha-tana*.

9. No such place is now known. The name may be interpreted to mean "snare-net" in allusion to this story, as stated in the next sentence of the text.

10. The various texts and printed editions all differ slightly in their reading of this passage, and from some it might be gathered that the prince did indeed speak as it had been thought that he would do, u t could not speak freely. The translation follows Motowori's emended text.

11. Literally, "heart."

12. *I.e.*, *Oho-kuni-nushi* (the Master of the Great Land), the aboriginal monarch of Idzumo, the descendant of the Sun Goddess, whose

abdication of the sovereignty of Japan in favour of the descendant of the Sun Goddess forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII. The word *tatari*, here written with the Chinese character 祟 and rendered "curse," signifies properly the vengeance of a spirit, *i.e.*, either of a deity or of the ghost of a dead man. The word translated "doing" is literally "heart."

13. That some such words must be supplied is evident, and the translator has followed Mabuchi and Motowori in supplying them.

14. Lit., "King Ake-tatsu at the divination."

15. Remember that the original word *ukehi* combines the meanings of our words "wager," "oath," "pledge," "curse," etc.,—being in fact a general name for all words to which any mysterious importance attaches.

16. Lit., a "sign," a "proof."

17. *Sagisu no ike*, a pool in Yamato. *Sagi-su*, signifies "heron's nest."

18. The reading of the characters 爾者 (rendered "then") in this passage has been a crux to all the editors. Fortunately they make no difference to the sense.

19. *Amakashi no saki.* Perhaps "Amakashi Point" would be a better rendering if, as Motowori supposes, an inland place in the province of Yamato is meant. It might be the point or extremity of a hill or bluff. *Ame-kashi* signifies literally "sweet oak." The "broad-foliaged bear-oak" mentioned immediately above is supposed by Motowori to be the usual evergreen oak, and not any special kind. The epithet "broad-foliaged" is not, as he remarks, specially appropriate, and he moreover supposes the word *kuma*, "bear," to be a corruption of *kumi* or *kumori*, words which would refer to the thick luxuriance of the foliage. The dictionaries do not help us much to a decision on the point.

20. The component parts of this tremendous name, which is happily abbreviated to Ake-tatsu in the subsequent portions of the te , are somewhat obscure, especially the word *oyu*, whose reading rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, who emends the evidently erroneous character 者 to 老 (*oyu*,) "old." *Yoyo*, "luxuriant," is an Honorific, *ake* and *tatsu* signify respectively "dawn" and "rise," while the rest seem to be names of places of which this Prince may be supposed to have been the possessor.

21. Or, the Prince of Unakami, as Unakami is the name of a place in Kadzusa.

22. *I.e.*, shown by divination.

23. Nara in Yamato, which is here mentioned for the first time, was the capital, of Japan from A.D. 710 to 784, and has always been famous in Japanese history and literature. The name is derived by the author of the "Chronicles" from the verb *narasu*, "to cause to resound," the hosts of the Emperor Su-jin having, it is said, caused the earth to resound with their trampling when they went out to do battle with Hani-yasu. A more probable derivation is from *nara*, the name of a kind of deciduous oak, the *Quercus glandulifera*. The word rendered "gate" should possibly be taken simply in the sense of "exit" or "approach.'

24. Or, "lame yeople and blind people," a peculiarly unlucky omen for travellers, to whom, as Motowori remarks, sound feet and good eye-sight are indispensable to carry them on their way.

25. See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

26. In the text the word "gate" is here, by a copyist's error written "moon." When the author says that the Ki gate, *i.e.*, gate or exit leading to the province of Ki, as a "side-gate," he means that it was; not the one by which travellers would naturally have left the town:—the province of Ki, indeed, is to the South of Yamato where the capital was, whereas the province of Idzumo, whither they were bound, was to the north-west. This road into Ki over Matsuchi-yama is one famous in the classical poetry of Japan.

27. *Homuji-be.* The meaning of the clause is that they granted the surname of Homuji to persons in every important locality through which they passed on their journey.

28. See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

29. The signification of this passage is: "They built as a temporary abode for the prince a house in the River Hi (whether with its foun a-tions actually in the water or on an island is left undetermined), connect-ing it with the main land by a bridge made of branches of trees twisted together and with their bark left on them" (this is here the import of the word "black"). Such bridges have been met with by the translator in the remote northern province of Deha, where the country people call them *shiba-bashi* (or, rather, in their patois *suba-bashi*, i.e., "twig-bridge"). The traveller is so likely to fall through interstices into the stream below, that it is not to be wondered at that they should now be confined to the rudest localities.

30. Motowori supposes *Kihisa* to be the name of a place, and *tsu-mi* to stand as usual for *tsu mochi*, "possessor," according to which view the name would mean "lord" or "possessor of Kihisa."

31. No book of reference with which the translator is acquainted throws any light on this curious expression, and there is no parallel passage in the "Chronicles" to look for help.

32. Viz., to the Prince ("the august child"). The preparations which *Kōhisa-tsu-mi* is here said to have made are supposed by Motowori to have been prompted by a desire to add beauty to the feast. But the whole passage is very obscure.

33. Viz., the court in front of, or the approach to, the shrine, which would naturally be planted with the sacred tree, the *saka-ki* (*Cleyera japonica*), and thus justly the prince's comparison to it of the artificial grove at which he was looking.

34. *I.e.*, the priest attached to the worship of, etc. For "deacon" see Note 33 to Sect. LXII.

35. *Ashihara-shiko-wo*, one of the many names of the Deity *Oho-kuni-nushi* ("Master of the Great Land," see Sect. XX, Note 19). the Deity whom the Prince and his followers had just been worshipping.

36. These names cannot now be identified, and are of uncertain etymology. Ikakuma seems, however, to mean "curve in the rock." One would have expected in this place, instead of these unknown names, to find a reference to the main temple of the Deity, which was styled *Kidzuki no oho-yashiro*, i.e., "the great shrine of Kidzuki."

37. Some such words as "the changed and more intelligent appearance of the Prince, and his attainment of the power of speech" must be mentally supplied in order to bring out the sense which the author intends to convey.

38. These names cannot be identified. *Nagaho* signifies "long-rice-ear," while *ajimasa* in modern usage is the name of a palm (the *Levistona Sinensis*); but Motowori supposes that it formerly designated the palmetto or some cognate tree.

39. *Hi-naga-hime*. The signification of the name is obscure, but it would seem most natural to suppose it connected with the River Hi which figures in the Idzumo cycle of legends. A proposal of Motowori's to read *Koye-naga* instead of the traditional *Hi-naga* seems scarcely to be meant in earnest. If accepted, it would give us the meaning of "fat and long princess," with reference to the story of her being a serpent.

40. It will be remembered that the Province of Idzumo is a maritime one, and that the fugitives might be supposed to reach the sea-shore in their flight. It is true that this is exactly the reverse of the direction which they would be obliged to take in travelling up to the capital, which was in Yamato.

41. *L.e.*, the depressions or valleys separating one mountain from another.

42. In the original *Totori-be, Torikahi-be, Homuji-be, Oho-yuwe and Waka-yuwe.* All these "gentile names" have a meaning connecting them either really or apparently with the story above related,—*to-tori* signifying "bird-catcher" and *tohi-kahi* "bird-feeder," while the name of the *Homuji* Clan is of course derived from that of the Prince (Homuchi or Homuji), and *Oho-yuwe* and *Waka-yuwe* signify respectively "elder bather" and "younger bather."

[SECT. LXXIII.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART. V.—HIS LATER WIVES.)]

Again, in accordance with the Emperor's words, he summoned Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, next Her Augustness Princess Oto, next Her Augustness Princess Utakori, next Her Augustness Princess Matonu,[1] daughters of Prince Michi-no-ushi—four Deities in all. Now he
198 kept the two Deities Her Augustness Princess Hibasu and Her Augustness Princess Oto; but as for the two Deities the younger queens, he sent them back to their native place on account of their extreme hideousness. Thereupon Princess Matonu said with mortification: "When it is known in the neighbouring villages that, among sisters of the same family, we have been sent back on account of our ugliness, it will be extremely mortifying;" and, on reaching Sagaraka[2] in the Land of Yamashiro, she tried to kill herself[3] by hanging herself from a branch of a tree. So that place was called by the name of Sagariki. It is now called Sagaraka. Again, on reaching Otokuni,[4] she at last killed herself by jumping[5] into a deep pool. So that place was called by the name of Ochikuni. It is now called Otokuni.

1. *Hibasu-hime*, *Oto-hime*, *Utakori-hime* and *Matonu-hime*. The first two of these names have already appeared above, where the etymology of *Hibasu* was said to be doubtful, while *Oto* signifies "younger sister." *Matonu* has likewise already appeared, and is of uncertain derivation. Motowori supposes this last name to be in this place but an alias for *Utakori*, which he explains in the sense of "sad heart" with reference to the story of this princess as here told. In any case there is confusion in the legend, for in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" five princesses are mentioned, whereas at the end of Sect. LXXI of these "Records" the Empress is made to speak of only two. The father's name has been already there explained.

2. The real derivation of this name is obscure. The ancient (perhaps here and elsewhere suppositious ancient) form *Sagari-ki* signifies "hanging-*tree*." *Saga-raka* is written 相樂, a good example of the free manner in which some Chinese characters were anciently used for phonetic purposes. *Sau-raku*, *Sa-raku* or *Sa-gara* would be the only readings possible in the modern tongue.

3. Literally, "wished to die." Motowori supposes that her design was frustrated by her attendants.

4. Written with characters signifying "*younger country*," but here supposed by the author to be derived from *ochi-kuni*, falling country," in connection with this legend.

5. Lit. "died by falling."

[SECT. LXXIV. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VI. —TAJI-MORI BRINGS BACK THE ORANGE FROM THE ETERNAL LAND.)]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign sent Tajima-mori,[1] ancestor of the Chiefs of Miyake,[2] to the Eternal Land[3] to fetch the fruit of the everlasting[4] fragrant tree. So Tajima-mori at last reached that country, plucked the fruit of the tree, and brought of clubmoss eight and of spears eight; but meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign had died. Then Tajima-mori set apart of clubmoss four and

of spears four, which he presented to the Great Empress,[5] and set up of clubmoss four and of spears four as an offering at the door of the Heavenly Sovereign's august mausoleum, and, raising on high the fruit of the tree, wailed and wept, saying: "Bringing the fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree from the Eternal Land, I have come to serve thee;" and at last he wailed and wept himself to death. This fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree is what is now called the orange.[6]

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1. The meaning of this name,[1] which is written phonetically both here and in the "Chronicles," has given rise to differences of opinion, some deriving it from the name of the province of Tajima (itself of obscure origin) and from the word *mori* "keeper," while others think it comes from *tachibana*, the Japanese word for orange, with reference to the story here told. The supporters of the former view, on the other hand, derive the *tachibana* from *Tajima-mori*.

2. *Miyake no murazhi*. Whether *miyake* is simply the name of a place or whether it should be taken in the sense of "granary," is uncertain. If the latter view be adopted, it would be natural to suppose that this family had originally furnished the superintendents of the Imperial Granaries. In any case it traced its origin to a Korean source (see the "Catalogue of Family Names," and the genealogies in Sect. CXV).

3. See Sect. XXV).

4. Written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" with characters signifying literally "timeless." The whole of this circumlocution for the orange has indeed to be interpreted by the help of the "Chronicles." it being here written phonetically and offering some difficulties as it stands.

5. This corrupt and obscure passage seems to be well restored by Motowori, whose explanation of it is likewise as convincing as it is ingenious. The expression "clubmoss-oranges" signifies oranges as they grow on the branch surrounded by leaves, while "spear-oranges" are the same divested of leaves, and hanging to the bare twig. Thus the words "clubmoss" and "spear" come to be used as "Auxiliary Numerals" for oranges plucked in these two different manners.

6. Viz., says Motowori, Princess Hibasu, who however, according to the account in the "Chronicles," was already dead at this time.

7. The word *tachibana* (written 橘) in the text should probably be taken as a specific and not as a general term. In modern usage it designates the *Citrus japonica*. But it is a matter of dispute whether the application of the term has not altered since ancient times, and whether we should not understand by it one of the other kinds of orange now to be found in Japan,—perhaps the *Citrus nobilis*.

SECT. LXXV.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VII.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS HIBASU.)] 200

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and fifty-three. His august mausoleum is in the middle of the moor of Mitachi at Sugahara.[1] Again in the time of the Great Empress Her Augustness Princess Hibasu,[2] the Stone-Coffin-Makers[3] were established, and also the Earthenware-Masters' Clan[4] was established. This Empress was buried in the mausoleum of Terama near Saki.[5]

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1. Both the locality and the etymology of *Mitachi* are obscure. *Sugahara* ("sedge-moor") is known to be in the province of Yamato.

2. *I.e.*, at the time of the burial of the great Empress, etc.

3. The character 祝 ("to pray") in the text is indubitably a copyist's error for "棺, coffin." These stone coffins are described by Mr. Henry von Siebold in his "Note on Japanese Archaeology" p.5. It must be understood that, from being the name of an office, Stone-Coffin-Maker (*Ishi-ki-tsukuri*) became a "gentile name."

4. *Hanishi-be*. The meaning of this expression becomes clear by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," which it may be worth while to quote at length from Mr. Satow's translation in pp. 229-330 of Vol. VIII, Pt. III, of these Transactions: "In the autumn of 32nd year, on the *tsuchi no to u* day of the moon, which rose on the *ki no ye inu* day, the empress Hi ba su hime no Mikoto (in another source called Hi-ba-su ne no Mikoto) died, and they were several days going to bury her. The Mikado commanded all his high officers, saying: "We knew

before that the practice of following the dead is not good. In the case of the present burying what shall be done? Thereupon Nomi no Sukune advanced and said: "It is not good to bury living men standing at the sepulchre of a prince, and this cannot be handed down to posterity. I pray leave now to propose a convenient plan. and to lay this before the sovereign." And he sent messengers to summon up a hundred of the clay-workers' tribe of the country of Izumo, and he himself directed the men of the clay-workers' tribe in taking clay and forming shapes of men, horses and various things, and presented them to the Mikado, saying: 'From now and henceforward let it be the law for posterity to exchange things of clay for living men, and set them up at sepulchres.' Thereupon the Mikado rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying: 'Thy expedient plan has truly pleased Our heart;' and the things of clay were for the first time set up at the tomb of Hi-ba-su hime no Mikoto. Wherefore these things were *haniwa* (a circle of clay). Then he sent down an order, saying: 'From now and henceforward, be sure to set up these things of clay at sepulchres, and let not men be slain.' Mikado bountifully praised Nomi no Sukune, bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the charge of the clay-workers' tribe."

5. In the province of Yamato. In the old poetry there are many plays on this word *Saki*, which is homonymous with the Verb "to blossom." But whether that be its real derivation, it were hard to say. *Terama* appears to signify "Buddhist temple-space," an etymology which is embarrassing to the Shinto commentators who, accepting every word of our text as authentic history, are hard-driven to explain how Buddhist temples could have existed in Japan before the date assigned for the introduction of Buddhism.

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201 [SECT. LXXVI.—EMPRESS KEI-KŌ (PART I,—GENEALOGIES.)]

The Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake dwelt in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Elder Lady of Inabi in Harima,[2] daughter of Waka-take, Prince of Kibi,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi,[4] and begot

august children: King Kushi-tsunu-wake;[5] next His Augustness Ohousu;[6] next His Augustness Wo-usu, another name for whom is His Augustness Yamato wo-guna;[7] next His Augustness Yamato-ne-ko;[8] next King Kamukushi.[9] Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Yasaka- 202
no-iri,[10] daughter of His Augustness Prince Yasaka-no-iri, he begot august children: His Augustness Prince Waka-rarashi;[11] next His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri;[12] next His Augustness Oshi-no-wake;[13] next Her Augustness Princess Iho-ki-no-iri.[14] Children by another concubine were: King Toyo-to-wake;[15] next the Lady Nunoshiro.[16] Children by another concubine were: the Lady Nunaki;[17] next Her Augustness Princess Kago-yori;[18] next King Prince Waka-ki-no-iri;[19] next King the Elder Prince of Kibi-no-ye;[20] next Her Augustness Princess Takaki;[21] next Her Augustness Princess Oto.[22] Again wedding Princess Mi-hakashi of Himuku,[23] he begot an august child: King Toyo-kuni-wake.[24] Again wedding the Younger Lady of Inabi,[25] younger sister of the Elder Lady of Inabi,[26] he begot august children: King Ma-waka; next King Hiko-hito-no-oho-ye.[27] Again wedding Princess 203
Ka-guro,[28] daughter of King Princess Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko,[29] great-grand-child of His Augustness Yamato-take,[30] he begot an august child: King Oho-ye.[31] The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko numbered in all twenty-one kings and queens[32] of whom there is a register. and fifty-nine kings and queens of whom there is no record,—eighty kings and queens altogether, out of whom His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko and also His Augustness Yamato-take, and also His Augustness Prince I-ho-ki-no-iri,—these three Kings,—bore the name of Heirs Apparent.[33] The seventy-seven

kings and queens beside these[34] were all granted Rulerships in the various lands, or else [posts as] Lords, Territorial Lords or Departmental Chiefs.[35] So His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko [was he who afterward] ruled the Empire. His Augustness Wo-usu subdued the savage deities and likewise the unsubmissive people in the East
204 and West. The next, King Kushi-tsunu-wake (was the ancestor of the chiefs of Mamuta).[36] The next, His Augustness Oho-Usu, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mori,[37] of the Dukes of Ohota[38] and of the Dukes of Shimada.)[39] The next, King Kamukushi, (was the ancestor of the Sakabe Abiko in the Land of Ki,[40] and of the Sakabe of Uda).[41] The next, King Toyo-kuni-wake (was the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Himuka.)[42]

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1. In the province of Yamato. The etymology of *Makimuku* is obscure. *Hishiro* is tentatively derived by Motowori from *hi*, the *Chamaecyparis obtusa* (a kind of conifer), and *shiro*, "an enclosure."

2. *Harima no inabi no oho-iratsume.* Inabi is also known under the alternative form of *Inami:* etymology uncertain.

3. *Waka-take Kibi tsu hiko*, *Waka-take* signifies "young brave."

4. *Kibi no omi.*

5. *Kushi* signifies "wondrous," and *wake* either "young," or "lord." The meaning of *tsunu* is obscure.

6. The names of this prince and the next signify respectively "great-foot-pestle" and "little foot-pestle," the origin of the bestowal of which singular designations is thus related in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles:" "The Imperial child Oho-usu and His Augustness Wo-usu were born together the same day as twins. The Heavenly Sovereign, astonished, informed the foot-pestle. So the two Kings were called Great Foot-pestle and Liitle Foot-pestle." What the import of this paasage may be is, however, a mystery both to Tanigaha Shisei and to Motowori.

7. Motowori supposes *wo-guna* to have been an archaic word for "boy," "me-guna" signifying "girl." *Yamato wo-guna* would thus signify "*the* boy of Japan." a not inappropriate designation for this prince, who under his later name of Yamato-take (Japan Brave," i.e. *the* brave man of Japan") has remained as the chief legendary type of the martial prowess of his native land.

8. *I.e.*, Yamato Prince.

9. *Komu-kushi no miko, i.e.*, "divine wondrous."

10. *Yamasaka no iri-bime no mikoto.* The signification of this name and of the next (*Ya-saka no iri-biko no mikoto*) is obscure.

11. *Waka-tarashi-hiko no mikoto, i.e.*, "young and perfect prince."

12. *I-ho-ki no iri-biko no mikoto.* Signification obscure.

13. Or, *Oshi-wake, i.e.*, perhaps "Great Lord."

14. *I-ho-ki no iri-bime no mikoto.* Signification obscure.

15. *Toyo-to-wake no mikoto, i.e.*, perhaps "luxuriant swift prince."

16. *Nunoshiro no iratsumo.* Signification obscure.

17. *Nunaki no iratsume.* Signification obscure.

18. *Kago-yori-hime no mikoto. Yori ime* probably means "good princess." The sense of *kago* is very doubtful, for it may either be the name of a place, or else identical with the Verb *kagayaku* "to shine," or with *kago*, "a stag."

19. *Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto.* The signification of this name is obscure.

20. *Kōbi no ye-hiko no mikoto.*

21. *Takaki-hime no mikoto.* The meaning of *takaki* in this place is not certain.

22. *Oto-hime no mikoto, i.e.*, "the younger princes."

23. *Himuka no Mi-hakashi-bime. Mi hakashi* signifies "august sabre." See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXVI, p. 11, for a gloss on this curious name.

24. *Toyo-kuni-wake no mikoto, i.e.*, perhaps "lord of the luxuriant land," or else "lord of the land of Toyo," the Emperor Kei-kō having, according to the account in the "Chronicles," spent some years fighting in South-Western Japan, where the province of Toyo is situated.

25. *Inabi no waki-iratsume.* See Note 2 to this Section.

26. *Ma-waka no miko, i.e.*, "truly young prince."

27. *Hiko-hito no oho-ye no miko. Hiko* signifies "prince," *hito* is "person" (or here, according to Motowori, "headman"), and *oho-ye* is "great elder brother."

28. *Ka-guro-hime, i.e.*, probably "the black-haired princess."

29. *Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto.* The signification of this name is not clear. Motowori identifies *sume* with the like-sounding Verb signifying "to be supreme." *Oho-naka-tsu-hiko* may signify "great middle prince," referring to the comparative ages of this prince and his brethren.

30. There is here an evident error in the genealogy, as it would make the emperor marry his own great-great-grand daughter! A guess of the editor of 1687 that for Yamato-take we should read Waka-take (a son of the Emperor Kō-rei) is approved by Motowori, and may be adopted as probably correct,—i.e. (what is but little likely) if this portion of the "Records" should eventually be proved to be historically trustworthy. The question is discussed by Motowori in Vol. XXVI, pp. 12-14. of his Commentary.

31. *Oho-ye no miko.* This name would, as Motowori remarks, appear to have erroneously crept in here through the influence of the name mentioned in Note 27, the whole account of this union with Princess Ka-guro being corrupt.

32. The Japanese term (王 *miko*) includes both males and females.

33. 子大.

34. As above remarked, the Japanese term includes both males and females, and moreover some of the female children are specially mentioned. The difficulty as to how females could have been appointed to the offices here mentioned is not solved by Motowori, whose note on this passage is evasive.

35. The four names of offices (also used as "gentile names") here mentioned are in the original Japanese *Kuni no Miyatsuko*, *Wake*, *Inaki*, and *Agata-mushi*. (See Introduction, p. xvi.)

36. *Mamuta no murazhi.* (See Sect. LIII, Note 1.)

37. *Mori no kimi.* *Mori* seems to be the name of a place (perhaps in Mino); but nothing is known of this family.

38. *Ohota no kimi.* *Ohota* is the name of a place in Mino, and signifies "great rice-field."

39. *Shimada no kimi.* *Shimada* is perhaps the name of a place in Wohari. It signifies "island rice-fields."

40. *Kī no kuni no sakabe no abiko.* For *abiko* see Sect. LXXII, Note 85. *Sakabe* seems to signify "liquor tribe," this family and the next having been entrusted with the management of the Imperial feasts.

41. *Uda no sakabe*, i.e., the "Liquor Tribe of Uda." (in Yamato).

42. *Himuka no kuni no miyatsuko.*

[SECT. LXXVII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART II.—THE MAIDENS YE-HIME AND OTO-HIME).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, to assure himself of what he had heard of the beauty of the two maidens Ye-hime and Oto-hime,[1] daughters of King Kamu-oho-ne,[2] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Minu,[3] sent his august child, His Augustness Oho-usu, to summon them up [to the Capital]. So His Augustness Oho-usu who had been sent, instead of summoning them up, forthwith wedded both the maidens himself, and then sought other women, to whom he falsely gave the maidens' names, and sent them up [to his father]. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, knowing them to be other women, frequently subjected them to his long glances;[4] but, never wedding them, caused them to sorrow. So the child that His Augustness Oho-usu begot on wedding Ye- 205
hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko[5] (he was the ancestor of the Lords of Unesu in Minu.)[6] Again, the child that he begot on wedding Oto-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mugetsu.)[7]

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1. *I.e.*, the elder princess and the younger princess.

2. See Sect. LXII, Note 36.

3. *Minu no kuni no miyatsuko.*

4. *I.e.*, "gazed at them intently." The Classical word *nagamuru*, "to gaze," is properly a compound of *naga*, "long," and *miru*, "to see."

5. The meaning of the syllables *oshi* in this name and the companion one (*Oshi-kuro no oto hiko*) immediately below is probably "great;" *kuro* is obscure; *ye-hiko* signifies "elder prince" and *oto-hiko* "younger prince."

6. *Minu no Unesu no wake.* Of Unesu nothing is known.

7. *Mugetsu no kimi.* Mugetsu or Muge was in the province of Minu (Mino).

[SECT. LXXVIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART III.—VARIOUS DEEDS.)]

In this august reign the Labourers' Tribe[1] was established; again, the port of Aha in the East was established; again, the Great Butlers' Tribe[2] was established; again, the granaries of Yamato were established; again, the Pool of Sakate was made, and bamboos planted on the bank.[3]

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1. Such is the reasonable explanation of the original term *tabe* (田部) given by Motowori. It seems to have become a "gentile-name."

2. *Kaşhikade no oho-tomo-be.* This "gentile name" originally denoted one who was butler, steward, or cook, in the Emperor's household. The tradition of its origin is preserved in the "Chronicles."

3. Motowori supposes that the mention both in his history and in the "Chronicles of Japan" of the planting of bamboos on the banks of this pool or lake should be attributed to the rarity of such a proceeding in ancient times.

[SECT. LXXIX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IV.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The Heavenly Sovereign said to His Augustness Wo-usu: "Why does not thine elder brother come forth to the morning and evening great august repasts?[1] Be thou the one to take the trouble to teach him [his duty]." Thus he commanded; but for five days after, still [the prince] came not forth. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask His Augustness Wo-usu [saying]: "Why is thine elder brother so long of coming? Hast thou perchance not yet taught him [his duty]?" He replied,
206 saying: "I have been at that trouble." Again [the Heavenly Sovereign] said: "How didst thou take the

trouble?"[2] He replied, saying: "In the early morning when he went into the privy, I grasped hold of him and crushed him, and, pulling off his limbs,[3] wrapped them in matting and flung them away."

1. Viz., to attend on his Imperial father.
2. *I.e.*, "How didst thou do it?"
3. Literally, "branches."

[SECT. LXXX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART V.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him, saying: "In the West there are two Kumaso bravoes,[1]—unsubmissive and disrespectful men. So take[2] them,"—and [with this command] he sent him off. It happened that at this time his august hair was bound at the brow.[3] Then His Augustness Wo-usu was granted by his aunt Her Augustness Yamato-hime[4] her august [upper] garment and august skirt; and, with a sabre hidden in his august bosom, he went forth.[5] So, on reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, he saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave[6] to dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave,[7] were getting food ready. So [Prince Wo-usu sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the 207
rejoicing. Then when the day of the rejoicing came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up,[8] and having put on his aunt's august [upper] garment and august skirt, he looked quite

like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women,[9] went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when [the feast was] at its height, [His Augustness Wo-usu], drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching Kumaso[10] by the collar of his garment. thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the[9] steps[11] of the cave, and catching him by the back,[12] [Prince Wo-usu] thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I[13] have something to say." Then [His Augustness Wo-usu], respited him for a moment, holding him down [as he lay] prostrate. Hereupon [the bravo] said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: "I am the august child of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, the Heavenly Sovereign who, dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, rules the Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King Yamato-wo-guna. Hearing that you two [fellows[14]], the Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmissive and disrespectful, [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent me with the command to take and slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: "That must
208 be true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong as we two.[15] Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a man braver than we two,—there is.[16] Therefore will I offer thee an august name. From this time forward it is right that thou be praised as the August Child Yamato-take.[17] As soon as he had finished saying this, [the Prince] ripped him up[18] like a ripe

melon,[19] and slew him.[20] So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of[21] his Augustness Yamato-take. When he returned up [to the capital] after doing this, he subdued and pacified every one of the Deities of the mountains and of the Deities of the rivers and likewise of the Deities of Anado,[22] and then went up to [the capital].

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1. *I.e.*, presumably "bravoes at Kumaso;" but it is to be remarked that in this and like compounds with *takeru* ("bravo") the Japanese language uses no Postposition. For Kumaso see Sect. V, Note 17.

2. Motowori seems right in interpreting "take" here and elsewhere in the sense of "slay." But "take" is in the text.

3. *I.e.*, caught up from the brow and tied together on the crown of the head. This being the way in which the hair of boys was dressed, the author thus intimates that His Augustness was still a youth.

4. Who was high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise, as mentioned in Sect. LXIX (Note 44).

5. The characters used for these last two words are those properly restricted to the mention of an Imperial progress, but Yamato-take is constantly spoken of as if he had actually sat on the throne.

6. The character used is 室, which simply means apartment; but see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1.

7. Motowori reads "*New* cave," but the word August" is in the text. At the same time we see that this feast was intended as a house-warming. *Conf.* the commencement of Sect. CLXIV.

8. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" puts the same meaning into plainer words. It says: "undid his hair, and made it appear like a girl's."

9. Or, according to the old reading, "mixing with the concubines."

10. *I.e.*, the elder bravo of Kumaso.

11. The word rendered "steps" is of doubtful interpretation.

12. Or perhaps "the skin of his back" or the (beast's?) skin on his back." But Motowori is probably right in supposing the character 皮, "skin" to be an error for 以, "with," to be construed with the word "sabre." (In the English idiom this Particle falls away.)

13. Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

14. The contemptuous Second Personal Pronoun *ore* is used here and in the next clause.

15. There is Motowori's authority for thus understanding the bravo's words. Taken still more literally, they would seem to imply that there were no brave and strong men in the West *excepting* himself and his brother.

16. The words "there is" are an attempt at rendering the termination *keri* of the original. See X, Note 1.

17. *I.e.*, "Yamato-Brave," *q.d.*, "the Bravest in Yamato." It is by this name that the hero is commonly spoken of. Remember that "august child" signifies prince.

18. 折, "broke," in the text is, as the commentators observe, an evident error for 桙, "ripped."

19. Or specifically, the "musk melon."

20. The translator has followed Motowori's restoration of this passage, in which, by the transposition of the characters 也 and 故, the end of this sentence and the beginning of the next were mixed together in the older editions.

21. Lit., "[they] praised the august name, calling him," etc.

22. Or, "of the Ana passage" (lit. door), the modern Strait of Shimonoseki. The word *ana* signifies "hole," and there is a tradition (which Motowori quotes in his note on this name in Vol. XXVII, pp. 26-29 of his Commentary) to the effect that formerly the Main Island and the island of Kiushiu were continuous at this point, there being only a sort of natural tunnel, through which junks could pass.

[SECT. LXXXI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VI.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE IDZUMO BRAVO).]

Forthwith entering the Land of Idzumo, and wishing to slay the Idzumo bravo, he on arriving, forthwith bound [himself to him in] friendship. So, having secret-
209 ly made [the wood of] an oak [-tree[1][into a false sword and augustly girded it, he went with the bravo to bathe the River Hi.[2] Then, His Augustness Yamato-take

getting out of the river first, and taking and girding on the sword that the Idzumo bravo had taken off and laid down, said: "Let us exchange swords!" So afterwards the Idzumo bravo, getting out of the river, girded on His Augustness Yamato-take's false sword. Hereupon His Augustness Yamato-take, suggested, saying: "Come on! let us cross[3] swords." Then on drawing his sword, the Idzumo bravo could not draw the false sword. Forthwith His Augustness Yamato-take drew his sword and slew the Idzumo bravo. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"Alas that the sword girded on the Idzumo
bravo, and wound round with many a
creeper, should have had no true blade!"[4]

So having thus extirpated the [bravoes] and made [the land] orderly, he went up [to the capital], and made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

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1. The species mentioned (*ichihi*) is the *Quercus gilva*.

2. See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

3. Lit., "let us join swords." The word "suggested" (誘) in this sentence is an emendation of Motowori's, the text having 誹, "slandered." The older printed editions, while retaining the character 誹, read it *asamukite*, "deceived."

4. In its position in the present text, this Song must be taken as an ironical lament of the Prince for the dead bravo. In the "Chronicle" the time and the heroes of the episode, and the singers of the Song are all different, and in that context the lament sounds like a genuine one. The reader will remember what was said in the Introduction as to the use of creepers for string. That mentioned in the text is supposed to be the *Cocculus thunbergi*.

[SECT. LXXXII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VII.—YAMATO-TAKE IS SENT TO SUBDUE THE EAST, AND VISITS HIS AUNT AT ISE).]

Then the Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on His Augustness Yamato-take, saying: "Subdue and pacify the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of the twelve roads of the East;"[1] and when he sent him off, joining to him Prince Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take,[2] ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi,[3] he bestowed on
210 him a holly-wood[4] spear eight fathoms [long]. So when he had received the [Imperial] command and started off, he went into the temple of the Great August Deity of Ise, and worshipped the Deity's court,[5] forthwith speaking to his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, saying: "It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign thinks[6] I may die quickly; for after sending me to smite the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up again [to the capital] than, without bestowing on me an army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked people of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently I think that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." When he departed with lamentations and tears, Her Augustness Yamato-hime bestowed on him the "Herb-Quelling-Sabre,"[7] and likewise bestowed on him an august bag,[8] and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag."

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1. See Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

2. *Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take-hiko. Mi* is an Honorifie, *mimi* probably signifies "ears," and *take* means "bravo." The words *suki* and *tomo* are obscure.

3. *Kibi na omi.*

4. Properly the *Olea aquifolium*, which resembles holly. Motowori

supposes that an entirely wooden spear or stick is here meant to be spoken of, and not the weapon with a metal point which is commonly understood by the word "spear" (*hoko*).

5. Perhaps we should write "august court," for the characters 朝廷 in the text are evidently intended for the homonymous 御門. The court in front of the Deity's temple is what is here alluded to, and it would perhaps be a not unpardonable departure from the text to insert the Preposition "at," or "in," and translate thus: "worshipped *in* the Deity's court."

6. Here and below, the word "thinks," may be understood to mean "wishes."

7. *Kusa-nagi no tsurugi.* The discovery of this sword by the deity Susa-no wo ("Impetuous Male") inside one of the tails of the eight-headed serpent which he had slain, is narrated at the end of Sect. XVIII.

8. The use of the contents of this bag will be seen in the next Section.

[SECT. LXXXIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VIII.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU.)] 211

So reaching the Land of Wohari, he went into the house of Princess Miyadzu.[1] ancestress of the Rulers of Wohari,[2] and forthwith thought to wed her; but thinking again that he would wed her when he should return up [toward the capital], and having plighted his troth, he went [on] into the Eastern Lands, and subdued and pacified all the savage Deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and rivers. So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu,[3] the Ruler of the land lied, saying: "In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a very violent Deity." Hereupon [Yamato-take] entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been

deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime had bestowed on him, and saw that inside of it there was a fire-striker.[4] Hereupon he first mowed away the herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt [the herbage] and drove back [the other fire], and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the Rulers[5] of that Land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them. So [that place] is now called Yakidzu.[6]

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1. *Miyazu-hime* (in the "Chronicles" and in the printed editions of these "Records" previous to Motowori's written *Miyasu-hime* without the *nigori*). Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei makes any suggestion as to the signification of this name.

2. *Wohari no miyatsuko.*

3. In the present time *Sagami.* No authority great or small has given a satisfactory etymology of this name, though numerous and elaborate attempts have been made to explain it.

4. In the original *hi-uchi* (火打). Mr. Satow, who has given a translation of this passage in a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" to be found in Vol. IX, Pt. II. p. 202 of these "Transaction," renders this word by "steel." The present writer prefers not to prejudge the question as to whether the fire-striker" intended by the author was a steel, or a wooden fire-drill. Motowori would seem to have held the latter view, as in his gloss on this passage he refers to the previous passage near the end of Sect. XXXII, where the fire-drill is explicity mentioned. He also quotes an ancient one in which "a fire-striker of metal" is specially referred to, so that it would seem that all fire-strikers were not of that material.

5. Remember that this word "Ruler" (*Miyatsuko*) had the acceptation of a "gentile name" as well as of the name of an office, so that we may understand the author to mean that Yamato-take destroyed the whole Ruling Family of Sagami. Parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has "he burnt all that rebel band, and destroyed them."

6. The words rendered "that place" are supplied by Motowori, their omission being evidently a copyist's error. *Yaki-dzu* signifies "the port of burning."

[SECT. LXXXIV.—EMPEROR KE[1]-KŌ (PART IX.—YAMATO-TAKE'S EMPRESS STILLS THE WAVES.)] 212

When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-midzu,[1] the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then [Yamato-take's] Empress,[2] whose name was Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana[3] said: "I[4] will enter the sea instead of the august child.[5] The august child must complete the service[6] on which he has been sent, and take back a report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]." When she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs,[7] eight thicknesses of skin rugs and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on the top of the waves, and sat down on the top [of them] Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the Empress sang, saying:

"Ah! thou [whom I] enquired of, standing
in the midst of the flames of the fire burn-
ing on the little moor of Sagamu, where
the true peak pierces!"[8]

So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb 213
drifted onto the sea-beach,—Which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.

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1. *I.e.*, "running water."
2. *I.e.*, his consort. Conf. Sect. KXXX, Note 5.
3. *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto.* (See Sect. XCII, Note 3.)
4. Written with the humble character 妾, literally "concubine."
5. *I.e.*, instead of thee, the Prince."
6. More literally, "finish the government."
7. Or "mats." But the same word is used as that which must be ranslated "rugs" immediately below.

8. This Song gives much trouble to the commentators, whose remarks (to be found in Motowori's "Commentary." Vol. XXVII, pp. 67-9, and Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" Vol. III, pp. 6-9,) should be consulted by the student desirous of forming an opinion of his own. The general purport of the poem is of course to allude to Yamato-take's adventure on the burning moor, and at the same time to the love which bound him and his consort together; almost each individual line offers matter for doubt. Thus it is not certain whether the Verb *tohishi*, here rendered "enquired of" (*i.e.*, attended upon *q.d.*, by the Empress). should not rather be given the word "thou" as subject, in which case the signification would be "thou who enquiredst of [*i.e.*, wooedst]." The word used for "thou," is the Honorific equivalent of that Pronoun signifying literally "prince." Moribe disputes the propriety of considering Sagamu in this place as the name of a province, and the word *sanesashi*, here translated "where the true peak pierces" (Mt. Fuji being by some supposed to be thus alluded to) is of very doubtful interpretation. Motowori tells us that the final Particles *ha mo*, rendered by the initial Interjection "Oh," should here be understood as an exclamation more forcible than that which usually belongs to him. Finally Moribe points out that the Song does not suit the context in which it is found, and has probably been erroneously inserted here instead of in an earlier portion of the text.

[SECT. LXXXV.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART X.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS.)]

When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi[1] and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up [to the capital], he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass,[2] was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood [before him]. Then forthwith, on his waiting[3] and striking [the deer] with a scrap of wild chive,[4] [the deer] was hit in the eye and struck dead. So, mounting to

the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "*Adzuma ha ya!*"[5] So that land is called by the name of Adzuma.

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1. This is the traditional ancient reading of what is according to the modern pronunciation *Yezo*, while the Chinese characters 蝦夷, with which the name is written, signify "Prawn Barbarians," in allusion (if Motowori may be trusted) to the long beards which make their faces resemble a prawn's head. The hairy barbarians known to English readers as *Ainos*, and whose name of *Yezo* is applied by the Japanese to the northernmost large island of the Japanese Archipelago, which is still chiefly tenanted by them, are almost certainly here referred to. In ancient times they inhabited a great part of the Main Island of Japan. The translator may add that the genuiness of the so-called ancient reading "*Yemishi*" appears to him doubtful. The name known to the people themselves, and which apparently can be traced as far as Kamschatka, is *Yezo*.

2. *Ashigara-zaka*, one of the passes from Sagami into Suruga leading towards Mount Fuji.

3. *I.e.*, lying in ambush.

4. *Nira*, the *Allium odorum*.

5. *I.e.*, "my wife!" *Adzuma* is still used as a poetical designation of Eastern Japan. The translator doubts the correctness of the derivation of it given in the text, although it is universally accepted and certainly fits in well with the graceful legend by which it is here accounted for.

[SECT. LXXXVI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XI.—YAMATO-TAKE DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SAKAWORI.)] 214

When, forthwith crossing over from that land out into Kahi,[1] he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori,[2] he sang, saying:

"How many nights have I slept since passing
Nihibari and Tsukuha?"[3]

Then the old man, who was the lighter of the august fire,[4] completed the august Song, and sang, saying:

> "Oh! having put the days in a row, there are of nights nine nights, and of days ten days!"[5]

Therefore [Yamato-take] praised the old man, and forthwith bestowed [on him] the Rulership of the Eastern Land [s].[6]

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1. This name is identified by the native etymology with an homonymous Substantive signifying "a place between mountains.",

2. The etymology of this name is uncertain. But the most likely opinion is that it signifies "a zigzag road down a pass."

3. *I.e.*, since leaving the province of Hitachi, of which Tsukuha (in modern parlance *Tsukuba*, with the last syllable *nigori*ed) and Nihibari (modern *Nihiharu*) are two districts. In the later poetry *Nihibari no* is often used as a Pillow-Word for the name of Mount Tsukuba. The etymology of both names is uncertain, but "newly tilled" seems to be the most probable etymology of the first of the two.

4. Not necessarily a fire kindled for the sake of obtaining warmth, but fire in general, including, as Motowori suggests, torches and fires lit to drive away mosquitoes. There are frequent mentions in the classical literature of this latter sort of fire, which may indeed still be met with in some districts where mosquito-nets are not yet in common use.

5. The meaning is: "On counting up, I find that we have been ten days and nine nights."—Previous to Motowori the expression *ka-ga nabette*, "having put in a row (*i.e.* counted) the days" was curiously misunderstood, and subjected to various far-fetched interpretations. There can however be no doubt but that Motowori is right.—The reason why the old man is said to have "completed" the Prince's song is that the former taken alone is of incomplete rhythm.

6. Or, as Motowori would prefer to consider it, "the Rulership of *an* Eastern Land," viz., one out of the twelve Eastern provinces.

[SECT. LXXXVII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XII.—YAMATO-TAKE WOOES PRINCESS MIYAZU).]

Having crossed over from that land into the land of Shinanu[1] and subdued the Deity of the Shinanu pass,[2] he came back to the land of Wohari, and went to dwell in the house of Princess Miyazu, to whom he had before plighted his troth. Hereupon, when presenting to him the great august food, Princess Miyazu lifted up a great liquor-cup and presented it to him. Tunc Heræ Miyazu veli oræ adhæserunt menstrua. Quare]Augustus Yamato-take] illa menstrua vidit, et auguste cecinit, dicens:

> "Ego volui reclinare [caput] in fragili, molli brachiolo [tuo, quod est simile] vallo impingenti acutæ falci in Monte Kagu in cœlo formato quasi cucurbita;—ego desideravi dormire [tecum]. Sed in orà veli quod induis luna surrexit."[3]

Tunc Heræ Miyazu augusto cantui respondit, dicens: 216

> "Altè resplendentis solis auguste puer! Placidè administrationem faciens mi magne domine! Renovatis annis venientibus et effluentibus, renovatæ lunæ eunt veniendo patienter expecto, luna suàpte surgit in orâ veli quod ego induo!"[4]

Quare tunc [ille] coivit [cum illâ], after which, placing in Princess Miyazu's house his august sword "the Grass-Quelling Sabre," he went forth[5] to take the Deity of [Mount] Ibuki.[6]

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1. See Sect. XXXIII, Note 26.

2. *Shinanu no saka*, a pass between the provinces of Shinano and Mino which is no longer used.

3. Even taken apart from its immediate context, the import of this Song is plain, notwithstanding Moribe's efforts to explain away its indelicacy. The details of the first part, however, require some comment in order to make them comprehensible to the European reader, the words in question being these which might in English be rendered "thy fragile, slender, delicate arm [which resembles] a post striking against the sharp sickle on Mount Kagu of the gourd-shaped heaven." In Japanese they run thus:

Hisa-kata no
'Ame no Kagu-yamo
To-kama ni
Sa-wataru kuhi :—
Hiha-boso
Ta-waya-gahina wo etc.

It will be remarked that the first four lines form a "Punning Preface" to the fifth. Such Punning Prefaces have not necessarily any logical connection with what follows, as has been explained by the present writer in a paper "On the Use of Pillow Words and Plays upon Words in Japanese Poetry," to be found in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 *et seq.* of these "Transactions." In this particular case, however, there is sufficient continuity of sense to warrant the continuous translation above given. The word "post," though such a use of it is very curious, must be undersfood to denote not a dead, but a living trunk, or rather the stem of some delicate plant or grass whi. falls beneath the sickle of the mower on Mount Kagu in Heaven, or, as it may better be understood, on the Heavenly Mount Kagu [in Yamato]. "Gourd-shaped" is the translation of *hisa-kata no* or *hisa-gata no*, the Pillow-Word for "heaven." Its meaning is disputed, but Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" and Motowori agree in giving to it the sense here adopted (see the above-mentioned paper "On the Use of Pillow-Words, etc.," p. 81).

4. The total sense of this Song is quite plain.—In the first lines of it the Prince is addressed as if he were the reigning sovereign. The words *placidè administrationem faciens* represent the Japanese *yasumishishi*, the Pillow-Word for *wa ga oho-kimi*, "my great lord." Elsewhere the English rendering "who tranquilly carries on the government" has been adopted. The word *aratama no*, rendered by the Adjective *renovatis*, is the Pillow-Word for "sun," "moon" and "year," and is of not quite certain import. The interpretation here adopted has, however, for it the weight of probability and of native authority, Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" deriving it from the Verb *aratamaru*, "to be renewed."

5. The characters in the text might also be rendered "he made a progress," as they are those only properly applied to the movements of a reigning sovereign. Here and elsewhere, they are used in speaking of Yamato-take. (Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.)

6. On the frontier of Afumi (Omi) and Mino. *Ibuki* seems to signify "blowing,' in allusion, it is said, to the pestilential breath or influence of the god by whom the place was tenanted. The word rendered "Mount" is supplied by the editor of 1687.

[SECT. LXXXVIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIII.—YAMATO-TAKE MEETS THE DEITY OF MOUNT IBUKI).]

Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, I will simply take him empty-handed."[1]—and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull,[2] Then he lifted up words,[3] and said: "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity.[4] Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"—and [so saying,] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain[5] to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity,[6] but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting up of words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take.[6]]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kuro-be[7] and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat.[8] So that fresh spring is called by the name of the fresh spring of Wi-same.

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1. *i.e.*, without weapons, and specially without the magic sword which he had left behind in Princess Miyazu's house.

2. Or "ox," or "cow," the original word not distinguishing between the sexes.

3. The Japanese expression *koto-age shite*, here rendered "lifted up words," very frequently has the signification of "lifting up a prayer" to some superhuman being. In this passage, however, it conveys no more than its proper etymological meaning.

4. Viz., the god of Mount Ibuki.

5. Perhaps "hail" may be intended by this expression, and so Motowori decides. But this interpretation of the term seems to agree well with the Song in Sect. CXLII.

6, The commentators disagree as to whether this note should or should not be considered to form part of the original text. Motowori so considers it. He however, in the opinion of the translator, is not happy in his alteration of the *kana* reading given by the editor of 1687, which latter has accordingly been followed in the English version.

7. The literal meaning ef this name is "jewel-store-tribe;" but complete uncertainty attaches both to the etymology of the word and to the position of the place. The first printed edition has *Tama-kuhi-be*.

8. He had been misled and dazed, but now came to himself again. Thence, according to the etymology of our author, the name of *Wi-same*, which signifies "dwelling (resting) and awaking," given to the spring,

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When he departed thence and reached the moor of
218 Tagi[1] he said: "Whereas my heart always felt like flying through the sky, my legs are now unable to walk. They have become rudder-shaped."[2] So that place was called by the name of Tagi. Owing to his being very weary with progressing a little further beyond that place. he leant upon an august staff to walk a little. So that place is called by the name of the Tsuwetsuki pass.[3] On arriving at the single pine-tree on Cape Wotsu,[4] an august sword, which he had forgotten at that place before when augustly eating,[5] was still [there] not lost. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree that art on Cape Wotsu which directly faces Mohari! If thou, single pine-tree! wert a person, I would gird [my] sword [upon thee], I would clothe thee with [my] garments,—O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree!"

When he departed thence and reached the village of Mihe,[7] he again said: "My legs are like three-fold crooks,[8] and very weary." So that place was called by 219
the name of Mihe. When he departed thence and reached the moor of Nobe,[9] he, regretting[10] [his native] land,[11] sang, saying:

"As for Yamato, the most secluded of lands —Yamato, retired behind Mount Awogaki encompassing it with its folds is delightful."[12]

Again he sang, saying:

"Let those whose life may be complete stick [in their hair] as a head-dress the leaves of the bear-oak from Mount Heguri,—those children!"

This song is a Land-Regretting Song.[13] Again he sang, saying:

"How sweet! ah! from the direction of home clouds are rising and coming!"

This is an Incomplete Song.[14] At this time, his august sickness was very urgent. Then, he sang augustly, saying:

"The sabre-sword which I placed at the maiden's bed-side, alas! that sword!"[15]

As soon as he had finished singing, he died, Then a courier was despatched [to the Heavenly Sovereign.]

1. *Tagi-nu.* We might, following the Chinese characters, translate thus: "and arrived on the Moor of Tagi." But the character 上 has in this context scarcely any meaning. The real etymology of *Tagi* (in classical and modern parlance *taki* without the *nigori*) is "rapid" or "waterfall," the cascade formed by the river Vo-ro in Mino being alluded to. The derivation in the next sentence of the text from *tagishi* supposed to mean "a rudder" is a mere fancy.

2. The word here rended "rudder" is *tagishi*, which is written phonetically and does not occur elsewhere, except in a few Proper Names of doubtful import. There is however some probability in favour of the meaning assigned to it by the native commentators.

3. *Tzuwe-tsuki-zaka, i.e.*, "the pass of leaning on a staff." It is in the province of Ise between Yokaichi and Ishi-yakushi.

4. *Wotsu-no-saki*, in the province of Ise. The name probably signifies "harbour of the mountain declivity."

5. The former portion of the text tells us nothing either of the meal or of the sword here mentioned.

6. This quaintly simple and apparently very ancient poem needs no elucidation.

7. In Ise. *Mihe* signifies "three fold."

8. This is the literal rendering of the text. Motowori thinks, however, that we should understand that there were various swellings on his legs, such as would be produced if the limb were tightly tied round with cord in three places.

9. *Nobo-un* in the province of Ise. The name seems to signify "the moor of mounting."

10. The Chinese character here used signifies simply "thinking of;" but in such a context its common Japanese interpretation is "loving" or "regretting," and so Motowori means us to understand it when he reads *shinuhashite.*

11. Viz., Yamato.

12. This Song and the two following form but one in the pages of the "Chronicles," where they appear with several verbal differences, and are attributed, not to the Prince, but to his father the Emperor. Moribe decides that in the latter particular the text of these "Records" gives the preferable account, but that the "Chronicles" are right in making the three Songs one continuous poem. The expression "this Song is a Land-Regretting Song" strongly supports this view; for, though we might also render in the Plural "these Songs are, etc.," such a translation would be less natural, as in similar cases the numeral is used, thus

"these *two* Songs are, etc." The expression "this is an Incomplete Song" points as decidelly to some mutilation of the original document, from which the compiler of the "Records" copied this passage. Taking then the three Songs as one, the entire drift is that of a paean on Yamato, the poet's native land, which he could not hope ever to see again:—Commencing by praising its still seclusion as it lies there behind its barrier of protecting mountains, he goes on to mention the rural pleasures enjoyed by those who, wandering over the hill-sides, deck their hair with garlands of leaves and flowers. For himself indeed these delights are no more; "but," says he, "do you, ye children full of health and happiness, pursue your innocent enjoyment!" In conclusion he lovingly apostrophises the clouds which, rising up from the south-west, are, as it were, messengers from home. The word *mahoroha*, rendered "secluded," is a great crux to the commentators, and Motowori's "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," pp. 17-18. and Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto Waki*," Vol. III, p. 31, should be consulted by the student desirous of forming his own opinion on the point. Another apparent difficulty is the word *gomoreru*, whose position in the sentence Motowori seems to have misunderstood. By following Moribe, and taking it as a compound with the word *Awogaki-yama* into *Awogaki-yama-gomoreru* the difficulty vanishes, and we are likewise relieved from the necessity of supposing anything so highly improbable as that the Verb *komoreru* when not compounded, should have commenced with a *nigori*'ed syllable "Complete" signifies "healthy." Mount Heguri is preceded in the original by *tatamikomo* (Moribe reads *tatamigomo* with the *nigori*) a Pillow-Word whose import is disputed. In any case, being a punning one, it cannot be translated. For the "bear-oak" see Sect. LXXII, Note 19. Moribe labours, but without success, to prove that "come," the last word of the translation, signifies "go," and imagines that the prince is expressing his envy of the clouds which are rising and going off in the direction of the home which he will never revisit.

13. *I.e.*, a Song of loving regret for his native land.

14. "Incomplete Song" mnst be understood as the designation of a poem of a certain number of lines, viz, three, and was probably given by comparison with the greater length of poetical compositions in general.

15. This poem is an exclamation of distress at the thought of the sword which he had left with his mistress Princess Miyazu and which, if he had had it with him, would doubtless have preserved him from the evil influences of the god of Mount Ibuki, which were the beginning of

his end.—"Sabre-sword" (*tsnrugi no tachi*) is a curious expression, which Moribe thinks means "double-edged sword."

[SECT. XC.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XV.—YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD)]

Thereupon [his] Empresses[1] and likewise [his] august
221 children, who dwelt in Yamato, all went down[2] and built an august mausoleum, and, forthwith crawling hither and thither in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]. sobbed out a Song, saying:

"The *Dioscorea quinqueloba* crawling hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum] . . . ."[3]

Thereupon [the dead prince], turning into a white dotterel[4] eight fathoms [long], and soaring up to Heaven, flew off towards the shore. Then the Empress and likewise the august children, though they tore their feet treading on the stubble of the bamboo-grass, forgot the pain, and pursued him with lamentations. At that time they sang, saying:

"Our loins are impeded in the plain [overgrown with] short bamboo-grass. We are not going through the sky, but oh! we are on foot."[5]

222 Again when they entered the salt sea,[6] and suffered as they went, they sang, saying.

"As we go through thé sea, our loins are impeded,—tottering in the sea like herbs growing in a great river-bed."[7]

Again when [the bird] flew and perched on the seaside, they sang, saying:

"The dotterel of the beach goes not on the beach, but follows the seaside."[8]

These four Songs were all sung at [Yamato-take's] august interment. So to the present day these Songs are sung at the great interment of a Heavenly Sovereign. So [the bird] flew off from that country,[9] and stopped at Shiki in the land of Kafuchi.[10] So they made an august mausoleum there, and laid [Yamato-take] to rest.[11] Forthwtth that august mausoleum was called by the 223
name of the "August-Mausoleum of the White-Bird.[12] Nevertheless the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away.

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1. *I.e.*, wives. It will be remembered that the historian habitually mentions Yamato-take as if he had been Emperor.

2. *Q.d.*, to the land of Ise.

3. The drift of the Song is a comparison of the helpless wanderings of the mourners in the neighbourhood of the tomb to the convolutions of the *Dioscorea quinqueloba* (a creeping plant) growing among the rice in the adjacent fields. But there are evidently some lines omitted. If we were to adopt the elegant verses conjecturally supplied by Moribe, the entire translation would run thus: "The *Dioscorea quinqueloba* crawl hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]; but though like it, we crawl hither and thither, and weep and speak to thee, thou answerest not a word."—Moribe supposes this poem to be the Empress's composition, and the following three to have proceeded from the children.

4. As usual when the word *chidori* (defined as "any kind of dotterel, plover or sandpiper") is used, it is doubtful what bird is really intended. At the end of this Section we are told that the Mausoleum was called the Mausoleum of the White Bird (白鳥)." Specifically, however, these characters are used with their Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of *haku-cho* as the name of the swan. But as swans are nowhere else mentioned in these "Records" and as moreover their habits are not

such as to accord with the legend here narrated, it will perhaps be safer to retain "dotterel" in the translation. "Heron" also has been suggested.

5. The signification of this Song is: "It is easy enough for thee, thou bird-spirit! to fly through the air. But remember that we are on foot, and that our feet are getting torn by the short stubble of the bamboo-grass (*Bambusa shino*)."

6. When the bird flew over the sea, they too waded after it through the waves.

7. The signification of the Song is: "As we pursue thee through the sea, we sink in the waves up to our middles, and totter like the water-plants against "which strikes the current of a great river."—The word *uwe-gusa*, lit. "herbs planted," is curious; but it simply means "herbs growing," as in the translation (*conf.* our word "plant"). The latter part of the poem is in the original highly elliptical.

8. The point of the Song seems to rest on a delicate distinction between the words *hama*, "beach" and *iso*, "seaside," which does not obtain in the later Japanese language any more than it does in English. Both *hama* and *iso*, "beach" and "seaside," denote the boundary-line between sea and land; but we must suppose with the commentators that while the former was used with special reference to the land, the latter considered the idea (so to speak) from the point of view of the sea. The import of the song is therefore to upbraid the bird for flying over the waves instead of flying along the adjacent shore.

9. *I.e.*, says Motowori, from Ise.

10. Not to be confounded with the Shiki in Yamato, which is written with different phonetic character.

11. The Verb used in the original is *shizumeru*, "to repress," "to quiet," "to lay," "to establish," hence "to build a temple to a god," "to worship." The grammatical vagueness of the Japanese language helps in all this passage to preserve the connection of ideas in a manner which it is difficult to render in an English translation. Using no pronouns, it does not require to specialise in each instance whether it is the bird that is meant, or Yamato-take, but the two are confounded together in language as they were in thought.

12. *Shira-tori no misasaki.* According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," it was not only this tomb in Kafuchi, but the previously mentioned tomb at Nobonu, and also another in Yamato, which were severally known by this designation.

[SECT. XCI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVI.—YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER).]

During all the time that this [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take went about pacifying countries, Nana-tsuka-hagi,[1] ancestor of the Suzerains of Kuna,[2] always followed and respectfully served him as butler.

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1. The name signifies "seven-grasp shins," implying that the worthy here mentioned was so big and strong as to have shins seven hand-breadths in length. For the use of the word "grasp" as a measure of length, see Sect. VIII, Note 1.

2. This family has already been mentioned at the end of Sect. XXXIV, as descended from Ama-tsu-kume no Mikoto, one of the companions of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather on the occasion of his descent from Heaven. But see Note 7 to that Sect. for the probable mistake with regard to the origin of the name.

[SECT. XCII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVII.—YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS).]

This [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take wedded Her Augustness Princess Futaji-no-iri,[1] daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume, and begot an august child: His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko[2] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana[3] who [afterwards] entered the sea,[4] he begot an august child: King Waka-take[5] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess 224
Futaji,[6] daughter of Oho-tamu-wake,[7] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi,[8] he begot an august child: King Ine-yori-wake[9] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Oho-kibi-take,[10] younger sister of Take-hiko [ancestor of the] Grandees of Kiki,[11] he begot an

august child: King Take-kahiko[12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Kukuma-mori of Yamashiro,[13] he begot an august child, King Ashi-kagami-wake[14] (one Deity). A child by another wife was King Okinaga-ta-wake.[15] Altogether the entire [number] of the august children of His Augustness Yamato-take was six Deities. So His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, King Ine-yori-wake (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Inukami[16] and of the Dukes of Takebe.)[17]
225 The next, King Take-kahiko (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Aya in Sanugi,[18] the Dukes of Wake in Iyo,[19] the Lords of Towo,[20] the Headmen of Masa[21] and the Lords of Miyaji.)[22] King Ashi-kagami-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kamakura,[23] the Dukes of Wodzu,[24] the Lords of Ihashiro[25] and ths Lords of Fukita.)[25] The child of the next, King Okinaga-ta-wake was King Kuhi-mata-naga-hiko.[27] This King's children were: Her Augustness Princess Ihinu-ma-guro,[28] next Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime,[29] next Oto-hime[30] (three Deities). So the above mentioned King Waka-take wedded Princess Ihinu-
226 ma-guro, and begot King Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko.[31] This King wedded Princess Shibanu,[32] daughter of Shibanu-iri-ki[33] of Afumi, and begot a child, Her Augustness Princess Kaguro.[34] So the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko wedded this [lady] Her Augustness Princess Kaguro, and begot King Oho-ye[35] (one Deity). This King wedded his younger half-sister Queen Shiro-kane,[36] and begot children: King Oho-na-gata,[37] and next Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime[38] (two Deities). So this [Lady] Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime was the august mother[39] of King Kagosaka[40] and King Oshikuma.[41]

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1. For this name see Sect. LXIX, Note 24.
2. *I.e.*, "the perfect middle prince," a name which is justified by

the genealogy as given in the "Chronicles," where he is mentioned as the second of three sons borne by this princess.

3. *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto.* *Oto* signifies "younger [sister]," and *Oto-tachibana* is the name of the orange.

4. See the story in Sect. LXXXIV.

5. *Waka-tate no miko.* This name signifies "young brave."

6. *Futaji-hime.* Signification obscure. Futaji may be the name of a place.

7. If *Tamu* is, as Motowori surmises, the name of a place, this personal name signifies "Great Lord of Tamu."

8. *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no kuni no miyatsuko.* For *Yasu* see Sect. LXII, Note 62.

9. *Ine-yori-wake no miko.* This name probably signifies "rice-good-lord."

10. *Oho-kibi-take-hime.* *Oho* signifies "great." For the other two elements of the compound see next Note.

11. The text has *Kibi no omi Take-hiko,* as if this worthy had been himself the "Grandee of Kibi." Motowori however compares the commencement of Sect. LXXXII (Notes 2 and 3), and supplies the words "ancestor of." *Kibi* is of course the province of that name (the modern, Bizen, Bitchiū, and Bingo), and *take* signifies "brave."

12. *Take-kahiko no miko.* *Take* signifies "brave," *kahiko* is either "egg" or "cocoon," or else perhaps a corruption of some other word.

13. *Yamashiro no Kukuma mori-hime.* This name is obscure. Motowori identifies *Kukuma* with a place called *Kurihuma,* and *mori* is probably the Verb "to guard."

14. *Ashi-kagami-wake no miko.* This name is written with characters signifying "foot-mirror-[lord]."

15. *Okinaga-ta-wake no miko.* This name is obscure. Motowori believes Okinaga to be the name of a place in Afumi, but has no explanation to offer of *ta.*

16. *Inukami no kimi.* Inukami is the name of a district in Afumi, Its signification is not clear.

17. *Takebi no kimi.* *Takebe* became the name of a place in Idzumo, but it originally signified "brave tribe," the family having, as in so many other cases, given its name to the place of its residence, instead of being called after the latter. See the origin of the name, given in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXIV, pp. 35-36.

18. *Sanugi no Aya no kimi.* For *Sanugi* see Sect. V, Note 6. *Aya* is a district in the province; the name is of doubtful origin.

19. *Iyo no wake no kami.* For *Iyo* see Sect. V, Note 4. (The text here has *Ise* for Iyo, and the word *wake* is missing, but Motowori's emendation may be accepted). *Wake* is the name of a district in Iyo.

20. *Towo no wake.* Of *Towo* nothing is known.

21. *Masa no obito.* Of *Masa* nothing is known.

22. *Miyagi* (宮道) *no wake.* This is Motowori's ingenious emendation of the characters in the text, 官首, out of which it is impossible to make a famiy name. *Miyagi* is the name of a place in the province of Mikaha, and signifies "temple road."

23. *Kamakura no wake.* Kamakura is the name of a district in the province of Sagami, which became famous during the Middle Ages as the site of an immense town,—the capital of the Shōgun, and the centre of the feudalism which then ruled Japan. The import of the name (literally "sickle-store") is not clear, though it has been fancifully explained by native etymologists.

24. *Wodzu no kimi.* The words *no kimi* are supplied by Motowori, this name and the next being in the text run into one. Wodzu seems to be the name of a place in Afumi, and signifies "little mart."

25. *Ihashiro no wake.* Motowori says that this Ihashiro is not the province of that name, but a place in Kishiu. The meaning of the name is obscure.

26. *Fukita no wake.* This is but Motowori's conjectural restoration (founded on a statement in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages") of the name as given in the text, 漁田.

27. *Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko. Kuhimata* (modern *Kumata*) is the name of a place in Settsu. The signification is obscure. *Naga-hiko* means "long prince."

28. *Ihinu-ma-guro-hime,* i.e., "quite black princess of Ihinu," the blackness being doubtless predicated of her hair. *Ihinu* is the name of a district in Ise, and is written with characters signifying "boiled-rice-moor."

29, For *Okinaga* see Note 15. *Ma-waka* means "truly young." *Naka-tsu-hime* means "middle princess," referring to her being the second of three.

30. *I.e.,* "younger princess."

31. See Sect. LXXVI, Note 29.

32. *Shibanu-hime.* This name is obscure.

33. *Shibunu iri-ko.* This name is obscure.

34. *Ka-gara hime,* see Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

35. For the confusion in this portion of the genealogy see Sect. LXXVI, Note 30.

36. *Shiro-kane no miko.* *Shiro-kane* means "silver," but Motowori suspects corruption in the text.

37. *Oho-nagata no miko,* i.e., "great prince of Nagata," the latter being the name of a place in Settsu, signifying "long rice-field."

38. *Ie.,* "great middle princess."

39. Literally, "ancestress."

40. Or, "the King of Kagosaka," for it is uncertain whether Kagosaka should or should not be regarded as the name of a place. The etymology of the name may be *kago,* "a stag" and *saka,* "an ascent." The original form of the name and title is *Kagosaka no miko.*

41. Or, "the King of Oshikuma," *Oshikuma no miko.* *Oshikuma* is a word of doubtful etymology.

[SECT. XCIII. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVIII.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and thirty-seven, and his august mausoleum is above the Yamanobe road.[1]

1. See Sect. LXVIII, Note 1.

[SECT. XCIV.—EMPEROR SEI-MU.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Wata-tarashi-hiko dwelt at the palace of Taka-anaho at Shiga[1] in Chika-tsu-Afumi and ruled the empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded 227
the Lady Oho-takara,[2] daughter of Take-oshiyama-tari-ne,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[4] and begot an august child: King Wata-nuke[5] (one Deity). So [the

Heavenly Sovereign] raised the Noble Take-uchi[6] [to the office of] Prince Minister,[7] deigned to settle the Rulers of the Great Countries and Small Countries,[8] and likewise deigned to settle the boundaries of the various countries, as also the Department Lords of the Great Departments and Small Departments.[9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-five, and his august mausoleum is at Tatanami near Saki.[10]

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1. *Shiga no Taka-anaho. Shiga* is the name of a well known district, and is of uncertain, signification, as is also *Taka-anaho.* For *Chika-tsu-Afumi* see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

2. *Oto-takara no iratsume. Oto* signifies "younger [sister]," and *takara* is "treasure."

3. *Oshiyama* is the name of a place in Ise, *take* signifies "brave" and *tari* and *ne* are Honorifics of frequent occurrence.

4. *Hodzumi no omi.* See Sect. LXI, Note 4.

5. *Waka-nuke no miko.* This name is of doubtful signification, and Motowori suspects that it is corrupt, and that the true reading would be *Waka-take,* "young-brave."

6. See Sect. LXI, Note 25.

7. 大臣. Motowori tries to prove that in the earliest times this official title was simply an Honorific surname formed by prefixing the Adjective 大, "great" to 臣, a surname read "*Omi*" (the character signifies properly "attendant," "subject.") Probably like other "gentile names" it combined both characters, and had a tendency to become hereditary.

8. *Oho-kuni wo-kuni no kuni no miyatsuko.*

9. *Oho-agata wo-agata no agata nushi* (大縣小縣縣主). Their duties are supposed to have consisted in supervising the government farms.

10. For *Saki* see Sect. LXXV, Note 5. *Tatanami* may perhaps signify "putting shields in a row."

[SECT. XCV.—EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko dwelt at the palace of Toyora at Anado,[1] and likewise at the palace of Kashihi[2] in Tsukushi, and ruled the Empire. 328 This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime,[3] daughter of King Oho-ye, and begot august children: King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. This Empress[4] gave birth to august children: His Augustness Homu-ya-wake,[5] and next His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake,[6] another name for whom was His Augustness Homuda-wake.[7] The reason why this Heir Apparent[8] was given the august name of His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake was that when first[9] born, he had on his august arm [a protuberance of] flesh resembling an elbow-pad,[10] whence the august name bestowed on him. By this it was known while he was in the womb that he would rule countries.[11] In this august reign the granaries of Ahaji were established.

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1. For *Anado* see Sect. LXXX (Note 22). *Toyora* (for *Toyo-ura*) signifies "fertile shore."

2. This name seems to be derived from that of the evergreen oak. It will be noticed that both these capitals are in the South-Western Island of Kiushiu, whereas, from Jim-mu downwards, the capitals of all the Emperors previously mentioned are either in Yamato or in one of the adjacent central provinces.

3. For this and the three following names see Sect. XCII, and for *Okinaga tarashi* Sect. LXII, Note 72.

4. Written 大后. It is she who is celebrated in Japanese history under the name of Jin-gō Kōgō, and in the "Chronicles" her reign is counted separately. In these "Records," however, the period of her rule is forming part of the reign of her son O-jin.

5. The signification of this name is obscure.

6. *I.e.*, "great elbow-paid lord," *tomo* signifying "elbow pad." The next sentence of the text gives the traditional origin of this curious name.

7. *I.e.*, lord of Homuda. *Homuda* is supposed by Motowori and Moribe to be the name of a place, they (apparently with reason) rejecting as a late addition a note to the "Chronicles," which states that *homuda* was synonymous with *tomo* "elbow-pad,"

8. For "heir apparent" see Sect. XXXIII, Note 2.

9. This word, says Motowori, is redundant.

10. For the use of elbow-pads in war see Sect XIII, Note 7.

11. The word rendered "rule" (*shiru*, 知) is supplied by the editor of 1687. Motowori supplies the evident lacuna in the text by the word "establish" (*sadamarn* 定); but this seems less good. Motowori's reasons for taking the word *kuni* ("country") in the Plural are, however, convincing,—the three countries into which Korea was anciently divided, and which are appropriately designated by the title of *San Kan* (三韓), being evidently designated by the expression in the text, as may be seen both by reference to the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," and also by considering that in this manner that warlike implement the elbow-pad, with the semblance of which the young Emperor was born, obtains its proper significance. This Emperor (for it is he who is known as Ō-jin Ten-nō) is sometimes designated by the name of the "Emperor in the Womb" (胎中天皇).

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229 [SECT. XCVI.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART II.—THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED).]

This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time,[1] divinely possessed. So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso.[2] the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime Miinster the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court,[3] requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward,

and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards.[4] I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea;" and saying,[5] "They are lying Deities,"[6] he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!"[7] Hereupon the Prince Minister the Noble Take-uchi said; "[I am filled with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign![8] Continue playing thy great 230
august lute." Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead.

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1. At what time, we are not told.

2. See Sect. V, Note 17.

3. This is Motowori's interpretation of the obscure original word *sa-niha*, which is written phonetically. He supposes it to have been so called as being a place used for enquiring the will of the gods, and therefore kept clean and held in reverence. "Place" would perhaps represent the Japanese word *niha* as well as "court," though "court" has been its usual acceptation in later times.

4. Literally, "making gold and silver the origin."

5. Motowori tells us to understand "saying" in the sense of thinking."

6. As already frequently remarked, the Japanese mind does not occupy itself much with the distinction (to us all-important) of Singular and Plural. The reason why the translator renders the word *kami* by the Plural "Deities" throughout this passage is because we learn later on that four divine personages were intended by the author.

2. With the commentators we must accept this as an alternative name of Hades, without being able satisfactorily to explain it. The expression 'eight rock-windings' occurs twice in Sect. XXXII. Note 27 may be compared with this one.

3. Lit., 'O venerable Sire, for the consequences of thine impiety.'

[SECT. XVIII.—EMPEROR CHUI-AI. PART III.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF KOREA.]

Then, astonished and alarmed, they set him in a mortuary palace,[1] and again taking the country's great offerings,[2] seeking out all sorts of crimes, such as flaying alive and flaying backwards,[3] breaking down the divisions of rice-fields, filling up ditches, evacuating excrements and urine, marriages between superiors and inferiors,[4] marriages with horses, marriages with cattle, marriages with fowls and marriages with dogs, and having made a great purification of the land,[5] the Noble Takeuchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: 'Altogether this land is a land to be ruled over by the august child in Tsine Augustness's august womb.' Then the Noble Take-uchi said, '[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities! The august child in this Deity's
29 womb,[6] what [sort of] child may it be?' [The Deities] replied, saying: 'It is a male child.' Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: '[I] wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose words have now thus instructed us.' Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: 'It is the august doing[7] of

the Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing Male and Surface-Possessing-Male.[9] (At this time the august names of these three great Deities were revealed.[10]) If now thou truly thinkest to seek that land, thou must, after presenting the offerings[11] to every one of the Heavenly Deities and Earthly Deities,[12] and likewise of the Deities of the mountains and also of all the Deities of the river and of the sea, and setting our august spirits[13] on the top of thy vessel, put into gourds[14] the ashes of the *podocarpus macrophylla* tree,[15] and likewise make a quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf platters,[16] and must scatter 232
them all on the waves of the great sea, that thou mayest cross over.[17] So when [she] punctually fulfilled these instructions, equipped an army, marshalled her vessels, and crossed over, the fishes of the sea-plain, both great and small, all bore the august vessels[17] across their backs, and a strong favourable wind arose, and the august vessel followed the billows.

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1. A temporary resting-place for the corpse before interment. (See Sect. XXXI, Note 20.)

2. Or, if, with Motowori, we take country in the Plural, "the great offerings of the countries," i.e., of the various countries or provinces of Japan or of Kiushiu. These "offerings" (*nusa*) are the same as those mentioned in Sect. XVI (Notes 24 and 25) under the names *nigi-te* and *mitegura*. They consisted of cloth, for which in later times paper has been substituted.

3. There are different views as to the exact bearing of this curious expression. Conf. Sect. XV, Note 10.

4. *I.e.*, incest between parents and children.

5. *I.e.*, a general purification.

6. The Deities now speak to, as well as through, the Empress. Before the quotation marks announcing their words we must understand some such clause as "and they added this divine charge." It would

also be possible to translate the whole passage thus: "Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel. was '[Things] being exactly as on the former day, altogether this land,'" etc., etc.

7. *I.e.*, in the Empress's womb. Motowori supposes that she is thus spoken of as a Deity on account of her being at that moment divinely possessed.

8. Literally, "heart."

9. *Soko-dzu-tsu-no-wo*, *Naka-dzu-tsu-no wo*, and *Uha-dzu-tsu-no-wo* three of the deities born at the time of the purification of Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") on his return from Hades, and known collectively as the Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. (See Sect. X, Notes 18 and 22). The grammar of this sentence is, as Motowori remarks, not lucid. One would expect the author to say that it was "the august doing" of all the four deities mentioned.

10. *I.e.*, says Motowori, they then first informed Take-uchi who they were. Up in that time, it had not been known by what Deities the Empress was possessed. Mabuchi, however, rejected this gloss as a later additions.

11. *I.e.*, the sacred offerings of white and blue cloth.

12. Here witten writh the Chinese locution 天神地祇, by some rendered "the Spirit of Heaven and Earth." *Conf.* Sect. I. Note II.

13. Here, as before, the Singular would be at least as natural an interpretation as the Plural. The three ocean-deities are supposed to be specially referred to, and in that case, the three being easily conceived as one (like the deified peaches mentioned in Sect. IX, Note 19) owing to the want of discrimination in Japanese between Singular and Plural, we might retain the Singular in English. Altogether the Sun-goddess seems out of place in this passage, and it would be satisfactory to have some authority for expunging from it the mention of her name.

14. Or, "into a gourd."

15. In the original *maki* (眞木). In modern *ma-ki* signifies the *P. macrophylla*, as in the translation. It is however uncertain whether that or the *Chamæcyparis obtusa* (both being conifers), or simply any "true (*i.e.*, good) tree is here intended by the author.

16. *I.e.*, broad shallow platters made of the oak-tree, and used for placing food on.

17. Viz., that in which the Empress herself took passage,

[SECT. XCVIII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IV.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ CONQUERS KOREA).]

So the wave[1] of the august vessel pushed up onto the land of Shiragi[2] reaching to the middle of the country. Thereupon the chieftain[3] of the country, alarmed and trembling. petitioned[4] [the Empress], saying: "From this time forward obedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I will feed his august horses and will marshal vessels every year, nor ever let the vessels' keels[5] dry or their poles and oars dry, and will respectfully serve him without drawing back while heaven and earth shall last."[6] So therefore the Land of Shirai was constituted the feeder of the august horses, and the Land of Kudara 233
was constituted the crossing store.[8] Then the Empress stuck her august staff on the gate of the chieftain of Shiragi, and having made the Rough August Spirits[9] of the Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi[10] the guardian Deities of the land, she laid them to rest,[11] and crossed back. So while this business[12] was yet unconcluded, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born. Forthwith, in order to restrain her august womb, she took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august skirt,[13] and the august child was born after she had crossed [back] to the Land of Tsukushi.[14] So the name by which the place was called where the 234
august child was born was Umi.[15] Again the stone which she wound round her august skirt is at the village of Ito[16] in the Land of Tsukushi.

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1. *I.e.*, "the wave on which the august vessel was riding."

2. In Sinico-Japanese *Shin ra* (新羅), one of the three states into which Korea was anciently divided, the other two being known i n pur

Japanese as *Kudara* and *Koma* (in Sinico-Japanese *Hiyaku-sai* 百濟 and Kōrai 高麗). *Shiragi* is evidently a mere corruption of the Sinico-Japanese form, which closely resembles the native Korean *Shin-la*. The origin of the pure Japanese forms of the other two names is obscure.

3. The editions previous to Motowori's have "King" (玉 instead of 主); but as the latter character is used in all parallel passages of this work, we must attribute the occurrence of the former in this single place to a copyist's error, and accuse the author rather than his commentator of the ill-natured degradation of the Korean King into a mere chieftain (more literally a "master").

4. The character 奏, which is here used, is that employed in speaking of a subject's addressing his sovereign.

5. Literally "bellies."

6. Literally, "with heaven and earth."

7. See Note 2.

8. *I.e.*, the sea-store." The author means to say that from the Land of Kudara tribute was to be paid with the regularity implied by the King's asseveration to the effect that the keels, poles, and oars of the [tribute-bearing] vessels should never remain dry.

9. *Ara-mi-tama*, the antithetical term to which is *Nigi-mi-tama*, "Gentle August Spirit." We also find *Saki-mi-tama* and *Kushi-mi-tama*, which signify respectively "August Luck-Spirit" and "Wondrous August Spirit." In this passage it must be understood that the spirits which floated above the Imperial junk to protect it were the "Gentle August Spirits," while the "Rough August Spirits" presided at the Empress's feats of arms and kept the enemy in subjection. Motowori warns us not to fall into the mistake of supposing that the Rough and Gentle Spirits of a god were separate individualities, they being only, according to him, various manifestations of the same individuality. The student is advised to consult his beautifully written note on the subject of these spirits in Vol. XXX, pp. 72-76 of his Commentary.

10. See Sect. X Note 22.

11. Literally "established and worshipped." Motowori says that this mention of their being laid to rest is made with an implied reference to the journey on which the deities in question had accompanied the Imperial army. He also tries to prove that this laying to rest of the deities must have occurred after the return of the Empress to Japan, as it is not possible to suppose that the gods could find a home in a foreign land (!). But the wording of the text is against him

12. Literally "government."

13. *I.e.*, as Motowori suggests, "she wrapped the stone up, and tied it into the waist of her skirt in something resembling a sash."

14. In South-Western Japan.

15. *I.e.*, "bearing." The word, however, also signifies "sea." According to the "Chronicles" the original name of the village was Kada.

16. This word signifies "thread," and would therefore, one might think, find a more appropriate place in the legend next narrated, where the "threads" of the Empress's garment are specially mentioned.

[SECT. XCIX.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART V.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ FISHES IN TSUKUSHI).]

Again when, having reached the village of Tamashima[1] in the Department of Matsura[2] in Tsukushi, she partook of an august meal on the bank of the river, it being then the first decade of the fourth moon, she then sat on a shoal[3] in the middle of the river, picked out threads from her august skirt, used grains of rice as bait, and hooked the trout[4] in the river. The name by which the river is called is the Wo-gaha;[5] again the name by which the shoal is called is Kachi-do-hime.[6]) So down to the present time it is an uninterrupted [custom] for women in the first decade of the fourth moon to pick out threads from their skirts, use grains as bait, and hook trout.

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1. *I.e.*, "jewel-island."

2. *Matsura-gata.* The "Chronicles" give an absurd derivation of Matsura from the Adjective *medzurashi*, "astonishing," which the Empress is supposed to have ejaculated on finding a trout hooked to her line! The obvious etymology is *matsu-ura*, "pine-beach."

3. The character in the original is 磯 (for 磯), in Japanese *iso*, which may or may not be connected with the word *ishi*, "stone." In any case Motowori is not justified in saying that it must be understood to mean

"stone" in this place, as *iso* means rather a sandy than a stony place, rising above the water level.

4. In Japanese *ayu*, a small species of the salmon family (*Plecoglossus altivelis*).

5. *I.e.*, "little river."

6. *I.e.*, "princess of the gate of victory." But though the words lend themselves to this interpretation, it can hardly be supposed that such is their real etymology, and indeed the editor of 1687 draws attention in a Note to the difficulty of accepting the statement in the text.

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235 [SECT. C.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VI.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GO SUBDUES YAMATO).]

Hereupon, when Her Augustness Princess Okinagatarashi was returning up to Yamato, she, owing to doubts concerning the disposition[1] of the people, prepared a mourning-vessel,[2] set the august child in that mourning-vessel, and let a report ooze out that the august child was already dead. While she went up thus, King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma,[3] having heard [of the circumstance], thought to waylay[4] her, went forth to the moor of Toga,[5] and hunted for an omen. Then King Kagosaka climbed up an oak-tree,[6] and then[7] a large and angry boar came forth, dug up the oak-tree, and forthwith devoured King Kagosaka. His younger brother, King Oshikuma, undaunted by this circumstance, raised an army and lay in wait [for the Empress], to close with the mourning-vessel as being an empty[8] vessel. Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel,[9] and joined in combat [with the opposing forces]. At this time King Oshikuma made the Noble Isahi,[10] ancestor of
236 the Kishi Clan of Naniha,[11] his generalissimo;[12] and on

the august side of the Heir Apparent His Augustness Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma,[13] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[14] was made generalissimo. So when [the Empress's troops] had driven [King Oshikuma's troops] as far as Yamashiro, [the latter] turned and made a stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating. Then His Augustness Take-furu-kuma planned, and caused it to be said that, as Her Augustness Okinaga-tarashi was already dead, there was no need for further fighting,—forthwith snapping his bowstrings and feigning submission. Therefore King Oshikuma's generalissimo, believing the falsehood, unbent his bows and put away his arms. Then [the Empress's troops] picked out of their topknots some prepared bowstrings one name [of the bowstrings] was *usa-yu-dzuru*,[15] stretched [their bows] again, and pursued and smote [the enemy]. So [these] fled away to Afusaka,[16] rallied, and fought again. Then [the Empress's troops] pursued on, and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami.[17] Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea, and sang, saying:

"Come on, my lord! rather than be stricken 237
by Furu-kuma's hurtful hand, I will plunge
like the grebe into the Sea of Afumi,—I
will!"[18]

Forthwith they plunged into the sea, and died together.

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1. Literally, "the hearts."

2. *I.e.*, a boat or junk containing a coffin. We might also (adopting the interpretation given by the older editors to the character in this passage) translate by "specially prepared a mourning-vessel."

3. These two princes, who are first mentioned at the end of Sect.

XCII (Notes 40 and 41), were. according to the story, elder sons of the late monarch Chiū-ai, and therefore step-sons of tbe Empress Jingō and half-brothers to the young Emperor Ō-jin.

4. Literally, "wait for and catch." This "catch" is always taken by Motowori to mean "slay."

5. *Taga-nu.* It was in the province of Settsu. The etymology of the name is obscure.

6. The species mentioned in the text the *Quercus serrata.*

7. Motowori's conjecture that the character 是, "then," is a copyist's error for 見, "saw" or "looked," seems hardly called for, and the translator has therefore not departed from the traditional reading.

8. *I.e.*, defenceless, not filled with troops.

9. Which of course was in reality no mourning-vessel, but full of the soldiers who had just returned from conquering Korea.

10. *Isahi no Sakune. Isahi* or *Isachi* is supposed to mean "leading elder."

11. *Naniha no Kishi-be.* Naniha is the old name of the sea and river-shore on which now stands the town of Ohosaka. The name Kishi is said by Motowori to be properly a Korean official designation (吉士), but it is one whose origin is to be sought in China.

12. 將軍, *Shōgun.* This is the earliest mention of this office, which, passing from the military to the political sphere, played such a great part in the mediaeval and modern history of Japan.

13. The signification of all the elements of this compound name is not clear, but it is partly Honorific and descriptive of the bravery of its bearer.

14. *Wani no omi* (see Sect. LXII, Note 11).

15. The text is here somewhat obscure, and the note in small print is of doubtful authenticity. If we retain it, we must understand it to mean that *usa-yu-dzuru*, a term whose derivation is by no means clear, was an alternative name of the *make dzuru, i.e.*, "prepared bowstrings," such as they had brought with them concealed in their top-knots.

16. *I.e.*, "the pass [or hill] of meeting." It was on the boundaries of the provinces of Yamashiro and Afumi. The modern pronunciation is *Osaka* (not to be confounded with the like-sounding name of a well-known town in Central Japan).

17. *I.e.*, in Afumi. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," explains this name to mean "bamboo-grass bending." Motowori, following the *Shim-puku-ji* MS., alters the character 於 before the word *Sasanami* to 出, but without sufficient warrant.

18. The meaning of the poem is: "Rather than fall beneath the attacks of the enemy, let us drown ourselves in the Sea of Afumi" (Lake Biwa).—For the expression "stricken by a hurtful hand" see Sect. XLIV, Note 33.

[SECT. CI.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII.—THE HEIR APPARENT EXCHANGES NAMES WITH THE GREAT DEITY IZASA-WAKE).]

So when His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, taking with him the Heir Apparent for the purpose of purification,[1] passed through the lands of Afumi and Wakasa,[2] he built a temporary palace at Tsunuga[3] at the mouth of the Road of Koshi[4] [for the Heir Apparent] to dwell in. Then His Augustness the Great Deity Izasa-wake,[5] who dwelt in that place, appeared at night in a dream,[6] and said: "I wish to exchange my name for the august name of the august child." Then [the dreamer of the dream] prayed, saying: "[I] am filled with awe![7] The name shall be respectfully exchanged according to thy command." Again the Deity charged [him, saying]: "To-morrow morning [the Heir Apparent] must go out on the beach; I will present my [thank] offering for the name [given me] in exchange." So when [the Heir Apparent] went out in the morning to the beach, the 238
whole shore was lined with broken-nosed dolphin-fishes.[8] Thereupon the august child caused the Deity to be addressed, saying: "Thou bestowest on me fish of thine august food."[9] So again his august name was hououred by his being called the Great Deity of August Food.[10] So he is now styled the Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity.[11]

Again the blood from the noses of the dolphin-fishes stank. So the strand was called by the name of Chiura.[12] it is now styled Tsunuga.

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1. Viz., by water, as described in Sect. X.

2. Etymology obscure.

3. The marvellous etymology of this name which the author seems to adopt will be found at the end of the Section (Note 12). The compiler of the "Chronicles" is probably nearer the truth when he derives it from *tsunu-ga*, "horned stag."

4. For the meaning of this curious expression see Sect. LX, Note 20.

5. The commentators give no explanation of this one of the three names of the deity in question. It would appear to be made up of a word expressive of solicitation and of a portion of the Heir Apparent's name, thus signifying perhaps "Come on, Wake, [give me thy name]" with reference to the legend here narrated.

6. To which of the two personages of the legend is not clear. Motowori, however, prefers to suppose that it was to Take-uchi, as, if the prince himself were intended, the word "dream" would probably receive the Honorific 御.

7. Or, "I reverence [thy commands]."

8. Motowori supposes that they were caught by being speared in the nose.

9. *I.e.*, "fish that would naturally have formed part of thine august food." is less good to translate by "fish for *mine* august food." As usual, the original Japanese text has no Personal Pronouns to guide the reader; but, though Emperors are sometimes made to use the Honorific in speaking of themselves, this is not the custom in the case of princes' and Ō-jin is supposed to have not yet assumed the Imperial dignity.

10. *Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami.* Motowori mentions several Deities of this name, who were, according to him, separate beings.

11. *Kehi no oho-kami.* The meaning of the syllable *hi*, rendered by "wondrous" in accordance with Motowori's suggestion, is not certain.

12. *I.e.*, "the strand of blood." From *chi-ura* Motowori is obliged to derive Tsunuga as well as he can in order not to throw discredit on the implied assertion of the author: hat the latter is but a mispronunciation of the former. The true derivation of Tsunuga is probably from *tsunuga* "horned stag," as already stated in Note 3.

[SECT. CII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ PRESENTS LIQUOR TO THE HEIR APPARENT).

Hereupon, when the [Heir Apparent] returned up [to the Capital], his august parent, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. distilled some waiting-liquor,[1] and presented it to him. Then his august parent sang augustly, saying:

"This august liquor is not my august liquor;—oh! it is august liquor respectfully brought as a divine congratulation, a repeated congratulation, a bountiful congratulation, a reiterated congratulation by the Small August Deity, who dwells eternally, firmly standing. Partake not shallowly! Go on! go on!"[2] 239

Having thus sung, she presented to him the great august liquor. Then His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi replied for the august child and sang, saying:

"Whatever person distilled this august liquor must surely have distilled it singing the while with that drum on the mortar,—must surely have distilled it dancing the while, for this august liquor, august liquor, to be ever more and more joyful. Go on! go on!"[3]

These are Drinking Songs.[4]

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1. *Machi-sake.* This expression, which recurs in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," signifies liquor distilled for an absent friend by those who are awaiting his return.

2. The General signification of the Song is: "Think not that this liquor was made by me. 'Tis a present from the small August Deity (*Suku-na-biko-no*), who dwells forever in unshaken power and who sends

it to thee with endless congratulation. Come on! come on! drink deeply!"—Some of the expressions in this Song are a subject of debate among the commentators. Excepting the clause "partake not shallowly," in which the translator has adopted the opinion of the author of the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," Moribe's interpretation has been followed throughout. The latter critic would identify *asazu* ("not slowly") with *amasazu* ("without leaving anything"). But there seems no warrant for supposing such an elision of the syllable *sa*. The use of the expression *kuruhoshi* and *motohoshi* to express reiteration is worthy of notice. It will be remembered that the Deity mentioned was the microscopic personage who came riding over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (see Sect. XXVII).

3. This Song signifies; "Such a joyful feast must surely have been preceded by a joyful distilling of the liquor for it. Continue to drink, oh Prince!"—The commentators disagree on the subject of one or two of the words of this Song, in which the translator has followed Motowori's interpretation throughout. The words "that drum" are the chief difficulty. Motowori supposes that drums, being originally unknown in Japan, were first seen by the Japanese on the occasion of the conquest of Korea in this very reign, and he thinks that the drum would be placed by the side of the mortar during the pounding of the rice out of which the liquor was to be made. "That drum" means the drum belonging to the pounder of the rice. The original words *so no*, "that," might also be rendered by "his"

4. Literally, "liquor-rejoicing songs."

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240 [SECT. CIII.—EMPEROR OHIŪ-AI (PART IX.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ).]

Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko[1] were fifty-two. His august mausoleum is at Nagaye,[2] near Wega.[3] in Kafuchi. (The Empress died at the august age of one hundred. She was buried in the mausoleum of Tatanami in Saki.[4]

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1. The Emperor Chiū-ai. The author of these "Records" not re-

cognizing, as does the author of the "Chronicles," the time during which the Empress Jin-go held sway as a separate reign, Chiū-ai is by fiction supposed to have reigned down to the moment his posthumous son Ō-jin mounted the throne after the conquest of Korea and of Yamato.

2. *I.e.* "long branch," or perhaps "long inlet."

3. Etymology obscure,

4. Mabuchi and Motowori seem right in supposing the sentence in small type to be an addition to the text, copied from the "Chronicles." But as all the MSS. and printed editions previous to Motowori's contain it, it has been retained in the translation.

[SECT. CIV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN[1] (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Homuda-wake dwelt at the palace of Akira at Karushima,[2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded three[3] queens, daughters of King Homuda-no-Ma-waka,[4] the name of one of whom was Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri;[5] of the next, Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime;[6] and of the next, Her Augustness Oto-hime.[7] (The father of these Queens, King Homuda-no-ma-Waka, was the son of His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-noiri[8] by his 241
wife Shiritsuki-tome,[9] daughter of the Noble Take-inada.[10] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari.)[11] So the august children of Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri were: His Augustness Nakuta-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko;[12] next His Augustness Oho-yama-mori;[13] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka;[14] next his younger sister the Lady of Ohohara;[15] next the Lady of Komuku.[16] (Five Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime were: the Lady of Arata in Ki;[17] next His Augustness Oho-sazaki;[17] next His Augustness Netori.[19] (Three Deities). The august 242
children of Her Augustness Oto-hime were: the Lady Abe;[20] next the Lady of Mihara in Ahaji;[21] next

the Lady of Unu in Ki;[22] next the Lady of Minu[23] (five Deities).[24] Again he wedded the Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye,[25] daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and begot august children: Uji-no-waki-iratsuko;[26] next his younger sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume;[27] next Queen Medori.[28] (Three Deiites). Again he wedded Wo-nabe-no-iratsume,[29] younger sister of Yakaha-ye-hime, and begot an august child: Uji-no-iratsume.[30] (one Deity). Again he wedded Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hima,[31] daughter of King Kuhimata-naga-hiko,[32] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke-futa-mata[33] (one Deity). Again he wedded the Princess of Itowi,[34] daughter of Shima-tari-ne,[35] ancestor
243 of the Agricultural Chiefs of Sakurawi,[36] and begot an
August child; His Augustness Hayabusa-wake[37] (one Deity). Again, he wedded Naga-hime of Idzumi in Himuka,[38] and begot august children: King Oho-haye,[39] next King Wo-haye;[40] next Hata-bi-no-waki-iratsume[41] (three Deiti s). Again he wedded Princess Ka-guro,[42] and begot august children: Kaha-rada-no-iratsume;[43] next, Tama-no-iratsume,[44] next, Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime;[45] next, Toho-hi-no-iratsume;[46] next, King Kataji[47] (five Deities). Again, he wedded Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki,[48] and begot an August
244 child: King Iza-no-ma-waka,[49] (one Deity). The August children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether twenty-six (eleven Kings and fifteen Queens). Of these His Augustness Oho-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

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1. Son of the Emperor Chiū-ai and the Empress Jin-gō.

2. In Yamato. *Akira* Signifies "brilliant." *Krushima* seems to mean "the neighbourhood of Karu, Karu being the often mentioned place of that name in Yamato.

3. The Auxiliary Numeral for deities is here used.

4. *Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko. Homuda* has already been met with as the name of a place in Kahachi. *Ma-waka* signifies "truly young." The name might therefore be rendered "truly young king of Homuda."

5. *Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto.* Motowori identifies this princess with the *Takaki-hime* of Sect. LXXVI, Note 21.

6. *I.e.*, "middle princess," she being the second of three sisters.

7. *I.e.*, "younger princess," she being the youngest of the sisters.

8. *I-ho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto.* See Sect. LXXVI, Note 12.

9. *I.e.*, probably "old woman of Shiritsuki." But it is not certain that Shiritsuki is the name of a place.

10. *Take-inada no sukune.* In the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" the name is written *Take-ina-dane*, and it may therefore mean "brave-rice-seed."

11. *Wohari no murazhi.*

12. *I.e.*, "great middle Prince of Nukata," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. It is of uncertain signification.

13. *I.e.*, "great mountain-warden." For the appropriateness of this name *conf.* Sect. CV.

14. The same name has appeared in Sect. LXIII, Note 13.

15. *Ohohara no iratsume.* Ohohars is the name of a place in Yamato It signifies "great moor."

16. *Komuku no iratsume.* This name is written 高日, and its reading as *Komuku* is somewhat hypohtetical. It is the name of a place in Kahachi, and probably signifies "an overflowing pool of water."

17. *Ki no Arata no iratsume. Ki* is the provinoe of that name, and Arata is a place in it. The latter name probably means "uncultivated fields."

18. This name signifies "Great Wren," and is thus accounted for by the author of the "Chronicles": "On the day when the Emperor [this Prince became the Emperor Nin-toku] was born, an owl flew into the parturition-hall. Next morning early, the Heavenly Sovereign Homuda [*i.e.*, the Emperor O-jin] sent for the Prime Minister, the Noble Take-uchi, and asked him whereof this might be a sign. The Prime Minister replied, saying: 'It is a good omen. Moreover yesterday, when thy servant's wife was delivered of a child, a wren flew into the parturition-house, likewise a strange thing.' Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'It is a portent from heaven that my child and thine should be born on the same day, and both be attended by a good omen. So let the names of the birds be taken,' and each used for the name of the other [*i.e.*,

the name of the owl for him into whose parturition-house the wren flew, and *vice-versâ*], as a covenant for the future.' So the wren's name was bestowed on the Heir Apparent, who was called Great-Wren Prince, and the owl's name was given to the Prime Minister's child, who was called the Noble Owl."

19. This name is obscure.

20. *Abe no iratsume.* Abe is the name of several places in different provinces, and is of obscure derivation and import.

21. *Ahaji no Mikara no iratsume.* The text properly has *Ayuchi*, but Motowori emends this to *Ahaji* on the authority of the "Chronicles." Mihara is the name of a district in the island of Ahaji, and probably signifies "three moors."

22. *Ki no Unu uo iratsume.* *Ki* is the province of that name, and *Unu* a place in it. The latter name is of uncertain import.

23. *Minu no iratsume.* *Minu* (*Mino*) is the province of that name.

24. "Five" must here be a mistake for "four."

25. For this name and the next see Sect. CVI, Notes 5 and 4.

26. *I.e.*, "the young lord of Uji." Uji is the name of a district in Yamashiro, famous in classical and modern times for its tea. The etymology is obscure.

27. *I.e.*, "the young lady of Yata." Yata is the name of a place in Yamato. The etymology is obscure.

28. *Medori no miko.* *Medori* signifies "hen-bird;" but the reason for the application of so strange a name to this princess, whose fortunes are related at some length in Sect. CXXVI and CXXVII, does not appear. A similar remark applies to the next name.

29. *I.e.*, probably "the lady of the little kettle."

30. *I.e.*, "the young lady of Uji."

31. *I.e.*, "the truly young middle princess of Okinaga."

32. See Sect. XCII, Note 27.

33. *Waka-muke-futa-mata no miko.* This name is obscure.

34. *Itowi-hime.* Itowi is the name of a place in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin.

35. *Shima* is probably the name of a place, while *tari* and *ne* are the frequently recurring Honorifics rendered respectively "perfect" and "lord" in former parts of this translation.

36. *Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi.* *Ta-be*, rendered "agricultural,' is literally "rice-field tribe." *Sakurawi* ("cherry well") is the name of a place in Kahachi.

37. *I.e.*, falcon-lord.

38, *Himuka no Idzumi no Naga-hime.* Himuka is the name of a province, and Idzumi that of a district now comprised within the limits of Satsuma. *Nagahime,* literally "long princess," probably signifies "elder princess."

39. *Oho-haye no miko.* Signification obscure.

40. *Wo-haye no miko.* Signification obscure. The antithesis of the Adjectives *oho* and *wo* ("great" and "small") shows however that the names partly served to distinguish the elder from the younger brother.

41. *Waki-iratsume* is "younger lady." *Hata-bi* is incomprehensible.

42. See Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

43. *I.e.,* probably "the lady of Kaharada." The latter name (literally "rice-field on the border of a river") is often met with.

44. *I.e.,* "the jewel lady."

45. *I.e.,* "the great middle lady of Osaka," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato (see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1).

46. Motowori identifies this name with that *Koto-fushi no iratsume* in Sect. CXVII, *q.v.,* and thinks that both this and the preceding name have only crept into this Section by mistake.

47. *Kataji no miko.* Signification obscure,

48. *Kadzuraki no Nu-iro-me.* All the elements of this name have already been met with several times.

49. This child has already appeared early in this Section, and the name is here doubtless only repeated through some copyist's error.

[SECT. CV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART II.—HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS)]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign asked His Augustness Oho-yama-mori and His Augustness Oho-sazaki, saying: "Which think ye the dearer, an elder child or a younger child?" (The reason why the Heavenly Sovereign propounded this question was because it was his intention[1] to make Uji-no-waki-iratsuko rule the Empire). Then His Augustness Oho-yama-mori said: "The elder child is the dearer." Next His Augustness Oho-sazaki, knowing the august

feeling which made the Heavenly Sovereign deign to ask [the question], said: "The elder child, having already become a man, gives no trouble; but the younger child, not being yet a man, is the dearer." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "My lord Sazaki's words agree with my thoughts," and forthwith ordained the division [of the inheritance] thus: His Augustness Oho-yama-mori to administer the government of the mountains and the sea,[2] His Augustness Oho-sazaki to take and deign to report on the government of the realm,[3] and Uji-no waki-iratsuko to rule the succession of Heaven's sun.[4] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki was not disobedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands.[5]

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1. Literally, "heart."

2. *I.e.*, Motowori thinks, to have control over the guilds of foresters and fishermen.

3. *I.e.*, to act as regent or minister.

4. *I.e.*, to inherit the empire.—It will be remembered that the Japanese Emperors claim to descend from the Sun-Goddess.

5. This statement refers proleptically to the contrary course which was taken by the elder Oho-yama-mori.

SECT. CVI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART III.—HE WOOES PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE).]

One day[1] the Heavenly Sovereign, when he had crossed over into the land of Afumi, augustly stood on the moor of Uji, gazed on the moor of Kadzu, and sang, saying:

245 "As I look on the Moor of Kadzu in Chiba.
both the hundred thousand-fold abundant
house-places are visible, and the land's
acme is visible."[2]

So when he reached the village of Kohara,[3] a beautiful maiden met him at a fork in the road, Then the Heavenly Sovereign asked the maiden, saying: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "I am the daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure,[4] and my name is Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye."[5] The Heavenly Sovereign forthwith said to the maiden: "When I return on my progress to-morrow, I will enter into thy house." So Princess Ya-kaha-ye told her father all that [had happened]. Thereupon her father replied, saying: "Ah! it was the Heavenly Sovereign! [His commands are] to be respected. My child, respectfully serve him!"—and so saying he grandly decorated the house, and awaited [the Heavenly Sovereign's return], whereupon he came in on the next day.[6] So when [the father] served [the Heavenly Sovereign] a great august feast, he made his daughter Her Augustness[7] Princess Ya-kaha take the great august 246
liquor-cup and present it. Thereupon, while taking the great liquor-cup, the Heavenly Sovereign augustly sang, saying:

> "Oh this crab! whence this crab? [It is] a crab from far-distant Tsunuga. Whither reaches its sideward motion? [It has] come towards Ichiji-shima and Mi-shima. It must be because, plunging and breathless like the grebe, I went without stopping along the up and down road by the wavelets, that the maiden I met on the Kohata road has a back oh! like a small shield, a row of teeth like acorns. Oh! the earth of the Wani pass at Ichihiwi! Owing to the skin of the first earth being ruddy, to the last

earth being of a reddish black, she, without exposing to the actual sun that makes one bend one's head the middle earth like three chestnuts, draws thickly down her drawn eye-brows;—the women I met, the child I saw and wanted in this way, the child I saw and wanted in that way, oh! she is opposite to me at the height of the feast! oh! she is at my side!"[8]

247 Ita auguste coivit [cum illâ], et procreavit filium Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.

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1. Literally, "one time."

2. According to Moribe, whose interpretation has been followed throughout, this Song signifies: "As I gaze across from Uji to the Moor of Toba, I see the numerous and prosperous homesteads of the people, I see the most fertile portion of the country."—On this view Chiba is identified with Toba, the name of a district; and the word *ho*, rendered "acme," is taken to mean the best, highest, most showy part of anything. For Motowori's opinion, which is that of the older commentators as well, that *chi-ba* is a Pillow-Word, there is much to be said, and if we followed it, we should have to render the first two lines thus: "As I look on the thousand-leafed pueraria-moor," etc. (*kadzu* signifying "pueraria.") Motowori's explanation of *momo-chi-daru* (here rendered by "hundred thousand-fold abundant") as referring to the soot of the peasant's roofs, and of *ho* as signifying "a plain surrounded by mountains" seems much less good than Moribe's interpretation of those difficult expressions.

3. In the district of Uji in the province of Yamashiro. The characters with which the name is written signify "tree-flag."

4. *Wani no Hifure no omi.* For *Wani no omi* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. The meaning of *Hifure* is obscure.

5. *Miya-nushi-ya-kata-hime. Miya-nushi* is "priestess," or more literally "temple-guardian." For the rest of the name see Sect. XXVI, Note 14, though the personages are of course meant to be different.

6. *I.e.*, that day having passed by, the Emperor came on the next day according to his promise.

7. Motowori supposes with apparent reason that the character 舍,

"Augustness," has only crept into the text through the attraction of the following character 令, "made," which it resembles in appearance.

8. It must be understood that in this Song the Imperial singer commences by referring to what doubtless formed part of the feast,—a crab,—and thence passes on by an imperceptible transition to allude to his own adventure with the maiden. As the crab when alive walked sideways, so was the Emperor zigzagging up and down the road that lines the shore of Lake Biwa, pursuing his breathless course like that of the busy grebe that perpetually plunges into the water, when the maiden met him near Kohata. Beautiful indeed was she: her back straight as a shield, her teeth like a row of acorns, and the artificial eye-brows painted a dark colour on her forehead drawn low down in a perfect crescent-shape. She had been careful in selecting the clay to make the paint, rejecting the upper layer of earth, for that was of too bright a red, rejecting likewise the lower layer, for that was too dark, but taking the middle, which was of the correct blue tint, and drying it, not in the fierce, but in a mildly tempered, sun-light. And now this maiden, for whom his heart had been panting and turning this way and that ever since the previous day, is actually seated opposite to him, nay! at his very side, and he is feasting in her sweet company.—Tsunuga is the name of a place in the province of Echizen. "Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt at rendering the force of the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutafu*, which implies that the traveller must pass through a hundred other places before reaching his destination. "Whither reaches its sideward motion?" signifies "whither is it going with its sideward motion?" Ichiji-shima and Mishima are places of which nothing is known, so that the allusion to them is obscure. At this point Motowori's interpretation diverges from that of Moribe, which has been followed throughout. *Sasanami*, here rendered "wavelets," is taken by him, as by the older commentators, as the name of a place, and the description of the maiden's teeth is misunderstood to signify that she had a beak filled with a row of teeth like the water-caltrop! Motowori also would here divide the Song in two, a proceeding for which there is not sufficient warrant. On other minor points, too, his decisions do not seem so happy as Moribe's. The view of both commentators will be found at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXII, pp. 33.51, and in Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*," *in loco*. Three chestnuts" (*mitsu-guri no*) is a common Pillow-Word for *naka*, "middle," founded on the fact, real or supposed, that one burr always contains three nuts, whereof one of course is in the middle, between the other two.

[SECT. CVII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IV.—HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMINAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI),]

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the beauty of Princess Kaminaga,[1] daughter of the Duke of Muragata[2] in the land of Himuka, and thinking to employ her,[3] sent down for her,[4] whereupon the Heir Apparent[5] His Augustness Oho-sazaki, having seen the maiden land at
248 the port of Naniha, and being charmed with the grace of her appearance, forthwith directed the Prince Minister the Noble Taka-uchi, to intercede for him in the august presence of the Heavenly Sovereign, and make [the latter] grant to him Princess Kami-naga, whom he had sent down for. Then on the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi requesting the great commands,[6] the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith granted Princess Kami-naga to his august child. The way he granted her was this:—the Heavenly Sovereign, on a day when he partook of a copious feast,[7] gave Princess Kami-naga the great august liquor oak-[leaf[8]] to present to the Heir Apparent. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"Come on, children! oh! the fragrant flowering orange-tree on my way as I go to pluck the wild garlic,—to pluck the garlic,—has its uppermost branches withered by birds perching on them, and its lowest branches withered through people plucking from them. But the budding fruit on the middle branch, like three chestnuts,—the ruddy maiden, oh! if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good, oh![9]

249 Again he augustly sang, saying:

"Driving the dyke-piles into Lake Yosami

where the water collects, my heart (ignorant of the pricking of the stumps of the water-caltrop, ignorant of the creeping of the roots of the *Brasenia peltata*), being more and more laughable, is now indeed repentant"[10]

Having thus sung, he bestowed [her on the Heir Apparent]. So after having been granted the maiden, the Heir Apparent sang, saying:

"Oh! the maiden of Kohada in the back of the road! though I heard of her like the thunder, we mutually intertwine [our arms] as pillows."[11]

Again he sang saying:

"I think lovingly ah! of how the maiden 250
of Kohada in the back of the road sleeps [with me] without disputing."[12]

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1. *Kami-naga-hime.* The name signifies "the long-haired princess."

2. *Murakata no kami. Murakata* seems to signify "many towns."

3. *I.e.*, wed her.

4. Literally, "summoned her up." The same phrase occurs immediately below.

5. 太子. Mabuchi thinks that 御子, "august child," should be substituted for the reading in the text. But Motowori insists that the title translated Heir Apparent was anciently borne by all the sons of an Emperor, and that consequently no emendation is called for.

6. *I.e.*, the Emperor's orders.

7. The native term translated "copious feast" is *toyo no akari*, variously written with the characters 豊明, 豊樂, 宴樂, etc., etc. It literally signifies "copious brightness," in allusion to the ruddy glow which wine gives to the faces of the revellers, and henceforward perpetually recurs in this history. In later times it specifically denoted the festival of the tasting of the first rice, but anciently its meaning was not thus limited. Motowori's note on the subject, in Vol. XXXII, pp. 57-59 of his Commentary, may be consulted with advantage.

8. *I.e.*, an oak-leaf which was used as a cup to sip out of. Leaf-

platters for food have already been mentioned. Motowori says that the word *kashika* (properly the name of a deciduous oak, the *Quercus dentata*) was employed to denote any kind of leaf thus used.

9. The whole gist of this Song is contained in the last three lines. "The ruddy maiden, oh if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good," —i.e. "thou and the maiden, will form a fitting couple." All that goes before is what is technically called a "Preface," though its bearing is so clear as to admit of translation, and even in English to form an appropriate introduction to the Song:—It is not the stinking garlic, but the fragrant orange that the singer has met by the way, and it is the choicest young fruit in the very middle of the tree that forms a suitable comparison for the lovely young girl.—With the favourite allusion to upper, middle, and lower the reader is already familiar, and the Pillow-Word "three chestnuts" was explained in the note on the proceding Song (Sect. CVI, Note 8).

10. The gist of the Song is: "I knew not that thou, my son, hadst conceived a secret passion for the maiden; but I am now conscious of my own mistake, and my foolish old heart is ashamed of itself." With this explanation the elaborate comparison between the state of the monarch's mind and the condition of the peasant driving piles for the foundation of a dyke, and having his feet either lacerated by the stumps of the water-caltrop, or made slimy by brushing against the roots of the *Brasenia peltata* at the bottom of the water, becomes intelligible and appropriate.—The word *kuri*, rendered "roots," perplexed Motowori, who suggests that it may be but a second name of the *Brasenia*, appended to the first; but Moribe's suggestion that it is to be identified with *kori*, and taken in the signification of "roots" though not quite convincing, is at least more plausible. The text of this Song is corrupt in these "Records" and has to be corrected by a comparison with that of the "Chronicles." Moribe goes into an amusing ecstasy over the picture of ancient manners which it presents, and lauds the simplicity of days when a father and son could so peacefully woo the same maiden without mutual concealment or disastrous consequences!

11. The meaning of this Song is: "At first I heard of the maiden of Kohada in the furthest parts of Himuka as one hears the distant thunder; but now she is mine, and we sleep locked in each other's arms."—This Kohada in Himuka must not be confounded with the Kohata in Yamashiro mentioned in the preceding Section. The "back of the road" means the remotest portion (conf. Sect. LX, Note 20). The thunder must be understood to refer to a very faint and distant

sound: the Prince had first heard of the maiden vaguely, but now she is his and has been his for some time; for this Song must be supposed to have been composed after the occasion of the feast with the story of which it is here connected.

12. The meaning of this Song is: "I love this maiden of Kohada in Himuka, who disputed not my desire and my father's grant, but willingly became my wife."—It is hard to render into English the force of the string of Particles *wo shi zo mo* in the penultimate line.

[SECT. CVIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART V.—SONGS OF THE TERRITORIAL OWNERS OF YESHINU).]

Again, the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu,[1] seeing the august sword which was girded on His Augustness Oho sazaki, sang, saying:

"Sharp is the beginning, freezing is the end
of the sword girded on Oho-sazaki, Oho-
sazaki, the solar august child of Homuda,—
[it is] chilly, chilly like the trees beneath
the trunks of the winter trees."[2]

Again, having made a cross-mortar[3] at Kashifu[3] in 251
Yeshinu, and having in that cross-mortar distilled[5] some great august liquor, they, when they presented the great august liquor [to the Heavenly Sovereign], sang as follows, drumming with their mouths:

"We have made a side-mortar at Kashinofu,
and in the side-mortar we have distilled
some great august liquor, which do thou
sweetly partake of, oh our lord!"[6]

This Song is one which it is the custom to chant down to the present day when, from time to time, the Territorial Owners present a great feast [to the Sovereign].

1. Yeshinu is the modern Yoshino, in the province of Yamato (see Sect. XLVI, Note 3). For the title of *kudzu* see Sect. XLVI, Note 13, where it also occurs in connection with Yeshinu.

2. According to Moribe, whose interpretation seems best to the translator. the signification of this difficult poem is: "The sword worn by Prince Oho-sazaki, son of the Emperor Homuda (O-jin) is double-edged at its upper part, and like glistening ice towards its point;—oh! 'tis like the icicles on the plants that cluster about the trunks of the dead trees in winter!" Almost every line, however (excepting those giving the name and title of the Prince), is a subject of controversy, and the "*Gō-Gan Shō*" *in loco* and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 2-5, should be consulted for Keichiū's, Mabuchi's and Motowori's views on the disputed point.—The expression "solar august child" signifies "sun-descended prince," in allusion to the supposed descent of the Japanese monarchs from the Sun-Goddess.

3. *Yoko-usu* or *yokusu* (横臼). It is not plain what sort of mortar the author intended to designate by this term. Motowori supposes it to mean a broad flat mortar in contradistinction to a high and narrow one. Keichū's view, which he quotes, to the effect that it was a mortar that had been carved out of the block against the grain of the wood, seems an equally good guess, where all is guess-work.

4. In the Song this same name is read *Kashinafu*; but the commentators tell us that the Genitive Particle *no* ("of") is simply inserted for the sake of rhythm, and it is not unlikely that they are right. The name seems to signify "[a place where] oak-trees grow."

5. See Sect. XVIII, Note 16. The character 醸, rendered by "distil" or "brew," according to the view which one may take of the resulting liquor, would seem to be here used in the sense of "to pound."

6. In this simple Song the Territorial Owners of Yoshino beg the Monarch to deign to partake of the *sake* which they have made.

[SECT. CIX.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VI.—VARIOUS DEEDS)]

In this august reign were graciously established the Fisher Tribe,[1] the Mountain Tribe,[2] the Mountain Warden Tribe,[3] and the Ise Tribe.[4] Again the Pool of Tsurugi was made. Again there came over [to Japan] some

people from Shiragi, Therefore His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, having taken them with him and set them to labour on pools and embankments, made the Pool of Kudara.[5]

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1. *Ama-be* (written 海部 and read *Una-be* in the Old Printed Edition and in the edition of 1687, and perhaps better rendered "Sea-Tribe.") The name of this guild or clan does not seem to have remained, like the tw mentioned together with it, as a "gentile name."

2. *Yama-be.* Motowori thinks that this word has crept into the text erroneously through the influence of that next mentioned, as the functions of the tribes or guilds thus separately named were identical The differentiation may have taken place after the terms had come to be used as "gentile names."

3. *Yama-moribe.*

4. *Ise-be.* Nothing is known of this tribe or guild.

5. Doubtless so named after the Korean labourers employed upon it,—Kudara and Shiragi, as different parts of the same peninsula, being confounded in thought.

[SECT. CX.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII.—TRIBUTE FROM KOREA).] 252

Again King Shō-ko,[1] the Chieftain of the land of Kudara, sent as tribute by Achi-kishi[2] one stallion and one mare. (This Achi-kishi was the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes.[3]) Again he sent as tribute a cross-sword,[4] and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden[5] to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. Therefore receiving the [Imperial] commands, he sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi,[6] and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian Analects[7] in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay[8] in one volume,—altogether eleven volumes.

253 (This Wani-kishi was the ancestor of the Fumi Grandees.)[9] Again he sent as tribute two artisans,—a smith from Kara named Taku-so[10] and a weaver from Go[11] named Sai-so.[12]

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1. 照古王, according to the Japanese *kana* spelling, *Sen-ko.*

2. 阿知吉師. Other forms of the name are *Ajiki* and *Atogi*, and all three are but attempts at transcribing phonetically into Japanese a Korean name, the proper characters for which are not given. 士吉 is not properly part of the name, but is simply an official title (師 here stands for 士).

3. *Achiki no fumi-bito. Pumi-bito* (abbreviated to *Fubito*) became a "gentile name."

4. See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

5. *Q.d.*, by the Japanese Emperor.

6. Here written phonetically 和邇吉師, but properly, 王仁吉士, *i.e.* "the Official Wang In." He is generally spoken of simply as *Wani.*

7. 論語. ("*Lun Yu,*" or sccording to the Japanese pronunciation "*Rongo.*")

8. 千文字. ("*Chien Tzu Wen,*" or according to the Japanese pronunciation "*Sen-ji-mun.*") See the translator's remarks on this subject in the Introduction, p. xliii. The "Chronicles" more prudently mention only "various classics"

9. *Fumi no obito. Fumi* signifies "any written document," so that this "gentile name" is equivalent to our word "scribe."

10. 卓素. The transliteration of this, as of all other such names here occurring, is the Sinico-Japanese transliteration. *Kara* (Korea) is written 韓.

11. 吳 (*Wu*, Jap. *Go*), one of the states into which China was divided during the third century of our era. A draper's shop is still called *go-fuku-ya, i.e.*, "Wu-garment-house" in memory of the introduction of wearing apparel from that country.

12. 西素.

[SECT. CXI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII.—THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED).]

Again there came over [to Japan] the ancestor of the Hada Rulers,[1] the ancestor of the Aya Suzerains,[2] and likewise a man who knew how to distil liquor, and whose name was Nim-pan,[3] while another name for him was Susukori.[4] So this [man] Susukori distilled some great august liquor, and presented it to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, excited with the great august liquor that had been presented to him augustly sang, saying:

"I have become intoxicated with the august liquor distilled by Susukori. I have become intoxicated with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor."[5]

On his walking out singing thus, he hit with his 254
august staff a large stone in the middle of the Oho-saka[5] road, upon which the stone ran away. So the proverb says: "Hard stones get out of a drunkard's way."

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1. *Hada na miyatsuko*, 秦造, a "gentile name." *Hada* is the native Japanese word used as the equivalent of the Chinese name 秦, *Ch'in*. Its origin is uncertain.

2. *Aya no ataha* 漢直, a "gentile name." The use of Aya to represent the Chinese name 漢, *Han*, is as difficult to account for as is that of Hada mentioned in the preceding Note.

3. 仁番. Another and more Japanese-like reading, *Niho*, is invented by Motowori; but the older editors read *Nim-pan* according to the usual Sinico-Japanese sound of the characters. The modern Korean reading would be In-pon.

4. Written phonetically 須須許理.

5. Thus translated, this Song is too clear to need any explanation. The lines, however, which are rendered by "with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor."—in Japanese *koto nagu shi we-gushi-ni*,—are in reality extremely obscure, and Moribe understands them to signify, "Oh!

how difficult it is for me to speak! Oh! how ill at ease I am!" In order to do so he has, however, to change and add to the text; and the translator, though not sure of being in the right path, has preferred to follow Motowori, whose interpretation, without requiring any such extreme measures, yet gives a very p ausible sense.

6. See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

[SECT. CXII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IX.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, His Augustness Ohosazaki, in conformity with the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, ceded the Empire to Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. Thereupon His Augustness Ohoyama-mori, disobeying the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, and anxious in spite thereof to obtain the Empire, had the design to slay the Prince[1] his younger brother, secretly raised an army, and prepared to attack him. Then His Augustness Oho-sazaki, hearing that his elder brother had prepared an army, forthwith despatched a messenger to apprise Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. So, startled at the news, [the latter] set troops in ambush by the river-bank, and likewise, after having drawn a fence of curtains and raised a tent on the top of the hill, placed there publicly on a throne[2] one of his retainers to pretend that he was the King,[3] the manner in which all the officials[4] reverentially went and came being just like that [usual] in the King's presence. And moreover, preparing for the time
255 when the King his elder brother[5] should cross the river, he arranged and decorated a boat and oars, and moreover[6] ground [in a mortar] the root of the *Kadzura japonica*, and having taken the slime of its juice, rubbed

therewith the grating[7] inside the boat, so as to make any who should tread on it fall down, and then himself[8] put on a cloth coat and trowsers, and having assumed the appearance of a common fellow, stood in the boat holding the oar. Hereupon, when the King his elder brother, having hid his troops in ambush and put on armour beneath his clothes, reached the river-bank and was about to get into the boat, he gazed at the grandly decorated place [on the hill], thought the King his younger brother was sitting on the throne, being altogether ignorant [of the fact] that he was standing in the boat holding the oar, and forthwith asked the fellow who was holding the oar, saying: "It has been reported to me that on this mountain there is a large and angry boar. I wish to take that boar. Shall I peradventure get that boar?" Then the fellow holding the oar replied, saying: "Thou canst not." Again he asked, saying: "For what reason?" [The boat-man] answered, saying: "He is not to be got, however often and in however many places he be chased. Wherefore I say that thou canst not [catch him either]." When they had crossed as far as the middle of the river, [Prince Uji-no-waki-iratsuko] caused the boat to be tilted over, and [his elder brother] to fall into the water.[9] Then forthwith he rose to the surface, and floated down with the current. Forthwith, as he floated, he sang, saying:

"Whoever is swiftest among the boatmen
of the Uji ferry will come to me."[10]

Thereupon the troops that had been hidden on the 256
river-bank rose up simultaneously on this side and on that side, and fixing their arrows [in their bows], let him go floating down. So he sank on reaching Kawara

Point.[11] So on their searching with hooks[12] the place where he had sunk, [the hooks] struck on the armour inside his clothes, and made a rattling sound.[13] So the place was called by the name of Kawara Point. Then when they hooked up[14] his bones, the younger King sang saying:

> "*Catalpa* bow, *Evonymus* standing by the ferry-bank of Uji! My heart had thought to cut [you], my heart had thought to take [you]; but at the base methought of the lord, at the extremity methought of the younger sister; grievously methought of this, sorrowfully methought of that; and I came [back] without cutting it,—the *Catalpa* bow, the *Evonymus*.[15]

257 So the bones of His Augustness Oho-yama-mori were buried on the Nara[16] mountain. His Augustness Oho-yama-mori (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Hijikata,[17] the Dukes of Heki,[18] and the Dukes of Harihara.[19])

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1. 皇子. This is the only passage in the work where this expression occurs. *Uji-no-waki-iratsuko* is the personage thus designated.

2. The same expression has been in Sect. XXXI (near Note 16) rendered "couch." The characters in the original are 呉床 or 胡床.

3. *I.e., Uji-na-maki-iraisuko.*

4. The Chinese phrase百官, "the hundred officials," is here used.

5. *Q.d.*, his Augustness Oho-yama-mori.

6. The text has the character 者, which, in combination with the preceding words "oars," gives the sense of "oarsman," boatman." But Motowori reasonably suggests that it is an error for 亦, the grass hand forms of the two characters closely resembling each other, and 亦 making much better sense; for who would talk of "decorating an oarsman"?

7. A bamboo grating.

8. Literally "that king's son."

9. It must be understood that Uji-no-waki-iratsuko and his men

having planned to act thus. were on their guard, and did not fall into the water as did Oho-yama-mori, who was taken unawares.

10. This is Motowori's view of the meaning of the Song, which he interprets as a request for help to some friendly boatman. Moribe adopts quite a different view, and thinks that the drowning prince is rather giving vent to sentiments of pride and defiance. He says (speaking in the Prince's name): "It is not that I have been capsized out of the boat into the river. but that I am swimming off after a pole which has fallen into the water. If there be any strong and willing fellows among my partizans, let them swim after me." It must be explained that the word rendered "boatmen" in the translation is literally "pole-takers" (or, according to Moribe's view, "to take a pole.") Motowori's interpretation seems to do less violence to the wording of the original, and Moribe's has not even the merit of accounting for the use of the Future *komu* where the Imperative *kone* would be what we should naturally expect.—*Uji* is preceded by the, in this context, untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayaburu* (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *s.v.*).

11. *Kawara no saki.* The author, in the next sentence, derives this name from the rattling sound made by the books as they struck on the armour. But there seems a great deal to be said in favour of Arawi Hakuseki's view that *kawara* is an old word itself signifying "armour."

12. The word *kagi* here used occurs elsewhere to denote the hooks employed for fastening doors, and in later times took the specific meaning of "key."

13. Literally, "sounded *kawara*."

14. The text has the characters 掛出. But Motowori says that 掛 stands for 搔, and that we must interpret the passage to mean that they scratched [about to find] and take out [his corpse].

15. The signification of this Song is: "I came here meaning to kill thee as I might cut down and kill that *Catalpa* tree, that *Evonymus*, growing on the river-bank. But the thought of our father and of thy sister (or wife) touched me with pity, and I return without having drawn my bow at thee."—Uji is preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayahito* (see Dictionary of Pillow-Words" *s.v.*;—Motowori reads it *chihaya-hito* without the *nigori*).—The words *adzusa-yumi ma-yumi*, here respectively rendered "*Catalpa* bow" and "*Evonymus*," are difficult, and the doubt as to whether we should understand the prince to be speaking simply of the trees, or to intend likewise to allude to his bow which was made of the woodof one of those trees, is probably not to be settled, as the words in question have always oscillated between the two

meanings, and here evidently contain a double allusion. Motowori thinks that the first of the two forms only a sort of Pillow-Word for the second.—The word rendered "bank," in accordance with Moribe's suggestion, is literally "reach."—No special importance must be attached to the expressions "base" (or "main part") and "extremity," though they may doubtless be thought to allude to the father and sister, the recollection of whom softened the victorious younger brother's heart. The word *iranakeku*, rendered "grievously," is of not quite certain interpretation.—It must be understood that though, by overturning the boat, Uji-no-waki-iratsuko did constructively cause Oho-yama-mori's death, he did not actually shoot at and slay him when in the water, but followed down the river-side lamenting over what had happened.—This Song is singled out by Moribe for special praise.

16. See Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

17. Tohotafumi (Tōtōmi). In the original *Hijikata no kimi.*

18. *Heki na kimi.* Of Heki nothing is known,

19. *Harihara no kimi.* In Tohotafumi. *Harihara* signifies "alder plantation."

[SECT. CXIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART X.—PRINCES OHO-SAZAKI AND UJI-NO-WAKI-IRATSUKO CEDE THE EMPIRE TO EACH OTHER).]

Thereupon while the two Deities[1] His Augustness Oho-sazaki and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko were, each of them, ceding the Empire to the other,[2] a fisherman[3] came with a great feast as tribute.[4] So they each resigned it to the other. So the elder brother refused it, and caused
258 it to be offered to the younger brother, and the younger brother refused it, and caused it to be offered to the elder brother, during which mutual cedings many days elapsed. As such mutual ceding took place not [only] once or twice, the fisherman wept from the fatigue of going backwards and forwards. So the proverb says:

"Ah! the fisherman weeps on account of his own things."[5] Meanwhile Uji-no-waki-iratsuko died early.[6] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki did rule the Empire.

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1. It is not actually the word *kami*, "deity," that is here used in the original, but *hashira*, which is the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

2. Neither being willing to accept the Imperial dignity.

3. Or, "some fishermen," and similarly in the Plural throughout.

4. *I.e.*, came to present fish to His Majesty.

5. Motowori is probably right in saying that the point of this proverb lies in the consideration that, whereas people in general weep for that which they have not, this fisherman wept on account of the trouble which was caused to him by the fish which he had.

6. Or, "died first." The use in this place of the character 崩, properly confined to the meaning of the "death of an Emperor," is remarkable. See Motowori's observations on the point in Vol. XXXIII, pp. 78-80.

[SECT. CXIV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XI.—AMA-NO-HI-BOKO CROSSES OVER TO JAPAN)]

Moreover of old there had been [a man] called by the name of Ama-no-hi-boko, child of the ruler of the land of Shiragi. This person crossed over here [to Japan]. The reason of his crossing over here was [this]: In the land of Shiragi there was a certain lagoon,[2] called by the name of the Agu Lagoon.[3] On the bank of this lagoon[4] a certain poor girl was [taking her] midday sleep. Tunc solis radii, coelesti arcui similes, in privatas partes impegerunt. Again there was a certain poor man, 259
who, thinking this occurrence[5] strange, constantly watched the woman's behaviour. So the woman, having conceived from the time of that midday sleep, gave birth to

a red jewel. Then the poor man who had watched her begged [to be allowed] to take the jewel, and kept it constantly wrapped up by his side.[6] This person, having planted a rice-field in a valley,[7] had loaded a cow[8] with food for the labourers, and was getting into the middle of the valley, when he met the ruler's son, Ama-no-hi-boko, who thereupon asked him, saying: "Why enterest thou the valley with a load of food upon a cow? Thou wilt surely kill this cow and eat her." Forthwith he seized the man and was about to put him into prison, when the man replied, saying: "I was not going to kill the cow. I was simply taking food to the people in the fields." But still [the ruler's child] would not let him go. Then he undid the jewel [which hung] at his side, and [therewith] bribed [the ruler's child]. So [the latter] let the poor man go, brought the jewel [home], and placed it beside his couch. Forthwith it was transformed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded, and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child [grew] proud in his heart, and reviled his wife. But the woman said: "I am not a woman who ought to be the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my ancestors;"—and forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat, and fled away across here [to Japan], and landed[9] at Naniha.[10] (This is the deity called Princess Akaru,[11] who dwells in the shrine of Hime-goso[12] at Naniha.) Thereupon Ame-no-hi-boko, hearing
260 of his wife's flight, forthwith pursued her across hither, and was about to arrive at Naniha, when the Deity of the passage[13] prevented his entrance. So he went back again, and landed in the country of Tajima.[14]

1. Or, according to Motowori's reading, *Ame no-hi boko*. The characters in the next, 大之日矛一 signify "heavenly sun-spear." But the homonymous characters 海檜槍, with which the name is written in the "Gleanings from Ancient Story," and which are approved of both by Motowori and by Tanigaha Shisei. signify "fisherman's chamaecyparis spear."

2. Apparently nothing more is meant than that there was "*a* lagoon;" but still the *one* (一) in this context is curious, and Motowori retains it as *hito-tsu no* in the Japanese reading. "A certain" seems best to render its force in English, as again in the following sentences, where Motowori interprets it by the character 或. It is of strangely frequent recurrence in the opening sentences of this Section, which are altogether peculiar in style.

3. *Agu-numa*. The meaning of this name is unknown.

4. The Old Printed Edition has the word "mud" instead of "lagoon."

5. Literally, "this appearance."

6. Literally, "attached to his loins."

7. The words rendered "in a valley" are in the text 山谷之間, of which the commentators find it difficult to make proper Japanese. The translator has followed them in neglecting the character 山, mountain."

8. Or bull, or bullock; for Japanese does not distinguish Genders.

9. Literally, "stopped."

10. See Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

11. *Akaru-hime*, *i.e.*, "Brilliant Princess."

12. The signification of this name is obscure. Motowori identifies the place with the modern Kodzu (高津).

13. *I.e.*, the water-god of the sea near Naniha.

14. See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

[SECT. CXV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XII.—DESCENDANTS OF AMA-NO-HI-BOKO, AND TREASURES BROUGHT BY HIM.)]

Forthwith staying in that country, he wedded Saki-tsu-mi,[1] daughter of Tajima-no-matawo,[2] and begot a child: Tajima-morosuku.[3] The latter's child was Tajima-hi-ne.[4] The latter's child was Tajima-hinaraki.[5] The

latter's children were Tajima-mori,[6] next Tajima-hitaka,[7] next Kiyo-hiko[8] (three Deities).[9] This Kiyo-hiko wedded Tagima-no-mehi,[10] and begot cbildren: Suga-no-morowo,[11] next his younger sister Suga-kama-yura-domi.[12] So the above mentioned Tajima-hitaka wedded his niece Yura-domi, and begot a child: Her Augustness Princess Takanuka of Kadzuraki.[13] (This was the august parent[14] of Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi.) So the things which Ama-no-hi-boko brought over here, and which were called the "precious treasures,"[15] were: two strings of pearls;[16] likewise a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, and a wind-cutting scarf;[17] likewise a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore,[18]—eight articles in all. (These are the Eight Great Deities of Idzushi.)

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1. This name may mean "lucky ears," or "possessor of luck;" but it is obscure, and is moreover in the "Chronicles" (where it is given as the name, not of the daughter, but of the father) read *Mahe-tsu-mi*,—a reading which will not bear either of these interpretations.

2. *Matawo* seems to signify "complete (*i.e.*, healthy or vigorous) male." Observe that the word Tajima enters into the designations of most of his descendants.

3. In the "Chronicles" *Morosuke*, and elsewhere *Morosugi*. The etymology of these names is obscure except that of the last-mentioned, which signifies "many cryptomerias."

4. *Hi-ne* may perhaps signify "wondrous lord."

5. The meaning of this name is obscure, but that of *Hina-rashi-hime* in Sect. XXVI (Note 19) may be compared.

6. See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

7. *Hi-taka* may signifiy either "sun-height" or "wondrous height."

8. This name signifies "pure prince."

9. As usual, it is not the actual word Deity that is used, but the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

10. *Tagima* is the name of a place, not to be confounded with the province of Tajima. The signification of *mehi* is quite obscure.

11. *Suga* may either be the name of place in Tajima, as proposed

by Motowori, or identical with the Suga of Sect. XIX. The meaning of *Morowo* is obscure.

12. The signification of this name is obscure. But Suga, Kama, and Yura are apparently the names of places.

13. *Kadzuraki no Taka-nuka-hime.* Kadzuraki is the name of a department, and Takanuka that of a place in that department, in the province of Yamato.

14. Literally, "ancestress." But see Sect. XXII, Note 4. It will be remembered that *Okinaga-tarashi-hime* was the Empress Jin-go.

15. Literally, "treasures of jewels."

16. Or, "beads."

17. *I.e.*, a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind. *Conf.* the magic scarfs mentioned near the beginning of Sect. XXIII, by waving which the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (*Oho-kuni-nushi*) kept off the snakes, the wasps and the centipedes.

18. This seems to be the signification of the original terms *oki tsu kagami* and *hi tsu kagami*, but we are not hereby helped to a very clear understanding of the nature of the articles which the author ment to describe. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us of a "sun, mirror." Indeed it enumerates the "eight precious treasures" in a manner that diverges a great deal from the account given in these "Records."

19. Or, the "Eight-fold Great Deity." As has already frequently been remarked, the distinction which we so rigorously draw between Singular and Plural does not occupy the Japanese mind, and "eight" and "eight-fold" are taken to mean much the same thing. In the following sentence we find these eight deities (or this eight-fold deity) spoken of in such a manner as to necessitate the use of the Singular Number in the translation. Motowori supposes that they (or he) took the form of a young man (as in several other legends) to become the father of the Goddess mentioned in the text.···*Idzushi* seems to signify "wonderful stone."

[SECT. CXVI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIII.—THE YOUTH-OF-THE-GLOW-ON-THE-AUTUMN-MOUNTAINS AND THE YOUTH-OF-THE-HAZE-ON-THE-SPRING-MOUNTAINS).]

So this Deity had a daughter whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi.[1] So eighty Deities wished to
262 obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so.[2] Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains,[3] and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains.[4] So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for[5] the Maiden of Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou [be able] to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height,[6] and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers[7] [and give them to thee] in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trowsers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trowsers,
263 etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them [home, the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-

the-Spring-Mountains] followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to a child.[8] Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Mayden-of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when [the younger brother] complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well imitated; moreover it must be because he imitates mortal men[9] that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a jointed bamboo[10] from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes,[11] and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine, wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo[12] and caused this curse to be spoken:[13] "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, [do thou] become green and wither! 264
Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine,[14] [do thou] flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, [do thou] sink and be prostrate!" Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed [the basket] over the smoke.[15] Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate[16] for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and fears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed.[17] Thereupon his body became sound[19] as it had been before. (This is the origin of the term "a divine wager.payment.")[19]

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1. *Idzushi-wotome no kami.*

2. Literally "eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden of Idzushi, but none could wed (her)." But the sense is that given in the translation.

3. *Aki-yama no shita-bi-wotoko.* The explanation of the name is that given by Motowori (following Mabuchi), who sees in it a reference to the ruddy brilliance of the leaves, which is so marked a feature of the Japanese woods in autumn. The Chinese characters used have, indeed, the signification of the lower ice of the autumn mountains; but "lower ice" may well be simply phonetic in this case.

4. *Haru-yamu no kasumi-wotoko.*

5. In Japanese *kohedomo*, written with the characters 雖乞. Perhaps Motowori is right in supposing this Verb to have been originally identical with *kofuru*, "to love" (戀) whose corresponding form is *kofuredomo.* If so, the author may have meant to make his hero say, though I love the maiden, etc." But it is better to be guided by the characters, and to suppose that he referred to the request made to her mother to grant her to him.

6. Literally, "compute the height of my person and distil liquor in a jar."

7. *I.e.*, all the valuable produce of the chase and of the fisheries, such as are perpetually mentioned in the Shinto "Rituals" as being presented to the gods, Thus in the "Service of the Goddess of Food" (see Mr. Satow's translation in Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 414 of these "Transactions,") we read that the worshipper offered: "as to things which dwell in the mountains—things soft of hair and things rough of hair; as to things which grow in the great-field-plain—sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue-sea-plain—things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore."

8. Literally, "one child."

9. The Japanese original of the words here unavoidably rendered by "mortal men" in order to mark the antithesis to the word "Deities," has been more literally translated by "living people" in an earlier passage of the work (see Sect. IX, Note 17). The signification of the entire sentence is: "During my lifetime, thy brother should be careful to imitate the upright conduct of the gods. For if, instead of doing so, he be dishonest and untruthful as are the sons of men, it will be at his own peril."

10. Or, according to the more usual reading, "a one-jointed bamboo;" but in either case the meaning is obscure. Motowori, who adopts the reading that has been followed in the translation, suggests that the expression may simply be a periphrasis for the bamboo in general.

11. 八目荒籠. Motowori remarks that the word "eight" in this

place (where, to indicate a considerable number we should rather expect "eighty") is curious, and he surmises that 八 may be an error for 大, "large." The word "coarse" itself is sufficient to show that the apertures left in the plaiting of the basket were large.

12. *Scil.* of which the basket was woven.

13. *Scil.* by her younger son.

14. In this case, as Motowori remarks, it is the sea-water that is intended to be spoken of, whereas the allusion in the previous sentence is to hard salt. But the Japanese language uses the same word for both, and the same Chinese character is here also used in both contexts. For this curse *conf.* Sect. XL (Note 18 *et. seq.*) and Sect. XLI.

15. *Scil.* of the furnace (kitchen) in the younger brother's house, as Motowori suggests.

16. The text has the character 枯, which signifies "to wither" or "dry up" (spoken of trees). But the translator agrees with Motowori in considering it to be in all probability an error for 臥, "to be prostrate; and in any case it could not here be rendered by either of the verbs "dry up" or "wither" without introducing into the English version a tautology which does not exist in the Japanese original.

17. Such seems to be the meaning of the obscure original *sono tokohi-do wo kahesashimeki* (令返其詛戸). Motowori would understand it in a rather more specialized sense to signify that "she caused the implement of the curse (*i.e.*, the basket) to be taken away."

18. Literally, "was pacified."

19. Or, if we take 言 in the text as equivalent to 事, "this is the origin of "divine water-payments."

[SECT. CXVII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XVI.—GENEALOGIES).]

Again this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda's[1] august child King Wake-nuke-futa-mata wedded his mother's younger sister Momo-shiki-iro-be,[2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Oto-hime-ma-wake-hime,[3] and begot children: Oho-iratsuko,[4] another name for whom 265
was King Ohohodo;[5] next her Augustness Osaka-no-

oho-naka-tsu-hime: next Tawi-no-naka-tsu-hime;[7] next Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime;[8] next Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-ira-tsume;[9] next Queen Torime;[10] next King Sane.[11] (Seven Kings [and Queens].[12]) So King Oho-hodo (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mikuni,[13] the Dukes of Hata,[14] the Dukes ef Okinaga,[15] the Dukes of Sakahito of Sakata,[16] the Dukes of Yamaji,[17] the Dukes of
266 Meta in Tsukushi,[18] and the Dukes of Fuse)[19] Again King Netori wedded his younger half-sister the Lady Mihara, and begot children: King Naka-tsu-hiko;[20] next King Iwa-shiha.[21] (Two Kings.) Again the child of King Kata-shiha[22] was King Kuni.[23]

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1. *I.e.*, the Emperor O-jin's.

2. The import of this compound is not clear.

3. *I.e.*, "the younger princess, the truly young princess."

4. *I.e.*, "the great lord."

5. *Oho-hodo no miko.* The signification of *Oho-hodo* is obscure. Motowori surmises it to have been originally the name of a place.

6. *I.e.*, "the great middle princess of Osaka. Osaka is the name of a place in Yamato. The word "middle" should by the analogy of other such genealogies indicate the fact that this princess was the fourth child out of seven. Here however she is mentioned second, and the same designation is applied to the two next daughters. There is evidently some confusion in the tradition.

7. *I.e.*, "the middle princess of Tawi,"—a place in Kahachi.

8. *I.e.*, the middle princess of Tamiya.

9. *I.e.*, "the lady Koto-fushi of Fuji-hara." But the meaning of *Koto-fushi* is obscure, and Motowori surmises it to be an alternative or corrupt form of *Sotohoshi.* (For the celebrated princess of the latter name see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9.) Fujihara is the name of a place in Yamato, and signifies "wistaria-moor."

10. *Torime no miko.* This name is obscure.

11. *Sane no miko.* Motowori believes *sane* to stand erroneously for *sami;* but both forms are obscure.

12. The Japanese word includes both genders.

13. *Mikuni no kimi.* *Mikuni* is the name of a well-known place in the province of Echizen. It signifies "three countries."

14. *Hata no kimi.* There are several places called Hata, and it is not known which of them is here intended. The signification of the name is also uncertain.

15. *Okinaga no kimi.* See Sect. LXII, Note 31.

16. *Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi.* This is Motowori's restoration of an apparently corrupt text. Sakata and Sakabito are both taken to be names of places, the first of a district in Afumi, the second of a place in Settsu. *Sakabito* (酒人) seems a very curious compound for the name of a place. Moreover the double title is unusual, and it may be thought that the word "Dukes" has fallen out of the text, and that in reality two families were intended to be spoken of.

17. *Yamaji no kimi.* *Yamaji* ("mountain road") is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place,—perhaps in the province of Higo.

18. *Tsukushi no Meta no kimi.* Tsukushi is the old name of the whole of the South-Western island of the Japanese archipelago and Meta the name of a place in the province of Hizen in that island. The etymology of Meta is uncertain.

19. *Fuse no kimi.* Fuse is the name of uncertain import found in several provinces. It is not known which is meant to be here designated.

20. *Naka-tsu-hiko no miko*, i.e., "the middle prince," a designation which would lead one to expect to find mention of an elder brother.

21. *Iwashima no miko.* Iwashima seems to be the name of a place, but the signification of *Iha* (not to be confounded with *iha* "stone" or "rock") is altogether obscure.

22. *Katashiha no miko.* This prince has not been mentioned in the previous genealogies, which is curious. Katashiha is the name of a place in Chikuzen, and signifies "hard rock."

23. *Kunu no miko.* *Kunu* is altogether obscure.

[SECT. CXVIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda were altogether one hundred and thirty. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Mofusu[1] at Wega in Kafuchi.

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1. Or, as Motowori reads it, *Mofushi*. The etymology is uncertain. *Wega* has already appeared in Sect. CIII (Note 3). The Old Printed Edition and some Manuscripts have at the conclusion of this volume the following note: 百舌鳥陵也, "It is the mausoleum of Mozu." But Mozu is in the province of Idzumi, and all the later editions discard this note as an interpolation.

VOL. III.[1]

[SECT. CXIX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).] 267

His Augustness Oho-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Takatsu[2] at Naniha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded (the Empress[3]) Her Augustness Iha-no-hime,[4] daughter of Kadzuraki-no-sotsu-biko,[5] and begot august children: His Augustness Ohoye-no-izaho-wake;[6] next the Middle King of the Inlet of Sumi;[7] next His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake of Tajihi;[8] next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go[9] (four Deities.) Again he wedded Princess Kami-naga, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka, as mentioned above,[10] and begot august children: Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko,[11] another 268
name for whom was the King of Great Kusaka;[12] next Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume,[13] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Nagahi,[14] and another name was Her Augustness Waka-kusaka-be.[15] (Two Deities.) Again he wedded his younger half-sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume.[16] Again he wedded his younger half-sister Uji-no-waki-iratsume. These two Deities had no august children. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-sakaki [numbered] in all six Deities, (Five Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Izaho-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tajihi-no midzu-ha-wake likewise ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness the Noble Oh-asadzuma-no-waku-go likewise ruled the Empire.[17]

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1. Literally, "lower volume" (there being three in all). See Author's Preface, Note 1.

2. *I.e.*, "high port."

3. Motowori surmises that the reason why the characters signifiying "Empress" are in all the text here written in small characters is on account of this personage not having been of Imperial birth.

4. *I.e.*, "the rock princess." Motowori supposes the name to be indicative of prosperity and long life.

5. See Sect. LXI, Note 55,

6. *I.e.*, "the elder brother lord Izaho," the latter name being of uncertain import.

7. *Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu-miko.* Both the phrase "middle king" and the Inlet of Sumi have been already commented on.

8. *Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake.* Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi. The traditional origin of its application to this will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, p. 6. *Midzu-ha-wake* probably means "the lord with the beautiful teeth."

9. *Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go no sukune.* Asadzuma is the name of a place in Yamato, and *wo* (though written 男) seems to be the slightly Honorific Prefix *wo* (小) whose proper signification is "small" *Waku-go* means "younger child."

10. See Sect. CVII.

11. *I.e.*, "the great lord of Hatabi." *Hatabi* is altogether obscure.

12. *Oho-kusaka no miko.* For *Kusaka* see Sect. CI, Note 2.

13. *I.e.*, "the young lady of Hatabi." Conf. Note 11.

14. *Nagahi-hime.* This name is obscure.

15. *Kusaka-be* is an alternative form of *Kusaka.* The compound therefore signifies "young princess of Kusaka."

16. This name and the following have already appeared in the genealogies of the preceding reign (Sect. CIV.)

17. These were the Emperors Ri-chiu, Han-zei, and In-giyo.

[SECT. CXX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In the august reign of this Heavenly Sovereign the Kadzuraki Tribe[1] was established as the august proxy of the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime. Again the Mibu

Tribe[2] was established as the august proxy of the Heir Apparent, His Augustness Izaho-wake. Again the Tajihi Tribe[3] was established as the august proxy of His Augustness Midzuna-wake. Again the Oho-kusaka Tribe[4] was 269
established as the august proxy of King Oho-kusaka, and the Waka-kusaka Tribe[5] was established as the august proxy of King Waga-kusake-be. Again people from Hada were set to labour, and the embankment at Mamuta[6] and also the granaries of Manuta were made. Again the Pool of Wani[7] and the Pool of Yosemi were made. Again the Naniha Channel[8] was dug, and [the waters of the rivers] led to the sea. Again the Wobashi Channel[9] was dug. Again the port of the inlet of Sumi[10] was established.

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1. *Kadzuraki be.* For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2. *Mibu-be.* Motowori quotes approvingly a derivation of the "gentile name" of Mibu from *Bi-fuku-mon* (美福門), the name of a gate which the first bearer of the name is related to have constructed. Taking into account the letter-changes which occurred in older times in the passage of words from Chinese into Japanese, the etymology is plausible enough.

3. *Tajihi-be.* Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin.

4. *Oho-kusaka-be.* This tribe of course took its name simply from that of Prince Oho-kusaka.

5. *Waka-kusaka-be.* A similar observation to that in the last applies to this name.

6. See Sect. LIII, Note 1.

7. *Wani no ike,* in the province of Kahachi. *Wani* signifies "crocodile," and it was also the name of the Korean personage mentioned in Sect. CX (Note 6). But the reason why the Pool here spoken of was so called does not appear. The Pool of Yosami has already been mentioned in Sect. LXII (Note 85). Motowori supposes that it must have dried up during the interim.

8. *Naniha no hori-ye.* Motowori tells us that the regularization of

the channels of the Yodo and Yamato Rivers, whose mouths nearly meet at this point with various intersecting branches, is what is here intended to be referred to.

9. *Wobashi no ye.* *Wo-bashi* ("little bridge") is the name of a village in the province of Settsu.

10, *Suminoye no tsu.* Close of Naniha; it is the modern *Sumiyoshi.* Conf. Sect. X, Note 22.

[SECT. CXXI.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU [PART III.—HE REMITS THE TAXES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, ascending a lofty mountain and looking on the land all round, spoke, saying: "In the whole land there rises no smoke; the land is all poverty-stricken. So I remit[1] all people's taxes and [forced labour] from now till three years [hence.]" Therefore the great palace became dilapidated, and the rain leaked in everywhere; but no repairs were made. The rain that leaked in was caught in troughs,[2] and [the inmates] removed from [its reach] to places where there was no leakage. When later [the Heavenly Sovereign] looked on all the land, the smoke was abundant in the land. So finding the people rich, he now exacted taxes and forced labour. Therefore the peasantry[3] prospered, and did not suffer from forced labour. So in praise of that august reign, it was called the reign of the Emperor-Sage.[4]

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1. Motowori's reading of this Verb in the Imperative Mood (as if containing an order addressed by the monarch to his ministers) seems less natural than the order reading in the Indicative, which accordingly the translator has followed.

2. There is uncertainty as to the exact character in the original.

But the older editions read it as the Japanese word *hako*, "boxes." while Motowori prefers *hi*, "tubes." "Troughs" seems to conciliate both views, and to be also appropriate to the use mentioned in the text.

3. Or simply, "the people." But the expression 百姓 is generally used in Japanese of the peasantry only.

4. 聖帝; If, following most texts, we omitted the final character 世, "reign," the English translation would be "in praise of that august reign, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was called the Emperor-Sage."

[SECT. CXXXII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV.—HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO).]

His Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, was exceedingly jealous. So the concubines employed by the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep inside the palace; and if anything happened,[1] [the Empress] stamped with jealousy. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the regular beauty of Princess Kuro,[2] daughter of the Suzerain of Ama in Kibi,[3] and having sent for her, employed her. But she, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, fled down to her native land, The Heavenly 271
Sovereign, gazing from an upper story upon Princess Kuro's departure by boat upon the sea, sang saying:

"In the offing there are rows of small boats. My wife Masadzuko of Kurozaki goes down towards her [native] land."[4]

So the Empress was very angry on hearing this august Song, and sent people to the great strand[5] to drive Princess Kuro ashore, and chase her away on foot.[6] Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, for love of Princess Kuro, deceived the Empress, saying that he wanted to see the Island of Ahaji.[7] And when he made his pro-

gress and was in the Island of Ahaji, he, gazing afar, sang saying:

> "When, having departed from the point of wave-beaten Naniha, I look at the country,—the Island of Aha, the Island of Onogoro, and also the Island of Ajimasa are visible. The Island of Saketsu is visible."[8]

Forthwith passing on from that island, he made a progress to the land of Kibi. Then Her Augustness Princess Kuro made him grandly reside at a place among the mountain-fields,[9] and presented to him great august food, When for this [purpose] she plucked cabbage in that place to boil into great august soup, the Heavenly Sovereign went to the place where the maiden was plucking the cabbage, and sang, saying:

> "Oh! how delightful it is to pluck with a person of Kibi the cabbage sown in the mountain fields!"[10]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress up,[11] Princess Kuro presented an august[12] Song saying:

> "Even though the west wind blow up towards Yamato, and the clouds part, and we be separated, shall I forget [thee]?"[13]

273 Again she sang, saying:

> "Whose spouse is it that goes towards Yamato? Whose spouse is it that creeps from beneath like hidden water?"[14]

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1. Motowori shows by collating various passages in other ancient works that this is the probable signification of the curious expression in

the original, *kotodateba* (言立者 for 事立者). The reference of course is to the occurrence of anything noteworthy among the concubines, such as the birth of a son, etc.

2. *Kuro-hime*, i.e, "black princess," probably meaning "black-haired princess."

3. *Kibi no Ama no atahe.* Of this family nothing is known. *Ama* signifies "fisherman." *Kibi* is the name of a province.

4. Thus interpreted (according to Moribe), the general sense of the Song is quite clear. The word *Masadzuko*, considered by Moribe to be one of the names of Princess Kuro, is however not so understood by Motowori, who is inclined to see in it rather an Honorific description of her. *Kurozaki* likewise (*i.e.*, "black cape," the word *kuro* seemingly containing an allusion to the name of the Princess) is but the best of many emendations of the name as it stands in the text, viz., *Furozaya.* See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV. p. 33, for all the possible emendations proposed by him or his predecessors.

5. *Scil*, of the neighbourhood of Naniha. Or possible *Oho-ura* ("Great Strand") should be taken as the name of a place, though Motowori does not suggest such a view.

6. *I.e.*, to make her perform the journey on foot.

7. See Sect. V, Note 3.

8. Moribe, commenting on the import of this Song, says: Though the alleged reason was a tour of inspection, it was truly out of love for Princess Kuro that the Monarch had undertaken the journey. When her vessel could no longer be descried, he could still alas! see the islands that remained behind,—the Island of Aha and the Island of Ajimasa; he could still, alas! see the Islands of Onogoro and Saketsu. Alas for him left alone, parted from his love! Though he spoke not openly, those around him understood the under-current of his "words." —"Wave-beaten" is the accepted interpretation of *oshiteru ya* (or *oshiteru*), the Pillow-Word for Naniha. For the Islands of Aha and Onogoro see respectively Sect. IV, Note 5 and Sect. iii, Note 5. Of the Islands of Ajimasa and Saketsu nothing is known. *Ajimasa* is the name of a species of palm, the *Livistona sinensis*, and Motowori supposes that one of the islands in that neighbourhood may anciently have received its name from the palm-trees growing on it. Palms of any kind are, however, not very common in Japan, and seem only to grow when specially cultivated.

9. Motowori thinks we should in this place understand the word *yamagata* (for *yama-agata*) as the name of a place. But in the Song

which immediately follows, it must certainly be taken in its etymological sense of "mountain-fields," and it seems therefore quite inconsistent to translate it differently here. Moreover it is allowed that no such place as Yamagata in Kibi is anywhere made mention of.

10. The import of this Song is perfectly clear, "the person of Kibi" being of course the Imperial poet's lady-love.

11. *I.e.*, was about to start back to the capital, which was in the province of Settsu.

12. This Honorific seems so out of place (seeing that it is not applied to the Emperor's own Songs given in this Section), that it is supposed by the commentators to be an erroneous addition to the text.

13. We might also translate thus: "Even though we be separated, as the clouds that part owing to the west wind blowing up towards Yamato, etc.;"—for the initial lines of the poem which contain the allusion to the wind and to the clouds are simply a Preface, and their import may therefore at will be either considered separately, or else made continuous with that of the rest of the poem.

14. The meaning of this Song is: "Whose spouse is it that returns to Yamato? Whose spouse is it that comes thus secretly to make love to me, like a stream flowing underground?"—The allusion contained in the twice repeated words "whose spouse" is of course to the Empress. The poetess, full of tenderness or the Emperor, regrets for his sake, as well as for her own, that he should be the husband of so jealous a wife. "Hidden water" is the accepted interpretation of the Pillow-Word *kontoridzu no*, which is with apparent reason supposed to be a contraction of *komori-midzu no*.

[SECT. CXXIII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART V.—THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO).]

After this time the Empress made a progress to the land of Ki in order to pluck aralia-leaves for a copious feast;[1] and in the mean while the Heavenly Sovereign wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume. Hereupon, when the Empress was returning in her august vessel loaded full

of aralia-leaves, a coolie from Kozhima[2] in the land of Kibi, who was in the service of the Superintendent of the Water-Directors,[3] being on his way off to his own country, met at the great passage[4] of Naniha the vessel of a lady of the train[5] who had got behind, and forthwith told her, saying: "The Heavenly Sovereign has 274
recently[6] wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume, and plays with her day and night. It must probably be because the Empress has not heard of this thing, that she quietly makes progress for pleasure." Then the lady of the train, having heard this narrative, forthwith pursued and reached the august vessel, and reported everything exactly as the coolie had told it. Hereupon the Empress, greatly vexed and angry, threw away into the sea all the aralia-leaves which she had put on board the august vessel. So the place [where she did so] is called by the name of Cape Mitsu.[7] Forthwith without entering the palace, but taking her august vessel [from it][8] and ascending the channel[9] against the current, she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the river.[10] At this time she sang, saying:

> "Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend the river, oh! on the bank of the river [there] stands growing a *sashibu!*—a *sashibu*-tree; below it stands growing a broad-foliaged five hundred [-fold branching] true camellia-tree; oh! he who is brilliant like its blossoms, widely powerful like its foliage, is the great lord.[11]

Forthwith going round by Yamashiro,[12] and arriving at 275
the entrance of the Nsra Mountain,[13] she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend to Miya, I pass Nara, I pass Yamato with its shield of mountains; and the country I fain would see is Takamiya in Kadzuraki, the neighbourhood of my home."[14]

276 Having sung thus, she returned and entered for some time into the house of a person from Kara[15] named Nurinomi[16] at Tsutsuki.[17]

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1. See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

2. *I.e.*, "small island." It is first mentioned in Sect V (Note 29).

3. See Sect. XLVII, Note 18.

4. *Oho watari.* The mouth of the River Yedo is meant to be designated by this name.

5. The original expression *kuru-bito-me* (倉人女) is obscure, being met with nowhere else in Japanese literature. Motowori conjectures that the function exercised by this lady was one connected with the Emperor's privy purse.

6. The text has the character 皆, "all," which make no sense; and Motowori (following Mabuchi) reasonably emends it to 比日, recently," "just now."

7. *Mitsu no saki. Mitsu*, signifying "three," is supposed by the author to refer to the three-cornered leaves of the aralia (the name of the latter being *mitsuna gashiha*); but a more likely opinion is that which would have us take *mitsu* as two words, in the sense of "august harbour." In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," we are told that the place was called *Kashiha no watari, i.e.*, "Oak passage."

8. *I.e.*, going on up the river without stopping at Naniha where the palace was.

9. *I.e.*, the artificial bed of the river mentioned in Sect. CXX, Note, 8.

10. *I.e.*, the river Yodo.

11. The meaning of this Song is: "As I make my way up the river by boat, I see a *sashibu* (the name of a tree which cannot now be identified), below which,—that is to say nearer to the water,—there grows a

camellia-tree, wide-spreading and full of blossoms. Ah! how the sight of the sturdy brilliant beauty of this camellia-tree brings back my lord and master to my mind!"—It must be remembered that in Japan the camellia-trees grow to a size far superior to that reached by their representatives in Europe. *Tsuginefu*, rendered according to the view taken by Motowori and Moribe by the phrase "where the seedlings grow in succession," is the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, and its import is disputed. The interpretation here adopted considers it to refer to the regular succession of young trees planted on a mountain's side when a tract of older timber has been cut down. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," sees in it, on the contrary, a reference to the rising of peak upon peak in a mountainous district (*tsugi-ne fu*—次嶺經). Both interpretations rest on the connection between this term and *yama*, the first half of the name of the province of Yamashiro, which it qualifies. "Five hundred [-fold-branching]" and "true" are ornamental epithets applied by the poetess to the camellia-tree. Moribe would take the syllable *ma*, "true," in the sense of *ha*, "leaf;" but this seems less good.

12. For the straight road from Naniha in Settsu-to Nara in Yamato would have taken her through the province of Kafuchi, and not through Yamashiro.

13. *I.e.*, the pass or hill leading from the district of Sagara in Yamashiro to Nara in Yamato. For Nara see Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

14. This Song expresses the Empress's desire to return to her parental house at Takamiya in the district of Kadzuraki,—a desire which, however, her restless frame of mind did not allow her to fulfil.—The Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, which here recurs, has already been discussed in Note 11. There are two other Pillow-Words in this Song,—*awoniyoshi*, which is prefixed to Nara, and *wo-date* (or *wo-date-yama* according to the old reading, or *wo-date tatsu* according to another reading), which is prefixed to Yamato. The former of these is so obscure that, rather than attempt to render it into English, ths translator prefers to refer the student to the remarks of the various commentators,—Mabuchi *s.v.* in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," Motowori in his Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 22-24, and Moribe *in loco*. *Wodate* [*-yama*] seems to refer undoubtedly to the circle of mountains that guard the approach to the province of Yamato, and it has been rendered accordingly. The great difficulty of the Song lies in the line rendered "ascend to Miya," and the commentators from Keichiu downwards make all sorts of efforts to explain it. Moribe's view, according to which the word should be re-

garded as a familiar abbreviation of Takamiya, naturally used by one whose native place it was, seems the most acceptable. Motowori takes the line to signify: "When I ascend past the palace [of Naniha.]"

15. 韓, *i.e.*, Korea.

16. For *Nuri no omi*, i.e., "the Grandee of Nuri." Nuri is probably a corrupt form of some Korean name.

17. Or Tsudzuki, in Yamashiro. Etymology obscure.

[SECT. CXXIV.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI.—HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, having heard that the Empress had made a progress up by Yamashiro, made a person,—a retainer called by the name of Toriyama,[1]—give an august Song,[2] which said:

"Reach [her] in Yamashiro, Toriyama! Reach [her]! reach [her]! Ah! wilt thou reach and meet my beloved spouse?"[3]

Again he continued by despatching Kuchiko, Grandee of Wani,[4] and sang, saying:

277 "Wilt thou be without thinking even of the Heart that is in the moor of Ohowiko, the moor of Ohowiko, that is by Takaki at Mimoro?"[5]

Again he sang, saying:

"If indeed I had pillowed [my head] on the white arm like the whiteness of the roots, the great roots, that were beaten with wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession, [then] mightest thou say, 'I know [thee] not'."[6]

So when the Grandee of Kuchiko was repeating this 278
august Song [to the Empress,] it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace,[7] she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water[8] reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed[9] green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red colour. Now the Grandee of Kuchiko's younger sister Princess Kuchi[10] was in the service of the Empress.[11] So Princess Kuchi sang saying:

"Oh! how tearful is my lord-elder brother,
saying things in the palace of Tsutsuki in
Yamashiro!"[12]

Then when the Empress asked the reason,[13] she replied, saying: "He is my brother the Grandee of Kuchiko." Thereupon the Grandee of Kuchiko and also his younger sister Princess Kuchi and likewise Nurinomi [all] three took counsel [together,] and sent to report to the Heavenly 279
Sovereign, saying: "The reason of the Empress's progress is that there are [some] insects reared by Nurinomi,—strange insects changing in three ways,[14] once becoming creeping insects, once becoming cocoons,[15] and once becoming flying birds[16]—and it is only to go and look at them that she has entered into [Nurinomi's house.] She has no strange intentions."[17] When they had thus reported, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "That being so, I want to go and see [these insects,] as

I think [they must be] strange;" [and with these words] he made a progress up from the great palace. When he entered into Nurinomi's house, Nurinomi, had already presented to the Empress the three-fold insects reared by him. Then the Heavenly Sovereign augustly stood at the door of the palace where the Empress dwelt, and sang, saying:

> "Pure as the great roots that were beaten with their wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedings grow in succession:—it is because thou spokest tumultuously that I come in here [with my retainers numerous] as the more and more flourishing trees that I look across at."[18]

280 These six Songs by the Heavenly Sovereign and by the Empress are Changing Songs which are Quiet Songs.[19]

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1. This name signifies "bird-mountain." The commentators presume that it contains an allusion to the fact of its bearer being an Imperial courier.

2. This is the actual sense conveyed by the original 使舍人名謂鳥山人送御歌, and we naturally infer that Toriyama was made the bearer to the Empress of the following Song. The Song itself, however, is addressed not to her, but to Toriyama on his departure. On the other hand, the two poems which follow are evidently for the Empress, and it is impossible to suppose that the first messenger was not likewise intended to convey to her some poetic missive. All that we can do is to render the text as it stands, and to suppose it corrupt.

3. The meaning of this Song is: "O Toriyama! pursue her into Yamashiro! I tremble at the thought of the possibility of thy not finding her."

4. *Wani no omi Kuchiko* (further on he is mentioned as *Kuchiko no omi*, i.e., "the Grandee [of] Kuchiko.") *Kuchi-ko* may be interpreted

to mean "mouth child" and Moribe thinks that this personage was so called on account of the verbal messages of which he was made the bearer. The translator would prefer to consider *ko* as an abbreviation of *hiko*, "prince," especially as the sister's name is *Kuchi-hime*, where the word *hime* must mean "princess."

5. This Song is so obscure that Motowori and Moribe differ completely as to its interpretation. The translator has followed Moribe, though by no means persuaded that the latter has hit on the proper signification. According to this view, the Emperor makes a pun on the word "heart," which is supposed to have been the name of a pool situated on the moor of Ohowiko near Takaki at Mimoro,—all names of places with which the Empress was familiar,—and reproaches her for having no thought of *his* heart which beats so lovingly for her. Motowori, on the other hand, thinks that the poem proper consists only of its last two lines (in the English translation they necessarily come first): "Wilt thou be without thinking even of the heart?"—and that all the rest is a "Preface" to the Pillow-Word *kimo-mukafu* by which the word *kokoro*, "heart," is preceded. As for *oho-wi-ko* and *takaki*, they are taken, not as names of places, but as common Nouns. According to this view of the structure of the Song, it ceases (with the exception of its last two lines) to have any rational signification, and it is needless to attempt to translate it for the English reader. Persons familiar with Japanese are therefore referred to Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 34-36.

6. The meaning of this Song is: "If thou and I had not so long been spouses, then indeed mightest thou break with me, and declare that thou knowest me not. But how canst thou so far forget our wedded life as to desert me now?"···The "great root," *oho-ne*, is the modern *dai-kon* (*Raphanus sativus*), a kind of radish which is a favourite vegetable with the Japanese and is distinguished by its brilliantly white appearance. "Beaten" here signifies "dug up." The use of the Past Tense is curious. *Ko-guha*, here in accordance with Motowori's view rendered "wooden hoes," is interpreted by Moribe to mean "little hoes." "Where the seedlings grow in succession" is the English rendering of *tsugi-ne fu*, the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro (see Sect. CXXIII Note 11).

7. The Empress was lodging with a private individual, but her presence warrants the application of the term "palace" to his house.

8. It was raining too hard for the water to stop on the surface in the shape of puddles, so it streamed off in little rivulets.

9. Literally, "rubbed." See Introduction p. xxx. Instead of "'green,"

we might equally well translate by "blue." The garment intended must be the upper garment or coat.

10. *Kuchi-hime.*

11. Literally, "respectfully served the Empress."

12. The meaning of these lines, which can only be called poetry because they are in metre, is plain: in them the speaker draws the Empress's attention to the pitiful condition of the messenger who is doing his best to deliver to her the Emperor's message. Probably the reading in our text has been corrupted; for that in the "Chronicles," which may be translated thus; "Oh! how tearful am I when I see my lord elder brother," etc., is much preferable.

13. *Scil.* of her attendant thus taking the messenger's part.

14. Literally, "colours."

15. This is Motowori's conjectural restoration of the reading of this word, which in all the texts is hopelessly corrupt.

16. According to another reading, "flying insects."

17. *I.e.*, "she is not meditating any evil conduct."

18. The Song consists of two divisions, the first of which is but a Preface for the second, the pivot being formed by the word *sawa-sawa ni*, which has the meaning of "pure" "cool," or "refreshing," with reference to what precedes it, and the meaning of "tumultuously" (*sawa-sawa ni—sawagashiku*) when taken together with what follows. The difficulties which present themselves in the first division have all been explained in Note 11 to the last and and Note 6 to the present Section. The general sense of the second division is plain enough; but the precise application of the comparison to the "more and more flourishing tree" is obscure. Motowori's view has been adopted by the translator, and the words in brackets supplemented accordingly. Moribe prefers to consider that the reference is to the repeated visits first of the Emperor's messengers and afterwards of the Emperor himself The words "look across at" must be explained by supposing that the trees were in the neighbourhood of Nurinomi's house; they were shoots springing up from roots that had been cut down close to the ground.

19. The commentators thus explain these obscure expressions: "A Quiet Song is one which is sung to a tranquil tune. A Changing Song is one temporarily sung while the tone (mode ?) is changing." The six Songs in question must be supposed to have combined both characteristics.

[SECT. CXXV.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, loving Yata-no-waki-iratsume, deigned to send her an august Song. That Song said:

"Will the one sedge-stem of Yata, having
no children, wither as it stands? Poor
sedge-moor! Sedge-moor indeed is what
I may *say*—poor pure girl![1]

Then Yata-no-waki-iratsume replied in a Song, saying:

"Even though the one sedge stem of Yata
be alone, if the Great Lord say it is right
even though it be alone [it is right.]"[2]

So the Yata Tribe[3] was established as the august proxy of Yata-no-waki-iratsume.

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1. In this Song the Emperor condoles with his mistress on her childlessness: "Will the single sedge on the moor of Yata die without leaving any offspring? Sedge, indeed! Yes, sedge is the term I use for my metaphor, but what is in my thoughts is the girl I love."—There is in the original a *jeu-de-mots*, not capable of translation into English, between *suge* or *sugi*, "sedge, and *sugashi* pure."

2. The girl replies: "Even though I be childless, I care not if my lord cares not."

3. *Yata-be.*

[SECT. CXXVI.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—DEATH OF KING HAYABUSA-WAKE AND QUEEN MEDORI).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign begged for his younger half-sister Queen Medori, using as middle-man his younger brother King Haya-busa-wake. Then Queen Medori 281
spoke to King Hayabusa-wake, saying: "Owing to the

violence of the Empress, [the Heavenly Sovereign] has not deigned to take Yata-no-waki-iratsume [into the Palace.] So I will not respectfully serve him. I will become the wife of Thine Augustness." Forthwith they wedded each other, wherefore King Hayabusa-wake made no report [to the Heavenly Sovereig.n[1]] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, going straight to the place where Queen Medori dwelt, stood on the door-sill of the palace. Hereupon, Queen Medori being at her loom, was weaving garments. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang saying:

"Oh! for whom may be the garments that
my Great Lady Medori weaves?"[2]

Queen Medori replied in a Song saying:

"For an august veil for the high-going
Falcon-Lord."[3]

So the Heavenly Sovereign, perceiving her feelings, returned into the palace. At this time[4] when her husband King Hayabusa-wake came, his wife Queen Medori sang, saying:

"The lark flies to heaven. Oh! high-going
Falcon-Lord, catch the wren."[5]

282 The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing this Song,[6] forthwith raised an army, wishing to slay King Hayabusa and Queen Medori, who then fled away together, and ascended Mount Kurahashi.[7] Thereupon King Hayabusa-wake sang, saying:

"Owing to the steepness of ladder-like
Mount Kurahashi, being unable to clamber
[up] the rocks, oh! she takes my hand!"[8]

Again he sang, saying:

"Though ladder-like Mount Kurahashi be

steep, it is not steep when I ascend it
with my younger sister."

So when they fled thence, and reached Soni in Uda,[9] the Imperial[10] army pursued, overtook, and slew them.

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1. *Scil.* of the success of his mediation.

2. Or, "for whom is the loom [employed], with which my Great Lady Medori weaves?—The word *hata* in Archaic Japanese signifies both "garment" and the instrument which is used to weave a garment, i.e. a "loom" (服 and 機). In later times the second meaning has prevailed to the exclusion of the first.

3. There is here a play on the name of the Queen's paramour Hayabusa-wake, which signifies "Falcon-Lord" as in the translation—The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" gives these two Songs as a single one which is put into the mouth of Queen Medori's handmaidens, —is a more acceptable version of the incident.

4. Motowori suspects that there is here an error in the text, which should, according to him, read: "After this."

5. The gist of this Song is an instigation to murder the Emperor (whose name was *Oho-sazaki, i.e.*, "Great Wren." Conf. Sect. CIV, Note 18), addressed to the singer's husband (whose name was *Hayabusa-wake, i.e.*, "Falcon Lord"). But the allusion to the lake remains obscure. Keichiu suggests that it is simply mentioned as a term of comparison for the falcon's power of flight, while Motowori opines that the meaning rather is: "The lark flies so high up to heaven that it would be hard to catch it; but the wren is an easy prey."

6. Viz., as may be supposed, repeated by some fourth person.

7. *Kurahashi-yama*, in Yamato.

8. The Song, like the next, is too clear to stand in need of explanation. "Ladder-like" is an attempt to render the force of the Pillow-Word *hashi-tate*. See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *s.v.*, for the exact force attributed to it by Mabuchi.

9. For Uda see Sect. XLVI, Note, 14. The etymology of Soni is equally obscure.

10. The character 御, though read by the commentators with the usual Japanese Honorific *mi*, "august," has here its proper Chinese signification of "Imperial."

[SECT. CXXVII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET).]

Chief Ohotate of Yamabe,[1] who was the generalissimo of that army, took the jewelled armlet which was wound round Queen Medori's august arm, and gave it to his own wife. After this time, when a copious feast[2] was to be held, the women of the various families all went to court. Then the wife of Chief Ohotate came with that Queen's jewelled armlet wound round her own arm.
283 Thereupon the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, herself took the oak-leaves[3] [full] of great august liquor and graciously gave them to the women of the various families. Then the Empress, recognizing the jewelled armlet, gave [the wearer] no oak-leaf [-full] of great august liquor, but forthwith sent her away;[4] and sending for the husband, Chief Ohotate, said: "Owing to that King and Queen's impropriety, [the Emperor] deigned to send them away. This was nothing strange. And a slave such as thou despoils of the jewelled armlet that was wound round her august arm the body of his lady [that was still] warm, and gives it to his own wife!"—and forthwith he was condemned to death.[5]

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1. *Yamabe no Ohotate no murazhi.* The "gentile name" was *Yamabe no murazhi,* and the personal name *Ohotate,* though the confused wording of this passage does not make it appear so. *Yama-be* signifies mountain (*i.e.*, hunters') tribe. *Oho-tate* is "big shield."

2. See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

3. Or, perhaps rather "aralia-leaves" (*Conf.* Sect. CXXIII).

4. Or, "had her dragged away."

5. Literally, "was granted the punishment of death," or "[the Emperor] deigned to condemn him to death."

[SECT. CXXVIII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX.—A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG).]

Another time, the Heavenly Sovereign, when about to hold a copious feast,[1] made a progress to the Island of Hime,[2] just when a wild-goose had laid an egg on that island. Then, sending for His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, he asked him in a Song about the laying of an egg by a wild goose. This Song said:

"Court Noble of Uchi! thou indeed art a long-lived person. Hast thou [ever] heard of a wild-goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato?"[3]

Hereupon the Noble Take-uchi spoke in a song, saying: 284

"August Child of the high-shining Sun, it is indeed natural that thou shouldest deign to ask, it is indeed right that thou shouldest ask. I indeed am a long-lived person, [but] have not yet heard of a wild goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato."[4]

Having thus spoken, he was granted the august[5] lute and sang saying:

"Oh thou prince! the wild goose must have laid the egg because thou wilt at last rule."[6]

This is a Congratulatory Incomplete Song.[7]

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1. See Sect. CVII, 7.

2. *Hime-shima, i.e.,* "Princess Island." The name is supposed to be connected with that of the goddess of Himegoso mentioned near the end of Sect. CXIV, and first occurs in Sect. V (Note 33).

3. The wild-goose goes far north at the approach of spring, and the translator is informed by Capt. Blakiston that the latter has not known

of any breeding even on the island of Yezo. The Emperor was therefore naturally astonished at so strange an occurrence as that of a wild-goose laying an egg in Yamato, and asks the Noble Take-uchi whether he had ever heard of the like of it before, Take-uchi being at that time more than two hundred years old (!) according to the chronology of the "Chronicles," and therefore the oldest and most experienced man in the Empire.—"Court Noble" represents the Japanese word *Aso* (for *Asomi*, believed by Motowori and Moribe to be derived from *a se omi* 吾兄臣. lit, "my elder brother minister" but used simply as a title), The words *Uchi* and *Yamato* are preceded in the original by their respective Pillow-Words *tamaki-haru* and *soramitsu*, whose force it is impossible to render in English, and whose origin indeed is obscure. The words rendered "laying an egg" are literally "giving birth to a child."

4. This Song is too clear to need explanation. As in the preceding one, Yamato is accompanied by the Pillow-Word *sora-mitsu*.

5. Or, "Imperial."

6. *I.e.*, say Motowori and Moribe, who refer this episode to a time previous to Nin-toku's accession, "The wild-goose has laid an egg in token of the future accession to the throne." The translator prefers the view expressed by Keichiu in his *Kō-Gan Shō*, and adopted in the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," that the words *tsuhi ni* "at last," must here be taken in the sense of "long," and the Song interpreted to mean "The wild-goose lays an egg as an omen that thy reign will be a long one." This view is supported by the story in the "Chronicles," which places the Song in the Emperor's fiftieth year and giv s him thirty-six years of subsequent existence, thus making the prophecy amply fulfil itself, as one would expect that it should do in the pages of such a work. According to the other view, the text of the "Chronicles" calls for emendation.

7. *Hogi-uta no kata-uta*. For "Incomplete Song" see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 14.

[SECT. CXXIX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART X.—A VESSEL IS MADE INTO A LUTE).]

In this august reign there was a tall tree on the west of the river Tsuki.[1] The shadow of this tree, on its being struck by the morning sun, reached to the Island o Ahaji:[2] and on its being struck by the evening sun, it crossed Mount Takayasu.[3] So the tree was cut down and made into a vessel, and a very swift-going vessel it was. At the time, this vessel was called by the name of Karanu.[4] So with this vessel the water of the Island of Ahaji was drawn morning and evening, and presented as the great august water.[5] The broken [pieces] of this vessel were used [as fuel] to burn salt and the pieces of wood that remained over from the burning were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles[6] [off]. So [some one[7]] sang, saying:

> "Karanu was burnt [as fuel] for salt; the remainder was made into a lute; oh! when struck, it sounds like the wet plants standing rocked on the reefs in the middle of the harbour, the harbour of Yura."[8]

This is a Changing Song which is a Quiet song.[9] 285

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1. This is Moribe's reading (given without any comment) of the original characters 兎寸. Motowori pronounces them corrupt; but, having no emendation to propose, simply leaves them without any *kana* reading.

2. See Sect. V, Note 3.

3. *Takayasu no yama*, in the province of Kahachi. The characters with which the name is written signify "high and easy."

4. The significance of this name, written 枯野, remains obscure notwithstanding the efforts of the commentators to explain it.

5. *I.e.*, this vessel was used to bring over every morning and evening

the water for the Imperial household, which was drawn on the Island of Ahaji.

6. 里, the Chinese *li* Japanese *ri*. The length of the *ri* has varied greatly at different times and in different parts of the country. The modern standard Japanese *ri* is equivalent to about 2.44 English statute miles; but Motowori supposes the *ri* of the epoch mentioned in our text to have been less than one-seventh of that distance.

7. In the "Chronicles" this story is placed in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, and the Song is attributed to that monarch.

8. In this Song the sound of the twanging of the lute that had been made from the remnant of the boat Karanu is compared to the rustling of the plants standing half out of water on the reefs in the harbour of Yura.—The compound word *kaki-hiku*, rendered by "struck," signifies literally "scratched and struck," the lute being struck with the nail. The onomatopoetic word *saya-saya*, of which "sound" is but a colourless equivalent, represents both the delightful ring of the lute and the rustling of the sea-plants. What plants are intended by the expression "wet plants" (*nadzu no ki*) is a point that has been much disputed. Moribe even thinks that the term is meant for the name of a particular species of (apparently) coral now found in the island of Hachijo. Yura is in the Island of Ahaji.

9. See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[SECT. CXXX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL.]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign were eighty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Ear-Moor of Mozu.[1]

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1. *Mozu no mimi-hara*. The origin of this singular name is thus explained in the "Chronicle" (Emperor Nin-toku, 67th year, Winter, 10th Moon): "[The Emperor] made a progress to the moor of Ishidzu in Kafuchi to fix the site of his mausoleum. On the day when the construction of his mausoleum was begun, a deer suddenly ran out from the middle of the moor, rushed into the midst of the coolies, fell down, and

died. The suddenness of its death causing astonishment, its wound was looked for, whereupon a shrike came out of its ear, and flew away. So on looking into the ear, it was found to be all eaten away. So that is the reason why the place is called *Mozu no mimi-hara* (the Shrike's Ear-Moor.')"

[SECT. CXXXI.—EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Iza-ho-wake dwelt in the palace of Wakasakura at Ihare,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuro,[2] daughter of the Noble of Ashida,[3] child of So-tsu-biko of Kadzuraki.[4] and begot august children: King Oshiha of Ichinobe;[5] next King Mima:[6] next his younger sister Awomi-no-iratsume,[7] another name for whom was Ichi-toyo-no-iratsume.[8] 287

1. For *Ihare* see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. *Waka-sakura* signifies "young cherry-tree." The origin of the name is traced, rightly or wrongly, to an incident mentioned in the "Chronicles" under the reign of this Emperor, 3rd year.

2. *Kuro-hime i.e.*, "black princess." The same name occurs several times, and has reference to the black hair of the person so designated.

3. *Ashida no sukune. Ashi-da* signifies "reed-moor." It is the name of a place in Yamato.

4. *Kadzuraki no So-tsu-biko.* For this name, which is here abbreviated, see Sect. LXI, Note 55.

5. *Ichinobe no Oshiha no miko.* Ichinobe is in the province of Yamashiro, and the name seems to mean "near the market." The name of *Oshiha* refers to the "uneven teeth" of this personage which are mentioned in Sect. CLXVII (near Note 5).

6. *Mima no miko.* The signification of this name is quite obscure.

7. *Awomi no iratsume. Awomi* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place.

8. *Ihitoyo no iratsume. Ihitoyo* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a bird, perhaps a kind of owl.

[SECT. CXXXII.—EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART II.—HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI).]

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting,[1] was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. Thereupon the Suzerain of Achi,[2] ancestor of the Suzerains of Aya[3] in Yamato, having taken him away by stealth, set him on an august horse, and caused him to make a progress into Yamato. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] awoke on reaching the moor of Tajihi,[4] and said: "What place is this?" Then the Suzerain of Achi said: "King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu set fire to the great palace; so I am fleeing with thee into Yamato." Then the Sovereign sang, saying:

257 "Had I known that I should sleep on the
Moor of Tajihi, oh! I would have brought
my dividing matting, had I known that
I should sleep!"[5]

On reaching the Pass of Hanifu[6] and gazing at the palace of Naniha, the fire was still bright. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang again, saying:

"The group of houses sparklingly burning,
as I stand and look from the Pass of
Hanifu, is in the direction of the house
of my spouse."

So when they reached the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain,[8] they met one woman. This woman said: "A number of men bearing weapons are barring [the

way across] the mountain. Thou shouldst cross it going round by way of Tagima."[9] Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

> "Oh! on asking the way of the maiden
> we met at Ohosaka, she tells not [the]
> direct [way], but tells of the Tagima
> way."[10]

So making his progress up, he dwelt in the temple of 289
the Deity of Isonokami.[11]

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1. *I.e.*, on the occasion of his performing the religious ceremony of tasting the first rice of the season.

2. *Achi no atahe*, supposed to be of Korean origin, and to be a descendant of 阿知, great grandson of the Chinese Emperor 靈帝.

3, *Aya no atahe*. This family was of continental origin, *Aya* being the Japanese reading of the character 漢; see Sect. CXI, Note 2.

4. *Tajihi no nu*, in the provinces of Kahachi. The signification of the name is obscure.

5. This Song expresses the Monarch's regret at not having brought his mats with him.—From the expression used in the text (*tatsu gomo*), the commentators suppose that such mats were used as a sort of screen to avert draughts. One proposal is to consider *tatsu* as the Verb *tatsuru*, "to set up," because these mats must have been "set up" round the room. But it agrees better with grammatical usage to take it in its other sense of "cutting," or "dividing," and to suppose that the mats were so called because they "cut off" the draught from the person sitting behind them.

6. Or "Hill of Hanifu," *Hanifu-zaka*, in the province of Kahachi.

7. The meaning of this Song is perfectly clear.

8. See Sect. LXIV, Note 25. The word rendered "entrance" here and below in the same context is literally "mouth."

9. See Sect. LXII, Note 49.

10. Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "If the maiden wbom I met at Ohosaka and whom I sought direction of had been a common mortal, she would have simply told me the shortest road. But now I see why it was that she bid me go round by way of Tagima: it was to preserve me from danger. Ah! she must have been a Goddess."—The

words *tada ni* generally have the sense of "directly," "immediately," and are indeed here so understood by Motowori. Moribe's interpretation, which has been followed by the translator, does but little violence to the text, and suits the general meaning better.

11. See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

[SECT. CXXXIII.—EMPEROR.—RI-CHIU (PART III.—HIS REBELLIOUS BROTHER AND THE LATTER'S RETAINER SOBAKARI ARE SLAIN).]

Thereupon his younger brother His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake came, and and sent [to ask for] an audience.[1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign caused him to be told [these words]: "As I am in doubt whether perhaps Thine Augustness may [not] be of like mind[2] with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, I will not meet and speak with thee." [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. I am not of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu." [The Heavenly Sovereign] again caused him to be told [these words]: "If that be so, [do thou] now return down, and slay King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, and come up [again hither]. At that time I will surely meet and speak with thee." So he forthwith returned down to Naniha, and deceived [a man] named Sobakari,[3] a man-at-arms[2] in the personal service of[4] King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, saying: "If thou wilt obey my words, I shall become Heavenly Sovereign, and will make thee prime Minister, to rule the Empire.[5] How [would this be]?" Sobakari replied, saying " "[I
290 will do] according to thy command." Then plenteously endowing that man-at-arms, he said: "If that be so,

slay the King." Thereupon Sobakari watched for the time when his King went into the privy, and thrust him to death with a spear. So when [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] was making his progress to Yamato taking Sobakari with him, he, on reaching the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, thought [thus]: "Although Sobakari deserves very well of me, he has truly[6] slain his lord. This is unrighteous. Nevertheless if I reward not his deed, I may be called untruthful; and if I quite carry out my promise, his intentions are on the contrary to be feared. So, though recompensing his deed, I will destroy his actual person." Therefore he said to Sobakari: "I will halt here to-day and bestow on thee the rank of Prime Minister, and to-morrow will [continue my] progress up." So a halt was made at the entrance to the mountain, a temporary palace forthwith built, a copious feast[7] suddenly held, the rank of Prime Minister forthwith bestowed on the man-at-arms, and all the officials[8] made to do obeisance [to him]. The man-at-arms, delighted, thought that he had accomplished his design. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] said to the man-at-arms: "To-day I will drink liquor from the same cup as the Prime Minister." And when they drank together, a bowl[9] large [enough] to hide the face was filled with the liquor presented.[10] Hereupon the King's child drank first, and the man-at-arms drank afterwards. So when the man-at-arms was drinking, the great cup covered his face. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] drew forth a sabre which he had laid under the matting, and cut off the head of the man-at-arms. Forthwith on the morrow he made his progress up. So the place was called by the name of Chika-tsu-Asuka.[11]

291 Going up and reaching Yamato, he said: "I will halt here to-day and, having purified myself, will go forth to-morrow and worship at the temple of the Deity."[11] So that place is called by the name of Toho-tsu-Asuka.[12] So going forth to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami, he sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign that he had come up to serve him after accomplishing the work [with which he had been entrusted].[14] So [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for, and met, and spoke with him.

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1. The original of this clause is very elliptical, consisting only of the two characters 令譽. The old reading joins thereto the characters 爾天皇, which according to Motowori form the commencement of the next sentence. The meaning is not affected by the change.

2. Literally, "heart." Similarly below, where the word "intent" is used in the translation.

3. The signification of this name is quite obscure.

4. *Hayabito.* The reader should compare Section XXXVIII. Note 11.

5. Literally, "closely accustomed to."

6. The original leaves it uncertain whether the words "to rule the Empire" should be applied to the speaker, to Sobakari, or to both; and the ambiguous application has therefore been preserved in the translation.

7. Literally, "already."

8. See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

9. Literally, "the hundred officials," a Chinese phrase, which has been met with before.

10. The character ⁚ used in the text implies by its radical that the bowl was of metal. It is an unauthorized form of 椀 or 盌

11. *Scil.* by the prince to the man-at-arms.

12. *I.e.*, Nearer Asuka. The name is written 近飛鳥. The student should consult Motowori's note on this passage in Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 38-39 of his Commentary, to see what can be done towards reconciling the name, the characters it is written with, and the origin ascribed to it, all of which are so apparently incongruous.

13. *Scil.* of *Isonokami.* This deity was the sword forming the subject of the legend narrated in Sect. XLV.

13. 遠飛鳥, i.e., Further Asuka. *Conf.* Note.

14. This is the gist of the original phrase, which will not bear literal translation into English: 政既平訖參上侍之.

[SECT. CXXXIV.—EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART IV.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

The Heavenly Sovereign thereupon first appointed the Suzerain of Achi to the office of Treasurer,[1] and likewise bestowed on him domains.[2] Again in this august reign the name of Waka-sakura Tribe[3] was granted to the Grandees of the Waka-sakura Tribe.[4] Again the gentile name[5] of Dukes of Himeda[6] was granted to the Dukes of Himeda. Again the Ihare Clan[7] was established.

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1. In Japanese the same word is used for a "store-house" and for the "treasury." But the appointment here mentioned would seem really to correspond to what we should call Lord of the Treasury or Minister of Finance. The characters in the original are 藏官.

2. Literally, "ration grounds."

3. *Waka-sakura-be.*

4. *Waka-sakura-be no omi.* Conf. Sect. CXXXI, Note 1.

5. All the editors agree in here reading as *kabane* ("gentile name," see Sect. XIV, Note 5) the character 姓, which signifies properly "family name."

6. *Himeda no kimi.* Nothing is known of this family.

7. *Ihare-be.* For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 6. It will be remembered that the Emperor of whose reign the present Section forms part held his court at Ihare.

292 [SECT. CXXXV.—EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART V.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-four. His august mausoleum is at Mozu.[1]

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1. See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

[SECT. CXXXV.—EMPEROR HAN-ZEI.]

His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake dwelt in the palace of Shibakaki at Tajihi,[1] and ruled the Empire. The length of this Heavenly sovereign's august person was nine feet two inches and a half.[2] The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung together]. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady of Tsunu,[3] daughter of Kogoto, Grandee of Wani,[4] and begot august children: the Lady of Kahi;[5] next the Lady of Tsubura[6] (two Deities). Again he wedded Oto-hime,[7] daughter of the same Grandee, and begot august children: King Takara;[8] next the Lady of Takabe.[9]—altogether four Kings [and Queens].[10] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty. His august mausoleum is on the Moor of Mozu.[11]

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1. For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. *Shiba-kaki* (or *Shiba-gaki*) signifies "a fence of brushwood."

2. As to the ancient Japanese measures we have no accurate information, and the English equivalents used in this passage correspond but approximately to the modern Japanese standards. The character rendered "line" is 分, which denotes the tenth part of a 寸 or "inch." Motowori remarks that the dimensions of the teeth are not anything extra-

ordinary judged by the present standard, and suppose that anciently the measures of length must have been smaller than at present.

3. *Tsunu no iratsume.* The signification of this name is obscure.

4. *Wani no kogoto no omi.* The meaning of Kogoto is obscure. Wani has already often appeared.

5. *Kahi no iratsume.* Kahi is the name of a province, but it cannot be said for certain that it is from it that this Princess derived her name.

6. *Tsubura no iratsume.* The meaning of *Tsubura* is obscure.

7. *I.e.*, "the younger princess."

8. *Takara no miko. Takara* signifies "treasure."

9. *Takabe no iratsume. Takabe* seems to be the name of a place unless it be considered to be connected with the word *taka*, "hawk."

10. Remember that the single character 王 includes both sexes.

11. See Sect. CXXX. Note 1.

[SECT. CXXXVII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ[1] (PART I—GENEALOGIES).] 293

His Augustness Wo-asa-dzu-ma-waku-go-no-sukune dwelt in the Palace of Toho-tsu-Asuka,[2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime,[3] younger sister of King Oho-hodo, and begot august children: King Karu of Kinashi;[4] next Nagata-no-oho-iratsume;[5] next King Kurohiko of Sakahi;[6] next His Augustness Anaho;[7] next Karu-no-oho-iratsume,[8] another name for whom is Sotohoshi-no-iratsume[9] (the reason for her being given the august name of Queen So-tohoshi was that the refulgence of her person passed through her garments); next King Shiro-biko of Yatsuri;[10] next His August- 294
ness Oho-hatsuse:[11] (nine Deities). Altogether the Heavenly Sovereign's august children [numbered] nine Deities (five Kings and four Queens). Of these nine Kings and

Queens, His Augustness Anaho [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next his Augustness Oho-hatsuse ruled the Empire.

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1. Also pronounced *In-kiyo.*

2. See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 13.

3. This name and the next have already appeared in Sect. CXVII.

4. *Kinashi no Karu no miko.* Karu is properly the name of a place in Yamato which has already often appeared in the text. It is uncertain whether *kinashi* is likewise the name of a place or of a particular kind of pear; but Motowori inclines to the former view.

5. *I.e.*, "the great lord of Nagata." There are many places of this name (lit. "long rice-field"), and it is not known which is here intended.

6. *I.e.*, "the black prince of Sakahi." The latter word signifies "frontier." It is not known where Sakahi is, neither is the reason for the name of "black prince" applied to this personage known (*Conf.* the "white prince" mentioned a little further on).

7. Or, "of Anaho," for Anaho is properly the name of a place in Yamato. Its import is not clear.

8. *I.e.*, "the great lady of Karu."

9. Written 衣通郎女, i.e., "the garment-passing lady." *So-tohoshi* is Motowori's reading of the characters, the usual reading being *So-tohori* (the Intransitive instead of the Transitive form of the Verb). He likewise identifies Koto-fushi (see Sect. CXVII, Note 9) with this celebrated princess, who is commonly worshipped as Goddess of Poetry. There is much confusion in the traditions concerning her, and Motowori's notes on the subject in Vol. XXXIV, pp. 53-54 and in Vol. XXXIX of his Commentary, p. 3, should be consulted.

10 *Yatsurino shiro-biko no miko, i.e.*, "the white prince of Yatsuri." Yatsuri is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "eight melons."

11. *I.e.*, "great Hatsuse," so called from Hatsuse, a celebrated place in Yamato, which has already been mentioned.

12. *I.e.* "the great lady of Tachibana," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato- The word signifies "orange."

13. *I.e.*, "the lady of Sakami," the latter being apparently the name of a place either in Harima or in Wohari. Its derivation is not clear.

[SECT. CXXXVIII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART II.—HIS SICKNESS IS CURED BY A KOREAN PHYSICIAN).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, when first about to rule the succession of Heaven's Sun,[1] declined, saying: "I have a long sickness; I cannot rule the sun's succession." Nevertheless, as from the Empress downwards all the magnates strongly urged him, he forthwith ruled the Empire. At this time the ruler of Shiragi[2] dutifully sent eighty-one vessels with august tribute. Then the chief envoy[3] sent with the august tribute, whose name was Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu,[4] was a man deeply versed in the medical art. So he cured the Heavenly Sovereign's august sickness.

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1. For this expression see Sect. XXXIII, Note 27. The story of the refusal of this monarch to accept the crown which was offered to him by the magnates of the nation is tcld at considerable length in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." According to the same authority he belonged to a collateral branch of the Imperial family, and was therefore not in the regular line of succession.

2. See Sect. XCVIII. Note 2,

3. Literally, "great messenger.'

4. 金波鎭漢紀武. Motowori decides that 金 is the surname, 波鎭 an official title, 漢紀 an official designation of the kinsmen of the Korean King, and 武 the personal name.

[SECT. CXXXIX.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART III. HE RECTIFIES THE PEOPLE'S NAMES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, lamenting the transgressions in the surnames and gentile names of the people of all the surnames and names in the Empire[1] placed jars [for trial by] hot water[2] at the Wondrous

Cape of Eighty Evils in Words at Amakashi,[3] and deigned to establish the surnames and gentile names of the eighty heads of companies.[4] Again the Karu Tribe[5] was established as the august proxy of King Karu of Ki-nashi; the Osaka Tribe[6] was established as the Empress's august proxy; and the Kaha Tribe[7] was established as the august proxy of the Empress's younger sister Ta-wi no Naka-tsu-hime.[8]

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1. The original is; 天下氏氏名名人等之氏姓, which Motowori reads *ame no shita no uji-uji na-na no hito domo no uji kabane.*

2. We learn from the "Chronicles" that he whose hand was injured in the process of dipping it into the jar of boiling water was pronounced a deceiver, while those who stood the trial unhurt were considered to be telling the truth.

3. *Amakashi no koio-yo-maga-tsu-hi no saki.* Motowori truly observes that this does not sound like an actual geographical name, but was rather, it may be supposed, a new designation given to Cape Amakashi (see Sect. LXXII, Note 10) on account of the incident here mentioned. The name reminds us of that of one of the deities born from the purification of the person of the creator Izanagi after his return from Hades (see X, Note 14.

4. *Ya-sotomo-no-wo.* See Sect. XXXIII, Note 19.

5. *Karube.*

6. *Osaka-be*, so called after the Empress's native place (See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 3, and Sect. CXVII, Note 6). The reading of *Osaka-be* is given in all the editions to the characters in the text, 刑武, where we should expect 忽坂部 Motowori's explanation of the reason why the name was thus written will be found in Vol. XXXIX, p. 19, of his Commentary.

7. *Kaha-be* Motowori supposes that there is here some corruption of the text, as no connection can be discovered between the name of this Tribe and that of the Princess whose proxy the tribe became.

8. See Sect. CXVII, Note 7.

[SECT. CXL.—EMPEROR IN GIYŌ (PART IV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL.)]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were seventy-eight. His august mausoleum is at Naga-ye near Wega in Kafuchi.[1]

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1. See Sect. CIII, Note 2 and 3.

[SECT. CXLI.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART V.—PRINCE KARU LOVES HIS SISTER PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI)] 296

After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, it was settled that King Karu of Ki-nashi should rule the Sun's succession.[1] But in the interval before his accession, he debauched his younger sister the Great Lady of Karu, and sang, saying:

"Making rice-fields on the mountain, making hidden conduits run on account of the mountain's height:—to-day indeed [my] body easily touches the younger sister whom I wooed with a hidden wooing, the spouse for whom I wept with a hidden weeping."[2]

This is a Hind-Lifting Song.[3] Again he sang, saying:

"The rattle-rattle of the hail against the bamboo-grass:—After I shall have certainly slept, what though I be plotted against by people! When I shall have slept delightfully, if there is the disorder of the cut *Hydropyrum latifolium*, let there be disorder,—when I shall have slept a good 297
sleep!"[4]

This is a Rustic Lifting Song.[5]

1. See Sect. XXXII. Note 27. The wording of this sentence would make it appear that it was only *after* the Emperor In-giyo's death that King Karu was chosen to succeed him. But probably King Karu had been appointed Heir Apparent (皇太子) during his Father's life time, as is indeed expressly stated in the "Chronicles," and is implied in later passages of this work; and what our author meant to say was: "It was settled that King Karu should rule the "Empire after the former Sovereign's decease," etc.

2. The meaning of the Song is: "The sister, the mistress, whom I wooed with such difficulty, is now easily mine."—The first phrase, down to "mountain's height," is but a "Preface" to the poem properly so called, serving to introduce by a *jeu-de-mots* the word *shita-dohi*, which means not only "hidden conduit," but "hidden wooing." At the same time the implied comparion of the poet's secret love of one so difficult to obtain as his own sister, to the course of the water in hidden conduits which is carried up the mountain's side to irrigate a field perched in a spot almost inaccessible, is by no means devoid of aptness. The word "mountain" (*yama*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *ashihiki* (or *ashiki*) *no*, whose signification is obscure and much disputed.

3. *Shirage-uta* (written phonetically). The interpretation of the term here adopted is that which has the sanction of Motowori and Moribe. They explain it to signify that the voice rose gradually toward the latter part of the Song.

4. As in the case of the preceding Song, the first phrase is but a Preface, which plays on the coincidence in sound between the words *tashi-dashi*, "rattling," and *tashika*, "certainly," i.e. "undisturbedly." The signification of the Song proper is: "If I shall but have gratified my passion, what care I however men may plot against me? If I can but press my beloved to my bosom, let all things go to rack and ruin, like the *Hydropyrum latifolium*, a grass which, when cut, falls into disorder!" —Of the sentiment of the Song, the less said the better; but viewed simply from a literary point of view, it is certainly one of the most fascinating little productions of the early Japanese muse, and the literal rendering of it into English does it woful injustice. Moribe rightly rejects Motowori's proposal to divide the poem in two after the words *hito hakayu to mo*, "plotted against by people." *Kari-komo no*, "of the *Hydropyrum latifolium*," is a Pillow-Word.

5. *Hinaburi no ageuta*. The commentators have nothing more precise to tell us concerning the expression "Lifting-Song" than that "it refers to the lifting of the voice in singing."

[SECT. CXLII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VI.—WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO).]

Therefore all the officials[1] and likewise the people of the Empire turned against the Heir Apparent Karu, and towards the August Child Anaho. Then the Heir Apparent Karu, being alarmed, fled into the house of the Grandee the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe,[2] and made a provision of implements of war. (The arrows made at this 298
time[3] were provided with copper arrow-insides;[4] so those arrows are called by the name of Karu arrows.) Prince Anaho likewise made implements of war. (The arrows made by this Prince were just the arrows of the present time:[5] they are called Anaho arrows.) Thereupon Anaho raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe. Then, when he reached the gate, heavy ice-rain[6] was falling. So he sang, saying:

"Come thus under cover of the metal gate
of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe! We
will stand till the rain stops."[7]

Then the Noble Oho-mahe came singing, lifting his hands, striking his knees, dancing, and waving his arms. The Song said:

"The courtiers are tumultuous, [saying] that
the small bell of the garter of the courtiers
has fallen off. Country-people, too, be-
ware!"[8]

This Song is of a Courtier's Style[9] Singing thus, he 299
came near and said: "August Child of our Heavenly Sovereign! Come not with arms against the King thine elder brother. If thou shouldst come against him with arms, people will surely laugh. I[10] will secure him and

present him to thee."[11] The Prince Anaho disbanded his troops and went away. So the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. The captive Prince sang, saying:

> "Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! if thou cry violently, people will know. Cry quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa."[12]

Again he sang:

> "Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! Come and sleep, and [then] pass on, oh maiden of Karu!"[13]

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1. See Sect. CXII, Note 4.

2. *Oho-mahe Wo-make sukune no omi* (according to the old reading *Oho-saki Wo-saki*, etc.. Motowori considers this double name to denote two brothers, the words *oho* and *wo* ("great" and "small") naturally lending themselves to the interpretation of "elder" and "younger." Moribe, on the contrary, thinks that there was but one, and is supported both by the authority of the "Chronicles of Japan" and by the fact that, except in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages." which is believed to be a forgery, no second brother is anywhere mentioned. He explains the use of the double name in the prose text as having crept in through the influence of the text of the following Song (see Note 7 below). This seems to the translator the better view.

3. *I.e.*, "on this occasion."

4. There is here an evident corruption of the text, and Motowori aptly conjectures that arrow-*heads*, or, as they are called in Japanese, arrow-*points*, are intended. He adds that up till then arrow-heads had always been made of iron.

5. The author's style is here rather at fault; for he apparently wishes to say that the arrows employed by Prince Anaho were those which had been used in ancient times and were still the most universally employed—that, in fact, they were the usual style of arrow in contradistinction to those of Prince Karu's invention.

6. See Sect, LXXXVIII, Note 5.

7. The prince, in this Song, bids his troops follow his example, and take refuge from the rain under cover of the gate of Oho-mahe's house. Such, at least, is the actual sense of the words used; but Motowori sees in them nothing less than a slightly veiled exhortation to his followers to attack the castle, while Moribe, on the other hand, thinks they were meant to convey to Oho-mahe a hint of his presence, and enable the beleaguered prince, for whom (as being his elder brother) Prince Anaho retained a great affection and respect, to devise some method of escape. This seems extremely far-fetched.—The word "metal" probably refers only to the fastenings of the gate, and not to its whole structure.

8. The exact purport and application of this Song is disputed, but this much seems clear: that the composer of it seeks to quiet both the besieging army (out of politeness called courtiers), and the peasants who had joined the fray, by making light of the whole occurrence, which he compares to so trivial an accident as the falling of a bell from a man's "garter" or "leggings." The custom of ornamenting this article of dress with a small bell is, however, not mentioned elsewhere. The word *yume*, which concludes the Song and is here rendered "beware," is identified by Motowori and Moribe with the Imperative of the Verb *iuu* "to avoid," "to shun," "not to do."

9. *Miya-hito-buri*. This is one of the cases which lend support to Motowori's view that the names of the so called styles of Songs are derived from their initial words.

10. Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

11. The word used in the text, here and also in the next sentence, is that which properly denotes the presenting of tribute.

12. Another reading gives this sense:

> "As, if the maiden of heaven-soaring Karu cried
> violently, people would know, she cries quietly
> like the doves on Mount Hasa."

According to this reading, the poet simply explains the reason of the undemonstrativeness of his mistress's grief; according to that in the text, he implores her not to weep too passionately.—*Amadamu* or *amadamu ya*, "heaven-soaring," is the Pillow-Word for Karu, applied to it punningly on account of its similarity in sound to the word *kari*, "a wild-goose," which well deserves the epithet "heaven-soaring." Of Mount Hasa nothing is known.

13. Rendered thus according to Moribe's exegesis, which quite approves itself to the translator's mind, this Song signifies: "Oh! maiden of Karu! come and sleep with me but once, before my impending banishment renders it hard for us to meet again." Motowori chooses to interpret *nete* as a crasis of *nayete*, "bending," and sees in the Song an invitation to the maiden to come quietly so as not to attract observation.—The final word, translated "maiden," is *wotome-domo*, properly a Plural, but here used in a Singular sense, as *watakushi-domo*, "I" (properly "we"), so constantly is in the modern Colloquial Dialect. For the Pillow-Word "heaven-soaring" see preceding Note.

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300 [SECT. CXLIII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VII.—DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

So Prince Karu was banished to the hot waters of Iyo.[1] Again when about to be banished, he sang saying:

"The heaven-soaring birds, too, are indeed messengers. When thou hearest the voice of the crane, ask my name."[2]

These three songs are of a Heaven-Soaring style.[3] Again he sang, saying:

"If they banish the Great Lord to an island, he will indeed make the remaining return voyage. Beware of my mat! Mat indeed in words,—beware of my spouse!"[4]

301 This Song is of a Partly Lowered Rustic style.[5] Queen So-tohoshi presented a Song [to him]. That Song said:

"Let not thy feet tread on the oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine with its summer herbs! Pass there [after] having made clear!"[6]

So when afterwards again, being unable to restrain her love, she went after him, she sang, saying:

"Thy going has become long past. I will go,
oh! to meet thee. Wait! I can not wait."
(What is here called *yama-tadzu* is [what is] now
[known by the name of] *tatsuge*.)[7]

So when in her pursuit she reached [the place where Prince Karu was, he, who had been] pensively waiting, sang, saying:

"Alas! beloved spouse, who settledst the 302
whereabouts of our grave, setting up flags
in the great vale, setting up flags in the
little vale of Hatsuse the hidden castle!
Alas! beloved spouse, whom I see after
[our many troubles], prostrate like a *tsuki*
bow, standing like an *adzusa* bow!"[8]

Again he sang, saying:

"Driving sacred piles in the upper reach,
driving true piles in the lower reach of the
river of secluded Hatsuse, and hanging on 303
the sacrificial piles a mirror, hunging on
the true piles true jewels:—if they said
that the younger sister whom I love like a
true jewel, that the spouse whom I love
like a mirror were [there], I would go
home, I would long for my country."[9]

Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together.[10] So these two songs are Reading Songs.[11]

1. For Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4. Its hot springs are often mentioned in early documents. Motowori identifies them with a place now called Dō-go (道後).

2. The meaning of this Song is: "I go where perchance no messengers will reach me. But thou must ask tidings of me from the birds."

3. *Ama-da-buri.* The title seems to be derived from the initial Pillow-Word of these three Songs.

4. The meaning of this Song seems to the translator to be: "Even if they dare to banish me now, I shall some day return again. Respect my mat during my absence. Mat, indeed! It is my wife that must be respected." The commentators consider the concluding words to be a command addressed to the wife, and interpret the phrase to mean, "My spouse, beware!" But surely this makes less good sense, and moreover fails to suit the exactly parallel passage in the first Song of Sect. CXXV. By the words "Great Lord" the princely poet denotes himself, —perhaps with a touch of anger at the indignity to which he is subjected. The difficult expression *funa-amari* is here, in accordance with Moribe's view rendered by the words "remaining voyage," i.e., "the voyage homeward," which is that part of a voyage that may be said to remain over for an outward-bound vessel when she has reached her destination. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXX, pp. 50 51, should be consulted for older views of the meaning of the term. The expression "beware of my mat" reminds us that in early days the entire floor of a Japanese room was not matted according to the modern custom, but that each individual had his own mat on which to sit and sleep. Great care was always taken not to defile another's mat, *Conf.* an elegy from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" translated by the prssent writer in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 79.

5. *Hina-buri no kata-oroshi.* Like most of the names of styles of Songs, this one is extremely obscure. The commentators suppose that one part was sung in a lower voice than the rest. But they are merely guessing.

6. The actual words of the Song signify: "Lacerate not thy feet by walking on the unseen oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine that is covered with the summer herbs; but walk there after dawn." (This is Keichiū's interpretation of the word *akashite*, "having made clear," and is the best in the present writer's opinion; the latter commentators see in it a recommendation to the exiled prince to clear the grass away on either side.) The word *Ahine* calls, however, for special explanation in order that the full import of the poem may be brought out. It properly signifies "sleeping together" or "lying on each other," and is therefore applicable either to the two spouses or to the summer grass. Indeed it is doubtful if it be the name of any real place at all. The word *natsu-kusa* may also be taken simply as a Pillow-Word for Ahine.—The total gist of the Song is in any case a warning from the maiden to her lover to guard himself against the perils of the journey.

7. The meaning of this Song is: "It is too long since thy departure. I can wait no longer, but will go and meet thee."—The Verb "to meet" (*mukahe*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *yama-tadzu*, which forms the subject of the note appended to the poem by the compiler. The commentators are not agreed as to the precise nature of the instrument intended; but it seems to have been some kind of axe. The cause of its use as a Pillow-Word for "meeting" is equally disputed. It only occurs written phonetically. The term *tatsu-ge*, by which it is explained in the text, is there written 造木, which does not help us much towards understanding what is meant to be designated.

8. So obscure is this Song in the original, that Motowori confesses himself unable to make any sense of it. The translator has adopted Moribe's interpretation, according to which the gist of it is this: "Alas! my dear wife, who wast so willing to be for ever united to me that thou didst even fix on the spot in the funereal vale of Hatsuse where we should one day be buried together! Alas for thee, whom at last I now see again"—In order to arrive at this meaning, Moribe is obliged to prove more less satisfactorily that the thrice repeated word *wo* signifies "vale" or "mountain-fold" the first two times that it occurs, and "grave" the third, and that *komoriku no hatsuse*, usually interpreted as secluded "Hatsuse, means "the hidden castle," the "final place, *i.e.*, "the tomb." It is also necessary to suppose, without authority, that the flags mentioned by the poet are meant for funeral flags, and that the words "prostrate like a *tsuki* bow," etc., which, according to the laws of Japanese construction, precede instead of following the phrase "alas! beloved spouse," etc., are but a Preface for the latter.—It will be seen that the foundation on which Moribe's interpretation rests is slight, and that Motowori was scarcely to be blamed for pronouncing the Song incomprehensible. At the same time the translator has thought it better, by following Moribe, to give *some* translation of it than to leave the passage blank. With this warning, the student may search for other possible meanings if he pleases.—Hatsuse is a still existent and celebrated place among the mountains of Yamato. The etymology of the name, unless we accept Moribe's mentioned above, is obscure. It is now usually pronounced *Hase*. The *tsuki* is said to be almost indistinguishable from the *keyaki* tree (*Zelkowa keaki*). The *adzusa* seems to be the *Catalpa kaempferi*, but some believe it to be the cherry-tree.

9. The first half of this Song down to the words "hanging on the true piles true jewels" is a Preface for what follows. The signification

of the rest is: "If my dearly loved sister-wife were still at Hatsuse in Yamato, I would fly to her either in thought or deed; but now that she has followed me into exile, the land of exile is good enough." —Moribe, while allowing the first half of the Song to be a Preface for the rest, contends that it also should be credited with a signification bearing on the subject-matter of the main part of the Song. He supposes, namely, the religious ceremony, whatever it was, of driving piles into the bed or bank of the river and of decorating them with beads and a mirror, to have been one really performed by Princess So-tohoshi to compass her lover's return. In the translator's opinion, it is more elegant and more in accordance with Archaic usage to consider the Preface as having no special significance or connection (otherwise than verbal) with the rest of the poem. The word *i-kuhi* or *i-guhi*, rendered "sacred piles," occasions some difficulty; for it is not certain whether Motowori is right in giving to the initial syllable *i* the meaning of "sacred." It may be simply what has been termed an "Ornamental Prefix," devoid of meaning. Motowori however points out that this usage of it is restricted to Verbs, and does not occur with Substantives. *Komoriku no*, the Pillow-Word for Hatsuse, is rendered by "secluded" in accordance with Mabuchi's usually accepted derivation from *komori-kuni*, "retired land." Moribe, notwithstanding what he has said in his exegesis of the preceding poem (Note 8), is willing to allow that, though perhaps not its original, this was its common, meaning even in ancient times.

10. *I.e.*, committed suicide together.

11. This expression is interpreted to mean that these Songs were recited in monotone, as one would read a book or tell a tale.

[SECT. CXLIV.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART I.—HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA).]

The august child[1] Anaho dwelt at the palace of Anaho at Isonokami,[2] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign sent the Grandee of Ne,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Sakamoto, to the residence of King Oho-kusaka, on behalf of his younger brother Prince Oho-hatsuse to command thus: "I wish Thine Augustness's younger sister

Queen Waka-kusaka to wed Prince Oho-hatsuse. So do thou present her."[4] Then King Oho-kusaka did obeisance four times, and said: "Owing to a supposition that there might be some such Great Commands, I have kept her always indoor.[5] With reverence[6] will I respectfully offer her according to the Great Commands." Nevertheless, thinking it disrespectful [merely] to send a message,[7] he forthwith, as a ceremonial gift[8] from his younger sister, made [the Grandee of Ne] take a pushwood jewel headdress[9] to present [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. The Grandee of Ne forthwith stole the jewel headdress meant as a ceremonial gift, and slandered King Oho-kusaka, saying: "King Oho-kusaka would not receive the Imperial Commands, but said: "An soror mea fiet ejusdem stirpis [viri] inferior storea?"[10] and, grasping the hilt of his cross-sword,[11] was angry." So the Heavenly Sovereign, having in his great anger slain King Oho-kusaka, took that King's chief wife Nagata-no-oho-iratsume,[12] and made her Empress.

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1. *I. e.*, Prince. In all other cases we find the word *mikoto*, "Augustness," as the title by which the Sovereign is mentioned at the commencement of his reign.

2. See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

3. *Ne no omi.* The etymology of *ne* is obscure.

4. Literally, as "tribute."

5. More literally, "I have kept her without putting her out of doors."

6. *Conf.* Sect. IX, Note 4 and Sect. XVIII, Note 14.

7. Motowori surmises that 其 may be an error for 者 in the original of this clause 然言以白事其思无禮.

8. 禮物. This term corresponds to the modern 結納, the name by which the presents which are exchanged at the time of betrothal are designated.

9. The original term *oshi-ki no tam-akadzura* is extremely obscure. One of Motowori's conjectures is that the "push-wood" was a kind of frame by which the jewels or beads, strung on an erect stem of some hard material, were kept firmly attached to the head. Perhaps some notion of the *coiffure* intended may be gathered from the plate opposite p. 354 of Part III of Vol. VIII of these "Transactions" (Mr. J. Conder's paper on "The History of Jnpanese Costume").

10. *I.e.*, "An scror mea, cujus pater Imperator Nin-toku, fiet uxor præsentis Imperatoris?"—Hujus similitudinis rusticitas et ipsis Japonicis commentatoribus pudori est.

11. See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

12. See Sect, CXXXVII, Note 5.

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305 [SECT. CXLV.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART II.—HE IS SLAIN BY KING MA-YOWA).]

After this, the Heavenly Sovereign, being on [his] divine couch,[1] was sleeping at midday. Then he spoke to his Empress, saying: "Is there anything on thy mind?"[2] She replied, saying: "Being the object of the Heavenly Sovereign's generous favour, what can there be on my mind?" Hereupon the Empress's former child,[3] King Ma-yowa, who was seven years old that year, happened to be just then playing outside the apartment.[4] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, not Knowing that the young King was playing outside the apartment, spoke to the Empress, saying: "I have constantly something upon my mind, namely [the fear] that thy child King Ma-yowa, when he comes to man's estate, may, on learning that I slew the King his father, requite me with a foul heart."[5] Thereupon King Ma-yowa, who had been playing outside

the apartment, and whose ear had caught these words, forthwith watched for the Heavenly Sovereign to be augustly asleep, and, taking the great sword [that lay] by his side,[5] forthwith struck off the Heavenly Sovereign's head, and fled into the house of the Grandee Tsubura.[7] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-six, His august masoleum is on the mound of Fushimi at Sugahara[8]

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1. *Conf.* Sect. LXIV, Note 2.

2. Literally, "Hast thou anything to think about?" The same construction is used in the next sentence.

3. *I.e.*, her son by her former husband King Oho-kusaka.

4. Literally, "below the palace." The same expression recurs further on. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "below the upper storey," *i.e.*, in the court or garden of a two-storeyed house. With the small proportions assumed by Japanese architecture, conversation could well be overheard under these conditions.

5. *I.e.*, "take vengeance upon me.

6. *Scil.* by the Emperor's side.

7. *Tsubura omi.* The etymology of Tsubura is obscure.

8. For Sugahara see Sect. LXXV, Note 1. The Fushimi here mentioned, which is in Yamato, must not be confounded with the better known Fushimi in Yamashiro. The popular etymology of this name and it is to be found in many books) traces it to *Fushi mi*, *i.e.*, "lying three," in connection with the story of a man who "lay on the mound for three years." Probably *fuse-mizu*, "water laid on," a name perhaps given on account of an aqueduct or of water-pipes, was the original designation, which has been corrupted.

306 [SECT. CXLVI.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART III.—PRINCE OHO HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCES KURO-BIKO AND SHIRO-BIRO).]

Then Prince Oho-hatsuse,[1] who at that time was a lad, was forthwith grieved and furious on hearing of this event, and went forthwith to his elder brother King Kurobiko,[2] and said: "They have slain[3] the Heavenly Sovereign. What shall be done?" But King Kurobiko was not startled, and was of unconcerned heart.[4] There upon King Oho-hatsuse reviled his elder brother, saying: "For one thing it being the Heavenly Sovereign, for another thing it being thy brother, how is thy heart without concern?[5] What! not startled, but unconcerned on hearing that they have slain thine elder brother!"—and forthwith he clutched him by the collar; dragged him out, drew his sword, and slew him. Again, going to his elder brother King Shiro-biko, he told him the circumstances as before. The unconcernedness again was like [that shown by] King Kuro-biko. [So King Oho-hatsuse,] having forthwith clutched him by the collar, pulled him along, and dug a pit on reaching Woharida,[6] buried him as he stood,[7] so that by the time he had been buried up to the loins, both his eyes burst out, and he died.[8]

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1. See Sect. CXXXOII, Note 11.
2. See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 6.
3. Literally, "taken."
4. *I.e.*, treated the matter with indifference.
5. Literally, "withot relying," as if the speaker meant to say that the dead man could not rely on him for vengeance.
6. In Yamato. The name seems to mean "new tilled field."
7. Written 踵立 in the text followed by Motowori. The other reading 蹟立 is untenable.

8. In order to account for such an effect from so apparently insufficient a cause, Motowori supposes that after the prince had been made to stand up to the height of his loins in the pit, the latter was filled by having stones thrown into it, whereby his feet and legs would be crushed.

[SECT. CXLVII.—EMPEROR A-NKŌ (PART IV.—DEATH OF PRINCE MA-YOWA-AND OF THE GRANDEE TSUBURA)] 269

Again he raised an army and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Tsubura. Then [the other side also] raised an army to resist the attack,[1] and the arrows that were shot forth were like unto the falling down of the [ears of the] reeds.[2] Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse, using his spear as a staff, peeped in,[3] and said: "Is perchance the maiden, with whom I spoke, in this house?"[4] Then the Grandee Tsubura, hearing these commands,[5] came forth himself, and having taken off the weapons with which he was girded, did obeisance eight times, and said: "The maiden Princess Kara, whom anon thou deignedst to woo, is at thy service. Again in addition I will present to thee five granaries. (What are called the five granaries are now the gardeners of the five villages of Kadzuraki:[6]) Meanwhile the reason why she does not come out to meet thee in person is that from of old down to the present time grandees and chiefs have been known to hide in the palaces of Kings, but Kings have not yet been known to hide in the houses of grandees.[7] Therefore I think that, though a vile slave of a grandees[8] exerting his utmost striength in the fight can scarcely conquer, yet must he die rather than desert a Prince who, trusting in him, has entered into his house." Having thus

spoken, he again took his weapons and went in again to fighi. Then, their strength being exhausted and their arrows finished, he said to the Prince: "My[10] hands are wounded, and our arrows likewise are finished. We cannot now fight. What shall be done?" The Prince replied, saying: "If that be so, there is nothing more to do. [Do thou] now slay me." So [the Grandee Tsubura] thrust the Prince to death with his sword, and forthwith killed himself by cutting off his own head.

266

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1. Literally, "to wait and fight."

2. The character 來, "to come" (here in accordance with English idiom rendered by "down") is supposed to be an error. One conjectural emendation of it, viz., 盛, would suggest the "plentiful" falling of the flowers of the reeds.

3. *I.e.*, he lifted himself on tiptoe by leaning on his spear, so as to be able to peep in.

4. The maiden thus suddenly introduced into the story is Tsubura's daughter Kara, whom it must be supposed that the Prince had previously been wooing.

5. Or rather, "Imperial words." The application of the characters 詔命 to the words of one who was not yet actually Emperor is curious.

6. *I.e.*, the places where the five granaries originally were are now the five villages inhabited by the men who cultivate the Imperial gardens. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

7. Or we may, following Motowori's proposal, take the character 臣 in this clause in its slightly different acceptation of "subject," which better suits the sense. The partly phonetic wording of the next sentence 賤奴意富美者 shows how the writer was perplexed by the double use of the term.

8. *Q.d.*, in comparison with a prince of the Imperial family, even a grandee was but a vile slave.

9. The character 隨 in the original of this passage 入坐于隨家 is corrupt. But the sense remains clear, and it is scarcely worth while looking about for a probable emendation. Motowori has no satisfactory proposal to make.

10. The humble character 僕, "servant" here used for the First

Personal pronoun. The expression 僕者手悉傷, here literally rendered "my hands are all wounded," is very curious. Motowori reads it *ita-te ohinu, i.e.*, "I have received (or suffered from) hurtful hands," and compares two somewhat similar expressions found in Sect. XLIV (see Note 33 to that Sect). The translator may however point out that the similarity is much more apparent in Motowori's *kana* reading than it is in the Chinese text itself. May not the sense of the present passage rather be: "All our men are wounded?" for the word *te* (手) "hand," is frequently used in Japanese,—in compounds at least,—in the sense of "man," somewhat as it is in English naval, mining, and other technical parlance.

[SECT. CXLVIII.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART V.—PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA).]

After this Karu-fukuro,[1] ancestor of the Dukes of Yama of Sasaki in Afumi,[2] said [to King Oho-hatsuse]: "At Kuta[3] [and?] on the moor of Kaya at Wata in Afumi, boars and deer are abundant. Their legs as they stand are like a moor [covered] with *wogi*;[4] the horns they point up are like withered trees." At this time time [King Oho-hatsuse], taking with him King Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, made a progress to Afumi, and on reaching this moor, each of them built a separate temporary palace to lodge in. Then next morning, before the sun had risen, King Oshiha with a tranquil heart rode along on his august horse, and, reaching and standing beside King Oho-hatsuse's temporary Palace, said to King Oho-hatsuse's attendants: "Is he not awake yet? He must 309
be told quickly [that I am come]. It is already daylight.[5] He must come to the hunting-ground,"—and forthwith urging his horse, he went forth. Then the people who served the august person of King Oho-hatsuse

said: "As [King Oshiha] is a violent-spoken[6] Prince, thou shouldst be on thy guard, and likewise it were well to arm thine august person." Forthwith he put on armour underneath his clothes, took and girded on him his bow and arrows, rode off on horseback, and in a sudden interval setting his horse by the side [of the other King's], took out an arrow, shot King Oshiha down, forthwith moreover cut his body [to pieces], pu]them] into a horse's manger, and buried them level with the earth.

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1. This name has the curious signification of "Korean (or Chinese) bag."

2. *Afumi no Sasaki no yama no kimi. Conf.* Sect. LXIX, Note 46.

3. This and the following names are altogether obscure, neither is it evident whether two places are meant, or only one. The present passage reads as if two were intended, but a little further down the author seems to be speaking of but one.

4. *The Hedysarum esculentum.*

5. Literally "the night has already finished dawning."

6. Motowori endeavours, not every successfully, to explain the use of this epithet by Prince Oho-Hatsuse's attendants. As the sequel shows, the violence was all on the other side.

[SECT. CXLIX.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART VI.—FLIGHT OF PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE)].

Hereupon King Ichi-no-be's children[1] King Ohoke and King Woke (two Deities), having heard of this affray, fled away. So when they reached Karibawi[2] in Yamashiro and were eating their august provisions, an old man with a tattooed face came and seized the provisions. Then the two Kings said: "We do not grudge the provisions. But

who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am a boar-herd in Yamashiro." So they fled across the River Kusuba,[3] reached the land of Harima,[4] entered the house of a native of that country named Shizhimu,[5] hid their persons, and worked as grooms and cow-herds.

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1. Literally "prince" (王子). Their names apparently signify "big basket" and "little basket."

2. Known in later times as Kaniha and Kabawi. The name signifies (if the characters with which it is written may be relied on) "the well where the leaves were cut."

3. See Sect. LXVI. Note 19.

4. See Sect. LX, Note 19.

5. Or Shizhimi. Properly the name of a village, it is here used as the name of a man. The etymology is obscure.

[SECT. CL.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU, (I.—GENEALOGIES).] 310

His Augustness Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take dwelt in the palace of Asakura at Hatsuse,[1] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Queen Wake-kusaka-be, younger sister of King Oho-kusaka (no children). Again he wedded Princess Karu, daughter of the Grandee Tsubura, and begot august children: His Augustness Shiraka; next his younger sister Her Augustness Princess Waka-tarashi (two Deities).

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1. For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8. Several Asakuras are named in the pages of these "Records." That here named is in Yamato. The name seems to mean "morning store-house."

[SECT. CLL.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

So the Shiraka Clan[1] was established as the august proxy of Prince Shiraka. Again the Hatsuse-Clan-Retainers[2] were established. At this time there came over people from Kure. Again the Kahase Retainers[3] were established. These people from Kure[4] were lodged[5] at Kure-hara. So the place was called by the name of Kure-hara.[6]

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1. *Shiraka-be.*

2. *Hatuse-be no tomire.* This clan was called after the reigning Emperor. Remember that the word "Retainers" is here a "gentile name."

3. *Kahase no toneri. Kaha-se* signifies "river-reach," and the "Chronicles," under date of the eleventh year of this reign, tell a story of the appearance of a white cormorant, to commemorate which this family was established. Cormorants, it will be remembered, were used for catching fish in rivers; hence the appropriateness of the name bestowed on the family in question.

4. The name given by the early Japanese to Wu (吳), an ancient state in Eastern China to the South of the Yang-tzo River. In Japanese it however, like other names of portions of China, often denotes the whole of that country in a somewhat vague manner. The derivation the word *Kura* is obscure. The most acceptable proposition is that which would see in it corruption of the original Chinese term *Wu*, of which *Go* is the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation. But what of the second syllable *re?*

5. The phrase 安置 is in this place used for "lodged."

6. *I.e.*, Kure Moor. It is in Yamato. According to the "Chronicles," the former name of the place had been *Himokuma-nu.*

[SECT CLII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART III.—THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OF SHIKI. 311

In the beginning, when the Empress[1] dwelt at Kusaka,[2] [the Heavenly Sovereign] made a progress in Kafuchi by way of the Tadagoye[3] road at Kusaka. Then, on climbing to the top of the mountain and gazing on the interior of the country, [he perceived that] there was a house built with a raised roof-frame.[4] The Heavenly Sovereign sent to ask [concerning] that house, saying: "Whose roof with a raised frame is that?" The answer was: "It is the house of the great Departmental Lord of Shiki."[5] Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "What! a slave builds his own house in imitation of the august abode of the Heavenly Sovereign!"....and forthwith he sent men to burn the house [down], when the Great Departmental Lord, with trembling and dread, bowed his head,[6] saying: "Being a slave, I like a slave did not understand, and have built overmuch. I am in great dread."[7] So the thing that he presented as an august offering [in token] of his entreaty was a white dog 312
clothed in cloth,[8] and with a bell hung [round its neck]; and he made a kinsman of his own, named Koshihaki,[9] lead it by a string and present it [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. So the Heavenly Sovereign ordered them to desist from burning [the house].

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1. *I.e., Waka-kusaka-be.*

2. See Sect. XLIV, Note 31. The Kusaka here mentioned is that in Kafuchi.

3. From *tada*, "straight" and *koyuru* "to cross," this being a short cut over the mountains.

4. The original of this clause is 有上堅魚作舍屋之家, which is read *katsuwo wo agete ya wo tsukureru ihe ari.* The *katsuwo* (properly

katsuwo-gi 堅魚木) is the name of the uppermost portion of the roof in modern Shintō temples, and apparently in ancient times also in houses that were not devoted to religious purposes. The difficulty is not with the sense, but with the derivation of the word *katsuwo-gi*. Following the characters with which it is here and elsewhere written, Motowori sees in it a reference to the shape of the blocks of wood resembling "dried bonitoes," which is the modern signification of *katsuwo*. But Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," proposes a derivation which approves itself more to the present writer's mind, viz., *kadzuku wo-gi* (戴小木), "small timbers atop" (see "Examination of Difficult Words," *s.v.*). Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLI, pp. 11-14, should be consulted for a discussion of the whole question of the use of these frames in ancient times, and for the special force to be attributed to the word "raised" (上) in this passage.

5. *Shiki no oho-agata-nushi.* For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1.

6. *i.e.*, did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground.

7. Or, according to the older reading, "This *i.e.*, thy command) [is to be received with] awe."

8. Or, "tied with [a string of] cloth." The translation follows Motowori's interpretation.

9. The name signifies "loin-girded," *i.e.*, as may be presumed, "wearing a sword."

[SECT. CLIII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IV.—HE WOOES PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE).]

Forthwith making a progress to the residence of Queen Wakakusaka-be the Heavenly Sovereign sent the dog as a message, saying: "This thing is a strange thing which I got to day on the road. So it is a thing to woo with,"—and so saying, sent it in as a present. Thereupon Queen Waka-kusaka-be sent to say to the Heavenly Sovereign: "It is very alarming that thou shouldst make a progress with thy back to the sun.[1] So I will come up straight [to the capital], and respectfully

serve thee."[3] When therefore he returned up and dwelt in the palace, he went and stood on the ascent[3] of that mountain, and sang, saying:

"In the hollow between the nearer and the further mountain, this Mount Kusakabe and Mount Heguri, [is] growing the flourishing broad-leafed boar-oak; at the base grow intertwining bamboos; on the top grow luxuriant bamboos:—we sleep not [now] intertwined like the intertwining bamboos, we sleep not certainly like the luxuriant bamboos: [but] oh! my beloved 313
spouse, with whom [I] shall afterwards sleep intertwined!"[4]

And he forthwith sent back a messenger with this Song.[5]

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1. For he had come from Yamato in the East to Kafuchi in the West.

2. The meaning is: "Thy Majesty must not come to woo me here, as the direction is unlucky. But I will myself come up straightway to the palace to be "thine Empress."

3. The ascent or way up here mentioned is, says Motowori, the Tadagoye Road, and the mountain is Mount Kusaka. See Sect. CLII, Notes 2 and 3.

4. In this Song the Emperor consoles himself for the delay in his union with Princess Waka-kusaka-be by reflecting that after all she will soon be his.—The first half of the poem down to the colon and dash is a Preface to the rest. Most of the difficult words occurring in it have been explained in previous notes; for the "broad-leafed bear-oak" see Sect. LXXII, Note, 19; for *tatami-komo*, the Pillow-Word by which Heguri is preceded in the Japanese text, see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 12. *Kusaka-be* is curious, for whereas it properly signifies Kusaka-Tribe,—this tribe or family being called after the place where they resided,—the place itself came to be renamed after them when the fact of the posterior origin of the family designation had been forgotten. The reason (or the

mention in the Preface of the oak-tree, which is not referred to in the main text of the poem, is difficult to ascertain. Moribe thinks, however that it is on account of the luxuriance of its foliage which, as if it were a Preface within the Preface, paves the way for the mention of the thick-growing bamboos. The punning connection between *tashimi-dake*, "luxuriant bamboos," and *tashi ni ha wi-nezu*, "we sleep not certainly," is necessarily obliterated in the English translation. "Certainly" must be taken in the sense of "undisturbedly."

5. *I.e.*, as may be conjectured, a messenger dispatched to him by his mistress. It seems best to suppose the author to represent the Emperor as not having actually gone to her house at all, but as having only communicated with her by messenger.

[SECT. CLIV.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART V.—STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO).]

Again once when the Heavenly Sovereign going out for amusement, reached the River Miwa,[1] there was a girl, whose aspect was very beautiful, washing clothes by the river-side. The Heavenly Sovereign asked the girl, [saying]: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "My name is Akawi-ko of the Hiketa Tribe."[2] Then he caused her to be told, saying: "Do not thou
314 marry a husband. I will send for thee,"—and [with these words] he returned to the palace. So eighty years had already passed while she reverently awaited the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. Thereupon Akawi-ko thought: "As, while looking for the [Imperial] commands, I have already passed many years, and as my face and form are lean and withered, there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, if I do not show [the Heavenly Sovereign] how truly I have waited, my disappointment will be unbearable;"—and [so saying] she caused mer

chandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred,[8] and came forth and presented [these gifts as] tribute. Thereat the Heavenly Sovereign, who had quite forgotten what he had formerly commanded, asked Akawi-ko, saying: "What old woman art thou, and why art thou come hither?" Then Akawiko replied, saying: "Having in such and such a month of such and such a year received the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I have been reverently awaiting the great command until this day, and eighty years have past by. Now my appearance is quite decrepit, and there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless I have come forth in order to show and declare my faithfulness." Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign was greatly startled [and exclaimed]: "I had quite forgotten the former circumstance; and thou meanwhile, ever faithfully awaiting my commands, hast vainly let pass by the years of thy prime. This is very pitiful." In his heart he wished to marry her, but shrank from her extreme age, and could not make the marriage; but he conferred on her an august Song. That Song said:

> "How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-tree of the august dwelling! Maiden of the oak-plain!"[4]

Again he sang, saying: 315

> "The younger chestnut orchard plain of Hiketa:—o si dormivissem cum illâ in juventâ! Oh! how old she has become!"[5]

Then the tears that Akawi-ko wept quite drenched the red-dyed sleeve that she had on.[6] In reply to the great august Song, she sang, saying:

> "Left over from the piling up of the jewel-wall piled up round the august dwelling,

—to whom shall the person of the Deity's temple go ?"[7]

316 Again she sang, saying :

"Oh ! how enviable is she who is in her bloom like the flowering lotus,—the lotus of the inlet, of the inlet of Kusaka !"[8]

Then the old woman was sent back plentifully endowed So these four Sngs are Quiet Songs.[9]

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1. *Miwa-gawa*, It is the stream which flows past Hatsuse. For Miwa see Sect. LXV, Note 8.

2. *Hiketa-bo no Akawi-ko*. *Hiketa* is in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure. *Akawi-ko* signifies "red boar child;" but the appropriateness of the name to the woman in the story is not made to appear.

3. See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

4. Moribe says that, in this Song, the forgetful Momarch calls to mind the majestic and awful appearance of the sacred tree in the temple-grounds, and is moved by this religious thought to repent of his neglectful treatment as her who had so patiently waited for him through so many years. Motowori, on the contrary, sees in the words nothing more than a comparison of the old woman to some sacred tree of immemorial age, and the aversion felt by the monarch to an union with her.—The oak mentioned (the *Kashi*, *Quercus myrsinæfolia*) is an evergreen specie Both Motowori and Moribe consider that *mimoro* in the original Japanese of this Song should be taken, not as a proper name (see Sect. XXVIII, Notes 3 and 5), but simply as signifying "a sacred dwelling." As Miwa is mentioned in the earlier part of the story, it might seem more natural to regard *mimoro* as likewise being a Proper Name. But the word *mimoro* itself signifying "sacred spot," the difference between the two views does not amount to much, and it is best to follow a tive authority "Oak-plain" (*kashi-hara*) means "a place planted with oak-trees." The first sentence of the Song must be looked on as a sort of preface to the second.

5. The first words of this Song down to the colon and dash are a Preface to the Song proper, whose meaning stands in need of no explanation,—Moribe surmises that the word *kuri*, "chestnut," was formerly

a general name for all sorts of fruits, somewhat like our Euglish word "berry."

6. The drenching of the sleeve with tears is a common figure in Japanese poetry.

7. Or we might (following Moribe) render thus: "Left over from the guarding of the jewel-grove guard at the august dwelling," etc. The wording of his Song is far from clear. While Motowori sees in it a reference to the construction of a wall round the ground of a temple, the overplus of the materials for which sacred wall could not, it may be presumed, be applied to any profane purpose, Moribe disputes the propriety of such an interpretation of the word *kaki* which, according to him, denotes the grove planted in temple-grounds, temples never having been surrounded by walls such as Motowori assumes the existence of, nor even by "hedges" or "fences," which is the more usual acceptation of the term. He thinks, therefore, that the superficial signification of the actual words of the Song is that the priest, who has all his life been in the service of one particular shrine, cannot desert it for the adoration of some other deity. The underlying deeper significance of the little poem is in either case the same: Akawi-ko had, during her long waiting of eighty years, remained true to her first love, the Emperor. For every reason it had been impossible for her ever to give her affections to another, and she had now come up to the capital to demonstrate to him who had forgotten her the unchangeable nature of her feelings.

8. This pretty little poem is too clear to need any comment. Moribe supposes that some lotuses brought from Kusaka may have been among the presents made by Akawi-ko to the Emperor. In the original Japanese the reference to the lotuses comes first, as a sort of preface to the rest of the poem. The laws of English construction necessitate its being put last in the translation.

9. See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[SECT. CLV.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VI.—HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU).]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the palace of Yeshinu,[1] there was on the bank of the Yes-

hinu river a girl of beautiful appearance. So having wedded this girl, he returned to the Palace. Afterwards, when he again made a progress to Yeshinu, he halted where he had met the girl, and in that place raised a great august throne,[2] seated himself on that august throne, played on his august lute, and made the maiden dance. Then he composed an august Song on account of the maiden's good dancing. That Song said:

> "Oh! that the maiden dancing to the lute-playing, of the august hand of the Deity seated on the throne might continue for ever!"[3]

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1. See Sect. XLVI, Note 3.
2. See Sect. CXII, Note 2.
3. This Song presents no difficulties. In it the Emperor speaks of himself as a Deity, and is enthusiastically praised by the commentator Moribe for so doing.

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317 [SECT. CLVI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII.—THE HORSE-FLY AND THE DRAGON-FLY).]

When forthwith he made a progress to the Moor of Akidzu,[1] and augustly hunted, the Heavenly Sovereign sat on an august throne. Then a horse-fly bit his august arm, and forthwith a dragon-fly came and ate up[2] the horse-fly, and flew [away]. Thereupon he composed an august Song. That Song said:

> "Who is it tells in the great presence that game is lying on the peak of Womuro at Mi-yeshinu? Our Great Lord, who tranquilly carries on the government, being

seated on the throne to await the game, a horse-fly alights on and stings the fleshy part of his arm fully clad in a sleeve of white stuff, and a dragon-fly quickly eats up that horse-fly. That it might properly bear its name, the land of Yamato was called the Island of the Dragon-Fly."[3]

So from that time that moor was called by the name 318
of Akidzu-nu.[4]

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1. *Akidzu-nu.* See Note 4 to this section.

2. Or, "bit."

3. The signification of the greater portion of this Song is clear enough, and is sufficiently explained by the context. The word "who" however admits of two interpretations, Motowori taking it to signify "some one," whereas Moribe, keeping the literal meaning of "who?" sees in it an angry exclamation of the monarch's at having been brought out to the hunt under exaggerated promises of game. *Womuro* means "little cave," but is here a proper name. *Mi-yeshinu* is a form of the word Yoshino which is frequently met with in poetry, the syllable *mi* being probably, as Mabuchi tells us in his "Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," equivalent to *ma*, and therefore simply an "Ornamental Prefix." The phrase "tranquilly carries on the government" represents the Japanese *yasumishishi*, the Pillow-Word for *wa ga ohokimi*, "our Great Lord," which latter phrase descriptive of the Sovereign is here put into the Sovereign's own mouth. "Of white stuff, *shiro-tahe no*, is another Pillow-Word. The only real difficulty in this Song meets us is the interpretation of its concluding sentence. The meaning apparently intended to be conveyed is that it was in order to prove itself worthy of its name that the dragon-fly performed the loyal deed which forms the subject of the tale. But it so, the author forgets that it was not the dragon-fly that was called after Japan, but Japan that was called after the dragon-fly (*Akidzushima*, "Dragon-fly-Island," from *akidzu*, "dragon-fly"). What should be the point of the whole poem therefore fails of application. The name "Island of the Dragon-Fly" has already appeared in Sect. V (Note 26).

4. *I.e.*, Dragon-Fly Moor. See Motowori's remarks in his "Examination of the Synonyms for Japan," p. 26.

[SECT. CLVII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII.—ADVENTURE WITH A WILD BOAR).]

Again once the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up to the summit of Mount Kadzuraki.[1] Then a large [wild] boar ran out. When the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith shot the boar with a whizzing barb,[2] the boar, furious, came towards him roaring.[3] So the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the roaring, climbed up to the top of an alder. Then he sang, saying:

> "The branch of the alder-tree on the opportune mound which I climbed in my flight on account of the terribleness of the roaring of the boar, of the wounded boar, which our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government had been pleased to shoot!"[4]

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1. See Sect. LV, Note 1.

2. See Sect. XXIII, Note, 7.

3. This is the sense attributed by the commentators to the obscure word *utaki*, which seems to be only found written phonetically.

4. Our author cannot be right in attributing this Song to the Emperor, and we need not hesitate to accept the different version of the story given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicle," where the Monarch, as might be expected from all the other details that have been preserved concerning him, bravely faces the boar, while it is one of his attendants who runs away and climbs a tree to be out of danger, and afterwards composes these lines. This Song is a good instance of what Mr. Aston (in his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd Edit., p. 194) has said concerning some of the short poems of a later date: "These sentences are not statements of fact; they merely picture to the mind a state of things without making any assertion respecting it." Here we, as it were, simply see the frightened courtier sitting breathless and terrified amid the branches of the alder, and the whole verse has but the meaning of an exclamation. The term *ari-wo* rendered "opportune mound." is the only word in the text which raises any dif-

ficulties of interpretation. Moribe's exegesis has here been followed. According to the older view it signifies "barren mound." For the words our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" see Sect CLVI, Note 3.

[SECT. CLVIII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IX.—REVELATION OF THE GREAT DEITY OF KADZURAKI, LORD OF ONE WORD).] 319

Again once, when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up Mount Kadzuraki, the various officials[1] were all clothed in green-stained garments with red cords that had been granted to them. At that time there were people ascending the mountain on the opposite mountain acclivity quite similar to the order of the Heavenly Monarch's retinue. Again the style of the habiliments and likewise the people were similar and not distinguishable.[2] Then the Heavenly Sovereign gazed, and sent to ask, saying: "There being no other King in Yamato excepting myself, what person goeth thus?" The style of the reply again was like unto the commands of a Heavenly Sovereign. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being very angry, fixed his arrow [in his bow], and the various officials all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. Then those people also all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. So the Heavenly Sovereign again sent to ask, saying: "Then tell thy name. Then let each of us tell his name, and [then] let fly his arrow." Thereupon [the other] replied, saying: "As I was the first to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good,—the Great Deity of Kadzuraki, Lord of One

320 Word.[n8] The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understood not that thy great person would be revealed;[n5]—and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on, and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity].[5] Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands,[6] accepted the offering. So when the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress back, the Great Deity came down the mountain,[7] and respectfully escorted him to the entrance[8] of the Hatsuse mountain. So it was at that time the Great Deity Lord of One Word was revealed.

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1. Literally, "the hundred officials." This Chinese phrase has been met with before in the "Records," and recurs in this Section.

2. The original has the character 傾, out of which it is hard to make sense. Motowori's proposal to consider it put by error for 頒, has therefore been adopted, though the translator feels by no means sure that it is a happy one. According to the strict Chinese sense of 領, it would not fit with this passage any bettar than 傾; but in Japanese we may be justified in understanding 不頒 to mean "not distinguishable."

3. In the original: 吾者雖惡事而一言雖善一事而言言離之神葛城之一言主之大神者也. The import of the obscure expression "dispelling with a word the good" is not rendered much more intelligible by Motowori's attempt to explain it. For Kadzuraki see LV, Note. 1.

4. Literally, "that there would be a present (or manifest) great person."

5. *I.e.*, he kept nothing for himself, but from his own sword and bow and arrows down to the ceremonial garments in which his followers were clad, gave every thing to the god.

6. In token of joy, says Motowori.

7. The characters 滿山末, rendered by "came down the mountain," are evidently the result of a copyist's carelessness. The translation follows Motowori's proposal to emend the text to 降山來.

8. Literally "mouth."

[SECT CLIX.—EMPEROR YŪ-KIYAKU (PART X.—THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to Kasuga to wed Princess Wodo,[1] daughter of the Grandee Satsuki of Wani,[2] a maiden met him by the way, and forthwith seeing the Imperial progress, ran and hid on the side of a mound. So he composed an august Song. That august Song said:

"Oh! the mound where the maiden is
hiding! Oh for five hundred metal spades!
then might [we] dig her out!"[3]

So that mound was called by the name of the Mound 321
of the Metal Spade.[4]

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1. *Wodo-hime* The signification of this name is obscure.

2. *Wani no Satsuki no omi.* For *Wani* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. *Satsuki* is the old Japanese name of the fifth moon.

3. Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "The Monarch had met a girl carrying "a spade in her hand, and as she was beautiful, wished to address her; but she ran off and hid on the hill-side, leaving her spade behind her. His words express a desire for five hundred spades like hers, with which to break down the hill-side and dig her out.... It is in joke that he talks of the maiden who was on the *other side* of the hill as being *inside* it." That in ancient times all digging implements were not made of metal will be seen by reference to Sect. CXXIV, Note 9.

4. *Kanasuki no woka.*

[SECT. CLX.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XI.—THE LEAF IN THE CUP).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a copious feast under a hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree[1] at Hatsuse, a female attendant from Mihe[2] in the land of Ise lifted

up the great august cup, and presented it to him. Then from the hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree there fell a leaf and floated in the great august cup. The female attendant, not knowing that the fallen leaf was floating in the cup, did not desist from presenting the great august liquor to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, perceiving the leaf floating in the cup, knocked the female attendant down, put his sword to her neck, and was about to cut off her head, when the female attendant spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Slay me not! There is something that I must say to thee;" and forthwith she sang, saying:

"The palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a palace where shines the morning sun, a palace where glistens the evening sun, a palace plentifully rooted as the root of the bamboo, a palace with spreading roots like the roots of the trees, a palace pestled with oh! eight hundred [loads of] earth. As for the branches of the hundred-fold flourishing *tsuki*-tree growing by the house of new licking at the august gate [made of] *chamaecyparis* [wood], the uppermost
322 branch has the sky above it, the middle branch has the east above it, the lowest branch has the country above it. A leaf from the tip of the uppermost branch falls against the middle branch; a leaf from the tip of the middle branch falls against the lowest branch; a leaf from the tip of the lowest branch, falling into the oil floating in the fresh jewelled goblet which the maid

of Mihe is lifting up, all [goes] curdle-curdle. Ah! this is very awful, August Child of the High-Shining Sun! The tradition of the thing, too this!"[4]

So on her presenting this Song, her crime was 323
pardoned. Then the Empress sang. Her Song said:

"Present the luxuriant august liquor to the august child of the high-shining sun, who is broad like the leaves, who is brilliant like the blossoms of the broad-foliaged five hundred [-fold branching] true camellia-tree that stands growing by the house of new licking in this high metropolis of Yamato, on this high-timbered mound of the metropolis The tradition of this thing, too this!"[5]

Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying: 324

"The people of the great palace, having put on scarfs like the quail-birds having put their tails together like wagtails' and congregated together like the yard-sparrows, may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in liquor,—the people of the palace of the high-shining sun. The tradition of the thing, too, this."[6]

These three Songs are Songs of Heavenly Words.[7] 325
So at this copious feast this female attendant from Mihe was praised and plentifully endowed.

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1. Said to be scarcely distinguishable from the *keyaki* (*Zelkowa keaki*)
2. See Sect. LXXXIX, Note 7.
3. Literally "still presented."

4. To understand the allusion at the beginning of this Song to the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, which had been the residence of the Emperor Kei-kō (See Sect. LXXVI, Note 1), it must be known that in the account of the reign of that monarch as given in the "Chronicles" there is a story which, like that in the text, turns on carelessness in dealing with a goblet,—carelessness which Kei-kō graciously pardoned. Moreover the scene of the incident here related was in the immediate neighbourhood of the old palace of Hishiro. There was therefore a double reason for referring to that place; and the under-current of insinuation is, that as Kei-kō in the olden time forgave the courtiers who forgot his goblet, will not the present Sovereign forgive the maid of Mihe for letting a leaf fall into his? The poetess, after describing the splendour and solidity of the Imperial abode, passes on to a mention of the luxuriant and many-branching *tsuki*-tree growing near "the house of new licking," *i.e.*, the sacred hall where the Sovereign performed each year the ceremony of tasting the first-fruits of the harvest. The "gate" may either be taken in its literal acceptation, or else regarded as used by metonymy for the palace itself. The description of that which the middle and lowest branches "have above them" is somewhat obscure, and perhaps the words should not be too strictly pressed for a perfectly rational meaning, their chief use being as metrical parallelisms. The supposition of the commentators is however that the poetess, in speaking of this immense tree, meant to say that the middle branch (or branches) spread eastward, and the lowest branches westward. Next we are told of the fall of the fatal leaf into the oil, *i.e.*, into the liquor, contained in the Imperial goblet; and the poetess, before acknowledging the awfulness of her misdemeanour, skilfully brings in an allusion to the Japanese account of the creation, when the drops that fell from the spear used by the creator ond creatrix Izanagi and Izanami to make the brine "go curdle-curdle" did very good work indeed; for they were piled up and became the first-formed island for the Japanese archipelago (see Sect. III): for drops to fall down, or for leaves to fall into drops (of wine), must therefore surely be a good omen rather than a crime. Conformably with the hesitating nature of her allusion, the maiden leaves it quite uncertain what is conceived of as "going curdle-curdle" in the present instance. In fact, neither must the thought be pressed too far, nor the sentence searched too rigorously from a grammatical point of view. Such intentional vagueness is one of the specific characteristics of a great deal of the poetry of Japan. The words "the tradition of the thing,

oo, this!", which conclude the poem, are obscure in another and more usual sense; but, having been already treated of in Note 4 to Sect. XXIV, they need not detain us here. They do not affect the sense of the rest of the poem. Two points more remain to be noticed: one is that the word *Mihe* and *hi no mi kado* ("august gate of *chæmacyparis*") are respectively preceded by the Pillow-Words *ariginu no*, whose signification is disputed, and *makisaku*, which signifies "splitting true trees;" the other, that the original of the word "glistens" near the commencement of the poem only has that sense if, following Morihe, we identify *hi-gakeru* with *hi-kagayakeru*. As it stands, the word *kakeru* lends itself more naturally to the interpretation of "sets." But the logical difficulty of accepting the phrase "where the sun sets" in such a context, where on the contrary some phrase of good omen is alone appropriate, seems greater than the philological difficulty of deriving *hi-gakeru* by a process of contraction from *hi-kagayakeru*. The designation of the Emperor or Heir Apparent by the title of "august child of the high-shining sun" has been met with before, and needs no explanation when the solar ancestry claimed by the Japanese monarchs is called to mind.

5. The gist of this Song, which must be supposed to be addressed to the female attendant, is simply: "Present the goblet full of liquor to the Emperor."—In accordance with the rules of Japanese construction the Imperative "present," which is the chief Verb of the sentence, comes last, and is preceded by the comparison of the Monarch to the leaves and flowers of the camellia-tree, while the comparatively unimportant words describing the position of the tree come at the beginning. Thus in a literal English translation the climax is necessarily spoilt through the reversal of the order of the words. The "broad-leafed camellia" has already appeared in Sect. CXXIII, Note 11, the "house of new licking" has been explained in the note immediately preceding the present one, and the incomprehensible concluding exclamation has been discussed in Sect. XXIV, Note 4. The "high metropolis" of Yamato is of course the then capital. There is however some doubt whether the word *take-chi*, which is here thus rendered, should not rather be considered as a proper name. The expression *ko-dakaru*, rendered "high-timbered," is also doubtful. Motowori interprets it simply as "slightly high." Moribe seems right in explaining the word *tsukasa* to mean "a mound."

6. This Song is here out of place, and is supposed by Motowori to have been composed, not by the Emperor, but by some court-lady who was absent from the feast. The meaning simply is: "Ah yes," tis today that the court ladies are "drinking their fill of rice-liquo r(.—and

would that I were with them)!"—The picture here presented of the manners of the court is not attractive; but the comparison of the ladies' appearance with that of various birds is quaint. The commentators tell us that the the appropriateness of the use of the word "scarfs" as applied to the quail lies in the peculiar plumage of that bird, which makes it look as if it had a scarf on. "Having put their tails together" means "standing with their trains in a row." The epithet "yard" applied to the sparrows paints the habits of that bird. The words "great palace" are in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *momoshiki no*, whose signification is disputed. After lines

Kefu mo ka mo
Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi.

rendered "may perhaps to day be truly steeped in liquor," Moribe would like to consider the lines

Asu mo komo
Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi,

i.e., "may perhaps to-morrow be truly steeped in liquor" to have been accidentally omitted. There is no doubt but that their insertion would add to the effect of the poem from the point of view of style.

7. 天語歌, read *ama-koto-uta*. This expression is altogether obscure, and the commentators differ in their interpretations of it. Mabuchi, following the characters, sees in them an allusion to the words "august child of the high-shining sun" which recurs in each of the three Songs thus bracketed together. Motowori thinks that *ama-koto* should be regarded as standing for *amari-goto* (餘語) "surplus words," in allusion to the meaningless *refrain* with which the Songs in question terminate. Other Songs, however, which end in the same manner, are not thus designated. Moribe's exegesis, though founded on Motowori's is preferable to it. Accepting *ama-koto* as a contraction of *amari-goto*, he would take the second half of the compound in the sense of "things," not "words" (事 not 語), and regard the whole as signifying that the Songs were composed or sung after the conclusion of the actual feast. Against this view must be set the fact that the Chinese characters lend it no support. The translator, has, as usual when in doubt, preferred to adhere to the sense given by the characters.

[SECT. CLXI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XII.—SONGS BY THE EMPEROR AND PRINCESS WODO).]

On the day of this copious feast the Heavenly Sovereign, when Princess Wodo of Kasuga[1] presented to him the great august liquor, sang again, saying:

"Oh! the grandee's daughter holding the excellent flagon! [If] thou hold the excellent flagon, hold it firmly! Hold it quite firmly, more and more firmly, child holding the excellent flagon."[2]

This is a Cup Song.[3] Then Princess Wodo presented 326
a Song. That Song said:

"Would that I were [thou,] the lower board of the arm-rest whereon our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government stands leaning at morn, stands leaning at eve! Oh! mine elder brother!"[4]

This is a Quiet Song.

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1. *Kasuga no Wodo-hime* See Sect. CLIX. Note 1.

2. This Song is simply a reiterated and playful injunction to the maiden to hold firmly the flagon containing the intoxicating liquor; and Motowori is, as Moribe remarks, putting more into the words than they are really meant to convey, when he says that they imply *praise* on the Monarch's part,—The English words "grandee's daughter" represent the Japanese *omi no omina*, a somewhat remarkable expression, which is interpreted by Motowori to signify "attendant maiden." The translator prefers the view propounded in Moribe's comment on this Song, and has therefore adopted it. The expression is in the original preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *minasossoku* (Moribe reads the last syllable with the *nigori*,—*gu*). The word rendered "excellent flagon" is *ho-dari*, the first element of the compound being explained by the commentators in the sense of "excellent," i.e., "big," while the second is the same as the modern word *taru*, "a cask." In ancient times, however, the signification of *tari* or *taru* was that of a vessel to pour liquor from, not

to store liquor in,—i.e., a flagon, not a cask. The words "quite firmly, more and more firmly" represent the Japanese *shita-gataku ya-gataku* according to Moribe's exegesis. Motowori's interpretation of them in the sense of "[take the] bottom firmly and the top firmly" is less acceptable

3. Thus does the editor of 1687, who is followed by Moribe, understand the original expression *uki-uta*. Motowori's interpretation, "Floating Song," seems less good.

4. So enamoured is the maiden of the Sovereign that she woulh fain be even the board of the arm-rest on which he leans.—The expression "lower board" is misleading, for it refers simply to the self-evident fact that the board forming the top of the little low table used as an arm-rest by one squatting on his mat is below the arm, as whose support it serves. The words "stands leaning" must probably be understood to signify "sits" or "squats leaning." The expression "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" is a frequently recurring periphrasis for the word "Emperor," and has been explained in Sect. LXXXVII, Note 4. The words "at morn" and "at eve" are literally in the original "at morning doors" and "at evening doors," the reference being to the fact that the doors of a house are respectively opened and closed in the early morning and at nightfall. The exclamation "Oh! mine elder brother" is addressed to the board of the arm-rest. *Conf.* the first Song in Sect LXXXIX, where Yamato-take apostrophizes a pine-tree in he same terms.

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327 [SECT. CLXII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XIII.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-four. His august mausoleum is at Takawashi in Tajihi[1] in Kafuchi.

1. For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. *Takawashi* signifies "high eagle."

[SECT. CLXIII.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART I.—SEARCH FOR A SUCCESSOR TO HIM).]

His Augustness Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko dwelt at the palace of Mikakuri at Ihare,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign had no Empress, and likewise no august children. So the Shiraka-Clan[2] was established as his august proxy. So after the Heavenly Sovereign's decease, there was no King to rule the Empire. Thereupon, on enquiry [being made] for a King who should rule the sun's succession, Oshinumi-no-iratsume,[3] another name for whom was Princess Ihi-toyo, younger sister of Prince Ichinobe-oshiha-wake,[4] [was found to be] residing at the palace of Tsunusashi at Takaki in Oshinumi in Kadzuraki.[5]

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1. For Ihare see Sect. XLII!, Note 26. *Mika-kuri* signifies "jar-chestnut."

2. *Shiraka-be*

3. In Sect. CXXXI (Note 7) this name appears as *Awomi-no-iratsume*. Both *Awomi* and *Oshinumi* are supposed to be names of places. The latter is the name of a district in Yamato. Its etymology is obscure. For *Ihi-toyo* see Sect. CXXXI, Note 8.

4. See Sect. CXXXI (Note 5), where however the title of *wake* ("Lord") is omitted.

5. For *Kadzuraki* see Sect. LV, Note 1, and for Oshinumi see Note 3 to the present Sect. *Takaki* seems to signify "high castle," while *Tsunusashi* is obscure. (See Motowori's remarks on these two names in Vol. XLIII, p. 3 of his Commentary.)

[SECT. CLXIV.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART II.—PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE ARE DISCOVERED.)]

Then Wodate, Chief of the Mountain Clan[1] when appointed governor of the land of Harima, arrived just at

328 [the time of] a rejoicing for the new cave of an inhabitant called Shizhimu.[2] Hereupon, when the feasting and the drinking were at their height, they all danced in turn. So two young children[3] [employed] to light the fire sat beside the furnace.[4] These young children were made to dance. Then one of the young children said: "Do thou the elder brother dance first." The elder brother likewise said: "Do thou the younger brother dance first." When they thus yielded to each other, the people who were met together laughed at their manner of yielding to each other.[5] So at last the elder brother danced, [and when he had] finished, the younger when about to dance chanted, saying:

> "On the bamboos on the mountain-slopes, behind which are hidden as soon as they appear my warrior-mate's sword, on whose hilt red earth was daubed, for whose cord red cloth was cut, and his red flags that were set up!:—Beggarly descendants of King Ichinobe-no-oshiha, august child of the Heavenly Sovereign Izaho-wake, who ruled the Empire as it were cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities, and like playing on an eight-stringed lute!"[6]

329 Then forthwith Chief Wodate, starting at the sound [of these words], and rolling off his couch,[7] drove away the people of the cave; and having set the two[8] princes [one] on his left knee and [the other] on hia right and wept and lamented, he collected the people together, and having built a temporary palace, and set [the two princes]

to dwell in that temporary palace, he sent a courier up [to the capital]. Thereupon their aunt, Queen Ihi-toyo, delighted to hear [the news], made them come up to the palace.

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1. *Yama-be no murazhiwodate. Yama-be* has already appeared. *Wo-date* signifies "small shield."

2. For this name see Sect. CXLIX, Note 5. A similar festival at the inauguration of a new cave is mentioned in Sect. LXXX.

3. Motowori's vain attempts to reconcile the dates with this statement of Princes Ohoke and Woke being "young children" at this time, after an interval of two reigns since the death of their father, will be found in Vol. XLIII, pp. 10-11, of his Commentary.

4. *I.e.*, as the commentators snppose, a place or vessel holding a light with which to kindle other lights for the feast. The word can scarcely here have its common signification of a "kitchen-range."

5. *I.e.*, at the fact of their being so courteous to each other.

6. This so-called "chant,"—it is not a Song, because not in metre, and is accordingly not transcribed syllabically,—is at first sight so difficult as to seem to defy translation, and to make the student apply to the whole of his interpretation Motowori's closing remark on his exegesis of one of phrases contained in it,—"this is mere guess-work, and the text demands further consideration." A little inspection shows, however, that the drift of the words is by no means so inscrutable as its partly ideographic and partly phonetic transcription makes it appear. The first part down to the colon and dash is a "Preface" to the second, the "Pivot" joining the two parts in the original Japanese being the word "bamboos." The laws of English construction unfortunately do not admit of the force of the orginal, which entirely depends on the position of the words, being rendered into our language. The appropriateness of the Preface to the body of the chant rests on the consideration that the *bright* articles mentioned in it, viz., the sword painted and decorated with red streamers (or perhaps tied on with a red sash) and also the red banners are easily *hidden* behind the thick leaves of a bamboo-grove, just as the Imperial origin of the two young Princes was hidden beneath the vile office which they filled in Shizhimu's household. The clause "cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities" forms the chief difficulty. Indeed the word "roots" is supplied by Motowori, and his interpretation of the phrase is merely tentative. We may,

however, until some better explanation is offered, see in it a reference to the energetic manner in which the Empire was ruled by the young princes' grandfather, the Emperor Izaho-wake (i-chiū), or else perhaps by their father Ichinobe-no-Oshiha. This latter view is preferred by Motowori, though according to the history Ichinobe-no-oshiha never actually ascended the throne. The position of the Verb "ruled" in the Japanese text permits of either interpretation. The comparison of the government of the Empire to playing on a lute is poetical and appropriate. It shonld be noticed that in the Japanese text the construction of the sentence forming the main body of the chant is the reverse of what it is made to appear to be in the translation. The words "beggarly descendants," by which, as a climax, the singer reveals his own and his brother's illustrious descent, therefore come last of all and produce on Wodate the startling effect which we read of in the next sentence.

7. Or, "seat." In ancient times each person in a room sat on a special mat, and it is that small mat which is here meant.

8. The Numeral is accompanied by the Auxiliary *hashira*, properly used for gods and goddesses.

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330 [SECT. CLXV.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART.—THE GRANDEE SHIBI).[1]]

So when the government of the Empire was about to be assumed,[2] the Grandee Shibi,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri[4] mixed in the Songs, and took the hand of the beautiful person whom His Augustness Woke was about to wed. This maiden was a daughter of one of the Headmen of Uda,[5] and her name was Ofuwo.[6] Then His Augustness Woke likewise mixed in the Song-Hedge.[7] Thereupon the Grandee Shibi sang, saying:

(iv) "The further fin of the roof of the great palace is bent down at the corner."[8]

When he had thus sung, and requested the conclusion

of the Song, His Augustness Woke sang, saying:

(v) "It is on account of the great carpenter's awkwardness that it is bent down at the corner."[9] 331

Then the Grandee Shibi sang again, saying:

(viii) "The great lord, on account of the magnanimity of his heart, does not enter and stand in the eight-fold hedge of branches of the child of a grandee."[10]

Hereupon the Prince sang again, saying:

(i) "Looking on the breakers of the briny current, I see my spouse standing by the fin of the tunny that comes sporting."

Then the Grandee Shibi, getting more and more angry sang, saying:

(ix) "[Though] the eight-fold hedge of branches of the Prince the Great Lord be made fast at eight places, be made fast all round, 'tis a hedge that shall be cut, 'tis a hedge that shall be burnt."[11]

Then the Prince again sang, saying:

(ii) "Oh fisherman that spearest the tunny, the great fish! He being [there], thou must be sad at heart, tunny-spearing fisherman!"[12]

Having thus sung, the feast was concluded at dawn, 332
and they all retired. Next morning the two Deities,[13] His Augustness Ohoke and His Augustness Woke, took counsel, saying: "All the people of the Court go to Court in the morning, and assemble at Shibi's gate at noon. So[14] Shibi must surely now be sleeping, and,

333 moreover there will be nobody at the gate. So unless it be now, it were hard to plot against him,[n15]—and forthwith they at once raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Shibi, and slew him.

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1. The student should compare the version of the story in this Sect. with that give in the "Chronicles of Japan," where it is placed some years later at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Mu-retsu, and not only do many of the details disagree, but the arrangement and number of the Songs is different. It is impossible to make a consistent whole out of the story as here given; so, while noticing the linguistic peculiarities of each of the Songs in the order in which they appear in the present text, the translator has thought it advisable, following Moribe, to give in Note 12 a consistent scheme of interpretation for the whole. The small Roman numbers placed in brackets at the commencement of each Song indicate its place in the text as restored by Moribe.

2. By one or other of the two Princes Ohoke and Woke. "Each," we are afterwards told, "ceded the Empire to the other," and it therefore remained for some time uncertain which was to be the Sovereign.

3. *Shibi no omi.* In some of the Songs that follow there is a play on the identity of this name with that of the tunny-fish (*shibi*). But whether that be really the derivation it is difficult to ascertain.

4. *Heguri no omi. Conf.* Sect. LXI, Note 45.

5. *Uda no obito-ra. Uda* is the name of a place in Yamato.

6. *I.e.*, "big fish." But see the remark on this name in Note 12.

7. *Uta-gaki.* The derivation of this curious expression is disputed; but the meaning seems to be "strophic" or "choric song," or "a place where singing in which more than one takes part is going on."

8. In this Song the "further fin" (*woto tsu hata-de*, explained by the characters 彼鯖手 or 彼端手) is supposed to signify a pent-roof, or the eaves of the roof, or else an out-house connected by a slanting roof with the main building. The "great palace" is the palace of Prince Woke.

9. The "great carpenter" is the carpenter employed to build the roof above-mentioned.

10. The "eight-fold hedge of branches" is simply a "hedge," and the "child of a grandee" the Grandee Shibi himself,

11. The words "made fast" refer to the tying of the fence at certain places to give it strength. If we accepted Moribe's emendation of the final Verb *yakemu*, "burn," to *yaremu*, we should have to translate the last clause thus: "'tis a fence that shall be broken."

12. "The great fish" (*ofuwo yo shi*) is the Pillow-Word for *shibi*, "tunny." The word "he" (which might also be rendered "*it*,"—the original being (*so*) must be taken to refer both to the fish itself and to the Grandee Shibi (*i.e.*, the grandee Tunny), who bore its name.—Following Moribe's acceptable restoration of the original story, which is founded on a comparison of the text of these "Records" with that of the "Chronicles of Japan," we find that in the first Song of the series the young Prince half jokingly remarks on the fact of the Grandee Shibi appearing in public with the damsel who was to have been his (the Prince's) bride. Shibi's name, which, as already stated, signifies "tunny," furnishes the occasion for the marine metaphors borrowed from the current and the breakers. Shibi's answer (Song II,—in the Records" wrongly ascribed to the prince), takes up the same strain, but in a more aunting tone: the prince is likened to a fisherman who would fain make a futile attempt to spear the great tunny, and his (the tunny's. i.e., the Grandee Shibi's) presence must indeed be pain and grief to him. In a third Song, which is given in the "Chronicles," but not in the "Records," the prince retorts that he relies on his good sword to win the girl for him in the end, and in Song IV the Grandee jeers at the dilapidated condition of his palace, and by implication at the sorry state of his fortunes,—a taunt to which the prince replies in Song V by saying that if the palace is dilapidated, and the Empire in disorder, the fault belongs to none other than to the Grandee himslf. Songs VI and VII, which are not found in the "Records," only serve to continue the growing war of words, which in Song VII (in the "Rocords" wrongly attributed to the Grandee) comes to a climax by the prince exclaiming that if he does not force his way into the Grandee's mansion to seize his lady-love, it is only on account of the magnanimity of his disposition. To this the Grandee replies in Song IX (in the "Records" erroneously attributed to the prince) by a sort of *tu quoque*, vowing that he will cut and burn his way into the prince's palace. This is not the end of the dispute in the pages of the "Chronicles," but it is all that need detain the reader of the "Records." It should, however, be mentioned that in the "Chronicles" the name of the girl is *Kage-hime*: *Ofuwo* "Big Fish," which is here given, would seem to be nothing more

than a nickname, which perhaps arose from the incidents of this metrica war of words.

13. The word used in the original is *hashiru*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities. It recurs at the commencement of the next Section, where however it is not convenient to translate it.

14. The original here has the character 亦, "again" or "moreover." But this must be, as Motowori points out a copyist's error, Almost immediately below the same character recurs where it is equally out of place. The translator has followed Motowori in rendering it the first time by "so," and the second by "surely."

15. *I.e.*, There is no time like the present for plotting against him.

[SECT. CLXVI.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART IV.—PRINCE OHOKE CEDES THE EMPIRE TO PRINCE WOKE).]

Then each of the two Princes ceded the Empire to the other, and His Augustness Ohoke [finally] ceded it to the younger brother His Angustness Woke, saying: "Had not Thine Augustness revealed our names when we dwelt in the house of Shizhimu in Harima, we should never have arrived at being the lords of the Empire. This is quite owing to Thine Augustness's deed. So, though I be the elder brother, do Thine Augustness rule the Empire first,"—and [with these words] he urgently ceded [his claim]. So, being unable to refuse, His Augustness Woke ruled the Empire first.

[SECT. CLXVII.—EMPEROR KEN.ZŌ (PART I.—THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME).]

His Augustness Woke-no-ihasu-wake dwelt at the palace of Chika-tsu-Asuka,[1] and ruled the Empire for

eight years. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Queen of Naniha,[2] daughter of the King of Ihaki.[3] He had no children. At the time when this Heavenly Sovereign was searching for the august bones of the King his father, King Ichinobe,[4] there came out from the land of Afumi [to the palace] a poor old woman, who said: "The place where the prince's august bones are buried is specially well known to me,[5] and moreover [his skeleton] can be known by his august teeth." (His august teeth were teeth uneven like a lily.) Then people were set[6] to dig the 334
ground and search for the august bones; and the bones having been forthwith obtained, an august mausoleum was made on the mountain east of the Moor of Kaya,[7] and they were interred, and the children of Kara-fukuro[8] were made to guard the august mausoleum. Afterwards the august bones were brought up [to the Capital]. So having returned up [to the Capital, the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for the old woman, praised her for having, without forgetting, kept the place in mind, and conferred upon her the name of the Old Woman Oki-me:[9] thus did he send for her into the palace, and deign to treat her with deep and wide kindness. So he built a house for the old woman to dwell in close to the palace, and always sent for her every day. So he hung a bell by the door of the great hall, and always rang it when he wished to call the old woman. So he composed an august Song. That Song said:

> "Oh! the far-distant bell tinkles when she has past the moor with its low eulalias and the little valley. Oh! Oki-me must be coming!"[10]

Hereupon the old woman said: "I am very aged, 335

and would fain depart to my native land." So when the Heavenly Sovereign let her depart according to her request, he saw her off and sang, saying:

> "Ah Okime! Okime from Afumi! from tomorrow [onwards] wilt [thou] be hidden behind the deep mountains, and alas! not seen!"[11]

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1. See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

2. *Naniha no miko.* For Naniha see Sect. XLIV, Note 26

3. *Ihaki no miko.*

4. Who had been treacherously slain by the Emperor Yū-riyaku (see Sect. CXLVIII).

5. *I.e.*, says Motowori, "it is known to me, and to none besides."

6. The character used is 起, which is more applicable to the *raising* of troops than to the *setting to work* of peasants. It seems however here to be used in the latter sense; or perhaps we should consider it to mean that people *were got together.*

7. See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 3. Possibly the "mountain east" should be a Proper Name,—Eastern Mountain,—but it is not taken as such by Motowori.

8. See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 1.

9. *I.e.*, "keeping an eye." *q.d.*, on the place of burial of the Emperor's father. Grammar would lead us to expect the order of the words forming the name to be reversed thus, *Me-oki;* but see Motowori's remarks in Vol. XLIII, p. 56.

10. This Song is not comprehensible except by reference to the text of the "Chronicles," whose author gives a somewhat varying version of the story. He tells us that, as a support to the infirm old lady, the Emperor had a string or rope stretched as a sort of hand-rest along the way she was obliged to pass in order to reach the Imperial apartments, and that at the end of the rope was a bell whose tinkling notified the Emperor of her approach. The conjectural exclamation which closes the little poem has therefore an obvious sense, which would be wanting if the bell were at the other end, as in the version here given; for the Emperor would not give expression to surprise at her approach, if he had himself just rung for her to come.—"Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt to represent the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutafu,* which here alludes to the stages

along which the old woman may be supposed to be travelling. The valley and the moor overgrown with short grass form an allusion to the way,—long and arduous for her,—which Oki-me had to traverse to reach the Imperial apartments, and they contain possibly a further allusion to her orginal journey to the capital.

11. The meaning of this Song is quite clear.—The second time the name *Oki-me* occurs, it might, instead of being as here taken as an exclamation, be made the subject of the sentence, thus: "Oki-me from Afumi will by to-morrow, etc." The words "wilt [thou]," which represent *ka* of the original Japanese may be taken either as an exclamation properly so-called, or as a sort of rhetorical interrogation whose force is simply exclamatory. The meaning comes to the same in either case, and is literally rendered by the same English words; but according to the latter view, we should have to replace the point of exclamation by a point of interrogation.

[SECT. CLXVIII.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART II.—HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD).]

The Heavenly Sovereign searched for the old boar-herd who had seized his august provisions at the time when he first met with adversity and was fleeing;[1] and, having sought him out, sent for him up [to the Capital], beheaded him in the bed[2] of the River Asuka,[3] and cut the knee-tendons of all his kindred. Wherefore down to the present time his descendants, on the day when[4] they 285
come up to Yamato, always limp of their own accord. So the man's abode had been well seen and divined.[5] So the place was named Shimesu.[5]

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1. See Sect. CXLIX.

2. Motowori would have us understand the text to mean "in the neighbourhood of the river." There is, however, no diffieulty in accepting the author's statement literally, as any one who is acquainted with the broad, stony beds of Japanese rivers will readily admit.

3. *Asuki-gaka.* For Asuka see Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

4. *I.e.*, probably "whenever."

5. *I.e.*, discovered by augury" or else simply "found and pointed out,"—by whom does not appear.

6. The real etymology of this name is obscure, but the author's intention is to connect it with the "dividing" or "pointing out" mentioned in the preceding sentence, which is given phonetically as [*mi*] *shimeki.*

[SECT. CLXIX.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART III.—THE EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, deeply hating the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, who had slain the King his father, wished to be revenged on his spirit.[1] So when wishing to destroy the august mausoleum of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, he [was about to] send people [to execute this design], his elder brother, His Augustness Ohoke, addressed[2] him, saying: "To demolish this august mausoleum thou shouldst not send other people. None but myself shall go, and I will demolish it according to the Heavenly Sovereign's august heart."[3] Then the Heavenly Sovereign commanded: "Make thy progress, then, according to thy decree." Wherefore His Augustness Ohoke, having proceeded down himself, slightly excavated the side of the august mausoleum, and returned up [to the capital], and reported that he had dug up and demolished it. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, astonished at the quickness of his return up, asked how he had demolished it. He replied, saying: "I slightly excavated the earth at the side of the august mausoleum." The Heavenly Sovereign said: "Wishing to be revenged on the enemy of the King our father, I had counted on

the complete demolition of the mausoleum, Why hast thou [only] slightly excavated it?" He replied, saying: 337
"The reason why I did so was that the wish to be revenged on the spirit of the foe of the King our father is truly just. Nevertheless the Heavenly Sovereign Ohohatsuse, though he were our father's foe, was still our uncle, and moreover was an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire. So if we now, simply from the consideration of his having been our father's enemy, were completely to demolish the mausoleum of an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire, after-generations would surely revile us. Meanwhile the wrongs of the King our father must not be unrevenged. So I slightly excavated the side of the mausoleum. This insult will quite suffice as a token to future ages." On his thus addressing him, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "This also is very just, Be it as thou sayest."

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1. 靈, read *mi tama* or *tamashihi*. We might also translate it by the word "ghost."

2. The respectful character 奏 is used for this word, and again below we have the First Personal Pronoun represented by 僕, "servant."

3. This sentence ends in the original with the characters 以出參, which it is not necessary to render into English. They imply that the speaker will come back, and report on what he has done.

[SECT. CLXX.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART IV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

So the Heavenly Sovereign died, and His Augustness Ohoke ruled the succession of Heaven's sun.[1] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were thirty-eight

years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Iha-tsuki at Katawoka.[2]

1. See Sect. XXXII, Note 27.

2. For *Katawoka* see Sect. LX, Note 29. *Iha-tsuki* probably means "rockplatter," and seems to have been the name of a little plateau.

[SECT. CLXXI.—EMPEROR NIN-KEN.][1]

His Augustness Ohoke dwelt at the palace of Hirataka at Isono-kami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kasuga-no-oho-iratsume, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take, and begot august children: Takaki-no-iratsume; next Takara-no-iratsume; next Kasubi-no-iratsume; next Tashiraka-no-iratsume; next His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki; next Prince Ma-waka. The child born to him by his next wife Naka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsmma of
338 Wani, was: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered seven altogether. Of these His Augustness Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXII.—EMPEROR MU-RETSU.]

His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Namiki at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire for eight years. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. So the Wo-hatsuse Tribe was established as

1. For the dicontinuance of explanatory foot-notes in this concluding portion of the translation see Translator's Introduction, Sect. II, near the top of page xv.

his august proxy. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Karawoka. On the death of this Heavenly Monarch there was no prince to inherit the Empire, So His Augustness Ohodo, the fifth descendant of the Heavenly Monarch Homuda, was sent for down to the land of Afumi, and married to her Augustness Tashiraka, and presented with the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXIII.—EMPEROR KEI-TAI.]

His Augustness Ohodo dwelt in the Palace of Tamaho at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. The (two) august children born to this Heavenly Monarch by Waka-hime, ancestress of the Dukes of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsuko, next Idzumo-no-iratsume. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Meko-no-iratsume, sister of the Chieftain Ofushi, ancestor of the Chieftains of Wohari, were: His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-taka-kana-hi; next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro.kuni-oshi-tate. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife (the Great Empress) Her Augustness Tashiraka, the august daughter of the Heavenly Monarch Ohoke, was: His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, daughter of Prince Okinaga-no-mate, was: Sasage-no-iratsume. The three august children born to him by his next wife Kuro-hime, daughter of Prince Sakata-no-oho-mata, were: Kamu-saki-no-iratsume; next Mamuta-no-iratsume; next Uma-tsuta-no-iratsume. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Seki-hime, daughter of Womochi Grandee of Mamuta were: Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume; next Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume; next Wo-nu-no-iratsume, another name for whom is Naga-me-hime. The (four) children born to him by his 339

next wife Yamato-hime, younger sister of Katabu Duke of Miwo, were: Oho-tratsume; next Prince Maroko; next Prince Mimi; next Aka-hime-no-iratsume. The (three) children born to him by his next wife Abe-no-haye-hime, were: Waka-ya-no-iratsume; next Tsuburá-no-iratsume; next Prince Adzu. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered nineteen in all (seven Kings and twelve Queens). Of these His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi ruled the Empire; the next, Queen Sasage, presided at the temple of the Deity of Ise. In this august reign Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, was disobedient to the Imperial Decrees, and was exceedingly disrespectful. So the Great Chieftain Mononobe-no-arakawi and the Chieftain Ohotomo-no-kanamura were both sent to slay Ihawi.[1] The august years of this Heavenly Monarch were forty-three. His august mausoleum is at Awi in Mishima.

[SECT. CLXXIV.—EMPEROR KAN-AN.]

His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi dwelt in the Palace of Kanahashi at Magari, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. His august grave is at the village of Takaya in Furuchi in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXV.—EMPEROR SEN-KUWA.]

His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate dwelt in the Palace of Ihorinu at Hinokuma, and ruled the Em-

1. Details of this struggle and its causes are given in the "Chronicles of Japan," and are discussed at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLIV, pp. 15-20. They are of no special interest.

pire. The august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Her Augustness Tachi-bana-no-naka-tsu-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ohoke, were: Her Augustness Ishi-hime; next Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime; next King Kura-no-waka-ye. The august children born to him by his next wife, Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, were: King Honoho; next King Weha. The august children of this Heavenly 340
Sovereign numbered altogether five (three Kings and two Queens). So King Honoho (was the ancestor of the Dukes Shihida.) Prince Weha (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Wina and of the Dukes of Tajihi.)

[SECT. CLXXVI.—EMPEROR KIM-MEI.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha dwelt in the Great Palace of Shikishima, and ruled the Empire. The (three) august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, Her Augustness Ishi-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Hi-no-kuma, were: King Yata; next His Augustness Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki; next King Kasanuhi. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, younger sister [of the first one], was: King Kami. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Nukako-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Kasuga, were: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume; next King Maroko; next King Soga-no-kura. The (thirteen) children born to him by his next wife Kitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the Noble Inawe of Soga were: His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi; next his younger sister Queen Ihakumo; next King Atori; next

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime; next King Mata-maroko; next King Oho-yake; next King Imigako next King [of?] Yamashiro; next his younger sister Queen Oho-tomo; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari; next King Manu; next King Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go; next King Tone. The five august children born to him by his next wife Wo-ye-hime, aunt of Her Augustness Kitashi-hime, were: King Umaki; next King Kadzuraki; next King Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be; next King Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho be, another name for whom was Sume-irodo; next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered twenty-five Kings and Queens. Of these His Augustness Nu-na-kura-futo-tama-shiki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi ruled the Empire. Next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-hashiki-ya-hime ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Hatsusebe-no-waka-sazaki ruled the Empire. In all there were four Kings and Queens that ruled the Empire.

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341 [SECT. CLXXVII.—EMPEROR BI-DATSU.]

His Augustness Nuna-kura-futo.tama-shiki dwelt in the Palace of Wosada, and ruled the Empire for fourteen years. The (eight) children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, his half-sister Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, were: King Shidzu-kahi, another name for whom was Kahi-dako; next King Takeda, another name for whom was King Wo-kahi; next King-Woharita; next King Umori; next King Wohari; next

King Tame; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife Wo-kuma-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of the Headman Ohoka of Ise, were: Her Augustness Futo-hime; next Queen Takara, another name for whom was Queen Nukade-hime. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Hiro-hime, daughter of King Okinaga-no-ma-de, were: King Osako-no-hiko-hito, another name for whom was King Maroko; next King Saka-nobori; next King Uji. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife Omina-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, were: King Naniha; next King Ku-hada; next King Kasuga; next King Oho-mata. Of the august children of this Heavenly Monarch,—seventeen Kings and Queens altogether,—King Hiko-hito begot by his wife his half-sister Queen Tamura, another name for whom was Her Augustness Nukade-hime, (three) august children, namely: the Heavenly Sovereign that ruled the Empire from the Palace of Wokamoto; next King Naka-tsu; next King Tara. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Queen Ohomata, younger sister of King Aya, were: King Chinu; next his younger sister Queen Kuhada. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife his half-sister Princess Yumi-hari, were: King Yamashiro; next Queen Kasanuhi,—altogether seven Kings and Queens, The august mausoleum [of the Heavenly Sovereign Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki] is at Shinaga in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXVIII.—EMPEROR YŌMEI.]

His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi dwelt in the Palace of Ikenobe, and ruled the Empire for three years. The one august child born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Oho-gitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the noble Iname, was: King Tame. The (four) 342 august children born to him by his next wife, his half-sister Princess Hashi-bito-no-anaho-be, were: His Augustness Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi; next King Kume; next King We-kuri; next King Mamuta. The august children born to him by his next wife Ihime-no-ko, daughter of Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, were: King Tagima; next his younger sister Sugashiroko-no-iratsume. The august mausoleum of this Heavenly Sovereign, which had been by the borders of Lake Ihare, was afterwards removed to the middle sepulchre of Shinaga.

[SECT. CLXXIX.—EMPEROR SU-JUN.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki dwelt at the Palace of Shibabaki at Kurahashi, and ruled the Empire for four years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Kurahashi.

[SECT. CLXXX.—EMPRESS SUI-KO.]

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime dwelt at the Palace of Wohorida, and ruled the Empire for thirty seven years. Her august mausoleum, which had been on the mound of Ohonu, was afterwards removed to the great sepulchre at Shinaga.

APPENDIX I.

JAPANESE TEXT OF THE SONGS PRESERVED IN THE "KO-JI-KI," OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS," TRANSLITERATED INTO ROMAN.[1]

I. (SECT. XIX, NOTE 6.)

Ya-kumo tatsu Idzumo ya-he-gaki
Tsuma-gomi ni Ya-he-gaki-tsukuru
Sono ya-he-gaki wo

II. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 4.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ha
Ya-shima-kuni Tsuma magi-kanete
Toho-tohoshi Koshi no kuni ni
Sakashi-me wo Ari to kikoshite
Kuhashi-me wo Ari to kikoshite
Sa-yobahi ni Ari-tatashi
Yobahi ni Ari-kayohase
Tachi ga wo mo Imada tokazute

1. There are few various readings of the text of these poems. Where any occur, the translator has been guided by the decisions of Motowori and Moribe. Occasionally these two authorities differ as to the division of the words into lines, and Moribe in particular does not hesitate to propose such emendations as seem to him necessary. The translator has in almost all cases adhered to the traditional text, but gives in footnotes such emendations as appear worthy of notice. Moribe's division of the lines being in almost every case preferable to Motowori's, it has however here been generally adopted.

Osuhi wo mo Imada tokaneba
Wotome no Nasu ya ita-to wo
Osoburahi Wa ga tatasereba
Hikodzurahi Wa ga tatasereba
344 Awo-yama ni Nuye ha naki
Sa-nu tsu tori Kigishi ha toyomu
Niha tsu tori Kake ha naku
Uretaku mo Naku-naru tori ka
Kono tori mo Uchi-yame-kosene
Ishitafu ya Ama-hase-dzukahi
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

III. (Sect. xxiv, Note 5.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto
Nuye-kusa no Me ni shi areba
Wa ga kokoro Ura-su no tori zo
Ima koso ha Chi-dori ni arame
Nochi ha Na-dori ni aramu wo
Inochi ha Na shise-tamahi so
Ishi-tafu ya Ama-hase-dzukahi
Koto no Katori-gotomo
Ko wo ba

IV. (sect. xxiv, Note 7.)

Awo-yama ni Hi ga kakuraba
Nuba-tama no Yo ha ide-namu
Asa-hi no Wemi-sakaye-kite
Taku-dzumu no Shiroki tadamuki
Awa-yuki no Wakayaru mune wo
So-dataki Tataki-managari
Ma-tama-de Tama-de sahi-maki

Momo-naga ni I ha nasamu wo
Aya ni Na kohi-kikoshi
Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

V. (Sect. xxv, Note 2.)

Nuba-tama no Kuroki mi keshi wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi 345
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Kore ha fusahazu
He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute
So-ni-dori no Awoki mi keshi wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Ko mo fusahazu
He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute
Yama-gata ni Magishi atane tsuki[2]
Some-ki ga shiru ni Shime-koromo wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Ko shi yoroshi
Itokoya no Imo no mikoto
Mura-tori no Wa ga mure-i-naba
Hike-tori no Wa ga hike-i-naba
Nakazhi to ha Na ha ifu to mo
Yamato no Hito-moto susuki
Unakabushi Na ga nakasamaku
Asa-ame no Sa-giri ni tatamu zo[3]

---

2. Motowori reads *Magishi Atane tsuki* as two lines.
3. Motowori reads *Sagiri ni Tatamu zo* as two lines.

Waka-kusa no Tsuma no mikoto·
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

VI. (Sect. xxv, Note 3.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ya
A ga oho-kuni Nushi koso ha
Wo ni i-maseba Uchi-miru
Shima no saki-zaki
Kaki-miru Iso no saki ochizu
Waka-kusa no Tsuma motase-rame
A ha mo yo Me ni shi areba
346 Na wokite Wo ha nashi
Na wokite Tsuma ha nashi
Aya-kaki no Fuhayaga shita ni
Mushi-busuma Nikoya ga shita ni
Taku-busuma Sayagu ga shita ni
Awa-yuki no Wakayaru mune wo
Taku-dzunu no Shiroki tadamuki
So-dataki Tataki-managari
Ma-tama-de Tama-de sashi-maki
Momo-naga ni I wo shi nase
Toyo mi ki Tate-matsurase

VII. (Sect. xxxi, Note 33.)

Ame naru ya Oto-tanabata no
Unagaseru Tama no mi sumaru
Mi sumaru ni Ana-dama haya
Mi tani futa watarasu[4]
Ajishiki Taka-hiko-ne no
Kami zo ya

4. Motowori reads *Mitani Futa watarasu* as two lines.

VIII. (Sect. xlii, Note 18.)

Aka-dama ha Wo sahe hikaredo
Shira-tama no Kimi ga yosohi shi
Tafutoku ari-keri

IX. (Sect. xlii, Note 19.)

Oki tsu tori Kamo-doku shima ni
Waga wi-neshi Imo ha wasurezhi
Yo no koto-goto ni

X. (Sect. xlvii, Notes 16 and 17.)

Uda no taka-ki ni[5] Shigi-wana haru[6]
Wa ga matsu ya Shigi ha sayarazu
Isukuhashi Kujira sayaru 347
Konami ga Na kohasaba
Tachi-soba no Mi no nakeku wo[7]
Kokishi hiwene Uhanari ga
Na kohasaba Ich-saka-ki mi no
Ohokeku wo Kokida hiwene
Ye ye Shi ya ko shi ya
[^o ha igonofu zo] Aa shi yo ko shi ya

XI. (Sect. xlviii, Note 4.)

Osaka no Oho-muro-ya ni
Hito saha ni Ki-iri-wori
Hito saha ni Iri-wori to mo
Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko ga
Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi
Uchite shi yamamu

---

5. Motowori reads *Uda no Taka-ki ni* as two lines.

6. Moribe emends *haru* to *hari*.

7. Motowori divides these lines thus: *Tachi-soba no mi no Nakeku wo.*

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi
Ina utaba yorashi

XII. (Sect. xlix, Note 2.)

Mitsu mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Aha-fu ni ha Ka-mira hito-moto
So ne ga moto So ne me tsunagite
Uchite shi yamamu

XIII. (Sect. xlix, Note 3.)

Mitsu-mifsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kaki-moto ni Uweshi hazhikami
Kuchi hibiku Ware ha wasurezhi
Uchite shi yamanu

XIV. (Sect. xlix, Note 4.)

Kamu-kaze no Ise no umi no
348 Ohishi Hahi-motohorofu
Shitadami no I-hahi-motohori
Uchite shi yamamu

XV. (Sect. xlix, Note 6.)

Tata namete Inasa no yama no
Ko no ma yo mo I-yuki-mamorahi
Tatakaheba Ware ba ya wenu.
Shima tsu tori U-kahi ga tomo
Ima suke ni kone

XVI. (Sect. li, Note 17.)

Yamato no Takasazhi-nu wo
Nana-yuku Wotome-domo
Tare wo shi makamu

XVII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 19.)

Katsu-gatsu mo Iya-saki-dateru
Ye wo shi makamu

XVIII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 21.)

A me tsu tsu Chi dori mashi to to [?]
Nado sakeru to-me

XIX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 22.)

Wotome ni Taka ni ahamu to
Wa ga sakeru to-me

XX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 28.)

Ashi-hara no Shigekoki wo-ya ni
Suga-tatami Iyasaya shikite
Wa ga futari neshi

XXI. (SECT. LII, NOTE 6.)

Sawi-gaha yo Kumo tachi-watari
Unebi-yama Ko no ha sayagimu
Knze fukanu to su

XXII. (SECT. LII, NOTE 5.) 349

Unebi-yama Hiru ha kumo to wi
Yufu sareba Kaze fukamu to zo
Ko no ha sayageru

XXIII. (SECT. LXVI, NOTE. 7)

Ko ha ya Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya
Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya Ono ga wo wo
Nusumi shi semu to Shiri tsu to yo
I-yuki-tagahi Mahe tsu to yo
I-yuki-tagahi Ukagahaku
Shirani to Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

XXIV. (Sect. lxxxi, Note 4.)

Yatsumesasu Idzumo-takeru ga
Hakeru tachi Tsudzura saha maki
Sa-mi nashi ni ahare

XXV. (Sect. lxxxiv, Note 8.)

Sanesashi Sogamu no wo-nu ni
Moyuru hi no Ho-naka ni tachite
Tohishi kimi ha mo

XXVI. (Sect. lxxxvi, Notes 3 and 5.)

Nihibari Tsukuha wo sugite
Iku yo ka netsuru —
Ka-ga nabete Yo ni ha kokono-yo
Hi ni ha towo-ka wo

XXVII (Sect. lxxxvii, Note 3.)

Hisa-kata no Ame no Kagu-yama
To-kama ni Sa-wataru kuhi
Hiha-boso Tawaya-gahina wo
Makamu to ha Are ha suredo
Se-nemu to ha Are ha omohedo
Na ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni
Tsuki tatanamu yo

550 XXVIII. (Sect. lxxxvii, Note 4.)

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko
Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi
Aratama no Toshi ga ki-fureba
Aratama no Tsuki ha kihe-yuku
Ubena-ubena Kimi machi-gata ni
Wa ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni
Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXIX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 6.)

Wohari ni Tada ni mukaheru
Wotsu no saki naru Hito-tsu matsu a se wo
Hito-tsu matsu Hito ni ariseba
Tachi hake-mashi wo winu kise-mashi wo
Hito-tsu matsu a se wo

XXX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Yamato ha Kuni no mahoroba
Tatanatsuku Awo-kaki yama-gomoreru
Yamato shi uruhashi[8]

XXXI. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Inochi no Mata-kemu hito ha
Tatami-komo Heguri no yama no
Kuma-kashi ga ha wo Uzu ni sase
Sono ko

XXXII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Hashikeyashi Wagihe no kata yo
Kumo-wi tachi-ku mo

XXXIII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 15.) 351

Wotome no Toko no be ni
Wa ga okishi Tsurugi no tachi
Sono tachi ha ya

XXXIV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 3.)

Nadzuki no Ta no ina-gara ni
Ina-gara ni Hahi-motorofu
Tokoro-dzura[9]

. . . . .

8. Motowori reads *gomoreru* as a line by itself, and similarly *uruhashi* as a line by itself.

XXXV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 5.)

Asa-zhinu-hara Koshi nadzumu
Sora ha yukazu Ashi yo yuku na

XXXVI. (SECT. XC, NOTE 7.)

Umi-ga yukeba Koshi nadzumu
Oho-kahara no Uwe-gusa
Umi-ga ha Isayofu[10]

XXXVII. (SECT. XC, NOTE 8.)

Hama tsu chi-dori Hama yo ha yukazu
Iso-dzutafu

XXXVIII. (SECT. C, NOTE 18.)

Isa agi Furu-kuma ga
Itate ohazuha Niho-dori no
Afumi no umi ni Kadzuki sena wa

XXXIX. (SECT. CII, NOTE 2.)

Kono mi ki ha Wa ga mi ki narazu
352 Kushi no kami Toko-yo ni i-masu
Iha tatasu Sukuna mi kami no
Kamu-hogi Hogi-kuruhoshi
Toyo-hogi Hogi-motohoshi
Matsuri-koshi Mi ki zo
Asazu wose sa sa

---

9. Moribe restores the reading of the first line of this poem to *Nadzuki-ta no*, and both he and Motowori suggest conjectural concluding lines to supplement the evidently incomplete text. Moribe's are very elegant:

Shi ga tsura no I-hahi motohori
Motohorite Ne-naki tohedomo
Koto mo norasanu

10. Moribe reads *Umi-ga ha isahofu* as one line. It is difficult, on any method of division, to find rhythm in this Song.

XL. Sect. cii, Note 3.)

Kono mi ki wo Kami-kemu hito ha
Sono tsudzumi Usu ni tatete
Utahi-tsutsu Kami-kere ka mo
Mahi-tsutsu Kami-kere ka mo
Kono miki no Mi ki no aya ni[11]
Uta-danushi [ki] sa sa

XLI. (Sect. cvi, Note 2.)

Chiba no Kadzu-nu wo mireba
Momo-chi-daru Ya-nîha mo miyu
Kuni no ho mo miyu

XLII. (Sect. cvi, Note 8.)

Kono kani ya Idzuku no kani
Momo-dzutafu Tsunuga no kani
Yoko-sarafu Idzuku ni itaru
Ichiji-shima Mi-shima ni to ki
Niho-dori no Nadzuki iki-dzuki
Shina-dayufu Sasa-nami-ji wo
Suku-suku to Wa ga i-maseba ya
Kohata no michi ni Ahashishi wotome
Ushiro-de ha Wo-date ro ka mo
Ha-nami ha Shihi (shi) nasu[12]
Ichihiwi no Wanisa no ni wo
Hatsu-ni ha Hada akarakemi 353
Shiha-ni ha Ni-guroki yuwe
Mi-tsu-guri no Sono naka tsu ni wo

---

11. Motowori strangely makes *Mi ki no Aya ni* into two lines. The syllable *ki* in the last line of the Song is supplied by Moribe.

12. Motowori divides these lines thus: *Han ami ha shi Hishi nasu.* He also proposes here to divide the poem in two.

Kabu-tsuku Ma-hi ni ha atezu
Mayo.gaki Ko ni kaki-tare[13]

Ahashishi womina

Ka mo ga to Wa ga mishi ko-ra
Kaku mo ga to A ga mishi ko ni
Utadakeni Mukahi-woru ka mo

Iso-hi-woru ka mo

XLIII. (Sect. cvii, Note 9.)

Iza ko-domo Nu-biru tsumi ni
Hiru tsumi ni Wa ga yuku michi no
Kaguhashi Hana-tachibana wo
Ho tsu ye ha Tori wi-garashi
Shi dzu ye ha Hito tori-garashi
Mi-tsu-guri no Naka tsu ye no
Hotsumori Akara-wotome wo
Izasasaba Yorashi na

XLIV. (Sect. cvii, Note 9.)

Iza ko-domo Nu-biru tsumt ni
Hiru tsumi ni Wa ga yuku michi no
Kaguhashi Hana-tachibana wo
Ho tsu ye ha Tori wi-garashi
Shi dzu ye ha Hito tori-garashi
Mi-tsu-guri no Naka tsu ye no
Hotsumori Akara-wotome wo
Izasasaba Yorashi na

XLIV. (Sect. cvii, Note 10.)

Midzn tamaru Yasami no ike no
Wi-guhi uchi [Hishi] ga-[ra no][14]

---

13. Motowori divides these lines thus: *Mayo-gaki ko ni. Kaki tare.*

14. The defective text of this line is restored by the help of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles."

Sashi-keru shirani Nunaha-kuri
Hahe-keku shirani Wa ga kokoro shi
Iya woko ni shite Ima zo kuyashiki

XLV. (Sect. cvii, Note 11.)

Michi no shiri Kohada-wotome wo
Kami no goto Kikoyeshikadomo 354
Ahi-makuramaku

XLVI. (Sect. cvii, Note 12.)

Michi no shiri Kohada-wotome ha
Arasohazu Ne-shiku wo shi zo mo.
Uruhashimi-omofu

XLVII. (Sect. cviii, Note 2.)

Homuda no Hi no mi ko
Oho-sazaki Oho-sazaki
Hakaseru tachi Moto-tsurugi
Suwe fuyu Fuyu-ki no su
Kara ga shita-ki no Saya-saya

XLVIII. (Sect. cviii, Note 6.)

Kashinofu ni Yokusu wo tsukuri
Yokusu ni Kamishi oho-mi-ki
Umara ni Kikoshi-mochi-wose
Maro ga chi

XLIX. (Sect. cxi, Note 5.)

Susukori ga Kamishi mi ki ni
Ware wehi ni keri
Koto nagu shi We-gushi ni
Ware wehi ni keri[15]

---

15. Moribe proposes to emend the second half of this poem to
Koto nagushi we Kokoro-gushi we
Ware wehi ni keri.

L. (Sect. cxii, Note 10.)

Chihayaburu Uji no watari no
Sawo-tori ni Haya-kemu hito shi
(Wa ga moko ni komu.)

LI. (Sect. cxii, Note 15.)

Chihaya-bito Uji no watari ni
Watari-ze ni tateru Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi
I-kiramu to Kokoro ha mohedo
I-toramu to Kokoro ha mohedo
Moto-he ha Kimi wo omohi-de
Suhe-he ha Imo wo omohi-de
Iranakeku Soko ni omohi-de
Kanashikeku Koko ni omohi-de
355 I-kirazu zo kuru Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi[16]

LII. (Sect. cxxii, Note 4.)

Oki-he ni ha Wo-bune tsuraraku
Kuro-zaki[17] no Masazu-ko wagimo
Kuni he kudarasu

LIII. (Sect. cxxii, Note 8.)

Oshi-teru ya Naniha no sakiyo
Ide-tachite Wa ga kuni mireba

---

16. Near the commencement of this Song Motowori divides the lines thus:

Watari-ze ni Tateru
Adzusa-yumi Mo-yumi

and again at the end:

I-kirazu zo kuru Adzusa-yumi
Ma-yumi.

17. See Sect. CXXII, Note, 4 for this doubtful word.

Aha-shima Onogoro-shima
Ajimasa no Shima mo miyu
Saketsu-shima miyu

LIV. (Sect. cxxii, Note 10.)

Yama-gata ni Makoru awo-na mo
Kibi-hito to Tomo ni shi tsumeba
Tanushiku mo aru ka

LV. (Sect. cxxii, Note 13)

Yamato-he ni Nishi fukiagete
Kumo-banare Soki-wori to mo
Ware wasureme ya

LVI. (Sect. cxxii, Note 14.) 356

Yamato-he ni Yuku ha ta ga tsuma
Komoridzu no Shita yo hahe-tsutsu
Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

LVII. (Sect. cxxiii, Note 11.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo
Kaha-nobori Wa ga noboreba
Kaha no he ni Ohi-dateru
Sashibu wo Sashibu no ki
Shi ga shita ni Ohi-dateru
Ha-biro yutsu matsuba-ki[18]
Shi ga hana no Teri-i-mashi
Shi ga ha no Hirori-i-masuha
Oho-kimi ro ka mo

---

18. Motowori divides this line in two, thus:
Habiro Yutsuma-tsubaki.

LVIII. (Sect. cxxiii, Note 14.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo
Miya-nobori Wa ga noboreba
Awoniyoshi Nara wo sugi
Wo-date Yamato wo sugi
Wa ga migahoshi kuni ha
Kadzuraki Takamiya Wagihe no atari[19]

LIX. (Sect. cxxiv, Note 3.)

Yamashiro ni I-shike Toriyama
Ishike i-shike A ga hashi-dzuma ni
I-shiki-ahamu ka mo

LX. (Sect. cxxiv, Note 5.)

Mimoro no Sono Takaki naru
357 Ohowiko ga hara Ohowiko ga hara ni aru[20]
Kimo-mukafu Kokoro wo dani ka
Ahi-omohazu aramu

LXI. (Sect. cxxiv, Note 6)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no
Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne
Ne-zhiro no Shiro-tadamuki
Makazukeba koso Shirazu to mo ihame

LXXII. (Sect. cxxiv, Note 12.)

Yamashiro no Tsutsuki no mi-ya ni
Mono mawosu A ga se no kimi ha
Namita-gumashi mo

---

19. Instead of these concluding long lines Motowori divides thus:
Wa ga mikahoshi Kuni ha
Kadzuraki Taka-miya
Wagihe no atari.

20. Motowori reads the words *Hara ni aru* as a separate line.

LXIII. (Sect. cxxiv, Note 18.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no
Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne
Sawa-sawa ni Na ga ihese koso
Uchi-watasu Yagahaye-nasu
Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIII. (Sect. cxxiv, Note 18.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no
Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne
Sawa-sawa ni Na ga ihese koso
Uchi-watasu Yagahaye nasu
Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIV. (Sect. cxxv, Note 1.)

Yata no Hito-moto suge ha
Ko motazu Tachi ka are-namu
Atara-suga-hara Koto wo koso
Suge-hara to ihame Atara-sugashi-me

LXV. (Sect. cxxv, Note 2.)

Yata no Hito-moto suge ha
Hitori wori to mo Oho-kimi shi
Yoshi to kikosaba Hitori wori to mo

LXVI. (Sect. cxxvi, Note 2.)

Medori no Wa ga oho-kimi no
Orosu hata Taga dane ro ha mo 358

LXVII. (Sect. cxxvi Note 3.)

Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake no
Mi osuhi-gane

LXVIII. (Sect. cxxvi, Note 5.)

Hibari ha Ame ni kakeru
Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake
Sazaki torasane

LXIX. (Sect. cxxvi, Note 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura hashi-yama wo
Sagashimi to Iha kaki-kanete
Wa ga te torasu mo

LXX. (Sect. cxxvi, Note 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura-hashi-yama ha
Sagashikedo Imo to noboreba
Sagashiku mo arazu

LXXI. (Sect. cxxviii, Note 3.)

Tamakiharu Uchi no aso
Na koso ha Yo no naga-hito
Sora mitsu Yamato no kuni ni
Kari ko 'mu to Kiku ya

LXXII. (Sect. cxxviii, Note 4.)

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko
Ube shi koso Tohi-tamahe
Ma koso ni Tohi-tamahe
Are koso ha Yo no naga-hito
Sora-mitsu Yamato no kuni ni
Kari ko 'mu to Imada kikazu

LXXIII. (Sect. cxxviii, Note 6.)

Na ga mi ko ya Tsuhi ni shiramu to
Kari ha ko 'murashi

LXXIV. (Sect. cxxix, Note 8.)

Karanu wo Shiho hi yaki
Shi ga amari Koto ni tsukuri
Kaki-hiku ya Yura no to no
To-naka no Ikuri ni
Fure-tatsu Nadzu no ki no 593
Saya-saya

LXXV. (Sect. cxxxii, Note 5.)

Tajihi-nu ni Nemu to shiriseba
Tatsu-gomo mo Mochite
Ko-mashi mono Nemu to shiriseba

LXXVI. (Sect. cxxxii, Note 7.)

Hanifu-zaka Wa ga tachi-mireba
Kagirohi no Moyuru ihe-mura
Tsuma ga ihe no asari

LXXVII. (Sect. cxxxiii, Note 10.)

Oho-saka ni Afu ya wotome wo
Michi toheba Tada ni ha norazu
Tajima-chi wo noru

LXXVIII. (Sect. cxli, Note 2.)

Ashiki no Yama-da wo tsukuri
Yama-dakami Shita-bi wo washise
Shita-dohi ni Wa ga tofu imo wo
Shita-naki ni Wa ga naku tsuma wo
Kofu koso ha Yasuku hada fure

LXXIX. (Sect. cxli, Note 4.)

Sasa-ba ni Utsu ya arare no
Tashi-dashi ni Wi-netemu nochi ha
Hito hakayu to mo

Uruhashi to Sa-ne shi sa-neteba
Kari-komo no Midareba midare
Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

360 LXXX. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 7.)

Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune ga
Kana-to kage Kaku yori-kone
Ame tachi-yamemu

LXXXI. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 8.)

Miya-hito no Ayuhi no ko-suzu
Ochi ni ki to Miya-hito toyomu
Sato-bito mo yume

LXXXII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 12.)

Ama-damu Karu no wotome
Ita nakaba Hito shirinu-beshi
Hasa no yama no hoto no
Shita-naki ni naku[21]

LXXXIII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 13.)

Ama-damu Karu-wotome
Shita-ta ni mo Yori-nete tohore
Karu-wotome-domo

LXXXIV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 2.)

Ama tobu Tori mo tsukahi zu
Tadzu ga ne no Kikoyemu toki ha
Wa ga na tohasane

---

21. Moribe, following the reading in the "Chronicles," omits the Postposition *no* after *Karu;* and Motowori reads *hato no* as a line by itself.

LXXXV. (Sect. cxliii, Note 4.)

Oho-kimi wo Shima ni haburaba
Funa-amari I-gaheri-komu zo
Wa ga tatami yume Koto wo koso
Tatami to ihame Wa ga tsuma ha yume

LXXXVI. (Sect. cxliii, Note 6.)

Natsu-kusa no Ahine no hama no
Kaki-gahi ni Ashi[22] fumasu na 361
Akashite tohore

LXXXVII. (Sect. cxliii, Note 7.)

Kimi ga yuki Ke-nagaku narinu
Yama-tadzu no Mukahe wo yukamu
Matsu ni ha matazhi

LXXXVIII. (Sect. cxliii, Note 8.)

Komoaiku no Hatsuse no yama no
Oho-wo ni ha Hata hari-date
Sa-wo-wo ni he Hata hari-date
Oho-wo ni shi Naga sadameru
Omohi-dzuma ahare
Tsuku-yumi no Koyaru koyari mo
Adzusa-yumi Tateri-tateri mo
Nochi mótori-miru
Omohi-dzuma ahare

LXXXIX. (Sect. cxliii, Note 9.)

Komoriku no Hatsuse no kaha no

---

22. To the word *ashi* Moribe would prefix the Honorific *mi* which he finds in an old MS. The metre would gain by this emendation of the line.

23. This is Moribe's emendation of usual reading *ka*.

Kami tsu se ni I-kuhi wo uchi
Shimo tsu se ni Ma-kuhi wo uchi
I-kuhi ni ha Kagami wo kake
Ma-kuhi ni ha Ma-tama wo kake
Ma-tama nasu A ga mofu imo
Kagami nasu Aga mofu tsuma
Ari to ihaba koso ni
Ihe ni mo yukame Kuni wo mo shinubame[24]

XC. (SECT. CLIII, NOTE 4.)

Kusa-kabe no Kochi no yoma to
362 Tatami-komo Heguri no yama no
Kochi-gochi no Yama no kahi ni
Tachi-zakayuru Ha-biro kuma-kashi
Moto ni ha I-kumi-dake ohi
Suwe-he ni ha Tashimi-dake ohi
I-kumi-dake I-kumi ha nezu
Tashimi-dake Tashi ni ha wi-nezu
Nochi mo kumi-nemu Sono omohi-dzuma
Ahare

XCI. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 9.)

Mimoro no Itsu-kashi ga moto
Kashi ga moto Yuyushiki ka mo
Kashi-hara-wotomo

XCII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 10.)

Hiketa no Waka-kuru-su-bara
Wakaku-he ni Wi-nete-mashi mono
Oi ni keru ka mo

---

24. Motowori divides *Ari to ihaba koso ni* into two lines after the Particle *to*, and Moribe omits the Particle *ni* after *koso*.

XCIII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 12.)

Mimoro ni Tsuku ya tama-kaki
Tsuki-amashi Ta ni ka mo yoraumu
Kami no miya-hito

XCIV. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 13.)

Kusaka-ye no Iri-ye no hachisu
Hana-bachisu Mi no sakari-bito
Tomoshiki ro ka mo

XCV. (SECT. CLV, NOTE 3.)

Agura wi no Kami no mi te mochi
Hiku koto ni Mahi suru womina 363
Tokyo-yo ni mo ka mo

XCVI. (SECT. CLVI, NOTE 3.)

Mi-yeshinu no Womuro ga take ni
Shishi fusu to Tare zo oho-mahe ni mawosu[25]
Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no
Shishi matsu to Agura ni i-mashi
Shiro-tahe no Sode ki-sonafu
Ta-komura ni Amu kaki-tsuki
So no amu wo Akidzu haya kuhi
Kaku no goto Na ni ohamu to
Sora-mitsu Yamato no kuni wo
Akidzu-shima tofu

XCVII. (SECT. CLVII, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no

---

25. It seems less good to divide thus with Motowori:

Tare zo oho-mahe ni Mawosu,

or thus with Mabuchi:

Tare zo Oho-maye ni mawosu.

Asobashishi Shishi no yami-shishi no
Utaki kashikomi Wa ga nige-noborishi
Ari-wo no Hari-no-ki no yeda[26]

XCVIII. (Sect. clix, Note 3.)

Wotome no I-kakuru woka wo
364 Kana-suki mo I-hochi mo ga mo
Suki-banuru mono

XCIX. (Sect. clx, Note 4.)

Makimuke no Hishiro no mi-ya ha
Asa-hi no Hi-deru mi-ya
Yufu-hi no Hi-gakeru mi-ya
Take no ne no Nedaru-mi-ya
Ko no ne no Ne-bafu mi-ya
Yahoniyoshi I-kidzuki no mi-ya
Ma-ki-saku Hi no mi kado
Nihi-nahe-ya ni Ohi-dateru
Momo-daru Tsuki ga ye ha
Ho tsu ye ha Ame wo oheri
Naka tsu ye ha Adzuma wo oheri
Shi dzu ye ha Hina wo oheri
Ho tsu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha
Naka tsu ye ni Ochi-furabahe
Naka tsu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha
Shimo tsu ye ni Ochi-furabahe
Shi dzu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha

---

26. Motowori divides the lines of this Song thus:

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no
Asobashishi Shishi no
Yami-shishi no Utaki kashikomi
Wa ga nike Noborishi
Ari-wo no Hari no ki no yeda.

Ari-ginu no Mihe no ko ga
Sasagaseru Midzu-tama-uki ni
Ukishi abura Ochi-nadzusahi
Mina koworo-koworo ni[27]
Ko shi mo Aya ni kashikoshi
Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

C. (Sect. clx, Note 5.)

Yamato no Kono takechi ni
Ko-dakaru Ichi no tsukasa
Nihi-nahe-ya ni Ohi-dateru
Habiro yo-tsu ma-tsubaki[28]
So ga ha no Hirori-i-mashi
So no hana no Teri-i-masu
Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko ni
To-yo mi ki Tate-matsurase
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

Cl. (Sect. clx, Note 6.)

Momoshiki no Oho-miya-hito ha
Udzura-tori Hire tori-kakete
Mana-bashira Wo yuki-ahe
Niha-suzume Uzu-sumari-wite
Kefu mo ka mo Saka mi-dzuku-rashi
Taka-hikaru Hi no miya-hito
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

---

27. Motowori divides this line in two, thus:
Mina koworo Koworo ni

28. Motowori divides this line in two after the word *ha-biro*.

CII. (Sect. clxi, Note 2.)

Mina-sosoku Omi no wotome
Ho-dari torasu mo Ho-dari tori
Kataku torase Shita-gataku
Ya-gataku torase Ho dari torasu ko

CIII. (Sect. clxi, Note 4)

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no
Asa-to ni ha I-yori-datashi
Yufu-to ni ha I-yori-datasu
Waki-dzuki ga Shita no
Ita ni mo ga A se wo

366 CIV. (Sect clxv, Notes 8 and 12)

Oho-miya no Woto tsu hata-de
Sumi katabukeri

CV. (Sect. Notes 9 and 12)

Oho-takumi Wojinami koso
Sumi katabukere

CVI. (Sect. clxv, Notes 10 and 12.)

Oho-kimi no Kokoro wo yurami
Omi no ko no Ya-he no shiba-kaki
Iri-tatazu ari

CVII. (Sect. clxv, Note 12.)

Sh ho-se no Na-wori wo mireba
Asobi-kuru Shibi ga hata-de ni
Tsuma tateri-miyu

CVIII. (Sect. clxv, Notes 11 and 12.)

Oho-kimi no Mi ko no shiba-kaki

Ya-fu-zhimari Shimari-motohoshi
Kiremu shiba-kaki Yakemu shiba-kaki[29]

CIX. (Sect. clxv, Note 12.)

Ofuwo yo shi Shibi tsuku ama yo
Shi ga areba Ura-kohoshiki-kemu
Shibi tsuku ama[30]

CX. (Sect. clxvii, Note 10.) 367

Asa-ji-hara Wo-dani wo sugite
Momo-dzutafu Nute yuraku mo
Oki-me kurashi mo

CXI. (Sect. clxvii, Note, 11.)

Oki-me mo *ya* Afumi no Oki-me
Asu yori ha Mi-yama-gakurite
Miyezu ka mo aramu

---

29. Moribe's proposal to emend *yakemu* to *yaremu* would be acceptable if it were supported by the authority of any texts.

30. Motowori's edition and most other texts have *shibi* as the final word, But Moribe's emendation to *ama* is necessary to ths sense, and has at least the authority of one MS. to support it.

368

APPENDIX II.

THE HITHERTO ACCEPTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY JAPANESE SOVEREIGNS MENTIONED IN THE "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS" ("*KÔ-JI-KI*") AND IN THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN" ("*NI-HONGI*").

[This "Accepted Chronology" is contained in the first three columns of figures, whereof the first two, giving the corresponding dates according to the European reckoning are transcribed from some Comparative Chronological Tables by Mr. Ernest Satow, printed for private distribution in 1874. The ages of the monarchs in the third column are from "The Digest of the Imperial Pedigree," a work published by the Imperial Japanese Government is 1877, and therefore carrying with it the weight of authority. It might perhaps be too much to say that even its decisions are universally bowed to by the native *literati;* but the differences between various writers are all slight, and excepting on points that affect only a very few years, the chronology contained in the first three columns may justly be styled the "Accepted Chronology" both as far as natives and as far as foreigners are concerned. It will be seen that it is founded in the main on the statements contained in the "Chronicles of Japan," though sometimes differing therefrom as well as from the "Records." The fourth column contains the ages of the monarchs according to the "Records" and the fifth their ages according to the "Chronicles." The portion printed in italics, and including a little over a thousand years, is that which has been shown in Section V of the Translator's Introduction to be undeserving of credence.

	Accession.	Death.	Age.	Age accord. to "Records."	Age accord. to "Chronicles."
Jin-mu	*660(B.C.)*	*585(B.C.)*	*127*	*137*	*127*
Sui-sei	*581*	*549*	*84*	*45*	*80*
An-nei	*548*	*511*	*57*	*49*	*57*
I-toku	*510*	*477*	*77*	*45*	*77*
Kō-shō	*475*	*393*	*114*	*93*	*113*

	Accession.	Death.	Age.	Age accord. to "Records."	Age accord. to "Chronicles."
Kō-an	*392*	*291*	*137*	*123*	*reigned 102 years*[1]
Kō-rei	*290*	*215*	*128*	*106*	" *76* "
Kō-gen	*214*	*158*	*116*	*57*	" *57* "
Kai-kuwa	*157*	*98*	*111*	*63*	" *60* "
Sū-jin	*97*	*30*	*119*	*168*	*120*
Sui-nin	*29*	*70(A.D.)*	*141*	*153*	*140*
Kei-kō	*71(A.D.)*	130	*143*	*137*	*106*
Sei-mu	*131*	*190*	*108*	*95*	*107*
Chiū-ai	*192*	*200*	*52*	*52*	*52*
Jin-gō	*201*	*269*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Ō-jin	*270*	*310*	*111*	*130*	*110*
Nin-toku	*313*	*399*	*110*	*83*	*reigned 87 years*
Ri-chiū	400	405	67	64	70
Han-zei	406	411	60	60	reigned 6 years
In-giyō	412	453	80	78	" 42 "
An-kō	454	456	56	66	" 3 "
Yū-riyaku	457	479	age omitted	124	" 5 "
Sei-nei	480	484	41	not given	" 23 "
Ken-zō	485	487	age omitted	38	" 3 "
Nin-ken	488	498	50	not given	" 11 "
Mu-retsu	499	506	18	reigned 8 years	" 8 "
Kei-tai	507	531	82	43	82
An-kan	534	535	70	not given	70
Sen-kuwa	536	539	73	"	73
Kim-mei	540	571	63	"	reigned 32 years
Bi-datsu	572	585	48	reigned 14 years	" 14 "
Yō-mei	586	587	69	" 3 "	" 2 "
Su-jun	588	592	73	" 4 "	" 5 "
Sui-ko	593	628	75	" 37 "	75

1. The reign of this Empress is in the "Records" not counted separately, but included in that of her son Ō-jin. For the mention of her age in the "Records" conf. Sect. CIII, Note 4.

INDEX TO "KOJIKI."

Kindly Prepared by the Rev. N. Walter, Osaka.

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

abdication, xlviii. (lxiv), 5 (8 n. 12), 99 (121), 103 (123).
abstinence, [*religious*] 53 (62 n. 7), 110 (134 n. 32), 151 (186 n. 10).
Achi-kishi, 252 (313).
Accadian Language, i. (i. n. 1).
acorns, 246 (305).
adoption, xl. (liv), 186 (227).
Afumi [*nearer, chikatsu*], Ŭmi, 6 (2 and 9 n. 22), 45 (51), 90 (107), 158 (193), 164 (200 and 203 n. 31), 169 (206), 170 (206), 186 (230), 193 (237), 216 (269 n. 6), 224 (277), 226 (281), 244 (304), 308 (385).
Afumi [*farther*] *see* Tōtōmi.
Afumi [*sea of,*] 45 (51), 90 (107), 237 (293), 246 (307 n. 8).
Agata-no-atahe, xv. (xxi).
Agata-nushi, xv. (xxi)' xxxix. (lii. n. 47), 52 (58 and 60 n. 24), 154 (189), 203 (252 n. 35), 227 (282), 311 (390 n. 5).
agate, xxxi. (xlii).
Agi [*Aki, province of,*] 131 (160).
Agriculture, xxxix. (liii), 243 (300).
Aha [*Awu, province of*] 153 (188 n. 18).
Aha [*Awa, island of*] 20 (21), 21 (22), 22 (22), 50 (70 n. 2), 271 (337).
Ahagi. xxxiii. (xlv), 39 (44).
Ahaji [*Awaji*], 21 (22), 155 (190), 228 (283), 271 (337), passim.
Ahizu, 182 (224).
Ainos, xxix. (xxxix), lxiii. (lxxxvi), lxiv. (lxxxvii), lxxi. (xcvi), 61 (74 n. 10), 213 (265 n. 1).
Ajiki [*atogi,*] 252 (314 n. 2).
Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami, 82 (98), 98 (116), 99 (117).
Akakagachi [*winter cherry*], 61 (71).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Aketatsu [*Prince*], 169 (206), 193 (238). 194 (238).
Aki, 26 (33 n. 10), 131 (160 and 162 n. 16), 262 (327 n. 3).
Akitsushima [Island of the Dragon-Fly], 5 (2), 158 (195), 318 (397).
Alarming Female, Heavenly [*Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto*], 57 (64), 58 (65), 108 (129), 110 (131), 113 (138), 114 (139).
Alder xxxiv. (xlvi), 257 (320 n. 19), 318 (398).
Altaic Language, i. (i), xiii (xviii). lxxii (xcvii).
Ama [*ame*], 47 (53 and 56 n. 12).
Ama-nn-hi-boko, 258 (321).
Ama-no-uki-hashi [Floating Bridge of Heaven], 19 (19), 93 (112), 111 (135).
Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami [Heavenly Shining Great August Deity], 42 (46), 43 (50), 45 (52), 52 (61), 54 (63), 58 (65), 93 (112), 94 (114), 106 (128), 108 (129), 111 (135), 135 (165), etc.
Amasu-hi-tsugi [succession of Heaven's sun], 103 (123 and 126 n. 27).
Ama-tsu-hi-daka hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, 127 (157 n. 15).
Ama-tsu-kume-no-mikoto [Heaven's Round Eyes], see Oho-kume.
ambush. 254 (316). etc.
Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha, 338 (423), 339 (424).
Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-no-ni-nigi-no-mikoto, 106 (129 and 131 n. 5).
Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami, 26 (28 and 30 n. 5).
Ame-no-hohi, 49 (54). 50 (58), 94 (113).
Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto, 56 (67 n. 15), 57 (64), 108 (130), 110 (131)
Ame-no-kumari-no-kami, 27 (28 and 30 n. 13).
Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami, 15 (15 n. 4).
Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, 48 (54 and 57 n. 18), 93 (112), 106 (129 n. 3).
Amè-no-oshi-wo, 25 (23 anp 27 n. 34).
Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami, 57 (64 and 63 n. 27), 58 (65), 109 (130). 110 (130).
Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 16 (15 and 16 n. 10).
Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto, see Alarming Female.
Ame-no-wo-ha bari [sword], 34 (37 and 38 n. 15).
Ame-no-yasu-kawa [River of Henven], lxix. (cxiii), 5 (3 and 3 n. 12), 47 (53 and 56 n. 12), 54 (63), 93 (112), 96 (115), 100 (121), etc.

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Ame-waka-hiko [Heavenly-Young-Prince], 94-98 (114-117).
Amnesty 323 (403).
Anado [Shimonseki], 208 (257), 227 (283).
Anaho [prince] 293 (365), 298 (371), 303 (378).
Anahobe [prince] 186, (227).
Analects [Confucian] 252 (313).
Ane xxxii (xlix).
Angling 105 (124), 119 (145), 131 (160).
Ani xxxvii (xlix).
animals [domestic] xxxi (xlii).
animals mentioned in the Kojiki xxxii (liii), lvi (xlxxv).
An-kan tennō 339 (424).
An-kō tennō *303-309* (*378-384*).
An-nei tennō 154 (189).
Arai Hakuseki [allegory in mythology] lii (lxx, n).
aralia xxxiv (xlvi), 273 (340).
Archaic dialect vi (viii), xxii (xxx), xxiv (xxxii), xxv (xxxiv n), xxvii (xxxvii), lxx (xciv).
armlet, 282 (352).
armour 255 (317), 256 (318).
arows lv (lxxv), 46 (53), 72 (86), 94 (114), 96 (115), 112 (135), 139 (170), 181 (221), 182 (224), 262 (326), 298 (371), 308 (384).
arrows [*feathered*] xxv (xxxiii) 94 (114), 96 (115), etc.
arrows [*initial*] lix (lxxx), 181 (221).
arrows [*nari-kabura*] lxix (xciv), 72 (86 and 89 n. 7).
arrows [*Karu*, Anaho] 298 (371).
artisans from Korea. see Koreans in Japan.
ashes lvii (lxxvii), 231 (287).
Ashigara pass. 213 (264).
Ashi-hara-no-naka-tsu-kuni-see Central Land of Reed Plains.
Aso [asomi, ason] xv (xxi), xxxix (lii n.), 284 (354 n. 3.
ass 122 (148).
Aston ii (iii), xii (xvi), *passim.*
Asuka [further] *toho-tsu-asuka*, 7 (2), 291 (362), 293 (365).
Asuka [nearer] *chika-tsu-asuka*, 290 (361).
Ata [princess of] 115 (140).
Ata [Sakuma], 115 (140), 118 (144), 145 (179) etc.

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Atahe [suzerain] xv (xxi), xxxix (lii), 112 (135 and 137 n. 13), 152 (186 and 187 n. 13), 161 (199).
augury 194 (238), 241 (301).
authenticity of Kojiki i (i), iv (v).
Autocracy lxii (lxxiii).
Average age of early Japanese Emperors xlix (lxvi).
Awa-nagi-no-kami 27 (28 and 30 n. 13).
Awa-numi-no-kami 27 (28 and 30 n. 13).
axe xxv (xxxiv).
Aya 253 (315), 287 (358).
Azuki [*Shodojimæ*] 25 (23 and 27 n. 31).
Azuma 213 (265).
bachelor [imperial] 327 (408).
back against the sun lix (lxxix), 312 (390).
bad deities 44 (51).
bamboo xxxiii (xlv), 36 (39), 105 (124), 205 (254), 255 (317), 263 (327), 312 (391), 321 (402), 328 (410).
bamboo-grass xxxiii (xlv), 57 (64), 221 (274) etc.
banishment xvii (lxiii), 59 (70).
banquet, 104 (124), 122 (148), 130 (160), 139 (171), 141 (173), 205 (254), 245 (305), 248 (308), 257 (320), 273 (340), 282 (352), 321 (401), 328 (410).
barley xxx (xl), xxxiii (xlv), 60 (70).
basket [*split bamboo*] 105 (124 and 127 n. 38), 263 (327), 309 (317 n. 1).
basket [water-proof] used as boat, xxv, (xxxiv).
bathing xxvii (xxxvii), 4 (3), 41 (45), 68 (81), 209 (258).
bathing woman xxvii (xxxvii), 51 (58 and 60 n. 15), 190 (234).
be [*tribe, clan*] 52 (58 and 61 n. 26), 53 (63), 110 (133), 152 (187), 186 (230 n. 45), 243 (302 n. 36), etc.
beacon-fire 10 (4).
bead [jewel] xxxi (xlii), 46 (53).
beans xxx (xl), xxxiii (xlv), 25 (23 and 27 n. 31).
beans [creation of] 60 (70).
bear xxxii (vlii), 5 (2), 23 (23 and 25 n. 17), 49 (55 and 57 n. 23).
beard [eight grasp] 32 (35 and 37 n. 1), 44 (51), 59 (70), 192 (537).
beastly crimes xlii (lvi), 230 (286).
bêche-de-mer xxxiii (xliv), xlviii (lxiv), 114 (139).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Beckoning Ancestor Lord [Heavenly] see *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto.*
bees xxxiii, (xliv).
beginning of Japanese nation xliv, (lix).
bell [clapper] 25 (23 and 27 n. 31).
bell 109 (130 and 134, n. 25) *garter*, 312 (389), 334 (417).
Bi-datsu tennō 341 (426).
Bingo 157 (193 and 194 n. 13, 14).
birds [singing] 54 (63).
Biwa [lake] 237 (293). See sea of Afumi.
Bizen 161, (197 and 198 n. 21).
Blackberries 78 (92 and 94 n. 7).
Black, colour of mourning 80 (97, n. 2).
Black haired people 6, (2).
Blossoming-Brilliantly-like-the flowers of the Trees, [princess] 115-119 (140-143).
blue [green] clouds xxxvi (xlxiii).
blue, [green, sea] (xxxviii).
boar xxxii (xliii), 70 (83), 217 (269), 235 (292), 255 (317), 308 (385), 318 (398).
boat 20 (21), 101 (122), 236 (293), 255 (316), etc.
books first introduced to Japan. xliii, (lvii).
boots 262 (326).
boundary god 28 (29).
boundary marks of provinces. 6 (2), 152 (187 n. 5), 227 (282).
bow and arrows xxv (xxxiii), 46 (53), 71 (84), 74 (88)' 94 (114), 112 (125) 139 (170), 236 (293), 256 (317), 262 (326) see arrows.
bow-string 236 (293).
bracelets xxx (xli), 40 (45), 109 (134 n. 25).
branding xlii (lvi), 148 (180 and 182 n. 20).
Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity : *Take-mika-tsu chi-no-wo-no-kami*, 32 (36), 100 (121), 105 (124), 106 (129), 135 (165), 176 (216).
Brave-August-Name-Firm Deity 102 (122), 103 (123).
bravo [bandit] xxix (xxxix), 112 (135 and 137 n. 7), 141 (173), 206 (255).
bridge [floating] of Heaven. See *Ama-no-uki-bashi.*
broad brimmed xxx (xli).
bronze [age of] xxiv (xxxiii), xxxvi (xlviii).
Buddhism lx (lxxxi), 87 (105), 201 (248 n. 5).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) reoresent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Buddhist Paradise 87 (105).
Buddhist Temples lxx (xcv), 87 (105), 201 (248 n. 5).
bull 217 (629), 259 (322).
Bungo 161 (199 n. 26).
bureaucracy lxiii (lxxxv).
burying alive xli (lv), 174 (213 and 214 n. 23), 200 (247 n. 4), 306 (382).
butler 104 (124), 141 (173), 163 (200), 223 (277).
butlers' tribe 205 (254).
cabbage xxxiv (xlvi), 272 (338).
camellia xxxiii (xlv), 274 (341), 323 (403) etc.
camphor tree 28 (29).
canal [channel] 269 (335), 274 (341).
canoe [camphor-tree-boat] 28 (29).
capital punishment xli (lv).
carousal xli (liv).
cassia tree xxxiii (xlv), lxix (xciv), 95 (115), 121 (147), 122 (148).
castles [building] xxix (xxxix), 188 (232).
catalogue of Japanese works, bearing on the *Kojiki* lxxii (xcviii).
catalpa-tree xxxiv (xlvi), 256 (318).
cattle breeding xxxii (xliii), 8 (3).
cave xxix (xxxix), xlvii, lv (lxxv), 328 (410).
cave-dwellers xxix (xxxiv), 54 (63), 58 (64), 100 (121), 141 (173), 206 (255).
centipede, xxxiii (xliv), 72 (86), 73 (87).
Central Land of Reed Plains, 37 (40), 54 (63), 58 (65), 59 (65), 93 (112), 94 (114), 101 (122), 103 (123), 105 (124), 106 (129) 107 (129), 135 (165).
cereals xxix (xl).
ceremonies [court] 282 (352) 321 (402).
challenge 181 (221).
chaos 4 (1).
charcoal 177 (217 n. 24).
charms [magic], lix (lxxix), 37 (40), 124 (150), 134 (164), 211 (262), 213 (264), 233 (289).
chasing a swan, 192 (237).
cherry [wild] xxxiv (xlvi), 56 (64), 165 (203).
chestnuts xxxiu (xlvi), 246 (306), 248 (308) 315 (393).
Chika [Goto islands] 25 (23).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Chikuzen 50 (58 and 50 n. 2), 165 (203 n. 47).
childbirth [superstitions concerning] xxviii (xxxviii), 241 (301 n. 18).
children [eighty] 203 (249).
children [hundred and eighty] 103 (123).
chimney-hole xxvii (xxxvi), 103 (123).
China [relations with Japan] 41 (lxviii); see Chinese influence.
Chinese Influence ii (ii), vi (vii), xxi (xxviii), xxxvii (xlix), xxxviii (li), lxii (lxxxiv), lxviii (xcii and xciii), 90 (108 and 109), 117 (143) etc.
Chinese knowledge of Early Japan xiv (lxxxvi).
China [sea of] 133 (161), 156 (192), 185 (227).
chive xxxiv (xlvi), 143 (175), 213 (264).
chopsticks xxx (xl), lvii (lxxvii), lxviii (xciii), 60 (71), 231 (287).
chrestomathy [Aston's] ii (iii).
Chronicles of Japan (*Nihongi*) v (vii), xix (xxvi), xxiii (xxxi), xxviii (xxxvii).
Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages xix (xxvi).
Chronological Tables [Bramsen's Japanese] xxii (xxx).
Chū-ai tennō *227—240* (283—299).
cicada 8 (2).
circuit [district] 160 (188 n. 20, 21), 179 (220), 210 (260).
clam 70 (83).
clan, 52 (61 n. 26), 110 (134 n. 32), 145 (178), 195 (238), 197 (239), 200 (247), 310 (388), 327 (409), etc. see *be*, tribe.
clay images at tombs xli (lv), 200 (247).
clay-image-workers 200 (247).
cleanliness [personal] xxvii (xxxvii), see bathing.
cloth xxx (xli), lviii (lxxviii), 57 (64, n. 24) 255 (317), 312 (389), etc.
club-moss xxxiii (xlv), 57 (64), 199 (245).
clubs xxv (xxxiii)
coat 255 (317) see garments.
cock 8 (3), 76 (91).
cock-shell xxxiii (xlv), 70 (85).
code of morals xxxviii (li), lv (lxxiv).
coffin [stone] xli (liv), 200 (247).
coffin [wooden] xli (liv).
cohabitation xl (liii).
coin, see money.
collar 207 (255).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

colour, xxx (xli), xxxvi (xlviii), 187 (231), 278, 315.
comb xxxi (xli), xlvi (lxi), 35 (39), 36 (39), 61 (71 and 73 n. 9), 62 (72), 213 (263).
comb [superstition regarding] 35 (39), 62 (73).
computing time xlii (lvi).
concubine, mistress, wife equivalent xl (liii), 74 (90), 117 (143), 202 (249), 270 (337).
conduits [water] 296 (369), 305 (381 n. 8).
confiscations 190 (234).
conundrums 61 (71), 70 (83), 280 (349), 296 (369). see pillow-words, jeux-de-mots, songs, *passim*.
cook 105 (124), 163 (202 n. 16), see kitchen, furnace.
cooking pot xxx (xli).
copper xxxvi (xlviii), 55 (66 n. 9), 298 (371).
cormorant xxxii (xliv), 104 (124), 126 (155), 127 (155), 144 (177), 181 (222).
cormorant fishing xxxi (xliii), 137 (167), 144 (176).
cosmogony lv (lxxiv), 15 (15).
costume [see garments].
countries [great and small] 227 (282).
couriers 175 (215), 196 (239), 220 (271), 329 (411).
courtship of gods 19 (20), 68 (81), 69 (82), 75 (88), etc.
coverlets 81 (96).
cow xxxiv (xlvi) 259 (322).
crab xxxiv (xlvi), 246 (305).
crane xxxiv (xlvi) 300 (374).
creation 4 (1), 15 (15), 18 (17).
credibility of early Japanese records xliv (lix).
creepers xxxi (xli) 36 (39), 93 (112 n. 43), 209 (259).
crimes [unnatural] 32 (35), 230 (286).
crocodiles xxxiii (xliv), lxix (xciv), 69 (81), 124 (150), 127 (155), 167 (208. n. 11).
cross-beams 75 (88), 103 (123), 113 (136).
cross-swords 134 (164), 135 (165), 139 (170), 185 (227), 252 (313), 304 (379).
crow xxxii (xliv), xlviii (lxv), 6 (2), 136 (157), 138 (170), 175 (215).
Crumbling Prince [*Kuye Biko*] 86 (103).
cryptomeria [*sugi*] xxxiv (xlv), 61 (72), 192 (237).
crystal xxxi (xlii).

N.B.—The fioures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old edition previous to 1906.

cups xxx (xl), 248 (308), 321 (402).
cups [oak-leaf] 248 (308).
cuppledge 79 (95).
curse xlviii (lxiv) lviii (lxxix). lxvii (xciii) 38 (40), 193 (238), 263 (227).
curtain 254 (318).
curtain-lectures 38 (40).
cutting hair or beard xxxi (xliv), 59 (70).
cycles (sexagenary), xxii (xxix).
daijin: see Prince Minister.
daikon 277 (344), 279 (346).
daimio 50 (59 n. 5).
dancing 6 (2), 8 (3), 25 (154), 239 (297), 316 (396), 328 (410).
deacons 169 (206), 169 (239).
death-bed scenes xl (liv).
deer 21, (24 n, 2), 31 (35 n. 12), 308 (385).
deer-god 31 (35 n. 12), 100 (121 and 125 n. 5).
deification of emperors lvi (lxxv), *passim* in text.
deities [eightly] lvii (lxxvii) see earthly deities.
deities [eighly brothers] of Idzumo xlvii (lxiii), 68 (81).
deities [good and bad] lvi (lxxvi).
Deity Great Name Possessor, 67 (79).
deities [heavenly] lvii (lxxvii).
Deity master of the Great Land see *Ohokimi-nushi-no kimi*, 67 (79). *passim*.
deities [savage] lvi (lxxvi), 134 (164), 136 (167), 145 (178), 203 (250), 209 (260), 211 (261), 213 (264).
Deity Thought Includer. *Omoi Kane no Kami*, 54 (63), 93 (112), 100 (121), 109, (130).
deliberation in heaven 54 (63), 93 (112).
deluge lx (lxxx).
department [great and small] 227 (282).
desecrating imperial tombs 336 (420).
dishes xxx (xl).
ditches of rice fields 53 (61), 230 (286).
divination xxii (xxix), lix (lxxx), 21 (22), 56 (64), 193 (237), 194 (238), 229 (284), 230 (286), 235 (292).
divine age ix (xii), xiii (xviii), xxiii (xxxi), xxvi (xxxiv), xxx (xl), xliii (lvii) lvi (lxxv).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

divine characters ix (xii), xliii (lvii).
divine decrees 18 (19), 43 (50), 108 (129), 135 (165), 136 (167).
divine expulsion 45 (51), 47 (53), 59 (70).
divine generations [seven] 16 (17).
divine possession 58 (65), 229 (284).
divine symbols 108 (130), 144 (178).
divine weeping 44 (51).
divisions of rice-fields 52 (61), 53 (62), 230 (286).
divorce xli (liv).
dogs xxxli (xliii), xxxix (xlvi), 76 (93), 175 (215 n. 23), 230 (286), 312 (389)
dogma lv (lxxiv).
dolphin xxxiv (xlvi), 238 (295).
domestic animals xxxi (xliiii.)
doors xxvii (xxxvi), 34 (38), 53 (63), 57 (64), 58 (65), 76 (91), 278 (345), 304 (374).
door-hooks xxv (xxxiii), 54 (63), 178 (219), 256 (319 n. 12).
dotterel xxxiii (xlix), 77 (92), 221 (274).
dowry xxxviii (li).
Dragon [Hiddens] 7 (2).
dragon fly 26 (30 n. 10) 317 (396).
Dragon-fly-island 5 (2), 23 (23), 107 (129), 158 (195), 317 (396).
Dravidian language i (i).
drawing xlii (lvii).
dreams lv (lxxiv) 6 (2), 8 (2), 135 (165), 175 (215), 187 (231), 193 (237), 237 (295).
drums 58 (64), 239 (297).
drunkenness 53 (61), 63 (72).
ducks [wild] xxxii (xliv), 128 (156).
duke 50 (59 n, 5).
dumb-prince [Homu-chi-wake] 191 (237), etc.
dwarf-god xivii (lxiii); see Sukuna-no-kami.
dye-tree 79 (95).
dyke-piles 249 (308).
eagle 167 (205 n. 13) 192 (240 n. 8), 327 (418).
ears [large, lucky] 48 (54), 260 (324).
early Japanese manners and customs iii (iii), xxlv (xxxiii).
earthen ware xxx (xl).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

earthly deities lvii (lxxvii), 4 (1), 6 (2), 16 (17), 60 (71), 94 (114), 108 (130), 117 (143), 131 (160), 137 (167), 176 (216).
earthquakes lx (lxx), 45 (52).
Echigo 52 (61 n. 21), 61 (74 n. 10), 160 (168 n. 20).
Echizen 160 (198 n. 20), 164 (293 n. 41).
edicts [imperial] 9 (5), 200 (247 n. 4).
editions of Kojiki viii (x) ix (xi).
education xxxix (lii).
eight ears 48 (54), 61 (73 n. 8).
Eight Fold Thing Sign Number Deity 82 (100 n. 7), 101 (122).
eight grasp 44 (51), 192 (237) *passim.*
eight great islands ix (lxxxi), 7 (2), 24 (23), 76 (91), 207 (258).
eight [sacred number] lx (lxxxi) 44 (51), 46 (52), 48 (54), 55 (64), 56 (64), 62 (72), 64 (75), 65 (76), 73 (87), 107 (129), 108 (130), 111 (135), 122 (148), 127 (155), 136 (167), 138 (170), 149 (183 n. 29), 187 (231), 210 (260) 212 (263), 221 (274), 161 (324), 307 (383), 331 (413).
elbow pad xxv (xxxiii), 46 (53), 228 (283).
empire [tenka] 87 (103), 103 (159), 145 (178), 153 (189), 156 (192), 158 (195), 159 (195), 183 (225), 201 (248), 203 (250), etc.
empire [ceding the] 151 (185), 254 (316), 258 (329), 333 (416).
enclosure for Shinto worship 315 (395 n. 7).
equivalent terms xv (xxi).
ère japonaise liv (lxxiii).
erotic tournament 330-333 (412-416).
eternal land [*Tokyo no kuni*] xlviii (lxv), 87 (105), 129 (158), 199 (245).
eternal night [*Tokyo*] 109 (130).
eulalia xxxiv (xlv), 79 (96), 80 (97 n. 2), 133 (163 n. 35), 334 (417).
Even Pass of Hades [*Yomo-tsu-kira-saka*] xx (xxvii), xlvi (lxii), lvii (lxxvii), 37 (40), 39 (41), 74 (88).
exogamy xxxviii (li).
expiation 230 (286).
Exposition of Ancient Histories of Japan by Hirata Atsutane ix (xii).
Exposition of Record of Ancient Matters by Motowori viii (xi), xliv (lvii).
eye [slit round] 112 (135), 148 (180).
eye brows [painting] xlii (lvi), 246 (306).
falcon xxxiv (xlvi) 281 (350).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous 10 1906.

family relations xxxvii (xlix), xxxviii (li).
fans xlii (lvi).
farms [government] 227 (282 n. 9).
fathom [*hiro*] 19 (20), 105 (124), 118 (144), 124 (150).
fences xxvii (xxxvi), xxix (xxxix), 62 (72), 64 (75), 81 (96), 101 (122),254 (316).
ferocity 75 (88), 206 (255), 306 (382), 309 (386).
ferries 181 (221), 155 (317).
festivals [see banquet], and *oho-nihe*[7].
feudalism in early Japan xvii (xxiii), lxii (lxxxiv).
fidelity [conjugal] in woman only, xl (liii), 81 (96).
fines 59 (70).
finger nails pulled out 59 (70).
fire [for warming] xxx (xl).
fire-drill, fire-striker, xxv (lxxxiv), 104 (124), 211 (262).
fire god xlvi (lxi), 29 (29), 32 (35).
Fire-Shine [Augustness] *Ho-deri-no-mikoto* xlviii (lxiv), 118 (144).
Fire-Subside [augustness] *Ho-weri-no-mikoto* xlviii (lxiv), 118-128 (145-156).
fish assembly 114 (139), 123 (149).
fisherman xxxix (lii), 42 (49), 101 (102). 105 (124), 119 (146), 144 (177 n. 6) 262 ;326[7]. see cormorant fishing.
fishermen's guild 244 (304 n. 2), 251 (312).
fish-hooks 119 (146), 120 (146), 123 (149).
fishes propelling ships 232 (287).
Five Reaches [prince] *Itsuse* 129 (159), 130 (160).
flagons 325 (407).
flags [crimson] 8 (3).
flaying 53 (62). 85 (103), 230 (286).
flies xxxiii (xliv), lvi (lxxvi), 44 (51), 54 (63).
floor xxvi (xxxi), 73 (87).
food goddess xxii (xxxii), 22 (22), 29 (33), 59 (70).
food of early Japanese xxix (xl).
foot notes xii (xvii), xix (xxvi), xxiii (xxxi).
forced labour 269 (335).
foresters' guild 244 (304 n. 2), 251 (312).
forgeries (literary) v (vii).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

forming his conscience 290 (361).
Forward [preiness] 72 (86), 79 (95).
fowl xxxn (xliii), 54 (63).
fratricide 75 (85), 151 (185), 206 (254), 254 (316), 306 (383).
freak [imperial] 311 (389).
frog (toad) 86 (103).
fude xliii (lvii).
fumi xliii (lviii) 253 (314).
fumi-bito 252 (314 n. 3).
funerals xl (liv) 97 (116), 200 (245), 222 (275).
furnace: see kitchen.
Furnace [princess] *Kama no Kami* lxix (xciii) 90 (107).
furu-koto-bumi iv (vi).
Futo-tama no mikoto [Grand Jewel] 56 (64), 57 (64), 58 (65), 108 (130), 110 (131).
gable, 105 (124).
garlic, 213 (264), [chive], 248 (308).
garments of early Japanese xxx (xli), 40 (44), 53 (62), 79 (95), 296 (255), 253 (314 n. 11), 262 (326), 278 (345), 281 (350), 319 (399).
garter 298 (371)
gate 62 (72).
gate [august] 110 (130), 323.
Gemmio-tennō iv (vi), 20 (4 and 12 n. 33), 71 (85 n. 14).
gentile names [*Kabane*] xvi (xxi), xxxix (lii), lxii (lxxxv), 21 (24 n. 3), 50 (59 n. 5), 112 (137 n. 12), 137 (169 n. 8), 161 (199 n. 23), 197 (239), 203 (249), 227 (282), 253 (315), 268 (335), 295 (368), 310 (388), etc.
gi, mi [in pairs] 18 (17 and 18 n. 7).
giant 184 (226), 292 (364).
gin xxv (xxxiii) 140 (171).
ginger xxxiv (xlv), 143 (175) [*chive*].
girdle xxx (xlii), 40 (44).
girdle [inner] 191 (235 n. 12).
glass xxxi (xlii).
Go [country in China] 253 (314 n. 11).
goats xxxii (xliii).
gods see *Kami*, deity etc.

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

gods with tails xlviii (lxvi), 6 (2), 137 (167).
gods [savage] see deities.
go-fukuya 253 (314 n. 11).
gohei [see *nusa*, offerings, *mitegura*].
gold xxxvi (xlviii), 55 (66 n. 9), 57 (63 n. 28), 229 (285).
goose xxxii (xliv), 85 (103), 97 (116), 283 (353(.
gourd xxxv (xlvi), lvii (lxxvii), 215 (268 n. 3), 231 (287).
government of early Japan xlv (lx), lxi (lxxxii), etc.
granaries [official] 157 (193 n. 8), 199 (246 n. 2), 205 (254), 228 (283), 269 (335), 307 (383).
grandee [*obito*] 65 (78 n. 7), etc.
Grand Jewel [Augustness] see *Futo tama no Mikoto.*
grapes 36 (39).
Great Master of Things: see god of Miwa.
Great Mountain Possessor [mountain god] 27 (29), 60 (71), 66 (78), 115 (140).
Great Ocean Possessor [sea god] xlviii (lxiv), lxix (xciv), 26 (28), 121 (147)
grebe xxxiv (xlvi), 237 (293), 246 (305).
green garments 80 (96).
guild 111 (134 n. 32), 141 (173 n. 18), 244 (304 n. 2), 251 (312): see *tribe, be, clan.*
Habitations of early Japanese xxvi (xxxv), xxuii (xxxvi).
Hachijo island superstition concerning childbirth xxviii (xxxviii).
Hada [羹] 253 (315), 269 (335).
Hades xxxvi (xlviii), xlvi (lxii), lvi (lxxvi), 34 (38), 45 (52 n. 9), 68 (81 n. 21), 87 (105 n. 12), 103 (126 n. 27), 229 (286 n. 7). *passim.*
Hades [god of] 35 (39), 38 (40).
Hades [hill of]: see Even Pass of Hades.
Hades [descent to] xlvi (lxii), xlvii (lxiii), 34 (38), 35 (39), 71 (86).
hafuri [Shinto priests] 169 (209 n. 32).
hagi [chagi] 39 (44).
Hahaki [Hōki] 70 (83), 31 (33).
hair bunches xxxi (xli), 35 (39), 36 (39), 45 (52), 48 (54), 49 (55), 62 (72).
hair dressing xxxi (xii), 45 (52), 206 (255), 220 (271).
Han [China] lxiv (lxxxvi), 72 (89 n. 7), 253 (315 n. 2).
Hand breadth [a measure] 32 (37 n. 2).
hand maidens 117 (143), 121 (147), 122 (148).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions pervious to 1906.

Hand Strength Male Deity, see *Ama-no ta-jikara-wa-no-kami.*
Hani-Yasu [prince] see *Take-hani-yasu.*
Hani-Yasu-bika-no-kami 29 (32 n. 3.).
hanishibe 200 (24 n. 4).
haniwa 200 (247 n. 4).
Han-zei-tennō [Prince Mizuha-wake], 268 (334 n. 7), 292 (364).
hare xxxvii (xviii), xlvii (lxiii), 68 (81).
hare of Inaba xx (xxvii), 68 (81).
Harima 160 (169), 161 (197), 172 (207), 192 (237), 201 (248), 309 (387), 327 (409), 333 (416).
harvest god, 88 (107).
hashira 31 (34 n. 11), 130 (161 n. 12), 257 (321 n. 1).
Hatabi [prince] 243 (300), 268 (333).
hats xxx (xli). lix (lxxix), 40 (45), 161 (199 n. 23).
Hatsuse 164 (200), 302 (377 n. 8), 310 (388), 321 (401).
Hawk 192 (240 n. 8).
Haya-aki-zu-hiko [deity prince of swift autumn] 29 (28).
hayabito [court-jester] 118 (144), 125 (154).
haya-bito [man-at-arms] 289 (360), 290 (361).
Haya-busa-wake [King], 243 (300), 280 (349).
Hayashi channel 131 (160).
headdress 36 (39), 57 (64), 220 (271), 304 (379).
Heaven (lxxiv), 4 (1), 8 (2), 21 (22), 45 (52), 70 (83), 97 (116), 107 (129),
heavenly and earthly deities 4 (1), 6 (2), 16 (15), 18 (17, 19), 20 (22), 108 (130), 118 (144), 176 (216), 231 (287), *passim.*
heavenly bird boat, 28 (29), 100 (121),
Heavenly-Great-Ears, see *Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi.*
Heavenly pillar 19 (20), 21 (22), 23 (23).
Heavenly Rock Boat 19 (20), 28 (29), 111 (136 n. 4).
heavenly-rock cave (54 65).
heavenly rock seat 111 (135).
heavenly seat 9 (3).
Heavenly Shining Great August Deity see *Ama-terasu-oho-mikami.*
heavenly sovereign, 5 (2), 7 (2), 9 (3), 117 (142), 1481 (80), 149 (181), 153 (189), 154 (189), 155 (190), 156 (193), 158 (193), 159 (194), 166 (201), 174 (213), 175 (215), 180 (221), 182 (224), 183 (225), 187 (230), 197 (239), 201 (248), 210 (271), 245 (305), etc.

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heavenly stairs [*Ama-no-hashi-date*] 19 (20).
Heavenly Young Prince: see *Ame-waka-hiko*.
Heaven's high plain: see *Takama-no-kara*.
Heaven's Sunheight-Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely [Augustness] 127 (155).
hedge 143 (175), 331, (413).
heir apparent [*Taishi*] 106 (128), 203 (249), 228 (283), 236 (293), 237 (295), 248 (308), 268 (333), etc.
hemp xxx (xli), lviii (lxxviii), 57 (68 n. 24).
herb-quelling-sword, [*Kusa-nagi-no-tachi*] lix (lxxx), 63 (73), 109 (130), 210 (260).
herd [boar, cow] 309 (389), 333 (416).
heron xxxii (xliv), 97 (116), 194 (238).
Hi [country] 23 (23), 152 (186).
Hi [river] 60 (71), 63 (72), 160 (196), 195 (238), 209 (258).
Hiba [mount] 31 (33).
Hibasu [empress] 200 (247).
Higashi-yama 88 (106).
High Integrating Deity [*Taka-gi-no-Kami*], 96 (115) 101 (121), 106 (128) 108 (129), 111 (135), 135 (165), 136 (167).
Hijiri no Komi 89 (108 n. 7).
hiki [ki] 30 (34 n. 11).
hiko hime, xv (xv,) xvi (xvi). 16 (16 n. 9), 25 (23 n. 33), 202 (249 and notes), 277 (344) *passim*.
Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi 106 (131 n. 5), 107 (129), 111 (135).
hilt [sword] 32 (36), 304.
Hime [island] 25 (23), 283 (353).
Himuka [Hiuga] xlvi (lxii), 39 (44), 130 (159), 145 (179), 204 (250), 247 (308), (267 333), *passim*.
Hino-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami, see fire-god 29 (32 n. 26), 32 (36).
hinoki xxxiii (xliv) 61 (74 n. 12).
Hirata v (vi), ix (xii), lxii (lxxxiv), *passim*.
hiro [fathom] 19 etc (20).
historical criticism lxxii (xcvii).
historiographers, first appointed i (lxix), 10 (4).
Hitachi 51 (60 n. 16), 105 (128), 179 (222 n. 2.), 214 (266 n. 3).
Hiye [Mt.] 90 (107).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Hiyéda no Are iv (5), 9 4).
Ho-deri-no-mikoto [Fire Shine] xlviii (lxiv), 118 (144), 125 (154).
hoe [wooden] 277 (344), 278 (345).
Hoku-riku-do 179 (222 n. 2).
hole in heaven xlvi (xlii), lv (lxxv), 96 (115).
holly wood xxxiv (xlv), 210 (260).
Homu-chi-wake [prince] 188 (233), 190 (235 n. 8).
Homu-da-wake, see Ojin Tenno.
Homuji clan 195 (238), 197 (239).
Ho-no-ni-ni-gi 5 (2), 106 (129), see Heavenly Great-Great-Ears.
honorifics ix (xii), xii (xvi).
ho-no-sa-wake, see Ahaji.
hook-hole 178 (219).
hook-key xlv (xxxiii), xxvii (xxxvi), 256 (318).
horse xxxi (xlii), xxxii (xliii), 8 (5), 10 (11), 79 (95), 165 (203 n. 48), 230 (286), 232 (289), 308 (385), 309 (385).
horse [piebald] flayed 53 (62).
hotoke lxx (xcv).
house-building xxvi (xxv), xxvii (xxxvi).
house-ropes xxvi (xxxv), 92 (108).
houses abandoned after death xl (liv).
Ho-wori-no-mikoto [Fire Subside] xlviii (lxiv), 118-128 (144-156).
hōzuki 62 (72).
hozumi no omi 145 (178 n. 6), 162 (199), 227 (282 n. 4).
human age xiii (xviii).
human sacrifices xli (lv).
hunter xxix (xl). xxxix (lii), 31 (35), 119 (145).
hunting xxv (xxxiii), 101 (122), 182 (224), 262 (326), 308 (385), 317 (396) 318 (398).
Ibuki yama 216 (267).
Ichi-no-he-no-oshiba [king] 287 (357), 308 (385), 309 (386), 327 (409), 328 (410), 333 (417).
ideographic and alphabetic writing xl (xiv).
Ifuyazaka 39 (41).
Iga 155 (190), 170 (210 n. 50) 174 (214 n. 16).
Ihaki [Iwaki] 152 (186), 333 (417).
hami [Iwami] province 36 (42 n. 9).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Ikazuchi [thunder gods] 36 (42 n. 12).
Ike 186 (227).
Ikume-iri-hiko-isachi, see Suinintenno 183 (225).
Imi 53 (62 n. 6). 110 (134 n. 32), 157 (186 n. 10).
imibe [priest] 53 (62 n. 6), 110 (134 n. 32), 151 (186 n. 10).
imo [wife and sister] xxxvii (1).
imperial guards [haya bito] 125 (154 n. 3).
imperial policy xlv (lx).
imperial succession lxviii (lxxxv), 244 (304), see ceding the Empire.
Impetuous Male Deity, see *Susa no wo-no-mikoto*.
implements [ancient] xxv (xxxiii).
in-yo see *yin-yang*.
Inaba 68 (81), 172 (207), 192 (237).
Inada-no-Miya-mshi-Suga-no-ya-tsu-mimi-no-kami or god of Suga 65 (76).
inaki [lord, rice castle] xv (xxi), xxxix (xxxix n. 30), 155 (191 n. 9. 10. 11), 188 (232).
Iname-no-sukune 342 (328).
Inasa 5 (8 n. 12), 100 (121), 144 (176).
incarnations lx (lxxxi).
incest xxxviii (li), 150 (184), 230 (286), 296 (369).
inconsistency of Japanese history lxviii (xcii).
inconsistency [oriental] xxii (xxx), lvi (lxxvi).
indented notes of Kojiki xlv (xix).
India (non-Aryan) ii (ii).
infanticide 32 (35), 75 (88).
Ingyo Tenno 7 (9 n. 23), 268 (334 n. 17), 294-303 (365-375).
inheritance divided xlvi (lxii), 8 (2), 43 (50), 244 (304).
intoxication 253 (315), 287 (358).
irodo [younger sister) 155 (191 n. 17).
iron xxv (xxxiii), xxxvi (xlviii), 55 (63).
irone [elder sister] 154 (190 n. 4), 155 (191 n. 15).
irrigation 296 (369).
Ise 190 (130 n. 25), 143 (177 n. 4), 153 (186), 158 (193), 168 (208 n. 22), 170 (210 n. 45. 46), 174 (213), 218 (272 n. 4. 7. 9).
Ise [god of] 109 (130), 174 (213), 186 (227), 210 (260), 339 (424).
Ishi-ko-ri-do-me, 55 (65), 108 (130).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represen the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Isomokami xlix (lxvi), 135 (165), 185 (227). 289 (359), 291 (362), 303 (378)t 337 (422).
Isotakeru 89 (108 n. 5).
I-suke-yori-hime 147 (179), 148 (180), 150 (184), etc.
Isuzu [Ise] 109 (130).
I-toku Tenno 156 (192).
Itsuse [Augustness], see Prince Five Reaches.
Iwakuma [temple of] 196 (239).
Iwa-no-hime [empress] 267 (333), 270 (337), 285 (352), *passim.*
Iwa-tsuchi-biko-no-hime, 25 (29 n. 2).
Iwa-zu-bime-no-kami 26 (30 n. 3).
Iyo 21 (22), 152 (186), 225 (178).
Izaho-wake [Richu-tenno] 268 (333), 286-292 (357-364)
Izanagi [Male-who-invites] xx (xxvi), xxi (xxviii), xlv (lxi), 4 (7 n. 7), 18-45 (19-51).
Izanami [Female-who-invites] xxi (xxviii), 18 (19), *passim.*
Izasa-wake xlix (lxv), lxvii (lxxvii), 237 (295).
Izu 179 (222 n. 2).
Izube [see sacred jars].
Izumi 165 (204 n. 52), 185 (229 n. 29).
Izumo lxvii (lxiii), lxi (xxlii), 5 (8 n. 11. 12), 51 (58), 64 (75), 79 (95), 101 (121), 193 (238), 208 (258).
Izumo [god of] 193 (238), 195 (239), etc.
Izu-no-chi-wake [by Tachibana no Moribe], ix (xiii n. 5).
Izu-no-koto-waki [by the same], ix (xiii n. 5).
jade xxxi (xlii), lxix (xciv).
Japan [names of] lxiv, see Akitsushima, Ashihara, Jih-pan, Central Land of Reed Plains, Dragon Fly Island; Eight-Great Islands, Izumo, Wa, Yamato, etc.
Japanese books quoted in present edition lxxii (xcviii).
jars 262 (326).
jars [sacred] 160 (196), 180 (221).
javelin 8 (3).
jester [court] 125 (125 n. 3).
jeu-de-mots xiii (xvii) 296 etc. see pillow words, conundrums etc.
Jewel Ancestor [Augustness] 55 (64), 103 130).
Jeweled spear of heaven 18 (19),

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

jeweller's guild 189 (234).
jewels xxx (xli), xxxl (xlii), lix (lxxx), lxix (xciv), 5 (1), 43 (50), 46 (53), 47 (53), 48 (54), 49 (55), 55 (64), 56 (64), 99 (117), 108 (130), 121 (147), 122 (148), 124 (150), 128 (155), 189 (233), 259 (322).
jewels [curved], *magatama*, xxxi (xlii), lxix (xciv), 46 (52), etc. see jewels.
jewel strings 43 (50), 46 (52), 48 (54), 55 (64), etc.
Ji [honorific for males] 16 (16 n. 9), 25 (29 n. 2), 26 (30 n. 1), 32 (37 n. 3) etc.
Jih-pen [Japan] lxiv (lxxxvi).
Jimmu Tenno xx (xxvii), xlvii (lxv), 5 (8 n. 15), 129 (159 n. 6), *130-153* (159-188).
Jingo-kōgō xxi (xxix), lxviii (xcii), 171 (211 n. 72), *228-240* (283-299).
Kabane, see gentile names.
Kaempfer liii (lxxii).
Kafuchi 162 (200), 175 (215), 222 (275), 266 (332), 311 (389), 327 (408), 341 (427).
Kagehime [Ofuwo] 330 (412).
Kagosaka [king] 226 (278), 235 (292).
Kagu-tsuchi [deer god] 31 (35 n. 12).
Kaguyama lv (lxxv), 31 (35), 56 (64), 215 (267).
Kahachi, see Kawachi.
Kai [province] 214 (265).
Ksi-kuwa-tenno *166-173* (205-212).
Kaji [rudder or oar] xxv (xxiv n.).
Kaki [persimmon] 157 (194 n. 11).
Kaki no moto 157 (193).
Kamakura 225 (278).
Kamayama 133 (164 n. 42).
Kami xv (xxi), xvii (xxiii), lii (lxx), lv (lxxiv), lvi (lxxv), etc.
Kami-musubi-ui oya-no-mikoto; Kami musubi no kami; [Producing Wondrous Ancestor] 15 (15), 60 (70), 70 (83), 86 (103), 105 (124).
Kaminaga [princess] 247 (308), 267 (333).
Kamu-nuna-kawa-mimi [Sui-zei-tenno] 153 (188 n. 1).
Kamu-nushi [Kannushi] 176 (217 n. 18), see shinto priest.
Kamu-yamato-iware-biko 5 (8 n. 15), 13 (5), 129 (159 n. 6), see Jimmu Tenno.

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Kan [Korea] 112 (137 n. 14).
Kana-majiri vi (viii).
Kana reading of Kojiki ix (xiii).
Kanayama biko no kami; Deity-Metal-Mountain-Prince 29 (33 n. 2),
Kane lxx (xcv), 55 (66 n. 9), etc, see metals.
Kara [Korea] 89 (107), 112 (135), 253 (314), 276 (342),
Kara [princess] 307 (383), 310 (387).
Kari xxxii (xliv), see goose.
Karu 156 (192), 162 (199), 164 (200), 182 (224). 192 (237), 296 (369).
Karu [prince and princess] xxxviii (li n.), 293, *293-303* (369-375).
Kasasa [cape] 113 (135), 115 (140).
Kashi [oak] 145 (178 n. 8), 153 (188), 194 (238), etc.
Kashiwabara 145 (178 n. 8).
Kasuga 157 (193), 166 (295), 186 (227), 320.
Katsura-no-ki 95 (118 n. 10), 255 (316), [Kazura Japonica].
Kawachi [Khhachi] 151 (186 n. 1), 153 (189 n. 2), 164 (202 n. 28), (203 n. 43), 172 (211 n. 77), 181 (224 n. 19), 185 (229 n. 27), 265 (330), etc.
kaya, see eulalia 334 (417).
Kaya-nu-hime-no-kami [moor god] 27 (29).
Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami 26 (30 n. 7).
Kazuraki 153 (189), 156 (193), 158 (195), 165 (204 n. 8), 167 (205), 171 (207), 268 (334), 275 (343), 207 (383), 318 (398), 327 (409).
Kazuraki [god of] xlix (lxv), 399.
Kazusa 51 (60 n. 9), 52 (60 n. 19), 153 (188 n. 18), 158 (191 n. 18), 179 (222 n. 1).
keaki [tsuki] xxxv (xlvi), 321 (401), etc.
Keichu [father of Japanese criticism] x (xiii).
Keikō Tenno xxi (xxix), *201-226* (248-281), 184 (226).
Keitai Tenno. 338 (423).
Kenzō Tenno *333-337* (416-421).
ki 51 (58), 71 (84), 133 (161), 163 (200), 165 (201), 173 (212), 192 (237), 195 (238), 242 (300), 273 (340).
Kibi xlviii (lxv), 24 (23), 131 (160), 185 (227), 201 (248), 209 (260), 224 (277), 270 (337), 272 (238).
Kimi xv (xxxi), xxxix (lii n.), 50 (59 n. 5), 128 (157 n. 18), 152 (186).
Kimmei Tenno 340 (425).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

King xvii (xxiii), 154 (190), 160 (195), 167 (205), 169 (206), 170 (206), 712 (206), 174 (213), 180 (221), 183 (226), 184 (226). 186 (227), 193 (238). 201 (249), 225 (278), 265 (330), 268 (333), 269 (335), 280 (349), 283 (352), etc.
kingfisher xxxii (xliv), 79 (95), 97 (116).
Kishi 235 (292), 252 (313).
Kisu-mimi [son of Jimmu Tennō], 146 (179).
kitchen 35 (39), 90 (107), 91 (110 n. 24). 205 (128), 264 (327), 328 (410(.
kitchen god, lxix (xciii), 90 (107), 91 (110 n. 24).
[see furnace princess].
kite 132 (163 n. 29).
Kinshu xlviii (lxiv), passim, see Tsukushi, Kumaso, 227 (283).
Kiyomihara [palace of] 7 (2), 9 (3), etc.
knee-tendons (cutting), xli (lv), 335 (419).
knives [iron], xxiv (xxxiii).
knot-grass xxxiv (xlv), 98 (120 n. 29).
Ko [in names], 276 (344).
Kō-an Tenno 158 (195).
Kō-gan-sho [by Keichu], x (xiii).
Kō-gen Tenno, 162 (199).
kojima 24 (23), 273 (341).
koma 232 (289 n. 2).
komo 104 (124), 288 (359 n. 5) 297 (370 n. 4).
Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime 115-119 (140-145).
Korea xxxvi (xlviii), 1 (lxviii), lvii (lxvii), lxx (xcv), lxxi (xcvi), 23 (26 n. 23), 48 (57 n. 18), 112 (137 n. 14), 113 (138), 179 (222 n. 2), 229 (284 n. 11), 252 (313), 258 (321), etc.
Korean alphabetic writing ix (xii).
Koreans in Japan, 87 (105 n. 12). 252 (313), 258 (321), 276 (342).
Korean treasures xxxvi (xviii), 260 (323).
Kō-rei Tenno (91), *159-161* (196-199).
Koshi 61 (71), 75 (91), 160 (198 n. 20), 179 (220), 182 (224), 186 (227), 193 (237), 237 (295).
Kō-shō Tenno 156 (193).
Kōzu [takatsu], 259 (323 n. 12).
Kōzuke 174 (214 n. 18).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures wtthout parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

kuchi. naka, shiri [michi no], 160 (198 n. 2).
Kudara 233 (289), 252 (153).
Kumano 49 (55), 134 (164).
Kudatama xxxi (xlii), 99 (117).
Kumaso 23 (23), 206 (255), 229 (284), passim.
kume lxx (xcv), 112 (135).
kume no atahe 112 (137 n. 13), 139 (170), 223 (277 n. 2).
kuni lxx (xcv), 15 (16 n. 8), passim.
kuni no miyakko [territorial rulers], xvi (xxi), lxii (lxxxiii), 50 (59 n. 5), 203 (252 n. 35), etc.
Kumi-no-toko-tachi-no-kami 16 (16 n. 11).
Kurahashi [Mt.], 282 (350), 342.
Kure [go], 310.
Kuro [princess], 270 (337), 272 (338).
Kusaka 12 (5), 132 (160), 185 (227), 268 (333), 310 (387), 311 (389), 312 (390), 316 (384).
kusanagi no tachi, 63 (15 n. 20), 210 (261 n. 7), 216 (267).
Kushi-Inada-hime 61 (73 n. 9), 66 (73).
Kusuba ferry, 131 (221).
Kuwammu Tenno xiv (xix).
kuzu [local chiefs], 138 (169 n. 13), 250 (312 n. 1).
kuzu [pueraria thunbergiana], xxxvi (xxxvi).
labourers' tribe 205 (254).
labourers (Korean) 252 (313).
labourers (forced) 269 (335).
lack of divisions in Kojiki xiii (xviii).
lacquer xlii (lvi).
lands granted 229 (285) 291 (363).
lark xxxiv (xlvi) 281 (350).
latrines (kawaya) xxvii (xxxvii) passim in text.
lattice 103 (126 n. 27).
laws 6 (2).
leaf in the cup 321.
leaves used as dishes xxx (xl), 104 (124), 176 (216), 232 (287), 248 (308).
leach-god, see *hirugo*.
legends from beginning to page 280 almost everywhere.
lice xxxiii (xliv) 73 (87).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

life of early Japanese xxxix (lii).
lily xxxiv (xlv), 148 (183 n. 26), 149 (180), 52 (61 n. 26).
limit of reliable Japanese History (lxiv lxxxvii).
liquor cup 80 (96), 215 (267), 246 (305).
liquor vat 62 (72).
liquor (waiting), (machi-sake) 238 (297).
literati (Japanese) ii (ii) xi xxxvii (xlix) xliv (lviii) 12 (13 n. 40).
Little-Prince-renowned-Deity: see *Sukuna-biko-no-kami.*
liturgy 57 (64).
local authorities lxii (lxxxiv) see kuzu.
loin-skirt 179 (220).
Loochoo Islands 87 (105 n. 12).
loom (weaving) 281, see weaving.
lots (casting) 193 (238).
lotus xxxv (xlvi) 316 (394), 166 (204 n. 62).
loyalty and honour (grandee Tsubura) 307 (383).
luck (sachi) 119 (145) 195 (238).
lustrations xxvii (xxvii) see Bathing.
lute 74 (87), 229 284), 316 (396). 228 (410),
Luxuriant Jewel Princess 121 (147), 122 (148), 126 (154), 127 (155).
ma, mi xv (xxi), xvi (xxii), 40 (47 n. 6), 56 (66 n, 11: 67 n. 17). 275 (343 n. 11), 317 (397 n. 3).
Mabuchi (Dictionary of Pillow Words) 17 (17 n. 2).
machi-sake 238 (297).
madder xxx (xli) xxx (xlv) 79 (95).
magatama xxxi (xlii) lxix (xciv) 46 (52), see curved jewels.
magic 194 (238), 254 (315), 261 (324), 263 (326), see metamorphosis.
maki xxx (xlvi), lvii (lxxvii), 231 (288 n. 15).
makura-kotoba, see pillow words.
mallet weapons, (stone, wood), see sword.
Mamuta 151 (182), 204 (250), 266 (335).
manners and customs of early Japanese xxlv (xxxiii).
manyō-gana xi (xiv).
marriage ceremonies xxxix (liii).
marriage hut xxix (xxxviii).
marriage presents xxxviii (li), xxxix (liii), 304 (379).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions to 1906.

marriage with near relatives, xxxviii (li), xlviii (lxv), 129 (158). 226 (278), 268 (333), 296 (369), 304 (379).
Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto see *Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi.*
Masaki xxxiv (xlv).
mats, matting xvi (xxvi), 206 (255), 288 (358), 290 (301).
Matsu, see pine-tree.
Mausoleum [misasaki], 128 (156), 153 (188), 154 (189), 155 (190), 156 (192), 158 (193), 159 (195), 161 (197), 166 (201), 172 (207), 174 (213), 182 (225), 199 (246), 213 (263), 221 (274), 222 (275), 226 (281), 227 (282), 327 (408), 334 (417), 337 (421), 339 (424), 341 (427), 342 (428).
medicine, see physician xlii (lvii), 294 (567).
mediums 229 (284).
Medori [queen], 242 (300), 280 (349), 281 (350).
medusa xxxiii (xliv), 15 (15).
melon 208 (257).
men with tails, 137 (167).
metals of early Japanese xxxvi (xlviii), 229 (285).
metal god, see *Kana-yama-biko-no-kami.*
metamorphosis, lii (lxxi), lvi (lxxv), 36 (39), 62 (72), 104 (124), 126 (155), 146 (179), 197 (239), 213 (264), 217 (269), 259 (322).
method of translating the Kojiki iii (iii), xii (xvi).
mibube 268 (334).
miehinoku 152 (185).
Mifune no mahito xix (xix n.).
Miho [cape], 85 (103).
Mikawa 171 (210 n. 61), 186 (227).
miko xv (xxi), xvii (xxiii), 203 (251), etc.
miko vi (xxii), xvii (xxiii).
mikoto xvi (xxii), 18 (19 n. i), 202 (251), etc.
millet xxx (xl), xxxilv (xlv), 60 (70), 143 (175).
Mimaki-iri-biko-inime 167 (205), 180 (220), see Sūjin tenno.
mimi, in names 48 (57 n. 18), 176 (217 n. 17).
Mimoro [Mt.] 88 (106), 176 (216), 277 (344).
mines 55 (63).
Minister (Prime) 227 (282), 229 (284), 248 (308), 289 (360).
Mino 98 (116), 171 (207), 193 (237), 204 (253), 216 (269 n. 6), 202 (300 .

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

mirror lvii (lxxvii), 4 (1), 55 (64), 56 (64), 58 (65), 109 (130), 111 (131), 252 (313), 261 (324), 303 (375).
mirror makers' guild 110 (131), 111 (135).
Misasaki, see mausoleum.
Mishima 146 (179).
mitegura 230 (287 n. 2).
mitsugi, see tribute.
Mitsu-ha-nome [water-goddess] ( ).
Miwa [Mt.] 178 (219).
Miwa [god of] xlviii (lxv), 146 (179), 176 (216), 178 (219).
Miwidera [Miidera] 169 (210 n. 39).
mixed phonetic style [*kana majiri*], vi (viii).
Miya lviii (lxxviii).
miyake [granary] 199 (245), see granary.
Miyajima 48 (56 n. 16).
miyakko xvi (xxxi), xxxix (lii), 50 (58), 51 (58), 52 (58), 152 (186).
Miyazu [princess], xlii (lvi), 215 (267).
mizu-ha-wake (*prince, emperor*), 267 (333), 289 (360), see Han-zei tenno.
mode [Japanese] of reading Chinese, xi (xv).
Mohitori [water-directors], 141 (173 n. 18), 273 (341).
money xlii (lvi).
monkey 76 (93 n. 4), 108 (133 n. 16).
Mononobe no muraji [warrior clan], 145 (178 n. 5).
monster 61 (71).
moon god xxiii (xxxiii), xlvi (lxii), 4 (1), 43 (46).
moor fire 7 (86), 211 (263).
moon god 27 (29).
mortar [cross] 251 (311),
mortar and pestle 104 (124), 239 (297).
mortuary palace 130 (286).
mosquito fire 214 (266 n. 4).
moss xxxiv (xlv).
Motowori's Commentary x (xiii), 4 (1).
——— Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters viii (xi).
——— rejection of canonical names, xiv (xix).
——— titles in the Prolegomena, xiv (xviii).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Motowori, on Honorifics xii (xvi).
——— on Relationship in early Japan, xxxvii (xlix).
——— on Divine Characters xliv (lviii).
——— on Earthly and Heavenly Deities, 16 (15 and 17).
——— on Izanagi and Izanami 18 (17).
——— on "*oshi*" 22 (25 n. 13).
——— on "*yamato*" 24 (26 n. 26) etc.
mounds, see mausoleum.
mountain clan, see hunters.
mountain god, see *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* 231 (287).
mountain gods [eight], 31 (35 n. 12).
mourning 73 (87), 80 (92 n. 2), 97 (116).
mourning house xiv (liv), 97 (116).
mouse xx (xxvii), xxxii (xliii), 73 (87).
Mozu [Ear-moor of] 286 (356).
mud floor xxviii (xxxvi).
muku tree xxxiii (xlv), 73 (87).
Munakata 50 (58), 82 (98).
Munakata [dukes of] 50 (58).
muraji xvi (xxii), xxiix (lii n.), 50 (59 n. 5), 110 (134 n. 31 and 135 n. 35), 145 (176 n. 5), 151 (186).
murder of an emperor 305 (380).
Mu-retsu Tenno 338 (422).
muro 141 (171 n, 1), 158 (195), 168 (206).
Musashi 51 (58).
music, see lute.
musk-melon xxv (xlvi), 208 (257).
Myriad deities [800] xlvii (lxiii), 54 (63), 58 (65), 59 (70), 94 (113)
Myriad Leaves [collection of] ii (ii), vi (ix).
mythology [Japanese] lii (lxx), liii (lxxi), lxvi) and passim.
mythology [rationialistic view of Japanese] liii (lxxii).
mythology [official view of Japanese] liii (lxii).
Nagasune-hiko [prince of Tomi] 132 (160), 142 (176 n. 2).
nails [extracting] xli (lv).
nakatomi no muraji 110 (131).
nakatsu no omi 110 (134 n. 31).
Naki-soha-me-no kami 31 (35 n. 13).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

names xxxix (lii).
names [proper] describe persons and things xxxix (lii).
names [canonical] xlv (xix), 180 (223 n. 8).
names given to new born children xxxix (lii), 190 (234).
Namihaya [naniwa] Osaka. 132 (160), 235 (292), 248 (308), 259 (322), 267 (333), 329 (335), 271 (338), 273 (341), 287 (358).
Naniha [person] 236 (292), 333 (417), 341 (427).
Naniha no horiye 269 (535 n. 8).
Nara 194 (238), 252 (318), 275 (341).
nari-kabura-arrow lxix (xciv), 72 (86).
navigation [early] xxv (xxxv).
ne, ni [used in names] 17 (18 n. 3).
necklace xxx (xli), 43 (50).
needle xxx (xli), 160 (198 n. 19), 178 (219).
negative traditions of early Japan xlii (lvi), lx (lxxxi).
ne no kuni, see nether distant land.
Ne no omi 304 (378).
net [bird] 193 (237).
nether distant land 45 (51), 71 (86), see Hades.
ni [used in names]. 17 (18 n. 3).
Nigi-haya-hi-no-mikoto 144 (177).
Nihe (offerings), 53 (62 n. 4), 137 (167).
Nihon-gi-rationalizes xix (xxvi), xx (xxvii).
Nin-fan 253 (315).
Ninigi-no-mikoto 106 (131 n. 5), 111 (135), see *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi.*
Nin-ken-tenno 337 (422).
Nin-toku li (lxix), 6 (9 n. 21), 152 (187 n. 10), *267-286* (333-355).
Nomi-no-sukne 200 (248).
Norito [shinto rituals], lviii (lxxviii).
Notes of Kojiki [original] xiv (xix), 18 (18 n. 9).
Notes of translator of Kojiki xv (xx).
Noto 174 (213 and 214 n. 22).
nu [used in names] 16 (17 n. 2), 25 (23), 66 (79 n. 1).
Nuhoko, see jewelled spear.
Nunakawa (princess) 75 (91).
Nu-na-kura-tamashiki 340 (426), 341 (427).
Nuri 276 (342).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

nusa 230 (287 n. 2).
nuye [fabulous bird], 76 (91).
oak [bear] xxxiv (xlv), 194 (238), 208 (258), 220 (271), 232 (288 n. 18), 235 (292), 312 (391).
oak [ever-green], 227 (283 n. 2).
oak-leaf cups, platters, 232 (287), 248 (308), 283 (352).
oar xxv (xxxiv), 232 (289), 255 (317).
oaths lviii (lxxix), 45 (52), 47 (53), 194 (238).
obito 65 (78 n. 7), 110 (134 n. 32), 137 (169 n. 11), 253 (314 n. 9).
obscenity iii (iv), xlii (lvi), 20 (20), 55 (63 n. 11), 58 (64), 146 (179), 215 (267).
offerings to the dead xli (liv).
offerings to the gods [*nusa*], lvii (lxxvii), lviii (lxxviii), 56 (64), 160 (196), 177 (216), 185 (227), 199 (245), 230 (286), 231 (287), 262 (326), 320 (400).
official view of Japanese chronology, liv (lxxii).
Oho 24 (26 n. 26), 25 (27 n. 27), 157 (186 n. 3), *passim*.
Ohobiko 62 (199), 179 (220).
Oha-hatsuse [prince] 294 (365), 304 (378), 306 (308), 310 (387), 336 (420), see Yū-ryakutenno.
Ohoke and *Wake* [Kings], 309 (386), 328 (409).
Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami 25 (29 n. 2).
Oho-kume 112 (136 n. 7), 147 (179), 148 (180).
Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami xviii (xxv), lvi (lxxvi), *66-88* (78-79), 101 (121), 175 (215), 193 (237), 196 (230).
Oho-kusaka [Xing], 268 (333), 304 (378).
Oho-maye-no-sukune, or Oho-mahe-no-mahe no sukune 297 (371).
Oho-na-nushi-no kami, see Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami.
Oho-ne [daikon] 277 (344 and 347 n. 6).
Oho-nihe 53 (62 n. 4).
Oha-no-omi 151 (186 n. 3).
Ohosumi 118 (144 n. 11).
Oho-nu-de-hime [Azuki], 25 (25).
Ohosaka, see Osaka.
Oho-sazaki [prince] 13 (5), 241 (299), 244 (300), 247 (308), 356 (311), see Nin-toku Tenno.
Ohoshima 25 (23).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Oho-tata-ne-ko xlix (lxvi), 175 (215), 178 (218).
Oho-tobi-wake-no-kami 26 (30 n. 4).
Oho-tomo-no-muraji 112 (127 n. 12), 139 (170).
Oho-tomo [prince], 8 (10 n. 25).
Oho-usu [prince] 201 (249), 205 (253).
Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami [sea god], 26 (30 n. 4).
Oho-ya-biko-no-kami 26 (30 n. 6), 71 (85 n. 15).
Oho-yama-mori [prince]. 241 (299). 244 (303), *254-257* (316-321).
Oho-yamoto-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni, 159 (196), see Kō-rei tenno.
Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami [mountain god], lvii (lxxvii), 27 (30 n. 8), 60 (71), 66 (78), 115 (140).
Oho-ya-shima [Eight-Great-Islands], 24 (23 and 27 n. 27).
oil [floating], 15 (15).
Ojin-tenno xliii (lvii), 13 (14 n. 42), 228 (284 n. 11), *240-266* (299-330).
Oki 22 (22), 68 (81).
Okime [old-woman] 333 (416).
Okinaga-tarashi [princess], see Jingō-kōgō 171 (207). 228 (283), 261 (324), etc. passim.
okurina, see canonical names.
old printed edition of Kojiki viii (xi).
omens 10 (4), 21 (22). 180 (221), 187 (231), 195 (238), 235 (292), 241 (301 n. 18), 284 (355), 323 (404 n. 4), see divination.
Omi (ohomi), xvi (xxi), xxxix (lii), 152 (186 n. 3), 157 (notes on 194), 164 (notes on 202-204). 227 (282 n. 7).
Omohi-kane-no-kami, see daily thought includer. 54 (63).
Onogoro 18 (12), 271 (338).
orange [*tachibana*] xxxv (xlvi), 39 (44 and 47 n. 3), 87 (105 n. 12), 19 8 (246), 248 (310 n. 9).
ordeal by boiling water lviii (lxxix), 295 (367).
ornaments xxx (xli).
Osaka [cave], 141 (173).
Osaka [city] 132 (162 n. 26), see Naniwa.
Osaka [mountain pass], 177 (216), 195 (238), 254 (315), 288 (358).
oshi [in names of gods], 22 (25 n. 13), 25 (27 n. 34), 48 (57 n. 18), 158 (195 n. 2).
Oshikuma [king], 226 (278), 228 (283), 235 (292), 236 (293).

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

oto [younger brother or sister] xxxvii (xlix), 197 (244), 227 (282 n. 2).
Oto-tachibana [princess], 212 (263), 223 (277).
owl 165 (203 n. 45), 241 (301 n. 18), 287 (357 n. 8).
oyster-shell xxxlv (xlvi), 301 (374).
pacification 93 (112), 144 (178), 181 (222), 209 (259), 210 (260).
pacificatory offerings to gods 57 (64), 176 (216), 230 (286).
palace of Japanese sovereigns, etc. xxvi (xxxv), xlviii (lxiv), 19 (20), 53 (61), 63 (75), 113 (135), 120 (147), 130 (160), 138 (170), 149 (181), 153 (189), 156 (192), 159 (196), 183 (225), 185 (227), 195 (238), 201 (248), 214 (265), 226 (281), 227 (283), 237 (295), 267 (333), 278 (345), 310 (387), 316 (396), 327 (409), 333 (416), 337 (422).
palace dilapidated 270 (336).
palace and temple, identical xxvii (xxxv), lviii (lxxviii).
palanquin 8 (3).
palm-tree [*ajimasa*], 196 (243 n. 38), 272 (339 n. 8).
paper lviii (lxxviii).
paper [mulbery bark] xxx (xli), lviii (lxxviii), 57 (64), 78 (95), 87 (96), 105 (124).
parturition-house xxviii (xxxviii), xxxix (lii), 38 (40), 118 (144), 126 (154). 241 (301 n. 18).
passive and active essences [*in-yo*] xx (xxvii), xxi (xxviii), 9 (3).
peaches xxxiv (xlv), xlvi (lxii), lvi (lxxv), 37 (40).
pearls 261 (324).
perch xxxiii (xliv), 105 (124).
persimmon 157 (194 n. 11).
personification of the powers of Nature, xlvi (lxi), lvi (lxxv), lxvi (lxxxix).
pestilence xlix (lxvi), 175 (215), 177 (216), 216 (269 n. 6).
pestle and mortar xxv (xxxiv), 201 (250 n. 6).
phallic worship [*Amatsu mara*], 55 (66 n. 11), 147 (179).
pheasant xxxii (xliv), 76 (91), 95 (114), 98 (116).
physician 294 (367).
piebald horse of heaven xlvi (lxvii), 53 (62).
pigeon xxxiv (xliv), 77 (93 n. 4).
pillars xxvi (xxxv), passim, see temple pillars.
pillows 249 (309).
pillow-words [*makura-kotoba*], xiii (xvii), 17 (17 n. 2), 78 (94 n. 7), 105

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

(127 n. 38), 109 (134 n. 25), 135 (167 n. 16), 143 (177 n. 4), 144 (177 n. 6), 157 (194 n. 7), 173 (213 n. 2), 214 (266 n, 3), 215 (268), 236 (294 n. 17), 247 (306 n. 2), 249 (308), 256 (319), 275 (343), 277 (347). etc.
pine-tree xxxiv (xlv), xlii (lvii), 218 (270). 234 (291).
pit-dwellers, see cave-dwellers.
pit-fall 138 (170).
pivots [in poetry], xiii (xvii), and songs passim.
"place aux dames" xxxviii (l).
Plain of High Heaven, see *Takahama-no-hara*.
plants of early Japan xxxiii (xlv), et seq.
platforms 62 (72).
platters lvii (lxxvii), 104 (124), 175 (216). 232 (287).
plots 180 (221), 187 (231), 332 (414).
plum-tree xxxv (xlv).
polygamy xl (liii), 75 (88), 80 (96), 82 (98), 89 (107), 140 (171), 146 (179), 148 (180), 159 (196), 162 (199), 167 (205), 168 (205), 172 (207), 173 (212), 183 (225), 197 (244), 201 (248), 220 (271), 223 (277), 228 (283), 240 (299), 267 (333), 310 (387), 337 (422), 338 (423), 340 (425), 341 (426).
pools 172 (212 n. 85), 182 (224). 183 (227), 192 (237) 194 (238), 205 (254), 269 (335), etc.
population of early Japan, xxvi (xxxv).
porcelain xlii (lvi).
portents 44 (51), 54 (63), 241 (301 n. 18).
prawn 213 (265 n. 1).
prayer lv (lxxiv), lviii (lxxviii), 57 (64), 104 (124), 187 (223 n. 18).
precious stones xxx (xli), xxxi (xlii).
preface to poems xiii (xvii), et passim in songs.
preface to Kojiki, its nature, 3 (1).
priests lviii (lxxviii), lxv (lxxxviii), 110 (134 n. 32), 151 (185), 176 (215).
priestesses 63 (75 n. 19), 110 (134 n. 33), 174 (213), 183 (228 n. 7), 186 (227), 339 (424).
primogeniture 131 (185), 244 (303), 254 (316), 333 (416).
Princess of Great Food, [food goddess], 22 (22), 59 (70), 92 (108).
Princess Under-Shining [*Shita-teru-hime*], 82 (98), 94 (114).
printed books of Middle Ages viii (x).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Producing Wondrous Deity, see *Kami-musubi-no-kami.*
Proverbs 96 (115), 97 (116), 190 (234), 254 (315), 258 (320), 264 (327).
pueraria xxvi (xxxv), xxxiv (xlv), 90 (110 n. 22), 170 (210 n. 53).
punishments xli (lv), 59 (70), 206 (255), 283 (352), 306 (382), 321 (402).
purification [by water] xlvi (lxii), lviii (lxxix), 39 (44), 230 (286), 237 (295), 291 (362).
purity [ritual], 110 (132 n. 32).
quail xxxiv (xlvi), 324 (403).
quarrels [family], xlvi (lxii), see Iwahime, prince Karu etc.
queen 155 (191 n. 7), 160 (196), 167 (205), 174 (213), etc.
quiver 46 (53), 112 (135), 144 (178 n. 2).
radish xxxv (xlvi), 277 (344), see *ohone.*
rafters xxvii (xxxvi), 73 (87), etc.
rain-coat [straw], xxx (xii), lix (lxxix).
rear and van 103 (124).
recension of Japanese traditions lxvii (xci).
red clay xxxvi (xlviii), 73 (87), 104 (124).
red jewel 259 (322).
reeds xxxiv (xlv), 15 (15), 20 (21), etc.
reed plain 67 (79), 93 (112), 95 (114), 107 (129), etc, see Central Land of Reed Plains.
regalia lix (lxxx).
regent 244 (303).
relationship in early Japan, xxxvi (xliv), etc.
religious and political ideas of early Japan. iv (v), xliv (lix), lv (lxxiv), etc.
religious intercessors [*nakatomi*], lviii (lxxix), 110 (131).
religious rites lvii (lxxvi), 53 (62), 287 (358), see tasting the first rice.
renaissance [Japanese]. xxiii (xxxi).
resurrection 70 (83), 71 (84), 194 (238).
retainers xli (lv), 9 (4), 174 (215 n. 23), 200 (247), 254 (316), 310 (388).
revelation [divine], 178 (218), 319 (399), 320 (400), etc.
Revival of Pure Shinto [by Satow). iv (v).
ri [long measure] 285 (356 n. 6).
rice xxix (xl), xxxiv (xlv), 129 (158), etc. see following.
rice-castle, see *inaki.*
e ear, 10 (4), 145 (178 n. 6).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty [prince], see *Ni-nigi-no-mikoto.*
rice [creation of], 60 (70).
rice fields 42 (61), 53 (62), 61 (73 n. 9), 124 (150), 221 (274), 259 (322), 296 (369).
rice-stubble 221 (274).
Ri-chū-tenno 268 (334 n. 17), *286-292* (356-364).
ridge-pole xxvii (xxxvi), 53 (63 n. 9).
rivals [eighty], 68 (81), 261 (326).
rivals [father and son], 204 (253), *247-249* (308-311).
river god lvii (lxxvii), 231 (287).
road [district], 161 (198 n. 20), 179 (220), 209 (260).
road [mouth of] 160 (196), 237 (295).
road-keepers 172 (212 n. 80).
Rock seat of heaven 111 (135).
roof [thatched] xxvii (xxxvi).
ropes [string], 59 (69 n. 34), 78 (92), 81 (96), 92 (108), 105 (124), 209 (239).
Round Eyes [Heavenly] see Oha Kume.
rugs [silk], xxvii (xxxvi), 212 (263).
Sa [in names], 21 (24 n. 3), 23 (26 n. 24), 28 (31 n. 19).
sabre [ten grasp] 32 (35), 37 (40), 47 (53), 63 (72), 98 (116), 101 (121), 120 (146), 206 (255), 220 (271).
sacred jars 160 (196), 190 (221).
sacrifice, see *nihe* and offerings to gods.
sacrifice [self], 212 (263).
sacrifice [human] xli (lv), see burying alive.
saddle 79 (95).
Sado 23 (23).
Sagami 210 (261), 212 (263), 225 (280 n. 23).
Saho 168 (205), 186 (227).
Sahobiko [king], 168 [205]. *187-191* (203-236).
Sahobime [empress], *187-191* (230-236).
saka [in names of places], lxx (xcv), 28 (31 n. 19), 33 (38 n. 10), etc., see Osaka.
sakahibe no muraji, 151 (187 n. 5).
sakabe [liquor tribe], 204 (262 n. 40).
sakaki tree xxxiii (xlv), 56 (64), 140 (172 n. 16).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

sake [rice-beer], xxx (xl), lxix (xciii), 62 (72), 189 (233), 238 (297), 251 (311), 253 (315), 262 (326), 283 (352), 287 (358), 323 (403).
sakikusabe 52 (58).
Sakurai 165 (200).
salt-god [*Shiho-tsuchi-no-kami*], 120 (147).
Sanuki 22 (22), 167 (208 n. 17).
Saru [duchess of], Sarume-no-kimi, 110 (131), 133, (138), 151 (139).
Saruta prince of] 108 (113), 113 (138), 114 (139).
sash [tasuki), 57 (64).
Satsuma 115 (142 n. 2), 118 (114 n. 11), see Ata.
saw xxv (xxxiii).
Sayama no ike 185 (227).
Scare-crow god 87 (103).
scarfs 324 (403).
scarfs [magic], 261 (324),
scarf [snake] etc., 72 (86), etc.
se [elder-brother], xxxvii (l).
sea-ass xxxii (xliii), 127 (148).
sea-god xlviii (lxiv), lxix (xciv), 26 (2ª), 121 (147). 231 (287),
sea monster 124 (150).
sea plain [*unabara*] lxi (lxxviii), 44 (50), 129 (158).
sea weed xxxiv (xlv), 104 (124).
sedges xxxix (xlv), 69 (82). 149 (181), 200 (247), 212 (263), 280 (349).
Sei-mu Tenno 6 (9 n. 22), 226 (281).
Sei-nei Tenno *327-333* (409-416).
Sen-kwa Tenno, 339 (424).
serpent xxxiii (xliv), see snake.
serpent [eight forked], xlviii (lxiii), 5 (1), 60 63 (71-75).
serpent princess 197 (239).
serpentine xxxi (xlii).
Settsu (tsu), 151 (186 n. 2), 164 (203 n. 39), 167 (208 n. 14), 168 (208 n. 18), etc.
sewing xxx (xli).
sheep xxxii (xliii).
Shibi [grandee], 330-333, (412-416).
shield lviii (lxxviii), 132 (190), 144 (176), 176 (216), 227 (282), 246 (305).
Shiki 142 (175), 144 (176), 154 (189), 156 (192), 173 (212), 183 (225).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

Shiki [Lord of], 154 (189), 156 (192).
Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi [Augustness], An-nzi tenno, 154 (189).
shiko-me [ugly old woman], 34 (41 n. 1) 36 (42 n. 13),
Shima 115 (139).
Shimosa 105 (127 n. 38).
Shinano 102 (123), 152 (186), 193 (237), 215 (267).
Shina-tsu-biko-no-kami 27 (31 n. 15).
shinto [origin obscure] xliv (lix), lv (lxxiv) etc.
shinto [false accounts of] lxi (lxxxii).
shinto priests viii (x), xxii (xxix) 176 (216) see priest and priestess.
shinto rituals ii (iii), xxvi (xxxv), lxv (lxxxviii).
shinto shrines xxvii (xxxvi), 42 (49 n. 22), 50 (58), 104 (124), 109 (130), 110 (131), 135 (165), 176 (216), 178 (219), 193 (238), 196 (239), 237 (295), 259 (322), 289 (359).
ships 10 (4), 197 (239) 212 (263), 231 (287), 237 (295), 293 (340), 285, (358) 294 (367).
Shiragi 1 (lxviii), 232 (289), 252 (313), 258 (321) 294 (367) see Korea.
shirakata 132 (160).
shiratori-no-misasagi 223 (275).
Shōgun 236 (292).
Shōko [King of Kudara] 252 (313).
Shōtoku Taishi 48 (57 n. 18), see prince Umayado.
shoulder blade of deer xxii (xxix), lix (lxxx), 21 (24 n. 2), 56 (64).
shrike (mōzu) 286 (356).
shrines: see shinto shrines.
shuttle xxv (xxxiv), 54 (63 n. 11).
sickle xxv (xxxiv), 215 (267).
Siebold liii (lxxii), lxix (xciv).
silk xxxii (xliii).
silk rugs xxvii (xxxvi), 122 (148), 212 (263).
silkworm xxxii (xliv), 60 (70), 151 (186 n. 4), 279 (345).
silver xxxvi (xlviii), 57 (68 n. 28), 226 (281 n. 36), 229 (285).
skins xxv (xxxiii), xxvii (xxxvi), xxx (xli), 122 (148), 212 (265).
skirts xxx (xli), 1 (lxviii), 40 (45), 179 (220), 206 (255), 233 (289).
slaves xli (lv), 133 (163 n. 34), 312 (389).
smiths 253 (314).
smith god [amatsu mara] 55 (63).

N.B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

snake xxvi (xxxvi), xxxiii (xliv), 72 (86), 187 (235), 197 (239)
snipe xxxii (xliv).
soba tree 146 (171).
socks 262 (326).
Soga family 164 (200).
Soga no omi 164 (200).
solar child 250 (311).
Songs Ancient and Modern [collection of] vii (ix).
songs of Kojiki vii (ix), xi (xiv), xii (xvii), xiv (xx) xxiv (xxxii), lviii (lxxix), 64 (75), 76 (91), 78 (92), 79 (95), 80 (96), 99 (107), 128 (155), 140 (171), 142 (173), 143 (175), 144 (176), 147 (180), 148 (180), 149 (181), 150 (184), 180 (220), 209 (259), 212 (263), 212 (265), 215 (267), 218 (271), 221 (274), 237 (293), 238 (297), 245 (304), 246 (305), 248 (308), 271-280 (337-346), etc.
soot 105 (127 n. 38).
So-tohoshi [queen] *296-303* (368-375.
soup 272 (338).
spade [metal] 320 (401).
sparrow xxxiv (xlvi), 97 (116), 324 (403).
spears xxv (xxxiii), lviii (lxxviii), 8 (3), 139 (170), 177 (216), 210 (260).
spear [jewelled] 18 (19).
spider [earth] 141 (173).
spindle tree xxxiv (xlv), 57 (64).
spirits lvi (lxxvi), 4 (1).
squat 101 (125 n. 14).
staff 39 (44).
stag [horned] 237 (296 n. 3), 238 (296 n. 12), see deer.
stalk [connected] 10 (4).
stallion 252 (313).
star worship lx (lxxx).
steatite xxxi (xli).
stiletto 114 (139), 125 (150), 187 (231).
stirrup 79 (95).
stone age xxiv (xxxiii).
stone castle xxix (xxxix), 173 (213) n. 1).
stone coffin makers 200 (247).
stone implements xxiv (xxxiii).

NB.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

stone weapons, see sword.
store 199 (246 n. 2) 233 (289).
store house 43 (50), 135 (165).
stoves xxx (xl).
succession [imperial] 327 (409), see ceding the empire, primogeniture.
succession [sun's] 93 (112), 103 (123), 294 (367), 296 (369), 337 (421).
Suga 63 (75).
Sugahara 200 (247), 305 (381).
Suga-no-yatsu-mimi-no-kami 65 (76).
sugi xxxiv (xlv), 61 (72), 192 (237), see cryptomeria.
Suha, see Suwa.
Suhau [Suwo] 165 (203 n. 49).
Su-hiji-ni-no-kumi 17 (18 n. 3).
suicide 198 (244), 237 (293), 308.
suicide [lovers'] 303 (375).
Sui-ko Tenno 13 (13 n, 41), 342 (428).
Sui-nin Tenno xli (liv), 168 (209 n. 29), *183-200* (225-247).
Sui-zei Tenno xlix (lxvi), 153 (189).
Su-jin Tenno 342 (428).
Sukunabiko-nokami [dwarf god] xlvii (lxiv), xlix (lxv), 86 (104 n. 7), 87 (103), 239 (297).
Sukune [title] xvi (xxi), xxxix (lii), 163 (202-204).
Sumera mikoto 117 (143 n. 15), see heavenly sovereign.
Suni [Inlet of] 267 (333), see following.
Sumi [god of] xlix (lxv), lvii (lxxvii), 42 (46), 231 (288 n. 9), 233 (289).
Sumiyoshi 269 (335), see Sumi.
sun and moon [legend of], xxiii (xxxi), 4 (1), 42 (46).
sun goddess xxiii (xxxii), xlvi (lxii), xlvii (lxiii), lxix (xciii), 4 (1), see *Amaterasu-oho-mikami*.
sun mirror 55 (64), 58 (65), 109 (130).
superstitions xxii (xxix), xxviii (xxxviii), lv (lxxiv), lix (lxxix), 10 (4), 21 (22), 35 (39), 37 (40), 48 (54), 56 (64), 74 (87), 114 (139), 123 (149), 124 (150), 134 (164), 178 (219), 194 (238), 212 (263), 232 (287), 258 (321), 262 (326), 283 (353).
moreover see childbirth, comb, divination garlic, magic, metamorphosis, omens, peach, ordeal, resurrection, spider witchcraft, etc.
surnames xxxix (lii), 9 (4), 13 (6), 50 (59 n. 5), 178 (219 n. 5).

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Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto [Impetuous Male] see *Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto.*
Saseri bime [Forward princess], 72 (86).
Suwa [sea of] 102 (123).
swine xxxii (xliii).
swan xxxii (xliv), 192 (237).
swear 47 (53), 193 (238).
sword [iron], xxv (xxxiii).
—— mallet headed 112 (135), 142 (174).
—— cross 134 (164), 135 (165), 139 (170), 185 (227), 252 (313).
—— false 209 (258).
tables xxx (xl), 59 (70) 116 (141), 122 (148), 314 (393).
tachibana 39 (44), see orange.
Tachibana no Moribe ix (xiii), lii (lxx).
Tagishi xxv (xxxiv). 104 (124).
Tagishi-mimi [son of Jimmu tenno] 146 (179), 150 (184).
tai 123 (149).
Tajima 156 [192], 172 (207), 193 (237), 260 (323).
Tajima Mori 87 (105 n. 12), 198 (245), 260 (323).
Takachiho [Mt.], xlviii (lxiv), 5 (2), 111 (135), 128 (156), 130 (159).
Takahashi Goro [on Jap. Mythology], liii (lxxi).
Takakuraji 134 (164 etc).
Takama no hara [Plain of High Heaven], xxvi (xxxv), lv (lxxiv), 15 (15), 43 (50), 54 (63), 58 (65), 75 (88), 103 (123), 107 (129), 113 (136).
Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami [Producing Wondrous Deity], xlvii (lxiv). lxv (lxxxix), 15 (15). 54 (63), 85 (105), 93 (112), 94 (114), 96 (115).
Takashima 131 (160).
Takatsu [Kōzu], 267 (333).
Takawoka 153 (189).
Take [in names], 46 (55 n. 7), 151 (156 n. 7), 163 (200).
Takechi [Prince], 52 (58).
Take hani-yasu-hiko [king], 162 (200), 179 (220), 170 (221).
Take-mika-tsu-chi-no-wo-no-kami 32 (37 n. 7).
Take mina kawa mimi 151 (185).
Takeri 131 (160).
Takeru 141 (175 n. 3).

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Take-uchi-no-sukune 163 (200), 227 (282), 229 (284), 241 (299), 248 (308), 252 (313), 283 (353), 284 (353).
Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate [Senkwa Tenno], 339 (424).
Taking leave *45-49* (52-57).
Tama xxvi (xlii), 18 (19 n. 2), 46 (55 n. 5), 56 (67 n. 16), see precious stones.
Tamba [taniha], 158 (194 n. 16), 164 (202 n. 29), 166 (205), 179 (220), 191 (234).
tana lxx (xcv).
Tango 172 (212 n. 84).
Tarashi 12 (5).
Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [Chū-ai Tenno], 227 (283).
tasting first rice 53 (61), 287 (358).
tasuki [shoulder strap], 57 (68 n. 29).
tatari 193 (237), see curse.
tattooing xlii (lvi), 148 (182 n. 20), 309 (386).
taxes 151 (187), 182 (224), 269 (335).
Tatsuta 21 (24 n. 2).
tea-plant xxxv (xlvii), xlii (lvi), 242 (302 n. 26).
tears xli (liv), 31 (33), 44 (31), 187 (221), 315 etc.
tema xix (xxv), 69 (83).
Temmu Tenno iv (v), v (vi), 7 (10 n. 25).
temples [Buddhist], lxx (xcv), 200 (248 n. 5).
temple pillars 74 (88), 103 (123), 113 (136).
tent 254 (316).
tera see temple.
thatch xxvii (xxxvi), 126 (155).
Thousand Draught Rock 37 (40), 73 (87), 102 (122).
throne 254 (316), 317 (396).
thunder gods [eight] xlvi (lxi), 36 (39).
tiger 8 (3), 76 (93 n. 4).
title [ancient], impossible to translate xv (xxi).
toad xx (xxvii), xxxiii (xliv), 86 (103).
Toho-tsu-afumi 51 (60 n. 13), 90 (110 n. 20), 257 (320 n. 17).
Toho-tsu Asuka see further Asuka.
Toko-yo-no-kuni, see eternal land.
Tomi [prince of], see Nagasune-biko

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Tomo no wo 108 (133 n. 19), 295 (368).
toneri [retainers], 310.
top-knot xxxi (xli), 236 (293).
Torrent-Mist-Princess [*Takeri-hime-no-mikoto*], 48 (54), 82 (28).
tortoise xxxiii (xliv), 131 (160).
tortoise-shell [divination], xxii (xxtx).
Tosa 22 (22).
Tōtōmi, see *toho-tsu-afuui.*
Totori 185 (227).
towns xxv (xxxiv).
Toyo [province], 23 (23), 130 (159) 161 (197), 202 (249).
Toyo-ashi-hara-no-Hehi-aki-no-noga-i-ho-aki-no-mitzu-ho-ra-kuni xviii (xxv), 92 (112).
Toyo-kumo-un-no-kami 16 (17).
Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime [empress Suiko], 342 (428).
Toyora 227 (283).
Tranquil River of Heaven, see *Ame-no-yasu-kawa.*
transliteration of Japanese words lxxiv (ci).
transmigration lx (lxxxi).
traps xxv (xxxiii), xxix (xl), 137 (167), see weir.
trays xxx (xl).
treachery xxxix (liii), 142 (173), 236 (295), 290 (361), see war tricks.
treasurer 291 (363).
treasury 10 (11), 291 (363).
treasures [Korean] xxxvi (xlviii), 261 (324).
tree god 27 (28).
tribe [*be*, clan], 151 (186), 152 (186), 164 (200), 170 (206), 171 (207), 172 (207), 185 (227), 200 (247), 205 (254) 243 (300), 251 (312), 268 (333), 291 (363) etc.
tribute 10 (4), 182 (224), 232 (289), 252 (313), 257 (320), 294 (367), 312 (389).
tribute on arrow-notches and finger-tips, 182 (224).
tribute on Japan from Korea, 232 (289), 252 (313), 294 (367).
tricks [war], 73 (87), 209 (259), 211 (261), 235 (292), 236 (293), 255 (317).
trousers xxx (xli), 40 (45), 255 (317), 262 (326).
trout [*aya*], xxxiv (xlv), 173 (213 n. 2), 234 (291).

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Truly - Conqueror- I-conquer-conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, 142 (54), 93 (112), 106 (128),
tsu [in names], 25 (29 n. 2), 26 (30 n. 3), 32 (37 n. 3), 41 (48 n. 13).
Tsu [port], 23 (23).
Tsu [Settsu], 151 (186 n. 3].
Tsubura [grandee], 305 (381), 307 (383), 310 (387).
tsuchi-gumo see Earth-Spider, 141 (171).
tsuchi-ningyo 200 (247).
tsuki [*heaki*] 302 (375), 321 (402).
Tsuki-yomi-no-kami [moon-god], 43 (49 n. 24),
Tsukuba 214 (265).
Tsukushi 4 (lxvii), lxiii (lxxxvi), 22 (23), 39 (44), 111 (135), 130 (159), 131 (160), 152 (167 n. 6), 227 (283), 229 (289), 233 (289), 265 (330).
Tsunuga 161 (167), 237 (295).
Tsura-nagi-no-kami 27 (30 n. 12).
Tsura-nami-no-kami, 27 (30 n. 12).
tsurugi see sword.
Tsurugi [pool of), 166 (201).
Tsushima 23 (23), 51 (58).
tunny [*shibi*], xxxiv (xlvi), 331 (413).
turbinidae [shells], xxxiii (xlv), 143 (176).
Uchi [place] 163 (200).
Uda 138 (168), 140 (171), 141 (172), 177 (216), 330 (412).
Uhiji-ni-no-kami 17 (18 n. 3).
Uji 50 (59 n. 5), see surname.
Uji [place], 242 (300), 255 (317), 214 (304).
Uji-no-waki-iratsuko 242 (300), 244 (303), 254 (316), 257 (320).
Ukashi brothers 138 (169).
Ukehi 47 (56 n. 11 , 193 (241 n. 15) see oath, curse.
uma lxx (xcv) see horse.
Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami 16 (16 n. 9).
Umayano [prince] or Shōtoku taishi 48 (57 n. 18), 342 (423).
Umasaka 161 (197).
unabara 44 (50), 129 (158), see sea plain.
Unebe-no-omi 145 (178).
Unebi (Mt.) 145 (178), 150 (184), 152 (188), 155 (190), 156 (192) etc.

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uneme [palace waiting women] 145 (170 n. 7).
untrustworthiness of Japanese history xlv (lx), liv (lxxiii) see ère japonaise.
Usa 130 (159).
uzu [ornament] 57 (68 n. 28).
Uzume no mikoto: see *Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto.*
vagueness [intentional] of Japanese poetry 323 (404).
valley god 28 (29).
value [historical] of Kojiki liv (lxxiv) etc.
van guard 103 (124), 108 (130), 112 (135), 113 (136).
vegetables xxx (xl).
vehicles xlii (lvi).
veils xxx (xli), 76 (91), 145 (178 n. 7), 281 (350).
vengeance, see Ohoke and the boar-herd 309-333 (386-414), 336 (420).
vine xxxiv (xlv).
violence [imperial] 206 (254), 309 (386), 321 (402).
void of heaven [sky] lv (lxxiv).
Wa-dō [*nengō*] 11 (5).
wager 262 (326).
wagtail xxxiv (xlvi), 324 (403).
waiting eighty years 314 (392).
waka [in names] 173 (213), see *wake.*
Waka-kusaka [queen] 268 (333), 304 (379), 310 (387), 311 (389), 312, (390).
Wakasa 237 (295).
Waka-tarashi-biko 202 (249).
Waka-yamato-no-ko-hiko-oho-hibi [Kaikuwa Tenno] 162 (199).
Wake [in names] xvi (xxi), xxxix (lii), 21 (24 n. 3), 50 (59 n. 5), 163 (200) 186 (223 n. 19), 201 (248), etc.
Waki [in names] see *wake.*
Wani [place] 80 (221), 269 (335).
wani [crocodiles] 269 (335 n. 7).
Wani-kishi or Hani [man] 252 (313).
warrior [female] 46 (53).
wasp 72 (86).
water caltrop xxxv (xlvi), 249 (309).
water-director [Mohitori] 141 (171), 273 (341).
water goddess [*mizu-ba-nome*] 29 (34 n. 4).
water gods, see Sumi.

N. B.—The figures enclosed in parenthesis ( ) represent the pages in the present edition. The figures without parenthesis represent the pages in the old editions previous to 1906.

water for Imperial household use 155 (191 n. 14), 285 (355).
waves stilled 212 (263).
war-tree xxxiv (xlv), 94 (117 n. 5).
weapons xxv (xxxiii), 46 (53).
weaving xxx (xli), xxxix (liii), 53 (62), 253 (314), 281 (350).
weaving maiden xxxiv (liii), xlvi (lxii), lxix (xciii), 54 (62), 99 (117).
wedding xxxix (liii).
wedge xxv (xxxiv), 71 (84).
weir 137 (167).
well [*wi*] lv (lxxv), 47 (53), 75 (83), 121 (147), 137 (167), 155 (191 n. 14) etc.
wept himself to death 199 (246).
wet nurses xxxix (lii), 70 (83), 128 (155).
whale 140 (171).
wheat 60 (70) etc.
why the emperors are short lived 116 (145).
wife [chief] 74 (88), 79 (95), 259 (322), 270 (337).
wife and younger sister xxxviii (li), see younger sister.
wife asserting her rights, see *Iwa-no-hime.*
wind-god 21 (24 n. 2), 27 (28).
window xxvi (xxxv), xxvii (xxxvi), xxxiii (xxxviii).
wistaria [*fuji*] xxvi (xxxvi), 262 (326).
witchcraft 180 (221).
woad xxx (xli)
Wa-asatsuma-no-wake-go-no-sukune 268 (333), 293 (365).
Wodo [princess] 320 (401), 325 (407).
Wohari [Owari] 153 (186), 157 (193), 163 (200), 173 (212), 185 (227), 192 (237), 211 (261), 215 (297).
Woharida 13 (5), 165 (200), 342 (428).
Wokada 131 (160).
Woke (King) 309 (386) see Ohoke.
woodcock 140 (171).
wooing 19 (20), 68 (81), 75 (91), 262 (326), 312 (390) passim.
worship [objects of], xlix (lxvi), lvii (lxxvii), see shinto shrines.
Wosana-goto lii (lxxi).
Wotsu [cape], 218 (270).
Wo-usu [prince], 201 (249), 205 (254), see *Yamato-Take-no-mikoto.*

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wren xxxiv (xlvi), 241 (301 n. 18), 281 (350).
wrestling 102 (122).
writing vii (ix), xlii (lvii).
Wu [China], 253 (314), 310 (388 n. 4).
Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami see *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami.*
Yahe-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 82 (100 n. 7), 101 122).
Yakami [princess of], 68 (81).
Yamabe 251 (312).
Yama moribe 251 (312).
Yamashiro 52 (58), 163 (200), 179 (220), 180 (221), 184 (226), 198 (244), 236 (293), 274 (341), 276 (344), 309 (387).
Yamato xlviii (lxiv), lxiv (lxxxvi), 23 (26 n. 26), 52 (58), 79 (65), 88 (106 n. 4), 132 (160), 135 (167 n. 16), 153 (187 n. 13), 154 (189 n. 1, 2, 5) 155 (191 n. 10), 156 (192 n. 1 and 10), 159 195 n. 4). 192 (237), 200 (248 n. 5), 205 (254), 208 (256), 219 (271), 235 (292), 317 (397) etc.
Yamato-dake-no-mikoto 203-226 (249-281).
Yamat-biko 174 (213)
Yamato-hime 183 (226), 186 (227), 206 (255), 210 (260).
Yamato-ne-ko 201 (249).
Yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [Kō-an tenno], 158 (195).
Yamato river 269 (335 n. 8).
Yasaka [gem], 46 (55 n. 5).
Yashima [eight islands], 66 (78), 76 (91).
Yashiro 164 (200).
Yasumaro iv (vi), 3 (1).
Yata [princess] 273 (340), 274 (341).
Yatagarasu 136 (168 n. 2).
Yatakagami [mirror], 56 (68 n. 23).
Yatama 73 (89 n. 11).
Yatsu, see eight.
Yatsu mimi, see eight ears.
Yebisu [yemishi], 213 (264), see Ainos.
Yehime 22 (24 n. 5), 190 (234).
yellow stream [Hade3] 34 (41 n. 1).
Yemishi [Ainos], lxiii (lxxxvi), 213 (264).
Yeshinu [Yoshino], 6 (2), 136 (167), 250 (311), 316 (395).

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Yin-yang [*in-yō*], see Passive and active essences.
Yodo river, 132 (162 n. 26), 269 (335 n. 8), 273 (342 n. 4, 10).
Yō-mei Tenno 341 (428).
Yomi, see Hades.
Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, see Even pass of Hades.
Yomo-tsu-oho-kami, see god of Hades.
Yomo-tsu shiko-me, see *shikome*.
Yosami lake 172 (207), 249 (308), 269 (335).
Younger sister [wife], xxxviii (li), 17 (17), 18 (17), 20 (20), 30 (33), 34 (38), 35 (38), 37 (40), 79 (95).
Yube [*yuwe*], 51 (58), 197 (239), see bathing women.
Yura 285 (355), 286 (356 n. 8).
Yu-ryaku Tenno 151 (186 n. 4), *310-327* (387-408), 336 (420).

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to the historical roots of the Japanese people, as well as a lively mixture of legend and history, genealogy and poetry. It is indispensable to anyone interested in things Japanese.

Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) was among the pioneering Western scholars on Japan. He was appointed professor of Japanese and philology at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Apart from this, the first translation of the *Kojiki*, he wrote many textbooks on Japanese and English grammar, and a famous compilation of information on Japan entitled *Things Japanese* (reprinted as *Japanese Things;* Tuttle). After resigning his post, he returned home, and spent the last years of his life in Switzerland. In 1935, Count Aisuke Kabayama paid him a rare tribute when he said, "Professor Chamberlain, a foreigner, an Englishman, taught Japanese and Japan to the Japanese."

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ISBN 0-8048-1439-2

$ 14.95

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TUTTLE Publishing

Tokyo | Rutland, Vermont | Singapore

Published by Tuttle Publishing, an imprint of Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd.

www.tuttlepublishing.com

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Cover image: Christie's Images, London

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Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 81-52934
ISBN: 978-1-4629-0511-9 (ebook)

Distributed by:
North America, Latin America & Europe
Tuttle Publishing
364 Innovation Drive, North Clarendon,
Tel:1 (802) 773-8930 Fax:1 (802) 773-6993
info@tuttlepublishing.com
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Tuttle Publishing
Yaekari Building, 3rd Floor, 5-4-12 Osaki,
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Asia Pacific
Berkeley Books Pte. Ltd.
61 Tai Seng Avenue, #02-12,
Tel: (65) 6280-1330 Fax:(65) 6280-6290
inquiries@periplus.com.sg
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First Tuttle edition published 1982

15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5

Printed in Singapore 1109TP

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Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) one of the foremost Western interpreters of things Japanese. Born of a distinguished family in Southampton, England, on October 18th, 1850, he was educated in Europe and England. His father intended him to be a banker, but at age 18 he became ill. His physician recommended travel, and Chamberlain landed in Japan on May 29th, 1873. He taught at the Imperial Naval School in Tokyo from 1874 to 1882. His most important position, however, was as Professor of Japanese and Philology at Tokyo University beginning in 1886. It was here that he gained his reputation as a student of Japanese language and literature. His many works include the first translation of the *Kojiki* into English (1906), *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (1888), *Things Japanese* (1890), and *A Practical Guide to the Study of Japanese Writing* (1905). With W. B. Mason he wrote *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1891),which went through numerous editions. He retired to Geneva, Switzerland, in 1911. In 1935, Count Aisuke Kabayama paid him a rare tribute when he said, "Professor Chamberlain, a foreigner, an Englishman, taught Japanese and Japan to the Japanese."

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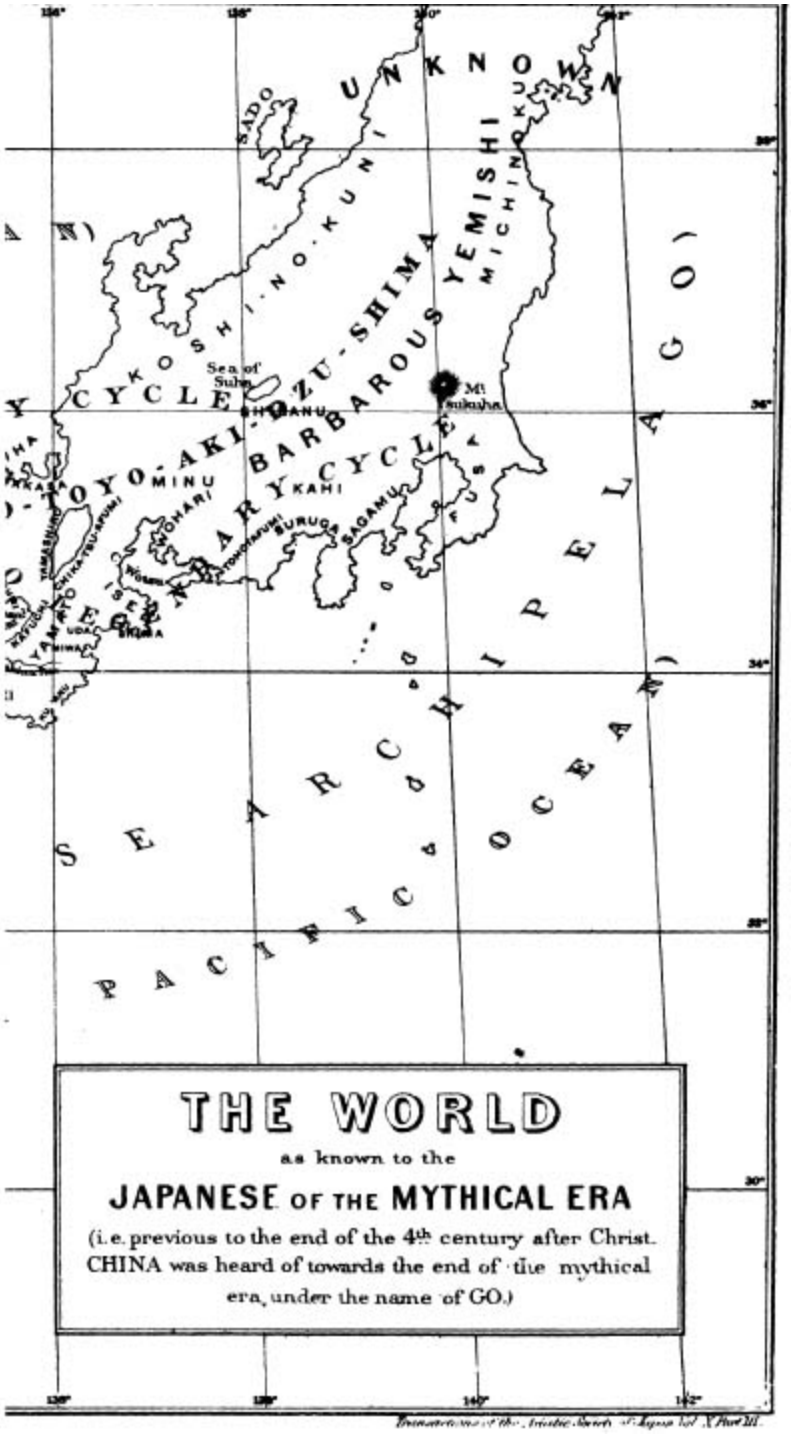

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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

The *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) provides a panorama of Japan in the throws of its formation. As a compendium of history and mythology, and a record of early Japanese life and beliefs, it offers invaluable insight into the historical roots of the Japanese people.

The *Kojiki* was taken down by one Yasumaro from the lips of Hiyeda no Are, a man of extraordinary memory, and presented to the imperial court in A.D. 712, making it the oldest surviving Japanese book. A more factual history called the *Nihongi* or *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan) was completed in A.D. 720, but the *Kojiki* remains the better known, perhaps because of its special concern with the legends of the gods, with the divine descent of the imperial family, and with native Shinto. Both works have immense value as records of the development of Japan into a unified state with a well-defined character. Indeed, even the mythological aspects were accepted as fact throughout most of subsequent Japanese history-until the defeat and disillusionment of the nation in 1945.

Basil Hall Chamberlain was one of the pioneering Western scholars on Japan. In 1882 he read this, the first translation of the *Kojiki,* before the Asiatic Society of Japan. It was published as a Supplement to Vol. X of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, and later reprinted in 1919 and 1920. It is upon these latter that the present edition is based.

At the turn of the century, Professor Chamberlain remarked that "to have lived through the transition stage of modern Japan makes a man feel preternaturally old; for here he is in modern times, with the air full of talk about bicycles and bacilli and 'spheres of influence,' and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages." How much more has Japan changed in the decades since that was written. And yet the *Kojiki,* relating as it does the origins of the race, remains a key to this country of jammed commuter trains and ultramodern industrial technology.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE TO THIS EDITION

Professor Chamberlain's translation of the "Kojiki" first appeared in the year 1882 as a supplement to Vol. X of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* all remaining stocks of which publication were destroyed in the great earthquake-fire of 1923.

The present edition has been prepared from a copy of that supplement which belonged to the late Mr. W.G. Aston and contains many annotations by that eminent scholar, the fly-leaf bearing in Mr. Aston's handwriting the following words: "As for the remarks scribbled here,—*stunt bona; sunt quaendam; mediveria sunt mala plura."* This volume was ultimately presented to the library of the Asiatic Society of Japan by Professor Chamberlain with an inscription by him on the title-page reading: "Copy of Kojiki with annotations by Aston, given to me by him on the 13th May 1892, at Seaton, Devon. To be used in making new edition."

In this reprint Professor Chamberlain's translation has been reproduced as it stood in the original—no alterations whatever, beyond the correction of a few typographical errors, having been made. Mr. Aston's annotations, sometimes in pencil and sometimes in ink, were written around the margins or even between the lines of the pages, and in a few places they have been partly cut off in the process of trimming when the volume was being rebound. Great care has been observed in copying out the notes and only in one or two instances have they had to be given up as indecipherable,—even then only in the case of single words not materially affecting the meaning. Every one of the major annotations is here rendered. While each of Professor Chamberlain's notes bears, as in the original, a number of way of reference, those of Mr. Aston are distinguished by asterisks, etc., and by the initials "W.G.A.” placed after them. Mr. Aston's translation of the *Nihongi*

or *Chronicles of Japan* had not yet been published at the time he was making his annotations on the *Kojiki,* but for the convenience of readers references to that translation are now added, within brackets, where they seem desirable. In allusions to the *Rituals* reference is intended to Vol. II of the reprints of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*

We gladly record our thanks to Professor Genchi Kato, to Mr. G. B. Sansom, and to the Rev. S.H. Wainwright for their advice and encouragement in the present undertaking; to Professor Uru Tsugita for the list of Japanese Works published on the *Kojiki* since 1883,which, included as Appendix III, will we trust be useful to students; and to Mr. Shuten Inouye who very kindly verified the correct reprinting of the ideographs throughout the book. To Mr. James Stewart we are under special obligation for unwearied attention to the reading and correcting of the proofs generally, a task which owing to its peculiar nature entailed an uncommon degree of patient care. Nor will we omit acknowledgment to the Japanese compositors and printers who have plogged along cheerfully through the months during which the work has been in the press.

The index, compiled by Mr. H.J. Griffiths, will, it is hoped, appeal to all interested in the book.

CONTENTS

Map of Japan Avi

Publisher's Foreword Aix

Publisher's Note Axi

Translator's Introduction i

Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes. iv

Details concerning the Method of Translation. xiii

The *"Nihon-Gi"* or "Chronicles of Japan" xxi

Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese. xxvii

Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese, Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions. 1

List of Japanese Works quoted in the Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation lxxxii

Preface 3

Translation of the *Kojiki*

Vol.I 17

Vol. II. 157

Vol. III 324

Appendix

I. Japanese Text of the Songs Preserved in the Kojiki, transliterated into Roman 414

II. The Hitherto accepted Chronology of the Early Japanese Sovereigns mentioned in the Kojiki and in the *Nihon-Gi* 440

III. List of Books on the *Kojiki* published since 1883 442

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION.

Of all the mass of Japanese literature, which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making, the most important monument is the work entitled "*Ko-ji-ki*"[1] or "Records of Ancient Matters," which was completed in A. D. 712. It is the most important because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language, and the traditional history of Ancient Japan. Indeed it is the earliest authentic connected literary product of that large division of the human race which has been variously denominated Turanian, Scythian and Altaic, and it even precedes by at least a century the most ancient extant literary compositions of non-Aryan India. Soon after the date of its compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture, and it is to these "Records" and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves", and the Shinto Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled into attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent.

It is of course not pretended that even these "Records" are untouched by Chinese influence: that influence is patent in the very characters with which the text is written. But the influence is less, and of another kind. If in the traditions preserved and in the customs alluded to we detect the Early Japanese in the act of borrowing from China and perhaps even from India, there is at least on our author's part no ostentatious decking out in Chinese trappings of what he believed to be original matter, after the fashion of the writers who immediately succeeded him. It is true that this abstinence on his part makes his compilation less pleasant to the ordinary native taste than that of subsequent historians, who put fine Chinese phrases into the mouths of emperors and heroes supposed to have lived before the time when intercourse with China began. But the European student, who reads all such books not as a pastime but in order to search for facts, will prefer the more genuine composition. It is also accorded the first place by the most learned of the native *literati.*

Of late years this paramount importance of the “Records of Ancient Matters" to investigators of Japanese subjects generally has become well known to European scholars; and even versions of a few passages are to be found scattered through the pages of their writings. Thus Mr. Aston has given us, in the Chrestomathy appended to his “Grammar of the Japanese Written Language,” a couple of interesting extracts; Mr. Satow has illustrated by occasional extracts his elaborate papers on the Shinto Rituals printed in these "Transactions,” and a remarkable essay by Mr. Kempermann published in the Fourth Number of the “Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,” though containing no actual translations, bases on the accounts given in the "Records" some conjectures regarding the *origines* of Japanese civilization whith are fully substantiated by more minute research. All that has yet appeared in any European language does not, however, amount to one-twentieth part of the whole, and the most erroneous views of the style and scope of the book and its contents have found their way into popular works on Japan. It is hoped that the true nature of the book, and also the true nature of the traditions, customs, and ideas of the Early Japanese, will be made clearer by the present translation, the object of which is to give the entire work in a continuous English version, and thus to furnish the European student with a text to quote from, or at least to use as a guide in consulting the original. The only object aimed at has been a rigid and literal conformity with the Japanese text. Fortunately for this endeavour (though less fortunately for the student), one of the difficulties which often beset the translator of an Oriental classic is absent in the present case. There is no beauty of style, to preserve some trace of which he may be tempted to sacrifice a certain amount of accuracy. The “Records" sound queer and bald in Japanese, as will be noticed further on; and it is therefore right, even from a stylistic point of view, that they should sound bald and queer in English. The only portions of the text which, from obvious reasons, refuse to lend themselves to translation into English after this fashion are the indecent portions. But it has been thought that there could be no objection to rendering them into Latin,—Latin as rigidly literal as is the English of the greater part.

After these preliminary remarks. it will be most convenient to take the several points which a study of the "Records" and the turning of them into

English suggest, and to consider the same one by one. These points are:

I.—Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes.
II.—Details concerning the Method of Translation.
III.—The "*Nihon-Gi*" or "Chronicles of Japan."
IV.—Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese.
V.—Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese. Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions.

I.

THE TEXT AND ITS AUTHENTICITY, TOGETHER WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The latter portion of the Preface to the "Records of Ancient Matters" is the only documentary authority for the origin of the work. It likewise explains its scope. But though in so doing the author descends to a more matter-of-fact style than the high-sounding Chinese phrases and elaborate allusions with which he had set forth, still his meaning may be found to lack somewhat of clearness, and it will be as well to have the facts put into language more intelligible to the European student. This having already been done by Mr. Satow in his paper on the "Revival of Pure Shinto,"[2] it will be best simply to quote his words. They are as follows: "The "Emperor Tem-mu, at what portion of his reign is not men- "tioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief "families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to "preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had "the records carefully examined, compated, and weeded of "their faults. There happened to be in his household a person "of marvellous memory named Hiyeda no Are,* who could "repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had "ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. "Tem-mu Tennô[3] took the pains to instruct this person in the "genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages,' and to "make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. "'Before the undertaking was completed,' which probably "means before it could be committed to writing, the Emperor "died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole "depository of what afterwards received the title of *Kojiki*[4] or "*Funi-koto-bumi* as it is read by Motoori. At the

end of this "interval the Empress Gemmio ordered Yasumaro to write it "down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the completion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months "and a half. Are's age at this date is not stated, but as he "was twenty-eight years of age some time in the reign of "Tem-mu Tenno, it could not possibly have been more than "sixty-eight, while taking into account the previous order of "Tem-mu Tenno in 681 for the compilation of a history, and "the statement that he was engaged on the composition of the "Kojiki at the time of his death in 686, it would not be un" reasonable to conclude that it belongs to about the last year "of his reign, in which case Are was only fifty-three in 711."

The previous order of the Emperor Tem-mu mentioned in the above extract is usually supposed to have resulted in the compilation of a history which was early lost. But Hirata gives reasons for supposing that this and the project of the “Records of Ancient Matters" were identical. If this opinion be accepted, the "Records," while the oldest *existing* Japanese book, are, not the third, but the second historical work of which mention has been preserved, one such having been compiled in the year 620, but lost in a fire in the yeàr 645. It will thus be seen that it is rather hard to say whom we should designate as the author of the work. The Emperor Tem-mu, Hiyeda no Are, and Yasumaro may all three lay claim to that title. The question, however, is of no importance to us, and the share taken by Are may well have been exaggerated in the telling. What seems to remain as the residue of fact is that the plan of a purely national history originated with the Emperor Tem-mu and was finally carried out under his successor by Yasumaro, one of the Court Nobles.

Fuller evidence and confirmatory evidence from other sources as to the origin of our "Records" would doubtless be very acceptable. But the very small number of readers and writers at that early date, and the almost simultaneous compilation of a history (the "Chronicles of Japan”) which was better calculated to hit the taste of the age, make the absence of such evidence almost unavoidable. In any case, and only noticing in passing the fact that Japan was never till quite recent years noted for such wholesale literary forgeries (for Motowori's condemnation of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" has been considered rash by later scholars),—it cannot be too much emphasized

that in this instance authenticity is sufficiently proved by internal evidence. It is hard to believe that any forger living later than the eighth century of our era should have been so well able to discard the Chinese "padding" to the old traditions, which, after the acceptance by the Court of the "Chronicles of Japan," had come to be generally regarded as an integral portion of those very traditions; and it is more unlikely still that he should have invented a style so little calculated to bring his handiwork into repute. He would either have written in fair Chinese, like the mass of early Japanese prose writers (and his Preface shows that he could do so if he were so minded); or, if the tradition of there having been a history written in the native tongue had reached him, he would have made his composition unmistakably Japanese in form by arranging the characters in the order demanded by Japanese syntax, and by the consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations, after the fashion followed in the Rituals, and developed (apparently before the close of the ninth century) into what is technically known as the "Mixed Phonetic Style" *(Kana-mazhiri)*, which has remained ever since as the most convenient vehicle for writing the language. As it is, his quasi-Chinese construction, which breaks down every now and then to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements. What however is simply incredible is that, if the supposed forger lived even only a hundred years later than A.D. 712, he should so well have imitated or divined the archaisms of that early period. For the eighth century of our era was a great turning point in the Japanese language, the Archaic Dialect being then replaced by the Classical; and as the Chinese language and literature were alone thenceforward considered worthy the student's attention, there was no means of keeping up an acquaintance with the diction of earlier reigns, neither do we find the poets of the time ever attempting to adorn their verse with obsolete phraseology. That was an affectation reserved for a later epoch, when the diffusion of books rendered it possible. The poets of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries apparently wrote as they spoke; and the test of language alone would almost allow of our arranging their compositions half century by half century, even without the dates which are given in many instances in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and in the "Collection of Songs

Ancient and Modern,”—the first two collections of poems published by imperial decree in the middle of the eighth, and at the commencement of the tenth, century respectively.

The above remarks are meant to apply more especially to the occasional Japanese words,—all of them Archaic,—which, as mentioned above, are used from time to time in the prose text of the "Records," to help out the author's meaning and to preserve names whose exact pronunciation he wished handed down. That he should have invented the Songs would be too monstrous a supposition for any one to entertain, even if we had not many of the same and other similar ones preserved in the pages of the “Chronicles or japan," a work which was undoubtedly completed in A.D. 720. The history of the Japanese language is too well known to us, we can trace its development and decay in too many documents reaching from the eighth century to the present time, for it to he possible to entertain the notion that the latest of these Songs, which have been handed down with minute care in a syllabic transcription, is posterior to the first half of the eighth century, while the majority must be ascribed to an earlier, though uncertain, date. If we refer the greater number of them in their present form to the sixth century, and allow a further antiquity of one or two centuries to others more ancient in sentiment and in grammatical usage, we shall probably be making a moderate estimate. It is an estimate, moreover, which obtains confirmation from the fact that the first notice we have of the use of writing in Japan dates from early in the fifth century; for it is natural to suppose that the Songs believed to have been composed by the gods and heroes of antiquity should have been among the first things to be written down, while the reverence in which they were held would in some cases cause them to be transcribed exactly as tradition had bequeathed them, even if unintelligible or nearly so, while in others the same feeling would lead to the correction of what were supposed to be errors or inelegancies. Finally it may be well to observe that the authenticity of the "Records" has never been doubted, though, as has already been stated, some of the native commentators have not hesitated to charge with spuriousness another of their esteemed ancient histories. Now it is unlikely that, in the war which has been waged between the partisans of the "Records" and

those of the “Chronicles,” some flaw in the former's title to genuineness and to priority should not have been discovered and pointed out if it existed.

During the Middle Ages, when no native Japanese works were printed, and not many others excepting the Chinese Classics and Buddhist Scriptures, the “Records of Ancient Matters" remained in manuscript in the hands of the Shintō priesthood, They were first printed in the year 1644, at the time when, peace having been finally restored to the country and the taste for reading having become diffused, the great mass of the native literature first began to emerge from the manuscript state. This very rare edition (which was reprinted in fac-simile in 1798) is indispensable to any one who would make of the "Records" a special study. The next edition was by a Shintō priest, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, and appeared in 1687. It has marginal notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the “Old Printed Edition" 印本), but has no title beyond that of the original work,— "Records of Ancient Matters.” The name of the other is "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings"(徹頭古事記). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789-1822 by Motowori’s great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters"(古事記傳). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tōkiō possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (古節古事言), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's *Kana* reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is a

misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (古事記標註), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic Character" (假名古事記), by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern *Kana* reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other departures from the actual text, as the ipsissima verba of the original work; the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (校正古事記), by Uye-matsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (神字古事記), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern *Kana* reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of their country and named "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters," there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" 申代正語)' by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled" *Tokiha-Gusa" (*神代正語常' 盤草) by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" (古史徵) and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (古史專), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819, —works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable[5] the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki" (*稷威道別), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the "*Idzu no Koto-Waki" (*稷威語別)' by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the "Chronicles"; the "Examination of Difficult Words" (難語考, also entitled 山彥 冊子), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on

many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the “Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (日本書記通證), by Tanigaha Shihei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "*Kō Gan Shō" (*厚顔抄), a commentary on the Songs contained in the “Chronicles" and “Records” composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiu, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keicniū's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The *"Kō Gan Shō"* which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained"(和名類聚鈔), the “Catalogue of Family Names" (姓氏錄), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's “Tōga” (東雅), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his ”Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chi mori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachi-bana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the manuscript of the unpublished portions of the “*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and the *"Idzu no Koto-Waki,"* works indispensable to the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the “Records" To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *Mauyō-Gana, i.e.* entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written

character[6]), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms," but irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese *literati,* who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston[7] in denying to this conjectural restoration the the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the Records."

II.

METHOD OF TRANSLATION.

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not any one's,-not even Motowori's,—private and particular reading of it. For this reason none of the Honorifics which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed,

character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently be shown to have arisen from careless copying of characters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings occur, and has mentioned them in the Notes when they seemed of sufficient importance. In some few cases he has preferred a reading not approved by Motowori, but he always mentions Motowori's reading in a Footnote.

The main body of the text contains but little to perplex any one who has made a special study of the early Japanese writings, and it has already been noticed that there is an admirable exegetical literature at the student's command. With the Songs embedded in the prose text the case is different, as some of them are among the most difficult things in the language, and the commentators frequently arrive at most discordant interpretations of the obscurer passages. In the present version particulars concerning each Song have, except in a very few cases where comment appeared superfluous, been given in a Foot-note, the general sense being usually first indicated, the meaning of particular expressions then explained, and various opinions mentioned when they seemed worthy of notice. Besides one or two terms of Japanese grammar, the only technical knowledge with which the readers of the Notes are necessarily credited is that of the use by the Japanese poets of what have been styled Pillow-Words, Pivots, and Prefaces; and those Pillow-Words which are founded on a jeu-de-mots or are of doubtful signification form, with the one exception mentioned below, the only case where anything contained in the original is omitted from the English version.[8] After some consideration, it has been deemed advisable to print in an Appendix the Japanese text of all the Songs, transliterated into Roman. Students will thus find it easier to form their own opinion on the interpretation of doubtful passages. The importance likewise of these Songs, as the most ancient specimens of Altaic speech, makes it right to give them as much publicity as possible.

The text of the "Records" is, like many other Japanese texts, completely devoid of breaks corresponding to the chapters and paragraphs into which European works are divided. With the occasional exception of a pause after a catalogue of gods or princes, and of notes inserted in smaller type and generally containing genealogies or indicating the pronunciation of certain words, the whole story, prose and verse, runs on from beginning to end with no interruptions other than those marked by the conciusiou of Vol. I and by the death of each emperor in Vols. II and III. Faithfulness however scarcely seems to demand more than this statement; for a similarly continuous printing of the English version would attain no end but that of making a very dry piece of reading more arduous still. Moreover there are certain traditional names by which the various episodes of the history of the so-called "Divine Age" are known to the native scholars, and according to which the text of Vol. I may naturally be divided. The reigns of the emperors form a similar foundation for the analysis of Vols. II and III, which contain the account of the “Human Age.” It has been thought that it would be well to mark such natural divisions by the use of numbered Sections with marginal headings. The titles proposed by Motowori in the Prolegomena to his Commentary have been adopted with scarcely any alteration in the case of Vol. I. In Vols. II and III, where his sections mostly embrace the whole reign of an emperor, and the titles given by him to each Section consists only of the name of the palace where each emperor is said to have resided, there is less advantage in following him; for those Sections are often inordinately long, and their titles occasionally misleading and always inconvenient for purposes of reference, as the Japanese emperors are commonly known, not by the names of their places of residence, but by their "canonical names." Motowori, as an ardent nationalist, of course rejected these “canonical names,” because they were first applied to the Japanese emperors at a comparatively late date in imitation of Chinese usage. But to a foreigner this need be no sufficient reason for discarding them. The Sections in the translation of Vols. II and III have therefore been obtained by breaking up the longer reigns into appropriate portions; and in such Sections, as also in the Foot-notes, the emperors are always mentioned by their "canonical names."[9] The Vol.

mentioned in brackets on every right-hand page is that of Motowori's Commentary which treats of the Section contained in that page.

The Notes translated from the original are indented, and are printed small when they are in small type in the Japanese text. Those only which give directions for pronouncing certain characters phonetically have been omitted, as they have no significance when the original tongue and method of writing are exchanged for foreign vehicles of thought and expression. The Songs have likewise been indented for the sake of clearness, and each one printed as a separate paragraph. The occasionally unavoidable insertion in the translation of important words not occurring in the Japanese text has been indicated by printing such words within square brackets. The translator's Notes, which figure at the bottom of each page, do not aim at anything more than the exegesis of the actual text. To illustrate its subject-matter from other sources, as Motowori does, and to enlarge on all the objects connected with Japanese antiquity which are sometimes merely alluded to in a single phrase, would require several more volumes the size of this one, many years of labour on the part of the investigator, and an unusually large stock of patience on the reader's part. The Notes terminate with the death of the Emperor Ken-zo, after which the text ceases to offer any interest, except as a comment on the genealogies given in the "Chronicles of Japan."

Without forgetting the fact that so-called equivalent terms in two languages rarely quite cover each other, and that it may therefore be necessary in some cases to render one Japanese word by two or three different English words according to the context, the translator has striven to keep such diversity within the narrowest limits, as it tends to give a false impression of the original, implying that it possesses a versatility of thought which is indeed characteristic of Modern Europe, but not at all of Early Japan. With reference to this point a certain class of words must be mentioned, as the English translation is unavoidably defective in their case, owing to the fact of our language not possessing sufficiently close synonyms for them. They are chiefly the names of titles, and are the following:-

Agata-no-atahe roughly rendered by *Departmental Suzerain.*

Agata-nushi	"	"	"	*Departmental Lord.*
Asomi (Ason)	"	"	"	*Court Noble.*
Atahe	"	"	"	*Suzerain.*
Hiko	"	"	"	*Prince.*
Hime	"	"	"	*Princess.*
Inaki	"	"	"	*Territorial Lord.*
Iratsuko	"	"	"	*Lord.*
Iratsumc	"	"	"	*Lady.*
Kami	"	"	"	*Deity.*
Kimi	"	"	"	*Duke.*
Ma	"	"	"	*True.*
*Miko (*王)	"	"	"	*King.*
*Mi ko (*御子)	"	"	"	*August Child.*
Mikoto	"	"	"	*Augustness,*
Miyatsuko	"	"	"	*Ruler.*
Murazhi	"	"	"	*Chief.*
Omi	"	"	"	*Grandee.*
Sukune	"	"	"	*Noble.*
Wake (in the names of human beings) *Lord,*				

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as “Duke,” “Suzerain," etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name,”[10] Where possible, indeed, the etymological meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus *omi* seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from *oho-mi,* “great body"; and grandee" is therefore the nearest English equivalent. similarly murashi, "chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe.” On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of *wake*[*] are extremely doubtful. *Hiko* and *hime* again, if they really come from

hi k, "sun-child" and *hi me,* "sun-female" (or "fire-child" and "fire-female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words prince and princess," or lord and lady," — in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than" youth and maiden."

The four words *kami, ma, miko* and *mikoto* alone call for special notice; and *ma* may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific *mi,*rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character 旗, the translator renders it in English by true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a compound, *mi koto,* "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and Highness," being suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: *Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto,* His August-ness Yamato-Take.

With regard to the title read *miko* by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a *young* prince is denoted by it, we find the characters 御子, "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of *infante.* But in other cases it is written with the single character 王, "King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as *miko* is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings," may have been kings indeed after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of" prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is 王, "King."[11]

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest. Indeed there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If therefore it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both

sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word “deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for *kami,* and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper meaning of the word *"kami*" is "top,” or “above”; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the *top* of the head,—not the hair on the face,—is so designated. Similarly the Government, in popular phraseology, is *O Kami,* literally “the honorably above”; and down to a few years ago *Kami* was the name of a certain titular provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods.” A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word *Kami* the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the words "deity" and "god,” with their very different associations. In using the word “deity," therefore, to translate the Japanese term *Kami* we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact *Kami* does not mean much more than "superior.” This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word *Kami* itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed the treatment of Proper Names is always an embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what *is* a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has therefore first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place, and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name, or preserve the original name and thus fail to render the meaning,—a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance *Oho-kuni-nushi-no- kami,*” the Deity Master of the Great Land,” is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose

adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty of the "Great Land," *i.e.* of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with.[12] Again *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-midzu-ho-no-kuni,* which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moors, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears,—of a Thousand Autumns, —of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific *description* of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand it is plain that *Tema* was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases, —the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no satisfactory solution possible. The translator may therefore merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number or instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-note when the translation has the name in English, and *vice versa,* while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

III.

THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is indeed generally known, that the Records of Ancient Matters do not stand alone. To say nothing of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages," whose genuineness is disputed, there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled "*Nihon-Gi,"* i.e., "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the Records," which it has always

excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the" Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyo.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpretending simplicity of the elder work. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese,—in fact to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese phrases,—but the subject-matter is touched up, re-arranged, and polished, so as to make the work resemble a Chinese history so far as that was possible. Chinese philosophical speculations and moral precepts are intermingled with the cruder traditions that had descended from Japanese antiquity. Thus the naturalistic Japanese account of the creation is ushered in by a few sentences which trace the origin of all things to *Yin* and *Yang (*陰陽), the Passive and Active Essences of Chinese philosophy. The legendary Emperor Jim-mu is credited with speeches made up of quotations from the " *Yi Ching*,[13] " the "*Li Chi*,[14] " and other standard Chinese works. A few of the most childish of the national traditions are omitted, for instance the story of the "White Hare of Inaba," that of the gods obtaining counsel of a toad, and that of the hospitality which a speaking mouse extended to the deity Master-of-the Great-Land.[15] Sometimes the original tradition is simply softened down or explained away. A notable instance of this occurs in the account of the visit of the deity Izanagi[16] to Hades, whither he goes in quest of his dead wife, and among other things has to scale the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades."[17] In the tradition preserved in the "Records" and indeed even in the "Chronicles," this pass or hill is mentioned as a literal geographical fact. But the compiler of the latter work, whose object it was to appear and to make his forefathers appear, as reasonable as a learned Chinese, adds a gloss to the effect that "One account says that the Even Hill of Hades is no distinct place, but simply the moment when breathing ceases at the time of death";— not a happy guess certainly, for this pass is mentioned in connection with Izanagi's return to the land of the living. In short we may say of this work what was said of the Sep-tuagint,— that it *rationalizes.*

Perhaps it will be asked, how can it have come to pass that a book in which the national traditions are thus unmistakably tampered with, and which is

moreover written in Chinese instead of in the native tongue, has enjoyed such a much greater share of popularity than the more genuine work?

The answer lies on the surface: the concessions made to Chinese notions went far towards satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods. People are rarely quite logical in such matters, particularly in an early stage of society; and difficulties are glossed over rather than insisted upon. The beginning of the world, for instance, or, to use Japanese phraseology, the separation of heaven and and earth" took place a long time ago; and perhaps, although there could of course be no philosophical doubt as to the cause of this event having been the interaction of the Passive and Active Essences, it might also somehow be true that Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male-Who-Invites" and the "Female-Who-Invites") were the progenitor and progenitrix of Japan. Who knows but what in them the formative principles may not have been embodied, represented, or figured forth after a fashion not quite determined, but none the less real? As a matter of fact, the two deities in question have often been spoken or in Japanese books under such designations as the "*Yin* Deity" and the "*Yang D*eity," and in his Chinese Preface the very compiler of these Records" lends his sanction to the use of such phraseology, though, if we look closely at the part taken by the goddess in the legend narrated in Sect. IV, it would seem but imperfectly applicable. If again early sovereigns, such as the Empress Jin-go, address their troops in sentences cribbed from the "*Shu Ching*"[18] or. like the Emperor Kei-ko, describe the Ainos in terms that would only suit the pages of a Chinese topographer,—both these personages being supposed to have lived prior to the opening up of intercourse with the continent of Asia,—the anachronism was partly hidden by the fact of the work which thus recorded their doings being itself written in the Chinese language, where such phrases only sounded natural. In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shintō priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into

desuetude. Whether indeed this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. The use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle for counting years, months, and days is another instance of the imported usage having become so thoroughly incorporated with native habits of mind as to make the anachronism of employing it when speaking of a period confessedly anterior to the introduction of continental civilization pass unnoticed. As for the (to a modern European) grotesque notion of pretending to give the precise months and days of events supposed to have occurred a thousand years before the date assigned to the introduction of astronomical instruments, of observatories, and even of the art of writing, that is another of those inconsistencies which, while lying on the very surface, yet so easily escape the uncritical Oriental mind.[19] Semi-civilized people tire of asking questions, and to question antiquity, which fills so great a place in their thoughts, is the last thing that would occur to any of their learned men, whose mental attitude is characteristically represented by Confucius when he calls himself "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients."[20] As regards the question of language, standard Chinese soon became easier to understand than Archaic Japanese, as the former alone was taught in the schools, and the native language changed rapidly during the century or two that followed the diffusion of the foreign tongue and civilization. We have only to call to mind the relative facility to most of ourselves of a Latin book and of one written in Early English. Of course, as soon as the principles of the Japanese *Renaissance* had taken hold of men's minds in the eighteenth century, the more genuine, more national work assumed its proper place in the estimation of students. But the uncouthness of the style according to modern ideas, and the greater amount of explanation of all sorts that is required in order to make the "Records of Ancient Matters" intelligible, must always prevent them from attaining to the popularity of the sister history. Thus, though published almost simultaneously, the tendencies of the two works were very different, and their fate has differed accordingly.

To the European student the chief value of the "Chronicles of Japan" lies in the fact that their author, in treating of the so-called Divine Age," often gives a number of various forms of the same legend—under the heading of One account says," suffixed in the form of a note to the main text. No phrase is more commonly met with in later treatises on Japanese history than this,—"One account in the Chronicles of Japan "says," and it will be met with occasionally in the Foot-notes to the present translation. There are likewise instances of the author of the "Chronicles" having preserved, either in the text or in "One account," traditions omitted by the compiler of the "Records." Such are, for instance, the quaint legend invented to explain the fact that the sun and moon do not shine simultaneously,[21] and the curious development of the legend of the expulsion of the deity *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male"), telling us of the hospitality which was refused to him by the other gods when he appeared before them to beg for shelter. Many of the Songs, too, in the "Chronicles" are different from those in the "Records," and make a precious addition to our vocabulary of Archaic Japanese. The prose text, likewise, contains, in the shape of notes, numbers of readings by which the pronunciation of words written ideograpically, or the meaning of words written phonetically in the "Records" may be ascertained. Finally the "Chronicles" give us the annals of seventy-two years not comprised in the plan of the "Records," by carrying down to A.D. 700 the history which in the "Records" steps at the year 628. Although therefore it is a mistake to assert, as some have done, that the "Chronicles of Japan" must be placed at the head of all the Japanese historical works, their assistance can in no wise be dispensed with by the student of Japanese mythology and of the Japanese language.[22]

IV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

The Japanese of the mythical period, as pictured in the legends preserved by the compiler of the "Records of Ancient Matters," were a race who had long emerged from the savage state, and had attained to a high level of barbaric skill. The Stone Age was forgotten by them—or nearly so,—and the evidence points

to their never having passed through a genuine Bronze Age, though the knowledge of bronze was at a later period introduced from the neighbouring continent. They used iron for manufacturing spears, swords, and knives of various shapes, and likewise for the more peaceful purpose of making hooks wherewith to angle, or to fasten the doors of their huts. Their other warlike and hunting implements (besides traps and gins which appear to have been used equally for catching beasts and birds and for destroying human enemies) were bows and arrows, spears and elbow-pads,* —the latter seemingly of skin, while special allusion is made to the fact that the arrows were feathered. Perhaps clubs should be added to the list. Of the bows and arrows, swords and knives, there is perpetual mention; but nowhere do we hear of the tools with which they were manufactured, and there is the same remarkable silence regarding such widely spread domestic implements as the saw and the axe. We hear, however, of the pestle and mortar,† of the fire-drill, of the wedge, of the sickle, and of the shuttle used in weaving.

Navigation seems to have been in a very elementary stage. Indeed the art of sailing was, as we know from the classical literature of the country, but little practised in Japan even so late as the middle of the tenth century of our era subsequent to the general diffusion of Chinese civilization, though rowing and punting are often mentioned by the early poets. In one passage of the "Records" and in another of the “Chronicles,” mention is made of a "two-forked boat" ‡ used on inland pools or lakes; but, as a rule, in the earlier portions of those works, we read only of people going to sea or being sent down from heaven in water-proof baskets without oars, and reaching their destination not through any efforts of their own, but through supernatural interposition.[23]

To what we should call towns or villages very little reference is made anywhere in the "Records" or in that portion of the "Chronicles" which contains the account of the so-called "Divine Age.” But from what we learn incidentally, it would seem that the scanty population was chiefly distributed in small hamlets and isolated dwellings along the coast and up the course of the larger streams. Of house-building there is frequent mention,—especially of the building of palaces or temples for sovereigns or gods,—the words "palace" and "temple" being (it should be mentioned) represented in Japanese by the same term.

Sometimes, in describing the construction of such a sacred dwelling, the author of the "Records," abandoning his usual flat and monotonous style, soars away on poetic wings, as when, for instance, he tells how the monarch of Idzumo, on abdicating in favour of the Sun-Goddess's descendant, covenanted that the latter should "make stout his temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the plain of High Heaven."[24] It must not, however, be inferred from such language that these so-called palaces and temples were of very gorgeous and imposing aspect. The more exact notices to be culled from the ancient Shintō Rituals (which are but little posterior to the "Records" and in no wise contradict the inferences to be drawn from the latter) having been already summarized by Mr. Satow, it may be as well to quote that gentleman's words. He says:[25] The "palace of the Japanese sovereign was a wooden hut, with its "pillars planted in the ground, instead of being erected upon "broad flat stones as in modern buildings. The whole frame- "work, consisting of posts, beams, rafters, door-posts and "window-frames, was tied together with cords made by twisting "tpe long fibrous stems of climbing plants, such as Pueraria "Thunbergiana *(kuzu)* and Wistaria Sinensis *(fuji)*. The floor "must have been low down, so that the occupants of the "building, as they squatted or lay on their mats, were exposed "to the stealthy attacks of venomous snakes, which were pro- "bably far more numerous in the earliest ages when the "country was for the most part uncultivated, than at the "present day..... There seems some reason to think that the "*yuka*, here translated floor, was originally nothing but a couch "which ran round the sides of the hut, the rest of the space "being simply a mud-floor, and that the size of the couch was "gradually increased until it occupied the whole interior. The "rafters projected upward beyond the ridge-pole, crossing each "other as is seen in the roofs of modern Shin-tau temples, "whether their architecture be in conformity with early tradi "tions (in which case all the rafters are so crossed) or modified "in accordance with more advanced principles of construction, "and the crossed rafters retained only as ornaments at the two "ends of the ridge. The roof was thatched, and perhaps had "a gable at each end, with a hole to allow the smoke of the "wood-fire to escape, so that it was possible for birds flying "in and perching on the beams overhead, to defile the food, "or the fire with which it was cooked." To this description it need only be

added that fences were in use, and that the wooden doors, sometimes fastened by means of hooks, resembled those with which we are familiar in Europe rather than the sliding, screen-like doors of modern Japan. The windows seem to have been mere holes. Rugs of skins and rush matting were occasionally brought in to sit upon, and we even hear once or twice of "silk rugs" being used for the same purpose by the noble and wealthy.

The habits of personal cleanliness which so pleasantly distinguish the modern Japanese from their neighbours in continental Asia, though less fully developed than at present, would seem to have existed in the germ in early times, as we read more than once of bathing in rivers, and are told of bathing-women being specially attached to the person of a certain imperial infant. Lustrations, too, formed part of the religious practices of the race. Latrines are mentioned several times. They would appear to nave been situated away from the houses and to have generally been placed over a running stream, whence doubtless the name for latrine in the Archaic Dialect,—*kaha-ya,* i.e. "river-house." A well-known Japanese classic of the tenth century, the "Yamato Tales,"[26] tells us indeed that "in older days the people dwelt in houses raised "on platforms built out on the river Ikuta" and goes on to relate a story which presupposes such a method of architecture.[27] A passage in the account of the reign of the Emperor Jim-mu which occurs both in the “Records" and in the “Chronicles,” and another in the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin occurring in the “Records” only, might be interpreted so as to support this statement.[28] But both are extremely obscure, and beyond the fact that people who habitually lived near the water *may* have built their houses after the aquatic fashion practised in different parts of the world by certain savage tribes both ancient and modern, the present writer is not aware of any authority for the assertion that they actually did so except the isolated passage in the "Yamato Tales" just quoted.

A peculiar sort of dwelling-place which the two old histories bring prominently under our notice, is the so-called “parturition-house,”a one-roomed hut without windows which a woman was expected to build and retire into for the purpose of being delivered unseen.[29] It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly-married couples retired into a specially built hut for the purpose of

consummating the marriage, and it is certain that for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.

Castles are not distinctly spoken of till a period which, though still mythical in the opinion of the present writer, coincides according to the received chronology with the first century B. C. We then first meet with the curious term "rice-castle," whose precise signification is a matter of dispute among the native commentators, but which, on comparison with Chinese descriptions of the Early Japanese, should probably be understood to mean a kind of palisade serving the purpose of a redoubt, behind which the warriors could ensconce themselves.[30] If this conjecture be correct, we have here a good instance of a word, so to speak, moving upward with the march of civilization, the term, which formerly denoted something not much better than a fence, having later come to convey the idea of a stone castle.

To conclude the subject of dwelling-places, it should be stated that cave-dwellers are sometimes alluded to. The legend of the retirement of the Sun-Goddess into a cavern may possibly suggest to some the idea of an early period when such habitations were the normal abodes of the ancestors of the Japanese race.[31] But at the time when the national traditions assumed their present shape, such a state of things had certainly quite passed away, if it ever existed, and only barbarous Ainos and rough bands of robbers are credited with the construction of such primitive retreats. Natural caves (it may be well to state) are rare in Japan, and the caves that are alluded to were mostly artificial,* as may be gathered from the context.

The food of the Early Japanese consisted of fish and of the flesh of the wild creatures which fell by the hunter's arrow or were taken in the trapper's snare,—an animal diet with which Buddhist prohibitions had not yet interfered, as they began to do in early historical times. Rice is the only cereal of which there is such mention made as to place it beyond a doubt that its cultivation dates back to time immemorial. Beans, millet, and barley are indeed named once, together with silkworms, in the account of the "Divine Age."[32] But the passage has every aspect of an interpolation in the legend, perhaps not dating back long before the time of the eighth century compiler. A few unimportant vegetables and fruits, of most of which there is but a single mention, will be found in the list of plants

given below. The intoxicating liquor called *sake* was known in Japan during the mythical period,[33] and so were chopsticks for eating the food with. Cooking-pots and cups and dishes—the latter both of earthenware and of leaves of trees, —are also mentioned; but of the use of fire for warming purposes we hear nothing. Tables are named several times, but never in connection with food. They would seem to have been exclusively used for the purpose of presenting offerings on, and were probably quite small and low,—in fact rather trays than tables according to European ideas.

In the use of clothing and the specialization of garments the Early Japanese had reached a high level. We read in the most ancient legends of upper garments, skirts, trowsers, girdles, veils, and hats, while both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces, bracelets, and head-ornaments of stones considered precious,—in this respect offering a striking contrast to their descendants in modern times, of whose attire jewelry forms no part. The material of their clothes was hempen cloth and paper-mulberry bark, coloured by being rubbed with madder, and probably with woad and other tinctorial plants. All the garments, so far as we may judge, were woven, sewing being nowhere mentioned, and it being expressly stated by the Chinese commentator on the "*Shan Hai Ching*"[34] who wrote early in the fourth century, that the Japanese had no needles.[35] From the great place which the chase occupied in daily life we are led to suppose that skins also were used to make garments of. There is in the "Records" at least one passage which favours this supposition,[36] and the "Chronicles" in one place mention the straw rain-coat and broad-brimmed hat, which still form the Japanese peasant's effectual protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The tendrils* of creeping plants served the purposes of string, and bound the warrior's sword round his waist. Combs are mentioned, and it is evident that much attention was devoted to the dressing of the hair. The men seem to have bound up their hair in two bunches, one on each side of the head, whilst the young boys tied theirs into a topknot, the unmarried girls let their locks hang down over their necks, and the married women dressed theirs after a fashion which apparently combined the two last-named methods. There is no mention in any of the old books of cutting the hair or beard except in token of disgrace;

neither do we gather that the sexes, but for this matter of the head-dress, were distinguished by a diversity of apparel and ornamentation.

With regard to the precious stones mentioned above as having been used as ornaments for the head, neck, and arms, the texts themselves give us little or no information as to the identity of the stones meant to be referred to. Indeed it is plain (and the native commentators admit the fact) that a variety of Chinese characters properly denoting different sorts of jewels were used indiscriminately by the early Japanese writers to represent the single native word *tama,* which is the only one the language contains to denote any hard substance on which a special value is set, and which often refers chiefly to the rounded shape, so that it might in fact be translated by the word “bead” as fittingly as by the word "jewel.” We know, however, from the specimens which have rewarded the labours of archaeological research in Japan that agate, crystal, glass, jade, serpentine, and steatite are the most usual materials, and curved and pierced cylindrical shapes *(maga-tama* and *kuda-tama),* the commonest forms.[37]

The horse (which was ridden, but not driven), the barndoor fowl, and the cormorant used for fishing, are the only domesticated creatures mentioned in the earlier traditions, with the doubtful exception of the silkworm, to which reference has already been made.[38] In the later portions of the "Records" and "Chronicles", dogs and cattle are alluded to; but sheep, swine, and even cats were apparently not yet introduced. Indeed sheep were scarcely to be seen in Japan until a few years ago, goats are still almost unknown, and swine and all poultry excepting the barn-door fowl are extremely uncommon.

The following enumeration of the animals and plants mentioned in the earlier portion[39] of the "Records" may be of interest. The Japanese equivalents, some few of which are obsolete, are put in parenthesis, together with the Chinese characters used to write them:

MAMMALS.

Bear, (kuma 熊).
Boar, (wi 猪).
Deer, (shika 鹿).
Hare, (usagi 兎).

Horse, (uma 馬 and koma 駒).
Mouse or Rat, (nedzwmi H).
"Sea-ass" [Seal or Séa-lion ?], (michi 海驢).
Whale, (kujira 齡).

BIRDS.

Barndoor-fowl, (kakei 家難).
Cormorant, (u 鵜).
Crow or Raven, (karasu 烏).
Dotterel or Plover or Sandpiper, (chidori 千鳥).
Heron or Egret, (sagi 鴛).
Kingfisher, (soni-dori 翠鳥).
Nuye, (鶴).[40]
Pheasant, (kigishi 維).
Snipe, (shigi 嶋).
Swan, (shiro-tori 白鳥).
Wild-duck, (kamo 鴨).
Wild-goose, (kari 鴈).

REPTILES.

Crocodile, (want 鰐).[41] *
Tortoise, (kame 龜).
Toad or Frog, (taniguku, written phonetically).
Serpent, (worochi 蛇).
Snake [smaller than the preceding], (hebi 蛇).

INSECTS.

Centipede, (mukade 換K).
Dragon-fly, (akidzu 蜻蛉).
Fly, (hahi 棚).
Louse, (shirami 虱).
Silkworm, (kahiko 蠶).

Wasp or Bee, (hachi 蜂).

FISHES, ETC.

Pagrus cardinalis [probably], (aka-dahi 赤躺）[or perhaps the Pagrus cardinalis (tai 鍋）is intended].
Perch [Percalabrax japonicus], (su-dzuki 驢).
Béche-de-mer [genus Pentacta],(ko 海鼠).
Medusa, (kurage, written phonetically).

SHELLS.

Area Subcrenata [?], (hirabu-kahi, written phonetically).
Cockle [Area Inflata], (kisa-gahi 替貝).
Turbinidoe [a shell of the family], (shitadami 亲田螺).

PLANTS

Ampelopsis serianoejolia [?], (kagami 藤摩).
Aphananthe aspera, (muku, written phonetically).
Amaba japonica [probably], (aha-gi, written phonetically).
Bamboo, (take竹)
Bamboo-grass [Bambusa chino], (sasa 小竹).
Barley [or wheat?], (mugi 麥).
Béans [two kinds, viz., Soja glycine and Phaseolus radiatus"], (the general name is mame that of the latter species in particular adzuki 小 S).
Bulrush [Typha japonica], (kama 香蒲).
Bush-clover [Lespedeza of various species], (hagi 栽).
Camellia japonica,(tsuba-ki 棒).
Cassia [Chinese mythical ; or perhaps the native Cercidiphyllum japonica], (katsura, variously written).
Chamoecyparis obtusa, (hi-no-ki 槍).
Cleyera japonica [and another allied but undetermined species], (saka-ki 榊).
Clubmoss, (hi-kage 曰景).
Cocculus thunbergi [probably], (tsu-dzura 黑葛).
Oryptomeria japonica, (sugi 媼).

Eulalia japonica,(kaya 聲草).

Euonymus japonica, (masa-ki 眞賢 木).

Ginger [or perhaps the Xanthoxy-Ion is intended], (hazkikarni 蓄).

Halochloa macrantha [but it is not certain that this is the sea-weed intended], (komo 海專),

Holly [or rather the Olea aquifolium' which closely resembles holly], (hihira-gi 格).

Knot-grass [Polygonum tinctorium], (awi 藍).

Lily, (sawi written phonetically, yama-yuri-gusa 山由理草, and saki-kusa 三枝草).

Madder, (akane g).

Millet [Panicum italicum], (awa 粟).

Moss, (koke 蘇).

Oak [two species, one evergreen and one deciduous,— Quercus myrsinoefolia Q. dentata], (kashi 白禱, kashiwa 柏)].

Peach, (momo 桃).

Photinia glabra [?], (soba, written phonetically).

Pine-tree, (matsu 松).

Pueraria thunbergiana, (kudzu 葛).

Reed, (ashi 枝)

Rice, (ine 稻).

Sea-weed [or the original term may designate a particular species], (me 海布).

Sedge [Scirpus maritimus], (sage 菅).

Spindle-tree [Euonymus radicans], (masaki no kadzura 眞拆蔓).

Vegetable Wax-tree [Rhus succe-danea], (hazhi 爐).

Vine, (yebi-kadzura 萄蒲).

Wild cherry [or birch?], (hahaka 朱).

Wild chive [or rather the allium odorum, which closely resembles it], (ka-mira 臭菲).

Winter-chérry [Physalis alkekengi], (aka-kagachi written phonetically, and also hohodzuki 酸餐).

The later portions of the work furnish in addition the following:

ANIMALS.

Cow, (ashi 牛).
Dog, (inu 犬).
Crane [genus Gru], (tadzu 鶴).
Dove or Pigeon, (hato
Grebe, (niho-dori 碟 鶴).
Lark, (hibari 雪雀).
Peregrine falcon, (hayabusa 隼).
Red-throated quail, (udzura 鶉).
Tree-sparrow, (suzume 雀).
Wagtail [probably], (mana-bashira, written phonetically).
Wren, (sazaki 鷦鷯).
Dolphin, (iruka 入鹿魚).
Trout [Plecoglossus altivelis], (ayu 年魚).
Tunny [a kind of, viz. Thynnus sibi], (shibi 筋).
Crab, (kani 蟹).
Horse-fly, (amu 虻).
Oyster, (kaki 鵬).

PLANTS.

Alder [Alnus maritima], (hari-no-ki 棒).
Aralia, (mi-tsuna-gashiha 御網柏).
Brasenia peltata, (nunaha 奪).
Cabbage brassica], (awona 藉菜).
Catalpa Kaempferi [but some say the cherry is meant], (adzusa 梓).
Chestnut, (kuri 栗).
Dioscorea quinqueloba, (tokoro-dzura 辯 葛).
Euonymus sieboldianus, (mayumi 木 擅).
Gourd, (hisago 瓢).
Hedysarum esculentum, (wogi 荻).
Hydropyrum latifolium, (komo 菰).
Kadzura japonica, (sana-kadzura 藉).
Livistona sinensis, (ajimasa 樓挪).

Lotus [nelumbium], (hachisu 蓮).
Musk-melon, (hozochi 熟瓜).
Oak, [three species, Quercus serrata (kunugi 機木), and Q. glanduli-fera (nara both deciduous ; Q. gilva (ichihi 赤禱) evergreen].
Orange, (tachibana 椒).
Podocarpus macrophylla, (maki 槍).
Radish [Baphanus sativus], (oho-ne 大根),
Sashibu (written phonetically), [not identified].
Water caltrop [Trapa bispinosa] (hishi 菱).
Wild garlic [Allium nipponicum], (nubiru 野蒜).
Zelkowa keaki [probably], (tsuki 概).

A few more are probably preserved in the names of places. Thus in Shinano, the name of a province, we seem to have the *shina (Tilia cordata),* and in Tadetsu the *tadc (Polygonum japonicum).* But the identification in these cases is mostly uncertain. It must also be remembered that, as in the case of all non-scientific nomenclatures, several species, and occasionally even more than one genus, are included in a single Japanese term. Thus *chi-dori* (here always rendered "dotterel") is the name of any kind of sandpiper, plover or dotterel. *Kari* is a general name applied to geese, but not to all the species, and also to the great bustard. Again it should not be forgotten that there may have been, and probably were, in the application of some of these terms, differences of usage between the present day and eleven or twelve centuries ago. Absolute precision is therefore not attainable.[42]

Noticeable in the above lists is the abundant mention of plant-names in a work which is in no ways occupied with botany. Equally noticeable is the absence of some of those which are most common at the present day, such as the tea-plant and the plum-tree, while of the orange we are specially informed that it was introduced from abroad.[43] The difference between the various stones and metals seems, on the other hand, to have attracted very little attention from the Early Japanese. In later times the chief metals were named mostly according to their colour, as follows:

Yellow metal..... (gold).
White "..... (silver).
Red metal..... (copper).
Black”..... (iron).
Chinese (or Korean)... (bronze).

But in the "Records" the only metal of which it is implied that it was in use from time immemorial is iron, while "various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards," are only referred to once as existing in the far-western land of Korea. Red clay is the sole kind of earth specially named.

The words relative to colour which occur are:

Black.
Blue (including Green). Red.
Piebald (of horses).
White.

Yellow is not mentioned (except in the foreign Chinese phrase the Yellow Stream,” signifying Hades, and not to be counted in this context), neither are any of the numerous terms which in modern Japanese serve to distinguish delicate shades of colour. We hear of the "blue (or green), *i.e.* black[44] clouds" and also of the “blue (or green), sea"; but the "blue sky" is conspicuous by its absence here as in so many other early literatures, though strangely enough it does occur in the oldest written documents of the Chinese.

With regard to the subject of names for the different degrees of relationship, —a subject of sufficient interest to the student of sociology to warrant its being discussed at some length,—it may be stated that in modern Japanese parlance the categories according to which relationship is conceived of do not materially differ from those that are current in Europe. Thus we find father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, nephew, stepfather, stepson, father-in-law, son-in-law, and the corresponding terms for females,—mother, grandmother, etc., —as well as such vaguer designations as parents, ancestors, cousins, and kinsmen. The only striking difference is that brothers and sisters, instead of being considered as all mutually related in the same manner, are divided into two categories, viz.:

Ani 兄..... elder brother(s),
Otouto 染..... younger brother(s),
Anc 姉..... elder sister(s),
Imouto 妹..... younger sister(s),

in exact accordance with Chinese usage.

Now in Archaic times there seems to have been a different and more complicated system, somewhat resembling that which still obtains among the natives of Korea, and which the introduction of Chinese ideas and especially the use of the Chinese written characters must have caused to be afterwards abandoned. There are indications or it in some of the phonetically written fragments of the Records." But they are not of themselves sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation, and the subject has puzzled the native *literati* themselves. Moreover the English language fails us at this point, and elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister are the only terms at the translator's command. It may therefore be as well to quote *in extenso* Motowori's elucidation of the Archaic usage to be found in Vol. XIII, pp. 63-4 of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters."[45] He says: "Anciently, when brothers "and sisters were spoken of, the elder brother was called *se"* "or *ani* in contradistinction to the younger brothers and "younger sisters, and the younger brother also was called *se* "in contradistinction to the elder sister. The elder sister was "called *ane* in contradistinction to the younger sister, and the "younger brother also would use the word *ane* in speaking of "his elder sister himself. The younger brother was called *oto* "in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the younger "sister also was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder "sister. The younger sister was called *imo* in contradistinction "to the elder brother, and the elder sister also was called *imo* "in contradistinction to the younger brother. It was also the "custom among brothers and sisters to use the words *iro-se* "for *se*, *iro-se* for ane, and *iro-do* for *oto*, and analogy forces "us to conclude that *iro-mo* was used for *imo*." (Motowori elsewhere explains *iro* as a term of endearment indentical with the word *iro,* “love;" but we may hesitate to accept this view.) It will be observed that the foundation of this system of nomenclature was a subordination of the younger to the elder-born modified by a subordination of

the females to the males. In the East, especially in primitive times, it is not *place aux dames,"* but *"place aux messieurs".*

Another important point to notice is that, though in a few passages of the “Records" we find a distinction drawn between the chief and the secondary wives,—perhaps nothing more than the favorite or better-born, and the less well-born, are meant to be thus designated,—yet not only is this distinction not drawn throughout, but the wife is constantly spoken of as *imo, i.e.* "younger sister.” In fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas; and what in a later stage of Japanese, as of Western, civilization is abhorred as incest was in Archaic Japanese times the common practice. We also hear of marriages with half-sisters, with stepmothers, and with aunts; and to wed two or three sisters at the same time was a recognized usage. Most such unions were naturally so contrary to Chinese ethical ideas, that one of the first traces of the influence of the latter in Japan was the stigmatizing of them as incest; and the Conflict between the old native custom and the imported moral code is seen to have resulted in political troubles.[46] Marriage with sisters was naturally the first to disappear, and indeed it is only mentioned in the legends of the gods; but unions with half-sisters, aunts, etc., lasted on into the historic epoch. Of exogamy, such as obtains in China, there is no trace in any Japanese document, nor do any other artificial impediments seem to have stood in the way of the free choice of the Early Japanese man, who also (in some cases at least) received a dowry with his bride or brides.

* * *

If, taking as our guides the incidental notices which are scattered up and down the pages of the earlier portion of the “Records", we endeavour to follow an Archaic Japanese through the chief events of his life from the cradle to the tomb, it will be necessary to begin by recalling what has already been alluded to as the "parturition-house" built by the mother, and in which, as we are specially told that it was made windowless, it would perhaps be contradictory to say that the infant first saw the light. Soon after birth a name was given to it,—given to it by the mother,—such name generally containing some appropriate personal reference. In the most ancient times each person (so far as we can judge) bore but one name, or rather one string of words compounded together into a sort of

personal designation. But already at the dawn of the historical epoch we are met by the mention of surnames and of what, in the absence of a more fitting word, the translator has ventured to call "gentile names," bestowed by the sovereign as a recompense for some noteworthy deed.[47]

It may be gathered from our text that the idea of calling in the services of wet-nurses in certain exceptional cases had already suggested itself to the minds of the ruling class, whose infants were likewise sometimes attended by special bathing-women. To what we should call education, whether mental or physical, there is absolutely no reference made in the histories. All that can be inferred is that, when old enough to do so, the boys began to follow one of the callings of hunter or fisherman, while the girls staid at home weaving the garments of the family. There was also a great deal of fighting, generally of a treacherous kind, in the intervals of which the warriors occupied themselves in cultivating patches of ground. The very little which is to be gathered concerning the treatment of old people would seem to indicate that they were well cared for.

We are nowhere told of any wedding ceremonies except the giving of presents by the bride or her father, the probable reason being that no such ceremonies existed. Indeed late on into the Middle Ages cohabitation alone constituted matrimony, —cohabitation often secret at first, but afterwards acknowledged, when, instead of going round under cover of night to visit his mistress, the young man brought her back publicly to his parents' house. Mistress, wife, and concubine were thus terms which were not distinguished, and the woman could naturally be discarded at any moment. She indeed was expected to remain faithful to the man with whom she had had more than a passing intimacy, but no reciprocal obligation bound him to her. Thus the wife of one of the gods is made to address her husband in a poem which says:

"Thou..... indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But I, alas! being a woman, have no man except thee; I have no spouse except thee," etc., etc.[48]

In this sombre picture the only graceful touch is the custom which lovers or spouses had of tying each other's girdles when about to part for a time,—a ceremony by which they implied that they would be constant to each other

during the period of absence.[49] What became of the children in cases of conjugal separation does not clearly appear. In the only instance which is related at length, we find the child left with the father; but this instance is not a normal one.[50] Adoption is not mentioned in the earliest traditions; so that when we meet with it later on we shall probably be justified in tracing its introduction to Chinese sources.

Of death-bed scenes and dying speeches we hear but little, and that little need not detain us. The burial rites are more important. The various ceremonies observed on such an occasion are indeed not explicitly detailed. But we gather thus much: that the hut tenanted by the deceased was abandoned,— an ancient custom to whose former existence the removal of the capital at the commencement of each new sovereign's reign long continued to bear witness, and that the body was first deposited for some days in a “mourning-house,” during which interval the survivors (though their tears and lamentations are also mentioned) held a carousal, feasting perhaps on the food which was specially prepared as an offering to the dead person. Afterwards, the corpse was interred, presumably in a wooden bier, as the introduction of stone tombs is specially noted by the historian as having taken place at the end of the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin, and was therefore believed by those who handed down the legendary history to have been a comparatively recent innovation, the date assigned to this monarch by the author of the "Chronicles" coinciding with the latter part of our first, and the first half of our second centuries. To a time not long anterior is attributed the abolition of a custom previously observed at the interments of royal personages. This custom was the burying alive of some of their retainers in the neighbourhood of the tomb. We know also, both from other early literary sources and from the finds which have recently rewarded the labours of archaeologists, that articles of clothing, ornaments, etc, were buried with the corpse. It is all the more curious that the “Records” should nowhere make any reference to such a custom, and is a proof (if any be needed) of the necessity of not relying exclusively on any single authority, however respectable, if the full and true picture of Japanese antiquity is to be restored. A few details as to the abolition of the custom of burying retainers alive round their master's tomb, and of the substitution for this cruel holocaust of images in

clay will be found in Sect. LXIII, Note 23, and in Sect. LXXV, Note 4, of the following translation[51] It the custom be one which is properly included under the heading of human sacrifices, it is the only form of such sacrifices of which the earliest recorded Japanese social state retained any trace. The absence of slavery is another honourable feature. On the other hand, the most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrongdoers. Their nails were extracted, the sinews of their knees were cut, they were buried up to the neck so that their eyes burst, etc. Death, too, was inflicted for the most trivial offences. Of branding, or rather tattooing, the face as a punishment there are one or two incidental mentions. But as no tattooing or other marking or painting of the body for any other purpose is ever alluded to, with the solitary exception in one passage of the painting of her eyebrows by a woman, it is possible that the penal use of tattooing may have been borrowed from the Chinese, to whom it was not unknown.*

The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the "Records" bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. It is true that decency, as we understand it, is a very modern product, and is not to be looked for in any society in the barbarous stage. At the same time, the whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naive filthiness of the passage forming Sect. IV. of the following translation, or to the extraordinary topic which the hero Yamato-Take and his mistress Miyazu are made to select as the theme of poetical repartee.[52] One passage likewise would lead us to suppose that the most beastly crimes were commonly committed.[53]

To conclude this portion of the subject, it may be useful for the sake of comparison to call attention to a few arts and products with which the Early Japanese were *not* acquainted. Thus they had no tea, no fans, no porcelain, no lacquer,— none of the things, in fact, by which in later times they have been chiefly known. They did not yet use vehicles of any kind. They had no accurate method of computing time, no money, scarcely any knowledge of medicine. Neither, though they possessed some sort of music, and poems a few of which at least are not without merit,[54] do we hear anything of the art of drawing. But the most important art of which they were ignorant is that of writing. As some misapprehension has existed on this head, and scholars in Europe have been

misled by the inventions of zealous champions of the Shintō religion into a belief in the so-called" Divine Characters," by them alleged to have been invented by the Japanese gods and to have been used by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese ideographic writing, it must be stated precisely that all the traditions of the "Divine Age," and of the reigns of the earlier Emperors down to the third century of our era according to the received chronology, maintain a complete silence on the subject of writing, writing materials, and records of every kind. Books are nowhere mentioned till a period confessedly posterior to the opening up of intercourse with the Asiatic continent, and the first books whose names occur are the "Lun Yü" and the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên-[55]," which are said to have been brought over to Japan during the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin,—according to the same chronology in the year 284 after Christ. That even this statement is antedated, is shown by the fact that the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên" was not written till more than two centuries later,—a fact which is worthy the attention of those who have been disposed simply to take on trust the assertions of the Japanese historians. It should likewise be mentioned that, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Aston, the Japanese terms *fumi* "written document," and *fude* "pen", are probably corruptions of foreign words.[56] The present, indeed, is not the place to discuss the whole question or the so-called "Divine Characters," which Motowori, the most patriotic as well as the most learned of the Japanese *literati,* dismisses in a note to the Prolegomena of his Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" with the remark that they are a late forgery over which no words need be wasted." But as this mare's nest has been imported into the discussion of the Early Japanese social state, and as the point is one on which the absolute silence of the early traditions bears such clear testimony, it was impossible to pass it by without some brief allusion.

V.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE, BEGINNINGS OF THE JAPANESE NATION, AND CREDIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS.

The religious beliefs of the modern upholders of Shinto[57] may be ascertained without much difficulty by a perusal of the works of the leaders of

the movement which has endeavoured during the last century and a half to destroy the influence of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophy, and which has latterly succeeded to some extent in supplanting those two foreign systems. But in Japan, as elsewhere, it has been impossible for men really to turn back a thousand years in religious thought and act; and when we try to discover the primitive opinions that were entertained by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese culture, we are met by difficulties that at first seem insuperable. The documents are scanty, and the modern commentaries untrustworthy, for they are all written under the influence of a preconceived opinion. Moreover, the problem is apparently complicated by a mixture of races and mythologies, and by a filtering in of Chinese ideas previous to the compilation of documents of any sort, though these are considerations which have hitherto scarcely been taken into account by foreigners, and are designedly neglected and obscured by such narrowly patriotic native writers as Motowori and Hirata.

In the political field the difficulties are not less, but rather greater; for when once the Imperial House and the centralized Japanese polity, as we know it from the sixth or seventh century of our era downwards, became fully established, it was but too clearly in the interest of the powers that be to efface as far as possible the trace of different governmental arrangements which may have preceded them, and to cause it to be believed that, as things were then, so had they always been. The Emperor Tem-mu, with his anxiety to amend the deviations from truth and the empty falsehoods" of the historical documents preserved by the various families, and the author of the “Chronicles of Japan" with his elaborate system of fictitious dates, recur to our minds, and we ask ourselves to what extent similar garblings of history,—sometimes intentional, sometimes unintentional,—may have gone on during earlier ages, when there was even less to check them than there was in the eighth century. If, therefore, the translator here gives expression to a few opinions founded chiefly on a careful study of the text of the “Records of Ancient Matters" helped out by a study of the "Chronicles of Japan,” he would be understood to do so with great diffidence, especially with regard to his few (so to speak) constructive remarks. As to the destructive side of the criticism, there need be less hesitation; for the

old histories bear evidence too conclusively against themselves for it to be possible for the earlier portions of them, at least, to stand the test of sober investigation. Before endeavouring to piece together the little that is found in the "Records" to illustrate the beliefs of Archaic Japanese times, it will be necessary, at the risk of dulness, to give a summary of the old traditions as they lie before us in their entirety, after which will be hazarded a few speculations on the subject of the earlier tribes which combined to form the Japanese people; for the four questions of religious beliefs, of political arrangements, of race, and of the credibility of documents, all hang closely together and, properly speaking, form but one highly complex problem.

Greatly condensed, the Early Japanese traditions amount to this: After an indefinitely long period, during which were born a number of abstract deities, who are differently enumerated in the Records and in the “Chronicles,” two of these deities, a brother and sister named Izanagi and Izanami (i.e., the “Male Who Invites” and the "Female Who Invites”), are united in marriage, and give birth to the various islands of the Japanese archipelago. When they have finished producing islands, they proceed to the production of a large number of gods and goddesses, many of whom correspond to what we should call personifications of the powers of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptation, is foreign to the Japanese mind. The birth of the Fire-God causes Izanami's death, and the most striking episode of the whole mythology then ensues, when her husband, Orpheus-like, visits her in the under-world to implore her to return to him. She would willingly do so, and bids him wait while she consults with the deities of the place. But he, impatient at her long tarrying, breaks off one of the end-teeth of the comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, lights it and goes in, only to find her a hideous mass of corruption, in whose midst are seated the eight Gods of Thunder. This episode ends with the deification[58] of three peaches who had assisted him in his retreat before the armies of the under-world, and with bitter words exchanged between him and his wife, who herself pursues him as far as the "Even Pass of Hades.”

Returning to Himuka in south-western Japan, Izanagi purifies himself by bathing in a stream, and, as he does so, fresh deities are born from each article of clothing that he throws down on the river-bank, and from each Dart of his

person. One of these deities was the Sun-Goddess, who was born from his left eye, while the Moon-God sprang from his right eye, and the last born of all, Susa-no-Wo, whose name the translator renders by "the Impetuous Male," was born from his nose. Between these three children their father divides the inheritance of the universe.

At this point the story loses its unity. The Moon-God is no more heard of, and the traditions concerning the Sun-Goddess and those concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" diverge in a manner which is productive of inconsistencies in the remainder of the mythology. The Sun-Goddess and the" Impetuous Male Deity" have a violent quarrel, and at last the latter breaks a hole in the roof of the hall in Heaven where his sister is sitting at work with the celestial weaving-maidens, and through it lets fall "a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The consequences of this act were so disastrous that the Sun-Goddess withdrew for a season into a cave, from which the rest of the eight hundred myriad (according to the "Chronicles" eighty myriad) deities with difficulty allured her. The "Impetuous Male Deity" was thereupon banished, and the Sun-Goddess remained mistress of the field. Yet, strange to say, she thenceforward retires into the background, and the most bulky section of the mythology consists of stories concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" and his descendants, who are represented as the monarchs of Japan, or rather of the province of Idzumo. The "Impetuous Male Deity" himself, whom his father had charged with the dominion of the sea, never assumes that rule, but first has a curiously told amorous adventure and an encounter with an eight-forked serpent in Izumo, and afterwards reappears as the capricious and filthy deity of Hades, who however seems to retain some power over the land of the living, as he invests his descendant of the sixth generation with the sovereignty of Japan. Of this latter personage a whole cycle of stories is told, all centering in Idzumo. We learn of his conversations with a hare and with a mouse, of the prowess and cleverness which he displayed on the occasion of a visit to his ancestor in Hades, which is in this cycle of traditions a much less mysterious place than the Hades visited by Izanagi, of his amours, of his triumph over his eighty brethren, of his reconciliation with his jealous empress, and of his numerous descendants, many of whom have names that are particularly difficult

of comprehension. We hear too in a tradition, which ends in a pointless manner, of a microscopic deity who comes across the sea to ask this monarch of Idzumo to share the sovereignty with him.

This last-mentioned legend repeats itself in the sequel. The Sun-Goddess, who on her second appearance is constantly represented as acting in concert with the "High August Producing Wondrous Deity,”—one of the abstractions mentioned at the commencement of the "Records,"—resolves to bestow the sovereignty of Japan on a child of whom it is doubtful whether he were hers or that of her brother the "Impetuous Male Deity." Three embassies are sent from Heaven to Idzumo to arrange matters, but it is only a fourth that is successful, the final ambassadors obtaining the submission of the monarch or deity of Idzumo, who surrenders his sovereignty and promises to serve the new dynasty (apparently in the under-world), if a palace or temple be built for him and he be appropriately worshipped. Thereupon the child of the deity whom the Sun-Goddess had originally wished to make sovereign of Japan, descends to earth,—not to Idzumo in the north-west, be it mentioned, as the logical sequence of the story would lead one to expect,—but to the peak of a mountain in the south-western island of Kiushiu.

Here follows a quaint tale accounting for the odd appearance of the beche-de-mer, and another to account for the shortness of the lives of mortals, after which we are told of the birth under peculiar circumstances of the heaven-descended deity's three sons. Two of these, Ho-deri and Ho-wori, whose names may be Englished as "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Subside," are the heroes of a very curious legend, which includes an elaborate account of a visit paid by the latter to the palace of the God of Ocean, and of a curse or spell which gained for him the victory over his elder brother, and enabled him to dwell peacefully in his palace at Takachiho for the space of five hundred and eighty years,—the first statement resembling a date which the Records" contain. This personage's son married his own aunt, and was the father of four children, one of whom "treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land,” while a second went into the sea plain,” and the *two* others moved eastward, fighting with the chiefs of Kibi and Yamato, having adventures with gods both with and without tails, being assisted by a miraculous sword and a gigantic crow, and

naming the various places they passed through after incidents in their own career, as "the Impetuous Male" and other divine personages had done before them. One of these brothers was Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko, who (the other having died before him) was first given the title of Jim-mu Ten-no more than fourteen centuries after the date which in the "Chronicles" is assigned as that of his decease.

Henceforth Yamato, which had scarcely been mentioned before, and the provinces adjacent to it become the centre of the story, and Idzumo again emerges into importance. A very indecent love-tale forms a bridge which unites the two fragments of the mythology; and the "Great Deity of Miwa," who is identified with the deposed monarch of Idzumo, appears on the scene. Indeed during the rest of the story this "Great Deity of Miwa," and his colleague the "Small August Deity" (*Sukuna-Mi-Kami*[59]), the deity Izasa-Wake, the three Water-Gods of Sumi, and the "Great Deity of Kadzuraki," of whom there is so striking a mention in Sect. CLVIII, form, with the Sun-Goddess and with a certain divine sword preserved at the temple of Isonokami in Yamato, the only objects of worship specially named, the other gods and goddesses being no more heard of. This portion of the story is closed by an account of the troubles which inaugurated the reign of Jim-mu's successor, Sui-sei, and then occurs a blank of (according to the accepted chronology) five hundred years, during which absolutely nothing is told us excepting dreary genealogies, the place where each sovereign dwelt and where he was buried, and the age to which he lived,— this after the minute details which had previously been given concerning the successive gods or monarchs down to Sui-sei inclusive. It should likewise be noted that the average age of the first seventeen monarchs (counting Jim-mu Ten-no) as the first according to received ideas) is nearly 96 years if we follow the “Records” and over a hundred if we follow the accepted chronology which is based chiefly on the constantly divergent statements contained in the "Chronicles.” The age of several of the monarchs exceeds 120 years.[60]

The above-mentioned lapse of an almost blank period of five centuries brings us to the reign of the Emperor known to history by the name of Su-jin, whose life of one hundred and sixty-eight years (one hundred and twenty according to the "Chronicles") is supposed to have immediately preceded the

Christian era. In this reign the former monarch of Idzumo or god of Miwa again appears and produces a pestilence, of the manner of staying which Su-jin is warned in a dream, while a curious but highly indecent episode tells us how a person called Oho-Tata-Ne-Ko was known to be a son of the deity in question, and was therefore appointed high priest of his temple. In the ensuing reign an elaborate legend, involving a variety of circumstances as miraculous as any in the earlier portion of the mythology, again centres in the necessity of pacifying the great god of Idzumo; and this, with details of internecine strife in the Imperial family, of the sovereign's amours, and of the importation of the orange from the "Eternal Land," brings us to the cycle of traditions of which Yamato-Take, a son of the Emperor Kei-ko, is the hero. This prince, after slaying one of his brothers in the privy, accomplishes the task of subduing both western and eastern Japan; and, notwithstanding certain details which are unsavoury to the European taste, his story, taken as a whole, is one of the most striking in the book. He performs marvels of valour, disguises himself as a woman to slay the brigands, is the possessor of a magic sword and fire-striker, has a devoted wife who stills the fury of the waves by sitting down upon their surface, has encounters with a deer and with a boar who are really gods in disguise, and finally dies on his way westward before he can reach his home in Yamato. His death is followed by a highly mythological account of the laying to rest of the white bird into which he ended by being transformed.

The succeeding reign is a blank, and the next after that transports us without a word of warning to quite another scene. The sovereign's home is now in Tsukushi, the southwestern island of the Japanese archipelago, and four of the gods, through the medium of the sovereign's wife, who is known to history as the Empress Jin-go, reveal the existence of the land of Korea, of which, however, this is not the first mention. The Emperor disbelieves the divine message, and is punished by death for his incredulity. But the Empress, after a special consultation between her prime minister and the gods, and the performance of various religious ceremonies, marshals her fleet, and, with the assistance of the fishes both great and small and of a miraculous wave, reaches Shiragi[61] (one of the ancient divisions of Korea), and subdues it. She then returns to Japan, the legend ending with a curiously naive tale of how she sat a-

fishing one day on a shoal in the river Wo-gawa in Tsukushi with threads picked out of her skirt for lines.

The next section shows her going up by sea to Yamato,— another joint in the story, by means of which the Yamato cycle of legends and the Tsukushi cycle are brought into apparent unity. The "Chronicles of Japan" have even improved upon this by making Jin-go's husband dwell in Yamato at the commencement of his reign and only remove to Tsukushi later, so that if the less elaborated "Records" had not been preserved, the two threads of the tradition would have been still more difficult to unravel. The Empress's army defeats the troops raised by the native kings or princes, who are represented as her step-sons; and from that time forward the story runs on in a single channel and always centres in Yamato. China likewise is now first mentioned, books are said to have been brought over from the mainland, and we hear of the gradual introduction of various useful arts. Even the annals of the reign of o-jin however, during which this civilizing impulse from abroad is said to have commenced, are not free from details as miraculous as any in the earlier portions cf the book. Indeed Sects. CXIV-CXVI of the following translation, which form part of the narrative of his reign, are occupied with the recital of one of the most fanciful tales of the whole mythology. The monarch himself is said to have lived a hundred and thirty years, while his successor lived eighty-three (according to the "Chronicles" O-jin lived a hundred and ten and his successor Nin-toku reigned eighty-seven years). It is not till the next reign that the miraculous ceases, a fact which significantly coincides with the reign in which, according to a statement in the "Chronicles," "historiographers were first appointed to all the provinces to record words and events, and forward archives from all directions." This brings us to the commencement of the fifth century of our era, just three centuries before the compilation of our Histories, but only two centuries before the compilation of the first history of which mention has been preserved. From that time the story in the "Records," though not well told, gives us some very curious pictures, and reads as if it were reliable. It is tolerably full for a few reigns, after which it again dwindles into mere genealogies, carrying us down to the commencement of the seventh century. The "Chronicles," on the contrary, give

us full details down to A.D. 701, that is to within nineteen years of the date of their compilation.

The reader who has followed this summary, or who will take the trouble to read through the whole text for himself, will perceive that there is no break in the story,—at least no chronological break,—and no break between the fabulous and the real, unless indeed it be at the commencement of the fifth century of our era, *i.e.* more than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted as the commencement of genuine Japanese history. The only breaks are,—not chronological,— but topographical.

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard national histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the eighteenth century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. In this particular, the elasticity of the Japanese word for "deity," *kami,* which has already been noticed, stood the eastern Euhemerus in good stead. Some of his explanations are however extremely comical, and it is evident that such a system enables the person who uses it to prove whatever he has a mind to.[62] In the nineteenth century a diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Mori be, who, although endeavouring to remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) uselessly miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. Such, for instance, are the story of the speaking mouse, and that of Izanagi's head-dress turning into a bunch of grapes. He accounts for many of these details by the supposition that they are what he calls *wosana-goto,*i.e. "child-like words," and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, aud are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. He is also willing to allow that some passages show traces of Chinese influence, and he blames Motowori's uncompromising championship of

every iota of the existing text of the “Records of Ancient Matters." As belonging to this same school of what may perhaps be termed "rationalistic believers” in Japanese mythology, a contemporary Christian writer, Mr. Takahashi Goro, must also be mentioned. Treading in the foot-steps of Arawi Hakuseki, but bringing to bear on the legends of his own country some knowledge of the mythology of other lands, he for instance explains the traditions of the Sun-Goddess and of the Eight-Forked Serpent of Yamada by postulating the existence of an ancient queen called Sun, whose brother, after having been banished from her realm for his improper behaviour, killed an enemy whose name was Serpent, etc., while such statements as that the microscopic deity who came over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo would not tell his name, are explained by the assertion that, being a foreigner, he was unintelligible for some time until he had learnt the language. It is certainly strange that such theorists should not see that they are undermining with one hand that which they endeavour to prop up with the other, and that their own individual fancy is made by them the sole standard of historic truth. Yet Mr. Takahashi confidently asserts that "his explanations have nothing forced or fanciful” in them, and "that they cannot fail to solve the doubts even of the greatest of doubters.”[63]

The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day,—*i.e.* of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated,—seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore, the history of the gods, while implicitly accepting the history of the emperors from Jim-mu downwards; and in so doing they have been followed with but little reserve by most Europeans,— almanacs, histories and cyclopaedias all continuing to repeat on the antiquated authority of such writers as Kaempfer and Titsingh, that Japan possesses an authentic history covering more than two thousand years, while Siebold and Hoffman even go the length of discussing the *hour* of Jim-mu's accession in the year 660 B.C.! This is the attitude of mind now sanctioned by the governing class. Thus, in the historical compilations used as text-books in the schools, the stories of the gods,—that is to say the Japanese traditions down to Jim-mu exclusive,—are either passed over in silence or dismissed in a few sentences, while the annals of the human sovereigns,—that is to say the Japanese traditions from Jim-mu inclusive,—are treated precisely as if the events therein related had happened yesterday, and

were as incontrovertibly historical as later statements for which there is contemporary evidence. The same plan is pursued elsewhere in official publications. Thus, to take but one example among many, the Imperial Commissioners to the Vienna Exhibition, in their "Notice sur l'Empire du Japon," tell us that "L'histoire de la dynastie" imperiale remonte très-haut. L'obscurité entoure ses débuts," vu l'absence de documents réguliers ou d'un calendrier par-"fait. Le premier Empereur de la dynastie présente, dont il reste des annales dignes de confiance, est Jin-mou-ten-nō[64] "qui organisa un soulèvement dans la province de Hiuga, "marcha à l'Est avec ses compagnons, fonda sa capitale dans "la vallee de Kashi-hara dans le Yamato, et monta sur le "trône comme Empereur. C'est de cet Empereur que descend, "per une succession régulière, la présente famille regnante du Japon. C'est del, année de l'avènement de Jin-mou-ten-nô "que date l'ère japonaise (Année 1-660 avant jesus-Christ.")

As for the *ere Japonaise* mentioned by the commissioners, it may be pertinent to observe that it was only introduced by an edict dated 15th Dec., 1872,[65] that is to say just a fortnight before the publication of their report. *And this era, this accession, is confidently placed thirteen or fourteen centuries before the first history which records it was written, nine centuries before (at the earliest computatimi) the art of writing was introduced into the country, and on the sole authority of books teeming with miraculous legends!!* Does such a proceeding need any comment after once being formulated in precise terms, and can any unprejudiced person continue to accept the early Japanese chronology and the first thousand years of the so-called history of Japan?

* * *

Leaving this discussion, let us now see whether any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles." There are fragments of information,— fragments of two sorts,—some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. Let us take the positive fragments first—the notices as to cosmological ideas, dreams, prayers, etc.

The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an

organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogma, the code of morals, and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. What we find is a bundle of miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system. Dreams evidently were credited with great importance, the future being supposed to be foretold in them, and the will of the gods made known. Sometimes even an actual object, such as a wonderful sword, was sent down in a dream, thus to our ideas mixing the material with the spiritual. The subject did not, however, present itself in that light to the Early Japanese, to whom there was evidently but one order of phenomena,—what we should call the natural order. Heaven, or rather the Sky, was an actual place,— not more ethereal than earth, nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death—but simply a "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some of those powerful personages called *kami,*—a word which we must make shift to translate by "god" or "goddess," or "deity." An arrow shot from earth could reach Heaven, and make a hole in it. There was at least one mountain in Heaven, and one river with a broad stony bed like those with which the traveller in Japan becomes familiar, one or two caves, one or more wells, and animals, and trees. There is, however, some confusion as to the mountain,—the celebrated Mount Kagu,—for there is one of that name in the province of Yamato.

Some of the gods dwelt here on earth, or descended hither from Heaven, and had children by human women. Such, for instance, was the Emperor Jim-mu's great-grandfather. Some few gods had tails or were otherwise personally remarkable; and "savage deities" are often mentioned as inhabiting certain portions of Japan, both in the so-called "Divine Age" and during the reigns of the human emperors down to a time corresponding, according to the generally received chronology, with the first or second century of the Christian era. The human emperors themselves, moreover, were sometimes spoken of as deities, and even made personal use of that designation. The gods occasionally transformed themselves into animals, and at other times simple tangible objects were called gods,— or at least they were called *kami;* for the gulf separating the Japanese from the English term can never be too often recalled to mind. The

word *kami,* as previously mentioned, properly signifies "superior," and it would be putting more into it than it really implies to say that the Early Japanese "deified,”-in our sense of the verb to "deify,”—the peaches which Izanagi used to pelt his assailants with, or any other natural objects whatsoever. It would, indeed, be to attribute to them a flight or imagination of which they were not capable, and a habit of personification not in accordance with the genius of their language. Some of the gods are mentioned collectively as bad Deities like unto the flies in the fifth moon”; but there is -nothing approaching a systematic division into good spirits and bad spirits. In fact the word "spirit" itself is not applicable at all to the gods of Archaic Japan. They were, like the gods of Greece, conceived of only as more powerful human beings. They were born, and some of them died, though here again there is inconsistency, as the death of some of them is mentioned in a manner leading one to suppose that they were conceived of as being then at an end, whereas in other cases such death seems simply to denote transference to Hades, or to what is called “the One Road," which is believed to be a synonym for Hades. Sometimes, again, a journey to Hades is undertaken by a god without any reference to his death. Nothing, indeed, could be less consistent than the various details.

Hades[66] itself is another instance of this inconsistency. In the legend of Oho-Kuni-Nushi (the.' Master of the Great Land"),—one of the Idzumo cycle of legends,—Hades is described exactly as if it were part of the land of the living, or exactly as if it were Heaven, which indeed comes to the same thing. It has its trees, its houses, its family quarrels, etc., etc. In the legend of Izanagi, on the other hand, Hades means simply the abode of horrible putrefaction and of the vindictive dead, and is fitly described by the god himself who had ventured thither as "a hideous and polluted land." The only point in which the legends agree is in placing between the upper earth and Hades a barrier called the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world, whether good or evil.

The objects of worship were of course the gods, or some of them. It has already been stated that during the later portions of the story, whose scene is laid almost exclusively on earth, the Sun-Goddess, the deity Izasa- Wake, the Divine Sword of Isono-kami, the Small August Deity (*Sukuna-Mi-Kami)*, the "Great

Gods” of Miwa and of Kadzuraki and the three Water-Deities of Sumi, alone are mentioned as having been specially worshipped. Of these the first and the last appear together, forming a sort of quaternion, while the other five appear singly and have no connection with each other. The deities of the mountains, the deities of the rivers, the deities of the sea, etc., are also mentioned in the aggregate, as are likewise the heavenly deities and the earthly deities; and the Empress Jin-gō is represented as conciliating them all previous to her departure for Korea by "putting into a gourd the ashes of a *maki* tree,[67] and likewise” making a quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf-platters, and "scattering them all on the waves."

This brings us to the subject of religious rites,—a subject on which we long for fuller information than the texts afford.[68] That the conciliatory offerings made to the gods were of a miscellaneous nature will be expected from the quotation just made. Nevertheless, a very natural method was in the main followed; for the people offered the things by which they themselves set most store, as we hear at a later period of the poet Tsurayuki, when in a storm at sea, flinging his mirror into the waves because he had but one. The Early Japanese made offerings of two kinds of cloth, one being hempen cloth and the other cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper-mulberry, —offerings very precious in their eyes, but which have in modern times been allowed to degenerate into useless strips of paper. They likewise offered shields, spears, and other things. Food was offered both to the gods and to the dead; indeed, the palace or tomb of the dead monarch and the temple of the god cannot always be distinguished from each other, and, as has already been mentioned, the Japanese use the same word *miya* for "palace" and for "temple." Etymologically signifying "august house," it is naturally susceptible of what are to us two distinct meanings.

With but one exception,[69] the "Records" do not give us the words of any prayers (or, as the Japanese term *norito* has elsewhere been translated, “rituals"). Conversations with the gods are indeed detailed, but no devotional utterances. Fortunately however a number of very ancient prayers have been preserved in other books, and translations of some of them by Mr. Satow will be found scattered through the volumes of the Transactions of this Society. They consist mostly of declarations of praise and statements of offerings made, either in return for favours received or conditionally on favours being granted. They are

all in prose, and hymns do not seem to have been in use. Indeed of the hundred and eleven Songs preserved in the "Records," not one has any religious reference.

The sacred rite of which most frequent mention is made is purification by water. Trial by hot water is also alluded to in both histories, but not till a time confessedly posterior to the commencement of intercourse with the mainland. We likewise hear of compacts occasionally entered into with a god, and somewhat resembling our European wager, oath, or curse. Priests are spoken of in a few passages, but without any details. We do not hear of their functions being in any way mediatorial, and the impression conveyed is that they did not exist in very early times as a separate class.* When they did come into existence, the profession soon became hereditary, according to the general tendency in Japan towards the hereditability of offices and occupations.

Miscellaneous superstitions crop up in many places. Some of these were evidently obsolescent or unintelligible at the time when the legends crystallized into their present shape, and stories are told purporting to give their origin. Thus we learn either in the "Records" or in the "Chronicles," or in both works, why it is unlucky to use only one light, to break off the teeth of a comb at night-time, and to enter the house with straw hat and rain-coat on. The world-wide dread of going against the sun is connected with the Jim-mu legend, and recurs elsewhere.[70] We also hear of charms,—for instance, of the wondrous "Herb-Quelling Sabre" found by Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") inside a serpent's tail, and still preserved as one or the Imperial *regalia.* Other such charms were the "tide-flowing jewel" and "tide-ebbing jewel," that obtained for Jim-mu's grandfather the victory over his elder brother, together with the fish-hook which figures so largely in the same legend.[71] Divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a stag was a favourite means of ascertaining the will of the gods. Sometimes also human beings seem to have been credited in a vague manner with the power of prophetic utterance. Earthenware pots were buried at - the point of his departure by an intending traveller. In a fight the initial arrow was regarded with superstitious awe. The great precautions with which the Empress Jin-go is said to have set out on her expedition to Korea have already

been alluded to, and indeed the commencement of any action or enterprise seems to have had special importance attributed to it.

To conclude this survey of the religious beliefs of the Early Japanese by referring, as was done in the case of the arts of life, to certain notable features which are conspicuous by their absence, attention may be called to the fact that there is no tradition of a deluge, no testimony to any effect produced on the imagination by the earthquakes from which the Japanese islanders suffer such constant alarms, no trace of star-worship, no notion of incarnation or of transmigration. This last remark goes to show that the Japanese mythology had assumed its present shape before the first echo of Buddhism reverberated on these shores. But the absence of any tradition of a deluge or inundation is still more remarkable, both because such catastrophes are likely to occur occasionally in all lands, and because the imagination of most nations seems to have been greatly impressed by their occurrence. Moreover what is specifically known to us as *the* Deluge has been lately claimed as an ancient Altaic myth. Yet here we have the oldest of the *undoubtedly* Altaic nations without any legend of the kind. As for the neglect of the stars, round whose names the imagination of other races has twined such fanciful conceits, it is as characteristic of Modern as of Archaic Japan. The Chinese designations of the constellations, and some few Chinese legends relating to them, have been borrowed in historic times; but no Japanese writer has ever thought of looking in the stars for "the poetry of heaven.” Another detail worthy of mention is that the number seven, which in so many countries has been considered sacred, is here not prominent in any way, its place being taken by eight. Thus we have bight Great Islands, an Eight-forked Serpent, a beard Eighty Handbreadths long, a God named "Eight-Thousand Spears," Eighty or Eight Hundred Myriads of Deities, etc., etc. The commentators think it necessary to tell us that all these eights and eighties need not be taken literally, as they simply mean a great number. The fact remains that the number eight had, for some unknown reason, a special significance attached to it; and as the documents which mention eight also mention nine and ten, besides higher numbers, and as in some test cases, such as that of the Eight Great Islands, each of the eight is separately enumerated, it is plain that when the Early Japanese said eight they meant eight, though they may doubtless have

used that number in a vague manner, as we do a dozen, a hundred, and a thousand.

How glaringly different all this is from the fanciful accounts of Shintō that have been given by some recent popular writers calls for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority,[72] tells us that Shintō "consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree impregnated with it, and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are everywhere worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes."(!) Truly, when one peruses such utterly groundless assertions,—for that here quoted is but one among many,—one is tempted to believe that the nineteenth century must form part of the early mythopoeic age.

With regard to the question of government, we learn little beyond such vague statements as that to so and-so was yielded by his eighty brethren the sovereignty of the land of Idzumo, or that Izanagi divided the dominion over all things between his three children, bestowing on one the "Plain of High Heaven," on another the Dominion of the Night, and on the third the "Sea-Plain.” But we do not in the earlier legends see such sovereignty actually administered. The heavenly gods seem rather to have been conceived as forming a sort of commonwealth, who decided things by meeting together in council in the stony bed of the "River of Heaven,” and taking the advice of the shrewdest of their number. Indeed the various divine assemblies, to which the story in the "Records" and "Chronicles" introduces us, remind us of nothing so much as of the village assemblies of primitive tribes in many parts of the world, where the cleverness of one and the general willingness to follow his suggestions fill the place of the more definite organization of later times.

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called "Divine Age” but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that any kind of

political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly we find that the "Territorial Owners" of Yamato, and the "Rulers" of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural, as if to intimate that they exercised a divided sovereignty. During the whole of the so-called "Human Age" we meet, both in parts of the country which were already subject to the Imperial rule and in others which were not yet annexed, with local magnates bearing these same titles of "Territorial Owners," "Rulers," "Chiefs," etc.; and the impression left on the mind is that in early historical times the sovereign's power was not exercised directly over all parts of Japan, but that in many cases the local chieftains continued to hold sway though owning some sort of allegiance to the emperor in Yamato, while in others the emperor was strong enough to depose these local rulers, and to put in their place his own kindred or retainers, who however exercised unlimited authority in their own districts, and used the same titles as had been borne by the former native rulers,—that, in fact, the government was feudal rather than centralized. This characteristic of the political organization of Early Japan has not altogether escaped the attention of the native commentators. Indeed the great Shinto scholar Hirata not only recognizes the fact, but endeavours to prove that the system of centralization which obtained during the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth centuries, and which has been revived in our own day, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese bureaucratic system; and he asserts that an organized feudalism, similar to that which existed from the twelfth century down to the year 1867, was the sole really ancient and national Japanese form of government. The translator cannot follow Hirata to such lengths, as he sees no evidence in the early histories of the intricate organization of medieval Japan. But that, beyond the immediate limits of the Imperial domain, the government *resembled* feudalism rather than centralization seems indisputable. It is also true that the seventh century

witnessed a sudden move in the direction of bureaucratic organization, many of the titles which had up till that time denoted actual provincial chieftains being then either suppressed, or else allowed to sink into mere "gentile names." Another remark which is suggested by a careful perusal of the two ancient histories is that the Imperial succession was in early historical times very irregular. Strange gaps occur as late as the sixth century of our era; and even when it was one of the children who inherited his father's throne, that child was rarely the eldest son.

* * *

What now are we to gather from this analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions as to the still remoter history and tribal divisions of Japan, and as to the origin of the Japanese legends? Very little that is certain, perhaps; but, in the opinion of the present writer, two or three interesting probabilities.

In view of the multiplicity of gods and the complications of the so-called historical traditions, he thinks that it would be *à priori* difficult to believe that the development of Japanese civilization should have run on in a single stream broken only in the third century by the commencement of intercourse with the mainland of Asia. We are, however, not left to such a merely theoretical consideration. There are clear indications of there having been three centres of legendary cycles, three streams which mixed together to form the Japan which meets us at the dawn of authentic history in the fifth century of our era. One of these centres,—the most important in the mythology,—is Idzumo; the second is Yamato; the third is Tsu-kushi, called in modern times Kiushiu. Eastern and Northern Japan count for nothing; indeed, much of the North-East and North was, down to comparatively recent times, occupied by the barbarous Ainos or, as they are called by the Japanese Yemishi, Yebisu or Yezo. That the legends or traditions derived from the three parts of the country here mentioned accord but imperfectly together is an opinion which has already been alluded to, and upon which light may perhaps be thrown by a more thorough sifting of the myths and beliefs classified according to this three-fold system. The question of the ancient division of Japan into several independent states is, however, not completely a matter of opinion. For we nave in the "*Shan Hai Ching*[73] " a positive statement

concerning a Northern and a Southern Yamato (儘), and the Chinese annals of both the Han dynasties tell us of the division of the country into a much larger number of kingdoms, of which, according to the annals of the later Han dynasty, Yamato (牙じ馬臺）was the most powerful. A later official Chinese historian also tells us that *Jih-pên (*日本, our *Japan)* and Yamato had been two different states, and that *Jih-pên* was reported to have swallowed up Yamato. By *Jih-pên* the author evidently meant to speak of the island of Tsukushi or of part of it. That the Chinese were fairly well acquainted with Japan is shown by the fact of there being in the old Chinese literature more than one mention of the country of the hairy people beyond the mountains in the East and North,”—that is of the Yemishi or Ainos, No Chinese book would seem to mention Idzumo as having formed a separate country; and this evidence must be allowed its full weight. It is possible, of course, that Idzumo may have been incorporated with Yamato before the conquest of the latter by the Tsukushi people, and in this case some of the inconsistencies of the history may be traceable to a confusion of the traditions concerning the conquest of Idzumo by Yamato and of those concerning the conquest of Yamato by Tsukushi. Perhaps too (for so almost impossible a task is it to reconstruct history out of legend) there may not, after all, be sufficient warrant for believing in the former existence of Idzumo as a separate state, though it certainly seems hard to account otherwise for the peculiar place that idzumo occupies in mythic story. In any case, and whatever light may hereafter be thrown on this very obscure question, it must be remembered that, so far as clear native documentary evidence reaches, 400 A.D. is approximately the highest limit of reliable* Japanese history, Beyond that date we are at once confronted with the miraculous; and if any facts relative to earlier Japan are to be extracted from the pages of the "Records" and "Chronicles,” it must be by a process very different from that of simply reading and taking their assertions upon trust.

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact it bids us wait to interpret it until such time as further research shall have shown which legends belong

together. For if they are of heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in discussions on this subject,—" the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,"—ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geographically by belonging to different parts of the country. Furthermore it may not be superfluous to call attention to the fact that the gods who are mentioned in the opening phrases of the histories as we now have them are not therefore necessarily the gods that were most anciently worshipped. Surely in religions, as in books, it is not often the preface that is written first. And yet this simple consideration has been constantly neglected, and, one after another, European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, without so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter,—viz., the "Records" and the "Chronicles,"—differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps indeed mere inventions or individual priests. There is nothing either in the histories or in the Shintō Rituals to show that these gods, or some one or more of them, were in early days, as has been sometimes supposed, the objects of a purer worship which was afterwards obscured by the legends of Izanagi, Izanami, and their numerous descendants. On the contrary, with the exception of the deity Taka-Mi-Musu-Bi,[74] they are no sooner mentioned than they vanish into space.

Whether it is intrinsically likely that so rude a race as the Early Japanese, and a race so little given to metaphysical speculation as the Japanese at all times of their history, should have commenced by a highly abstract worship which they afterwards completely abandoned, is a question which may better be left to those whose general knowledge of early peoples and early religious beliefs entitles their decisions to respect. Their assistance, likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into its several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology

should be interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively late times.[75] Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to enlarge the area of the three latter divisions more than would be prudent in the case of the highly imaginative Aryans, and to point out that, though some few Japanese legends or portions of legends can be traced to false etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are therefore true myths in the strictest acceptation of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects,—a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology,—is altogether alien to the Japanese genius, and indeed to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a "disease of language." But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. Thus not only have Japanese Nouns no Genders and Japanese Verbs no Persons, but the names of inanimate objects cannot even be used as the subjects of Transitive Verbs. Nowhere for instance in Japanese, whether Archaic, Classical, or Modern, do we meet with such metaphorical,—mythological,—phrases as "the hot wind melts the ice," or "his conversation delights me," where the words "wind" and "conversation" are spoken of as if they were personal agents. No, the idea is invariably rendered in some other and impersonal way. Yet what a distance separates such statements, in which the ordinary European reader unacquainted with any Altaic tongue would scarcely recognize the existence of any personification at all, from the bolder flights of Aryan metaphor! Indeed, though Altaic Asia has produced very few wise men, the words of its languages closely correspond to the definition of words as "the wise man's counters"; for they are colourless and matter-of-fact, and rarely if ever carry him who speaks them above the level of sober reality. At the same time, it is patent that the sun plays *some* part in the Japanese mythology; and even the legend of Prince Yamato-Take, which has hitherto been

generally accepted as historical or semi-historical, bears such close resemblance to legends in other countries which have been pronounced to be solar by great authorities that it may at least be worth while to subject it to investigation from that point of view.[76] The present writer has already expressed his conviction that this matter is not one for the specialist to decide alone. He would only, from the Japanese point of view, suggest very particular caution in the application to Japanese legend of a method or interpretation which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results.

A further particular which is deserving of notice is the almost certain fact of a recension of the various traditions at a comparatively late date. This is partly shown by the amount of geographical knowledge displayed in the enumeration of the various islands supposed to have been given birth to by Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male who Invites" and the "Female who Invites"),—an amount and an exactness of knowledge unattainable at a time prior to the union under one rule of all the provinces mentioned, and significantly not extending much beyond those provinces. Such a recension may likewise be inferred,—if the opinion of the manifold origin of the Japanese traditions be accepted,—from the fairly ingenious manner in which their component parts have generally been welded together. The way in which one or two legends,—for instance, that of the curious curse pronounced by the younger brother Ho-wori on the elder Ho-deri —are repeated more than once exemplifies a less intelligent revision.[77] Under this heading may, perhaps, be included the legends of the conquest of Yamato by the Emperor Jim-mu and of the conquest of the same country by the Empress Jin-go, which certainly bear a suspicious likeness to each other. Of the subjection of Korea by this last-named personage it should be observed that the Chinese and Korean histories, so far as they are known to us, make no mention, and indeed the dates, as more specifically given in the "Chronicles," clearly show the inconsistency of the whole story; for Jin-gō's husband, the Emperor Chiū-ai, is said to have been born in the 19th year of the reign of Sei-mu, *i.e.* in A. D. 149, while his father, Prince Yamato-Take, is said to have died in the 43rd year of Kei-kō, *i.e.* in A. D. 113, so that there is an interval of thirty-six years between the death of the father and the birth of the son! [78]

One peculiarly interesting piece of information to be derived from a careful study of the "Records" and "Chronicles" (though it is one on which the patriotic Japanese commentators preserve complete silence) is that, at the very earliest period to which the twilight of legend stretches back, Chinese influence had already begun to make itself felt in these islands, communicating to the inhabitants both implements and ideas. This is surely a fact of very particular importance, lending, as it does, its weight to the mass of evidence which goes to prove that in almost all known cases culture has been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed. The traces of Chinese influence are indeed not numerous, but they are unmistakable. Thus we find chopsticks mentioned both in the Idzumo and in the Kiushiu legendary cycle. The legend of the birth of the Sun-Goddess and Moon-God from Izanagi's eyes is a scarcely altered fragment of the Chinese myth of P'an Ku; the superstition that peaches had assisted Izanagi to repel the hosts of Hades can almost certainly be traced to a Chinese source, and the hand-maidens of the Japanese Sun-Goddess are mentioned under the exact title of the Spinning Damsel of Chinese myth (天衣織女), while the River of Heaven (天河), which figures in the same legend, is equally Chinese,—for surely both names cannot be mere coincidences. A like remark applies to the name of the Deity of the Kitchen, and to the way in which that deity is mentioned.[79] The art of making an intoxicationg liquor is referred to in the very earliest Japanese legends. Are we to believe that its invention here was independent of its invention on the continent? In this instance moreover the old histories bear witness against themselves; for they mention this same liquor in terms showing that it was a curious rarity in what, according to the accepted chronology, corresponds to the century immediately preceding the Christian era, and again in the third century of that era. The whole story of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and "cassia-tree"(桂) mentioned in it is certainly Chinese, as are the crocodiles. That the so-called *maga-tama,* or "curved jewels," which figure so largely in the Japanese mythology, and with which the Early Japanese adorned themselves, were derived from China was already suspected by Mr. Henry von Siebold; and quite latterly Mr. Milne has thrown light on this subject from an altogether unexpected quarter. He has remarked, namely, that jade or the jade-like stone of which many of the *maga-*

tama are made, is a mineral which has never yet been met with in Japan. We therefore know that *some* at least of the "curved jewels" or of the material for them came from the mainland, and the probability that the idea of curving these very oddly shaped ornaments was likewise imported thence gains in probability. The peculiar kind of arrow called *narikabura (*鳴 摘) is another trace of Chinese influence in the material order, and a thorough search by a competent Chinese scholar would perhaps reveal others. But enough at least has been said to show the indisputable existence of that influence. From other sources we know that the more recent mythic fancy of Japan has shown itself as little impenetrable to such influence as have the manners and customs of the people. The only difference is that assimilation has of late proceeded with much greater rapidity.

In this, language is another guide; for, though the discoverable traces of Chinese influence are comparatively few in the Archaic Dialect, yet they are there. This is a subject which has as yet scarcely been touched. Two Japanese authors of an elder generation, Kahibara and Arawi Hakuseki, did indeed point out the existence of some such traces. But they drew no inference from them, they did not set to work to discover new ones, and their indications, except in one or two obvious cases, have received little attention from later writers whether native or foreign. But when we compare such words as *kane, kume, kuni, saka, tana, uma,* and many others with the pronunciation now given, or with that which the phonetic laws of the language in its earlier stage would have caused to be given, to their Chinese equivalents 金. 軍, 君, 尺, 壇, 馬, etc., the idea forces way that such coincidences of sound and sense cannot all be purely accidental; and when moreover we find that the great majority of the words in question denote things or ideas that were almost certainly imported, we perceive that a more thorough sifting of Archaic Japanese (especially of botanical and zoological names and of the names of implements and manufactures) would probably be the best means of discovering at least the negative features of an antiquity remoter than all written documents, remoter even than the crystallization of the legends which those documents have preserved. In dealing with Korean words found in Archaic Japanese we tread on more delicate ground; for there we have a language which, unlike Chinese, stands to Japanese in the closest family relationship, making it plain that many coincidences of sound and

sense should be ascribed to radical affinity rather than to later intercourse. At the same time it appears more probable that, for instance, such seemingly indigenous Japanese terms as *Hotoke,*"Buddha," and *tera, "*Buddhist temple," should have been in fact borrowed from the corresponding Korean words *Puchhö* and *chöl* than that both nations should have independently chosen homonyms to denote the same foreign ideas. Indeed, it will perhaps, not be too bold to assume that in the case of *Hotoke,* "Buddha," we have before us a word whose journeyings consist of many stages, it having been first brought from India to China, then from China to Korea, and thirdly from Korea to Japan, where finally the ingenuity of philologists has discovered for it a Japanese etymology *(hito ke,* "human spirit") with which in reality it has nothing whatever to do.

These introductory remarks have already extended to such a length that a reference to the strikingly parallel case of borrowed customs and ideas which is presented by the Ainos in this same archipelago must be left undeveloped. In conclusion, it need only be remarked that a simple translation of one book, such as is here given, does not nearly exhaust the work which might be expended even on the elucidation of that single book, and much less can it fill the gap which still lies between us and a proper knowledge of Japanese antiquity. To do this, the co-operation of the archaeologist must be obtained, while even in the field of the critical investigation of documents there is an immense deal still to be done. Not only must all the available Japanese sources be made to yield up the information which they contain, but the assistance of Chinese and Korean records must be called in. A large quantity of Chinese literature has already been ransacked for a similar purpose by Matsushita Ken-rin, a translation of part of whose very useful compilation entitled "An Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" (異稱曰本傳) would be one of the greatest helps towards the desired knowledge. In fact there still remains to be done for Japanese antiquity from our standpoint what Hirata has done for it from the standpoint of a Japanese Shintoist. Except in some of Mr. Satow's papers published in these "Transactions," the subject has scarcely yet been studied in this spirit, and it is possible that the Japanese members of our Society may be somewhat alarmed at the idea of their national history being treated with so little reverence. Perhaps,

however, the discovery of the interest of the field of study thus only waiting to be investigated may reconcile them to the view here propounded. In any case if the early history of Japan is not all true, no amount of make-believe can make it so. What we would like to do is to sift the true from the false. As an eminent writer on anthropology[80] has recently said, "Historical criticism, that is, judgment, is "practised not for the purpose of disbelieving, but of believing. "Its object is not to find fault with the author, but to ascertain "how much of what he says may be reasonably taken as true." Moreover, even in what is not to be accepted as historic fact there is often much that is valuable from other points of view. If, therefore, we lose a thousand years of so-called Japanese history, it must not be forgotten that Japanese mythology remains as the oldest existing product of the Altaic mind.

* * *

The following is a list of all the Japanese works quoted in this Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation. For the sake of convenience to the English reader all the titles have been translated excepting some few which, mostly on account of their embodying a recondite allusion, do not admit of translation:—

Catalogue of Family Names, 姓氏錄, by Prince Mata.[81]

Chronicles of Japan (generally quoted as the "Chronicles"), 日本糸已 or 日本書紀, by Prince Toneri and others.

Chronicles of Japan Continued, 續日本紀, by Sugano Ason Mamichi, Fujihara no Ason TSUGUNAHA and others.

Chronicles of Japan Explained, 釋日本紀, by URABE no Yasukata.

Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, 先代舊事記, authorship uncertain.

Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by Tachibana no Moroye (probably).

Collection of Japanese Songs Ancient and Modern, 古今和歌集, by Ki no TSURAYUKI and others.

Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.

Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, 謠曲拾葉集, by Jin-ko.

Commentary on the Ritual or the General Purification, 大葉詞後釋，by Motowori Norinaga.
Correct Account of the Divine Age, 神代正語，by Motowori Norinaga.
Dictionary of Pillow-Words, 冠辭考，by Kamo no MABUCHI.
Digest of the Imperial Genealogies, 纂輯御系圓，by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo and Kurokaha Saneyori.
Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology, 真暦不審考，by Motowori Norinaga.
Examination of Difficult Words, 難語考，by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, 國號考，by Motowori Norinaga.
Explanation of Japanese Names, 日本譯名’ by KAHIBARA Tokushin.
Explanation or the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, 日本紀歌猶解，by Arakida no HISAOI.
Exposition of the Ancient Histories, 古史傳，by Hirata Atsutane.
Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, 異稱日本傳，by Matsushita Ken-rin.
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (usually quoted simply as” Motowori's Commentary”), 古事記傳，by Motowori Norinaga.
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters Criticized (usually quoted as "Moribe's Critique on Motowori's Commentary"), 難古事記傳，by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Gleanings from Ancient Story, 古語拾遺，by Imibe no HIRONARI.
Idzu no Chi-Waki, 稷威道別，by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Idzu no Koto-waki, 稷威言別, by do.
Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of All the Provinces (MS.), 諸國名義考，by Fujihara no Hitomaro.
Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞暦考，by Motowori Norinaga.
Japanese Words Classified and Explained, 和名類聚鈔，by MINAMOTO NO SHITAGAFU
Ko-Shi *Tsu,* 古史通，by Arawi Kumbi Hakuseki.
Kō-Gan Shō (MS.), 厚顔抄，by KEI-CHIYU.
Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (usually quoted as "Tanigaha Shisei's Commentary”), 日本書記通證，by Tanigaha SHISEI.

Records of Ancient Matters (often quoted simply as the "Records"), 古事記, by Futo no YASUMARO.

Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character, 神字古事記, by Fujihara no Masaoki.

Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic Character, 名古事言已, by Sakata no Kaneyasu.

Records of Ancient Matters Revised, 校正古事記, Anonymous.

Records of Ancient Matters With Marginal Notes (usually quoted as "the Edition of 1687"), 寵頭古事記, by Deguchi NOBUYOSHI.

Records of Ancient Matters With the Ancient Reading, 古訓古事記, by Nagase no Masachi (published with Motowori's sanction).

Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings, 標註古事記, by Murakami Tadayoshi.

Ritual of the General Purification, 大賊詞, Authorship Uncertain.

Shintō Discussed Afresh, 神道新論, by Takahashi Gorō.

Sources of the Ancient Histories, 古史徵, by HIRATA Atsutane.

Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, 竹取物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Tama-Katsuma, 玉勝間, by Motowori Norinaga.

Tokiha-Gusa (the full title is *Jin-Dai Sei-Go Tokiha-Gusa),* 常盤草（神代正語常盤草), Hosoda TOMINOBU.

Topography of yamashiro, 山城風土記, Authorship Uncertain.

Tō-Ga (MS.), 東雅, by Arawi Kumbi Hakuseki.

Wa-Kun Shiwori, 和訓菜, by Tanigaha SHISEI.

Yamato Tales, 大和物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Besides these, two or three standard Chinese works are referred to, such as the *"Yi Ching"* or "Book of Changes" (易經), and the *"Shan Hai Ching"* or "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經); but they are very few, and so easily recognized that it were unnecessary to enumerate them. All Japanese words properly so called are transliterated according to Mr. Satow's "Orthographic System," which, while representing the native spelling, does not in their case differ very greatly from the modern pronunciation. In the case of Sinico-Japanese words, where the divergence between the" Orthographic" spelling and the pronunciation is often considerable, a phonetic spelling has been preferred.

With but two or three exceptions, which have been specially noted, Sinico-Japanese words are found only in proper names mentioned in the Preface and in the translator's Introduction, Foot-notes, and Sectional Headings. The few Chinese words that occur in the Introduction and Notes are transliterated according to the method introduced by Sir Thomas Wade, and now so widely used by students of Chinese.

Footnotes

1 Should the claim of Accadian to be considered an Altaic language be substantiated, then Archaic Japanese will have to be content with the second place in the Altaic family. Taking the word Altaic in its usual acceptation, viz., as the generic name of all the languages belonging to the Mantchu, Mongolian, Turkish and Finnish groups, not only the Archaic, but the Classical, literature of Japan carries us back several centuries beyond the earliest extant documents of any other Altaic tongue.—For a discussion of the age of the most ancient Tamil documents see the Introduction to Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages." p. 91 *et seq.*

* The 古道大意 (Kodō Taii) by one of Hirata's pupils calls Are a woman. Vol. I, p. 28.—(W.G.A.)

2 published in Vol. VIII, Part I of these “Transactions,"

3 I.e., the Emperor Tem-mu.

4 I.e., "Records of Ancient Matters." The alternative reading, which is probably but an invention of Motowori's, gives the same meaning in pure Japanese (instead of Sinico-Japanese) sounds.

5 Unfortunately the portion already printed does not carry the history down even to the close of the "Divine Age." The work is as colossal in extent as it is minute in research, forty-one volumes (including the eleven forming the "Sources") having already appeared. The *"Idzu no Chi- Waki" and” Idzu no Koto- Waki” are still similarly incomplete.*

6 The translator adopts the term “ideographic" because it is that commonly used and understood, and because this is not the place to demonstrate its inappropriateness. Strictly speaking, “logographic" would be preferable to ideographic,”the difference between Chinese characters and alphabetic writing

being that the former represent in their entirety the Chinese words for things and ideas, whereas the latter dissects into their component sounds the words of the languages which it is employed to write.

7 "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," Second Edition, Appendix II., p. VI.

8 For a special account of the Pillow-Words, etc., see a paper by the present writer in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 *et seq*. of these "Transactions," and for a briefer notice, his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," pp. 5 and 6.

9 The practice of bestowing a canonical name (*okurina*) on an emperor after his decease dates from the latter part of the eighth century of our era when, at the command of the emperor Kuwam-mu, a scholar named Mifune-no-Mahito selected suitable "canonical names" for all the previous sovereigns, from Jim-mu down to Kuwam-mu's immediate predecessor. From that time forward every emperor has received his" canonical name" soon after death, and it is generally by it alone that he is known to history.

10 See Sect. IV. of this Introduction and Sect. XIV. Note 5 of the Translation.

* c.f. Nihongi, VII, p. 6.—W.G.A. (page 191 Aston's translation in Transactions of the Japan Society, London).

11 *Conf.* Section LVI. Note 7.

12 See the legend in Sect. XXIII.

13 易經.

14 禮記.

15 See Sects. XXI. XXVII and XXIII.

16 Rendered in the English translation by "the Male-Who-Invites."

17 *Yomo tsu Hira-Saka.*

18 書經.

19 Details as to the adoption by the Japanese of the Chinese system of computing time will be found in the late Mr. Bramsen's Japanese Chronological Tables," where that lamented scholar brands the whole system of fictitious dates applied in the first histories of Japan," as" one of the greatest literary frauds ever perpetrated, from which we may infer how little trust can be placed in the early Japanese historical works." See also Motowori's "Inquiry into the True

Chronology," pp. 33-36, and his second work on the same subject entitled "Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology," p.p. 46 *et seq*.

20 "Confucian Analects," Book VII. Chap. I. Dr. Legge's translation.

21 It may perhaps be worth while to quote this legend in full. It is as follows:

"One account says that the Heaven-Shining Great Deity, being in "Heaven, said: 'I hear that in the Central Land of Reed-Plains *(i.e*. "Japan) there is a Food-Possessing Deity. Do thou, Thine August-"ness Moon-Night-Possessor, go and see.' His Augustness the Moon-"Night-Possessor, having received these orders, descended [to eartn], "and arrived at the place where the Food-Possessing Deity was. The "Food-Possessing Deity forthwith, on turning her head towards the "land, produced rice from her mouth; again, on turning to the sea, "she also produced from her mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin; again, on turning to the mountains, she also produced "from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. "Having collected together all these things, she offered them [to the "Moon-God] as a feast on a hundred tables. At this time His "Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor, being angry and colouring "up, said: 'How filthy! how vulgar! What! shalt thou dare to feed "me with things spat out from thy mouth?, [and with these woras,] "he drew his sabre and slew her. Afterwards he made his report [to "the Sun-Goddess]. When he told her all the particulars, the Heaven-" Shining Great Deity was very angry, and said: 'Thou art a wicked "Deity, whom it is not right for me to see —and forthwith she and "His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor dwelt separately day and "night." The partly parallel legend given in these" Records forms the subject of Sect. XVII of the Translation.

22 Compare Mr. Satow's remarks on this subject in Vol. Ill, Pt. I, pp. 21-23 of these "Transactions."

* Wrist pads? —W.G.A.

† The quern? —W.G.A.

‡ The two-forked boat was a mere caprice.—W.G.A.

23 A curious scrap of the history of Japanese civilization is preserved in the word *kaji,* whose exclusive acceptation in the modern tongue is "rudder." In

archaic Japanese it meant "oar," a signification which is now expressed by the term *ro*, which has been borrowed from the the Chinese. It is a matter of debate whether the ancient Japanese boats possessed such an appliance as a *rudder*, and the word *tagishi* or *taishi* Has been credited with that meaning. The more likely opinion seems to be that both the thing and the word were specialized in later times, the early Japanese boatmen having made any oar do duty for a rudder when circumstances necessitated the use of one.

24 See the end of Sect. XXXII.

25 See Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 191-192, of these "Transactions"

26 "*Yamato Mono-gatari.*"

27 For a translation of this story see the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese", pp 42-44.

28 See sect. XLIV, Note 12 and Sect. LXXII, Note 29.

29 Mr. Ernest Satow, who in 1878 visited the island of Hachijo, gives the following details concerning the observance down to modern times in that remote corner of the Japanese Empire of the custom mentioned in the text: "In Hachijo women, when about to become mothers, were formerly driven out to the huts on the mountain-side, "and according to the accounts of native writers, left to shift for themselves, the result not unfrequently being the death of the new-" born infant, or if it survived the rude circumstances under which it first saw the light, the seeds of disease were sown which clung to "it throughout its after life. The rule of non-intercourse was so strictly enforced, that the woman was not allowed to leave the hut even to visit her own parents at the point of death, and besides the" injurious effects that this solitary confinement must have had on the wives themselves, their prolonged absence was a serious loss to households, where there were elder children and large establishments to be superintended. The rigour of the custom was so far relaxed in modern times, that the huts were no longer built on the hills, but were constructed inside the homestead. It was a subject of" wonder to people from other parts of Japan that the senseless practice should still be kept up, and its abolition was often recommended, but the administration of the Shóguns was not animated "by a reforming spirit, and it remained for the government of the Mikado to exhort the islanders to abandon this and the previously "mentioned custom. They are therefore no longer

sanctioned by "official authority and the force of social opinion against them is "increasing, so that before long these relics of ancient ceremonial "religion will in all probability have disappeared from the group of "islands." (Trans. of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan, Vol. VI, Pt. Ill, pp. 455-6.)

30 See Sect. LXX, Note 6. The Japanese term is *ina-ki, ki* being an Archaic term for "castle."

31 See Sect. XVI. Mention of cave-dwellers will also be found in Sects. XLVIII, and LXXX.

* Pits?—W G.A.

32 See the latter part of Sect. XVII.

33 See Sect. XVIII, Note 16.

34 山海經.

35 See, however, the legend in Sect. LXV.

36 See beginning of Sect. XXVII.

* Stems?—W.G.A.

37 For details on this subject and illustrations, see Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," p. 15 and Table XI, and a paper by Professor Milne on the "Stone Age in Japan," read before the Anthropological Society of Great Britain on the 25th May» 1880, pp. 10 and 11.

38 The tradition preserved in Sect. CXXIV, shows that in times almost, if not quite, historical (the 4th century of our era) the silkworm was a curious novelty, apparently imported from Korea. It is not only possible, but probable, that silken fabrics were occasionally imported into Japan from the mainland at an earlier period, which would account for the mention of "silk rugs" in Sects XL and LXXXIV.

39 The (necessarily somewhat arbitrary) line between earlier and later times has been drawn at the epoch of the traditional conquest of Korea by the Empress Jin-go at the commencement of the third céntury of our era, it being then, according to the received opinions, that the Japanese first came in contact with their continental neighbours, and began to borrow from them. (See however the concluding Section of this Introduction for a demonstration of thé untrustworthiness of all the so-called history of Japan down to the commencement of the fifth century of the Christian era.)

40 See Sect. XXIV, Note 4.

41 Mr. Satow, in his translation of a passage of the "Records of Ancient Matters" forming part of a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II of these "Transactions", renders *wani* by" shark." There is perhaps some want of clearness in the old historical books in the details concerning the creature in question, and its *fin* is mentioned in the "Chronicles." But the accounts point rather to an amphibious creature, conceived of as being somewhat similar to the serpent, than to a fish, and the Chinese descriptions quoted by the Japanese commentators unmistakably refer to the crocodile. The translator therefore sees no sufficient reason for abandoning the usually accepted interpretation of *wani* (If) as" crocodile". It should be noticed that the *wani* is never introduced into any but patently fabulous stories, and that thè example of other nations, and indeed of Japan itself, shows that myth-makers have no objection to embellish their tales by the mention of wonders supposed to exist in foreign lands.

* May not the *wani* have been a cetacean; perhaps the porpoise? I have translated *wani* by "Sea-monster" W.G.A.

42 Sect. CXXVIII preserves a very early ornithological observation in the shape of the Songs composed by the Emperor Nin-toku and his Minister Take-Uchi on the subject of a wild-goose laying eggs in Central Japan. These Dirds are not known to breed even so far south as the island of Yezo.

43 See the legend in Sect. LXXIV.

44 Mr. Satow suggests that *awo* ("blue" or "green") means properly any colour derived from the *awi* plant (*Polygonum tinectorium*).

45 Only the foot-notes of the original are omitted, as not being essential.

46 See the story of Prince Karu, which is probably historical, in Sects. CXLI *et seq*.

47 The custom of using surnames was certainly borrowed from China, although the Japanese have not, like the Koreans, gone so far as to adopt the actual surnames in use in that country. The "gentile names" may have sprung up more naturally, though they too show traces of Chinese influence. Those most frequently met with are *Agata-nushi*, Ason, Atahe, Kimi, Miyatsuko, Murazhi, Omi, S'ukune, and *Wake.* See above, pp. xvii-xviii.

48 See Sect. XXV, (the second Song in that Section).

49 See Sect. LXXI, Note 12.

50 See Sect. XLII.

51 Representations of these clay images (*tsuchi-nin-(jiyō*) will be found in Table XII of Mr. Henry von Siebold's “Notes on Japanese Archaeology,” and in Mr. Satow's paper on "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke" published in Vol. VII, Pt. Ill, pp. 313 *et scq*. of these "Transactions."

* The Chinese notices of Japan speak of their tattooing themselves thus indicating distinctions of rank —W.G.A.

52 See Sect. LXXXVII.

53 See Sect. XCVII.

54 A translation,—especially a literal prose translation,—is not calculated to show off to best advantage the poetry of an alien race. But even subject to this drawback, the present writer would be surprised if it were not granted that poetic fire and grace are displayed in some of the Love-Songs (for instance the third Song in Sect. XXIV and both Songs in Sect. XXV), and a quaint pathos in certain others (for instance in Yamato-Take's address to his "elder brother the pine-tree," and in his Death-Songs contained in Sect. LXXXIX).

55 論語 and 千字文.

56 Viz. of the Chinese 文 and 筆 (in the modern Mandarin pronunciation *wen* and *pi*). Mr. Aston would seem to derive both the Japanese term *fude* and the Korean put independently from the Chinese 筆. The present writer thinks it more likely that the Japanese *fude* was borrowed mediately through the Korean *put*. In any case, as it regularly corresponds with the latter according to the laws of letter-change subsisting between the two languages, it will be observed that the Japanese term would still have to be considered borrowed, even if the derivation of *put* from 筆 had to be abandoned; for we can hardly suppose Korean and Japanese to have independently selected the same root to denote such a thing as a "pen." As to the correctness of the derivation of *fumi* from 文 there can be little doubt, and it had long ago struck even the Japanese themselves, who are not prompt to acknowledge such loans. They usually derive *fude* from *fumi-te*, "document hand,” and thus again we are brought back to the Chinese 文 as the origin of the Japanese word for 4i pen."

57 The Chinese characters used to write this word are,神道, which signify the "Way of the Gods." The term was adopted in order to distinguish the old native beliefs from Buddhism and Confucianism.

58 *Couf*. p. xix, last paragraph for the modified sense in which alone the word "deification" can be used in speaking of the Early Japanese worship.

59 In Sect. XXVII, where this deity is first mentioned, he is called *Sukuna-Biko-Xa-no-Kami*, the "Little Prince the Renowned Deity."

60 See Appendix II.

61 新羅.

62 As a specimen of the flexibility of his sytem, the reader to whom the Japanese language and Japanese legend are familiar is recommended to peruse pp. 13-24 of Vol. I of Arawi Hakuseki's "*Ko Shi Tsū* "(占史通), where an elaborate rationalistic interpretation is applied to the story of the amours of Izanagi and Izanami. It is amusing in its very gravity, and one finds it difficult to believe that the writer can have been in earnest when he penned it.

63 Mr. Takahashi Goro's book here alluded to is his "Shinto Discussed Afresh."

64 *I.e*. the Emperor Jim-mu, —*ten-nō,* written 天皇' being simply the sinico-Japanese word for "emperor."

65 15th day of 11th moon of 5th year of Meiji.

66 For the use of this word to represent the Japanese *Yomo* or *Yomi,* see Sect. IX, Note I

67 *Podocarpus macrophylla.*

68 The least meagre account will be found in Sects. XVI. and XXXII.

69 To be found at the end of Sect. XXXII.

* The Imbe? — W.G.A.

70 In the Jim-mu legend we have the more usual form of the superstition, that, viz., which makes it unlucky to go from West to East, which is the contrary of the course pursued by the sun In Sect. CLIII, on the other hand, the Emperor Yū-riaku is found fault with for acting in precisely the reverse manner, viz., for going from East to West, *i.e.* with his back to the sun. The idea is the same, though its practical application may thus diametrically differ, the fundamental

objection being to going *against* the sun, in whatever manner the word *against,* or some kindred expression, may be interpreted.

71 See Sects. XXXIX to XLI. For the "Herb-Quelling Sabre" see Sects. XVIII and LXXXII, *et seq*.

72 General Le Gendre, quoted by Sir Edward Reed.

73 山海經.

* trustworthy — W.G.A.

74 I.e. the High August Producing Wondrous Deity. He is the second divine personage whose birth is mentioned in the "Records" (see Sect. I Note 5). In the story of the creation given in the "Chronicles" he does not appear except in "One account."

75 Sect. XXXVII is a good instance of the third of these categories. For an elaborate myth founded on the name of a place see Sect. LXV. Lesser instances occur in Sects. XLIV, LXV, and LXXIII.

76 See Sects. LXXIX-XCI

77 See this legend as first given in Scets. XL and XLI. and afterwards in quite another context in Sect. CXVI. The way in which "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan" tells the story of the ravages committed on the fields of the Sun-Goddess by her brother, the "Impetuous Male Deity," might perhaps justify the opinion that that likewise is but the same tale in another form. The legend is evidently a very important one.

78 The translator's attention was drawn to the inconsistency of these dates by Mr. Ernest Satow.

79 See Sect. XXIX, Note 16.

80 Dr. Tylor in his "Anthopology," Chap. XV.

81 The names in small capitals are those by which the authors (or compilers) are best known, and are mostly either their surname or personal name. Japanese usage is however very fluctuating, and sanctions moreover the use of a variety of *noms de plume.* Thus Motowori is not only often mentioned by his personal name Norinaga, but also by the designation of *Suzunoya no Ushi,* Mabuchi by the designation of *Agatawi no Ushi,* etc.

THE

"KO-JI-KI,"

OR

"RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS."

THE KO-JI-KI
OR
"RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS."
VOL. I.[1]

PREFACE.[2]

I[3] Yasumaro[4] say:[5]

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape?[6] Nevertheless † Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the Passive and Active Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things.[7] Therefore[8] did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions of his person?[9] So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we, by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men.[10] Truly do we know that a mirror was hung up, that jewels were spat out, and that then an Hundred Rings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish,[11] By deliberations in the

Tranquil River the Empire was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was purified.[12] Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi[13] first descended to the Peak of Takachi,[14] and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato[15] did traverse the Island of the Dragon-Fly.[16] A weird* bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura.[17] They with tails obstructed the path, and a great crow guided him to Yeshinu.[18] Dancing in rows they destroyed* the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen.[19] Being instructed in a dream, he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was therefore styled the Wise Monarch;[20] † having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people, and is therefore remembered as the the Emperor-Sage.[21] Determining the frontiers and civilizing the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi;[22] reforming the surnames and selecting the gentile names, he held sway at the Further Asuka.[23] Though each differed in caution and in ardour, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution.[24]

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka,[25] the Hidden Dragon put on perfection, the Reiterated* Thunder came at the appointed moment. Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless Heaven's time was not yet, and he escaped like the cicada to the Southern Mountains; both men and matters were favourable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the Imperial arms his right to the succession. The phrases "put on perfection" and “came at the appointed moment" are attempts at representing the original 體元, and 應期. The meaning is that the Emperor Tem-mu was the man for the age, and that he took his proper and exalted place in it. In the following sentences we have a flowery *resumé* of

the story of the successful war by which he obtained the crown. The reference to the "song in a dream" is indeed obscure; but the "water at night" is the River Yoko, which we read of in the “Chronicles” as having been crossed by him. The characters somewhat freely rendered by the English words "succession” and “inheritance” are 業 and 基, which approximate to that sense in this context. The "Southern Mountains" are the Mountains of Yoshino, whither he escaped for a season as a cicada escapes from its cast-off shell; the “Eastern land" denotes the eastern provinces of Japan where he organized his army. The "Six Divisions” and the “Three Hosts” are Chinese designations of the Imperial troops, while thè "ill-omened crew" of course refers to Tem-mu's enemies,—Prince Ohotomo and his followers. In the ensuing sentence we see peace restored: Tem-mu has returned to the capital (for which the words "Flowery Summer" are a Chinese periphrasis), he has taken in his hands the insignia of office, and reigns supreme over the Six Cardinal Points (North, South, East, West, Above, and Below) and over the “Eight Wildernesses" the barbarous regions on all sides). The writer concludes this division of his Preface by a glowing panegyric of the Monarch, who was, he says, superior to Hsuan Hou (軒后 Jap. Ken-Ko), and Chou Wang (周王 Jap. Shiū -O), famous Chinese sovereigns of the legendary period. So intelligent were his efforts, so perfect was his conformity with the ways of Heaven as displayed in the workings of the Active and Passive Essences, that the Five Elements (Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, and Earth) all interacted with due regularity, and laudable usages alone prevailed throughout the land. Up to this point the preface may be said to be purély ornamental. Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day* had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as

with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon.[26] At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to the Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped Ken-Kō, in virtue he surpassed Shiū-Ō. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences,[27] and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason wherewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its† fervour, clearly observed former ages.

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: “I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate" from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. "If at the present time these imperfections be not amended," ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the "great basis[28] of the country, the grand foundation of the" monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the "chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old" words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and "truth determined" in order to transmit [the latter] to after "ages."[29] At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears.[30] Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless time elapsed and the age changed,* and the thing was not yet carried out.[31]

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire,—being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people.[32] Ruling from the Purple Palace, Her virtue reaches to the utmost

limits of the horses' hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations.* In fame She must be pronounced superior to Bum-Mei, in virtue more eminent than Ten-Itsu.[33] Hereupon,[34] regretting the errors in the old words, and wishing to correct the misstatements in the former chronicles, She, on the eighteenth day of the ninth moon of the fourth year of Wa-dō,[35] commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words learnt by heart by Hiyeda no Are according to the Imperial Decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her.[36]

In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters.[37] To relate everything in ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy.[38] For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy?[39] Again, in such cases as calling the surname 日下 *Kusaka,* and the personal name written with the character 帶 *Tarashi,* I have followed usage without alteration.[40] Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Woharida.[41] So from the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-

Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Oho-Sazaki down to the great palace of Woharida makes the Third Volume.[42] Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present.[43] I Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble* Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wa-do.[44]

Footnotes

1 Literally "Upper Volume," there being three in all, and it being the common Japanese practice (borrowed from the Chinese) to use the words Upper, Middle, and Lower to denote the First, Second and Third Volumes of a work respectively.

2 The peculiar nature of this Preface, which is but a *tour de force* meant to show that the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so, has been already hinted at in the Introduction. It is indeed a laboured little composition, and, but for the facts stated in its latter portion, has no value except perhaps as a specimen of the manner in which the legends of one country may be made to change aspect by being presented through the medium of the philosophical terminology and set phrases of another. It may be divided into five parts. In the first the writer, in a succession of brief allusions antithetically balanced, summarizes the most striking of the legends that are detailed in the pages of his "Records," and in a few words paints the exploits of some of the early emperors. In the second the troubles that ushered in the reign of the Emperor Tem-mu and his triumph over Prince Ohotomo are related at greater length in high-flown allusive phrases borrowed from the Chinese historians. The third division gives us the Emperor Tem-mu's decree ordering the compilation of the "Records," and the fourth tells how the execution of that decrèe was delayed till the reign of

the Empress Gem-miyō (A.D. 708-715), on whom likewise a panegyric is pronounced. In the fifth and last the compiler enters into some details concerning the style and method which he has adopted.

3 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 臣, "vassal," used in China by a subject when addressing his sovereign in writing.

* This number and that in the corner of every succeeding page of the Translation is the number of the Volume of Motowori's Commentary treating of of the Section in question.

† Shikō shite (然して) = The next stage was that.—W.G.A.

4 This is the compiler's personal name. His full name and titles, as given at the end of this preface, were 正五位上動五等太朝臣安萬侶, *i.e.,* the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit. The family of Futo claimed to descend from His Augustness Kamu-yawi-mimi, second son of the Emperor Jim-mu. Yasumaro's death is recorded in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued," under date of 30th August, A.D. 723.

5 *I.e.,* I report as follows to Her Majesty the Empress.

6 *I.e.,* in the primeval void which preceded all phenomena there was neither form nor movement, and it was therefore unnamed and unknowable.

7 This sentence summarizes the first eight Sections of the text of the "Records." The "three Deities" are the Deity Master-of-the-August - Centre - of - Heaven, the High - August - Producing - Wondrous-Deity, and the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (see Sect. I. Notes 4, 5, and 6). The two Spirits representing the "Passive and Active Elements" are the creatrix and creator Izanami and Izanagi (the "Fe-male-Who-Invites" and the "Male-Who-Invites,"—see Sect. II, Note 8), the procreation by whom of the islands of the Japanese archipelago and of a large number of gods and goddesses forms the subject of Sections III.-VII.

8 The word "therefore" is not appropriate in this place, and Moto-woii accordingly warns the reader to lay no stress upon it.

9 This sentence alludes to Izanagi's visit to Hades, and to the purification of his person on his return to the Upper World (see Sects. IX. and X). It also refers to the birth of the Sun-Goddess and of the Moon-God from his left and from his right eye respectively, and to that of a large number of lesser gods and goddesses, who were produced from every article of his wearing apparel and from every part of his person on the occasion of his performing those ablutions (see Sect. X).

10 The "original teaching" here mentioned means the original traditions of Japanese antiquity. The "former sages,"—a term which in China fitly designates such philosophers as Confucius and Mencius, but which it is difficult to invest with any particular sense here in Japan where no sages have ever arisen,—may be best taken to mean those unknown persons who transmitted the legends of the gods and early emperors. The “establishment of men" probably alludes to the investiture of the sovereignty of Japan in the human descendants of the Sun-Goddess. The expression is however obscure, and Motowori himself has nothing satisfactory to tell us about it.

11 The mirror here mentioned is that by means of which the Sun-Goddess was allured out of the cave (see Sect. XVI); the jewels are those which Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") begged of his sister the Sun-Goddess, and crunched into fragments (see Sect. XIII); the blade that was bitten to pieces by the Sun-Goddess figures in the same legend; the serpent is that slain by Susa-no-Wo after his banishment from Heaven (see Sect. XVIII); the "Myriad Deities" are supposed by Motowori to be this same god's numerous descendants (see Sect. XX), who ruled in Idzumo. There remains the phrase "an Hundred Kings," which is lacking in clearness. The only rational interpretation of it is as designating the Japanese imperial line, and yet the reference seems to have no special appropriateness in this context.

* 化— W.G.A.

12 For the Tranquil River of Heaven, in whose stony bed the gods were wont to meet in council, see Sect. XIII, Note 12. The divine deliberations here referred to are those which resulted in the investiture of the

sovereignty of Japan in the grandson of the Sun-Goddess (see Sects. XXX-XXXIII). The" discussions on the Little Shore" allude to the parleys on the beach of Inasa in Idzumo which preceded the abdication of the Deity who had held sway over that part of country prior to the descent of the Sun-Goddess' grandson (see Sect. XXXII).

13 The abbreviated form of the name of the Sun-Goddess' grandson (see Sect. XXXIII' Notes 5 and 10).

14 *I.e.*, Mount Takachiho (see Sect. XXXIV, Note 5). The final syllable is here apocopated, in order to preserve the rhythmical balance of the sentence by using only three Chinese characters to write this name, the "Island of the Dragon-Fly" being likewise written with three characters.

15 *I.e.*, the first "human emperor" Jim-mu, whose full native Japanese name is Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko. For the account of his reign see Sects. XLIV-LII.

16 *I.e.*, Japan, For the. traditional origin of this poetical synonym of Japan see Sect. V, Note 26 and also the legend in Sect. CLVI. The word "traverse" in this sentence alludes to the Emperor Jim-mu's victorious progress from Western Japan to Yamato in the centre of the country, which he is said to have subdued, and where it is related that he established his capital (see Sects. XLIV-L).

17 For the mention of the bear, whose appearance caused the Emperor Jim-mu and his army to faint away, see commencement of Sect. XLV. Motowori thinks that the character 刀, "claws," is a copyist's error for 山, "mountain" or 穴, "hole," (*Conf.* Sect. XLV, Note 2). For the curious legend of the sabre see the same Section, and for the name of Takakura see more especially Note 3 to that Section.

* Expel?—W.G.A.

† Jingo? Motoori—W.G.A.

18 For the gods with tails who met and conversed with the Emperor Jim-mu in Yamato, see the latter part of Sect. XLVI, a perusal of of which will however show that the phrase "obstructed the path" which is here used of them, is not exactly applicable. The miraculous crow, which was sent

down from Heaven to assist Jim-mu in his conquests, is mentioned at the commencement of the same Section and again at the commencement of Sect. XLVII. For Yeshinu (modern Yoshino) see Sect. XLVI, note 3.

19 The word "dancing" in this sentence must not be too closely pressed, as it is used simply to balance the word "song" in the parallel clause, — which clause itself does but echo the sense of that which precedes it. The reference is to the song which Jim-mu sang as a signal to his followers to destroy the "earth-spiders" (see Sect. XLVIII), and perhaps also to the songs in Sect. XLIX.

20 "The Emperor Sū-jin" must be mentally supplied as the logical subject of this clause. For the story of his dream see Sect. LXIV, and for the origin of the laudatory designation here mentioned see the end of Sect. LXVII, which is however obscure.

21 "The Emperor Nin-toku" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. The allusion to the smoke and the laudatory designation here mentioned will be understood by reference to Sect, CXXI. The "black-haired people" is a common Chinese phrase for the peasantry or the people in general.

22 "The Emperor Sei-mu" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. His labours are briefly recapitulated in Sect. XCIV. For the province called Nearer Afumi (*Chika-tsu-Afamiy*) see Sect. XXIX Note 20. Its name is here rhythmically balanced against "Further Asuka" in the following clause.

* Reverberating—W.G.A.

23 "The Emperor Ingiyō" must be supplied as the logical subject of this sentence. This Sovereign's rectification of the names forms the subject of Sect. CXXXIX. For Further Asuka (*Toho-tsu-Asuka*) see Sect. CXXXIII, Notes 13 and 11.

24 *I.e.*, though unlike in character, some of the ancient emperors excelling in caution and others in ardour, some being remarkable for their attainments and others for their native worth, yet was there not one without a claim to greatness, not one who did not regard antiquity as the standard by

which modern times should be judged, and repair the deviations from antique perfection that successively arose during the lapse of ages. —How marvellously inapplicable is this rodomontade to the early monarchs of Japan the student of Japanese history need scarcely be told, and Motowori himself allows that "it is not completely appropriate." Here the first part of the Preface terminates.

25 Viz., the Emperor Tem-mu, whose struggle for the crown in the latter part of the seventh century of our era against the contending claims of Prince Ohotomo is related at gréat length in the pages of the "Chronicles," though naturally beyond the scope of these "Records," which close in A.D. 628. The "Eight Great Islands" is one of the synonyms of Japan (see Sect. V. Note 27). The reason for the specially laudatory mention in this place of the Emperor Tem-mu is the fact that it was with him that the idea of compiling these Records originated, as is indeed stated a little further on. He is here alluded to by the expressions Hidden Dragon and Reiterated Thunder, metaphorical names borrowed from the "*Yi Ching*" and denoting the heir apparent, Tem-mu not having ascended the throne till some time after his predecessor's death, as Prince Ohotomo disputed by force of arms his right to the succession. "The phrases "put on perfection" and "came at the appointed moment" are attempts at representing the original 體元, and 應期. The meaning is that the Emperor Tem-mu was the man for the age, and that he took his proper and exalted place in it. In the following sentences we have a flowery *résumé* of the story of the successful war by which he obtained the crown. The reference to the "song in a dream" is indeed obscure; but the "water at night" is the River Yoko, which we read of in the "Chronicles" as having been crossed by him. The characters somewhat freely rendered by the English words "succession" and "inheritance" are 業 and 基, which approximate to that sense in this context. The "Southern Mountains" are the Mountains of Yoshino, whither he escaped for a season as a cicada escapes from its cast-off shell; the "Eastern land" denotes the eastern provinces of Japan where he organized his army. The "Six Divisions" and the "Three Hosts" are Chinese designations of the Imperial

troops, while thé a ill-omened crew" of course refers to Tem-mu's enemies, —Prince Ohotomo and his followers. In the ensuing sentence we see peace restored: Tem-mu has returned to the capital (for which the words "Flowery Summer" are a Chinese periphrasis), he has taken in his hands the insignia of office, and reigns supreme over the Six Cardinal Points (North, South, East, West, Above, and Below) and over the "Eight Wildernesses" (*i.e.*, the barbarous regions on all sides). The writer concludes this division of his Preface by a glowing panegyric of the Monarch, who was, he says, superior to Hsüan Hou (軒后 Jap. Ken-Kō), and Chou Wang (周王 Jap. Shiū-O), famous Chinese sovereigns of the legendary period. So intelligent were his efforts, so perfect was his conformity with the ways of Heaven as displayed in the workings of the Active and Passive Essences, that the Five Elements (Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, and Earth) all interacted with due regularity, and laudable usages alone prevailed throughout the land. Up to this point the preface may be said to be purély ornamental.

* Why not adopt Motoori's explanation 12 days.W.G.A.

† Glowing and luminous.—W.G.A.

26 *I.e.*, March (20th as the “Chronicles" tell us), A.D. 673. The original, to denote the year and the month mentioned, uses the periphrases 歲次大梁 and 月踵夾鍾, but doubtless without any reference to the original proper meaning of those terms.

27 The text literally reads thus: "He rode in the exactness of the Two Essences." But the author's intention is to tell us that Tem-mu acted according to the golden mean, keeping the balance even, and not inclining unduly either to the Active or the Passive side.

* *I.e.*, there was a new reign. —W.G.A.

28 Literally "warp and woof,” *i.e.*, canon, standard, mainspring, first necessity.

29 This is the imperial decree ordering the compilation of the "Records of Ancient Matters." The expressions "original words" (本辭) and "old words" (舊辭) are curious, and Motowori is probably right in arguing from the emphatic manner in which they are repeated that the Emperor Tem-mu

attached special importance to the actual archaic phraseology in which some at least of the early documents or traditions had been handed down.

30 *I.e.*, he could repeat the contents of any document that he had once seen and remember all that he had ever heard.

31 *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu died before the plan of the compilation of these "Records" had been carried into éxecution, viz., it may be presumed, before a selection from the various original documents committed to memory by Are had been reduced to writing.

32 得−光宅通三亭育, For the phrase "obtaining Unity," which is borrowed from Lao Tzu, the student should consult Stanislas Julien's “Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu,” pp. 144-149. The "Triad” is the threefold intelligence of Heaven, Earth, and Man. The general meaning of the sentence is that the Empress' perfect virtue, which is in complete accord with the heavenly ordinances, is spread abroad throughout the empire, and that with her all-penetrating insight she nourishes and sustains her people.

* Does not 重譯 mean simply "interpreters" cf. Nihongi IX. 33 (Page 252 Aston's Translation) extract from Tsin book. Also Parker translates so in early Japanese History.—W.G.A.

33 In the above four sentences the compiler expresses his respectful admiration of the Empress Gem-miyō, who was on the throne at the time when he wrote, and tells us how wide was her rule and how prosperous her reign. The "Purple Palace" is one of the ornamental names borrowed from the Chinese to denote the imperial residence. The "Sombre Retinue"* (if such indeed is the correct rendering of the original expression is a phrase on which no authority consulted by thè translator throws any light. The "utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks" and the "furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows" are favourite phrases in the old literature of Japan to express extreme distance (see, for instance, Mr. Satow's translation of the Ritual of the Praying for Harvest," Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 111 of these "Transactions," and the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 111). Such unusual phenomena as connected stalks, *i.e.,* trunks springing from the same root and uniting again higher up, and "joint rice-ears," *i.e.,*

two rice-ears growing on a single stem, are considered lucky oméns by the Chinese, and their appearance is duly chronicled in those Japanese histories that are composed after the Chinese model. The” continuous beacon-fires"† and the "repeated interpretations" are phrases alluding to the foreign lands *(i.e.*, the various smallKorean states) speaking strange languages, whence tribute was sent to Japan. The text, as it stands, gives the impression that the arrival of the tribute - ships was announced by beacon - fires being lighted. Motowori however wishes us to understand the author's meaning to be that foreign states which, in the natural course of events, would be inimical, and the approach of whose ships would be signalized by the lighting of beacon-fires, now peacefully sent gifts to the Japanese monarch. It may by added that the whole sentence is borrowed scarcely without alteration from the *"Wen Hsüan"* (文選). Bum-mei is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 文命, the original name of Yü (禹)’ a celebrated legendary emperor of China. Ten-Itsu is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 天乙, the original name of the ancient emperor T'ang (湯), who is said to have founded the Shang dynasty in the eighteenth century B.C.

* Vide Legge’s Annals of the Bamboo Books. "The characters for Sombre Retinue" are the name of a place where the Emperor Hwangti had his throne, above Loy Ang.—W.G.A.

† *Cf.* passage quoted by Motoori, but vide Williams Chinese Dictionary p. 1094. The phrase is borrowed from China where it is more applicable than in Japan. In Korea nightly signals are made to the capital from the provinces, by beacon fires, to signify that all is well, perhaps some such practice is alluded to. My Chinese beacon customs.—W.G.A.

34 This word is here used as an initial particle without special significance.

35 *I.e.*, 3rd November, A.D. 711. Wa-do (和鋼) is the name of a Japanese “year-period" which lasted from A.D. 708 to 714.

36 *I.e.*, present them to hér. With this sentence ends the fourth division of the preface.

37 *I.e.*, the simplicity of speech and thought in Early Japan renders it too hard a task to rearrange the old documents committed to memory by Are in such a manner as to make them conform to the rules of Chinese style.

38 *I.e.*, if I adopted in its entirety the Chinese ideographic method of writing, I should often fail of giving a true impression of the original documents *(conf.* the preceding Note). If, on the other hand, I consistently used the Chinese characters, syllable by syllable, as phonetic symbols for Japanese sounds, this work would attain to inordinate proportions, on account of the great length of the polysyllabic Japanese as compared with the monosyllabic Chinese. The author's meaning may be illustrated by referring to the first clause of the "Records," 天地初發之時 ("when Heaven and Earth began"), which is thus written ideographically with six Chinese characters, whereas it would require no less than eleven to write it phonetically so as to represent the sound of the Japanese words *ame tsuchi no hazhime no toki,* viz., 阿米都知能波士賣能登伎. It should be noticed that in this passage the author employs the technical expressions *on* and *kun* (音 and 訓) in a manner which is the precise reverse of that sanctioned by modern usage, *on* being with him the phonetic, and *kun* the ideographic, acceptation of the Chinese characters.

39 It will be seen by perusing the following translation that the author can scarcely be said to have vouchsafed as much exegetical matter as this statement would lead us to expect. Indeed his "comments" are mostly confined to information concerning the pronunciation of certain characters. See however Motowori's remarks on this sentencé in Vol. II pp. 19-20 of his Commentary.

* Motowori has "Oho" why Futo? And Oho no Ason does not look like *oho* being part of the name. Is it not simply the Great Court Noble? *Ason* is a mean title "Respectfully presented."—W.G.A.

40 The author here rèfers to a certain class of Japanese words which offer peculiar difficulties because written neither ideographically nor phonetically, but in a completely arbitrary manner, the result of a freak of

usage. His manner of expressing himself is, however, ambigous- What he meant to say is, as Motowori points out: "Again in such cases as writing the surname *Kusaka* with the characters 日下, and the personal name *Tarashi* with the character 帶, I have followed usage without alteration." It is his imperfect mastery over the Chinese construction that makes him fall into such errors, errors easily rectifiable, however, by the more widely read modern Japanese *literati.*

41 *I.e.*, commence with the creation, and end with the death of the Empress Sui-ko (A.D 628), who resided at Woharida.

42 For the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of Heaven see Sect. I, Note 4, and for Prince-Wave-Limit, etc., see Sect. XLII, Note 15. Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko is the proper native Japanese name of the emperor commonly known by the Chinese ft canonical name,' of Jim-mu. Homuda is part of the native Japanese name of the Emperor O-jin (see Sects. XCIV to CXVIII). Oho-Sazaki is the native Japanese name of the Emperor Nin-toku (see Sects. CXIX to CXXX).

43 *Q.d.*, to the Empress.

44 *i.e.*, 10th March, A.D. 712.

THE KO-JI-KI
OR
RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS.

[SECT. I.—THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.]

The names of the Deities[1] that were born[2] in the Plain of High Heaven[3] when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven,[4] next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity,[5] next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity.[6] These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons.[7] The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth,[8] young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity,[9] next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity.[10] * These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities.[11]

[SECT. II.—THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS.]

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity,[1] next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity.[2] These two Deities were likewise Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord, next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady[3] next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister* the Life-Integrating-Deity[4] next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-

Lady-of-the-Great-Place[5] next the Deity Perfect-Exterior,[6] next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady;[7] next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites,[†] next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites.[8]

From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations. (The two solitary Deities above [-mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of deities is called a generation.)[9]

[SECT. III.—THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO.]

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness[1] the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear,[2] they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[3] pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle-curdle,[4] and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro.[5]

[SECT. IV.—COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE-WHO-INVITES.]

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection[1] of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of an hall of eight fathoms.[2] Tunc quaesivit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] a minore sorore Augustâ Feminâ-Qui-Invitat: "Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?" Respondit dicens: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed una pars est quae non crevit continua." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars que crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut

hanc corporis mei partem quae crevit superflua in tui corporis partem quas non crevit continua inser-am, et regiones procreem?” Augusta Femina-Quac-Invitat respondit dicens: “Bonum erit." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Quod quum ita sit, ego et tu, hanc coelestem augustam columnam circumenutes mutuoque occurrentes,* augustarum[i.e. privatarum] partium augustam coitionem faciemus.”[3] Hâc pactione factâ, dixit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat]: "Tu a dex-terâ circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistra occurram.” Absolutâ pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat primum inquit: “O venuste et amabilis adolescens!” Deinde Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat inquit: "O venusta et amabilis virgo! Post-quam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] locutus est sorori, dicens: "Non decet feminam primum verba facere." Nihilominus in thalamo [opus procreationis] inceperunt, et filium [nomine] Hirudinem[4] [vel Hirudini similem] pepererunt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha.[5] This likewise is not reckoned among their children.[6]

[SECT. V.—BIRTH OF THE EIGHT GREAT ISLANDS.]

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: "The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august place[1] of the Heavenly Deities.” They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination,[2] and ordered them, saying: "They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words.” So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: "Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden!” Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: “Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!” Tali modo quum orationi finem fecerunt, auguste coierunt et pepererunt a child, the

Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake.[3] Next they gave birth to the Island of Futa-na in Iyo.[4] This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess;[5] the Land of Sanuki[6] is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice;[7] the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food;[8] the Land of Tosa[9] is called Brave-Good-Youth.[10] Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go[11] near Oki.[12] another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth.[13] Next they gave birth to the island of Tsukushi.[14] This island likewise has one body and four faces,[15] and each face has a name. So the Land of Tsukushi is called White-Sun-Youth;[16] the Land of Toyov[17] is called Luxuriant-Sun-Youth;[18] the Land of Hi is called Brave-Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth;[19] the Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth.[20] Next they gave birth to the Island of Iki,[21] another name for which is Heaven's One-Pillar.[22] Next they gave birth to the Island of Tsu,[23] another name for which is Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess.[24] Next they gave birth to the Island of Sado.[25] Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly,[26] another name for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth. The name of "Land-of-the-Eight-Great-Islands"[27] therefore originated in these eight islands having been born first. After that, when they had returned[28] they gave birth to the Island of Ko [-zhima][29] in Kibi,[30] another name for which [island] is Brave-Sun-Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Adzuki,[31] another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima],[32] another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Hime,[33] another name for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth to the Island of Chika,[34] another name for which is Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island[s] of Futa-go'[35] another name for which is Heaven's-Two-Houses. (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko in Kibi to the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses.)

[SECT. VI.—BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.]

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing;[1] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-prince;[2] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Nest-Princess;[3] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth[4] next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing- Male[5] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince;[6] next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male;[7] next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor;[8] next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates,[9] whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn;[10] next they gave birth to his younger sister the -Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities in all from the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.[11])The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm;[12] next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; Next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider;[13] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Draw-ing-Gourd-Possessor;[14] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind.[15] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder,[16] next they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.[17] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess,[18] another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder

from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes, next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes;[19] next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary;[20] next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door, next the Deity Earthly-Dark-Door;[21] next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince, next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.[22] (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they[23] next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-tree-Boat,[24] another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat. Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food.[25] Next they gave birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity[26] another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

[SECT. VII.—RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES.]

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she sickened and lay down.[1] The names of the Deities born from her vomit were the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-princess.[2] The names of the Deities that were born from her faeces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess.[3] The names of the Deities that were next born from her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome[4] and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity.[5] The child of this Deity was called the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.[6] So the Deity the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired.[7] (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess.[8])

The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity the Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of

Onogoro was not given birth to[9] and moréover the Leech-Child[10] and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children.)

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: “Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh! that I should have exchanged thee for this single child!"[11] And as he crept round her august pillow, and as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born* from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu,[12] and whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity.[13] So he buried the divinely retired[14] Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba[15] at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo[16] and the Land of Hahaki.[17]

[SECT. VIII.—THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY.]

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, drawing the ten-grasp* sabre[1] † that was augustly girded on him, cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Hereupon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter,[2] next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity.[3] The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part[4] of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Awfully-Swift-Deity,[5] next the Fire-Swift-Deity,[6] * next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[7] another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity,[8] and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping-Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: the Deity *Kura-okami* and next the Deityv *Kura-mitsuha*.[9]

All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity *Kura-mitsuha,* are Deities that were born from the august sword.

The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains.[10] The name of the Deity that was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains.[11] The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost Mountains.[12] The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand[13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand[13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot[14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot[14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains.) So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended.[15]

[SECT. IX.—THE LAND OF HADES.]

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades.[1] So when from the palace she raised the door and came out to meet him,[2] His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I "and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying: "Lamentable indeed that thou camest not sooner! I" have eaten of the furnace of Hades.† [3] Nevertheless, as I "reverence[4] the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely "elder brother, I wish to return.[5] Moreover[6] I will

discuss it "particularly with the Deities of Hades.[7] Look not at me! Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth[8] of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light[9] and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming, and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her belly dwelt the Black-Thunder, in her private parts dwelt the Cleaving-Thunder, in her left hand[10] dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand[10] dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot[11] dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot[11] dwelt the Couchant-Thunder;—altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there.[12] Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades[13] to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress[14] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into† grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand;[15] and as they still pursued, be took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades,[16] three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help "all living people[17] in the Central Land of Reed-Plains[18] when "they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!"—and he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit.[19] Last of all his

younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock,[20] and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings;[21] and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely eider brother, thine August-"ness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to" death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, "Thine Augustness! If *thou* do this *I* will in one day set up "a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses.[22] In this "manner each day a thousand people would surely die, and "each day a thousand and five hundred people would surely "be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades[23] Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity[24] Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-back;[25] and again it is called the Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades.[26] So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass[27] in the Land of Idzumo.

[SECT. X.—THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON.]

Therefore the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites said: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land,—"I have![1] * So I will perform the purification of my august "person." So he went out to a plain [covered with] *ahagi*[2] at a small river-mouth near Tachibana[3] in Himuka[4] in [the island of] Tsukushi and purified and cleansed himself. So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-P!ace.[5] The name of the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space.[6] The name of Deity that was born from the august skirt which he next threw down was the Deity Loosen-Put.[7] The name of the Deity that

was born from the august upper garment which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-Trouble.[8] The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork Deity.[9] The name of the Deity that was born from the august hat which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-the-Open-Mouth.[10]

The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august left hand[11] which he next threw down were the Deity Offing-Distant,[12] next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august right hand which he next threw down were: the Deity Shore-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore.

The twelve Deities mentioned in the foregoing[13] list from the Deity Come-Not-Place down to the Deity Inter-mediate-Direction-of-the-Shore are Deities that were born from his taking off the things that were on his person.

Thereupon saying: "The water in the upper reach is"[too] rapid; the water in the lower reach is [too] sluggish," he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and, as he washed, there was first born the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, and next the Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils.[14] These two Deities are the Deities that were born from the filth [he contracted] when he went to that polluted, hideous land.[15] The names of the Deities that were next born to rectify those evils were: the Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, next the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity,[16] next the Female-Deity-Idzu.[17] The names of the Deities that were next born, as he bathed at the bottom of the water, were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Bottom,[18] and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the Bottom. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed in the middle [of the water] were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed at the top of the water were the Deity Possessor-of-the-

Ocean-Surface, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface. These three Ocean-Possessing Deities are the Deities held in reverence as their ancestral Deities by the Chiefs of Adzumi.[19] So the Chiefs of Adzumi are the descendants of His Augustness *Utsushi-hi-gana-saku*[20] a child of these Ocean-Possessing Deities.[21] These three Deities His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, and His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface are the three Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi[22] The name of the Deity that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye was the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity.[23] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his right august eye was His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor.[24] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his august nose was His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness.[25]

The fourteen Deities in the foregoing list from the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils down to His Swift-Inpetuous-Male-Augustness are Deities born from the bathing of his august person,

[SECT. XI—INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN.]

At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying: "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten three illustrious children," [with which words,] at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string[1] forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was the August-Store-house-Shelf-Deity[2] Next he said to His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the Night."[3] Thus he charged him. Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine

Augustness rule the Sea-Plain."[4]

[SECT. XII—THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard[1] reached to the pit of his stomach.[2] The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas.[3] * For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon[4] as they all swarmed,[5] and in all things[6] every portent of woe arose. So the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead "of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail" and weep?" He replied, saying: "I[7] wail because I wish "to depart to my deceased mother's[8] land, to the Nether Dis-"tant Land."[9] Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shalt" not dwell in this land,"[10] and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. So the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites dwells at Taga[11] in Afumi.[12]

[SECT. XIII.—THE AUGUST OATH.]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave[1] of the Heaven-Shining-Great-" August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: "The "reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder" brother[2] is surely

no good intent.[3] It is only that he wishes "to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to her left and her right august arm,[4] she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,[5] and, slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding [thereto][6] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad,[7] and brandished* and stuck her bow upright so that the top[8] shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs,[9] kicking away [the earth] like rotten snow,[10] † and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augvistness replied, saying: "I have "no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August Deity "[our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause of my "wailing and weeping, I said: 'I wail because I wish to go "to my deceased mother's land,'-whereupon the Great-August "Deity said: 'Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned "to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is therefore solely "with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that "I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "It that "be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?" Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let each of us swear,11 and produce children."* So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven,[12] the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness to hand her the ten-grasp sabre which was girded on him and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound[13] having brandished and washed† them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven,14 and having crunchingly crunched them, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess,15 another august name for

whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the-Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess,[16] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent.[17] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.[18] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi[19] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august headdress, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven.[20] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm,[21] and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life.22 The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm,[21] and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu.[23] (Five Deities in all.)

[SECT. XIV.—THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN.]

Hereupon the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity said to His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "As for the seed[1] "of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things "of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the "seed of the three female Deities born first; their birth was "from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division. So Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity born first, dwells in the Inner temple of Munakata.[2] The next, Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, dwells in the middle temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent, dwells in the outer temple[3] of Munakata These three Deities are the three Great Deities[4] held in reverence by the Dukes of Munakata.[5] So His August-ness Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, child of His Augustness Ame-no-hohi, one of the five children born afterwards ([6] this is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Idzumo,[7] of the Rulers of the Land of Muzashi,[8] of the Rulers of the Upper Land of Unakami,[9] of the Rulers of the Lower Land of Unakami,[10] of the Rulers of the Land of Izhimu,[11] of the Departmental Suzerains of the Island of Tsu[12] and of the Rulers of the Land of Toho-tsu-Afumi.[13]) The next, His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven (is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Ofushi-kafuchi,[14] of the Chiefs of Nukatabe-no-yuwe,[15] of the Rulers of the Land of Ki,[16] of the Suzerains of Tanaka[17] in Yamato, of the Rulers of the Land of Yamashiro,[18] of the Rulers of the Land of Umaguta,[19] of the Rulers of the Land of Kihe[20] in Michi-no-Shiri,[21] of the Rulers of the Land of Suhau,[22] of the Rulers of Amuchi,[23] in Yamato, of the Departmental Suzerains of Takechi,[24] of the Territorial Lords of Kamafu,[25] and of the Rulers of Sakikusabe[26]).

[SECT. XV.—THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity: "Owing to the sincerity "of my intentions I have, in begetting children, gotten delicate "females. Judging from this,[1] I

have undoubtedly gained the "victory." With these words, and impetuous with victory, he broke down the divisions of the ricefields[2] laid out by the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, filled up the ditches, and moreover strewed excrements[3] * in the palace where she partook of the great food.[4] So, though he did thus, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity upbraided him not,[5] but said: "What looks like excrements must be something that His "Augustness mine elder brother has vomited through drunken-" ness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the" rice-fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he "grudges the land [they occupy[6]] that His Augustness mine "elder brother acts thus." But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful[7] † weaving-halla[8] seeing to the weaving of the august garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top[9] of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying,[10] at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that impegerunt privatas partes adversis radiis et obierunt.[11]

[SECT. XVI.—THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK DWELLING.]

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling,[1] made it fast,[2] and retired, Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured* and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal[3] night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad[4] Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarm and a myriad portents of woe arose. Therefore did the eight hundred myriad[5] Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed[6] of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer,[7] child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night[8] and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of

the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron[9] from the Heavenly Metal-Mountains,[10] calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra'[11] charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me[12] to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor[13] to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,[14] —and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord[15] and His Augustness Grand-Jewel,[16] and causing them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true[17] stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu,[18] and take cherry-bark[19] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination,[20] * and pulling up by pulling its roots a true *cleyera japonica*[21] with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,— and taking and tying to the middle branches[22] the mirror eight feet [long],[23] and taking and hanging upon its lower branches the white pacificatory offerings[24] and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-Jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august offerings,[25] and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies,[26] and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity[27] standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female[28] hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss from the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash,[29] and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress,[30] and binding the leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, laying † a sounding-board[31] before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity,[32] and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privatas partes.[33] Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: "Methought that owing to my

retirement the Plain of Heaven" would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains "would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-Alarming-"Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred "myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke, saying: "We rejoice and are glad because "there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckon-ing-Ancestor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-Jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-Jewel drew the bottom-tied rope[34] along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in "than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light.[35]

[SECT. XVII. —THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel together, and imposed on His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness a fine of a thousand tables,[1] and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion. Again he begged food of the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food.[2] Then the Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and even her fundament, and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. So the things that were born in the

body of the Deity who had been killed were [as follows]: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born rice-seeds, in her two ears was born millet,[3] in her nose were born small beans,[4] in her private parts was born barley,[5] in her fundament were born large beans.[6] So His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor[7] caused them to be taken and used as seeds.

[SECT, XVIII.—THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT]

So, having been expelled, [His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness] descended to a place [called] Tori-kami[1] at the head-waters of the River Hi[2] in the Land of Idzumo. At this time some chopsticks[3] came floating down the stream. So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman,— two of them,—who had a young girl between them,[4] and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied, saying: "I[5] am an Earthly Deity,[6] child of "the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.[7] I am called by the "name of Foot-Stroking-Eider,[8] my wife is called by the name "of Hand-Stroking-Elder, and my daughter is called by the" name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess."[9] Again he asked: "What "is the cause of your crying?" [The old man] answered, saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But "the eight-forked serpent of Koshi[10] has come every year and "devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore "we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *aka-"kagachi,*[11] it has one body with eight heads, and eight tails. "Moreover on its body grows moss, and also chamaecyparis[12] " and crpytomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and "eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly "bloody and inflamed." (What is here called *akakagachi* is the modern *hohodzuki*[13]) Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man:" If this be

thy daughter, wilt thou “offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence,[14]” but I know not thine august name.” Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother[15] to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-" Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee].” So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do "you distil some eight-fold refined liquor.[16] Also make a fence "round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie "[together] eight platforms,[17] on each platform put a liquor-"vat, and into each vat pour the eight-fold refined liquor, and "wait.” So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all* [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp sabre,[18] that was augustly girded on mm, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a sharp great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity.[19] This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword.[20]

[SECT. XIX.—THE PALACE OF SUGA.]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness sought in the land of Idzumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga,[2] and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is

pure,”[1] —and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga.[2] When this Great Deity first built[3] the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song.[4] That song said:[5]

"Eight clouds arise. The eight-fold fence
"of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence
"for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh!
"that eight-fold fence.”[6]

Then he called the Deity Foot-Stroking-Elder and said: "Thee do I appoint Headman[7] of my palace;” and moreover bestowed on him the name of Master-of-the-Temple-of-Inada Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga.[8]

[SECT. XX.—THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND.]

Quare. quum incepit in thalamo [opus procreationis] cum Mirâ-Iierâ-Inadâ, procreavit Deum nomine Eight-Island Ruler.[1] And again, having wedded the Divine -Princess-of-Great-Majesty,[2] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, he begot children: the Great-Harvest Deity[3] and the August-Spirit-of-Food.[4] The elder brother the Deity Eight-Island-Ruler wedded Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees,[5] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Fuha-no-moji-Ku-nu-su-nu.[6] This Deity wedded Princess Hikaha,[7] daughter of the Deity Okami[8] and begot a child: Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-Fuka-buchi.[9] This Deity wedded the Deity Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne,[10] and begot a child: the Deity Great-Water-Master.[11] This Deity wedded the Deity Grand-Ears,[12] daughter of the Deity Funu-dzu-nu,[13] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord.[14] This Deity wedded the Young-Princess-of-the-Small-Country,[15] daughter of the Great-Deity-of-the-Small-Country,[16] and begot a child: the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land,[17] another

name for whom is the Deity Great-Name-Possessor,[18] and another name is the Deity-of-the-Reed-Plains,[19] and another name is the Deity of Eight-Thousand-Spears,[20] and another name is the Deity-Spirit-of-the-Living-Land.[21] In all there were five names.[22]

[SECT. XXI.—THE WHITE HARE OF INABA.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land had eighty Deities his brethren; but they all left the land to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. The reason for their leaving it was this: Each of these eighty Deities had in his heart the wish to marry the Princess of Yakami[1] in Inaba,[2] and they went together to Inaba, putting their bag on [the back of] the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, whom they took with them as an attendant. Hereupon, when they arrived at Cape Keta,[3] [they found] a naked hare lying down. Then the eighty Deities spoke to the hare, saying: "What thou shouldst do is to bathe in the "sea-water here, and lie on the slope* of a high mountain "exposed to the blowing of the wind." So the hare followed the instructions of the eighty Deities, and lay down. Then, as the sea-water dried, the skin of its body all split with the blowing of the wind, so that it lay weeping with pain. But the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, who came last of all, saw the hare, and said: "Why liest thou weeping?" The hare replied, saying: "I was in the Island of Oki,[4] and wished to "cross over to this land, but had no means of crossing over "For this reason I deceived the crocodiles[5] of the sea, saying "'Let you and me compete, and compute the numbers of our "'[respective] tribes. So do you go and fetch every member "'of your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from "'this island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them, and "'count them as I run across. Hereby shall we know whether "'it or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they "were deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them "and counted them as I came across, and was just about to "get on land, when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' "As soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who lay "the last of all seized

me and stripped off all my clothing. "As I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty "Deities who went by before [theel commanded and exhorted “me, saying: ‘Bathe in the salt water, and lie down exposed "‘to the wind.' So, on my doing as they had instructed me, "my whole body was hurt." Thereupon the Deity Great-Name-Possessor instructed the hare, saying: ”Go quickly "now to the river-mouth, wash thy body with the fresh water, "then take the pollen of the sedges [growing] at the river- ”mouth, spread it about, and roll about upon it, whereupon "thy body will certainly be restored to its original state."[6] So [the hare] did as it was instructed, and its body became as it had been originally. This was the White Hare of Inaba.[7] It is now called the Hare Deity. So the hare said to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor: "These eighty Deities shall certainly "not get the Princess of Yakami. Though thou bearest the "bag, Thine Augustness shall obtain her.”

[SECT. XXII.—MOUNT TEMA.]

Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered[1] the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean "to marry the Deity Great-Name-Possessor." So the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot of Tema2 in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this” mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, "do thou wait and catch it. It thou do not wait and catch "it, we will certainly slay thee.” Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it,[3] he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent[4] cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness,[5] who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell[6] and Princess Clam[7] to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched[8] [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and

smeared [him] as with mother's[9] milk, whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Deities, seeing [this], again deceived him, taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree,[10] and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death.[11] Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him:[12] "If thou remain here, thou wilt at "last be destroyed by the eighty Deities." Then she sent him swiftly off to the august place of the Deity Great-House-Prince[13] in the land of Ki.[14] Then when the eighty Deities searched and pursued till they came up to him, and fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by dipping under the fork of a tree, and disappeared.

[SECT. XXIII.—THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND.]

[The Deity Great-House-Prince spoke to him[1]], saying: "Thou must set off to the Nether-Distant-Land where dwells "His Impetuous-Male-Augustness. That Great Deity will "certainly counsel thee." So on his obeying her commands and arriving at the august place[2] of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness, the latter's daughter the Forward-Princess[3] came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married, and [she] went in again and told her father, saying: "A "very beautiful Deity has come." Then the Great Deity went out and looked, and said: "This is the Ugly- Male-Deity-of-" the-Reed-Plains'"[4] and at once calling him in, made mm sleep in the snake-house. Hereupon his wife, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, gave her husband a snake-scarf,[5] saying: "When the snakes are about to bite thee, drive them away "by waving this scarf thrice." So, on his doing as she had instructed, the snakes became quiet, so that he came forth after calm slumbers. Again on the night of the next day [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] put him into the centipede and wasp-house;[6] but as she again gave him a

centipede and wasp-scarf, and instructed him as before, he came forth calmly. Again [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] shot a whizzing barb[7] into the middle of a large moor, and sent mm to fetch the arrow, and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round. Thereupon, while he [stood] knowing no place of exit, a mouse[8] came and said: "The inside is hollow-hollow; "the outside is narrow-narrow."[9] Owing to its speaking thus, he trod on the place, whereupon he fell in and hid himself, during which time the fire burnt past. Then the mouse brought out in its mouth and presented to him the whizzing barb. The feathers or the arrow were brought in their mouths by all the mouse's children. Hereupon his wife the Forward-Princess came bearing mourning-implements,[10] and crying. Her father the great Deity, thinking that [the Deity-Great-Name-Possessor] was already dead and done for, went out and stood on the moor, whereupon [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] brought the arrow and presented it to him, upon which [the Great Deity], taking him into the house and calling him into an eight-foot spaced large room,[11] made him take the lice off his head. So, on looking at the head, [he saw that] there were many centipedes [there]. Thereupon, as his wife gave to her husband berries of the *muku* tree[12] and red earth, he chewed the berries to pieces, and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that the Great Deity believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor], grasping the Great Deity's hair, tied it fast to the various rafters of the house, and, blocking up the floor of the house with a five hundred draught rock,[13] and taking his wife the Forward-Princess on his back, then carried off the Great Deity's great life-sword[14] and life-bow-and-arrows,[15] as also his heavenly speaking-lute,[16] and ran out. But the heavenly speaking-lute brushed against a tree, and the earth resounded. So the Great Deity, who was sleeping, started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair which was tied to the rafters, [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to the Even Pass of

Hades,[17] and gazing on him from afar, he called out to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, saying: "With the great life-sword and the life-"bow-and-arrows which thou carriest, pursue thy half-brethren[18] "till they crouch on the august slopes of the passes,[19] and "pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers," and do thou, wretch![20] become the Deity Master-of-the- "Great-Land;[21] and moreover, becoming the Deity Spirit-of- "the-Living-Land, and making my daughter the Forward- "Princess thy consort[22] do thou make stout the temple-pillars "at the foot of Mount Uka[23] in the nethermost rock-bottom, "and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven, "and dwell [there], thou villain!"[24] So when, bearing the great sword and bow, he pursued and scattered the eighty Deities, he did pursue them till they crouched on the august slope of every pass,[25] he did pursue them till they were swept into every river, and then he began to make the land.[26] Quamobrem Hera Yakami, secundum anterius pactum, [cum eo] in thalamo coivit. So he brought her with him; but, fearing his consort the Forward Princess, she stuck into the fork of a tree the child that she had borne, and went back.[27] So the child was called by the name of the Tree-Fork-Deity,[28] and another name was the Deity-of-August-Wells.[29]

[SECT. XXIV.—THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS.]

This Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears,[1] when he went forth[2] to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha[3] in the land of Koshi, on arriving at the house of the Princess of Nuna-kaha sang, saying:

"[I] His Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-
"Thousand-Spears, having been unable to
"find a spouse in the Land of the Eight
"Islands, and having heard that in the
"far-off Land of Koshi there is a wise
"maiden, having heard that there is a

"beauteous maiden, I am standing [here]
"to truly woo her, I am going backwards
"and forwards to woo her. Without having
"yet untied even the cord of my sword,
"without having yet untied even my veil,
"I push back the plank-door shut by the
"maiden; while I am standing [here], I pull
"it forward. While I am standing [here],
"the *nuye* sings upon the green mountain,
"and [the voice of] the true bird of the
"moor, the pheasant, resounds; the bird of
"the yard, the cock, crows. Oh! the pity*
"that [the] birds should sing! Oh! these
"birds! Would that I could beat them till
"they were sick! Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-
"racing messenger, the tradition of the
"thing, too, this!"[4]

Then the Princess of Nuna-kaha, without yet opening the door, sang from the inside saying:-

"Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-
"Thousand-Spears! Being a maiden like
"a drooping plant, my heart is just a bird
"on a sand-bank by the shore; it will now
"indeed be a dotterel. Afterwards it will
"be a gentle bird; so as for thy life, do not
"deign to die. Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-
"racing messenger! the tradition of the
"thing, too, this!"[5]

[*Second Song of the Princess*[6]]

"When the sun shall hide benind the green

"mountains, in the night [black as] the true
"jewels of the moor will I come forth.
"Coming radiant with smiles like the morn-
"ing sun, [thine] arms white as rope of
"paper-mulberry-bark shall softly pat [my]
"breast soft as the melting snow; and
"patting [each other] interlaced, stretching
"out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each
"other's] jewel-arms,—true jewel-arms,—
"and with outstretched legs, will we sleep.
"So speak not too lovingly, Thine August-
"ness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears!
"The tradition of the thing, too, this!"[7]

Quamobrem eâ nocte non coierunt, sed sequentis diei nocte auguste coierunt.

[SECT. XXV.—THE CUP PLEDGE.]

Again this Deity's Chief Empress,[1] Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, was very jealous. So the Deity her husband, being distressed, was about to go up from Idzumo to the Land of Yamato; and as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup, he sang, saying:

"When I take and attire myself so carefully
"in my august garments black as the true
"jewels of the moor, and, like the birds of the
"offing, look at my breast,—though I raise
"my fins, [I say that] these are not good,
"and cast them off on the waves on the
"beach. When I take and attire myself so

"carefully in my august garments green as
"the kingfisher, and, like the birds of the
"offing, look at my breast,—though I raise
"my fins, [I say that] these, too, are not
"good, and cast them off on the waves on
"the beach. When I take and attire myself
"so carefully in my raiment dyed in the sap
"of the dye-tree, the pounded madder sought
"in the mountain fields, and, like the birds
"of the offing, look at my breast,—though
"I raise my fins, [I say that] they are good.
"My dear younger sister, Thine Augustness!
"Though thou say that thou wilt not weep,—
"if like the flocking birds, I flock and depart,
"if, like the led birds, I am led away and
"depart, thou wilt hang down thy head like
"a single eulalia upon the mountain and
"thy weeping shall indeed rise as the mist of
"the morning shower. Thine Augustness
"[my] spouse like the young herbs! The
"tradition of the thing, too, this!"[2]

Then his Empress, taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, sang, saying:—

"Oh! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-
"Thousand-Spears! [Thou], my [dear]
"Master-of-the-Great-Land indeed, being a
"man, probably hast on the various island-
"headlands that thou seest, and on every
"beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife
"like the young herbs. But as for me, alas!

"being a woman, I have no man except
"thee;I have no spouse except thee. Be-
"neath the fluttering of the ornamented
"fence, beneath the softness of the warm
"coverlet, beneath the rustling of the
"cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of
"paper-mulberry bark softly patting [my]
"breast soft as the melting snow, and patting
"[each other] interlaced, stretching out
"and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's
"arms],—true jewel-arms, and with out-
"stretched legs, will we sleep. Lift up the
"luxuriant august liquor!"[3]

She having thus sung, they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks,[4] and are at rest till the present time. These are called divine words.[5]

[SECT. XXVI.—THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity dwelling in the inner temple of Munakata,[1] and begot children: the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne,[2] next his younger sister Her Augustness High-Princess,[3] another name for whom is Her Augustness Princess Under-Shining.[4] This Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is he who is now called the Great August Deity of Kamo.[5] Again the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Princess Divine-House-Shield[6] and begot a child: the Deity Thing-Sign-Master.[7] Again he wedded the Deity Bird-Ears,[8] daughter of the Deity Eight-Island-Possessor,[9] and begot a child: the Deity Bird-Growing-Ears.[10] This Deity wedded Hina-teri-

nakata-bichi-wo-ikochini,[11] and begot a child: the Deity Land-Great-Wealth.[12] This Deity wedded the Deity Ashi-nadaka,[13] another name for whom is Princess-Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets,[14] and begot a child: the Deity Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Lord-Ruler.[15] This Deity wedded Princess Luck-Spirit,[16] daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Awful-Master,[17] and begot a child: [18] This Deity wedded Princess Hina-rashi,[19] daughter of the Deity Okami[20] and begot a child: the Deity Tahiri-kishi-marumi.[21] This Deity wedded the Deity Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit,[22] daughter of the Deity Waiting-to-See-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly,[23] and begot a child: the Deity Miro-na-mi.[24] This Deity wedded Princess Awo-numa-nu-oshi,[25] daughter of the Deity Master-of-Shiki-yama,[26] and begot a child: the Deity Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi.[27] This Deity wedded the Young-Day-Female-Deity,[28] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth.[29] This Deity wedded the Deity Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne,[30] daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Pass Boundary,[31] and begot a child: the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi.[32]

From the above-mentioned Deity Eight-Island-Ruler down to the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi are called the Deities of seventeen generations.[33]

[SECT. XXVII.—THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY.]

So when the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land dwelt at the august cape of Miho[1] in Idzumo, there came riding on the crest[2] of the waves in a boat of heavenly *Kagami*[3] a Deity dressed in skins of geese[4] * flayed with a complete flaying, who, when asked his name, replied not; moreover the Deities who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad[5] spoke, saying: "As for this, the Crumbling "Prince will surely know it." Thereupon [the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land] summoned and asked the Crumbling-Prince,[6] who replied, saying: "This is the Little-Prince-the-"Renowned-Deity,[7] the august child of the Deity-

Producing- "Wondrous-Deity."[8] So on their then respectfully informing[9] His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among "my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my "hand.[10] So do he and thou become brethren, and make and "consolidate this land."[11] So from that time forward the two Deities the Great-Name-Possessor and the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity crossed over to the Eternal Land.[12] So [the Deity here] called the Crumbling Prince, who revealed the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity, is what is now [called] the scarecrow in the mountain fields. This Deity, though his legs do not walk, is a Deity who knows everything in the Empire.[13] *

[SECT. XXVIII.—THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT.[1]]

Thereupon the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land lamented himself, and said: "How shall I alone be able to make this "land?[2] Together with what Deity can I make this land?" At this time there came a Deity illuminating the sea. This Deity said: "If thou wilt lay me to rest[3] well, I can make it "together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made." Then the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land said: "If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?" He replied, saying: "Reverently worship me on Yamato's green "fence, the eastern mountain's top."[4] This is the Deity who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro.[5]

[SECT. XXIX. THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY.]

So the Great-Harvest-Deity wedded the Princess [of?] Inu,[1] daughter of the Divine-Life-Producing-Wondrous-Deity,[2] and begot children: the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land,[3] next the Deity of Kara,[4] next the Deity

Sohori,[5] next the Deity White-Sun,[6] next the Sage-Deity.[7] (Five Deities.[8]) Again he wedded the Refulgent-Princess,[9] and begot children: the Deity Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee,[10] next the August-Harvest-Deity.[11] Again he wedded Princess Ame-shiru-karu-midzu,[12] and begot children: the Deity Oki-tsu-hiko,[13] next Her Augustness Oki-tsu-hime,[14] another name for whom is the Deity Great Furnace-Princess:[15] -this is the Deity of the Furnace[16] held in reverence by all people. Next the Deity Great-Mountain-Integrator,[17] another name for whom is the Deity-Great-Master-of-the-Mountain End:[18] this Deity dwells on Mount Hiye[19] in the land of Chika-tsu-Afumi,[20] and is likewise the Deity dwelling at Matsu-no-wo[21] in Kadzunu,[22] who uses the whizzing barb.[23] * Next the Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard;[24] next the Deity Asuha;[25] next the Deity Hahigi;[26] next the Deity Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee;[27] next the D0eity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling;[28] next the High Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard;[29] next the Great-Earth-Deity,[30] another name for whom is the Deity August-Ancestor-of-Earth.[31] (Nine Deities.[32])

In the above paragraph the children of the Great-Harvest-Deity, from the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land down to the Great-Earth-Deity, are altogether sixteen Deities.

The Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling33 wedded the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food,[34] and begot children: the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator[35] next the Young-Harvest-Deity;[36] next his younger sisterthe Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity;[37] next the Water-Sprinkling-Deity;[38] next the Deity-of-the-High-Sun-of-Summer,[39] another name for whom is the Female-Deity-of-Summer;[40] next the Autumn-Princess;[41] next the Deity Stem-Harvest;[42] next the Deity Lord-Stem-Tree-Young-House-Rope.[43]

In the above paragraph the children of the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, from the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator down to the Deity Lord-Young-House-Rope,[44] are altogether eight Deities.

[SECT. XXX.—THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND.]

The Heaven-Shining-Oreat-August-Deity commanded, saying: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,-of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns[1] is the land which my august child His Augustness "Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-" Great-Great-Ears[2] shall govern." Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she sent him down from Heaven.[3] Hereupon His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[4] said: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains- the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,—of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is painfully uproarious,—it is."[5] With this announcement, he immediately re-ascended, and informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. Then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity[6] and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded the eight hundred myriad Deities to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River or Heaven,[7] and caused the Deity Thought-Includer[8] to think [of a plan], and said:[9] "This Central Land* "of Reed-Plains is the land with which we have deigned to "charge our august child as the land which he shall govern. "So as he deems that violent and savage Earthly Deities[10] are numerous in this land, which Deity shall we send to subdue them?" Then the deity Thought-Includer and likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel and said: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi;[11] is the one that should be sent." So they sent the Deity Ame-no-ho-hi; but he at once curried favour with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and for three years brought back no report.

[SECT.XXXI.—THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.]

Therefore the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, saying: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we "sent down to the Central Land of

Reed-Plains, is long of" bringing back a report.[1] Which Deity were it best to send “on a fresh mission?"[2] Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince,[3] son of the "Deity Heaven’s-Earth-Spirit[4] should be sent." So they bestowed on the Heavenly-Young-Prince the heavenly true deer-bow and the heavenly feathered arrows,[5] and sent him. Thereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining,[6] daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land,[7] and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no report. So then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The Heavenly-Young-" Prince is long of bringing back a report.[8] Which Deity "shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of the "Heavenly-Young-Prince's long tarrying?” Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying:” The pheasant the Name-Crying-Female[9] should be "sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity] charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the "Heavenly-Young-Prince is this: 'The reason for which thou "'wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to sub-'" due and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for "'eight years bringest thou back no report?"' So then the Crying-Female, descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree[10] at the Heavenly-Young-Prince's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman,[11] having heard the bird's words, spoke to the Heavenly-Young-Prince, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very" bad. So thou shouldest shoot it to death.” On her [thus] urging him, the Heavenly-Young-Prince at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up upside down[12] through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where the Heaven-Shining-Great-Angust-Deity and the High-Integra-

ting-Deity[13] were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-Integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: “This” arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the Heavenly-"Young-Prince," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If "this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the Heavenly-"Young-Prince in obedience to our command, let it not hit "him. If he has a foul heart, let the Heavenly-Young-Prince "perish[14] by this arrow." With these words, he took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole,[15] so that it hit the Heavenly-Young-Prince on the top of his breast[16] as he was sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the origin of [the saying] 'Beware of a returning arrow."[17]) Moreover the pheasant returned not. So this is the origin of the modern proverb which speaks of ‘the pheasant as sole messenger.'[18] So the sound of the wailings of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children[19] who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there,[20] and made the wild goose of the river[21] the head-hanging bearer,[22] the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman,[23] the pheasant the weeping woman; and having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves[24] for eight days and eight nights,* At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne[25] came and condoled on the mourning for the Heavenly-Young-Prince, whereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves,[26] saying: “My child is not dead, “ no! My lord is not dead, no!” and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely resembled each other in countenance: so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity

Ajishi-ki-taka-hikc-ne was very angry, and said:” It was only because he was my dear "friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to "an unclean dead person"—and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sabre[27] that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning[28] at the source of the River Awimi[29] in the land of Minu.[30] The great sword with which he cut [the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Great-Blade-Mower,[31] another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Sabre.[32] So when the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hoko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Her Augustness the High-Princess in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying:

"Oh! 'tis the Deity Aji-shiki-Taka-Hiko-Ne
"traversing two august valleys with the re-
"fulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of
"the august assembled jewels worn round
"her neck by the Weaving Maiden in
"Heaven!”[33]

This Song is of a Rustie Style.[34]

[SECT. XXXII.—ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?”[1] Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise all the Deities said: "He who is- named the Deity Majestic-Point-Blade-"Extended[2] and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling by the "source of the Tranquil River of Heaven, is the one that "should be sent; or if not this Deity, then this Deity's child, “the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,[3] might be sent,” Moreover,[4] owing to this Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended having blocked up and turned back the waters of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road "blocked up,

other Deities cannot go [thither]. So the Hea-"venly-Deer-Deity[5] should be sent specially to ask him." So then the Heavenly-Deer -Deity was sent to ask the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, who replied, saying: "I will "obey, and will respectfully sèrve you. Nevertheless on this "errand[6] ye should send my[7] child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity,"[8] —[and with these words] immediately offered [his son to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity]. So the Deity Heavenly-Bird-Boat[9] was attached to the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and they were sent off. Therefore these two Deities, descending to the little shore[10] of Inasa[11] in the land of Idzumo, drew their swords ten hand-breadths long,[12] stuck them upside down[13] on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged[14] on the point of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "The Heaven-"Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity "have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: ‘We have "‘deigned to charge our august child with thy dominion, the "'Central Land or Reed-Plains, as the land which he should "‘ govern. So how is thy heart?'"[15] He replied, saying: "I[16] am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-" Sign-Master[17] will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to "Cape Miho[18] to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet ” returned." So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Foid-Thing-Sign-Master, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou[19]] respectfully present this land to the august child of the Heavenly Deity;"—and thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches, and disappeared.[20] So then they asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "Thy son the Deity Thing-Sign-” Master has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who ” should spea?" Hereupon he spoke again, saying: "There “ is my other son, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm.[21] There "is none beside him. ” While he was thus speaking, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm came up, bearing on the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock,[22] and said: "Who is" it that has come to our land,

and thus secretly talks? If "that be so,[23] I should like to have a trial of strength. So I should like to begin by taking thine august hand." So on his letting him take his august hand, his touch at once turned it into an icicle, and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade.[24] So then he was frightened and drew back. Then on the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity wishing to take the hand of the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed it as if it were taking a young reed, and cast it aside, upon which [the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm] fled away. So when [the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea of Suha[25] in the land of Shi-nanu,[26] and was about to slay him, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to "no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. I "will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-" Sign-Master. I will yield up this Centrai Land of Reed-"Plains according to the command of the august child of the "Heavenly Deities.” So they returned again, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land [saying]: "Thy children the “two Deities the Deity Thing-Sign-Master and the Deity" Brave-August-Name-Firm have said that they will follow and "not go against the commands of the august child of the "Heavenly Deities. So how is thy heart?" Then he replied, "saying: According as the two Deities my children have said, "I too will not go against them. In accordance with the " [heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central "Land of Reed-Plains. But as to my place of residence, if" ye will make stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost "rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain of "High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the "august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of "Heaven's sun, and will deign to establish me, I will hide in "the eighty (less than a hundred) road-windings, and wait on "him. Again, as for my children the hundred and eighty "Deities, if the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be "the Deities' august rear and van and will respectfully serve "them,

there will be no disobedient Deities."[27] Having thus spoken [he hid himself.[28] So in accordance with his word,[29] they built a heavenly august abode on the shore[30] of Tagishi[31] in the land of Idzumo; and the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits,[32] grandson of the Deity of Water-Gates,[33] was made butler to offer up the heavenly august banquet, when,[34] having said prayers, the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits turned into a cormorant, went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red earth from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters, and, cutting sea-weed[35] stalks, made a fire-drill mortar, and made a fire-drill pestle out of stalks of *komo*,[36] and drilled out fire, saying: "This fire which I have drilled will I burn "until, in the Plain of High Heaven, the soot on the heavenly "new lattice of the gable or His Augustness the Wondrous-"Divine-Producer-the-August-Ancestor[37] hang down eight hand-" breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake "down to the nethermost rock-bottom, and,— the fishing" sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-"mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and "landed the large-mouthed small-finned perch,—I will offer up "the heavenly true fish-food so that the split bamboos bend."[38] So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity re-ascended [to Heaven], and reported how he had subdued and pacified the Central Land of Reed-Plains.

[SECT, XXXIII.—THE AUGUST DESCENT FROM HEAVEN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS THE AUGUST GRANDCHILD.]

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity[1] commanded and charged the Heir Apparent[2] His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears[3] [saying: "The Brave-Awful-Pos-"sessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished pacifying " the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So do thou, in accordance "with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule "over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-

Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I[4] have been getting ready to "descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name "is His Augustness Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-"Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.[5] This child should be "sent down." [[6] As for this august child,[7] he was augustly joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess,[8] daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity, and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly Rice-ear-Ruddy,[9] and next His Augustness Prince-Rice -ear-Ruddy-Plenty.[10]] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This" Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears[11] is the land “over which thou shalt rule.” So [he replied]: "I will "descend from Heaven according to your commands.” So when His Augustness Prince-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity[12] [saying]: "Though thou art "but a delicate female, thou art a Deity who conquers in" facing Deities.[13] So be thou the one to go and ask thus: "This being the road by which our august child is about to "'descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?”[14] So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I[15] am an Earthly "Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta.[16] The reason for "my coming here is that, having heard of the [intendedl "descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have "come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as" His Augustness’s vanguard."'[17] Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor,[18] in all five chiefs of companies,[19] they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-feet [long]

curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling,[20]] and also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword,[21] and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Openera[22] of Eternal Night,[23] and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were "our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us."[24] Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in "hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu[25] The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food,[26] is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi.[27] The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity,[28] - "this Deity is the Deity of the August Gate.[29] The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male, dwells in Sanagata.[30] Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains);[31] His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen);[32] Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru[33]);Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me(is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains);[34] His Augustness-Jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains);[35]

[SECT. XXXIV.—THE AUGUSTREIGN INHIMUKA OF HISAUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY.]

[1] So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded[2] His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat,[3] pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven,[4] and descended from Heaven on to the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsukushi.[5] * So His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness[6]

and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes,[7] both[8] taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers,[9] taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords,[10] taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow,[11] and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness (is the ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains);[12] His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords).[13] Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite" to the land of Kara.[14] One comes straight across to the "august Cape of Kasasa;[15] and it is a land whereon the mor-"ning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's "sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place."[16] Having thus spoken, he made stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven,[17] and dwelt there.

[SECT. XXXV.—THE DUCHESS OF SARU.]

So then he charged Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female [saying]: "Do thou, who wast the one to make" known this Great Deity Prince of Saruta who respectfully "served as my august vanguard,[1] respectfully escort him [back]; "and do thou likewise bear the august name of that Deity, "and respectfully serve me." Wherefore the Duchesses of Saru bear the name of the Male Deity the Prince of Saruta, and the women are Duchesses of Saru.[2]

[SECT. XXXVI. THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA.]

Now when this Deity Prince of Saruta dwelt at Azaka,[1] he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a *hirabu* shell-fish,[2] and was drowned in the brine of the sea. So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was the Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit;[3] the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was the Gurgling-Up-August-

Spirit;[4] the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was the Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit.[5] Thereupon [Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female], having escorted [back] the Deity Prince of Saruta, came back,[6] and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin,[7] and asked them, saying: "Will ye" respectfully serve the august son of the Heavenly Deities— upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the bèche-de-mer said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the bèche-de-mer, saying: "Ah! this mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!”-and [with these words] slit the mouth with her stiletto.[8] So at the present day the bèche-de-mer has a slit mouth. Wherefore [from august reign to] august reign, when the offerings of the first-fruits of Shima[9] are presented [to the Emperor, a portion of them] is granted to the Duchesses of Saru.

[SECT. XXXVII. THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty met a beautiful person at the august cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of the Deity Great-" Mountain-Possessor,[1] and my name is the Divine-Princess-"of-Ata,[2] another name by which I am called being Princess-"Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-FIowers-of-the-Trees.[3] Again he asked: "Hast thou any brethren[4] She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks."[5] Then he charged her, [saying]: "Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum."Tibi quomodo videtur?" She replied, saying: "I[6] am not "able to say. My father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor “will say.” So be sent a request [for her] to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carnea on tables holding an hundred.[7] So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Pienty] was

alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night. Then the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message [to His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], saying: “My reason for respectfully presenting "both my daughters together was that, by sending Princess- "Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring[8] of the Heavenly "Deity,[9] though the snow[10] fall and the wind blow, might live "eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again "that by sending Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the- "Flowers-of-the-Trees, [they] might live flourishingly like unto” the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to insure this,[11] "I offered[12] them. But owing to thy thus sending back[13] "Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august "offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail[14] as the "flowers of the trees.” So it is for this reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns[15] are not long.

[SECT. XXXVIII.—THE AUGUST CHIL-BEARING OF PRICESS-BLOSSING-BRILLIANTLY-LIKE-THE-FLOWERS-OF-THE-TREES.]

So later on Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the -Flowers-of-the-Trees waited on[1] [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], and said: "I[2] am pregnant, and now the "time for my delivery approaches. It is not fit for me to be "delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately[3] so I "tell thee.” Then [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] said: "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly![4] what! pregnant "after one night![5] It cannot be my child. It must surely be "the child of an Earthly Deity.”[6] Then she replied, saying: "If the child with which I am pregnant be the child of an "Earthly Deity, my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be "the august child of the Heavenly Deity,[7] it will be fortunate;”—and thereupon she built a

hall eight fathoms [long] without doors,[8] went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance] with earth and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered.[9] So the name of the child that was born when the fire was burning most fiercely was His Augustness Fire-Shine[10] (this is the ancestor óf the Hayabito, Dukes of Ata)[11] the name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Climax[12] the august[13] name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Subside,[14] another name for whom is His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears[15] (three Deities[16] [in all]).

[SECT. XXXIX.—THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OG LUCK.]

So His Augustness Fire-Shine was a prince who got his luck[1] on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. His Augustness Fire-Subside was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside said to his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine: "Let" us mutually exchange, and use each other's luck." [Nevertheless], though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not accede [to it] but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish and moreover he lost the fish-hook in the sea. Thereupon his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine asked him for the fish-hook, saying: "A mountain-luck is a luck of its "own, and a sea-luck is a- luck of its own. Let each of us "now restore [to the other] his luck."[2] To which the younger brother His Augustness Fire-Subside replied, saying: "As for "thy fish-hook, I did not get a single fish by angling with it and at last I lost it in the sea" But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So the younger brother, breaking his ten grasp sabre[3] that was augustly girded on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as

compensation but he would not receive them, saying: "I still want the real original fish-hook.”

[SECT. XL.—THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon, as the younger brother was weeping and lamenting by the sea-shore, the Deity Salt-Possessor[1] came and asked him, saying: "What is the cause of the Sky's-Sun-Height's[2] "weeping and lamentation?" He replied, saying: “I had “exchanged a fish-hook with my elder brother,[3] and have lost that fish-hook and as he asks me for it, I have given him many fish-hooks as compensation but he will not receive "them, saying, ‘I still want the original fish-hook.. So I weep “and lament for this.” Then the Deity Salt-Possessor said: "I will give good counsel to Thine Augustness” — and therewith built a stout little boat without interstices,[4] and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: When I shall have pushed the boat off, go on for some time. There will be a savoury august road[5] and if thou goest in the boat along that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes' scales,"—which is the palace of the Deity-Ocean-Possessor.[6] When thou readiest the august gate of that deity['s palace], there will be a multitudinous[-ly branching] cassia-tree[7] above the well at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the "Sea-Deity's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee." So following [these] instructions, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] went a little [way], and everything happened as [the Deity Salt-Possessor] had said and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the handmaidens of the Sea-Deity's daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess,[8] bearing jewelled vessels, were about to draw water, there was a light in the well.[9] On looking up, there was a beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it into a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then, without drinking the water, he loosened the jewel at his

august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel. Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from the vessel]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it, and presented it to Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her handmaidens, saying: "Is there perhaps “some one outside the gate? "They replied, saying: "There is some one sitting on the top of the cassia-tree above our well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illus-trious even than our king. So, as he begged for water, we respectfully gave him water but, without drinking the water,” he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to separate this [from the other],[10] we have brought [the vessel] "with [the jewel] in it to present to thee." Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted* at the sight. They exchanged glances, after which she spoke to her father, saying: "There is a beautiful person at our gate.” Then the Sea-Deity himself went out to look, and saying, This person is the Sky's-Sun-Height, the august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height,"[11] led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of sea-asses[12] skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred,[13] made an august banquet, and forthwith gave him his daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess in marriage. So he dwelt in that land for three years. Hereupon His Augustness Fire-Subside thought of what had gone before,[14] and heaved one[15] deep sigh. So Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: "Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed but this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause of it?" The Great Deity her father asked his son-in-law, saying: This morning I hear my daughter speak, saying: Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never" sighed but this night he heaved one deep sigh What may the cause be? Moreover what was the cause of thy coming here?” Then [His Augustness Fire-Subside] told the Great Deity exactly how his elder brother

had pressed him for the lost fish-hook. Thereupon the Sea-Deity summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: "Is there perchance any fish that has taken this fish-hook?" So all the fishes replied: Lately the *tahi*[16] has complained of something sticking in its throat[17] preventing it from eating so it doubtless has taken [the hook]." On the throat of the *tahi* being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to His Augustness Fire-Subside, whom the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor then instructed, saying: "What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to thine elder brother [is as follows]. ‘This fish-hook is a big "‘hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook.'[18] * Having "[thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back hand.[19] Having done "thus, if thine elder brother make high fields,[20] do Thine "Augustness make low fields and if thine elder brother make "low fields, do Thine Augustness make high fields. If thou “do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished "in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. "If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should "attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel[21] to drown him. "It he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to let "him live. Thus shalt thou harass him.” With these words, [the Sea-Deity] gave [to His Augustness Fire-Subside] the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing iewel, —two in all,—and forthwith summoned together all the crocodiles,[22] and asked them, saying: "The Sky's-Sun-Height, august child of the" Heaven's-Sun-Height, is now about to proceed out to the" Uoper-Land.[23] Who will in how many days respectfully "escort him, and bring back a report.”[24] So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days,—one of them, a crocodile one fathom [long], saying: "I[25] will escort him, and come back in one day.” So then [the Sea-Deity] said to the crocodile one fathom [long]: "If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing "the middle of the sea, do not alarm him 26 Forthwith he seated him upon the crocodile's head, and saw him off. So [the crocodile] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the

crocodile was about to return, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] untied the stiletto[27] which was girded on him, and, setting it on the crocodile's neck,[28] sent [the latter] back. So the crocodile one fathom [lone] is now called the Deity Blade-Possessor[29]

[SECT. XLI.—SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE.]

Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother], exactly according to the Sea-Deity's words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer and poorer, and, with renewed savage intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack [His Augustness Fire-Subside, the latter] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him on his expressing grief, he put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head,[1] saying: I[2] henceforward will "be Thine Augustness's guard by day and night, and respectfully serve thee." So down to the present day his various posturings when drowning are ceaselesly served up.[3]

[SECT. XLII.—THE PARTURITION-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS.]

Hereupon the Sea-Deity's daughter Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess herself waited on[1] [His Augustness Fire-Subside], and said: "I[2] am already with child, and the time" for my delivery now approaches. But methought that the "august child of an Heavenly Deity[3] ought not to be born in "the Sea-Plain.[4] So I have waited on thee here."[5] Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore she built a parturition-hall,[6] using cormorants' feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed,[7] she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-hall. Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband,[8] [saying]: "Whenever a foreigner is about to be delivered, she takes the shape of her native land to be delivered.[9] So I now

will take my native shape to be delivered. Pray look not upon me! ” Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside], thinking these words strange, stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a crocodile[10] eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away. Then her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess knew that he had peeped and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: "I had wished always to come and go across the sea-path.[11] But thy” having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-faced,"[12] *—and she forthwith closed the sea-boundary,[13] and went down again.[14] Therefore the name by which the august child whom she had borne was called was His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely.[15] Nevertheless afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she entrusted to her younger sister Jewel-Good-Princess,16 on the occasion of her nursing the august child,[17] a Song to be presented [to His Augustness Fire-Subside]. The Song said:

"As for red jewels, though even the string
"[they are strung on] shines, the aspect of
"[my] lord [who is] like unto white jewels
"is [more] illustrious.”[18]

Then her husband replied by a Song, which said:

"As for my younger sister, whom I took to
sleep [with me] on the island where light
the wild-duck, the birds of the offing, I
shall not forget her till the end of my life."[19]

So His Augustness-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears[20] dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years.[21] His august

mausoleum[22] is likewise on the west of Mount Takachiho.

[SECT. XLIII.—THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS CORMORANT-THATCH-MEETING-INCOMPLETELY.]

His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely wedded his maternal aunt Her Augustness Jewel-Good-Princess, and begot august children named: is Augustness Five-Reaches[1] next His Augustness Boiled-Rice[2] next His Augustness August-Food-Master[3] next His Augustness Young-August-Food-Master[4] another name for whom is His Augustness Luxuriant-August-Food-Master,[5] and another name is His Augustness Divine-Yamato -Ihare-Prince.[6] * So His Augustness August-Food-Master, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land.[7] His Augustness Boiled-Rice went into the Sea-Plain, it being his deceased mother's[8] land.

Footnotes

1 For this rendering of the Japanese word *kami* see Introduction, pp. xix-xx.

2 Literally, "that became" (成). Such "becoming" is concisely defined by Motowori as "the birth of that which did not exist before."

3 In Japanese *Takama-no-hara.*

4 *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami.*

5 *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami.* It is open to doubt whether the syllable *bi*, instead of signifying "wondrous," may not simply be a verbal termination, in which case the three syllables *musubi* would mean, not "wondrous producing," but simply" producing," *i.e.,* if we adopt the interpretation of the Verb *musubu* as "to produce" in the Active sense of the word, an interpretation as to whose propriety there is some room for doubt. In the absence of certainty the translator has followed the view expressed by

Motowori and adopted by Hirata The same remark applies to the following and other similar names.

6 *Kâmi-musu-bi-no-kami* This name reappears in later Sections under the lengthened form of *Kami-masu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, i.e., His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, and also in abbreviated forms.

7 *I.e.,* they all came into existence without being procreated in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, *i.e.,* died.

8 Here and elsewhere the character 國, properly "country" *(regio),* is used where "earth" tellus) better suits the sensè. Apparently in the old language the word *kuni* (written 國), which is now restricted to the former meaning, was used ambiguously somewhat like our word "land."

9 *Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami.* For *hiko* here and elsewhere rendered "prince" see Introduction p. xviii; *ji* is rendered "elder" in accordance with the opinion expressed by Motowori and Hirata, who say that it is "an Honorific designation of males identical with the *ji* meaning old man."

10 Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven, *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami.* The translation of the name here given follows the natural meaning of the characters composing it, and has the sanction of Tanigaha Shisei, Motowori and Hirata také *toko* to stand for *soko,* "bottom," and interpret accordingly; but this is probably but one of the many instances in which the Japanese philologists allow themselves to be led by the boldness of their etymological speculations into identifying words radically distinct.

* Might not this mean: the Deity by whom Heaven stands for ever?—W.G.A.

11 This is a note in the original, where such notes are indented, as has also been done in the translation. The author's obscure phrase is explained by Motowori to mean that these Heavenly Deities were separate from those who came into existence afterwards, and especially from the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity (*Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*) who in the

"Chronicles" is the first divine being of whom mention in made. These five were, he says, "separate" and had nothing to do with the creation of the world. It should be stated that the sentence will also bear the interpretation "The five Deities in the above list are Deities who divided Heaven" (*i.e.*, presumably from Earth); but this rendering has against it the authority of all the native editors. As the expressions "Heavenly Deity" and "Earthly Deity" (lit., "Country Deity") are of frequent occurrence in these "Records," it may be as well to state that, according to Motowori, the "Heavenly Deities" were such as either dwelt in Heaven or had originally descended to Earth from Heaven, whereas the Earthly Deities were those born and dwelling in Japan.

1 Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-on-Earth, *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami. Conf.* Note 10 to Sect. I.

2 *Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami.* There is much doubt as to the proper interpretation of this name. The characters 雲野 ("cloud-moor”), with which the syllables read *kumo-nu* are written, are almost certainly phonetic, and the translator has followed Motowori's view as corrected by Hirata, according to which *kumo* is taken to stand for *kumu*, "integrating,” and *nu* is considered to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master" (or more vaguely "the person who presides at or does a thing”). Mabuchi in his “Dictionary of Pillow-words," Article *Sasu-take*, argues that the syllables in question should be interpreted in the sense of "coagulated mud"; but this is less satisfactory.

3 *U-hiji-ni-no-kami* and *Sa-hiji-ni-no-kami*. The names of this pair lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. Motowori's view of the meaning of the first three syllables in each seems best, as it is founded on the Chinese characters with which they are written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles”, and it has therefore been adopted here. Hirata interprets the names thus: First-Mud-Lord and First-Sand-Lady, and takes *ni* to be an alternative form of the Honorific *ne* found in so many proper names. This view of the meaning of *ni* has been followed by the translator. On the other hand Mabuchi explains the names to mean respectively Floating-Mud-Earth and Sinking-Mud-Earth. The only thing therefore that is granted by all is

that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made.—The reader will bear in mind that "younger sister" and "wife" are convertible names in Archaic Japanese. (See Introduction p. XLIII.)

* Or young woman.—W.G.A.

4 *Tsunu-guhi-no-kami* and *Iku-guhi-no-kami*. The interpretation given is one in which the commentators agree, and which has some probability in its favour. It must however only be accepted with reservation.

5 *Oho-to-no-ji-no-kami* and *Oho-to-no-be-no-kami.*

6 *Omo-daru-no-kami.* We might also render *omo-daru* by "perfect-face," *i.e.*," perfectly beautiful."

7 *Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami.* For "awful" we might substitute "venerable." Hirata, commentating on this name and the seven which precede it, says:" *U-hiji-ni* and *Su-hiji-ni* are so named from their "having contained the germs of what was to become the earth. *Oho-" to-no-ji* and *Oho-to-no-be* are so called from the appearance of the "incipient earth. *Tsunu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi* are so called from the "united appearance of the earth and the Deities as they came into "existence. *Omo-daru* and *Kashiko-ne* are so called from the com-" pletion of the august persons of the Deities. Thus their names were "given to them from the gradai progress [of creation]."

† Incites?—W.G.A.

8 *Izana-gi-no-kami* and *Izana-mi-no-kami*. There is some slight diversity of opinion as to the literal signification of the component parts of the names of these the best-known of the Deities hitherto mentioned, though the gist of the meaning remains unchanged. Motowori would prefer to read Iza-na-gi and *Iza-na-mi*, taking the syllable *na* as the Second Personal Pronoun" thou," and understanding the name thus: "the Prince-Who-Invites-Thee" and the "Princess-Who-Invites-Thee." It seems howéver more natural to look on *izana* as forming but one word, viz., the Root of the Verb *Izanafu*, "to invite." The older native commentators mean the same thing when they tell us that *na* is an Expletive. The syllables *gi* and *mi* are

of uncertain etymology, but occur in other Archaic words to denote the male and female of a pair. The appropriateness of thè names of these deities will be seen by referring to Sect IV.

9 For explanatory notes which are printed in small type in theoriginal, small type is likewise used in the translation.

1 For this rendering of the Japanese title *Mikoto* see Introduction, p. xviii, last paragraph.

2 The characters translated "jewelled spear" are 沼矛, whose proper Chinese signification would be quite different. But the first of the two almost certainly stands phonetically for 瑰 or 玉,-the syllable nu, which is its sound, having apparently been an ancient word for "jewel" or "bead" the better-known Japanese term being *tama.* In many places the word "jewel" (or "jewelled") seems to be used simply as an adjective expressive of beauty. But Motowori and Hirata credit it in this instance with its proper signification, and the translator always renders it literally, leaving the reader to consider it to be used metaphorically if and where he pleases.

3 *Ama*-no-uki-hashi or *Ame-no-uki-hashi,* The best authorities are at variance as to the nature of this bridge uniting Heaven with Earth. Hirata identifies it with the Heavenly-Rock-Boat (*Ame-no-iha-fune*) mentioned in some ancient writings, whereas Motowori takes it to have been a real bridge, and finds traces of it and of similar bridges in the so-called "Heavenly Stairs" *(Ama-no-hashi-date)* which are found on several points of the coast, forming a kind of natural breakwater just above water-level.

4 *I.e.* "till it became thick and glutinous." It is not easy to find in English a word which will aptly render the original Japanese onomatopoeia *kouoro-koaoro.* The meaning may also be "till it made a curdling sound." But though the character 鳴, "to make a noise," sanctions this view, it is not the view approved by the copfimentators, and 鳴 is probably* only written phonetically for a homonymous word signifying" to become," which we find in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

* Yes.—W.G.A.

5 *I.e.*, Self-Curdling," “Self-Condènsed.” It is supposed to have been one of the islets off the coast of the larger island of Ahaji.

1 The original of this quasi-causative phrase, of which there is no other examplè in Japanese literature so far as the translator's reading goes, is interpreted by Motowori in the sense of the English locution to which it literally corresponds, and it has here been rendered accordingly, though with considerable hesitation. Hirata does not approve of Motowori's view; but then the different text which he here adopts imposes on him the necessity of another interpretation. (See his "Exposition of thè Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 39-40.)

2 The original word *hiro* (written 尋) is defined as the distance between the hands when the arms are outstretched. The word rendered "hall, may also be translated “palace"-The text of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" is "they made the Island of Onogoro the central pillar of the land,"-a statement which seems more rational and more in accordance with general tradition than that of these "Records."

* May not *mi tono maguwai* (美斗能麻具波比) mean simply "nuptial-cham Der-intercourse" as opposed to irregular chance connection. The author seems to take pains to represent the union of *Izanami* and *Izanagi* as a regular marriage.—W.G.A.

3 This is Hirata's view of the import of the somewhat obscure original (see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 61-64). Motowori's interpretation is: "auguste in thalamo coibimus.”

4 The name in the original is Hiru-go, an instance of the fortuitous verbal resemblances occasionally found between unrelated languages.

5 Literally "foam.” It is supposed to have been an islet near the island of Ahaji in the province of Sanuki.

6 Hiru-go was not so reckoned, because he was a failure.

1 The characters 御所, here translated” august place” (the proper Chinese signification is "imperial place”) are those still in common use to denote the Mikado's palace.

2 For an elaborate account of the various methods of divination practised by the Ancient Japanese see Note 5 to Mr. Satow's translation of the "Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta" in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 425 *et seq.*"The most important mode of divination practised by the" primitive Japanese was that of scorching the shoulder-blade of a "deer over a clear fire, and finding omens in the cracKs produced by "the heat."

3 *Aha-ji* signifies "foam-way," *i.e.*, "the way to Foam (Aha)-Island,"* on account, it is said, of its intermediate position between the mainland and the provincé of Aha in what is in modern parlance the Island of Shikoku. The author of the "Chronicles of Old Affairs" fancifully derives the name from a *haji* ft my shame." The etymology of Ho-no-sa-waké is disputed; but Hirata, who in the body of Vol. Ill of his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" had already expended much ingenuity in discussing it, gives the most satisfactory interpretation that has yet been proposed in a postscript to that volume where he explains it to signify "Rice-ear-True-Youth." *Wake* (sometimes *waki* or *waku*) is a word of frequent occurrence in the names of gods and heroes. Whether it really signifies "youth," as Hirata believes and as it is most natural to suppose, or whether Motowori's guess that it is an Honorific title corrupted from *wage kimi ye* (lit. "my prince elder brother," more freely "'lord") remains undecided. When it is used as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "lord," as that in such cases is its import apart from the question of derivation. Sa, rendered "true," may almost be considered to have dwindled down to a simple Honorific.—It is this little island which is said by the author of the "Chronicles" to have been the caul with which the great island of Yamato was born. Ahaji and Ho-no-sa-wake must be understood to be alternative names, the latter being what in other cases is prefaced by the phrase "another name for whom."

* I should say Awaji originally meant the millet country, foam being an afterthought.-W.G.A.

4 *Futa-na*is written with characters signifying "two names "and Motowori's derivation from *futa-narabi,*"two abreast," does not carry

conviction. The etymology of Iyo is quite uncertain. It is here taken as the name of the whole island called in modern times Shikoku; but immediately below we find it in its usual modern acceptation of one of the four provinces into which that island is divided. A similar remark applies to Tsukushi a little further on.

5 *Ye-hime.* For the rendering of *hiko* and *hime* as "prince" and "princess" see Introduction, p. xviii.

6 Probably derived, as Hirata shows, from *saho-ki,* "pole-trees,"* a tribute of poles† having anciently been paid by that province. Motowori adopts the unusual reading of the name given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," viz. Sanugi, with the last syllable *nlgori*'ed.

* Shaft trees. —W.G.A.

† Spear shafts?—W.G.A.

7 *Ihi-yori-hiko.* The translator, though with some hesitation, follows Motowori in looking on *yori* as a contraction of *yoroshi*, "good." The character used for it in the original is 依.

8 *Oho-ge-tsu-hime*. Remember that *aha* signifies not only "foam" but "millet," so that we need not be astonished to find that the alternative designation of the island so designated is that of a food-goddess.

9 Etymology uncertain, only fanciful derivations being proposed by the native philologists.

10 *Take-yori-wake*.

11 *Mitsu-go* signifies "triplets," lit., "three children." The three islets intended are *Ama-no-shima, Mukafu-no-shima* and *Chiburi-no-shima*.

12 Oki probably here signifies "offing," which is its usual acceptation.

13 *Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake*. The syllables *oshi,* which recur in the names of many gods and heroes, are rendered "great "in accordance which Motowori's plausible conjecture that they are an abbreviation of *ohoshi* ("great," not "many" as in the later language). The translation of *koro* by "heart" follows a conjecture of Hirata's (Motowori acknowledged that he could make nothing of the word), according to which it is taken to be an abbreviated form of *kokoro,*"héart."

14 None but fanciful derivations of this word are suggested by the native philologists.

15 A note to the edition of 1687 says: "Should the word ‘four, be changed to ‘five'?’)" For most texts enumerate five countries in this passage with sight variations in the names, Himuka (Hiuga), which it certainly seems strange to omit, being the fourth on the list with the alternative name of Toyokuzhi-hine-wake, while the alternative name Hi is Haya-hi-wake. Motowori argues that an enumeration of four agrees better with the context, while Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary decides in favour of the five. There are thus texts and authorities in favour of both views,

16 *Shira-bi-wake.*

17 *Toyo* means "luxuriant” or "fertile.” Hi appears to signify "fire” or "sun.” *Kumaso* is properly a compound, *Kuma-so*, as the district is often mentioned by the simple name of *So*. Kuma signifies "bear," and Motowori suggests that the use of the name of this the fiercest of beasts as a prefix may be traced to the evil reputation of that part of the country for robbers and outlaws. He quotes similar compounds with *kuma* in support of this view.

18 *Toyo-bi-wake*,

19 *Take-hi-muhahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake.* The interpretation of this name follows Motowori.

20 *Take-bi-wake*.

21 Etymology uncertain, but there seems reason to suppose that the name was originally pronounced Yiki or Yuki.

22 *Ame-hito-tsu-bashira*.

23 *Tsu* (Tsu-shima) means "port," "anchorage," a name probably given to this island on account of its being the midway halting-placé for junks plying between Japan and Korea.

24 *Ame-no-sade-yori-hime*. The interpretation of *sade* (rendered hand-net") is uncertain. The translator has followed that sanctioned by an ode in Vol. I of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by a passage in the “Japanese Words Classified and Explained." Hirata takes *sa* to be an

Honorific and *te* to be the usual word for "hand," while Motowori gives up the name in despair.

25 Etymology uncertain.

26 *Oho-yamato'toyo-aki-dzu-shima* (the original of the alternative personal name is *Ama'no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake*). The etymology of Yamato is much disputed. Mabuchi, in his" Addenda to the Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," derives the name from *yama-to*, "mountain-gate." Motowori, in a learned discussion to be found in his "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," pp. 24-27, proposes three other possible derivations, viz. *yama-to*," mountain-place," yama-to (supposed to stand for yama" tsubo and to mean "mountain-secluded")' and *yama-utsu* (*utsu* being a supposititious Archaic from of uchi), "within the mountains." Other derivations are *yama-to* (山夕)," without the mountains," *yama-ato*, "mountain-traces" and *yama-todomi*," mountains stopping," *i.e*. (as Moribe, who proposes it, explains), "far as the mountains can be seen." Another disputed point is whether the name of Yamato which here designates the Main Island of the Archipelago, but which in the common parlance of both ancient and modern times is the denomination on the one hand of the single province of Yamato and on the other of the whole Empire of Japan, originally had the wider application or the more restricted one. Motowori and the author of the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" seem to the present writer to make out the case in favour of the latter view. Motowori supposes the name to have denoted first a village and then a district, before being applied to a large province and finally to the entire country. The "Island of the Dragon-fly is a favourite name for Japan in the language of the Japanese poets. It is traced to a remark of the Emperor Jim-mu, who is said to have compared the shape of the country round Mount Hohoma to" a dragon-fly drinking with its tail." *Conf*. also the tradition forming the subject of Sec. CLVI of the present translation.

27 *Oho-ya-shima-kuni*. A perhaps still more literal English rendering of this name would be "Land of the Errand Eight Islands" or "Grand Land of

the Eight Islands," for the word *oho* must be regarded rather as an Honorific than as actually meant to convey an idea of size.

28 "To the Island of Onogoro,"* says Motowori; but we are not told that the god and goddess had ever left it.

* The idea plainly is that the God and Goddess went on a circuit depositing islands on their way.— W.G.A.

29 Ko means "infant" or" small." The original of the alternative personal name is *Take-hi-gata-wake*. *Gata* (or, without the *nigori*, Kata) here and in other names offers some difficulty. The translator renders it by the equivalent of the usual Japanese signification of the character 方, "direction," with which it is written.

30 Etymology uncertain.

31 Adzuki is writen with the characters 小豆, which signify a kind of bean (the *Phaseolus radiatus*); but it is possible that they represent the sound, and not the sense, of the name. In the alternative personal name *oho* signifies "great," and *hime princess,*" while the syllables *nu-de* are of altogether uncertain interpretation. Motowori suggests that *nu may* mean "moor" and *de* (for *te*) "clapper-bell."

32 I.e., Great Island. The word *tamaru* in the alternative personal name is so obscure that not even any plausi me conjecture concerning it has been ventured and the name is therefore of necessity left untranslated.

33 *Hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-hito-tsu-ne.*

34 Etymology uncertain. Motowori would take the name in a Plural sense as standing for the modern islands of Hirado and Go-to (Goto). The original of the alternative personal name is Ame-no-oshi-wo, in which as usual, oshi is supposed to represent ohoshi (大)' "great."

35 *Futa-go* means "twins." The original of tne alternative personal name is *Ame-futa-ya.*

1 *Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami*."The Male-Enduring-Great-Things" would be a possible, but less good rendering. This god is identified by

Motowori with *Koto-toke-no-wo* mentioned in "One account" of the" Chronicles of Japan."

2 The original *Iha-tsuchi-biko-no-kami* (石士昆古神) is identified by Motowori with *Uha-dzutsu-no-wo* (上箇之男) mentioned in Sect. X (Note 18). He would interpret the first *tsu* (*dzu*) as the Genitive particle and the second as identical with the "Honorific appellation *ji* of males," which occurs in such words as *Hiko-ji*, *Oho-to-no-ji*, etc. If this surmise were correct, the entire name would signify Upper-Lord-Prince; but it is safer to be guided by the characters in the text.

3 *Iha-zu-bime-no-kami*. Here too Motowori takes the syllable *zu* to be "connected with" the syllables *tsu-tsu* interpreted as above, forgetting apparently that the second *tsu* (*ji*) is said to occur only in the names of males.

4 *Oho-to-bi-wake-no-kami*, a name which Motowori, by supposing corruptions of the text and by making a plentiful use of the pliant and powerful system of derivation with which thè Japanese etymologists lay siege to the difficulties of their language, identines with *Oho-naho-bi-no-kami,* "the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity," mentioned in Sect. X (Note 16).

5 *Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami*. identified by Motowori with *I-buki-do-nushi* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification." (See his Commentary on this Ritual, Vol. II, pp. 29-32.)

6 *Oho-ya-biko-no-kami*, identified by Motowori with *Oho-aya-tsu-bi* mentioned in "One account" of the Chronicles.

7 *Kaza-ge-tsa-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami*. Motowori's conjectural interpretation has been followed; but both the reading and the meaning of the original are encompassed with difficulties. Motowori identifies this deity with *Soko-dzutsu-wo* mentioned in Sect. X. (Note 18), and with *Haya-sasura-hime* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification."

8 *Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*. The interpretation of *ml* as equivalent to *mochi,* "possessor," though not absolutely sure, has for it the weight both of authority and of likelihood.

9 I.e., river-mouths, estuaries, or ports. In the original *Minato-no-kami.*

10 *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko-no-kami. Aki*, whose proper signification is "autumn," might also by metonymy be interpreted to mean "dragonfly" or "Japan." Motowori, *apropos* of this name, launches forth on véry bold derivations and identifications with the names of other gods. The original of the name of the sister-deity is *Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami.*

11 The text here omits the word "Swift" from this name,

12 The original names of this deity and the three that follow are *Awa-nagi-no-kami, Awa-nami-no-kami, Tsura-nagi-no-kami,* and *Tsura-nami-no-kami.* The interpretation of the component parts is open to doubt, but that here adopted has the authority of Motowori and Hirata.

13 Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami. The following deity is *Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami.*

14 This deity and the next are in the original *Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami* and *Kani-no-ha-hiza-mochi-no-kami,* The etymology is obtained by comparison with a passage in the "Ritual for Averting Fire" (鎮火祭祝詞).

15 *Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami*. The original of this name is explained by Motowori, who founds his view on two passages in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," to signify Prince-of-Long-*Breath.* But the translator feels confident that *shi-na*, by him interpreted in the sense of "long breath" (or rather "long of breath") should be connected with *shi*, an old word for wind which we see in *ara-shi*"storm-wind"), *ni-shi* ("west-wind"), *hi-gashi* ("east wind"), and perhaps under a slightly altered form in *kaze*, "wind," whereas *shi* nowhere occurs in the sense of "breath." Hirata notices approvingly this etymology of *shi* ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. Ill, p. 63), though without venturing flatly to contradict his predecessor's decision as to the import of the name in question. The difference in the meaning is after all slight. *Na* is to be taken as an apocopated form of *nagaki*, "long." In later times *Shinato* has been used as a name for the north-west wind.

16 Such seems to be the meaning of the original *Kuku-no-chi-no-kami.*

17 *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*.

18 Kaya-nu-hime-no-kami. The etymology of the alternative personal name (in the original *Nu-dzu-chi-no-kamu*) is not quite certain.

19 The original of these two names is *Ame-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami*. Their signification is obscure, but the translator has, after some hesitation, followed Motowori's interpretation. The words "heavenly" and "earthly" should probably be considered as qualifying "passes." This word" pass," used here and elsewhere to render the Japanese term *saka** (sa), must be understood to include lesser ascents than those very arduous ones which are alone denoted by the word "pass" in ordinary English parlance. In the later language of Japan the word *tauge* (*tōge*) generally denotes "passes" properly so called, while *saka* is restricted to the meaning of small ascents or hills. But this distinction is by no means strictly observed.

* Saka is the Scotch, "brae."—W.G.A.

20 *Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sa-giri-no-kami Sa* seems to be rightly considered, as in the two preceding names, to be an archaic form of *saka* (properly *sa-ka*, "hill-place"), and *giri* as an apocopated form of *kagiri*, (properly *ka-giri*, "place cutting"), "limit" or "boundary." Hirata however, following the Chinese character with which *kiri* is written, interprets it in the sense of "mist.'

21 *Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami*. Motowori explains *kura* (闇," dark") by *tani* (谷, "valley"), and *to* (戸, "door"), by *tokoro* (處, "place").

22 Such appears to be the proper interpretation of the originals of these two names, *Oho-tomato-hiko-no-kami* and *Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami, tomato* being plausibly referred to *towomaru*. It is difficult to find an English word to represent exactly the idea, which is rather that of a gentle *fold* in the mountains than of the narrower and steeper hollow which we call a "valley."

23 *I.e.*, the Prince-Who-Invites and the Princess-Who-Invites (*Izana-gi* and *Izana-mi*).

24 *Tori-no-iha-kusa-bune-no-kami*, The alternative name is *Ame-no-tori-bune*, from which the title of Deity is omitted. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. V. pp. 52-53 should be consulted on the subject of this deity.

25 Homonymous with the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha. (See Sect. V. Note 8.)

26 *Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami*. If, as seems likely, *yagi* is an incorrect reading for *kagi*, we should have to translate by "shining" the word here rendered "burning." The alternative names are *Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami* and *Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami*. In "One account" of the "Chronicles" and elsewhere in the "Ritual" this fire-god is called *Ho-musubi, i.e.*, "the Fire-Producer."

1 "Lying down" (*koyasu*) is a term often used in the Archaic language in the sense of "dying." But here it must be taken literally, the death ("divine retirement") of the goddess being narrated a few lines further on.

2 *Kana-yama-biko-no-kami* and *Kana-yama-bime-no-kami*. The translation of this pair of names follows the plain sense of the characters 金山 with which they are written, and which seems appropriate enough, coming as they do between the deity of fire and deities of clay. Motowori however, declaring both characters to be merely phonetic, derives *kana-yama* from *kare-nayamasu*, "to cause to wither and suffer," and interprets the names accordingly. This is at any rate ingenious.

3 *Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami* and *Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami.*

4 The signification of this name is not to be ascértainéd. In the text it is written phonetically 彌都波倉賣, and two passages in the "Chronicles" where this deity is mentioned as 水神罔象女 and 水名爲嚴罔象女 with directions in each case to read the name with the sounds here given to it, do not help us much, except in so far as they show that Mitsuhanome was conceived of as the deity of water and as a femalé.

5 *Waku-musu-bi-no-kami*.

6 *Toyo- uke- bime-no-kami*.

7 *I.e.*, "died."

8 There is here an error in the computation, as *nine* deities are mentioned. The total of thirty-five deities given immediately below is still more erroneous, as no less than *forty* are named in the preceding passage. Motowori makes an ingenious effort to reconcile arithmetic and revelation by supposing the five pairs of brothers and sisters with parallel names to have been considered as each forming but one deity.

9 See Sect. III. This island was not *born*, but arose spontaneously from drops of brine.

10 *Hiru-go*. See the latter part of Sect. IV for these two names. Hiru-go was not counted among the children of these Deities for the reason that the latter abandoned him as soon as he was born, he béing a failure. The reason for omitting Aha from the computation is not so clear.

11 The text here is very peculiar, the characters rendered "single child" being 子之−木 where we should expect 子之 −人 or 子−人. Hirata proposes to consider 木, "tree," which most scholars agree in reading *ke* instead of *ki* in this place, as phonetic for *ke* (毛) "hair," and to interpret the god's words to signify that he values the child no more than a single hair in comparison with the wife whom that child's birth has lost for him. Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," s.v. *Ko no hito-tsu ki* (Vol. I. p. 8 *et seq*.), ingeniously argues that ki was an old native Japanese" Auxiliary Numeral" for animals, afterwards driven out by the somewhat like-sounding Chinese word MM (匹) which is now in common use, and that the god employs this degrading Auxiliary Numeral in speaking of his child on account of the resentment which he feels against him. On the other hand we gather from the "Chronicles of Japan Explained" that 木 was used in its natural sense as an "Auxiliary Numeral" for gods and for men of exalted rank. This seems to the translator the better view to follow and it is supported by the use of 桂, *hashira*, as the regular "Auxiliary Numeral" for divine personages. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has simply −兄"one infant."

* And crept round her august feet and wept, thereupon there was born.W.G.A.

12 This reading is but tentative; for it is not certain that Hirata, whose view has been here adopted, is right in regarding Konomoto and Unewo as names of places. If we followed the older authorities, we should have to translate thus: "The Deity that dwells at the foot of the trees on the slope of the spur of Mount Kagu." The etymology of the name of this celebrated mountain (knows also as *Ame-no-kagu-yama* or *Ama-no-kagu-yama*, i.e., "Heavenly Mount Kagu") is disputed. But Hirata's view, according to which it should be connected with *kago*, "deer," is the most plausible. If it were established we should be tempted to follow him in rendering by "deer-possessor" the name of the deity *Kagu-tsu-chi*, of whom were born the eight gods of mountains, and whose slaying forms the title of the next section. That the fire-deity should be connected with the mountain-deities, and thereby with the deer who roam about the mountains and furnish the hunter with a motive for penetrating into their recesses, is of course but natural. The character 香 with which Kagu is written signifies" fragrant"; but it has been suggested that the Japanese word may be connected with an expression signifying "heaven-descended," in allusion to the supposed origin of the mountain as related in an old geographical work (now lost) treating of the Province of Iyo.

13 *Naki-saha-me-no-kami*. The sense of the second word of the compound is "marsh" or "stream"; but Motowori seems right in considering the character 澤 to be here used phonetically as an abbreviation of *isaha* from *isatsu*, "to weep."

14 *I.e.*, dead.

15 Etymology uncertain.

16 For this name see Sect XIX. Note 6.

17 Etymology uncertain.

* Or ten spans long.—W.G.A.

1 One "grasp" is defined as "the breadth of four fingers when the hand is clenched," so that the meaning intended to be conveyed is of a big sabre ten hand-breadths long. The length of sabres and of beards was measured by such "grasps" or "hand-breadths."

† The sabre is curved, but the ancient Japanese sword was straight. —W.G.A.

2 The original names of this deity and the next are *Iha-saku-no-kami* and *Ne-saku-no-kami*.

3 Or the Rock-Elder-Male-Deity, i.e., thè Male Deity the Elder of the Rocks, if with Motowori we regard the second *tsu* of the original name *Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami* as being equivalent to *chi* or *ji*, supposed to be "the honorific appellation of males,' elsewhere rendered "elder." The translation in the text proceeds on the assumption that this *tsu* represents *mochi*. The purport of the name remains much the same whichever of these two views be adopted.

4 Explained by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" through a character signifying "the knob at the end of the guard of the sword." —(Williams' "Syllabic Dictionary.")

I have seen in the Tokio Museum an ancient sword the hilt of which ended in a ring, and a definition of 禪 given in the Shoki Shukai (書紀集解) is "sword-ring."—W.G.A.

5 *Mika-haya-bi-no-kami*. Motowori seems to be right in regarding *mika* as equivalent to *ika*, the root of *ikameshiki*, "stern," "awful," and *bi* as the root of *buru*, a verbalising suffix.

6 *Hi haya-bi-no-kami*.

* The character in the Shoki is 集=*Hiru*, to parch, to scorch, to dry in the sun.—W.G.A.

7 *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami* written with the characters 建御雷之男神. The translator has without much hesitation followed Motowori's interpretation.

8 *Take-futsu-no-kami*. The next name is *Toyo-futsu-no-kami*. Futsu is interpreted in the sense of "the sound of snapping" by reference to a passage in the "Chronicles" where it occurs written both ideo-grapnically and phonetically in the name of the deity *Futsu-no-mi-tama*.

9 The etymology of both these names is obscure. *Kura*, the first element of each compound, signifies "dark."

10 This is the explanation of the original name *Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* which is given in the "Secret of the Chronicles of Japan," and is approved by the later commentators.

11 *Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*. The English rendering is uncertain, as it rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, deriving *odo* from *ori-do* (下處), "descending place," way down.

12 The original names of this and the following five deities are: *Oku-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Hara-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* and *To-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami. Shigi*, here translated "dense," seems to be almost certainly a contraction of *shigeki*, which has that signification. *Ha-yama* is a term for which it is hard to find an exact English equivalent. It denotes the lesser hills or first visibly rising ground forming the approach to an actual mountain-range. The signification of *to* in the last name of the set is disputed. Mabuchi takes it in the sensè of "gate." The translator prefers Motowori's view; but after all, the difference in meaning does not amount to much. A third derivation proposed by Motowori is *tawa-yama*, i.e. "mountains with folds."*

* See the Nihongi on this passage.—w.g.a

13 Or arm."

14 Or "leg."

15 These two names are in the original *Ame-no-wo-ha-bari* and *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari*. Their import is not absolutely clear, but they seem to designate a weapon broad towards the point, such as is represented in the illustrations given in Vol. I, pp. 19-20 and Vol. II, pp. 4-5 of the "*Tokiha-Gusa.*"

1 The characters in the original which are here rendered Hades are 黃泉, lit. "Yellow Stréam," a Chinese name for the Underworld to which a remark of Mencius and a story in the "*Tso Chuan*" appear to have given rise. They here represent the Japanese word *Yomo* or *Yomi*, which we find phonetically written with the characters 豫母 in thè name of *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me* a little further on, and which is defined by Motowori as "an underworld"..... the habitation of the dead"..... the land whither, when they

die, go all men, whether noble or mean, virtuous or wicked." The orthodox Japanese derivation of *Yomi* is from *Yoru*, "night," which would give us for *Yomo-tsu-kuni* some such rendering as "the Land of Gloom." A suggestion quoted by Arawi Hakuseki ("*Toga*," art. *Idzumi*) that the word may really be but a mispronunciation of *Yama, the Sanscrit name of the Buddhist god of hell, is however worthy of consideration; and it seems best on the whole to translate Yomi or Yomo by "Hades," a term which is itself of uncertain derivation, and the signification attached to which closely resembles the Japanese Shinto notion of the world beyond, or rather beneath, the grave.*

2 The original text 爾自殿騰戸出向之時 seems to be corrupt, and Motowori, unable to make anything of 騰戸, leaves 騰 without any Japanese reading (see the remarks in his Commentary, Vol. VI. pp. 5-6). Mr. Aston, in the version of this passage given in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," follows Motowori in not translating 騰'* but does not allude to the difficulty.

* This character should I think be read *agari*, a 'temporary burying place,' but this does not remove the whole difficulty. See the Nihon Shoki in this passage.—W.G.A.

† A wide-spread idea that once having eatén of the food of a place oné is bound to remain?—W.G.A.

3 *I.e.*, "of the food of Hades." It would be more obvious (following the text) to translate "I have eaten in the doors [*i.e.*, in the house] of Hades"; but the character 戸 in this place stands almost certainly for 竈,‡ "a place for cooking," "a furnace."

‡ As in the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

4 The word *kashikoshi* (恐)' here translated "reverence," exactly corresponds to the modern polite idiom *osore-iri-mashita*, for which there is no precise equivalent in English, but which conveys some such sentiment as "I am overpowered by the honour you do me,"" I am sorry you should have taken the trouble."

5 *Q.d.* "with thee to the land of the living."

6 The original here has the character K which signifies "moreover” as in the translation, and Motowori's proposed emendation to 旦 has for it the authority of no manuscript or earlier printed edition. In his "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading” he actually substitutes this very *new* reading, accompanying it in *kana* with the Japanese words *ashita ni*, "in the morning.” But what is to become of the text if we are at liberty to alter it to suit our convenience,—for there is more than one other pasage where 旦 is similarly used?

7 *Yomo-tsu-kami* Both Motowori and Hirata take the word” Deitiès” in the Plural, and the translator therefore renders it in that number, though the Singular would be at least equally suitable to the text as it stands. Of the Deities of Hades little or nothing is known. Conf. Note 23 to this Section.

8 Literally "the male pillar," *i.e.* the large tooth of which there is one at each end of the comb.

9 The use of the expression “lit *one* light," where it would have been more natural to say simply "lit [a] light,” is explained by a gloss in the "Chronicles,” which informs us that” at the present day” the lighting of a single light is considered unlucky, as is also the throwing away of a comb at night-time. It is allowed that thè gloss is a late addition, and its statement might perhaps be considered a mere invention made to account for the peculiar expression in the text. Motowori tells us however that "it is said by a native” that these actions are still (latter part of 18th century) considered unlucky in the province of Ihami, and the same superstition also survives, as the translator is assured, in Yedo itself. It is to be understood that it was the large tooth broken off from the comb which the god lighted.

10 Or “arm."

11 Or "leg."

12 The Japanese names of the eight Thunder-Deities are: *Oho-ikadzuchi, Ho-no-ikadzuchi, Kuro-ikadzuchi 'saku-ikadzuchi, Waki-ika-dzuchi Tsuchi-ikadzuchi, Nara-ikadzuchi and Fushi-ikadzuchi.* Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, has some observations on the

appropriateness of each of these names which the student wiil do well to consult if the work should be published.*

* The Nihongi makes eight of these.-W.G.A.

† Why not "produced”? The Nihongi has changed into."—W.G.A.

13 *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me*

14 We might perhaps with equal propriety render by” wreath” the word here translated head-dress,—leaves and flowers having been the earliest ornaments for the hair. In later times, however, it has been used to designate any sort of head-dress, and that is also the dictionary meaning of the Chinese character with which it is written. The Japanese words for "head-dress" and "creeper" are homonymous, and indeed the former is probably but a specialised acceptation of the latter.

15 *I.e.* brandishing it behind him.

16 Or Flat Hill of Hades, *Yomo-tsu-hira-saka*, said by Motowori to form the frontier-line between Hades and the World of the Living. See also Note 27 to this Section.

17 The three characters 青人草* here rendered "people" are evidently (Motowori notwithstanding) meant to be equivalent to the common Chinese expression 蒼生, which has that signification. The word translated "living” means literally "present," "visible."

* Yes. It is applied to people in this actual visible world as opposed to the gods and spirits who cannot be seen and is the expression used in the corresponding passage of the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

18 *Ashi-hara-no-naka-tsu-kuni*, a common periphrastic designation of Japan. It is better to translate the name thus than to render it by "the Land in the Middle of the Reed-Plains," a forced interpretation which Motowori 'and Hirata would only seem to adopt in order to veil the fact that one of the most ancient and revered names of their native land was imitated from that of China,—everything Chinese being an abomination in the sight of these ardent Shintoists. Yama-zaki Suiga, as quoted by Tanigaha Shisei, is more sensible when he remarks that each country naturally considers itself central and foreign countries barbarous, and that Japan is not peculiar in being

looked on by its inhabitants as the centre of the universe. This is also the view taken by the other earlier scholars.

19 *Oho-kamu-dzu-mi-no-mikoto*. The difference between Singular and Plural is not often present to the Japanese mind, and though there were three peaches, we might just as well render their name by the words "His Augustness, etc.," considering the three as forming together but one divinity. The interpretation of the name here adopted is the simple and natural one which Motowori borrowed from Tanigaha Shisei.

20 *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

21 That some kind of leave-taking and separation is intended seems certain; but the precise import of the characters 度事戸 in the text is not to be ascertained. Motowori's "Commentary," Vol. VI, pp. 29-30 and Vol. X, pp. 52-55, should be consulted for an elaborate discussion of the various interpretations which they may be made to bear. Moribe, in his Critique on this Commentary, argues that "divorced each other" is the proper signification of the words, and supports his opinion by the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

22 *I.e.*, "I will cause fifteen hundred women to bear children." (For the custom of erecting a separate hut for a woman about to be delivered see Introduction p. xxxii.)

23 *Yomo-tsu-oho-kami*. On this rather embarrassing statement Motowori is silent, and Hirata simply says: It must be supposed that" the 'Deities of Hades' previously mentioned had been its 'Great "Deities" up to this time, a position which was henceforward assumed "by Her Augustness Izana-mi (the Female-Who-Invites.") Conf. Note 7 to this Section.

24 *Chi-shiki-no-ho-kami*. [This is Motowori's reading. We might also read *Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami*.] Motowori conclusively proves that" reaching "is the signification of the word *shiki* which is here so translated. That it was already obscure at the time of the compilation of these "Records" is however shown by the fact that it is written syllabically in the first instance, and with a "borrowed character" (*i.e.*, a homonymous word) in the second.

25 Because the goadess was turned back by it on the road where she was pursuing her brother-husband. The original is *Chi-gaheshi* [or *Michi-gaheshi*]-*no-oho-kami*.

26 *Sayari-mam-yomi-do-no-oho-kami*.

27 *Ifuya-zaka*. Moribe in his "*Idzu-no-chi-waki*" conjectures that Ifuya may be derived from *Yufu-yami*, "evening darkness," an etymology which has at least the merit of suiting the legend.

* "That I have.—W.G.A.

1 The words "I have" thus repeated are an attempt to render the concluding words *ari keri* of the sentence in the original, by which, though they have no particular sense, the author evidently set great store, as he writes them syllabically. They may be considered to emphasize what goes before and, says Motowori, "convey the idea of lamentation."† The idiom occurs some half-dozen times in the course of the present work.

† Exclamation.—W.G.A.

2 This botanical name is identified by Arawi Hakuseki and Hirata with the modern *hagi*, or "bushclover" (*lespedeza* of various species). The received opinion used to be that the *awoki* (*Aucuba Japonica*) was here intended.

3 Tachibana is understood to be the general designation of trees of the orange tribe. (See however Sect, LXXIV, Note 7.) Here it is used as a proper name.

4 This name, which signifies "sun-confronting," was not unnaturally bestowed on a province in the eastern part of the westernmost of the larger Japanese islands, as it might well be conceived as lying "opposite the sun." It has, however, been supposed to have originally denoted the whole of the island in question. In any case the name is not inappropriate, as the island has a long eastern sea-board.

5 In our text *Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do*.* But *funa* should almost certainly be *ku-na* and the name (which has here been translated accordingly) is then illustrated by the more extended version of this myth which is given in the "Chronicles," where we read that the god (probably addressing his sister)

threw down his staff with the words: "Come no further.” "Stand” must be understood in a Transitive sense: the god *stood* his staff up by thrusting it into the sand.

* Fu of *funa* may be a Verb meaning "to pass" containing the same root as *heru. Funada* and *Kunado* would then have the same signification Was there a practice of setting up a post to warn people not to approach too closely where a *harai* was being performed?—W.G.A.

6 This is Moribe's explanation ("*Idzu-no-Chi-waki*." Vol. IV, p. 44) of the meaning of the original name *Michi-no-naga-chi-ha-no-kami*, the syllable *ha* of which is considered by him to be an alternative form of *ma* (間, "space"). It is however a great crux and Motowori confesses his inability to explain it satisfactorily. Other views as to the import of the syllable in question will be found in the “*Jin-dai no maki Mo-shiho-gusa*," Vol. II, p. 29.

7 This seems to be the meaning of the original name, if we retain the reading *Toki-okashi-no-kami*. See however Motowori's remarks *in loco*.

8 *Wadzurahi-no'-ushi-no-kami*.

9 *Chi-mata-no-kami*.

10 *Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami*. The English rendering of this obscure name proceeds on the assumption that Motowori is correct when he proposes to consider *kuhi* as equivalent in this placè to *kuchi*, “mouth." The gaping trousers no longer filled by the deity's legs would perhaps suggest the idea of an open mouth, though it is true that this is not the deity said to have been actually born from that portion of the attire.

11 Or "arm."

12 The names of this deity and the five who follow are in the original *Oki-zakaru-no-kami, Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami, Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami IIe-zakaru-no-kami, He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami* and *He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami*. The word “wash," by which for want of a better one the Substantive *nagjsu* has been rendered, must be understood to signify the part nearest to the strand of the sea or of a river,—the boundary of the waves. The third and sixth of this set of names, in which the syllables *kahi-*

bera (here represented by "Intermediate Direction",) offer a good deal of difficulty, have been translated in accordance with Motowori's explanation of their probable meaning.

13 Lit. "right." In Chinese and Japanese compositions the lines follow each other from right to left instead of from top to bottom as with us." Right" therefore signifies "foregoing," and "left," "following."

14 The names of these two deities in the original are *Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami* and *Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami*.

15 Viz. to Hades.

16 The names of these two deities in the original are *Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami* and *Oho-naho-bi-no-kami*.

17 *Idzu-ne-me-no-kami*. The word *Idzu* is incomprehensible, unless indeed, following Motowori, we identify this goddess with the god and goddess *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko* and *Haya-aki-dzu-hime* mentioned in Sect. VI. Note 10, and consider *idzu* as standing by apheresis for *ah -dzu*.

18 The original names of this deity and the five who follow are *Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, Nika-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kaami, Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-komi* and *Uha-dzatsu-no-wo-mikoto*. There is the usual doubt as to the signification to be assigned to the syllable *tsu* in the second, fourth and last of these names. If it really means, not "elder" but "possessor," we should be obliged to translate by "the Bottom-*Possessing*-Male," etc.

19 *Adzumi no murazhi*. This name is said by Motowori to be taken from that of a place in the province of Shinano. Bnt Moribe shows that at any rate the etymology of the word may be traced to *ama-tsu-mochi*, "possessors of fishermen."

20 It is impossible to translate this name which, according to Motowori, is derived from those of two districts in Shinano to which the word *utsushi* (for *utsutsu*, "present" or "living") is prefixed.

21 Attention must again be drawn to the vagueness of the Japanese perception of the distinction between singular and Plural. As three deities are particularly and repeatedly mentioned in the foregoing text, we are

forced to translate this passage in the Plural; and yet how could one child have three fathers?

22 *Sumi-no-ye*, also called *Sumi-yoshi, i.e.*, by a play upon words, "pleasant to dwell in." The real etymology of *sumi* is not certain.— Instead of" the three Great Deities," we might translate by "the Great Deities of the Three Shrines."

23 *Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami* (天照大御神)The reading *terasu*, which is established by the authority of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by almost universal usage, must not mislead the student into imagining that the Verb, because it is Causative in form, has a Causative meaning which would require some such English translation as" Heaven-Illuminating." The Causative form is simply Honorific, and the two words *ama terasu* signify, as Motowori explains, "shining in heaven."

24 *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami*. There is no doubt as to a moon-god being intended, but the precise import of the name is disputed. The translator has followed Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori, and which is supported by the fact that, from classical times down to the present day, *tsuku-yo* or tsuki-yo has been a word in common use to denote a fine moonlight night. It we were to take *yomi* Authentic Recipes from Jamaica as one word, we should have to render it either by "Moon-Hades" or by "Moon-Darkness," which seem less appropriate designations, though still of plain enough intent., The characters 月讀月弓, and 月夜見, with which tue name is variously written, seem all phonetic unless we might take the second set 月弓 to mean the crescent (lit. "moon-bow").

25 *Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto.mikoto. Susa*, which is sometimes read *Sosa, is rendered by the word "impetuous" in accordance with Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori. The first member of this compound name is frequently omitted.* *

* But possibly the derivation from *Susamu* may have suggested some features of the myths connected with him. See Idzumo Fudoki Vol. Ill, 77, the Kana edition, from which it may be gathered that *Susa no wo* is only a description. *Susa* being the seat of fire worship. —W.G.A.

1 *I.e.*,” the string of jewels." For these so-called "jewels" see Introduction, p. xxxv.

2 *Mi-kura-tana-uo-kami*. Motowori comments on this name by saying that the necklace was doubtless so precious that it was carefully kept by the goddess on a shell in her store-house.

3 *Yora-no-wosu-kuni*.

4 *Una-bara*.

Sec-XII

1 See Sect. VIII,Note 1.

2 Lit, "in front of his heart.”

3 *Sic* in the original, to the perplexity of commentators.

* The God being the Sea-God perhaps it is meant that by his weeping he wasted away his own substance, *i.e.*, the sea, the rivers, and all moisture everywhere so as to leave everything dry.—W.G.A.

4 "Flies in the fifth moon" is the received interpretation of the original term *sa-bahe*. *Conf. sa-tsuki*, the old native name for the fifth moon.

5 The text has here the character 滿, “to be full,” for which Motowori somewhat arbitrarily reads 涌, “to bubble up,” taking this word in the sense of swarming. The translator has éndeavoured to preserve the vagueness of the original Japanese, which leaves it doubtful at first sight whether the flies or the deities should be regarded as the logical subject of the Verb. There is an almost identical passage near the beginning of Sect. XVI.

6 Lit. "a myriad things," a Chinese phrase for totality.

7 The Chinese character for the First-Personal Pronoun used here and below by this deity is the humble one 俟 signifying literally "servant." The commentators read it simply "I.”

8 The Japanese authorities simply read "Mother.” But the character Pit, which is used in this place, specially designates a mother who is deceased.

9 *I.e.*, Hades. The translation follows Motowori's explanation of the original term *Ne-no-kata-su-kuni*, which is obscure.

10 *I.e.*, say the commentatols, “in this realm of ocean which I granted to thee as thy domain.” Probably, however, this is reading into the text more

than it was meant to contain.

11 Derivation unknown.

12 From *aha-umi*, “fresh sea," *i.e.*, “lake.” The province of Afumi was doubtless so called from Lake Biha which occupies a great portion or its surface. It is also known as *Chika-tsu-Afumi*, *i.e.*, "the Nearer Afumi, in contradistinction to *Toho-tsu-fumi* (in modern pronunciation *Tōtōmi*), *i.e.*, "Distant Afumi," a province further to the East. The modern pronunciation of *Afumi* is *Omi.*

1 The English locution "to take leave” exactly represents the Chinese character here used which, from having the sense of "asking permission," has come to mean "bidding adieu.”

2 He was her younger brother.* But see what is said on the subject of names expressive of relationship on p. xli of Introduction. The phonetic characters 那 勢 are here used to represent 兄, "elder brother."

* The Nihongi has the Chinese character for younger brother, rendered by *nase no mikoto* in the Kana gloss.—W.G.A.

3 Literally “heart," here and elsewhere.

4 Or "hand,”

5 The original is here obscure, but the translator has, as usual, followed the Chinese characters as for as possible, and has been chiefly guided by Moribe's interpretation. According to this, the "eight feet"(which Moribe takes to mean simply "several feet") must be supposed to refer to the length of the necklace which, he says, probably resembled a Buddhist rosary, only that the beads were somewhat larger. For a discussion of the various interpretations to which this phrase descriptive of the Sun-Gooddess's ornaments may be subjected, see Note 4 to Mr. Satow's third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 198 of these "Transactions," and Moribe's "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II. pp. 4-5, *s.r. Yu-suku-ni no iho-tsu no mi sumaru no tama*. Mr. Satow, adopting some of the bolder etymologies of the Japanese commentators, translates thus: the "ever-bright curved (or glittering) jewels, the many assembled jewels," and concludes that "a long

string of, perhaps, claw-shaped stone beads" was what the author meant to describe.

6 Hirata supposes this additional quiver to have been slung in front.

7 Motowori's long note on the expression *taka-tomo*, to be found in Vol. VII, pp. 39-40 of his" Commentary" seems to prove that "high-sounding elbow-pad" (竹 being written phonetically for) is the most likely meaning, —these pads, of which one was worn on the left elbow, having been made of skin. Arawi Hakuseki however takes 竹 in its literal sense of "bamboo," and Moribe suggests the *take* (健) which occurs so often in proper names with the signification of "bold," "brave, "or "stout."

* Does this not mean simply that she brandished it top upwards, *i.e.*, in a position for shooting? *furi* being an adverb qualifying *tateru* and indicating a swift motion, cf. *furikayeru* etc.— W.G.A.

8 The reading *yu-hara*, here rendered "top [of the bow]" is doubtful, and *yu-hadzu*, "bow-notch," has been proposed as an emendation.

9 *I.e.*," both legs penetrated into the ground up to the thigh," a proof of the vigour with which she used her limbs in stamping.

10 Lit. "bubble-snow."

† Or the foam-like snow?—W.G.A.

11 *I.e.*, "pledge our faith," "bind ourselves," in order to show forth the sincerity of our intentions.—Hirata has a long note on the word *ukehi*, here rendered "swear" (elsewhere as a Substantive, "oath") which the student will do well to consult. It is contained in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. VII, pp. 61-63.

* According to the Nihonshoki the oath was to prove the sincerity of his intentions. If thè children were male his intentions were to be considered good, but if female, otherwise.—W.G.A.

12 *Ame-no-yasu-kaha* (according to Motowori's reading *Ame-no-yasu-no-kaha*), our Milky Way. The "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" perhaps preserve the true etymology of the word by writing it *Ama no ya-se kaha, i.e.*, "the Heavenly River of eight currents (or reachés)." This would mean simply "a broad river." The text literally says: "having placed the

Tranquil River of Heaven in the middle"' etc., but the sense of the clause is that given in the translation.

13 These words seem, as Motowori says, to have been erroneously brought in here from the next sentence, where they come in appropriately.

† Rinsed *furi one description of the style of wasning.*—W.G.A.

14 *Ame-no-ma-na-wi*. The interpretation adopted is that which has the authority of Motowori and Hirata. Perhaps only "Heavenly Well" is intended. The above authorities warn us that the word *wi*, "well," was not in ancient days restricted to its modern sense, but was used to designate any place at which water could be drawn, and Motowori thinks that Heaven contained several such. That mentioned in the text seems to have been a pool in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven.

15 This is the interpretation of the original name *Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto* which is proposed by Moribe. It is less far-fetched, and agrees better with the name of the sister deity Princess-of-the-Torrent, than do the other explanations that have been attempted. The alternative name is *Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto*.

16 *Iehiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto, ichiki* being an unusual form of itsu*ki. The island, which is in the Inland Sea, is still celebrated, but bears in common parlance the name of Miya-zhima, i.e., "Temple Island." The alternative name is Sa-yori-bime-no-mikoto, in which su is an Ornamental Prefix not calling for translation.*

17 *Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto*.

18 *Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachl-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mini-no-mikoto* The word *mimi** (耳 "ears,') forms part of a large number of Ancient Japanese proper names. Motowori, who of course passes over in silence the fact that large ears are considered lucky, not only in Japan, but also in China and Korea, suggests the etymology *hi hi* or *bi bi* (靈々), *i.e.*, the word "wondrous" or "miraculous" repeated. But there are examples of such names in which the interpretation of *mimi* as "ears" is unavoidable. Thus Prince Umayado (commonly called *Shō-toku Tai-sh*) had also the name of *Ya-tsu-mimi no Tai-shi* 八耳太子 bestowed upon him on account of his

extraordinary intelligence. Is it not therefore simpler in all cases to allow to the word this its natural meaning? The proper names in *mi* do however undoubtedly offer some difficulty, and Motowori scarcely seems content with his own derivation of the troublesome syllable. *Oshi*, as in other cases, is taken to represent *ohoshi*, "great"; and after much hesitation the translator has followed Motowori in regarding *ho* likewise as an abbreviated form of that word.

* *Mimi* is the name given to certain governors of provinces by the Chinese writers quoted in the Isho Nihon Den. —W.G.A.

19 *Ame-no* signifies "of Heaven" or "heavenly." The syllables h*ohi are incomprehensible.*

20 *Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto*,

21 Or "hand.,"

22 *Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto*.

23 This god does not seem to be known by any other name, but is conjectured by Hirata to be identical with *Ame-no-hohi*, the second of these divine brothers. *Kumanu*, or less archaically *Kumano*, is said to be, not the well-known Kumano in the province of Kishiu, but a place in Idzumo near Suga (see Sect. XIX, Notes 1 and 2). The name is written with the characters 熊野, "bear moor." The native commentators however interpret it as a corruption of *Komori-nu*, 隱野, "the moor of retirement," on account of a tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" of Izanami (the Female-Who-Invites) having been interred at the Kishiu Rumano.

1 *I.e.*, the origin.

2 A place in the province of Chikuzen. The name signifies either "breast-shape" or "body-shape."

3 Or "sea-shore temple."

4 Or "the Great Deities of the three shrines."

5 *Munakata no kimi*. Remember that all the names in this and similar lists are hereditary "gentile names" (see Introduction, p. xviii), and that "Duke" and the other titles used in this translation to designate them must only be regarded as approximations towards giving the force of the

Japanese originals, which are themselves by no means always clear, either etymologically or historically. Indeed Motowori in a chapter entitled "*Kuni no Miyatsuko*" (國 造) in his "*Tama-Katsuma*." Vol. VI, p. 25, remarks that the distinctions obtaining between the various titles of *Kimi, Wake, Murazhi*, etc., are no longer to be ascertained, if indeed they were ever sharply drawn, and that *Kuni no Miyatsuko* (here rendered "Rulers of the Land") seems to have been a general term including all the rest, and roughly corresponding to the modern title of *Daimiō*.—It must be well understood that all these names, though properly and originally denoting an office, were inherited as titles, and ended (after the custom of conférring new ones had died out) by being little more than an extra surname appended to the surname proper (*uji*). This Kind of quasi-official quasi-titular surname is what is called by the Japanese a *kabane*, which the translator, for want of a better equivalent, renders by "gentile name.” Motowori's learned note in Vol. XXXIX, pp. 14-15 of his Commentary, should be consulted for a full exposition of this somewhat intricate subject, on which there has been much misapprehension, chiefly owing to the want of a fitting Chinese character to denote the word *kabane*.

6 Here and throughout the work passages of this nature containing genealogies are in all the editions printed small, and might therefore be supposed to be either intended as foot-notes, or to be later glosses. Motowori however rightly rejects such an inference. To an English reader the word” this "may seem, by disturbing the grammar of the sentence, to support that inference; but in Japanese construction little importance need be attached to the presence of this double Nominative.—The name in the original of the ancestral deity whose children are here enumerated is *Take-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto* and the interpretation thereof in the sense given in the translation is Motowori's, *Hira-tori* being supposed by him to stand for *Hina-teri*.

7 *Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*.

8 *Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. In classical and modern usage *Musashi* does not take the *nigori*.

9 *Kami-tsu- Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. Unakami was a part of what forms the modern province of Kadzusa. The name probably signifies "on the sea."

10 *Shimo-tsu- Unakami-no-kani-no-miyatsuko*.

11 *Izhimu-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. Izhimu (given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" as *Izhimi*) was a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is unknown.

12 *Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe*.

13 *Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. In modern times *Toho-tsu-afumi* has been contracted to *Tohotafumi* and is pronounced *Tōtōmi*. The name signifies "distant fresh sea "(*i.e.*," distant lake"), the province which bears it being thus designated in reference to a large lagoon which it contains, and in contradistinction to *Chika-tsu-afami*, "near fresh sea'" the name of the province in which lies Lake Biwa. In modern times the latter has come to be known simply as Afumi (pronounced Omi), and the original connection of ideas between its name and that of Tōtōmi is lost sight of.

14 *Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ohoshi-kafuchi* (in modern times pronounced *Ōchikōchi*) signifies "within the great rivers."

15 *Nakatabe-no-yuwe-no-murazhi*. The meaning of this name is not certain, but *yuwe seems to be the word for "bathing woman" mentioned in Sect. LXXI (Note 11). See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIV, p. 56 of his "Commentary" and the story of the origin of the name given in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II*,pp, 8-9 (edit. of 1834.)

16 *Ki-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. *Ki* signifies "tree," and the province doubtless received this name from its forests. Motowori supposes the character 次 to have been lost in this place, and reads *Ubaraki* (the modern *Ibaraki*), a portion of the province of Hitachi. See Vol. VII, pp. 75-76 of his "Commentary."

17 *Tanaka-no-atahe*. The word *ta-naka* signifies "in the middle of the ricefields."

18 *Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Yama-shiro* signifies" behind the mountains," though it is now, by a play upon words, written with characters

signifying” mountain-castle."

19 *Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. Umaguta is a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is not known.

20 *Kihe-no-kuni-no-mlyaisuko*. The etymology of the name and the position of the place are equally obscure.

21 The modern province of Echigo, or perhaps any not well defined district in the north of the Main Island. (See Section LX, Note 20.)

22 *Sahau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. The etymology of Suhau is not known; but the name sounds Chinese.

23 *Amuchi-no-miyatsuko*. The derivation of Amuchi is unknown.

24 *Takechi-no-agata-nushi*. Takechi means “high market" or "high town."

25 *Kamafu-no-inaki*. Kamafu was a portion of Afumi. Motowori's suggestion that the name may be derived from *kama* (*gama*), "a bullfrog," does not seem a happy one.

26 *Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko. Sakikasa-be* means literally "lily clan," *sakikusa*, the old name for the lily (or one species of lily) being literally "the luckplant." The story of the origin of this cognomen is to be found in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, p. 9.

1 Literally "if one speak from this."

2 The character used is 田, which in Chinese does not necessarily signify a *rice*-field. But in Japanese it seems to have been always limited to this narrower meaning, to which likewise the context here clearly points.

* See the offences enumerated in the Oho-harahi norito.— W.G A.(For translation of this norito see T.A.S.J. reprints Vol. II. 1927.)

3 In the original written 尿麻理, which is partly ideographic and partly phonetic for *kuso-mari*, Motowori interprets it to signify”excrements and urine”

† but the parallel passage of the "Chronicles” which he himself quotes goes to prove that *mari* had not the latter meaning, as does also another well-known passage in the "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter.”

† What Motoori says is that *mari means to pass either excrements or urine.—W.G.A.*

4 大嘗 read *oho-nihe*. The word *nihe* now denotes "a sacrifice," and *oho-nihe no matsuri* is the religious festival of the tasting of the first new rice of the season.

5 We might, following classical usage, translate the Verb *togamezu*, which is written phonetically, by the words "took no heed" or "made no observation"; but in this passage it certainly seems to have the stronger and more specialized signification of "upbraiding," "scolding," which attaches to it in the colloquial dialect.

6 *I.e.*, he thinks that none of the land should be wasted in ditches and embankments, but should all be devoted to the production of food.

7 The character used is 忌, "to shun," which in Japanese has approximately the meaning of "sacred." Thus a certain family of priests was called by the name of *Imibe*, lit. "the shunning clan," on account of the uncleanness from which they were bound to abstain.

‡ Is it not possible that *Imi* may havè meant "taboo," an ancient form of our "No admittance except on business"? —W.G.A.

8 Written with characters signifying literally "garment-house," but the meaning, as understood by the native commentators, is that given in the text.

9 項. This character is taken by the native commentators in the sense of 棟, *mune*, "ridge-pole."

10 *I.e.*, it is supposed, beginning at the tail. That this was considered criminal may be seen by comparing Sect. XCVII, Note 3.

11 In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" it is the goddess who injures herself with her shuttle, but without dying of the effects of the accident.

1 Motowori says that the word "rock," need not here be taken literally. But it is always (and the translator thinks rightly) so understood, and the compound considered to mean a cave in the rocks, which is also the expression found in the "Chronicles" (岩窟).

2 The word *sasu*, which is here used, implies that the goddess made the door fast either by sticking something against it or by bolting it,—perhaps with one of thè metal hooks of which mention is made in Sect. LXV (Note 7).

* In my copy the section ends here.—W.G.A.

3 *Toko-yo*, here properly written 常夜, and a few lines lower down semi-phonetically 常世.

4 Motowori supposes "myriad" to be a copyist's error for "evil." This clause is a repetition of one in Sect. XII.

5 The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "eighty myriads."

6 The Japanese word *kahara*, translated "bed," is thus defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary, 2nd Edit. *s.v. kawara*: "That part of the stony bed of a river which is dry except in high water."

7 *Omohi-kane-no-kami*. "He *included* in his single mind the thoughts and contrivances of many," says Motowori.

8 *I.e.*, as is generally believed, the barndoor fowl.

9 The text has the character 鐵, "iron," which Hirata reads *ma-gane*, lit."true metal," the common Japanese term being *kuro-gane*, lit."black metal." Motowori prefers to read simply *kane*, "metal" in general. The main text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" omits to mention the metal of which the mirror was made; but "One account" has the character 金, "metal" in general, often in Chinese, but rarely if ever in old Japanese, with the specific sense of "gold." The "Chronicles of Old Matters" alone, which are of very doubtful authenticity, say that the mirror was made of copper. (Copper* was not discovered in Japan till the eight century of the Christian era, a few years before the discovery of gold.) The best and most obvious course is to adhere to the character in the text, which is, as above stated "iron."

* But was known. *Hakudo* 白多同, white copper, is frequently mentioned in the Nihongi, the Kana reading being *maswmi*, "clear." —W.G A.

10 *I.e.*, the mines. The original expression is *Ame no kana-yama*.

11 *Ama tsu* signifies "of Heaven," but the rest of this name is not to be explained. Motowori adopts from the "Chronicles", the reading *Ama-tsu-ma-ura*, where the character used for *ma* signifies "true," and that for *ura* signifies "seashore." (It should be remarked that the forging of a spear by this personage is referred by the author of the "Chronicles," not to the "Divine Age" but to the reign of the Emperor Sui-zei.) Motowori also proposes to supplement after the name the words "to make a spear." Hirata identifies this god with *Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto*, His Augustness Heavenly-One-Eye,* who is however not mentioned in these "Records." Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret "Coeìestis Penis" sed nullius commentatoris anctoritate commendatur.

* Unlikely.—W.G.A.

12 This name is written in the "Chronicles" with characters signifying Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, which however seem to be as merely phonetic as those in the present text (伊斯許理𪜈). Motowori proposes the interpretation of" Again-Forging Old-Woman" (星老女, *I-shikiri-tome*) which is supported by a tradition preserved in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story," where it is related that the mirror, not having given satisfaction at first, was forged a second time. There is a long note on the subject of this name in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. IX, p. 56, where that author propounds the novel opinion that I-shi-ko-ri-do-me was not a goddess at all, but a god.

13 *Tama-noya-no-mikoto*. The "Chronicles" write this name with characters signifying "Jewel-House," but such a reading seems less good.

14 See Sect. XIII, Note 5.

15 *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto*, also read *Ama-no* etc. and *Ama-tsu* etc. The signification of the syllables *ko-ya*, rendered "beckoning ancestor" in accordance with Motowori's view connecting the name with the share taken by the god who bore it in the legend here narrated, is obscure. Mr. Satow thinks that Koya may be the name of a place (see these "Transactions" Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 400).

16 *Futo-tama-no-mikoto*. The name is here rendered in accordance with the import of the Chinese characters with which it is written. Motowori, however, emits a plausible opinion when he proposes to consider *tama* as an abbreviation of *tamuke*, "holding in the hands as an offering," in connection with what we are told below about this deity and *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne* holding the symbolic offerings.

17 The word "true" (*ma*) here and below is not much more than an Honorific.

18 We might also, though less well, translate by "Mount Kagu in Heaven." This would suit the view of Motowori, who is naturally averse to the identification of this Mount Kagu with the well-known mountain of that name in Yamato (see Sect. VII, Note 12). But of course an European scholar cannot allow of such a distinction being drawn.

19 Or perhaps the bark of the common birch is intended. The word in the original is *haha-ka*.

20 See Mr. Satow's already quoted note in Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 425 *et seq*, and more especially pp. 430-432, of these "Transactions."

* In order to roast the shoulder-blade with.—W.G.A.

21 In Japanese *saka-ki*. It is commonly plan tea in the precincts of Shintō temples.

22 We might also translate in the Singular "to a middle branch," in order to conform to the rigid distinction which our language draws between Singular and Plural.

23 A note to the edition of 1687 proposes to substitute the characters 八 for 八尺, and a note in the original tells us to read them not *ya-ta*,† but *ya-ata*. Hereupon Motowori founds his derivation of *ya-ta* from *ya-atama*'" eight heads," and supposes the mirror to have been, not eight feet in length, but octangular, while Moribe, who in the case of the jewels accepts the obvious interpretation "eight feet [long]," thinks that the mirror had "an eight-fold flowery pattern" (*ya-hana-gata*) round its border. But both these etymologies are unsupported by the other cases in which the word ya-ta occurs, and are rendered specially untenable by the fact of the mirror and

curved beads being spoken of together further on as the 八尺勾聰鏡 (Sect. XXXIII' Note 20).

† It the reading *yata* is accepted, I prefer the interpretation "8 spans" *ta=te*, "hand," or perhaps "8 cubits."—W.G.A.

24 In rendering the original word *nigi-te* (here written phonetically, but elsewhere with the characters 禾幣)' the explanation given by Tanigaha Shisei, and indeed suggested by the characters themselves, has been followed. Motowori's view does not materially differ, but he considers "pacificatory" or "softening" to be equivalent to "soft" applied to the offerings themselves, which consisted of soft cloth, the syllable *te* of *nigi-te* being believed to be a contraction of *tahe* which signifies cloth. The white cloth in ancient times was made of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), and the blue of hemp.

25 The original word is written with the same character as the *te* of *nigi-te*, translated "offerings" above.

26 Or in the Singular" a grand liturgy," or "ritual."

27 *Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami*.

28 Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto. The translator has followed the best authorities in rendering the obscure syllables *uzu* by the word" alarm-ing." Another interpretation quoted in Tanigaha Shisei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" and adopted by Moribe in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*" is that *uzu* means head-dress, and that the goddess took her name from the head-dress of spindle-tree leaves which she wore. The character 細, with which the syllables in question (here written phonetically) are rendered ideographically in the "Chronicles," signifies "metal head-gear," "flowers of gold or silver."

29 *Tasuki*," a cord or sash passed over the shoulders, round the "back of the neck, and attached to the wrists, to strengthen the hands "for the support of weights, whence the name, which means "hand-" helper.. It was thus different both in form and use from the modern "*tasuki*, a cord with its two ends joined which is worn behind the "neck, under the arms and round the

back, to keep the modern loose "sleeves out of the way when household duties are being performed." (E. Satow).

30 *I.e.*, making for himself a head-dress of spindle-tree leaves.*

* The club-moss seems a more likely material than the spindle tree for a head-dress—;*ide* Motoori. Later writers mention a *Hikage-Kadzura*, never (?) a *Misaki-Kadzura*.—W.G.A.

† And laying bottom upward a sounding-board.—W.G.A.

31 The original of these words, *uke fusete*, is written phonetically, and the exact meaning of *uke*, here rendered "sounding-board," is open to doubt. I he parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has the character 槽, which signifies a" trough," "manger" or "tub," † and the commentators seem therefore right in supposing that the meaning intended to be conveyed in both histories is that of some kind of improvised wooden structure used for the purpose of amplifying sound.

* Why not a tub, *sans* phrase? —W.G.A.

32 Neither the text nor Motowori's Commentary (which Hirata adopts word for word) is absolutely explicit, but the imitation and not the reality of divine possession appears to be here intended. In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," on the other hand, we seem to be reading of genuine possession.

33 The subject of the Verb is not clear in many of the clauses of this immensely long sentence, which does not properly hang together. Some clauses read as if the different deities who take a part in the action did so of their own free will; but the intention of the author must have been to let a Causative sense be understood throughout, as he begins by telling us that a plan was *devised* by the deity Thought-Includer, which plan must have influenced all the subsequent details.

34 *Shiri-kune-naha, i.e.*, rope made of straw drawn up by the roots, which stick out from the end of the rope. Straw-ropes thus manufactured are still used in certain ceremonies and are called *shime-naha*, a corruption of the Archaic term. Motowori's explanation shows that this is more likely to be the proper signification of the word than "back-limiting-rope" (*shiri-he-*

kagiri-me-naha), which had been previously suggested by Mabuchi with reference to its supposed origin at the time of the event narrated in this legend.

35 Motowori plausibly conjectures the character 得 m the concluding words of this passage to be a copyist's error for 復, and the translator has accordingly rendered it by the English word "again.” As it stands, the clause 自得照明, though making sense, does not read like the composition of a Japanese.

1 *I.e.*, "an immense fine.” The student should consult Motowori's elaborate note on this passage in Vol. IX, pp. 1-5 of his commentary. Tables of gifts are mentioned in Sect. XXXVII, Note 7 and Sect. XL, Note 13.

2 *Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami*. This personage (but without the title of "Deity") has already appeared in Section V. (Note 8) as the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha.

3 *Panicum Italicum*.

4 *Phaseolus Radiaius*.

5 Or less probably "wheat."*

* Is the Japanese *O-mugi* really” barley?" Is it not “bearded wheat "—a different thing?—W.G.A.

6 *Soja Glycine*.

7 *Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, the same deity as the one mentioned at the beginning of these "Records" under the shorter title of *Kami-musu-bi-no-kami*. (See Sect. I. Note 6.)

1 Written with the character 鳥髮, "bird's hair’” but these must surely be phonetic. In the "Chronicles" the same name is written鳥上.

2 Or Hii, the chief river in Idzumo. The name is supposed by some to have been derived from the name of the god *Hi-hayabi* (see Section VIII, Note 6).

3 Or in the Singular,” a chopstick.”

4 Literally "had placed a young girl between them," a similar construction to that in Sect. XIII’ (Note 12).

5 The humble character 僕 "servant" is used by the old man for the First Personal Pronoun.

6 國神. Being generally used antithetically to 天神, "Heaven Deity," it seems better to translate the characters thus than by "Country Deity" or "Deity of the Land." (See Section I, Note 11).

7 *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* first mentioned in sect. VI, (Note 17).

8 *Ashi-nadzu-chi*, the wife's name being *Te-nadzu-chi*."One account" in the "Chronicles" gives *Ashi-nadzu-te-nadzu* (足摩手摩) as the name of the old father alone, while the mother is called *Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-ya-tsu-mimi*. (*Inada-no-miya-nushi* signifies "Mistress of the Temple of Inada; the signification of the second compound, which forms the name properly so called is not clear, but should probably be interpreted to mean" Impetuous-Eight-Ears," the word *susa*, "impetuous," containing an allusion to the name of her divine visitor, and "eight ears" being Honorific.)

9 *Kushi-[I]nada-hime*, Inada (*i.e., ina-da*, "rice-field") being the the name of a place. *Kushi* signifies not only "wondrous" but "comb," and is indeed here written with the character for "comb" 樹, so that there is a play on the word in connection with the incident of her transformation into a comb which is mentioned immediately below, though most authorities agree in considering 樹 to be here used phonetically for 奇, which is the reading in the "Chronicles." Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*" suggests the etymology *Kush -itadaki-hime* (撒項姫) *i.e.*, "Princess [used as] a comb [for] the head."

10 Derivation quite obscure. Motowori quotes an absurd etymology given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," which identifies the name of *Koshi* with the Past Tense of the Verb *kuru*," to come"! There is a district (*kohori*) named Koshi in the modern province of Echigo; but Koshi was down to historical times a somewhat vague designation of all the north-western provinces,— Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchiu, and Echigo. A tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" tells us that it was meant to denote the Island of Yezo (or rather, perhaps, the land of the Yezo, *i.e.*, the Ainos).

The expression in the first Song in Sect. XXIV, and other similar ones in the early literature show that it was not looked upon as a part of Japan proper.

11 See Note 13.

12 A coniferous tree, the *Chamcecyparis obtsusa*, in Japanese *hi-no-ki*. The cryptomeria is *Cryptomeria japonica*.

13 The winter-cherry, *Physalis Alkekengi*.

14 or the word "reverence" here and a few lines further on, *conf*. Sect. IX, Note 4.

15 He was her younger brother; but see Introduction, p. xlii.

16 In Japanese *sake*, and archaically *ki*, written with the character and generally translated "rice-beer," but by Dr. Rein" rice-brandy" (*Reis-brannt-wein*). The modern *sake* resembles the Chinese '*huang chiu* (酒). If we translated it by "rice-beer," we should of course have to render by "to bréw" the Verb *kamu* or *kamosu* (顧) here rendered "to distil."* It should be mentioned that Professor Atkinson who, like Dr. Rein, has studied the subject specially, uses the word "brewing;" but apparently no English term exactly represents the process which the liquor undergoes in the course of preparation. A curious question is suggested by the fact that the old Japanese word for "distilling" or "brewing" liquor is homonymous with the Verb "to chew." But there is not, beyond this isolated verbal resemblance, any documentary evidence in favour of the Japanese ever having practised a method of making liquor which still obtains in some of the South Sea Islands.—" One account" of the Chronicles of Japan makes *Susa-no-wo* say "Také *all the fruits*, and distil liquor."

* Kamu is surely "brew," not "distil". The process seems to be to add to the malt first water, next fresh malt to the result of this operation, and so on for eight times, the liquor thus gaining in strength every time. A still is too complicated an apparatus for these primitive times, nor have I seen one in a Japanese brewery.W.G.A.

17 The author doubtless intended, as Motowori suggests, to speak only of eight platforms,† —one at each gate,—and not of sixty-four. But what he actually says is as in the translation.

† *Azaki*, the modern *sajila* in a theatre.—W.G.A.

* A conjecture of Motoori.—W.G A.

18 See Section VIII, Note 1.

19 The text is not quite clear, but the above gives the interpretation to which the words most naturally lend themselves. Motowori, influenced by the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says explicitly that the sword itself was sent up to the Sun-Goddess, reads the passage thus: "thinking it a strange thing, he sent it up with a message to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity"; and Mr. Satow follows him in thus translating (see Note 4 to Ritual 8, Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 198-200 of these “Transactions,” where the whole of this legend is translated with one or two slight verbal differences from the version here given). In the opinion of the present writer,‡ Hirata's arguments in favour of the view here taken are conclusive (see his” Sources of the Ancient Histories,” Section LXXII, in the second part of Vol. III. pp. 66-67). That the sword afterwards appears at the temple of the Sun-Goddess in I se (see end of Section LXXXII), by the high-priestess of which it is bestowed on the legendary hero Yamato-take, is not to the point in this connection, as it is not necessary that all the parts of a myth should be perfectly consistent.

‡ I agree.—W.G.A.

20 *Kusa-nagi no tachi*. For the applicability of this name see Sect. LXXXIII.

1 *I.e.*, "I feel refreshed.” The Japanese term used is *suga-sugashi*, whence the origin ascribed to the name of the place Suga. But more probably the name gave rise to this detail of the legend.

2 The real derivation of Suga is unknown, all the native commentators accepting the statement in the text, and Motowori supposing that up to the time of the Deity's arrival it had borne the name of Inada. We may perhaps conjecture some connection between *Suga* and *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. IX, p. 49), and it may be mentioned that the "Eight-Eared Deity of Suga" is also mentioned as the "Eight-Eared Deity of Susa."

3 Or "began to build.”

4 "Ode" is another rendering of the Japanese term *uta*, which has been used by the present writer and by others. *Uta* being however connected with *utafu*, "to sing," it seems more consistent to translate it by the English word” song.”

5 Or perhaps rather in that song he said.”

6 This difficult song has been rather differently rendered by Mr. Aston in the Second Appendix to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language" (2nd Edition), and again by Mr. Satow in the note to his translation of the Ritual already quoted. Mr. Aston (premising that he follows Motowori's interpretation) translates it thus:

"Many clouds arise:
"The clouds which come forth (are) a manifold fence:
"For the husband and wife to retire within
"They have formed a manifold fence:
"Oh! that manifold fence!"

"Mr. Satow's translation is as follows:

"Many clouds arise.
"The manifold fence of the forth-issuing clouds
"Makes a manifold fence" For the spouses to be within.
"Oh! that manifold fence.”*

In any case the meaning simply is that the multitudinous clouds rose up like a fence or screen behind which the newly-married deities might retire from public gaze, and Moribe suggests that the repetitions are an after-addition made to bring up to the usual number of thirty-one syllables what were originally but the three lines—

Tachi-idzuru kumo mo
Tsuma-gome ni

Ya-he-gaki tsukuru yo!

I.e.—

"The uprising clouds even, to shut up the
"spouses, make an eight-fold fence."

(See his discussion on this song in the "*Idzu no Koto-waki,* Vol. I, pp. 1-3)-The present writer has already stated in the Intro-tion (see p. lxix), his reasons for always rendering the native word for "eight "(*ya*) by "eight," instead of by "many" or "numerous," as is done by the two eminent scholars above quoted. With regard to the word *idzumo*† which they, in deference to the opinions of the native commentators, render by "clouds which come forth" or "forth-issuing clouds" (the Chinese characters 出雲 出雲 with which the word is written having that signification), the present writer cannot persuade himself that such a corruption as *idzumo* for *ide-kumo* either retained at the time of the composition of the song, or should now be credited with, the signification which this its supposed etymology assigns to it. The etmology moreover is far from being established, and in this, as in many other cases, the Chinese characters used to write the name of the province of Idzumo may well have rested on nothing more than a vague similarity of sound, and probably no European scholar would endorse the opinion of the native commentators, to whom the "Records" are a sacred book, that the province of Idzumo received its name from this very poem. On the other hand, we need have no difficulty in conceding that the Pillow-Word *ya-kumo-tatsu,* by which Idzumo is preceded in poetical compositions, did probably here originate.-This song is in the "Chronicles" only quoted in a note, for which reason some authorities dispute its antiquity. In the note in question, we find the reading *-gome* (the "Records" have *-gomi*), *i.e.*, the Transitive form instead of the Intransitive. If this were adopted, the translation would have to run thus:....."The eight-fold "fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence to shut up the spouse[s?] "in;" and probably "spouse" should be understood in the Feminine to mean "wife."

* The regularity of this poem as to metre is suspicious; most of the ancient poetry departs from the 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 rule. The punning, too, suggests a late origin. I suggest that Idzumo as the name of a place means awful or sacred quarter.—W.G.A.

† While I adhere to the translation given by me, there is no doubt a punning allusion to the name of the province Idzumo which is lost in my translation. (A later suggestion: Why not take *Idzumo* as the same as *idzure mo,* "each," a pun being of course meant?) —W.G.A.

7 *Obito'* written with the Chinese character 首, while the Japanese word is probably derived from *oho-bito,* great man." When used, as it often is, as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by" Grandee."

8 Inada-no-miya-nusni Suga-no-ya-tsa-mimi-no-kami. It should be stated that Motowori, as usual, objects to the view that mimi signifies "ears" (its proper meaning) in this name. But he has no better explanation to offer, and the Chinese characters give us ya-tsu mimi," eight ears." The author of the "Tokiha-gusa," ingeniously proposes to consider ya-tsu mimi as a corruption of yatsuko mi mi (奴御身)"servant august body," but this cannot be seriously entertained (Conf. Sect. XIII, Note 18).

1 *Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi. Ya-shima* means "eight islands." The syllables *zhi-nu-mi* are obscure, but the translator has little doubt that "ruler "fairly represents their import. Motowori takes *zhi* to be an apocopated and *nigoried* form of *shiru,*"to rule," *nu* to be an apoco-pated form of *nushi,* "master," and *mi* to be an apocopated form of the "Honorific termination *mimi."* Tanigaha Shisei considers *zhinu* to stand for *shidzumuru,* "to govern," which comes to the same thing so far as the sènse is concerned.

2 *Kamu-oho-ichi-hime.* The rendering of *Oho-ìchi* as "Great Majesty" rests on a plausible conjecture of Hirata's, who proposes to identify *ichi* with *idzu* (稷威). Motowori thinks that *Oho-ichi* should be taken as the name of a place; but this seems less good.

3 *Oho-toshi-no-kami,* written 大年神, the obvious rendering of which would be "great year." But the Japanese term *toshi* is believed to have

originally signified, not "year" in the abstract, but that which was produced each year, viz., the harvest (conf. *toru,* "to take”).

4 U ka-no-mi-tama.

5 Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime, so called, says Motowori, because she probably died young, as a blossom that falls from the tree. We might however perhaps take the Verb chiru in a Causative sense, and consider the name to signify” the Princess-Who-Causes-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Fall." A sister of this goddess appears in the pretty legend narrated in Sect. XXXVII under the parallel name of the Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. See Note 3 to that Sect.

6 *Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-su-nu-no-kami-no-kam* The import of this name is quite uncertain. *Fuha* however seems to be the name of a place.

7 *Hi-kaha-hime. Hi-kaha* (lit. "sun-river”) is supposed to stand for the name of a place in Musashi, which is however written "ice-river" (水河 and not 曰 河)’ the old Japanese words for "ice" and "sun” being homonymous.

8 See Sect. VIII, (Note 9), where the name is given as *Kura-okami.*

9 Fuka-buchi-no-midzu-yare-hana. If Fuka-buchi were ascertained to be not, as is supposed, the name of a place, we should have to render it "deep pool," and the whole would mean in English "Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-the-Deep-Pool."

10 Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami In this name nothing is clear but the first three syllables, which signify "heavenly." But if Mabuchi's conjecture as to the meaning of the rest were accepted, we should have to translate the whole by "Heavénly-Assembling-Town-Lady,"

11 This is the meaning plausibly assigned by Motowori to the original O-midzu-nu-no-kami.

12 *Fute-mimi-no-kami,* plausibly conjectured by Tominobu to stand for *Futo-mimi,* etc., which gives the sense here adopted,

13 *Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami.* Motowori believes Funu to be the name of a place, and interprets the name to signify "Master of Funu." But this seems highly uncertain.

14 Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami (Motowori's reading) or Ama-no, etc. (Hirata's reading). The translation of the name follows Hirata's explanation, which is based on Motowori's, and according to which the characters 冬衣 ("winter garments,') in this text, and 寄根 read Fuki-ne in the "Chronicles," are merely phonetic, while the meaning is derived from a comparison of the sounds given by each. Though himself believing in the soundness of Hirata's conclusion, the taanslator must admit that it is not indisputable.

15 *Sasu-kuni-waka-hime,* or *Sashi-kuni,* etc. The former reading, which Hirata adopts, seems best. The meaning of *sasu,* here rendered "small," is open to doubt.

16 *Sasu-kuni-oho-[no-]kami*, or *Sashi,* etc. The syllable *no* in the Japanese reading seems to be a superfluous addition of the modern commentators.

17 *Oho-kuni-kini-nushi-no-kam*

18 *Oho-na-muji-no-kami,* to which Tominobu proposes to give the sense of '. Great Hole-Possessor," in connection with the story of the mouse-hole in which he took refuge from the fire lit by the Impetuous-Male-Deity(*Susa-no-wo*) for his destruction (see Sect. XXIII). But the interpretation followed in the translation is the most likely as well as the orthodox one, this Deity being entitled the possessor of a Great Name or of Great Names on account of his renown in Japanese mythic story.

19 *Ashi-hara-shiko-wo-no-kami.* The "reed-plains" are doubtless put by metonymy for Japan.

20 *Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami*

21 *Utsushi-kuni-iama-no-kami.* The name must be understood to mean "Spirit of the Land of the Living," and to be antithetical to that of one of his fathers-in-law, the Impetuous Male-Deity(*Susa-no-wo*) who became the god of Hades.

22 Or "he had five names."

1 *Yakami-hime.* The etymology is uncertain.

2 The name of a province not far from that of Idzumo. The word may possibly, as Motowori suggests, be derived from *ina-ba,*"rice-leaves."

3 *Keta-no-saki.* The etymology of the name seems uncertain. The meaning of the word *keta* is "the cross-beams of a roof, the yards of a sail.” But perhaps *Keta* and *keta* may be nothing more than homonyms of independent origin.

* Spur?—W.G.A.

4 Not far from the coast of Idzumo and of Inaba.

5 See Translator's Introduction, p. xxxvii, Note 41.

6 Literally "to its original skin"; that is to say that its skin would again be covered with fur.

7 Motowori and Moribe agree in considering that the word "white” means "bare” in this place, and the latter in his Critique of the former's Commentary quotes examples which show that their view is probably correct.

1 it must be understood that in the meantime they had arrived at her dwelling and begun to court her.

2 Etymology unknown.

3 The text is here concise to obscurity, but yet there ought not to be much doubt as to the author's intention.

4 The text has the character signifying properly "grandparent," but frequently used in Archaic Japanese writings in the sense of "mother." It is then read *oya,* which the English word” parent” exactly represents.

5 *Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto.* See Sect. I, Note 6.

6 *Kisa-gahl-hime*. The *kIsa-gahi* here mentioned is the modern *aka-gahi,* a cockle, the *Area inflata*.

7 *Umugi-hime.* The *umugi* here mentioned is the modern *hama-guri,* a clam of the family *Mactridoe,* the *Cytherea Meretrix*.

8 The character used is 集, "collected," "gathered together." But the combined authority of Mabuchi, Motowori and Hirata obliges us either to consider it a copyist's error for 焦, "scorched," or else to believe that in early times in Japan the two characters were used interchangeably.

9 Or "nurse's The meaning is that a paste like milk was made of the triturated and calcined shell mixed with water. There is in this passage a

play upon words which it is impossible to reproduce in English, the Japanese term for "triturating," kisage (which the author has taken care to write phonetically) resembling the name of Princess Kisa-gahi, (Cockle-Shell), while omo, "mother" or "nurse," similarly recalls that of Princess Umugi (Clam). Motowori traces the names of the shell-fish in question to this exploit of the two goddesses. We shall be justified in applying an inverse interpretation to the legend.

10 The original of this clause, 節矢于J立其木, or according to another reading 節矢, etc. is a great crux to the native commentators, who can make sure neither of the exact sense nor of the Japanese reading of the first two characters, which seem to be ideograpnic for three others occuring immediately below, 冰日矢, which are themselves of doubtful import. An elaborate discussion of the question will be found in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XVII. pp. 25-27. The general sense at all events is that here given.

11 The characters 拷殺也, here rendered “tortured him to death." are by the modern commentators read`*uchi-koroshiki,* which simply means "killed [him]."

12 Literally “to her child."

13 *Oha-ya-biko-no-kami.* This Deity is identified with the Deity *I-dakeru* mentioned in the "Chronicles "as a son of *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male Deity"), and as the introducer into the Island of Tsukushi in particular and into all the "Height Great Islands” of Japan of the seeds of plants and trees. Motowori's note on this name in Vol. X, pp. 28-29, is worth consulting, though his idea of connecting the agricultural and arboricultural renown of the Deity bearing it with the name of the province of Ki is doubtless quite fanciful.

14 I.e., “the land of trees "(木國). Later the character 木 was replaced by 紀, which in Sinico-Japanese has the same sound ki, while a second one, 伊, was added in order to conform to an edict of the Empress Gem-miyō (A. D. 713) to the effect that all names of places were to be written with two Chinese characters, as was usual in China and Korea. The second character

in this case simply carried on the i sound with which the first ends, so that the name became Kii.

1 Literally,” to the child.” The words placed in brackets, and which are not to be found in either of the early printed editions, are supplied in accordance with a suggestion of Moribe's contained in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary. Motowori himself had supplied the words "Her Augustness his august parent spoke to him," which seem less appropriate. It is true that one MS. is quoted by Motowori as favouring his view; but such authority is insufficient, and the mistake, moreover, peculiarly easy for a copyist to make (*mi oya* for *oho-ya*).

2 I.e., the Palace.

3 This is Motowori's view of the import of the original name *Suseri-bime*, which he connects with *susumu*, "to advance," "to press forward," and explains by reference to the bold, forward conduct of the young goddess.

4 One of the alternative names of this Deity, who is mostly mentioned by one of his other four designations, for a list of which see Sect. XX. (Notes 17 to 21).

5 I.e., “a scarf by waving which he might keep off the snakes." Similarly the” centipede and wasp-scarf" mentioned a little farther on must be understood to mean "a scarf to ward off centipedes and wasps with."

6 The word *hachi* translated "wasp," is a general name including other insects of the family of *Vespi dce.*

7 *I.e.*, "arrow." The original expression is *nari-kabura*（鳴鍋），which has survived in the modern language under the modified form of *kabura-ya,* defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary as” an arrow with a head shaped like turnip, having a hole in it, which causes it to hum as it flies.” It was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty.

8 Or "rat.”

9 The translator cannot think of any better English equivalents for the child-like onomatopoeias *hora-hora* and *subu-subu* of the Japanese original.

10 The edition of 1687 reads the two characters 喪 貝 (here trans-lated "mourning implements,") *mo-gari no sonahe, i.e.,* "preparations for the

funeral." Such preparations are detailed in the latter part of Sect. XXXI.

11 This is Mabuchi's interpretation, as quoted by Motowori, of the expression *ya-ta-ma no oho-muro-ya.* Motowori's own view it that *ya-ta* stands for *ya-tsu,* which would give us in English "an eight-spaced large room." The character 間, "space" has been in later times used as a measure of length (six Japanese feet). Altogether the precise meaning of the expression is not quite clear, but the general sense is a "large spacious room."

12 Aphananthe Aspera, also sometimes called *Celtis Muku*.

13 *I.e.*, “a rock which it would require five hundred men to lift."

14 *Iku-tachi* (大刀),supposed by Motowori to be "a sword "having the virtue of conferring long life upon its possessor."

15 *Iku-yumi-ya*（生弓矢).

16 *Ame no nori-goto*（天楚）, so called because, as will be seen in Sect. XCVI, divine messages were conveyed through a person playing on the lute. Hirata, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories,” invents the reading *ame no nu-goto* (天琴), “heavenly jewelled lute.”

17 See Sect. IX (Note 16).

18 They were not born of the same mother. The Chinese characters in the text (庶兄弟) imply, properly speaking, that the eighty brethren of the Great-Name-Possessor were the sons of concubines. But Motowori denies that such is the Japanese usage with regard to the characters in question.

19 Or "hills."

20 The word in the next is *ore,* an insulting equivalent Second Personal Pronoun. If we were translating into German, we might perhaps approximately represent its force by "er."

21 Thus, according to this legend, "Master-of-the-Great-Land” (*Oho-kuni-nashi*) not the original name of the Deity commonly designated by it, and his sovereignty over the Land of the Living (whence the appropriateness of the second name in this context) was derived by investiture from the god of the Land of the Dead.

22 The characters 棄妻, which are here used, designate specifically the chief or legitimate wife, as opposed to the lesser wives or concubines.

23 Uka-no-yama. No satisfactory etymology of Uka is forthcoming.

24 *I.e.,* "Firmly planting in the rock the pillars forming the foun-"dation of thy palace, and rearing its fabric to the skies, do thou "rule therefrom the Land of the Living, thou powerful wretch, who hast so successfully braved me"!

25 *Q.d.*, to Inaba.

26 This is taken to mean that he continued the act of creation which had been interrupted by the death of *Izanami* (the "Female "Who-Invites"). See Sect IX, p. 35, where her husband Izanagi says to her: “The lands that I and thou made are not yet finished “making." The words *Kuni tsukuri* (作國), here used for “making the land," became a title for "Ruler-of-the-Land" and finally a "gentile name” (*kabané*).

27 Q.d., to Inaba.

28 *Ki-no-mata-no-kami.*

29 *Mi-wi-no-kami.* He is supposed to have benefitted the country by digging wells in many places.

1 In this Section, the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is spoken of under this *alias (See Sect. XX, Note 20).*

2 The characters 幸行 here, in accordance with the reading of the commentators, rendered by the words "went forth," are Honorific, being only properly applied to the progresses of a sovereign.

3 Nuna-kawa-hime. Nuna-kaha or, Nu-na-kaha ("lagoon-river”) is supposed to be the name of a place in the province of Echigo.

* How annoying! what a nuisance! —w.g.a.

4 The drift of this poem needs but little elucidation:—After giving his reasons for coming to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, the god declares that he is in such haste to penetrate to her chamber, that he does not even stay to ungird his sword or take off his veil, but tries to push or pull open the door at once. During these vain endeavours, the mountain-side begins to re-echo with the cries of the birds announcing the dawn, when lovers must slink

away. Would that he could kill these unwelcome harbingers of day, and bring back the darkness! —The Land of the Eight Islands (i.e., Japan proper, beyond whose boundaries lay the barbarous northern country of Koshi) is in the original Ya-shima-kuni (Conf. Sect. V, Note 27).— The nuye is a bird which must be fabulous if most of the accounts given of it are accepted. The "Commentary on the Lyric Dramas” tells us (with variations) that "it has the head of a monkey, the body "of a racoon-faced dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands (sic) and feet of a tiger," adding, as the [reader will make no difficulty in allowing, that "it is a strange and peculiar creature.” The Wa-Kun Shiwori says that "it is a bird much larger than a pigeon, and having "a loud and mournful cry." It is likewise said to come out at nighttime and retire during the day, for which reason doubtless Mabuchi likens it to the owl. A very ancient and curious Chinesé book entitled the "Mountain and Sea Classic” (山海經), the modern editions of which contain extremely droll illustrations of fabulous creatures, tells us of a bird called the “white nuye (白鶴), which is “like a pheasant, "with markings on its head, white wings, and yéllow feet, and whose "flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough." The characters and with which, as well as with 鶴, the word nuye is variously written, seem to be unauthorized.—The line here (following Motowori and Moribe's view) rendered "Would that I could beat them till they "were sick!” will also bear the interpretation formerly proposed by Keichiyu, "Would that I could beat them till they left off!”— The last five lines, here rendered "Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger," etc., are extremely obscure. It is possible that ishi tafu ya (rendered "Oh! swiftly flying," in deference to Motowori's and Moribe's view) may be but a meaningless refrain."Heaven-racing "messenger” is tolerably certain. Of the rest it is not easy to make sense. Motowori proposes to credit the five lines in question with the following general meaning: "May this song like a mèssenger, "run down to future agès, preserving for them the tradition of this "event!" Moribe, in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary, supposes the lines in question to be an addition made by the official singers, who in later times sang these songs as an

accompaniment to dances. Whatever their origin and proper signification, it is plain that they had come to be used as a refrain, from which the first two lines were sometimes omitted, as we see in some of the songs further on.

5 The drift of the poem is this: "Being a tender maiden, my “heart flutters like the birds on the sandy islets by the beach, and I" cannot yet be thine. Yet do not die of despair; for I will soon "comply with their desires."—The word *nuye-kusa* (here rendered "drooping plant," in accordance with the views of the commentators) is a Pillow-Word of somewhat obscure derivation.—The word *chidori* (rendered "dotterel” throughout this translation) denotes in its modern acceptation, according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer, "any kind of "sandpiper, plover, or dotterel." Its proper and original signification is, however, greatly debated by the commentators, and some think that it is not the specific name of any kind of bird, but stands simply by apocope for *tachi-dori,*"rising bird,” thus designating any kind of small bird that rises and flies along near the beach. —The word *na-dori* (here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered "gentle bird”) is taken by Motowori to mean simply "gentle," "compliant." But both the construction and the context seem to impose on us the interpretation here given. Keichiyu, in his *"Ko-gan Sho"* interprets the whole passage differently; but in order to do so he, without sufficient authority, changes the readings of the text into *wa tori,* "my bird," and *na tori,* "thy bird."—The *refrain* is the same as in the previous song.

6 There is no break in the text; but the commentators rightly consider the following to be a separate poem.

7 The import of this very plain-spoken poem needs no elucidation.—*Nubatama* (here rendered "true jewels of the moor”) is the Pillow-Word for things black or related to darkness. The "true jewels of the moor” are supposed to be the jet-black berries of the *hiafugi* (pron.*hiōgi. Ixia chinensis*). The whole etymology is, however, not absolutely certain.—Of which of the two lovers the words "coming radiant" with "smiles" are spoken, is not clear; but they probably refer to the male deity, as do the white arms, strange though such an expression may appear as applied to a

man. The goddess represents herself and her lover as using each other's arms for pillows. The word "jewel-arms "means simply” beautiful arms."

1 I.e., chief wife.

2 The meaning of this poem is:—"I start for Yamato, there to search for a better wife, and I carefully array myself for the journey. Black, the colour of mourning,—is not fair enough, and red is more beautiful than green; so it is on my red garments that my choice rests. And thou, jealous and imperious woman! for all that thou sayest that thou wilt not heed my going, thou wilt weep when I depart with my retainers as departs a flock of birds, and thou wilt bury thy head in thy hands, and thy tears shall be as the misty drops of the morning shower.”The words hata tagi (rendered in accordance with Motowori's view by raise my fins”) are supposed to signify "raise my sleeve.” It the last syllable were found in any text written with a character not requiring the use of the nigori in the Japanese transcription, we should get the more satisfactory reading ha tataki, i.e., "beat my wings;" but the syllable in question does not seem to be anywhere so written.—The "madder” is in the original akane, here written (but doubtless only through the error of some copyist) atane. The words rendered "sought in the mountain fields” might also be translated "sown in the mountain fields," magishi, "sought," and makishi,” sowed” being thought to be convertible.—The words "my beloved" represent the Japanese itokoya no, whose meaning is obscure and much disputed.—The words “when I am led away" must be understood as if they were Active instead of Passive, signifying as they do "when I lead away my retinue of followers."—The eulalia (Eulalia japonica) is a long kind of grass very often alluded to in the later classical poetry. The words "on the mountain "represent the Japanese words yama-to no, in accordance with Motowori's and Hirata's view of the meaning of the latter (山處 or 山本). The primâ facie interpretation of “in the province of Yamato," which Keichiyu adopts, will not bear investigation.—It is not quite clear whether "the mist of the morning shower" means mist separate from the rain, or is simply a phrase for the rain-drops themselves. Motowori adopts the former opinion.—” Young herbs," waka-kusa, is the Pillow-Word

for "spouse,"—newly married youths and maidens being likened to the fresh-grown grass. The refrain is an abbreviated form of that found in the two previous poems.

3 The import of this poem needs little explanation:-The goddess says to her husband, "Come back and live with me, and quaff this goblet as a sign of reconciliation; for though thou, as a man, mayest have a wife on every shore, I shall be left solitary if thou depart." The" ornamented fence" is supposed to mean "a curtain round the sleeping place."-The latter part of the poem (excepting the concluding phrase) is a repetition of lines that have already occurred in the last ode of Sect XXIV (note 7). The word *tate-matsurase* (here rendered "lift up") occasions some difficulty. It properly signifies "present to a superior;" but here it must be taken to mean "partake of," as the goddess is speaking to her spouse himself, unless indeed we suppose the final words of the song to be a command addressed to one of her attendants to present the cup to their common lord and master.

4 This is the probable and generally accepted meaning of the original of this clause, which is written phonetically.

5 Explained by Moribe to mean, with reference to the whole story, "conversation about divine events." Motowori proposes to supplement the character 歌, "song," to the two (神語)in the text, and to take the three together as designating the nature of the preceding songs, in accordance with the usage in other cases,—"Rustic Songs," "Courtiers' Songs," etc. If this view were adopted, we should have to translate by "Divine Converse Songs."

1 See Sect. XIII, Note 15 and Sect. XIV, Note 2.

2 *Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami*. The meaning of the first two members of this compound name is altogether obscure: *Taka-hiko-ne,* signifies "high-prince lord,"

3 *Taha-hime-no-mikoto. Taka-hime* is suppossd by Hirata to be a mutilated form of *Taka-teru-hime, "*High-shining-Princess," which would make the two names of this personage properly complementary.

4 *Shita-teru-hime-no-mikoto.* This goddess is popularly supposed to have been extremely beautiful, whence perhaps the name, which might be taken to imply that her beauty shone forth from under her garments as in the case of *So-towori-hime* (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9).

5 Because there worshipped. The etymology of Kamo is not clear.

6 *Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto.* The translation here follows the Chinese characters. Another proposal of Motowori's is to regard the syllables *ya-tate* as a corruption of *iya-taka-teri, "*more and more high shining," which would give us for the whole name in English "Divine-More-and-More-High-Shining-Princess."

7 *I.e.,* "the Deity who gave a sign of the thing he did." The Japanese original is *Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami.* The translation of the name here given follows Motowori' interpretation, which takes it to contain an allusion to the act by which its bearer symbolized his surrender of the sovereignty of the land to the descendant of the Sun-Goddess. Lengthened forms of the name are *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* ("the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master") and *Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami,* the first three syllables of which latter are obscure. Both of the lengthened forms are supposed to contain a réferènce to the manifold "green branches" mentioned in the legend referred to,—that, viz., which forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII,

8 *Tori-mimi-no-kami.* Motowori suggests that *tori,* "bird," may be but the name of a place in Yamato.

9 *Ya-shima-muji-no-kami.* "Possessor" is the probable meaning of *muji,* regarded here and elsewhere as an alternative from of *mochi.* Motowori suggests that Yashima may be meant for the name of a district in Yamato, in which case both this god and his daughter would have been named from the places of their birth or residence, which are near each other in the same province.

10 *Tori-naru-mi-no-kami.* The above interpretation, which is proposed by Motowori, seems more acceptable than "Bird-Sounding-Sea," which the Chinese characters yield, *Tori,* "bird," if taken above to be the name of a

place, must be likewise so considered here.-Motowori reasonably conjectures that a clause to the following effect is here omitted: "He wedded such and such a princess, daughter of" such and such a Deity, and begot a child: the Deity *Take-mi-na-gata*"[*i.e.*, probably Brave-August-Name-Firm] (See Sect. XXXII, Note 21). Hirata's text, in his Exposition of the Ancient Histories," is 娶高志之沼河比賣命而令生給之子謂御德須美命亦名健御名方神.

11 The text is here evidently corrupt, and Motowori proposes to read either *Hina-teri-nukata-bichi-wo-no-kami no musume Iko-chini-no-kami,* which would give us in English "the Deity Ikochini, daughter of the male Deity Hina-teri-nukata-bichi," or else to take the whole as the father's name, and to suppose that the name of the daughter has been accidentally omitted. *Hina-teri* means Rustic Illuminator," and the name resembles that of a deity mentioned in Sect. XIV, Note 6. *Nukata* and *Bichi* (or *Hiji,* reversing the position of the *nigori)* are supposed to be names of places. *Ikochini* is altogether obscure.

12 Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami, oshi, as in other instances, being considered a contraction of *ohoshi,* great."

13 Ashi-nadaka-no-kami. It is not clear whether this is a personal name or, as Motowori supposes, the name of the place where the goddess resided. He quotes places named Ashidaka and Ashida; but this hardly seems satisfactory. In any case the name remains obscure.

14 *Ya-kaha-ye-hime.* The translation follows the meaning of the Chinese characters with which the name is written. It is, however, also open to us to consider *Yaka-ha-ye* as a corruption of *iya-ko-haye,* "more and more flourishing."

15 *Haya-mika-no-take-sahaya-ji-mi-mi-no-kami.* The syllables *sahaya* are obscure, and Motowori's proposal to consider them as the name of a place has only been followed in the translation for want of something more satisfactory.

16 *Saki-tama-bime.*

17 *Ame-no-mika-nushi-no-kami.*

18 *Mika-nushi-hiko-no-kami.*

19 Hina-rashi-bime.Motowori takes Hina to be the name of a place, and *rashi* to be an apocopated form of *tarashi* or some such word. But this is mere guesswork.

20 *Okami-no-kami.* See Sect. VIII, Note 9.

21 *Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami.* The meaning of this name is quite obscure. Motowori throws out the suggestion that *Tahiri* may stand for *Tari-hiri* and *Rishi-marumi* for *Kizhima-tsu-mi,—Tari-hiri* and *Kizhima* being names of places, and *tsu-mi,* as usual, being credited with the signification of "possessor."

22 *Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime.*

23 *Hihira-gi-no-sono-hana-madzu-mi-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name here given is conjectural as far as the words "waiting to see" (taken on Tominobu's authority to be the most likely meaning of *madzu-mi)* are concerned. Motowori suggests that *hihira-gi no* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word, and not part of the actual name at all, and the remaining characters corrupted, *Hlhira-gi* rendered "holly," is properly the *Olea Aquifolia.*

24 *Miro-na-mi-no-kami*. Meaning obscure. *Miro* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place, and *na* and *mi* to be Honorific appellations.

25 *Awo-numa-nu-oshi-hime*. Meaning obscure.

26 *Shiki-yama-nushi-no-kami. Shiki-yama* is supposed to be the name of a place in Echizen.

27 *Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi-no-kami. Nanoshi* is supposed to be the name of a place, and identical with *Nunoshi,* which forms part of the mother's name. Motowori takes *tomi* to be an Honorific, and *Tori,* as previously in the case of the deities *Tori-mimi* and *Tori-naru-mi* (See Notes 8 and 10), to be the name of another place. The translator would prefer to take both words in their common signification, and (leaving *nunoshi* aside as incomprehensible) to render the rest of the name thus: "Wealth-Bird-Growing-Ears."

28 *Waka-hiru-me-no-kami.*

29 *Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes Hibara to be the name of a place, a view which the translator has adopted for want of a better.

30 *Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne-no-kami.* Motowori supposes Tohotsu to be the name of a place, and the remaining syllables to be Honorifics.

31 See Sect. VI. Note 20.

32 Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi-no-kami. Toho-tsu (lit. "distant") and yama-zaki ("mountain-cape") are both considered by Motowori to be names of places. Tarashi signifies "perfect" or" perfection." We might perhaps render the name thus: "Perfection-of-the-Distant-Mountain- Cape."

33 I.e., "seventeen generations of Deities." But the construction is curious. Motowori points out that there is here an error in the computation, as the text enumerates but fifteen generations. The names of the gods and goddesses mentioned in this section offer unusual difficulties. Motowori says that it is with hesitation that he proposes many of his interpretations, and it is with still greater hesitation that the translator has accepted them.

1 Not to be confounded with the better known Miho in Suruga. The derivation of the name seems uncertain.

2 The character used is 德, which properly denotes an ear of rice or other grain.

3 What plant the author intends by this name is not quite certain. The characters 維摩 and 簽 are variously used to write it in the native works of reference, where also we learn that it probably corresponds to the plant known in different provinces of modern Japan as *chichi-gusa, tombo-no-chichi, kagarahi* and *gaga-imo*. We may best understand the *Ampelopsis* serianacefolia to have been intended, as the plant is described as having a berry three or four inches long shaped like a towel-gourd (*hechima*), so that, if scooped out, it would fairly resemble a boat in miniature.

4 All the authorities are agreed in considering the character 鶴," goose," to be a copyist's error; but there is no agreement as to the character which should be substituted for it. Hirata reads 鶺, "wren" changing the

phonetic. "Wren", also is the reading in "One account" of the "Chronicles," and Moribè, commenting thereon in his "*Idzu no Chi- Waki*," thinks that "wren" must have been the bird originally intended by the framers of the tradition. Motowori, following a suggestion of the editor of 1687, prefers to consider the radical for "bird, to have been put by mistake for the radical for "insect," and reads 娥 which signifies "moth," especially the "silkworm moth." Motowori, however, proceeds to give to the character in question the Japanese reading of *hi-mushi* (lit."fire-insect," i.e. "ephemera"), which is not warranted. The proper Japanese reading is hihiru. The best would seem to be to adopt the reading 娥," moth."

* The only reason is that goose-skin is thought too large for such a very small god whose boat is a gourd. This does not seem sufficient. The "moth" seems purely hypothetical. There is really no necessity to make the moth fit the conveyance. Dean Swift does not do so.—W.G.A.

5 The original word is *tani-guku.* Its derivation and the name of the species which it denoted are alike unknown. Indeed we might equally well translate by "frog."

6 *Kuye-biko.* The interpretation of the name here adopted is Motowori's. Tominobu takes *Kuye* to be the name of a place, and the personage in question to have been the inventor of scarecrows, whence the tradition connected with his name.

7 *Suhana-biko-na-no-kami,* or without the *nigori, Sukuna-hiko-na-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name here followed is that proposed by Motowori, but not followed by Hirata and Moribe, who prefer to consider it antithetical to that of *Oho-na-muji,* "the Great-Name-Possessor."

8 First mentioned in Sect. I, Note 6. Immediately below, his name is given in the lengthened form.

9 Motowori (who, strange to say, is followed by Hirata,—conf. Sect. XVIII, Note 18) interprets the two characters 白上 (here in accordance with general usage taken to signify "respectfully informed") as "informed and took up," thus making it appear that the diminutive deity was personally taken up to Heaven. Surely a recollection of the parallel passage in the

"Chronicles," which says that "a messenger was sent up to inform the Heavenly Deities, "should have preserved the commentators from thus offending against both grammar and common sense.

10 *I.e.*," slipped away between my fingers." In the legend as given in the "Chronicles," the father explains more particularly that the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity had been a bad boy who ran away.

11 For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII, Note 26.

12 Toko-yo-no-kuni (减世國). Some kind of Paradise or Hades is meant, as is proved by innumerable references in the early literature of Japan: and we may suppose the idea to have been borrowed from the Chinese or through them from Buddhism, and to have been afterwards vaguely located in some distant country. In Sect. LXXIV we are told of the orange having been brought from the "Eternal Land" by Tajima-mori, who is said to have been of Korean extraction. Korea, which is to the west of Japan, and the Buddhist paradise in the west might well be confounded by tradition, though it is equally open to discussion whether Southern China or even the Loochoo Islands might not have been thus vaguely designated. In any case it was a distant place, imperfectly known, though specifically named. In the "Chronicles," Tajima-mori is made to say that it is "the retreat of Gods and Fairies, and not to be reached by common men." —Motowori's immense note on this word (see Vol. Xll, pp. 10-13 of his Commentary) is a specimen of the specious arguments by which he endeavours to ward off from the Early Japanese the imputation of ever having borrowed any ideas from their neignbours. He would have us believe that *Toko-yo* is derived from *soko yori*. "thence" (!) and that the name simply denotes foreign countries in general. This is on a par with the opinion emitted by Arawi Haku-seki in his "*Ko-shi Tsū*," to the effect that the "Eternal Land" was simply a place in the province of Hitachi. The latter good old commentator apparently founded himself on no better reasons than his general rejection of supernatural or otherwise perplexing details, and the fact that one of the characters with which the name of the province in question is written is 常, which also forms part of the name of *Toko-yo-no-kuni*.

13 Literally "everything beneath Heaven." "Beneath Heaven, (天下), i.e., "all that is beneath the Heavens," is a common Chinese phrase for the Chinese Empire, which was in ancient days not unnaturally supposed by its inhabitants to form the whole civilized world, The expression was borrowed by the Japanese to designate their one country. But its use by them had not the same plea of ignorance of other civilised lands, as they were acquainted with China and Korea, and had thence obtained nearly all the arts of life.

* This statement puzzles the commentators.—W.G.A.

1 In the "chronicles," this is given as the designation of the Deity who came over the sea, and Motowori therefore adopts it as the heading of this Section.

2 For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII. Note 26.

3 *I.e.*, “it thou wilt build me a temple." Ths original might also be rendered "if thou wilt worship before me," or "at my shrine," or "if thou wilt establish a temple to me.

4 *I.e.*, on Mount Mimoro which stands as a protecting fence in the eastern part of the province of Yamato. *Awo-kaki-yama*, "green fence mountain," became a proper name used alternatively for Mount Mimoro (or, according to the later pronunciation, Mimuro). In like manner *Himukashi-yama* (in the later language *Higashi-yama*) “eastern mountain," has by some been considered to be a proper name

5 *I.e.*, "august house;" so called probably from the temple of the deity.

1 *Inu-hime.* Motowori supposes *Inu* to be the name of a place. The word properly signifies "dog."

2 *Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami.*

3 *Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami*.

4 Kara-no-kami, 稱神, Kara signifies Korea or China, and the Deity thus named appears in the "Chronicles" under the name of I-so-takeru ("Fifty-fold-Valiant), of whom it is related that he was taken over to Korea by his father Susa-no-wo (the "Impetuous-Male).

5 *Sohori-no-kami*. The etymology is not clear. Hirata derives the name from a Verb *soru* "to ride," “to go in a boat," in connection with the story

(mentioned in the preceding note) of I-so-takeru having been taken over to Korea. According to this view, *Sohori*, like *Kara-no-kami*, would be an alternative name of *I-so-takeru*. But the derivation is hazardous, to say the least.

6 *Shira-hi-no-kami*. Motowori supposes shira hi (白曰) to be a copyist's error for *mukahi* (向日). The latter, however, does not make satisfactory sense, and Tominobu proposes to invert the charac-ters, thus: 日向, which means "sun-confronting." Motowori suggests that the word may, after all, be but the name of a place.

7 *Hizhiri-no-kami,* written with the characters 聖种. The first of these is defined as signifying him who is intuitively wise and good, *i.e.,* the perfect sage. But perhaps we should in Archaic Japanese take the term *hizhiri* in what is its probable native etymological sense, viz."sun-governing" *(hi-zhiri,* 曰知), a title properly applied to the Japanese Emperors as descendants of the Sun-Goddess, and of which the character 聖, which is used of the Chinese Monarchs, is only an equivalent in so far as it, too, is employed as an Honorific title.

8 Viz. from the August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land to the Sage-Deity inclusive.

9 *Kagayo-hime*.

10 *Oho-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami*. The translation follows Hirata's interpretation, which nearly agrees with that proposed by Mabuchi.

11 *Mi-toshi-no-hami.* For the meaning of "harvest" attributed to the word *toshi* see Sect. XX, Note 3.

12 *Aim-shiru-karu-midzu-hime.* The name might tentatively be translated thus: Heaven-Governing-Fresh-Princess-of-Karu. Motowori suggests that *ame-shiru* ay be but a sort of Pillow-Word for the rest of the name. *Ama-tobu* is, however, the only Pillow-Word for Karu found in the poems. After all, Karu may not here be the name of a place at all.

13 *Oki-tsu-hiko- no-kami.* The translator ventures to think that the names of this deity and the next might simply be rendered (in accordance with the first character, 奥, entering into their composition) "Inner Prince"

and "Inner Princess" or "Prince of the Interior" and "Princess of the Interior." Motowori however suggests that *Okitsu* may be the name of a place, while Hirata derives the names from *oki-tsuchi,* "laid earth," finding therein a reference to the furnace (made of clay) mentioned immediately below

14 *Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.*

15 *Oho-be-hime-no-kami*.

16 *Kama-no-kami* (竈神). The "furnace" means the "kitchen." Neither Motowori nor Hirata informs us that the immense popularity of this Goddess, as well as her name, can clearly be traced to China.

17 *Oho-yama-kuhi-no-kami.* The meaning of *kuhi,* here (as in the case of *Tsunu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi,* see Sect. II, Note 4) rendered by the word "integrator," is open to doubt.

18 *Yama-suwe-no-oho-nushi-no-kami.* Motowori supposes the word *suwe,*" end," to have the signification of "top."

19 As it stands, the etymology of this name is not clear. In later times the mountain was called *Hi-yei* (比徽). But whether the, to outward appearance, native name *Hiye* is but a corruption of this Chinese one, or whether it be true that the latter (on this hypothesis bestowed on account of its likeness in sound to the native designation) was not used till the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, as is commonly stated, is difficult to decide.

20 *I.e*, "Close-Fresh-Sea." *A fumi* (modern pron. *Omi,* for *aha-um*) alone signifies "fresh sea," *i.e.,* "lake." This province contains the large lake commonly known as Lake Biha (Biwa), but anciently simply called "the Fresh Sea," as being the lake *par excellence* of Japan. When one of the eastern provinces received, on account of a large lagoon or inlet which it contains, the name of *Toho-tsu-Afumi* (in modern pronunciation *Totomi), i.e.,* "Distant-Fresh-Sea." the epithet Close was prefixed to the name of the province nearer to the ancient centre of government.

21 *I.e.*, Pine-tree-Declivity.

22 *I.e.,* Pueraria-Moor.

23 This passage (用鳴摘神者也) must be corrupt. Mabuchi proposes to insert the character 祭 before 稀, and to Understand the author to have meant to tell us that the deity was worshipped with arrows, that is to say, that arrows were offered at his shrine. Motowori's proposal to consider 用 as an error for 成 or 化, and to interpret the clause thus: "the Deity who was changed into an arrow" is also worthy of notice. But a further suggestion of his to read 丹 for 用 and to interpret thus': "the Deity of the Red Arrow," seems best of all when taken in connection with the tradition, which he quotes from the "Topography of Yamashiro," to the effect that this god took the shape of a red arrow to gain access to his mistress Tama-yori-hime, such a transformation being one of the commonplaces of Japanese myth.

* Why barb and not simply arrow-head? An arrow-head has two barbs. —W.G.A.

24 *Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami.* The interpretation of this name here adopted is not Motowori's, who takes *hi* in the sense of "wondrous" but Hirata's. The latter author makes it clear that this deity (for whom *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami, i.e.,* "the High-Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard" is but a slightly amplified designation) was none other than the above-mentioned Deity of the Kitchen, and his name an inclusive one for the pair of deities *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime.*

25 *Asuha-no-kami.* The signification of this name is obscure, and Motowori's proposal to derive it from *ashi-niha,* "foot-place," because the god in question may be supposed to protect the place on which people stand, is not altogether convincing, In fact he himself only advances it with hesitation. It should be added, however, that Hirata stamps it with his special approval, as he does also Motowori's derivation of the following name, *Hahigi.*

26 *Hahigi-no-kami.* Obscure, but ingeniously derived by Motowori from *hahi-iri-gimi, i.e.,* "entering prince," the deity in question being supposed to have been the special protector of the entrances to houses, and to have thence received his name. Mr. Satow has translated it in the Rituals as "Entrance Limit."

27 *Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami.* The name is almost identical with that in note 10.

28 *Ha-yama-to-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori, and which seems tolerably satisfactory.

29 *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami.* See Note 24.

30 *Oho-tsuchi-no-kami*.

31 *Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-no-kami.*

32 This number is obtained if (as is perhaps permissible from a Japanese point of view) we consider *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime* as forming a single deity. Otherwise there are ten. A similar remark applies to the number sixteen mentioned immediately below.

33 See Note 28.

34 See Sect. V, Note 8. The fact that this goddess is related to have been previously killed (see Sect. XVII) causes Motowori some embarrassment.

35 *Waka-yama-hahi-no-ami.*

36 *Waka-toshi-no-kami.* Motowori proposes (considering this name in connection with the four that follow) to take *waka-toshi* in this place in the signification of "the first sprouting" of the young rice. The five deities whose birth is here mentioned seem collectively to represent the natural succession of agricultural operations throughout the year.

37 *Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami.*

38 *Midzu-maki-no-kami.*

39 *Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami*. Motowori's interpretation of hi as "wondrous" is perhaps as good as that here adopted, according to which it signifies "sun." His view would give us in English "the Summer-High-Wondrous-Deity."

40 *Natsu-no-me-no-kami.*

41 *Aki-bime-no-kani.*

42 *Kaka-toshi-no-kami*. The word *kuku*, "stem," seems to allude to the length of the well-grown ricè.

43 *Kaku-ki-waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami*. Motowori supposes this god to have been the protector of houses, and interprets the name to denote the

beams, and the ropes with which the beams were bound together. The word here read tsuna, "rope," is written with the character, 葛, and might perhaps be rendered "pueraria.” But as in early times the tendrils of such creeping plants formed thè only-substitute for rope, the two renderings come to have very nearly the same signification.

44 The name is here abbreviated in the original to Waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami.

1 *Toyo-ashi-Kara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-ne-kuni, i.e.,* freely rendered, "ever fruitful Japan with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant ricefields.”

2 See Sect. XIII, Note 18. Henceforward this tremendous name is mostly abbreviated to *Ame-no-oshi-no-mimi* (probably signifying "Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.”)

3 So in the original. The sense, however, is rather "told him to descend from Heaven;" for he did not actually go further than the top of the "Floating Bridge,” and never came down to earth.

4 See Sect, III, Note 3.

5 The words "it is” stand for *ari keri* in the original. *Conf.* Sect. X, Note 1.

6 *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami,* first mentioned at the very commencement of the work. In this legend this god's name is constantly coupled with that of the Sun-Goddess, who alone, up to this point, had appeared as the ruler of Heaven.

7 See Sect. XIII, Note 12.

8 See Sect. XVI, Note 7.

9 The meaning must be, as Motowori suggests, that the story was told first, and the Deity Thought-Includer asked for his advice after he had heard it.

* Chinese touch—W.G.A.

10 See Sect. I, Note 11.

11 See Sect. XIII, Note 19.

1 Literally, "long brings back no report.”

2 Literally, "to send again." The same expression occurs below.

3 *Ame-waka-hiko.* All the commentators agree that it is in order to express disapprobation of this god's wickedness that the title of Deity or Augustness is never coupled with his name.

4 Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami.

5 *Ame-no-kako-yumi* and *ame-no-haha-ya.* In Sect. XXXIV these weapons are mentioned under the slightly altered names of *ame-no-hazhi-yumi* (“heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow”) and *ame-no-kaku-ya* ("heavenly deer-arrows.") A large bow made of vegetable wax-tree *(Rhus succedanea)* wood, and arrows with broad feathers, are supposed to be intended.

6 *Shita-teru-hime.* See Sect. XXVI. Note 4.

7 *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami.* See Sect. XX, Note 17

8 Literally, "long brings back no report.”

9 *Na-naki-me.* It the view here taken of the meaning of the Japanese expression be correet (it is that preferred by Motowori and Hirata), the pheasant would seem to have been supposed to cry out its own name,-in Archaic Japanese *kigishi.* The syllables *na naki me,* howéver, lend themselves equally well to the interpretation of "nameless female," and are in the "Chronicles” found written with characters having that signification. Another reasonable opinion is that the name should be connected with the tradition mentioned further on of the pheasant having been the mourner (lit."crying female," *naki-me)* at the funeral of the Heavenly-Young-Prince. In this case the word *na,*"name," would have to be considered redundant, and it will be observed that, the next time the name is mentioned, we find simply *naki-me,*” crying female," without the syllable in question.

10 *Katsura-no-ki,* variously written 桂，楓， 香木， 杜木， and phonetically 加者羅． Though it is not absolutely certain what tree is intended, the weight of authority and of probability is in favour of its being the cassia, which plays a part in Chinese mythology. In modern parlance the *katsura* is a tree whose Latin name is *Cercidi-phyllum japonicum.*

11 Ama-no-sagu-me.

12 This expression, as Motowori explains, signifies only that, as the arrow was shot from below straight up at a pheasant perching on a branch overhead, the feathers, which are properly considered to form the top part of the arrow, were naturally underneath.

13 *Taka-gi-no-kami.* The name is writen with the characters 高木神, which, taken ideographically, would give us in English "High-Tree-Deity." But the translator has little doubt but that Motowori is correct in considering 木 to be here used phonetically, and the syllable (*gi,* which it represents, to be a contraction of *guhi* (for *kuhi),* itself derived from *kumu,* and best rendered by the Verb "to integrate."

14 In Japanese *magare,* lit. "turn aside," "become crooked," *i.e.,* "come to a bad end."

15 *I.e.,* through the hole in the bottom of the sky through which the arrow had entered, or which the arrow had made for itself.

16 Literally "high breast-hill."

17 The sentence placed between brackets is supposed by Motowori to be an addition to the text made by some copyist who had in his mind the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." In the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" the two characters answering to our word "beware" are omitted, and the resulting meaning is: "This was the origin of the practice of sending back arrows," *i.e.,* of shooting an enemy with the arrow he had himself just used.

18 The import of the proverb seems to be that an embassy should always consist of more than one person. This is Motowori's view, based on his interpretation of the character 頓 as *hita*, which he identifies with hi to, "one"; and it agrees well with the story in the text. Hirata, who, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," following the version of the legend given in the "Chronicles," narrates two pheasant embassies,—the male bird being sent first and (as it did not return) the female afterwards, —takes the character in the proper sense belonging to it in Chinese, and interprets the words of the proverb to mean "the pheasant's hurried embassy."

19 *I.e.,* the wife and children of the Heavenly-Young-Prince, who had been left behind by him in Heaven when he went on his embassy to Idzumo.

20 *I.e.,* in the place where he died. The "mourning house" was used to keep the corpse in till it was finally buried.

21 Some of the commentators believe this bird to be a separate species, and Moribe, who says that he saw one at the estuary near Kuhana in Ise, describes it as "rather slenderer than an ordinary wild goose, with longer legs and a higher back." If we accepted this, the better English translation would be "river wild goose."

22 The original of this expression (kisari-mochi) is very obscure even In the "Chronicles," by whose ideographic reading the translator has been guided, and being here written phonetically become more conjectural still. The most likely opinion is that it signifies one bearing on his head the food to be offered to the corpse, though if this view be adopted, the office of the mourner in question may seem to resemble too closely that of the kingfisher. The latter has however been supposed to have brought fish, while the goose may have brought rice. Another proposal is that the goose brought the food and the kingfisher cooked it, while the sparrow, as mentioned below, performed the intermediate operation of pounding the rice. (See Motowori's elaborate note on this word in Vol. XIII, pp. 47-48 of his Commentary).

23 Or simply, "the pounder."

24 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us that "they wept and wailed and sang† for eight nights."

† The words "wail and sing" are probably a compound, they are joined by a line in the Japanese. Sang dirges?—W.G.A.

* See paper on early Japanese history p.54. Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, while their friends come singing, dancing and making music.-W.G.A.

25 See Sect. XXVI, Note 2. He was brother to the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife.

26 The author of the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" tells us that these tears were tears of joy. Doubtless such is the meaning of the text; yet the repetition of the words "bewailing" and "lamenting" is curious.

27 See Sect. VIII, Note I.

28 *Mo-yama.* No such mountain is now known.

29 *Awimi-gaha.* No such river is now known. According to the characters with which it is written the name signifies "Knot-grass-Seeing River."

30 Afterwards called Mino. This province probably received its name, as the author of the "Explanation of Japanese Names" suggests, from mi nu, i.e., "three moors," from the large moors of Kagami, Awo, and Seki-ga-hara which it contains. The modern commentators prefer to derive it from ma na, "true moor."

31 *Oho-ha-kari.* The name might also be rendered "Great-Leaf-Mower." The translator has followed Hirata in omitting the *nigori* from the syllable *ka.*

32 *Kamu-do-tsurugi*.

33 The meaning of the Song is: "Oh! this is *Aji-shiki-taka-hiko- "ne*, whose refulgence, similar to that of the jewels worn by the "Weaving Maiden in Heaven, shines afar across hills and valleys."— The translator does not follow those commentators who emend ana-dama, "hole-jewels" to *aka-dama*, "red," *i.e*., "resplendent jewels," as the frequent reference in this and the other ancient books to the string on which beads were strung, and the presence in ancient tombs, etc. of numbers of such beads with holes drilled through them (they are now known by the name of *kuda-tama, i.e*., "tube-jewels,") renders such an emendation unnecessary. The "Weaving Maiden in Heaven" is evidently, notwithstanding Motowori's endeavour to disprove the fact, the Chinese *Chih Nu, a* personification of a Lyrae, to whom there are countless allusions in Chinese literature, and who also became a frequent theme of the later Japanese poets.

34 Or, "barbarous style." Motowori endeavours to explain away the various names of styles of Songs found in the early literature by asserting that they are simply derived from the initial words of the Song in question, and that, for instance, in the present case, the title of Rustic Song was bestowed on the poem only because in the "Chronicles" it is coupled with another which lends itself to such an interpretation. Moribe gives his sanction to this view; but, though it is difficult to explain many of the titles on any other theory, the translator thinks that it cannot be accepted as generally satisfactory in the face of the numerous cases which contradict it, and of which its supporters can give no satisfactory explanation. The whole subject of the titles, of the manner of singing, etc., of the ancient poems is indeed involved in obscurity.

1 Literally, "to send again."

2 *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari no kami*. We have already seen (Sect. VIII, Note 15) this name (*minus* the title of Deity) as the appellation of the sword with which Izanagi ("the Male-Who-Invites") decapitated his son Kagu-tsu-cbi ("Shining Elder") for having by his birth caused the death of Izanami ("the Female-Who-Invites"). This sword's alternative name appears immediately below as the altérnative name of this deity,— *Ame-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami, i.e*., "the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended." Motowori's gloss to the effect that the deity was the *spirit* of the sword has no warrant from the text.

3 *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami.* See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

4 Here, as in Sect. IX. (Note 6) the character 且, "moreover," occurs where some other Conjunction would seem more appropriate both in Japanese and in English. We may here understand it to be used for" but."

5 *Ame-no-kaku-no-kami.* The interpretation of *kaku* as "deer" is Hirata's, See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXII, p. 6, and *conf.* the remarks on Mount Kagu in Sect. VII, Note 12 of this translation.

6 Literally, "in this road."

7 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕," servant."

8 See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

9 *Tori-bune-no-kami.* See Sect. VI, Note 24.

10 The word "little" is merely a sort of Honorific Expletive.

11 The true etymology of this word is doubtful; for Motowori's proposal to derive if from *ina se,* supposed to mean "no or yes" (諾否)' in allusion to the question here put to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is a mere fancy, and does not provide for the alternative forms *Itasa* and *Isasa,* which occur in other documents.

12 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

13 *I.e.,* as Motowori explains, hilt downwards.

14 The "Chronicles" say that they "squatted."

15 *I.e.,* "What sayest thou to this our decree?"

16 Here and below the humble character 僕,"servant," is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

17 *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nu-shi-no-kami.* For this difficult name see Sect. XXVI, Note 7.

18 See Sect. XXVII, Note 1.

19 Or," We will."

20 *I.e*., He capsized his boat and himself into the sea,—the place being one where (as is still done in Japan) a large space of shallow water had been fenced in with posts, and stuck over with branches of trees, a single opening being left for fish to enter by,-then clapped his hands in token of departure, and sank to the bottom.-This is Hirata's interpretation of the passage, which is a difficult one, and is differently understood by Motowori, whom Mr. Satow has followed in one of his notes to the Rituals (see Vol. VII, Pt II, p. 122 of these "Transactions"), rendering it thus: "He then trod upon the edge "of his boat so as to overturn it, and with his hands crossed back to "back (in token of consent), transformed his boat into a green fence "of branches, and disappeared." A careful comparison of the remarks in Motowori's Commentary (Vol. XIV, pp. 16-19) with those in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (Vol. XXII, pp. 50-55) and with the text itself, as also with the text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," has however left no doubt in the mind of the translator that Hirata's view is the correct one.

21 *Take-mi-na-gata-no-kami.* The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori.

22 *I.e.,* a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

23 This expression seems here, as Motowori says, to be used in the sense of "Come on!" It has survived in the modern word *saraba,* which sometimes has that meaning.

24 *I.e.,* the Lake of Suha. No satisfactory etymology of the name is forthcoming.

25 *I.e*., the Lake of Suha. No satisfactory etymology of the name is forthcoming.

26 In later times called *shinano.* The usual derivation of the word is that which connects it with *shina-zaka,*" mountainous ascents'-an appropriate enough name for the province in question. It is, however, more probably derived from *shina,* the name of a tree resembling the lime *(Tilia cordata)* and *nu* or *no, "*moor."

27 *I.e.,* "If ye will build me a temple founded on the nethermost "rocks and reaching up to Heaven like unto the august residence of "the Heavenly Deity who is coming to replace me as sovereign" upon earth, I will vanish to Hades, and serve him there; and as for "the Gods my children, none of them will rebel against their new" Lord, if the Deity Thing-Sign-Master be accepted as the protector "of his escort."—Some of the expressions in the original stand in need of explanation. *Su*, here rendered "nest" in accordance with the character 傲 employed in writing it, may mean "lattice" (寶)' and refer to the lattice-work over the hole in the chimney of the roof. The "succession of Heaven's sun" (in Japanese *ama tsu hi-tsug*) means the inheritance of the sovereignty of Japan, or of Idzumo. *Momotaradzu* ("less than a hundred") is the Pillow-Word for *ya-so,*"eighty," and for some other words; it must be disregarded in making sense of any sentence in which it occurs. The "eighty road-windings" signify, says Motowori, "an immensely long way," and are here meant for the long road leading to Hades or for Hades itself (Conf, Sect. XCVI, Note 7). In rendering the last sentence of the passage (that commencing "Again, as for my children," etc,), which is

particularly vague, the translator has been guided by Motowori's opinion, which seems the most satisfactory one. It must be understood that the deities whose rear and van the Deity Thing-Sign-Master is to become, are those who are about to escort the new sovereign down from heaven.

28 *I.e.,* disappeared.

29 The passage placed within brackets is supplièd by Motowori to fill up an evident omission in the text.

30 Literally “little shore." See Note 10 to this Section.

31 The derivation of *Tagishi* is doubtful; but *conf*. Sect. LXXXIX, Note 2. Motowori remarks that we seem to have here the old name of the place now known only, on account of the temple which it contains, as *Kidzuki no Oho-yashiro*, i.e., "the pestle-hardened great shrine."

32 *Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami.* Motowori proposes to consider *tama* as a contraction of *tamuke, "*offering," and to take the name to signify "the Deity of Wondrous Increasing Offerings.,’ Hirata's interpretation, which is followed in the translation, seems better, as the term "eight spirits" or "eight [fold] spirit” accords with the religious role attributed to this Deity without necessitating any hazardous philological conjectures. The actual character used to write the disputed word is 玉’ “jewel."

33 See Sect. VI. Note 9.

34 The word "when” must be understood resumptively, as signi-fying that the way in which he carried out his task was by turning into a cormorant, making platters, etc.

35 It is uncertain whether the word *me* (海布), here rendered seaweed, is a general designation or the name of a particular species.

36 Supposed to be the same as, or similar to, the modern *hon-dahara (Halochloa macrantha)*.

37 *Kumu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami*.

38 The translator has followed Moribe in the interpretation of the first part and Hirata in the interpretation of the latter part of this extremely difficult passage, which is a crux to all the commentators, but whose general sense at least is this: "I will continue drilling" fire for the God's

kitchen, until the soot hangs down from the roof "of the temple of the Ancestral Deity in Heaven above, and until "the earth below is baked down to its nethermost rocks; and with" the fire thus drilled will I cook for him the fish brought in by the "fishermen, and present them to him in baskets woven of split bam-" boos which will bend beneath their weight."—Another plausible interpretation of the original expression rendered by these last two words is that they are simply the Pillow-Word for *towowo-towowo ni*, "bending." The rope with which the fishermen are supposed to have angled is described in detail by Hirata ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXIV. p. 21) as a long rope from which other strings, each with a hook attached, depended, and is said by him to be still in use in the provinces of Shimofusa (Shimōsa) and Hitachi. The "lattice of the gable" must be understood to mean bamboo lattice covering a hole beneath the gable, which served as a chimney. Motowori's remarks on this passage will be found in Vol. XIV. pp. 39-42 of his Commentary, and Moribe's on the words *to-daru ama no nisi-su* (rendered "on the heavenly new lattice of the gable" in his "Examination of Difficult-Words," Vol. II, pp. 26-29; the latter especially are well worth perusal by the student. Mr. Satow, in one of the notes to his translation of the Rituals, (See Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 209 of these "Transactions"), gives a somewhat divergent rendering of this passage, following, as he does, the interpretation given by Motowori. It is as follows: "The fire which I have drilled "will I burn until the soot of the rich and sufficing heavenly new "nest of the parent Kami-musubi in heaven hangs down many hand-" breadths long, and the earth below will I bake down to its bottom- 44 most rocks, and stretching a thousand fathoms of paper-mulberry "rope, will draw together and bring ashore the fisherman's large-" mouthed small-finned suzuki, [and] will offer up the heavenly fish-"food on bending split bamboos."

1 *Taka-gi-no-kami.* See Sect. XXXI, Note 13.

2 It will be remembered that this god was son of the Sun-goddess (or of her brother *Susa-no-wo,* "the Impetuous Male"; —see Sect. XII, Note 18, and also the first two sentences of Sect. XIV and the first sentence of Sect.

XV). I he characters rendered "Heir Apparent" are 太子, which form the usual Chinese equivalent of that term, and were borrowed by the Japanese. Motowori's reading of them as *Hi-tsugi no miko,* "Prince of the Sun's Succession," has no authority but his own patriotic fancy.

3 For this tiemendous name see Sect; XIII Note 18.

4 The humble character 僕, "servant" is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

5 *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishii-ama-tsu-hi-dalea-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mi koto*. Excepting as, regards the final *gi* of *ni-nigi*, which it is surely better with Hirata to consider as helping to form the word nigi, "plenty," than to take it as a separate word signifying "lord," as Motowori does, the translation follows Motowori's interpretation of the various component parts of this tremendous name, which is mostly abbreviated to its latter portion. It is precisely to this latter portion (the syllables *hiko-ho-no-nigi*) that considerable doubt attaches. Ho might mean "fire" rather that "rice-ears," and Motowori himself suggests that *ni-nigi* should perhaps be regarded as a corruption of nigi-kahi, "plentiful spikes of grain," rather than as "ruddy plenty." About the meaning of the rest of the name there cannot be much doubt. "Heaven's Sun Height" must be understood as an honorific designation signifying "high as the sun in heaven."

6 The translator puts this sentence between brackets because it is an evident interruption of the main story. Indeed the edition of 1687 prints it as a note to the text. The grammar or it is curious, as, on a first reading, one would be tempted to suppose that "this child," *i.e.,* His Augustness *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi,* was the father of *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi.* But the latter name is but an abbreviated form of the former, and the god could not be his own father. The meaning rather is (and such a construction is not so forced in Japanese as it sounds in English): "As for the parentage of this child, he was born of the marriage [of His Augustness Truly-Conquerer-etc.] with Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-etc. Princess". There is, however, real confusion in the traditional genealogy, as

the "Chronicles” make the deity in question father to His Augustness Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy, instead of younger brother.

7 Viz. His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.

8 *Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aKi-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto*. Mabuchi, as quoted by Motowori, suggests that *yorodzu*, “myriad," should be connected with the word *yoroshi*” good," as signifying an extreme degree, the *ne plus ultra*. But, though perhaps a good guess at the origin of the word, it need not affect our estimate of its actual signification. The translator has, however, followed Mabuchi in considering the syllable shi as an apocopated form of *shima*, "island," and *Aki-dzu-shi* [ma] as having its usual signification of "Dragon-fly Island” (more literally "Island of the Autumn Insect) rather than accept Motowori's explanation of shi as representing the Vérb *chijimu*, "to be puckered,” and of the whole compound *aki-dzu-shi* as signifying “crape like dragon-flies* wings," Not only is there no mention of crape in other pas- sages of these "Records," but the derivation does not, to say the least, recommend itself on philological grounds.

9 *Ame-no-ho-akari no mi koto.* The word rendered "ripe” will bear equally well the interpretation of "red."

10 *Hiko-ho-no-ni-niji,* the abbreviated form of the name in Note 5.

11 *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni.* This periphrastic synonym of Japan has appeared under a slightly shorter form in Sect. IX (Note 18).

12 *Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami,* the goddess whose loud, bold merriment was the chief cause of the Sun-Goddess emerging from her retreat in the cavern (see Sect. XVI, Note 28).

13 *i.e.*, “Thy brazen-faced ness allows thee to stare others out of countenance, and make them uneasy."

14 Between this sentence and the next, the Alarming-Female-Deity must be supposed to have gone on her embassy and to have delivered the message with which she had been entrusted.

15 Written 僕, literally "servant."

16 *Saruta-biko no kami* This is Motowori's reading. The more usual reading is *Saruda-hiko,* transposing the nigori. Hirata prefers to read *Sada-*

biko, and takes *Saruta* or *Sada* to be the name of a place, which indeed seems the most acceptable view. The name actually signifies "monkey field." Motowori's interpretation of its import is a marvellous example of Japanese etymological gymnastics (see Vol. XV, p. 16 of his Commentary). Moribe's derivation from *Sari-hate-hiko* (避果彦) is no better.

17 Or "guide."

18 For these five names and for the Deity Thought-Includer and the [Heavenly-] Hand-Strength-Male-Deity mentioned a few lines further on, see Sect. XVI, Notes 15, 16, 28, 12, 13, 7, and 27 respectively.

19 *Tomo-no-wo.* This expression is here taken to refer to the various offices assumed by the five deities in question at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun-Goddess into the cave. It signifies properly the head of a company.

20 The allusion is to the story in Sect. XVI. Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, points out that it was only the mirror which allured the goddess from the cave. In the Japanese original of this passage, however, even more than in the English translation, the expression "that had allured" is made to refer to both objects.

21 Obtained from the tail of the Serpent of Koshi. See the story in Sect. XVIII

22 *Ame-no-iha-to-wake no kami.* Hirata observes that this must not be considered as the name of an independent Deity, but be taken simply as an alternative name of *Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami* (the "Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity The part taken by this Deity in the legend narrated in Sect. XVI seems a sufficient warrant for such an opinion, though a little lower down in this Section the two are again mentioned separately.

23 *Toko-yo.* These words, which, according to the rules of Japanese construction, are placed at the commencement of the clause, must be understood to apply either to the three gods collectively or to the first-mentioned (the Deity Thought-Includer) alone.

24 Or "worshipping before us," or "in our presence." The strictly logical concordance of an English sentence makes it appear as if the mirror

were to be taken to represent the spirit of both Deities whose names are the subjects of the first clause. In Japanese, however, all such concordances are much more loosely observed, and it is only the spirit of the Sun-Goddess that we must understand to be here intended.

25 *Isuzu* (literally "fifty bells," or else perhaps the name of a kind of grass with which the neighbourhood may originally have been overgrown) is the name of the site of the "Inner Temple" of I se. It is in the Japanese text preceded by the Pillow-Word *saku-kushiro,* literally "rent bracelet." See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words"*8.0.*

26 *Toyo-uke-ne-kami,* the same as *Toyo-uke-bime* (see Sect. VII, Note 6). The mention of this goddess in this place is curious, as she would not seem to be connected with the legend. Motowori, however, supposes that it is through some accidental omission that she does not figure in the list of deities said to have accompanied the heaven-descended Sovereign.

27 This name signifies "meeting when crossing" or "crossing to meet," and is connected by the commentators with an unimportant tradition, for which see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XV. p. 48.

28 These two names are in the original Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami and *Toyo-iha-mado-no-kami*. The tradition in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story" makes them two separate deities.

29 Viz. of the gate or gates of the Imperial Palace.

30 Etymology obscure.

31 *Nakatomi no Marazhi. Nakatomi* is taken by Motowori to be a contraction of *naka-tori-omi,* and by Mabuchi to be a contraction of *naka-tsu-omi,* either of which may be freely rendered "middlemen," "intercessors," referring to the religious functions which were hereditary in this family. (See "Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification," Vol. II. pp.2-3.)

32 *Imibe no obito*. Imibe is derived from *imu* "to avoid," *i.e*., "to abstain from," and *mure*," a flock" or "collection of persons'" "a clan," and refers to the religious duties of this hereditary class of priests, which naturally required their avoidancè of all ceremonial uncleanness. The word

"priest" would fairly, though freely, represent the meaning of the compound.

33 *Saru me no kimi.* For the traditional origin of this name see Sect. XXXV. These "duchesses" were priestesses: but it is a matter of dispute between the commentators whether the title was simply an official one, or hereditary in the female line.

34 *Kagami-tsukuri no murazhi.* Of this family nothing would seem to be known.

35 *Tama-no—ya (or Tama n' Oya) no murazhi*. But the name should probably be *Tama-tsukuri no murazhi, i.e*. "Jewel-Making Chieftains," a "gentile name" which is found in the later literature. Perhaps, however, we should understand both this name and the previous one to be simple inventions by means of which divine ancestry was claimed for the hereditary guilds of jewellers and mirror-makers.

1 Motowori makes Sect. XXXIV commence here, and it seems on the whole best to follow him in so doing, as the entire period of the reign on earth of the first of the heaven-descended gods is thus included in one Section. On the other hand, the "Descent from Heaven," which gives its name to the preceding Sect, cannot properly be said to be accomplished until the end of this first sentence of Sect. XXXIV. It will be remembered that the Japanese name of this first deity-king is (in its abbreviated and most commonly used form) *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*.

2 Motowori proposes to suppress the character 詔, "commanded," in this clause, and the character 而, "and," at the beginning of the next, and to take the Prince as the subject of the whole sentence. This would be convenient; but the characters 而 and 而 are in all the texts.

3 *I.e.,* his place in Heaven. The original Japanese of the term is *ama-no-iha-kura*.

4 The translator has adopted the interpretation proposed by Hirata, the only commentator who gives an acceptable view of this extremely difficult clause, which Motowori admitted that he did not understand. It must be remembered that Hirata identifies the "Floating Bridge of Heaven" with the

"Heavenly Rock-Boat.” (For details see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXVII, pp. 31-32).

5 Tsukushi, anciently the name of the whole of the large island forming the South-Western corner of Japan, and Himuka (in modern pronunciation Hiuga), one of the provinces into which that island is divided, have already been mentioned in Sect. V, Note 14 and Sect. X, Note 4 respectively. It is uncertain whether the mountain here named is the modern Takachiho-yama or Kirishima-yama, but the latter view is generally preferred. *Kuzhifuru*. is explained (perhaps somewhat hazardously) as meaning” wondrous," while *Taka-chi-ho* signifies "high-thousand-rice-ears.”

* Takachiho in Himuka in Tsukushi.—W.G.A

6 *Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto*. The interpretation is only conjectural.

7 *Ama-tsu-kume no mikoto*. The traditional origin of this curious name will be found below in the third and fourth Songs of Sect. LI (see Note 21 and 22 to that Section), where the “sharp slit eyes” of of this worthy are specially referred to. But Moribe seems to prove that *kume* is in reality not a personal name at all, but simply the old term for "army.” through a misconception of the original import of which has arisen the idea that *Oho-kumo* and *Oho-tomo* were two distinct personages. The elaborate and interesting note on this subject in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II, pp. 46-55 is well worth consulting. The only point in which the present writer differs from him is with regard to the etymology of the word kume, which Moribe connects with *kumi*, "a company," and *kuma*, "a bravo,” whereas in the opinion of the former it is probably nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word *chün* (軍) modern Japanese *gun*, "army, "troops.”

8 The Auxiliary Numeral here used is that properly denoting human beings, not deities,—*futari* (二人), instead of *futa-hashira* (二注).

9 In Japanese *ama no iha-yugi*.

10 This is the generally received interpretation of the obscure original term *kabu-tsuchi* (or *kabu-tsutsui*) no tachi, the parallel term ishi-tsutsui being understood to mean "a mallet-headed sword made of stone." (Both

names appear below in the Song at the end of Sect. XLVIII, Note 4). Moribe, however, in his *"Idzu no Chi-waki*," rejecting the opinion that any part of the swords were made of stone, explains *kabu-tsutsui* in the sense of "broad-tempered" and *ishi-tsutsui* in that of "hard-tempered."

11 For the bows and arrows here mentioned see Sect. XXX1, Note 5.

12 *Ohotomo no murazhi*, a common "gentile name" down to historical times. Oho-tomo means "numerous companies" or "large tribe," in allusion, as Moribe supposes, to the force of which the personage here mentioned was the general.

13 *Kume no atahe. Conf.* Note 7.

14 Or *Kan* according to the sinico-Japanese reading. We might render it in English by Korea. The Chinese character Is 韓.

15 Etymology uncertain. An alternative form of this name, which is preserved in the "Chronicles," is *Nagasa,* which Hirata trunks may stand for *Nagasaki.*

16 This is the sense of the original Japanese text of this passage as literally as it can be rendered, and so the older editors understood it. Motowori however, though not daring actually to alter the characters, assumes that they are corrupt, and in his *kana* rendering gives us this instead: 41 Thereupon, passing searchingly through a bare-" backed empty country, be arrived at the august cape of Kasasa, and" said: 'This land is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, "etc." His evident reason for wishing to alter the reading is simply and solely to conceal the fact that Korea is mentioned, and mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age, *i.e.*, long before the epoch of its so-called revelation and conquest by the Empress Jin-g5 (see Sects. XCVI to XCVIII). That the parallel passage of the "I Chronicles" lends some sanction to his view is no excuse for so dishonest a treatment of the text he undertakes to commentate; for the "Records" and the "Chronicles" often differ greatly in the accounts they have preserved. One of Motowori's arguments is that, as Kasasa is said to have been in the province of Hiuga, it could not have been opposite to Korea, seeing that Hiuga faces east and not

west. He here forgets that a little later on in his own same Commentary (Vol. XVII, p. 86) he asserts that Hiuga in ancient times included the provinces of Ohosumi and Satsuma, the latter of which does face west.

17 *I.e.,* he built himself a palace to dwell in (Conf. Sect. XXXII, Note 27).

1 See Sect. XXXIII from a little before Note 11 to Note 17.

2 *Q.d.,* instead of the men being Dukes, as would be more natural. The title was confined to females (see Sect. XXXIII, Note 33).

1 Etymology unknown.

2 What species was denoted by this ancient name is not clear; but one of Motowori's suggestions, to the effect that it may have been identical with the modern *sarubo-gahi* (a shell of the family *Arcade,* probably *Area subcrenata*), the origin of whose name would thus be traced up to the mythological age, is at least ingenious.

3 *Soko-doku-mi-tama*,

4 *Tsubo-tatsu-mi-tama*.

5 *Aha-saku-mi-tama. Saha* might be translated by "opening,”"forming,” etc. It is the same word as that used to express the blossoming of a flower.

6 The characters rendered "came back" are 遂至. Motowori and Hirata believe 遂 to be put erroneously for 罷, which would give the sense of "arrived there,” and would thus enable us to locate the episode of the fishes at I se instead of in Hiuga, which would better suit the concluding clause of this Section narrating the participation of the Duchesses of Saru in the first-fruits of the province of Shima. If the word Shima however here means, not the province of that name, but simply "islands” in general, there is nothing to be gained by the proposed emendation, which has moreover no sanction from any text; and it may be added that no notice is to be found in any history of the custom here said to have existed.

7 *I.e.*, all the fishes both great and small.

8 Literally, “small string-sword," supposed to have been so called from its having been carried inside the garments, attached to the under-belt.*

* The *tsuchi-mngio* have usually a very short sword not unlike an Aino knife, which is apparently suspended by one or two cords from the girdle.-W.G.A.

9 The smallest of the Japanese provinces, situated to the East of Ise. The name signifies "island," and it is posible that it ought here to be taken in that sense as a common noun.

1 See Sect. VI, Note 17.

2 *Kamu-ata-tsu-hime. Ata* is a place in Satsuma.

3 Or "Tree" *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime.* Perhaps (though there is no native authority for doing so) we might rather understand *saku* as a Causative in intention, though not in form, and render the name thus: "Princess-Causing-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Blossom." The tree alluded to is doubtless the cherry. The deity is now worshipped as the goddess of Mount Fuzhi (Fusiyama), and in common parlance the last member of the compound forming her name does not receive the *nigori,—hime* instead of *bime.* The syllable *ya* has no signification in this and similar names. It will be remembered that there was another sister named "Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. (See Sect. XX, Note 5.)

4 Or perhaps, though written 兄弟, the original expression were here better rendered by "sisters."

5 *I.e.,* as enduring as the rocks. The original name is *Iha-naga-hime,*

6 The character used here and immediately below for the First Personal Pronoun is 僕, "servant."

7 *I.e.,* every kind of goods as a dowry for his daughters.

8 The usual word child (子) is employed in the text but it here almost certainly has, as Motowori suggests, a more extended meaning, and signifies the posterity of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty generally, i.e., the Emperors of Japan. The vaguer term “offspring” is therefore nearer to the author's intention.

9 *I.e.,* either of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. There is no difference in the sense, whichever of these two deities we take

the speaker to refer to. The Sun-Goddess was his ancestress, and he was ancestor of the Japanese Emperors.

10 Or "snow and rain," the reading being uncertain.

11 Or "having sworn this" or "pledged [myself to the accomplishment of] this."

12 The Chinese characters used are those properly denoting the presenting of tribute.

13 Motowori proposes an emendation in this passage of 此令 to 爾今, which would not materially alter the sense.

14 The precise meaning of the syllables *a-ma-hi-no-mi,* here rendered by the words "but as frail" in accordance with Motowori's and Moribe's tentative interpretation, is extremely obscure. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" is 木華之移落, *i.e.,* "fading and falling like the flowers of the trees."

15 The characters tendered "Heavenly Sovereign" are 天皇, a common Japanese designation of the Emperor. It would, especially in the later volumes of this work where the expression is repeated on almost every page, be more convenient to translate by the single word "Emperor." But the commentators lay great stress on the high significance of the component portions of the title, which, they contend, was not borrowed from China, but was first used in Japan. It is first met with in Chinese history in the middle of the seventh century of our era, just early enough indeed for it to have been borrowed before the time of the compilation of these" Records." But as there was no difficulty in putting together the two component parts "Heavenly, Sovereign," it is possible that the contention of the Japanese commentators is correct. The ancient pure native term seems to have been *Sumera-mikoto*, for which Mr. Satow has pioposed the rendering of "Sovran Augustness."

1 More literally "came to" but the character which is employed implies that her visit was to a superior.

2 Written with the character 妾, a "concubine" or "handmaid," a common self-depreciatory equivalent of the First Personal Pronoun in

Chinese, when the speaker is a woman.

3 *I.e.,* "secretly," "without telling thee."

4 In this one instance only is the name thus abbreviated. Motowori supposes it to be cm account of the scorn implied in the god's words.

5 Literally, "one sojourn."

6 See Sect. I. Note 11. Here of course one of the gods of the same country-side is meant.

7 *I.e.,* "thy child and the Sun-Goddess descendant."

8 That is to say that it remained doorless after she had, as stated immediately below, plastered up the entrance.

9 Viz. of child, not from the flames. There is no ambiguity in the Japanese expression.

10 *Ho-deri-no-mikoto*.

11 *Hayabito-ata-no-kami.* Ata is, as has been already stated in Note 2 to Sect. XXXVII, the name of a place in Satsuma *Haya-bito* ("swift men, bold men," literally, if we follow the Chinese characters "falcon-men") was an ancient designation of the inhabitants of the south-western corner of Japan which was subsequently divided into the provinces of Satsuma and Ohosumi, and came by metonymy to be used to denote the province of Satsuma itself, for which rèason it remained as the Pillow-Word for the word Satsuma even after the exclusive use of this latter name had been established. In after times the *hayabito* (also contracted to *hayato* and *haito)* were chiefly known as forming the Infantry of the Imperial Guard, a curious choice of provincials for which mythological sanction was invoked. They are also said to have furnished the performers of a symbolic dance mentioned at the end of Sect. XLI (see Note 3 to that Sect.). In later Sections of this work, the translator has ventured to render *hayabito* by "man-at-arms."

12 *Ho-suseri-no-mikoto.*

13 The Honorific is doubtless prefixed in this case and not in the others, because it was to this prince or deity that the Imperial House traced its

descent. Motowori's *kana* reading, which prefixes Honorifics to all such names indifferently, obliterates this delicate distinction.

14 *Ho-wori-no-mikoto.* The derivation of this name is less clear than that of his elder brothers. Motowori's proposal to consider it as a corruption of *ho-yohari,* "fire weakening," is however plausible and as this triad of names is evidently intended to paint the stages in the progress of the conflagration, the import of the third must be something very like what Motowori suggests, even if his guess at the original form of the word be not quite correct. The names of all three brethren differ more or less in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

15 *Ama-m-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto.* The interpretation of the last four members of this compound name is extremely doubtful.

16 The actual word in the text is not *kami*, "deity," but its Auxiliary Numeral *hcwhira.*

1 For the archaic Japanese word *sachi,* here rendered "luck," there is no satisfactory English equivalent. Its original and most usual signification is "luck," happiness then that which a man is lucky in or skilful at,—his *"forte"* and finally that which he procures by his luck or skill and the implements which he uses in procuring it. The éxchange negociated below was doubtless that of the bow and arrows of one deity for the other deity's fish-hook.

2 *I.e.,* "Some men are naturally good hunters, and others naturally" good fishermen. Let us therefore restore to each other the imple-"ments necessary to the successful following of our respective avoca-"tions."The clause rendered" Let each of us now restore to the "other his luck" is a little confused in the original but the *kana* readings both old and new agree in interpreting it as has here been done.

3 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

1 *Shiho-tsuchi no kami.* The view of the meaning of this name which has here been taken is founded on the persistent use in all documents of the character 傲, "salt," to write the first element of the compound, and of varying characters to write the syllables *tsu* and an, an indication that the

latter are to be taken phonetically and may therefore be interpreted to signify *tsu mochi* "possessor of," as in numerous other instances. The fact that this god is known as the god of salt-manufacturers (see Tanigaha Shisei's “Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" Vol. VII, p. 3) adds another reason for rejecting both Motowori's far-fetched derivation of the name from *Shiri-oho-tsu-mochi,* "Great Possessor of Knowledge," and his assertion that it denotes no individual deity, but any one gifted with superior wisdom.

2 *Sora-tsu-hi-daka.* It will be remembered that *Ama-tsu-hi-daka,* "Heaven's-Sun-Height," was the first part of Prince Fire-Subside's alternative name (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 15). The distinction between these two almost identical appellations would seem to be that the former is used of the Heir Apparent, the latter of the reigning sovereign. Both were therefore equally applicable to Prince Fire Subside; and while that which he eventually bore is mentioned where his names are first given, he is naturally spoken of in this place, when his father may be supposed to have been still living, by that variation of the name properly marking the Heir Apparent. These names, *Ama-tsu-hi-daka* and *Sora-tsu-hi-daka,* will be met with again below applied to other personages.

3 *I.e.,* "I had received a fish-hook from my elder brother in" exchange for a bow." Thè text is here concise to obscurity.

4 *I.e.,* as is supposed, a punt or tub made of strips of bamboo plaited so tightly that no water could find its way in between them.

5 *I.e.,* simply "a pleasant road." *Mi chi* "a road" is properly a compound,—*mi-chi,* "august road,"—the single syllable *chi* being the most archaic Japanese word for "road." It is in this place written 御路, showing that the etymology was not yet quite forgotten at the time of the compilation of these "Records." Generally, howèver, throughout the work we have 路 or 道 alone.

6 See Sect. VI, Note 8, where the Adjective "Great" is prefixed to the name.

7 See Sect. XXXI, Note 10.

8 *Toyo-tama-bime*.

9 The character 光, properly “light,"” refulgence,” is here taken by Motowori in the precisely opposite sense of "shadow” (the parallel passage in the "Chronicles” having 入影, “human shadow”), and his view is absolved from unreasonableness by the fact of the confusion between light and shade which has always existed in Japanese phraseology. Thus *hi-kage* may signify either “sunlight” or “a shadow cast by the sun." It is safest, however, to adhere to the Chinese characters employed by the author and in this special instance we may well suppose him to have intended to say that a celestial light shone from the body of the god in question. Such an idea is not foreign to classical Japanese ways of thought and expression. See also Sect. XLVI, Notes 9-10*

* These seem to me quite decisive.—W.G.A.

10 Or, taking the character 是 as an initial Particle, "So as we" were not able to separate [one from the other]."

* The Chinese character indicates something more than pleasure. -W.G.A.

11 See Note 2 to this Section.

12 This is a literal translation of the Chinese character 海趙, by which the Archaic word *michi,* here written phonetically, is elsewhere represented. Perhaps the sea-lion (*Otaria arsina)* or a species of seal may be intended.

13 See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

14 Literally, "thought of the first things."

15 As the character for "one" is thrice repeated in this passage, Motowori is probably right in saying that it should be given its proper signification, and the translator therefore renders it by the Numeral “one” rather than by the Indefinite Article "a."

16 Prounced *tai* in modern parlance. Perhaps we should rather read *aka-dahi,* “red *tahi,"* as in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." Both these fishes belong to the family *Sparoidci,* the former being the Pagrus *cardinalis,* the latter probably the P. *major.*†

† Does not the term *tai* include both varieties? The "Chronicles" have 赤女*akame.*—W G.A.

17 Or, "of a fish-bone in its throat."

* The version of the imprecation given in Vol. II p. 38 of the "Chronicles" (pp. 97 and 98 Aston's translation) is much more intelligible than this. Cf. also Vol. II p. 41 of Nihongi (pp. 100 and 101 Astoni translation). —W.G.A.

18 Tanigaha Shisei, quoting from Urabe no Kaneyoshi, comments thus on the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," where the whole of this legend is given several times in slightly varying forms: "By big" hook is meant one that will not serve its purpose [because too big]; "*eager* signifies that which [endeavours to, but] cannot advance; *silly* "meant unintelligent: hence we have a hook which, not serving its "purpose, will be of no use whatever, but rather a road to lead [him "who possesses it] to poverty. Poor outwardly, and inwardly silly, "he will be the most useless creature in the Empire."It should be noted, however, that Motowori interprets in the sense of "gloomy," and Moribe in the sense of "drowning," the phonetically written and obscure word *obo* here rendered "great."

19 *I.e.,* "with thy hand behind thy back." This is supposed by the commentators to have been a sort of charm by which evil was averted from the person of him who practised it, and they point out that Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") brandished his sword behind him when he was pursued by the hosts of Hades (see Sect. IX, Note 15).

20 By "high fields" and "low fields" are meant respectively upland rice-fields where the rice is planted in the dry, and "paddy-fields" properly so called, where the rice perpetually stands in the water. Different varieties of rice are used for these different methods of culture.

21 *Shiho mitsu tama.* The "tide-ebbing jewel" mentioned in the next sentence is in the Japanese *shiho hiru tama.*

22 See Introduction p. xxxvii, Note 41.

23 *Uha tsu kuni,* 上國.

24 *I.e.,* "Which of you will most speedily escort him home to the upper world, and bring back news of his safe arrival there?”

25 Written with the respectful character 僕 "servant."

26 There is in this sentence a character, 若 which is hard to explain if read *moshi,* "if," as usual in Japanese. Probably, however, it simply stands for "thou," and we might translate thus: "While thou art crossing," etc.

27 See Sect. XXXVI, Note 8.

28 *I.e.,* probably, tying it round the crocodile's neck.

29 *Sahi-mochi-no-kami.* “Blade” is the probable signification of sahi or sabi, though this particular proper name is written in the “Chronicles" with the Chinese character 鋤, “hoe” or “mattock.” Here the syllables *sa hi* are written phonetically.

1 *I.e.,* “did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground. The Old Printed Edition has 稽白 instead of 稽旨白, and the *kana* gloss *kamugahe-mausu i.e.,* “reflected and said”: but this reading, though interesting, is less good.

2 Written with the humble character 僕, “servant.”

3 *I.e.,* “Prince Fire-Shine's descendants the *Hayabito* (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11) still constantly perform before the Court dances and posturings symbolical of the antics which their divine ancestor went through for the amusement of his younger brother, after the latter had saved him from drowning. "One account” in the "Chronicles" relates these antics at full, telling us that they represented the straits to which he was put as the waters gradually rose higher and higher and we learn from other passages in the same work and in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued” that the *Hayabito* did really down to historical times combine the office of Court Jesters with that of Imperial Guardsmen.

1 For”waited on" see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 1. The word “herself” (自 *midzukara)* has no particular force or meaning in the Japanese original, where it is simply placed in imitation of the Chinese style.

2 See Sect. XXXVIII, Note 2.

3 Or “of *the* Heavenly Deity," *i.e.,* “thyself.” But it seems better to understand the speaker to intimate that it would be unfitting for one who properly belonged to Heaven to be born in the sea, which was another country or kingdom.

4 *I.e.,* in the sea.

5 Literally, "come out and arrived.”

6 It has been noticed in the Introduction, p. xxxii, that in Early Japan a parturient woman was expected to build for herself a special hut in which to give birth to her child.

7 Or, completely put on literally, "thatched [so as] to meet.”

8 The text here has 日子, “prince,” literally “sun-child,” and so the older editors understood the expression. The translator, however, prefers Motowori's view, according to which the character 遲 should be supplied, and the whole read phonetically as *hikoji, “* husband,” a word which occurs again a few lines further on.

9 *I.e.,* she assumes the shape proper to her in her native land.

10 According to the parallel passage of the “Chronicles," she turned into a dragon. "One account” however agrees with our text.

11 The original of this passage is rather confused but the interpretation here adopted from the Old Printed Edition is more natural than Motowori's, according to which the Verbs are to be taken in a Causative sense, to the following effect "I had always wished to let people come and go across the sea-path.” Probably it was only in order to make this clause fit in better with the following sentence, in which we are told that the crocodile-princess "closed the sea-boundary," and with the fact that there is at present no path leading to the Sea-God's palace, that Motowori was induced to sanction such a view of the grammar of this passage.

12 This is Motowori's interpretation of the clause, he having emended 作, “action," “doing," which is found in the older editions, to 作, “shame-faced.” (The edition of 1687 mentions 拖, “strange," as an alternative reading.) If we followed the older reading, we should have to translate thus: "thy having peeped at my [real] shape is an outrageous action."

* Cf. Nihongi Vol. II. p. 35, (p. 95 Aston's translation).—W.G.A.

13 *I.e.,* the boundary dividing the dominions of the Sea-God from the world of men.

14 Viz., to the Sea-God's palace.

15 *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu no mikoto.* The older editors read ahasezu for ahezu' i.e., "causing to meet," instead of "meeting." Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, would have us believe that the name comes from umi-ga kayohi fuki-ahezu (海陸注來乳養不得) *i.e.,* going and coming on sea and land "and being unable to suckle"!

16 *Tama-yori-bime,*

17 *I.e.,* of Jewel-Good-Princess nursing the child. The mother did not return to the upper world, and so sent this poetic message by her sister, who had consented to act as the child's nurse.

18 "The meaning of the Song," says Motowori, "is this: 'Al-"'though red jewels are so charming that the very string [whereon "'they are strung] doth shine, the august aspect of my lord, who is like"' unto white jewels, is still more lovely.' Thus does she express her "loving feelings." Moribe supposes the "red jewels" (or "jewel" in the singular) to be meant for the child, than whom her husband is yet dearer to her heart. The word *kimi,* here etymologically rendered "[my] lord," is commonly used in the sense of "thou," especially in poetry.

19 I.e., "I shall never forget thee who wast my wife in the realm of the Sea-God. The "birds of the offing" are a description of the wild duck, used as a Pillow-Word for their name. In the same manner the whole phrase, "where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing," may be taken simply as a "Preface" to the word "island." The Sea-God's dwelling is called an island, because it is beyond the sea. The words *yo no koto-goto ni,* here in deference to the views of the best commentators rendered by "till the end of my life," will also bear the interpretation of "night by night."

20 The alternative name of the deity Fire-Subside.

21 Probably the writer means us to understand that the total age reached by this deity was five hundred and eighty years. This is the first mention in these "Records" of anything approaching a date. The way in which it is recorded resembles that in which the chronicle of each Emperor's reign is brought to a close in the later volumes of the work.

22 The character 陵 might also be rendered by the simpler word “grave.” But neither it nor its Japanese reading misasaki aré ever used except honorifically of the Imperial tombs, and "mausoleum” seems therefore a more suitable English equivalent.

1 *Itsu-se-no-mikoto.* The "reaches" are the reaches of a river at least this seems the most natural view to take of the meaning of the name. Motowori and Moribe, however, consider it to be a corruption of *idzu-shine,* to which they assign the signification of’ powerful rice." Excepting for the fact of its bringing this name into harmony with the three that follow, and which all relate to food, there seems little to recommend so far-fetched a derivation.

2 *Ina-hi-no-mikoto.* If Motowori's derivation of the name from *ina-ihi* is correct, it might be rendered with greater exactness "Rice-Boiled-rice," ine denoting rice in the husk and ihi the same when boiled.

3 *Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto.* This name has been translated in accordance with Motowori's interpretation of the syllables that compose it.

4 *Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mihoto.* Conf. preceding Note.

5 *Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto.* Conf. Note 3.

6 *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto.* Yamato being the name of the province where this prince, the first Emperor of the so-called "human age," fixed his capital, it appropriately forms part of his name. For a discussion of the etymology of the word Yamato, see Scct. V, Note 26. *Ihare,* a word which is said to signify "assembling," is the name of a village in that province.

* Four deities.—W.G.A.

7 See Seet. XXVII, Note 12.

8 See Sect. XII, Note 8.

VOL. II.[1]

[SECT. XLIV.—REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU[2] (PART I-HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The two Deities His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko[3] * and his elder brother His Augustness Itsu-se, dwelling in the palace of Takachiho,[4] took counsel, saying: "By dwelling in "what place shall we [most] quietly carry on the government "of the Empire? [5] It were probably best to go east." Forthwith they left Himuka[6] on their progress[7] to Tsukushi.[8] So when they arrived at Usa[9] in the land of Toyo,[10] two of the natives, whose names were Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime[11] built a palace raised on one foot,[12] and offered them a great august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one year at the palace of Wokada[13] in Tsukushi. Again making a progress up[14] from that land, they dwelt seven years at the palace of Takeri[15] in the land of Agi.[16] Again removing, and making a progress up from that land, they dwelt eight years at the palace of Takashima[17] in Kibi.[18] So when they made their progress up from that land, they met in the Hayasuhi[19] Channel a person riding towards them on the carapace of a tortoise, and raising his wings[20] as he angled. Then they called to him to approach, and asked him, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I[21] am an Earthly Deity."[22] Again they asked him, saying: "Knowest thou the sea-path?" He replied, saying: "I know it well" Again they asked him, saying: "Wilt thou follow and respectfully serve us?" He replied, saying: "I will respectfully serve you." So they pushed a pole[23] across to him, drew him into the august vessel, and forthwith conferred on him the designation of Sawo-ne-tsu-hiko.[24] (This is the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Yamato)[25] So when they went up from that land they passed the Nami-haya[26] Crossing, and

brought up at the haven of Shirakata.[27] * At this time Nagasune-hiko[28] of Tomi[29] raised an army, and waited to go out to fight [against them]. Then they took the shields that had been put in the august vessel, and disembarked. So they called that place by the name of Tate-dzu.[30] It is what is now called the Tadetsu of Kusaka.[31] Therefore when fighting with the Prince of Tomi,[32] His Augustness Itsu-se was pierced in his august hand by the Prince of Tomi's hurtful arrow.[33] So then he said: “It is not right for me, an august child of the Sun-Deity, to fight facing the sun. it is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched” villain's[34] hurtful hand. I will henceforward turn round, and “smite him with my back to the sun." Having [thus] decided, he, on making a progress round from the southern side, reached the sea of Chinu,[35] and washed the blood on his august hand: so it is called the sea of Chinu.[36] Making a progress round from thence, and arriving at the river-mouth of Wo[37] in the land of Ki,[38] he said: “Ah!that I should die stricken by the wretched villain's hand!” and expired[39] as a valiant man.[40] So that river-mouth was called the river-mouth of Wo.[41] The mausoleum, too, is on Mount Kama[42] in the land of Ki.

[SECT. XLV.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II. THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN).]

So when His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko made arogress round from thence, and reached the village of Kumanu,[1] a large bear came out of the mountain,[2] and forthwith disappeared into it.* Then His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko suddenly fainted away, and his august army likewise all fainted and fell prostrate. At this time Takakurazhi[3] (this is the name of a person)[4] of Kumanu came bearing one cross-sword[5] to the place where the august child of the Deity was lying prostrate, and presented it to him, upon which the august child of the Heavenly Deity forthwith rose up, and said: "How long I have slept!" So when he accepted the cross-sword, the savage Deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously

fell cut down.[6] Then the whole august army, that had been bewildered and had fallen prostrate, awoke and rose up. So the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked him how he had got the cross-sword. Takakurazhi replied, saying: “I was told in a dream that the two Deities the "Heaven - Shining - Great - Deity[7] and the High Integrating “Deity[8] commanded and summoned the Brave-Awful-Possessing- “Male-Deity,[9] and charged, him [thus]: ‘The Central Land “‘of Reed-Plains[10] is painfully uproarious,-it is.[11] Our august "‘children must be ill at ease. As [therefore] the Central “‘Land of Reed-Plains is a land which thou specially sub- "‘duedst, thou the Brave- Awful-Possessing- Male -Deity shalt “‘descend [thither].. Then he replied, saying: ‘I[12] will not “‘descend [myself], but I have the cross-sword wherewith I “‘specially subdued the land. (The name by which this sword “'is called is the Deity Thrust-Snap;[13] another name by which it is "'called is the Deity Awful-Snap,[14] and another name for it is the “‘August-Snap-Spirit.[15] This sword dwells in the temple of the “‘Deity of Isonokami.)[16] The manner in which I will send “‘this sword down will be to perforate the ridge of [the “‘roof of] Takakurazhi's store-house,[17] and drop it though!' "{So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity instructed me, “saying: ‘I will perforate the ridge of [the roof of] thy “'store-house, and drop this sword through.[18] } So do thou, “'with the good eyes of morning,[19] take it and present it to “‘the august child of the Heavenly Deity.’ So on my search- "ing my store-house early next morning in accordance with “the instructions of the dream, there really was a cross-sword “there. So I just present this cross-sword to thee.”

[SECT. XLVI.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III.—THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS.]

"Then His[1] Augustness the Great-High-Integrating-Deity "again commanded and taught, saying: ‘August son of the "'Heavenly Deity! make no progress hence into the interior. "‘The savage Deities are very numerous. I will now send "'from Heaven a crow eight feet [long].[2] So that crow eight

"‘feet [long] shall guide thee. Thou must make thy progress” ‘following after it as it goes.’” So on [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress following after the crew eight feet [long] in obedience to the Deity's instructions, he reached the lower course of the Yeshinu[3] river where there was a person catching fish in a weir.[4] * Then the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked, saying: “Who art thou?"' He replied, saying: "I[5] am an earthly Deity[6] and am called by “the name of Nihe-motsu no Ko.”[7] (This is the ancestor of the Cormorant-Keepers of Ada).[8] On [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress thence, a person with a tail[9] came out of a well. The well shone. Then [His Augustness asked: “Who art thou?" He replied, saying: “I am an "Earthly Deity, and my name is Wi-hika.[10]" (This is the ancestor of the Headmen of Yeshinu).[11] On his forthwith entering the mountains,[12] His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko again met a person with a tail. This person came forth pushing the cliffs apart. Then [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an Eathly Deity, and my name is Iha-oshi-waku no Ko. I heard “[just] now that the august son of the Heavenly Deity was “making his progress. So it is for that that I have come to “meet thee." (This is the ancestor of the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu)[13] Thence [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] penetrated over on foot to Uda.[14] So they say: “The “Ugachi of Uda."[15]

[SECT. XLVII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IV.—THE UKASHI BRETHREN).]

So then there were in Uda two persons, Ukashi the the Elder Brother and Ukashi the Younger Brother.[1] So [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] sent the crow eight feet [long] in advance to ask these persons, saying: “The august “child of the Heavenly Deity has made a progress [hither]. “Will ye respectfully serve him?" Hereupon Ukashi the Elder Brother waited for and shot at the messenger with a whizzing barb* to make him turn back. So the place where the whizzing barb fell is called Kabura-

zaki.[2] Saying that he intended to wait for and smite [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], he [tried to] collect an army. But being unable to collect an army, he said deceitfully that he would respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], and built a great palace,[3] and in that palace set a pitfall, and waited. Then Ukashi the Younger Brother came out to[4] [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] beforehand, and made obeisance, saying: “Mine[5] elder brother Ukashi the Elder Brother has shot at "and turned back the messenger of the august child of the “Heavenly Deity, and, intending to wait for and attack thee, has “[tried to] collect an army; but, being unable to collect it, he has “built a great palace, and set[6] a gin within it, intending to wait “for and catch thee. So I have come out to inform [thee of this].” Then the two persons His Augustness Michi-no-Omi,[7] ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains,[8] and His Augustness Ohokume,[9] ancestor of the Kume Lords,[10] summoned Ukashi the Elder Brother and reviled him, saying: “Into the great palace which “thou[11] hast built to respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-” yamato-ihare-biko], be thou[12] the first to enter, and declare "plainly the manner in which thou intendest respectfully to “serve him;”—and forthwith grasping the hilfs of their cross-swords, playing with their spears,[13] and fixing arrows [in their bows], they drove him in, whereupon he was caught in[14] the gin which he himself had set, and died. So they forthwith pulled him out, and cut him in pieces. So the place is called Uda-no-Chihara.[15] Having done thus, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] bestowed on his august army the whole of the great banquet presented [to him] by Ukashi the Younger Brother. At this time he sang, saying:

> "The woodcock, for which I laid a wood-
> "cock-snare and waited in the high castle
> "of Uda, strikes not against it; but a
> "valiant whale strikes against it. If the
> "elder wife ask for fish, slice off a little like

"the berries of the standing soba; if the
"younger wife ask for fish, slice off a
"quantity like the berries of the vigorous
"*sakakir*,"[16]
"Ugh![17] pfui!dolt!This is saying thou
"rascal. Ah!pfui!dolt!This is laugh-
"ing [him] to scorn."

So Ukashi the Younger Brother (he is the ancestor of the Water-Directors of Uda).[18]

[SECT.XLVIII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART V,—THE EARTH-SPIDERS OF THE CAVE OF OSAKA).]

When [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] made his progress, and reached the great cave of Osaka,[1] earth-spiders[2] with tails, [namely] eighty bravoes,[3] were in the cave* awaiting him. So then the august son of the Heavenly Deity commanded that a banquet be bestowed on the eighty bravoes. Thereupon he set eighty butlers, one for each of the eighty bravoes, and girded each of them with a sword, and instructed the butlers, saying: "When ye hear me sing, cut [them down] "simultaneously." So the Song by which he made clear to them to set about smiting the earth-spiders said:

"Into the great cave of Osaka people have
"entered in abundance, and are [there].
"Though people have entered in abundance,
"and are [there], the children of the augustly
"powerful warriors will smite and finish them
"with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their]
"stone-mallet [swords]: the children of the
" augustly powerful warriors, with [their]

"mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet
"[swords], would now do well to smite."[4]

Having thus sung, they drew their swords, and simultaneously smote them to death.

[SECT. XLIX.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VI.—THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN).]

After this, when about to smite the Prince of Tomi,[1] he sang, saying:

"The children of the augustly powerful
"army will smite and finish the one stem
"of smelly chive in the millet-field,—the
"stem of its root, both its root and shoots." [2]

Again he sang:

"The ginger, which the children of the
"augustly powerful army planted near the
"hedge, resounds* in the mouth. I shall not
"forget it. I will smite and finish it."[3]

Again he sang, saying:

"Like the *turbinidoe* creeping round the
"great rock in the sea of Ise [on which
"blows] the divine wind, [so] will we creep" round, and smite and finish them."[4]

Again when he smote Shiki the Elder Brother and Shiki the Younger Brother,[5] the august army was temporarily exhausted. Then he sang, saying:

"As we fight placing our shields in a row,
"going and watching from between the trees
"on Mount Inasa, oh! we are famished.
"Ye keepers of cormorants, the birds of the
"island, come now to our rescue!"[6] *

[SECT. L.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII.—THE EMPIRE PACIFIED).]

So then His Augustness Nigi-hayabi[1] waited on and said to the august child of the Heavenly Deity: "As I heard that "[thou], the august child of the Heavenly Deity, hadst descended from Heaven, I have followed down to wait on "thee." Forthwith presenting to him the heavenly symbols,[2] he respectfully served him. So His Augustness Nigi-hayabi wedded the Princess of Tomi,[3] sister of the Prince of Tomi, and begot a child, His Augustness Umashi-ma-ji.[4] (He was the ancestor of the Chief of the Warrior-Clan,[5] of the Grandees of Hodzumi[6] and of the Grandees of the Neck-Clan.)[7] So having thus subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] dwelt at the palace of Kashibara[8] near Unebi,[9] and ruled the Empire.[10]

[SECT. LI.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VIII.—HE WEDS I-SUKE-YORI-HIME).]

So when he dwelt in Himuka, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] wedded[1] Princess Ahira'[2] younger sister of the Duke of Wobashi[3] in Ata,[4] and begot children: there were two,[5] —His Augustness Tagishi-mimi,[6] * next His Augustness Kisu-mimi.[7] But when he sought for a beautiful maiden to make her his Chief Empress,[8] His Augustness Oho-kume said: "There is nere a beauteous maiden who is called the august "child of a Deity. The reason why she is called the august "child of a Deity is that the

Princess Seya-datara,[9] daughter “of Mizokuhi[10] of Mishima,[11] was admired on account of her “beauty by the Great-Master-of-Things the Deity of Miwa,[12] “qui, quum pulchra puella oletum fecit, in sagittam rubro “[colore] fucatam se convertit, et ab inferiori parte cloacae [ad,, usum] faciendi oleti virginis privatas partés transfixit. Tunc “pulchra virgo consternata est, et surrexit, et trepide fugit. Sta "tim sagittam attulit, et juxta thalamum posuit. Subito [sagitta] “formosus adolescens facta est, qui cito pulchram puellam sibi in matrimonio junxit, et filiam procreavit nomine Hoto-tatara-"i-susugi-hime[13] et est nomen alternativum Hime-tatara-i-suke-“yori-hime.[14] (Id est posterior mutatio nominis, quoniam abhorruit “facere mentionem privatarum partium). So therefore she is called "the august child of a Deity.” Hereupon seven beauteous maidens were out playing on the moor of Takasazhi,[15] and I-suke-yori-hime[16] was among them. His Augustness Ohokume, seeing I-suke-yori-hime, spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign in a Song, saying:

> “Seven maidens on the moor of Takasazhi
> "in Yamato:—which shall be interlaced?"[17]

Then I-suke-yori-hime was standing first among the beauteous maidens. Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign, having looked at the beauteous maidens, and knowing in his august heart[18] that I-suke-yori-hime was standing in the very front, replied by a Song, saying:

> “Even [after nought but] a fragment [-ary
> "glimpse], I will intertwine the lovely [one]
> "standing in the very front."[19]

Then His Augustness Ohokume informed I-suke-yori-hime of the Heavenly Sovereign's decree, whereupon she, seeing the slit sharp eyes[20] of His Augustness Ohokume, sang in her astonishment, saying:

" ? "
" ? "
“Wherefore the slit sharp eyes?"[21]

Then His Augustness Ohokume replied by a Song, saying:

"My slit sharp eyes [are] in order to find
"the maiden immediately.”[22]

So the maiden said that she would respectfully serve [the Heavenly Sovereign].[23] Hereupon[24] the house of Her Augustness[25] I-suke-yori-hime was on [the bank of] the River Sawi.[26] The Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the abode of I-suke-yori-hime, and augustly slept [there] one night.[27] (The reason why that river was called the River Sawi was that on the River's banks the mountain-lily-plant grew in abundance. So the name of the mountain-lily-plant was taken, and the designation of River Sawi [bestowed]. The name by which the mountain-lily-plant was originally called was *sawi)*- Afterwards, when I-suke-yori-hime came and entered into the palace, the Heavenly Sovereign sang augustly saying:

"In a damp hut on the reed-moor having
"spread layer upon layer of sedge mats, we
"two slept!”[28]

The names of the august children thus born were: His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi[29] next His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi,[30] next His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi,[31] (Three Deities).[32]

[SECT.LII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IX.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So when, after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign,[1] the * elder half-brother, His Augustness Tagishi-mimi,[2] wedded[3] the Empress I-suke-yori-hime, he plotted how he might slay his three younger brethren, pending which their august[4] parent I-suke-yori-hime lamented, and made [the plot] known to her august children by a song. The Song said:

> “From the River Sawi the clouds have risen
> "across, and the leaves of the trees have
> "rustled on Mount Unebi: the wind is about
> "to blow.”[5]

Again she sang, saying:

> “Ah!What rests on Mount Unebi as clouds
> "in the day-time, will surely blow as wind
> "at night-fall, [whence] the rustling of the
> "leaves!” [6]

When hereupon her august children, hearing and knowing [of the danger], were alarmed and forthwith were about to slay Tagishi-mimi, His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi said to his elder brother His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi: "Thy "dear Augustness, [do thou] take a weapon, and go in and slay “Tagishi-mimi." So he took a weapon and went in, and was about to slay him. But his arms and legs trembled so, that he was unable to slay him. So then the younger brother His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begged [to be allowed] to take the weapon which his elder brother held, and went in and slew Tagishi-mimi. So again, in praise of his august name, he was called His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi.[7] Then His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi resigned [in favour of] the younger brother His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi, saying: “I could not slay the foeman; but Thine Augustness “was at once able to slay him. So, though I be the elder “brother, it is not right that I should be the superior.[8] Where-"

fore do Thine Augustness be the superior, and rule [all]" beneath the Heaven. I[9] will assist Thine Augustness, becom-"ing a priest,[10] and respectfully serving thee."

[SECT. LIII.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X.—GENEALOGIES).]

So His Augustness Hoko-ya-wi (is the ancestor of the Chieftains of Mamuta,[1] and of the Chieftains of Teshima[2]). His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi (is the ancestor of the Grandees of Oho,[3] of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Chihisako,[4] of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Sakahi,[5] of the Dukes of Hi,[6] of the Dukes of Ohokida,[7] of the Dukes of Aso,[8] of the Chieftains of the Granaries of Tsukushi,[9] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe,[10] of the Rulers of the Tribe of Sazaki,[11] of the Rulers of Wo-Hatsuse,[12] of the Suzerains of Tsuke,[13] of the Rulers of the land of Iyo,[14] of the Rulers of the land of Shinanu,[15] of the Rulers of the land of Ihaki in Michinoku,[16] of the Rulers of the Land of Naka in Hitachi,[17] of the Rulers of the land of Nagasa,[18] of the Suzerains of Funaki in Ise,[19] of the Grandees of Niha in Wohari,[20] and of the Grandees of Shimada.)[21]

[SECT. LIV.—EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi ruled the Empire. Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko were one hundred and thirty-seven.[1] His august mausoleum is on the top of the Kashi Spur on the northern side of Mount Unebi.[2]

[SECT. LV.—EMPEROR SUI-ZIE.]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi dwelt at the palace of Takawoka in Kadzuraki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kaha-mata-bime,[2] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki,[3]

and begot an august child: His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi[4] (one Deity). The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tsukida.[5]

[SECT. LVI.—EMPEROR AN-NEI.]

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi dwelt in the palace of Ukiana at Kata-shiha,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Akuto-hime,[2] daughter of the Departmental Lord Haye,[3] elder brother of Kaha-mata-bime, and begot august children: His Augustness Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone,[4] next His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo,[5] next His Augustness Shiki - tsu - hiko.[6] Of the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign,— three Deities,— His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. There were two Kings,[7] children of the next [brother], His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko. One child[8] (was the ancestor of the Territorial Lords of Suchi in Iga,[9] of the Territorial Lords of Nabari, 10 and of the Territorial Lords of Minu) 11 one child,[12] His Augustness Wa-chi-tsumi,[13] dwelt in the palace of Miwi in Ahaji.[14] So this King had two daughters: the name of the elder was Hahe-irone,[15] and another name for her was Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are[16] the name of the younger was Hahe-irodo.[17] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-nine. Augustum mausoleum est in privatis partibus* Montis Unebi.[18]

[SECT, LVII.—EMPEROR I-TOKU.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo dwelt in the palace of Sakahiwo at Karu,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded her Augustness Princess Futo-ma-waka,[2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Ihi-bi,[3] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine,[5]

next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko[6] (two Deities). So His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Chinu, 7 of the Lords of Take in Tajima,[8] and of the Territorial Lords of Ashiwi).[9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is above the Vale of Manago by Mount Unebi.[10]

[SECT, LVIII.—EMPEROR KŌ-SHŌ.]

His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine dwelt at the palace of Waki-no-kami in Kadzuraki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Yoso-taho,[2] younger sister of Oki-tsu-yoso,[3] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko,[5] and next His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito 6 (two Deities). Now the younger brother, His Augustness Tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The elder brother His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kasuga,[7] the Grandees of Ohoyake,[8] the Grandees of Ahata,[9] the Grandees of Wonu,[10] the Grandees of Kaki-no-moto,[11] the Grandees of Ichihiwi,[12] the Grandees of Ohosaka,[13] the Grandees of Ana,[14] the Grandees of Taki,[15] the Grandees of Haguri,[16] the Grandees of Chita,[17] the Grandees of Muza,[18] the Grandees of Tsunuyama,[19] the Dukes of Ihitaka in Ise,[20] the Dukes of Ichishi,[21] and the Rulers of the Land of Chika-tsu-Afumi).[22]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-three. His august mausoleum is on Mount Hakata[23] at Waki-no-kami.

[SECT. LIX.—EMPEROR KŌ-AN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito dwelt in the palace of Akidzushima at Muro[1] in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This

Heavenly Sovereign wedded his niece Her Augustness Princess Oshika,[2] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi,[3] next His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni[4] (two Deities). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tamade.[5]

[SECT. LX.—EMPEROR KO-REI.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni dwelt at the palace of Ihodo at Kuruda,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuhashi,[2] daughter of Ohome,[3] ancestor of the Departmental Lords of Tohochi,[4] and begot an august child: Hi's Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru[5] (one Deity), Again he wedded Princess Chiji-haya-ma-waka of Kasuga,[6] and begot an august child: Her Augustness Princess Chiji-haya[7] (one Deity). Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are,[8] he begot august children: Her Augustness Yamato-to-mo-so-bime;[9] next His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake;[10] next His Augustness Hiko-isa-seri-biko,[11] another name for whom is His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko; next Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime[12] (four Deities). Again he wedded Hahe-irodo,[13] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Are, and begot august children: His Augustness Hiko-same-ma,[14] next His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko[15] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all eleven Deities (five kings and three queens) So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The two Deities His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko and His Augustness Waka-take-kibi-tsu-hiko together set sacred jars[16] at the front[17] of the River Hi[18] in Harima;[19] and making Harima the mouth of the road,[20] subdued and pacified the Land of Kibi. So His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kamu-tsu-michi in Kibi).[21] The next, His

Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Shimo-tsu-michi in Kibi,[22] and of the Grandees of Kasa).[23] The next His Augustness Hiko-same-ma (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uzhika in Harima).[24] The next, His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tonami in Koshi,[25] of the Grandees of Kunisaki in the land of Toyo,[26] of the Dukes of Ihobara,[27] and of the Maritime Suzerains of Tsunuga).[28] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and six. His august mausoleum is at Umasaka at Katawoka.[29]

[SECT. LXI.—EMPEROR KO-GEN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru dwelt in the palace of Sakahi-bara at Karu,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Utsu-shiko-me,[2] younger sister of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-biko'[5] next His Augustness Sukuna-biko-take-wi-gokoro;[6] next His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi[7] (three Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me,[8] daughter of His Augustness Utsu-shiko -wo, he begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-futsu-oshi-no-makoto.[9] Again, wedding Princess Haniyasu,[10] daughter of Awotama[11] of Kafuchi, he begot an august child: His Augustness Take-hani-yasu-biko[12] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered in all five Deities]. So His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, His Augustness Oho-biko, were His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha -wake[13] (ancestor of the Grandees of Abe);[14] next His Augustness Hiko-inakoshi-wake.[15] (This was the ancestor of the Butler Grandees.)[16] His Augustness Hiko-futsu-oshi-no-makoto wedded Princess Takachina of Kadzuraki,[17] younger sister of Oho-nabi,[18] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari,[19] and begot a child: the Noble Umashi Uchi.[20] (This was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uchi in Yamashiro.)[21]

Again, wedding Princess Yama-shita-kage,[22] younger sister of Udzu-hiko,[23] ancestor of the Rulers of the Lord of Ki,[24] he begot a child: the Noble Take-Uchi.[25] he children of this Noble Take-Uchi [numbered] in all nine (seven males and two females),—[namely] the Noble of Hata-no-Yashiro,[26] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Hata,[27] of the Grandees of Hayashi,[28] of the Grandees of Hami,[29] of the Grandees of Hoshikaha,[30] of the Grandees of Afumi,[31] and of the Dukes of the Hatsuse Tribe);[32] next the Noble Kose-no-Wo-Kara[33] [who] (was the ancestor of the Urandees of Kose,[34] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe,[35] and of the Grandees of the Karu Tribe);[36] next the Noble Soga no Ishikaha[37] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Soga,[38] of the Grandees of Kahanobe[39] of the Grandees of Tanaka,[40] of the Grandees of Takamuko,[41] of the Grandees of Woharida,[42] of the Grandees of Sakurawi,[43] and of the Grandees of Kishida);[44] next the Noble Heguri-no-Tsuku,[45] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri,[46] of the Grandees of Sawara,[47] and of the Uma-mi-kuhi Chiefs);[48] next the Noble Ki-no-Tsunu[49] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Ki,[50] of the Grandees of Tsunu,[51] and of the Grandees of Sakamoto);[52] next Princess Mato of Kume,[53] next Princess Nu-no-iro;[54] next Kadzuraki-no-Nagave-no-sotsu-biko[55] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tamade,[56] of the Grandees of Ikuha'[57] of the Grandees of Ikuye-[58] and of the Grandees of Agina)[59] moreover [there was] the Noble Waku-go[60] (the ancestor of the Grandees of Yenuma).[61] This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the mound in the middle of the Pool of Tsurugi.[62]

[SECT. LXII.—EMPEROR KAI-KUWA.]

His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi dwelt in the palace of Izakaha at Kasuga,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Princess of Takanu,[2] daughter of Yugori[3] the Great Departmental Lord of Taniha,[4] and begot an august child: His Augustness

Hiko-yumusumi,[5] (one Deity). Again he wedded his step-mother, Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me,[6] and begot august children: His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe,[7] next Her Augustness Mima-tsu-hime[8] (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Oke-tsu-hime,[9] younger sister of His Augustness Hiko-kuni-oketsu,[10] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[11] and begot an august child: King Hiko-imasu[12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Washi,[13] daughter of the Noble Kadzuraki-no-tarumi,[14] he begot an august child: King Take-tayo-hadzura-wake[15] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all five Deities (four Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Mi-maki-iri-biko-iniwe [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, King Hiko-yumu-sumi were: King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne,[16] next King Sanugi-tari-ne[17] (two Kings). There were five Deities daughters of these two Kings. Next King Hiko-imasu wedded the Princess of Yena in Yamashiro,[18] another name for whom was Kari-bata-tobe,[19] and begot children: King Oho-mata,[20] next King Wo-mata,[21] next King Noble [of?] Shibumi[22] (three Deities). Again, wedding Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome,[23] daughter of Take-kuni-katsu-tome, of Kasuga,[24] he begot children: King Saho-biko;[25] next King Wo-zaho;[26] next Her Augustness Saho-bime,[27] another name for whom is Sahaji-hime[28] (Her Augustness Saho-bime here mentioned was consort of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume);[29] and King Muro-biko[30] (four Deities). Again, wedding Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime,[31] daughter of the Heavenly Deity Mikage,[32] who is held in reverence by the deacons of Mikami in Chika-tsu-Afumi,[33] he begot children: King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha[34] ; next King Midzuho-no-ma-waka;[35] next King Kamu-oho-ne,[36] another name for whom is King Yatsuri-iri-biko;[37] next Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime;[38] next Mimi-tsu-hime[39] (five Deities). Again, wedding his mother's younger sister Her Augustness Woke-tsu-hime,[40] he begot children: King Ma-waka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro;[41] next King Hiko-osu;[42] next King In-ne[43] (three Deities). Altogether the children of King Hiko-imasu [numbered] in all eleven Kings. So the children of the

elder brother King Oho-mata were: King Ake-tatsu;[44] next King Unakami[45] (two Deities). This King Ake-tatsu (was the ancestor of the Dukes of the Homuji Tribe in Ise[46] and of the Rulers of Sana in Ise[47]). King Una-kami (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Himeda[48]). The next King Wo-mata (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Magari in Ta-gima[49]). The next King Noble Shibumi (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Sasa).[50] The next King Saho-biko (was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Kusaka Tribe[51] and of the Rulers of the Land of Kahi).[52] The next, King Wo-zaho (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kadzunu[53] and the Lords of Kanu in Chika-tsu-Afumi)[54] The next King Muro-biko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Mimi in Wakasa).[55] King Michi-no-ushi wedded the Lady Masu of Kahakami in Taniha[56] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Hibasu;[57] next Her Augustness Princess Matonu;[58] next Her Augustness Oho-hime;[59] next King Mi-kado-wake[60] (four Deities). This King Mikado-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Ho in Mikaha).[61] Prince Midzuho-no-ma-waka, younger brother of this King Michi-no-ushi, (was the ancestor of the Suzerains of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi).[62] The next, King Kamu-oho-be (was the ancestor of the [Rulers of] the Land of Minu,[63] of the Rulers of the land of Motosu,[64] and of the Chiefs of the Nagahata Tribe).[65] The next, King Mawaka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro wedded Princess Ajisaha of Mone,[66] daughter of his younger brother* Iri-ne, and begot a child: King Kani-me-ikadzuchi.[67] This King wedded Princess Takaki,[68] daughter of the Grandee Tohotsu of Taniha;[69] and begot a child: King Noble Okinaga.[70] This King wedded the Princess of Takanuka in Kadzuraki,[71] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi;[72] next Her Augustness Sora-tsu-hime;[73] next King Prince Okinaga.[74] (Three Deities. This King was the ancestor of the Dukes of Homuji in Kibi,[75] and of the Dukes of Aso in Harima)[76] Again King Noble Okinaga wedded Princess Inayori of Kahamata,[77] and begot a child: King Oho-tamu-saka.[78] (This was the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Tajima.)[79] The above-mentioned Take-toyo-hadzura-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Chimori,[80] of the Rulers of the Oshinumi Tribe,[81] of the

Rulers of the Mina Tribe.[82] of the Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba,[83] of the Lords of Takanu in Taniha,[84] and of the Abiko of Yosami).[85] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-three. His august mausoleum is at the top of the hill of Izakaha.[86]

[SECT, LXIII.—EMPEROR'S U-JIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Mima-Ki-iri-biko-iniwe dwelt at the Palace of Midzu-gaki at Shiki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Tohotsu-no-ayu-me-me-kuhashi-hime,[2] daughter of Arakaha-to-be,[3] Ruler of the land of Ki,[4] and begot august children: His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko,[5] and next Her Augustness Toyo-suki-iri-bime[6] (two Deities.) Again, wedding the Great Princess of Ama,[7] ancestress of the Chiefs of Wohari,[8] he begot august children: His Augustness Oho-iri-ki;[9] next His Augustness Ya-saka-no-iri-biko; next Her Augustness Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime; next Her Augustness Towochi-no-iri-bime[10] (four Deities.) Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Mimatsu,[11] daughter of His Augustness Oho-biko, he begot august chidren: His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi;[12] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka;[13] next Her Augustness Princess Kuni-kata;[14] next Her Augustness Princess Chiji-tsuku-yamato';[15] next Her Augustness Princess Iga;[16] next His Augustness Yamato-Hiko[17] (six Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all twelve Deities (seven Kings and five Queens). So His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko (was the ancestor [of the Dukes] of Kami-tsu-ke-nu,[18] and the Dukes of Shimo-tsu-ke-nu).[19] The younger sister Her Augustness Princess Toyo-Suki (was high-priestess of[20] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise).[21] The next brother, His Augustness Oho-iri-ki (was ancestor of the Grandees of Noto).[22] The next, His Augustness Yamato-hiko,—(in the time of this King a hedge of men was for the first time set at the mausoleum).[23]

[SECT. LXIV.—EMPEROR'S U-JIN (PART II.—A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO).]

In the reign of this Heavenly Sovereign a great pestilence arose, and the people died as if none were to be left.[1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign grieved and lamented, and at night, while on his divine couch,[2] there appeared [to him] in an august dream the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things,[3] and said: “This is my august doing.[4] So if thou wilt cause "me to be worshipped[5] by Oho-tata-ne-ko,[6] the divine spirit “shall not arise,[7] and the land will be tranquillized." When, therefore, couriers[8] were dispatched in every direction[9] to search for the person [named] Oho-tata-ne-ko, he was discovered in the village of Minu[10] in Kafuchi, and was respectfully sent [to the Heavenly Sovereign].[11] Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask: "Whose child art thou?" He replied, saying: “I[12] am Oho-tata-ne-ko, child of His Augustness "Taka-mika-dzu-chi[13] [who was] child of His Augustness Ihi-"gata-sumi,[14] [who was] child of His Augustness Kushi-mi-“gata,[15] [who was] child of the Great Deity the Great-Master-“of-Things by his wife Iku-tama-yori-bime,[16] daughter of His "Augustness Suwe-tsu-mimi."[17] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being greatly rejoiced, commanded that the Empire should be tranquil, and the people flourish, and forthwith made His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko high-priest[18] to worship[19] the Great Deity of Great Miwa[20] on Mount Mimoro.[21] Again he ordered His Augustness Igaka-shikc-wo[22] to make eighty heavenly platters, and reverently to establish the shrines of the Heavenly Deities and the Earthly Deities;[23] likewise to worship with a red-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Sumisaka[24] at Uda, and with a black-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Ohosaka;[25] likewise to present august offerings of cloth to all the Deities of the august declivities of the hills and to all the Deities of the reaches of the rivers, without neglecting any.[26] [27] In consequence of this the pestilential vapour ceased altogether, and the country was tranquillized.

[SECT. LXV.—EMPEROR'SŪ-JIN (PART III.—STORY OF OHO-TATA-NE-KO'S BIRTH).]

The reason why this person called Oho-tata-ne-ko was known to be a Deity's child, was that the above-mentioned Iku-tama-yori-bime was regularly beautiful,[1] whereupon a [divine[2]] youth [who thought] the majesty of her appearance without comparison in the world,[3] came suddenly to her in the middle of the night. So, as they loved each other and lived in matrimony together, the maiden ere long was pregnant. Then the father and mother, astonished at their daughter being pregnant, asked her,[4] saying: “Thou art pregnant by “thyself. How art thou with child without [having known] a "man? ” She replied, saying: "I have naturally conceived” through a beautiful young man, whose name[5] I know not, "coming here every evening and staying with me." Therefore the father and mother, wishing to know the man, instructed their daughter, saying:” Sprinkle red earth in front of the "couch,[6] and pass a skein* of hemp through a needle, and “pierce [therewith] the skirt of his garment.” So she did as they had instructed, and, on looking in the morning, the hemp that had been put in the needle went out through the hole of the door-hook,[7] and all the hemp that remained was three twists[8] † only. Then forthwith, knowing how he had gone out by the hook-hole, they went on their quest following the thread, which, reaching Mount Miwa, stopped at the shrine of the Deity. So they knew [that Oho-tata-ne-ko was] the child of the Deity [residing] there. So the place was called by the name of Miwa on account of the three twists of hemp that had remained. (His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko, here referred to, was the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa[9] and of the Dukes of Kamo.)[10]

[SECT. LXVI.—EMPEROR'S Ū-JIN (PART IV.—WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU).]

Again in this august reign His Augustness Oho-biko[1] was sent to the circuit of Koshi,[2] and his son, His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake,[3] was sent to the twelve circuits to the eastward to quiet the unsubmissive people

Again Hiko-imasu was sent to the land of Taniha[4] to slay Kugamimi-no-mikasa[5] (this is the name of a person). So when His Augustness Oho-biko was going away to the land of Koshi, a young girl wearing a loin-skirt[6] stood on the Pass of Hera[7] in Yamashiro, and sang, saying:

> "Now then! Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri-!* Oh
> "Prince Mi-ma-ki-iri, Ignorant that they
> "to steal and slay one's life, cross back-
> "wards and forwards by the back-door,
> "cross backwards and forwards by the front
> "door and spy,—Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri!"[8]

Hereupon His Augustness Oho-biko, thinking it strange, turned his horse back, and asked the young girl, saying: "These words that thou speakest, what are they?" The young girl replied, saying: "I said nothing; I was only singing a song,"— and thereupon she suddenly vanished, none could see whither. So His Augustness Oho-biko returned up again [to the capital] and made a report [of the matter] to the Heavenly Sovereign, who replied and charged him, [saying]: "Methinks this is a sign that my half-brother, King Take-"hani-yasu,[9] who dwells in the land of Yamashiro, is planning" some foul plot.[10] [Do thou,] uncle, raise an army, and go "[after him]." When he forthwith sent him off, joining to him his Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku,[11] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[12] they set sacred jars on the Pass of Wani,[13] and went away. Thereupon, when they reached the River Wakara[14] in Yamashiro, King Take-hani-yasu, who had raised an army, was waiting to intercept [their passage], and [the two hosts] stood confronting and challenging each other with the river between them.[15] So the place was called by the name of Adomi,[16] —what is now called Idzumi. Then His Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku spoke, begging the other side[17] to let fly the first arrow.[18] Then King Take-hani-yasu shot, but could not strike. Thereupon, on His Augustness Kuni-buku shooting an arrow, it forthwith struck King Take-hani-yasu dead. So the whole army was routed, and fled

in confusion. Then the [Imperial troops pursued] after the fugitive army as far as the ferry of Kusuba, when, harassed by the pursuit, exierunt [hostium]* excrementa, quae bracis adhaeserunt. Quare isti loco impositum est nomen Kuso-bakama. In proesenti nomi-natur Kusu-ba.[19] Again, on being intercepted in their fight and cut down, [their bodies] floated like cormorants in the river. So the river was called by the name of U-kaha.[20] Again, because the warriors were cut to pieces, the place was called by the name of Hafuri-sono.[21] Having thus finished [the work of] pacification, they went up [to the capital] to make their report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

[SECT. LXVII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART V.—PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED).]

So His Augustness Oho-biko went away to Koshi in accordance with the previous [Imperial] commands. Then Take-nuna-kaha-wake, who had been sent round by the east, and his father Oho-biko met together in Ahidzu. So the place was called by the name of Ahidzu.[1] Wherefore, each of them, having settled the government of the land to which he had been sent, made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Empire was at peace and the people prosperous. Thereupon tribute on the arrow-notches* of the men and tribute on the finger-tips of the women was first levied.[2] So in praise of this august reign they said: “the Heavenly Sovereign Mima-ki, who ruled the first land."[3] Again, in this august reign the Pool of Yosami[4] was made; moreover the Pool of Sakawori at Karu[5] was made.

[SECT, LXVIII.—EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART VI.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL.]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and sixty-eight. His august mausoleum is on the mound at the corner of the Yamanobe

road.[1]

[SECT. LXIX.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi dwelt at the palace of Tama-kaki in Shiki,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness the Princess Sahaji'[2] younger sister of His Augustness Saho-biko, and begot an august child: His Augustness Homu-tsu-wake[3] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness the Princess Hibasu, daughter of King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha, he begot august children: His Augustness Ini-shiki-no iri-biko;[4] next His Augustness Oho - tarashi - hiko - oshiro - wake;[5] next His Augustness Oho -naka - tsu - hiko;[6] next Her Augustness Yamato-hime;[7] next His Augustness Waka-ki-iri-biko[8] (five Deities.) Again, wedding Her Augustness Nubata-no-in-biko,[9] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, he begot august children: His Augustness Nu-tarashi-wake;[10] next His Augustness Iga-tarashi-hiko[11] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Azami-no-iri-bime,[12] younger sister of Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bime,[13] he begot august children: His Augustness Ikobaya-wake;[14] next Her Augustness the Princess of Azami[15] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Kagu-ya-hime,[16] daughter of King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, he begot an august child: King Wozabe[17] (one Deity). Again, wedding Karibata-tobe daughter of Fuchi of Ohokuni in Yamashiro,[18] he begot august children: King Ochi-wake;[19] next King Ika-tarashi-hiko;[20] next King Itoshi-wake.[21] Again, wedding Oto-karibata-tobe,[22] daughter of Fuchi of Otokuni, he begot august children: King Iha-tsuku-wake;[23] next Her Augustness Iha-tsuku-bime, another name for whom was Her Augustness Futaji-no-iri-bime[24] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether sixteen (thirteen Kings and three Queens). So His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. (His august stature was ten feet[25] two inches; the length of his august shank was four feet one

inch) The next, His Augustness Inishiki-no-iri-biko made the pool of Chinu;[26] again he made the pool of Sayama;[27] again he made the pool or Takatsu at Kusaka.[28] Again he dwelt at the palace of Kahakami at Totor,[29] and caused a thousand cross-swords[30] to be made, and presented them to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami.[31] Forthwith he dwelt at that palace,[32] andestablished the Kahakami Tribe.[33] The next, His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, (was the ancestor of the Lords of Yamanobe,[34] of the Lords of Sakikusa,[35] of the Lords of Inaki,[36] of the Lords of Ada,[37] of the Lords of Minu in the Land of Wohari;[38] of the Lords of Ihanashi in Kibi,[39] of the Lords of Koromo,[40] of the Lords of Takasuka,[41] of the Dukes of Asuka,[42] and of the Lords of Mure).[43] The next, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, (was high-priestess of[44] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise). The next, King Ikobaya-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Anahobe at Saho).[45] The next, Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (was married to King Inase-biko). The next, King Ochi-wake (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Wotsuki[46] and of the Dukes of Koromo in Mikaha).[47] The next, King Ika-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Kasuga,[48] of the Dukes of Ike in Koshi,[49] and of the Dukes of Kasugabe).[50] The next, King Itoshi-wake (owing to his having no children, made the Itoshi Tribe[51] his proxy). The next. King lha-tsuku-wake, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Haguhi[52] and of the Dukes of Miwo.)[53] The next, Her Augustness Futaji-no-Iri-bime (became the Empress of His Augustness Yamato-take).

[SECT. LXX.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART II.—CONSPIRACY OF KING SAHO-BIKO AND THE EMPRESS SAHO-BIME).]

When this Heavenly Sovereign made Saho-bime his Empress, Her Augustness Saho-bime's elder brother, King Saho-biko, asked his younger sister, saying: “Which is dearer [to” thee], thine elder brother or thy husband?" She replied, saying: “Mine elder brother is dearer.” Then King

Saho-biko conspired, saying. “If I be truly the dearer to thee, let “me and thee rule the empire,” and forthwith he made an eight times tempered stiletto,[1] and handea it to his younger sister, saying: “Slay the Heavenly Sovereign in his sleep “with this small knife.” So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress's august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with the stiletto; but though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing[2] onto [the Heavenly Sovereign's] august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: “I have had a strange dream: a violent “shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted” my face; again a small damask-coloured* snake coiled itself "round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?" Then the Empress, thinking it improper to dispute,[3] forthwith informed the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: “Mine elder bro-"ther King Saho-biko, asked me,[4] saying, Which is dearer “‘[to thee], thy husband or thine elder brother?' So as I “was embarrassed by [this] direct question, I replied, saying, "'Oh! mine elder brother is the dearer." Then he charged[5]" me, saying: ‘I and thou will together rule the Empire; so “the Heavenly Sovereign must be slain; '—and so saying, be “made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to me. “Therefore I wanted to cut thine august throat; but though “I thrice lifted [the weapon], a feeling of regret suddenly "arose, so that I could not cut thy throat, and the tears that "I wept fell and wetted thine august face. [The dream] was “surely the omen of this.” Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: “How nearly have I been betrayed!”—and forthwith he raised an army to smite King Saho-biko, whereupon the King made a rice-castle[6] to await the fray* At this time Her Augustness Saho-bime, unable to forget her elder brother, fled out through the back-gate [of the palace], and came into the rice-castle.

[SECT. LXXI.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART III.—BIRTH OF PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE AND DEATH OF THE CONSPIRATORS).]

At this time the Empress[1] was pregnant. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign could not restrain [his pity for] the Empress, who was pregnant and whom he had loved for now three years. So he turned his army aside, and did not hasten the attack. During this delay, the august child that she had conceived was born. So having put out the august child and set it outside the rice-castle, she caused [these words] to be said to the Heavenly Sovereign: "If this august child be con-“sidered to be the Heavenly Sovereign's august child, let him[2] “deign to undertake* it.” Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign said:[3] “Although detesting the elder brother, I yet cannot “repress my love for the Empress,” and forthwith planned to secure the Empress. Wherefore, choosing from among his warriors a band of the strongest and deftest,† he charged [them, saying]: “When ye take the august child, likewise “abduct the queen its mother. Whether by the hair or by "the hands, or wherever ye may best lay hold of her, clutch “her and drag her out." Then the Empress, knowing his intention beforehand, shaved off all her hair and covered her head with the hair, and likewise made her jewel-string rotten and wound it thrice round her arm, and moreover made her august garments rotten by means of rice-liquor and put on the garments as if they were whole. Having made these preparations, she took the august child in her arms and pushed it outside the castle. Then the strong men, taking the august child, forthwith clutched at the august parent. Then, on their clutching her august hair, the august hair fell off of itself; on their clutching her august arms, the jewel-string likewise snapped; on their clutching her august garments, the august garments at once tore. Therefore they obtained the august child, but did not get the august parent. So the warriors came back [to the Sovereign], and reported, saying: "On "account of her august hair falling off of itself, of her august “garments easily tearing, and moreover of the jewel-string” which was wound round her august hand at

once snapping, “we have not got the august parent; but we have obtained “the august child.” Then the Heavenly Sovereign, sorry and angry,* hated the people who made the jewels,† and deprived them all of their lands.[4] So the proverb says: “Landless “jewel-makers."[5] Again did the Heavenly Sovereign cause[6] the Empress to be told, saying: "A child's name must be “given by the mother: by what august name shall this child "be called?" Then she replied, saying: "As he was born “now at the time of the castle being burnt with fire and in “the midst of the fire, it were proper to call him by the “august name of Prince[7] Homu-chi-wake."[8] And again he caused her to be asked: “How shall he be reared?"[9] She replied, saying: “He must be reared by taking an august “mother[10] and fixing on old bathing-women and young bathing-women.[11]" So he was respectfully reared in accordance with the Empress's instructions. Again he asked the Empress, saying: “Who shall loosen the fresh small pendant[12] * which thou didst make fast?" She replied, saying: "It were proper "that Ye-hime and Oto-hime,[13] daughters of King Tatasu-michi-" no-ushi[14] prince of Taniha, should serve thee, for these two “queens are of unsullied parentage."[15] So at last [the Heavenly Sovereign] slew King Saho-biko, and his younger sister followed him.[16]

[SECT. LXXII.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV.—THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE).]

So the way they led about and amused the august child was by making a two-forked boat[1] out of a two-forked cryptomeria from Ahidzu in Wohari,[2] bringing it up and floating it on the Pool of Ichishi and on the Pool of Karu[3] in Yamato, [thus] leading about and amusing the august child. Nevertheless the august child spoke never a word, though his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach.[4] So[5] it was on hearing the cry of a high-flying swan[6] that he made his first utterance.[7] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent Yamanobe-no-Ohotaka[8] (this is the name of a person) to catch the bird. So this person, pursuing the swan, arrived in the Land of

Harima* from the Land of Ki, and again in his pursuit crossed over to the Land of Inaba, then reaching the Land of Taniha and the Land of Tajima; [thence] pursuing round to the eastward, he reached the Land of Afumi, and thereupon crossed over into the Land of Minu; and, passing along by the Land of Wohari, pursued it into the Land of Shinanu, and at length, reaching in his pursuit the Land of Koshi, spread a net in the Estuary of Wanami,[9] and, having caught the bird, brought it up [to the capital] and presented it [to the Sovereign]. So that estuary is called the Estuary of Wanami. It had been thought that, on seeing the bird again, he would speak; but he did not speak, as had been thought.[10] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, deigning to be grieved, augustly fell asleep, when, in an august dream, he was instructed, saying: “If thou wilt “build my temple like unto thine august abode, the august child shall surely speak." When he had been thus instructed, [the Heavenly Sovereign] made grand divination to seek what Deity's desire[11] this might be. Then [it was discovered that] the curse was the august doing of the Great Deity of Idzumo.[12] So when about to send the august child to worship [at] that Great Deity's temple, [he made divination to discover[13]] by whom it were well to have him attended. Then the lot fell on King Ake-tatsu.[14] So he made King Ake-tatsu swear,[15] saying: “If there is truly to be an answer[16] to our adoration “of this Great Deity, may the heron dwelling on the tree by “the Pool of Sagisu[17] here fall [through my] oath.” When he thus spoke, the heron that had been sworn by fell to the ground dead. Again on his commanding it to come to life [in answer to his] oath, it then came to life again.[18] Moreover he caused to wither by an oath and again brought to life again by an oath a broad-foliaged bear-oak on Cape Amakashi.[19] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] granted to Prince Ake-tatsu the name of Prince Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-toyo-asakura-ake-tatsu.[20] So when the august child was sent off with the two Princes, Prince Ake-tatsu and Prince Una-kami,[21] as his attendants, it was divined[22] that [if they went out] by the Nara gate,[23] they would meet a lame person and a blind person;[24] that [if they went out] by the Ohosaka[25]

gate, they would likewise meet a lame person and a blind person, and that only the Ki gate,—a side gate,[26] —would be the lucky gate; and when they started off, they established the Homuji clan[27] in every place they arrived at. So when they had reached Idzumo and had finished worshipping the Great Deity, and were returning up [to the capital], they made in the middle of the River Hi[28] a black plaited bridge and respectfully offered a temporary palace [for the august child] to dwell in.[29] Then when the ancestor of the rulers of the Land of Idzumo, whose name was Kihisa-tsu-mi,[30] having made an imitation green-leafed mountain,[31] placed [it] in the lower reach of the river, and was about to present the great august food,[32] the august child spoke, saying: "What here resembles a green-leafed mountain in the lower "[reach of the] river, looks like a mountain, but is not a "mountain. Is it perchance the great court[33] of the deacon[34]" who holds in reverence the Great Deity Ugly-Male-of-the-" Reed-Plains-[35] that dwells in the temple of So at Ihakuma in "Idzumo?"[36] [Thus] he deigned to ask. Then the Kings, who had been sent in august attendance [on him], hearing with joy and seeing with delight,[37] set the august child to dwell in the palace of Nagaho at Ajimasa,[38] and despatched a courier [to inform the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the august child wedded Princess Hinaga[39] for one night. So, on looking privately at the beautiful maiden, [he found her] to be a serpent, at the sight of which he fled away alarmed. Then Princess Hinaga was vexed, and, illuminating the sea-plain,[40] pursued after them in a ship; and they, more and more alarmed at the sight, pulled the august vessel across the mountain-folds,[41] and went fleeing up [to the capital]. Thereupon they made a report, saying: "We have come up [to" the capital] because thy great and august child has become "able to speak through worshipping the Great Deity." So the Heavenly Sovereign, delighted, forthwith sent King Una-kami back to build the Deity's temple. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, on account of this august child, established the Totori Clan, the Torikahi Clan, the Homuji Clan, the Ohoyuwe and the Wakayuwe.[42]

[SECT. LXXIII.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART V.HIS LATER WIVES).]

Again, in accordance with the Empress's words, he summoned Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, next Her Augustness Princess Oto, next Her August Princess Utakori, next Her Augustness Princess Matonu,[1] daughters of Princess Michi-no-ushi, four Deities in all. Now he kept the two Deities Her Augustness Princess Hibasu and Her Augustness Princess Oho; but as for the two Deities the younger queens, he sent them back to their native place on account of their extreme hideous-ness. Thereupon Princess Matonu said with mortification: “When it is known in the neighbouring villages that, among “sisters of the same family, we have been sent back on “account of our ugliness, it will be extremely mortirying; ″and, on reaching Sagaraka[2] in the Land of Yamashiro, she tried to kill herself[3] by hanging herself from a branch of a tree. So that place was called by the name of Sagariki. It is now called Sagaraka. Again, on reaching Otokuni,[4] she at last killed herself by jumping[5] into a deep pool. So that place was called by the name of Ochikuni. It is now called Otokuni.

[SECT. LXXIV.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VI.—TAJIMA-MORI BRINGS BACK THE ORANGE FROM THE ETERNAL LAND).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign sent Tajima-mori,[1] ancestor of the Chiefs of Miyake,[2] to the Eternal Land[3] to fetch the fruit of the everlasting[4] fragrant tree. So Tajima-mori at last reached that country, plucked the fruit of the tree, and brought of clubmoss eight and of spears eight;[5] but meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign had died. Then Tajima-mori set apart of clubmoss four and of spears four, which he presented to the Great Empress,[6] and set up of clubmoss four and of spears four as an offering at the door of the Heavenly Sovereign's august mausoleum, and, raising on high the fruit of the tree, wailed and wept, saying: "Bringing the fruit of the everlasting” fragrant tree from the Eternal Land, I have come to serve

“thee;” and at last he wailed and wept himself to death. This fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree is what is now called the orange.[7]

[SECT. LXXV.—EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VII.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS HIBASU).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and fifty-three. His august mausoleum is in the middle of the moor of Mitachi at Sugahara.[1] Again in the time of the Great Empress Her Augustness Princess Hibasu,[2] the Stone-Coffin-Makers'[3] were established, and also the Earthenware-Masters' Clan[4] was established. This Empress was buried in the mausoleum of Terama near Saki.[5]

[SECT. LXXVI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Oho - tarashi - hiko - oshiro - wake dwelt in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Elder Lady of Inabi in Harima,[2] daughter of Waka-take, Prince of Kibi,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi,[4] and begot august children: King Kushi-tsunu-wake;[5] next His AugustnessOho-usu:[6] next His Augustness Wo-usu, anothername for whom is His Augustness Yamato-wo-guna;[7] next His Augustness Yamato-ne-ko;[8] next King Kamu-kusni.[9] Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Yasaka-no-iri,[10] daughter of His Augustness Prince Yasaka-no-iri, he begot august children: His Augustness Prince Waka-tarashi;[11] next His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri;[12] next His Augustness Oshi-no-wake;[13] next Her Augustness Princess Iho-ki-no-iri.[14] Children by another concubine were: King Toyo-to-wake;[15] next the Lady Nunoshiro.[16] Children by another concubine were: the Lady Nunaki;[17] next Her Augustness Princess Kago-yori;[18] next King Prince Waka-ki-no-iri;[19] next King the Elder Prince of Kibi-no-ye;[20] next Her Augustness Princess Takaki;[21] next Her Augustness Princess Oto.[22] Again wedding Princess Mi-

hakashi of Himuka,[23] he begot an august child: King Toyo-kuni-wake.[24] Again wedding the Younger Lady of Inabi,[25] younger sister of the Elder Lady of Inabi, he begot august children: King Ma-waka;[26] next King Hiko-hito-no-oho-ye.[27] Again wedding Princess Ka-guro,[28] daughter of King Prince Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko,[29] greatgrandchild of His Augustness Yamato-take,[30] he begot an august child: King Oho-ye.[31] The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko numbered in all twenty-one kings and queens[32] of whom there is a register, and fifty-nine kings and queens of whom there is no record,—eighty kings and queens altogether, out of whom His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko and also His Augustness Yamato-take, and also His Augustness Prince I-ho-ki-no-iri,—these three Kings,—bore the name of Heirs Apparent.[33] The seventy-seven kings and and queens beside these[34] were all granted Rulerships in the various lands, or else [posts as] Lords, Territorial Lords or Departmental Chiefs.[35] So His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko [was he who afterward] ruled the Empire. His Augustness Wo-usu subdued the savage deities and likewise the unsubmissive people in the East and West. The next, King Kushi-tsunu-wake (was the ancestor of the chiefs of Mamuta).[36] The next, His Augustness Oho-Usu, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mori,[37] of the Dukes of Ohota[38] and of the Dukes of Shimada).[39] The next, King Kamu-kushi, (was the ancestor of the Sakabe Abiko in the Land of Ki,[40] and of the Sakabe of Uda).[41] The next, King Toyo-kuni-wake (was the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Himuka).[42]

[SECT. LXXVII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART II.—THE MAIDENS YE-HIME AND OTO-HIME).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, to assure himself* of what he had heard of the beauty of the two maidens Ye-hime and Oto-hime,[1] daughters of King Kamu-oho-ne,[2] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Minu,[3] sent his august child, His Augustness Oho-usu, to summon them up [to the

Capital]. So His Augustness Oho-usu who had been sent, instead of summoning them up, forthwith wedded both the maidens himself, and then sought other women, to whom he falsely gave the maidens' names, and sent them up [to his father]. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, knowing them to be other women, frequently subjected them to his long glances;[4] but, never wedding them, caused them† to sorrow. So the child that His Augustness Oho-usu begot on wedding Ye-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko[5] (he was the ancestor of the Lords of Unesu in Minu).[6] Again, the child that he begot on wedding Oto-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mugetsu).[7]

[SECT. LXXVIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART III.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In this august reign the Labourers' Tribe[1] was established; again, the port of Aha in the East was established; again, the Great Butlers' Tribe[2] was established; again, the granaries of Yamato were established; again, the Pool of Sakate was made, and bamboos planted on its bank.[3]

[SECT. LXXIX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IV.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The Heavenly Sovereign said to His Augustness Wo-usu:” Why does not thine elder brother come forth to the morning "and evening great august repasts?[1] Be thou the one to take “the trouble to teach him [his duty]." Thus he commanded; but for five days after, still [the prince] came not forth. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask His Augustness Wo-usu [saying]: "Why is thine elder brother so long of coming? “Hast thou perchance not yet taught him [his duty]?" He replied, saying: "I have been at that trouble.” Again [the Heavenly Sovereign] said: "How didst thou take the trouble?"[2] He replied, saying: "In the early morning when he "went into the privy, I grasped hold of him and crushed "him, and, pulling off his

limbs,[3] wrapped them in matting “and flung them away.”*

[SECT. LXXX.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART V.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him, saying: “In the West there are two Kumaso bravoes,[1] — “unsubmissive and disrespectful men. So take[2] them,"—and [with this command] he sent him off. It happened that at this time his august hair was bound at the brow.[3] Then His Augustness Wo-usu was granted by his aunt Her Augustness Yamato-hime[4] her august [upper] garment and august skirt; and, with a sabre hidden in his august bosom, he went forth.[5] So, on reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, he saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave[6] to* dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave,[7] were getting food ready. So [Prince Wo-usu] sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the rejoicing. Then when the day of the rejoicing† came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up,[8] and having put on his aunt's august [upper] garment and august skirt, he looked quite like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women,[9] went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when [the feast was] at its height, [His Augustness Wo-usu,] drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching Kumaso[10] by the collar of his garment, thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the steps[11] of the cave, and catching him by the back,[12] [Prince Wo-usu] thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I[13] have something to say.” Then [His Augustness Wo-usu], respited him for a moment, holding him down [as he lay]

prostrate. Hereupon [the bravo] said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: “I am the august child "of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, the Heavenly Sovereign who, “dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, rules the "Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King “Yamato-wo-guna. Hearing that you two [fellows[14]], the "Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmissive and disrespectful, [the “Heavenly Sovereign] sent me with the command to take and “slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: “That must be "true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong “as we two.[15] Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a “man braver than we two, —there is.[16] * Therefore will I offer “thee an august name. From this time forward it is right “that thou be praised as the August Child Yamato-take.[17]” As soon as he had finished saying this, [the Prince] ripped him up[18] like a ripe melon,[19] and slew him.[20] So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of[21] his Augustness Yamato-take. When he returned up [to the capital] after doing this, he subdued and pacified every one of the Deities of the mountains and of the Deities of the rivers and likewise of the Deities of Anado,[22] and then went up to [the capital].

[SECT. LXXXI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VI.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE IDZUMO BRAVO).]

Forthwith entering the Land of Idzumo, and wishing to slay the Idzumo bravo, ne, on arriving, forthwith bound [himself to him in] friendship. So, having secretly made [the wood of] an oak [-tree[1]]into a false sword and augustly girded it, he went with the bravo to bathe in the River Hi.[2] Then, His Augustness Yamato-take, getting out of the river first, and taking and girding on the sword* that the Idzumo bravo had taken off and laid down, said: “Let us exchange swords! "So afterwards the Idzumo bravo, getting out of the river, girded on His Augustness Yamato-take's false sword. Hereupon His Augustness Yamato-take, suggested, saying:” Come on! let us cross[3] swords." Then on drawing his sword, the Idzumo bravo could not

draw the false sword. Forthwith His Augustness Yamato-take drew his sword and slew the Idzumo bravo. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"Alas that the sword girded on the idzumo
"bravo, and wound round with many a
"creeper, should have had no true blade![4]

So having thus extirpated the [bravoes] and made [the land] orderly, he went up [to the capital], and made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

[SECT. LXXXII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VII.—YAMATO-TAKE IS SENT TO SUBDUE THE EAST, AND VISITS HIS AUNT AT ISE).]

Then the Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on His Augustness Yamato-take, saying: "Subdue and pacify "the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of "the twelve roads of the East;"[1] and when he sent him off, "joining to him Prince Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take,[2] ancestor of "the Grandees of Kibi,[3] he bestowed on him a holly-wood[4] spear eight fathoms [long]. So when he had received the [Imperial] commands and started off, he went into the temple of the Great August Deity of ıse, and worshipped the Deity's court,[5] forthwith speaking to his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, saying: "It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign "tninks[6] I may die quickly; for after sending me to smite "the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up "again [to the capital] than, without bestowing on me an "army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked peo-"ple of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently I trunk "that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." When he departed with lamentations and tears, Her Augustness Yamato-hime bestowed on him the "Herb-Quelling-Sabre,"[7] and likewise bestowed on him an august bag,[8] and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag."

[SECT. LXXXIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VIII.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU).]

So reaching the Land of Wohari, he went into the house of Princess Miyadzu,[1] ancestress of the Rulers of Wohari,[2] and forthwith thought to wed her; but thinking again that he would wed her when he should return up [toward the capital], and having plighted his troth, he went [on] into the Eastern Lands, and subdued and pacified all the savage Deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and rivers. So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu,[3] the Ruler of the land lied, saying: “In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, “and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a "very violent Deity." Hereupon [Yamato-take] entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime had bestowed on him, and saw that inside or it there was a fire-striker.[4] Hereupon he first mowed away the herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt [the herbage] and drove back [the other fire], and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the Rulers[5] of that Land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them. So [that place] is now called Yakidzu.[6]

[SECT. LXXXIV.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IX.—YAMATO-TAKE'S EMPRESS STILLS THE WAVES).]

When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-midzu,[1] the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then [Yamato-take's] Empress,[2] whose name was Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana[3] said: "I[4] will enter the sea instead” of the august child.[5] The august child must complete the "service[6] on which he has been sent, and take back a report “[to the Heavenly Sovereign]." When

she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs,[7] eight thicknesses of skin rugs and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on the top of the waves, and sat down on the top [of them]. Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the Empress sang, saying:

"Ah! thou [whom I] enquired of, standing
"in the midst of the flames of the fire burn-
"ing on the little moor of Sugamu, where
"the true peak pierces l"[8]

"So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb drifted onto the sea-beach,—which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.

[SECT. LXXXV.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART X.—YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS).]

When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi[1] and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up [to the capital], he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass,[2] was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood [before him]. Then forthwith, on his waiting[3] and striking [the deer] with a scrap of wild chive,[4] * [the deer] was hit in the eye and struck dead. So mounting to the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "Adzuma ha ya!"[5] So that land is called by the name of Adzuma.

[SECT. LXXXVI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XI.—YAMATO-TAKE DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SAKAWORl).]

When, forthwith crossing over from that land out into Kahi,[1] he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori,[2] he sang saying;

> “How many nights have I slept since passing
> "Nihibari and Tsukuha?"[3]

Then the old man, who was the lighter of the august fire,[4] completed* the august Song, and sang, saying:

> "Oh!having put the days in a row, there
> "are of nights nine nights, and of days ten
> "days!”[5]

Therefore [Yamato-take] praised the old man, and forthwith bestowed [on him] the Rulership of the Eastern Landfs].[6]

[SECT. LXXXVII— EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XII.—YAMATO-TAKE WOOS PRINCESS MIYAZU).]

Having crossed over from that land into the land of Shinanu[1] and subdued the Deity of the Shinanu pass,[2] he came back to the land of Wohari, and went to dwell in the house of Princess Miyazu, to whom he had before plighted his troth. Hereupon, when presenting to him the great august food, princess Miyazu lifted up a great august liquor-cup and presented it to him. Tunc Herae Miyazu veli orae adhaeserunt menstrua. Quare [Augustus Yamato-take] ilia menstrua vidit et auguste cecinit, dicens:

> "Ego volui reclinare [caput] in fragili,
> "molli brachiolo [tuo, quod est simile] vallo
> "impingenti acutae falci in Monti Kagu in
> "coelo formato quasi cucurbita;—ego de-
> "sideravi dormire [tecum]. Sed in orâ veli

"quod induis luna surrexit."[3]

Tunc Hera Miyazu augusto cantui respondit, dicens:

"Alte resplendentis solis auguste puer!
"Placidè administrationem faciens mî magne
"domine! Renovatis annis venienti bus et
"effluentibus, renovatae lunae eunt veniendo
"et effluendo. Sane, sane, dum te im-
"patienter exspecto, luna suâpte surgit in
"orâ veli quod ego induo"![4]

Quare tunc [ille] coivit [cum illâ], after which, placing in Princess Miyazu's house This august sword the Grass-Quelling Sabre," he went forth[5] to take the Deity of [Mount] Ibuki.[6]

[SECT. LXXXVIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIII.—YAMATO-TAKE MEETS THE DEITY OF MOUNT IBUKI).]

Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, "I will simply take him empty-handed,"[1] —and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull.[2] Then he lifted up words,[3] and said: "This creature that is transformed "into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity.[4] "Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"— and [so saying,] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain[5] to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato- take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity,[6] but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting up of words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take.[6]]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kura-be[7] and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat.[8] So that fresh

spring is called by the name of the fresh spring of Wi-same.

[SECT. LXXXIX.-EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIV.—YAMATO-TAKE SICKENS AND DIES).]

When he departed thence and reached the moor of Tagi,[1] he said: “Whereas my heart always felt like flying through” the sky, my legs are now unable to walk. They have become “rudder-shaped.”[2] So that place was called by the name of Tagi. Owing to his being very weary with progressing a little further beyond that place, he lent upon an august staff to walk a little. So that place is called by the name of the Tsuwe-tsuki pass.[3] On arriving at the* single pine-tree on Cape Wotsu,[4] an august sword, which he had forgotten at that place before when augustly eating,[5] was still [there] not lost. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree
"that art on Cape Wotsu which directly
"faces Wohari! If thou, single pine-tree!
"wert a person, I would gird [my] sword
"[upon thee], I would clothe thee with
"[my] garments,—O mine elder brother,
"the single pine-tree!"[6]

When he departed thence and reached the village of Mihe, he again said: “My legs are like three-fold crooks,[8] and very weary.” So that place was called by the name of Mihe. When he departed thence and reached the Moor of Nobo,[9] he, regretting[10] [his native] land,[11] sang, saying:

“As for Yamato, the most secluded of
"lands Yamato, retired behind Mount
"Awogaki encompassing it with its folds, is
"delightful."[12]

Again he sang, saying:

“Let those whose life may be complete stick

"[in their hair] as a head-dress the leaves
"of the bear-oak from Mount Heguri,-
"those children!"

This Song is a Land-Regretting Song.[13] Again he sang, saying:

"How sweet! ah! from the direction of
"home clouds are rising and coming!"

This is an Incomplete Song.[14] At this time, his august sickness was very urgent. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"The sabre-sword which I placed at the
"maiden's bed-side alas!that sword!"[15]

As soon as he had finished singing, he died. Then a courier was despatched [to the Heavenly Sovereign.]

[SECT. XC.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XV.—YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD).]

Thereupon [his] Empresses[1] and likewise [his] august children, who dwelt in Yamato, all went down[2] and built an august mausoleum, and, forthwith crawling hither and thither in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum], sobbed out a Song, saying;

"The Dioscorea quinqueloba crawling hither
"and thither among the rice-stubble, among
"the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encom-
"passing [the mausoleum]....."[3]

Thereupon [the dead prince], turning into a white dotterel[4] eight fathoms [long], and soaring up* to Heaven, flew off towards the shore. Then the Empresses and likewise the august children, though they tore their feet treading on the stubble of the bamboo-grass, forgot the pain, and pursued him with lamentations. At that time they sang, saying:

"Our loins are impeded in the plain [over-

"grown with] short bamboo-grass. We are
"not going through the sky, but oh! we
"are on foot."[5]

Again when they entered the salt sea,[6] and suffered as they went, they sang, saying:

"As we go through the sea, our loins are
"impeded,—tottering in the sea like herbs
"growing in a great river-bed."[7]

Again when [the bird] flew and perched on the seaside, they sang, saying:

"The dotterel of the beach goes not on the
"beach, but follows the seaside."[8]

These four Songs were all sung at [Yamato-takes] august interment. So to the present day these Songs are sung at the great august interment of a Heavenly Sovereign. So [the bird] flew off from that country,[9] and stopped at Shiki in the land of Kafuchi.[10] So they made an august mausoleum there, and laid [Yamato-take] to rest.[11] Forthwith that august mausoleum was called by the name of the "August-Mausoleum of the White-Bird.[12] Nevertheless the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away.

[SECT. XCI.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVI.—YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER

During all the time that this [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take went about pacifying countries, Nana-tsuka-hagi,[1] ancestor of the Suzerains of Kume,[2] always followed and respectfully served him as butler.

[SECT. XCII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVII.—YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS)]

This [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take wedded Her Augustness Princess Futaji-no-iri,[1] daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume, and begot an august child: His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko[2] (one Deity).

Again, wedding Her August-ness Princess Oto-tachibana[3] who [afterwards] entered the sea,[4] he begot an august child: King Waka-take[5] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Futaji,[6] daughter of Oho-tamu-wake,[7] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi,[8] he begot an august child: King Ine-yori-wake[9] (one Deity). Again wedding Princess Oho-kibi-take,[10] younger sister of Take-hiko, [ancestor of the] Grandees of Kibi,[11] he begot an august child: King Take-kahiko[12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Kukuma-mori of Yamashiro,[13] he begot an august child, King Ashi-kagami-wake[14] (one Deity). A child by another wife was King Okinaga-ta-wake.[15] Altogether the entire [number] of the august children of His Augustness Yamato-take was six Deities. So His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, King Ine-yori-wake (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Inukami[16] and of the Dukes of Takebe)[17] The next, King Take-kahiko (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Aya in Sanugi,[18] the Dukes of Wake in Iyo,[19] the Lords of Towo,[20] the Headmen of Masa[21] and the Lords of Miyaji.)[22] King Ashi-kagami-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kamakura,[23] the Dukes of Wodzu,[24] the Lords of Ihashiro[25] and the Lords of Fukita.)[26] The child of the next, King Okinaga-ta-wake was King Kuhi-mata-naga-hiko.[27] This King's children were: Her Augustness Princess Ihinu-ma-guro,[28] next Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime,[29] next Oto-hime[30] (three Deities). So the above mentioned King Waka-take wedded Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, and begot King Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko.[31] This King wedded princess Shibanu,[32] daughter of Shibanu-iri-ki[33] of Afumi, and begot a child, Her Augustness Princess Kaguro.[34] So the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko wedded this [lady] Her Augustness Princess Kaguro, and begot King Oho-ye[35] (one Deity). This King wedded his younger half-sister Queen Shiro-kane,[36] and begot children: King Oho-na-gata,[37] and next Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime[38] (two Deities). So this [lady] Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime was the august mother[39] of King

Kagosaka[40] and King Oshikuma.[41]

[SECT. XCIII.—EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVIII.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and thirty-seven, and his august mausoleum is above the Yamanobe road.[1]

[SECT. XCIV.—EMPEROR SEI-MU.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Wata-tarashi-hiko dwelt at the palace of Taka-anaho at Shiga[1] in Chika-tsu-Afumi and ruled the empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady Oto-takara,[2] daughter of Take-oshiyama-tari-ne,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi,[4] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke[5] (one Deity). So [the Heavenly Sovereign] raised the Noble Take-uchi[6] [to the office of] Prime Minister,[7] deigned to settle the Rulers of the Great Countries and Small Countries,[8] and likewise deigned to settle the boundaries of the various countries, as also the Departmental Lords of the Great Departments and Small Departments.[9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-five, and his august mausoleum is at Tatanami near Saki.[10]

[SECT. XCV.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART I. —GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko dwelt at the palace of royora at Anado,[1] and likewise at the palace of Kashihi[2] in Tsukushi, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime,[3] daughter of King Oho-ye, and begot august children: King Kago-saka and King Oshikuma (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. This Empress[4] gave birth to august children: His Augustness Homu-ya-wake,[5] and next His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake,[6] another name for whom was His Augustness Homuda-wake.[7]

The reason why this Heir Apparent[8] was given the august name of His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake was that when first[9] born, he had on his august arm [a protuberance of] flesh resembling an elbow-pad,[10] whence the august name bestowed on him. By this it was known while he was in the womb that he would rule countries.[11] In this august reign the granaries of Ahaji were established.

[SECT. XCVI.—EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART II.—THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED).]

This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time[1] divinely possessed.* So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso,[2] the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court,[3] requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: “There is a land to "the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various” treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver down-“wards.[4] I will now bestow this land upon thee.” Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: “If one ascend to a high” place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There “is only the great sea;” and saying,[5] "they are lying Deities,"[6] he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: “Altoge-“ther as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou “oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!", [7] Hereupon the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi said: “[I am filled “with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign![8] Continue playing thy “great august lute.” Then he slowly* drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead.

[SECT. XCVII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART III.-PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF KOREA).]

Then, astonished and alarmed, they set him in a mortuary palace,[1] * and again taking the country's great offerings,[2] seeking out all sorts of crimes,† such as flaying alive and flaying backwards,[3] † breaking down the divisions of rice-fields, filling up ditches, evacuating excrements and urine,& marriages between superiors and inferiors,[4] marriages with horses, marriages with cattle, marriages with fowls, and marriages with dogs, and having made a great purification of the land, [5] the Noble Take-uchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: "Altogether this land "is a land to be ruled over by the august child in Thine "Augustness's august womb."[6] Then the Noble Take-uchi said, "[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities! The august "child in this Deity's womb,[7] what [sort of] child may it be" [The Deities] replied, saying: "It is a male child." Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: "I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose "words have now thus instructed us." Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing[8] of the Great-August- "Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities "Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing Male and Surface-" Possessing-Male.[9] (At this time the august names of these three" great Deities were revealed.[10]) If now thou truly thinkest to "seek that land, thou must, after presenting the offerings[11] to "every one of the Heavenly Deities and Earthly Deities,[12] and "likewise of the Deities of the mountains and also of all the "Deities of the river and of the sea, and setting our august' "spirits[13] on the top of* thy vessel, put into gourds[14] the ashes "of the Podocarpus macrophylla tree,[15] and likewise make a "quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf-platters,[16] and must "scatter them all on the waves of the great sea, that thou" mayest cross over." So when [she] punctually fulfilled these intructions, equipped an army,

marshalled her vessels, and crossed over, the fishes of the sea-plain, both great and small, all bore the august vessel[17] across on their backs, and a strong favourable wind arose, and the august vessel followed the billows.

[SECT. XCVIII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IV.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ CONQUERS KOREA).]

So the wave[1] of the august vessel pushed up onto the land of Shiragi,[2] reaching to the middle of the country. Thereupon the chieftain[3] of the country, alarmed and trembling, petitioned[4] [the Empress], saying: “From this time forward “obedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I will feed “his august horses and will marshal vessels every year, nor “ever let the vessels' keels[5] dry or their poles and oars dry, “and will respectfully serve him without drawing back while "heaven and earth shall last.”[6] So therefore the Land of Shiragi was constituted the feeder of the august horses, and the Land of Kudara[7] was constituted the crossing store.[8] Then the Empress stuck* her august staff on the gate of the chieftain of Shiragi, and having made the Rough August Spirits[9] of the Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi[10] the guardian Deities of the land, she laid them to rest,[11] and crossed back. So while this business[12] was yet unconcluded, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born. Forthwith, in order to restrain her august womb, she took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august skirt,[13] and the august child was born after she had crossed [back] to the Land of Tsukushi.[14] So the name by which the place was called where the august child was born was Umi.[15] Again the stone which she wound round her august skirt is at the village of Ito[16] in the Land of Tsukushi.

[SECT. XCIX* —EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART V.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ FISHES IN TSUKUSHI).]

Again when, having reached the village of Tamashima[1] in the Department of Matsura[2] in Tsukushi, she partook of an august meal on the bank of the river, it being then the first decade of the fourth moon, she then sat on a shoal[3] in the middle of the river, picked out threads from her august skirt, used grains of rice as bait, and hooked the trout[4] in the river. (The name by which the river is called is the Wo-gaha;[5] again the name by which the shoal is called is Kachi-do-hime.[6]) So down to the present time it is an uninterrupted [custom] for women in the first decade of the fourth moon to pick out threads from their skirts, use grains as bait, and hook trout.

[SECT. C.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VI.—THE EMPRESS JIN-GO SUBDUES YAMATO).]

Hereupon, when Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was returning up to Yamato, she, owing to doubts concerning the disposition[1] of the people, prepared a mourning-vessel,[2] * set the august child in that mourning-vessel, and let a report ooze out that the august child was already dead. While she went up thus, King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma,[3] having heard [of the circumstancel], thought to waylay[4] her, went forth to the moor of Toga,[5] and hunted for an omen,‡ Then King Kagosaka climbed up an oak-tree,[6] and then[7] a large and angry boar came forth, dug up the oak-tree, and forthwith devoured King Kagosaka. His younger brother, King Oshikuma, undaunted by this circumstance,§ raised an army and lay in wait [for the Empress], to close with the mourning-vessel as being an empty[8] vessel. Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel,[9] and joined in combat [with the opposing forces]. At this time King Oshikuma made the Noble Isahi,[10] ancestor of the Kishi Clan of Naniha,[11] his generalissimo;[12] and on the august side of the Heir Apparent His Augustness Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma,[13] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani,[14] was made generalissimo. So when [the Empress's troops] had driven [King Oshikuma's troops] as far as Yamashiro, [the latter] turned and made a

stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating. Then His Augustness Take-furu-kuma planned, and caused it to be said that, as Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was already dead, there was no need for further fighting,--orthwith snapping his bowstrings and feigning submission. Therefore King Oshikuma's generalissimo, believing the falsehood, unbent his bows and put away his arms. Then [the Empress's troops] picked out of their topknots some prepared bowstrings (one name [of the bowstrings] was usa-yu-dzuru,[15]) stretched [their bows] again, and pursued and smote [the enemy]. So [these] fled away to Afusaka, rallied, and fought again. Then [the Empress's troops] pursued, pressed on, and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami.[17] Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea, and sang, saying:

"Come on, my lord! rather than be stricken
"by Furu-kuma's hurtful hand, I will plunge
"like the grebe into the Sea of Afumi,— I
"will!"[18]

Forthwith they plunged into the sea, and died together.

[SECT. CI.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VII.—THE HEIR APPARENT EXCHANGES NAMES WITH THE GREAT DEITY IZASA-WAKE).]

So when His Augustness the Noblè Take-uchi, taking with him the Heir Apparent for the purpose of purification,[1] passed through the lands of Afumi and Wakasa,[2] he built a temporary palace at Tsunuga[3] at the mouth of the Road of Koshi[4] [for the Heir Apparent] to dwell in. Then His Augustness the Great Deity Izasa-wake,[5] who dwelt in that place, appeared at night in a dream,[6] and said: "I wish to exchange my name "for the august name of the august child." Then [the dreamer of the dream] prayed, saying: ["I] am filled with awe!! [7] "The name shall be respectfully exchanged according to thy command." Again the Deity charged [him, saying]: "To-

“morrow morning [the Heir Apparent] must go out on the "beach; I will present my [thank-] offering for the name” [given me] in exchange.” So when [the Heir Apparent] went out in the morning to the beach, the whole shore was lined with broken-nosed dolphin-fishes.[8] Thereupon the august child caused the Deity to be addressed, saying: “Thou bestowest on me fish of thine august food."[9] So again his august name was honoured by his being called the Great Deity of August Food.[10] So he is now styled the Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity.[11] Again the blood from the noses of the dolphin-fishes stank. So the strand was called by the name of Chiura.[12] It is now styled Tsunuga.

[SECT. CII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII. —THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ PRESENTS LIQUOR TO THE HEIR APPARENT).]

Hereupon, when the [Heir Apparent] returned up [to the Capital], his august parent, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, distilled some waiting-liquor,[1] and presented it to him. Then his august parent sang augustly, saying:

"This august liquor is not my august
"liquor:—oh! it is august liquor respect-
"fully brought as a divine congratulation, a
"repeated congratulation,* a bountiful con-
"gratulation, a reiterated congratulation, by
"the Small August Deity, who dwells
“eternally, firmly standing. Partake not
"shallowly! Go on! go on!”[2] *

Having thus sung, she presented to him the great august liquor. Then His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi replied for the august child and sang, saying:

"Whatever person distilled† this august
"liquor must surely have distilled it sing-

"ing the while with that drum on the
"mortar, — must surely have distilled it
"dancing the while, for this august liquor,
"august liquor, to be ever more and more
"joyful. Go on! go on!"[3]

These are Drinking Songs.[4]

[SECT. CIII.—EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IX.—HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ).]

Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko[1] were fifty-two. His august mausoleum is at Nagaye,[2] near Wega,[3] in Kafuchi. (The Empress died at the august age of one hundred. She was buried in the mausoleum of Tatanami in Saki,[4])

[SECT. CIV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN[1] (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Homuda-wake dwelt at the palace of Akira at Karushima,[2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded three[3] queens, daughters of King Homuda-no-ma-waka,[4] the name of one of whom was Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri;[5] of the next, Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime;[6] and of the next, Her Augustness Oto-hime.[7] (The father of these Queens, King Homuda-no-ma-waka, was the son of His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri[8] by his wife Shiritsuki-tome,[9] daughter of the Noble Take-inada,[10] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari.)[11] So the august children of Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri were: His Augustness Nukata-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko;[12] next His Augustness Oho-yama-mori;[13] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka;[14] next his younger sister the Lady of Ohohara;[15] next the Lady of Komuku.[16] (Five Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime were: the Lady of Arata in Ki;[17] next His Augustness Oho-sazaki;[18] * next His Augustness

Netori.[19] (Three Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Oto-hime were: the Lady Abe;[20] next the Lady of Mihara in Ahaji;[21] next the Lady of Unu in Ki;[22] next the Lady of Minu.[23] (Five Deities).[24] Again he wedded the Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye,[25] daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and begot august children: Uji-no-waki-iratsuko;[26] next his younger sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume;[27] next Queen Medori.[28] (Three Deities). Again he wedded Wo-nabe-no-iratsume,[29] younger sister of Yakaha-ye-hime, and begot an august child: Uji-no-waki-iratsume.[30] (One Deity). Again he wedded Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime,[31] daughter of King Kuhimata-naga-hiko,[32] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke-futa-mata[33] (One Deity). Again he wedded the Princess of Itowi[34] daughter of Shima-tari-ne,[35] ancestor of the Agricultural Chiefs of Sakurawi,[36] and begot an august child: His Augustness Hayabusa-wake[37] (One Deity). Again, he wedded Naga-hime of Idzumi in Himuka,[38] and begot august children: King Oho-haye,[39] next King Wo-haye;[40] next Hata-bi-no-waki-ira-tsume.[41] (Three Deities). Again he wedded Princess Ka-guro,[42] and begot august children: Kaharada-no-iratsume;[43] next, Tama-no-iratsume;[44] next, Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime;[45] next, Tohoshi-no-iratsume;[46] next, King Kataji.[47] (Five Deities). Again, he wedded Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki,[48] and begot an august child: King Iza-no-ma-waka.[49] (One Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether twenty-six (eleven Kings and fifteen Queens). Of these His Augustness Oho-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART II.— HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign asked His Augustness Oho-yama-mori and His Augustness Oho-sazaki,* saying:” Which think ye the dearer, an elder child or a younger child?" (The reason why the Heavenly Sovereign propounded this question was because it was his intention[1] to

make Uji-no-waki- iratsuko rule the Empire). Then His Augustness Oho-yama-mori said: “The elder child is the dearer.” Next His Augustness Oho-sazaki, knowing the august feeling which made the Heavenly Sovereign deign to ask [the question], said: "The elder “child, having already become a man, gives no trouble; but "the younger child, not being yet a man, is the dearer." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: “My lord Sazaki's words “agree with my thoughts,” and forthwith ordained the division [of the inheritance] thus: His Augustness Oho-yama-mori to administer the government of the mountains and the sea,[2] His Augustness Oho-sazaki to take and deign to report on the government of the realm,[3] and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko to rule the succession of Heaven's sun.[4] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki was not disobedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands.[5]

[SECT. CVI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART III.— HE WOOS PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE).]

One day[1] the Heavenly Sovereign, when he had crossed over into the land of Afumi, augustly stood on the moor of Uji, gazed† on the moor of Kadzu, and sang, saying:

"As I look on the Moor of Kadzu in Chiba
"both the hundred thousand-fold abundant
"house-places are visisble, and the land's
"acme is visible.”[2]

So when he reached the village of Kohata,[3] a beautiful maiden met him at a fork in the road. Then the Heavenly Sovereign asked the maiden, saying: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "I am the daughter of the Grandee “Wani-no-Hifure,[4] and my name is Princess Miya-nushi-ya-” kaha-ye."[5] The Heavenly Sovereign forthwith said to the maiden: “When I return on my progress to-morrow, I will “enter into thy house." So Princess Ya-kaha-ye told her father all that [had happened]. Thereupon her father replied, saying: "Ah! it was the Heavenly Sovereign! [His com-"mands are

to be respected. My child, respectfully serve "him!"—and so saying, he grandly decorated the house, and awaited [the Heavenly Sovereign's return], whereupon he came in on the next day.[6] So when [the father] served [the Heavenly Sovereign] a great august feast, he made his daughter Her Augustness[7] Princess Ya-kaha take the great august liquor-cup and present it. Thereupon, while taking the great august liquor-cup, the Heavenly Sovereign augustly sang, saying:

"Oh this crab! whence this crab?[It is]
"a crab from far-distant Tsunuga. Whither
"reaches its sideward motion?[It has]
"come towards Ichiji-shima and Mi-shima.
"It must be because, plunging and breathless
"like the grebe, I went without stopping
"along the up and down road by the wavelets,
"that the maiden I met on the Kohata road
"has a back oh! like a small shield, a row
"of teeth like acorns. Oh! the earth of the
"Wani pass at Ichihiwi! Owing to the skin
"of the first earth being ruddy, to the last
"earth being of a reddish black, she,
"without exposing to the actual sun that
"makes one bend one's head the middle
"earth like three chestnuts, draws thickly
"down her drawn eye-brows;—the woman
"I met, the child I saw and wanted in this
"way, the child I saw and wanted in that
"way, oh! she is opposite to me at the
"height of the feast! oh! she is at my side!"[8] *

Ita auguste coivit [cum illâ], et procreavit filium Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.

[SECT. CVII.EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IV.—HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMI-NAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the beauty of Princess Kami-naga,[1] daughter of the Duke of Muragata[2] in the land of Himuka, and thinking to employ her,[3] sent down for her,[4] whereupon the Heir Apparent[5] His Augustness Oho-sazaki, having seen the maiden land[*] at the port of Naniha, and being charmed with the grace of her appearance, forthwith directed the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi, to intercede for him in the great august presence of the Heavenly Sovereign, and make [the latter] grant to him Princess Kami-naga, whom he had sent down for. Then on the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi requesting the great commands,[6] the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith granted Princess Kami-naga to his august child. The way he granted her was this the Heavenly Sovereign, on a day when he partook of a copious feast,[7] gave Princess Kami-naga the great august liquor oak- [leaf[8]] to present to the Heir Apparent. Then he augustly sang, saying:

Come on, children! oh! the fragrant
"flowering orange-tree on my way as I
"go to pluck the wild garlic,—to pluck
"the garlic, — has its uppermost branches
"withered by birds perching on them, and its
"lowest branches withered through people
"plucking from them. But the budding
"fruit on the middle branch, like three
"chestnuts, — the ruddy maiden, oh! if
"thou lead her off with thee, it will be
"good, oh!”[9]

"Again he augustly sang, saying:
"Driving the dyke-piles into Lake Yosami

"where the water collects, my heart (ignor-
"ant of the pricking of the stumps of the
"water-caltrop, ignorant of the creeping* of
"the roots of the Brasenia peltata), being
"more and more laughable, is now indeed
"repentant"[10]

Having thus sung, he bestowed [her on the Heir Apparent]. So after having been granted the maiden, the Heir Apparent sang, saying:

"Oh! the maiden of Kohada in the back of
"the road! though I heard of her like the
"thunder, we mutually intertwine [our
"arms] as pillows."[11]

Again he sang, saying:

"I think lovingly ah! of how the maiden of
"Kohada in the back of the road sleeps [with
"me] without disputing."[12]

[SECT. CVIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART V.—SONGS OF THE TERRITORIAL OWNERS OF YESHINU).]

Again, the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu,[1] seeing† the august sword which was girded on His Augustness Oho-sazaki, sang, saying:

"Sharp is the beginning, freezing is the end
"of the sword girded on Oho-sazaki, Oho-
"sazaki, the solar august child of Homuda,—
"[it is] chilly, chilly like the trees beneath
"the trunks of the winter trees."[2]

Again, having made a cross-mortar[3] at Kashifu[4] in Yeshinu, and having in that cross-mortar distilled[5] † some great august liquor, they, when they presented the great august liquor [to the Heavenly Sovereign], sang as follows, drumming with their mouths:†

"We have made a side-mortar at Kashinofu,

"and in the side-mortar we have distilled
"some great august liquor, which do thou
"sweetly partake of, oh our lord!" 6

This Song is one which it is the custom to chant down to the present day when, from time to time, the Territorial Owners present a great feast [to the Sovereign].

[SECT. CIX.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VI.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In this august reign were graciously established the Fisher Tribe,[1] the Mountain Tribe,[2] the Mountain Warden Tribe,[3] and the Ise Tribe.[4] Again the Pool of Tsurugi was made. Again there came over [to Japan] some people from Shiragi. Therefore His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, having taken them with him and set them to labour on pools and embankments, made the Pool of Kudara.[5]

[SECT. CX—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VII.—TRIBUTE FROM KOREA).]

Again King Shō-ko,[1] the Chieftain of the land of Kudara, sent as tribute by Achi-kishi[2] one stallion and one mare. (This Achi-kishi was the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes.[3]) Again be sent as tribute a cross-sword,[4] and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden[5] to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. Therefore, receiving the [Imperial] commands, he sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi,[6] and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian Analects[7] in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay[8] in one volume,—altogether eleven volumes. (This Wani-kishi was the ancestor of the Fumi Grandees.[9]) Again he sent as tribute two artisans,—a smith from Kara named Taku-so[10] and a weaver from Go[11] named Sai-so.[12]

[SECT. CXI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII.—THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED).]

Again there came over [to Japan] the ancestor of the Hada Rulers,[1] the ancestor of the Ay a Suzerains,[2] and likewise a man who knew how to distil liquor, and whose name was Nim-pan,[3] while another name for him was Susukori.[4] So this [man] Susukori distilled* some great august liquor, and presented it to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, excited with the great august liquor that had been presented to him, augustly sang, saying:

"I have become intoxicated with the august
"liquor distilled* by Susukori. I have be-
"come intoxicated with the soothing liquor,
"with the smiling liquor."[5]

On his walking out singing thus, he hit with his august staff a large stone in the middle of the Ohosaka[6] road, upon which the stone ran away. So the proverb says: “Hard” stones get out of a drunkard's way.”

[SECT. CXII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IX.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, His Augustness Oho-sazaki, in conformity with the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, ceded* the Empire to Ujji-no-waki-iratsuko. Thereupon His Augustness Oho-yama-mori, disobeying the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, and anxious in spite thereof to obtain the Empire, had the design to slay the Prince[1] his younger brother, secretly raised an army, and prepared to attack him. Then His Augustness Oho-sazaki, hearing that his elder brother had prepared an army, forthwith despatched a messenger to apprise Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. So, startled at the news, [the latter] set troops in ambush by the river-bank, and likewise, after having drawn a fence of curtains and raised a tent on the top of the hill, placed there publicly on a throne[2] one of his retainers to pretend that he was the King,[3] the manner in which all the officials[4]

reverentially went and came being just like that [usual] in the King's presence. And moreover, preparing for the time when the King his elder brother[5] should cross the river, he arranged and decorated a boat and oars, and moreover[6] ground* [in a mortar] the root of the Kadzura japonica, and having taken the slime of its juice, rubbed therewith the grating[7] inside the boat, so as to make any who should tread on it fall down, and then himself[8] put on a cloth coat and trowsers, and having assumed the appearance of a common fellow, stood in the boat holding the oar. Hereupon, when the King his elder brother, having hid his troops in ambush and put on armour beneath his clothes, reached the river-bank and was about to get into the boat, he gazed at the grandly decorated place [on the hill], thought the King his younger brother was sitting on the throne, being altogether ignorant [of the fact] that he was standing in the boat holding the oar, and forthwith asked the fellow who was holding the oar, saying: "It has been reported to me that “on this mountain there is a large and angry boar. I wish “to take that boar. Shall I peradventure get that boar?" Then the fellow holding the oar replied, saying:" Thou "canst not." Again he asked, saying: “For what reason?” [The boat-man] answered, saying: “He is not to be got, “however often and in however many places he be chased. "Wherefore I say that thou canst not [catch him either].” When they had crossed as far as the middle of the river, [Prince Uji-no-waki-iratsuko] caused the boat to be tilted over, and [his elder brother] to fall into the water.[9] Then forthwith he rose to the surface and floated down with the current. Forthwith, as he floated, he sang, saying:

"Whoever is swiftest among the boatmen
"of the Uji ferry will come to me.”[10]

Thereupon the troops that had been hidden on the river-bank rose up simultaneously on this side and on that side, and fixing their arrows [in their bows], let him go floating down. So he sank on reaching Kawara Point.[11] So on their searching with hooks[12] the place where he had sunk, [the hooks] struck

on the armour inside his clothes, and made a rattling sound.[13] So the place was called by the name of Kawara Point. Then when they hooked up[14] his bones the younger King sang, saying:

"*Catalpa* bow, *Euonymus* standing by the
"ferry-bank of Uji! My heart had thought
"to cut [you], my heart had thought to
"take [you]; but at the base methought of
"the lord, at the extremity methought of the
"younger sister; grievously methought of
"this, sorrowfully methought of that; and
"I come [back] without cutting it, — the
"*Catalpa* bow, the *Euonymus:* "[15]

So the bones of His Augustness Oho-yama-mori were buried on the Nara[16] mountain. His Augustness Oho-yama-mori (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Hijikata,[17] the Dukes of Heki,[18] and the Dukes of Harihara.[19])

[SECT. CXIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART X.—PRINCES OHO-SAZAKI AND UJI-NO-WAKI-IRATSUKO CEDE THE EMPIRE TO EACH OTHER).]

Thereupon while the two Deities[1] His Augustness Oho-sazaki and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko were, each of them, ceding the Empire to the other,[2] a fisherman[3] came with a great feast as tribute.[4] So they each resigned it to the other. So the elder brother refused it, and caused it to be offered to the younger brother, and the younger brother refused it and caused it to be offered to the elder brother, during which mutual cedings many days elapsed. As such mutual ceding took place not [only] once or twice, the fisherman wept from the fatigue of going backwards and forwards. So the proverb says:" Ah! " the fisherman weeps on account of his own things."[5] Meanwhile Uji-no-waki-iratsuko died early.[6] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki did rule the Empire.

[SECT. CXIV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XI.—AMA-NO-HI-BOKO CROSSES OVER TO JAPAN).]

Moreover of old there had been [a man] called by the name of Ama-no-hi-boko,[1] child of the ruler of the land of Shiragi. This person crossed over here [to Japan]. The reason of his crossing over here was [this]: In the land of Shiragi there was a certain lagoon,[2] called by the name of the Agu Lagoon.[3] On the bank of this lagoon[4] a certain poor girl was [taking her] midday sleep. Tunc solis radii, codesti arcui similes, in privatas partes impegerunt. Again there was a certain poor man, who, thinking this occurrence[5] strange, constantly watched the woman's behaviour. So the woman, having conceived from the time of that midday sleep, gave birth to a red jewel. Then the poor man who had watched her begged [to be allowed] to take the jewel, and kept it constantly wrapped up by his side.[6] This person, having planted a rice-field in a valley,[7] had loaded a cow[8] with food for the labourers, and was getting into the middle of the valley, when he met the ruler's son, Ama-no-hi-boko, who thereupon asked him, saying: “Why enterest thou the valley with a load of food upon a cow. Thou wilt surely kill this cow and eat “her.” Forthwith he seized the man and was about to put him into prison, when the man replied, saying: ” I was not "going to kill the cow. I was simply taking food to the “people in the fields." But still [the ruler's child] would not let him go. Then he undid the jewel [which hung] at his side, and [therewith] bribed [the ruler's child]. So [the latter] let the poor man go, brought the jewel [home], and placed it beside his couch. Forthwith it was transformed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded, and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child [grew] proud in his heart, and reviled his wife. But the woman said: “I am not a woman who ought to be “the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my “ancestors; "—and forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat, and fled away across here [to Japan], and

landed[9] at Naniha.[10] (This is the deity called princess Akaru,[11] who dwells in the shrine of Hime-goso[12] at Naniha.) Thereupon Ama-no-hi-boko, hearing of his wife's flight, forthwith pursued her across hither, and was about to arrive at Naniha, when the Deity of the passage[13] prevented his entrance. So he went back again, and landed in the country of Tajima.[14]

[SECT. CXV.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XII.—DESCENDANTS OF AMA-NO-HI-BOKO, AND TREASURES BROUGHT BY HIM).]

Forthwith staying in that country, he wedded Saki-tsu-mi,[1] daughter of Tajima-no-matawo,[2] and begot a child: Tajima-morosuku.[3] The latter's child was Tajima-hi-ne.[4] The latter's child was Tajima-hinaraki.[5] The latter's children were Tajima-mori,[6] next Tajima-hitaka,[7] next Kiyo-hiko[8] (Three Deities).[9] This Kiyo-hiko wedded Tagima-no-mehi,[10] and begot children: Saga-no-morowo,[11] next his younger sister Suga-kama-yura-domi.[12] So the above mentioned Tajima-hitaka wedded his niece Yura-domi, and begot a child: Her Augustness Princess Takanuka of Kadzuraki.[13] (This was the august parent[14] of Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi.) So the things whieh Ama-no-hi-boko brought over here, and which were called the "precious treasures,"[15] were: two strings of pearls;[16] likewise a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, and a wind-cutting scarf;[17] likewise a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore;[18] — eight articles in all. (These are the Eight Great Deities of Idzushi.)

[SECT. CXVI.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIII.—THE YOUTH-OF-THE-GLOW-ON-THE-AUTUMN-MOUNTAINS AND THE YOUTH-OF-THE-HAZE-ON-THE-SPRING-MOUNTAINS).]

So this Deity had a daughter whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi.[1] So eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden-of-idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so[2] Hereupon there were two Deities,

brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains,[3] and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains.[4] So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for[5] the Maiden of Idzushi, "I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou [be able] to “obtain her?" He answered, saying: “I will easily obtain her.” Then the elder brother said: “If thou shalt obtain "this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, “and distil liquor in a jar of my own height,[6] and prepare “all the things of the mountains and of the rivers,[7] [and give” them to thee] in payment of the wager.” Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trowsers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrow, and clothed him in. this upper garment, trowsers, etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of- Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them [home, the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains] followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to a child.[8] Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Maiden-"of-Idzushi.” Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when [the younger brother] complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: “During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well “imitated; moreover it must be because he imitates mortal “men[9] that he does not pay those things.” Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a jointed bamboo[10] † from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes,[11] and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine, wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo[12] and caused this curse to be spoken:[13] “Like unto the becoming "green of these

bamboo-leaves,* [do thou] become green and" wither! Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this "brine,[14] [do thou] flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking "of these stones, [do thou] sink and be prostrate!" Having caused this curseto be spoken, she placed [the basket] over the smoke.[15] Therefore the eider brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate[16] for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and tears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed.[17] Thereupon his body became sound[18] as it had been before. (This is the origin of the term "a divine wager-payment."[20])

[SECT- CXVII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIV.—GENEALOGIES).]

Again this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda's[1] august child King Waka-nuke-futa-mata wedded his mother's younger sister Momo-shiki-iro-be,[2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Oto-hime-ma-waka-hime,[3] and begot children: Oho-ira-tsuko,[4] another name for whom was King Oho-hodo;[5] next Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime;[6] next Tawi-no-naka-tsu-hime;[7] next Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime;[8] next Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-iratsume;[9] next Queen Torime;[10] next King Sane.[11] (Seven Kings [and Queens].[12]) So King Oho-hodo (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mikuni,[13] the Dukes of Hata,[14] the Dukes of Okinaga,[15] the Dukes of Sakabito of Sakata,[16] the Dukes of Yamaji,[17] the Dukes of Meta in Tsukushi,[18] and the Dukes of Fuse).[19] Again King Netori wedded his younger half-sister the Lady Mihara, and begot children: King Naka-tsu-hiko;[20] next King Iwa-shima.[21] (Two Kings.) Again the child of King Katashiha[22] was King Kunu.[23]

[SECT. CXVIII.—EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda were altogether one hundred and thirty. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Mofusu[1]

at Wega in Kafuchi.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "Middle Volume," there being three in all. See Author's Preface, Note1.

2 *Jim-mu* signifies “divine valour." It is the “canonical name" of the Emperor *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko* (see Introduction, p. xvi).

3 In the preceding Section this name was rendered “Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince." But in the translation of Vols. II and III of this work, the Japanese proper names are not Englished, unless there bé a special reason for so doing. (See Introduction, pp. xx and xxi).

* Granting that there is any truth in the story of *Jim-mu Tenno* he could not have been called “Yamato etc., until hè had conquered that part of the country. Why should a Kyushu chieftain have a "Yamato in his name?It seems to have been invented by someone who lived in the days when "Yamato” had become a national designation and it was therefore introduced into the name of the national hero. Compare, *Yamato Take no mikoto*. The Nihongi says his youthful name was *Sano*, and that *Kamu*, etc., was a title given him after he had conquered Yamato.W.G.A.

4 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 5.

5 See Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

6 See Sect. X, Note 4.

7 The Japanese expresion here used in one which exclusively denotes and Imperial Progress, and not the movements of lesser people. It recurs perpetually in this and the following Volume.

8 See Sect. V, Note 14.

9 Etymology uncertain

10 See Sect. V, Note 17.

11 *I.e.*, Prince of Usa and Princess of Usa.

12 In the original 足−騰宮， read ashi hito-tsu agavi no miya. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles” ha—柱騰宮 柱 *(hashira)* however means, not” foot," but “pillar"; and the commentators understand both

passages to allude to a single pillar, which supported the weight of the entire building,—either as being in the middle of it, or (as Motowori opines) by standing in the water, the edifice, according to this view, being built on a river-bank overhanging the stream.

13 This name signifies “hillock rice-field."

14 *Q.d.*, towards Yamato, the province where the capital was eventually fixed. In Japanese, as in English, people are said to go *up* to the capital and *down* to the country.

15 Etymology uncertain.

16 Etymology uncertain. This name is better known (without the *nigori* of the second syllable) as Aki. Aki is one of the provinces on the northern shore of the Inland Sea.

17 This name signifies "high island."

18 Etymology uncertain. Kibi is the name of a province.

19 This name signifies quick sucking.”

20 *I.e.*, as Motowori supposes, beckoning by waving his sleeve.

21 The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the humble character 俊,"servant.”

22 See Sect, I Note, 11. Motowori wishes us here to understand this expression to mean "I am a Deity (*i.e.,* a person) of the country side." But there is no sufficient reason for departing from the precedent of rendering the characters 國 种, which are constantly used antithetically to 天 种 by "earthly Deity" (as opposed to "Heavenly Deity"). Motowori likewise proposes to append to this sentence the clause "and my name is Udzu-biko," which is found in the "Chronicles." The name may be taken to signify "precious prince."

23 The characters 稿機 are evidently, as Motowor i says, meant to represent the Japanese word *sawo,* "pole," though they do not properly convey that meaning. Probably they are corrupt.†

† Cf. Nihongi.—W.G.A.

24 *I.e.,* if we suppress the syllable *ne,* which seems to be either Expletive or Honorific, the "prince of the pole."

25 *Yamato no kuni no Miyatsuko.*

26 This is the reading of the name preferred by Mabuchi and Motowori; but the usual from *Naniha* seems to be at least as well supported by early documentary evidence. The "Chronicles" tell us that the place was called *Nami-haya* 浪速, i.e., "wave-swift," in allusion to the strong current which the Emperor Jim-mu here encountered; and at the present day it is still a dangerous place for navigation. The name properly denotes the water† at the mouth of the River Yodo, on which stands the modern town of Ohosake (Ōzaka), for whose name Naniha is still often used as a poetical synonym. 浪華, "wave-flowers," and 難浪, "dangerous waves," are alternative ways of writing it.

† The water on the bar at the mouth.-W.G.A.

27 Motowori says that he cannot explain the etymology of this word; but "white sandbank" would seem a simple and obvious derivation. The Shirakata here mentioned is, according to Motowori, that situated in the province of Idzumo.†

* *Awa-Kumo.*. Pillow-Word?-W.G.A.

† Impossible.-W.G.A.

28 *I.e.*, the Prince of Nagasune. A plausible interpretation of *naga-sune* would be “long-shank," which would give us Prince Long-Shank as the name of the worthy here mentioned; but the "Chronicles" state that Nagasune was properly the name of a place. The characters with which it is written, moreover, signify not exactly "long *shank,* but "long *marrow*," a designation which would have no evident personal applicability.

29 A legend in the "Chronicles" connects the name of this place with the word *tobi,* “a kite" it being there related that a miraculous gold-coloured kite came and perched on the Emperor Jim-mu's bow, and helped him to the victory. Probably the legend grew out of the name of *Tobi,* which is obscure and may have had nothing to do with a “kite” originally.

30 *I.e.,* “shield-haven.” But conf. next Note.

31 The real etymology of *Tade-tsu* seems to be “knot-grass-haven,” and probably *Taka-tsu* (for *Taketsu*), which is mentioned in Sect. LXIX, Note

29, is but another form of the same name. Kusaka is a well-known name in the annals of early Japan. Its signification is obscure, and characters (日下), with which it is written, are particularly curious. There were two Kusakas, one in the province of Kahachi and the other in Idzumi.

32 Viz., *Nagasune-biko.*

33 The wording of the original 頁登美比古之痛矢串 ‡ is very curious. Motowori reads it *Tomi-biko ga ita-ya-gushi wo ohashiki.* Immediately below we have 賤奴之痛手.

‡ Cf. Nihongi. —W.G.A.

34 The character is 奴,properly "slave."

35 The most likely derivation of this name is from chi-muma, "eulalia lagoon," the fact that it will also bear the interpretation of "blood-lagoon" being probably but a coincidence of which the mythopceic faculty took advantage.

36 Here written with characters signifying "blood-lagoon."

37 The characters rendered "river-mouth" are 水門, literally "water-gate;" but here, as elsewhere," river-mouth" seems to be the signification meant to be conveyed. Rivers in Japan, even at the present day, do not bear one continuous name along their entire course, and there would be nothing unnatural in the fact of the water at the mouth of the river having a special designation. One of the significations of wo is "man," and the legendary etymology of the name given immediately below rests on the assumption that such is the meaning of wo in this place. Even Motowori, however, is not satisfied with it, and it is probably erroneous.

38 See Sect. XXII, Note 14.

39 The Chinese character 崩, which is here used, is one that specially denotes the demise of an Emperor.

40 Probably the sense meant to be conveyed is that he expired with a gesture of anger and defiance.

41 Here written 男, "man." *Conf.,* Note 37.

42 *Kama-yama,* i.e., "furnace-mountain."

1 This name signifies “bear-moor.” The name is now generally pronounced *Kamano.*

2 Motowori ingenously conjectures the text of this passage 大熊髮出, which makes no sense, to be a copyist's error for 大熊從山出, which gives the meaning rendered in the translation. The running hand form of 從山 might well be mistaken for that of the character 髮. The editor of 1687 is less happy in his conjecture that the character intended may be 髮, "crocodile.” This incident of the bear was thought important enough by the compiler for a mention of it to be inserted in his Preface. (See p. 6).

* The mention a few lines further on of *Arafura Kami* savage Deities as the enemies of Jim-mu Tenno, on this occasion would point to a different emendation of the term. *Kama* is perhaps an epithet of a savage tribe. Cf. *Kumaso*. Even the present reading "Great Bear-plain," as the name of a tribe of hairy men is not wholly preposterous. Kama means savage sometimes.—W.G.A.

3 The signification of this name is not clear. Taking *zhi* as an apocopated *nigori*'ed form of the Postposition *shita,* we might suppose *taka-kura-zhi* to signify "under the high store-house" in allusion to the legend which forms the subject of this Section. There are, however, reasons for doubting this etymology (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol XVIII, p. 48). In the Preface we have simply *Takakura,* without the final syllable *zhi*; but the omission of *zhi* in that place is almost certainly to be accounted for on euphonic grounds.

4 This note to the original is believed to be an an interpolation.

5 横力. Motowori avers the character 横, “cross,” has no importance, and should be neglected in reading. But this assertion seems gratuitous in the face of, for instance, such a Chinese locution as 横磨劍. We may be justified, perhaps, in paying no special heed to the Numeral "one” in this place, which Motowori neglects in his *kana*reading of the text.

6 *I.e.,* they fell down cut to pieces before they had even been cut at with this wonderful sword.

7 The character 御, “august," which should form the penultimate member of this compound name, is here omitted.

8 See Sect. I, Note 5.

9 See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

10 See Sect. IX, Note 18.

11 Conf. Sect. X, Note 1.

12 The humble character 僕, “servant," is here used.

13 *Sazhi-futsu no kami*. The translator follows Tanigaha Shisei in considering *sazhi* (Tanigaha Shisei in his “Perpetual Commentary" reads *sashi* without the *nigori*) to mean "thrust." For the rendering of *fiitsu* as “snap" in this and the two following names *conf.* Sect. VIII, Note 8. Moribe, however, in his *“Idzu no chi-waki* asserts that *futsu* is 'but an alternative form of *futo*, “broad," "thick," or "vast," as shown by the existence of the phrase *ma-futsu no kagami,* "a true vast mirror."

14 *Mika- futsu no kam*

15 *Futsu no mi tama.*

16 The name of this place, which is in the province or Yamato, seems to signify” above the rock." It is well known as the Pillow-Word for the syllables furu.

17 Properly what is known to Anglo-Orientals as a “godown.”

18 The sentence here placed between braces is proposed by Motowori to supplement an evident lacuna in the text.

19 Or,” luckily with morning eyes." Motowori remarks that, even in modern times, special joy is felt at a good discovery made in the morning.

1 The intention of the writer is here obscure, but he probably meant the following passage to form part of the dream, as is the case in the parallel passage of the “Chronicles." The inverted commas are therefore continued in the translation.

2 The characters 八鳥ナ † *(ya-ta-garasu),* with which the original of this expression is written, combined with the mention in the Preface of the “great crow," have determined the translator to adopt the interpretation favoured by Tanigaha Shisei, viz., a “crow eight feet [long].” Motowori

understands the expression to mean” an eight-headed crow.” For the arguments on both sides see the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan,” Vol. VIII, p. 16, and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60-62, and Vol. VIII, pp. 34—38. See also for the translation of a parallel passage Sect. XVI, Note 23.

† Vide— Wamiosho beginning 陽鳥.

3 Better known by the classical and modern form of the name, Yoshino. It seems to signify “good moor," Yoshino, which is in the province of Yamato, has from the earliest times been renowned for the beauty of its cherry-blossoms, and also figures largely in the early and medixval history. Motowori points out geographical difficulties in the Imperial progress as here detailed. In the” Chronicles," the verisimilitudes of the journey are better observed.

4 The character, here rendered “weir for want of a better word, is defined as signifying “a bamboo trap for catching fish."

* Fish-trap? —W.G.A.

5 The first Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant." The other tailed deity mentioned immediately below uses the same expression.

6 See Sect. I, Note 11 and Sect. XLIV, Note 22, for the considerations that make it better to translate thus than to render by “I am a Deity of the Land”

7 *I.e.,* "Offering-Bearing Child.” Here and elsewhere the word *ko,* "child,” as part of a proper name, should be understood as a kind of Honorific, employed probably in imitation of Chinese usage.

8 *Ada no U-kahi*. This must be understood to be a "gentile name" *(kabane)*. The etymology of Ada is uncertain. The practice of fishing with the help of cormorants, though now almost obsolete, seems to have been very common in Japan down to the Middle Ages.

9 Commenting on a similar passage a little further on, Motowori naively remarks:” It appears that in very ancient times such persons were

occasionally to be met with." It should be added that they are also mentioned in Chinese literature.

10 *I.e.,* "Well-Shine."

11 *Yeshinu no obito.* For Yeshinu see Note 3.

12 *I.e.,* disappearing among the mountains.

13 *Yeshinu no kuzu. Kuzu* is a contraction of *kuni-nushi* (properly 國主, with which characters the name is found written at the commencement of Sect. CVIII, though elsewhere the semi-phonetic rendering 國巢 or 國栖 is employed).

14 Etymology obscure.

15 *Uda no ugachi*. The meaning of the sentence is: "Hence the name of the Ugachi of Uda." *Ugachi* signifies "to penetrate." But the etymology seems a forced one, and Motowori is probably correct in identifying this "gentile name" with that of Ukashi, mentioned in the next sentence.

1 *Ye-ukashi* and *Oto-ukcashi.* Ukashi, as in the other compounds where it occurs, is probably in reality the name of a place. Its etymology is doubtful.

* Arrow.—W.G.A.

2 *I.e.,* Barb Point or Cape.

3 Or, hall.

4 The original has a respectful expression, which is elsewhere translated "waited on."

5 The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕, "servant."

6 Literally, "spread." This gin is supposed to have been of the Kind whose top closes down after the man or animal has fallen into it.

7 *I.e.,* "Grandee of the Way." This "gentile name" is said in the "Chronicles" to have been bestowed on this worthy in consideration of his services as a guide to his master the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's progress eastward.

8 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 12.

9 *I.e.,* perhaps "Great Round Eyes," supposed to be a descendant of His Augustness *Ama-tsu-kume* (see however Sect. XXXIV, Note 7 for a discussion of the etymology of *Kume*).

10 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 13.

11 The expression *i ga,* here rendered "thou," is, as Motowori remarks, "extremely hard to understand," and its interpretation as an insulting form of the Second Personal Pronoun is merely tentative. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

12 The insulting Second Personal Pronoun *ore* is hère employed.

13 Here again we have an expression written phonetically and of uncertain import. The translator has followed Motowori in tentatively rendering it according to the ideographic reading of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

14 Literally "struck by."

15 *I.e.,* Uda's Blood-Plain."

16 This Song is unusually difficult of comprehension: and the latest important commentator, Moribe, seems to show satisfactorily that all his predecessors, Motowori included, more or less misunderstood it. He had at least the advantage of coming after them, and the translator has followed his interpretation excepting with regard to *isukuhashi*, the Pillow-Word for "whale," which is here rendered "valiant," in accordance with the traditional view of its signification. The *soba* tree is identified by Motowori with the *kaname-mochi, "Photinia glabra"* The *saka-ki,* taken together with its Prefix *ichi* (here rendered "vigorous") is supposed in this place to signify, not the usual *Cleyera japonica,* but another species popularly known as the *bishiya-gaki,* whose English or Latin name the translator has failed to ascertain. It has a large berry, whereas the *soba* has a small one.—The following is the gist of Moribe's exposition of the general signification of the Song: "If for Ukashi's mean design to kill the "Emperor in a gin there be sought a term of comparison in the whales and woodcock forming the Imperial banquet, then in lieu of the woodcock that he expected to catch in the trap that he set, that "great whale, the Imperial host, has rushed up

against it. Again if, "as the fishermen's wives might do, your (*i.e.,* you soldiers') wives "ask you for fish, then let each of you give to his elder wife, of "whom he must have grown weary, only a small and bony portion, "and to his younger wife, who is doubtless his heart's favourite, a "good fleshy piece. So jocular a guess at the *penchants* of the young "warriors excites their ardour, which they give vent to in the "following shouts."

17 Some of the Japanese originals of this string of Interjections are of uncertain import. The translator has been guided by Moto-wori's conjectures, with which Moribe mostly agrees. The exclamations are supposed not to form part of the actual Song, but to proceed from the mouths of the Imperial soldiers. The words rendered "this is saying thou rascal" (such is apparently their meaning) and those rendered "this is laughing [him] to scorn" seem to be glosses as old as the text, which had already become obscure in the eighth century. They are not written altogether phonetically.*

* Omitted in the Nihongi—W.G.A.

18 Uda no Mohitori. This tribe or guild of “water-directors" was entrusted with the charge of the water, the ice, and the gruel used in the Imperial household. In later times the word Mohitori was corrupted to Mondo,

1 The etymology of this name is not clear, but readers will of course not confound it with that of the modern town of Ohosaka (Ōzaka). The character rendered "cave" is 室, which signifies simply "apartment" but the traditional reading is *muro,* which means a cave or pit dug in the earth. That the latter is the idea which the author wishes to convey becomes clear by comparison with a great number of passages in the older literature. For a more particular discussion of this subject see Mr. Milne's paper entitled “Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate,” published in Vol. VIII, Part I of these "Transactions," p. 76 *et seq.,* where a number of passages relative to the “earth-spiders" are likewise brought together.

2 *Tsuchi-gumo,*† generally written 土卿妹, but here semi-phoneti-cally 土雲. There is little doubt that by this well-known name, which has given

rise to much conjecture, a race of cave-dwelling savages or a class of cave-dwelling robbers is intended. Motowori supposes that their name had its origin in a comparison of their habits with those of the spider. But it were surely more rational to regard it as a corruption of *tsuchi-gomori "earth-hiders"* a designation as obvious as it is appropriate. The "Chronicles" describe one tribe of them as "being short in stature, and having long arms and legs like pigmies." For a further discussion of the subject see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XIX, pp. 30-31, the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VIII, p. 35, the *"Tou-ga"* Vol. XX, *s.v. kumo* and the "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II, pp. 55 *et seq.*

* Pit-dwelling. *Muro* can hardly be both "cave" and pits," the latter only, I think, is the correct word. I have seen at Oyama a pit about four feet deep and perhaps 12 feet square, roofed with thatch on a wooden framework, for the accommodation of pilgrims; also in Korea I have seen a smaller pit used as a dwelling, strong oil-paper taking the place of thatch, *vide* Satow and Hawes' Guide Book, 1884 edition, p. 207, where the ladder necessary to go down into such a pit is mentioned. The *muro* of gardeners at the present day are pits covered with a roof—W.G.A.

† But is not *kumo* really the same word, "the hider."? —W.G.A.

3 The original term is *takeru*（梟帥），which might also be rendered "bandit," or "robber chief."

4 The import of this poem is too clear to stand in need of explanation. The word *mitsumitsuahi,* here rendered "augustly powerful" in accordance with Moribe's view, is understood by Motowori to mean "perfectly full," in allusion to the fully or perfectly round eyes of the deity *Kume,* to whose name he supposes there to be a reference. Mabuchi, on the other hand, explains the word to signify "young and flourishing." But Moribe's view both of this and of the import of kume as "warriors" seems so greatly preferable to any other, that the translator has not hesitated to follow him (*conf.* Sect. XXXIV, Note 7). The "*children* of the warriors" are of course the warriors themselves. With regard to the signification of the two kinds of

swords here mentioned it has, however, been thought best to adhere to the usual view, and Note 10 to Sect. XXXIV should be referred to.

1 See Sect. XLIV, Notes 28 *et seq*. The apparent want of sequence in this portion of the narrative is not noticed by Motowori. We might endeavour to harmonize it by supposing that after having slain the “earth-spiders," etc., the Emperor Jim-mu turned round again to fight with the Prince of Tomi, who had harassed him in the earlier portion of his career as conqueror of Centrai Japan.

2 The wild chive growing among the millet is of course the enemy, the Prince of Tomi and his host; and the gist of the Song is that the Imperial troops will smite and destroy them root and branch. The commentators suppose the simile to have been taken from the fields of millet which Jim-mu's troops planted for their subsistence during the long drawn out campaigns of early days. —The "stem of its root," *so ne ga moto,* is a curious expression, which is perhaps best accounted for by Moribe's supposition that we have here a pun on *Sune ga moto,* "Sune's house," *Sane* being a natural abbreviation of *Nagasune,* the name of the Prince of Tomi (see Sect. XLIV, Note 28).

* *I.e.,* makes the mouth to tingle, cf. the use of the word *chindo* in speaking of a perfume.—W.G.A.

3 The sense of this Song is: "I shall not forget the bitterness of seeing my brother slain by Prince Nagasune's arrow (see the latter part of Sect. XLIV). The word *hazhikami,* here rendered ginger in accordance with Motowori’s dictum, is taken by Moribe to signify the xanthoxylon. "Resounding in the mouth" is a curious phrase here used to express bitterness.

4 Motowori thus paraphrases this Song: "As the innumerable "turbinidce [-shells] creep round the great rock,† so will I with the “myriads of the Imperial host encompass the Prince of Tomi on "every side, that there may be no outlet whereby he can escape.” The shell here mentioned is a kind of small conch.‡ Kumu-kaze no, lit. "of divine wind," is the Pillow-Word for Ise, and is of disputed derivation, as is the word Ise itself. The

curious reader should refer to Fujihara no Hikomaro's “Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" s.v. for the legend to which the name of Ise and its Pillow-Word were anciently traced and other conjectures on the point. The "great rock" here mentioned is not otherwise known.

† The "great rock" may well be the Moto-seki known to ancient legend. *Vide* Satow and Hawes' Handbook of Japan p. 176. Also Ise Meisho near end of Vol. 5.—W.G.A.

‡ Whelk? —W.G.A.

5 *TYe-shiki* and *Otoshiki.* Shiki is the name of a district in the province of Yamato.

6 This Song is a request for provisions made by the Emperor to some fishermen, who were working their cormorants along the mountain-streams. Moribe refers it to an incident, not in the war, but in the hunt, and interprets differently the word here, in accordance with its usual meaning and with older authority, rendered "as we fight." He attributes to it the sense of "as we put our shields together," and thinks that the poet may have compared to shields the trunks of the trees. According to this view, the Song should be viewed rather as a joke. It may be mentioned that there is good authority for considering the words *tata namete,* "placing shields in a row," as a Punning Preface or Pillow-Word for words commencing with *i* (*i* being the Root of *iru,* "to shoot"), so that Moribe's explanation need not involve any tautology. It seems however somewhat far-fetched.-The position of mount Inasa is uncertain, and the name itself of obscure derivation.

* Compare Nihongi Vol. III, p. 15 (p. 119 Aston's translation): "Then skirting the river, he proceeded westward, when there appeared a man who had made a fish-trap and was catching fish. On the Emperor enquiring of him, he answered and said: 'Thy servant is the son of Nihemotsu.' He it is who was the first ancestor of the clan of U-kahi cormorant keepers of Ada." Or above p. 166.—W.G.A.

1 The component parts of this name, rendered according to the analogy of that in Sect. XXXIII, Note 5, may be interpreted to signify "Plenty-

Swift." The genealogy of this god is not known.

2 *I.e.,* the swords, quivers, bows, and arrows mentioned in Sect. XXXIII, as having been brought down from Heaven by the divine attendants of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather.

3 *Tomi-ya-bime*. The syllable *ya** is inexplicable, but perhaps merely an Expletive.

* Cf. *Kagu-ya-hime* and others.—W.G.A.

4 The signification of this name is by no means clear but, rendered according to the characters with which it is written in the "Chronicles," it would mean “Savoury-True-Hand.”

5 *Mononobe no murazhi.* This and the two following are of course "gentile names."

6 *Hodzumi no omi*. Hodzumi, which is the name of a place, signifies “"rice-ears piled up."

7 *Une-be no omi.* The interpretation of this name is given according to Motowori, who explains that the members of this family,—in particular the female members,—waited at the Emperor's table, and wore veils over their necks when so employed. The name is commonly corrupted to *uneme.*†

† Seems very improbable.— W.G.A.

8 Better known as Kashihabara. The name signifies "oak-moor,” or rather "a place planted with oaks." This is usually, though without sufficient foundation, reckoned the earliest of the historical capitals of Japan. It is in Yamato.

9 Unebi is the name of a hill in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure.

10 *I.e.,* "ruled the Empire from his palace of Kashibara near Unebi. For the expression 天下 (literally "[all] beneath Heaven"), here rendered "Empire," see Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

1 Or, *“had* wedded" for the episode here related must be supposed to have taken place before Jim-mu and his army started eastward on their careér of conquest.

2 *Ahira-hime.* Ahira is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. Its etymology is quite obscure.

3 *Wobashi no kimi* Wobashi is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. The characters with which it is generally written mean “small bridge.”

4 Ata is a place in Satsuma.

5 Or, “there were two Deities.” The character employed is not that which itself actually signifies “deity," but is the Auxiliary Numeral for divine beings.

6 *I.e.,* perhaps “rudder-ears."

* *Vide* Early Japanese History, p. 57, where *Mimi* is an official title. *Kikoshimesu* meaning “to govern," why should not *mimi* be "governor"? *Oho-mimi*= Governor-General.—W.G.A.

7 Motowori adduces good reasons for believing this name to be but a slightly altered form of the preceding one, and for holding that in the original form of the tradition there was but one child mentioned.

8 See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 10-13, for the reasons for thus interpreting the characters 大后 in the text. Elsewhere it has generally, for the sake of convenience, been simply rendered "Empress."

9 *Seya-datara-hime.* This signification of the name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Seya* to be a place and *tatara (nigori*'edto *datara)* perhaps a plant written with the Chinese character 萃, said by Dr. Williams in his "Syllabic Dictionary" to be possibly a species of *Heterotropa.*

10 It is uncertain whether this name should, or should not, be regarded as properly that of a place. The meaning is equally obscure. The Chinese characters with which it is here written signify "ditch-eater," whereas those employed in the “Chronicles" signify “ditch-stake." Perhaps both transcriptions are simply phonetic.

11 A district in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name signifies “three islands."

12 *Miwa-no-oho-mono-mushi-no-kami.* This god is supposed to be identical with Oho-kuni-nushi (the "Master of the Great Land" see end of

Sect. XX and following Sects.) The rigidly literal rendering of the name as here given would be "the Deity Great Master of Things of Miwa" but the more intelligible version here given represents the Japanese author's meaning. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the story related in Sect. LXV.

13 *Hoto* significat partes privatas. Verbi *tatara* sensum supra *s.v. Seya-datara-hime* pertractavimus. *I* est vox expletiva. *Susugi* sensus est "trepide fugiens." Hime indicat regiam puellam.

14 *I.e.,* Princess Tatara-Startled-Good-Princess.

15 Etymology obscure.

16 An abbreviated form of the princess' alternative name.

17 The meaning of this Song is: "To which of the seven maidens now disporting themselves on the moor of Takasazhi shall I convey "the Emperor's command to come that he may make her his consort, "and sleep with his arms intertwined in hers? "—Motowori, overlooking the difference between *maku* which is the word in the text, and the *nigori*'ed form *magu* met with in some other passages, misinterprets the last clause thus: "Which shall be sought? "He makes the same mistake in his explanation of the next Song.

18 *I.e.,* "having a presentiment."

19 The translation of this Song follows Moribe's exegesis. Motowori interprets it thus: "Well, well! I will seek the lovely one standing in the very front.” As here rendered, the little poem is quite clear,—simply a declaration on the Emperor's part that he will make the girl standing in front his wife.

20 *Sakeru-to-me,* the original of the phrase here rendered "slit sharp eyes," is obscure and variously understood by the commentators. Moribe supposes the god to have worn a casque with a vizor, and the slit to have been made in the latter, and not actually in, or rather near, the eyes. It should however be observed that, though the Japanese word *saku* means "to slit,” the Chinese character in the text properly signifies "to tattoo (or brand) with ink," and is used with that meaning at the end of Sect. CXLIX,

and elsewhere in the ancient books. The present writer, after comparing various passages in which the term occurs, thinks that we may understand a tattooing of the outer corners of the eyes, which would give to the latter the appearance of being long and sharp, or, if the tattooing were very dark, of being actually slit.

21 The first lines of this short poem are so hopelessly unintelligble that the commentators are not even agreed as to how the syllables composing them should be divided into words. For the straits to which Motowori and his predecessors were driven in their efforts to obtain some plausible signification, see his Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 27-29, and for Moribe's totally divergent interpretation see *"Idzu no Koto-waki,"* Vol. II, pp. 30-31. It is not worth while to quote here such mere conjectures.—For the doubt attaching to the precise signification of the words rendered by "slit sharp eyes," see the preceding Note.

22 The signification of this Song is as plain as that of the preceding one is obscure.

23 *Q.d.,* as his wife.

24 This initial expression is meaningless.

25 Having become the Emperor's consort, this Honorific title is now prefixed for the fiist time to her name.

26 *Sawi-gaha. Sawi,* as we learn from the compiler's note below, was the name of a kind of lily,

27 Literally, “one sojourn."

28 The signification of this Song is: “Now indeed thou comest “to share the majesty of the palace. But the beginning of our "intimacy was on that night when I came to thy humble dwelling "on the reed-grown moor where, when we slept together, we had to "pile mat upon mat to keep out the damp." -The translator has followed Moribe's interpretation throughout. Motowori takes in the sense of ugly "the word here rendered damp,” and he and all previous commentators give a different explanation of the words *iyasaya shikite,* here translated by “spreading layer upon layer." They take them to mean” spreading more and more cleanlily."

29 This name may signify "prince eight-wells." But the interpretation of *ya wi* as "eight wells" in this and the following name is doubtful.

30 This name may signify "divine-eight-wells-ears." But see preceding Note.

31 This name may signify "divine-lagoon-river-ears." But perhaps Nana-kaha is the name of a place.

32 The character in the next is not actually "Deity," but 注, *hashira,* the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities, which is constantly throughout these "Records used in speaking of members of the Imperial family.

1 *I.e.,* the Emperor Jim-mu. His decease is not otherwise specially mentioned but a formula at the end of the Section, which is repeated *mutatis mutandis* in the case of each Emperor, tells us the number of years he lived or reigned, and the place of his sepulture. Throughout these "Records," much matter is often placed in the reign of a Monarch already deceased, and which, according to our ideas, would more naturally be narrated under the heading of his successor.

* The Japanese is *sono* which looks as if it was Jim-mu Tenno's elder brother who was intended. Perhaps 兄 is a mistake for 子. — W.G.A.

2 Who was the deceased Emperor's son by Princess Ahira (see Sect. LI, Note 6), and consequently step-son to the Empress and half-brother to her three sons.

3 This is the meaning of the Chinese character in the text. Motowori tries to save the Empress-Dowager's reputation for conjugal fidelity by rendering it in his *kana* reading by a word signifying "raped"†

† *Tawakuru* is more comprehensive than "raped" it would also include "seduced," "had illicit intercourse with." Vol. XXX, p. 36, verse last line *"Tawake wa aumajiki hito ni au nari."* But Motowori does speak of "rape in the Commentary. —W.G.A.

4 See Sect. XXII, Note 4.

5 The import of this metaphorical poem, taken in its context, is too clear to need much comment. The rising of the clouds and the rustling of

the leaves may be supposed to represent the murderer's preparations, and the blowing of the wind his actual onslaught.

6 The meaning of this Song is: “The would-be murderer remains quiet during the day-time like the clouds hanging to the mountain-side but at night he will burst upon you like the storm-wind. Already I hear the leaves begin to rustle already he is gathering his men together.

7 The word *take* prefixed to the name of this prince signifies "brave."

8 *I.e.,* either "superior to thee," or as Motowori understands the phrase, "*the* superior of all," *scil*. the Emperor. *

* I prefer Motowori's view. In Korea the single character 上상 is constantly used for the king.-W.G.A

9 Though the elder brother, he here uses the humble character 僕, "servant," to show his respect and deference.

10 Literally, "a person who shuns," *q.d.* who shuns all pollution, and avoids certain food at certain seasons. *Conf.* the "gentile name" *Imi-be* commented on in Sect. XXXIII, Note 32.

1 *Mamuta no murazhi.* Mamuta is said to have been a place in the province of Kahachi. The etymology of the name is obscure.

2 *Teshima no murazhi.* Teshima is said to have been a place in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name may signify "luxuriant island."

3 *Oho no omi.* Oho is said to have been a place in the province of Yamato. The name is mostly written with characters signifying "vast" or numerous."

4 *Chihisako-be no murazhi.* Chihisako is said to have been a place in the province of Etchiu. But the name of this family has also been traced to an incident mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" as having occurred in the reign of the Emperor Yu-riyaku, when, owing to a verbal error, a tax was collected in children instead of in cocoons. The monarch, amused at the mistake, is said to have granted to the tax-collector the "gentile name" of *Chihisa-ko, i.e.,* "Little Child."

5 *Sakahi-be no murazhi. Sakahi* signifies "boundary," and this "gentile name" is traced to the fact, mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of

Family Names," that the founder of the family distinguished himself by setting up boundary-marks on the frontiers of different provinces in the reign of the Emperor In-giyō (first half of the fifth century of the Christian era.)

6 *Hi no kimi.* Hi（肥）is the name of a province (now two provinces) in the south-western island of Tsukushi. It is first mentioned in Sect. V, Note 17.

7 *Ohokida no Kimi.* Ohokida is the name of a district in the province of Toyo.

8 *Aso no kimi.* Aso is the name of a district in Higo, containing a celebrated volcano.

9 *Tsukushi no miyake no mxirazhi.*

10 *Sazaki-be no omi.* This name is connected by the compiler of the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" with that of the Emperor Nin-toku (Oho-sazaki no Mikoto), for which see Sect. CIV, Note 18.

11 *Sazaki-be no miyatsuko.*

12 *Wo-hatsuse no miyatsuko.* This name is connected with that of the Emperor Mu-retsu, whose name was Wo-Hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki.

13 *Tsue no atahe.* Tsuke is the name of a place in Yamato.

14 *Iyo no kuni no miyaisuko.* For the province of Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4.

15 *Shinanu no kuni no miyatsuko.* For the province of *Shinanu (Shinano)* see Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

16 *Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko.* A popular derivation of *Michinoku* is from *michi no kuni,* "the country of the road;" but a more likely one, sanctioned by Motowori, is from *michi no oku,* the furthest or most distant part of the road" (For the word "road," as here used, *conf.* Sect, LXV, Note 2). It was for many centuries, and is still in poetry, a vague name for the entire north of Japan. *Ihaki,* sometimes considered a province, and at others only ranking as a district, formed its south-eastern portion along the Pacific sea-board. The name seems to signify" rock (or hard)-castle."

17 *Hitachi no Naka no kuni no miyatsuko.* Hitachi is a province to the south of Ihaki. Motowori quotes more than one traditional derivation of its name, the best of which, taken from the old Topography of the province, is *hita-michi,* "plain road," referring to the level nature of that part of the country. *Naka* is the name of a district. The word signifies “middle,” and may have arisen from the fact of the district bearing it being situated between two considerable rivers.

18 *Nagasa no kuni no miyatmko. Nagasa* is a district in that portion of the old province of Kadzusa which was in very early historical times cut off to form the little province of Aha. The import of the name is not clear.

19 *Ise no Funaki no atahe.* For Ise see Sect. XLIX, Note 4. Of Funaki nothing is known. The characters with which the name is written signify “boat-tree."

20 *Ohari no Niha no omi.* Wohari is one of the centi al provinces of Japan. The name is of uncertain origin. Niha is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

21 *Shimada no omi.* shimada is the name of a district in Wohari, and signifies “island rice-fields."

1 The author's confused style must not here mislead the student. It is *after* the decease of the Emperor Jim-mu (Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko), who attains to the age of a hundred and thirty-seven, that the Emperor Suwi-zei (Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi) begins to rule.

2 For *Unebi* see Sect. LI, Note 9. *Kashi* signifies “oak.” The word rendered "spur" is *wo.*

1 In the province of Yamato. *Taka-woka* signifies "high mound." *Kadzura-ki* means “pueraria castle,” a name accounted for by a legend in the "Chronicles," which relates how an earth-spider was caught in this place by means of a net made of pueraria tendrils. Kadzuraki was the name, not only of a town, but of a district.

2 *I.e.,* the Princess of Kahamata, a place in Kahachi. The name signifies “river fork." For the omission in this and a few other places of the words

"daughter of," etc., which might be expected instead of "ancestress," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 4.

3 *Shiki no agata-nushi.* Shiki is in Yamato. The signification of the name seems to be "stone castle."

4 *Shiki-tsu-hiko* signifies "Prince of Shiki." Motowori believes Tamade to be in like manner the name of a place, while he interprets *mi* as the common abbreviation of the Honorific(?) *mimi.*

5 A place in Yamato. Motowori derives the name from *tsuki* (modern toki), the "ibis," and *ta,* "rice-field."

1 In Kahachi: *uki-ana* signifies "floating hole." *Kata-shiha* is said to signify "hard rock" (*kata-iha*) but this seems doubtful, and the reading given by the characters in the text is not *Kata-shiha,* but *Kata-shiho.*

2 *I.e.,* Princess of Akuto, or Akuta, — for the latter form of the name is more common. There exists a place thus called in Settsu. The derivation of the word is obscure.

3 *Agata-nushi Haye.* The reading of this name is obscure, and its derivation uncertain.

4 *Irone* signifies “elder brother” or “elder sister." The rest of the compound is obscure.

5 The first three elements of the compound signify “Great Y amato Prince." The last two are obscure, but Motowori identifies *suki* with *shiki* (see Note 3 to preceding Sect.).

6 *I.e.,* "Prince of Shiki" so called, it is supposed, with reference to the place of residence of his grandfather.

7 The character thus translated is 王, of which "King” is the original and proper signification. To judge by some other passages in the ancient histories, it had not yet in the 8th century altogether paled to the lesser meaning of “prince,” which has belonged to it in later times when denoting Japanese personages. It is still, as far as possible, used to denote the rulers of all countries excepting Japan, the zealous admirers of the native literature and institutions even designating by it the Emperor of China, who, one would have thought, had a special right to the more Honorific title of

Emperor, which his own subjects were the first to invent. On the whole, therefore, “King" seems to be the most appropriate rendering. The characters 女王 are, by analogy, rendered “Queen."

8 The text has "descendant;" but it must here be corrupt or at least faulty, as may be seen by the omission of the proper name.

9 *Iga no Suchi no inaici.* The etymology of *I*ga and that of *Suchi* are alike obscure. See however Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 13, for the traditional derivation of the former. It is the name of a small province, which in very ancient times formed part of the province of Ise.

10 *Nabari no inaki.* Nabari is in Iga. The name signifies "hiding."

11 *Minu no inaki.* Minu, not to be confounded with the province of the same name, is a place in Iga. The name probably signifies "three moors."

12 *I.e.,* the other child.

13 Motowori reads *Chichitsumi.* In any case, the name remains obscure.

14 For Ahaji see Sect. VI’ Note 3. *Mi-wi* signifies "august well," and the name is traced to the custom of bringing water from the Island of Ahaji for use in the Imperial Palace, as mentioned in Sect. CXXIX of the present work, and elsewhere in the early literature.

15 *Itone* means "elder sister." *Hahe* is of uncertain import, it being written with completely different characters in the two histories.

16 *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto. Oho - yamato - kuni* signifies "the land of Great Yamato," and *hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." Motowori suggests that are, which is an obscure word, may signify "pure."

17 *Irodo* signifies "younger sister." For *hahe conf.* Note 15.

18 *Scil.* in interiori parte montis, *e.g.* in spelunca. Motowori explains the use of the term by reference to such words as foot where the name of a portion of the human body is applied to a mountain. In Japanese there are others besides *ashi* ("foot"), such as *itadaki, hara,* and *koshi.*

* Vagina, womb, English good enough.—W.G.A.

1 Karu, which still remains as a village in the province of Yamato, was famous down to the early historical days of Japan, being often mentioned

by the poets. The derivation of the name is quite uncertain. *Sakahi-wo* probably signifies boundary mound."

2 *Futo-ma-waka-hime-no-mikoto,* The compound signifies" vast, true, and young princess."

3 *Ihi-bi-hime-no-mikoto.* The name seems to signify "rice-sun-princess."

4 See Sect. LV, Note 3.

5 The import of this name is obscure.

6 *I.e.,* perhaps "rudder prince."

7 *Chinu no wake.* For Chinu see Sect. XLIV, Notes 35 and 36.

8 *Tajima no Take no wake.* Motowori tells us that no mention of any place called Take in the province of Tajima is to be found in any other book.

9 *Ashiwi no inaki.* The same remark applies to this name as to the last. The two "gentile names" here mentioned are equally unknown except from this passage.

10 *Unebi-yama no Manago-dani.* It is in Yamato, and is now called *Masago.* The name signifies "a sandy place, or desert."

1 In Yamato. The name of Waki-no-kami is of uncertain derivation. In the "Chronicles" the Emperor Kō-shō is said to have "dwelt at the palace of Ikegokoro at Waki-no-kami." For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 *Yoso-taho-bime-no-mikoto.* Here witten phonetically, this name appears in the "Chronicles" written with characters according to which the signification of "perfectly ornamented princess" should be attributed to it.

3 The signification of this name is obscure, but it seems to be connected in some way with that of the other sister.

4 *Wohari no murazhi.*

5 *I.e.,* "heavenly great perfect prince."

6 *I.e.,* "great Yamato perfect prince, country great man." This name appears in an abbreviated form in the next sentence.

7 *Kasuga no omi.* Kasuga is a celebrated place in the province of Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin, though the "Catalogue of Family Names" gives a story referring it to *Kasu-gaki*（糟垣）, *i.e.,* "lees fence."

The curious combination of characters with which Kasuga is written, —春日, —may be traced to the Pillow-Word *haru hi no*（春日之）which was not unnaturally prefixed to a name which so much resembled the Verb *kasumu,* "to be misty."

8 *Ohoyake no omi.* Ohoyake is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "great granary."

9 *Ahata no omi.* Ahata is a place in Yamashiro. The name signifies "millet-field."

10 *Wonu no omi.* Wonu is a place in Afumi. The name signifies "little moor."

11 *Kakinomoto-no-omi. Kaki-no-moto* signifies "at the bottom of the persimmon-tree," and the name is said by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to have been granted to this family in allusion to a persimmon-tree which grew near their gate. This name was rendered illustrious in the eighth century by the poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro (see the present writer's" Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 217 *et seq.).*

12 *Ichihiwi no omi.* Ichihiwi is in Yamato. The name may signify "oak-well."

13 *Ohosaka no omi.* Ohosaka is a place in Bingo. The name signifies "great hill, or pass."

14 *Ana no omi.* Ana is a department in Bingo. The name signifies "hole" or "cave."

15 *Taki no omi.* Taki is a district in Tamba. The name, which is a common one in Japan, means "waterfall"

16 *Haguri no omi.* Haguri is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

17 *Chita no omi.* Chita is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

18 *Muza no omi.* Muza is a district in Kadzusa. The name seems to be a corruption of the Chinese words 武射, "warlike archer."

19 *Tsunuyama no omi.* The family, the place, and the signification of the name are alike obscure.

20 *Ise no Ihitaka no kimi.* Ihitaka is the name of a district, and is traced to the signification of “abundant rice."

21 *Ichishi no kimi.* Ichishi is a district in Ise. The signification of the name is obscure.

22 *Chika -tsu- A fami no kuni-no-miyatsuko.* For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect, XXIX, Note 20.

23 In Yamato. The signification of the name is obscure.

1 In Yamato. *Muro* signifies "cave" or “pit." *Aki-dzu-shima,* "the Island of the Dragon-Fly," is frequently used as an alternative name of Japan (see Sect. V, Note 26). See also the Emperor Yū-riyaku's song given in Sect. CLVI.

2 *Oshika-hime-no-mikoto.* The name *Oshika,* which is obscure, appears in the "Chronicles" under the form of *Oshi,* which has generally been interpreted by Motowori (whom the translator follows) as a corruption of *ohoshi,* "great." This version of the name makes it harmonize with that of the Princess's father.

3 See Sect. LX, Note 11.

4 This name seems to signify "Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel."

5 *Tarmde no woka.* In Yamato. For this name see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38.

1 In Yamato. *Iho-do* signifies "hut door." *Kuru-da* (*Karo-da* would be the more natural reading) signifies “black rice-field."

2 *Kuhasni-hime-no-mikoto.* The name signifies "beautiful princess."

3 This seems to have been originally not a personal name, but the name of a place in Wohari.

4 *Tohochi no agata-nushi.* Tohochi is a district in Yamato. The name seems to signify "ten marts."

5 This name signifies "great Yamato's lord prince who rules the land."

6 *Kasuga-no-chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime.* This name probably signifies "the thousand-fold brilliant truly young princess of Kasuga." For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7.

7 *Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto, i.e.,* probably "thousand-fold brilliant princess."

8 *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto.* See Sect. LVI, Note 16.

9 Motowori assigns to this name the signification of "Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious princess," and has a very long note on the subject in Vol. XXI, p. 42, *et. seq.*

10 The signification of this name is not clear.

11 *I.e.,* "prince valorously advancing prince." The alternative name signifies "Great Prince of Kibi," and both refer to his conquest of the province of Kibi as related a little further on in this Section. Motowori gives good reasons for supposing that *Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi, i.e.,* "He Who Completely Advances in Great Kibi," is but another form of the same name, erroneously inserted in the account of the preceding reign (see Sect. LIX, Note 3).

12 *I.e.,* perhaps "Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental princess." The name resembles that of the elder sister.

13 For this and the next following names see Sect. LVI, Notes 17 and 16 respectively.

14 This name is obscure, and differs from that given in the parallel passage of the “Chronicles," where we read Sashima. The latter sounds more authentic.

15 *I.e.,* "the young prince the brave prince of Kibi." This name refers to his conquest of Kibi, as related a few lines further on.

16 *I.e.,* earthenware jars of a moderate size, probably intended to hold the rice-liquor offered to the gods. Being easily broken, they were planted in the ground up to a certain height.*

* The ancient jars had in very many cases rounded bottoms, so that to make them stand upright it would be necessary to plant them in the ground. —W.G.A.

17 The probable meaning of this peculiar expression is” a bend in the river."

18 Written with the character, 氷, “ice,” which may however be only phonetic. No river of this name is anywhere else mentioned as flowing through the province of Harima, and one is tempted to suppose that there is some confusion with the celebrated river Hi, which figures so frequently in the Idzumo cycle of legends.

19 One of the central provinces of Japan, on the northern shores of the Inland Sea. Some derive the name from hagi-hara, “lespedeza moor,” while others connect it with hari, a “needle.” Neither etymology has much to recommend it.

20 *I.e.,* "their point of departure." It must also be remembered that “road" came to have the sense of “circuit” or "province," so that we might translate this phrase by "the commencement of the circuit." Conf. such dénominations as Koshi no michi no kuchi, Koshi no michi no naka, and Koshi no michi no shin for what are in modern parlance the provinces of Echizen, Etchiū and Echigo. The region nearest to the capital was called the mouth, while equally graphic designations were bestowed on the more remote districts. It was, as we learn by comparison with a passage in the history of the reign of the Emperor Sū-jin (see Sect. LXVI, Note 13), customary thus to plant earthenware jars in the earth at the point whence an army started on an expedition, this being considered a means of invoking upon it the blessing of the gods. Not only so, but down to the Middle Ages travellers in general were in the habit of worshipping at the shrine of the god of roads. For “road” in the sense of "circuit," “province,” or “administrative division” see Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

21 *Kibi no kamu-tsu-michi no omi. Kamu-tsu-michi, i.e.*, “the Upper Road” or “Circuit," was the ancient name of the province of Bizen (or of a portion of it), which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

22 *Kibi no shimo-tsu-michi no omi. Shimo-tmi-michi* means “the lower road,” and was the ancient name of a portion of the province of Bitchiū, which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

23 *Kasa no omi, i.e.*, “Grandees of the Hat,” a “gentile name” which is referred by the compiler of the “Catalogue of Family Names” to an incident

in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, which he however by no means clearly relates (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, pp. 57-58).

24 *Harima no Uzhika no omi*. Uzhika is the name of a place. It is written with characters signifying "cow and deer," but the true derivation is quite uncertain.

25 *Koshi no Tonami no omi*. Tonami is a district in Etchiū. The signification of the name is uncertain.

26 Toyo-kuni no Kunisaki no omi. Kunisaki is a district in Bungo. The name seems to signify "land's end."

27 *Ihobara no kimi*. Ihobara is a district in Suruga. The signification of the name is obscure.

28 *Tmnuga no ama no atahe*. For Tsunuga see Sect. CI, Notes 3 and 12. Perhaps the name should rather be rendered "the Suzerains of Ama in Tsunuga," as Ama may, after all, as Motowori suggests, be here the name of a place.

29 In the province ot Yamato. Kata-woka signifies "side-mound" or "incomplete mound." *Uma-saka* signifies "horse-hill" or "horse-pass." Umasaka should perhaps be understood as the particular designation of a portion of the ascent of Katawoka, which is mentioned in the "Chronicles" as the name of a mountain.

1 In Yamato. For Kuru see Sect. LVI I, Note 1. *Sakahi -bara* signifies "boundary moor."

2 *I.e.,* perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming female."

3 *I.e.,* perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming male."

4 *Hodzumi no omi*. There are several places called Hodzumi in various provinces. The name appears to signify piling up rice-ears."

5 *I.e.,* "great prince."

6 *I.e.,* little prince-fierce-boar-heart," the boar being known for its savage desposition.

7 Excluding the last member of the compound, this name signifies "young-Yamato-lord-prince-great." Bibi is identified by Motowoii with the word *mimi*, which so often recurs in proper names (see Sect. XIII, Note 18).

8 Motowori explains this name in the sense of "brilliant-alarming-female," but some doubt must attach to it.

9 *I.e.,* perhaps, “prince vast-great-truth.”

10 *Hani-yasu-bime*, This name has already been met with in Sect. VII, Note 3. Motowori however supposes that in this place Haniyasu should be considered to be the name of a place in Yamato.

11 I.e., a man called “green jewel” who lived in the province of Kafuchi.

12 Take signifies” brave." For the rest of the name see Note 10.

13 Take signifies "brave.” Wake is either "young” or "lord." For Nuna-kaha see Sect. LI, Note 31.

14 *Abe no om*. There are several places called Abe, and it is doubtful to which of them the text here refers.

15 The signification of *inakoshi* seems to be “rice-chariot." *Hiko* is "prince," and *wake* either “young” or “lord."

16 *Kashihade no omi*. This name is traditionally referred to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Kei-kō, who is said to have bestowed it on one of his attendants who served up to him a particularly savoury dish of shell-fish. “Butlers” (perhaps the word might also be rendered “cooks”) have been mentioned towards the end of Sect. XXXII, and again in the legend of Jim-mu's slaughter of the "earth-spiders” related in Sect. XLVIII.

17 *Kadzuraki-no-takachina-bime-no-mikoto*. The signification of *Takachina* is obscure.

18 By aphaeresis for *Oho-inabi*, the form of the name given in the “Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages,” itself perhaps standing by apocope for *Oho-ina-biko*, which would signify "great rice-prince.”

19 *Wohari no murazhi*.

20 *Umashi Uchi no sukune. Umashi* signifies “sweet,” and *Uchi* is the name of a place in Yamashiro.

21 *Yamashiro no Uchi no omi*.

22 This name may be rendered literally "the shade beneath the mountains '’; but the signification is “the glow from the autumn leaves on

the mountain-side.”

23 *I.e.,* probably “wonderful (or precious) prince."

24 *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko no oya*.

25 *Take- Uchi no sukune. Take* signifies “brave," and *Uchi* is the name of a district in Yamato. The common, but erroneous, reading of this name is *Take no Uchi no sukwie*. This celebrated personage, who may be styled the Methuselah of Japan, is said to have lived during the reigns of five Emperors, who themselves averaged over a hundred years of life each. His own age is variously given as 25b, 260, etc., up to 360 years.

26 *Hata no Yashiro no sukune. Hata* and *Yashiro* are supposed by Motowori to be the names of places in Yamato. *Yashiro* signifies” shrine." *Hata* is of uncertain derivation.

27 *Hata no omi*.

28 *Hayashi no omi*. Hayashi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and signifies "forest."

29 *Hami no omi*. There is a Hami in Afumi and another in Tamba. The signification of the name is obscure.

30 *Hoshikaha no omi*. Hoshikaha is a placè in Yamato. The name signifies "star river."

31 *Afumi no omi*. For Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

32 *Hatsuse-be no Kimi*. For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8.

33 *Kose no Wo-kara no sukune*, Kose is the name of a place in Yamato. The meaning of Wo-kara is obscure.

34 *Kose no omi*,

35 *Sazakibe no omi*. See Sect. LIII, Note 10.

36 *Kumbe no omi*.

37 *Soga no Ishikaha no sukune*. Soga is a place in Yamato, and Ishikaha a district in Kahachi. In cases like this it must generally be presumed that the family had two seats, or was divided into two branches residing in different places. Sometimes, however, the original seat and that to which the family afterwards removed are meant to be indicated.

38 *Soga no omi*. The signification of Soga is obscure.

39 *Kahanobe no omi*. Kahanobe is the name of a district in Settsu, and signifies "river-bank."

40 *Tanaka no omi*. Tanaka is the name of a place in Yamato, and signifies “among the rice-fields."

41 *Takamuko no omi*. Takamuko seems to be the name of a place in Echizen. Its signification is uncertain.

42 *Woharida no omi*. Woharida is a place in Yamato. The name seems to mean” little ploughed field.”

43 *Sakurawi no omi*. Sakurawi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and signifies "cherry-tree well."

44 Kishida no omi. Kishida is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is not clear.

45 *Heguri no Tsuku no sukune*. Heguri is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain signification. *Tsuku* (modern *dzaku*), “owl," is a name which is referred to a tradition that will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

46 *Heguri no omi*.

47 *Sawara no omi* Sawara was perhaps a district in Chikuzen. The signification of the name is obscure.

48 *Uma-mi-kuhi no murazhi*. The literal significance of the characters with which *Uma-mi-kuhi* is written is “horse august post.” But whether this name had any relation to horses, or whether it should simply be regarded as the name of a place is quite uncertain.

49 *Ki no Tsunu no sukune*. Ki is the name of a province, and Tsunu that of a district in another province, the province of Suhau (Suwō). *Conf.* Note 37.

50 *Ki no omi*

51 *Tsunu no omi*.

52 *Sakamoto no omi*. Sakamoto is the name of a place in Idzumi, and signifies” basè of the hill."

53 *Kume no Ma-ito-hime. Kume* may be, as Motowori says, the name of a place. But see Sect. XXXIV, Note 7. In any case the place, if it existed,

was probably called after some person of the name of Kume. The signification of Ma-ito is obscure.

54 *Nu-no-iro-hime*. The meaning of this name is obscure.

55 Kadzuraki is the already frequently mentioned name of a district in Yamato, and Nagaye is likewise the name of a place, —whether in Yamato or in Kahachi is not certain. It signifies "long inlet.” Motowori thinks that the syllable to in this place is the same as the *so* of *kuma-so,* and signifies "valiant” or “fierce."

56 *Tamade no omi*. There is a Tamade in Yamato and another in in Kahachi. The signification of the name is uncertain.

57 *Ikuha ito omi*. The “Chronicles of Japan” tell us that the original form of this name *Ikuha* was *uki-ha, i.e.,* "floating leaf," and give a story to account for it. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, pp. 36-37, where the reason traditionally given to explain the fact of the name Ikuha being written with the character 的 is also mentioned at length.

58 *Ikuye no omi*. Ikuye must have been the name of a place; but nothing is known or it.

59 *Agina no omi*. The same observation applies to this as to the preceding name.

60 *Waku-go no sukune. Waku-go* signifies “young child or "youth,” an Honorific designation.

61 *Yenuma no omi*. Yenuma is the name of a district in Kaga, and signifies. "inlet-lagoon."

62 In Yamato. This pool or lake* is often mentioned in the poems of the “Collection of a Myriad Leaves” and was celebrated for its lotus-flowers. We hear of it in the “Chronicles of Japan," as having been dug in the reign of the Emperor Ō-Jin, but it was probably, like many others, a natural pool or marsh, which was afterwards improved. The name signifies “sabre."

* Most of the old misasagi are surrounded by an artificial lake.

1 For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7. Izakaha is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is uncertain.

2 *Takanu-hime*. Takanu is the name of a district in Tango, and signifies" bamboo moor."

3 The signification of this name is quite obscure

4 *Taniha no oho-agata-nushi. Taniha* (modern *Tamba*) is the name of a province (formerly including the province of Tango) in central Japan. It is supposed to mean "the place of rice-fields," the rice offered at the shrine of the Sun-Goddess in Ise being brought thence.

5 *Hiko* signifies "prince." The other syllables of the name are obscure.

6 See Sect, LXI, Note 8.

7 Biko (*hiko*) signifies "prince." The other elements of this compound are obscure.

8 One is tempted to render this name by Princess of Mima. But there is no authority for regarding Mima either in this or in the preceding personal name as originally the name of a place.

9 Motowori has no explanation to offer of the syllables Oke-tsu. Hime means "princess."

10 *Hiko* means "prince" and *kuni* means "country."

11 *Wani no omi. Wani* is a place in Yamato, and there is a pass or hill of that name (*Wani-zaka*). The only signification belonging to the word *wani* is "crocodile."

12 *Hiko-imasu no miko*. Signification obscure.

13 Or "the Princess of Washi" or "the Eagle Princess." In Japanese *Washi-hime*.

14 *Kadzaraki* is the name of a district in Yamato, and Motowori believes Tarumi to be the name of a place in Settsu.*

* There is a Tarumi near Akashi.—W.G.A.

15 *Take-toyo-hadzura-wake no miko*. The first two elements of the compound signify respectively "brave" and "luxuriant," while the last probably means "lord." The signification of hadzura is obscure.

16 *Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne no miko*. Tsutsuki being the name of a district in Yamashiro, the whole compound signifies "prince great sufficing lord of Tsutsuki" or "prince sufficing lord of great Tsutsuki."

17 *Sanugi-tari-ne no miko, i.e.*, "prince sufficing lord of Sanugi," (Sanuki,—see Sect. V, Note 6).

18 *Yamashiro no Yena tsu Hime*. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Yena that of a place in Settsu. The signification of the latter name is obscure.

19 Motowori believes *Karibata* to be the name of a place, and tobe (*to-me*) to signify “old woman,” as in the name *I-shi-lco-ri-do-me*, whieh latter is however extremely obscure (see Sect. XVI, Note 12).

20 *Oho-mata no miko*. The signification of this name and of the parallel name of the younger brother is obscure.

21 *Wo-mata no miko*.

22 *Shibumi no Sukune no miko*. Shibumi is probably the name of a place, there being a Shibumi in Ise.

23 *Saho* is the name of a well-known place in Yamato, and Kurami is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Wakasa. Both names are obscure. Oho means “great," and*tome,* according to Motowori, means “old woman” or simply “female.” Conf. Note 19.

24 Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome. Motowori supposes this to be the name, not of the father, but the mother of the princess just mentioned. *Take* signifies “brave," and *kuni* "land." The meaning of *katsu* is obscure.

25 *Soho-biko no miko, i.e.*, "prince of Saho."

26 *Wo-zaho no miko, i.e.* “little (*q.d.* 'younger’) prince of Saho."

27 *I.e.*, the princess of Saho.

28 It is uncertain whether we should understand this name to signify “princess Sahaji” or “the princess of Sahaji,” but the latter seems the more probable.

29 I.e., the Emperor Sui-nin.

30 Muro-biko no miko. Muro-biko signifies “Prince of Muro,” Muro being a place in Yamato. It signifies “dwelling” and specifically cave."

31 *i.e.*, "flourishing and good princess cf Okinaga,” the latter being the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). Its signification is not clear.

32 *Ame no Mikage no kami*. The signification of Mikage is obscure, as is also the connection between this deity and the deacons of Mikami.

33 The signification of the name Mikami is obscure. The word rendered "deacon, is *hafuri,* the name of an inferior class of Shintō priests. See for a discussion of the etymology of the word, etc., Mr. Satow's remarks on p. 112 of Vol. VII, Pt. II, of these Transactions. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

34 *Taniha no hiko Tatasu-michi-no-ushi no miko.* The signification of *Tatasu* is obscure, but we may accept it as the personal name of the worthy here mentioned. *Michi-no-ushi*. means "master of the road," *i.e*., "lord of the province."

35 *Midzuho no ma-waka no miko, i.e.,* "the True Young King of Midzuho," Midzuho being the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "fresh young rice-ears."

36 *Kamu-oho-ne no miko, i.e.,* probably, "prince divine great lord."

37 *Yatsuri-iri-boko no miko.*Yatsuri is the name of a village in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. The signification of *iri* is obscure.

38 *I-ho* signifies "five hundred" and *yori* probably signifies "good." The compound may therefore be taken to mean u manifoldly excellent princess of Midzuho."

39 *I.e.,* probably "the Princess Miwi" (*Mi-wi*-dera in Afumi). *Mi-wi* signifies "three wells."

40 This name is parallel to that which has been commented on in Note 9 to this Section.

41 *Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko.* All the elements of this compound have already appeared in this Section.

42 *Hiko-om no miko.* The signification of os'u is obscure.

43 *Iri-ne nōmiko.* Signincation obscure.

44 *Ake-tatsu no miko.* See Sect. LXXII, Note 20.

45 *Unakami no miko.* See Sect. LXXII, Note 19.

46 *Ise no Homuji-be no kimi.* See the mention of the establishment of this Clan at the end of Sect. LXXII.

47 *Ise no Sana no miyaisuko.* The etymology of Sana is obscure.

48 *Himeda no kimi.* Himeda is a placé in Afumi. The signification of the name is obscure.

49 *Tagima no Magari no kimi.* Tagima is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. Magari is the name of a place, and means “crook" or “bend."

50 *Sasa no kimi.* Sasa is the name of a place in Iga, and is of uncertain signification.

51 *Kusaka-be no murazhi.*

52 *Kahi no kuni no miyatsuko.* For Kahi see Sect. LXXXVI, Note 1,

53 *Kadzanu no wake.* Kadzunu is the name of a district in Yama-shiro, and signifies "pueraria moor."

54 *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kami no wake.* Kanu is a village in Afumi. The name is written with characters signifying “mosquito moor.”

55 *Wakasa no Mimi no wake.* Mimi is the name of a village, and is of uncertain signification.

56 *Taniha no Kahakami no Masu no iratsume.* Masu is of uncertain derivation. Kahakami is the name of a village, now comprised in the province of Tango. It signifies “river-head."

57 *Hibasu-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

58 *Matomi-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

59 *I.e.,* "the younger princess."

60 This name, which is written 朝廷別王，is curious, and Motowori has no suggestion to make touching its interpretation.

61 *Mikaha no Ho no wake.* Ho is the name of a district, and is of obscure derivation. Mikaha is the name of a maritime province. It signifies” three rivers," with reference to two large rivers which flow through it and to another which forms the boundary between it and the province of Wohari.

62 *Chika-tsu-Afwni no Yasu no atahe.* Yasu is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin

63 *Minu no kuni no [miyatsuko].* The word *miyatsuko,* which is not in the text, is supplied in Motowori's *kana* reading.

64 *Motosa no kuni no miyatsuko.* Motosu is the name of a district in Mino, and seems to signify "original dwelling-place."

65 *Nagahata-be no murazhi.* Nagahata is the name of a place in Hitachi, and seems to signify "long loom."

66 *Mone no Ajisaha-bime.* This name is particularly obscure, and Mone probably corrupt.

* By the same mother.

67 *Kani-me-ikadzuchi no miko.* Motowori thinks that this name signifies "fierce like a crab's eye," with reference perhaps to some personal peculiarity of the prince who bore it.

68 *Takaki-hime.* This name is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

69 *Taiiiha no Tohotsu omi.* This name is obscure.

70 *Okinaga no siihane no miko.* For Okinaga see Note 31 to this Section.

71 *Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime.* Takanuka is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "high brow."

72 *Okinaga-tarashi-hime.* Okinaga is the name of a place (see Note31). *Tarashi* is an Honorific designation, signifying literally "sufficient," *i.e.,* "perfect," and is supposed by Motowori to have been bestowed after death on this princess, who was the celebrated conqueror of Korea, and is better known to fame by her "canonical name" of Jingō Kōgō.

73 *I.e.,* "the princess of the sky."

74 *Okinaga-hiko no miko.*

75 *Kibi no Homuji no kimi.* Homuji is the name of a district in the modern province of Bingo, and may perhaps be of Chinese origin.

76 *Harima no Aso no kimi.* Aso is the name of a place, and is of uncertain origin.

77 *Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime.* Kahamata ("river-fork") is the name of a place in Kahachi. *Ina* signifies "rice," and *yori* probably signifies "good" in this and numerous other proper names.

78 *Oho-tamu-saka no miko.* This name is obscure. Motowori thinks that Tamu-saka may be the name of a place, and signifying "winding

ascent."

79 *Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko.* For Tajima see Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

80 *Chimori no omi. Chi-mori* signifies “road-keeper," and perhaps we should translate this "gsentile name" by "road-keeping grandees," and suppose that anciently they may have performed some function in which the bestowal of it originated.

81 *Oshiiuami-be no miyatsuko.* Oshinumi is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain import.

82 *Mina-be no miyatsuko.* Perhaps we should rather translate thus, “the Rulers of Minabe,” for the name is altogether obscure.

83 *Inaba no Oshinumi-be.* Motowori supposes a branch of this family, which was originally established in Yamato, to have removed to the province of Inaba.

84 *Tauniha no TaJcauu wake.* Takanu is the name of a district in the modern province of Tango. It signifies “high moor."

85 *Yosami no abiko.* Yosami is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin, though the legends connect it with the word ami, "a net” (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, pp. 81). It is chiefly known on account of its lake or pool, which is often mentioned in the early poetry. Abiko is a very rare "gentile name," which in the “Catalogue of Family Names” is written with the characters 我孫，but is derived by Motowori from 吾孫，i.e., “my grandchildren."

86 In Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin.

1 In Yamato. *Shiki* probably signifies "stone castle" (*ishi-ki*). *Midzugaki* signifies "fresh young hedge," —an Honorific designation of the hedge round the Emperor's abode, which passed into a Proper Name.

2 According to Motowori's exegesis, this name is a rather remarkable instance of verbal usage, *ayu-me* ("trout-eyes") being not properly part of the name at all, but only a Pillow-Word for what follows, viz., *Me-kuhashi-hime, i.e.,* "Princess Beautiful Eyes."*Tohotsu* is thè name of a place in the province of Ki, signifying “far harbour."

3 *Arakaha* is the name of a place in Ki, and signifies rough (*i.e.,* impetuous and dangerous) river.” The syllables *to-be** are of uncertain import.

* Tobe, this shows that Tobe is not confined to women.—W.G.A.

4 *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko.*

5 *Toyo* signifies “luxuriant” and*biko (hiko)*"prince.” The other elements of the compound are obscure.

6 *Bime (hime)* signifies “princess,” and*suki* is identified by Motowori with Shiki, the name of the residence of the monarch whose daughter this princess was.

7 *Oho-ama-hime.* Ama is the name of a district in Wohari, and probably signifies fisherman."

8 *Wohari no murazhi.*

9 The signification of this and the two following names is uncertain.

10 *Towochi* is the name of a district in Yamato.

11 *Mimatsu-hime.* Signification uncertain.

12 signification uncertain.

13 The syllables *ma* and *waka,* literally "true and young or “truly young” are Honorific. *Iza* is of doubtful signification.

14 *Kuni-kata-hime. Kuni* means “country” and kata here probably signifies “hard” or “firm."

15 *Chiji-tsuku-yamato-hime. Chiji* probably means “a thousand," and *Yamato* is the name of a province. *Tsuku* is obscure.

16 *Iga-hime. Iga* is the name of a district and of a province (see Sect. LVI, Note 9).

17 *I.e.,* “Yamato Prince."

18 *Kami-tsu-ke-nu [no kimi]. The character* 君 (Dukes) is supplied by Motowori. This is the ancient form of the name now pronounced Kōdzuke (*conf. Shimo-tsu-ke-nu* corrupted to *Shimotsuke*). The author of the” Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces draws attention to the curious fact that, whereas the final syllable nu of the original word is dropped in speaking, it is the ke which is dropped in writingthe original

form of the name, as written, being 上毛野, whereas now only the first two of these three characters are used. Its signification is supposed to be" upper vegetation-moor," ke（毛）being regarded as an Archaic general term for trees and grasses, identical with the ke that means hairs," vegetation having struck the early speakers of the language as being similar to the hairs on the bodies of men and beasts.

19 *Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi. Shimo* means "lower." For the rest of the name see preceding Note. Both names are those of provinces in Eastern Japan.

20 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

21 *Viz.,* of the Sun-Goddess (Ama-terasu).

22 *Noto no omi.* Noto, formerly a part of the province of Echizen, is the name of the peninsula that juts out into the Sea of Japan on the western coast of the Main Island. The etymology of the name is obscure.

23 The meaning of this imperfectly formed sentence is: "On the occasion of the interment of the next prince, His Augustness "Yamato-hiko, the custom of setting a row of the deceased prince's retainers round his grave and burying them alive was first intro-" duced." For a further notice of this custom see Sect. LXXV, Note 4. According to the "Chronicles," the "ancient" custom of burying retainers up to their necks in the neighbourhood of their lord's grave was abolished after this very same interment. Motowori endeavours to reconcile the two statements by supposing that the custom was really an old one, but that on the occasion here mentioned the number of victims was increased to an unprecedented degree,* so that, as related in the "Chronicles," their cries, while their heads were being pulled to pieces by the crows and dogs, filled the Emperor with commiseration.

* So that for the first time they formed a hedge. But there is something to be said for the reading which asserts "this custom first ceased at the death of this prince."—W.G.A.

1 Literally, "about to be exhausted."

2 This expression, which recurs at the commencement of Sect. CXLV is difficult to explain. See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIII, pp. 24-25, and again in Vol. XL. pp. 14-15, of his Commentary.

3 See Sect. LI, Note 12.

4 Literally, “my august heart."

5 Or, "cause my shrine to be worshipped at." The import of the god's words is that he wishes Oho-tata-ne-ko to be appointed chief priest of his temple. For the origin of this latter see the second half of Sect. XXXII (pp. 103-105).

6 *Oho* signifies “great," *Tata* (or *Tada*) is taken to be the name of a place, and the syllables *ne* and *ko* are regarded as Honorifics. The whole name may therefore, though with some hesitation, be interpreted to mean” the Lord of the Great [Shrine of] Tata."

7 *I.e.,* "the divine anger shall no longer be kindled."

8 Mounted couriers are almost certainly intended.

9 Literally, "distributed to the four sides,"— "four sides" being a Chinese phrase for every direction.

10 This name may signify either "three moors” or “august moor.” The village of Minu must not be confounded with the province of Minu.

11 The characters used are those which properly denote the presenting of tribute to the Monarch.

12 Here and below the First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕, "servant."

13 See Sect. VIII, Note 7, for the explanation of this name. But probably the deity here intended is another.

14 The etymology and signification of this name are alike obscure.

15 Motowori interprets *kushi* in the sense of” wondrous," and *Migata* as the name of a place, which also occurs under the form of Higata.

16 *I.e.,* "life-jewel-good-princess."

17 The precise signification of this name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Suwe* to be the name of a place; *tsu* is the Genitive Particle, and

mimi the Honorific of doubtful import, whose meaning has been discussed in Note 18 to Sect. XIII.

18 The exact meaning of the characters used to write the word *kamu-nushi* (modern *kannushi*), here rendered "high priest," is “owner of the Deity.” Though commonly used in modern parlance to denote any shintō priest, it properly signifies only the chief priest in charge of a temple, whence the odd-sounding name.

19 Or, “conduct the worship at the shrine of.”

20 Viz" the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the legend in Sect. LXV.

21 See Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5.

22 Or *Ikaga-shiko-wo.* The probable meaning of this name, proposed by Motowori, is (neglecting the initial letter *i* as expletive)” the refulgent ugly male.”

23 See Sect. I, Note 11.

24 *Simisaka* probably signifies "charcoal-hill." Uda, which has already been mentioned in Sect. XLVI, is in Yamato. This passage may equally well be rendered thus: “to present a red-coloured shield and spear to the Deity of Sumisaka," and similarly in the following clause. The meaning comes nearly to the same.

25 Literally, “great hill,” or” great pass,” It is at the boundary of the provinces of Yamato and Kahachi, Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei sanctions the view of the elder scholars, who 'fancied they saw in the distinction of red and black some mysterious import connected with the four cardinal points.

26 In the Old Printed Edition the text of this passage differs slightly from that adopted by Motowori; but the meaning is exactly the same.

27 A large lacuna here occurs in the “Old Printed Edition,” in which the four hundred and forty-five Chinese characters forming the original of the following part of the translation, from the words, “In consequence of this" down to the words immediately preceding “Methinks this is a sign” on p. 217 are missing. Both the editor of 1687 and Motowori are silent as to the

manner in which they supplied the deficiency; but it may be presumed from their silence that the MS. authorities furnished them with what had accidentally been omitted from the printed text.

1 It is not easy to render literally into English the force of the characters 容姿端正，containing this description of the maiden's beauty, and of 形咨威儀 in the next clause. But it is hoped that at least the translation represents them better than do Motowori's readings kaho yokariki and kaho sugata.

2 This word, which is not in most texts, was supplied by the editor of 1687, and is adopted by Motowori on apparently satisfactory grounds.*

* I cannot agree with this. And was not the “majestic appearance” that of the youth, not of the maiden?—W.G.A.

3 Literally, “in the time."

4 The text places the word” daughter here, instead of in the preceding clause. For the sake of clearness, the translator has taken the liberty of transposing it.

5 The Chinese characters are 姓名，i.e., “surname and personal (what we should call ‘Christian') name." But Motowori's simple reading na, "name," approves itself as probably nearer to the author's intention.

6 Motowori indulges in several conjectures as to the meaning of this detail, which, it will be seen, is not referred to in the sequel, and is therefore pointless.

* Heso is "ball.” Vide Hepburn. Probably from its shape with a hole through it,—W.G.A.

7 The same Japanese word hagi,+ which is used as the equivalent of the Chinese characters, "hook," came in later times to denote a key.

+ I have seen ancient keys shaped thus, nearly a”hook." Kagi always included both key and hook.—W.G.A.

8 "Three threads" are in Japanese mi wa, whence the etymology of the name of Miwa given below in the text. The real derivation is altogether doubtful. The shrine of Miwa was in very early times regarded with such

extraordinary reverence, that the term *Oho-gami,* "Great Deity," unless otherwise qualified, was commonly understood to refer to the god of Miwa.

† Rounds of the ball.

9 *Miwa no kimi*, written simply 神君 (literally, “Divine Dukes”), another sign of the estimation in which the shrine of Miwa was held.

10 Kamo no kimi.

1 See Sect. LXI, Note 5.

2 Literally, “to the road of Koshi” i.e., "to the land of Koshi.” Which provinces are intended by the “twelve circuits to the eastward" mentioned immediately below is uncertain; but Motowori hazards the guess that we should understand Ise (including Iga and Shima), Wohari, Mikaha, Tohotafani (pron. Tōtōmi), Suruga, Kahi, Idzu, Sagami, Musashi, Fusa (the modern Kadzusa, Shimofusa, and Aha), Hitachi, and Michinoku (a vague name for the north-eastern portions of the Main Island of Japan). This would include the whole east and north-east of the country. He likewise supposes the use of the word "road" for circuit or province to have had its origin in the "road ’' along which the Imperial officers despatched to the outlying provinces had to travel to reach their post, and remarks very pertinently in another passage of his Commentary that the term “road” denotes a province more especially from the point of view of its subjugation or government. His explanation is, however, rendered untenable by the fact that the division of the country into such” roads” or “circuits” was an idea evidently borrowed from the neighbouring peninsula of Korea. At first, as in this passage, somewhat vaguely used in thė sense of “province," it settled down into thè designation of "a set of adjacent provinces." Thus tha Tō-kai-dō, or” Eastern Maritime Circuit,” includes fifteen provinces, the Hoku-roku-dō or Northern Land Circuit,” includes seven provinces, and so on. *Conf.* Sect. LX, Note 20.

3 *I.e.*, “brave-lagoon-river-youth.”

4 See Sect LXII, Note 4.

5 Motowori is unable to help us to any understanding of this name, or names, —for he suggests that the character 之, *no,* may be an error for 又,

mata ("also"), and that two individuals may be intended. The note in the original telling us that "this in the name of a person" might equally well be translated in the Plural,— “these are the names of persons."

6 The nature of this garment is not known. One would suppose, from the way it is mentioned in the text, that there was perhaps something contrary to custom in its use by a young girl.† The parallel passage in the “Chronicles" does not mention it.

† Perhaps the unusual thing was that she had nothing else on, very young girls were perhaps dressed so.—W.G.A.

7 Or, “Hill of Hera,"—*Hera-zaka*. The "Chronicles” write this name with the characters 平坂 *Hira-zaka*, i.e. "Even Pass" or "Hill."

* From this poem it would appear that Mima-ki-iri was not a posthumous name.—W.G.A.

8 The meaning of this poem, which must be considered as one prolonged exclamation, is: “Oh my sovereign!oh my sovereign!” Heedless or ignorant of the plots hatched against thy life near the” very precincts of thy palace, thou sendest away thy soldiers to fight “in distant parts. Oh my sovereign!” —It will be remembered that Prince Mima-ki-iri was the (abbreviated) native name of the reigning monarch, commonly known to posterity by his “canonical name” of Sūjin. The word rendered "life” is literally "thread,” and the Impersonal Pronoun” one's," used in the translation, must be understood to refer to the Emperor.

9 See Sect. LXI, Notes 12 and 10.

10 Literally, "foul heart.”

11 I.e. probably, “prince land-pacifier." The first element of the compound is sometimes omitted.

12 Wani no omi. Wani ("crocodile") is the name of a place in the province of Yamato.

13 Wani-saka. For the setting of jars conf. Sect. LX, Note 20.

14 Wakara-gaha. It is what is now called the Idzumi-gaha. Of Wakara we have nothing but an altogether untenable etymology given in the parallel passage of the “Chronicles."

15 More literally, "each having put the river in the middle, and mutually challenging."

16 I.e., "challenging.” The more likely etymology of Idzumi, which is written with the character 泉’ is “source” or” spring."

17 The original has the very curious expression 廂人, literally, “people of the side-building," which was a great crux to the early editors. Motowori is probably right in interpreting it in the sense of "the other side," i.e., "the enemy."

18 忌矢, literally “the arrow to be shunned, or avoided," —but rather, in accordance with Archaic Japanese parlance, “the sacred arrow.” Motowori says: "At the commencement of a battle it was “the custom for each side to let fly an initial arrow. Being the “commencement of the affair, this arrow was considered specially "important, and was shot off reverently with prayers to the Gods,— "whence its name."

* Surely their own, from fear. — W.G.A.

19 *I.e.,* "excrementis [foedatae] bracae.” But it is not at all probable that this is the correct etymology of the name. The stream is a small one in the eastern part of the province of Kahachi.

20 *I.e.,* "cormorant-river."

21 *I.e.,* "the garden of cutting-to-pieces.”

1 A district forming the southern part of the modern province of Ihashiro in north-eastern Japan. The derivation here given, from *ahi-dzu,* meeting port," seems fanciful.

* "Bow-tips" seems a preferable rendering, the Chinese character is g. —W.G.A.

2 *I.e.,* taxes levied on the produce of the chase, by which the men gained their livelihood, and on the domestic handiwork of the women.

3 Motowori has a not particularly satisfactory note, in which he endeavours to explain this obscure phrase. The word.‘first" should evidently qualify the Verb "ruled," and not the Substantive “land,” and the applicability of the saying to a sovereign, of whom it is not recorded that he initiated anything save the taxes, is not apparent.† The author of the

"Chronicles" observes the verisimilitudes better by applying a synonymous designation to the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu.

† Compare Chronicles V. 16. (p. 161, Aston's Translation). —W.G.A.

4 See Sect. LXII, Note 85.

5 Reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" shows that probably a couple of words are here omitted from the text, which should read "the Pool of Karu and the Pool of Sakawori" (Karu no ike, Sakawori no ike). Karu is the celebrated ancient capital mentioned in Sect. LVI I, Note 1. Sakawori is quite unknown except from this notice of it, and the derivation of the name is uncertain.

1 This place, where the Emperor Kei-kō is likewise said to have been interred, was in the province of Yamato, and the road mentioned is supposed by Motowori to have been the highway from Hatsuse into the province of Yamashiro. The word Yamanobe signifies "in the neighbourhood of the mountain *(yama no he)*.

1 For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1. *Tama-kaki* signifies "jewel (i.e., beautiful) hedge."

2 This name and the next have already been met with in Sect. LXII, as have those of Princess Hibasu, King Tatasu-michi, King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, Princess Kari-bata-tobe, and King Inase-biko.

3 See Sect. LXXI, Note 8.

4 The signification of this name is not clear, but Motowori identifies Shiki with the place of the same name.

5 This name seems to be a string of Honorifics signifying "great perfect prince ruling lord."

6 *I.e.,* "great middle prince," he being the third of five children.

7 *I.e.,* "Yamato princess." She is a very celebrated personage in Japanese legendary story,—high priestess of Ise and aunt of the hero Yamato-take. A miraculous tale is related of her birth, and she is supposed to have lived several hundreds of years.

8 The signification of this name is obscure.

9 The signification of this name is obscure.

10 Motowori's conjectural interpretation of this name is "jewel-perfect-lord."

11 The signification of *iga* is obscure. The other two elements of the compound signify “perfect prince."

12 Signification obscure.

13 Signification obscure.

14 Signification obscure. The “Chronicles” read this name *Ike-baya.*

15 *Azami-tsu-hime.* Signification obscure.

16 *I.e.,* probably the refulgent princess," the syllable *ya* being void of signification as in *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime* (see Sect. XXXVII, Note 3). This name is celebrated as that of the heroine of the fairytale entitled “Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter,” though there is no reason for identifying the two personages.

17 This name is obscure, and Motowori suspects it of being corrupt.

18 *Yamashiro no ohokuni no fuchi.* Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Ohokuni ("great land”) that of a village, while Fuchi is a personal name written with a character signifying “deep pool.”

19 *Ochiwake no miko.* Motowori derives *ochi* from *oho,* "great," and *chi* supposed to be an Honorific, while *wake* is taken to mean “lord.” After all, the signification of the name remains obscure.

20 *Ika-tarashi-hiko no miko.* The name probably signifies “severe (or dignified) perfect prince

21 This name is obscure.

22 *I.e.,* Karibata-tobe, the younger sister.

23 This name and the next are obscure. The first of the two is not in the older editions, but Motowori supplies what appears to be a lacuna in the text by adding the five characters 石衝別王次.

24 Signification obscure.

25 The actual word “feet is not in the original, but an equivalent Chinese measure is used.

26 *Chinu no ike.* The “Sea of Chinu” in the province of Idzumi, which is the same as the “Pool" here mentioned, has been mentioned in Sect, XLIV, Note 36.

27 *Sayama no ike,* in the province of Kahachi. The name probably signifies a “gorge or “defile.”

28 See above Sect. XLIV, Note 31.

29 *Totari* (lit. “bird-catching") was in the province of Idzumi, and the name is said to have been derived from the place having been one of those through which Ohotaka of Yamanobe passed when pursuing the bird whose sight was to make Prince Homuchi-wake obtain the power of speech. (See the story as given at the beginning of the next Section.) The name of Kaha-kami ("head-waters of the river”), as we learn by comparison with the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," is to be traced to the River Udo, near whose headwaters the palace in question is said to have been situated.

30 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

31 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

32 Or, "in that temple."

33 *Kahakami-be.*

34 *Yamanobe no wake.* Yamanobe (or Yamabe) is the name of a district in Yamato and signifies “mountain-slope,”

35 *Sakikusa no wake.* Of Sakikusa nothing is known. The word means "lily."

36 *Inaki no wake.* Which Inaki is meant is not known, there being several places of that name in Japan. The name is connected with the word ine, “rice.”

37 *Ada no wake.* Of Ada nothing is known,

38 *Wohari no kuni no Minu no wake.* Minu is the name of a village, and signifies “three moors."

39 *Kibi no Ihanashi no wake.* Ihanashi is the name of a district forming part of the modern province of Bizen, and seems to signify rockless."

40 *Koromo no wake.* Motowori supposes this name to be corrupt. Koromo is the name of a village in Mikaha.

41 *Takasuka no wake.* Nothing is known either of the place or of the family.

42 *Asuka no kim·.* It is not known where was this Asuka, which must not be confounded with the famous Asuka mentioned in Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

43 *Mure no wake.* There are several places called Mure. The signification of the name is obscure.

44 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

45 *Saho no Anahobe-wake.* The name Anahobe is derived from Anaho, the name of the Emperor Yu-riyaku, and *be* "a tribe;" it being related in the “Chronicles” that the tribe which was established as his "name-proxy” was so called.

46 *Wotsuki no yama no kam·* Wotsuki is the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). The family name must be interpreted to signify that they were wardens of the mountain.

47 *Mikaha no Koromo no kimi. Conf.* the name in Note 40, with which this is probably identical. Motowori suspects an error in the text.

48 *Kasuga no yama no kimi. Conf.* the name in Note 46.

49 *Koshi no ike no kimi.* Nothing is known of the place or of the family, Koshi may or may not be the northern province of that name.

50 *Kasugabe no kimi.* There were two places of the name of Kasugabe (I.e., “Kasuga Clan,” so called perhaps after a family that had resided there). It is not known which is here alluded to

51 *Itoshi-be.* The name, which is thus restored by Motowori, is variously mutilated in the older editions. This is the first mention of adoption lit. in Japanese “child-proxy making” or” name-proxy making." The custom is perpetually referred to in the later portion of these "Records."

52 *Haguhi no kimi.* Haguhi is the name of a district in Noto. The derivation is obscure.

53 *Miwo no kimi,* Miwo is the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means “three mountain-folds.”

1 For stiletto see above, Sect. XXXVI, Note 8. The curious word *ya-ishiho-wori* (八趟折) in the text seems to have the sense of "eight times tempered," i.e., tempered over and over again, which Motowori assigns to it. The same expression is used in Sect. XVIII (Note 16) to denote the refining of rice-liquor.

2 This word "overflowing" is more appropriately placed in the version of the story given in the "Chronicles," where the author makes her tears first fill her sleeve (a common Japanese figure of speech), and thence overflowon to the sleeping Monarch's face.

3 I.., seeing that it would be vain to deny the truth.

4 The First Personal Pronoun is written with the self-depreciatory character 姿, "concubine."

* Brocade? Hepburn speaks of a *nishki hebi* as a kind of mottled snake. —W.G.A.

5 Or "enticed."

6 This expression, which is repeated elsewhere, is one which has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The "Chronicles" tell us expressly that "rice [-stalks] were piled up to make a castle,"— an assertion which, as Motowori remarks, is simply incredible. He therefore adopts Mabuchi's suggestion that a castle *like* a rice-castle+ is what is intended,— "rice-castle" being taken to mean "rice-store" or "granary," such granaries having probably been stoutly built in order to protect them from thieves.† The historian of the Tang dynasty quoted in the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan says that the Japanese had no castles, but only palisades of timber. The latter might well however have been called castles by the Japanese, though they would not have been accounted such by the Chinese, who already built theirs of stone.

† Rice-castle also mentioned in Yū-riyaku, year 14, where a hasty construction is rather implied. Nihongi.—W.G.A.

‡ I cannot see the likelihood of this. Sheaves of rice piled up might very well make a bulwark. The stoiy shows that it was a hastily prepared work,

not at all of the nature of a rice granary. The Nihongi says the Empress crossed over it in coming out.—W.G.A.

* *I.e.*, stood on the defensive". —W.G.A.

1 *I.e.*, Her Augustness Saho-bime, who was the subject of the preceding sentence.

2 *I.e.* the Sovereign. The import of this passage is, according to Motowori, that the Empress imagined that her own conduct might perhaps influence the Emperor to refuse to give to the child she bore him its proper rank,—not from doubts as to its legitimacy, but as having a rebel mother. By “undertaking” the child is of course meant'* undertaking the care and education of it.

* Why not, "take charge of”? —W.G.A.

3 Motowori supposes the Chinese character rendered "said" to be an error, and prefers to consider this clause as containing not the words, but the thought of the Monarch. It would certainly be more convenient to adopt this view, if it were sanctioned by any text.

† Nimblest? —W.G.A.

* Disappointed. —W.G.A.

† Seems rather hard on the jewel-makers, who cannot have been in the rice-castle, and could not have been responsible.—W.G.A.

4 Or, as Motowori prefers to read, “deprived them of all their lands."

5 There is nowhere else any reference to this sayidg. Motowori supposes it to point to those who, hoping for reward, get punishment instead, these jewellers having doubtless rotted the string on which the beads were strung by special desire of the Empress, whereas they ended by getting nothing but confiscation for their pains.

6 Motowori (following Mabuchi) is evidently correct in supposing the character 命 in this place, and again a little further on, to be a copyist's error for 令, "caused," and the translator has rendered it accordingly.

7 “Prince" is here written 御子.

8 This name may also be read *Ho-muchi-wake*, and is in the “Chronicles” given as *Ho-mutsu-wake* while it appears as *Homu-tsu-wake*

at the commencement of Sect. LX1X. The first two elements apparently signify “fire-possessing" while wake is the frequently recurring Honorific signifying either "lord", or "young and flourishing."

9 Lit., “his days be reverently prolonged." The same expression is repeated thrice below.

10 *I.e.*, foster-mother.

11 The characters 大湯坐若湯生 used in the original of this passage would, if they stood alone, be of difficult interpretation. But a comparison with the passage in “One account” of the “Chronicles," which relates the nursing of Fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, the father of the first “Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu, leaves no doubt that the author intended to speak of bathing-women attached to the service of the Imperial infant.

* Why not “girdle"? —W.G.A.

12 The words *midzu no wo-himo,* literally rendered “fresh small pendant,” call for some explanation. Midzu, which includes in a single term the ideas of youth, freshness, and beauty, is here used as an Honorific. The “small pendant" is interpreted by Mabuchi and Motowori to signify the “inner girdle,” which held together the under-garment of either sex. The old literature of Japan teems with allusions to the custom of lovers or spouses making fast each other's inner girdle, which might not be untied till they met again, and the poets perpetually make a lover ask some such question as “When I "am far from thee, who shall loosen my girdle?” The translator cannot refrain from here quoting, for the benefit of the lover of Japanese verse (though he will not attempt to translate them), the two most graceful of the many stanzas from the “Collection of a Myriad Leaves” brought together by Motowori to illustrate this passage:

Wagimoko ga
    Yuhiteshi himo
    wo
Tokame ya mo:
    Toyeba tayu to

mo
Tada ni afu
made ni.

Una-bara wo
Tohoku
watarite
Toshi fa to mo:
Ko-ra ga
mmaberu
Himo toku na
yume.

Tanigaha Shisei also appropriately quotes the following:

Futari shite
Mitsubishi
himo wo
Hitori shite
Ware ha tohi-mizhi
Tada ni afu
made ha.

A literal rendering of which would run thus: “I will not, till" we meet face to face, loosen alone the girdle which we two tied “together.”

13 *I.e.*, the “Elder Princess and the Younger Princess."

14 Motowori is probably right in explaining *tatasu* as the Honorific Causative of tatsu, “to stand" and *michi no ushi* as *michi-nushi* or *kuni-nushi, i.e.*)” owner of the province," firuler."

15 Lit., “are pure subjects.”*

* What about the character 公?— W.G.A.

16 *I.e.*, was slain with him.

1 From a comparison with a passage in the “Chronicles,” where the same expression occurs, one is led to suppose that the craft here mentioned was a sort of double boat, in each half of which passengers could sit.

2 Nothing is known of any place called Ahidzu in the province of Wohari.

3 Karu has been mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1. The Pool of Ichishi (*Ichishi-no ike*) is supposed by Motowori to be identical with the better known Pool of I hare.

4 Lit., "in front of his heart." This phrase descriptive of a long beard has already occurred at the commencement of Sect. XII.

5 Motowori reasonably supposes the character 今 in this sentence to be a copyist's error for the emphatic 爾, and the translation has been made accordingly.

6 The original has the character 鶴, which is now applied to a small species of swan (*Cygnus minori* Pallas; *Cygnus Bewickii*, Yarrel). But it is uncertain what bird is intended by the author.

7 A more or less inarticulate utterance is probably meant; but the expression in the original is obscure.

8 Motowoii supposes the Note in the original to refer only to the word Ohotaka, while he takes Yamanobe to be the name of a place (already mentioned in Sect. LXVII I, Note 1). The surname of Ohotaka, signifying” great hawk’” was, according to the same commentator, given to the worthy here mentioned in consequence of the incident related in the text. As the bird was not a hawk, this does not seem very convincing, and Motowori's apparent idea that the man was likened to a hawk because he pursued the other bird as a hawk would do, is extremely far-fetched. It is moreover doubtful whether the name should not be read *Oho-washi* (this is Mabuchi's reading), "great eagle." The Chronicles" give an altogether different name, viz., *Ame-no-yukaha-tana*.

* The Chronicles say that the swan was caught in the land of Idzumo, and makes no mention of the other places.W.G.A.

9 No such place is now known. The name may be interpreted to mean "snare-net" in allusion to this story, as stated in the next sentence of the text.

10 The various texts and printed editions all differ slightly in their reading of this passage, and from some it might be gathered that the prince did indeed speak as it had been thought that he would do, but could not speak freely. The translation follows Motowori's emended text.

11 Literally, "heart."

12 Le., *Oho-kuni-mishiy* (the Master of the Great Land), the aboriginal monarch of Idzumo, the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, whose abdication of the sovereignty of Japan in favour of the descendant of the Sun-Goddess forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII. The word *talari*, here written with the Chinese character 祟 and rendered "curse," signifies properly the vengeance of a spirit, i.e., either of a deity or of the ghost of a dead man. The word translated "doing" is literally "heart."

13 That some such words must be supplied is evident, and the translator has followed Mabuchi and Motowori in supplying them.

14 Lit., "King Ake-tatsu ate the divination."

15 Remember that the original word *ukehi* combines the meanings of our words "wager" "oath," "pledge," curse," etc,—being in fact a general name for all words to which any mysterious importance attaches.

16 Lit., a "sign," a" proof."

17 *Sagisu no ike*, a pool in Yamato. *Sagi-su* signifies "heron's nest."

18 The reading of the characters 爾者 (rendered "then") in this passage has been a crux to all the editors. Fortunately they make no difference to the sense,

19 *Amakashi no saki*. Perhaps "Amakashi Point" would be a better rendering if, as Motowori supposes, an inland place in the province of Yamato is meant. It might be the point or extremity of a hill or bluff. *Ama-kashi* signifies literally "sweet oak." The "broad-foliaged bear-oak" mentioned immediately above is supposed by Motowori to be the usual evergreen oak, and not any special kind. The epithet "broad-foliaged is not, as he remarks, specially appropriate, and he moreover supposes the word

kuma, "bear," to be a corruption of *kumi* or *komori*, words which would refer to the thick luxuriance of the foliage. The dictionaries do not help us much to a decision on the point.

20 The component parts of this tremendous name, which is happily abbreviated to Ake-tatsu in the subsequent portions of the text, are somewhat obscure, especially the word *oyu*, which reading rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, who emends the evidently erroneous character 者 to 老 (*oyu*), “old." *Toyo*, “luxuriant," is an Honorific, ake and tatsu signify respectively "dawn” and “rise,” while the rest seem to be names of places of which this Prince may be supposed to have been the possessor.

21 Or, the Prince of Unakami, as Unakami is the name of a place in Kadzusa.

22 I.e., shown by divination.

23 Nara in Yamato, which is here mentioned for the first time, was the capital of Japan from A.D. 710 to 784, and has always been famous in Japanese history and literature. The name is derived by the author of the “Chronicles" from the verb *narasu*, “to cause to resound," the hosts of the Emperor Su-jin having, it is said, caused the earth to resound with their trampling when they went out to do battle with Hani-yasu. A more probable derivation is from nara, the name of a kind of deciduous oak, the *Quercus glandulifera*. The word rendered "gate" should possibly be taken simply in the sense of” exit or “approach."

24 Or, "lame people and blind people," a peculiarly unlucky omen for travellers, to whom, as Motowori remarks, sound feet and good eyesight are indispensable to carry them on their way.

25 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

26 In the text the word “gate” is here, by a copyist's error, wiitten “moon." When the author says that the Ki gate,? gate or exit leading to the provinee of Ki, is a "side-gate," he means that it was not the one by which travellers would naturally have left the town: —the province of Ki, indeed, is to the South of Yamato where the capital was, whereas the province of

Idzumo, whither they were bound, was to the north-west. This road into Ki over Matsuchi-yama is one famous in the classical poetry of Japan.

27 *Homuji-be*. The meaning of the clause is that they granted the surname of Homuji to persons in every important locality through which they passed on their journey.

28 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

29 The signification of this passage is: “They built as a temporary abode for the prince a house in the River Hi (whether with its foundations actually in the water or on an island is left undetermined), connecting it with the main land by a bridge made of branches of of trees twisted together and with their bark left on them” (this is here the import of the word "black”). Such bridges have been met with by the translator in the remote northern province of Deha, where the country people call them *shiba-bashi* (or, rather, in their patois *suba-bash** i.e., “twig-bridges"). The traveller is so likely to fall through interstices into the stream below, that it is not to be wondered at that they should now be confined to the rudest localities.

* Hurdle-bridge.—W.G.A.

30 Motowori supposes *Kihisa* to be the name of a place, and *tsu-mi* to stand as usual for *tsu mochi*, "possessor,” according to which view the name would mean “lord" or "possessor" of Kihisa.

31 No book of reference with which the translator is acquainted throws any light on this curious expression, and there is no parallel passage in the “Chronicles” to which to look for help.

32 Viz., to the Prince (“the august child”). The preparations which *Kihisa-tsu-mi* is here said to have made are supposed by Motowori to have been prompted by a desire to add beauty to the feast. But the whole passage is very obscure.

33 Viz., the court in front of, or the approach to, the shrine, which would naturally be planted with the sacred tree, the *saka-ki (Cleyera japonica*), and thus justify the prince's comparison to it of the artificial grove at which he was looking.

34 *I.e.*, the priest attached to the worship of, etc. For” deacon” see Note 33 to Sect. LXII.

35 *Ashihara-shiko-wo* one of the many names of the Deity *Oho-kuni-nushi* ("Master of the Great Land," see Sect. XX, Note 19), the Deity whom the Prince and his followers had just been worshipping.

36 These names cannot now be identified, and are of uncertain etymology. Ihakuma seems, however, to mean” curve in the rock." One would have expected in this place, instead of these unkown names, to find a reference to the main temple of the Deity, which was styled *Kidzuki no oho-yasliiro, i.e.*, "the great shrine of Kidzuki."

37 Some such words as “the changed and more intelligent appearance of the Prince, and his attainment of the power of speech” must be mentally supplied in order to bring out the sense which the author intends to convey.

38 These names cannot be identified. *Nagaho* signifies "ong rice-ear," while *ajimasa* in modern usage is the name of a palm (the *Levistona Sinensis*); but Motowori supposes that it formerly designated the palmetto or some cognate tree.

39 *Hi-naga-liime*. The signification of the name is obscure, but it would seem most natural to suppose it connected with the River Hi which figures in the Idzumo cycle of legends. A proposal of Moto-wori's to read *Koye-naga* instead of the traditional *Hi-naga* seems scarcely to be meant in earnest. If accepted, it would give us the meaning of “fat and iong princess," with reference to the story of her being a serpent.

40 It will be remembered that the Province of Idzumo is a maritime one, and that the fugitives might be supposed to reach the sea-shore in their flight. It is true that this is exactly the reverse of the direction which they would be obliged to take in travelling up to the capital, which was in Yamato.

41 *I.e*. the depressions or valleys separating one mountain from another.

42 In the original *Totori-he,Torikahi-be, Homuji-be, Oho- yuwe* and *Waka-yuwe.* All these “gentile names" have a meaning connecting them either really or apparently with the story above related, *to-tori* signifying”

bird-catcher” and *tori-kaki* “bird-feeder," while the name of the *Homyji* Clan is of course derived from that

1 *Hibasu-hime, Oto-liime* and *Matonu-hime*. The first two of these names have already appeared above, where the etymology of *Hibasu* was said to be doubtful, while Oto signifies “younger sister." Matmu has likewise already appeared, and is of uncertain derivation. Motowori supposes this last name to be in this place but an alias for Utakori, which he explains in the sense of “sad heart,” with reference to the story of this princess as here told. In any case there is confusion in the legend, for in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" five princesses are mentioned, whereas at the end of Sect. LXXI of these "Records” the Empress is made to speak of only two. The father's name has been already there explained.

2 The real derivation of this name is obscure. The ancient (perhaps here and elsewhere supposititious ancient) form *Sagari-ki* signifies “hanging-tree.” *Saga-raka* is written 相樂，a good example of the free manner in which some Chinese characters were anciently used for phonetic purposes. *Sau-raku, Sa-raku* or Sa-gara would be the only readings possible in the modern tongue.

3 Literally, "wished to die.” Motowori supposes that her design was frustrated by her attendants.

4 Written with characters signifying *“younger country,"* but here supposed by the author to be derived from ochi-kuni, "falling country," in connection with this legend.

5 Lit., “died by falling."

1 The meaning of this name, which is written phonetically both here and in the “Chronicles," has given rise to differences of opinion, some deriving it from the name of the province of Tajima (itself of obscure origin) and from the word *mori* "keeper," while others think it comes from tachibana, the Japanese word for orange, with reference to the story here told. The supporters of the former view, on the other hand, derive the word *tachibana* from *Tajima-mori*.

2 *Miyake no murazhi*. Whether miyake is simply the name of a place or whether it should be taken in the sense of "store" or “granary," is uncertain. If the latter view be adopted, it would be natural to suppose that this family had originally furnished the superintendents of the Imperial granaries. In any case it traced its origin to a Korean source (see the “Catalogue of Family Names,” and the genealogies in Sect. CXV).

3 See Sect. XXVII, Note 12.

4 Written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles” with characters signifying literally “timeless.” The whole of this circumlocution for the orange has indeed to be interpreted by the help of the

5 This corrupt and obscure passage seems to be well restored by Motowori, whose explanation of it is likewise as convincing as it is ingenious. Tne expression “clubmoss-oranges" signifies oranges as they grow on the branch surrounded by leaves, while "spear-oranges" are the same divested of leaves and hanging to the bare twig. Thus the words “clubmoss” and "spear" came to be used as” Auxiliary Numerals” for oranges plucked in these two different manners.*

* I hae my doots.—W.G.A.

6 Viz., says Motowori, Princess Hibasu, who however, according to the account in the "Chronicles,” was already dead at this time.

7 The word *tachibana* (written 橘) in the text should probably be taken as a specific and not as a general term. In modern usage it designates the *Citrus japonica*. But it is a matter of dispute whether the application of the term has not altered since ancient times, and whether we should not understand by it one of the other kinds of orange now to be found in Japan, —perhaps the Citrus nobilis.

1 Both the locality and the etymology of Mitachi are obscure. Sugahara ("sedge-moor") is known to be in the province of Yámato.

2 *I.e.*, at the time of the burial of the great Empress, etc.

3 The character 祝 (“to pray”) in the text is indubitably a copyist's error for ″棺, coffin.” These stone coffins are described by Mr. Henry von Siebold in his "Notes on Japanese Archaeology" p. 5. It must be understood

that, from being the name of an office, Stone-Coffin-Maker (*Ishi-hi-tsukuri*) became a "gentile name."

4 *HanUhi-be*. The meaning of this expression becomes clear by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," which it may be worth while to quote at length from Mr. Satow's translation in pp. 329-330 of Vol. VIII, Pt. Ill, of these Transactions: "In 14 the autumn of the 32nd year, on the *tsuchi no to u* day of the moon, "which rose on the *ki no ye inu* day, the empress Hi-ba-su hime no "Mikoto (in another source called Hi-ba-su ne no Mikoto) died, and "they were several days going to bury her. The Mikado commanded" all his high officers, saying: "'We knew before that the practice of "following the dead is not good. In the case of the present burying, "'what shall be done?' Thereupon Nomi no Sukune advanced and "said: 'It is not good to bury living men standing at the sepulchre" "'of a prince, and this cannot be handed down to posterity. I pray "'leave now to propose a convenient plan, and to lay this before the "'sovereign.. And he sent messengers to summon up a hundred of "the clay-workers' tribe of the country of Idzumo, and he himself "directed the men of the clay-woikers' tribe in taking clay and "forming shapes of men, horses and various things, and presented "them to the Mikado, saying: 'From now and henceforward let it be "'the law for posterity to exchange things of clay for living men, "'and set them up at sepulchres.. Thereupon the Mikado rejoiced, u and commended Nomi no Sukune, saying: "Thy expedient plan "has truly pleased Our heart; 'and the things of clay were for the "first time set up at the tomb of Hi-ba-su hime no Mikoto. Where-u fore these things were called haniwa (a circle of clay). Then he sent "down an order, saying: 'From now and henceforward, be sure to "set up these things of clay at sepulchres, and let not men be slain.' "The Mikado bountifully praised Nomi no Sukune, bestowed on him "a kneading-place, and appointed him to the charge of the clay-"workers' tribe."

7 In the province of Yamato. In the old poetry there are many plays on this word *Saki*, which is homonymous with the Verb "to blossom." But whether that be its real derivation, it were hard to say. *Terama** appears to

signify “Budhist temple-space," an etymology which is embarrassing to the Shint5 commentators who, accepting every word of our text as authentic history, are hard-driven to explain how Buddhist temples could have existed in Japan before the date assigned for the introduction of Buddhism.

5 Tera is a Chinese word which came to Japan through the Corean.—W.G.A.

1 In the province of Yamato. The etymology of *Makimuhu* is obscure. *Hi-shiro*, is tentatively derived by Motowori from *hi*, the *Chamoecyparis obtusa* (a kind of conifer), and *shiro*, “an enclosure."

2 *Harima no inabi no oho-iratmme*. I nab i is also known under the alternative form of *Inami*: etymology uncértain.

3 *Waka-take Kibi tsu hiko*. *Waka-take* signifies “young brave."

4 *Kibi no omi*.

5 *Kushi* signifies "wondrous," and *wake* either "young." or “lord." The meaning of *tsunu* is obscure.

6 The names of this prince and the next signify respectively “great foot-pestle”† and “little foot-pestle,” the origin of the bestowal of which singular designations is thus related in the parallel passage of the “Chronicles:” “The Imperial child Oho-usu and His Augustness” Wo-usu were born together the same day as twins. The Heavenly "Sovereign, astonished, informed the foot-pestle. So the two Kings “were called Great Foot-pestle and Little foot-pestle." What the import of this passage may be is, however, a mystery both to Tanigaha Shisei and to Motowori.

† Is it not *usu*, the “mortar”? See note in the "Chronicles” where it is thought the upper and lower, stones of the quern or hand-mill are meant.—W.G A.

7 Motowori supposes *wo-guna* to have been an archaic word for “boy,” *me-gima* signifying “girl." *Yamato wo-guna* would thus signify” *the* boy of Japan,” a not inappropriate designation for this prince, who under his later name of Yamato-take (Japan Brave, i.e., "the brave man of Japan”) has remained as the chief legendary type of the martial prowess of his native land,

8 *I.e.,* Yamato Prince.

9 *Kamu-kushi no mikoto*, “divine wondrous,”

10 *Ya-saka no iri-bime no mikoto*. The signification of this name and of the next (*Ya-saka no iri-biko no mikoto*) is obscure.*

* Saka from the Chinese Shaku? —W.G.A.

11 *Waka-taraahi-hiko no mikotot i.e.*, "young and perfect prince.”

12 *I-ho'ki no iri-biko no mikoto*. Signification obscure.

13 *Or, Oshi-wake*, i.e., perhaps “Great Lord.”

14 *I-ho-ki no iri-bime no mikoto*. Signification obscure.

15 *Toyo-to-wake no mikoto, i.e.,* perhaps “luxuriant swift prince.”

16 *Nunoshiro no iratmme*. Signification obscure.

17 *Nunaki no rraisume*. Signification obscure.

18 *Kago-yori-hime no mikoto. Yori-hime* probably means “good princess." The sense of *Kago* is very doubtful, for it may either be the name of a place, or else identical with the Verb *kagayaku* “to shine," or with *Kago*, "a stag."

19 *Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto*. The signification of this name is obscure.

20 *Kibi no ye-hiko no mikoto*.

21 *Tahaki-hime no milcoto*. The meaning of *takaki* in this place is not certain.

22 *Oto-hime no mikotoy i.e.*, "the younger princess.”

23 *Himuka no Mi-hakashi-bime*. Mi hakash' signifies” august sabre." See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXVI p. 11, for a gloss on this curious name.

24 *Toyo-kwii-walce no miko, i.e.*, perhaps “lord of the luxuriant land," or else "lord of the land of Toyo,” the Empeior Kei-kō having, according to the account in the “Chronicles,” spent some years fighting in South-Western Japan, where the province of Toyo is situated.

25 *Inabi no waki-iraisime*. See Note 2 to this Section.

26 *Ma-waha no miko,* i.e.,” truly young prince.”

27 Hiko-hito no oho-ye no miko. Hiko signifies “prince,” *hito* is “person" (or here, according to Motowori, "headman"), and *oho-ye* is "great elder brother."

28 *Ka-guro-hime, i.e.*, probably "the black-haired princess."

29 *Sume-iro'oho-naka-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto*. The signification of this name is not clear. Motowori identifies sume with the like-sounding Verb signifying “to be supreme.” *Oho-naka-tsu-hiko* may signify “great middle prince,” referring to the comparative ages of this prince and his brethren.

30 There is here an evident error in the genealogy, as it would make the emperor marry his own great-great-grand daughter! A guess of the editor of 1687 that for Yamato-take we should read Waka-take (a son of the Emperor Kō-rei) is approved by Motowori, and may be adopted as probably correct, —i.e. (what is but little likely) if this portion of the “Records,' should eventually be proved to be historically trustworthy. The question is discussed by Motowori in Vol. XXVI, pp. 12-14, of his Commentary.

31 *Oho-ye no miko*. This name would, as Motowori remarks, appear to have erroneously crept in here through the influence of the name mentioned in Note 27, the whole account of this union with Princess Ka-guro being corrupt.

32 The Japanese term（王 miko）includes both males and females.

33 太子.

34 As above remarked, the Japanese term includes both males and females, and moreover some of the female children are specially mentioned. The difficulty as to how females could have been appointed to the offices here mentioned is not solved by Motowori, whose note on this passage is evasive.

35 The four names of offices (also used as “gentile names") here mentioned are in the original Japanese *Kuni no Miyatsako, Wake, Inaki* and *Agata-nushi*. (See Introduction, p. xvi.)

36 *Mamuta no murazhi*. (See Sect. LIII, Note 1).

37 *Mori no kimi. Mori* seems to be the name of a place (perhaps in Mino); but nothing is known of this family.

38 *Ohoia no kimi. Ohota* is the name of a place in Mino, and signifies great rice-fields.”

39 *Shimidi no kimi. Shimida* is perhaps the name of a place in Wohari. It signifies “island rice-field.”that “august child” signifies prince.

40 *Ki no huni no sakabe no abiko*. For *abiko* see Sect. LXXII, Note 85. *Sakabe* seems to signify “liquor tribe,” this family and the next having been entrusted with the management of the Imperial feasts.

41 *Uda no Sakabe, i.e.,* the “Liquor Tribe of Uda” (in Yamato).

42 *Himuka no kuni no miyatsuko*.

* This is Motowori, but is hardly satisfactory. Probably the text is corrupt.—W.G.A.

1 *I.e.*, the elder princess and the younger princess

2 See Sect. LXII, Note 36.

3 *Min u no kuni no miyatmko*.

4 *I.e.*, “gazed at them intently.” The Classical word *nagamuru*, "to gaze," is properly a compound of *naga*, “long," and miru, "to see."

† There is no causative in the Chinese, and the 'sorrow' might be the Tenno's. The causative form given by Motowori is probably meant to be Honorific only.—W.G.A.

5 The meaning of the syllables oshi in this name and the companion one (*Oahi-kuro no oto-hiko*) immediately below is probably “great;” *kuro* is obscure; *ye-hiko* signifies "elder prince" and *oto-hiko* “younger prince."

6 *Minu no Unesu no wake*. Of Unesu nothing is known.

7 *Mugetsu no himi*. Mugetsu or Muge was in the province of Minu (Mino).

1 Such is the reasonable explanation of the original term iabe（田部）given by Motowori. It seems to have become a” gentile name."

2 Kashihade no oho-tomo-be. This “gentile name” originally denoted one who was butler, steward, or cook, in the Emperor's household. The tradition of its origin is preserved in the "Chronicles."

3 Motowori supposes that the mention both is this history and in the “Chronicles of Japan" of the planting of bamboos on the banks of this pool

or lake should be attributed to the rarity of such a proceeding in ancient times.

1 Viz., to attend on his Imperial father.

2 *I.e.*, “How didst thou do it?"

3 Literally, “branches."

* Motowori thinks he may have survived this treatment! —W.G.A.

1 *I.e.*, presumably” bravoes at Kumaso; but it is to be remarked that in this and like compounds with takeru (“bravo") the Japanese language uses no Post-position. For Kumaso see Sect. V, Note 17.

2 Motowori seems right in interpreting "take" here and elsewhere in the sense of “slay.'' But “take” is in the text.

3 *I.e.*, caught up from the brow and tied together on the crown of the head. This being the way in which the hair of boys was dressed, the author thus intimates that His Augustness was still a youth.

4 Who was high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise, as mentioned in Sect. LXIX (Note 44).

5 The characters used for these last two words are those properly restricted to the mention of an Imperial progress, but Yamato-take is constantly spoken of as if he had actually sat on the throne.

6 The character used is 室, which simply means apartment; but see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1.

* Were they not actually dwelling in it? —W.G.A.

7 Motowori reads "*New* cave,” but the word” august" is in the text. At the same time we see that this feast was intended as a house-warming. *Conf.* the commencement of Sect. CLXIV.

† Merry-making? “Rejoicing” a little too comprehensive.—W.G.A.

8 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" puts the same meaning into plainer words. It says: “He undid his hair, and made it appear like a girl's."

9 Or, according to the old reading, 44 mixing with the concubines."

10 *I.e.*, the elder bravo of Kumaso.

11 The word rendered "steps" is of doubtful interpretation.

12 Or perhaps “the skin of his back” or “the [beast's?] skin on his back.” But Motowori is probably right* in supposing the character 皮, "skin” to be an error for 以, “with," to be construed with the word "sabre.” (In the English idiom this Particle falls away.)

* i" Yes.—W.G.A.

13 Written with the humble character 僕, “servant.”

14 The contemptuous Second Personal Pronoun ore is used here and in the next clause.

15 There is Motowori's authority for thus understanding the bravo's words. Taken still more literally, they would seem to imply that there were no brave and strong men in the West *excepting* himself and his brother.

16 The words "there is" are an attempt at rendering the termination *keri* of the original. See Sect. X, Note 1.

* The force of *Keri* here is somewhat like: “Yet in the land," etc.—” it has appeared that,"—“it has turned out that,"—"it would seem that”—" it has come to pass that,”—“I find that."—W.G.A.

17 *I.e.*, “Yamato-Brave," *q.d.*, “the Bravest in Yamato.” It is by his name that the hero is always commonly spoken of. Remember that "august child" signifies prince.

18 拆, "broke," in the text is, as the commentators observe, an evident error for 拆, "ripped."

19 Or specifically, the "musk-melon."

20 The translator has followed Motowori's restoration of this passage, in which, by the transposition of the characters 也 and 故, the end of this sentence and the beginning of the next were mixed together in the older editions.

21 Lit., "[they] praised the august name, calling him," etc.

22 Or, “of the Ana passage" (lit. door), the modern Strait of Shimonosski. The word *anu* signifies hole," and there is a tradition (which Motowori quotes in his note on this name in Vol. XXVII, pp. 26-29 of his Commentary) to the effect that formerly the Main Island and the island of

Kiushiu were continuous at this point, there being only a sort of natural tunnel, through which junks could pass.

1 The species mentioned (*chihi*) is the *Quereits gilva*.

2 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

* Cross-sword—W.G.A.

3 Lit., “let us join swords." The word “suggested” (魏) in this sentence is an emendation of Motowori's, the text having 誰, “slandered." The older printed editions, while retaining the character 誰, read it *azamulcite*, “deceived.”

4 In its position in the present text, this Song must be taken as an ironical lament of the Prince for the dead bravo. In the “Chronicles” the time and the heroes of the episode, and the singers of the Song are all different, and in that context the lament sounds like a genuine one. The reader will remember what was said in the Introduction as to the use of creepers for string. That mentioned in the text is supposed to be the *Coccuhis thunbergi*.

1 See Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

2 *Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take-hiko*. *Mi* is an Honorific, *mimi* probably signifies “ears, and take means “brave. The words suki and tomo are obscure.

3 *Kibi no omi*.

4 Properly the *Olea aquifolium*, which resembles holly. Motowori supposes that an entirely wooden spéar or stick is here meant to be spoken of, and not the weapon with a metal point which is commonly understood by the word "spear" (*hoko*).

5 Perhaps we should write “august court," for the characters 朝廷 in the text are evidently intended for the homonymous 御門. The court in front of the Deity’s temple is what is here alluded to, and it would perhaps be a not unpardonable departure from the text to insert the Preposition “at” or "in,"* and translate thus: “worshipped in the Deity's court.

* *Canf. mi-maye*. —W.G.A.

6 Here and below, the word “thinks” may be understood to mean “wishes.”

7 *Kusa-nagi no tsurugi*. The discovery of this sword by the deity Susa-no-wo ("Impetuous Male”) inside one of the tails of the eight-headed serpent which he had slain, is narrated at the end of Sect. XVIII.

8 The use of the contents of this bag will be seen in the next Section.

1 *Miyazu-hime* (in the” Chronicles” and in the printed editions of these “Records” previous to Motowori's written *Miyasu-hime* without the nigori). Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei makes any suggestion as to the signification of this name.

2 *Wohari no miyatsako*.

3 In later times *Sagami*. No authority great or small has given a satisfactory etymology of this name, though numerous and elaborate attempts have been made to explain it.

4 In the original *hi-uchi* （火打）. Mr. Satow, who has given a translation of this passage in a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" to be found in Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 202 of these "Transactions," renders this word by “steel." The present writer prefers not to prejudge the question as to whether the “fire-striker"* intended by the author was a steel, or a wooden fire-drill. Motowori would seem to have held the latter view, as in his gloss on this passage he refers to the previous passage near the end of Sect. XXXII, where the fire-drill is explicitly mentioned. He also quotes an ancient od in which “a fire-striker of metal” is specially referred to, so that it would seem that all fire-strikers were not of that material.

* The word "strike," seems hardly applicable to a fire-drill.—W.G.A.

5 Remember that this word “Ruler," (*Miyatsuko*) had the acceptation of a “gentile name,, as well as of the name of an office, so that we may understand the author to mean that Yamato-take destroyed the whole Ruling Family of Sagami. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles” has “he burnt all that rebel band, and destroyed them.”

6 The words rendered “that place" are supplied by Motowori, their omission being evidently a copyist's error. *Yaki-dzu* signifies "the port of

burning."

1 *I.e.*, "running water."

2 *I.e.*, his consort. Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.

3 *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto.* (See Sect. XCII, Note 3.)

4 Written with the humble character 妾, literally "concubine."

5 *I.e.,* "instead of thee, the Prince."

6 More literally, "finish the government."

7 Or "mats." But the same word is used as that which must be translated “rugs" immediately below.

8 This Song gives much trouble to the commentators, whose remarks (to be found in Motowori's "Commentary," Vol. XXVII, pp. 67-9, and Moribe’s *"Idzuno Koto-wahi,"* Vol. Ill, pp. 6-9) should be consulted by the student desirous of forming an opinion of his own. The general purport of the poem is of course to allude to Yamato-take's adventure on the burning moor, and at the same time to the love which bound him and his consort together; but almost each individual line offers matter for doubt. Thus it is not certain whether the Verb *tohishi*, here rendered "enquired of" (*i.e.,* attended upon *q.d.*,by the Empress), should not rather be given the word "thou" as Subject, in which case the signification would be “thou who enquiredst of [*i.e.,* wooedst].” The word used for “thou” is the Honorific equivalent of that Pronoun, signifying literally “prince." Moribe disputes the propriety of considering Sagamu in this place as the name of a province; and the word *sanesashi,* here translated "where the true peak pierces (Mt. Fuji being by some supposed to be thus alluded to) is of very doubtful interpretation. Motowori tells us that the final Particles *ha mo*, rendered by the initial Interjection "Oh,” should here be understood as an exclamation of grief,* a signification more forcible than that which usually belongs to them. Finally Moribe points out that the Song does not suit the context in which it is found, and has probably been erroneously inserted here instead of in an earlier portion of the text.

* *Nageki-kotoba* is simply an interjection,—not necessarily of grief. —W.G.A.

1 This is the traditional ancient reading of what is according to the modern pronunciation *Yezo,* while the Chinese characters 虫 夷, with which the name is written, signify “Prawn Barbarians," in allusion (if Motowori may be trusted) to the long beards which make their faces resemble a prawn's head. The hairy barbarians known to English readers as *Ainos,* and whose name of *Yezo* is applied by the Japanese to the northernmost large island of the Japanese Archipelago, which is still chiefly tenanted by them, are almost certainly here referred to. In ancient times they inhabited a great part of the Main Island of Japan. The translator may add that the genuineness of the so-called ancient reading *"Yemishi"* appears to him doubtful. The name known to the people themselves, and which apparently can be traced as far as Kamschatka, is *Yezo.*

2 *Ashigara-zaka,* one of the passes from Sagami into Suruga leading towards Mount Fuji.

3 *I.e.,* lying in ambush.

4 *Nira,* the *Allium odorum.*

* With a scrap of the wild chive which was left over from his meal.—W.G.A.

5 *I.e.,* “Oh! my wife!” *Adzuma* is still used as a poetical designation of Eastern Japan. The translator doubts the correctness of the derivation of it given in the text, although it is universally accepted and certainly fits in well with the graceful legend by which it is here accounted for.

1 This name is identified by the native etymologists with an homonymous Substantive signifying “a place between mountains.”

2 The etymology of this name is uncertain. But the most likely opinion is that it signifies “a zigzag road down a pass.”

3 *I.e.,* since leaving the province of Hitachi, of which Tsukuha (in modern parlance *Tsukuba,* with the last syllable *niyori’*ed) and Nihibari (modern *Nihiharu*) are two districts. In the later poetry *Nihibari no* is often used as a Pillow-Word for ths name of Mount Tsukuba. The etymology of both names is uncertain, but “newly tilled seems to be the most probable etymology of the first of the two.

4 Not necessarily a fire kindled for the sake of obtaining warmth, but fire in general, including, as Motowori suggests, torches and fires lit to drive away mosquitoes. There are frequent mentions in the classical literature of this latter sort of fire, which may indeed still be met with in some disti icts where mosquito-nets are not yet in common use.

* Continued.—W.G.A.

5 The meaning is:” On counting up, I find that we have been ten days and nine nights.” —Previous to Motowori the expression *ka-ga nabete,* "having put in a row (*i.e.,* counted) the days” was curiously misunderstood, and subjected to various far-fetched interpretations. There can however be no doubt but that Motowori is right.—The reason why the old man is said to have “completed”* the Prince's song is that the former taken alone is of incomplete rhythm.†

* Continued.—W.G.A.

† Metre; but with the old man's verse added, no verse of any recognised metre is produced.-—W.G.A.

6 Or, as Motowori would prefer to consider it,” the Rulership of *an* Eastern Land," viz., one out of the twelve Eastern provinces.

1 See Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

2 *Shinanu no saka,* a pass between the provinces of Shinano and Mino which is no longer used.

3 Even taken apart from its immediate context, the import of this Song is plain, notwithstanding Moribe's efforts to explain away its indelicacy. The details of the first part, however, require some comment in order to make them comprehensible to the European reader, the words in question being those which might in English be rendered "thy fragile, slender, delicate arm [which resembles] a post" striking against the sharp sickle on Mount Kagu of the gourd- "shaped heaven." In Japanese they run thus:

Hisa-kata no
    Ame no Kagu—yama
To-kama ni
    Sa-wataru kuhi:—

Hiha-boso

Ta-waya-gahina wo, etc.

It will he remarked that the first four lines form a “Punning Preface to the fifth. Such Punning Prefaces have not necessarily any logical connection with what follows, as has been explained by the present writer in a paper “On the Use of Pillow-Words and Plays upon Words in Japanees Poetry," to be found in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 et seq. of these "Transactions.” In this particular case, however, there is sufficient continuity of sense to warrant the continuous translation above given. The word "post," though such a use of it is very curious, must be understood to denote not a dead, but a living trunk, or rather the stem of some delicate plant or grass which falls beneath the sickle of the mower on Mount Kagu in Heaven, or, as it may better be understood, on the Heavenly Mount Kagu [in Yamato].” Gourd-shaped” is the translation of hisa-kata no or hisa-gata no, the Pillow-Word for "heaven.” Its meaning is disputed, but Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words” and Motowori agree in giving to it the sense here adopted (see the above-mentioned paper "On the Use of Pillow-Words, etc.,” p. 81).

4 The total sense of this Song is quite plain.—In the first lines of it the Prince is addressed as if he were the reigning sovereign. The words *placidè administrationem faciens* represent the Japanese *yasumishishi,* the Pillow-Word for *ua ga oho-kimi,* “my great lord." Elsewhere the English rendering "who tranquilly carries on the government" has been adopted. The word aratama no, rendered by the adjective renovatis, is the Pillow-Word for “sun,” “moon,, and "year,” and is of not quite certain import. The interpretation here adopted has, however, for it the weight of probability and of native authority, Mabuchi in his “Dictionary of Pillow-Words” deriving it from the Verb aratamaru, "to be renewed.”

5 The characters in the text might also be rendered “he made a progress," as they are those only properly applied to the movements of a reigning sovereign. Here and elsewhere, however, they are used in speaking of Yamato-take. (Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.)

6 On the frontier of Afumi (Ōmi) and Mino. *Ibuki* seems to signify" blowing," in allusion, it is said, to the pestilential breath or influence of the god by whom the place was tenanted. The word rendered "Mount" is supplied by the editor of 1687.

1 *I.e.,* without weapons, and specifically without the magic sword which he had left behind in Princess Miyazu's house.

2 Or "ox'" or" cow," the original word not distinguishing between the sexes.

3 The Japanese expression *koto-age shite*, here rendered lifted up words," very frequently has the signification of "lifting up a prayer" to some superhuman being. In this passage, however, it conveys no more than its proper etymological meaning,

4 Viz., the god of Mount Ibuki.

5 Perhaps "hail" may be intended by this expression, and so Motowori decides. But this interpretation of the term seems to agree less well with the Song in Sect. CXLII.

6 The commentators disagree as to whether this note should or should not be considered to form part of the original text. Motowori so considers it. He however, in the opinion of the translator, is not happy in his alteration of the *kana* reading given by the editor of 1687, which latter has accordingly been followed in the English version.

7 The literal meaning of this name is "jewel-store-tribe;" but complete uncertainty attaches both to the etymology of the word and to the position of the place. The first printed edition has *Tama-kuhi-be.*

8 He had been misled and dazed, but now came to himself again. Thence, according to the etymology of our author, the name of *Wi-same,* which signifies "dwelling (resting) aud awaking," given to the spring.

1 *Tagi-nu.* We might, following the Chinese characters, translate thus: "and arrived on the Moor of Tagi." But the character 上 has in this context scarcely any meaning. The real etymology of *Tagi* (in classical and modern parlance *taki* without the *nigori)* is" rapid "or "waterfall," the cascade formed by the River Yō-rō in Mino being alluded to. The derivation in the

next sentence of the text from *tagishi,* supposed to mean “a rudder," is a mere fancy.

2 The word here rendered “rudder” is *tagishi,* which is written phonetically and does not occur elsewhere, except in a few Proper Names of doubtful import. There is however some probability in favour of the meaning assigned to it by the native commentators.

3 *Tsuwe-tsuki-zaka, i.e.,* "the pass of leaning on a staff." It is in the province of Ise between Yokaichi and Ishi-yakushi.

* Motowori says mote mae means post, so that the translation should be “at the post of the single pine-tree."—W.G.A.

4 Wotsu-no-saki, in the province of Ise. The name probably signifies harbour of the mountain declivity.”

5 The former portion of the text tells us nothing either of the meal or of the sword here mentioned.

6 This quaintly simple and apparently very ancient poem needs no elucidation.

7 In Ise. Mi-he signifies "three-fold."

8 This is the literal rendering of the text. Motowori thinks, however, that we should understand that there were various swellings on his legs, such as would be produced if the limb were tightly tied round with cord in three places.

9 *Nobo-nu* in the province of Ise. The name seems to signify the moor of mounting."

10 The Chinese character here used signifies simply “thinking of;” but in such a context its common Japanese interpretation is” loving or regretting,"* and so Motowori means us to understand it when he reads shinuhashite.

* Longing for.—W.G.A.

11 Viz., Yamato.

12 This Song and the two following form but one in the pages of the “Chronicles," where they appear with several verbal differences, and are attributed, not to the Prince, but to his father the Emperor. Moribe decides

that in the latter particular the text of these “Records' gives the preferable account, but that the “Chronicles” are right in making the three Songs one continuous poem. The expression “this Song is a Land-Regretting Song” strongly supports this view; for though we might also render in the Plural “these Songs are, etc.," such a translation would be less natural, as in similar cases the numeral is used, thus” these *two* Songs are, etc." The expression “this is an Incomplete Song" points as decidedly to some mutilation of the original document, from which the compiler of the “Records" copied this passage. Taking then the three Songs as one, the entire drift is that of a paean on Yamato, the poet's native land, which he could not hope ever to see again:—Commencing by praising its still seclusion as it lies there behind its barrier of protecting mountains, he goes on to mention the rural pleasures enjoyed by those who, wandering over the hill-sides, deck their hair with garlands of leaves and flowers. For himself indeed these delights are no more; "but," says he, "do you, ye children full of health and happiness! pursue "your innocent enjoyment!" In conclusion he lovingly apostrophises the clouds which, rising up from the south-west, are, as it were, messengers from home. The word *mahoroba*, rendered” secluded," is a great crux to the commentators, and Motowori's “Examination of the Synonyms of Japan,” pp. 17-18, and Moribe's “*Idzu no Koto Waki*," Vol. III, p. 31, should be consulted by the student desirous of forming his own opinion on the point. Another apparent difficulty is the word *gomoreru,* whose position in the sentence Motowori seems to have misunderstood. By following Moribe, and taking it as compounded with the word *Awogaki-yama* into *Awogaki-yama-gomoreru* the difficulty vanishes, and we are likewise relieved from the necessity of supposing anything so highly improbable as that the Verb *komoreru,* when not compounded, should have commenced with a *nigoried* syllable. “Complete signifies healthy." Mount Heguri is preceded in the original by*tatamikomo* (Moribe reads *tatamigomo* with the *nigori*), a Pillow-Word whose import is disputed. In any case, being a punning one, it cannot be translated. For the "bear-oak" see Sect. LXXII, Note 19. Moribe labours, but without success, to prove

that "come," the last word of the translation, signifies "go," and imagines that the prince is expressing his envy of the clouds which are rising and going off in the direction of the home which he will never revisit.

13 *I.e.*, a Song of loving regret for his native land.

14 "Incomplete Song" must be understood as the designation of a poem of a certain number of lines, viz., three, and was probably given by comparison with the greater length of poetical compositions in general,*

* This seems hardly consistent with the statement on the preceding page that a mutilation of the original poem is implied. W.G.A.

15 This poem is an exclamation of distress at the thought of the sword which he had left with his mistress Princess Miyazu and which, if he had had it with him, would doubtless have preserved him from the evil influences of the god of Mount Ibuki, which were the beginning of his end. —"Sabre-sword" (*tsarugi no tachi*) is a curious expression, which Motowori interprets as signifying "sharp sword," while Moribe thinks it means "double-edged sword."

1 *I.e.*, wives. It will be remembered that the historian habitually mentions Yamato-take as if he had been Emperor.

2 *Q.d.*, to the land of Ise.

3 The drift of the Song is a comparison of the helpless wanderings of the mourners in the neighbourhood of the tomb to the convolutions of the *Dioscorea quinqueloba* (a creeping plant) growing among the rice in the adjacent fields. But there are evidently some lines omitted. If we were to adopt the elegant verses conjecturally supplied by Moribe, the entire translation would run thus: "The *Dioscorea "qninqueloba* crawls hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among "the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]; "but though, like it, we crawl hither and thither and weep and speak "to thee, thou answerest not a word"—Moribe supposes this poem to be the Empress's composition, and the following three to have proceeded from the children.

4 As usual when the word *chidori* (defined as "any kind of dotterel, plover or sandpiper") is used, it is doubtful what bird is really intended. At

the end of this Section we are told that the Mausoleum was called the" Mausoleum of the White Bird（白鳥）." Specifically, however, these characters are used with their Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of *haku-chō* as the name of the swan. But as swans are nowhere else mentioned is these "Records," and as moreover their habits are not such as to accord with the legend here narrated, it will perhaps be safer to retain "dotterel" in the translation. "Heron"* also has been suggested.

* I have observed that several of the *misasagi* are favourite haunts of the white egret (paddy bird) for roosting at night and for nesting. They are usually overgrown with trees, and are protected by a moat and also by their sacred character. Compare Nihongi viii, 2, (pp. 217-218 Aston's translation.) —W.G.A.

* Across.—W.G.A.

5 The signification of this Song is: "It is easy enough for thee, "thou bird-spirit! to fly through the air. But remember that we are "on foot, and that our feet are getting torn by the short stubble of "the bamboo-grass (*Bambusa shino*.)"

6 When the bird flew over the sea, they too waded after it through the waves.

7 The signification of the Song is: "As we pursue thee through "the sea, we sink in the waves up to our middles, and totter like the "water-plants against which strikes the current of a great river."— The word *uwe-gusa*, lit. "herbs planted," is curious; but it simply means "herbs growing," as in the translation (*conf.* our word "plant"). The latter part of the poem is in the original highly elliptical.

8 The point of this Song seems to rest on a delicate distinction between the words *hama*, "beach" and *iso** "seaside," which does not obtain in the later Japanese language any more than it does in English. Both *hama* and *iso*, "beach" and "seaside," denote the boundary-line between sea and land; but we must suppose with the commentators that, while the former was used with special reference to the land, the latter considered the idea (so to speak) from the point of view of the sea. The import of the Song is therefore

to upbraid the bird for flying over the waves instead of flying along the adjacent shore.

* *Iso* seems related to *ishi* and *iwa*. The Chinese character also contains the element 石 “stone.” Could iso therefore be "a rocky beach," *hama*, corresponding rather to our word "strand"? The dotterel is fond of sandy places close to the sea rather than of stones and rocks.—W.G.A.

9 *I.e.,* says Motowori, from Ise.

10 Not to be confounded with the Shiki in Yamato, which is written with different phonetic characters.

11 The Verb used in the original is *shidzumeru,* “to repress,” “to quiet,” “to lay, "to establish,” hence “to build a temple to a god," "to worship." The grammatical vagueness of the Japanese language helps in all this passage to presérve the connection of ideas in a manner which it is difficult to render in an English translation. Using no pronouns, it does not require to specialise in each instance whether it is the bird that is meant, or Yamato-take, but the two are confounded together in language as they were in thought.

12 *Shriaa-tori no misasalci.* According to the parallel passage of the “Chronicles," it was not only this tomb in Kafuchi, but the previously mentioned tomb at Nobonu, and also another in Yamato, which were severally known by this designation.

1 The name signifies “seven-grasp shins," implying that the worthy here mentioned was so big and strong as to have shins seven hand-breadths* in length. For the use of the word “grasp" as a measure of length, sée Sect. VIII, Note 1.

* Spans? —W.G.A.

2 This family has already been mentioned at the end of Sect. XXXIV, as descended from Ama-tsu-kume no Mikoto, one of the companions of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather on the occasion of his descent from Heaven. But see Note 7 to that Sect, for the probable mistake with regard to ths origin of the name. iFor this name see Sect. LXIX, Note 24.

1 For this name see Sect. LXIX, Note 24.

2 *I.e.,* "the perfect middle prince," a name which is justified by the genealogy as given in the “Chronicles," where he is mentioned as the second of three sons borne by this princess.

3 *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto. Oto* signifies “younger [sister]," and *tachibana* is the name of the orange.

4 See the story in Sect. LXXXIV.

5 *Waka-take no miko*. This name signifies “young brave.”

6 *Futaji-hime*. Signification obscure. Futaji may be the name of a place.*

* The Nihongi makes her the same person as the princess of that name. —W.G.A.

7 If *Tamu* is, as Motowori surmises, the name of a place, this personal name signifies “Great Lord of Tamu.”

8 *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no kuni no miyatsuko.* For *Yasu* see Sect. LXII, Note 62.

9 *Ine-yori-wake no miko.* This name probably signifies “rice-good-lord.”

10 *Oho-kibi-take-hime. Oho* signifies great.” For the other two elements of the compound see next Note.

11 The text has *Kibi no omi Take-hiko*, if this worthy had been himself the “Grandee of Kibi." Motowori however compares the commencement of Sect. LXXXI I (Note 2 and 3), and supplies the words “ancestor of." *Kibi* is of course the province of that name (the modern Bizen, Bitchiu, and Bingo), and *take* signifies “brave."

12 *Take-kahiko no m'ko. Take* signifies brave," *kahiko* is either "egg” or "cocoon,” ol else perhaps a corruption of some other word.

13 *Yamashiro no Kukuma-mori-hime.* This name is obscure. Motowori identifies *Kakuma* with a place called *Kurikuma,* and *mori* is probably the Verb "to guard."

14 *Ashi-kagami-wake no miko.* This name is written with characters signifying "foot-mirror-[lord]."*

* Or *kagami* is "bent,"—"club-foot "? —W.G.A.

15 *Okinaga-ta-wake no miko.* This name is obscure. Motowori believes Okinaga to be the name of a place in Afumi, but has no explanation to offer of ta.

16 *Inukami no kimi.* Inukami is the name of a district in Afumi. Its signification is not clear.

17 *Takebe no kimi. Takebe* became the name of a place in Idzumo, but it originally signified" brave tribe," the family having, as in so many other cases, given its name to the place of its residence, instead of being called after the latter. See the origin of the name, given in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXIX, pp. 35-36.

18 *Sanugi no Aya no kimi.* For *Sanugi* see Sect. V, Note 6. *Aya* is a district in the province; the name is of doubtful origin.

19 *Iyo no wahe no kimi.* For *lyo* see Sect. V, Note 4. (The text here has Ise for lyo, and the word wake is missing, but Motowori's emendation may be accepted.) Wake is the name of a district in lyo.

20 *Towo no wake.* Of *Towo* nothing is known.

21 *Masa no obito.* Of *Masa* nothing is known.

22 *Miyaji*（官道）*no wake.* This is Motowori's ingenious emendation of the characters in the text, 官昏, out of which it is impossible to make a family name. Miyaji is the name of a place in the province of Mikaha, and signifies "temple road.

23 *Kamakura no wake.* Kamakura is the name of a district in the province of Sagami, which became famous during the Middle Ages as the site of an immense town,—the capital of the Shōguns, and the centre of the feudalism which then ruled Japan. The import of the name (literally "sickle-store") is not clear, though it has been fancifully explained by native etymologists.

24 *Wodzu no kimi.* The words *no kimi* are supplied by Motowori, this name and the next being in the text run into one. Wodzu seems to be the name of a place in Afumi, and signifies "little mart."

25 *Ihashiro no wake.* Motowori says that this Ihashiro is not the province of that name, but a placc in Kishiu. The meaning of the name is

obscure.

26 *Fukita mo wake.* This is but Motowori's conjectural restoration (founded on a statement in the “Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages") of the name as given in the text, 漁田.

27 *Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko. Kuhimata*(modern *Kumata*) is the name of a place in Settsu. The signification is obscure. *Naga-hiko* means “long prince."

28 *Ihinu-ma-guro-hime,* i.e., “quite black princess of Ihinu,” the blackness* being doubtless predicated of her hair. *Ihinu* is the name of a district in Ise, aud is written with characters signifying” boiled-rice-moor."

* Where everybody's hair is black this is not much of a distinction.—W.G.A.

29 For *Okinaga* see Note 15. *Ma-waka* means “truly young.” *Naka-tsu-hime* means “middle princess,” referring to her being the second of three.

30 *I.e.,* "younger princess."

31 See Sect. LXXVI, Note 29.

32 *Shibami-hime.* This name is obscure.

33 *Shibanu iri-ko.* This name is obscure.

34 *Ka-guro-hime,* see Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

35 For the confusion in this portion of the genealogy see Sect. LXXVI, Note 30.

36 *Shiro-fcane no miko, Shiro-kane* means “silver," but Motowori suspects corruption in the text.

37 *Oho-nagata no miko,* i.e., "great prince of Nagata," the latter being the name of a place in Settsu, signifying long rice-field"

38 *I.e.,* "great middle princess."

39 Literally, "ancestress."

40 Or, “the King of Kagosaka,” for it is uncertain whether Kago-saka should or should not be regarded as the name of a place. The etymology of the name may be *kago,*"a stag" and *saka,* "an ascent." The original form of the name and title is *Kagosaka no miko.*

41 Or, “the King of Oshikuma," *Oshikuma no miko. Oshikuma* is a word of doubtful etymology.

1 See Sect. LXVIII, Note 1.

1 *Shiga no Taka-anaho. Shiga* is the name of a well known district, and is of uncertain signification, as is also *Taka-anaho.* For *Chika-tsu-Afumi* see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

2 *Oto-takari no iratsume. Oto* signifies “younger [sister]," and *takara* is treasure."

3 *Oshiyama* is the name of a place in Ise, *take* signifies “brave," and *tari* and *ne* are Honorifics of frequent occurrence.

4 *Hodzumi no omi.* See Sèct. LXI, Note 4.

5 *Waka-nuke no miko.* This name is of doubtful signification, and Motowori suspects that it is corrupt, and that the true reading would be *Waka-take,* "young-bra ve."

6 See Sect. LXI, Note 25.

7 大臣．Motowori tries to prove that in the earlièst times this official title was simply an Honorific surname formed by prefixing the Adjective 大，“great” to 臣，a surname read *“Omi"* (the character signifies properly “attendant,” “subject”). Probably like other "gentile names it combined both characters, and had a tendency to become hereditary.

8 *Oho-kuni wo-kuni no kuni no miyatsuko.*

9 *Oho-agata wo-agata no agata nushi*（大縣小縣之，縣主）．Their dunes are supposed to have consisted in supervising the government farms.'

10 For *Saki* see Sect. LXXV, Note 5. *Tatanami* may perhaps signify "putting shields is a row."

1 For *Anado* see Sect. LXXX (Note 22). *Toyora* (for *Toyo-ura)* signifies "fertile shore.”

2 This name seems to be derived from that of the evergreen oak. It will be noticed that both these capitals are in the South-Western Island of Kiushiu, whereas, from Jim-mu downwards, the capitals of all the Emperors previously mentioned are either in Yamato or in one of the adjacent central provinces.

3 For this and the three following names see Sect. XCII, and for *Okinaga tarashi* Sect. LXI, Note 72.

4 Written 大 后. It is she who is celebrated in Japanese history under thè name of Jin-gō Kō-gō, and in the “Chronicles her reign is counted separately. In these "Records,” however, the period of her rule is considered as forming part of the reign of her son O-jin

5 The signification of this name is obscure.

6 *I.e.,* "great elbow-pad lord," *tomo* signifying “elbow-pad.” The next sentence of the text gives the traditional origin of this curious name.

7 *I.e.,* lord of Homuda. *Homuda* is supposed by Motowori and Moribe to be the name of a place, they (apparently with reason) rejecting as a late addition a note to the “Chronicles," which states that *homuda* was synonymous with *tomo* "elbow-pad."

8 For “heir apparent” see Sect. XXXIII, Note 2.

9 This word, says Motowori, is redundant.

10 For the use of elbow-pads in war see Sect XIII, Note 7.

11 The word rendered "rule" *(jihiru,* 知) is supplied by the editor of 1687. Motowori supplies the evident lacuna in the text by the word “establish” (sadamuru 定); but this seems less good. Motowori's reasons for taking the word *kuni* (“country”) in the Plural are, however, convincing, — the three countries into which Korea was anciently divided, and which are appropriately designated by the title of San kan（三韓）being evidently designated by the expression in the text, as may be seen both by reference to the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," and also by considering that in this manner that warlike implement the elbow-pad, with the semblance of which the young Emperor was born, obtains its proper significance. This Emperor (for it is he who is known as O-jin Ten-nŌ) is sometimes designated by the name of the "Emperor in the Womb"(胎中天皇).

1 At what time, we are not told.

* Himeko in the Chinese historical notices of Japan was skilled in magic, with which she deluded the people. Compare the Biblical expression “to be in the spirit," with *Ki-Shin*

2 See Sect. V, Note 17.

3 This is Motowori's interpretation of the obscure original word *sa-niha,*† which is written phonetically. He supposes it to have been so called as being a place used for enquiring the will of the gods, and therefore kept clean and held in reverence. "Place" would perhaps represent the Japanese word *niha* as well as "court," though “court” has been its usual acceptation in later times.

† *Sa* is phonetic, but not *niha.* See Notes on this word in Nihongi IX, 2, (p. 255 Aston's translation.)—W.G.A.

4 Literally, “making gold and silver the origin."

5 Motowori tells us to understand “saying in the sense of "thinking."

6 As already frequently remarked, the Japanese mind does not occupy itself much with the distinction (to us all-important) of Sin-gular and Plural. The reason why the translator renders the word *kami* by the Plural "Deities” throughout this passage is because we learn later on that four divine personages were intended by the author.

7 With the commentators we must accept this as an alternative name of Hades, without being able satisfactorily to explain it. The expression "eighty road-windings" *(yaso kumade)* in Sect. XXXII (Note 27) may be compared with this one.

8 *I.e.,* "I tremble, Sire, for the consequences of thine impiety."

* By and by,—after a little.—W.G.A.

1 A temporary resting-place for the corpse before interment. (See Sect. XXXI, Note 20).

* Chapel?—W.G.A.

2 Or if, with Motowori, we take country in the Plural, "the great offerings of the countries," *i.e.,* of the various countries or provinces of Japan or of Kiushiu. These “offerings" *(musa)* are the same as those mentioned in Sect. XVI (Notes 24 and 25) under the names *nigi-te* and *mitegura.* They consisted of cloth, for which in later times paper has been substituted.

† Motowori well observes that *tsumi* includes *kegare* (pollutions) *ashiki waza* (ill deeds) and *wazawa* (calamities). But in this passage it is unnccessary to take the word in its widest sense.—W.G.A.

3 There are different views as to the exact bearing of this curious expression. Conf. Sect. XV, Note 10.

† Motowori thinks the live flaying is the same as the *sakahagi* which I suppose he understands to be "wrongful" flaying. — W.G A.

§ Urine is not mentioned. See page 63 of this translation, and compare with the *Oho-harahi norito* translation in T. A. S. J. reprints Vol. II, 1927. Would it not be possible to take the last of these two characters 尿戸 as an ideograph? The meaning would them be committing a nuisance in a house or at a door. A comparison of the doings of *Susa-no-o* favours the former of the two suppositions.—W.G.A.

4 *I.e.,* incest between parents and children.

5 *I.e.,* a general purification.

6 The Deities now speak to, as well as through, the Empress. Before the quotation marks announcing their words we must understand some such clause as "and they added this divine charge" It would also be possible to translate the whole passage thus: "Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was ‘[Things] being exactly as on the former day, altogether this land," etc., etc.

7 *I.e.,* in the Empress's womb. Motowori supposes that she is thus spoken of as a Deity on account of her being at that moment divinely possessed.

8 Literally, "heart."

9 *Soko-dzu-tsu-no-wo, Naka-dzu-tsu-no-wo* and *Uha-dzu-tsu-no-wo,* three of the deities born at the time of the purification of Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") on his return from Hades, and known collectively as the Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. (See Sect. X, Notes,18 and 22.) The grammar of this sentence is, as Motowori remarks, not lucid. One would expect the author to say that it was "the august doing of all the four deities mentioned.

10 *I.e.,* says Motowori, they then first informed Take-uchi who they were. Up to that time, it had not been known by what Deities the Empress was possessed. Mabuchi, however, rejected this gloss as a later addition.

11 *I.e.,* the sacred offerings of white and blue cloth.

12 Here written with the Chinese locution 天神地祖, by some rendered “the Spirits of Heaven and Earth." *Conf.* Sect. I, Note 11. '

13 Here, as before, the Singular would be at least as natural an interpretation as the Plural. The three ocean-deities are supposed to be specially referred to, and in that case, the three being easily conceived as one (like the deified peaches mentioned in Sect. IX, Note 19) owing to the want of discrimination in Japanese between Singular and Plural, we might retain the singular in English. Altogether the Sun-Goddess seems out of place in this passage, and it would be satisfactory to have some authority for expunging from it the mention of her name.

* In, on, on board of? —W.G.A.

14 Or, "into a gourd."

15 In the original *maki*（具木）. In modern parlance *ma-ki* signifies the P. *macrophylla*, as in the translation. It is however uncertain whether that or the *Chamcecyparis obtusa* (both being conifers), or simply any "true *(i.e.,* good) tree" is here intended by the author.

16 *I.e.,* broad shallow platters made of the leaves of the oak-tree, and used for placing food on.

17 *Viz.,* that in which the Empress herself took passage.

1 *I.e.,* "the wave on which the august vessel was riding."

2 In Sinico-Japanese *Shin-ra*（新 羅）’ one of the three states into which Korea was anciently divided, the other two being known in pure Japanese as *Kudara* and *Koma* (in Sinico-Japanese *Hiyaku-sai* and *Kō-rai,* 百濟 and 高鹿）. *Shiragi* is evidently a mere corruption of the Sinico-Japanese form, which closely resembles the native Korean *Sin-la.* The origin of the pure Japanese forms of the other two names is obscure.

3 The editions previous to Motowori's have "King"（王 instead of 主）but as the latter character is used in all parallel passages of this work, we

must attribute the occurrence of the former in this single place to a copyist's error, and accuse the author rather than his commentator of the ill-natured degradation of the Korean King into a mere chieftain (more literally a "master").

4 The character 奏, which is here used, is that employed in speaking of a subject addressing his sovereign.

5 Literally "bellies."

6 Literally, "with heaven and earth."

7 See Note 2.

8 *I.e.,* "the sea-store" The author means to say that from the Land of Kudara tribute was to be paid with the regularity implied by the King's asseveration to the effect that the keels, poles, and oars of the [tribute-bearing] vessels should never remain dry.

* Planted her august staff at the gate, etc. *Cf.* the Nihongi version.—W.G.A.

9 *Ara-mi-tama,* the antithetical term to which is *Nigi-mi-tama,* "Gentle August Spirit." We also find *Saki-mi-tama,* and *Kushi-mi-tama,* which signify respectively "August Luck-Spirit" and "Wondrous August Spirit." In this passage it must be understood that the spirits which floated above the Imperial junk to protect it were the "Gentle August Spirits," while the "Rough August Spirits" presided at the Empress's feats of arms and kept the enemy in subjection. Motowori warns us not to fall into the mistake of supposing that the Rough and Gentle Spirits of a god were separate individualities, they being only, according to him, various manifestations of the same individuality. The student is advised to consult his beautifully written note on the subject of these spirits in Vol, XXX, pp. 72-75 of his Commentary.

10 See Sect. X, Note 22.

11 Literally “established and worshipped.” Motowori says that this mention of their being laid to rest is made with an implied reference to the journey on which the deities in question had accompanied the Imperial army. He also tries to prove that this laying to rest of the deities must have

occurred after the return of the Empress to Japan, as it is not possible to suppose that the gods could find a home in a foreign land (!). But the wording of the text is against him.

12 Literally “government."

13 *I.e.,* as Motowori suggests, "she wrapped the stone up, and tied it onto the waist of her skirt in something resembling a sash."

14 In South-Western Japan.

15 *I.e.,* "bearing." The word, however, also signifies "sea." According to the “Chronicles "the original name of the village was Kada.

16 This word signifies "thread," and would therefore, one might think, find a more appropriate place in the legend next narrated, where the "threads" of the Empress's garment are specially mentioned.

* The Nihongi places this section before the Korean expedition.—W.G.A.

1 *I.e.,* "jewel-island."

2 *Matsura-gata*. The “Chronicles” give an absurd derivation of Matsura from the Adjective medzurashi, "astonishing," which the Empress is supposed to have ejaculated on finding a trout hooked to her line! The obvious etymology is matsu-ura, "pine-beach.”

3 The character in the original is 確 (for 機), in Japanese *iso,* which may or may not be connected with the word *ishi,* "stone." In any case Motowori is not justified in saying that it must be understood to mean "stone in this place, as *iso* means rather a sandy than a stony place, rising above the water level.

4 In Japanese *ayu,* a small species of the salmon family *(Pleco-glossus altivelis).*

5 *I.e.,* "little river.”

6 *I.e.,* "princess of the gate of victory." But though the words lend themselves to this interpretation, it can hardly be supposed that such is their real etymology, and- indeed the editor of 1687 draws attention in a Note to the difficulty of accepting the statement in the text.

1 Literally, "the hearts."

2 *I.e.,* a boat or junk containing a coffin. We might also (adopting the interpretation given by the older editors to the character in this passage) translate by “specially prepared a mourning-vessel."

* *I.e.,* ship.—W.G.A.

3 These two princes, who are first mentioned at the end of Sect. XCII (Notes 40 and 41), were, according to the story, elder sons of the late monarch Chiū-ai, and therefore step-sons of the Empress Jin-gō and half-brothers to the young Emperor Ō-jin.

4 Literally, “wait for and catch." This "catch" is always taken † by Motowori to mean "slay."

† Rightly, I think.—W.G.A.

5 *Toga-nu.* It was in the province of Settsu. The etymology of the name is obscure.

‡ Meaning, I suppose, that they hunted wild beasts in order to judge of their fortune by the results of the chase.—W.G.A.

6 The species mentioned in the text in the *Quercus serrata.*

7 Motowori's conjecture that the character 是, "then," is a copyist's error for 見, "saw" or "looked," seems hardly called for, and the translator has therefore not departed from the traditional reading.

§ *I.e.,* this evil omen.— W.G.A

8 *I.e.,* defenceless, not filled with troops.

9 Which of course was in reality no mourning-vessel, but full of the soldiers who had just returned from conquering Korea.

10 *Isahi no Sukune. Isahi* or *Isachi* is supposed to mean "leading elder."

11 *Naniha no Kishi-be.* Naniha is the old name of the sea and river-shore on which now stands the town of Ohosaka. The name Kishi is said by Motowori to be properly a Korean official designation（吉士）, but it is one whose origin is to be sought in China.

12 將軍, *Shōgui.* This is the earliest mention of this office, which, passing from the military to the political sphere, played such a great part in the mediaeval and modern history of Japan.

13 The signification of all the elements of this compound name is not clear, but it is partly Honorific and descriptive of the bravery of its bearer.

14 *Wani no omi* (see Sect. LXII, Note 11).

15 The text is here somewhat obscure, and the note in small print is of doubtful authenticity. If we retain it, we must understand it to mean that *usa-yu-dzuru,* a term whose derivation is by no means clear, was an alternative name of the *make-dzuru i.e.*, "prepared bowstrings," such as they had brought with them concealed in their top-knots.

16 *I.e.,* "the pass [or hill] of meeting." It was on the boundaries of the provinces of Yamashiro and Afumi* The modern pronunciation is *Osaka* (not to be confounded with the like-sounding name of a well-known town in Central Japan).

* The railway now passes under it in a tunnel.—W.G.A.

17 *I.e.,* in Afumi. Mabuchi, in his “Dictionary of Pillow-Words," explains this name to mean “bamboo-grass bending." Motowori, following the *Shim-puku-ji* MS., alters the character 於 before the word *Sasanami* to 出, but without sufficient warrant.

18 The meaning of the poem is: "Rather than fall beneath the "attacks of the enemy, let us drown ourselves in the Sea of Afumi" (Lake Biwa).—For the expression "stricken by a hurtful hand" see Sect. XLIV, Note 33.

1 Viz., by water, as described in Sect. X.

2 Etymology obscure.

3 The marvellous etymology of this name which the author seems to adopt will be found at the end of this Section (Note 12). The compiler of the "Chronicles" is probably nearer the truth when he derives it from *tsunu-ga,* "horned stag."

4 For the meaning of this curious expression see Sect. LX, Note 20.

5 The commentators give no explanation of this one of the three names of the deity in question. It would appear to be made up of of a word expressive of solicitation and of a portion of the Heir Apparent's name, thus signifying perhaps” Come on, Wake, [give me thy name]" with reference to the legend here narrated.

6 To which of the two personages of the legend is not clear. Motowori, however, prefers to suppose that it was to Take-uchi, as, if the prince himself were intended, the word "dream" would probably receive the Honorific 御.

7 Or, "I reverence [thy commands]."

8 Motowori supposes that they were caught by being speared in the nose.

9 *Ie.,* "fish that would naturally have formed part of thine august food." It is less good to translate by "fish for *mine* august food." As usual, the original Japanese text has no Personal Pronouns to guide the reader but, though Emperors are sometimes made to use the Honorific in speaking of themselves, this is not the custom in the case of princes, and Ō-jin is supposed to have not yet assumed the Imperial dignity.

10 *Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami.* Motowori mentions several Deities of this name, who were, according to him, separate beings.

11 *Kehi no oho-kami.* The meaning of the syllable *hi,* rendered by "wondrous" in accordance with Motowori's suggestion, is not certain.

12 *I.e.,* "the strand of blood." From *chi-ura* Motowori is obliged to derive Tsunuga as well as he can in order not to throw discredit on the implied assertion of the author that the latter is but a mispronunciation of the former. The true derivation of Tsunuga is is probably from *tsunu-ga* "horned stag," as already stated in Note 3.

1 *Machi-sake.* This expression, which recurs in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," signifies liquor distilled for an absent friend by those who are awaiting his return.

* How would it do to take *Kamu hogi* and *Toyo hogi* as Accusatives governed by the Verbs of the succeeding clauses?— W.G.A.

2 the general significaiton of teh Song is: "Think not that this" liquor was made by me. "Tis a present from the small August" Deity *(Sukuna-biko-na),* who dwells forever in unshaken power and "who sends it to thee with endless congratulations. come on! come on!" drink deeply!-Some of the expressions in this Song are a subject of debate among the

commentators. Excepting the clause" partake not shallowly," in which the translator has adopted the opinion of the author of the "Explnation of the Songs in the Chronicles fo Japan," Moribe's interpretation has been followed throughout. The latter critic would identify *asazu* ("not shallowly") with *amasazu* ("without leaving anything"). But there seems no warrant for suppposing such an elision of the syllable *sa.* The use of the expressions *kuruhoshi* and *motohoshi* to express reiteration is worthy of notice. It will be remembered that the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (see Sect. XXVII).

* where does *Kushi no Kami* come in?-W.G.A.

† Brewed.-W.G.A.

3 This Song signifies: “Such a joyful feast must surely have “been preceded by joyful distilling of the liquor for it. Continue to “drink, oh Prince! "—The commentators disagree on the subject of one or two of the words of this Song, in which the translator has followed Motowori's interpretation throughout. The words “that drum" are the chief difficulty. Motowori supposes that drums, being originally unknown in Japan, where first seen by the Japanese on the occasion o the conquest of Korea in this very reign, and thinks that the drum would be placed by the side of the mortar during the pounding of the rice out of which the liquor was to be made. "That drum" means the drum belonging to the pounder of the rice. The original words *so no,* "that," might also be rendered by "his."

4 Literally, "liquor-rejoicing songs."

1 The Emperor Chiū-ai. The author of these "Records,’ not recognizing, as does the author of the “Chronicles,” the time during which the Empress Jin-gō held sway as a separate reign, Chiū-ai is by a fiction supposed to have reigned down to the moment when his posthumous son Ō-jin mounted the throne after the conquest of Korea and of Yamato.

2 *I.e.,* "long branch," or perhaps "long inlet."

3 Etymology obscure.

4 Mabuchi and Motowori seem right in supposing the sentence in small type to be an addition to the text, copied from the “Chronicles." But as all

the MSS. and printed editions previous to Motowori's contain it, it has been retained in the translation.

1 Son of the Emperor Chiū-ai and the Empress Jin-gō.

2 In Yamato. *Akira* signifies “brilliant." *Karushima* seems to mean "the neighbourhood of Karu, Karu being the often mentioned place of that name in Yamato.

3 The Auxiliary Numeral for deities is here used.

4 *Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko.* Homuda has already been met with as the name of a place in Kahachi. *Ma-waka* signifies “truly young." The name might therefore be rendered “truly young king of Homuda.”

5 *Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto.* Motowori identifies this princess with the *Takaki-hime* of Sect. LXXVI, Note 21.

6 *I.e.,* middle princess," she being the second of three sisters.

7 *I.e.,* "younger princess," she being the youngest of the sisters.

8 *I-ho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto.* See Sect. LXXVI, Note 12.

9 *I.e.,* probably "old woman of Shiritsuki." But it is not certain that Shiritsuki is the name of a place.

10 *Take-inada no sukune.* In the “Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" the name is written *Take-ina-dane,* and it may therefore mean "brave-rice-seed."

11 *Wohari no murazhi.*

12 *I.e.,* "great middle prince of Nukata,” the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. It is of uncertain signification.

13 *I.e.,* "great mountain-warden." For the appropriateness of this name *conf.* Sect. CV

14 The same name has appeared in Sect. LXIII, Note 13.

15 *Ohohara no iratsume.* Ohohara is the name of a place in Yamato. It signifies "great moor."

16 *Komuku no iratsume.* This name is written 亭目, and its reading as *Komuku* is somewhat hypothetical. It is the name of a place in Kahachi, and probably signifies “an overflowing pool of water."

17 *Ki no Arata no iratsume. Ki* is the province of that name, and Arata is a place in it. The latter name probably means "uncultivated fields.”

18 This name signifies “Great Wren,” and is thus accounted for by the author of the “Chronicles": “On the day when the Emperor “[this Prince became the Emperor Nin-toku] was born, an owl flew “into the parturition-hall. Next morning early, the Heavenly Sove-“reign Homuda [i.e., the Emperor Ō-jin] sent for the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi, and asked him whereof this might be a sign. "The Prime Minister replied, saying: ‘It is a good omen. Moreover "'yesterday, when they servant's wife was delivered of child, a wren"' flew into the parturition-house, likewise a strange thing. Then “the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'It is a portent from Heaven that “'my child and thine should he born on the same day, and both be"' attended by a good omen. So let the names of the birds be taken,” ‘and each used for the name of the other *[i.e.,* the name of the owl “‘for him into whose parturition-house the wren flew, and *vice-versâ*], as a covenant for the future. So the wren's name was bestowed "on the Heir Apparent, who was called Great-Wren Prince, and the “owl's name was given to the Prime Minister's child, who was called the Noble Owl."

* The modern form of this word is *sasagi.*—W.G.A.

19 This name is obscure.

20 *Abe no iratsume,* Abe is the name of several places in different provinces, and is of obscure derivation and import.

21 *Ahaji no Mihara no iratsume.* The text properly has *Ayuchi,* but Motowori emends this to *Ahaji* on the authority of the “Chronicles." Mihara is the name of a district in the island of Ahaji, and probably signifies "three moors."

22 *Ki no Unu no iratsume. Ki* is the province of that name, and *Unu* a place in it. The latter name is of uncertain import.

23 *Minu no iratsume. Minu (Mino)* is the province of that name.

24 "Five" must here be a mistake for "four."

25 For this name and the next see Sect. CVI, Notes 5 and 4.

26 *I.e.,* "the young lord of Uji." Uji is the name of a district in Yamashiro, famous in classical and modern times for its tea. The etymology is obscure.

27 *I.e.,* the young lady of Yata." Yata is the name of a place in Yamato. The etymology is obscure.

28 *Medori no miko. Medori* signifies "hen-bird but the reason for the application of so strange a name to this princess, whose fortunes are related at some length in Sects. CXXVI and CXXVII, does not appear. A similar remark applies to the next name.

29 *I.e.,* probably “the lady of the little kettle."

30 *I.e.,* "the young lady of Uji."

31 *I.e.,* "the truly young middle princess of okinaga."

32 *I.e.,* See Sect. XCII, Note 27

33 *Waka-nuke-futa-mata no miko.* This name is obscure.

34 *Itowi-hime* Itowi is the name of a place in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin.

35 *Shima* is probably the name of a place, while *tari* and *ne* are the frequently recurring Honorifics rendered respectively perfect and "lord" in former parts ot this translation.

36 *Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi. Ta-be,* rendered "agricultural," is literally "rice-field tribe." *Sakurawi* ("cherry-well") is the name of a place in Kahachi.

37 *I.e.,* falcon-lord.

38 *Himuka no Idzumi no Naga-hime.* Himuka is the name of a province, and Idzumi that of a district now comprised within the limits of Satsuma. *Naga-hime,* literally “long princess,” probably signifies “elder princess.”

39 *Oho-haye no miko.* Signification obscure.

40 Wo—haye no miko. Signification obscure. The antithesis of the Adjectives oho and wo great and "small") shows however that the names partly served to distinguish the elder from the younger brother.

41 *Waki-iratsume* is "young lady.” *Hata-bi* is incomprehensible.

42 See Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

43 *I.e.,* probably "the lady of Kaharada." The latter name (literally "rice-field on the border of a river") is often met with.

44 *I.e.,* "the jewel lady."

45 *I.e.,* "the great middle lady of Osaka," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato (see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1).

46 Motowori identifies this name with that of *Koto-fushi no iratsume* in Sect. CXVII, q.v., and thinks that both this and the preceding name have only crept into this Section by mistake.

47 *Kalaji no miko.* Signification obscure.

48 *Kadzuraki no Nu-iro-me.* All the elements of this name have already been met with several times.

49 This child has already appeared early in this Section, and the name is here doubtless only repeated through some copyist's error.

1 Literally, "heart."

2 *I.e.*, Motowori thinks, to have control over the guilds of foresters and fishermen.

3 *I.e.*, to act as regent or minister.

4 *I.e.*, to inherit the empire. It will be remembered that the Japanese Emperors claim to descend from the Sun-Goddess.

5 This statement refers proleptically to the contrary course which was taken by the elder Oho-yama-mori.

1 Literally, "one time."

† Gazed down.—W.G.A.

2 According to Moribe, whose interpretation has been followed throughout, this Song signifies: "As I gaze across from Uji to the "Moor ot Toba, I see the numerous and prosperous homesteads of "the people, I see the most fertile portion of the country." —On this view Chiba is identified with Toba, the name of a district; and the word *ho,* rendered acme," is taken to mean the best, highest, most showy part of anything. For Motowori's opinion, which is that of the older commentators as well, that *chi-ba* is a Pillow-Word, there is much to be said, and if we followed it, we should

have to render the first two lines thus: “As I look on the thousand-leafed pueraria-moor," etc. (*kadzu* signifying “pueraria.”) Motowori's explanation of *momo-chi-daru* (nere rendered by “hundred thousand-fold abundant") as referring to the soot of the peasant's roofs, and of *ho* as signifying "a plain surrounded by mountains" seems much less good than Moribe's interpre tation of those difficult expressions.

3 In the district of Uji in the province of Yamashiro. The characters with which the name is written signify "tree-flag."

4 *Wani no Hifure no omi.* For *Wani no omi* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. The meaning of *Hifure* is obscure.

5 *Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-hime. Miya-nushi* is “priestess," or more literally “temple-guardian." For the rest of the name see Sect. XXVI, Note 14, though the personages are of course meant to be different.

6 I.e., that day having passed by, the Emperor came on the next day according to his promise.

7 Motowori supposes with apparent reason that the character 命, "Augustness," has only crept into the text through the attraction of the following character 令’ "made," which it resembles in appearance.

* I should be pleased to think that the text of the bulk of the middle part of this Song is corrupt.—W.G.A.

8 It must be understood that in this Song the Imperial singer commences by referring to what doubtless formed part of the feast, a crab,- and thence passes on by an imperceptible transition to allude to his own adventure with the maiden. As the crab when alive walked sideways, so was the Emperor zigzagging up and down the road that lines the shore of Lake Biwa, pursuing his breathless course like that of the busy grebe that perpetually plunges into the water, when the maiden met him near Kohata. Beautiful indeed was she:her back straight as a shield, her teeth like a row of acorns, and the artificial eye-brows painted a dark colour on her forehead drawn low down in a perfect crescent-shape. She had been careful in selecting the clay to make the paint, rejecting the upper layer of earth, for that was of too bright a red, rejecting likewise the lower layer, for that was

too dark, but taking the middle, which was of the correct blue tint, and drying it, not in the fierce, but in a mildly tempered, sunlight. And now this maiden, for whom his heart had been panting and turning this way and that ever since the previous day, is actually seated opposite to him, nay! at his very side, and he is feasting in her sweet company.-Tsunuga is the name of a place in the province of Echizen. "Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt at rendering the force of the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutaf*, which implies that the traveller must pass through a hundred other laces before reaching his destination. 'l Whither reaches its sideward motion?" signifies "whither is it going with its sideward motion?" Ichiji-shima and Mishima are places of which nothing is known, so that the allusion to them is obscure. At this point Motowori's interpretation diverges from that of Moribe, which has been followed throughout. *Smanami*, here rendered "wavelets," is taken by him, as by the older commentators, as the name of a place, and the description of the maiden's teeth is misundertood to signify that she had a beak filled with a row of teeth like the water-caltrop! Motowori also would hete divide the Song in two, a proceeding for which there is not sufficient warrant. On other minor points, too, his decisions do not seem so happy as Moribe's. The views of both commentators will be found at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXII, pp. 33-51, and in Moribe's *Idzu no Koto-ulaki," in loco*. "Three chestnuts" (*mitsuguri no*) is a common Pillow-Word for *naka*, "middle," founded on the fact, real or supposed, that one burr always contains three nuts, whereof one of course is in the middle, between the other two.

1 *Kami-naga-hime*. The name signifies "the long-haired princess."

2 *Muragata no kind. Muragata* seems to signify "many towns."

3 *L.e.*, wed her.

4 Literally, "summoned her up." The same phrase occurs immediately below.

5 太子. Mabuchi thinks that 御子," august child," should be substituted for the reading in the text. But Motowori insists that the title translated Heir

Apparent was anciently borne by all the sons of an Emperor, and that consequently no emendation is called for.

* Arrive?-W.G.A

6 *I.e*., the Emperor's orders.

7 The native term translated “copious feast is *toyo no akari*, variously written with the characters 登明, 登樂, 宴樂, etc., etc. It literally signifies "copious brightness,” in allusion to the ruddy glow which wine gives to the faces of the revellers, and henceforward perpetually recurs in this history. In later times it specifically de noted the festival of the tasting of the first rice, but anciently its

8 *I.e*., an oak-leaf which was used as a cup to sip out of. Leaf-platters for food have already been mentioned. Motowori says that the word *kashiha** (properly the name of a deciduous oak, the *Quercus dentata*) was employed to denote any kind of leaf thus used.

* Has not the *kashiwa* a smallish leaf,—too small for this purpose? If the authorities were not against it, I should have understood a cup made of the wood of the *kashiwa.* —W.G.A.

9 The whole gist of this Song is contained in the last three lines.” The ruddy maiden, oh! if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good," —*i.e*.,” thou and the maiden will form a fitting couple.” All that goes before is what is technically called a "Preface," though its bearing is so clear as to admit of translation, and even in English to form an appropriate introduction to the Song:—It is not the stinking garlic, but the fragrant orange that the singer has met by the way, and it is the choicest young fruit in the very middle of the tree that forms a suitable comparison for the lovely young girl. —With the favourite allusion to upper, middle, and lower the reader is already familiar, and the Pillow-Word “three chestnuts” was explained in the note on the preceding Song (Sect. CVI, Note 8).

* Growing?—W.G.A.

10 The gist of the Song is:† "I knew not that thou, my son, “hadst conceived a secret passion for the maiden; but I am now” conscious of my own mistake, and my foolish old heart is ashamed "of itself." With this

explanation the elaborate comparison between the state of the monarch's mind and the condition of the peasant driving piles for the foundation of a dyke, and having his feet either lacerated by the stumps of the water-caltrop, or made slimy by brushing against the roots of the *Brasenia peltata* at the bottom of the water, becomes intelligible and appropriate.—The word *kuri,* rendered "roots," perplexed Motowori, who suggests that it may be but a second name of the *Brasenia,* appended to the first; but Moribe's suggestion that it is to be identified with *kori,* and taken in the signification of "roots," though not quite convincing, is at least more plausible. The text of this Song is corrupt in these "Records" and has to be corrected by a comparison with that of the "Chronicles." Moribe goes into an amusing ecstasy over the picture of ancient manners which it presents, and lauds the simplicity of days when a father and son could so peacefully woo the same maiden without mutual concealment or disastrous consequences!

† The Nihongi makes this song a reply by the young Prince to the previous one. I prefer the Nihongi.—W.G.A.

11 The meaning of this Song is: "At first I heard of the maiden.' of Kohada in the furthest parts of Himuka as one hears the distant "thunder; but now she is mine, and we sleep locked in each other's "arms."—This Kohada in Himuka must not be confounded^ with the Kohata in Yamashiro mentioned in the preceding Section. The "back of the road" means the remotest portion (conf. Sect. LX, Note 20). The thunder must be understood to refer to a very faint and distant sound: the Prince had first heard of the maiden vaguely, but now she is his and has been his for some time; for this Song must be supposed to have been composed after the occasion of the feast with the story of which it is here connected.

† Or else there is some confusion in the text,-not unlikely.-W.G.A.

12 The meaning of this Song is: "I love this maiden of Kohada "in Himuka, who disputed not my desire and my father's grant, but "willingly became my wife."-It is hard to render in English the force of the string of Particles *wo shi zo mo* in the penultimate line.

1 Yeshinu is the modern Yoshino, in the province of Yamato (see Sect. XLVI, Note 3). For the title of kudzu* see Sect. XLVI, Note 13, where it also occurs in connection with Yeshinu.

* Where it is spelt kuzu. — W.G.A.

† The Chinese character means "look up to," "to reverence," "to revere,"" to regard very respectfully." The writer evidently meant this and not simply 見 "see."—W.G.A.

2 According to Moribe, whose interpretation seems best to the translator, the signification of this difficult poem is: "The sword "worn by Prince Oho-sazaki, son of the Emperor Homuda (Ō-jin) is "double-edged at its upper part, and like glistening ice towards its "point; —oh! 'tis like the icicles on the plants that cluster about the "trunks of the dead trees in winter!" Almost every line, however (excepting those giving the name and title of the Prince), is a subject of controversy, and the "*Kō-gan Shō*" in loco and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 2-5, should be consulted for Keichiū's, Mabuchi's and Motowori's views on the disputed point. —The expression "solar august child "signifies sun-descended prince, in allusion to the supposed descent of the Japanese monarchs from the Sun-Goddess.

§ If this poem were composed at the time stated, it would negative the supposition that Ōsasagi is a posthumous name. It proves at any rate that the author of the Kojiki did not consider it so.

3 Yoko-usu or yokusu (横白). It is not plain what sort of mortar the author intended to designate by this term. Motowori supposesit to mean a broad flat mortar in contradistinction to a high and narrow one. Keichiū's view, which he quotes, to the effect that it was a mortar that had been carved out of the block against the grain of the wood, seems an equally good guess, where all is guess-work.

4 In the Song this same name is read *Kashinofu;* but the commentators tell us that the Genitive Particle *no* ("of") is simply inserted for the sake of rhythm, and it is not unlikely that they are right. The name seems to signify "[a place where] oak-trees grow."

5 See Sect. XVIII, Note 16. The character 隨，rendered by “distil” or “brew,” according to the view which one may take of the resulting liquor, would seem to be here used in the sense of "to pound."

† You cannot distil a thing in a mortar.— W.G.A.

‡ Waza wo noshite, "and making gestures."— W.G.A.

6 In this simple Song the Territorial Owners of Yoshino beg the Monarch to deign to partake of the *sake* which they have made.

1 *Ama-be* (written 海部 and read *Una-be* in the Old Printed Edition and in the edition of lb87,and perhaps better rendered” Sea-Tribe") The name of this guild or clan does not seem to have remained, like the two mentioned together with it, as a “gentile name.”

2 *Yama-be*. Motowori thinks that this word has crept into the text erroneously through the influence of that next mentioned, as the functions of the tribes or guilds thus separately named were identical. The differentiation may have taken place after the terms had come to be used as "gentile names."

3 *Yama-mori-be*.

4 *Ise-be*. Nothing is known of this tribe or guild.

5 Doubtless so named after the Korean labourers employed upon it,—Kudara and Shiragi, as different parts of the same peninsula, being confounded in thought.*

* Called, in the Nihongi, “the pool of the Han men."—W.G.A.

1 照古王，according to the Japanese kana spelling, Seu-ko.*

* King Ahwa it was,—not Shō-ko.—W.G.A.

2 阿知吉師．Other forms of the name are Ajiki and Atogi, and all three are but attempts at transcribing phonetically into Japanese a Korean name, the proper characters for which are not given. 吉士 is not properly part of the name, but is simply an official title（師 here stands for 士）.

3 *Achiki no fumi-bito. Fumi-biio* abbreviated to *Fubito*) became a “gentile name."

4 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

5 Q.d., by the Japanese Emperor.

6 Here written phonetically 和通吉師，but properly 王仁吉士 i.e., "the Official Wang-In.” He is generally spoken of simply as Wani.

7 論語− ("*Lun Yü*" or according to the Japanese pronunciation “Ron-go.")

8 千字文. ("Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên," or according to the Japanese pronunciation “ Sen-ji-mon.") See the translator' remarks on this subject in the Introduction, p. xlix. The” Chronicles" more prudently mention only “various classics."

9 *Fumi no obito. Fumi* signifies "any written document," so that this “gentile name” is equivalent to our word "scribe."

10 卓 素. The transliteration of this, as of all other such names here occurring, is the Sinico-Japanese transliteration. Kara (Korea) is written 韓.

11 吳 (Wu, Jap. Go), one of the states into which China wasdivided during the third century of our era. A draper's shop is still called *go-fuku-ya, i.e.*, “Wu-garments-house" in memory of the introduction of wearing apparel from that country.

12 西素.

1 *Hada no miyaisukoy* 秦造，a “gentile name." Hada is the native Japanese word used as the equivalent of the Chinese name 秦，Chlin. Its origin is uncertain.

2 *Aya no atahe* 漢直，a “gentile name." The use of Aya to represent the Chinese name 漢，Han, is as difficult to account for as is that of Hada mentioned in the preceding Note.

3 仁番. Another and more Japanese-like reading, Nihof is invented by Motowori; but the older editors read *Nim-pan* according to the usual Sinico-Japanese sound of the characters. The modern Korean reading would be In-pon.

4 Written phonetically 須須許理.

* Brewed.—W.G.A.

5 Thus translated, this Song is too clear to need any explanation. The lines, however, which are rendered by “with the soothing liquor, “with the

smiling liquor,"—in Japanese *koto nagu shi we-gushi-ni*, are in reality extremely obscure, and Moribe understands them to signify, "Oh! how difficult it is for me to speak! Oh! how ill at ease I am!" In order to do so he has, however, to change and add to the text: and the translator, though not sure of being in the right path, has preferred to follow Motowori, whose interpretation, without requiring any such extreme measures, yet gives a very plausible sense.

6 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

* I don't dispute the translation, but how could he cede what he had not?—W.G.A.

1 皇子. This is the only passage in the work where this expression occurs. *Uji-no-waki-iratsuko* is the personage thus designated.

2 The same expression has been in Sect. XXXI (near Note 16) rendered "couch." The characters in the original are 吳床 or 胡床.

3 *I.e., Uji-no-waki-iratsuko*.

4 The Chinese phrase 百官, the hundred officials," is here used.

5 *Q.d.*, his Augustness Oho-yama-mori.

6 The text has the character 者, which, in combination with the preceding word" oars," gives the sense of "oarsman," "boatman." But Motowori reasonably suggests that it is an error for 亦, the grass-hand forms of the two characters closely resembling each other, and 亦 making much better sense; for who would talk of "decorating an oarsman?"

* Or "pounded." — W.G.A.

7 A bamboo grating.

8 Literally "that king's son."

9 It must be understood that Uji-no-waki-iratsuko and his men, having planned to act thus, were on their guard, and did not fall into the water as did Oho-yama-mori, who was taken unawares.*

* Oyama-Mori was probably thinking of the ukei-gari mentioned above. He wished to judge of his luck from the answer he received. -W.G.A.

10 This is Motowori's view of the meaning of the Song, which he interprets as a request for help to some friendly boatman. Moribe adopts quite a different view, and thinks that the drowning prince is rather giving vent to sentiments of pride and defiance. He says (speaking in the Prince's name):" It is not that I have been cap- "sized out of the boat into the river, but that I am swimming off "after a pole which has fallen into the water. If there be any strong "and willing fellows among my partizans, let them swim after me!' It must be explained that the word rendered "boatmen" in the translation is literally "pole-takers" (or, according to Moribe's view, "to take a pole"). Motowori's interpretation seems to do less violence to the wording of the original, and Moribe's has not even the merit of accounting for the use of the Future konzu where the Imperative *kome* would be what we should naturally expect.-*uji* is preceded by the, in this context, untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayabzcru* (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *8.v.*).

11 *Kawara no saki*. The author, in the next sentence, derives this name from the rattling sound made by the hooks as they struck on the armour. But there seems a great deal to be said in favour of Arawi Hakuseki's view that *kawara* is an old word itself signifying "armour."

12 The word *kagi* here used occurs elsewhere to denote the hooks

13 Literally, “sounded *kawara*"

14 The text has the characters 掛 出. But Motowori says that 掛 stands for 接, and that we must interpret the passage to mean that they scratched [about to find] and take out [his corpse].

15 The signification of this Song is: “I came here meaning to “kill thee as I might cut down and kill that *Catalpa* tree, that "*Euonymus*, growing on the river-bank. But the thought of our “father and of thy sister (or wife) touched me with pity, and I return “without having drawn my bow at thee."—Uji is preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayahito* (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words” *s.v*; —Motowori reads it *chihaya-hito* without the *nigori*).—The words *adzusa-yumi mayumi,* here respectively rendered “*Catalpa bow*” and “*Euonymus"* are difficult, and the doubt as to

whether we should understand the prince to be speaking simply of the trees, or to intend likewise to allude to his bow which was made of the wood of one of those trees, is probably not to be settled, as the words in question have always oscillated between the two meanings, and here evidently contain a double allusion. Motowori thinks that the first of the two forms only a sort of Pillow-Word for the second.—The word rendered “bank” in accordance with Moribe's suggestion, is literally” reach."—No special importance must be attached to the expressions "base" (or “main part") and "extremity,” though they may doubtless be thought to allude to the father and sister, the recollection of whom softened the victorious younger brother's heart. The word iranakeku, rendered "grievously," is of not quite certain interpretation.-It must be understood that though, by overturning the boat, Uji-no-waki-iratsuko did constructively cause Oho-yamamori's death, he did not actually shoot at and slay him when in the water, but followed down the river-side lamenting over what had happened.-This Song is singled out by Moribe for special praise.

16 See Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

17 In Tohotafumi (Tōtōmi.). In the original *Hijikata* no kimi.

18 Heki no kimi. Of Heki nothing is known.

19 *Harihara no kimi*. In Tohotafumi. *Harihara* signifies “alder plantation."

1 It is not actually the word *kami,* “deity," that is here used in the original, but *hashira,* which is the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.*

* Not exclusively.—W.G.A.

2 Neither being willing to accept the Imperial dignity.

3 Or, "some fishermen," and similarly in the Plural throughout.

4 *I.e.*, came to present fish to His Majesty.

5 Motowori is probably right in saying that the point of this proverb lies in the consideration that, whereas people in general weep for that which they have not, this fisherman wept on account of the trouble which was caused to him by the fish which he had.*

* And which he could not get rid of.-W.G.A.

6 Or, "died first." The use in this place of the character, properly confined to the meaning of the "death of an Emperor," is remarkable. See Motowori's observations on the point in Vol. XXXIII, pp. 78-80,

1 Or, according to Motowori's reading, Ame-no-hi-boko. The character in the text, 大日矛, signify “heavenly sun-spear.” But the homonymous characters 海惜槍，with which the name is written in the “Gleanings from Ancient Story,” and which are approved of both by Motowori and by Tanigaha ohisei, signify “fisherman's chamaecyparis spear."

2 Apparently nothing more is meant than that there was “*a* lagoon;” but still the *one* (—) in this context is curious, and Motowori retains it as *hito-tsu no* in the Japanese reading. “A certain” seems best to render its force in English, as again in the following sentences, where Motowori interprets it by the character 或. It is of strangely frequent recurrence in the opening sentences of this Section, which are altogether peculiar in style.*

* Curiously it is in accordance with Korean idiom to use “one” (—) for the indefinite article “a”.

3 *Agu-numa.* The meaning of this name is unknown.

4 The Old Printed Edition has the word “mud” instead of “lagoon."

5 Literally,” this appearance.”

6 Literally, “attached to his loins."

7 The words rendered “in a valley” are in the text 山谷之間，of which the commentators find it difficult to make proper Japanese. The translator has followed them in neglecting the character 山, “mountain."

8 Or bull, or bullock; for Japanese does not distinguish Genders.

9 Literally, "stopped."

10 See Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

11 *Akaru-hime i.e.*, “Brilliant Princess.”

12 The signification of this name is obscure. Motowori identifies the place with the modern Kōdzu（高津）’

13 *I.e.*, the water-god of the portion of the sea near Naniha.

14 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

1 This name may mean "lucky ears," or “possessor of luck;” but it is obscure, and is moreover in the “Chronicles" (where it is given as the name, not of the daughter, but of the father) read *Mahe-tsu-mi*—a reading which will not bear either of these interpretations.

2 *Matawo* seems to signify "complete (Le healthy or vigorous) male." Observe that the word Tajima enters into the designations of most of his descendants.

3 In the “Chronicles” *Morosuke,* and elsewhere *Morosugi.* The etymology of these names is obscure except that of the last-mentioned, which signifies “many cryptomerias."

4 *Hi-ne* may perhaps signify “wondrous lord.”

5 The meaning of this name is obscure, but that of *Hina-rashi-bime* in Sect. XXVI (Note 19) may be compared.

6 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

7 *Hi-taka* may signify either "sun-height" or "wondrous height."

8 This name signifies “pure prince."

9 As usual, it is not the actual word Deity that is used, but the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

10 *Tagima* is the name of a place, not to be confounded with the province of Tajima. The signification of *mehi* is quite obscure.

11 *Suga* may either be the name of place in Tajima, as proposed by Motowori, or identical with the Suga of Sect. XIX. The meaning of *Morowo* is obscure.

12 The signification of this name is obscure. But Suga, Kama, and Yura are apparently the names of places.

13 *Kadzuraki no Takanuka-tame.* Kadzuraki is the name of a department, and Takanuka that of a place in that department, in the province of Yamato.

14 Literally, “ancestress.” But see Sect. XXII, Note 4. It will be remembered that *Okinaga-tarashi-hime* was the Empress Jin-go.

15 Literally, “treasures of jewels."

16 Or, "beads."

17 *I.e*, a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind. *Conf.* the magic scarfs mentioned near the beginning of Sect. XXIII, by waving which the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (*Oho-kani-nushi*) kept off the snakes, the wasps and the centipėdes.

18 This seems to be the signification of the original terms *oki tsu kagami hi and he tsu kagami,* but we are not hereby helped to a very clear understanding of the nature of the articles which the author meant to describe. The parallel assage of the "Chronicles" tells us of a "sun-mirror." Indeed it enumerates the "eight precious treasures" in a manner that diverges a great deal from the account given in these "Records."

19 Or, the "Eight-fold Great Deity." As has already frequently been remarked, the distinction which we so rigorously draw between Singular and Plural does not occupy the Japanese mind, and "eight" and "eight-fold" are taken to mean much the same thing. In the following sentence we find these eight deities (or this eight-fold deity) spoken of in such a manner as to necessitate the use of the Singular Number in the translation. Motowori supposes that they (or he) took the form of a young man (as in several other legends) to become the father of the Goddess mentioned in the text. — *Idziahi* seems to signify wonderful stone."*

* Sacred? Fetish?-W.G.A.

1 Idzu.ehi-u.otonen o kaani.

2 Literally "eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi, but none could wed [her].” But the sense is that given in the translation.

3 *Aki-yama no shita-bi-wotoko*. The explanation of the name is that given by Motowori (following Mabuchi), who sees in it a reference to the ruddy brilliance of the leaves, which is so marked a feature of the Japanese woods in autumn. The Chinese characters used have, indeed, the signification of the lower ice of the autumn mountains; but "lower ice" may well be simply phonetic in this case.

4 *Haru-yama no kasumi-wotoko*.

5 In Japanese *kohedomo,* written with the characters 雖乞. Perhaps Motowori is right in supposing this Verb to have been originally identical with kofuru, “to love” (戀), whose corresponding form is kofuredomo. If so, the author may have meant to make his hero say, "though I love the maiden, etc." But it is better to be guided by the characters, and to suppose that he referred to the request made to her mother to grant her to him.

6 Literally, “compute the height of my person and distil liquor in a jar."

7 *I.e.*, all the valuable produce of the chase and of the fisheries, such as are perpetually mentioned in the Shintō "Rituals" as being presented to the gods. Thus in the "Service of the Goddess of Food” (see Mr. Satow's translation in Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 414 of these “Transactions,”) we read that the worshipper offered: “as to “things which dwell in the mountains— things soft of hair and things” rough of hair; as to things which grow in the great-fieid-plain— “sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue-“sea-plain—things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to “weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore."

8 Literally, “one child."

9 The Japanese original of the words here unavoidably rendered by “mortal men” in order to mark the antithesis to the word "Deities," has been more literally translated by “living people” in an earlier passage of the work (see Sect. IX, Note 17). The signification of the entire sentence is: During my lifetime, thy brother should be careful to imitate the upright conduct of the gods. For if, instead of doing so, he be dishonest and untruthful as are the sons of men, it will be at his own peril.”*

* So long as I live, he might behave as a gentleman, and not refuse to pay, like a cad.—W.G.A.

10 Or, according to the more usual reading, “a one-jointed bamboo;” but in either case the meaning is obscure. Motowori, who adopts the reading that has been followed in the translation, suggests that the expression may simply be a periphrasis for the bamboo in general.

† Why not plural?—W.G.A.

11 八目荒籠. Motowori remarks that the word "eight" in this place (where, to indicate a considerable number, we should rather expect."eighty") is curious, and he surmises that 八 may be an error "large." The word "coarse" itself is sufficient to show that the apertures left in the plaiting of the basket were large.

12 *Scil*. of which the basket was woven.

13 *Scil.* by her younger son.

* Like unto the withering of these bamboo leaves.—W.G.A.

14 this case, as Motowori remarks, it is the sea-water that is intended to be spoken of, whereas the allusion in the previous sentence is to hard salt. But the Japanese language uses the same word for both, and the same Chinese character is here also used in both contexts For this curse *conf*. Sect. XL (Note 18 *ef. seq*.) and Sect. XLI.

15 *Scil*. of the furnace (kitchen) in the younger brother's house, as Motowori suggests.

16 The text has the character 枯' which signifies "to wither" or "dry up" (spoken of trees). But the translator agrees with Motowori in considering it to be in all probability an error for 臥, "to lie prostrate;" and in any case it could not here be rendered by either of the verbs "dry up" or "wither" without introducing into the English version a tautology which does not exist in the Japanese original.

17 Such seems to be the meaning of the obscure original *sono tokohi-do wo kahesashimekl* (令返其詛戸) Motowori would understand it in a rather more specialized sense to signify that "she caused the implement of the curse (*i.e* the basket) to be taken away."

18 Literally, "was pacified."

19 Or, if we take 言 in the text as equivalent to 事, "this is the" origin of divine wager-payments."

1 *I.e*., the Emperor Ō-jin's.

2 The import of this compound is not clear.

3 *I.e*., "the younger princess, the truly young princess."

4 *I.e*., "the great lord."

5 *Oho-hodo no miko*. The signification of *Oho-hodo* is obscure. Motowori surmises it to have been originally the name of a place.

6 *I.e*., “the great middle princess of Osaka." Osaka is the name of a place in Yamato. The word "middle" should by the analogy of other such genealogies indicate the fact that this princess was the fourth child out of seven. Here however she is mentioned second, and the same designation is applied to the two next daughters. There is evidently some confusion in the tradition.

7 *I.e*., “the middle princess of Tawi,"—a place in Kahachi.

8 *I.e*., "the middle princess of Tamiya,” —a place in Kahachi.

9 *I.e*., "the lady Koto-fushi of Fujihara.” But the meaning of *Koto-fushi is* obscure, and Motowori surmises it to be an alternative or corrupt form of *Sotohoshi.* (For the celebrated princess of the latter name see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9). Fujihara is the name of a place in Yamato, and signifies “wistaria-moor."

10 *Torime no miko*. This name is obscure.

11 *Sane no miko*. Motowori believes *sane* to stand erroneously for *Hami;* but both forms are obscure.

12 The Japanese word includes both genders.

13 *Mikuni no kimi. Mikuni* is the name of a well-known place in the province of Echizen. It signifies “three countries."

14 *Hata no kimi.* There are several places called Hata, and it is not known which of them is here intended. The signification of the name is also uncertain.

15 *Okinaga no kimi.* See Sect. LXII, Note 31.

16 *Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi.* This is Motowori's restoration of an apparently corrupt text. Sakata and Sakabito are both taken to be names of places, the first of a district in Afumi, the second of a place in Settsu. *Sakabito*（酒人）seems a very curious compound for the name of a place. Moreover the double title is unusual, and it may be thought that the word “Dukes" has fallen out of the text, and that in reality two families were intended to be spoken of.

17 *Yamaji no kami. Yamaji* ("mountain road”) is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place,—perhaps in the province of Higo.

18 *Tsukushi no Meta no kimi.* Tsukushi is the old name of the whole of the South—Western island of the Japanese archipelago and Meta the name of a place in the province of Hizen in that island. The etymology of Meta is uncertain.

19 *Fuse no kimi.* Fuse is a name of uncertain import found in several provinces. It is not known which is meant to be here designated.

20 *Naka-tsu-hiko no miko,* i.e., “the middle prince," a designation which would lead one to expect to find mention of an elder brother.

21 Iwashima no miko. Iwashima seems to be the name of a place, but the signification of Iha (not to be confounded with iha, "stone" or “rock") is altogether obscure.

22 *Katashiha no miko.* This prince has not been mentioned in the previous genealogies, which is curious. Katashiha is the name of a place in Chikuzen, and signifies "hard rock."

23 *Kunu no miko. Kunu* is altogether obscure;

VOL. III.[1]

[SECT. CXIX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Takatsu[2] at Naniha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded (the Empress[3]) Her Augustness Iha-no-hime,[4] daughter of Kadzuraki-no-so-tsu-biko,[5] and begot august children: His Augustness Ohoye-no-izaho-wake;[6] next the Middle King of the Inlet of Sumi;[7] next His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake of Tajihi;[8] next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go[9] (Four Deities). Again he wedded Princess Kami-naga, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka, as mentioned above,[10] and begot august children: Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko,[11] another name for whom was the King of Great Kusaka;[12] next HataDi-no-waKi -iratsume,[13] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Nagahi,[14] and another name was Her Augustness Waka-kusaka-be.[15] (Two Deities.) Again he wedded his younger half-sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume.[16] Again ne wedded his younger half-sister Uji-no-waki-iratsume. These two Deities had no august children. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-sazaki [numbered] in all six Deities. (Five Kings and one Queen.) So His Augustness Izaho-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tajihi-no-midzu-ha-wake likewise ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go likewise ruled the Empire.[17]

[SECT. CXX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In the august reign of this Heavenly Sovereign the Kadzuraki Tribe[1] was established as the august proxy of the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-

hime. Again the Mibu Tribe[2] was established as the august proxy of the Heir Apparent, His Augustness Izaho-wake. Again the Tajihi Tribe[3] was established as the august proxy of His Augustness Midzuha-wake. Again the Oho-kusaka Tribe[4] was established as the august proxy of King Oho-kusaka, and the Waka-kusaka Tribe[5] was established as the august proxy of King Waka-kusaka-be. Again people from Hada were set to labour, and the embankment at Mamuta[6] and also the granaries of Mamuta were made.* Again the Pool of Wani[7] and the Pool of Yosami were made. Again the Niniha Channel[8] was dug, and [the waters of the rivers] led to the sea. Again the Wobashi Channel[9] was dug. Again the port of the Inlet of Sumi[10] was established.

[SECT. CXXXI.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART III.—HE REMITS THE TAXES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, ascending a lofty mountain and looking on the land all round, spoke, saying: "In the whole land there rises no smoke; the land is all" poverty-stricken. So I remit[1] all the people's taxes and" [forced labour*] from now till three years [hence].” Therefore the great palace became dilapidated, and the rain leaked in everywhere; but no repairs were made. The rain that leaked in was caught in troughs,[2] and [the inmates] removed from [its reach] to places where there was no leakage. When later [the Heavenly Sovereign] looked on all the land, the smoke was abundant in the land So finding the people rich, he now exacted taxes and forced labour. Therefore the peasantry[3] prospered, and did not suffer from forced labour. So in praise of that august reign, it was called the reign of the Emperor-Sage.[4]

[SECT. CXXII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV.—HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO).]

His Empress, Her Augustness lha-no-hime, was exceedingly jealous. So the concubines employed by the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep

inside* the palace; and if anything happened,[1] [the Empress] stamped with jealousy. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the regular beauty of Princess Kuro,[2] daughter of the Suzerain of Ama in Kibi,[3] and having sent for her, employed her. But she, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, fled down to her native land. The Heavenly Sovereign, gazing from an upper story upon Princess Kuro's departure by boat upon the sea, sang, saying:

"In the offing there are rows of small boats.
"My wife Masadzuko of Kurozaki goes
"down towards her [native] land."[4]

So the Empress was very angry on hearing this august Song, and sent people to the great strand[5] to drive Princess Kuro ashore, and chase her away on foot.[6] Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, for love of Princess Kuro, deceived the Empress, saying that he wanted to see the Island of Ahaji.[7] And when he made his progress and was in the Island of Ahaji, he, gazing afar, sang, saying:

"When, having departed from the point of
"wave-beaten Naniha, I look at the coun-
"try, the Island of Aha, the island of Ono-
"goro, and also the Island of Ajimasa are
"visible. The Island of Saketsu is visible."[8]

Forthwith passing on from that island, he made a progress to the land of Kibi. Then Her Augustness Princess Kuro made him grandly reside at a place among the mountain-fields,[9] and presented to him great august food. When for this [purpose] she plucked cabbage† in that place to boil into great august soup, the Heavenly Sovereign went to the place where the maiden was plucking the cabbage, and sang, saying:

"Oh! how delightful it is to pluck with a
"person of Kibi the cabbage sown in the
"mountain fields!"[10]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress up,[11] Princess Kuro presented an august[12] Song, saying:

"Even though the west wind blow up
"towards Yamato, and the clouds part, and
"we be separated, shall I forget [thee]?"[13]

Again she sang, saying:

"Whose spouse is it that goes towards
"Yamato? Whose spouse is it that creeps
"from beneath like hidden water?"[14]

[SECT. CXXIII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART V.—THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO).]

After this time the Empress made a progress to the land of Ki in order to pluck aralia-leaves for a copious feast;[1] and in the meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume. Hereupon, when the Empress was returning in her august vessel loaded full of aralia-leaves, a coolie from Kozhima[2] in the land of Kibi, who was in the service of the Superintendent of the Water-Directors,[3] being on his way off to his own country, met at the great passage[4] of Naniha the vessel of a lady of the train[5] who had got behind, and forthwith told her, saying: "The Heavenly Sovereign has recently[6] "wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume, and plays with her day and "night. It must probably be because the Empress has not "heard of this thing, that she quietly makes progresses for "pleasure." Then the lady of the train, having heard this narrative, forthwith pursued and reached the august vessel, and reported everything exactly as the coolie had told it. Hereupon the Empress, greatly vexed and angry" threw away into the sea all the aralia-leaves which she had put on board the august vessel. So the place [where she did so] is called by the name of Cape Mitsu.[7] Forthwith without entering the palace, but taking her august vessel away [from it][8] and ascending the channel[9] against the current, she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the river.[10] At this time she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the
"seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend,
"ascend the river, oh! on the bank of the
"river [there] stands growing a *sashibu*!—
"a *sashibu*-tree; below it stands growing a
"broad-foliaged five hundred [-fold branch-
"ing] true camellia-tree; oh! he who is
"brilliant like its blossoms, widely powerful
"like its foliage, is the great lord."[11]

"Forthwith going round by Yamashiro,[12] and arriving at the entrance of the Nara Mountain,[13] she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the
"seedlings grow in succession! As I
"ascend, ascend to Miya, I pass Nara, I
"pass Yamato with its shield of mountains;
"and the country I fain would see is Taka-
"miya in Kadzuraki, the neighbourhood of
"my home."[14]

Having sung thus, she returned and entered for some time into the house of a person from Kara[15] named Nurinomi[16] at Tsutsuki.[17]

[SECT. CXXIV.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI.—HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, having heard that the Empress had made a progress up by Yamashiro, made a person,—a retainer called by the name of Toriyama,[1] —give an august Song,[2] which said:

"Reach [her] in Yamashiro, Toriyama!
"Reach [her]! reach [her]! Ah! wilt thou
"reach and meet my beloved spouse?"[3]

"Again he continued by despatching Kuchiko, Grandee of Wani,[4] and sang, saying:

"Wilt thou be without thinking even of the
"Heart that is in the moor of Ohowiko, the
"moor of Ohowiko, that is by Takaki at
"Mimoro?"[5]

"Again he sang, saying:

"If indeed I had not pillowed [my head] on
"thy white arm like the whiteness of the
"roots, the great roots, that were beaten with
"wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro
"where the seedlings grow in succession,
"[then] mightest thou say, 'I know [thee]
"'not!'"[6]

So when the Grandee of Kuchiko was repeating this august Song [to the Empress], it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace,[7] she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams† of water[8] reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed[9] green and with a red cord, the streams† of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red colour. Now the Grandee of Kuchiko's younger sister Princess Kuchi[10] was in the service of the Empress.[11] So Princess Kuchi sang, saying:

"Oh! how tearful is my lord elder brother,
"saying things in the palace of Tsutsuki in
"Yamashiro!"[12]

Then when the Empress asked the reason,[13] she replied, saying: "He is my brother, the Grandee of Kuchiko." Thereupon the Grandee of Kuchiko and also his younger sister Princess Kuchi and likewise Nurinomi [all] three

took counsel [together], and sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "The reason of the Empress's progress is that there “are [some] insects reared by Nurinomi, —strange insects "changing in three ways,[14] once becoming creeping insects," once becoming cocoons,[15] and once becoming flying birds,[16] —"and it is only to go and look at them that she has entered "into [Nurinomi's house]. She has no strange intentions."[17] When they had thus reported, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "That being so, I want to go and see [these insects], as I "think [they must be] strange;” [and with these words] he made a progress up from the great palace. When he entered into Nurinomi's house, Nurinomi had already presented to the Empress the three-fold insects reared by him. Then the Heavenly Sovereign augustly stood at the door of the palace where the Empress dwelt and sang, saying:

"Pure as the great roots that were beaten
"with their wooden hoes by the women of
"Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in
"succession: — it is because thou spokest
"tumultuously that I come in here [with
"my retainers numerous] as the more and
"more flourishing trees that I look across
"at.”[18]

These six Songs sung by the Heavenly Sovereign and by the Empress are Changing Songs which are Quiet Songs.[19]

[SECT. CXXV.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VII.—HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, loving Yata-no-waki-iratsume, deigned to send her an august Song. That Song said:

"Will the one sedge-stem of Yata, having
"no children, wither as it stands? Poor

"sedge-moor! Sedge-moor indeed is what
"I may say— poor pure girl![1]

Then Yata-no-waki-iratsume replied in a Song, saying:

"Even though the one sedge-stem of Yata
"be alone, if the Great Lord say it is right,
"even though it be alone [it is right]."[2]

So the Yata Tribe[3] was established as the august proxy of Yata-no-waki-iratsume.

[SECT. CXXVI.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—DEATH OF KING HAYABUSA-WAKE AND QUEEN MEDORI).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign begged for his younger half-sister Queen Medori, using as middle-man his younger brother King Hayabusa-wake. Then Queen Medori spoke to King Hayabusa-wake, saying: "Owing to the violence of the" Empress, [the Heavenly Sovereign] has not deigned to take" Yata-no-waki-iratsume [into the Palace]. So I will not res-"pectfully serve him. I will become the wife of Thine "Augustness." Forthwith they wedded each other, wherefore King Hayabusa-wake made no report [to the Heavenly Sovereign[1]]. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, going straight to the place where Queen Medori dwelt, stood on the door-sill of the palace. Hereupon, Queen Medori being at her loom, was weaving garments. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Oh! for whom may be the garments that
"my Great Lady Medori weaves?"[2]

Queen Medori replied in a Song, saying:

"For an august veil* for the nigh-going
"Falcon-Lord."[3]

So the Heavenly Sovereign, perceiving her feelings, returned into the palace. At this time[4] when her husband King Hayabusa-wake came, his wife Queen Medori sang, saying:

"The lark flies to heaven. Oh! high-going
"Falcon-Lord, catch the wren."[5] †

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing this Song,[6] forthwith raised an army, wishing to slay King Hayabusa and Queen Medori, who then fled away together, and ascended Mount Kurahashi.[7] Thereupon King Hayabusa-wake sang, saying:

"Owing to the steepness of ladder-like
"Mount Kurahashi, being unable to clamber
"[up] the rocks, oh! she takes my hand!"[8]

"Again he sang, saying:

"Though ladder-like Mount Kurahashi be
"steep, it is not steep when I ascend it
"with my younger sister."

So when they fled thence, and reached Soni in Uda,[9] the Imperial[10] army pursued, overtook, and slew them.

[SECT. CXXVII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.—QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET).]

Chief Ohotate of Yamabe,[1] who was the generalissimo of that army, took the jewelled armlet which was wound round Queen Medori's august arm, and gave it to his own wife. After this time, when a copious feast[2] was to be held, the women of the various families all went to court. Then the wife of Chief Ohotate came with that Queen's jewelled armlet wound round her own arm. Thereupon the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime,* herself took the oak-leaves[3] [full] of great august liquor and graciously gave them to the women of the various families. Then the Empress, recognizing the jewelled armlet, gave [the wearer] no oak-leaf [-full] of great august liquor, but forthwith sent her away;[4] and sending for the husband, Chief Ohotate, said: "Owing to that King and" Queen's impropriety, [the Emperor] deigned to send them "away. This was nothing strange. And a slave such as thou" despoils of the jewelled armlet that was wound round

her" august arm the body of his lady [that was still] warm, and "gives it to his own wife!" —and forthwith he was condemned to death.[5] †

[SECT. CXXVIII.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX.—A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG).]

Another time, the Heavenly Sovereign, when about to hold a copious feast,[1] made a progress to the Island of Hime,[2] just when a wild-goose had laid an egg on that island. Then, sending for His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, he asked him in a Song about the laying of an egg by a wild goose. This Song said:

"Court Noble of Uchi! thou indeed art a
"long-lived person. Hast thou [ever] heard
"of a wild-goose laying an egg in the land
"of Yamato?"[3]

Hereupon the Noble Take-uchi spoke in a Song, saying:

"August Child of the High-Shining Sun, it is
"indeed natural that thou shouldest deign
"to ask, it is indeed right that thou
"shouldest ask. I indeed am a long-lived
"person, [but] have not yet heard of a
"wild-goose laying an egg in the land of
"Yamato."[4]

Having thus spoken, he was granted the august[5] lute, and sang, saying:

"Oh thou prince! the wild-goose must have
"laid the egg because thou wilt at last
"rule."[6]

This is a Congratulatory Incomplete Song.[7]

[SECT. CXXIX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART X.—A VESSEL IS MADE INTO A LUTE).]

In this august reign there was a tall tree on the west of the river Tsuki.[1] The shadow of this tree, on its being struck by the morning sun, reached to the Island of Ahaji;[2] and on its being struck by the evening sun, it crossed Mount Taka-yasu.[3] So the tree was cut down and made into a vessel,— and a very swift-going vessel it was. At the time, this vessel was called by the name of Karanu.[4] So with this vessel the water* of the Island of Ahaji was drawn morning and evening, and presented as the great august water.[5] The broken [pieces] of this vessel were used [as fuel] to burn salt, and the pieces of wood that remained over from the burning were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles[6] [off]. So [some one[7]] sang, saying:

"Karanu was burnt [as fuel] for salt; the
"remainder was made into a lute; oh!
"when struck, it sounds like the wet plants
"standing rocked on the reefs in the middle
"of the harbour,—the harbour of Yura."[8]

This is a Changing Song which is a Quiet song.[9]

[SECT. CXXX.—EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI.—HIS SGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign were eighty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Ear-Moor of Mozu.[1]

[SECT. CXXXI.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Iza-ho-wake dwelt in the palace of Waka-sakura at Ihare,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuro,[2] daughter of the Noble of Ashida,[3] child of So-tsu-biko of Kadzuraki,[4] and begot august children: King Oshiha of Ichinobe;[5] next King Mima;[6] next his younger sister Awomi-no-iratsume,[7]

another name for whom was Ihi-toyo-no-iratsume.[8]

[SECT. CXXXII.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART II. —HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI).]

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting,[1] was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. Thereupon the Suzerain of Achi,[2] ancestor of the Suzerains of Ay a[3] in Yamato, having taken him away by stealth, set him on an august horse, and caused him to make a progress into Yamato. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] awoke on reaching the moor of Tajihi,[4] and said: "What place is this?" Then the Suzerain of Achi said:" King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu set fire to the great palace; so "I am fleeing with thee into Yamato." Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Had I known that I should sleep on the
"Moor of Tajihi, oh! I would have brought
"my dividing matting,—had I known that I
"should sleep!"[5]

On reaching the Pass of Hanifu[6] and gazing at the palace of Naniha, the fire was still bright. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang again, saying:

"The group of houses sparklingly burning,
"as I stand and look from the Pass of
"Hanifu, is in the direction of the house
"of my spouse."[7]

"So when they reached the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain,[8] they met one woman. This woman said: "A number" of men bearing weapons are barring [the way across] the "mountain. Thou shouldst cross it going round by way of" Tagima."[9] Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Oh! on asking the way of the maiden we
"met at Ohosaka, she tells not [the] direct

"[way], but tells of the Tagima way."[10]

So, making his progress up, he dwelt in the temple of the Deity of Isonokami.[11]

[SECT. CXXXIII.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART III.—HIS REBELLIOUS BROTHER AND THE LATTER'S RETAINER SOBAKARI ARE SLAIN).]

Thereupon his younger brother His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake came, and sent [to ask for] an audience.[1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign caused him to be told [these words]: "As I am in doubt whether perhaps Thine Augustness may"[not] be of like mind[2] with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, I "will not meet and speak with thee." [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. I am not" of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu." [The Heavenly Sovereign] again caused mm to be told [these words]: "If that be so, [do thou] now return down, and" slay King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, and come up [again "hither"]. At that time I will surely meet and speak with "thee." So he forthwith returned down to Naniha, and deceived [a man] named Sobakari,[3] a man-at-arms[4] in the personal service of[5] King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, saying: "If "thou wilt obey my words, I shall become Heavenly Sovereign, "and will make thee prime Minister, to rule the Empire.[6] "How [would this be]?" Sobakari replied, saying: "[I will" do] according to thy command." Then plenteously endowing that man-at-arms, he said: "If that be so, slay the King." Thereupon Sobakari watched for the time when his King went into the privy, and thrust him to death with a spear. So when [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] was making his progress to Yamato taking Sobakari with him, he, on reaching the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, thought [thus]: "All" though Sobakari deserves very well of me, he has truly[7] slain" his lord. This is unrighteous. Nevertheless if I reward not "his deed, I may be called untruthful; and if I quite carry" out my promise, his intentions are on the contrary to be" feared. So, though recompensing his deed, I will destroy

"his actual person." Therefore he said to Sobakari: "I will" halt here to-day and bestow on thee the rank of Prime "Minister, and to-morrow will [continue my] progress up." So a halt was made at the entrance to the mountain, a temporary palace forthwith built, a copious feast[8] suddenly held, the rank of Prime Minister forthwith bestowed on the man-at-arms, and all the officials[9] made to do obeisance [to him]. The man-at-arms, delighted, thought that he had accomplished his design. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] said to the man-at-arms: "To-day I will drink liquor from the same "cup as the Prime Minister." And when they drank together, a bowl[10] large [enough] to hide the face was filled with the liquor presented.[11] Hereupon the King's child drank first, and the man-at-arms drank afterwards. So when the man-at-arms was drinking, the great cup covered his face. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] drew forth a sabre which he had laid under the matting, and cut off the head of the man-at-arms. Forthwith on the morrow he made his progress up. So the place was called by the name of Chika-tsu-Asuka.[12] Going up and reaching Yamato, he said: "I will halt here" to-day and, having purified myself, will go forth to-morrow "and worship at the temple of the Deity."[13] So that place is called by the name of Toho-tsu-Asuka.[14] So going forth to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami, he sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign that he had come up to serve him after accomplishing the work [with which he had been entrusted].[15] So [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for, and met, and spoke with him.

[SECT, CXXXIV.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART IV.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

The Heavenly Sovereign thereupon first appointed the Suzerain of Achi to the office of Treasurer,[1] and likewise bestowed on him domains.[2] Again in this august reign the name of Waka-sakura Tribe[3] was granted to the Grandees of the Waka-sakura Tribe.[4] Again the "gentile name"[5] of Dukes of Himeda[6] was granted to the Dukes of Himeda. Again the Ihare Clan[7] was

established.

[SECT. CXXXV.—EMPEROR RI-CHIŪ (PART V.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-four. His august mausoleum is at Mozu.[1]

[SECT. CXXXVI.—EMPEROR HAN-ZEI.]

His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake dwelt in the palace of Shibakaki at Tajihi,[1] and ruled the Empire. The length of this Heavenly Sovereign's august person was nine feet two inches and a half.[2] The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, like jewels strung [together]. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady of Tsunu,[3] daughter of Kogoto, Grandee of Wani,[4] and begot august children: the Lady of Kahi;[5] next the Lady of Tsubura[6] (two Deities). Again he wedded Oto-hime,[7] daughter of the same Grandee, and begot august children: King Takara;[8] next the Lady of Takabe,[9] —altogether four Kings [and Queens].[10] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty. His august mausoleum is on the Moor of Mozu.[11]

[SECT. CXXXVII.-EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ[1] (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Wo-asa-dzu-ma-waku-go-no-sukune dwelt in the Palace of Toho-tsu-Asuka,[2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime,[3] younger sister of King Oho-hodo, and begot august children: King Karu of Kinashi;[4] next Nagata-no-oho-iratsume;[5] next King Kuro-hiko of Sakahi;[6] next His Augustness Anaho;[7] next Karu-no-oho-iratsume,[8] another name for whom is So-tohoshi-no-iratsume[9] (the reason for her being given the august name

of Queen So-tohoshi was that the refulgence of her person passed through her garments); next King Shiro-biko of Yatsuri;[10] next His Augustness Oho-hatsuse;[11] next Tachi-bana-no-oho-iratsume;[12] next Sakami-no-iratsume[13] (nine Deities). Altogether the Heavenly Sovereign's august children [numbered] nine Deities (five Kings and four Queens). Of these nine Kings and Queens, His Augustness Anaho [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next his Augustness Oho-hatsuse ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CXXXVIII.— EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART II. —HIS SICKNESS IS CURED BY A KOREAN PHYSICIAN).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, when first about to rule the succession of Heaven's Sun,[1] declined, saying: "I have a long" sickness; I cannot rule the sun's succession." Nevertheless, as from the Empress downwards all the magnates strongly urged him, he forthwith ruled the Empire. At this time the ruler of Shiragi[2] dutifully sent eighty-one vessels with august tribute. Then the chief envoy[3] sent with the august tribute, whose name was Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu,[4] was a man deeply versed in the medical art. So he cured the Heavenly Sovereign's august sickness.

[SECT. CXXXIX.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART III.HE RECTIFIES THE PEOPLE'S NAMES

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, lamenting the transgressions in the surnames and "gentile names" of the people of all the surnames and names in the Empire[1] placed jars [for trial by] hot water[2] at the Wondrous Cape of Eighty Evils in Words at Amakashi.[3] and deigned to establish the surnames and "gentile names" of the eighty heads of companies.[4] Again the Karu Tribe[5] was established as the august proxy of King Karu of Ki-nashi; the Osaka Tribe[6] was established as the Empress's august proxy; and the Kaha Tribe[7] was established as the august proxy of the Empres's younger sister

Ta-wi no Naka-tsu-hime.[8]

[SECT. CXL.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART IV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were seventy-eight. His august mausoleum is at Naga-ye near Wega in Kafuchi.[1]

[SECT. CXLI.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART V.—PRINCE KARU LOVES HIS SISTER PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, it was settled that King Karu of Ki-nashi should rule the Sun's succession.[1] But in the interval before his accession, he debauched his younger sister the Great Lady of Karu, and sang, saying:

"Making rice-fields on the mountain, making
"hidden conduits run on account of the
"mountain's height:—to-day indeed [my]
"body easily touches the younger sister
"whom I wooed with a hidden wooing, the
"spouse for whom I wept with a hidden
"weeping."[2]

This is a Hind-Lifting Song.[3] Again he sang, saying:

"The rattle-rattle of the hail against the
"bamboo-grass: — After I shall have cer-
tainly slept, what though I be plotted
"against by people! When I shall have
"slept a good sleep delightfully, if there is
"the disorder of the cut *Hydropyrum lati-*
"*folium,* let there be disorder, — when I
"shall have slept a good sleep!"[4]

This is a Rustic Lifting Song.[5]

[SECT. CXLII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VI.—WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO).]

Therefore all the officials[1] and likewise the people of the Empire turned against the Heir Apparent Karu, and towards the August Child Anaho. Then the Heir Apparent Karu, being alarmed, fled into the house of the Grandee the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe,[2] and made a provision of implements of war. (The arrows made at this time[3] were provided with copper arrow-insides;[4] so those arrows are called by the name of Karu arrows.) Prince Anaho likewise made implements of war. (The arrows made by this Prince were just the arrows of the present time:[5] they are called Anaho arrows.) Thereupon Anaho raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe. Then, when he reached the gate, heavy ice-rain6 was falling. So he sang, saying:

"Come thus under cover of the metal gate
"of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe! We
"will stand till the rain stops."[7]

Then the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe came singing, lifting his hands, striking his knees, dancing, and waving his arms. The Song said:

"The courtiers are tumultuous, [saying]
"that the small bell of the garter of the
"courtiers has fallen off. country-people,
"too, beware!"[8]

This Song is of a Courtier's Style.[9] Singing thus, he came near and said: "August Child of our Heavenly Sove-"reign! Come not with arms against the King thine elder "brother. If thou shouldst come against him with arms," people will surely laugh. I[10] will secure him and present "him to thee."[11] Then Prince Anaho disbanded his troops and went away. So the Noble Oho-

mahe Wo-mahe secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. The captive Prince sang, saying:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! if thou
"cry violently, people will know. Cry
"quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa."[12]

"Again he sang:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! Come†
"and sleep, and [then] pass on, oh maiden
"of Karu!"[13]

[SECT, CXLIII.—EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VII.—DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHl).]

So Prince Karu was banished to the hot waters of Iyo.[1] Again when about to be banished, he sang, saying:

"The heaven-soaring birds, too, are indeed
"messengers. When thou hearest the voice
"of the crane, ask my name."[2]

These three songs are of a Heaven-Soaring style.[3] Again he sang, saying:

"If they banish the Great Lord to an island,
"he will indeed make the remaining return
"voyage. Beware of my mat! Mat indeed
"in words,—beware of my spouse!"[4]

This Song is of a Partly Lowered Rustic style.[5] Queen So-tohoshi presented a Song [to him]. That Song said:

"Let not thy feet tread on the oyster-shells
"of the shore of Ahine with its summer
"herbs! Pass there [after] having made" clear6

So when afterwards again, being unable to restrain her love, she went after him, she sang, saying:

"Thy going has become long past. I will
"go, oh! to meet thee. Wait! I cannot
"wait."* (What is here called *yama-tadzu* is
[what is] now [known by the name of] *tatsuge*.)[7]

So when in her pursuit she reached [the place where Prince Karu was, he, who had been] pensively waiting, sang, saying:

"Alas! beloved spouse, who settledst the
"whereabouts of our grave, setting up
"flags in the great vale, setting up flags in
"the little vale of Hatsuse the hidden castle!
"Alas! beloved spouse, whom I see after
"[our many troubles], prostrate like atsuki
"bow, standing like an adzusa bow!"[8]

Again he sang, saying:

"Driving sacred piles in the upper reach,
"driving true piles in the lower reach of the
"river of secluded Hatsuse, and hanging on
"the sacrificial piles a mirror, hanging on
"the true piles true jewels:—if they said
"that the younger sister whom I love like a
"true jewel, that the spouse whom I love
"like a mirror were [there], I would go
"home, I would long for my country."[9]

Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together.[10] So these two songs are Reading Songs.[11]

[SECT. CXLIV.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART I.—HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA).]

The august child[1] Anaho dwelt at the palace of Anaho at Isono-kami,[2] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign sent the Grandee of Ne,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Sakamoto, to the residence of King Oho-kusaka, on behalf of his younger brother Prince Oho-hatsuse to command thus: "I" wish Thine Augustness's younger sister Queen Waka-kusaka "to wed Prince Oho-hatsuse. So do thou present her."[4] Then King Oho-kusaka did obeisance four times, and said: "Owing to a supposition that there might be some such Great" Commands, I have kept her always indoors.[5] With reverence[6] "will I respectfully offer her according to the Great Commands." Nevertheless, thinking it disrespectful [merely] to send a message,[7] he forthwith, as a ceremonial gift[8] from his younger sister, made [the Grandee of Ne] take a pushwood jewel headdress[9] to present [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. The Grandee of Ne forthwith stole the jewel headdress meant as a ceremonial gift, and slandered King Oho-kusaka, saying: "King Oho-kusaka would not receive the Imperial Commands," but said: 'An soror mea fiet easdem stirpis [viri] inferior" 'storea?'[10] and, grasping the hilt of his cross-sword,[11] was "angry." So the Heavenly Sovereign, having in his great anger slain King Oho-kusaka, took that King's chief wife Nagata-no-oho-iratsume,[12] and made her Empress.

[SECT. CXLV.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART II.—HE IS SLAIN BY KING MA-YOWA).]

After this, the Heavenly Sovereign, being on [his] divine couch,[1] was sleeping at midday. Then he spoke to his Empress, saying: "Is there anything on thy mind?"[2] She replied, saying: "Being the object of the Heavenly Sovereign's" generous favour, what can there be on my mind?" Hereupon the Empress's former child,[3] King Ma-yowa, who was seven years old that year, happened to be just then playing outside the apartment.[4] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing that the young King was playing outside the apartment, spoke to the Empress, saying: "I have constantly" something upon my mind, namely [the fear] that thy child

"King Ma-yowa, when he comes to man's estate, may, on" learning that I slew the King his father, requite me with a "foul heart."[5] Thereupon King Ma-yowa, who had been playing outside the apartment, and whose ear had caught these words, forthwith watched for the Heavenly Sovereign to be augustly asleep, and, taking the great sword [that lay] by his side,[6] forthwith struck off the Heavenly Sovereign's head, and fled into the house of the Grandee Tsubura.[7] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-six. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Fushi mi at Sugahara.[8]

[SECT. CXLVI.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART III.—PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCES KURO-BIKO AND SHIRO-BIKO).]

Then Prince Oho-hatsuse,[1] who at that time was a lad, was forthwith grieved and furious on hearing of this event, and went forthwith to his elder brother King Kuro-biko,[2] and said: "They have slain[3] the Heavenly Sovereign. What shall" be done? "But King Kuro-biko was not startled, and was of unconcerned heart.[4] Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse reviled his eider brother, saying: "For one thing it being the Hea-" venly Sovereign, for another thing it being thy brother, how" is thy heart without concern?[5] What!not startled, but "unconcerned on hearing that they have slain thine elder "brother!" —and forthwith he clutched him by the collar, dragged him out, drew his sword, and slew him. Again, going to his elder brother King Shiro-biko, he told him the circumstances as before. The unconcerned ness again was like [that shown by] King Kuro-biko. [So King Oho-hatsuse,] having forthwith clutched him by the collar, pulled him along, and dug a pit on reaching Woharida,[6] buried him as he stood,[7] so that by the time he had been buried up to the loins, both his eyes burst out, and he died.[8]

[SECT. CXLVII.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ(PART IV.—DEATH OF PRINCE MA-YOWA AND OF THE GRANDEE TSUBURA).]

Again he raised an army and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Tsubura. Then [the other side also] raised an army to resist the attack,[1] and the arrows that were shot forth were like unto the falling down of the [ears of the] reeds.[2] Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse, using his spear as a staff, peeped in,[3] and said: "Is perchance the maiden, with whom I spoke, "in this house?"[4] Then the Grandee Tsubura, hearing these commands,[5] came forth himself, and having taken off the weapons with which he was girded, did obeisance eight times, and said: "The maiden Princess Kara, whom anon thou" deignedst to woo, is at thy service. Again in addition I will present to thee five granaries. (What are called the five granaries are now the gardeners of the five villages of Kadzuraki:[6]) Meanwhile the reason why she does not come out to meet thee in person is that from of old down to the present time grandees and chiefs have been known to hide in the palaces of Kings, but Kings have not yet been known to hide in the houses of grandees.[7] Therefore I think that, though a vile slave of a grandee[8] exerting his utmost strength in the fight can scarcely conquer, yet must he die rather than desert a Prince who, trusting in him, has entered into his house."[9] Having thus spoken, he again took his weapons and went in again to fight. Then, their strength being exhausted and their arrows finished, he said to the Prince: "My[10] hands are wounded, and our "arrows likewise are finished. We cannot now fight. What" shall be done?" The Prince replied, saying: "If that be" so, there is nothing more to do. [Do thou] now slay me." So [the Grandee Tsubura] thrust the Prince to death with his sword, and forthwith killed himself by cutting off his own head.

[SECT. CXLVIII. — EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART V —PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA).]

After this Kara-fukuro,[1] ancestor of the Dukes of Yama of Sasaki in Afumi,[2] said [to King Oho-hatsuse]: "At Kuta[3] "[and?] on the moor of Kaya at Wata in Afumi, boars and "deer are abundant. Their legs as they

stand are like a moor" [covered] with wogi;[4] the horns they point up are like withered" trees.” At this time [King Oho-hatsuse], taking with him King Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, made a progress to Afumi, and on reaching this moor, each of them built a separate temporary palace to lodge in. Then next morning, before the sun had risen, King Oshina with a tranquil heart rode along on his august horse, and, reaching and standing beside King Oho-hatsuse's temporary Palace, said to King Oho-hatsuse's august attendants: “Is he not awake yet? He must be told quickly" [that I am come]. It is already daylight.[5] He must come "to the hunting-ground,”—and forthwith urging his horse, he went forth. Then the people who served the august person of King Oho-hatsuse said: "As [King Oshiha] is a violent-" spoken[6] Prince, thou shouldst be on thy guard, and likewise" it were well to arm thine august person.” Forthwith he put on armour underneath his clothes, took and girded on him his bow and arrows, rode off on horseback, and in a sudden interval setting his horse by the side [of the other King's], took out an arrow, shot King Oshiha down, forthwith moreover cut his body [to pieces], put [them] into a Horse's manger, and buried them level with the earth.*

[SECT. CXLIX.—EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART VI.—FLIGHT OF PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE).]

Hereupon King Ichi-no-be's children[1] King Ohoke and King Woke (two Deities), having heard of this affray, fled away. So when they reached Karibawi[2] in Yamashiro and were eating their august provisions, an old man with a tattooed face came and seized the provisions. Then the two Kings said: "We” do not grudge the provisions. But who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am a boar-herd in Yamashiro.” So they fled across the River Kusuba,[3] reached the land of Harima,[4] entered the house of a native of that country named Shizhimu,[5] hid their persons, and worked as grooms and

cow-herds.

[SECT. CL.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART I.—GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take dwelt in the palace of Asakura at Hatsuse,[1] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Queen Wake-kusaka-be, younger sister of King Oho-kusaka (no children). Again be wedded Princess Kara, daughter of the Grandee Tsubura, and begot august children: His Augustness Shiraka; next his younger sister Her Augustness Princess Waka-tarashi (two Deities).

[SECT. CLI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART II.—VARIOUS DEEDS).]

So the Shiraka Clan[1] was established as the august proxy of Prince Shiraka. Again the Hatsuse-Clan-Retainers[2] were established. At this time there came over people from Kure. Again the Kahase Retainers[3] were established. These people from Kure[4] were lodged[5] at Kure-hara. So the place was called by the name of Kure-hara.[6]

[SECT. CLII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART III.—THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OE SHIKI).]

In the beginning, when the Empress[1] dwelt at Kusaka,[2] [the Heavenly Sovereign] made a progress into Kafuchi by way of the Tadagoye[3] road at Kusaka. Then, on climbing to the top of the mountain and gazing on the interior of the country, [he perceived that] there was a house built with a raised roof-frame.[4] The Heavenly Sovereign sent to ask [concerning] that house, saying: "Whose roof with a raised frame is that?" The answer was: "It is the house of the great" Departmental Lord of Shiki."[5] Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "What! a slave builds his own house in imitation of" the august abode of the Heavenly Sovereign!"—and forthwith he sent

men to burn the house [down], when the Great Departmental Lord, with trembling and dread, bowed his head,[6] saying: "Being a slave, I like a slave did not under-"stand, and have built overmuch. I am in great dread."[7] So the thing that he presented as an august offering fin token] of his entreaty was a white dog clothed in cloth,[8] and with a bell hung [round its neck]; and he made a kinsman of his own, named Koshihaki,[9] lead it by a string and present it [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. So the Heavenly Sovereign ordered them to desist from burning [the house].

[SECT. CLIII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IV.— HE WOOS PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE).]

Forthwith making a progress to the residence of Queen Waka-kusaka-be, the Heavenly Sovereign sent the dog as a present with a message, saying: "This thing is a strange" thing which I got to-day on the road. So it is a thing to "woo with,"—and so saying, sent it in as a present. Thereupon Queen Waka-kusaka-be sent to say to the Heavenly Sovereign: "It is very alarming that thou shouldst make a" progress with thy back to the sun.[1] So I will come up "straight [to the capital], and respectfully serve thee."[2] When therefore he returned up and dwelt in the palace, he went and stood on the ascent[3] of that mountain, and sang, saying:

"In the hollow between the nearer and the
"further mountain, this Mount Kusaka-
"be and Mount Heguri, [is] growing the
"flourishing broad-leafed bear-oak; at the
"base grow intertwining bamboos; on the
"top grow luxuriant bamboos: — we sleep
"not [now] intertwined like the intertwining
"bamboos, we sleep not certainly like the
"luxuriant bamboos: [but] oh! my beloved
"spouse, with whom [I] shall afterwards

"sleep interwined! [4]

And he forthwith sent back a messenger with this Song.[5]

[SECT. CLIV.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART V.—STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO).]

Again once when the Heavenly Sovereign, going out for amusement, reached the River Miwa,[1] there was a girl, whose aspect was very beautiful' washing clothes by the river-side. The Heavenly Sovereign asked the girl, [saying]: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "My name is Akawi-ko of the Hiketa Tribe."[2] Then he caused her to be told, saying:" Do not thou marry a husband. I will send for thee,"—and [with these words] he returned to the palace. So eighty years had already passed while she reverently awaited the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. Thereupon Akawi-ko thought: "As," while looking for the [Imperial] commands, I have already" passed many years, and as my face and form are lean and" withered, there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, if I do" not show [the Heavenly Sovereign] how truly I have waited, "my disappointment will be unbearable;"— and [so saying] she caused merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred,[3] and came forth and presented [these gifts as] tribute. Thereat the Heavenly Sovereign, who had quite forgotten what he had formerly commanded, asked Akawi-ko, saying: "What" old woman art thou, and why art thou come hither?" Then Akawi-ko replied, saying: "Having in such and such a month "of such and such a year received the Heavenly Sovereign's "commands, I have been reverently awaiting the great com- "mand until this day, and eighty years have past by. Now "appearance is quite decrepit, and there is no longer any "hope. Nevertheless I have come forth in order to show and "declare my faithfulness." Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign was greatly startled [,and exclaimed]: "I had quite forgotten "the former circumstance; and thou meanwhile, ever faithfully "awaiting my commands, hast vainly let pass by the years of "thy prime.

This is very pitiful." In his heart he wished to marry her, but shrank from her extreme age, and could not make the marriage; but he conferred on her an august Song. That Song said:

"How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-
"tree of the august dwelling! Maiden of
"the oak-plain!"[4]

Again he sang, saying:

"The younger chestnut orchard plain of
"Hiketa: — o si dormivissem cum illâ in
"juventâ! Oh! how old she has become!"[5]

Then the tears that Akawi-ko wept quite drenched the red-dyed sleeve that she had on.[6] In reply to the great august Song, she sang, saying:

"Left over from the piling up of the jewel-
"wall piled up round the august dwelling,
"—to whom shall the person of the Deity's
"temple go?"[7]

Again she sang, saying:

"Oh! how enviable is she who is in her
"bloom like the flowering lotus,—the lotus
"of the inlet, of the inlet of Kusaka."[8]

"Then the old woman was sent back plentifully endowed. So these four Songs are Quiet Songs.[9]

[SECT. CLV.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VI.—HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU).]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the palace of Yeshinu,[1] there was on the bank of the Yeshinu river a girl of beautiful appearance. So having wedded this girl, he returned to the Palace. Afterwards, when he again made a progress to Yeshinu, he halted where he had met the girl, and in that place raised a great august throne,[2] seated

himself on that august throne, played on his august lute, and made the maiden dance. Then he composed an august Song on account of the maiden's good dancing. That Song said:

"Oh! that the maiden dancing to the lute-
"playing of the august hand of the Deity
"seated on the throne might continue for
"ever!"[3]

[SECT. CLVI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII.—THE HORSE-FLY AND THE DRAGON-FLY).]

When forthwith he made a progress to the Moor of Akidzu,[1] and augustly hunted, the Heavenly Sovereign sat on an august throne. Then a horse-fly bit his august arm, and forthwith a dragon-fly came and ate up[2] the horse-fly,* and flew [away]. Thereupon he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Who is it tells in the great presence that
"game is lying on the peak of Womuro at
"Mi-yeshinu? Our Great Lord, who tran-
"quilly carries on the government, being
"seated on the throne to await the game, a
"horse-fly alights on and stings the fleshy
"part of his arm fully clad in a sleeve of
"white stuff, and a dragon-fly quickly eats
"up that horse-fly. That it might properly
"bear its name,† the land of Yamato was
"called the Island of the Dragon-Fly."[3]

So from that time that moor was called by the name of Akidzu-nu.[4]

[SECT. CLVII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VIII,—ADVENTURE WITH A WILD BOAR).]

Again once the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up to the summit of Mount Kadzuraki.[1] Then a large [wild] boar ran out. When the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith shot the boar with a whizzing barb,[2] * the boar, furious, came towards him roaring.[3] † So the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the roaring, climbed up to the top of an alder. Then he sang, saying:

"The branch of the alder-tree on the op-
"portune mound which I climbed in my
"flight on account of the terribleness of the
"roaring of the boar, of the wounded boar,
"which our great lord who tranquilly
"carries on the government had been
"pleased to shoot!"[4] †

[SECT. CLVIII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IX.—REVELATION OF THE GREAT DEITY OF KADZURAKI, LORD OF ONE WORD).]

Again once, when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up Mount Kadzuraki, the various officials[1] were all clothed in green-stained garments with red cords that had been granted to them. At that time there were people ascending the mountain on the opposite mountain acclivity quite similar to the order of the Heavenly Monarch's retinue. Again the style of the habiliments and likewise the people were similar and not distinguishable.[2] Then the Heavenly Sovereign gazed, and sent to ask, saying: "There being no other king in Yamato" excepting myself, what person goeth thus?" The style of the reply again was like unto the commands of a Heavenly Sovereign. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being very angry, fixed his arrow [in his bow], and the various officials all fixed their arrows [in their

bows]. Then those people also all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. So the Heavenly Sovereign again sent to ask, saying: "Then tell thy name. Then" let each of us tell his name, and [then] let fly his arrow." Thereupon [the other] replied, saying: "As I was the first" to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the "Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the "good,—the Great Deity of Kadzuraki, Lord of One Word."[3] The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I" reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understood not that "thy great person would be revealed;"[4] — and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise his bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity].[5] Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands,[6] accepted the offering. So when the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress back, the Great Deity came down the mountain,[7] and respectfully escorted him to the entrance[8] of the Hatsuse mountain. So it was at that time that the Great Deity Lord of One Word was revealed.

[SECT. CLIX.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART X.—THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to Kasuga to wed Princess Wodo,[1] daughter of the Grandee Satsuki of Wani,[2] a maiden met him by the way, and forthwith seeing the imperial progress, ran and hid on the side of a mound. So he composed an august Song. That august Song said:

"Oh! the mound where the maiden is
"hiding! Oh for five hundred metal spades!
"then might [we] dig her out!"[3]

So that mount was called by the name of the Mound of the Metal Spade.[4]

[SECT. CLX.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XI.—THE LEAF IN THE CUP).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a copious feast under a hundred-branching *tsuki-tree*[1] at Hatsuse, a female attendant from Mihe[2] in the land of Ise lifted up the great august cup, and presented it to him. Then from the hundred-branching tsuki-tree there fell a leaf and floated in the great august cup. The female attendant, not knowing that the fallen leaf was floating- in the cup, did not desist from presenting[3] the great august liquor to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, perceiving the leaf floating in the cup, knocked the female attendant down,* put his sword to her neck, and was about to cut off her head, when the female attendant spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Slay me not!There is some-"thing that I must say to thee;" and forthwith she sang, saying:

"The palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a
"palace where shines the morning sun, a
"palace where glistens the evening sun, a
"palace plentifully rooted as the roots of the
"bamboo, a palace with spreading roots like
"the roots of the trees, a palace pestled with
"oh! eight hundred [loads of] earth. As for
"the branches of the hundred-fold flourishing
"*tsuki*-tree growing by the house of new
"licking at the august gate [made of]
"*chamcecyparis* [wood], the uppermost
"branch has the sky above it, the middle
"branch has the east above it, the lowest
"branch has the country above it. A leaf
"from the tip of the uppermost branch falls
"against the middle branch; a leaf from the
"tip of the middle branch falls against the
"lowest branch; a leaf from the tip of the

"lowest branch, falling into the oil floating
"in the fresh jewelled goblet which the maid
"of Mihe is lifting up, all [goes] curdle-
"curdle. Ah! this is very awful, August
"Child of the High-Shining Sun! The
"tradition of the thing, too this!"[4]

So on her presenting this Song, her crime was pardoned. Then the Empress sang. Her Song said:

"Present the luxuriant august liquor to the
"august child of the high-shining sun, who
"is broad like the leaves, who is brilliant
"like the blossoms of the broad-foliaged five
"nundred [-fold branching] true camellia-
"tree that stands growing by the house
"of new licking in this high metropolis of
"Yamato, on the high-timbered mound of
"the metropolis. The tradition of the thing,
"too, this!,'[5]

Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"The people of the great palace, having put
"on scarfs like the quail-birds, having put
"their tails together like wagtails, and con-
"gregated together like the yard-sparrows,
"may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in
"liquor, the people of the palace of the
"high-shining sun. The tradition of the
"thing, too, this."[6]

These three Songs are Songs of Heavenly Words.[7] So at this copious feast* this female attendant from Mihe was praised and plentifully endowed.

[SECT. CLXI.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XII.—SONGS BY THE EMPEROR AND PRINCESS WODO).

On the day of this copious feast the Heavenly Sovereign, when Princess Wodo of Kasuga[1] presented to him the great august liquor, sang again, saying:

"Oh! the grandee's daughter holding the
"excellent flagon! [If] thou hold the ex-
"cellent flagon, hold it firmly! Hold it
"quite firmly, more and more firmly, child
"holding the excellent flagon"[2]

This is a Cup Song.[3] Then Princess Wodo presented a Song. That Song said:

"Would that I were [thou,] the lower
"board of the arm-rest whereon our great
"lord who tranquilly carries on the govern-
"ment stands leaning at morn, stands lean-
"ing at eve! Oh! mine elder brother!"[4]

"This is a Quiet Song.

[SECT. CLXII.—EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XIII.— HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-four. His august mausoleum is at Takawashi in Tajihi[1] in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXIII.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART I.—SEARCH FOR A SUCCESSOR TO HIM).]

HisAugustness Shiraka-no-oho-yaniato-ne-ko dwelt at the palace of Mikakuri at Ihare,[1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign had no Empress, and likewise no august children. So the Shiraka Clan[2] was

established as his august proxy. So after the Heavenly Sovereign's decease, there was no King to rule the Empire. Thereupon, on enquiry [being made] for a King who should rule the sun's succession, Oshi-numi-no-iratsume,[3] another name for whom was Princess Ihi-toyo, younger sister of Prince Ichinobe-oshiha-wake,[4] [was found to be] residing at the palace of Tsunusashi at Takaki in Oshinumi in Kadzuraki.[5]

[SECT. CLXIV.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART II.—PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE ARE DISCOVERED).]

Then Wodate, Chief of the Mountain Clan,[1] when appointed governor of the land of Harima, arrived just at [the time of] a rejoicing * for the new cave† of an inhabitant called Shizhimu.[2] Hereupon, when the feasting and the drinking were at their height, they all danced in turn. So two young children[3] [employed] to light the fire‡ sat beside the furnace.[4] These young children were made to dance. Then one of the young children said:" Do thou the elder brother dance first." The elder brother likewise said: "Do thou the younger "brother dance first." When they thus yielded to each other, the people who were met together laughed at their manner of yielding to each other.[5] So at last the elder brother danced, [and when he had] finished, the younger when about to dance chanted, saying:

"Oh! the bamboos on the mountain-slope,
"behind which are hidden as soon as they
"appear my warrior-mate's sword, on whose
"hilt red earth was daubed, for whose cord
"red cloth was cut, and his red flags that
"were set up"!: — Beggarly descendants of
"King Ichinobe-no-oshiha, august child of
"the Heavenly Sovereign Izaho-wake, who
"ruled the Empire as it were cutting the
"[bamboos'] roots and bending down their

"extremities, and like playing on an eight-
"stringed lute!”* [6]

Then forthwith Chief Wodate, starting at the sound [of these words], and rolling off his couch,[7] drove away the people of the cave; and, having set the two[8] princes [one] on his left knee and [the other] on his right and wept and lamented, he collected the people together, and having built a temporary palace, and set [the two princes] to dwell in that temporary palace, he sent a courier up [to the capital]. Thereupon their aunt, Queen Ihi-toyo, delighted to hear [the news], made them come up to palace.

[SECT. CLXV.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART III.—THE GPANDEE SHIBl).[1]]

So when the government of the Empire was about to be assumed,[2] the Grandee Shibi,[3] ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri,[4] mixed in the Songs, and took the hand of the beautiful person whom His Augustness Woke was about to wed. This maiden was a daughter of one of the Headmen of Uda,[5] and her name was Ofuwo.[6] Then His Augustness Wobe likewise mixed in the Song-Hedge.[7] Thereupon the Grandee Shibi sang, saying:

(IV) "The further fin of the roof of the great
"palace is bent down at the corner."[8]

When he had thus sung, and requested the conclusion of the Song, His Augustness Woke sang, saying:

(V)"It is on account of the great carpenter's
"awkwardness that it is bent down at the
"corner.”[9]

Then the Grandee Shibi sang again, saying:

"(VIII)"The great lord, on account of the mag-
"nanimity of his heart, does not enter and
"stand in the eight-fold hedge of branches
"of the child of a grandee.[10]

Hereupon the Prince sang again, saying:

"(I) "Looking on the breakers of the briny cur-
"rent, I see my spouse standing by the
"fin of the tunny that comes sporting.

Then the Grandee Shibi, getting more and more angry, sang, saying:

(IX) "[Though] the eight-fold hedge of branches
"of the Prince the Great Lord be made fast
"at eight places, be made fast all round, 'tis
"a hedge that shall be cut, 'tis a hedge
"that shall be burnt."[11]

Then the Prince again sang, saying:

"(II) "Oh fisherman that spearest the tunny,
"the great fish! He being [there], thou
"must be sad at heart, tunny-spearing
"fisherman!"[12]

Having thus sung, the feast was concluded at dawn, and they all retired. * Next morning the two Deities,[13] His Augustness Ohoke and His Augustness Woke, took counsel, saying: "All the people of the Court go to Court in the morning, "and assemble at Shibi's gate at noon. So[14] Shibi must" surely now be sleeping, and moreover there will be nobody "at the gate. So unless it be now, it were hard to plot" against him,"[15] and forthwith they at once raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Shibi, and slew him.

[SECT. CLXVI.—EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART IV.—PRINCE OHOKE CEDES THE EMPIRE TO PRINCE WOKE).]

Then each of the two Princes ceded the Empire to the other, and His Augustness Ohoke [finally] ceded it to the younger brother His Augustness Woke, saying: "Had not" Thine Augustness revealed our names when we dwelt in the "house of Shizhimu in Harima, we should never have arrived"

at being the lords of the Empire. This is quite owing to "Thine Augustness's deed. So, though I be the elder brother, "do Thine Augustness rule the Empire first," —and [with these words] he urgently ceded [his claim]. So, being unable to refuse, His Augustness Woke ruled the Empire first.

[SECT. CLXVII.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART I.—THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME).]

His Augustness Woke-no-ihasu-wake dwelt at the palace of Chika-tsu-Asuka,[1] and ruled the Empire for eight years. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Queen of Naniha,[2] daughter of the King of Ihaki.[3] He had no children. At the time when this Heavenly Sovereign was searching for the august bones of the King his father, King Ichinobe,[4] there came out from the land of Afumi [to the palace] a poor old woman, who said: "The place where the prince's august" bones are buried is specially well known to me,[5] and more-" over [his skeleton] can be known by his august teeth."* (His august teeth were teeth uneven like a lily.) Then people were set[6] to dig the ground and search for the august bones; and the bones having been forthwith obtained, an august mausoleum was made on the mountain east of the Moor of Kaya,[7] and they were interred, and the children of Kara-fukuro[8] were made to guard the august mausoleum. Afterwards the august bones were brought up [to the Capital]. So having returned up [to tne Capital, the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for the old woman, praised her for having, without forgetting, kept the place in mind, and conferred upon her the name of the Old Woman Oki-me:[9] thus did he send for her into the palace, and deign to treat her with deep and wide kindness. So he built a house for the old woman to dwell in close to the palace, and always sent for her every day. So he hung a bell by the door of the great hall, and always rang it when he wished to call the old woman. So he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Oh! the far-distant bell tinkles when she
"has past the moor with its low eulalias

"and the little valley. Oh! Oki-me must
"be coming!"[10]

Hereupon* the old woman said: "I am very aged, and "would fain depart to my native land." So when the Heavenly Sovereign let her depart according to her request, he saw her off and sang, saying:

"Ah Okime! Okime from Afumi! from to-
"morrow [onwards] wilt [thou] be hidden
"behind the deep mountains, and alas! not
"seen!"[11]

[SECT. CLXVIII.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART II.—HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD).]

The Heavenly Sovereign searched for the old boar-herd who had seized his august provisions at the time when he first met with adversity and was fleeing;[1] and, having sought him out, sent for him up [to the Capital], beheaded him in the bed[2] of the River Asuka,[3] and cut the knee-tendons of all his kindred, Wherefore down to the present time his descendants, on the day when[4] they come up to Yamato, always limp of their own accord. So the man's abode had been well seen and divined.[5] So the place was named Shimesu.[6]

[SECT. CLXIX.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART III,—THE EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, deeply hating the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, who had slain the King his father, wished to be revenged on his spirit.[1] So when, wishing to destroy the august mausoleum of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, he [was about to] send people [to execute this design], his elder brother, His Augustness Ohoke, addressed[2] him, saying: "To demolish this august mausoleum thou shouldst not send other people.

None but myself shall go, and I will demolish it according to the Heavenly Sovereign's august heart."[3] Then the Heavenly Sovereign commanded: "Make thy progress, then, according to thy decree." Wherefore His Augustness Ohoke, having proceeded down himself, slightly excavated the side of the august mausoleum, and returned up [to the capital], and reported that he had dug up and demolished it. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, astonished at the quickness of his return up, asked how he had demolished it. He replied, saying: "I slightly excavated the earthat the side of the august mausoleum."* The Heavenly Sovereign said: "Wishing to be revenged on the enemy of the King our father, I had counted on the complete demolition of the mausoleum. Why hast thou [only] slightly excavated it?" He replied, saying: "The reason why I" did so was that the wish to be revenged on the spirit of the foe of the King our father is truly just. Nevertheless the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, though he were our father's foe, was still our uncle, and moreover was an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire. So if we now, simply from the consideration of his having been our father's enemy, were completely to demolish the mausoleum of an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire, after-generations would surely revile us. Meanwhile the wrongs of the King our father must not be unrevenged. So I slightly excavated the side of the mausoleum. This insult will quite suffice as a "token to future ages." On his thus addressing him, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "This also is very just. Be it as" thou sayest."

[SECT. CLXX.—EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART IV.—HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

So the Heavenly Sovereign died, and His Augustness Ohoke ruled the succession of Heaven's sun.[1] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were thirty-eight, and he ruled the Empire for eight years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Katawoka.[2]

[SECT. CLXXI.—EMPEROR NIN-KEN][1]

His Augustness Ohoke dwelt at the palace of Hirataka at Isonokami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kasuga-no-oho-iratsume, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take, and begot august children: Takaki-no-iratsume; next Takara-no-iratsume; next Kusubi-no-iratsume; next Tashiraka-no-iratsume; next His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-wake-sazaki; next Prince Ma-waka. The child born to him by his next wife Nuka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Wani, was: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered seven altogether. Of these His Augustness Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXII.—EMPEROR MU-RETSU.]

His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Namiki at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire for eight years. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. So the Wo-hatsuse Tribe was established as his august proxy. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Kara-woka. On the death of this Heavenly Monarch there was no prince to inherit the Empire. So His Augustness Ohodo, the fifth descendant of the Heavenly Monarch Homuda, was sent for down to the land of Afumi, and married to her Augustness Tashiraka, and presented with the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXIII.—EMPEROR KEI-TAI.]

His Augustness Ohodo dwelt in the Palace of Tamaho at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. The (two) august children born to this Heavenly Monarch by Waka-hime, ancestress of the Dukes of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsuko, next Idzumo-no-iratsume. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Meko-no-iratsume, sister of the Chieftain Ofushi, ancestor of the

Chieftains of Wohari, were: His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi, next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife (the Great Empress) Her Augustness Tashiraka, the august daughter of the Heavenly Monarch Ohoke, was: His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, daughter of Prince Okinaga-no-mate, was: Sasage-no-iratsume. The three august children born to him by his next wife Kuro-hime, daughter of Prince Sakata-no-oho-mata, were: Kamu-saki-no-iratsume, next Mamuta-no-iratsume, next Umakuta-no-iratsume. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Seki-hime, daughter of Womochi Grandee of Mamuta, were: Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume, next Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no iratsume, next Wo-nu-no-iratsume, another name for whom is Naga-me-hime. The (four) children born to him by his next wife Yamato-hime, younger sister of Katabu Duke of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsume, next Prince Maroko, next Prince Mimi, next Aka-hime-no-iratsume. The (three) children born to him by his next wife Abe-no-haye-hime, were: Waka-ya-no-iratsume, next Tsubura-no-iratsume, next Prince Adzu. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered nineteen in all (seven Kings and twelve Queens). Of these His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate ruled the Empire; the next, Queen Sasage, presided at the temple of the Deity of Ise. In this august reign Ihawi, Lord or Tsakushi, was disobedient to the Imperial Decrees, and was exceedingly disrespectful. So the Great Chieftain Mononobe-no-arakawi and the Chieftain Ohotomo-no-kanamura were both sent to slay Ihawi.[1] The august years of this Heavenly Monarch were forty-three. His august mausoleum is at Awi is Mishima.

[SECT. CLXXIV.—EMPEROR AN-KAN.]

His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi dwelt in the Palace of Kanahashi at Magari, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. His august grave is at the village of Takaya in Furuchi in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXV.—EMPEROR SEN-KUWA.]

His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate dwelt in the Palace of Ihorinu at Hinokuma, and ruled the Empire. The august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Her Augustness Tachibana-no-naka-tsu-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ohoke, were: Her Augustness Ishi-hime, next Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, next King Kura-no-waka-ye. The august children born to him by his next wire, Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, were: King Honoho, next King Weha. The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered altogether five (three Kings and two Queens). So King Honoho (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Shihida). Prince Weha (was the ancester of the Dukes of Wina and of the Dukes of Tajihi).

[SECT. CLXXVI.—EMPEROR KIM-MEI.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha dwelt in the Great Palace of Shikishima, and ruled the Empire. The (three) august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, Her Augustness Ishi-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Hi-no-kuma, were: King Yata; next His Augustness Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki; next King Kasanuhi, The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, younger sister [of the first one] was: King Kami. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Nukako-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Kasuga, were: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume, next King Maroko, next King Soga-no-kura. The (thirteen) children born to him by his next wife Kitashi-hime, daughter of

the prime Minister the Noble Inawe of Soga were: His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi, next his younger sister Queen Ihakumo, next King Atori, next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, next King Mata-maroko, next King Oho-yake, next King Imigako, next King [of?] Yamashiro, next his younger sister Queen Oho-tomo, next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari, next King Manu, next King Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go, next King Tone. The five august children born to him by his next wife Wo-ye-hime, aunt of Her Augustness Kitashi-hime, were: King Umaki, next King Kadzuraki, next King Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be, next King Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, another name for whom was Sume-irodo, next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered twenty-five Kings and Queens. Of these His Augustness Nu-na-kura-futo-tama-shiki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi ruled the Empire. Next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki ruled the Empire. In all there were four Kings and Queens that ruled the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXVII.—EMPEROR BI-DATSU.]

His Augustness Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki dwelt in the Palace of Wosada, and ruled the Empire for fourteen years. The (eight) children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, his half-sister Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, were: King Shidzu-kahi, another name for whom was Kahi-dako; next King Takeda, another name for whom was King Wo-kahi; next King Woharita, next King Umori, next King Wohari, next King Tame, next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife Wo-kuma-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of the Headman Ohoka of Ise, were: Her Augustness Futo-hime, next Queen Takara, another name for whom was Queen Nukade-hime. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Hiro-hime, daughter of King Okinaga-no-ma-de, were: King Osaka-no-hiko-hito,

another name for whom was King Maroko; next King Saka-nobori, next King Uji. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife Omina-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, were: King Naniha, next King Kuhada, next King Kasuga, next King Oho-mata. Of the august children of this Heavenly Monarch,—seventeen Kings and Queens altogether,—King Hiko-hito begot by his wife his half-sister Queen Tamura, another name for whom was Her Augustness Nukade-hime, (three) august children, namely: the Heavenly Sovereign that ruled the Empire from the Palace of Wokamoto, next King Naka-tsu, next King Tara. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Queen Ohomata, younger sister of King Aya, were: King Chinu, next his younger sister Queen Kuhada. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife his half-sister Princess Yumi-hari, were: King Yamashiro, next Queen Kasanuhi,—altogether seven Kings and Queens. The august mausoleum [of the Heavenly Sovereign Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki] is at Shinaga in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXVIII.—EMPEROR YŌ-MEI.]

His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi dwelt in the Palace of Ikeno-be, and ruled the Empire for three years. The one august child born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Oho-gitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the Noble Iname, was: King Tame. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife, his half-sister Princess Hashi-bito-no-anaho-be, were: His Augustness Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi; next King Kume, next King We-kuri, next King Mamuta. The august children born to him by his next wife Ihi-me-no-ko, daughter of Tagima-no-kura-bito-niro, were: King Tagima, next his younger sister Sugashiroko-no-iratsume. The august mausoleum of this Heavenly Sovereign, which had been by the borders of Lake Ihare, was afterwards removed to the middle sepulchre of Shinaga.

[SECT. CLXXIX.—EMPEROR SU-JUN.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki* dwelt at the Palace of Shibakaki at Kurahashi, and ruled the Empire for four years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Kurahashi.

[SECT. CLXXX.—EMPRESS SUI-KO.]

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime dwelt at the Palace of Woharida, and ruled the Empire for thirty-seven years. Her august mausoleum, which had been on the mound of Ohonu, was afterwards removed to the great sepulchre at Shinaga.

THE END.

FOOTNOTES

1 Literally, "lower volume" (there being three in all). See Author's Preface, Note 1.

2 *I.e.,*"high port."

3 Motowori surmises that the reason why the characters signifying "Empress"* are in all the texts here written in small characters is on account of this personage not having been of Imperial birth.

* The same characters applied to the same person are written full size in the next chapter. Here it is probably only a note which has crept into the text suggested by its occurence lower down.—W.G.A.

4 *I.e.,* "the rock princess." Motowori supposes the name to be indicative of prosperity and long life.

5 See Sect. LXI, Note 55.

6 *I.e.,* "the elder brother lord Izaho," the latter name being of uncertain import.

7 *Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsti-miko*. Both the phrase "middle king" and the Inlet of Sumi have been already commented on.

8 *Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake*. Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi. The traditional origin of its application to this will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, p. 6. *Midzu-ha-wake* probably means "the lord with the beautiful teeth."

9 *Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go no sukune*. Asadzuma is the name of a place in Yamato, and wo (though written 男) seems to be the slightly Honorific Prefix wo（小）whose proper signification is "small." Waku-go means "younger child."

10 See Sect. CVII.

11 *I.e.,*"the great lord of *Hatabi*," Hatabi is alltogater obscure

12 *Oho-kusaka no miko.* For *Kusaka* see Sect. CL, Note 2.

13 *I.e.,* "the young lady of Hatabi." Conf. Note 11.

14 *Nagahi-hime.* This name it obscure.

15 *Kusaka-be* is an alternative form of *Kusaka.* The compound therefore signifies "young princess of Kusaka,"

16 This name and the following have already appeared in the genealogies of the preceding reign (Sect. CIV).

17 These were the Emperors Ri-chiū, Han-zei, and In-giyō.

1 *Kadzuraki-be.* For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 *Mibu-be.* Motowori quotes approvingly a derivation of the "gentile name" of Mibu from *Bi-fuku-mon* (美福門), the name of a gate which the first bearer of the name is related to have constructed. Taking into account the letter-changes which occurred in older times in the passage of words from Chinese into Japanese, the etymology is plausible enough.

3 *Tajihi-be,* Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin

4 *Oho-kusaka-be.* This tribe of course took its name simply from that of Prince Oho-kusaka.

5 *Waka-kusaka-be.* A similar observation to that in the last applies to this name.

6 1509 See Sect. LIII, Note 1.

* This is suspiciously like some of the works of the ancient Chinese Emperors. - W.G.A.

7 *Wani no ike,* in the province of Kahachi. *Wani* signifies “crocodile,” and it was also the name of the Korean personage mentioned in Sect. CX (Note 6). But the reason why the Pool here spoken of was so called does not appear. The Pool of Yosami has already been mentioned in Sect. LXII (Note 85). Motowori supposes that it must have dried up during the interim.

8 *Naniha no hori-ye.* Motowori tells us that the regularization of the channels of the Yodo and Yamato Rivers, whose mouths nearly meet at this point with various intersecting branches, is what is here intended to be referred to.

9 *Wobashi no ye. Wo-bashi* ("little bridge") is the name of a village in the province of Settsu.

10 *Suminoye no tsu*. Close to Naniha; it is the modern *Sumiyoshi,* Conf. Sect. X, Note 22.

1 Motowori's reading of this Verb in the Imperative Mood (as if containing an order addressed by the monarch to his ministers) seems less natural than the older reading in the Indicative, which accordingly the translator has followed.

* Why in brackets? —W.G.A.

2 There is uncertainty as to the exact character in the original. But the older editions read it as the Japanese word hako, boxes,” while Motowori prefers *hi*, "tubes." "Troughs" seems to co ciliate both views, and to be also appropriate to the use mentioned in the text.

3 Or simply, “the people" But the expression 百姓 is generally used in Japanese of the peasantry only.

4 璧帝. If, following most texts, we omitted the final character 世, "reign," the English translation would be "in praise of that" august reign, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was called the Emperor-"Sage.”

* Approach? W.G.A.

1 Motowori shows by collating various passages in other ancient works that this is the probable signification of the curious expression in the original, *koto-dateba* (言立者 for 事立者). The reference of course is to the occurrence of anything noteworthy among the concubines, such as the birth of a son, etc.

2 *Kuro-hime, i.e.,*"black princess, "probably meaning" black-haired princess."

3 *Kibi no Ama no atahe*. Of this family nothing is known. *Ama* signifies "fisherman." *Kibi* is the name of a province.

4 Thus interpreted (according to Moribe), the general sense of the Song is quite clear. The word *Masadzuko,* considered by Moribe to be one of the names of Princess Kuro, is however not so understood- by Motowori, who is inclined to see in it rather an Honorific description of her. *Kurozaki* likewise *(i.e.,*"black cape," the word ku *ro* seemingly containing an allusion to the name of the Princess) is but the best of many emendations of the name as it stands in the text, viz., Furozaya. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, p. 33, for all the possible emendations proposed by him or his predecessors.

5 *Seil.* of the neighbourhood of Naniha. Or possibly *Oho-ura* ("Great Strand") should be taken as the name of a place, though Motowori does not suggest such a view.

6 *I.e.,* to make her perform the journey on foot.

7 See Sect. V, Note 3.

8Moribe, commenting on the import of this Song, says: "Though "the alleged reason was a tour of inspection, it was truly out of love "for Princess Kuro that the Monarch had undertaken the journey. "When her vessel could no longer be descried, he could still, alas! "see the islands that remained behind,-the Island of Aha and the "Island of Ajimasa; he could still, alas! "see the Islands of Ono-goro "and Saketsu. Alas for him left alone, parted from his love! Though "he spoke not openly, yet those around him understood the under" current of his words."* -"Wave-beaten" is the accepted interpretation of oshiteru ya (or *oshiteru*), the Pillow-Word for

Naniha. For the Islands of Aha and Onogoro see respectively Sect. IV, Note 5 and Sect. III, Note 5. Of the Islands of Ajimasa and Saketsu nothing is known. *Ajimasa* is the name of a species of palm, the *Livistona sinenids*, and Motowori supposes that one of the islands in that neighbourhood may anciently have received its name from the palm-trees growing on it. Palms of any kind are, however, not very common in Japan, and seem only to grow when specially cultivated.

* This seems rather nonsensical. There is perhaps an allusion intended by the names of the places. *Naniwa*, which he has left, may refer to his stormy domestic life. *Awa* may be for *awamu*, "will meet," *i.e.*, the Princess Kurohime, who may also be intended by the *Ono* go (Ono ko "our child") of Onogoro Shima. *Ajimasa*, "taste preferable," may be a compliment to her, and saketsu my suggest sakebu, "to shout" (with delight when he meets her). But this is doubtless fantastic and and far-fetched.—W.G.A.

9 Motowori thinks we should in this place understand the word *yamagata* (for *yama — agata*) as the name of a place. But in the Song which immediately follows, it must certainly be taken in its etymological sense of "mountain-fields," and it seems therefore quite inconsistent to translate it differently here. Moreover it is allowed that no such place as Yamagata in Kibi is anywhere made mention of.*

* I don't feel quite clear about this.—W.G.A.

† Is not cabbage (*awona*) a little too specific? pot-herbs?-W.G.A.

10 The import of this Song is perfectly clear, "the person of Kibi" being of course the Imperial poet's lady-love.

11 *I.e.,* was about to start back to the capital, which was in the province of Settsu.

12 This Honorific seems so out of place (seeing that it is not applied to the Emperor's own Songs given in this section), that it is supposed by the Commentators to be an erroneous addition to the text.

13 We might also translate thus: "Even though we be separated,‡ "as the clouds that part owing to the west wind blowing up towards" Yamato, etc.;"—for the initial lines of the poem which contain the allusion to the

wind and to the clouds are simply a Preface, and their import may therefore at will be either considered separately, or else made continuous with that of the rest of the poem.

‡ *Kumo-banare*: I fancy this phrase must be taken twice, once with what precedes in the sense given above, and a second time as a fuller equivalent of and introductory to the words *soki-ori* "separated." It might then be translated "under different skies." *Kumo* has this meaning in the compound *Awo-kumo*, "blue skies," *banare*, "skies divided."—W.G.A.

14 The meaning of this Song is: "Whose spouse is it that returns" to Yamato? Whose spouse is it that comes thus secretly to make "love to me, like a stream flowing underground?" —The allusion contained in the twice repeated words "whose spouse" is of course to the Empress. The poetess, full of tenderness for the Emperor, regrets for his sake, as well as for her own, that he should he the husband of so jealous a wife."Hidden water" is the accepted interpretation of the Pillow-Word *komoridzu no*, which is with apparent reason supposed to be a contraction of *komori-midzu no*.

1 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

2 *I.e.,* "small island." It is first mentioned in Sect, V (Note 29).

3 See Sect. XLVII, Note 18.

4 *Oho-watari.* The mouth of the River Yodo is meant to be designated by this name.

5 The original expression kura-bito-me (會入女) is obscure, being met with nowhere else in Japanese literature. Motowori conjectures that the function exercised by this lady was one connected with the Empress's privy purse.

6 The text has the character 皆, "all," which makes no sense; and Motowori (following Mabuchi) reasonably emends it to 比日, "recently," "just now."

7 *Mitsu no saki, Mitsu*, signifying "three," is supposed by the author to refer to the three-cornered leaves of the aralia (the name of the latter being *mi-tsuna-gashiha*); but a more likely opinion is that which would have us take mitsu as two words, in the sense of" august harbour." In the parallel

passage of the "Chronicles," we are told that the place was called *Kashiha no watari, i.e.*," Oak passage."

8 *I.e.,* going on up the river without stopping at Naniha where the palace was.

9 *I.e.,* the artificial bed of the river mentioned in Sect. CXX, Note 8.

10 *I.e.,* the River Yodo.

11 The meaning of this Song is: "As I make my way up the" river by boat, I see a *sashibu* (the name of a tree which cannot now "be identified), below which,-that is to say nearer to the water,- “there grows a camellia-tree, wide-spreading and full of blossoms."Ah! how the sight of the sturdy brilliant beauty of this camellia-"tree brings back my lord and master to my mind!”-It must be remembered that in Japan the camellia-trees grow to a size far superior to that reached by their representatives in Europe. *Tsuginefu*, rendered according to the view taken by Motowori and Moribe by the phrase "where the seedlings grow in succession,” is the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, and its import is disputed. The interpretation here adopted considers it to refer to the regular succession of young trees planted on a mountains side when a tract of older timber has been cut down. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," sees in it, on the contrary, a reference to the rising of peak upon peak in a mountainous district (*tsugi-ne fu*= 次經). Both interpretations rest on the connection between this term and *yama*, the first half of the name of the province of Yamashiro, which it qualifies."Five hundred” [-fold branching]” and "true" are ornamental epithets applied by the poetess to the camellia-tree. Moribe would take the syllable *ma,* "true," in the sense of *ha*," leaf;" but this seems less good.

12 For the straight road from Naniha in Settsu to Nara in Yamato would have taken her through the province of Kafuchi, and not through Yamashiro.

13 *I.e.,* the pass or hill leading from the district of Sagara in Yamashiro to Nara in Yamato. For Nara see Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

14 This Song expresses the Empress's desire to return to her parental house at Takamiya in the district of Kadzuraki, a desire which, however, her

restless frame of mind did not allow her to fulfil. —The Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, which here recurs, has already been discussed in Note 11. There are two other Pillow-Words in this Song,— *awoniyoshi*, which is prefixed to Nara, and wo-date (or *wo-date-yama* according to the old reading, or *wo-date tatsu* according to another reading), which is prefixed to Yamato. The former of these is so obscure that, rather than attempt to render it into English, the translator prefers to refer the student to the remarks of the various commentators,—Mabuchi s.v. in his "Dictionary of "Pillow-Words," Motowori in his Commentary Vol. XXXVI, pp. 22-24, and Moribe *in loco. Wodate* [*-yama*] seems to refer undoubtedly to the circle of mountains that guard the approach to the province of Yamato, and it has been rendered accordingly. The great difficulty of the Song lies in the line rendered "ascend to Miya," and the commentators from Keichiū downwards make all sorts of efforts to explain it. Moribe's view, according to which the word should be regarded as a familiar abbreviation of Takamiya, naturally used by one whose native place it was, seems the most acceptable. Motowori takes the line to signify: "When I ascend past the palace [of Naniha];"

15 韓, *i.e.*, Korea.

16 For *Nari no omi, i.e.*, "the Grandee of Nuri." Nuri* is probably a corrupt form of some Korean name.

* 누리 *(nuri)* in Korean is a Kind of caterpillar.W.G.A.

17 Or Tsudzuki, in Yamashiro, Etymology obscure.

1 上 This name signmes "bird-mountain." The commentators presume that it contains an allusion to the fact of its bearer being an Imperial courier.

2 This is the actual sense conveyed by the original 使舍人名謂鳥山人送御狄, and we naturally infer that Toriyama was made the bearer to the Empress of the following Song. The Song itself, however, is addressed not to her, but to Toriyama on his departure. On the other hand, the two poems which follow are evidently for the Empress, and it is impossible to suppose that the first messenger was not likewise intended to convey to her some

poetic missive. All that we can do is to render the text as it stands, and to suppose it corrupt.

3 The meaning of this Song is: “Oh Toriyama! pursue her into Yamashiro!"I tremble at the thought of the possibility of thy not finding her."

4 *Wani no omi Kuchiko* (further on he is mentioned as *Kuchiko no omi*, *i.e.,* "the Grandee [of] Kuchiko"). *Kuchi-ko* may be interpreted to mean "mouth-child," and Moribe thinks that this personage was so called on account of the verbal messages of which he was made the bearer. The translator would prefer to consider ko as an abbreviation of *hiko*, "prince,” especially as the sister's name is *Kuchi-hime*, where the word *hime* must mean "princess."

5 This Song is so obscure that Motowori and Moribe differ completely as to its interpretation. The translator has followed Moribe, though by no means persuaded that the latter has hit on the proper signification. According to this view, the Emperor makes a pun on the word "heart,” which is supposed to have been the name of a pool situated on the moor of Ohowiko near Takaki at Mimoro,— all names of places with which the Empress was familiar, — and reproaches her for having no thought of *his* heart which beats so lovingly for her. Motowori, on the other hand, thinks that the poem proper consists only of its last two lines (in the English translation they necessarily come first): "Wilt thou be without thinking even "of the heart?” —and that all the rest is a "Preface” to the Pillow-Word *kimo-mukafu* by which the word *kokoro*, “heart,” is preceded. As for *oho-wi-ko* and *takaki*, they are taken, not as names of places, but as Common Nouns. According to this view of the structure of the Song, it ceases (with the exception of its last two lines) to have any rational signification, and it is needless to attempt to translate it for the English reader. Persons familiar with Japanese are therefore referred to Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 34—36.

6 The meaning of this Song is: "If thou and I had not so long" been spouses, then indeed mightest thou break with me, and declare "that thou

knowest me not. But how canst thou so far forget our" wedded life as to desert me now?"—The" great root’” *oho-ne*, is the modern *dai-kon (Raphanus sativus*), a kind of radish which is a favourite vegetable with the Japanese and is distinguished by its brilliantly white appearance."Beaten" here signifies "dug up." The use of the Past Tense is curious. *Ko-guha*, here in accordance with Motowori's view rendered "wooden hoes," is interpreted by Moribe to mean "little hoes." "Where the seedlings grow in succession" is the English rendering of *tsugi-ne fu*, the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro (see Sect. CXXIlI Note 11).

7 The Empress was lodging with a private individual, but her presence warrants the application of the term "palace"* to his house.

* It is *tono*, not *miya*. The Ninongi says she built herself a palace at Tsutsuki.—W.G.A.

8 It was raining too hard for the water to stop on the surface in the shape of puddles, so it streamed off in little rivulets.

† "Puddle" is the translation given by Williams.—W.G.A.

9 Literally, "rubbed." See Introduction p. xxx. Instead of "green,” we might equally well translate by "blue.” The garment intended must be the upper garment or coat.

10 *Kuchi-hime.*

11 Literally, "respectfully served the Empress.”

12 The meaning of these lines, which can only be called poetry because they are in metre, is plain: in them the speaker draws the Empress's attention to the pitiful condition of the messenger who is doing his best to deliver to her the Emperor's message. Probably the reading in our text has been corrupted; for that in the "Chroni-cles," which may be translated thus: "Oh! how tearful am I when" I see my lord elder brother," etc., is much preferable*

* But will not the Kojiki version bear this meaning? Vide Moto-wori's commentary.—W.G.A.

13 *Scil.* of her attendant thus taking the messenger's part.

14 Literally, "colours."

15 This is Motowori's conjectural restoration of the reading of this word, which in all the texts is hopelessly corrupt.

16 According to another reading, "flying insects."

17 *I.e.*, "she is not meditating any evil conduct."

18 This Song consists of two divisions, the first of which is but a Preface for the second, the pivot being formed by the word *sawa-sawa ni*, which has the meaning of “pure,” “cool,” or “refreshing,” with reference to what precedes it, and the meaning of "tumultuously” (*sawa-sawa ni=sawagaskika*) when taken together with what follows. The difficulties which present themselves in the first division have all been explained in Note 11 to the last and Note 6 to the present Section. The general sense of the second division is plain enough; but the precise application of the comparison to the "more and more flourishing trees" is obscure. Motowori's view has been adopted by the translator, and the words in brackets supplemented accordingly. Moribe prefers to consider that the reference is to the repeated visits first of the Emperor's messengers and afterwards of the Emperor himself. The words “look across at" must be explained by supposing that the trees were in the neighbourhood of Nurinomi's house; they were shoots springing up from roots that had been cut down close to the ground.

19 The commentators thus explain these obscure expressions: "A" Quiet Song is one which is sung to a tranquil tune. A Changing "Song is one temporarily* sung while the tone (mode?)† is changing." The six Songs in question must be supposed to have combined both characteristics.

* Or could *kayeshi-uta* mean "sung as a duet"?—W.G.A.

† Key?—W.G.A.

1 In this Song the Emperor condoles with his mistress on her childlessness: "Will the single sedge on the moor of Yata die with-" out leaving any offspring? Sedge, indeed! Yes, sedge is the term" I use for my metaphor, but what is in my thoughts is the girl I "love.” There is in the original a *jeu-de-mots*, not capable of translation into English, between *suge* or *suga*, "sedge," and *sugashi*, "pure."

2 The girl replies: "Even though I be childless, I care not if" my lord cares not."

3 *Yata-be.*

1 *Seil.* of the success of his mediation.

2 Or, "for whom is the loom [employed], with which my Great" Lady Medori weaves?"—The word *hata* in Archaic Japanese signifies both "garment" and the instrument which is used to weave a garment, i.e., a "loom" (服 and 機). In later times the second meaning has prevailed to the exclusion of the first.

* Mantle? - W.G.A

3 There is here a play on the name of the Queen's paramour Hayabusa-wake, which signifies "Falcon-Lord" as in the translation. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" gives these two Songs as a single one which is put into the mouth of Queen Medori's handmaidens,—a more acceptable version of the incident.

4 Motowori suspects that there is here an error in the text, which should, according to him, read: "After this."

5 The gist of this Song is an instigation to murder the Emperor (whose name was *Oho-sazaki, i.e.*, "Great Wren" conf. Sect. CIV, Note 18), addressed to the singer's husband (whose name was *Haya-busa-wake*, i.e., "Falcon Lord"). But the allusion to the lark remains obscure. Keichiū suggests that it is simply mentioned as a term of comparison for the falcon's power of flight, while Motowori opines that the meaning rather is: "The lark flies so high up to heaven "that it would be hard to catch it; but the wren is an easy prey."*

* If there is any truth in this story, it would contradict the conjecture that *Ōsazaki* or *sasagi* in a posthumous name.—W.G.A.

† A different version in the Nihongi, in which there is no lark.—W.G.A.

6 Viz., as may be supposed, repeated by some Fourth person.

7 *Kurahaski-yama,* in Yamato.

8 This Song, like the next, is too clear to stand in need of explanation. "Ladder-like" is an attempt to render the force of the Pillow-Word *hashi-tate*. See Mabuchi's" Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *s.v.*, for the exact force attributed to it by Mabuchi.

9 For Uda see Sect. XLVI, Note 14. The etymology of Soni is equally obscure.

10 *The character* 御, though read by the commentators with the usual Japanese Honorific *mi,* "august," has here its proper Chinese signification of "Imperial."

1 *Yamabe no Ohotate no murazhi.* The "gentile name" was *Yamabe no murazhi*, and the personal name *Ohotate*, though the confused wording of this passage does not make it appear so. *Yama-be* signifies mountain (*i.e.*, hunters') tribe. *Oho-tate* is "big shield."

2 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

* *Iha-no-hime* was dead at this time, acccording to the Nihorgi.—W.G.A.

3 Or, perhaps rather "aralia-leaves" (*Conf*. Sect. CXXIII).

4 Or, "had her dragged away."

5 Literally, "was granted the punishment of death," or "[the Emperor] deigned to condemn him to death."

† Executed?—W.G.A.

1 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

2 *Hime-shima, i.e.,* "Princess Island." The name is supposed to be connected with that of the goddess of Himegoso mentioned near the end of Sect. CXIV, and first occurs in Sect. V (Note 33).

3 The wild-goose goes far north at the approach of spring, and the translator is informed by Capt. Blakiston that the latter has not known of any breeding even on the island of Yezo. The Emperor was therefore naturally astonished at so strange an occurrence as that of a wild-goose laying an egg in Yamato, and asks the Noble Take-uchi whether he had ever heard of the like of it before, Take-uchi being at that time more than two hundred years old (!) according to the chronology of the "Chronicles," and

therefore the oldest and most experienced man in the Empire.—"Court Noble" represents the Japanese word Aso (for Asomi, believed by Motowori and Moiibe to be derived from a se ami 吾兄臣, lit."my elder brother minister" but used simply as a title)* The words *Uchi* and *Yamato* are preceded in the original by their respective Pillow-Words *tamaki-haru* and *sora-mitmu* whose force it is impossible to render in English, and whose origin indeed is obscure. The words rendered "laying an egg" are literally "giving birth to a child."

* *Ason* is a Korean title.W.G.A.

4 This Song is too clear to need explanation. As in the preceding one, Yamato is accompanied by the Pillow-Word *sora-mitsu*.

5 Or, "Imperial."

6 *I.e.*, say Motowori and Moribe, who refer this episode to a time previous to Nin-toku's accession, "The wild-goose has laid an egg in "taken of thy future accession to the throne." The translator prefers the view expressed by Keichiu in his *Kō-Gem Shō*' and adopted in the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," that the words *tsuhi ni*, "at last," must here be taken in the sense of long," and the Song interpreted to mean "The wild-goose lays an egg as an omen that thy reign will be a long one." This view is supported by the story in the" Chronicles," which places the Song in the Emperor's fiftieth year and gives him thirty-six years of subsequent exsitence, thus making the prophecy amply fulfil itself, as one would expect that it should do in the pages of such a work. According to the other view, the text of the "Chronicles" calls for emendation.

7 *Hogi-Uta no kata-uta* For "Incomplete Song" See Sect. LXXXIX, Note 14.

1 This is Moribe's reading (given without any comment) of the original characters 免寸. Motowori pronounces them corrupt; but, having no emendation to propose, simply leaves them without any *kana* reading.

2 See Sect. V, Note 3.

3 *Takayasu no yama*, in the province of Kahachi. The characters with which the name is written signify "high and easy."

4 The significance of this name, written 枯野, remains obscure notwithstanding the efforts of the commentators to explain it.

* Scarcely full enough for 寒泉. — W.G.A.

5 *I.e.*, this vessel was used to bring over every morning and evening the water for the Imperial household, which was drawn on the Island of Ahaji.

6 里, the Chinese *li*, Japanese *ri*. The length of the *ri* has varied greatly at different times and in different parts of the country. The modern standard Japanese *ri* is equivalent to about 2.44 English statute miles; but Motowori supposes the ri of the epoch mentioned in our text to have been less than one-seventh of that distance.

7 In the" chronicles" this story is placed in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, and the Song is attributed to that monarch.

8 In this Song the sound of the twanging of the lute that had been made from the remnant of the boat Karanu is compared to the rustling of the plants standing half out of water on the reefs in the harbour of Yura. —The compound word *kaki-hiku*, rendered by "struck," signifies literally" scratched and struck," the lute being struck with the nail. The onomatopoetic word *saya-saya*, of which" sound" is but a colourless equivalent, represents both the delightful ring of the lute and the rustling of the sea-plants. What plants are intended by the expression" wet plants" (*nadzu no ki*) is a point that has been much disputed. Moribe even thinks that the term is meant for the name of a particular species of (apparently) coral now found in the island of Hachijō. Yura is in the Island of Ahaji.

9 See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

1 *Mozu no mimi-hara*. The origin of this singular name is thus explained in the "Chronicles" (Emperor Nin-toku, 67th year, Winter, 10th Moon): "[The Emperor] made a progress to the moor of" Ishidzu in Kafuchi to fix the site of his mausoleum. On the day "when the construction of his mausoleum was begun, a deer suddenly "ran out from the middle of the moor, rushed into the midst of the "coolies, fell down, and died. The suddenness of its death causing" astonishment, its wound was looked for, whereupon a shrike came "out of its ear, and flew away. So on looking into

the ear, it was" found to be all eaten away. So that is the reason why the place is" called *Mozu no mimi-hara* (the ‘Shrike's Ear-Moor,)."

1 For *Ihare* see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. *Waka-sakura* signifies” young cherry-tree." The origin of the name is traced, rightly or wrongly, to an incident mentioned in the tl "Chronicles” under the reign of this Emperor, 3rd year.

2 *Karo-hime, i.e.,* “black princess.” The same name occurs several times, and has reference to the black hair* of the person so designated.

* But all Japanese hair is black. I should rather say complexion. -W.G.A.

3 *Ashida no sukune*. Ashi-da signifies "reed-moor.” It is the name of a place in Yamato.

4 *Kadzuraki no So-tsu-biko*. For this name, which is here abbreviated, see Sect. LXI, Note 55.

5 *Ichinobe no Oshiha no miko*. Ichinobe is in the province of Yamashiro, and the name seems to mean "near the market." The name of *Oshiha* refers to the "uneven teeth" of this personage which are mentioned in Sect. CLXVII (near Note 5).

6 *Mima no miko*. The signification of this name is quite obscure.

7 *Awomi no iratsume. Awomi* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place.

8 *Ihitoyo no iratsume. Ihitoyo* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a bird, perhaps a kind of owl.

1 *I.e.,* on the occasion of his performing the religious ceremony of tasting the first rice of the season.

2 *Achi no atahe,* supposed to be of Korean origin, and to be a descendant of 阿知, great grandson of the Chinese Emperor 靈帝.

3 *Aya no atahe.* This family was of continental origin, Aya being the Japanese reading of the character 漢; see Sect. CXI, Note 2.

4 *Tajihi no no,* in the province of Kahachi. The signification of the name is obscure.

5 This Song expresses the Monarch's regret at not having brought his mats with him.—From the expression used in the text (*tatsu-gomo*, the commentators suppose that such mats were used as a sort of screen to avert draughts. One proposal is to consider *tatsu* as the Verb *tatsuru*," to set up," because these mats must have been" set up" round the room. But it agrees better with grammatical usage to take it in its other sense of "cutting," or "dividing," and to suppose that the mats were so called because they “cut off” the draught from the person sitting behind them.

6 Or “Hill of Hanifu," *Hanifa-zaka*, in the province of Kahachi.

7 The meaning of this Song is perfectly clear.

8 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25. The word rendered “entrance” here and below in the same context is literally "mouth."

9 See Sect. LXII, Note 49.

10 Moribe thus paraphrases this Song;" If the maiden whom I met at Ohosaka and whom I sought direction of had been a common mortal, she would have simply told me the shortest road. But now I see why it was that she bid me go round by way of Tagima: it was to preserve me from danger. Ah! she must have been a Goddess."—The words *tada ni* generally have the sense of "directly,” "immediately," and are indeed here so understood by Motowori. Moribe's interpretation, which has been followed by the translator, does but little violence to the text, and suits the general meaning better.

11 See Sect. XLV, Note 6.

1 The original of this clause is very elliptical, consisting only of the two characters 令言易. The old reading joins thereto the characters 爾天皇. which according to Motowori form the commencement of the next sentence. The meaning is not affected by the change.

2 Literally, "heart." Similarly below, where the word "intent” is used in the translation.

3 The signification of this name is quite obscure.

4 *Hayabito*, The reader should compare Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11.

5 Literally, "closely accustomed to.”

6 The original leaves it uncertain whether the words "to rule the Empire" should be applied to the speaker, to Sobakari, or to both; and the ambiguous application has therefore been preserved in the translation.

7 Literally, "already."

8 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

9 Laterally, "the hundred officials," a Chinese phrase, which has been met with before.

10 The character 宛 used in the text implies by its radical that the bowl was of metal. It is an unauthorized form of 婉 or. 碗

11 *Seil.* by the prince to the man-at-arms.

12 *I.e.*, Nearer Asuka. The name is written 近飛鳥. The student should consult Motowori's note on this passage in Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 38-39 of his Commentary, to see what can be done towards reconciling the name, the characters it is written with, and the origin ascribed to it, all of which are so apparently incongruous.

13 *Scil*. of *Isonokami*. This deity was the sword forming the subject of the legend narrated in Seet. XLV.

14 遠飛鳥 ' i.e., Further Asuka. Conf. Note 11.

15 This is the gist of the original phrase, which will not bear literal translation into English: 政藏平訖參上侍之.

1 In Japanese the same word is used for a "store-house" and for the "treasury." But the appointment here mentioned would seem really to correspond to what we should call Lord of the Treasury or Minister of Finance. The characters in the original are 藏官.

2 Literally, "ration grounds."

3 *Waka-sakura-be*

4 *Waka-sahura-be no omi*. Conf. Sect. CXXXI, Note 1.

5 All the editors agree in here reading as *kabane* ("gentile name," see Sect. XIV, Note 5) the character 姓, which signifies properly" family name."

6 *Himeda no kimi*. Nothing is known of this family.

7 *Ihare-be*. For lhare see Sect. XLIII, Note 6. It will be remembered that the Emperor of whose reign the present Section forms part held his

court at Ihare.

1 See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

1 For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. *Shiba-kaki* (or *Shiba-gaki*) signifies" a fence of brushwood."

2 As to the ancient Japanese measures we have no accurate infor mation, and the English equivalents used in this passage correspond but approximately to the modern Japanese standards. The character rendered" line" is 分 which denotes the tenth part of a 寸 or" inch.' Motowori remarks that the dimensions of the teeth are not anything extraordinary judged by the present standard, and supposes that anciently the measures of length must have been smaller than at present.

3 *Tsunu no iratsume*. The signification of this name is obscure.

4 *Wani no kogoto no omi.* The meaning of Kogoto is obscure. Wani has already often appeared.

5 *Kahi no iratsume.* Kahi is the name of a province, but it cannot be said for certain that it is from it that this Princess derived her name.

6 *Tsubura no iratsume.* The meaning of *Tsubura* is obscure.

7 *I.e.,* "the younger princess.”

8 *Takara no miko. Takara*signifies "treasure."

9 *Takabe no iratsume*. *Takabe* seems to be the name of a place, unless it be considered to be connected with the word *taka*, "hawk."

10 Remember that the single character 王 includes both sexes.

11 11 See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

1 Also pronounced *In-kiyō*.

2 See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 13.

3 This name and the next have already appeared in Sect. CXVlI.

4 *Kinashi no Kara no miko.* Karu is properly the name of a place in Yamato which has already often appeared in the text. It is uncertain whether *kinashi* is likewise the name of a place or of a particular kind of pear; but Motowori inclines to the former view.

5 *I.e.,*"the great lord of Nagata." There are many places of this name (lit."long rice-field”), and it is not known which is here intended.

6 *I.e.,* "the black prince of Sakahi." The latter word signifies "frontier." It is not known where Sakahi is, neither is the reason for the name of "black prince" applied to this personage known (*Conf.* the "white prince" mentioned a little further on).

7 Or, "of Anaho," for Anaho is properly the name of a place in Yamato. Its import is not clear.

8 *I.e.,* "the great lady of Karu."

9 Written 衣通郎 女, *i.e.,"*the garment-passing lady." *So-tohoshi is Motowori's reading of the characters, the usual reading being So-tohori* (the Intransitive instead of the Transitive form of the Verb). He likewise identifies Koto-fushi (see Sect. CXVII, Note 9) with this celebrated princess, who is commonly worshipped as Goddess of Poetry. There is much confusion in the traditions concerning her, and Motowori's notes on the subject in Vol. XXXIV, pp. 53-54 and in Vol. XXXIX of his Commentary, p. 3, should be consulted.

10 *Yatsuri no shiro-biko no miko, i.e.,* "the white prince of Yatsuri." Yatsuri is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "eight melons."

11 *I.e.,*"great Hatsuse," so called from Hatsuse, a celebrated place in Yamato, which has already been mentioned.

12 *I.e.,* "the great lady of Tachibana," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. The word signifies" orange."

13 *I.e.,* "the lady of Sakami," the latter being apparently the name of a place either in Harima or in Wohari. Its derivation is not clear.

1 For this expression see Sect. XXXII, Note 27. The story of the refusal of this monarch to accept the crown which was offered to him by the magnates of the nation is told at considerable length in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." According to the same authority he belonged to a collateral branch of the Imperial family, and was therefore not in the regular line of succession.

2 See Sect. XCVIII, Note 2.

3 Literally, "great messenger."

4 金波鎮漢紀武. Motowori decides that 金 is the surname, 波鎮 an official title, 漢紀 an official designation of the kinsmen of the Korean King, and 武 the personal name.

* The Nihongi makes the 80 vessels sent after his death. Vide Ingiō, 42nd Year of his reign, (pp. 323-324 Aston's translation).-W.G.A.

1 The original is: 天下氏氏名名入等之氏姓, which Motowori reads *ame no shita no uji-uji na-na no hito-domo no uji kabane*.

2 We learn from the "Chronicles" that he whose hand was injured in the process of dipping it into the jar of boiling water was pronounced a deceiver, while those who stood the trial unhurt were considered to be telling the truth.

3 *Amakashi no koto-ya-so-maga-tsu-hi no saki*. Motowori truly observes that this does not sound like an actual geographical name, but was rather, it may be supposed, a new designation given to Cape Amakashi (see Sect. LXXII, Note 19) on account of the incident here mentioned. The name reminds us of that of one of the deities born from the purification of the person of the creator Izanagi after his return from Hades (see Sect. X, Note 14).

4 *Ya-so tomo-no-wo*. See Sect. XXXIII, Note 19.

5 *Karu-be*.

6 *Osaka-be*, so called after the Empress's native place (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 3, and Sect, CXVII, Note 6). The reading of *Otaka-be* is given in all the editions to the characters in the text, 刑部, where we should expect 忍坂部. Motowori's explanation of the reason why the name was thus written will be found in Vol. XXXIX, p. 19, of his Commentary.

7 *Kaha-be*. Motowori supposes that there is here some corruption of the text, as no connection can be discovered between the name of this Tribe and that of the Princess whose proxy the tribe became.

8 See Sect. CXVII, Note 7.

1 See Sect. CIII, Notes 2 and 3.

1 See Sect. XXXII, Note 27. The wording of this sentence would make it appear that it was only after the Emperor In-giyō's death that King Karu

was chosen to succeed him. But probably King Karu had been appointed Heir Apparent (皇坂子) during his father's life-time, as is indeed expressly stated in the "Chronicles," and is implied in later passages of this work; and what our author meant to say was: "It was settled that King Karu should rule the "Empire after the former Sovereign's decease," etc.

2 The meaning of the Song is: 'The sister, the mistress, whom "I wooed with such difficulty, is now easily mine."—The first phrase, down to "mountain's height," is but a" Preface" to the poem properly so called, serving to introduce by a *jeu-de-mots* the word *shita-dohi*, which means not only “hidden conduit,” but "hidden wooing.” At the same time the implied comparison of the poet's secret love of one so difficult to obtain as his own sister, to the course of the water in Hidden conduits which is carried up the mountain's side to irrigate a field perched in a spot almost inaccessible, is by no means devoid of aptness. The word “mountain" (*yama*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *ashibiki* (or *ashibiki*) no, whose signification is obscure and much disputed.

3 *Shircuje-uta* (written phonetically). The interpretation of the term here adopted is that which has the sanction of Motowori and Moribe. They explain it to signify that the voice rose gradually towards the latter part of the Song.

4 As in the case of the preceding Song, the first phrase is but a Preface, which plays on the coincidence in sound between the words *tash-dash*," rattling," and *tashika*, "certainly," *i.e.*, undisturbedly." The signification of the Song proper is:” If I shall but have grati-" fied my passion, what care I however men may plot against me?"If I can but press my beloved to my bosom, let all things go to "rack and ruin, like the *Hydropyrum latifolium*, a grass which, when "cut, falls into disorder!"— Of the sentiment of the Song, the less said the better; but viewed simply from a literary point of view, it is certainly one of the most fascinating little productions of the early Japanese muse, and the literal rendering of it into English does it woful injustice. Moribe rightly rejects Motowori's proposal to divide the

poem in two after the words *hito* hakayu to mo, "plotted against by people." *Kari-komo no*, of the *Hydropyrum latifolium*," is a Pillow-Word.'

5 *Hinaburi no age-uta.* The commentators have nothing more precise to tell us concerning the expression "Lifting-Song" than that "it refers to the lifting of the voice in singing."

1 See Sect. CXII, Note 4.

2 *Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune no omi*(according to the old reading *Oho-saki Wo-saki,* etc.). Motowori considers this double name to denote two brothers, the words *oho* and *wo*("great" and "small") naturally lending themselves to the interpretation of "elder" and "younger." Moribe, on the contrary, thinks that there was but one, and is supported both by the authority of the "Chronicles of Japan" and by the fact that, except in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages," which is believed to be a forgery, no second brother is anywhere mentioned. He explains the use of the double name in the prose text as having crept in through the influence of the text of the following Song (see Note 7 below). This seems to the translator the better view.

3 *I.e.,* "on this occasion."

4 There is here an evident corruption of the text, and Motowori aptly conjectures that arrow-*heads*, or, as they are called in Japanese, arrow-*points*, are intended. He adds that up till then arrow-heads had always been made of iron.

5 The author's style is here rather at fault; for he apparently wishes to say that the arrows employed by Prince Anaho were those which had been used in ancient times and were still the most universally employedthat, in fact, they were the usual style of arrow in contradistinction to those of Prince Karu's invention.

6 See Sect, LXXXVIII, Note 5.

7 The prince, in the Song, bids his troops follow his example, and take refuge from the rain under cover of the gate of Oho-mahe's house. Such, at least, is the actual sense of the words used; but Motowori sees in them nothing less than a slightly veiled exhortation to his followers to attack the

castle, while Moribe, on the other hand, thinks they were meant to convey to Oho-mahe a hint of his presence, and enable the beleaguered prince, for whom (as being his elder brother) Prince Anaho retained a great affection and respect, to devise some method of escape. This seems extremely far-fetched.—The word "metal" probably refers only to the fastenings of the gate, and not to its whole structure.

8 The exact purport and application of this Song is disputed, but this much seems clear: that the composer of it seeks to quiet both the besieging army (out of politeness called courtiers), and the peasants who had joined the fray, by making light of the whole occurrence, which he compares to so trival an accident as the falling of a bell from a man's "garter" or "leggings." The custom of ornamenting this article of dress with a small bell is, however, not mentioned elsewhere.* The word *yume*, which concludes the Song and is here rendered "beware," is identified by Motowori and Moribe with the Imperative of the Verb*imu* "to avoid," "to shun," "not to do."

* Motowori does not say so.—W.G.A.

9 *Miya-hito-buri.* This is one of the cases which lend support to Motowori's view that the names of the so-called styles of Songs are derived from their initial words.

10 Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

11 The word used in the Text, here and also in the next sentence, is that which properly denotes the presenting of tribute.

12 Another reading gives this sense:

"As, if the maiden of heaven-soaring Karu cried
"violently, people would know, she cries quietly
"like the doves on Mount Hasa."

According to this reading, the poet simply explains the reason of the undemonstrativeness of his mistress's grief; according to that in the text, he implores her not to weep too passionately.— *Amadamu* or *amatobu ya*, "heaven-soaring," is the Pillow-Word for Karu, applied to it punningly on account of its similarity in sound to the word *kari*, "a wild-goose," which

well deserves the epithet "heaven-soaring." Of Mount Hasa nothing is known.

† *Shitata ni*.—W.G.A.

13 Rendered thus according to Moribe's exegesis, which quite approves itself to the translator's mind, this Song signifies: "Oh!" maiden of Karu! come and sleep with me but once, before my "impending banishment renders it hard for us to meet again.” Motowori chooses to interpret *nete* as a crasis of *nayete*, “bending," and sees in the Song an invitation to the maiden to come quietly bending her head and passing along quietly so as not to attract observation.— The final word, translated "maiden,” is *wotome-domo*, properly a Plural, but here used in a Singular sense, as *watakushi-domo*, "I" (properly "we"), so constantly is in the modern Colloquial Dialect. For the Pillow-Word "heaven-soaring" see preceding Note.

1 For Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4. Its hot springs are often mentioned in early documents. Motowori identifies them with a place now called Dō-go (道後).

2 The meaning of this Song is: "I go where perchance no" messengers will reach me. But thou must ask tidings of me from “the birds."

3 Ama-da-buri. The title seems to be derived from the initial Pillow-Word of these three Songs.

4 The meaning of this Song seems to the translator to be: "Even" if they dare to banish me now, I shall some day return again." Respect my mat during my absence. Mat, indeed! It is my wife "that must be respected.” The commentators consider the concluding words to be a command addressed to the wife, and interpret the phrase to mean, "My spouse, beware!” But surely this makes less good sense, and moreover fails to suit the exactly parallel passage in the first Song of Sect. CXXV. By the words "Great Lord” the princely poet denotes himself,—perhaps with a touch of anger at the indignity to which he is subjected. The difficult expression *funa- amari* is here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered by the words "remaining voyage,” *i.e*., "the voyage homeward," which is that part

of a voyage that may be said to remain over for an outward-bound vessel when she has reached her destination. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 50-51, should be consulted for older views of the meaning of the term. The expression beware of my mat" reminds us that in early days the entire floor of a Japanese room was not matted according to the modern custom, but that each individual had his own mat on which to sit and sleep. Great care was always taken not to defile another's mat. *Conf.* an elegy from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" translated by the present writer in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 79.

5 *Hina-buri no kata-oroshi*. Like most of the names of styles of Songs, this one is extremely obscure. The commentators suppose that one part was sung in a lower voice than the rest. But they are merely guessing.

6 The actual words of the Song signify: "Lacerate not thy feet" by walking on the unseen oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine that "is covered with the summer herbs; but walk there after dawn." (This is Keichiū's interpretation of the word *akashite*, "having made clear," and is the best in the present writer's opinion; the later commentators see in it a recommendation to the exiled prince to clear the grass away on either side.) The word *Ahine* calls, however, for special explanation in order that the full import of the poem may be brought out. It properly signifies" sleeping together "or" lying on each other," and is therefore applicable either to the two spouses or to the summer grass. Indeed it is doubtful if it be the name of any real place at all. The word *natsu-kusa* may also be taken simply as a Pillow-Word for Ahine.—The total gist of the Song is in any case a warning from the maiden to her lover to guard himself against the perils of the journey.

* Motowori's rendering of *ke* here seems unsatisfactory.—W.G.A.

7 The meaning of this Song is: "It is too long since thy departure. I can wait no longer, but will go and meet thee."—The Verb "to meet" (*mukake*) is in the original preceded by thė Pillow-Word *yama-tadzu*, which forms the subject of the note appended to the poem by the compiler. The commentators are not agreed as to the precise nature of the instrument

intended; but it seems to have been some kind of axe. The cause of its use as a Pillow-Word for "meeting" is equally disputed. It only occurs written phonetically. The term *tatsu-ge*, by which it is explained in the text, is there written 造木, which does not help us much towards understanding what is meant to be designated.

8 So obscure is this Song in the original, that Motowori confesses himself unable to make any sense of it. The translator has adopted Moribe's interpretation, according to which the gist ot it is this: "Alas! my dear wife, who wast so willing to be for ever united to "me that thou didst even fix on the spot in the funereal vale of "Hatsuse where we should one day be buried together! Alas for" thee, whom at last I now see again!" —In order to arrive at this meaning, Moribe is obliged to prove more or less satisfactorily that the thrice repeated word *wo* signifies "vale" or "mountain-fold" the first two times that it occurs, and "grave" the third, and that *komo-riku no hatsuse,* usually interpreted as secluded "Hatsuse," means "the hidden castle," the" final place," *i.e*., "the tomb." It is also necessary to suppose, without authority, that the flags mentioned by the poet are meant for funeral flags, and that the words "prostrate" like a *tsuki* bow," etc., which, according to the laws or Japanese construction, precede instead of following the phrase "alas! beloved spouse," etc., are but a Preface for the latter.—It will be seen that the foundation on which Moribe's interpretation rests is slight, and that Motowori was scarcely to be blamed for pronouncing the Song incomprehensible. At the same time the translator has thought it better, by following Moribe, to give some translation of it than to leave the passage blank. With this warning, the student may search for other possible meanings if he pleases.—Hatsuse is a still existent and celebrated place among the mountains of Yamato. The etymology of the name, unless we accept Moribe's mentioned above, is obscure. It is now usually pronounced Hase. The *tsuki* is said to be almost indistinguishable from the *keyaki* tree (Zelkowa keaki). The adzusa seems to be the *Catalpa kaempferi*, but some believe it to be the cherry-tree.

9 The first half of this Song down to the words "hanging on the true piles true jewels" is a Preface for what follows. The signification of the rest is: "If my dearly loved sister-wife were still at Hatsuse "in Yamato, I would fly to her either in thought or deed; but now" that she has followed me into exile, the land of exile is good "enough." —Moribe, while allowing the first half of the Song to be a Preface for the rest, contends that it also should be credited with a signification bearing on the subject-matter of the main part of the Song. He supposes, namely, the religious ceremony, whatever it was, of driving piles into the bed or bank of the river and of decorating them with beads and a mirror, to have been one really performed by Princess So-tohoshi to compass her lover's return. In the translator's opinion, it is more elegant and more in accordance with Archaic usage to consider the Preface as having no special significance or connection (otherwise than verbal) with the rest of the poem. The word *i-kuhi or i-guhi*, rendered "sacred piles," occasions some difficulty; for it is not certain whether Motowori is right in giving to the initial syllable *i* the meaning of "sacred." It may be simply what has been termed an" Ornamental Prefix," devoid of meaning. Motowori however points out that this usage of it is restricted to Verbs, and does not occur with Substantives. *Komorikti no*, the Pillow-Word for Hatsuse, is rendered by" secluded" in accordance with Mabuchi's usually accepted derivation from *komori-kuni*, "retired land." Moribe, notwithstanding what he has said in his exegesis of the preceding poem (Note 8), is willing to allow that, though perhaps not its original, this was its common, meaning even in ancient times.

10 *I.e.,* committed suicide together.

11 This expression is interpreted to mean that these Songs were recited in monotone, as one would read a book or tell a tale.

1 *I.e.,* Prince. In all other cases we find the word *mikoto*," Augustness," as the title by which the Sovereign is mentioned at the commencement of his reign.

2 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

3 *Ne no omi*. The etymology of *ne* is obscure.

4 Literally, as" tribute."

5 More literally, "I have kept her without putting her out of "doors."

6 *Conf.* Sect. IX, Note 4 and Sect. XVIII, Note 14.

7 Motowori surmises that 其 may be an error for 希 in the original of this clause 然言以白事其思无禮.

8 物 物. The term corresponds to the modern 結納, the name by which the presents which are exchanged at the time of betrothal are designated.

9 The original term *oshi-ki no tama-kadzura* is extremely obscure. One of Motowori's conjectures is that the "push-wood" was a kind of frame by which the jewels or beads, strung on an erect stem of some hard material, were kept firmly attached to the head. Perhaps some notion of the *coiffure* intended may be gathered from the plate opposite p. 354 of Part III of Vol. VIII of these "Transactions," (Mr. J. Conder's paper on" The History of Japanese Costume").

10 *I.e.,*"An soror mea, cujus pater Imperator Nin-toku, fiet uxor praisentis Imperatoris?" —Hujus similitudinis rusticitas et ipsis Japonicis commentatoribus pudori est.

11 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

12 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 5.

1 *Conf.* Sect. LXIV, Note 2.

2 Literally," Hast thou anything to think about?" The same construction is used in the next sentence.

3 *I.e.,* her son by her former husband King Oho-kusaka.

4 Literally," below the palace." The same expression recurs further on. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "below the upper storey" *i.e.,* in the court or garden of a two-storeyed house. With the small proportions assumed by Japanese architecture, conversation could well be overheard under these conditions.

5 *I.e.,*"take vengeance upon me.

6 *Seit*. by the Emperor's side.

7 *Tsubura omi*. The etymology of Tsubura is obscure.

8 For Sugahara see Sect. LXXV, Note 1. The Fushimi here mentioned, which is in Yamato, must not be confounded with the better known Fushimi in Yamashiro. The popular etymology of this name (and it is to be found in many books) traces it to *fushi-mi*, i.e., "lying three," in connection with the story of a man who "lay on the mound for three years.” Probably *fuse-midzu*, "water laid on," a name perhaps given on account of an aqueduct or of water-pipes, was the original designation, which has been corrupted.

1 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 11.

2 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 6.

3 Literally, "taken"

4 *I.e.,* treated the matter with indifference.

5 Literally, "without relying," as if the speaker meant to say that the dead man could not rely on him for vengeance.

6 In Yamato. The name seems to mean” new tilled field."

7 Written 隨立 in the text followed by Motowori. The other reading 墮立 is untenable.

8 In order to account for such an effect from so apparently insufficient a cause, Motowori supposes that after the prince had been made to stand up to the height of his loins in the pit, the latter was filled by having stones thrown into it, whereby his feet and legs would be crushed.

1 Literally, “to wait and fight.”

2 The character 來, "to come" (here in accordance with English idiom rendered by "down”) is supposed to be an error. One conjectural emendation of it, viz., 盛, would suggest the "plentiful" falling of the flowers of the reeds.

3 *I.e*., he lifted himself on tiptoe by leaning on his spear, so as to be able to peep in.

4 The maiden thus suddenly introduced into the story is Tsubura's daughter Kara, whom it must be supposed that the Prince had previously been wooing.

5 Or rather," Imperial words.” The application of the characters 詔命 to the words of one who was not yet actually Emperor is curious.

6 *I.e.,* the places where the five granaries originally were are now the five villages inhabited by the men who cultivate the Imperial gardens. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

7 Or we may, following Motowori's proposal, take the character 臣 in this clause in its slightly different acceptation of "subject," which better suits the sense. The partly phonetic wording of the next sentence 賤奴意富美" shows how the writer was perplexed by the double use of the term.

8 Q.d., in comparison with a prince of the Imperial family, even a grandee was but a vile slave.

9 The character 隨 in the original of this passage 入希于隨家 is corrupt. But the sense remains clear, and it is scarcely worth while looking about for a probable emendation. Motowori has no satisfactory proposal to make.

10 The humble character 僕 , "servant" is here used for the First Personal Pronoun. The expression 俊希手悉傷 here literally rendered "my hands are all wounded," is very curious. Motowori reads it ita-te ohinu, i.e.'"I have received (or suffered from) hurtful hands," and compares two somewhat similar expressions found in Sect. XLIV (see Note 33 to that Sect.). The translator may however point out that the similarity is much more apparent in Motowori's kana reading than it is in the Chinese text itself. May not the sense of the present passage rather be: "All our men are wounded?" for the word te（手）"hand," is frequently used in Japanese,— in compounds at least,— in the sense of "man," somewhat as it is in English naval, mining, and other technical parlance.

1 This name has the curious signification of "Korean (or Chinese) bag."*

* There was also a *Yamato bukuro (no sukane*), or Japanese bag.— W.G.A.

2 *A Afumi no Sasaki no yama no kimi Conf*. Sect. LXIX, Note 46.

3 This and the following names are altogether obscure, neither is it evident whether two places are meant, or only one. The present passage

reads as if two were intended, but a little further down the author seems to be speaking of but one,

4 The *Hedysarum esculeltum.*

5 Literally, "the night has already finished dawning."

6 Motowori endeavours, not very successfully, to explain the use of this epithet by Prince Oho-Hatsuse's attendants. As the sequel shows, the violence was all on the other side.

* *I.e.*, without raising a tumulus over them.W.G.A.

1 Literally "prince" (王子). Their names apparently signify "big basket" and "little basket."

2 Known in later times as Kaniha and Kabawi. The name signifies (if the characters with which it is written may be relied on)"the well where the leaves were cut."

3 See Sect. LXVI, Note 19.

4 See Sect. LX, Note 19.

5 Or Shizhimi. Properly the name of a village, it is here used as the name of a man. The etymology is obscure.

1 For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8. Several Asakuras are named in the pages of these "Records." That here named is in Yamato. The name seems to mean" morning store-house."

1 *Shiraka-be,*

2 *Hafsuse-be no toneri*. This Clan was called after the reigning Emperor. Remember that the word" Retainers" is here a "gentile name."

3 *Kahase no toneri. Kaha-se signifies*" river-reach," and the "Chronicles," under date of the eleventh year of this reign, tell a story of the appearance of a white cormorant, to commemorate which this family was established. Cormorants, it will be remembered, were used for catching fish in rivers: hence the appropriateness of the name bestowed on the family in question.

4 The name given by the Early Japanese to Wu (吳), an ancient state in Eastern China to the South of the Yang-tzu River. In Japanese it however, like other names of portions of China, often denotes the whole of that

country in a somewhat vague manner The derivation of the word *Kure* is obsure. The most acceptable proposition is that which would see in it corruption of the original Chinese term *Wu*, of which *Go* is the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation. But what of the second syllable *re?*

5 The phrase 安置 is in this place used for "lodged.”*

*"Settled?"-W.G.A.

6 *Ie.,* Kure Moor. It is in Yamato. According to the "Chronicles," the former name of the place had been *Hiynokuma-iru.*

1 *I.e., Waka-Kusaka-be*.

2 See Sect XLIV, Note 31. The Kusaka here mentioned is that in Kafuchi.

3 From *tada*, “straight” and *koyuru* “to cross," this being a short cut over the mountains.

4 The original of this clause is 有上盤魚作舍屋之家 which is read *katsuwo wo agete ya wo tsukureru ihe ari*. The *katsuwo* (properly *katsuwo-gi* 墜免木) is the name of the uppermost portion of the roof in modern ShintŌ temples, and apparently in ancient times also in houses that were not devoted to religious purposes. The difficulty is not with the sense, but with the derivation of the word *katsuwo-gi*. Following the characters with which it is here and elsewhere written, Motowori sees in it a reference to the shape of the blocks of wood resembling "dried bonitoes," which is the modem signification of *katsuwo*. But Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," proposes a derivation which approves itself more to the present writer's mind, viz., *kadzuku wo-gi* (戴小木), "small timbers atop” (see his "Examination of Difficult Words,” *s.v.*). Motowori's commentary, Vol. XLI, pp. 11-14, should be consulted for a discussion of the whole question of the use of these frames in ancient times, and for the special force to be attributed to the word "raised” (上) in this passage.

5 *Shiki no oho-agata-mishi*. For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1.

6 *I.e.,* did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground.

7 Or, according to the older reading." This (*i.e.*, thy command) [is to be received with] awe."

8 Or," tied with [a string of] cloth.” The translation follows Motowori's interpretation.

9 The name signifies "loin-girded," *i.e*., as may be presumed," wearing a sword.”

1 For he had come from Yamato in the East to Kafuchi in the West.

2 The meaning is: "Thy Majesty must not come to woo me here, as the direction is unlucky. But I will myself come up “straightway to the palace to be thine Empress.”

3 The ascent or way up here mentioned is, says Motowori, the Tadagoye Road, and the mountain is Mount Kusaka. See Sect. CLII, Note 2 and 3.

4 In this Song the Emperor consoles himself for the delay in his union with Princess Waka-kusaka-be by reflecting that after all she will soon be his.—The first half of the poem down to the colon and dash is a Preface to the rest. Most of the difficult words occurring in it have been explained in previous notes: for the "broad-leafed bear-oak" see Sect, LXXII, Note 19; for *tatami-komo*, the Pillow-Word by which Heguri is preceded in the Japanese text, see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 12. *Kiisaka-be* is curious, for whereas it properly signifies Kusaka-Tribe,—this tribe or family being called after the place where they resided,—the place itself came to be renamed after them when the fact of the posterior origin of the family designation had been forgotten. The reason for the mention in the Preface of the oak-tree, which is not referred to in the main text of the poem, is difficult to ascertain. Moribe thinks, however, that it is on account of the luxuriance of its foliage which, as if it were a Preface within the Preface, paves the way for the mention of the thick-growing bamboos. The punning connection between *tashimi-dake*, luxuriant bamboos," and *tashi ni ha wi-nezu*, "we sleep not certainly,” is neces- sarily obliterated in the English translation. "Certainly" must be taken in the sense of "undisturbedly."

5 *I.e.,* as may be conjectured, a messenger dispatched to him by his mistress. It seems best to suppose the author to represent the Emperor as not

having actually gone to her house at all, but as having only communicated with her by messenger.

1 *Miwa-gawa*. It is the stream which flows past Hatsuse. For Miwa see Sect. LXV, Note 8.

2 *Hiketa-be no Akawi-ko*. *Hiketa* is in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure. Akawi-ko signifies "red boar child;" but the appropriateness of the name to the woman in the story is not made to appear.

3 See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

4 Moribe says that, in this Song, the forgetful Monarch calls to mind the majestic and awful appearance of the sacred tree in the temple-grounds, and is moved by this religious thought to repent of his neglectful treatment of her who had so patiently waited for him through so many years. Motowori, on the contrary, sees in the words nothing more than a comparison of the old woman to some sacred tree of immemorial age, and the aversion felt by the monareh to an union with her. — The oak mentioned (the *Kashi, Quercus myrsinoefolia*) is an evergreen species. Both Motowori and Moribe consider that *mimoro* in the original Japanese of this Song should be taken, not as a proper name (see Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5), but simply as signifying “a sacred dwelling." As Miwa is mentioned in the earlier part of the story, it might seem more natural to regara *mimoro* as likewise being a Proper Name. But the word *mimoro* itself signifying" sacred spot," the difference between the two views does not amount to much, and it is best to follow native authority."Oak-plain" (*kashi-hara*) means "a place planted with oak trees." The first sentence of the Song must be looked on as a sort of Preface to the second.

5 The first words of this Song down to the colon and dash are a Preface to the Song proper, whose meaning stands in need of no explanation.— Moribe surmises that the word *kuri*, chestnut," was formerly a general name for all sorts of fruits, somewhat like our English word "berry."

6 The drenching of the sleeve with tears is a common figure in Japanese poetry.

7 Or we might (following Moribe) render thus: "Left over from" the guarding of the jewel-grove guarded at the august dwelling," etc. The wording of this Song is far from clear. While Motowori sees in it a reference to the construction of a wall round the grounds of a temple, the overplus of the materials for which sacred wall could not, it may be presumed, be applied to any profane purpose, Moribe disputes the propriety of such an interpretation of the word kaki which, according to mm, denotes the grove planted in temple-grounds, temples never having been surrounded by walls such as Motowori assumes the existence of, nor even by "hedges" or "fences," which is the more usual acceptation of the term. He thinks, therefore, that the superficial signification of the actual words of the Song is that the priest, who has all his life been in the service of one particular shrine, cannot desert it for the adoration of some other deity. The underlying deeper significance of the little poem is in either case the same: Akawi-ko had, during her long waiting of eighty years, remained true to her first love the Emperor. For her very reason it had been impossible for her ever to give her affections to another, and she had now come up to the capital to demonstrate to him who had forgotten her the unchangeable nature of her feelings.

8 This pretty little poem is too clear to need any comment. Moribe supposes that some lotuses brought from Kusaka may have been among the presents made by Akawi-ko to the Emperor. In the original Japanese the reference to the lotuses comes first, as a sort of preface to the rest of the poem. The laws of English construction necessitate its being put last in the translation.

9 See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19

1 See Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

2 See Sect. CXII, Note 2.

3 This Song presents no difficulties. In it the Emperor speaks of himself as a Deity, and is enthusiastically praised by the commentator Moribe for so doing.

1 *Akidzu-nu*. See Note 4 to this Section.

2 Or "bit."

* Is the *aba* not the gad-fly? I thought the horse-fly was a somewhat smaller insect, but I may be mistaken.—W.G.A.

† *Na nl oü* means "to be famous." The meaning is "in order to render the dragon-fly famous its name was given to the countiy of Japan."—W.G.A.

3 The signification of the greater portion of this Song is clear enough, and is sufficiently explained by the context. The word "who" however admits of two interpretations, Motowori taking it to signify" some one," whereas Moribe, keeping the literal meaning of" who?", sees in it an angry exclamation of the monarch's at having been brought out to the hunt under exaggerated promises of game. *Wo-muro* means "little cave"' but is here a proper name. *Mi-yeshimi* is a form of the word Yoshino which is frequently met with in poetry, the syllable *mi* being probably, as Mabuchi tells us in his "Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," equivalent to ma, and therefore simply an" Ornamental Prefix." The phrase "tranquilly carries on the government" represents the Japanese *yasumi-shishi*, the Pillow-word for *wa ga oho-kimi*," our Great Lord," which latter phrase descriptive of the Sovereign is here put into the Sovereign's own mouth." Of white stuff," *shiro-tahe no,* is another Pillow-Word. The only real difficulty in this Song meets us in the interpretation of its concluding sentence. The meaning apparently intended to be conveyed is that it was in order to prove itself worthy of its name that the dragon-fly performed the loyal deed which forms the subject of the tale. But if so, the author forgets that it was not the dragon-fly that was called after Japan, but Japan that was called after the dragon-fly (Akidzu-shima, "Dragon-fly-Island," from *akidzu*, "dragon-fly"). What should be the point of the whole poem therefore fails of application. The name "Island of the Dragon -Fly" has already appeared in Sect V (Note 26).

4 *I.e.,* Dragon-Fly Moor. See Motowori's remarks in his "Examination of the Synonyms for Japan," p. 26.

1 See Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 See Sect. XXIII, Note 7.

* Arrow?—W.G A.

3 This is the sense attributed by the commentators to the obscure word *utaki*, which seems to be only found written phonetically.

† Grunting? Snorting? W.G.A.

4 Our author cannot be right in attributing this Song to the Emperor, and we need not hesitate to accept the different version of the story given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," where the Monarch, as might be expected from all the other details that have been preserved concerning him, bravely faces the boar, while it is one of his attendants who runs away and climbs a tree to be out of danger, and afterwards composes these lines. This Song is a good instance of what Mr. Aston (in his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd Edit., p. 194) has said concerning some of the short poems of a later date: "These sentences are not statements "of fact; they merely picture to the mind a state of things without" making any assertion respecting it." Here we, as it were, simply see the frightened courtier sitting breathless aud terrified amid the branches of the alder, and the whole verse has but the meaning of an exclamation. The term ari-woy rendered "opportune mound," is the only word in the text which raises any difficulties of interpretation. Moribe's exegesis has here been followed. According to the older view it signifies "barren mound." For the words "our "great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" see Sect. CLVI, Noti 3.

† Motowori sticks' to the Kojiki version and understands the poem accordingly. The addition of one word *toneri* after Heavenly Sovereign would make all right. Tiie Kojiki puts Yuriyaku's proceedings always in the most favourable light and it is impossible to accept the ordinary text as corfect.— W.G.A.

1 Literally, "the hundred officials." This Chinese phrase has been met with before in the "Records," and recurs in this Section.

2 The original has the character 傾, out of which it is hard to make sense. Motowori's proposal to consider it put by error for 頒 has therefore

been adopted, though the translator feels by no means sure that it is a happy one. According to the strict Chinese sense of 頒, it would not fit with this passage any better than 傾; but in Japanese we may be justified in understanding 小頒 to mean "not distinguishable."

3 In the original: 吾者雖悪事而−言雖善事而−言言離之葛城之−言主之大神者也. The import of the obscure expression "dispelling with a word the good" is not rendered much more intelligible by Motowori's attempt to explain it. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

4 Literally, "that there would be a present (or manifest) great person."

5 *I.e.,* he kept nothing for himself, but from his own sword and bow and arrows down to the ceremonial garments in which his followers were clad, gave every thing to the god.

6 In token of joy, says Motowori.

7 The characters 滿山末, rendered by "came down the mountain," are evidently the result of a copyist's carelessness. The translation follows Motowori's proposal to emend the text to 降山來.

8 Literally “mouth."

1 *Wodo-hime.* The signification of this name is obscure.

2 *Wani no Satsuki no omi.* For *Wani* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. *Satsuki*is the old Japanese name of the fifth moon.

3 Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "The Monarch had met" a girl carrying a spade in her hand, and, as she was beautiful, "wished to address her; but she ran off and hid on the hill-side, “leaving her spade behind her. His words express a desire for five "hundred spades like hers, with which to break down the hill-side “and dig herout..... It is in joke that he talks of the maiden who "was on the *other side* of the hill as being *inside* it.” That in ancient times all digging implements were not made of metal will be seen by reference to Sect. CXXIV, Note 6.

4 *Kanasuki no waka*

1 Said to be scarcely distinguishable from the *keuaki (Zelhonxi keaki).*

2 See Sect. LXXXIX, Note 7.

3 Literally, "still presented"

* On har face. W.G.A.

4 To understand the allusion at the beginning of this Song to the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, which had been the residence of the Emperor Kei-kō (see Sect. LXXVI, Note 1), it must be known that in the account of the reign of that monarch as given in the "Chronicles" there is a story which, like that in the text, turns on carelessness in dealing with a goblet,—carelessness which Kei-kō graciously pardoned. Moreover the scene of the incident here related was in the immediate neighbourhood of the old palace of Hishiro. There was therefore a double reason for referring to that place; and the under-current of insinuation is that, as Kei-kō in the olden time forgave the courtiers who forgot his goblet, wilt not the present Sovereign forgive the maid of Mi he for letting a leaf fall into his? The poetess, after describing the splendour and solidity of the Imperial abode, passes on to a mention of the luxuriant and many-branching tmki-Xree growing near" the house of new licking," *i.e.,* the sacred hall where the Sovereign performed each year the ceremony of tasting the first-fruits of the harvest. The "gate" may either be taken in its literal acceptation, or else regarded as used by metonymy for the palace itself. The description of that which the middle and lowest branches "have above them" is somewhat obscure, and perhaps the words should not be too strictly pressed for perfectly rational meaning, their chief use being as metrical parallelisms. The supposition of the commentators is however that the poetess, in speaking of this immense tree, meant to say that the middle branch (or branches) spread eastward, and the lowest branches westward. Next we are told of the fall of the fatal leaf into the oil, i.e., into the liquor, contained in the Imperial goblet; and the poetess, before acknowledging the awfulness of her misdemeanour, skilfully brings in an allusion to the Japanese account of the creation, when the drops that fell from the spear used by the creator and creatrix Izanagi and Izanami to make the brine "go curdle-curdle" did very good work indeed; for they were piled up and became the first-formed island of the Japanese archipelago (see Sect. III): for drops to fall down, or for leaves to fall into drops (of wine), must therefore surely be a good omen rather than a

crime. conformably with the hesitating nature of her allusion, the maiden leaves it quite uncertain what is conceived of as going curdle-curdle, in the present instance. In fact, neither must the thought be pressed too far, nor the sentence searched too rigorously from a grammatical point of view. Such intentional vagueness is one of the specific characteristics of a great deal of the poetry of Japan. The words.‘the tradition of the tning, too, this!" which conclude the poem, are obscure in another and more usual sense; but, having been already treated or in Note 4 to Sect. XXIV, they need not detain us here. They do not affect the sense of the rest of the poem. Two points more remain to be noticed: one is that the words Mine and hi no mi kado “august gate of chamceeyparis") are respectively preceded by the Pillow-Words *ariginu-no*, whose signification is disputed, and *makisaku*, which signifies "splitting true trees the other, that the original of the word "glistens" near the commencement of the poem only has that sense if, following Moribe, we identify *hi-gakeru* with *hi-kagajakeru*. As it stands, the word *kakeru* lends itself more naturally to the interpretation of "sets." But the logical difficulty of accepting the phrase "where the sun sets" in such a context, where on the contrary some phrase of good omen is alone appropriate, seems greater than the philological difficulty of deriving *hi-gakera* by a process of contraction from *hi-kagayakera*. The designation of the Emperor or Heir Apparent by the title of "august child of the high-shining sun" has been met with before, and needs no explanation when the solar ancestry claimed by the Japanese monarchs is called to mind.

5 The gist of this Song, which must be supposed to be addressed to the female attendant, is simply: "Present the goblet full of liquor "to the Emperor.”—In accordance with the rules of Japanese construction, the Imperative “present", which is the cnief Verb of the sentence, comes last, and is preceded by the comparison of the Monarch to the leaves and flowers of the camellia-tree, while the comparatively unimportant words describing the position of the tree come at the beginning. Thus in a literal English translation the climax is necessarily spoilt through the reversal of the order of the words. The "broad-leafed camellia” has already appeared in Sect.

CXXIII, Note 11, the “house of new licking" has been explained in the note immediately preceding the present one, and the incomprehensible concluding exclamation has been discussed in Sect. XXIV, Note 4. The "high metropolis” of Yamato is of course the then capital. There is however some doubt whether the word *takechi*, which is here thus rendered, should not rather be considered as a proper name. The expression *ko-dakaru*, rendered "high-timbered", is also doubtful. Motowori interprets it simply as slightly high. "Moribe seems right in explaining the word *tsukasa* to mean "a mound."

6 This Song is here out of place, and is supposed by Motowori to have been composed» not by thè Emperor, but by some court lady who was absent from the feast. The meaning simply is: "Ah yes," 'tis to-day that the court ladies are drinking their fill of rice-liquor” [,—and would that I were with them]!” —The picture here presented of the manners of the court is not attractive; but the comparison of the ladies' appearance with that of various birds is quaint. The commentators tell us that the appropriateness of the use of the word "scarfs" as applied to the quail lies in the peculiar plumage of that bird, which makes it look as if it had a scarf on."Having put their tails together "means” standing with their trains in a row." The epithet "yard" applied to the sparrows paints the habits of that bird. The words "great palace" are in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word momoshiki no, whose signification is disputed. After the lines

Kefu mo ka mo
Saka-mi-dzuku'-rashi,

rendered "may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in liquor,” Moribe would like to consider the lines

Am mo ka mo
Saka-mi'dzuku-rashiy

i.e., "may perhaps to-morrow be truly steeped in liquor” to have been accidentally omitted. There is no doubt but that their insertion would add to the effect of the poem from the point of view of style.

7 大語耿, read *ama-koto-uta*. This expression is altogether obscure, and the commentators differ In their interpretations of it. Mabuchi, following the characters, sees in them an allusion to the words august child of the high-shining sun," which recurs in each of the three Songs thus bracketed together. Motowori thinks that *ama-koto* should be regarded as standing for *amari-goto* (餘言吾)"surplus words," in allusion to the meaningless *refrain* with which the Songs in question terminate. Other Songs, however, which end in the same manner, are not thus designated. Moribe's exegesis, though founded on Motowori's, is preferable to it. Accepting *ama-koto* as a contraction of amari-goioy he would take the second half of the compound in the sense of "things," not "words" (事 not 語)' and regard the whole as signifying that the Songs were composed or sung after the conclusion of the actual feast. Against this view must be set the fact that the Chinese characters lend it no support. The translator, has, as usual when in doubt, preferred to adhere to the sense given by the characters.

* Banquet.-W.G.A.

1 *Kasuga no Wodo-hime.* See Sect. CLIX, Note 1.

2 This Song is simply a reiterated and playful injunction to the maiden to hold firmly the flagon containing the intoxicating liquor; and Motowori is, as Moribe remarks, putting more into the words than they are really meant to convey, when he says that they imply praise on the Monarches part.—The English words "grandee's daughter" represent the Japanese *omi no omina*, a somewhat remarkable expression, which is interpreted by Motowori to signify "attendant maiden." The translator prefers the view propounded in Moribe's comment on this Song, and has therefore adopted it. The expression in question is in the original preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *minasosoka* (Moribe reads the last syllable with the *nigori,—gu*). The word rendered "excellent flagon" is *ho-darif* the first element of the compound being explained by the commentators in the sense of "excellent," *i.e.*, "big," while the second is the same as the modern word *taru*, "a cask." In ancient times, however, the signification of *tari* or *taru*

was that of a vessel to pour liquor from, not to store liquor in,—*i.e.*, a flagon, not a cask. The words "quite firmly, more "and more firmly" represent the Japanese *shita-gataku ya-gataku* according to Moribe's exegesis. Motowori's interpretation of them in the sense of "[take the] bottom firmly and the top firmly" is less acceptable.

3 Thus does the editor of 1687, who is followed by Moribe, understand the original expression *uki-uta*. Motowori's interpretation, "Floating Song," seems less good.

4 So enamoured is the maiden of the Sovereign that she would fain be even the board of the arm-rest on which he leans.—The expression" lower board" is misleading, for it refers simply to the self-evident fact that the board forming the top of the little low table used as an arm-rest by one squatting on his mat is below the arm, as whose support it serves. The words" stands leaning" must probably be understood to signify "sits" or "squats leaning." The expression "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" is a frequently recurring periphrasis for the word "Emperor," and has been explained in Sect. LXXXVII, Note 4. The words "at morn" and "at eve" are literally in the original "at morning doors" and "at evening doors," the reference being to the fact that the doors of a house are respectively opened and closed in the early morning and at nightfall. The exclamation "Oh! mine elder brother" is addressed to the board of the arm-rest. *Conf*, the first Song in Sect. XXXIX, where Yamato-take apostrophizes a pine-tree in the same terms.

1 For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4, *Taka-washi* signifies "high eagle."

1 For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. *Mika-kuri* signifies "jar-chestnut."

2 *shiraka-be.*

3 In Sect. CXXXI (Note 7) this name appears as Awomi-no- *iratsume*. Both *Awomi* and *Oshinumi* are supposed to be names of places. The latter is the name of a district in Yamato. Its etymology is obscure. For *Ihi—toyo* see Sect. CXXXI, Note 8.

4 See Sect. CXXXI (Note 5), where however the title of wake ("Lord") is omitted.

5 For *Kadzuraki* see Sect. LV, Note 1, and for *Oshinumi* see Note 3 to the present Sect. *Takaki* seems to signify "high castle," while *Tsunusashi* is obscure. (See Motowori's remarks on these two names in Vol. XLIII, p. 3. of his Commentary.)

1 *Yama-be no murazhi wodate. Yama-be* has already appeared. *Wo-date* signifies "small shield."

* House-warming.—W.G.A.

† Motowori interprets this to mean "arrived at the new *muro*"— W.G.A.

2 For this name see Sect. CXLIX, Note 5. A similar festival at the inauguration of a new cave is mentioned in Sect. LXXX.

3 Motowori's vain attempts to reconcile the dates with this statement of Princes Ohoke and Woke being "young children" at this time, after an interval of two reigns since the death of their father, will be found in Vol. XLIII, pp. 10-11, of his Commentary.

‡ Is not *hitaki* rather "attend to the fire" than "light the fire"?— W.G.A.

4 *I.e.,* as the commentators suppose, a place or vessel holding a light with which to kindle other lights for the feast. The word can scarcely here have its common signification of a "kitchen-range."

5 *I.e.,* at the fact of their being so courtėous to each other.

* The Nihongi and the Kiujiki give different speeches. — W.G.A

6 This so-called "chant,"—it is not a Song, because not in metre, and is accordingly not transcribed syllabically,—is at first sight so difficult as to seem to defy translation, and to make the student apply to the whole of his interpretation Motowori's closing remark on his exegesis of one of the phrases contained in it,—" this is mere guesswork, and the text demands further consideration." A little inspection shows, however, that the drift of the words is by no means so inscrutable as its partly ideographic and partly phonetic transcription makes it appear. The first part down to the colon and dash is a "Preface" to the second, the "Pivot" joining the two parts in the original Japanese being the word "bamboos." The laws of English

construction unfortunately do not admit of the force of the original, which entirely depends on the position of the words, being rendered into our language. The appropriateness of the Preface to the body of the chant rests on the consideration that the *bright* articles mentioned in it, viz., the sword painted and decorated with red streamers (or perhaps tied on with a red sash) and also the red banners are easily *hidden* behind the thick leaves of a bamboo-grove, just as the Imperial origin of the two young Princes was hidden beneath the vile office which they filled in Shizhimu's household. The clause "cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities" forms the chief difficulty. Indeed the word "roots" is supplied by Motowori, and his interpretation of the phrase is merely tentative. We may, however, until some better explanation is offered, see in it a reference to the energetic manner in which the Empire was ruled by the young princes' grandfather, the Emperor Izaho-wake (Ri-chiū), or else perhaps by their father Ichinobe-no-Oshiha. This latter view is preferred by Motowori, though according to the history Ichinobe-no-oshiha never actually ascended the throne. The position of the Verb "ruled" in the Japanese text permits of either interpretation. The comparison of the government of the Empire to playing on a lute is poetical and appropriate. It should be noticed that in the Japanese text the construction of the sentence forming the main body of the chant is the reverse of what it is made to appear to be in the translation. The words l beggarly descendants," by which, as a climax, the singer reveals his own and his brother's illustrious descent, therefore come last of all and produce on Wodate the startling effect which we read of in the next sentence.

7 Or, "seat." In ancient times each person in a room sat on a special mat, and it is that small mat which is here meant.

8 The Numeral is accompanied by the Auxiliary *hashira*, properly used for gods and goddesses.

1 The student should compare the version of the story in this Sect, with that given in the "Chronicles of Japan," where it is placed some yeare later at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Mu-retsu, and not only

do many of the details disagree, but the arrangement and number of the Songs is different. It is impossible to make a consistent whole out of the story as here given; so, while noticing the linguistic peculiarities of each of the Songs in the order in which they appear in the present text, the translator has thought in advisable, following Mori be, to give in Note 12 a consistent scheme of interpretation for the whole. The small Roman numbers placed in brackets at the commencement of each Song indicate its place in the text as restored by Moribe.

2 By one or other of the two Princes Ohoke and Woke."Each," we are afterwards told "ceded the Empire to the other," and it therefore remained for some time uncertain which was to be the Sovereign.

3 *Shibi no omi.* In some of the Songs that follow there is a play on the identity of this name with that of the tunny-fish (*shibi*). But whether that be really the derivation it is difficult to ascertain.

4 *Heguri no omi Conf.* Sect. LXI, 'Note 45.

5 *Uda no obito-ra. Uda* is the name of a place in Yamato.

6 *I.e.,*"big fish." But see the remark on this name in Note 12.

7 *Uta-gaki.* The derivation of this curious expression is disputed; but the meaning seems to be" strophic" or" choric song," or "a place where singing in which more than one takes part is going on."

8 In this Song the "further fin" (*woto tsu hata-de*, explained by the characters 彼籍手 or 彼端手) is supposed to signify a pent-roof, or the eaves of the roof, or else an out-house connected by a slanting roof with the main building. The "great palace" is the palace of Prince Woke.

9 The "great carpenter" is the carpenter employed to build the roof above-mentioned.

10 The "eight-fold hedge of branches" is simply a" hedge," and the" child of a grandee" the Grandee Shibi himself.

11 The words "made fast" refer to the tying of the fence at certain places to give it strength. If we accepted Moribe's emendation of the final Verb *yakemu*, "burn," to *yaremu*, we should have to translate the last clause thus:" 'tis a fence that shall be broken.

12 "The great fish" (*ofuwo yo sh.*) is the Pillow-Word for *shibi*, "tunny." The word "he" (which might also be rendered "*it*," —the original being *so*) must be taken to refer both to the fish itself and to the Grandee Shibi (*i.e.*, the grandee Tunny), who bore its name.— Following Moribe's acceptable restoration of the original story, which is founded on a comparison of the text of these "Records" with that of the" Chronicles of Japan," we find that in the first Song of the series the young Prince half jokingly remarks on the fact of the Grandee Shibi appearing in public with the damsel who was to have been his (the Prince's) bride. Shibi's name, which, as already stated, signifies" tunny," furnishes the occasion for the marine metaphors borrowed from the currents and the breakers. Shibi's answer (Song II,— in the "Records" wrongly ascribed to the prince), takes up the same strain, but in a more taunting tone: the prince is likened to a fisherman who would fain make a futile attempt to spear the great tunny, and his (the tunny's, *i.e.*, the Grandee Shibi's) presence must indeed be pain and grief to him. In a third Song, which is given in the "Chronicles," but not in the "Records," the prince retorts that he relies on his good sword to win the girl for him in the end, and in Song IV the Grandee jeers at the dilapidated condition of his palace, and by implication at the sorry state of his fortunes,—a taunt to which the prince replies in Song V by saying that if the palace is dilapidated, and the Empire in disorder, the fault belongs to none other than to the Grandee himself. Songs VI and VII, which are not found in the "Records," only serve to continue the growing war of words, which in Song VIII (in the "Records" wrongly attributed to the Grandee) comes to a climax by the prince exclaiming that if he does not force his way into the Grandee's mansion to seize his ladylove, it is only on account of the magnanimity of his disposition. To this the Grandee replies in Song IX (in the "Records" erroneously attributed to the prince) by a sort of *tu quoque*, vowing that he will cut and burn his way into the prince's palace. This is not the end of the dispute in the pages of the "Chronicles," but it is all that need detain the reader of the "Records." It should, however, be mentioned that in the "Chronicles" the name of the girl is *Kage-hime*: *Ofuwo*, "Big Fish," which

is here given, would seem to be nothing more than a nickname, which perhaps arose from the incidents of this metrical war of words.

* I do not see sufficient reason for rejecting the reading 闘 (*tatakau*, — to contend). The meaning would be "contended (in this contest of verse) until the morning."—W.G.A.

13 The word used in the original is *hashira*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities. It recurs at the commencement of the next Section, where however it is not convenient to translate it.

14 The original here has the character 亦, "again or "moreover." But this must be, as Motowori points out, a copyists error. Almost immediately below the same character recurs where it is equally out of place. The translator has followed Motowori in rendering it the first time by "so," and the second by "surely."

15 *I.e.*, There is no time like the present for plotting against him.

1 See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

2 *Naniha no miko*. For Naniha see Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

3 *Ihaki no miko*.

4 Who had been treacherously slain by the Emperor Yū-riyaku (see Sect. CXLVIII).

5 *I.e.*, says Motowori, "it is known to me, and to none besides."

* The Nihongi says the skeleton of the Prince was distinguished from that of a retainer who was buried with him, by the latter having lost his upper teeth.—.W.G.A.

6 The character used is 起, which is more applicable to the raising of troops than to the *setting to work* of peasants. It seems however here to be used in the latter sense; or perhaps we should consider it to mean that people *were got together*.

7 See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 3. Possibly the "mountain east" should be a Proper Name, Eastern Mountain, but it is not taken as such by Motowori.

8 See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 1.

9 *I e.,* "keeping an eye," *q.d.*, on the place of burial of the Emperor's father. Grammar would lead us to expect the order of the words forming the

name to be reversed thus, *Me-oki*; but see Motowori's remarks in Vol. XLIII, p. 56.

10 This Song is not comprehensible except by reference to the text of the "Chronicles," whose author gives a somewhat varying version of the story. He tells us that, as a support of the infirm old lady, the Emperor had a string or rope stretched as a sort of hand-rest along the way she was obliged to pass in order to reach the Imperial apartments, and that at the end of the rope was a bell whose tinkling notified the Emperor of her approach. The conjectural exclamation which closes the little poem has therefore an obvious sense, which would be wanting if the bell were at the other end, as in the version here given; for the Emperor would not give expression to surprise at her approach, if he had himself just rung for her to come.—"Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt to represent the Pillow-Word *momo-dzatafu*, which here alludes to the stages along which the old woman may be supposed to be travelling. The valley and the moor overgrown with short grass form an allusion to the way, long and arduous for her,—which Oki-me had to traverse to reach the Imperial apartments, and they contain possibly a further allusion to her original journey to the capital.

* The Nihongi allows a more reasonable interval.—W.G.A.

11 The meaning of this Song is quite clear.— The second time the name *Oki-me* occurs, it might, instead of being as here taken as an exclamation, be made the subject of the sentence, thus: "Oki-me" from Afumi will by to morrow, etc." The words "wilt [thou]," which represent *ka* of the original Japanese may be taken either as an exclamation properly so-called, or as a sort of rhetorica! interrogation whose force is simply exclamatory. The meaning comes to the same in either case, and is literally rendered by the same English words; but according to the latter view, we should have to replace the point of exclamation by a point of interrogation.

1 See Sect. CXLIX.

2 Motowori would have us understand the text to mean "in the neighbourhood of the river.” There is, however, no difficulty in accepting

the author's statement literally, as any one who is acquainted with the broad, stony beds of Japanese rivers will readily admit.

3 *Asuka-gaha.* For Asuka see Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

4 *I.e.,*probably "whenever."

5 *I.e.,*“discovered by augury" or else simply” found and pointed out,"-by whom does not appear.

6 The real etymology of this name is obscure but the author's intention is to connect it with the" divining" or "pointing out" mentioned in the preceding sentence, which is given phonetically as [*mi*] *shimeki*.

1, read *mi tama* or *tamashihi*. We might also translate it by the word "ghost."

2 The respectful character 奏 is used for this word, and again below we have the First Personal Pronoun represented by 僕, "ser-vant.”

3 This sentence ends in the original with the characters 以參出, which it is not necessary to render into English. They imply that the speaker will come back, and report on what he has done.

* It is curious that the tumulus of *Yū-riaku Tenno* is very considerably mutilated. Here is a copy of a note taken after a visit to this tumulus."This mausoleum is at the present day a round single mound encircled by a moat, but there are sufficient remains of the second mound and of the original moat to show that it was once a double-topped misasagi of the ordinary type. A large quantity of earth must have been removed to deprive this tomb of its distinctive character as an Imperial mausoleum and to give it the appearance of the tomb of a mere subject."-W.G.A.

1 See Sect. XXXII, Note 27.

2 For *Katawoka* see Sect. LX, Note 29. *Iha-tsuki* probably means "rock-platter," and seems to have been the name of a little plateau.

1 For the discontinuance of explanatory foot-notes in this concluding portion of the translation see Translator's Introduction, Sect. II, near the top of the page xv.

1 Details of this struggle and its causes are given in the "Chronicles of Japan," and are discussed at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLIV,

pp. 15-20. They are of no special interestM.

* I am afraid I must abandon my suggestion that Osazaki was a posthumous name.—W.G.A.

1 Or as Motowori reads it. *Mofushi*. The etymology is uncertain. *Wega* has already appeared in Sect. CIII (Note 3). The Old Printed Edition and some Manuscripts have at the conclusion of this volume the following note:. "It is the mausoleum of Mozu." But Mozu is in the province of Idzumi. and all the later editions discard this note as an interpolation.

APPENDIX I.

JAPANESE TEXT OF THE SONGS PRESERVED IN THE “KO-JI-KI," OR “RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS’” TRANSLITERATED INTO ROMAN.[1]

I. (SECT. XIX, NOTE 6.)

Ya-kumo tatsu
Idzumo ya-he-gaki
Tsuma-gomi ni
Ya-he-gaki tsukuru
Sono ya-he-gaki wo

II. (SECT.XXIV, NOTE 4.)

Ya-chi-hoko no
Kami no mikoto ha
Ya-shima-kuni
Tsuma magi-kanete
Toho-tohoshi
Koshi no kuni ni
Sakashi-me wo
Ari to kikashite
Kuhashi-me wo
Ari to kikoshite
Sa-yobahi ni
Ari-tatashi
Yobahi ni
Ari-kayohase
Tachi ga wo mo
Imada tokazute
Osuhi wo mo
Imada tokaneba
Wotome no
Nasu ya ita-to wo
Osoburahi
Wa ga tatasereba
Hikodzurahi
Wa ga tatasereba
Awo-yama ni
Nuye ha naki
Sa-nu tsu tori
Kigishi ha toyomu
Niha tsu tori
Kake ha naku

Uretaku mo
Naku-naru tori ka
Kono tori mo
Uchi-yame-kosene
Ishitafu ya
Ama-hase-dzukahi
Koto no
Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

III.(SECT.XXIV, NOTE 5.)

Ya-chi-hoko no
Kami no mikoto
Nuye-kusa no
Me ni shi areba
Wa ga kokoro
Ura-su no tori zo
Ima koso ha
Chi-dori ni ararme
Nochi ha
Na-dori ni aramu wo
Inochi ha
Na shise-tamahi so
Ishi-tafu ya
Ama-hase-dzukahi
Koto no
Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

IV.(SECT. XXIV, NOTE 7.)

Awo-yama ni
Hi ga kakuraba
Nuba-tama no
Yo ha ide-namu
Asa-hi no
Wemi-sakaye-kite
Taku-dzunu no
Shiroki tadamuki
Awa-yuki no
Wakayaru mune wo
So-dataki
Tataki-managari
Ma-tama-de
Tama-de sashi-maki
Momo-naga ni
I ha nasamu wo
Aya ni
Na kohi-kikoshi

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto
Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

V. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 2.)

Nuba-tama no Kuroki mi keshi wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Kore ha fusahazu
He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute
So-ni-dori no Awoki mi keshi wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Ko mo fusahazu
He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute
Yama-gata ni Magishi atane tsuki[2]
Some-ki ga shiru ni Shime-koromo wo
Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi
Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki
Ha-tatagi mo Ko shi yoroshi
Itokoya no Imo no mikoto
Mura-tori no Wa ga mure-i-naba
Hike-tori no Wa ga hike-i-naba
Nakazhi to ha Na ha ifu to mo
Yamato no Hito-moto susuki
Unakabushi Na ga nakasamaku
Asa-ame no Sa-giri ni tatamu zo[3]
Waka-kusa no Tsuma no mikoto

Koto no Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

VI. (SECT.XXV, NOTE 3.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ya
A ga oho-kuni Nushi koso ha
Wo ni i-maseba Uchi-miru
Shima no saki-zaki
Kaki-miru Iso no saki ochizu
Waka-kusa no Tsuma motase-rame
A ha mo yo Me ni shi areba
Na wokite Wo ha nashi
Na wokite Tsuma ha nashi
Aya-kaki no Fuhaya ga shita ni
Mushi-busuma Nikoya ga shita ni
Taku-busuma Sayagu ga shita ni
Awa-yuki no Wakayaru mune wo
Taku-dzunu no Shiroki tadamuki
So-dataki Tataki-managari
Ma-tama-de Tama-de sashi-maki
Momo-naga ni I wo shi nase
Toyo mi ki Tate-matsurase

VII. (SECT.XXXI, NOTE 33.)

Ame naru ya Oto-tanabata no
Unagaseru Tama no mi sumaru
Mi sumar u ni Ana-dama haya

Mi tani futa watarasu[4]

Ajishiki Taka-hiko-ne no

Kami zo ya

VIII. (SECT. XLII, NOTE 18.)

Aka-dama ha Wo sahe hikaredo

Shira-tama no Kimi ga yosohi shi

Tafutoku ari-keri

IX. (SECT.XLII, NOTE 19.)

Oki tsu tori Kamo-doku shima ni

Waga wi-neshi Imo ha wasurezhi

Yo no koto-goto ni

X. (SECT. XLVII, NOTES 16 and 17.)

Uda no taka-ki ni[5] Shigi-wana haru[6]

Wa ga matsu ya Shigi ha sayarazu

Isukuhashi Kujira sayaru

Konami ga iNa kohasaba

Tachi-soba no Mi no nakeku wo[7]

Kokishi hiwene* Uhanari ga

Na kohasaba Ichi-saka-ki mi no

Ohokeku wo Kokida hiwene

Ye yet† shi ya ko shi ya

[Ko ha igonofu zo]

XI. (SECT. XLVIII, NOTE 4.)

Osaka no Oho-muro-ya ni
Hito saha ni Ki-iri-wori
Hito saha ni Iri-wori to mo
Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kubu-tsutsu-i lshi-tsutsu-i mochi
Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi
Ima utaba yorashi

XII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 2.)

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga
Aha-fu ni ha Ka-mira hito moto
So ne ga moto So ne me tsunagite
Uchite shi yamamu

XIII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 3.)

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no kora ga
Kaki-moto ni Uweshi hazhikami
Kuchi hibiku Ware ha wasurezni
Uchite shi yamamu

XIV. (SECT. XLIX,NOTE 4.)

Kamu-kaze no Ise no umi no
Ohishi ni Hahi-motohorofu
Shitadami no I-hahi-motohori

Uchite shi yamamu

XV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 6.)

Tata namete
Ko no ma yo mo
Tatakaheba
Shima tsu tori
Shima tsu tori
Shima tsu tori

Inasa no yama no
I-yuki-mamorahi
Ware ha ya wenu
U-kahi ga tomo

ma suke ni kone

XVI. (SECT. LI, NOTE 17.)

Yamoto no
Nana-yuku

Takasazni-nu wo
Wotome-domo

Tare wo shi makamu

XVII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 19.)

Katsu-gatsu mo

Iya-saki-dateru

Ye wo shi makamu

XVIII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 21.)

A me tsu tsu

Chi dori mashi to to [?]

Nado sakeru to-me

XIX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 22.)

Wotome ni Tada ni ahamu to
Wa ga sakeru to-me

XX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 28.)

Ashi-hara no Shigekoki wo-ya ni
Suga-tatami *snigekoki wo-ya* Iyasaya shikite
Wa ga futari neshi

XXI. (SECT.. LII, NOTE 6.)

Sawi-gaha yo Kumo tachi-watari
Unebi-yama Ko no ha sayaginu
Kaze fukamu to su

XXII. (SECT. LII, NOTE 5.)

Unebi-yama Hiru ha kumo to wi
Yufu sareba Kaze fukamu to zo
Ko no ha sayageru

XXIII. (SECT. LXVI, NOTE 7.)

Ko ha ya Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya
Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya Ono ga wo wo
Nusumi shi semu to Shiri tsu to yo
I-yuki-tagahi Mahe tsu to yo
I-yuki-tagahi Ukagahaku
Shirani to Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

XXIV. (SECT. LXXXI, NOTE 4.)

Yatsumesasu Idzumo-takeru ga
Hakeru tachi Tsudzura saha maki
Sa-mi nashi ni ahare

XXV. (SECT. LXXXIV, NOTE 8.)

Sanesashi Sagamu no wo-nu ni
Moyuru hi no Ho-naka ni tachite
Tohishi kimi ha mo

XXVI. (SECT. LXXXIV, NOTES 3 AND 5.)

Nihibari Tsukuha wo sugite
iku yo ka netsuru
Ka-ga nabete Yo ni ha kokono-yo
Hi ni ha towo-ka wo

XXVII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 3.)

Hisa-kata no Ame no Kagu-yama
To-kama ni Sa-wataru kuhi
Hiha-boso Tawaya-gahina wo
Makamu to ha Are ha suredo
Se-nemu to ha Are ha omohedo
Na ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni
Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXVIII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru
Yasumishishi
Aratama no
Aratama no
Ubena-ubena
Wa ga keseru
Hi no mi ko
Wa ga oho-kimi
Tosni ga ki-fureba
Tsuki ha kihe-yuku
Kimi machi-gata m
Osuhi no suso ni
Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXIX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 6.)

Wohari ni
Wotsu no saki naru
Hito-tsu matsu
Tachi hake-mashi o se wo
Tada ni mukaheru
Hito-tsu matsu a se wo
Hito ni ariseba
Kinu Kise-mashi wo
Hito-tsu matsu o se wo

XXX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 12.)

Yamato ha
Tatanatsuku
Kuni no mahoroba
Awo-kaki yama-gomoreru
Yamato shi uruhashi[8]

XXXI. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 12.)

Inochi no
Tatami-komo
Kuma-kashi ga ha wo
Mata-kemu hito ha
Heguri no yama no
Uzu ni sase
Sono ko

XXXII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 12.)

Hashikeyashi Wagihe no kata yo
Kumo-wi tachi-ku mo

XXXIII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 15.)

Wotomo no Toko no be ni
Wa ga okishi Tsurugi no tachi
Sono tachi ha ya

XXXIV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 3.)

Nadzuki no Ta no ina-gara ni
Ina-crara ni Hahi-motorofu
Tokoro-dzura[9]

XXXV. (SECTXC, NOTE 5.)

Asa-zhinu-hara Koshi nadzumu
Sora ha yukazu Ashi yo yuku na

XXXVI. (SECT, XC, NOTE 7.)

Umi-ga yukeba Koshi nadzumu
Oho-kahara no Uwe-gusa
Umi-ga ha Isayofu[10]

XXXVII. (SECT. XC, NOTE 8).

Hama tsu chi-dori Hama yo ha yukazu

Iso-dzutafu

XXXVIII. (SECT. C, NOTE 18.)

Isa agi Furu-kuma ga
It ate ohazuha Niho-dori no
Afumi no umi ni Kadzuki sena wa

XXXIX. (SECT. CII, NOTE 2.)

Kono mi ki ha Wa ga mi ki narazu
Kushi no kami Toko-yo ni i-masu
Iha tatasu Sukuna mi kami no
Kamu-hogi Hogi-kuruhoshi
Toyo-hogi Hogi- motohoshi
Matsuri-koshi Mi ki zo

Asazu wose sa sa

XL. (SECT. CII, NOTE 3.)

Kono mi ki wo Kami-kemu hito ha
Sono tsudzumi Usu ni tatete
Utahi-tsutsu Kami-kere ka mo
Mahi-tsutsu Kami-kere ka mo
Kono miki no Mi ki no ava ni[11]

Uta-danushi [ki] sa sa

XLI. (SECT. CVI, NOTE 2.)

Chiba no
Momo-chi-daru
Kadzu-nu wo mireba
Ya-niha mo miyu
Kuni no ho mo miyu

XLII. (SECT. CVI, NOTE 8.)

Kono kani ya
Momo-dzutafu
Yoko-sarafu
Ichiji-shima
Niho-dori no
Shina-dayufu
Suku-suku to
Kohata no michi ni
Ushiro-de ha
Ha-nami ha
Ichihiwi no
Hatsu-ni ha
Shiha-ni ha
Mi-tsu-guri no
Kabu-tsuku
Mayo-gaki
Idzuku no kani
Tsunuga no kani
Idzuku ni itaru
Mi-shima ni to ki
Kadzuki iki-dzuki
Sasa-nami-ji wo
Wa ga i-maseba ya
Ahashishi wotome
Wo-date ro ka mo
Shihi (shi) nasu[12]
Wanisa no ni wo
Hada akarakemi
Ni-guroki yuwe
Sono naka tsu ni wo
Ma-hi ni ha atezu
Ko ni kaki-tare[13]
Ahashishi womina

Ka mo ga to
Kaku mo ga to
Utadakeni
Wa ga mishi ko-ra
A ga mishi ko ni
Mukahi-woru ka mo

I-sohi-woru ka mo

XLIII. (SECT. CVII,NOTE 9.)

Iza ko-domo
Hiru tsumi ni
Kaguhashi
Ho tsu ye ha
shi dzu ye ha
Mi-tsu-guri no
Hotsumori
lzasasaba
Nu-biru tsumi ni
Wa ga yuku michi no
Hana-tachibana wo
Tori wi-garashi
Hito tori-garashi
Naka tsu ye no
Akara-wotome wo
Yorashi na

XLIV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 10.)

Midzu tamaru
Wi-guhi uchi
Sashi-keru shirani
Hahe-keku shirani
Iya woko ni shite
Yosami no ike no
[Hishi] ga-[ra no][14]
Nunaha-kuri
Wa ga kokoro shi
Ima zo kuyashiki

XLV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 11.)

Michi no shiri
Kami no goto
Kohada-wotome wo
Kikoyeshikadomo
Ahi-makuramaku

XI, VI. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 12.)

Michi no shiri
Kohada-wotome ha

Arasohazu Ne-shiku wo shi zo mo
Uruhashimi-omofu

XLVII. (SECT, CVIII, NOTE 2.)

Homuda no Hi no mi ko
Oho-sazaki Oho-sazaki
Hakaseru tachi Moto-tsurugi
Su we fuyu Fuyu-ki no su
Kara ga shita-ki no Saya-saya

XLVIII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 6.)

Kashinofu ni Yokusu wo tsukuri
Yokusu ni Kamishi oho-mi-ki
Umara ni Kikoshi-mochi-wose
Maro ga chi

XLIX. (SECT. CXI, NOTE 5.)

Susukori ga Kamishi mi ki ni
Ware wehi ni keri
Koto nagu shi We-gushi ni
Ware wehi ni keri.[15]

L. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 10.)

Chihayaburu Uji no watari no
Sawo-tori ni Haya-kemu hito shi
Wa ga moko ni komu

LI. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 15.)

Chihaya-hito
Uji no watari ni
Watari-ze ni tateru
Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi
I-kiramu to
Kokoro ha mohedo
I-toramu to
Kokoro ha mohedo
Moto-he ha
Kimi wo omohi-de
Suwe-he ha
Imo wo omohi-de
Iranakeku
Soko ni omohi-de
Kanashikeku
Koko ni omohi-de
I-kirazu zo kuru
Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi[16]

LII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 4.)

Oki-he ni ha
Wo-bune tsuraraku
Kuro-zaki[17] no
Masazu-ko wagimo
Kuni he kudarasu

LIIL (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 8.)

Oshi-teru ya
Naniha no saki yo
Ide-tachite
Wa ga kuni mireba
Aha-shima
Onogoro-shima
Ajimasa no
Shima mo miyu
baketsu-shima miyu

LIV. (SECT. CXXII,NOTE 10.)

Yama-gata ni
Makeru awo-na mo

Kibi-hito to Tomo ni shi tsumeba
Tanushiku mo aru ka

LV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 13.)

Kumo-banare Soki-wori to mo
Ware wasureme ya

LVI. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 14.)

Yamato-he ni Yuku ha ta ga tsuma
Komoridzu no Shita yo hahe-tsutsu
Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

LVII. (SECTCXXIII, NOTE 11.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo
Kaha-nobori Wa ga noboreba
Kaha no he ni Ohi-dateru
Sashibu wo Sashibu no ki
Shi ga shita ni Ohi-dateru
Ha-biro yu-tsu matsuba-ki[18]
Shi ga hana no Teri-i-mashi
Shi ga ha no Hirori-i-masu ha
Oho-kimi ro ka mo

LVIII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE 14.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo
Miya-nobori Wa ga noboreba

Awoniyoshi Nara wo sugi
Wo-date Yamato wo sugi
Wa ga migahoshi kuni ha
KadzuraKi takamiya Wagihe no atari[19]

LIX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 3.)

Yamashiro ni I-shike Toriyama
I-shike i-shike A ga hashi-dzuma ni
I-shiki-ahamu ka mo

LX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 5.)

Mimoro no Sono Takaki naru
Ohowiko ga hara Ohowiko ga hara ni aru[20]
Kimo-mukafu Kokoro wo dani ka
Ahi-omohazu aramu

LXI. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 6.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no
Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne
Ne-zhiro no Shiro-tadamuki
Makazukeba koso Shirazu to mo ihame

LXII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 12.)

Yamashiro no Tsutsuki no mi-ya ni
Mono mawosu A ga se no kimi ha

Namita-gumashi mo

LXIII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 18.)

Tsuginefu
Ko-kuha mochi
Sawa-sawa ni
Uchi-watasu
Yamashiro-me no
Uchishi oho-ne
Na ga ihese koso
Yagahaye nasu
Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 1.)

Yata no
Ko motazu
Atara-suga-hara
Suge-hara to ihame
Hito-moto suge ha
Tachi ka are-namu
Koto wo koso
Atara-sugashi-me

LXV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 2.)

Yata no
Hitori wori to mo
Yoshi to kikosaba
Hito-moto suge ha
Oho-kimi shi
Hitori wori to mo

LXVI. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 2.)

Medori no
Orosu hata
Wa ga oho-kimi no
Taga kane ro ka mo

LXVII. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 3.)

Taka-vuku ya Hava-busa-wake no
Mi osuhi-gane

LXVIII. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 5.)

Hibari ha Ame ni kakeru
Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake
Sazaki torasane

LXIX. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura hashi-yama wo
Saeashimi to Iha kaki-kanete
Wa ga te torasu mo

LXX. (SECT. CXXVI. NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura-hashi-yama ha
Sacrashikedo Imo to noboreba
Sagashiku mo arazu

LXXI. (SECT. CXXVIII. NOTE 3.)

Tamakiharu Uchi no aso
Na koso ha Yo no naga-hito
Sora mitsu Yamato no kuni ni
Kari ko 'mu to Kiku ya

LXXII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru
Ube shi koso
Ma koso ni
Are koso ha
Sora-mitsu
Kari ko 'mu to
Hi no mi ko
Tohi-tamahe
Tohi-tamahe
Yo no naga-hito
Yamato no kuni ni
Imaaa kikazu

LXXIII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 6.)

Na ga mi ko ya
Tsuhi ni sniramu to
Karl ha ko 'murashi

LXXIV. (SECT. CXXIX, NOTE 8.)

Karanu wo
Shi ga amari
Kaki-hiku ya
To-naka no
Fure-tatsu
Shiho ni yaKi
Koto ni tsukuri
Yura no to no
Ikuri ni
Nadzu no ki no
Saya-saya

LXXV. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 5.)

Tajihi-nu ni
Tatsu-gomo mo
Ko-mashi mono
Nemu to shinseba
Mochite
Nemu to shirseba

LXXVI. (SECT, CXXXII, NOTE 7.)

Hanifu-zaka
Wa ga tacni-mireba

Kadrohi no Movuru ihe-mura
Tsuma ga ihe no atari.

LXXVII.(SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 10.)

Oho-saka ni Afu ya wotome wo
Michi toheba Tada ni ha norazu
Tagima-chi wo noru

LXXVIII. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 2.)

Ashihiki no Yama-da wo tsukuri
Yama-dakami Shita-bi wo washise
Shita-dohi ni Wa ga tofu imo wo
Shita-naki ni Wa ga naku tsuma wo
Kofu koso ha Yasuku hada fure
Sasa-ba ni

LXXXIX. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 4.)

Sasa-ba ni Utsu ya arare no
Tashi-dasni ni Wi-netemu nochi ha
Hito hakayu to mo
Uruhashi to Sa-ne shi sa-neteba
Kari-komo no Midareba midare
Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

LXXX. (SECT. CXLI,NOTE 7.)

Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune ga

Kana-to kage Kaku yori-kone
Ame tachi-yamemu

LXXXI. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 8.)

Miya-hito no Ayuhi no ko-suzu
Ochi ni ki to Miya-hito toyomu
Sato-bito mo yume

LXXXII. (SECT.CXLII, NOTE 12.)

Ama-damu Karu no wotome
Ita nakaba Hito snirinu-beshi
Hasa no yama no hato no
Shita-naki ni naku[21]

LXXXIII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 13.)

Ama-damu Karu-wotome
Shita-ta ni mo Yori-nete tohore
Karu-wotome-domo

LXXXIV. (SECT. CXLIII. NOTE 2.)

Ama tobu Tori mo tsukahi zo
Tadzu ora ne no Kikovemu tola ha
Wa ga na tohasane

LXXXV. (SECT. CXLIII. NOTE 4.)

Oho-kimi wo
Funa-amari
Wa ga tatami yume
Tatami to ihame

Shima hi haburaba
I-gaheri-komu zo
Koto wo koso
Wa ga tsuma ha yume

LXXXVI. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 6.)

Natsu-kusa no
Kaki-gahi ni

Ahine no hama no
Ashi[22] fumasu na

Akashite tohore

LXXXVII. (SECT, CXLIII, NOTE 7.)

Kimi ga yuki
Yama-tadzu no

Ke-nagaku narinu
Mukahe wo yukamu

Mat su ni ha matazhi

LXXXVIII. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 8.)

Komoriku no
Oho-wo ni ha
So-wo-wo ni ha
Oho-wo ni shi

Hatsuse no yama no
Hata hari-date
Hata hari-date
Na ga[23] sadameru

Omohi-dzuma ahare

Tsuku-yumi no
Adzusa-yumi

Koyaru koyari mo
Tateri tateri mo

Nochi mo tori-miru
Omohi-dzuma ahare

LXXXIX. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 9.)

Komoriku no
Kami tsu se ni
Shimo tsu se ni
I-kuhi ni ha
Ma-kuhi ni ha
Ma-tama nasu
Kagami nasu
Hatsuse no kaha no
I-kuhi wo uchi
Ma-kuhi wo uchi
Kagami wo kake
Ma-tama wo kake
A ga mofu imo
Aga mofu tsuma
Ari to ihaba koso ni
Ihe ni mo yukame
Kuni wo mo shinubame[24]

XC. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 4.)

Kusaka-be no
Tatami-komo
Kochi-gochi no
Tachi-zakayuru
Moto ni ha
Suwe-he ni ha
I-kumi-dake
Tashimi-dake
Nochi mo kumi-nemu
Kochi no yama to
Heguri no yama no
Yama no kahi ni
Ha-biro kuma-kashi
I-kumi-dake ohi
Tashimi-dake ohi
I-kumi ha nezu
Tashi ni ha wi-nezu
Sono omohi-dzuma
Ahare

XCI. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 9.)

Mimoro no
Kashi ga moto
Itsu-kashi ga moto
Yuyushiki ka mo
Kashi-hara-wotome

XCII. (SECT. CLIV,NOTE 10.)

Hiketa no Waka-kuru-su-bara
Wakaku-he ni Wi-nete-mashi mono
Oi ni keru ka mo

XCIII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 12.)

Mimoro ni Tsuku ya tama-kaki
Tsuki-amashi Ta ni ka mo yoramu
Kami no miya-hito

XCIV. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 13.)

Kusaka-ye no Iri-ye no hachisu
Hana-bachisu Mi no sakari-bito
Tomoshiki ro ka mo

XCV. (SECT. CLV, NOTE 3.)

Agura-wi no Kami no mi te mochi
Hiku koto ni Mahi suru womina
Toko-yo ni mo ka mo

XCVI. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 3.)

Mi-yeshinu no Womuro ga take ni
Shishi fusu to Tare zo oho-mahe ni mawosu[25]
Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no

Shishi matsu to
Shiro-tahe no
Ta-komura ni
So no amu wo
Kaku no goto
Sora-mitsu
Agura ni i-mashi
Sode ki-sonafu
Amu kaki-tsuki
Akidzu haya kuhi
Na ni ohamu to
Yamato no kuni wo
Akidzu-shima tofu

XCVII. (SECT. CLVII, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi
Asobashishi
Utaki kashikomi
Ari-wo no
Wa ga oho-kimi no
Shishi no yami-shishi no
Wa ga nige-noborishi
Hari-no-ki no veda[26]

XCVIII. (SECT. CLIX, NOTE 3.)

Wotome no
Kana-suki mo
I-kakuru woka wo
I-hochi mo ga mo
Suki-banuru mono

XCIX. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 4.)

Makimuku no
Asa-hi no
Yufu-hi no
Take no ne no
Ko no ne no
Yahoniyoshi
Hishiro no mi-ya ha
Hi-deru mi-ya
Hi-gakeru mi-ya
Nedaru-mi-ya
Ne-bafu mi-ya
I-kidzuki no mi-ya

Ma-ki-saku Hi no mi kado
Nihi-nahe-ya ni Ohi-dateru
Momo-daru Tsuki ga ye ha
Ho tsu ye ha Ame wo oheri
Naka tsu ye ha Adzuma wo oheri
Shi dzu ye ha Hina wo oheri
Ho tsu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha
Naka tsu ye ni Ochi-furabahe
Naka tsu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha
Shimo tsu ye ni Ochi-furabahe
Shi dzu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha
Ari-ginu no Mihe no ko ga
Sasagaseru Midzu-tama-uki ni
Ukishi aburà Ochi-nadzusahi

Mina koworo-koworo ni[27]

Ko shi mo Aya ni kashikoshi
Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko
Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

C. (SECT.CLX, NOTE 5.)

Yamato no Kono takechi ni
Ko-dakaru Ichi no tsukasa
Nihi-nahe-va ni Ohi-dateru

Ha-biro yu-tsu ma-tsubaki[28]

So ga ha no Hirori-i-mashi
So no hana no Teri-i-masu
Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko ni

To-yo mi ki
Tate-matsurase
Koto no
Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

CI. (SECT.CLX, NOTE 6.)

Momoshiki no
Oho-miya-hito ha
Udzura-tori
Hire tori-kakete
Mana-bashira
Wo yuki-ahe
Niha-suzume
Uzu-sumari-wite
Kefu mo ka mo
Saka mi-dzuku-rashi
Taka-hikaru
Hi no miya-hito
Koto no
Katari-goto mo
Ko wo ba

CII. (SECT.CLXI, NOTE 2.)

Mina-sosoku
Omi no wotome
Ho-dari torasu mo
Ho-dari tori
Kataku torase
Shita-gataku
Ya-gataku torase
Ho-dari torasu ko

CIII. (SECT.CLXI, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi
Wa ga oho-kimi no
Asa-to ni ha
I-yori-datashi
Yufu-to ni ha
I-yori-datasu
Waki-dzuki ga
Shita no
Ita ni mo ga
A se wo

CIV. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 8 and 12.)

Oho-miva no Woto tsu hata-de
Sumi katabukeri

CV. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 9 and 12.)

Oho-takumi Wojinami koso
Su mi katabukere

CVI. (SECT. CLXV. NOTE 10 and 12.)

Oho-kimi no Kokoro wo yurami
Omi no ko no Ya-he no shiba-kaki
Iri-tatazu ari

CVII. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 12.)

Shiho-se no Na-wori wo mireba
Asobi-kuru Shibi ga hata-de ni
Tsuma tateri miyu

CVIII. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 11 and 12.)

Oho-kimi no Mi ko no shiba-kaki
Ya-fu-zhimari Shimari-motohoshi
Kiremu shiba-kaki Yakemu shiba-kaki[29]

CIX. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 12.)

Ofuwo yo shi Shibi tsuku ama yo
Shi ga areba Ura-kohoshi-kemu
[30] Shibi tsuku ama

CX. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE 10.)

Asa-ji-hara Wo-dani wo sugite
Momo-dzutafu sugne Nute yuraku mo
Oki-me kurashi mo

CXI. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE 11.)

Oki-me mo ya Afumi no Oki-me
A su vor i ha Mi-yama-gakurite
Miyezu ka mo aramu

Footnotes

1 There are few various readings of the text of these poems. Where any occur, the translator has been guided by the decisions of Motowori and Monbe. Occasionally these two authorities differ as to the division of the words into lines, and Monbe in particular does not hesitate to propose such emendations as seem to him necessary. The translator has in almost all cases adhered to the traditional text, but gives in foot-notes such emendations as appear worthy of notice. Moribe's division of the lines being in almost every case preferable to Motowori's, it has however here been generally adopted.

2 Motowori reads *Magishi Atane tsuki* as two lines.

3 Motowori reads *Sagiri ni Tatamu zo* as two lines.

4 Motowori reads *Mi tani Futa watarusu* as two lines

5 Motowori reads *Uda no Taka-ki ni* as two lines.

6 Moribe emends *haru* to *hari.*

7 Motowori divides these lines thus: *Tachi-soba no mi no Nakeku wo.*

* *Uhanari ga* should form the first half of the line so as to correspond with *Konami ga.* -W.G.A.

† From *Ye ye* to the end of the poem is omitted in the Nihongi.

8 Motowori reads *gomoreru* as a line by itself, and similarly *uru-hashi* as a line by itself.

9 Moribe restores the reading of the first line of this poem to *Nadzuki-ta no,* and both he and Motowori suggest conjectural concluding lines to supplement the evidently incomplete text. Moribe's are very elegant:

Shi ga tsura no I-hahi motoliori,
Motohorite Ne-naki tohedomo
Koto mo norasanu.

10 Moribe reads *Umi-ga ha isahofu* as one line. It is difficult, on any method of division, to find rhythm* in this Song.

* Metre?—w.g.a.

11 Motowori strangely makes *Mi hi no Aya ni* into two lines. The syllable *ki* in the last line of the Song is supplied by Moribe.

12 Motowori dividès these lines thus: *Hana mi ha shi Ilishi nasu.* He also proposes here to divide the poem in two.

13 Motowori divides these lines thus: *Mayo-gaki ho ni Kaki tare.*

14 The defective text of this line is restored by the help of the parallel passage in the “Chronicles."

15 Moribe proposes to emend the second half of this poem to

Koto nagushi we Koicoro-giishi we
Ware wehi ni keri.

16 Near the commencement of this Song Motowori divides the lines thus:

Watari-ze ni Tateru
Adzusa-yumi Ma-yumi

and again at the end:

I-kirazu zo kuru Adzusa-yumi
Ma-yumi.

17 See Sect. CXXII, Note 4, for this doubtful word.

18 Mo towori divides this line in two, thus: *Habiro Yutsuma-tsubaki.*

19 of these concluding long lines Motowori divides thus:

Wa ga mikahoshi Kani ha
Kadzuraki Taka-miya
Wagihe no atari.

20 Motowori reads the words *Hara ni aru* as a separate line.

21 Moribe, following the reading in the “Chronicles," omits the Postposition *no* after *Kara;* and Motowori reads *hato no* as a line by itself.

22 To the word *ashi* Moribe would prefix the Honorific *mi,* which he finds in an old MS. The metre would gain by this emendation of the line.

23 This is Moribe’s emendation of the usual reading ha.

24 Motowori divides *Ari to ihaba koso ni* into two lines after the Particle *to,* and Moribe omits the Particle *ni* after *koso.*

25 It seems less good to divide thus with Motowori:

Tare zo olio-malie ni MawosU,

or thus with Mabuchi:

Tare zo Oho-maye ni mawosu.

26 Motowori divides the lines of this Song thus:

Yammishishi Wa ga olio-kimi no
Asobashishi Shishi no
Yami-shishi no Utaki kashikomi
Wa ga nige Noborishi
Ari-wo no Hari no ki no yeda.

27 Motowori divides this line in two, thus:

Mina koworo Koworo ni.

28 Motowori divides this line in two after the word *ha-biro.*

29 Moribe's proposal to *emend yakemu to yaremu* would be acceptable if it were supported by the authority of any texts.

30 Motowori's edition and most other texts have *shibi* as the final word. But Moribe's emendation to *ama* is necessary to the sense, and has at least the authority of one MS. to support it.

APPENDIX II.

THE HITHERTO ACCEPTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY JAPANESE SOVEREIGNS MENTIONED IN THE "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS" ("KO-JI-KI") AND IN THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN" ("NIHON-Gi").

[This" Accepted Chronology" is containèd in the first three columns of figures, whereof the first two, giving the corresponding dates according to the European reckoning, are transcribed from some Comparative Chronological Tables by Mr. Ernest Satow, printed for private distribution in 1874. The ages of the monarchs in the third column are from "The Digest of the Imperial Pedigree," a work published by the Imperial Japanese Government in 1877, and therefore carrying with it the weight of authority. It might perhaps be too much to say that even its decisions are universally bowed to by the native literati; but the differences between various writers are all slight, and excepting on points that affect only a very few years, the chronology contained in the first three columns may justly be styled the "Accepted Chronology" both as far as natives and as far as foreigners are concerned. It will be seen that it is founded in the main on the statements contained in the "Chronicles of Japan," though sometimes differing therefrom as well as from the "Records." The fourth column contains the ages of the monarchs according to the "Records," and the fifth their ages according to the "Chronicles." The portion printed in italics, and including a little over a thousand years, is that which has been shown in Section V. of the Translator's Introduction to be undeserving of credence.]

	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	AGE.	AGE ACCORD. TO "RECORDS."	AGE ACCORD. TO "CHRONICLES."
Jim-mu	*660(B.C.)*	*585(B.C.)*	*127*	*137*	*127*
Sui-zei.....	*581*	*549*	*84*	*45*	*80*

	ACCESSION.	DEATH.	AGE.	AGE ACCORD. TO "RECORDS."	AGE ACCORD. TO "CHRONICLES."
An-nei.....	*548*	*511*	*57*	*49*	*57*
I-toku	*510*	*477*	*77*	*45*	*77*
Kō-shō.....	*475*	*393*	*114*	*93*	*113*
Kō-an	*392*	*291*	*137*	*123*	*reigned 102 years*
Kō-rei.....	*290*	*215*	*128*	*106*	*„ 76 „*
Kō-gen	*214*	*158*	*116*	*57*	*„ 57 „*
Kai-kuwa ...	*157*	*98*	*111*	*63*	*„ 60*
Sū-jin	*97*	*30*	*119*	*168*	*120*
Sui-nin	*29*	*70(A.D.)*	*141*	*153*	*140*
Kei-kō.....	*71(A.D.)*	*130*	*143*	*137*	*106*
Sei-mu.....	*131*	*190*	*108*	*95*	*107*
Chiū-ai	*192*	*200*	*52*	*52*	*52*
Jin-go[1]	*201*	*269*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Ō-jin	*270*	*310*	*111*	*130*	*110*
Nin-toku.....	*313*	*399*	*110*	*83*	*reigned 87 years*
Ri-chiū	400	405	67	64	70
Han-zei	406	411	60	60	reigned 6 years
In-giyō	412	453	80	78	" 42 "
An-kō	454	456	56	56	„ 3 „
Yū-riyaku ...	457	479	age omitted	124	„ 23 „
Sei-nei	480	484	41	not given	„ 5 „
Ken-zō	485	487	age omitted	38	„ 3 „
Nin-ken	488	498	50	not given	„ 11 „
Mu-retsu ...	499	506	18	reigned 8 years	„ 8 „
Kei-tai	507	531	82	43	82
An-kan	534	535	70	not given	70
Sen-kuwa ...	536	539	73	„	73
Kim-mei.....	540	571	63	„	reigned 32 years
Bi-datsu	572	585	48	reigned 14 years	„ 14 „
Yō-mei	586	587	69	„ 3 „	„ 2 „
Su-jun	588	592	73	„ 4 „	„ 5 „
Sui-ko.....	593	628	75	„ 37 „	75

Footnote

[1] The reign of this Empress is in the “Records" not counted separately, but included in that of her son O-jin. For the mention of her age in the

“Records” conf. Sect. CIII, Note 4.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF BOOKS DEALING WITH THE "KOJIKI" PUBLISHED SINCE 1883.

Compiled by
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PART I. BOOKS WRITTEN ON THE KOJIKI SINCE 1883.

Concise "Exposition of the Kojiki," 古事記傳略
by Yoshioka Noriaki. 1883.

Explanations on the Kojiki, 古事記講義
by Saiki Ariyoshi. 1891.

The Kojiki Explained, 古事記講義
by Ōkubo Hatsuo. 1893.

Commentary on the Kojiki, 古事記考
by Inoue Yorikuni. 1909.

The Kojiki Explained, 古事記通釋
by Ikebe Yoshikata. 1911.

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INDEX

Throughtout the index the words "August" and "Augustness" have been abbreviated to "A." After some of the Japanese names the equivalent English title is given in brackets, thus, "Kagosaka no miko (King)."

Abe-no-hayè-hime, 409
Abe no iratsume (Lady), 293
Abe no omi (Grandees of), 196, 197
Abiko of Yosami, 208
Accadian, i
Achi-kishi, 306
Achiki no fumi-bito (scribes), 306
Achi-no-atahe (Suzerain of), 348, 352
Active Essence, 4
Ada no U-kahi (Cormorant-keepers of Ada), 166
Ada no wake (Lords of Ada), 224
Adoption, xlvi, 225
Adzu, Prince, 409
Adzuki, Island of, 29
Adzuma, 258
Adzuma, Land of, 258
Adzumi-no-murazhi (Chiefs of), 49, 50
Afumi, Land of, 190, 204, 205, 225, 233, 273, 287, 288, 296, 322, 373, 403, 404, 408
Afumi, Nearer, 7, 61, 205, 274
Afumi no omi (Grandees of), 198
Afumi, Sea of, 287
Afusaka, 287
Agate, xxxv
Agi, Land of, 158
Agina no omi (Grandees of), 200
Agu Lagoon, 313
Aha, Island of, 23, 25, 35, 329
Aha, Port of, 248
Aha, Province of, 185
Ahaji, Granaries of, 276
Ahaji, Island of, 22, 24, 25, 187, 293, 329, 345
Aha-saku-mi-tama, 137
Ahata no omi (Grandees of), 190
Ahidzu, 219, 232
Ahine, 364
Ahira-hime (Princess), 176, 181
Aino, xxiv, xxxiii, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxx, 258
Ajimasa, 237
Ajimasa, Island of, 329
Ajisaha-bime (Princess), 206
Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami (Deity), 98, 117, 118
Aka-hime-no-iratsume, 409
Akaru-hime (Princess), 315
Akashi, 202
Akawi-ko, 379, 380, 381, 382
Ake-tatsu no miko (King), 204, 234, 235
Aki-bime-no-kami, 110
Akidzu, Moor of, 383, 384
Akidzushima, Palace of, 191
Akira, Palace of, 291
Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami, 47
Akuto-hime (Princess), 186
Alder (Alnus maritima), xxxix
Altaic, i, xv, lxxvi, lxxxi
Ama, 328
Ama, Princess, 209

Ama-be, 305
Amakashi, Cape, 234, 357
Ama-no-hi-boko, 313, 314, 315, 316
Ama-no-kagu-yama, 36
Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto, 66
Ama-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake, 27
Ama-no-sagu-me, 114
Ama-no-uki-hashi, 21
Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami, 50
Ama-tsu-hi-daka, 144, 145
Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto, 143
Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, 153.
Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, 58
Ama-tsu-kume-no-mikoto, 134, 168, 270.
Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami, 113
Ama-tsu-ma-ura, 65
Ame-hito-tsu-bashira, 27
Ame-hito-tsu-ne, 29
Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha, His A., 409, 410
Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mikoto, 127, 128
Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami, 30
Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami, 80
Ame-no-haha-ya, 113
Ame-no-hako-yume, 113
Ame-no-hazhi-yumi, 113
Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami, 101
Ame-no-ho-akari no mikoto, 129
Ame-no-hohi, 58, 60, 112, 113
Ame-no-iha-to-wake no kami, 131
Ame-no–kagu-yama, 36
Ame-no-kaku-no-kami, 120
Ame-no-kaku-ya, 113
Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto, 66
Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami, 31
Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami, 33
Ame-no-ma-na-wi, 56
Ame no Mikage no kami, 203
Ame-no-mika-nushi-no-kami, 100
Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, 31
Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami, 17
Ame-no-nori-goto, 88
Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto, 134
Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake, 26
Ame-no-oshi-no-mimi, 111
Ame-no-oshi-wo, 29
Ame-no-sade-yori-hime, 27
Ame-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami, 32
Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami, 33
Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami, 68, 131
Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 18
Ame-no-tori-bune, 33
Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami, 80
Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami, 129
Ame-no-uki-hashi, 21
Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto, 68
Ame-waka-hiko, 113
Ame-no-wo-ha-bari, 40
Ame-no-wo-ha-bari no kami, 120
Ame-no-yasu-kaha, 56
Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko, 190
Ame-shiru-karu-midzu-no-kami, 107
Ampelopsis serianæfolia, xxxviii, 102
Amuchi, in Yamato, 62
Amuchi-no-miyotsuko (Rulers of), 62

Anado, 275
Anado, Deities of, 252
Anaho, His A., 355, 359, 360, 361 362, 367
Anaho, Palace of, 367
Anahobe Wake (Lords), 224
Ana no omi (Grandees of), 190
An-Kan Tenno, 410
An-Ko Tenno, 367, 369, 370, 371, 373, 374
An-nei Tenno, 186
Aphananthe aspera, xxxviii, 88
Arakaha-to-be, 208
Aralia, xxxix, 331, 332, 343
Ara-mi-tama. 282
Arata, 293
Arata no iratsume (Lady), 293
Arawi Hakuseki, xi, lix, lx, lxxix, lxxxiv, 40, 45, 55, 104
Arca Subcrenata, xxxviii, 137
Are, Hiyeda no, iv, v, 11, 13
Are, Princess, 193
Arrows, xxviii, 54, 55, 87, 88, 89, 113, 115, 135, 160, 168, 175, 218, 219, 318, 319, 360, 371, 373, 374
Arrows, Anaho, 360
Arrows, Karu, 360
Artizans, 306
Arts, xlviii
Aryan Mythology, lxxv
Aryans, lxxv, lxxvi
Asakura, 375
Ashida no Sukune (The Noble), 347
Ashigara Pass, 258
Ashi - hara - no - naka - tsu - kuni (Japan), 44
Ashi - hara - shiko - no - wo-no-kami (Deity), 81
Ashi-kagami-wake no miko (King), 272
Ashi-nadaka-no-kami (Deity), 99.
Ashi-nadzu-chi, 72
Ashiwi no inaki (Territorial Lords of), 189
Assasination of Ri-Chiū Tenno attempted, 348
Aso no kimi (Dukes of), 184, 207
Aston, W. G., ii, xiii, xlix, 41, 77, 385
Asuha-no-kami (Deity), 109
Asuka no kimi (Dukes of), 224
Ashida, 100
Ashidaka, 100
Asuka, Further, 7, 8
Asuka, River, 405
Ata, Divine Princess of, 138
Ata, Dukes of, 142
Atori, King, 411
Aucuba japonica, xxxviii, 46
August-Ancestor-of-Earth, Deity, 110
August Food, Great Deity of, 289
August Luck-Spirit, 282
August - Luck - Spirit - the-August-Wondrous-Spirit, 105
August-Snap-Spirit, 164
August - Store - house-Shelf-Deity, 51
August - Spirit-of-the-Great-Land, Deity, 106, 107, 110
August-Wells, Deity of, 90
Autumn-Princes, 110
Awaji, Island of, see Ahaji
Awa-nagi-no-kami, 31
Awa-nami-no-kami, 31
Awful-Master-Prince, Deity, 100
Awful-Snap Deity, 164
Awfully-Swift-Deity, 38
Awi in Mishima, 410
Awimi-gaha, River, 118

Awogaki, Mount, 265
Awomi-no-iratsume, 347
Awo-numa-nu-oshi-hime (Princess), 101
Awotama, 196
Axe, xxviii
Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami, 20
Aya, King, 412
Aya no Atahe (Suzerains), 307, 348
Aya no kimi (Dukes of), 272
Azaka, 136
Azami-no-iri-bime, Her A., 222
Azami-tsu-hime (Princess), 222, 224

Bamboo, xxxviii, 319, 320, 378, 397
Bamboo-cutter, tale of the, 63
Bamboo grass, xxxviii, 69, 268
Bamboo-sprouts, 43
Barb, the whizzing, 108
Barley, xxxiv, xxxviii
  Birth of, 71
Barndoor-fowl, xxxvii
Basket, 319
Bathing, xxxi, 230
Beads, xxxv
Beans, xxxiv, xxxviii
  Birth of, 71
Bear, xxxvii, 6
Beautiful but alarming female, 196
Beautiful but alarming male, 196
Bêche-de-mer, xxxviii, 137, 138
Bee. xxxviii, 316
Bi-Datsu Tenno, 411
Biha, Lake (or Lake Biwa), 53, 61, 108
Bingo, Province of, 207, 271
Birds, xxxvii
Bird-boat, Deity, 121
Bird-Ears, Deity, 98
Bird-Growing-Ears, Deity, 99
Bird's-Rock-Camphor-Tree-Boat, Deity, 33
Bird-Sounding-Sea, Deity, 99
Birth-control, 283
Bitchiu, Province of, 194, 271
Biwa, Lake, 299
Bizen, Province of, 194, 224, 271
Blakiston, Capt., xii, 93, 344
Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-door-of-Hades, 46
Black-Thunder Deity, 42
Blade-Possessor Deity, 150
Boar, wild, xxxvii, 84, 262, 263, 285, 307, 373, 384
Boat, the two-forked, xxviii, 232
Boiled-Rice, His A., 155, 156
Books, xlix, lvlll, 306
"Book of Changes," lxxxv
Bottom-possessing-Male, 280
Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit, 137
Bows, xxviii, 88, 89, 90, 113, 114, 135, 168, 175, 286, 318, 319, 374
Bow-Tips, 220
Bracelets, xxxiv
"Brae," 33
Brasenia peltata, xxxix, 302
Brave-August-Name-Firm, Deity, 99, 122, 123
Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, 38, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 163, 164
Brave-Good-Youth, 26
Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, His A., 60
Brave-Snapping Deity, 38
Brave-Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth, Land of, 27

Brave-Sun-Direction-Youth, Island of, 29
Brave-Sun-Youth, Land of, 27
Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, 51, 52 (see also Susa-no-wo).
Brilliant-Alarming-Female, 196
Bravoes, eighty, slaughtered, 171, 172
Bronze, xlii
Bronze Age, xxviii
Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit, 137
Bubble-Calm, Deity, 31
Bubble-Waves, Deity, 31
Buddhism, l, lxii, lxviii, 104
Bulrush, xxxviii
Bum-Mei, (A Chinese Emperor), 12, 13
Bungo, Province of, 195
Burial, xlvi
Burial Alive, xlvi, xlvii, 210, 242
Bush-clover, xxxviii, 46
Butler Grandees, ancestors of the 197

Cabbage, xxxix, 329
Caldwell, Bishop, i
Camellia japonica, xxxviii, 333
Cassia, xxxviii, lxxviii, 114, 145, 146, 281
Castles, xxxii, xxxiii
Catalogue of Family Names, xi, lxxxii, 61, 62, 190, 195, 208, 240
Catalpa Kaempferi, xxxix, 311, 366
Cats, xxxvi
Cattle, xxxvi
Cave-Dwellers, xxxiii, 171
Centipedes, xxxvii, 87, 88
Central Land of Reed-Plains. 44, 64, 70, 163
Chamœyparis obtusa, xxxviii, 73, 389
Charms, lxvii
Cherry Bark, 67
Chestnut, xxxix, 299, 300
Chiba, 297
Chien Tzu Wen, xlix
Chihisako-be no murazhi, (Chieftains of the Tribe of), 183
Chih Nü, 119
Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto (Princess), 192
Chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime, Kasuga-no (Princess), 192
Chiji-tsuku-yamato-hime (Princess), 209
Chika, Island of, 29
Chika-tsu-Afumi, 108, 203, 205, 271
Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kuni no Miyatsuko (Rulers of the Land of), 191
Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no atahe (Suzerains of), 206
Chika-tsu-Asuka, 352
Palace of, 402
Chikuzen, Province of, 59, 169, 322
Chi-mata-no-kami, 47
Chimori no omi (Grandees of), 207
China, ii, lviii, 104, 105, 106
China, Emperor of, 187
Chinese Culture, l
Chinese Histories, lxxvii
Chinese Influence, i, ii, lx, lxxviii, xlxxix, 112
Chinese Philosophy, l
Chinu, King, 412
Chinu no wake (Lords of), 189

Chinu, Pool of, 223
Chinu, Sea of, 161
Chi-shiki-no-oho-kami, 45
Chita no omi (Grandees of), 191
Chiū-ai Tenno, lxxvii, 275, 277, 278, 281, 284. 285, 287, 289, 291
Chiura, 289
Chopsticks, xxxiv, lxxviii, 72, 281
Chou Wang (Shiū-o), 9
Christianity, lxii
Chronicles of Japan, iii, vi, vii, x, xvii, xxi, xxii, xxvi, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxv, xxxvi, li, lii, liii, lv, lvi, lviii, lxii, lxvii, lxx, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvii, lxxxiii, lxxxii, 8, 19, 22, 34, 35, 36, 38, 45, 47, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 72, 74, 75, 78, 81, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 114, 116, 117, 119, 121, 122, 128, 136, 140, 142, 146, 148, 150, 152, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 168, 171, 175, 189, 191, 193, 195, 200, 210, 220, 224, 226, 230, 233, 239, 302, 306, 315, 317, 332, 337, 341, 344, 345, 346, 347, 375, 398, 400, 401, 404
Chronicles of Japan Continued, 4, 151
Chronicles of Japan Explained, lxxxii, 36
Chronicles of Old Affairs, 24, 65
Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages, vi, xxii, lxxxii, 56, 197, 273, 292, 360
Clam, Princess, 84
Classical Poetry of the Japanese, 12, 190, 364
Clay-Viscid-Prince, Deity, 34
Clay-Viscid-Princess, Deity, 34
Cleaving-Thunder, Deity, 42
Cleyera japonica, xxxviii, 67, 169, 237
Cloth, lxv, lxvi, 213
Clothing, xxxiv, xxxv
Clubmoss, xxxviii, 68, 69
Coat, rain, xxxv
Cocculus thunbergi, xxxviii, 253
Cock, the, 91
Cockle, xxxviii, 84
Cockle-shell, Princess, 84
Coffins, stone, 242
Collection of a Myriad Leaves, i, vii, lxxxii, 27, 32, 50, 200, 231, 364
Collection of Songs Ancient and Modern, vii. lxxxii
Colours, xli
Combs, xxxv, 42, 43, 73, 257
Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, lxxxii, 27, 384
Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, lxxxii, 92
Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, lxxxii
Cormorants, xxxvi, xxxvii, 125, 166, 375
Cormorant Keepers, 166, 174
Cormorant - Thatch - Meeting - Incompletely, His A., 155
Concubines, 89, 238
Confucian Analects, 306
Confucius, 5
Cooking Pots, xxxiv
Copper, xli, 65
Coral, 346
Correct Account of the Divine Age, x, lxxxii
Couchant-Thunder, Deity, 42
Cow, xxxix, 314

Crab, xxxix, 298
Crane, xxxix
Creation, Commencement of, 4, 5
Crimes, 279
Crocodiles, xxxvii, lxxviii, 82, 83, 149, 150, 152
Cross-sword, 162, 163, 164, 168, 223, 306
Crow, xxxvii, 164, 165
Crumbling Prince, the, 103, 105
Cryptomeria japonica, xxxviii, 73, 232
Crystal, xxxv
Cups, xxxiv
Curse, 320

Dances, 151, 396
Death, xlvi
Deer, xxxvii, 38, 373
Deguchi Nobuyoshi, ix
Deities, Assemblage of, 65, 71
Deities, birth of, 17, 18, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31–51, 56–60, 62, 80, 90, 98–101, 106–111, 142, 143, 152
Deities, death of, 17, 18, 19
Deites, laugh, 70
Deities, the eight-hundred myriad, 112, 113, 114, 119
Deities, the hundred and eighty, 124
Deities, violent and savage earthly, 112, 114, 162, 163, 165, 175
Deity - Great - Master - of - the - Mountain-End, 108
Deity-Ocean-Possessor, place of, 145
Deity - of - the - Fire - in-the - Yard, 108
Deity-of- the -High-Sun - of -Summer, 110
Deity - Producing - Wondrous-Ancestor, 71, 103
Deity-Spirit -of-the - Living-Land, 89
Deluge, lxviii
Dictionary of Pillow-Words, lxxxiii, 19, 131, 261, 262, 287, 333, 334
Digest of Imperial Genealogies, lxxxiii
Dioscorea quinqueloba, xxxix
Discussion of the Objections to the Enquiry into the True Chronology, lxxxiii
Dishes, xxxiv
Divination, xxiv, lxvii, 24, 67
Divine Age, xxxiv, xlix, lxiii, lxx, 66
Divine Characters, xlviii, xlix
Divine-eight-wells-ears, 180
Divine-House-Shield, Princess, 98
Divine-Keen-Sabre, 118
Divine-Lagoon-River-Ears, 180
Divine - Life - Producing - Wondrous-Deity, 106
Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty, 79
Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, 4, 17, 84
Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, 49
Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince, His A., 155, 157
Dogs, xxxvi, xxxix, 377
Dolphin xxxix, 288, 289
Dotterel, xxxvii, xl, 93, 268, 269
Dove, xxxix
Dragon-fly, xxxvii, 383
Dragon-fly, Island of the, 6, 28, 383
Dravidian Languages, i
Dreams, lxii
Drum, 291

Earthenware-Masters Clan, 242
Earth-hiders, 171
Earthly-Dark-Door, Deity, 33
Earthly-Deities, lxv, 19
Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes, Deity, 32
Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, 18, 19, 21
Earthly-Pass-Boundary, Deity, 33
Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor, Deity, 31, 32
Earthly-Water-Divider, Deity, 31
Earth-spiders, 7, 170, 171, 172
Earth-Thunder, Deity, 42
Earthquakes, lxviii
Eastern Lands, rulership of, 255
Echigo, Province of, 62, 73, 194
Echizen, Province of, 73, 101, 194, 210, 299, 322
Education, xliv, xlv
Eight, the number, lxviii, lxix
Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, Deity, 121, 123, 124
Eight-forked Serpent, liii, lx, lxviii, 73, 75, 130
Eight Great Islands, 8, 23, 28, 91
Eight-Island-Possessor, Deity, 99
Eight-Island Ruler, 79, 102
Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets, Princess, 99
Eight-Thousand-Spears, Deity of, 81, 90
  Song sung by, 91, 94, 95
Eight-Wells, Prince, 180
Eighty Deities, the, 82, 83, 85, 90
Eighty Evils, Wondrous Cape of, 358
Elbow Pads, xxviii, 55, 276
Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place-Deity, 20
Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, Deity, 49, 50
Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, Deity, 49, 50
Elder-Male-of-the-Surface, Deity, 49, 50
Elder-of-the-Great-Place, Deity, 20
Emperor, the, 138
Emperors', Virtues and Accomplishments of the, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Etchu, Province of, 73, 183, 194, 195
Eternal Land, the, 104, 156, 240, 241
Eulalia japonica, xxxviii, 96
Euonymus japonica, xxxviii, 311
Euonymus sieboldianus, xxxix, 267
Examination of Difficult Words, xi, lxxxiii, 36, 54, 126, 134, 376
Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, lxxxiii, 27.
Excrements, 279
Explanation of Japanese Names, lxxxiii
Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, lxxxiii, 290, 345
Exposition of the Ancient Histories, x, lxxxiii, 22, 24, 32, 56, 66, 85, 88, 99, 116, 122, 126, 134
Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, lxxxi, lxxxiii, 28, 227
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters, xlii, l, lxxxiii
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters Criticised, lxxxiii

Falcon-lord, 294, 341
Fans, xlviii

Female-Deity of Idzu, 49
Female-Deity-of-Summer, 110
Female who invites, see Izanami
Feudalism, lxxi
Fighting, xlv
Finnish, i
Fire - Burning-Swift - Male - Deity, 34
Fire-Climax, His A., 142
Fire-Deity, 35, 36
  slaying of, 37
Fire-drill, xxviii, 125, 126, 255, 256
Fire God, birth of, lii, 35
Fire-Producer, Deity, 34
Fire-Shine, see Ho-deri
Fire-Shining-Elder-Deity, 34, 37
Fire-Shining-Prince, Deity, 34
Fire-Subside, see Ho-wori
Fire-Swift-Deity, 38
Fire-Thunder-Deity, 42
Fish, xxxiii, xxxviii
Fisher Tribe, 305
Five-Reaches, His A., 155
Flesh, xxxiii
Floating Bridge of Heaven, 21, 112, 133, 134
Fly, xxxvii
Foam-Calm, Deity, 31
Foam-Waves, Deity, 31
Food, xxxiii
Food-Master, His A., 155, 156
Food of Hades, 41
Food - Wondrous - Great - Deity, 289
Foot - Stroking - Elder, Deity, 72, 74, 78
Forced labour, 327
Forward-Princess, the, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94
  Song sung by the, 96, 97
Fowls, xxxvi, xxxvii, 65
Frog, xxxvii, 103
Fuchi of Otokuni, 222
Fuha - no-moji - ku - nu - su-nu-no-kami, 80
Fuji, Mount, 138, 257
Fujihara, 321
Fujihara no Ason Tsugunaha, lxxxii
Fujihara no Hitomaru, lxxxiii, 173
Fujihara - no - koto - fushi - no - ira - tsume (Lady), 321
Fujihara no Masaoki, x, lxxxiv
Fuka-buchi-no - midzu - yare-hana, 80
Fukita no wake, (Lords of), 273
Fumi no obito, (Grandees), 306
Funaki no atahe, (Suzerains of), 185
Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami, (Deity), 80
Furu-koto-bumi, v
Furu-kuma, 287
Furnace, Deity of, 108
Fuse no kimi, 322
Fushi-ikadzuchi, 42
Fushimi, Mound of, 369
Futa-go, Islands of, 29
Futaji-hime, (Princess), 271
Futaji-no-iri-bime, Her A., 223, 225, 270
Futa-na, Island of, 24
Fute-mimi-no-kami, 80
Futo-hime, 412
Futo- ma-waka - hime - no - mikoto, (Princess), 188
Futo-Tama-no-mikoto, 66
Fuzhi, Mount, see Fuji Mount

Garlic, 301
Gate, Deity of the August, 132
Gemmio, or Gem-miyo, Empress, v, xxii, 3, 12, 86

Generations, Seven divine, 21
" Gentile Name," xviii
Gentle August Spirit, 282
Germ-Integrating-Deity, 19, 20
Gins, xxviii
Ginger xxxviii, 173
Girdles, xxxiv, 230
Glass, xxxv
Gleanings from Ancient Story, lxxxiii, 66, 132, 313
Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, Youth of the, 317
Go, the country, 306
Goats, xxxvi
Gods with Tails, 166
Gold, xl, 278
Good-Boiled-Rice, Prince, 25
Good-Princess, 57
Goose, wild, xxxvii, 102, 116, 343, 344, 345
Goto, Islands of, 29
Gourds, xxxix, 281
Government, lxix, lxx, lxxi
Granaries, 248, 276, 326, 371
Grandee of the Way, 168
Grand-Ears-Deity, 80
Grand-Jewel, His A., 66, 68, 70, 130, 132
Grapes, 43
Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, 280
Great-Blade-Mower, a sword, 118
Great Butlers Tribe, 248
Great-Deity-of-Hades, 45
Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-Back, 45
Great-Divine-Fruit, Deities, 44
Great-Door-Sun-Youth, Deity, 30
Great-Earth-Deity, 109, 110
Great-Food, Princess, Land of, 25
Great-Furnace-Princess, Deity, 108
Great-Harvest-Deity, 79, 106, 110
Great-House-Prince, Deity, 30, 85, 86
Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing, Deity of, 29, 31
Great-Master-of-Things, 177, 211, 212
Great-Mountain-Integrator, Deity, 108
Great-Mountain-Possessor, Deity, 32, 79, 80, 138
  Child of, 72
Great-Name-Possessor, Deity, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 104
  attempts on the life of, 87, 88
  brought to life again, 84, 85
  killed, 84, 85
Great-Ocean-Possessor, Deity, 31, 147, 148
  Palace of, 145
Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, 49
Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, Deity, 107
Great-Thunder, Deity, 42
Great-Vale-Prince, Deity, 33
Great-Vale-Princess, Deity, 33
Great-Water-Master, Deity, 80
Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel, 192
Great Yamato's Lord Prince who Rules the Land, 192
Great Yamato Perfect Prince, Country Great Man, 190
Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly, 27
Grebe, xxxix, 298
Guard, Imperial, 142, 151
Gurgling-Up-August-Spirit, 137

Hachijo, Island of, xxxii, 346
Hada, 326
Hada no Miyatsuko, (Rulers), 307
Hades, lxiv, lxv, 40, 49, 53, 278, 280
Hades, Deities of, 42
Hades, Even Pass of, lii, 43, 44, 45, 46, 89
Hades, Great Deity of, 45
Hades, Warriors of, 43
Hafuri-sono, 219
Hagi (Bush-clover), xxxviii, 46
Haguhi no kimi, (Dukes of), 225
Haguri no omi, (Grandees of), 190, 191
Hahaki, Land of, 37, 84
Hahe-irodo, 188, 193
Hahe-irone, 188
Hahigi-no-kami, 109
Hakata, Mount, 191
Hall of eight fathoms, 22
Halochloa macrantha, xxxviii, 125
Hami no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, 130, 131, 132
Hand-Stroking-Elder, Deity, 73, 74
Hanifu, Pass of, 349
Hanishi-be, 242
Hani-yasu, 235
Haniyasu, Princess, 196
Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami, 34
Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami, 34
Han men, pool of the, 305
Hanzei Tenno, 325, 353
Hara-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Hare, xxxvii
Hare Deity, 83
Hare, the white of Inaba, 82, 83
Harihara no kimi, (Dukes of), 312
Harima, 193, 194, 195, 233, 243, 355, 374, 396
Harima no Aso no kimi, 207
Harima no Uzhika no omi, 195
Harvest-Deity, the August, 107
Hasa, Mount, 362
Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be, King, 411
Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be, Princess, 412
Hashiri-midzu, Sea of, 256
Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko, 325
Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume, 295, 325
Hata no kimi (Dukes of), 322
Hata no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Hata no Yashiro no sukune, (the Noble), 198
Hats, xxxiv
broad-brimmed, xxxv
Hatsuse, 220, 365, 366, 375, 408
Hatsuse-be no Kimi (Dukes of the Hatsuse tribe), 198
Hatsuse-be no toneri (Retainer), 375
Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki, His A., 411, 413
Haya-aki-dzu-hiko-no-kami, 31, 49
Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami, 31, 49
Hayabito-ata-no-kami, 142
Hayabusa-wake, 294, 340, 341, 342
Ha-yama-to-no-kami, 109
Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Haya-mika-no-take-sahaya-ji-nu-mi-no-kami, 100
Haya-sasura-hime, 30
Hayashi no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Haye, Lord, 186
Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountain, Youth-of-the, 317, 319

Head-ornaments, xxxiv, 368
Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her A., 68, 70, 129, 130, 132, 136, 137
Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth, Land of, 28
Heavenly-Awful-Master-Deity, 100
Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His A., 66, 68, 70, 130, 132
Heavenly-Bird-Boat, Deity, 33, 35, 120
Heavenly-Blowing-Male, Deity, 30
Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord, Deity, 80
Heavenly-Dark-Door, Deity, 33
Heavenly-Deer-Deity, 120
Heavenly Deities, lxv, 18, 21, 24
Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes, Deity, 32, 33
Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, 18
Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, His A., 111
Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth, Islands of, 26
Heavenly-Great-Male, Island of, 29
Heavenly-Great-Perfect-Prince, 190
Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness, 134, 135
Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess, Island of, 27
Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, 68, 70, 131
Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth, Deity, 101
Heavenly Metal-Mountains, 65
Heavenly-One-Eye, His A., 66
Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, Deity, 32, 101
Heavenly-Pointed-Blade-Extended, 40, 120
Heavenly-Rice-Ear-Ruddy, His A., 129
Heavenly-Rock-Boat, 21, 134
Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, 64, 69, 70
Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, Deity, 131, 132
Heavenly-Rock-Seat, 133
Heavenly Sovereigns, 140
Heavenly-Spying-Woman, 114
Heavenly Stairs, 21
Heavenly-Water-Divider, Deity, 31
Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor, Deity, 31
Heavenly-Young-Prince, the, 113, 114
  killed, 115
  shoots a pheasant, 115
  mourning for, 117
Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heavens-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty, His A., 127, 138
Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 74, 75, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 163
  retires into cave, 64, 65
  lured out of cave, 70
Heaven's-Earth-Spirit-Deity, 113, 116
Heaven's-One-Pillar, Island of, 27
Heaven's-One-Root, Island of, 29

Heaven's-Round-Eyes, His A., 134, 135
Heaven's - Sun - Height - Prince - Great-Rice - Ears - Lord- Ears, His A., 143, 154
Heaven's - Sun - Height - Prince - Wave - Limit - Brave - Cormorant-Thatch- Meeting-Incompletely, 153, 155
Heaven's-Two-Houses, Islands of, 29
Hedysarum esculentum, xxxix, 373
Heguri, Mount, 378
Heguri no omi, (Grandees of), 199, 399
Heguri no Tsuku no sukune, (the Noble), 199
Heki no kimi, (Dukes of), 312
Hepburn's Dictionary, 65
Hera, Pass of, 217
Herb-Quelling-Sabre, lxvii
Heron, xxxvii, 268
He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami, 48
He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami, 48
Hi, Land of, 27
Hi no kimi, (Dukes of), 183
Hi, River, 72, 75, 193, 194, 236, 252
Hiba, Mount, 37
Hibasu, Princess, 205, 221, 239, 241, 242
High August Producing Wondrous Deity, liv, 4, 17, 65, 103, 112, 113, 114, 115
High Deity - of - the - Fire-in - the - Yard, 109
High-Integrating-Deity, 115, 121, 127, 128, 129, 133, 163, 164
High-Princess, Her A., 98
sings, 118
High-Shining, Princess, 98
Higo, Province of, 184, 322
Hi haya-bi-no-kami, 38
Hihira-gi-no - sono - hana - madzumi-no-kami, 100
Hijikata no kimi, (Dukes of), 312
Hi-kaha-hime, (Princess), 80
Hiketa tribe, 379
Hiko-futsu - oshi-no - makoto, 196, 197
Hiko - hito - no- oho - ye no miko, (King), 245
Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi, 128, 129, 133
Hiko-imasu no miko, (King), 202, 204, 216
Hiko-inakoshi-wake, 197
Hiko-isa-seri-biko, 193
Hiko-kuni-buku, His A., 218, 219
Hiko-kuni-oketsu, 201
Hiko-osu, King, 204
Hiko-same-ma, 193, 195
Hiko-sashi-kata-wake, 193, 195
Hiko-ya-wi, His A., 180
Hiko-yumusumi, 201, 202
Himeda, Ancestor of the Dukes of, 205
Himeda no kimi, (Dukes of), 353
Hime-goso, Shrine of, 315
Hime, Island of, 29, 343
Himeko, 277
Himuka, lii, 133, 134, 176, 245, 247, 294, 300, 302, 325
Hinaga-hime, (Princess), 238
Hina-rashi-bime, (Princess), 100, 315
Hina-teri-nakata-bichi-wo - ikochi-ni, Deity, 99
Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami, 34
Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami, 34
Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami, 34
Hinokuma, 410
Hirado, Island of, 29
Hirata, Atsutane, v, x, li, lxxi, lxxxi,

lxxxiii, lxxxiv, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
Hirataka, 407
Hiro-hime, Her A., 412
Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi, 409, 410
Hironari, Imibe no, lxxxiii
Hirudinem, (Leech Child), 23
Hiru-go, 35
Hisaoi, Arakida no, lxxxiii
Hishiro, Palace of, 243, 251, 389
Hitachi no Naka no kuni no miya-tsuko, 184
Hitachi, Province of, 104, 126, 184, 206
Hi-tsugi-no-miko, 127
Hitsuma, Grandee, 408, 411
Hiuga, Land of, 26, 134, 136, 137
Hiye, Mount, 108
Hizen, Province of, 322
Ho, Lords of, 206
Ho-deri-no-mikoto, liv, lxxvii, 142, 143. 144, 148, 149, 150
Hodzumi no omi. (Grandees of), 175, 196
Hoffmann, lxi
Hoes, 336
Hohoma, Mount, 28
Hoko-ya-wi, 183
Hoku-roku-do, 216
Holly, xxxviii, 100, 254
Homuchi-wake, (Prince), 223, 228, 229, 230, 232
Ho-musubi, 34
Homo-tsu-wake, His A., 221
Homuda, 15, 303
Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko, (King), 291, 292, 408
Homuda-wake, 276, 291, 293, 321, 323
Homuji clan, 236, 238
Homuji, Dukes of, 207
Homuji tribe, Ancestor of, 204
Homu-ya-wake, 276
Honoho, King, 410
Ho-no-ikadzuchi, 42
Ho-no-ni-ni-gi, 6
Hooks, xxviii
Horse, xxxvi, xxxvii, 306
Horse-fly, xxxix, 383
Hoshikaha no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Ho-suseri-no-mikoto, 142
Hot Water, Trial by, 356
Ho-wori-no-mikoto, liv, lxxvii, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150, 154
Hsüan Hou, (Kenko), 9
"Human Age," lxx
Hydropyrum latifolium, xxxix, 359

Ibukí, Deity of, 262, 263, 267
Ibuki-do-nushi, 30
Ice-rain, 263, 360
Ichihiwi, 298
Ichihiwi no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Ichijishima, 298, 299
Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto, 57
Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, King, 373, 374, 395, 397, 398, 403
Ichishi-no-kimi, (Dukes of), 191
Ichishi, Pool of, 232
Idomi, 218
Idzumi, Province of, 160, 199, 218, 223, 294, 323
Idzumo Bravo, slain by Yamato Take, 253
Idzumo Fudoki, 51
Idzumo, Great August Deity of, 234, 236
Idzumo, Great God of, lvi, 236
Idzumo-no-iratsume, 408

Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (rulers of the land of), 60, 236
Idzumo, Province of, liii, liv, lv, lx, lxiv, lxix, lxx, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxviii, 5, 37, 46, 58, 60, 76, 78, 82, 94, 102, 116, 121, 124, 125, 160, 233, 237, 238, 252, 272
Idzu-ne-me-no-kami, 49
Idzu no Chi-Waki, x, xi, lxxxiii, 47, 68, 73, 102, 135, 164
Idzu no Koto-Waki, x, xi, lxxxiii, 77, 179, 257, 299
Idzushi, Eight great deities of, 316
Maiden of, 317, 318, 319
River, 319
Ifuya-zaka, (Pass), 46
Iga-hime, (Princess), 209
Iga, Land of, 187, 205
I-gaka-shiko-me, 196, 200
Igaka-shiko-wo, His A., 213
Iga no Suchi no inaki, 187
Iga-tarashi-hiko, His A., 221
Ihaki, King, 403
Ihakuma, 237
Ihakumo, Queen, 411
Ihami, Province of, 42
Iha-naga-hime, (Princess), 139
Ihanashi no wake, (Lords of), 224
Iha-no-hime, (Empress), 324, 325, 328, 331, 335, 343
Iha-oshi-waku no Ko, 166
Ihare, 347, 395, 408
Ihare-be, (Clan), 353
Ihare, Lake, 413
Iha-saku-no-kami, 37
Ihashiro no wake, (Lords of), 273,
Iha-tsuchi-biko-no-kami, 30
Ihatsuki, Mound of, 407, 408
Iha-tsuku-bime, Her A., 222
Iha-tsuku-wake, (King), 222, 225
Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami, 38
Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, 409
Iha-zu-bime-no-kami, 30
Ihi-bi-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 188
Ihigata-sumi, His A., 212
Ihi-me-no-ko, 413
Ihinu-ma-guro-hime, (Princess), 273
Ihitaka, Dukes of, 191
Ihi-toyo-no-iratsume, 348, 395, 398
Ihi-yori-hiko, 25
Ihobara no kimi, (Dukes of), 195
Ihodo, Palace of, 192
Iho-ki-no-iri-bime no mikoto, (Princess), 244
Iho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto, (Prince) 244, 246, 292
Ihorinu, Palace of, 410
Ikahi no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the land of), 184
Ikahi no miko, (King), 403
Ika-tarashi-hiko no miko, (King), 222, 225
Ikeno-be, Palace of, 412
Ike no kimi, (Dukes of), 225
Ikegokoro, Palace of, 189
Iki, Island of, 27
Ikobaya-wake, His A., 222, 224
Ikochini, Deity, 99
Iku-guhi-no-kami, 20
Ikuha-no-omi, (Grandees of), 200
Ikume-iri-biko-isachi, His A., 209, 221, 270
Ikume Tenno, 203
Ikuta, River, xxxi
Iku-tachi, 88
Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime, (Princess), 100
Iku-tama-yori-bime, (Princess), 212, 214

Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, His A., 58
Ikuye no omi, (Grandees of), 200
Iku-yumi-ya, 88
Imbe, the, lxvi
Imibe no Hironari, lxxxiii
Imibe no obito, (Headmen), 132, 183
Imigako, King, 411
Imperial Family, strife in the, lvi
Imperial House, li
Impetuous Male Deity, see Susa-no-wo
Inaba, Land of, 82, 207, 233
Inaba no Oshinumi-be, 207
Inabi no oho iratsume, (Elder Lady of), 243
Inabi no waki-iratsume, 245
Inada-no-miya-nushi-Suga-no-ya-tsu-mimi-no-kami, 78
Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-ya-tsu-mimi, 72
Ina-hi-no-mikoto, His A,, 155
Iname, the Noble, 412
Inaki no wake, (Lords of), 224
Inasa, 6, 121, 174
Inase-biko, (King), 224
Inawe, the Noble, 411
Inayori, Princess, 207
India, i, ii
Ine-yori-wake, (King), 271, 272
Ingiyo Tenno, 8, 183, 325, 354, 356, 357, 363
illness of, 356
Ini-shiki-no iri-biko, 221, 233
Inner Prince, 107
Inner Princess, 107
Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of All the Provinces, lxxxiii
Inquiry into the True Chronology, lxxxiii
Insects, xxxvii, 210
Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing, Deity, 48
Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore, Deity, 48
Inu-hime, (Princess), 106
Inukami no kimi, (Dukes), 272
Iri-ne no miko, (King), 204, 206
Iron, xxviii, xlii, 65
Isahi-no-sukune, (the Noble), 286, 287
Isaza-Wake, 287, 288
Ise, 137, 138, 185, 187, 191, 202, 267, 275
Ise-be, (Tribe), 305
Ise, Great Deity of, 210, 224, 249, 409
Ise, Inner Temple of, 131, 254
Ise no Funaki no atahe, (Suzerains), 185
Ise no Ihitaka no kimi, (Dukes of), 191
Ishidzu, 347
Ishi-hime, 410
I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, 65, 130, 132
Islam, lxii
Island of the Dragon-Fly, 191
Islands, birth of, 23–29, 35
Isonokami, 367, 408
Isonokami, Deity of, 164, 223
Isonokami, Divine Sword of, lxv
Isonokami, Temple of, lv, 348, 350, 352
I-suke-yori-hime, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181
Isuzu, 131
Ito, 283
I-toku Tenno, 188
Itoshi-be, (Tribe), 225
Itoshi-wake, (King), 222, 225

Itowi-hime, (Princess), 294
Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari, 40
Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami, 119
Itsu-se-no-mikoto, 155, 157, 160, 161
Iwashima no miko, (King), 322
Iyo, Land of, 25, 37, 184, 272, 363
Iyo, Rulers of the Land of, 184
Izaho-wake, His A., 325, 326, 347, 397, 398
Izakaha, Hill of, 208
Izakaha, palace of, 201
Izanagi, (The Male who invites), xxii, xxiii, lii, liv, lix, lx, lxiv, lxix, lxxiv, lxxvii, lxxviii, 4, 5, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43–48, 51, 53, 55, 57, 81–89, 120, 149, 280, 357
  bargains for a young girl, 74
  builds a palace. 76
  composes a song, 70, 77
  punished and expelled, 71, 72
  slays a serpent, 75
  visits the underworld, lii, liv, 40.
Izanami, (The Female who invites), xxiii, lii, lix, lxxiv, lxxvii, 4, 20–24, 33, 34, 35, 40–45, 90, 120
  burial of, 37, 59
  death of, 35
Iza-no-ma-waka, His A., 209, 292, 295
Izasa-wake, lv
Izhimu, Land of, 61
Izhimu-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61

Jade, xxxv
Japan, lxxii, 27, 315
Japanese, original religious beliefs of, lxiv, lxxiv, lxxv
Japanese Words Classified and Explained, xi, lxxxiii, 25, 27, 61, 73
Jars, sacred, 193, 194, 218
Jewels, xxxv, lxvii, 5, 51, 54, 56, 57, 58, 66, 67, 68, 118, 119, 130, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 229, 314, 316, 342, 366.
Jewel Ancestor, Chieftains, 133
Jewel Ancestor, His A., 66, 130, 133
Jewel-Good-Princess, 153, 155
Jewel-string, 229
Jih-pén, lxxii, lxxiii
Jim-mu Tenno, xvi, xxxi, lv, lvi, lxi, 4, 6, 7, 28, 157, 162, 164, 167, 170, 172, 174, 176, 181, 183, 220, 276
  legend, lxvii, lxx, lxxvii
  grandfather of, lxvii
  age of, 185
  burial of, 185
  see also under Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto
Jin-go Kō-gō, xxiv, xxxvi, lvii, lxv, lxviii, lxxvii, 6, 7, 136, 207, 276, 281, 284, 285, 289, 291, 316
  conquers Korea, lxxvii, 281, 282
  husband of, lvii, lviii, lxxvii
  practises birth control, 281, 282, 283
  subdues Yamato, 285, 286, 287
Jin-kō, lxxxii
Junk, 282

Kabura-zaki, 167
Kachi-do-hime, 284
Kadzura japonica, xxxix, 309
Kazuraki, 185, 189, 191, 197, 334, 372, 395
Kadzaraki-be, (Tribe), 325
Kadzuraki, Great Deity of, lv, lxv,

385, 386, 387
Kadzuraki, King, 411
Kadzuraki, Mount, 384, 386
Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko, 200
Kadzuraki-no-so-tsu-biko, 324
Kadzuraki-no-Takachina-bime-no-mikoto, 197
Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime, 206
Kadzuraki-no-tarumi, (Noble), 202
Kadzu, 296, 297.
Kadzunu, 108
Kadzunu no wake, (Lords of), 205
Kadzusa, Province of, 60, 61, 62, 185, 191, 235
Kaempfer, lxi
Kafuchi, 196, 212, 269, 291, 323, 347, 357, 376, 395, 410
Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, 410
Kaga, Province of, 73, 200
Kagami-tsukuri-no-murazhi, 132
Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami, 109
Kagayo-hime, 107
Kagosaka no miko, (King), 274, 276, 285
Kago-yori-ihme no mikoto, (Princess), 244
Kagu, Mount, lxiii, 36, 37, 67, 69, 120, 260, 261
Ka-guro-hime, (Princess), 245, 246, 273, 274, 295
Kagu-tsu-chi, 36
Kagu-ya-hime, Her A., 175, 222
Kaha-be, (Tribe), 357
Kahachi, Province of, 160, 183, 186, 199, 200, 208, 223, 294, 326, 348
Kahakami be, (Tribe), 223
Kahakami, Palace of, 223
Kahakami, Village of, 205
Kaha-mata-bime, (Princess), 186
Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime, (Princess), 207
Kahanobe no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Kaharada-no-iratsume, 295
Kahase no toneri, (Retainers), 375
Kahi, Land of, 205, 259
Kahibara Tokushin, lxxix, lxxxiii
Kahi-dako, 411
Kahi no iratsume, (Lady of), 354
Kahi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of the land of), 205
Kai-Kuwa Tenno, 201
Kakinomoto Hitomaru, 190
Kakinomoto no omi,(Grandees of), 190
Kama, Mount, 161
Kamafu-no-inaki, (Lords of), 62
Kamakura no wake,(Lords of), 272
Kama-no-kami, 108
Kami, lxiii, lxiv
Kami, King, 411
Kami-musu-bi-no-kami, or Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto, 17, 71
Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto, 84
Kami-naga-hime, (Princess), 300, 301, 324
Kami-tsu-ke-nu no kimi, (Dukes of), 209
Kami-tsu-Unakamino-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 60
Kamo, Great August Deity of, 98
Kamo no kimi, (Dukes of), 215
Kamu-do-tsurugi, 118
Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami, 106
Kamu-kushi no miko, (King), 244, 247
Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi, His A., 180, 182, 185
Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami, 49
Kamu-oho-ichi-hime, 79

Kamu-oho-ne no miko,(King), 204, 206, 247
Kamu-saki-no-iratsume, 409
Kamu-tsu-michi no omi, (Grandees of), 194
Kamu - ya - tate - hime-no - mikoto, 98
Kamu - yamato - ihare - biko - no - mikoto, lv, 5, 15, 155, 157, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180
age of, 185
burial of, 185
Kamu-yawi-mimi, His A., 4., 180, 182, 183
Kanahashi, Palace of, 410
Kana-yama-biko-no-kami, 34
Kana-yama-bime-no-kami, 34
Kani - me - ikadzuchi no miko, (King), 206
Kanu, Lords of, 205
Kara, 306
Kara-fukuro, 373
Kara-fukuro, children of, 403
Kara, Land of, 135
Kara no kami, (Deity), 106
Kara, Princess, 371, 375
Karanu, the ship, 345, 846
Karawoka, 408
Kari-bata-tobe, 202, 222
Karibawi, 374
Karu, 195, 220
Karu-be, (Tribe), 357
Karu, Land of, 188
Karu, Prince, xliii
Karu, pool of, 232
Karu-be no omi, (Grandees of), 198.
Karu no miko, (King), 354, 357, 358, 359, 361, 365, 363
Karu - no - oho - iratsume, (Lady), 355, 358
Karushima, 291
Kasa no omi, (Grandees of) ,194, 195
Kasanuhi, King, 410
Kasanuhi, Queen, 412
Kasasa, Cape of, 135, 136, 138
Kashi Spur, 185
Kashibara or Kashihabara, 175, 176
Kashifu, 304
Kashihade no omi, (Grandees of), 197
Kashihi, Palace of, 276, 277
Kasuga, 192, 201, 203, 387
Kasuga, King, 412
Kasuga-no-chiji - haya - ma - waka - hime, (Princess), 192
Kasugabe no kimi, (Dukes of), 225
Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, 412
Kasuga - no - oho - iratsume, (Princess), 408
Kasuga no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome, 203
Kasuga-no- yamada - no - iratsume, (Princess), 408, 411
Kasuga no yama no kimi, (Mountain Dukes of), 225
Katabu, Duke of Miwo, 409
Kataji no miko, (King), 295
Kata-shita, 186
Katashiha no miko, (King), 322
Katsura-no-ki, 114
Katawoka, 195, 407
Kawara Point, 310, 311
Kaya, Moor of, 373, 403
Kaya-nu-hime-no-kami, 32
Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami, 30
Keichiu, or Kei-Chiyu, xi, lxxxiv,

92, 93, 96, 304, 341, 345, 364
Kehi no oho-kami, 289
Kei-ko, (Year period), lxxvii
Kei-kō Tenno, xxiv, lvii, 197, 220, 243, 245, 247, 248, 252, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 267, 270, 274. 389
Kempermann, Mr., ii
Ken-kō, 9, 10
Ken-zō Tenno, xvii, 402, 405, 406, 407
Keta, Cape, 82
Ki, Land of, 61, 85, 161, 208, 233, 236, 247, 293, 331
Ki, Lord of, 197
Ki, Ruler of the Land of, 208
Ki-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61
Ki-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko no oya, 197
Ki-no-mata-no-kami, 90
Ki no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Ki no Tsunu no sukune, 199
Ki no Tsurayuki, lxxxii
Kibi, 28, 158, 193, 194, 224, 271, 328, 330, 331
Kibi, Chiefs, lv
Kibi, Great Prince of, 193
Kibi, Prince of, 243
Kibi, the Young Prince the Brave Prince of, 193
Kibi no Homuji no kimi, 207
Kibi no omi, (Grandees of), 243, 254, 271
Kibi no ye-hiko no mikoto, (King), 244
Kidzuki no oho-yashiro, 237
Kihe, Land of, 61
Kihe-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 62
Kihisa-tsu-mi, 236
Kim-mei Tenno, 410
Ki-nashi, 354, 357
Kingfisher, xxxvii, 117
Kirishima-yama, 134
Kisa-gahi-hime, 84
Kishi-be, (Clan), 286
Kishida no Omi, (Grandees of), 199
Kishiu, 58, 59
Kisu-mimi, His A., 176
Kitashi-hime, (Princess), 411
Kitchen, Deity of, lxxviii
Kiujiki, 397
Kiushu, liv, lxxii, lxxviii, 273, 276
Kiyo-hiko, 316
Kiyomihara, Palace of, 8, 10
Knives, xxviii
Knot-grass, xxxviii
Ko, Island of, 28
Kō-An Tenno, 191
Kodo Taii, iv
Ko Gan Sho, xi, lxxxiv, 93, 345
Kō-Gen Tenno, 195
Kogoto, 354
Kohada, Maiden of, 302, 303
Kohata, Village of, 297
Kojiki, see under *Records of Ancient Matters.*
Koma, 281
Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu, 356
Komuku no iratsune, (Lady), 292
Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime, 79
Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime, 138
Konomoto, The Deity that Dwells at, 36
Korai, 282
Korea, xxxvi, xlii, lvii, lxv, lxviii, lxxvii, 13, 27, 104, 105, 106, 135, 136, 216, 276, 278, 281, 282, 291, 334
Korea, tribute from, 305, 306
Korean Histories, lxxvii

Korean Language, lxxx
Korean Physician, 356
Kō-Rei Tenno, 192, 245
Koromo no wake, (Lords of), 224, 225
Kose no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Kose no Wo-Kara no sukune, (The Noble), 198
Koshi, 73, 90, 91, 195
Koshi, Circuit of, 216, 219, 225, 233
Koshihaki, 377
Koshi, Road of, 288
Koshi no Tonami no omi, (Grandees of), 195
Ko Shi Tsu, lix, lxxxiv
Kō-Shō Tenno, 189
Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 98
Koto-toke-no-wo, 30
Kozhima, 331
Kuchi-hime, (Princess), 337, 338
Kuchiko, 335
Kuchiko no omi, (Grandees of), 335, 338
Kudara, 281, 282, 305, 306
Kudara, Pool of, 305
Kuda-tama, xxxvi
Kugamimi-no-mikasa, 216
Kuhada, King, 412
Kuhada, Queen, 412
Kuhana, 116
Kuhashi-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 192
Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko, (King), 273, 274
Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami, 111
Kukuma-mori-hime, (Princess), 271
Kuku-no-chi-no-kami, 32
Kuku-toshi-no-kami, 111
Kumano or Kumanu, 58, 59, 162, 163
Kumanu, His Wondrous Augustness of, 58
Kumaso bravoes, 249
slain, 250–252
Kumaso, Land of, 27, 277
Kumata, 273
Kume, King, 413
Kume, Lords of, 135, 168
Kume no atahe, (Suzerains of), 135, 270
Kume no Ma-ito-hime, (Princess), 199
Kumu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami, 125
Kuni-kata-hime, (Princess), 209
Kuni-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami, 31
Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami, 33
Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, 31
Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami, 32
Kuni-no-sa-giri-no-kami, 33
Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 18, 19
Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami, 99
Kunisaki no omi, (Grandees of), 195
Kunu no miko, (King), 322
Kurahashi, 413
Kurahashi, Mount, 342
Kura-Mitsuha, Deity, 38
Kura-no-waka-ye, King, 410
Kura-Okami, Deity, 38
Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Kure, 375
Kure-hara, 375, 376
Kuro-hiko, (King), 354, 355, 370
Kuro-hime, (Princess), 328, 329, 330, 347, 409

Kuro-ikadzuchi, 42
Kurube omi, (Grandees of), 198
Kuruda, 192
Kurukoha Saneyori, lxxxiii
Kusaka, 160, 223, 376, 378
Kusaka-be, (Tribe), 205
Kusaka, King of Great, 325
Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami, 132
Kushi-Inada-hime, 73
Kushi-mi-gata, His A., 212
Kushi-tsunu-wake, (King), 243, 246
Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami, 125
Kusuba, Ferry of, 219
Kusuba, River, 374
Kusubi-no-iratsume, 408
Kuta, 373
Kuwam-mu Tenno, xvi
Kuye-biko, (King), 103
Kuzhifuru, Peak of, 134

Labourers Tribe, 248
Lacquer, xlviii
Land-Great-Wealth, Deity, 99
Language, the Japanese, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxix, lxxx
Lao Tzu, 11
Lark, xxxix, 341
Latrines, xxxi
Leech Child, 23, 35
Le Gendre, General, lxix
Lespedeza, xxxviii, 46
Life-Integrating-Deity, 20
Lily, xxxviii, 179, 180
Liquor, 289, 290, 291, 304, 307, 317, 348, 351, 393
Little - prince - fierce - boar -heart, 196
Little - Prince-the -Renowned-Deity, 102, 103, 104, 105
dies, 104
Little Shore, discussion on the, 6
Liturgies, 68
Livistona sinensis, xxxix, 238
Long-shank, Prince, 160
Loochoo Islands, 104
Loosen-Put, Deity, 47
Lord - Stem-Tree - Young - House-Rope, Deity, 111
Lord-Young-House-Rope, Deity, 111
Lotus, xxxix
Louse, xxxvii, 88
Lovely-Island-Princess, 57, 59
Lovely-Princess, 25
Luck, Exchange of, 143
Luck-Spirit, Princess, 100
Lun Yu, xlix
Lute, 277, 278, 344, 345, 346
Lute, A heavenly-speaking, 88, 89
Luxuriant - August - Food - Master, His A. 155
Luxuriant-Food, Deity of, 131
Luxuriant - Food - Princess, Deity, 35
Luxuriant - Integrating - Master - Deity, 19
Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, 146, 147, 151, 152, 153, 154
Luxuriant-Reed -Plains-the-Land-of - Fresh - Rice - Ears - of - a - Thousand-Autumns-of-Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns, Land of, 111, 112, 129
Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, 132
Luxuriant Snapping Deity, 38
Luxuriant-Sun-Youth, Land of, 27

Mabuchi, ix, lxxxii, lxxxiii, 19, 27, 39, 50, 51, 70, 80, 84, 88, 107, 108, 128, 131, 132, 159,

172, 227, 229, 234, 261, 262, 280, 287, 291, 300, 304, 317, 333, 334, 367, 392
Madder, xxxiv, xxxviii
Magari, 410
Magari, Ancestor of the Dukes of, 205
Maga-tama, xxxvi, lxxix
Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended, Deity, 40, 119
Makimuku, 243
Male-who-invites, see Izanagi
Mammals, xxxvii
Mamuta, 326
Mamuta, King, 413
Mamuta-no-iratsume, 409
Mamuta, no murazhi (Chieftains of), 183
Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume, 409
Manago, Vale of, 189
Manu, King, 411
Mantchu, i
Maiden-of-Idzushi, Deity, 317, 318, 319
Maroko, King, 411, 412
Maroko, Prince, 409
Marriage, xliii, xlv, 279
Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mi-koto, 57
Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Masa no obito, (Headmen of), 272
Master-of-Shiki-Yama, Deity, 101
Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-heaven, Deity of, 4, 15, 17
Master-of-the-Great-Land, Deity, 79, 81, 89, 97, 98, 102, 105, 112, 113, 121, 122, 123
various names of, 81
Master-of-the-Open-Mouth, Deity, 47
Master-of-the-temple-of-Inada Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga, 78
Master-of-Trouble, Deity, 47
Masu, Lady, 205
Mata, Prince, lxxxii
Mata-maroko, King, 411
Mato, Princess, 199
Motonu-hime, (Princess), 205, 239
Matsuchi-yama, 236
Matsu-no-wo, 108
Matsura-gata, (Department of), 284
Matsushita Ken-rin, lxxxi, lxxxiii
Mausoleum, 154, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 195, 200, 208, 220, 241, 242, 257, 267, 268, 269, 270, 274, 275, 291, 322, 353, 354, 357, 369, 395, 403, 406, 408, 410, 412, 413
Ma-waka, King, 204, 206, 245
Ma-waka, Prince, 408
Ma-Yowa, King, 369, 370
Medori no miko, (Queen), 294, 340, 341, 342
Medusa, xxxviii
Meko-no-iratsume, 409
Mencius, 5, 40
Metal-Mountain-Prince, Deity, 34
Metal-Mountain-Princess, Deity, 34
Mibu-be, (Tribe), 325
Michi-no-naga-chi-ha-no-kami, 47
Michi-no-Omi, His A., 168
Michi-no-ushi-hime, (Princess), 239
Michinoku, 184
Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko, 184
Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami, 45
Middle-Possessing-Male, 280

Midzu-gaki, Palace of, 208
Midzu-ha-wake, (King), 350, 351, 353
kills Sobakari, 351
Midzu-maki-no-kami, 110
Midzuho-no-ma-waka no miko, (King), 204, 206
Midzuha-wake, 326
Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime, 204
Mifune-no-Mahito, xvi
Mihakashi bime, (Princess), 245
Mihara no iratsume, (Lady), 293, 322
Mihe, 393
Mihe, Village of, 264, 265
Miho, Cape, 102, 121
Mi-kado-wake, King, 205
Mikage, The Heavenly Deity, 203
Mikaha, Province of, 206, 225, 272
Mikaha-no-ho-no-wake, 206
Mika-haya-bi-no-kami, 38
Mikakuri, 395
Mikami, Deacons of, 203
Mika-nushi-hiko-no-kami, 100
Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 155
Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami, 289
Mikuni no kimi, (Dukes of), 322
Mi-kura-tana-no-kami, 52
Millet, xxxiv, xxxviii, 71, 172, 173
birth of, 71
Milne, Prof., xxxvi, lxxix, 170
Mima-ki-iri, Prince, 217, 220
Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe, 201, 202, 208
Mima no miko, (King), 347
Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine, His A. 188, 189
Mima-tsu-hime, 201, 209
Mimi, Lords of, 205
Mimi, Prince, 409
Mimi-tsu-hime, 204
Mimoro, 336
Mimoro, Mount, 106, 212
Mina-be no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the), 207
Minamoto no Shitagafu, lxxxiii
Minato-no-kami, 31
Mino, Province of, 118
Minu, Land of, 118, 233
Minu no inaki, (Territorial Lords of), 187
Minu no iratsume, 293
Minu no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the Land of), 206, 247
Minu no wake, (Lords of), 224
Minu, Prince of, 293
Minu, Village of, 212
Miraculous, Cessation of the, lviii
Mira-na-mi-no-kami, 100
Miro-na-mi, Deity, 101
Mirror, 5, 66, 67, 68, 70, 130, 131, 316, 317, 366, 393
Mirror-Making Chieftains, 132
Misasaki, 155
Mi-shima, 298, 299
Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take, Prince, 253
Mitachi, 241
Mi-toshi-no-kami, 107
Mitsu, Cape, 332
Mitsu-go, Islands of, 26
Mitsuhanome, Deity, 35
Miwa, 177
Miwa, Great Deity of, lv, lvi, lxv, 177, 212, 215
Miwa, Mount, 215
Miwa no kimi (Dukes of), 215
Miwa-no-oho-mono-nushi-no-kami, 177
Miwa, River, 379

Mi-wi-no-kami, 90
Miwi, Palace of, 187
Miwo no kimi (Dukes of), 225, 408
Miya, lxvi, 334
Miyadzu-hime (Princess), 255, 267
Miyaji no wake (Lords of), 272
Miyake no murazhi (Ancestor of the Chiefs of), 240
Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye, Princess, 294 296, 297, 298
Miyazu, xlviii
Miyazu, Princess, 260, 262
Mizokuhi, 177
Mofusu, Mound of, 323
Momo-shiki-iro-be, 321
Mone no Ajisaha-bime, 206
Mongolian, i
Mononobe-no-arakawi, Chieftain, 409
Mononobe no murazhi, 175
Moon, 4
Moon-God, liii, lxxviii, 5
Moon-Night-Possessor, 50, 52
Moors, Deity of, 32
Moor-Elder, Deity, 32
Moribe, Tachibana no, a scholar very frequently referred to in the notes throughout the book.
Mori no kimi (Dukes of), 246
Mortar, xxviii, 243, 291, 304
Moss, xxxviii
Moth, 102, 103
Motosu no kuni no miyatsuko (Rulers ot the Land of), 206
Motowori Norinaga, spelt Motoori by Satow, a scholar referred to in the notes on nearly every page of this book.
Mount Mourning, 118
Mountain and Sea Classic, lxxxv, 92
Mountains, Deites of the, lxv, 32, 36
Mountains, the Heavenlv Metal, 65
Mountain Tribe, 305
Mountain Warden Tribe, 305
Mourning House, 116, 113
Mourning Implements, 87
Mourning Vessel, 285
Mouse, xxxvii, 87
Mo-yama, 118
Mozu, 323, 353
Mozu, Ear-Moor of, 346, 347, 354
Mud-Earth-Lady-Deity, 19
Mud-Earth-Lord-Deity, 19
Mugetsu no kimi (Dukes of), 248
Munakata, no kimi (Dukes of), 59
Munakata, Temple of, 59, 98
Muragata no kimi (Duke of), 300, 325
Murakami Tadanori, ix
Murakami Tadayoshi, lxxxiv
Mure no wake (Lords of), 224
Muretsu Tenno, 184, 398, 408
Muro, 191
Muro-biko, (King), 203
Muro-biko no miko, (King), 203 205
Musashi, Land of, 60, 80
Music, xlviii
Musk-melon, xxxix, 252
Muza no omi, (Grandees of), 191
Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of the Land of), 60
Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess, 128

Nabari no inaki, (Territorial Lords of), 187
Nagahata-be no murazhi, (Chiefs of), 206
Naga-hime, (Princess), 294

Nagahi-hime, (Princess), 325
Nagaho, Palace of, 237
Naga-me-hime, 409
Nagasa no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the Land of), 184, 185
Nagasune-hiko, 160
Nagata-no-oho-iratsume, 354, 368
Nagaye, 291, 357
Naka, Rulers of the Land of, 184
Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 49, 280
Nakatomi-no-murazhi, (Chieftains), 132
Naka-tsu, King, 412
Naka-tsu-hiko-no miko,(King), 322
Naka-tsu-hime, (Princess), 292
Naki-saha-me-no-kami, 37
Names, xliv
Names rectified, 356, 357
Namihaya Crossing, 159
Namiki, Palace of, 408
Namiye Motokichi, xii
Na-naki-me, 114
Nana-tsuka-hagi, 270
Naniha, 286, 300, 315, 324, 329, 332, 333
Naniha Channel, 326
Naniha, King, 412
Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma, 286
Naniha no miko, (Queen), 402
Naniha, Palace of, 348
Nara, 235, 333, 334
Nara-ikadzuchi, 42
Nara Mountain, 312, 333
Natsu-no-me-no-kami, 110
Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami, 110
Navigation, xxviii
Neck Clan, Grandees of, 175
Necklaces, xxxiv, 51, 52
Needles, xxxiv
Ne-no-kata-su-kuni, 53
Ne no omi, (Grandees of), 367, 368
Ne-saku no-kami, 37
Nether Distant Land, 53, 86
Netori, His A., 293, 322
Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names, 183, 184
Night, Dominion of the, 52
Nigi-hayabi, 174, 175
Niha no omi, (Grandees of), 185
Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami, 109
Nihe-motsu--no-Ko, 166, 174
Nihibari (Nihiharu), 259
Nihon Shoki 41, 56
Nihongi (see also Chronicles), iii, xviii, 12, 39, 43, 44, 54, 284, 397
Nika-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 49
Nim-pan, 307
Nin-ken Tenno, 407
Nintoku Tenno, xl, lviii, 7, 15, 184, 293, 324, 325, 327, 328, 331, 335, 339, 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347
Nobo, Moor of, 265
Nomi no Sukune, 242
Norito, see Rituals
Notes an Japanese Archaeology, 242
Noto no omi (Grandees of), 210
Noto, Province of, 73, 225
Nubata-no-iri-biko, 221
Nubata-no-iri-bime, Her A., 222
Nu-dzu-chi-no-kami, 32
Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki, 295
Nukade-hime (Princess), 412
Nukade-hime (Queen), 412
Nuka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume (Princess), 408
Nukako-no-iratsume(Princess),411
Nukata-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko, 292

Nukatabe - no - yuwe - no-murazhi, 61
Nuna-kaha, Princess, 90, 91, 92, song sung by, 93, 94
Nuna-kawa-hime, 91
Nunaki no iratsume (Lady), 244
Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime, Her A., 209
Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki, 410, 411, 412
Nu-no-iro-hime (Princess), 200
Nunoshi - tomi - tori - naru-mi-no-kami (Deity), 101
Nunoshiro no iratsume (Lady), 244
Nurinomi, 334, 338
Nu-tarashi-wake, His A., 221
Nuye, xxxvii, 91, 92

Oak, xxxviii, xxxix, 234, 235, 252, 285, 301, 378
Oar, xxix
Oaths, lxvi
Obscenity, xlvii-xlviii
Ocean, God of, lv
Ocean-Possessing Deities, 50
Ochikuni, 240
Ochi-wake no miko, (King), 222, 224
Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Offering-bearing-child, 166
Offerings to Gods, lxv, lxvi, 68, 213
Offing-Distant, Deity, 48
Offspring of the Heavenly Deity, short lived, 140
Ofushi, Chieftain, 409
Ofushi-kafuchi, Land of, 61
Ofuwo, The maiden, 399
Ohari no niha no omi, (Grandees of), 185
Oha-ya-biko-no-kami, 85
Oha-ama-hime, 209
Oh-Awful-lady-Deity, 20
Oho-aya-tsu-bi, 30
Oho-be-hime-no-kami, 108
Oho-biko, 196, 209, 215, 216, 217, 219
Ohodo, His A., 408
Oho-ge-tsu-hime, 26
Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami, 71
Oho-gitashi-hime, 412
Oho-ha-kari, 118
Oho-harahi norito, 63
Ohohara no iratsume, (Princess), 292
Oho-hatsuse, His A., 355, 406, 408
Oho-hatsuse, Prince, 367 370, 371, 373, 374, 375, 406
Oho-haye no miko, (King), 295
Ohoka, Headman of Ise, 412
Oho-hime, 205
Oho-hodo, King, 354
Oho-hodo no mikoto, (King), 321
Oho-ikadzuchi, 42
Oho-ina-biko, 197
Oho-ira-tsuko, 321, 408
Oho-iratsume, (Princess), 409
Oho-iri-ki, His A., 209, 210
Oho - kaga - yama - to-omi-no-kami, 107
Ohoke, Prince, 374, 396, 399, 401, 402, 406, 407, 409, 410.
Oho - kibi - no - moro-susumi, 191, 193
Oho-kibi-take, 271
Oho-kibi-tsu-biko, 193, 194
Ohokida, Dukes of, 183, 184
Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami, 29
Oho-Kume, His A., 168, 176, 178, 179
Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami, 106
Oho-kuni-nushi no-kami, lxiv, 81,

89, 113, 117, 234, 236, 237, 316
Oho-kusaka-be, (Tribe), 326
Oho-kusaka-no miko, (King), 325, 326, 367, 368, 369, 375
Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami, 49
Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune no omi, (Grandee the Noble), 360, 361, 362
Oho-mata no miko, (King), 202, 204, 412
Ohomata, Queen, 412
Ohome, 192
Oho-nabi, 197
Oho-nagata no miko, (King), 274
Oho-naho-bi-no-kami, 49
Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, His A., 221, 223
Oho-naka-tsu-hime, (Princess), 274
Oho-na-muji-no-kami, 81
Oho no omi, (Grandees of), 183
Oho-Nu-De-Hime, Island of, 29
Ohonu, Mound of, 413
Ohosaka, 159, 235
Ohosaka, Deity of, 213
Ohosaka, Mountain, 349, 351
Ohosaka no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Oho-sazaki no mikoto, 15, 184, 293, 295, 296, 300, 303, 304, 308, 312, 313, 324, 325, 341
Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miya-tsuko, 61
Ohosumi, Province of, 136, 142
Ohotaka, 223
Oho-Tamaru-Wake, Island of, 29
Oho-tamu-saka no miko, (King), 207, 271
Ohota no kimi, (Dukes of), 246
Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, His A., 221, 223, 243, 246, 251, 273
Ohotate, Chief, 342, 343
Oho-tata-ne-ko, lvi, 211, 212, 214, 215
Oho-tomato-hiko-no-kami, 33
Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami, 33
Ohotomo-no-kanamura. 409
Ohotomo no murazhi, (Chieftains), 135, 168
Ohotomo, Prince, 3, 8. 9
Oho-tomo, Queen, 411
Oho-tomo-wake, 276
Oho-to-bi-wake-no-kami, 30
Oho-to-no-be-no-kami, 20
Oho-to-no-ji-no-kami, 20
Oho-toshi-no-kami, 79
Oho-tsuchi-no-kami, I09
Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne no miko, (King), 202, 222
Oho-usu, His A., 243, 247
Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 31
Ohowiko, Moor of, 335, 336
Oho-ya-biko-no-kami, 30
Oho-yake, King, 411
Ohoyake no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Oho-yama-kuhi-no-kami, 108
Oho-yama-mori, 292, 296, 308, 309, 310, 312
Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 32, 72
Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 188. 192, 193
Oho-yamato-kiko-suki-tomo, 186, 187, 188
Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni, His A., 192
Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru, 192, 193, 195
Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito, His A., 190
Oho-yamato-toyo-aki-dzu-shima,

27
Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 32
Oho-ya-shima-kuni, 28
Ohoye-no-izaho-wake, 324
Oho-ye no miko, (King), 246, 274
Ohoyuwe-be, (Clan), 238
Ō-jin Tenno, xiii, xlix, lviii, 15, 195, 200, 276, 277, 285, 289, 291, 293, 295, 296, 300, 303, 304, 305, 308, 312, 313, 315, 317, 321, 323, 346
drunk, 307
Okami-no-kami, (Deity), 80, 100
Oke-tsu-hime, 201
Oki, Island of, 26, 82
Oki-me, 402, 403, 404
Okinaga - hiko - no - miko, (King Prince), 207
Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime, (Princess), 273, 294
Okinaga no kimi, (Dukes), 322
Okinaga-no-ma-de, King, 412
Okinaga no-mate, Prince, 409
Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime, 203
Okinaga no sukune no miko, (King Noble), 206
Okinaga-tarashi-hime, (Princess), 206, 276, 277, 285, 286, 289, 316
Okinaga - ta - wake - no - mikoto, (King), 272, 273
Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami, (Deity), 107, 109, 110
Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, Her A., 107, 109, 110
Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami, 48
Oki-tsu-nagisa-biho-no-kami, 48
Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto, 57
Oki-tsu-yoso. 189
Okuyama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Okurina, xvi
Oki-zakura-no-kami, 48
Omi, Province of, 61
O-midzu-nu-no-kami, 80
Omina-ko-no-iratsume, 412
Omo-daru-no-kami, 20
Omohi-kane-no-kami, 65
"One Account" of the "Chronicles of Japan," 30
Onogoro, Island of, 21, 22, 28, 35, 329
Orange, xxxix, xl, lvi, 104, 301, 240, 241, 271
Osaka-be, (Tribe), 357
Osaka, Cave of, 170, 171
Osaka-no-hiko-hito, (King), 412
Osaka - no - oho - naka - tsu - hime, (Princess), 295, 321, 354
Osaka, The Great Middle Princess of, 321
Oshiha no miko, (King), 347
Oshiha, Prince, 373, 374
Oshika-hime-no-mikoto, (Princess), 191
Oshikuma no miko, (King), 274, 276, 285, 386, 287
Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (King), 248
Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko (King), 248
Oshi-no-wake, His A., 244
Oshinumi, 395
Oshinumi-be no miyatsuko (Rulers of), 207
Oshi-numi-no-iratsume (Princess), 395
Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba, 207
Oto - hime - ma - waka - hime (Princess), 321
Oto-hime no mikoto, Her A., 231 239, 245, 248, 273, 292, 354
Oto-karibata-tobe, 222
Otokuni, 240
Otoshiki, 174

Oto - tachibana - hime - no - mikoto (Princess), 256, 271
Oto - takara - no - iratsume, (Lady), 274, 275
Owl, 293
Oyster, xxxix, 364

Pagrus cardinalis, xxxviii, 148
Palace, xxix, xxx, xxxii
P'an Ku, lxxviii
Parturition Houses, xxxii, xliv, 45, 141, 152, 293
Passive and Active Essence, 4
Peach, xxxviii, 43, 44
Pearls, 316
People with tails, 166
Perch, xxxviii, 126
Peregrine falcon, xxxix, 294
Perfect-Exterior-Deity, 20
"Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," xi, lxxxiv, 68, 117, 165, 171
Pestilence, 211
Pestle, xxviii
Pheasant, xxxvii, 91, 117
Pheasant the Name-Crying-Female 114, 116
  killed, 115
Photinia glabra, xxxviii, 169
Pine-tree, xxxix
Pits, xxxiii, 171
Plain of High Heaven, 17, 51, 129
  shakes, 70
Platters, 213
Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder, Deity, 18
Plenty-Swift, Deity, 175
Plover, xxxvii, xl
Plum-tree, xl
Podocarpus macrophylla, xxxix, 281
Poems, xlviii. See also under Songs, and for the Japanese texts see Appendix i
Porcelain, xlviii
Porpoise, xxxvii
Possessor - of - Descent-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor-of-the-Dense (ly wooded) -Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor - of - the - Innermost - Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor - of - the - Ocean - Bottom, Deity, 49
Possessor - of - the - Ocean-Middle, Deity, 49
Possessor - of - the - Ocean - Surface, Deity, 49
Possessor - of - the - Outer - Mountains, Deity, 40
Possessor - of-the-Outlying-Mountains, Deity, 39
Possessor - or - the - True - Pass - Mountains, Deity, 39, 40
Poverty, 327
Prayers, lxii, lxvi
Priests, lxvi
Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice, 25
Prince-Lord-of-Life, 58
Prince-Lord-of-Heaven, 58, 61
Prince-of-Long-Wind, Deity, 32
Prince-Swift-Autumn, Deity, 31
Prince - valorously - advancing - prince, 193
Prince-vast-great-truth, 196
Princess - Blossoming - Brilliantly, Like - the - Flowers - of - the - Trees, 138, 139, 140, 141

Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, 79, 139
Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit, Deity, 100
Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks, 139, 140
Princess-of-Great-Food, Deity, 25, 34, 110
  killed, 71
Princess-of-Swift-Autumn, Deity, 31
Princess-of-the-Island-of-the-Offing, 57
Princess-of-the-Torrent, 57, 59
Pryer, Mr, 93
Pueraria Thunbergiana, xxx, xxxix, 297
Punishments, xlvii
Purification, 287

Quail, xxxix
Quern, xxviii, 343,
Quivers, Heavenly-rock-, 134

Radish, xxxix, 336
Raven, xxxvii
"Records of Ancient Matters," throughout translator's introduction, 3, 8, 22, 66, 78, 181, 225, 245, 255, 268, 302, 317, 401
  Decree ordering compilation of, 11, 13
  Editions of, viii, ix
  Exposition of by Motowori, ix
  first printed in the year 1644, viii
  in the Divine Characters, x, lxxxiv
  in the Syllabic Characters, ix, lxxxiv
  Method of compilation, 14
  revised, x, lxxxiv, 116
  Text and its authenticity, iv
  with Marginal Notes, ix
  with Marginal Readings, ix, lxxxiv
  with the ancient reading, ix, x, 41
Red-throated Quail, xxxix
Reed, xxxix
Reed, Sir Edward, lxix
Reed-Plains, Central Land of, 112 113, 114, 121, 123, 127, 129
Reed-Plains, Deity of the, 81
Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, Deity, 109
Refulgent-Princess, 107
Relationships, xli, xlii, xliii
Religion of the Early Japanese, lxii
Religious rites, lxv, lxvi
Reptiles, xxxvii
Revival of Pure Shinto, iv
Rice, xxxiii, xxxix, 201, 284, 291
Rice-Castle, xxxiii, 227
Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty, Prince, 129, 133, 139, 141
Rice-seeds born, 71
Rice-Ear-True-Youth, 24
Ri-chiū Tenno, 325, 347, 348, 350, 352, 353, 398
  intoxicated, 348
  attempted assassination of, 348
Rituals, xxxvii, lxvi, 68, 75, 109, 122, 255, 318
Ritual for averting fire, 31, 34
Ritual of the General Purification, lxxxiv, 30, 63, 132, 279
Ritual of the Praying for Harvest, 12
Rivers, Deities of the, lxv
River of Heaven, lxx, lxxviii, 6, 56, 65, 112, 115, 120
Road-Fork-Deity, 47
Road-Long-Space-Deity, 47
Road-Reaching-Great-Deity, 45
Rock-princess, 324

Rock, a thousand-draught, 44
Rock-Dwelling, the Heavenly, 119, 130
Rock-Earth-Prince, Deity, 29
Rock-Elder-Male-Deity, 37
Rock-Nest-Princess, Deity, 30
Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity, 37
Rock-Splitter, Deity, 37, 38
Root-Splitter, Deity, 37,
Rough Augûst Spirits, 282
Rudder, xxix
Rugs of silk, xxxi
Rugs of skin, xxxi
Rumbling-Thunder, Deity, 42

Sabre, a heavenly, 6
Sabre, ten-grasp, 118, 144
Sado, Island of, 27
Sagami, see Sagamu.
Sagamu, Land of, 255, 257, 258, 272
Sagamu, Ruler of, 255
Sagara, 333
Sagaraka, 239, 240
Sagariki, 240
Sage-Deity, 106, 107
Sagisu, Pool of, 234
Sahaji-hime, 203, 221
Sahi-mochi-no-kami, 150
Saho, 224, 225
Saho-biko no miko, (King), 203, 205, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231
Saho-bime, Her A., 203, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230,231
Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome, 203
Sai-so, 306
Sakabe Abiko, 247
Sakabe of Uda, 247
Sakahi, 354
Sakahi-bara, Palace of, 195
Sakahi-be no murazhi, 183
Sakahi, Chieftains of the Tribe of, 183
Sakahiwo, Palace of, 188
Sakamoto, Grandees of, 199, 367
Saka-nobori, King, 412
Sakata no Kaneyasu, ix, lxxxiv
Sakata no-oho-mata, Prince, 409
Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi, (Dukes), 322
Sakate, Pool of, 248
Sakawori, Palace of, 259
Sakawori, Pool of, 220
Sake, xxxiv, 74, 289, 290, 305
Saketsu, Island of, 329
Saki, 242, 275
Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, King, 411
Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 62
Sakikusa-no-wake, (Lcrds of), 224
Saki-tama-bime, 100
Saki-tsu-mi, 315
Saku-ikadzuchi, 42
Sakurawi, Grandees of, 199
Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi, 294
Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari, King, 411, 412
Salt, 346
Salt-Possessor-Deity, 144, 145, 146
Sana, Ancestor of the rulers of, 204
Sanagata, 132
Sandpiper, xxxvii, xl
Sane no miko, (King), 321
Sanugi, Prince sufficing Lord of, 202
Sanugi-tari-ne no miko, (King), 202
Sanuki, Land of, 24, 25, 202, 272
Saru, Duchesses of, 132, 136. 137,

138
Saru me no kimi, 132
Saruta, Deity Prince of, 130, 136, 137
drowned, 137
Saruto-biko-no-kami, 130
Sasa, 205
Sasage-no-iratsume, 409
Sasaki, Dukes of Yama of, 373
Sasaki Tribe, Grandees of the, 184
Rulers of the, 184
Sasanami, 287
Sashibu, xxxix. 333
Sasu-kuni-Oho (no) kami, or Sashi- etc., 81
Sasu-kuni-waka-hime, or Sashi-kuni-waka-hime, 81
Satow, Sir Ernest, ii, iv, xii, xxvii, xxxii, xxxvii, xli, xlvii, lxvii, lxxvii, lxxxi, lxxxv, 12, 24, 54, 66, 67, 69, 75, 77, 109, 122, 126, 141, 203, 242, 255, 296, 318
Satow and Hawes Guide Book, 171, 174
Satsuma, Province of, 136, 138, 142, 176
Saw, xxviii
Sawara no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Sawi, River, 179, 180, 181
Sawo-ne-tsu-hiko, 159
Sayama, Pool of, 223
Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-oho-kami, 46
Sa-yori-bime-no-mikoto, 57
Sazaki-be no miyatsuko, 184
Sazaki-be no omi, (Grandees of), 184, 198
Scythian, i
"Sea-ass," xxxvii, 147
Sea, Deities of the, lxv
Sea-Deity, 30, 147, 148, 150
Sea-Deity's Daughter, 145, 146
Sea-God's Palace, lxxviii, 153
Sea-monster, xxxvii
Sea-Plain, 52, 156
Sea-weed, xxxix
Secret of the Chronicles of Japan, 39
Sedge, xxxix
Sei-mu Tenno, lxxvii, 7, 274
Sei-nei Tenno, 395, 396, 398, 402
Seki-hime, 409
Sen-Kuwa Tenno, 410
Serpent, xxxvii
the eight-forked, liii, 73
slain, 75, 130
Serpentine, xxxv
Service of the Goddess of Food 318
Settsu, Province of, 183, 186, 202, 273, 385, 322, 326, 330
Seya-datara, Princess, 177
Shan Hai Ching xxxiv, lxxii, lxxxv
Shark, xxxvii
Sheep, xxxvi
Shibakaki, Palace of, 353, 413
Shibanu-hime, (Princess), 273
Shibanu-iri-ki, 273
Shibi no omi, (Grandees of), 399, 400, 401, 402
Shibumi no Sukune no miko, (King, the Noble of), 202, 205
Shidzu-kahi, King, 411
Shields, lxvi, 213
Shiga, 274
Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Shihida, Dukes of, 410
Shiho hiru tama, 149
Shiho mitsu tama, 149
Shiho-tsuchi no kami, 144
Shiki, 208, 221, 269
Shiki Brethren, 172, 174

Shiki, Departmental Lords of, 186, 188, 376, 377
Shiki no agata-nushi, 186
Shiki, Prince of, 187
Shikishima, Palace of, 410
Shiki-tsu-hiko, 187
Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi, 186
Shikoku, Island of, 24
Shima, Province of, 137, 138
Shimada no kimi, (Dukes of), 246
Shimada no omi, (Grandees of), 185
Shima-tari-ne, 294
Shimesu, 405
Shimosa, Province of, 126
Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi, (Dukes of), 209, 210
Shimo-tsu-michi, Grandees of, 194
Shimo-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 60
Shinaga, 412
Shinaga, Sepulchre of, 413
Shinanu or Shinano, xl, 50, 123, 184, 233, 260
Shinanu (or Shinano) no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers of the land of), 184
Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami, 32
Shining-Elder Deity, 39
Shinto, xlviii, l, lxix
Shinto Discussed Afresh, lxxxiv
Shintoists, modern, lix
Shinto Priests, 203, 212
Shinto Rituals, see also Rituals, i, ii, xxix, lxxiv
Shira-bi-wake, 26
Shiragi, lvii, 281, 282, 305, 313, 356
Shira-hi-no-kami, 106
Shiraka, His A., 375
Shiraka-be, (Clan), 375, 395
Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko, 395
Shirakata, Haven of, 159
Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume, 409
Shiri-kume-naha, 70
Shiritsuki-tome, 292
Shiro-biko no miko, (King), 355
Shiro-biko, Prince, 370
Shiro-kane no miko (Queen), 274
Shita-teru-hime, (Princess), 98, 113
Shiū-O, 9, 10
Shizhimu, 374, 396, 402
Shoki Shukai, 38
Shō-ko, King, 305
Shore-distant Deity, 48
Shotoku Tai-shi, 57
Shrike, 347
Shuttle, xxviii
Sickle, xxviii
Siebold, Mr. Henry von, xxxvi, xlvii lxi, lxxix, 242
Silk Rugs, xxxi, xxxvi
Silkworms, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, 338
  birth of, 71
Silver, xl, 278
Skirts, xxxiv
Slavery, xlvii
Small-August-Deity, lv, lx, lxv, 289
Small-Country, Great-Deity-of-the, 81
Small-Country, Young-Princess-of-the, Deity, 80
Snakes, xxx, xxxvii, 87, 225, 316
Snipe, xxxvii
Sobakari, 350, 351
Sobakari, killed, 352
Soga no Ishikaha, Noble, 198
Soga-no-kura, King, 411
Soga no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Sohori-no-kami, (Deity), 106
Soko-doku-mi-tama, 137

Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 64, 280
Soko-dzutsu-wo, 30
Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 49
Songs, English translations of, lxvi, 91–97, 153, 154, 169–174, 178–182, 217, 231, 253, 257, 259–261, 264–269, 287, 289, 290, 297, 298, 301–305, 307, 310, 311, 328–331, 333–346, 348, 349, 358–366, 378, 380–383, 385, 387–389, 391–394, 397, 399, 400, 404
  Japanese texts of the, See appendix i
Soni, 342
Sora-tsu-hi-daka, 144, 145
Sora-tsu-hime, (Princess), 206, 207
So, Temple of, 237
So-Tohoshi-no-iratsume, (Queen), 355
So-Tohoshi, Princess, 363, 364
So-towori-hime, (Princess), 98
So-tsu-biko, 347
Sounding-Board, 69
Sources of the Ancient Histories, x, lxxxiv, 75
Spears, xxviii, lxvi, 21, 168, 213, 254
Spelling of Japanese and Sinico-Japanese words, lxxxv
Spindle-tree, xxxix, 68, 69
Spinning Damsel, lxxviii
Spirit-of-Food, the August, 79
Spirit-of-the-Living-Land, Deity, 81
Stag, shoulder-blade of, 67
Star-worship, lxviii
Steatite, xxxv
Stem-Elder, Deity, 32
Stem-Harvest, Deity, 111
Stiletto, 226, 227
Stone Age, xxviii
Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, 66
Stone-Coffin Makers, 241, 242
String, xxxv
Succession, lxxi
Suchi, Territorial Lords of, 187
Suga, 58, 76
Sugahara, 241, 369
Suga-kama-yura-domi, 316
Sugano Ason Mamichi, lxxxii
Suga-no-morowo, 316
Sugashiroko-no-iratsume, 413
Suha, Sea of, 123
Suhau, Land of, 62
Suhau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 62
Su-hiji-ni-no-kami, 19, 20
Suiko Kogo, 15, 413
Sui-nin Tenno, xxxi, 203, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 239, 240, 241
Sui-sei Tenno, lvi, 66
Sui-zei Tenno, 185
Su-jin Tenno, lvi, 7, 208, 211, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 235
Su-jun Tenno, 413
Sukuna-biko-na-no-kami, 103
Sukuna-biko-take-wi-gokoro, 196
Sukuna-Mi-Kami, see Small August Deity
Sume-irodo, 411
Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto, (King), 245, 273
Sumera-mikoto, 141
Sumi, Inlet of, 50, 280, 283, 326
Sumi, Middle King of the Inlet of, 324
Sumi, Water Gods of, lv, lxv
Sumi-no-ye, 50
Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu-miko,

(King), 324, 348, 350
attempts to assassinate Ri-chiu Tenno, 348
Sumisaka, Deity of, 213
Sumi-yoshi, 50
Sun, 4
Sun-Deity, child of the, 161
fights with his back to the sun, 161
Sun-Goddess, xxxiii, liii, liv, lv, lx, lxv, lxxviii, 5, 6, 201, 234
Superstitions, lxvii, lxviii
Surface-Possessing-Male, 280
Suruga, 195, 258
Susa-no-Wo, xxvii, liii, liv, lxvii, 5, 55, 56, 59, 62, 106, 127
ravages of, 62–64
weeping of, 52, 53
Suseri-bime, 86
Susukori, 307
Suwe-tsu-mimi, His A., 212
Suwo, Province of, 199
Swan, xxxvii, 232, 233, 268
Swine, xxxvi
Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Lord-Ruler, Deity, 100
Swift-Mountain-Deity, 106
Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, Deity, 109, 110, 111
Swords, xxviii, xxxv, 37, 38, 40, 43, 56, 88, 89, 90, 118, 120, 121, 175, 253, 267, 303
Sword, Cross-, 162–164, 168, 223, 306
Sword, Herb-Quelling-Great, 75, 130, 254, 256, 262
Swords, Mallett-headed, 134, 171, 172
Swords, names of, 40, 118
Swords, Stone-mallett, 171, 172
T'ang, the Enperor, 13
Tables, xxxiv
Tachibana in Himuka, 46
Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go, King, 411
Tachibana no Chimori, xl
Tachibana no Moribe, x, xi, lx, lxxxii
Tachibana-no-naka-tsu-hime, 410
Tachibana-no-oho-iratsume, (Lady), 355
Tachibana-no-toyo-hi, 411, 412
Tadagoye Road, 376
Tadetsu of Kusaka, 160
Taga in Afumi, 53
Tagi, Moor of, 263, 264
Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, 57
Tagima, 205, 233, 315, 349
Tagima, King, 413
Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, 413
Tagima-no-mehi, 316
Tagishi, 124
Tagishi-hiko, His A., 189
Tagishi-Mimi, 176, 181, 182
Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami, (Deity), 100
Tajihi, 348, 353, 395
Tajihi-be, (Tribe), 326
Tajihi, Dukes of, 410
Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake, 324, 326
Tajima-hinaraki, 315
Tajima-hi-ne, 315
Tajima-hitaka, 316
Tajima, Land of, 189
Tajima-mori, 104, 240, 241, 316
Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko, (Rulers), 207
Tajima-no-matawo, 315
Tajima-morosuku, 315
Tajima-no-take-no-wake, 189
Taka-anaho, Palace of, 274

Takabe no iratsume, (Lady), 354
Takachi, Peak of, 6
Takachiho, Palace of, 154, 157
Takachina, Princess, 197
Takachiho, lv, 134,
Takachiho, Mount, 154
Taka-gi-no-kami, 115, 127
Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto, (Princess), 292
Takahashi, Gori, lx, lxxxiv
Taka-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto, 51
Taka-hime-no-mikoto, 98
Takaki, 336, 395
Takaki-hime no mikoto, (Princess), 206, 245
Takaki-no-iratsume, 408
Takakura, 6
Takakurazhi, 162, 163, 164
Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami, lxxiv, 17, 112
Taka-miya, 334
Takamuko no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Takanu-hime, (Princess), 201
Takanuka-hime, (Princess), 206, 316
Takara-no-iratsume, 408
Takara no miko, (King), 354
Takara, Queen, 412
Takasazhi, Moor of, 178
Takasuka no wake, (Lords of), 224
Takatsu, Palace of, 324
Takatsu, Pool of, 223
Takawashi, 395
Takawoka, Palace of, 185
Takaya, 410
Takayasu, Mount, 345
Take, Lords of, 189
Takebe no kimi, (Dukes), 272
Take-bi-wake, 27
Takechi-no-agata-nushi, (Suzerains of), 62
Takeda, King, 411
Take-furu-kuma, His A., 286
Take-futsu-no-kami, 38
Take-hani-yasu-biko, 196, 215, 217, 218, 219
Take-hi-ga-wake, 28
Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake, 27
Take-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto, 60
Take-inada no sukune, (Noble), 292
Take-kahiko no miko, (King), 271, 272
Take-hiko, 271
Take-kuni-katsu-tome, 203
Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami, 38, 120, 212
Take-nuna-kaha-mimi, 182
Take-nuna-kaha-wake, 196, 216, 219
Take-oshiyama-tari-ne, 275
Takeri, Palace of, 158
Takeshima, Palace of, 158
Take-tayo-hadzura-wake no miko, (King), 202, 207
Take-uchi no sukune, (the Noble), xl, 197, 198, 275, 277, 279, 280, 287, 290, 293, 300, 305, 343, 344
Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate, 409, 410
Take-yori-wake, 26
Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto, 57
Taki no omi, (Grandees), 190
Taku-so, 306
Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, lxxxiv
Tamade no woka, 192
Tamade, Mound of, 192
Tamade no omi, (Grandees of), 200

Tamaho, Palace of, 408
Tama-kaki, Palace of, 221
Tama-Katsuma, lxxxiv
Tama-kura-be, Spring of, 263
Tama-no-iratsume, 295
Tama-noya-no-mikoto, 66
Tama-no-ya no murazhi, 133
Tamashima, 284
Tama-yori-bime, 109, 153
Tamba, see Taniha
Tame, King, 412
Tamil, i
Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime, 321
Tamiya, the middle Princess of, 321
Tamura, Queen, 412
Tanaka in Yamato, 61
Tanaka-no-atahe, 61
Tanaka no omi, (Grandees of), 198
Tango, Province of, 205
Tanigaha Shihei, or Shisei, xi, lxxxiv, 18, 44, 68, 79, 148, 163, 165, 213, 231, 243, 255, 313
Taniha or Tamba, Province of, 201, 205
Taniha, Land of, 216, 233
Taniha no hiko Tatasu-michi-no-ushi no miko, (Prince), 203, 204, 205, 206, 221, 231
Taniha no oho agata-nushi, (Great Departmental Lords of), 201
Taniha no Takunu no wake, (Lords of), 208
Tara, King, 412
Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko, 270, 272, 275, 291
Tarumi, 202
Tashiraka-no-iratsume, (Princess), 408, 409
Tasuki, 68, 69
Tatanami, 275, 291
Tatara - Startled - Good - Princess, Princess, 177
Tate-dzu, 160
Tattooing, xlvii
Tawi - no - naka - tsu - hime, (the Middle Princess of, 321, 357
Taxes, 220, 327
Tea, xl, xlviii, 294
Tema, 84
Tem-mu Tenno, iv, v, li, 5, 8, 9, 11
Temple, xxix
Te-nadzu-chi, 72
Ten-Itsu, 12, 13
Terama, 242, 243
Teshima no murazhi, (Chieftains), 183
Thatch-Moor-Princess, Deity, 32
Thing - Sign - Master, Deity, 98, 122, 123
Thought-Includer, Deity, 65, 69, 112, 113, 114, 119, 130, 131
Thousand Character Essay, 306
Thousand-fold Brilliant Princess, 192
Thousand - fold Brilliant Truly Young Princess of Kasuga, 192
Thrust - Erect - Come - Not - place, Deity, 47, 48
Thrust-Snap, Deity, 163
Thunder, Eight Gods of, lii, 42, 43
Tide-ebbing Jewel, lxvii
Tide-flowing Jewel, lxvii
Titsingh, lxi
Titles, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, 59, 60
Toad, a speaking, xxxvii, 103
To-Ga, xi, lxxxiv
Toga, Moor of, 285

Tohochi no agata-nushi, (Departmental Lords of), 192
Tohoshi-no-iratsume, 295
Toho-tsu-Afumi, 61
Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miya-tsuko, 61
Toho-tsu-Asuka, 352
Toho-tsu-Asuka, Palace of, 354
Toho - tsu - ma - chi - ne - no - kami, Deity, 101
Tohotsu - no - ayu-me-me-kuhashi-hime, (Princess), 208
Tohotsu no omi, (Grandee of), 206
Toho - tsu - yama-zaki - tarashi - no-kami, (Deity), 101, 102
Tokaido, 216
Tokiha Gusa, x, lxxxiv, 49, 79
Toki-okashi-no-kami, 47
Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone, 186
Tomi, 160
Tomi, Prince of, 160, 172
Tomi, Princess of, 175
Tomi, Province of, 160, 175
Tominobu, Hosoda, lxxxiv, 80, 81, 100, 103, 106
Tomi-ya-hime, 175
Tonami no omi, (Grandees of), 195
Tone, King, 411
Toneri, Prince, lxxxii
Topography of Yamashiro, lxxxiv
Tori-bune-no-kami, 120
Torikahi-be, (Clan), 238
Tori-kami, 72
Torime no miko, (Queen), 321
Tori-mimi-no-kami, 99
Tori-naru-mi-no-kami, 99
Tori - no - iha-kusa - bune-no-kami, 33
Toriyama, 335
Torrent-Mist-Princess, 57, 59, 98
Tortoise, xxxvii
Tosa, Land of, 26
Totomi, 61, 108
Totori, 223
Totori-be, (Clan), 238
Towns, xxix
Towochi-no-iri-bime, Her A., 209
Towo no wake, (Lords of), 272
Toyo, Land of, 26, 158, 184, 195
Toyo, Province of, 245
Toyo - ashi - hara - no - chi - aki-wo-naga-i - ho-aki - no - midzu-ho-no-kuni, 111
Toyo - ashi - hara-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, 129
Toyo-bi-wake, 27
Toyo-iha mado-no-kami, 132
Toyo-ki-iri-biko, (Prince), 208, 209
Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami, 19
Toyo-kuni no kunisaki no omi, (Grandees, 195
Toyo-kuni-wake no miko, (King) 245, 247
Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, Her A., 411, 413
Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 155
Toyora, Palace of, 275
Toyo - suke - iri - bime, (Princess), 209, 210
Toyo-tama-bime, 146
Toyo-to-wake no mikoto, (King), 244
To-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 39
Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami, 35, 131
Toyo-yo-no-kuni, 104
Traditions, recension of, lxxvi, lxxvii
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, lxvi, lxxxi, 12, 54, 63, 75, 126, 132, 170, 242, 255, 261, 279, 318, 368
Traps, xxviii

Trees, Deity of, 32
Tree-Fork-Deity, 90
Tree-Sparrow, xxxix, 117
Trout, xxxix, 284
Trowsers, xxxiv
Truly - Conqueror - I - Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, 57, 111, 127, 128
Tso Chuan, 40
Tsu, Island of, 27, 61
Tsubo-tatsu-mi-tama, 137
Tsubura no iratsume, (Lady), 354, 409
Tsubura no omi, (Grandee of), 369, 371, 373, 375
Tsuchi-gumo, 170
Tsuchi-ikadzuchi, 42
Tsuchi-ningio, 138
Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-no kami, 110
Tsuke no atahe, (Suzerains of), 184
Tsuki, River, 345
Tsuki-tree, 389
Tsukida, Mound of, 186
Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do, 47
Tsuki-yomi-no-kami, 50
Tsukuha, or Tsukuba, 259
Tsukushi, lvii, lviii, lxx, lxxii, lxxiii, 25, 26, 47, 134, 158, 183, 276, 277, 283, 284
Tsukushi no Meta no kimi, (Dukes), 322
Tsukushi no miyako no murazhi, (Chieftains of the Granaries of), 184
Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 98
Tsunu-guhi-no-kami, 20
Tsunu no iratsume, (Lady), 353
Tsunu no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Tsunuga, 288, 289, 298, 299
Tsunuga no ama no atahe, (Maritime Suzerains of), 195
Tsunusashi, Palace of, 395
Tsunuyama no omi, (Grandees of), 191
Tsura-nagi-no-kami, 31
Tsura-nami-no-kami, 31
Tsurayuki, lxv
Tsurugi, Pool of, 200, 305
Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe, 61
Tsutsuki, 334
Tsutsuki, Palace of, 337
Tsutsuki, Prince Sufficing Lord of Great, 202
Tsuwe-tsuki, Pass, 264
Tunny, xxxix
Turanian, i
Turbinidae, xxxviii, 173
Turkish, i

Uchi no omi, (Grandees of). 197
Uda, 166, 167, 213, 342
Uda-no-Chihara, 168,
Uda-no-Mohitori, (Water directors of), 170
Uda no obito-ra, (Headmen of), 399
Uda no ugachi, 166
Udo, River, 223
Udzu-biko, 159
Udzu-hiko, 197
Uematsu Shigewoka, x
Ugly-Female-of-Hades, 43
Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains, Great Deity, 86, 237
Uha-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 49, 280
Uha tsu kuni, 149
Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 49
Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi, His A., 412

U-hiji-ni-no-kami, 19, 20
Uji, 294, 296, 297
Uji Ferry, 310, 311
Uji, King, 412
Uji-no-waki-iratsuko, 294, 299, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313
Uji-no-waki-iratsume, 294, 325
Uka-no-mi-tama, 79
Uka-no-yama, (Mount), 89
Ukashi Brethren, 167, 168, 169, 170
Ukiana, Palace of, 186
Umaguta, 61
Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61
Umaki, King, 411
Umakuta-no-iratsume, 409
Uma-mi-kuhi, (Chiefs), 199
Umasaka, 195
Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami, 18
Umashi-ma-ji, His A., 175
Umashi Uchi no sukune, 197
Umayado, Prince, 57
Umi, 283
Umori, King, 411
Umugi-hime, 84
Unakami, Land of, 60
Unakami-no-miko, (King), 204, 205, 235, 238
Under-Shining-Princess, 98, 113, 116
Une-be no omi, (Grandees of), 175
Unebi, 175, 176, 181, 182, 185, 189
Unebi-yama no Manago-dani, 189
Unesu, Lords of, 248
Unewo, 36
Unu, 293
Unu no iratsume, (Lady), 293
Urabe no Kaneyoshi, 148
Urabe no Yasukata, lxxxii
Urine, 279
Usa, 158
Usa-tsu-hiko, (Prinee), 158
Usa-tsu-hime, (Princess), 158
Utakori-hime, (Princess), 239
Utsushi-hi-gana-saku, 50
Utsu-shiko-me, 196
Utsu-shiko-wo, 196
Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami, 81
Uzhika no omi, (Grandees of), 195

Vegetable Wax-tree, xxxix
Veils, xxxiv
Villages, xxix
Vine, xxxix

Wa-chi-tsumi, His A., 187
Wade, Sir Thomas, lxxxv
Wadō, name of a period, 16
Wadzurahí-no-ushi-no-kami, 47
Wager, lxvi
Wagtail, xxxix
Waiting-to-see-Flowers-of-the-Holly, Deity, 100
Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko, 193, 194
Waka-hime, 408
Waka-hiru-me-no-kami, 101
Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto, (King), 244
Waka-ki-iri-biko, His A., 221
Waka-kusaka, Queen, 367, 376
Waka-kusaka-be, (Princess), 325, 326, 375, 377, 378
Waka-kusaka-be, (Tribe), 326
Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 155
Waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami, 111
Waka-nuke-futa-mata no miko, (King), 294, 321
Waka-nuke no miko, (King), 275
Wakara, River, 218

Wakasa, 203, 288
Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami, 110
Wakasa no Mimi no wake, 205
Waka-sakura-be, (Tribe), 352
Wakasakura, Palace of, 347
Waka-take, Prince, 243, 245, 271, 273
Waka - tarashi - hiko no mikoto, (Prince), 244, 246
Waka-tarashi, Princess, 375
Waka-toshi-no-kami, 110
Waka-yama-kuhi-no-kami, 110
Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi, 196, 201
Waka-ya-no-iratsume, 409
Wakayuwe-be, (Clan), 238
Wake no kimi, (Dukes), 272
Waki-ikadzuchi, 42
Waki no kami, 191
Waki-no-kami, Palace of, 189
Wa-Kun Shiwori, lxxxiv
Waku-go no sukune, 200
Waku-musu-bi-no-kami, 35
Wanami, Estuary of, 233
Wani-kishi, 306
Wani-no-Hifure no omi, (Grandee of), 294, 297
Wani no omi, (Grandees of), 201, 218, 286, 335. 354
Wani, Pass of, 218, 298
Wani, Pool of, 326
Warrior Clan, Ancestor of the, 175
Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, Deity, 48
Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, 48
Washi-hime, (Princess), 202
Wasp, xxxviii, 87
Wata, 373
Watarahi, outer temple of, 132
Wata-tarashi-hiko, 274
Water, 345
Water Caltrop, xl, 302
Water-Directors, 331
Water-Gates, Deity of, 31, 125
Water, hot, trial by, lxvi
Water, purification by, lxvi
Water - Spoilt - Blossom - of Fuka-buchi, (the Deep Pool), 80
Water-Sprinkling-Deity, 110
Wave - Limit - Cormorant - Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely, Prince, 15
Weaving Maiden, 119
Wedge, xxviii
Wega, 291, 323, 357
Weha, King, 410
Wells, August-Deity-of, 90
Well, True-Pool-, 56, 57
We-kuri, King, 413
Wen Hsüan, 13
Wet-nurses, xliv
Whale, xxxvii
Wheat, 71
Wheat, bearded, 71
White-Copper, 65
White-Sun, Deity, 106
White-Sun-Youth, Land of, 26
Wi-hika, Deity, 166
Wild cherry, xxxix, 366
Wild chive, xxxix, 172, 258
Wild-duck, xxxvii
Wild-goose, xxxvii, xl
Williams, Dr., 177
Wina, Dukes of, 410
Wind, Deity of, 32
Winter-cherry, xxxix, 74
Wi-same, Spring of, 263
Wistaria, xxx, 318
Wo, River, 161
Woad, xxxiv
Wo - asadzuma - no - waku - go no sukune, (Noble), 324, 325, 354

Wobashi Channel, 326
Wobashi-no-kimi, (Duke of), 176
Wobe, His A. 399
Wodate, 396, 398
Wodo-hime, (Princess), 387, 393, 394
Wodzu no kimi, (Dukes of), 273
Wo-gaha, (River), lxii, 284
Wohari, King, 412
Wohari no murazhi, Chiefs of, 189, 197, 209, 292
Wohari, Province of, 185, 191, 192, 206, 224, 232, 233, 246, 255, 260, 355
Woharida, 15, 370
Woharida no omi, (Grandees of), 199
Woharida, Palace of, 413
Woharita, King, 411
Wo-haye no miko, (King), 295
Wo-hatsuse Tribe, 408
Wo-hatsuse no miyatsuko, (Rulers of), 184
Wo-hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki, 184
Wo-hatsuse-no-wake-sazaki, His Grandeur, 408
Wo-ishi-hime, 410
Wokada, Palace of, 158
Wo-kahi, King, 411
Wokamoto, Palace of, 412
Woke-no-ihasu-wake, 402
Woke, Prince, 374, 396, 399, 400, 401, 402
Woke-tsu-hime, 204
Wo-kuma-ko-no-iratsume, 412
Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, (Princess), 409
Wo-mata no miko, (King), 202, 205
Womochi, 409
Womuro, Peak of, 383
Wondrous August Spirit, 282
Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, 49, 51
Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils, 49
Wondrous-Divine-Producer-the August-Ancestor, 125
Wondrous-Eight-Spirits, Deity, 125
Wondrous-Inada-Princess, 73
Wondrous Increasing Offerings, Deity of, 125
Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, 132
Wo-nu-no-iratsume, 409
Wonu no omi, (Grandees of), 190
Worship, objects of, lxv
Wosada, Palace of, 411
Wosada Tominobu, x
Wotsu, Cape, 264
Wotsuki no yama no kami, (Mountain Dukes of), 225
Wo-usu, His A., 243, 246, 248, 249
  slays Deity of Ashigahara Pass, 258
  slays his brother, 249
  slays Idzumo Bravo, 252, 253
  slays Kumaso Bravoes, 250–252
  slays Rulers of Sagamu, 255, 256
Wo-ye-hime, 411
Wozabe, King, 222
Wo-zaho no miko, (King), 203, 205
Wren, xxxix, 102, 293, 341
Wrist Pads, xxviii
Writing, xlviii, xlix

Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami, 81
Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 98, 121
Ya-kaha-ye-hime, 100, 294
Yakami-hime, (Princess), 82, 83, 90

Yakidzu, 256
Yamabe, see Yamanobe
Yama-be, (Tribe), 305
Yamaji no kimi, (Dukes of), 322
Yama-mori-be, 305
Yamanobe, or Yamabe, 224, 274, 342
Yamanobe-no-ohotaka, 232
Yamanobe no wake, (Lords of), 224
Yamanobe, Road, 220
Yamashiro, King of, 411, 412
Yamashiro, Land of, 61, 190, 197, 202, 205, 206, 217, 218, 221, 222, 239, 271, 286, 287, 294, 297, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 374
Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, 61
Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko, 204
Yamashiro no Uchi no omi, (Grandees of), 197
Yamashiro, River, 333
Yamashiro Topography of, 109
Yama-shita-kage, Princess, 197
Yama-suwe-no-oho-nushi-no-kami, 108
Yamato, Ancestors of the Rulers of the Land of, 159
Yamato, Chiefs of, lv, lxx
Yamato, conquest of, lxxvii, 291
Yamato, Province of, lv, lvii, lviii, lxxii, lxxiii, 25, 27, 28, 94, 106, 155, 164, 175, 183, 184, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 200, 202, 203, 205, 207, 208, 209, 213, 220, 224, 232, 234, 236, 238, 241, 242, 251, 265, 276, 285, 292, 294, 321, 330, 331, 334, 344, 348, 351, 352, 354, 355, 366, 370, 383, 391, 395, 399, 405
Yamato-hiko, (Prince), 209, 210
Yamato hime, Her A., 221, 224, 249, 254, 255, 409
Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental Princess, 193
Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious Princess, 193
"*Yamato Monogatari*," (Tales of), xxxi, lxxxiv
Yamato-ne-ko, His A., 244
Yamato-no-kuni no miyatsuko, 159
Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-toyo-asa-kura-ake-tatsu, 235
Yamato-Take, see also Wo-usu, xlviii, lvi, lvii, lxxvi, lxxvii, 157, 221, 225, 244, 245, 246, 248, 251, 252, 253, 257, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 267, 268, 270, 272
  death of, 267
  turns into a white bird, 268
Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime, 193
Yamato-wo-guna, His A. 244
Yamazaki Suiga, 44
Yasaka-no-iri-biko-no-mikoto, (Prince), 209, 244
Yasaka-no-iri-bime no mikoto, (Princess), 244
Ya-shima-muji-no-kami, 99
Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi, 79
Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami, 49
Yasu, Suzerains of, 206
Yasu, Land of, 271
Yasumaro, Futo no, v, lxxxiv, 3, 4, 13, 15
Yata, 294
Yata, King, 410

Yata-be, (Tribe), 340
Yata-no-waki-iratsume, 294, 325, 331, 332, 339, 340
Yatsu-mimi-no-Tai-shi, 57
Yatsuri, 355
Yatsuri-iri-biko no miko, (King), 204
Yatsuri, Village of, 204
Yena, Princess, 202
Yebisu, lxxii
Ye-hime, 231, 247
Yemishi, lxxii, lxxiii, 258
Yenuma no omi, (Grandees of), 200
Yeshiki, 174
Yeshinu or Yoshino, 7, 303, 304, 382
Yeshinu, River, 165, 382
Yeshinu no kuzu, (Territorial owners of), 166, 303, 305
Yeshinu no obito, (Headmen of), 166
Yezo, lxxii,, 73, 258, 344
Yi Ching, lxxxv, 8
Yodo, River, 159, 332
Yoko, River, 9
Yokoyama Yoshikiyo, lxxxiii
Yō-mei Tenno, 412
Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, 43
Yomo-tsu-kami, 42
Yomo-tsu-oho-kami, 45
Yomo-tsu-shiko-me, 43
Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto, 128
Yoru-no-wosu-kuni, 52
Yosami, Pool of, 220, 301, 326
Yoshino, see Yeshinu
Yoshino, Mountains of, 9
Yoso-taho-bimė-no mikoto, (Princess), 189
Young-August-Food-Master, His A., 155
Young-Day-Female-Deity, 101
Young-Harvest-Deity, 110
Young - Mountain - Integrator, Deity, 110, 111
Young - Rice - Transplanting - Female-Deity, 110
Young-Thunder, Deity, 42
Young - Wondrous - Producing - Deity, 35
Young - Yamato - lord-prince-great, 196
Younger Princess, the Truly Young Princess, 321
Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male, Deity, 30
Yugori, 201
Yumi-hari, Princess, 412
Yura, Harbour of, 346
Yū-riaku Tenno, lxvii, 183, 191, 224, 227, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 392, 393, 395, 403, 406

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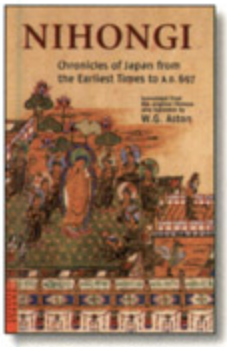

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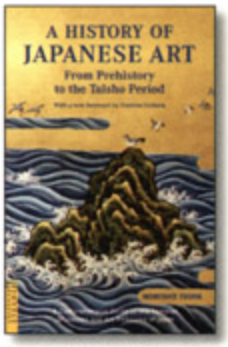

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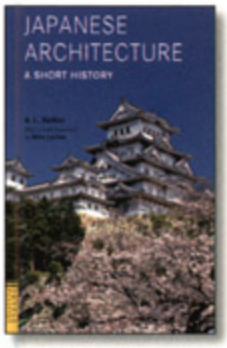

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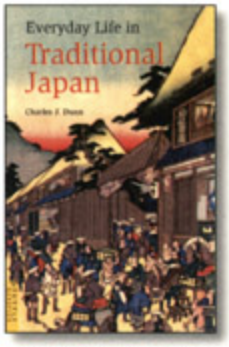

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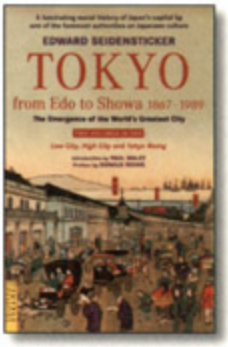

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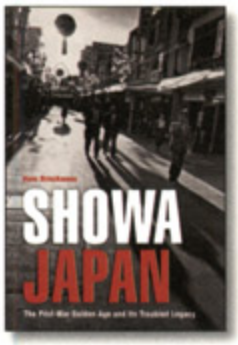

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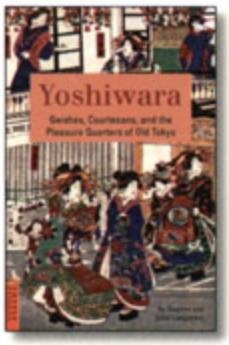

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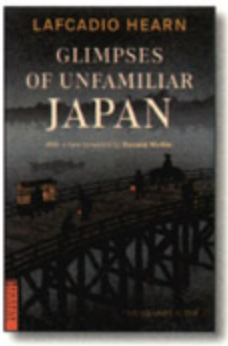

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RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS

古事記

VOLUME 1-3

BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN

THE KOJIKI: RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS VOL.1-3

(古 事 記)

BY

BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN

1919

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE KOJIKI: RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS VOL.1-3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE TEXT AND ITS AUTHENTICITY, TOGETHER WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

II. METHODS OF TRANSLATION.

III. THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

IV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

V. RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE, BEGINNINGS OF THE JAPANESE NATION, AND CREDIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS.

The *Kamitsumaki* (上巻 *"First Volume"*?) VOL. I: Volume of the Age of the Gods 1

PREFACE. 2

[SECT. I. —THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.]

[SECT. II. —THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS.]

[SECT. III. —THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO]

[SECT. IV. —COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE WHO-INVITES.]

[SECT. V. —BIRTH OF THE EIGHT ISLANDS.]

[SECT. VI. —BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.]

[SECT. VII. —RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES.]

[SECT. VIII. —THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY.]

[SECT. IX. —THE LAND OF HADES.]

[SECT. X. —THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON.]

[SECT. XI. —INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES; THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN.]

[SECT. XII. —THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

[SECT. XIII. —THE AUGUST OATH]

[SECT. XIV. —THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN.]

[SECT XV. —THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS]

[SECT. XVI. —THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK-DWELLING.]

[SECT. XVII. —THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

[SECT. XVIII. —THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT.]

[SECT. XIX. —THE PALACE OF SUGA.]

[SECT. XX. —THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND.]

[SECT. XXI. —THE WHITE HARE OF INABA.]

[SECT. XXII. —MOUNT TEMA.]

[SECT. XXIII. —THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND.]

[SECT. XXIV. —THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS.]

[SECT. XXV. —THE CUP PLEDGE.]

[SECT. XXVI. —THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

SECT. XXVII. —THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY.

[SECT. XXVIII. —THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT.] 1

[SECT. XXIX. —THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY.]

[SECT. XXX. —THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND.]

[SECT. XXXI. —THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.]

[SECT. XXXII. —ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

[SECT. XXXIII. —THE AUGUST DESCENT FROM HEAVEN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS THE AUGUST GRANDCHILD.]

[SECT. XXXIV. —THE AUGUST REIGN IN HIMUKA OF HIS AUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY.] 1

[SECT. XXXV. —THE DUCHESS OF SARU.]

[SECT. XXXVI. —THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA.]

[SECT. XXXVII. —THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR.]

[SECT. XXXVIII. —THE AUGUST CHILD-BEARING OF PRINCESS-BLOSSOMING BRILLIANTLY-LIKE-THE-FLOWERS-OF-THE-TREES.]

[SECT. XXXIX. —THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OF LUCK.]

[SECT. XL. —THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR.]

[SECT. XLI. —SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE.]

[SECT. XLII. —THE PARTURITION-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS]

[SECT. XLIII. —THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS CORMORANT-THATCH-MEETING-INCOMPLETELY]

The *Nakatsumaki* (中巻, "*Middle Volume*") Volume II 1

[SECT. XLIV. —REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU 2 (PART I. —HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER)]

[SECT. XLV. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II. —THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN).]

[SECT. XLVI. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III. —THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS)]

[SECT. XLVII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IV. —THE UKASHI BRETHREN).]

[SECT. XLVIII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART V. —THE EARTH-SPIDER OF THE CAVE OF OSAKA).]

[SECT. XLIX. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VI. —THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN)]

[SECT. L. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII. —THE EMPIRE PACIFIED)]

[SECT. LI. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VIII. —HE WEDS I-SUKE-YORI-HIME).]

[SECT. LII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. IX—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

[SECT. LIII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. LIV. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).

[SECT. LV. —EMPEROR SUI-ZEI.]

[SECT. LVI. —EMPEROR AN-NEI.]

[SECT. LVII. —EMPEROR I-TOKU.]

[SECT. LVIII. —EMPEROR KO-SHO.]

[SECT. LIX. —EMPEROR KOAN.]

[SECT. LX. —EMPEROR KŌ-REI.]

[SECT. LXI. —EMPEROR KŌ-GEN.]

[SECT. LXII. —EMPEROR KAI-KUWA.]

[SECT. LXIII. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART I. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. LXIV. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART II. —A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO).]

[SECT. LXV. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART III: STORY OF OHO-TATA-NE-KO'S BIRTH)]

[SECT. LXVI. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART IV. —WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU).]

[SECT. LXVII. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART V. —PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED).]

[SECT. LXVIII. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART VI. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. LXIX. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I. —GENEALOGIES)]

[SECT. LXX. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART II. CONSPIRACY OF KING SAHO-BIKO AND THE EMPRESS SAHO-BIME).]

[SECT. LXXI. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART III. —BIRTH OF PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE AND DEATH OF THE CONSPIRATORS)]

[SECT. LXXII. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV. —THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE).]

[SECT. LXXIII. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART. V. —HIS LATER WIVES.)]

[SECT. LXXIV. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VI. —TAJI-MORI BRINGS BACK THE ORANGE FROM THE ETERNAL LAND.)]

[SECT. LXXV. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VII. —HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS HIBASU.)]

[SECT. LXXVI. —EMPRESS KEI-KO (PART I, —GENEALOGIES)]

[SECT. LXXVII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART II. —THE MAIDENS YE-HIME AND OTO-HIME).]

[SECT. LXXVIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART III. VARIOUS DEEDS.)]

[SECT. LXXIX. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IV. —YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

[SECT. LXXX. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART V. —YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES).]

[SECT. LXXXI. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VI. —YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE IDZUMO BRAVO).

[SECT. LXXXII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VII. —YAMATO-TAKE IS SENT TO SUBDUE THE EAST, AND VISITS HIS AUNT AT ISE).]

[SECT. LXXXIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VIII. —YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU.)]

[SECT. LXXXIV. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IX. —YAMATO-TAKE'S EMPRESS STILLS THE WAVES.)

[SECT. LXXXV. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART X. —YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS.)]

[SECT. LXXXVI. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XI. —YAMATO-TAKE DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SAKAWORI.)]

[SECT. LXXXVII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XII. —YAMATO-TAKE WOOES PRINCESS MIYAZU).]

[SECT. LXXXVIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIII. —YAMATO-TAKE MEETS THE DEITY OF MOUNT IBUKI).]

[SECT. LXXXIX. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIV. —THE DEATH OF YAMATO-TAKE).]

[SECT. XC. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XV. —YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD)]

[SECT. XCI. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVI. —YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER).]

[SECT. XCII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVII. —YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS).]

[SECT. XCIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVIII. HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. XCIV. —EMPEROR SEI-MU.]

[SECT. XCV. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART I. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. XCVI. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART II. —THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED).]

[SECT. XCVII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART III. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF KOREA).]

[SECT. XCVIII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IV. —THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ CONQUERS KOREA)]

[SECT. XCIX. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART V. —THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ FISHES IN TSUKUSHI).]

[SECT. C. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VI. —THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ SUBDUES YAMATO).]

[SECT. CI. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII. —THE HEIR APPARENT EXCHANGES NAMES WITH THE GREAT DEITY IZASA-WAKE).]

[SECT. CII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII. —THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ PRESENTS LIQUOR TO THE HEIR APPARENT).]

[SECT. CIII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IX. —HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ).]

[SECT. CIV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN 1 (PART 1. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. CV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART II. —HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS)]

SECT. CVI. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART III. —HE WOOES PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE).]

[SECT. CVII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IV. —HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMINAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI).]

[SECT. CVIII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART V. —SONGS OF THE TERRITORIAL OWNERS OF YESHINU).]

[SECT. CIX. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VI. —VARIOUS DEEDS)]

[SECT. CX. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII. —TRIBUTE FROM KOREA).]

[SECT. CXI. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII. —THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED).]

[SECT. CXII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IX. —TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE)]

[SECT. CXIII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART X. —PRINCES OHO-SAZAKI AND UJI-NO-WAKI-IRATSUKO CEDE THE EMPIRE TO EACH OTHER)]

[SECT. CXIV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XI. —AMA-NO-HI-BOKO CROSSES OVER TO JAPAN)]

[SECT. CXV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XII. —DESCENDANTS OF AMA-NO-HI-BOKO, AND TREASURES BROUGHT BY HIM.)]

[SECT. CXVI. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIII. —THE YOUTH-OF-THE-GLOW-ON-THE-AUTUMN-MOUNTAINS AND THE YOUTH-OF-THE-HAZE-ON-THE-SPRING-MOUNTAINS).]

[SECT. CXVII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XVI. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. CXVIII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XV. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The *Shimotsumaki* (下巻[?], "Lower Volume") VOL. III 1

[SECT. CXIX. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. CXX: EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II. —VARIOUS DEEDS).]

[SECT. CXXI. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU [PART III. —HE REMITS THE TAXES)]

[SECT. CXXII. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV. —HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO).]

[SECT. CXXIII. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU PART V. —THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO).]

[SECT. CXXIV. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI. —HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO).]

[SECT. CXXV. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII. —HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME).]

[SECT. CXXVI. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII. —DEATH OF KING HAYABUSA-WAKE AND QUEEN MEDORI).]

[SECT. CXXVII. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII. —QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET).]

[SECT. CXXVIII. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX. —A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG).]

[SECT. CXXIX: —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART X. —A VESSEL IS MADE INTO A LUTE)]

[SECT. CXXX. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. CXXXI. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART I. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. CXXXII. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART II. —HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI).]

[SECT. CXXXIII. —EMPEROR. —RI-CHIU (PART III. —HIS REBELLIOUS BROTHER AND THE LATTER'S RETAINER SOBAKARI ARE SLAIN)]

[SECT. CXXXIV. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART IV. —VARIOUS DEEDS).]

[SECT. CXXXV. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART V. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. CXXXV. —EMPEROR HAN-ZEI.]

[SECT. CXXXVII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ 1 (PART I—GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. CXXXVIII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART II. —HIS SICKNESS IS CURED BY A KOREAN PHYSICIAN).]

[SECT. CXXXIX. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART III. HE RECTIFIES THE PEOPLE'S NAMES).]

[SECT. CXI. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART IV. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. CXLI. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART V. —PRINCE KARU LOVES HIS SISTER PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI)]

[SECT. CXLII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VI. —WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO).]

[SECT. CXLIII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VII. —DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

[SECT. CXLIV. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART I. —HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA).]

[SECT. CXLV. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART II. —HE IS SLAIN BY KING MA-YOWA).]

[SECT. CXLVI. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART III. —PRINCE OHO HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCES KURO-BIKO AND SHIRO-BIRO).]

[SECT. CXLVII. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART IV. —DEATH OF PRINCE MA-YOWA AND OF THE GRANDEE TSUBURA).]

[SECT. CXLVIII. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART V: —PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA).]

[SECT. CXLIX. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART VI. —FLIGHT OF PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE)].

[SECT. CL. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU, (I. —GENEALOGIES).]

[SECT. CLI. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART II. —VARIOUS DEEDS).]

[SECT CLII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART III. —THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OF SHIKI).]

[SECT. CLIII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IV. —HE WOOES PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE).]

[SECT. CLIV. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART V. —STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO).]

[SECT. CLV. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VI. —HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU).]

[SECT. CLVI. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII. —THE HORSE-FLY AND THE DRAGON-FLY).]

[SECT. CLVII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII. —ADVENTURE WITH A WILD BOAR).]

[SECT. CLVIII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IX. —REVELATION OF THE GREAT DEITY OF KADZURAKI, LORD OF ONE WORD).]

[SECT CLIX. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART X. —THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE).]

[SECT. CLX. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XI. —THE LEAF IN THE CUP).]

[SECT. CLXI. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XII. —SONGS BY THE EMPEROR AND PRINCESS WODO).]

[SECT. CLXII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XIII. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. CLXIII. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART I. —SEARCH FOR A SUCCESSOR TO HIM).]

[SECT. CLXIV. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART II. —PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE ARE DISCOVERED).]

[SECT. CLXV. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART III. —THE GRANDEE SHIBI). 1]

[SECT. CLXVI. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART IV. —PRINCE OHOKE CEDES THE EMPIRE TO PRINCE WOKE).]

[SECT. CLXVII. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART I. —THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME).]

[SECT. CLXVIII. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART II. —HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD).]

[SECT. CLXIX. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART III. —THE EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED).]

[SECT. CLXX. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART IV. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

[SECT. CLXXI. —EMPEROR NIN-KEN.] 1

[SECT. CLXXII—EMPEROR MU-RETSU.]

[SECT. CLXXIII. —EMPEROR KEI-TAI.]

[SECT. CXXXIV. —EMPEROR KAN-AN.]

[SECT. CLXXV. —EMPEROR SEN-KUWA.]

[SECT. CLXXVI. —EMPEROR KIM-MEI.]

[SECT. CLXXVII. —EMPEROR BI-DATSU.]

[SECT. CLXXVIII. —EMPEROR YŌMEI.]

[SECT. CLXXIX. —EMPEROR SU-JUN.]

[SECT. CLXXX. —EMPRESS SUI-KO.]

APPENDIX I.: JAPANESE TEXT OF THE SONGS PRESERVED IN THE "KO-JI-KI," OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS," TRANSLITERATED INTO ROMAN. 1

APPENDIX II: THE HITHERTO ACCEPTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY JAPANESE SOVEREIGNS MENTIONED IN THE "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS" ("*KO-JI-KI*") AND IN THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN" ("*NI-HONGI*").

NOTE TO THE READER: Forty-seven Ronin of Chusingura, Tale of honor and loyalty

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the mass of Japanese literature, which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making, the most important Monument is the work entitled "*Ko-ji-ki*" [1] or "Records of Ancient Matters," which was completed in A. D. 712. It is the most important because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language, [2] and the traditional history of Ancient Japan. Indeed, it is the earliest authentic connected literary product of that large division of the human race which, has been variously denominated Turanian, Scythian and Altaic, and it even precedes by at least a century the most ancient extant literary compositions of non-Aryan India. Soon after the date of its compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture, and it is to these "Records" and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and the Shintō Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled in attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent.

It is of course not pretended that even these "Records" are untouched by Chinese influence: that influence is patent in the very characters with which the text is written. But the influence is less, and of another kind. If in the traditions preserved and in the customs alluded to we detect the Early Japanese in the act of borrowing from China and perhaps even from India, there is at least on our author's part no ostentatious decking out in Chinese trappings of what he believed to be original matter, after the fashion of the writers who immediately succeeded him. It is true that this abstinence on his part makes his compilation less pleasant to the ordinary native taste than

that of subsequent historians, who put fine Chinese phrases into the mouths of emperors and heroes supposed to have lived before the time when intercourse with China began. But the European student, who reads all such books, not as a pastime but in order to search for facts, will prefer the more genuine composition. It is also accorded the first place by the most learned of the native *literati*.

Of late years this paramount importance of the "Records of Ancient Matters" to investigators of Japanese subjects generally has become well-known to European scholars; and even versions of a few passages are to be found scattered through the pages of their writings. Thus Mr. Aston has given us, in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," a couple of interesting extracts; Mr. Satow has illustrated by occasional extracts his elaborate papers on the Shintō Rituals printed in these "Transactions," and a remarkable essay by Mr. Kempermann published in the Fourth [3] Number of the "Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens," though containing no actual translations, bases on the account given in the "Records" some conjectures regarding the *origines* of Japanese civilization which are fully substantiated by more minute research. All that has yet appeared in any European language does not, however, amount to one-twentieth part of the whole, and the most erroneous views of the style and scope of the book and its contents have found their way into popular works on Japan. It is hoped that the true nature of the book, and also the true nature of the traditions, customs, and ideas of the Early Japanese, will be made clearer by the present translation the object of which is to give the entire work in a continuous English version, and thus to furnish the European student with a text to quote from, or at least to use as a guide in consulting the original. The only object aimed at has been a rigid and literal

conformity with the Japanese text. Fortunately, for this endeavour (though less Fortunately, for the student), one of the difficulties which often beset the translator of an Oriental classic is absent in the present case. There is no beauty of style, to preserve some trace of which he may be tempted to sacrifice a certain amount of accuracy. The "Records" sound queer and bald in Japanese, as will be noticed further on, and it is Therefore, right, even from a stylistic point of view, that they should sound bald and queer in English. The only portions of the text which, from obvious reasons, refuse to lend themselves to translation into English after this fashion are the indecent portions. But it has been thought that there could be no objection to rendering them into Latin, —Latin as rigidly literal as is the English of the greater part.

After these preliminary remarks, it will be most convenient to take the several points which a study of the "Records" and the turning of them into English suggest, and to consider the same one by one. These points are:

I. —Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes.
II. —Details concerning the Method of Translation.
III. —The "*Nihon-Gi*" or "Chronicles of Japan"
IV. —Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese.
[4] V. —Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese.
Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions.

Footnotes

1 Should the claim of Accadian to be considered an Altaic language be substantiated, then Archaic Japanese will have to be content with the second place in the Altaic family. Taking the word Altaic in its usual acceptation, viz., as the generic name of all the languages belonging to the Mantchu, Mongolia, Turkish and Finnish groups, not only the Archaic, but the Classical, literature of Japan carries us back several centuries beyond the earliest extant documents of any other Altaic tongue. —For a discussion of the age of the most ancient Tamil documents see the Introduction to Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," *et seq.*

I. THE TEXT AND ITS AUTHENTICITY, TOGETHER WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The latter portion of the Preface to the "Records of Ancient Matters" is the only documentary authority for the origin of the work. It likewise explains its scope. But though in so doing the author descends to a more matter of fact style than the high-sounding Chinese phrases and elaborate allusions with which he had set forth, still his meaning may be found to lack somewhat of clearness, and it will be as well to have the facts put into language more intelligible to the European student. This having already been done by Mr. Satow in his paper on the "Revival of Pure Shintō," [2] it will be best simply to quote his words. They are as follows: "The Emperor Temmu, at what portion of his reign is not mentioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He Therefore, had the records carefully examined, compared, and weeded of their faults. There happened to be in his household a person of marvellous memory named Hiyeda no Are, who could repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. Temmu Tennō [3] took the pains to instruct this person in the genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages,' and to make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. 'Before the undertaking was completed,' which probably means before it could be committed to writing, the Emperor died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole depository of what afterwards received the title of *Kojiki* [4] or *Furu-koto-bumi* as it is read by Motoori. At the end of this interval the Empress Gemmiō ordered [5] Yasumaro to write it down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the completion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months and a half.

Are's age at this date is not stated, but as he was twenty-eight years of age sometime in the reign of Temmu Tennō, it could not possibly have been more than sixty-eight, while taking into account the previous order of Temmu Tennō in 681 for the compilation of a history, and the statement that he was engaged on the composition of the Kojiki at the time of his death in 686, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that it belongs to about the last year of his reign, in which case Are was only fifty-three in 711."

The previous order of the Emperor Temmu mentioned in the above extract is usually supposed to have resulted in the compilation of a history which was early lost. But Hirata gives reasons for supposing that this and the project of the "Records of Ancient Matters" were identical. If this opinion be accepted, the "Records," while the oldest *existing* Japanese book, are, not the third, but the second historical work of which mention has been preserved, one such having been compiled in the year 620, but lost in a fire in the year 645. It will thus be seen that it is rather hard to say whom we should designate as the author of the work.

The Emperor Tem-mu, Hiyeda no Are, Yasumaro may all three lay claim to the title. The question, however, is of no importance to us, and the share taken by Are may well have been exaggerated in the telling. What seems to remain as the residue of fact is that the plan of a purely national history originated with the Emperor Temmu and was Finally, carried out under his successor by Yasumaro, one of the Court Nobles.

Fuller evidence and confirmatory evidence from other sources as to the origin of our "Records" would doubtless be very acceptable. But the very small number of readers and writers at that early date, and the almost

simultaneous compilation of a history (the "Chronicles of Japan") which was better calculated to bit the taste of the age, make the absence of such evidence almost unavoidable. In any case, and only noticing in passing the fact that Japan was never till quite recent years noted for such wholesale literary forgeries (for Motowori's condemnation of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" has been considered rash by later scholars), —it cannot be too much emphasized that in this instance authenticity is sufficiently proved by internal evidence. It is hard to believe that any forger living later than the eighth century of our era should have been so well able to discard the Chinese "padding" to the old traditions, which after the acceptance by the Court of the "Chronicles of Japan," had come to be generally regarded as an integral portion of those very traditions; and it is more unlikely still that he should have invented a style so little calculated to bring his handiwork into repute. He would either have written in fair Chinese, like the mass of early Japanese prose writers (and his Preface shows that he could do so if he were so minded); or, if the tradition of their having been a history written in the native tongue had reached him, he would have made his composition unmistakably Japanese in form by arranging consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations, after the fashion followed in the Rituals, and developed (apparently before the close of the ninth century) into what is technically known as the "Mixed Phonetic Style" (*Kana-mazhiri*), which has remained ever since as the most convenient vehicle for writing the language. As it is, his quasi-Chinese construction, which breaks down every now and then to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements. What however is simply incredible is that, if the supposed forger lived even only a hundred years later than A.D. 712, he should so well have

imitated or divined the archaisms of that early period. For the eighth century of our era was a great turning point in the Japanese language, the Archaic Dialect being then replaced by the Classical; and as the Chinese language and literature were alone thenceforward considered worthy the student's attention, there was no means of keeping up an acquaintance with the diction of earlier reigns, neither do we find the poets of the time ever attempting to adorn their verse with obsolete phraseology. That was an affectation reserved for a later epoch, when the diffusion of books rendered it possible. The poets of the seventh, eighth. and ninth centuries apparently wrote as they spoke; and the test of language alone would almost allow of our arranging their compositions half century by half century, even without the dates which are given in many instances in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and in the "Collection of Songs [7] Ancient and Modern,"—the first two collections of poems published by imperial decree in the middle of the eighth, and at the commencement of the tenth, century respectively.

The above remarks are meant to apply more especially to the occasional Japanese words, —all of them Archaic, —which, as mentioned above, are used from time to time in the prose text of the "Records," to help out the author's meaning and to preserve names whose exact pronunciation he wished handed down. That he should have invented the Songs would be too monstrous a supposition for anyone to entertain, even if we had not many of the same and other similar ones preserved in the pages of the "Chronicles of Japan," a work which was undoubtedly completed in A.D. 720. The history of the Japanese language is too well known to us, we can trace its development and decay in too many documents reaching from the eighth century to the present time, for it to be possible to entertain the notion that the latest of these Songs, which have been handed down with minute care in a syllabic transcription, is posterior to the first half of the eighth century,

while the majority must be ascribed to an earlier, though uncertain, date. If we refer the greater number of them in their present form to the sixth century, and allow a further antiquity of one or two centuries to others more ancient in sentiment and in grammatical usage, we shall probably be making a moderate estimate. It is an estimate, Moreover, which obtains confirmation from the fact that the first notice we have of the use of writing in Japan dates from early in the fifth century; for it is natural to suppose that the Songs believed to have been composed by the gods and heroes of antiquity should have been among the first things to be written down, while the reverence in which they were held would in some cases cause them to be transcribed exactly as tradition had bequeathed them, even if unintelligible or nearly so, while in others the same feeling would lead to the correction of what were supposed to be errors or inelegancies. Finally, it may be well to observe that the authenticity of the "Records" has never been doubted, though, as has already been stated, some of the native commentators have not hesitated to charge with spuriousness another of their esteemed ancient histories. Now it is unlikely [8] that, in the war which has been waged between the partisans of the "Records" and those of the "Chronicles," some flaw in the former's title to genuineness and to priority should not have been discovered and pointed out if it existed.

During the Middle Ages, when no native Japanese works were printed, and not many others excepting the Chinese Classics and Buddhist Scriptures, the "Records of Ancient Matters" remained in manuscript in the hands of the Shintō priesthood. They were first printed in the year 1644, at the time when, peace having been Finally, restored to the country and the taste for reading become diffused, the great mass of the native literature first began to emerge from the manuscript state. This very rare edition (which was reprinted in facsimile in 1798) is indispensable to anyone who would make

of the "Records" a special study. The next edition was by a Shintō priest, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, and appeared in 1687. It has marginal notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the "Old Printed Edition" (舊印本), but has no title beyond that of the original work, —"Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings" (標頭古事記). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789-1822 by Motowori's great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" (古事記傳). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tōkyō possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (古訓古事記), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's *Kana* reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is [9] a misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (古事記標註), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic Character" (假名古事記) by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern *Kana* reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other

departures from the actual text, as the *ipissima verba* of the original work; the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (校正古事記), by Uematsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (神法古事記), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern *Kana* reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of their country and naméd "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters," there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" (神代正語) by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled "*Tokiha-Gusa*" (神代正語常盤草) by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" (古史徵) and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (古史傳), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819, —works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable; 5 the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" (稜威道別), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the [19] "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" (稜威語別), by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the "Chronicles the Examination of Difficult Words" (難語考, also entitled

山彦册子), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (日本書記通證), by Tanigaha Shisei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "*Kō Gan Shō*," (厚題抄), a commentary on the Songs contained in the "Chronicles" and "Records" composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiū, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keichiū's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The "*Kō Gan Shō*" which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" (和名類聚鈔), the "Catalogue of Family Names" (姓氏錄), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's "*Tōga*" (東雅), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his "Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chimori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachibana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the unpublished portions Of the "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and the "*Idzu no Katō-Waki*," works indispensable to the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the "Records." To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin

equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

[11] Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *Manyō-Gana*, *i.e.* entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character 6), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms." But irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese *literati*, who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the "Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of

the Emperor Ō-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to [11] whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston 7 in denying to this conjectural restoration the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the "Records.'

Footnotes

2 Published in Vol. iii, Pt. I, of these "Transactions."

3 *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu.

4 *I.e.*, "Records of Ancient Matters." The alternative reading, which is probably but an invention of Motowori's, gives the same meaning in pure Japanese (instead of Sinico-Japanese) sounds.

5 UnFortunately, the portion already printed does not carry the history down even to the close of the "Divine Age." The work is as colossal in extent as it is minute in research, forty-one volumes (including the eleven forming the "Sources") having already appeared. The "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*" and "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" are Similarly, incomplete.

6 The translator adopts the term "ideographic," because it is that commonly used and understood, and because this is not the place to demonstrate its inappropriateness. Strictly speaking, "logographic" would be preferable to "ideographic," the difference between Chinese characters and alphabetic writing being that the former represent in their entirety the Chinese words for things and ideas, whereas the latter dissects into their component sounds the words of the languages which it is employed to write.

7 "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," Second Edition, Appendix II.

II. METHODS OF TRANSLATION.

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not anyone's, —not even Motowori's—private and particular reading of it. For this reason, none of the Honorifics, which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed, character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently be shown to have arisen from careless copying of characters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings occur, and has mentioned them in the Notes when they seemed of sufficient importance. In some few cases he has preferred a reading not approved by Motowori, but he always mentions Motowori's reading in a Foot-note.

The main body of the text contains but little to perplex anyone who has made a special study of the early Japanese writings, and it has already been noticed that there is an admirable exegetical literature at the student's command. With the Songs embedded in the prose text the case is different, as some of them are among the most difficult things in the language, and the commentators frequently arrive at most discordant interpretations of the obscurer passages. In the present version particulars concerning each Song have, except in a very few cases where comment appeared superfluous, been given [13] in a Foot-note, the general sense being usually first

indicated, the meaning of particular expressions then explained, and various opinions mentioned when they seemed worthy of notice. Besides one or two terms of Japanese grammar, the only technical knowledge with which the readers of the Notes are necessarily credited is that of the use by the Japanese poets of what have been styled Pillow-Words, Pivots, and Prefaces; and those Pillow-Words which are founded on a *jeu-de-mots* or are of doubtful signification form, with the one exception mentioned below, the only case where anything contained in the original is omitted from the English version. [8] After some consideration, it has been deemed advisable to print in an Appendix the Japanese text of all the Songs, transliterated into Roman. Students will thus find it easier to form their own opinion on the interpretation of doubtful passages. The importance likewise of these Songs, as the most ancient specimens of Altaic speech, makes it right to give them as much publicity as possible.

The text of the "Records" is, like many other Japanese texts, completely devoid of breaks corresponding to the chapters and paragraphs into which European works are divided. With the occasional exception of a pause after a catalogue of gods or princes, and of notes inserted in smaller type and generally containing genealogies or indicating the pronunciation of certain words, the whole story, prose and verse, runs on from beginning to end with no interruptions other than those marked by the conclusion of Vol. I and by the death of each emperor in Vols. II and III. Faithfulness however scarcely seems to demand more than this statement; for a Similarly, continuous printing of the English version would attain no end but that of making a very dry piece of reading more arduous still. Moreover, there are certain traditional names by which the various episodes of the so-called "Divine Age" are known to the native scholars, and according to which the text of Vol. I may naturally be divided. The reigns of the emperors form a similar

foundation for the analysis of Vols. II and III, which contain the account of the "Human Age." It has been thought that it would be well to mark such natural [14] divisions by the use of numbered Sections with marginal headings. The titles proposed by Motowori in the Prolegomena to his Commentary have been adopted with scarcely any alteration in the case of Vol. I. In Vols. II and III, where his sections mostly embrace the whole reign of an emperor, and the title given by him to each Section consists only of the name of the palace where each emperor is said to have resided, there is less advantage in following him; for those Sections are often inordinately long, and their titles occasionally misleading and always inconvenient for purposes of reference, as the Japanese emperors are commonly known, not by the names of their places of residence, but by their "canonical names." Motowori, as an ardent nationalist, of course rejected these "canonical names," because they were first applied to the Japanese emperors at a comparatively late date in imitation of Chinese usage. But to a foreigner this need be no sufficient reason for discarding them. The Sections in the translation of Vols. II and III have Therefore, been obtained by breaking up the longer reigns into appropriate portions; and in such Sections, as also in the Foot-notes, the emperors are always mentioned by their "canonical names." 9 The Vol. mentioned in brackets on every right-hand page is that of Motowori's Commentary which treats of the Section contained in that page.

The Notes translated from the original are indented, and are printed small when they are in small type in the Japanese text. Those only which give directions for pronouncing certain characters phonetically have been omitted, as they have no significance when the original tongue and method of writing are exchanged for foreign vehicles of thought and expression. The songs have likewise been indented for the sake of clearness, and each one printed as a separate paragraph. The occasionally unavoidable insertion

in the translation of important words not occurring in the Japanese text has been indicated by [15] printing such words within square brackets. The translator's Notes, which figure at the bottom of each page, do not aim at anything more than the exegesis of the actual text. To illustrate its subject-matter from other sources, as Motowori does, and to enlarge on all the subjects connected with Japanese antiquity which are sometimes merely alluded to in a single phrase, would require several more volumes the size of this one, many years of labour on the part of the investigator, and an unusually large stock of patience on the reader's part. The Notes terminate with the death of the Emperor Kenzō, after which the text ceases to offer any interest, except as a comment on the genealogies given in the "Chronicles of Japan.'

Without forgetting the fact that so-called equivalent terms in two languages rarely quite cover each other, and that it may Therefore, be necessary in some cases to render one Japanese word by two or three different English words according to the context, the translator has striven to keep such diversity within the narrowest limits, as it tends to give a false impression of the original, implying that it possesses a versatility of thought which is Indeed, characteristic of Modern Europe, but not at all of Early Japan. With reference to this point a certain class of words must be mentioned, as the English translation is unavoidably defective in their case, owing to the fact of our language not possessing sufficiently close synonyms for them. They are chiefly the names of titles, and are the following: —

Agata-no-atahe	Roughly rendered by:	*Departmental Suzerain.*
Agata-nushi	" " "	*Departmental Lord.*

Asomi (*Ason*)	"	"	"	*Court Noble.*
Atahe	"	"	"	*Suzerain.*
Hiko	"	"	"	*Prince.*
Hime	"	"	"	*Princess.*
Inaki	"	"	"	*Territorial Lord.*
Iratsuko	"	"	"	*Lord.*
Iratsume	"	"	"	*Lady.*
Kami	"	"	"	*Deity.*
Kimi	"	"	"	*Duke.*
Ma	"	"	"	*True.*
Miko (王)	"	"	"	*King.*
Mi Ko (御 子)	"	"	"	*August Child.* [16]
Mikoto	"	"	"	*Augustness.*
Miyatsuko	"	"	"	*Ruler.*
Murazhi	"	"	"	*Chief.*
Omi	"	"	"	*Grandee.*
Sukune	"	"	"	*Noble.*

Wake (in the names of human beings)	"	"	"	*Lord.*

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as "Duke," "Suzerain" etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name." [10] Where possible, Indeed, the etymological meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus *omi* seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from *ohomi*, "great body"; and "grandee" is Therefore, the nearest English equivalent. Similarly, *murazhi*, "chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe." On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of *wake* are extremely doubtful. *Hiko* and *hime* again, if they really come from *hi ko*, "sun-child" and *hi me*, "sun-female" (or "fire child" and "fire female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words "prince and princess," or "lord and lady,"—in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than "youth and maiden."

The four words *kami*, *ma*, *miko* and *mikoto* alone call for special notice; and *ma* may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific *mi*, rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character 眞, the translator renders it in English by "true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a [17] compound, *mi koto*, "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and "Highness," being suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: *Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto*, His Augustness Yamato-Take.

With regard to the title read *miko* by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a *young* prince is denoted by it, we find the characters 御子, "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of *infante*. But in other cases it is written with the single character 王"King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as *miko* is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings" may have been kings Indeed, after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of "prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is 王, "King." [11]

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest. Indeed, there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If Therefore, it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word "deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for *kami*, and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper

meaning of the word "*kami*" is "top," or "above"; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason, it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the *top* of the head, —not the hair on the face, —is so designated. Similarly, the Government, in popular phraseology, is *O Kami*, literally "the honorably above"; and down to a few years ago *Kami* was the name of a certain titular [11] provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods." A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word *Kami* the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the words "deity" and "god," with their very different associations. In using the word "deity," Therefore,; to translate the Japanese term *Kami* we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact, *Kami* does not mean much more than "superior." This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word *Kami* itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed, the treatment of Proper Names is always an embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what is a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has Therefore, first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place, and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name; or preserve

the original name and thus fail to render the meaning, —a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance, "*Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami*," the "Deity Master of the Great Land," is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty of the "Great Land," *i.e.* of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with. 12 Again *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*, which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moor, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears, —of a Thousand [19] Autumns, —of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific *description* of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand, it is plain that *Tema* was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases, —the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no satisfactory solution possible. The translator may Therefore, merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number of instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-

note when the translation has the name in English, and *vice versâ*, while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

Footnotes

8 For a special account of the Pillow-Words, etc., see a paper by the present writer in Vol. V, Pt. I, *et seq.* of these "Transactions," and for a briefer notice, his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese,".

9 The practice of bestowing a canonical name (*okurina* 諡) on an emperor after his decease dates from the latter part of the eighth century of our era when, at the command of the emperor Kuwam-mu, a scholar named Mifune-no-Mahito selected suitable "canonical names" for all the previous sovereigns, from Jim-mu down to Kuwan-mu's immediate predecessor. From that time forward every emperor has received his "canonical name" soon after death, and it is generally by it alone that he is known to history.

10 See Sect IV. of this Introduction and Sect. XIV, Note 5 of the Translation.

11 *Conf.* Section LVI, Note 7.

12 See the legend in Sect. XXIII.

III. THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is Indeed, generally known, that the "Records of Ancient Matters" do not stand alone. To say nothing of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Age" whose genuineness is disputed, there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled *Nihon-Gi*, *i.e.*, "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the "Records," which it has always excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the 'Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyo.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpretending simplicity [20] of the elder word. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese, —In fact, to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese phrases, —but the subject-matter is touched up, re-arranged, and polished, so as to make the work resemble a Chinese history so far as that was possible. Chinese philosophical speculations and moral precepts are intermingled with the cruder traditions that had descended from Japanese antiquity. Thus the naturalistic Japanese account of the creation is ushered in by a few sentences which trace the origin of all things to *Yin* and *Yang* (陰陽), the Passive and Active Essences of Chinese philosophy. The legendary Emperor Jim-mu is credited with speeches made up of quotations from the "*Yi Ching*," [13] the "*Li Chi*," [14] and other standard Chinese works. A few of the most childish of the national traditions are omitted, For instance, the story of the "White Hare of Inaba," that of the gods obtaining counsel of a toad, and that of the hospitality which a speaking mouse extended to the

deity Master-of-the Great-Land. [15] Sometimes the original tradition is simply softened down or explained away. A notable instance of this occurs in the account of the visit of the deity Izanagi [16] to Hades, whither he goes in quest of his dead wife, and among other things has to scale the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." [17] In the tradition preserved in the "Records" and Indeed, even in the "Chronicles," this pass or hill is mentioned as a literal geographical fact. But the compiler of the latter work, whose object it was to appear and to make his forefathers appear, as reasonable as a learned Chinese, acids a gloss to the effect that "One account says that the Even Hill of Hades is no distinct place, but simply the moment when breathing ceases at the time of death"; —not a happy guess certainly, for this pass is mentioned in connection with Izanagi's return to the land of the living. In short we may say of this work what was said of the Septuagint, —that it *rationalizes*.

Perhaps it will be asked, how can it have come to pass [21] that a book in which the national traditions are thus unmistakably tampered with, and which is Moreover, written in Chinese instead of in the native tongue, has enjoyed such a much greater share of popularity than the more genuine work?

The answer lies on the surface: the concessions made to Chinese notions went far towards satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods. People are rarely quite logical in such matters, particularly in an early stage of society; and difficulties are glossed over rather than insisted upon. The beginning of the world, For instance, or, to use Japanese phraseology. the "separation of heaven and earth" took place a long time ago; and perhaps,

although there could of course be no philosophical doubt as to the course of this event having been the interaction of the Passive and Active Essences, it might also somehow be true that Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male-Who-Invites" and the "Female-Who-Invites") were the progenitor and progenitrix of Japan. Who knows but what in them the formative principles may not have been embodied, represented, or figured forth after a fashion not quite determined, but none the less real? As a matter of fact, the two deities in question have often been spoken of in Japanese books under such designations as the "*Yin* Deity" and the "*Yang* Deity," and in his Chinese Preface the very compiler of these "Records" lends his sanction to the use of such phraseology, though, if we look closely at the part taken by the gods in the legend narrated in Sect. IV, it would seem but imperfectly applicable. If again early sovereigns, such as the Empress Jin-gō, address their troops in sentences cribbed from the "*Shu Ching*," [18] or, like the Emperor Kei-kō, describe the Ainos in terms that would only suit the pages of a Chinese topographer, —both these personages being supposed to have lived prior to the opening up of intercourse with the continent of Asia, —the anachronism was partly hidden by the fact of the work which thus recorded their doings being itself written in the Chinese language, where such phrases only sounded natural. In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native [22] one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shintō priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into desuetude. Whether Indeed, this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of

a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. The use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle for counting years, months, and days is another instance of the imported usage having become so thoroughly incorporated with native habits of mind as to make the anachronism of employing it when speaking of a period confessedly anterior to the introduction of continental civilization pass unnoticed. As for the (to a modern European) grotesque notion of pretending to give the precise months and days of events supposed to have occurred a thousand years before the date assigned to the introduction of astronomical instruments, of observatories, and even of the art of writing, that is another of those inconsistencies which, while lying on the very surface, yet so easily escape the uncritical Oriental mind. [19] Semi-civilized people tire of asking questions, and to question antiquity, which fills so great a place in their thoughts, is the last thing that would occur to any of their learned men, whose mental attitude is characteristically represented by Confucius when he calls himself "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients." [20] As regards the question of language, standard Chinese soon became easier to understand than Archaic Japanese, as the former [23] alone was taught in the schools and the native language changed rapidly during the century or two that followed the diffusion of the foreign tongue and civilization. We have only to call to mind the relative facility to most of ourselves of a Latin book and of one written in Early English. Of course, as soon as the principles of the Japanese *Renaissance* had taken hold of men's minds in the eighteenth century, the more genuine, more national work assumed its proper place in the estimation of students. But the uncouthness of the style according to modern ideas, and the greater amount of explanation of all sorts that is required in order to make the "Records of Ancient Matters" intelligible, must always prevent them from attaining to

the popularity of the sister history. Thus, though published almost simultaneously, the tendencies of the two works were very different, and their fate has differed accordingly.

To the European student the chief value of the "Chronicles of Japan" lies in the fact that their author, in treating of the so-called "Divine Age," often gives a number of various forms of the same legend under the heading of 'One account says," suffixed in the form of a note to the main text. No phrase is more commonly met with in later treatises on Japanese history than this, —"One account in the 'Chronicles of Japan' says," and it will be met with occasionally in the Foot-notes to the present translation. There are likewise instances of the author of the "Chronicles" having preserved, either in the text or in "One account," traditions omitted by the compiler of the "Records." Such are, For instance, the quaint legend invented to explain the fact that the sun and moon do not shine simultaneously, 21 and the curious development of the legend of the expulsion of the deity [24] *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male"), telling us of the hospitality which was refused to him by the other gods when he appeared before them to beg for shelter. Many of the Songs, too, in the "Chronicles" are different from those in the "Records," and make a precious addition to our vocabulary of Archaic Japanese. The prose text, likewise, contains in the shape of notes, numbers of readings by which the pronunciation of words written ideographically, or the meaning of words written phonetically in the "Records" may be ascertained. Finally, the "Chronicles" give us the annals of seventy-two years not comprised in the plan of the "Records," by carrying down to A.D. 700 the history which in the "Records" stops at the year 628. Although Therefore, it is a mistake to assert, as some have done, that the "Chronicles of Japan" must be placed at the head of all the Japanese historical works,

their assistance can in no wise be dispensed with by the student of Japanese mythology and of the Japanese language. [22]

Footnotes

13 易經.

14 禮記.

15 See Sects. XXI., XXVII and XXIII.

16 Rendered in the English translation by "the Male-Who-Invites."

17 *Yomo tsu Hira-Saka*.

18 書經.

19 Details as to the adoption by the Japanese of the Chinese system of computing time will be found in the late Mr. Bramsen's "Japanese Chronological Tables," where that lamented scholar brands "the whole system of fictitious dates applied in the first histories of Japan," as one of the greatest literary frauds over perpetrated, from which we may infer how little trust can be placed in the early Japanese historical works. See also Motowori's "Inquiry into the True Chronology,", and his second work on the same subject entitled "Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology," *et seq.*

20 "Confucian Analects," Book VII. Chap. I. Dr. Legge's translation.

21 It may perhaps be worthwhile to quote this legend in full. It is as follows:

"One account says that the Heaven-Shining Great Deity, being in Heaven said: 'I hear that in the Central Land of Reed-Plains (*i.e.* Japan) there is a Food-Possessing Deity. Do, thou, Thine Augustness Moon-Night Possessor, go and see.' His Augustness the Moon-Night Possessor, having received these orders, descended [to earth], and arrived at the place where the Food-Possessing Deity was. The Food-Possessing Deity forthwith, on turning her head towards the land, produced rice from her mouth; again, on turning to the sea, she also produced from her mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin; again, on turning to the mountains, she also produced from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Having collected together all these things, she offered them [to the Moon-God] as a feast on a hundred tables. At this time His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor, being angry and colouring up, said: 'How filthy! how vulgar! What! shalt thou dare to feed me with things spat out from thy mouth?' [and with these words], he drew his sabre and slew her. Afterwards he made his report [to the Sun-Goddess]. When he told her all the particulars, the Heaven-Shining Great Deity was very angry, and said: 'Thou art a wicked Deity, whom it is not right for me to see;'—and forthwith she and His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor dwelt separately day and night." The partly Parallel legend given in these "Records" forms the subject of Sect. XVII of the Translation.

22 Compare Mr. Satow's remarks on this subject in Vol. III, Pt. I, of these "Transactions."

IV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

The Japanese of the mythical period, as pictured in the legends preserved by the compiler of the "Records of Ancient Matters," were a race who had long emerged from the savage state, and had attained to a high level of barbaric skill. The Stone Age was forgotten by them—or nearly so, —and the evidence points to their never having passed through a genuine Bronze Age, though the knowledge of bronze was at a later period introduced from the neighbouring continent. They used iron for [25] manufacturing spears, swords, and knives of various shapes, and likewise for the more peaceful purpose of making hooks wherewith to angle, or to fasten the doors of their huts. Their other warlike and hunting implements (besides traps and gins, which appear to have been used equally for catching beasts and birds and for destroying human enemies) were bows and elbow-pads, —the latter seemingly of skin, while special allusion is made to the fact that the arrows were feathered. Perhaps clubs should be added to the list. Of the bows and arrows, swords and knives, there is perpetual mention; but nowhere do we hear of the tools with which they were manufactured, and there is the same remarkable silence regarding such widely spread domestic implements as the saw and the axe, We hear, however, of the pestle and fire-drill, of the wedge, of the sickle, and of the shuttle used in weaving.

Navigation seems to have been in a very elementary stage. Indeed, the art of sailing was, as we know from the classical literature of the country, but little practised in Japan even so late as the middle of the tenth century of our era subsequent to the general diffusion of Chinese civilization, though rowing and punting are often mentioned by the early poets. In one passage of the

"Records" and in another of the "Chronicles," mention is made of a "two-forked boat" used on inland pools or lakes; but, as a rule, in the earlier portions of those works, we read only of people going to sea or being sent down from heaven in water-proof baskets without oars, and reaching their destination not through any efforts of their own, but through supernatural inter-position. [23]

To what we should call towns or villages very little [26] reference is made anywhere in the "Records" or in that portion of the "Chronicles" which contains the account of the so-called "Divine Age." But from what we learn incidentally, it would seem that the scanty population was chiefly distributed in small hamlets and isolated dwellings along the coast and up the course of the larger streams. Of house-building there is frequent mention, —especially of the building of palaces or temples for sovereigns or gods, —the words "palace" and "temple" being (it should be mentioned) represented in Japanese by the same term. Sometimes, in describing the construction of such a sacred dwelling, the author of the "Records," abandoning his usual fiat and monotonous style, soars away on poetic wings, as when, For instance, he tells how the monarch of Idzumo, on abdicating in favour of the Sun-Goddess's descendant, covenanted that the latter should "make stout his temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the plain of High Heaven." [24] It must not, however, be inferred from such language that these so-called palaces and temples were of very gorgeous and imposing aspect. The more exact notices to be culled from the ancient Shintō Rituals (which are but little posterior to the "Records" and in no wise contradict the inferences to be drawn from the latter) having been already summarized by Mr. Satow, it may be as well to quote that gentleman's words. He says: [25] "The palace of the Japanese sovereign was a wooden hut, with its pillars planted in the ground, instead

of being erected upon broad fiat stories as in modern buildings. The whole frame-work, consisting of posts, beams, rafters, door-posts and window-frames, was tied together with cords made by twisting the long fibrous stems of climbing plants, such as Pueraria Thunbergiana (*kuzu*) and Wistaria Sinensis (*fuji*), The floor must have been low down, so that the occupants of the building, as they squatted or lay on their mats, were exposed to the stealthy attacks of venomous snakes, which were probably far more numerous in the earliest ages when the country was for the most part uncultivated, than at the present day . . . There seems some reason to think that the *yuka*, here translated floor, was originally nothing but a couch which ran round the sides of the hut, the rest [27] of the space being simply a mud-floor, and that the size of the couch was gradually increased until it occupied the whole interior. The rafters projected upward beyond the ridge-pole, crossing each other as is seen in the roofs of modem Shin-tau temples, whether their architecture be in conformity with early traditions (in which case all the rafters are so crossed) or modified in accordance with more advanced principles of construction, and the crossed rafters retained only as ornaments at the two ends of the ridge. The roof was thatched, and perhaps had a gable at each end, with a hole to allow the smoke of the wood-fire to escape, so that it was possible for birds flying in and perching on the beams overhead, to defile the food, or the fire with which it was cooked." To this description it need only be added that fences were in use, and that the wooden doors, sometimes fastened by means of hooks, resembled those with which we are familiar in Europe rather than the sliding, screen-like doors of modem Japan. The windows seem to have been mere holes. Rugs of skins and rush matting were occasionally brought in to sit upon, and we even hear once or twice of "silk rugs" being used for the same purpose by the noble and wealthy.

The habits of personal cleanliness which so pleasantly distinguish the modern Japanese from their neighbours, in continental Asia, though less fully developed than at present, would seem to have existed in the germ in early times, as we read more than once of bathing in rivers, and are told of bathing-women being specially attached to the person of a certain imperial infant. Lustrations, too, formed part of the religious practices of the race. Latrines are mentioned several times. They would appear to have been situated away from the houses and to have generally been placed over a running stream, whence doubtless the name for latrine in the Archaic Dialect, *kaha-ya i.e.* "river house." A well-known Japanese classic of the tenth century. the "Yamato Tales," [26] tells us Indeed, that "in older days the people dwelt in houses raised on platforms built out on the river Ikuta," and goes on to relate a story which presupposes such a method of architecture. [27] A passage in the account of the reign of the Emperor Jim-mu which occurs both in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," and another in the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin occurring in the "Records" only, might be interpreted so as to support this statement. [28] But both are extremely obscure, and beyond the fact that people who habitually lived near the water may have built their houses after the aquatic fashion practised in different parts of the world by certain savage tribes both ancient and modem, the present writer is not aware of any authority for the assertion that they actually did so except the isolated passage in the "Yamato Tales" just quoted.

A peculiar sort of dwelling-place which the two old histories bring prominently under our notice, is the so called "Parturition-house,"—a one-roomed hut without windows which a woman was expected to build and retire into for the purpose of being delivered unseen. [29] It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly-married couples retired into a specially built

hut for the purpose [29] of consummating the marriage, and it is certain that for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.

Castles are not distinctly spoken of till a period which, though still mythical in the opinion of the present writer, coincides according to the received chronology with the first century B. C. We then first meet with the curious term "rice-castle," whose precise signification is a matter of dispute among the native commentators, but which, on comparison with Chinese descriptions of the Early Japanese, should probably be understood to mean a kind of palisade serving the purpose of a redoubt, behind which the warriors could ensconce themselves. 30 If this conjecture be correct, we have here a good instance of a word, so to speak, moving upward with the march of civilization, the term, which formerly denoted something not much better than a fence, having later come to convey the idea of a stone castle.

To conclude the subject of dwelling-places, it should be stated that cave-dwellers are sometimes alluded to. The legend of the retirement of the Sun-Goddess into a cavern may possibly suggest to some the idea of an early period when such habitations were the normal abodes of the ancestors of the Japanese race. 31 But at the time when the national traditions assumed their present shape, such a state of things had certainly quite passed away, if it ever existed, and only barbarous Ainos and rough bands of robbers are credited with the construction of such primitive retreats. Natural caves (it may be well to state) are rare in Japan, and the caves that are alluded to were mostly artificial, as may be gathered from the context.

The food of the Early Japanese consisted of fish and of the flesh of the wild creatures which fell by the hunter's arrow or were taken in the trapper's snare, —an animal diet with which Buddhist prohibitions had not yet interfered, as they began to do in early historical times. Rice is the only

cereal of which there is such mention made as to place it beyond a doubt that its [30] cultivation dates back to time immemorial. Beans, millet, and barley are Indeed, named once, together with silkworms, in the account of the "Divine Age." [32] But the passage has every aspect of an interpolation in the legend, perhaps not dating back long before the time of the eighth century compiler. A few unimportant vegetables and fruits, of most of which there is but a single mention, will be found in the list of plants given below. The intoxicating liquor called *sake* was known in Japan during the mythical period [33] and so were chopsticks for eating the food with. Cooking-pots and cups and dishes—the latter both of earthenware and of leaves of trees, —are also mentioned; but of the use of fire for warming purposes we hear nothing. Tables are named several times, but never in connection with food. They would seem to have been exclusively used for the purpose of presenting offerings on, and were probably quite small and low, —In fact, rather trays than tables according to European ideas.

In the use of clothing and the specialization of garments the Early Japanese had reached a high level. We read in the most ancient legends of upper garments, skirts, trowsers, girdles, veils, and hats, while both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces, bracelets, and head-ornaments of stones considered precious, —in this respect offering a striking contrast to their descendants in modern times, of whose attire jewelry forms no part. The material of their clothes was hempen cloth and paper-mulberry bark, coloured by being rubbed with madder, and probably with woad and other tinctorial plants. All the garments, so far as we may judge, were woven, sewing being nowhere mentioned, and it being expressly stated by the Chinese commentator on the "*Shan Hai Ching*," [34] who wrote early in the fourth century, that the Japanese had no needles. [35] From the great place which the chase occupied in daily life we are led to suppose that skins also

were used to make garments of. There is in the "Records" at least one passage which favours this supposition, [36] and the "Chronicles" in one place mention the straw rain-coat and broad-brimmed hat, which still form the [31] Japanese peasant's effectual protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The tendrils of creeping plants served the purposes of string, and bound the warrior's sword round his waist. Combs are mentioned, and it is evident that much attention was devoted to the dressing of the hair. The men seem to have bound up their hair in two bunches, one on each side of the head, whilst the young boys tied theirs into a topknot, the unmarried girls let their locks hang down over their necks, and the married women dressed theirs after a fashion which apparently combined the two last-named methods. There is no mention in any of the old books of cutting the hair or beard except in token of disgrace; neither do we gather that the sexes, but for this matter of the headdress, were distinguished by a diversity of apparel and ornamentation.

With regard to the precious stones mentioned above as having been used as ornaments for the head, neck, and arms, the texts themselves give us little or no information as to the identity of the stones meant to be referred to. Indeed, it is plain (and the native commentators admit the fact) that a variety of Chinese characters properly denoting different sort of jewels were used indiscriminately by the early Japanese writers to represent the single native word *tama* which is the only one the language contains to denote any hard substance on which a special value is set, and which often refers chiefly to the rounded shape, so that it might In fact, be translated by the word "bead" as fittingly as by the word "jewel." We know, however, from the specimens which have rewarded the labours of archaeological research in Japan that agate, crystal, glass, jade, serpentine, and steatite are the most

usual materials, and carved and pierced cylindrical shapes (*maga-tama* and *kuda-tama*), the commonest forms. [37]

The horse (which was ridden, but not driven), the barn-door fowl, and the cormorant used for fishing) are the only domesticated creatures mentioned in the earlier traditions, with the doubtful exception of the silkworm, to [32] which reference has already been made. [38] In the later portions of the "Records" and "Chronicles," dogs and cattle are alluded to; but sheep, swine, and even cats were apparently not yet introduced. Indeed, sheep were scarcely to be seen in Japan until a few years ago, goats are still almost unknown, and swine and all poultry excepting the barn-door fowl extremely uncommon.

The following enumeration of the animals and plants mentioned in the earlier portion [39] of the "Records" may be of interest. The Japanese equivalents, some few of which are obsolete, are put in parenthesis, together with the Chinese characters used to write them:

MAMMALS.

Bear, (*kuma* 熊).
Boar, (*wi* 猪).
Deer, (*shika* 鹿).
Hare, (*usagi* 兎).
Horse, (uma 馬and *koma* 駒).
Mouse or Rat (*nedzumi* 鼠).
"Sea-ass" [Seal or Sea-lion?] (*michi* 海鱸).
Whale, (*kujira* 鯨).

BIRDS.

Barndoor-fowl, (*kake* 鷄).
Cormorant, (*u* 鵜).
Crow or Raven, (*karasu* 烏).
Dotterel *or* Plover *or* Sand-piper, (*chidori* 千鳥).
Heron *or* Egret (*sagi* 鷺).
Kingfisher (*soni-dori* 翠鳥), *Nuye* (鵺). 40
Pheasant (*kigishi* 雉).
Snipe, (*shigi* 鴫).
Swan, (*shiro-tori* 白鳥)
Wild-duck, (*kamo* 鴨).
Wild-goose, (*kari* 鴈).

REPTILES.

Crocodile, (*wani* 鰐). 41
Tortoise (*kame* 龜).
Toad *or* Frog, (*taniguku*, written phonetically).
Serpent, (*worochi* 蛇).
Snake [smaller than the preceding], (*hemi* 蛇).

INSECTS.

Centipede, (*mukade* 蜈松).
Dragon-fly, (*akidzu* 蜻蛉).
Fly, (*hahi* 蠅).
Louse, (*shirami* 虱).

Silk-worm, (*kahiko* 蠶).
Wasp *or* Bee, (*hachi* 蜂).

FISHES, ETC.

Pagrus cardinalis [probably], (*aka-dahi* 赤鯛) [or perhaps the *Pagrus cardinalis* (*tai* 鯛) is intended.]
Perch [*Percalabrax japonicus*] (*su-dzuki* 鱸).
Beche-de-mer [genus *Pentacta*] (*ko* 海鼠).
Medusa, (*kurage*, written phonetically).

SHELLS.

Arca Subcrenata [?] (*hirabu-kahi*, written phonetically).
Cockle [*Arca Inflata*] (*kisa-gahi* 蜃貝).
Turbinidæ [a shell of the family] (*shitadami* 細螺).

PLANTS.

Ampelopsis serianæfolia [?] (*kaga-mi* 羅摩).
Aphanarthe aspera, (*muku*, written phonetically).
Aucuba japonica [probably] *aha-gi*, written phonetically).
Bamboo, (*take* 竹).
Bamboo-grass [*Bambusa chino*], (*sasa* 小竹).
Barley [or wheat?], (*mugi* 麥).
Beans [two kinds, viz., *Soja glycine* and *Phaselus radiatus* (the general name is *mame* 豆, that of the latter species in particular *adzuki* 小豆).
Bulrush [*Typha japonica*] (*kama* 蒲黃).
Bush-clover [*Lespedeza* of various species], (*hagi* 萩).

Camellia japonica (*tsuba-ki* 椿).
Cassia [Chinese mythical; or perhaps the native *Cercidiphyllum japonica*], (*katsura*, variously written).
Chamæcyparis obtusa, (*hi-no-ki* 檜)
Cleyera japonica [and another allied but undetermined species) (*saka-ki* 榊).
Clubmoss, (*hi-koge* 日景).
Cocculus thunbergi [probably] (*tsu-dzura* 黑葛).
Cryptomeria japonica, (*sugi* 杉).
Eulalia japonica (*kaya* 茅草).
Evonymus japonica, (*masa-ki* 眞賢木).
Ginger, [or perhaps the *Xanthoxylon* is intended] (*hazhikami* 薑).
Halocholoa macrantha [but it is not certain that this is the sea-weed intended] (*komo* 海專).
Holly [or rather the *Olea aquifolium*, which closely resembles holly], (*hihira-gi* 柊).
Knot-grass [*Polygonum tinctorium*] *(awi* 藍).
Lily, (*sawi* written phonetically, *yamayuri-gusa* 山由理草, and *saki-kusa* 三枝草).
Madder. (*akane* 茜).
Millet [*Panicum italicum*], (*aha* 粟).
Moss, (*koke* 蘿).
Oak (two species, one evergreen and one deciduous, —*Quercus myrsinæfolia*, *Q. dentata* (*kashi* 白樫, *kashiwa* 柏).
Peach, (*momo* 桃).
Photinia glabra [?], (*soba*, written phonetically).
Pine-tree, (*matsu* 松).
Pueraria thumbergiana, (*kudzu* 葛).

Reed, (*ashi* 葦).
Rice, (*ine* 稻).
Sea-weed [or the original term may designate a particular species], (*me* 海布).
Sedge [*Scriptus marintimus*], (*suge* 菅).
Spindle-tree [*Evonymus radians*], (*masaki no kadzura* 眞柝鬘).
Vegetable Wax-tree [*Rhus succedanea*], (*hazhi* 櫨).
Vine, (*yebi-kadsura* 蔦蒲).
Wild cherry [or birch?], (*hahaka* 朱櫻).
Wild chive [or rather the *allium* and *odorum*, which closely resembles it], (*ka-mira* 臭韮).
Winter-cherry [*Physalis alkekengi*] *aka-kagachi* written phonetically, also (*hohodzuki* 酸醬).

The later portions of the work furnish in addition the following: —

ANIMALS.

Cow (*ushi* 牛).
Dog, (*inu* 犬).
Crane, [genus *Grus*] (*tadzu* 鶴).
[35] Dove *or* Pigeon, (*hato* 鳩).
Grebe, (*niho-dori* 鸕鷀鳥).
Lark, (*hibari* 雲雀).
Peregrine falcon, (*hayabusa* 隼).
Red-throated quail (*udzura* 鶉)
Tree-sparrow (*susume* 雀).
Wag-tail, [probably] (*mana-bashira*), written phonetically.
Wren, (*sazaki* 鷦鷯).

Dolphin, (*iruka* 入鹿魚).
Trout, [*Plecoglossus altivelis*] (*ayu* 年魚).
Tunny, [a kind of, viz. *Thynnus sibi*] (*shibi* 鮪).
Crab, (*kani* 蟹).
Horse-fly (*amu* 虻).
Oyster (*kaki*) 蠣.

PLANTS.

Alder [*Alnus maritima*] (*hari-no-ki* 榛).
Aralia (*mi-tsuna gashiwa* 御綱柏).
Brasenia peltata (*nunaha*) 蓴.
Cabbage [*brassica*] (*aona* 菘菜).
Catalpa Kaempfri [but some say the cherry is meant (*adzusa* 梓).
Chestnut (*kuri* 栗).
Dioscorea quinqueloba (*tokoro-dzura* 解葛).
Evonymus sieboldianus mayumi 木檀)
Gourd (*hisago* 瓢).
Hedysarum esculentum (*wogi* 荻).
Hydropyrum latifolium (*komo* 菰).
Kadzura japonica (*sen kadzura* 蕺).
Livistona sinensis (*aji-masa* 檳榔).
Lotus [*nelumbium*] (*hachisu* 蓮).
Musk-melon (*hozoahi* 熟瓜).
Oak, [three species, *Quercus serrata* (*kunugi* 櫪木) and *Q. glandifera* (*nara* 楢), both deciduous; *Q. gilva* (*ichihi* 赤樹) [evergreen].
Orange (*tachibana* 橘).
Podocarpus macrophylla (*maki* 檜).

Radish, [*Raphanus sativus*] (*oho-ne* 大根).
Sashibu (written phonetically) [not identified].
Water caltrop, [*Trapa bispinosa*] (*hishi* 菱).
Wild garlic [*Allium nipponicum*] (*nubiru* 野蒜).
Zelkowa keaki [probably] (*tsuki* 槻).

A few more are probably preserved in the names of places. Thus in Shinano, the name of a province, we seem to have the *shina* (*Tilia cordata*), and in Tadetsu the *tade* (*Polygonum japonicum*). But the identification in these cases is mostly uncertain. It must also be remembered that, as in the case of all non-scientific nomenclatures, several species, and occasionally even more than one genus, are included in a single Japanese term. The *chi-dori* (here always rendered "dotterel") is the name of any kind of sand-piper, plover or dotterel. *Kari* is a general name applied to geese, but not to all the species, and also to the great bustard. Again it should not be forgotten that there may have been, and probably were, in the application of some of these terms, differences of usage between the present day and eleven or twelve centuries ago. Absolute precision is Therefore, not attainable. [42]

Noticeable in the above lists is the abundant mention of plant-names in a work which is in no ways occupied with botany. Equally noticeable is the absence of some of those which are most common at the present day, such as the tea-plant and the plum-tree, while of the orange we are specially informed that it was introduced from abroad. [43] The difference between the various stones and metals seems, On the other hand, to have attracted [36] very little attention from the Early Japanese. In late times the chief metals were named mostly according to their colour, as follows:

Yellow metal	(gold).
White metal	(silver).
Red metal	(copper).
Black metal	(iron).
Chinese (or Korean) metal	(bronze).

But in the "Records" the only metal of which it is implied that it was in use from time immemorial is iron, while "various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards," are only referred to once as existing in the far-western land of Korea. Red clay is the sole kind of earth specially named.

Black.
Blue (including Green).
Red.
Piebald (of horses).
White.

Yellow is not mentioned (except in the foreign Chinese phrase "the Yellow Stream," signifying Hades, and not to be counted in this context), neither are any of the numerous terms which in Modem Japanese serve to distinguish delicate shades of colour. We hear of the "blue (or green) (*i.e.* black [44]) clouds" and also of the "blue (or green), sea"; but the "blue sky" is conspicuous by its absence here as in so many other early literatures, though strangely enough it does occur in the oldest written monuments of the Chinese.

With regard to the subject of names for the different degrees of relationship, —a subject of sufficient interest to the student of sociology to warrant its being discussed at some length, —it may be stated that in modern Japanese parlance the categories according to which relationship is conceived of do not materially differ from those that are current in Europe. Thus we find father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, nephew. stepfather, stepson, father-in-law, and the corresponding terms for females, —mother, grandmother etc., —as well as such vaguer designations as parents, ancestors, cousins, and kinsmen, The only striking difference is that brothers and sister, instead of being considered as all mutually related in the same manner, are divided into two categories, viz:

Ani	兄	elder brother(s),
Otouto	弟	younger brother(s),
Ane	姉	elder sister(s),
Imouto	妹	younger sister(s).

in exact accordance with Chinese usage.

Now in Archaic times there seems to have been a different and more complicated system, somewhat resembling that which still obtains among the natives of Korea, and which the introduction of Chinese ideas and especially the use of the Chinese written characters must have caused to be afterwards abandoned. There are indications of it in some of the phonetically written fragments of the "Records." But they are not of

themselves sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation, and the subject has puzzled the native *literati* themselves. Moreover, the English language fails us at this point, and elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister are the only terms at the translator's command. It may Therefore, be as well to quote *in extenso* Motowori's elucidation of the Archaic usage to be found in vol. XIII, of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters." [45] He says: "Anciently, when brothers and sister were spoken of, the elder brother was called *se* or *ani* in contradistinction to the younger brothers and younger sister, and the younger brother also was called *se* in contradistinction to the elder sister. The elder sister was called *ane* in contradistinction to the younger sister, and the younger brother also would use the word *ane* in speaking of his elder sister himself. The younger brother was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the younger sister also was called *oto* in contradistinction to the elder sister. The younger sister was called *imo* in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the elder sister also was called *imo* in [38] contradistinction to the younger brother. It was also the custom among brothers and sister to use the words *iro-se* for *se*, *iro-ne* for *ane*, and *iro-do* for *oto*, and analogy forces us to conclude that *iro-mo* was used for *imo*." (Motowori elsewhere explains *iro* as a term of endearment identical with the word *iro*, "love"; but we may hesitate to accept this view.) It will be observed that the foundation of this system of nomenclature was a subordination of the younger to the elder-born modified by a subordination of the females to the males. In the East, especially in primitive times, it is not "*Place aux dames*," but "*Place aux messieurs*."

Another important point to notice is that, though in a few passages of the "Records" we find a distinction drawn between the chief and the secondary wives, perhaps nothing more than the favorite or better-born, and the less

well-born, are meant to be thus designated, —yet not only is this distinction not drawn throughout, but the wife is constantly spoken of as *imo*, *i.e.* "younger sister." It fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas; and what in a later stage of Japanese, as of Western, civilization is abhorred as incest was in Archaic Japanese times the common practice. We also hear of marriages with half-sister, with stepmothers, and with aunts; and to wed two or three sister at the same time was a recognized usage. Most such unions were naturally so contrary to Chinese ethical ideas, that one of the first traces of the influence of the latter in Japan was the stigmatizing of them as incest; and the conflict between the old native custom and the imported moral code is seen to have resulted in political troubles. [46] Marriage with sister was naturally the first to disappear, and Indeed, it is only mentioned in the legends of the gods; but unions with half-sister, aunts, etc., lasted on into the historic epoch. Of exogamy, such as obtains in China, there is no trace in any Japanese document, nor do any other artificial impediments seem to have stood in the way of the free choice of the Early Japanese man, who also (in some cases at least) received a dowry with his bride or brides.

* * *

If, taking as our guides the incidental notices which are scattered up and down the pages of the earlier [39] portion of the "Records" we endeavour to follow an Archaic Japanese through the chief events of his life from the cradle to the tomb, it will be necessary to begin by recalling what has already been alluded to as the 'parturition-house' built by the mother, and in which, as we are specially told that it was made windowless, it would perhaps be contradictory to say that the infant first saw the light. Soon after birth a name was given to it, —given to it by the mother, —such name

generally containing some appropriate personal reference. In the most ancient times each person (so far as we can judge) bore but one name, or rather one string of words compounded together into a sort of personal designation. But already at the dawn of the historical epoch we are met by the mention of surnames and of what, in the absence of a more fitting word, the translator has ventured to call "gentile names," bestowed by the sovereign as a recompense for some noteworthy deed. 47

It may be gathered from our text that the idea of calling in the services of wet-nurses in exceptional case had already suggested itself to the minds of the ruling class, whose infants were likewise sometimes attended by special bathing-women. To what we should call education, whether mental or physical, there is absolutely no reference made in the histories. All that can be inferred is that, when old enough to do so, the boys began to follow one of the callings of hunter or fisherman, while the girls stayed at home weaving the garments of the family. There was also a great deal of fighting, generally of a treacherous kind, in the intervals of which the warriors occupied themselves in cultivating patches of ground. The very little which is to be gathered concerning the treatment of old people would seem to indicate that they were well cared for.

We are nowhere told of any wedding ceremonies except the giving of presents by the bride or her father, the probable reason being that no such ceremonies [40] existed. Indeed, late on into the Middle Age cohabitation alone constituted matrimony, —cohabitation often secret at first, but afterwards acknowledged, when, instead of going round under cover of night to visit his mistress, the young man brought her back publicly to his parents' house. Mistress, wife, and concubine were thus terms which were not distinguished, and the woman could naturally be discarded at any

moment. She Indeed, was expected to remain faithful to the man with whom she had had more than a passing intimacy, but no reciprocal obligation bound him to her. Thus the wife of one of the gods is made to address her husband in a poem which says:

"Thou . . . Indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But I, alas! being a woman, have no spouse except thee," etc., etc. [48]

In this sombre picture the only graceful touch is the custom which lovers or spouses had of tieing each other's girdles when about to part for a time, —a ceremony by which they implied that they would be constant to each other during the period of absence. [49] What became of the children in cases of conjugal separation does not clearly appear. In the only instance which is related at length, we find the child left with the father; but this instance is not a normal one. [50] Adoption is not mentioned in the earliest traditions; so that when we meet with it later on we shall probably be justified in tracing its introduction to Chinese sources.

Of death-bed scenes and dying speeches we hear but little, and that little need not detain us. The burial rites are more important. The various ceremonies observed on such an occasion are Indeed, not explicitly detailed. But we gather thus much: that the hut tenanted by the deceased was abandoned, —an ancient custom to whose former existence the removal of the capital at the commencement of each reign long [41] continued to bear witness, —and that the body was first deposited for some days in a "mourning-house," during which interval the survivors (though their tears and lamentations are also mentioned) held a carousal, feasting perhaps on the food which was specially prepared as an offering to the dead

person. Afterwards, the corpse was interred, presumably in a wooden bier, as the introduction of stone tombs is specially noted by the historian as having taken place at the end of the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin, and was Therefore, believed by those who handed down the legendary history to have been a comparatively recent innovation, the date assigned to this monarch by the author of the "Chronicles" coinciding with the latter part of our first, and the first half of our second centuries. To a time not long anterior is attributed the abolition of a custom previously observed at the interments of royal personages. This custom was the burying alive of some of their retainers in the neighbourhood of the tomb. We know also, both from other early literary sources and from the finds which have recently rewarded the labours of archaeologists, that articles of Clothing, ornaments, etc., were buried with the corpse. it is all the more curious that the "Records" should nowhere make any reference to such a custom, and is a proof (if any be needed) of the necessity of not relying exclusively on any single authority, however respectable, if the full and true picture of Japanese antiquity is to be restored. A few details as to the abolition of the custom of burying retainers alive round their master's tomb, and of the substitution for this cruel holocaust of images in clay will be found in Sect. LXIII, Note 23, and in Sect. LXXV, Note 4, of the following translation. [51] If the custom be one which is properly included under the heading of human sacrifices, it is the only form of such sacrifices of which the earliest recorded Japanese social state retained any trace. The absence of slavery is another honourable feature. On the other hand, the most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrongdoers. Their nails were extracted, the sinews of their knees were cut, they were buried up to the neck so that their eyes burst, etc. Death, too, was inflicted for the [42] most trivial offences. Of branding, or rather tattooing, the face as a punishment there are one or two incidental

mentions. But as no tattooing or other marking or painting of the body for any other purpose is ever alluded to, with the solitary exception in one passage of the painting of her eyebrows by a woman, it is possible that the penal use of tattooing may have been borrowed from the Chinese, to whom it was not unknown.

The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the "Records" bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. It is true that decency, as we understand it, is a very modern product, and is not to be looked for in any society in the barbarous stage. At the same time, the whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naïve filthiness of the passage forming Sect. IV of the following translation, or to the extraordinary topic which the hero Yamato-Take and his mistress Miyazu are made to select as the theme of poetical repartee. [52] One passage likewise would lead us to suppose that the most beastly crimes were commonly committed. [53]

To conclude this portion of the subject, it may be useful for the sake of comparison to call attention to a few arts and products with which the early Japanese were *not* acquainted, Thus they had no tea, no fans, no porcelain, no lacquer, —none of the things, In fact, by which in later times they have been chiefly known. They did not yet use vehicles of any kind. They had no accurate method of computing time, no money, scarcely any knowledge of medicine. Neither, though they possessed some sort of music, and poems a few of which at least are not without merit, [54] do we hear anything of the art of drawing. But the most important art of which they were ignorant is that of writing. As some misapprehension has existed on this head, and scholars in [43] Europe have been misled by the inventions of zealous champions of the Shintō religion into a belief in the so-called "Divine Characters," by

them alleged to have been invented by the Japanese gods and to have been used by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese ideographic writing, it must be stated precisely that all the traditions of the "Divine Age," and of the reigns of the earlier Emperors down to the third century of our era according to the received chronology, maintain a complete silence on the subject of writing materials, and records of every kind. Books are nowhere mentioned till a period confessedly posterior to the opening up of intercourse with the Asiatic continent, and the first books whose names occur are the "Lun Yü" and the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên," [55] which are said to have been brought over to Japan during the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, —according to the same chronology in the year 284 after Christ. That even this statement is antedated, is shown by the fact that the "Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên," was not written till more than two centuries later, —a fact which is worthy the attention of those who have been disposed simply to take on trust the assertions of the Japanese historians. It should likewise be mentioned that, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Aston, the Japanese terms *fumi* "written document," and *fude* "pen," are probably corruptions of foreign words. [56] The present, Indeed, is not the [44] place to discuss the whole question of the so-called "Divine Characters" which Motowori, the most patriotic as well as the most learned of the Japanese literati, dismisses in a note to the Prolegomena of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" with the remark that they "are a late forgery over which no words need be wasted." But as this mare's nest has been imported into the discussion of the Early Japanese social state, and as the point is one on which the absolute silence of the early traditions bears such clear testimony, it was impossible to pass it by without some brief allusion.

Footnotes

23 A curious scrap of the history of Japanese civilization is preserved in the word *kaji*, whose exclusive acceptation in the modern tongue is "rudder." In archaic Japanese it meant "oar," a signification which is now expressed by the term *ro*, which has been borrowed from the Chinese. It is a matter of debate whether the ancient Japanese boats possessed such an appliance as a *rudder*, and the word *tagishi* or *iaishi* has been credited with that meaning. The more likely opinion seems to be that both the thing and the word were specialized in later times, the early Japanese boatmen having made any oar do duty for a rudder when circumstances necessitated the use of one.

24 See the end of Sect. XXXII.

25 See Vol. IX, Pt. II, of these "Transactions."

26 *Yamato Monogatari*.

27 For a translation of this story see the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese,".

28 See Sect. XLIV, Note 12 and Sect. LXXII, Note 29.

29 Mr. Ernest Satow, who in 1898 visited the island of Hachijo, gives the following detail concerning the observance down to modern times in that remote corner of the Japanese Empire of the custom mentioned in the text: "in Hachijo women, when about to become mothers, were formerly driven out to the huts on the mountain-side, and according to the accounts of native writers, left to shift for themselves, the result not unfrequently being the death of the newborn infant, or if it survived the rude circumstances under which it first saw the light, the seeds of disease were sown which clung to it throughout its after life. The rule of non-intercourse was so strictly enforced, that the woman was not allowed to leave the hut even to

visit her own parents at the point of death, and besides the injurious effects that this solitary confinement must have had on the wives themselves, their prolonged absence was a serious loss to households, where there were elder children and large establishments to be superintended. The rigour of the custom was so far relaxed in modern times, that the huts were no longer built on the hills, but were constructed inside the homestead. It was a subject of wonder to people from other parts of Japan that the senseless practice should still be kept up, and its abolition was often recommended, but the administration of the Shoguns was not animated by a reforming spirit, and it remained for the Government of the Mikado to exhort the islanders to abandon this and the previously mentioned custom. They are Therefore, no longer sanctioned by official authority and the force of social opinion against them is increasing, so that before long these relics of ancient ceremonial religion will in all probability have disappeared from the group of islands." (Trans. of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan, Vol. VI, Part III.)

30 See Sect. LXX, Note 6. The Japanese term is *ina-ki*, *ki* being an Archaic term for "castle."

31 See Sect. XVI. Mention of cave-dwellers will also be found in Sects. XLVIII, and LXXX.

32 See the latter part of Sect. XVII.

33 See Sect. XVIII, Note 16.

34 山海經.

35 See, however, the legend in Sect. LXV.

36 See beginning of Sect XXVII.

37 For details on this subject and illustrations, see Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," and Table XI, and a paper by Professor Milne on the "Stone Age in Japan," read before the Anthropological Society of Great Britain on the 25th May, 1880.

38 The tradition preserved in Sect. CXXIV, shows that in times almost, if not quiet, historical (the 4th century of our era) the silkworm was a curious novelty, apparently imported from Korea. It is not only possible, but probable, that silken fabrics were occasionally imported into Japan from the mainland at an earlier period, which would account for the mention of "silk rugs" in Sects XL and LXXXIV.

39 The (necessarily somewhat arbitrary) line between earlier and later times has been drawn at the epoch of the traditional conquest of Korea by the Empress Jin-go at the commencement of the third century of our era, it being then, according to the received opinions, that the Japanese first came in contact with their continental neighbours, and began to borrow from them. (See however the concluding Section of this Introduction for a demonstration of the untrustworthiness of all the so-called history of Japan down to the commencement of the fifth century of the Christian era).

40 See Sect. XXIV, Note 4.

41 Mr. Satow, in his translation of a passage of the "Records of Ancient Matters" forming part of a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II of these "Transactions," renders *wani* by "shark." There is perhaps some want of clearness in the old historical books in the details concerning the creature in question, and its *fin* is mentioned in the "Chronicles." But the accounts point rather to an amphibious creature, conceived of as being somewhat similar to the serpent, than to a fish, and the Chinese descriptions

quoted by the Japanese commentators unmistakably refer to the crocodile. The translator Therefore, sees no sufficient reason for abandoning the usually accepted interpretation of *wani* (鰐) as "crocodile." It should be noticed that the *wani* is never introduced into any but patently fabulous stories, and that the example of other nations, and Indeed, of Japan itself, shows that myth-makers have no objection to embellish their tales by the mention of wonders supposed to exist in foreign lands.

42 Sect. CXXVIII preserves a very early ornithological observation in the shape of the Songs composed by the Emperor Nin-toku and his Minister Take-Uchi on the subject of a wild-goose laying eggs in Central Japan. These birds are not known to breed even so far South as the island of Yezo.

43 See the legend in Sect. LXXIV.

44 Mr. Satow suggests that *awo* ("blue" or "green") means property any colour derived from the *awi* plant (*Polygonum tinctorium*.)

45 Only the foot-notes of the original are omitted, as not being essential.

46 See the story of Prince Karu, which is probably historical, in Sects. CXLI *et seq.*

47 The custom of using surnames was certainly borrowed from China, although the Japanese have not, like the Koreans, gone so far as to adopt the actual surnames in use in that country. The "gentile names" may have sprung up more naturally, though they too show traces of Chinese influence. Those most frequently met with are *Agata-nushi*, *Ason*, *Atahe*, *Kimi*, *Miyatsuko*, *Murazhi*, *Omi*, *Sukune*, and *Wake*.

48 See Sect. XXV (the second Song in that Section).

49 See Sect LXXI, Note 12.

50 See Sect. XLII.

51 Representations of these clay images (*Tsuchi-nin-giyō*) will be found in Table XII of Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," and in Mr. Satow's paper on "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke" published in Vol. VII, Pt. III *et seq.* of these "Transactions."

52 See Sect. LXXXVII.

53 See Sect. XCVII.

54 A translation, —especially a literal prose translation, —is not calculated to show off to best advantage the poetry of an alien race. But even subject to this drawback, the present writer would be surprised if it was not granted that poetic fire and grace are displayed in some of the Love-Songs (For instance, the third Song in Sect. XXIV and both Songs Yamato-Take's address to his "elder brother the pine-tree," and in his Death-Songs contained in Sect. LXXXIX).

55 論語and 千字文.

56 Viz. of the Chinese 文and 筆(in the modern Mandarin pronunciation *wên* and *pi*). Mr. Aston would seem to derive both the Japanese term *fude* and the Korean *put* independently from the Chinese 筆. The present writer thinks it more likely that the Japanese *fude* was borrowed mediately through the Korean *put*. In any case, as it regularly corresponds with the latter according to the laws of letter-change subsisting between the two languages, it will be observed that the Japanese term would still have to be considered borrowed, even if the derivation of *put* from 筆had to be abandoned; for we can hardly suppose Korean and Japanese to have

independently selected the same root to denote such a thing as a "pen." As to the correctness of the derivation of *fumi* from 文, there can be little doubt, and it had long ago struck even the Japanese themselves, who are not prompt to acknowledge such loans. They usually derive *fude* from *fumi-te*, "document hand," and thus again we are brought back to the Chinese 文as the origin of the Japanese word for "pen."

V. RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE, BEGINNINGS OF THE JAPANESE NATION, AND CREDIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS.

The religious beliefs of the modern upholders of Shintō [57] may be ascertained without much difficulty by a perusal of the works of the leaders of the movement which has endeavoured during the last century and a half to destroy the influence of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophy, and which has latterly succeeded to some extent in supplanting those two foreign systems. But in Japan, as elsewhere, it has been impossible for men really to turn back a thousand years In religious thought and act; and when we try to discover the primitive opinions that were entertained by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese culture, we are met by difficulties that at first seem insuperable. The documents are scanty, and the modern commentaries untrustworthy, for they are all written under the influence of a preconceived opinion. Moreover, the problem is apparently complicated by a mixture of races and mythologies, and by a filtering in of Chinese ideas previous to the compilation of documents of any sort, though these are considerations which have hitherto scarcely been taken into account by foreigners, and are designedly neglected and obscured by such narrowly patriotic native writers as Motowori and Hirata.

In the political field the difficulties are not less, but [45] rather greater; for when once the Imperial house and the centralized Japanese polity, as we know it from the sixth or seventh century of our era downwards, became fully established, it was but too clearly in the interest of the powers that be to efface as far as possible the trace of different government arrangements

which may have preceded them, and to cause it to be believed that, as things were then, so had they always been. The Emperor Tem-mu, with his anxiety to amend "the deviations from truth and the empty falsehoods" of the historical documents preserved by the various families, and the author of the "Chronicles of Japan" with his elaborate system of fictitious dates, recur to our minds, and we ask ourselves to what extent similar garblings of history, —sometimes unintentional, —may have gone on during earlier ages, when there was even less to check them than there was in the eighth century. If, Therefore, the translator here gives expression to a few opinions founded chiefly on a careful study of the text of the "Records of Ancient Matters" helped out by a study of the "Chronicles of Japan," he would be understood to do so with great diffidence, especially with regard to his few (so to speak) constructive remarks. As to the destructive side of the criticism, there need be less hesitation; for the old histories bear evidence too conclusively against themselves for it to be possible for the earlier portions of them, at least, to stand the test of sober investigation. Before endeavouring to piece together the little that is found in the "Records" to illustrate the beliefs of Archaic Japanese times, it will be necessary, at the risk of dullness, to give a summary of the old traditions as they lie before us in their entirety, after which will be hazarded a few speculations on the subject of the earlier tribes which combined to form the Japanese people; for the four questions of religious beliefs, of political arrangements, of race, and of the credibility of documents, all hang closely together and, properly speaking, form but one highly complex problem.

Greatly condensed, the Early Japanese traditions amount to this: After an indefinitely long period, during which were born a number of abstract deities, who are differently enumerated in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," two of these deities, a brother and sister named Izanagi and

Izanami (*i.e.*, the "Male who Invites" and the "Female Who Invites"), are united in marriage, and give birth to the various islands of the Japanese archipelago. When they have finished producing islands, they proceed to the production of a large number of gods and goddesses, many of whom correspond to what we should call personifications of the powers of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptations, is foreign to the Japanese mind. The birth of the Fire-God causes Izanami's death, and the most striking episode of the whole mythology then ensues, when her husband, Orpheus-like, visits her in the under-world to implore her to return to him. She would willingly do so, and bids him wait while she consults with the deities of the place. But he, impatient at her long tarrying, breaks off one of the end-teeth of the comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, lights it and goes in, only to find her a hideous mass of corruption, in whose midst are seated the eight Gods of Thunder. This episode ends with the deification of [58] three peaches [58] who had assisted him in his retreat before the armies of the under-world, and with bitter words exchanged between him and his wife, who herself pursues him as far as the "Even Pass of Hades."

Returning to Himuka in south-western Japan, Izanagi purifies himself by bathing in a stream, and, as he does so, fresh deities are born from each article of clothing that he throws down on the river-bank, and from each part of his person. One of these deities was the Sun-Goddess, who was born from his left eye, while the Moon-God sprang from his right eye, and the last born of all, Susa-no-Wo, whose name the translator renders by "the Impetuous Male," was born from his nose. Between these three children their father divides the inheritance of the universe.

At this point the story loses its unity. The Moon-God is no more heard of, and the traditions concerning the Sun-Goddess and those concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" diverge in a manner which is productive of inconsistencies in the remainder of the mythology. The Sun-Goddess and the "Impetuous Male Deity" have a violent quarrel, and at last the latter breaks a hole in the roof of the hall in Heaven where his sister is sitting at work with the celestial weaving-maidens, and through it lets fall "a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The consequences of this act were so disastrous, that the Sun-Goddess withdrew for a season into a cave, from which the rest of the eight hundred myriad (according to the "Chronicles" eighty myriad) deities with difficulty allured her. The "Impetuous Male Deity" was thereupon banished, and the Sun-Goddess remained mistress of the field. Yet, strange to say, she thenceforward retires into the background, and the most bulky section of the mythology consists of stories concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" and his descendants, who are represented as the monarchs of Japan, or rather of the province of Idzumo. The "Impetuous Male Deity" himself, whom his father had charged with the dominion of the sea, never assumes that rule, but first has a curiously told amorous adventure and an encounter with an eight-forked serpent in Idzumo, and afterwards reappears as the capricious and filthy deity of Hades, who however seems to retain some power over the land of the living, as he invests his descendant of the sixth generation with the sovereignty of Japan. Of this latter personage a whole cycle of stories is told, all centering in Idzumo. We learn of his conversations with a hare and with a mouse, of the prowess and cleverness which he displayed on the occasion of a visit to his ancestor in Hades, which is in this cycle of traditions a much less mysterious place than the Hades visited by Izanagi, of his amours, of his triumph over his eighty

brethren, of his reconciliation with his jealous empress, and of his numerous descendants, many of whom have names that are particularly difficult of comprehension. We hear too in a tradition, which ends in a pointless manner, of a microscopic deity who comes across the sea to ask this monarch of Idzumo to share the sovereignty with him.

This last-mentioned legend repeats itself in the sequel. The Sun-Goddess, who on her second appearance is constantly represented as acting in concert with the "High August Producing Wondrous Deity,"—one of the abstractions mentioned at the commencement of the "Records,"—resolves to bestow the sovereignty of Japan on a child of whom it is doubtful whether he were hers or that of her brother the "Impetuous Male Deity." Three embassies are sent from Heaven to Idzumo to arrange matters, but it is only a fourth that is successful, the final ambassadors obtaining the submission of the monarch [48] or deity of Idzumo, who surrenders his sovereignty and promises to serve the new dynasty (apparently in the under-world), if a palace or temple be built for him and he be appropriately worshipped. Thereupon the child of the deity whom the Sun-Goddess had originally wished to make sovereign of Japan, descends to earth, —not to Idzumo in the north-west, be it mentioned, as the logical sequence of the story would lead one to expect, —but to the peak of a mountain in the south-western island of Kiushiu.

Here follows a quaint tale accounting for the old appearance of the bèche-le-mer, and another to account for the shortness of the lives of mortals, after which we are told of the birth under peculiar circumstances of the heaven-descended deity's three sons. Two of these, Ho-deri and Howori, whose names may be Englished as "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Subside," are the heroes of a very curious legend, which includes an elaborate account of a visit paid

by the latter to the palace of the God of Ocean, and of a curse or spell which gained for him the victory over his elder brother, and enabled him to dwell peacefully in his palace at Takachiho for the space of five hundred and eighty years, —the first statement resembling a date which the "Records" contain. This personage's son married his own aunt, and was the father of four children, one of whom "treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land," while a second "went into the sea plain," and the two others moved eastward, fighting with the chiefs of Kibi and Yamato, having adventures with gods both with and without tails, being assisted by a miraculous sword and a gigantic crow, and naming the various places they passed through after incidents in their own career, as "the Impetuous Male" and other divine personages had done before them. One of these brothers was Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko, who (the other having died before him) was first given the title of Jim-mu Ten-no more than fourteen, centuries after the date which in the "Chronicles" is assigned as that of his decease.

Henceforth Yamato, which had scarcely been mentioned before, and the provinces adjacent to it become the centre of the story, and Idzumo again emerges into importance. A very indecent love-tale forms a bridge which unites the two fragments of the mythology; and the "Great Deity of Miwa," who is identified with the deposed monarch of Idzumo, appears on the scene. Indeed, during the rest of the story this "Great Deity of Miwa," and [49] his colleague the "Small August Deity" (Sukuna-Mi-Kami [59]), the deity Izasa-Wake, the three Water-Gods of Sumi, and the "Great Deity of Kadzuraki," of whom there is so striking a mention in Sect. CLVIII, form, with the Sun-Goddess and with a certain divine sword preserved at the temple of Isonokami in Yamato, the only objects of worship specially named, the other gods and goddesses being no more heard of. This portion of the story is closed by an account of the troubles which inaugurated the

reign of Jim-mu's successor, Sui-sei, and then occurs a blank of (according to the accepted chronology) five hundred years, during which absolutely nothing is told us excepting dreary genealogies, the place where each sovereign dwelt and where he was buried, and the age to which he lived, — this after the minute details which had previously been given concerning the successive gods or monarchs down to Sui-sei inclusive. It should likewise be noted that the average age of the first seventeen monarchs (counting Jim-mu Ten-nō as the first according to received ideas) is nearly 96 years if we follow the "Records," and over a hundred if we follow the accepted chronology which is based chiefly on the constantly divergent statements contained in the "Chronicles." The age of several of the monarchs exceeds 120 years. [60]

The above-mentioned lapse of an almost blank period, of five centuries brings us to the reign of the Emperor known to history by the name of Sū-jin, whose life of one hundred and sixty-eight years (one hundred and twenty according to the "Chronicles") is supposed to have immediately preceded the Christian era. In this reign the former monarch of Idzumo or god of Miwa again appears and produces a pestilence, of the manner of staying which Sū-jin is warned in a dream, while a curious but highly indecent episode tells us how a person called Oho-Taka-Ne-Ko was known to be a son of the deity in question, and was Therefore, appointed high-priest of his temple. In the ensuing reign an elaborate legend, involving a variety of circumstances as miraculous as any in the earlier portion of the mythology, again centres in the necessity of pacifying the great god of Idzumo; and this, with details of internecine strife in the Imperial family, of the sovereign's amours, and of the importation of the orange from the "Eternal Land," brings us to the cycle of traditions of which Yamato-Take, a son of the Emperor Kei-kō, is the hero. This prince, after slaying one of his

brothers in the privy, accomplishes the task of subduing both western and eastern Japan; and, notwithstanding certain details which are unsavoury to the European taste, his story, taken as a whole, is one of the most striking in the book. He performs marvels of valour, disguises himself as a woman to slay the brigands, is the possessor of a magic sword and fire-striker, has a devoted wife who stills the fury of the waves by sitting down upon their surface, has encounters with a deer and with a boar who are really gods in disguise, and Finally, dies on his way westward before he can reach his home in Yamato. His death is followed by a highly mythological account of the laying to rest of the white bird into which he ended by being transformed.

The succeeding reign is a blank, and the next after that transports us without a word of warning to quite another scene. The sovereign's home is now in Tsukushi, the south-western island of the Japanese archipelago, and four of the gods, through the medium of the sovereign's wife, who is known to history as the Empress Jin-gō, reveal the existence of the land of Korea, of which, however, this is not the first mention. The Emperor disbelieves the divine message, and is punished by death for his incredulity. But the Empress, after a special consultation between her prime minister and the gods, and the performance of various religious ceremonies, marshals her fleet, and, with the assistance of the fishes both great and small and of a miraculous wave, reaches Shirai [61] (one of the ancient divisions of Korea), and subdues it. She then returns to Japan, the legend ending with a curiously naive tale of how she sat a-fishing one day on a shoal in the river Wo-gawa in Tsukushi with threads picked out of her skirt for lines.

The next section shows her going up by sea to Yamato, —another joint in the story, by means of which [51] the Yamato cycle of legends and the

Tsukushi cycle are brought into apparent unity. The "Chronicles of Japan" have even improved upon this by making Jingō's husbands dwell in Yamato at the commencement of his reign and only remove to Tsukushi later, so that if the less elaborated "Records" had not been preserved, the two threads of the tradition would have been still more difficult to unravel. The Empress's army defeats the troops raised by the native kings or princes, who are represented as her step-sons; and from that time forward the story runs on in a single channel and always centres in Yamato. China likewise is now first mentioned, books are said to have been brought over from the mainland, and we hear of the gradual introduction of various useful arts. Even the annals of the reign of O-jin however, during which this civilizing impulse from abroad is said to have commenced, are not free from details as miraculous as any in the earlier portions of the book. Indeed, Sects. CXIV-CXVI of the following translation, which form part of the narrative of his reign, are occupied with the recital of one of the most fanciful tales of the whole mythology. The monarch himself is said to have lived a hundred and thirty years, while his successor lived eighty-three (according to the "Chronicles," O-jin lived a hundred and ten and his successor Nin-toku reigned eighty-seven years). It is not till the next reign that the miraculous ceases, a fact which significantly coincides with the reign in which, according to a statement in the "Chronicles," "historiographers were first appointed to all the provinces to record words and events and forward archives from all directions." This brings us to the commencement of the fifth century of our era, just three centuries before the compilation of our histories, but only two centuries before the compilation of the first history of which mention has been preserved. From that time the story in the "Records," though not well told, gives us some very curious pictures, and reads as if it was reliable. It is tolerably full for a few reigns, after which it

again dwindles into mere genealogies, carrying us down to the commencement of the seventh century. The "Chronicles," on the contrary, give us full details down to A.D. 701, that is to within nineteen years of the date of their compilation.

The reader who has followed this summary, or who will take the trouble to read through the whole text for himself will perceive that there is no break in the story, —at least no chronological break, —and no break between the fabulous and the real, unless Indeed, it be at the commencement of the fifth century of our era, *i.e.* more than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted as the commencement of genuine Japanese history. The only breaks are, —not chronological, —but topographical.

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard national histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the last century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. In this particular, the elasticity of the Japanese word for "deity," *kami*, which has already been noticed, stood the eastern Euhemerus in good stead. Some of his explanations are however extremely comical, and it is evident that such a system enables the person who uses it to prove whatever he has a mind to. [62] In the present century a diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Moribe, who, although endeavouring to

remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) uselessly miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. Such, For instance, are the story of the speaking mouse, and that of Izanagi's head-dress turning into a bunch of grapes. He accounts for many of these details by the supposition that they are what he calls *wosana-goto*, *i.e.* "child-like words," and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, and are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. He is also willing to allow that some passages show traces of Chinese influence, and he blames Motowori's uncompromising championship of every iota of the existing text of the "Records of Ancient Matters." As belonging to this same school of what may perhaps be termed "rationalistic believers" in Japanese mythology, a contemporary Christian writer, Mr. Takahashi Gorō, must also be mentioned. Treading in the foot-steps of Arawi Hakuseki, but bringing to bear on the legends of his own country some knowledge of the mythology of other lands, he For instance, explains the traditions of the Sun-Goddess and of the Eight-Forked Serpent of Yamada by postulating the existence of an ancient queen called Sun, whose brother, after having been banished from her realm for his improper behaviour, killed an enemy whose name was Serpent, etc., while such statements as that the microscopic deity who came over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo would not tell his name, are explained by the assertion that, being a foreigner, he was unintelligible for sometime until he had learnt the language. It is certainly strange that such theorists should not see that they are undermining with one hand that which they endeavour to prop up with the other, and that their own individual fancy is made by them the sole standard of historic truth. Yet Mr. Takahashi confidently asserts that "his explanations have nothing

forced or fanciful" in them, and that "they cannot fail to solve the doubts even of the greatest of doubters." [63]

The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day, —*i.e.* of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated, —seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore, the history of the gods, while implicitly accepting the history of the emperors from Jim-mu downwards; and in so doing they have been followed with but little reserve by most Europeans, almanacs, histories and cyclopædias all continuing to repeat on the antiquated authority of such writers as Kaempfer and Titsingh, that Japan possesses an authentic history covering more that two thousand years, while Siebold and Hoffmann even go the length of discussing the *hour* of Jim-mu's accession in the year 660 B.C.! This is the attitude of mind now sanctioned by the governing class. Thus, in the historical compilations used at text-books in the schools, [54] the stories of the gods, —that is to say the Japanese traditions down to Jim-mu exclusive, —are either passed over in silence or dismissed in a few sentences, while the annals of the human sovereigns, —that is to say the Japanese traditions from Jim-mu inclusive, —are treated precisely as if the events therein related had happened yesterday, and were as incontrovertibly historical as later statements, for which there is contemporary evidence. The same plan is pursued elsewhere in official publications. Thus, to take out one example among many, the Imperial Commissioners to the Vienna Exhibition, in their "Notice sur l'Empire du Japan," tell us that "L'histoire de la dynastie impériale remonte très-haut. L'obscurité entoure ses débuts, vu l'absence de documents réguliers ou d'un calendrier parfait. Le premier Empereur de la dynastie présente, dont il reste des annales dignes de confiance, est Jin-mou-ten-nō [64] qui organisa un soulèvement dans la province de Hiuga, marcha à l'Est avec ses compagnons, fonda sa capitale dans la vallée de Kashihara dans le Yamato, et monta sur le trône comme

Empereur. C’est de cet Empereur que descend, par une succession régulière, la présente famille régnante du Japon. C'est de l’année de l’avènement de Jin-mou-ten-nō que date l’ère japonaise (Année 1—660 avant Jésus-Christ)."

As for the *ère Japonaise* mentioned by the commissioners, it may be permitted to observe that it was only introduced by an edict dated 15th Dec., 1872 [65] that is to say just a fortnight before the publication of their report. *And this era, this accession, is confidently placed thirteen or fourteen centuries before the first history which records it was written, nine centuries before (at the earliest computation) the art of writing was introduced into the country, and on the sole authority of books teeming with miraculous legends!!* Does such a proceeding need any comment after once being formulated in precise terms, and can any unprejudiced person continue to accept the early Japanese chronology and the first thousand years of the so-called history of Japan.

* * *

Leaving this discussion, let us now see whether [55] any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles." There are fragments of information, —fragments of two sorts, —some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. Let us take the positive fragments first—the notice as to Cosmological ideas, dreams, prayers, etc.

The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the

body of dogma, the code of morals, and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. What we find is a bundle is miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system. Dreams evidently were credited with great importance, the future being supposed to be foretold in them, and the will of the gods made known. Sometimes even an actual object, such as a wonderful sword, was sent down in a dream, thus to our ideas mixing the material with the spiritual. The subject did not, however, present itself in that light to the Early Japanese, to whom there was evidently but one order of phenomena, —what we should call the natural order. Heaven, or rather the Sky, was an actual place, —not more ethereal than earth, nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death, —but simply "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some of those powerful personages called *kami*, —a word which we must make shift to translate by "god" or a "goddess," or "deity." An arrow shot from earth could reach Heaven, and make a hole in it. There was at least one mountain in Heaven, and one river with a broad stony bed like those with which the traveller in Japan becomes familiar, one or two caves, one or more wells, and animals, and trees. There is, however, some confusion as to the mountain, —the celebrated Mount Kagu, —for there is one of that name in the Province of Yamato.

Some of the gods dwelt here on earth, or descended hither from Heaven, and had children by human women. Such, for instance, was the emperor Jim-mu's great-grandfather. Some few gods had tails or were otherwise personally [56] remarkable; and "savage deities" are often mentioned as inhabiting certain portions of Japan, both in the so-called "Divine Age" and during the reigns of the human emperors down to a time corresponding,

according to the generally received chronology, with the first or second century of the Christian era. The human emperors themselves, Moreover, were sometimes spoken of as deities, and even made personal use of that designation. The gods occasionally transformed themselves into animals, and at other times simple tangible objects were called gods, —or at least they were called *kami*; for the gulf separating the Japanese from the English term can never be too often recalled to mind. The word *kami*, as previously mentioned, properly signifies "superior," and it would be putting more into it than it really implies to say that the Early Japanese "deified,"—in our sense of the verb to "deify,"—the peaches which Izanagi used to pelt his assailants with, or any other natural objects whatsoever. It would, Indeed, be to, attribute to them a flight of imagination of which they were not capable, and a habit of personification not in accordance with the genius of their language. Some of the gods are mentioned collectively as "bad Deities like unto the flies in the fifth moon"; but there is nothing approaching a systematic division into good spirits and bad spirits. In fact, the word "spirit" itself is not applicable at all to the gods of Archaic Japan. They were, like the gods of Greece, conceived of only as more powerful human beings. They were born, and some of them died, though here again there is inconsistency, as the death of some of them is mentioned in a manner leading one to suppose that they were conceived of as being then at an end, whereas in other cases such death seems simply to denote transference to Hades, or to what is called "the One Road," which is believed to be a synonym for Hades. Sometimes, again, a journey to Hades is undertaken by a god without any reference to his death. Nothing, Indeed, could be less consistent than the various details.

Hades [66] itself is another instance of this inconsistency. In the legend of Oho-Kuni-Nushi (the "Master of the Great Land"), —one of the Idzumo

cycle of legends, —Hades is described exactly as if it was part of the land of the living, or exactly as if it was Heaven, which Indeed, comes to the same thing. It has its trees, its houses, its family quarrels, etc., etc. In the legend of Izanagi, On the other hand, Hades means simply the abode of horrible putrefaction and of the vindictive dead, and is fitly described by the god himself who had ventured thither as "a hideous and polluted land." The only point in which the legends agree is in placing between the upper earth and Hades a barrier called the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world, whether good or evil.

The objects of worship were of course the gods, or some of them. It has already been stated that during the later portions of the story, whose scene is laid almost exclusively on earth, the Sun-Goddess, the deity Izasa-Wake, the Divine Sword of Isonokami, the Small August Deity (*Sukuna-Mi-Kami*), the "Great Gods" of Miwa and of Kadzuraki and the three Water-Deities of Sumi, alone are mentioned as having been specially worshipped. Of these the first and the last appear together, forming a sort of quaternion, while the other five appear singly and have no connection with each other. The deities of the mountains, the deities of the rivers, the deities of the sea, etc., are also mentioned in the aggregate, as are likewise the heavenly deities and the earthly deities; and the Empress Jin-gō is represented as conciliating them all previous to her departure for Korea by putting into a gourd the ashes "of a *maki* tree, [67] and likewise making a quantity of chopsticks and also "of leaf-platters, and scattering them all on the waves."

This brings us to the subject of religious rites, —a subject on which we long for fuller information than the texts afford. [68] That the conciliatory offerings made to the gods were of a miscellaneous nature will be expected from the

quotation just made. Nevertheless, a very natural method was in the main followed; for the people offered the things by which they themselves set most store, as we bear at a late period of the poet Tsurayuki, when in a storm at sea, flinging his mirror into the waves because he had but one. The Early Japanese made offerings [58] of two kinds of cloth, one being hempen cloth and the other cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper mulberry, offerings very precious in their eyes, but which have in modern times been allowed to degenerate into useless strips of paper. They likewise offered shields, spears, and other things. Food was offered both to the gods and to the dead; Indeed, the palace or tomb of the dead monarch and the temple of the god cannot always be distinguished from each other, and, as has already been mentioned, the Japanese use the same word *miya* for "palace" and for "temple." Etymologically signifying "august house," it is naturally susceptible of what are to us two distinct meanings.

With but one exception, [69] the "Records" do not give us the words of any prayers (or, as the Japanese term *norito* has elsewhere been translated, "rituals.") Conversations with the gods are Indeed, detailed, but no devotional utterances. Fortunately, however, a number of very ancient prayers have been preserved in other books, and translations of some of them by Mr. Satow will be found scattered through the volumes of the Transactions of this Society. They consist mostly of declarations of praise and statements of offerings made, either in return for favours received or conditionally on favours being granted. They are all in prose, and hymns do not seem to have been in use. Indeed, of the hundred and eleven Songs preserved in the "Records," not one has any religious reference.

The sacred rite of which most frequent mention is made is purification by water. Trial by hot water is also alluded to in both histories, but not till a

time confessedly posterior to the commencement of intercourse with the mainland. We likewise hear of compacts occasionally entered into with a god, and somewhat resembling our European wager, oath, or curse. Priests are spoken of in a few passages, but without any details. We do not hear of their functions being in any way mediatorial, and the impression conveyed is that they did not exist in very early times as a separate class. When they did come into existence, the profession soon became hereditary, according to the general tendency in Japan towards the hereditability of offices and occupations.

Miscellaneous superstitions crop up in many places. Some of these were evidently obsolescent or unintelligible [59] at the time when the legends crystallized into their present shape, and stories are told purporting to give their origin. Thus we learn either in the "Records" or in the "Chronicles," or in both works, why it is unlucky to use only one light, to break off the teeth of a comb at night-time, and to enter the house with straw hat and rain-coat on. The word-wide dread of going against the sun is connected with the Jim-mu legend, and recurs elsewhere. [70] We also hear of charms, —For instance, of the wondrous "Herb-Quelling Sabre" found by Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") inside a serpent's tail and still preserved as one of the Imperial *regalia*. Other such charms were the "tide-flowing jewel" and "tide-ebbing jewel," that obtained for Jim-mu's grandfather the victory over his elder brother, together with the fishhook which figures so largely in the same legend. [71] Divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a stag was a favourite means of ascertaining the will of the gods. Sometimes also human beings seem to have been credited in a vague manner with the power of prophetic utterance. Earthenware pots were buried at the point of his departure by an intending traveller. In a fight the initial arrow was regarded with superstitious awe. The great precautions with which the Empress Jin-

gō is said to have set out on her expedition to Korea have already been alluded to, and Indeed, the commencement of any action or enterprise seems to have had special importance attributed to it.

To conclude this survey of the religious beliefs of the Early Japanese by referring, as was clone in the case of the arts of life, to certain notable features which are [60] conspicuous by their absence, attention may be called to the fact that there is no tradition of a deluge, no testimony to any effect produced on the imagination by the earthquakes from which the Japanese islanders suffer such constant alarms, no trace of star-worship, no notion of incarnation or of transmigration. This last remark goes to show that the Japanese mythology had assumed its present shape before the first echo of Buddhism reverberated on these shores. But the absence of any tradition of a deluge or inundation is still more remarkable, both because such catastrophes are likely to occur occasionally in all lands, and because the imagination of most nations seems to have been greatly impressed by their occurrence. Moreover, what is specifically known to us as *the* Deluge has been lately claimed as an ancient Altaïc myth. Yet here we have the oldest of the *undoubtedly* Altaïc nations without any legend of the kind. As for the neglect of the stars, round whose names the imagination of other races has twined such fanciful conceits, it is as characteristic of Modern as of Archaic Japan. The Chinese designations of the constellations, and some few Chinese legends relating to them, have been borrowed in historic times; but no Japanese writer has ever thought of looking in the stars for "the poetry of heaven." Another detail worthy of mention is that the number seven, which in so many countries has been considered sacred, is here not prominent in any way, its place being taken by eight. Thus we have Eight Great Islands, an Eight-forked Serpent, a beard Eighty Hand-breadths long, a God named "Eight Thousand Spears," Eighty or Eight Hundred Myriads

of Deities, etc., etc. The commentators think it necessary to tell us that all these eights and eighties need not be taken literally, as they simply mean a great number. The fact remains that the number eight had, for some unknown reason, a special significance attached to it; and as the documents which mention eight also mention nine and ten, besides higher numbers, and as in some test cases, such as that of the Eight Great Islands, each of the eight is separately enumerated, it is plain that when the Early Japanese said eight they meant eight, though they may doubtless have used that number in a vague manner, as we do a dozen, a hundred, and a thousand.

How glaringly different all this is from the fanciful accounts of Shintō that have been given by some recent [60] popular writers call for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority, [72] tells us that Shintō "consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree impregnated with it, and Therefore, every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are everywhere worshipped, and Consequently, multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes."(!) Truly, when one peruses such utterly groundless assertions, —for that here quoted is but one among many, one is tempted to believe that the nineteenth century must form part of the early mythopœic age.

With regard to the question of government, we learn little beyond such vague statements as that to so-and-so was yielded by his eighty brethren the sovereignty of the land of Idzumo, or that Izanagi divided the dominion

over all things between his three children, bestowing on one the "Plain of High Heaven," on another the Dominion of the Night, and on the third the "Sea-Plain." But we do not in the earlier legends see such sovereignty actually administered. The heavenly gods seem rather to have been conceived as forming a sort of commonwealth, who decided things by meeting together in counsel in the stony bed of the "River of Heaven," and taking the advice of the shrewdest of their number. Indeed, the various divine assemblies, to which the story in the "Records" and "Chronicles" introduces us, remind us of nothing so much as of the village assemblies of primitive tribes in many parts of the world, where the cleverness of one and the general willingness to follow his suggestions fill the place of the more definite organization of later times.

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called "Divine Age" but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that any kind of political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead [62] their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly, we find that the "Territorial Owners" of Yamato, and the "Rulers" of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural, as if to intimate that they exerted a divided sovereignty. During the whole of the so-called "Human Age" we meet, both in parts of the country which were already subject to the Imperial rule and in others which were not yet annexed, with local magnates bearing these same titles of "Territorial Owners," "Rulers,"

"Chiefs," etc.; and the impression left on the mind is that in early historical times the sovereign's power was not exercised directly over all parts of Japan, but that in many cases the local chieftains continued to hold sway though owning some sort of allegiance to the emperor in Yamato, while in others the emperor was strong enough to depose these local rulers, and to put in their place his own kindred or retainers, who however exercised unlimited authority in their own districts, and used the same titles as had been borne by the former native rulers, —that, In fact, the government was feudal rather than centralized. This characteristic of the political organization of Early Japan has not altogether escaped the attention of the native commentators. Indeed, the great Shintō scholar Hirata not only recognizes the fact, but endeavours to prove that the system of centralization which obtained during the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth centuries, and which has been revived in our own day, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese bureaucratic system; and he asserts that an organized feudalism, similar to that which existed from the twelfth century down to the year 1867, was the sole really ancient and national Japanese form of government. The translator cannot follow Hirata to such lengths, as he sees no evidence in the early histories of the intricate organization of mediaeval Japan. But that, beyond the immediate limits of the Imperial domain, the government *resembled* feudalism rather than centralization seems indisputable. [63] It is also true that the seventh century witnessed a sudden move in the direction of bureaucratic organization, many of the titles which had up till that time denoted actual Provincial chieftains being then either suppressed, or else allowed to sink into mere "gentile names." Another remark which is suggested by a careful perusal of the two ancient histories is that the Imperial succession was in early historical times very irregular. Strange gaps occur as late as the sixth

century of our era; and even when it was one of the children who inherited his father's throne, that child was rarely the eldest son.

* * *

What now are we to gather from its analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions as to the still remoter history and tribal divisions of Japan, and as to the origin of the Japanese legends? Very little that is certain, perhaps; but, in the opinion of the present writer, two or three interesting probabilities.

In view of the multiplicity of gods and the complications of the so-called historical traditions, he thinks that it would be *a priori* difficult to believe that the development of Japanese civilization should have run on in a single stream broken only in the third century by the commencement of intercourse with the mainland of Asia. We are, however, not left to such a merely theoretical consideration. There are clear indications of there having been three centres of legendary cycles, three streams which mixed together to form the Japan which meets us at the dawn of authentic history in the fifth century of Our era. One of these centres, —the most important in the mythology, —is Idzumo; the second is Yamato: the third is Tsukushi, called in modern times Kiushiu. Eastern and Northern Japan count for nothing; Indeed, much of the North-East and North was, down to comparatively recent times, occupied by the barbarous Ainos or, as they are called by the Japanese, Yemishi, Yebisu, or Yezo. That the legends or traditions derived from the three parts of the country here mentioned accord but imperfectly together is an opinion which has already been alluded to, and upon which light may perhaps be thrown by a more thorough shifting of the myths and beliefs classified according to this three-fold system. The question of the

ancient division of Japan into several independent states is, however, not completely a matter of [64] opinion. For we have in the "*Shan Hai Ching*" [73] a positive statement concerning a Northern and a Southern Yamato (倭), and the Chinese annals of both the Han dynasties tell us of the division of the country into a much larger number of kingdoms, of which, according to the annals of he later Han dynasty, Yamato (邪馬臺) was the most powerful. A later official Chinese historian also tells us that *Jih-pên* (日本, our Japan) and Yamato had been two different states, and that *Jih-pên* was reported to have swallowed up Yamato. By *Jih-pên* the author evidently meant to speak of the island of Tsukushi or of part of it. That the Chinese were fairly well acquainted with Japan is shown by the fact of there being in the old Chinese literature more than one mention of "the country of the hairy people beyond the mountains in the East and North."—that is of the Yemishi or Ainos. No Chinese book would seem to mention Idzumo as having formed a separate country; and this evidence must be allowed its whole weight. It is possible, of course, that Idzumo may have been incorporated with Yamato before the conquest of the latter by the Tsukushi people, and in this case some of the inconsistencies of the history may be traceable to a confusion of the traditions concerning the conquest of Idzumo by Yamato and of those concerning the conquest of Yamato by Tsukushi. Perhaps too (for so almost impossible a task is it to reconstruct history out of legend) there may not, after all, be sufficient warrant for believing in the former existence of Idzumo as a separate state, though it certainly seems hard to account otherwise for the peculiar place that Idzumo occupies in mythic story. In any case, and whatever light may hereafter be thrown on this very obscure question, it must be remembered that, so far as clear native documentary evidence reaches, 400 A.D. is approximately the highest limit of reliable Japanese history. Beyond that date we are at once confronted with the

miraculous; and if any facts relative to earlier Japan are to be extracted from the pages of the "Records" and "Chronicles," it must be by a process very different from that of simply reading and taking their assertions upon trust.

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability [65] of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact, it bids us wait to interpret it until such time as further research shall have shown which legends belong together. For if they are of heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in discussions on this subject, —"the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,"—ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geographically by belonging to different parts of the country. Furthermore, it may not be superfluous to call attention to the fact that the gods who are mentioned in the opening phrases of the histories as we now have them are not Therefore, necessarily the gods that were most anciently worshipped. Surely in religions, as in books, it is not often the preface that is written first. And yet this simple consideration has been constantly neglected, and, one after another, European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, without so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter, —viz., the "Records" and the "Chronicles," differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps Indeed, mere

inventions of individuals' priests. There is nothing either in the histories or in the Shintō Rituals to show that these gods, or some one or more of them, were in early days, as has been sometimes supposed, the objects of a pure worship which was afterwards obscured by the legends of Izanagi, Izanami, and their numerous descendants. On the contrary, with the exception of the deity Taka-Mi-Musu-Bi, [74] they are no sooner mentioned than they vanish into space.

Whether it is intrinsically likely that so rude a race [66] as the Early Japanese, and a race so little given to metaphysical speculation as the Japanese at all times of their history, should have commenced by a highly abstract worship which they afterwards completely abandoned, is a question which may better be left to those whose general knowledge of early peoples and early religious beliefs entitles their decisions to respect. Their assistance likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into its several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology should be interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively late times. [75] Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to enlarge the area of the three later divisions more than would be prudent in the case of the highly imaginative Aryans, and to point out that, though some few Japanese legends portions of legends can be traced to face etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are Therefore, true myths in the strict acceptation of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects, —a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology, —is altogether alien to the Japanese

genius, and Indeed, to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a "disease of language." But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. Thus not only have Japanese Nouns no Genders and Japanese Verbs no Persons, but the names of inanimate objects cannot even be used as the subjects of Transitive Verbs. Nowhere for instance, in Japanese, whether Archaic, Classical, or Modem, do we meet with such metaphorical, —mythological, —phrases as "the hot wind melts the ice," or "his conversation delights me," where the words "wind" and "conversation" are spoken of as if they were personal agents. No, the idea is invariably rendered in some other and impersonal way. Yet what a distance separates such statements, in which the ordinary European reader unacquainted with any Altaic tongue would scarcely recognize the existence of any personification at all, from the bolder flights of Aryan metaphor! Indeed, though Altaic Asia has produced very few wise men, the words of its languages closely correspond to the definition of words as "the wise man's counters;" for they are colourless and matter-of-fact, and rarely if ever carry him who speaks them above the level of sober reality. At the same time, it is patent that the sun plays *some* part in the Japanese mythology; and even the legend of Prince Yamato-Take, which has hitherto been generally accepted as historical or semi-historical, bears such close resemblance to legends in other countries which have been pronounced to be solar by great authorities that it may at least be worthwhile to subject it to investigation from that point of view. [76] The present writer has already expressed his conviction that this matter is not one for the specialist to decide alone. He would only, from the Japanese point of view, suggest very

particular caution in the application to Japanese legend of a method of interpretation which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results.

A further particular which is deserving of notice is the almost certaIn fact, of a recension of the various traditions at a comparatively late date. This is partly shown by the amount of geographical knowledge displayed in the enumeration of the various islands supposed to have been given birth to by Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male who Invites" and the 'Female who Invites"), —an amount and an exactness of knowledge unattainable at a time prior to the union under one rule of all the provinces mentioned, and significantly not extending much beyond those provinces. Such a recension may likewise be inferred, —if the opinion of the manifold origin of the Japanese traditions be accepted, —from the fairly ingenious Manner in which their component parts have generally been welded together. The way in which one or two legends, —For instance, that of the curious curse pronounced [68] by the younger brother Ho-wori on the elder Ho-deri—are repeated more than once exemplifies a less intelligent revision. [77] Under this heading may, perhaps, be included the legends of the conquest of Yamato by the Emperor Jim-mu and of the conquest of the same country by the Empress Jin-go, which certainly bear a suspicious likeness to each other. Of the subjection of Korea by this last-named personage it should be observed that the Chinese and Korean histories, so far as they are known to us, make no mention, and Indeed, the dates, as more specially given in the "Chronicles," clearly show the inconsistency of the whole story; for Jin-gō's husband, the Emperor Chiū-ai, is said to have been born in the 19th year of the reign of Sei-mu, *i.e.* in A.D. 149, while his father, Prince Yamato-Take, is said to have died in the 43rd year of Kei-kō, *i.e.* in A.D. 113, so that there is an interval of thirty-six years between the death of the father and the birth of the son! [78]

One peculiarly interesting piece of information to be derived from a careful study of the "Records" and "Chronicles" (though it is one on which the patriotic Japanese commentators preserve complete silence) is that, at the very earliest period to which the twilight of legend stretches back, Chinese influence had already begun to make itself felt in these islands, communicating to the inhabitants both implements and ideas. This is surely a fact of very particular importance, lending, as it does, its weight to the mass of evidence which goes to prove that in almost all known cases culture has been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed. The traces of Chinese influence are Indeed, not numerous, but they are unmistakable. Thus we find chopsticks mentioned both in the Idzumo and in the Kiushu legendary cycle. The legend of the birth of the Sun-Goddess [69] and Moon-God from Izanagi's eyes is a scarcely altered fragment of the Chinese myth of P’an Ku; the superstition that peaches had assisted Izanagi to repel the hosts of Hades can almost certainly be traced to a Chinese source, and the hand-maidens of the Japanese Sun-Goddess are mentioned under the exact title of the Spinning Damsel of Chinese myth (天衣織女), while the River of Heaven (天河), which figures in the same legend; is equally Chinese, —for surely both names cannot be mere coincidences. A like remark applies to the name of the Deity of the Kitchen, and to the way in which that deity is mentioned. 79 The art of making an intoxicating liquor is referred to in the very earliest Japanese legends. Are we to believe that its invention here was independent of its invention on the continent? In this instance Moreover, the old histories bear witnesses against themselves; for they mention this same liquor in terms showing that it was a curious rarity in what, according to the accepted chronology, corresponds to the century immediately preceding the Christian era, and again in the third century of that era. The whole story of the Sea-God's

palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the "cassia-tree" (桂) mentioned in it is certainly Chinese, as are the crocodiles. That the so-called *maga-tama*, or "curved jewels," which figure so largely in the Japanese mythology, and with which the Early Japanese adorned themselves, were derived from China was already suspected by Mr. Henry von Siebold; and quite latterly Mr. Milne has thrown light on this subject from an altogether unexpected quarter. He has remarked, namely, that jade or the jade-like stone of which many of the *maga-tama* are made, is a mineral which has never yet been met with in Japan. We Therefore, know that some at least of the "curved jewels" or of the material for them came from the mainland, and the probability that the idea of carving these very oddly shaped ornaments was likewise imported thence gains in probability. The peculiar kind of arrow called *nari-kabura* (鳴鏑) is another trace of Chinese influence in the material order, and a thorough search by a competent Chinese scholar would perhaps reveal others. But enough at least has been said to show the indisputable existence of that influence. From other sources we know that the more recent mythic fancy of Japan has shown itself as little impenetrable to such influence as have the manners and customs of the people. The only difference is that assimilation has of late proceeded with much greater rapidity.

In this language is another guide; for, though the discoverable traces of Chinese influence are comparatively few in the Archaic Dialect, yet they are there. This is a subject which has as yet scarcely been touched. Two Japanese authors of an elder generation, Kahibara and Arawi Hakuseki, did Indeed, point out the existence of some such traces. But they drew no inference from them, they did not set to work to discover new ones, and their indications, except in one or two obvious cases, have received little attention from later writer's whether native or foreign. But when we

compare such words as *kane*, *kume*, *kuni*, *saka*, *tana*, *uma*, and many others with the pronunciation now given, or with that which the phonetic laws of the language in its earlier stage would have caused to be given, to their Chinese equivalents 金, 軍, 郡, 尺, 壇, 馬, etc., the idea forces way that such coincidences of sound and sense cannot all be purely accidental; and when Moreover, we find that the great majority of the words in question denote things or ideas that were almost certainly imported, we perceive that a more thorough sifting of Archaic Japanese (especially of botanical and zoological names and of the names of implements and manufactures) would probably be the best means of discovering at least the negative features of an antiquity remoter than all written documents, remoter even than the crystallization of the legends which these documents have preserved. In dealing with Korean words found in Archaic Japanese we tread on more delicate ground; for there we have a language which, unlike Chinese, stands to Japanese in the closest family relationship, making it plain that many coincidences of sound and sense should be ascribed to radical affinity rather than to later intercourse. At the same time it appears more probable that, For instance, such seemingly indigenous Japanese terms as *Hotoke*, "Buddha," and *tera*, "Buddhist temple," should have been In fact, borrowed from the corresponding Korean words *Puchhö* and *chöl* than that both nations should have independently chosen homonyms to denote the same foreign ideas. Indeed, it will perhaps not be too bold to assume that [71] in the case of *Hotoke*, "Buddha," we have before us a word whose journeyings consist of many stages, it having been first brought from India to China, then from China to Korea, and thirdly from Korea to Japan, where Finally, the ingenuity of philologists has discovered for it a Japanese etymology (*hito ke*, "human spirit") with which in reality it has nothing whatever to do.

These introductory remarks have already extended to such a length that a reference to the strikingly parallel case of borrowed customs and ideas which is presented by the Ainos in this same archipelago must be left undeveloped. In conclusion, it need only be remarked that a simple translation of one book, such as is here given, does not nearly exhaust the work which might be expended even on the elucidation of that single book, and much less can it fill the gap which still lies between us and a proper knowledge of Japanese antiquity. To do this, the co-operation of the archaeologist must be obtained, while even in the field of the critical investigation of documents there is an immense deal still to be clone. Not only must all the available Japanese sources be made to yield up the information which they contain, but the assistance of Chinese and Korean records must be called in. A large quantity of Chinese literature has already been ransacked for a similar purpose by Matsushita Ken-rin, a translation of part of whose very useful compilation entitled "An Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" (異國日本傳) would be one of the greatest helps towards the desired knowledge. In fact, there still remains to be done for Japanese antiquity from our standpoint what Hirata has done for it from the standpoint of a Japanese Shintoist. Except in some of Mr. Satow's papers published in these "Transactions," the subject has scarcely yet been studied in this spirit, and it is possible that the Japanese members of our Society may be somewhat alarmed at the idea of their national history being treated with so little reverence. Perhaps, however, the discovery, of the interest of the field of study thus only waiting to be investigated may reconcile them to the view here propounded. In any case if the early history of Japan is not all true, no amount of make believe can make it so. What we would like to do is to sift the true from the false. As an eminent writer on anthropology [80] has recently said, "Historical criticism, that is, judgment, is practised [72] not

for the purpose of disbelieving, but of believing. Its object is not to find fault with the author, but to ascertain how much of what he says may be reasonably taken as true." Moreover, even in what is not to be accepted as historic fact there is often much that is valuable from other points of view. If, Therefore, we lose a thousand years of so-called Japanese history, it must not be forgotten that Japanese mythology remains as the oldest existing product of the Altaic mind.

*　　*　　*

The following is a list of all the Japanese works quoted in this Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation. For the sake of convenience to the English reader all the titles have been translated excepting some few which, mostly on account of their embodying recondite allusion, do not admit of translation: —

Catalogue of Family Names, 姓氏錄, by Prince Mata [81]
Chronicles of Japan (generally quoted as the "Chronicles") 日本紀or 日本書紀by Prince Toneri and others.
Chronicles of Japan Continued, 續日本紀, by Sugano Ason Mamichi, Fujihara no Ason TSUGUNAHA and others.
Chronicles of Japan Explained, 釋日本記, by URABE no Yasukata.
Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, 先代舊事記, authorship uncertain.
Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by TACHIBANA NO MORAYE (probably).
Collection of Japanese Songs Ancient and Modem, 古今和歌集, by Kino TSURAYUKI and others.
Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, 萬葉集, by Kamo no MABUCHI.

[73] Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, 謠曲拾葉集,by Jinkō.
Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞後釋, MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Correct Account of the Divine Age, 神代正語, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Dictionary of Pillow-Words, 冠辭考, by Kamo no MABUCHI.
Digest of the Imperial Genealogies, 纂輯御系圖, by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo and Kurokaha Saneyori.

Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞歷不審考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Examination of Difficult Words, 難語考, by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, 國號考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Explanation of Japanese Names, 日本譯名, by KAHIBARA Tokushin.
Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, 日本紀歌廼解, by Arikida no HISAOI.
Exposition of the Ancient Histories, 古史傳, by HIRATA Atsutane.
Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, 異稱日本傳, by Matsushita Ken-rin.
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (usually) quoted simply as "Motowori's Commentary"), 古事記傳, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Exposition of the Record of Ancient Matters Criticized (usually quoted as "Moribe's Critique on Motowori's Commentary,") 難古事記傳, by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Gleanings from Ancient Story, 古語拾遺, by Imibe no HIRONARI.
Idzu no Chi-Waki, 稜威道別, by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Idzu no Koto-waki, 稜威言別, by (*sentence ends—JBH*)
Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of the Provinces (MS.), 諸國名義考, by Fujihara no Hitomaro.

Inquiry into the True Chronology, 眞歴考, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Japanese Words Classified and Explained, 和名類聚鈔, by MINAMO NO SHITAGAFU.
Ko-Chi Tsū, 古史通, by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.
Ko-Gan Shō, (MS.), 厚顔抄, by KEI-CHIYU.

[74] Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (usually quoted as "Tanigaha Shisei's Commentary,") 日本書記通證, by TANIGAHA SHISEI.
Records of Ancient Matters (often quoted simply as the "Records"), 古事記, by Futo no YASUMARO.
Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character, 神字古事記, by Fujihara no Masaoki.
Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllable Character. 假名古事記, by Sakata no Kaneyasu.
Records of Ancient Matters Revised, 校正古事記, Anonymous.
Records of Ancient Matters With Marginal Notes (usually quoted as "the Edition of 1687"), 鼇頭古事記, by Deguchi NOBUYOSHI.
Records of Ancient Matters With the Ancient Reading, 古訓古事記, by Nagase no Masachi (published with Motowori's, sanction)
Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings, 標訓古事記, by Murakami Tadayoshi.
Ritual of the General Purification, 大祓詞, Authorship Uncertain.
Shintō Discussed Afresh, 神道新論, by Takahashi Gorō.
Sources of the Ancient Histories, 古史徵, by HIRATA Atsutane.
Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, 竹取物語Authorship Uncertain.
Tama-Katsuma, 玉勝間, by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Tokihara-Gusa (the full title is *Jin-Dai-Sei-Go Tokiha-Gusa*), 常盤草, (神代正語常盤草), Hosoda TOMINOBU.
Topography of Yamashiro, 山城風土紀, Authorship Uncertain.

Tō-Ga (MS.), 東雅, by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.
Wa-Kun Shiwori, 和訓栞, by TANIGAWA SHISEI.

Yamato Tales, 大和物語, Authorship Uncertain.

Besides these two or three standard Chinese works are referred to such as the "*Yi Chin*" or "Book of Changes" (易經), and the "*Shan Hai Ching*" or "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經); but they are very few, and so easily recognized that it was unnecessary to enumerate them. All Japanese words properly so called are transliterated according to Mr. Satow's "Orthographic System," which, while representing the native spelling, does not in their case differ very greatly from the modern pronunciation. In the case of Sinico-Japanese words, where the divergence between the "Orthographic" spelling and the pronunciation is often considerable, a phonetic spelling has been preferred. With but two or three exceptions, which have been specially noted, Sinico-Japanese words are found only in proper names mentioned in the Preface and in the translator's Introduction, Footnotes, and Sectional Headings. The few Chinese words that occur in the Introduction and Notes are transliterated according to the method introduced by Sir Thomas Wade, and now so widely used by students of Chinese.

Footnotes

57 The Chinese characters used to write this word are 神道, which signify the "Way of the Gods." The term was adopted in order to distinguish the old native beliefs from Buddhism and Confucianism.

58 *Conf.*, last paragraph for the modified sense in which alone the word "deification" can be used in speaking of the Early Japanese worship.

59 In Sect. XXVII, where this deity is first mentioned, he is called *Sukuna Biko-Na-no-Kami*, the "Little Prince the Renowned Deity."

60 See Appendix II.

61 新羅.

62 As a specimen of the flexibility of his system, the reader to whom the Japanese language and Japanese legend are familiar is recommended to peruse of Vol. I of Arawi Hakuseki's "*Ko Shi Tsū*" (古史通) where an elaborate rationalistic interpretation is applied to the story of the amours of Izanagi and Izanami. It is amusing in its very gravity, and one finds it difficult to believe that the writer can have been in earnest when he penned it.

63 Mr. Takahashi Gorō's book here alluded to is his "Shintō Discussed Afresh."

64 *I.e.* the emperor Jim-mu, —*ten-nō*, written 天皇, being simply the Sinico-Japanese word for "emperor."

65 15th day of 11th moon of 5th year of Meiji.

66 For the use of this word to represent the Japanese *Yomo* or *Yomi*, see Sect. IX, Note 1.

67 *Podocarpus macrophylla*.

68 The least meagre account will be found in Sects. XVI and XXXII.

69 To be found at the end of Sect. XXXII.

70 In the Jim-mu legend we have the more usual form of the superstition, that, viz., which makes it unlucky to go from West to East, which is the contrary of the course pursued by the sun. In Sect. CLIII, On the other hand, the Emperor Yū-riaku is found fault with for acting in precisely the reverse manner, viz., for going from East to West, *i.e.* with his back to the sun. The idea is the same, though its practical application may thus diametrically differ, the fundamental objection being to going *against* the sun, in whatever manner the word *against*, to or some kindred expression. may be interpreted.

71 See Sects. XXXIX to XLI. For the "Herb-Quelling Sabre" see Sects; XVIII and LXXXII, *et. seq.*

72 General Le Gendre, quoted by Sir Edward Reed.

73 山海經.

74 *I.e.* the High August Producing Wondrous Deity. He is the second divine personage whose birth is mentioned in the "Records" (see Sect. I. Note 5). In the story of the creation given in the "Chronicles" he does not appear except in "One account."

75 Sect. XXXVII is a good instance of the third of these categories. For an elaborate myth founded on the name of a place see Sect. LXV. Lesser instances occur in Sects. XLIV, LXV, and LXXIII.

76 See Sects. LXXIX-XCI.

77 See this legend as first given in Sects. XL and XLI and afterwards in quite another context in Sect. CXVI. The way in which "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan" tells the story of the ravages committed on the fields of the Sun-Goddess by her brother, the "Impetuous Male Deity,"

might perhaps justify the opinion that that likewise is but the same tale in another form. The legend is evidently a very important one.

78 The translator's attention was drawn to the inconsistency of these dates by Mr. Ernest Satow.

79 See Sect XXIX, Note 16.

80 Dr. Tylor in his "Anthropology," Chap. XV.

81 The names in small capitals are those by which the authors (or compilers) are best known, and are mostly either their surname or personal name. Japanese usage is however very fluctuating, and sanctions Moreover, the use of a variety of *noms de plume*. Thus Motowori is not only often mentioned by his personal name Norinaga, but also by the, designation of *Suzunoya no Ushi*, Mabuchi by the designation of *Agatawi no Ushi*, etc.

The *Kamitsumaki* (上巻 *"First Volume"*[?])
VOL. I: Volume of the Age of the Gods [1]

PREFACE. [2]

I [3] Yasumaro [4] say: [5]

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and [4] form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape? [6] Nevertheless, Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the Passive and Active Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things. [7] Therefore, [8] did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions of his person? [9] So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we, by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men. [10] Truly do we know that a mirror was hung up, that [5] jewels were spat out, and that then a Hundred Kings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish. [11] By deliberations in the Tranquil River the Empire was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was purified. [12] Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi [13] first descended to the Peak of Takachi, [14] and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato [15] did traverse the [6] Island of the Dragon-Fly. [16] A weird bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura. [17] They with tails obstructed the path, and a great crow guided him to Yeshinu. [18] Dancing in rows they destroyed the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen. [19] Being instructed in a dream, he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was Therefore, styled the Wise

Monarch, [20] having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people, and is Therefore, remembered as the Emperor-Sage. [21] Determining the frontiers and civilising the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi; [22] reforming the [7] surnames and selecting the gentile names, he held sway at the Further Asuka. [23] Though each differed in caution and in ardour, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution. [24]

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka, [25] the Hidden Dragon put on perfection, the Reiterated Thunder came at the appointed moment. Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless, Heaven's time was not yet, and he escaped like the cicada to the Southern Mountains; both men and matters were favourable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the Imperial Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon [26] At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to [9] the Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped Ken-Kō,

in virtue he surpassed Shiū-Ō. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences, [27] and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason herewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover, the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its fervour, clearly observed former ages.

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: "I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis [28] of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth deter. mined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after ages." [29] At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that [10] he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears. [30] Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless, time elapsed and the age changed, and the thing was not yet carried out. [31]

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire, —being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people. [32]

Ruling from the Purple Palace, her virtue reaches to the utmost limits of the horse's hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations. In fame She must be pronounced superior to Bum-Mei, in virtue more eminent than Ten-Itsu. [33] Hereupon, [34] regretting the errors in the old words, and wishing to correct the misstatements in; the former chronicles, She, on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wa-do [35] commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words learnt by heart by Hiyeda no Are according to the Imperial Decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her. [36]

In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters. [37] To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy. [38] For this reason, have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic [12] and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover, where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy? [39] Again, in such cases as calling the surname 日下*Kusaka*, and the personal name written with the character 帶*Tarashi*, I have followed usage without alteration. [40] Altogether the things recorded commence with the

separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Woharida. [41] So from the [13] Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Oho-Sazaki down to the great palace of Woharida makes the Third Volume. [42] Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present. [43] I Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wa-dō. [44]

Footnotes

1 Literally "Upper Volumes," there being three in all, and it being the common Japanese practice (borrowed from the Chinese) to use the words Upper, Middle, and Lower to denote the First, Second and Third Volumes of a work respectively.

2 The peculiar nature of this Preface, which is but a *tour de force* meant to show that, the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so, has been already hinted at in the Introduction. It is Indeed, a laboured little composition, and, but for the facts stated in its latter portion, has no value except perhaps as a specimen of the manner in which the legends of one country may be made to change aspect by being presented through the medium of the philosophical terminology and set phrases of another. It may be divided into five parts. In the first the writer, in a succession of brief allusions antithetically balanced, summarizes the most striking of the

legends that are detailed in the pages of his "Records," and in a few words paints the exploits of some of the early emperors. In the second the troubles that ushered in the reign of the Emperor Tem-mu and his triumph over Prince Ohotomo are related at greater length in high-flown allusive phrases borrowed from the Chinese-historians. The third division gives us the Emperor Temmu's decree ordering the compilation of the "Records," and the fourth tells how the execution of that decree was delayed till the reign of the Empress Gemmiyō (A.D. 703-715), on whom likewise a panegyric is pronounced. In the fifth and last the compiler enters into some details concerning the style and method he has adopted.

3 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 臣, "vassal," used in China by a subject when addressing his sovereign in writing.

4 This is the compiler's personal name. His full name and titles, as given at the end of this preface, were 正五位上勳五等太朝臣安萬侶*i.e.*, the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit. The family of Futo claimed to descend from His Augustness Kamu-yawi-mimi, second son of the Emperor Jim-mu. Yasumaro's death is recorded in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued," under date of 30th August, A.D. 723.

5 *I.e.*, I report as follows to Her Majesty the Empress.

6 *I.e.*, in the primeval void which preceded all phenomena there was neither form nor movement, and it was Therefore, unnamed and unknowable.

7 This sentence summarizes the first eight Sections of the text of the "Records." The "three Deities" are the Deity Master-of-the August-Centre-of-Heaven, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (see Sect. I, Notes

4, 5, and 6.) The two Spirits representing the "Passive and Active Elements" are the creatrix and creator Izanami and Izanagi (the "Female-Who-Invites" and the "Male-Who-Invites,"—see Sect. II, Note 8), the procreation by whom of the islands of the Japanese archipelago and of a large number of gods and goddesses forms the subject of Sections III-VII.

8 The word "Therefore," is not appropriate in this place, and Motowori accordingly warns the reader to lay no stress upon it.

9 This sentence alludes to Izanagi's visit to Hades, and to the purification of his person on his return to the Upper World (see Sects. IX and X). It also refers to the birth of the Sun-Goddess and of the Moon-God from his left and from his right eye respectively, and to that of a large number of lesser gods and goddesses, who were produced from every article of his wearing apparel and from every part of his person on the occasion of his performing those ablutions (see Sect. X.)

10 The "original teaching" here mentioned means the original traditions of Japanese antiquity, the "former sages,"—a term which in China fitly designates such philosophers as Confucius, and Mencius, but which it is difficult to invest with any particular sense here in Japan where no sages, have ever arisen, —may be best taken to mean those unknown persons who transmitted the legends of the gods and early emperors. The "establishment of men" probably alludes to the investiture of sovereignty of Japan in the human descendants of the Sun-Goddess. The expression is however obscure, and Motowori himself has nothing satisfactory to tell us about it.

11 The mirror here mentioned is that by means of which the Sun-Goddess was allured out of the cave (see Sect. XVI); the jewels are those which Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") begged of his sister the Sun-

Goddess, and crunched into fragments (see Sect. XIII); the blade that was bitten to pieces by the Sun-Goddess figures in the same legend; the serpent is that slain by Susa-no-Wo after his banishment from Heaven (see Sect. XVIII); the "Myriad Deities" are supposed by Motowori to be this same god's numerous descendants (see Sect. XX). who ruled in Idzumo. There remains the phrase "a Hundred Kings," which is lacking in clearness. The only rational interpretation of it is as designating the Japanese imperial line, and yet the reference seems to have no special appropriateness in this context.

12 For the Tranquil River of Heaven, in whose stony bed the gods were wont to meet in council, see Sect. XIII, Note 12. The divine deliberations here referred to are those which resulted in the investiture of the sovereignty of Japan in the grandson of the Sun-Goddess (see Sects. XXX-XXXIII). The "discussions on the Little Shore" allude to the parleys on the beach of Inasa in Idzumo which preceded the abdication of the Deity who had held sway over that part of the country prior to the descent of the Sun-Goddess's grandson (see Sect. XXXII).

13 The abbreviated form of the name of the Sun-Goddess's grandson (see Sect. XXXIII, Notes 5 and 10).

14 *I.e.*, Mount Takachiho (see Sect. XXXIV, Note 5). The final syllable is here apocopated, in order to preserve the rhythmical balance of the sentence by using only three Chinese characters to write this name, the "Island of the Dragon-Fly" being likewise written with three characters.

15 *I.e.*, the first "human Emperor" Jim-mu, whose full native Japanese name is Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko. For the account of his reign see Sects. XLIV-LII.

16 *I.e.*, Japan. For the traditional origin of this poetical synonym of Japan see Sect. V. Note 26 and also the legend in Sect. CLVI. The word "traverse" in this sentence alludes to the Emperor Jim-mu's victorious progress from Western Japan to Yamato in the centre of the country, which he is said to have subdued, and where it is related that he established his capital (see Sect. XLIV-L).

17 For the mention of the bear, whose appearance caused the Emperor Jim-mu and his army to faint away, see commencement of Sect. XLV. Motowori thinks that the character 爪, "claws," is a copyist's error for 山, "mountain" or 穴, "hole," (*Conf*. Sect. XLV, Note 2). For the curious legend of the sabre see the same Section, and for the name of Takakura see more especially Note 3 to that Section.

18 For the Gods with tails who met and conversed with the Emperor Jim-mu in Yamato, see the latter part of Sect. XLVI, a perusal of which will however show that the phrase "obstructed the path," which is here used of them, is not exactly applicable. The miraculous crow which was sent down from Heaven to assist Jim-mu in his conquests, is mentioned at the commencement of the same Section and again at the commencement of Sect. XLVII. For Yeshinu (modern Yoshino) see Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

19 The word "dancing" in this sentence must not be too closely pressed, as it is used simply to balance the word "song in the parallel clause, —which clause itself does but echo the sense of that which precedes it. The reference is to the song which Jim-mu sang as a signal to his followers to destroy the "earth-spiders" (see Sect. XLVIII), and perhaps also to the songs in Sect. XLIX.

20 "The Emperor Su-jin" must be mentally supplied as the logical subject of this clause. For the story of his dream see Sect. LXIV, and for the origin of the laudatory designation here mentioned see the end of Sect. LXVII, which is however obscure.

21 "The Emperor Nin-toku" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. The allusion to the smoke and the laudatory designation here mentioned will be understood by reference to Sect. CXXI. The "black-haired people" is a common Chinese phrase for the peasantry or the people in general.

22 "The Emperor Sei-mu" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. His labours are briefly recapitulated in Sect. XCIV. For the province called Nearer Afumi (*Chika-tsu-Afumi*), see Sect. XXIX, Note 20. Its name is here rhythmically balanced against "Further Asuka" in the following clause.

23 "The Emperor In-giyō" must be supplied as the logical subject of this sentence. This Sovereign's rectification of the names forms the subject of Sect. CXXXIX for Further Asuka (*Toho-tsu-Asuka*) see Sect. CXXXIII, Notes 13 and 11.

24 *I.e.*, though unlike in character, some of the ancient emperors excelling in caution and others in ardour, some being remarkable for their attainments others for their native worth, yet was there not one without a claim to greatness, not one who did not regard antiquity as the standard by which modern times should be judged, and repair the deviations from antique perfection that successively arose during the lapse of ages. —How marvellously inapplicable is this rodomontade to the early monarchs of Japan the student of Japanese history need scarcely be told, and Motowori

himself allows that "it is not completely appropriate." Here the first part of the Preface terminates.

25 Viz., the Emperor Tem-mu, whose struggle for the crown in the latter part of the seventh century of our era against the contending claims of Prince Ohotomo is related at great length in the pages of the "Chronicles," though naturally beyond the scope of these "Records," which close in A.D. 628. The "Eight Great Islands" is one of the synonyms of Japan (see Sect. V. Note 27). The reason for the specially laudatory mention in this place of the Emperor Tem-mu is the fact that it was with him that the idea of compiling these Records originated, as is Indeed, stated a little further on. He is here alluded to by the expressions Hidden Dragon and Reiterated Thunder, metaphorical names borrowed from the "*Yi Ching*" and denoting the heir apparent Temmu not having ascended the throne till sometime after his predecessor's, death, as Prince Ohotomo disputed by force of arms his right to the succession. The phrases "put on perfection" and "came at the appointed moment" are attempts at representing the original 體元and 應期. The meaning is that the Emperor Tem-mu was the man for the age, and that he took his proper and exalted place in it. In the following sentences we have a flowery *résumé* of the story of the successful war by which he obtained the crown. The reference to the "song in a dream" is Indeed, obscure; but the "water at night" is the River Yoko, which we read of in the "Chronicles" as having been crossed by him. The characters somewhat freely rendered by the English words "succession" and "inheritance" are 業 and 基, which approximate to that sense in this context. The "Southern Mountains" are the Mountains of Yoshino. whither he escaped for a season as a cicada escapes from its cast-off shell; the "Eastern Land" denotes the eastern provinces of Japan where he organized his army. The "Six Divisions" and the "Three Hosts" are Chinese designations of the Imperial

troops, while the "ill-omened crew" of course refers to Tem-mu's enemies. —Prince Ohotomo, and his followers. In the ensuing sentence we see peace restored: Tem-mu has returned to the capital (for which the words "Flowery Summer" are a Chinese periphrasis), he has taken in his hands the insignia of office, and reigns supreme over the Six Cardinal Points (North, South, East, West, Above, and Below) and over the "Eight Wildernesses" (*i.e.*, the barbarous regions on all sides). The writer concludes this division of his Preface by a glowing panegyric of the Monarch, who was, he says, superior to Hsüan Hou (軒后 Jap. Ken-Kō), and Chou Wang (周王 Jap. Shiū-O), famous Chinese sovereigns of the legendary period. So intelligent were his efforts, so perfect was his conformity with the ways of Heaven as displayed in the workings of the Active and Passive Essences, that the Five Elements (Water Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth) all interacted with due regularity, and laudable usages alone prevailed throughout the land. Up to this point the preface may be said to be purely ornamental.

26 *I.e.*, March (20th as the "Chronicles" tell us), A. D. 673. The original, to denote the year and the month mentioned, uses the periphrases 歲次大梁 and 月踵夾鍾 but doubtless without any reference to the original proper meaning of those terms.

27 The text literally reads thus: "He rode in the exactness of the Two Essences." But the author's intention is to tell us that Tem-mu acted according to the golden mean, keeping the balance even, and not inclining unduly either to the Active or the Passive side.

28 Literally "warp and woof," *i.e.*, cannon, standard, mainspring, first necessity.

29 This is the imperial decree ordering the compilation of the "Records of Ancient matters." The expressions "original words" (本辭) and "old words" (舊辭) are curious, and Motowori is probably right in arguing from the emphatic manner in which they are repeated that the Emperor Tem-mu attached special importance to the actual archaic phraseology in which some at least of the early documents or traditions had been handed down.

30 *I.e.*, he could repeat the contents of any document that he had once seen and remember all that he had ever heard.

31 *I.e.*, the Emperor Tem-mu died before the plan of the compilation of these "Records" had been carried into execution. Viz. it may be presumed, before a selection from the various original documents committed to memory by Are had been reduced to writing.

32 得一光宅通三亭育. For the phrase "obtaining Unity," which is borrowed from Lao Tzū, the student should consult Stanislas Judien's "Livre de la Voie et de le Vertu,". The "Triad" is the threefold intelligence of Heaven, Earth, and Man. The general meaning of the sentence is that the Empress's perfect virtue, which is in complete accord with the heavenly ordinances, is spread abroad throughout the empire, and that with her all-penetrating insight she nourishes and sustains her people.

33 In the above four sentences the compiler expresses his respectful admiration of the Empress Gem-miyo, who was on the throne at the time when he wrote, and tells us how wide was her rule and how prosperous her reign. The "Purple Palace" is one of the ornamental names borrowed from the Chinese to denote the imperial residence. The "Sombre Retinue" (if such Indeed, is the correct rendering of the original expression 玄扈) is a phrase on which no authority consulted by the translator throws any light.

The "utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks" and the "furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows" are favourite phrases in the old literature of Japan to express extreme distance (see, For instance, Mr. Satow's translations of the "Ritual of the Praying for Harvest," Vol. VII, Pt. II, of these "Transactions" and the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese,". Such unusual phenomena as connected stalks, *i.e.*, trunks springing from the same root and uniting again higher up and "joint rice-ears," *i.e.*, two rice-ears growing on a single stem, are considered lucky omens by the Chinese, and their appearance is duly chronicled in those Japanese histories that are composed after the Chinese model. The "continuous beacon-fires" and the "repeated interpretations" are phrases alluding to the foreign lands (*i.e.*, the various small Korean states) speaking strange languages, whence tribute was sent to Japan, the text, as it stands, gives the impression that the arrival of the tribute-ships was announced by beacon-fires being lighted. Motowori however wishes us to understand the author's meaning to be that foreign states which, in the natural course of events, would be inimical, and the approach of whose ships would be signalized by the lighting of beacon-fires, now peacefully sent gifts to the Japanese monarch. It may be added that the whole sentence is borrowed scarcely without alteration from the "*Wên Hsüan*" (文選). Bum-mei is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 文命, the original name of Yü (禹) a celebrated legendary emperor of China. Ten-Itsu is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters 天乙, the original name of the ancient emperor T'ang (湯), who is said to have founded the Shang dynasty in the eighteenth century B.C.

34 This word is here used as an initial particle without special significance.

35 *I.e.*, 3rd November A. D. 711. Wa-dō (和銅) is the name of a Japanese "year-period" which lasted from A.D. 708 to 714.

36 *I.e.*, present them to her. With this sentence ends the fourth division of the preface.

37 *I.e.,* the simplicity of speech and thought in Early Japan renders it too hard a task to rearrange the old documents committed to memory by Are in such a manner as to make them conform to the rules of Chinese style.

38 *I.e.,* if I adopted in its entirety the Chinese ideographic method of writing, I should often fail of giving a true impression of the nature of the original documents (*conf.* the preceding Note). If, On the other hand, I consistently used the Chinese characters, syllable by syllable, as phonetic symbols for Japanese sounds, this work would attain to inordinate proportions, on account of the great length of the polysyllabic Japanese as compared with the monosyllabic Chinese. The author's meaning may be illustrated by referring to the first clause of the "Records," 天地初發之時 ("when Heaven and Earth began"), which is thus written ideographically with six Chinese characters, whereas it would require no less than eleven to write it phonetically so as to represent the sound of the Japanese words *ame tsuchi no hazhime no toki*, viz., 阿米都知能波士賣能登伎. It should be noticed that in this passage the author employs the technical expressions *on* and *kun* (音and 訓) in a manner which is the precise reverse of that sanctioned by modern usage, *on* being with him the phonetic, and *kun* the ideographic, acceptation of the Chinese characters.

39 It will be seen by perusing the following translation that the author can scarcely be said to have vouchsafed as much exegetical matter as this statement would lead us to expect. Indeed, his "comments" are mostly

confined to information concerning the pronunciation of certain characters. See however Motowori's remarks on this sentence in Vol. II. of this Commentary.

40 The author here refers to a certain class of Japanese words which offer peculiar difficulties because written neither ideographically nor phonetically. but in a completely arbitrary manner, the result of a freak of usage. His manner of expressing himself is, however, ambiguous. What he meant to say is, as Motowori points out: "Again in such cases as writing the surname *Kusaka*, with the characters 日下, and the personal name *Tarashi* with the character 帶, I have followed usage without alteration." It is his imperfect mastery over the Chinese construction that makes him fall into such errors, —errors easily rectifiable, however, by the more widely read modern Japanese *literati*.

41 *I.e.,* commence with the creation, and end with the death of the Empress Sui-ko (A. D. 628), who resided at Woharida.

42 For the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven see Sect. I, note 4, and for Prince-Wave-Limit, etc., see Sect. XLII, Note 15. Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko is the proper native Japanese name of the emperor commonly known by the Chinese "canonical name" of Jim-mu. Homuda is part of the native Japanese name of the Emperor Ojin (see Sects. XCIV to CXVIII). Oho-Sazaki is the native Japanese name of the Emperor Nin-toku (see Sects. CXIX to CXXX.)

43 *Q.d.*, to the Empress.

44 *I.e.,* 10th March, A. D. 712.

[SECT. I. —THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.]

The names of the Deities [1] that were born [2] in the Plain of High Heaven [3] when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, [4] next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity, [5] next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. [6] These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons. [7] The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, [8] young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity, [9] next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. [10] [16] These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities. [11]

Footnotes

1 For this rendering of the Japanese word *kami* see Introduction.

2 Literally, "that became" (成). Such "becoming" is concisely defined by Motowori as "the birth of that which did not exist before."

3 In Japanese *Takama-no-hara*.

4 *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*.

5 *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami*. It is open to doubt whether the syllable *bi*, instead of signifying "wondrous," may not simply be a verbal termination, in which case the three syllables *musubi* would mean, not "wondrous

producing," but simple "producing," *i.e.*, if we adopt the interpretation of the Verb *musubu* as "to produce" in the Active sense of the word, an interpretation as to whose propriety there is some room for doubt. In the absence of certainty the translator has followed the view expressed by Motowori and adopted by Hirata. The same remark applies to the following and other similar names.

6 *Kami-musu-bi-no-kami*. This name reappears in later Sections under the lengthened form of *ami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, *i.e.*, His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, and also in abbreviated forms.

7 *I.e.* they all came into existence without being procreated. in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, *i.e.*, died.

8 Here and elsewhere the character 國, properly "country" (*regio*), is used where "earth" (*tellus*) better suits the sense. Apparently in the old language the word *kuni* (written 國), which is now restricted to the former meaning, was used ambiguously somewhat like our word "land."

9 *Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami.* For *hiko* here and elsewhere rendered "prince" see Introduction is rendered "elder" in accordance with the opinion expressed by Motowori and Hirata, who say that it is "an Honorific designation of males identical with the *ji* meaning old man."

10 Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven, *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*. The translation of the name here given follows the natural meaning of the characters composing it, and has the sanction of Tanigaha Shisai. Motowori and Hirata take *toko* to stand for *soko*, "bottom," and interpret accordingly; but this is probably but one of the many instances in which the

Japanese philologists allow themselves to be led by the boldness of their etymological speculations into identifying words radically distinct.

11 This is a note in the original, where such notes are indented, as has also been clone In the translation. The author's obscure phrase is explained by Motowori to mean that these Heavenly Deities were separate from those who came into existence afterwards, and especially from the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity (*Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*) who in the "Chronicles" is the first divine being of whom mention is made. These five were, he says, "separate" and had nothing to do with the creation of the world. It should be stated that the sentence will also bear the interpretation "The five Deities in the above list are Deities who divided Heaven" (presumably from Earth;) but this rendering has against it the authority of all the native editors. As the expressions "Heavenly Deity" and "Earthly Deity" (lit., "Country Deity" are of frequent occurrence in these "Records," it may be as well to state that. according to Motowori, the "Heavenly Deities" were such as either dwelt in Heaven or had originally descended to Earth from Heaven, whereas the Earthly Deities were those born and dwelling in Japan.

[SECT. II. —THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS.]

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, 1 next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity. 2 These two Deities were likewise [17] Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady; 3 next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister the Life-Integrating-Deity; 4 next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place; 5 next the Deity Perfect-Exterior, 6 [18] next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady; 7 next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites, next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites. 8

From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations.

(The two solitary Deities above [-mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of deities is called a generation.) 9

Footnotes

1 Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-on-Earth, *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*, *Conf*. Note 10 to Sect. I.

2 *Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami*. There is much doubt as to the proper interpretation of this name. The characters 雲野("cloud-moor"), with which the syllables read *kumo-nu* are written, are almost certainly phonetic, and

the translator has followed Motowori's view as corrected by Hirata, according to which *kumo* is taken to stand for *kumu*, "integrating," and *nu* is considered to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master" (or more vaguely "the person who presides at or does a thing"). Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-words," Article *Sasutake*, argues that the syllables in question should be interpreted in the sense of "coagulated mud"; out this is less satisfactory.

3 *U-hiji-no-kami* and *Su-hiji-ni-no-kami*. The names of this pair tend themselves to a variety of interpretations. Motowori's view of the meaning of the first three syllables in each seems best, if it is founded on the Chinese characters with which they are written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," and it has Therefore, been adopted here. Hirata interprets the names thus: First-Mud-Lord and First-Sand-Lady, and takes *ni* to be an alternative form of the Honorific *ne* found in so many proper names. This view of the meaning of *ni* has been followed by the translator. On the other hand, Mabuchi explains the names to mean respectively Floating-Mud-Earth and Sinking-Mud-Earth. The only thing Therefore, that is granted by all is that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made. The reader will bear in mind that "younger-sister" and "wife" are convertible names in Archaic Japanese. (See Introduction.)

4 *Tsunu-guhi-no-kami* and *Iku-guhi-no-kami*. The interpretation given is one in which the commentators agree, and which has some probability in its favour. It must however only be accepted with reservation.

5 *Oho-to-no ji-no-kami* and *Oho-to-no-be-no-kami*.

6 *Omo-daru-no-kami*. We might also render *omo-daru* by "perfect-face," *i.e.*, perfectly beautiful."

7 *Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami*. For "awful" we might substitute "venerable." Hirata, commentating on this name and the seven which precede it, says: *U-hiji-ui* and *Su-hiji-ni* are so named from their having contained the germs of what was to become the earth. *Oho-to-no-ji* and *Oho-to-no-be* are so called from the appearance of the incipient earth. *Tsunu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi* are so called from the united appearance of the earth and the Deities as they came into existence. *Omo-daru* and *Kashiko-ne* are so called from the completion of the august persons of the Deities. Thus their names were given to them from the gradual progress [of creation]."

8 *Izana-gi-no-kami* and *Izana-mi-no-kami*. There is some slight diversity of opinion as to the literal signification of the component parts of the names of these the best-known of the Deities hitherto mentioned, though the gist of the meaning remains unchanged. Motowori would prefer to read *Iza-na-gi* and *Iza-a-mi*, taking the syllable *na* as the Second Personal Pronoun "thou," and understanding the names thus: "the Prince-Who-Invites-Thee" and the "Princess-Who-Invites-Thee." It seems however more natural to look on *izana* as forming but one word, viz., the Root of the Verb *Izanafu*, "to invite." The older native commentators mean the same thing when they tell us that *na* is an Expletive. The syllables *gi* and *mi* are of uncertain etymology, but occur in other Archaic words to denote the female and male of a pair. The appropriateness of the names of these deities will be seen by referring to Sect. IV.

9 For explanatory notes which are printed in small type in the original, small type is likewise used in this translation.

[SECT. III. —THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO]

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness [1] the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear, [2] they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, [3] pushed [19] down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stiffed the brine till it went curdle-curdle, [4] and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro. [5]

Footnotes

1 For this rendering of the Japanese title *Mikoto* see Introduction, last paragraph.

2 The characters translated "jewelled spear" are 沼矛, whose proper Chinese signification would be quite different. But the first of the two almost certainly stands phonetically for 瓊or 玉, —the syllable *nu*, which is its sound, having apparently been an ancient word for "jewel" or "head," the better-known Japanese term being *tama*. In many places the word "jewel" (or "jewelled") seems to be used simply as an adjective expressive of beauty. But Motowori and Hirata credit it in this instance with its proper signification, and the translator always renders it literally, leaving the reader to consider it to be used metaphorically if and where he pleases.

3 *Ama-no-uki-hashi or Ame-no-uki-hashi*. The best authorities are at variance as to the nature of this bridge uniting Heaven with Earth. Hirata

identifies it with the Heavenly-Rock-Boat (*Ame-no-iha-fune*) mentioned in some ancient writings, whereas Motowori takes it to have been a real bridge, and finds traces of it and of similar bridges in the so-called "Heavenly Stairs" (*Ama-no-hashi-date*) which are found on several points of the coast, forming a kind of natural breakwater just above water-level.

4 *I.e.,* "till it became thick and glutinous." It is not easy to find in English a word which will aptly render the original Japanese onomatopoeia *koworokoworo*. The meaning may also be "till it made a curdling sound." But though the character 鳴, "to make a noise," sanctions this view, it is not the view approved by the commentators, and 鳴is probably only written phonetically for a homonymous word signifying "to become," which we find in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

5 *I.e.*, "Self-Curdling," "Self-Condensed." It is supposed to have been one of the islets off the coast of the larger island of Ahaji.

[SECT. IV. —COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE WHO-INVITES.]

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection 1 of a heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of a hall of eight fathoms. 2 Tunc [20] quæsivit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] a minore sorore Augustâ Feminâ-Qui-Invitat: "Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?" Respondit dicens: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ non crevit continua." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut hanc corporis mei partem quæ crevit, superflua in tui corporis partem quæ non crevit continua inseram, et regiones procreem?" Augusta Femina-Quæ-Invitat respondit dicens: "Bonum erit." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Quod quum ita sit, ego et tu hanc cœlestem augustam, columnam circumeuntes mutuoque occurrentes, augustarum [*i.e.* privatarum] partium augustam coitionem faciemus." 3 Hâc pactione factâ, dixit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat]: "Tu a dexterâ circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistrâ occurram." Absolutâ pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat primum inquit: "O venuste et amabilis adolescens!" Deinde Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat inquit: "O venusta et amabilis virgo!" Postquam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] locutus est sorori, dicens: "Non decet feminam primum verba facere." Nihilominus in thalamo [opus procreationis] inceperunt, et filium [nomine] Hirudinem 4 [vel Hirudini similem] pepererunt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha. 5 This likewise is not reckoned among their children. 6

Footnotes

1 The original of this quasi-causative phrase, of which there is no other example in Japanese literature so far as the translator's reading goes, is interpreted by Motowori in the sense of the English locution to which it literally corresponds, and it has here been rendered accordingly, though with considerable hesitation. Hirata does not approve of Motowori's view; but then the different text which he here adopts imposes on him the necessity of another interpretation. (See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II).

2 The original word *hiro* (written 尋) is defined as the distance between the hands when the arms are outstretched. The word rendered "hall" may also be translated "palace."—The text of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" is "they made the Island of Onogoro the central Pillar of the land,"—a statement which seems more rational and more in accordance with general tradition than that of these "Records."

3 This is Hirata's view of the import of the somewhat obscure original (see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II). Motowori's interpretation is: "auguste in thalamo coibimus."

4 The name in the original is Hiru-go, an instance of the fortuitous verbal resemblances occasionally found between unrelated languages.

5 Literary "foam." It is supposed to have been an islet near the island of Ahaji in the province of Sanuki.

6 Hiru-go was not so reckoned, because he was a failure.

[SECT. V. —BIRTH OF THE EIGHT ISLANDS.]

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: "The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august [21] place [1] of the Heavenly Deities." They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination, [2] and ordered them, saying: "They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words." So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: "Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden! Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: "Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!" Tali modo quun orationi finem fecerant, auguste coierunt et peperunt a child the Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake. [3] Next they gave birth to the Island of Futa-no in Iyo. [4] This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess; [5] the Land of Sanuki [6] is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice; [7] the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food; [8] the Land of Tosa [9] is called Brave-Good-Youth. [10] Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go [11] near Oki, [12] another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth. [13] [14]

This island likewise has one body and four faces [15] and each face has a name. So the land of Tsukushi is called White-Sun-Youth; [16] the Land of Toyo [17] is called Luxuriant-Sun-Youth; [18] the Land of Hi is called Brave Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth; [19] the Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth. [20] Next they gave birth to the Island of Iki, [21] another name for which is Heaven's One-Pillar. [22] Next they gave birth to

the Island of Tsu, 23 another name for which is Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess. 24 Next they gave birth to the Island of Sado. 25 Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly, 26 another name for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth. [24] The name of "Land-of -the- Eight-Great-Islands" 27 Therefore, originated in these eight islands having been born first. After that, when they had returned, 28 they gave birth to the Island of Ko[-shima] 29 in Kibi, 30 another name for which [island] is Brave-Sun 9 Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Adzuki, 31 another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima], 32 another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Hime, 33 another name for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth to the Island of Chika, 34 another name for which is Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island[s] of Futa-go, 35 another name for which is Heaven's-Two-Houses, (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko, in Kibi to the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses).

Footnotes

1 The characters 御所here translated "august place" (the proper Chinese signification is "imperial place") are those still in common use to denote the Mikado's palace.

2 For an elaborate account of the various methods of divination practised by the Ancient Japanese see Note 5 to Mr. Satow's translation of the "Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta" in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. VII, Pt. IV, *et seq.* "The most important mode of divination practised by the primitive Japanese was that of scorching the shoulder-blade

of a deer over a clear fire, and finding, omens in the cracks produced by the heat."

3 *Aha-ji* signifies "foam-way," *i.e.*, "the way to Foam (Aha)-Island," on account, it is said, of its intermediate position between the mainland and the province of Aha in what is in modern parlance the Island of Shikoku. The author of the "Chronicles of Old Affairs" fancifully derives the name from *a hoji* "my shame." The etymology of Ho-no-sa-wake is disputed; but Hirata, who in the body of Vol. III of his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" had already expended much ingenuity in discussing it, gives the most satisfactory interpretation that has yet been proposed in a postscript to that volume, where he explains it to signify "Rice-Ear-True-Youth." *Wake* (sometimes *wake* or *waku*) is a word of frequent occurrence in the names of gods and heroes. Whether it really signifies "youth," as Hirata believes and as it is most natural to suppose, or whether Motowori's guess that it is an Honorific title corrupted from *waga kimi ye* (lit. "my prince elder brother," more freely "lord") remains undecided. When it is used as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "lord," as that in such cases is its import apart from the question of derivation. *Sa*, rendered "true," may almost be considered to have dwindled down to a simple Honorific. —It is this little island which is said by the author of the "Chronicles" to have been the caul with which the great island of Yamato was born. Ahaji and Ho-no-sa-wake must be understood to be alternative names, the latter being what in other cases is prefaced by the phrase "another name for whom."

4 *Futa-na* is written with characters signifying "two names," and Motowori's derivation from *futa-narabi*, "two abreast," does not carry conviction. The etymology of Iyo is quite uncertain. It is here taken as the name of the whole island called in modern times Shikoku; but immediately

below we find it in its usual modern acceptation of one of the four provinces into which that island is divided. A similar remark applies to Tsukushi a little further on.

5 *Ye-hime*. For the rendering of *hiko* and *hime* as "prince" and "princess" see introduction.

6 Probably derived, as Hirata shows, from *saho-ki*, "pole-trees," a tribute of poles having anciently been paid by that province. Motowori adopts the unusual reading of the name given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," viz. Sanugi, with the last syllable *nigori'ed*.

7 *Ihi-yori-hiko*. The translator, though with some hesitation, follows Motowori in looking on *yori* as a contraction of *yorishi*, "good." The character used for it in the original is 依.

8 *Oho-ge-tsu-hime*. Remember that *aha* signifies not only "foam" but "millet" so that we need not be astonished to find that the alternative designation of the island so designated is that of a food-goddess.

9 Etymology uncertain, only fanciful derivations being proposed by the native philologists.

10 *Take-yori-wake*.

11 *Mitsu-go* signifies "triplets," lit., "three children." The three islets intended are *Ama-ma-shima*, *Mukafu-no-shima* and *Chiburi-no-shima*.

12 *Oki* probably here signifies "offing," which is its usual acceptation.

13 *Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake*. The syllables *oshi*, which recur in the names of many gods and heroes, are rendered "great" in accordance with Motowori's plausible conjecture that they are an abbreviation of *ohoshi* ("great," not

"many" as in the later language). The translation of *koro* by "heart" follows a conjecture of Hirata's (Motowori acknowledged that he could make nothing of the word), according to which it is taken to be an abbreviated form of *kokoro*, "heart."

14 None but fanciful derivations of this word are suggested by the native philologists.

15 A note to the edition of 1687 says: "Should the word 'four' be changed to 'five?'" For most texts enumerate five countries in this passage with slight variations in the names, Himuka, (Hiuga), which it certainly seems strange to omit, being the fourth on the list with the alternative name of Toyokuzhi-hine-wake, while the alternative name of Hi is Haya-hi-wake, Motowori argues that an enumeration of four agrees better with the context, while Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary decides in favour of the five. There are thus texts and authorities in favour of both views.

16 *Shira-bi-wake*.

17 *Toyo* means "luxuriant" or "fertile." *Hi* appears to signify "fire" or "sun." *Kumaso* is properly a compound, *Kuma-so*, as the district is often mentioned by the simple name of *So*. *Kuma* signifies "bear," and Motowori suggests that the use of the name of this the fiercest of beasts as a prefix may be traced to the evil reputation of that part of the country for robbers and outlaws. He quotes similar compounds with *kuma* in support of this view.

18 *Toyo-bi-wake*.

19 *Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake*. The interpretation of this name follows Motowori.

20 *Take-bi-wake*.

21 Etymology uncertain, but there seems reason to suppose that the name was originally pronounced Yiki or Yuki.

22 *Ame-hito-tsu-bashira*.

23 *Tsu* (Tsu-shima) means "port," "anchorage," a name probably given to this island on account of its being the midway halting-place for junks plying between Japan and Korea.

24 *Ame-no-sade-yori-hime*. The interpretation of *sade* (rendered "hand-net") is uncertain. The translator has followed that sanctioned by an ode in Vol. I of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by a passage in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained." Hirata takes *sa* to be an Honorific and *te* to be the usual word for "hand," while Motowori gives up the name in despair.

25 Etymology uncertain.

26 *Oho-yamato-toyo-aki-dzu-shima* (the original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake*). The etymology of Yamato is much disputed. Mabuchi, in his "Addenda to the Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," derives the name from *yama-to*, "mountain-gate." Motowori, in a learned discussion to be found in his "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan,", proposes three other possible derivations, viz. *yama-to*, "mountain-place," *yama-to* (supposed to stand for *yama-tsubo* and to mean "mountain-secluded"), and *yama-utsu* (*utsu* being a supposititious Archaic form of *uchi*,) "within the mountains." Other derivations are *yama-to* (山外), "without the mountains," *yama-ato*, "mountain-traces" and *yama-todomi*, "mountains stopping," *i.e.* (as Moribe,

who proposes it, explains), "far as the mountains can be seen." Another disputed point is whether the name of Yamato which here designates the Main Island of the Archipelago, but which in the common parlance of both ancient and modern times is the denomination on the one hand of the single province of Yamato and on the other of the whole Empire of Japan, originally had the wider application or the more restricted one. Motowori and the author of the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" seem to the present writer to make out the case in favour of the latter view. Motowori supposes the name to have denoted first a village and then a district, before being applied to a large province and Finally, to the entire country. The "Island of the Dragon-fly" is a favourite name for Japan in the language of the Japanese poets. It is traced to a remark of the Emperor Jim-mu, who is said to have compared the shape of the country round Mountain Hohoma to "a dragon-fly drinking with its tail." *Conf.* also the tradition forming the subject of Sec. CLVI of the present translation.

27 *Oho-ya-shima-huni*. A perhaps still more literal English rendering of this name would be "Land of the Grand Eight Islands" or "Grand Land of the Eight Islands," for the word *oho* must be regarded rather as an Honorific than as actually meant to convey an idea of size.

28 "To the Island of Onogoro," says Motowori; but we are not told that the god and goddess had ever left it.

29 *Ko* means "infant" or "small." The original of the alternative personal name is *Take-hi-gata-wake*. *Gata* (or, without the *nigori*, *Kata*) here and in other names offers some difficulty. The translator renders it by the equivalent of the usual Japanese signification of the character 方, "direction," with which it is written.

30 Etymology uncertain.

31 *Adzuki* is written with the characters 小豆, which signify a kind of bean (the *Phaseolus radiatus*); but it is possible that they represent the sound, and not the sense, of the name. In the alternative personal name *oho* signifies "great," and *hime* "princess," while the syllables *nu-de* are of altogether uncertain interpretation. Motowori suggests that *mu* may mean "moor" and *de* (for te) "clapper-bell."

32 *I.e.,* Great Island. The word *tamaru* in the alternative personal name is so obscure that not even any plausible conjecture concerning it has been ventured and the name is Therefore, of necessity left untranslated.

33 *Hime* signifies "princess" or "maiden." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-hito-tsu-ne*.

34 Etymology uncertain. Motowori would take the name in a plural sense as standing for the modern islands of Hirado and Go-tō (Goto). The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-no-oshi-wo*; in which as usual, *oshi* is supposed to represent *ohoshi* (大), "great."

35 *Futa-go* means "twins." The original of the alternative personal name is *Ame-futa-ya*.

[SECT. VI. —BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.]

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing; 1 next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-Prince; 2 next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Nest-Princess; 3 [26] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth; 4 next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing-Male; 5 next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince; 6 next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male; 7 next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor; 8 next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates, 9 whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn; 10 next they gave birth to his younger sister the Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities in all from the Deity-Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.) 11 The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and [27] Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm; 12 next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider; 13 next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor; 14 next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind. 15 Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder, 16 next they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. 17 Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess, 18 another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from the Deity Prince-of

Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given [28] birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes; 19 next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary; 20 next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door; next the Deity Earthly Dark-Door; 21 next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince; next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess. 22 (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they 23 next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-Tree-Boat, 24 another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat. Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. 25 Next they gave [29] birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity, 26 another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

Footnotes

1 *Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami*. "The Male-Enduring-Great-Things" would be a possible, but less good rendering. This god is identified by Motowori with *Koto-toke-no-wo* mentioned in "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan."

2 The original *Ika-tsuchi-biko-no-kami* (石土昆古神) is identified by Motowori with *Uha-zutsu-no-wo*, (上筒之男) mentioned in Sect. X (Note 18). He would interpret the first *tsu* (*dzu*) as the Genitive particle and the second as identical with the "Honorific appellation *ji* of males," such as *Hikoji*, *Oho-to-no-ji*, etc. If this surmise were correct, the entire name would signify Upper-Lord-Prince; but it is safer to be guided by the characters in the text.

3 *Iha-zu-bime-no-kami*. Here too Motowori takes the syllable *zu-* to be "connected with" the syllables *tsu-tsu* interpreted as above, forgetting apparently that the second *tsu* (*ji*) is said to occur only in the names of males.

4 *Oho-to-bi-wake-na-kami*, a name which Motowori, by supposing corruptions of the text and by making a plentiful use of the pliant and powerful system of derivation with which the Japanese etymologists lay siege to the difficulties of their language, identifies with *Oho-naho-bi-no-kami*, "the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity," mentioned in Sect. X (Note 16).

5 *Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami,* identified by Motowori with *I-buki-do-nushi* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification." (See his Commentary on this Ritual, Vol. II)

6 *Ohoyabikonokami*, identified by Motowori with *Oho-aya-tsui-bi* mentioned in "One account" of the "Chronicles."

7 *Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami*. Motowori's conjectural interpretation has been followed; but both the reading and the meaning of the original are encompassed with difficulties. Motowori identifies this deity with *Soko-sasura-hime* mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification."

8 *Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*. The interpretation of *mochi*, "possessor," though not absolutely sure, has for it the weight both of authority and of likelihood.

9 *I.e.*, river-mouths, estuaries, or ports. In the original *Minato-no-kami*.

10 *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko*. *Aki*, whose proper signification is "autumn," might also by metonymy be interpreted to mean "dragon-fly" or "Japan." Motowori, *àpropos* of this name, launches forth on very bold derivations and identifications with the names of other gods. The original of the sister-deity is *Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami*.

11 The text here omits the word "Swift" from this name.

12 The original names of this deity and the three that follow are *Awa-nagi-no-kami*, *Awa-nami-no-kami*, *Tsura-nagi-no-kami*, and *Tsura-nami*, *no-kami*. The interpretation of the component parts is open to doubt but that here adopted has the authority of Motowori and Hirata.

13 *Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami*. The following deity is *Kuni-nomi-kumari-no-kami*.

14 This Deity and the next are in the original *Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami* and *Kuni-ito-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami*. The etymology is obtained by comparison with a passage in the "Ritual for Averting Fire" (鎮火祭祝詞).

15 *Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami*. The original of this name is explained by Motowori, who founds his view on two passages in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," to signify Prince-of-Long-*Breath*. But the translator feels confident that *shi-na* by him interpreted in the sense of "long breath" (or rather "long of breath") should he connected with *shi*, an old word for wind which we see in *ara-shi* ("storm-wind"), *ni-shi* ("west-wind"), *hi-gashi* ("east wind"), and perhaps under a slightly altered form in *kaze*, "wind," whereas shi nowhere occurs in the sense of "breath." Hirata notices approvingly this etymology of *shi* ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. III.), though without venturing flatly to contradict his predecessor's decision as to the import of the name in question. The difference in the

meaning is after all slight. *Na* is to be taken as an apocopated form of *nagaki*, "long." In later times *Shinato* has been used as a name for the north-west wind.

16 Such seems to be the meaning of the original *Kuku-no-chi-no-kami*.

17 *Oho-yama-tsuna-ka-mi*.

18 *Kaya-nu-kimi-no-kami*. The etymology of the alternative personal name (in the original *Nu-dzu-chi-no-kami* is not quite certain.

19 The original of these two names is *Ame-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami*. Their signification is obscure, but the translator has, after some hesitation, followed Motowori's interpretation. The words "heavenly" and "earthly" should probably be considered as qualifying "passes." This word "pass," used here and elsewhere to render the Japanese term *saka* (*sa*), must be understood to include lesser ascents than those very arduous ones which are alone denoted by the word "pass" in ordinary English parlance. In the later language of Japan, the word *tauge* (*tōge*) generally denotes "passes" properly so called, while *saka* is restricted to the meaning of small ascents or hills. But this distinction is by no means strictly observed.

20 *Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-sagiri-no-kami*. *Sa* seems to be rightly considered, as in the two preceding names, to be an archaic form of *saka* (properly *sa-ka*, "hill-place"), and *giri* as an apocopated form of *kagiri*, (properly *ka-giri*, "place-cutting") "limit" or "boundary". Hirata however, following the Chinese character with which *kiri* is written, interprets it in the sense of "mist."

21*Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami*. Motowori explains *kura* (闇, "dark") by *tani* (谷, "valley"), and *to* "door" by *tokoro* (處, "place").

22 Such appears to be the proper interpretation of the original of these two names, *Oko-tomato-hiko-no-kami* and *Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami*, *tomato* being plausibly referred to *towomaru* and *tawamu*. It is difficult to find an English word to represent exactly the idea, which is rather that of a gentle *fold* in the mountains than of the narrower and steeper hollow which we call a "valley."

23 *I.e.*, the Prince-Who-Invites and the Princess-Who-Invites (*Izanagi* and *Iza-nami*).

24 *Tori-no-iha-kusa-bune-no-kami*. The alternative name is *Ame-no-tori-bune*, from which the title of Deity is omitted. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. V should be consulted on the subject of this deity.

25 Homonymous with the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha. (See Sect. V, Note 8).

26 *Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami*. If, as seems likely, *yagi*, is an incorrect reading for *kagi*, we should have to translate by "shining" the word here rendered "burning." The alternative names are *Hino-kaga-biko-no-kami* and *Hino-kaga-tsuchi-no-kami*. In "One account" of the "Chronicles" and elsewhere in the "Rituals" this fire-god is called *Ho-musubi i.e.* the Fire-Producer."

[SECT. VII. —RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES.]

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she sickened and lay down. 1 The names of the Deities born from her vomit was the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-Princess. 2 The names of the Deities that were born from her faces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess. 3 The names of the Deities that were next born from her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome 4 and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity. 5 The child of this Deity was called the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess. 6 So the Deity [30] the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired. 7 (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess. 8)

The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of Onogoro, was not given birth to. 9 and Moreover, the Leech-Child 10 and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children).

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh that I should have exchanged thee for this single child!" 11 And as he crept round her august pillow, and [31] as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu, 12 and whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity. 13 So he buried the divinely retired 14 Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba 15 at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo 16 and the Land of Hahaki. 17

Footnotes

1 "Lying down" (*koyasu*) is a term often used in the Archaic language in the sense of "dying." But here it must be taken literally, the death ("divine retirement") of the goddess being narrated a few fines further on.

2 *Kana-yama-biko-no-kami* and *Kana-yama-bime-no-kami*. The translation of this pair of names follows the plain sense of the characters 金山with which they are written, and which seems appropriate enough, coming as they do between the deity of fire and deities of clay. Motowori however, declaring both characters to be merely phonetic, derives *kana-yama* from *korena-yamasu*, "to cause to wither and suffer." And interprets the names accordingly. This is at any rate ingenious.

3 *Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami* and *Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami*.

4 The signification of this name is not to be ascertained. In the text it is written phonetically彌都波能賣, and two passages in the "Chronicles," where this deity is mentioned as 爲嚴罔象女and 水名水神罔象女with directions in each case to read the name with the sounds here given to it, do not help us much, except in so far as they show that Mitsuhanome was conceived of as the deity of water and as a female.

5 *Waku-musu-bi-no-kami*.

6 *Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami*.

7 *I.e.*, "died."

8 There is here an error in the computation, as *nine* deities are mentioned. The total of thirty-five deities given immediately below is still more erroneous, as no less than *forty* are named in the preceding passage.

Motowori makes an ingenious effort to reconcile arithmetic and revelation by supposing the five pairs of brothers and sister with parallel names to have been considered as each forming but one day.

9 See Sect. III. This island was not *born*, but arose, spontaneously from drops of brine.

10 *Hiru-go*. See the latter part of Sect. IV for these two names, Hiru-go was not counted among the children of these Deities for the reason that the latter abandoned him as soon as he was born, he being a failure. The reason for omitting Aha from the computation is not so clear.

11 The text here is very peculiar, the characters 子之一木rendered "single child" being where we should expect 子之一人or 子一人. Hirata proposes to consider 木, "tree," while most scholars agree in reading *ke* instead of *ki* in this place, as phonetic for *ke* (毛) "hair," and to interpret the god's words to signify that he values the child no more than a single hair in comparison with the wife whom that child's birth has lost for him. Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words." s.v. *Ko no hito-tsu ki* (Vol. I. *et seq.*), ingeniously argues that *ki* was an old native Japanese "Auxiliary Numeral" for animals, afterwards driven out by the somewhat like-sounding Chinese word *hiki* (匹) which is now in common use, and that the god employs this degrading Auxiliary Numeral in speaking of his child on account of the resentment which he feels against him. On the other hand, we gather from the "Chronicles of Japan Explained" that 木was used in its natural sense as an "Auxiliary Numeral" for gods and for men of exalted rank. This seems to the translator the better view to follow, and it is supported by the use of 桂 *hashira*, as the regular "Auxiliary Numeral" for divine personages. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has simply 一兒"one infant."

12 This rendering is but tentative; for it is not certain that Hirata, whose view has been adopted, is right in regarding Konomoto and Unewo as names of places. If we followed the older authorities, we should have to translate thus: "The Deity that dwells at the foot of the trees on the slope of the spur of Mount Kagu." The etymology of the name of this celebrated mountain (known also as *Ame-no-kagu-yama* or *Ama-no-kagu-yama*, *i.e.* "Heavenly Mount Kagu") is disputed. But Hirata's view, according to which it should be connected with *kago*, "deer," is the most plausible. If it was established, we should be tempted to follow him in rendering by "deer-possessor" the name of the deity *Kagu-tsu-chi*, of whom were born the eight gods of mountains, and whose slaying forms the title of the next section. That the fire-deity should be connected with the mountain-deities, and thereby with the deer who roam about the mountains and furnish the hunter with a motive for penetrating into their recesses, is of course but natural. The character 香with which Kagu is written signifies "fragrant"; but it has been suggested that the Japanese word may be connected with an expression signifying "heaven-descended," in allusion to the supposed origin of the mountain as related in an old geographical work (now lost) treating of the Province of Iyo.

13 *Naki-saha-me-no-kami*. The sense of the second word of the compound is "marsh" or "stream but Motowori seems right in considering the character 澤to be here used phonetically as an abbreviation of *isaha* from *isatsu*, "to weep."

14 *I.e.*, dead.

15 Etymology uncertain.

16 For this name see Sect. XIX, Note 6.

17 Etymology uncertain.

[SECT. VIII. —THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY.]

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-invites, drawing the ten-grasp sabre [1] that was augustly girded on him, [32] cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Hereupon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock-misses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter, [2] next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity. [3] The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part [4] of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Awfully-Swift-Deity, [5] next the Fire-Swift-Deity, [6] next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, [7] another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity, [8] and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected [33] on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: The Deity *Kura-okami* and next the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*. [9]

All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity *Kura-mitsuha*, are Deities that were born from the august sword.

The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder, who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains. [10] The name of the Deity that was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains. [11] The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost-Mountains. [12] The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand [13] was the Deity Possessor-of-

the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand [13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying, Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot [14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains.

The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot [14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains). So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic Point-Blade-Extended. [15]

Footnotes

1 One "grasp" is defined as "the breadth of four fingers when the hand is clenched," so that the meaning intended to be conveyed is of a big sabre ten hand-breadths long. The length of sabres and of beards was measured by such "grasps" or "hand-breadths."

2 The original names of this deity and the next are *Iha-saku-no-kami* and *Ne-saki-no-kami*.

3 Or the Rock-Elder, *i.e.*, the Male Deity the Elder of the Rocks, if with Motowori we regard the second *tsu* of the original name *Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami* as being equivalent to *chi* or *ji*, supposed to be "the honorific appellation of males" elsewhere rendered "elder." The translation in the text proceeds on the assumption that this *tsu* represents *mochi*: The purport of the name remains much the same whichever of these two views be adopted.

4 Explained by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" through a character signifying "the knob at the end of the guard of the sword.'

(Williams' "Syllabic Dictionary.")

5 *Mika-haya-bi-no-kami*. Motowori seems to be right in regarding *mika* as equivalent to *ika*, the root of *ikameshiki*, "stern," "awful," and *bi* as the root of *buru*, a verbalising suffix.

6 *Hi-haya-bi-no-kami*.

7 *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami*, written with the characters 建御雷之男神. The translator has without much hesitation followed Motowori's interpretation.

8 *Take-futsu-no-kami*. The text name is *Toyo-futsu-no-kami*. *Futsu* is interpreted in the sense of "the sound of snapping" by reference to a Passage in the "Chronicles" where it occurs written both ideographically and phonetically in the name of the deity *Futsu-no-mi-tama*.

9 The etymology of both these name is obscure. *Kura*, the first element of each compound, signifies "dark."

10 This is the explanation of the original name *Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* which is given in the "Secret of the Chronicles of Japan," and is approved by the later commentators.

11 *Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*. The English rendering is uncertain, as it rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, deriving *odo* from *ori do* (下處), "descending place," "way down."

12 The original names of this and the following five deities are: *Oku-yama-tsumi-no-kami*, *Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Hayama-tsu-mi-no-kami* and *To-yama-tsumi-no-kami*. *Shigi*, here translated "dense," seems to be almost certainly a

contraction of *Shigeki*, which has that signification. *Ha-yama* is a term for which it is hard to find an exact English equivalent. It denotes the lesser hills or first visibly rising ground forming the approach to an actual mountain-range. The signification of *to* in the last name of the set is disputed. Mabuchi takes it in the sense of "gate." The translator prefers Motowori's view: but after all, the difference in meaning does not amount to much. A third derivation proposed by Motowori is *tawa-yama*, *i.e.* "mountains with folds."

13 Or "arm."

14 Or "leg."

15 These two names are in the original *Ame-no-wo-ha-bori* and *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bori*. Their import is not absolutely clear, but they seem to designate a weapon broad towards the point, such as is represented in the illustrations given in Vol. I, and Vol. II, of the "*Tokiha-Gusa*."

[SECT. IX. —THE LAND OF HADES.]

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades. 1 So when from the palace she raised the [35] door and came out to meet him, 2 His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying:

"Lamentable Indeed, that thou earnest not sooner! I have eaten of the furnace of Hades. 3 Nevertheless, as I reverence 4 the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely elder brother, I wish to return. 5 Moreover, 6 I will discuss it particularly with the Deities of Hades. 7 Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth 8 of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light 9 and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming. and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, [36] in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her left hand 10 dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand 10 dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot 11 dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot 11 dwelt the Couchant-Thunder: —altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there. 12 Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades 13 to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress 14 and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but

as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his Younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue [37] him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand; 15 and as they still pursued, he took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades, 16 three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living people 17 in the Central Land of Reed-Plains 18 when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!"—and he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit. 19 Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock, 20 and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings; 21 and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness! If *thou* do this, *I* will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses. 22 In this manner each day a thousand people would surely be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades. 23 Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity. 24 Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-

of-the-Road-Turning-back, [25] and again it is called the Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades. [26] So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass [27] in the Land of Idzumo.

Footnotes

1 The characters in the original which are here rendered Hades are 黄泉, lit. "Yellow Stream," a Chinese name for the Underworld to which a remark of Mencius and a story in the "*Tso Chuan*" appear to have given rise. They here represent the Japanese word *Yomo* or *Yomi*, which we find phonetically written with the characters 豫母in the name of *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me* a little further on, and which is defined by Motowori as "an underworld, ... the habitation of the dead,.... the land whither, when they die, go all men, whether noble or mean, virtuous or wicked." The orthodox Japanese derivation of *Yomi* is from *Yoru*, "night," which would give us for *Yomo-tsu-kuni* some such rendering as "the Land of Gloom." A suggestion quoted by Arawi Hakuseki ("*Tōga*," art. *Idzumi*) that the word may really be but a mispronunciation of *Yama*, the Sanscrit name of the Buddhist god of hell, is however worthy of consideration; but it seems best on the whole to translate *Yomi* or *Yomo* by "Hades," a term which is itself of uncertain derivation, and the signification attached to which closely resembles the Japanese *Shintō* notion of the world beyond, or rather beneath, the grave.

2 The original text 爾自殿騰戸出向之時seems to be corrupt, and Motowori, unable to make anything of 騰戸leaves 騰without any Japanese reading (see the remarks in his Commentary, Vol. VI.). Mr. Aston, in the version of this passage given in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," follows Motowori in not translating 騰, but does not allude to the difficulty.

3 *I.e.* "of the food of Hades." It would be more obvious (following the text) to translate "I have eaten in the doors [*i.e.* in the house] of Hades; —but the character 戸in this place stands almost certainly for 竈, "a place for cooking," "a furnace."

4 The word *kashikoshi* (恐), here translated "reverence," exactly corresponds to the modern polite idiom *osore-iri-mashita*, for which there is no precise equivalent in English, but which conveys some such sentiment as "I am overpowered by the honour you do me," "I am sorry you should have taken the trouble."

5 *Q.d.* "with thee to the land of the living."

6 The original here has the character 且which signifies "Moreover," as in this translation, and Motowori's proposed emendation to 旦has for it the authority of no manuscript or earlier printed edition. In his "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" he actually substitutes this very new reading, accompanying it in *kana* with the Japanese words *ashita ni*, "in the morning." But what is to become of the text if we are at liberty to alter it to suit our convenience, —for there is more than one other passage where 且is Similarly, used?

7 Yomo-tsu-kami. Both Motowori and Hirata take the word "Deities" in the Plural, and the translator Therefore, renders it in that number, though the Singular would be at least equally suitable to the text as it stands. Of the Deities of Hades little or nothing is known. Conf. Note 23 to this Section.

8 Literally "the male pillar," *i.e.* the large tooth of which there is one at each end of the comb.

9 The use of the expression "lit *one* light," where it would have been more natural to say simply "lit [a] light," is explained by a gloss in the "Chronicles," which informs us that "at the present day" the lighting of a single light is considered unlucky, as is also the throwing away of a comb at night-time. It is allowed that the gloss is a late addition, and its statement might perhaps be considered a mere invention made to account for the peculiar expression in the text. Motowori tells us however that "it is said by the natives" that these actions are still (latter part of 18th century) considered unlucky in the province of Ihami, and the same superstition also survives, as the translator is assured, in Yedo itself. It is to be understood that it was the large tooth broken off from the comb which the god lighted.

10 Or "arm."

11 Or "leg."

12 The Japanese names of the eight Thunder-Deities are: *Oho-ikadzuchi*, *Ho-no-ikadzuchi*, *Kuro-ikadzuchi*, *Saka-ikadzuchi*, *Waki-ikadzuchi*, *Tsuchi-ikadzuchi*, *Naru-ikadzuchi*, and *Fushi-ikadzuchi*. Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, has some observation on the appropriateness of each of these names which the student will do well to consult if the work should be published.

13 *Yomo-tsu-shiko-me*.

14 We might perhaps with equal propriety render by "wreath" the word here translated head- dress, —leaves and flowers having been the earliest ornaments for the hair. In later time, however, it has been used to designate any sort of head-dress, and that is also the dictionary meaning of the Chinese character with which it is written. The Japanese words for "head-

dress" and "creeper" are homonymous, and Indeed, the former is probably but a specialised acceptation of the latter.

15 *I.e.*, brandishing it behind him.

16 Or Flat Hill of Hades, *Yomo-tsu-hira-saka*, said by Motowori to form the frontier-line between Hades and the World of the Living. See also Note 27 to this Section.

17 The three characters 青人草here rendered "people" are evidently (Motowori notwithstanding) meant to be equivalent to the common Chinese expression 蒼生, which has that signification. The word translated "living" means literally "present," "visible."

18 *Ashi-hara-no-naka-tsu-kuni*, a common periphrastic designation of Japan. It is better to translate the name thus than to render it by "the Land in the Middle of the Reed-Plains," a forced interpretation which Motowori and Hirata would only seem to adopt in order to veil the fact that one of the most ancient and revered names of their native land was imitated from that of China. —everything Chinese being an abomination in the sight of these ardent Shintoists. Yamazaki Suiga, as quoted by. Tanigaha Shisei, is more sensible when he remarks that each country naturally considers itself central and foreign countries barbarous and that Japan is not peculiar in being looked on by its inhabitants as the centre of the universe. This is also the view taken by the other earlier scholars.

19 *Oho-kamu-dzumi-no-mikoto*. The difference between Singular and Plural is not often present to the Japanese mind, and though there were three peaches, we might just as well render their name by the words "His Augustness, etc.," considering the three as forming together but one

divinity. The interpretation of the name here adopted is the simple and natural one which Motowori borrowed from Tanigaha Shisei.

20 *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

21 That some kind of leave-taking and separation is intended seems certain; but the precise import of the characters 度事戸in the text is not to be ascertained. Motowori's "Commentary, Vol. VI, and Vol. X, should be consulted for an elaborate discussion of the various interpretations which they may be made to bear. Moribe, in his Critique on this Commentary, argues that "divorced each other" is the proper signification of the words, and supports his opinion by the Parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

22 *I.e.*, "I will cause fifteen hundred women to bear children." For the custom of erecting a separate hut for a woman about to be delivered see Introduction.)

23 *Yomo-tsu-oho-kami*. On this rather embarrassing statement Motowori is silent, and Hirata simply says: "It must be supposed that the 'Deities of Hades' previously mentioned had been its 'Great Deities' up to this time, a position which was henceforward assumed by Her Augustness Izana-mi (the Female-Who-Invites"). Conf. Note 7 to this Section.

24 *Chi-shiki-no-oho-kami*. [This is Motowori's reading. We might also read *Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami*]. Motowori conclusively proves that "reaching" is the signification of the word *shiki* which is here so translated. That it was already obscure at the time of the compilation of these "Records" is however shown by the fact that it is written syllabically in the first instance, and with a "borrowed character" (*i.e.*, a homonymous word) in the second.

25 Because the goddess was turned back by it on the road where she was pursuing her brother-husband. The original is *Chi-gaheshi* [or *Michi-gaheshi*]-*no-oho-kami*.

26 *Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-oho-kami*.

27 *Ifuya-zaka*. Moribe in his "*Idzu-no-chi-waki*" conjectures that Ifuya may be derived from *Yufu-yami*, "evening darkness," an etymology which has at least the merit of suiting the legend.

[SECT. X. —THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON.]

Therefore, the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites said: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land; —I have! [1] So I will perform the purification of my august person." So he went out to a plain [covered with] *ahagi* [2] at a small river-mouth near Tachibana [3] in Himuka [4] in [the island of] Tsukushi, and purified and cleansed himself. So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-Place. [5] The name of [40] the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space. [6]

The name of the Deity that was born from the august skirt which he next threw down was the Deity Loosen-Put. [7] The name of the Deity that was born from the august upper garment which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-Trouble. [8] The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork-Deity. [9] The name of the Deity that was born from the august hat which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-the-Open-Mouth. [10] The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august left hand [11] which he next threw down were the Deities Offing-Distant, [12] next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august right hand [41] which he next threw down were: The Deity Shore-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore.

The twelve Deities mentioned in the foregoing 13 list from the Deity Come-Not-Place down to the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore Are Deities that were born from his taking off the things that were on his person.

Thereupon saying: "The water in the upper reach is [too] rapid; the water in the lower reach is [too] sluggish," he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and, as he washed, there was first born the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, and next the Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils. 14 These two Deities are the Deities that were born from the filth [he contracted] when he went to that polluted, hideous land. 15 The names of the Deities that were next born to rectify those evils were: the Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous Deity, next the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, 16 next the Female-Deity-Idzu. 17 The names of the Deities that were next born, as he bathed at the bottom of the water, were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Bottom, 18 and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed in the middle [of the water] were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed at the top of the water were the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Surface, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface. These three Ocean-Possessing Deities are the Deities held in reverence as their ancestral Deities by the Chiefs of Adzumi. 19 So the Chiefs of Adzumi are the descendants of His Augustness *Utsushi-hi-gana-saku*, 20 a child of these Ocean-Possessing Deities. 21 These three Deities His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, and His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface are the three Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. 22 The name of the Deity that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye was the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. 23 The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his right august eye was His Augustness, Moon-

Night Possessor. [24] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his august nose was His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness. [25]

The fourteen Deities in the foregoing list from the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils down to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness Are Deities born from the bathing of his august person.

Footnotes

1The words "I have" thus repeated are an attempt to render the concluding words *ari keri* of the sentence in the original, by which, though they have no particular sense, the author evidently set great store, as he writes them syllabically. They may be considered to emphasize what goes before and, says Motowori, "convey the idea of lamentation." The idiom occurs some half-dozen times in the course of the present work.

2 This botanical name is identified by Arawi Hakuseki and Hirata with the modern *hagi*, or "bushclover" (*lespdeza* of various species). The received opinion used to be that the *awoki* (*Aucuba Japonica*) was here intended.

3 Tachibana is understood to be the general designation of trees of the orange tribe. (See however Sect. LXXIV, Note 7). Here it is used as a proper name.

4 This name, which signifies "sun-confronting," was not unnaturally bestowed on a province in the eastern part of the westernmost of the larger Japanese islands, as it might well be conceived as lying "opposite the sun." It has, however, been supposed to have originally denoted the whole of the island in question. In any case the name is not inappropriate, as the island has a long eastern sea-board.

5 In our text *Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do*. But *funa* should almost certainly be *ku-na*, and the name (which has here been translated accordingly) is then illustrated by the more extended version of this myth which is given in the "Chronicles," where we read that the god (probably addressing his sister) threw down his staff with the words: "Come no further." "Stand" must be understood in a Transitive sense: the god *stood* his staff up by thrusting it into the sand.

6 This is Moribe's explanation ("*Idzu-no-Chi-waki*." Vol. IV) of the meaning of the original name *Michi-no-naga-chiha-no-kami*, the syllable *ha* of which is considered by him to be an alternative form of *ma* (間, "space"). It is however a great crux, and Motowori confesses his inability to explain it satisfactorily. Other views as to the import of the syllable in question will be found in the "*Jin-dai no maki Mo-shiho-gusa*." Vol. II.

7 This seems to be the meaning of the original name, if we retain the reading *Toki-okashi-no-kami*. See however Motowori's remarks *in loco*.

8 *Wadzurahi-no-ushi-no-kami*.

9 *Chi-mata-no-kami*.

10 *Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami*. The English rendering of this obscure name proceeds on the assumption that Motowori is correct when he proposes to consider *kuhi* as equivalent in this place to *kuchi*, "mouth." The gaping trousers no longer filled by the deity's legs would perhaps suggest the idea of an open mouth, though it is true that this is not the deity said to have been actually born from that portion of the attire.

11 or "arm."

12 The names of this deity and the five who follow are in the original *Oki-zakaru-no-kami*, *Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami*, *Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami*, *He-zakaru-no-kami*, *He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami* and *He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami*. The word "wash," by which for want of a better one the Substantive *nagisa* has been rendered, must be understood to signify the part nearest to the strand o the sea or of a river, —the boundary of the waves. The third and sixth of this set of names, in which the syllables *kahi-bera* (here represented by "Intermediate Direction") offer a good deal of difficulty, have been translated in accordance with Motowori's explanation of their probable meaning.

13 Lit. "right." In Chinese and Japanese compositions, the lines follow each other from right to left instead of from top to bottom as with us. "Right" Therefore, signifies "foregoing," and "left," "following."

14 The names of these two deities in the original are *Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami* and *Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami*.

15 Viv. to Hades.

16 The names of these two deities in the original are *Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami* and *Oho-na-ho-bi-no-kami*.

17 *Idzu-no-me-no-kami*. The word *Idzu* is incomprehensible, unless Indeed, following Motowori, we identify this goddess with the god and goddess *Haya-aki-dzu-hiko* and *Haya-aki-dsu-hime* mentioned in Sect. VI, Note 10, and consider *idzu* as standing by apheresis for *aki-dsu*.

18 The original names of this deity and the five who follow are *Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mi-koto*, *Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, *Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-mikoto*, *Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*, and

Uha-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto. There is the usual doubt as to the signification to be assigned to the syllable *tsu* in the second, fourth and last of these names. If it really means, not "elder" but "possessor," we should be obliged to translate by "the Bottom-*Possessing*-Male." etc.

19 *Adumi-no-murazhi*. This name is said by Motowori to be taken from that of a place in the province of Shinano. But Moribe shows that at any rate the etymology of the word may be traced to *ama-tsu-mochi*, "Possessors of fishermen."

20 It is impossible to translate this name which, according to Motowori, is derived from those of two districts in Shinano to which the word *utsushi* (for *utsutsu*, "present" or "living") is prefixed.

21 Attention must again be drawn to the vagueness of the Japanese perception of the distinction between Singular and Plural. As three deities are particularly and repeatedly mentioned in the foregoing text, we are forced to translate this passage in the Plural; and yet how could one child have three fathers?

22 *Sumi-no-ye*, also called *Sumi-yoshi*, *i.e.*, by a play upon words, "pleasant to dwell in." The real etymology of *sumi* is not certain. —Instead of "the three Great Deities," we might translate by "the Great Deities of the Three Shrines."

23 *Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami* (天照大御神). The reading *terasu*, which is established by the authority of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by almost universal usage, must not mislead the student into imagining that the Verb, because it is Causative in form, has a Causative meaning which would require some such English translation as "Heaven-Illuminating." The

Causative form is simply Honorific, and the two words *ama terasu* signify, as Motowori explains, "shining in heaven."

24 *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami*. There is no doubt as to a moon-god being intended, but the precise import of the name is disputed. The translator has followed Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori, and which is supported by the fact that, from classical times down to the present day, *tsuku-yo* or *tsuki-yo* has been a word in common use to denote a fine moonlight night. If we were to take *yomi* as one word, we should have to render it either by "Moon-Hades" or by "Moon-Darkness," which seem less appropriate designations, though still of plain enough intent. The characters 月讀, 月弓and 月夜見, with which the name is variously written, seem all phonetic unless we might take the second set to mean the crescent (lit. "moon-bow).

25 *Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. *Susa*, which is sometimes read *Sosa*, is rendered by the word "impetuous" in accordance with Mabuchi's View as quoted by Motowori. The first member of this compound name is frequently omitted.

[SECT. XI. —INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES; THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN.]

At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying; "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten. three illustrious children," [with which words,] at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string [1] forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was the August-Store-house-Shelf-Deity. [2] Next he said of His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the "Night." [3] Thus he charged him. Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Plain." [4]

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, "the string of jewels." For these so-called "jewels" see Introduction.

2 *Mi-kura-tana-no-kami*. Motowori comments on this name by saying that the necklace was doubtless so precious, that it was carefully kept by the goddess on a shelf in her store-house.

3 *Yoru-no-wosu-kuni*.

4 *Una-bara.*

[SECT. XII. —THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard [1] reached to the pit of his stomach. [2] The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains, and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas. [3] For this reason, the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon [4] as they all swarmed, [5] and in all things [6] every portent of woe arose. So the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail and weep?" He replied, saying: "I [7] wail because I wish to depart to my [45] deceased mother's [8] land, to the Nether Distant Land." [9] Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shall not dwell in this land," [10] and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. So the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites dwells at Taga [11] in Afumi. [12]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

2 Lit, "in front of his heart,"

3 *Sic* in the original, to the perplexity of commentators.

4 "Flies in the fifth moon" is the received interpretation of the original term *sa-bahe*. *Conf. sa-tsuki*, the old native name for the fifth moon.

5 The text has here the character 滿, "to be full," for which Motowori somewhat arbitrarily reads 涌, "to bubble up," taking this word in the sense of swarming. The translator has endeavoured to preserve the vagueness of the original Japanese, which leaves it doubtful at first sight whether the flies or the deities should be regarded as the logical subject of the Verb. There is an almost identical passage near the beginning of Sect. XVI.

6 Lit. "a myriad thing," a Chinese phrase for totality.

7 The Chinese character for the First-Personal Pronoun used here and below by this deity is the humble one 僕signifying literally "servant" The commentators read it simply "I."

8 The Japanese authorities simply read "mother." But the character 妣, which is used in this place, specially designates a mother who is deceased.

9 *I.e.,* Hades. The translation follows Motowori's explanation of the original term *Ne-no-kata-su-kuni*, which is obscure.

10 *I.e.*, say the commentators, "in this realm of ocean which I granted to thee as thy domain." Probably, however, this is reading into the text more than it was meant to contain.

11 Derivation unknown.

12 From *aha-umi*, "fresh sea," *i.e.*, "lake." The province of Afumi was doubtless so called from Lake Biha which occupies a great portion of its surface. It is also known as *Chiku-tsu-Afumi*, *i.e.*, "the Nearer Afumi," in contradistinction to *Toho-tsu-fumi* (in modern pronunciations *Tōtōmi*), *i.e.*,

"Distant Afumi," a province further to the East. The modern pronunciation of *Afumi* is *Omi*.

[SECT. XIII. —THE AUGUST OATH]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave [1] of the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: 'The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother [2] is surely no good intent. [3] It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to [46] her left and her right august arm, [4] she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long], —of five hundred jewels, [5] and slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding [thereto] [6] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad, [7] and brandished and stuck her bow upright so that the top [8] shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs, [9] kicking away [the earth] like rotten snow, [10] and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August-Deity [our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause [47] of my wailing and weeping, I said 'I wail because I wish to go to my deceased mother's land,'—whereupon the Great-August-Deity said: 'Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is Therefore, solely with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-

Great-August-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?' Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let each of us swear, 11 and produce children." So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven. 12 the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness to hand her the ten-grasp sabre which was girded on him and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound 13 having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, 14 and having crunchingly crunched them, the [48] Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, 15 another august name for whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, 16 another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness, Princess-of-the-Torrent. 17 The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining. Great-August-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long], —of five hundred jewels, —that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool. Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conquer-I-Conqueror-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears. 18 The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the [49] jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi. 19 The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having

begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august head-dress, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven. 20 The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm, 21 and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life. 22 The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm, 23 and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu. (Five Deities in all).

Footnotes

1 The English locution "to take leave" exactly represents the Chinese character here used which, from having the sense of "asking permission," has come to mean "bidding adieu."

2 He was her younger brother. But see what is said on the subject of names expressive of relationship of Introduction. The phonetic characters 那勢 are here used to represent 兄, "elder brother."

3 Literally "heart," here and elsewhere.

4 Or "hand."

5 The original is here obscure, but the translator has, as usual. followed the Chinese characters as far as possible, and has been chiefly guided by Moribe's interpretation. According to this, the "eight feet" (which Moribe takes to mean simply "several feet") must be supposed to refer to the length of the necklace which, he says, probably resembled a Buddhist rosary, only

that the beads were somewhat larger. For a discussion of the various interpretations to which this phrase descriptive of the Sun-Goddess's ornaments may be subjected, see Note 4 to Mr. Satow's third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX Pt. II, of these "Transactions," and Moribe's "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II., *s.v. Ya-saka-ni no iho-tsu no mi sumaru no tama*. Mr. Satow, adopting some of the bolder etymologies of the Japanese commentators, translates thus: "the ever-bright curved (or glittering) jewels, the many assembled jewels," and concludes that "a long string of, perhaps, claw-shaped stone beads" was what the author meant to describe.

6 Hirata supposes this additional quiver to have been slung in front.

7 Motowori's long note on the expression *taka-tomo*, to be found in Vol. VII, of his "Commentary" seems to prove that "high-low-sounding elbow-pad" (竹being written phonetically for 高) is the most likely meaning, — these pads, of which one was worn on the left elbow, having been made of skin. Arawi Hakuseki however takes 竹in its literal sense of "bamboo" and Moribe suggests the (健) which occurs so often in proper names with the signification of "bold," "brave," or "stout."

8 The reading *yu-hara*, here rendered "top [of the bow]" is doubtful, and *yu-hadsu*, "bow-notch," has been proposed as an emendation.

9 *I.e.*, "both legs penetrated into the ground up to the thigh," a proof of the vigour with which she used her limbs in stamping.

10 Lit. "bubble-snow."

11 *I.e.*, "pledge our faith," "bind ourselves," in order to show forth the sincerity of our intentions. —Hirata has a long note on the word *ukehi*, here

rendered "swear" (elsewhere as a Substantive, "oath,") which the student will do well to consult. It is contained in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. VII.

12 *Ame-no-yasu-kaha* (according to Motowori's reading *Ame-no-yasu-no-kaha*), our Milky Way. The "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" perhaps preserve the true etymology of the word by writing it *Ama-no-ya-se-kaha*, *i.e.*, "the Heavenly River of eight currents (or reaches)." This would mean simply "a broad river." The text literally says: "having placed the Tranquil River of Heaven in the middle," etc.; but the sense of the clause is that given in the translation.

13 These words seem, as Motowori says. to have been erroneously brought in here from the next sentence, where they come in appropriately.

14 *Ame-no-ma-na-wi*. The interpretation adopted is that which has the authority of Motowori and Hirata. Perhaps only "Heavenly Well" is intended. The above authorities warn us that the word *wi*, "well," was not in ancient days restricted to its modern sense, but was used to designate any place at which water could be drawn, and Motowori thinks that Heaven contained several such. That mentioned in the text seems to have been a pool in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven.

15 This is the interpretation of the original name *Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto* which is proposed by Moribe. It is less far-fetched, and agrees better with the name of the sister deity Princess-of-the-Torrent, than do the other explanations that have been attempted. The alternative name is *Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto*.

16 *Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto*, *ichiki* being an unusual form of *itsuki*. The island, which is in the Inland Sea, is still celebrated, but bears in common

parlance the name of *Miya-shima*, *i.e.*, "Temple Island." The alternative name is *Sa-yori-bime-no-mikato*, in which *sa* is an Ornamental Prefix not calling for translation.

17 *Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto*.

18 *Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto*. The word *mimi* (耳"ears") forms part of a large number of Ancient Japanese proper names. Motowori, who of course passes over in silence the fact that large ears are considered lucky, not only in Japan, *but also in China and Korea*, suggests the etymology *hi hi* or *bi bi* (霊々), *i.e.*, the word "wondrous" or "miraculous" repeated. But there are examples of such names in which the interpretation of *mimi* as "ears" is unavoidable. Thus Prince Umayado (commonly called *Shō-to-ku Tai-shi*) had also the name of *Yatsu-mimi no Tai-shi* 八耳太子bestowed upon him on account of his extraordinary intelligence. Is it not Therefore, simpler in all cases to allow to the word this its natural meaning? The proper names in mi do however undoubtedly offer some difficulty, and Motowori scarcely seems content with his own derivation of the troublesome syllable. *Oshi*, as in other cases, is taken to represent *ohoshi*, "great"; and after much hesitation the translator has followed Motowori in regarding ho likewise as an abbreviated form of that word.

19 *Ame-no* signifies "of Heaven" or "heavenly." The syllables hohi are incomprehensible.

20 *Amatsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto*.

21 Or "hand."

22 *Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto*.

23 This god does not seem to be known by any other name: but is conjectured by Hirata to be identical with *Ame-no-hohi*, the second of these divine brothers. *Kumanu*, or less archaically *Kumano*, is said to be, not the well-known Kumano in the province of Kishiu, but a place in Idzumo near Suga (see Sect. XIX, Notes 1 and 2). The name is written with the characters, 熊野, "bear moor." The native commentators however interpret it as a corruption of *Komori-nu*, 隱野, "the moor of retirement," on account of a tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" of Izanami (the Female-Who-invites) having been interred at the Kishiu Kumano.

[SECT. XIV. —THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN.]

Hereupon the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity said to His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "As for the seed [1] of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the seed of the three female Deities [50] born first, their birth was from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division. So Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity born first, dwells in the Inner temple of Munakata. [2] The next, Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, dwells in the middle temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent, dwells in the outer temple [3] of Munakata. These three Deities are the three Great Deities [4] held in reverence by the Dukes of Munakata. [5] So His Augustness Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, child of His Augustness Ame-no-hohi, one of the five children born afterwards ([6] this is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Idzumo, [7] of the Rulers of the Land of Musashi, [8] of the Rulers of the Upper Land of Unakami, [9] of the Rulers of the Lower Land of Unakami, [10] of the Rulers of the Land of Izhimu, [11] of the Departmental Suzerains of the Island of Tsu [12] and of the Rulers of the Land of Tohotsu-Afumi [13]). The next, His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven (is the Ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Ofushi-kafuchi, [14] of the Chiefs of Nukatabe-no-yuwe, [15] of the Rulers of the Land of Ki, [16] of the Suzerains of Tanaka [17] in Yamato, of the Rulers of the Land of Yamashiro, [18] of the Rulers of the Land of Umaguta, [19] of the Rulers of the Land of Kine [20] in Michi-no-Shiri, [21] of the Rulers of the Land of Suhau, [22] of the Rulers of Amuchi, [23] in Yamato, of the Departmental Suzerains of Takechi, [24] of the Territorial Lords of Kamafu, [25] and of the Rulers of Sakikusabe [26]).

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, the origin.

2 A place in the province of Chikuzen. The name signifies either "breast-shape" or "body-shape."

3 Or "sea-shore temple."

4 Or "'the Great Deities of the three shrines."

5 *Munakata-no-kimi*. Remember that all the names in this and similar lists are hereditary "gentile names" (see Introduction), and that "Duke" and the other tides used in this translation to designate them must only be regarded as approximations towards giving the force of the Japanese originals, which are themselves by no means always clear, either etymologically or historically. Indeed, Motowori in a chapter entitled "*Kuni no Miyatsuko*" (國造) in his "*Tama-Katsuma*," Vol. VI, remarks that the distinctions obtaining between the various titles of *Kimi*, *Wake*, *Murazhi*, etc., are no longer to be ascertained, if Indeed, they were ever sharply drawn, and that Kuni no Miyatsuko (here rendered "Rulers of the Land") seems to have been a general term including all the rest, and roughly corresponding to the modern title of *Daimyo*. —It must be well understood that all these names, though properly and originally denoting an office, were inherited as tides, and ended (after the custom of conferring new ones had died out) by being little more than an extra surname appended to the surname proper (*uji*). This kind of quasi-official quasi-titular surname is what is called by the Japanese a *kabane*, which the translator, for want of a better equivalent, renders, by "gentile name." Motowori's learned note in Vol. XXXIX, of his Commentary, should be consulted for a full exposition of this somewhat intricate subject, on which there has been much misapprehension, chiefly owing to the want of a fitting Chinese character to denote the word *kabane*.

6 Here and throughout the work passages of this nature containing genealogies are in all the editions printed small, and might Therefore, be supposed to be either intended as foot-notes, or to be later glosses. Motowori however rightly rejects such an inference. To an English reader the word "this" may seem, by disturbing the grammar of the sentence, to support that inference; but in Japanese construction little importance need he attached to the presence of this double Nominative. —The name in the original of the ancestral deity whose children are here enumerated is *Taka-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto*, and the interpretation thereof in the sense given in the translation is Motowori's *Hira-tori* being supposed by him to stand for *Hina-teri*.

7 *Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*.

8 *Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. In classical and modern usage *Musashi* does not take the *nigori*.

9 *Kami-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. Unakami was a part of what forms the modern province of Kadzusa. The name probably signifies "on the sea."

10 *Shimo-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*.

11 *Izhimu-no-kuni-miyatsuko*. Izhimu (given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" as *Izhimi*) was a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is unknown.

12 *Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe*.

13 *Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. In modern times *Toho-tsu-afumi* has been contracted to *Tohotafumi* and is pronounced *Tōtōmi*. The name signifies "distant fresh sea" (*i.e.* "distant lake") the province which bears it

being thus designated in reference to a large lagoon which it contains, and in contradistinction to *Chika-tsu-afumi*, "near fresh sea," the name of the province in which lies Lake Biha. In modern times the latter has come to be known simply as Afumi (pronounced Omi), and the original connection of ideas between its name and that of Tōtōmi is lost sight of.

14 *Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. *Ohoshi-kafuchi* (in modern times pronounced *Ochikochi*) signifies "within the great rivers."

15 *Nukatabe-no-yuwe-no-murazhi*. The meaning of this name is not certain, but *yuwe* seems to be the word for "bathing woman" mentioned in Sect. LXXI (Note 11). See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIV, of his "Commentary" and the story of the origin of the name given in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II , edit. of 1834).

16 *Kino-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. *Ki* signifies "tree," and the province doubtless received this name from its forests. Motowori supposes the character 茨 to have been lost in this place, and reads *Ubaraki* (the modern *Ibaraki*), a portion of the province of Hitachi. See Vol. VII, of his "Commentary."

17 *Tanaka-no-atahe*. The word *tana-ka* signifies "in the middle of rice-fields."

18 *Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. *Yama-shiro* signifies "behind the mountains," though it is now, by a play upon words, written with characters signifying "mountain-castle."

19 *Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*, Umaguta is a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is not known.

20 *Kiuhe-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. The etymology of the name and the position of the place are equally obscure.

21 The modern province of Echigo, or perhaps any not well defined district in the north of Main Island. (See Section LX, Note 20.)

22 *Suhau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko*. The etymology of Suhau is not known; but the name sounds Chinese.

23 *Amuchi-no-miyatsubo*. The derivation of Amuchi is unknown.

24 *Takechi-no-agata-nushi*. Takechi means "high market" or "high town."

25 *Kamafu-no-inaki*. Kamafu was a portion of Afumi. Motowori's suggestion that the name may be derived from *kama* (*gama*), "a bullfrog," does not seem a happy one.

26 *Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko*. *Sakikusa-be* means literally "lily clan," *saki-kusa*, the old name for the lily (or one species of lily) being literally "the luck-plant." The story of the origin of this cognomen is to be found in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II.

[SECT XV. —THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS]

Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity: "Owing to the sincerity of my intentions I have, in begetting children, gotten delicate females. judging from this, [1] I have undoubtedly gained the victory! With these words, and impetuous with victory, he broke down the divisions of the ricefields [2] laid out by the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, filled up the ditches, and Moreover, strewed [53] excrements [3] in the palace where she partook of the great food. [4] So, though he did thus, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity upbraided him not, [5] but said: "What looks like excrements must be something that His Augustness mine elder brother has vomited through drunkenness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the rice fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he grudges the land [they occupy [6]] that His Augustness mine elder brother acts thus." But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful [7] weaving-hall [8] seeing to the weaving of, the august garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top [9] of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse [54] which he had flayed with a backward flaying, [10] at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that impegerunt privatas partes adversis radiis et obierunt. [11]

Footnotes

1 Literally "if one speaks from this."

2 The character used is 田, which in Chinese does not necessarily signify a *rice*-field. But in Japanese it seems to have been always limited to this narrower meaning, to which likewise the context here clearly points.

3 In the original written 屎麻理which is partly ideographic and partly phonetic for *kuso-mari*. Motowori interprets it to signify "excrements and urine"; but the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" which he himself quotes goes to prove that *mari* had not the latter meaning, as does also another well-known passage in the "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter."

4 大嘗read *oh-nihe*. The word *nihe* now denotes "a sacrifice," and *oh-nihe no matsuri* is the religious festival of the tasting of the first new rice of the season.

5 We might, following classical usage, translate the Verb *togamezu*, which is written phonetically, by the words "took no heed" or "made no observation"; but in this passage it certainly seems to have the stronger and more specialized signification of "upbraiding," "scolding," which attaches to it in the colloquial dialect.

6 *I.e.*, he thinks that none of the land should be wasted in ditches and embankments, but should all be devoted to the production of food.

7 The character used is 忌"to shun," which in Japanese has approximately the meaning of "sacred." Thus a certain family of priests was called by the name of *Imibe*, lit. "the shunning clan," on account of the uncleanness from which they were bound to abstain.

8 Written with characters signifying literally "garment-house," but the meaning, as understood by the native commentators is that given in the text.

9 項. This character is taken by the native commentators in the sense of 棟, *mune*, "ridge-pole."

10 *I.e.,* it is supposed, beginning at the tail. That this was considered criminal may be seen by comparing Sect. XCVII. Note 3.

11 In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" it is the goddess who injures herself with her shuttle, but without dying of the effects of the accident.

[SECT. XVI. —THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK-DWELLING.]

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, [1] made it fast, [2] and retired. Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal [3] night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad [4] Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe all arose. Therefore, did the eight hundred myriad [5] Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed [6] of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer, [7] child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night [8] and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron [9] from [55] the Heavenly Metal-Mountains, [10] calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra, [11] charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me [12] to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness jewel-Ancestor [13] to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long], —of five hundred jewels, [14]—and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord [15] [56] and His Augustness Great-Jewel, [16] and causing them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true [17] stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, [18] and take cherrybark [19] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination, [20] and pulling up by pulling its roots a true *cleyera japonica* [21] with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [57] [long], —of five hundred jewels, —and taking and tying to the middle branches [22] the mirror eight feet [long], [23]

and taking and hanging upon its lower branches the white pacificatory offerings [24] and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august Offerings, [25] and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies, [26] and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity [27] standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming Female [28] hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss of the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash, [29] and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress, [30] and binding the [58] leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, and laying a soundingboard [31] before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity, [32] and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privates partes. [33] Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: "Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of Heaven would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-Alarming-Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke saying: "We rejoice and are glad because there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-

Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-jewel drew the bottom-tied rope [34] [59] along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light. [35]

Footnotes

1 Motowori says that the word "rock" need not here be taken literally. But it is always (and the translator thinks rightly) so understood, and the compound considered to mean a cave in the rocks, which is also the expression found in the "Chronicles" (岩窟).

2 The word *sasu*, which is here used, implies that the goddess made the door fast either by sticking something against it or by bolting it, —perhaps with one of the metal hooks of which mentioned is made in Sect. LXV (Note 7).

3 *Toko-yo*, here properly written 常夜, and a few lines lower down semi-phonetically 常世.

4 Motowori supposes "myriad" to be a copyist's error for "evil." This clause is a repetition of one in Sect. XII.

5 The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "eighty myriads."

6 The Japanese word *kohara*, translated "bed," is thus defined in Dr, Hepburn's Dictionary, 2nd Edit. *s v. Kawara*: "That part of the stony bed of a river which is dry except in high water."

7 *Omohi-kane-no-kami*, "He *included* in his single mind the thoughts and contrivances of many," says Motowori.

8 *I.e.,* as is generally believed, the barndoor fowl.

9 The text has the character 鐵, "iron," which Hirata. reads *ma-gane*, lit. "true metal," the common Japanese term being *kuro-gane*, lit, "black metal," Motowori prefers to read simply *kane*, "metal" in general, The main text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" omits to mention the metal of which the mirror was made; but "One account" has the character 金, "metal" in general, often in Chinese, but rarely if ever in old Japanese, with the specific sense of "gold." The "Chronicles of Old Matters" alone, which are of very doubtful authenticity, say that the mirror was made of copper. (Copper was not discovered in Japan till the eighth century of the Christian era, a few years before the discovery of gold). The best and most obvious course is to adhere to the character in the text, which is, as above stated, "iron."

10 *I.e.*, the mines. The original expression is *Ame no kana-yama*.

11 *Ama-tsu* signifies "of Heaven," but the rest of this name is not to be explained. Motowori adopts from the "Chronicles" the reading, *Ama-tsu-ma-ura*, where the character used for *ma* signifies "true," and that for *ura* signifies "sea-shore." (It should be remarked that the forging of a spear by this personage is referred by the author of the "Chronicles," not to the "Divine Age" but to the reign of the Emperor Sui-zei.) Motowori also proposes to supplement after the name the words "to make a spear." Hirata identifies this god with *Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto*, His Augustness Heavenly-One-Eye, who is however not mentioned. in the "Records."

Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret "Coelestis Penis," sed nullius commentatoris auctoritate commendatur.

12 This name is written in the "Chronicles" with characters signifying Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, which however seem to be as merely phonetic as those in the present text (伊斯許理度賣). Motowori proposes the interpretation of "Again-Forging-Old-Woman" (鑄重老女, *I-shikiri-tome*) which is supported by a tradition preserved in the "Gleanings of the Ancient Story," where it is related that the mirror, not having given satisfaction at first, was forged a second time. There is a long note on the subjects of this name in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. IX, where that author propounds the novel opinion that I-shi-ko-ri-do-me was not a goddess at all, but a god.

13 *Tama-noya-no-mikoto*. The "Chronicles" write this name with characters signifying "Jewel-House," but such a reading seems less good.

14 See Sect. XIII, Note 5.

15 *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto*, also reads *Ame-no* etc. and *Ama tsu* etc. The signification of the syllables *ko-ya*, rendered "beckoning ancestor" in accordance with Motowori's view connecting the name with the share taken by the god who bore it in the legend here narrated, is obscure. Mr. Satow thinks that Koya may be the name of a place (see these "Transactions" Vol. VII, Pt. IV.)

16 *Futo-tama-no-mikoto*. The name is here rendered in accordance with the import of the Chinese characters with which it is written. Motowori, however, emits a plausible opinion when he proposes to consider *tama* as an abbreviation of *tamuke*, "holding in the hands as an offering," in

connection with what we are told below about this deity and *Ame-no-ko-ya-ne* holding the symbolic offerings.

17 The word "true" (*ma*) here and below is not much more than an Honorific.

18 We might also, though less well, translate by "Mount Kagu in Heaven." This would suit the view of Motowori, who is naturally averse to the identification of this Mount Kagu with the well-known mountain of that name in Yamato (see Sect. VII, Note 12). But of course an European scholar cannot allow of such a distinction being drawn.

19 Or perhaps the bark of the common birch is intended. The word in the original is *haha-ka*.

20 See Mr. Satow's already quoted note in Vol. VII, Pt. II, *et seq*, and more especially, of these "Transactions."

21 In Japanese *saka-ki*. It is commonly planted in the precincts of Shintō temples.

22 We might also translate in the Singular "to a middle branch," in order to conform to the rigid distinction which our language draws between Singular and Plural.

23 A note to the edition of 1687 proposes to substitute the characters 八咫 for 八尺and a note in the original tells us to read them not *ya-ta*, but *ya-ata*. Hereupon Motowori founds his derivation of *ya-ta*, from *ya-atama*, "eight heads," and supposes the mirror to have been, not eight feet in length, but octangular, while Moribe, who in the case of the jewels accepts the obvious interpretation "eight feet [long]," thinks that the mirror had "an eightfold flowery pattern" (*yaha-na-gata*) round its border. But both these

etymologies are unsupported by the other cases in which the word *ya-ta* occurs, and are rendered specially untenable by the fact of the mirror and curved beads being spoken of together further on as the 八尺勾璁鏡(Sect. XXXIII, Note 20).

24 In rendering the original word *nigi-te* (here written phonetically, but elsewhere with the characters 和幣), the explanation given by Tanigaha Shisei, and Indeed, suggested by the characters, has been followed. Motowori's view does not materially differ, but he considers "pacificatory" or "softening" to be equivalent to "soft" applied to the offerings themselves, which consisted of soft cloth, the syllable *te* of *nigi-te* being believed to be a contraction of *tahe* which signifies cloth. The white cloth in ancient times was made of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), and the blue of hemp.

25 The original word is written with the same character as the *te* of *nigi-te* translated "offerings" above.

26 Or in the Singular "a grand liturgy," or "ritual."

27 *Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami*.

28 *Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto*. The translator has followed the best authorities in rendering the obscure syllable *uzu* by the word "alarming." Another interpretation quoted in Tanigaha Shisei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" and adopted by Moribe in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," is that *uzu* means head-dress, and that the goddess took her name from the head-dress of spindle-tree leaves which she wore. The character 鈿, with which the syllables in question (here written phonetically) are rendered ideographically in the "Chronicles," signifies "metal head-gear," "flowers of gold or silver."

29 *Tasuki*, "a cord or sash passed over the shoulders, round the back of the neck, and attached to the wrists, to strengthen the hands for the support of weights, whence the name, which means 'hand-helper.' It was thus different both in form and use from the modern *tasuki*, a cord with its two ends joined which is worn behind the neck, under the arms and round the back, to keep the modern loose sleeves out of the way when household duties are being performed." (E. Satow).

30 *I.e.*, making for herself a head-dress of spindle-tree leaves.

31 The original of these words, *uke fusete*, is written phonetically, and the exact meaning of *uke*, here rendered "sounding-board," is open to doubt. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has the character, 槽, which signifies a "trough," "manger" or "tub," and the commentators seem Therefore, right in supposing that the meaning intended to be conveyed in both histories is that of some kind of improvised wooden structure used for the purpose of amplifying sound.

32 Neither the text nor Motowori's Commentary (which Hirata adopts word for word) is absolutely explicit, but the imitation and not the reality of divine possession appears to be here intended. In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," On the other hand, we seem to be reading of genuine possession.

33 The subject of the Verb is not clear in many of the clauses of this immensely long sentence, which does not properly hang together. Some clauses read as if the different deities who take a part in the action did so of their own free will; but the intention of the author must have been to let a Causative sense be understood throughout, as he begins by telling us that a

plan was devised by the deity Thought-Includer, which plan must have influenced all the subsequent details.

34 *Shiri-kume-naha*, *i.e.*, rope made of straw drawn up by the roots, which stick out from the end of the rope. Straw-ropes thus manufactured are still used in certain ceremonies and are called *shime-naha*, a corruption of the Archaic term, Motowori's explanation shows that this is more likely to be the proper signification of the word than "back-limiting-rope" (*shiri-ho-kagiri-me-naha*), which had been previously suggested by Mabuchi with reference to its supposed origin at the time of the event narrated in this legend.

35 Motowori plausibly conjectures the character 得in the concluding words of this passage to be a copyist's error for 復, and the translator has accordingly rendered it by the English word "again." As it stands, the clause 自得照明, though making sense, does not read like the composition of a Japanese.

[SECT. XVII. —THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel together, and imposed on High-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness a fine of a thousand tables, [1] and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion. Again he begged food of the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. [2] Then the Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and her fundament, and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. So the things that were born in the body of the Deity who had been killed were [60] [as follows]: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born rice-seeds, in her two ears was born millet, [3] in her nose were born small beans, [4] in her private parts was born barley, [5] in her fundament were born large beans. [6] So His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor [7] caused them to be taken and used as seeds.

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, "an immense fine." The student should consult Motowori's elaborate note on this passage in Vol. IX, of his Commentary. Tables of gifts are mentioned in Sect. XXXVII, Note 7 and Sect. XL, Note 13.

2 *Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami*. This personage (but without the title of "Deity") has already appeared in Section V, (Note 8) as the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha.

3 *Panicum Italicum*.

4 *Phaseolus Radiatus*.

5 Or less probably "wheat."

6 *Soja Glycine*.

7 *Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto*, the same deity as the one mentioned at the beginning of these "Records" under the shorter title of *Kami-musu-hi-no-kami*. (See Sect. I. Note 6.)

[SECT. XVIII. —THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT.]

So, having been expelled, [His-Swift-impetuous-Male-Augustness] descended to a place [called] Tori-kami [1] at the head-waters of the River Hi [2] in the Land of Idzumo. At this time some chopsticks [3] came floating down the stream. So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman, —two of them, —who had a young girl between them, [4] and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied, saying: "I [5] am an Earthly Deity, [6] child of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. [7] I am called by the name of Foot-Stroking-Elder, [8] my wife is called by the [61] name of Hand-Stroking Elder, and my daughter is called by the name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess." [9] Again he asked: What is the cause of your crying?" [The old man answered] saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daugther. But the eight-forked serpent of Koshi [10] has come every year and devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *akakagachi*, [11] it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover, on its body grows moss, and also chamaecyparis [12] and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one looks at its belly, it is all constantly [62] bloody and inflamed." (What is called here *akakagachi* is the modern *hohodzuki*. [13]) Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence, [14] but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother [15] to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroker-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so,

with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do you distill some eight-fold refined liquor. [16] Also make a fence round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie [together] eight platforms, [17] on each platform put a liquor-vat, and into each vat pour [63] the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp sabre, [18] that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. [19] This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword. [20]

Footnotes

1 Written with the characters 鳥髮, "bird's hairs," but these must surely be phonetic. In the "Chronicles" the same name is written 鳥上.

2 Or Hii, the chief river in Idzumo. The name is supposed by some to have been derived from the name of the god *Hi-hayabi* (see Section VIII, Note 6).

3 Or in the Singular, "a chopstick."

4 Literally "had placed a young girl between them," a similar construction to that in Section XIII, (Note 11).

5 The humble character 僕"servant" is used by the old man for the First Personal Pronoun.

6 國神. Being generally used antithetically to 足摩手摩, "Heavenly Deity," it seems better to translate the characters thus than by "Country "Deity" or "Deity of the Land." (See Section I, Note 11).

7 *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, first mentioned in Sect. VI, (Note 17).

8 *Ashi-nadzu-chi*, the wife's being *Te-nadzu-chi*. "One account" in the "Chronicles" gives *Ashi nadzu-te-nadzu* (足摩手摩) as the name of the old father alone, while the mother is called *Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-yatsu-mimi*. (*Inada-no-miya-nushi* signifies "Mistress of the Temple of Inada"; the signification of the second compound, which forms the name properly so called is not clear, but should probably be interpreted to mean "Impetuous-Eight-Ears," the word *susa*, "impetuous," containing an allusion to the name of her divine visitor, and "eight ears" being Honorific).

9 *Kushi*-[*I*]*nada-hime*, *Inada* (*i.e. ina-da*, "rice-field") being the name of a place. *Kushi* signifies not only "wondrous" but "comb," and is Indeed, here written with the character for "comb" 櫛, so that there is a play on the word in connection with the incident of her transformation into a comb which is mentioned immediately below, though most authorities agree in considering 櫛to be here used phonetically for 奇, which is the reading in the "Chronicles." Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*" suggests the

etymology *Kushi-itadaki-hime* (櫛頂姫) *i.e.*, "Princess [used as] a comb [for] the head."

10 Derivation quite obscure. Motowori quotes an absurd etymology given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," which identifies the name of *Koshi* with the Past Tense of the Verb *kuru*, "to come"! There is a district (*kohori*) named Koshi in the modern province of Echigo; but Koshi was down to historical times a somewhat vague designation of all the north-western provinces, —Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchiū, and Echigo. A tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" tells us that it was meant to denote the Island of Yezo (or rather, perhaps, the land of the Yezo, *i.e.* the Ainos). The expression in the first Song in Sect. XXIV, and other similar ones in the early literature show that it was not looked upon as a part of Japan proper.

11 See Note 13.

12 A coniferous tree, the *Chamæcyparis obtusa*, in Japanese *hi-no-ki*. The cryptomeria is *Cryptomeria japonica*.

13 The winter-cherry, *Physalis Alkekengi*.

14 For the word "reverence" here and a few lines further on. conf. Sect. IX, Note 4.

15 He was her younger brother; but see Introduction.

16 In Japanese *sake*, and archaically *ki*, written with the character 酒and generally translated "rice-beer," but by Dr. Rein "rice-brandy" (*Reis-branntwein*). The modern *sake* resembles the Chinese *huang chiu* (黄酒). If we translated it by "rice-beer," we should of course have to render by "to brew" the Verb *kamu* or *kamosu* (釀) here rendered "to distill." It should be mentioned that Professor Atkinson who, like Dr. Rein, has studied the

subject specially, uses the word "brewing;" but apparently no English term exactly represents the process which the liquor undergoes in the course of preparation. A curious question is suggested by the fact that the old Japanese word for "distilling" or "brewing" liquor is homonymous with the Verb "to chew," But there is not, beyond this isolated verbal resemblance, any documentary evidence in favour of the Japanese ever having practised a method of making liquor which still obtains in some of the South Sea Islands. —"One account" of the Chronicles of Japan makes *Susa-no-wo* say "Take *all the fruits*, and distill liquor."

17 The author doubtless intended, as Motowori suggests, to speak only of eight platforms, —one at each gate, —and not of sixty-four. But what he actually says is as in the translation.

18 See Section VIII, Note 1.

19 The text is not quite clear, but the above gives the interpretation which the words most naturally lend themselves. Motowori, influenced by the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says explicitly that the sword itself was sent up to the Sun-Goddess, reads the passage thus: "thinking it a strange thing, he sent it up with a message to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August- Deity"; and Mr. Satow follows him in thus translating (see Note 4 to Ritual 8, Vol. IX, Pt. II, 198-200 of these "Transactions," where the whole of this legend is translated with one or two slight verbal differences from the version here given). In the opinion of the present writer, Hirata's arguments in favour of the view here taken are conclusive (see his "Sources of the Ancient Histories." Section LXXII, in the second part of Vol. III). That the sword afterwards appears at the temple of the Sun-Goddess in Ise (see end of Section LXXXII), by the high-priestess of which it is bestowed

on the legendary hero Yamato-take, is not to the point in this connection, as it is not necessary that all the parts of a myth should be perfectly consistent.

20 *Kusa-nagi no tachi*. For the applicability of this name see Sect. LXXXIII.

[SECT. XIX. —THE PALACE OF SUGA.]

So thereupon His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness sought in the land of Idzumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga, 2 and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is pure," 1—and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga. 2 When this Great Deity first built 3 the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song. 4 That song said: 5

"Eight clouds arise. The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh! that eight-fold fence." 6 [65] Then he called the Deity Foot-Stroking-Elder and said: "Thee do I appoint Headman 7 of my palace;" and Moreover, bestowed on him the name of Master-of-the-Temple-of-Inada-Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga. 8

Footnotes

1 *I.e.,* "I feel refreshed." The Japanese term used is *suga-sugashi*, whence the origin ascribed to the name of the place Suga. But move probably the name gave rise to this detail of the legend.

2 The real derivation of Suga is unknown, all the native commentators accepting the statement in the text, and Motowori supposing that up to the time of the Deity's arrival it had borne the name of Inada. We may perhaps conjecture some connection between *Suga* and *Susa-no-wo* ("Impetuous Male," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. IX), and it may be mentioned that the "Eight-Eared Deity of Suga" is also mentioned as the "Eight-Eared Deity of Susa."

3 Or "began to build."

4 "Ode" is another rendering of the Japanese term *uta*, which has been used by the present writer and by others. *Uta* being however connected with *utafu*, "to sing," it seems more consistent to translate it by the English word "song."

5 Or perhaps rather "in that song he said."

6 This difficult song has been rather differently rendered by Mr. Aston in the Second Appendix to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language" (2nd Edition), and again by Mr. Satow in the note to his translation of the Ritual already quoted. Mr. Aston (premising that he follows Motowori's interpretation) translates it thus:

"Many clouds arise:
The clouds which come forth (are) a manifold fence:
For the husband and wife to retire within
They have formed a manifold fence:
Oh! that manifold fence!"

Mr. Satow's translation is as follows:

"Many clouds arise.
The manifold fence of the forth-issuing clouds
Makes a manifold fence
For the spouses to be within.
Oh! that manifold fence."

In any case the meaning simply is that the multitudinous clouds rose up like a fence or screen behind which the newly-married deities might retire from public gaze, and Moribe suggests that the repetitions are an after-addition made to bring up to the usual number of thirty-one syllables what were originally but the three lines—

Tachi-idzuru kumo mo
    Tsuma-gome ni

Yo-he-gahi tsukuru yo!

I.e. —

"The uprising clouds even, to shut up
the spouses, make an eight-fold fence."

(See his discussion on this song in the "Idzu no Kotowaki Vol. I.)—The present writer has already stated in the Introduction, his reasons for always rendering the native word for "eight" (*ya*) by "eight" instead of by "many" or "numerous," as is done by the two eminent scholars above quoted. With regard to the word *Idzumo* which they, in deference to the opinions of the native commentators, render by "clouds which come forth" or "forth-issuing clouds" (the Chinese characters 出雲 with which the word is written having that signification), the present writer cannot persuade himself that such a corruption as *idzumo* for *ide-kumo* either retained at the time of the composition of the song, or should now be credited with, the signification which this its supposed etymology assigns to it. The etymology Moreover, is far from being established, and in this, as in many other cases, the Chinese characters used to write the name of the province of Idzumo, may well have rested on nothing more than a vague similarity of sound, and probably no European scholar would endorse the opinion of the native commentators, to whom the "Records" are a sacred book, that the province of Idzumo received its name from this very poem. On the other hand, we need have no difficulty in conceding that the Pillow-Word *ya-kumo-tatsu*, by which Idzumo is preceded in poetical compositions, did probably here originate. —This song is in the "Chronicles" only quoted in a note, for which reason some authorities dispute its antiquity. In the note in question, we find the reading -*gome* (the "Records" have -*gomi*), the Transitive form instead of the Intransitive. If this were adopted, the translation would have

to run thus: . . . . . "The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence to shut up the spouse[s?] in;" and probably "spouse" should be understood in the Feminine to mean "wife."

7 *Obito*, written with the Chinese character 首, while the Japanese word is probably derived from *oho-bito*, "great man." When used, as it often is, as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "Grandee."

8 *Inada-no-miya-nushi Suga-no ya-tsui-mimi-no-kami*. It should be stated that Motowori, as usual, objects to the view that *mimi* signifies "ears" (its proper meaning) in this name. But he has no better explanation to offer, and the Chinese characters give us *ya-tsu mimi*, "eight ears." The author of the "*Tokiha-gusa*" ingeniously proposes to consider *ya-tsu mimi* as a corruption of *yatsuko mi mi* (奴御身) "servant august body," but this cannot be seriously entertained (Conf. Sect. XIII, Note 18).

[SECT. XX. —THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND.]

Quare, quum incepit in thalamo [opus procreationis] cum Mirâ-Herâ-Inadâ, procreavit Deum nomine Eight-Island Ruler. 1 And again, having wedded the Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty, 2 daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, he begot children: the Great-Harvest Deity 3 and the August-Spirit-of-Food. 4 The elder brother the Deity Eight-Island-Ruler wedded Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, 5 daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Fuha-no-moji-Ku-nu-su-nu. 6 This Deity wedded Princess Hikaha, 7 daughter of the Deity Okami, 8 and begot a child: Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-Fuka-buchi. 9 This Deity [67] wedded the Deity Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne, 10 and begot a child: the Deity Great-Water-Master. 11 This Deity wedded the Deity Grand-Ears 12 daughter of the Deity Funu-dzu-nu, 13 and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord. 14 This Deity wedded the Young-Princess-of-the-Small-Country, 15 daughter of the Great-Deity-of-the-Small-Country, 16 and begot a child: the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, 17 another name for whom is the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, 18 and another name is the Deity-of-the-Reed-Plains, 19 and another name is the Deity of Eight-Thousand-Spears, 20 and another name is the Deity-Spirit-of-the-Living-Land. 21 In all there were five names. 22

Footnotes

1 *Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi*. Ya-shima means "eight islands." The syllables *zhi-nu-mi* are obscure, but the translator has little doubt "ruler" fairly represents their import. Motowori takes *zhi* to be an apocopated and *nigori'ed* form of *shiru*, "to rule," nu to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, "master," and *mi* to

be an apocopated form of the Honorific termination *mimi*. Tanigaha Shisei considers *zhimu* to stand for *shidzumuru*, "to govern," which comes to the same thing so far as the sense is concerned.

2 *Kamu-oho-ichi-hime*. The rendering of *Oho-ichi* as "Great Majesty" rests on a plausible conjecture of Hirata's, who proposes to, identify *ichi* with *idzu* (稜威). Motowori thinks that *Oho-ichi* should be taken as the name of a place; but this seems less good.

3 *Oho-toshi-no-kami*, written 大年神, the obvious rendering of which would be "great year." But the Japanese term *toshi* is believed to have originally signified, not "year" in the abstract, but that which was produced each year, viz., the harvest (conf. *toru*, "to take").

4 *Uka-no-mi-tama*.

5 *Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime*, so called, says Motowori, because she probably died young, as a blossom that falls from the tree. We might however perhaps take the Verb *chiru* in a Causative sense, and consider the name to signify "the Princess-Who-Causes-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to- Fall. A sister of this goddess appears in the pretty legend narrated in Sect. XXXVII under the parallel name of the Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. See Note 3 to that Sect.

6 *Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-no-kami*. The import of this name is quite uncertain. *Fuha* however seems to be the name of a place.

7 "*Hi-kaha-mime*. *Hi-kaha* (lit. "sun-river") is supposed to stand for the name of a place in Musashi, which is however written "ice-river" (氷河and not 日河), the old Japanese words for "ice" and "sun" being homonymous.

8 See Sect. VIII. (Note 9), where the name is given as *Kura okami*.

9 *Fuka-buchi-no-midzu-yare-hana*. If Fuka-buchI was ascertained to be not, as is supposed, the name of a place, we should have to render it "deep pool," and the whole would mean in English "Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-the-Deep-Pool."

10 *Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami*. In this name nothing is clear but the first three syllables, which signify "heavenly." But if Mabuchi's conjecture as to the meaning of the rest were accepted, we should have to translate the whole by "Heavenly-Assembling-Town-Lady."

11 This is the meaning plausibly assigned by Motowori to the original *O-midzu-nu-no-kami*.

12 *Fute-mimi-no-kami*, plausibly conjectured by Tominobu to stand for *Futo-mimi*, etc., which gives the sense here adopted.

13 *Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami*. Motowori believes Funu to be the name of a place, and interprets the name to signify "Master of Funu." But this seems highly uncertain.

14 *Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami* (Motowori's reading) or *Ama-no*, etc. (Hirata's reading). The translation of the name follows Hirata's explanation, which is based on Motowori's, and according to which the characters 冬衣 ("winter garments") in this text, and 葺根read *Fuki-ne* in the "Chronicles," are merely phonetic, while the meaning is derived from a comparison of the sounds given by each. Though himself believing in the soundness of Hirata's conclusion, the translator must admit that it is not indisputable.

15 *Sasu-kuni-waka-hime*, or *Sashi-kuni*, etc. The former reading, which Hirata's adopts, seems best. The meaning of *sasu*, here rendered "small," is open to doubt.

16 *Sasu-kuni-oho*-[*no*-]*kami*, or *Sashi*, etc. The syllable *no* in the Japanese reading seems to be a superfluous addition of the modern commentators.

17 *Oho-kuni-nushi-ne-kami*.

18 *Oho-na-muji-no-kami*, to which Tominobu proposes to give the sense of "Great Hole-Possessor," in connection with the story of the mouse-hole in which he took refuge from the fire lit by the Impetuous-Male-Deity (*Susa-no-wo*) for his destruction (see Sect. XXIII). But the interpretation followed in the translation is the most likely as well as the orthodox one, this Deity being entitled the possessor of a Great Name or of Great Names on account of his renown in Japanese mythic story.

19 *Ashi-hara-shiko-wo-no-kami*. The "reed-plains" are doubtless put by metonymy for Japan.

20 *Yachi-hoko-no-kami*.

21 *Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami*. The name must be understood to mean "Spirit of the Land of the Living," and to be antithetical to that of one of his fathers-in-law, the Impetuous Male-Deity (*Susa-no-wo*) who became the god of Hades.

22 Or "he had five names."

[SECT. XXI. —THE WHITE HARE OF INABA.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land had eighty Deities his brethren; but they all left the land to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. The reason for their leaving it was this: Each of these eighty Deities had in his heart the wish to marry the Princess of Yakami [1] in Inaba, [2] and they went together to Inaba, putting their bag on [the back of] the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, whom they took with them as an attendant. Hereupon. when they arrived at Cape Keta, [3] [they found] a naked hare lying down. Then the eighty Deities spoke to the hare, saying: "What thou shouldest do is to bathe in the sea-water here, and lie on the slope of a high mountain exposed to the blowing of the wind." So the hare followed the instructions of the eighty Deities, and lay down. Then, as the sea-water dried, the skin of its body all split with the blowing of the wind, so that it lay weeping with pain. But the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, who came last of all, saw the hare, and said: "Why liest thou weeping?" The hare replied, saying: "I was in the Island of Oki, [4] and wished to cross over to this land, but had no means of crossing over. For this reason, [69] I deceived the crocodiles [5] of the sea, saying: 'Let you and me compete, and compute the numbers of our [respective] tribes. So do you go and fetch every member of your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from this island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them, and count them as I run across. Hereby shall we know whether it or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they were deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them and counted them as I came across, and was just about to get on land, when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' As soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who lay the last of all seized me and stripped off all my clothing. As I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty Deities who went by before [thee] commanded and

exhorted me, saying: 'Bathe in the salt water, and lie down exposed to the wind.' So, on my doing as they had instructed me, my whole body was hurt." Thereupon the Deity Great-Name-Possessor instructed the hare, saying: "Go quickly now to the river-mouth, wash thy body with the fresh water, then take the pollen of the sedges [growing] at the river-mouth, spread it about, and roll about upon it, whereupon thy body will certainly be restored to its original state." [6] So [the hare] did as it was instructed, and its body became as it had been originally. This was the White Hare of Inaba. [7] It is now called the Hare Deity. So the hare said to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor: "These eighty Deities shall certainly not get the Princess of Yakami. Though thou bearest the bag, Thine Augustness shall obtain her."

Footnotes

1 *Yakami-hime*. The etymology is uncertain.

2 The name of a province not far from that of Idzumo. The word may possibly, as Motowori suggests, be derived from *ina-ba*, "rice-leaves."

3 *Kita-no-saki*. The etymology of the name seems uncertain. The meaning of the word *keta* is "the beams of a roof, the yards of a sail." But perhaps *Keta* and *keta* may be nothing more than homonyms of independent origin.

4 Not far from the coast of Idzumo and of Inaba.

5 See Translator's Introduction, Note 41.

6 Literally "to its original skin"; that is to say that its skin would again be covered with fur.

7 Motowori and Moribe agree in considering that the word "white" means "bare" in this place, and the latter in his Critique of the former's

Commentary quotes examples which show that their view is probably correct.

[SECT. XXII. —MOUNT TEMA.]

Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered [1] the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the Deity Great-Name-Possessor." So [70] the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot of Tema [2] in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, do thou wait and catch it. If thou do not wait and catch it, we will certainly slay thee." Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then, as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it, [3] he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent [4] cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness, [5] who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell [6] and Prince Clam [7] to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched [8] [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and smeared [him] as with mother's [9] milk, whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Deities, seeing [this], again deceived him, [71] taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree, [10] and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death. [11] Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him: [12] "If thou remain here, thou wilt at last be destroyed by the eighty Deities." Then she sent him swiftly off to the august place of the Deity Great-House-Prince [13] in the land of Ki. [14] Then when the eighty Deities searched and pursued till they came up to him, and

fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by clipping under the fork of a tree, and disappeared.

Footnotes

1 It must be understood that in the meantime they had arrived at her dwelling and begun to court her.

2 Etymology unknown.

3 The text is here concise to obscurity, but yet there ought not to be much doubt as to the author's intention.

4 The text has the character 祖signifying properly "grand-parent," but frequently used in Archaic Japanese writings in the sense of "mother." It is then read *oya*, which the English word "parent" exactly represents.

5 *Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto*. See Sect. I, Note 6.

6 *Kisa-gahi-hime*. The *kiga-gahi* here mentioned is the modern *aka-gahi*, a cockle, the *Arca inflata*.

7 *Umugi-hime*. The *umugi* here mentioned is the modern *hamagari*, a clam of the family *Mactridæ*, the *Cytherea Mereirix*.

8 The character used is 集, "collected," "gathered together." But the combined authority of Mabuchi, Motowori and Hirata obliges us either to consider it a copyist's error for 焦, "scorched," or else to believe that in early time in Japan the two characters were used interchangeably.

9 Or "nurse's." The meaning is that a paste like milk was made of the triturated and calcined shell mixed with water. There is in this passage a play upon words which it is impossible to reproduce in English, the

Japanese term for "triturating," *kisage* (which the author has taken care to write phonetically) resembling the name of Princess *Kisa-gahi* (Cockle-Shell), while *omo*, "mother" or "nurse," Similarly, recalls that of Princess *Umugi* (Clam). Motowori traces the names of the shell-fish in question to this exploit of the two goddesses. We shall be justified in applying an inverse interpretation to the legend.

10 The original of this clause, 茹矢打立其木or according to another reading 茹矢, etc. is a great crux to the native commentators, who can make sure neither of the exact sense nor of the Japanese reading of the first two characters, which seem to be ideographic for three others occurring immediately below, 氷目矢, which are themselves of doubtful import. An elaborate discussion of the question will be found in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XVII. The general sense at all events is that here given.

11 The characters 拷殺也, here rendered "tortured him to death," are by the modern commentators read *uchi-koroshiki*, which simply means killed [him]."

12 Literally "to her child."

13 *Oha-ya-biko-no-kami*. This Deity is identified with the Deity *I-dakeru* mentioned in the "Chronicle" as a son of *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male-Deity"), and as the introducer into the Island of Tsukushi in particular and into all the "Eight Great Islands" of Japan of the seeds of plants and trees. Motowori's note on this name in Vol. X, is worth consulting, though his idea of connecting the agricultural and arboricultural renown of the Deity bearing it with the name of the province of Ki is doubtless quite fanciful.

14 *I.e.*, "the land of tree" (木國). Later the character 木was replaced by 紀, which in Sinico-Japanese has the same sound *ki*, while a second one, 伊, was added in order to conform to an edict of the Empress *Gem-miyō* (A. D. 713) to the effect that all names of places were to be written with two Chinese characters, as was usual in China and Korea. The second character in this case simply carried on the *i* sound with which the first ends, so that the name became *Kii*.

[SECT. XXIII. —THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND.]

[The Deity Great-House-Prince spoke to him 1] saying: "Thou must set off to the Nether-Distant-Land where [72] dwells His Impetuous-Mate-Augustness. That Great Deity will certainly counsel thee." So on his obeying her command and arriving at the august place 2 of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness, the latter's daughter the Forward-Princess 3 came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married, and [she] went in again, and told her father, saying: "A very beautiful Deity has come." Then the Great Deity went out and looked, and said: 'This is the Ugly-Male-Deity-of-the-Reed-Plain," 4 and at once calling him in, made him sleep in the snake-house. Hereupon his wife, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, gave her husband a snake-scarf, 5 saying: "When the snakes are about to bite thee, drive them away by waving this scarf thrice." So, on his doing as she had instructed, the snakes became quiet, so that he came forth after calm slumbers. Again on the night of the next day [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] put him into the centipede and wasp-house; 6 but as she again gave him a centipede and wasp-scarf, and instructed him as before, he came forth calmly. Again [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] shot a whizzing barb 7 into the middle of a large moor, and sent him to fetch the arrow and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round. Thereupon, while he [stood] knowing no place of exit, a mouse 8 came and said: "The inside is hollow-hollow; the outside is narrow-narrow." 9 Owing to its speaking thus, he trod on the place, where, upon he fell in and hid himself, during which time the fire burnt past. Then the mouse brought out in its mouth and presented to him the whizzing barb. The feathers of the arrow were brought in their mouths by all the mouse's children. Hereupon his wife the Forward-Princess came bearing mourning-implements, 10 and crying. Her father the

Great Deity, thinking that [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] was already dead and done for, went out and stood on the moor, whereupon [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] brought the arrow and presented it to him, upon which [the Great Deity], taking him into the house and calling him into an eight-foot spaced large room, 11 made him take the lice off his head. So, on looking at the head [he saw that] there were many centipedes [there]. Thereupon, as his wife gave to her husband berries of the *muku* tree 12 and red earth, he chewed the berries to pieces, and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that the Great Deity believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor], grasping the Great Deity's hair, tied it fast to the various rafters of the house, and, blocking up the floor of the house with a five hundred draught rock, 13 and taking his wife the Forward Princess on his back, then carried off [74] the Great Deity's great life-sword 14 and life-bow-and-arrows, 15 as also his heavenly speaking-lute, 16 and ran out. But the heavenly speaking-lute brushed against a tree, and the earth resounded. So the Great Deity, who was sleeping, started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair which was tied to the rafters, [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to the Even Pass of Hades, 17 and gazing on him from afar, he called out to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, saying: "With the great life-sword and the life-bow-and-arrows which thou earnest, pursue thy half-brethren 18 till they crouch on the august slopes of the passes, 19 and pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers, and do thou, wretch! 20 become the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land; 21 and Moreover, becoming the Deity Spirit-of-the-Living-Land, and making my daughter the Forward-Princess thy [75] consort, 22 do thou make stout the temple-pillars at the foot of Mount Uka 23

in the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven, and dwell [there], thou villain!" 24 So when, bearing the great sword and bow, he pursued and scattered the eighty Deities, he did pursue them till they crouched on the august slope of every pass, 25 he did pursue them till they were swept into every river, and then he began to make the land. 26 Quamobrem Hera Yamaki, secundum anterius pactum, [cum eo] in thalamo coivit. So he brought her with him; but, fearing his consort the Forward Princess, she stuck into the fork of a tree the child that she had borne, and went back. 27 So the child was called by the name of the Tree-Fork-Deity, 28 and another name was the Deity-of-August-Wells. 29

Footnotes

1 Literally, "to the child." The words placed in brackets, and which are not to be found in either of the early printed editions, are supplied in accordance with a suggestion of Moribe's contained in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary. Motowori himself had supplied the words "Her Augustness his august parent spoke to him," which seem less appropriate. It is true that one MS. is quoted by Motowori as favouring his view; but such authority is insufficient, and the mistake, Moreover, peculiarly easy for a copyist to make (*mi oya* for *oho-ya*).

2 *I.e.*, the Palace.

3 This is Motowori's view of the import of the original name *Suseri-bime*, which he connects with *susumu*, "to advance," "to press forward," and explains by reference to the bold, forward conduct of the young goddess.

4 One of the alternative names of this Deity, who is mostly mentioned by one of his other four designations, for a list of which see sect. XX. (Notes 17 to 21).

5 *I.e.*, "a scarf by waving which he might keep off the snakes." Similarly, the "centipede and wasp-scarf" mentioned a little farther on must be understood to mean "a scarf to ward off centipedes and wasps with."

6 The word *hachi*, translated "wasp," is a general name including other insects of the family of *Vespidæ*.

7 *I.e.*, "arrow." The original expression is *nari-kabura* (鳴鏑), which has survived in the modern language under the modified form of *kabura-ya*, defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary as "an arrow with a head shaped like a turnip, having a hole in it, which causes it to hum as it flies." It was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty.

8 Or "rat."

9 The translator cannot think of any better English equivalents for the child-like onomatopoeias *hora-hora* and *subu-subu* of the Japanese original.

10 The edition of 1687 reads the two characters 喪具(here translated "mourning implements,") *mo-gari no sonahe*, *i.e.*, "preparations for the funeral." Such preparations are detailed in the latter part of Sect. XXXI.

11 This is Mabuchi's interpretation, as quoted by Motowori, of the expression *ya-ta-ma no oho-muro-ya*. Motowori's own view is that *ya-ta* stands for *ya-tzu*, which give us in English "an eight-spaced large room." The character 間, "space" has been in later times used as a measure of length (six Japanese feet.) Altogether the precise meaning of the expression is not quite clear, but the general sense is a "large spacious room."

12 *Aphananthe Aspera*, also sometimes called *Celtis Muku*.

13 *I.e.*, "a rock which it would require five hundred men to lift."

14 *Iku-tachi* (生大刀), supposed by Motowori to be "a sword having the virtue of conferring long life upon its possessor."

15 *Iku-yumi-ya* (生弓矢).

16 *Ame no nori-goto* (天詔琴), so called because, as will be seen Sect. XCVI, divine messages were conveyed through a person playing on the lute. Hirata, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories." invents the reading *ame no nu-goto* (天詔琴), "heavenly jewelled lute."

17 See Sect. IX. (Note 16).

18 They were not born of the same mother. The Chinese characters in the text (庶兄弟) imply, properly speaking, that the eighty brethren of the Great-Name-Possessor were the sons of concubines. But Motowori denies that such is the Japanese usage with regard to the characters in question.

19 Or "hills."

20 The word in the text is *ore*, an insulting equivalent Second Personal Pronoun. If we were translating into German, we might perhaps approximately represent its force by "*er*."

21 Thus according to this legend, "Master-of-the-Great-Land" (*Oho-kuni-nushi*) was not the original name of the Deity commonly designated by it, and his sovereignty over the Land of the Living (whence the appropriateness of the second name in this context) was derived by investiture from the god of the Land of the Dead.

22 The characters 嫡妻, which are here used, designate specifically the chief or legitimate wife, as opposed to the lesser wives or concubines.

23 *Uka-no-yama*. No satisfactory etymology of *Uka* is forthcoming.

24 *I.e.*, "Firmly planting in the rock the pillars forming the foundation of thy palace, and rearing its fabric to the skies, do thou rule therefrom the Land of the Living, thou powerful wretch, who hast so successfully braved me!"

25 Or "hill."

26 This is taken to mean that he continued the act of creation which had been interrupted by the death of *Izanami* (the "Female-Who-Invites"). See Sect. IX, where her husband Izanagi says to her: "The lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making." The words "*Kuni tsukuri*" (國作), here used for "making the land," became a title for "Ruler-of-the-Land" and Finally, a "gentile name" (*kabane*).

27 *Q.d.*, to Inaba.

28 *Ki-no-mata-no-kami*.

29 *Mi-wi-no-kami*. He is supposed to have benefitted the country by digging wells in many places.

[SECT. XXIV. —THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS.]

This Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears, [1] when he went forth [2] to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, [3] in the land of Koshi, on arriving at the house of the Princess of Nuna kaha sang, saying:

"[I] His Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears, [76] having been unable to find a spouse in the Land of the Eight islands, and having heard that in the far off Land of Koshi there is a wise maiden, having heard that there is a beauteous maiden, I am standing [here] to truly woo her, I am going backwards and forwards to woo her. Without having yet untied even the cord of my sword, without having yet untied even my veil, I push back the plank-door shut by the maiden; while I am standing [here], I pull it forward. While I am standing [here], the *nuye* sings upon the green mountain, and [the voice of] the true bird of the moor, the pheasant, resounds; the bird of the yard, the cock, crows. Oh! the pity that [the] birds should sing! Oh! these birds! Would that I could beat them till they were sick! Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger, the tradition of the thing, too, this!" [4]

Then the Princess of Nuna-kaha, without yet opening [77] the door, sang from the inside saying: —"Thine Augustness the Deity-Of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! Being a maiden like a drooping plant, my heart is just a bird on a sand-bank by the shore; it will now Indeed, be a dotterel. Afterwards it will be a gentle bird; so as for thy life, do not deign to die. Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger! the tradition of the thing, too, this!" [5]

[78] [*Second Song of the Princess*. [6]]

When the sun shall hide behind the green mountains, in the night [black as] the true jewels of the moor will I come forth. Coming radiant with smiles like the morning sun, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry-bark shall softly pat [my] breast soft as the melting snow; and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's] jewel-arms, — true jewel-arms, —and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. So speak not too lovingly, Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! The tradition of the thing, too, this!" [7]

Quamobrem eâ nocte non coierunt, sed sequentis diei nocte auguste coierunt.

Footnotes

1 In this Section, the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is spoken of under this *alias*. See Sect. XX, Note 20).

2 The characters 幸行here, in accordance with the reading of the commentators, rendered by the words "went forth," as Honorific, being only properly applied to the progresses of a sovereign.

3 *Kuna-kawa-hime*. *Nana-kaha* or *Nu-na-kaha* ("lagoon-river"), is supposed to be the name of a place in the province of Echigo.

4 The drift of this poem needs but little elucidation: —After giving his reasons for coming to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, the god declares that he is in such haste to penetrate to her chamber, that he does not even stay to ungird his sword or take off his veil, but tries to push or pull open the door at once. During these vain endeavours, the mountain. side begins to re-echo with the cries of the birds announcing the dawn, when lovers must slink away. Would that he could kill these unwelcome harbingers of day, and bring back the darkness! —The Land of the Eight Islands (*i.e.* Japan proper, beyond whose boundaries lay the barbarous northern country of Koshi) is in the original *Ya-shima-huni* (Conf. Sect. V, Note 27). —The *nuye* is a bird which must be fabulous if most of the accounts given of it are accepted. The "Commentary on the Lyric Dramas" tells us (with variations) that "it has the head of a monkey, the body of a racoon-faced dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands (*sic*) and feet of a tiger," adding, as the reader will make no difficulty in allowing, that "it is a strange and peculiar creature." The *Wa-Kun Shiwori* says that "it is a bird much larger than a pigeon, and having a

loud and mournful cry." It is likewise said to come out at night-time and retire during the day, for which reason doubtless Mabuchi likens it to the owl. A very ancient and curious Chinese book entitled the "Mountain and Sea Classic" (山海經) the modern editions of which contain extremely droll illustrations of fabulous creatures, tells us of a bird called the "white *nuye*" (白鵺) which is "like a pheasant, with markings on its head, white wings, and yellow feet, and whose flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough." The character 發and て, with which, as well as with ヌthe word *nuye* is variously written, seem to be unauthorized—The line here (following Motowori and Moribe's view) rendered "Would that I could beat them till they were sick!" will also bear the interpretation formerly proposed by Keichiyu, "Would that I could beat them till they left off!"—The last five lines, here rendered "Oh! swiftly flying heaven-racing messenger," etc., are extremely obscure. It is possible that *ishi tafu ya* (rendered "Oh! swiftly flying," in deference to Motowori's and Moribe's view) may be but a meaningless *refrain*. "Heaven racing messenger" is tolerably certain. Of the rest it is not easy to make sense. Motowori proposes to credit the five lines in question with the following general meaning: "May this song, like a messenger, "run down to future ages, preserving for them the tradition of this event!" Moribe, in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary, supposes the lines in question to be an addition made by the official singers, who in later times sang these songs as an accompaniment to dances. Whatever their origin and proper signification, it is plain that they had come to be used as a *refrain*, from which the first two lines were sometimes omitted, as we see in some of the songs further on.

5 The drift of the poem is this: "Being a tender maiden, my heart flutters like the birds on the sandy islets by the beach, and I cannot yet be thine. Yet do not die of despair; for I will soon comply with thy desires."—The word

nuye-kusa (here rendered "drooping plant," in accordance with the views of the commentators) is a Pillow-Word of somewhat obscure derivation. —The word *chidori* (rendered "dotterel" throughout this translation) denotes in its modern acceptation, according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer, "any kind of sandpiper, plover or dotterel." Its proper and original signification is, however, greatly debated by the commentators, and some think that it is not the specific name of any kind of bird, but stands simply by apocope for *tachi-dori*, "rising bird," thus designating any kind of small bird that rises and flies along near the beach. —The word *na-dori* (here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered "gentle bird") is taken by Motowori to mean simply "gentle," "compliant." But both the construction and the context seem to impose on us the interpretation here given. Keichiyu, in his "*Kōgan-Shō*," interprets the whole passage differently; but in order to do so he, without sufficient authority, changes the readings of the text into *wa tori*, "my bird," and *na tori* "thy bird."—The refrain is the same as in the previous song.

6 There is no break in the text; but the commentators rightly consider the following to be a separate poem.

7 The import of this very plain-spoken poem needs no elucidation. —*Nubatama* (here rendered "true jewels of the moor") is the Pillow-Word for things black or related to darkness. The "true jewels of the moor" are supposed to be the jet-black berries of the *hiafugi* (pron. *hiōgi*, *Ixia chinensis*). The whole etymology is, however, not absolutely certain. —Of which of the two lovers the words "coming radiant" with "smiles" are spoken, is not clear; but they probably refer to the male deity, as do the white arms, strange though such an expression may appear as applied to a

man. The goddess represents herself and her lover as using each other's arms for pillows. The word "jewel-arms" means simply "beautiful arms."

[SECT. XXV. —THE CUP PLEDGE.]

[79] Again this Deity's Chief Empress, 1 Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, was very jealous. So the Deity her husband, being distressed, was about to go up from Idzumo to the Land of Yamato; and as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup, he sang, saying:

"When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments black as the true jewels of the moor, and, like the birds of the offing, look at my breast, —though I raise my fins, [I say that] these are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments green as the kingfisher, and, like the birds of the oiling, look at my breast. —though I raise my fins, [I say that] these, too, are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my raiment dyed in the sap of the dye-tree, the pounded madder sought in the mountain fields, and. like the birds of the offing. look at my breast, —though I raise my fins, [I say that] they are good. My dear young sister. Thine Augustness! Though thou say that thou wilt not weep, —if like the flocking birds, I flock and depart, if, like the led birds, I am led away and depart, thou wilt hang down thy head like a single eulalia upon the mountain and thy weeping shall Indeed, rise as the mist of [80] the morning shower. Thine Augustness [my] spouse like the young herbs! The tradition of the thing, too, this!" 2

Then his Empress, taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, sang, saying: —

"Oh! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! [Thou], my [dear] Master-of-the-Great-Land Indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands [81] that thou seest, and on every beach headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But as for me alas! being a woman, I have no man except thee; I have no spouse except thee. Beneath the fluttering of the ornamented fence, beneath the softness of the warm coverlet, beneath the rustling of the cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry bark softly patting [my] breast soft as the melting snow, and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [our selves] on [each others arms], —true jewel arms, and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. Lift up the luxuriant august liquor!" 3

She having thus sung, they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks, [4] and are at rest till the present time. These are called divine words. [5]

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, chief wife.

2 The meaning of this poem is: —"I start for Yamato, there to search for a better wife, and I carefully array myself for the journey. Black, —the colour of mourning, —is not fair enough, and red is more beautiful than green; so it is on my red garments that my choice rests. And thou, jealous and imperious woman! for all that thou sayest that thou wilt not heed my going, thou wilt weep when I depart with my retainers as departs a flock of birds, and thou wilt bury thy head in thy hands, and thy tears shall be as the misty drops of the morning shower."—The words *hata tagi* (rendered in accordance with Motowori's view by "raise my fins") are supposed to signify "raise my sleeve." If the last syllable were found in any text written with a character not requiring the use of the *nigori* in the Japanese transcription, we should get the more satisfactory reading *ha tataki*, *i.e.* "beat my wings;" but the syllable in question does not seem to be anywhere so written; —The "madder" is in the original *akane*, here written (but doubtless only through the error of some copyist) *atane*. The words rendered "sought in the mountain fields" might also be translated "sown in the mountain fields," *magashi*, "sought," and *makishi*, "sowed" being thought to be convertible. —The words "my beloved" represent the Japanese *itokoya no*, whose meaning is obscure and much disputed. —The words "when I am led away" must be understood as if they were Active instead of Passive, signifying as they do "when I lead away my retinue of followers."—The eulalia (*Eulalia Japonica*) is a long king of grass very

often alluded to in the later classical poetry. —The words "on the mountain" represent the Japanese words *yama-to no*, in accordance with Motowori's and Hirata's view of the meaning of the latter (山處or 山本). Th. *primá facie* interpretation of "in the province of Yamato," which Keichiyu adopts, will not bear investigation. —It is not quite clear whether "the mist of the morning shower" means mist separate from the rain, or is simply a phrase for the rain-drops themselves. Motowori adopts the former opinion. —"Young herbs:" *waka-kusa*, is the Pillow-Word for "spouse,"—newly married youths and maidens being likened to the fresh-grown grass. The *refrain* is an abbreviated form of that found in the two previous poems.

3 The import of this poem needs little explanation: —The goddess says to her husband, "Come back and live with me, and quaff this goblet as a sign of reconciliation; for though thou, as a man, mayest have a wife on every shore, I shall be left solitary if thou depart."— The "ornamented fence" is supposed to mean "a curtain round the sleeping place."—The latter part to the poem (excepting the concluding phrase) is a repetition of lines that have already occurred in the last one of Sect. XXIV (note 7). The word *tate-matsurase* (here rendered "lift up") occasions some difficulty. It properly signifies "present to a superior;" but here it must be taken to mean "partake of," as the goddess is speaking to her spouse himself, unless Indeed, we suppose the final words of the song to be a command addressed to one of her attendants to present the cup to their common lord and master.

4 This is the probable and generally accepted meaning of the original of this clause, which is written phonetically.

5 Explained by Moribe to mean, with reference to the whole story, "conversation about divine events." Motowori proposes to supplement the character 歌, "song," to the two (神語) in the text, and to take the three

together as designating the nature of the preceding songs, in accordance with the usage in other cases, —"Rustic Songs," "Courtier's Songs," etc. If this view were adopted, we should have to translate by "Divine Converse Songs."

[82]

[SECT. XXVI. —THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity dwelling in the inner temple of Munakata. 1 and begot children: the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne, 2 next his younger sister Her Augustness High-Princess, 3 another name for whom is Her Augustness Princess Under-Shining. 4 This Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is he who is now called the Great August Deity of Kamo. 5 Again the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Princess Divine-House-Shield 6 and begot a child: the Deity Thing-Sign-Master. 7 Again he wedded the Deity Bird-Ears, 8 daughter of the Deity Eight-Island-Possessor, 9 and begot a child: the Deity Bird-Growing-Ears. 10 This Deity wedded Hina-teri-nakata-bichi-wo-ikochini, 11 and begot a child: the Deity Land-Great-Wealth. 12 This Deity wedded the Deity Ashi-nadaka, 13 another name for whom is Princess-Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets, 14 and begot a child: the Deity Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Land-Ruler. 15 This Deity wedded Princess Luck-Spirit, 16 daughter of the [84] Deity Heavenly-Awful-Master, 17 and begot a child: the Deity Awful-Master-Prince. 18 This Deity wedded Princess Hina-rashi, 19 daughter of the Deity Okami, 20 and begot a child: the Deity Tahiri-kishi-marumi. 21 This Deity wedded the Deity Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit, 22 daughter of the Deity Waiting-to-See-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly, 23 and begot a child: the Deity Mira-na-mi. 24 This Deity wedded Princess Awo-numa-oshi, 25 daughter of the Master-of-Shiki-yama, 26 and begot a child: the Deity Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi. 27 This Deity wedded the Young-Day-Female-Deity, 28 and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth. 29 This Deity wedded the Deity Toho-tsu-

ma-chi-ne, [30] daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Pass Boundary, [31] and begot a child: the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi. [32]

From the above-mentioned Deity Eight-Island-Ruler down to the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi are called the Deities of seventeen generations. [33]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. XIII, Note 15 and Sect. XIV. Note 2.

2 *Aji-shiki taka-hiko-ne no-kami*. The meaning of the first two members of this compound name is altogether obscure. *Taka-hiko-ne* signifies "high-prince lord."

3 *Taka-hime-no-mikoto*. *Taka-hime* is supposed by Hirata to be a mutilated form of *Taka-teru-hime*, "High-Shining-Princess," which would make the two names of this personage properly complementary.

4 *Shita-teru-hime-no-mikoto*. This goddess is popularly supposed to have been extremely beautiful, whence perhaps the name, which might be taken to imply that her beauty shone forth from under her garments as in the case of *So-towori-hime* (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9).

5 Because there worshipped. The etymology of Kamo is not clear.

6 *Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto*. The translation here follows the Chinese characters. Another proposal of Motowori's is to regard the syllables ya-tate as a corruption of *iya-taka-teri*, "more and more high shining," which would give us for the whole name in English "Divine-More-and-More-High-Shining-Princess."

7 *I.e.*, "the Deity who gave a sign of the thing he did." The Japanese original is *Koto-shire-nushi-no-kami*. The translation of the name here given follows Motowori's interpretation, which takes it to contain an allusion to the act by which its bearer symbolized his surrender of the sovereignty of the land to the descendant of the Sun-Goddess. Lengthened forms of the name are *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* ("the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master") and *Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami*, the first three syllables of which latter are obscure. Both of the lengthened forms are supposed to contain a reference to the manifold "green branches" mentioned in the legend referred to, —that. viz., which forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII.

8 *Tori-mimi-no-kami*. Motowori suggests that tori, "bird," may be but the name of a place in Yamato.

9 *Ya-shima-muji-no-kami*. "Possessor" is the probable meaning of *muji*, regarded here and elsewhere as an alternative form of *mochi*. Motowori suggests that Yashima may be meant for the name of a district in Yamato, in which case both this god and his daughter would have been named from the places of their birth or residence, which are near each other in the same province.

10 *Tori-nara-mi-no-kami*. The above interpretation, which is proposed by Motowori, seems more acceptable than "Bird-Sounding-Sea," which the Chinese characters' yield. *Tori* "bird," if taken above to be the name of a place, must be likewise so considered here. —Motowori reasonably conjectures that a clause to the following effect is here omitted: "He wedded such and such a princess, daughter of such and such a Deity, and begot a child: the Deity *Take-mina-gata*" [*i.e.* probably Brave-August-

Name-Firm] (See Sect. XXXII, Note 21). Hirata's text in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" is

娶高志之沼河北賣命而令生給之子謂御穗須美命亦名健御名方神.

11 The text is here evidently corrupt, and Motowori proposes to read either *Hina-teri-nukata-bichi-wo-no-kami no musume Iko-chi-ni-no-kami* which would give us in English "the Deity Ikochini, daughter of the male Deity Hina-teri-nukata-bichi," or else to take the whole as the father's name, and to suppose that the name of the daughter has been accidentally omitted. *Hina-teri* means "Rustic Illuminator," and the name resembles that of a deity mentioned in Sect. XIV, Note 6. *Nukata* and *Bichi* (or *Hiji*, reversing the position of the *nigori*) are supposed to be names of places. *Ikochini* is altogether obscure.

12 *Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami*, *oshi*, as in other instances, being considered a contraction of *ohoshi*, "great."

13 *Ashi-nakada-no-kami*. It is not clear whether this is a personal name or, as Motowori supposes, the name of the place where the goddess resided. He quotes places named Ashidaka and Ashida; but this hardly seems satisfactory. In any case the name remains obscure.

14 *Ya-kaha-ye-hime*. The translation follows the meaning of the Chinese characters with which the name is written. It is, however, also open to us to consider *Yaka-ha-ye* as a corruption of *iya-ko-haye*, "more flourishing."

15 *Haya-mika-no-take sahaya-ji-nu-mi-no-kami*. The syllables *sahaya* are obscure, and Motowori's proposal to consider them as the name of a place has only been followed in the translation for want of something more satisfactory.

16 *Saki-tama-bime*.

17 *Ame-no-mika-a-nushi-no-kami*.

18 *wika-nushi-hike-no-kami*.

19 *Hina-rashi-bime*. Motowori takes Hina to be the name of a place, and *rashi*, to be an apocopated form of *tarashi* or some such word. But this is mere guess-work.

20 *Okami-no-kami*. See Sect. VIII, Note 9.

21 *Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami*. The meaning of this name is quite obscure. Motowori throws out the suggestion that *Tahiri* may stand for *Tari-hiri* and *Kishi-marumi* for *Kizhima-tsu-mi*, —*Tarihi* and *Kizhiwa* being names of places, and *tsu-mi*, as usual, being credited with the signification of "possessor."

22 *Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime*.

23 *Hihira-gi-no-sono-hana-madzu-mi-no-kami*. The interpretation of the name here given is conjectural as far as the words "waiting to see" (taken on Tominobu's authority to be the most likely meaning of *madzu-mi*) are concerned. Motowori suggests that *hihira-gi-no* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word, and not part of the actual name at all, and the remaining characters corrupted. *Hihira-gi* rendered "holly," is properly the *Olea Aquifolia*.

24 *Miro-nami-no-kami*. Meaning obscure. *Miro* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place, and *na* and *mi* to be Honorific appellations.

25 *Awo-numa-nu-oshi-hime*. Meaning obscure.

26 *Shiki-yama-nushi-no-kami*. *Shiki-yama* is supposed to be the name of a place in Echizen.

27 *Nunoshi-tomi-tori-nara-mi-no-kami*. *Nunoshi* is supposed to be the name of a place, and identical with *Nunoshi*, which forms part of the mother's name. Motowori takes *tomi* to be an Honorific, and *Tori* (as previously in the case of the deities *Tori-mimi* and *Tori-naru-mi* (See Notes 8 and 10) to be the name of another place. The translator would prefer to take both words in their common signification, and (leaving *nunoshi* aside as incomprehensible) to render the rest of the name thus: "Wealth-Bird-Growing-Ears."

28 *Waka-hiru-me-na-kami*.

29 *Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami*. Motowori supposes Hibara to be the name of a place, a view which the translator has adopted for want of a better.

30 *Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne-no-kami*. Motowori supposes Tohotsu to be the name of a place, and the remaining syllables to be Honorific.

31 There is no footnote 31—.

32 *Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi-no-kami*. *Toho-tsu* (lit. "distant") and *yamazaki* ("mountain-cape") are both considered by Motowori to be names of places. Tarashi signifies "perfect" or "perfection." We might perhaps render the name thus: "Perfection-of-the-Distant-Mountain- Cape."

33 *I.e.* "seventeen generations of Deities." But the construction is curious. Motowori points out that there is here an error in the computation, as the text enumerates but fifteen generations. The names of the gods and goddess mentioned in this section offer unusual difficulties Motowori says that it is

with hesitation that he proposes many of his interpretations, and it is with still greater hesitation that the translator has accepted them.

SECT. XXVII. —THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY.

So when the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land dwelt at the august cape of Miho [1] in Idzumo, there came riding on the crest [2] of the waves in a boat of heavenly *Kagami* [3] a Deity dressed in skins of geese [4] flayed with a complete [85] flaying, who, when asked his name, replied not; Moreover, the Deities who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad [5] spoke, saying: "As for this, the Crumbling Prince [6] will surely know it." Thereupon [the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land] summoned and asked the Crumbling-Prince, who replied. saying: "This is the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity. [7] the august child of the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Deity." [8] So on their then respectfully informing [9] His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my hand. [10] So do he and thou become [87] brethren, and make and consolidate this land." [11] So from that time forward the two Deities the Great-Name-Possessor and the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity crossed over to the Eternal Land. [12] So [the Deity here] called the Crumbling Prince, who revealed the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity, is what is now [called] the scarecrow in the mountain fields. This Deity, though his legs do not walk, is a Deity who knows everything in the Empire. [13]

Footnotes

1 Not to be confounded with the better known Miho in Suruga. Derivation of the name seems uncertain.

2 The character used is 穗, which properly denotes an ear of rice or other grain.

3 What plant the author intends by this name is not quite certain. The characters 蘿摩 and 蕨 are variously used to write it in the native work of reference, where also we learn that it probably corresponds to the plant known in different provinces of modern Japan as *chichi-gusa*, *tombo-no-chichi*, *kagarahi* and *gaga-imo*. We may best understand the *Ampelopsis serianæfolia* to have been intended, as the plant is described as having a berry three or four inches long shaped like a towel-gourd, (*hechima*), so that, if scooped out, it would fairly resemble a boat in miniature.

4 All the authorities are agreed in considering the character 鴈, "goose," to be a copyist's error; but there is no agreement as to the character which should be substituted for it. Hirata reads 鷦, "wren," changing the phonetic. "Wren" also is the reading in "One account" of the "Chronicles," and Moribe, commenting thereon in his "*Idzu no Chi-Waki*," thinks that "wren" must have been the bird originally intended by the framers of the tradition. Motowori, following a suggestion of the editor of 1687, prefers to consider the radical for "bird" to have been put by mistake for the radical for "insect," and reads 蛾 which signifies "moth," especially the "silkworm moth." Motowori, however, proceeds to give to the character in question the Japanese reading of *hi mushi* (lit. "fire-insect," *i.e.* "ephemera"), which is not warranted. The proper Japanese reading is *hihiru*. The best would seem to be to adopt the reading 蛾 "moth."

5 The original word is *tani-guku*. Its derivation and the name of the species which it denoted are alike unknown. Indeed, we might equally well translate by "frog."

6 *Kuye-biko*. The interpretation of the name here adopted is Motowori's. Tominobu takes *Kuye* to be the name of a place, and the parsonage in question to have been the inventor of scarecrows, whence the tradition connected with his name.

7 *Sukuna-biko-na-no-kami*, or without the *nigori*, *Sukuna-hiko-na-no-kami*. The interpretation of the name here followed is that proposed by Motowori, but not followed by Hirata and Moribe, who prefer to consider it antithetical to that of *Oho-na-muji*, "the Great-name-Possess or."

8 First mentioned in Sect. I, Note 6. Immediately below, his name is given in the lengthened form.

9 Motowori (who, strange to say, is followed by Hirata, —conf. Sect. XVIII, Note 18) interprets the two characters 白上(here in accordance with general usage taken to signify "respectfully informed") as "informed and took up," thus making it appear that the diminutive deity was personally taken up to Heaven. Surely a recollection of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says that "a messenger was sent up to inform the Heavenly Deities," should have preserved the commentators from thus offending against both grammar and common sense.

10 *I.e.*, "slipped away between my fingers." In the legend as given in the "Chronicles," the father explains more particularly that the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity had been a bad boy who ran away.

11 For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII. Note 26.

12 *Toko-yo-no-kuai* (常世國). Some kind of Paradise or Hades is meant, as is proved by innumerable references in the early literature of Japan: and we may suppose the idea to have been borrowed from the Chinese or through

them from Buddhism, and to have been afterwards vaguely located in some distant country. In Sect. LXXIV we are told of the orange having been brought from the "Eternal Land" by Tajima-mori, who is said to have been of Korean extraction. Korea, which is to the west of Japan, and the Buddhist paradise in the west might well he confounded by tradition, though it is equally open to discussion whether Southern China or even the Loochoo Islands might not have been thus vaguely designated. In any case it was a distant place, imperfectly known, though specifically named. In the "Chronicles," Tajima-mori is made to say that it is "the retreat of Gods and Fairies, and not to be reached by common men."—Motowori's immense note on this word (see Vol. XXI, of his Commentary) is a specimen of the specious arguments by which he endeavours to ward off from the Early Japanese the imputation of ever having borrowed any ideas from their neighbours. He would have us believe that *Toko-yo* is derived from *soko yori*, "thence" (!) and that the name simply denotes foreign countries in general. This is on a par with the opinion emitted by Arawi Hakuseki in his "*Ko-shi Tsū*," to the effect that the "Eternal Land" was simply a place in the province of Hitachi. The latter good old commentator apparently founded himself on no better reasons than his general rejection of supernatural or otherwise perplexing details, and the fact that one of the characters with which the name of the province in question written is 常, which also forms part of the name of *Toko-yo-no-kuni*.

13 Literally "everything beneath Heaven." "Beneath Heaven" (天下), *i.e.* "all that is beneath the Heavens," is a common Chinese phrase for the Chinese Empire, which was in ancient days not unnaturally supposed by its inhabitants to form the whole civilized world. The expression was borrowed by the Japanese to designate their own country, But its use by them had not

the same plea of ignorance of other civilized lands, as they were acquainted with China and Korea, and had hence obtained nearly all the arts of life.

[88]

[SECT. XXVIII. —THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT.] [1]

Thereupon the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land lamented himself, and said: "How shall I alone be able to make this land? [2] Together with what Deity can I make this land?" At this time there came a Deity illuminating the sea. This Deity said: "If thou wilt lay me to rest [3] well, I can make it together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made." Then the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land said: "If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?" He replied, saying: "Reverently worship me on Yamato's green fence, the eastern mountain's top." [4] This is the Deity who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro. [5]

Footnotes

1 In the "Chronicles," this is given as the designation of the Deity who came over the sea, and Motowori Therefore, adopts it as the heading of this Section.

2 For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII, Note 26.

3 *I.e.* "if thou wilt build me a temple." The original might also be rendered "if thou wilt worship before me," or "at my shrine," of "if thou wilt establish a temple to me."

4 *I.e.* on Mount Mimoro which stands as a protecting fence in the eastern part of the province of Yamato. *Awo-kaki-yama*, "green fence mountain," became a proper name used alternatively for Mount Mimoro (or, according to the later pronunciation, Mimuro). In like manner *Himukashi-yama* (in the later language *Higashi-yama*) "eastern mountain," has by some been considered to be a proper name.

5 *I.e.* "august house;" so called probably from the temple of the deity.

[SECT. XXIX. —THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY.]

So the Great-Harvest-Deity wedded the Princess [of?] Inu, 1 daughter of the Divine-Life-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, 2 and begot children: the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land; 3 [89] next the Deity of Kara; 4 next the Deity Sohori; 5 next the Deity White-Sun; 6 next the Sage-Deity. 7 (Five Deities 8). Again he wedded the Refulgent-Princess, 9 and begot children: the Deity Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, 10 next the August-Harvest-Deity. 11 Again he wedded Princess Ame-shiru-karu-midzu, 12 and begot children: the Deity Oki-tsu-hiko, 13 next Her Augustness Oki-tsu-hime, 14 another name for whom is [90] the Deity Great Furnace-Princess 15 —this is the Deity of the Furnace 16 held in reverence by all people—next the Deity Great-Mountain-Integrator, 17 another name for whom is the Deity-Great-Master-of-the-Mountain-End: 18 this Deity dwells on Mount Hiye 19 in the land of Chika-tsu-Afumi, 20 and is likewise the Deity dwelling at Matsu-no-wo 21 in Kadzunu, 22 who uses the whizzing barb. 23 Next the Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard; 24 next the Deity Asahi; 25 next the Deity Hahigi; 26 next the Deity Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee; 27 next the Deity [91] Swift-Mountain-Dwelling; 28 next the High Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard; 29 next the Great-Earth-Deity, 30 another name for whom is the Deity August-Ancestor-of-Earth. 31 (Nine Deities 32)

In the above paragraph the children of the Great-Harvest-Deity, from the Deity August-Spirit-of-the Great-Land down to the Great-Earth-Deity, are altogether sixteen Deities.

The Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling 33 wedded the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food, 34 and begot children: the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator; 35 next

the Young-Harvest-Deity; [36] next his younger sister the Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity; [37] next the Water-Sprinkling-Deity; [38] next the Deity-of-the-High-Sun-of-Summer, [39] another name for whom is the Female-Deity-of-Summer; [40] next the Autumn-Princess; [41] next the Deity Stem-Harvest; [42] next the Deity Lord-Stem-Tree-Young-House-Rope. [43]

In the above paragraph the children of the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, from the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator down to the Deity Lord-Young-House-Rope, [44] are altogether eight Deities.

Footnotes

1 *Inu-hime*. Motowori supposes *Inu* to be the name of a place. The word properly signifies "dog."

2 *Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami*.

3 *Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami*.

4 *Kara-no-kami*, 韓神. *Kara* signifies Korea and China, and the Deity thus named appears in the "Chronicle" under the name of *I-so-takeru* ("Fifty-fold-Valiant"), of whom it is related that he was taken over to Korea by his father *Susa-no-wo* (the "Impetuous-Male").

5 *Sohori-no-kami*. The etymology is not clear. Hirata derives the name from a Verb *soru*, "to ride," "to go in a boat," in connection with the story (mentioned in the preceding note) of I-so-takeru having been taken over to Korea. According to this view, *Sohori*, like *Kara-no-kami*, would be an alternative name of *I-so-takeru*. But the derivation is hazardous, to say the least.

6 *Shira-hi-no-kami*. Motowori supposes *shira hi* (白日) to be a copyist's error for *makahi* (向日). The latter, however, does not make satisfactory sense, and Tomonobu, proposes to invert the characters, thus: 日向, which means "sun-confronting." Motowori suggests that the word may, after all, be but the name of a place.

7 *Hizhiri-no-kami*, written with the characters 聖神. The first of these is defined as signifying him who is intuitively wise and good, *i.e.* the perfect sage. But perhaps we should in Archaic Japanese take the term *hizhiri* in what is its probable native etymological sense, viz. "sun-governing" (*hizhiri*, 日知), a title properly applied to the Japanese Emperors as descendants of the Sun-God, and of which the character 聖, which is used of the Chinese Monarchs, is only an equivalent in so far as it, too, is employed as an Honorific title.

8 Viz. from the August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land to the Sage-Deity inclusive.

9 *Kagaya-hime*.

10 *Oho-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami*. The translation follows Hirata's interpretation, which nearly agrees with that proposed by Mabuchi.

11 *Mi-toshi-no-kami*. For the meaning of "harvest" attributed to the word *toshi* see Sect. XX, Note 3.

12 *Ame-shiru-karu-midzu-hime*. The name might tentatively be translated thus: Heaven-Governing-Fresh-Princess-of Karu. Motowori suggests that *amerishiru* may be but a sort of Pillow-Word for the rest of the name. *Ama-tobu* is, however, the only Pillow-word for Karu found in the poems. After all, Karu may not here be the name of a place at all.

13 *Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami*. The translator ventures to think that the names of this deity and the next might simply be rendered (in accordance with the first character, 奥entering into their composing) "Inner Prince" and "Inner Princess" or "Prince of the Interior" and "Princess of the Interior." Motowori however suggests that *Okitsu* may be the name of a place, while Hirata derives the names from *oki-tsuchi*, "laid earth," finding therein a reference to the furnace (made of clay) mentioned immediately below.

14 *Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto*.

15 *Oho-be-hime-no-kami*.

16 *Kama-no-kami* (竈神). The "furnace" means the "kitchen." Neither Motowori nor Hirata informs us that the immense popularity of this Goddess, as well as her name, can clearly be traced to China.

17 *Oho-yama-kuni-no-kami*. The meaning of *kuhi*, here (as in the case of *Tsumu-guhi* and *Iku-guhi* (see Sect. II, Note 4) rendered by the word "interior," is open to doubt.

18 *Yama-suwe-no-oko-mushi-no-kami*. Motowori supposes the word *suwe*, "end," to have the signification of "top."

19 As it stands, the etymology of this name is not clear. In later times the mountain was called *Hiyei* (比叡). But whether the, to outward appearance, native *Hiye* is but a corruption of this Chinese one, or whether it be true that the latter (on this hypothesis bestowed on account of its likeness in sound to the native designation) was not used till the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. as is commonly stated, is difficult to decide.

20 *I.e.* "Close-Fresh-Sea." *Afumi* (modern pron. *Omi*, for *aha-umi*) alone signifies "fresh sea," i e. "lake." This province contains the large take

commonly known as Lake Biha, (Biwa), but anciently simply called "the Fresh Sea," as being the lake par excellence of Japan. When one of the eastern provinces received, on account of a large lagoon or inlet which it contains, the name of *Toho-tsu-Afumi* (in modern pronunciation *Tō-tōmi*), *i.e.* "Distant-Fresh-Sea," the epithet Close was prefixed to the name of the province nearer to the ancient centre of government.

21 *I.e.* Pine-tree-Declivity.

22 *I.e.* Pueraria-Moor.

23 This passage (用鴨鏑神者也) must be corrupt. Mabuchi proposes to insert the character 祭before 神, and to understand the author to have meant to tell us that the deity was worshipped with arrows, that is to say, that arrows were offered at his shrine. Motowori's proposal to consider 用as an error for 成or 化, and to interpret the clause thus: "the Deity who was changed into an arrow" is also worthy of notice. But a further suggestion of his to read 丹 for 用and to interpret thus: "the Deity of the Red Arrow," seems best of all when taken in connection with the tradition, which he quotes from the "Topography of Yamashiro," to the effect that this god took the shape of a red arrow to gain access to his mistress *Tama-yori-hime*, such a transformation being one of the common-places of Japanese myth.

24 *Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami*. The interpretation of this name here adopted is not Motowori's, who takes *hi* in the sense of "wondrous," but Hirata's. The latter-author makes it clear that this deity (for whom *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami*, *i.e.* "The High-Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard," is but a slightly amplified designation) was none other than the above-mentioned Deity of the Kitchen, and his name an inclusive one for the pair of deities *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime*.

25 *Asuha-ho-kami*. The signification of this name is obscure, and Motowori's proposal to derive it from *ashi-niha*, "foot-place," because the god in question may be supposed to protect the place on which people stand, is not altogether convincing. In fact, he himself only advances it with hesitation. It should be added, however, that Hirata stamps it with his special approval, as he does also Motowori's derivation of the following name, *Hahigi*.

26 *Hahi-gino-kami*. Obscure, but ingeniously derived by Motowori from *hachi-iri-gimi*, *i.e.* "entering prince," the deity in question being supposed to have been the special protector of the entrances to houses, and to have thence received his name. Mr. Satow has translated it in the Rituals as "Entrance Limit."

27 *Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami*. The name is almost identical with that in Note 10.

28 *Ha-yama-to-no-kami*. The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori, and which seems tolerably satisfactory.

29 *Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami*. See note 24.

30 *Oho-tsuchi-no-kami*.

31 *Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-kami*.

32 This number is obtained if (as is perhaps permissible from a Japanese point of view) we consider *Oki-tsu-hiko* and *Oki-tsu-hime* as forming a single deity. Otherwise there are ten. A similar remark applies to the number sixteen mentioned immediately below.

33 See Note 28.

34 See Sect. V, Note 8. The fact that this goddess is related to have been previously killed (see Sect. XVII) causes Motowori some embarrassment.

35 *Waka-yama-kuhi-no-kami*.

36 *Waka-toshi-no-kami*. Motowori proposes (considering this name in connection with the four that follow) to take *waka-toshi* in this place in the signification of the "the first sprouting" of the young rice. The five deities whose birth is here mentioned seem collectively to represent the natural succession of agricultural operations throughout the year.

37 *Waka-sa-name-no-kami*.

38 *Midzu-maki-no-kami*.

39 *Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami*. Motowori's interpretation of *hi* as "wondrous" is perhaps as good as that here adopted, according to which it signifies "sun." His view would give us in English "the Summer-High-Wondrous-Deity."

40 *Natsu-no-me-no-kami*.

41 *Aki-bime no-kami*.

42 *Kuku-toshi-no-kami*. The word *kuku*, "stem," seems to allude to the length of the well-grown rice.

43 *Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsunane-no-kami*. Motowori supposes this god to have been the protector of houses, and interprets the name to denote the beams, and the ropes with which the beams were bound together. The word here read *tsuna*, "rope;" is written with the character, and might perhaps be rendered "pueraria." But as in early times the tendrils of such creeping

plants formed the only substitute for rope, the two renderings come to have very nearly the same signification.

44 The name is here abbreviated in the original to *Waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami*.

[93]

[SECT. XXX. —THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND.]

The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded, saying: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns, —Of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns [1] is the land which my august child His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears [2] shall govern." Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she sent him down from Heaven. [3] Hereupon His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, [4] said: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns, —of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is painfully uproarious, —it is." [5] With this announcement, he immediately re-ascended, and informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. Then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity [6] and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded the eight hundred myriad Deities to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, [7] and caused the Deity Thought-Includer [8] to think [of a plan], and said: [9] "This Central Land of Reed-Plains is the land with which we have deigned to charge our august child as the land which he shall govern. So as he deems that violent and savage Earthly Deities [10] are numerous in this land, [69] which Deity shall we send to subdue them?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel and said: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi [11] is the one that should be sent." So they sent the Deity Ame-no-ho-hi; but he at once curried favour with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and for three years brought back no report.

Footnotes

1 *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-izo-kuni*, *i.e.*, freely rendered, "ever fruitful Japan with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant rice-fields."

2 See Sect. XIII, Note 18. Henceforward this tremendous name is mostly abbreviated to *Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi* (probably signifying "Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.")

3 So in the original. The sense, however, is rather "told him to descend from Heaven;" for he did not actually go further than the top of the "Floating Bridge," and never came down to earth.

4 See Sect. III, Note 3.

5 The words "it is" stand for *ari keri* in the original. *Conf*. Sect. X, Note 1.

6 *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami*, first mentioned at the very commencement of the work. In this legend this god's name is constantly coupled with that of the Sun-Goddess, who alone, up to this point, had appeared as the ruler of Heaven.

7 See Sect. XIII, Note 12.

8 See Sect. XVI, Note 7.

9 The meaning must be, as Motowori suggests, that the story was told first, and the Deity Thought-Includer asked for his advice after he had heard it.

10 See Sect. I, Note 11.

11 See Sect. XIII, Note 19.

[SECT. XXXI. —THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.]

Therefore, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, saying. "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, is long of bringing back a report. 1 Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" 2 Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince, 3 son of the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit 4 should be sent." So they bestowed on him the Heavenly feathered arrows, 5 and sent him. Thereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining, 6 daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, 7 and Moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no [95] report. So then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince is long of bringing back a report. 8 Which Deity shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's long tarrying?" Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The pheasant the Name-Crying-Female 9 should be sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity] charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the Heavenly-Young-Prince is this: 'The reason for which thou wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to subdue and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for eight years bringest thou back no report?'" So then the Crying-Female, descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree 10 at the Heavenly-Young-Prince's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman, 11 having heard the

bird's words, spoke to the Heavenly-Young-Prince, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very bad. So thou shouldest shoot it to earth." On her [thus] urging him, the Heavenly-Young-Prince at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree [96] bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up upside down [12] through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity [13] were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: "This arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the Heavenly-Young-Prince," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the Heavenly-Young-Prince in obedience to our command, let it not hit him. If he has a foul heart, let the Heavenly-Young-Prince perish [14] by this arrow." With these words, the took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole, [15] so that it hit the Heavenly-Young-Prince on the top of his breast [16] as he was sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the origin of [the saying] Beware of a returning arrow. [17]) Moreover, the pheasant returned not. So this is the origin of the modern proverb which speaks of 'the pheasant as sole messenger.' [18] So the sound of the wailings of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children [19] who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there, [20] and made the wild goose of the river [21] the head-hanging bearer [22] the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the

person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman, [23] [98] the pheasant the weeping woman; and, having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves [24] for eight days and eight nights, At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne [25] came and condoled on the mourning for the Heavenly-Young-Prince, whereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves, [26] saying: "My child is not dead, no! My lord is not dead, no!" and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely resembled each other in countenance: so Therefore, they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity Ajishi-ki-taka-hiko-ne was very angry, and said: "It was only because he was my dear friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to an unclean dead person?"—and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sabre [27] that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning [28] at the source of the River Awimi [29] in the land of Minu. [30] The great sword with which he cut [the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Great-Blade-Mower, [31] another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Sabre. [32] So when the [99] Deity Aji-shiki-toba-hiko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Her Augustness the High-Princess in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying:

"Oh! ’tis the Deity Aji-shiki-Taka-Hiko-Ne traversing two august valleys with the refulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of the august assembled jewels worn round her neck by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven!" [33]

This Song is of a Rustic Style. [34]

Footnotes

1 Literally, "long brings back no report."

2 Literally, "to send again." The same expression occurs below.

3 *Ame-waka-hiko*. All the commentators agree that it is in order to express disapprobation of this god's wickedness that the title of Deity or Augustness is never coupled with his name.

4 *Ame-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami*.

5 *Ame-no-koko-yumi* and *ame-no-haha-ya*. In Sect. XXXIV these weapons are mentioned under the slightly altered names of *ama-no-hazhi-yumi* ("heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow") and *ama-no-kaku-ya* ("heavenly deer-arrows.") A large bow made of vegetable wax-tree (*Rhus succedanea*) wood, and arrows with broad feathers, are supposed to be intended.

6 *Shita-teru-hime*. See Sect. XXVI, Note 4.

7 *Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami*. See Sect. XX, Note 17.

8 Literally, "long brings back no report."

9 *Na-naki-me*. If the view here taken of the meaning of the Japanese expression be correct (it is that preferred by Motowori and Hirata), the pheasant would seem to have been supposed to cry out its own name, —in Archaic Japanese *kigishi*. The syllables *na naki me*, however, lend, themselves equally well to the interpretation of "nameless female," and are in the "Chronicles" found written with characters having that signification. Another reasonable opinion is that the name should be connected with the tradition mentioned further on of the pheasant having been the mourner (lit. "crying female," *naki-me*) at the funeral of the Heavenly-Young-Prince. In this case the word *na*, "name," would have to be considered redundant, and

it will be observed that the next time the name is mentioned, we find simply *naki-me*, "crying female," without the syllable in question.

10 *Katsura no-ki*, variously written 桂, 楓, 香木, 杜木, and phonetically 加都羅. Though it is not absolutely certain what tree is intended, the weight of authority and of probability is in favour of its being the cassia, which plays a part in Chinese mythology. In modern parlance the *katsura* is a tree whose Latin name is *Cercidiphyllum japonicum*.

11 *Ama-no-sagu-me*.

12 This expression, as Motowori explains, signifies only that, as the arrow was shot from below straight up at a pheasant perching on a branch overhead, the feathers, which are properly considered to form the top part of the arrow, were naturally underneath.

13 *Taka-gi-no-kami*. The name is written with the characters 高木神, which, taken ideographically, would give us in English "High-Tree-Deity." But the translator has little doubt but that Motowori is correct in considering 木to be here used phonetically, and the syllable *gi*, which it represents, to be a contraction of *guhi* (for *kuhi*), itself derived from *kumu*, and best rendered by the Verb "to integrate."

14 In Japanese *magare*, lit. "turn aside," "become crooked," *i.e.*, "come to a bad end."

15 *I.e.*, through the hole in the bottom of the sky through which the arrow had entered, or which the arrow had made for itself.

16 Literally "high breast-hill."

17 The sentence placed between brackets is supposed by Motowori to be an addition to the text made by some copyist who had in his mind the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." In the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" the two characters answering to our word "beware" are omitted, and the resulting meaning is: "This was the origin of the practice of sending back arrows," *i.e.*, of shooting an enemy with the arrow he had himself just used.

18 The import of the proverb seems to be that an embassy should always consist of more than one person. This is Motowori's view, based on his interpretation of the character 頓 as *hita*, which he identifies with *hito*, "one"; and it agrees well with the story in the text. Hirata, who, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," following the version of the legend given in the "Chronicles," narrates two pheasant embassies, —the male bird being sent first and (as it did not return) the female afterwards, —takes the character in the proper sense belonging to it in Chinese, and interprets the words of the proverb to mean "the pheasant's hurried embassy."

19 *I.e.*, the wife and children of the Heavenly-Young-Prince, who had been left behind by him in Heaven when he went on his embassy to Idzumo.

20 *I.e.*, in the place where he died. The "mourning house" was used to keep the corpse in till it was Finally, buried.

21 Some of the commentators believe this bird to be a separate species, and Moribe, who says that he saw one at the estuary near Kuhana in Ise, describes it as "rather slenderer than an ordinary wild goose, with longer legs and a higher back." If we accepted this, the better English translation would be "river wild goose."

22 The original of this expression (*kisari-mochi*) is very obscure even in the "Chronicles," by whose ideographic reading the translator has been guided,

and being here written phonetically becomes more conjectural still. The most likely opinion is that it signifies one bearing on his head the food to be offered to the corpse, though if this view be adopted, the office of the mourner in question may seem to resemble too closely that of the kingfisher. The latter has however been supposed to have brought fish, while the goose may have brought rice. Another proposal is that the goose brought the food and the kingfisher cooked it, while the sparrow, as mentioned below, performed the intermediate operation of pounding the rice. (See Motowori's elaborate note on this word in Vol. XIII, of his Commentary).

23 Or simply, "the pounder."

24 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us that "they wept and wailed and sang for eight days and eight nights."

25 See Sect. XXVI, Note 2. He was brother to the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife.

26 The author of the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" tells us that these tears were tears of joy, Doubtless such is the meaning of the text; yet the repetition of the words "bewailing" and "lamenting" is curious.

27 See Sect. VIII. Note 4.

28 *Mo-yama*. No such mountain is now known.

29 *Awimi-gaha*. No such river is now known. According to the characters with which it is written the name signifies "Knot-grass-Seeing River."

30 Afterwards called Mino. This province probably received its name, as the author of the "Explanation of Japanese Names" suggests, from *mi nu*, *i.e.*, "three moors," from the large moors of Kagami, Awo, and Seki-ga-hara which it contains. The modern commentators prefer to derive it from ma nu, "true moor."

31 *Oho-ha-hari*. The name might also be rendered "Great Leaf-Mower." The translator has followed Hirata in omitting the *nigori* from the syllable *ka*.

32 *Kamudo-tsurugi*.

33 The meaning of the Song is: "Oh! this is *Aji-shihi-taka-hiko-ne*, whose refulgence, similar to that of the jewels worn by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven, shines afar across hills and valleys."—The translator does not follow those commentators who emend *ana-dama*, "hole-jewels" to *aka-dama*, "red," *i.e.* "resplendent jewels," as the frequent reference in this and the other ancient books to the string on which beads were strung, and the presence in ancient tombs, etc. of numbers of such beads with holes drilled through them (they are now known by the name of *kuda-dama*, *i.e.* "tube-jewels")renders such an emendation unnecessary The "Weaving Maiden in Heaven" is evidently, notwithstanding Motowori's endeavour to disprove the fact, the Chinese *Chih Nü*, a personification of α Lyrae, to whom there are countless allusions in Chinese literature, and who also became a frequent theme of the later Japanese poets.

34 Or, "barbarous style" Motowori endeavours to explain away the various names of styles of Songs found in the early literature by asserting that they are simply derived from the initial words of the Song in question, and that, For instance, in the present case, the title of Rustic Song was bestowed on

the poem only because in the "Chronicles" it is coupled with another which lends itself to such an interpretation. Moribe gives his sanction to this view; but, though it is difficult to explain many of the titles on any other theory, the translator thinks that it cannot be accepted as generally satisfactory in the face of the numerous cases which contradict it, and of which its supporters can give no satisfactory explanation. The whole subject of the titles, of the manner of singing, etc., of the ancient poems is Indeed, involved in obscurity.

[100]

[SECT. XXXII. —ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" 1 Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise all the Deities said: "He who is named the Deity Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended 2 and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling by the source of the Tranquil River of Heaven, is the one that should be sent: or if not this Deity, then this Deity's child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, 3 might be sent. Moreover, 4 owing to this Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended having blocked up and turned back the waters of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road blocked up, other Deities cannot go [thither]. So the Heavenly-Deer-Deity 5 should be sent specially to ask him." So then the Heavenly-Deer-Deity was sent to ask the Deity Heaven-Point-Blade-Extended, who replied, saying: "I will obey, and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless, on this errand 6 ye should send my 7 child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity," 8— [and with these words] immediately offered [his son to Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity]. So the Deity Heavenly-Bird-Boat 9 was attached to the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and they were sent off. Therefore, these two Deities, descending to the little shore 10 of Inasa 11 in the land of Idzumo, [101] drew their swords ten hand-breadths long, 12 stuck them upside down 13 on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged 14 on the points of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying "The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: 'We have deigned to charge our august child with thy dominion, the Central Land of Reed-Plains, as the land which he should govern. So how is thy heart?'" 15 He

replied, saying: "I 16 am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master 17 will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to Cape Miho 18 to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet returned." So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou] 19 respectfully present this land to the august child of the Heavenly Deity;"—and thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches, and disappeared. 20 So then they asked [102] the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "Thy son the Deity Thing-Sign-Master has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who should speak?" Hereupon he spoke again, saying: "There is my other son, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm. 21 There is none beside him." While he was thus speaking, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm came up, bearing on the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock, 22 and said: "Who is it that has come to our land, and thus secretly talks? If that be so, 23 I should like to have a trial of strength. So I should like to begin by taking thine august hand." So on his letting him take his august hand, his touch at once turned it into an icicle, and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade. 24 So then he was frightened and drew back. Then on the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity wishing to take the hand of the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed it as if it was taking a young reed, and cast it aside, upon which [the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm] fled away. So when [the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea of Suha 25 in the land of Shinanu, 26 and was about to slay him, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-

Land. I will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master. I Will yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains according to the command of the august child of the Heavenly Deities." So they returned again, and asked the Deity Master-of-the Great-Land [saying]: "Thy children the two Deities the Deity Thing-Sign-Master and the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm have said that they will follow and not go against the commands of the august child of the Heavenly Deities. So how is thy heart?" Then he replied, saying: According as the two Deities my children have said, I too will not go against them. In accordance with the [heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains. But as to my place of residence, if ye will make stout the temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of Heaven's sun, and will deign to establish me, I will hide in the eighty (less than a hundred) road-windings, and wait on him. Again, as for my children the hundred and eighty Deities, if the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be the Deities, august rear and van and will respectfully serve them, [104] there will be no disobedient Deities." [27] Having thus spoken [he hid himself. [28] So in accordance with his word, [29]] they built a heavenly august abode on the shore [30] of Tagishi [31] in the land of Idzumo; and the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits, [32] grandson of the Deity Of Water-Gates, [33] was made butler to offer up the heavenly august banquet, when, [34] having said prayers, the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits turned into a cormorant, went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red earth from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters, and, cutting sea-weed [35] stalks, made a fire-drill mortar, and made a fire-drill pestle out of stalks of *komo*, [36] and drilled out fire, saying: "This fire which I have drilled [105] will I burn until, in the Plain of High Heaven, the soot on

the heavenly new lattice of the gable of His Augustness the Wondrous-Divine-Producer-the-August-Ancestor [37] hang down eight hand-breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake down to the nethermost rock-bottom, and, —the fishing sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and landed the large-mouthed small-finned perch, —I will offer up the heavenly true fish-food so that the split bamboos bend." [38] So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity re-ascended [to Heaven], and reported how he had subdued and pacified the Central Land of Reed-Plains.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "to send again."

2 *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari no kami*. We have already seen (Sect. VIII, Note 15) this name (minus the title of Deity) as the appellation of the sword with which Izanagi ("the Male-Who-Invites") decapitated his son Kagu-tsu-chi ("Shining Elder") for having by his birth caused the death of Izanami ("the Female-Who-Invites.") This sword's alternative name appears immediately below as the alternative name of this deity, —*Ame-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami*, *i.e.*, "the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended." Motowori's gloss to the effect that the deity was the *spirit* of the sword has no warrant from the text.

3 *Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami*. See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

4 Here, as in Sect. IX, (Note 6) the character 且, "Moreover," occurs where some other Conjunction would seem more appropriate both in Japanese and in English. We may here understand it to be used for but."

5 *Ame-no-kaku-no-kami*. The interpretation of *kaku* as "deer" is Hirata's. See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXII, and *conf*. the

remarks on Mount Kagu in Sect. VII, Note 12 of this translation.

6 Literally, "in this road."

7 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant"

8 See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

9 Tori-bune-no-kami. See Sect. VI, Note 24.

10 The word "little" is merely a sort of Honorific Expletive.

11 The true etymology of this word is doubtful; for Motowori's proposal to derive it from *ina se*, supposed to mean "no, or yes" (諾否), in allusion to the question here put to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-land is a mere fancy, and does not provide for the alternative forms *Itasa* and *Isasa*, which occur in other documents.

12 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

13 *I.e.*, as Motowori explains, hilt downwards.

14 The "Chronicles" say that they "squatted."

15 *I.e.*, "What sayest thou to this our decree?

16 Here and below the humble character 僕, "servant," is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

17 *Ya-he-koto-shiro-nu-shi-no-kami*. For this difficult name see Sect. XXVI, Note 7.

18 See Sect. XXVII, Note 1.

19 Or, "We will."

20 *I.e.*, He capsized his boat and himself into the sea, —the place being one where (as is still done in Japan) a large space of shallow water had been fenced in with posts, and stuck over with branches of trees, a single opening being left for fish to enter by, —then clapped his hands in token of departure, and sank to the bottom. —This is Hirata's interpretation of the passage, which is a difficult one, and is differently understood by Motowori, whom Mr. Satow has followed in one of his notes to the Rituals (see Vol. VII, Pt. II, of these "Transactions"), rendering it thus: "He then trod upon the edge of his boat so as to overturn it and with his hands crossed back to back (in token of consent), transformed his boat into a green fence of branches, and disappeared." A careful comparison of the remarks in Motowori's Commentary (Vol. XIV,) with those in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (Vol. XXII) and with the text itself, as also with the text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," has however left no doubt in the mind of the translator that Hirata's view is the correct one.

21 *Take-mi-gata-no-kami*. The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori.

22 *I.e.*, a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

23 This expression seems here, as Motowori says, to be used in the sense of "Come on!" It has survived in the modern word *saraba*, which sometimes has that meaning.

24 *I.e.*, the Brave-Awful-Male-Deity's hand turned first into an icicle and next into a sword-blade on being touched by the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, to the alarm and hurt of the latter.

25 *I.e.*, the Lake of Suha. No satisfactory etymology of the name is forthcoming.

26 In later times called *Shinano*. The usual derivation of the word is that which connects it with *shina-zaka*; "mountainous ascents,"—an appropriate enough name for the province in question. It is, however. more probably derived from *shina*, the name of a tree resembling the lime (*Tilia cordata*) and *nu* or *no*, "moor."

27 *I.e.* "If ye will build me a temple founded on the nethermost rocks and reaching up to Heaven like unto the august residence of the Heavenly Deity who is coming to replace me as sovereign upon earth, I will vanish to Hades, and serve him there; and as for the Gods my children, none of them will rebel against their new Lord, if the Deity Thing-Sign-Master be accepted as the protector of his escort."—Some of the expressions in the original stand in need of explanation. *Su*, here rendered "nest" in accordance with the character 巢 employed in writing it, may mean "lattice" (簀), and refer to the lattice-work over the hole in the chimney of the roof. The "succession of Heaven's sun" (in Japanese *ama-tsu-hi-tsugi*) means the inheritance of the sovereignty of Japan, or of Idzumo. *Momotaradzu* ("less than a hundred") is the Pillow-Word for *ya se*, "eighty," and for some other words; it must he disregarded in making sense of any sentence in which it occurs. The "eighty road-windings" signify, says Motowori, "an immensely long way," and are here meant for the long road leading to Hades or for Hades itself (Conf. Sect. XCVI, Note 7). In rendering the last sentence of the passage (that commencing "Again, as for my children," etc.). which is particularly vague, the translator has been guided by Motowori's opinion, which seems the most satisfactory one. It must be understood that the

deities whose rear and van the Deity Thing-Sign-Master is to become, are those who are about to escort the new sovereign down from heaven.

28 *I.e.*, disappeared.

29 The passage placed within brackets is supplied by Motowori to fill up an evident omission in the text.

30 Literally "little shore." See Note 10 to this Section.

31 The derivation of *Tagishi* is doubtful; but *conf.* Sect. LXXIX, Note 2. Motowori remarks that we seem to have here the old name of the place now known only, on account of the temple which it contains, as *Kidzuki no Oho-yashiro*, *i.e.* "the pestle-hardened great shrine."

32 *Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami*. Motowori proposes to consider *tama* as a contraction of *tamuke*, "offering," and to take the name to signify "the Deity of Wondrous Increasing Offerings." Hirata's interpretation, which is followed in the translation, seems better, as the term "eight spirits" or "eight [fold] spirit" accords with the religious role attributed to this Deity without necessitating any hazardous philological conjectures. The actual character used to write the disputed word is 玉, "jewel."

33 See Sect. VI, Note 9.

34 The word "when" must be understood presumptively, as signifying that the way in which he carried out his task was by turning into a cormorant, making platters, etc.

35 It is uncertain whether the word *me* (海布), here rendered seaweed, is a general designation or the name of the particular species.

36 Supposed to be the same as, or similar to the modern *hondahara* (*Halochola macrantha*).

37 *Kamu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami*.

38 The translator has followed Moribe in the interpretation of the first part and Hirata in the interpretation of the latter part of this extremely difficult passage, which is a crux to all the commentators, but whose general sense at least is this: "I will continue drilling fire for the God's kitchen, until the soot hangs down from the roof of the temple of the Ancestral Deity in Heaven above, and until the earth below is baked down to its nethermost rocks; and with the fire thus drilled will I cook for him the fish brought in by the fishermen, and present them to him in baskets woven of split bamboos which will bend beneath their weight."—Another plausible interpretation of the original expression rendered by these last two words is that they are simply the Pillow-Word for *towowo-towowo ni*, "bending." The rope with which the fishermen are supposed to have angled is described in detail by Hirata ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXIV,) as a long rope from which other strings, each with a hook attached, depended, and is said by him to be still in use in the provinces of Shimofusa (Shimōsa) and Hitachi. The "lattice of the gable" must be understood to mean bamboo lattice covering a hole beneath the gable, which served as a chimney. Motowori's remarks on this passage will be found in Vol. XIV, of his Commentary, and Moribe's on the words *to-daru ama no nihi-su* (rendered "on the heavenly new lattice of the gable") in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II.; the latter especially are well worth perusal by the student. Mr. Satow, in one of the notes to his translation of the Rituals, (See Vol. IX, Pt. II, of these "Transactions"), gives a somewhat divergent rendering of this passage, following, as he does, the interpretation given by Motowori. It

is as follows: "The fire which I have drilled will I burn until the soot of the rich and sufficing heavenly new nest of the PARENT Kami-musubi in heaven hangs down many hand-breadths long, and the earth below will I bake down to its bottom-most rocks, and stretching a thousand fathoms of paper-mulberry rope, will draw together and bring ashore the fisherman's large-mouthed small-finned *suzuki*, [and] will offer up the heavenly fish-food on bending split bamboos."

[SECT. XXXIII. —THE AUGUST DESCENT FROM HEAVEN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS THE AUGUST GRANDCHILD.]

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrity-Deity [1] commanded and charged the Heir Apparent [2] His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears [3] [saying: The Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished-pacifying the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So do thou, in accordance with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I [4] have been getting ready to descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name is His August ness Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. [5] This child should be sent down." [[6]As for this august child, [7] he was augustly [107] joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess, [8] daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity, and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy [9] and next His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. [10]] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears [11] is the land over which thou shalt rule." So [he replied]: "I will descend from Heaven according to your commands." So when His Augustness-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of [108] Reed-Plains. So then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity and the

High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity 12 [saying]: Though thou art but a delicate female, thou art a Deity who conquers in facing Deities. 13 So be thou the one to go and ask thus: 'This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?'" 14 So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I 15 am an Earthly Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta. 16 The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as His Augustness's vanguard." 17 Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor, 18 in all five chiefs of companies, 19 they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-foot [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling, 20] and, also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, 21 and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener 22 of Eternal Night, 23 and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it was our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us." 24 Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu. 25 The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food. 26 is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi. 27 The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, 28—this Deity of the August Gate. 29 The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male, dwells in Sanagata. 30 Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord

(is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains); [31] His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen); [32] Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru [33]); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains); [34] His Augustness-jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains). [35]

Footnotes

1 *Taka-no-kami*. See Sect. XXXI, Note 13.

2 It will be remembered that this god was son of the Sun-goddess (or of her brother *Susa-no-wo*, "the Impetuous Male"; —see Sect. XII, Note 18, and also the first two sentences of Sect. XIV and the first sentence of Sect. XV). The characters rendered "Heir Apparent" are 太子, which form the usual Chinese equivalent of that term, and were borrowed by the Japanese. Motowori's reading of them as *Hi-tsugi-no-miko*, "Prince of the Sun's Succession," has no authority but his own patriotic fancy.

3 For this tremendous name see Sect. XIII, Note 18.

4 The humble character 僕, "servant" is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

5 *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mi-koto*. Excepting as regards the final *gi* of *ni-nigi*, which it is surely better with Hirata to consider as helping to form the word *nigi*, "plenty," than to take it as a separate word signifying "lord," as Motowori does, the translation follows Motowori's interpretation of the various component parts of this tremendous name, which is mostly abbreviated to its latter portion. It is precisely to this latter portion (the syllables *hiko ho-no nigi*) that considerable doubt attaches. *Ho* might mean "fire" rather than "rice-ears," and Motowori himself suggests that *ni-nigi* should perhaps be regarded as a

corruption of *nigi-kahi*, "plentiful spikes of grain," rather than as "ruddy plenty." About the meaning of the rest of the name there cannot be much doubt. "Heaven's Sun Height" must be under stood as an honorific designation signifying "high as the sun in heaven."

6 The translator puts this sentence between brackets because it is an evident interruption of the main story. Indeed, the edition of 1688 prints it as a note to the text. The grammar of it is curious, as, on a first reading, one would be tempted to suppose that this child," *i.e.*, His August *Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-amatsu-hi-doka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*, was the father of *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*. But the latter name is but an abbreviated form of the former, and the god could not be his own father. The meaning rather is (and such a construction is not so forced in Japanese as it sounds in English): "As for the parentage of this child, he was born of the marriage [of His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.] with Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-etc. Princess. There is, however, real confusion in the traditional genealogy, as the "Chronicles" make the deity in question father to His Augustness Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy, instead of younger brother.

7 Viz. His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.

8 *Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto*. Mabuchi, as quoted by Motowori, suggests that *yorodzu*, "myriad," should be connected with the word *yoroshi* "good," as signifying an extreme degree, the *ne plus ultra*. But, though perhaps a good guess at the origin in the word, it need not affect our estimate of its actual signification. The translator has, however, followed Mabuchi in considering the syllable *shi* as an apocopated form of *shima*, "island," and *Aki-dzu-shi*[*ma*] as having its usual signification of "Dragon-fly Island" (more literally "Island of the Autumn Insect") rather than accept Motowori's explanation of *shi* as representing the Verb *chijimu*,

"to be puckered," and of the whole compound *aki-dzu-shi* as signifying "crape like dragon-flies' wings." Not only is there no mention of crape in other passages of these "Records," but the derivation does not, to say the least, recommend itself on philological grounds.

9 *Ame-no-ho-akari-no-Mikoto*. The word rendered "ripe" will bear equally well the interpretation "red."

10 *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*, the abbreviated form of the name in Note 6.

11 *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-hono-kuni*. This periphrastic synonym of Japan has appeared under a slightly shorter form in Sect. IX (Note 18).

12 *Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami*, the goddess whose loud, bold merriment was the chief cause of the Sun-Goddess emerging from her retreat in the Cavern (see Sect XVI, Note 28).

13 *I.e.*, "The brazen-facedness allows thee to stare others out of countenance, and make them uneasy."

14 Between this sentence and the next, the Alarming-Female-Deity must be supposed to have gone on her embassy and to have delivered the message with which she had been entrusted.

15 Written 僕, literally "servant."

16 *Saruta-biko-no-kami*. This is Motowori's reading. The more usual reading is *Saruda-hiko*, transposing the *nigori*. Hirata prefers to read *Sada-biko*, and takes *Saruda* or *Sada* to be the name of a place, which Indeed, seems the most acceptable view. The name actually signifies "monkey field." Motowori's interpretation of its import is a marvellous example of

Japanese etymological gymnastics (see Vol. XV, of his Commentary). Moribe's derivation from *sari-hate-hiko* (避果彦) is no better.

17 Or "guide."

18 For these five names and for the Deity Thought-Includer and the [Heavenly] Hand-Strength-Male-Deity mentioned a few lines further on, see Sect. XVI, Notes 15, 16, 28. 12, 13, 7, and 27 respectively.

19 *Tomo-no-wo*. This expression is here taken to refer to the various offices assumed by the five deities in question at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun-Goddess into the cave. It signifies properly the head of a company.

20 The allusion is to the story in Sect. XVI. Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, points out that it was only the mirror which allured the goddess from the cave. In the Japanese original of this passage, however, even more than in the English translation, the expression "that had allured" is made to both objects.

21 Obtained from the tail of the Serpent of Koshi. See the story in Sect. XVIII.

22 *Ame-no-iha-to-wake-no-kami*. Hirata observes that this must not be considered as the name of an independent Deity, but be taken simply as an alternative name of *Ame-no-jikara-wo-no-kami* (the "Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity"). The part taken by this Deity in the legend narrated in Sect. XVI. seems a sufficient warrant for such an opinion, though a little lower down in this Section the two are again mentioned separately.

23 *Toko-yo*. These words, which, according to the rules of Japanese construction, are placed at the commencement of the clause, must be

understood to apply either to the three gods collectively or to the first-mentioned (the Deity Thought-Includer) alone.

24 Or "worshipping before us," or "in our presence." The strictly logical concordance of an English sentence makes it appear as if the mirror were to be taken to represent the spirit of both Deities whose names are subjects of the first clause. In Japanese, however, all such concordances are much more loosely observed, and it is only the spirit of the Sun-Goddess that we must understand to be here intended.

25 *Isuzu* (literally "fifty bells," or else perhaps the name of a kind of grass with which the neighbourhood may originally have been overgrown) is the name of the site of the "Inner Temple" of Ise. It is in the Japanese text preceded by the Pillow-Word *saku-kushiro*, literally "rent bracelet." See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" *s. v*.

26 *Toyo-uke-no-kami*, the same as *Toyo-uke-bime* (see Sect. VII, Note 6). The mention of: this goddess in this place is curious, as she would not seem to be connected with the legend. Motowori, however, supposes that it is through some accidental omission that she does not figure in the list of deities said to have accompanied the heaven-descended Sovereign.

27 This name signifies "meeting when crossing" or "crossing to meet", and is connected by the commentators with an unimportant tradition, for which see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XV.

28 These two names are in the original *Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami* and *Toyo-iha-mado-no-kami*. The tradition in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story" makes them two separate deities.

29 Viz. of the gate or gates of the Imperial Palace.

30 Etymology obscure.

31 *Nakatomi no murazhi*. *Nakatomi* is taken by Motowori to be a contraction of *naka-tori-omi*, and by Mabuchi to be a contraction of *naka-tori-omi*, either of which may be freely rendered "middlemen," "intercessors," referring to the religious functions which were hereditary in this family. See "Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification," Vol. II.)

32 *Imibe no obito*. *Imibe* is derived from *imu*, "to avoid," *i.e.* "to abstain from," and *mure*, "a flock" or "collection of persons," "a clan," and refers to the religious duties of this hereditary class of priests, which naturally required their avoidance of all ceremonial uncleanness. The word "priest" would fairly, though freely, represent the meaning of the compound.

33 *Saru me no kimi*. For the traditional origin of this name see Sect. XXXV. These "duchesses" were priestesses: but it is a matter of dispute between the commentators whether the title was simply an official one, or hereditary in the female line.

34 *Kagami-tsukuri no murazhi*. Of this family nothing would seem to be known.

35 *Tama-no-ya* (or *Tama n'Oya*) *no murazhi*. But the name should probably be *Tama-tsukuri no murazhi*, *i.e.* "Jewel-Making Chieftains," a "gentile name" which is found in the later literature. Perhaps, however, we should understand both this means and the previous one to be simple inventions by names, of which divine ancestry was claimed for the hereditary guilds of jewellers and mirror-makers.

[SECT. XXXIV. —THE AUGUST REIGN IN HIMUKA OF HIS AUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY.] 1

So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded 2 His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat, 3 pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven, 4 and descended from Heaven onto the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsu-kushi. 5 [112] So His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness 6 and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes, 7 both 8 taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers, 9 taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords, 10 taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow, 11 and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness 12 (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords) 13 Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite to the "land of Kara." 14 One comes straight across to the august Cape of Kasasa; 15 and it is a land whereon [113] the morning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place." 16 Having thus spoken, he made stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven, 17 and dwelt there.

Footnotes

1 Motowori makes Sect. XXXIV commence here, and it seems on the whole best to follow him in so doing, as the entire period of the reign on earth of the first of the heaven-descended gods is thus included in one

Section. On the other hand, the "Descent from Heaven," which gives its name to the preceding Sect., cannot properly be said to be accomplished until the end of this first sentence of Sect. XXXIV. It will be remembered that the Japanese name of this first deity-king is (in its abbreviated and most commonly used form) *Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi*.

2 Motowori proposes to suppress the character 詔, "commanded," in this clause, and the character 而, "and," at the beginning of the next, and to take the Prince as the subject of the whole sentence. This would be convenient; but the characters 詔and 而are in all the texts.

3 *I.e.*, his place in Heaven. The original Japanese of the term is *ama-no-ikakura*.

4 The translator has adopted the interpretation proposed by Hirata, the only commentator who gives an acceptable view of this extremely difficult clause, which Motowori admitted that he did not understand. It must be remembered that Hirata identifies the "Floating Bridge of Heaven" with the "Heavenly Rock-Boat." (For details see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXVII).

5 Tsukushi, anciently the name of the whole of the large island forming the South-Western corner of Japan, and Himuka (in modern pronunciation Hiuga), one of the provinces into which that island is divided, have already been mentioned in Sect. V, Note 14 and Sect. X, Note 4 respectively. It is uncertain whether the mountain here named is the modern Takachiho-yama or Kirishima-yama, but the latter view is generally preferred. *Kuzhifuru* is explained (perhaps somewhat hazardously) as meaning "wondrous," while *Taka-chi-ho* signifies "high-thousand-rice-ears."

6 *Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto*. The interpretation is only conjectural.

7 *Ama-tsu-kume no mikoto*. The traditional origin of this curious name will be found below in the third and fourth Songs of Sect. LI (see Notes 21 and 22 to that Section), where the "sharp slit eyes" of this worthy are specially referred to. But Moribe seems to prove that *kume* is in reality not a personal name at all, but simply the old term for "army," through a misconception of the original import of which has arisen the idea that Oho-kume and Oho-tomo were two distinct personages. The elaborate and interesting note on this subject in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II., is well worth consulting. The only point in which the present writer differs from him is with regard to the etymology of the word *kume*, which Moribe connects with *kumi*, "a company," and *kuma*, "a bravo," whereas in the opinion of the former it is probably nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word *chun* (軍) modern Japanese *gun*, "army," "troops."

8 The Auxiliary Numeral here used is that properly denoting human beings, not deities, *futari* (二人), instead of *futa-hashira* (二柱).

9 In Japanese *ama no iha-yugi*.

10 This is the generally received interpretation of the obscure original term *kabu-tsuchi* (or *kabu-tsutsui*) *no tachi*, the parallel term *ishi-tsutsui* being understood to mean "a mallet-headed sword made of stone." (Both names appear below in the Song at the end of Sect. XLVIII, Note 4). Moribe, however, in his "*Idzu no Chi-waki*," rejecting the opinion that any part of the swords was made of stone, explains *kabu-tsutsui* in the sense of "broad-tempered" and *ishi-tsutsui* in that of "hard-tempered."

11 For the bows and arrows here mentioned see XXXI. Note 5.

12 *Ohotomo no murazhi*, a common "gentile name" down to historical times. Oho-tomo means "numerous companies "or "large tribe," in allusion, as Moribe supposes, to the force of which the personage here mentioned was the general.

13 *Kume no atahe*. *Conf*. Note 7.

14 Or *Kan* according to the Sinico-Japanese reading. We might render it in English by Korea. The Chinese character is 韓.

15 Etymology uncertain. An alternative form of this name, which is preserved in the "Chronicle," is *Nagasa*, which Hirata thinks may stand for *Nagasaki*.

16 This is the sense of the original Japanese text of this passage as literally as it can be rendered, and so the older editors understood it. Motowori however, though not daring actually to alter the characters, assumes that they are corrupt, and in his kane rendering gives us this instead: "Thereupon, passing searchingly through a bare-backed empty country, he arrived at the august cape of Kasasa, and said: 'This land is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, etc.'" His evident reason for wishing to alter the reading is simply and solely to conceal the fact that Korea is mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age, *i.e.* long before the epoch of its so-called revelation and conquest by the Empress Jin-go (see Sect. XCVI to XCVIII). That the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" lends some sanction to his view is no excuse for so dishonest a treatment of the text he undertakes to commentate; for the "Records" and the "Chronicles "often differ greatly in the: accounts they have preserved. One of Motowori's arguments is that, as Kasasa is said to have been in the province of Hiuga, it could not have been

opposite to Korea, seeing that Hiuga faces east and not west. He here forgets that a little later on in his own same Commentary (Vol. XVII) he asserts that Hiuga in ancient times included the provinces of Ohosumi and Satsuma, the latter of which does face west.

17 *I.e.*, he built himself a palace to dwell in (Conf. Sect. XXXII, Note 27).

[SECT. XXXV. —THE DUCHESS OF SARU.]

So then he charged Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female [saying]: "Do thou, who wast the one to make known this Great Deity Prince of Saruta who respectfully served as my august vanguard, [1] respectfully escort him [back]; and do thou likewise bear the august name of that Deity, and respectfully serve me." Wherefore the Duchesses of Saru bear the name of the Male Deity the Prince of Saruta, and the women are Duchesses of Saru. [2]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. XXXIII from a little before Note 11 to Note 17.

2 *Q.d.*, instead of the men being Dukes, as would be more natural. The title was confined to females (see Sect. XXXIII. Note 33).

[SECT. XXXVI. —THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA.]

Now when this Deity Prince of Saruta dwelt at Azaka, 1 he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a *hirabu* shell-fish, 2 and was drowned in the brine of the sea. So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was the Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit; 3 the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was the Gurgling-up-August-Spirit; 4 the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was the Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit. 5 Thereupon [Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female], having escorted [back] the Deity Prince of Saruta, came back, 6 and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin, 7 and asked them, saying: "Will ye respectfully serve the august son of the "Heavenly Deities? "—upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the bèche-de-mer said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the bèche-de-mer, saying: "Ah! this mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!"—and [with these words] slit the mouth with her stiletto. 8 So at the present day the [115] bèche-de-mer has a slit mouth. Wherefore [from august reign to] august reign, when the offerings of the first-fruits of Shima 9 are presented [to the Emperor], a portion of them is granted to the Duchesses of Saru.

Footnotes

1 Etymology unknown.

2 What species was denoted by this ancient name is not clear; but one of Motowori's suggestion, to the effect that it may have been identical with the

modern *sarubo-yahi* (a shell of a family *Arcadæ*, probably *Arca subcrenata*), the origin of whose name would thus be traced up to the mythological age, is at least ingenious.

3 *Soko-daku-mi-tama*.

4 *Tsubu-tatsu-mi-tama*.

5 *Aka-saku-mi-tama*. *Saku* might be translated by "opening," "forming," etc. It is the same word as that used to express the blossoming of a flower.

6 The characters rendered "came back "are 還到. Motowori and Hirata believe 還to be put erroneously for 罷, which would give the sense of "arrived there," and would thus enable us to locate the episode of the fishes at Ise instead of in Hiuga, which would better suit the concluding clause of this Section narrating the participation of the Duchesses of Sara in the' first-fruits of the province of Shims. If the word Shima however here means, not the province of that name, but simply "islands" in general, there is nothing to be gained by the pro-posed emendation, which has Moreover, no sanction from any text; and it may be added that no notice is to be found in any history of the custom here said to have existed.

7 *I.e.* all the fishes both great and small.

8 Literally, "small string-sword," supposed to have been so called from its having been carried inside the garments, attached to the under-belt.

9 The smallest of the Japanese provinces, situated to the East of Ise. The name signifies "island," and it is possible that it ought here to be taken in that sense as a common noun.

[SECT. XXXVII. —THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty met a beautiful person at the august cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor, 1 and my name is the Divine-Princess-of-Ata, 2 another name by which I am called being Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees." 3 Again he asked: "Hast thou any brethren?" 4 She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks." 5 Then he charged her, [saying]: "Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum. Tibi quomodo videtur?" She replied, saying: "I 6 am not able to say. My father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor will say." So he sent a request [for her] to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her [116] elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred. 7 So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night. Then the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message [to His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], saying: "My reason for respectfully presenting both my daugther together was that, by sending Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring 8 of the Heavenly Deity, 9 though the snow 10 fall and the wind blow, might live eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again that by sending Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, [they] might live

flourishingly like unto the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to insure this, [11] I offered [12] them. But owing to thy thus sending back [13] Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail [14] as the flowers of the trees. So it is for this [117] reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns [15] are not long.

Footnotes

1 See Sect. VI. Note 17.

2 *Kamu-ata-tsu-hime*. *Ata* is a place in Satsuma.

3 Or "Tree." *Ka-no-hama-saku-ya-hime*. Perhaps (though there is no native authority for doing so) we might rather understand *saku* as a Causative in intention, though not in form, and render the name thus: "Princess-Causing-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Blossom." The tree alluded to is doubtless the cherry. This deity is now worshipped as the goddess of Mount Fuzhi (Fusiyama), and in common parlance the last member of the compound forming her name does not receive the *nigori*, —*hime* instead of *bime*. The syllable *ya* has no signification in this and similar names. It will be remembered that there was another sister named "Princess-Falling-like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. (See Sect. XX, Note 5).

4 Or perhaps, so written 兄弟, the original expression were here better rendered by "sister."

5 *I.e.*, as enduring as the rocks. The original name is *Iha-naga-hime*.

6 The character used here and immediately below for the First Personal Pronoun is 僕"servant."

7 *I.e.*, every kind of goods as a dowry for his daugther.

8 The usual word child (子)is employed in the text; but it here almost certainly has, as Motowori suggests, a more extended meaning, and signifies the posterity of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty generally, *i.e.* the Emperors of Japan. The vaguer term "offspring "is Therefore, nearer to the author's intention.

9 *I.e.*, either of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, There is no difference in the sense, whichever of these two deities we take the speaker to refer to. The Sun-Goddess was his ancestress, and he was ancestor of the Japanese Emperors.

10 Or "snow and rain," the reading being uncertain.

11 Or "having sworn this," or "pledged [myself to the accomplishment of] this."

12 The Chinese characters used are those properly denoting the presenting of tribute.

13 Motowori (proposes an emendation in this passage of 此令to 爾今which would not materially alter the sense.

14 The precise meaning of the syllables *a-ma-hi-no-mi*, here rendered by the words "but as frail "in accordance with Motowori's and Moribe's tentative interpretation, is extremely obscure. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles "is 木華之移落, *i.e.* "fading and falling like the flowers of the trees."

15 The characters rendered "Heavenly Sovereign" are 天皇, a common Japanese designation of the Emperor. It would, especially in the later

volumes of this work where the expression is repeated on almost every page, be more convenient to translate by the single word "Emperor." But the commentators lay great stress on the high significance of the component portions of the title, which, they contend, was not borrowed from China, but was first used in Japan. It is first met with in Chinese history in the middle of the seventh century of our era, just early enough Indeed, for it to have been borrowed before the time of the compilation of these "Records." But as there was no difficulty in putting together the two component parts "Heavenly, Sovereign," it is possible that the contention of the Japanese commentators is correct. The ancient pure native term seems to have been *Sumera-mikoto*, for which Mr. Satow has proposed the rendering of "Sovereign Augustness."

[SECT. XXXVIII. —THE AUGUST CHILD-BEARING OF PRINCESS-BLOSSOMING BRILLIANTLY-LIKE-THE-FLOWERS-OF-THE-TREES.]

So later on Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees waited on [1] [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, and said: "I [2] am pregnant, and now the time for my delivery approaches. "It is not fit for me to be delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately; [3] so I tell thee." Then [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] said: "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly! [4] what! pregnant after one night! [5] It cannot be my child. It must surely be the child of an Earthly Deity." [6] Then she replied, saying: "If the child with [118] which I am pregnant be the child of an Earthly Deity, my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be the august child of the Heavenly Deity, [7] it will be fortunate;"—and thereupon she built a hall eight fathoms [long] without doors, [8] went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance] with earth; and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered. [9] So the name of the child that was born when the fire was burning most fiercely was His Augustness Fire-Shine [10] (this is the ancestor of the Hayabito, Dukes of Ata); [11] the name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Climax; [12] the august [13] name of the child born next was His Augustness [119] Fire-Subside, [14] another name for whom is His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears [15] (three Deities in all). [16]

Footnotes

1 More literally "came to"; but the character which is employed implies that her visit was to a superior.

2 Written with the character 妾, a "concubine" or "handmaid," a common self-depreciatory equivalent of the First Personal Pronoun in Chinese, when the speaker is a woman.

3 *I.e.* "secretly," "without telling thee."

4 In this one instance only is the name thus abbreviated. Motowori supposes it to be on account of the scorn implied in the god's words

5 Literally, "one sojourn."

6 See Sect. I, Note 11. Here of course one of the gods of the same country-side is meant.

7 *I.e.* "thy child and the Sun-Goddess descendant."

8 That is to say that it remained doorless after she had, as stated immediately below, plastered up the entrance.

9 Viz. of child, not from the flames. There is no ambiguity in the Japanese expression.

10 *Ho-deri-na-mikoto*.

11 *Hayabito-ata-no-kimi*. Ata is, as has been already stated in Note 2 to Sect. XXXVII, the name of a place in Satsuma. *Haya-bito* ("swift men," "bold men," literally, if we follow the Chinese characters "falcon men") was an ancient designation of the inhabitants of the south-western corner of Japan which was subsequently divided into the provinces of Satsuma and Ohosumi, and came by metonymy to be used to denote the province of Satsuma itself, for which reason it remained as the Pillow-Word for the word Satsuma even after the exclusive use of this latter name had been established. In after times the *hayabito* (also contracted to *hayato* and *haito*)

were chiefly known as forming the Infantry of the Imperial Guard, a curious choice of provincials for which mythological sanction was invoked. They are also said to have furnished the performers of a symbolic dance mentioned at the end of Sect. XLI (see Note 3 to that Sect.) In later Sections of this work, the translator has ventured to render *hayabito* by "man-at-arms."

12 *Ho-suseri-no-mikoto*.

13 The Honorific is doubtless prefixed in this case and not in the others, because it was to this prince or deity that the Imperial House traced its descent. Motowori's *kana* reading, which prefixes Honorifics to all such names indifferently, obliterates this delicate distinction.

14 *Ho-wori-no-mikoto*. The derivation of this name is less clear than that of his elder brothers. Motowori's proposal to consider it as a corruption of *ho-yohari*, "fire weakening," is however plausible; and as this triad of names is evidently intended to paint the stages in the progress of the conflagration, the import of the third must be something very like what Motowori suggests, even if his guess at the original form of the word be not quite correct. The names of all three brethren differ more or less in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles ".

15 *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto*. The interpretation of the last four members of this compound name is extremely doubtful.

16 The actual word in the text is not *kumi*, "deity," but its Auxiliary Numeral *hashira*.

[SECT. XXXIX. —THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OF LUCK.]

So His Augustness Fire-Shine was a prince who got his luck [1] on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. His Augustness Fire-Subside was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside said to his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine: "Let us mutually exchange, and use each other's luck." [Nevertheless,], though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not accede [to it]; but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish; and Moreover, he lost the fish-hook in the sea. Thereupon his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine asked him for the fish-hook, saying: "A mountain-luck is a luck of its own, and a sea-luck is a luck of its own. Let each of us now restore [to the other] his luck." [2] To which the younger brother His Augustness Fire-Subside replied, saying: "As for thy fish-hook, I did not get a single fish by angling with it; and at last I lost it in the sea." But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So the younger brother, breaking his ten grasp sabre [3] that was augustly girded [120] on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not receive them, saying: "I still want the real original fish-hook."

Footnotes

1 For the archaic Japanese work *sachi*, here rendered "luck," there is no satisfactory English equivalent. Its original and most usual signification is

"luck," "happiness; "then that which a man is lucky in or skilful at, —his "*forte*; "and Finally, that which he procures by his luck or skill and the implements which he uses in procuring it. The exchange negotiated below was doubtless that of the bow and arrows of one deity for the other deity's fish-hook.

2 *I.e.*, "Some men are naturally good hunters, and others naturally good fishermen. Let us Therefore, restore to each other the implements necessary to the successful following of our respective avocations."—The clause rendered "Let each of us now restore to the other his luck "is a little confused in the original; but the *kana* readings both old and new agree in interpreting it as has here been done.

3 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

[SECT. XL. —THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon, as the younger brother was weeping and lamenting by the sea-shore, the Deity Salt-Possessor [1] came and asked him, saying: "What is the cause of the Sky's-Sun-Height's [2] weeping and lamentation? "He replied, saying: "I had exchanged a fish-hook with my elder brother, [3] and have lost that fish-hook; and as he asks me for it, I have given him many fish-hooks as compensation; but he will not receive them, saying, 'I [121] still want the original fish-hook.' So I weep and lament for this." Then the Deity Salt-Possessor said: "I will give good counsel to Thine Augustness;"—and there-with built a stout little boat without interstices, [4] and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: "When I shall have pushed the boat off, go on for sometime. There will be a savoury august road; [5] and if thou goest in the boat along that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes' scales, —which is the palace of the Deity, Ocean-Possessor. [6] When thou reachest the august gate of that deity ['s palace], there will be a multitudinous[-ly branching] cassia-tree [7] above the well at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the Sea-Deity's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee." So following [these] instructions, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] went a little [way], and everything happened as [the Deity Salt-Possessor] had said; and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the hand-maidens of the Sea-Deity's daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, [8] bearing jewelled vessels, were about to draw water, there was a light in the well. [9] On looking up, there was a beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. [122] Then His Augustness Fire-Subside saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it into a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then,

without drinking the water, he loosened the jewel at his august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel. Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from the vessel]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it, and presented it to Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess. Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her hand-maidens, saying: "Is there perhaps some one outside the gate?" They replied, saying: "There is some one sitting on the top of the cassia-tree above our well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illustrious even than our king. Lo, as he begged for water, we respectfully gave him water; but, without drinking the water, he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to separate this [from the other], 10 we have brought [the vessel] with [the jewel] in it to present to thee." Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted at the sight. They exchanged glances, after which she spoke to her father, saying: "There is a beautiful person at our gate." Then the Sea-Deity him-self went out to look, and saying: "This person is the Sky's-Sun-Height, the august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height," 11 led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of sea-asses 12 skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred, 13 made an august banquet, and forthwith gave him his daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess in marriage. So he dwelt in that land for three years. Hereupon His Augustness Fire-Subside [123] thought of what had gone before, 14 and heaved one 15 deep sigh. So Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: "Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause of it?" The Great Deity her father asked his son-in-law saying: "This morning I

heard my daughter speak, saying: 'Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh.' What may the cause be? Moreover, what was the cause of thy coming here?" Then [His Augustness Fire-Subside] told the Great Deity exactly how his elder brother had pressed him for the lost fish-hook. Thereupon the Sea-Deity summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: "Is there perchance any fish that has taken this fish-hook?" So all the fishes replied: "Lately the *tahi* [16] has complained of something sticking in its throat [17] preventing it from eating; so it doubtless has taken [the hook]." On the throat of the *tahi* being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to His Augustness Fire-Subside, whom the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor then instructed, saying: "What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to thine elder brother [is as follows]: 'This fish-hook is a big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook.' [18] Having [thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back hand. [19] [124] Having done thus, —if thine elder brother make high fields, [20] do Thine Augustness make low fields; and if thine elder brother make low fields, do Thine Augustness make high fields. If thou do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel [21] to drown him. If he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to let him live. Thus shalt thou harass him." With these words, [the Sea-Deity] gave [to His Augustness Fire-Subside] the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, —two in all, —and forthwith summoned together all the crocodiles, [22] and asked them, saying: "The Sky's-Sun-Height, august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height, is now about to proceed out to the Upper-Land. [23] Who will in how many days respectfully escort him, and bring back

a report?" 24 So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days, —one of them, a crocodile one fathom [long], saying: "I 25 will escort him, and come back in one day." So then [the Sea-Deity] [125] said to the crocodile one fathom [long]: "If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing the middle of the sea, do not alarm him!" 26 Forthwith he seated him upon the crocodile's head, and saw him off. So [the crocodile] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the crocodile was about to return, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] untied the stiletto 27 which was girded on him, and, setting it on the crocodile's neck, 28 sent [the latter] back. So the crocodile one fathom [long] is now called the Deity Blade-Possessor. 29

Footnotes

1 *Shiho-tsuchi no kami*. The view of the meaning of this name which has here been taken is founded on the persistent use in all documents of the character 盬, "salt," to write the first element of the compound, and of varying characters to write the syllables *tsu* and *chi*, an indication that the latter are to be taken phonetically and may Therefore, be interpreted to signify *tsu mochi*, "possessor of," as in numerous other instances. The fact that this god is known as the god of salt-manufacturers (see Tanigaha Shinsei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" Vol. VII) adds another reason for rejecting both Motowori's far-fetched derivation of the name for *Shiri-oho-tsu-mochi*, "Great Possessor of Knowledge," and his assertion that it denotes no individual deity, but anyone gifted with superior wisdom.

2 *Sora-tsu-hi-daka*. It will be remembered that *Ama-tsu-hi-daka*, "Heaven's-Sun-Height," was the first part of Prince Fire-Subsides's alternative name (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 15). The distinction between these two almost

identical appellations would seem to be that the former is used of the Heir Apparent, the latter of the reigning sovereign. Both were Therefore, equally applicable to Prince Fire-Subside; and while that which he eventually bore is mentioned where his names are first given he is naturally spoken of in this place, when his father may be supposed to have been still living, by that variation of the name properly marking the Heir Apparent. These names, *Ama-tsu-hi-daka* and *Sora-tsu-hi-daka*, will be met with again below applied to other personages.

3 *I.e.*, "I had received a fish-hook from my elder brother in exchange for a bow." The text is here concise to obscurity.

4 *I.e.*, as is supposed, a punt or tub made of strips of bamboo plaited so tightly that no water could find its way in between them.

5 *I.e.*, simply "a pleasant road." *Michi*, "a road" is properly a compound, — *mi-chi*, "august road,"—the single syllable *chi* being the most archaic Japanese word for "road." It is in this place written 御路, showing that the etymology was not yet quite forgotten at the time of the compilation of these "Records." Generally, however, throughout the work we have 路or 道 alone.

6 See Sect. VI, Note 8, where the Adjective "Great" is prefixed to the name.

7 See Sect. XXXI, Note 10.

8 *Toyo-tama-hime*.

9 The character 光properly "light," "refulgence," is here taken by Motowori in the precisely opposite sense of "shadow" (the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" having 人影"human shadow"), and his view is absolved from unreasonableness by the fact of the confusion between light and shade

which has always existed in Japanese phraseology. Thus *hi-kage* may signify either "sunlight" or "a shadow cast by the sun." It is safest, however, to adhere to the Chinese characters employed by the author; and in this special instance we may well suppose him to have intended to say that a celestial light shone from the body of the god in question. Such an idea is not foreign to classical Japanese ways of thought and expression. See also Sect. XLVI, Note 9-10.

10 Or, taking the character 是 as an initial Particle, "So, as we were not able to separate [one from the other]."

11 See Note 2 to this Section.

12 This is a literal translation of the Chinese characters 海驢, by which the Archaic word *michi*, here written phonetically, is elsewhere represented. Perhaps the sea-lion (*Otaria arsina*) or a species of seal may be intended.

13 See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

14 Literally, "thought of the first things."

15 As the character for "one" is thrice repeated in this passage, Motowori is probably right in saying that it should be given its proper signification, and the translator Therefore, renders it by the Numeral "one" rather than by the Indefinite Article "a."

16 Pronounced *tai* in modern parlance. Perhaps we should rather add *aka-dahi*, "red *tahi*," as in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." Both these fishes belong to the family *Sparoidei*, the former being the *Pagrus cardinalis*, the latter probably the P. *major*.

17 Or, "of a fish-bone in its throat."

18 Tanigaha Shisei, quoting from Urabe no Kaneyoshi, comments thus on the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," where the whole of this legend is given several times in slightly varying forms: "By big hook is meant one that will not serve its purpose [because too big]; eager signifies that which [endeavours to, but] cannot advance; silly means unintelligent; hence we have a hook which, not serving its purpose, will be of no use whatever, but rather a road to lead [him who possesses it] to poverty. Poor outwardly, and inwardly silly, he will be the most useless creature in the Empire." It should be noted, however, that Motowori interprets in the sense of "gloomy," and Moribe in the sense of "drowning," the phonetically written and obscure word obo, here rendered "great."

19 *I.e.*, "with thy hand behind thy back." This is supposed by the commentators to have been a sort of charm by which evil was averted from the person of him who practised it, and they point out that Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") brandished his sword behind him when he was pursued by the hosts of Hades (see Sect. IX, Note 15).

20 By "high fields "and "low fields "are meant respective upland rice-fields where the rice is planted in the dry, and "paddy-fields" properly so called, where the rice perpetually stands in the water. Different varieties of rice are used for these different methods of culture.

21 *Shiho mitsu tama*. The "tide-ebbing jewel "mentioned in the next sentence is in the Japanese *shiho hiru tama*.

22 See Introduction, Note 41.

23 *Uha tsu kuni*, 國上.

24 *I.e.*, "Which of you will most speedily escort him home to the upper world, and bring back news of his safe arrival there?"

25 Written with the respectful 僕, "servant."

26 There is in, this sentence a character 若, which is hard to explain if read *moshi*, "if," as usual in Japanese. Probably, however, it simply stands for 汝 "thou," and we might translate thus: "While thou art crossing," etc.

27 See Sect. XXXVI, Note 8.

28 *I.e.*, probably, tying it round the crocodile's neck.

29 *Saki-mochi-no-kami*. "Blade "is the probable signification of *sahi* or *sabi*, though this particular proper name is written in the "Chronicles" with the Chinese character 鋤, "hoe" or "mattock." Here the syllables *sa hi* are written phonetically.

[125]

[SECT. XLI. —SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE.]

Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother], exactly according to the Sea-Deity's words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer, and poorer, and, with renewed savage intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack [His Augustness Fire-Subside, the latter] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him; on his expressing grief, he put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head, [1a] saying: "I [2a] henceforward will be Thine Augustness's guard by day and night, and respectfully serve thee." So down to the present day his various posturings when drowning is ceaselessly served up. [3a]

Footnotes

1a *I.e.*, "did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground." The Old Printed Edition has 稽白instead 稽首白, and the *kana* gloss *kamugahemausu*, *i.e.* "reflected, and said": but this reading, though interesting, is less good.

2a Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

3a *I.e.*, "Prince Fire-Shine's descendants the *Hayabito* (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11) still constantly perform before the Court dances and posturings symbolical of the antics which their divine ancestor went through for the amusement of his younger brother, after the latter had saved him from drowning. "One account" in the "Chronicles" relates these antics at full, telling us that they represented the straits to which he was put as the waters gradually rose higher and higher; and we learn from other passages in the

same work and in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued" that the *Hayabito* did really down to historical times combine the office of Court Jesters with that of Imperial Guardsmen.

[126]

[SECT. XLII. —THE PARTURITION-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS]

Hereupon the Sea-Deity's daughter Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess herself waited on 1b [His Augustness Fire-Subside], and said: "I 2b am already with child, and the time for my delivery now approaches. But me-thought that the august child of a Heavenly Deity 3b ought not to be born in the Sea-Plain. 4 So I have waited on thee here." 5 Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore she built a parturition-hall, 6 using cormorants' feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed, 7 she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-hall. Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband 8 [saying]: "Whenever a foreigner is about to be delivered, she takes the shape of her native land to be delivered. 9 So I now will take my native shape to be delivered. Pray look not upon [127] me!" Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside], thinking these words strange, stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a crocodile 10 eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about; and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away. Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess knew that he had peeped; and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: 'I had wished always to come and go across the sea-path. 11 But thy having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-faced," 12—and she forthwith closed the sea-boundary, 13 and went down again. 14 Therefore, the name by which the august child whom she had borne was called was his Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely. 15 Nevertheless, afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she

entrusted to her younger sister Jewel-Good-Princess, [16] on the occasion of her nursing the august child, [17] a Song to be presented [to His [128] Augustness Fire-Subside]. The Song said:

"As for red jewels, though even the string [they are strung on] shines, the aspect of [my] lord [who is] like unto white jewels is [more] illustrious." [18]

Then her husband replied by a Song, which said:

"As for my younger sister, whom I took to sleep [with me] on the island where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing, I shall not forget her till the end of my life." [19]

So His Augustness-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears [20] dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years [21] His august mausoleum [22] is likewise on the west of Mount Takachiho.

Footnotes

1b For "waited on "see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 1. The word "herself" (自 *midzukara*) has no particular force or meaning in the Japanese original, where it is simply placed in imitation of the Chinese style.

2b See Sect. XXXVIII, Note 2.

3b Or "of *the* Heavenly Deity," *i.e.*, "thyself." But it seems better to understand the speaker to intimate that it would be unfitting for one who properly belonged to Heaven to be born in the sea, which was another country or kingdom.

4 *I.e.*, in the sea.

5 Literally "come out and arrived."

6 It has been noticed in the Introduction, that in early Japan a parturient woman was expected to build for herself a special hut in which to give birth to her child.

7 Or, completely put on; literally, "thatched [so as] to meet."

8 The text here has 日子"prince," literally "sun-child," and so the older editors understood the expression. The translator, however, prefers Motowori's view, according to which the character 遲should be supplied, and the whole read phonetically as *hikoi*, "husband," a word which occurs again a few lines further on.

9 *I.e.*, she assumes the shape proper to her in her native land.

10 According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," she turned into a dragon. "One account "however agrees with our text.

11 The original of this passage is rather confused; but the interpretation here adopted from the Old Printed Edition is more natural than Motowori's according to which the Verbs are to be taken in a Causative sense, to the following effect: "I had always wished to let people come and go across the sea-path." Probably it was only in order to make this clause fit in better with the following sentence, in which we are told that the crocodile-princess "closed the sea-boundary," and with the fact that there is at present no path leading to the Sea-God's palace, that Motowori was induced to sanction such a view of the grammar of this passage.

12 This is Motowori's interpretation of the clause, he having emended 作, "action," "doing," which is found in the older editions, 怍, "shame-faced." (The edition of 1687 mentions 怪, "strange," as an alternative reading). If

we followed the older reading, we should have to translate thus: "Thy having peeped at my [real] shape is an outrageous action."

13 *I.e.*, the boundary dividing the dominions of the Sea-God from the world of men.

14 Viz., to the Sea-God's palace.

15 *Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahesu no mikoto*. The older editors read *ahasezu* for *ahezu*, *i.e.* "causing to meet," instead of "meeting." Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, would have us believe that the name comes from *umi-ga kayohi fuki-ahezu* (海陸往來乳養不得), *i.e.* "going and coming on sea and land and being unable to suckle"!

16 *Tama yori-bime*.

17 *I.e.*, of Jewel-Good-Princess nursing the child, The mother did not return to the upper world, and so sent this poetic message by her sister, who had consented to act as the child's nurse.

18 "The meaning of the Song," says Motowori, "is this: Although red jewels are so charming that the very string [whereon they are strung] doth shine, the august aspect of my lord, who is like unto white jewels, is still more lovely. Thus does she express her loving feeling."—Moribe supposed the "red jewels" (or "jewel" in the Singular) to be meant for the child, than whom her husband is yet dearer to her heart. The word *kimi*, here etymologically rendered "[my] lord," is commonly used in the sense of "thou," especially in poetry.

19 *I.e.*, "I shall never forget thee who wast my wife in the realm of the Sea-God. The "birds of the offing" are a description of the wild duck, used as a

Pillow-Word for their name. In the same manner the whole phrase, "where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing," may be taken simply as a "Preface" to the word "island." The Sea-God's dwelling is called an island because it is beyond the sea. The words *yo no koto-goto ni*, here in deference to the views of the best commentators rendered by "till the end of my life," will also bear the interpretation of "night by night."

20 The alternative name of the deity Fire-Subside.

21 Probably the writer means us to understand that the total age reached by this deity was five hundred and eighty years. This is the first mention in these "Records "of anything approaching a date. The way in which it is recorded resembles that in which the chronicle of each Emperor's reign is brought to a close in the later volumes of the work.

22 The character 陵might also be rendered by the simple word "grave." But neither it nor its Japanese reading *misasaki* are ever used except honorifically of the Imperial tombs, and "mausoleum "seems Therefore, a more suitable English equivalent.

[129]

[SECT. XLIII. —THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS CORMORANT-THATCH-MEETING-INCOMPLETELY]

His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely wedded his maternal aunt Her Augustness Jewel-Good-Princess, and begot august children named: His Augustness Five-Reaches; [1] next His Augustness Boiled-Rice; [2] next His Augustness August-Food-Master; [3] next His Augustness Young-August-Food-Master, [4] another name for whom is His Augustness Luxuriant-August-Food-Master, [5] and another name is His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince. [6] So His Augustness August-Food-Master, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land. [7] His Augustness Boiled-Rice went into the Sea-Plain, it being his deceased mother's [8] land.

Footnotes

1 *Itsu-se-no-mikoto*. The "reaches" are the reaches of a river: at least this seems the most natural view to take of the meaning of the name. Motowori and Moribe, however, consider it to be a corruption of *idzu-shine*, to which they assign the signification of "powerful rice." Excepting for the fact of its bringing this name into harmony with the three that follow, and which all relate to food, there seems little to recommend so far-fetched a derivation.

2 *Inu-hi-na-mikoto*. If Motowori's derivation of the name from *ina-ihi* is correct, it might be rendered with greater exactness "Rice-boiled-rice," ine denoting rice in the husk and ihi the same when boiled.

3 *Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto*. This name has been translated in accordance with Motowori's interpretation of the syllables that compose it.

4 *Waka-nu-ke-nu-no-mikoto*. *Conf*. preceding Note.

5 Toyo-nu-ke-nu-no-mikoto. *Conf*. Note 3.

6 *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto*. *Yamato* being the name of the province where this prince, the first Emperor of the so-called "human age," fixed his capital, it appropriately forms part of his name. For a discussion of the etymology of the word Yamato, see Sect. V, Note 26. *Ihare*, a word which is said to signify "assembling," is the name of a village in that province.

7 See Sect. XXVII, Note 12.

8 See Sect. XII, Note 8.

The *Nakatsumaki* (中巻, "*Middle Volume*") Volume II [1]

[SECT. XLIV. —REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU [2] (PART I. —HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER)]

The two Deities His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko [3] and his elder brother His Augustness Itsu-se, dwelling in the palace of Takachiho. [4] took counsel, saying: "By dwelling in what place shall we [most] quietly carry on the government of the Empire? [5] It was probably best to go east." Forthwith they left Himuka [6] on their progress [7] to Tsukushi. [8] So when they arrived at Usa [9] in the Land of Toyo, [10] two of the natives, whose names were Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime [11] built a palace raised on one foot, [12] and offered them a great august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one [131] year at the palace of Wokoda [13] in Tsukushi. Again making a progress up [14] from that land, they dwelt seven years at the palace of Takeri [15] in the land of Agi. [16] Again removing, and making a progress up from that land, they dwelt eight years at the palace of Takashima [17] in Kibi. [18] So when they made their progress up from that land, they met in the Hayasuhi [19] Channel a person riding towards them on the carapace of a tortoise, and raising his wings [20] as he angled. Then they called to him to approach, and asked him, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I [21] am an Earthly Deity. [22]" Again they asked him, saying: "Knowest thou the sea-path?" He replied, saying: "I know it well." Again they asked him, saying: "Wilt thou follow and respectfully serve us?" He replied, saying: "I will respectfully serve you." So they pushed a pole [23] across to him, drew him into the august vessel, and forthwith conferred [132] on him the designation of Sawa-ne-tsu-hiko [24] (This is the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Yamato.) [25] So when they went up from that land they passed the Namihaya [26] Crossing, and brought up at the haven of Shirakata. [27] At this time

Nagasune-biko [28] of Tomi [29] raised an army, and waited to go out to fight [against them]. Then they took the shields that had been put in the august vessel, and disembarked. So they called that place by the name of Tate-dzu. [30] It is what is now called the Tadetsu of Kusaka. [31] Therefore, when fighting with the Prince of Tomi, [32] His Augustness Itsu-se was pierced in his august hand by the Prince of Tomi's hurtful arrow. [33] So then he said: "It is not right for me, an august child of the Sun-Deity, to fight facing the sun. It is for this reason, that I am stricken by the wretched villain's [34] hurtful hand. I will henceforward turn round, and smite him with my back to the sun." Having [thus] decided, he, on making a progress round from the southern side, reached the sea of Chinu, [35] and washed the blood on his august hand: so it is called the sea of Chinu. [36] Making a progress round from thence, and arriving at the river-mouth of Wo [37] in the land of Ki, [38] he said: "Ah! that I should die stricken by the wretched villain's hand!" and expired [39] as a valiant man. [40] So that river-mouth was called the river mouth of Wo. [41] The Mausoleum, too, is on Mount Kama [42] in the land of Ki.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "Middle Volume," there being three in all. See Author's Preface, Note 1.

2 *Jim-mu* signifies "divine valour." It is the "canonical name" of the Emperor *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko* (see Introduction).

3 In the preceding Section this name was rendered "Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince." But in the translation of Vols. II and III of this work, the Japanese proper names are not Englished, unless there be a special reason for so doing. (See Introduction)

4 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 5.

5 See Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

6 See Sect. X, Note 4.

7 The Japanese expression here used is one which exclusively denotes an Imperial Progress, and not the movements of lesser people. It recurs perpetually in this and the following Volume.

8 See Sect. V, Note 14.

9 Etymology uncertain.

10 See Sect. V, Note 17.

11 *I.e.*, Prince of Usa and Princess of Usa.

12 In the original, 足一騰宮, read asks *hito-tsu agari no miya*. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has 一柱騰宮which is directed to be read in the same manner. 柱(*hashira*) however means, not "foot," but "pillar "; and the commentators understand both passages to allude to a single pillar, which supported the weight of the entire building, —either as being in the middle of it, or (as Motowori opines) by standing in the water, the edifice, according to this view, being built on a river-bank overhanging the stream.

13 This name signifies "hillock rice-field."

14 *Q.d.* towards Yamato, the province where the capital was eventually fixed. In Japanese, as in English, people are said to go of to the capital and down to the country.

15 Etymology uncertain.

16 Etymology uncertain. This name is better known (without the *nigori* of the second syllable) as Aki. Aki is one of the provinces on the northern shore of the Inland Sea.

17 This name signifies "high island."

18 Etymology uncertain. Kibi is the name of a province.

19 This name signifies "quick sucking."

20 *I.e.*, as Motowori supposes, beckoning by waving his sleeve.

21 The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the humble character 僕, "servant."

22 See Sect. I, Note 11. Motowori wishes us here to understand this expression to mean "I am a Deity (*i.e.* a person) of the country-side." But there is no sufficient reason for departing from the precedent of rendering the characters 國神, which are constantly used antithetically to 天神, by "Earthly Deity" (as opposed to "Heavenly Deity.") Motowori likewise proposes to append to this sentence the clause "and my name is Udzu-biko," which is found in the "Chronicles." The name may be taken to signify "precious prince."

23 The characters 槁機are evidently, as Motowori says, meant to represent the Japanese word *sawo*, "pole," though they do not properly convey that meaning. Probably they are corrupt.

24 *I.e.*, if we suppress the syllable *ne*, which seems to be either Expletive or Honorific, the "prince of the pole."

25 *Yamato no kuni no Miyadzuko*.

26 This is the reading of the name preferred by Mabuchi and Motowori; but the usual form *Naniha* seems to be at least as well supported by early documentary evidence. The "Chronicles" tell us that the place was called *Nani-haya* 浪速, *i.e.* "wave swift," in allusion to the strong current which the Emperor Jim-mu here encountered; and at the present day it is still a dangerous place for navigation. The name properly denotes the water at the mouth of the River Yodo, on which stands the modern town of Ohosaka (Ōzaka), for whose name Naniha is still often used as a poetical synonym. 浪華, "wave flowers," and 難浪, "dangerous waves," are alternative ways of writing it.

27 Motowori says that he cannot explain the etymology of this word; but "white sandbank" would seem a simple and obvious derivation. The Shirakata here mentioned is, according to Motowori, that situated in the province of Idzumo.

28 *I.e.*, the Prince of Nagasune. A plausible interpretation of *nagasune* would be "long-shank," which would give us Prince Long-Shank as the name of the worthy here mentioned; but the "Chronicles" states that Nagasune was properly the name of a place. The characters with which it is written, Moreover, signify not exactly "long shank," but "long marrow," a designation which would have no evident personal applicability.

29 A legend in the "Chronicles" connects the name of this place with the word *tobi*, "a kite," it being there related that a miraculous gold-coloured kite came and perched on the Emperor Jim-mu's bow, and helped him to the victory. Probably the legend grew out of the name of *Tobi*, which is obscure and may have had had nothing to do with a "kite "originally.

30 *I.e.*, "shield-haven." But *conf*. next Note.

31 The real etymology of *Tada-tsu* seems to be "knot-grass-haven," and probably *Taka-tsu* (for *Takatsu*), which is mentioned in Sect. LXIX, Note 29, is but another form of the same name. Kusaka is a well-known name in the annals of early Japan. Its signification is obscure, and the characters (日下), with which it is written, are particularly curious. There were two Kusaka, one in the province of Kahachi and the other in Idzumi.

32 Viz., *Nagasune-biko*.

33 The wording of the original 負登美毗古之痛矢串is very curious: Motowori reads it *Tomi-bike ga ita-ya wo ohashite*. Immediately below we have 負曼奴之痛手.

34 The character is 奴, properly "slave."

35 The most likely derivation of this name is from *chi-numa*, "eulalia lagoon," the fact that it will also bear the interpretation of "blood-lagoon "being probably but a coincidence of which the mythopoeic faculty took advantage.

36 Here written with characters signifying "blood-lagoon."

37 The characters rendered "river-mouth "are 水門, literally "water. gate; but here, as elsewhere, "river-mouth "seems to be the signification meant to be conveyed. Rivers in Japan, even at the present day, do not bear one continuous name along their entire course, and there would be nothing unnatural in the fact of the water at the mouth of the river having a special designation. One of the significations of *wo* is "man," and the legendary etymology of the name given immediately below rests on the assumption that such is the meaning of wo in this place. Even Motowori, however, is not satisfied with it, and it is probably erroneous.

38 See Sect. XXII, Note 14.

39 The Chinese character 崩, which is here used, is one that specially denotes the demise of an Emperor.

40 Probably the sense meant to be conveyed is that he expired with a gesture of anger and defiance.

41 Here written 男, "man." Conf. Note 37.

42 *Kama-yama*, *i.e.* furnace-mountain."

[134]

[SECT. XLV. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II. —THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN).]

So when His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko made a progress round from thence, and reached the village of Kumanu, 1 a large bear came out of the mountain, 2 and forthwith disappeared into it. Then His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko suddenly fainted away, and his august army likewise all fainted and felt prostrate. At this time Takakurazhi 3 (this is the name of a person) 4 of Kumanu came bearing one cross-sword 5 to the place where the august-child of the Deity was lying prostrate, and presented it to him, upon which the august child of the Heavenly Deity forthwith rose up, and said: "How long I have slept!" So when he accepted the cross-sword, the savage Deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously fell cut down. 6 Then the whole august army, that had been bewildered and had fallen prostrate, awoke and rose up. So the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked him how he had got the cross-sword. Takakurazhi [135] replied, saying: "I was told in a dream that

the two Deities the Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity 7 and the High Integrating Deity 8 commanded and summoned the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, 9 and charged him [thus]: 'The Central Land of Reed-Plains 10 is painfully uproarious, —it is. 11 Our august children must be ill at ease. As [Therefore,] the Central Land of Reed-Plains is a land which thou specially subduedst, thou the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity shalt descend [thither].' Then he replied, saying: 'I 12 will not descend [myself], but I have the cross-sword wherewith I specially subdued the land. (The name by which this sword is called is the Deity Thrust-Snap; 13 another name by which it is called is the Deity Awful-Snap, 14 and another name for it is the August-Snap-Spirit, 15 This sword dwells in the temple of the Deity of Isonokami) 16 The manner in which I will send this sword down will be

to perforate the ridge of [the roof of] Takakurazhi's stone-house, [17] and drop it through. (So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity instructed me, saying: 'I will perforate the ridge of [the roof of] thy store-house, and drop this sword through. [18]) So do thou, with the good eyes of [136] morning, [19] take it and present it to the august child of the Heavenly Deity.' So, on my searching my store-house early next morning in accordance with the instructions of the dream, there really was a cross-sword there. So I just present this cross-sword to thee."

Footnotes

1 This name signifies "bear-moor." The name is now generally pronounced *Kumano*.

2 Motowori ingeniously conjectures the text of this passage 大熊髮出, which makes no sense, to be a copyist's error for 大熊從山出, which gives the meaning rendered in the translation. The running hand form of 鰐might well be mistaken for that of the single character 横力. The editor of 1687 is less happy in his conjecture that the character intended may be 横, "crocodile." This incident of the bear was thought important by the compiler for a mention of it to be inserted in his Preface.

3 The signification of this name is not clear. Taking *zhi* as an apocopated *nigori'ed* form of the Postposition *shita*, we might suppose *taka-kura-zhi* to signify "under the high store house" in allusion to the legend which forms the subject of this section. There are, however, reasons for doubting this etymology. (See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII). In the Preface we have simply *Takahura*, without the final syllable *zhi*; but the omission of *zhi* in that place is almost certainly to be accounted for on euphonic grounds.

4 This note to the original is believed to be an interpolation,

5 横力. Motowori avers that the character 横, "cross," has no importance, and should be neglected in reading. But this assertion seems gratuitous in the face of, For instance, such a Chinese locution as 横磨劍. We may be justified, perhaps, in paying no special heed to the Numeral "one" in this place, which Motowori neglects in his *kana* reading of the text.

6 *I.e.*, they fell down cut to pieces before they had even been cut at with this wonderful sword.

7 The character 御, "august," which should form the penultimate member of this compound name, is here omitted.

8 See Sect. I, Note 5.

9 See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

10 See Sect. IX, Note 18.

11 Conf. Sect. X, Note 1.

12 The humble character 僕, "servant," is here used.

13 *Sazhi-futsu no kami*. The translator follows Tanigaha Shisei in considering *sazhi* (Tanigaha Shisei in his "Perpetual Commentary" reads *sashi* without the *nigori*) to mean "thrust." For the rendering of *futsu* as "snap" in this and the two following names *conf*. Sect. VIII, Note 8. Moribe, however, in his "*Ikzu no Chi-waki*," asserts that *futsu* is but an alternative form of *futo*, "broad," "thick," or "vast," as shown by the existence of the phrase *ma-futsu no kagami*, "a true vast mirror."

14 *Mika-futsu no kami*.

15 *Futsu no mi tame*.

16 The name of this place, which is in the province of Yamato, seems to signify "above the rock." It is well known as the Pillow-Word for the syllables *furu*.

17 Properly what is known to Anglo-Orientals as a "godown."

18 The sentence here placed between braces is proposed by Motowori to supplement an evident lacuna in the text.

19 Or, "luckily with morning eyes." Motowori remarks that even in modern times, special joy is felt at a good discovery made in the morning.

[SECT. XLVI. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III. — THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS)]

"Then His [1] Augustness the Great-High-Integrating-Deity again commanded and taught, saying: "August son of the Heavenly Deity! make no progress hence into the interior. The savage Deities are very numerous. I will now send from Heaven a crow eight feet [long]. [2] So that crow eight feet [long] shall guide thee. Thou must make thy progress following after it as it goes." So on [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress following after the crow eight feet [long] in obedience to the Deity's instructions, he reached the lower course of the Yeshinu [3] river, where there was a [137] person catching fish in a weir. [4] Then the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I [5] am an Earthly Deity [6] and am called by the name of Nihe-motsu no Ko." [7] (This is the ancestor of the Cormorant-Keepers of Aha.) [8] On [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress thence, a person with a tail [9] came out of a well. The well shone. Then [His Augustness] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Wi-hika." [10] This is the ancestor of the Headmen of Yeshinu). [11] On his forthwith entering the mountains, [12] His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko again met a person with a tail. This person came forth pushing the cliffs apart. Then [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying; "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Iha-oshi-waku no Ko. I heard [just] now that the august son of the Heavenly Deity was making his progress. So it is for that that I have come to meet thee." (This is the ancestor of the Territorial [138] Owners of Yeshinu). [13] Thence [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] penetrated over on foot to Uda. [14] So they say: "The Ugachi of Uda." [15]

Footnotes

1 The intention of the writer is here obscure, but he probably meant the following passage to form part of the dream, as is the case in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." The inverted commas are Therefore, continued in the translation.

2 The characters 八咫烏(*ya to-garasu*), with which the original of this expression is written, combined with the mention in the Preface of the "great crow," have determined the translator to adopt the interpretation favoured by Tanigaha Shisei, viz., a "crow eight feet [long]." Motowori understands the expression to mean "an eight-headed crow." For the arguments on both sides see the Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VII, and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, and Vol. VIII. See also for the translation of a parallel passage Sect. XVI, Note 23.

3 Better known by the classical and modern form of the name, *Yoshino*. It seems to signify "good moor." Yoshino, which is in the province of Yamato, has from the earliest times been renowned for the beauty of its cherry-blossoms, and also figures largely in the early and mediaeval history. Motowori points out geographical difficulties in the Imperial progress as here detailed. In the "Chronicles," the verisimilitudes of the journey are better observed.

4 The character 筌, here rendered "weir" for want of a better word, is defined as signifying "a bamboo trap for catching fish."

5 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character 僕, "servant." The other tailed deity mentioned immediately below uses the same expression.

6 See Sect. I, Note 11, and Sect. XLIV, Note 22, for the considerations that make it better to translate thus than to render by "I am a Deity of the Land."

7 *I.e.*, "Offering-Bearing Child." Here and elsewhere the word *ko*, "child," as part of a proper name, should be understood as a kind of Honorific, employed probably in imitation of Chinese usage.

8 *Ada* No *U-kaki*. This must be understood to be a "gentile name" (*kabane*). The etymology of Ada is uncertain. The practice of fishing with the help of cormorants, though now almost obsolete, seems to have been very common in Japan down to the Middle ages.

9 Commenting on a similar passage a little further on, Motowori, naively remarks: "It appears that in very ancient times such persons were occasionally "to be met with." It should be added that they are also mentioned in Chinese literature.

10 *I.e.*, "Well-Shine."

11 *Yeshinu no obito*. For Yeshinu see Note 3.

12 *I.e.*, disappearing among the mountains.

13 *Yeshinu no kuzu*. *Kuzu* is a contraction of *kuni-nushi* (properly 國主, with which characters the name is found written at the commencement of Sect. CVIII, though elsewhere the semi-phonetic rendering 國巢or 國栖is employed).

14 Etymology obscure.

15 *Uda no ugachi*. The meaning of the sentence is: "Hence the name of the Ugachi of Uda." *Ugachi* signifies "to penetrate." But the etymology seems a

forced one, and Motowori is probably correct in identifying this "gentile name" with that of Ukashi, mentioned in the next sentence.

[SECT. XLVII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART IV. — THE UKASHI BRETHREN).]

So then there were in Uda two persons, Ukashi the Elder Brother and Ukashi the Younger Brother. 1 So [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] sent the crow eight feet [long] in advance to ask these persons, saying: "The august child of the Heavenly Deity has made a progress [hither]. Will ye respectfully serve him?" Hereupon Ukashi the Elder Brother waited for and shot at the messenger with a whizzing barb to make him turn back. So the place where the whizzing barb fell is called Kabura-zaki. 2 Saying that he intended to wait for and smite [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], he [tried to] collect an army. But being unable to collect an army he said deceitfully that he would respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], and built a great palace, 3 and in that palace set a pitfall, and waited. Then Ukashi the Younger Brother came out to 4 [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] beforehand, and made obeisance, saying: "Mine 5 elder brother Ukashi the Elder Brother has shot at and turned back the messenger [139] of the august child of the Heavenly Deity, and, intending to wait for and attack thee, has [tried to] collect an army; but, being unable to collect it, he has built a great palace, and set 6 a gin within it, intending to wait for and catch thee. So I have come out to inform [thee of this]." Then the two persons His Augustness Michi-no-Omi, 7 ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains, 8 and His Augustness Ohokume, 9 ancestor of the Kume Lords, 10 summoned Ukashi the Elder Brother and reviled him, saying: "Into the great palace which thou 11 hast built to respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], be thou 12 the first to enter, and declare plainly the manner in which thou intendest respectfully to serve him; "—and forthwith grasping the hilts of their cross-swords, playing with

their spears, [13] and fixing arrows [in their bows], they drove him in, whereupon he was caught in [14] the gin which he himself had set, and died. So they forthwith pulled him out, and cut him in pieces. So the place is called Uda-no-Chihara. [15] Having done thus, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] bestowed on his august army the whole of the great banquet presented [to him] by Ukashi the Younger Brother. At this time, he sang, saying:

"The woodcock, for which I laid a wood-cock-snare [140] and waited in the high castle of Uda, strikes not against it; but a valiant whale strikes against it. If the elder wife ask for fish, slice off a little like the berries of the stand soba; if the younger wife ask for fish, slice off a quantity like the berries of the vigorous *sasaki*." [16]

"Ugh! [17] pfui! dolt! This is saying thou rascal. Ah! pfui! dolt! This is laughing [141] [him] to scorn."

So Ukashi the Younger Brother (he is the ancestor of the Water Directors of Uda). [18]

Footnotes

1 *Ye-ukashi* and *Oto-ukashi*. *Ukashi*, as in the other compounds where it occurs, is probably in reality the name of a place. Its etymology is doubtful.

2 *I.e.*, Barb Point or Cape.

3 Or, hall.

4 The original has a respectful expression, which is elsewhere translated "waited on."

5 The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕 "servant."

6 Literally, "spread." This gin is supposed to have been of the kind whose top closes down after the man or animal has fallen into it.

7 *I.e.*, "Grandee of the Way." This gentile name is said in the "Chronicles "to have been bestowed on this worthy in consideration of the services as a guide to his master the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's progress eastward.

8 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 12.

9 *I.e.*, perhaps "Great Round Eyes," supposed to be a descendant of His Augustness *Ama-tsu-kume* (see however Sect. XXXIV, Note 7 for a discussion of the etymology of *Kume*).

10 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 13.

11 The expression *i ga*, here rendered "thou," is, as Motowori remarks, "extremely hard to understand," and its interpretation as an insulting form of the Second Personal Pronoun is merely tentative. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

12 The insulting Second Pronoun *ore* is here employed.

13 Here again we have an expression written phonetically and of uncertain import. The translator has followed Motowori in tentatively rendering it according to the ideographic reading of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

14 Literally "struck by."

15 *I.e.*, Uda's Blood-Plain.

16 This Song is unusually difficult of comprehension: and the latest important commentator, Moribe, seems to show satisfactorily that all his predecessors, Motowori included, more or less misunderstood it. He had at least the advantage of coming after them, and the translator has followed his

interpretation excepting with regard to *isukukashi*, the Pillow-Word for "whale," which is here rendered "valiant," in accordance with the traditional view of its signification. The *soba* tree is identified by Motowori with the *Kaname-mochi*, "*Photinia glabra*," This *saka-ki*, taken together with its Prefix *ichi* (here rendered "vigorous") is supposed in this place to signify, not the usual *Cleyera japonica*, but another species popularly known as the *bishiya-gaki*, whose English or Latin name the translator has failed to ascertain. It has a large berry, whereas the soba has a small one. . . The following is the gist of Moribe's exposition of the general signification of the Song: "If for Ukashi's mean design to kill the Emperor in a gin there be sought a term of comparison in the whales and woodcock forming the Imperial banquet, then in lieu of the woodcock that he expected to catch in the trap that he set, that great whale, the Imperial host, has rushed up against it. Again if, as the fishermen's wives might do, your (*i.e.*, you soldiers') wives ask you for fish, then let each of you give to his elder wife, of whom he must have grown weary, only a small and bony portion, and to his younger wife, who is doubtless his heart's favourite, a good fleshy piece. So jocular a guess at the "*penchants* of the young warriors excites their ardour, which they give vent to in the following shouts."

17 Some of the Japanese originals of this string of Interjections are of uncertain import. The translator has been guided by Motowori's conjectures, with which Moribe mostly agrees. The exclamations are supposed not to form part of the actual Song, but to proceed from the mouths of the Imperial soldiers. The words rendered "this is saying thou rascal" (such is apparently their meaning) and those rendered "this is laughing [him] to scorn "seem to be glosses as old as the text, which had already been obscure in the eighth century. They are not written altogether phonetically.

18 *Uda na Mohitori*. This tribe or guild of "water-directors" was entrusted with the charge of the water, the ice, and the gruel used in the Imperial household. In later times the word *Mohitori* was corrupted to *Mondo*.

[SECT. XLVIII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART V. — THE EARTH-SPIDER OF THE CAVE OF OSAKA).]

When [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] made his progress, and reached the great cave of Osaka, [1] earth-spiders [2] with tails, [namely] eighty bravoes, [3] were in the cave awaiting him. So then the august son of the Heavenly Deity commanded that a banquet be bestowed on the eighty bravoes. Thereupon he set eighty butlers, one for each of the eighty bravoes, and girded each of them with a sword, and instructed the butlers, saying: [142] "When ye hear me sing, cut [them down] simultaneously." So the Song by which he made clear to them to set about smiting the earth-spiders said:

"Into the great cave of Osaka people have entered in abundance, and are [there]. Though people have entered in abundance, and are [there], the children of the augustly powerful warriors will smite and finish them with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords]: the children of the augustly powerful warriors, with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords], would now do well to smite." [4]

Having thus sung, they drew their swords, and simultaneously smote them to death.

Footnotes

1 The etymology of this name is not clear, but readers will of course not confound it with that of the modern town of Ohosaka (Ozaka). The character rendered "cave," 室, signifies simply "apartment;" but the traditional reading is *muro*, which means a cave or pit dug in the earth. That the latter is the idea which the author wishes to convey becomes clear by comparison with a greater number of passages in the older literature. For a more particular discussion of this subject see Mr. Milne's paper entitled

"Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate," published in Vol. VIII, part I of these "Transactions," *et seq.*, where a number of passages relative to the "earth-spiders" are likewise brought together.

2 *Tsuchi-gumo*, generally written 土蜘蛛, but here semi-phonetically 土雲. There is little doubt that by this well-known name, which has given rise to much conjecture, a race of cave-dwelling savages or a class of cave-dwelling robbers is intended. Motowori supposes that their name had its origin in a comparison of their habits with those of the spider. But it was surely more rational to regard it as a corruption of *tsuchi-gomori*, "earth-hiders," a designation as obvious as it is appropriate. The "Chronicles" describe one tribe of them as "being short in stature, and having long arms and legs like pigmies." For a further discussion of the subject see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XIX, the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VIII, the "*Tou-ya*," Vol. XX, *s.v. kumo* and the "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. 1I, *et seq.*

3 The original term is *takeru* (梟師), which might also be rendered "bandit," or "robber chief."

4 The import of this poem is too clear to stand in need of explanation. The word *mitsumitsushi*, here rendered "augustly powerful" in accordance with Moribe's view, is understood by Motowori to mean "perfectly full," in allusion to the fully or perfectly round eyes of the deity Kume, to whose name he supposes there to be a reference. Mabuchi, On the other hand, explains the word to signify "young and flourishing." But Moribe's view both of this and of the import of *kume* as "warriors "seems so greatly preferable to any other, that the translator has not hesitated to follow him (*conf.* Sect. XXXIV, Note 7). The "*children* of the warriors" are of course the warriors themselves. With regard to the signification of the two kinds of

swords here mentioned it has, however, been thought best to adhere to the usual view, and Note 10 to Sect. XXXIV should be referred to.

[SECT. XLIX. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VI. — THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN)]

After this, when about to smite the Prince of Tomi, 1 he sang, saying: [143]

"The children of the augustly powerful army will smite and finish the one stem of smelly chive in the millet-field, —the stem of its root, both its root and shoots." 2

Again he sang:

"The ginger, which the children of the augustly powerful army planted near the hedge, resounds in the mouth. I shall not forget it. I will smite and finish it." 3

[144] Again he sang, saying:

"Like the *turbinidæ* creeping round the great rock in the sea of Ise [on which blows] the divine wind, [so] will we creep round, and smite and finish them." 4

Again when he smote Shiki the Elder Brother and Shiki the Younger Brother, 5 the august army was temporarily exhausted. Then he sang, saying:

"As we fight placing our shields in a row, going and watching from between the trees on Mount Inasa, oh! we are famished. Ye keepers of cormorants, the birds of the island, come now to our rescue!" 6

Footnotes

1 See Sect. XLIV, Notes 28 *et seq*. The apparent want of sequence in this portion of the narrative is not noticed by Motowori. We might endeavour to, harmonize it by supposing that after having slain the "earth-spiders," etc.,

the Emperor Jim-mu turned round again to fight with the Prince of Tomi, who had harassed him in the earlier portion of his career as conqueror of Central Japan.

2 The wild chive growing among the millet is of course the enemy, the Prince of Tomi and his host; and the gist of the Song is that the Imperial troops will smite and destroy them root and branch. The commentators suppose the simile to have been taken from the fields of millet which Jim-mu's troops planted for their subsistence during the long drawn out campaigns of early days. —The "stem of its root," *so ne ga moto*, is a curious expression, which is perhaps best accounted for by Moribe's supposition that we have here a pun on *Sune ga moto*, "Sune's house," Sune being a natural abbreviation of *Nagasune*, the name of the Prince of Tomi (see Sect. XLIV, Note 28).

3 The sense of this Song is: "I shall not forget the bitterness of seeing my brother slain by Prince Nagasune's arrow (see the latter part of Sect. XLIV). The word hazhikami, here rendered ginger in accordance with Motowori's dictum, is taken by Moribe to signify the xanthoxylon. "Resounding in the mouth" is a curious phrase here used to express bitterness.

4 Motowori thus paraphrases this Song: "As the innumerable *turbinidæ* [-shells] creep round the great rock, so will I with the myriads of the Imperial host encompass the Prince of Tomi on every side, that there may be no outlet whereby he can escape." The shell here mentioned is a kind of small conch. *Kama-kazo no*, lit, "of divine wind," is the Pillow-Word for Ise, and is of disputed derivation, as is the word Ise itself. The curious reader should refer to Fujihara no Hikomaro's "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" *s.v.* for the legend to which the name of Ise and its

Pillow-Word were anciently traced and other conjectures on the point, The "great rock" here mentioned is not otherwise known.

5 *Ye-shiki* and *Otoshiki*. Shiki is the name of a district in the province of Yamato.

6 This Song is a request for provisions made by the Emperor to some fishermen, who were working their cormorants along the mountain-streams. Moribe refers it to an incident, not in the war, but in the hunt, and interprets differently the word here, in accordance with its usual meaning and with older authority, rendered "as we fight." He attributes to it the sense of "as we put our shields together," and thinks that the poet may have compared to shields the trunks of the trees. According to this view, the Song should be viewed rather as a joke. It may be mentioned that there is good authority for considering the word *tata namete*, "placing shields in a row," as a Punning Preface or Pillow-Word for words commencing with *i* (*i* being the Root of *iru*, "to shoot"), so that Moribe's explanation need not involve any tautology. It seems however somewhat far-fetched. —The position of Mount Inasa is uncertain, and the name itself of obscure derivation.

[SECT. L. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII. —THE EMPIRE PACIFIED)]

So then His Augustness Nigi-hayabi [1] waited on and said to the august child of the Heavenly Deity: "As I heard that [thou], the august child of the Heavenly Deity, hadst descended from Heaven, I have followed down to wait on thee." Forthwith presenting to him the heavenly symbols, [2] he respectfully served him. So His Augustness Nigi-hayabi wedded the Princess of Tomi, [3] [145] sister of the Prince of Tomi, and begot a child, His Augustness *Umashi-ma-ji*. [4] (He was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Warrior-Clan, [5] of the Grandees of Hodzumi; [6] and of the Grandees of the Neck-Clan). [7] So having thus subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] dwelt at the palace of Kashibara [8] near Unebi [9] and ruled the Empire. [10]

Footnotes

1 The component parts of this name, rendered according to the analogy of that in Sect. XXXIII, Note 5, may be interpreted to signify "Plenty-Swift." The genealogy of this god is not known.

2 *I.e.*, the swords, quivers, bow, and arrows mentioned in Sect. XXXIII, as having been brought down from Heaven by the divine attendants of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather.

3 *Tomi ya-bime*, The syllable *ya* is inexplicable, but perhaps merely an Expletive.

4 The signification of this name is by no means clear; but, rendered according to the characters with which it is written in the "Chronicles," it

would mean "Savoury-True-Hand."

5 *Mononobe no murazhi*. This and the two following are of course "gentile names."

6 *Hodzumi no omi*. Hodzumi, which is the name of a place, signifies "rice-ears piled up."

7 *Une-be no omi*. The interpretation of this name is given according is Motowori, who explains that the members of this family, —in particular the female members, —waited at the Emperor's table, and wore veils over their necks when so employed. The name is commonly corrupted to *uneme*.

8 Better known as Kashihabara. The name signifies "oak-moor," or rather "a place planted with oaks." This is usually, though without sufficient foundation, reckoned the earliest of the historical capitals of Japan. It is in Yamato.

9 Unebi is the name of a hill in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure.

10 *I.e.*, "ruled the Empire from his palace of Kashibara near Unebi. For the expression 天下(literally "[all] beneath Heaven"), here rendered "Empire," see Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

[SECT. LI. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VIII. —HE WEDS I-SUKE-YORI-HIME).]

So when he dwelt in Himuka, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] wedded [1] Princess Ahira, [2] younger sister of the Duke of Wobashi [3] in Ata, [4] and begot children: [146] there were two, [5]—His Augustness Tagishi-mimi, [6] next His Augustness Kisu-mimi. [7] But when he sought for a beautiful maiden to make her his Chief Empress, [8] His Augustness Oho-kume said: "There is here a beauteous maiden who is called the august child of a Deity. The reason why she is called the august child of a Deity is that the Princess Seya-datara, [9] daugther of Mizokuhi [10] of Mishima, [11] was admired on account of her beauty by the Great-Master-of-Things the Deity of Miwa, [12] qui, quum pulchra puella oletum fecit, in sagittam rubro [colore] fucatam se convertit, et ab inferiori parte cloacae [ad usum] faciendi oleti virginis privatas partes transfixit. Tunc pulchra virgo consternata est, et surrexit, et trepide fugit. Statim sagittam attulit, et juxta thalamum posuit. Subito [sagitta] formosus adolescens facta [147] est, qui cito pulchram puellam sibi in matrimonio junxit, et filiam procreavit nomine Hoto-tarara-i-susugi-hime; [13] et est nomen alternativum Hime-tatara-i-suke-yori-hime. [14] (Id est posterior mutatio nominis, quoniam abhorruit facere mentionem privatarum partium). So Therefore, she is called the august child of a Deity. Hereupon seven beauteous maidens were out playing on the moor of Takasazhi, [15] and I-suke-yori-hime [16] was among them. His Augustness Ohokume, seeing I-suke-yori-hime, spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign in a Song, saying:

"Seven maidens on the moor of Takasazhi in Yamato: —which shall be interlaced?" [17]

Then I-suke-yori-hime was standing first among the beauteous maidens. Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign, having looked at the beauteous maidens,

and knowing in his august heart [18] that I-suke-yori-hime was standing in the very front, replied by a Song, saying:

"Even [after nought but] a fragment [ary glimpse], I will intertwine the lovely [one] standing in the very front. [19]

Then His Augustness Ohokume informed I-suke-yori-hime [148] of the Heavenly Sovereign's decree, whereupon she, seeing the slit sharp eyes [20] of His Augustness Ohokume, sang in her astonishment, saying:

" ? ?

" ? ?

"Wherefore the slit sharp eye? [21]

Then His Augustness Ohokume replied by a Song, saying:

"My slit sharp eyes [are] in order to find the maiden immediately." [22]

So the maiden said that she would respectfully serve [the Heavenly Sovereign]. [23] Hereupon [24] the house of Her Augustness [25] I-suke-yori-hime was on [the back of] the River Sawi. [26] The Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the abode of I-suke-yori-hime, and augustly slept [149] [there] one night. [27] (The reason why that river was called the River Sawi was that on the River's banks the mountain-lily-plant grew in abundance. So the name of the mountain-lily-plant was taken, and the designation of River Sawi [bestowed]. The name by which the mountain-lily-plant was originally called was *sawi*). Afterwards, when I-suke-yori-hime came and entered into the palace, the Heavenly Sovereign sang augustly saying:

"In a damp hut on the reed-moor having spread layer upon layer of sedge mats, we two slept! [28]

The names of the august children thus born were: His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi, [29] next His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi, [30] next His Augustness

Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi" [31] (Three Deities.) [32]

Footnotes

1 Or, "*had* wedded"; for the episode here related must be supposed to have taken place before Jim-mu and his army started eastward on their career of conquest.

2 *Ahira-hime*. Ahira is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. Its etymology is quite obscure.

3 *Wobashi no kimi*. Wobashi is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. The characters with which it is generally written mean "small bridge."

4 Ata is a place in Satsuma.

5 Or, "there were two Deities." The character employed is not that which itself actually signifies "deity," but is the Auxiliary Numeral for divine beings.

6 *I.e.*, perhaps "rudder-ears."

7 Motowori adduces good reasons for believing this name to be but a slightly altered form of the preceding one, and for holding that in the original form of the tradition there was but one child mentioned.

8 See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XX, for the reasons for thus interpreting the characters 大后 in the text. Elsewhere it has generally, for the sake of convenience, been simply rendered "Empress."

9 *Seya-dotara-hime*. The signification of the name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Seya* to be a place and tatara (*nigori'ed* to *datara*) perhaps a plant

written with the Chinese character 華, said by Dr. Williams in his "Syllabic Dictionary" to be possibly a species of *Heteroiropa*.

10 It is uncertain whether this name should, or should not, be regarded as properly that of a place. The meaning is equally obscure. The Chinese characters with which it is here written signify "ditch-eater," whereas those employed in the "Chronicles" signify "ditch-stake." Perhaps both transcriptions are simply phonetic.

11 A district in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name signifies "three islands."

12 *Miwa-no-oho-mono-mushi-no-kami*. This god is supposed to be identical with Oho-kuni-nushi (the "Master of the Great Land," see end of Sect. XX and following Sects). The rigidly literal rendering of the name as here given would be "the Deity Great Master of Things of Miwa "; but the more intelligible version here given represents the Japanese author's meaning. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the story related in Sect LXV.

13 *Hoto* significat partes privatas. Verbi *tatara* sensum supra s.v. *Seya-datara-hime* pertractavimus. *I* est vox expletiva. *Susugi* sensus est "trepide fugiens." *Hime* indicat regiam puellam.

14 *I.e.*, Princess Tatara-Startled-Good-Princess.

15 Etymology obscure.

16 An abbreviated form of the princess's alternative name.

17 The meaning of this Song is: "To which of the seven maidens now disporting themselves on the moor of Takasazhi shall I convey the Emperor's command to come that he may make her his consort, and sleep

with his arms intertwined in hers?"—Motowori, overlooking the difference between mart, which is the word in the text, and the *nigori*'ed form *magu* met with in some other passages, misinterprets the last clause thus: "Which shall be sought?" He makes the same mistake in his explanation of the next Song.

18 *I.e.*, "having a presentiment."

19 The translation of this Song follows Moribe's exegesis. Motowori interprets it thus; "Well, well! I will seek the lovely one standing in the very front." As here rendered, the little poem is quite clear, —simply a declaration on the Emperor's part that he will make the girl standing in front his wife.

20 *Sakeru-to-me*, the original of the phrase here rendered "slit sharp eyes," is obscure and variously understood by the commentators. Moribe supposes the god to have worn a casque with a vizor, and the slit to have been made in the latter, and not actually in, or rather near, the eyes. It should however be observed that, though the Japanese word *saku* means "to slit," the Chinese character in the text properly signifies "to tattoo (or brand) with ink," and is used with that meaning at the end of Sect. CXLIX, and elsewhere in the ancient books. The present writer, after comparing various passages in which the term occurs, thinks that we may understand a tattooing of the outer corners of the eyes, which would give to the latter the appearance of being long and sharp, or, if the tattooing were very dark, of being actually slit.

21 The first lines of this short poem are so hopelessly unintelligible that the commentators are not even agreed as to how the syllables composing them should be divided into words. For the straits to which Motowori and his

predecessors were driven in their efforts to obtain some plausible signification, see his Commentary, Vol. XX, and for Moribe's totally divergent interpretation see "*Idzu no Koto-waki*," Vol. II. It is not worthwhile to quote here more such conjectures. —For the doubt attaching to the precise signification of the words rendered by "slit sharp eyes," see the preceding Note.

22 The signification of his Song is as plain as that of the preceding one is obscure.

23 *Q.d.*, as his wife.

24 This initial expression is meaningless.

25 Having become the Emperor's consort, this Honorific title is now prefixed for the first time to her name.

26 *Sawi-gaha*. *Sawi*, as we learn from the compiler's note below, was the name of a kind of lily.

27 Literally, "one sojourn."

28 The signification of this Song is: "Now Indeed, thou comest to share the majesty of the palace. But the beginning of our intimacy was on that night when I came to thy humble dwelling on the reed-grown moor where, when we slept together, we had to pile mat upon mat to keep out the damp."—The translator has followed Moribe's interpretation throughout. Motowori takes in the sense of "ugly" the word here rendered "damp," and all the previous commentators give a different explanation of the words *iya saya shikite*, here translated by "spreading layer upon layer." They take them to mean "spreading more land more cleanly."

29 This name may signify "prince eight-wells." But the interpretation of *ya wi* as "eight wells" in his and the following name is doubtful.

30 This name may signify "divine-eight-wells-ears." But see preceding Note.

31 This name may signify "divine-lagoon-river-ears." But perhaps Nuna-kaha is the name of a place.

32 The character in the text is not actually "Deity," but 柱*hashira*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities, which is constantly throughout these "Records" used in speaking of members of the Imperial family.

[SECT. LII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. IX—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So when, after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, 1 [150] the elder half-brother, His Augustness Tagishi-mimi, 2 wedded 3 the Empress I-suke-yori-hime, he plotted how he might slay his three younger brethren, pending which their august 4 parent I-suke-yori-hime lamented, and made [the plot] known to her august children by a Song. The song said:

"From the River Sawi the clouds have risen across, and the leaves of the trees have rustled on Mount Unebi: the wind is about to blow." 5

Again she sang, saying:

"Ah! What rest on Mount Unebi as clouds in the day-time, will surely blow as wind at night-fall, [whence] the rustling of the leaves!" 6

When hereupon her august children, hearing and knowing [of the danger], were alarmed and forthwith were about to slay Tagishi-mimi, His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi said to his elder brother His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi: "Thy dear Augustness, [do thou] take a weapon, and go in and slay Tagishi-mimi." So he took a weapon and went in, and was about to slay him. But his arms and legs trembled so, that he was unable to slay him. So then the younger brother His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begged [to be allowed] to take the weapon which his elder brother held, and [151] went in and slew Tagishi-mimi. So again, in praise of his august name, he was called His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi. 7 Then His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi resigned [in favour of] the younger brother His Augustness Take-nuha-kaha-mimi, saying: "I could not slay the foeman; but Thine Augustness was at once able to slay him. So, though I be the elder brother, it is not right that I should be the superior. 8 Wherefore do Thine

Augustness be the superior, and rule [all] beneath the Heaven. I [9] will assist Thine Augustness, becoming a priest, [10] and respectfully serving thee."

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, the Emperor Jim-mu. His decease is not otherwise specially mentioned; but a formula at the end of the Section, which is repeated *mutatis mutandis* in the case of each Emperor, tells us the number of years he lived or reigned, and the place of his sepulture. Throughout these "Records," much matter is often placed in the reign of a Monarch already deceased, and which, according to our ideas, would more naturally be narrated under the heading of his successor.

2 Who was the deceased Emperor's son by Princess Ahira (see Sect. LI, Note 6,) and Consequently, step-son to the Empress and half-brother to her three sons.

3 This is the meaning of the Chinese character in the text, Motowori tries to save the Empress-Dowager's reputation for conjugal fidelity by rendering it in his *kana* reading by a word signifying "raped."

4 See Sect. XXII, Note 4.

5 The import of this metaphorical poem, taken in its context, is too clear to need much comment. The rising off the clouds and the rustling of the leaves may be supposed to represent the murderer's preparations, and the blowing of the wind his actual onslaught.

6 The meaning of this Song is: "The would-be murderer remains quiet during the day-time like the clouds hanging to the mountain-side; but at night he will I burst upon you like the storm-wind. Already I hear the leaves begin to rustle; already he is gathering his men together."

7 The word *take* prefixed to the name of this prince signifies "brave."

8 *I.e.*, either "superior to thee," or as Motowori understands the phrase, "the superior of all," *scil*. the Emperor.

9 Though the elder brother, he here uses the humble character 僕"servant," to show his respect and deference.

10 Literally, "a person who shuns," *q.d.* who shuns all pollution, and avoids certain food at certain seasons. *Conf*. the gentile name *Imi-be* commented on in Sect. XXXIII, Note 32.

[SECT. LIII. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X. — GENEALOGIES).]

So His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi (is the ancestor of the Chieftains of Mamuta, 1 and of the Chieftains of Teshima.) 2 His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi (is the ancestor of the Grandees of Oho, 3 of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Chihisako, 4 of the chieftains of [152] the Tribe of Sahahi, 5 of the Dukes of Hi, 6 of the Dukes of Ohokida, 7 of the Dukes of Aso, 8 of the Chieftains of the Granaries of Tsukushi, 9 of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe, 10 of the Rulers of the Tribe of Sazaki, 11 of the Rulers of Wo-Hatsuse, 12 of the Suzerains of Tsuke, 13 of the Rulers of the land of Iyo, 14 of the Rulers of the land of Shinanu, 15 of the Rulers of the land of Ihaki in Michinoku, 16 of the Rulers of the Land of Naka [153] in Hitachi, 17 of the Rulers of the land of Nagasa, 18 of the Suzerains of Funaki in Ise, 19 of the Grandees of Niha in Wohari, 20 and of the Grandees of Shimada.) 21

Footnotes

1 *Mamuta no murazhi*. Mamuta is said to have been a place in the province of Kahachi. The etymology of the name is obscure.

2 *Teshima no murazhi*. Teshima is said to have been a place in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name may signify "luxuriant island."

3 *Oho no omi*. Oho is said to have been a place in the province of Yamato. The name is mostly written with characters signifying "vast" or "numerous."

4 *Chihisako-be no murazhi*. Chihisako is said to have been a place in the province of Etchiū. But the name of this family has also been traced to an incident mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names "as having occurred in the reign of the Emperor Yūriyaku, when, owing to a verbal error, a tax was collected in children instead of in cocoons. The

monarch, amused at the mistake, is said to have granted to the tax-collector the "gentile name" of *Chihisako*, i.e., "Little Child."

5 *Sakahi-be no muhazhi*. *Sakahi* signifies "boundary," and this "gentile name" is traced to the fact, mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names," that the founder of the family distinguished himself by setting up boundary-marks on the frontiers of different provinces in the reign of the Emperor In-giyō (first half of the fifth century of the Christian era).

6 *Hi no kimi*, Hi (肥) is the name of a province (now two provinces) in the south-western island of Tsukushi. It is first mentioned in Sect. V, Note 17.

7 *Ohokida no kimi*. Ohokida is the name of a district in the province of Toyo.

8 *Aso no himi*. Aso is the name of a district in Higo, containing a celebrated volcano.

9 *Tsukushi no miyake no murazhi*.

10 *Sazaki-be no omi*. This name is connected by the compiler of the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" with that of the Emperor Nin-toku (Oho-sazaki no Mikoto), for which see Sect. CIV, Note 18.

11 *Sazaki-be no miyatsuko*.

12 *Wo hatsuse no miyatsuko*. This name is connected with that of the Emperor Mu-retsu, whose name was Wo-Hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki.

13 *Tsuke no atahe*. Tsuke is the name of a place in Yamato.

14 *Iyo no kuni no miyatsuko*. For the province of Iyo see Sect. V, Note 26.

15 *Shinanu no kuni no miyatsuko*. For the province of Shinanu (Shinano) see Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

16 *Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko*. A popular derivation of Michinoku is from *michi no kuni*, "the country of the road;" but a more likely one, sanctioned by Motowori, is from *michi no oku*, "the furthest or more distant part of the road." (For the word "road," as here used, *conf.* Sect. LXV, Note 2.). It was for many centuries, and is still in poetry, a vague name for the entire north of Japan. *Ihaki*, sometimes considered a province, and at others only ranking as a district, formed its south-eastern portion along the Pacific sea-board. The name seems to signify "rock (or hard) castle."

17 *Hitachi no naka no huni no miyatzuko*. Hitachi is a province to the south of Ihaki. Motowori quotes more than one traditional derivation of its name, the best of which, taken from the old Topography of the province, is hita-michi, "plain road," referring to the level nature of that part of the country. Naka is the name of a district. The word signifies "middle," and may have arisen from the fact of the district bearing it being situated between two considerable rivers.

18 *Nagasa no kuni no miyatsuko*. Nagasa is a district in that portion of the old province of Kadzusa which was in very early historical times cut off from the little province of Aha. The import of the name is not clear.

19 *Ise no Funaki no atahe*. For Ise see Sect. XLIX, Note 4. Of Funaki nothing is known. The characters with which the name is written signify "boat-tree."

20 *Ohari no Niha no omi*. Wohari is one of the central provinces of Japan. The name is of uncertain origin. Niha is the name of a district, and is of

uncertain origin.

21 *Shimada no omi*. Shimada is the name of a district in Wohari, and signifies "island rice-fields."

[SECT. LIV. —EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi ruled the Empire. Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko were one hundred and thirty-seven. [1] His august mausoleum is on the top of the Kashi Spur on the northern side of Mount Unebi. [2]

Footnotes

1 The author's confused style must not here mislead the student. It is after the decease of the Emperor Jim-mu (Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko), who attains to the age of a hundred and thirty-seven, that the Emperor Suwi-zei (Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi) begins to rule.

2 For *Unebi* see Sect. LI, Note 9. *Kashi* signifies "oak." The word rendered "spur "is *wo*.

[SECT. LV. —EMPEROR SUI-ZEI.]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi dwelt at the palace of Takawoka in Kadzuraki, [1a] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kaha-mata-bime, [2a] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki, [3a] and begot [154] an august child: His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi [4] (one Deity), The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tsukida. [5]

Footnotes

1a In the province of Yamato. *Taka-woka* signifies "high mound." *Kadzuraki* means "pueraria castle," a name accounted for by a legend in the "Chronicles," which relates how an earth-spider was caught in this place by means of a net made of pueraria tendrils. Kadzuraki was the name, not only of a town, but of a district.

2a *I.e.*, the Princess of Kahamata, a place in Kahachi. The name signifies "river-fork." For the omission in this and a few other places of the words "daughter of," etc., which might be expected instead of "ancestress," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI.

3a *Shiki na agata-nushi*. Shiki is in Yamato. The signification of the name seems to be "stone castle."

4 *Shiki-tsu-hiko* signifies "Prince of Shiki." Motowori believes Tamade to be in like manner the name of a place, while he interprets mi as the common abbreviation of the Honorific (?) *mimi*.

5 A place in Yamato. Motowori derives the name from *tsuki* modern *toki*), the "ibis," and *ta*, "rice-field."

[SECT. LVI. —EMPEROR AN-NEI.]

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi dwelt in the palace of Ukiana at Kata-shiha, 1b and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Akuto-hime, 2b daughter of the Departmental Lord Haye, 3b elder brother of Kaha-mata-bime, and begot august children: His Augustness Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone, 4 next His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo, 6 next His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko. 5 Of the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign, —three Deities, —His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. There were two Kings, 7 children of the next [brother], His Augustness [155] Shiki-tsu-hiko. One child 8 (was the ancestor of the Territorial Lords of Suchi in Iga, 9 of the Territorial Lords of Nabari, 10 and of the Territorial Lords of Minu); 11 one child, 12 His Augustness Wa-chi-tsumi, 13 dwelt in the palace of Miwi in Ahaji. 14 So this King had two daugther: the name of the elder was Hahe-irone, 15 and another name for her was Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are: 16 the name of the younger was Hahe-irodo. 17 The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-nine. Augustness mausoleum est in privatis partibus Montis Unebi. 18

Footnotes

1b In Kahachi: *uki-ana* signifies "floating hole," *Kata-shiha* is said to signify "hard rock" (*kata-iha*); but this seems doubtful, and the reading given by the characters in the text is not *Kata-shiha*, but *Kata-shiho*.

2b *I.e.*, Princess of Akuto, or Akuta, —for the latter form of the name is more common. There exists a place thus called in Settsu. The derivation of the word is obscure.

3b *Agata-nushi-Haye*. The reading of this name is obscure, and its, derivation uncertain.

4 *Irone* signifies "elder brother" or "elder sister." The rest of the compound is obscure.

5 The first three elements of the compound signify "Great Yamato Prince." The last two are obscure, but Motowori identifies *suki* (see Note 3 to preceding Sect.)

6 *I.e.*, "Prince of Shiki"; so called, it is supposed, with reference to the place of residence of his grandfather.

7 The character thus translated is 王, of which "King "is the original and proper signification. To judge by some other passages in the ancient histories, it had not yet in the 8th century altogether paled to the lesser meaning of "prince," which has belonged to it in later times when denoting Japanese personages. It is still, as far as possible, used to denote the rulers of all countries excepting Japan, the zealous admirers of the native literature and institutions even designating by it the Emperor of China, who, one would have thought, had a special right to the more Honorific title of Emperor, which his own subjects were the first to invent. On the whole, Therefore, "King "seems to be the most appropriate rendering. The characters 王女are, by analogy, rendered "Queen."

8 The text has "descendant"; but it must here be corrupt or at least faulty, as may be seen by the omission of the proper name.

9 *Iga no Suchi no inaki*. The etymology of *Iga* and that of *Suchi* are alike obscure. See however Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, for the traditional derivation of the former. It is the name of a small province which in very ancient times formed part of the province of Ise.

10 *Nabari no inaki*. Nabari is in Iga. The name signifies, "hiding."

11 *Minu no inaki*. Minu, not to be confounded with the province of the same name, is a place in Iga. The name probably signifies "three moors."

12 *I.e.*, the other child.

13 Motowori reads *Chichitsumi*. In any case, the name remains obscure.

14 For Ahaji see Sect. VI, Note 3. *Mi-wi* signifies "august well," and the name is traced to the custom of bringing water from the Island of Ahaji for use in the Imperial Palace, as mentioned in Sect. CXXIX of the present work, and elsewhere in the early literature.

15 *Irone* means "elder sister." *Hahe* is of uncertain import, it being written with completely different characters in the two histories.

16 *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto*. *Ono-yamato-kuni* signifies "the land of Great Yamato," and *hime* signifies "princess "or "maiden." Motowori suggests that *are*, which is an obscure word, may signify "pure."

17 *Irodo* signifies "younger sister." For *hahe conf*. Note 15.

18 *Scil*. in interiori parte montis, *e.g.* in spelunca. Motowori explains the use of the term by reference to such words as foot, where the name of a portion of the human body is applied to a mountain. In Japanese there are others besides *ashi* ("foot"), such as *itadaki*, *hara* and *koshi*.

[156]

[SECT. LVII. —EMPEROR I-TOKU.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo dwelt in the palace of Sakahiwo at Karu, 1 and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded her Augustness Princess Futo-ma-waka, 2 another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Ihi-bi, 3 ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki, 4 and begot august children: His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-wake-shine, 5 next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko 6 (two Deities). So His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Chinu, 7 of the Lords of Take in Tajima, 8 and of the Territorial Lords of Ashiwi). 9 The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is above the Vale of Manago by Mount Unebi. 10

Footnotes

1 Karu, which still remains as a village in the province of Yamato, was famous down to the early historical days of Japan, being often mentioned by the poets. The derivation of the name is quite uncertain. *Sakahi-wo* probably signifies "boundary mound."

2 *Futo-ma-wakes-hime-no-mikoto*. The compound signifies "vast, true, and young princess."

3 *Ihibi-hime-no-mikoto*. The name seems to signify "rice-sun-princess."

4 See Sect. LV, Note 3.

5 The import of this name is obscure.

6 *i.e.*, perhaps "rudder prince."

7 *Chinu no wake*. For Chinu see Sect. XLIV, Notes 35 and 36.

8 *Tajima no Take no wake*. Motowori tells us that no mention of any place called Take in the province of Tajima is to be found in any other book.

9 *Ashiwi no inaki*. The same remark applies to this name as to the last. The two "gentile names" here mentioned are equally unknown except from this passage.

10 *Unebi-yama no Manago-dani*. It is in Yamato, and is now called Masago. The name signifies "a sandy place, or desert."

[SECT. LVIII. —EMPEROR KO-SHO.]

His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine dwelt at the palace of Waki-no-kami in Kadzuraki, 1 and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness [157] Princess Yoso-taho, 2 younger sister of Oki-tsu-yoso 3 ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari, 4 and begot august children: His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko, 5 and next His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito 6 (two Deities). Now the younger brother, His Augustness Tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The elder brother His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kasuga, 7 the Grandees of Ohoyake, 8 the Grandees of Ahata, 9 the Grandees of Wonu; 10 the Grandees of Kaki-no-moto, 11 the Grandees of Ichihiwi; 12 the Grandees of Ohosaka, 13 the Grandees of Ana, 14 the Grandees of Taki: 15 [158] the Grandees of Haguri, 16 the Grandees of Chita, 17 the Grandees of Muza; 18 the Grandees of Tsunuyama, 19 the Dukes of Ihitaka in Ise, 20 the Dukes of Ichishi, 21 and the Rulers of the Land of Chika-tsu-Afumi). 22

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-three. His August mausoleum is on Mount Hakata 23 at Waki-no-kami.

Footnotes

1 In Yamato. The name of Waki-no-kami is of uncertain derivation. In the "Chronicles" the Emperor Kō-shō is said to have "dwelt at the palace of Ikegokoro at Waki-no-kami." For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 *Yoso-taho-bime-no-mikoto*. Here written phonetically, this name appears in the "Chronicles "written with characters to which the signification of "perfectly ornamented princess" should be attributed.

3 The signification of this name is obscure, but it seems to be connected in some way with that of the other sister.

4 *Wohari no murazhi*.

5 *I.e.*, heavenly great perfect prince."

6 *I.e.*, "great Yamato perfect prince, country great man." This name appears in an abbreviated form in the next sentence.

7 *Kasuga na omi*. Kasuga is a celebrated place in the province of Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin, though the "Catalogue of Family Names" gives a story referring it to *Kasu gaki* (糟垣), *i.e.*, "lees fence." The curious combination of characters with which Kasuga is written, — 春日—may be traced to the Pillow-Word *haru-hi no* (春日之) which was not unnaturally prefixed to a name which so much resembled the Verb *kasumu*, "to be misty."

8 *Ohoyake no omi*. Ohoyake is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "great granary."

9 *Ahata no omi*. Ahata is a place in Yamashiro. The name signifies "millet-field."

10 *Wonu no omi*. Wonu is a place in Afumi. The name signifies "little moor."

11 *Kakinnomoto-uo-omi*. *Kaki-no-moto* signifies "at the bottom of the persimmon-tree," and the name is said by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to have been granted to this family in allusion to a persimmon-tree which grew near their gate. This name was rendered illustrious in the eighth century by the poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro (See the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," of seq.).

12 *Ichihiwi no omi*. Ichihiwi is in Yamato. The name may signify "oak-well."

13 *Ohosaka no omi*. Ohosaka is a place in Bingo. The name signifies "great hill, or pass."

14 *Ana no omi*. Ana is a department in Bingo. The name signifies "hole" or "cave."

15 *Taki no omi*. Taki is a district in Tamba. The name, which is a common one in Japan, means "water-falls."

16 *Haguri no omi*. Haguri is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

17 *Chita no omi*. Chita is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

18 *Musa no omi*. Mudza is a district in Kadzusa. The name seems to be a corruption of the Chinese words 武射, "warlike archer."

19 *Tsunuyama no omi*. The family, the place, and the signification of the name are alike obscure.

20 *Ise no Ihitaka no kimi*. Ihitaka is the name of a district, and is traced to the signification of "abundant rice."

21 *Ichishi no kimi*. Ichishi is a district in Ise. The signification of the name is obscure.

22 *Chika tsu Afumi no kuni-no-miyatsuko*. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

23 In Yamato. The signification of the name is obscure.

[SECT. LIX. —EMPEROR KOAN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito dwelt in the palace of Akidzushima at Muro [1] in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded his niece Her Augustness Princess Oshika, [2] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi, [3] next His Augustness, Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [4] (two Deities). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [159] [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tamade. [5]

Footnotes

1 In Yamato. *Muro* signifies "cave" or "pit." *Aki-dzu-shima*, "the Island of the Dragon-Fly," is frequently used as an alternative name of Japan (see Sect. V, Note 26). See also the Emperor Yū-riyaku's song given in Sect. CLVI.

2 *Oshika-hime-no-mikoto*. The name Oshika, which is obscure, appears in the "Chronicles" under the form of *Oshi*, which has generally been interpreted by Motowori (whom the translator follows) as a corruption of *ohoshi*, "great." This version of the name makes it harmonize with that of the Princess's father.

3 See Sect. LX, Note 11.

4 This name seems to signify "Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel."

5 *Tamade no woka*. In Yamato. For this name see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI.

[SECT. LX. —EMPEROR KŌ-REI.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni dwelt at the Palace of Ihodo at Kuruda, 1 and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuhashi, 2 daugther of Ohome, 3 ancestor of the Departmental Lords of Tohochi, 4 and begot an august child: His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru 5 (one Deity). Again he wedded Princess Chiji-haya-ma-waka of Kasuga, 6 and begot an august child: Her Augustness Princess Chiji-haya 7 (one Deity). Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are, 8 he begot august children: Her Augustness Yamato-to-mo-so-bime, 9 next His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake; 10 next His [160] Augustness Hiko-isa-seri-biko, 11 another name for whom is His Augustness Oho-biki-tsu-hiko: next Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime 12 (four Deities). Again he wedded Haheirodo, 13 younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Are, and begot august children, —His Augustness Hiko-same-ma, 14 next His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko 15 (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all eleven Deities (five kings and three queens). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The two Deities His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko and His Augustness Waka-take-kibi-tsu-hiko together set sacred jars 16 at the front 17 of the River Hi 18 in Hari-ma; 19 and, making Harima the mouth of the road, 20 subdued and pacified the Land of Kibi. So His Augustness [161] Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kamu-tsu-michi in Kibi) 21 The next, His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kiki-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Shimo-tsu-michi in Kibi 22 and of the Grandees of Kasa 23). The next His Augustness Hiko-same-ma (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uzhika in Harima 24). The next, His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tonami in Koshi, 25 of the Grandees of Kunisaki in the Land of Toyo, 26 of the Dukes of Ihobara, 27 and of the Maritime Suzerains of

Tsunuga). [28] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and six. His august mausoleum is at Umasaka at Kotawoka. [29]

Footnotes

1 In Yamato. *Iho-do* signifies "hut door." *Kuru-da* (*Kuroda* would be the more natural reading) signifies "black rice-field."

2 *Kuhashi-hime-no-mikoto*. The name signifies "beautiful princess."

3 This seems to have been originally not a personal name, but the name of a place in Wohari.

4 *To-hochi no agata-mushi*. Tohochi is a district in Yamato. The name seems to signify "ten marts."

5 This name signifies "great Yamato's lord prince who rules the land."

6 *Kasuga no-chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime*. This name probably signifies "the thousand-fold brilliant truly young princess of Kasuga." For Kasuga see Sect, LVIII, Note 7.

7 *Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto*, *i.e.*, probably "thousand-fold brilliant princess."

8 *Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto*. See Sect. LVI, Note 16.

9 Motowori assigns to this name the signification of "Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious princess," and has a very long note on the subject in Vol. XXI, *et seq*.

10 The signification of this name is not clear.

11 *I.e.*, "prince valorously advancing prince." The alternative name signifies "Great Prince of Kibi," and both refer to his conquest of the province of Kibi as related a little further on in this Section. Motowori gives good reasons for supposing that *Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi*, *i.e.* "He Who Completely Advances in Great Kibi," is but another form of the same name, erroneously inserted in the account of the preceding reign (see Sect, LIX, Note 3).

12 *I.e.*, perhaps "Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental Princess." The name resembles that of the elder sister.

13 For this and the next following names see Sect. LVI, Notes 17 and 16 respectively.

14 This name is obscure, and differs from that given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," where we read Sashima. The latter sounds more authentic.

15 *I.e.*, "the young prince the brave prince of Kibi." This name refers to his conquest of Kibi, as related a few lines further on.

16 *I.e.*, earthenware jars of a moderate size, probably intended to hold the rice-liquor offered to the gods, being easily broken, they were planted in the ground up to a certain height.

17 The probable meaning of this peculiar expression is "a bend in the river,"

18 Written with the character 氷, "ice," which may however be only phonetic. No river of this name is anywhere else mentioned as flowing through the province of Harima, and one is tempted to suppose that there is some confusion with the celebrated river Hi, which figures so frequently in the Idzumo cycle of legends.

19 One of the central provinces of Japan, on the northern shores of the Inland Sea. Some derive the name from *hagi-hara*, "lespedeza moor," while others, connect it with *hari*, a "needle," Neither etymology has much to recommend it.

20 *I.e.*, "their point of departure." It must also be remembered that "road "came to have the sense of "circuit "or "province," so that we might translate this phrase by "the commencement of the circuit." *Conf.* such denominations as *Koshi no michi no kuchi*, *Koshi no michi no naka*, and *Koshi no michi no shiri* for what are in modern parlance the provinces of Echizen, Etchiū and Echigo. The region nearest to the capital was called the mouth, while equally graphic designations were bestowed on the more remote districts. It was, as we learn by comparison with a passage in the history of the reign of the Emperor Su-jin (see Sect. LXVI, Note 13), customary thus to plant earthenware jars in the earth at the point whence an army started on an expedition, this being considered a means of invoking upon it the blessing of the gods. Not only so, but down to the Middle Ages travellers in general were in the habit of worshipping at the shrine of the god of roads. For "road" in the sense of "circuit," "province," or "administrative division "see Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

21 *Kibi no kamu-tsu-michi no omi*. *Kamu-tsu-michi i.e.*, "the Upper Road "or "Circuit," was the ancient name of the province of Bizen (or of a portion of it), which formerly was a part of the Land of Kibi.

22 *Kibi no shimo-tsu-michi no omi*. *Shimo-tsu-michi* means "the lower road," and was the ancient name of a portion of the province of Bitchiū, which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

23 *Kasa no omi*, *i.e.*, "Grandees of the Hat," a "gentile name" which is referred by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, which he however by no means clearly relates (See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI).

24 *Harima no Uzhika no omi*. Uzhika is the name of a place. It is written with characters signifying "cow and deer," but the true derivation is quite uncertain.

25 *Koshi no Tonami no omi*. Tonami is a district in Etchiū. The signification of the name is uncertain.

26 *Toyo-kuni no Kunisaki no omi*. Kunisaki is a district in Bungo. The name seems to signify "Land's End."

27 *Ihobara no kimi*. Ihobara is a district in Suruga. The signification of the name is obscure.

28 *Tsunuga no ama no atahe*. For Tsunuga see Sect. CI, Notes 3 and 12. Perhaps the name should rather be rendered "the Suzerains of Ama in Tsunuga," as Ama may, after all, as Motowori suggests, be here the name of a place.

29 In the Province of Yamato. *Kata-woka* signifies "side-mound" or "incomplete mound." *Uma-saka* signifies "horse-hill" or "horse-pass." Umasaka should perhaps be understood as the particular designation of a portion of the ascent of Katawoka, which is mentioned in the "Chronicles "as the name of a mountain.

[162]

[SECT. LXI. —EMPEROR KŌ-GEN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko -kuni-kuru dwelt in the palace of Sakaki-bara at Karu, 1 and ruled the Empire. This heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Utsu-shiko-me, 2 younger sister of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, 3 ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi, 4 and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-biko, 5 next His Augustness Sukuna-biko-take-wi-goro; 6 next His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi 7 (three Deities).

Again, wedding Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me, 8 daughter of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, he begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-makoto. 9 Again, wedding Princess Haniyasu, 10 daugther of Awotama 11 of Kafuchi, he begot an august child: His Augustness Take-hani-yasu-biko 12 (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered in all five Deities]. So His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of [163] his elder brother, His Augustness Oho-biko, were His Augustness Take-numa-kaha-wake 13 (ancestor of the Grandees of Abe); 14 next His Augustness Hiko-inakoshi-wake 15 (This was the ancestor of the Butler Grandees.) 16 His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-mikoto wedded Princess Takachina of Kadzuraki, 17 young sister of Cho-nabi, 18 ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari, 19 and begot a child: the Noble Umashi Uchi. 20 (This was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uchi in Yamashiro.) 21 Again, wedding Princess Yama-shita-kage, 22 younger sister of Udzu-hiko, 23 ancestor of the Rulers of the Lord of Ki, 24 he begot a child, the Noble Take-Uchi 25 The children of this Noble Take-Uchi [numbered] in all nine (seven males and two females), — namely] the Noble of Hata-no-Yashiro, 26 [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Hata, 27 of the Grandees

of Hayashi, 28 of the Grandees of Hami, 29 of the Grandees of Hoshikaha, 30 of the Grandees of Afumi, 31 and of the Dukes of the Hatsuse Tribe); 32 next the Noble Kose-no-Wo-Kara 33 [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kose, 34 of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe, 35 and of the Grandees of the Karu Tribe); 36 next the Noble Soga no Ishikaha 37 [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Soga, 38 of the Grandees of Kahanobe, 39 of the Grandees of Tanaka, 40 of the Grandees of Takamuko, 41 of the Grandees of Woharida 42 of the Grandees of Sakurawi, 43 and of the Grandees of Kishida); 44 next the Noble Heguri-no-Tsuku, 45 [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri, 46 of the Grandees of Sawara, 47 and of the Uma-mi-kuhi Chiefs) 48 next the Noble Kino-Tsunu 49 [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Ki, 50 of the Grandees of Tsumu; 51 and of the Grandees of Sakamoto) 52 next Princess Mato of Kume; 53 next Princess Nu-no-iro; 54 next Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko 55 [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tamade, 56 of the Grandees of Ikuha, 57 of the Grandees [166] of Ikuye 58 and of the Grandees of Agina), 59 Moreover, [there was] the Noble Waku-go 60 (the ancestor of the Grandees of Yenuma). 61 This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the mound in the middle of the Pool of Tsurugi. 62

Footnotes

1 In Yamato. For Karu see Sect. LVII, Note I. *Sakahi-bara* signifies "boundary moor."

2 *I.e.*, perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming female."

3 *I.e.*, perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming male."

4 *Hodzumi no omi*. There are several places called Hodzumi in various provinces. The name appears to signify "piling up rice-ears."

5 *I.e.*, "great prince."

6 *I.e.*, "little prince-fierce-boar-heart," the boar being known for its savage disposition.

7 Excluding the last member of the compound, this name signifies "Young-Yamato-lord-prince-great" *Bibi* is identified by Motowori with the word *mimi*, which so often recurs in proper names (see Sect. XIII, Note 18).

8 Motowori explains this name in the sense of "brilliant-alarming-female," but some doubt must attach to it.

9 *I.e.*, perhaps, "prince vast-great-truth."

10 *Hani-yasu-bime*. This name has already been met with in Sect. VII, Note 3. Motowori however supposes that in this place Haniyasu should be considered to be the name of a place in Yamato.

11 *I.e.*, a man called "green jewel" who lived in the province of Kafuchi.

12 *Take* signifies "brave." For the rest of the name see Note 10.

13 *Take* signifies "brave." *Wake* is either "young" or "lord." For *Nuna-kaha* see Sect. LI, Note 31.

14 *Abe no omi*. There are several places called Abe, and it is doubtful to which of them the text here refers.

15 The signification of *inakoshi* seems to be "rice-chariot". *Hiko* is "prince," and *wake* either "young "or "lord."

16 *Kashihade no omi*, This name is traditionally referred to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Kei-ko, who is said to have bestowed it on one of his attendants who served up to him a particularly savoury dish of shell-fish. "Butlers" (perhaps the word might also be rendered "cooks") have been mentioned towards the end of Sect. XXXII, and again in the legend of Jim-mu's slaughter of the "earth-spiders "related in Sect. XLVIII.

17 *Katsuraki-no-takachina-bime-no-mikoto*. The signification of *Takachina* is obscure.

18 By aphaeresis for *Oho-inabi*, the form of the name given in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages." itself perhaps standing by apocope for *Oho-ina-biko*, which would signify "great rice-prince."

19 *Wohari no Murazhi*.

20 *Umashi Uchi no sukune*. Umashi signifies "sweet," and *Uchi* is the name of a place in Yamashiro.

21 *Yamashiro no Uchi no omi*.

22 This name may be rendered literally "the shade beneath the mountains," but the signification is "the glow from the autumn leaves on the mountain-side."

23 *I.e.*, probably "wonderful (or precious) prince."

24 *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko no aya*.

25 *Take-Uchi no sukune*. *Take* signifies "brave," and *Uchi* is the name of a district in Yamato. The common, but erroneous, reading of this name is *Take no Uchi no sukune*. The celebrated personage, who may be styled the Methuselah of Japan, is said to have lived during the reigns of five Emperors, who themselves averaged over a hundred years of life each. His own age is variously given as 255, 260, etc. up to 360 years.

26 *Hata no Yashiro no sukune*. *Hata* and *Yashiro* are supposed by Motowori to be the names of places in Yamato. *Yashiro* signifies "shrine." *Hata* is of uncertain derivation.

27 *Hata no omi*.

28 *Hayashi no omi*. Hayashi is the name of a place in Kawachi, and signifies "forest."

29 *Hami no omi*. There is a Hami in Afumi and another in Tamba. The signification of the name is obscure.

30 *Hoshikaha no omi*. Hoshikaha is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "star river."

31 *Afumi no omi*. For Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

32 *Hatsuse-be no Kimi*. For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8.

33 *Kose no Wo-kara no sukune*. Kose is the name of a place in Yamato. The meaning of Wo-kara is obscure.

34 *Kose no omi*.

35 *Sazakibe no omi*. See Sect. LIII, Note 10.

36 *Kurube no omi*.

37 *Soga no Ishikaha no sukune*. Soga is a place in Yamato, and Ishikaha a district in Kahachi. In cases like this it must generally be presumed that the family had two seats, or was divided into two branches residing in different places. Sometimes, however, the original seat and that to which the family afterwards removed are meant to be indicated.

38 *Soga no omi*. The signification of Soga is obscure.

39 *Kahanobe no omi*. Kahanobe is the name of a district in Settsu, and signifies "river-bank."

40 *Tanaka no omi*. Tanaka is the name of a place in Yamato and signifies "among the rice-fields."

41 *Takamuko no omi*. Takamuko seems to be the name of a place in Echizen. Its signification is uncertain.

42 *Woharida no omi*. Woharida is a place in Yamato. The name seems to mean "little ploughed field."

43 *Sakurawi no omi*. Sakurawi is the name of a place in Kahachi and signifies "cherry-tree well."

44 *Kishida no omi*. Kishida is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is not clear.

45 *Heguri no Tsuku no sukune*. Heguri is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain signification. *Tsuku* (modern *dzuku*), "owl," is a name which is referred to a tradition that will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII.

46 *Heguri no omi*.

47 *Sawara no omi*. Sawara was perhaps a district in Chikuzen. The signification of the name is obscure.

48 *Uma mi-kuhi no murazhi*. The literal significance of the characters with which *Uma-mi-kuhi* is written is "horse august post." But whether this name had any relation to horses, or whether it should simply be regarded as the name of a place is quite uncertain.

49 *Ki no Tsunu no sukune*. Ki is the name of a province, and Tsunu that of a district in another province, —the province of Suhau (Suwō). *Conf*. Note 37.

50 *Ki no omi*.

51 *Tsunu no omi*.

52 *Sakamoto no omi*. Sakamoto is the name of a place in Idzumi and signifies "base of the hill."

53 *Kume no Ma-ito-hime*. Kume may be, as Motowori says, the name of a place. But see Sect. XXXIV, Note 7. In any case the place, if it existed, was probably called after some person of the name of Kume. The signification of Ma-iro is obscure.

54 *Nu-no-iro-hime*. The meaning of this name is obscure.

55 Kadzuraki is the already frequently mentioned name of a district in Yamato, and Nagaye is likewise the name of a place, —whether in Yamato or in Kahachi is not certain. It signifies "long inlet." Motowori thinks that the syllable *so* in this place is the same as the of *kuma-so*, and signifies "valiant "or "fierce."

56 *Tamade no omi*. There is a Tamade in Yamato and another in Kahachi. The signification of the name is uncertain.

57 *Ikuha no omi*. The "Chronicles of Japan" tell us that the original form of this name *Ikuha* was *uki-ha*, *i.e.*, "floating leaf," and give a story to account for it. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, where the reason traditionally given to explain the fact of the name Ikuha being written with the character 的is also mentioned at length.

58 *Ikuye no omi*. Ikuye must have been the name of a place; but nothing is known of it.

59 Agina no anti. The same observation applies to this as to the preceding name.

60 *Waku-go no sukune*. *Waku-go* signifies "young child "or youth," an Honorific designation.

61 *Yenuma no omi*. Yenuma is the name of a district in Kaga, and signifies "inlet-lagoon."

62 In Yamato. This pool or lake is often mentioned in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and was celebrated for its lotus-flowers. We hear of it in the "Chronicles of Japan," as having been dug in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, but it was probably, like many others, a natural pool or marsh, which was afterwards improved. The name signifies "sabre."

[SECT. LXII. —EMPEROR KAI-KUWA.]

His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-ōho-bibi dwelt in the palace of Izakaha at Kasuga, 1 and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Princess of Takanu, 2 daughter of Yugori 3 the Great Departmental Lord of Taniha, 4 and begot an august child: His [167] Augustness Hiko-yumusumi, 5 (one Deity). Again he wedded his step-mother, Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me, 6 and begot august children: His Augustness Mima-kiri-biko-iniwe; 7 next Her Augustness Mima-tsuhime 8 (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Oke-tsu-hime, 9 younger sister of His Augustness Hiko-kuni-oketsu, 10 ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, 11 and begot an august child: King Hiko-imasu 12 (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Washi, 13 daughter of the Noble Kadzuraki-no-tarumi, 14 he begot an august child, —King Take-tayo-hadzura-wake 15 (one Deity); The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all five Deities (four Kings and one Queen), So His Augustness Mi-maki-iri-biko-iniwe [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, King Hiko-yumusumI was: King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne; 16 next King Sanugi-tari-ne 17 (two Kings). There [168] were five Deities daugther of these two Kings. Next King Hiko-imasu wedded the Princess of Yena in Yamashiro, 18 another name for whom was Kari-bata-tobe, 19 and begot children: King Ohō-mata; 20 next King Wo-mata; 21 next King Noble [of?] Shibumi 22 (three Deities). Again, wedding Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome, 23 daughter of Take-kuni-katsu-tome, of Kasuga, 24 he begot children: King Saho-biko; 25 next King Wo-zaho; 26 next Her Augustness Saho-bime, 27 another name for whom is Sahaji-hime 28 (Her Augustness Saho-bime here mentioned was consort of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume); 29 and King Muro-biko, 30 (four Deities). Again, wedding Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime, 31 daugther of the [169] Heavenly

Deity Mikage, [32] who is held in reverence by the deacons of Mikami in Chika-tsu-Afumi, [33] he begot children: King Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha; [34] next King Midzuho-no-ma-wa-ka; [35] next King Kamu-oho-ne, [36] another name for whom is King Yatsuri-iri-biko; [37] next Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-hime; [38] next Mimi-tsu-hime; [39] (three Deities). Again, wedding his mother's younger sister Her Augustness Woke-tsu-hime, [40] he begot children: King Ma-wata of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro; [41] next King Hiko-osu; [42] next king Iri-ne [43] (two Deities). Altogether the children of King Hiko-imasu [numbered] in all eleven Kings. So the children of the elder brother King Oho, mata were: King Ake-tatsu; [44] next King Unakami [45] [170] (two Deities). This King Ake-tatsu (was the ancestor of the Dukes of the Homuji Tribe in Ise [46] and of the Rulers of Sana in Ise) [47] King Una-kami (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Himeda. [48] The next King Wo-mata (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Magari in Tagima). [49] The next King Noble Shibumi (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Sasa) [50] The next King Saho-biko (was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Kusaka Tribe [51] and of the Rulers of the Land of Kahi). [52] The next, King Wo-zaho (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kadzunu [53] and the Lords of Kanu in Chika-tsu-Afumi.) [54] The next King Muro-biko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Mimi in Wakasa.). [55] King Michi-no-ushi wedded the Lady Masu of Kahakami in Taniha, [56] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Hibasu; [57] next Her Augustness Princess Matonu; [58] next Her Augustness Oto-hime; [59] next King Mi-kado-wake [60] (four Deities). This King Mikado-wake [171] (was the ancestor of the Lords of Ho in Mikaha). [61] Prince Midzuho-no-ma-waka, younger brother of this King Michi-no-ushi, (was the ancestor of the Suzerains of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi). [62] The next, King Kamu-oho-be (was the ancestor of the [Rulers of] the Land of Minu, [63] of the Rulers of the land of Motosu, [64] and of the Chiefs of the Nagahata Tribe) [65] The next, King Mawaka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yama-shiro wedded Princess Ajisaha of Mone, [66] daugther of his younger brother Irine, and begot a child: King Kami-me-ikadzuchi. [67] This

King wedded Princess Takaki, [68] daughter of the Grandee Tohotsu of Taniha [69] and begot a child: King Noble Okinaga. [70] This king wedded the Princess of Takanuka in Kadzuraki, [71] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi [72] next Her Augustness Sora-tsu-hime; [73] next King Prince Okinaga [74] (three Deities. This [172] King was the ancestor of the Dukes of Homuji in Kibi, [75] and of the Dukes of Aso in Harima). [76] Again King Noble Okinaga wedded Princess Inayori of Kahamata [77] and begot a child: King Oho-tama-saka [78] (This was the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Tajima). [79] The above-mentioned Take-toyo-hadzu-ra-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Chimori, [80] of the Rulers of the Oshinumi Tribe, [81] of the Rulers of the Mima Tribe, [82] of the Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba, [83] of the Lords of Takanu in Taniba, [84] and of the Abiko of Yosami). [85] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-three. His august mausoleum is at the top of the hill of Izakaha. [86]

Footnotes

1 For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7. Izakaha is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is uncertain.

2 *Takanu-hime*. Takanu is the name of a district in Tango, and signifies "bamboo moor."

3 The signification of this name is quite obscure.

4 *Taniha no oho-agata-nushi*. *Taniha* (modern *Tamba*) is the name of a province (formerly including the province of Tango) in Central Japan. It is supposed to mean "the place of rice-fields," the rice offered at the shrine of the Sun-Goddess in Ise being brought thence.

5 *Hiko* signifies "prince." The other syllables of tie name are obscure.

6 See Sect. LXI, Note 8.

7 *Biko* (*hiko*) signifies "prince." The other elements of this compound are obscure.

8 One is tempted to render this name by Princess of Mima. But there is no authority for regarding Mima either in this or in the preceding personal name as originally the name of a place.

9 Motowori has no explanation to offer of the syllables Oke-tsu. *Hime* means "princess."

10 *Hiko* means "prince "and *kuni* means "country.

11 *Wani no omi*. *Wani* is a place in Yamato, and there is a pass or hill of that name (*Wani-zaka*). The only signification belonging to the word wani is "crocodile."

12 *Hiko-imasu no miko*. Signification obscure.

13 Or "the Princess of Washi "or "the Eagle Princess." In Japanese *Washihime*.

14 *Kadzuraki* is the name of a district in Yamato, and Motowori believes Tarumi to be the name of a place in Settsu.

15 *Take-toyo-hadzura-wake no miko*. The first two elements of the compound signify respectively "brave "and "luxuriant" while the last probably means "lord." The signification of *hadzura* is obscure.

16 *Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne no miko*. Tsutsuki being the name of a district in Yamashiro, the whole compound signifies "prince great sufficing lord of great Tsutsuki."

17 *Sanugi-tari-ne no miko*, *i.e.*, "prince sufficing lord of Sanugi," (Sanuki, —see Sect. V, Note 6).

18 *Yamashiro no Yena tsu Hime*. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Yena that of a place in Settsu. The signification of the latter name is obscure.

19 Motowori believes *Karibata* to be the name of a place, and *tobe* (*to-me*) to signify "old woman," as in the name *Ishi-ko-ri-do-me*, which latter is however extremely obscure (see Sect. XVI, Note 12).

20 *Oho-mata no miko*. The signification of this name and of the parallel name of the younger brother is obscure.

21 *Wo-mata no miko*.

22 *Shibumi no Sukune no miko*. Shibumi is probably the name of a place, there being a Shibumi in Ise.

23 *Saho* is the name of a well-known place in Yamato, and *Kurami* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Wakasa. *Oho* means "great," and *tome*, according to Motowori, means "old woman" or simply "female." *Conf.* Note 19.

24 *Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome*. Motowori supposes this to be the name, not of the father, but the mother of the princess just mentioned. *Take* signifies "brave," and *kuni* "land." The meaning of *katsu* is obscure.

25 *Saho-biko no miko*, *i.e.*, "Prince of Saho."

26 *Wō-zaho no miko*, *i.e.*, "little (*q.d.* 'younger') prince of Saho."

27 *I.e.*, the princess of Saho.

28 It is uncertain whether we should understand this name to signify "princess Sahaji" or "the princess of Sahaji," but the latter seems the more probable.

29 *I.e.*, the Emperor Sui-nin.

30 *More-biko no miko*. *Muro-biko* signifies "Prince of Muro." Muro being a place in Yamato. It signifies "dwelling "and specially "cave."

31 *I.e.*, "flourishing and good princess of Okinaga," the latter being the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). Its signification is not clear.

32 *Ame no Mikaga no kami*. The signification of Mikaga is obscure, as is also the connection between this deity and the deacons of Mikami.

33 The signification of the name Mikami is obscure. The word rendered "deacon" is *hufuri*, the name of an inferior class of Shinto priests. See for a discussion of the etymology of the word, etc., Mr. Satow's remarks of Vol. VII of these Transactions. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

34 *Tanika no hiko Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi no miko*. The signification of *Tatatsu* is obscure, but we may accept it as the personal name of the worthy here mentioned. *Michi-no-ushi* means "master of the road," *i.e.* "lord of the province."

35 *Midzuho no ma-waka no miko*, *i.e.* "the True Young King of Midzuho," Midzuho being the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "fresh young rice-ears."

36 *Kamu-oho-ne no miko*, *i.e.*, probably, "prince divine great lord."

37 *Yatsuri-iri-biko no miko*. Yatsuri is the name of a village in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. The signification of *iri* obscure.

38 *I-ho* signifies "five hundred "and *yori* probably signifies "good." The compound may Therefore, be taken to mean "manifoldly excellent princess of Midzuho."

39 *I.e.*, probably "the Princess Miwi" (Miwi-dera in Afumi). *Mi-wi* signifies "three wells."

40 This name is parallel to that which has been commented on in Note 9 to this Section.

41 *Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko*. All the elements of this compound have already appeared in this Section.

42 *Hiko-osu no miko*. The signification of osu is obscure,

43 *Iri-ne no miko*. Signification obscure.

44 *Ake-tatsu no miko*. See Sect. LXXII, Note 20.

45 *Unakami no miko*. See Sect. LXXII, Note 19.

46 *Ise no Homuji-be no kimi*. See the mention of the establishment of this Clan at the end of Sect. LXXII.

47 *Ise no Sana no miyatsuko*. The etymology of Sana is obscure.

48 *Himeda no kimi*. Himeda is a place in Afumi. The signification of the name is obscure.

49 *Tagima no Magari no kimi*. Tagima is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. Magari is the name of a place, and means "crook "or "bend."

50 *Sasa no kimi*: Sasa is the name of a place in Iga, and is of uncertain signification.

51 *Kusakabe no murazhi*.

52 *Kahi no kuni no miyatsuko*. For Kahi see Sect. LXXXVI, Note 1.

53 *Kadzunu no wake*. Kadzunu is the name of a district in Yamashiro, and signifies "pueraria moor."

54 *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kanu no wake*. Kanu is a village in Afumi. The name is written with characters signifying "mosquito moor."

55 *Wakasa no Mimi no wake*. Mimi is the name of a village, and is of uncertain signification.

56 *Taniha no Kahakami no Masu no iratsume*. Masu is of uncertain. derivation. Kahakami is the name of a village, now comprised in the province of Tango. It signifies "river-land."

57 *Hibasu-hime*. The signification of this name is obscure.

58 *Matonu-hime*. The signification of this name is obscure.

59 *I.e.*, "the younger princess."

60 This name, which is written 朝廷別王, is curious, and Motowori has no suggestion to make touching its interpretation.

61 *Mikaha no Ho no wake*. Ho is the name of a district, and is of obscure derivation. Mikaha is the name of a maritime province. It signifies "three rivers," with reference to two large rivers which flow through it and to another which forms the boundary between it and the province of Wohari.

62 *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no atahe*. Yasu is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

63 *Minu no kuni no* [*miyatsuko*]. The word *miyatsuko*, which is not in the text, is supplied in Motowori's *kana* reading.

64 *Motosu no kuni no miyatsuko*. Motosu is the name of a district in Mino, and seems to signify "original dwelling-place."

65 *Nagahata-be no murazhi*. Nagahata is the name of a place in Hitachi, and seems to signify "long loom."

66 *Mone no Ajisaha-bime*. This name is particularly obscure, and Mone probably corrupt.

67 *Kani-me-ikadzuchi no miko*. Motowori thinks that this name signifies "fierce like a crab's eye," with reference perhaps to some personal peculiarity of the prince who bore it.

68 *Takaki-hime*. This name is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

69 *Taniha no Tohotsu omi*. This name is obscure.

70 *Okinaga no sukune no miko*. For Okinaga see Note 31 to this Section.

71 *Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime*. Takanuka is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters. signifying "high brow."

72 *Okinaga-tarashi-hime*. Okinaga is the name of a place (see Note 31). *Tarashi* is an honorific designation, signifying literally "sufficient," *i.e.*, "perfect," and is supposed by Motowori to have been bestowed after death on this princess, who was. the celebrated conqueror of Korea, and is better known to fame by her "canonical name" of Jingō Kōgō.

73 *I.e.*, "the princess of the sky."

74 *Okinaga-hiko no miko*.

75 *Kibi no Homuji no kimi*. Homuji is the name of a district in the modern province of Bingo, and may perhaps be of Chinese origin.

76 *Harima no Aso no kimi*. Aso is the name of a place, and is of uncertain origin.

77 *Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime*. Kahamata ("river-fork") is the name of a place in Kohachi. *Ina* signifies "rice," and *yori* probably signifies "good "in this and numerous other proper names.

78 *Oho-tamu-saka no miko*. This name is obscure. Motowori thinks that *Tamu-saka* may be the name of a place, and signifying "winding ascent."

79 *Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko*. For *Tajima* see Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

80 *Chi-mori no omi*. *Chi-mori* signifies "road-keeper," and perhaps we should translate this "gentile name," by "road-keeping grandees," and suppose that anciently they may have performed some functions in which the bestowal of it originated.

81 *Oshinumi-be no miyatsuko*. Oshinumi is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain import.

82 *Mina-be no miyatsuko*. Perhaps we should rather translate thus, "the Rulers of Minabe," for the name is altogether obscure.

83 *Inaba no Oshinumi-be*. Motowori supposes a branch of this family, which was originally established in Yamato, to have removed to the province of Inaba.

84 *Taniha no Takanu no wake*. Takanu is the name of a district in the modern province of Tango. It signifies "high moor."

85 *Yosami no obiko*. Yosami is the name of a place in Kahachi and is of uncertain origin, though the legends connect with the word and, "a net" (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII). It is chiefly known on account of its lake or pool, which is often mentioned in the early poetry. Abiko is a very rare "gentile name," which in the "Catalogue of Family Names "is written with the characters 我孫, but is derived by Motowori from 吾彦, *i.e.*, "my grandchildren."

86 In Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin.

[173]

[SECT. LXIII. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART I. — GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe dwelt at the Palace of Midzu-gaki at Shiki, 1 and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Tohotsu-no-ayu-me-me-kuhashi, 2 daugther of Arakaha-to-be, 3 Ruler of the land of Ki, 4 and begot august children: His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko, 5 and next Her Augustness Toyo-suki-iri-bime 6 (two Deities). Again, wedding the Great Princess of Ama, 7 ancestress of the Chiefs of Wohori, 8 he begot august children: His Augustness Oho-iri-ki; 9 next His Augustness Ya-saka-no-iri-biko; next Her Augustness Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime; next Her Augustness Towochi-no-iri-bime 10 (four Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Mimatsu, 11 daugther of His Augustness Oho-biko, he begot august children: His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi 12 next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka; 13 next Her Augustness Princess Kuni-kata; 14 next Her Augustness [159] Princess Chiji-tsuku-yamato; 15 next Her Augustness Princess Iga; 16 next His Augustness Yamato-Hiko 17 (six Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all twelve Deities (seven Kings and Queens). So His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko (was the ancestor [of the Dukes] of Kami-tsu ke-nu, 18 and the Dukes of Shimo-tsu-ke-nu). 19 The younger sister, Her Augustness Princess Toyo-Suki (was high-priestess of 20 the temple of the Great Deity of Ise.) 21 The next brother, His Augustness Oho-iri-ki (was ancestor of the Grandees of Noto). 22 The next, His Augustness Yamato-hiko, — (in the time of this King a hedge of men was the first time set in the mausoleum). 23

Footnotes

1 In Yamato. *Shiki* probably signifies "stone castle" (*ishi-ki*). *Midzugaki* signifies "fresh young hedge,"—an Honorific designation of the hedge round the Emperor's abode, which passed into a Proper Name.

2 According to Motowori's exegesis, this name is a rather remarkable instance of verbal usage, *ayu-me* ("trout-eyes") being not properly part of the name at all, but only a Pillow-Word for what follows, viz., *Me-kakushi-hime*, *i.e.* "Princess Beautiful Eyes." *Tohotsu* is the name of a place in the province of Ki, signifying "far harbour."

3 *Arakaha* is the name of a place in Ki, and signifies "rough (*i.e.* impetuous and dangerous) river." The syllables *to-be* being of uncertain import.

4 *Ki no kuni no miyatsuko*.

5 are obscure.

6 *Bime* (*hime*) signifies "princess," and *suki* is identified by Motowori with Shiki, the name of the residence of the monarch whose daughter this princess was.

7 *Oho-ama-hime*. Ama is the name of a district in Wohari, and probably signifies "fisherman."

8 *Wohari no murazhi*.

9 The signification of this and the two following names is uncertain.

10 *Towochi* is the name of a district in Yamato.

11 *Mimatsu-hime*. Signification uncertain.

12 Signification uncertain.

13 The syllables *ma* and *waka*, literally "true and young" or "truly young "are honorific. *Iza* is of doubtful signification.

14 *Kuni-kata-hime*. *Kuni* means "country," and *kata* here probably signifies "hard" or "firm."

15 *Ohiji-tsuku-yamato-hime*. *Ohiji* probably means "a thousand," and *Yamato* is the name of a province. *Tsuku* is obscure.

16 *Iga-hime*. *Iga* is the name of a district and of a province (see Sect. LVI, Note 9).

17 *I.e.*, "Yamato Prince."

18 *Kami-tsu-ke-nu* [*no kimi*]. The character 君(Dukes) is supplied by Motowori. This is the ancient form of the name now pronounced *Kōdzuke* (*conf. Shimo-tsu-ke-nu* corrupted to *Shimotsuke*). The author of the "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" draws attention to the curious fact that, whereas the final syllable *nu* of the original word is dropped in speaking, it is the *ke* which is dropped in writing—the original form of the name, as written, being 上毛野, whereas now only the first two of these three characters are used. Its signification is supposed to be "upper vegetation-moor," *ke* (毛) being regarded as the Archaic general term for trees and grasses, identical with *ke* that means "hairs," vegetation having struck the early speakers of the language as being similar to the hairs on the bodies of men and beasts.

19 *Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi*. *Shimo* means "lower." For the rest of the name see preceding Note. Both names are those of provinces in Eastern Japan.

20 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

21 *Viz*., of the Sun-Goddess (*Ama-terasu*).

22 *Noto no omi*. *Noto*, formerly a part of the province of Echizen, is the name of the peninsula that juts out into the Sea of Japan on the western coast of the Main Island. The etymology of the name is obscure.

23 The meaning of this imperfectly formed sentence is: On the occasion of "the interment of the next prince, His Augustness Yamato-hiko, the custom of setting a row of the deceased prince's retainers round his grave and burying them alive was first introduced." For a further notice of this custom see Sect. LXXV, Note 4. According to the "Chronicles," the "ancient" custom of burying retainers up to their necks in the neighbourhood of their lord's grave was abolished after this very same interment. Motowori endeavours to reconcile the two statements by supposing that the custom was really an old one, but that on the occasion here mentioned the number of victims was increased to an unprecedented degree, so that, as related in the "Chronicles," their cries, while their heads were being pulled to pieces by the crows and dogs, filled the Emperor with commiseration.

[SECT. LXIV. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART II. —A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO).]

In the reign of this Heavenly Sovereign a great pestilence arose, and the people died as if none were to be left. 1 Then the Heavenly Sovereign grieved and lamented, and at night, while on his divine couch, 2 there appeared [to him] in an august dream the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things, 3 and said: "This is my august doing. 4 So if thou wilt cause me to be worshipped 5 by Oho-tata-ne-ko, 6 the divine spirit shall not arise, 7 and the land will be tranquillized." When, Therefore, couriers 8 were dispatched in every direction 9 to search for the person [named] Oho-tata-ne-ko, he was discovered in the village of Minu 10 in Kafuchi, and was respectfully sent [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. 11 Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask: "Whose child art thou?" He replied, saying: "I 12 am Oho-tats-ne-ko, child of His Augustness Take-mika-dzu-chi 13 [who was] child of His Augustness Ihi-gata-sumi, 14 [who was] child of His Augustness Kushi-mi-gata, 15 [who was] child of the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things by his wife Iku-tama-yori-bime, 16 daugther of His Augustness Suwe-tsu-mimi. 17 Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being greatly rejoiced, commanded that the Empire should be tranquil, and the people flourish, and forthwith made His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko high priest 18 to worship 19 the Great Deity of Great Miwa 20 on Mount Mimoro. 21 Again he ordered His Augustness Igaka-shiko-wo 22 to make eighty heavenly platters, and reverently to establish the shrines of the Earthly Deities; 23 likewise to worship with a red-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Sumi-saka 24 at Uda, and with a black-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Oho-sake; 25 likewise to present august offerings of cloth to all the Deities of the august declivities of the hills and to all the Deities of the reaches of the rivers,

without neglecting any. [26] [27] In consequence of this the pestilential vapour ceased altogether, and the country was tranquillized.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "about to be exhausted."

2 This expression, which recurs at the commencement of Sect. CXLV, is difficult to explain. See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIII, and again in Vol. XL, of his Commentary.

3 See Sect. LI, Note 12.

4 Literally, "my august heart."

5 Or, "cause my shrine to be worshipped at." The import of the god's words is that he wishes Oho-tata-ne-ko to be appointed chief priest of his temple. For the origin of this latter see the second half of Sect. XXXII.

6 Oho signifies "great," *Tata* (or *Tada*) is taken to be the name of a place, and the syllables *ne* and *ko* are regarded as Honorifics. The whole name may Therefore, though with some hesitation, be interpreted to mean "the Lord of the Great [Shrine of] Tata."

7 *I.e.*, "the divine anger shall no longer be kindled."

8 Mounted couriers are almost certainly intended.

9 Literally, "distributed to the four sides,"—"four sides" being a Chinese phrase for every direction.

10 This name may signify either "three moors "or "august moor." The village of Minu must not be confounded with the province of Minu.

11 The characters used are those which properly denote the presenting of tribute to the Monarch.

12 Here and below the First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character 僕, "servant."

13 See Sect. VIII, Note 7, for the explanation of this name. But probably the deity here intended is another.

14 The etymology and signification of 'this name are alike obscure.

15 Motowori interprets *kushi* in the sense of "wondrous," and *Migata* as the name of a place, which also occurs under the form of Higata.

16 *I.e.*, "life-jewel-good-princess."

17 The precise signification of this name is obscure. Motowori supposes *Suwe* to be the name of a place; *tsu* is the Genitive Particle, and *mimi* the Honorific of doubtful import, whose meaning has been discussed in Note 18 to Sect. XIII.

18 The exact meaning of the characters used to write the word *kayo-nushi* (modern *kamushi*), here rendered "high-priest," is "owner of the Deity." Though commonly used in modern parlance to denote any Shinto priest, it properly signifies only the chief priest in charge of a temple, whence the odd-sounding name.

19 Or, "conduct the worship at the shrine of."

20 Viz., the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the legend in Sect. LXV.

21 See Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5.

22 Or, *Ikaga-shiko-wo*. The probable meaning of this name, pro-posed by Motowori, is (neglecting the initial letter *i* as expletive) "the refulgent ugly male."

23 See Sect. I, Note 11.

24 *Sumisaka* probably signifies "charcoal-hill." Uda, which has already been mentioned in Sect. XLVI, is in Yamato. This passage may equally well be rendered thus: "to present a red-coloured shield and spear to the Deity of Sumisaka," and Similarly, in the following clause. The meaning comes nearly to the same.

25 Literally, "great hill," or "great pass." It is at the boundary of the province of Yamato and Kahachi. Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei sanctions the view of the elder scholars, who fancied they saw in the distinction of red and black some mysterious import connected with the four cardinal points.

26 In the Old Printed Edition the text of this passage differs slightly from that adopted by Motowori; but the meaning is exactly the same.

27 A large lacuna here occurs in the "Old Printed Edition," in which the four hundred and forty-five Chinese characters forming the original of the following part of the translation, from the words, "In consequence of this "down to the words immediately preceding "Methinks this is a sign" are missing. Both the editor of 1687 and Motowori are silent as to the manner in which they supplied the deficiency; but it may be presumed from their silence that the MS. authorities furnished them with what had accidentally been omitted from the printed text.

[SECT. LXV. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART III: STORY OF OHO-TATA-NE-KO'S BIRTH)]

The reason why this person called Oho-tata-ne-ko was known to be a Deity's child, was that the above-mentioned Iku-tama-yori-bime was regularly beautiful, [1] whereupon a [divine [2]] youth [who thought] the majesty of her appearance without comparison in the world, [3] came suddenly to her in the middle of the night, So, as they loved each other and lived in matrimony together, the maiden ere long was pregnant. Then the father and mother, astonished at their daughter being pregnant, asked her, [4] saying: "Thou art pregnant by thyself. How art thou with child without [having known] a man?" She replied, saying: I have naturally conceived through a beautiful young man, whose name [5] I know not, coming here every evening and staying with me." Therefore, the father and mother, wishing to know the man, instructed their daughter, saying: "Sprinkle red earth in front of the couch, [6] and pass a skein of hemp through a needle, and pierce [therewith] the skirt of his garment." So she did as they had instructed, and, on looking in the morning, the hemp that had been put in the needle went out through the hole of the door-hook, [7] and all the hemp that remained was three twists [8] only. Then forthwith, knowing how he had gone out by the hook-hole, they went on their quest following the thread, which, reaching Mount Miwa, stopped at the shrine of the Deity, So they knew [that Oho-tata-neko was] the child of the Deity [residing] there. So the place was called by the name of Miwa on account of the three twists of hemp that had remained. (His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko, here referred to, was the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa [9] and of the Dukes of Kamo.) [10]

Footnotes

1 It is not easy to render literally into English the force of the characters 容姿端正, containing this description of the maiden's beauty, and of 形姿威儀, in the next clause. But it is hoped that at least the translation represents them better than do Motowori's readings *kaho yokariki* and *kaho sugata*.

2 This word, which is not in most texts, was supplied by the editor of 1687, and is adopted by Motowori on apparently satisfactory grounds.

3 Literally, "in the time."

4 The text places the word "daughter "here, instead of in the preceding clause. For the sake of clearness, the translator has taken the liberty of transposing it.

5 The Chinese characters are i, *i.e.*, "surname and personal (what we should call 'Christian') name." But Motowori's simple reading 姓名"name," approves itself as probably near to the author's intention.

6 Motowori indulges in several conjectures as to the meaning of this detail, which, it will be seen, is not referred to in the sequel, and is Therefore, pointless.

7 The same Japanese word *kagi*, which is used as the equivalent of the Chinese character 鈎, "hook," came in latter times to denote a key.

8 "Three threads "are in Japanese *mi wa*, whence the etymology of the name of Miwa given below in the text. The real derivation is altogether doubtful. The shrine of Miwa was in very early times regarded with such extraordinary reverence, that the term *Oho-gami*, "Great Deity," unless otherwise qualified, was commonly understood to refer to the god of Miwa.

9 *Miwa no kimi*, written simply 神君(literally, "Divine Dukes,") another sign of the estimation in which the shrine of Miwa was held.

10 *Kama no kimi*.

[179]

[SECT. LXVI. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART IV. —WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU).]

Again in this august reign His Augustness Oho-biko 1 was sent to the circuit of Koshi, 2 and his son, His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake, 3 was sent to the twelve circuits to the eastward to quiet the unsubmissive people. Again Hiko-imasu was sent to the land of Taniha 4 to slay Kugamimi-no-mikasa 5 (this is the name of a person). So when His Augustness Oho-biko was going away to the land of Koshi, a young girl wearing a loin-skirt 6 stood on the Pass of Hera 7 in Yamashiro, and sang, saying:

[180] "Now then! Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri! Oh Prince Mi-ma-ki-iri! Ignorant that they, to steal and slay one's life, cross backwards and forwards by the back-door, cross backwards and forwards by the front door and spy, —Oh, Prince Mima-ki-iri!" 8 Hereupon His Augustness Oho-kiko, thinking it strange, turned his horse back, and asked the young girl, saying: "These words that thou speakest, what are they?" The young girl replied, saying: "I said nothing; I was only singing a song,"—and thereupon she suddenly vanished, none could see whither. So his Augustness Oho-biko returned up again [to the capital] and made a report [of the matter] to the Heavenly Sovereign, who replied and charged him [saying]: "Methinks this is a sign that my half-brother, King Take-hani-yasu, 9 who dwells in the land of Yamashiro, is planning some foul plot. 10 [Do thou,] uncle, raise an army, and go [after him]." When he forthwith sent him off, joining to him his Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku, 11 ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, 12 they set sacred jars on the Pass of Wani, 13 and went away. Thereupon, when they reached the River Wakara 14 [181] in Yamashiro, King Take-hani-yasu, who had raised an army, was waiting to intercept [their passage], and [the two hosts] stood confronting and challenging each other with the river between them. 15 So the place was called by the name of Idomi, 16—what is now called Idzumi. Then His Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku spoke, begging the other side 17 to let fly the first arrow. 18 Then King Take-hani-yasu shot, but could not strike. Thereupon, on his Augustness Kuni-buku shooting an arrow, it forthwith struck King Take-hani-yasu dead. So the whole army was routed, and fled in confusion. Then the [Imperial troops pursued] after the fugitive army as far as the ferry of Kusuba, when harassed by the pursuit, exterunt [hostium] excrementa, quae bracis adhaeserunt. Quare isti loco impositum est nomen Kusobakama. In prœsenti nominatur Kusu-ba. 19 Again, on being intercepted in their flight and cut down, [their bodies] floated like cormorants in the river. So the river was called by the name of U-kaha. 20 Again, because the warriors were cut to pieces, the place was called by the name of Hafuri-sono. 21 Having thus

finished [the work of] pacification, they went up [to the capital] to make their report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

Footnotes

1 See Sect. LXI, Note 5.

2 Literally, "to the Lord of Koshi," *i.e.*, "to the land of Koshi;" which provinces are intended by the "twelve circuits to the eastward "mentioned immediately below is uncertain; but Motowori hazards the guess that we should understand Ise (including Iga and Shima), Wohari, Mikaha, Tohotafumi (pron. Tōtōmi), Suruga, Kahi, Idzu, Sagami Musashi, Fusa (the modern Kadzusa, Shimofusa, and Aha), Hitachi, and Michinoku (a vague name for the north-eastern portions of the Main Island of the whole east and north-east of the country. He likewise supposes the use of the word "road" for circuit or province to have had its origin in the "road" along which the Imperial officers despatched to the outlying provinces had to travel to reach their post, and remarks very pertinently in another passage of his commentary that the term "road "denotes a province more especially from the point of view of its subjugation or government. His explanation is, however, rendered untenable by the fact that the division of the country into such "roads" or "circuits" was an idea evidently borrowed from the neighbouring peninsula of Korea. At first, as in this passage, somewhat vaguely used in the sense of province," it settled down into the designation of "a set of adjacent provinces." Thus the Tō-kai-dō, or "Eastern Maritime Circuit," includes fifteen provinces, the Hoku-roku-dō or "Northern Land Circuit," includes seven provinces, and so on. Cont. Sect. LXII, Note 20.

3 *I.e.*, "brave-lagoon-river-youth."

4 See Sect. LXII, Note 4.

5 Motowori is unable to help us to any understanding of this name. —or names, —for he suggests that the character 之, *no*, may be an error for 又 *mata* ("also"), and that two individuals may be intended. The note in the original telling us that "this is the name of a person" might equally well be translated in the Plural, —" these are the names of persons."

6 The nature of this garment is not known. One would suppose, from the way it is mentioned in the text, that there was perhaps some-thing contrary to custom in its use by a young girl. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" does not mention it.

7 Or, "Hill of Hera, "—*Hera-zaka*. The "Chronicles" write this name with the characters 平 坂*Hira-zaka*, *i.e.*, "Even Pass" or "Hill."

8 The meaning of this poem, which must be considered as one pro-longed exclamation, is: "Oh my sovereign! Oh my sovereign! Heedless or ignorant of "the plots hatched against thy life near the very precincts of thy palace, thou "sendest away thy soldiers to fight in distant parts. Oh my sovereign!"—It will be remembered that Prince Mima-ki-ri was the (abbreviated) native name of the reigning monarch, commonly known to posterity by his "canonical name" of Sūjin. The word rendered "life" is literally "thread" and the Impersonal Pronoun "one's" used in the translation, must be understood to refer to the Emperor.

9 See Sect. LXI, Notes 12 and 10.

10 Literally, "foul heart."

11 *I.e.*, probably. "prince land-pacifier." The first element of the compound is sometimes omitted.

12 *Wani no omi*. Wani ("crocodile") 13 the name of a place in the province of Yamato.

13 *Wani-zaka*. For the setting of jars *conf*. Sect LX, Note 20.

14 *Wakara gaha*. It is what is now called the Idzumi-gaha. Of Wakara we have nothing but an altogether untenable etymology given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

15 More literally, "each having put the river in the middle, and mutually challenging."

16 *I.e.*, "challenging." The more likely etymology of *Idzumi*, which is written with the character 泉, is "source "or "spring."

17 The original has the very curious expressions 廂人, literally," people of the side-building," which was a great crux to the early editors, Motowori is probably right in interpreting it in the sense of "the other side," *i.e.*, "the enemy."

18 忌矢; literally "the arrow to be shunned, or avoided,"—but rather, in accordance with Archaic Japanese parlance, "the sacred arrow." Motowori says: "At the commencement of a battle it was the custom for each side to let fly an "initial arrow." Being the commencement of the affair, the arrow was considered "specially important and was shot off reverently with prayers to the Gods, —" whence its name."

19 *I.e.*, "excrements [fœdatæ] bracæ." But it is not at all probable that this is the correct etymology of the name. The stream is a small one in the eastern part of the province of Kahachi.

20 *I.e.*, "cormorant-river."

21 *I.e.*, "the garden of cutting-to-pieces."

[182]

[SECT. LXVII. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART V. — PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED).]

So His Augustness Oho-biko went away to Koshi in accordance with the previous [Imperial] commands. Then Take-nuna-kaha-wake, who had been sent round by the east, and his father Oho-biko met together in Ahidzu. So the place was called by the name of Ahidzu. 1 Wherefore, each of them, having settled the government of the land to which he had been sent, made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Empire was at peace and the people prosperous. Thereupon tribute on the arrow-notches of the men and tribute on the finger-tips of the women was first levied. 2 So in praise of this august reign they said: "The Heavenly Sovereign Mimaki, who ruled the first land." 3 Again, in this reign the Pool of Yosami 4 was made; Moreover, the Pool of Sakawori at Karu 5 was made.

Footnotes

1 A district forming the southern part of the modern province of Ihashiro in north-eastern Japan. The derivation here given, from *ahi-dzu* "meeting port," seems fanciful.

2 *I.e.*, taxes levied on the produce of the chase, by which the men gained their livelihood, and on the domestic handwork of the women.

3 Motowori has a not particularly satisfactory note, in which he endeavours to explain this obscure phrase. The word "first" should evidently qualify the Verb "ruled," and not the Substantive "land," and the applicability of the saying to a sovereign, of whom it is not recorded that he initiated anything save the taxes, is not apparent. The author of the "Chronicles" observes the

verisimilitudes better by applying a synonymous designation to the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu.

4 See Sect. LXII, Note 85.

5 Reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" shows that probably a couple of words are here omitted from the text, which should read "the Pool of Karu and the Pool of Sakawori" (*Karu no ike, Sakawori no ike*). Karu is the celebrated ancient capital mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1, Sakawori is quite unknown except from this notice of it, and the derivation of the name is uncertain.

[SECT. LXVIII. —EMPEROR SŪ-JIN (PART VI. — HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and sixty-eight. His august mausoleum is on the mound at the corner of the Yamanobe road. [1a]

Footnotes

1a This place, where the Emperor Kei-ko is likewise said to have been interred, was in the province of Yamato, and the road mentioned is supposed by Motowori to have been the highway from Hatsuse into the province of Yamashiro. The word Yamanobe signifies "in the neighbourhood of the mountain" (*yama no he*).

[SECT. LXIX. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I. — GENEALOGIES)]

His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi dwelt at the palace of Tama-kaki in Shiki, 1b and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness the Princess Sahaji, 2 younger sister of His Augustness Saho-biko, and begot an august child: His Augustness Homo-tsu-wake 3 (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness the Princess Hibasu, daughter of King Tatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha, he begot august children: His Augustness Ini-shiki-no-iri-biko; 4 next His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake; 5 next His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko; 6 next His Augustness Yamato-hime; 7 next His Augustness Waka-ki-iri-biko 8 (five Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bika, 9 younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, he begot august children: His Augustness Nu-tarashi-wake; 10 next His Augustness Iga-tarashi-hiko 11 (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Azami-no-iri-bime, 12 younger [184] sister of His Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bime, 13 he begot august children: His Augustness Ikobaya-wake; 14 next Her Augustness the Princess of Azami 15 (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Kagu-ya-hime, 16 daughter of King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, he begot an august child: King Wozabe 17 (one Deity). Again, wedding Karibata-tobe daughter of Fuchi Ohokuni in Yamashiro, 18 he begot august children: King Ochi-wake; 19 next King Ika-tarashi-hiko; 20 next King Itoshi-wake. 21 Again, wedding Oto-karibata-tobe, 22 daughter of Fuchi of Otokuni, he begot august children: King Iha-tsuku-wake; 23 next Her Augustness Iha-tsuku-bime, another name for whom was Her Augustness Futaji-no-iri-bime 24 (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether sixteen (thirteen Kings and three Queens). So His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake

[was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. (His august stature was ten feet 25 [185] two inches: the length of his august shank was four feet one inch), The next, His Augustness Inishi-no-iri-biko made the pool of Chinu; 26 again he made the pool of Sayama, 27 again he made the pool of Takatsu at Kusaka 28 Again he dwelt at the palace of Kahakami at Totori, 29 and caused a thousand cross-swords 30 to be made, and presented them to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami. 31 Forthwith he dwelt at that palace, 32 and established the Kahakami Tribe, 33 The next, His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, (was the ancestor of the Lords of Yamanobe, 34 of the Saki. kusa, 35 of the Lords of Inaki, 36 Lords of the Ada, 37 of the Lords of Minui in the Land of Wohari: 38 of the Lords of Ihanashi in Kibi, 39 of the Lords of Koromo, 40 of the Lords of Takasuka, 41 of the Dukes of [186] Asuka, 42 and of the Lords of Mure). 43 The next, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, (was the high-priestess of 44 the temple of the Great Deity of Ise). The next, King Ikobaya-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords Anahobe at Saho). 45 The next, Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (was married to King Inase-biko). The next, King Ochi-wake (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Wotsuki 46 and of the Duke of Koromo in Mikaha). 47 The next, King Ika-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes Kasuga, 48 of the Dukes of Ike in Koshi, 49 and of the Dukes of Kasugahe). 50 The next, King Itoshi-wake (owing to his having no children, made the Itoshi Tribe 51 his proxy). The next, King Iha-tsuku-wake, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Haguchi 52 and of the Dukes of Miwo). 53 The next, Her Augustness Futaji-no-Iri-hime (became the empress of His Augustness Yamato-take).

Footnotes

1b For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1. *Tama-kaki* signifies "jewel (*i.e.*, beautiful) hedge."

2 This name and the next have already been met with in Sect. LXI, as have those of Princess Hibasu, King Tatasu-mechi, King Oho-tsutsuki-ne,

Princess Kari-bata-tobe, and King Inase-biko.

3 See Sect. LXXI, Note 8.

4 The signification of this name is not clear, but Motowori identifies Shiki with the place of the same name.

5 This name seems to be a string of Honorifics signifying "great perfect prince ruling lord."

6 *I.e.*, "great middle prince," he being third of five children.

7 *I.e.*, "Yamato princess." She is a very celebrated personage in Japanese legendary story, —high priestess of Ise and aunt of the hero Yamato-take. A miraculous tale is related of her birth, and she is supposed to have lived several hundreds of years.

8 The signification of this name is obscure.

9 The signification of this name is obscure.

10 Motowori's conjectural interpretation of this name is "jewel-perfect-lord."

11 The signification of *iga* is obscure. The other two elements of the compound signify "perfect prince."

12 Signification obscure.

13 Signification obscure.

14 Signification obscure. The "Chronicles "read this name *Ike-baya*.

15 *Azami-tsu-him*e, Signification obscure.

16 *i.e.*, probably "the refulgent princess," the syllable *ya* being void of signification as in *Ka-no-Nana-saku-ya-hime* (see Sect. XXXVII, Note 3). This name is celebrated as that of the heroine of the fairy-tale entitled "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter." though there is no reason for identifying the two personages.

17 This name is obscure, and Motowori suspects it of being corrupt.

18 *Yamashiro no ohokunino fuchi*. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Ohokuni ("great land" that of a village, while Fuchi is a personal name written with a character signifying "deep pool."

19 *Ochiwake no miko*. Motowori derives *ochi* from *oho*, "great, and *chi*, supposed to be an Honorific, while *wake* is taken to mean "lord." After all, the signification of the name remains obscure.

20 *Ika-tarashi-hiko no miko*. The name probably signifies "severe (or dignified) perfect prince."

21 This name is obscure.

22 *I.e.*, Karibata-tobe, the younger sister.

23 This name and the next are obscure. The first of the two is not in the older editions, but Motowori supplies what appears to be a lacuna in the text by adding the five characters 石衝別王次.

24 Signification obscure.

25 The actual word "feet "is not in the original, but an equivalent Chinese measure is used.

26 *Chinu no ike*. The "Sea of Chinu" in the province of Idzumi, which is the same as the "Pool" here mentioned, has been mentioned in Sect. XLIV, Note 36.

27 *Sayama no ike*, in the province of Kahachi. The name probably signifies a "gorge" or "defile."

28 See above Sect. XLIV, Note 31.

29 *Totori* (lit. "bird-catching") was in the province of Idzumi, and the name is said to have been derived from the place having been one of those through which Ohotaka of Yamanobe passed when pursuing the bird whose sight was to make Prince Homachi-wake obtain the power of speech. (See the story as given at the beginning of the next Section). The name of Kaha-kami ("head-waters of the river"), as we learn by comparison with the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," is to be traced to the River Udo, near whose head waters the palace in question is said to have been situated.

30 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

31 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

32 Or, "in that temple."

33 *Kahakami-be*.

34 *Yamanobe no wake*. Yamanobe (or Yamabe) is the name of a district in Yamato and signifies "mountain-slope."

35 *Sakikusa no wake*. Of Sakikusa nothing is known. The word means "lily."

36 *Inaki no wake*. Which Inaki is meant is not known, there being several places of that name in Japan. The name is connected with the word *ine*, "rice."

37 *Ada no wake*. Of Ada nothing is known.

38 *Wohari no kuni no Minu no wake*. Minu is the name of a village, and signifies "three moors."

39 *Kibi no Ihanashi no wake*. Ihanashi is the name of a district, forming part of the modern province of Bizen, and seems to signify "rockless."

40 *Koromo no wake*. Motowori supposes this name to be corrupt. Koromo is the name of a village in Mikaha.

41 *Takasuka no wake*. Nothing is known either of the place or of the family.

42 *Asuka no kimi*. It is not known where was this Asuka, which must not be confounded with the famous Asuka mentioned in Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

43 *Mure no wake*. There are several places called Mure. The signification of the name is obscure.

44 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

45 *Saho no Anahobe-wake*. The name Anahobe is derived from Anahobe, the name of the Emperor Yu-riyaku, and *be* "a tribe," it being related in the "Chronicles" that the tribe which was established as his "name-proxy" was so called.

46 *Wotsuki no yama no kimi*. Wotsuki is the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). The family name must be interpreted to signify that they were wardens of the mountain.

47 *Mikaha no Koromo no kimi*. *Conf*. the name in Note 40, with which this is probably identical. Motowori suspects an error in the text.

48 *Kazuga no yama no kimi*. *Conf*. the name in Note 46.

49 *Koshi no ike no kimi*. Nothing is known of the place or of the family; Koshi may or may not be the northern province of that name.

50 *Kasugabe no kimi*. There were two places of the name of Kasugabe (*i.e.* "Kasuga Clan," so called perhaps after a family that had resided there). It is not known which is here alluded to.

51 *Itoshi-be*. The name, which is thus restored by Motowori, is variously mutilated in the older editions. This is the first mention of adoption, lit. in Japanese "child-proxy making." The custom is perpetually referred to in the later portion of these "Records."

52 *Haguhi no kimi*. Haguhi is the name of a district in Noto. The derivation is obscure.

53 *Miwo no kimi*. Miwo is the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "three mountain-folds."

[187]

[SECT. LXX. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART II. CONSPIRACY OF KING SAHO-BIKO AND THE EMPRESS SAHO-BIME).]

When this Heavenly Sovereign made Saho-bime his Empress, Her Augustness Saho-bime's elder brother, King Saho-biko, asked his younger sister, saying: "Which is dearer [to thee], thine elder brother or thy husband?" She replied, saying "Mine elder brother is dearer." Then King Saho-biko conspired, saying: "If I be truly the dearer to thee, let me and thee rule the empire," and forthwith he made an eight times tempered stiletto, 1 and handed it to his younger sister, saying: "Slay the Heavenly Sovereign in his sleep with this small knife." So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress' august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with the stiletto; but though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing 2 onto [the Heavenly Sovereign's] august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "I have had a strange dream: A violent shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted my face; again a small damask-coloured snake coiled itself round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?" Then the Empress, thinking it improper to dispute, 3 forthwith informed the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Mine elder brother King Saho-biko asked me, 4 saying: 'Which is dearer [to thee], thy husband or thine elder brother?' So, as I was embarrassed by [this] direct question, I replied, saying: 'Oh! mine elder brother is the dearer.' Then he charged 5 me, saying: 'I and thou will together rule the [188] Empire; so the Heavenly Sovereign must be slain;'—and so saying, he made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to me.

Therefore, I wanted to cut thine august throat; but though I thrice lifted [the weapon], a feeling of regret suddenly arose, so that I could not cut thy throat, and the tears that I wept fell and wetted thine august face. [The dream] was surely the omen of this." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "How nearly have I been destroyed! "and forthwith he raised an army to smite King Saho-biko, whereupon the King made a rice-castle [6] to await the fray. At this time Her Augustness Saho-bime, unable to forget her elder brother, fled out through the back-gate [of the palace], and came into the rice-castle.

Footnotes

1 For stiletto see above, Sect. XXXVI, Note 8. The curious word ya-shio-wori (八塩折) in the text seems to have the sense of "eight times tempered," *i.e.*, tempered over and over again, which Motowori assigns to it. The same expression is used in Sect. XVIII (Note 16) to denote the refining of rice-liquor.

2 This word "overflowing" is more appropriately placed in the version of the story given in the "Chronicles," where the author makes her tears first fill her sleeve (a common Japanese figure of speech), and thence "overflow "on to the sleeping Monarch's face.

3 *I.e.*, seeing that it would be vain in deny the truth.

4 The First Personal Pronoun is written with the self-depreciatory character 妾, "concubine."

5 Or "enticed."

6 This expression, which is repeated elsewhere, is one which has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The "Chronicles" tell us expressly

that "rice [stalks] were piled up to make a castle,"—an assertion which, as Motowori remarks, is simply incredible. He Therefore, adopts Mabuchi's suggestion that a castle *like* a rice-castle is what is intended, —"rice-castle" being taken "to mean rice-store" or "granary," such granaries having probably been stoutly built in order to protect them from thieves. The historian of the Tang dynasty quoted in the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" says that the Japanese had no castles, but only palisades of timber. The latter might well however have been called castles by the Japanese, though they would not have been accounted such by the Chinese, who already built theirs of stone.

[SECT. LXXI. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART III. — BIRTH OF PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE AND DEATH OF THE CONSPIRATORS)]

At this time the Empress [1] was pregnant. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign could not restrain [his pity for] the Empress, who was pregnant and whom he had loved for now three years. So he turned his army aside, and did not hasten the attack. During this delay, the august child that she had conceived was born. So having put out the august child and set it outside the rice-castle. she caused [these words (to be said to the Heavenly Sovereign: "If this august child be considered to be [189] the Heavenly Sovereign's august child, let him [2] deign to undertake it." Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign said: [3] "Although detesting the elder brother, I yet cannot repress my love for the Empress," and forthwith planned to secure the Empress. Wherefore, choosing from among his warriors a band of the strongest and deftest, he charged [them, saying]: "When ye take the august child, likewise abduct the queen its mother. Whether by the hair or by the hands, or wherever ye may best lay hold of her, clutch her and drag her out." Then the Empress, knowing his intention beforehand, shaved off all her hair and covered her head with her hair, and likewise made her jewel-string rotten and wound it thrice round her arm, and Moreover, made her august garments rotten by means of rice-liquor and put on the garments as if they were whole. Having made these preparations, she took the august child in her arms and pushed it outside the castle. Then the strong men, taking the august child, forthwith clutched at the august parent. Then, on their clutching her august hair, the august hair fell off of itself; on their clutching her august arms, the jewel-string likewise snapped; on their clutching her august garments, the august garments at once tore. Therefore, they obtained

the august child, but did not get the august parent. So the warriors came back [to the Sovereign], and reported, saying: "On account of her august hair falling off of itself, of her august garments easily tearing, and Moreover, of the jewel-string which was wound round her august hand at once snapping, we have not got the august parent; but we have obtained the august child." Then the Heavenly Sovereign, sorry and angry, hated the people who made the jewels, [190] and deprived them all of their lands. [4] So the proverb says: "Landless jewels-makers." [5] Again did the Heavenly Sovereign cause [6] the Empress to be told, saying: "A child's name must be given by the mother; by what august name shall this child be called?" Then she replied, saying: "As he was born now at the time of the castle being burnt with fire and in the midst of the fire, it was proper to call him by the august name of Prince [7] Homu-chi-wake." [8] And again he caused her to be asked: "How shall he be reared?" [9] She replied, saying: "He must be reared by taking an august mother [10] and fixing on old bathing-women and young bathing-women." [11] So he was respectfully reared in accordance with the Empress's instructions. Again he asked the Empress, saying: "Who shall loosen the fresh small pendant [12] which thou elitist make fast?" She replied, [191] saying: "It was proper that Ye-hime and Oto-hime, [13] daugther of King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi [14] prince of Taniha, should serve thee, for these two queens are of unsullied parentage." [15] So at last [the Heavenly Sovereign] slew King Saho-biko, and his younger sister followed him. [16]

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, Her Augustness Saho-bime, who was the subject of the preceding sentence.

2 *I.e.*, the Sovereign. The import of this passage is, according to Motowori, that the Empress imagined that her own conduct might perhaps influence

the Emperor to refuse to give the child' she bore him its proper rank, —not from doubts as to its legitimacy, but as having a rebel mother. By "undertaking "the child is of course meant undertaking the care and education of it.

3 Motowori supposes the Chinese character rendered "said" to be an error, and prefers to consider this clause as containing not the words, but the thought of the Monarch. It would certainly be more convenient to adopt this view, if it was sanctioned by any text.

4 Or, as Motowori prefers to read, "deprived them of all their lands."

5 There is nowhere else any reference to this saying. Motowori supposes it to point to those who, hoping for reward, get punishment instead, these jewellers having doubtless rotted the, string on which the beads were strung by special desire of the Empress, whereas they ended by getting nothing but confiscation for their pains.

6 Motowori (following Mabuchi) is evidently correct in supposing the character 命in this place, and again a little further on, to be a copyist's error for 令, "caused," and the translator has rendered it accordingly,

7 "Prince "is here written 御子.

8 This name may also be read *Ho-muchi-wake*, and is in the "Chronicles" given as *Ho-muchi-wake* while it appears as *Homuchi-wake* at the commencement of Sect. LXIX. The first two elements apparently signify "fire-possessing;" while *wake* is the frequently recurring Honorific signifying either "lord "or "young and flourishing."

9 Lit., "his days be reverently prolonged." The same expression is repeated thrice below.

10 *I.e.*, foster-mother.

11 The characters 大湯坐若湯坐 used in the original of this passage would, if they stood alone, be of difficult interpretation. But a comparison with the passage in "One account" of "Chronicles," which relates the nursing of Fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto, the father of the first "Earthly Emperor "Jim-mu, leaves no doubt that the author intended to speak of bathing-women attached to the service of the Imperial infant.

12 The words *midzu no wo-himo*, literally rendered "fresh small pendant," call for some explanation. *Midzu*, which includes in a single term the ideas of youth, freshness, and beauty, is here used as an Honorific. The "small pendant "is interpreted by Mabuchi and Motowori to signify the "inner, girdle" which held together the under-garment of either sex. The old literature of Japan teems with allusions to the custom of lovers or spouses making fast each other's inner girdle, which might not be untied till they met again, and the poets perpetually make a lover ask some such question as "When I am far from thee, who shall loosen my girdle?" The translator cannot refrain from here quoting, for the benefit of the lover of Japanese verse (though he will not attempt to translate them), the two most graceful of the many stanzas from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" brought together by Motowori to illustrate this passage:

Wagimoko ga
    Yuhiteshi himo wo
Tokame ye mo:
    Toyeba tayu to mo
    Tada ni afu made ni,
Unabara wo
    Tohoku watarite
Toshi-fu to-mo

Ko-ra ga musuberu
Himo toku na yume.

Tanigaha Shisei also appropriately quotes the following:

Futari shite
Musubiski himo wo
Hitori shite
Ware ha toki-mizhi
Tada ni afu made ha.

a literal rendering of which would run thus: "I will not, till we meet face to face, loosen alone the girdle which we two tied together."

13 *I.e.*, the "Elder Princess and the Younger Princess."

14 Motowori is probably right in explaining *tatasu* as the Honorific Causative of *tatsu*, "to stand" and *michi no ushi* as *michi-nushi* or *kuni-nushi*, *i.e.*, "owner of the province," "ruler."

15 Lit., "are pure subjects."

16 *I.e.*, was slain with him.

[192]

[SECT. LXXII. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV. — THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE).]

So the way they led about and amused the august child was by making a two-forked boat [1] out of a two-forked cryptomeria from Ahidzu in Wohari, [2] bringing it up and floating it on the Pool of Ichishi and on the Pool of Karu [3] in Yamato, [thus] leading about and amusing the august child. Nevertheless, the august child spoke never a word, though his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach. [4] So [5] it was on hearing the cry of a high-flying swan [6] that he made his first utterance. [7] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent Yamanobe-no-Ohotaka [8] (this is a name of a person) to catch the bird. So this person, pursuing the swan, arrived in the Land of Harima from the Land of Ki, and again in his pursuit crossed over to the Land of Inaba, then reaching the Land of Taniba and the Land of Tajima; [thence] pursuing round [193] to the eastward, he reached the Land of Afumi. and thereupon crossed over into the Land of Minu; and, passing along by the Land of Wohari, pursued it into the Land of Shinanu, and at length, reaching in his pursuit the Land of Koshi, spread a net in the Estuary of Wanami, [9] and, having caught the bird, brought it up [to the capital] and presented it [to the Sovereign]. So that estuary is called the Estuary of Wanami. It had been thought that, on seeing the bird again, he would speak; but he did not speak, as had been thought. [10] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, deigning to be grieved, augustly fell asleep, when, in an august dream, he was instructed, saying: "If thou wilt build my temple like unto thine august abode, the august child shall surely speak." When he had been thus instructed, [the Heavenly Sovereign] made grand divination to seek what Deity's desire [11] this might be. Then [it was discovered that] the curse was the august doing of the Great Deity of Idzumo. [12] So when about to send the august child to worship [at] that Great

Deity's temple, [he made divination to discover [13]] by whom it was well to have him attended. Then the lot fell on King Ake-tatsu. [14] So he [194] made King Ake-tatsu swear, [15] saying: "If there is truly to be an answer [16] to our adoration of this Great Deity, may the heron dwelling on the tree by the Pool of Sagisu [17] here fall [through my] oath." When he thus spoke, the heron that had been sworn by fell to the ground dead. Again on his commanding it to come to life] in answer to his] oath, it then came to life again. [18] Moreover, he caused to wither by an oath and again brought to life again by an oath a broad-foliaged bear-oak on Cape Amakashi. [19] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] granted to Prince Ake-tatsu the name of Prince Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-tomi-toyo-asakura-ake-tatsu. [20] So when the august child was sent off with the two Princes, Prince Ake-tatsu and Prince Una-kami, [21] as his attendants, it was divined [22] that [if they went out] by the Nara gate, [23] [195] they would meet a lame person and a blind person; [24] [if they went out] by the Ohosaka [25] gate, they would likewise meet a lame person and a blind person, and that only the Ki gate, —a side gate, [26]— would be the lucky gate; and when they started off, they established the Homuji clan [27] in every place they arrived at. So when they had reached Idzumo and had finished worshipping the Great Deity, and were returning up [to the capital], they made in the middle of the River Hi [28] a black plaited bridge and respectfully offered a temporary palace [for the august child] to dwell in. [29] Then when the ancestor of the rulers of the Land of Idzumo, whose name was Kihisa-tsu-mi, [30] [196] having made an imitation green-leafed mountain, [31] placed [it] in the lower reach of the river, and was about to present the great august food the august child [32] spoke, saying: "What here resembles a green-leafed mountain in the lower [reach of the] river; looks like a mountain, but is not a mountain. Is it perchance the great court [33] of the deacons [34] who holds in reverence the Great Deity Ugly-

Male-of-the-Reed-Plains [35] that dwells in the temple of So at Ihakuma in Idzumo? [36] [Thus] he deigned to ask. Then the Kings, who had been sent in august attendance [on him], hearing with joy and seeing with delight, [37] set the august child to dwell in the palace of Nagaho at Ajimasa, [38] and despatched a courier [to inform the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the august child wedded [197] Princess Hinaga [39] for one night. So, on looking privately at the beautiful maiden, [he found her] to be a serpent, at the sight of which he fled away alarmed. Then Princess Hinaga was vexed, and, illuminating the sea-plain, [40] pursued after them in a ship; and they, more and more alarmed at the sight, pulled the august vessel across the mountain-folds, [41] and went fleeing up [to the capital]. Thereupon they made a report, saying: "We have come up [to the capital] because thy great and august child has become able to speak through worship-ping the Great Deity." So the Heavenly Sovereign, delighted, forthwith sent King Unakami back to build the Deity's temple. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, on account of this august child, established the Totori Clan, the Torikahi Clan, the Homuji Clan, the Ohoyuwe and the Wakayuwe. [42]

Footnotes

1 From a comparison with a passage in the "Chronicles," where the same expression occurs, one is led to suppose that the craft here mentioned was a sort of double boat, in each half of which passengers could sit.

2 Nothing is known of any place called Ahidzu in the province of Wohari.

3 Karu has been mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1. The Pool of Ihare.

4 Lit., "in front of his heart." This phrase descriptive of a long beard has already occurred at the commencement of Sect. XII.

5 Motowori reasonably supposes the character 今in this sentence to be a copyist's error for the emphatic 爾, and the translation has been made accordingly.

6 The original has the character 鵠, which is now applied to a small species of swan (*Cignus minor*, Pallas; *Cygnus Bewickii*, Yarrell). But it is uncertain what bird is intended by the author.

7 A more or less inarticulate utterance is probably meant; but the expression in the original is obscure.

8 Motowori supposes the Note in the original to refer only to the word Ohotaka, while he takes Yamamobe to be the name of a place (already mentioned in Sect. LXVIII, Note 1). The surname of Ohotaka, signifying "great hawk," was, according to the same commentator, giver to the worthy here mentioned in consequence of the incident related in the text. As the bird was not a hawk, this does not seem very convincing, and Motowori's apparent idea that the man was likened to a hawk because he pursued the other bird as a hawk would do, is extremely far-fetched. It is Moreover, doubtful whether the name should not be read *Oho-washi* (this is Mabuchi's reading), "great." The "Chronicles "give an altogether different name, viz., *Ame-no-yukata-tana*.

9 No such place is now known. The name may be interpreted to mean "snare-net "in allusion to this story, as stated in the next sentence of the text.

10 The various texts and printed editions all differ slightly in their reading of this passage, and from some it might be gathered that the prince did Indeed, speak as it had been thought that he would do, u t could not speak freely. The translation follows Motowori's emended text.

11 Literally, "heart."

12 *I.e.*, *Oho-kuni-nushi* (the Master of the Great Land), the aboriginal monarch of Idzumo, the descendant of the Sun Goddess, whose abdication of the sovereignty of Japan in favour of the descendant of the Sun Goddess forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII. The word *tatari*, here written with the Chinese character 祟and rendered "curse," signifies properly the vengeance of a spirit, *i.e.*, either of a deity or of the ghost of a dead man. The word translated "doing "is literally "heart."

13 That some such words must be supplied is evident, and the translator has followed Mabuchi and Motowori in supplying them.

14 Lit., "King Ake-tatsu at the divination."

15 Remember that the original word *ukehi* combines the meanings of our words "wager," "oath," "pledge," "curse," etc., —being In fact, a general name for all words to which any mysterious importance attaches.

16 Lit., a "sign," a "proof."

17 *Sagisu no ike*, a pool in Yamato. *Sagi-su*, signifies "heron's nest."

18 The reading of the characters 爾者(rendered "then") in this passage has been a crux to all the editors. Fortunately, they make no difference to the sense.

19 *Amakashi no saki*, perhaps "Amakashi Point "would be a better rendering if, as Motowori supposes, an inland place in the province of Yamato is meant. It might be the point or extremity of a hill or bluff. *Ame-kashi* signifies literally "sweet oak." The "broad-foliaged bear-oak" mentioned immediately above is supposed by Motowori to be the usual

evergreen oak, and not any special kind. The epithet "broad-foliaged" is not, as he remarks, specially appropriate, and he Moreover, supposes the word *kuma*, "bear," to be a corruption of *kumi* or *kumori*, words which would refer to the thick luxuriance of the foliage. The dictionaries do not help us much to a decision on the point.

20 The component parts of this tremendous name, which is happily abbreviated to Ake-tatsu in the subsequent portions of the text, are somewhat obscure, especially the word *oyu*, whose reading rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, who emends the evidently erroneous character 者 to 老(*oyu*,) "old." *Toyo*, "luxuriant," is an Honorific, *ake* and *tatsu* signify respectively "dawn" and "rise," while the rest seem to be names of places of which this Prince may be supposed to have been the possessor.

21 Or, the Prince of Unakami, as Unakami is the name of a place Kadzusa.

22 *I.e.*, shown by divination.

23 Nara in Yamato, which is here mentioned for the first time, was the capital, of Japan from A.D. 710 to 784, and has always been famous in Japanese history and literature. The name is derived by the author of the "Chronicles "from the verb *narasu*, "to cause to resound," the hosts of the Emperor Su-jin having, it is said, caused the earth to resound with their trampling when they went out to do battle with Haniyasu. A more probable derivation is from *nara*, the name of a kind of deciduous oak, the *Quercus glandulifera*. The word rendered "gate" should possibly be taken simply in the sense of "exit "or "approach.'

24 Or, "lame people and blind people," a peculiarly unlucky omen for travellers, to whom, as Motowori remarks, sound feet and good eye-sight are indispensable to carry them on their way.

25 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

26 In the text the word "gate "is here, by a copyist's error written "moon." When the author says that the Ki gate, *i.e.*, gate or exit leading to the province of Ki, as a "side-gate," he means that it was; not the one by which travellers would naturally have left the town: —the province of Ki, Indeed, is to the South of Yamato where the capital was, whereas the province of Idzumo, whither they were bound, was to the north-west. This road into Ki over Matsuchi-yama is one famous in the classical poetry of Japan.

27 *Homuji-be*. The meaning of the clause is that they granted the surname of Homuji to persons in every important locality through which they passed on their journey.

28 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

29 The signification of this passage is: "They built as a temporary abode for the prince a house in the River Hi (whether with its foundations actually in the water or on an island is left undetermined), connecting it with the main land by a bridge made of branches of trees twisted together and with their bark left on them" (this is here the import of the word "black"). Such bridges have been met with by the translator in the remote northern province of Deha, where the country people call them *shiba-bashi* (or, rather, in their patois *suba-bashi*, *i.e.*, "twig-bridge"). The traveller is so likely to fall through interstices into the stream below, that it is not to be wondered at that they should now be confined to the rudest localities.

30 Motowori supposes *Kihisa* to be the name of a place, and *tsu-mi* to stand as usual for *tsu mochi*, "possessor," according to which view the name would mean "lord" or "possessor of Kihisa.

31 No book of reference with which the translator is acquainted throws any light on this curious expression, and there is no parallel passage in the "Chronicles" to look for help.

32 Viz., to the Prince ("the august child"). The preparations which *Kihisa-tsu-mi* is here said to have made are supposed by Motowori to have been prompted by a desire to add beauty to the feast. But the whole passage is very obscure.

33 Viz., the court in front of, or the approach to, the shrine, which would naturally be planted with the sacred tree, the *saka-ki* (*Cleyera japonica*), and thus justly the prince's comparison to it of the artificial grove at which he was looking.

34 *I.e.*, the priest attached to the worship of, etc. For "deacon" see Note 33 to Sect. LXII.

35 *Ashihara-shiko-wo*, one of the many names of the Deity *Oho-kuni-nushi* ("Master of the Great Land," see Sect. XX, Note 19). the Deity whom the Prince and his followers had just been worshipping.

36 These names cannot now be identified, and are of uncertain etymology. Ikakuma seems, however, to mean "curve in the rock." One would have expected in this place, instead of these unknown names, to find a reference to the main temple of the Deity, which was styled *Kidzuki no oho-yashiro*, *i.e.*, "the great shrine of Kidzuki."

37 Some such words as "the changed and more intelligent appearance of the Prince, and his attainment of the power of speech "must be mentally supplied in order to bring out the sense which the author intends to convey.

38 These names cannot be identified. Nagaho signifies "long-rice-ear," while *ajimasa* in modern usage is the name of a palm (the *Levistona Sinensis*); but Motowori supposes that it formerly designated the palmetto or some cognate tree.

39 *Hi-naga-hime*. The signification of the name is obscure, but it would seem most natural to suppose it connected with the River Hi which figures in the Idzumo cycle of legends. A proposal of Motowori's to read *Koye-naga* instead of the traditional *Hi-naga* seems scarcely to be meant in earnest. If accepted, it would give us the meaning of "fat and long princess," with reference to the story of her being a serpent.

40 It will be remembered that the Province of Idzumo is a maritime one, and that the fugitives might be supposed to reach the sea-shore in their flight. It is true that this is exactly the reverse of the direction which they would be obliged to take in travelling up to the capital, which was in Yamato.

41 *I.e.*, the depressions or valleys separating one mountain from another.

42 In the original *Totori-be*, *Torikahi-be*, *Homuji-be*, *Oho-yuwe* and *Waka-yuwe*. All these "gentile names" have a meaning connecting them either really or apparently with the story above related, —*to-tori* signifying "bird-catcher" and *tohi-kahi* "bird-feeder," while the name of the *Homuji* Clan is of course derived from that of the Prince (Homuchi or Homuji), and *Oho-yuwe* and *Waka-yuwe* signify respectively "elder bather "and "younger bather."

[SECT. LXXIII. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART. V. — HIS LATER WIVES.)]

Again, in accordance with the Emperor's words, he summoned Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, next Her Augustness Princess Oto, next Her Augustness Princess Utakori, next Her Augustness Princess Matonu, [1] daugther of Prince Michi-no-ushi—four Deities in all. Now he [198] kept the two Deities Her Augustness Princess Hibasu and Her Augustness Princess Oto; but as for the two Deities the younger queens, he sent them back to their native place on account of their extreme hideousness. Thereupon Princess Matonu said with mortification: "When it is known in the neighbouring villages that, among sister of the same family, we have been sent back on account of our ugliness, it will be extremely mortifying;" and, on reaching Sagaraka [2] in the Land of Yamashiro, she tried to kill herself [3] by hanging herself from a branch of a tree. So that place was called by the name of Sagariki. It is now called Sagaraka. Again, on reaching Otokuni, [4] she at last killed herself by jumping [5] into a deep pool. So that place was called by the name of Ochikuni. It is now called Otokuni.

Footnotes

1 *Hibasu-hime*, *Oto-hime*, *Utakori-hime* and *Matonu-hime*. The first two of these names have already appeared above, where the etymology of Hibasu was said to be doubtful, while *Oto* signifies "younger sister." *Matonu* has likewise already appeared, and is of uncertain derivation. Motowori supposes this last name to be in this place but an alias for *Utakori*, which he explains in the sense of "sad heart" with reference to the story of this princess as here told. In any case there is confusion in the legend, for in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" five princesses are mentioned, whereas

at the end of Sect. LXXI of these "Records" the Empress is made to speak of only two. The father's name has been already there explained.

2 The real derivation of this name is obscure. The ancient (perhaps here and elsewhere suppositious ancient) form *Sagari-ki* signifies "hanging-tree." Saga-raka is written 相樂, a good example of the free manner in which some Chinese characters were anciently used for phonetic purposes. *San-raku*, *Sa-raku* or *Sa-gara* would be the only readings possible in the modern tongue.

3 Literally, "wished to die." Motowori supposes that her design was frustrated by her attendants.

4 Written with characters signifying "younger country," but here supposed by the author to be derived from *ochi-kuni*, "falling country," in connection with this legend.

5 Lit. "died by falling."

[SECT. LXXIV. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VI. — TAJI-MORI BRINGS BACK THE ORANGE FROM THE ETERNAL LAND.)]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign sent Tajima-mori, [1] ancestor of the Chiefs of Miyake, [2] to the Eternal Land [3] to fetch the fruit of the everlasting [4] fragrant tree. So Tajima-mori at last reached that country, plucked the fruit of the tree, and brought of clubmoss eight and of spears eight; but meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign had died. Then Tajima-mori set apart of clubmoss four and of spears four, which he presented to the Great Empress, [5] and set up of clubmoss four and of spears four as an offering at the door of the Heavenly Sovereign's august mausoleum, [6] and, raising on high the fruit of the tree, wailed and wept, saying: "Bringing the fruit of the ever-lasting fragrant tree from the Eternal Land, I have come to serve thee;" and at last he wailed and wept himself to death. This fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree is what is now called the orange. [7]

Footnotes

1 The meaning of this name, which is written phonetically both here and in the "Chronicles," has, given rise to differences of opinion, some deriving it from the name of the province of Tajima (itself of obscure origin) and from the word *mori* "keeper," while others think it comes from *tachibana*, the Japanese word for orange, with reference to the story here told. The supporters of the former view, On the other hand, derive the *tachibana* from *Tajima-mori*.

2 *Miyake no murazhi*. Whether *miyake* is simply the name of a place or whether it should be taken in the sense of "granary," is uncertain. If the

latter view be adopted, it would be natural to suppose that this family had originally furnished the superintendents of the Imperial Granaries. In any case it traced its origin to a Korean source (see the "Catalogue of Family Names," and the genealogies in Sect. CXV).

3 See Sect. XXV.

4 Written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles "with characters signifying literally "timeless." The whole of this circumlocution for the orange has Indeed, to be interpreted by the help of the "Chronicles." it being here written phonetically and offering some difficulties as it stands.

5 This corrupt and obscure passage seems to be well restored by Motowori, whose explanation of it is likewise as convincing as it is ingenious. The expression "clubmoss-oranges "signifies oranges as they grow on the branch surrounded by leaves, while "spear-oranges "are the same divested of leaves, and hanging to the bate twig. Thus the words clubmoss "and "spear "come to be used as "Auxiliary Numerals "for oranges plucked in these two different manners.

6 Viz., says Motowori, Princess Hibasu, who however, according to the account in the "Chronicles," was already dead at this time.

7 The word *tachibana* (written 橘) in the text should probably be taken as a specific and not as a general term. In modern usage it designates the *Citrus japonica*. But it is a matter of dispute whether the application of the term has not altered since ancient times, and whether we should not understand by it one of the other kinds of orange now to be found in Japan, —perhaps the *Citrus nobilis*.

[200]

[SECT. LXXV. —EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VII. — HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS HIBASU.)]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and fifty-three. His august mausoleum is in the middle of the moor of Mitachi at Sugahara. [1] Again in the time of the Great Empress Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, [2] the Stone-Coffin-Makers [3] were established, and also the Earthenware-Masters' Clan [4] was established. This Empress was buried in the mausoleum of Terama near Saki. [5]

Footnotes

1 Both the locality and the etymology of *Mitachi* are obscure. *Sugahara* ("sedge-moor") is known to be in the province of Yamato.

2 *I.e.*, at the time of the burial of the great Empress, etc.

3 The character 祝, ("to pray") in the text is indubitably a copyist's error for " 棺, coffin." These stone coffins are described by Mr. Henry von Siebold in his "Note on Japanese Archaeology". It must be understood that, from being the name of an office, Stone-Coffin-Maker (*Ishi-ki-tsukuri*) became a "gentile name."

4 *Hanishi-be*. The meaning of this expression becomes clear by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," which it may be worthwhile to quote at length from Mr. Satow's translation of Vol. VIII, Pt. III, of these Transactions: "In the autumn of 32nd year, on the *tsuchi no to u* day of the moon, which rose on the *ki no ye inu* day, the empress Hi ba su hime no Mikoto (in another source called Hi-ba-su ne no Mikoto) died, and they

were several days going to bury her. The Mikado commanded all his high officers, saying: "We knew before that the practice of following the dead is not good. In the case of the present burying what shall be done? Thereupon Nomi no Sukune advanced and said: "It is not good to bury living men standing at the sepulchre of a prince, and this cannot be handed down to posterity. I pray leave now to propose a convenient plan. and to lay this before the sovereign." And he sent messengers to summon up a hundred of the clay-workers' tribe of the country of Izumo, and he himself directed the men of the clay-workers' tribe in taking clay and forming shapes of men, horses and various things, and presented them to the Mikado, saying: 'From now and henceforward let it be the law for posterity to exchange things of clay for living men, and set them up at sepulchres.' Thereupon the Mikado rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying: 'Thy expedient plan has truly pleased Our heart; and the things of clay were for the first time set up at the tomb of Hi-ba-su hime no Mikoto. Wherefore these things were *haniwa* (a circle of clay). Then he seats down an order, saying: 'From now and henceforward, be sure to sit up these things of clay at sepulchres, and let not men be slain.' Mikado bountifully praised Nomi no Sukune, bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the charge of the clay-workers' tribe."

In the province of Yamato. In the old poetry there are many plays or, this word *Saki*, which is homonymous with the Verb "to blossom." But whether that be its real derivation, it was hard to say. *Terama* appears to signify "Buddhist temple-space," an etymology which is embarrassing to the Shinto commentators who, accepting every word of our text as authentic history, are hard-driven to explain how Buddhist temples could have existed in Japan before the date assigned for the introduction of Buddhism.

[201]

[SECT. LXXVI. —EMPRESS KEI-KO (PART I, —GENEALOGIES)]

The Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake dwelt in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, 1 and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Elder Lady of Inabi in Harima, 2 daugther of Waka-take, Prince of Kibi 3 ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi, 4 and begot august children: King Kushi-tsunu-wake; 5 next His Augustness Ohousu; 6 next His Augustness Wo-usu, another name for whom is His Augustness Yamato wo-guna; 7 next His Augustness Yamato-ne-ko; 8 next King Kamu-kushi. 9 Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Yasaka-no-iri, 10 [202] daughter of His Augustness Prince Yasaka-no-iri, he begot august children: His Augustness Prince Waka-rarashi; 11 next His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri; 12 next His Augustness Oshi-no-wake; 13 next Her Augustness Princess Iho-ki-no-iri. 14 Children by another concubine were: King Toyo-to-wake; 15 next the Lady Nunoshiro. 16 Children by another concubine were: the Lady Nunaki; 17 next Her Augustness Princess Kago-yori; 18 next King Prince Waka-ki-no-iri; 19 next King the Elder Prince of Kibi-no-ye; 20 next Her Augustness Princess Takaki; 21 next Her Augustness Princess Oto. 22 Again wedding Princess Mi-hakashi of Himuku, 23 he begot an august child: King Toyo-kuni-wake. 24 Again wedding the Younger Lady of Inabi, 25 younger sister of the Elder Lady of Inabi, 26 he begot august children: King Ma-waka; next King Hiko-hito-no-oho-ye. 27 Again wedding Princess [203] Ka-guro, 28 daughter of King Princess Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko, 29 great-grand-child of His Augustness Yamato-take, 30 he begot an august child: King Oho-ye. 31 The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko numbered in all twenty-one kings and queens 32 of whom there is a register, and fifty-nine kings and queens of whom there is no record, —eighty kings and

queens altogether, out of whom His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko and also His Augustness Yamato-take, and also His Augustness Prince I-ho-ki-no-iri, —these three Kings, —bore the name of Heirs Apparent. 33 The seventy-seven kings and queens beside these 34 were all granted Rulerships in the various lands, or else [posts as] Lords, Territorial Lords or Departmental Chiefs. 35 So His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko [was he who afterward] ruled the Empire. His Augustness Wo-usu subdued the savage deities and likewise the unsubmissive people in the East [204] and West. The next, King Kushi-tsunu-wake (was the ancestor of the chiefs of Mamuta). 36 The next, His Augustness Oho-Usu, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mori, 37 of the Dukes of Ohota 38 and of the Dukes of Shimada.) 39 The next, King Kamukushi, (was the ancestor of the Sakabe Abiko in the Land of Ki, 40 and of the Sakabe of Uda). 41 The next, King Toyo-kuni-wake (was the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Himuka.) 42

Footnotes

1 In the province of Yamato. The etymology of *Makimuku* is obscure. *Hishiro* is tentatively derived by Motowori from *hi*, the *Chamaecyparis obtusa* (a kind of conifer), and *shiro*, "an enclosure."

2 *Harima no inabi no oho-iratsume*. Inabi is also known under the alternative form of *Inami*: etymology uncertain.

3 *Waka-take Kibi tsu biko*, *Waka-take* signifies "young brave."

4 *Kibi no omi*.

5 *Kushi* signifies "wondrous," and wake either "young," or "lord." The meaning of *tsunu* is obscure.

6 The names of this prince and the next signify respectively "great-foot-pestle" and "little foot-pestle," the origin of the bestowal of which singular

designations is thus related in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles:" "The Imperial child Oho-usu and His Augustness Wo-usu were born together the same day as twins. The Heavenly Sovereign, astonished, informed the foot-pestle. So the two Kings were called Great Foot-pestle and Little Foot-pestle." What the import of this passage may be is, however, a mystery both to Tanigaha Shisei and to Motowori.

7 Motowori supposes *wo-guna* to have been an archaic word for "boy," "me-guna" signifying "girl." *Yamato wo-guna* would thus signify *the* boy of Japan." a not inappropriate designation for this prince, who under his later name of Yamato-take (Japan Brave," *i.e. the* brave man of Japan") has remained as the chief legendary type of the martial prowess of his native land.

8 *I.e.*Yamato Prince.

9 *Komu-kushi no miko*, *i.e.*, "divine wondrous."

10 *Yamasaka no iri-bime no mikoto*. The signification of this name and of the next (*Ya-saka no iri-biko no mikoto*) is obscure.

11 *Waka-tarashi-hiko no mikoto*, i.e., "young and perfect prince."

12 *I-ho-ki no iri-biko no mikoto*. Signification obscure.

13 Or, *Oshi-wake*, *i.e.*, perhaps "Great Lord."

14 *I-ho-ki no iri-bime no mikoto*. Signification obscure.

15 *Toyo-to-wake no mikoto*, *i.e.*, perhaps "luxuriant swift prince."

16 *Nunoshiro no iratsumo*. Signification obscure.

17 *Nunaki no iratsume*. Signification obscure.

18 *Kago yori-hime no mikoto*. *Yori ime* probably means "good princess." The sense of *kago* is very doubtful, for it may either be the name of a place, or else identical with the Verb *kagayaku* "to shine," or with *kago*, "a stag."

19 *Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto*. The signification of this name is obscure.

20 *Kibi no ye-hike no mikoto*.

21 *Takaki-hime no mikoto*. The meaning of *takaki* in this place is not certain.

22 *Oto-hime no mikoto*, *i.e.*, "the younger princes."

23 *Himuka no Mi-hakashi-bime*. *Mi-hakashi* signifies "august sabre." See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXVI, for a gloss on this curious name.

24 *Toyo-kuni-wake no miko*, *i.e.*, perhaps "lord of the luxuriant land," or else "lord of the land of Toyo," the Emperor Kei-kō having, according to the account in the "Chronicles," spent some years fighting in South-Western Japan, where the province of Toyo is situated.

25 *Inabi no waki-iratsume*. See Note 2 to this Section.

26 *Ma-waka no miko*, *i.e.*, "truly young prince."

27 *Hiko-hito no oho-ye no miko*. *Hiko* signifies "prince," *hito* is "person" (or here, according to Motowori, "headman"), and *oho ye* is "great elder brother."

28 *Ka-guro-hime*, *i.e.*, probably "the black-haired princess."

29 *Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-biko-no-mikoto*. The signification of this name is not clear. Motowori identifies *sume* with the like-sounding Verb signifying "to be supreme." *Oha-naka-tsu-hiko* may signify "great middle prince," referring to the comparative ages of this prince and his brethren.

30 There is here an evident error in the genealogy, as it would make the emperor marry his own great-great-grand daughter! A guess of the editor of 1687 that for Yamato-take we should read Waka-take (a son of the Emperor Kō-rei) is approved by Motowori, and may be adopted as probably correct, —*i.e.* (what is but little likely) if this portion of the "Records" should eventually be proved to be historically trustworthy. The question is discussed by Motowori in Vol. XXVI. of his Commentary.

31 *Oho-ye no miko*. This name would, as Motowori remarks, appear to have erroneously crept in here through the influence of the name mentioned in Note 27, the whole account of this union with Princess Ka-guro being corrupt.

32 The Japanese term (王*miko*) includes both males and females.

33 子太.

34 As above remarked, the Japanese term includes both males and females, and Moreover, some of the female children are specially mentioned. The difficulty as to how females could have been appointed to the offices here mentioned is not solved by Motowori, whose note on this passage is evasive.

35 The four names of offices (also used as "gentile names") here mentioned are in the original Japanese *Kuni no Miyatsuko*, *Wake*, *Inaki*, and *Agata-mushi*. (See Introduction)

36 *Mamuta no murazhi*. (See Sect. LIII, Note 1.)

37 *Mori no kimi*. *Mori* seems to be the name of a place (perhaps in Mino); but nothing is known of this family.

38 *Ohota no kimi*. *Ohota* is the name of a place in Mino, and signifies "great rice-field."

39 *Shimada no kimi*. *Shimada* is perhaps the name of a place in Wohari. It signifies "island rice-fields."

40 *Ki no kuni no sakabe no abiko*. For also see Sect. LXXII, Note 85. *Sakabe* seems to signify "liquor tribe," this family and the next having been entrusted with the management of the Imperial feasts.

41 *Uda no sakabe*, *i.e.*, the "Liquor Tribe of Uda." (in Yamato).

42 *Himuka no kuni no miyatsuko*.

[SECT. LXXVII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART II. — THE MAIDENS YE-HIME AND OTO-HIME).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, to assure himself of what he had heard of the beauty of the two maidens Ye-hime and Oto-hime, [1] daugther of King Kamu-ohone, [2] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Minu, [3] sent his august child, His Augustness Oho-usu, to summon them up [to the Capital]. So His Augustness Oho-usu who had been sent, instead of summoning them up, forthwith wedded both the maidens himself, and then sought other women, to whom he falsely gave the maidens' names, and sent them up [to his father]. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, knowing them to be other women, frequently subjected them to his long glances; [4] but, never wedding them, caused them to sorrow. So the child that His Augustness Oho-usu begot on wedding Ye-hime, [205] was King Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko [5] (he was the ancestor of the Lords of Unesu in Minu.) [6] Again, the child that he begot on wedding Oto-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mugetsu.) [7]

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, the elder princess and the younger princess.

2 See Sect. LXII, Note 36.

3 *Minu no kuni no miyatsuko*.

4 *I.e.*, "gazed at them intently." The Classical word *nagamuru*, "to gaze," is properly a compound of *naga*, "long," and *miru*, "to see."

5 The meaning of the syllables *oshi* in this name and the companion one (*Oshi-kuro no oto hiko*) immediately below is probably "great;" *kuro* is

obscure; *ye-hiko* signifies "elder prince" and *oto-hiko* "younger prince."

6 *Mimi no Unesu no wake*. Of Unesu nothing is known.

7 *Mugetsu no kimi*. Mugetsu or Muge was in the province of Mini (Mino).

[SECT. LXXVIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART III. VARIOUS DEEDS.)]

In this august reign the Labourers' Tribe [1a] was established; again, the port of Aha in the East was established; again, the Great Butlers' Tribe [2] was established; again, the granaries of Yamato were established; again, the Pool of Sakate was made, and bamboos planted on the bank. [3]

Footnotes

1a Such is the reasonable explanation of the original term *tabe* (田部) given by Motowori. It seems to have become a "gentile-name."

2 *Kashikade no oho-tomo-be*. This "gentile name" originally denoted one who was butler, steward, or cook, in the Emperor's household. The tradition of its origin is preserved in the "Chronicles."

3 Motowori supposes that the mention both in his history and in the "Chronicles of Japan" of the planting of bamboos on the banks of this pool or lake should be attributed to the rarity of such a proceeding in ancient times.

[SECT. LXXIX. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IV. — YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The Heavenly Sovereign said to His Augustness Wo-usu: "Why does not thine elder brother come forth to the morning and evening great august repasts? [1b] Be thou the one to take the trouble to teach him [his duty]." Thus he commanded; but for five days after, still [the prince] came not forth. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask His Augustness Wo-usu [saying]: "Why is thine elder brother so long of coming? Hast thou perchance not yet taught him [his duty]?" He replied, [206] saying: "I have been at that trouble." Again [the Heavenly Sovereign] said "How didst thou take the trouble?" [2a] He replied, saying: "In the early morning when he went into the privy, I grasped hold of him and crushed him, and, pulling off his limbs, [3a] wrapped them in matting and flung them away."

Footnotes

1b Viz., to attend on his Imperial father.

2a *I.e.*, "How didst thou do it?"

3a Literally, "branches."

[SECT. LXXX. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART V. — YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him, saying: "In the West there are two Kumaso bravoes, 1—unsubmissive and disrespectful men. So take 2b them,"—and [with this command] he sent him off. It happened that at this time his august hair was bound at the brow. 3b Then His Augustness Wo-usu was granted by his aunt Her Augustness Yamato-hime 4 her august [upper] garment and august skirt; and, with a sabre hidden in his august bosom, he went forth. 5 So, on reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, he saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave 6 to dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave, 7 were getting food ready. So [Prince Wo-usu sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the [207] rejoicing. Then when the day of the rejoicing came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up, 8 and having put on his aunt's august [upper] garment and august skirt, he looked quite like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women, 9 went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when [the feast was] at its height, [His Augustness Wo-usu], drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching Kumaso 10 by the collar of his garment, thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the steps 11 of the cave, and catching him by the back, 12 [Prince Wo-usu] thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I 13 have something to say." Then [His Augustness

Wo-usu], respited him for a moment, holding him down [as he lay] prostrate. Hereupon [the bravo] said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: "I am the august child of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, the Heavenly Sovereign who, dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, rules the Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King Yamato-wo-guna. Hearing that you two [fellows 14], the Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmissive and disrespectful, [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent me with the command to take and slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: "That must [208] be true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong as we two. 15 Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a man braver than we two, —there is. 16 Therefore, will I offer thee an august name. From this time forward it is right that thou be praised as the August Child Yamato-take." 17 As soon as he had finished saying this, [the Prince] ripped him up 18 like a ripe melon, 19 and slew him. 20 So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of 21 his Augustness Yamato-take. When he returned up [to the capital] after doing this, he subdued and pacified every one of the Deities of the mountains and of the Deities of the rivers and likewise of the Deities of Anado, 22 and then went up to [the capital].

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, presumably "bravoes at Kumaso; "but it is to be remarked that in this and like compounds with *takeru* ("bravo") the Japanese language uses no Postposition. For Kumaso see Sect. V, Note 17.

2b Motowori seems right in interpreting "take" here and elsewhere in the sense of "slay." But "take "is in the text.

3b *I.e.*, caught up from the brow and tied together on the crown of the head. This being the way in which the hair of boys was dressed, the author thus

intimates that His Augustness was still a youth.

4 Who was high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise, as mentioned in Sect. LXIX (Note 44).

5 The characters used for these last two words are those properly restricted to the mention of an Imperial progress, but Yamato-take is constantly spoken of as if he had actually sat on the throne.

6 The character used is 室, which simply means apartment; but see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1.

7 Motowori reads "*New* cave," but the word "August" is in the text. At the same time we see that this feast was intended as a house-warming. *Conf*. the commencement of Sect. CLXIV.

8 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" puts the same meaning into plainer words. It says: "undid his hair, and made it appear like a girl's."

9 Or, according to the old reading, "mixing with the concubines."

10 *I.e.*, the elder bravo of Kumaso.

11 The word rendered "steps" is of doubtful interpretation.

12 Or perhaps "the skin of his back" or "the (beast's?) skin on his back." But Motowori is probably right in supposing the character 皮, "skin" to be an error for 以, "with," to be construed with the word "sabre." (In the English idiom this Particle falls away.)

13 Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

14 The contemptuous Second Personal Pronoun *ore* is used here and in the next clause.

15 There is Motowori's authority for thus understanding the bravo's words. Taken still more literally, they would seem to imply that there were no brave and strong men in the West *excepting* himself and his brother.

16 The words "there is" are an attempt at rendering the termination keri of the original. See X, Note 1.

17 *I.e.*, "Yamato-Brave," *q.d.*, "the Bravest in Yamato." It is by this name that the hero is commonly spoken of. Remember that "august child "signifies prince.

18 折, "broke," in the text is, as the commentators observe, an evident error for 析, "ripped."

19 Or specifically, the "musk melon."

20 The translator has followed Motowori's restoration of this passage, in which, by the transposition of the characters 也and 故, the end of this sentence and the beginning of the next were mixed together in the older editions.

21 Lit., "[they] praised the august name, calling him," etc.

22 Or, "of the Ana passage" (lit. door), the modern Strait of Shimonoseki. The word *ana* signifies "hole," and there is a tradition (which Motowori quotes in his note on this name in Vol. XXVII, of his Commentary) to the effect that formerly the Main bland and the island of Kiushiu were continuous at this point, there being only a sort of natural tunnel, through which junks could pass.

[SECT. LXXXI. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VI. — YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE IDZUMO BRAVO).

Forthwith entering the Land of Idzumo, and wishing to slay the Idzumo bravo, he on arriving, forthwith bound [himself to him in] friendship. So, having secretly [209] made [the wood of] an oak [-trees 1] into a false sword and augustly girded it, he went with the bravo to bathe the River Hi. 2 Then, His Augustness Yamato-take getting out of the river first, and taking and girding on the sword that the Idzumo bravo had taken off and laid down, said: "Let us exchange swords!" So afterwards the Idzumo bravo, getting out of the river, girded on His Augustness Yamato-take's false sword. Hereupon His Augustness Yamato-take, suggested, saying: "Come on! let us cross 3 swords." Then on drawing his sword, the Idzumo bravo could not draw the false sword. Forthwith His Augustness Yamato-take drew his sword and slew the Idzumo bravo. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"Alas that the sword girded on the Idzumo bravo, and wound round with many a creeper, should have had no true blade!" 4

So having thus extirpated the [bravoes] and made [the land] orderly, he went up [to the capital], and made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

Footnotes

1 The species mentioned (*ichihi*) is the *Quercus gilva*.

2 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

3 Lit., "let us join swords." The word "suggested" (誂) in this sentence is an emendation of Motowori's, the text having 誹, "slandered." The older

printed editions, while retaining the character 誹, read it *azamukite*, "deceived."

4 In its position in the present text, this Song must be taken as an ironical lament of the Prince for the dead bravo. In the "Chronicle" the time and the heroes of the episode, and the singers of the Song are all different, and in that context the lament sounds like a genuine one. The reader will remember what was said in the Introduction as to the use of creepers for string. That mentioned in the text is supposed to be the *Cocculus thunbergi*.

[SECT. LXXXII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VII. —YAMATO-TAKE IS SENT TO SUBDUE THE EAST, AND VISITS HIS AUNT AT ISE).]

Then the Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on His Augustness Yamato-take, saying: "Subdue and pacify the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of the twelve roads of the East;" 1 and when he sent him off, joining to him Prince Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take, 2 ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi, 3 he bestowed on [210] him a holly-wood 4 spear eight fathoms [long]. So when he had received the [Imperial] command and started off, he went into the temple of the Great August Deity of Ise, and worshipped the Deity's court, 5 forthwith speaking to his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, saying: "It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign thinks 6 I may die quickly; for after sending me to smite the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up again [to the capital] than, without bestowing on me an army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked people of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently, I think that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." When he departed with lamentations and tears, Her Augustness Yamato-hime bestowed on him the "Herb-Quelling-Sabre," 7 and likewise bestowed on him an august bag, 8 and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag."

Footnotes

1 See Sect. LXVI. Note 2.

2 *Mi-suki-tomo-mini-take-hiko*. *Mi* is an Honorific, *mimi* probably signifies "ears," and *take* means "bravo." The words *suki* and *tomo* are obscure.

3 *Kibi na omi*.

4 Properly the *Olea aquifolium*, which resembles holly. Motowori supposes that an entirely wooden spear or stick is here meant to be spoken of, and not the weapon with a metal point which is commonly understood by the word "spear" (*hoko*).

5 Perhaps we should write "august court," for the characters 朝廷in the text are evidently intended for the homonymous 御門. The court in front of the Deity's temple is what is here alluded to, and it would perhaps be a not unpardonable departure from the text to insert the Preposition "at," or "in," and translate thus: "worshipped in the Deity's court."

6 Here and below, the word "thinks," may be understood to mean "wishes."

7 *Kusa-nagi no tsurugi*. The discovery of this sword by the deity Susa-no wo ("Impetuous Male") inside one of the tails of the eight-headed serpent which he had slain, is narrated at the end of Sect. XVIII.

8 The use of the contents of this bag will be seen in the next Section.

[211]

[SECT. LXXXIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART VIII. —YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU.)]

So reaching the Land of Wohari, he went into the house of Princess Miyadzu, [1] ancestress of the Rulers of Wohari, [2] and forthwith thought to wed her; but thinking again that he would wed her when he should return up [toward the capital], and having plighted his troth, he went [on] into the Eastern Lands, and subdued and pacified all the savage Deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and rivers. So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu, [3] the Ruler of the land lied, saying: "In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a very violent Deity." Hereupon [Yamato-take] entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime had bestowed on him, and saw that inside of it there was a fire-striker. [4] Hereupon he first mowed away the herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt [the herbage] and drove back [the other fire], and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the Rulers [5] of that Land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them. So [that place] is now called Yakidzu. [6]

Footnotes

1 Miyazu-hime (in the "Chronicles "and in the printed editions of these "Records "previous to Motowori's written Miyasu-hime without the *nigori*). Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei makes any suggestion as to the signification of this name.

2 *Wohari no miyatsuko*.

3 In the present time *Sagami*. No authority great or small has given a satisfactory etymology of this name, though numerous and elaborate attempts have been made to explain it.

4 In the original *hi-uchi* (火打). Mr. Satow, who has given a translation of this passage in a note to his third paper on the "Rituals "to be found in Vol. IX, Pt. II. of these "Transaction," renders this word by "steel." The present writer prefers not to prejudge the question as to whether the fire-striker "intended by the author was a steel, or a wooden fire-drill. Motowori would seem to have held the latter view, as in his gloss on this passage he refers to the previous passage near the end of Sect. XXXII, where the fire-drill is explicitly mentioned. He also quotes an ancient one in which "a fire-striker of metal "is specially referred to, so that it would seem that all fire-strikers were not of that material.

5 Remember that this word "Ruler" (Miyatsuko) had the acceptation of a "gentile name "as well as of the name of an office, so that we may understand the author to mean that Yamato-take destroyed the whole Ruling Family of Sagami. Parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has "he burnt all that rebel band, and destroyed them."

6 The words rendered "that place" are supplied by Motowori, their omission being evidently a copyist's error. *Yaki-dzu* signifies "the port of burning."

[212]

[SECT. LXXXIV. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART IX. — YAMATO-TAKE'S EMPRESS STILLS THE WAVES.)

When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-midzu, [1] the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then [Yamato-take's] Empress, [2] whose name was Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana [3] said: "I [4] will enter the sea instead of the august child. [5] The august child must complete the service [6] on which he has been sent, and take back a report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]." When she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs, [7] eight thicknesses of skin rugs and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on the top of the waves, and sat down on the top [of them] Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the. Empress sang, saying:

"Ah! thou [whom I] enquired of, standing in the midst of the flames of the fire burning on the little moor of Sagamu, where the true peak pierces!" [8]

So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb [213] drifted onto the sea-beach, —Which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, "running water."

2 *I.e.*, his consort. Conf. Sect. ???, Note 5.

3 *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto*. (See Sect. XCII, Note 3.)

4 Written with the humble character 妾, literally "concubine."

5 *I.e.*, instead of thee, the Prince."

6 More literally, "finish the government."

7 Or "mats." But the same word is used as that which must be translated "rugs" immediately below.

8 This Song gives much trouble to the commentators, whose remarks (to be found in Motowori's "Commentary." Vol. XXVII, and Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto-Waki*" Vol. III, pp, 6-9,) should be consulted by the student desirous of forming an opinion of his own. The general purport of the poem is of course to allude to Yamato-take's adventure on the burning moor, and at the same time to the love which bound him and his consort together; almost each individual line offers matter for doubt. Thus it is not certain whether the Verb *tohishi*, here rendered "enquired of" (*i.e.*, attended upon by the Empress). should not rather be given the word "thou" as subject, in which case the signification would be "thou who enquiredst of [*i.e.*, wooedst]." The word used for "thou;" is the Honorific equivalent of that Pronoun signifying literally "prince." Moribe disputes the propriety of considering Sagamu in this place as the name of a province, and the word *sanesashi*, here translated "where the true peak pierces" (Mt. Fuji being by some supposed to be thus alluded to) is of very doubtful interpretation. Motowori tells us that the final Particles *ha mo*, rendered by the initial Interjection "Oh," should here be understood as an exclamation more forcible than that which usually belongs to him. Finally, Moribe points out that the Song does not suit the context in which it is found, and has probably been erroneously inserted here instead of in an earlier portion of the text.

[SECT. LXXXV. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART X. — YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS.)]

When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi [1] and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up [to the capital], he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass, [2] was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood [before him]. Then forthwith, on his waiting [3] and striking [the deer] with a scrap of wild chive, [4] [the deer] was hit in the eye and struck dead. So, mounting to the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "*Adzuma ha ya!*" [5] So that land is called by the name of Adzuma.

Footnotes

1 This is the traditional ancient reading of what is according to the modern pronunciation *Yezo*, while the Chinese characters 蝦夷, with which the name is written, signify "Prawn Barbarians," in allusion (if Motowori may be trusted) to the long beards which make their fades resemble a prawn's head. The hairy barbarians known to English readers as *Ainos*, and whose name of *Yezo* is applied by the Japanese to the northernmost large island of the Japanese Archipelago, which is still chiefly tenanted by them, are almost certainly here referred to. In ancient times they inhabited a great part of the Main Island of Japan. The translator may add that the genuiness of the so-called ancient reading "*Yemishi*" appears to him doubtful. The name known to the people themselves, and which apparently can be traced as far as Kamschatka, is *Yezo*.

2 *Ashigara-zaka*, one of the passes from Sagami into Suruga leading towards Mount Fuji.

3 *I.e.*, lying in ambush.

4 *Nira*, the *Allium odorum*.

5 *I.e.*, "my wife! "*Adzuma* is still used as a poetical designation of Eastern Japan. The translator doubts the correctness of the derivation of it given in the text, although it is universally accepted and certainly fits in well with the graceful legend by which it is here accounted for.

[214]

[SECT. LXXXVI. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XI. —YAMATO-TAKE DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SAKAWORI.)]

When, forthwith crossing over from that land out into Kahi, [1] he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori, [2] he sang, saying:

"How many nights have I slept since passing Nihibari and Tsukuha?" [3]

Then the old man, who was the lighter of the august fire, [4] completed the august Song, and sang, saying:

"Oh! having put the days in a row, there are of nights nine nights, and of days ten days!" [5]

Therefore, [Yamato-take] praised the old man, and forthwith bestowed [on him] the Rulership of the Eastern Land[s]. [6]

Footnotes

1 This name is identified by the native etymology with a homonymous Substantive signifying "a place between mountains."

2 The etymology of this name is uncertain. But the most likely opinion is that it signifies "a zigzag road down a pass."

3 *I.e.*, since leaving the province of Hitachi, of which Tsukuha (in modern parlance *Tsukuba*, with the last syllable *nigori*'ed) and Nihibari (modern *Nihiharu*) are two districts. In the later poetry *Nibari no* is often used as a Pillow-Word for the name of Mount Tsukuba. The etymology of both names is uncertain, but "newly tilled "seems to be the most probable etymology of the first of the two.

4 Not necessarily a fire kindled for the sake of obtaining warmth, but fire in general, including, as Motowori suggests, torches and fires lit to drive away mosquitoes. There are frequent mentions in the classical literature of this latter sort of fire, which may Indeed, still be met with in some districts where mosquito-nets are not yet in common use.

5 The meaning is: "On counting up, I find that we have been ten days and nine nights."—Previous to Motowori the expression *ka-ga nabette*, "having put in a row (*i.e.* counted) the days" was curiously misunderstood, and subjected to various far-fetched interpretations. There can however be no doubt but that Motowori is right. —The reason why the old man is said to have "completed "the Prince's song is that the former taken alone is of incomplete rhythm.

6 Or, as Motowori would prefer to consider it, "the Rulership of an Eastern Land," viz., one out of the twelve Eastern provinces.

[SECT. LXXXVII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XII. —YAMATO-TAKE WOOES PRINCESS MIYAZU).]

Having crossed over from that land into the land of Shinanu [1] and subdued the Deity of the Shinanu pass, [2] he came back to the land of Wohari, and went to dwell in the house of Princess Miyazu, to whom he had before plighted his troth. Hereupon, when presenting to him the great august food, Princess Miyazu lifted up a great liquor-cup and presented it to him. Tunc Heræ Miyazu veli oræ adhæserunt menstrua. Quare [Augustus Yamato-take] ilia menstrua vidit, et auguste cecinit, dicens:

"Ego volui reclinare [caput] in fragili, molli brachiolo [tuo, quod est simile] vallo impingenti acutæ falci in Monte Kagu in cœlo formato quasi cucurbita; —ego desideravi dormire [tecum]. Sed in orâ veli quod induis luna surrexit." [3]

Tunc Heræ Miyazu augusto cantui respondit, dicens: [216]

"Altè resplendentis solis auguste puer! Placidè administrationem faciens mi magne domine! Renovatis annis venientibus et effluentibus, renovatæ lunæ eunt veniendo patienter expecto, luna suàpte surgit in orâ veli quod ego induo!" [4]

Quare tune [ille] coivit [cum illâ], after which, placing in Princess Miyazu's house his august sword "the Grass-Quelling Sabre," he went forth [5] to take the Deity of [Mount] Ibuki. [6]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. XXXIII, Note 26.

2 *Shinanu no saka*, a pass between the provinces of Shinano and Mino which is no longer used.

3 Even taken apart from its immediate context, the import of this Song is plain, notwithstanding Moribe's efforts to explain away its indelicacy. The details of the first part, however, require some comment in order to make them comprehensible to the European reader, the words in question being these which might in English be rendered "thy fragile, slender, delicate arm [which resembles] a post striking against the sharp sickle on Mount Kagu of the gourd-shaped heaven." In Japanese they run thus:

Hisa-kata no
Ame no Kagu-yamo
To-kama ni
Sa-wataru kuhi: —
Hiha-boso
Ta-waya-gahina wo etc.

It will he remarked that the first four lines form a "Punning Preface "to the fifth. Such Punning Prefaces have not necessarily any logical connection with what follows, as has been explained by the present writer in a paper "On the Use of Pillow Words and Plays upon Words in Japanese Poetry," to be found in Vol. V, Pt. I, *et seq.* of these "Transactions." In this particular case, however, there is sufficient continuity of sense to warrant the continuous translation above given. The word "post," though such a use of it is very curious, must be understood to denote not a dead, but a living trunk, or rather the stem of some delicate plant or grass which falls beneath the sickle of the mower on Mount Kagu in Heaven, or, as it may better be understood, on the Heavenly Mount Kagu [in Yamato]. "Gourd-shaped "is the translation of *hisa-kata no* or *hisa-gata no*, the Pillow-Word for "heaven." Its meaning is disputed, but Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" and Motowori agree in giving to it the sense here adopted (see the above-mentioned paper "On the Use of Pillow-Words, etc.,").

4 The total sense of this Song is quite plain. —In the first lines of it the Prince is addressed as if he were the reigning sovereign. The words *placidè administrationem faciens* represent the Japanese *yasumishishi*, the Pillow-Word for *wa ga oho-kimi*, "my great lord." Elsewhere the English rendering "who tranquilly carries on the government" has been adopted. The word *aratama no*, rendered by the Adjective *renovatis*, is the Pillow-Word for "sun," "moon" and "year," and is of not quite certain import. The interpretation here adopted has, however, for it the weight of probability and of native authority, Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words "deriving it from the Verb *aratamaru*, "to be renewed."

5 The characters in the text might also be rendered "he made a progress," as they are those only properly applied to the movements of a reigning sovereign. Here and elsewhere, they are used in speaking of Yamato-take. (Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.)

6 On the frontier of Afumi (Omi) and Mince Ibuki seems to signify "blowing," in allusion, it is said, to the pestilential breath or influence of the god by whom the place was tenanted. The word rendered "Mount "is supplied by the editor of 1687.

[SECT. LXXXVIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIII. —YAMATO-TAKE MEETS THE DEITY OF MOUNT IBUKI).]

Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, I will simply take him empty-handed." [1]—and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull. [2] Then he lifted up words, [3] and said: "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity. [4] Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"—and [so saying.] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain [5] to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity, [6] but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting up of words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take. [6]]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kuro-be [7] and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat. [8] So that fresh spring is called by the name of the fresh spring of Wi-same.

Footnotes

1 Princess Miyazu's house.

2 Or "ox," or "cow," the original word not distinguishing between the sexes.

3 The Japanese expression *kota-age shite*, here rendered "lifted up. words," very frequently has the signification of "lifting up a prayer" to some superhuman being. In this passage, however, it conveys no more than its proper etymological meaning.

4 Viz., the god of Mount Ibuki.

5 Perhaps "hail" may be intended by this expression, and so Motowori decides. But this interpretation of the term seems to agree well with the Song in Sect. CXLII.

6 The commentators disagree as to whether this note should or should not be considered to form part of the original text. Motowori so considers it. He however, in the opinion of the translator, is not happy in his alteration of the *kana* reading given by the editor of 1687, which latter has accordingly been followed in the English version.

7 The literal meaning of this name is "jewel-store-tribe;" but complete uncertainty attaches both to the etymology of the word and to the position of the place. The first printed edition has *Tama-kuhi-be*.

8 He had been misled and dazed, but now came to himself again. Thence, according to the etymology of our author, the name of *Wi-same*, which signifies "dwelling (resting) and awaking," given to the spring.

[SECT. LXXXIX. EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XIV. — THE DEATH OF YAMATO-TAKE).]

When he departed thence and reached the moor of [218] Tagi [1] he said: "Whereas my heart always felt like flying through the sky, my legs are now unable to walk. They have become rudder-shaped." [2] So that place was called by the name of Tagi. Owing to his being very weary with progressing a little further beyond that place, he leant upon an august staff to walk a little. So that place is called by the name of the Tsuwetsuki pass. [3] On arriving at the single pine-tree on Cape Wotsu, [4] an august sword, which he had forgotten at that place before when augustly eating, [5] was still [there] not lost. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree that art on Cape Wotsu which directly faces Mohari! If thou, single pine-tree! wert a person, I would gird [my] sword [upon thee], I would clothe thee with [my] garments, —O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree!" [6]

When he departed thence and reached the village of Mihe, [7] he again said: "My legs are like three-fold crooks, [8] and very weary." So that place was called by [219] the name of Mihe. When he departed thence and reached the moor of Nobe, [9] he, regretting [10] [his native] land, [11] sang, saying:

"As for Yamato, the most secluded of lands—Yamato, retired behind Mount Awogaki encompassing it with its folds is delightful!" [12]

Again he sang, saying:

"Let those whose life may be complete stick [in their hair] as a head-dress the leaves of the bear-oak from Mount Heguri, —those children!"

This song is a Land-Regretting Song. [13] Again he sang, saying:

"How sweet! ah! from the direction of home clouds are rising and coming!"

This is an Incomplete Song. [14] At this time, his august sickness was very urgent. Then, he sang augustly, saying:

"The sabre-sword which I placed at the maiden's bed-side, alas! that sword!" [15]

As soon as he had finished singing, he died, then a courier was despatched [to the Heavenly Sovereign.]

Footnotes

1 *Tagi-nu*. We might, following the Chinese characters, translate thus; "and arrived on the Moor of Tagi." But the character 上 has in this context scarcely any meaning. The real etymology of *Tagi* (in classical and modern parlance *taki* without the *nigori*) is "rapid "or "waterfall," the cascade formed by the river Vo-ro in Mino being alluded to. The derivation in the next sentence of the text from *tagishi* supposed to mean "a rudder "is a mere fancy.

2 The word here fended "rudder" is *tagishi*, which is written phonetically and does not occur elsewhere, except in a few Proper Names of doubtful import. There is however some probability in favour of the meaning assigned to it by the native commentators.

3 *Tzuwe-tsuki-zaka*, *i.e.*, "the pass of leaning on a staff." It is in the province of Ise between Yokaichi and Ishi-yakushi.

4 *Wotsu-no-saki*, in the province of Ise. The name probably signifies "° harbour of the mountain declivity."

5 The former portion of the text tells us nothing either of the meal or of the sword here mentioned.

6 This quaintly simple and apparently very ancient poem needs no elucidation.

7 In Ise. *Mihe* signifies "three fold."

8 This is the literal rendering of the text. Motowori thinks, however, that we should understand that there were various swellings on his legs, such as would be produced if the limb were tightly tied round with cord in three places.

9 *Nobo-un* in the province of Ise. The name seems to signify "the moor of mounting."

10 The Chinese character here used signifies simply "thinking of;" but in such a context its common Japanese interpretation is "loving "or "regretting," and so Motowori means us to understand it when he reads *shinukashite*.

11 Viz., Yamato.

12 This Song and the two following form but one in the pages of the "Chronicles," where they appear with several verbal differences, and are attributed, not to the Prince, but to his father the Emperor. Moribe decides that in the latter particular the text of these "Records" gives the preferable account, but that the "Chronicles" are right in making the three Songs one continuous poem. The expression "this Song is a Land-Regretting Song" strongly supports this view; for, though we might also render in the Plural "these Songs are, etc.," such a translation would be less natural, as in similar cases the numeral is used, thus "these *two* Songs are, etc." The expression "this is an Incomplete Song "points as decidedly to some mutilation of the original document, from which the compiler of the

"Records" copied this passage. Taking then the three Songs as one, the entire drift is that of a paean on Yamato, the poet's native land, which he could not hope ever to see again: —Commencing by praising its still seclusion as it lies there behind its barrier of protecting mountains, he goes on to mention the rural pleasures enjoyed by those who, wandering over the hill-sides, deck their hair with garlands of leaves and flowers. For himself Indeed, these delights are no more; "but," says he, "do you, ye children full of health and happiness, pursue your innocent enjoyment!" In conclusion he. lovingly apostrophises the clouds which, rising up from the south-west, are, as it was, messengers from home. The word *mahoroha*, rendered "secluded," is a great crux to the commentators, and Motowori's "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," and Moribe's "*Idzu no Koto Waki*," Vol. III, should be consulted by the student desirous of forming his own opinion on the point. Another apparent difficulty is the word *gomoreru*, whose position in the sentence Motowori seems to have misunderstood. By following Moribe, and taking it as a compound with the word *Awogaki-yama* into *Awogaki yama-gomoreru* the difficulty vanishes, and we are likewise relieved from the necessity of supposing anything so highly improbable as that the Verb *komoreru* when not compounded, should have commenced with a *nigori*'ed syllable. "Complete "signifies "healthy." Mount Heguri is preceded in the original by *tatamikomo* (Moribe reads *tatamigomo* with the *nigori*) a Pillow-Word whose import is disputed. In any case, being a punning one, it cannot be translated. For the "bear-oak" see Sect. LXXII, Note 19. Moribe labours, but without success, to prove that "come," the last word of the translation, signifies "go," and imagines that the prince is expressing his envy of the clouds which are rising and going off in the direction of the home which he will never revisit.

13 *I.e.*, a Song of loving regret for his native land.

14 "Incomplete Song" must be understood as the designation of a poem of a certain number of lines, viz, three, and was probably given by comparison with the greater length of poetical compositions in general.

15 This poem is an exclamation of distress at the thought of the sword which he had left with his mistress Princess Miyazu and which, if he had had it with him, would doubtless have preserved him from the evil influences of the god of Mount Ibuki, which were the beginning of his end. —" Sabre-sword" (*tsurugi no tachi*) is a curious expression, which Moribe thinks means "double-edged sword."

[SECT. XC. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XV. — YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD)]

Thereupon [his] Empresses 1 and likewise [his] august [221] children, who dwelt in Yamato, all went down 2 and built an august mausoleum, and, forthwith crawling hither and thither in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]. sobbed out a Song, saying:

"The *Dioscorea quinqueloba* crawling hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum] . . ." 3

Thereupon [the dead prince], turning into a white dotterel 4 eight fathoms [long], and soaring up to Heaven, flew off towards the shore. Then the Empress and likewise the august children, though they tore their feet treading on the stubble of the bamboo-grass, forgot the pain, and pursued him with lamentations. At that time, they sang, saying:

"Our loins are impeded in the plain [over-grown with] short bamboo-grass. We are not going through the sky, but oh! we are on foot." 5

[222] Again when they entered the salt sea, 6 and suffered as they went, they sang, saying.

"As we go through the sea, our loins are impeded, —tottering in the sea like herbs growing in a great river-bed." 7 Again when [the bird] flew and perched on the sea-side, they sang, saying:

"The dotterel of the beach goes not on the beach, but follows the seaside." 8

These four Songs were all sung at [Yamato-take's] august interment. So to the present day these Songs are sung at the great interment of a Heavenly Sovereign. So [the bird] flew off from that country, 9 and stopped at Shiki in the land of Kafuchi. 10 So they made an august mausoleum there, and laid [Yamato-take] to rest. 11 Forthwith that august mausoleum was called by the

[223] name of the "August-Mausoleum of the White-Bird." 12 Nevertheless, the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away.

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, wives. It will be remembered that the historian habitually mentions Yamato-take as if he had been Emperor.

2 *Q.d.*, to the land of Ise.

3 The drift of the Song is a comparison of the; helpless wanderings of the mourners in the neighbourhood of the tomb to the convolutions of the *Dioscorea quinqueloba* (a creeping plant) growing among the rice in the adjacent fields. But there are evidently some lines omitted. If we were to adopt the elegant verses conjecturally supplied by Moribe, the entire translation would run thus: "The *Dioscorea quinqueloba* crawl hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]; but though like it, we crawl hither and thither, and weep and speak to thee, thou answerest not a word."—Moribe supposes this poem to be the Empress's composition, and the following three to have proceeded from the children.

4 As usual when the word chidori (defined as "any kind of dotterel, plover or sandpiper") is used, it is doubtful what bird is really intended. At the end of this Section we are told that the Mausoleum was called the Mausoleum of the White Bird (白鳥)." Specifically, however, these characters are used with their Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of *haku-cho* as the name of the swan. But as swans are nowhere else mentioned in these "Records "and as Moreover, their habits are not such as to accord with the legend here narrated, it will perhaps be safer to retain "dotterel "in the translation. "Heron "also has been suggested.

5 The signification of this Song is: "It is easy enough for thee, thou bird-spirit! to fly through the air. But remember that we are on foot, and that our feet are getting torn by the short stubble of the bamboo-grass (*Bambusa shino*)."

6 When the bird flew over the sea, they too waded after it through the waves.

7 The signification of the Song is: "As we pursue thee through the sea, we sink in the waves up to our middles, and totter like the water-plants against "which strikes the current of a great river."—The word *uwe-gusa*, lit. "herbs planted," is curious; but it simply means "herbs growing," as in the translation (*conf.* our word "plant"). The latter part of the poem is in the original highly elliptical.

8 The point of the Song seems to rest on a delicate distinction between the words *hama*, "beach "and *iso*, "seaside," which does not obtain in the later Japanese language any more than it does in English. Both *hama* and *iso*, "beach" and "seaside," denote the boundary-line between sea and land; but we must suppose with the commentators that while the former was used with special reference to the land, the latter considered the idea (so to speak) from the point of view of the sea. The import of the song is Therefore, to upbraid the bird for flying over the waves instead of flying along the adjacent shore.

9 *I.e.*, says Motowori, from Ise.

10 Not to be confounded with the Shiki in Yamato, which is written with different phonetic character.

11 The Verb used in the original is *shizumeru*, "to repress," "to quiet," "to lay," "to establish," hence "to build a temple to a god," "to worship." The grammatical vagueness of the Japanese language helps in all this passage to preserve the connection of ideas in a manner which it is difficult to render in an English translation. Using no pronouns, it does not require to specialise in each instance whether it is the bird that is meant, or Yamato-take, but the two are confounded together in language as they were in thought.

12 *Shira-tori no misasaki*. According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," it was not only this tomb in Kafuchi, but the previously mentioned tomb at Nobonu, and also another in Yamato, which were severally known by this designation.

[SECT. XCI. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVI. — YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER).]

During all the time that this [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take went about pacifying countries, Nana-tsuka-hagi, [1a] ancestor of the Suzerains of Kuna, [2a] always followed and respectfully served him as butler.

Footnotes

1a The name signifies "seven-grasp shins," implying that the worthy here mentioned was so big and strong as to have shins seven hand-breadths in length. For the use of the word "grasp "as a measure of length, see Sect. VIII, Note 1.

2a This family has already been mentioned at the end of Sect. XXXIV, as descended from Ama-tsu-kume no Mikoto, one of the companions of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather on the occasion of his descent from Heaven. But see Note 7 to that Sect. for the probable mistake with regard to the origin of the name.

[SECT. XCII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVII. — YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS).]

This [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take wedded Her Augustness Princess Futaji-no-iri, 1b daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume, and begot an august child: His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko 2b (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana 3 who [afterwards] entered the sea, 4 he begot an august child: King Waka-take 5 (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess [224] Futaji, 6 daughter of Oho-tamu-wake, 7 ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi, 8 he begot an august child: King Ine-yori-wake 9 (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Oho-kibi-take, 10 younger sister of Take-hiko [ancestor of the] Grandees of Kiki, 11 he begot an august child: King Take-kahiko 12 (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Kukuma-mori of Yamashiro, 13 he begot an august child, King Ashi-kagami-wake 14 (one Deity). A child by another wife was King Okinaga-ta-wake. 15 Al-together the entire [number] of the august children of His Augustness Yamato-take was six Deities. So His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, King Ine-yori-wake (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Inukami 16 and of the Dukes of Takebe.) 17 [225] The next, King Take-kahiko (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Aya in Sanugi, 18 the Dukes of Wake in Iyo, 19 the Lords of Towo, 20 the Headmen of Masa 21 and the Lords of Miyaji.) 22 King Ashi-kagami-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kamakura, 23 the Dukes of Wodzu, 24 the Lords of Ihashiro 25 and the Lords of Fukita.) 26 The child of the next, King Okinaga-ta-wake was King Kuhi-mata-naga-hiko. 27 This King's children were: Her Augustness Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, 28 next Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime, 29 next Oto-hime 30 (three Deities). So the above mentioned King Waka-take wedded Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, [226] and begot King Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko. 31 This King wedded Princess Shibanu, 32

daugther of Shibanu-iri-ki [33] of Afumi, and begot a child, Her Augustness Princess Kaguro. [34] So the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko wedded this [lady] Her Augustness Princess Kaguro, and begot King Oho-ye [35] (one Deity). This King wedded his younger half-sister Queen Shiro-kane, [36] and begot children: King Oho-na-gata, [37] and next Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime [38] (two Deities). So this [Lady] Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime was the august mother [39] of King Kagosaka [40] and King Oshikuma. [41]

Footnotes

1b For this name see Sect. LXIX, Note 24.

2b *I.e.*, "the perfect middle prince," a name which is justified by the genealogy as given in the "Chronicles," where he is mentioned as the second of three sons borne by this princess.

3 *Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto*. *Oto* signifies "younger [sister]," and *Oto-tachibana* is the name of the orange.

4 See the story in Sect. LXXXIV.

5 *Waka-tate no miko*. This name signifies "young brave."

6 *Futaji-hime*. Signification obscure. Futaji may be the name of a place.

7 If *Tamu* is, as Motowori surmises, the name of a place, this personal name signifies "Great Lord of Tamu."

8 *Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no kuni no miyatsuko*. For *Yasu* see Sect. LXII, Note 62.

9 *Ine-yori-wake no miko*. This name probably signifies "rice-good-lord."

10 *Oho-kibi-take-hime*. *Oho* signifies "great." For the other two elements of the compound see next Note.

11 The text has *Kibi no omi Take-hiko*, as if this worthy had been himself the "Grandee of Kibi." Motowori however compares the commencement of Sect. LXXXII (Notes 2 and 3), and supplies the words "ancestor of." *Kibi* is of course the province of that name (the modern, Bizen, Bitchiū, and Bingo), and *take* signifies "brave."

12 *Take-kahiko no miko*. *Take* signifies "brave," *kahiko* is either "egg "or "cocoon," or else perhaps a corruption of some other word.

13 *Yamashiro no Kukuma mori-hime*. This name is obscure. Motowori identifies Kukuma with a place called *Kurihuma*, and *mori* is probably the Verb "to guard."

14 *Ashi-kagami-wake no miko*. This name is written with characters signifying "foot-mirror-[lord]."

15 *Okinaga-ta-wake no miko*. This name is obscure. Motowori believes Okinaga to be the name of a place in Afumi, but has no explanation to offer of *ta*.

16 *Inukami no kimi*. Inukami is the name of a district in Afumi, its signification is not clear.

17 *Takebi no kimi*. *Takebe* became the name of a place in Idzumo, but it originally signified "brave tribe," the family having, as in so many other cases, given its name to the place of its residence, instead of being called after the latter. See the origin of the name, given in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXIV.

18 *Sanugi no Aya no kimi*. For *Sanugi* see Sect. V, Note 6. *Aya* is a district in the province; the name is of doubtful origin.

19 *Iyo no wake no kani*. For *Iyo* see Sect. V, Note 4. (The text here has *Ise* for Iyo, and the word *wake* is missing, but Motowori's emendation may be accepted). *Wake* is the name of a district in Iyo.

20 *Towo no wake*. Of *Towo* nothing is known.

21 *Masa no obito*. Of *Masa* nothing is known.

22 *Miyagi* (宮道) *no wake*. This is Motowori's ingenious emendation of the characters in the text, 宦首, out of which it is impossible to make a family name. *Miyagi* is the name of a place in the province of Mikaha, and signifies "temple road."

23 *Kamakura no wake*. Kamakura is the name of a district in the province of Sagami, which became famous during the Middle Ages as the site of an immense town, —the capital of the Shōgun, and the centre of the feudalism which then ruled Japan. The import of the name (literally "sickle-store") is not clear, though it has been fancifully explained by native etymologists.

24 *Wodzu no kimi*. The words *no kimi* are supplied by Motowori, this name and the next being in the text run into one. Wodzu seems to be the name of a place in Afumi, and signifies "little mart."

25 *Ihashiro no wake*. Motowori says that this Ihashiro is not the province of that name, but a place in Kishiu. The meaning of the name is obscure.

26 *Fukita no wake*. This is but Motowori's conjectural restoration (founded on a statement in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages") of the name as given in the text, 漁田.

27 *Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko*. *Kuhimata* (modern *Kumata*) is the name of a place in Settsu. The signification is obscure. *Naga-hiko* means "long prince."

28 *Ihinu-ma-guro-hime*, *i.e.*, "quite black princess of Ihinu," the blackness being doubtless predicated of her hair. *Ihinu* is the name of a district in Ise, and is written with characters signifying "boiled-rice-moor."

29 For *Okinaga* see Note 15. *Ma-waka* means "truly young." *Naka-tsu-hime* means "middle princess," referring to her being the second of three.

30 *I.e.*, "younger princess."

31 See Sect. LXXVI, Note 29.

32 *Shibanu-hime*. This name is obscure.

33 *Shibunu iri-ko*. This name is obscure.

34 *Ka-gara hime*, see Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

35 For the confusion in this portion of the genealogy see Sect. LXXVI, Note 30.

36 *Shiro-kane no miko*. *Shiro-kane* means "silver," but Motowori suspects corruption in the text.

37 *Oho-nagata no miko*, *i.e.*, "great prince of Nagata," the latter being the name of a place in Settsu, signifying "long rice-field."

38 *I.e.*, "great middle princess."

39 Literally, "ancestress."

40 Or, "the King of Kagosaka," for it is' uncertain whether Kagosaka should or should not be regarded as the name of a place. The etymology of the name may be *kago*, "a stag" and *saka*, "an ascent." The original form of the name and title is *Kagosaka no miko*.

41 Or, "the King of Oshikuma," *Oshikuma no miko*. *Oshikuma* is a word of doubtful etymology.

[SECT. XCIII. —EMPEROR KEI-KŌ (PART XVIII. HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and thirty-seven, and his august mausoleum is above the Yamanobe road. [1a]

Footnotes

1a See Sect. LXVIII, Note 1.

[SECT. XCIV. —EMPEROR SEI-MU.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Wata-tarashi-hiko dwelt at the palace of Taka-anaho at Shiga [1b] in Chika-tsu-Afumi and ruled the empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded [227] the Lady Oho-takara, [2] daugther of Take-oshiyama-tari-ne, [3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi, [4] and begot an august child: King Wata-nuke [5] (one Deity). So [the Heavenly Sovereign] raised the Noble Take-uchi [6] [to the office of] Prince Minister, [7] deigned to settle the Rulers of the Great Countries and Small Countries, [8] and likewise deigned to settle the boundaries of the various countries, as also the Department Lords of the Great Departments and Small Departments. [9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-five, and his august mausoleum is at Tatanami near Saki. [10]

Footnotes

1b *Shiga no Taka-anaho*. *Shiga* is the name of a well known district, and is of uncertain, signification, as is also *Taka-anaho*. For *Chika-tsu-Afumi* see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

2 *Oto-takara no iratsume*. *Oto* signifies "younger [sister]," and *takara* is "treasure."

3 *Oshiyama* is the name of a place in Ise, *take* signifies "brave" and *tari* and *ne* are Honorifics of frequent occurrence.

4 *Hodzumi no omi*. See Sect. LXI, Note 4.

5 *Waka-nuke no miko*. This name is of doubtful signification, and Motowori suspects that it is corrupt, and that the true reading would be *Waka-take*, "young-brave."

6 See Sect. LXI, Note 25.

7 大臣. Motowori tries to prove that in the earliest times this official title was simply an Honorific surname formed by prefixing the Adjective 大 "great" to 臣, a surname read "Omi" (the character signifies properly "attendant," "subject.") Probably like other "gentile names" it combined both characters, and had a tendency to become hereditary.

8 *Oho-kuni wo-kuni no kuni no miyatsuko*.

9 *Oho-agata wo-agata no agata nushi* (大縣小縣縣主). Their duties are supposed to have consisted in supervising the government farms.

10 For *Saki* see Sect. LXXV, Note 5. *Tatanami* may perhaps signify "putting shields in a row."

[SECT. XCV. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART I. — GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko dwelt at the palace of Toyora at Anado, 1 and likewise at the palace of Kashihi 2 in Tsukushi, and ruled the Empire. [328] This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime, 3 daughter of King Oho-ye, and begot august children: King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. This Empress 4 gave birth to august children: His Augustness Homu-ya-wake, 5 and next His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake, 6 another name for whom was His Augustness Homuda-wake. 7 The reason why this Heir Apparent 8 was given the august name of His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake was that when first 9 born, he had on his august arm [a protuberance of] flesh resembling an elbow-pad, 10 whence the august name bestowed on him. By this it was known while he was in the womb that he would rule countries. 11 In this august reign the granaries of AhajI was established.

Footnotes

1 For *Anado* see Sect. LXXX (Note 22). *Toyora* (for *Toyo-ura*) signifies "fertile shore."

2 This name seems to be derived from that of the evergreen oak. It will be noticed that both these capitals are in the South-Western Island of Kiushiu, whereas, from Jim-mu downwards, the capitals of all the Emperors previously mentioned are either in Yamato or in one of the adjacent central provinces.

3 For this and the three following names see Sect. XCII, and for *Okinaga tarashi* Sect. LXII, Note 72.

4 Written 大后. It is she who is celebrated in Japanese history under the name of Jin-gō Kōgō, and in the "Chronicles" her reign is counted separately. In these "Records," however, the period of her rule is forming part of the reign of her son O-jin.

5 The signification of this name is obscure.

6 *I.e.*, "great elbow-pad lord," *tomo* signifying "elbow pad." The next sentence of the text gives the traditional origin of this curious name.

7 *I.e.*, lord of Homuda. *Homuda* is supposed by Motowori and Moribe to be the name of a place, they (apparently with reason) rejecting as a late addition a note to the "Chronicles," which states that *homuda* was synonymous with *tomo* "elbow-pad."

8 For "heir apparent "see Sect. XXXIII, Note 2.

9 This word, says Motowori, is redundant.

10 For the use of elbow-pads in war see Sect XIII, Note 7.

11 The word rendered "rule" (*shiru*, 知) is supplied by the editor of 1687. Motowori supplies the evident lacuna in the text by the word "establish" (*sadamaru* 定); but this seems less good. Motowori's reasons for taking the word *kuni* ("country") in the Plural are, however, convincing, —the three countries into which Korea was anciently divided, and which are appropriately designated by the title of *San Kan* (三韓), being evidently designated by the expression in the text, as may be seen both by reference to the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," and also by considering that in

this manner that warlike implement the elbow-pad, with the semblance of which the young Emperor was born, obtains its proper significance. This Emperor (for it is he who is known as Ō-jin Ten-nō) is sometimes designated by the name of the "Emperor in the Womb" (胎中天皇).

[229]

[SECT. XCVI. EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART II. —THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED).]

This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time, [1] divinely possessed. So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso, [2] the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime Minster the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court, [3] requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. [4] I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea;" and saying, [5] "They are lying Deities," [6] he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!" [7] Hereupon the Prince Minister the Noble Take-uchi said; "[I am filled with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign! [8] Continue playing thy great [230] august lute." Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead.

Footnotes

1 At what time, we are not told.

2 See Sect. V, Note 17.

3 This is Motowori's interpretation of the obscure original word *sa-niha*, which is written phonetically. He supposes it to have been so called as being a place used for enquiring the will of the gods, and Therefore, kept clean and held in reverence. "Place" would perhaps represent the Japanese word *niha* as well as "court," though "court" has been its usual acceptation in later times.

4 Literally, "making gold and silver the origin."

5 Motowori tells us to understand "saying "in the sense of "thinking."

6 As already frequently remarked, the Japanese mind does not occupy itself much with the distinction (to us all-important) of Singular and Plural. The reason why the translator renders the word *kami* by the Plural "Deities" throughout this passage is because we learn later on that four divine personages were intended by the author.

7 With the commentators we must accept this as an alternative name of Hades, without being able satisfactorily to explain it. The expression "eighty road-windings" (*yaso kumado*) in Sect. XXXII (Note 27) may be compared with this one.

8 *I.e.*, "I tremble Sire, for the consequences of thine impiety."

[SECT. XCVII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART III. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF KOREA).]

Then, astonished and alarmed, they set him in a mortuary palace, [1] and again taking the country's great offerings, [2] seeking out all sorts of crimes, such as flaying alive and flaying backwards, [3] breaking down the divisions of rice-fields, filling up ditches, evacuating excrements and urine, marriages between superiors and inferiors, [4] marriages with horses, marriages with cattle, marriages with fowls, and marriages with dogs, and having made a great purification of the land, [5] the Noble Takeuchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: "Altogether this land is a land to be ruled over by the august child in Thine Augustness's august womb." [6] Then the Noble Take-uchi said, "[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities] The august child in this Deity's [231] womb, [7] what [sort of] child may it be?" [The Deities] replied, saying: "It is a male child." Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: "I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose words have now thus instructed us." Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing [8] of the Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing Male and Surface-Possessing-Male. [9] (At this time the august names of these three great Deities were revealed. [10]) If now thou truly thinkest to seek that land, thou must, after presenting the offerings [11] to every one of the Heavenly Deities and Earthly Deities, [12] and likewise of the Deities of the mountains and also of all the Deities of the river and of the sea, and setting our august spirits [13] on the top of thy vessel, put into gourds [14] the ashes of the *podocarpus macrophylla*

tree, [15] and likewise make a quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf platters, [16] and must scatter [232] them all on the waves of the great sea, that thou mayest cross over." So when [she] punctually fulfilled these instructions, equipped an army, marshalled [her vessels, and crossed over, the fishes of the sea-plain, both great and small, all bore the august vessels [17] across their backs, and a strong favourable wind arose, and the august vessel followed the billows.

Footnotes

1 A temporary resting-place for the corpse before interment. (See Sect. XXXI, Note 20.)

2 Or, if, with Motowori, we take country in the Plural, "the great offerings of the countries," *i.e.*, of the various countries or provinces of Japan or of Kiushiu. These "offerings" (*nusa*) are the same as those mentioned in Sect. XVI (Notes 24 and 25) under the names *nigi-te* and *mitegura*. They consisted of cloth, for which in later times paper has been substituted.

3 There are different views as to the exact bearing of this curious expression. *Conf.* Sect. XV, Note 10.

4 *I.e.*, incest between parents and children.

5 *I.e.*, a general purification.

6 The Deities now speak to, as well as through, the Empress. Before the quotation marks announcing their words we must understand some such clause as and they added this divine charge." It would also be possible to translate the whole passage thus: "Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel. was '[Things] being exactly as on the former day, altogether this land,'" etc., etc.

7 *I.e.*, in the Empress's womb. Motowori supposes that she is thus spoken of as a Deity on account of her being at that moment divinely possessed.

8 Literally, "heart."

9 *Soko-dzu-tsu-no-wo*, *Naka-dzu-tsu-no wo*, and *Uha-dzu-tsu-no-wo* three of the deities born at the time of the purification of Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") on his return from Hades, and known collectively as the Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. (See Sect. X, Notes 18 and 22). The grammar of this sentence is, as Motowori remarks, not lucid. One would expect the author to say that it was "the august doing" of all the four deities mentioned.

10 *I.e.*, says Motowori, they then first informed Take-uchi who they were. Up in that time, it had not been known by what Deities the Empress was possessed. Mabuchi, however, rejected this gloss as a later addition.

11 *I.e.*, the sacred offerings of white and blue cloth.

12 Here written with the Chinese locution 天神地祇, by some rendered "the Spirit of Heaven and Earth." *Conf.* Sect. I. Note II.

13 Here, as before, the Singular would be at least as natural an interpretation as the Plural. The three ocean-deities are supposed to be specially referred to, and in that case, the three being easily conceived as one (like the deified peaches mentioned in Sect. IX, Note 19) owing to the want of discrimination in Japanese between Singular and Plural, we might retain the Singular in English. Altogether the Sun-goddess seems out of place in this passage, and it would be satisfactory to have some authority for expunging from it the mention of her name.

14 Or, "into a gourd."

15 In the original *maki* (眞木). In modern *ma-ki* signifies the *P. macrophylla*, as in the translation. It is however uncertain whether that or the *Chamæcyparis obtusa* (both being conifers), or simply any "true" (*i.e.*, good) tree is here intended by the author.

16 *I.e.*, broad shallow platters made of the oak-tree, and used for placing food on.

17 Viz., that in which the Empress herself took passage.

[SECT. XCVIII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IV. — THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ CONQUERS KOREA)]

So the wave [1] of the august vessel pushed up onto the land of Shiragi [2] reaching to the middle of the country. Thereupon the chieftain [3] of the country, alarmed and trembling. petitioned [4] [the Empress], saying: "From this time forward obedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I will feed his august horses and will marshal vessels every year, nor ever let the vessels' keels [5] dry or their poles and oars dry, and will respectfully serve him without drawing back while heaven and earth shall last." [6] So Therefore, the Land of Shiragi [7] was constituted the feeder of the august horses, and the Land of Kudara [133] was constituted the crossing store. [8] Then the Empress stuck her august staff on the gate of the chieftain of Shiragi, and having made the Rough August Spirits [9] of the Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi [10] the guardian Deities of the land, she laid them to rest, [11] and crossed back. So while this business [12] was yet unconcluded, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born. Forthwith, in order to restrain her august womb, she took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august skirt, [13] and the august child was born after she had crossed [back] to the Land of Tsukushi. [14] So the name by which the place was called where the [234] august child was born was Umi. [15] Again the stone which she wound round her august skirt is at the village of Ito [16] in the Land of Tsukushi.

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, "the wave on which the august vessel was riding."

2 In Sinico-Japanese *Shin ra* (新羅), one of the three states into which Korea was anciently divided, the other two being known in pure Japanese as *Kudara* and *Koma* (in Sinico-Japanese *Hiyaku-sai* 百濟and Kōrai 高麗). *Shiragi* is evidently a mere corruption of the Sinico-Japanese form, which closely resembles the native Korean *Shin-la*. The origin of the pure Japanese forms of the other two names is obscure.

3 The editions previous to Motowori's have "King" (王instead of 主); but as the latter character is used in all parallel passages of this work, we must attribute the occurrence of the former in this single place to a copyist's error, and accuse the author rather than his commentator of the ill-natured degradation of the Korean King into a mere chieftain (more literally a "master").

4 The character 奏, which is here used, is that employed in speaking of a subject's addressing his sovereign.

5 Literally "bellies."

6 Literally, "with heaven and earth."

7 See Note 2.

8 *I.e.*, the sea-store." The author means to say that from the Land of Kudara tribute was to be paid with the regularity implied by the King's asseveration to the effect that the keels, poles, and oars of the [tribute-bearing] vessels should never remain dry.

9 *Ara-mi-tama*, the antithetical term to which is *Nigi-mi-tama*, " Gentle August Spirit." We also find *Saki-mi-tama* and *Kushi-mi-tama*, which signify respectively "August Luck-Spirit "and "Wondrous August Spirit." In this passage it must be understood that the spirits which floated above the

Imperial junk to protect it was the "Gentle August Spirits," while the "Rough August Spirits" presided at the Empress's feats of arms and kept the enemy in subjection. Motowori warns us not to fall into the mistake of supposing that the Rough and Gentle Spirits of a god were separate individualities, they being only, according to him, various manifestations of the same individuality. The student is advised to consult his beautifully written note on the subject of these spirits in Vol. XXX, of his Commentary.

10 See Sect. X Note 22.

11 Literally "established and worshipped." Motowori says that this mention of their being laid to rest is made with an implied reference to the journey on which the deities in question had accompanied the Imperial army. He also tries to prove that this laying to rest of the deities must have occurred after the return of the Empress to Japan, as it is not possible to suppose that the gods could find a home in a foreign land (!). But the wording of the text is against him

12 Literally "government"

13 *I.e.*, as Motowori suggests, "she wrapped the stone up, and tied it into the waist of her skirt in something resembling a sash."

14 In South-Western Japan.

15 *I.e.*, "bearing." The word, however, also signifies "sea." According to the "Chronicles" the original name of the village was Kada.

16 This word signifies "thread," and would Therefore, one might think, find a more appropriate place in I the legend next narrated, where the "threads "of the Empress's garment are specially mentioned.

[SECT. XCIX. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART V. — THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ FISHES IN TSUKUSHI).]

Again when, having reached the village of Tamashima [1] in the Department of Matsura [2] in Tsukushi, she partook of an august meal on the bank of the river, it being then the first decade of the fourth moon, she then sat on a shoal [3] in the middle of the river, picked out threads from her august skirt, used grains of rice as bait, and hooked the trout [4] in the river. (The name by which the river is called is the Wo-gaha; [5] again the name by which the shoal is called is Kachi-do-hime. [6]) So down to the present time it is an uninterrupted [custom] for women in the first decade of the fourth moon to pick out threads from their skirts, use grains as bait, and hook trout.

Footnotes

1 *I.e.* "jewel-island."

2 *Matsura-gata*. The "Chronicles" give an absurd derivation of Matsura from the Adjective *medzurashi*, "astonishing," which the Empress is supposed to have ejaculated on finding a trout hooked to her line! The obvious etymology is *matsu-ura*, "pine-beach."

3 The character in the original is 磯(for 磯), in Japanese *iso*, which may or may not be connected with the word *ishi*, "stone." In any case Motowori is not justified in saying that it must be understood to mean "stone "in this place, as *iso* means rather a sandy than a stony place, rising above the water level.

4 In Japanese *ayu*, a small species of the salmon family (*Plecoglossus altivelis*).

5 *I.e.*, "little river."

6 *I.e.*, "princess of the gate of victory." But though the words lend themselves to this interpretation, it can hardly be supposed that such is their real etymology, and Indeed, the editor of 1687 draws attention in a Note to the difficulty of accepting the statement in the text.

[235]

[SECT. C. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VI. —THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ SUBDUES YAMATO).]

Hereupon, when Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was returning up to Yamato, she, owing to doubts concerning the disposition [1] of the people, prepared a mourning-vessel, [2] set the august child in that mourning-vessel, and let a report ooze out that the august child was already dead. While she went up thus, King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma, [3] having heard [of the circumstance], thought to waylay [4] her, went forth to the moor of Toga, [5] and hunted for an omen. Then King Kagosaka climbed up an oak-tree, [6] and then [7] a large and angry boar came forth, dug up the oak-tree, and forthwith devoured King Kagosaka. His younger brother, King Oshikuma, undaunted by this circumstance, raised an army and lay in wait [for the Empress], to close with the mourning-vessel as being an empty [8] vessel. Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel, [9] and joined in combat [with the opposing forces]. At this time King Oshikuma made the Noble Isahi, [10] ancestor of [236] the Kishi Clan of Naniha, [11] his generalissimo; [12] and on the august side of the Heir Apparent His Augustness Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma, [13] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, [14] was made generalissimo. So when [the Empress's troops] had driven [King Oshikuma's troops] as far as Yamashiro, [the latter] turned and made a stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating. Then His Augustness Take-furu-kuma planned, and caused it to be said that, as Her Augustness Okinaga-tarashi was already dead, there was no need for further fighting, —forthwith snapping his bowstrings and feigning submission. Therefore, King Oshikuma's generalissimo, believing the falsehood, unbent his bows and put away his arms. Then [the Empress's troops] picked out of their topknots some prepared bowstrings (one name [of the bowstrings] was *usa-yu-dzuru*; [15]) stretched

[their bows] again, and pursued and smote [the enemy]. So [these] fled away to Afusaka, [16] rallied, and fought again. Then [the Empress's troops] pursued on, and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami. [17] Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea, and sang, saying:

"Come on, my lord! rather than be stricken [237] by Furu-kuma's hurtful hand, I will plunge like the grebe into the Sea of Afumi, —I will!" [18]

Forthwith they plunged into the sea, and died together.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "the hearts."

2 *I.e.*, a boat or junk containing a coffin. We might also (adopting the interpretation given by the older editors to the character in this passage) translate by "specially prepared a mourning-vessel."

3 These two princes, who are first mentioned at the end of Sect. XCII (Notes 40 and 41), were. according to the story, elder sons of the late monarch Chiū-ai, and Therefore, step-sons of the Empress Jingō and half-brothers to the young Emperor Ō-jin.

4 Literally, "wait for and catch." This "catch" is always taken by Motowori to mean "slay."

5 *Taga-nu*. It was in the province of Settsu. The etymology of the name is obscure.

6 The species mentioned in the text the *Quercus serrata*.

7 Motowori's conjecture that the character 是, "then," is a copyist's error for 見, "saw "or "looked," seems hardly called for, and the translator has

Therefore, not departed from the traditional reading.

8 *I.e.*, defenceless, not filled with troops.

9 Which of course was in reality no mourning-vessel, but full of the soldiers who had just returned from conquering Korea.

10 *Isahi no Sakune*. *Isahi* or *Isachi* is supposed to mean "leading elder."

11 *Naniha no Kishi be*. Naniha is the old name of the sea and river-shore on which I now stand the town of Ohosaka. The name Kishi is said by Motowori to be properly a Korean official designation (吉士), but it is one whose origin is to be sought in China.

12 將軍, *Shōgun*. This is the earliest mention of this office, which, passing from the military to the political sphere, played such a great part in the mediaeval and modern history of Japan.

13 The signification of all the elements of this compound name is not clear, but it is partly Honorific and descriptive of the bravery of its bearer.

14 *Wani no omi* (see Sect. LXII, Note 11).

15 The text is here somewhat obscure, and the note in small print is of doubtful authenticity. If we retain it, we must understand it to mean that *usa-yu-dzuru*, a term whose derivation is by no means clear, was an alternative name of the *make dzuru*, *i.e.*, "prepared bowstrings," such as they had brought with them concealed in their top-knots.

16 *I.e.*, "the pass [or hill] of meeting." It was on the boundaries of the provinces of Yamashiro and Afumi. The modern pronunciation is *Osaka* (not to be confounded with the like-sounding name of a well-known town in Central Japan).

17 *I.e.*, in Afumi. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," explains this name to mean "bamboo-grass bending." Motowori, following the *Shim-puku-ji* MS., alters the character 於before the word *Sasanami* to 出, but without sufficient warrant.

18 The meaning of the poem is. "Rather than fall beneath the attacks of the enemy, let us drown ourselves in the Sea of Afumi" (Lake Biwa). —For the expression "stricken by a hurtful hand "see Sect. XLIV, Note 33.

[SECT. CI. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII. — THE HEIR APPARENT EXCHANGES NAMES WITH THE GREAT DEITY IZASA-WAKE).]

So when His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, taking with him the Heir Apparent for the purpose of purification, [1] passed through the lands of Afumi and Wakasa, [2] he built a temporary palace at Tsunuga [3] at the mouth of the Road of Koshi [4] [for the Heir Apparent] to dwell in. Then His Augustness the Great Deity Izasa-wake, [5] who dwelt in that place, appeared at night in a dream, [6] and said: "I wish to exchange my name for the august name of the august child." Then [the dreamer of the dream] prayed, saying: "[I] am filled with awe! [7] The name shall be respectfully exchanged according to thy command." Again the Deity charged [him, saying]: "To-morrow morning [the Heir Apparent] must go out on the beach; I will present my [thank] offering for the name [given me] in exchange." So when [the Heir Apparent] went out in the morning to the beach, the [238] whole shore was lined with broken-nosed dolphin-fishes. [8] Thereupon the august child caused the Deity to be addressed, saying: "Thou bestowest on me fish of thine august food." [9] So again his august name was honoured by his being called the Great Deity of August Food. [10]" So he is now styled the Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity. [11]

Again the blood from the noses of the dolphin-fishes stank. So the strand was called by the name of Chiura. [12] it is now styled Tsunuga.

Footnotes

1 Viz., by water, as described in Sect. X.

2 Etymology obscure.

3 The marvellous etymology of this name which the author seems to adopt will be found at the end of the Section (Note 12). The compiler of the "Chronicles "is probably nearer the truth when he derives it from *tsunu-ga*, "horned stag."

4 For the meaning of this curious expression see Sect. LX, Note 20.

5 The commentators give no explanation of this one of the three names of the deity in question. It would appear to be made up of a word expressive of solicitation and of a portion of the Heir Apparent 's name, thus signifying perhaps "Come on, Wake, [give me thy name] "with reference to the legend here narrated.

6 To which of the two personages of the legend is not clear. Motowori, however, prefers to suppose that it was to Take-uchi, as, if the prince himself were intended, the word "dream "would probably receive the Honorific 御.

7 Or, "I reverence [thy commands]."

8 Motowori supposes that they were caught by being speared in the nose.

9 *I.e.*, "fish that would naturally have formed part of thine august food," is less good to translate by "fish for *mine* august food." As usual, the original Japanese text has no Personal Pronouns to guide the reader; but, though Emperors are sometimes made to use the Honorific in speaking of themselves, this is not the custom in the case of princes' and Ō-jin is supposed to have not yet assumed the Imperial dignity.

10 *Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami*. Motowori mentions several Deities of this name, who were, according to him, separate beings.

11 *Kehi no oho-kami*. The meaning of the syllable *hi*, rendered by "wondrous "in accordance with Motowori's suggestion, is not certain.

12 *I.e.*, "the strand of blood." From *chi-ura* Motowori is obliged to derive Tsunuga as well as he can in order not to throw discredit on the implied assertion of the author: that the latter is but a mispronunciation of the former. The true derivation of Tsunuga is probably from *tsunuga* "horned stag," as already stated in Note 3.

[SECT. CII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART VIII. — THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ PRESENTS LIQUOR TO THE HEIR APPARENT).]

Hereupon, when the [Heir Apparent] returned up [to the Capital], his august parent, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. distilled some waiting-liquor, 1 and presented it to him. Then his august parent sang augustly, saying:

"This august liquor is not my august liquor; —oh! it is august liquor respectfully brought as a divine congratulation, a repeated congratulation, a bountiful congratulation, a reiterated congratulation by the Small August Deity, who dwells eternally, [239] firmly standing. Partake not shallowly! Go on! go on!" 2

Having thus sung, she presented to him the great august liquor. Then His Augustness the Noble Takeuchi replied for the august child and sang, saying:

"Whatever person distilled this august liquor must surely have distilled it singing the while with that drum on the mortar, —must surely have distilled it dancing the while, for this august liquor, august liquor, to be ever more and more joyful. Go on! go on!" 3

These are Drinking Songs. 4

Footnotes

1 *Machi-sake*. This expression, which recurs in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," signifies liquor distilled for an absent friend by those who are awaiting his return.

2 The General signification of the Song is: "Think not that this liquor was made by me. ’Tis a present from the small August Deity (*Suku-na-biko-no*), who dwells forever in unshaken power and who sends it to thee with

endless congratulation. Come on! come on! drink deeply!"—Some of the expressions in this Song are a subject of debate among the commentators. Excepting the clause "partake not shallowly," in which the translator has adopted the opinion of the author of the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," Moribe's interpretation has been followed throughout. The latter critic would identify *asazu* ("not slowly") with *amasazu* ("without leaving anything"). But there seems no warrant for supposing such an elision of the syllable *sa*. The use of the expression *karuhoshi* and *motohoshi* to express reiteration is worthy of notice. It will be remembered that the Deity mentioned was the microscopic personage who came riding over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (see Sect. XXVII).

3 This Song signifies; "Such a joyful feast must surely have been preceded by a joyful distilling of the liquor for it. Continue to drink, oh Prince!"—The commentators disagree on the subject of one or two of the words of this Song, in which the translator has followed Motowori's interpretation throughout. The words "that drum" are the chief difficulty. Motowori supposes that drums, being originally unknown in Japan, were first seen by the Japanese on the occasion of the conquest of Korea in this very reign, and he thinks that the drum would be placed by the side of the mortar during the pounding of the rice out of which the liquor was to be made. "That drum" means the drum belonging to the pounder of the rice. The original words *so no*, "that," might also be rendered by "his."

4 Literally, "liquor-rejoicing songs."

[SECT. CIII. —EMPEROR CHIŪ-AI (PART IX. — HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GŌ).]

Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [1] were fifty-two. His august mausoleum is at Nagaye, [2] near Wega, [3] in Kafuchi. (The Empress died at the august age of one hundred. She was buried in the mausoleum of Tatanami in Saki. [4])

Footnotes

1 The Emperor Chiū-ai. The author of these "Records "not recognizing, as does the author of the "Chronicles," the time during which the Empress Jin-gō held sway as a separate reign, Chiū-ai is by fiction supposed to have reigned down to the moment his posthumous son Ō-jin mounted the throne after the conquest of Korea and of Yamato.

2 *I.e.* "long branch," or perhaps "long inlet.

3 Etymology obscure.

4 Mabuchi and Motowori seem right in supposing the sentence in small type to be an addition to the text, copied from the "Chronicles." But as all the MSS. and printed editions previous to Motowori's contain it, it has been retained in the translation.

[SECT. CIV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN [1] (PART 1. — GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Homuda-wake dwelt at the palace of Akira at Karushima, [2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded three [3] queens, daugther of King Homuda-no-Ma-waka, [4] the name of one of whom was Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri; [5] of the next, Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime; [6] and of the next, Her Augustness Oto-hime. [7] (The father of these Queens, King Homuda-no-ma-Waka, was the son of His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-noiri, [8] by his [241] wife Shiritsuki-tome, [9] daughter of the Noble Take-inada, [10] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari.) [11] So the august children of Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-irI was: His Augustness Nakuta-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko; [12] next His Augustness Oho-yama-mori; [13] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka; [14] next his younger sister the Lady of Ohohara; [15] next the Lady of Komuku. [16] (Five Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime were: the Lady of Arata in Ki; [17] next His Augustness Oho-sazaki; [18] next His Augustness Netori. [19] (Three Deities). The august [242] children of Her Augustness Oto-hime were: the Lady Abe; [20] next the Lady of Mihara in Ahaji; [21] next the Lady of Unu in Ki; [22] next the Lady of Minu [23] (five Deities). [24] Again he wedded the Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye, [25]daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and begot august children: Uji-no-waki-iratsuko; [26] next his younger sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume; [27] next Queen Medori. [28] (Three Deities). Again he wedded Wo-nabe-no-iratsume, [29] younger sister of Yakaha-ye-hime, and begot an august child: Uji-no-iratsume. [30] (one Deity). Again he wedded Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hima," [31] daughter of King Kuhimata-naga-hiko, [32] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke-futa-mata [33] (one Deity). Again he wedded the Princess of Itowi, [34] daughter of Shima-tari-ne, [35] ancestor [243] of the Agricultural Chiefs of Sakurawi, [36] and begot an august child; His Augustness Hayabusa-wake [37] (one Deity).

Again, he wedded Naga-hime of Idzumi in Himuka, [38] and begot august children: King Oho-haye, [39] next King Wo-haye; [40] next Hata-bi-no-waki-iratsume [41] (three Deities). Again he wedded Princess Ka-guro, [42] and begot august children: Kaha-rada-no-iratsume; [43] next, Tama-no-iratsume, [44] next, Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime; [45] next, Toho-hi-no-iratsume; [46] next, King Kataji [47] (five Deities). Again, he wedded Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki, [48] and begot an august [244] child: King Iza-no-ma-waka, [49] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether twenty-six (eleven Kings and fifteen Queens). Of these His Augustness Oho-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

Footnotes

1 Son of the Emperor Chiū-ai and the Empress Jin-gō.

2 In Yamato. *Akira* Signifies "brilliant." *Karushima* seems to mean "the neighbourhood of Karu, Karu being the often mentioned place of that name in Yamato.

3 The Auxiliary Numeral for deities is here used.

4 *Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko*. *Homuda* has already been met with as the came of a place in Kahachi. *Ma-waka* signifies "truly young." The name might Therefore, be rendered "truly young king of Homuda."

5 *Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto*. Motowori identifies this princess with the Takaki-hime of Sect. LXXVI, Note 21.

6 *I.e.*, "middle princess," she being the second of three sister.

7 *I.e.*, "younger princess," she being the youngest of the sister.

8 *I-ho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto*. See Sect. LXXVI, Note 12.

9 *I.e.*, probably "old woman of Shiritsuki." But it is not certain that Shiritsuki is the name of a place.

10 *Take-inada no sukune*. In the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" the name is written *Take-ina-dane*, and it may Therefore, mean "brave-rice-seed."

11 *Wohari no murazhi*.

12 *I.e.*, "great middle Prince of Nukata," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. It is of uncertain signification.

13 *I.e.*, "great mountain-warden." For the appropriateness of this name conf. Sect. CV.

14 The same name has appeared in Sect. LXIII, Note 13.

15 *Ohohara no iratsume*. Ohohara is the name of a place in Yamato It signifies "great moor."

16 *Komuku no iratsume*. This name is written 高目and its reading as *Komuku* is somewhat hypothetical. It is the name of a place in Kahachi, and probably signifies "an overflowing pool of water."

17 *Ki no Arata no iratsume*. *Ki* is the province of that name, and Arata is a place in it. The latter name probably means "uncultivated fields."

18 This name signifies "Great Wren," and is thus accounted for by the author of the "Chronicles": "On the day when the Emperor [this Prince became the Emperor Nin-toku] was born, an owl flew into the parturition-hall. Next morning early, the Heavenly Sovereign Homuda [*i.e.*, the Emperor Ō-jin] sent for the Prime Minister, the Noble Takeuchi, and asked him whereof this might be a sign. The Prime Minister replied, saying: 'It is

a good omen. Moreover, yesterday, when thy servant's wife was delivered of a child, a wren flew into the parturition-house, likewise a strange thing.' Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'It is a portent from heaven that my child and thine should be born on the same day, and both be attended by a good omen. So let the names of the birds be taken,' and each used for the name of the other [*i.e* the name of the owl for him into whose parturition-house the wren flew, and *vice-versâ*], as a covenant for the future.' So the wren's name was bestowed on the Heir Apparent, who was called Great-Wren Prince, and the owl's name was give Ito the Prime Minister's child. who was called the Noble Owl."

19 This name is obscure.

20 *Abe no iratsume*. Abe is the name of several places in different provinces, and is of obscure derivation and import.

21 *Ahaji no Mikara no iratsume*. The text properly has *Ayuchi*, but Motowori emends this to *Ahaji* on the authority of the "Chronicles."' Mihara is the name of a district in the island of Ahaji, and probably signifies "three moors."

22 *Ki no Unu no iratsume*. *Ki* is the province of that name, and *Unu* a place in it. The latter name is of uncertain import.

23 *Minu no iratsume*. *Minu* (*Mino*) is the province of that name.

24 "Five" must here be a mistake for "four."

25 For this name and the next see Sect. CVI, Notes 5 and 4.

26 *I.e.*, "the young lord of Uji." Uji is the name of a district in Yamashiro, famous in classical and modern times for its tea. The etymology is obscure.

27 *I.e.*, "the young lady of Yata." Yata is the name of a place in Yamato. The etymology is obscure.

28 *Medori no* miko. *Medori* signifies "hen-bird:" but the reason for the application of so strange a name to this princess, whose fortunes are related at some length in Sect. CXXVI and CXXVII, does not appear. A similar remark applies to the next name.

29 *I.e.*, probably "the lady of the little kettle."

30 *I.e.*, "the young lady of Uji."

31 *I.e.*, "the truly young middle princess of Okinaga."

32 See Sect. XCII, Note 27.

33 *Waka-muke-futa-mata no miko*. This name is obscure.

34 *Itowi-hime*. Itowi is the name of a place in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin.

35 *Shima* is probably the name of a place, while *tari* and *ne* are the frequently recurring Honorifics rendered respectively "perfect" and "lord "in former parts of this translation.

36 *Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi*. *Ta-be*, rendered "agricultural," is literally "rice-field tribe." *Sakurawi* ("cherry well") is the name of a place in Kahachi.

37 *I.e.*, falcon-lord.

38 *Himuka no Idzumi no Naga-hime*. Himuka is the name of a province, and Idzumi that of a district now comprised within the limits of Satsuma.

Nagahime, literally "long princess," probably signifies "elder princess."

39 *Oho-haye no miko*. Signification obscure.

40 *Wo-haye no miko*. Signification obscure. The antithesis of the Adjectives *oho* and *wo* ("great" and "small") shows however that the names partly served to distinguish the elder from the younger brother.

41 *Waki-iratsume* is "younger lady." *Hata-bi* is incomprehensible.

42 See Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

43 *I.e.*, probably "the lady of Kaharada." The latter name (literally "rice-field on the border of a river") is often met with.

44 *I.e.*, "the jewel lady."

45 *I.e.*, "the great middle lady of Osaka," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato (see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1).

46 Motowori identifies this name with that *Koto-fushi no iratsume* in Sect. CXVII, *q.v.*, and thinks that both this and the preceding name have only crept into this Section by mistake.

47 *Kataji no miko*, Signification obscure,

48 *Kadzuraki no Nu-iro-me*. All the elements of this name have already been met with several times.

49 This child has already appeared early in this Section, and the name is here doubtless only repeated through some copyist's error.

[SECT. CV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART II. —HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS)]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign asked His Augustness Oho-yama-mori and His Augustness Oho-sazaki, saying: "Which think ye the dearer, an elder child or a younger child?" (The reason why the Heavenly Sovereign propounded this question was because it was his intention [1] to make Uji-no-waki-iratsuko rule the Empire). Then His Augustness Oho-yama-mori said: "The elder child is the dearer." Next His Augustness Oho-sazaki, knowing the august feeling which made the Heavenly Sovereign deign to ask [the question], said: "The elder child, having already become a man, gives no trouble; but the younger child, not being yet a man, is the dearer." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "My lord Sazaki's words agree with my thoughts," and forthwith ordained the division [of the inheritance] thus: His Augustness Oho-yama-mori to administer the government of the mountains and the sea, [2a] His Augustness Oho-sazaki to take and deign to report on the government of the realm, [3] and Uji-no waki-iratsuko to rule the succession of Heaven's sun. [4] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki was not disobedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. [5]

Footnotes

1 Literally, "heart."

2a *I.e.*, Motowori thinks, to have control over the guilds of foresters and fishermen.

3 *I.e.*, to act as regent or minister.

4 *I.e.*, to inherit the empire. —It will be remembered that the Japanese Emperors claim to descend from the Sun-Goddess.

5 This statement refers proleptically to the contrary course which was taken by the elder Oho-yama-mori.

SECT. CVI. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART III. —HE WOOES PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE).]

One day 1 the Heavenly Sovereign, when he had crossed over into the land of Afumi, augustly stood on the moor of Uji, gazed on the moor of Kadzu, and sang, saying: [245]

"As I look on the Moor of Kadzu in Chiba. both the hundred thousand-fold abundant house-places are visible, and the land's acme is visible." 2b

So when he reached the village of Kohara, 3 a beautiful maiden met him at a fork in the road, Then the Heavenly Sovereign asked the maiden, saying: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "I am the daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, 4 and my name is Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye." 5 The Heavenly Sovereign forthwith said to the maiden: "When I return on my progress to-morrow, I will enter into thy house." So Princess Ya-kaha-ye told her father all that [had happened]. Thereupon her father replied, saying: "Ah! it was the Heavenly Sovereign! [His commands are] to be respected. My child, respectfully serve him!"—and so saying he grandly decorated the house, and awaited [the Heaven ly Sovereign's return], whereupon he came in on the next day. 6 So when [the father] served [the Heavenly Sovereign] a great august feast, he made his daughter Her Augustness 7 Princess Ya-kaha take the great august [246] liquor-cup and present it. Thereupon, while taking the great liquor-cup, the Heavenly Sovereign augustly sang, saying:

"Oh this crab! whence this crab? [It is] a crab from far-distant Tsunuga. Whither reaches its sideward motion? [It has] come towards Ichiji-shima and Mi-shima. It must be because, plunging and breathless like the grebe, I went without stopping along the up and down road by the wavelets, that the maiden I met on the Kohata road has a back oh! like a small shield, a row of teeth like acorns. Oh! the earth of the Wani pass at Ichihiwi! Owing to the skin of the first earth being ruddy, to the

last earth being of a reddish black, she, without exposing to the actual sun that makes one bend one's head the middle earth like three chestnuts, draws thickly down her drawn eye-brows; —the women I met, the child I saw and wanted in this way, the child I saw and wanted in that way, oh! she is opposite to me at the height of the feast! oh! she is at my side!" 8

[247] Ita auguste coivit [cum illâ], et procreavit filium Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "one time."

2b According to Moribe, whose interpretation has been followed throughout, this Song signifies: "As I gaze across from Uji to the Moor of Toba, I see the numerous and prosperous homesteads of the people, I see the most fertile portion of the country."—On this view Chiba is identified with Toba, the name of a district; and the word *ho*, rendered "acme," is taken to mean the best, highest, most showy part of anything. For Motowori's opinion, which is that of the older commentators as well, that *chi-ba* is a Pillow-Word, there is much to be said, and if we followed it, we should have to render the first two lines thus: "As I look on the thousand-leafed pueraria-moor," etc. (*kadzu* signifying "pueraria.") Motowori's explanation of *momo-chi-dare* (here rendered by "hundred thousand-fold abundant") as referring to the soot of the peasant's roofs, and of *ho* as signifying "a plain surrounded by mountains "seems much less good than Moribe's interpretation of those difficult expressions.

3 In the district of Uji in the province of Yamashiro. The characters with which the name is written signify "tree-flag."

4 *Wani no Hifure no omi*. For *Wani no omi* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. The meaning of *Hifure* is obscure.

5 *Miya-nushi ya-kata-hime*. *Miya-nushi* is "priestess," or more literally "temple-guardian." For the rest of the name see Sect. XXVI, Note 14, though the personages are of course meant to be different.

6 *I.e.*, that day having passed by, the Emperor came on the next day according to his promise.

7 Motowori supposes with apparent reason that the character 命, "Augustness," has only crept into the text through the attraction of the following character 令, "made," which it resembles in appearance.

8 It must be understood that in this Song the Imperial singer commences by referring to what doubtless formed part of the feast, —a crab, —and thence passes on by an imperceptible transition to allude to his own adventure with the maiden. As the crab when alive walked sideways, so was the Emperor zigzagging up and down the road that lines the shore of Lake Biwa, pursuing his breathless course like that of the busy grebe that perpetually plunges into the water, when the maiden met him near Kohata. Beautiful Indeed, was she: her back straight as a shield, her teeth like a row of acorns, and the artificial eye-brows painted a dark colour on her forehead drawn low down in a perfect crescent-shape. She had been careful in selecting the clay to make the paint, rejecting the upper layer of earth, for that was of too bright a red, rejecting likewise the lower layer, for that was too dark, but taking the middle, which was of the correct blue tint, and drying it, not in the fierce, but in a mildly tempered, sun-light. And now this maiden, for whom his heart had been panting and turning this way and that ever since the previous day, is actually seated opposite to him, nay! at his very side, and he is feasting in her sweet company. —Tsunuga is the name of a place in the province of Echizen. "Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt at rendering the force of the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutafu*, which implies that

the traveller must pass through a hundred other places before reaching his destination. "Whither reaches its sideward motion?" signifies "whither is it going with its sideward motion? "Ichiji-shima and Mishima are places of which nothing is known, so that the allusion to them is obscure. At this point Motowori's interpretation diverges from that of Moribe, which has been followed throughout. *Sasanami*, here rendered "wavelets," is taken by him, as by the older commentators, as the name of a place, and the description of the maiden's teeth is misunderstood to signify that she had a beak filled with a row of teeth like the water-caltrop! Motowori also would here divide the Song in two, a proceeding for which there is not sufficient warrant. On other minor points, too, his decisions do not seem so happy as Moribe's. The view of both commentators will be found at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXII, and in Moribe's "*Idzu no Kato-Waki*," *in loco*. Three chestnuts" (*mitsu-guri no*) is a common Pillow-Word for *naka*, "middle," founded on the fact, real or supposed, that one burr always contains three nuts, whereof one of course is in the middle, between the other two.

[SECT. CVII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IV. —HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMINAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the beauty of Princess Kaminaga, 1 daughter of the Duke of Muragata 2 in the land of Himuka, and thinking to employ her 3 sent down for her, 4 whereupon the Heir Apparent 5 His Augustness Oho-sazaki, having seen the maiden land at [248] the port of Naniha, and being charmed with the grace of her appearance, forthwith directed the Prince Minister the Noble Taka-uchi, to intercede for him in the august presence of the Heavenly Sovereign, and make [the latter] grant to him Princess Kami-naga, whom he had sent down for. Then on the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi requesting the great commands, 6 the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith granted Princess Kami-naga to his august child. The way he granted her was this: —the Heavenly Sovereign, on a day when he partook of a copious feast, 7 gave Princess Kami-naga the great august liquor oak-[leaf 8] to present to the Heir Apparent. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"Come on, children! oh! the fragrant flowering orange-tree on my way as I go to pluck the wild garlic, —to pluck the garlic, —has its uppermost branches withered by birds perching on them, and its lowest branches withered through people plucking from them. But the budding fruit on the middle branch, like three chestnuts, —the ruddy maiden, oh! if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good, oh!' 9

[249] Again he augustly sang, saying:

"Driving the dyke-piles into Lake Yosami where the water collects, my heart (ignorant of the pricking of the stumps of the water-caltrop, ignorant of the creeping of the roots of the *Brasenia peltata*), being more and more laughable, is now Indeed, repentant." 10

Having thus sung, he bestowed [her on the Heir Apparent]. So after having been granted the maiden, the Heir Apparent sang, saying:

"Oh! the maiden of Kohada in the back of the road! though I heard of her like the thunder, we mutually intertwine [our arms] as pillows." 11

Again he sang saying":

"I think lovingly ah! of how the maiden [250] of Kohada in the back of the road sleeps [with me] without disputing" 12

Footnotes

1 *Kami-naga-hime*. The name signifies "the long-haired princess."

2 *Murakata no kami*. *Murakata* seems to signify "many towns."

3 *I.e.*, wed her.

4 Literally, "summoned her up." The same phrase occurs immediately below.

5 太子. Mabuchi thinks that 御子, "august child," should be substituted for the reading in the text. But Motowori insists that the title translated Heir Apparent was anciently borne by all the sons of an Emperor, and that Consequently, no emendation is called for.

6 *I.e.*, the Emperor's orders.

7 The native term translated "copious feast" is *toyo no akari*, variously written with the characters 豊明, 豊樂, 宴樂, etc., etc. It literally signifies "copious brightness," in allusion to the ruddy glow which wine gives to the faces of the revellers, and henceforward perpetually recurs in this history. In

later times it specifically denoted the festival of, the tasting of the first rice, but anciently its meaning was not thus limited. Motowori's note on the subject, in Vol. XXXII, of his Commentary, may be consulted with advantage.

8 *I.e.*, an oak-leaf which was used as a cup to sip out of. Leaf-platters for food have already been mentioned. Motowori says that the word *kashika* (properly the name of a deciduous oak, the *Quercus dentata*) was employed to denote any kind of leaf thus used.

9 The whole gist of this Song is contained in the last three lines. "The ruddy maiden, oh if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good,"—*i.e.* "thou and the maiden, will form a fitting couple." All that goes before is what is technically called a "Preface," though its bearing is so clear as to admit of translation, and even in English to form an appropriate introduction to the Song: —It is not the stinking garlic, but the fragrant orange that the singer has met by the way, and it is the choicest young fruit in the very middle of the tree that forms a suitable comparison for the lovely young girl. —With the favourite allusion to upper, middle, and lower the reader is already familiar, and the Pillow-Word "three chestnuts" was explained in the note on the preceding Song (Sect. CVI, Note 8).

10 The gist of the Song is: "I knew not that thou, my son, hadst conceived a secret passion for the maiden; but I am now conscious of my own mistake, and my foolish old heart is ashamed of itself." With this explanation the elaborate comparison between the state of the monarch's mind and the condition of the peasant driving piles for the foundation of a dyke, and having his feet either lacerated by the stumps of the water-caltrop, or made slimy by brushing against the roots of the *Brasenia peltata* at the bottom of the water, becomes intelligible and appropriate. —The word *kuri*, rendered

"roots," perplexed Motowori, who suggests that it may be but a second name of the *Brasenia*, appended to the first; but Moribe's suggestion that it is to be identified with *kori*, and taken in the signification of "roots" though not quite convincing, is at least more plausible. The text of this Song is corrupt in these "Records" and has to be corrected by a comparison with that of the "Chronicles." Moribe goes into an amusing ecstasy over the picture of ancient manners which it presents, and lauds the simplicity of days when a father and son could so peacefully woo the same maiden without mutual concealment or disastrous consequences!

11 The meaning of this Song is: "At first I heard of the maiden of Kohada in the furthest parts of Himuka as one hears the distant thunder; but now she is mine, and we sleep locked in each other's arms."—This Kohada in Himuka must not be confounded with the Kohata in Yamashiro mentioned in the preceding Section. The "back of the road" means the remotest portion (conf. Sect. LX, Note 20). The thunder must be understood to refer to a very faint and distant sound: the Prince had first heard of the maiden vaguely, but now she is his and has been his for sometime; for this Song must be supposed to have been composed after the occasion of the feast with the story of which it is here connected.

12 The meaning of this Song is: "I love this maiden of Kohada in Himuka, who disputed not my desire and my father's grant, but willingly became my wife."—It is hard to render into English the force of the string of Particles *wo shi zo mo* in the penultimate line.

[SECT. CVIII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART V. — SONGS OF THE TERRITORIAL OWNERS OF YESHINU).]

Again, the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu, 1 seeing the august sword which was girded on His Augustness Oho sazaki, sang, saying:

"Sharp is the beginning, freezing is the end of the sword girded on Oho-sazaki, Oho, sazaki, the solar august child of Homuda, — [it is] chilly, chilly like the trees beneath the trunks of the winter trees." 2

Again, having made a cross-mortar 3 at Kashifu 4 in [251] Yeshinu, and having in that cross-mortar distilled 5 some great august liquor, they, when they presented the great august liquor [to the Heavenly Sovereign], sang as follows, drumming with their mouths:

"We have made a side-mortar at Kashinofu, and in the side-mortar we have distilled some great august liquor, which do thou sweetly partake of, oh our lord!" 6

This Song is one which it is the custom to chant down to the present day when, from time to time, the Territorial Owners present a great feast [to the Sovereign].

Footnotes

1 Yeshinu is the modern Yoshino, in the province of Yamato (see Sect. XLVI, Note 3). For the title of *kudzu* see Sect. XLVI, Note 13, where it also occurs in connection with Yeshinu.

2 According to Moribe, whose interpretation seems best to the translator. the signification of this difficult poem is: "The sword worn by Prince Oho-sazaki, son of the Emperor Homuda (O-jin) is double-edged at its upper part, and like glistening ice towards its point; —oh! ’tis like the icicles on

the plants that cluster about the trunks of the dead trees in winter!" Almost every line, however (excepting those giving the name and title of the Prince), is a subject of controversy, and the "*Gō-Gan Shō*" *in loco* and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIII, should be consulted for Keichiū's, Mabuchi's and Motowori's views on the disputed point. —The expression "solar august child" signifies "sun-descended prince," in allusion to the supposed descent of the Japanese monarchs from the Sun-Goddess.

3 *Yoko-usu* or *yokusu* (横臼). It is not plain what sort of mortar the author intended to designate by this term. Motowori supposes it to mean a broad flat mortar in contradistinction to a high and narrow one. Keichiū's view, which he quotes, to the effect that it was a mortar that had been carved out of the, block against the grain of the wood, seems an equally good guess, where all is guess-work.

4 In the Song this same name is read *Kashinofu*; but the commentators tell us that the Genitive Particle *no* ("of") is simply inserted for the sake of rhythm, and it is not unlikely that they are right. The name seems to signify "[a place where] oak-trees grow."

5 See Sect. XVIII, Note 16. The character 醸, rendered by "distil" or "brew," according to the view which one may take of the resulting liquor, would seem to be here used in the sense of "to pound."

6 In this simple Song the Territorial Owners of Yoshino beg the Monarch to deign to partake of the sake which they have made.

[SECT. CIX. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VI. — VARIOUS DEEDS)]

In this august reign were graciously established the Fisher Tribe, [1] the Mountain Tribe, [2] the Mountain Warden Tribe, [3] and the Ise Tribe. [4] Again the Pool of Tsurugi was made. Again there came over [to Japan] some people from Shiragi. Therefore, His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, having taken them with him and set them to labour on pools and embankments, made the Pool of Kudara. [5a]

Footnotes

1 *Ama-be* (written 海部 and read *Una-be* in the Old Printed Edition and in the edition of 1687, and perhaps better rendered "Sea-Tribe.") The name of this guild or clan does not seem to have remained, like the two mentioned together with it, as a "gentile name."

2 *Yama-be*. Motowori thinks that this word has crept into the text erroneously through the influence of that next mentioned, as the functions of the tribes or guilds thus separately named were identical The differentiation may have taken place after the terms had come to be used as "gentile names."

3 *Yama-moribe*.

4 *Ise-be*. Nothing is known of this tribe or guild.

5a Doubtless so named after the Korean labourers employed upon it, — Kudara and Shiragi, as different parts of the same peninsula, being confounded in thought.

[252]

[SECT. CX. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII. — TRIBUTE FROM KOREA).]

Again King Shō-ko, 1 the Chieftain of the land of Kudara, sent as tribute by Achi-kishi 2 one stallion and one mare. (This Achi-kishi was the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes. 3) Again he sent as tribute a cross-sword, 4 and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden 5b to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. Therefore, receiving the [Imperial] commands, he sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi, 6 and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian Analects 7 in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay 8 in one volume, —altogether eleven volumes.

[253] (This Wani-kishi was the ancestor of the Fumi Grandees.) 9 Again he sent as tribute two artisans, —a smith from Kara named Taku-so 10 and a weaver from Go 11 named Sai-so. 12

Footnotes

1 照古王, according to the Japanese *kana* spelling, *Sen-ko*.

2 阿知吉師. Other forms of the name are *Ajiki* and *Atogi*, and all three are but attempts at transcribing phonetically into Japanese a Korean name, the proper characters for which are not given. 士吉is not properly part of the name, but is simply an official title (帥here stands for 士).

3 *Achiki no fumi-bito*, *Pumi-bito* (abbreviated to *Fubito*) became a "gentile name."

4 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

5b *Q.d.*, by the Japanese Emperor.

6 Here written phonetically 和邇吉師, but properly, 王仁吉士, *i.e.* "the Official Wang In." He is generally spoken of simply as Wani.

7 論語. ("*Lun Yu*," or according to the Japanese pronunciation "*Rongo*.")

8 千文字. ("*Chien Tzu Wen*," or according to the Japanese pronunciation "*Sen ji-mun*.") See the translator's remarks on this subject in the Introduction. The "Chronicles" more prudently mention only "various classics."

9 *Fumi no obito*. *Fumi* signifies "any written document," so that this "gentile name "is equivalent to our word "scribe."

10 卓素The transliteration of this, as of all other such names here occurring, is the Sinico-Japanese transliteration. *Kara* (Korea) is written 韓.

11 吳(*Wu*, Jap. *Go*), one of the states into which China was divided during the third century of our era. A draper's shop is still called *go-fuku-ya*, *i.e.*, "Wu-garment-house "in memory of the introduction of wearing apparel from that country.

12 西素.

[SECT. CXI. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART VIII. —THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED).]

Again there came over [to Japan] the ancestor of the Hada Rulers, 1 the ancestor of the Aya Suzerains, 2 and likewise a man who knew how to distil liquor, and whose name was Nim-pan, 3 while another name for him was Susukori. 4 So this [man] Susukori distilled some great august liquor, and presented it to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, excited with the great august liquor that had been presented to him augustly sang, saying:

"I have become intoxicated with the august liquor distilled by Susukori. I have become intoxicated with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor." 5

On his walking out singing thus, he hit with his [254] august staff a large stone in the middle of the Ohosaka 6 road, upon which the stone ran away. So the proverb says: "Hard stones get out of a drunkard's way."

Footnotes

1 *Hada na miyatsuko*, 秦造, a "gentile name." *Hada* is the native Japanese word used as the equivalent of the Chinese name 秦, *Ch'in*. Its origin is uncertain.

2 *Aya no ataha* 漢直, a "gentile name." The use of Aya to represent the Chinese name 漢, *Han*, is as difficult to account for as is that of Hada mentioned in the preceding Note.

3 仁番. Another and more Japanese-like reading, *Niho*, is invented by Motowori; but the older editors read *Nim-pan* according to the usual Sinico-Japanese sound of the characters. The modern Korean reading would be In-pon.

4 Written phonetically 須須許理.

5 Thus translated, this Song is too clear to need any explanation. The lines, however, which are rendered by "with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor."—in Japanese *koto nagu shi we-guzhi-ni*, —are in reality extremely obscure, and Moribe understands them to signify, "Oh! how difficult it is for me to speak! Oh! how ill at ease I am!" In order to do so he has, however, to change and add to the text; and the translator, though not sure of being in the right path, has preferred to follow Motowori, whose interpretation, without requiring any such extreme measures, yet gives a very plausible sense.

6 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

[SECT. CXII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART IX. — TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE)]

So after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, His Augustness Ohosazaki, in conformity with the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, ceded the Empire to Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. Thereupon His Augustness Ohoyama-mori, disobeying the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, and anxious in spite thereof to obtain the Empire, had the design to slay the Prince [1] his younger brother, secretly raised an army, and prepared to attack him. Then His Augustness Oho-sazaki, hearing that his elder brother had prepared an army, forthwith despatched a messenger to apprise Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. So, startled at the news, [the latter] set troops in ambush by the river-bank, and likewise, after having drawn a fence of curtains and raised a tent on the top of the hill, placed there publicly on a throne [2] one of his retainers to pretend that he was the King, [3] the manner in which all the officials [4] reverentially went and came being just like that [usual] in the King's presence. And Moreover, preparing for the time [255] when the King his elder brother [5] should cross the river, he arranged and decorated a boat and oars, and Moreover, [6] ground [in a mortar] the root of the *Kadzura japonica*, and having taken the slime of its juice, rubbed therewith the grating [7] inside the boat, so as to make any who should tread on it fall down, and then himself [8] put on a cloth coat and trowsers, and having assumed the appearance of a common fellow, stood in the boat holding the oar. Hereupon, when the King his elder brother, having hid his troops in ambush and put on armour beneath his clothes, reached the river-bank and was about to get into the boat, he gazed at the grandly decorated place [on the hill], thought the King his younger brother was sitting on the throne, being altogether ignorant [of the fact] that he was standing in the boat holding the

oar, and forthwith asked the fellow who was holding the oar, saying: "It has been reported to me that on this mountain there is a large and angry boar. I wish to take that boar. Shall I peradventure get that boar? "Then the fellow holding the oar replied, saying: "Thou canst not." Again he asked, saying: "For what reason?" [The boat-man] answered, saying: "He is not to be got, however often and in however many places he be chased. Wherefore I say that thou canst not [catch him either]. "When they had crossed as far as the middle of the river, [Prince Uji-no-waki-iratsuko] caused the boat to be tilted over, and [his elder brother] to fall into the water. 9 Then forthwith he rose to the surface, and floated down with the current. Forthwith, as he floated, he sang, saying:

"Whoever is swiftest among the boatmen of the Uji ferry will come to me."' 10

Thereupon the troops that had been hidden on the [256] river-bank rose up simultaneously on this side and on that side, and fixing their arrows [in their bows], let him go floating down. So he sank on reaching Kawara Point. 11 So on their searching with hooks 12 the place where he had sunk, [the hooks] struck on the armour inside his clothes, and made a rattling sound. 13 So the place was called by the name of Kawara Point. Then when they hooked up 14 his bones, the younger King, sang saying:

"*Catalpa* bow, *Evonymus* standing by the ferry-bank of Uji! My heart had thought to cut [you], my heart had thought to take [you]; but at the base methought of the lord, at the extremity methought of the younger sister; grievously methought of this, sorrowfully methought of, that; and I came [back] without cutting it, —the *Catalpa* bow, the *Evonymus*." 15

[257] So the bones of His Augustness Oho-yama-morI was buried on the Nara 16 mountain. His Augustness Oho-yama-mori (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Hijikata, 17 the Dukes of Heki, 18 and the Dukes of Harihara. 19)

Footnotes

1 皇子. This is the only passage in the work where this expression occurs. *Uji-no-waki-iratsuko* is the personage thus designated.

2 The same expression has been in Sect. XXXI (near Note 16) rendered "couch." The characters in the original are 吳床or 胡床.

3 *I.e.*, *Uji-na-maki-iratsuko*.

4 The Chinese phrase 百官, "the hundred officials," is here used.

5 *Q.d.*, his Augustness Oho-yama-mori.

6 The text has the character 者, which, in combination with the preceding words "oars" gives the sense of "oarsman," "boatman." But Motowori reasonably suggests that it is an error for 亦, the grass hand forms of the two characters closely resembling each other, and 亦making much better sense; for who would talk of "decorating an oarsman"?

7 A bamboo grating.

8 Literally "that king's son."

9 It must be understood that Uji-no-waki-iratsuko and his men having planned to act thus, were on their guard, and did not fall into the water as did Oho-yama-mori, who was taken unawares.

10 This is Motowori's view of the meaning of the Song, which he interprets as a request for help to some friendly boatman. Moribe adopts quite a different view, and thinks that the drowning prince is rather giving vent to sentiments of pride and defiance. He says (speaking in the Prince's name): "It is not that I have been capsized out of the boat into the river. but that I am swimming off after a pole which has fallen into the water. If there be any strong and willing fellows among my partizans, let them swim after

me." It must be explained that the word rendered "boatmen" in the translation is literally "pole-takers" (or, according to Moribe's view, "to take a pole.") Motowori's interpretation seems to do less violence to the wording of the original, and Moribe's has not even the merit of accounting for the use of the Future *komu* where the Imperative *kone* would be what we should naturally expect. —*Uji* is preceded by the, in this context, untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayaburu* (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," *s.v.*).

11 *Kawara no saki*. The author, in the next sentence, derives this name from the rattling sound made by the books as they struck on the armour. But there seems a great deal to be said in favour of Arawi Hakuseki's view that *kawara* is an old word itself signifying "armour."

12 The word *kagi* here used occurs elsewhere to denote the hooks employed for fastening doors, and in later times took the specific meaning of "key."

13 Literally, "sounded *kawara*."

14 The text has the characters 掛出. But Motowori says that 掛stands for 搔, and that we must interpret the passage to mean that they scratched [about to find] and take out [his corpse].

15 The signification of this Song is: "I came here meaning to kill thee as I might cut down and kill that *Catalpa* tree, that *Evonymus*, growing on the river-bank. But the thought of our father and of thy sister (or wife) touched me with pity, and I return without having drawn my bow at thee."—Uji is preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *chihayahito* (see Dictionary of Pillow-Words" s.v.; —Motowori reads it *chihaya-hito* without the *nigori*). —The words *adzusa-yumi ma-yumi*, here respectively rendered "*Catalpa* bow "and "*Evonymus*," are difficult, and the doubt as to whether we should understand the prince to be speaking simply of the trees, or to intend

likewise to allude to his bow which was made of the wood of one of those trees, is probably not to be settled, as the words in question have always oscillated between the two meanings, and here evidently contain a double allusion. Motowori thinks that the first of the two forms only a sort of Pillow-Word for the second. —The word rendered "bank," in accordance with Moribe's suggestion, is literally "reach."—No special importance must be attached to the expressions "base" (or "main part") and "extremity," though they may doubtless be thought to allude to the father and sister, the recollection of whom softened the victorious younger brother's heart. The word *iranakeku*, rendered "grievously," is of not quite certain interpretation. —It must be understood that though, by overturning the boat, Uji-no-waki-iratsuko did constructively cause Oho-yama-mori's death, he did not actually shoot at and slay him when in the water, but followed down the river-side lamenting over what had happened. —This Song is singled out by Moribe for special praise.

16 See Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

17 Tohotafumi (Tōtōmi). In the original *Hijikata no kimi*.

18 *Heki na kimi*. Of Heki nothing is known,

19 *Harihara no kimi*. In Tohotafumi. *Harihara* signifies "alder plantation."

[SECT. CXIII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART X. — PRINCES OHO-SAZAKI AND UJI-NO-WAKI-IRATSUKO CEDE THE EMPIRE TO EACH OTHER)]

Thereupon while the two Deities [1] His Augustness Oho-sazaki and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko were, each of them, ceding the Empire to the other, [2] a fisherman [3] came with a great feast as tribute. [4] So they each resigned it to the other. So the elder brother refused it, and caused [258] it to be offered to the younger brother, and the younger brother refused it, and caused it to be offered to the elder brother, during which mutual cedings many days elapsed. As such mutual ceding took place not [only] once or twice, the fisherman wept from the fatigue of going backwards and forwards. So the proverb says:

"Ah! the fisherman weeps on account of his own things." [5a] Meanwhile Uji-no-waki-iratsuko died early. [6] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki did rule the Empire.

Footnotes

1 It is not actually the word *kami*, "deity," that is here used in the original, but *hashira*, which is the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

2 Neither being willing to accept the Imperial dignity.

3 Or, "some fishermen," and Similarly, in the Plural throughout.

4 *I.e.*, came to present fish to His Majesty.

5a Motowori is probably right in saying that the point of this proverb lies in the consideration that, whereas people in general weep for that which they have not, this fisherman wept on account of the trouble which was caused to him by the fish which he had.

6 Or, "died first," The use in this place of the character 崩, properly confined to the meaning of the "death of an Emperor," is remarkable. See Motowori's observations on the point in Vol. XXXIII.

[SECT. CXIV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XI. — AMA-NO-HI-BOKO CROSSES OVER TO JAPAN)]

Moreover, of old there had been [a man] called by the name of Ama-no-hi-boko, 1 child of the ruler of the land of Shiragi. This person crossed over here [to Japan]. The reason of his crossing over here was [this]: In the land of Shiragi there was a certain lagoon, 2 called by the name of the Agu Lagoon. 3 On the bank of this lagoon 4 a certain poor girl was [taking her] midday sleep. Tunc solis radii, coelesti arcui similes, in privatas partes impegerunt. Again there was a certain poor man, [259] who, thinking this occurrence 5b strange, constantly watched the woman's behaviour. So the woman, having conceived from the time of that midday sleep, gave birth to a red jewel. Then the poor man who had watched her begged [to be allowed] to take the jewel, and kept it constantly wrapped up by his side. 6 This person, having planted a rice-field in a valley, 7 had loaded a cow 8 with food for the labourers, and was getting into the middle of the valley, when he met the ruler's son, Ama-no-hi-boko, who thereupon asked him, saying: "Why enterest thou the valley with a load of food upon a cow? Thou wilt surely kill this cow and eat her." Forthwith he seized the man and was about to put him into prison, when the man replied, saying: "I was not going to kill the cow. I was simply taking food to the people in the fields." But still [the ruler's child] would not let him go. 'Then he undid the jewel [which hung] at his side, and [therewith] bribed [the ruler's child]. So [the latter] let the poor man go, brought the jewel [home], and placed it beside his couch. Forthwith it was trans-formed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded, and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child [grew] proud in his heart, and reviled his wife. But the

woman said: "I am not a woman who ought to be the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my ancestors;"—and forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat, and fled away across here [to Japan], and landed [9] at Naniha. [10] (This is the deity called Princess Akaru, [11] who dwells in the shrine of Hime-goso [12] at Naniha.) Thereupon Ame-no-hi-boko, hearing [260] of his wife's flight, forthwith pursued her across hither, and was about to arrive at Naniha, when the Deity of the passage [13] prevented his entrance. So he went back again, and landed in the country of Tajima. [14]

Footnotes

1 Or, according to Motowori's reading, *Ame no-hi boko*. The characters in the next, 大之日矛一signify "heavenly sun-spear." But the homonymous characters 海檜槍, with which the name is written in the "Gleanings from Ancient Story," and which are approved of both by Motowori and by Tanigaha Shisei. signify "fisherman's chamaecyparis spear."

2 Apparently nothing more is meant than that there was "*a* lagoon;" but still the *one* (一) in this context is curious, and Motowori retains it as *hito-tsu no* in the Japanese reading. "A certain" seems best to render its force in English, as again in the following sentences, where Motowori interprets it by the character 或. It is of strangely frequent recurrence in the opening sentences of this Section, which are altogether peculiar in style.

3 *Agu-numa*. The meaning of this name is unknown.

4 The Old Printed Edition has the word "mud" instead of "lagoon."

5b Literally, "this appearance."

6 Literally, "attached to his loins."

7 The words rendered "in a valley "are in the text 山谷之間, of which the commentators find it difficult to make proper Japanese. The translator has followed them in neglecting the character 山, "mountain."

8 Or bull, or bullock; for Japanese does not distinguish Genders.

9 Literally, "stopped."

10 See Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

11 *Akaru-hime*, *i.e.*, "Brilliant Princess."

12 The signification of this name is obscure. Motowori identifies the place with the modern Kodzu (高津).

13 *I.e.*, the water-god of the sea near Naniha.

14 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

[SECT. CXV. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XII. — DESCENDANTS OF AMA-NO-HI-BOKO, AND TREASURES BROUGHT BY HIM.)]

Forthwith staying in that country, he wedded Saki-tsu-mi, 1 daughter of Tajima-no-matawo, 2 and begot a child: Tajima-morosuku. 3 The latter's child was Tajima-hi-ne. 4 The latter's child was Tajima-hinaraki. 5 The latter's children were Tajima-mori, 6 next Tajima-hitaka, 7 next Kiyo-hiko 8 (three Deities). 9 This Kiyo-hiko wedded Tagima-no-mehi, 10 and begot children: Suga-no-morowo, 11 next his younger sister Suga-kama-yura-domi. 12 So the above mentioned Tajima-hitaka wedded his niece Yura-domi, and begot a child: Her Augustness Princess Takanuka of Kadzuraki. 13 (This was the august parent 14 of Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi.) So the things which Ama-no-hi-boko brought over here, and which were called the "precious treasures," 15 were: two strings of pearls: 16 likewise a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, and a wind-cutting scarf; 17 likewise a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore, 18 —eight articles in all. (These are the Eight Great Deities of Idzushi.) 19

Footnotes

1 This name may mean "lucky ears," or "possessor of luck;" but it is obscure, and is Moreover, in the "Chronicles" (where it is given as the name, not of the daughter, but of the father) read *Mahe-tsu-mi*, —a reading which, will not bear either of these interpretations.

2 Matawo seems to signify "complete (*i.e.*, healthy or vigorous) male." Observe that the word Tajima enters into the designations of most of his descendants.

3 In the "Chronicles" *Morosuke*, and elsewhere *Morosugi*. The etymology of these names is obscure except that of the last-mentioned, which signifies "many cryptomerias."

4 *Hi-ne* may perhaps signify "wondrous lord."

5 The meaning of this name is obscure, but that of *Hina-rashi-hime* in Sect. XXVI (Note 19) may be compared.

6 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

7 *Hi-taka* may signify either "sun-height" or "wondrous height."

8 This name signifies "pure prince."

9 As usual, it is not the actual word Deity that is used, but the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

10 *Tagima* is the name of a place, not to be confounded with the province of Tajima. The signification of *mehi* is quite obscure.

11 *Suga* may either be the name of place in Tajima, as proposed by Motowori, or identical with the Suga of Sect. XIX. The meaning of Morowo is obscure.

12 The signification of this name is obscure. But Suga, Kama, and Yura are apparently the names of places.

13 *Kadzuraki no Taka-nuka-hime*. Kadzuraki is the name of a department, and Takanuka that of a place in that department, in the province of Yamato.

14 Literally, "ancestress." But see Sect. XXII, Note 4. It will be remembered that *Okinaga-tarashi-hime* was the Empress Jin-go.

15 Literally, "treasures of jewels."

16 Or, "beads."

17 *I.e.*, a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind. *Conf*. the magic scarfs mentioned hear the beginning of Sect. XXIII, by waving which the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (*Oho-kuni-nushi*) kept off the snakes, the wasps and the centipedes.

18 This seems to be the signification of the original terms *oki tsu kagami* and *hi tsu kagami*, but we are not hereby helped to a very clear understanding of the nature of the articles which the author meant to describe. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us of a "sun, mirror." Indeed, it enumerates the "eight precious treasures" in a manner that diverges a great deal from the account given in these "Records."

19 Or, the "Eight-fold Great Deity." As has already frequently been remarked, the distinction which we so rigorously draw between Singular and Plural does not occupy the Japanese mind, and "eight "and "eight-fold" are taken to mean much the same thing, In the following sentence we find these eight deities (or this eight-fold deity) spoken of in such a manner as to necessitate the use of the Singular Number in the translation. Motowori supposes that they (or he) took the form of a young man (as in several other legends) to become the father of the Goddess mentioned in the text. . . . *Idzushi* seems to signify "wonderful stone."

[SECT. CXVI. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XIII. — THE YOUTH-OF-THE-GLOW-ON-THE-AUTUMN-MOUNTAINS AND THE YOUTH-OF-THE-HAZE-ON-THE-SPRING-MOUNTAINS).]

So this Deity had a daughter whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi. 1 So eighty Deities wished to [262] obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. 2 Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, 3 and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains. 4 So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for 5 the Maiden of Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou [be able] to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height, 6 and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers 7 [and give them to thee] in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trowsers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trowsers, [263] etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them [home, the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains] followed behind

the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to a child. [8] Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Mayden-of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when [the younger brother] complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities Indeed, are to be well imitated; Moreover, it must be because he imitates mortal men [9] that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a jointed bamboo [10] from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes, [11] and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine, wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo [12] and caused this curse to be spoken: [13] "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, [do thou] become green and wither! [264] Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine [14] [do thou] flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, [do thou] sink and be prostrate! "Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed [the basket] over the smoke. [15] Therefore, the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate [16] for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and fears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. [17] Thereupon his body became sound [18] as it had been before. (This is the origin of the term "a divine wager payment.") [19]

Footnotes

1 *Idzushi-wotome no kami*.

2 Literally "eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden of Idzushi, but none could wed (her)." But the sense is that given in the translation.

3 *Ahi yama no shita-bi-wotoko*. The explanation of the name is that given by Motowori (following Mabuchi), who sees in it a reference to the ruddy brilliance of the leaves, which is so marked a feature of the Japanese woods in autumn. The Chinese characters used have, Indeed, the signification of the lower ice of the autumn mountains; but "lower ice "may well be simply phonetic in this case.

4 *Haru-yamu no kasumi-wotoko*.

5 In Japanese *kohedomo*, written with the characters 雖乞. Perhaps Motowori is right in supposing this Verb to have been originally identical with *kofuru*, "to love" (戀) whose corresponding form is *kofuredomo*. If so, the author may have meant to make his hero say, "though I love the maiden, etc." But it is better to be guided by the characters, and to suppose that he referred to the request made to her mother to grant her to him.

6 Literally, "compute the height of my person and distil liquor in a jar."

7 *I.e.*, all the valuable produce of the chase and of the fisheries, such as are perpetually mentioned in the Shinto "Rituals" as being presented to the gods, Thus in the "Service of the Goddess of Food" (see Mr. Satow's translation in Vol. VII, Pt. IV of these "Transactions,") we read that the worshipper offered: "as to things which dwell in the mountains—things soft of hair and things rough of hair; as to things which grow in the great-field-plain sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue-sea-plain—things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore."

8 Literally, "one child."

9 The Japanese original of the words here unavoidably rendered by "mortal men" in order to mark the antithesis to the word "Deities, has been more literally translated by "living people" in an earlier passage of the work (see Sect. IX, Note 17). The signification of the entire sentence is: "During my lifetime, thy brother should be careful to imitate the upright conduct of the gods. For if, instead of doing so, he be dishonest and untruthful as are the sons of men, it will be at his own peril."

10 Or, according to the more usual reading, "a one-jointed bamboo;" but in either case the meaning is obscure. Motowori, who adopts the reading that has been followed in the translation, suggests that the expression may simply be a periphrasis for the bamboo in general.

11 八目荒籠. Motowori remarks that the word "eight" in this place (where, to indicate a considerable number we should rather expect "eighty") is curious, and he surmises that 八 may be an error for 大, "large." The word "coarse" itself is sufficient to show that the apertures left in the plaiting of the basket were large.

12 *Scil*. of which the basket was woven.

13 *Scil*. by her younger son.

14 In this case, as Motowori remarks, it is the sea-water that is intended to be spoken of, whereas the allusion in the previous sentence is to hard salt. But the Japanese language uses the same word for both, and the same Chinese character is here also used in both contexts. For this curse *conf*. Sect. XL (Note 18 *et. seq.*) and Sect. XLI.

15 *Scil*. of the furnace (kitchen) in the younger brother's house, as Motowori suggests.

16 The text has the character 枯, which signifies "to wither" or "dry up" (spoken of trees). But the translator agrees with Motowori in considering it to be in all probability an error for 臥, "to be prostrate; and in any case it could not here be rendered by either of the verbs "dry up" or "wither "without introducing into the English version a tautology which does not exist in the Japanese original.

17 Such seems to be the meaning of the obscure original *sono tokohi-do wo kahesashimeki* (令返其詛戸), Motowori would understand it in a rather more specialized sense to signify that "she caused the implement of the curse (*i.e.*, the basket) to be taken away,"

18 Literally, "was pacified."

19 Or, if we take 言in the text as equivalent to 事, "this is the origin of "divine water-payments."

[SECT. CXVII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XVI. — GENEALOGIES).]

Again this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda's [1] august child King Wake-nuke-futa-mata wedded his mother's younger sister Momo-shiki-iro-be, [2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Oto-hime-ma-wake-hime, [3] and begot children: Oho-iratsuko, [4] another name for whom [265] was King Ohohodo; [5] next her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime: [6] next Tawi-no-naka-tsu-hime; [7] next Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime; [8] next Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-ira-tsume; [9] next Queen Torime; [10] next King Sane. [11] (Seven Kings (and Queens). [12]) So King Oho-hodo (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mikuni, [13] the Dukes of Hata, [14] the Dukes of Okinaga, [15] the Dukes of Sakahito of Sakata, [16] the Dukes of Yamaji, [17] the Dukes of [266] Meta in Tsukushi, [18] and the Dukes of Fuse.) [19] Again King Netori wedded his younger half-sister the Lady Mihara, and begot children: King Naka-tsu-hiko; [20] next King Iwa-shiha [21] (Two Kings.) Again the child of King Kata-shiha [22] was King Kuni. [23]

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, the Emperor Ō-jin's.

2 The import of this compound is not clear.

3 *I.e.*, "the younger princess, the truly young princess."

4 *i.e.*, "the great lord."

5 *Oho-hodo no miko*. The signification of *Oho-hodo* is obscure. Motowori surmises it to have been originally the name of a place.

6 *I.e.*, "the great middle princess of Osaka. Osaka is the name of a place in Yamato. The word "middle "should by the analogy of other such

genealogies indicate the fact that this princess was the fourth child out of seven. Here however she is mentioned second, and the same designation is applied to the two next daugther. There is evidently some confusion in the tradition.

7 *I.e.*, "the middle princess of Tawi,"—a place in Kahachi.

8 *I.e.*, the middle princess of Tamiya.

9 *I.e.*, "the lady Koto-fushi of Fuji-hara." But the meaning of Kato fushi is obscure, and Motowori surmises it to be an alternative or corrupt form of *Sotohoshi*. (For the celebrated princess of the latter name see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9.) Fujihara is the name of a place in Yamato, and signifies "wistaria-moor."

10 *Torime no miko*. This name is obscure.

11 *Sane no miko*. Motowori believes *sane* to stand erroneously for *sami*; but both forms are obscure.

12 The Japanese word includes both genders.

13 *Mikuni no kimi*. *Mikuni* is the name of a well-known place in the province of Echizen. It signifies "three countries."

14 *Hata no kimi*. There are several places called Hata, and it is not known which of them is here intended. The signification of the name is also uncertain.

15 *Okinaga no kimi*. See Sect. LXII, Note 31.

16 *Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi*. This is Motowori's restoration of an apparently corrupt text. Sakata and Sakabito are both taken to be names of

places, the first of a district in Afumi, the second of a place in Settsu. Sakabito (酒人) seems a very curious compound for the name of a place. Moreover, the double title is unusual, and it may be thought that the word "Dukes" has fallen out of the text, and that in reality two families were intended to be spoken of.

17 *Yamaji no kimi*. *Yamaji* ("mountain road") is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place, —perhaps in the province of Higo.

18 *Tsukushi no Meta no kimi*. Tsukushi is the old name of the whole of the South-Western island of the Japanese archipelago and Meta the name of a place in the province of Hizen in that island. The etymology of Meta is uncertain.

19 *Fuse no kimi*. Fuse is the name of uncertain import found in several provinces. It is not known which is meant to be here designated.

20 *Naka-tsu-hiko no miko*, *i.e.*, "the middle prince," a designation which would lead one to expect to find mention of an elder brother.

21 *Iwashima no miko*. Iwashima seems to be the name of a place, but the signification of *Iha* (not to be confounded with *iha* "stone" or "rock") is altogether obscure.

22 *Katashiha no miko*. This prince has not been mentioned in the previous genealogies, which is curious. Katashiha is the name of a place in Chikuzen, and signifies "hard rock."

23 *Kunu no miko*. *Kunu* is altogether obscure.

[SECT. CXVIII. —EMPEROR Ō-JIN (PART XV. — HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda were altogether one hundred and thirty. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Mofusu [1] at Wega in Kafuchi.

Footnotes

1 Or, as Motowori reads it, *Mofushi*. The etymology is uncertain. *Wega* has already appeared in Sect. CIII (Note 3). The Old Printed Edition and some Manuscripts have at the conclusion of this volume the following note: 百舌鳥陵也, "It is the mausoleum of Mozu." But Mozu is in the province of Idzumi, and all the later editions discard this note as an interpolation.

[267]

The *Shimotsumaki* (下巻?, "Lower Volume") VOL. III [1]

[SECT. CXIX. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I. — GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Takatsu [2] at Naniha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded (the Empress [3]) Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, [4] daughter of Kadzuraki-no-sotsu-biko, [5] and begot august children: His Augustness Ohoye-no-izaho-wake; [6] next the Middle King of the Inlet of Sumi; [7] next His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake of Tajihi; [8] next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go [9] (four Deities.) Again he wedded Princess Kami-naga, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka, as mentioned above, [10] and begot august children: Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko, [11] another [268] name for whom was the King of Great Kusaka; [12] next Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume, [13] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Nagahi, [14] and another name was Her Augustness Waka-kusaka-be [15](Two Deities.) Again he wedded his younger half-sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume [16] Again he wedded his younger half-sister Uji-no-waki-iratsume. These two Deities had no august children. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-sakaki [numbered] in all six Deities, (Five Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Izaho-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tajihi-no midzu-ha-wake likewise ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness the Noble Oh-asadzuma-no-waku-go likewise ruled the Empire. [17]

Footnotes

1 Literally, "lower volume"(there being three in all). See Author's Preface, Note 1.

2 *I.e.*, "high port."

3 Motowori surmises that the reason why the characters signifying "Empress" are in all the text here written in small characters is on account of this personage not having been of Imperial birth.

4 *I.e.*, "the rock princess." Motowori supposes the name to be indicative of prosperity and long life.

5 See Sect. LXI, Note 55,

6 *I.e.*, "the elder brother lord Izaho," the latter name being of uncertain import.

7 *Sumi-no ye-no-naka-tsu-miko*. Both the phrase "middle king" and the Inlet of Sumi have been already commented on.

8 *Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake*. Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi. The traditional origin of its application to this will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, *Midzu-ha-wake* probably means "the lord with the beautiful teeth."

9 *Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go no sukune*. Asadzuma is the name of a place in Yamato, and *wo* (though written 男) seems to be the slightly Honorific Prefix *wo* (乎) whose proper signification is "small" *Waku-go* means "younger child."

10 See Sect. CVII.

11 *I.e.*, "the great lord of Hatabi." *Hatabi* is altogether obscure.

12 *Oha-kusaka no miko*. For *Kusaka* see Sect. CI, Note 2.

13 *I.e.*, "the young lady of Hatabi." Conf. Note 1 I.

14 *Nagahi-hime*. This name is obscure.

15 *Kusaka-be* is an alternative form of *Kusaka*. The compound Therefore, signifies "young princess of Kusaka."

16 This name and the following have already appeared in the genealogies of the preceding reign (Sect. CIV.)

17 These were the Emperors Ri-chiu, Han-zei, and In-giyo.

[SECT. CXX: EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II. — VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In the august reign of this Heavenly Sovereign the Kadzuraki Tribe [1] was established as the august proxy of the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime. Again the Mibu Tribe [2] was established as the august proxy of the Heir Apparent, His Augustness Izaho-wake. Again the Tajihi Tribe [3] was established as the august proxy of His Augustness Midzuna-wake. Again the Oho-kusaka Tribe [4] was [269] established as the august proxy of King Oho-kusaka, and the Waka-kusaka Tribe [5] was established as the august proxy of King Waga-kusake-be. Again people from Hada were set to labour, and the embankment at Mamuta [6] and also the granaries of Manuta were made. Again the Pool of Wani [7] and the Pool of YosemI was made. Again the Naniha Channel [8] was dug, and [the waters of the rivers] led to the sea. Again the Wobashi Channel [9] was dug. Again the port of the inlet of Sumi [10] was established.

Footnotes

1 *Kadzuraki be*. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 *Mibu-be*. Motowori quotes approvingly a derivation of the "gentile name" of Mibu from *Bi-fuku-mon* (美福門), the name of a gate which the first bearer of the name is related to have constructed. Taking into account the letter-changes which occurred in older times in the passage of words from Chinese into Japanese, the etymology is plausible enough.

3 *Tajihi-be*. Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin.

4 *Oho-kusaka-be*. This tribe of course took its name simply from that of Prince Oho-kusaka.

5 *Waka-kusaka-be*. A similar observation to that in the last applies to this name.

6 See Sect. LIII, Note I.

7 *Wani no ike*, in the province of Kahachi. *Wani* signifies "crocodile," and it was also the name of the Korean personage mentioned in Sect. CX (Note 6). But the reason why the Pool here spoken of was so called does net appear. The Pool of Yosami has already been mentioned in Sect. LXII (Note 85). Motowori supposes that it must have dried up during the interim.

8 *Naniha no hori-ye*. Motowori tells us that the regularization of the channels of the Yodo and Yamato Rivers, whose mouths nearly meet at this point with various intersecting branches, is what is here intended to be referred to.

9 *Wobashi no ye*. *Wo-bashi* ("little bridge") is the name of a village in the province of Settsu.

10 *Suminoye no tsu*. Close of Naniha; it is the modern *Sumiyoshi*. Conf. Sect. X, Note 22.

[SECT. CXXI. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU [PART III. —HE REMITS THE TAXES)]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, ascending a lofty mountain and looking on the land all round, spoke, saying: "In the whole land there rises no smoke; the land is all poverty-stricken. So I remit [1] all people's taxes and [forced labour] from now till three years [hence.]" Therefore, the great palace became dilapidated, and the rain leaked in everywhere; but no repairs were made. The rain that leaked in was caught in troughs, [2] and [the inmates] removed from [its reach] to places where there was no leakage. When later [the Heavenly Sovereign]] looked on all the land, the smoke was abundant in the land. So finding the people rich, he now exacted taxes and forced labour. Therefore, the peasantry [3] prospered, and did not suffer from forced labour. So in praise of that august reign, it was called the reign of the Emperor-Sage. [4]

Footnotes

1 Motowori's reading of this Verb in the Imperative Mood (as if containing an order addressed by the monarch to his ministers) seems less natural than the order reading in the Indicative, which accordingly the translator has followed.

2 There is uncertainty as to the exact character in the original. But the older editions read it as the Japanese word *hako*, "boxes." while Motowori prefers *hi*, "tubes." "Troughs "seems to conciliate both views, and to be also appropriate to the use mentioned in the text.

3 Or simply, "the people." But the expression 百姓is generally used in Japanese of the peasantry only.

4 聖帝; If, following most texts, we omitted the final character 世, "reign," the English translation would be "in praise of that august reign, (the Heavenly Sovereign) was called the Emperor-Sage."

[SECT. CXXII. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV. —HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO).]

His Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, was exceedingly jealous. So the concubines employed by the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep inside the palace; and if anything happened, 1 [the Empress] stamped with jealousy. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the regular beauty of Princess Kuro, 2 daughter of the Suzerain of Ama in Kibi, 3 and having sent for her, employed her. But she, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, fled down to her native land, The Heavenly [271] Sovereign, gazing from an upper story upon Princess Kuro's departure by boat upon the sea, sang saying:

"In the offing there are rows of small boats. My wife Masadzuko of Kurozaki goes down towards her [native] land." 4

So the Empress was very angry on hearing this august Song, and sent people to the great strand 5 to drive Princess Kuro ashore, and chase her away on foot. 6 Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, for love of Princess Kuro, deceived the Empress, saying that he wanted to see the Island of Ahaji. 7 And when he made his progress and was in the Island of Ahaji, he, gazing afar, sang saying:

"When, having departed from the point of wave-beaten Naniha, I look at the country, —the Island of Aha, the Is-land of Onogoro, and also the Island of Ajimasa are visible. The Island of Saketsu is visible." 8

Forthwith passing on from that island, he made a progress to the land of Kibi. Then Her Augustness Princess Kuro- made him grandly reside at a place among the mountain-fields, 9 and presented to him great august food, when for this [purpose] she plucked cabbage in that place to boil into great

august soup, the Heavenly Sovereign went to the place where the maiden was plucking the cabbage, and sang, saying:

"Oh! how delightful it is to pluck with a person of Kibi the cabbage sown in the mountain fields!" 10

When the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress up, 11

Princess Kuro presented an august 12 Song saying:

"Even though the west wind blow up towards Yamato, and the clouds part, and we be separated, shall I forget [thee]?" 13

[273] Again she sang, saying:

"Whose spouse is it that goes towards Yamato? Whose spouse is it that creeps from beneath like hidden water?" 14

Footnotes

1 Motowori shows by collating various passages in other ancient works that this is the probable signification of the curious expression in the original, *kotodateba* (言立者for 事立者). The reference of course is to the occurrence of anything noteworthy among the concubines, such as the birth of a son, etc.

2 *Kuro-hime*, *i.e.*, "black princess" probably meaning "black-haired princess."

3 *Kibi no Ama no atahe*. Of this family nothing is known. *Ama* signifies "fisherman." *Kibi* is the name of a province.

4 Thus interpreted (according to Moribe), the general sense of the Song is quite clear. The word *Masadzuko*, considered by Moribe to be one of the

names of Princess Kuro, is however not so understood by Motowori, who is inclined to see in it rather an Honorific description of her. *Kurozaki* likewise (*i.e.*, "black cape," the word *kuro* seemingly containing an allusion to the name of the Princess) is but the best of many emendations of the name as it stands in the text, viz., *Furozaya*. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, for all the possible emendations proposed by him or his predecessors.

5 *Scil*, of the neighbourhood of Naniha. Or possible *Oho-ura* ("Great Strand") should be taken as the name of a place, though Motowori does not suggest such a view.

6 *I.e.*, to make her perform the journey on foot.

7 See Sect. V, Note 3.

8 Moribe, commenting on the import of this Song, says: Though the alleged reason was a tour of inspection, it was truly out of love for Princess Kuro that the Monarch had undertaken the journey. When her vessel could no longer be descried, he could still alas! see the islands that remained behind, —the Island of Aha and the Island of Ajimasa; he could still, alas! see the Islands of Onogoro and Saketsu. Alas for him left alone, parted from his love! Though he spoke not openly, those around him understood the under-current of his "words."—"Wave-beaten "is the accepted interpretation of *oshiteru ya* (or *oshiteru*), the Pillow-Word for Naniha. For the Islands of Aha and Onogoro see respectively Sect. IV, Note 5 and Sect. iii, Note 5. Of the Islands of Ajimasa and Saketsu nothing is known. *Ajimasa* is the name of a species of palm, the *Livistona sinensis*, and Motowori supposes that one of the islands in that neighbourhood may anciently have received its name from the palm-trees growing on it. Palms of any kind are, however,

not very common in Japan, and seem only to grow when specially cultivated.

9 Motowori thinks we should in this place understand the word *yamagata* (for *yama-agata*) as the name of a place. But in the Song which immediately follows, it must certainly be taken in its etymological sense of "mountain-fields," and it seems Therefore, quite inconsistent to translate it differently here. Moreover, it is allowed that no such place as Yamagata in Kibi is anywhere made mention of.

10 The import of this Song is perfectly clear, "the person of Kibi "being of course the Imperial poet's lady-love.

11 *I.e.*, was about to start back to the capital, which was in the province of Settsu.

12 This Honorific seems so out of place (seeing that it is not applied to the Emperor's own Songs given in this Section), that it is supposed by the commentators to be an erroneous addition to the text.

13 We might also translate thus: "Even though we be separated, as the clouds that part owing to the west wind blowing up towards Yamato, etc.;"—for the initial lines of the poem which contain the allusion to the wind and to the clouds are simply a Preface, and their import may Therefore, at will be either considered separately, or else made continuous with that of the rest of the poem.

14 The meaning of this Song l is: "Whose spouse is it that returns to Yamato? Whose spouse is it that comes thus secretly to make love to me, like a stream flowing underground?"—The allusion contained in the twice repeated words "whose spouse "is of course to the Empress. The poetess,

full of tenderness or the Emperor, regrets for his sake, as well as for her own, that he should be the husband of so jealous' a wife. "Hidden water is the accepted interpretation of the Pillow-Word *kontoridzu no*, which is with apparent reason supposed to be a contraction of *komori-midzu no*.

[SECT. CXXIII. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU PART V. — THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO).]

After this time the Empress made a progress to the land of Ki in order to pluck aralia-leaves for a copious feast; 1 and in the mean while the Heavenly Sovereign wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume. Hereupon, when the Empress was returning in her august vessel loaded full of aralia-leaves, a coolie from Kozhima 2 in the land of Kibi, who was in the service of the Superintendent of the Water-Directors, 3 being on his way off to his own country, met at the great passage 4 of Naniha the vessel of a lady of the train 5 who had got behind, and forthwith told her, saying: "The Heavenly Sovereign has [274] recently 6 wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume, and plays with her day and night. It must probably be because the Empress has not heard of this thing, that she quietly makes progress for pleasure." Then the lady of the train, having heard this narrative, forthwith pursued and reached the august vessel, and reported everything exactly as the coolie had told it. Hereupon the Empress, greatly vexed and angry, threw away into the sea all the aralia-leaves which she had put on board the august vessel. So the place, [where she did so] is called by the name of Cape Mitsu. 7 Forthwith without entering the palace, but taking her august vessel [from it] 8 and ascending the channel 9 against the current, she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the river; 10 At this time she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend the river, oh! on the bank of the river [there] stands growing a *sashibu!* —a *sashibu*-tree; below it stands growing a broad-foliaged five hundred [-fold branching] true camellia-tree; oh! he who is brilliant like its blossoms, widely powerful like its foliage, is the great lord." 11

Forthwith going round by Yamashiro, 12 and arriving at [275] the entrance of the Nara Mountain, 13 she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend to Miya, I pass Nara, I pass Yamato with its shield of mountains; and the country I fain would see is Takamiya in Kadzuraki, the neighbourhood of my home." 14

[276] Having sung thus, she returned and entered for sometime into the house of a person from Kara 15 named Nurinomi 16 at Tsutsuki. 17

Footnotes

1 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

2 *I.e.*, "small island." It is first mentioned in Sect V (Note 29).

3 See Sect. XLVII, Note 18.

4 *Oho watari*. The mouth of the River Yedo is meant to be designated by this name.

5 The original, expression *kuru-bito-me* (倉人女) is obscure, being met with nowhere else in Japanese literature. Motowori conjectures that the function exercised by this lady. was one connected with the Emperor's privy purse.

6 The text has the character 皆, "all," which make no sense; and Motowori (following Mabuchi) reasonably emends it to 比日, "recently," "just now."

7 *Mitsu no saki*. *Mitsu*, signifying "three," is supposed by the author to refer to the three-cornered leaves of the aralia (the name of the latter being *mitsuna gashiha*); but a more likely opinion is that which would have us take *mitzu* as two words, in the sense of "august harbour." In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," we are told that the place was called *Kashiha no watari*, *i.e.*, "Oak passage."

8 *I.e.*, going on up the river without stopping at Naniha where the palace was.

9 Jr., the artificial bed of the river mentioned in Sect. CXX, Note, 8.

10 *I.e.*, the river Yodo.

11 The meaning of this Song is: "As I make my way up the river by boat, I see a *sashibu* (the name of a tree which cannot now be identified), below which, —that is to say nearer to the water, —there grows a camellia-tree, wide-spreading and full of blossoms. Ah! how the sight of the sturdy brilliant beauty of this camellia-tree brings back my lord and master to my mind!"—It must be remembered that in Japan the camellia-trees grow to a size far superior to that reached by their representatives in Europe. *Tsuginefu*, rendered according to the view taken by Motowori and Moribe by the phrase "where the seedlings grow in succession," is the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, and its import is disputed. The interpretation here adopted considers it to refer to the regular succession of young trees planted on a mountain's side when a tract of older timber has been cut down. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," sees in it, on the contrary, a reference to the rising of peak upon peak in a mountainous district (*tsugi-ne fu*—次嶺經). Both interpretations rest on the connection between this term and *yama*, the first half of the name of the province of Yamashiro, which it qualifies. "Five hundred[-fold-branching]"and "true" are ornamental epithets applied by the poetess to the camellia-tree. Moribe would take the syllable *ma*, "true," in the sense of *ha*, "leaf but this seems less good.

12 For the straight road from Naniha in Settsu-to Nara in Yamato would have taken her through the province of Kafuchi. and not through Yamashiro.

13 *I.e.*, the pass or hill leading from the district of Sagara in Yamashiro to Nara in Yamato. For Nara see Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

14 This Song expresses the Empress's desire to return to her parental house at Takamiya in the district of Kadzuraki, —a desire which, however, her restless frame of mind did not allow her to fulfil. —The Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, which here recurs, has already been discussed in Note 11. There are two other Pillow-Words in this Song, —*awoniyoshi*, which is prefixed to Nara, and *wo-date* (or *wo-date-yama* according to the old reading, or *wo-date tatsu* according to another reading), which is prefixed to Yamato. The former of these is so obscure that, rather than attempt to render it into English, the translator prefers to refer the student to the remarks of the various commentators, —Mabuchi *s.v.* in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," Motowori in his Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, and Moribe *in loco*. *Wodate* [-*yama*] seems to refer undoubtedly to the circle of mountains that guard the approach to the province of Yamato, and it has been rendered accordingly. The great difficulty of the Song lies in the line rendered "ascend to Miya," and the commentators from Keichiū downwards make all sorts of efforts to explain it. Moribe's view, according to which the word should be regarded as a familiar abbreviation of Takamiya, naturally used by one whose native place it was, seems the most acceptable. Motowori takes the line to signify: "When I ascend past the palace [of Naniha]."

15 韓, *i.e.*, Korea.

16 For *Nuri no omi*, *i.e.*, "the Grandee of Nuri." Nuri is probably a corrupt form of some Korean name.

17 Or Tsudzuki, in Yamashiro. Etymology obscure.

[SECT. CXXIV. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI. —HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, having heard that the Empress had made a progress up by Yamashiro, made a person, —a retainer called by the name of Toriyama, [1]—give an august Song, [2] which said:

"Reach [her] in Yamashiro, Toriyama! Reach [her]! reach [her]! Ah! wilt thou reach and meet my beloved spouse?" [3]

Again he continued by despatching Kuchiko, Grandee of Wani, [4] and sang, saying: [277]

"Wilt thou be without thinking even of the Heart that is in the moor of Ohowiko, the moor of Ohowiko, that is by Takaki at Mimoro?" [5]

Again he sang, saying:

"If Indeed, I had pillowed [my head] on the white arm like the whiteness of the roots, the great roots, that were beaten with wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession, [then] mightest thou say, 'I know [thee] not'." [6]

So when the Grandee of Kuchiko was repeating this [278] august Song [to the Empress,] it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace, [7] she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water [8] reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed [9] green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to

red colour. Now the Grandee of Kuchiko's younger sister Princess Kuchi [10] was in the service of the Empress. [11] So Princess Kuchi sang saying:

"Oh! how tearful is my lord-elder brother, saying things in the palace of Tsutsuki in Yamashiro!" [12]

Then when the Empress asked the reason, [13] she replied, saying: "He is my brother the Grandee of Kuchiko." Thereupon the Grandee of Kuchiko and also his younger sister Princess Kuchi and likewise Nurinomi [all] three took counsel [together,] and sent to report to the Heavenly [279] Sovereign, saying: "The reason of the Empress's progress is that there are [some] insects reared by Nurinomi, —strange insects changing in three ways, [14] once becoming creeping insects, once becoming cocoons, [15] and once becoming flying birds [16]—and it is only to go and look at them that she has entered into [Nurinomi's house.] She has no strange intentions." [17] When they had thus reported, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "That being so, I want to go and see [these insects,] as I think [they must be] strange; [and with these words] he made a progress up from the great palace. When he entered into Nurinomi's house, Nurinomi, had already presented to the Empress the three-fold insects reared by him. Then the Heavenly Sovereign augustly stood at the door of the palace where the Empress-dwelt, and sang, saying:

"Pure as the great roots that were beaten with their wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedings grow in succession: —it is because thou spokest tumultuously that I come in here [with my retainers numerous] as the more and more flourishing trees that I look across at." [18]

[280] These six Songs by the Heavenly Sovereign and by the Empress are Changing Songs which are Quiet Songs. [19]

Footnotes

1 This name signifies "bird-mountain." The commentators presume that it contains an allusion to the fact of its bearer being an Imperial courier.

2 This is the actual sense conveyed by the original 使舍人名謂鳥山人送御歌, and we naturally infer that Toriyama was made the bearer to the Empress of the following Song. The Song itself, however, is addressed not to her, but to Toriyama on his departure. On the other hand, the two poems which follow are evidently for the Empress, and it is impossible to suppose that the first messenger was not likewise intended to convey to her some poetic missive. All that we can do is to render the text as it stands, and to suppose it corrupt.

3 The meaning of this Song is: "O Toriyama! pursue her into Yamashiro! I tremble at the thought of the possibility of thy not finding her."

4 *Wani no omi Kuchiko* (further on he is mentioned as *Kuchiko no omi*, *i.e.*, "the Grandee (of) Kuchiko.") *Kuchi-ko* may be interpreted to mean "mouth child" and Moribe thinks that this personage was so called on account of the verbal messages of which he was made the bearer. The translator would prefer to consider *ko* as an abbreviation of *hiko*, "prince," especially as the sister's name is *Kuchi-hime*, where the word hime must mean "princess."

5 This Song is so obscure that Motowori and Moribe differ completely as to its interpretation. The translator has followed Moribe, though by no means persuaded that the latter has hit on the proper signification. According to this view, the Emperor makes a pun on the word "heart," which is supposed to have been the name of a pool situated on the moor of Ohowiko near Takaki at Mimoro, —all names of places with which the Empress was familiar, —and reproaches her for having no thought of his heart which beats so lovingly for her. Motowori, On the other hand, thinks that the poem proper consists only of its last two lines (in the English translation they necessarily I come first): "Wilt thou be without thinking even of the heart?"—and that all the rest is a "Preface "to the Pillow-Word *kimo-mukafu*

by which the word *kokoro*, "heart," is preceded. As for *oho-wi-ko* and *takaki*, they are taken, not as names of places, but as common Nouns. According to this view of the structure of the Song, it ceases (with the exception of its last two lines) to have any rational signification, and it is needless to attempt to translate it for the English reader. Persons familiar with Japanese are Therefore, referred to Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXVI.

6 The meaning of this Song is: "If thou and I had not so long been spouses, then Indeed, mightest thou break with me, and declare that thou knowest me not. But how canst thou so far forget our wedded life as to desert me now?"-"The "great root," *oho-ne*, is the modern *dai-kon* (Raphanus sativus), a kind of radish which is a favourite vegetable with the Japanese and is distinguished by its brilliantly white appearance. "Beaten" here signifies "dug up." The use of the Past Tense is curious. *Ko-guha*, here in accordance with Motowori's view rendered "wooden hoes," is interpreted by Moribe to mean "little hoes." "Where the seedlings grow in succession "is the English rendering of *tsugi-ne fu*, the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro (see Sect. CXXIII Note 11).

7 The Empress was lodging with a private individual, but her presence warrants the application of the term "palace "to his house.

8 It was raining too hard for the water to stop on the surface in the shape of puddles, so it streamed off in little rivulets.

9 Literally, "rubbed." See Introduction. Instead of "'green," we might equally well translate by "blue." The garment intended must be the upper garment or coat.

10 *Kuchi-hime*.

11 Literally, "respectfully served the Empress."

12 The meaning of these lines, which can only be called poetry because they are in metre, is plain: in them the speaker draws the Empress's attention to the pitiful condition of the messenger who is doing his best to deliver to her the Emperor's message. Probably the reading in our text has been corrupted; for that in the "Chronicles," which may be translated thus; "Oh! how tearful am I when I see my lord elder brother," etc. is much preferable.

13 *Scil*. of her attendant thus taking the messenger's part.

14 Literally, "colours."

15 This is Motowori's conjectural restoration of the reading of this word, which in all the texts is hopelessly corrupt.

16 According to another reading, "flying insects."

17 *I.e.*, "she is not meditating any evil conduct."

18 The Song consists of two divisions, the first of which is but a Preface for the second, the pivot being formed by the word *sawa-sawa-ni*, which has the meaning of "pure" "cool," or "refreshing," with reference to what precedes it, and the meaning of "tumultuously" (*sawasawa ni—sawagaskiku*) when taken together with what follows. The difficulties which present themselves in the first division have all been explained in Note 11 to the last and Note 6 to the present Section. The general sense of the second division is plain enough; but the precise application of the comparison to the "more and more flourishing tree" is obscure. Motowori's view has been adopted by the translator, and the words in brackets supplemented accordingly. Moribe prefers to consider that the reference is

to the repeated visits first of the Emperor's messengers and afterwards of the Emperor Himself The words "look across at" must be explained by supposing that the trees were in the neighbourhood of Nurinomi's house; they were shoots springing up from roots that had been cut down close to the ground.

19 The commentators thus explain these obscure expressions: "A Quiet Song is one which is sung to a tranquil tune. A Changing Song is one temporarily sung while the tone (mode?) is changing." The six Songs in question must be supposed to have combined both characteristics.

[SECT. CXXV. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII. —HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, loving Yata-no-waki-iratsume, deigned to send her an august Song. That Song said:

"Will the one sedge-stem of Yata, having no children, wither as it stands? Poor sedge-moor! Sedge-moor Indeed, is what I may *say*—poor pure girl!" 1

Then Yata-no-waki-iratsume replied in a Song, saying:

"Even though the one sedge stem of Yata be alone, if the Great Lord say it is right even though it be alone [it is right.]" 2

So the Yata Tribe 3 was established as the august proxy of Yata-no-waki-iratsume.

Footnotes

1 In this Song the Emperor condoles with his mistress on her childlessness: "Will the single sedge on the moor of Yata die without leaving any offspring? Sedge, Indeed! Yes, sedge is the term I use for my metaphor, but what is in my thoughts is the girl I love."—There is in the original some *jeu-de-mots*, not capable of translation into English, between *suge* or *suga*, "sedge, and *sugashi* pure."

2 The girl replies: "Even though I be childless. I care not if my lord cares not."

3 *Yata-be*.

[SECT. CXXVI. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII. —DEATH OF KING HAYABUSA-WAKE AND QUEEN MEDORI).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign begged for his younger half-sister Queen Medori, using as middle-man his younger brother King Haya-busa-wake. Then Queen Medori [281] spoke to King Hayabusa-wake, saying: "Owing to the violence of the Empress, [the Heavenly Sovereign] has not deigned to take Yata-no-waki-iratsume [into the Palace.] So I will not respectfully serve him. I will become the wife of Thine Augustness." Forthwith they wedded each other, wherefore King Hayabusa-wake made no report [to the Heavenly Sovereign. 1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, going straight to the place where Queen Medori dwelt, stood on the door-sill of the palace. Hereupon, Queen Medori being at her loom, was weaving garments. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang saying:

"Oh! for whom may be the garments that my Great Lady Medori weaves?" 2

Queen Medori replied in a Song saying:

"For an august veil for the high-going Falcon-Lord." 3

So the Heavenly Sovereign, perceiving her feelings, returned into the palace. At this time 4 when her husband King Hayabusa-wake came, his wife Queen Medori sang, saying:

"The lark flies to heaven. Oh! high-going Falcon-Lord, catch the wren." 5

[282] The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing this Song, 6 forthwith raised an army, wishing to slay King Hayabusa and Queen Medori, who then fled

away together, and ascended Mount Kurahashi. 7 Thereupon King Hayabusa-wake sang, saying:

"Owing to the steepness of ladder-like Mount Kurahashi, being unable to clamber [up] the rocks, oh! she takes my hand! 8

Again he sang, saying:

"Though ladder-like Mount Kurahashi be steep, it is not steep when I ascend it with my younger sister."

So when they fled thence, and reached Soni in Uda, 9 the Imperials 10 army pursued, overtook, and slew them.

Footnotes

1 *Scil*. of the success of his mediation.

2 Or, "for whom is the loom [employed], with which my Great Lady Medori weaves?"—The word *hata* in Archaic Japanese signifies both "garment" and the instrument which is used to weave a garment, *i.e.* a "loom" (服and 機). In later times the second meaning has prevailed to the exclusion of the first.

3 There is here a play on the name of the Queen's paramour Hayabusa-wake, which signifies "Falcon-Lord" as in the translation—The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" gives these two Songs as a single one which is put into the mouth of Queen Medori's handmaidens, —is a more acceptable version of the incident.

4 Motowori suspects that there is here an error in the text, which should, according to him, read: "After this."

5 The gist of this Song is an instigation to murder the Emperor (whose name was *Oho-sazaki*, *i.e.*, "Great Wren." Conf. Sect. CIV, Note 18), addressed to the singer's husband (whose name was *Hayabusa-wake*, *i.e.*, "Falcon Lord"). But the allusion to the lake remains obscure. Keichiū suggests that it is simply mentioned as a term of comparison for the falcon's power of flight, while Motowori opines that the meaning rather is: "The lark flies so high up to heaven that it would be hard to catch it; but the wren is an easy prey."

6 Viz., as may be supposed, repeated by some fourth person.

7 *Kurahashi-yama*, in Yamato.

8 The Song, like the next, is too clear to stand in need of explanation. "Ladder-like" is an attempt to render the force of the Pillow-Word *hashi-tate*. See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," s.v., for the exact force attributed to it by Mabuchi.

9 For Uda see Sect. XLVI, Note, 14. The etymology of Soni is equally obscure.

10 The character 御, though read by the commentators with the usual Japanese Honorific *mi*, "august," has here its proper Chinese signification of "Imperial."

[SECT. CXXVII. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII. —QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET).]

Chief Ohotate of Yamabe, 1 who was the generalissimo of that army, took the jewelled armlet which was wound round Queen Medori's august arm, and gave it to his own wife. After this time, when a copious feast 2 was to be held, the women of the various families all went to court. Then the wife of Chief Ohotate came with that Queen's jewelled armlet wound round her own arm. [283] Thereupon the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, herself took the oak-leaves 3 [full] of great august liquor and graciously gave them to the women of the various families. Then the Empress, recognizing the jewelled armlet, gave [the wearer] no oak-leaf[-full] of great august liquor, but forthwith sent her away; 4 and sending. for the husband, Chief Ohotate, said: "Owing to that King and Queen's impropriety, [the Emperor] deigned to send them away. This was nothing strange. And a slave such as thou despoil of the jewelled armlet that was wound round her august arm the body of his lady [that was still] warm, and gives it to his own wife!"—and forthwith he was condemned to death. 5

Footnotes

1 *Yamabe no Ohotate no murazhi*. The "gentile name" was *Yamabe no murazhi*, and the personal name *Ohotate*, though the confused wording of this passage does not make it appear so. *Yama-be* signifies mountain (*i.e.*, hunters') tribe. *Oho-tate* is "big shield."

2 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

3 Or, perhaps rather "aralia-leaves" (Con/. Sect. CXXIII).

4 Or, "had her dragged away."

5 Literally, "was granted the punishment of death," or "(the Emperor) deigned to condemn him to death.

[SECT. CXXVIII. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX. —A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG).]

Another time, the Heavenly Sovereign, when about to hold a copious feast, 1 made a progress to the Island of Hime, 2 just when a wild-goose had laid an egg on that island. Then, sending for His Augustness the Noble Takeuchi, he asked him in a Song about the laying of an egg by a wild goose. This Song said:

"Court Noble of Uchi! thou Indeed, art a long-lived person. Hast thou [ever] heard of a wild-goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato?" 3

Hereupon the Noble Take-uchi spoke in a song, saying: [284]

"August Child of the high-shining Sun, it is Indeed, natural that thou shouldest deign to ask, it is Indeed, right that thou shouldest ask. I Indeed, am a long-lived person, [but] have not yet heard of a wild goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato." 4

Having thus spoken, he was granted the august 5 lute and sang saying:

"Oh thou prince! the wild goose must have laid the egg because thou wilt at last rule." 6

This is a Congratulatory Incomplete Song. 7

Footnotes

1 See Sect. CVII, 7.

2 *Hime-shima*, *i.e.*, "Princess Island." The name is supposed to be connected with that of the goddess of Himegoso mentioned near the end of Sect. CXIV, and first occurs in Sect. V (Note 33).

3 The wild-goose goes far north at the approach of spring, and the translator is informed by Capt. Blakiston that the latter has not known of any breeding

even on the island of Yezo. The Emperor was Therefore, naturally astonished at so strange an occurrence as that of a wild-goose laying an egg in Yamato, and asks the Noble Take-uchi whether he had ever heard of the like of it before, Take-uchi being at that time more than two hundred years old (!) according to the chronology of the "Chronicles," and Therefore, the oldest and most experienced man in the Empire. —"Court Noble" represents the Japanese word *Aso* (for *Asomi*, believed by Motowori and Moribe to be derived from *a se omi* 吾兄臣, lit, "my elder brother minister" but used simply as a title), The words Uchi and Yamato are preceded in the original by their respective Pillow-Words *tamaki-haru* and *soramitsu*, whose force it is impossible to render in English, and whose origin Indeed, is obscure. The words rendered "laying an egg "are literally "giving birth to a child."

4 This Song is too clear to need explanation. As in the preceding one, Yamato is accompanied by the Pillow-Word *sora-mitsu*.

5 Or, "Imperial."

6 *I.e.*, say Motowori and Moribe, who refer this episode to a time previous to Nin-toku's accession, "The wild-goose has laid an egg in token of the future accession to the throne." The translator prefers the view expressed by Keichiū in his *Kō-Gan Shō*, and adopted in the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," that the words *tsuki na* "at last," must here be taken in the sense of "long," and the Song interpreted to mean "The wild-goose lays an egg as an omen that thy reign will be a long one." This view is supported by the story in the "Chronicles," which places the Song in the Emperor's fiftieth year and gives him thirty-six years of subsequent existence, thus making the prophecy amply fulfil itself, as one would expect

that it should do in the pages of such a work. According to the other view, the text of the "Chronicles" calls for emendation.

7 *Hogi-uta no kata-uta*. For "Incomplete Song" see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 14.

[SECT. CXXIX: —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART X. —A VESSEL IS MADE INTO A LUTE)]

In this august reign there was a tall tree on the west of the river Tsuki. 1 The shadow of this tree, on its being struck by the morning sun, reached to the Island of Ahaji: 2 and on its being struck by the evening sun, it crossed Mount Takayasu. 3 So the tree was cut down and made into a vessel, and a very swift-going vessel it was. At the time, this vessel was called by the name of Karanu. 4 So with this vessel the water of the Island of Ahaji was drawn morning and evening, and presented as the great august water. 5 The broken [pieces] of this vessel were used [as fuel] to burn salt and the pieces of wood that remained over from the burning were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles 6 [off]. So [some one 7] sang, saying:

"Karanu was burnt [as fuel] for salt; the remainder was made into a lute; oh! when struck, it sounds like the wet plants standing rocked on the reefs in the middle of the harbour, the harbour of Yura." 8

This is a Changing Song which is a Quiet song. 9 [285]

Footnotes

1 This is Moribe's reading (given without any comment) of the original characters 兎寸. Motowori pronounces them corrupt; but, having no emendation to propose, simply leaves them without any *kana* reading.

2 See Sect. V, Note 3.

3 *Takayasu no yama*, in the province of Kahachi. The characters with which the name is written signify "high and easy."

4 The significance of this name, written 枯野, remains obscure notwithstanding the efforts of the commentators to explain it.

5 *I.e.*, this vessel was used to bring over every morning and evening the water for the Imperial household, which was drawn on the Island of Ahaji.

6 里, the Chinese *li* Japanese *ri*. The length of the *ri* has varied greatly at different times and in different parts of the country. The modern standard Japanese *ri* is equivalent to about 2.44 English statute miles: but Motowori supposes the *ri* of the epoch mentioned in our text to have been less than one-seventh of that distance.

7 In the "Chronicles" this story is placed in the reign of the Emperor Ō-jin, and the Song is attributed to that monarch.

8 In this Song the sound of the twanging of the lute that had been made from the remnant of the boat Karanu is compared to the rustling of the plants standing half out of water on the reefs in the harbour of Yura. —The compound word *kaki-hiku*, rendered by "struck," signifies literally "scratched and struck," the lute being struck with the nail. The onomatopoetic word *saya-saya*, of which "sound" is but a colourless equivalent, represents both the delightful ring of the lute and the rustling of the sea-plants. What plants are intended by the expression "wet plants" (*nadzu no ki*) is a point that has been much disputed. Moribe even thinks that the term is meant for the name of a particular species of (apparently) coral now found in the island of Hachijo. Yura is in the Island of Ahaji.

9 See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[SECT. CXXX. —EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign were eighty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Ear-Moor of Mozu. [1]

Footnotes

1 *Mozu no mimi-hara*. The origin of this singular name is thus explained in the "Chronicle" (Emperor Nin-toku, 67th year, Winter, 10th Moon): "(The Emperor made a progress to the moor of Ishidzu in Kafuchi to fix the site of his mausoleum. On the day when the construction of his mausoleum was begun, a deer suddenly ran out from the middle of the moor, rushed into the midst of the coolies, fell down, and died. The suddenness of its death causing astonishment, its wound was looked for, whereupon a shrike came out of its ear, and flew away. So on looking into the ear, it was found to be all eaten away. So that is the reason why the place is called *Mozu no mimi-hare* (the 'Shrike's Ear-Moor.')"

[SECT. CXXXI. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART I. — GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Iza-ho-wake dwelt in the palace of Wakasakura at Ihare, [1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuro, [2] daughter of the Noble of Ashida, [3] child of So-tsu-biko [287] of Kadzuraki, [4] and begot august children: King Oshiha of Ichinobe; [5] next King Mima: [6] next his younger sister Awomi-no-iratsume, [7] another name for whom was Ichi-toyo-no-iratsume. [8]

Footnotes

1 For *Ihare* see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. *Waka-sakura* signifies "young cherry-tree." The origin of the name is traced, rightly or wrongly, to an incident mentioned in the "Chronicles" under the reign of this Emperor, 3rd year.

2 *Kuro-hime i.e.*, "black princess." The same name occurs several times, and has reference to the black hair of the person so designated.

3 *Ashida no sukune*. *Ashida* signifies "reed-moor." It is the name of a place in Yamato.

4 *Kadzuraki no So-tsu-biko*. For this name, which is here abbreviated, see Sect. LXI, Note 55.

5 *Ichinobe no Oshiha no miko*. Ichinobe is in the province of Yamashiro, and the name seems to mean "near the market." The name of Oshiha refers to the "uneven teeth" of this personage which are mentioned in Sect. CLXVII (near Note 5).

6 *Mima no miko*. The signification of this name is quite obscure.

7 *Awomi no iratsume*. *Awomi* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place.

8 *Ihitoyo no iratsume*. *Ihitoyo* is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a bird, perhaps a kind of owl.

[SECT. CXXXII. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART II. — HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI).]

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting, 1 was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. Thereupon the Suzerain of Achi, 2 ancestor of the Suzerains of Aya 3 in Yamato, having taken him away by stealth, set him on an august horse, and caused him to make a progress into Yamato. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] awoke on reaching the moor of Tajihi, 4 and said: "What place is this?" Then the Suzerain of Achi said: "King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu set fire to the great palace; so I am fleeing with thee into Yamato." Then the Sovereign sang, saying: [257]

"Had I known that I should sleep on the Moor of Tajihi, oh! I would have brought my dividing matting, had I known that I should sleep!" 5

On reaching the Pass of Hanifu 6 and gazing at the palace of Naniha, the fire was still bright. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang again, saying:

"The group of houses sparklingly burning, as I stand and look from the Pass of Hanifu, is in the direction of the house of my spouse." 7

So when they reached the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, 8 they met one woman. This woman said: "A number of men bearing weapons are barring [the way across] the mountain. Thou shouldst cross it going round by way of Tagima. 9 Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Oh! on asking the way of the maiden we met at Ohosaka, she tells not [the] direct [way], but tells of the Tagima way." 10

So making his progress up, he dwelt in the temple of [289] the Deity of Isonokami. 11

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, on the occasion of his performing the religious ceremony of tasting the first rice of the season.

2 *Achi no atahe*, supposed to be of Korean origin, and to be a descendant of 阿知, great grandson of the Chinese Emperor 靈帝.

3 *Aya no atahe*. This family was of continental origin, *Aya* being the Japanese reading of the character 漢; see Sect. CXI, Note 2.

4 *Tajihi no nu*, in the provinces of Kahachi. The signification of the name is obscure.

5 This Song expresses the Monarch's regret at not having brought his mats with him. —From the expression used in the text (*tatsu-gomo*), the, commentators suppose that such mats were used as a sort of screen to avert draughts. One proposal is to consider *tatsu* as the Verb *tatsuru*, "to set up," because these mats must have been "set up" round the room. But it agrees better with grammatical usage to take it in its other sense of "cutting," or "dividing," and to suppose that the mats were so called because they "cut off" the draught from the person sitting behind them.

6 Or "Hill of Hanifu," *Hanifu-zaka*, in the province of Kahachi.

7 The meaning of this Song is perfectly clear.

8 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25. The word rendered "entrance here and below in the same context is literally "mouth."

9 See Sect. LXII, Note 49.

10 Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "If the maiden whom I met at Ohosaka and whom I sought direction of had been a common mortal, she would have simply told me the shortest road. But now I see why it was that she bid me go round by way of Tagima: it was to preserve me from danger. Ah! she must have been a Goddess."—The words *tada ni* generally have the sense of "directly," "immediately," and are Indeed, here so understood by Motowori. Moribe's interpretation, which has been followed by the translator, does but little violence to the text, and suits the general meaning better.

11 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

[SECT. CXXXIII. —EMPEROR. —RI-CHIU (PART III. —HIS REBELLIOUS BROTHER AND THE LATTER'S RETAINER SOBAKARI ARE SLAIN)]

Thereupon his younger brother His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake came, and sent [to ask for] an audience. 1 Then the Heavenly Sovereign caused him to be told [these words]: As I am in doubt whether perhaps Thine Augustness may [not] be of like mind 2 with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, I will not meet and speak with thee." [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. I am not of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu." [The Heavenly Sovereign] again caused him to be told [these words]: "If that be so, [do thou] now return down, and slay King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, and come up [again hither]. At that time, I will surely meet and speak with thee." So he forthwith returned down to Naniha, and deceived [a man] named Sobakari, 3 a man-at-arms 4 in the personal service of 5 King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, saying: "If thou wilt obey my words, I shall become Heavenly Sovereign, and will make thee prime Minister, to rule the Empire. 6 How [would this be]?" Sobakari replied, saying "" [I [290] will do] according to thy command." Then plenteously endowing that man-at-arms, he said: "If that be so, slay the King." Thereupon Sobakari watched for the time when his King went into the privy, and thrust him to death with a spear. So when [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] was making his progress to Yamato taking Sobakari with him, he, on reaching the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, thought [thus]: "Although Sobakari deserves very well of me, he has truly 7 slain his lord. This is unrighteous. Nevertheless, if I reward not his deed, I may be called untruthful; and if I quite carry out my promise, his intentions are on the contrary to be feared. So, though recompensing his deed, I will destroy his actual person."

Therefore, he said to Sobakari: "I will halt here to-day and bestow on thee the rank of Prime Minister, and to-morrow will [continue my] progress up." So a halt was made at the entrance to the mountain, a temporary palace forthwith built, a copious feast [8] suddenly held, the rank of Prime Minister forthwith bestowed on the man-at-arms, and all the officials [9] made to do obeisance [to him]. The man-at-arms, delighted, thought that he had accomplished his design. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] said to the man-at-arms: "To-day I will drink liquor from the same cup as the Prime Minister." And when they drank together, a bowls large [enough] to hide the face was filled with the liquor presented. [10] Hereupon the King's child drank first, and the man-at-arms drank afterwards. So when the man-at-arms was drinking, the great cup covered his face. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] drew forth a sabre which he had laid under the matting, and cut off the head of the man-at-arms. Forthwith on the morrow he made his progress up. So the place was called by the name of Chika-tsu-Asuka. [11]

[291] Going up and reaching Yamato, he said: "I will halt here to-day and, having purified myself, will go forth to-morrow and worship at the temple of the Deity." [12] So that place is called by the name of Toho-tsu-Asuka. [13] So going forth to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami [14], he sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign that he had come up to serve him after accomplishing the work [with which he had been entrusted]. [15] So [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for, and met, and spoke with him.

Footnotes

1 The original of this clause is very elliptical, consisting only of the two characters 令謁. The old reading joins thereto the characters 爾天皇, which according to Motowori form the commencement of the next sentence. The meaning is not affected by the change.

2 Literally, "heart." Similarly, below, where the word "intent" is used in the translation.

3 The signification of this name is quite obscure.

4 *Hayabito*. The reader should compare Section XXXVIII. Note 11.

5 Literally, "closely accustomed to."

6 The original leaves it uncertain whether the words "to rule the Empire "should be applied to the speaker, to Sobakari, or to both; and the ambiguous application has Therefore, been preserved in the translation.

7 Literally, "already."

8 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

9 Literally, "the hundred officials," a Chinese phrase, which has been met with before.

10 The character 𣪍 used in the text implies by its radical that the bowl was of metal. It is an unauthorized form of 椀 or 盌.

11 *Scil*. by the prince to the man-at-arms.

12 *I.e.*, Nearer Asuka. The name is written 近飛鳥. The student should consult Motowori's note on this passage in Vol. XXXVIII, of his Commentary, to see what can be done towards reconciling the name, the characters it is written with, and the origin ascribed to it, all of which are so apparently incongruous.

13 遠飛鳥, *i.e.*, Further Asuka. *Conf*. Note.

14 *Scil*. of Isonokami. This deity was the sword forming the subject of the legend narrated in Sect. XLV.

15 This is the gist of the original phrase, which will not bear literal translation into English: 政既平訖參上侍之.

[SECT. CXXXIV. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART IV. —VARIOUS DEEDS).]

The Heavenly Sovereign thereupon first appointed the Suzerain of Achi to the office of Treasurer, [1] and likewise bestowed on him domains. [2] Again in this august reign the name of Waka-sakura Tribe [3] was granted to the Grandees of the Waka-sakura Tribe. [4] Again the gentile name [5] of Dukes of Himeda [6] was granted to the Dukes of Himeda. Again the Ihare Clan [7] was established.

Footnotes

1 In Japanese the same word is used for a "store-house" and for the "treasury." But the appointment here mentioned would seem really to correspond to what we should call Lord of the Treasury or Minister of Finance. The characters in the original are 藏官.

2 Literally, "ration grounds."

3 *Waka-sakura-be*.

4 *Waka-sakura-be no omi*. Conf. Sect. CXXXI, Note 1.

5 All the editors agree in here reading as *kabane* ("gentile name," see Sect. XIV, Note 5) the character 姓, which signifies properly "family name."

6 *Himeda no kimi*. Nothing is known of this family.

7 *Ihare-be*. For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 6. It will be remembered that the Emperor of whose reign the present Section forms part held his court at Ihare.

[292]

[SECT. CXXXV. —EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART V. — HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-four. His august mausoleum is at Mozu. [1a]

Footnotes

1a See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

[SECT. CXXXV. —EMPEROR HAN-ZEI.]

His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake dwelt in the palace of Shibakaki at Tajihi, [1] and ruled the Empire. The length of this Heavenly sovereign's august person was nine feet two inches and a half. [2] The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, [like jewels strung together]. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady of Tsunu, [3] daughter of Kogoto, Grandee of Wani, [4] and begot august children: the Lady of Kahi; [5] next the Lady of Tsubura [6] (two Deities). Again he wedded Oto-hime, [7] daughter of the same Grandee, and begot august children: King Takara; [8] next the Lady of Takabe. [9]—-altogether four Kings [and Queens]. [10] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty. His august mausoleum is on the Moor of Mozu. [11]

Footnotes

1 For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. *Shiba-kaki* (or *Shiba-gaki*) signifies "a fence of brushwood."

2 As to the ancient Japanese measures we have no accurate information, and the English equivalents used in this passage correspond but approximately to the modern Japanese standards. The character rendered "line" is 分, which denotes the tenth part of a 寸or "inch." Motowori remarks that the dimensions of the teeth are not anything extraordinary judged by the present standard, and suppose that anciently the measures of length must have been smaller than at present.

3 *Tsunu no iratsume*. The signification of this name is obscure.

4 *Wani no kogoto no omi*. The meaning of Kogoto is obscure, Wani has already often appeared.

5 *Kahi no iratsume*. Kahi is the name of a province, but it cannot be said for certain that it is from it that this Princess derived her name.

6 *Tsubura no iratsume*. The meaning of *Tsubura* is obscure.

7 *I.e.*, "the younger princess."

8 *Takara no miko*. *Takara* signifies "treasure."

9 *Takabe no iratsume*. *Takabe* seems to be the name of a place unless it be considered to be connected with the word *taka*, "hawk."

10 Remember that the single character 王includes both sexes.

11 See Sect. CXXX. Note 1.

[293]

[SECT. CXXXVII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ [1] (PART I —GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Wo-asa-dzu-ma-waku-go-no-sukune dwelt in the Palace of Toho-tsu-Asuka, [2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime, [3] younger sister of King Oho-hodo, and begot august children: King Karu of Kinashi; [4] next Nagata-no-oho-iratsume; [5] next King Kurohiko of Sakahi; [6] next His Augustness Anaho; [7] next Karu-no-oho-iratsume [8] another name for whom is Sotohoshi-no-iratsume. [9] (the reason for her being given the august name of Queen So-tohoshi was that the refulgence of her person passed through her garments); next King Shiro-biko of Yatsuri; [10] next His Augustness [294] Oho-hatsuse: [11] (nine Deities). Altogether the Heavenly Sovereign's august children [numbered] nine Deities— (five Kings and four Queens). Of these nine Kings and Queens, His Augustness Anaho [12] [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next his Augustness Oho-hatsuse [13] ruled the Empire.

Footnotes

1 Also pronounced *In-kiyo*.

2 See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 13.

3 This name and the next have already appeared in Sect. CXVII.

4 *Kinashi no Karu no miko*. Karu is properly the name of a place in Yamato which has already often appeared in the text. It is uncertain whether *kinashi* is likewise the name of a place or of a particular kind of pear; but Motowori inclines to the former view.

5 *I.e.*, "the great lord of Negate." There are many places of this name (lit. "long rice-field"), and it is not known which is here intended.

6 *I.e.*, "the black prince of Sakahi." The latter word signifies "frontier." It is not known where Sakahi is, neither is the reason for the name of "black prince" applied to this personage known (*Conf*. the "white prince" mentioned a little further on).

7 Or, "of Anaho," for Anaho is properly the name of a place in Yamato. Its import is not clear.

8 *I.e.*, "the great lady of Karu."

9 Written 衣通郎女, *i.e.*, "the garment-passing lady." *So-tohoshi* is Motowori's reading of the characters, the usual reading being *So-tohori* (the Intransitive instead of the Transitive form of the Verb). He likewise identifies Koto-fushi (see Sect. CXVII, Note 9) with this celebrated princess, who is commonly worshipped as Goddess of Poetry. There is much confusion in the traditions concerning her, and Motowori's notes on the subject in Vol. XXXIV, and in Vol. XXXIX of his Commentary, should be consulted.

10 *Yatsuri no shiro-bike no miko*, *i.e.*, "the white prince of Yatsuri." Yatsuri is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "eight melons."

11 *I.e.*, "great Hatsuse," so called from Hatsuse, a celebrated place in Yamato, which has already been mentioned.

12 *I.e.* "the great lady of Tachibana," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. The word signifies "orange."

13 *I.e.*, "the lady of Sakami," the latter being apparently the name of a place either in Harima or in Wohari. Its derivation is not clear.

[SECT. CXXXVIII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART II. —HIS SICKNESS IS CURED BY A KOREAN PHYSICIAN).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, when first about to rule the succession of Heaven's Sun, [1a] declined, saying: "I have a long sickness; I cannot rule the sun's succession." Nevertheless, as from the Empress downwards all the magnates strongly urged him, he forthwith ruled the Empire. At this time the ruler of Shiragi [2a] dutifully sent eighty-one vessels with august tribute. Then the chief envoy [3] sent with the august tribute, whose name was Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu, [4] was a man deeply versed in the medical art. So he cured the Heavenly Sovereign's august sickness.

Footnotes

1a For this expression see Sect. XXXIII, Note 27. The story of the refusal of this monarch to accept the crown which was offered to him by the magnates of the nation is told at considerable length in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." According to the same authority he belonged to a collateral branch of the Imperial family, and was Therefore, not in the regular line of succession.

2a See Sect. XCVIII. Note 2.

3 Literally, "great messenger."

4 金波鎭漢紀武Motowori decides that 金is the surname, 波鎭an official title, 漢紀an official designation of the kinsmen of the Korean King, and 武the personal name.

[SECT. CXXXIX. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART III. HE RECTIFIES THE PEOPLE'S NAMES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, lamenting the transgressions in the surnames and gentile names of the people of all the surnames and names in the Empire [1b] placed jars [for trial by] hot water [2b] at the Wondrous Cape of Eighty Evils in Words at Amakashi, [3] and deigned to establish the surnames and gentile names of the eighty heads of companies. [4] Again the Karu Tribe [5] was established as the august proxy of King Karu of Ki-nashi; the Osaka Tribe [6] was established as the Empress's august proxy; and the Kaha Tribe [7] was established as the august proxy of the Empress's younger sister Ta-wi no Naka-tsu-hime. [8]

Footnotes

1b The original is; 天下氏氏名名人等之氏姓, which Motowori reads *ame no shita no uji-uji na-na no hito domo no uji kabane*.

2b We learn from the "Chronicles" that he whose hand was injured in the process of dipping it into the jar of boiling water was pronounced a deceiver, while those who stood the trial unhurt were considered to be telling the truth.

3 *Amakashi no koio-yo-maga-tsu-hi no saki*. Motowori truly observes that this does not sound like an actual geographical name, but was rather, it may be supposed, a new designation given to Cape Amakashi (see Sect. LXXII, Note 10) on account of the incident here mentioned. The name reminds us of that of one of the deities born from the purification of the person of the creator Izanagi after his return from Hades (see X, Note 14).

4 *Ya-sotomo-no-wo*. See Sect. XXXIII, Note 19.

5 *Karu-be*.

6 *Osaka-be*, so called after the Empress's native place (See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 3, and Sect. CXVII, Note 6). The reading of *Osaka-be* is given in all the editions to the characters in the text, 刑武, where we should expect 忽坂部. Motowori's explanation of the reason why the name was thus written will be found in Vol. XXXIX, of his Commentary.

7 *Kaha-be*. Motowori supposes that there is here some corruption of the text, as no connection can be discovered between the name of this Tribe and that of the Princess whose proxy the tribe became.

8 See Sect. CXVII, Note 7.

[SECT. CXI. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART IV. — HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were seventy-eight. His august mausoleum is at Naga-ye near Wega in Kafuchi. [1a]

Footnotes

1a See Sect. CIII, Note 2 and 3.

[SECT. CXLI. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART V. — PRINCE KARU LOVES HIS SISTER PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI)]

After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, it was settled that King Karu of Ki-nashi should rule the Sun's succession. 1b But in the interval before his accession, he debauched his younger sister the Great Lady of Karu, and sang, saying:

"Making rice-fields on the mountain, making hidden conduits run on account of the mountain's height: —to-day Indeed, [my] body easily touches the younger sister whom I wooed with a hidden wooing, the spouse for whom I wept with a hidden weeping." 2

This is a Hind-Lifting Song. 3 Again he sang, saying:

"The rattle-rattle of the hail against the bamboo-grass: —After I shall have certainly slept, what though I be plotted against by people! When I shall have slept delightfully, if there is the disorder of the cut *Hydropyrum latifolium*, let there be disorder, —when I shall have slept a good [297] sleep!" 4

This is a Rustic Lifting Song. 5

Footnotes

1b See Sect. XXXII. Note 27. The wording of this sentence would make it appear that it was only *after* the Emperor In-giyo's death that King Karu was chosen to succeed him. But probably King Karu had been appointed Heir Apparent (皇太子) during his Father's life time, as is Indeed, expressly stated in the "Chronicles," and is implied in later passages of this work; and what our author meant to say was: "It was settled that King Karu should rule the "Empire after the former Sovereign's decease." etc.

2 The meaning of the Song is: "The sister, the mistress, whom I wooed with such difficulty, is now easily mine."—The first phrase, down to "mountain's height," is but a "Preface "to the poem properly so called, serving to introduce by a *jeu-de-mots* the word *shita-dohi*, which means not only "hidden conduit," but "hidden wooing." At the same time the implied comparison of the poet's secret love of one so difficult to obtain as his own sister, to the course of the water in hidden conduits which is carried up the mountain's side to irrigate a field perched in a spot almost inaccessible, is by no means devoid of aptness. The word "mountain" (*yama*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *ashihiki* (or *askiki*) *no*, whose signification is obscure and much disputed.

3 *Shirage-uta* (written phonetically). The interpretation of the term here adopted is that which has the sanction of Motowori and Moribe. They explain it to signify that the voice rose gradually toward the latter part of the Song.

4 As in the case of the preceding Song, the first phrase is but a Preface, which plays on the coincidence in sound between the words *tashi-dashi*, "rattling," and *tashika*, "certainly," *i.e.* "undisturbedly." The signification of the Song proper is: "If I shall but have gratified my passion, what care I however men may plot against me? If I can but press my beloved to my bosom, let all things go to rack and ruin, like the Hydropyrum latifolium, a grass which, when cut, falls into disorder!"—Of the sentiment of the Song, the less said the better; but viewed simply from a literary point of view, it is certainly one of the most fascinating little productions of the early Japanese muse, and the literal rendering of it into English does it woful injustice. Moribe rightly rejects Motowori's proposal to divide the poem in two after

the words *hito hakayu to mo*, "plotted against by people." *Kari-komo no*, "of the *Hydropyrum latifolium*," is a Pillow-Word.

5 *Hinaburi no ageuta*. The commentators have nothing more precise to tell us concerning the expression "Lifting-Song "than that "it refers to the lifting of the voice in singing."

[SECT. CXLII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VI. — WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO).]

Therefore, all the officials [1] and likewise the people of the Empire turned against the Heir Apparent Karu, and towards the August Child Anaho. Then the Heir Apparent Karu, being alarmed, fled into the house of the Grandee the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe, [2] and made a provision of implements of war. (The arrows made at this [298] time [3] were provided with copper arrow-insides: [4] so those arrows are called by the name of Karu arrows.) Prince Anaho likewise made implements of war. (The arrows made by this Prince were just the arrows of the present time: [5] they are called Anaho arrows.) Thereupon Anaho raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the noble Oho-make Wo-mahe. Then, when he reached the gate, heavy ice-rain [6] was falling. So he sang, saying:

"Come thus under cover of the metal gate of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe! We will stand till the rain stops." [7]

Then the Noble Oho-mahe came singing, lifting his hands, striking his knees, dancing, and waving his arms. The Song said:

"The courtiers are tumultuous, [saying] that the small bell of the garter of the courtiers has fallen off. Country-people, too, beware!" [8]

This Song is of a Courtier's Style. [9] Singing thus, he [299] came near and said: "August Child of our Heavenly Sovereign! Come not with arms against the King thine elder brother. If thou shouldst come against him with arms, people will surely laugh. I [10] will secure him and present him to thee." [11] The Prince Anaho disbanded his troops and went away. So the

Noble Oho-make Wo-mahe secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. The captive Prince sang, saying:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! if thou cry violently, people will know. Cry quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa." 12

Again he sang:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! Come and sleep, and [then] pass on, oh maiden of Karu!" 13

Footnotes

1 See Sect. CXII, Note 4.

2 *Oho-mahe Wo-make sukune no omi* (according to the old reading *Oho-saki Wo-saki*, etc. Motowori considers this double name to denote two brothers, the words *oho* and *wo* ("great "and "small") naturally lending themselves to the interpretation of "elder" and "younger." Moribe, on the contrary, thinks that there was but one, and is supported both by the authority of the "Chronicles of Japan" and by the fact that, except in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages." which is believed to be a forgery, no second brother is anywhere mentioned. He explains the use of the double name in the prose text as having crept in through the influence of the text of the following Song (see Note 7 below). This seems to the translator the better view.

3 *I.e.*, "on this occasion."

4 There is here an evident corruption of the text, and Motowori aptly conjectures that arrow-heads, or, as they are called in Japanese, arrow-

points, are intended. He adds that up till then arrow-heads had always been made of iron.

5 The author's style is here rather at fault; for he apparently wishes to say that the arrows employed by Prince Anaho were those which had been used in ancient times and were still the most universally employed—that, In fact, they were the usual style of arrow in contradistinction to those of Prince Karu's invention.

6 See Sect, LXXXVIII, Note 5.

7 The prince, in this Song, bids his troops follow his example, and take refuge from the rain under cover of the gate of Oho-mahe's house. Such, at least, is the actual sense of the words used; but Motowori sees in them nothing less than a slightly veiled exhortation to his followers to attack the castle, while Moribe, On the other hand, thinks they were meant to convey to Oho-mahe a hint of his presence, and enable the beleaguered prince, for whom (as being his elder brother) Prince Anaho retained a great affection and respect, to devise some method of escape. This seems extremely far-fetched. —The word "metal" probably refers only to the fastenings of the gate, and not to its whole structure.

8 The exact purport and application of this Song is disputed, but this much seems clear: that the composer of it seeks to quiet both the besieging army (out of politeness called courtiers), and the peasants who had joined the fray, by making light of the whole occurrence, which he compares to so trivial an accident as the falling of a bell from a man's "garter" or "leggings." The custom of ornamenting this article of dress with a smell bell is, however, not mentioned elsewhere. The word *yume*, which concludes the

Song and is here rendered "beware," is identified by Motowori and Moribe with the Imperative of the Verb *iwu* "to avoid," "to shun," "not to do."

9 *Miya-hito-buri*. This is one of the cases which lend support to Motowori's view that the names of the so called styles of Songs are derived from their initial words.

10 Written with the humble character 僕, "servant."

11 The word used in the text, here and also in the next sentence, is that which properly denotes the presenting of tribute.

12 Another reading gives this sense:

"As, if the maiden of heaven-soaring Karu cried violently, people would know, she cries quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa."

According to this reading, the poet simply explains the reason of the undemonstrativeness of his mistress's grief; according to that in the text, he implores her not to weep too passionately. —*Amadamu* or *amadamu ya*, "heaven-soaring, "is the Pillow-Word for Karu, applied to it punningly on account of its similarity in sound to the word *kari*, "a wild. goose," which well deserves the epithet "heaven-soaring." Of Mount Hasa nothing is known.

13 Rendered thus according to Moribe's exegesis, which quite approves itself to the translator's mind, this Song signifies: "Oh! maiden of Karu! come and sleep with me but once, before my impending banishment renders it hard for us to meet again." Motowori chooses to interpret *nete* as a crasis of *nayete*, "bending." and sees in the Song an invitation to the maiden to come quietly so as not to attract observation. —The final word, translated "maiden," is *wotome-domo*, properly a Plural, but here used in a Singular

sense, as *watakuski-domo*, "I" (properly "we"), so constantly is in the modern Colloquial Dialect. For the Pillow-Word "heaven-soaring "see preceding Note.

[300]

[SECT. CXLIII. —EMPEROR IN-GIYŌ (PART VII. —DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

So Prince Karu was banished to the hot waters of Iyo. 1 Again when about to be banished, he sang saying:

"The heaven-soaring birds, too, are Indeed, messengers. When thou hearest the voice of the crane, ask my name." 2

These three songs are of a Heaven-Soaring style. 3 Again he sang, saying:

"If they banish the Great Lord to an island, he will Indeed, make the remaining return voyage. Beware of my mat! Mat Indeed, in words, —beware of my spouse! 4

[301] This Song is of a Partly Lowered Rustic style. 5 Queen So-tohoshi presented a Song [to him]. That Song said:

"Let not thy feet tread on the oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine with its summer herbs! Pass there [after] having made clear!" 6

So when afterwards again, being unable to restrain her love, she went after him, she sang, saying:

"Thy going has become long past. I will go, oh! to meet thee. Wait! I can not wait." (What is here called *yama-tadzu* is [what is] now [known by the name of] *tatsuge*.) 7

So when in her pursuit she reached [the place where Prince Karu was, he, who had been] pensively waiting, sang, saying:

"Alas! beloved spouse, who settledst the [302] whereabouts of our grave, setting up flags in the great vale, setting up flags in the little vale of Hatsuse the hidden castle! Alas! beloved spouse, whom I see after [our many troubles], prostrate like a *tsuki* bow, standing like an *adzusa* bow!" 8

Again he sang, saying:

"Driving sacred piles in the upper reach, driving true piles in the lower reach of the river of secluded Hatsuse, and hanging on 303 the sacrificial piles a mirror, bunging on the true piles true jewels: —if they said that the younger sister whom I love like a true jewel, that the spouse whom I love like a mirror were [there], I would go home, I would long for my country." 9

Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together. 10 So these two songs are Reading Songs. 11

Footnotes

1 For Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4. Its hot springs are often mentioned in early documents. Motowori identifies them with a place now called Dō-go (道後).

2 The meaning of this Song is: "I go where perchance no messengers will reach me. But thou must ask tidings of me from the birds."

3 *Ama-da-buri*. The title seems to be derived from the initial Pillow-Word of these three Songs.

4 The meaning of this Song seems to the translator to be: "Even if they dare to banish me now, I shall some day return again. Respect my mat during my absence. Mat, Indeed! It is my wife that must be respected." The commentators consider the concluding words to be a command addressed to the wife, and interpret the phrase to mean, "My spouse, beware! "But surely this makes less good sense, and Moreover, fails to suit the exactly parallel passage in the first Song of Sect. CXXV. By the words "Great Lord" the princely poet denotes himself, —perhaps with a touch of anger at the indignity to which he is subjected. The difficult expression *funa-amari* is here, in accordance with Moribe's view rendered by the words "remaining voyage," *i.e.*, "the voyage homeward," which is that part of a voyage that may be said to remain over for an outward-bound vessel when she has reached her destination. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIX, should be

consulted for older views of the meaning of the term. The expression "beware of my mat" reminds us that in early days the entire floor of a Japanese room was not matted according to the modern custom, but that each individual had his own mat on which to sit and sleep. Great care was always taken not to defile another's mat, *Conf*, an elegy from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves "translated by the present writer in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese,".

5 *Hina-buri no kata-oroshi*. Like most of the names of styles of Songs, this one is extremely obscure. The commentators suppose that one part was sung in a lower voice than the rest. But they are merely guessing.

6 The actual words of the Song signify: "Lacerate not thy feet by walking on the unseen oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine that is covered with the summer herbs; but walk there after dawn." (This is Keichiū's interpretation of the word *akashite*, "having made clear," and is the best in the present writer's opinion; the latter commentators see in it a recommendation to the exiled prince to clear the grass away on either side.) The word *Ahine* calls, however, for special explanation in order that the full import of the poem may be brought out. It properly signifies "sleeping together" or "lying on each other," and is Therefore, applicable either to the two spouses or to the summer grass. Indeed, it is doubtful if it be the name of any real place at all. The word *natsu-kusa* may also be taken simply as a Pillow-Word for *Ahine*. —The total gist of the Song is in any case a warning from the maiden to her lover to guard himself against the perils of the journey.

7 The meaning of this Song is: "It is too long since thy departure. I can wait no longer, but will go and meet thee."—The Verb "to meet" (*mukahe*) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *yama-tadzu*, which forms the subject of the note appended to the poem by the compiler. The

commentators are not agreed as to the precise nature of the instrument intended; but it seems to have been some kind of axe. The cause of its use as a Pillow-Word for "meeting "is equally disputed. It only occurs written phonetically. The term *tatsu-ge*, by which it is explained in the text, is there written 造木, which does not help us much towards understanding what is meant to be designated.

8 So obscure is this Song in the original, that Motowori confesses himself unable to make any sense of it. The translator has adopted Mortise's interpretation, according to which the gist of it is this: "Alas! my dear wife, who wast so willing to be for ever united to me that thou didst even fix on the spot in the funereal vale of Hatsuse where we should one day be buried together! Alas for thee, whom at last I now see again "—In order to arrive at this meaning, Moribe is obliged to prove more less satisfactorily that the thrice repeated word *wo* signifies "vale "or "mountain-fold "the first two times that it occurs, and "grave" the third, and that *komoriku no hatsuse*, usually interpreted as secluded "Hatsuse," means "the hidden castle," the "final place," *i.e.*, "the tomb, It is also necessary to suppose, without authority, that the flags mentioned by the poet are meant for funeral flags, and that the words "prostrate like a *tsuki* bow," etc., which, according to the laws of Japanese construction, precede instead of following the phrase "alas! beloved spouse," etc., are but a Preface for the latter. —It will be seen that the foundation on which Moribe's interpretation rests is slight, and that Motowori was scarcely to be blamed for pronouncing the Song incomprehensible. At the same time the translator has thought it better, by following Moribe, to give *some* translation of it than to leave the passage blank. With this warning, the student may search for other possible meanings if he pleases. —Hatsuse is a still existent and celebrated place among the mountains of Yamato. The etymology of the name, unless we

accept Moribe's mentioned above, is obscure. It is now usually pronounced *Hase*. The *tsuki* is said to be almost indistinguishable from the *keyaki* tree (*Zelkowa keaki*). The *adzusa* seems to be the *Catalpa kaempferi*, but some believe it to be the cherry tree.

9 The first half of this Song down to the words "hanging on the true piles true jewels" is a Preface for what follows. The signification of the rest is: "If my dearly loved sister-wife were still at Hatsuse in Yamato, I would fly to her either in thought or deed; but now that she has followed me into exile, the land of exile is good enough:"—Moribe, while allowing the first half of the Song to be a Preface for the rest, contends that it also should be credited with a signification bearing on the subject-matter of the main part of the Song. He supposes, namely, the religious ceremony, whatever it was, of driving piles into the bed or bank of the river and of decorating them with beads and a mirror, to have been one really performed by Princess So-tohoshi to compass her lover's, return. In the translator's opinion, it is more elegant and more in accordance with Archaic usage to consider the Preface as having no special significance or connection (otherwise than verbal) with the rest of the poem. The word *i-kuhi* or *i-guhi*, rendered "sacred piles," occasions some difficulty; for it is not certain whether Motowori is right in giving to the initial syllable *i* the meaning of "sacred." It may be simply what has been termed an "Ornamental Prefix," devoid of meaning. Motowori however points out that this usage of it is restricted to Verbs, and does not occur with Substantives. *Komoriku no*, the Pillow-Word for Hatsuse, is rendered by "secluded" in accordance with Mabuchi's usually accepted derivation from *komori-kuni*, "retired land." Moribe, notwithstanding what he has said in his exegesis of the preceding poem (Note 8), is willing to allow that, though perhaps not its original, this was its common, meaning even in ancient times.

10 *I.e.*, committed suicide together.

11 This expression is interpreted to mean that these Songs were recited in monotone, as one would read a book or tell a tale.

[SECT. CXLIV. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART I. —HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA).]

The august child [1] Anaho dwelt at the palace of Anaho at Isonokami, [2] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign sent the Grandee of Ne, [3] ancestor of the Grandees of Sakamoto, to the residence of King Oho-kusaka, on behalf of his younger brother Prince Oho-hatsuse to command thus: "I wish Thine Augustness's younger sister Queen Waka-kusaka to wed Prince Oho-hatsuse. So do thou present her." [4] Then King Oho-kusaka did obeisance four times, and said: "Owing to a supposition that there might be some such Great Commands, I have kept her always indoor. [5] With reverence [6] will I respectfully offer her according to the Great Commands." Nevertheless, thinking it disrespectful [merely] to send a message, [7] he forthwith, as a ceremonial gift [8] from his younger sister, made [the Grandee of Ne] take a pushwood jewel head-dress [9] to present [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. The Grandee of Ne forthwith stole the jewel headdress meant as a ceremonial gift, and slandered King Oho-kusaka, saying: "King Oho-kusaka would not receive the Imperial Commands, but said: "An soror mea fiet ejusdem stirpis [viri] inferior storea?" [10] and, grasping the hilt of his cross-sword, [11] was angry." So the Heavenly Sovereign, having in his great anger slain King Oho-kusaka, took that King's chief wife Nagata-no-oho-iratsume, [12] and made her Empress.

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, Prince. In all other cases we find the word *mikoto*, "Augustness," as the title by which the Sovereign is mentioned at the commencement of his reign.

2 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

3 *Ne no omi*. The etymology of *ne* is obscure.

4 Literally, as "tribute."

5 More literally, "I have kept her without putting her out of doors."

6 *Conf*. Sect. IX, Note 4 and Sect. XVIII, Note 14.

7 Motowori surmises that 其may be an error for 者in the original of this clause 然言以白事其思无禮.

8 禮物. This term corresponds to the modern 結納, the name by which the presents which are exchanged at the time of betrothal are designated.

9 The original term *oshi-ki no tam-akadzura* is extremely obscure. One of Motowori s conjectures is that the "push-wood" was a kind of frame by which the jewels or beads, strung on an erect stem of same hard material, were kept firmly attached to the head. Perhaps some notion of the *coiffure* intended may be gathered from the plate opposite of Part III of Vol. VIII of these "Transactions" (Mr. J. Condor's paper on "The History of Japanese Costume

10 *I.e.*, "An soror mea, cujus pater Imperator Nin-toku, fiet uxor præsentis Imperatoris? "—Hujus similitudinis rusticitas et ipsis Japonicis commentatoribus pudori est.

11 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

12 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 5.

[305]

[SECT. CXLV. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART II. —HE IS SLAIN BY KING MA-YOWA).]

After this, the Heavenly Sovereign, being on [his] divine couch, [1] was sleeping at midday. Then he spoke to his Empress, saying: "Is there anything on thy mind?" She replied, saying: "Being the object of the Heavenly Sovereign's generous favour, what, can there be on my mind?" [2] Hereupon the Empress's former child, [3] King Ma-yowa, who was seven years old that year, happened to be just then playing outside the apartment. [4] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, not Knowing that the young King was playing outside the apartment, spoke to the Empress, saying: "I have constantly something upon my mind, namely [the fear] that thy child King Ma-yowa, when he comes to man's estate, may, on learning that I slew the King his father, requite me with a foul heart." [5] Thereupon King Ma-yowa, who had been playing outside the apartment, and whose ear had caught these words, forthwith watched for the Heavenly Sovereign to be augustly asleep, and, taking the great sword [that lay] by his side, [6] forthwith struck off the Heavenly Sovereign's head, and fled into the house of the Grandee Tsubura. [7] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-six, His august masoleum is on the mound of Fushimi at Sugahara. [8]

Footnotes

1 *Conf*. Sect. LXIV, Note 2.

2 Literally, "Hast thou anything to think about? "The same construction is used in the next sentence.

3 *I.e.*, her son by her former husband King Oho-kusaka.

4 Literally, "below the palace." The same expression recurs further on. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "below the upper storey," *i.e.*, in the court or garden of a two-storeyed house. With the small proportions assumed by Japanese architecture, conversation could well be overheard under these conditions.

5 *I.e.*, "take vengeance upon me."

6 *Scil*. by the Emperor's side.

7 *Tsubura omi*. The etymology of Tsubura is obscure.

8 For Sugahara see Sect. LXXV, Note I. The Fushimi here mentioned, which is in Yamato, must not be confounded with the better known Fushimi in Yamashiro. The popular etymology of this name (and it is to be found in many books) traces it to *Fushi mi*, *i.e.*, "lying three," in connection with the story of a man who "lay on the mound for three years." Probably *fuse-midzu*, "water laid on," a name perhaps given on account of an aqueduct or of water-pipes, was the original designation, which has been corrupted.

[306]

[SECT. CXLVI. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART III. — PRINCE OHO HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCES KURO-BIKO AND SHIRO-BIRO).]

Then Prince Oho-hatsuse, [1] who at that time was a lad, was forthwith grieved and furious on hearing of this event, and went forthwith to his elder brother King Kurobiko, [2] and said: "They have slain [3] the Heavenly Sovereign. What shall be done?" But King Kurobiko was not startled, and was of unconcerned heart. [4] There upon King Oho-hatsuse reviled his elder brother, saying: "For one thing it being the Heavenly Sovereign, for another thing it being thy brother, how is thy heart without concern? [5] What! not startled, but unconcerned on hearing that they have slain thine elder brother!"—and forthwith he clutched him by the collar; dragged him out, drew his sword, and slew him. Again, going to his elder brother King Shiro-biko, he told him the circumstances as before. The unconcernedness again was like [that shown by] King Kuro-biko. [So King Oho-hatsuse,] having forthwith clutched him by the collar, pulled him along, and dug a pit on reaching Woharida, [6] buried him as he stood, [7] so that by the time he had been buried up to the loins, both his eyes burst out, and he died. [8]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 11.

2 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 6.

3 Literally, "taken."

4 *I.e.*, treated the matter with indifference.

5 Literally, "without relying," as if the speaker meant to say that the dead man could not rely on him for vengeance.

6 In Yamato. The name seems to mean "new tilled field"

7 Written 隨立in the text followed by Motowori. The other reading 墮立is untenable.

8 In order to account for such an effect from so apparently insufficient a cause, Motowori supposes that after the prince had been made to stand up to the height of his loins in the pit, the latter was filled by having stones thrown into it, whereby his feet and legs would be crushed.

[269]

[SECT. CXLVII. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART IV. — DEATH OF PRINCE MA-YOWA AND OF THE GRANDEE TSUBURA).]

Again he raised an army and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Tsubura. Then [the other side also] raised an army to resist the attack, 1 and the arrows that were shot forth were like unto the falling down of the [ears of the] reeds. 2 Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse, using his spear as a staff, peeped in, 3 and said: "Is perchance the maiden, with whom I spoke, in this house?" 4 Then the Grandee Tsubura, hearing these commands, 5 came forth himself, and having taken off the weapons with which he was girded, did obeisance eight times, and said: "The maiden Princess Kara, whom anon thou deignedst to woo, is at thy service. Again in addition I will present to thee five granaries. (What are called the five granaries are now the gardeners of the five villages of Kadzuraki: 6) Meanwhile the reason why she does not come out to meet thee in person is that from of old down to the present time grandees and chiefs have been known to hide in the palaces of Kings, but Kings have not yet been known to hide in the houses of grandees. 7 Therefore, I think that, though a vile slave of a grandees 8 exerting his utmost strength in the fight can scarcely conquer, yet must he die rather than desert a Prince who, trusting in him, has entered into his house." 9 Having thus spoken, he again took his weapons and went in again to fight. Then, their strength being exhausted and their arrows finished, he said to the Prince: "My 10 hands are wounded, and our arrows likewise are finished. We cannot now fight. What shall be done? "The Prince [266] replied, saying: "If that be so, there is nothing more to do. [Do thou] now slay me. "So [the Grandee Tsubura] thrust the Prince to death with his sword, and forthwith killed himself by cutting off his own head.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "to wait and fight."

2 The character 來, "to come" (here in accordance with English idiom rendered by "down") is supposed to be an error. One conjectural emendation of it, viz., 盛, would suggest the "plentiful" falling of the flowers of the reeds.

3 *I.e.*, he lifted himself on tiptoe by leaning on his spear, so as to be able to peep in.

4 The maiden thus suddenly introduced into the story is Tsubura's daughter Kara, whom it must be supposed that the Prince had previously been wooing.

5 Or rather, "Imperial words." The application of the characters 詔命 to the words of one who was not yet actually Emperor is curious.

6 *I.e.*, the places where the five granaries originally are now the five villages inhabited by the men who cultivate the Imperial gardens. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

7 Or we may, following Motowori's proposal, take the character 臣 in this clause in its slightly different acceptation of "subject," which better suits the sense. The partly phonetic wording of the next sentence 賤奴意宮美者 shows how the writer was perplexed by the double use of the term.

8 *Q.d.* in comparison with a prince of the Imperial family, even a grandee was but a vile slave.

9 The character 隨 in the original of this passage 入坐于隨家 is corrupt. But the sense remains clear, and it is scarcely worthwhile looking about for a

probable emendation. Motowori has no satisfactory proposal to make.

10 The humble character 僕, "servant" here used for the First Personal pronoun. The expression 僕者手悉傷, here literally rendered "my hands are all wounded," is very curious. Motowori reads it *ita-te ohinu*, *i.e.*, "I have received (or suffered from) hurtful hands," and compares two somewhat similar expressions found in Sect. XLIV (see Note 33 to that Sect). The translator may however point out that the similarity is much more apparent in Motowori's *kana* reading than it is in the Chinese text itself. May not the sense of the present passage rather be: "All our men are wounded?" for the word *te* (手) "hand," is frequently used in Japanese, —in compounds at least, —in the sense of "man," somewhat as it is in English naval, mining, and other technical parlance.

[SECT. CXLVIII. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART V: —PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA).]

After this Karu-fukuro, [1] ancestor of the Dukes of Yama of Sasaki in Afumi, [2] said [to King Oho-hatsuse]: "At Kuta [3] [and?] on the moor of Kaya at Wata in Afumi, boars and deer are abundant. Their legs as they stand are like a moor [covered] with *wogi*; [4] the horns they point up are like withered trees." At this time [King Oho-hatsuse], taking with him King Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, made a progress to Afumi, and on reaching this moor, each of them built a separate temporary palace to lodge in. Then next morning, before the sun had risen, King Oshiha with a tranquil heart rode along on his august horse, and, reaching and standing beside King Oho-hatsuse's temporary Palace, said to King Oho-hatsuse's attendants: "Is he not awake yet? He must [309] be told quickly [that I am come]. It is already day-light. [5] He must come to the hunting-ground,"—and forthwith urging his horse, he went forth. Then the people who served the august person of King Oho-hatsuse said: "As [King Oshiha] is a violent-spoken [6] Prince, thou shouldst be on thy guard, and likewise it was well to arm thine august person." Forthwith he put on armour underneath his clothes, took and girded on him his bow and arrows, rode off on horseback, and in a sudden interval setting his horse by the side [of the other King's], took out an arrow, shot King Oshiha down, forthwith Moreover, cut his body [to pieces], put [them] into a horse's manger, and buried them level with the earth.

Footnotes

1 This name has the curious signification of "Korean (or Chinese) bag."

2 *Afumi no Sasaki no yama no kiwi*. *Conf*. Sect. LXIX, Note 46.

3 This and the following names are altogether obscure, neither is it evident whether two places are meant, or only one. The present passage reads as if two were intended, but a little further down the author seems to be speaking of but one.

4 The *Hedysarum esculentum*.

5 Literally "the night has already finished dawning."

6 Motowori endeavours, not every successfully, to explain the use of this epithet by Prince Oho-Hatsuse's attendants. As the sequel shows, the violence was all on the other side.

[SECT. CXLIX. —EMPEROR AN-KŌ (PART VI. — FLIGHT OF PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE)].

Hereupon King Ichi-no-be's children [1] King Ohoke and King Woke (two Deities), having heard of this affray, fled away. So when they reached Karibawi [2] in Yamashiro and were eating their august provisions, an old man with a tattooed face came and seized the provisions. Then the two Kings said: "We do not grudge the provisions. But who art thou? "He replied, saying: "I am a boar-herd in Yamashiro." So they fled across the River Kusuba, [3] reached the land of Harima, [4] entered the house of a native of that country named Shizhimu, [5] hid their persons, and worked as grooms and cow-herds.

Footnotes

1 Literally "prince" (王子). Their names apparently signify "big basket" and "little basket."

2 Known in later times as Kaniha and Kabawi. The name signifies (if the characters with which it is written may be relied on) "the well where the leaves were cut."

3 See Sect. LXVI. Note 19.

4 See Sect. LX, Note 19.

5 Or Shizhimi. Properly the name of a village, it is here used as the name of a man. The etymology is obscure.

[310]

[SECT. CL. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU, (I. — GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take dwelt in the palace of Asakura at Hatsuse, [1] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign Wedded Queen Wake-kusaka-be, younger sister of King Oho-kusaka (no children). Again he wedded Princess Karu, daughter of the Grandee Tsubura, and begot august children: His Augustness Shiraka; next his younger sister Her Augustness Princess Waka-tarashi (two Deities).

Footnotes

1 For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8. Several Asakuras are named in the pages of these "Records." That here named is in Yamato. The name seems to mean "morning store-house."

[SECT. CLI. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART II. — VARIOUS DEEDS).]

So the Shiraka Clan [1] was established as the august proxy of Prince Shiraka. Again the Hatsuse-Clan-Retainers [2] were established. At this time there came over people from Kure. Again the Kahase Retainers [3] were established. These people from Kure [4] were lodged [5] at Kure-hara. So the place was called by the name of Kure-hara. [6]

Footnotes

1 *Shiraka-be*.

2 *Hatuse-be no tomire*. This clan was called after the reigning Emperor. Remember that the word "Retainers" is here a "gentile name."

3 *Kahase no toneri*. *Kaha-se* signifies "river-reach," and the "Chronicles," under date of the eleventh year of this reign, tell a story of the appearance of a white cormorant, to commemorate which this family was established. Cormorants, it will be remembered, were used for catching fish in rivers; hence the appropriateness of the name bestowed on the family in question.

4 The name given by the early Japanese to Wu (吳), an ancient state in Eastern China to the South of the Yang-tzo River. In Japanese it however, like other names of portions of China, often denotes the whole of that country in a somewhat vague manner. The derivation the word *Kura* is obscure. The most acceptable proposition is that which would see in it corruption of the original Chinese term *Wu*, of which *Go* is the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation. But what of the second syllable *re*?

5 The phrase 安置is in this place used for "lodged."

6 *I.e.*, Kure Moor. It is in Yamato. According to the "Chronicles," the former name of the place had been *Himokuma-nu*.

[311]

[SECT CLII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART III. —THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OF SHIKI).]

In the beginning, when the Empress [1] dwelt at Kusaka, [2] [the Heavenly Sovereign] made a progress in Kafuchi by way of the Tadagoye [3] road at Kusaka. Then, on climbing to the top of the mountain and gazing on the interior of the country, [he perceived that] there was a house built with a raised roof-frame. [4] The Heavenly Sovereign sent to ask [concerning] that house, saying: "Whose roof with a raised frame is that?" The answer was: "It is the house of the great Departmental Lord of Shiki." [5] Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "What! a slave builds his own house in imitation of the august abode of the Heavenly Sovereign!" . . . . and forthwith he sent men to burn the house [down], when the Great Departmental Lord, with trembling and dread, bowed his head, [6] saying: "Being a slave, I like a slave did not understand, and have built overmuch. I am in great dread." [7] So the thing that he presented as an august offering [in token] of his entreaty was a white dog [312] clothed in cloth [8] and with a bell hung [round its neck]; and he made a kinsman of his own, named Koshihaki, [9] lead it by a string and present it [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. So the Heavenly Sovereign ordered them to desist from burning [the house].

Footnotes

1 *I.e.*, *Waka-kusaka-be*.

2 See Sect. XLIV, Note 31. The Kusaka here mentioned is that in Kafuchi.

3 From *tada*, "straight "and *koyuru* "to cross," this being a short cut over the mountains.

4 The original of this clause is 有上堅魚作舍屋之家, which is read *katsuwo wo agete ya wo tsukureru ihe ari*. The *katsuwo* (properly *katsuwo-gi* 堅魚木) is the name of the uppermost portion of the roof in modern Shinto temples, and apparently in ancient times also in houses that were not devoted to religious purposes. The difficulty is not with the sense, but with the derivation of the word *katsuwo-gi*. Following the characters with which it is here and elsewhere written, Motowori sees in it a reference to the shape of the blocks of wood resembling "dried bonitoes," which is the modern signification of *katsuwo*. But Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," proposes a derivation which approves itself more to the present writer's mind, viz., *kadzuku wo-gi* (戴小木), "small timbers atop" (see "Examination of Difficult Words," *s.v.*). Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLI, should be consulted for a discussion of the whole question of the use of these frames in ancient times, and for the special force to be attributed to the word "raised" (上) in this passage.

5 *Shiki no oho-agata-nushi*. For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1.

6 *i.e.*, did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground.

7 Or, according to the older reading, "This *i.e.*, thy command) [is to be received with] awe."

8 Or, "tied with [a string of] cloth." The translation follows Motowori's interpretation.

9 The name signifies "loin-girded," *i.e.*, as may be presumed, "wearing a sword."

[SECT. CLIII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IV. —HE WOOES PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE).]

Forthwith making a progress to the residence of Queen Wakakusaka-be the Heavenly Sovereign sent the dog as a message, saying: "This thing is a strange thing which I got to day on the road. So it is a thing to woo with,"—and so saying, sent it in as a present. Thereupon Queen Waka-kusaka-be sent to say to the Heavenly Sovereign: "It is very alarming that thou shouldst make a progress with thy back to the sun. [1] So I will come up straight [to the capital], and respectfully serve thee." [2] When Therefore, he returned up and dwelt in the palace, he went and stood on the ascent [3] of that mountain, and sang, saying:

"In the hollow between the nearer and the further mountain, this Mount Kusakabe and Mount Heguri, [is] growing the flourishing broad-leafed boar-oak; at the base grow intertwining bamboos; on the top grow luxuriant bamboos: —we sleep not [now] intertwined like the intertwining bamboos, we sleep not certainly like the luxuriant bamboos: [but] oh! my beloved [313] spouse, with whom [I] shall afterwards sleep intertwined!" [4]

And he forthwith sent back a messenger with this Song. [5]

Footnotes

1 For he had come from Yamato in the East to Kafuchi in the West.

2 The meaning is: "Thy Majesty must not come to woo me here, as the direction is unlucky. But I will myself come up straightway to the palace to be "thine Empress."

3 The ascent or way up here mentioned is, says Motowori, the Tadagoye Road, and the mountain is Mount Kusaka. See Sect. CLII, Notes 2 and 3.

4 In this Song the Emperor consoles himself for the delay in his union with Princess Waka-kusaka-be by reflecting that after all she will soon be his. — The first half of the poem down to the colon and dash is a Preface to the rest. Most of the difficult words occurring in it have been explained in previous notes; for the "broad-leafed bear-oak "see Sect. LXXII, Note, 19; for *tatami-komo*, the Pillow-Word by which Heguri is preceded in the Japanese text, see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 12. *Kusaka-be* is curious, for whereas it properly signifies Kusaka-Tribe, —this tribe or family being called after the place where they resided, —the place itself came to be renamed after them when the fact of the posterior origin of the family designation had been forgotten. The reason (or the mention in the Preface of the oak-tree, which is not referred to in the main text of the poem, is difficult to ascertain. Moribe thinks, however that it is on account of the luxuriance of its foliage which, as if it was a Preface within the Preface, paves the way for the mention of the thick-growing bamboos. The punning connection between *tashinu-dake*, "luxuriant bamboos," and *tashi ni ha wi-nezu*, "we sleep not certainly," is necessarily obliterated in the English translation. "Certainly" must be taken in the sense of "undisturbedly."

5 *I.e.*, as may be conjectured, a messenger dispatched to him by his mistress. It seems best to suppose the author to represent the Emperor as not having actually gone to her house at all, but as having only communicated with her by messenger.

[SECT. CLIV. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART V. —STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO).]

Again once when the Heavenly Sovereign going out for amusement, reached the River Miwa, 1 there was a girl, whose aspect was very beautiful, washing clothes by the river-side. The Heavenly Sovereign asked the girl, [saying]: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "My name is Akawi-ko of the Hiketa Tribe." 2 Then he caused her to be told, saying: "Do not thou [314] marry a husband. I will send for thee, "—and [with these words] he returned to the palace. So eighty years had already passed while she reverently awaited the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. Thereupon Akawi-ko thought: "As, while looking for the [Imperial] commands, I have already passed many years, and as my face and form are lean and withered, there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, if I do not show [the Heavenly Sovereign] how truly I have waited, my disappointment will be unbearable;"—and [so saying] she caused merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred, 3 and came forth and presented [these gifts as] tribute. Thereat the Heavenly Sovereign, who had quite forgotten what he had formerly commanded, asked Akawi-ko, saying: "What old woman art thou, and why art thou come hither?" Then Akawiko replied, saying: "Having in such and such a month of such and such a year received the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I have been reverently awaiting the great command until this day, and eighty years have past by. Now my appearance is quite decrepit, and there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, I have come forth in order to show and declare my faithfulness." Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign was greatly startled [and exclaimed]: "I had quite forgotten the former circumstance; and thou meanwhile, ever faithfully awaiting my commands, hast vainly let pass by the years of thy prime. This

is very pitiful." In his heart he wished to marry her, but shrank from her extreme age, and could not make the marriage; but he conferred on her an august Song. That Song said:

"How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-tree of the august dwelling! Maiden of the oak-plain!" 4

Again he sang, saying: [315]

"The younger chestnut orchard plain of Hiketa: —o si dormivissem cum iliâ in juventâ! Oh! how old she has become!" 5

Then the tears that Akawi-ko wept quite drenched the red-dyed sleeve that she had on. 6 In reply to the great august Song, she sang, saying:

"Left over from the piling up of the jewel-wall piled up round the august dwelling, —to whom shall the person of the Deity's temple go?" 7

[316] Again she sang, saying:

"Oh! how enviable is she who is in her bloom like the flowering lotus, —the lotus of the inlet, of the inlet of Kusaka!" 8

Then the old woman was sent back plentifully endowed. So these four Songs are Quiet Songs. 9

Footnotes

1 *Miwa gawa*. It is the stream which flows past Hatsuse. For Miwa see Sect. LXV, Note 8.

2 *Hiketa-bo no Akawi-ko*. *Hiketa* is in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure. *Akawi-ko* signifies "red boar child;" but the appropriateness of the name to the woman in the story is not made to appear.

3 See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

4 Moribe says that, in this Song, the forgetful Monarch calls to mind the majestic and awful appearance of the sacred tree in the temple-grounds, and is moved by this religious thought to repent of his neglectful treatment as her who had so patiently waited for him through so many years. Motowori, on the contrary, sees in the words nothing more than a comparison of the old woman to some sacred tree of immemorial age, and the aversion felt by the monarch to an union with her. —The oak mentioned (the Kashi, *Quercus myrsinæfolia*) is an evergreen species. Both Motowori and Moribe consider that *mimoro* in the original Japanese of this Song should be taken, not as a proper name (see Sect. XXVIII, Notes 3 and 5), but simply as signifying "a sacred dwelling." As Miwa is mentioned in the earlier part of the story, it might seem more natural to regard *mimoro* as likewise being a Proper Name. But the word mimoro itself signifying "sacred spot," the difference between the two views does not amount to much, and it is best to follow native authority. "Oak-plain" (*kashi-hara*) means "a place planted with oak-trees." The first sentence of the Song must be looked on as a sort of preface to the second.

5 The first words of this Song down to the colon and dash are a Preface to the Song proper, whose meaning stands in need of no explanation, —Moribe surmises that the word *kuri*, "chestnut," was formerly a general name for all sorts of fruits, somewhat like our English word "berry."

6 The drenching of the sleeve with tears is a common figure in Japanese poetry.

7 Or we might (following Moribe) render thus: "Left over from the guarding of the jewel-grove guard at the august dwelling," etc. The wording of his Song is far from clear. While Motowori sees in it a reference to the construction of a wall round the ground of a temple, the overplus of the

materials for which sacred wall could not, it may be presumed, be applied to any profane purpose, Moribe disputes the propriety of such an interpretation of the word *kaki* which, according to him, denotes the grove planted in temple-grounds, temples never having been surrounded by walls such as Motowori assumes the existence of, nor even by "hedges" or "fences," which is the more usual acceptation of the term. He thinks, Therefore, that the superficial signification of the actual words of the Song is that the priest, who has all his life been in the service of one particular shrine, cannot desert it for the adoration of some other deity. The underlying deeper significance of the little poem is in either case the same: Akawi-ko had, during her long waiting of eighty years, remained true to her first love, the Emperor. For every reason it had been impossible for her ever to give her affections to another, and she had now come up to the capital to demonstrate to him who had forgotten her the unchangeable nature of her feelings.

8 This pretty little poem is too clear to need any comment. Moribe supposes that some lotuses brought from Kusaka may have been among the presents made by Akawi-ko to the Emperor. In the original Japanese the reference to the lotuses comes first, as a sort of preface to the rest of the poem. The laws of English construction necessitate its being put last in the translation.

9 See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[SECT. CLV. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VI. —HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU).]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the palace of Yeshinu, [1] there was on the bank of the Yeshinu river a girl of beautiful appearance. So having wedded this girl, he returned to the Palace. Afterwards, when he again made a progress to Yeshinu, he halted where he had met the girl, and in that place raised a great august throne, [2a] seated himself on that august throne, played on his august lute, and made the maiden dance. Then he composed an august Song on account of the maiden's good dancing. That Song said:

"Oh! that the maiden dancing to the lute-playing, of the august hand of the Deity seated on the throne might continue for ever!" [3]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

2a See Sect. CXII, Note 2.

3 This Song presents no difficulties. In it the Emperor speaks of himself as a Deity, and is enthusiastically praised by the commentator Moribe for so doing.

[SECT. CLVI. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII. —THE HORSE-FLY AND THE DRAGON-FLY).]

When forthwith he made a progress to the Moor of Akidzu, 1 and augustly hunted, the Heavenly Sovereign sat on an august throne. Then a horse-fly bit his august arm, and forthwith a dragon-fly came and ate up 2b the horse-fly, and flew [away]. Thereupon he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Who is it tells in the great presence that game is lying on the peak of Womuro at Mi-yeshinu? Our Great Lord, who tranquilly carries on the government, being seated on the throne to await the game, a horse-fly alights on and stings the fleshy part of his arm fully clad in a sleeve of white stuff, and a dragon-fly quickly eats up that horse-fly. That it might properly bear its name, the land of Yamato was called the Island of the Dragon-Fly." 3

So from that time that moor was called by the name [318] of Akidzu-nu. 4

Footnotes

1 *Akidzu-nu*. See Note 4 to this section.

2b Or, "bit."

3 The signification of the greater portion of this Song is clear enough, and is sufficiently explained by the context. The word "who" however admits of two interpretations, Motowori taking it to signify some one," whereas Moribe, keeping the literal meaning of "who?" sees in it an angry exclamation of the monarch's at having been brought out to the hunt under exaggerated promises of game. Womuro means "little cave," but is here a proper name. *Mi-yeshinu* is a form of the word Yoshino which is frequently met with in poetry, the syllable mi being probably, as Mabuchi tells us in his "Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," equivalent to *ma*, and

Therefore, simply an "'Ornamental Prefix." The phrase "tranquilly carries on the government" represents the Japanese *yasumishishi*, the Pillow-Word for *wa go oho-kimi*, "our Great Lord," which latter phrase descriptive of the Sovereign is here put into the Sovereign's own mouth. "Of white stuff, *shiro-tahe no*, is another Pillow-Word. The only real difficulty in this Song meets us is the interpretation of its concluding sentence. The meaning apparently intended to be conveyed is that it was in order to prove itself worthy of its name that the dragon-fly performed the loyal deed which forms the subject of the tale. But it so, the author forgets that it was not the dragon-fly that was called after Japan, but Japan that was called after the dragon-fly (*Akidzushima*, "Dragon-fly-Island," from *akidzu*, "dragon-fly"). What should be the point of the whole poem Therefore, fails of application. The name "Island of the Dragon-Fly" has already appeared in Sect. V (Note 26).

4 *I.e.*, Dragon-Fly Moor. See Motowori's remarks in his "Examination of the Synonyms for Japan,".

[SECT. CLVII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART VII. —ADVENTURE WITH A WILD BOAR).]

Again once the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up to the summit of Mount Kadzuraki. 1 Then a large [wild] boar ran out. When the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith shot the boar with a whizzing barb, 2 the boar, furious, came towards him roaring. 3 So the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the roaring, climbed up to the top of an alder. Then he sang, saying:

"The branch of the alder-tree on the opportune mound which I climbed in my flight on account of the terribleness of the roaring of the boar, of the wounded boar, which our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government had been pleased to shoot!" 4

Footnotes

1 See Sect. LV, Note 1.

2 See Sect. XXIII, Note, 7.

3 This is the sense attributed by the commentators to the obscure word *utaki*, which seems to be only found written phonetically.

4 Our author cannot be right in attributing this Song to the Emperor, and we need not hesitate to accept the different version of the story given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicle," where the Monarch, as might be expected from all the other details that have been preserved concerning him, bravely faces the boar, while it is one of his attendants who runs away and climbs a tree to be out of danger, and afterwards composes these lines. This Song is a good instance of what Mr. Aston (in his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd Edit.) has said concerning some of the

short poems of a later date: "These sentences are not statements of fact; they merely picture to the mind a state of things without making any assertion respecting it." Here we, as it was, simply see the frightened courtier sitting breathless and terrified amid the branches of the alder, and the whole verse has but the meaning of an exclamation. The term *ari-wo* rendered "opportune mound." is the only word in the text which raises any difficulties of interpretation. Moribe's exegesis has here been followed. According to the older view it signifies "barren mound." For the words "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" see Sect CLVI, Note 3.

[319]

[SECT. CLVIII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART IX. —REVELATION OF THE GREAT DEITY OF KADZURAKI, LORD OF ONE WORD).]

Again once, when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up Mount Kadzuraki, the various officials 1 were all clothed in green-stained garments with red cords that had been granted to them. At that time there were people ascending the mountain on the opposite mountain acclivity quite similar to the order of the Heavenly Monarch's retinue. Again the style of the habiliments and likewise the people were similar and not distinguishable. 2 Then the Heavenly Sovereign gazed, and sent to ask, saying: "There being no other King in Yamato excepting myself, what person goeth thus?" The style of the reply again was like unto the commands of a Heavenly Sovereign. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being very angry, fixed his arrow [in his bow], and the various officials all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. Then those people also all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. So the Heavenly Sovereign again sent to ask, saying: "Then tell thy name. Then let each of us tell his name, and [then] let fly his arrow." Thereupon [the other] replied, saying: "As I was the first to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good, —the Great Deity of Kadzuraki, Lord of One [320] Word." 3 The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understood not that thy great person would be revealed;" 4—and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on, and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity]. 5 Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands, 6 accepted the offering. So when the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress back, the Great Deity

came down the mountain, [7] and respectfully escorted him to the entrance [8] of the Hatsuse mountain. So it was at that time the Great Deity Lord of One Word was revealed.

Footnotes

1 Literally, "the hundred officials." This Chinese phrase has been met with before in the "Records," and recurs in this Section.

2 The original has the character 傾, out of which it is hard to make sense. Motowori's proposal to consider it put by error for 頒, has Therefore, been adopted, though the translator feels by no means sure that it is a happy one. According to the strict Chinese sense of 領, it would not fit with this passage any better than 傾; but in Japanese we may be justified in understanding 不頒to mean "not distinguishable."

3 In the original: 吾者雖惡事而一言雖善一事而言言離之神葛城之一言主之大神者也. The import of the obscure expression "dispelling with a word the good" is not rendered much more intelligible by Motowori's attempt to explain it. For Kadzuraki see LV, Note. 1.

4 Literally, "that there would be a present (or manifest) great person."

5 *I.e.*, he kept nothing for himself, but from his own sword and bow and arrows down to the ceremonial garments in which his followers were clad, gave every thing to the god.

6 In token of joy, says Motowori.

7 The characters 滿山末, rendered by "came down the mountain," are evidently the result of a copyist's carelessness. The translation follows Motowori's proposal to emend the text to 降山來.

8 Literally "mouth."

[SECT CLIX. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART X. —THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to Kasuga to wed Princess Wodo, 1a daughter of the Grandee Satsuki of Wani, 2a a maiden met him by the way, and forthwith seeing the Imperial progress, ran and hid on the side of a mound. So he composed an august Song. That august Song said:

"Oh! the mound where the maiden is hiding! Oh for five hundred metal spades! then might [we] dig her out!" 3

So that mound was called by the name of the Mound [321] of the Metal Spade. 4

Footnotes

1a *Wodo-hime*. The signification of this name is obscure.

2a *Wani no Satsuki no omi*. For *Wani* see Sect. LXII, Note 11. *Satsuki* is the old Japanese name of the fifth moon.

3 Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "The Monarch had met a girl carrying a spade in her hand, and as she was beautiful, wished to address her; but she ran off and hid on the hill-side, leaving her spade behind her. His words express a desire for five hundred spades like hers, with which to break down the hill-side and dig her out. . . . It is in joke that he talks of the maiden who was on the *other side* of the hill as being *inside* it." That in ancient times all digging implements were not made of metal will be seen by reference to Sect. CXXIV, Note 9.

4 *Kanasuki no woko*.

[SECT. CLX. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XI. —THE LEAF IN THE CUP).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a copious feast under a hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree 1b at Hatsuse, a female attendant from Mihe 2b in the land of Ise lifted up the great august cup, and presented it to him. Then from the hundred-branching *tsuki*-tree there fell a leaf and floated in the great august cup. The female attendant, not knowing that the fallen leaf was floating in the cup, did not desist from presenting 3 the great august liquor to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, perceiving the leaf floating in the cup, knocked the female attendant down, put his sword to her neck, and was about to cut off her head, when the female attendant spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Slay me not! There is something that I must say to thee:" and forthwith she sang, saying:

"The palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a palace where shines the morning sun, a palace where glistens the evening sun, a palace plentifully rooted as the root of the bamboo, a palace with spreading roots like the roots of the trees, a palace pestled with oh! eight hundred [loads of] earth, As for the branches of the hundred-fold flourishing *tsuki*-tree growing by the house of new licking at the august gate [made of] [322] *chamæcyparis* [wood], the uppermost branch has the sky above it, the middle branch has the east above it, the lowest branch has the country above it. A leaf from the tip of the uppermost branch falls against the middle branch; a leaf from the tip of the middle branch falls against the lowest branch; a leaf from the tip of the lowest branch, falling into the oil floating in the fresh jewelled goblet which the maid of Mihe is lifting up, all [goes] curdle-curdle. Ah! this is very awful, August Child of the High-Shining Sun! The tradition of the thing, too this!" 4

So on her presenting this Song, her crime was [323] pardoned. Then the Empress sang. Her Song said:

"Present the luxuriant august liquor to the august child of the high-shining sun, who is broad like the leaves, who is brilliant like the blossoms of the broad-foliaged five hundred [-fold branching] true camellia-tree that stands growing by the house of new licking in this high metropolis of Yamato, on this high-timbered mound of the metropolis The tradition of this thing, too this!" 5

Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying: [324]

"The people of the great palace, having put on scarfs like the quail-birds having put their tails together like wagtails' and congregated together like the yard-sparrows, may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in liquor, —the people of the palace of the high-shining sun. The tradition of the thing, too, this." 6

These three Songs Are Songs of Heavenly Words. 7 [325] So at this copious feast this female attendant from Mihe was praised and plentifully endowed.

Footnotes

1b Said to be scarcely distinguishable from the *keyaki* (*Zelkowa keaki*)

2b See Sect. LXXXIX, Note 7.

3 Literally "still presented."

4 To understand the allusion at the beginning of this Song to the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, which had been the residence of the Emperor Kei-kō (See Sect. LXXVI, Note 1), it must be known that in the account of the reign of that monarch as given in the "Chronicles" there is a story which, like that in the text, turns on carelessness in dealing with a goblet, —carelessness which Kei-kō graciously pardoned. Moreover, the scene of the incident here related was in the immediate neighbourhood of the old palace of Hishiro. There was Therefore, a double reason for referring to that place; and the under-current of insinuation is, that as Kei-kō in the olden time forgave the courtiers who forgot his goblet, will not the present Sovereign forgive the maid of Mihe for letting a leaf fall into his? The poetess, after describing the splendour and solidity of the Imperial abode, passes on to a mention of the luxuriant and many-branching *tsuki*-tree growing near "the

house of new licking," *i.e.*, the sacred hall where the Sovereign performed each year the ceremony of tasting the first-fruits of the harvest. The "gate" may either be taken in its literal acceptation, or else regarded as used by metonymy for the palace itself. The description of that which the middle and lowest branches "have above them" is somewhat obscure, and perhaps the words should not be too strictly pressed for a perfectly rational meaning, their chief use being as metrical parallelisms. The supposition of the commentators is however that the poetess, in speaking of this immense tree, meant to say that the middle branch (or branches) spread eastward, and the lowest branches westward. Next we are told of the fall of the fatal leaf into the oil, *i.e.*, into the liquor, contained in the Imperial goblet; and the poetess, before acknowledging the awfulness of her misdemeanour, skilfully brings in an allusion to the Japanese account of the creation, when the drops that fell from the spear used by the creator and creatrix Izanagi and Izanami to make the brine "go curdle-curdle" did very good work Indeed,; for they were piled up and became the first-formed island for the Japanese archipelago (see Sect. III): for drops to fall down, or for leaves to fall into drops (of wine), must Therefore, surely be a good omen rather than a crime. Conformably with the hesitating nature of her allusion, the maiden leaves it quite uncertain what is conceived of as "going curdle-curdle" in the present instance. In fact, neither must the thought be pressed too far, nor the sentence searched too rigorously from a grammatical point of view. Such intentional vagueness is one of the specific characteristics of a great deal of the poetry of Japan. The words "the tradition of the thing, too, this!", which conclude the poem, are obscure in another and more usual sense; but, having been already treated of in Note 4 to Sect. XXIV, they need not detain us here. They do not affect the sense of the rest of the poem. Two points more remain to be noticed: one is that the word *Mihe* and *hi no mi hado*

("august gate of chamæcyparis") are respectively preceded by the Pillow-Words *ariginu no*, whose signification is disputed, and *makisaku*, which signifies "splitting true trees;" the other, that the original of the word "glistens" near the commencement of the poem only has that sense if, following Moribe, we identify *hi-gakeru* with *hi-kagayakeru*. As it stands, the word *kakeru* lends itself more naturally to the interpretation of "sets." But the logical difficulty of accepting the phrase "where the sun sets" in such a context, where on the contrary some phrase of good omen is alone appropriate, seems greater than the philological difficulty of deriving *hi-gakeru* by a process of contraction from *hi-kagayakeru*. The designation of the Emperor or Heir Apparent by the title of "august child of the high-shining sun" has been met with before, and needs no explanation when the solar ancestry claimed by the Japanese monarchs is called to mind.

5 The gist of this Song, which must be supposed to be addressed to the female attendant, is simply: "Present the goblet full of liquor to the Emperor."—In accordance with the rules of Japanese construction the Imperative "present," which is the chief Verb of the sentence, comes last, and is preceded by the comparison of the Monarch to the leaves and flowers of the camellia-tree, while the comparatively unimportant words describing the position of the tree come at the beginning. Thus in a literal English translation the climax is necessarily spoilt through the reversal of the order of the words. The "broad-leafed camellia "has already appeared in Sect. CXXIII, Note 11, the "house of new licking" has been explained in the note immediately preceding the present one, and the incomprehensible concluding exclamation has been discussed in Sect. XXIV, Note 4. The "high metropolis "of Yamato is of course the then capital. There is however some doubt whether the word take-chi, which is here thus rendered, should not rather be considered as a proper name. The expression *ko-dakaru*,

rendered "high-timbered." is also doubtful. Motowori interprets it simply as "slightly high." Moribe seems right in explaining the word *tsukasa* to mean "a mound."

6 This Song is here out of place, and is supposed by Motowori to have been composed, not by the Emperor, but by some court-lady who was absent from the feast. The meaning simply is: "Ah yes," ’tis to-day that the court ladies are "drinking their fill of rice-liquor [. —and would that I was with them)!"—The picture here presented of the manners of the court is not attractive; but the comparison of the ladies' appearance with that of various birds is quaint. The commentators tell us that the appropriateness of the use of the word "scarfs" as applied to the quail lies in the peculiar plumage of that bird, which makes it look as if it had a scarf on. "Having put their tails together" means "standing with their trains in a row." The epithet "yard "applied to the sparrows paints the habits of that bird. The words "great palace" are in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word *momoshiki no*, whose signification is disputed. After lines

Kefu mo ka mo
Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi.

rendered "may perhaps to day be truly steeped in liquor," Moribe would like to consider the lines

Asu ma koma
Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi,

i.e., "may perhaps to-morrow be truly steeped in liquor" to have been accidentally omitted. There is no doubt but that their insertion would add to the effect of the poem from the point of view of style.

7 天語歌, read *ama-koto-uta*. This expression is altogether obscure, and the commentators differ in their interpretations of it. Mabuchi, following the characters, sees in them an allusion to the words "august child of the high-shining sun" which recurs in each of the three Songs thus bracketed together. Motowori thinks that *ama-koto* should be regarded as standing for *amari-goto* (餘語) "surplus words," in allusion to the meaningless *refrain* with which the Songs in question terminate. Other Songs, however, which end in the same manner, are not thus designated. Moribe's exegesis, though founded on Motowori's is preferable to it. Accepting *ama-koto* as a contraction of *amari-goto*, he would take the second half of the compound in the sense of "things," not "words" (事not 語), and regard the whole as signifying that the Songs were composed or sung after the conclusion of the actual feast. Against this view must be set the fact that the Chinese characters lend it no support. The translator, has, as usual when in doubt, preferred to adhere to the sense given by the characters.

[SECT. CLXI. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XII. —SONGS BY THE EMPEROR AND PRINCESS WODO).]

On the day of this copious feast the Heavenly Sovereign, when Princess Wodo of Kasuga [1] presented to him the great august liquor, sang again, saying:

"Oh! the grandee's daughter holding the excellent flagon! [If] thou hold the excellent flagon, hold it firmly! Hold it quite firmly, more and more firmly, child holding the excellent flagon." [2]

This is a Cup Song. [3] Then Princess Wodo presented [326] a Song. That Song said:

"Would that I was [thou,] the lower board of the arm-rest whereon our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government stands leaning at morn, stands leaning at eve! Oh! mine elder brother!" [4]

This is a Quiet Song.

Footnotes

1 *Kasuga no Wodo-hime*. See Sect. CLIX. Note I.

2 This Song is simply a reiterated, and playful injunction to the maiden to hold firmly the flagon containing the intoxicating liquor; and Motowori is, as Moribe remarks, putting more into the words than they are really meant to convey, when he says that they imply *praise* on the Monarch's part, — The English words "grandee's daughter" represent the Japanese *omi no omina*, a somewhat remarkable expression, which is interpreted by Motowori to signify "attendant maiden." The translator prefers the view

propounded in Moribe's comment on this Song, and has Therefore, adopted it. The expression is in the original preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word *minasossoku* (Moribe reads the last syllable with the *nigori*, —*gu*), The word rendered "excellent flagon" is *ho-dari*, the first element of the compound being explained by the commentators in the sense of "excellent," *i.e.*, "big," while the second is the same as the modern word *taru*, "a cask." In ancient times, however, the signification of *tari* or *taru* was that of a vessel to pour liquor from, not to store liquor in, —*i.e.*, a flagon, not a cask. The words "quite firmly, more and more firmly" represent the Japanese *shita-gataku ya-gataku* according to Moribe's exegesis. Motowori's interpretation of them in the sense of "[take the] bottom firmly and the top firmly" is less acceptable.

3 Thus does the editor of 1687, who is followed by Moribe, understand the original expression *uki-uta*. Motowori's interpretation, "Floating Song," seems less good.

4 So enamoured is the maiden of the Sovereign that she would fain be even the board of the arm-rest on which he leans. —The expression "lower board "is misleading, for it refers simply to the self-evident fact that the board forming the top of the little low table used as an arm-rest by one squatting on his mat is below the arm, as whose support it serves. The words "stands leaning" must probably be understood to signify "sits" or "squats leaning." The expression "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" is a frequently recurring periphrasis for the word "Emperor," and has been explained in Sect. LXXXVII, Note 4. The words "at morn" and "at eve" are literally in the original "at morning doors" and "at evening doors," the reference being to the fact that the doors of a house are respectively opened and closed in the early morning and at nightfall. The exclamation "Oh!

mine elder brother" is addressed to the board of the arm-rest. *Conf*. the first Song in Sect LXXXIX, where Yamato-take apostrophizes a pine-tree in the same terms.

[327]

[SECT. CLXII. —EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU (PART XIII. —HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-four. His august mausoleum is at Takawashi in Tajihi [1] in Kafuchi,

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Footnotes

1 For *Tajihi* see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. *Takawashi* signifies "high eagle."

[SECT. CLXIII. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART I. — SEARCH FOR A SUCCESSOR TO HIM).]

His Augustness Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko dwelt at the palace of Mikakuri at Ihare, [1a] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign had no Empress, and likewise no august children. So the Shiraka-Clan [2] was established as his august proxy. So after the Heavenly Sovereign's decease, there was no King to rule the Empire. Thereupon, on enquiry [being made] for a King who should rule the sun's succession, Oshinumi-no-iratsume, [3] another name for whom was Princess Ihi-toyo, younger sister of Prince Ichinobe-oshiha-wake, [4] [was found to be] residing at the palace of Tsunusashi at Takaki in Oshinumi in Kadzuraki. [5]

Footnotes

1a For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. *Mika-kuri* signifies "jar-chestnut."

2 *Shiraka-be*.

3 In Sect. CXXXI (Note 7) this name appears as *Awomi-no-iratsume*. Both *Awomi* and *Oshinumi* are supposed to be names of places. The latter is the name of a district in Yamato. Its etymology is obscure. For *Ihi-toyo* see Sect. CXXXI, Note 8.

4 See Sect. CXXXI (Note 5), where however the title of *wake* ("Lord") is omitted.

5 For *Kadzuraki* see Sect. LV, Note 1, and for Oshinumi see Note 3 to the present Sect. *Takaki* seems to signify "high castle," while *Tsunusashi* is obscure. (See Motowori's remarks on these two names in Vol. XLIII, of his Commentary.)

[SECT. CLXIV. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART II. — PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE ARE DISCOVERED).]

Then Wodate, Chief of the Mountain Clan 1b when appointed governor of the land of Harima, arrived just at [328] [the time of] a rejoicing for the new cave of an inhabitant called Shizhimu. 2 Hereupon, when the feasting and the drinking were at their height, they all danced in turn. So two young children 3 [employed] to light the fire sat beside the furnace. 4 These young children were made to dance. Then one of the young children said: "Do thou the elder brother dance first." The elder brother likewise said: "Do thou the younger brother dance first." When they thus yielded to each other, the people who were met together laughed at their manner of yielding to each other. 5 So at last the elder brother danced, [and when he had] finished, the younger when about to dance chanted, saying:

"On the bamboos on the mountain-slopes, behind which are hidden as soon as they appear my warrior-mate's sword, on whose hilt red earth was daubed, for whose cord red cloth was cut, and his red flags that were set up!: —Beggarly descendants of King Ichinobe-no-oshiha, august child of the Heavenly Sovereign Izaho-wake, who ruled the Empire as it was cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities, and like playing on an eight-stringed lute!" 6

[329] Then forthwith Chief Wodate, starting at the sound [of these words], and rolling off his couch, 7 drove away the people of the cave; and having set the two 8 princes [one] on his left knee and [the other] on his right and wept and lamented, he collected the people together, and having built a temporary palace, and set [the two princes] to dwell in that temporary palace, he sent a courier up [to the capital]. Thereupon their aunt, Queen Ihi-toyo, delighted to hear [the news], made them come up to the palace.

Footnotes

1b *Yama-be no murazhiwodate*. *Yama-be* has already appeared. *Wo-date* signifies "small shield."

2 For this name see Sect. CXLIX, Note 5. A similar festival at the inauguration of a new cave is mentioned in Sect. LXXX.

3 Motowori's vain attempts to reconcile the dates with this statement of Princes Ohoke and Woke being "young children "at this time, after an interval of two reigns since the death of their father, will be found in Vol. XLIII, of his Commentary.

4 *I.e.*, as the commentators suppose, a place or vessel holding a light with which to kindle other lights for the feast. The word can scarcely here have its common signification of a "kitchen-range."

5 *I.e.*, at the fact of their being so courteous to each other.

6 This so-called "chant,"—it is not a Song, because not in metre, and is accordingly not transcribed syllabically, —is at first sight so difficult as to seem to defy translation, and to make the student apply to the whole of his interpretation Motowori's closing remark on his exegesis of one of phrases contained in it, —"this is mere guess-work, and the text demands further consideration." A little inspection shows, however, that the drift of the words is by no means so inscrutable as its partly ideographic and partly phonetic transcription makes it appear. The first part down to the colon and dash is a "Preface" to the second, the "Pivot" joining the two parts in the original Japanese being the word "bamboos." The laws of English construction unFortunately, do not admit of the force of the original, which entirely depends on the position of the words, being rendered into our language. The appropriateness of the Preface to the body of the chant rests

on the consideration that the bright articles mentioned in it, viz., the sword painted and decorated with red streamers (or perhaps tied on with a red sash) and also the red banners are easily *hidden* behind the thick leaves of a bamboo-grove, just as the Imperial origin of the two young Princes was hidden beneath the vile office which they filled in Shizhimu's household. The clause "cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities" forms the chief difficulty. Indeed, the word "roots" is supplied by Motowori, and his interpretation of the phrase is merely tentative. We may, however, until some better explanation is offered, see in it a reference to the energetic manner in which the Empire was ruled by the young princes grandfather, the Emperor Izaho-wake (i-chiū), or else perhaps by their father Ichinobe-no-Oshiha. This latter view is preferred by Motowori, though according to the history Ichinobe-no-oshiha never actually ascended the throne. The position of the Verb "ruled" in the Japanese text permits of either interpretation. The comparison of the government of the Empire to playing on a lute is poetical and appropriate. It should be noticed that in the Japanese text the construction of the sentence forming the main body of the chant is the reverse of what it is made to appear to be in the translation. The words "beggarly descendants," by which, as a climax, the singer reveals his own and his brother's illustrious descent, Therefore, come last of all and produce on Wodate the startling effect which we read of in the next sentence.

7 Or, "seat." In ancient times each person in a room sat on a special mat, and it is that small mat which is here meant.

8 The Numeral is accompanied by the Auxiliary *hashira*, properly used for gods and goddesses.

[SECT. CLXV. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART III. — THE GRANDEE SHIBI). 1]

So when the government of the Empire was about to be assumed, 2 the Grandee Shibi, 3 ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri 4 mixed in the Songs, and took the hand of the beautiful person whom His Augustness Woke was about to wed. This maiden was a daughter of one of the Headmen of Uda, 5 and her name was Ofuwo. 6 Then His Augustness Woke likewise mixed in the Song-Hedge. 7 Thereupon the Grandee Shibi sang, saying:

(iv) "The further fin of the roof of the great palace is bent down at the corner." 8

When he had thus sung, and requested the conclusion of the Song, His Augustness Woke sang, saying:

(v) "It is on account of the great carpenter's [331] awkwardness that it is bent down at the corner." 9

Then the Grandee Shibi sang again, saying:

(viii)"The great lord, on account of the magnanimity of his heart, does not enter and stand in the eight-fold hedge of branches of the child of a grandee." 10

Hereupon the Prince sang again, saying:

(i) "Looking on the breakers of the briny current, I see my spouse standing by the fin of the tunny that comes sporting."

Then the Grandee Shibi, getting more and more angry sang, saying:

(ix) "[Though] the eight-fold hedge of branches of the Prince the Great Lord be made fast at eight places, be made fast all round, ’tis a hedge that shall be cut, ’tis a hedge that shall be burnt." 11

Then the Prince again sang, saying:

(ii) "Oh fisherman that spearest the tunny, the great fish! He being [there], thou must be sad at heart, tunny-spearing fisherman!" 12

Having thus sung, the feast was concluded at dawn, [332] and they all retired. Next morning the two Deities, 13 His Augustness Ohoke and His Augustness Woke, took counsel, saying: "All the people of the Court go to Court in the morning, and assemble at Shibi 's gate at noon. So 14 Shibi must surely now be sleeping, and, [333] Moreover, there will be nobody at the gate. So unless it be now, it was hard to plot against him," 15—and forthwith they at once raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Shibi, and slew him.

Footnotes

1 The student should compare the version of the story in this Sect. with that give in the "Chronicles of Japan," where it is placed some years later at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Mu-retsu, and not only do many of the details disagree, but the arrangement and number of the Songs is different. It is impossible to make a consistent whole out of the story as here given; so, while noticing the linguistic peculiarities of each of the Songs in the order in which they appear in the present text, the translator has thought it advisable, following Moribe, to give in Note 12 a consistent scheme of interpretation for the whole. The small Roman numbers placed in brackets at the commencement of each Song indicate its place in the text as restored by Moribe.

2 By one or other of the two Princes Ohoke and Woke. "Each," we are afterwards told, "ceded the Empire to the other," and it Therefore, remained for sometime uncertain which was to be the Sovereign.

3 *Shibi no omi*. In some of the Songs that follow there is a play on the identity of this name with that of the tunny-fish (*shibi*). But whether that be really the derivation it is difficult to ascertain.

4 *Heguri no omi*. Conf. Sect. LXI, Note 45.

5 *Uda no obito-ra*. *Uda* is the name of a place in Yamato.

6 *I.e.*, "big fish." But see the remark on this name in Note 12.

7 *Uta-gaki*. The derivation of this curious expression is disputed; but the meaning seems to be "strophic" or "choric song," or "a place where singing in which more than one takes part is going on."

8 In this Song the "further fin" (*woto tsu hata-de*, explained by the characters 彼鰭手or 彼端手is supposed to signify a pent-roof, or the eaves of the roof, or else an out-house connected by a slanting roof with the main building. The "great palace" is the palace of Prince Woke.

9 The "great carpenter" is the carpenter employed to build the roof above-mentioned.

10 The "eight-fold hedge of branches" is simply a "hedge," and the "child of a grandee" the Grandee Shibi himself.

11 The words "made fast" refer to the tying of the fence at certain places to give it strength. If we accepted Moribe's emendation of the final Verb *yakemu*, "burn," to *yaremu*, we should have to translate the last clause thus: "’tis a fence that shall be broken."

12 "The great fish" (*ofuwo yo shi*) is the Pillow-Word for *shibi*, "tunny." The word "he" (which might also be rendered "*it*,"—the original being (*so*) must be taken to refer both to the fish itself and to the Grandee Shibi (*i.e.*, the grandee Tunny), who bore its name. —Following Moribe's acceptable restoration of the original story, which is founded on a comparison of the text of these "Records" with that of the "Chronicles of Japan," we find that

in the first Song of the series the young Prince half jokingly remarks on the fact of the Grandee Shibi appearing in public with the damsel who was to have been his (the Prince's) bride. Shibi's name, which, as already stated, signifies "tunny," furnishes the occasion for the marine metaphors borrowed from the current and the breakers. Shibi's answer (Song II, —in the "Records" wrongly ascribed to the prince), takes up the same strain, but in a more daunting tone: the prince is likened to a fisherman who would fain make a futile attempt to spear the great tunny, and his (the tunny's, *i.e.*, the Grandee Shibi's) presence must Indeed, be pain and grief to him. In a third Song. which is given in the "Chronicles," but not in the "Records," the prince retorts that he relies on his good sword to win the girl for him in the end, and in Song IV the Grandee jeers at the dilapidated condition of his palace, and by implication at the sorry state of his fortunes, —a taunt to which the prince replies in Song V by saying that if the palace is dilapidated, and the Empire in disorder, the fault belongs to none other than to the Grandee himself. Songs VI and VII, which are not found in the "Records," only serve to continue the growing war of words, which in Song VII (in the "Records" wrongly attributed to the Grandee) comes to a climax by the prince exclaiming that if he does not force his way into the Grandee's mansion to seize his lady-love, it is only on account of the magnanimity of his disposition. To this the Grandee replies in Song IX (in the "Records" erroneously attributed to the prince) by a sort of *tu quoque*, vowing that he will cut and burn his way into the prince's palace. This is not the end of the dispute in the pages of the "Chronicles," but it is all that need detain the reader of the "Records." It should, however, be mentioned that in the "Chronicles" the name of the girl is *Kage-hime*: *Ofuwo* "Big Fish," which is here given, would seem to be nothing more than a nickname, which perhaps arose from the incidents of this metrics war of words.

13 The word used in the original is *hashira*, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities. It recurs at the commencement of the next Section, where however it is not convenient to translate it.

14 The original here has the character 亦, "again" or "Moreover." But this must be, as Motowori points to a copyist's error, almost immediately below the same character recurs where it is equally out of place. The translator has followed Motowori in rendering it the first time by "so," and the second by "surely."

15 *I.e.*, There is no time like the present for plotting against him.

[SECT. CLXVI. —EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART IV. — PRINCE OHOKE CEDES THE EMPIRE TO PRINCE WOKE).]

Then each of the two Princes ceded the Empire to the other, and His Augustness Ohoke [Finally,] ceded it to the younger brother His Augustness Woke, saying: "Had not Thine Augustness revealed our names when we dwelt in the house of Shizhimu in Harima, we should never have arrived at being the lords of the Empire. This is quite owing to Thine Augustness's deed. So, though I be the elder brother, do Thine Augustness rule the Empire first,"—and [with these words] he urgently ceded [his claim]. So, being unable to refuse, His Augustness Woke ruled the Empire first.

[SECT. CLXVII. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART I. — THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME).]

His Augustness Woke-no-ihasu-wake dwelt at the palace of Chika-tsu-Asuka, 1 and ruled the Empire for eight years. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Queen of Naniha, 2 daughter of the King of Ihaki. 3 He had no children. At the time when this Heavenly Sovereign was searching for the august bones of the King his father, King Ichinobe, 4 there came out from the land of Afumi [to the palace] a poor old woman, who said: "The place where the prince's august bones are buried is specially well known to me, 5 and Moreover, [his skeleton] can be known by his august teeth." (His august teeth were teeth uneven like a lily.) Then people were set 6 to dig the [334] ground and search for the august bones; and the bones having been forthwith obtained, an august mausoleum was made on the mountain east of the Moor of Kaya, 7 and they were interred, and the children of Kara-fukuro 8 were made to guard the august mausoleum. Afterwards the august bones were brought up [to the Capital]. So having returned up [to the Capital, the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for the old woman, praised her for having, without forgetting, kept the place in mind, and conferred upon her the name of the Old Woman Oki-me: 9 thus did he send for her into the palace, and deign to treat her with deep and wide kindness. So he built a house for the old woman to dwell in dose to the palace, and always sent for her every day. So he hung a bell by the door of the great hall, and always rang it when he wished to call the old woman. So he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Oh! the far-distant bell tinkles when she has past the moor with its low eulalias and the little valley. Oh! Oki-me must be coming!" 10

Hereupon the old woman said: "I am very aged, [335] and would fain depart to my native land." So when the Heavenly Sovereign let her depart according to her request, he saw her off and sang, saying:

"Ah Okime! Okime from Afumi! from to-morrow [onwards] wilt [thou] be hidden behind the deep mountains, and alas! not seen!" 11

Footnotes

1 See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

2 *Naniha no miko*. For *Naniha* see Sect. XLIV, Note 26

3 *Ihaki no miko*.

4 Who had been treacherously slain by the Emperor Yū-riyaku (see Sect. CXLVIII).

5 *I.e.*, says Motowori, "it is known to me, and to none besides."

6 The character used is 起, which is more applicable to the raising of troops than to the setting to work of peasants. It seems however here to be used in the latter sense; or perhaps we should consider it to mean that people were got together.

7 See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 3. Possibly the "mountain east" should be a Proper Name, —Eastern Mountain, —but it is not taken as such by Motowori.

8 See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 1.

9 *I.e.*, "keeping an eye." *q.d.*, on the place of burial of the Emperor's father. Grammar would lead us to expect the order of the words forming the name to be reversed thus, *Mo-oki*; but see Motowori's remarks in Vol. XLIII.

10 This Song is not comprehensible except by reference to the text of the "Chronicles," whose author gives a somewhat varying version of the story. He tells us that, as a support to the infirm old lady, the Emperor had a string or rope stretched as a sort of hand-rest along the way she was obliged to pass in order to reach the Imperial apartments, and that at the end of the rope was a bell whose tinkling notified the Emperor of her approach. The conjectural exclamation which closes the little poem has Therefore, an obvious sense, which would be wanting if the bell were at the other end, as in the version here given; for the Emperor would not give expression to surprise at her approach, if he had himself just rung for her to come. —"Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt to represent the Pillow-Word *momo-dzutafu*, which here alludes to the stages along which the old woman may be supposed to be travelling. The valley and the moor overgrown with short grass form an allusion to the way, —long and arduous for her, —which Oki-me had to traverse to reach the Imperial. apartments, and they contain possibly a further allusion to her original journey to the capital.

11 The meaning of this Song is quite clear. —The second time the name Oki-me occurs, it might, instead of being as here taken as an exclamation, be made the subject of the sentence, thus: "Oki-me from Afumi will by to-morrow, etc." The words "wilt [thou]," which represent *ka* of the original Japanese may be taken either as an exclamation properly so-called, or as a sort of rhetorical interrogation whose force is simply exclamatory. The meaning comes to the same in either case, and is literally rendered by the

same English words; but according to the latter view, we should have to replace the point of exclamation by a point of interrogation.

[SECT. CLXVIII. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART II. —HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD).]

The Heavenly Sovereign searched for the old boar-herd who had seized his august provisions at the time when he first met with adversity and was fleeing; [1] and, having sought him out, sent for him up [to the Capital], beheaded him in the bed [2] of the River Asuka, [3] and cut the knee-tendons of all his kindred. Wherefore down to the present time his descendants, on the day when [4] they [285] come up to Yamato, always limp of their own accord. So the man's abode had been well seen and divined. [5] So the place was named Shimesu. [6]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. CXLIX.

2 Motowori would have us understand the text to mean "in the neighbourhood of the river." There is, however, no difficulty in accepting the author's statement literally, as anyone who is acquainted with the broad, stony beds of Japanese rivers will readily admit.

3 *Asuki-gaka*. For Asuka see Sect. CXXXIII. Note 11.

4 *I.e.*, probably "whenever."

5 *I.e.*, "discovered by augury," or else simply "found and pointed out,"—by whom does not appear.

6 The real etymology of this name is obscure, but the author's intention is to connect it with the "dividing "or "pointing out" mentioned in the preceding sentence, which is given phonetically as [*mi*] *shimeki*.

[SECT. CLXIX. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART III. — THE EMPEROR YŪ-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, deeply hating the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, who had slain the King his father, wished to be revenged on his spirit. 1 So when wishing to destroy the august mausoleum of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, he [was about to] send people [to execute this design], his elder brother, His Augustness Ohoke, addressed' him, saying: "To demolish this august mausoleum thou shouldst not send other people. None but myself shall go, and I will demolish it according to the Heavenly Sovereign's august heart. 2 Then the Heavenly Sovereign commanded: "Make thy progress, then, according to thy decree," 3 Wherefore His Augustness Ohoke, having proceeded down himself, slightly excavated the side of the august mausoleum, and returned up [to the capital], and reported that he had dug up and demolished it. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, astonished at the quickness of his return up, asked how he had demolished it. He replied, saying: "I slightly excavated the earth at the side of the august mausoleum." The Heavenly Sovereign said: "Wishing to be revenged on the enemy, of the King our father, I had counted on.

the complete demolition of the mausoleum, Why hast thou [only] slightly excavated it? "He replied, saying: [337] "The reason why I did so was that the wish to be revenged on the spirit of the foe of the King our father is truly just. Nevertheless, the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, though he were our father's foe, was still our uncle, and Moreover, was an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire. So if we now, simply from the consideration of his having been our father's enemy, were completely to

demolish the mausoleum of an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire, after-generations would surely revile us. Meanwhile the wrongs of the King our father must not be unrevenged. So I slightly excavated the side of the mausoleum. This insult will quite suffice as a token to future ages." On his thus addressing him, the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'This also is very just, Be it as thou sayest."

Footnotes

1 靈, read *ni tama* or *tamashihi*. We might also translate it by the word "ghost."

2 The respectful character 奏is used for this word, and again below we have the First Personal Pronoun represented by 僕, "servant."

3 This sentence ends in the original with the characters 以出參, which it is not necessary to render into English. They imply that the speaker will come back, and report on what he has done.

[SECT. CLXX. —EMPEROR KEN-ZŌ (PART IV. — HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

So the Heavenly Sovereign died, and His Augustness Ohoke ruled the succession of Heaven's sun. [1] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were thirty-eight years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Katawoka. [2]

Footnotes

1 See Sect. XXXII, Note 27.

2 For *Katawoka* see Sect. LX, Note 29. *Iha-tsuki* probably means "rockplatter," and seems to have been the name of a little plateau.

[SECT. CLXXI. —EMPEROR NIN-KEN.] [1]

His Augustness Ohoke dwelt at the palace of Hirataka at Isono-kami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kasuga-no-oho-iratsume, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take, and begot august children: Takaki-no-iratsume; next Takara-no-iratsume; next Kasubi-no-iratsume; next Tashiraka-no-iratsume; next His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki; next Prince Ma-waka. The child born to him by his next wife Naka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma (?) of [338] Wani, was: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered seven altogether. Of these His Augustness Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

Footnotes

1 For the discontinuance of explanatory foot-notes in this concluding portion of the translation see Translator's Introduction, Sect. II.

[SECT. CLXXII—EMPEROR MU-RETSU.]

His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Namiki at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire for eight years. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. So the Wo-hatsuse Tribe was established as his august proxy. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Karawoka. On the death of this Heavenly Monarch there was no prince to inherit the Empire, So His Augustness Ohodo, the fifth descendant of the Heavenly Monarch Homuda, was sent for down to the land of Afumi, and married to her Augustness Tashiraka, and presented with the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXIII. —EMPEROR KEI-TAI.]

His Augustness Ohodo dwelt in the Palace of Tamaho at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. The (two) august children born to this Heavenly Monarch by Waka-hime, ancestress of the Dukes of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsuko, next Idzumo-no-iratsume. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Meko-no-iratsume, sister of the Chieftain Ofushi, ancestor of the Chieftains of Wohari, were: His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-taka-kana-hi; next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife (the Great Empress) Her Augustness Tashiraka, the august daughter of the Heavenly Monarch Ohoke, was: His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, daughter of Prince Okinaga-no-mate, was: Sasage-no-iratsume. The three august children born to him by his next wife Kuro-hime, daughter of Prince Sakata-no-oho-mata, were: Kamu-saki-no-iratsume; next Mamuta-no-iratsume; next Uma-tsuta-no-iratsume. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Seki-hime, daughter of Womochi Grandee of Mamuta were: Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume; next Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume; next Wo-nu-no-iratsume, another name for whom is Naga-me-hime. The (four) children born to him by his [339] next wife Yamato-hime, younger sister of Katabu Duke of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsume (?); next Prince Maroko; next Prince Mimi; next Aka-hime-no-iratsume. The (three) children born to him by his next wife Abe-no-haye-hime, were: Waka-ya-no-iratsume; next Tsubura-no-iratsume; next Prince Adzu. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered nineteen in all (seven Kings and twelve Queens). Of these His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi ruled the Empire; the next, Queen

Sasage, presided at the temple of the Deity of Ise. In this august reign Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, was disobedient to the Imperial Decrees, and was exceedingly disrespectful. Soy the Great Chieftain Mononobe-no-arakawi and the Chieftain Ohotomo-no-kanamura were both sent to slay Ihawi. [1] The august years of this Heavenly Monarch were forty-three. His august mausoleum is at Awi in Mishima.

Footnotes

1 Details of this. struggle and its causes are given in the "Chronicles of Japan," and are discussed at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLIV. They are of no special interest.

[SECT. CXXXIV. —EMPEROR KAN-AN.]

His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-*kana*-hi dwelt in the Palace of Kanahashi at Magari, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. His august grave is at the village of Takaya in Furuchi in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXV. —EMPEROR SEN-KUWA.]

His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate dwelt in the Palace of Ihorinu at Hinokuma, and ruled the Empire.

The august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Her Augustness Tachi-bana-no-naka-tsu-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ohoke, were: Her Augustness Ishi-hime; next Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime; next King Kura-no-waka-ye. The august children born to him by his next wife, Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, were: King Honoho; next King Weha. The august children of this Heavenly [340] Sovereign numbered altogether five (three Kings and two Queens). So King Honoho (was the ancestor of the Dukes Shihida.) Prince Weha (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Wina and of the Dukes of Tajihi.)

[SECT. CLXXVI. —EMPEROR KIM-MEI.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha dwelt in the Great Palace of Shikishima, and ruled the Empire. The (three) august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, Her Augustness Ishi-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Hi-no-kuma, were: King Yata; next His Augustness Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki; next King Kasanuhi. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, younger sister [of the first one], was: King Kami. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Nukako-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Kasuga, were: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume; next King Maroko; next King Soga-no-kura. The (thirteen) children born to him by his next wife Kitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the Noble Inawe of Soga were: His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi; next his younger sister Queen Ihakumo; next King Atori; next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime; next King Mata-maroko; next King Oho-yake; next King Imigako; next King [of?] Yamashiro; next his younger sister Queen Oho-tomo; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari; next King Manu; next King Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go; next King Tone. The five august children born to him by his next wife Wo-ye-hime, aunt of Her Augustness Kitashi-hime, were: King Umaki; next King Kadzuraki; next King Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be; next King Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, another name for whom was Sume-irodo; next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered twenty-five Kings and Queens. Of these His Augustness Nu-na-kura-futo-tama-shiki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi ruled the Empire. Next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-hashiki-ya-hime ruled

the Empire. Next His Augustness Hatsusebe-no-waka-sazaki ruled the Empire. In all there were four Kings and Queens that ruled the Empire.

[341]

[SECT. CLXXVII. —EMPEROR BI-DATSU.]

His Augustness Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki dwelt in the Palace of Wosada, and ruled the Empire for fourteen years. The (eight) children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, his half-sister Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, were: King Shidzu-kahi, another name for whom was Kahi-dako; next King Takeda, another name for whom was King Wo-kahi; next King Woharita; next King Umori; next King Wohari; next King Tame; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife Wo-kuma ko-no-iratsume, daughter of the Headman Ohoka of Ise, were: Her Augustness Futo-hime; next Queen Takara, another name for whom was Queen Nukade-hime. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Hiro-hime, daughter of King Okinaga-no-made, were: King Osako-no-hiko-hito, another name for whom was King Maroko; next King Saka-nobori; next King Uji. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife Omina-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, were: King Naniha; next King Kuhada; next King Kasuga; next King Oho-mata. Of the august children of this Heavenly Monarch, —seventeen Kings and Queens altogether, —King Hiko-hito begot by his wife his half-sister Queen Tamura, another name for whom was Her Augustness Nukade-hime, (three) august children, namely: the Heavenly Sovereign that ruled the Empire from the Palace of Wokamoto; next King Nakatsu; next King Tara. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Queen Ohomata, younger sister of King Aya, were: King Chinu; next his younger sister Queen Kuhada. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife his half-sister Princess Yumi-hari, were: King Yamashiro; next Queen Kasanuhi, —altogether seven Kings and Queens,

The august mausoleum [of the Heavenly Sovereign Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki] is at Shinaga in Kafuchi.

[SECT. CLXXVIII. —EMPEROR YŌMEI.]

His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi dwelt in the Palace of Ikenobe, and ruled the Empire for three years. The one august child born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Oho-gitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the noble name, was: King Tame. The (four) [342] august children born to him by his next wife, his half-sister Princess Hashi-bito-no-anaho-be, were: His Augustness Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi; next King Kume; next King We-kuri; next King Mamuta. The august children born to him by his next wife Ihime-no-ko, daughter of Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, were: King Tagima; next his younger sister Sugashiroko-no-iratsume. The august mausoleum of this Heavenly Sovereign, which had been by the borders of Lake Ihare, was afterwards removed to the middle sepulchre of Shinaga.

[SECT. CLXXIX. —EMPEROR SU-JUN.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki dwelt at the Palace of Shibabaki at Kurahashi, and ruled the Empire for four years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Kurahashi.

[SECT. CLXXX. —EMPRESS SUI-KO.]

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime dwelt at the Palace of Wohorida, and ruled the Empire for thirty-seven years. Her august mausoleum, which had been on the mound of Ohonu, was afterwards removed to the great sepulchre at Shinaga.

[343]

APPENDIX I.: JAPANESE TEXT OF THE SONGS PRESERVED IN THE "KO-JI-KI," OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS," TRANSLITERATED INTO ROMAN. [1]

I. (SECT. XIX, NOTE 6.)

Ya-kumo tatsu Idzumo ya-he-gaki

Tsuma-gomi ni Ya-he-gaki-tsukuru

Sono ya-he-gaki wo

II. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 4.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ha

Ya-shima-kuni Tsuma magi-kanete

Toho-tohoshi Koshi no kuni ni

Sakashi-me wo Ari to kikoshite

Kuhashi-me wo Ari to kikoshite

Sa-yobahi ni Ari-tatashi

Yobahi, ni Ari-kayohase

Tachi ga wo mo Imada tokazute

Osuhi wo mo Imada tokaneba

Wotome no Nasu ya ita-to wo

Osoburahi Wa ga tatasereba

Hikodzurahi Wa ga tatasereba

[344] Awo-yama ni Nuye ha naki

Sa-nu tsu tori Kigishi ha toyomu

Niha tsu tori Kake ha naku

Uretaku mo Naku-naru tori ka

Kono tori mo Uchi-yame-kosene

Ishitafu ya Ama-hase-dzukahi

Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

III. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 5.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto

Nuye-kusa no Me ni shi areba

Wa ga kokoro Ura-su no tori zo

Ima koso ha Chi-dori ni arame

Nochi ha Na-dori ni aramu wo

Inochi ha Na shise-tamahi so

Ishi-tafu ya Ama-hase-dzukahi

Koto no Katori-gotomo

Ko wo ba

IV. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 7.)

Awo-yama ni Hi ga kakuraba

Nuba-tama no Yo ha ide-namu

Asa-hi no Wemi-sakaye-kite

Taku-dzumu no Shiroki tadamuki

Awa-yuki no Wakayaru mune wo

So-dataki Tataki-managari

Ma-tama-de Tama-de sahi-maki

Momo-naga ni I ha nasamu wo

Aya ni Na kohi-kikoshi

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto

Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

V. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 2.)

Nuba-tama no Kuroki mi keshi wo

Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi [345]

Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki

Ha-tatagi mo Kore ha fusahazu

He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute

So-ni-dori no Awoki mi keshi wo

Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi

Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki

Ha-tatagi mo Ko mo fusahazu

He tsu nami So ni nugi-ute

Yama-gata ni Magishi atane tsuki 2

Some-ki ga shiru ni Shime-koromo wo

Ma-tsubusa ni Tori-yosohi

Oki tsu tori Muna miru toki

Ha-tatagi mo Ko shi yoroshi

Itokoya no Imo no mikoto

Mura-tori no Wa ga mure-i-naba

Hike-tori no Wa ga hike-i-naba

Nakazhi to ha Na ha ifu to mo

Yamato no Hito-moto susuki

Unakabushi Na ga nakasamaku

Asa-ame no Sa-giri ni tatamu zo [3]

Waka-kusa no Tsuma no mikoto.

Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

VI. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 3.)

Ya-chi-hoko no Kami no mikoto ya

A ga oho-kuni Nushi koso ha

Wo ni i-maseba Uchi-miru

Shima no saki-zaki

Kaki-miru Iso no saki ochizu

Waka-kusa no Tsuma motase-rame

A ha mo yo Me ni shi areba

[346] Na wokite Wo ha nashi

Na wokite Tsuma ha nashi

Aya-kaki no Fuhayaga shita ni

Mushi-busuma Nikoya ga shita ni

Taku-busuma Sayagu ga shita ni

Awa-yuki no Wakayaru mune wo

Taku-dzunu no Shiroki tadamuki

So-dataki Tataki-managari

Ma-tama-de Tama-de sashi-maki

Momo-naga ni I wo shi nase

Toyo mi ki Tate-matsurase

VII. (SECT. XXXI, NOTE 33.)

Ame naru ya Oto-tanabata no

Unagaseru Tama no mi sumaru

Mi sumaru ni Ana-dama haya

Mi tani futa watarasu [4]

Ajishiki Taka-hiko-ne no

Kami zo ya

VIII. (SECT. XLII, NOTE 18.)

Aka-dama ha Wo sahe hikaredo

Shira-tama no Kimi ga yosohi shi

Tafutoku ari-keri

IX. (SECT. XLII, NOTE 19.)

Oki tsu tori Kamo-doku shima ni

Waga wi-neshi Imo ha wasurezhi

Yo no koto-goto ni

X. (SECT. XLVII, NOTES 16 AND 17.)

Uda no taka-ki ni [5] Shigi-wana haru [6]

Wa ga matsu ya Shigi ha sayarazu

Isukuhashi Kujira sayaru [347]

Konami ga Na kohasaba

Tachi-soba no Mi no nakeku wo [7]

Kokishi hiwene Uhanari ga

Na kohasaba Ich-saka-ki mi no

Ohokeku wo Kokida hiwene

Ye ye Shi ya ko shi ya

[Wo ha igonofu zo] Aa shi yo ko shi ya

XI. (SECT. XLVIII, NOTE 4.)

Osaka no Oho-muro-ya ni

Hito saha ni Ki-iri-wori

Hito saha ni Iri-wori to mo

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko ga

Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi

Uchite shi yamamu

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga

Kubu-tsutsu-i Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi

Ina utaba yorashi

XII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 2.)

Mitsu mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga

Aha-fu ni ha Ka-mira hito-moto

So ne ga moto So ne me tsunagite

Uchite shi yamamu

XIII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 3.)

Mitsu-mitsushi Kume no ko-ra ga

Kaki-moto ni Uweshi hazhikami

Kuchi hibiku Ware ha wasurezhi

Uchite shi yamanu

XIV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 4.)

Kamu-kaze no Ise no umi no

[348] Ohishi Hahi-motohorofu

Shitadami no I-hahi-motohori

Uchite shi yamamu

XV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 6.)

Tata namete Inasa no yama no

Ko no ma yo mo I-yuki-mamorahi

Tatakaheba Ware ba ya wenu.

Shima tsu tori U-kahi ga tomo

Ima suke ni kone

XVI. (SECT. LI, NOTE 17.)

Yamato no Takasazhi-nu wo

Nana-yuku Wotome-domo

Tare wo shi makamu

XVII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 19.)

Katsu-gatsu mo Iya-saki-dateru

Ye wo shi makamu

XVIII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 21.)

A me tsu tsu Chi dori mashi to to [?]

Nado sakeru to-me

XIX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 22.)

Wotome ni Taka ni ahamu to

Wa ga sakeru to-me

XX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 28.)

Ashi-hara no Shigekoki wo-ya ni

Suga-tatami Iyasaya shikite

Wa ga futari neshi

XXI. (SECT. LII, NOTE 5 fukanu to su

XXII. (SECT. LII, NOTE 6.) [349]

Unebi-yama Hiru ha kumo to wi

Yufu sareba Kaze fukamu to zo

Ko no ha sayageru

XXIII. (SECT. LXVI, NOTE. 7)

Ko ha ya Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya Ono ga wo wo

Nusumi shi semu to Shiri tsu to yo

I-yuki-tagahi Mahe tsu to yo

I-yuki-tagahi Ukagahaku

Shirani to Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

XXIV. (SECT. LXXXI, NOTE 4.)

Yatsumesasu Idzumo-takeru ga

Hakeru tachi Tsudzura saha maki

Sa-mi nashi ni ahare

XXV. (SECT. LXXXIV, NOTE 8.)

Sanesashi Sogamu no wo-nu ni

Moyuru hi no Ho-naka ni tachite

Tohishi kimi ha mo

XXVI. (SECT. LXXXVI, NOTES 3 AND 5.)

Nihibari Tsukuha wo sugite

Iku yo ka netsuru—

Ka-ga nabete Yo ni ha kokono-yo

Hi ni ha towo-ka wo

XXVII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 3.)

Hisa-kata no Ame no Kagu-yama

To-kama ni Sa-wataru kuhi

Hiha-boso Tawaya-gahina wo

Makamu to ha Are ha suredo

Se-nemu to ha Are ha omohedo

Na ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni

Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXVIII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi

Aratama no Toshi ga ki-fureba

Aratama no Tsuki ha kihe-yuku

Ubena-ubena Kimi machi-ga#a ni

Wa ga keseru Osuhi no suso ni

Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXIX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 6.)

Wohari ni Tada ni mukaheru

Wotsu no saki naru Hito-tsu matsu a se wo

Hito-tsu matsu Hito ni ariseba

Tachi hake-mashi wo winu kise-mashi wo

Hito-tsu matsu a se wo

XXX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Yamato ha Kuni no mahoroba

Tatanatsuku Awo-kaki yama-gomoreru

Yamato shi uruhashi 8

XXXI. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Inochi no Mata-kemu hito ha

Tatami-komo Heguri no yama no

Kuma-kashi ga ha wo Uzu ni sase

Sono ko

XXXII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Hashikeyashi Wagihe no kata yo

Kumo-wi tachi-ku mo

XXXIII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 15.) [351]

Wotome no Toko no be ni

Wa ga okishi Tsurugi no tachi

Sono tachi ha ya

XXXIV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 3.)

Nadzuki no Ta no ina-gara ni

Ina-gara ni Hahi-motorofu

Tokoro-dzura [9]

. . . . .

XXXV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 5.)

Asa-zhinu-hara Koshi nadzumu

Sora ha yukazu Ashi yo yuku na

XXXVI. (SECT. XC, NOTE 7.)

Umi-ga yukeba Koshi nadzumu

Oho-kahara no Uwe-gusa

Umi-ga ha Isayofu [10]

XXXVII. (SECT. XC, NOTE 8.)

Hama tsu chi-dori Hama yo ha yukazu

Iso-dzutafu

XXXVIII. (SECT. C, NOTE 18.)

Isa agi Furu-kuma ga

Itate ohazuha Niho-dori no

Afumi no umi ni Kadzuki sena wa

XXXIX. (SECT. CII, NOTE 2.)

Kono mi ki ha Wa ga mi ki narazu

[352] Kushi no kami Toko-yo ni i-masu

Iha tatasu Sukuna mi kami no

Kamu-hogi Hogi-kuruhoshi

Toyo-hogi Hogi-motohoshi

Matsuri-koshi Mi ki zo

Asazu wose sa sa

XL. (SECT. CII, NOTE 3.)

Kono mi ki wo Kami-kemu hito ha

Sono tsudzumi Usu ni tatete

Utahi-tsutsu Kami-kere ka mo

Mahi-tsutsu Kami-kere ka mo

Kono miki no Mi ki no aya ni [11]

Uta-danushi [ki] sa sa

XLI. (SECT. CVI, NOTE 2.)

Chiba no Kadzu-nu wo mireba

Momo-chi-daru Ya-niha mo miyu

Kuni no ho mo miyu

XLII. (SECT. C VI, NOTE 8.)

Kono kani ya Idzuku no kani

Momo-dzutafu Tsunuga no kani

Yoko-sarafu Idzuku ni itaru

Ichiji-shima Mi-shima ni to ki

Niho-dori no Nadzuki iki-dzuki

Shina-dayufu Sasa-nami-ji wo

Suku-suku to Wa ga i-maseba ya

Kohata no michi ni Ahashishi wotome

Ushiro-de ha Wo-date ro ka mo

Ha-nami ha Shihi (shi) nasu 12

Ichihiwi no Wanisa no ni wo

Hatsu-ni ha Hada akarakemi 353

Shiha-ni ha Ni-guroki yuwe

Mi-tsu-guri no Sono naka tsu ni wo

Kabu-tsuku Ma-hi ni ha atezu

Mayo-gaki Ko ni kaki-tare 13

Ahashishi womina

Ka mo ga to Wa ga mishi ko-ra

Kaku mo ga to A ga mishi ko ni

Utadakeni Mukahi-woru ka mo

Iso-hi-woru ka mo

XLIII. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 9.)

Iza ko-domo Nu-biru tsumi ni

Hiru tsumi ni Wa ga yuku michi no

Kaguhashi Hana-tachibana wo

Ho tsu ye ha Tori wi-garashi

Shi dzu ye ha Hito tori-garashi

Mi-tsu-guri no Naka tsu ye no

Hotsumori Akara-wotome wo

Izasasaba Yorashi na

XLIV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 9.)

Iza ko-domo Nu-biru tsumi (?) ni

Hiru tsumi ni Wa ga yuku michi no

Kaguhashi Hana-tachibana wo

Ho tsu ye ha Tori wi-garashi

Shi dzu ye ha Hito tori-garashi

Mi-tsu-guri no Naka tsu ye no

Hotsumori Akara-wotome wo

Izasasaba Yorashi na

XLIV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 10.)

Midzu tamaru Yasami no ike no

Wi-guhi uchi [Hishi] ga- [ra no] 14

Sashi-keru shirani Nunaha-kuri

Hahe-keku shirani Wa ga kokoro shi

Iya woko ni shite Ima zo kuyashiki

XLV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 11.)

Michi no shiri Kohada-wotome wo

Kami no goto Kikoyeshikadomo [354]

Ahi-makuramaku

XLVI. (SECT. CVII, NOTE I2.)

Michi no shiri Kohada-wotome ha

Arasohazu Ne-shiku wo shi zo mo.

Uruhashimi-omofu

XLVII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 2.)

Homuda no Hi no mi ko

Oho-sazaki Oho-sazaki

Hakaseru tachi Moto-tsurugi

Suwe fuyu Fuyu-ki no su

Kara ga shita-ki no Saya-saya

XLVIII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 6.)

Kashinofu ni Yokusu wo tsukuri

Yokusu ni Kamishi oho-mi-ki

Umara ni Kikoshi-mochi-wose

Maro ga chi

XLIX. (SECT. CXI, NOTE 5.)

Susukori ga Kamishi mi ki ni

Ware wehi ni keri

Koto nagu shi We-gushi ni

Ware wehi ni keri 15

L. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 10.)

Chihayaburu Uji no watari no

Sawo-tori ni Haya-kemu hito shi

(Wa ga moko ni komu.)

LI. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 15.)

Chihaya-bito Uji no watari ni

Watari-ze ni tateru Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi

I-kiramu to Kokoro ha mohedo

1-toramu to Kokoro ha mohedo

Moto-he ha Kimi wo omohi-de

Suhe-he ha Imo wo omohi-de

Iranakeku Soko ni omohi-de

Kanashikeku Koko ni omohi-de

[355] I kirazu zo kuru Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi [16]

LII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 4.)

Oki-he ni ha Wo-bune tsuraraku

Kuro-zaki [17] no Masazu-ko wagimo

Kuni he kudarasu

LIII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 8.)

Oshi-teru ya Naniha no sakiyo

Ide-tachite Wa ga kuni mireba

Aha-shima Onogoro-shima

Ajimasa no Shima mo miyu

Saketsu-shima miyu

LIV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE I0.)

Yama-gata ni Makoru awo-na mo

Kibi-hito to Tomo ni shi tsumeba

Tanushiku mo aru ka

LV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 13)

Yamato-he ni Nishi fukiagete

Kumo-banare Soki-wori to mo

Ware wasureme ya

LVI. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 14.) [356]

Yamato-he ni Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

Komoridzu no Shita yo hahe-tsutsu

Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

LVII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE II.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo

Kaha-nobori Wa ga noboreba

Kaha no he ni Ohi-dateru

Sashibu wo Sashibu no ki

Shi ga shita ni Ohi-dateru

Ha-biro yutsu matsuba-ki 18

Shi ga hana no Teri-i-mashi

Shi ga ha no Hirori-i-masuha

Oho-kimi ro ka mo

LVIII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE 14.)

Tsuginefu ya Yamashiro-gaha wo

Miya-nobori Wa ga noboreba

Awoniyoshi Nara wo sugi

Wo-date Yamato wo sugi

Wa ga migahoshi kuni ha

Kadzuraki Takamiya Wagihe no atari [19]

LIX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 3.)

Yamashiro ni I-shike Toriyama

Ishike i-shike A ga hashi-dzuma ni

I-shiki-ahamu ka mo

LX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 5.)

Mimoro no Sono Takaki naru

[357] Ohowiko ga hara Ohowiko ga hara ni aru [20]

Kimo-mukafu Kokoro wo dani ka

Ahi-omohazu aramu

LXI. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 6)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no

Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne

Ne-zhiro no Shiro-tadamuki

Makazukeba koso Shirazu to mo ihame

LXXII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE I2.)

Yamashiro no Tsutsuki no mi-ya ni

Mono mawosu A ga se no kimi ha

Namita-gumashi mo

LXIII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 18.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no

Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne

Sawa-sawa ni Na ga ihese koso

Uchi-watasu Yagahaye-nasu

Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 18.)

Tsuginefu Yamashiro-me no

Ko-kuha mochi Uchishi oho-ne

Sawa-sawa ni Na ga ihese koso

Uchi-watasu Yagahaye nasu

Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 1.)

Yata no Hito-moto suge ha

Ko motazu Tachi ka are-namu

Atara-suga-hara Koto wo koso

Suge-hara to ihame Atara-sugashi-me

LXV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 2.)

Yata no Hito-moto suge ha

Hitori wori to mo Oho-kimi shi

Yoshi to kikosaba Hitori wori to mo

LXVI. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 2.)

Medori no Wa ga oho-kimi no

Orosu hara Taga dane ro ha mo [358]

LXVII. (SECT. CXXVI NOTE 3.)

Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake no

Mi osuhi-gane

LXVIII. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 5.)

Hibari ha Ame ni kakeru

Taka-yuku ya Haya-busa-wake

Sazaki torasane

LXIX. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura hashi-yama wo

Sagashimi to Iha kaki-kanete

Wa ga to torasu mo

LXX. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no Kura-hashi-yama ha

Sagashikedo Imo to noboreba

Sagashiku mo arazu

LXXI. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 3.)

Tamakiharu Uchi no aso

Na koso ha Yo no naga-hito

Sora mitsu Yamato no kuni ni

Kari ko ’mu to Kiku ya

LXXII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko

Ube shi koso Tohi-tamahe

Ma koso ni Tohi-tamahe

Are koso ha Yo no naga-hito

Sora-mitsu Yamato no kuni ni

Kari ko ’mu to Imada kikazu

LXXIII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 6.)

Na ga mi ko ya Tsuhi ni shiramu to

Kari ha ko ’murashi

LXXIV. (SECT. CXXIX, NOTE 8.)

Karanu wo Shiho hi yaki

Shi ga amari Koto ni tsukuri

Kaki-hiku ya Yura no to no

To-naka no Ikuri ni

Fure-tatsu Nadzu no ki no [593]

Saya-saya

LXXV. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 5.)

Tajihi-nu ni Nemu to shiriseba

Tatsu-gomo mo Mochite

Ko-mashi mono Nemu to shiriseba

LXXVI. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 7.)

Hanifu-zaka Wa ga tachi-mireba

Kagirohi no Moyuru ihe-mura

Tsuma ga the no asari

LXXVII. (SECT. CXXXIII, NOTE 10.)

Oho-saka ni Afu ya wotome wo

Michi toheba Tada ni ha norazu

Tajima-chi wo noru

LXXVIII. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 2.)

Ashiki no Yama-da wo tsukuri

Yama-dakami Shita-bi wo washise

Shita-dohi ni Wa ga tofu imo wo

Shita-naki ni Wa ga naku tsuma wo

Kofu koso ha Yasuku hada fure

LXXIX. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 4.)

Sasa-ba ni Utsu ya arare no

Tashi-dashi ni Wi-netemu nochi ha

Hito hakayu to mo

Uruhashi to Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

Kari-komo no Midareba midare

Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

[360] LXXX. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 7.)

Oho-mahe Wo-mahe sukune ga

Kana-to kage Kaku yori-kone

Ame tachi-yamemu

LXXXI. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 8.)

Miya-hito no Ayuhi no ko-suzu

Ochi ni ki to Miya-hito toyomu

Sato-bito mo yume

LXXXII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 12.)

Ama-damu Karu no wotome

Ita nakaba Hito shirinu-beshi

Hasa no yama no hoto no

Shita-naki ni naku [21]

LXXXIII. (SECT., CXLII, NOTE 13.)

Ama-damu Karu-wotome

Shita-ta ni mo Yori-nete tohore

Karu-wotome-domo

LXXXIV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 2.)

Ama tobu Tori mo tsukahi zu

Tadzu ga ne no Kikoyemu toki ha

Wa ga na tohasane

LXXXV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 4.)

Oho-kimi wo Shima ni haburaba

Funa-amari I-gaheri-komu zo

Wa ga tatami yume Koto wo koso

Tatami to ihame Wa ga tsuma ha yume

LXXXVI. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 6.)

Natsu-kusa no Ahine no hama no

Kaki-gahi ni Ashi [22] fumasu na [361]

Akashite tohore

LXXXVII. (SECT CXLIII, NOTE 7.)

Kimi ga yuki Ke-nagaku narinu

Yama-tadzu no Mukahe wo yukamu

Matsu ni ha matazhi

LXXXVIII. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 8.)

Komoaiku no Hatsuse no yama no

Oho-wo ni ha Hata hari-date

Sa-wo-wo ni he Hata hari-date

Oho-wo ni shi Naga sadameru

Omohi-dzuma ahare

Tsuku-yumi no Koyaru koyari mo

Adzusa-yumi Tateri-tateri mo

Nochi motori-miru

Omohi-dzuma ahare

(There is no footnote reference for [23])

LXXXIX. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 9.)

Komoriku no Hatsuse no kaha no

Kami tsu se ni I-kuhi wo uchi

Shimo tsu se ni Ma-kuhi wo uchi

I-kuhi ni ha Kagami wo kake

Ma-kuhi ni ha Ma-tama wo kake

Ma-tama nasu Aga mofu imo

Kagami nasu Aga mofu tsuma

Ari to ihaba koso ni

Ihe ni mo yukame Kuni wo mo shinubame [24]

XC. (SECT. CLIII, NOTE 4.)

Kusa-kabe no Kochi no yoma to

[362] Tatami-komo Heguri no yama no

Kochi-gochi no Yama no kahi ni

Tachi-zakayuru Ha-biro kuma-kashi

Moto ni ha I-kumi-dake ohi

Suwe-he ni ha Tashimi-dake ohi

I-kumi-dake I-kumi ha nezu

Tashimi-dake Tashi ni ha wi-nezu

Nochi mo kumi-nemu Sono omohi-dzuma

Ahare

XCI. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 9.)

Mimoro no Itsu-kashi ga moto

Kashi ga moto Yuyushiki ka mo

Kashi-hara-wotomo

XCII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE IO.)

Hiketa no Waka-kuru-su-bara

Wakaku-he ni Wi-nete-mashi mono

Oi ni keru ka mo

XCIII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE I2.)

Mimoro ni Tsuku ya tama-kaki

Tsuki-amashi Ta ni ka mo yoraumu

Kami no miya-hito

XCIV. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 13.)

Kusaka-ye no Iri-ye no hachisu

Hana-bachisu Mi no sakari-bito

Tomoshiki ro ka mo

XCV. (SECT. CLV, NOTE 3.)

Agura wi no Kami no mi to mochi

Hiku koto ni Mahi suru womina [363]

Tokyo-yo ni mo ka mo

XCVI. (SECT. CLVI, NOTE 3.)

Mi-yeshinu no Womuro ga take ni

Shishi fusu to Tare zo oho-make ni mawosu [25]

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no

Shishi matsu to Agura ni i-mashi

Shiro-tahe no Sode ki-sonafu

Ta-komura ni Amu kaki-tsuki

So no amu wo Akidzu haya kuhi

Kaku no goto Na ni ohamu to

Sora-mitsu Yamato no kuni wo

Akidzu-shima tofu

XCVII. (SECT. CLVII, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no

Asobashishi Shishi no yami-shishi no

Utaki kashikomi Wa ga nige-noborishi

Ari-wo no Hari-no-ki no yeda [26]

XCVIII. (SECT. CLIX, NOTE 3.)

Wotome no I-kakuru woka wo

[364] Kana-suki mo I-hochi mo ga mo

Suki-banuru mono

XCIX. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 4.)

Makimuke no Hishiro no mi-ya ha

Asa-hi no Hi-deru mi-ya

Yufu-hi no Hi-gakeru mi-ya

Take no ne no Nedaru-mi-ya

Ko no ne no Ne-bafu mi-ya

Yahoniyoshi I-kidzuki no mi-ya

Ma-ki-saku Hi no mi kado

Nihi-nahe-ya ni Ohi-dateru

Momo-daru Tsuki ga ye ha

Ho tsu ye ha Ame wo oheri

Naka tsu ye ha Adzuma wo oheri

Shi dzu ye ha Hina wo oheri

Ho tsu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha

Naka tsu ye ni Ochi-furabahe

Naka tsu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha

Shimo tsu ye ni Ochi-furabahe

Shi dzu ye no Ye no ura-ba ha

Ari-ginu no Mihe no ko ga

Sasagaseru Midzu-tama-uki ni

Ukishi abura Ochi-nadzusahi

Mina koworo-koworo ni [27]

Ko shi mo Aya ni kashikoshi

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko

Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

C. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 5.)

Yamato no Kono takechi ni

Ko-dakaru Ichi no tsukasa [365]

Nihi-nahe-ya ni Ohi-dateru

Habiro yo-tsu ma-tsubaki [28]

So ga ha no Hirori-i-mashi

So no hana no Teri-i-masu

Taka-hikaru Hi no mi ko ni

To-yo mi ki Tate-matsurase

Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

CI. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 6.)

Momoshiki no Oho-miya-hito ha

Udzura-tori Hire tori-kakete

Mana-bashira Wo yuki-ahe

Niha-suzume Uzu-sumari-wite

Kefu mo ka mo Saka mi-dzuku-rashi

Taka-hikaru Hi no miya-hito

Koto no Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

CII. (SECT. CLXI, NOTE 2.)

Mina-sosoku Omi no wotome

Ho-dari torasu mo Ho-dari tori

Kataku torase Shita-gataku

Ya-gataku torase Ho dari torasu ko

CIII. (SECT. CLXI, NOTE 4)

Yasumishishi Wa ga oho-kimi no

Asa-to ni ha I-yori-datashi

Yufu-to ni ha I-yori-datasu

Waki-dzuki ga Shita no

Ita ni mo ga A se wo

366 CIV. (SECT CLXV, NOTES 8 AND 12)

Oho-miya no Woto tsu hata-de

Sumi katabukeri

CV. (SECT. NOTES 9 AND 12)

Oho-takumi Wojinami koso

Sumi katabukere

CVI. (SECT. CLXV, NOTES IO AND I2.)

Oho-kimi no Kokoro wo yurami

Omi no ko no Ya-he no shiba-kaki

Iri-tatazu ari

CVII. (SECT. CLXV. NOTE 12.)

Sh ho-se no Na-wori wo mireba

Asobi-kuru Shibi ga hata-de ni

Tsuma tateri-miyu

CVIII. (SECT. CLXV, NOTES I1 AND I2.)

Oho-kimi no Mi ko no shiba-kaki

Ya-fu-zhimari Shimari-motohoshi

Kiremu shiba-kaki Yakemu shiba-kaki 29

CIX. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 12.)

Ofuwo yo shi Shibi tsuku ama yo

Shi ga areba Ura-kohoshiki-kemu

Shibi tsuku ama [30]

CX. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE 10.) [367]

Asa-ji-hara Wo-dani wo sugite

Momo-dzutafu Nute yuraku mo

Oki-me kurashi mo

CXI. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE, 11.)

Oki-me mo ya Afumi no Oki-me

Asu yori ha Mi-yama-gakurite

Miyezu ka mo aramu

Footnotes

1 There are few various readings of the text of these poems. Where any occur, the translator has been guided by the decisions of Motowori and Moribe. Occasionally these two authorities differ as to the division of the words into lines, and Moribe in particular does not hesitate to propose such emendations as seem to him necessary. The translator has in almost all cases adhered to the traditional text, but gives in foot-notes such emendations as appear worthy of notice. Moribe's division of the lines being in almost every case preferable to Motowori's, it has however here been generally adopted.

2 Motowori reads *Magishi Atane tsuki* as two lines.

3 Motowori reads *Sagiri ni Tatamu zo* as two lines.

4 Motowori reads *Mitani Futa watarasu* as two lines.

5 Motowori reads *Uda no Taka-ki ni* as two lines.

6 Moribe emends *haru* to *hari*.

7 Motowori divides these lines thus: *Tachi-soba no mi no Nakeku we*.

8 Motowori reads *gomoreru* as a line by itself, and Similarly, *uruhashi* as a line by itself.

9 Moribe restores the reading of the first line of this poem to *Naduzki-ta no*, and both he and Motowori suggest conjectural concluding lines to supplement the evidently incomplete text. Moribe's are very elegant:

Shi ga tsura no *I-hahi motohori*

Motohorite *Ne-naki tohedomo*

Koto mo norasanu

10 Moribe reads *Umi-ga ha isahofu* as one line. It is difficult, on any method of division, to find rhythm in this Song.

11 Motowori strangely makes *Mi ki no Aya ni* into two lines. The syllable *ki* in the last line of the Song is supplied by Moribe.

12 Motowori divides these lines thus: *Han ami ha shi Hishi nasu*. He also proposes here to divide the poem in two.

13 Motowori divides these lines thus: *Mayo-gaki ko ni*. *Kaki tare*.

14 The defective text of this line is restored by the help of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles."

15 Moribe proposes to emend the second half of this poem to

Koto nagushi we *Kokoro-gushi we*

Ware wehi ni keri.

16 Near the commencement of this Song Motowori divides the lines thus:

Watari-ze ni *Tateru*

Adzusa-yumi *Mo yumi*

and again at the end:

I-kirazu zo kuru *Adzusa-yumi*

Ma-yumi.

17 See Sect. CXXII, Note, 4 for this doubtful word.

18 Motowori divides this line in two, thus:

Habiro *Yutsuma-tsubaki*.

19 Instead of these concluding long lines Motowori divides thus:

Wa ga mikahoshi *Kumi ha*

Kadzuraki *Taka-miya*

Wagihe no atari.

20 Motowori reads the words *Hara ni aru* as a separate line.

21 Moribe, following the reading in the "Chronicles," omits the Postposition *no* after *Karu*; and Motowori reads *hato no* as a line by itself.

22 To the word *ashi* Moribe would prefix the Honorific *mi* which he finds in an old MS. The metre would gain by this emendation of the line.

23 This is Moribe's emendation of usual reading *ka*.

24 Motowori divides *Ari to ihaba koso ni* into two lines after the Particle *to*, and Moribe omits the Particle *ni* after *koso*.

25 It seems less good to divide thus with Motowori:

Tare zo oho-mahe ni *Mawosu*,

or thus with Mabuchi:

Tare zo *Oho-maye ni mawosu*.

26 Motowori divides the lines of this Song thus:

Yasumishishi *Wa ga oho-kimi no*

Asobashishi *Shishi no*

Yami-shishi no *Utaki kashikomi*

Wa ga nike *Noborishi*

Ari-wo no *Hari no hi no yeda.*

27 Motowori divides this line in two, thus:

Mina koworo *Koworo ni*

28 Motowori divides this line in two after the word *ha-biro*.

29 Moribe's proposal to emend *yakemu* to *yaremu* would be acceptable if it was supported by the authority of any texts.

30 Motowori's edition and most other texts have *shibi* as the final word, But Moribe's emendation to *ama* is necessary to the sense, and has at least the authority of one MS. to support it.

[368]

APPENDIX II: THE HITHERTO ACCEPTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY JAPANESE SOVEREIGNS MENTIONED IN THE "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS" ("*KO-JI-KI*") AND IN THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN" ("*NI-HONGI*").

[This "Accepted Chronology "is contained in the first three columns of figures, whereof the first two, giving the corresponding dates according to the European reckoning are transcribed from some Comparative Chronological Tables by Mr. Ernest Satow, printed for private distribution in 1874. The ages of the monarchs in the third column are from "The Digest of the Imperial Pedigree," a work published by the Imperial Japanese Government is 1877, and Therefore, carrying with it the weight of authority. It might perhaps be too much to say that even its decisions are universally bowed to by the native *literati*, but the differences between various writers are all slight, and excepting on points that affect only a very few years, the chronology contained in the first three columns may justly be styled the "Accepted Chronology" both as far as natives and as far as foreigners are concerned. It will be seen that it is founded in the main on the statements contained in the "Chronicles of Japan," though sometimes differing therefrom as well as from the "Records." The fourth column contains the ages of the monarchs according to the "Records" and the fifth their ages according to the "Chronicles." The portion printed in italics, and including a

little over a thousand years, is that which has been shown in Section V of the Translator's Introduction to be undeserving of credence.

	Accession.	Death.	Age.	Age accord. to "Records."	Age accord. to "Chronicles."
Jin-mu	*660 (B.C.)*	*585(B.C.)*	*127*	*137*	*127*
Sui-zei	*581*	*549*	*84*	*45*	*80*
An-nei	*548*	*511*	*57*	*49*	*57*
I-toku	*510*	*477*	*77*	*45*	*77*
Kō-shō	*475*	*393*	*114*	*93*	*113*
Kō-an	*392*	*291*	*137*	*123*	*reigned 102 years*
Kō-rei	*290*	*215*	*128*	*106*	*" 76 "*
Kō-gen	*214*	*158*	*116*	*57*	*" 57 "*
Kai-kuwa	*157*	*98*	*111*	*63*	*" 60 "*
Su-jin	*97*	*30*	*119*	*168*	*120*
Sui-nin	*29*	*70 (A.D.)*	*141*	*153*	*140*
Kei-ko	*71 (A.D.)*	*130*	*143*	*137*	*106*
Sei-mu	*131*	*190*	*108*	*95*	*107*

Chiū-ai	*192*	*200*	*52*	*52*	*52*
Jin-gō	*201*	*269*	*100*	*100*	*100*
Ō-jin	*270*	*310*	*111*	*130*	*110*
Nin-toku	*313*	*399*	*110*	*83*	*reigned 87 years*
Ri-chiū	400	405	67	64	70
Han-zei	406	411	60	60	reigned 6 years
In-giyō	412	453	80	78	" 42 "
An-kō	454	456	56	66	" 3 "
Yū-riyaku	457	479	age omitted	124	" 5 "
Sei-nei	480	484	41	not given	" 23 "
Ken-zō	485	487	age omitted	38	" 3 "
Nin-ken	488	498	50	not given	" 11 "
Mu-retsu	499	506	8 1	reigned 8 years	" 8 "
Kei-tai	507	531	82	43	82

An-kan	534	535	70	not given	70
Sen-kuwa	536	539	73	"	73
Kim-mei	540	571	63	"	reigned 32 years
Bi-datsu	572	585	48	reigned 14 years	" 14 "
Yō-mei	586	587	69	" 3 "	" 2 "
Su-jun	588	592	73	" 4 "	" 5 "
Sui-ko	593	628	75	" 37 "	" 75 "

Footnotes

1 The reign of this Empress is in the "Records" not counted separately, but included in that of her son Ō-jin. For the mention of her age in the "Records "*conf*. Sect. CIII, Note 4.

THE END

NOTE TO THE READER: Forty-seven Ronin of Chusingura, Tale of honor and loyalty

There were many tales and legends passed along Japanese people. But one theme in common that all of them had is the tale of honor.

The story of Chusingura was about a young lord attempts to combat the corruption endemic to the Shogunate bureaucracy, only to be placed in an impossible conflict of duties. He refuses to pay the "customary" bribe expected by a Chancellor sent from the Shogunate to teach him the etiquette for receiving envoys from the Emperor.

In revenge, the Chancellor goads the lord into drawing his sword when the envoys are present, a crime punishable by death. The young lord is forced to commit ritual suicide for this crime. His vassals are ordered to turn over their lords' estate for confiscation, forbidden to take revenge for their lords' death, and then disbanded as a clan. To obey the Shogun, the lords' former samurai must follow those orders, but to be loyal to oaths they swore to their lord and have justice, they must avenge him.

This conflict of obligations is the primary dilemma in Japanese society, which is why this story is considered their national epic; the tale of honor and loyalty.

A Translation of the "Ko-ji-ki,"

OR

"RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS."

()

By BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

[Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan April 12th, May 10th, and June 21st, 1882.]
[Reprinted, May, 1919.]

[1919]

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The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the mass of Japanese literature, which lies before us as the result of nearly twelve centuries of book-making, the most important Monument is the work entitled "Ko-ji-ki" [*1] or "Records of Ancient Matters," which was completed in A. D. 712. It is the most important because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language,

[paragraph continues] [2] and the traditional history of Ancient Japan. Indeed it is the earliest authentic connected literary product of that large division of the human race which, has been variously denominated Turanian, Scythian and Altaic, and it even precedes by at least a century the most ancient extant literary compositions of non-Aryan India. Soon after the date of its compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture, and it is to these "Records" and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and the Shinto Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled in attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent.

It is of course not pretended that even these "Records" are untouched by Chinese influence: that influence is patent in the very characters with which the text is written. But the influence is less, and of another kind. If in the traditions preserved and in the customs alluded to we detect the Early Japanese in the act of borrowing from China and perhaps even from India, there is at least on our author's part no ostentatious decking out in Chinese trappings of what he

believed to be original matter, after the fashion of the writers who immediately succeeded him. It is true that this abstinence on his part makes his compilation less pleasant to the ordinary native taste than that of subsequent historians, who put fine Chinese phrases into the mouths of emperors and heroes supposed to have lived before the time when .intercourse with China began. But the European student,

[p. iii]

who reads all such books, not as a pastime but in order to search for facts, will prefer the more genuine composition. It is also accorded the first place by the most learned of the native literati.

Of late years this paramount importance of the "Records of Ancient Matters" to investigators of Japanese subjects generally has become well-known to European scholars; and even versions of a few passages are to be found scattered through the pages of their writings. Thus Mr. Aston has given us, in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," a couple of interesting extracts; Mr. Satow has illustrated by occasional extracts his elaborate papers on the Shinto Rituals printed in these "Transactions," and a remarkable essay by Mr. Kempermann published in the Fourth [3] Number of the "Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens," though containing no actual translations, bases on the account given in the "Records" some conjectures regarding the origines of Japanese civilization which are fully substantiated by more minute research. All that has yet appeared in any European language does not, however, amount to one-twentieth part of the whole, and the most erroneous views of the style and scope of the book and its contents have found their way into popular works on Japan. It is hoped that the true nature of the book, and also the true nature of the traditions, customs, and ideas of the Early Japanese, will be made clearer by the present translation the object of which is to give the entire work in a continuous English version, and thus to furnish the European student with a text to quote from, or at least to use as a guide in consulting the original. The only object aimed

[p. iv]

at has been a rigid and literal conformity with the Japanese text. Fortunately for this endeavour (though less fortunately for the student), one of the difficulties which often beset the translator of an Oriental classic is absent in the present case. There is no beauty of style, to preserve some trace of which he may be tempted to sacrifice a certain amount of accuracy. The "Records" sound queer and bald in Japanese, as will be noticed further on, and it is therefore right, even from a stylistic point of view, that they should sound bald and queer in English. The only portions of the text which, from obvious reasons, refuse to lend themselves to translation into English after this fashion are the indecent portions. But it has been thought that there could be no objection to rendering them into Latin,--Latin as rigidly literal as is the English of the greater part.

After these preliminary remarks, it will be most convenient to take the several points which a study of the "Records" and the turning of them into English suggest, and to consider the same one by one. These points are:

I.--Authenticity and Nature of the Text, together with Bibliographical Notes.
II.--Details concerning the Method of Translation.
III.--The "Nihon-Gi" or "Chronicles of Japan"
IV.--Manners and Customs of the Early Japanese.
[4] V.--Religious and Political Ideas of the Early Japanese.
Beginnings of the Japanese Nation, and Credibility of the National Traditions.

Footnotes

^i:1 Should the claim of Accadian to be considered an Altaic language be substantiated, then Archaic Japanese will have to be content with the second place in the Altaic family. Taking the word Altaic in its usual acceptation, viz., as the generic name of all the languages belonging to the Mantchu, Mongolia, Turkish and Finnish groups, not only the Archaic, but the Classical, literature of Japan carries us back several centuries beyond the earliest extant documents of any other Altaic tongue.--For a discussion of the age of the most ancient Tamil documents see the Introduction to Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," p. 91 et seq.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

I.

THE TEXT AND ITS AUTHENTICITY, TOGETHER WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The latter portion of the Preface to the "Records of Ancient Matters" is the only documentary authority for the origin of the work. It likewise explains its scope. But though in so doing the author descends to a more matter of fact style than the high-sounding Chinese phrases and elaborate allusions with which he had set forth, still his meaning may be found to lack somewhat of clearness, and it will be as well to have the facts put into language more intelligible to the European student. This having already been done by Mr. Satow in his paper on the "Revival of Pure Shinto," [*2] it will be best simply to quote his words. They are as follows: "The Emperor Temmu, at what portion of his reign is not mentioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had the records carefully examined, compared, and weeded of their faults. There happened to be in his household a person of marvellous memory named Hiyeda no Are, who could repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. Temmu Tenno [*3] took the pains to instruct this person in the genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages,' and to make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. 'Before the undertaking was completed,' which probably means before it could be committed to writing,

the Emperor died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole depository of what afterwards received the title of Kojiki [*4] or Furu-koto-bumi as it is read by Motoori. At the end of this interval the Empress Gemmio ordered [5] Yasumaro to write it down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the completion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months and a half. Are's age at this date is not stated, but as he was twenty-eight years of age some time in the reign of Temmu Tenno, it could not possibly have been more than sixty-eight, while taking into account the previous order of Temmu Tenno in 681 for the compilation of a history, and the statement that he was engaged on the composition of the Kojiki at the time of his death in 686, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that it belongs to about the last year of his reign, in which case Are was only fifty-three in 711."

The previous order of the Emperor Temmu mentioned in the above extract is usually supposed to have resulted in the compilation of a history which was early lost. But Hirata gives reasons for supposing that this and the project of the "Records of Ancient Matters" were identical. If this opinion be accepted, the "Records," while the oldest existing Japanese book, are, not the third, but the second historical work of which mention has been preserved, one such having

been compiled in the year 620, but lost in a fire in the year 645. It will thus be seen that it is rather hard to say whom we should designate as the author of the work.

[p. vii]

[paragraph continues] The Emperor Tem-mu, Hiyeda no Are, Yasumaro may all three lay claim to the title. The question, however, is of no importance to us, and the share taken by Are may well have been exaggerated in the telling. What seems to remain as the residue of fact is that the plan of a purely national history originated with the Emperor Temmu and was finally carried out under his successor by Yasumaro, one of the Court Nobles.

Fuller evidence and confirmatory evidence from other sources as to the origin of our "Records" would doubtless be very acceptable. But the very small number of readers and writers at that early date, and the almost simultaneous compilation of a history (the "Chronicles of Japan") which was better calculated to bit the taste of the age, make the absence of such evidence almost unavoidable. In any case, and only noticing in passing the fact that Japan was never till quite recent years noted for such wholesale literary forgeries (for Motowori's condemnation of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" has been considered rash by later scholars),--it cannot be too much emphasized that in this instance authenticity is sufficiently proved by internal evidence. It is hard to believe that any forger living later than the eighth century of our era should have been so well able to discard the Chinese "padding" to the old traditions, which after the acceptance by the Court of the "Chronicles of Japan," had come to be generally regarded as an integral portion of those very traditions; and it is more unlikely still that he should have invented a style so little calculated to bring his handiwork into repute. He would either have written in fair Chinese, like the mass of early Japanese prose writers (and his Preface

[p. viii]

shows that he could do so if he were so minded); or, if the tradition of there having been a history written in the native tongue had reached him, he would have made his composition unmistakably Japanese in form by arranging consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations, after the fashion followed in the Rituals, and developed (apparently before the close of the ninth century) into what is technically known as the "Mixed Phonetic Style" (Kana-mazhiri), which has remained ever since as the most convenient vehicle for writing the language. As it is, his quasi-Chinese construction, which breaks down every now and then to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements. What however is simply incredible is that, if the supposed forger lived even only a hundred years later than A.D. 712, he should so well have imitated or divined the archaisms of that early period. For the eighth century of our era was a great turning point in the Japanese language, the Archaic Dialect being then replaced by the Classical; and as the Chinese language and literature were alone thenceforward considered worthy the student's attention, there was no means of keeping up an acquaintance with the diction of earlier reigns, neither do we find the poets of the time ever attempting to adorn their verse with obsolete phraseology. That was an affectation reserved for a later epoch, when the diffusion of books rendered it possible. The poets of the seventh, eighth. and ninth centuries apparently wrote as they spoke; and the test of language alone would almost allow of our arranging their compositions half century by half century, even without the dates

[p. ix]

which are given in many instances in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and in the "Collection of Songs [7] Ancient and Modern,"--the first two collections of poems published by imperial decree in the middle of the eighth, and at the

commencement of the tenth, century respectively.

The above remarks are meant to apply more especially to the occasional Japanese words,--all of them Archaic,--which, as mentioned above, are used from time to time in the prose text of the "Records," to help out the author's meaning and to preserve names whose exact pronunciation he wished handed down. That he should have invented the Songs would be too monstrous a supposition for any one to entertain, even if we had not many of the same and other similar ones preserved in the pages of the "Chronicles of Japan," a work which was undoubtedly completed in A.D. 720. The history of the Japanese language is too well known to us, we can trace its development and decay in too many documents reaching from the eighth century to the present time, for it to be possible to entertain the notion that the latest of these Songs, which have been handed down with minute care in a syllabic transcription, is posterior to the first half of the eighth century, while the majority must be ascribed to an earlier, though uncertain, date. If we refer the greater number of them in their present form to the sixth century, and allow a further antiquity of one or two centuries to others more ancient in sentiment and in grammatical usage, we shall probably be making a moderate estimate. It is an estimate, moreover, which obtains confirmation from the fact that the first notice we have of the use of writing in Japan dates from

[p. x]

early in the fifth century; for it is natural to suppose that the Songs believed to have been composed by the gods and heroes of antiquity should have been among the first things to be written down, while the reverence in which they were held would in some cases cause them to be transcribed exactly as tradition had bequeathed them, even if unintelligible or nearly so, while in others the same feeling would lead to the correction of what were supposed to be errors or inelegancies. Finally it may be well to observe that the authenticity of the "Records" has never been doubted, though, as has already been stated, some of the native commentators have not hesitated to charge with spuriousness another of their esteemed ancient histories. Now it is unlikely [8] that, in the war which has been waged between the partisans of the "Records" and those of the "Chronicles," some flaw in the former's title to genuineness and to priority should not have been discovered and pointed out if it existed.

During the Middle Ages, when no native Japanese works were printed, and not many others excepting the Chinese Classics and Buddhist Scriptures, the "Records of Ancient Matters" remained in manuscript in the hands of the Shinto priesthood. They were first printed in the year 1644, at the time when, peace having been finally restored to the country and the taste for reading become diffused, the great mass of the native literature first began to emerge from the manuscript state. This very rare edition (which was reprinted in facsimile in 1798) is indispensable to any one who would make of the "Records" a special study. The next edition was by a Shinto priest, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, and appeared in 1687. It has marginal

[p. xi]

notes of no great value, and several emendations of the text. The first-mentioned of these two editions is commonly called the "Old Printed Edition" (), but has no title beyond that of the original work,--"Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings" (). Each is in three volumes. They were succeeded in 1789-1822 by Motowori's great edition, entitled "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" (). This, which is perhaps the most admirable work of which Japanese erudition can boast, consists of forty-four large volumes, fifteen of which are devoted to the elucidation of the first volume of the original, seventeen to the second, ten to the third, and the rest to prolegomena, indexes, etc. To the ordinary student this Commentary will furnish all that he requires, and the charm of Motowori's style will be found to shed a glamour over the driest parts of the original work. The author's judgment only seems to fail him occasionally when confronted with the most difficult or corrupt passages, or with such as might be construed in a sense unfavourable to his predilections as

an ardent Shintoist. He frequently quotes the opinions of his master Mabuchi, whose own treatise on this subject is so rare that the present writer has never seen a copy of it, nor does the public library of Tokyo possess one. Later and less important editions are the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" (), a reprint by one of Motowori's pupils of the Chinese text and of his Master's Kana reading of it without his Commentary, and useful for reference, though the title is [9] a misnomer, 1803; the "Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Notes" (), by Murakami Tadanori, 1874; the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllabic

[p. xii]

[paragraph continues] Character" () by Sakata no Kaneyasu, 1874, a misleading book, as it gives the modern Kana reading with its arbitrarily inserted Honorifics and other departures from the actual text, as the ipissima verba of the original work; the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" (), by Uematsu Shigewoka, 1875. All these editions are in three volumes, and the "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" has also been reprinted in one volume on beautiful thin paper. Another in four volumes by Fujihara no Masaoki, 1871, entitled the "Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character" (), is a real curiosity of literature, though otherwise of no value. In it the editor has been at the pains of reproducing the whole work, according to its modern Kana reading, in that adaptation of the Korean alphabetic writing which some modern Japanese authors have supposed to be characters of peculiar age and sanctity, used by the ancient gods of country and named "Divine Characters" accordingly.

Besides these actual editions of the "Records of Ancient Matters," there is a considerable mass of literature bearing less directly on the same work, and all of which cannot be here enumerated. It may be sufficient to mention the "Correct Account of the Divine Age" () by Motowori, 3 Vols. 1789, and a commentary thereon entitled "Tokiha-Gusa" () by Wosada Tominobu, from which the present translator has borrowed a few ideas; the "Sources of the Ancient Histories" () and its sequel entitled "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (), by Hirata Atsutane, begun printing in 1819,--works which are specially admirable from a philological point of view, and in which the student will find

[p. xiii]

the solution of not a few difficulties which even to Motowori had been insuperable; [*5] the "Idzu no Chi-Waki" (), by Tachibana no Moribe, begun printing in 1851, a useful commentary on the "Chronicles of Japan"; the [19] "Idzu no Koto-Waki" (), by the same author, begun printing in 1847, an invaluable help to a comprehension of the Songs contained in both the "Records" and the "Chronicles the Examination of Difficult Words" (, also entitled), in 3 Vols., 1831, a sort of dictionary of specially perplexing terms and phrases, in which light is thrown on many a verbal crux and much originality of thought displayed; and the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" (), by Tanigaha Shisei, 1762, a painstaking work written in the Chinese language, 23 Vols. Neither must the "Ko Gan Sho," (), a commentary on the Songs contained in the "Chronicles" and "Records" composed by the Buddhist priest Keichiu, who may be termed the father of the native school of criticism, be forgotten. It is true that most of Keichiu's judgments on doubtful points have been superseded by the more perfect erudition of later days; but some few of his interpretations may still be followed with advantage. The "Ko Gan Sho" which was finished in the year 1691, has never been printed. It is from these and a few others and from the standard dictionaries and general books of reference, such as the "Japanese Words Classified and

[p. xiv]

[paragraph continues] Explained" (), the "Catalogue of Family Names" (), and (coming down to more modern times) Arawi Hakuseki's "Toga" (), that the translator has derived most assistance. The majority of the useful quotations from the dictionaries, etc., having been incorporated by Motowori in his

"Commentary," it has not often been necessary to mention them by name in the notes to the translation. At the same time the translator must express his conviction that, as the native authorities cannot possibly be dispensed with, so also must their assertions be carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by the critical European investigator. He must also thank Mr. Tachibana no Chimori, grandson of the eminent scholar Tachibana no Moribe, for kindly allowing him to make use of the unpublished portions Of the "Idzu no Chi-Waki" and the "Idzu no Kato-Waki," works indispensable to the comprehension of the more difficult portion of the text of the "Records." To Mr. Satow he is indebted for the English and Latin equivalents of the Japanese botanical names, to Capt. Blakiston and Mr. Namiye Motokichi for similar assistance with regard to the zoological names.

[11] Comparing what has been said above with what the author tells us in his Preface, the nature of the text, so far as language is concerned, will be easily understood. The Songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as Manyo-Gana, i.e. entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character [*6]), of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japonisms." But

[p. xv]

irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, even apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese, according to a mode which has since been systematized and has become almost universal in this country even in the reading of genuine Chinese texts. The modern school of Japanese literati, who push their hatred of everything foreign to the bounds of fanaticism, contend however that this, their most ancient and revered book, was from the first intended to be read exclusively into Japanese. Drawing from the other sources of our knowledge of the Archaic Dialect, Motowori has even hazarded a restoration of the Japanese reading of the entire prose text, in the whole of which not a single Chinese word is used, excepting for the titles of the two Chinese books (the "Confucian Analects" and the "Thousand Character Essay") which are said to have been brought over to Japan in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, and for the names of a Korean King and of three or four other

[p. xvi]

[paragraph continues] Koreans and Chinese. Whatever may be their opinion on the question at issue, most European scholars, to [11] whom the superior sanctity of the Japanese language is not an article of faith, will probably agree with Mr. Aston [*7] in denying to this conjectural restoration the credit of representing the genuine words into which Japanese eighth century students of history read off the text of the "Records.'

Footnotes

^v:2 Published in Vol. iii, Pt. I, of these "Transactions."

^v:3 I.e., the Emperor Tem-mu.

^vi:4 I.e., "Records of Ancient Matters." The alternative reading, which is probably but an invention of Motowori's, gives the same meaning in pure Japanese (instead of Sinico-Japanese) sounds.

^xiii:5 Unfortunately the portion already printed does not carry the history down even to the close of the "Divine Age." The work is as colossal in extent as

it is minute in research, forty-one volumes (including the eleven forming the "Sources") having already appeared. The "Idzu no Chi-Waki" and "Idzu no Koto-Waki" are similarly incomplete.

^xiv:6 [p. xv]The translator adopts the term "ideographic," because it is that commonly used and understood, and because this is not the place to demonstrate its inappropriateness. Strictly speaking, "logographic" would be preferable to "ideographic," the difference between Chinese characters and alphabetic writing being that the former represent in their entirety the Chinese words for things and ideas, whereas the latter dissects into their component sounds the words of the languages which it is employed to write.

^xvi:7 "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," Second Edition, Appendix II., p. VI.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

II.

METHODS OF TRANSLATION.

To the translator the question above mooted is not one of great importance. The text itself must form the basis of his version, and not any one's,--not even Motowori's--private and particular reading of it. For this reason none of the Honorifics, which Motowori inserts as prefixes to nouns and terminations to verbs have been taken any notice of, but the original has been followed, character by character, with as great fidelity as was attainable. The author too has his Honorifics; but he does not use them so plentifully or so regularly as it pleases Motowori to represent him as having intended to do. On the other hand, Motowori's occasional emendations of the text may generally be accepted. They rarely extend to more than single words; and the errors in the earlier editions may frequently be shown to have arisen from careless copying of characters originally written, not in the square, but in the cursive form. The translator has separately considered each case where various readings

[p. xvii]

occur, and has mentioned them in the Notes when they seemed of sufficient importance. In some few cases he has preferred a reading not approved by Motowori, but he always mentions Motowori's reading in a Foot-note.

The main body of the text contains but little to perplex any one who has made a special study of the early Japanese writings, and it has already been noticed that there is an admirable exegetical literature at the student's command. With the Songs embedded in the prose text the case is different, as some of them are among the most difficult things in the language, and the commentators frequently arrive at most discordant interpretations of the obscurer passages. In the present version particulars concerning each Song have, except in a very few cases where comment appeared superfluous, been given [13] in a Foot-note, the general sense being usually first indicated, the meaning of particular expressions then explained, and various opinions mentioned when they seemed worthy of notice. Besides one or two terms of Japanese grammar, the only technical knowledge with which the readers of the Notes are necessarily credited is that of the use by the Japanese poets of what have been styled Pillow-Words, Pivots, and Prefaces; and those Pillow-Words which are founded on a jeu-de-mots or are of doubtful signification form, with the one exception mentioned below, the only case where anything contained in the original is omitted from the English version. [*8] After some consideration, it has been deemed

advisable to print in an Appendix the Japanese text of all the Songs, transliterated into Roman. Students will thus find it easier to form their own opinion on the interpretation of doubtful passages. The importance likewise of these Songs, as the most ancient specimens of Altaic speech, makes it right to give them as much publicity as possible.

The text of the "Records" is, like many other Japanese texts, completely devoid of breaks corresponding to the chapters and paragraphs into which European works are divided. With the occasional exception of a pause after a catalogue of gods or princes, and of notes inserted in smaller type and generally containing genealogies or indicating the pronunciation of certain words, the whole story, prose and verse, runs on from beginning to end with no interruptions other than those marked by the conclusion of Vol. I and by the death of each emperor in Vols. II and III. Faithfulness however scarcely seems to demand more than this statement; for a similarly continuous printing of the English version would attain no end but that of making a very dry piece of reading more arduous still. Moreover there are certain traditional names by which the various episodes of the so-called "Divine Age" are known to the native scholars, and according to which the text of Vol. I may naturally be divided. The reigns of the emperors form a similar foundation for the analysis of Vols. II and III, which contain the account of the "Human Age." It has been thought that it would be well to mark such natural [14] divisions by the use of numbered Sections with marginal headings. The titles proposed by Motowori in the Prolegomena to his Commentary have been adopted with

scarcely any alteration in the case of Vol. I. In Vols. II and III, where his sections mostly embrace the whole reign of an emperor, and the title given by him to each Section consists only of the name of the palace where each emperor is said to have resided, there is less advantage in following him; for those Sections are often inordinately long, and their titles occasionally misleading and always inconvenient for purposes of reference, as the Japanese emperors are commonly known, not by the names of their places of residence, but by their "canonical names." Motowori, as an ardent nationalist, of course rejected these "canonical names," because they were first applied to the Japanese emperors at a comparatively late date in imitation of Chinese usage. But to a foreigner this need be no sufficient reason for discarding them. The Sections in the translation of Vols. II and III have therefore been obtained by breaking up the longer reigns into appropriate portions; and in such Sections, as also in the Foot-notes, the emperors are always mentioned by their "canonical names." [*9] The Vol. mentioned in brackets on every right-hand page is that of Motowori's Commentary which treats of the Section contained in that page.

The Notes translated from the original are indented, and are printed small when they are in small type in

the Japanese text. Those only which give directions for pronouncing certain characters phonetically have been omitted, as they have no significance when the original tongue and method of writing are exchanged for foreign vehicles of thought and expression. The songs have likewise been indented for the sake of clearness, and each one printed as a separate paragraph. The occasionally unavoidable insertion in the translation of important words not occurring in the Japanese text has been indicated by [15] printing such words within square brackets. The translator's Notes, which figure at the bottom of each page, do not aim at anything more than the exegesis of the actual text. To illustrate its subject-matter from other sources, as Motowori does, and to enlarge on all the subjects connected with Japanese antiquity which are sometimes merely alluded to in a single phrase, would require several more volumes the size of this one, many years of labour on the part of the investigator, and an unusually large

stock of patience on the reader's part. The Notes terminate with the death of the Emperor Kenzo, after which the text ceases to offer any interest, except as a comment on the genealogies given in the "Chronicles of Japan.'

Without forgetting the fact that so-called equivalent terms in two languages rarely quite cover each other, and that it may therefore be necessary in some cases to render one Japanese word by two or three different English words according to the context, the translator has striven to keep such diversity within the narrowest limits, as it tends to give a false impression of the original, implying that it possesses a versatility of thought which is indeed characteristic of Modern Europe, but not

[p. xxi]

at all of Early Japan. With reference to this point a certain class of words must be mentioned, as the English translation is unavoidably defective in their case, owing to the fact of our language not possessing sufficiently close synonyms for them. They are chiefly the names of titles, and are the following:--

Agata-no-atahe	Roughly rendered by:
	Departmental Suzerain.
Agata-nushi	" " "
	Departmental Lord.
Asomi (Ason)	" " "
	Court Noble.
Atahe	" " "
	Suzerain.

Hiko

"

"

"

Prince.

Hime

"

"

"

Princess.

Inaki

"

"

"

Territorial Lord.

Iratsuko

"

"

"

Lord.

Iratsume

"

"

"

Lady.

Kami

"

"

"

Deity.

Kimi

"

"

"

Duke.

Ma

"

"

"

True.

Miko ()

"

"

"

King.

Mi Ko ()

"

"

"

August Child.[16]

Mikoto

"

"

"

Augustness.

Miyatsuko

"

"

"

Ruler.

Murazhi

"

"

"

Chief.

Omi

"

"

"

Grandee.

Sukune

"

"

"

Noble.

Wake (in the names of human beings)

"

"

"

Lord.

It must be understood that no special significance is to be attached to the use of such words as "Duke," "Suzerain" etc. They are merely, so to speak, labels by which titles that are distinct in the original are sought to be kept distinct in the translation. Many of them also are used as that species of hereditary titular designation which the translator has ventured to call the "gentile name." [*10] Where possible, indeed, the etymological

[p. xxii]

meaning of the Japanese word has been preserved. Thus omi seems to be rightly derived by Motowori from ohomi, "great body"; and "grandee" is therefore the nearest English equivalent. Similarly murazhi, "chief," is a corruption of two words signifying "master of a tribe." On the other hand, both the etymology and the precise import of the title of wake are extremely doubtful. Hiko and hime again, if they really come from hi ko, "sun-child" and hi me, "sun-female" (or "fire child" and "fire female"), have wandered so far from their origin as, even

in Archaic times, to have been nothing more than Honorific appellations, corresponding in a loose fashion to the English words "prince and princess," or "lord and lady,"--in some cases perhaps meaning scarcely more than "youth and maiden."

The four words kami, ma, miko and mikoto alone call for special notice; and ma may be disposed of first. It is of uncertain origin, but identified by the native philologists with the perpetually recurring honorific mi, rendered "august." As, when written ideographically, it is always represented by the Chinese character , the translator renders it in English by "true"; but it must be understood that this word has no force beyond that of an Honorific.

Mikoto, rendered "Augustness," is properly a [17] compound, mi koto, "august thing." It is used as a title, somewhat after the fashion of our words "Majesty" and "Highness," being suffixed to the names of exalted human personages, and also of gods and goddesses. For the sake of clearness in the English translation this title is prefixed and used with the possessive pronoun, thus: Yamato-Take-no-Mikoto, His Augustness Yamato-Take.

[p. xxiii]

With regard to the title read miko by the native commentators, it is represented in two ways in the Chinese text. When a young prince is denoted by it, we find the characters , "august child," reminding us of the Spanish title of infante. But in other cases it is written with the single character "King," and it may be questioned whether the reading of it as miko is not arbitrary. Many indications lead us to suppose that in Early Japan something similar to the feudal system, which again obtained during the Middle Ages, was in force; and if so, then some of these "kings" may have been kings indeed after a fashion; and to degrade their title, as do the modern commentators, to that of "prince" is an anachronism. In any case the safest plan, if we would not help to obscure this interesting political question, is to adhere to the proper signification of the character in the text, and that character is , "King." [*11]

Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, Kami is the hardest. Indeed there is no English word which renders it with any near approach to exactness. If therefore it is here rendered by the word "deity" ("deity" being preferred to "god" because it includes superior beings of both sexes), it must be clearly understood that the word "deity" is taken in a sense not sanctioned by any English dictionary; for kami, and "deity" or "god," only correspond to each other in a very rough manner. The proper meaning of the word "kami" is "top," or "above"; and it is still constantly so used. For this reason it has the secondary sense of "hair of the head;" and only the hair on the top

[p. xxiv]

of the head,--not the hair on the face,--is so designated. Similarly the Government, in popular phraseology, is O Kami, literally "the honorably above"; and down to a few years ago Kami was the name of a certain titular [11] provincial rank. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general, and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call "gods." A Japanese, to whom the origin of the word is patent, and who uses it every day in contexts by no means divine, does not receive from the word Kami the same impression of awe which is produced on the more earnest European mind by the words "deity" and "god," with their very different associations. In using the word "deity," therefore; to translate the Japanese term Kami we must, so to speak, bring it down from the heights to which Western thought has raised it. In fact Kami does not mean much more than "superior." This subject will be noticed again in Section V of the present Introduction; but so far as the word Kami itself is concerned, these remarks may suffice.

To conclude this Section, the translator must advert to his treatment of Proper Names, and he feels that he must plead guilty to a certain amount of inconsistency on this head. Indeed the treatment of Proper Names is always an

embarrassment, partly because it is often difficult to determine what is a Proper Name, and partly because in translating a text into a foreign tongue Proper Names, whose meanings are evident in the original and perhaps have a bearing on the story, lose their significance; and the translator has therefore first of all to decide whether the name is really a Proper Name at all or simply a description of the personage or place,

[p. xxv]

and next whether he will sacrifice the meaning because the word is used as a name; or preserve the original name and thus fail to render the meaning,--a meaning which may be of importance as revealing the channels in which ancient thought flowed. For instance "Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami," the "Deity Master of the Great Land," is clearly nothing more than a description of the god in question, who had several other names, and the reason of whose adoption of this special one was that the sovereignty of the "Great Land," i.e. of Japan (or rather of Idzumo and the neighbouring provinces in north-western Japan), was ceded to him by another god, whom he deceived and whose daughter he ran away with. [*12] Again Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, which signifies "the Luxuriant Reed-Moor, the Land of Fresh Rice-ears,--of a Thousand [19] Autumns,--of Long Five Hundred Autumns" cannot possibly be regarded as more than an honorific description of Japan. Such a catalogue of words could never have been used as a name. On the other hand it is plain that Tema was simply the proper name of a certain mountain, because there is no known word in Archaic Japanese to which it can with certainty be traced. The difficulty is with the intermediate cases,--the cases of those names which are but partly comprehensible or partly applicable to their bearers; and the difficulty is one of which there would seem to be no satisfactory solution possible. The translator may therefore merely state that in Vol. I of these "Records," where an unusual number of the Proper Names have a bearing on the legends related in the text, he has, wherever feasible, translated all those which

[p. xxvi]

are borne by persons, whether human or divine. In the succeeding Volumes he has not done so, nor has he, except in a very small number of instances, translated the Proper Names of places in any of the three volumes. In order, however, to convey all the needful information both as to sound and as to sense, the Japanese original is always indicated in a Foot-note when the translation has the name in English, and vice versa, while all doubtful etymologies are discussed.

Footnotes

^xvii:8 For a special account of the Pillow-Words, etc., see a paper by the present writer in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 et seq. of these "Transactions," and for a briefer notice, his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," pp. 5 and 6.

^xix:9 The practice of bestowing a canonical name (okurina) on an emperor after his decease dates from the latter part of the eighth century of our era when, at the command of the emperor Kuwam-mu, a scholar named Mifune-no-Mahito selected suitable "canonical names" for all the previous sovereigns, from Jim-mu down to Kuwan-mu's immediate predecessor. From that time forward every emperor has received his "canonical name" soon after death, and it is generally by it alone that he is known to history.

^xxi:10 See Sect IV. of this Introduction and Sect. XIV, Note 5 of the Translation.

^xxiii:11 Conf. Section LVI, Note 7.

^xxv:12 See the legend in Sect. XXIII.

III.

THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN."

It will have been gathered from what has been already said, and it is indeed generally known, that the "Records of Ancient Matters" do not stand alone. To say nothing of the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Age" whose genuineness is disputed, there is another undoubtedly authentic work with which no student of Japanese antiquity can dispense. It is entitled Nihon-Gi, i.e., "Chronicles of Japan," and is second only in value to the "Records," which it has always excelled in popular favour. It was completed in A.D. 720, eight years after the 'Records of Ancient Matters" had been presented to the Empress Gem-miyo.

The scope of the two histories is the same; but the language of the later one and its manner of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpretending simplicity [20] of the elder word. Not only is the style (excepting in the Songs, which had to be left as they were or sacrificed altogether) completely Chinese,--in fact to a great extent a cento of well-worn Chinese

[p. xxvii]

phrases,--but the subject-matter is touched up, re-arranged, and polished, so as to make the work resemble a Chinese history so far as that was possible. Chinese philosophical speculations and moral precepts are intermingled with the cruder traditions that had descended from Japanese antiquity. Thus the naturalistic Japanese account of the creation is ushered in by a few sentences which trace the origin of all things to Yin and Yang (), the Passive and Active Essences of Chinese philosophy. The legendary Emperor Jim-mu is credited with speeches made up of quotations from the "Yi Ching," [*13] the "Li Chi," [*14] and other standard Chinese works. A few of the most childish of the national traditions are omitted, for instance the story of the "White Hare of Inaba," that of the gods obtaining counsel of a toad, and that of the hospitality which a speaking mouse extended to the deity Master-of-the Great-Land. [*15] Sometimes the original tradition is simply softened down or explained away. A notable instance of this occurs in the account of the visit of the deity Izanagi [*16] to Hades, whither he goes in quest of his dead wife, and among other things has to scale the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." [*17] In the tradition preserved in the "Records" and indeed even in the "Chronicles," this pass or hill is mentioned as a literal geographical fact. But the compiler of the latter work, whose object it was to appear and to make his forefathers appear, as reasonable as a learned Chinese, acids a gloss to the effect that "One account

[p. xxviii]

says that the Even Hill of Hades is no distinct place, but simply the moment when breathing ceases at the time of death";--not a happy guess certainly, for this pass is mentioned in connection with Izanagi's return to the land of the living. In short we may say of this work what was said of the Septuagint,--that it rationalizes.

Perhaps it will be asked, how can it have come to pass [21] that a book in which the national traditions are thus unmistakably tampered with, and which is moreover written in Chinese instead of in the native tongue, has enjoyed such a much greater share of popularity than the more genuine work?

The answer lies on the surface: the concessions made to Chinese notions went far towards satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the

reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods. People are rarely quite logical in such matters, particularly in an early stage of society; and difficulties are glossed over rather than insisted upon. The beginning of the world, for instance, or, to use Japanese phraseology. the "separation of heaven and earth" took place a long time ago; and perhaps, although there could of course be no philosophical doubt as to the course of this event having been the interaction of the Passive and Active Essences, it might also somehow be true that Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male-Who-Invites" and the "Female-Who-Invites") were the progenitor and progenitrix of Japan. Who knows but what in them the formative principles may not have been embodied, represented, or figured forth after a fashion not quite determined, but none the less real? As a matter of fact, the

[p. xxix]

two deities in question have often been spoken of in Japanese books under such designations as the "Yin Deity" and the "Yang Deity," and in his Chinese Preface the very compiler of these "Records" lends his sanction to the use of such phraseology, though, if we look closely at the part taken by the gods in the legend narrated in Sect. IV, it would seem but imperfectly applicable. If again early sovereigns, such as the Empress Jin-go, address their troops in sentences cribbed from the "Shu Ching," [*18] or, like the Emperor Kei-ko, describe the Ainos in terms that would only suit the pages of a Chinese topographer,--both these personages being supposed to have lived prior to the opening up of intercourse with the continent of Asia,--the anachronism was partly hidden by the fact of the work which thus recorded their doings being itself written in the Chinese language, where such phrases only sounded natural. In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native [22] one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shinto priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into desuetude. Whether indeed this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. The use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle for counting years, months, and days is another instance of the imported

[p. xxx]

usage having become so thoroughly incorporated with native habits of mind as to make the anachronism of employing it when speaking of a period confessedly anterior to the introduction of continental civilization pass unnoticed. As for the (to a modern European) grotesque notion of pretending to give the precise months and days of events supposed to have occurred a thousand years before the date assigned to the introduction of astronomical instruments, of observatories, and even of the art of writing, that is another of those inconsistencies which, while lying on the very surface, yet so easily escape the uncritical Oriental mind. [*19] Semi-civilized people tire of asking questions, and to question antiquity, which fills so great a place in their thoughts, is the last thing that would occur to any of their learned men, whose mental attitude is characteristically represented by Confucius when he calls himself "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients." [*20] As regards the question of language, standard Chinese soon became easier to understand than Archaic Japanese, as the former [23] alone was taught in the schools and the native language changed rapidly during the century or two that followed the diffusion of the foreign tongue and civilization. We

[p. xxxi]

have only to call to mind the relative facility to most of ourselves of a Latin book and of one written in Early English. Of course, as soon as the principles of the Japanese Renaissance had taken hold of men's minds in the eighteenth

century, the more genuine, more national work assumed its proper place in the estimation of students. But the uncouthness of the style according to modern ideas, and the greater amount of explanation of all sorts that is required in order to make the "Records of Ancient Matters" intelligible, must always prevent them from attaining to the popularity of the sister history. Thus, though published almost simultaneously, the tendencies of the two works were very different, and their fate has differed accordingly.

To the European student the chief value of the "Chronicles of Japan" lies in the fact that their author, in treating of the so-called "Divine Age," often gives a number of various forms of the same legend under the heading of 'One account says," suffixed in the form of a note to the main text. No phrase is more commonly met with in later treatises on Japanese history than this,--"One account in the 'Chronicles of Japan' says," and it will be met with occasionally in the Foot-notes to the present translation. There are likewise instances of the author of the "Chronicles" having preserved, either in the text or in "One account," traditions omitted by the compiler of the "Records." Such are, for instance, the quaint legend invented to explain the fact that the sun and moon do not shine simultaneously, [*21] and the curious development of the legend of the expulsion of the deity [24]

[p. xxxii]

[paragraph continues] Susa-no-wo ("Impetuous Male"), telling us of the hospitality which was refused to him by the other gods when he appeared before them to beg for shelter. Many of the Songs, too, in the "Chronicles" are different from those in the "Records," and make a precious addition to our vocabulary of Archaic Japanese. The prose text, likewise, contains in the shape of notes, numbers of readings by which the pronunciation of words written ideographically, or the meaning of words written phonetically in the "Records" may be ascertained. Finally the "Chronicles" give us the annals of seventy-two years not comprised in the plan of the "Records," by carrying down to A.D. 700 the history which in the "Records" stops at the year 628. Although therefore it is a mistake

[p. xxxiii]

to assert, as some have done, that the "Chronicles of Japan" must be placed at the head of all the Japanese historical works, their assistance can in no wise be dispensed with by the student of Japanese mythology and of the Japanese language. [*22]

Footnotes

^xxvii:13 .

^xxvii:14 .

^xxvii:15 See Sects. XXI., XXVII and XXIII.

^xxvii:16 Rendered in the English translation by "the Male-Who-Invites."

^xxvii:17 Yomo tsu Hira-Saka.

^xxix:18 .

^xxx:19 Details as to the adoption by the Japanese of the Chinese system of computing time will be found in the late Mr. Bramsen's "Japanese Chronological Tables," where that lamented scholar brands "the whole system of fictitious dates applied in the first histories of Japan," as one of the greatest literary frauds over perpetrated, from which we may infer how little trust can be placed in the early Japanese historical works. See also Motowori's "Inquiry into the True Chronology," pp. 33-36, and his second work on the same subject entitled "Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology," pp. 46

et seq.

^xxx:20 "Confucian Analects," Book VII. Chap. I. Dr. Legge's translation.

^xxxi:21 It may perhaps be worth while to quote this legend in full. It is as follows: [p. xxxii]

"One account says that the Heaven-Shining Great Deity, being in Heaven said: 'I hear that in the Central Land of Reed-Plains (i.e. Japan) there is a Food-Possessing Deity. Do, thou, Thine Augustness Moon-Night Possessor, go and see.' His Augustness the Moon-Night Possessor, having received these orders, descended [to earth], and arrived at the place where the Food-Possessing Deity was. The Food-Possessing Deity forthwith, on turning her head towards the land, produced rice from her mouth; again, on turning to the sea, she also produced from her mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin; again, on turning to the mountains, she also produced from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Having collected together all these things, she offered them [to the Moon-God] as a feast on a hundred tables. At this time His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor, being angry and colouring up, said: 'How filthy! how vulgar! What! shalt thou dare to feed me with things spat out from thy mouth?' [and with these words], he drew his sabre and slew her. Afterwards he made his report [to the Sun-Goddess]. When he told her all the particulars, the Heaven-Shining Great Deity was very angry, and said: 'Thou art a wicked Deity, whom it is not right for me to see;'--and forthwith she and His Augustness the Moon-Night-Possessor dwelt separately day and night." The partly Parallel legend given in these "Records" forms the subject of Sect. XVII of the Translation.

^xxxiii:22 Compare Mr. Satow's remarks on this subject in Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 21-23 of these "Transactions."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

IV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE.

The Japanese of the mythical period, as pictured in the legends preserved by the compiler of the "Records of Ancient Matters," were a race who had long emerged from the savage state, and had attained to a high level of barbaric skill. The Stone Age was forgotten by them--or nearly so,--and the evidence points to their never having passed through a genuine Bronze Age, though the knowledge of bronze was at a later period introduced from the neighbouring continent. They used iron for [25] manufacturing spears, swords, and knives of various shapes, and likewise for the more peaceful purpose of making hooks wherewith to angle, or to fasten the doors of their huts. Their other warlike and hunting implements (besides traps and gins, which appear to have been used equally for catching beasts and birds and for destroying human enemies) were bows and elbow-pads,--the latter seemingly of skin, while special allusion is made to the fact that the arrows were feathered. Perhaps clubs should be added to the list. Of the bows and arrows, swords and knives, there is perpetual mention; but nowhere do we hear of the tools

[p. xxxiv]

with which they were manufactured, and there is the same remarkable silence regarding such widely spread domestic implements as the saw and the axe, We hear, however, of the pestle and fire-drill, of the wedge, of the sickle, and of the shuttle used in weaving.

Navigation seems to have been in a very elementary stage. Indeed the art of sailing was, as we know from the classical literature of the country, but little practised in Japan even so late as the middle of the tenth century of our era subsequent to the general diffusion of Chinese civilization, though rowing and punting are often mentioned by the early poets. In one passage of the "Records" and in another of the "Chronicles," mention is made of a "two-forked boat" used on inland pools or lakes; but, as a rule, in the earlier portions of those works, we read only of people going to sea or being sent down from heaven in water-proof baskets without oars, and reaching their destination not through any efforts of their own, but through supernatural inter-position. [*23]

To what we should call towns or villages very little [] reference is made anywhere in the "Records" or in that portion of the "Chronicles" which contains the account of the so-called "Divine Age." But from what

[p. xxxv]

we learn incidentally, it would seem that the scanty population was chiefly distributed in small hamlets and isolated dwellings along the coast and up the course of the larger streams. Of house-building there is frequent mention,--especially of the building of palaces or temples for sovereigns or gods,--the words "palace" and "temple" being (it should be mentioned) represented in Japanese by the same term. Sometimes, in describing the construction of such a sacred dwelling, the author of the "Records," abandoning his usual fiat and monotonous style, soars away on poetic wings, as when, for instance, he tells how the monarch of Idzumo, on abdicating in favour of the Sun-Goddess's descendant, covenanted that the latter should "make stout his temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the plain of High Heaven." [*24] It must not, however, be inferred from such language that these so-called palaces and temples were of very gorgeous and imposing aspect. The more exact notices to be culled from the ancient Shinto Rituals (which are but little posterior to the "Records" and in no wise contradict the inferences to be drawn from the latter) having been already summarized by Mr. Satow, it may be as well to quote that gentleman's words. He says: [*25] "The palace of the Japanese sovereign was a wooden hut, with its pillars planted in the ground, instead of being erected upon broad fiat stories as in modern buildings. The whole frame-work, consisting of posts, beams, rafters, door-posts and window-frames, was tied together with cords made by twisting the long fibrous stems of climbing plants, such as Pueraria

[p. xxxvi]

[paragraph continues] Thunbergiana (kuzu) and Wistaria Sinensis (fuji), The floor must have been low down, so that the occupants of the building, as they squatted or lay on their mats, were exposed to the stealthy attacks of venomous snakes, which were probably far more numerous in the earliest ages when the country was for the most part uncultivated, than at the present day . . . There seems some reason to think that the yuka, here translated floor, was originally nothing but a couch which ran round the sides of the hut, the rest [27] of the space being simply a mud-floor, and that the size of the couch was gradually increased until it occupied the whole interior. The rafters projected upward beyond the ridge-pole, crossing each other as is seen in the roofs of modem Shin-tau temples, whether their architecture be in conformity with early traditions (in which case all the rafters are so crossed) or modified in accordance with more advanced principles of construction, and the crossed rafters retained only as ornaments at the two ends of the ridge. The roof was thatched, and perhaps had a gable at each end, with a hole to allow the smoke of the wood-fire to escape, so that it was possible for birds flying in and perching on the beams overhead, to defile the food, or the fire with which it was cooked." To this description it need only be added that fences were in use, and that the wooden doors, sometimes fastened by means of hooks, resembled those with which we are familiar in Europe rather than the sliding, screen-like doors of modem Japan. The windows seem to have been mere holes. Rugs of skins and rush matting were occasionally brought in to sit upon, and we even hear once or twice

of "silk rugs" being used for the same purpose by the noble and wealthy.

[p. xxxvii]

The habits of personal cleanliness which so pleasantly distinguish the modern Japanese from their neighbours, in continental Asia, though less fully developed than at present, would seem to have existed in the germ in early times, as we read more than once of bathing in rivers, and are told of bathing-women being specially attached to the person of a certain imperial infant. Lustrations, too, formed part of the religious practices of the race. Latrines are mentioned several times. They would appear to have been situated away from the houses and to have generally been placed over a running stream, whence doubtless the name for latrine in the Archaic Dialect, kaha-ya i.e. "river house." A well-known Japanese classic of the tenth century. the "Yamato Tales," [*26] tells us indeed that "in older days the people dwelt in houses raised on platforms built out on the river Ikuta," and goes on to relate a story which presupposes such a method of architecture. [*27] A passage in the account of the reign of the Emperor Jim-mu which occurs both in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," and another in the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin occurring in the "Records" only, might be interpreted so as to support this statement. [*28] But both are extremely obscure, and beyond the fact that people who habitually lived near the water may have built their houses after the aquatic fashion practised in different parts of the world by certain savage tribes both ancient and modem, the present writer is not aware of any authority for the assertion that they actually

[p. xxxviii]

did so except the isolated passage in the "Yamato Tales" just quoted.

A peculiar sort of dwelling-place which the two old histories bring prominently under our notice, is the so called "Parturition-house,"--a one-roomed hut without windows which a woman was expected to build and retire into for the purpose of being delivered unseen. [*29] It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly-married couples retired into a specially built hut for the purpose [29] of consummating the marriage, and it is certain that

[p. xxxix]

for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.

Castles are not distinctly spoken of till a period which, though still mythical in the opinion of the present writer, coincides according to the received chronology with the first century B. C. We then first meet with the curious term "rice-castle," whose precise signification is a matter of dispute among the native commentators, but which, on comparison with Chinese descriptions of the Early Japanese, should probably be understood to mean a kind of palisade serving the purpose of a redoubt, behind which the warriors could ensconce themselves. [*30] If this conjecture be correct, we have here a good instance of a word, so to speak, moving upward with the march of civilization, the term, which formerly denoted something not much better than a fence, having later come to convey the idea of a stone castle.

To conclude the subject of dwelling-places, it should be stated that cave-dwellers are sometimes alluded to. The legend of the retirement of the Sun-Goddess into a cavern may possibly suggest to some the idea of an early period when such habitations were the normal abodes of the ancestors of the Japanese race. [*31] But at the time when the national traditions assumed their present shape, such a state of things had certainly quite passed away, if it ever existed, and only barbarous Ainos and rough bands of robbers are credited with the construction of such primitive retreats. Natural caves

[p. xl]

[paragraph continues] (it may be well to state) are rare in Japan, and the caves

that are alluded to were mostly artificial, as may be gathered from the context.

The food of the Early Japanese consisted of fish and of the flesh of the wild creatures which fell by the hunter's arrow or were taken in the trapper's snare,--an animal diet with which Buddhist prohibitions had not yet interfered, as they began to do in early historical times. Rice is the only cereal of which there is such mention made as to place it beyond a doubt that its [30] cultivation dates back to time immemorial. Beans, millet, and barley are indeed named once, together with silkworms, in the account of the "Divine Age." [*32] But the passage has every aspect of an interpolation in the legend, perhaps not dating back long before the time of the eighth century compiler. A few unimportant vegetables and fruits, of most of which there is but a single mention, will be found in the list of plants given below. The intoxicating liquor called sake was known in Japan during the mythical period [*33] and so were chopsticks for eating the food with. Cooking-pots and cups and dishes--the latter both of earthenware and of leaves of trees,--are also mentioned; but of the use of fire for warming purposes we hear nothing. Tables are named several times, but never in connection with food. They would seem to have been exclusively used for the purpose of presenting offerings on, and were probably quite small and low,--in fact rather trays than tables according to European ideas.

In the use of clothing and the specialization of garments

[p. xli]

the Early Japanese had reached a high level. We read in the most ancient legends of upper garments, skirts, trowsers, girdles, veils, and hats, while both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces, bracelets, and head-ornaments of stones considered precious,--in this respect offering a striking contrast to their descendants in modern times, of whose attire jewelry forms no part. The material of their clothes was hempen cloth and paper-mulberry bark, coloured by being rubbed with madder, and probably with woad and other tinctorial plants. All the garments, so far as we may judge, were woven, sewing being nowhere mentioned, and it being expressly stated by the Chinese commentator on the "Shan Hai Ching," [*34] who wrote early in the fourth century, that the Japanese had no needles. [*35] From the great place which the chase occupied in daily life we are led to suppose that skins also were used to make garments of. There is in the "Records" at least one passage which favours this supposition, [*36] and the "Chronicles" in one place mention the straw rain-coat and broad-brimmed hat, which still form the [31] Japanese peasant's effectual protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The tendrils of creeping plants served the purposes of string, and bound the warrior's sword round his waist. Combs are mentioned, and it is evident that much attention was devoted to the dressing of the hair. The men seem to have bound up their hair in two bunches, one on each side of the head, whilst the young boys tied theirs into a topknot, the unmarried girls let their locks hang down over their necks, and the

[p. xlii]

married women dressed theirs after a fashion which apparently combined the two last-named methods. There is no mention in any of the old books of cutting the hair or beard except in token of disgrace; neither do we gather that the sexes, but for this matter of the headdress, were distinguished by a diversity of apparel and ornamentation.

With regard to the precious stones mentioned above as having been used as ornaments for the head, neck, and arms, the texts themselves give us little or no information as to the identity of the stones meant to be referred to. Indeed it is plain (and the native commentators admit the fact) that a variety of Chinese characters properly denoting different sort of jewels were used indiscriminately by the early Japanese writers to represent the single native word tama which is the only one the language contains to denote any hard substance on which a special value is set, and which often refers chiefly to the

rounded shape, so that it might in fact be translated by the word "bead" as fittingly as by the word "jewel." We know, however, from the specimens which have rewarded the labours of archaeological research in Japan that agate, crystal, glass, jade, serpentine, and steatite are the most usual materials, and carved and pierced cylindrical shapes (maga-tama and kuda-tama), the commonest forms. [*37]

The horse (which was ridden, but not driven), the

[p. xliii]

barn-door fowl, and the cormorant used for fishing) are the only domesticated creatures mentioned in the earlier traditions, with the doubtful exception of the silkworm, to [32] which reference has already been made. [*38] In the later portions of the "Records" and "Chronicles," dogs and cattle are alluded to; but sheep, swine, and even cats were apparently not yet introduced. Indeed sheep were scarcely to be seen in Japan until a few years ago, goats are still almost unknown, and swine and all poultry excepting the barn-door fowl extremely uncommon.

The following enumeration of the animals and plants mentioned in the earlier portion [*39] of the "Records" may be of interest. The Japanese equivalents, some few of which are obsolete, are put in parenthesis, together with the Chinese characters used to write them:

MAMMALS.

Bear, (kuma).
Boar, (wi).
Deer, (shika).
Hare, (usagi).
Horse, (uma and koma).
Mouse or Rat (nedzumi).
"Sea-ass" [Seal or Sea-lion?] (michi).
Whale, (kujira).

[p. xliv]

BIRDS.

Barndoor-fowl, (kake).
Cormorant, (u).
Crow or Raven, (karasu).
Dotterel or Plover or Sand-piper, (chidori).
Heron or Egret (sagi).
Kingfisher (soni-dori), Nuye (). [*40]
Pheasant (kigishi).
Snipe, (shigi).
Swan, (shiro-tori)
Wild-duck, (kamo).
Wild-goose, (kari).

REPTILES.

Crocodile, (wani). [*41]
Tortoise (kame).
Toad or Frog, (taniguku, written phonetically).
Serpent, (worochi).

Snake [smaller than the preceding], (hemi).

INSECTS.

Centipede, (mukade).
Dragon-fly, (akidzu).
Fly, (hahi).
Louse, (shirami).
Silk-worm, (kahiko).
Wasp or Bee, (hachi).

FISHES, ETC.

Pagrus cardinalis [probably], (aka-dahi) [or perhaps the Pagrus cardinalis (tai) is intended.]
Perch [Percalabrax japonicus] (su-dzuki).
Beche-de-mer [genus Pentacta] (ko).
Medusa, (kurage, written phonetically).

[p. xlv]

SHELLS.

Arca Subcrenata [?] (hirabu-kahi, written phonetically).
Cockle [Arca Inflata] (kisa-gahi).
Turbinidae [a shell of the family] (shitadami).

PLANTS.

Ampelopsis serianaefolia [?] (kaga-mi).
Aphanarthe aspera, (muku, written phonetically).
Aucuba japonica [probably] aha-gi, written phonetically).
Bamboo, (take).
Bamboo-grass [Bambusa chino], (sasa).
Barley [or wheat?], (mugi).
Beans [two kinds, viz., Soja glycine and Phaselus radiatus (the general name is mame , that of the latter species in particular adzuki).
Bulrush [Typha japonica] (kama).
Bush-clover [Lespedeza of various species], (hagi).
Camellia japonica (tsuba-ki).
Cassia [Chinese mythical; or perhaps the native Cercidiphyllum japonica], (katsura, variously written).
Chamaecyparis obtusa, (hi-no-ki)
Cleyera japonica [and another allied but undetermined species) (saka-ki).
Clubmoss, (hi-koge).
Cocculus thunbergi [probably] (tsu-dzura).
Cryptomeria japonica, (sugi).
Eulalia japonica (kaya).
Evonymus japonica, (masa-ki).
Ginger, [or perhaps the Xanthoxylon is intended] (hazhikami).
Halocholoa macrantha [but it is not certain that this is the sea-weed intended] (komo).
Holly [or rather the Olea aquifolium, which closely resembles holly], (hihira-gi).
Knot-grass [Polygonum tinctorium] (awi).
Lily, (sawi written phonetically, yamayuri-gusa , and saki-kusa).

Madder. (akane).
Millet [Panicum italicum], (aha).
Moss, (koke).
Oak (two species, one evergreen and one deciduous,--Quercus myrsinaefolia, Q. dentata (kashi , kashiwa).
Peach, (momo).
Photinia glabra [?], (soba, written phonetically).
Pine-tree, (matsu).
Pueraria thumbergiana, (kudzu).
Reed, (ashi).
Rice, (ine).
Sea-weed [or the original term may designate a particular species], (me).
Sedge [Scriptus marintimus], (suge).
Spindle-tree [Evonymus radians], (masaki no kadzura).
Vegetable Wax-tree [Rhus succedanea], (hazhi).
Vine, (yebi-kadsura). [p. xliv]
Wild cherry [or birch?], (hahaka).
Wild chive [or rather the allium and odorum, which closely resembles it], (ka-mira).
Winter-cherry [Physalis alkekengi] aka-kagachi written phonetically, also (hohodzuki).

The later portions of the work furnish in addition the following:--

ANIMALS.

Cow (ushi).
Dog, (inu).
Crane, [genus Grus] (tadzu).
[35] Dove or Pigeon, (hato).
Grebe, (niho-dori).
Lark, (hibari).
Peregrine falcon, (hayabusa).
Red-throated quail (udzura)
Tree-sparrow (susume).
Wag-tail, [probably] (mana-bashira), written phonetically.
Wren, (sazaki).
Dolphin, (iruka).
Trout, [Plecoglossus altivelis] (ayu).
Tunny, [a kind of, viz. Thynnus sibi] (shibi).
Crab, (kani).
Horse-fly (amu).
Oyster (kaki) .

PLANTS.

Alder [Alnus maritima] (hari-no-ki).
Aralia (mi-tsuna gashiwa).
Brasenia peltata (nunaha) .
Cabbage [brassica] (aona).
Catalpa Kaempfri [but some say the cherry is meant (adzusa).
Chestnut (kuri).
Dioscorea quinqueloba (tokoro-dzura).
Evonymus sieboldianus mayumi)
Gourd (hisago).
Hedysarum esculentum (wogi).
Hydropyrum latifolium (komo).
Kadzura japonica (sen kadzura).
Livistona sinensis (aji-masa).
Lotus [nelumbium] (hachisu).

Musk-melon (hozoahi).
Oak, [three species, Quercus serrata (kunugi) and Q. glandifera (nara), both deciduous; Q. gilva (ichihi) [evergreen].
Orange (tachibana).
Podocarpus macrophylla (maki).
Radish, [Raphanus sativus] (oho-ne).
Sashibu (written phonetically) [not identified].
Water caltrop, [Trapa bispinosa] (hishi).
Wild garlic [Allium nipponicum] (nubiru).
Zelkowa keaki [probably] (tsuki).

[p. xlvii]

A few more are probably preserved in the names of places. Thus in Shinano, the name of a province, we seem to have the shina (Tilia cordata), and in Tadetsu the tade (Polygonum japonicum). But the identification in these cases is mostly uncertain. It must also be remembered that, as in the case of all non-scientific nomenclatures, several species, and occasionally even more than one genus, are included in a single Japanese term. The chi-dori (here always rendered "dotterel") is the name of any kind of sand-piper, plover or dotterel. Kari is a general name applied to geese, but not to all the species, and also to the great bustard. Again it should not be forgotten that there may have been, and probably were, in the application of some of these terms, differences of usage between the present day and eleven or twelve centuries ago. Absolute precision is therefore not attainable. [*42]

Noticeable in the above lists is the abundant mention of plant-names in a work which is in no ways occupied with botany. Equally noticeable is the absence of some of those which are most common at the present day, such as the tea-plant and the plum-tree, while of the orange we are specially informed that it was introduced from abroad. [*43] The difference between the various stones and metals seems, on the other hand, to have attracted [36] very little attention from the Early Japanese. In late

[p. xlviii]

times the chief metals were named mostly according to their colour, as follows:

Yellow metal

(gold).

White metal

(silver).

Red metal

(copper).

Black metal

(iron).

Chinese (or Korean) metal

(bronze).

But in the "Records" the only metal of which it is implied that it was in use

from time immemorial is iron, while "various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards," are only referred to once as existing in the far-western land of Korea. Red clay is the sole kind of earth specially named.

Black.
Blue (including Green).
Red.
Piebald (of horses).
White.

Yellow is not mentioned (except in the foreign Chinese phrase "the Yellow Stream," signifying Hades, and not to be counted in this context), neither are any of the numerous terms which in Modem Japanese serve to distinguish delicate shades of colour. We hear of the "blue (or green) (i.e. black [*44]) clouds" and also of the "blue (or green), sea"; but the "blue sky" is conspicuous by its absence here as in so many other early literatures, though strangely enough it does occur in the oldest written monuments of the Chinese.

With regard to the subject of names for the different degrees of relationship,--a subject of sufficient interest

[p. xlix]

to the student of sociology to warrant its being discussed at some length,--it may be stated that in modern Japanese parlance the categories according to which relationship is conceived of do not materially differ from those that are current in Europe. Thus we find father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, nephew. stepfather, stepson, father-in-law, and the corresponding terms for females,--mother, grandmother etc.,--as well as such vaguer designations as parents, ancestors, cousins, and kinsmen, The only striking difference is that brothers and sisters, instead of being considered as all mutually related in the same manner, are divided into two categories, viz:

Ani

elder brother(s),

Otouto

younger brother(s),

Ane

elder sister(s),

Imouto

younger sister(s).

in exact accordance with Chinese usage.

Now in Archaic times there seems to have been a different and more complicated

system, somewhat resembling that which still obtains among the natives of Korea, and which the introduction of Chinese ideas and especially the use of the Chinese written characters must have caused to be afterwards abandoned. There are indications of it in some of the phonetically written fragments of the "Records." But they are not of themselves sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation, and the subject has puzzled the native literati themselves. Moreover the English language fails us at this point, and elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister are the only terms at the translator's command. It may therefore be as well to quote in extenso Motowori's elucidation of the Archaic usage to be found

[p. l]

in vol. XIII, p. 63-4 of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters." [*45] He says: "Anciently, when brothers and sisters were spoken of, the elder brother was called se or ani in contradistinction to the younger brothers and younger sisters, and the younger brother also was called se in contradistinction to the elder sister. The elder sister was called ane in contradistinction to the younger sister, and the younger brother also would use the word ane in speaking of his elder sister himself. The younger brother was called oto in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the younger sister also was called oto in contradistinction to the elder sister. The younger sister was called imo in contradistinction to the elder brother, and the elder sister also was called imo in [38] contradistinction to the younger brother. It was also the custom among brothers and sisters to use the words iro-se for se, iro-ne for ane, and iro-do for oto, and analogy forces us to conclude that iro-mo was used for imo." (Motowori elsewhere explains iro as a term of endearment identical with the word iro, "love"; but we may hesitate to accept this view.) It will be observed that the foundation of this system of nomenclature was a subordination of the younger to the elder-born modified by a subordination of the females to the males. In the East, especially in primitive times, it is not "Place aux dames," but "Place aux messieurs."

Another important point to notice is that, though in a few passages of the "Records" we find a distinction drawn between the chief and the secondary wives, perhaps nothing more than the favorite or better-born,

[p. li]

and the less well-born, are meant to be thus designated,--yet not only is this distinction not drawn throughout, but the wife is constantly spoken of as imo, i.e. "younger sister." It fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas; and what in a later stage of Japanese, as of Western, civilization is abhorred as incest was in Archaic Japanese times the common practice. We also hear of marriages with half-sisters, with stepmothers, and with aunts; and to wed two or three sisters at the same time was a recognized usage. Most such unions were naturally so contrary to Chinese ethical ideas, that one of the first traces of the influence of the latter in Japan was the stigmatizing of them as incest; and the conflict between the old native custom and the imported moral code is seen to have resulted in political troubles. [*46] Marriage with sisters was naturally the first to disappear, and indeed it is only mentioned in the legends of the gods; but unions with half-sisters, aunts, etc., lasted on into the historic epoch. Of exogamy, such as obtains in China, there is no trace in any Japanese document, nor do any other artificial impediments seem to have stood in the way of the free choice of the Early Japanese man, who also (in some cases at least) received a dowry with his bride or brides.

* * *

If, taking as our guides the incidental notices which are scattered up and down the pages of the earlier [39] portion of the "Records" we endeavour to follow an Archaic Japanese through the chief events of his life

[p. lii]

from the cradle to the tomb, it will be necessary to begin by recalling what has already been alluded to as the 'parturition-house' built by the mother, and in which, as we are specially told that it was made windowless, it would perhaps be contradictory to say that the infant first saw the light. Soon after birth a name was given to it,--given to it by the mother,--such name generally containing some appropriate personal reference. In the most ancient times each person (so far as we can judge) bore but one name, or rather one string of words compounded together into a sort of personal designation. But already at the dawn of the historical epoch we are met by the mention of surnames and of what, in the absence of a more fitting word, the translator has ventured to call "gentile names," bestowed by the sovereign as a recompense for some noteworthy deed. [*47]

It may be gathered from our text that the idea of calling in the services of wet-nurses in exceptional case had already suggested itself to the minds of the ruling class, whose infants were likewise sometimes attended by special bathing-women. To what we should call education, whether mental or physical, there is absolutely no reference made in the histories. All that can be inferred is that, when old enough to do so, the boys began to follow one of the callings of hunter or fisherman,

[p. liii]

while the girls staid at home weaving the garments of the family. There was also a great deal of fighting, generally of a treacherous kind, in the intervals of which the warriors occupied themselves in cultivating patches of ground. The very little which is to be gathered concerning the treatment of old people would seem to indicate that they were well cared for.

We are nowhere told of any wedding ceremonies except the giving of presents by the bride or her father, the probable reason being that no such ceremonies [40] existed. Indeed late on into the Middle Age cohabitation alone constituted matrimony,--cohabitation often secret at first, but afterwards acknowledged, when, instead of going round under cover of night to visit his mistress, the young man brought her back publicly to his parents' house. Mistress, wife, and concubine were thus terms which were not distinguished, and the woman could naturally be discarded at any moment. She indeed was expected to remain faithful to the man with whom she had had more than a passing intimacy, but no reciprocal obligation bound him to her. Thus the wife of one of the gods is made to address her husband in a poem which says:

"Thou . . . indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But I, alas! being a woman, have no spouse except thee," etc., etc. [*48]

In this sombre picture the only graceful touch is the custom which lovers or spouses had of tieing each other's girdles when about to part for a time,--a ceremony by

[p. liv]

which they implied that they would be constant to each other during the period of absence. [*49] What became of the children in cases of conjugal separation does not clearly appear. In the only instance which is related at length, we find the child left with the father; but this instance is not a normal one. [*50] Adoption is not mentioned in the earliest traditions; so that when we meet with it later on we shall probably be justified in tracing its introduction to Chinese sources.

Of death-bed scenes and dying speeches we hear but little, and that little need not detain us. The burial rites are more important. The various ceremonies observed on such an occasion are indeed not explicitly detailed. But we gather

thus much: that the hut tenanted by the deceased was abandoned,--an ancient custom to whose former existence the removal of the capital at the commencement of each reign long [41] continued to bear witness,--and that the body was first deposited for some days in a "mourning-house," during which interval the survivors (though their tears and lamentations are also mentioned) held a carousal, feasting perhaps on the food which was specially prepared as an offering to the dead person. Afterwards, the corpse was interred, presumably in a wooden bier, as the introduction of stone tombs is specially noted by the historian as having taken place at the end of the reign of the Emperor Sui-nin, and was therefore believed by those who handed down the legendary history to have been a comparatively recent innovation, the date assigned to this monarch by the author of the "Chronicles" coinciding

[p. lv]

with the latter part of our first, and the first half of our second centuries. To a time not long anterior is attributed the abolition of a custom previously observed at the interments of royal personages. This custom was the burying alive of some of their retainers in the neighbourhood of the tomb. We know also, both from other early literary sources and from the finds which have recently rewarded the labours of archaeologists, that articles of Clothing, ornaments, etc., were buried with the corpse. it is all the more curious that the "Records" should nowhere make any reference to such a custom, and is a proof (if any be needed) of the necessity of not relying exclusively on any single authority, however respectable, if the full and true picture of Japanese antiquity is to be restored. A few details as to the abolition of the custom of burying retainers alive round their master's tomb, and of the substitution for this cruel holocaust of images in clay will be found in Sect. LXIII, Note 23, and in Sect. LXXV, Note 4, of the following translation. [*51] If the custom be one which is properly included under the heading of human sacrifices, it is the only form of such sacrifices of which the earliest recorded Japanese social state retained any trace. The absence of slavery is another honourable feature. On the other hand, the most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrongdoers. Their nails were extracted, the sinews of their knees were cut, they were buried up to the neck so that their eyes burst, etc. Death, too, was inflicted for the [42]

[p. lvi]

most trivial offences. Of branding, or rather tattooing, the face as a punishment there are one or two incidental mentions. But as no tattooing or other marking or painting of the body for any other purpose is ever alluded to, with the solitary exception in one passage of the painting of her eyebrows by a woman, it is possible that the penal use of tattooing may have been borrowed from the Chinese, to whom it was not unknown.

The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the "Records" bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. It is true that decency, as we understand it, is a very modern product, and is not to be looked for in any society in the barbarous stage. At the same time, the whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naive filthiness of the passage forming Sect. IV of the following translation, or to the extraordinary topic which the hero Yamato-Take and his mistress Miyazu are made to select as the theme of poetical repartee. [*52] One passage likewise would lead us to suppose that the most beastly crimes were commonly committed. [*53]

To conclude this portion of the subject, it may be useful for the sake of comparison to call attention to a few arts and products with which the early Japanese were not acquainted, Thus they had no tea, no fans, no porcelain, no lacquer,--none of the things, in fact, by which in later times they have been chiefly known. They did not yet use vehicles of any kind. They had no accurate method of computing time, no money, scarcely any

[p. lvii]

knowledge of medicine. Neither, though they possessed some sort of music, and poems a few of which at least are not without merit, [*54] do we hear anything of the art of drawing. But the most important art of which they were ignorant is that of writing. As some misapprehension has existed on this head, and scholars in [43] Europe have been misled by the inventions of zealous champions of the Shinto religion into a belief in the so-called "Divine Characters," by them alleged to have been invented by the Japanese gods and to have been used by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese ideographic writing, it must be stated precisely that all the traditions of the "Divine Age," and of the reigns of the earlier Emperors down to the third century of our era according to the received chronology, maintain a complete silence on the subject of writing materials, and records of every kind. Books are nowhere mentioned till a period confessedly posterior to the opening up of intercourse with the Asiatic continent, and the first books whose names occur are the "Lun Yu" and the "Ch'ien Tzu Wen," [*55] which are said to have been brought over to Japan during the reign of the Emperor O-jin,--according to the same chronology in the year 284 after Christ. That even

[p. lviii]

this statement is antedated, is shown by the fact that the "Ch'ien Tzu Wen," was not written till more than two centuries later,--a fact which is worthy the attention of those who have been disposed simply to take on trust the assertions of the Japanese historians. It should likewise be mentioned that, as has already been pointed out by Mr. Aston, the Japanese terms fumi "written document," and fude "pen," are probably corruptions of foreign words. [*56] The present, indeed, is not the [44] place to discuss the whole question of the so-called "Divine Characters" which Motowori, the most patriotic as well as the most learned of the Japanese literati, dismisses in a note to the Prolegomena of his "Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters" with the remark that they "are a late forgery over which no words need be wasted." But as this mare's nest has been imported into the discussion of the Early Japanese social state, and as the point is one on which the absolute silence of the early traditions bears such clear testimony, it was impossible to pass it by without some brief allusion.

Footnotes

^xxxiv:23 A curious scrap of the history of Japanese civilization is preserved in the word kaji, whose exclusive acceptation in the modern tongue is "rudder." In archaic Japanese it meant "oar," a signification which is now expressed by the term ro, which has been borrowed from the Chinese. It is a matter of debate whether the ancient Japanese boats possessed such an appliance as a rudder, and the word tagishi or iaishi has been credited with that meaning. The more likely opinion seems to be that both the thing and the word were specialized in later times, the early Japanese boatmen having made any oar do duty for a rudder when circumstances necessitated the use of one.

^xxxv:24 See the end of Sect. XXXII.

^xxxv:25 See Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 191-192, of these "Transactions."

^xxxvii:26 Yamato Monogatari.

^xxxvii:27 For a translation of this story see the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," pp. 42, 44.

^xxxvii:28 See Sect. XLIV, Note 12 and Sect. LXXII, Note 29.

^xxxviii:29 Mr. Ernest Satow, who in 1898 visited the island of Hachijo, gives the following detail concerning the observance down to modern times in that remote corner of the Japanese Empire of the custom mentioned in the text: "in Hachijo women, when about to become mothers, were formerly driven out to the huts on the mountain-side, and according to the accounts of native writers, left

to shift for themselves, the result not unfrequently being the death of the newborn infant, or if it survived the rude circumstances under which it first saw the light, the seeds of disease were sown which clung to it throughout its after life. The rule of non-intercourse was so strictly enforced, that the woman was not allowed to leave the hut even to visit her own parents at the point of death, and besides the injurious effects that this solitary confinement must have had on the wives themselves, their prolonged absence was a serious loss to households, where there were elder children and large establishments to be superintended. The rigour of the custom was so far relaxed in modern times, that the huts were no longer built on the hills, but were constructed inside the homestead. It was a subject of wonder to people from other parts of Japan that the senseless practice should still be kept up, and its abolition was often recommended, but the administration of the Shoguns was not animated by a reforming spirit, and it remained for the Government of the Mikado to exhort the islanders to abandon this and the previously mentioned custom. They are therefore no longer sanctioned by official authority and the force of social opinion against them is increasing, so that before long these relics of ancient ceremonial religion will in all probability have disappeared from the group of islands." (Trans. of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan, Vol. VI, Part III,, pp. 455-6.)

^xxxix:30 See Sect. LXX, Note 6. The Japanese term is ina-ki, ki being an Archaic term for "castle."

^xxxix:31 See Sect. XVI. Mention of cave-dwellers will also be found in Sects. XLVIII, and LXXX.

^xl:32 See the latter part of Sect. XVII.

^xl:33 See Sect. XVIII, Note 16.

^xli:34 .

^xli:35 See, however, the legend in Sect. LXV.

^xli:36 See beginning of Sect XXVII.

^xlii:37 For details on this subject and illustrations, see Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," p. 15 and Table XI, and a paper by Professor Milne on the "Stone Age in Japan," read before the Anthropological Society of Great Britain on the 25th May, 1880, pp. 10 and 11.

^xliii:38 The tradition preserved in Sect. CXXIV, shows that in times almost, if not quite, historical (the 4th century of our era) the silkworm was a curious novelty, apparently imported from Korea. It is not only possible, but probable, that silken fabrics were occasionally imported into Japan from the mainland at an earlier period, which would account for the mention of "silk rugs" in Sects XL and LXXXIV.

^xliii:39 The (necessarily somewhat arbitrary) line between earlier and later times has been drawn at the epoch of the traditional conquest of Korea by the Empress Jin-go at the commencement of the third century of our era, it being then, according to the received opinions, that the Japanese first came in contact with their continental neighbours, and began to borrow from them. (See however the concluding Section of this Introduction for a demonstration of the untrustworthiness of all the so-called history of Japan down to the commencement of the fifth century of the Christian era).

^xliv:40 See Sect. XXIV, Note 4.

^xliv:41 Mr. Satow, in his translation of a passage of the "Records of Ancient Matters" forming part of a note to his third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX, Pt. II of these "Transactions," renders wani by "shark." There is perhaps some want of clearness in the old historical books in the details concerning the creature in question, and its fin is mentioned in the "Chronicles." But the

accounts point rather to an amphibious creature, conceived of as being somewhat similar to the serpent, than to a fish, and the Chinese descriptions quoted by the Japanese commentators unmistakably refer to the crocodile. The translator therefore sees no sufficient reason for abandoning the usually accepted interpretation of wani () as "crocodile." It should be noticed that the wani is never introduced into any but patently fabulous stories, and that the example of other nations, and indeed of Japan itself, shows that myth-makers have no objection to embellish their tales by the mention of wonders supposed to exist in foreign lands.

^xlvii:42 Sect. CXXVIII preserves a very early ornithological observation in the shape of the Songs composed by the Emperor Nin-toku and his Minister Take-Uchi on the subject of a wild-goose laying eggs in Central Japan. These birds are not known to breed even so far South as the island of Yezo.

^xlvii:43 See the legend in Sect. LXXIV.

^xlviii:44 Mr. Satow suggests that awo ("blue" or "green") means property any colour derived from the awi plant (Polygonum tinctorium.)

^l:45 Only the foot-notes of the original are omitted, as not being essential.

^li:46 See the story of Prince Karu, which is probably historical, in Sects. CXLI et seq.

^lii:47 The custom of using surnames was certainly borrowed from China, although the Japanese have not, like the Koreans, gone so far as to adopt the actual surnames in use in that country. The "gentile names" may have sprung up more naturally, though they too show traces of Chinese influence. Those most frequently met with are Agata-nushi, Ason, Atahe, Kimi, Miyatsuko, Murazhi, Omi, Sukune, and Wake. See above, pp. <page xv>-xvi.

^liii:48 See Sect. XXV (the second Song in that Section).

^liv:49 See Sect LXXI, Note 12.

^liv:50 See Sect. XLII.

^lv:51 Representations of these clay images (Tsuchi-nin-giyo) will be found in Table XII of Mr. Henry von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," and in Mr. Satow's paper on "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke" published in Vol. VII, Pt. III, pp. 313 et seq. of these "Transactions."

^lvi:52 See Sect. LXXXVII.

^lvi:53 See Sect. XCVII.

^lvii:54 A translation,--especially a literal prose translation,--is not calculated to show off to best advantage the poetry of an alien race. But even subject to this drawback, the present writer would be surprised if it were not granted that poetic fire and grace are displayed in some of the Love-Songs (for instance the third Song in Sect. XXIV and both Songs Yamato-Take's address to his "elder brother the pine-tree," and in his Death-Songs contained in Sect. LXXXIX).

^lvii:55 and .

^lviii:56 Viz. of the Chinese and (in the modern Mandarin pronunciation wen and pi). Mr. Aston would seem to derive both the Japanese term fude and the Korean put independently from the Chinese . The present writer thinks it more likely that the Japanese fude was borrowed mediately through the Korean put. In any case, as it regularly corresponds with the latter according to the laws of letter-change subsisting between the two languages, it will be observed that the Japanese term would still have to be considered borrowed, even if the derivation

of put from had to be abandoned; for we can hardly suppose Korean and Japanese to have independently selected the same root to denote such a thing as a "pen." As to the correctness of the derivation of fumi from , there can be little doubt, and it had long ago struck even the Japanese themselves, who are not prompt to acknowledge such loans. They usually derive fude from fumi-te, "document hand," and thus again we are brought bark to the Chinese as the origin of the Japanese word for "pen."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

V.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE EARLY JAPANESE, BEGINNINGS OF THE JAPANESE NATION, AND CREDIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS.

The religious beliefs of the modern upholders of Shinto [*57] may be ascertained without much difficulty by a perusal of the works of the leaders of the movement which has endeavoured during the last century and a half to destroy the influence of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophy, and which has latterly succeeded to some extent in supplanting those two foreign systems. But in Japan, as elsewhere, it has been impossible for men really to turn back a thousand years In religious thought and act; and when we try to discover the primitive opinions that were entertained by the Japanese people prior to the introduction of the Chinese culture, we are met by difficulties that at first seem insuperable. The documents are scanty, and the modern commentaries untrustworthy, for they are all written under the influence of a preconceived opinion. Moreover, the problem is apparently complicated by a mixture of races and mythologies, and by a filtering in of Chinese ideas previous to the compilation of documents of any sort, though these are considerations which have hitherto scarcely been taken into account by foreigners, and are designedly neglected and obscured by such narrowly patriotic native writers as Motowori and Hirata.

In the political field the difficulties are not less, but [45] rather greater; for when once the Imperial house and the centralized Japanese polity, as we know it from the sixth or seventh century of our era downwards, became fully established, it was but too clearly in the interest of the powers that be to efface as far as possible the trace of different government arrangements which may have preceded them, and to cause it to be believed that, as things were then, so had they always been. The Emperor Tem-mu, with his anxiety to amend "the deviations from truth and the empty falsehoods" of the historical documents preserved by the various families, and the author of the "Chronicles of Japan" with his elaborate system of fictitious dates, recur to our minds, and we ask ourselves to what extent similar garblings of history,--sometimes unintentional,--may have gone on during earlier ages, when there was even less to check them than there was in the eighth century. If, therefore, the translator here gives expression to a few opinions founded chiefly on a careful study of the text of the "Records of Ancient Matters" helped out by a study of the "Chronicles of Japan," he would be understood to do so with great diffidence, especially with regard to his few (so to speak) constructive remarks. As to the destructive side of the criticism, there need be less hesitation; for the old histories bear evidence too conclusively against themselves for it to be possible for the earlier portions of them, at least, to stand the test of sober investigation. Before endeavouring to piece together the little that is found in the "Records" to illustrate the beliefs of Archaic

Japanese times, it will be necessary, at the risk of dullness, to give a summary of the old traditions as they lie before us in

[p. lxi]

their entirety, after which will be hazarded a few speculations on the subject of the earlier tribes which combined to form the Japanese people; for the four questions of religious beliefs, of political arrangements, of race, and of the credibility of documents, all hang closely together and, properly speaking, form but one highly complex problem.

Greatly condensed, the Early Japanese traditions amount to this: After an indefinitely long period, during which were born a number of abstract deities, who are differently enumerated in the "Records" and in the "Chronicles," two of these deities, a brother and sister named Izanagi and Izanami (i.e., the "Male who Invites" and the "Female Who Invites"), are united in marriage, and give birth to the various islands of the Japanese archipelago. When they have finished producing islands, they proceed to the production of a large number of gods and goddesses, many of whom correspond to what we should call personifications of the powers of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptations, is foreign to the Japanese mind. The birth of the Fire-God causes Izanami's death, and the most striking episode of the whole mythology then ensues, when her husband, Orpheus-like, visits her in the under-world to implore her to return to him. She would willingly do so, and bids him wait while she consults with the deities of the place. But he, impatient at her long tarrying, breaks off one of the end-teeth of the comb stuck in the left bunch of his hair, lights it and goes in, only to find her a hideous mass of corruption, in whose midst are seated the eight Gods of Thunder. This episode ends with the deification of

[p. lxii]

[paragraph continues] [58] three peaches [*58] who had assisted him in his retreat before the armies of the under-world, and with bitter words exchanged between him and his wife, who herself pursues him as far as the "Even Pass of Hades."

Returning to Himuka in south-western Japan, Izanagi purifies himself by bathing in a stream, and, as he does so, fresh deities are born from each article of clothing that he throws down on the river-bank, and from each part of his person. One of these deities was the Sun-Goddess, who was born from his left eye, while the Moon-God sprang from his right eye, and the last born of all, Susa-no-Wo, whose name the translator renders by "the Impetuous Male," was born from his nose. Between these three children their father divides the inheritance of the universe.

At this point the story loses its unity. The Moon-God is no more heard of, and the traditions concerning the Sun-Goddess and those concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" diverge in a manner which is productive of inconsistencies in the remainder of the mythology. The Sun-Goddess and the "Impetuous Male Deity" have a violent quarrel, and at last the latter breaks a hole in the roof of the hall in Heaven where his sister is sitting at work with the celestial weaving-maidens, and through it lets fall "a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The consequences of this act were so disastrous, that the Sun-Goddess withdrew for a season into a cave, from which the rest of the eight hundred myriad (according to the "Chronicles" eighty

[p. lxiii]

myriad) deities with difficulty allured her. The "Impetuous Male Deity" was thereupon banished, and the Sun-Goddess remained mistress of the field. Yet, strange to say, she thenceforward retires into the background, and the most bulky section of the mythology consists of stories concerning the "Impetuous Male Deity" and his descendants, who are represented as the monarchs of Japan,

or rather of the province of Idzumo. The "Impetuous Male Deity" himself, whom his father had charged with the dominion of the sea, never assumes that rule, but first has a curiously told amorous adventure and an encounter with an eight-forked serpent in Idzumo, and afterwards reappears as the capricious and filthy deity of Hades, who however seems to retain some power over the land of the living, as he invests his descendant of the sixth generation with the sovereignty of Japan. Of this latter personage a whole cycle of stories is told, all centering in Idzumo. We learn of his conversations with a hare and with a mouse, of the prowess and cleverness which he displayed on the occasion of a visit to his ancestor in Hades, which is in this cycle of traditions a much less mysterious place than the Hades visited by Izanagi, of his amours, of his triumph over his eighty brethren, of his reconciliation with his jealous empress, and of his numerous descendants, many of whom have names that are particularly difficult of comprehension. We hear too in a tradition, which ends in a pointless manner, of a microscopic deity who comes across the sea to ask this monarch of Idzumo to share the sovereignty with him.

This last-mentioned legend repeats itself in the sequel. The Sun-Goddess, who on her second appearance is constantly

[p. xliv]

represented as acting in concert with the "High August Producing Wondrous Deity,"--one of the abstractions mentioned at the commencement of the "Records,"--resolves to bestow the sovereignty of Japan on a child of whom it is doubtful whether he were hers or that of her brother the "Impetuous Male Deity." Three embassies are sent from Heaven to Idzumo to arrange matters, but it is only a fourth that is successful, the final ambassadors obtaining the submission of the monarch [48] or deity of Idzumo, who surrenders his sovereignty and promises to serve the new dynasty (apparently in the under-world), if a palace or temple be built for him and he be appropriately worshipped. Thereupon the child of the deity whom the Sun-Goddess had originally wished to make sovereign of Japan, descends to earth,--not to Idzumo in the north-west, be it mentioned, as the logical sequence of the story would lead one to expect,--but to the peak of a mountain in the south-western island of Kiushiu.

Here follows a quaint tale accounting for the old appearance of the beche-le-mer, and another to account for the shortness of the lives of mortals, after which we are told of the birth under peculiar circumstances of the heaven-descended deity's three sons. Two of these, Ho-deri and Howori, whose names may be Englished as "Fire-Shine" and "Fire-Subside," are the heroes of a very curious legend, which includes an elaborate account of a visit paid by the latter to the palace of the God of Ocean, and of a curse or spell which gained for him the victory over his elder brother, and enabled him to dwell peacefully in his palace at Takachiho for the space of five hundred and eighty years,--the first statement

[p. lxv]

resembling a date which the "Records" contain. This personage's son married his own aunt, and was the father of four children, one of whom "treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land," while a second "went into the sea plain," and the two others moved eastward, fighting with the chiefs of Kibi and Yamato, having adventures with gods both with and without tails, being assisted by a miraculous sword and a gigantic crow, and naming the various places they passed through after incidents in their own career, as "the Impetuous Male" and other divine personages had done before them. One of these brothers was Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko, who (the other having died before him) was first given the title of Jim-mu Ten-no more than fourteen, centuries after the date which in the "Chronicles" is assigned as that of his decease.

Henceforth Yamato, which had scarcely been mentioned before, and the provinces adjacent to it become the centre of the story, and Idzumo again emerges into importance. A very indecent love-tale forms a bridge which unites the two

fragments of the mythology; and the "Great Deity of Miwa," who is identified with the deposed monarch of Idzumo, appears on the scene. Indeed during the rest of the story this "Great Deity of Miwa," and [49] his colleague the "Small August Deity" (Sukuna-Mi-Kami [*59]), the deity Izasa-Wake, the three Water-Gods of Sumi, and the "Great Deity of Kadzuraki," of whom there is so striking a mention in Sect. CLVIII, form, with the Sun-Goddess and with a certain divine sword

[p. lxvi]

preserved at the temple of Isonokami in Yamato, the only objects of worship specially named, the other gods and goddesses being no more heard of. This portion of the story is closed by an account of the troubles which inaugurated the reign of Jim-mu's successor, Sui-sei, and then occurs a blank of (according to the accepted chronology) five hundred years, during which absolutely nothing is told us excepting dreary genealogies, the place where each sovereign dwelt and where he was buried, and the age to which he lived,--this after the minute details which had previously been given concerning the successive gods or monarchs down to Sui-sei inclusive. It should likewise be noted that the average age of the first seventeen monarchs (counting Jim-mu Ten-no as the first according to received ideas) is nearly 96 years if we follow the "Records," and over a hundred if we follow the accepted chronology which is based chiefly on the constantly divergent statements contained in the "Chronicles." The age of several of the monarchs exceeds 120 years. [*60]

The above-mentioned lapse of an almost blank period, of five centuries brings us to the reign of the Emperor known to history by the name of Su-jin, whose life of one hundred and sixty-eight years (one hundred and twenty according to the "Chronicles") is supposed to have immediately preceded the Christian era. In this reign the former monarch of Idzumo or god of Miwa again appears and produces a pestilence, of the manner of staying which Su-jin is warned in a dream, while a curious but highly indecent episode tells us how a person called Oho-Taka-Ne-Ko was known to be a son of the

[p. lxvii]

deity in question, and was therefore appointed high-priest of his temple. In the ensuing reign an elaborate legend, involving a variety of circumstances as miraculous as any in the earlier portion of the mythology, again centres in the necessity of pacifying the great god of Idzumo; and this, with details of internecine strife in the Imperial family, of the sovereign's amours, and of the importation of the orange from the "Eternal Land," brings us to the cycle of traditions of which Yamato-Take, a son of the Emperor Kei-ko, is the hero. This prince, after slaying one of his brothers in the privy, accomplishes the task of subduing both western and eastern Japan; and, notwithstanding certain details which are unsavoury to the European taste, his story, taken as a whole, is one of the most striking in the book. He performs marvels of valour, disguises himself as a woman to slay the brigands, is the possessor of a magic sword and fire-striker, has a devoted wife who stills the fury of the waves by sitting down upon their surface, has encounters with a deer and with a boar who are really gods in disguise, and finally dies on his way westward before he can reach his home in Yamato. His death is followed by a highly mythological account of the laying to rest of the white bird into which he ended by being transformed.

The succeeding reign is a blank, and the next after that transports us without a word of warning to quite another scene. The sovereign's home is now in Tsukushi, the south-western island of the Japanese archipelago, and four of the gods, through the medium of the sovereign's wife, who is known to history as the Empress Jin-go, reveal the existence of the land of Korea, of

[p. lxviii]

which, however, this is not the first mention. The Emperor disbelieves the

divine message, and is punished by death for his incredulity. But the Empress, after a special consultation between her prime minister and the gods, and the performance of various religious ceremonies, marshals her fleet, and, with the assistance of the fishes both great and small and of a miraculous wave, reaches Shirai [*61] (one of the ancient divisions of Korea), and subdues it. She then returns to Japan, the legend ending with a curiously naive tale of how she sat a-fishing one day on a shoal in the river Wo-gawa in Tsukushi with threads picked out of her skirt for lines.

The next section shows her going up by sea to Yamato,--another joint in the story, by means of which [51] the Yamato cycle of legends and the Tsukushi cycle are brought into apparent unity. The "Chronicles of Japan" have even improved upon this by making Jingo's husbands dwell in Yamato at the commencement of his reign and only remove to Tsukushi later, so that if the less elaborated "Records" had not been preserved, the two threads of the tradition would have been still more difficult to unravel. The Empress's army defeats the troops raised by the native kings or princes, who are represented as her step-sons; and from that time forward the story runs on in a single channel and always centres in Yamato. China likewise is now first mentioned, books are said to have been brought over from the mainland, and we hear of the gradual introduction of various useful arts. Even the annals of the reign of O-jin however, during which this civilizing impulse from abroad is said to have commenced, are not free from

[p. lxix]

details as miraculous as any in the earlier portions of the book. Indeed Sects. CXIV-CXVI of the following translation, which form part of the narrative of his reign, are occupied with the recital of one of the most fanciful tales of the whole mythology. The monarch himself is said to have lived a hundred and thirty years, while his successor lived eighty-three (according to the "Chronicles," O-jin lived a hundred and ten and his successor Nin-toku reigned eighty-seven years). It is not till the next reign that the miraculous ceases, a fact which significantly coincides with the reign in which, according to a statement in the "Chronicles," "historiographers were first appointed to all the provinces to record words and events and forward archives from all directions." This brings us to the commencement of the fifth century of our era, just three centuries before the compilation of our histories, but only two centuries before the compilation of the first history of which mention has been preserved. From that time the story in the "Records," though not well told, gives us some very curious pictures, and reads as if it were reliable. It is tolerably full for a few reigns, after which it again dwindles into mere genealogies, carrying us down to the commencement of the seventh century. The "Chronicles," on the contrary, give us full details down to A.D. 701, that is to within nineteen years of the date of their compilation.

The reader who has followed this summary, or who will take the trouble to read through the whole text for himself will perceive that there is no break in the story,--at least no chronological break,--and no break between the fabulous and the real, unless indeed it be at the commencement of the fifth century of our era, i.e. more

[p. lxx]

than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted as the commencement of genuine Japanese history. The only breaks are,--not chronological,--but topographical.

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard national histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the last century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology

as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. In this particular, the elasticity of the Japanese word for "deity," kami, which has already been noticed, stood the eastern Euhemerus in good stead. Some of his explanations are however extremely comical, and it is evident that such a system enables the person who uses it to prove whatever he has a mind to. [*62] In the present century a diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Moribe, who, although endeavouring to remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) uselessly

[p. lxxi]

miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. Such, for instance, are the story of the speaking mouse, and that of Izanagi's head-dress turning into a bunch of grapes. He accounts for many of these details by the supposition that they are what he calls wosana-goto, i.e. "child-like words," and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, and are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. He is also willing to allow that some passages show traces of Chinese influence, and he blames Motowori's uncompromising championship of every iota of the existing text of the "Records of Ancient Matters." As belonging to this same school of what may perhaps be termed "rationalistic believers" in Japanese mythology, a contemporary Christian writer, Mr. Takahashi Goro, must also be mentioned. Treading in the foot-steps of Arawi Hakuseki, but bringing to bear on the legends of his own country some knowledge of the mythology of other lands, he for instance explains the traditions of the Sun-Goddess and of the Eight-Forked Serpent of Yamada by postulating the existence of an ancient queen called Sun, whose brother, after having been banished from her realm for his improper behaviour, killed an enemy whose name was Serpent, etc., while such statements as that the microscopic deity who came over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo would not tell his name, are explained by the assertion that, being a foreigner, he was unintelligible for some time until he had learnt the language. It is certainly strange that such theorists should not see that they are undermining with one hand that which they endeavour to prop up with the other, and that their own individual fancy is made by them the

[p. lxxii]

sole standard of historic truth. Yet Mr. Takahashi confidently asserts that "his explanations have nothing forced or fanciful" in them, and that "they cannot fail to solve the doubts even of the greatest of doubters." [*63]

The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day,--i.e. of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated,--seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore, the history of the gods, while accepting the history of the emperors from Jim-mu downwards; and in so doing they have been followed with but little reserve by most Europeans, almanacs, histories and cyclopaedias all continuing to repeat on the antiquated authority of such writers as Kaempfer and Titsingh, that Japan possesses an authentic history covering more that two thousand years, while Siebold and Hoffmann even go the length of discussing the hour of Jim-mu's accession in the year 660 B.C.! This is the attitude of mind now sanctioned by the governing class. Thus, in the historical compilations used at text-books in the schools, [54] the stories of the gods,--that is to say the Japanese traditions down to Jim-mu exclusive,--are either passed over in silence or dismissed in a few sentences, while the annals of the human sovereigns,--that is to say the Japanese traditions from Jim-mu inclusive,--are treated precisely as if the events therein related had happened yesterday, and were as incontrovertibly historical as later statements, for which there is contemporary evidence. The same plan is pursued elsewhere in official publications. Thus, to take out one example among many, the Imperial Commissioners to the Vienna Exhibition, in their

[p. lxxiii]

[paragraph continues] "Notice sur l'Empire du Japan," tell us that "L'histoire de la dynastie imperiale remonte tres-haut. L'obscurite entoure ses debuts, vu l'absence de documents reguliers ou d'un calendrier parfait. Le premier Empereur de la dynastie presente, dont il reste des annales dignes de confiance, est Jin-mou-ten-no [*64] qui organisa un soulevement dans la province de Hiuga, marcha a l'Est avec ses compagnons, fonda sa capitale dans la vallee de Kashihara dans le Yamato, et monta sur le trone comme Empereur. C'est de cet Empereur que descend, par une succession reguliere, la presente famille regnante du Japon. C'est de l'annee de l'avenement de Jin-mou-ten-no que date l'ere japonaise (Annee 1--660 avant Jesus-Christ)."

As for the ere Japonaise mentioned by the commissioners, it may be permitted to observe that it was only introduced by an edict dated 15th Dec., 1872 [*65] that is to say just a fortnight before the publication of their report. And this era, this accession, is confidently placed thirteen or fourteen centuries before the first history which records it was written, nine centuries before (at the earliest computation) the art of writing was introduced into the country, and on the sole authority of books teeming with miraculous legends!! Does such a proceeding need any comment after once being formulated in precise terms, and can any unprejudiced person continue to accept the early Japanese chronology and the first thousand years of the so-called history of Japan.

* * *

Leaving this discussion, let us now see whether

[p. lxxiv]

[paragraph continues] [55] any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles." There are fragments of information,--fragments of two sorts,--some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. Let us take the positive fragments first--the notice as to Cosmological ideas, dreams, prayers, etc.

The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the Early Japanese, was not an organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogma, the code of morals, and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. What we find is a bundle is miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system. Dreams evidently were credited with great importance, the future being supposed to be foretold in them, and the will of the gods made known. Sometimes even an actual object, such as a wonderful sword, was sent down in a dream, thus to our ideas mixing the material with the spiritual. The subject did not, however, present itself in that light to the Early Japanese, to whom there was evidently but one order of phenomena,--what we should call the natural order. Heaven, or rather the Sky, was an actual place,--not more ethereal than earth, nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death,--but simply "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some of those powerful personages called kami,--a word which we must make shift to translate by "god"

[p. lxxv]

or a "goddess," or "deity." An arrow shot from earth could reach Heaven, and make a hole in it. There was at least one mountain in Heaven, and one river with a broad stony bed like those with which the traveller in Japan becomes familiar, one or two caves, one or more wells, and animals, and trees. There is, however, some confusion as to the mountain,--the celebrated Mount Kagu,--for there is one of that name in the Province of Yamato.

Some of the gods dwelt here on earth, or descended hither from Heaven, and had

children by human women. Such, for instance, was the emperor Jim-mu's great-grandfather. Some few gods had tails or were otherwise personally [56] remarkable; and "savage deities" are often mentioned as inhabiting certain portions of Japan, both in the so-called "Divine Age" and during the reigns of the human emperors down to a time corresponding, according to the generally received chronology, with the first or second century of the Christian era. The human emperors themselves, moreover, were sometimes spoken of as deities, and even made personal use of that designation. The gods occasionally transformed themselves into animals, and at other times simple tangible objects were called gods,--or at least they were called kami; for the gulf separating the Japanese from the English term can never be too often recalled to mind. The word kami, as previously mentioned, properly signifies "superior," and it would be putting more into it than it really implies to say that the Early Japanese "deified,"--in our sense of the verb to "deify,"--the peaches which Izanagi used to pelt his assailants with, or any other natural objects whatsoever. It would, indeed, be to, attribute to them a

[p. lxxvi]

flight of imagination of which they were not capable, and a habit of personification not in accordance with the genius of their language. Some of the gods are mentioned collectively as "bad Deities like unto the flies in the fifth moon"; but there is nothing approaching a systematic division into good spirits and bad spirits. In fact the word "spirit" itself is not applicable at all to the gods of Archaic Japan. They were, like the gods of Greece, conceived of only as more powerful human beings. They were born, and some of them died, though here again there is inconsistency, as the death of some of them is mentioned in a manner leading one to suppose that they were conceived of as being then at an end, whereas in other cases such death seems simply to denote transference to Hades, or to what is called "the One Road," which is believed to be a synonym for Hades. Sometimes, again, a journey to Hades is undertaken by a god without any reference to his death. Nothing, indeed, could be less consistent than the various details.

Hades [*66] itself is another instance of this inconsistency. In the legend of Oho-Kuni-Nushi (the "Master of the Great Land"),--one of the Idzumo cycle of legends,--Hades is described exactly as if it were part of the land of the living, or exactly as if it were Heaven, which indeed comes to the same thing. It has its trees, its houses, its family quarrels, etc., etc. In the legend of Izanagi, on the other hand, Hades means simply the abode of horrible putrefaction and of the vindictive dead, and is fitly described by the god himself who had ventured thither as "a hideous and polluted land." The

[p. lxxvii]

only point in which the legends agree is in placing between the upper earth and Hades a barrier called the "Even Pass (or Hill) of Hades." The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world, whether good or evil.

The objects of worship were of course the gods, or some of them. It has already been stated that during the later portions of the story, whose scene is laid almost exclusively on earth, the Sun-Goddess, the deity Izasa-Wake, the Divine Sword of Isonokami, the Small August Deity (Sukuna-Mi-Kami), the "Great Gods" of Miwa and of Kadzuraki and the three Water-Deities of Sumi, alone are mentioned as having been specially worshipped. Of these the first and the last appear together, forming a sort of quaternion, while the other five appear singly and have no connection with each other. The deities of the mountains, the deities of the rivers, the deities of the sea, etc., are also mentioned in the aggregate, as are likewise the heavenly deities and the earthly deities; and the Empress Jin-go is represented as conciliating them all previous to her departure for Korea by putting into a gourd the ashes "of a maki tree, [*67] and likewise making a quantity of chopsticks and also "of leaf-platters, and scattering them all on the waves."

This brings us to the subject of religious rites,--a subject on which we long for fuller information than the texts afford. [*68] That the conciliatory offerings made to the gods were of a miscellaneous nature will be expected from the quotation just made. Nevertheless, a very

[p. lxxviii]

natural method was in the main followed; for the people offered the things by which they themselves set most store, as we bear at a late period of the poet Tsurayuki, when in a storm at sea, flinging his mirror into the waves because he had but one. The Early Japanese made offerings [58] of two kinds of cloth, one being hempen cloth and the other cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper mulberry, offerings very precious in their eyes, but which have in modern times been allowed to degenerate into useless strips of paper. They likewise offered shields, spears, and other things. Food was offered both to the gods and to the dead; indeed, the palace or tomb of the dead monarch and the temple of the god cannot always be distinguished from each other, and, as has already been mentioned, the Japanese use the same word miya for "palace" and for "temple." Etymologically signifying "august house," it is naturally susceptible of what are to us two distinct meanings.

With but one exception, [*69] the "Records" do not give us the words of any prayers (or, as the Japanese term norito has elsewhere been translated, "rituals.") Conversations with the gods are indeed detailed, but no devotional utterances. Fortunately, however, a number of very ancient prayers have been preserved in other books, and translations of some of them by Mr. Satow will be found scattered through the volumes of the Transactions of this Society. They consist mostly of declarations of praise and statements of offerings made, either in return for favours received or conditionally on favours being granted. They are all in prose, and hymns do not seem to have been in use. Indeed of the hundred and eleven

[p. lxxix]

[paragraph continues] Songs preserved in the "Records," not one has any religious reference.

The sacred rite of which most frequent mention is made is purification by water. Trial by hot water is also alluded to in both histories, but not till a time confessedly posterior to the commencement of intercourse with the mainland. We likewise hear of compacts occasionally entered into with a god, and somewhat resembling our European wager, oath, or curse. Priests are spoken of in a few passages, but without any details. We do not hear of their functions being in any way mediatorial, and the impression conveyed is that they did not exist in very early times as a separate class. When they did come into existence, the profession soon became hereditary, according to the general tendency in Japan towards the hereditability of offices and occupations.

Miscellaneous superstitions crop up in many places. Some of these were evidently obsolescent or unintelligible [59] at the time when the legends crystallized into their present shape, and stories are told purporting to give their origin. Thus we learn either in the "Records" or in the "Chronicles," or in both works, why it is unlucky to use only one light, to break off the teeth of a comb at night-time, and to enter the house with straw hat and rain-coat on. The word-wide dread of going against the sun is connected with the Jim-mu legend, and recurs elsewhere. [*70] We also hear of charms,--for instance, of

[p. lxxx]

the wondrous "Herb-Quelling Sabre" found by Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") inside a serpent's tail and still preserved as one of the Imperial regalia. Other such charms were the "tide-flowing jewel" and "tide-ebbing jewel," that obtained for Jim-mu's grandfather the victory over his elder

brother, together with the fishhook which figures so largely in the same legend. [*71] Divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a stag was a favourite means of ascertaining the will of the gods. Sometimes also human beings seem to have been credited in a vague manner with the power of prophetic utterance. Earthenware pots were buried at the point of his departure by an intending traveller. In a fight the initial arrow was regarded with superstitious awe. The great precautions with which the Empress Jin-go is said to have set out on her expedition to Korea have already been alluded to, and indeed the commencement of any action or enterprise seems to have had special importance attributed to it.

To conclude this survey of the religious beliefs of the Early Japanese by referring, as was clone in the case of the arts of life, to certain notable features which are [60] conspicuous by their absence, attention may be called to the fact that there is no tradition of a deluge, no testimony to any effect produced on the imagination by the earthquakes from which the Japanese islanders suffer such constant alarms, no trace of star-worship, no notion

[p. lxxxi]

of incarnation or of transmigration. This last remark goes to show that the Japanese mythology had assumed its present shape before the first echo of Buddhism reverberated on these shores. But the absence of any tradition of a deluge or inundation is still more remarkable, both because such catastrophes are likely to occur occasionally in all lands, and because the imagination of most nations seems to have been greatly impressed by their occurrence. Moreover what is specifically known to us as the Deluge has been lately claimed as an ancient Altaic myth. Yet here we have the oldest of the undoubtedly Altaic nations without any legend of the kind. As for the neglect of the stars, round whose names the imagination of other races has twined such fanciful conceits, it is as characteristic of Modern as of Archaic Japan. The Chinese designations of the constellations, and some few Chinese legends relating to them, have been borrowed in historic times; but no Japanese writer has ever thought of looking in the stars for "the poetry of heaven." Another detail worthy of mention is that the number seven, which in so many countries has been considered sacred, is here not prominent in any way, its place being taken by eight. Thus we have Eight Great Islands, an Eight-forked Serpent, a beard Eighty Hand-breadths long, a God named "Eight Thousand Spears," Eighty or Eight Hundred Myriads of Deities, etc., etc. The commentators think it necessary to tell us that all these eights and eighties need not be taken literally, as they simply mean a great number. The fact remains that the number eight had, for some unknown reason, a special significance attached to it; and as the documents which mention eight also mention

[p. lxxxii]

nine and ten, besides higher numbers, and as in some test cases, such as that of the Eight Great Islands, each of the eight is separately enumerated, it is plain that when the Early Japanese said eight they meant eight, though they may doubtless have used that number in a vague manner, as we do a dozen, a hundred, and a thousand.

How glaringly different all this is from the fanciful accounts of Shinto that have been given by some recent [60] popular writers calls for no comment. Thus one of them, whom another quotes as an authority, [*72] tells us that Shinto "consists in the belief that the productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part is in some degree impregnated with it, and therefore every part is in some measure the seat of the deity; whence local gods and goddesses are everywhere worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. Like the ancient Romans and the Greeks, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, the first, the supreme, the intellectual, by which men have been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism to elegance and refinement, and been taught through privileged men and women, not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes."(!) Truly, when one peruses such utterly groundless assertions,--for that here quoted is but one among many, one is tempted to

believe that the nineteenth century must form part of the early mythopoeic age.

With regard to the question of government, we learn little beyond such vague statements as that to so-and-so was yielded by his eighty brethren the sovereignty of the land of Idzumo, or that Izanagi divided the dominion

[p. lxxiii]

over all things between his three children, bestowing on one the "Plain of High Heaven," on another the Dominion of the Night, and on the third the "Sea-Plain." But we do not in the earlier legends see such sovereignty actually administered. The heavenly gods seem rather to have been conceived as forming a sort of commonwealth, who decided things by meeting together in counsel in the stony bed of the "River of Heaven," and taking the advice of the shrewdest of their number. Indeed the various divine assemblies, to which the story in the "Records" and "Chronicles" introduces us, remind us of nothing so much as of the village assemblies of primitive tribes in many parts of the world, where the cleverness of one and the general willingness to follow his suggestions fill the place of the more definite organization of later times.

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called "Divine Age" but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that any kind of political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead [62] their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly we find that the "Territorial Owners" of Yamato, and the "Rulers" of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural,

[p. lxxxiv]

as if to intimate that they exerted a divided sovereignty. During the whole of the so-called "Human Age" we meet, both in parts of the country which were already subject to the Imperial rule and in others which were not yet annexed, with local magnates bearing these same titles of "Territorial Owners," "Rulers," "Chiefs," etc.; and the impression left on the mind is that in early historical times the sovereign's power was not exercised directly over all parts of Japan, but that in many cases the local chieftains continued to hold sway though owning some sort of allegiance to the emperor in Yamato, while in others the emperor was strong enough to depose these local rulers, and to put in their place his own kindred or retainers, who however exercised unlimited authority in their own districts, and used the same titles as had been borne by the former native rulers,--that, in fact, the government was feudal rather than centralized. This characteristic of the political organization of Early Japan has not altogether escaped the attention of the native commentators. Indeed the great Shinto scholar Hirata not only recognizes the fact, but endeavours to prove that the system of centralization which obtained during the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth centuries, and which has been revived in our own day, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese bureaucratic system; and he asserts that an organized feudalism, similar to that which existed from the twelfth century down to the year 1867, was the sole really ancient and national Japanese form of government. The translator cannot follow Hirata to such lengths, as he sees no evidence in the early histories of the intricate organization of mediaeval Japan. But that, beyond the immediate

[p. lxxxv]

limits of the Imperial domain, the government resembled feudalism rather than centralization seems indisputable. [63] It is also true that the seventh century witnessed a sudden move in the direction of bureaucratic organization, many of

the titles which had up till that time denoted actual Provincial chieftains being then either suppressed, or else allowed to sink into mere "gentile names." Another remark which is suggested by a careful perusal of the two ancient histories is that the Imperial succession was in early historical times very irregular. Strange gaps occur as late as the sixth century of our era; and even when it was one of the children who inherited his father's throne, that child was rarely the eldest son.

* * *

What now are we to gather from its analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions as to the still remoter history and tribal divisions of Japan, and as to the origin of the Japanese legends? Very little that is certain, perhaps; but, in the opinion of the present writer, two or three interesting probabilities.

In view of the multiplicity of gods and the complications of the so-called historical traditions, he thinks that it would be a priori difficult to believe that the development of Japanese civilization should have run on in a single stream broken only in the third century by the commencement of intercourse with the mainland of Asia. We are, however, not left to such a merely theoretical consideration. There are clear indications of there having been three centres of legendary cycles, three streams which mixed together to form the Japan which meets us

[p. lxxxvi]

at the dawn of authentic history in the fifth century of Our era. One of these centres,--the most important in the mythology,--is Idzumo; the second is Yamato: the third is Tsukushi, called in modern times Kiushiu. Eastern and Northern Japan count for nothing; indeed, much of the North-East and North was, down to comparatively recent times, occupied by the barbarous Ainos or, as they are called by the Japanese, Yemishi, Yebisu, or Yezo. That the legends or traditions derived from the three parts of the country here mentioned accord but imperfectly together is an opinion which has already been alluded to, and upon which light may perhaps be thrown by a more thorough shifting of the myths and beliefs classified according to this three-fold system. The question of the ancient division of Japan into several independent states is, however, not completely a matter of [64] opinion. For we have in the "Shan Hai Ching" [*73] a positive statement concerning a Northern and a Southern Yamato (), and the Chinese annals of both the Han dynasties tell us of the division of the country into a much larger number of kingdoms, of which, according to the annals of he later Han dynasty, Yamato () was the most powerful. A later official Chinese historian also tells us that Jih-pen (, our Japan) and Yamato had been two different states, and that Jih-pen was reported to have swallowed up Yamato. By Jih-pen the author evidently meant to speak of the island of Tsukushi or of part of it. That the Chinese were fairly well acquainted with Japan is shown by the fact of there being in the old Chinese literature more than one mention of "the country of the hairy people beyond the mountains in the

[p. lxxxvii]

[paragraph continues] East and North."--that is of the Yemishi or Ainos. No Chinese book would seem to mention Idzumo as having formed a separate country; and this evidence must be allowed its whole weight. It is possible, of course, that Idzumo may have been incorporated with Yamato before the conquest of the latter by the Tsukushi people, and in this case some of the inconsistencies of the history may be traceable to a confusion of the traditions concerning the conquest of Idzumo by Yamato and of those concerning the conquest of Yamato by Tsukushi. Perhaps too (for so almost impossible a task is it to reconstruct history out of legend) there may not, after all, be sufficient warrant for believing in the former existence of Idzumo as a separate state, though it certainly seems hard to account otherwise for the peculiar place that Idzumo

occupies in mythic story. In any case, and whatever light may hereafter be thrown on this very obscure question, it must be remembered that, so far as clear native documentary evidence reaches, 400 A.D. is approximately the highest limit of reliable Japanese history. Beyond that date we are at once confronted with the miraculous; and if any facts relative to earlier Japan are to be extracted from the pages of the "Records" and "Chronicles," it must be by a process very different from that of simply reading and taking their assertions upon trust.

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability [65] of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact, it bids us wait to interpret it until

[p. lxxxviii]

such time as further research shall have shown which legends belong together. For if they are of heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in on this subject,--"the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,"--ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geographically by belonging to different parts of the country. Furthermore it may not be superfluous to call attention to the fact that the gods who are mentioned in the opening phrases of the histories as we now have them are not therefore necessarily the gods that were most anciently worshipped. Surely in religions, as in books, it is not often the preface that is written first. And yet this simple consideration has been constantly neglected, and, one after another, European writers having a tincture of knowledge of Japanese mythology, tell us of original Dualities, Trinities, and Supreme Deities, without so much as pausing to notice that the only two authorities in the matter,--viz., the "Records" and the "Chronicles," differ most gravely in the lists they furnish of primary gods. If the present writer ventured to throw out a suggestion where so many random assertions have been made, it would be to the effect that the various abstractions which figure at the commencement of the "Records" and of the "Chronicles" were probably later growths, and perhaps indeed mere inventions of individuals priests. There is nothing either in the histories or in the Shinto Rituals to show that these gods, or some one or more of them, were in early days, as has been sometimes supposed, the objects of a pure worship which was

[p. lxxxix]

afterwards obscured by the legends of Izanagi, Izanami, and their numerous descendants. On the contrary, with the exception of the deity Taka-Mi-Musu-Bi, [*74] they are no sooner mentioned than they vanish into space.

Whether it is intrinsically likely that so rude a race [66] as the Early Japanese, and a race so little given to metaphysical speculation as the Japanese at all times of their history, should have commenced by a highly abstract worship which they afterwards completely abandoned, is a question which may better be left to those whose general knowledge of early peoples and early religious beliefs entitles their decisions to respect. Their assistance likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into its several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology should interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively late times. [*75] Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to enlarge the area of the three later divisions more than would be prudent in the case of the highly imaginative Aryans, and to point out that, though some few Japanese legends

[p. xc]

portions of legends can be traced to face etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are therefore true myths in the strict of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects,--a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology,--is altogether alien to the Japanese genius, and indeed to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a "disease of language." But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. Thus not only have Japanese Nouns no Genders and Japanese Verbs no Persons, but the names of inanimate objects cannot even be used as the subjects of Transitive Verbs. Nowhere for instance in Japanese, whether Archaic, Classical, or Modem, do we meet with such metaphorical,--mythological,--phrases as "the hot wind melts the ice," or "his conversation delights me," where the words "wind" and "conversation" are spoken of as if they were personal agents. No, the idea is invariably rendered in some other and impersonal way. Yet what a distance separates such statements, in which the ordinary European reader unacquainted with any Altaic tongue would scarcely recognize the existence of any personification at all, from the bolder flights of Aryan metaphor! Indeed, though Altaic Asia has produced very few wise men, the words of its languages closely correspond to the definition of words as "the wise man's counters;" for they are colourless and matter-of-fact, and rarely if ever carry him who

[p. xci]

speaks them above the level of sober reality. At the same time, it is patent that the sun plays some part in the Japanese mythology; and even the legend of Prince Yamato-Take, which has hitherto been generally accepted as historical or semi-historical, bears such close resemblance to legends in other countries which have been pronounced to be solar by great authorities that it may at least be worth while to subject it to investigation from that point of view. [*76] The present writer has already expressed his conviction that this matter is not one for the specialist to decide alone. He would only, from the Japanese point of view, suggest very particular caution in the application to Japanese legend of a method of interpretation which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results.

A further particular which is deserving of notice is the almost certain fact of a recension of the various traditions at a comparatively late date. This is partly shown by the amount of geographical knowledge displayed in the enumeration of the various islands supposed to have been given birth to by Izanagi and Izanami (the "Male who Invites" and the 'Female who Invites"),--an amount and an exactness of knowledge unattainable at a time prior to the union under one rule of all the provinces mentioned, and significantly not extending much beyond those provinces. Such a recension may likewise be inferred,--if the opinion of the manifold origin of the Japanese traditions be accepted,--from the fairly ingenious Manner in which their component parts have generally been welded together. The way in which one or two legends,--for instance, that of the curious curse pronounced [68]

[p. xcii]

by the younger brother Ho-wori on the elder Ho-deri--are repeated more than once exemplifies a less intelligent revision. [*77] Under this heading may, perhaps, be included the legends of the conquest of Yamato by the Emperor Jim-mu and of the conquest of the same country by the Empress Jin-go, which certainly bear a suspicious likeness to each other. Of the subjection of Korea by this last-named personage it should be observed that the Chinese and Korean histories, so far as they are known to us, make no mention, and indeed the dates, as more specially given in the "Chronicles," clearly show the inconsistency of the whole story; for Jin-go's husband, the Emperor Chiu-ai, is said to have been born in the 19th

year of the reign of Sei-mu, i.e. in A.D. 149, while his father, Prince Yamato-Take, is said to have died in the 43rd year of Kei-ko, i.e. in A.D. 113, so that there is an interval of thirty-six years between the death of the father and the birth of the son! [*78]

One peculiarly interesting piece of information to be derived from a careful study of the "Records" and "Chronicles" (though it is one on which the patriotic Japanese commentators preserve complete silence) is that, at the very earliest period to which the twilight of legend stretches back, Chinese influence had already begun to

[p. xciii]

make itself felt in these islands, communicating to the inhabitants both implements and ideas. This is surely a fact of very particular importance, lending, as it does, its weight to the mass of evidence which goes to prove that in almost all known cases culture has been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed. The traces of Chinese influence are indeed not numerous, but they are unmistakable. Thus we find chopsticks mentioned both in the Idzumo and in the Kiushu legendary cycle. The legend of the birth of the Sun-Goddess [69] and Moon-God from Izanagi's eyes is a scarcely altered fragment of the Chinese myth of P'an Ku; the superstition that peaches had assisted Izanagi to repel the hosts of Hades can almost certainly be traced to a Chinese source, and the hand-maidens of the Japanese Sun-Goddess are mentioned under the exact title of the Spinning Damsel of Chinese myth (), while the River of Heaven (), which figures in the same legend; is equally Chinese,--for surely both names cannot be mere coincidences. A like remark applies to the name of the Deity of the Kitchen, and to the way in which that deity is mentioned. [*79] The art of making an intoxicating liquor is referred to in the very earliest Japanese legends. Are we to believe that its invention here was independent of its invention on the continent? In this instance moreover the old histories bear witness against themselves; for they mention this same liquor in terms showing that it was a curious rarity in what, according to the accepted chronology, corresponds to the century immediately preceding the Christian era, and again in the third century of that era. The whole story

[p. xciv]

of the Sea-God's palace has a Chinese ring about it, and the "cassia-tree" () mentioned in it is certainly Chinese, as are the crocodiles. That the so-called maga-tama, or "curved jewels," which figure so largely in the Japanese mythology, and with which the Early Japanese adorned themselves, were derived from China was already suspected by Mr. Henry von Siebold; and quite latterly Mr. Milne has thrown light on this subject from an altogether unexpected quarter. He has remarked, namely, that jade or the jade-like stone of which many of the maga-tama are made, is a mineral which has never yet been met with in Japan. We therefore know that some at least of the "curved jewels" or of the material for them came from the mainland, and the probability that the idea of carving these very oddly shaped ornaments was likewise imported thence gains in probability. The peculiar kind of arrow called nari-kabura () is another trace of Chinese influence in the material order, and a thorough search by a competent Chinese scholar would perhaps reveal others. But enough at least has been said to show the indisputable existence of that influence. From other sources we know that the more recent mythic fancy of Japan has shown itself as little impenetrable to such influence as have the manners and customs of the people. The only difference is that assimilation has of late proceeded with much greater rapidity.

In this language is another guide; for, though the discoverable traces of Chinese influence are comparatively few in the Archaic Dialect, yet they are there. This is a subject which has as yet scarcely been touched. Two Japanese authors of an elder generation, Kahibara and

[p. xcv]

[paragraph continues] Arawi Hakuseki, did indeed point out the existence of some such traces. But they drew no inference from them, they did not set to work to discover new ones, and their indications, except in one or two obvious cases, have received little attention from later writer's whether native or foreign. But when we compare such words as kane, kume, kuni, saka, tana, uma, and many others with the pronunciation now given, or with that which the phonetic laws of the language in its earlier stage would have caused to be given, to their Chinese equivalents , , , , , , etc., the idea forces way that such coincidences of sound and sense cannot all be purely accidental; and when moreover we find that the great majority of the words in question denote things or ideas that were almost certainly imported, we perceive that a more thorough sifting of Archaic Japanese (especially of botanical and zoological names and of the names of implements and manufactures) would probably be the best means of discovering at least the negative features of an antiquity remoter than all written documents, remoter even than the crystallization of the legends which these documents have preserved. In dealing with Korean words found in Archaic Japanese we tread on more delicate ground; for there we have a language which, unlike Chinese, stands to Japanese in the closest family relationship, making it plain that many coincidences of sound and sense should be ascribed to radical affinity rather than to later intercourse. At the same time it appears more probable that, for instance, such seemingly indigenous Japanese terms as Hotoke, "Buddha," and tera, "Buddhist temple," should have been in fact borrowed from the corresponding Korean words Puchho and

[p. xcvi]

chol than that both nations should have independently chosen homonyms to denote the same foreign ideas. Indeed, it will perhaps not be too bold to assume that [71] in the case of Hotoke, "Buddha," we have before us a word whose journeyings consist of many stages, it having been first brought from India to China, then from China to Korea, and thirdly from Korea to Japan, where finally the ingenuity of philologists has discovered for it a Japanese etymology (hito ke, "human spirit") with which in reality it has nothing whatever to do.

These introductory remarks have already extended to such a length that a reference to the strikingly parallel case of borrowed customs and ideas which is presented by the Ainos in this same archipelago must be left undeveloped. In conclusion, it need only be remarked that a simple translation of one book, such as is here given, does not nearly exhaust the work which might be expended even on the elucidation of that single book, and much less can it fill the gap which still lies between us and a proper knowledge of Japanese antiquity. To do this, the co-operation of the archaeologist must be obtained, while even in the field of the critical investigation of documents there is an immense deal still to be clone. Not only must all the available Japanese sources be made to yield up the information which they contain, but the assistance of Chinese and Korean records must be called in. A large quantity of Chinese literature has already been ransacked for a similar purpose by Matsushita Ken-rin, a translation of part of whose very useful compilation entitled "An Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" () would be one of the greatest helps towards the desired knowledge. In fact

[p. xcvii]

there still remains to be done for Japanese antiquity from our standpoint what Hirata has done for it from the standpoint of a Japanese Shintoist. Except in some of Mr. Satow's papers published in these "Transactions," the subject has scarcely yet been studied in this spirit, and it is possible that the Japanese members of our Society may be somewhat alarmed at the idea of their national history being treated with so little reverence. Perhaps, however, the discovery, of the interest of the field of study thus only waiting to be investigated may reconcile them to the view here propounded. In any case if the early history of Japan is not all true, no amount of make believe can make it so. What we would like to do is to sift the true from the false. As an eminent writer on

anthropology [*80] has recently said, "Historical criticism, that is, judgment, is practised [72] not for the purpose of disbelieving, but of believing. Its object is not to find fault with the author, but to ascertain how much of what he says may be reasonably taken as true." Moreover, even in what is not to be accepted as historic fact there is often much that is valuable from other points of view. If, therefore, we lose a thousand years of so-called Japanese history, it must not be forgotten that Japanese mythology remains as the oldest existing product of the Altaic mind.

* * *

The following is a list of all the Japanese works quoted in this Introduction and in the Notes to the Translation. For the sake of convenience to the English reader all the titles have been translated excepting some

[p. xcviii]

few which, mostly on account of their embodying recondite allusion, do not admit of translation:--

Catalogue of Family Names, , by Prince Mata [*81]
Chronicles of Japan (generally quoted as the "Chronicles") or by Prince Toneri and others.
Chronicles of Japan Continued, , by Sugano Ason Mamichi, Fujihara no Ason TSUGUNAHA and others.
Chronicles of Japan Explained, , by URABE no Yasukata.
Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, , authorship uncertain.
Collection of a Myriad Leaves, , by TACHIBANA NO MORAYE (probably).
Collection of Japanese Songs Ancient and Modem, , by Kino TSURAYUKI and others.
Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves, , by Kamo no MABUCHI.
[73] Commentary on the Lyric Dramas, ,by Jinko.
Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification, , MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Correct Account of the Divine Age, , by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Dictionary of Pillow-Words, , by Kamo no MABUCHI.
Digest of the Imperial Genealogies, , by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo and Kurokaha Saneyori.

[p. xcix]

Discussion of the Objections to the Inquiry into the True Chronology, , by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Examination of Difficult Words, , by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Examination of the Synonyms for Japan, , by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Explanation of Japanese Names, , by KAHIBARA Tokushin.
Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan, , by Arikida no HISAOI.
Exposition of the Ancient Histories, , by HIRATA Atsutane.
Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan, , by Matsushita Ken-rin.
Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (usually) quoted simply as "Motowori's Commentary"), , by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Exposition of the Record of Ancient Matters Criticized (usually quoted as "Moribe's Critique on Motowori's Commentary,") , by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Gleanings from Ancient Story, , by Imibe no HIRONARI.
Idzu no Chi-Waki, , by Tachibana no MORIBE.
Idzu no Koto-waki, , by
Inquiry into the Signification of the Names of the Provinces (MS.), , by Fujihara no Hitomaro.
Inquiry into the True Chronology, , by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Japanese Words Classified and Explained, , by MINAMO NO SHITAGAFU.
Ko-Chi Tsu, , by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.
Ko-Gan Sho, (MS.), , by KEI-CHIYU.

[p. c]

[74] Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (usually quoted as

"Tanigaha Shisei's Commentary,") , by TANIGAHA SHISEI.
Records of Ancient Matters (often quoted simply as the "Records"), , by Futo no YASUMARO.
Records of Ancient Matters in the Divine Character, , by Fujihara no Masaoki.
Records of Ancient Matters in the Syllable Character. , by Sakata no Kaneyasu.
Records of Ancient Matters Revised, , Anonymous.
Records of Ancient Matters With Marginal Notes (usually quoted as "the Edition of 1687"), , by Deguchi NOBUYOSHI.
Records of Ancient Matters With the Ancient Reading, , by Nagase no Masachi (published with Motowori's, sanction)
Records of Ancient Matters with Marginal Readings, , by Murakami Tadayoshi.
Ritual of the General Purification, , Authorship Uncertain.
Shinto Discussed Afresh, , by Takahashi Goro.
Sources of the Ancient Histories, , by HIRATA Atsutane.
Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter, Authorship Uncertain.
Tama-Katsuma, , by MOTOWORI Norinaga.
Tokihara-Gusa (the full title is Jin-Dai-Sei-Go Tokiha-Gusa), , (), Hosoda TOMINOBU.
Topography of Yamashiro, , Authorship Uncertain.
To-Ga (MS.), , by ARAI Kumbi HAKUSEKI.
Wa-Kun Shiwori, , by TANIGAWA SHISEI.

[p. ci]

Yamato Tales, , Authorship Uncertain.

Besides these two or three standard Chinese works are referred to such as the "Yi Chin" or "Book of Changes" (), and the "Shan Hai Ching" or "Mountain and Sea Classic" (); but they are very few, and so easily recognized that it were unnecessary to enumerate them. All Japanese words properly so called are transliterated according to Mr. Satow's "Orthographic System," which, while representing the native spelling, does not in their case differ very greatly from the modern pronunciation. In the case of Sinico-Japanese words, where the divergence between the "Orthographic" spelling and the pronunciation is often considerable, a phonetic spelling has been preferred. With but two or three exceptions, which have been specially noted, Sinico-Japanese words are found only in proper names mentioned in the Preface and in the translator's Introduction, Footnotes, and Sectional Headings. The few Chinese words that occur in the Introduction and Notes are transliterated according to the method introduced by Sir Thomas Wade, and now so widely used by students of Chinese.

Footnotes

^lix:57 The Chinese characters used to write this word are , which signify the "Way of the Gods." The term was adopted in order to distinguish the old native beliefs from Buddhism and Confucianism.

^lxii:58 Conf. p. xvii, last paragraph for the modified sense in which alone the word "deification" can be used in speaking of the Early Japanese worship.

^lxv:59 In Sect. XXVII, where this deity is first mentioned, he is called Sukuna Biko-Na-no-Kami, the "Little Prince the Renowned Deity."

^lxvi:60 See Appendix II.

^lxviii:61 .

^lxx:62 As a specimen of the flexibility of his system, the reader to whom the Japanese language and Japanese legend are familiar is recommended to peruse pp. 13-24 of Vol. I of Arawi Hakuseki's "Ko Shi Tsu" () where an elaborate rationalistic interpretation is applied to the story of the amours of Izanagi and Izanami. It is amusing in its very gravity, and one finds it difficult to believe that the writer can have been in earnest when he penned it.

^lxxii:63 Mr. Takahashi Goro's book here alluded to is his "Shinto Discussed Afresh."

^lxxiii:64 I.e. the emperor Jim-mu,--ten-no, written , being simply the Sinico-Japanese word for "emperor."

^lxxiii:65 15th day of 11th moon of 5th year of Meiji.

^lxxvi:66 For the use of this word to represent the Japanese Yomo or Yomi, see Sect. IX, Note 1.

^lxxvii:67 Podocarpus macrophylla.

^lxxvii:68 The least meagre account will be found in Sects. XVI and XXXII.

^lxxviii:69 To be found at the end of Sect. XXXII.

^lxxix:70 In the Jim-mu legend we have the more usual form of the superstition, that, viz., which makes it unlucky to go from West to East, which is the contrary of the course pursued by the sun. In Sect. CLIII, on the other hand, the Emperor Yu-riaku is found fault with for acting in precisely the reverse manner, viz., for going from East to West, [p. lxxx] i.e. with his back to the sun. The idea is the same, though its practical application may thus diametrically differ, the fundamental objection being to going against the sun, in whatever manner the word against, to or some kindred expression. may be interpreted.

^lxxx:71 See Sects. XXXIX to XLI. For the "Herb-Quelling Sabre" see Sects; XVIII and LXXXII, et. seq.

^lxxxii:72 General Le Gendre, quoted by Sir Edward Reed.

^lxxxvi:73 .

^lxxxix:74 I.e. the High August Producing Wondrous Deity. He is the second divine personage whose birth is mentioned in the "Records" (see Sect. I. Note 5). In the story of the creation given in the "Chronicles" he does not appear except in "One account."

^lxxxix:75 Sect. XXXVII is a good instance of the third of these categories. For an elaborate myth founded on the name of a place see Sect. LXV. Lesser instances occur in Sects. XLIV, LXV, and LXXIII.

^xci:76 See Sects. LXXIX-XCI.

^xcii:77 See this legend as first given in Sects. XL and XLI and afterwards in quite another context in Sect. CXVI. The way in which "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan" tells the story of the ravages committed on the fields of the Sun-Goddess by her brother, the "Impetuous Male Deity," might perhaps justify the opinion that that likewise is but the same tale in another form. The legend is evidently a very important one.

^xcii:78 The translator's attention was drawn to the inconsistency of these dates by Mr. Ernest Satow.

^xciii:79 See Sect XXIX, Note 16.

^xcvii:80 Dr. Tylor in his "Anthropology," Chap. XV.

^xcviii:81 The names in small capitals are those by which the authors (or compilers) are best known, and are mostly either their surname or personal name. Japanese usage is however very fluctuating, and sanctions moreover the use of a variety of noms de plume. Thus Motowori is not only often mentioned by his personal name Norinaga, but also by the, designation of Suzunoya no Ushi,

Mabuchi by the designation of Agatawi no Ushi, etc.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 1]

RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS

VOL. I. [*1]

PREFACE. [*2]

I [*3] Yasumaro [*4] say: [*5]

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and [4] form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape? [*6] Nevertheless Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the Passive and Active Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things. [*7] Therefore [*8] did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions of his person? [*9] So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we, by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men. [*10] Truly do we know that a mirror was hung up, that [5] jewels were spat out, and that then an Hundred Kings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish. [*11] By deliberations in the Tranquil River the

[p. 2]

[paragraph continues] Empire was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was purified. [*12] Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi [*13] first descended to the Peak of Takachi, [*14] and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato [*15] did traverse the [6] Island of the Dragon-Fly. [*16] A weird bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura. [*17] They with tails obstructed the path, and a great crow guided him to Yeshinu. [*18] Dancing in rows they destroyed the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen. [*19] Being instructed in a dream, he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was therefore styled the Wise Monarch, [*20] having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people, and is therefore remembered as the Emperor-Sage. [*21] Determining the frontiers and civilising the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi; [*22] reforming the [7] surnames and selecting the gentile names, he held sway at the Further Asuka. [*23] Though each differed in caution and in ardour, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution. [*24]

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka, [*25] the Hidden Dragon put on perfection, the Reiterated Thunder came at the appointed moment. Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless Heaven's time was not yet, and he escaped like the cicada to the

Southern Mountains;

[p. 3]

both men and matters were favourable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the Imperial Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon [*26] At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to [9] the Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped Ken-Ko, in virtue he surpassed Shiu-O. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences, [*27] and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason herewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its fervour, clearly observed former ages.

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: "I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by

[p. 4]

empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis [*28] of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth deter. mined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after ages." [*29] At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hiyeda and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that [10] he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears. [*30] Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless time elapsed and the age changed, and the thing was not yet carried out. [*31]

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire,--being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people. [*32] Ruling from the Purple Palace, Her virtue reaches to the utmost limits of the horse's hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations. In fame She must be pronounced superior to Bum-Mei, in virtue more eminent than Ten-Itsu. [*33] Hereupon, [*34] regretting the errors in the old words, and

[p. 5]

wishing to correct the misstatements in; the former chronicles, She, on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wa-do [*35] commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words learnt by heart by Hiyeda no Are according to the Imperial Decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her. [*36]

In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful

choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters. [*37] To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy. [*38] For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic [12] and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy? [*39] Again, in such cases as calling the surname Kusaka, and the personal name written with the character Tarashi, I have followed usage without alteration. [*40] Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Woharida. [*41] So from the [13] Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Oho-Sazaki down to the

[p. 6]

great palace of Woharida makes the Third Volume. [*42] Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present. [*43] I Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wa-do. [*44]

[p. 7] [p. 8] [p. 9] [p. 10] [p. 11] [p. 12] [p. 13] [p. 14]

Footnotes

^1:1 [p. 6] Literally "Upper Volumes," there being three in all, and it being the common Japanese practice (borrowed from the Chinese) to use the words Upper, Middle, and Lower to denote the First, Second and Third Volumes of a work respectively.

^1:2 The peculiar nature of this Preface, which is but a tour de force meant to show that, the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so, has been already hinted at in the Introduction. It is indeed a laboured little composition, and, but for the facts stated in its latter portion, has no value except perhaps as a specimen of the manner in which the legends of one country may be made to change aspect by being presented through the medium of the philosophical terminology and set phrases of another. It may be divided into five parts. In the first the writer, in a succession of brief allusions antithetically balanced, summarizes the most striking of the legends that are detailed in the pages of his "Records," and in a few words paints the exploits of some of the early emperors. In the second the troubles that ushered in the reign of the Emperor Tem-mu and his triumph over Prince Ohotomo are related at greater length in high-flown allusive phrases borrowed from the Chinese-historians. The third division gives us the Emperor Temmu's decree ordering the compilation of the "Records," and the fourth tells how the execution of that decree was delayed till the reign of the Empress Gemmiyo (A.D. 703-715), on whom likewise a panegyric is pronounced. In the fifth and last the compiler enters into some details concerning the style and method he has adopted.

^1:3 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character , "vassal," used in China by a subject when addressing his sovereign in writing.

^1:4 [p. 7] This is the compiler's personal name. His full name and titles, as given at the end of this preface, were i.e., the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit. The family of Futo claimed to descend from His Augustness

Kamu-yawi-mimi, second son of the Emperor Jim-mu. Yasumaro's death is recorded in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued," under date of 30th August, A.D. 723.

^1:5 I.e., I report as follows to Her Majesty the Empress.

^1:6 I.e., in the primeval void which preceded all phenomena there was neither form nor movement, and it was therefore unnamed and unknowable.

^1:7 This sentence summarizes the first eight Sections of the text of the "Records." The "three Deities" are the Deity Master-of-the August-Centre-of-Heaven, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (see Sect. I, Notes 4, 5, and 6.) The two Spirits representing the "Passive and Active Elements" are the creatrix and creator Izanami and Izanagi (the "Female-Who-Invites" and the "Male-Who-Invites,"--see Sect. II, Note 8), the procreation by whom of the islands of the Japanese archipelago and of a large number of gods and goddesses forms the subject of Sections III-VII.

^1:8 The word "therefore" is not appropriate in this place, and Motowori accordingly warns the reader to lay no stress upon it.

^1:9 This sentence alludes to Izanagi's visit to Hades, and to the purification of his person on his return to the Upper World (see Sects. IX and X). It also refers to the birth of the Sun-Goddess and of the Moon-God from his left and from his right eye respectively, and to that of a large number of lesser gods and goddesses, who were produced from every article of his wearing apparel and from every part of his person on the occasion of his performing those ablutions (see Sect. X.)

^1:10 The "original teaching" here mentioned means the original traditions of Japanese antiquity, The "former sages,"--a term which in China fitly designates such philosophers as Confucius, and Mencius, but which it is difficult to invest with any particular sense here in Japan where no sages, have ever arisen,--may be best taken to mean those unknown persons who transmitted the legends of the gods and early emperors. The "establishment of men" probably alludes to the investiture of the [p. 8] sovereignty of Japan in the human descendants of the Sun-Goddess. The expression is however obscure, and Motowori himself has nothing satisfactory to tell us about it.

^1:11 The mirror here mentioned is that by means of which the Sun-Goddess was allured out of the cave (see Sect. XVI); the jewels are those which Susa-no-Wo (the "Impetuous Male Deity") begged of his sister the Sun-Goddess, and crunched into fragments (see Sect. XIII); the blade that was bitten to pieces by the Sun-Goddess figures in the same legend; the serpent is that slain by Susa-no-Wo after his banishment from Heaven (see Sect. XVIII); the "Myriad Deities" are supposed by Motowori to be this same god's numerous descendants (see Sect. XX). who ruled in Idzumo. There remains the phrase "an Hundred Kings," which is lacking in clearness. The only rational interpretation of it is as designating the Japanese imperial line, and yet the reference seems to have no special appropriateness in this context.

^2:12 For the Tranquil River of Heaven, in whose stony bed the gods were wont to meet in council, see Sect. XIII, Note 12. The divine deliberations here referred to are those which resulted in the investiture of the sovereignty of Japan in the grandson of the Sun-Goddess (see Sects. XXX-XXXIII). The "discussions on the Little Shore" allude to the parleys on the beach of Inasa in Idzumo which preceded the abdication of the Deity who had held sway over that part of the country prior to the descent of the Sun-Goddess's grandson (see Sect. XXXII).

^2:13 The abbreviated form of the name of the Sun-Goddess's grandson (see Sect. XXXIII, Notes 5 and 10).

^2:14 I.e., Mount Takachiho (see Sect. XXXIV, Note 5). The final syllable is here apocopated, in order to preserve the rhythmical balance of the sentence by using only three Chinese characters to write this name, the "Island of the

Dragon-Fly" being likewise written with three characters.

^2:15 I.e., the first "human Emperor" Jim-mu, whose full native Japanese name is Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko. For the account of his reign see Sects. XLIV-LII.

^2:16 I.e., Japan. For the traditional origin of this poetical synonym of Japan see Sect. V. Note 26 and also the legend in Sect. CLVI. The word "traverse" in this sentence alludes to the Emperor Jim-mu's victorious progress from Western Japan to Yamato in the centre of the country, which he is said to have subdued, and where it is related that he established his capital (see Sect. XLIV-L).

^2:17 [p. 9] For the mention of the bear, whose appearance caused the Emperor Jim-mu and his army to faint away, see commencement of Sect. XLV. Motowori thinks that the character , "claws," is a copyist's error for , "mountain" or , "hole," (Conf. Sect. XLV, Note 2). For the curious legend of the sabre see the same Section, and for the name of Takakura see more especially Note 3 to that Section.

^2:18 For the Gods with tails who met and conversed with the Emperor Jim-mu in Yamato, see the latter part of Sect. XLVI, a perusal of which will however show that the phrase "obstructed the path," which is here used of them, is not exactly applicable. The miraculous crow which was sent down from Heaven to assist Jim-mu in his conquests, is mentioned at the commencement of the same Section and again at the commencement of Sect. XLVII. For Yeshinu (modern Yoshino) see Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

^2:19 The word "dancing" in this sentence must not be too closely pressed, as it is used simply to balance the word "song in the parallel clause,--which clause itself does but echo the sense of that which precedes it. The reference is to the song which Jim-mu sang as a signal to his followers to destroy the "earth-spiders" (see Sect. XLVIII), and perhaps also to the songs in Sect. XLIX.

^2:20 "The Emperor Su-jin" must be mentally supplied as the logical subject of this clause. For the story of his dream see Sect. LXIV, and for the origin of the laudatory designation here mentioned see the end of Sect. LXVII, which is however obscure.

^2:21 "The Emperor Nin-toku" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. The allusion to the smoke and the laudatory designation here mentioned will be understood by reference to Sect. CXXI. The "black-haired people" is a common Chinese phrase for the peasantry or the people in general.

^2:22 "The Emperor Sei-mu" must be supplied as the logical subject of this clause. His labours are briefly recapitulated in Sect. XCIV. For the province called Nearer Afumi (Chika-tsu-Afumi), see Sect. XXIX, Note 20. Its name is here rhythmically balanced against "Further Asuka" in the following clause.

^2:23 "The Emperor In-giyo" must be supplied as the logical subject of this sentence. This Sovereign's rectification of the names forms the subject of Sect. CXXXIX For Further Asuka (Toho-tsu-Asuka) see Sect. CXXXIII, Notes 13 and 11.

^2:24 I.e., though unlike in character, some of the ancient emperors excelling in caution and others in ardour, some being remarkable for their [p. 10] attainments others for their native worth, yet was there not one without a claim to greatness, not one who did not regard antiquity as the standard by which modern times should be judged, and repair the deviations from antique perfection that successively arose during the lapse of ages.--How marvellously inapplicable is this rodomontade to the early monarchs of Japan the student of Japanese history need scarcely be told, and Motowori himself allows that "it is not completely appropriate." Here the first part of the Preface terminates.

^2:25 Viz., the Emperor Tem-mu, whose struggle for the crown in the latter part of the seventh century of our era against the contending claims of Prince Ohotomo is related at great length in the pages of the "Chronicles," though

naturally beyond the scope of these "Records," which close in A.D. 628. The "Eight Great Islands" is one of the synonyms of Japan (see Sect. V. Note 27). The reason for the specially laudatory mention in this place of the Emperor Tem-mu is the fact that it was with him that the idea of compiling these Records originated, as is indeed stated a little further on. He is here alluded to by the expressions Hidden Dragon and Reiterated Thunder, metaphorical names borrowed from the "Yi Ching" and denoting the heir apparent Temmu not having ascended the throne till some time after his predecessor's, death, as Prince Ohotomo disputed by force of arms his right to the succession. The phrases "put on perfection" and "came at the appointed moment" are attempts at representing the original and . The meaning is that the Emperor Tem-mu was the man for the age, and that he took his proper and exalted place in it. In the following sentences we have a flowery resume of the story of the successful war by which he obtained the crown. The reference to the "song in a dream" is indeed obscure; but the "water at night" is the River Yoko, which we read of in the "Chronicles" as having been crossed by him. The characters somewhat freely rendered by the English words "succession" and "inheritance" are and , which approximate to that sense in this context. The "Southern Mountains" are the Mountains of Yoshino. whither he escaped for a season as a cicada escapes from its cast-off shell; the "Eastern Land" denotes the eastern provinces of Japan where he organized his army. The "Six Divisions" and the "Three Hosts" are Chinese designations of the Imperial troops, while the "ill-omened crew" of course refers to Tem-mu's enemies.--Prince Ohotomo, and his followers. In the ensuing sentence we see peace restored: Tem-mu has returned to the capital (for which the words "Flowery Summer" are a Chinese periphrasis), he has taken in his hands the insignia of office, and reigns [p. 11] supreme over the Six Cardinal Points (North, South, East, West, Above, and Below) and over the "Eight Wildernesses" (i.e., the barbarous regions on all sides). The writer concludes this division of his Preface by a glowing panegyric of the Monarch, who was, he says, superior to Hsuan Hou (Jap. Ken-Ko), and Chou Wang (Jap. Shiu-O), famous Chinese sovereigns of the legendary period. So intelligent were his efforts, so perfect was his conformity with the ways of Heaven as displayed in the workings of the Active and Passive Essences, that the Five Elements (Water Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth) all interacted with due regularity, and laudable usages alone prevailed throughout the land. Up to this point the preface may be said to be purely ornamental.

^3:26 I.e., March (20th as the "Chronicles" tell us), A. D. 673. The original, to denote the year and the month mentioned, uses the periphrases and but doubtless without any reference to the original proper meaning of those terms.

^3:27 The text literally reads thus: "He rode in the exactness of the Two Essences." But the author's intention is to tell us that Tem-mu acted according to the golden mean, keeping the balance even, and not inclining unduly either to the Active or the Passive side.

^4:28 Literally "warp and woof," i.e., cannon, standard, mainspring, first necessity.

^4:29 This is the imperial decree ordering the compilation of the "Records of Ancient matters." The expressions "original words" () and "old words" () are curious, and Motowori is probably right in arguing from the emphatic manner in which they are repeated that the Emperor Tem-mu attached special importance to the actual archaic phraseology in which some at least of the early documents or traditions had been handed down.

^4:30 I.e., he could repeat the contents of any document that he had once seen and remember all that he had ever heard.

^4:31 I.e., the Emperor Tem-mu died before the plan of the compilation of these "Records" had been carried into execution. Viz.. it may be presumed, before a selection from the various original documents committed to memory by Are had been reduced to writing.

^4:32 . For the phrase "obtaining Unity," which is borrowed from Lao Tzu, the student should consult Stanislas Judien's "Livre de la Voie et de le Vertu," pp. 144-149. The "Triad" is the threefold intelligence of Heaven, Earth, and Man. The general meaning of the sentence is that the Empress's perfect virtue, which is in complete [p. 12] accord with the heavenly ordinances, is spread abroad throughout the empire, and that with her all-penetrating insight she nourishes and sustains her people.

^4:33 In the above four sentences the compiler expresses his respectful admiration of the Empress Gem-miyo, who was on the throne at the time when he wrote, and tells us how wide was her rule and how prosperous her reign. The "Purple Palace" is one of the ornamental names borrowed from the Chinese to denote the imperial residence. The "Sombre Retinue" (if such indeed is the correct rendering of the original expression) is a phrase on which no authority consulted by the translator throws any light. The "utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks" and the "furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows" are favourite phrases in the old literature of Japan to express extreme distance (see, for instance, Mr. Satow's translations of the "Ritual of the Praying for Harvest," Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 111 of these "Transactions" and the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 111. Such unusual phenomena as connected stalks, i.e., trunks springing from the same root and uniting again higher up and "joint rice-ears," i.e., two rice-ears growing on a single stem, are considered lucky omens by the Chinese, and their appearance is duly chronicled in those Japanese histories that are composed after the Chinese model. The "continuous beacon-fires" and the "repeated interpretations" are phrases alluding to the foreign lands (i.e., the various small Korean states) speaking strange languages, whence tribute was sent to Japan, The text, as it stands, gives the impression that the arrival of the tribute-ships was announced by beacon-fires being lighted. Motowori however wishes us to understand the author's meaning to be that foreign states which, in the natural course of events, would be inimical, and the approach of whose ships would be signalized by the lighting of beacon-fires, now peacefully sent gifts to the Japanese monarch. It may be added that the whole sentence is borrowed scarcely without alteration from the "Wen Hsuan" (). Bum-mei is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters , the original name of Yu () a celebrated legendary emperor of China. Ten-Itsu is the Japanese pronunciation of the characters , the original name of the ancient emperor T'ang (), who is said to have founded the Shang dynasty in the eighteenth century B.C.

^4:34 This word is here used as an initial particle without special significance.

^5:35 I.e., 3rd November A. D. 711. Wa-do () is the name of a Japanese "year-period" which lasted from A.D. 708 to 714.

^5:36 [p. 13] I.e., present them to her. With this sentence ends the fourth division of the preface.

^5:37 I.e., the simplicity of speech and thought in Early Japan renders it too hard a task to rearrange the old documents committed to memory by Are in such a manner as to make them conform to the rules of Chinese style.

^5:38 I.e., if I adopted in its entirety the Chinese ideographic method of writing, I should often fail of giving a true impression of the nature of the original documents (conf. the preceding Note). If, on the other hand, I consistently used the Chinese characters, syllable by syllable, as phonetic symbols for Japanese sounds, this work would attain to inordinate proportions, on account of the great length of the polysyllabic Japanese as compared with the monosyllabic Chinese. The author's meaning may be illustrated by referring to the first clause of the "Records," ("when Heaven and Earth began"), which is thus written ideographically with six Chinese characters, whereas it would require no less than eleven to write it phonetically so as to represent the sound of the Japanese words ame tsuchi no hazhime no toki, viz., . It should be noticed that in this passage the author employs the technical expressions on and

kun (and) in a manner which is the precise reverse of that sanctioned by modern usage, on being with him the phonetic, and kun the ideographic, acceptation of the Chinese characters.

^5:39 It will be seen by perusing the following translation that the author can scarcely be said to have vouchsafed as much exegetical matter as this statement would lead us to expect. Indeed his "comments" are mostly confined to information concerning the pronunciation of certain characters. See however Motowori's remarks on this sentence in Vol. II. pp. 19-20 of this Commentary.

^5:40 The author here refers to a certain class of Japanese words which offer peculiar difficulties because written neither ideographically nor phonetically. but in a completely arbitrary manner, the result of a freak of usage. His manner of expressing himself is, however, ambiguous. What he meant to say is, as Motowori points out: "Again in such cases as writing the surname Kusaka, with the characters , and the personal name Tarashi with the character , I have followed usage without alteration." It is his imperfect mastery over the Chinese construction that makes him fall into such errors,--errors easily rectifiable, however, by the more widely read modern Japanese literati.

^5:41 I.e., commence with the creation, and end with the death of the Empress Sui-ko (A. D. 628), who resided at Woharida.

^6:42 [p. 14] For the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven see Sect. I, Note 4, and for Prince-Wave-Limit, etc., see Sect. XLII, Note 15. Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko is the proper native Japanese name of the emperor commonly known by the Chinese "canonical name" of Jim-mu. Homuda is part of the native Japanese name of the Emperor Ojin (see Sects. XCIV to CXVIII). Oho-Sazaki is the native Japanese name of the Emperor Nin-toku (see Sects. CXIX to CXXX.)

^6:43 Q.d., to the Empress.

^6:44 I.e., 10th March, A. D. 712.

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[p. 15]

RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS

[SECT. I.--THE BEGINNING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.]

The names of the Deities [*1] that were born [*2] in the Plain of High Heaven [*3] when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, [*4] next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous Deity, [*5] next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. [*6] These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons. [*7] The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, [*8] young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder Deity, [*9] next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. [*10] [16] These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities. [*11]

[p. 16]

Footnotes

^15:1 [p. 15] For this rendering of the Japanese word kami see Introduction, pp.

<page xvii>-xviii.

^15:2 Literally, "that became" (). Such "becoming" is concisely defined by Motowori as "the birth of that which did not exist before."

^15:3 In Japanese Takama-no-hara.

^15:4 Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami.

^15:5 Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami. It is open to doubt whether the syllable bi, instead of signifying "wondrous," may not simply be a verbal termination, in which case the three syllables musubi would mean, not "wondrous producing," but simple "producing," i.e., if we adopt the interpretation of the Verb musubu as "to produce" in the Active sense of the word, an interpretation as to whose propriety there is some room for doubt. In the absence of certainty the translator has followed the view expressed by Motowori and adopted by Hirata. The same remark applies to the following and other similar names.

^15:6 [p. 16] Kami-musu-bi-no-kami. This name reappears in later Sections under the lengthened form of ami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto, i.e., His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, and also in abbreviated forms.

^15:7 I.e. they all came into existence without being procreated. in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, i.e., died.

^15:8 Here and elsewhere the character , properly "country" (regio), is used where "earth" (tellus) better suits the sense. Apparently in the old language the word kuni (written), which is now restricted to the former meaning, was used ambiguously somewhat like our word "land."

^15:9 Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami. For hiko here and elsewhere rendered "prince" see Introduction <page xvi>; ji is rendered "elder" in accordance with the opinion expressed by Motowori and Hirata, who say that it is "an Honorific designation of males identical with the ji meaning old man."

^15:10 Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven, Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami. The translation of the name here given follows the natural meaning of the characters composing it, and has the sanction of Tanigaha Shisai. Motowori and Hirata take toko to stand for soko, "bottom," and interpret accordingly; but this is probably but one of the many instances in which the Japanese philologists allow themselves to be led by the boldness of their etymological speculations into identifying words radically distinct.

^15:11 This is a note in the original, where such notes are indented, as has also been clone In the translation. The author's obscure phrase is explained by Motowori to mean that these Heavenly Deities were separate from those who came into existence afterwards, and especially from the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity (Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami) who in the "Chronicles" is the first divine being of whom mention is made. These five were, he says, "separate" and had nothing to do with the creation of the world. It should be stated that the sentence will also bear the interpretation "The five Deities in the above list are Deities who divided Heaven" (presumably from Earth;) but this rendering has against it the authority of all the native editors. As the expressions "Heavenly Deity" and "Earthly Deity" (lit., "Country Deity" are of frequent occurrence in these "Records," it may be as well to state that. according to Motowori, the "Heavenly Deities" were such as either dwelt in Heaven or had originally descended to Earth from Heaven, whereas the Earthly Deities were those born and dwelling in Japan.

[p. 17]

[SECT. II.--THE SEVEN DIVINE GENERATIONS.]

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, [*1] next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity. [*2] These two Deities were likewise [17] Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady; [*3] next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister the Life-Integrating-Deity; [*4] next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place; [*5] next the Deity Perfect-Exterior, [*6] [18] next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady; [*7] next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites, next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites. [*8]

From the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations.

(The two solitary Deities above [-mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of deities is called a generation.) [*9]

[p. 18]

Footnotes

^17:1 [p. 17] Or, the Deity-Standing-Eternally-on-Earth, Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, Conf. Note 10 to Sect. I.

^17:2 Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami. There is much doubt as to the proper interpretation of this name. The characters ("cloud-moor"), with which the syllables read kumo-nu are written, are almost certainly phonetic, and the translator has followed Motowori's view as corrected by Hirata, according to which kumo is taken to stand for kumu, "integrating," and nu is considered to be an apocopated form of nushi, "master" (or more vaguely "the person who presides at or does a thing"). Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-words," Article Sasutake, argues that the syllables in question should be interpreted in the sense of "coagulated mud"; out this is less satisfactory.

^17:3 [p. 18] U-hiji-no-kami and Su-hiji-ni-no-kami. The names of this pair tend themselves to a variety of interpretations. Motowori's view of the meaning of the first three syllables in each seems best, if it is founded on the Chinese characters with which they are written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," and it has therefore been adopted here. Hirata interprets the names thus: First-Mud-Lord and First-Sand-Lady, and takes ni to be an alternative form of the Honorific ne found in so many proper names. This view of the meaning of ni has been followed by the translator. On the other hand Mabuchi explains the names to mean respectively Floating-Mud-Earth and Sinking-Mud-Earth. The only thing therefore that is granted by all is that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made. The reader will bear in mind that "younger-sister" and "wife" are convertible names in Archaic Japanese. (See Introduction p. XXXVIII.)

^17:4 Tsunu-guhi-no-kami and Iku-guhi-no-kami. The interpretation given is one in which the commentators agree, and which has some probability in its favour. It must however only be accepted with reservation.

^17:5 Oho-to-no ji-no-kami and Oho-to-no-be-no-kami.

^17:6 Omo-daru-no-kami. We might also render omo-daru by "perfect-face," i.e., perfectly beautiful."

^17:7 Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami. For "awful" we might substitute "venerable."

Hirata, commentating on this name and the seven which precede it, says: U-hiji-ui and Su-hiji-ni are so named from their having contained the germs of what was to become the earth. Oho-to-no-ji and Oho-to-no-be are so called from the appearance of the incipient earth. Tsunu-guhi and Iku-guhi are so called from the united appearance of the earth and the Deities as they came into existence. Omo-daru and Kashiko-ne are so called from the completion of the august persons of the Deities. Thus their names were given to them from the gradual progress [of creation]."

^17:8 Izana-gi-no-kami and Izana-mi-no-kami. There is some slight diversity of opinion as to the literal signification of the component parts of the names of these the best-known of the Deities hitherto mentioned, though the gist of the meaning remains unchanged. Motowori would prefer to read Iza-na-gi and Iza-a-mi, taking the syllable na as the Second Personal Pronoun "thou," and understanding the names thus: "the Prince-Who-Invites-Thee" and the "Princess-Who-Invites-Thee." It seems however more natural to look on izana as forming but one word, viz., the Root of the Verb Izanafu, "to invite." The older native commentators [p. 19] mean the same thing when they tell us that na is an Expletive. The syllables gi and mi are of uncertain etymology, but occur in other Archaic words to denote the female and male of a pair. The appropriateness of the names of these deities will be seen by referring to Sect. IV.

^17:9 For explanatory notes which are printed in small type in the original, small type is likewise used in this translation.

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[p. 19]

[SECT. III.--THE ISLAND OF ONOGORO]

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness [*1] the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear, [*2] they [thus] deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, [*3] pushed [19] down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stiffed the brine till it went curdle-curdle, [*4] and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro. [*5]

Footnotes

^19:1 [p. 19] For this rendering of the Japanese title Mikoto see Introduction, p. xvi, last paragraph.

^19:2 The characters translated "jewelled spear" are , whose proper Chinese signification would be quite different. But the first of the two almost certainly stands phonetically for or ,--the syllable nu, which is its sound, having apparently been an ancient word for "jewel" or "head," the better-known Japanese term being tama. In many places the word "jewel" (or "jewelled") seems to be used simply as an adjective expressive of beauty. But Motowori and Hirata credit it in this instance with its proper signification, and the translator always renders it literally, leaving the reader to consider it to be used metaphorically if and where he pleases.

^19:3 [p. 20] Ama-no-uki-hashi or Ame-no-uki-hashi. The best authorities are at variance as to the nature of this bridge uniting Heaven with Earth. Hirata identifies it with the Heavenly-Rock-Boat (Ame-no-iha-fune) mentioned in some ancient writings, whereas Motowori takes it to have been a real bridge, and finds traces of it and of similar bridges in the so-called "Heavenly Stairs"

(Ama-no-hashi-date) which are found on several points of the coast, forming a kind of natural breakwater just above water-level.

^19:4 I.e., "till it became thick and glutinous." It is not easy to find in English a word which will aptly render the original Japanese onomatopoeia koworokoworo. The meaning may also be "till it made a curdling sound." But though the character , "to make a noise," sanctions this view, it is not the view approved by the commentators, and is probably only written phonetically for a homonymous word signifying "to become," which we find in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

^19:5 I.e., "Self-Curdling," "Self-Condensed." It is supposed to have been one of the islets off the coast of the larger island of Ahaji.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 20]

[SECT. IV.--COURTSHIP OF THE DEITIES THE MALE-WHO-INVITES AND THE FEMALE WHO-INVITES.]

Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection [*1] of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of an hall of eight fathoms. [*2] Tunc [20] quaesivit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] a minore sorore Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat: "Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?" Respondit dicens: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quae non crevit continua." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quae crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut hanc corporis mei partem quae crevit, superflua in tui corporis partem quae non crevit continua inseram, et regiones procreem?" Augusta Femina-Quae-Invitat respondit dicens: "Bonum erit." Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: "Quod

[p. 21]

quum ita sit, ego et tu hanc coelestem augustam, columnam circumeuntes mutuoque occurrentes, augustarum [i.e. privatarum] partium augustam coitionem faciemus." [*3] Hac pactione facta, dixit [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat]: "Tu a dextera circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistra occurram." Absoluta pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat primum inquit: "O venuste et amabilis adolescens!" Deinde Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat inquit: "O venusta et amabilis virgo!" Postquam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, [Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat] locutus est sorori, dicens: "Non decet feminam primum verba facere." Nihilominus in thalamo [opus procreationis] inceperunt, et filium [nomine] Hirudinem [*4] [vel Hirudini similem] pepererunt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the Island of Aha. [*5] This likewise is not reckoned among their children. [*6]

Footnotes

^20:1 [p. 21] The original of this quasi-causative phrase, of which there is no other example in Japanese literature so far as the translator's reading goes, is interpreted by Motowori in the sense of the English locution to which it literally corresponds, and it has here been rendered accordingly, though with considerable hesitation. Hirata does not approve of Motowori's view; but then the different text which he here adopts imposes on him the necessity of another interpretation. (See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 39-40).

^20:2 The original word hiro (written) is defined as the distance between the hands when the arms are outstretched. The word rendered "hall" may also be translated "palace."--The text of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" is

"they made the Island of Onogoro the central Pillar of the land,"--a statement which seems more rational and more in accordance with general tradition than that of these "Records."

^21:3 This is Hirata's view of the import of the somewhat obscure original (see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. II, pp. 61-64). Motowori's interpretation is: "auguste in thalamo coibimus."

^21:4 [p. 22] The name in the original is Hiru-go, an instance of the fortuitous verbal resemblances occasionally found between unrelated languages.

^21:5 Literary "foam." It is supposed to have been an islet near the island of Ahaji in the province of Sanuki.

^21:6 Hiru-go was not so reckoned, because he was a failure.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 22]

[SECT. V.--BIRTH OF THE EIGHT ISLANDS.]

Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying: "The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august [21] place [*1] of the Heavenly Deities." They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly Deities commanded and found out by grand divination, [*2] and ordered them, saying: "They were not good because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words." So thereupon descending back, they again went round the heavenly august pillar as before. Thereupon his Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke first: "Ah! what a fair and lovely maiden! Afterwards his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites spoke: "Ah! what a fair and lovely youth!" Tali modo quun orationi finem fecerant, auguste coierunt et pepererunt a child the Island of Ahaji, Ho-no-sa-wake. [*3] Next they gave birth to the Island of Futa-no in Iyo. [*4] This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name. So the Land of Iyo is called Lovely-Princess; [*5] the Land of Sanuki [*6] is called Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice; [*7] the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food; [*8] the Land of Tosa [*9] is called Brave-Good-Youth. [*10] Next they gave birth to the Islands of Mitsu-go [*11] near Oki, [*12] another name for which [islands] is Heavenly-Great-Heart-Youth. [*13] [*14]

[p. 23]

[paragraph continues] This island likewise has one body and four faces [*15] and each face has a name. So the land of Tsukushi is called White-Sun-Youth; [*16] the Land of Toyo [*17] is called Luxuriant-Sun-Youth; [*18] the Land of Hi is called Brave Sun-Confronting-Luxuriant-Wondrous-Lord-Youth; [*19] the Land of Kumaso is called Brave-Sun-Youth. [*20] Next they gave birth to the Island of Iki, [*21] another name for which is Heaven's One-Pillar. [*22] Next they gave birth to the Island of Tsu, [*23] another name for which is Heavenly-Hand-net-Good-Princess. [*24] Next they gave birth to the Island of Sado. [*25] Next they gave birth to Great-Yamato-the-Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragon-Fly, [*26] another name for which is Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth. [24] The name of "Land-of -the- Eight-Great-Islands" [*27] therefore originated in these eight islands having been born first. After that, when they had returned, [*28] they gave birth to the Island of Ko[-shima] [*29] in Kibi, [*30] another name for which [island] is Brave-Sun [*9] Direction-Youth. Next they gave birth to the Island of Adzuki, [*31] another name for which is Oho-Nu-De-Hime. Next they gave birth to the Island of Oho [-shima], [*32] another name for which is Oho-Tamaru-Wake. Next they gave birth to the Island of Hime, [*33] another name for which is Heaven's-One-Root. Next they gave birth to the Island of Chika, [*34]

another name for which is Heavenly-Great-Male. Next they gave birth to the Island[s] of Futa-go, [*35] another name for which is Heaven's-Two-Houses, (Six islands in all from the Island of Ko, in Kibi to the Island of Heaven's-Two-Houses).

[p. 24] [p. 25] [p. 26] [p. 27]

Footnotes

^22:1 [p. 23] The characters here translated "august place" (the proper Chinese signification is "imperial place") are those still in common use to denote the Mikado's palace.

^22:2 [p. 24] For an elaborate account of the various methods of divination practised by the Ancient Japanese see Note 5 to Mr. Satow's translation of the "Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta" in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 425 et seq. "The most important mode of divination practised by the primitive Japanese was that of scorching the shoulder-blade of a deer over a clear fire, and finding, omens in the cracks produced by the heat."

^22:3 Aha-ji signifies "foam-way," i.e., "the way to Foam (Aha)-Island," on account, it is said, of its intermediate position between the mainland and the province of Aha in what is in modern parlance the Island of Shikoku. The author of the "Chronicles of Old Affairs" fancifully derives the name from a hoji "my shame." The etymology of Ho-no-sa-wake is disputed; but Hirata, who in the body of Vol. III of his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" had already expended much ingenuity in discussing it, gives the most satisfactory interpretation that has yet been proposed in a postscript to that volume, where he explains it to signify "Rice-ear-True-Youth." Wake (sometimes wake or waku) is a word of frequent occurrence in the names of gods and heroes. Whether it really signifies "youth," as Hirata believes and as it is most natural to suppose, or whether Motowori's guess that it is an Honorific title corrupted from waga kimi ye (lit. "my prince elder brother," more freely "lord") remains undecided. When it is used as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "lord," as that in such cases is its import apart from the question of derivation. Sa, rendered "true," may almost be considered to have dwindled down to a simple Honorific.--It is this little island which is said by the author of the "Chronicles" to have been the caul with which the great island of Yamato was born. Ahaji and Ho-no-sa-wake must be understood to be alternative names, the latter being what in other cases is prefaced by the phrase "another name for whom."

^22:4 Futa-na is written with characters signifying "two names," and Motowori's derivation from futa-narabi, "two abreast," does not carry conviction. The etymology of Iyo is quite uncertain. It is here taken as the name of the whole island called in modern times Shikoku; but immediately below we find it in its usual modern acceptation of one of the four provinces into which that island is divided. A similar remark applies to Tsukushi a little further on.

^22:5 Ye-hime. For the rendering of hiko and hime as "prince" and "princess" see introduction, p. xvi.

^22:6 Probably derived, as Hirata shows, from saho-ki, "pole-trees," a [p. 25] tribute of poles having anciently been paid by that province. Motowori adopts the unusual reading of the name given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," viz. Sanugi, with the last syllable nigori'ed.

^22:7 Ihi-yori-hiko. The translator, though with some hesitation, follows Motowori in looking on yori as a contraction of yorishi, "good." The character used for it in the original is .

^22:8 Oho-ge-tsu-hime. Remember that aha signifies not only "foam" but "millet" so that we need not be astonished to find that the alternative designation of the island so designated is that of a food-goddess.

^22:9 Etymology uncertain, only fanciful derivations being proposed by the native philologists.

^22:10 Take-yori-wake.

^22:11 Mitsu-go signifies "triplets," lit., "three children." The three islets intended are Ama-ma-shima, Mukafu-no-shima and Chiburi-no-shima.

^22:12 Oki probably here signifies "offing," which is its usual acceptation.

^22:13 Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake. The syllables oshi, which recur in the names of many gods and heroes, are rendered "great" in accordance with Motowori's plausible conjecture that they are an abbreviation of ohoshi ("great," not "many" as in the later language). The translation of koro by "heart" follows a conjecture of Hirata's (Motowori acknowledged that he could make nothing of the word), according to which it is taken to be an abbreviated form of kokoro, "heart."

^22:14 None but fanciful derivations of this word are suggested by the native philologists.

^23:9 Etymology uncertain, only fanciful derivations being proposed by the native philologists.

^23:15 A note to the edition of 1687 says: "Should the word 'four' be changed to 'five?'" For most texts enumerate five countries in this passage with slight variations in the names, Himuka, (Hiuga), which it certainly seems strange to omit, being the fourth on the list with the alternative name of Toyokuzhi-hine-wake, while the alternative name of Hi is Haya-hi-wake, Motowori argues that an enumeration of four agrees better with the context, while Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary decides in favour of the five. There are thus texts and authorities in favour of both views.

^23:16 Shira-bi-wake.

^23:17 Toyo means "luxuriant" or "fertile." Hi appears to signify "fire" or "sun." Kumaso is properly a compound, Kuma-so, as the district is often mentioned by the simple name of So. Kuma signifies "bear," and Motowori suggests that the use of the name of this the fiercest of [p. 26] beasts as a prefix may be traced to the evil reputation of that part of the country for robbers and outlaws. He quotes similar compounds with kuma in support of this view.

^23:18 Toyo-bi-wake.

^23:19 Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuzhi-hine-wake. The interpretation of this name follows Motowori.

^23:20 Take-bi-wake.

^23:21 Etymology uncertain, but there seems reason to suppose that the name was originally pronounced Yiki or Yuki.

^23:22 Ame-hito-tsu-bashira.

^23:23 Tsu (Tsu-shima) means "port," "anchorage," a name probably given to this island on account of its being the midway halting-place for junks plying between Japan and Korea.

^23:24 Ame-no-sade-yori-hime. The interpretation of sade (rendered "hand-net") is uncertain. The translator has followed that sanctioned by an ode in Vol. I of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by a passage in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained." Hirata takes sa to be an Honorific and te to be the usual word for "hand," while Motowori gives up the name in despair.

^23:25 Etymology uncertain.

^23:26 Oho-yamato-toyo-aki-dzu-shima (the original of the alternative personal name is Ame-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake). The etymology of Yamato is much disputed. Mabuchi, in his "Addenda to the on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," derives the name from yama-to, "mountain-gate." Motowori, in a learned discussion to be found in his "Examination of the Synonyms of Japan," pp. 24-27, proposes three other possible derivations, viz. yama-to, "mountain-place," yama-to (supposed to stand for yama-tsubo and to mean "mountain-secluded"), and yama-utsu (utsu being a supposititious Archaic form of uchi,) "within the mountains." Other derivations are yama-to (), "without the mountains," yama-ato, "mountain-traces" and yama-todomi, "mountains stopping," i.e. (as Moribe, who proposes it, explains), "far as the mountains can be seen." Another disputed point is whether the name of Yamato which here designates the Main Island of the Archipelago, but which in the common parlance of both ancient and modern times is the denomination on the one hand of the single province of Yamato and on the other of the whole Empire of Japan, originally had the wider application or the more restricted one. Motowori and the author of the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" seem to the present writer to make [p. 27] out the case in favour of the latter view. Motowori supposes the name to have denoted first a village and then a district, before being applied to a large province and finally to the entire country. The "Island of the Dragon-fly" is a favourite name for Japan in the language of the Japanese poets. It is traced to a remark of the Emperor Jim-mu, who is said to have compared the shape of the country round Mountain Hohoma to "a dragon-fly drinking with its tail." Conf. also the tradition forming the subject of Sec. CLVI of the present translation.

^23:27 Oho-ya-shima-huni. A perhaps still more literal English rendering of this name would be "Land of the Grand Eight Islands" or "Grand Land of the Eight Islands," for the word oho must be regarded rather as an Honorific than as actually meant to convey an idea of size.

^23:28 "To the Island of Onogoro," says Motowori; but we are not told that the god and goddess had ever left it.

^23:29 Ko means "infant" or "small." The original of the alternative personal name is Take-hi-gata-wake. Gata (or, without the nigori, Kata) here and in other names offers some difficulty. The translator renders it by the equivalent of the usual Japanese signification of the character , "direction," with which it is written.

^23:30 Etymology uncertain.

^23:31 Adzuki is written with the characters , which signify a kind of bean (the Phaseolus radiatus); but it is possible that they represent the sound, and not the sense, of the name. In the alternative personal name oho signifies "great," and hime "princess," while the syllables nu-de are of altogether uncertain interpretation. Motowori suggests that mu may mean "moor" and de (for te) "clapper-bell."

^23:32 I.e., Great Island. The word tamaru in the alternative personal name is so obscure that not even any plausible conjecture concerning it has been ventured and the name is therefore of necessity left untranslated.

^23:33 Hime signifies "princess" or "maiden." The original of the alternative personal name is Ame-hito-tsu-ne.

^23:34 Etymology uncertain. Motowori would take the name in a plural sense as standing for the modern islands of Hirado and Go-to (Goto). The original of the alternative personal name is Ame-no-oshi-wo; in which as usual, oshi is supposed to represent ohoshi (), "great."

^23:35 Futa-go means "twins." The original of the alternative personal name is

Ame-futa-ya.

[p. 28]

[SECT. VI.--BIRTH OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.]

When they had finished giving birth to countries, they began afresh giving birth to Deities. So the name of the Deity they gave birth to was the Deity Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing; [*1] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Earth-Prince; [*2] next they gave birth to the Deity Rock-Nest-Princess; [*3] [26] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-Door-Sun-Youth; [*4] next they gave birth to the Deity Heavenly-Blowing-Male; [*5] next they gave birth to the Deity Great-House-Prince; [*6] next they gave birth to the Deity Youth-of-the-Wind-Breath-the-Great-Male; [*7] next they gave birth to the Sea-Deity, whose name is the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor; [*8] next they gave birth to the Deity of the Water-Gates, [*9] whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Swift-Autumn; [*10] next they gave birth to his younger sister the Deity Princess-of-Swift-Autumn. (Ten Deities in all from the Deity-Great-Male-of-the-Great-Thing to the Deity Princess-of-Autumn.) [*11] The names of the Deities given birth to by these two Deities Prince-of-Swift-Autumn and [27] Princess-of-Swift-Autumn from their separate dominions of river and sea were: the Deity Foam-Calm; [*12] next the Deity Foam-Waves; next the Deity Bubble-Calm; next the Deity Bubble-Waves; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Divider; [*13] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Divider; next the Deity Heavenly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor; [*14] next the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Foam-Prince to the Deity Earthly-Water-Drawing-Gourd-Possessor.) Next they gave birth to the Deity of Wind, whose name is the Deity Prince-of-Long-Wind. [*15] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Trees, whose name is Deity Stem-Elder, [*16] next

[p. 29]

they gave birth to the Deity of Mountains, whose name is the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. [*17] Next they gave birth to the Deity of Moors, whose name is the Deity Thatch-Moor-Princess, [*18] another name for whom is the Deity Moor-Elder. (Four Deities in all from the Deity Prince-of Long-Wind to Moor-Elder.) The names of the Deities given [28] birth to by these two Deities, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor and the Deity Moor-Elder from their separate dominions of mountain and moor were: the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes; next the Deity Earthly-Elder-of-the-Passes; [*19] next the Deity Heavenly-Pass-Boundary, next the Deity Earthly-Pass-Boundary; [*20] next the Deity Heavenly-Dark-Door; next the Deity Earthly Dark-Door; [*21] next the Deity Great-Vale-Prince; next the Deity Great-Vale-Princess. [*22] (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Heavenly-Elder-of-the-Passes to the Deity Great-Vale-Princess.) The name of the Deity they [*23] next gave birth to was the Deity Bird's-Rock-Camphor-tree-Boat, [*24] another name for whom is the Heavenly-Bird-Boat. Next they gave birth to the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. [*25] Next they gave [29] birth to the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity, [*26] another name for whom is the Deity Fire-Shining-Prince, and another name is the Deity Fire-Shining-Elder.

[p. 30] [p. 31]

Footnotes

^28:1 [p. 29] Oho-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami. "The Male-Enduring-Great-Things" would be a possible, but less good rendering. This god is identified by Motowori with Koto-toke-no-wo mentioned in "One account" of the "Chronicles of Japan."

^28:2 The original Ika-tsuchi-biko-no-kami () is identified by Motowori with

Uha-zutsu-no-wo, () mentioned in Sect. X (Note 18). He would interpret the first tsu (dzu) as the Genitive particle and the second as identical with the "Honorific appellation ji of males," such as Hikoji, Oho-to-no-ji, etc. If this surmise were correct, the entire name would signify Upper-Lord-Prince; but it is safer to be guided by the characters in the text.

^28:3 [p. 30] Iha-zu-bime-no-kami. Here too Motowori takes the syllable zu- to be "connected with" the syllables tsu-tsu interpreted as above, forgetting apparently that the second tsu (ji) is said to occur only in the names of males.

^28:4 Oho-to-bi-wake-na-kami, a name which Motowori, by supposing corruptions of the text and by making a plentiful use of the pliant and powerful system of derivation with which the Japanese etymologists lay siege to the difficulties of their language, identifies with Oho-naho-bi-no-kami, "the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity," mentioned in Sect. X (Note 16).

^28:5 Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami, identified by Motowori with I-buki-do-nushi mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification." (See his Commentary on this Ritual, Vol. II, pp. 29-32.)

^28:6 Ohoyabikonokami, identified by Motowori with Oho-aya-tsui-bi mentioned in "One account" of the "Chronicles."

^28:7 Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami. Motowori's conjectural interpretation has been followed; but both the reading and the meaning of the original are encompassed with difficulties. Motowori identifies this deity with Soko-sasura-hime mentioned in the "Ritual of the General Purification."

^28:8 Oho-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami. The interpretation of mochi, "possessor," though not absolutely sure, has for it the weight both of authority and of likelihood.

^28:9 I.e., river-mouths, estuaries, or ports. In the original Minato-no-kami.

^28:10 Haya-aki-dzu-hiko. Aki, whose proper signification is "autumn," might also by metonymy be interpreted to mean "dragon-fly" or "Japan." Motowori, apropos of this name, launches forth on very bold derivations and identifications with the names of other gods. The original of the sister-deity is Haya-aki-dzu-hime-no-kami.

^28:11 The text here omits the word "Swift" from this name.

^28:12 The original names of this deity and the three that follow are Awa-nagi-no-kami, Awa-nami-no-kami, Tsura-nagi-no-kami, and Tsura-nami, no-kami. The interpretation of the component parts is open to doubt but that here adopted has the authority of Motowori and Hirata.

^28:13 Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami. The following deity is Kuni-nomi-kumari-no-kami.

^28:14 [p. 31] This Deity and the next are in the original Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami and Kuni-ito-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami. The etymology is obtained by comparison with a passage in the "Ritual for Averting Fire" ().

^28:15 Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami. The original of this name is explained by Motowori, who founds his view on two passages in the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," to signify Prince-of-Long-Breath. But the translator feels confident that shi-na by him interpreted in the sense of "long breath" (or rather "long of breath") should he connected with shi, an old word for wind which we see in ara-shi ("storm-wind"), ni-shi ("west-wind"), hi-gashi ("east wind"), and perhaps under a slightly altered form in kaze, "wind," whereas shi nowhere occurs in the sense of "breath." Hirata notices approvingly this etymology of shi ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. III. p. 63), though without venturing flatly to contradict his decision as to the import of the name in question. The difference in the meaning is after all slight. Na is to be taken as an

apocopated form of nagaki, "long." In later times Shinato has been used as a name for the north-west wind.

^28:16 Such seems to be the meaning of the original Kuku-no-chi-no-kami.

^29:17 Oho-yama-tsuna-ka-mi.

^29:18 Kaya-nu-kimi-no-kami. The etymology of the alternative personal name (in the original is not quite certain.

^29:19 The original of these two names is Ame-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami and Kuni-no-sa-dzu-chi-no-kami. Their signification is obscure, but the translator has, after some hesitation, followed Motowori's interpretation. The words "heavenly" and "earthly" should probably be considered as qualifying "passes." This word "pass," used here and elsewhere to render the Japanese term saka (sa), must be understood to include lesser ascents than those very arduous ones which are alone denoted by the word "pass" in ordinary English parlance. In the later language of Japan the word tauge (toge) generally denotes "passes" properly so called, while saka is restricted to the meaning of small ascents or hills. But this distinction is by no means strictly observed.

^29:20 Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami and Kuni-no-sagiri-no-kami. Sa seems to be rightly considered, as in the two preceding names, to be an archaic form of saka (properly sa-ka, "hill-place"), and giri as an apocopated form of kagiri, (properly ka-giri, "place-cutting") "limit" or "boundary". Hirata however, following the Chinese character with which kiri is written, interprets it in the sense of "mist."

^29:21 [p. 32] Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami and Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami. Motowori explains kura (, "dark") by tani (, "valley"), and to "door" by tokoro (, "place").

^29:22 Such appears to be the proper interpretation of the original of these two names, Oko-tomato-hiko-no-kami and Oho-tomato-hime-no-kami, tomato being plausibly referred to towomaru and tawamu. It is difficult to find an English word to represent exactly the idea, which is rather that of a gentle fold in the mountains than of the narrower and steeper hollow which we call a "valley."

^29:23 I.e., the Prince-Who-Invites and the Princess-Who-Invites (Izanagi and Iza-nami).

^29:24 Tori-no-iha-kusa-bune-no-kami. The alternative name is Ame-no-tori-bune, from which the title of Deity is omitted. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. V, pp. 52-53 should be consulted on the subject of this deity.

^29:25 Homonymous with the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha. (See Sect. V, Note 8).

^29:26 Hi-no-haya-yagi-wo-no-kami. If, as seems likely, yagi, is an incorrect reading for kagi, we should have to translate by "shining" the word here rendered "burning." The alternative names are Hino-kaga-biko-no-kami and Hino-kaga-tsuchi-no-kami. In "One account" of the "Chronicles" and elsewhere in the "Rituals" this fire-god is called Ho-musubi i.e. the Fire-Producer."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 32]

[SECT. VII.--RETIREMENT OF HER AUGUSTNESS THE PRINCESS-WHO-INVITES.]

Through giving birth to this child her august private parts were burnt, and she

sickened and lay down. [*1] The names of the Deities born from her vomit were the Deity Metal-Mountain-Prince and next the Deity Metal-Mountain-Princess. [*2] The names of the Deities that were born from her faeces were the Deity Clay-Viscid-Prince and next the Deity Clay-Viscid-Princess. [*3] The names of the Deities that were next born from her urine were the Deity Mitsuhanome [*4] and next the Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity. [*5] The child of this Deity was called

[p. 33]

the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess. [*6] So the Deity [30] the Female-Who-Invites, through giving birth to the Deity-of-Fire, at length divinely retired. [*7] (Eight Deities in all from the Heavenly-Bird-Boat to the Deity Luxuriant-Food-Princess. [*8])

The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities the Male-Who-Invites and the Female-Who-Invites was fourteen, and of Deities thirty-five. (These are such as were given birth to before the Deity Princess-Who-Invites divinely retired. Only the Island of Onogoro, was not given birth to. [*9] and moreover the Leech-Child [*10] and the Island of Aha are not reckoned among the children).

So then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites said: Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! Oh that I should have exchanged thee for this single child!" [*11] And as he crept round her august pillow, and [31] as he crept round her august feet and wept, there was born from his august tears the Deity that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu, [*12] and whose name is the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity. [*13] So he buried the divinely retired [*14] Deity the Female-Who-Invites on Mount Hiba [*15] at the boundary of the Land of Idzumo [*16] and the Land of Hahaki. [*17]

[p. 34]

Footnotes

^32:1 [p. 33] "Lying down" (koyasu) is a term often used in the Archaic language in the sense of "dying." But here it must be taken literally, the death ("divine retirement") of the goddess being narrated a few fines further on.

^32:2 Kana-yama-biko-no-kami and Kana-yama-bime-no-kami. The translation of this pair of names follows the plain sense of the characters with which they are written, and which seems appropriate enough, coming as they do between the deity of fire and deities of clay. Motowori however, declaring both characters to be merely phonetic, derives kana-yama from korena-yamasu, "to cause to wither and suffer." And interprets the names accordingly. This is at any rate ingenious.

^32:3 Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami and Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami.

^32:4 [p. 34] The signification of this name is not to be ascertained. In the text it is written phonetically , and two passages in the "Chronicles," where this deity is mentioned as and with directions in each case to read the name with the sounds here given to it, do not help us much, except in so far as they show that Mitsuhanome was conceived of as the deity of water and as a female.

^32:5 Waku-musu-bi-no-kami.

^33:6 Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami.

^33:7 I.e., "died."

^33:8 There is here an error in the computation, as nine deities are mentioned. The total of thirty-five deities given immediately below is still more erroneous, as no less than forty are named in the preceding passage. Motowori makes an ingenious effort to reconcile arithmetic and revelation by supposing the five pairs of brothers and sisters with parallel names to have been

considered as each forming but one day.

^33:9 See Sect. III. This island was not born, but arose, spontaneously from drops of brine.

^33:10 Hiru-go. See the latter part of Sect. IV for these two names, Hiru-go was not counted among the children of these Deities for the reason that the latter abandoned him as soon as he was born, he being a failure. The reason for omitting Aha from the computation is not so clear.

^33:11 The text here is very peculiar, the characters rendered "single child" being where we should expect or . Hirata proposes to consider , "tree," while most scholars agree in reading ke instead of ki in this place, as phonetic for ke () "hair," and to interpret the god's words to signify that he values the child no more than a single hair in comparison with the wife whom that child's birth has lost for him. Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words." s.v. Ko no hito-tsu ki (Vol. I. p. 8 et seq.), ingeniously argues that ki was an old native Japanese "Auxiliary Numeral" for animals, afterwards driven out by the somewhat like-sounding Chinese word hiki () which is now in common use, and that the god employs this degrading Auxiliary Numeral in speaking of his child on account of the resentment which he feels against him. On the other hand we gather from the "Chronicles of Japan Explained" that was used in its natural sense as an "Auxiliary Numeral" for gods and for men of exalted rank. This seems to the translator the better view to follow, and it is supported by the use of [p. 35] hashira, as the regular "Auxiliary Numeral" for divine personages. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has simply "one infant."

^33:12 This rendering is but tentative; for it is not certain that Hirata, whose view has been adopted, is right in regarding Konomoto and Unewo as names of places. If we followed the older authorities, we should have to translate thus: "The Deity that dwells at the foot of the trees on the slope of the spur of Mount Kagu." The etymology of the name of this celebrated mountain (known also as Ame-no-kagu-yama or Ama-no-kagu-yama, i.e. "Heavenly Mount Kagu") is disputed. But Hirata's view, according to which it should be connected with kago, "deer," is the most plausible. If it were established, we should be tempted to follow him in rendering by "deer-possessor" the name of the deity Kagu-tsu-chi, of whom were born the eight gods of mountains, and whose slaying forms the title of the next section. That the fire-deity should be connected with the mountain-deities, and thereby with the deer who roam about the mountains and furnish the hunter with a motive for penetrating into their recesses, is of course but natural. The character with which Kagu is written signifies "fragrant"; but it has been suggested that the Japanese word may be connected with an signifying "heaven-descended," in allusion to the supposed origin of the mountain as related in an old geographical work (now lost) treating of the Province of Iyo.

^33:13 Naki-saha-me-no-kami. The sense of the second word of the compound is "marsh" or "stream but Motowori seems right in considering the character to be here used phonetically as an abbreviation of isaha from isatsu, "to weep."

^33:14 I.e., dead.

^33:15 Etymology uncertain.

^33:16 For this name see Sect. XIX, Note 6.

^33:17 Etymology uncertain.

[SECT. VIII.--THE SLAYING OF THE FIRE-DEITY.]

Then His Augustness the Male-Who-invites, drawing the ten-grasp sabre [*1] that was augustly girded on him, [32] cut off the head of his child the Deity Shining-Elder. Hereupon the names of the Deities that were born from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword

[p. 36]

and bespattered the multitudinous rock-misses were: the Deity Rock-Splitter, [*2] next the Deity Root-Splitter, next the Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity. [*3] The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part [*4] of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were: the Awfully-Swift-Deity, [*5] next the Fire-Swift-Deity, [*6] next the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, [*7] another name for whom is the Brave-Snapping-Deity, [*8] and another name is the Luxuriant-Snapping Deity. The names of the Deities that were next born from the blood that collected [33] on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his fingers were: the Deity Kura-okami and next the Deity Kura-mitsuha. [*9]

All the eight Deities in the above list, from the Deity Rock-Splitter to the Deity Kura-mitsuha, are Deities that were born from the august sword.

The name of the Deity that was born from the head of the Deity Shining-Elder, who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains. [*10] The name of the Deity that next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains. [*11] The name of the Deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost-Mountains. [*12] The name of the Deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left hand [*13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dense[ly-Wooded]-Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his right hand [*13] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outlying, Mountains. The name of the Deity that was next born from his left foot [*14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains.

[p. 37]

[paragraph continues] The name of the Deity that was next born from his right foot [*14] was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains. (Eight Deities in all from the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains to the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains). So the name of the sword with which [the Male-Who-Invites] cut off [his son's head] was Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended, and another name was Majestic Point-Blade-Extended. [*15]

Footnotes

^35:1 [p. 37] One "grasp" is defined as "the breadth of four fingers when the hand is clenched," so that the meaning intended to be conveyed is of a big sabre ten hand-breadths long. The length of sabres and of beards was measured by such "grasps" or "hand-breadths."

^36:2 The original names of this deity and the next are Iha-saku-no-kami and Ne-saki-no-kami.

^36:3 Or the Rock-Elder, i.e., the Male Deity the Elder of the Rocks, if with Motowori we regard the second tsu of the original name Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami as being equivalent to chi or ji, supposed to be "the honorific appellation of males" elsewhere rendered "elder." The translation in the text proceeds on the assumption that this tsu represents mochi: The purport of the name remains much the same whichever of these two views be adopted.

^36:4 Explained by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" through a character signifying "the knob at the end of the guard of the sword.'--

(Williams' "Syllabic Dictionary.")

^36:5 Mika-haya-bi-no-kami. Motowori seems to be right in regarding mika as equivalent to ika, the root of ikameshiki, "stern," "awful," and bi as the root of buru, a verbalising suffix.

^36:6 Hi-haya-bi-no-kami.

^36:7 Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami, written with the characters . The translator has without much hesitation followed Motowori's interpretation.

^36:8 Take-futsu-no-kami. The text name is Toyo-futsu-no-kami. Futsu is interpreted in the sense of "the sound of snapping" by reference to a Passage in the "Chronicles" where it occurs written both ideographically and phonetically in the name of the deity Futsu-no-mi-tama.

^36:9 The etymology of both these name is obscure. Kura, the first element of each compound, signifies "dark."

^36:10 [p. 38] This is the explanation of the original name Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami which is given in the "Secret of the Chronicles of Japan," and is approved by the later commentators.

^36:11 Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami. The English rendering is uncertain, as it rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, deriving odo from ori do (), "descending place," "way down."

^36:12 The original names of this and the following five deities are: Oku-yama-tsumi-no-kami, Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Ha-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, Hayama-tsu-mi-no-kami and To-yama-tsumi-no-kami. Shigi, here translated "dense," seems to be almost certainly a contraction of Shigeki, which has that signification. Ha-yama is a term for which it is hard to find an exact English equivalent. It denotes the lesser hills or first visibly rising ground forming the approach to an actual mountain-range. The signification of to in the last name of the set is disputed. Mabuchi takes it in the sense of "gate." The translator prefers Motowori's view: but after all, the difference in meaning does not amount to much. A third derivation proposed by Motowori is tawa-yama, i.e. "mountains with folds."

^36:13 Or "arm."

^36:14 Or "leg."

^37:14 Or "leg."

^37:15 These two names are in the original Ame-no-wo-ha-bori and Itsu-no-wo-ha-bori. Their import is not absolutely clear, but they seem to designate a weapon broad towards the point, such as is represented in the illustrations given in Vol. I, pp. 19-20 and Vol. II, pp. 4-5 of the "Tokiha-Gusa."

[p. 38]

[SECT. IX.--THE LAND OF HADES.]

Thereupon [His Augustness the Male Who-Invites], wishing to meet and see his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, followed after her to the Land of Hades. [*1] So when from the palace she raised the [35] door and came out to meet him, [*2] His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I and thou made are not yet

finished making; so come back!" Then Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites answered, saying:

[p. 39]

[paragraph continues] "Lamentable indeed that thou earnest not sooner! I have eaten of the furnace of Hades. [*3] Nevertheless, as I reverence [*4] the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely elder brother, I wish to return. [*5] Moreover [*6] I will discuss it particularly with the Deities of Hades. [*7] Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back inside the palace; and as she tarried there very long, he could not wait. So having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth [*8] of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch [of his hair], he lit one light [*9] and went in and looked. Maggots were swarming. and [she was] rotting, and in her head dwelt the Great-Thunder, [36] in her breast dwelt the Fire-Thunder, in her left hand [*10] dwelt the Young-Thunder, in her right hand [*10] dwelt the Earth-Thunder, in her left foot [*11] dwelt the Rumbling-Thunder, in her right foot [*11] dwelt the Couchant-Thunder:--altogether eight Thunder-Deities had been born and dwelt there. [*12] Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back, whereupon his younger sister Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "Thou hast put me to shame," and at once sent the Ugly-Female-of-Hades [*13] to pursue him. So His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites took his black august head-dress [*14] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes. While she picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as she still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts. While she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his Younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-Deities with a thousand and five hundred warriors of Hades to pursue [37]

[p. 40]

him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sabre that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back hand; [*15] and as they still pursued, he took, on reaching the base of the Even Pass of Hades, [*16] three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back. Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites announced to the peaches: "Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living people [*17] in the Central Land of Reed-Plains [*18] when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!"--and he gave [to the peaches] the designation of Their Augustnesses Great-Divine-Fruit. [*19] Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock, [*20] and [with it] blocked up the Even Pass of Hades, and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings; [*21] and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness! If thou do this, I will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses. [*22] In this manner each day a thousand people would surely be born." So Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades. [*23] Again it is said that, owing to her having pursued and reached [her elder brother], she is called the Road-Reaching-Great-Deity. [*24] Again the rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hades is called the Great-Deity-of-the-Road-Turning-back, [*25]

[p. 41]

and again it is called the Blocking-Great-Deity-of-the-Door-of-Hades. [*26] So what was called the Even-Pass-of-Hades is now called the Ifuya-Pass [*27] in the Land of Idzumo.

[p. 42] [p. 43]

Footnotes

^38:1 [p. 41] The characters in the original which are here rendered Hades are , lit. "Yellow Stream," a Chinese name for the Underworld to which a remark of Mencius and a story in the "Tso Chuan" appear to have given rise. They here represent the Japanese word Yomo or Yomi, which we find phonetically written with the characters in the name of Yomo-tsu-shiko-me a little further on, and which is defined by Motowori as "an underworld,.... the habitation of the dead,.... the land whither, when they die, go all men, whether noble or mean, virtuous or wicked." The orthodox Japanese derivation of Yomi is from Yoru, "night," which would give us for Yomo-tsu-kuni some such rendering as "the Land of Gloom." A suggestion quoted by Arawi Hakuseki ("Toga," art. Idzumi) that the word may really be but a mispronunciation of Yama, the Sanscrit name of the Buddhist god of hell, is however worthy of consideration; but it seems best on the whole to translate Yomi or Yomo by "Hades," a term which is itself of uncertain derivation, and the signification attached to which closely resembles the Japanese Shinto notion of the world beyond, or rather beneath, the grave.

^38:2 The original text seems to be corrupt, and Motowori, unable to make anything of leaves without any Japanese reading (see the remarks in his Commentary, Vol. VI. pp. 5-6). Mr. Aston, in the version of this passage given in the Chrestomathy appended to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," follows Motowori in not translating , but does not allude to the difficulty.

^39:3 I.e. "of the food of Hades." It would be more obvious (following the text) to translate "I have eaten in the doors [i.e. in the house] of Hades;--but the character in this place stands almost certainly for , "a place for cooking," "a furnace."

^39:4 The word kashikoshi (), here translated "reverence," exactly corresponds to the modern polite idiom osore-iri-mashita, for which there is no precise equivalent in English, but which conveys some such sentiment as "I am overpowered by the honour you do me," "I am sorry you should have taken the trouble."

^39:5 Q.d. "with thee to the land of the living."

^39:6 [p. 42]The original here has the character which signifies "moreover" as in this translation, and Motowori's proposed emendation to has for it the authority of no manuscript or earlier printed edition. In his "Records of Ancient Matters with the Ancient Reading" he actually substitutes this very new reading, accompanying it in kana with the Japanese words ashita ni, "in the morning." But what is to become of the text if we are at liberty to alter it to suit our convenience,--for there is more than one other passage where is similarly used?

^39:7 Yomo-tsu-kami. Both Motowori and Hirata take the word "Deities" in the Plural, and the translator therefore renders it in that number, though the Singular would be at least equally suitable to the text as it stands. Of the Deities of Hades little or nothing is known. Conf. Note 23 to this Section.

^39:8 Literally "the male pillar," i.e. the large tooth of which there is one at each end of the comb.

^39:9 The use of the expression "lit one light," where it would have been more natural to say simply "lit [a] light," is explained by a gloss in the "Chronicles," which informs us that "at the present day" the lighting of a single light is considered unlucky, as is also the throwing away of a comb at night-time. It is allowed that the gloss is a late addition, and its statement might perhaps be considered a mere invention made to account for the peculiar expression in the text. Motowori tells us however that "it is said by the natives" that these actions are still (latter part of 18th century) considered unlucky in the province of Ihami, and the same superstition also survives, as the translator is assured, in Yedo itself. It is to be understood that it was

the large tooth broken off from the comb which the god lighted.

^39:10 Or "arm."

^39:11 Or "leg."

^39:12 The Japanese names of the eight Thunder-Deities are: Oho-ikadzuchi, Ho-no-ikadzuchi, Kuro-ikadzuchi, Saka-ikadzuchi, Waki-ikadzuchi, Tsuchi-ikadzuchi, Naru-ikadzuchi, and Fushi-ikadzuchi. Moribe in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, has some observation on the appropriateness of each of these names which the student will do well to consult if the work should be published.

^39:13 Yomo-tsu-shiko-me.

^39:14 We might perhaps with equal propriety render by "wreath" the word here translated head- dress,--leaves and flowers having been the earliest ornaments for the hair. In later time, however, it has been used [p. 43] to designate any sort of head-dress, and that is also the dictionary meaning of the Chinese character with which it is written. The Japanese words for "head-dress" and "creeper" are homonymous, and indeed the former is probably but a specialised acceptation of the latter.

^40:15 I.e., brandishing it behind him.

^40:16 Or Flat Hill of Hades, Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, said by Motowori to form the frontier-line between Hades and the World of the Living. See also Note 27 to this Section.

^40:17 The three characters here rendered "people" are evidently (Motowori notwithstanding) meant to be equivalent to the common Chinese expression , which has that signification. The word translated "living" means literally "present," "visible."

^40:18 Ashi-hara-no-naka-tsu-kuni, a common periphrastic designation of Japan. It is better to translate the name thus than to render it by "the Land in the Middle of the Reed-Plains," a forced interpretation which Motowori and Hirata would only seem to adopt in order to veil the fact that one of the most ancient and revered names of their native land was imitated from that of China.--everything Chinese being an abomination in the sight of these ardent Shintoists. Yamazaki Suiga, as quoted by. Tanigaha Shisei, is more sensible when he remarks that each country naturally considers itself central and foreign countries barbarous and that Japan is not peculiar in being looked on by its inhabitants as the centre of the universe. This is also the view taken by the other earlier scholars.

^40:19 Oho-kamu-dzumi-no-mikoto. The difference between Singular and Plural is not often present to the Japanese mind, and though there were three peaches, we might just as well render their name by the words "His Augustness, etc.," considering the three as forming together but one divinity. The interpretation of the name here adopted is the simple and natural one which Motowori borrowed from Tanigaha Shisei.

^40:20 I.e., a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

^40:21 That some kind of leave-taking and separation is intended seems certain; but the precise import of the characters in the text is not to be ascertained. Motowori's "Commentary, Vol. VI, pp. 29-30 and Vol. X, pp. 52-55, should be consulted for an elaborate discussion of the various interpretations which they may be made to bear. Moribe, in his Critique on this Commentary, argues that "divorced each other" is the proper signification of the words, and supports his opinion by the Parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

^40:22 [p. 44] I.e., "I will cause fifteen hundred women to bear children." For the custom of erecting a separate hut for a woman about to be delivered see

Introduction, <page xxviii>.)

^40:23 Yomo-tsu-oho-kami. On this rather embarrassing statement Motowori is silent, and Hirata simply says: "It must be supposed that the 'Deities of Hades' previously mentioned had been its 'Great Deities' up to this time, a position which was henceforward assumed by Her Augustness Izana-mi (the Female-Who-Invites"). Conf. Note 7 to this Section.

^40:24 Chi-shiki-no-oho-kami. [This is Motowori's reading. We might also read Michi-shiki-no-oho-kami]. Motowori conclusively proves that "reaching" is the signification of the word shiki which is here so translated. That it was already obscure at the time of the compilation of these "Records" is however shown by the fact that it is written syllabically in the first instance, and with a "borrowed character" (i.e., a homonymous word) in the second.

^40:25 Because the goddess was turned back by it on the road where she was pursuing her brother-husband. The original is Chi-gaheshi [or Michi-gaheshi]-no-oho-kami.

^41:26 Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-oho-kami.

^41:27 Ifuya-zaka. Moribe in his "Idzu-no-chi-waki" conjectures that Ifuya may be derived from Yufu-yami, "evening darkness," an etymology which has at least the merit of suiting the legend.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 44]

[SECT. X.--THE PURIFICATION OF THE AUGUST PERSON.]

Therefore the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites said: "Nay! hideous! I have come to a hideous and polluted land,--I have! [*1] So I will perform the purification of my august person." So he went out to a plain [covered with] ahagi [*2] at a small river-mouth near Tachibana [*3] in Himuka [*4] in [the island of] Tsukushi, and purified and cleansed himself. So the name of the Deity that was born from the august staff which he threw down was the Deity Thrust-Erect-Come-Not-Place. [*5] The name of [40] the Deity that was born from the august girdle which he next threw down was the Deity Road-Long-Space. [*6]

[p. 45]

[paragraph continues] The name of the Deity that was born from the august skirt which he next threw down was the Deity Loosen-Put. [*7] The name of the Deity that was born from the august upper garment which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-Trouble. [*8] The name of the Deity that was born from the august trousers which he next threw down was the Road-Fork-Deity. [*9] The name of the Deity that was born from the august hat which he next threw down was the Deity Master-of-the-Open-Mouth. [*10] The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august left hand [*11] which he next threw down were the Deities Offing-Distant, [*12] next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Offing, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Offing. The names of the Deities that were born from the bracelet of his august right hand [41] which he next threw down were: the Deity Shore-Distant, next the Deity Wash-Prince-of-the-Shore, next the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore.

The twelve Deities mentioned in the foregoing [*13] list from the Deity Come-Not-Place down to the Deity Intermediate-Direction-of-the-Shore are Deities that were born from his taking off the things that were on his person.

Thereupon saying: "The water in the upper reach is [too] rapid; the water in the

lower reach is [too] sluggish," he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and, as he washed, there was first born the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils, and next the Wondrous-Deity-of-Great-Evils. [*14] These two Deities are the Deities that were born from the filth [he contracted] when he went to that polluted, hideous land. [*15] The names of the Deities that were next born to rectify those evils were:

[p. 46]

the Divine-Rectifying-Wondrous Deity, next the Great-Rectifying-Wondrous-Deity, [*16] next the Female-Deity-Idzu. [*17] The names of the Deities that were next born, as he bathed at the bottom of the water, were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Bottom, [*18] and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed in the middle [of the water] were: the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle. The names of the Deities that were born as he bathed at the top of the water were the Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Surface, and next His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface. These three Ocean-Possessing Deities are the Deities held in reverence as their ancestral Deities by the Chiefs of Adzumi. [*19] So the Chiefs of Adzumi are the descendants of His Augustness Utsushi-hi-gana-saku, [*20] a child of these Ocean-Possessing Deities. [*21] These three Deities His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Bottom, His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Middle, and His Augustness Elder-Male-of-the-Surface are the three Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. [*22] The name of the Deity that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye was the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. [*23] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his right august eye was His Augustness, Moon-Night Possessor. [*24] The name of the Deity that was next born as he washed his august nose was His Brave-Swift-impetuous-Male-Augustness. [*25]

The fourteen Deities in the foregoing list from the Wondrous-Deity-of-Eighty-Evils down to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness are Deities born from the bathing of his august person.

[p. 47] [p. 48] [p. 49]

Footnotes

^44:1 [p. 47] The words "I have" thus repeated are an attempt to render the concluding words ari keri of the sentence in the original, by which, though they have no particular sense, the author evidently set great store, as he writes them syllabically. They may be considered to emphasize what goes before and, says Motowori, "convey the idea of lamentation." The idiom occurs some half-dozen times in the course of the present work.

^44:2 This botanical name is identified by Arawi Hakuseki and Hirata with the modern hagi, or "bushclover" (lespdeza of various species). The received opinion used to be that the awoki (Aucuba Japonica) was here intended.

^44:3 Tachibana is understood to be the general designation of trees of the orange tribe. (See however Sect. LXXIV, Note 7). Here it is used as a proper name.

^44:4 This name, which signifies "sun-confronting," was not unnaturally bestowed on a province in the eastern part of the westernmost of the larger Japanese islands, as it might well be conceived as lying "opposite the sun." It has, however, been to have originally denoted the whole of the island in question. In any case the name is not inappropriate, as the island has a long eastern sea-board.

^44:5 In our text Tsuki-tatsu-funa-do. But funa should almost certainly be ku-na, and the name (which has here been translated accordingly) is then

illustrated by the more extended version of this myth which is given in the "Chronicles," where we read that the god (probably addressing his sister) threw down his staff with the words: "Come no further." "Stand" must be understood in a Transitive sense: the god stood his staff up by thrusting it into the sand.

^44:6 This is Moribe's explanation ("Idzu-no-Chi-waki." Vol. IV, p. 44) of the meaning of the original name Michi-no-naga-chiha-no-kami, the syllable ha of which is considered by him to be an alternative form of ma (, "space"). It is however a great crux, and Motowori confesses his inability to explain it satisfactorily. Other views as to the import of the syllable in question will be found in the "Jin-dai no maki Mo-shiho-gusa." Vol. II. p. 29.

^45:7 This seems to be the meaning of the original name, if we retain the reading Toki-okashi-no-kami. See however Motowori's remarks in loco.

^45:8 Wadzurahi-no-ushi-no-kami.

^45:9 Chi-mata-no-kami.

^45:10 [p. 48] Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami. The English rendering of this obscure name proceeds on the assumption that Motowori is correct when he proposes to consider kuhi as equivalent in this place to kuchi, "mouth." The gaping trousers no longer filled by the deity's legs would perhaps suggest the idea of an open mouth, though it is true that this is not the deity said to have been actually born from that portion of the attire.

^45:11 or "arm."

^45:12 The names of this deity and the five who follow are in the original Oki-zakaru-no-kami, Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami, Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami, He-zakaru-no-kami, He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami and He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami. The word "wash," by which for want of a better one the Substantive nagisa has been rendered, must be understood to signify the part nearest to the strand o the sea or of a river,--the boundary of the waves. The third and sixth of this set of names, in which the syllables kahi-bera (here represented by "Intermediate Direction") offer a good deal of difficulty, have been translated in accordance with Motowori's explanation of their probable meaning.

^45:13 Lit. "right." In Chinese and Japanese compositions the lines follow each other from right to left instead of from top to bottom as with us. "Right" therefore signifies "foregoing," and "left," "following."

^45:14 The names of these two deities in the original are Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami and Oho-maga-tsu-bi-no-kami.

^45:15 Viv. to Hades.

^46:16 The names of these two deities in the original are Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami and Oho-na-ho-bi-no-kami.

^46:17 Idzu-no-me-no-kami. The word Idzu is incomprehensible, unless indeed, following Motowori, we identify this goddess with the god and goddess Haya-aki-dzu-hiko and Haya-aki-dsu-hime mentioned in Sect. VI, Note 10, and consider idzu as standing by apheresis for aki-dsu.

^46:18 The original names of this deity and the five who follow are Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, Soko-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mi-koto, Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, Naka-dzutsu-no-wo-mikoto, Uha-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, and Uha-dzutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto. There is the usual doubt as to the signification to be assigned to the syllable tsu in the second, fourth and last of these names. If it really means, not "elder" but "possessor," we should be obliged to translate by "the Bottom--Male." etc.

^46:19 Adumi-no-murazhi. This name is said by Motowori to be taken from that of

a place in the province of Shinano. But Moribe shows that [p. 49] at any rate the etymology of the word may be traced to ama-tsu-mochi, "Possessors of fishermen."

^46:20 It is impossible to translate this name which, according to Motowori, is derived from those of two districts in Shinano to which the word utsushi (for utsutsu, "present" or "living") is prefixed.

^46:21 Attention must again be drawn to the vagueness of the Japanese perception of the distinction between Singular and Plural. As three deities are particularly and repeatedly mentioned in the foregoing text, we are forced to translate this passage in the Plural; and yet how could one child have three fathers?

^46:22 Sumi-no-ye, also called Sumi-yoshi, i.e., by a play upon words, "pleasant to dwell in." The real etymology of sumi is not certain.--Instead of "the three Great Deities," we might translate by "the Great Deities of the Three Shrines."

^46:23 Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami (). The reading terasu, which is established by the authority of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and by almost universal usage, must not mislead the student into imagining that the Verb, because it is Causative in form, has a Causative meaning which would require some such English translation as "Heaven-Illuminating." The Causative form is simply Honorific, and the two words ama terasu signify, as Motowori explains, "shining in heaven."

^46:24 Tsuki-yomi-no-kami. There is no doubt as to a moon-god being intended, but the precise import of the name is disputed. The translator has followed Mabuchi's view as quoted by Motowori, and which is supported by the fact that, from classical times down to the present day, tsuku-yo or tsuki-yo has been a word in common use to denote a fine moonlight night. If we were to take yomi as one word, we should have to render it either by "Moon-Hades" or by "Moon-Darkness," which seem less appropriate designations, though still of plain enough intent. The characters , and , with which the name is variously written, seem all phonetic unless we might take the second set to mean the crescent (lit. "moon-bow).

^46:25 Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto. Susa, which is sometimes read Sosa, is rendered by the word "impetuous" in accordance with Mabuchi's View as quoted by Motowori. The first member of this compound name is frequently omitted.

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[p. 50]

[SECT. XI.--INVESTITURE OF THE THREE DEITIES; THE ILLUSTRIOUS AUGUST CHILDREN.]

At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying; "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten. three illustrious children," [with which words,] at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string [*1] forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was the August-Store-house-Shelf-Deity. [*2] Next he said of His Augustness Moon-Night-Possessor: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the "Night." [*3] Thus he charged him. Next he said to His-Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Plain." [*4]

Footnotes

^50:1 [p. 50] I.e., "the string of jewels." For these so-called "jewels" see Introduction, <page xxxi>.

^50:2 Mi-kura-tana-no-kami. Motowori comments on this name by saying that the necklace was doubtless so precious, that it was carefully kept by the goddess on a shelf in her store-house.

^50:3 Yoru-no-wosu-kuni.

^50:4 Una-bara.

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[SECT. XII.--THE CRYING AND WEEPING OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule

[p. 51]

[paragraph continues] [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard [*1] reached to the pit of his stomach. [*2] The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains, and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas. [*3] For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon [*4] as they all swarmed, [*5] and in all things [*6] every portent of woe arose. So the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail and weep?" He replied, saying: "I [*7] wail because I wish to depart to my [45] deceased mother's [*8] land, to the Nether Distant Land." [*9] Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shall not dwell in this land," [*10] and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. So the Great Deity the Male-Who-Invites dwells at Taga [*11] in Afumi. [*12]

Footnotes

^51:1 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

^51:2 Lit, "in front of his heart,"

^51:3 Sic in the original, to the perplexity of commentators.

^51:4 "Flies in the fifth moon" is the received interpretation of the original term sa-bahe. Conf. sa-tsuki, the old native name for the fifth moon.

^51:5 The text has here the character , "to be full," for which Motowori somewhat arbitrarily reads , "to bubble up," taking this word in the sense of swarming. The translator has endeavoured to preserve the vagueness of the original Japanese, which leaves it doubtful at first sight whether the flies or the deities should be regarded as the logical subject of the Verb. There is an almost identical passage near the beginning of Sect. XVI.

^51:6 Lit. "a myriad things," a Chinese phrase for totality.

^51:7 The Chinese character for the First-Personal Pronoun used here [p. 52] and below by this deity is the humble one signifying literally "servant" The commentators read it simply "I."

^51:8 The Japanese authorities simply read "mother." But the character , which is used in this place, specially designates a mother who is deceased.

^51:9 I.e., Hades. The translation follows Motowori's explanation of the original term Ne-no-kata-su-kuni, which is obscure.

^51:10 I.e., say the commentators, "in this realm of ocean which I granted to thee as thy domain." Probably, however, this is reading into the text more than it was meant to contain.

^51:11 Derivation unknown.

^51:12 From aha-umi, "fresh sea," i.e., "lake." The province of Afumi was doubtless so called from Lake Biha which occupies a great portion of its surface. It is also known as Chiku-tsu-Afumi, i.e., "the Nearer Afumi," in contradistinction to Toho-tsu-fumi (in modern pronunciations Totomi), i.e., "Distant Afumi," a province further to the East. The modern pronunciation of Afumi is Omi.

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[SECT. XIII.--THE AUGUST OATH]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave [*1] of the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: 'The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother [*2] is surely no good intent. [*3] It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to [46] her left and her right august arm, [*4] she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet

[paragraph continues] [long],--of five hundred jewels, [*5] and slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding [thereto] [*6] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad, [*7] and brandished and stuck her bow upright so that the top [*8] shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs, [*9] kicking away [the earth] like rotten snow, [*10] and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August-Deity [our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause [47] of my wailing and weeping, I said 'I wail because I wish to go to my deceased mother's land,'--whereupon the Great-August-Deity said: 'Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is therefore solely with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?' Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let each of us swear, [*11] and produce children." So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven. [*12] the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness to hand her the ten-grasp sabre which was girded on him and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound [*13] having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of

[paragraph continues] Heaven, [*14] and having crunchingly crunched them, the [48] Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, [*15] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, [*16] another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness, Princess-of-the-Torrent. [*17] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining. Great-August-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],--of five hundred jewels,--that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool. Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conquer-I-Conqueror-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears. [*18] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the [49] jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi. [*19] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august head-dress, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven. [*20] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm, [*21] and having crunchingly crunched them,

[p. 55]

he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life. [*22] The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm, [*23] and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu. [*24] (Five Deities in all).

[p. 56] [p. 57]

Footnotes

^52:1 [p. 55] The English locution "to take leave" exactly represents the Chinese character here used which, from having the sense of "asking permission," has come to mean "bidding adieu."

^52:2 He was her younger brother. But see what is said on the subject of names expressive of relationship on <page xxxvii> of Introduction. The phonetic characters are here used to represent , "elder brother."

^52:3 Literally "heart," here and elsewhere.

^52:4 Or "hand."

^53:5 The original is here obscure, but the translator has, as usual. followed the Chinese characters as far as possible, and has been chiefly guided by Moribe's interpretation. According to this, the "eight feet" (which Moribe takes to mean simply "several feet") must be supposed to refer to the length of the necklace which, he says, probably resembled a Buddhist rosary, only that the beads were somewhat larger. For a discussion of the various interpretations to which this phrase descriptive of the Sun-Goddess's ornaments may be subjected, see Note 4 to Mr. Satow's third paper on the "Rituals" in Vol. IX Pt. II, p. 198 of these "Transactions," and Moribe's "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II. pp. 4-5, s.v. Ya-saka-ni no iho-tsu no mi sumaru no tama. Mr. Satow, adopting some of the bolder etymologies of the Japanese commentators, translates thus: "the ever-bright curved (or glittering) jewels, the many assembled jewels," and concludes that "a long string of, perhaps, claw-shaped stone beads" was what the author meant to describe.

^53:6 Hirata supposes this additional quiver to have been slung in front.

^53:7 Motowori's long note on the expression taka-tomo, to be found in Vol. VII, pp. 39-40 of his "Commentary" seems to prove that "high-low-sounding elbow-pad" (being written phonetically for) is the most likely meaning,--these pads, of which one was worn on the left elbow, having been made of skin. Arawi Hakuseki however takes in its [p. 56] literal sense of "bamboo" and Moribe suggests the () which occurs so often in proper names with the signification of "bold," "brave," or "stout."

^53:8 The reading yu-hara, here rendered "top [of the bow]" is doubtful, and yu-hadsu, "bow-notch," has been proposed as an emendation.

^53:9 I.e., "both legs penetrated into the ground up to the thigh," a proof of the vigour with which she used her limbs in stamping.

^53:10 Lit. "bubble-snow."

^53:11 I.e., "pledge our faith," "bind ourselves," in order to show forth the sincerity of our intentions.--Hirata has a long note on the word ukehi, here rendered "swear" (elsewhere as a Substantive, "oath,") which the student will do well to consult. It is contained in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. VII, pp. 61-63.

^53:12 Ame-no-yasu-kaha (according to Motowori's reading Ame-no-yasu-no-kaha), our Milky Way. The "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" perhaps preserve the true etymology of the word by writing it Ama-no-ya-se-kaha, i.e., "the Heavenly River of eight currents (or reaches)." This would mean simply "a broad river." The text literally says: "having placed the Tranquil River of Heaven in the middle," etc.; but the sense of the clause is that given in the translation.

^53:13 These words seem, as Motowori says. to have been erroneously brought in here from the next sentence, where they come in appropriately.

^54:14 Ame-no-ma-na-wi. The interpretation adopted is that which has the authority of Motowori and Hirata. Perhaps only "Heavenly Well" is intended. The above authorities warn us that the word wi, "well," was not in ancient days restricted to its modern sense, but was used to designate any place at which water could be drawn, and Motowori thinks that Heaven contained several such. That mentioned in the text seems to have been a pool in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven.

^54:15 This is the interpretation of the original name Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto which is proposed by Moribe. It is less far-fetched, and agrees better with the name of the sister deity Princess-of-the-Torrent, than do the other explanations that have been attempted. The alternative name is Oki-tsu-shima-no-mikoto.

^54:16 Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto, ichiki being an unusual form of itsuki. The island, which is in the Inland Sea, is still celebrated, but bears in common parlance the name of Miya-shima, i.e., "Temple Island." [p. 57] The alternative name is Sa-yori-bime-no-mikato, in which sa is an Ornamental Prefix not calling for translation.

^54:17 Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.

^54:18 Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto. The word mimi ("ears") forms part of a large number of Ancient Japanese proper names. Motowori, who of course passes over in silence the fact that large ears are considered lucky, not only in Japan, but also in China and Korea, suggests the etymology hi hi or bi bi (), i.e., the word "wondrous" or "miraculous" repeated. But there are examples of such names in which the interpretation of mimi as "ears" is unavoidable. Thus Prince Umayado (commonly called Sho-to-ku Tai-shi) had also the name of Yatsu-mimi no Tai-shi bestowed upon him on account of his extraordinary intelligence. Is it not therefore simpler in all cases to allow to

the word this its natural meaning? The proper names in mi do however undoubtedly offer some difficulty, and Motowori scarcely seems content with his own derivation of the troublesome syllable. Oshi, as in other cases, is taken to represent ohoshi, "great"; and after much hesitation the translator has followed Motowori in regarding ho likewise as an abbreviated form of that word.

^54:19 Ame-no signifies "of Heaven" or "heavenly." The syllables hohi are incomprehensible.

^54:20 Amatsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto.

^54:21 Or "hand."

^55:22 Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto.

^55:23 This god does not seem to be known by any other name: but is conjectured by Hirata to be identical with Ame-no-hohi, the second of these divine brothers. Kumanu, or less archaically Kumano, is said to be, not the well-known Kumano in the province of Kishiu, but a place in Idzumo near Suga (see Sect. XIX, Notes 1 and 2). The name is written with the characters, , "bear moor." The native commentators however interpret it as a corruption of Komori-nu, , "the moor of retirement," on account of a tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" of Izanami (the Female-Who-invites) having been interred at the Kishiu Kumano.

^55:24 There is no footnote 24--JBH.

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[p. 58]

[SECT. XIV.--THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF THE DIVISION OF THE AUGUST MALE CHILDREN AND THE AUGUST FEMALE CHILDREN.]

Hereupon the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity said to His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "As for the seed [*1] of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the seed of the three female Deities [50] born first, their birth was from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division. So Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity born first, dwells in the Inner temple of Munakata. [*2] The next, Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, dwells in the middle temple of Munakata. The next, Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent, dwells in the outer temple [*3] of Munakata. These three Deities are the three Great Deities [*4] held in reverence by the Dukes of Munakata. [*5] So His Augustness Brave-Rustic-Illuminator, child of His Augustness Ame-no-hohi, one of the five children born afterwards ([*6] this is the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Idzumo, [*7] of the Rulers of the Land of Musashi, [*8] of the Rulers of the Upper Land of Unakami, [*9] of the Rulers of the Lower Land of Unakami, [*10] of the Rulers of the Land of Izhimu, [*11] of the Departmental Suzerains of the Island of Tsu [*12] and of the Rulers of the Land of Tohotsu-Afumi [*13]). The next, His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven (is the Ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Ofushi-kafuchi, [*14] of the Chiefs of Nukatabe-no-yuwe, [*15] of the Rulers of the Land of Ki, [*16] of the Suzerains of Tanaka [*17] in Yamato, of the Rulers of the Land of Yamashiro, [*18] of the Rulers of the Land of Umaguta, [*19] of the Rulers of the Land of Kine [*20] in Michi-no-Shiri, [*21] of the Rulers of the Land of Suhau, [*22] of the Rulers of Amuchi, [*23] in Yamato, of the Departmental Suzerains of Takechi, [*24] of the Territorial Lords of Kamafu, [*25] and of the Rulers of Sakikusabe [*26]).

[p. 59] [p. 60]

Footnotes

^58:1 [p. 59] I.e., the origin.

^58:2 A place in the province of Chikuzen. The name signifies either "breast-shape" or "body-shape."

^58:3 Or "sea-shore temple."

^58:4 Or "'the Great Deities of the three shrines."

^58:5 Munakata-no-kimi. Remember that all the names in this and similar lists are hereditary "gentile names" (see Introduction, <page xvi>), and that "Duke" and the other tides used in this translation to designate them must only be regarded as approximations towards giving the force of the Japanese originals, which are themselves by no means always clear, either etymologically or historically. Indeed Motowori in a chapter entitled "Kuni no Miyatsuko" () in his "Tama-Katsuma," Vol. VI, p. 25, remarks that the distinctions obtaining between the various titles of Kimi, Wake, Murazhi, etc., are no longer to be ascertained, if indeed they were ever sharply drawn, and that Kuni no Miyatsuko (here rendered "Rulers of the Land") seems to have been a general term including all the rest, and roughly corresponding to the modern title of Daimyo.--It must be well understood that all these names, though properly and originally denoting an office, were inherited as tides, and ended (after the custom of conferring new ones had died out) by being little more than an extra surname appended to the surname proper (uji). This kind of quasi-official quasi-titular surname is what is called by the Japanese a kabane, which the translator, for want of a better equivalent, renders, by "gentile name." Motowori's learned note in Vol. XXXIX, pp. 14-15 of his Commentary, should be consulted for a full exposition of this somewhat intricate subject, on which there has been much misapprehension, chiefly owing to the want of a fitting Chinese character to denote the word kabane.

^58:6 Here and throughout the work passages of this nature containing genealogies are in all the editions printed small, and might therefore be supposed to be either intended as foot-notes, or to be later glosses. Motowori however rightly rejects such an inference. To an English reader the word "this" may seem, by disturbing the grammar of the sentence, to support that inference; but in Japanese construction little importance need he attached to the presence of this double Nominative.--The name in the original of the ancestral deity whose children are here enumerated is Taka-Hira-Tori-no-mikoto, and the interpretation thereof in the sense given in the translation is Motowori's Hira-tori being supposed by him to stand for Hina-teri.

^58:7 Idzumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.

^58:8 [p. 60] Muzashi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. In classical and modern usage Musashi does not take the nigori.

^58:9 Kami-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Unakami was a part of what forms the modern province of Kadzusa. The name probably signifies "on the sea."

^58:10 Shimo-tsu-Unakami-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko.

^58:11 Izhimu-no-kuni-miyatsuko. Izhimu (given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained" as Izhimi) was a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is unknown.

^58:12 Tsushima-no-agata-no-atahe.

^58:13 Toho-tsu-afumi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. In modern times Toho-tsu-afumi has been contracted to Tohotafumi and is pronounced Totomi. The name signifies "distant fresh sea" (i.e. "distant lake") the province which bears it being thus designated in reference to a large lagoon which it contains, and in

contradistinction to Chika-tsu-afumi, "near fresh sea," the name of the province in which lies Lake Biha. In modern times the latter has come to be known simply as Afumi (pronounced Omi), and the original connection of ideas between its name and that of Totomi is lost sight of.

^58:14 Ohoshi-kafuchi-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ohoshi-kafuchi (in modern times pronounced Ochikochi) signifies "within the great rivers."

^58:15 Nukatabe-no-yuwe-no-murazhi. The meaning of this name is not certain, but yuwe seems to be the word for "bathing woman" mentioned in Sect. LXXI (Note 11). See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIV, p. 56 of his "Commentary" and the story of the origin of the name given in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, pp. 8-9, edit. of 1834).

^58:16 Kino-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Ki signifies "tree," and the province doubtless received this name from its forests. Motowori supposes the character to have been lost in this place, and reads Ubaraki (the modern Ibaraki), a portion of the province of Hitachi. See Vol. VII, pp. 75-76 of his "Commentary."

^58:17 Tanaka-no-atahe. The word tana-ka signifies "in the middle of rice-fields."

^58:18 Yamashiro-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. Yama-shiro signifies "behind the mountains," though it is now, by a play upon words, written with characters signifying "mountain-castle."

^58:19 Umaguta-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko, Umaguta is a portion of the modern province of Kadzusa. The etymology of the name is not known.

^58:20 [p. 61] Kiuhe-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. The etymology of the name and the position of the place are equally obscure.

^58:21 The modern province of Echigo, or perhaps any not well defined district in the north of Main Island. (See Section LX, Note 20.)

^58:22 Suhau-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. The etymology of Suhau is not known; but the name sounds Chinese.

^58:23 Amuchi-no-miyatsubo. The derivation of Amuchi is unknown.

^58:24 Takechi-no-agata-nushi. Takechi means "high market" or "high town."

^58:25 Kamafu-no-inaki. Kamafu was a portion of Afumi. Motowori's suggestion that the name may be derived from kama (gama), "a bullfrog," does not seem a happy one.

^58:26 Sakikusabe-no-miyatsuko. Sakikusa-be means literally "lily clan," saki-kusa, the old name for the lily (or one species of lily) being literally "the luck-plant." The story of the origin of this cognomen is to be found in the "Catalogue of Family Names," Vol. II, p. 9.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 61]

[SECT XV.--THE AUGUST RAVAGES OF HIS IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS]

Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity: "Owing to the sincerity of my intentions I have, in begetting children, gotten delicate females. judging from this, [*1] I have undoubtedly gained the victory! With these words, and impetuous with victory, he broke down

the divisions of the ricefields [*2] laid out by the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, filled up the ditches, and moreover strewed [53] excrements [*3] in the palace where she partook of the great food. [*4] So, though he did thus, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity upbraided him not, [*5] but said: "What looks like excrements must be something that His Augustness mine elder brother has vomited through drunkenness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the rice

[p. 62]

fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he grudges the land [they occupy [*6]] that His Augustness mine elder brother acts thus." But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful [*7] weaving-hall [*8] seeing to the weaving of, the august garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top [*9] of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse [54] which he had flayed with a backward flaying, [*10] at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that impegerunt privatas partes adversis radiis et obierunt. [*11]

Footnotes

^61:1 [p. 62] Literally "if one speak from this."

^61:2 The character used is , which in Chinese does not necessarily signify a rice-field. But in Japanese it seems to have been always limited to this narrower meaning, to which likewise the context here clearly points.

^61:3 In the original written which is partly ideographic and partly phonetic for kuso-mari. Motowori interprets it to signify "excrements and urine"; but the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" which he himself quotes goes to prove that mari had not the latter meaning, as does also another well-known passage in the "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter."

^61:4 read oh-nihe. The word nihe now denotes "a sacrifice," and oh-nihe no matsuri is the religious festival of the tasting of the first new rice of the season.

^61:5 We might, following classical usage, translate the Verb togamezu, which is written phonetically, by the words "took no heed" or "made no observation"; but in this passage it certainly seems to have the stronger and more specialized signification of "upbraiding," "scolding," which attaches to it in the colloquial dialect.

^62:6 I.e., he thinks that none of the land should be wasted in ditches and embankments, but should all be devoted to the production of food.

^62:7 The character used is "to shun," which in Japanese has approximately the meaning of "sacred." Thus a certain family of priests [p. 63] was called by the name of Imibe, lit. "the shunning clan," on account of the uncleanness from which they were bound to abstain.

^62:8 Written with characters signifying literally "garment-house," but the meaning, as understood by the native commentators is that given in the text.

^62:9 . This character is taken by the native commentators in the sense of , mune, "ridge-pole."

^62:10 I.e., it is supposed, beginning at the tail. That this was considered criminal may be seen by comparing Sect. XCVII. Note 3.

^62:11 In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" it is the goddess who injures herself with her shuttle, but without dying of the effects of the accident.

[SECT. XVI.--THE DOOR OF THE HEAVENLY ROCK-DWELLING.]

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, [*1] made it fast, [*2] and retired. Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal [*3] night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad [*4] Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe all arose. Therefore did the eight hundred myriad [*5] Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the bed [*6] of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer, [*7] child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night [*8] and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron [*9] from [55] the Heavenly Metal-Mountains, [*10] calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra, [*11] charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me [*12]

to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness jewel-Ancestor [*13] to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],--of five hundred jewels, [*14]--and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord [*15] [56] and His Augustness Great-Jewel, [*16] and causing them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true [*17] stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, [*18] and take cherrybark [*19] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination, [*20] and pulling up by pulling its roots a true cleyera japonica [*21] with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [57] [long],--of five hundred jewels,--and taking and tying to the middle branches [*22] the mirror eight feet [long], [*23] and taking and hanging upon its lower branches the white pacificatory offerings [*24] and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august Offerings, [*25] and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies, [*26] and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity [*27] standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming Female [*28] hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss of the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash, [*29] and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress, [*30] and binding the [58] leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, and laying a soundingboard [*31] before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity, [*32] and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privates

partes. [*33] Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: "Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of Heaven would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-Alarming-Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke saying: "We rejoice and are glad because there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon

the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-jewel drew the bottom-tied rope [*34] [59] along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light. [*35]

[p. 66] [p. 67] [p. 68] [p. 69]

Footnotes

^63:1 [p. 65] Motowori says that the word "rock" need not here be taken literally. But it is always (and the translator thinks rightly) so understood, and the compound considered to mean a cave in the rocks, which is also the expression found in the "Chronicles" ().

^63:2 The word sasu, which is here used, implies that the goddess [p. 66] made the door fast either by sticking something against it or by bolting it,--perhaps with one of the metal hooks of which mentioned is made in Sect. LXV (Note 7).

^63:3 Toko-yo, here properly written , and a few lines lower down semi-phonetically .

^63:4 Motowori supposes "myriad" to be a copyist's error for "evil." This clause is a repetition of one in Sect. XII.

^63:5 The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "eighty myriads."

^63:6 The Japanese word kohara, translated "bed," is thus defined in Dr, Hepburn's Dictionary, 2nd Edit. s v. Kawara: "That part of the stony bed of a river which is dry except in high water."

^63:7 Omohi-kane-no-kami, "He included in his single mind the thoughts and contrivances of many," says Motowori.

^63:8 I.e., as is generally believed, the barndoor fowl.

^63:9 The text has the character , "iron," which Hirata. reads ma-gane, lit. "true metal," the common Japanese term being kuro-gane, lit, "black metal," Motowori prefers to read simply kane, "metal" in general, The main text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles" omits to mention the metal of which the mirror was made; but "One account" has the character , "metal" in general, often in Chinese, but rarely if ever in old Japanese, with the specific sense of "gold." The "Chronicles of Old Matters" alone, which are of very doubtful authenticity, say that the mirror was made of copper. (Copper was not discovered in Japan till the eighth century of the Christian era, a few years before the discovery of gold). The best and most obvious course is to adhere to the character in the text, which is, as above stated, "iron."

^63:10 I.e., the mines. The original expression is Ame no kana-yama.

^63:11 Ama-tsu signifies "of Heaven," but the rest of this name is not to be explained. Motowori adopts from the "Chronicles" the reading, Ama-tsu-ma-ura, where the character used for ma signifies "true," and that for ura signifies "sea-shore." (It should be remarked that the forging of a spear by this personage is referred by the author of the "Chronicles," not to the "Divine Age" but to the reign of the Emperor Sui-zei.) Motowori also proposes to supplement after the name the words "to make a spear." Hirata identifies this god with Ama-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto, His Augustness Heavenly-One-Eye, who is however not mentioned. in the "Records." Obvius hujus nominis sensus foret "Coelestis Penis," sed nullius commentatoris auctoritate commendatur.

^63:12 This name is written in the "Chronicles" with characters signifying Stone-Coagulating-Old-Woman, which however seem to be as [p. 67] merely phonetic as those in the present text (). Motowori proposes the interpretation of "Again-Forging-Old-Woman" (, I-shikiri-tome) which is supported by a tradition preserved in the "Gleanings of the Ancient Story," where it is related that the mirror, not having given satisfaction at first, was forged a second time. There is a long note on the subjects of this name in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. IX, p. 56, where that author propounds the novel opinion that I-shi-ko-ri-do-me was not a goddess at all, but a god.

^64:13 Tama-noya-no-mikoto. The "Chronicles" write this name with characters signifying "Jewel-House," but such a reading seems less good.

^64:14 See Sect. XIII, Note 5.

^64:15 Ame-no-ko-ya-ne-no-mikoto, also reads Ame-no etc. and Ama tsu etc. The signification of the syllables ko-ya, rendered "beckoning ancestor" in accordance with Motowori's view connecting the name with the share taken by the god who bore it in the legend here narrated, is obscure. Mr. Satow thinks that Koya may be the name of a place (see these "Transactions" Vol. VII, Pt. IV. p. 400).

^64:16 Futo-tama-no-mikoto. The name is here rendered in accordance with the import of the Chinese characters with which it is written. Motowori, however, emits a plausible opinion when he proposes to consider tama as an abbreviation of tamuke, "holding in the hands as an offering," in connection with what we are told below about this deity and Ame-no-ko-ya-ne holding the symbolic offerings.

^64:17 The word "true" (ma) here and below is not much more than an Honorific.

^64:18 We might also, though less well, translate by "Mount Kagu in Heaven." This would suit the view of Motowori, who is naturally averse to the identification of this Mount Kagu with the well-known mountain of that name in Yamato (see Sect. VII, Note 12). But of course an European scholar cannot allow of such a distinction being drawn.

^64:19 Or perhaps the bark of the common birch is intended. The word in the original is haha-ka.

^64:20 See Mr. Satow's already quoted note in Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 425 et seq, and more especially pp. 430-432, of these "Transactions."

^64:21 In Japanese saka-ki. It is commonly planted in the precincts of Shinto temples.

^64:22 We might also translate in the Singular "to a middle branch," in order to conform to the rigid distinction which our language draws between Singular and Plural.

^64:23 [p. 68] A note to the edition of 1687 proposes to substitute the characters for and a note in the original tells us to read them not ya-ta, but ya-ata. Hereupon Motowori founds his derivation of ya-ta, from ya-atama, "eight heads," and supposes the mirror to have been, not eight feet in length, but octangular, while Moribe, who in the case of the jewels accepts the obvious interpretation "eight feet [long]," thinks that the mirror had "an eightfold flowery pattern" (yaha-na-gata) round its border. But both these etymologies are unsupported by the other cases in which the word ya-ta occurs, and are rendered specially untenable by the fact of the mirror and curved beads being spoken of together further on as the (Sect. XXXIII, Note 20).

^64:24 In rendering the original word nigi-te (here written phonetically, but elsewhere with the characters), the explanation given by Tanigaha Shisei, and indeed suggested by the characters, has been followed. Motowori's view does not materially differ, but he considers "pacificatory" or "softening" to be

equivalent to "soft" applied to the offerings themselves, which consisted of soft cloth, the syllable te of nigi-te being believed to be a contraction of tahe which signifies cloth. The white cloth in ancient times was made of the paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera), and the blue of hemp.

^64:25 The original word is written with the same character as the te of nigi-te translated "offerings" above.

^64:26 Or in the Singular "a grand liturgy," or "ritual."

^64:27 Ame-no-ta-jikara-wo-no-kami.

^64:28 Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto. The translator has followed the best authorities in rendering the obscure syllable uzu by the word "alarming." Another interpretation quoted in Tanigaha Shisei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" and adopted by Moribe in his "Idzu no Chi-waki," is that uzu means head-dress, and that the goddess took her name from the head-dress of spindle-tree leaves which she wore. The character , with which the syllables in question (here written phonetically) are rendered ideographically in the "Chronicles," signifies "metal head-gear," "flowers of gold or silver."

^64:29 Tasuki, "a cord or sash passed over the shoulders, round the back of the neck, and attached to the wrists, to strengthen the hands for the support of weights, whence the name, which means 'hand-helper.' It was thus different both in form and use from the modern tasuki, a cord with its two ends joined which is worn behind the neck, under the [p. 69] arms and round the back, to keep the modern loose sleeves out of the way when household duties are being performed." (E. Satow).

^64:30 I.e., making for herself a head-dress of spindle-tree leaves.

^64:31 The original of these words, uke fusete, is written phonetically, and the exact meaning of uke, here rendered "sounding-board," is open to doubt. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has the character, , which signifies a "trough," "manger" or "tub," and the commentators seem therefore right in supposing that the meaning intended to be conveyed in both histories is that of some kind of improvised wooden structure used for the purpose of amplifying sound.

^64:32 Neither the text nor Motowori's Commentary (which Hirata adopts word for word) is absolutely explicit, but the imitation and not the reality of divine possession appears to be here intended. In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," on the other hand, we seem to be reading of genuine possession.

^65:33 The subject of the Verb is not clear in many of the clauses of this immensely long sentence, which does not properly hang together. Some clauses read as if the different deities who take a part in the action did so of their own free will; but the intention of the author must have been to let a Causative sense be understood throughout, as he begins by telling us that a plan was devised by the deity Thought-Includer, which plan must have influenced all the subsequent details.

^65:34 Shiri-kume-naha, i.e., rope made of straw drawn up by the roots, which stick out from the end of the rope. Straw-ropes thus manufactured are still used in certain ceremonies and are called shime-naha, a corruption of the Archaic term, Motowori's explanation shows that this is more likely to be the proper signification of the word than "back-limiting-rope" (shiri-ho-kagiri-me-naha), which had been previously suggested by Mabuchi with reference to its supposed origin at the time of the event narrated in this legend.

^65:35 Motowori plausibly conjectures the character in the concluding words of this passage to be a copyist's error for , and the translator has accordingly rendered it by the English word "again." As it stands, the clause , though making sense, does not read like the composition of a Japanese.

[SECT. XVII.--THE AUGUST EXPULSION OF HIS-IMPETUOUS-MALE-AUGUSTNESS.]

Thereupon the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel together, and imposed on High-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness a fine of a thousand tables, [*1] and likewise cut his beard, and even caused the nails of his fingers and toes to be pulled out, and expelled him with a divine expulsion. Again he begged food of the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. [*2] Then the Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and her fundament, and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food. So the things that were born in the body of the Deity who had been killed were [60] [as follows]: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born rice-seeds, in her two ears was born millet, [*3] in her nose were born small beans, [*4] in her private parts was born barley, [*5] in her fundament were born large beans. [*6] So His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor [*7] caused them to be taken and used as seeds.

Footnotes

^70:1 [p. 70] I.e., "an immense fine." The student should consult Motowori's elaborate note on this passage in Vol. IX, pp. 1-5 of his Commentary. Tables of gifts are mentioned in Sect. XXXVII, Note 7 and Sect. XL, Note 13.

^70:2 Oho-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami. This personage (but without the title of "Deity") has already appeared in Section V, (Note 8) as the alternative personal name of the Island of Aha.

^70:3 Panicum Italicum.

^70:4 [p. 71] Phaseolus Radiatus.

^70:5 Or less probably "wheat."

^70:6 Soja Glycine.

^70:7 Kami-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-mikoto, the same deity as the one mentioned at the beginning of these "Records" under the shorter title of Kami-musu-hi-no-kami. (See Sect. I. Note 6.)

[XVIII.--THE EIGHT-FORKED SERPENT.]

So, having been expelled, [His-Swift-impetuous-Male-Augustness] descended to a place [called] Tori-kami [*1] at the head-waters of the River Hi [*2] in the Land of Idzumo. At this time some chopsticks [*3] came floating down the stream. So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman,--two of them,--who had a young girl between them, [*4] and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied,

saying: "I [*5] am an Earthly Deity, [*6] child of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor. [*7] I am called by the name of Foot-Stroking-Elder, [*8] my wife is called by the [61] name of Hand-Stroking Elder, and my daughter is called by the name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess." [*9] Again he asked: What is the cause of your crying?" [The old man answered] saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-forked serpent of Koshi [*10] has come every year and devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like akakagachi, [*11] it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover on

[p. 72]

its body grows moss, and also chamaecyparis [*12] and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly [62] bloody and inflamed." (What is called here akakagachi is the modern hohodzuki. [*13]) Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence, [*14] but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother [*15] to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroker-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." So His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do you distill some eight-fold refined liquor. [*16] Also make a fence round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie [together] eight platforms, [*17] on each platform put a liquor-vat, and into each vat pour [63] the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp sabre, [*18] that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it

[p. 73]

strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. [*19] This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword. [*20]

[p. 74]

Footnotes

^71:1 [p. 73] Written with the characters , "bird's hairs," but these must surely be phonetic. In the "Chronicles" the same name is written .

^71:2 Or Hii, the chief river in Idzumo. The name is supposed by some to have been derived from the name of the god Hi-hayabi (see Section VIII, Note 6).

^71:3 Or in the Singular, "a chopstick."

^71:4 Literally "had placed a young girl between them," a similar construction to that in Section XIII, (Note 11).

^71:5 The humble character "servant" is used by the old man for the First Personal Pronoun.

^71:6 . Being generally used antithetically to , "Heavenly Deity," it seems

better to translate the characters thus than by "Country "Deity" or "Deity of the Land." (See Section I, Note 11).

^71:7 Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, first mentioned in Sect. VI, (Note 17).

^71:8 Ashi-nadzu-chi, the wife's being Te-nadzu-chi. "One account" in the "Chronicles" gives Ashi nadzu-te-nadzu () as the name of the old father alone, while the mother is called Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-yatsu-mimi. (Inada-no-miya-nushi signifies "Mistress of the Temple of Inada"; the signification of the second compound, which forms the name properly so called is not clear, but should probably be interpreted to mean "Impetuous-Eight-Ears," the word susa, "impetuous," containing an allusion to the name of her divine visitor, and "eight ears" being Honorific).

^71:9 Kushi-[I]nada-hime, Inada (i.e. ina-da, "rice-field") being the name of a place. Kushi signifies not only "wondrous" but "comb," and is indeed here written with the character for "comb" , so that there is a play on the word in connection with the incident of her transformation into a comb which is mentioned immediately below, though most authorities agree in considering to be here used phonetically for , which is the reading in the "Chronicles." Moribe, however, in his "Idzu no Chi-waki" suggests the etymology Kushi-itadaki-hime () i.e., "Princess [used as] a comb [for] the head."

^71:10 [p. 74] Derivation quite obscure. Motowori quotes an absurd etymology given in the "Japanese Words Classified and Explained," which identifies the name of Koshi with the Past Tense of the Verb kuru, "to come"! There is a district (kohori) named Koshi in the modern province of Echigo; but Koshi was down to historical times a somewhat vague designation of all the north-western provinces,--Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchiu, and Echigo. A tradition preserved in the "Chronicles" tells us that it was meant to denote the Island of Yezo (or rather, perhaps, the land of the Yezo, i.e. the Ainos). The expression in the first Song in Sect. XXIV, and other similar ones in the early literature show that it was not looked upon as a part of Japan proper.

^71:11 See Note 13.

^72:12 A coniferous tree, the Chamaecyparis obtusa, in Japanese hi-no-ki. The cryptomeria is Cryptomeria japonica.

^72:13 The winter-cherry, Physalis Alkekengi.

^72:14 For the word "reverence" here and a few lines further on. conf. Sect. IX, Note 4.

^72:15 He was her younger brother; but see Introduction, <page xxxvii>.

^72:16 In Japanese sake, and archaically ki, written with the character and generally translated "rice-beer," but by Dr. Rein "rice-brandy" (Reis-branntwein). The modern sake resembles the Chinese huang chiu (). If we translated it by "rice-beer," we should of course have to render by "to brew" the Verb kamu or kamosu () here rendered "to distill." It should be mentioned that Professor Atkinson who, like Dr. Rein, has studied the subject specially, uses the word "brewing;" but apparently no English term exactly represents the process which the liquor undergoes in the course of preparation. A curious question is suggested by the fact that the old Japanese word for "distilling" or "brewing" liquor is homonymous with the Verb "to chew," But there is not, beyond this isolated verbal resemblance, any documentary evidence in favour of the Japanese ever having practised a method of making liquor which still obtains in some of the South Sea Islands.--"One account" of the Chronicles of Japan makes Susa-no-wo say "Take all the fruits, and distill liquor."

^72:17 The author doubtless intended, as Motowori suggests, to speak only of eight platforms,--one at each gate,--and not of sixty-four. But what he actually says is as in the translation.

^72:18 See Section VIII, Note 1.

^73:19 [p. 75] The text is not quite clear, but the above gives the interpretation which the words most naturally lend themselves. Motowori, influenced by the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says explicitly that the sword itself was sent up to the Sun-Goddess, reads the passage thus: "thinking it a strange thing, he sent it up with a message to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August- Deity"; and Mr. Satow follows him in thus translating (see Note 4 to Ritual 8, Vol. IX, Pt. II, 198-200 of these "Transactions," where the whole of this legend is translated with one or two slight verbal differences from the version here given). In the opinion of the present writer, Hirata's arguments in favour of the view here taken are conclusive (see his "Sources of the Ancient Histories." Section LXXII, in the second part of Vol. III, pp. 66-67). That the sword afterwards appears at the temple of the Sun-Goddess in Ise (see end of Section LXXXII), by the high-priestess of which it is bestowed on the legendary hero Yamato-take, is not to the point in this connection, as it is not necessary that all the parts of a myth should be perfectly consistent.

^73:20 Kusa-nagi no tachi. For the applicability of this name see Sect. LXXXIII.

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[p. 75]

[SECT. XIX.--THE PALACE OF SUGA.]

So thereupon His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness sought in the land of Idzumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga, [*2] and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is pure," [*1]--and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga. [*2] When this Great Deity first built [*3] the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song. [*4] That song said: [*5]

"Eight clouds arise. The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh! that eight-fold fence." [*6]

[p. 76]

[65] Then he called the Deity Foot-Stroking-Elder and said: "Thee do I appoint Headman [*7] of my palace;" and moreover bestowed on him the name of Master-of-the-Temple-of-Inada-Eight-Eared-Deity-of-Suga. [*8]

[p. 77]

Footnotes

^75:1 [p. 76] I.e., "I feel refreshed." The Japanese term used is suga-sugashi, whence the origin ascribed to the name of the place Suga. But move probably the name gave rise to this detail of the legend.

^75:2 The real derivation of Suga is unknown, all the native commentators accepting the statement in the text, and Motowori supposing that up to the time of the Deity's arrival it had borne the name of Inada. We may perhaps conjecture some connection between Suga and Susa-no-wo ("Impetuous Male," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. IX, p. 49), and it may be mentioned that the "Eight-Eared Deity of Suga" is also mentioned as the "Eight-Eared Deity of Susa."

^75:3 Or "began to build."

^75:4 "Ode" is another rendering of the Japanese term uta, which has been used by the present writer and by others. Uta being however connected with utafu, "to sing," it seems more consistent to translate it by the English word "song."

^75:5 Or perhaps rather "in that song he said."

^75:6 This difficult song has been rather differently rendered by Mr. Aston in the Second Appendix to his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language" (2nd Edition), and again by Mr. Satow in the note to his translation of the Ritual already quoted. Mr. Aston (premising that he follows Motowori's interpretation) translates it thus:

"Many clouds arise:
 The clouds which come forth (are) a manifold fence:
 For the husband and wife to retire within
 They have formed a manifold fence:
 Oh! that manifold fence!"

Mr. Satow's translation is as follows:

"Many clouds arise.
 The manifold fence of the forth-issuing clouds
 Makes a manifold fence
 For the spouses to be within.
 Oh! that manifold fence."

[p. 77] In any case the meaning simply is that the multitudinous clouds rose up like a fence or screen behind which the newly-married deities might retire from public gaze, and Moribe suggests that the repetitions are an after-addition made to bring up to the usual number of thirty-one syllables what were originally but the three lines--

Tachi-idzuru kumo mo
        Tsuma-gome ni
 Yo-he-gahi tsukuru yo!

I.e.--

"The uprising clouds even, to shut up
        the spouses, make an eight-fold fence."

(See his discussion on this song in the "Idzu no Kotowaki Vol. I, pp. 1-3.)--The present writer has already stated in the Introduction (see <page lx>) his reasons for always rendering the native word for "eight" (ya) by "eight" instead of by "many" or "numerous," as is done by the two eminent scholars above quoted. With regard to the word Idzumo which they, in deference to the opinions of the native commentators, render by "clouds which come forth" or "forth-issuing clouds" (the Chinese characters with which the word is written having that signification), the present writer cannot persuade himself that such a corruption as idzumo for ide-kumo either retained at the time of the composition of the song, or should now be credited with, the signification which this its supposed etymology assigns to it. The etymology moreover is far from being established, and in this, as in many other cases, the Chinese characters used to write the name of the province of Idzumo, may well have rested on nothing more than a vague similarity of sound, and probably no European scholar would endorse the opinion of the native commentators, to whom the "Records" are a sacred book, that the province of Idzumo received its name from this very poem. On the other hand, we need have no difficulty in conceding that the Pillow-Word ya-kumo-tatsu, by which Idzumo is preceded in poetical compositions, did probably here originate.--This song is in the "Chronicles" only quoted in a note, for which reason some authorities dispute its antiquity. In the note in question, we find the reading -gome (the "Records" have -gomi), the Transitive form instead of the Intransitive. If this were adopted, the translation would have to run

thus: . . . . . "The eight-fold fence of Idzumo makes an eight-fold fence to shut up the spouse[s?] in;" and probably "spouse" should be understood in the Feminine to mean "wife."

^76:7 [p. 78] Obito, written with the Chinese character , while the Japanese word is probably derived from oho-bito, "great man." When used, as it often is, as a "gentile name," the translator renders it by "Grandee."

^76:8 Inada-no-miya-nushi Suga-no ya-tsui-mimi-no-kami. It should be stated that Motowori, as usual, objects to the view that mimi signifies "ears" (its proper meaning) in this name. But he has no better explanation to offer, and the Chinese characters give us ya-tsu mimi, "eight ears." The author of the "Tokiha-gusa" ingeniously proposes to consider ya-tsu mimi as a corruption of yatsuko mi mi () "servant august body," but this cannot be seriously entertained (Conf. Sect. XIII, Note 18).

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[p. 78]

[SECT. XX.--THE AUGUST ANCESTORS OF THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT LAND.]

Quare, quum incepit in thalamo [opus procreationis] cum Mira-Hera-Inada, procreavit Deum nomine Eight-Island Ruler. [*1] And again, having wedded the Divine-Princess-of-Great-Majesty, [*2] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, he begot children: the Great-Harvest Deity [*3] and the August-Spirit-of-Food. [*4] The elder brother the Deity Eight-Island-Ruler wedded Princess-Falling-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, [*5] daughter of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, and begot a child: the Deity Fuha-no-moji-Ku-nu-su-nu. [*6] This Deity wedded Princess Hikaha, [*7] daughter of the Deity Okami, [*8] and begot a child: Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-Fuka-buchi. [*9] This Deity [67] wedded the Deity Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne, [*10] and begot a child: the Deity Great-Water-Master. [*11] This Deity wedded the Deity Grand-Ears [*12] daughter of the Deity Funu-dzu-nu, [*13] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Brandishing-Prince-Lord. [*14] This Deity wedded the Young-Princess-of-the-Small-Country, [*15] daughter of the Great-Deity-of-the-Small-Country, [*16] and begot a child: the

[p. 79]

[paragraph continues] Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, [*17] another name for whom is the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, [*18] and another name is the Deity-of-the-Reed-Plains, [*19] and another name is the Deity of Eight-Thousand-Spears, [*20] and another name is the Deity-Spirit-of-the-Living-Land. [*21] In all there were five names. [*22]

[p. 80]

Footnotes

^78:1 [p. 79] Ya-shima-zhi-nu-mi. Ya-shima means "eight islands." The syllables zhi-nu-mi are obscure, but the translator has little doubt "ruler" fairly represents their import. Motowori takes zhi to be an apocopated and nigori'ed form of shiru, "to rule," nu to be an apocopated form of nushi, "master," and mi to be an apocopated form of the Honorific termination mimi. Tanigaha Shisei considers zhimu to stand for shidzumuru, "to govern," which comes to the same thing so far as the sense is concerned.

^78:2 Kamu-oho-ichi-hime. The rendering of Oho-ichi as "Great Majesty" rests on a plausible conjecture of Hirata's, who proposes to, identify ichi with idzu (). Motowori thinks that Oho-ichi should be taken as the name of a place; but this

seems less good.

^78:3 Oho-toshi-no-kami, written , the obvious rendering of which would be "great year." But the Japanese term toshi is believed to have originally signified, not "year" in the abstract, but that which was produced each year, viz., the harvest (conf. toru, "to take").

^78:4 Uka-no-mi-tama.

^78:5 Ko-no-hana-chiru-hime, so called, says Motowori, because she probably died young, as a blossom that falls from the tree. We might however perhaps take the Verb chiru in a Causative sense, and consider the name to signify "the Princess-Who-Causes-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to- Fall. A sister of this goddess appears in the pretty legend narrated in Sect. XXXVII under the parallel name of the Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. See Note 3 to that Sect.

^78:6 Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-no-kami. The import of this name is quite uncertain. Fuha however seems to be the name of a place.

^78:7 "Hi-kaha-mime. Hi-kaha (lit. "sun-river") is supposed to stand for the name of a place in Musashi, which is however written "ice-river" (and not), the old Japanese words for "ice" and "sun" being homonymous.

^78:8 [p. 80] See Sect. VIII. (Note 9), where the name is given as Kura okami.

^78:9 Fuka-buchi-no-midzu-yare-hana. If Fuka-buchi were ascertained to be not, as is supposed, the name of a place, we should have to render it "deep pool," and the whole would mean in English "Water-Spoilt-Blossom-of-the-Deep-Pool."

^78:10 Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami. In this name nothing is clear but the first three syllables, which signify "heavenly." But if Mabuchi's conjecture as to the meaning of the rest were accepted, we should have to translate the whole by "Heavenly-Assembling-Town-Lady."

^78:11 This is the meaning plausibly assigned by Motowori to the original O-midzu-nu-no-kami.

^78:12 Fute-mimi-no-kami, plausibly conjectured by Tominobu to stand for Futo-mimi, etc., which gives the sense here adopted.

^78:13 Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami. Motowori believes Funu to be the name of a place, and interprets the name to signify "Master of Funu." But this seems highly uncertain.

^78:14 Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami (Motowori's reading) or Ama-no, etc. (Hirata's reading). The translation of the name follows Hirata's explanation, which is based on Motowori's, and according to which the characters ("winter garments") in this text, and read Fuki-ne in the "Chronicles," are merely phonetic, while the meaning is derived from a comparison of the sounds given by each. Though himself believing in the soundness of Hirata's conclusion, the translator must admit that it is not indisputable.

^78:15 Sasu-kuni-waka-hime, or Sashi-kuni, etc. The former reading, which Hirata's adopts, seems best. The meaning of sasu, here rendered "small," is open to doubt.

^78:16 Sasu-kuni-oho-[no-]kami, or Sashi, etc. The syllable no in the Japanese reading seems to be a superfluous addition of the modern commentators.

^79:17 Oho-kuni-nushi-ne-kami.

^79:18 Oho-na-muji-no-kami, to which Tominobu proposes to give the sense of "Great Hole-Possessor," in connection with the story of the mouse-hole in which

he took refuge from the fire lit by the Impetuous-Male-Deity (Susa-no-wo) for his destruction (see Sect. XXIII). But the interpretation followed in the translation is the most likely as well as the orthodox one, this Deity being entitled the possessor of a Great Name or of Great Names on account of his renown in Japanese mythic story.

^79:19 [p. 81] Ashi-hara-shiko-wo-no-kami. The "reed-plains" are doubtless put by metonymy for Japan.

^79:20 Yachi-hoko-no-kami.

^79:21 Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami. The name must be understood to mean "Spirit of the Land of the Living," and to be antithetical to that of one of his fathers-in-law, the Impetuous Male-Deity (Susa-no-wo) who became the god of Hades.

^79:22 Or "he had five names."

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[p. 81]

[SECT. XXI.--THE WHITE HARE OF INABA.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land had eighty Deities his brethren; but they all left the land to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. The reason for their leaving it was this: Each of these eighty Deities had in his heart the wish to marry the Princess of Yakami [*1] in Inaba, [*2] and they went together to Inaba, putting their bag on [the back of] the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, whom they took with them as an attendant. Hereupon. when they arrived at Cape Keta, [*3] [they found] a naked hare lying down. Then the eighty Deities spoke to the hare, saying: "What thou shouldest do is to bathe in the sea-water here, and lie on the slope of a high mountain exposed to the blowing of the wind." So the hare followed the instructions of the eighty Deities, and lay down. Then, as the sea-water dried, the skin of its body all split with the blowing of the wind, so that it lay weeping with pain. But the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, who came last of all, saw the hare, and said: "Why liest thou weeping?" The hare replied, saying: "I was in the Island of Oki, [*4] and wished to cross over to this land, but had no means of crossing over. For this reason [69] I deceived the crocodiles [*5] of the sea, saying: 'Let you

[p. 82]

and me compete, and compute the numbers of our [respective] tribes. So do you go and fetch every member of your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from this island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them, and count them as I run across. Hereby shall we know whether it or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they were deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them and counted them as I came across, and was just about to get on land, when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' As soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who lay the last of all seized me and stripped off all my clothing. As I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty Deities who went by before [thee] commanded and exhorted me, saying: 'Bathe in the salt water, and lie down exposed to the wind.' So, on my doing as they had instructed me, my whole body was hurt." Thereupon the Deity Great-Name-Possessor instructed the hare, saying: "Go quickly now to the river-mouth, wash thy body with the fresh water, then take the pollen of the sedges [growing] at the river-mouth, spread it about, and roll about upon it, whereupon thy body will certainly be restored to its original state." [*6] So [the hare] did as it was instructed, and its body became as it had been originally. This was the White Hare of Inaba. [*7] It is now called the Hare Deity. So the hare said to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor: "These eighty Deities shall certainly not get the Princess of Yakami.

Though thou bearest the bag, Thine Augustness shall obtain her."

Footnotes

^81:1 [p. 82] Yakami-hime. The etymology is uncertain.

^81:2 The name of a province not far from that of Idzumo. The word may possibly, as Motowori suggests, be derived from ina-ba, "rice-leaves."

^81:3 [p. 83] Kita-no-saki. The etymology of the name seems uncertain. The meaning of the word keta is "the beams of a roof, the yards of a sail." But perhaps Keta and keta may be nothing more than homonyms of independent origin.

^81:4 Not far from the coast of Idzumo and of Inaba.

^81:5 See Translator's Introduction, <page xxxiii>, Note 41.

^82:6 Literally "to its original skin"; that is to say that its skin would again be covered with fur.

^82:7 Motowori and Moribe agree in considering that the word "white" means "bare" in this place, and the latter in his Critique of the former's Commentary quotes examples which show that their view is probably correct.

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[p. 83]

[SECT. XXII.--MOUNT TEMA.]

Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered [*1] the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the Deity Great-Name-Possessor." So [70] the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot of Tema [*2] in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, do thou wait and catch it. If thou do not wait and catch it, we will certainly slay thee." Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then, as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it, [*3] he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent [*4] cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness, [*5] who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell [*6] and Prince Clam [*7] to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched [*8] [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and

[p. 84]

smeared [him] as with mother's [*9] milk, whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Deities, seeing [this], again deceived him, [71] taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree, [*10] and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death. [*11] Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him: [*12] "If thou remain here, thou wilt at last be destroyed by the eighty Deities." Then she sent him swiftly off to the august place of the Deity Great-House-Prince [*13] in the land of Ki. [*14] Then when the eighty Deities searched and pursued till they came up to him, and fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by clipping under the fork of a tree, and disappeared.

[p. 85]

Footnotes

^83:1 [p. 84] It must be understood that in the meantime they had arrived at her dwelling and begun to court her.

^83:2 Etymology unknown.

^83:3 The text is here concise to obscurity, but yet there ought not to be much doubt as to the author's intention.

^83:4 The text has the character signifying properly "grand-parent," but frequently used in Archaic Japanese writings in the sense of "mother." It is then read oya, which the English word "parent" exactly represents.

^83:5 Kami-musu-bi-no-mikoto. See Sect. I, Note 6.

^83:6 Kisa-gahi-hime. The kiga-gahi here mentioned is the modern aka-gahi, a cockle, the Arca inflata.

^83:7 Umugi-hime. The umugi here mentioned is the modern hamagari, a clam of the family Mactridae, the Cytherea Mereirix.

^83:8 The character used is , "collected," "gathered together." But the combined authority of Mabuchi, Motowori and Hirata obliges us either to consider it a copyist's error for , "scorched," or else to believe that in early time in Japan the two characters were used interchangeably.

^84:9 [p. 85] Or "nurse's." The meaning is that a paste like milk was made of the triturated and calcined shell mixed with water. There is in this passage a play upon words which it is impossible to reproduce in English, the Japanese term for "triturating," kisage (which the author has taken care to write phonetically) resembling the name of Princess Kisa-gahi (Cockle-Shell), while omo, "mother" or "nurse," similarly recalls that of Princess Umugi (Clam). Motowori traces the names of the shell-fish in question to this exploit of the two goddesses. We shall be justified in applying an inverse interpretation to the legend.

^84:10 The original of this clause, or according to another reading , etc. is a great crux to the native commentators, who can make sure neither of the exact sense nor of the Japanese reading of the first two characters, which seem to be ideographic for three others occurring immediately below, , which are themselves of doubtful import. An elaborate discussion of the question will be found in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XVII, pp. 25-27. The general sense at all events is that here given.

^84:11 The characters , here rendered "tortured him to death," are by the modern commentators read uchi-koroshiki, which simply means killed [him]."

^84:12 Literally "to her child."

^84:13 Oha-ya-biko-no-kami. This Deity is identified with the Deity I-dakeru mentioned in the "Chronicle" as a son of Susa-no-wo (the "Impetuous-Male-Deity"), and as the introducer into the Island of Tsukushi in particular and into all the "Eight Great Islands" of Japan of the seeds of plants and trees. Motowori's note on this name in Vol. X, pp. 28-29, is worth consulting, though his idea of connecting the agricultural and arboricultural renown of the Deity bearing it with the name of the province of Ki is doubtless quite fanciful.

^84:14 I.e., "the land of tree" (). Later the character was replaced by , which in Sinico-Japanese has the same sound ki, while a second one, , was added in order to conform to an edict of the Empress Gem-miyo (A. D. 713) to the effect that all names of places were to be written with two Chinese characters, as was usual in China and Korea. The second character in this case simply carried on

the i sound with which the first ends, so that the name became Kii.

[SECT. XXIII.--THE NETHER-DISTANT-LAND.]

[The Deity Great-House-Prince spoke to him [*1]] saying: "Thou must set off to the Nether-Distant-Land where [72] dwells His Impetuous-Mate-Augustness. That Great Deity will certainly counsel thee." So on his obeying her command and arriving at the august place [*2] of His Impetuous-Male-Augustness, the latter's daughter the Forward-Princess [*3] came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married, and [she] went in again, and told her father, saying: "A very beautiful Deity has come." Then the Great Deity went out and looked, and said: 'This is the Ugly-Male-Deity-of-the-Reed-Plain," [*4] and at once calling him in, made him sleep in the snake-house. Hereupon his wife, Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, gave her husband a snake-scarf, [*5] saying: "When the snakes are about to bite thee, drive them away by waving this scarf thrice." So, on his doing as she had instructed, the snakes became quiet, so that he came forth after calm slumbers. Again on the night of the next day [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] put him into the centipede and wasp-house; [*6] but as she again gave him a centipede and wasp-scarf, and instructed him as before, he came forth calmly. Again [the Impetuous-Male-Deity] shot a whizzing barb [*7] into the middle of a large moor, and sent him to fetch the arrow and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round. Thereupon, while he [stood] knowing no place of exit, a mouse [*8] came and said: "The inside is hollow-hollow; the outside is narrow-narrow." [*9] Owing to its speaking thus, he trod on the place, where, upon he fell in and hid himself, during which time the

fire burnt past. Then the mouse brought out in its mouth and presented to him the whizzing barb. The feathers of the arrow were brought in their mouths by all the mouse's children. Hereupon his wife the Forward-Princess came bearing mourning-implements, [*10] and crying. Her father the Great Deity, thinking that [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] was already dead and done for, went out and stood on the moor, whereupon [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] brought the arrow and presented it to him, upon which [the Great Deity], taking him into the house and calling him into an eight-foot spaced large room, [*11] made him take the lice off his head. So, on looking at the head [he saw that] there were many centipedes [there]. Thereupon, as his wife gave to her husband berries of the muku tree [*12] and red earth, he chewed the berries to pieces, and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that the Great Deity believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor], grasping the Great Deity's hair, tied it fast to the various rafters of the house, and, blocking up the floor of the house with a five hundred draught rock, [*13] and taking his wife the Forward Princess on his back, then carried off [74] the Great Deity's great life-sword [*14] and life-bow-and-arrows, [*15] as also his heavenly speaking-lute, [*16] and ran out. But the heavenly speaking-lute brushed against a tree, and the earth resounded. So the Great Deity, who was sleeping, started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair which was tied to the rafters, [the Deity Great-Name-Possessor] fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to the Even Pass

of Hades, [*17] and gazing on him from afar, he called out to the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, saying: "With the great life-sword and the life-bow-and-arrows which thou earnest, pursue thy half-brethren [*18] till they crouch on the

august slopes of the passes, [*19] and pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers, and do thou, wretch! [*20] become the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land; [*21] and moreover, becoming the Deity Spirit-of-the-Living-Land, and making my daughter the Forward-Princess thy [75] consort, [*22] do thou make stout the temple-pillars at the foot of Mount Uka [*23] in the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven, and dwell [there], thou villain!" [*24] So when, bearing the great sword and bow, he pursued and scattered the eighty Deities, he did pursue them till they crouched on the august slope of every pass, [*25] he did pursue them till they were swept into every river, and then he began to make the land. [*26] Quamobrem Hera Yamaki, secundum anterius pactum, [cum eo] in thalamo coivit. So he brought her with him; but, fearing his consort the Forward Princess, she stuck into the fork of a tree the child that she had borne, and went back. [*27] So the child was called by the name of the Tree-Fork-Deity, [*28] and another name was the Deity-of-August-Wells. [*29]

[p. 89] [p. 90]

Footnotes

^86:1 [p. 88] Literally, "to the child." The words placed in brackets, and which are not to be found in either of the early printed editions, are supplied in accordance with a suggestion of Moribe's contained in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary. Motowori himself had supplied the words "Her Augustness his august parent spoke to him," which seem less appropriate. It is true that one MS. is quoted by Motowori as favouring his view; but such authority is insufficient, and the mistake, moreover, peculiarly easy for a copyist to make (mi oya for oho-ya).

^86:2 I.e., the Palace.

^86:3 [p. 89] This is Motowori's view of the import of the original name Suseri-bime, which he connects with susumu, "to advance," "to press forward," and explains by reference to the bold, forward conduct of the young goddess.

^86:4 One of the alternative names of this Deity, who is mostly mentioned by one of his other four designations, for a list of which see sect. XX. (Notes 17 to 21).

^86:5 I.e., "a scarf by waving which he might keep off the snakes." Similarly the "centipede and wasp-scarf" mentioned a little farther on must be understood to mean "a scarf to ward off centipedes and wasps with."

^86:6 The word hachi, translated "wasp," is a general name including other insects of the family of Vespidae.

^86:7 I.e., "arrow." The original expression is nari-kabura (), which has survived in the modern language under the modified form of kabura-ya, defined in Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary as "an arrow with a head shaped like a turnip, having a hole in it, which causes it to hum as it flies." It was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty.

^86:8 Or "rat."

^86:9 The translator cannot think of any better English equivalents for the child-like onomatopoeias hora-hora and subu-subu of the Japanese original.

^87:10 The edition of 1687 reads the two characters (here translated "mourning implements,") mo-gari no sonahe, i.e., "preparations for the funeral." Such preparations are detailed in the latter part of Sect. XXXI.

^87:11 This is Mabuchi's interpretation, as quoted by Motowori, of the expression ya-ta-ma no oho-muro-ya. Motowori's own view is that ya-ta stands for ya-tzu, which give us in English "an eight-spaced large room." The character ,

"space" has been in later times used as a measure of length (six Japanese feet.) Altogether the precise meaning of the expression is not quite clear, but the general sense is a "large spacious room."

^87:12 Aphananthe Aspera, also sometimes called Celtis Muku.

^87:13 I.e., "a rock which it would require five hundred men to lift."

^87:14 Iku-tachi (), supposed by Motowori to be "a sword having the virtue of conferring long life upon its possessor."

^87:15 Iku-yumi-ya ().

^87:16 Ame no nori-goto (), so called because, as will be seen Sect. XCVI, divine messages were conveyed through a person playing [p. 90] on the lute. Hirata, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories." invents the reading ame no nu-goto (), "heavenly jewelled lute."

^88:17 See Sect. IX. (Note 16).

^88:18 They were not born of the same mother. The Chinese characters in the text () imply, properly speaking, that the eighty brethren of the Great-Name-Possessor were the sons of concubines. But Motowori denies that such is the Japanese usage with regard to the characters in question.

^88:19 Or "hills."

^88:20 The word in the text is ore, an insulting equivalent Second Personal Pronoun. If we were translating into German, we might perhaps approximately represent its force by "er."

^88:21 Thus according to this legend, "Master-of-the-Great-Land" (Oho-kuni-nushi) was not the original name of the Deity commonly designated by it, and his sovereignty over the Land of the Living (whence the appropriateness of the second name in this context) was derived by investiture from the god of the Land of the Dead.

^88:22 The characters , which are here used, designate specifically the chief or legitimate wife, as opposed to the lesser wives or concubines.

^88:23 Uka-no-yama. No satisfactory etymology of Uka is forthcoming.

^88:24 I.e., "Firmly planting in the rock the pillars forming the foundation of thy palace, and rearing its fabric to the skies, do thou rule therefrom the Land of the Living, thou powerful wretch, who hast so successfully braved me!"

^88:25 Or "hill."

^88:26 This is taken to mean that he continued the act of creation which had been interrupted by the death of Izanami (the "Female-Who-Invites"). See Sect. IX, <page 35>, where her husband Izanagi says to her: "The lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making." The words "Kuni tsukuri" (), here used for "making the land," became a title for "Ruler-of-the-Land" and finally a "gentile name" (kabane).

^88:27 Q.d., to Inaba.

^88:28 Ki-no-mata-no-kami.

^88:29 Mi-wi-no-kami. He is supposed to have benefitted the country by digging wells in many places.

[p. 91]

[SECT. XXIV.--THE WOOING OF THE DEITY-OF-EIGHT-THOUSAND-SPEARS.]

This Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears, [*1] when he went forth [*2] to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, [*3] in the land of Koshi, on arriving at the house of the Princess of Nuna kaha sang, saying:

"[I] His Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears, [76] having been unable to find a spouse in the Land of the Eight islands, and having heard that in the far off Land of Koshi there is a wise maiden, having heard that there is a beauteous maiden, I am standing [here] to truly woo her, I am going backwards and forwards to woo her. Without having yet untied even the cord of my sword, without having yet untied even my veil, I push back the plank-door shut by the maiden; while I am standing [here], I pull it forward. While I am standing [here], the nuye sings upon the green mountain, and [the voice of] the true bird of the moor, the pheasant, resounds; the bird of the yard, the cock, crows. Oh! the pity that [the] birds should sing! Oh! these birds! Would that I could beat them till they were sick! Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger, the tradition of the thing, too, this!" [*4]

Then the Princess of Nuna-kaha, without yet opening [77] the door, sang from the inside saying:--

[p. 92]

"Thine Augustness the Deity-Of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! Being a maiden like a drooping plant, my heart is just a bird on a sand-bank by the shore; it will now indeed be a dotterel. Afterwards it will be a gentle bird; so as for thy life, do not deign to die. Oh! swiftly-flying heaven-racing messenger! the tradition of the thing, too, this!" [*5]

[78] [Second Song of the Princess. [*6]]

When the sun shall hide behind the green mountains, in the night [black as] the true jewels of the moor will I come forth. Coming radiant with smiles like the morning sun, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry-bark shall softly pat [my] breast soft as the melting snow; and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's] jewel-arms,-- true jewel-arms,--and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. So speak not too lovingly, Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! The tradition of the thing, too, this!" [*7]

Quamobrem ea nocte non coierunt, sed sequentis diei nocte auguste coierunt.

[p. 93] [p. 94]

Footnotes

^91:1 [p. 92] In this Section, the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land is spoken of under this alias. See Sect. XX, Note 20).

^91:2 The characters here, in accordance with the reading of the commentators, rendered by the words "went forth," as Honorific, being only properly applied to the progresses of a sovereign.

^91:3 Kuna-kawa-hime. Nana-kaha or Nu-na-kaha ("lagoon-river"), is supposed to be the name of a place in the province of Echigo.

^91:4 [p. 93] The drift of this poem needs but little elucidation:--After giving his reasons for coming to woo the Princess of Nuna-kaha, the god declares that

he is in such haste to penetrate to her chamber, that he does not even stay to ungird his sword or take off his veil, but tries to push or pull open the door at once. During these vain endeavours, the mountain. side begins to re-echo with the cries of the birds announcing the dawn, when lovers must slink away. Would that he could kill these unwelcome harbingers of day, and bring back the darkness!--The Land of the Eight Islands (i.e. Japan proper, beyond whose boundaries lay the barbarous northern country of Koshi) is in the original Ya-shima-huni (Conf. Sect. V, Note 27).--The nuye is a bird which must be fabulous if most of the accounts given of it are accepted. The "Commentary on the Lyric Dramas" tells us (with variations) that "it has the head of a monkey, the body of a racoon-faced dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands (sic) and feet of a tiger," adding, as the reader will make no difficulty in allowing, that "it is a strange and peculiar creature." The Wa-Kun Shiwori says that "it is a bird much larger than a pigeon, and having a loud and mournful cry." It is likewise said to come out at night-time and retire during the day, for which reason doubtless Mabuchi likens it to the owl. A very ancient and curious Chinese book entitled the "Mountain and Sea Classic" () the modern editions of which contain extremely droll illustrations of fabulous creatures, tells us of a bird called the "white nuye" () which is "like a pheasant, with markings on its head, white wings, and yellow feet, and whose flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough." The character and , with which, as well as with the word nuye is variously written, seem to be unauthorized--The line here (following Motowori and Moribe's view) rendered "Would that I could beat them till they were sick!" will also bear the interpretation formerly proposed by Keichiyu, "Would that I could beat them till they left off!"--The last five lines, here rendered "Oh! swiftly flying heaven-racing messenger," etc., are extremely obscure. It is possible that ishi tafu ya (rendered "Oh! swiftly flying," in deference to Motowori's and Moribe's view) may be but a meaningless refrain. "Heaven racing messenger" is tolerably certain. Of the rest it is not easy to make sense. Motowori proposes to credit the five lines in question with the following general meaning: "May this song, like a messenger, "run down to future ages, preserving for them the tradition of this event!" Moribe, in his Critique of Motowori's Commentary, supposes the lines in question to be an addition made by the official singers, who in later [p. 94] times sang these songs as an accompaniment to dances. Whatever their origin and proper signification, it is plain that they had come to be used as a refrain, from which the first two lines were sometimes omitted, as we see in some of the songs further on.

^92:5 The drift of the poem is this: "Being a tender maiden, my heart flutters like the birds on the sandy islets by the beach, and I cannot yet be thine. Yet do not die of despair; for I will soon comply with thy desires."--The word nuye-kusa (here rendered "drooping plant," in accordance with the views of the commentators) is a Pillow-Word of somewhat obscure derivation.--The word chidori (rendered "dotterel" throughout this translation) denotes in its modern acceptation, according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer, "any kind of sandpiper, plover or dotterel." Its proper and original signification is, however, greatly debated by the commentators, and some think that it is not the specific name of any kind of bird, but stands simply by apocope for tachi-dori, "rising bird," thus designating any kind of small bird that rises and flies along near the beach.--The word na-dori (here, in accordance with Moribe's view, rendered "gentle bird") is taken by Motowori to mean simply "gentle," "compliant." But both the construction and the context seem to impose on us the interpretation here given. Keichiyu, in his "Kogan-Sho," interprets the whole passage differently; but in order to do so he, without sufficient authority, changes the readings of the text into wa tori, "my bird," and na tori "thy bird."--The refrain is the same as in the previous song.

^92:6 There is no break in the text; but the commentators rightly consider the following to be a separate poem.

^92:7 The import of this very plain-spoken poem needs no elucidation.--Nubatama (here rendered "true jewels of the moor") is the Pillow-Word for things black or related to darkness. The "true jewels of the moor" are supposed to be the jet-black berries of the hiafugi (pron. hiogi, Ixia chinensis). The whole etymology

is, however, not absolutely certain.--Of which of the two lovers the words "coming radiant" with "smiles" are spoken, is not clear; but they probably refer to the male deity, as do the white arms, strange though such an expression may appear as applied to a man. The goddess represents herself and her lover as using each other's arms for pillows. The word "jewel-arms" means simply "beautiful arms."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. XXV.--THE CUP PLEDGE.]

[79] Again this Deity's Chief Empress, [*1] Her Augustness the Forward-Princess, was very jealous. So the Deity her husband, being distressed, was about to go up from Idzumo to the Land of Yamato; and as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse and one august foot in the august stirrup, he sang, saying:

"When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments black as the true jewels of the moor, and, like the birds of the offing, look at my breast,--though I raise my fins, [I say that] these are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my august garments green as the kingfisher, and, like the birds of the oiling, look at my breast.--though I raise my fins, [I say that] these, too, are not good, and cast them off on the waves on the beach. When I take and attire myself so carefully in my raiment dyed in the sap of the dye-tree, the pounded madder sought in the mountain fields, and. like the birds of the offing. look at my breast,--though I raise my fins, [I say that] they are good. My dear young sister. Thine Augustness! Though thou say that thou wilt not weep,--if like the flocking birds, I flock and depart, if, like the led birds, I am led away and depart, thou wilt hang down thy head like [p. 96] a single eulalia upon the mountain and thy weeping shall indeed rise as the mist of [80] the morning shower. Thine Augustness [my] spouse like the young herbs! The tradition of the thing, too, this!" [*2]

Then his Empress, taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, sang, saying:--

"Oh! Thine Augustness the Deity-of-Eight-Thousand-Spears! [Thou], my [dear] Master-of-the-Great-Land indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island-headlands [81] that thou seest, and on every beach headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But as for me alas! being a woman, I have no man except thee; I have no spouse except thee. Beneath the fluttering of the ornamented fence, beneath the softness of the warm coverlet, beneath the rustling of the cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of paper-mulberry bark softly patting [my] breast soft as the melting snow, and patting [each other] interlaced, stretching out and pillowing [our selves] on [each others arms],--true jewel arms, and with outstretched legs, will we sleep. Lift up the luxuriant august liquor!" [*3]

She having thus sung, they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks, [*4] and are at rest till the present time. These are called divine words. [*5]

Footnotes

^95:1 [p. 97] I.e., chief wife.

^96:2 The meaning of this poem is:--"I start for Yamato, there to search for a better wife, and I carefully array myself for the journey. Black,--the colour of mourning,--is not fair enough, and red is more beautiful than green; so it is on my red garments that my choice rests. And thou, jealous and imperious woman! for all that thou sayest that thou wilt not heed my going, thou wilt weep when I depart with my retainers as departs a flock of birds, and thou wilt bury thy head in thy hands, and thy tears shall be as the misty drops of the morning shower."--The words hata tagi (rendered in accordance with Motowori's view by "raise my fins") are supposed to signify "raise my sleeve." If the last syllable were found in any text written with a character not requiring the use of the nigori in the Japanese transcription, we should get the more satisfactory reading ha tataki, i.e. "beat my wings;" but the syllable in question does not seem to be anywhere so written;--The "madder" is in the original akane, here written (but doubtless only through the error of some copyist) atane. The words rendered "sought in the mountain fields" might also be translated "sown in the mountain fields," magashi, "sought," and makishi, "sowed" being thought to be convertible.--The words "my beloved" represent the Japanese itokoya no, whose meaning is obscure and much disputed.--The words "when I am led away" must be understood as if they were Active instead of Passive, signifying as they do "when I lead away my retinue of followers."--The eulalia (Eulalia Japonica) is a long king of grass very often alluded to in the later classical poetry.--The words "on the mountain" represent the Japanese words yama-to no, in accordance with Motowori's and Hirata's view of the meaning of the latter (or). Th. prima facie interpretation of "in the province of Yamato," which Keichiyu adopts, will not bear investigation.--It is not quite clear whether "the mist of the morning shower" means mist separate from the rain, or is simply a phrase for the rain-drops themselves. Motowori adopts the former opinion.--"Young herbs:" waka-kusa, is the Pillow-Word for "spouse,"--newly married youths and maidens being likened to the fresh-grown grass. The refrain is an abbreviated form of that found in the two previous poems.

^96:3 The import of this poem needs little explanation:--The goddess says to her husband, "Come back and live with me, and quaff this goblet as a sign of reconciliation; for though thou, as a man, mayest have a wife on every shore, I shall be left solitary if thou depart."--[p. 98] The "ornamented fence" is supposed to mean "a curtain round the sleeping place."--The latter part to the poem (excepting the concluding phrase) is a repetition of lines that have already occurred in the last one of Sect. XXIV (note 7). The word tate-matsurase (here rendered "lift up") occasions some difficulty. It properly signifies "present to a superior;" but here it must be taken to mean "partake of," as the goddess is speaking to her spouse himself, unless indeed we suppose the final words of the song to be a command addressed to one of her attendants to present the cup to their common lord and master.

^96:4 This is the probable and generally accepted meaning of the original of this clause, which is written phonetically.

^96:5 Explained by Moribe to mean, with reference to the whole story, "conversation about divine events." Motowori proposes to supplement the character , "song," to the two () in the text, and to take the three together as designating the nature of the preceding songs, in accordance with the usage in other cases,--"Rustic Songs," "Courtier's Songs," etc. If this view were adopted, we should have to translate by "Divine Converse Songs."

[SECT. XXVI.--THE DEITIES THE AUGUST DESCENDANTS OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

So this Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, the Deity dwelling in the inner temple of Munakata. [*1] and begot children: the Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne, [*2] next his younger sister Her Augustness High-Princess, [*3] another name for whom is Her Augustness Princess Under-Shining. [*4] This Deity Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is he who is now called the Great August Deity of Kamo. [*5] Again the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land wedded Her Augustness Princess Divine-House-Shield [*6] and begot a child: the Deity Thing-Sign-Master. [*7] Again he wedded the Deity Bird-Ears, [*8] daughter of the Deity Eight-Island-Possessor, [*9] and begot

[p. 99]

a child: the Deity Bird-Growing-Ears. [*10] This Deity wedded Hina-teri-nakata-bichi-wo-ikochini, [*11] and begot a child: the Deity Land-Great-Wealth. [*12] This Deity wedded the Deity Ashi-nadaka, [*13] another name for whom is Princess-Eight-Rivers-and-Inlets, [*14] and begot a child: the Deity Swift-Awful-Brave-Sahaya-Land-Ruler. [*15] This Deity wedded Princess Luck-Spirit, [*16] daughter of the [84] Deity Heavenly-Awful-Master, [*17] and begot a child: the Deity Awful-Master-Prince. [*18] This Deity wedded Princess Hina-rashi, [*19] daughter of the Deity Okami, [*20] and begot a child: the Deity Tahiri-kishi-marumi. [*21] This Deity wedded the Deity Princess-Life-Spirit-Luck-Spirit, [*22] daughter of the Deity Waiting-to-See-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly, [*23] and begot a child: the Deity Mira-na-mi. [*24] This Deity wedded Princess Awo-numa-oshi, [*25] daughter of the Master-of-Shiki-yama, [*26] and begot a child: the Deity Nunoshi-tomi-tori-naru-mi. [*27] This Deity wedded the Young-Day-Female-Deity, [*28] and begot a child: the Deity Heavenly-Hibara-Great-Long-Wind-Wealth. [*29] This Deity wedded the Deity Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne, [*30] daughter of the Deity Heavenly-Pass Boundary, [*31] and begot a child: the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi. [*32]

From the above-mentioned Deity Eight-Island-Ruler down to the Deity Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi are called the Deities of seventeen generations. [*33]

[p. 100] [p. 101] [p. 102]

Footnotes

^98:1 [p. 99] See Sect. XIII, Note 15 and Sect. XIV. Note 2.

^98:2 Aji-shiki taka-hiko-ne no-kami. The meaning of the first two members of this compound name is altogether obscure. Taka-hiko-ne signifies "high-prince lord."

^98:3 Taka-hime-no-mikoto. Taka-hime is supposed by Hirata to be a mutilated form of Taka-teru-hime, "High-Shining-Princess," which would make the two names of this personage properly complementary.

^98:4 [p. 100] Shita-teru-hime-no-mikoto. This goddess is popularly supposed to have been extremely beautiful, whence perhaps the name, which might be taken to imply that her beauty shone forth from under her garments as in the case of So-towori-hime (see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9).

^98:5 Because there worshipped. The etymology of Kamo is not clear.

^98:6 Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto. The translation here follows the Chinese characters. Another proposal of Motowori's is to regard the syllables ya-tate as a corruption of iya-taka-teri, "more and more high shining," which would give us for the whole name in English "Divine-More-and-More-High-Shining-Princess."

^98:7 I.e., "the Deity who gave a sign of the thing he did." The Japanese original is Koto-shire-nushi-no-kami. The translation of the name here given follows Motowori's interpretation, which takes it to contain an allusion to the

act by which its bearer symbolized his surrender of the sovereignty of the land to the descendant of the Sun-Goddess. Lengthened forms of the name are Ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami ("the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master") and Tsumi-ba-ya-he-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, the first three syllables of which latter are obscure. Both of the lengthened forms are supposed to contain a reference to the manifold "green branches" mentioned in the legend referred to,--that. viz., which forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII.

^98:8 Tori-mimi-no-kami. Motowori suggests that tori, "bird," may be but the name of a place in Yamato.

^98:9 Ya-shima-muji-no-kami. "Possessor" is the probable meaning of muji, regarded here and elsewhere as an alternative form of mochi. Motowori suggests that Yashima may be meant for the name of a district in Yamato, in which case both this god and his daughter would have been named from the places of their birth or residence, which are near each other in the same province.

^99:10 Tori-nara-mi-no-kami. The above interpretation, which is proposed by Motowori, seems more acceptable than "Bird-Sounding-Sea," which the Chinese characters yield. Tori "bird," if taken above to be the name of a place, must be likewise so considered here.--Motowori reasonably conjectures that a clause to the following effect is here omitted: "He wedded such and such a princess, daughter of such and such a Deity, and begot a child: the Deity Take-mina-gata" [i.e. probably Brave-August-Name-Firm] (See Sect. XXXII, Note 21). Hirata's text in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" is .

^99:11 [p. 101] The text is here evidently corrupt, and Motowori proposes to read either Hina-teri-nukata-bichi-wo-no-kami no musume Iko-chi-ni-no-kami which would give us in English "the Deity Ikochini, daughter of the male Deity Hina-teri-nukata-bichi," or else to take the whole as the father's name, and to suppose that the name of the daughter has been accidentally omitted. Hina-teri means "Rustic Illuminator," and the name resembles that of a deity mentioned in Sect. XIV, Note 6. Nukata and Bichi (or Hiji, reversing the position of the nigori) are supposed to be names of places. Ikochini is altogether obscure.

^99:12 Kuni-oshi-tomi-no-kami, oshi, as in other instances, being considered a contraction of ohoshi, "great."

^99:13 Ashi-nakada-no-kami. It is not clear whether this is a personal name or, as Motowori supposes, the name of the place where the goddess resided. He quotes places named Ashidaka and Ashida; but this hardly seems satisfactory. In any case the name remains obscure.

^99:14 Ya-kaha-ye-hime. The translation follows the meaning of the Chinese characters with which the name is written. It is, however, also open to us to consider Yaka-ha-ye as a corruption of iya-ko-haye, "more flourishing."

^99:15 Haya-mika-no-take sahaya-ji-nu-mi-no-kami. The syllables sahaya are obscure, and Motowori's proposal to consider them as the name of a place has only been followed in the translation for want of something more satisfactory.

^99:16 Saki-tama-bime.

^99:17 Ame-no-mika-a-nushi-no-kami.

^99:18 wika-nushi-hike-no-kami.

^99:19 Hina-rashi-bime. Motowori takes Hina to be the name of a place, and rashi, to be an apocopated form of tarashi or some such word. But this is mere guess-work.

^99:20 Okami-no-kami. See Sect. VIII, Note 9.

^99:21 Tahiri-kishi-marumi-no-kami. The meaning of this name is quite obscure.

Motowori throws out the suggestion that Tahiri may stand for Tari-hiri and Kishi-marumi for Kizhima-tsu-mi,--Tarihi and Kizhiwa being names of places, and tsu-mi, as usual, being credited with the signification of "possessor."

^99:22 Iku-tama-saki-tama-hime.

^99:23 Hihira-gi-no-sono-hana-madzu-mi-no-kami. The interpretation of the name here given is conjectural as far as the words "waiting to see" (taken on Tominobu's authority to be the most likely meaning of madzu-mi) [p. 102] are concerned. Motowori suggests that hihira-gi-no may be but a sort of Pillow-Word, and not part of the actual name at all, and the remaining characters corrupted. Hihira-gi rendered "holly," is properly the Olea Aquifolia.

^99:24 Miro-nami-no-kami. Meaning obscure. Miro is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place, and na and mi to be Honorific appellations.

^99:25 Awo-numa-nu-oshi-hime. Meaning obscure.

^99:26 Shiki-yama-nushi-no-kami. Shiki-yama is supposed to be the name of a place in Echizen.

^99:27 Nunoshi-tomi-tori-nara-mi-no-kami. Nunoshi is supposed to be the name of a place, and identical with Nunoshi, which forms part of the mother's name. Motowori takes tomi to be an Honorific, and Tori (as previously in the case of the deities Tori-mimi and Tori-naru-mi (See Notes 8 and 10) to be the name of another place. The translator would prefer to take both words in their common signification, and (leaving nunoshi aside as incomprehensible) to render the rest of the name thus: "Wealth-Bird-Growing-Ears."

^99:28 Waka-hiru-me-na-kami.

^99:29 Ame-no-hibara-oho-shi-na-domi-no-kami. Motowori supposes Hibara to be the name of a place, a view which the translator has adopted for want of a better.

^99:30 Toho-tsu-ma-chi-ne-no-kami. Motowori supposes Tohotsu to be the name of a place, and the remaining syllables to be Honorific.

^99:31 There is no footnote 31--JBH.

^99:32 Toho-tsu-yama-zaki-tarashi-no-kami. Toho-tsu (lit. "distant") and yamazaki ("mountain-cape") are both considered by Motowori to be names of places. Tarashi signifies "perfect" or "perfection." We might perhaps render the name thus: "Perfection-of-the-Distant-Mountain- Cape."

^99:33 I.e. "seventeen generations of Deities." But the construction is curious. Motowori points out that there is here an error in the computation, as the text enumerates but fifteen generations. The names of the gods and goddess mentioned in this section offer unusual difficulties Motowori says that it is with hesitation that he proposes many of his interpretations, and it is with still greater hesitation that the translator has accepted them.

[p. 103]

SECT. XXVII.--THE LITTLE-PRINCE-THE-RENOWNED-DEITY.

So when the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land dwelt at the august cape of Miho [*1] in Idzumo, there came riding on the crest [*2] of the waves in a boat of heavenly Kagami [*3] a Deity dressed in skins of geese [*4] flayed with a complete [85] flaying, who, when asked his name, replied not; moreover the

Deities who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad [*5] spoke, saying: "As for this, the Crumbling Prince [*6] will surely know it." Thereupon [the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land] summoned and asked the Crumbling-Prince, who replied. saying: "This is the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity. [*7] the august child of the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Deity." [*8] So on their then respectfully informing [*9] His Augustness the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-August-Ancestor, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my hand. [*10] So do he and thou become [87] brethren, and make and consolidate this land." [*11] So from that time forward the two Deities the Great-Name-Possessor and the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity crossed over to the Eternal Land. [*12] So [the Deity here] called the Crumbling Prince, who revealed the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity, is what is now [called] the scarecrow in the mountain fields. This Deity, though his legs do not walk, is a Deity who knows everything in the Empire. [*13]

[p. 104] [p. 105]

Footnotes

^103:1 [p. 103] Not to be confounded with the better known Miho in Suruga. Derivation of the name seems uncertain.

^103:2 [p. 104] The character used is , which properly denotes an ear of rice or other grain.

^103:3 What plant the author intends by this name is not quite certain. The characters and are variously used to write it in the native work of reference, where also we learn that it probably corresponds to the plant known in different provinces of modern Japan as chichi-gusa, tombo-no-chichi, kagarahi and gaga-imo. We may best understand the Ampelopsis serianaefolia to have been intended, as the plant is described as having a berry three or four inches long shaped like a towel-gourd, (hechima), so that, if scooped out, it would fairly resemble a boat in miniature.

^103:4 All the authorities are agreed in considering the character , "goose," to be a copyist's error; but there is no agreement as to the character which should be substituted for it. Hirata reads , "wren," changing the phonetic. "Wren" also is the reading in "One account" of the "Chronicles," and Moribe, commenting thereon in his "Idzu no Chi-Waki," thinks that "wren" must have been the bird originally intended by the framers of the tradition. Motowori, following a suggestion of the editor of 1687, prefers to consider the radical for "bird" to have been put by mistake for the radical for "insect," and reads which signifies "moth," especially the "silkworm moth." Motowori, however, proceeds to give to the character in question the Japanese reading of hi mushi (lit. "fire-insect," i.e. "ephemera"), which is not warranted. The proper Japanese reading is hihiru. The best would seem to be to adopt the reading "moth."

^103:5 The original word is tani-guku. Its derivation and the name of the species which it denoted are alike unknown. Indeed we might equally well translate by "frog."

^103:6 Kuye-biko. The interpretation of the name here adopted is Motowori's. Tominobu takes Kuye to be the name of a place, and the parsonage in question to have been the inventor of scarecrows, whence the tradition connected with his name.

^103:7 Sukuna-biko-na-no-kami, or without the nigori, Sukuna-hiko-na-no-kami. The interpretation of the name here followed is that proposed by Motowori, but not followed by Hirata and Moribe, who prefer to consider it antithetical to that of Oho-na-muji, "the Great-name-Possess or."

^103:8 First mentioned in Sect. I, Note 6. Immediately below, his name is given

in the lengthened form.

^103:9 Motowori (who, strange to say, is followed by Hirata,--conf. Sect. XVIII, Note 18) interprets the two characters (here in accordance [p. 105] with general usage taken to signify "respectfully informed") as "informed and took up," thus making it appear that the diminutive deity was personally taken up to Heaven. Surely a recollection of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," which says that "a messenger was sent up to inform the Heavenly Deities," should have preserved the commentators from thus offending against both grammar and common sense.

^103:10 I.e., "slipped away between my fingers." In the legend as given in the "Chronicles," the father explains more particularly that the Little-Prince-the-Renowned-Deity had been a bad boy who ran away.

^103:11 For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII. Note 26.

^103:12 Toko-yo-no-kuai (). Some kind of Paradise or Hades is meant, as is proved by innumerable references in the early literature of Japan: and we may suppose the idea to have been borrowed from the Chinese or through them from Buddhism, and to have been afterwards vaguely located in some distant country. In Sect. LXXIV we are told of the orange having been brought from the "Eternal Land" by Tajima-mori, who is said to have been of Korean extraction. Korea, which is to the west of Japan, and the Buddhist paradise in the west might well he confounded by tradition, though it is equally open to discussion whether Southern China or even the Loochoo Islands might not have been thus vaguely designated. In any case it was a distant place, imperfectly known, though specifically named. In the "Chronicles," Tajima-mori is made to say that it is "the retreat of Gods and Fairies, and not to be reached by common men."--Motowori's immense note on this word (see Vol. XXI, pp. 10-13 of his Commentary) is a specimen of the specious arguments by which he endeavours to ward off from the Early Japanese the imputation of ever having borrowed any ideas from their neighbours. He would have us believe that Toko-yo is derived from soko yori, "thence" (!) and that the name simply denotes foreign countries in general. This is on a par with the opinion emitted by Arawi Hakuseki in his "Ko-shi Tsu," to the effect that the "Eternal Land" was simply a place in the province of Hitachi. The latter good old commentator apparently founded himself on no better reasons than his general rejection of supernatural or otherwise perplexing details, and the fact that one of the characters with which the name of the province in question written is , which also forms part of the name of Toko-yo-no-kuni.

^103:13 Literally "everything beneath Heaven." "Beneath Heaven" (), i.e. "all that is beneath the Heavens," is a common Chinese phrase for the Chinese Empire, which was in ancient days not unnaturally [p. 106] supposed by its inhabitants to form the whole civilized world. The expression was borrowed by the Japanese to designate their own country, But its use by them had not the same plea of ignorance of other civilized lands, as they were acquainted with China and Korea, and had hence obtained nearly all the arts of life.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 106] [88]

[SECT. XXVIII.--THE AUGUST-LUCK-SPIRIT-THE-AUGUST-WONDROUS-SPIRIT.] [*1]

Thereupon the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land lamented himself, and said: "How shall I alone be able to make this land? [*2] Together with what Deity can I make this land?" At this time there came a Deity illuminating the sea. This Deity said: "If thou wilt lay me to rest [*3] well, I can make it together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made." Then the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land

said: "If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?" He replied, saying: "Reverently worship me on Yamato's green fence, the eastern mountain's top." [*4] This is the Deity who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro. [*5]

Footnotes

^106:1 [p. 106] In the "Chronicles," this is given as the designation of the Deity who came over the sea, and Motowori therefore adopts it as the heading of this Section.

^106:2 For an explanation of this expression see Sect. XXIII, Note 26.

^106:3 I.e. "if thou wilt build me a temple." The original might also be rendered "if thou wilt worship before me," or "at my shrine," of "if thou wilt establish a temple to me."

^106:4 I.e. on Mount Mimoro which stands as a protecting fence in the eastern part of the province of Yamato. Awo-kaki-yama, "green fence mountain," became a proper name used alternatively for Mount Mimoro (or, according to the later pronunciation, Mimuro). In like manner Himukashi-yama (in the later language Higashi-yama) "eastern mountain," has by some been considered to be a proper name.

^106:5 I.e. "august house;" so called probably from the temple of the deity.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 107]

[SECT. XXIX.--THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF THE GREAT-HARVEST-DEITY AND OF THE SWIFT-MOUNTAIN-DEITY.]

So the Great-Harvest-Deity wedded the Princess [of?] Inu, [*1] daughter of the Divine-Life-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, [*2] and begot children: the Deity August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land; [*3] [89] next the Deity of Kara; [*4] next the Deity Sohori; [*5] next the Deity White-Sun; [*6] next the Sage-Deity. [*7] (Five Deities [*8]). Again he wedded the Refulgent-Princess, [*9] and begot children: the Deity Great-Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee, [*10] next the August-Harvest-Deity. [*11] Again he wedded Princess Ame-shiru-karu-midzu, [*12] and begot children: the Deity Oki-tsu-hiko, [*13] next Her Augustness Oki-tsu-hime, [*14] another name for whom is [90] the Deity Great Furnace-Princess [*15]--this is the Deity of the Furnace [*16] held in reverence by all people--next the Deity Great-Mountain-Integrator, [*17] another name for whom is the Deity-Great-Master-of-the-Mountain-End: [*18] this Deity dwells on Mount Hiye [*19] in the land of Chika-tsu-Afumi, [*20] and is likewise the Deity dwelling at Matsu-no-wo [*21] in Kadzunu, [*22] who uses the whizzing barb. [*23] Next the Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard; [*24] next the Deity Asahi; [*25] next the Deity Hahigi; [*26] next the Deity Refulgent-Mountain-Dwelling-Grandee; [*27] next the Deity [91] Swift-Mountain-Dwelling; [*28] next the High Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard; [*29] next the Great-Earth-Deity, [*30] another name for whom is the Deity August-Ancestor-of-Earth. [*31] (Nine Deities [*32])

In the above paragraph the children of the Great-Harvest-Deity, from the Deity August-Spirit-of-the Great-Land down to the Great-Earth-Deity, are altogether sixteen Deities.

[p. 108]

The Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling [*33] wedded the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food, [*34] and begot children: the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator; [*35] next the

Young-Harvest-Deity; [*36] next his younger sister the Young-Rice-Transplanting-Female-Deity; [*37] next the Water-Sprinkling-Deity; [*38] next the Deity-of-the-High-Sun-of-Summer, [*39] another name for whom is the Female-Deity-of-Summer; [*40] next the Autumn-Princess; [*41] next the Deity Stem-Harvest; [*42] next the Deity Lord-Stem-Tree-Young-House-Rope. [*43]

In the above paragraph the children of the Deity Swift-Mountain-Dwelling, from the Deity Young-Mountain-Integrator down to the Deity Lord-Young-House-Rope, [*44] are altogether eight Deities.

[p. 109] [p. 110] [p. 111]

Footnotes

^107:1 [p. 108] Inu-hime. Motowori supposes Inu to be the name of a place. The word properly signifies "dog."

^107:2 Kamu-iku-musu-bi-no-kami.

^107:3 Oho-kuni-mi-tama-no-kami.

^107:4 Kara-no-kami, . Kara signifies Korea and China, and the Deity thus named appears in the "Chronicle" under the name of I-so-takeru ("Fifty-fold-Valiant"), of whom it is related that he was taken over to Korea by his father Susa-no-wo (the "Impetuous-Male").

^107:5 Sohori-no-kami. The etymology is not clear. Hirata derives the name from a Verb soru, "to ride," "to go in a boat," in connection with the story (mentioned in the preceding note) of I-so-takeru having been taken over to Korea. According to this view, Sohori, like Kara-no-kami, would be an alternative name of I-so-takeru. But the derivation is hazardous, to say the least.

^107:6 Shira-hi-no-kami. Motowori supposes shira hi () to be a copyist's error for makahi (). The latter, however, does not make satisfactory sense, and Tomonobu, proposes to invert the characters, thus: , which means "sun-confronting." Motowori suggests that the word , after all, be but the name of a place.

^107:7 Hizhiri-no-kami, written with the characters . The first of is defined as signifying him who is intuitively wise and good, i.e. [p. 109] the perfect sage. But perhaps we should in Archaic Japanese take the term hizhiri in what is its probable native etymological sense, viz. "sun-governing" (hizhiri,), a title properly applied to the Japanese Emperors as descendants of the Sun-God, and of which the character , which is used of the Chinese Monarchs, is only an equivalent in so far as it, too, is employed as an Honorific title.

^107:8 Viz. from the August-Spirit-of-the-Great-Land to the Sage-Deity inclusive.

^107:9 Kagaya-hime.

^107:10 Oho-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami. The translation follows Hirata's interpretation, which nearly agrees with that proposed by Mabuchi.

^107:11 Mi-toshi-no-kami. For the meaning of "harvest" attributed to the word toshi see Sect. XX, Note 3.

^107:12 Ame-shiru-karu-midzu-hime. The name might tentatively be translated thus: Heaven-Governing-Fresh-Princess-of Karu. Motowori suggests that amerishiru may be but a sort of Pillow-Word for the rest of the name. Ama-tobu is, however, the only Pillow-word for Karu found in the poems. After all, Karu may not here

be the name of a place at all.

^107:13 Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami. The translator ventures to think that the names of this deity and the next might simply be rendered (in accordance with the first character, entering into their composing) "Inner Prince" and "Inner Princess" or "Prince of the Interior" and "Princess of the Interior." Motowori however suggests that Okitsu may be the name of a place, while Hirata derives the names from oki-tsuchi, "laid earth," finding therein a reference to the furnace (made of clay) mentioned immediately below.

^107:14 Oki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.

^107:15 Oho-be-hime-no-kami.

^107:16 Kama-no-kami (). The "furnace" means the "kitchen." Neither Motowori nor Hirata informs us that the immense popularity of this Goddess, as well as her name, can clearly be traced to China.

^107:17 Oho-yama-kuni-no-kami. The meaning of kuhi, here (as in the case of Tsumu-guhi and Iku-guhi (see Sect. II, Note 4) rendered by the word "interior," is open to doubt.

^107:18 Yama-suwe-no-oko-mushi-no-kami. Motowori supposes the word suwe, "end," to have the signification of "top."

^107:19 As it stands, the etymology of this name is not clear. In later times the mountain was called Hiyei (). But whether the, to outward appearance, native Hiye is but a corruption of this Chinese one, or [p. 110] whether it be true that the latter (on this hypothesis bestowed on account of its likeness in sound to the native designation) was not used till the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. as is commonly stated, is difficult to decide.

^107:20 I.e. "Close-Fresh-Sea." Afumi (modern pron. Omi, for aha-umi) alone signifies "fresh sea," i e. "lake." This province contains the large take commonly known as Lake Biha, (Biwa), but anciently simply called "the Fresh Sea," as being the lake par excellence of Japan. When one of the eastern provinces received, on account of a large lagoon or inlet which it contains, the name of Toho-tsu-Afumi (in modern pronunciation To-tomi), i.e. "Distant-Fresh-Sea," the epithet Close was prefixed to the name of the province nearer to the ancient centre of government.

^107:21 I.e. Pine-tree-Declivity.

^107:22 I.e. Pueraria-Moor.

^107:23 This passage () must be corrupt. Mabuchi proposes to insert the character before , and to understand the author to have meant to tell us that the deity was worshipped with arrows, that is to say, that arrows were offered at his shrine. Motowori's proposal to consider as an error for or , and to interpret the clause thus: "the Deity who was changed into an arrow" is also worthy of notice. But a further suggestion of his to read for and to interpret thus: "the Deity of the Red Arrow," seems best of all when taken in connection with the tradition, which he quotes from the "Topography of Yamashiro," to the effect that this god took the shape of a red arrow to gain access to his mistress Tama-yori-hime, such a transformation being one of the common-places of Japanese myth.

^107:24 Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami. The interpretation of this name here adopted is not Motowori's, who takes hi in the sense of "wondrous," but Hirata's. The latter-author makes it clear that this deity (for whom Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami, i.e. "The High-Deity-of-the-Fire-in-the-Yard," is but a slightly amplified designation) was none other than the above-mentioned Deity of the Kitchen, and his name an inclusive one for the pair of deities Oki-tsu-hiko and Oki-tsu-hime.

^107:25 Asuha-ho-kami. The signification of this name is obscure, and Motowori's proposal to derive it from ashi-niha, "foot-place," because the god in question may be supposed to protect the place on which people stand, is not altogether convincing. In fact he himself only advances it with hesitation. It should be added, however, that Hirata stamps it with his special approval, as he does also Motowori's derivation of the following name, Hahigi.

^107:26 [p. 111] Hahi-gino-kami. Obscure, but ingeniously derived by Motowori from hachi-iri-gimi, i.e. "entering prince," the deity in question being supposed to have been the special of the entrances to houses, and to have thence received his name. Mr. Satow has translated it in the Rituals as "Entrance Limit."

^107:27 Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami. The name is almost identical with that in Note 10.

^107:28 Ha-yama-to-no-kami. The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori, and which seems tolerably satisfactory.

^107:29 Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami. See note 24.

^107:30 Oho-tsuchi-no-kami.

^107:31 Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-kami.

^107:32 This number is obtained if (as is perhaps permissible from a Japanese point of view) we consider Oki-tsu-hiko and Oki-tsu-hime as forming a single deity. Otherwise there are ten. A similar remark applies to the number sixteen mentioned immediately below.

^108:33 See Note 28.

^108:34 See Sect. V, Note 8. The fact that this goddess is related to have been previously killed (see Sect. XVII) causes Motowori some embarrassment.

^108:35 Waka-yama-kuhi-no-kami.

^108:36 Waka-toshi-no-kami. Motowori proposes (considering this name in connection with the four that follow) to take waka-toshi in this place in the signification of the "the first sprouting" of the young rice. The five deities whose birth is here mentioned seem collectively to represent the natural succession of agricultural operations throughout the year.

^108:37 Waka-sa-name-no-kami.

^108:38 Midzu-maki-no-kami.

^108:39 Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami. Motowori's interpretation of hi as "wondrous" is perhaps as good as that here adopted, according to which it signifies "sun." His view would give us in English "the Summer-High-Wondrous-Deity."

^108:40 Natsu-no-me-no-kami.

^108:41 Aki-bime no-kami.

^108:42 Kuku-toshi-no-kami. The word kuku, "stem," seems to allude to the length of the well-grown rice.

^108:43 [p. 112] Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsunane-no-kami. Motowori supposes this god to have been the protector of houses, and interprets the name to denote the beams, and the ropes with which the beams were bound together. The word here read tsuna, "rope;" is written with the character, and might perhaps be rendered "pueraria." But as in early times the tendrils of such creeping plants formed the only substitute for rope, the two renderings come to have very nearly the

same signification.

^108:44 The name is here abbreviated in the original to Waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. XXX.--THE AUGUST DELIBERATION FOR PACIFYING THE LAND.]

The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded, saying: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,--Of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns [*1] is the land which my august child His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears [*2] shall govern." Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she sent him down from Heaven. [*3] Hereupon His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, [*4] said: "The Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns,--of Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns is painfully uproarious,--it is." [*5] With this announcement, he immediately re-ascended, and informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. Then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity [*6] and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity commanded the eight hundred myriad Deities to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, [*7] and caused the Deity Thought-Includer [*8] to think [of a plan], and said: [*9] "This Central Land of Reed-Plains is the land with which we

have deigned to charge our august child as the land which he shall govern. So as he deems that violent and savage Earthly Deities [*10] are numerous in this land, [69] which Deity shall we send to subdue them?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities took counsel and said: "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi [*11] is the one that should be sent." So they sent the Deity Ame-no-ho-hi; but he at once curried favour with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, and for three years brought back no report.

Footnotes

^112:1 [p. 113] Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-izo-kuni, i.e., freely rendered, "ever fruitful Japan with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant rice-fields."

^112:2 See Sect. XIII, Note 18. Henceforward this tremendous name is mostly abbreviated to Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi (probably signifying "Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears.")

^112:3 So in the original. The sense, however, is rather "told him to descend from Heaven;" for he did not actually go further than the top of the "Floating Bridge," and never came down to earth.

^112:4 See Sect. III, Note 3.

^112:5 The words "it is" stand for ari keri in the original. Conf. Sect. X, Note 1.

^112:6 Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami, first mentioned at the very commencement of the work. In this legend this god's name is constantly coupled with that of the Sun-Goddess, who alone, up to this point, had appeared as the ruler of Heaven.

^112:7 See Sect. XIII, Note 12.

^112:8 See Sect. XVI, Note 7.

^112:9 The meaning must be, as Motowori suggests, that the story was told first, and the Deity Thought-Includer asked for his advice after he had heard it.

^113:10 See Sect. I, Note 11.

^113:11 See Sect. XIII, Note 19.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. XXXI.--THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.]

Therefore the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, saying. "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains, is long of bringing back a report. [*1] Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" [*2] Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince, [*3] son of the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit [*4] should be sent." So they bestowed on him the Heavenly feathered arrows, [*5] and sent him. Thereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining, [*6] daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, [*7] and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no [95] report. So then the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince is long of bringing back a report. [*8] Which Deity shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's long tarrying?" Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The pheasant the Name-Crying-Female [*9] should be sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity] charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the Heavenly-Young-Prince is this: 'The reason for which thou wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to subdue and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for eight years bringest thou back no report?'" So then the Crying-Female,

descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree [*10] at the Heavenly-Young-Prince's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman, [*11] having heard the bird's words, spoke to the Heavenly-Young-Prince, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very bad. So thou shouldest shoot it to earth." On her [thus] urging him, the Heavenly-Young-Prince at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree [96] bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up upside down [*12] through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity [*13] were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: "This arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the Heavenly-Young-Prince," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the Heavenly-Young-Prince in obedience to our command, let it not hit him. If he has a foul heart, let the Heavenly-Young-Prince perish [*14] by this arrow." With these words, the took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole, [*15] so that it hit the Heavenly-Young-Prince on the top of his breast [*16] as he was

sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the origin of [the saying] Beware of a returning arrow. [*17]) Moreover the pheasant returned not. So this is the

[p. 116]

origin of the modern proverb which speaks of 'the pheasant as sole messenger.' [*18] So the sound of the wailings of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children [*19] who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there, [*20] and made the wild goose of the river [*21] the head-hanging bearer [*22] the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman, [*23] [98] the pheasant the weeping woman; and, having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves [*24] for eight days and eight nights, At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne [*25] came and condoled on the mourning for the Heavenly-Young-Prince, whereupon the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves, [*26] saying: "My child is not dead, no! My lord is not dead, no!" and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely resembled each other in countenance: so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity Ajishi-ki-taka-hiko-ne was very angry, and said: "It was only because he was my dear friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to an unclean dead person?"--and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sabre [*27] that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning [*28] at the source of the River Awimi [*29] in the land of Minu. [*30] The great sword with which he cut

[p. 117]

[paragraph continues] [the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Great-Blade-Mower, [*31] another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Sabre. [*32] So when the [99] Deity Aji-shiki-toba-hiko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Her Augustness the High-Princess in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying:

"Oh! 'tis the Deity Aji-shiki-Taka-Hiko-Ne traversing two august valleys with the refulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of the august assembled jewels worn round her neck by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven!" [*33]

This Song is of a Rustic Style. [*34]

[p. 118] [p. 119] [p. 120]

Footnotes

^114:1 [p. 117] Literally, "long brings back no report."

^114:2 Literally, "to send again." The same expression occurs below.

^114:3 Ame-waka-hiko. All the commentators agree that it is in order to express disapprobation of this god's wickedness that the title of Deity or Augustness is never coupled with his name.

^114:4 Ame-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami.

^114:5 Ame-no-koko-yumi and ame-no-haha-ya. In Sect. XXXIV these weapons are mentioned under the slightly altered names of ama-no-hazhi-yumi ("heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow") and ama-no-kaku-ya ("heavenly deer-arrows.") A large bow made of vegetable wax-tree (Rhus succedanea) wood, and arrows with broad feathers, are supposed to be intended.

^114:6 Shita-teru-hime. See Sect. XXVI, Note 4.

^114:7 Oho-kuni-nushi-no-kami. See Sect. XX, Note 17.

^114:8 Literally, "long brings back no report."

^114:9 Na-naki-me. If the view here taken of the meaning of the Japanese expression be correct (it is that preferred by Motowori and Hirata), the pheasant would seem to have been supposed to cry out its own name,--in Archaic Japanese kigishi. The syllables na naki me, however, lend, themselves equally well to the interpretation of "nameless female," and are in the "Chronicles" found written with characters having that signification. Another reasonable opinion is that the name should be connected with the tradition mentioned further on of the [p. 118] pheasant having been the mourner (lit. "crying female," naki-me) at the funeral of the Heavenly-Young-Prince. In this case the word na, "name," would have to be considered redundant, and it will be observed that the next time the name is mentioned, we find simply naki-me, "crying female," without the syllable in question.

^115:10 Katsura no-ki, variously written , , , , and phonetically . Though it is not absolutely certain what tree is intended, the weight of authority and of probability is in favour of its being the cassia, which plays a part in Chinese mythology. In modern parlance the katsura is a tree whose Latin name is Cercidiphyllum japonicum.

^115:11 Ama-no-sagu-me.

^115:12 This expression, as Motowori explains, signifies only that, as the arrow was shot from below straight up at a pheasant perching on a branch overhead, the feathers, which are properly considered to form the top part of the arrow, were naturally underneath.

^115:13 Taka-gi-no-kami. The name is written with the characters , which, taken ideographically, would give us in English "High-Tree-Deity." But the translator has little doubt but that Motowori is correct in to be here used phonetically, and the syllable gi, which it represents, to be a contraction of guhi (for kuhi), itself derived from kumu, and best rendered by the Verb "to integrate."

^115:14 In Japanese magare, lit. "turn aside," "become crooked," i.e., "come to a bad end."

^115:15 I.e., through the hole in the bottom of the sky through which the arrow had entered, or which the arrow had made for itself.

^115:16 Literally "high breast-hill."

^115:17 The sentence placed between brackets is supposed by Motowori to be an addition to the text made by some copyist who had in his mind the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." In the "Records of Ancient Matters Revised" the two characters answering to our word "beware" are omitted, and the resulting meaning is: "This was the origin of the practice of sending back arrows," i.e., of shooting an enemy with the arrow he had himself just used.

^116:18 The import of the proverb seems to be that an embassy should always consist of more than one person. This is Motowori's view, based on his interpretation of the character as hita, which he identifies with hito, "one"; and it agrees well with the story in the text. Hirata, who, in his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," following the version [p. 119] of the legend given in the "Chronicles," narrates two pheasant embassies,--the male bird being sent first and (as it did not return) the female afterwards,--takes the character in the proper sense belonging to it in Chinese, and interprets the words of the proverb to mean "the pheasant's hurried embassy."

^116:19 I.e., the wife and children of the Heavenly-Young-Prince, who had been

left behind by him in Heaven when he went on his embassy to Idzumo.

^116:20 I.e., in the place where he died. The "mourning house" was used to keep the corpse in till it was finally buried.

^116:21 Some of the commentators believe this bird to be a separate species, and Moribe, who says that he saw one at the estuary near Kuhana in Ise, describes it as "rather slenderer than an ordinary wild goose, with longer legs and a higher back." If we accepted this, the better English translation would be "river wild goose."

^116:22 The original of this expression (kisari-mochi) is very obscure even in the "Chronicles," by whose ideographic reading the translator has been guided, and being here written phonetically becomes more conjectural still. The most likely opinion is that it signifies one bearing on his head the food to be offered to the corpse, though if this view be adopted, the office of the mourner in question may seem to resemble too closely that of the kingfisher. The latter has however been supposed to have brought fish, while the goose may have brought rice. Another proposal is that the goose brought the food and the kingfisher cooked it, while the sparrow, as mentioned below, performed the intermediate operation of pounding the rice. (See Motowori's elaborate note on this word in Vol. XIII, pp. 47-48 of his Commentary).

^116:23 Or simply, "the pounder."

^116:24 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us that "they wept and wailed and sang for eight days and eight nights."

^116:25 See Sect. XXVI, Note 2. He was brother to the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife.

^116:26 The author of the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" tells us that these tears were tears of joy, Doubtless such is the meaning of the text; yet the repetition of the words "bewailing" and "lamenting" is curious.

^116:27 See Sect. VIII. Note 4.

^116:28 Mo-yama. No such mountain is now known.

^116:29 [p. 120] Awimi-gaha. No such river is now known. According to the characters with which it is written the name signifies "Knot-grass-Seeing River."

^116:30 Afterwards called Mino. This province probably received its name, as the author of the "Explanation of Japanese Names" suggests, from mi nu, i.e., "three moors," from the large moors of Kagami, Awo, and Seki-ga-hara which it contains. The modern commentators prefer to derive it from ma nu, "true moor."

^117:31 Oho-ha-hari. The name might also be rendered "Great Leaf-Mower." The translator has followed Hirata in omitting the nigori from the syllable ka.

^117:32 Kamudo-tsurugi.

^117:33 The meaning of the Song is: "Oh! this is Aji-shihi-taka-hiko-ne, whose refulgence, similar to that of the jewels worn by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven, shines afar across hills and valleys."--The translator does not follow those commentators who emend ana-dama, "hole-jewels" to aka-dama, "red," i.e. "resplendent jewels," as the frequent reference in this and the other ancient books to the string on which beads were strung, and the presence in ancient tombs, etc. of numbers of such beads with holes drilled through them (they are now known by the name of kuda-dama, i.e. "tube-jewels")renders such an emendation unnecessary The "Weaving Maiden in Heaven" is evidently, notwithstanding Motowori's endeavour to disprove the fact, the Chinese Chih Nu,

a personification of a Lyrae, to whom there are countless allusions in Chinese literature, and who also became a frequent theme of the later Japanese poets.

^117:34 Or, "barbarous style" Motowori endeavours to explain away the various names of styles of Songs found in the early literature by asserting that they are simply derived from the initial words of the Song in question, and that, for instance, in the present case, the title of Rustic Song was bestowed on the poem only because in the "Chronicles" it is coupled with another which lends itself to such an interpretation. Moribe gives his sanction to this view; but, though it is difficult to explain many of the titles on any other theory, the translator thinks that it cannot be accepted as generally satisfactory in the face of the numerous cases which contradict it, and of which its supporters can give no satisfactory explanation. The whole subject of the titles, of the manner of singing, etc., of the ancient poems is indeed involved in obscurity.

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[SECT. XXXII.--ABDICATION OF THE DEITY MASTER-OF-THE-GREAT-LAND.]

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" [*1] Then the Deity Thought-Includer and likewise all the Deities said: "He who is named the Deity Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended [*2] and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling by the source of the Tranquil River of Heaven, is the one that should be sent: or if not this Deity, then this Deity's child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, [*3] might be sent. Moreover, [*4] owing to this Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended having blocked up and turned back the waters of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road blocked up, other Deities cannot go [thither]. So the Heavenly-Deer-Deity [*5] should be sent specially to ask him." So then the Heavenly-Deer-Deity was sent to ask the Deity Heaven-Point-Blade-Extended, who replied, saying: "I will obey, and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless on this errand [*6] ye should send my [*7] child, the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity," [*8]--[and with these words] immediately offered [his son to Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity]. So the Deity Heavenly-Bird-Boat [*9] was attached to the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, and they were sent off. Therefore these two Deities, descending to the little shore [*10] of Inasa [*11] in the land of Idzumo, [101] drew their swords ten hand-breadths long, [*12] stuck them upside down [*13] on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged [*14] on the points of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying "The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity

have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: 'We have deigned to charge our august child with thy dominion, the Central Land of Reed-Plains, as the land which he should govern. So how is thy heart?'" [*15] He replied, saying: "I [*16] am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master [*17] will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to Cape Miho [*18] to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet returned." So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou] [*19] respectfully present this land to the august child of the Heavenly Deity;"--and thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches, and disappeared. [*20] So then they asked [102] the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: "Thy son the Deity Thing-Sign-Master has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who should speak?" Hereupon he spoke again, saying: "There is my other son, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm. [*21] There is none beside him." While he was thus speaking, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm came up, bearing on

the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock, [*22] and said: "Who is it that has come to our land, and thus secretly talks? If that be so, [*23] I should like to have a trial of strength. So I should like to begin by taking thine august hand." So on his letting him take his august hand, his touch at once turned it into an icicle, and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade. [*24] So then he was frightened and drew back. Then on the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity wishing to take the hand of the Deity

[p. 123]

[paragraph continues] Brave-August-Name-Firm, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed it as if it were taking a young reed, and cast it aside, upon which [the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm] fled away. So when [the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea of Suha [*25] in the land of Shinanu, [*26] and was about to slay him, the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. I will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master. I Will yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains according to the command of the august child of the Heavenly Deities." So they returned again, and asked the Deity Master-of-the Great-Land [saying]: "Thy children the two Deities the Deity Thing-Sign-Master and the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm have said that they will follow and not go against the commands of the august child of the Heavenly Deities. So how is thy heart?" Then he replied, saying: According as the two Deities my children have said, I too will not go against them. In accordance with the [heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains. But as to my place of residence, if ye will make stout the temple pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of Heaven's sun, and will deign to establish me, I will hide in the eighty (less than a hundred) road-windings, and wait on him. Again, as for my children the hundred and eighty Deities, if the

[p. 124]

[paragraph continues] Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be the Deities, august rear and van and will respectfully serve them, [104] there will be no disobedient Deities." [*27] Having thus spoken [he hid himself. [*28] So in accordance with his word, [*29]] they built a heavenly august abode on the shore [*30] of Tagishi [*31] in the land of Idzumo; and the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits, [*32] grandson of the Deity Of Water-Gates, [*33] was made butler to offer up the heavenly august banquet, when, [*34] having said prayers, the Deity Wondrous-Eight-Spirits turned into a cormorant, went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red earth from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters, and, cutting sea-weed [*35] stalks, made a fire-drill mortar, and made a fire-drill pestle out of stalks of komo, [*36] and drilled out fire, saying: "This fire which I have drilled [105] will I burn until, in the Plain of High Heaven, the soot on the heavenly new lattice of the gable of His Augustness the Wondrous-Divine-Producer-the-August-Ancestor [*37] hang down eight hand-breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake down to the nethermost rock-bottom, and,--the fishing sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and landed the large-mouthed small-finned perch,--I will offer up the heavenly true fish-food so that the split bamboos bend." [*38] So the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity re-ascended [to Heaven], and reported how he had subdued and pacified the Central Land of Reed-Plains.

[p. 125] [p. 126] [p. 127]

Footnotes

^121:1 [p. 124] Literally, "to send again."

^121:2 Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari no kami. We have already seen (Sect. VIII, Note 15) this name (minus the title of Deity) as the appellation of the sword with which Izanagi ("the Male-Who-Invites") decapitated his son [p. 125] Kagu-tsu-chi ("Shining Elder") for having by his birth caused the death of Izanami ("the Female-Who-Invites.") This sword's alternative name appears immediately below as the alternative name of this deity,--Ame-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami, i.e., "the Deity Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended." Motowori's gloss to the effect that the deity was the spirit of the sword has no warrant from the text.

^121:3 Take-mika-dzu-chi-no-wo-no-kami. See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

^121:4 Here, as in Sect. IX, (Note 6) the character , "moreover," occurs where some other Conjunction would seem more appropriate both in Japanese and in English. We may here understand it to be used for but."

^121:5 Ame-no-kaku-no-kami. The interpretation of kaku as "deer" is Hirata's. See his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXII, p. 6. and conf. the remarks on Mount Kagu in Sect. VII, Note 12 of this translation.

^121:6 Literally, "in this road."

^121:7 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character , "servant"

^121:8 See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

^121:9 Tori-bune-no-kami. See Sect. VI, Note 24.

^121:10 The word "little" is merely a sort of Honorific Expletive.

^121:11 The true etymology of this word is doubtful; for Motowori's proposal to derive it from ina se, supposed to mean "no, or yes" (), in allusion to the question here put to the Deity Master-of-the-Great-land is a mere fancy, and does not provide for the alternative forms Itasa and Isasa, which occur in other documents.

^121:12 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

^121:13 I.e., as Motowori explains, hilt downwards.

^121:14 The "Chronicles" say that they "squatted."

^122:15 I.e., "What sayest thou to this our decree?

^122:16 Here and below the humble character , "servant," is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

^122:17 Ya-he-koto-shiro-nu-shi-no-kami. For this difficult name see Sect. XXVI, Note 7.

^122:18 See Sect. XXVII, Note 1.

^122:19 Or, "We will."

^122:20 I.e., He capsized his boat and himself into the sea,--the place being one where (as is still done in Japan) a large space of shallow water had been fenced in with posts, and stuck over with branches of [p. 126] trees, a single opening being left for fish to enter by,--then clapped his hands in token of departure, and sank to the bottom.--This is Hirata's interpretation of the passage, which is a difficult one, and is differently understood by Motowori, whom Mr. Satow has followed in one of his notes to the Rituals (see Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 122 of these "Transactions"), rendering it thus: "He then trod upon the edge of his boat so as to overturn it and with his hands crossed back to back (in token of consent), transformed his boat into a green fence of branches,

and disappeared." A careful comparison of the remarks in Motowori's Commentary (Vol. XIV, pp. 16-19) with those in Hirata's "Exposition of the Ancient Histories" (Vol. XXII, pp. 50-55) and with the text itself, as also with the text of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," has however left no doubt in the mind of the translator that Hirata's view is the correct one.

^122:21 Take-mi-gata-no-kami. The interpretation of the name is that proposed by Motowori.

^122:22 I.e., a rock which it would take a thousand men to lift.

^122:23 This expression seems here, as Motowori says, to be used in the sense of "Come on!" It has survived in the modern word saraba, which sometimes has that meaning.

^122:24 I.e., the Brave-Awful-Male-Deity's hand turned first into an icicle and next into a sword-blade on being touched by the Deity Brave-August-Name-Firm, to the alarm and hurt of the latter.

^123:25 I.e., the Lake of Suha. No satisfactory etymology of the name is forthcoming.

^123:26 In later times called Shinano. The usual derivation of the word is that which connects it with shina-zaka; "mountainous ascents,"--an appropriate enough name for the province in question. It is, however. more probably derived from shina, the name of a tree resembling the lime (Tilia cordata) and nu or no, "moor."

^124:27 I.e. "If ye will build me a temple founded on the nethermost rocks and reaching up to Heaven like unto the august residence of the Heavenly Deity who is coming to replace me as sovereign upon earth, I will vanish to Hades, and serve him there; and as for the Gods my children, none of them will rebel against their new Lord, if the Deity Thing-Sign-Master be accepted as the protector of his escort."--Some of the expressions in the original stand in need of explanation. Su, here rendered "nest" in accordance with the character employed in writing it, may mean "lattice" (), and refer to the lattice-work over the hole [p. 127] in the chimney of the roof. The "succession of Heaven's sun" (in Japanese ama-tsu-hi-tsugi) means the inheritance of the sovereignty of Japan, or of Idzumo. Momotaradzu ("less than a hundred") is the Pillow-Word for ya se, "eighty," and for some other words; it must he disregarded in making sense of any sentence in which it occurs. The "eighty road-windings" signify, says Motowori, "an immensely long way," and are here meant for the long road leading to Hades or for Hades itself (Conf. Sect. XCVI, Note 7). In rendering the last sentence of the passage (that commencing "Again, as for my children," etc.). which is particularly vague, the translator has been guided by Motowori's opinion, which seems the most satisfactory one. It must be understood that the deities whose rear and van the Deity Thing-Sign-Master is to become, are those who are about to escort the new sovereign down from heaven.

^124:28 I.e., disappeared.

^124:29 The passage placed within brackets is supplied by Motowori to fill up an evident omission in the text.

^124:30 Literally "little shore." See Note 10 to this Section.

^124:31 The derivation of Tagishi is doubtful; but conf. Sect. LXXIX, Note 2. Motowori remarks that we seem to have here the old name of the place now known only, on account of the temple which it contains, as Kidzuki no Oho-yashiro, i.e. "the pestle-hardened great shrine."

^124:32 Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami. Motowori proposes to consider tama as a contraction of tamuke, "offering," and to take the name to signify "the Deity of Wondrous Increasing Offerings." Hirata's interpretation, which is followed in

the translation, seems better, as the term "eight spirits" or "eight [fold] spirit" accords with the religious role attributed to this Deity without necessitating any hazardous philological conjectures. The actual character used to write the disputed word is , "jewel."

^124:33 See Sect. VI, Note 9.

^124:34 The word "when" must be understood presumptively, as signifying that the way in which he carried out his task was by turning into a cormorant, making platters, etc.

^124:35 It is uncertain whether the word me (), here rendered seaweed, is a general designation or the name of the particular species.

^124:36 Supposed to be the same as, or similar to the modern hondahara (Halochola macrantha).

^124:37 Kamu-musu-bi-mi-oya-no-kami.

^124:38 The translator has followed Moribe in the interpretation of the first part and Hirata in the interpretation of the latter part of this extremely difficult passage, which is a crux to all the commentators, but [p. 128] whose general sense at least is this: "I will continue drilling fire for the God's kitchen, until the soot hangs down from the roof of the temple of the Ancestral Deity in Heaven above, and until the earth below is baked down to its nethermost rocks; and with the fire thus drilled will I cook for him the fish brought in by the fishermen, and present them to him in baskets woven of split bamboos which will bend beneath their weight."--Another plausible interpretation of the original expression rendered by these last two words is that they are simply the Pillow-Word for towowo-towowo ni, "bending." The rope with which the fishermen are supposed to have angled is described in detail by Hirata ("Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXIV, p. 21) as a long rope from which other strings, each with a hook attached, depended, and is said by him to be still in use in the provinces of Shimofusa (Shimosa) and Hitachi. The "lattice of the gable" must be understood to mean bamboo lattice covering a hole beneath the gable, which served as a chimney. Motowori's remarks on this passage will be found in Vol. XIV, pp. 39-42 of his Commentary, and Moribe's on the words to-daru ama no nihi-su (rendered "on the heavenly new lattice of the gable") in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II. pp. 26-29; the latter especially are well worth perusal by the student. Mr. Satow, in one of the notes to his translation of the Rituals, (See Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 209 of these "Transactions"), gives a somewhat divergent rendering of this passage, following, as he does, the interpretation given by Motowori. It is as follows: "The fire which I have drilled will I burn until the soot of the rich and sufficing heavenly new nest of the PARENT Kami-musubi in heaven hangs down many hand-breadths long, and the earth below will I bake down to its bottom-most rocks, and stretching a thousand fathoms of paper-mulberry rope, will draw together and bring ashore the fisherman's large-mouthed small-finned suzuki, [and] will offer up the heavenly fish-food on bending split bamboos."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 128]

[SECT. XXXIII.--THE AUGUST DESCENT FROM HEAVEN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS THE AUGUST GRANDCHILD.]

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrity-Deity [*1] commanded and charged the Heir Apparent [*2] His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears [*3]

[p. 129]

[paragraph continues] [saying: The Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished-pacifying the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So do thou, in accordance with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I [*4] have been getting ready to descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name is His August ness Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. [*5] This child should be sent down." [[*6]As for this august child, [*7] he was augustly [107] joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess, [*8] daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity, and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy [*9] and next His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. [*10]] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears [*11] is the land over which thou shalt rule." So [he replied]: "I will descend from Heaven according to your commands." So when His Augustness-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of [108] Reed-Plains. So then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity and the High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity [*12] [saying]: Though thou art but a delicate female, thou art a Deity who conquers in facing Deities. [*13] So be thou the

[p. 130]

one to go and ask thus: 'This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?'" [*14] So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I [*15] am an Earthly Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta. [*16] The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as His Augustness's vanguard." [*17] Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor, [*18] in all five chiefs of companies, [*19] they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-foot [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling, [*20]] and, also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, [*21] and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener [*22] of Eternal Night, [*23] and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us." [*24] Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu. [*25] The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food. [*26] is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi. [*27] The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, [*28]--this Deity of the August Gate. [*29] The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male,

[p. 131]

dwells in Sanagata. [*30] Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains); [*31] His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen); [*32] Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru [*33]); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains); [*34] His Augustness-jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains). [*35]

[p. 132] [p. 133] [p. 134]

Footnotes

^128:1 [p. 131] Taka-no-kami. See Sect. XXXI, Note 13.

^128:2 It will be remembered that this god was son of the Sun-goddess (or of her brother Susa-no-wo, "the Impetuous Male";--see Sect. XII, Note 18, and also the first two sentences of Sect. XIV and the first sentence of Sect. XV). The characters rendered "Heir Apparent" are , which form the usual Chinese equivalent of that term, and were borrowed by the Japanese. Motowori's reading of them as Hi-tsugi-no-miko, "Prince of the Sun's Succession," has no authority but his own patriotic fancy.

^128:3 For this tremendous name see Sect. XIII, Note 18.

^129:4 The humble character , "servant" is used for the First Personal Pronoun.

^129:5 Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mi-koto. Excepting as regards the final gi of ni-nigi, which it is surely better with Hirata to consider as helping to form the word nigi, "plenty," than to take it as a separate word signifying "lord," as Motowori does, the translation follows Motowori's interpretation of the various component parts of this tremendous name, which is mostly abbreviated to its latter portion. It is precisely to this latter portion (the syllables hiko ho-no nigi) that considerable doubt attaches. Ho might mean "fire" rather than "rice-ears," and Motowori himself suggests that ni-nigi should perhaps be regarded as a corruption of nigi-kahi, "plentiful spikes of grain," rather than as "ruddy plenty." About the meaning of the rest of the name there cannot be much doubt. "Heaven's Sun Height" must be under stood as an honorific designation signifying "high as the sun in heaven."

^129:6 The translator puts this sentence between brackets because it is an evident interruption of the main story. Indeed the edition of 1688 prints it as a note to the text. The grammar of it is curious, as, on a first [p. 132] reading, one would be tempted to suppose that this child," i.e., His August Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-amatsu-hi-doka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi, was the father of Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi. But the latter name is but an abbreviated form of the former, and the god could not be his own father. The meaning rather is (and such a construction is not so forced in Japanese as it sounds in English): "As for the parentage of this child, he was born of the marriage [of His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.] with Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-etc. Princess. There is, however, real confusion in the traditional genealogy, as the "Chronicles" make the deity in question father to His Augustness Heavenly-Rice-ear-Ruddy, instead of younger brother.

^129:7 Viz. His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-etc.

^129:8 Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto. Mabuchi, as quoted by Motowori, suggests that yorodzu, "myriad," should be connected with the word yoroshi "good," as signifying an extreme degree, the ne plus ultra. But, though perhaps a good guess at the origin in the word, it need not affect our estimate of its actual signification. The translator has, however, followed Mabuchi in considering the syllable shi as an apocopated form of shima, "island," and Aki-dzu-shi[ma] as having its usual signification of "Dragon-fly Island" (more literally "Island of the Autumn Insect") rather than accept Motowori's explanation of shi as representing the Verb chijimu, "to be puckered," and of the whole compound aki-dzu-shi as signifying "crape like dragon-flies' wings." Not only is there no mention of crape in other passages of these "Records," but the derivation does not, to say the least, recommend itself on grounds.

^129:9 Ame-no-ho-akari-no-Mikoto. The word rendered "ripe" will bear equally well the interpretation "red."

^129:10 Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi, the abbreviated form of the name in Note 6.

^129:11 Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-hono-kuni. This periphrastic synonym of Japan

has appeared under a slightly shorter form in Sect. IX (Note 18).

^129:12 Ame-no-udzu-me-no-kami, the goddess whose loud, bold merriment was the chief cause of the Sun-Goddess emerging from her retreat in the Cavern (see Sect XVI, Note 28).

^129:13 I.e., "The brazen-facedness allows thee to stare others out of countenance, and make them uneasy."

^130:14 Between this sentence and the next, the Alarming-Female-Deity must be supposed to have gone on her embassy and to have delivered the message with which she had been entrusted.

^130:15 Written , literally "servant."

^130:16 [p. 133] Saruta-biko-no-kami. This is Motowori's reading. The more usual reading is Saruda-hiko, transposing the nigori. Hirata prefers to read Sada-biko, and takes Saruda or Sada to be the name of a place, which indeed seems the most acceptable view. The name actually signifies "monkey field." Motowori's interpretation of its import is a marvellous example of Japanese etymological gymnastics (see Vol. XV, p. 16 of his Commentary). Moribe's derivation from sari-hate-hiko () is no better.

^130:17 Or "guide."

^130:18 For these five names and for the Deity Thought-Includer and the [Heavenly] Hand-Strength-Male-Deity mentioned a few lines further on, see Sect. XVI, Notes 15, 16, 28. 12, 13, 7, and 27 respectively.

^130:19 Tomo-no-wo. This expression is here taken to refer to the various offices assumed by the five deities in question at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun-Goddess into the cave. It signifies properly the head of a company.

^130:20 The allusion is to the story in Sect. XVI. Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, points out that it was only the mirror which allured the goddess from the cave. In the Japanese original of this passage, however, even more than in the English translation, the expression "that had allured" is made to both objects.

^130:21 Obtained from the tail of the Serpent of Koshi. See the story in Sect. XVIII.

^130:22 Ame-no-iha-to-wake-no-kami. Hirata observes that this must not be considered as the name of an independent Deity, but be taken simply as an alternative name of Ame-no-jikara-wo-no-kami (the "Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity"). The part taken by this Deity in the legend narrated in Sect. XVI. seems a sufficient warrant for such an opinion, though a little lower down in this Section the two are again mentioned separately.

^130:23 Toko-yo. These words, which, according to the rules of Japanese construction, are placed at the commencement of the clause, must be understood to apply either to the three gods collectively or to the first-mentioned (the Deity Thought-Includer) alone.

^130:24 Or "worshipping before us," or "in our presence." The strictly logical concordance of an English sentence makes it appear as if the mirror were to be taken to represent the spirit of both Deities whose names are subjects of the first clause. In Japanese, however, all such concordances are much more loosely observed, and it is only the spirit of the Sun-Goddess that we must understand to be here intended.

^130:25 [p. 134] Isuzu (literally "fifty bells," or else perhaps the name of a kind of grass with which the neighbourhood may originally have been overgrown) is the name of the site of the "Inner Temple" of Ise. It is in the Japanese text

preceded by the Pillow-Word saku-kushiro, literally "rent bracelet." See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" s. v.

^130:26 Toyo-uke-no-kami, the same as Toyo-uke-bime (see Sect. VII, Note 6). The mention of: this goddess in this place is curious, as she would not seem to be connected with the legend. Motowori, however, supposes that it is through some accidental omission that she does not figure in the list of deities said to have accompanied the heaven-descended Sovereign.

^130:27 This name signifies "meeting when crossing" or "crossing to meet", and is connected by the commentators with an unimportant tradition, for which see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XV, p. 48.

^130:28 These two names are in the original Kushi-iha-ma-do-no-kami and Toyo-iha-mado-no-kami. The tradition in the "Gleanings of Ancient Story" makes them two separate deities.

^130:29 Viz. of the gate or gates of the Imperial Palace.

^131:30 Etymology obscure.

^131:31 Nakatomi no murazhi. Nakatomi is taken by Motowori to be a contraction of naka-tori-omi, and by Mabuchi to be a contraction of naka-tori-omi, either of which may be freely rendered "," "intercessors," referring to the religious functions which were hereditary in this family. See "Commentary on the Ritual of the General Purification," Vol. II, pp. 2-3.)

^131:32 Imibe no obito. Imibe is derived from imu, "to avoid," i.e. "to abstain from," and mure, "a flock" or "collection of persons," "a clan," and refers to the religious duties of this hereditary class of priests, which naturally required their avoidance of all ceremonial uncleanness. The word "priest" would fairly, though freely, represent the meaning of the compound.

^131:33 Saru me no kimi. For the traditional origin of this name see Sect. XXXV. These "duchesses" were priestesses: but it is a matter of dispute between the commentators whether the title was simply an official one, or hereditary in the female line.

^131:34 Kagami-tsukuri no murazhi. Of this family nothing would seem to be known.

^131:35 [p. 135] Tama-no-ya (or Tama n'Oya) no murazhi. But the name should probably be Tama-tsukuri no murazhi, i.e. "Jewel-Making Chieftains," a "gentile name" which is found in the later literature. Perhaps, however, we should understand both this means and the previous one to be simple inventions by names, of which divine ancestry was claimed for the hereditary guilds of jewellers and mirror-makers.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 135] [111]

[SECT. XXXIV.--THE AUGUST REIGN IN HIMUKA OF HIS AUGUSTNESS PRINCE RICE-EAR-RUDDY-PLENTY.] [*1]

So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded [*2] His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat, [*3] pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven, [*4] and descended from Heaven onto the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsu-kushi. [*5] [112] So

His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness [*6] and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes, [*7] both [*8] taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers, [*9] taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords, [*10] taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow, [*11] and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness [*12] (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords) [*13] Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite to the "land of Kara." [*14] One comes straight across to the august Cape of Kasasa; [*15] and it is a land whereon [113] the morning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place." [*16] Having thus spoken, he made stout the

[p. 136]

temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven, [*17] and dwelt there.

[p. 137]

Footnotes

^135:1 [p. 136] Motowori makes Sect. XXXIV commence here, and it seems on the whole best to follow him in so doing, as the entire period of the reign on earth of the first of the heaven-descended gods is thus included in one Section. On the other hand, the "Descent from Heaven," which gives its name to the preceding Sect., cannot properly be said to be accomplished until the end of this first sentence of Sect. XXXIV. It will be remembered that the Japanese name of this first deity-king is (in its abbreviated and most commonly used form) Hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi.

^135:2 Motowori proposes to suppress the character , "commanded," in this clause, and the character , "and," at the beginning of the next, and to take the Prince as the subject of the whole sentence. This would be convenient; but the characters and are in all the texts.

^135:3 I.e., his place in Heaven. The original Japanese of the term is ama-no-ikakura.

^135:4 The translator has adopted the interpretation proposed by Hirata, the only commentator who gives an acceptable view of this extremely difficult clause, which Motowori admitted that he did not understand. It must be remembered that Hirata identifies the "Floating Bridge of Heaven" with the "Heavenly Rock-Boat." (For details see his "Exposition of the Ancient Histories," Vol. XXVII, pp. 31-32).

^135:5 Tsukushi, anciently the name of the whole of the large island forming the South-Western corner of Japan, and Himuka (in modern pronunciation Hiuga), one of the provinces into which that island is divided, have already been mentioned in Sect. V, Note 14 and Sect. X, Note 4 respectively. It is uncertain whether the mountain here named is the modern Takachiho-yama or Kirishima-yama, but the latter view is generally preferred. Kuzhifuru is explained (perhaps somewhat hazardously) as meaning "wondrous," while Taka-chi-ho signifies "high-thousand-rice-ears."

^135:6 Ame-no-oshi-hi no mikoto. The interpretation is only conjectural.

^135:7 Ama-tsu-kume no mikoto. The traditional origin of this curious name will be found below in the third and fourth Songs of Sect. LI (see Notes 21 and 22 to that Section), where the "sharp slit eyes" of this worthy are specially referred to. But Moribe seems to prove that kume is in reality not a personal name at all, but simply the old term for [p. 137] "army," through a misconception of the original import of which has arisen the idea that Oho-kume and Oho-tomo were two distinct personages. The elaborate and interesting note on this subject in his "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. II., pp. 46-55 is well worth consulting.

The only point in which the present writer differs from him is with regard to the etymology of the word kume, which Moribe connects with kumi, "a company," and kuma, "a bravo," whereas in the opinion of the former it is probably nothing more nor less than an ancient mispronunciation of the Chinese word chun () modern Japanese gun, "army," "troops."

^135:8 The Auxiliary Numeral here used is that properly denoting human beings, not deities, futari (), instead of futa-hashira ().

^135:9 In Japanese ama no iha-yugi.

^135:10 This is the generally received interpretation of the obscure original term kabu-tsuchi (or kabu-tsutsui) no tachi, the parallel term ishi-tsutsui being understood to mean "a mallet-headed sword made of stone." (Both names appear below in the Song at the end of Sect. XLVIII, Note 4). Moribe, however, in his "Idzu no Chi-waki," rejecting the opinion that any part of the swords were made of stone, explains kabu-tsutsui in the sense of "broad-tempered" and ishi-tsutsui in that of "hard-tempered."

^135:11 For the bows and arrows here mentioned see XXXI. Note 5.

^135:12 Ohotomo no murazhi, a common "gentile name" down to historical times. Oho-tomo means "numerous companies "or "large tribe," in allusion, as Moribe supposes, to the force of which the personage here mentioned was the general.

^135:13 Kume no atahe. Conf. Note 7.

^135:14 Or Kan according to the Sinico-Japanese reading. We might render it in English by Korea. The Chinese character is .

^135:15 Etymology uncertain. An alternative form of this name, which is preserved in the "Chronicle," is Nagasa, which Hirata thinks may stand for Nagasaki.

^135:16 This is the sense of the original Japanese text of this passage as literally as it can be rendered, and so the older editors understood it. Motowori however, though not daring actually to alter the characters, assumes that they are corrupt, and in his kane rendering gives us this instead: "Thereupon, passing searchingly through a bare-backed empty country, he arrived at the august cape of Kasasa, and said: 'This land is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, etc.'" His evident reason for wishing to alter the reading is simply and solely to conceal [p. 138] the fact that Korea is mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age, i.e. long before the epoch of its revelation and conquest by the Empress Jin-go (see Sect. XCVI to XCVIII). That the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" lends some sanction to his view is no excuse for so dishonest a treatment of the text he undertakes to commentate; for the "Records" and the "Chronicles "often differ greatly in the: accounts they have preserved. One of Motowori's arguments is that, as Kasasa is said to have been in the province of Hiuga, it could not have been opposite to Korea, seeing that Hiuga faces east and not west. He here forgets that a little later on in his own same Commentary (Vol. XVII, p. 86) he asserts that Hiuga in ancient times included the provinces of Ohosumi and Satsuma, the latter of which does face west.

^136:17 I.e., he built himself a palace to dwell in (Conf. Sect. XXXII, Note 27).

[p. 138]

[SECT. XXXV.--THE DUCHESS OF SARU.]

So then he charged Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female [saying]: "Do thou, who wast the one to make known this Great Deity Prince of Saruta who respectfully served as my august vanguard, [*1] respectfully escort him [back]; and do thou likewise bear the august name of that Deity, and respectfully serve me." Wherefore the Duchesses of Saru bear the name of the Male Deity the Prince of Saruta, and the women are Duchesses of Saru. [*2]

Footnotes

^138:1 See Sect. XXXIII from a little before Note 11 to Note 17.

^138:2 Q.d., instead of the men being Dukes, as would be more natural. The title was confined to females (see Sect. XXXIII. Note 33).

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[p. 139] [114]

[SECT. XXXVI.--THE DEITY PRINCE OF SARUTA AT AZAKA.]

Now when this Deity Prince of Saruta dwelt at Azaka, [*1] he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a hirabu shell-fish, [*2] and was drowned in the brine of the sea. So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was the Bottom-Touching-August-Spirit; [*3] the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was the Gurgling-up-August-Spirit; [*4] the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was the Bubble-Bursting-August-Spirit. [*5] Thereupon [Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female], having escorted [back] the Deity Prince of Saruta, came back, [*6] and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin, [*7] and asked them, saying: "Will ye respectfully serve the august son of the "Heavenly Deities? "--upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the beche-de-mer said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the beche-de-mer, saying: "Ah! this mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!"--and [with these words] slit the mouth with her stiletto. [*8] So at the present day the [115] beche-de-mer has a slit mouth. Wherefore [from august reign to] august reign, when the offerings of the first-fruits of Shima [*9] are presented [to the Emperor], a portion of them is granted to the Duchesses of Saru.

Footnotes

^139:1 [p. 139] Etymology unknown.

^139:2 What species was denoted by this ancient name is not clear; but one of Motowori's suggestion, to the effect that it may have been identical with the modern sarubo-yahi (a shell of a family Arcadae, probably Arca subcrenata), the origin of whose name would thus be traced up to the mythological age, is at least ingenious.

^139:3 [p. 140] Soko-daku-mi-tama.

^139:4 Tsubu-tatsu-mi-tama.

^139:5 Aka-saku-mi-tama. Saku might be translated by "opening," "forming," etc. It is the same word as that used to express the blossoming of a flower.

^139:6 The characters rendered "came back "are . Motowori and Hirata believe to be put erroneously for , which would give the sense of "arrived there," and would thus enable us to locate the episode of the fishes at Ise instead of in

Hiuga, which would better suit the concluding clause of this Section narrating the participation of the Duchesses of Sara in the' first-fruits of the province of Shims. If the word Shima however here means, not the province of that name, but simply "islands" in general, there is nothing to be gained by the pro-posed emendation, which has moreover no sanction from any text; and it may be added that no notice is to be found in any history of the custom here said to have existed.

^139:7 I.e. all the fishes both great and small.

^139:8 Literally, "small string-sword," supposed to have been so called from its having been carried inside the garments, attached to the under-belt.

^139:9 The smallest of the Japanese provinces, situated to the East of Ise. The name signifies "island," and it is possible that it ought here to be taken in that sense as a common noun.

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[p. 140]

[SECT. XXXVII.--THE CURSE OF THE DEITY GREAT-MOUNTAIN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty met a beautiful person at the august cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor, [*1] and my name is the Divine-Princess-of-Ata, [*2] another name by which I am called being Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees." [*3] Again he asked: "Hast thou

[p. 141]

any brethren?" [*4] She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks." [*5] Then he charged her, [saying]: "Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum. Tibi quomodo videtur?" She replied, saying: "I [*6] am not able to say. My father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor will say." So he sent a request [for her] to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her [116] elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred. [*7] So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, [His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night. Then the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message [to His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty], saying: "My reason for respectfully presenting both my daughters together was that, by sending Princess-Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring [*8] of the Heavenly Deity, [*9] though the snow [*10] fall and the wind blow, might live eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again that by sending Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, [they] might live flourishingly like unto the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to insure this, [*11] I offered [*12] them. But owing to thy thus sending back [*13] Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail [*14] as the flowers of the trees. So it is for this [117]

[p. 142]

reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns [*15] are not long.

Footnotes

^140:1 [p. 142] See Sect. VI. Note 17.

^140:2 Kamu-ata-tsu-hime. Ata is a place in Satsuma.

^140:3 Or "Tree." Ka-no-hama-saku-ya-hime. Perhaps (though there is no native authority for doing so) we might rather understand saku as a Causative in intention, though not in form, and render the name thus: "Princess-Causing-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees-to-Blossom." The tree alluded to is doubtless the cherry. This deity is now worshipped as the goddess of Mount Fuzhi (Fusiyama), and in common parlance the last member of the compound forming her name does not receive the nigori,--hime instead of bime. The syllable ya has no signification in this and similar names. It will be remembered that there was another sister named "Princess-Falling-like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees. (See Sect. XX, Note 5).

^141:4 Or perhaps, so written , the original expression were here better rendered by "sisters."

^141:5 I.e., as enduring as the rocks. The original name is Iha-naga-hime.

^141:6 The character used here and immediately below for the First Personal Pronoun is "servant."

^141:7 I.e., every kind of goods as a dowry for his daughters.

^141:8 The usual word child ()is employed in the text; but it here almost certainly has, as Motowori suggests, a more extended meaning, and signifies the posterity of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty generally, i.e. the Emperors of Japan. The vaguer term "offspring "is therefore nearer to the author's intention.

^141:9 I.e., either of the Sun-Goddess or of Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, There is no difference in the sense, whichever of these two deities we take the speaker to refer to. The Sun-Goddess was his ancestress, and he was ancestor of the Japanese Emperors.

^141:10 Or "snow and rain," the reading being uncertain.

^141:11 Or "having sworn this," or "pledged [myself to the accomplishment of] this."

^141:12 The Chinese characters used are those properly denoting the presenting of tribute.

^141:13 Motowori (proposes an emendation in this passage of to which would not materially alter the sense.

^141:14 [p. 143] The precise meaning of the syllables a-ma-hi-no-mi, here rendered by the words "but as frail "in accordance with Motowori's and Moribe's tentative interpretation, is extremely obscure. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles "is , i.e. "fading and falling like the flowers of the trees."

^142:15 The characters rendered "Heavenly Sovereign" are , a common Japanese designation of the Emperor. It would, especially in the later volumes of this work where the expression is repeated on almost every page, be more convenient to translate by the single word "Emperor." But the commentators lay great stress on the high significance of the component portions of the title, which, they contend, was not borrowed from China, but was first used in Japan. It is first met with in Chinese history in the middle of the seventh century of our era, just early enough indeed for it to have been borrowed before the time of the compilation of these "Records." But as there was no difficulty in putting together the two component parts "Heavenly, Sovereign," it is possible that the

contention of the Japanese commentators is correct. The ancient pure native term seems to have been Sumera-mikoto, for which Mr. Satow has proposed the rendering of "Sovereign Augustness."

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[p. 143]

[SECT. XXXVIII.--THE AUGUST CHILD-BEARING OF PRINCESS-BLOSSOMING BRILLIANTLY-LIKE-THE-FLOWERS-OF-THE-TREES.]

So later on Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees waited on [*1] [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, and said: "I [*2] am pregnant, and now the time for my delivery approaches. "It is not fit for me to be delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately; [*3] so I tell thee." Then [His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty] said: "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly! [*4] what! pregnant after one night! [*5] It cannot be my child. It must surely be the child of an Earthly Deity." [*6] Then she replied, saying: "If the child with [118] which I am pregnant be the child of an Earthly Deity,

[p. 144]

my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be the august child of the Heavenly Deity, [*7] it will be fortunate;"--and thereupon she built a hall eight fathoms [long] without doors, [*8] went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance] with earth; and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered. [*9] So the name of the child that was born when the fire was burning most fiercely was His Augustness Fire-Shine [*10] (this is the ancestor of the Hayabito, Dukes of Ata); [*11] the name of the child born next was His Augustness Fire-Climax; [*12] the august [*13] name of the child born next was His Augustness [119] Fire-Subside, [*14] another name for whom is His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears [*15] (three Deities in all). [*16]

Footnotes

^143:1 [p. 144] More literally "came to"; but the character which is employed implies that her visit was to a superior.

^143:2 Written with the character , a "concubine" or "handmaid," a common self-depreciatory equivalent of the First Personal Pronoun in Chinese, when the speaker is a woman.

^143:3 I.e. "secretly," "without telling thee."

^143:4 In this one instance only is the name thus abbreviated. Motowori supposes it to be on account of the scorn implied in the god's words

^143:5 Literally, "one sojourn."

^143:6 See Sect. I, Note 11. Here of course one of the gods of the same country-side is meant.

^144:7 I.e. "thy child and the Sun-Goddess descendant."

^144:8 That is to say that it remained doorless after she had, as stated immediately below, plastered up the entrance.

^144:9 Viz. of child, not from the flames. There is no ambiguity in the Japanese expression.

^144:10 Ho-deri-na-mikoto.

^144:11 Hayabito-ata-no-kimi. Ata is, as has been already stated in Note 2 to Sect. XXXVII, the name of a place in Satsuma. Haya-bito ("swift men," "bold men," literally, if we follow the Chinese characters "falcon men") was an ancient designation of the inhabitants of the south-western corner of Japan which was subsequently divided into the provinces [p. 145] of Satsuma and Ohosumi, and came by metonymy to be used to denote the province of Satsuma itself, for which reason it remained as the Pillow-Word for the word Satsuma even after the exclusive use of this latter name had been established. In after times the hayabito (also contracted to hayato and haito) were chiefly known as forming the Infantry of the Imperial Guard, a curious choice of provincials for which mythological sanction was invoked. They are also said to have furnished the performers of a symbolic dance mentioned at the end of Sect. XLI (see Note 3 to that Sect.) In later Sections of this work, the translator has ventured to render hayabito by "man-at-arms."

^144:12 Ho-suseri-no-mikoto.

^144:13 The Honorific is doubtless prefixed in this case and not in the others, because it was to this prince or deity that the Imperial House traced its descent. Motowori's kana reading, which prefixes Honorifics to all such names indifferently, obliterates this delicate distinction.

^144:14 Ho-wori-no-mikoto. The derivation of this name is less clear than that of his elder brothers. Motowori's proposal to consider it as a corruption of ho-yohari, "fire weakening," is however plausible; and as this triad of names is evidently intended to paint the stages in the progress of the conflagration, the import of the third must be something very like what Motowori suggests, even if his guess at the original form of the word be not quite correct. The names of all three brethren differ more or less in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles ".

^144:15 Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-de-mi-no-mikoto. The interpretation of the last four members of this compound name is extremely doubtful.

^144:16 The actual word in the text is not kumi, "deity," but its Auxiliary Numeral hashira.

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[p. 145]

[SECT. XXXIX.--THE AUGUST EXCHANGE OF LUCK.]

So His Augustness Fire-Shine was a prince who got his luck [*1] on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. His Augustness Fire-Subside was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught things rough of hair and things soft of hair. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside said to his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine: "Let us mutually exchange,

[p. 146]

and use each other's luck." [Nevertheless], though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not accede [to it]; but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then His Augustness Fire-Subside, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish; and moreover he lost the fish-hook in the sea. Thereupon his elder brother His Augustness Fire-Shine asked him for the fish-hook, saying: "A mountain-luck is a luck of its own, and a sea-luck is a luck of its own. Let each of us now restore [to the other] his luck." [*2] To which the younger brother His Augustness Fire-Subside replied,

saying: "As for thy fish-hook, I did not get a single fish by angling with it; and at last I lost it in the sea." But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So the younger brother, breaking his ten grasp sabre [*3] that was augustly girded [120] on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not receive them, saying: "I still want the real original fish-hook."

Footnotes

^145:1 [p. 146] For the archaic Japanese work sachi, here rendered "luck," there is no satisfactory English equivalent. Its original and most usual signification is "luck," "happiness; "then that which a man is lucky in or skilful at,--his "forte; "and finally that which he procures by his luck or skill and the implements which he uses in procuring it. The exchange negotiated below was doubtless that of the bow and arrows of one deity for the other deity's fish-hook.

^146:2 I.e., "Some men are naturally good hunters, and others naturally good fishermen. Let us therefore restore to each other the implements necessary to the successful following of our respective avocations."--The clause rendered "Let each of us now restore to the other his luck "is a little confused in the original; but the kana readings both old and new agree in interpreting it as has here been done.

^146:3 See Sect. VIII, Note 1.

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[p. 147]

[SECT. XL.--THE PALACE OF THE OCEAN-POSSESSOR.]

Hereupon, as the younger brother was weeping and lamenting by the sea-shore, the Deity Salt-Possessor [*1] came and asked him, saying: "What is the cause of the Sky's-Sun-Height's [*2] weeping and lamentation? "He replied, saying: "I had exchanged a fish-hook with my elder brother, [*3] and have lost that fish-hook; and as he asks me for it, I have given him many fish-hooks as compensation; but he will not receive them, saying, 'I [121] still want the original fish-hook.' So I weep and lament for this." Then the Deity Salt-Possessor said: "I will give good counsel to Thine Augustness;"--and there-with built a stout little boat without interstices, [*4] and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: "When I shall have pushed the boat off, go on for some time. There will be a savoury august road; [*5] and if thou goest in the boat along that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes' scales,--which is the palace of the Deity, Ocean-Possessor. [*6] When thou reachest the august gate of that deity['s palace], there will be a multitudinous[-ly branching] cassia-tree [*7] above the well at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the Sea-Deity's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee." So following [these] instructions, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] went a little [way], and everything happened as [the Deity Salt-Possessor] had said; and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the hand-maidens of the Sea-Deity's daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, [*8] bearing jewelled vessels, were about to draw water, there was a light in the well. [*9] On looking up, there was a beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. [122]

[p. 148]

[paragraph continues] Then His Augustness Fire-Subside saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it into a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then, without

drinking the water, he loosened the jewel at his august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel. Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from the vessel]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it, and presented it to Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess. Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her hand-maidens, saying: "Is there perhaps some one outside the gate?" They replied, saying: "There is some one sitting on the top of the cassia-tree above our well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illustrious even than our king. Lo, as he begged for water, we respectfully gave him water; but, without drinking the water, he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to separate this [from the other], [*10] we have brought [the vessel] with [the jewel] in it to present to thee." Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted at the sight. They exchanged glances, after which she spoke to her father, saying: "There is a beautiful person at our gate." Then the Sea-Deity him-self went out to look, and saying: "This person is the Sky's-Sun-Height, the august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height," [*11] led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of sea-asses [*12] skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred, [*13] made an august banquet,

[p. 149]

and forthwith gave him his daughter Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess in marriage. So he dwelt in that land for three years. Hereupon His Augustness Fire-Subside [123] thought of what had gone before, [*14] and heaved one [*15] deep sigh. So Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: "Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause of it?" The Great Deity her father asked his son-in-law saying: "This morning I heard my daughter speak, saying: 'Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh.' What may the cause be? Moreover what was the cause of thy coming here?" Then [His Augustness Fire-Subside] told the Great Deity exactly how his elder brother had pressed him for the lost fish-hook. Thereupon the Sea-Deity summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: "Is there perchance any fish that has taken this fish-hook?" So all the fishes replied: "Lately the tahi [*16] has complained of something sticking in its throat [*17] preventing it from eating; so it doubtless has taken [the hook]." On the throat of the tahi being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to His Augustness Fire-Subside, whom the Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor then instructed, saying: "What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to thine elder brother [is as follows]: 'This fish-hook is a big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook.' [*18] Having [thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back hand. [*19] [124] Having done thus,--if thine elder brother make high

[p. 150]

fields, [*20] do Thine Augustness make low fields; and if thine elder brother make low fields, do Thine Augustness make high fields. If thou do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel [*21] to drown him. If he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to let him live. Thus shalt thou harass him." With these words, [the Sea-Deity] gave [to His Augustness Fire-Subside] the tide-flowing jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel,--two in all,--and forthwith summoned together all the crocodiles, [*22] and asked them, saying: "The Sky's-Sun-Height, august child of the Heaven's-Sun-Height, is now about to proceed out to the Upper-Land. [*23] Who will in how many days respectfully escort him, and bring back a report?" [*24] So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days,--one of them, a crocodile one fathom [long], saying: "I [*25] will escort him, and come back in one day." So then [the Sea-Deity] [125] said to the crocodile one fathom [long]:

"If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing the middle of the sea, do not alarm him!" [*26] Forthwith he seated him upon the crocodile's head, and saw him off. So [the crocodile] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the crocodile was about to return, [His Augustness Fire-Subside] untied the stiletto [*27] which was girded on him, and, setting it on the crocodile's neck, [*28] sent [the latter] back. So the crocodile one fathom [long] is now called the Deity Blade-Possessor. [*29]

[p. 151] [p. 152]

Footnotes

^147:1 [p. 151] Shiho-tsuchi no kami. The view of the meaning of this name which has here been taken is founded on the persistent use in all documents of the character , "salt," to write the first element of the compound, and of varying characters to write the syllables tsu and chi, an indication that the latter are to be taken phonetically and may therefore be interpreted to signify tsu mochi, "possessor of," as in numerous other instances. The fact that this god is known as the god of salt-manufacturers (see Tanigaha Shinsei's "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan" Vol. VII, p. 3) adds another reason for rejecting both Motowori's far-fetched derivation of the name for Shiri-oho-tsu-mochi, "Great Possessor of Knowledge," and his assertion that it denotes no deity, but any one gifted with superior wisdom.

^147:2 Sora-tsu-hi-daka. It will be remembered that Ama-tsu-hi-daka, "Heaven's-Sun-Height," was the first part of Prince Fire-Subsides's alternative name (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 15). The distinction between these two almost identical appellations would seem to be that the former is used of the Heir Apparent, the latter of the reigning sovereign. Both were therefore equally applicable to Prince Fire-Subside; and while that which he eventually bore is mentioned where his names are first given he is naturally spoken of in this place, when his father may be supposed to have been still living, by that variation of the name properly marking the Heir Apparent. These names, Ama-tsu-hi-daka and Sora-tsu-hi-daka, will be met with again below applied to other personages.

^147:3 I.e., "I had received a fish-hook from my elder brother in exchange for a bow." The text is here concise to obscurity.

^147:4 I.e., as is supposed, a punt or tub made of strips of bamboo plaited so tightly that no water could find its way in between them.

^147:5 I.e., simply "a pleasant road." Michi, "a road" is properly a compound,--mi-chi, "august road,"--the single syllable chi being the most archaic Japanese word for "road." It is in this place written , showing that the etymology was not yet quite forgotten at the time of the compilation of these "Records." Generally, however, throughout the work we have or alone.

^147:6 See Sect. VI, Note 8, where the Adjective "Great" is prefixed to the name.

^147:7 See Sect. XXXI, Note 10.

^147:8 Toyo-tama-hime.

^147:9 The character properly "light," "refulgence," is here taken by Motowori in the precisely opposite sense of "shadow" (the parallel [p. 152] passage in the "Chronicles" having "human shadow"), and his view is absolved from unreasonableness by the fact of the confusion between light and shade which has always existed in Japanese phraseology. Thus hi-kage may signify either "sunlight" or "a shadow cast by the sun." It is safest, however, to adhere to the Chinese characters employed by the author; and in this special instance we may well suppose him to have intended to say that a celestial light shone from the body of the god in question. Such an idea is not foreign to classical Japanese ways of thought and expression. See also Sect. XLVI, Note 9-10.

^148:10 Or, taking the character as an initial Particle, "So, as we were not able to separate [one from the other]."

^148:11 See Note 2 to this Section.

^148:12 This is a literal translation of the Chinese characters , by which the Archaic word michi, here written phonetically, is elsewhere represented. Perhaps the sea-lion (Otaria arsina) or a species of seal may be intended.

^148:13 See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

^149:14 Literally, "thought of the first things."

^149:15 As the character for "one" is thrice repeated in this passage, Motowori is probably right in saying that it should be given its proper signification, and the translator therefore renders it by the Numeral "one" rather than by the Indefinite Article "a."

^149:16 Pronounced tai in modern parlance. Perhaps we should rather add aka-dahi, "red tahi," as in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." Both these fishes belong to the family Sparoidei, the former being the Pagrus cardinalis, the latter probably the P. major.

^149:17 Or, "of a fish-bone in its throat."

^149:18 Tanigaha Shisei, quoting from Urabe no Kaneyoshi, comments thus on the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," where the whole of this legend is given several times in slightly varying forms: "By big hook is meant one that will not serve its purpose [because too big]; eager signifies that which [endeavours to, but] cannot advance; silly means unintelligent; hence we have a hook which, not serving its purpose, will be of no use whatever, but rather a road to lead [him who possesses it] to poverty. Poor outwardly, and inwardly silly, he will be the most useless creature in the Empire." It should be noted, however, that Motowori interprets in the sense of "gloomy," and Moribe in the sense of "drowning," the phonetically written and obscure word obo, here rendered "great."

^149:19 [p. 153] I.e., "with thy hand behind thy back." This is supposed by the commentators to have been a sort of charm by which evil was averted from the person of him who practised it, and they point out that Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") brandished his sword behind him when he was pursued by the hosts of Hades (see Sect. IX, Note 15).

^150:20 By "high fields "and "low fields "are meant respective upland rice-fields where the rice is planted in the dry, and "paddy-fields" properly so called, where the rice perpetually stands in the water. Different varieties of rice are used for these different methods of culture.

^150:21 Shiho mitsu tama. The "tide-ebbing jewel "mentioned in the next sentence is in the Japanese shiho hiru tama.

^150:22 See Introduction, <page xxxiii>, Note 41.

^150:23 Uha tsu kuni, .

^150:24 I.e., "Which of you will most speedily escort him home to the upper world, and bring back news of his safe arrival there?"

^150:25 Written with the respectful , "servant."

^150:26 There is in, this sentence a character , which is hard to explain if read moshi, "if," as usual in Japanese. Probably, however, it simply stands for "thou," and we might translate thus: "While thou art crossing," etc.

^150:27 See Sect. XXXVI, Note 8.

^150:28 I.e., probably, tying it round the crocodile's neck.

^150:29 Saki-mochi-no-kami. "Blade "is the probable signification of sahi or sabi, though this particular proper name is written in the "Chronicles" with the Chinese character , "hoe" or "mattock." Here the syllables sa hi are written phonetically.

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[SECT. XLI.--SUBMISSION OF HIS AUGUSTNESS FIRE-SHINE.]

Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother], exactly according to the Sea-Deity's words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer, and poorer, and, with renewed savage intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack [His Augustness Fire-Subside, the latter] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him; on

his expressing grief, he put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head, [*1a] saying: "I [*2a] henceforward will be Thine Augustness's guard by day and night, and respectfully serve thee." So down to the present day his various posturings when drowning are ceaselessly served up. [*3a]

Footnotes

^154:1a I.e., "did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground." The Old Printed Edition has instead , and the kana gloss kamugahemausu, i.e. "reflected, and said": but this reading, though interesting, is less good.

^154:2a Written with the humble character , "servant."

^154:3a I.e., "Prince Fire-Shine's descendants the Hayabito (see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 11) still constantly perform before the Court dances and posturings symbolical of the antics which their divine ancestor went through for the amusement of his younger brother, after the latter had saved him from drowning. "One account" in the "Chronicles" relates these antics at full, telling us that they represented the straits to which he was put as the waters gradually rose higher and higher; and we learn from other passages in the same work and in the "Chronicles of Japan Continued" that the Hayabito did really down to historical times combine the office of Court Jesters with that of Imperial Guardsmen.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

SECT. XLII.--THE PARTURITION-HOUSE OF CORMORANTS' FEATHERS]

Hereupon the Sea-Deity's daughter Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess herself waited on [*1b] [His Augustness Fire-Subside], and said: "I [*2b] am already with child, and the time for my delivery now approaches. But me-thought that the august child of an Heavenly Deity [*3b] ought not to be born in the

Sea-Plain. [*4] So I have waited on thee here." [*5] Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore she built a parturition-hall, [*6] using

[p. 155]

cormorants' feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed, [*7] she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-hall. Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband [*8] [saying]: "Whenever a foreigner is about to be delivered, she takes the shape of her native land to be delivered. [*9] So I now will take my native shape to be delivered. Pray look not upon [127] me!" Hereupon [His Augustness Fire-Subside], thinking these words strange, stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a crocodile [*10] eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about; and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away. Then Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess knew that he had peeped; and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: 'I had wished always to come and go across the sea-path. [*11] But thy having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-faced," [*12]--and she forthwith closed the sea-boundary, [*13] and went down again. [*14] Therefore the name by which the august child whom she had borne was called was his Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely. [*15] Nevertheless afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she entrusted to her younger sister Jewel-Good-Princess, [*16] on the occasion of her nursing the august child, [*17] a Song to be presented [to His [128] Augustness Fire-Subside]. The Song said:

"As for red jewels, though even the string [they are strung on] shines, the aspect of [my] lord [who is] like unto white jewels is [more] illustrious." [*18]

[p. 156]

Then her husband replied by a Song, which said:

"As for my younger sister, whom I took to sleep [with me] on the island where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing, I shall not forget her till the end of my life." [*19]

So His Augustness-Prince-Great-Rice-ears-Lord-Ears [*20] dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years [*21] His august mausoleum [*22] is likewise on the west of Mount Takachiho.

[p. 157]

Footnotes

^154:1b [p. 156] For "waited on "see Sect. XXXVIII, Note 1. The word "herself" (midzukara) has no particular force or meaning in the Japanese original, where it is simply placed in imitation of the Chinese style.

^154:2b See Sect. XXXVIII, Note 2.

^154:3b Or "of the Heavenly Deity," i.e., "thyself." But it seems better to understand the speaker to intimate that it would be unfitting for one who properly belonged to Heaven to be born in the sea, which was another country or kingdom.

^154:4 I.e., in the sea.

^154:5 Literally "come out and arrived."

^154:6 It has been noticed in the Introduction, <page xxviii>, that in early Japan a parturient woman was expected to build for herself a special hut in

which to give birth to her child.

^155:7 Or, completely put on; literally, "thatched [so as] to meet."

^155:8 The text here has "prince," literally "sun-child," and so the older editors understood the expression. The translator, however, prefers Motowori's view, according to which the character should be supplied, and the whole read phonetically as hikoi, "husband," a word which occurs again a few lines further on.

^155:9 I.e., she assumes the shape proper to her in her native land.

^155:10 According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," she turned into a dragon. "One account "however agrees with our text.

^155:11 The original of this passage is rather confused; but the interpretation here adopted from the Old Printed Edition is more natural than Motowori's according to which the Verbs are to be taken in a Causative sense, to the following effect: "I had always wished to let people come [p. 157] and go across the sea-path.'' Probably it was only in order to make this clause fit in better with the following sentence, in which we are told that the crocodile-princess "closed the sea-boundary," and with the fact that there is at present no path leading to the Sea-God's palace, that Motowori was induced to sanction such a view of the grammar of this passage.

^155:12 This is Motowori's interpretation of the clause, he having emended , "action," "doing," which is found in the older editions, , "shame-faced." (The edition of 1687 mentions , "strange," as an alternative reading). If we followed the older reading, we should have to translate thus: "Thy having peeped at my [real] shape is an outrageous action."

^155:13 I.e., the boundary dividing the dominions of the Sea-God from the world of men.

^155:14 Viz., to the Sea-God's palace.

^155:15 Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-ahesu no mikoto. The older editors read ahasezu for ahezu, i.e. "causing to meet," instead of "meeting." Moribe, in his Critique on Motowori's Commentary, would have us believe that the name comes from umi-ga kayohi fuki-ahezu (), i.e. "going and coming on sea and land and being unable to suckle"!

^155:16 Tama yori-bime.

^155:17 I.e., of Jewel-Good-Princess nursing the child, The mother did not return to the upper world, and so sent this poetic message by her sister, who had consented to act as the child's nurse.

^155:18 "The meaning of the Song," says Motowori, "is this: Although red jewels are so charming that the very string [whereon they are strung] doth shine, the august aspect of my lord, who is like unto white jewels, is still more lovely. Thus does she express her loving feeling."--Moribe supposed the "red jewels" (or "jewel" in the Singular) to be meant for the child, than whom her husband is yet dearer to her heart. The word kimi, here etymologically rendered "[my] lord," is commonly used in the sense of "thou," especially in poetry.

^156:19 I.e., "I shall never forget thee who wast my wife in the realm of the Sea-God. The "birds of the " are a description of the wild duck, used as a Pillow-Word for their name. In the same manner the whole phrase, "where light the wild-duck, the birds of the offing," may be taken simply as a "Preface" to the word "island." The Sea-God's dwelling is called an island because it is beyond the sea. The words [p. 158] yo no koto-goto ni, here in deference to the views of the best commentators rendered by "till the end of my life," will also bear the interpretation of "night by night."

^156:20 The alternative name of the deity Fire-Subside.

^156:21 Probably the writer means us to understand that the total age reached by this deity was five hundred and eighty years. This is the first mention in these "Records "of anything approaching a date. The way in which it is recorded resembles that in which the chronicle of each Emperor's reign is brought to a close in the later volumes of the work.

^156:22 The character might also be rendered by the simple word "grave." But neither it nor its Japanese reading misasaki are ever used except honorifically of the Imperial tombs, and "mausoleum "seems therefore a more suitable English equivalent.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 158] [129]

[SECT. XLIII.--THE AUGUST CHILDREN OF HIS AUGUSTNESS CORMORANT-THATCH-MEETING-INCOMPLETELY]

His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely wedded his maternal aunt Her Augustness Jewel-Good-Princess, and begot august children named: His Augustness Five-Reaches; [*1] next His Augustness Boiled-Rice; [*2] next His Augustness August-Food-Master; [*3] next His Augustness Young-August-Food-Master, [*4] another name for whom is His Augustness Luxuriant-August-Food-Master, [*5] and another name is His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince. [*6] So His Augustness August-Food-Master, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the Eternal Land. [*7] His Augustness Boiled-Rice went into the Sea-Plain, it being his deceased mother's [*8] land.

Footnotes

^158:1 [p. 158] Itsu-se-no-mikoto. The "reaches" are the reaches of a river: at least this seems the most natural view to take of the meaning of the name. Motowori and Moribe, however, consider it to be a corruption of idzu-shine, to which they assign the signification of "powerful rice." [p. 159] Excepting for the fact of its bringing this name into harmony with the three that follow, and which all relate to food, there seems little to recommend so far-fetched a derivation.

^158:2 Inu-hi-na-mikoto. If Motowori's of the name from ina-ihi is correct, it might be rendered with greater exactness "Rice-boiled-rice," ine denoting rice in the husk and ihi the same when boiled.

^158:3 Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto. This name has been translated in accordance with Motowori's interpretation of the syllables that compose it.

^158:4 Waka-nu-ke-nu-no-mikoto. Conf. preceding Note.

^158:5 Toyo-nu-ke-nu-no-mikoto. Conf. Note 3.

^158:6 Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto. Yamato being the name of the province where this prince, the first Emperor of the so-called "human age," fixed his capital, it appropriately forms part of his name. For a discussion of the etymology of the word Yamato, see Sect. V, Note 26. Ihare, a word which is said to signify "assembling," is the name of a village in that province.

^158:7 See Sect. XXVII, Note 12.

^158:8 See Sect. XII, Note 8.

[p. 159] [130]

VOL. II. [*1]

[SECT. XLIV.--REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JIM-MU [*2] (PART I.--HIS PROGRESS EASTWARD, AND DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER)]

The two Deities His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko [*3] and his elder brother His Augustness Itsu-se, dwelling in the palace of Takachiho. [*4] took counsel, saying: "By dwelling in what place shall we [most] quietly carry on the government of the Empire? [*5] It were probably best to go east." Forthwith they left Himuka [*6] on their progress [*7] to Tsukushi. [*8] So when they arrived at Usa [*9] in the Land of Toyo, [*10] two of the natives, whose names were Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime [*11] built a

[p. 160]

palace raised on one foot, [*12] and offered them a great august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one [131] year at the palace of Wokoda [*13] in Tsukushi. Again making a progress up [*14] from that land, they dwelt seven years at the palace of Takeri [*15] in the land of Agi. [*16] Again removing, and making a progress up from that land, they dwelt eight years at the palace of Takashima [*17] in Kibi. [*18] So when they made their progress up from that land, they met in the Hayasuhi [*19] Channel a person riding towards them on the carapace of a tortoise, and raising his wings [*20] as he angled. Then they called to him to approach, and asked him, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I [*21] am an Earthly Deity. [*22]" Again they asked him, saying: "Knowest thou the sea-path?" He replied, saying: "I know it well." Again they asked him, saying: "Wilt thou follow and respectfully serve us?" He replied, saying: "I will respectfully serve you." So they pushed a pole [*23] across to him, drew him into the august vessel, and forthwith conferred [132] on him the designation of Sawa-ne-tsu-hiko [*24] (This is the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Yamato.) [*25] So when they went up from that land they passed the Namihaya [*26] Crossing, and brought up at the haven of Shirakata. [*27] At this time Nagasune-biko [*28] of Tomi [*29] raised an army, and waited to go out to fight [against them]. Then they took the shields that had been put in the august vessel, and disembarked. So they called that place by the name of Tate-dzu. [*30] It is what is now called the Tadetsu of Kusaka. [*31] Therefore when fighting with the Prince of Tomi, [*32] His Augustness Itsu-se was pierced in his august hand by the Prince of Tomi's hurtful arrow. [*33] So then he said: "It is not right for me, an august

[p. 161]

child of the Sun-Deity, to fight facing the sun. It is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched villain's [*34] hurtful hand. I will henceforward turn round, and smite him with my back to the sun." Having [thus] decided, he, on making a progress round from the southern side, reached the sea of Chinu, [*35] and washed the blood on his august hand: so it is called the sea of Chinu. [*36] Making a progress round from thence, and arriving at the river-mouth of Wo [*37] in the land of Ki, [*38] he said: "Ah! that I should die stricken by the wretched villain's hand!" and expired [*39] as a valiant man. [*40] So that river-mouth was called the river mouth of Wo. [*41] The Mausoleum, too, is on Mount Kama [*42] in the land of Ki.

[p. 162] [p. 163]

Footnotes

^159:1 [p. 161] Literally, "Middle Volume," there being three in all. See Author's Preface, Note 1.

^159:2 Jim-mu signifies "divine valour." It is the "canonical name" of the Emperor Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko (see Introduction, <page xiv>).

^159:3 In the preceding Section this name was rendered "Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince." But in the translation of Vols. II and III of this work, the Japanese proper names are not Englished, unless there be a special reason for so doing. (See Introduction, pp. <page xviii> and <page xix>.)

^159:4 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 5.

^159:5 See Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

^159:6 See Sect. X, Note 4.

^159:7 The Japanese expression here used is one which exclusively denotes an Imperial Progress, and not the movements of lesser people. It recurs perpetually in this and the following Volume.

^159:8 See Sect. V, Note 14.

^159:9 Etymology uncertain.

^159:10 See Sect. V, Note 17.

^159:11 I.e., Prince of Usa and Princess of Usa.

^160:12 In the original, , read asks hito-tsu agari no miya. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" has which is directed to be read in the same manner. (hashira) however means, not "foot," but "pillar "; and the commentators understand both passages to allude [p. 162] to a single pillar, which supported the weight of the entire building,--either as being in the middle of it, or (as Motowori opines) by standing in the water, the edifice, according to this view, being built on a river-bank overhanging the stream.

^160:13 This name signifies "hillock rice-field."

^160:14 Q.d. towards Yamato, the province where the capital was eventually fixed. In Japanese, as in English, people are said to go of to the capital and down to the country.

^160:15 Etymology uncertain.

^160:16 Etymology uncertain. This name is better known (without the nigori of the second syllable) as Aki. Aki is one of the provinces on the northern shore of the Inland Sea.

^160:17 This name signifies "high island."

^160:18 Etymology uncertain. Kibi is the name of a province.

^160:19 This name signifies "quick sucking."

^160:20 I.e., as Motowori supposes, beckoning by waving his sleeve.

^160:21 The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the humble character , "servant."

^160:22 See Sect. I, Note 11. Motowori wishes us here to understand this expression to mean "I am a Deity (i.e. a person) of the country-side." But there is no sufficient reason for departing from the precedent of rendering the characters , which are constantly used antithetically to , by "Earthly Deity" (as opposed to "Heavenly Deity.") Motowori likewise proposes to append to this sentence the clause "and my name is Udzu-biko," which is found in the "Chronicles." The name may be taken to signify "precious prince."

^160:23 The characters are evidently, as Motowori says, meant to represent the Japanese word sawo, "pole," though they do not properly convey that meaning. Probably they are corrupt.

^160:24 I.e., if we suppress the syllable ne, which seems to be either Expletive or Honorific, the "prince of the pole."

^160:25 Yamato no kuni no Miyadzuko.

^160:26 This is the reading of the name preferred by Mabuchi and Motowori; but the usual form Naniha seems to be at least as well supported by early documentary evidence. The "Chronicles" tell us that the place was called Nani-haya , i.e. "wave swift," in allusion to the strong current which the Emperor Jim-mu here encountered; and at the present day it is still a dangerous place for navigation. The name properly denotes the water at the mouth of the River Yodo, on [p. 163] which stands the modern town of Ohosaka (Ozaka), for whose name Naniha is still often used as a poetical synonym. , "wave flowers," and , "dangerous waves," are alternative ways of writing it.

^160:27 Motowori says that he cannot explain the etymology of this word; but "white sandbank" would seem a simple and obvious derivation. The Shirakata here mentioned is, according to Motowori, that situated in the province of Idzumo.

^160:28 I.e., the Prince of Nagasune. A plausible interpretation of nagasune would be "long-shank," which would give us Prince Long-Shank as the name of the worthy here mentioned; but the "Chronicles" states that Nagasune was properly the name of a place. The characters with which it is written, moreover, signify not exactly "long shank," but "long marrow," a designation which would have no evident personal applicability.

^160:29 A legend in the "Chronicles" connects the name of this place with the word tobi, "a kite," it being there related that a miraculous gold-coloured kite came and perched on the Emperor Jim-mu's bow, and helped him to the victory. Probably the legend grew out of the name of Tobi, which is obscure and may have had had nothing to do with a "kite "originally.

^160:30 I.e., "shield-haven." But conf. next Note.

^160:31 The real etymology of Tada-tsu seems to be "knot-grass-haven," probably Taka-tsu (for Takatsu), which is mentioned in Sect. LXIX, Note 29, is but another form of the same name. Kusaka is a well-known name in the annals of early Japan. Its signification is obscure, and the characters (), with which it is written, are particularly curious. There were two Kusaka, one in the province of Kahachi and the other in Idzumi.

^160:32 Viz., Nagasune-biko.

^160:33 The wording of the original is very curious: Motowori reads it Tomi-bike ga ita-ya wo ohashite. Immediately below we have .

^161:34 The character is , properly "slave."

^161:35 The most likely derivation of this name is from chi-numa, "eulalia lagoon," the fact that it will also bear the interpretation of "blood-lagoon "being probably but a coincidence of which the mythopoeic faculty took advantage.

^161:36 Here written with characters signifying "blood-lagoon."

^161:37 [p. 164] The characters rendered "river-mouth "are , literally "water. gate; but here, as elsewhere, "river-mouth "seems to be the signification meant to be conveyed. Rivers in , even at the present day, do not bear one continuous name along their entire course, and there would be nothing unnatural in the fact of the water at the mouth of the river having a special designation. One of the significations of wo is "man," and the legendary etymology of the name given immediately below rests on the assumption that such is the meaning of wo in this place. Even Motowori, however, is not satisfied with it, and it is probably erroneous.

^161:38 See Sect. XXII, Note 14.

^161:39 The Chinese character , which is here used, is one that specially denotes the demise of an Emperor.

^161:40 Probably the sense meant to be conveyed is that he expired with a of anger and defiance.

^161:41 Here written , "man." Conf. Note 37.

^161:42 Kama-yama, i.e. furnace-mountain."

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[p. 164] [134]

[SECT. XLV.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART II.--THE CROSS-SWORD SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN).]

So when His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko made a progress round from thence, and reached the village of Kumanu, [*1] a large bear came out of the mountain, [*2] and forthwith disappeared into it. Then His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko suddenly fainted away, and his august army likewise all fainted and fell prostrate. At this time Takakurazhi [*3] (this is the name of a person) [*4] of Kumanu came bearing one cross-sword [*5] to the place where the august-child of the Deity was lying prostrate, and presented it to him, upon which the august child of the Heavenly Deity forthwith rose up, and said: "How long I have slept!" So when he accepted the cross-sword, the savage Deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously fell cut down. [*6] Then the whole august

[p. 165]

army, that had been bewildered and had fallen prostrate, awoke and rose up. So the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked him how he had got the cross-sword. Takakurazhi [135] replied, saying: "I was told in a dream that

the two Deities the Heaven-Shining-Great-Deity [*7] and the High Integrating Deity [*8] commanded and summoned the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity, [*9] and charged him [thus]: 'The Central Land of Reed-Plains [*10] is painfully uproarious,--it is. [*11] Our august children must be ill at ease. As [therefore] the Central Land of Reed-Plains is a land which thou specially subduedst, thou the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity shalt descend [thither].' Then he replied, saying: 'I [*12] will not descend [myself], but I have the cross-sword wherewith I specially subdued the land. (The name by which this sword is called is the Deity Thrust-Snap; [*13] another name by which it is called is the Deity Awful-Snap, [*14] and another name for it is the August-Snap-Spirit, [*15] This sword dwells in the temple of the Deity of Isonokami) [*16] The manner in which I will send this sword down will be to perforate the ridge of [the roof of] Takakurazhi's stone-house, [*17] and drop it through. (So

the Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity instructed me, saying: 'I will perforate the ridge of [the roof of] thy store-house, and drop this sword through. [*18]) So do thou, with the good eyes of [136] morning, [*19] take it and present it to the august child of the Heavenly Deity.' So, on my searching my store-house early next morning in accordance with the instructions of the dream, there really was a cross-sword there. So I just present this cross-sword to thee."

[p. 166]

Footnotes

^164:1 This name signifies "bear-moor." The name is now generally pronounced Kumano.

^164:2 Motowori ingeniously conjectures the text of this passage , which makes no sense, to be a copyist's error for , which [p. 166] gives the meaning rendered in the translation. The running hand form of might well be mistaken for that of the single character . The editor of 1687 is less happy in his conjecture that the character intended may be , "crocodile." This incident of the bear was thought important by the compiler for a mention of it to be inserted in his Preface. (See <page 5>).

^164:3 The signification of this name is not clear. Taking zhi as an apocopated nigori'ed form of the Postposition shita, we might suppose taka-kura-zhi to signify "under the high store house" in allusion to the legend which forms the subject of this section. There are, however, reasons for doubting this etymology. (See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, p. 48). In the Preface we have simply Takahura, without the final syllable zhi; but the omission of zhi in that place is almost certainly to be accounted for on euphonic grounds.

^164:4 This note to the original is believed to be an interpolation,

^164:5 . Motowori avers that the character , "cross," has no importance, and should be neglected in reading. But this assertion seems gratuitous in the face of, for instance, such a Chinese locution as . We may be justified, perhaps, in paying no special heed to the Numeral "one" in this place, which Motowori neglects in his kana reading of the text.

^164:6 I.e., they fell down cut to pieces before they had even been cut at with this wonderful sword.

^165:7 The character , "august," which should form the penultimate member of this compound name, is here omitted.

^165:8 See Sect. I, Note 5.

^165:9 See Sect. VIII, Note 7.

^165:10 See Sect. IX, Note 18.

^165:11 Conf. Sect. X, Note 1.

^165:12 The humble character , "servant," is here used.

^165:13 Sazhi-futsu no kami. The translator follows Tanigaha Shisei in considering sazhi (Tanigaha Shisei in his "Perpetual Commentary" reads sashi without the nigori) to mean "thrust." For the rendering of futsu as "snap" in this and the two following names conf. Sect. VIII, Note 8. Moribe, however, in his "Ikzu no Chi-waki," asserts that futsu is but an alternative form of futo, "broad," "thick," or "vast," as shown by the existence of the phrase ma-futsu no kagami, "a true vast mirror."

^165:14 Mika-futsu no kami.

^165:15 Futsu no mi tame.

^165:16 [p. 167] The name of this place, which is in the province of Yamato, seems to signify "above the rock." It is well known as the Pillow-Word for the syllables furu.

^165:17 Properly what is known to Anglo-Orientals as a "godown."

^165:18 The sentence here placed between braces is proposed by Motowori to supplement an evident lacuna in the text.

^165:19 Or, "luckily with morning eyes." Motowori remarks that even in modern times, special joy is felt at a good discovery made in the morning.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 167]

[SECT. XLVI.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART III.--THE GIGANTIC CROW AND GODS WITH TAILS)]

"Then His [*1] Augustness the Great-High-Integrating-Deity again commanded and taught, saying: "August son of the Heavenly Deity! make no progress hence into the interior. The savage Deities are very numerous. I will now send from Heaven a crow eight feet [long]. [*2] So that crow eight feet [long] shall guide thee. Thou must make thy progress following after it as it goes." So on [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress following after the crow eight feet [long] in obedience to the Deity's instructions, he reached the lower course of the Yeshinu [*3] river, where there was a [137] person catching fish in a weir. [*4] Then the august child of the Heavenly Deity asked, saying: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying: "I [*5] am an Earthly Deity [*6] and am called by the name of Nihe-motsu no Ko." [*7] (This is the ancestor of the Cormorant-Keepers of Aha.) [*8] On [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] making his progress thence, a person with a tail [*9] came out of a well. The well shone. Then [His Augustness] asked: "Who art thou?" He

[p. 168]

replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Wi-hika." [*10] This is the ancestor of the Headmen of Yeshinu). [*11] On his forthwith entering the mountains, [*12] His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko again met a person with a tail. This person came forth pushing the cliffs apart. Then [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] asked: "Who art thou?" He replied, saying; "I am an Earthly Deity, and my name is Iha-oshi-waku no Ko. I heard [just] now that the august son of the Heavenly Deity was making his progress. So it is for that that I have come to meet thee." (This is the ancestor of the Territorial [138] Owners of Yeshinu). [*13] Thence [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] penetrated over on foot to Uda. [*14] So they say: "The Ugachi of Uda." [*15]

Footnotes

^167:1 [p. 168] The intention of the writer is here obscure, but he probably meant the following passage to form part of the dream, as is the case in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." The inverted commas are therefore continued in the translation.

^167:2 The characters (ya to-garasu), with which the original of this expression is written, combined with the mention in the Preface of the "great crow," have determined the translator to adopt the interpretation favoured by Tanigaha Shisei, , a "crow eight feet [long]." Motowori understands the expression to mean "an eight-headed crow." For the arguments on both sides see the Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VII, p. 16, and

Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60-62, and Vol. VIII, pp. 34-58. See also for the translation of a parallel passage Sect. XVI, Note 23.

^167:3 Better known by the classical and modern form of the name, Yoshino. It seems to signify "good moor." Yoshino, which is in the province of Yamato, has from the earliest times been renowned for the beauty of its cherry-blossoms, and also figures largely in the early and mediaeval history. Motowori points out geographical difficulties in the Imperial progress as here detailed. In the "Chronicles," the verisimilitudes of the journey are better observed.

^167:4 [p. 169]The character , here rendered "weir" for want of a better word, is defined as signifying "a bamboo trap for catching fish."

^167:5 The First Personal Pronoun is here represented by the humble character , "servant." The other tailed deity mentioned immediately below uses the same expression.

^167:6 See Sect. I, Note 11, and Sect. XLIV, Note 22, for the considerations that make it better to translate thus than to render by "I am a Deity of the Land."

^167:7 I.e., "Offering-Bearing Child." Here and elsewhere the word ko, "child," as part of a proper name, should be understood as a kind of Honorific, employed probably in imitation of Chinese usage.

^167:8 Ada No U-kaki. This must be understood to be a "gentile name" (kabane). The etymology of Ada is uncertain. The practice of fishing with the help of cormorants, though now almost obsolete, seems to have been very common in Japan down to the Middle ages.

^167:9 Commenting on a similar passage a little further on, Motowori, naively remarks: "It appears that in very ancient times such persons were occasionally "to be met with." It should be added that they are also mentioned in Chinese literature.

^168:10 I.e., "Well-Shine."

^168:11 Yeshinu no obito. For Yeshinu see Note 3.

^168:12 I.e., disappearing among the mountains.

^168:13 Yeshinu no kuzu. Kuzu is a contraction of kuni-nushi (properly , with which characters the name is found written at the commencement of Sect. CVIII, though elsewhere the semi-phonetic rendering or is employed).

^168:14 obscure.

^168:15 Uda no ugachi. The meaning of the sentence is: "Hence the name of the Ugachi of Uda." Ugachi signifies "to penetrate." But the etymology seems a forced one, and Motowori is probably correct in identifying this "gentile name" with that of Ukashi, mentioned in the next sentence.

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[p. 169]

[SECT. XLVII.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (IV.--THE UKASHI BRETHREN).]

So then there were in Uda two persons, Ukashi the Elder Brother and Ukashi the Younger Brother. [*1] So

[p. 170]

[paragraph continues] [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] sent the crow eight feet [long] in advance to ask these persons, saying: "The august child of the Heavenly Deity has made a progress [hither]. Will ye respectfully serve him?" Hereupon Ukashi the Elder Brother waited for and shot at the messenger with a whizzing barb to make him turn back. So the place where the whizzing barb fell is called Kabura-zaki. [*2] Saying that he intended to wait for and smite [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], he [tried to] collect an army. But being unable to collect an army he said deceitfully that he would respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], and built a great palace, [*3] and in that palace set a pitfall, and waited. Then Ukashi the Younger Brother came out to [*4] [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] beforehand, and made obeisance, saying: "Mine [*5] elder brother Ukashi the Elder Brother has shot at and turned back the messenger [139] of the august child of the Heavenly Deity, and, intending to wait for and attack thee, has [tried to] collect an army; but, being unable to collect it, he has built a great palace, and set [*6] a gin within it, intending to wait for and catch thee. So I have come out to inform [thee of this]." Then the two persons His Augustness Michi-no-Omi, [*7] ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains, [*8] and His Augustness Ohokume, [*9] ancestor of the Kume Lords, [*10] summoned Ukashi the Elder Brother and reviled him, saying: "Into the great palace which thou [*11] hast built to respectfully serve [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko], be thou [*12] the first to enter, and declare plainly the manner in which thou intendest respectfully to serve him; "--and forthwith grasping the hilts of their cross-swords, playing with their spears, [*13] and fixing arrows [in

[p. 171]

their bows], they drove him in, whereupon he was caught in [*14] the gin which he himself had set, and died. So they forthwith pulled him out, and cut him in pieces. So the place is called Uda-no-Chihara. [*15] Having done thus, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] bestowed on his august army the whole of the great banquet presented [to him] by Ukashi the Younger Brother. At this time he sang, saying:

"The woodcock, for which I laid a wood-cock-snare [140] and waited in the high castle of Uda, strikes not against it; but a valiant whale strikes against it. If the elder wife ask for fish, slice off a little like the berries of the stand soba; if the younger wife ask for fish, slice off a quantity like the berries of the vigorous sasaki." [*16]

"Ugh! [*17] pfui! dolt! This is saying thou rascal. Ah! pfui! dolt! This is laughing [141] [him] to scorn."

So Ukashi the Younger Brother (he is the ancestor of the Water Directors of Uda). [*18]

[p. 172]

Footnotes

^169:1 [p. 171] Ye-ukashi and Oto-ukashi. Ukashi, as in the other compounds where it occurs, is probably in reality the name of a place. Its etymology is doubtful.

^170:2 I.e., Barb Point or Cape.

^170:3 Or, hall.

^170:4 The original has a respectful expression, which is elsewhere translated "waited on."

^170:5 The First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character

"servant."

^170:6 Literally, "spread." This gin is supposed to have been of the kind whose top closes down after the man or animal has fallen into it.

^170:7 [p. 172] I.e., "Grandee of the Way." This gentile name is said in the "Chronicles "to have been bestowed on this worthy in consideration of the services as a guide to his master the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's progress eastward.

^170:8 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 12.

^170:9 I.e., perhaps "Great Round Eyes," supposed to be a descendant of His Augustness Ama-tsu-kume (see however Sect. XXXIV, Note 7 for a discussion of the etymology of Kume).

^170:10 See Sect. XXXIV, Note 13.

^170:11 The expression i ga, here rendered "thou," is, as Motowori remarks, "extremely hard to understand," and its interpretation as an insulting form of the Second Personal Pronoun is merely tentative. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

^170:12 The insulting Second Pronoun ore is here employed.

^170:13 Here again we have an expression written phonetically and of uncertain import. The translator has followed Motowori in tentatively rendering it according to the ideographic reading of the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

^171:14 Literally "struck by."

^171:15 I.e., Uda's Blood-Plain.

^171:16 This Song is unusually difficult of comprehension: and the latest important commentator, Moribe, seems to show satisfactorily that all his predecessors, Motowori included, more or less misunderstood it. He had at least the advantage of coming after them, and the translator has followed his interpretation excepting with regard to isukukashi, the Pillow-Word for "whale," which is here rendered "valiant," in accordance with the traditional view of its signification. The soba tree is identified by Motowori with the Kaname-mochi, "Photinia glabra," saka-ki, taken together with its Prefix ichi (here rendered "vigorous") is supposed in this place to signify, not the usual Cleyera japonica, but another species popularly known as the bishiya-gaki, whose English or Latin name the translator has failed to ascertain. It has a large berry, whereas the soba has a small one. . . The following is the gist of Moribe's exposition of the general signification of the Song: "If for Ukashi's mean design to kill the Emperor in a gin there be sought a term of comparison in the whales and woodcock forming the Imperial banquet, then in lieu of the woodcock that he expected to catch in the trap that he set, that great whale, the Imperial host, has rushed up against it. Again if, as the fishermen's wives might do, your (i.e., you soldiers') wives ask you [p. 173] for fish, then let each of you give to his elder wife, of whom he must have grown weary, only a small and bony portion, and to his younger wife, who is doubtless his heart's favourite, a good fleshy piece. So jocular a guess at the "penchants of the young warriors excites their ardour, which they give vent to in the following shouts."

^171:17 Some of the Japanese originals of this string of Interjections are of uncertain import. The translator has been guided by Motowori's conjectures, with which Moribe mostly agrees. The exclamations are supposed not to form part of the actual Song, but to proceed from the mouths of the Imperial soldiers. The words rendered "this is saying thou rascal" (such is apparently their meaning) and those rendered "this is laughing [him] to scorn "seem to be glosses as old as the text, which had already been obscure in the eighth century. They are not

written altogether phonetically.

^171:18 Uda na Mohitori. This tribe or guild of "water-directors" was entrusted with the charge of the water, the ice, and the gruel used in the Imperial household. In later times the word Mohitori was corrupted to Mondo.

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[p. 173]

[SECT. XLVIII.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART V.--THE EARTH-SPIDER OF THE CAVE OF OSAKA).]

When [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] made his progress, and reached the great cave of Osaka, [*1] earth-spiders [*2] with tails, [namely] eighty bravoes, [*3] were in the cave awaiting him. So then the august son of the Heavenly Deity commanded that a banquet be bestowed on the eighty bravoes. Thereupon he set eighty butlers, one for each of the eighty bravoes, and girded each of them with a sword, and instructed the butlers, saying: [142] "When ye hear me sing, cut [them down] simultaneously." So the Song by which he made clear to them to set about smiting the earth-spiders said:

"Into the great cave Osaka people have entered in abundance, and are [p. 174] [there]. Though people have entered in abundance, and are [there], the children of the augustly powerful warriors will smite and finish them with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords]: the children of the augustly powerful warriors, with [their] mallet-headed [swords], [their] stone-mallet [swords], would now do well to smite." [*4]

Having thus sung, they drew their swords, and simultaneously smote them to death.

Footnotes

^173:1 [p. 174] The etymology of this name is not clear, but readers will of course not confound it with that of the modern town of Ohosaka (Ozaka). The character rendered "cave," , signifies simply "apartment;" but the traditional reading is muro, which means a cave or pit dug in the earth. That the latter is the idea which the author wishes to convey becomes clear by comparison with a greater number of passages in the older literature. For a more particular discussion of this subject see Mr. Milne's paper entitled "Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate," published in Vol. VIII, part I of these "Transactions," p. 76 et seq., where a number of passages relative to the "earth-spiders" are likewise brought together.

^173:2 Tsuchi-gumo, generally written , but here semi-phonetically . There is little doubt that by this well-known name, which has given rise to much conjecture, a race of cave-dwelling savages or a class of cave-dwelling robbers is intended. Motowori supposes that their name had its origin in a comparison of their habits with those of the spider. But it were surely more rational to regard it as a corruption of tsuchi-gomori, "earth-hiders," a designation as obvious as it is appropriate. The "Chronicles" describe one tribe of them as "being short in stature, and having long arms and legs like pigmies." For a further discussion of the subject see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XIX, pp. 30-31, the "Perpetual Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan," Vol. VIII, p. 35, the "Tou-ya," Vol. XX, s.v. kumo and the "Examination of Difficult Words," Vol. 1I, pp. 55 et seq.

^173:3 [p. 175] The original term is takeru (), which might also be rendered "bandit," or "robber ."

^174:4 The import of this poem is too clear to stand in need of explanation. The word mitsumitsushi, here rendered "augustly powerful" in accordance with Moribe's view, is understood by Motowori to mean "perfectly full," in allusion to the fully or perfectly round eyes of the deity Kume, to whose name he supposes there to be a reference. Mabuchi, on the other hand, explains the word to signify "young and flourishing." But Moribe's view both of this and of the import of kume as "warriors "seems so greatly preferable to any other, that the translator has not hesitated to follow him (conf. Sect. XXXIV, Note 7). The "children of the warriors" are of course the warriors themselves. With regard to the signification of the two kinds of swords here mentioned it has, however, been thought best to adhere to the usual view, and Note 10 to Sect. XXXIV should be referred to.

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[p. 175]

[SECT. XLIX.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VI.--THE PRINCE OF TOMI AND THE SHIKI BRETHREN)]

After this, when about to smite the Prince of Tomi, [*1] he sang, saying: [143]

"The children of the augustly powerful army will smite and finish the one stem of smelly chive in the millet-field,--the stem of its root, both its root and shoots." [*2]

Again he sang:

"The ginger, which the children of the augustly powerful army planted near the hedge, resounds in the mouth. I shall not forget it. I will smite and finish it." [*3]

[p. 176]

[144] Again he sang, saying:

"Like the turbinidae creeping round the great rock in the sea of Ise [on which blows] the divine wind, [so] will we creep round, and smite and finish them." [*4]

Again when he smote Shiki the Elder Brother and Shiki the Younger Brother, [*5] the august army was temporarily exhausted. Then he sang, saying:

"As we fight placing our shields in a row, going and watching from between the trees on Mount Inasa, oh! we are famished. Ye keepers of cormorants, the birds of the island, come now to our rescue!" [*6]

Footnotes

^175:1 [p. 176] See Sect. XLIV, Notes 28 et seq. The apparent want of sequence in this portion of the narrative is not noticed by Motowori. We might endeavour to, harmonize it by supposing that after having slain the "earth-spiders," etc., the Emperor Jim-mu turned round again to fight with the Prince of Tomi, who had harassed him in the earlier portion of his career as conqueror of Central Japan.

^175:2 The wild chive growing among the millet is of course the enemy, the Prince of Tomi and his host; and the gist of the Song is that the Imperial troops will smite and destroy them root and branch. The commentators suppose the simile to have been taken from the fields of millet which Jim-mu's troops

planted for their subsistence during the long drawn out campaigns of early days.--The "stem of its root," so ne ga moto, is a curious expression, which is perhaps best accounted for by Moribe's supposition that we have here a pun on Sune ga moto, "Sune's house," Sune being a natural abbreviation of Nagasune, the name of the Prince of Tomi (see Sect. XLIV, Note 28).

^175:3 The sense of this Song is: "I shall not forget the bitterness of seeing my brother slain by Prince Nagasune's arrow (see the latter part of Sect. XLIV). The word hazhikami, here rendered ginger in accordance with Motowori's dictum, is taken by Moribe to signify the xanthoxylon. [p. 177] "Resounding in the mouth" is a curious phrase here used to express bitterness.

^176:4 Motowori thus paraphrases this Song: "As the innumerable turbinidae [-shells] creep round the great rock, so will I with the myriads of the Imperial host encompass the Prince of Tomi on every side, that there may be no outlet whereby he can escape." The shell here mentioned is a kind of small conch. Kama-kazo no, lit, "of divine wind," is the Pillow-Word for Ise, and is of disputed derivation, as is the word Ise itself. The curious reader should refer to Fujihara no Hikomaro's "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" s.v. for the legend to which the name of Ise and its Pillow-Word were anciently traced and other conjectures on the point, The "great rock" here mentioned is not otherwise known.

^176:5 Ye-shiki and Otoshiki. Shiki is the name of a district in the province of Yamato.

^176:6 This Song is a request for provisions made by the Emperor to some fishermen, who were working their cormorants along the mountain-streams. Moribe refers it to an incident, not in the war, but in the hunt, and interprets differently the word here, in accordance with its usual meaning and with older authority, rendered "as we fight." He attributes to it the sense of "as we put our shields together," and thinks that the poet may have compared to shields the trunks of the trees. According to this view, the Song should be viewed rather as a joke. It may be mentioned that there is good authority for considering the word tata namete, "placing shields in a row," as a Punning Preface or Pillow-Word for words commencing with i (i being the Root of iru, "to shoot"), so that Moribe's explanation need not involve any tautology. It seems however somewhat far-fetched.--The position of Mount Inasa is uncertain, and the name itself of obscure derivation.

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[p. 177]

[SECT. L.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART VII.--THE EMPIRE PACIFIED)]

So then His Augustness Nigi-hayabi [*1] waited on and said to the august child of the Heavenly Deity: "As I heard that [thou], the august child of the Heavenly Deity, hadst descended from Heaven, I have followed

[p. 178]

down to wait on thee." Forthwith presenting to him the heavenly symbols, [*2] he respectfully served him. So His Augustness Nigi-hayabi wedded the Princess of Tomi, [*3] [145] sister of the Prince of Tomi, and begot a child, His Augustness Umashi-ma-ji. [*4] (He was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Warrior-Clan, [*5] of the Grandees of Hodzumi; [*6] and of the Grandees of the Neck-Clan). [*7] So having thus subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] dwelt at the palace of Kashibara [*8] near Unebi [*9] and ruled the Empire. [*10]

Footnotes

^177:1 The component parts of this name, rendered according to the analogy of that in Sect. XXXIII, Note 5, may be interpreted to signify "Plenty-Swift." The genealogy of this god is not known.

^178:2 I.e., the swords, quivers, bow, and arrows mentioned in Sect. XXXIII, as having been brought down from Heaven by the divine attendants of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather.

^178:3 Tomi ya-bime, The syllable ya is inexplicable, but perhaps merely an Expletive.

^178:4 The signification of this name is by no means clear; but, rendered according to the characters with which it is written in the "Chronicles," it would mean "Savoury-True-Hand."

^178:5 Mononobe no murazhi. This and the two following are of course "gentile names."

^178:6 Hodzumi no omi. Hodzumi, which is the name of a place, signifies "rice-ears piled up."

^178:7 Une-be no omi. The interpretation of this name is given according is Motowori, who explains that the members of this family,--in particular the female members,--waited at the Emperor's table, and wore veils over their necks when so employed. The name is commonly corrupted to uneme.

^178:8 Better known as Kashihabara. The name signifies "oak-moor," or rather "a place planted with oaks." This is usually, though without sufficient foundation, reckoned the earliest of the historical capitals of Japan. It is in Yamato.

^178:9 Unebi is the name of a hill in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure.

^178:10 [p. 179] I.e., "ruled the Empire from his palace of Kashibara near Unebi. For the expression (literally "[all] beneath Heaven"), here rendered "Empire," see Sect. XXVII, Note 13.

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[p. 179]

[SECT. LI.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. VIII.--HE WEDS).]

So when he dwelt in Himuka, [His Augustness Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko] wedded [*1] Princess Ahira, [*2] younger sister of the Duke of Wobashi [*3] in Ata, [*4] and begot children: [146] there were two, [*5]--His Augustness Tagishi-mimi, [*6] next His Augustness Kisu-mimi. [*7] But when he sought for a beautiful maiden to make her his Chief Empress, [*8] His Augustness Oho-kume said: "There is here a beauteous maiden who is called the august child of a Deity. The reason why she is called the august child of a Deity is that the Princess Seya-datara, [*9] daughter of Mizokuhi [*10] of Mishima, [*11] was admired on account of her beauty by the Great-Master-of-Things the Deity of Miwa, [*12] qui, quum pulchra puella oletum fecit, in sagittam rubro [colore] fucatam se convertit, et ab inferiori parte cloacae [ad usum] faciendi oleti virginis privatas partes transfixit. Tunc pulchra virgo consternata est, et surrexit, et trepide fugit. Statim sagittam attulit, et juxta thalamum posuit. Subito [sagitta] formosus adolescens facta [147] est, qui cito pulchram puellam sibi in matrimonio junxit, et filiam procreavit nomine Hoto-tarara-i-susugi-hime; [*13] et est nomen alternativum Hime-tatara-i-suke-yori-hime. [*14] (Id est posterior mutatio

nominis, quoniam abhorruit facere mentionem privatarum partium). So therefore she is called the august child of a Deity. Hereupon seven beauteous maidens were out playing on the moor of Takasazhi, [*15] and I-suke-yori-hime [*16] was among them. His Augustness Ohokume,

[p. 180]

seeing I-suke-yori-hime, spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign in a Song, saying:

"Seven maidens on the moor of Takasazhi in Yamato:--which shall be interlaced?" [*17]

Then I-suke-yori-hime was standing first among the beauteous maidens. Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign, having looked at the beauteous maidens, and knowing in his august heart [*18] that I-suke-yori-hime was standing in the very front, replied by a Song, saying:

"Even [after nought but] a fragment[ary glimpse], I will intertwine the lovely [one] standing in the very front. [*19]

Then His Augustness Ohokume informed I-suke-yori-hime [148] of the Heavenly Sovereign's decree, whereupon she, seeing the slit sharp eyes [*20] of His Augustness Ohokume, sang in her astonishment, saying:

"

?

?

"

?

?

"Wherefore the slit sharp eye? [*21]

Then His Augustness Ohokume replied by a Song, saying:

"My slit sharp eyes [are] in order to find the maiden immediately." [*22]

So the maiden said that she would respectfully serve [the Heavenly Sovereign]. [*23] Hereupon [*24] the house of Her Augustness [*25] I-suke-yori-hime was on [the back of] the River Sawi. [*26] The Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the abode of I-suke-yori-hime, and augustly slept [149] [there] one night. [*27] (The reason why that river was called the River Sawi was that on the River's banks the mountain-lily-plant grew in abundance. So the name of the mountain-lily-plant was taken, and the designation

[p. 181]

of River Sawi [bestowed]. The name by which the mountain-lily-plant was originally called was sawi). Afterwards, when I-suke-yori-hime came and entered into the palace, the Heavenly Sovereign sang augustly saying:

"In a damp hut on the reed-moor having spread layer upon layer of sedge mats, we two slept! [*28]

The names of the august children thus born were: His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi, [*29] next His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi, [*30] next His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi" [*31] (Three Deities.) [*32]

[p. 182] [p. 183]

Footnotes

^179:1 [p. 181] Or, "had wedded"; for the episode here related must be supposed to have taken place Jim-mu and his army started eastward on their career of conquest.

^179:2 Ahira-hime. Ahira is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. Its etymology is quite obscure.

^179:3 Wobashi no kimi. Wobashi is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Satsuma. The characters with which it is generally written mean "small bridge."

^179:4 Ata is a place in Satsuma.

^179:5 Or, "there were two Deities." The character is not that which itself actually signifies "deity," but is the Auxiliary for divine beings.

^179:6 I.e., perhaps "rudder-ears."

^179:7 Motowori adduces good reasons for believing this name to be but a slightly altered form of the preceding one, and for holding that in the original form of the tradition there was but one child mentioned.

^179:8 See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 10-15, for the reasons for thus interpreting the characters in the text. Elsewhere it has generally, for the sake of convenience, been simply rendered "Empress."

^179:9 Seya-dotara-hime. The signification of the name is obscure. Motowori supposes Seya to be a place and tatara (nigori'ed to datara) perhaps a plant written with the Chinese character , said by Dr. Williams in his "Syllabic Dictionary" to be possibly a species of Heteroiropa.

^179:10 It is uncertain whether this name should, or should not, be [p. 182] regarded as properly that of a place. The meaning is equally obscure. The Chinese characters with which it is here written signify "ditch-eater," whereas those employed in the "Chronicles" signify "ditch-stake." Perhaps both transcriptions are simply phonetic.

^179:11 A district in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name signifies "three islands."

^179:12 Miwa-no-oho-mono-mushi-no-kami. This god is supposed to be identical with Oho-kuni-nushi (the "Master of the Great Land," see end of Sect. XX and following Sects). The rigidly literal rendering of the name as here given would be "the Deity Great Master of Things of Miwa "; but the more intelligible version here given represents the Japanese author's meaning. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the story related in Sect LXV.

^179:13 Hoto significat partes privatas. Verbi tatara sensum supra s.v. Seya-datara-hime pertractavimus. I est vox expletiva. Susugi sensus est "trepide fugiens." Hime indicat regiam puellam.

^179:14 I.e., Princess Tatara-Startled-Good-Princess.

^179:15 Etymology obscure.

^179:16 An abbreviated form of the princess's alternative name.

^180:17 The meaning of this Song is: "To which of the seven maidens now disporting themselves on the moor of Takasazhi shall I convey the Emperor's command to come that he may make her his consort, and sleep with his arms intertwined in hers?"--Motowori, overlooking the difference between mart, which is the word in the text, and the nigori'ed form magu met with in some other passages, misinterprets the last clause thus: "Which shall be sought?" He makes the same mistake in his explanation of the next Song.

^180:18 I.e., "having a presentiment."

^180:19 The translation of this Song follows Moribe's exegesis. Motowori interprets it thus; "Well, well! I will seek the lovely one standing in the very front." As here rendered, the little poem is quite clear,--simply a declaration on the Emperor's part that he will make the girl standing in front his wife.

^180:20 Sakeru-to-me, the original of the phrase here rendered "slit sharp eyes," is obscure and variously understood by the commentators. Moribe supposes the god to have worn a casque with a vizor, and the slit to have been made in the latter, and not actually in, or rather near, the eyes. It should however be observed that, though the Japanese word saku means "to slit," the Chinese character in the text properly signifies [p. 183] "to tattoo (or brand) with ink," and is used with that meaning at the end of Sect. CXLIX, and elsewhere in the ancient books. The present writer, after comparing various passages in which the term occurs, thinks that we may understand a of the outer corners of the eyes, which would give to the latter the appearance of being long and sharp, or, if the tattooing were very dark, of being actually slit.

^180:21 The first lines of this short poem are so hopelessly unintelligible that the commentators are not even agreed as to how the syllables composing them should be divided into words. For the straits to which Motowori and his predecessors were driven in their efforts to obtain some plausible signification, see his Commentary, Vol. XX, pp. 27-29, and for Moribe's totally divergent interpretation see "Idzu no Koto-waki," Vol. II, pp. 30-31. It is not worth while to quote here more such conjectures.--For the doubt attaching to the precise signification of the words rendered by "slit sharp eyes," see the preceding Note.

^180:22 The signification of his Song is as plain as that of the preceding one is obscure.

^180:23 Q.d., as his wife.

^180:24 This initial expression is meaningless.

^180:25 Having become the Emperor's consort, this Honorific title is now prefixed for the first time to her name.

^180:26 Sawi-gaha. Sawi, as we learn from the compiler's note below, was the name of a kind of lily.

^180:27 Literally, "one sojourn."

^181:28 The signification of this Song is: "Now indeed thou comest to share the majesty of the palace. But the beginning of our intimacy was on that night when I came to thy humble dwelling on the reed-grown moor where, when we slept together, we had to pile mat upon mat to keep out the damp."--The translator has followed Moribe's interpretation throughout. Motowori takes in the sense of "ugly" the word here rendered "damp," and all the previous commentators give a different explanation of the words iya saya shikite, here translated by "spreading layer upon layer." They take them to mean "spreading more land more ."

^181:29 This name may signify "prince eight-wells." But the interpretation of ya

wi as "eight wells" in his and the following name is doubtful.

^181:30 This name may signify "divine-eight-wells-ears." But see preceding Note.

^181:31 [p. 184] This name may signify "divine-lagoon-river-ears." But perhaps Nuna-kaha is the name of a place.

^181:32 The character in the text is not actually "Deity," but hashira, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities, which is constantly throughout these "Records" used in speaking of members of the Imperial family.

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[p. 184]

[SECT. LII.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART. IX--TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE).]

So when, after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, [*1] [150] the elder half-brother, His Augustness Tagishi-mimi, [*2] wedded [*3] the Empress I-suke-yori-hime, he plotted how he might slay his three younger brethren, pending which their august [*4] parent I-suke-yori-hime lamented, and made [the plot] known to her august children by a Song. The song said:

"From the River Sawi the clouds have risen across, and the leaves of the trees have rustled on Mount Unebi: the wind is about to blow." [*5]

Again she sang, saying:

"Ah! What rest on Mount Unebi as clouds in the day-time, will surely blow as wind at night-fall, [whence] the rustling of the leaves!" [*6]

When hereupon her august children, hearing and knowing [of the danger], were alarmed and forthwith were about to slay Tagishi-mimi, His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi said to his elder brother His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi: "Thy dear Augustness, [do thou] take a weapon, and go in and slay Tagishi-mimi." So he took a weapon and went in, and was about to slay him. But his arms and legs trembled so, that he was

[p. 185]

unable to slay him. So then the younger brother His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi begged [to be allowed] to take the weapon which his elder brother held, and [151] went in and slew Tagishi-mimi. So again, in praise of his august name, he was called His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-mimi. [*7] Then His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi resigned [in favour of] the younger brother His Augustness Take-nuha-kaha-mimi, saying: "I could not slay the foeman; but Thine Augustness was at once able to slay him. So, though I be the elder brother, it is not right that I should be the superior. [*8] Wherefore do Thine Augustness be the superior, and rule [all] beneath the Heaven. I [*9] will assist Thine Augustness, becoming a priest, [*10] and respectfully serving thee."

Footnotes

^184:1 I.e., the Emperor Jim-mu. His decease is not otherwise specially mentioned; but a formula at the end of the Section, which is repeated mutatis mutandis in the case of each Emperor, tells us the number of years he lived or reigned, and the place of his sepulture. Throughout these "Records," much matter is often placed in the reign of a Monarch already deceased, and which, according to our ideas, would more naturally be narrated under the heading of his successor.

^184:2 Who was the deceased Emperor's son by Princess Ahira (see Sect. LI, Note 6,) and consequently step-son to the Empress and half-brother to her three sons.

^184:3 This is the meaning of the Chinese character in the text, Motowori tries to save the Empress-Dowager's reputation for conjugal fidelity by rendering it in his kana reading by a word signifying "raped."

^184:4 See Sect. XXII, Note 4.

^184:5 The import of this metaphorical poem, taken in its context, is too clear to need much comment. The rising off the clouds and the rustling of the leaves may be supposed to represent the murderer's preparations, and the blowing of the wind his actual onslaught.

^184:6 The meaning of this Song is: "The would-be murderer remains quiet during the day-time like the clouds hanging to the mountain-side; but at night he will I burst upon you like the storm-wind. Already I [p. 186] hear the leaves begin to rustle; already he is gathering his men together."

^185:7 The word take prefixed to the name of this prince signifies "brave."

^185:8 I.e., either "superior to thee," or as Motowori understands the phrase, "the superior of all," scil. the Emperor.

^185:9 Though the elder brother, he here uses the humble character "servant," to show his respect and deference.

^185:10 Literally, "a person who shuns," q.d. who shuns all pollution, and avoids certain food at certain seasons. Conf. the gentile name Imi-be commented on in Sect. XXXIII, Note 32.

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[p. 186]

[SECT. LIII.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART X.--GENEALOGIES).]

So His Augustness Hiko-ya-wi (is the ancestor of the Chieftains of Mamuta, [*1] and of the Chieftains of Teshima.) [*2] His Augustness Kamu-ya-wi-mimi (is the ancestor of the Grandees of Oho, [*3] of the Chieftains of the Tribe of Chihisako, [*4] of the chieftains of [152] the Tribe of Sahahi, [*5] of the Dukes Hi, [*6] of the Dukes of Ohokida, [*7] of the Dukes of Aso, [*8] of the Chieftains of the Granaries of Tsukushi, [*9] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe, [*10] of the Rulers of the Tribe of Sazaki, [*11] of the Rulers of Wo-Hatsuse, [*12] of the Suzerains of Tsuke, [*13] of the Rulers of the land of Iyo, [*14] of the Rulers of the land of Shinanu, [*15] of the Rulers of the land of Ihaki in Michinoku, [*16] of the Rulers of the Land of Naka [153] in Hitachi, [*17] of the Rulers of the land of Nagasa, [*18] of the Suzerains of Funaki in Ise, [*19] of the Grandees of Niha in Wohari, [*20] and of the Grandees of Shimada.) [*21]

[p. 187]

Footnotes

^186:1 [p. 186] Mamuta no murazhi. Mamuta is said to have been a place in the province of Kahachi. The etymology of the name is obscure.

^186:2 Teshima no murazhi. Teshima is said to have been a place in the province of Tsu (Settsu). The name may signify "luxuriant island."

^186:3 Oho no omi. Oho is said to have been a place in the province of Yamato. The name is mostly written with characters signifying "vast" or "numerous."

^186:4 Chihisako-be no murazhi. Chihisako is said to have been a place in the province of Etchiu. But the name of this family has also been traced to an incident mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names "as having occurred in the reign of the Emperor Yuriyaku, [p. 187]when, owing to a verbal error, a tax was collected in children instead of in cocoons. The monarch, amused at the mistake, is said to have granted to the tax-collector the "gentile name" of Chihisako, i.e., "Little Child."

^186:5 Sakahi-be no muhazhi. Sakahi signifies "boundary," and this "gentile name" is traced to the fact, mentioned in the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names," that the founder of the family distinguished himself by setting up boundary-marks on the frontiers of different provinces in the reign of the Emperor In-giyo (first half of the fifth century of the Christian era).

^186:6 Hi no kimi, Hi () is the name of a province (now two provinces) in the south-western island of Tsukushi. It is first mentioned in Sect. V, Note 17.

^186:7 Ohokida no kimi. Ohokida is the name of a district in the province of Toyo.

^186:8 Aso no himi. Aso is the name of a district in Higo, containing a celebrated volcano.

^186:9 Tsukushi no miyake no murazhi.

^186:10 Sazaki-be no omi. This name is connected by the compiler of the "Newly Selected Catalogue of Family Names" with that of the Emperor Nin-toku (Oho-sazaki no Mikoto), for which see Sect. CIV, Note 18.

^186:11 Sazaki-be no miyatsuko.

^186:12 Wo hatsuse no miyatsuko. This name is connected with that of the Emperor Mu-retsu, whose name was Wo-Hatsuse no Waka-Sazaki.

^186:13 Tsuke no atahe. Tsuke is the name of a place in Yamato.

^186:14 Iyo no kuni no miyatsuko. For the province of Iyo see Sect. V, Note 26.

^186:15 Shinanu no kuni no miyatsuko. For the province of Shinanu (Shinano) see Sect. XXXII, Note 26.

^186:16 Michinoku no Ihaki no kuni no miyatsuko. A popular derivation of Michinoku is from michi no kuni, "the country of the road;" but a more likely one, sanctioned by Motowori, is from michi no oku, "the furthest or more distant part of the road." (For the word "road," as here used, conf. Sect. LXV, Note 2.). It was for many centuries, and is still in poetry, a vague name for the entire north of Japan. Ihaki, sometimes considered a province, and at others only ranking as a district, formed its south-eastern portion along the Pacific sea-board. The name seems to signify "rock (or hard) castle."

^186:17 [p. 188] Hitachi no naka no huni no miyatzuko. Hitachi is a province to the south of Ihaki. Motowori quotes more than one traditional derivation of its name, the best of which, taken from the old Topography of the province, is hita-michi, "plain road," referring to the level nature of that part of the country. Naka is the name of a district. The word signifies "middle," and may have arisen from the fact of the district bearing it being situated between two considerable rivers.

^186:18 Nagasa no kuni no miyatsuko. Nagasa is a district in that portion of the old province of Kadzusa which was in very early historical times cut off from the little province of Aha. The import of the name is not clear.

^186:19 Ise no Funaki no atahe. For Ise see Sect. XLIX, Note 4. Of Funaki nothing is known. The characters with which the name is written signify "boat-tree."

^186:20 Ohari no Niha no omi. Wohari is one of the central provinces of Japan. The name is of uncertain origin. Niha is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

^186:21 Shimada no omi. Shimada is the name of a district in Wohari, and signifies "island rice-fields."

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[p. 188]

[SECT. LIV.--EMPEROR JIM-MU (PART XI.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi ruled the Empire. Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko were one hundred and thirty-seven. [*1] His august mausoleum is on the top of the Kashi Spur on the northern side of Mount Unebi. [*2]

Footnotes

^188:1 [p. 188] The author's confused style must not here mislead the student. It is after the decease of the Emperor Jim-mu (Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko), who attains to the age of a hundred and thirty-seven, that the Emperor Suwi-zei (Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi) begins to rule.

^188:2 For Unebi see Sect. LI, Note 9. Kashi signifies "oak." The word rendered "spur "is wo.

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[p. 189]

[SECT. LV.--EMPEROR SUI-ZEI.]

His Augustness Kamu-nuna-kaha-mimi dwelt at the palace of Takawoka in Kadzuraki, [*1a] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kaha-mata-bime, [*2a] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki, [*3a] and begot [154] an august child: His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-demi [*4] (one Deity), The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tsukida. [*5]

Footnotes

^189:1a [p. 189] In the province of Yamato. Taka-woka signifies "high mound." Kadzuraki means "pueraria castle," a name accounted for by a legend in the "Chronicles," which relates how an earth-spider was caught in this place by means of a net made of pueraria tendrils. Kadzuraki was the name, not only of a town, but of a district.

^189:2a I.e., the Princess of Kahamata, a place in Kahachi. The name signifies "river-fork." For the omission in this and a few other places of the words "daughter of," etc., which might be expected instead of "ancestress," see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 4.

^189:3a Shiki na agata-nushi. Shiki is in Yamato. The signification of the name seems to be "stone castle."

^189:4 Shiki-tsu-hiko signifies "Prince of Shiki." Motowori believes Tamade to be in like manner the name of a place, while he interprets mi as the common abbreviation of the Honorific (?) mimi.

^189:5 A place in Yamato. Motowori derives the name from tsuki modern toki), the "ibis," and ta, "rice-field."

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[SECT. LVI.--EMPEROR AN-NEI.]

His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko-tama-de-mi dwelt in the palace of Ukiana at Kata-shiha, [*1b] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Akuto-hime, [*2b] daughter of the Departmental Lord Haye, [*3b] elder brother of Kaha-mata-bime, and begot august children: His Augustness

[p. 190]

[paragraph continues] Toko-ne-tsu-hiko-irone, [*4] next His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo, [*6] next His Augustness Shiki-tsu-hiko. [*5] Of the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign,--three Deities,--His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. There were two Kings, [*7] children of the next [brother], His Augustness [155] Shiki-tsu-hiko. One child [*8] (was the ancestor of the Territorial Lords of Suchi in Iga, [*9] of the Territorial Lords of Nabari, [*10] and of the Territorial Lords of Minu); [*11] one child, [*12] His Augustness Wa-chi-tsumi, [*13] dwelt in the palace of Miwi in Ahaji. [*14] So this King had two daughters: the name of the elder was Hahe-irone, [*15] and another name for her was Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are: [*16] the name of the younger was Hahe-irodo. [*17] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-nine. Augustness mausoleum est in privatis partibus Montis Unebi. [*18]

[p. 191]

Footnotes

^189:1b In Kahachi: uki-ana signifies "floating hole," Kata-shiha is said to signify "hard rock" (kata-iha); but this seems doubtful, and the reading given by the characters in the text is not Kata-shiha, but Kata-shiho.

^189:2b I.e., Princess of Akuto, or Akuta,--for the latter form of the name is more common. There exists a place thus called in Settsu. The derivation of the word is obscure.

^189:3b Agata-nushi-Haye. The reading of this name is obscure, and its, derivation uncertain.

^190:4 Irone signifies "elder brother" or "elder sister." The rest of the compound is obscure.

^190:5 The first three elements of the compound signify "Great Yamato Prince." The last two are obscure, but Motowori identifies suki (see Note 3 to preceding Sect.)

^190:6 I.e., "Prince of Shiki"; so called, it is supposed, with reference to the place of residence of his grandfather.

^190:7 The character thus translated is , of which "King "is the original and proper signification. To judge by some other passages in the ancient histories, it had not yet in the 8th century altogether paled to [p. 191] the lesser meaning of "prince," which has belonged to it in later times when denoting Japanese personages. It is still, as far as possible, used to denote the rulers of all countries excepting Japan, the zealous admirers of the native literature and institutions even designating by it the Emperor of China, who, one would have thought, had a special right to the more Honorific title of Emperor, which his own subjects were the first to invent. On the whole, therefore, "King "seems to be the most appropriate . The characters are, by analogy, rendered "Queen."

^190:8 The text has "descendant"; but it must here be corrupt or at least faulty, as may be seen by the omission of the proper name.

^190:9 Iga no Suchi no inaki. The etymology of Iga and that of Suchi are alike obscure. See however Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, p. 13, for the traditional derivation of the former. It is the name of a small province which in very ancient times formed part of the province of Ise.

^190:10 Nabari no inaki. Nabari is in Iga. The name signifies, "hiding."

^190:11 Minu no inaki. Minu, not to be confounded with the province of the same name, is a place in Iga. The name probably signifies "three moors."

^190:12 I.e., the other child.

^190:13 Motowori reads Chichitsumi. In any case, the name remains obscure.

^190:14 For Ahaji see Sect. VI, Note 3. Mi-wi signifies "august well," and the name is traced to the custom of bringing water from the Island of Ahaji for use in the Imperial Palace, as mentioned in Sect. CXXIX of the present work, and elsewhere in the early literature.

^190:15 Irone means "elder sister." Hahe is of uncertain import, it being written with completely different characters in the two histories.

^190:16 Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto. Ono-yamato-kuni signifies "the land of Great Yamato," and hime signifies "princess "or "maiden." Motowori suggests that are, which is an obscure word, may signify "pure."

^190:17 Irodo signifies "younger sister." For hahe conf. Note 15.

^190:18 Scil. in interiori parte montis, e.g. in spelunca. Motowori explains the use of the term by reference to such words as foot, where the name of a portion of the human body is applied to a mountain. In Japanese there are others besides ashi ("foot"), such as itadaki, hara and koshi.

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[p. 192] [156]

[SECT. LVII.--EMPEROR I-TOKU.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-hiko-suki-tomo dwelt in the palace of Sakahiwo at Karu, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded her Augustness Princess Futo-ma-waka, [*2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Ihi-bi, [*3] ancestress of the Departmental Lords of Shiki, [*4] and begot august children: His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-wake-shine, [*5] next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko [*6] (two Deities). So His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next His Augustness Tagishi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Chinu, [*7] of the Lords of Take

in Tajima, [*8] and of the Territorial Lords of Ashiwi). [*9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were forty-five. His august mausoleum is above the Vale of Manago by Mount Unebi. [*10]

Footnotes

^192:1 [p. 192] Karu, which still remains as a village in the province of Yamato, was famous down to the early historical days of Japan, being often mentioned by the poets. The derivation of the name is quite uncertain. Sakahi-wo probably signifies "boundary mound."

^192:2 Futo-ma-wakes-hime-no-mikoto. The compound signifies "vast, true, and young princess."

^192:3 Ihibi-hime-no-mikoto. The name seems to signify "rice-sun-princess."

^192:4 See Sect. LV, Note 3.

^192:5 The import of this name is obscure.

^192:6 i.e., perhaps "rudder prince."

^192:7 Chinu no wake. For Chinu see Sect. XLIV, Notes 35 and 36.

^192:8 Tajima no Take no wake. Motowori tells us that no mention of any place called Take in the province of Tajima is to be found in any other book.

^192:9 Ashiwi no inaki. The same remark applies to this name as to the last. The two "gentile names" here mentioned are equally unknown except from this passage.

^192:10 Unebi-yama no Manago-dani. It is in Yamato, and is now called Masago. The name signifies "a sandy place, or desert."

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[p. 193]

[SECT. LVIII.--EMPEROR KO-SHO.]

His Augustness Mi-ma-tsu-hiko-kawe-shine dwelt at the palace of Waki-no-kami in Kadzuraki, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness [157] Princess Yoso-taho, [*2] younger sister of Oki-tsu-yoso [*3] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari, [*4] and begot august children: His Augustness Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko, [*5] and next His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [*6] (two Deities). Now the younger brother, His Augustness Tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The elder brother His Ame-oshi-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kasuga, [*7] the Grandees of Ohoyake, [*8] the Grandees of Ahata, [*9] the Grandees of Wonu; [*10] the Grandees of Kaki-no-moto, [*11] the Grandees of Ichihiwi; [*12] the Grandees of Ohosaka, [*13] the Grandees of Ana, [*14] the Grandees of Taki: [*15] [158] the Grandees of Haguri, [*16] the Grandees of Chita, [*17] the Grandees of Muza; [*18] the Grandees of Tsunuyama, [*19] the Dukes of Ihitaka in Ise, [*20] the Dukes of Ichishi, [*21] and the Rulers of the Land of Chika-tsu-Afumi). [*22]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-three. His August mausoleum is on Mount Hakata [*23] at Waki-no-kami.

[p. 194]

Footnotes

^193:1 [p. 193] In Yamato. The name of Waki-no-kami is of uncertain derivation. In the "Chronicles" the Emperor Ko-sho is said to have "dwelt at the palace of Ikegokoro at Waki-no-kami." For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

^193:2 Yoso-taho-bime-no-mikoto. Here written phonetically, this name appears in the "Chronicles "written with characters to which the signification of "perfectly ornamented princess" should be attributed.

^193:3 The signification of this name is obscure, but it seems to be connected in some way with that of the other sister.

^193:4 Wohari no murazhi.

^193:5 I.e., heavenly great perfect prince."

^193:6 I.e., "great Yamato perfect prince, country great man." This name appears in an abbreviated form in the next sentence.

^193:7 [p. 194]Kasuga na omi. Kasuga is a celebrated place in the province of Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin, though the "Catalogue of Family Names" gives a story referring it to Kasu gaki (), i.e., "lees fence." The curious combination of characters with which Kasuga is written,----may be traced to the Pillow-Word haru-hi no () which was not unnaturally prefixed to a name which so much resembled the Verb kasumu, "to be misty."

^193:8 Ohoyake no omi. Ohoyake is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "great granary."

^193:9 Ahata no omi. Ahata is a place in Yamashiro. The name signifies "millet-field."

^193:10 Wonu no omi. Wonu is a place in Afumi. The name signifies "little moor."

^193:11 Kakinnomoto-uo-omi. Kaki-no-moto signifies "at the bottom of the persimmon-tree," and the name is said by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to have been granted to this family in allusion to a persimmon-tree which grew near their gate. This name was rendered illustrious in the eighth century by the poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro (See the present writer's "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 217 of seq.).

^193:12 Ichihiwi no omi. Ichihiwi is in Yamato. The name may signify "oak-well."

^193:13 Ohosaka no omi. Ohosaka is a place in Bingo. The name signifies "great hill, or pass."

^193:14 Ana no omi. Ana is a department in Bingo. The name signifies "hole" or "cave."

^193:15 Taki no omi. Taki is a district in Tamba. The name, which is a common one in Japan, means "water-falls."

^193:16 Haguri no omi. Haguri is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

^193:17 Chita no omi. Chita is a district in Wohari. The signification of the name is obscure.

^193:18 Musa no omi. Mudza is a district in Kadzusa. The name seems to be a corruption of the Chinese words , "warlike archer."

^193:19 Tsunuyama no omi. The family, the place, and the signification of the name are alike obscure.

^193:20 Ise no Ihitaka no kimi. Ihitaka is the name of a district, and is traced to the signification of "abundant rice."

^193:21 Ichishi no kimi. Ichishi is a district in Ise. The signification of the name is obscure.

^193:22 [p. 195] Chika tsu Afumi no kuni-no-miyatsuko. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

^193:23 In Yamato. The signification of the name is obscure.

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[p. 195]

[SECT. LIX.--EMPEROR KOAN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-tarashi-hiko-kuni-oshi-bito dwelt in the palace of Akidzushima at Muro [*1] in Kadzuraki, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded his niece Her Augustness Princess Oshika, [*2] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi, [*3] next His Augustness, Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [*4] (two Deities). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni [159] [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Mound of Tamade. [*5]

Footnotes

^195:1 In Yamato. Muro signifies "cave" or "pit." Aki-dzu-shima, "the Island of the Dragon-Fly," is frequently used as an alternative name of Japan (see Sect. V, Note 26). See also the Emperor Yu-riyaku's song given in Sect. CLVI.

^195:2 Oshika-hime-no-mikoto. The name Oshika, which is obscure, appears in the "Chronicles" under the form of Oshi, which has generally been interpreted by Motowori (whom the translator follows) as a corruption of ohoshi, "great." This version of the name makes it harmonize with that of the Princess's father.

^195:3 See Sect. LX, Note 11.

^195:4 This name seems to signify "Great Yamato's Lord Prince, the Vast Jewel."

^195:5 Tamade no woka. In Yamato. For this name see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 196]

[SECT. LX.--EMPEROR KO-REI.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-futo-ni dwelt at the Palace of Ihodo at Kuruda, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuhashi, [*2] daughter of Ohome, [*3] ancestor of the Departmental Lords of Tohochi, [*4] and begot an august child: His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [*5] (one Deity). Again he wedded Princess Chiji-haya-ma-waka of Kasuga, [*6] and begot an august child: Her Augustness Princess Chiji-haya [*7] (one Deity). Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Oho-yamato-kuni-are, [*8] he begot august children: Her Augustness Yamato-to-mo-so-bime, [*9] next

His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake; [*10] next His [160] Augustness Hiko-isa-seri-biko, [*11] another name for whom is His Augustness Oho-biki-tsu-hiko: next Yamato-to-bi-haya-waka-ya-hime [*12] (four Deities). Again he wedded Haheirodo, [*13] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Are, and begot august children,--His Augustness Hiko-same-ma, [*14] next His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kibi-tsu-hiko [*15] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all eleven Deities (five kings and three queens). So His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-kuni-kuru [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The two Deities His Augustness Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko and His Augustness Waka-take-kibi-tsu-hiko together set sacred jars [*16] at the front [*17] of the River Hi [*18] in Hari-ma; [*19] and, making Harima the mouth of the road, [*20] subdued and pacified the Land of Kibi. So His Augustness [161] Oho-kibi-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kamu-tsu-michi in Kibi) [*21] The next, His Augustness Waka-hiko-take-kiki-tsu-hiko (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Shimo-tsu-michi in

[p. 197]

[paragraph continues] Kibi [*22] and of the Grandees of Kasa [*23]). The next His Augustness Hiko-same-ma (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uzhika in Harima [*24]). The next, His Augustness Hiko-sashi-kata-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tonami in Koshi, [*25] of the Grandees of Kunisaki in the Land of Toyo, [*26] of the Dukes of Ihobara, [*27] and of the Maritime Suzerains of Tsunuga). [*28] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and six. His august mausoleum is at Umasaka at Kotawoka. [*29]

[p. 198]

Footnotes

^196:1 [p. 197] In Yamato. Iho-do signifies "hut door." Kuru-da (Kuroda would be the more natural reading) signifies "black rice-field."

^196:2 Kuhashi-hime-no-mikoto. The name signifies "beautiful princess."

^196:3 This seems to have been originally not a personal name, but the name of a place in Wohari.

^196:4 To-hochi no agata-mushi. Tohochi is a district in Yamato. The name seems to signify "ten marts."

^196:5 This name signifies "great Yamato's lord prince who rules the land."

^196:6 Kasuga no-chiji-haya-ma-waka-hime. This name probably signifies "the thousand-fold brilliant truly young princess of Kasuga." For Kasuga see Sect, LVIII, Note 7.

^196:7 Chiji-haya-hime-no-mikoto, i.e., probably "thousand-fold brilliant princess."

^196:8 Oho-yamato-kuni-are-hime-no-mikoto. See Sect. LVI, Note 16.

^196:9 Motowori assigns to this name the signification of "Yamato's hundred thousand-fold illustrious princess," and has a very long note on the subject in Vol. XXI, p. 42, et seq.

^196:10 The signification of this name is not clear.

^196:11 I.e., "prince valorously advancing prince." The alternative name signifies "Great Prince of Kibi," and both refer to his conquest of the province of Kibi as related a little further on in this Section. Motowori gives good reasons for supposing that Oho-kibi-no-moro-susumi, i.e. "He Who Completely Advances in Great Kibi," is but another form of the same name, erroneously inserted in the account of the preceding reign (see Sect, LIX, Note 3).

^196:12 I.e., perhaps "Yamato's hundred-fold wondrous brilliant young ornamental Princess." The name resembles that of the elder sister.

^196:13 For this and the next following names see Sect. LVI, Notes 17 and 16 respectively.

^196:14 [p. 198] This name is obscure, and differs from that given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," where we read Sashima. The latter sounds more authentic.

^196:15 I.e., "the young prince the brave prince of Kibi." This name refers to his conquest of Kibi, as related a few lines further on.

^196:16 I.e., earthenware jars of a moderate size, probably intended to hold the rice-liquor offered to the gods, Being easily broken, they were planted in the ground up to a certain height.

^196:17 The probable meaning of this peculiar expression is "a bend in the river,"

^196:18 Written with the character , "ice," which may however be only phonetic. No river of this name is anywhere else mentioned as flowing through the province of Harima, and one is tempted to suppose that there is some confusion with the celebrated river Hi, which figures so frequently in the Idzumo cycle of legends.

^196:19 One of the central provinces of Japan, on the northern shores of the Inland Sea. Some derive the name from hagi-hara, "lespedeza moor," while others, connect it with hari, a "needle," Neither etymology has much to recommend it.

^196:20 I.e., "their point of departure." It must also be remembered that "road "came to have the sense of "circuit "or "province," so that we might translate this phrase by "the commencement of the circuit." Conf. such denominations as Koshi no michi no kuchi, Koshi no michi no naka, and Koshi no michi no shiri for what are in modern parlance the provinces of Echizen, Etchiu and Echigo. The region nearest to the capital was called the mouth, while equally graphic designations were bestowed on the more remote districts. It was, as we learn by comparison with a passage in the history of the reign of the Emperor Su-jin (see Sect. LXVI, Note 13), customary thus to plant earthenware jars in the earth at the point whence an army started on an expedition, this being considered a means of invoking upon it the blessing of the gods. Not only so, but down to the Middle Ages travellers in general were in the habit of worshipping at the shrine of the god of roads. For "road" in the sense of "circuit," "province," or "administrative division "see Sect. LXVI, Note 2.

^196:21 Kibi no kamu-tsu-michi no omi. Kamu-tsu-michi i.e., "the Upper Road "or "Circuit," was the ancient name of the province of Bizen (or of a portion of it), which formerly was a part of the Land of Kibi.

^197:22 [p. 199] Kibi no shimo-tsu-michi no omi. Shimo-tsu-michi means "the lower road," and was the ancient name of a portion of the province of Bitchiu, which formerly was a part of the land of Kibi.

^197:23 Kasa no omi, i.e., "Grandees of the Hat," a "gentile name" which is referred by the compiler of the "Catalogue of Family Names" to an incident in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, which he however by no means clearly relates (See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXI; p.p. 57-58).

^197:24 Harima no Uzhika no omi. Uzhika is the name of a place. It is written with characters signifying "cow and deer," but the true derivation is quite uncertain.

^197:25 Koshi no Tonami no omi. Tonami is a district in Etchiu. signification of the name is uncertain.

^197:26 Toyo-kuni no Kunisaki no omi. Kunisaki is a district in Bungo. The name seems to signify "land's end."

^197:27 Ihobara no kimi. Ihobara is a district in Suruga. The signification of the name is obscure.

^197:28 Tsunuga no ama no atahe. For Tsunuga see Sect. CI, Notes 3 and 12. Perhaps the name should rather be rendered "the Suzerains of Ama in Tsunuga," as Ama may, after all, as Motowori suggests, be here the name of a place.

^197:29 In the Province of Yamato. Kata-woka signifies "side-mound" or "incomplete mound." Uma-saka signifies "horse-hill" or "horse-pass." Umasaka should perhaps be understood as the particular designation of a portion of the ascent of Katawoka, which is mentioned in the "Chronicles "as the name of a mountain.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 199] [162]

[SECT. XLI.--EMPEROR KO-GEN.]

His Augustness Oho-yamato-ne-ko-hiko -kuni-kuru dwelt in the palace of Sakaki-bara at Karu, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Utsu-shiko-me, [*2] younger sister of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, [*3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi, [*4] and begot august children: His Augustness Oho-biko, [*5] next His Augustness Sukuna-biko-take-wi-goro; [*6] next His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [*7] (three Deities).

[p. 200]

[paragraph continues] Again, wedding Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me, [*8] daughter of His Augustness Utsu-shiko-wo, he begot an august child: His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-makoto. [*9] Again, wedding Princess Haniyasu, [*10] daughter of Awotama [*11] of Kafuchi, he begot an august child: His Augustness Take-hani-yasu-biko [*12] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered in all five Deities]. So His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of [163] his elder brother, His Augustness Oho-biko, were His Augustness Take-numa-kaha-wake [*13] (ancestor of the Grandees of Abe); [*14] next His Augustness Hiko-inakoshi-wake [*15] (This was the ancestor of the Butler Grandees.) [*16] His Augustness Hiko-futu-oshi-no-mikoto wedded Princess Takachina of Kadzuraki, [*17] young sister of Cho-nabi, [*18] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari, [*19] and begot a child: the Noble Umashi Uchi. [*20] (This was the ancestor of the Grandees of Uchi in Yamashiro.) [*21] Again, wedding Princess Yama-shita-kage, [*22] younger sister of Udzu-hiko, [*23] ancestor of the Rulers of the Lord of Ki, [*24] he begot a child, the Noble Take-Uchi [*25] The children of this Noble Take-Uchi [numbered] in all nine (seven males and two females),-- namely] the Noble of Hata-no-Yashiro, [*26] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Hata, [*27] of the Grandees of Hayashi, [*28] of the Grandees of Hami, [*29] of the Grandees of Hoshikaha, [*30] of the Grandees of Afumi, [*31] and of the Dukes of the Hatsuse Tribe); [*32] next the Noble Kose-no-Wo-Kara [*33] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Kose, [*34] of the Grandees of the Sazaki Tribe, [*35] and of the Grandees of the Karu Tribe); [*36] next the Noble Soga no Ishikaha [*37] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Soga, [*38] of the Grandees of Kahanobe, [*39] of the Grandees of Tanaka, [*40] of the Grandees of Takamuko, [*41] of the Grandees of Woharida [*42] of the Grandees of Sakurawi, [*43] and of the Grandees of Kishida); [*44] next the Noble Heguri-no-Tsuku, [*45]

[p. 201]

[paragraph continues] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri, [*46] of the Grandees of Sawara, [*47] and of the Uma-mi-kuhi Chiefs) [*48] next the Noble Kino-Tsunu [*49] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Ki, [*50] of the Grandees of Tsumu; [*51] and of the Grandees of Sakamoto) [*52] next Princess Mato of Kume; [*53] next Princess Nu-no-iro; [*54] next Kadzuraki-no-Nagaye-no-sotsu-biko [*55] [who] (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Tamade, [*56] of the Grandees of Ikuha, [*57] of the Grandees [166] of Ikuye [*58] and of the Grandees of Agina), [*59] moreover [there was] the Noble Waku-go [*60] (the ancestor of the Grandees of Yenuma). [*61] This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-seven. His august mausoleum is on the mound in the middle of the Pool of Tsurugi. [*62]

[p. 202] [p. 203] [p. 204]

Footnotes

^199:1 [p. 201] In Yamato. For Karu see Sect. LVII, Note I. Sakahi-bara signifies "boundary moor."

^199:2 I.e., perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming female."

^199:3 I.e., perhaps, "the beautiful but alarming male."

^199:4 Hodzumi no omi. There are several places called Hodzumi in various provinces. The name appears to signify "piling up rice-ears."

^199:5 I.e., "great prince."

^199:6 I.e., "little prince-fierce-boar-heart," the boar being known for its savage disposition.

^199:7 Excluding the last member of the compound, this name signifies "young-Yamato-lord-prince-great" Bibi is identified by Motowori with the word mimi, which so often recurs in proper names (see Sect. XIII, Note 18).

^200:8 Motowori explains this name in the sense of "brilliant-alarming-female," but some doubt must attach to it.

^200:9 I.e., perhaps, "prince vast-great-truth."

^200:10 Hani-yasu-bime. This name has already been met with in Sect. VII, Note 3. Motowori however supposes that in this place Haniyasu should be considered to be the name of a place in Yamato.

^200:11 I.e., a man called "green jewel" who lived in the province of Kafuchi.

^200:12 Take signifies "brave." For the rest of the name see Note 10.

^200:13 Take signifies "brave." Wake is either "young" or "lord." For Nuna-kaha see Sect. LI, Note 31.

^200:14 [p. 202] Abe no omi. There are several places called Abe, and it is doubtful to which of them the text here refers.

^200:15 The signification of inakoshi seems to be "rice-chariot". Hiko is "prince," and wake either "young "or "lord."

^200:16 Kashihade no omi, This name is traditionally referred to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Kei-ko, who is said to have bestowed it on one of his attendants who served up to him a particularly savoury dish of shell-fish. "Butlers" (perhaps the word might also be rendered "cooks") have been mentioned towards the end of Sect. XXXII, and again in the legend of Jim-mu's slaughter of

the "earth-spiders "related in Sect. XLVIII.

^200:17 Katsuraki-no-takachina-bime-no-mikoto. The signification of Takachina is obscure.

^200:18 By aphaeresis for Oho-inabi, the form of the name given in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages." itself perhaps standing by apocope for Oho-ina-biko, which would signify "great rice-prince."

^200:19 Wohari no Murazhi.

^200:20 Umashi Uchi no sukune. Umashi signifies "sweet," and Uchi is the name of a place in Yamashiro.

^200:21 Yamashiro no Uchi no omi.

^200:22 This name may be rendered literally "the shade beneath the mountains," but the signification is "the glow from the autumn leaves on the mountain-side."

^200:23 I.e., probably "wonderful (or precious) prince."

^200:24 Ki no kuni no miyatsuko no aya.

^200:25 Take-Uchi no sukune. Take signifies "brave," and Uchi is the name of a district in Yamato. The common, but erroneous, reading of this name is Take no Uchi no sukune. The celebrated personage, who may be styled the Methuselah of Japan, is said to have lived during the reigns of five Emperors, who themselves averaged over a hundred years of life each. His own age is variously given as 255, 260, etc. up to 360 years.

^200:26 Hata no Yashiro no sukune. Hata and Yashiro are supposed by Motowori to be the names of places in Yamato. Yashiro signifies "shrine." Hata is of uncertain derivation.

^200:27 Hata no omi.

^200:28 Hayashi no omi. Hayashi is the name of a place in Kawachi, and signifies "forest."

^200:29 Hami no omi. There is a Hami in Afumi and another in Tamba. The signification of the name is obscure.

^200:30 [p. 203] Hoshikaha no omi. Hoshikaha is a place in Yamato. The name signifies "star river."

^200:31 Afumi no omi. For Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

^200:32 Hatsuse-be no Kimi. For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8.

^200:33 Kose no Wo-kara no sukune. Kose is the name of a place in Yamato. The meaning of Wo-kara is obscure.

^200:34 Kose no omi.

^200:35 Sazakibe no omi. See Sect. LIII, Note 10.

^200:36 Kurube no omi.

^200:37 Soga no Ishikaha no sukune. Soga is a place in Yamato, and Ishikaha a district in Kahachi. In cases like this it must generally be presumed that the family had two seats, or was divided into two branches residing in different places. Sometimes, however, the original seat and that to which the family afterwards removed are meant to be indicated.

^200:38 Soga no omi. The signification of Soga is obscure.

^200:39 Kahanobe no omi. Kahanobe is the name of a district in Settsu, and signifies "river-bank."

^200:40 Tanaka no omi. Tanaka is the name of a place in Yamato and signifies "among the rice-fields."

^200:41 Takamuko no omi. Takamuko seems to be the name of a place in Echizen. Its signification is uncertain.

^200:42 Woharida no omi. Woharida is a place in Yamato. The name seems to mean "little ploughed field."

^200:43 Sakurawi no omi. Sakurawi is the name of a place in Kahachi and signifies "cherry-tree well."

^200:44 Kishida no omi. Kishida is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is not clear.

^200:45 Heguri no Tsuku no sukune. Heguri is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain signification. Tsuku (modern dzuku), "owl," is a name which is referred to a tradition that will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

^201:46 Heguri no omi.

^201:47 Sawara no omi. Sawara was perhaps a district in Chikuzen. The signification of the name is obscure.

^201:48 Uma mi-kuhi no murazhi. The literal significance of the characters with which Uma-mi-kuhi is written is "horse august post." But whether this name had any relation to horses, or whether it should simply be regarded as the name of a place is quite uncertain.

^201:49 Ki no Tsunu no sukune. Ki is the name of a province, and [p. 204] Tsunu that of a district in another province,--the province of Suhau (Suwo). Conf. Note 37.

^201:50 Ki no omi.

^201:51 Tsunu no omi.

^201:52 Sakamoto no omi. Sakamoto is the name of a place in Idzumi and signifies "base of the hill."

^201:53 Kume no Ma-ito-hime. Kume may be, as Motowori says, the name of a place. But see Sect. XXXIV, Note 7. In any case the place, if it existed, was probably called after some person of the name of Kume. The signification of Ma-iro is obscure.

^201:54 Nu-no-iro-hime. The meaning of this name is obscure.

^201:55 Kadzuraki is the already frequently mentioned name of a district in Yamato, and Nagaye is likewise the name of a place,--whether in Yamato or in Kahachi is not certain. It signifies "long inlet." Motowori thinks that the syllable so in this place is the same as the of kuma-so, and signifies "valiant "or "fierce."

^201:56 Tamade no omi. There is a Tamade in Yamato and another in Kahachi. The signification of the name is uncertain.

^201:57 Ikuha no omi. The "Chronicles of Japan" tell us that the original form of this name Ikuha was uki-ha, i.e., "floating leaf," and give a story to

account for it. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, pp. 36-37, where the reason traditionally given to explain the fact of the name Ikuha being written with the character is also mentioned at length.

^201:58 Ikuye no omi. Ikuye must have been the name of a place; but nothing is known of it.

^201:59 Agina no anti. The same observation applies to this as to the preceding name.

^201:60 Waku-go no sukune. Waku-go signifies "young child "or youth," an Honorific designation.

^201:61 Yenuma no omi. Yenuma is the name of a district in Kaga, and signifies "inlet-lagoon."

^201:62 In Yamato. This pool or lake is often mentioned in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and was celebrated for its lotus-flowers. We hear of it in the "Chronicles of Japan," as having been dug in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, but it was probably, like many others, a natural pool or marsh, which was afterwards improved. The name signifies "sabre."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 205]

[SECT. LXII.--EMPEROR KAI-KUWA.]

His Augustness Waka-yamato-ne-ko-hiko-oho-bibi dwelt in the palace of Izakaha at Kasuga, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Princess of Takanu, [*2] daughter of Yugori [*3] the Great Departmental Lord of Taniha, [*4] and begot an august child: His [167] Augustness Hiko-yumusumi, [*5] (one Deity). Again he wedded his step-mother, Her Augustness I-gaka-shiko-me, [*6] and begot august children: His Augustness Mima-kiri-biko-iniwe; [*7] next Her Augustness Mima-tsuhime [*8] (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Oke-tsu-hime, [*9] younger sister of His Augustness Hiko-kuni-oketsu, [*10] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, [*11] and begot an august child: King Hiko-imasu [*12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Washi, [*13] daughter of the Noble Kadzuraki-no-tarumi, [*14] he begot an august child,--King Take-tayo-hadzura-wake [*15] (one Deity); The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all five Deities (four Kings and one Queen), So His Augustness Mi-maki-iri-biko-iniwe [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The children of his elder brother, King Hiko-yumusumi were: King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne; [*16] next King Sanugi-tari-ne [*17] (two Kings). There [168] were five Deities daughters of these two Kings. Next King Hiko-imasu wedded the Princess of Yena in Yamashiro, [*18] another name for whom was Kari-bata-tobe, [*19] and begot children: King Oho-mata; [*20] next King Wo-mata; [*21] next King Noble [of?] Shibumi [*22] (three Deities). Again, wedding Saho-no-oho-kurami-tome, [*23] daughter of Take-kuni-katsu-tome, of Kasuga, [*24] he begot children: King Saho-biko; [*25] next King Wo-zaho; [*26] next Her Augustness Saho-bime, [*27] another name for whom is Sahaji-hime [*28]

[p. 206]

[paragraph continues] (Her Augustness Saho-bime here mentioned was consort of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume); [*29] and King Muro-biko, [*30] (four Deities). Again, wedding Okinaga-no-midzu-yori-hime, [*31] daughter of the [169] Heavenly Deity Mikage, [*32] who is held in reverence by the deacons of Mikami in Chika-tsu-Afumi, [*33] he begot children: King Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha; [*34] next King Midzuho-no-ma-wa-ka; [*35] next King Kamu-oho-ne, [*36] another name for whom is King Yatsuri-iri-biko; [*37] next Midzuho-no-i-ho-yori-

hime; [*38] next Mimi-tsu-hime; [*39] (three Deities). Again, wedding his mother's younger sister Her Augustness Woke-tsu-hime, [*40] he begot children: King Ma-wata of Oho-tsutsuki in Yamashiro; [*41] next King Hiko-osu; [*42] next king Iri-ne [*43] (two Deities). Altogether the children of King Hiko-imasu [numbered] in all eleven Kings. So the children of the elder brother King Oho, mata were: King Ake-tatsu; [*44] next King Unakami [*45] [170] (two Deities). This King Ake-tatsu (was the ancestor of the Dukes of the Homuji Tribe in Ise [*46] and of the Rulers of Sana in Ise) [*47] King Una-kami (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Himeda. [*48] The next King Wo-mata (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Magari in Tagima). [*49] The next King Noble Shibumi (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Sasa) [*50] The next King Saho-biko (was the ancestor of the Chiefs of the Kusaka Tribe [*51] and of the Rulers of the Land of Kahi). [*52] The next, King Wo-zaho (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kadzunu [*53] and the Lords of Kanu in Chika-tsu-Afumi.) [*54] The next King Muro-biko (was the ancestor of the Lords of Mimi in Wakasa.). [*55] King Michi-no-ushi wedded the Lady Masu of Kahakami in Taniha, [*56] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Hibasu; [*57] next Her Augustness Princess Matonu; [*58] next Her Augustness Oto-hime; [*59] next King Mi-kado-wake [*60] (four Deities). This King Mikado-wake [171] (was the ancestor of the Lords of Ho in Mikaha). [*61] Prince Midzuho-no-ma-waka, younger brother of this King Michi-no-ushi,

[p. 207]

[paragraph continues] (was the ancestor of the Suzerains of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi). [*62] The next, King Kamu-oho-be (was the ancestor of the [Rulers of] the Land of Minu, [*63] of the Rulers of the land of Motosu, [*64] and of the Chiefs of the Nagahata Tribe) [*65] The next, King Mawaka of Oho-tsutsuki in Yama-shiro wedded Princess Ajisaha of Mone, [*66] daughter of his younger brother Irine, and begot a child: King Kami-me-ikadzuchi. [*67] This King wedded Princess Takaki, [*68] daughter of the Grandee Tohotsu of Taniha [*69] and begot a child: King Noble Okinaga. [*70] This king wedded the Princess of Takanuka in Kadzuraki, [*71] and begot children: Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi [*72] next Her Augustness Sora-tsu-hime; [*73] next King Prince Okinaga [*74] (three Deities. This [172] King was the ancestor of the Dukes of Homuji in Kibi, [*75] and of the Dukes of Aso in Harima). [*76] Again King Noble Okinaga wedded Princess Inayori of Kahamata [*77] and begot a child: King Oho-tama-saka [*78] (This was the ancestor of the Rulers of the land of Tajima). [*79] The above-mentioned Take-toyo-hadzu-ra-wake (was the ancestor of the Grandees of Chimori, [*80] of the Rulers of the Oshinumi Tribe, [*81] of the Rulers of the Mima Tribe, [*82] of the Oshinumi Tribe in Inaba, [*83] of the Lords of Takanu in Taniba, [*84] and of the Abiko of Yosami). [*85] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-three. His august mausoleum is at the top of the hill of Izakaha. [*86]

[p. 208] [p. 209] [p. 210] [p. 211]

Footnotes

^205:1 [p. 207] For Kasuga see Sect. LVIII, Note 7. Izakaha is a place in Yamato. The signification of the name is uncertain.

^205:2 Takanu-hime. Takanu is the name of a district in Tango, and signifies "bamboo moor."

^205:3 The signification of this name is quite obscure.

^205:4 Taniha no oho-agata-nushi. Taniha (modern Tamba) is the name of a province (formerly including the province of Tango) in Central Japan. It is supposed to mean "the place of rice-fields," the rice offered at the shrine of the Sun-Goddess in Ise being brought thence.

^205:5 [p. 208] Hiko signifies "prince." The other syllables of tie name are obscure.

^205:6 See Sect. LXI, Note 8.

^205:7 Biko (hiko) signifies "prince." The other elements of this compound are obscure.

^205:8 One is tempted to render this name by Princess of Mima. But there is no authority for regarding Mima either in this or in the preceding personal name as originally the name of a place.

^205:9 Motowori has no explanation to offer of the syllables Oke-tsu. Hime means "princess."

^205:10 Hiko means "prince "and kuni means "country.

^205:11 Wani no omi. Wani is a place in Yamato, and there is a pass or hill of that name (Wani-zaka). The only signification belonging to the word wani is "crocodile."

^205:12 Hiko-imasu no miko. Signification obscure.

^205:13 Or "the Princess of Washi "or "the Eagle Princess." In Japanese Washihime.

^205:14 Kadzuraki is the name of a district in Yamato, and Motowori believes Tarumi to be the name of a place in Settsu.

^205:15 Take-toyo-hadzura-wake no miko. The first two elements of the compound signify respectively "brave "and "luxuriant" while the last probably means "lord." The signification of hadzura is obscure.

^205:16 Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne no miko. Tsutsuki being the name of a district in Yamashiro, the whole compound signifies "prince great sufficing lord of great Tsutsuki."

^205:17 Sanugi-tari-ne no miko, i.e., "prince sufficing lord of Sanugi," (Sanuki,--see Sect. V, Note 6).

^205:18 Yamashiro no Yena tsu Hime. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Yena that of a place in Settsu. The signification of the latter name is obscure.

^205:19 Motowori believes Karibata to be the name of a place, and tobe (to-me) to signify "old woman," as in the name Ishi-ko-ri-do-me, which latter is however extremely obscure (see Sect. XVI, Note 12).

^205:20 Oho-mata no miko. The signification of this name and of the parallel name of the younger brother is obscure.

^205:21 Wo-mata no miko.

^205:22 Shibumi no Sukune no miko. Shibumi is probably the name of a place, there being a Shibumi in Ise.

^205:23 Saho is the name of a well-known place in Yamato, and Kurami [p. 209] is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place in Wakasa. Oho means "great," and tome, according to Motowori, means "old woman" or simply "female." Conf. Note 19.

^205:24 Kasuga no Take-kuni-katsu-tome. Motowori supposes this to be the name, not of the father, but the mother of the princess just mentioned. Take signifies "brave," and kuni "land." The meaning of katsu is obscure.

^205:25 Saho-biko no miko, i.e., "Prince of Saho."

^205:26 Wo-zaho no miko, i.e., "little (q.d. 'younger') prince of Saho."

^205:27 I.e., the princess of Saho.

^205:28 It is uncertain whether we should understand this name to signify "princess Sahaji" or "the princess of Sahaji," but the latter seems the more probable.

^206:29 I.e., the Emperor Sui-nin.

^206:30 More-biko no miko. Muro-biko signifies "Prince of Muro." Muro being a place in Yamato. It signifies "dwelling "and specially "cave."

^206:31 I.e., "flourishing and good princess of Okinaga," the latter being the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). Its signification is not clear.

^206:32 Ame no Mikaga no kami. The signification of Mikaga is obscure, as is also the connection between this deity and the deacons of Mikami.

^206:33 The signification of the name Mikami is obscure. The word rendered "deacon" is hufuri, the name of an inferior class of Shinto priests. See for a discussion of the etymology of the word, etc., Mr. Satow's remarks on p. 112 of Vol. VII of these Transactions. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

^206:34 Tanika no hiko Tatatsu-michi-no-ushi no miko. The signification of Tatatsu is obscure, but we may accept it as the personal name of the worthy here mentioned. Michi-no-ushi means "master of the road," i.e. "lord of the province."

^206:35 Midzuho no ma-waka no miko, i.e. "the True Young King of Midzuho," Midzuho being the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "fresh young rice-ears."

^206:36 Kamu-oho-ne no miko, i.e., probably, "prince divine great lord."

^206:37 Yatsuri-iri-biko no miko. Yatsuri is the name of a village in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. The signification of iri obscure.

^206:38 I-ho signifies "five hundred "and yori probably signifies "good." The compound may therefore be taken to mean "manifoldly excellent princess of Midzuho."

^206:39 [p. 210] I.e., probably "the Princess Miwi" (Miwi-dera in Afumi). Mi-wi signifies "three wells."

^206:40 This name is parallel to that which has been commented on in Note 9 to this Section.

^206:41 Yamashiro-no-oho-Tsutsuki no ma-waka no miko. All the elements of this compound have already appeared in this Section.

^206:42 Hiko-osu no miko. The signification of osu is obscure,

^206:43 Iri-ne no miko. Signification obscure.

^206:44 Ake-tatsu no miko. See Sect. LXXII, Note 20.

^206:45 Unakami no miko. See Sect. LXXII, Note 19.

^206:46 Ise no Homuji-be no kimi. See the mention of the establishment of this Clan at the end of Sect. LXXII.

^206:47 Ise no Sana no miyatsuko. The etymology of Sana is obscure.

^206:48 Himeda no kimi. Himeda is a place in Afumi. The signification of the

name is obscure.

^206:49 Tagima no Magari no kimi. Tagima is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin. Magari is the name of a place, and means "crook "or "bend."

^206:50 Sasa no kimi: Sasa is the name of a place in Iga, and is of uncertain signification.

^206:51 Kusakabe no murazhi.

^206:52 Kahi no kuni no miyatsuko. For Kahi see Sect. LXXXVI, Note 1.

^206:53 Kadzunu no wake. Kadzunu is the name of a district in Yamashiro, and signifies "pueraria moor."

^206:54 Chika-tsu-Afumi no Kanu no wake. Kanu is a village in Afumi. The name is written with characters signifying "mosquito moor."

^206:55 Wakasa no Mimi no wake. Mimi is the name of a village, and is of uncertain signification.

^206:56 Taniha no Kahakami no Masu no iratsume. Masu is of uncertain. derivation. Kahakami is the name of a village, now comprised in the province of Tango. It signifies "river-land."

^206:57 Hibasu-hime. The signification of this name is obscure.

^206:58 Matonu-hime. The signification of this name is obscure.

^206:59 I.e., "the younger princess."

^206:60 This name, which is written , is curious, and Motowori has no suggestion to make touching its interpretation.

^206:61 Mikaha no Ho no wake. Ho is the name of a district, and is of obscure derivation. Mikaha is the name of a maritime province. It [p. 211] signifies "three rivers," with reference to two large rivers which flow through it and to another which forms the boundary between it and the province of Wohari.

^207:62 Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no atahe. Yasu is the name of a district, and is of uncertain origin.

^207:63 Minu no kuni no [miyatsuko]. The word miyatsuko, which is not in the text, is supplied in Motowori's kana reading.

^207:64 Motosu no kuni no miyatsuko. Motosu is the name of a district in Mino, and seems to signify "original dwelling-place."

^207:65 Nagahata-be no murazhi. Nagahata is the name of a place in Hitachi, and seems to signify "long loom."

^207:66 Mone no Ajisaha-bime. This name is particularly obscure, and Mone probably corrupt.

^207:67 Kani-me-ikadzuchi no miko. Motowori thinks that this name signifies "fierce like a crab's eye," with reference perhaps to some personal peculiarity of the prince who bore it.

^207:68 Takaki-hime. This name is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

^207:69 Taniha no Tohotsu omi. This name is obscure.

^207:70 Okinaga no sukune no miko. For Okinaga see Note 31 to this Section.

^207:71 Kadzuraki no Takanuka-hime. Takanuka is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters. signifying "high brow."

^207:72 Okinaga-tarashi-hime. Okinaga is the name of a place (see Note 31). Tarashi is an honorific designation, signifying literally "sufficient," i.e., "perfect," and is supposed by Motowori to have been bestowed after death on this princess, who was. the celebrated conqueror of Korea, and is better known to fame by her "canonical name" of Jingo Kogo.

^207:73 I.e., "the princess of the sky."

^207:74 Okinaga-hiko no miko.

^207:75 Kibi no Homuji no kimi. Homuji is the name of a district in the modern province of Bingo, and may perhaps be of Chinese origin.

^207:76 Harima no Aso no kimi. Aso is the name of a place, and is of uncertain origin.

^207:77 Kahamata no Ina-yori-bime. Kahamata ("river-fork") is the name of a place in Kohachi. Ina signifies "rice," and yori probably signifies "good "in this and numerous other proper names.

^207:78 Oho-tamu-saka no miko. This name is obscure. Motowori thinks that Tamu-saka may be the name of a place, and signifying "winding ascent."

^207:79 [p. 212] Tajima no kuni no miyatsuko. For Tajima see Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

^207:80 Chi-mori no omi. Chi-mori signifies "road-keeper," and perhaps we should translate this "gentile name," by "road-keeping grandees," and suppose that anciently they may have performed some functions in which the bestowal of it originated.

^207:81 Oshinumi-be no miyatsuko. Oshinumi is the name of a district in Yamato, and is of uncertain import.

^207:82 Mina-be no miyatsuko. Perhaps we should rather translate thus, "the Rulers of Minabe," for the name is altogether obscure.

^207:83 Inaba no Oshinumi-be. Motowori supposes a branch of this family, which was originally established in Yamato, to have removed to the province of Inaba.

^207:84 Taniha no Takanu no wake. Takanu is the name of a district in the modern province of Tango. It signifies "high moor."

^207:85 Yosami no obiko. Yosami is the name of a place in Kahachi and is of uncertain origin, though the legends connect with the word and, "a net" (see Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXII, p. 81). It is chiefly known on account of its lake or pool, which is often mentioned in the early poetry. Abiko is a very rare "gentile name," which in the "Catalogue of Family Names "is written with the characters , but is derived by Motowori from , i.e., "my grandchildren."

^207:86 In Yamato. The name is of uncertain origin.

[SECT. LXIII.--EMPEROR SU-JIN (PART I.--GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Mima-ki-iri-biko-iniwe dwelt at the Palace of Midzu-gaki at Shiki, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Tohotsu-no-ayu-me-me-kuhashi, [*2] daughter of Arakaha-to-be, [*3] Ruler of the land of Ki, [*4] and begot august children: His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko, [*5] and next Her Augustness Toyo-suki-iri-bime [*6] (two Deities). Again, wedding the Great Princess of Ama, [*7] ancestress of the Chiefs of Wohori, [*8] he begot august children: His Augustness Oho-iri-ki; [*9] next His Augustness

[p. 213]

[paragraph continues] Ya-saka-no-iri-biko; next Her Augustness Nuna-ki-no-iri-bime; next Her Augustness Towochi-no-iri-bime [*10] (four Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Mimatsu, [*11] daughter of His Augustness Oho-biko, he begot august children: His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [*12] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka; [*13] next Her Augustness Princess Kuni-kata; [*14] next Her Augustness [159] Princess Chiji-tsuku-yamato; [*15] next Her Augustness Princess Iga; [*16] next His Augustness Yamato-Hiko [*17] (six Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] in all twelve Deities (seven Kings and Queens). So His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, His Augustness Toyo-ki-iri-biko (was the ancestor [of the Dukes] of Kami-tsu ke-nu, [*18] and the Dukes of Shimo-tsu-ke-nu). [*19] The younger sister, Her Augustness Princess Toyo-Suki (was high-priestess of [*20] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise.) [*21] The next brother, His Augustness Oho-iri-ki (was ancestor of the Grandees of Noto). [*22] The next, His Augustness Yamato-hiko,--(in the time of this King a hedge of men was the first time set in the mausoleum). [*23]

[p. 214]

Footnotes

^212:1 [p. 213] In Yamato. Shiki probably signifies "stone castle" (ishi-ki). Midzugaki signifies "fresh young hedge,"--an Honorific designation of the hedge round the Emperor's abode, which passed into a Proper Name.

^212:2 According to Motowori's exegesis, this name is a rather remarkable instance of verbal usage, ayu-me ("trout-eyes") being not properly part of the name at all, but only a Pillow-Word for what follows, viz., Me-kakushi-hime, i.e. "Princess Beautiful Eyes." Tohotsu is the name of a place in the province of Ki, signifying "far harbour."

^212:3 Arakaha is the name of a place in Ki, and signifies "rough (i.e. impetuous and dangerous) river." The syllables to-be are of uncertain import.

^212:4 Ki no kuni no miyatsuko.

^212:5 Toyo signifies "luxuriant" and biko (hiko) "prince." The other elements of the compound are obscure.

^212:6 [p. 214] Bime (hime) signifies "princess," and suki is identified by Motowori with Shiki, the name of the residence of the monarch whose daughter this princess was.

^212:7 Oho-ama-hime. Ama is the name of a district in Wohari, and probably signifies "fisherman."

^212:8 Wohari no murazhi.

^212:9 The signification of this and the two following names is uncertain.

^213:10 Towochi is the name of a district in Yamato.

^213:11 Mimatsu-hime. Signification uncertain.

^213:12 Signification uncertain.

^213:13 The syllables ma and waka, literally "true and young" or "truly young "are honorific. Iza is of doubtful signification.

^213:14 Kuni-kata-hime. Kuni means "country," and kata here probably signifies "hard" or "firm."

^213:15 Ohiji-tsuku-yamato-hime. Ohiji probably means "a thousand," and Yamato is the name of a province. Tsuku is obscure.

^213:16 Iga-hime. Iga is the name of a district and of a province (see Sect. LVI, Note 9).

^213:17 I.e., "Yamato Prince."

^213:18 Kami-tsu-ke-nu [no kimi]. The character (Dukes) is supplied by Motowori. This is the ancient form of the name now pronounced Kodzuke (conf. Shimo-tsu-ke-nu corrupted to Shimotsuke). The author of the "Inquiry into the Meaning of the Names of All the Provinces" draws attention to the curious fact that, whereas the final syllable nu of the original word is dropped in speaking, it is the ke which is dropped in writing--the original form of the name, as written, being , whereas now only the first two of these three characters are used. Its signification is supposed to be "upper vegetation-moor," ke () being regarded as the Archaic general term for trees and grasses, identical with ke that means "hairs," vegetation having struck the early speakers of the language as being similar to the hairs on the bodies of men and beasts.

^213:19 Shimo-tsu-ke-nu no kimi. Shimo means "lower." For the rest of the name see preceding Note. Both names are those of provinces in Eastern Japan.

^213:20 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

^213:21 Viz., of the Sun-Goddess (Ama-terasu).

^213:22 Noto no omi. Noto, formerly a part of the province of Echizen, [p. 215] is the name of the peninsula that juts out into the Sea of Japan on the western coast of the Main Island. The etymology of the name is obscure.

^213:23 The meaning of this imperfectly formed sentence is: On the occasion of "the interment of the next prince, His Augustness Yamato-hiko, the custom of setting a row of the deceased prince's retainers round his grave and burying them alive was first introduced." For a further notice of this custom see Sect. LXXV, Note 4. According to the "Chronicles," the "ancient" custom of burying retainers up to their necks in the neighbourhood of their lord's grave was abolished after this very same interment. Motowori endeavours to reconcile the two statements by supposing that the custom was really an old one, but that on the occasion here mentioned the number of victims was increased to an unprecedented degree, so that, as related in the "Chronicles," their cries, while their heads were being pulled to pieces by the crows and dogs, filled the Emperor with commiseration.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. LXIV.--EMPEROR SU-JIN (PART II.--A PESTILENCE IS STAID BY OHO-TATA-NE-KO).]

In the reign of this Heavenly Sovereign a great pestilence arose, and the people

died as if none were to be left. [*1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign grieved and lamented, and at night, while on his divine couch, [*2] there appeared [to him] in an august dream the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things, [*3] and said: "This is my august doing. [*4] So if thou wilt cause me to be worshipped [*5] by Oho-tata-ne-ko, [*6] the divine spirit shall not arise, [*7] and the land will be tranquillized." When, therefore, couriers [*8] were dispatched in every direction [*9] to search for the person [named] Oho-tata-ne-ko, he was discovered in the village of Minu [*10] in Kafuchi, and was respectfully sent [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. [*11] Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask: "Whose child art thou?" He replied, saying: "I [*12] am Oho-tats-ne-ko, child of

[p. 216]

[paragraph continues] His Augustness Take-mika-dzu-chi [*13] [who was] child of His Augustness Ihi-gata-sumi, [*14] [who was] child of His Augustness Kushi-mi-gata, [*15] [who was] child of the Great Deity the Great-Master-of-Things by his wife Iku-tama-yori-bime, [*16] daughter of His Augustness Suwe-tsu-mimi. [*17] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being greatly rejoiced, commanded that the Empire should be tranquil, and the people flourish, and forthwith made His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko high priest [*18] to worship [*19] the Great Deity of Great Miwa [*20] on Mount Mimoro. [*21] Again he ordered His Augustness Igaka-shiko-wo [*22] to make eighty heavenly platters, and reverently to establish the shrines of the Earthly Deities; [*23] likewise to worship with a red-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Sumi-saka [*24] at Uda, and with a black-coloured shield and spear the Deity of Oho-sake; [*25] likewise to present august offerings of cloth to all the Deities of the august declivities of the hills and to all the Deities of the reaches of the rivers, without neglecting any. [*26] [*27] In consequence of this the pestilential vapour ceased altogether, and the country was tranquillized.

[p. 217]

Footnotes

^215:1 [p. 216] Literally, "about to be exhausted."

^215:2 This expression, which recurs at the commencement of Sect. CXLV, is difficult to explain. See Motowori's remarks in Vol. XXIII, pp. 24-25, and again in Vol. XL, pp. 14-15, of his Commentary.

^215:3 See Sect. LI, Note 12.

^215:4 Literally, "my august heart."

^215:5 Or, "cause my shrine to be worshipped at." The import of the god's words is that he wishes Oho-tata-ne-ko to be appointed chief priest of his temple. For the origin of this latter see the second half of Sect. XXXII (pp. <page 103>-105).

^215:6 Oho signifies "great," Tata (or Tada) is taken to be the name of a place, and the syllables ne and ko are regarded as Honorifics. The [p. 217] whole name may therefore, though with some hesitation, be interpreted to mean "the Lord of the Great [Shrine of] Tata."

^215:7 I.e., "the divine anger shall no longer be kindled."

^215:8 Mounted couriers are almost certainly intended.

^215:9 Literally, "distributed to the four sides,"--"four sides" being a Chinese phrase for every direction.

^215:10 This name may signify either "three moors "or "august moor." The village of Minu must not be confounded with the province of Minu.

^215:11 The characters used are those which properly denote the presenting of tribute to the Monarch.

^215:12 Here and below the First Personal Pronoun is represented by the respectful character , "servant."

^216:13 See Sect. VIII, Note 7, for the explanation of this name. But probably the deity here intended is another.

^216:14 The etymology and signification of 'this name are alike obscure.

^216:15 Motowori interprets kushi in the sense of "wondrous," and Migata as the name of a place, which also occurs under the form of Higata.

^216:16 I.e., "life-jewel-good-princess."

^216:17 The precise signification of this name is obscure. Motowori supposes Suwe to be the name of a place; tsu is the Genitive Particle, and mimi the Honorific of doubtful import, whose meaning has been discussed in Note 18 to Sect. XIII.

^216:18 The exact meaning of the characters used to write the word kayo-nushi (modern kamushi), here rendered "high-priest," is "owner of the Deity." Though commonly used in modern parlance to denote any Shinto priest, it properly signifies only the chief priest in charge of a temple, whence the odd-sounding name.

^216:19 Or, "conduct the worship at the shrine of."

^216:20 Viz., the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. For the traditional etymology of Miwa see the legend in Sect. LXV.

^216:21 See Sect. XXVIII, Notes 4 and 5.

^216:22 Or, Ikaga-shiko-wo. The probable meaning of this name, pro-posed by Motowori, is (neglecting the initial letter i as expletive) "the refulgent ugly male."

^216:23 See Sect. I, Note 11 .

^216:24 Sumisaka probably signifies "charcoal-hill." Uda, which has already been mentioned in Sect. XLVI, is in Yamato. This passage may equally well be rendered thus: "to present a red-coloured shield and [p. 218] spear to the Deity of Sumisaka," and similarly in the following clause. The meaning comes nearly to the same.

^216:25 Literally, "great hill," or "great pass." It is at the boundary of the province of Yamato and Kahachi. Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei sanctions the view of the elder scholars, who fancied they saw in the distinction of red and black some mysterious import connected with the four cardinal points.

^216:26 In the Old Printed Edition the text of this passage differs slightly from that adopted by Motowori; but the meaning is exactly the same.

^216:27 A large lacuna here occurs in the "Old Printed Edition," in which the four hundred and forty-five Chinese characters forming the original of the following part of the translation, from the words, "In consequence of this "down to the words immediately preceding "Methinks this is a sign" on p. 180 are missing. Both the editor of 1687 and Motowori are silent as to the manner in which they supplied the deficiency; but it may be presumed from their silence that the MS. authorities furnished them with what had accidentally been omitted from the printed text.

[SECT. LXV.--EMPEROR SU-JIN (PART III: STORY OF OHO-TATA-NE-KO'S BIRTH)]

The reason why this person called Oho-tata-ne-ko was known to be a Deity's child, was that the above-mentioned Iku-tama-yori-bime was regularly beautiful, [*1] whereupon a [divine [*2]] youth [who thought] the majesty of her appearance without comparison in the world, [*3] came suddenly to her in the middle of the night, So, as they loved each other and lived in matrimony together, the maiden ere long was pregnant. Then the father and mother, astonished at their daughter being pregnant, asked her, [*4] saying: "Thou art pregnant by thyself. How art thou with child without [having known] a man?" She replied, saying: I have naturally conceived through a beautiful young

man, whose name [*5] I know not, coming here every evening and staying with me." Therefore the father and mother, wishing to know the man, instructed their daughter, saying: "Sprinkle red earth in front of the couch, [*6] and pass a skein of hemp through a needle, and pierce [therewith] the skirt of his garment." So she did as they had instructed, and, on looking in the morning, the hemp that had been put in the needle went out through the hole of the door-hook, [*7] and all the hemp that remained was three twists [*8] only. Then forthwith, knowing how he had gone out by the hook-hole, they went on their quest following the thread, which, reaching Mount Miwa, stopped at the shrine of the Deity, So they knew [that Oho-tata-neko was] the child of the Deity [residing] there. So the place was called by the name of Miwa on account of the three twists of hemp that had remained. (His Augustness Oho-tata-ne-ko, here referred to, was the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa [*9] and of the Dukes of Kamo.) [*10]

Footnotes

^218:1 It is not easy to render literally into English the force of the characters , containing this description of the maiden's beauty, and of , in the next clause. But it is hoped that at least the translation represents them better than do Motowori's readings kaho yokariki and kaho sugata.

^218:2 This word, which is not in most texts, was supplied by the editor of 1687, and is adopted by Motowori on apparently satisfactory grounds.

^218:3 Literally, "in the time."

^218:4 The text places the word "daughter "here, instead of in the preceding clause. For the sake of clearness, the translator has taken the liberty of transposing it.

^219:5 The Chinese characters are i, i.e., "surname and personal (what we should call 'Christian') name." But Motowori's simple reading "name," approves itself as probably near to the author's intention.

^219:6 Motowori indulges in several conjectures as to the meaning of [p. 220] this detail, which, it will be seen, is not referred to in the sequel, and is therefore pointless.

^219:7 The same Japanese word kagi, which is used as the equivalent of the Chinese character , "hook," came in latter times to denote a key.

^219:8 "Three threads "are in Japanese mi wa, whence the etymology of the name of Miwa given below in the text. The real derivation is altogether doubtful. The shrine of Miwa was in very early times regarded with such extraordinary

reverence, that the term Oho-gami, "Great Deity," unless otherwise qualified, was commonly understood to refer to the god of Miwa.

^219:9 Miwa no kimi, written simply (literally, "Divine Dukes,") another sign of the estimation in which the shrine of Miwa was held.

^219:10 Kama no kimi.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 220] [179]

[SECT. LXVI.--EMPEROR SU-JIN (PART IV.--WAR WITH KING TAKE-HANI-YASU).]

Again in this august reign His Augustness Oho-biko [*1] was sent to the circuit of Koshi, [*2] and his son, His Augustness Take-nuna-kaha-wake, [*3] was sent to the twelve circuits to the eastward to quiet the unsubmissive people. Again Hiko-imasu was sent to the land of Taniha [*4] to slay Kugamimi-no-mikasa [*5] (this is the name of a person). So when His Augustness Oho-biko was going away to the land of Koshi, a young girl wearing a loin-skirt [*6] stood on the Pass of Hera [*7] in Yamashiro, and sang, saying:

[180] "Now then! Oh Prince Mima-ki-iri! Oh Prince Mi-ma-ki-iri! Ignorant that they, to steal and slay one's life, cross backwards and forwards by the back-door, cross backwards and forwards by the front door and spy,--Oh, Prince Mima-ki-iri!" [*8]

[p. 221]

Hereupon His Augustness Oho-kiko, thinking it strange, turned his horse back, and asked the young girl, saying: "These words that thou speakest, what are they?" The young girl replied, saying: "I said nothing; I was only singing a song,"--and thereupon she suddenly vanished, none could see whither. So his Augustness Oho-biko returned up again [to the capital] and made a report [of the matter] to the Heavenly Sovereign, who replied and charged him [saying]: "Methinks this is a sign that my half-brother, King Take-hani-yasu, [*9] who dwells in the land of Yamashiro, is planning some foul plot. [*10] [Do thou,] uncle, raise an army, and go [after him]." When he forthwith sent him off, joining to him his Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku, [*11] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, [*12] they set sacred jars on the Pass of Wani, [*13] and went away. Thereupon, when they reached the River Wakara [*14] [181] in Yamashiro, King Take-hani-yasu, who had raised an army, was waiting to intercept [their passage], and [the two hosts] stood confronting and challenging each other with the river between them. [*15] So the place was called by the name of Idomi, [*16]--what is now called Idzumi. Then His Augustness Hiko-kuni-buku spoke, begging the other side [*17] to let fly the first arrow. [*18] Then King Take-hani-yasu shot, but could not strike. Thereupon, on his Augustness Kuni-buku shooting an arrow, it forthwith struck King Take-hani-yasu dead. So the whole army was routed, and fled in confusion. Then the [Imperial troops pursued] after the fugitive army as far as the ferry of Kusuba, when harassed by the pursuit, exterunt [hostium] excrementa, quae bracis adhaeserunt. Quare isti loco impositum est nomen Kusobakama. In proesenti nominatur Kusu-ba. [*19] Again, on

[p. 222]

being intercepted in their flight and cut down, [their bodies] floated like cormorants in the river. So the river was called by the name of U-kaha. [*20] Again, because the warriors were cut to pieces, the place was called by the name of Hafuri-sono. [*21] Having thus finished [the work of] pacification, they went up [to the capital] to make their report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

[p. 223]

Footnotes

^220:1 [p. 222] See Sect. LXI, Note 5.

^220:2 Literally, "to the Lord of Koshi," i.e., "to the land of Koshi;" which provinces are intended by the "twelve circuits to the eastward "mentioned immediately below is uncertain; but Motowori hazards the guess that we should understand Ise (including Iga and Shima), Wohari, Mikaha, Tohotafumi (pron. Totomi), Suruga, Kahi, Idzu, Sagami Musashi, Fusa (the modern Kadzusa, Shimofusa, and Aha), Hitachi, and Michinoku (a vague name for the north-eastern portions of the Main Island of the whole east and north-east of the country. He likewise supposes the use of the word "road" for circuit or province to have had its origin in the "road" along which the Imperial officers despatched to the outlying provinces had to travel to reach their post, and remarks very pertinently in another passage of his commentary that the term "road "denotes a province more especially from the point of view of its subjugation or government. His explanation is, however, rendered untenable by the fact that the division of the country into such "roads" or "circuits" was an idea evidently borrowed from the neighbouring peninsula of Korea. At first, as in this passage, somewhat vaguely used in the sense of province," it settled down into the designation of "a set of adjacent provinces." Thus the To-kai-do, or "Eastern Maritime Circuit," includes fifteen provinces, the Hoku-roku-do or "Northern Land Circuit," includes seven provinces, and so on. Cont. Sect. LXII, Note 20.

^220:3 I.e., "brave-lagoon-river-youth."

^220:4 See Sect. LXII, Note 4.

^220:5 Motowori is unable to help us to any understanding of this name.--or names,--for he suggests that the character , no, may be an error for mata ("also"), and that two individuals may be intended. The note in the original telling us that "this is the name of a person" might equally well be translated in the Plural,--" these are the names of persons."

^220:6 [p. 223] The nature of this garment is not known. One would suppose, from the way it is mentioned in the text, that there was perhaps some-thing contrary to custom in its use by a young girl. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" does not mention it.

^220:7 Or, "Hill of Hera, "--Hera-zaka. The "Chronicles" write this name with the characters Hira-zaka, i.e., "Even Pass" or "Hill."

^220:8 The meaning of this poem, which must be considered as one pro-longed exclamation, is: "Oh my sovereign! Oh my sovereign! Heedless or ignorant of "the plots hatched against thy life near the very precincts of thy palace, thou "sendest away thy soldiers to fight in distant parts. Oh my sovereign!"--It will be remembered that Prince Mima-ki-ri was the (abbreviated) native name of the reigning monarch, commonly known to posterity by his "canonical name" of Sujin. The word rendered "life" is literally "thread" and the Impersonal Pronoun "one's" used in the translation, must be understood to refer to the Emperor.

^221:9 See Sect. LXI, Notes 12 and 10.

^221:10 Literally, "foul heart."

^221:11 I.e., probably. "prince land-pacifier." The first element of the compound is sometimes omitted.

^221:12 Wani no omi. Wani ("crocodile") 13 the name of a place in the province of Yamato.

^221:13 Wani-zaka. For the setting of jars conf. Sect LX, Note 20.

^221:14 Wakara gaha. It is what is now called the Idzumi-gaha. Of Wakara we have nothing but an altogether untenable etymology given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles."

^221:15 More literally, "each having put the river in the middle, and mutually challenging."

^221:16 I.e., "challenging." The more likely etymology of Idzumi, which is written with the character , is "source "or "spring."

^221:17 The original has the very curious expressions , literally," people of the side-building," which was a great crux to the early editors, Motowori is probably right in interpreting it in the sense of "the other side," i.e., "the enemy."

^221:18 ; literally "the arrow to be shunned, or avoided,"--but rather, in accordance with Archaic Japanese parlance, "the sacred arrow." Motowori says: "At the commencement of a battle it was the custom for each side to let fly an "initial arrow." Being the commencement of [p. 224] the affair, the arrow was considered "specially important and was shot off reverently with prayers to the Gods,--" whence its name."

^221:19 I.e., "excrements [foedatae] bracae." But it is not at all probable that this is the correct etymology of the name. The stream is a small one in the eastern part of the province of Kahachi.

^222:20 I.e., "cormorant-river."

^222:21 I.e., "the garden of cutting-to-pieces."

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[p. 224] [182]

[SECT. LXVII.--EMPEROR SU-JIN (PART V.--PEACE RESTORED AND TRIBUTE LEVIED).]

So His Augustness Oho-biko went away to Koshi in accordance with the previous [Imperial] commands. Then Take-nuna-kaha-wake, who had been sent round by the east, and his father Oho-biko met together in Ahidzu. So the place was called by the name of Ahidzu. [*1] Wherefore, each of them, having settled the government of the land to which he had been sent, made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the Empire was at peace and the people prosperous. Thereupon tribute on the arrow-notches of the men and tribute on the finger-tips of the women was first levied. [*2] So in praise of this august reign they said: "The Heavenly Sovereign Mimaki, who ruled the first land." [*3] Again, in this reign the Pool of Yosami [*4] was made; moreover the Pool of Sakawori at Karu [*5] was made.

Footnotes

^224:1 A district forming the southern part of the modern province of Ihashiro in north-eastern Japan. The derivation here given, from ahi-dzu "meeting port," seems fanciful.

^224:2 I.e., taxes levied on the produce of the chase, by which the men gained their livelihood, and on the domestic handwork of the women.

^224:3 [p. 225] Motowori has a not particularly satisfactory note, in which he endeavours to explain this obscure phrase. The word "first" should evidently qualify the Verb "ruled," and not the Substantive "land," and the applicability

of the saying to a sovereign, of whom it is not recorded that he initiated anything save the taxes, is not apparent. The author of the "Chronicles" observes the verisimilitudes better by applying a synonymous designation to the first "Earthly Emperor" Jim-mu.

^224:4 See Sect. LXII, Note 85.

^224:5 Reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" shows that probably a couple of words are here omitted from the text, which should read "the Pool of Karu and the Pool of Sakawori" (Karu no ike, Sakawori no ike). Karu is the celebrated ancient capital mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1, Sakawori is quite unknown except from this notice of it, and the derivation of the name is uncertain.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. LXVIII.--EMPEROR SU-JIN (PART VI.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and sixty-eight. His august mausoleum is on the mound at the corner of the Yamanobe road. [*1a]

Footnotes

^225:1a This place, where the Emperor Kei-ko is likewise said to have been interred, was in the province of Yamato, and the road mentioned is supposed by Motowori to have been the highway from Hatsuse into the province of Yamashiro. The word Yamanobe signifies "in the neighbourhood of the mountain" (yama no he).

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[SECT. LXIX.--EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART I.--GENEALOGIES)]

His Augustness Ikume-iri-biko-isachi dwelt at the palace of Tama-kaki in Shiki, [*1b] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness the

[paragraph continues] Princess Sahaji, [*2] younger sister of His Augustness Saho-biko, and begot an august child: His Augustness Homo-tsu-wake [*3] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness the Princess Hibasu, daughter of King Tatsu-michi-no-ushi, Prince of Taniha, he begot august children: His Augustness Ini-shiki-no-iri-biko; [*4] next His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake; [*5] next His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko; [*6] next His Augustness Yamato-hime; [*7] next His Augustness Waka-ki-iri-biko [*8] (five Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bika, [*9] younger sister of Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, he begot august children: His Augustness Nu-tarashi-wake; [*10] next His Augustness Iga-tarashi-hiko [*11] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Azami-no-iri-bime, [*12] younger [184] sister of His Augustness Nubata-no-iri-bime, [*13] he begot august children: His Augustness Ikobaya-wake; [*14] next Her Augustness the Princess of Azami [*15] (two Deities). Again, wedding Her Augustness Kagu-ya-hime, [*16] daughter of King Oho-tsutsuki-tari-ne, he begot an august child: King Wozabe [*17] (one Deity). Again, wedding Karibata-tobe daughter of Fuchi Ohokuni in Yamashiro, [*18] he begot august children: King Ochi-wake; [*19] next King Ika-tarashi-hiko; [*20] next King

Itoshi-wake. [*21] Again, wedding Oto-karibata-tobe, [*22] daughter of Fuchi of Otokuni, he begot august children: King Iha-tsuku-wake; [*23] next Her Augustness Iha-tsuku-bime, another name for whom was Her Augustness Futaji-no-iri-bime [*24] (two Deities). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether sixteen (thirteen Kings and three Queens). So His Augustness Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. (His august stature was ten feet [*25] [185] two inches: the length of his august shank was four feet one inch),

[p. 227]

[paragraph continues] The next, His Augustness Inishi-no-iri-biko made the pool of Chinu; [*26] again he made the pool of Sayama, [*27] again he made the pool of Takatsu at Kusaka [*28] Again he dwelt at the palace of Kahakami at Totori, [*29] and caused a thousand cross-swords [*30] to be made, and presented them to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami. [*31] Forthwith he dwelt at that palace, [*32] and established the Kahakami Tribe, [*33] The next, His Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hiko, (was the ancestor of the Lords of Yamanobe, [*34] of the Saki. kusa, [*35] of the Lords of Inaki, [*36] Lords of the Ada, [*37] of the Lords of Minui in the Land of Wohari: [*38] of the Lords of Ihanashi in Kibi, [*39] of the Lords of Koromo, [*40] of the Lords of Takasuka, [*41] of the Dukes of [186] Asuka, [*42] and of the Lords of Mure). [*43] The next, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, (was the high-priestess of [*44] the temple of the Great Deity of Ise). The next, King Ikobaya-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords Anahobe at Saho). [*45] The next, Her Augustness the Princess of Azami (was married to King Inase-biko). The next, King Ochi-wake (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes of Wotsuki [*46] and of the Duke of Koromo in Mikaha). [*47] The next, King Ika-tarashi-hiko (was the ancestor of the Mountain Dukes Kasuga, [*48] of the Dukes of Ike in Koshi, [*49] and of the Dukes of Kasugahe). [*50] The next, King Itoshi-wake (owing to his having no children, made the Itoshi Tribe [*51] his proxy). The next, King Iha-tsuku-wake, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Haguchi [*52] and of the Dukes of Miwo). [*53] The next, Her Augustness Futaji-no-Iri-hime (became the empress of His Augustness Yamato-take).

[p. 228] [p. 229]

Footnotes

^225:1b [p. 227] For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1. Tama-kaki signifies "jewel (i.e., beautiful) hedge."

^226:2 This name and the next have already been met with in Sect. LXI, as have those of Princess Hibasu, King Tatasu-mechi, King Oho-tsutsuki-ne, Princess Kari-bata-tobe, and King Inase-biko.

^226:3 See Sect. LXXI, Note 8.

^226:4 The signification of this name is not clear, but Motowori identifies Shiki with the place of the same name.

^226:5 [p. 228] This name seems to be a string of Honorifics "great perfect prince ruling lord."

^226:6 I.e., "great middle prince," he being third of five children.

^226:7 I.e., "Yamato princess." She is a very celebrated personage in Japanese legendary story,--high priestess of Ise and aunt of the hero Yamato-take. A miraculous tale is related of her birth, and she is supposed to have lived several hundreds of years.

^226:8 The signification of this name is obscure.

^226:9 The signification of this name is obscure.

^226:10 Motowori's conjectural interpretation of this name is "jewel-perfect-lord."

^226:11 The signification of iga is obscure. The other two elements of the compound signify "perfect prince."

^226:12 Signification obscure.

^226:13 Signification obscure.

^226:14 Signification obscure. The "Chronicles "read this name Ike-baya.

^226:15 Azami-tsu-hime, Signification obscure.

^226:16 i.e., probably "the refulgent princess," the syllable ya being void of signification as in Ka-no-Nana-saku-ya-hime (see Sect. XXXVII, Note 3). This name is celebrated as that of the heroine of the fairy-tale entitled "Tale of a Bamboo-Cutter." though there is no reason for identifying the two personages.

^226:17 This name is obscure, and Motowori suspects it of being corrupt.

^226:18 Yamashiro no ohokunino fuchi. Yamashiro is the name of a province, and Ohokuni ("great land" that of a village, while Fuchi is a personal name written with a character signifying "deep pool."

^226:19 Ochiwake no miko. Motowori derives ochi from oho, "great, and chi, supposed to be an Honorific, while wake is taken to mean "lord." After all, the signification of the name remains obscure.

^226:20 Ika-tarashi-hiko no miko. The name probably signifies "severe (or dignified) perfect prince."

^226:21 This name is obscure.

^226:22 I.e., Karibata-tobe, the younger sister.

^226:23 This name and the next are obscure. The first of the two is not in the older editions, but Motowori supplies what appears to be a lacuna in the text by adding the five characters .

^226:24 Signification obscure.

^226:25 The actual word "feet "is not in the original, but an equivalent Chinese measure is used.

^227:26 [p. 229] Chinu no ike. The "Sea of Chinu" in the province of Idzumi, which is the same as the "Pool" here mentioned, has been mentioned in Sect. XLIV, Note 36.

^227:27 Sayama no ike, in the province of Kahachi. The name probably signifies a "gorge" or "defile."

^227:28 See above Sect. XLIV, Note 31.

^227:29 Totori (lit. "bird-catching") was in the province of Idzumi, and the name is said to have been derived from the place having been one of those through which Ohotaka of Yamanobe passed when pursuing the bird whose sight was to make Prince Homachi-wake obtain the power of speech. (See the story as given at the beginning of the next Section). The name of Kaha-kami ("head-waters of the river"), as we learn by comparison with the parallel of the "Chronicles," is to be traced to the River Udo, near whose head waters the palace in question is said to have been situated.

^227:30 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

^227:31 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

^227:32 Or, "in that temple."

^227:33 Kahakami-be.

^227:34 Yamanobe no wake. Yamanobe (or Yamabe) is the name of a district in Yamato and signifies "mountain-slope."

^227:35 Sakikusa no wake. Of Sakikusa nothing is known. The word means "lily."

^227:36 Inaki no wake. Which Inaki is meant is not known, there being several places of that name in Japan. The name is connected with the word ine, "rice."

^227:37 Ada no wake. Of Ada nothing is known.

^227:38 Wohari no kuni no Minu no wake. Minu is the name of a village, and signifies "three moors."

^227:39 Kibi no Ihanashi no wake. Ihanashi is the name of a district, forming part of the modern province of Bizen, and seems to signify "rockless."

^227:40 Koromo no wake. Motowori supposes this name to be corrupt. Koromo is the name of a village in Mikaha.

^227:41 Takasuka no wake. Nothing is known either of the place or of the family.

^227:42 Asuka no kimi. It is not known where was this Asuka, which must not be confounded with the famous Asuka mentioned in Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

^227:43 [p. 230] Mure no wake. There are several places called Mure. The signification of the name is obscure.

^227:44 Or more literally, "worshipped and celebrated the festivals at," etc.

^227:45 Saho no Anahobe-wake. The name Anahobe is derived from Anahobe, the name of the Emperor Yu-riyaku, and be "a tribe," it being related in the "Chronicles" that the tribe which was established as his "name-proxy" was so called.

^227:46 Wotsuki no yama no kimi. Wotsuki is the name of a place in Afumi (Omi). The family name must be interpreted to signify that they were wardens of the mountain.

^227:47 Mikaha no Koromo no kimi. Conf. the name in Note 40, with which this is probably identical. Motowori suspects an error in the text.

^227:48 Kazuga no yama no kimi. Conf. the name in Note 46.

^227:49 Koshi no ike no kimi. Nothing is known of the place or of the family; Koshi may or may not be the northern province of that name.

^227:50 Kasugabe no kimi. There were two places of the name of Kasugabe (i.e. "Kasuga Clan," so called perhaps after a family that had resided there). It is not known which is here alluded to.

^227:51 Itoshi-be. The name, which is thus restored by Motowori, is variously mutilated in the older editions. This is the first mention of adoption, lit. in Japanese "child-proxy making." The custom is perpetually referred to in the later portion of these "Records."

^227:52 Haguhi no kimi. Haguhi is the name of a district in Noto. The derivation is obscure.

^227:53 Miwo no kimi. Miwo is the name of a place in Afumi. It probably means "three mountain-folds."

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[p. 230] [187]

[SECT. LXX. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART II. CONSPIRACY OF KING SAHO-BIKO AND THE EMPRESS SAHO-BIME).]

When this Heavenly Sovereign made Saho-bime his Empress, Her Augustness Saho-bime's elder brother, King Saho-biko, asked his younger sister, saying: "Which is dearer [to thee], thine elder brother or thy

[p. 231]

husband?" She replied, saying "Mine elder brother is dearer." Then King Saho-biko conspired, saying: "If I be truly the dearer to thee, let me and thee rule the empire," and forthwith he made an eight times tempered stiletto, [*1] and handed it to his younger sister, saying: "Slay the Heavenly Sovereign in his sleep with this small knife." So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress' august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with the stiletto; but though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing [*2] onto [the Heavenly Sovereign's] august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "I have had a strange dream: A violent shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted my face; again a small damask-coloured snake coiled itself round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?" Then the Empress, thinking it improper to dispute, [*3] forthwith informed the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Mine elder brother King Saho-biko asked me, [*4] saying: 'Which is dearer [to thee], thy husband or thine elder brother?' So, as I was embarrassed by [this] direct question, I replied, saying: 'Oh! mine elder brother is the dearer.' Then he charged [*5] me, saying: 'I and thou will together rule the [188] Empire; so the Heavenly Sovereign must be slain;'--and so saying, he made an eight times tempered stiletto, and handed it to me. Therefore I wanted to cut thine august throat; but though I thrice lifted [the weapon], a feeling of regret suddenly arose, so that I could not cut thy throat, and the tears that I wept fell and wetted

[p. 232]

thine august face. [The dream] was surely the omen of this." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "How nearly have I been destroyed! "and forthwith he raised an army to smite King Saho-biko, whereupon the King made a rice-castle [*6] to await the fray. At this time Her Augustness Saho-bime, unable to forget her elder brother, fled out through the back-gate [of the palace], and came into the rice-castle.

Footnotes

^231:1 For stiletto see above, Sect. XXXVI, Note 8. The curious word ya-shio-wori () in the text seems to have the sense of "eight times tempered," i.e., tempered over and over again, which Motowori assigns to it. The same expression is used in Sect. XVIII (Note 16) to denote the refining of rice-liquor.

^231:2 This word "overflowing" is more appropriately placed in the version of the story given in the "Chronicles," where the author makes her tears first fill her sleeve (a common Japanese figure of speech), and thence "overflow "on to the sleeping Monarch's face.

^231:3 I.e., seeing that it would be vain in deny the truth.

^231:4 The First Personal Pronoun is written with the self-depreciatory character , "concubine."

^231:5 Or "enticed."

^232:6 This expression, which is repeated elsewhere, is one which has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The "Chronicles" tell us expressly that "rice [stalks] were piled up to make a castle,"--an assertion which, as Motowori remarks, is simply incredible. He therefore adopts Mabuchi's suggestion that a castle like a rice-castle is what is intended,--"rice-castle" being taken "to mean rice-store" or "granary," such granaries having probably been stoutly built in order to protect them from thieves. The historian of the Tang dynasty quoted in the "Exposition of the Foreign Notices of Japan" says that the Japanese had no castles, but only palisades of timber. The latter might well however have been called castles by the Japanese, though they not have been accounted such by the Chinese, who already built theirs of stone.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. LXXI.--EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART III.--BIRTH OF PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE AND DEATH OF THE CONSPIRATORS)]

At this time the Empress [*1] was pregnant. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign could not restrain [his pity for] the Empress, who was pregnant and whom he had loved for now three years. So he turned his army aside, and did not hasten the attack. During this delay, the august child that she had conceived was born. So having put out the august child and set it outside the rice-castle. she caused [these words(to be said to the Heavenly Sovereign: "If this august child be considered to be [189] the Heavenly Sovereign's august child, let him [*2] deign to undertake it." Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign said: [*3] "Although detesting the elder brother, I yet cannot repress my love for the Empress," and forthwith planned to secure the Empress. Wherefore, choosing from among his warriors a band of the strongest and deftest, he charged [them, saying]: "When ye take the august child, likewise abduct the queen its mother. Whether by the hair or by the hands, or wherever ye may best lay hold of her, clutch her and drag her out." Then the Empress, knowing his intention beforehand, shaved off all her hair and covered her head with her hair, and likewise made her jewel-string rotten and wound it thrice round her arm, and moreover made her august garments rotten by means of rice-liquor and put on the garments as if they were whole. Having made these preparations, she took the august child in her arms and pushed it outside the castle. Then the strong men, taking the august child, forthwith clutched at the august parent. Then, on their clutching her august hair, the august hair

fell off of itself; on their clutching her august arms, the jewel-string likewise snapped; on their clutching her august garments, the august garments at once tore. Therefore they obtained the august child, but did not get the august parent. So the warriors came back [to the Sovereign], and reported, saying: "On account of her august hair falling off of itself, of her august garments easily tearing, and moreover of the jewel-string which was wound round her august hand at once snapping, we have not got the august parent; but we have obtained the august child." Then the Heavenly Sovereign, sorry and angry, hated the people who made the jewels, [190] and deprived them all of their lands. [*4] So the proverb says: "Landless jewels-makers." [*5] Again did the Heavenly Sovereign cause [*6] the Empress to be told, saying: "A child's name must be given by the

mother; by what august name shall this child be called?" Then she replied, saying: "As he was born now at the time of the castle being burnt with fire and in the midst of the fire, it were proper to call him by the august name of Prince [*7] Homu-chi-wake." [*8] And again he caused her to be asked: "How shall he be reared?" [*9] She replied, saying: "He must be reared by taking an august mother [*10] and fixing on old bathing-women and young bathing-women." [*11] So he was respectfully reared in accordance with the Empress's instructions. Again he asked the Empress, saying: "Who shall loosen the fresh small pendant [*12] which thou elitist make fast?" She replied, [191] saying: "It were proper that Ye-hime and Oto-hime, [*13] daughters of King Tatasu-michi-no-ushi [*14] prince of Taniha, should serve thee, for these two queens are of unsullied parentage." [*15] So at last [the Heavenly Sovereign] slew King Saho-biko, and his younger sister followed him. [*16]

[p. 235] [p. 236]

Footnotes

^233:1 [p. 235] I.e., Her Augustness Saho-bime, who was the subject of the preceding sentence.

^233:2 I.e., the Sovereign. The import of this passage is, according to Motowori, that the Empress imagined that her own conduct might perhaps influence the Emperor to refuse to give the child' she bore him its proper rank,--not from doubts as to its legitimacy, but as having a rebel mother. By "undertaking "the child is of course meant undertaking the care and education of it.

^233:3 Motowori supposes the Chinese character rendered "said" to be an error, and prefers to consider this clause as containing not the words, but the thought of the Monarch. It would certainly be more convenient to adopt this view, if it were sanctioned by any text.

^234:4 Or, as Motowori prefers to read, "deprived them of all their ."

^234:5 There is nowhere else any reference to this saying. Motowori supposes it to point to those who, hoping for reward, get punishment instead, these jewellers having doubtless rotted the, string on which the beads were strung by special desire of the Empress, whereas they ended by getting nothing but confiscation for their pains.

^234:6 Motowori (following Mabuchi) is evidently correct in supposing the character in this place, and again a little further on, to be a copyist's error for , "caused," and the translator has rendered it accordingly,

^234:7 "Prince "is here written .

^234:8 This name may also be read Ho-muchi-wake, and is in the "Chronicles" given as Ho-muchi-wake while it appears as Homuchi-wake at the commencement of Sect. LXIX. The first two elements apparently signify "fire-possessing;" while wake is the frequently recurring Honorific signifying either "lord "or "young and flourishing."

^234:9 Lit., "his days be reverently prolonged." The same expression is repeated thrice below.

^234:10 I.e., foster-mother.

^234:11 The characters used in the original of this passage would, if they stood alone, be of difficult interpretation. But a comparison with the passage in "One account" of "Chronicles," which relates the nursing of , the father of the first "Earthly Emperor "Jim-mu, leaves no doubt that the author intended to speak of bathing-women attached to the service of the Imperial infant.

^234:12 The words midzu no wo-himo, literally rendered "fresh small pendant,"

call for some explanation. Midzu, which includes in a single [p. 236] term the ideas of youth, freshness, and beauty, is here used as an Honorific. The "small pendant "is interpreted by Mabuchi and Motowori to signify the "inner, girdle" which held together the under-garment of either sex. The old literature of Japan teems with allusions to the custom of lovers or spouses making fast each other's inner girdle, which might not be untied till they met again, and the poets perpetually make a lover ask some such question as "When I am far from thee, who shall loosen my girdle?" The translator cannot refrain from here quoting, for the benefit of the lover of Japanese verse (though he will not attempt to translate them), the two most graceful of the many stanzas from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" brought together by Motowori to illustrate this passage:

Wagimoko ga
      Yuhiteshi himo wo
 Tokame ye mo:
      Toyeba tayu to mo
      Tada ni afu made ni,
 Unabara wo
      Tohoku watarite
 Toshi-fu to-mo
      Ko-ra ga musuberu
      Himo toku na yume.

Tanigaha Shisei also appropriately quotes the following:

Futari shite
      Musubiski himo wo
      Hitori shite
 Ware ha toki-mizhi
      Tada ni afu made ha.

a literal rendering of which would run thus: "I will not, till we meet face to face, loosen alone the girdle which we two tied together."

^234:13 I.e., the "Elder Princess and the Younger Princess."

^234:14 Motowori is probably right in explaining tatasu as the Honorific Causative of tatsu, "to stand" and michi no ushi as michi-nushi or kuni-nushi, i.e., "owner of the province," "ruler."

^234:15 Lit., "are pure subjects."

^234:16 I.e., was slain with him.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 237] [192]

[SECT. LXXII.--EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART IV.--THE DUMB PRINCE HOMU-CHI-WAKE).]

So the way they led about and amused the august child was by making a two-forked boat [*1] out of a two-forked cryptomeria from Ahidzu in Wohari, [*2] bringing it up and floating it on the Pool of Ichishi and on the Pool of Karu [*3] in Yamato, [thus] leading about and amusing the august child. Nevertheless the august child spoke never a word, though his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach. [*4] So [*5] it was on hearing the cry of a high-flying swan [*6] that he made his first utterance. [*7] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent Yamanobe-no-Ohotaka [*8] (this is a name of a person) to catch the bird. So this person, pursuing the swan, arrived in the Land of Harima from the Land of Ki, and again in his pursuit crossed over to the Land of Inaba, then reaching the Land of Taniba and the Land of Tajima; [thence] pursuing round [193] to the

eastward, he reached the Land of Afumi. and thereupon crossed over into the Land of Minu; and, passing along by the Land of Wohari, pursued it into the Land of Shinanu, and at length, reaching in his pursuit the Land of Koshi, spread a net in the Estuary of Wanami, [*9] and, having caught the bird, brought it up [to the capital] and presented it [to the Sovereign]. So that estuary is called the Estuary of Wanami. It had been thought that, on seeing the bird again, he would speak; but he did not speak, as had been thought. [*10] Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, deigning to be grieved, augustly fell asleep, when, in an august dream, he was instructed, saying: "If thou wilt build my temple like unto thine august abode, the august child shall surely speak." When he had been thus instructed, [the Heavenly

[p. 238]

[paragraph continues] Sovereign] made grand divination to seek what Deity's desire [*11] this might be. Then [it was discovered that] the curse was the august doing of the Great Deity of Idzumo. [*12] So when about to send the august child to worship [at] that Great Deity's temple, [he made divination to discover [*13]] by whom it were well to have him attended. Then the lot fell on King Ake-tatsu. [*14] So he [194] made King Ake-tatsu swear, [*15] saying: "If there is truly to be an answer [*16] to our adoration of this Great Deity, may the heron dwelling on the tree by the Pool of Sagisu [*17] here fall [through my] oath." When he thus spoke, the heron that had been sworn by fell to the ground dead. Again on his commanding it to come to life] in answer to his] oath, it then came to life again. [*18] Moreover he caused to wither by an oath and again brought to life again by an oath a broad-foliaged bear-oak on Cape Amakashi. [*19] Then [the Heavenly Sovereign] granted to Prince Ake-tatsu the name of Prince Yamato-oyu-shiki-tomi-tomi-toyo-asakura-ake-tatsu. [*20] So when the august child was sent off with the two Princes, Prince Ake-tatsu and Prince Una-kami, [*21] as his attendants, it was divined [*22] that [if they went out] by the Nara gate, [*23] [195] they would meet a lame person and a blind person; [*24] [if they went out] by the Ohosaka [*25] gate, they would likewise meet a lame person and a blind person, and that only the Ki gate,--a side gate, [*26]--would be the lucky gate; and when they started off, they established the Homuji clan [*27] in every place they arrived at. So when they had reached Idzumo and had finished worshipping the Great Deity, and were returning up [to the capital], they made in the middle of the River Hi [*28] a black plaited bridge and respectfully offered a temporary palace [for the august

[p. 239]

child] to dwell in. [*29] Then when the ancestor of the rulers of the Land of Idzumo, whose name was Kihisa-tsu-mi, [*30] [196] having made an imitation green-leafed mountain, [*31] placed [it] in the lower reach of the river, and was about to present the great august food the august child [*32] spoke, saying: "What here resembles a green-leafed mountain in the lower [reach of the] river; looks like a mountain, but is not a mountain. Is it perchance the great court [*33] of the deacons [*34] who holds in reverence the Great Deity Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains [*35] that dwells in the temple of So at Ihakuma in Idzumo? [*36] [Thus] he deigned to ask. Then the Kings, who had been sent in august attendance [on him], hearing with joy and seeing with delight, [*37] set the august child to dwell in the palace of Nagaho at Ajimasa, [*38] and despatched a courier [to inform the Heavenly Sovereign]. Then the august child wedded [197] Princess Hinaga [*39] for one night. So, on looking privately at the beautiful maiden, [he found her] to be a serpent, at the sight of which he fled away alarmed. Then Princess Hinaga was vexed, and, illuminating the sea-plain, [*40] pursued after them in a ship; and they, more and more alarmed at the sight, pulled the august vessel across the mountain-folds, [*41] and went fleeing up [to the capital]. Thereupon they made a report, saying: "We have come up [to the capital] because thy great and august child has become able to speak through worship-ping the Great Deity." So the Heavenly Sovereign, delighted, forthwith sent King Unakami back to build the Deity's temple. Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, on account of this august child, established the Totori Clan, the Torikahi Clan, the Homuji Clan, the Ohoyuwe and the Wakayuwe. [*42]

[p. 240] [p. 241] [p. 242] [p. 243]

Footnotes

^237:1 [p. 240] From a comparison with a passage in the "Chronicles," where the same expression occurs, one is led to suppose that the craft here mentioned was a sort of double boat, in each half of which passengers could sit.

^237:2 Nothing is known of any place called Ahidzu in the province of Wohari.

^237:3 Karu has been mentioned in Sect. LVII, Note 1. The Pool of Ihare.

^237:4 Lit., "in front of his heart." This phrase descriptive of a long beard has already occurred at the commencement of Sect. XII.

^237:5 Motowori reasonably supposes the character in this sentence to be a copyist's error for the emphatic , and the translation has been made accordingly.

^237:6 The original has the character , which is now applied to a small species of swan (Cignus minor, Pallas; Cygnus Bewickii, Yarrell). But it is uncertain what bird is intended by the author.

^237:7 A more or less inarticulate utterance is probably meant; but the expression in the original is obscure.

^237:8 Motowori supposes the Note in the original to refer only to the word Ohotaka, while he takes Yamamobe to be the name of a place (already mentioned in Sect. LXVIII, Note 1). The surname of Ohotaka, signifying "great hawk," was, according to the same commentator, giver to the worthy here mentioned in consequence of the incident related in the text. As the bird was not a hawk, this does not seem very convincing, and Motowori's apparent idea that the man was likened to a hawk because he pursued the other bird as a hawk would do, is extremely far-fetched. It is moreover doubtful whether the name should not be read Oho-washi (this is Mabuchi's reading), "great." The "Chronicles "give an altogether different name, viz., Ame-no-yukata-tana.

^237:9 No such place is now known. The name may be interpreted to mean "snare-net "in allusion to this story, as stated in the next sentence of the text.

^237:10 The various texts and printed editions all differ slightly in their reading of this passage, and from some it might be gathered that the prince did indeed speak as it had been thought that he would do, u t could not speak freely. The translation follows Motowori's emended text.

^238:11 Literally, "heart."

^238:12 I.e., Oho-kuni-nushi (the Master of the Great Land), the aboriginal monarch of Idzumo, the descendant of the Sun Goddess, whose [p. 241] abdication of the .sovereignty of Japan in favour of the descendant of the Sun Goddess forms the subject-matter of Sect. XXXII. The word tatari, here written with the Chinese character and rendered "curse," signifies properly the vengeance of a spirit, i.e., either of a deity or of the ghost of a dead man. The word translated "doing "is literally "heart."

^238:13 That some such words must be supplied is evident, and the translator has followed Mabuchi and Motowori in supplying them.

^238:14 Lit., "King Ake-tatsu at the divination."

^238:15 Remember that the original word ukehi combines the meanings of our words "wager," "oath," "pledge," "curse," etc.,--being in fact a general name for all words to which any mysterious importance attaches.

^238:16 Lit., a "sign," a "proof."

^238:17 Sagisu no ike, a pool in Yamato. Sagi-su, signifies "heron's nest."

^238:18 The reading of the characters (rendered "then") in this passage has been a crux to all the editors. Fortunately they make no difference to the sense.

^238:19 Amakashi no saki, Perhaps "Amakashi Point "would be a better rendering if, as Motowori supposes, an inland place in the province of Yamato is meant. It might be the point or extremity of a hill or bluff. Ame-kashi signifies literally "sweet oak." The "broad-foliaged bear-oak" mentioned immediately above is supposed by Motowori to be the usual evergreen oak, and not any special kind. The epithet "broad-foliaged" is not, as he remarks, specially appropriate, and he moreover supposes the word kuma, "bear," to be a corruption of kumi or kumori, words which would refer to the thick luxuriance of the foliage. The dictionaries do not help us much to a decision on the point.

^238:20 The component parts of this tremendous name, which is happily abbreviated to Ake-tatsu in the subsequent portions of the text, are somewhat obscure, especially the word oyu, whose reading rests only on a conjecture of Motowori's, who emends the evidently erroneous character to (oyu,) "old." Toyo, "luxuriant," is an Honorific, ake and tatsu signify respectively "dawn" and "rise," while the rest seem to be names of places of which this Prince may be supposed to have been the possessor.

^238:21 Or, the Prince of Unakami, as Unakami is the name of a place Kadzusa.

^238:22 I.e., shown by divination.

^238:23 [p. 242] Nara in Yamato, which is here mentioned for the first time, was the capital, of Japan from A.D. 710 to 784, and has always been famous in Japanese history and literature. The name is derived by the author of the "Chronicles "from the verb narasu, "to cause to resound," the hosts of the Emperor Su-jin having, it is said, caused the earth to resound with their trampling when they went out to do battle with Haniyasu. A more probable derivation is from nara, the name of a kind of deciduous oak, the Quercus glandulifera. The word rendered "gate" should possibly be taken simply in the sense of "exit "or "approach.'

^238:24 Or, "lame and blind people," a peculiarly unlucky omen for travellers, to whom, as Motowori remarks, sound feet and good eye-sight are indispensable to carry them on their way.

^238:25 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

^238:26 In the text the word "gate "is here, by a copyist's error written "moon." When the author says that the Ki gate, i.e., gate or exit leading to the province of Ki, as a "side-gate," he means that it was; not the one by which travellers would naturally have left the town:--the province of Ki, indeed, is to the South of Yamato where the capital was, whereas the province of Idzumo, whither they were bound, was to the north-west. This road into Ki over Matsuchi-yama is one famous in the classical poetry of Japan.

^238:27 Homuji-be. The meaning of the clause is that they granted the surname of Homuji to persons in every important locality through which they passed on their journey.

^238:28 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

^239:29 The signification of this passage is: "They built as a temporary abode for the prince a house in the River Hi (whether with its foundations actually in the water or on an island is left undetermined), connecting it with the main

land by a bridge made of branches of trees twisted together and with their bark left on them" (this is here the import of the word "black"). Such bridges have been met with by the translator in the remote northern province of Deha, where the country people call them shiba-bashi (or, rather, in their patois suba-bashi, i.e., "twig-bridge"). The traveller is so likely to fall through interstices into the stream below, that it is not to be wondered at that they should now be confined to the rudest localities.

^239:30 Motowori supposes Kihisa to be the name of a place, and tsu-mi to stand as usual for tsu mochi, "possessor," according to which view the name would mean "lord" or "possessor of Kihisa.

^239:31 [p. 243] No book of reference with which the translator is acquainted throws any light on this curious expression, and there is no parallel passage in the "Chronicles" to look for help.

^239:32 Viz., to the Prince ("the august child"). The preparations which Kihisa-tsu-mi is here said to have made are supposed by Motowori to have been prompted by a desire to add beauty to the feast. But the whole passage is very obscure.

^239:33 Viz., the court in front of, or the approach to, the shrine, which would naturally be planted with the sacred tree, the saka-ki (Cleyera japonica), and thus justly the prince's comparison to it of the artificial grove at which he was looking.

^239:34 I.e., the priest attached to the worship of, etc. For "deacon" see Note 33 to Sect. LXII.

^239:35 Ashihara-shiko-wo, one of the many names of the Deity Oho-kuni-nushi ("Master of the Great Land," see Sect. XX, Note 19). the Deity whom the Prince and his followers had just been worshipping.

^239:36 These names cannot now be identified, and are of uncertain etymology. Ikakuma seems, however, to mean "curve in the rock." One would have expected in this place, instead of these unknown names, to find a reference to the main temple of the Deity, which was styled Kidzuki no oho-yashiro, i.e., "the great shrine of Kidzuki."

^239:37 Some such words as "the changed and more intelligent appearance of the Prince, and his attainment of the power of speech "must be mentally supplied in order to bring out the sense which the author intends to convey.

^239:38 These names cannot be identified. Nagaho signifies "long-rice-ear," while ajimasa in modern usage is the name of a palm (the Levistona Sinensis); but Motowori supposes that it formerly designated the palmetto or some cognate tree.

^239:39 Hi-naga-hime. The signification of the name is obscure, but it would seem most natural to suppose it connected with the River Hi which figures in the Idzumo cycle of legends. A proposal of Motowori's to read Koye-naga instead of the traditional Hi-naga seems scarcely to be meant in earnest. If accepted, it would give us the meaning of "fat and long princess," with reference to the story of her being a serpent.

^239:40 It will be remembered that the Province of Idzumo is a maritime one, and that the fugitives might be supposed to reach the sea-shore in their flight. It is true that this is exactly the reverse of the direction which they would be obliged to take in travelling up to the capital, which was in Yamato.

^239:41 I.e., [p. 244] the depressions or valleys separating one mountain from another.

^239:42 In the original Totori-be, Torikahi-be, Homuji-be, Oho-yuwe and Waka-yuwe. All these "gentile names" have a meaning connecting them either really or

apparently with the story above related,--to-tori signifying "bird-catcher" and tohi-kahi "bird-feeder," while the name of the Homuji Clan is of course derived from that of the Prince (Homuchi or Homuji), and Oho-yuwe and Waka-yuwe signify respectively "elder bather "and "younger bather."

[SECT. LXXIII. EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART. V.--HIS LATER WIVES.)]

Again, in accordance with the Emperor's words, he summoned Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, next Her Augustness Princess Oto, next Her Augustness Princess Utakori, next Her Augustness Princess Matonu, [*1] daughters of Prince Michi-no-ushi--four Deities in all. Now he [198] kept the two Deities Her Augustness Princess Hibasu and Her Augustness Princess Oto; but as for the two Deities the younger queens, he sent them back to their native place on account of their extreme hideousness. Thereupon Princess Matonu said with mortification: "When it is known in the neighbouring villages that, among sisters of the same family, we have been sent back on account of our ugliness, it will be extremely mortifying;" and, on reaching Sagaraka [*2] in the Land of Yamashiro, she tried to kill herself [*3] by hanging herself from a branch of a tree. So that place was called by the name of Sagariki. It is now called Sagaraka. Again, on reaching Otokuni, [*4] she at last killed herself by jumping [*5] into a deep pool. So that place was called by the name of Ochikuni. It is now called Otokuni.

Footnotes

^244:1 [p. 245] Hibasu-hime, Oto-hime, Utakori-hime and Matonu-hime. The first two of these names have already appeared above, where the etymology of Hibasu was said to be doubtful, while Oto signifies "younger sister." Matonu has likewise already appeared, and is of uncertain derivation. Motowori supposes this last name to be in this place but an alias for Utakori, which he explains in the sense of "sad heart" with reference to the story of this princess as here told. In any case there is confusion in the legend, for in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles" five princesses are mentioned, whereas at the end of Sect. LXXI of these "Records" the Empress is made to speak of only two. The father's name has been already there explained.

^244:2 The real derivation of this name is obscure. The ancient (perhaps here and elsewhere suppositious ancient) form Sagari-ki signifies "hanging-tree." Saga-raka is written , a good example of the free manner in which some Chinese characters were anciently used for phonetic purposes. San-raku, Sa-raku or Sa-gara would be the only readings possible in the modern tongue.

^244:3 Literally, "wished to die." Motowori supposes that her design was frustrated by her attendants.

^244:4 Written with characters signifying "younger country," but here supposed by the author to be derived from ochi-kuni, "falling country," in connection with this legend.

^244:5 Lit. "died by falling."

[SECT. LXXIV.--EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VI.--TAJI-MORI BRINGS BACK THE ORANGE FROM THE ETERNAL LAND.)]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign sent Tajima-mori, [*1] ancestor of the Chiefs of Miyake, [*2] to the Eternal Land [*3] to fetch the fruit of the everlasting [*4] fragrant tree. So Tajima-mori at last reached that country, plucked the fruit of the tree, and brought of clubmoss eight and of spears eight; but meanwhile the Heavenly Sovereign had died. Then Tajima-mori set apart of clubmoss four and

[p. 246]

of spears four, which he presented to the Great Empress, [*5] and set up of clubmoss four and of spears four as an offering at the door of the Heavenly Sovereign's august mausoleum, [*6] and, raising on high the fruit of the tree, wailed and wept, saying: "Bringing the fruit of the ever-lasting fragrant tree from the Eternal Land, I have come to serve thee;" and at last he wailed and wept himself to death. This fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree is what is now called the orange. [*7]

Footnotes

^245:1 [p. 246] The meaning of this name, which is written phonetically both here and in the "Chronicles," has, given rise to differences of opinion, some deriving it from the name of the province of Tajima (itself of obscure origin) and from the word mori "keeper," while others think it comes from tachibana, the Japanese word for orange, with reference to the story here told. The supporters of the former view, on the other hand, derive the tachibana from Tajima-mori.

^245:2 Miyake no murazhi. Whether miyake is simply the name of a place or whether it should be taken in the sense of "granary," is uncertain. If the latter view be adopted, it would be natural to suppose that this family had originally furnished the superintendents of the Imperial Granaries. In any case it traced its origin to a Korean source (see the "Catalogue of Family Names," and the genealogies in Sect. CXV).

^245:3 See Sect. XXV.

^245:4 Written in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles "with characters signifying literally "timeless." The whole of this circumlocution for the orange has indeed to be interpreted by the help of the "Chronicles." it being here written phonetically and offering some difficulties as it stands.

^246:5 This corrupt and obscure passage seems to be well restored by Motowori, whose explanation of it is likewise as convincing as it is ingenious. The expression "clubmoss-oranges "signifies oranges as they grow on the branch surrounded by leaves, while "spear-oranges "are the same divested of leaves, and hanging to the bate twig. Thus the words clubmoss "and "spear "come to be used as "Auxiliary Numerals "for oranges plucked in these two different manners.

^246:6 Viz., says Motowori, Princess Hibasu, who however, according to the account in the "Chronicles," was already dead at this time.

^246:7 [p. 247] The word tachibana (written) in the text should probably be taken as a specific and not as a general term. In modern usage it designates the Citrus japonica. But it is a matter of dispute whether the application of the term has not altered since ancient times, and whether we should not understand by it one of the other kinds of orange now to be found in Japan,--perhaps the Citrus nobilis.

[SECT. LXXV.--EMPEROR SUI-NIN (PART VII.--HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS HIBASU.)]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and fifty-three. His august mausoleum is in the middle of the moor of Mitachi at Sugahara. [*1] Again in the time of the Great Empress Her Augustness Princess Hibasu, [*2] the Stone-Coffin-Makers [*3] were established, and also the Earthenware-Masters' Clan [*4] was established. This Empress was buried in the mausoleum of Terama near Saki. [*5]

Footnotes

^247:1 Both the locality and the etymology of Mitachi are obscure. Sugahara ("sedge-moor") is known to be in the province of Yamato.

^247:2 I.e., at the time of the burial of the great Empress, etc.

^247:3 The character , ("to pray") in the text is indubitably a copyist's error for ", coffin." These stone coffins are described by Mr. Henry von Siebold in his "Note on Japanese Archaeology" p.5. It must be understood that, from being the name of an office, Stone-Coffin-Maker (Ishi-ki-tsukuri) became a "gentile name."

^247:4 Hanishi-be. The meaning of this expression becomes clear by reference to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," which it may be worth while to quote at length from Mr. Satow's translation in pp. 229-330 of Vol. VIII, Pt. III, of these Transactions: "In the autumn of 32nd year, on the tsuchi no to u day of the moon, which rose on the ki no ye inu day, the empress Hi ba su hime no Mikoto (in another source called Hi-ba-su ne no Mikoto) died, and they were several days going to bury her. The Mikado commanded all his high officers, saying: "We knew [p. 248] before that the practice of following the dead is not good. In the case of the present burying what shall be done? Thereupon Nomi no Sukune advanced and said: "It is not good to bury living men standing at the sepulchre of a prince, and this cannot be handed down to posterity. I pray leave now to propose a convenient plan. and to lay this before the sovereign." And he sent messengers to summon up a hundred of the clay-workers' tribe of the country of Izumo, and he himself directed the men of the clay-workers' tribe in taking clay and forming shapes of men, horses and various things, and presented them to the Mikado, saying: 'From now and henceforward let it be the law for posterity to exchange things of clay for living men, and set them up at sepulchres.' Thereupon the Mikado rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying: 'Thy expedient plan has truly pleased Our heart; and the things of clay were for the first time set up at the tomb of Hi-ba-su hime no Mikoto. Wherefore these things were haniwa (a circle of clay). Then he seat down an order, saying: 'From now and henceforward, be sure to sit up these things of clay at sepulchres, and let not men be slain.' Mikado bountifully praised Nomi no Sukune, bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the charge of the clay-workers' tribe."

^247:5 In the province of Yamato. In the old poetry there are many plays or, this word Saki, which is homonymous with the Verb "to blossom." But whether that be its real derivation, it were hard to say. Terama appears to signify "Buddhist temple-space," an etymology which is embarrassing to the Shinto commentators who, accepting every word of our text as authentic history, are hard-driven to explain how Buddhist temples could have existed in Japan before the date assigned for the introduction of Buddhism.

[SECT. LXXVI.--EMPRESS KEI-KO (PART I,--GENEALOGIES)]

The Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake dwelt in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Elder Lady of Inabi in Harima, [*2] daughter of Waka-take, Prince of Kibi [*3] ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi, [*4] and begot

[p. 249]

august children: King Kushi-tsunu-wake; [*5] next His Augustness Ohousu; [*6] next His Augustness Wo-usu, another name for whom is His Augustness Yamato wo-guna; [*7] next His Augustness Yamato-ne-ko; [*8] next King Kamu-kushi. [*9] Again wedding Her Augustness Princess Yasaka-no-iri, [*10] [202] daughter of His Augustness Prince Yasaka-no-iri, he begot august children: His Augustness Prince Waka-rarashi; [*11] next His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-no-iri; [*12] next His Augustness Oshi-no-wake; [*13] next Her Augustness Princess Iho-ki-no-iri. [*14] Children by another concubine were: King Toyo-to-wake; [*15] next the Lady Nunoshiro. [*16] Children by another concubine were: the Lady Nunaki; [*17] next Her Augustness Princess Kago-yori; [*18] next King Prince Waka-ki-no-iri; [*19] next King the Elder Prince of Kibi-no-ye; [*20] next Her Augustness Princess Takaki; [*21] next Her Augustness Princess Oto. [*22] Again wedding Princess Mi-hakashi of Himuku, [*23] he begot an august child: King Toyo-kuni-wake. [*24] Again wedding the Younger Lady of Inabi, [*25] younger sister of the Elder Lady of Inabi, [*26] he begot august children: King Ma-waka; next King Hiko-hito-no-oho-ye. [*27] Again wedding Princess [203] Ka-guro, [*28] daughter of King Princess Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko, [*29] great-grand-child of His Augustness Yamato-take, [*30] he begot an august child: King Oho-ye. [*31] The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko numbered in all twenty-one kings and queens [*32] of whom there is a register, and fifty-nine kings and queens of whom there is no record,--eighty kings and queens altogether, out of whom His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko and also His Augustness Yamato-take, and also His Augustness Prince I-ho-ki-no-iri,--these three Kings,--bore the name of Heirs Apparent. [*33] The seventy-seven

[p. 250]

kings and queens beside these [*34] were all granted Rulerships in the various lands, or else [posts as] Lords, Territorial Lords or Departmental Chiefs. [*35] So His Augustness Waka-tarashi-hiko [was he who afterward] ruled the Empire. His Augustness Wo-usu subdued the savage deities and likewise the unsubmissive people in the East [204] and West. The next, King Kushi-tsunu-wake (was the ancestor of the chiefs of Mamuta). [*36] The next, His Augustness Oho-Usu, (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mori, [*37] of the Dukes of Ohota [*38] and of the Dukes of Shimada.) [*39] The next, King Kamukushi, (was the ancestor of the Sakabe Abiko in the Land of Ki, [*40] and of the Sakabe of Uda). [*41] The next, King Toyo-kuni-wake (was the ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Himuka.) [*42]

[p. 251] [p. 252]

Footnotes

^248:1 [p. 250] In the province of Yamato. The etymology of Makimuku is obscure. Hishiro is tentatively derived by Motowori from hi, the Chamaecyparis obtusa (a kind of conifer), and shiro, "an enclosure."

^248:2 Harima no inabi no oho-iratsume. Inabi is also known under the alternative form of Inami: etymology uncertain.

^248:3 Waka-take Kibi tsu biko, Waka-take signifies "young brave."

^248:4 Kibi no omi.

^249:5 Kushi signifies "wondrous," and wake either "young," or "lord." The meaning of tsunu is obscure.

^249:6 The names of this prince and the next signify respectively "great-foot-pestle" and "little foot-pestle," the origin of the bestowal of which singular designations is thus related in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles:" "The Imperial child Oho-usu and His Augustness Wo-usu were born together the same day as twins. The Heavenly Sovereign, astonished, informed the foot-pestle. So the two Kings were called Great Foot-pestle and Foot-pestle." What the import of this passage may be is, however, a mystery both to Tanigaha Shisei and to Motowori.

^249:7 Motowori supposes wo-guna to have been an archaic word for "boy," "me-guna" signifying "girl." Yamato wo-guna would thus signify the boy of Japan." a not inappropriate designation for this prince, who under his later name of Yamato-take (Japan Brave," i.e. the brave man of Japan") has remained as the chief legendary type of the martial prowess of his native land.

^249:8 [p. 251] I.e.. Yamato Prince.

^249:9 Komu-kushi no miko, i.e., "divine wondrous."

^249:10 Yamasaka no iri-bime no mikoto. The signification of this name and of the next (Ya-saka no iri-biko no mikoto) is obscure.

^249:11 Waka-tarashi-hiko no mikoto, i.e., "young and perfect prince."

^249:12 I-ho-ki no iri-biko no mikoto. Signification obscure.

^249:13 Or, Oshi-wake, i.e., perhaps "Great Lord."

^249:14 I-ho-ki no iri-bime no mikoto. Signification obscure.

^249:15 Toyo-to-wake no mikoto, i.e., perhaps "luxuriant swift prince."

^249:16 Nunoshiro no iratsumo. Signification obscure.

^249:17 Nunaki no iratsume. Signification obscure.

^249:18 Kago yori-hime no mikoto. Yori ime probably means "good princess." The sense of kago is very doubtful, for it may either be the name of a place, or else identical with the Verb kagayaku "to shine," or with kago, "a stag."

^249:19 Waka-ki no iri-biko no mikoto. The signification of this name is obscure.

^249:20 Kibi no ye-hike no mikoto.

^249:21 Takaki-hime no mikoto. The meaning of takaki in this place is not certain.

^249:22 Oto-hime no mikoto, i.e., "the younger princes."

^249:23 Himuka no Mi-hakashi-bime. Mi-hakashi signifies "august sabre." See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXVI, p. 11, for a gloss on this curious name.

^249:24 Toyo-kuni-wake no miko, i.e., perhaps "lord of the luxuriant land," or else "lord of the land of Toyo," the Emperor Kei-ko having, according to the account in the "Chronicles," spent some years fighting in South-Western Japan, where the province of Toyo is situated.

^249:25 Inabi no waki-iratsume. See Note 2 to this Section.

^249:26 Ma-waka no miko, i.e., "truly young prince."

^249:27 Hiko-hito no oho-ye no miko. Hiko signifies "prince," hito is "person" (or here, according to Motowori, "headman"), and oho ye is "great elder brother."

^249:28 Ka-guro-hime, i.e., probably "the black-haired princess."

^249:29 Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-biko-no-mikoto. The signification of this name is not clear. Motowori identifies sume with the like-sounding Verb signifying "to be supreme." Oha-naka-tsu-hiko may signify "great middle prince," referring to the comparative ages of this prince and his brethren.

^249:30 [p. 252] There is here an evident error in the genealogy, as it would make the emperor marry his own great-great-grand daughter! A guess of the editor of 1687 that for Yamato-take we should read Waka-take (a son of the Emperor Ko-rei) is approved by Motowori, and may be adopted as probably correct,--i.e. (what is but little likely) if this portion of the "Records" should eventually be proved to be historically trustworthy. The question is discussed by Motowori in Vol. XXVI, pp. 12-14. of his Commentary.

^249:31 Oho-ye no miko. This name would, as Motowori remarks, appear to have erroneously crept in here through the influence of the name mentioned in Note 27, the whole account of this union with Princess Ka-guro being corrupt.

^249:32 The Japanese term (miko) includes both males and females.

^249:33 .

^250:34 As above remarked, the Japanese term includes both males and females, and moreover some of the female children are specially mentioned. The difficulty as to how females could have been appointed to the offices here mentioned is not solved by Motowori, whose note on this passage is evasive.

^250:35 The four names of offices (also used as "gentile names") here mentioned are in the original Japanese Kuni no Miyatsuko, Wake, Inaki, and Agata-mushi. (See Introduction, <page xvi>.)

^250:36 Mamuta no murazhi. (See Sect. LIII, Note 1.)

^250:37 Mori no kimi. Mori seems to be the name of a place (perhaps in Mino); but nothing is known of this family.

^250:38 Ohota no kimi. Ohota is the name of a place in Mino, and signifies "great rice-field."

^250:39 Shimada no kimi. Shimada is perhaps the name of a place in Wohari. It signifies "island rice-fields."

^250:40 Ki no kuni no sakabe no abiko. For also see Sect. LXXII, Note 85. Sakabe seems to signify "liquor tribe," this family and the next having been entrusted with the management of the Imperial feasts.

^250:41 Uda no sakabe, i.e., the "Liquor Tribe of Uda." (in Yamato).

^250:42 Himuka no kuni no miyatsuko.

[p. 253]

[SECT. LXXVII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART II.--THE MAIDENS YE-HIME AND OTO-HIME).]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, to assure himself of what he had heard of the beauty of the two maidens Ye-hime and Oto-hime, [*1] daughters of King Kamu-ohone, [*2] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Minu, [*3] sent his august child, His Augustness Oho-usu, to summon them up [to the Capital]. So His Augustness Oho-usu who had been sent, instead of summoning them up, forthwith wedded both the maidens himself, and then sought other women, to whom he falsely gave the maidens' names, and sent them up [to his father]. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, knowing them to be other women, frequently subjected them to his long glances; [*4] but, never wedding them, caused them to sorrow. So the child that His Augustness Oho-usu begot on wedding Ye-hime, [205] was King Oshi-kuro-no-ye-hiko [*5] (he was the ancestor of the Lords of Unesu in Minu.) [*6] Again, the child that he begot on wedding Oto-hime, was King Oshi-kuro-no-oto-hiko (he was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mugetsu.) [*7]

Footnotes

^253:1 [p. 253] I.e., the elder princess and the younger princess.

^253:2 See Sect. LXII, Note 36.

^253:3 Minu no kuni no miyatsuko.

^253:4 I.e., "gazed at them intently." The Classical word nagamuru, "to gaze," is properly a compound of naga, "long," and miru, "to see."

^253:5 The meaning of the syllables oshi in this name and the companion one (Oshi-kuro no oto hiko) immediately below is probably "great;" kuro is obscure; ye-hiko signifies "elder prince" and oto-hiko "younger prince."

^253:6 Mimi no Unesu no wake. Of Unesu nothing is known.

^253:7 Mugetsu no kimi. Mugetsu or Muge was in the province of Mini (Mino).

[p. 254]

[SECT. LXXVIII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART III. VARIOUS DEEDS.)]

In this august reign the Labourers' Tribe [*1a] was established; again, the port of Aha in the East was established; again, the Great Butlers' Tribe [*2] was established; again, the granaries of Yamato were established; again, the Pool of Sakate was made, and bamboos planted on the bank. [*3]

Footnotes

^254:1a [p. 254] Such is the reasonable explanation of the original term tabe () given by Motowori. It seems to have become a "gentile-name."

^254:2 Kashikade no oho-tomo-be. This "gentile name" originally denoted one who was butler, steward, or cook, in the Emperor's household. The tradition of its origin is preserved in the "Chronicles."

^254:3 Motowori supposes that the mention both in his history and in the "Chronicles of Japan" of the planting of bamboos on the banks of this pool or lake should be attributed to the rarity of such a proceeding in ancient times.

[SECT. LXXIX.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART IV.--YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS HIS ELDER BROTHER).]

The Heavenly Sovereign said to His Augustness Wo-usu: "Why does not thine elder brother come forth to the morning and evening great august repasts? [*1b] Be thou the one to take the trouble to teach him [his duty]." Thus he commanded; but for five days after, still [the prince] came not forth. Then the Heavenly Sovereign deigned to ask His Augustness Wo-usu [saying]: "Why is thine elder brother so long of coming? Hast thou perchance not yet taught him [his duty]?" He replied, [206] saying: "I have been at that trouble." Again [the Heavenly Sovereign] said "How didst thou take the

[p. 255]

trouble?" [*2a] He replied, saying: "In the early morning when he went into the privy, I grasped hold of him and crushed him, and, pulling off his limbs, [*3a] wrapped them in matting and flung them away."

Footnotes

^254:1b Viz., to attend on his Imperial father.

^255:2a I.e., "How didst thou do it?"

^255:3a Literally, "branches."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. LXXX. EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART V.--YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE KUMASO BRAVOES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him, saying: "In the West there are two Kumaso bravoes, [*1]--unsubmissive and disrespectful men. So take [*2b] them,"--and [with this command] he sent him off. It happened that at this time his august hair was bound at the brow. [*3b] Then His Augustness Wo-usu was granted by his aunt Her Augustness Yamato-hime [*4] her august [upper] garment and august skirt; and, with a sabre hidden in his august bosom, he went forth. [*5] So, on reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, he saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave [*6] to dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave, [*7] were getting food ready. So [Prince Wo-usu sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the [207] rejoicing. Then when the day of the rejoicing came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up, [*8] and having put on his aunt's august [upper] garment and august skirt, he looked quite

[p. 256]

like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women, [*9] went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when [the feast was] at its height, [His Augustness Wo-usu], drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching Kumaso [*10] by the collar of his garment, thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the steps [*11] of the cave, and catching him by the back, [*12] [Prince Wo-usu] thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I [*13] have something to say." Then [His Augustness Wo-usu], respited him for a moment, holding him down [as he lay] prostrate.

Hereupon [the bravo] said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: "I am the august child of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, the Heavenly Sovereign who, dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, rules the Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King Yamato-wo-guna. Hearing that you two [fellows [*14]], the Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmissive and disrespectful, [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent me with the command to take and slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: "That must [208] be true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong as we two. [*15] Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a man braver than we two,--there is. [*16] Therefore will I offer thee an august name. From this time forward it is right that thou be praised as the August Child Yamato-take." [*17] As soon as he had finished saying this, [the Prince] ripped him up [*18] like a ripe

[p. 257]

melon, [*19] and slew him. [*20] So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of [*21] his Augustness Yamato-take. When he returned up [to the capital] after doing this, he subdued and pacified every one of the Deities of the mountains and of the Deities of the rivers and likewise of the Deities of Anado, [*22] and then went up to [the capital].

Footnotes

^255:1 [p. 257] I.e., presumably "bravoes at Kumaso; "but it is to be remarked that in this and like compounds with takeru ("bravo") the Japanese language uses no Postposition. For Kumaso see Sect. V, Note 17.

^255:2b Motowori seems right in interpreting "take" here and elsewhere in the sense of "slay." But "take "is in the text.

^255:3b I.e., caught up from the brow and tied together on the crown of the head. This being the way in which the hair of boys was dressed, the author thus intimates that His Augustness was still a youth.

^255:4 Who was high-priestess of the temple of the Great Deity of Ise, as mentioned in Sect. LXIX (Note 44).

^255:5 The characters used for these last two words are those properly restricted to the mention of an Imperial progress, but Yamato-take is constantly spoken of as if he had actually sat on the throne.

^255:6 The character used is , which simply means apartment; but see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1.

^255:7 Motowori reads "New cave," but the word "August" is in the text. At the same time we see that this feast was intended as a house-warming. Conf. the commencement of Sect. CLXIV.

^255:8 The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" puts the same meaning into plainer words. It says: "undid his hair, and made it appear like a girl's."

^256:9 Or, according to the old reading, "mixing with the concubines."

^256:10 I.e., the elder bravo of Kumaso.

^256:11 The word rendered "steps" is of doubtful interpretation.

^256:12 Or perhaps "the skin of his back" or "the (beast's?) skin on his back." But Motowori is probably right in supposing the character , "skin" to be an error for , "with," to be construed with the word "sabre." (In the English idiom this Particle falls away.)

^256:13 Written with the humble character , "servant."

^256:14 [p. 258] The contemptuous Second Personal Pronoun ore is used here and in the next clause.

^256:15 There is Motowori's authority for thus understanding the bravo's words. Taken still more literally, they would seem to imply that there were no brave and strong men in the West excepting himself and his brother.

^256:16 The words "there is" are an attempt at rendering the termination keri of the original. See X, Note 1.

^256:17 I.e., "Yamato-Brave," q.d., "the Bravest in Yamato." It is by this name that the hero is commonly spoken of. Remember that "august child "signifies prince.

^256:18 , "broke," in the text is, as the commentators observe, an evident error for , "ripped."

^257:19 Or specifically, the "musk melon."

^257:20 The translator has followed Motowori's restoration of this passage, in which, by the transposition of the characters and , the end of this sentence and the beginning of the next were mixed together in the older editions.

^257:21 Lit., "[they] praised the august name, calling him," etc.

^257:22 Or, "of the Ana passage" (lit. door), the modern Strait of Shimonoseki. The word ana signifies "hole," and there is a tradition (which Motowori quotes in his note on this name in Vol. XXVII, pp. 26-29 of his Commentary) to the effect that formerly the Main bland and the island of Kiushiu were continuous at this point, there being only a sort of natural tunnel, through which junks could pass.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 258]

[SECT. LXXXI.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART VI.--YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE IDZUMO BRAVO).

Forthwith entering the Land of Idzumo, and wishing to slay the Idzumo bravo, he on arriving, forthwith bound [himself to him in] friendship. So, having secretly [209] made [the wood of] an oak [-trees [*1]] into a false sword and augustly girded it, he went with the bravo to bathe the River Hi. [*2] Then, His Augustness Yamato-take

[p. 259]

getting out of the river first, and taking and girding on the sword that the Idzumo bravo had taken off and laid down, said: "Let us exchange swords!" So afterwards the Idzumo bravo, getting out of the river, girded on His Augustness Yamato-take's false sword. Hereupon His Augustness Yamato-take, suggested, saying: "Come on! let us cross [*3] swords." Then on drawing his sword, the Idzumo bravo could not draw the false sword. Forthwith His Augustness Yamato-take drew his sword and slew the Idzumo bravo. Then he sang augustly, saying:

"Alas that the sword girded on the Idzumo bravo, and wound round with many a creeper, should have had no true blade!" [*4]

So having thus extirpated the [bravoes] and made [the land] orderly, he went up [to the capital], and made his report [to the Heavenly Sovereign].

Footnotes

^258:1 The species mentioned (ichihi) is the Quercus gilva.

^258:2 See Sect. XVIII, Note 2.

^259:3 Lit., "let us join swords." The word "suggested" () in this sentence is an emendation of Motowori's, the text having , "slandered." The older printed editions, while retaining the character , read it azamukite, "deceived."

^259:4 In its position in the present text, this Song must be taken as an ironical lament of the Prince for the dead bravo. In the "Chronicle" the time and the heroes of the episode, and the singers of the Song are all different, and in that context the lament sounds like a genuine one. The reader will remember what was said in the Introduction as to the use of creepers for string. That mentioned in the text is supposed to be the Cocculus thunbergi.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 260]

[SECT. LXXXII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART VII.--YAMATO-TAKE IS SENT TO SUBDUE THE EAST, AND VISITS HIS AUNT AT ISE).]

Then the Heavenly Sovereign again urged a command on His Augustness Yamato-take, saying: "Subdue and pacify the savage Deities and likewise the unsubmissive people of the twelve roads of the East;" [*1] and when he sent him off, joining to him Prince Mi-suki-tomo-mimi-take, [*2] ancestor of the Grandees of Kibi, [*3] he bestowed on [210] him a holly-wood [*4] spear eight fathoms [long]. So when he had received the [Imperial] command and started off, he went into the temple of the Great August Deity of Ise, and worshipped the Deity's court, [*5] forthwith speaking to his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime, saying: "It must surely be that the Heavenly Sovereign thinks [*6] I may die quickly; for after sending me to smite the wicked people of the West, I am no sooner come up again [to the capital] than, without bestowing on me an army, he now sends me off afresh to pacify the wicked people of the twelve circuits of the East. Consequently I think that he certainly thinks I shall die quickly." When he departed with lamentations and tears, Her Augustness Yamato-hime bestowed on him the "Herb-Quelling-Sabre," [*7] and likewise bestowed on him an august bag, [*8] and said: "If there should be an emergency, open the mouth of the bag."

Footnotes

^260:1 [p. 260] See Sect. LXVI. Note 2.

^260:2 Mi-suki-tomo-mini-take-hiko. Mi is an , mimi probably signifies "ears," and take means "bravo." The words suki and tomo are obscure.

^260:3 Kibi na omi.

^260:4 Properly the Olea aquifolium, which resembles holly. Motowori [p. 261] supposes that an entirely wooden spear or stick is here meant to be spoken of, and not the weapon with a metal point which is commonly understood by the word "spear" (hoko).

^260:5 Perhaps we should write "august court," for the characters in the text are evidently intended for the homonymous . The court in front of the Deity's temple is what is here alluded to, and it would perhaps be a not unpardonable departure from the text to insert the Preposition "at," or "in," and translate thus: "worshipped in the Deity's court."

^260:6 Here and below, the word "thinks," may be understood to mean "wishes."

^260:7 Kusa-nagi no tsurugi. The discovery of this sword by the deity Susa-no wo ("Impetuous Male") inside one of the tails of the eight-headed serpent which he had slain, is narrated at the end of Sect. XVIII.

^260:8 The use of the contents of this bag will be seen in the next Section.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 261] [211]

[SECT. LXXXIII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART VIII.--YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE RULERS OF SAGAMU.)]

So reaching the Land of Wohari, he went into the house of Princess Miyadzu, [*1] ancestress of the Rulers of Wohari, [*2] and forthwith thought to wed her; but thinking again that he would wed her when he should return up [toward the capital], and having plighted his troth, he went [on] into the Eastern Lands, and subdued and pacified all the savage Deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and rivers. So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu, [*3] the Ruler of the land lied, saying: "In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a very violent Deity." Hereupon [Yamato-take] entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been

[p. 262]

deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-hime had bestowed on him, and saw that inside of it there was a fire-striker. [*4] Hereupon he first mowed away the herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt [the herbage] and drove back [the other fire], and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the Rulers [*5] of that Land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them. So [that place] is now called Yakidzu. [*6]

Footnotes

^261:1 [p. 262] Miyazu-hime (in the "Chronicles "and in the printed editions of these "Records "previous to Motowori's written Miyasu-hime without the nigori). Neither Motowori nor Tanigaha Shisei makes any suggestion as to the signification of this name.

^261:2 Wohari no miyatsuko.

^261:3 In the present time Sagami. No authority great or small has given a satisfactory etymology of this name, though numerous and elaborate attempts have been made to explain it.

^262:4 In the original hi-uchi (). Mr. Satow, who has given a translation of this passage in a note to his third paper on the "Rituals "to be found in Vol. IX, Pt. II. p. 202 of these "Transaction," renders this word by "steel." The present writer prefers not to prejudge the question as to whether the fire-striker "intended by the author was a steel, or a wooden fire-drill. Motowori would seem to have held the latter view, as in his gloss on this passage he refers to the previous passage near the end of Sect. XXXII, where the fire-drill is mentioned. He also quotes an ancient one in which "a fire-striker of metal "is specially referred to, so that it would seem that all fire-strikers were not of that material.

^262:5 Remember that this word "Ruler" (Miyatsuko) had the acceptation of a "gentile name "as well as of the name of an office, so that we may understand

the author to mean that Yamato-take destroyed the whole Ruling Family of Sagami. Parallel passage of the "Chronicles'' has "he burnt all that rebel band, and destroyed them."

^262:6 The words rendered "that place" are supplied by Motowori, their omission being evidently a copyist's error. Yaki-dzu signifies "the port of burning."

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[p. 263] [212]

[SECT. LXXXIV.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART IX.--YAMATO-TAKE'S EMPRESS STILLS THE WAVES.)

When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-midzu, [*1] the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then [Yamato-take's] Empress, [*2] whose name was Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana [*3] said: "I [*4] will enter the sea instead of the august child. [*5] The august child must complete the service [*6] on which he has been sent, and take back a report [to the Heavenly Sovereign]." When she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs, [*7] eight thicknesses of skin rugs and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on the top of the waves, and sat down on the top [of them] Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the. Empress sang, saying:

"Ah! thou [whom I] enquired of, standing in the midst of the flames of the fire burning on the little moor of Sagamu, where the true peak pierces!" [*8]

So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb [213] drifted onto the sea-beach,--Which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.

Footnotes

^263:1 [p. 263] I.e., "running water."

^263:2 I.e., his consort. Conf. Sect. , Note 5.

^263:3 Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto. (See Sect. XCII, Note 3.)

^263:4 Written with the humble character , literally "concubine."

^263:5 I.e., instead of thee, the Prince."

^263:6 More literally, "finish the government."

^263:7 Or "mats." But the same word is used as that which must be translated "rugs" immediately below.

^263:8 [p. 264] This Song gives much trouble to the commentators, whose remarks (to be found in Motowori's "Commentary." Vol. XXVII, pp. 67-9, and Moribe's "Idzu no Koto-Waki" Vol. III, pp, 6-9,) should be consulted by the student desirous of forming an opinion of his own. The general purport of the poem is of course to allude to Yamato-take's adventure on the burning moor, and at the same time to the love which bound him and his consort together; almost each individual line offers matter for doubt. Thus it is not certain whether the Verb tohishi, here rendered "enquired of" (i.e., attended upon by the Empress). should not rather be given the word "thou" as subject, in which case the signification would be "thou who enquiredst of [i.e., wooedst]." The word used for "thou;" is the Honorific equivalent of that Pronoun signifying literally

"prince." Moribe disputes the propriety of considering Sagamu in this place as the name of a province, and the word sanesashi, here translated "where the true peak pierces" (Mt. Fuji being by some supposed to be thus alluded to) is of very doubtful interpretation. Motowori tells us that the final Particles ha mo, rendered by the initial Interjection "Oh," should here be understood as an exclamation more forcible than that which usually belongs to him. Finally Moribe points out that the Song does not suit the context in which it is found, and has probably been erroneously inserted here instead of in an earlier portion of the text.

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[p. 264]

[SECT. LXXXV.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART X.--YAMATO-TAKE SLAYS THE DEITY OF THE ASHIGARA PASS.)]

When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi [*1] and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up [to the capital], he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass, [*2] was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood [before him]. Then forthwith, on his waiting [*3] and striking [the deer] with a scrap of wild chive, [*4] [the deer] was hit in the eye and struck dead. So, mounting to

[p. 265]

the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "Adzuma ha ya!" [*5] So that land is called by the name of Adzuma.

Footnotes

^264:1 This is the traditional ancient reading of what is according to the modern pronunciation Yezo, while the Chinese characters , with which the name is written, signify "Prawn Barbarians," in allusion (if Motowori may be trusted) to the long beards which make their fades resemble a prawn's head. The hairy barbarians known to English readers as Ainos, and whose name of Yezo is applied by the Japanese to the northernmost large island of the Japanese Archipelago, which is still chiefly tenanted by them, are almost certainly here referred to. In ancient times they inhabited a great part of the Main Island of Japan. The translator may add that the genuiness of the so-called ancient reading "Yemishi" appears to him doubtful. The name known to the people themselves, and which apparently can be traced as far as Kamschatka, is Yezo.

^264:2 Ashigara-zaka, one of the passes from Sagami into Suruga leading towards Mount Fuji.

^264:3 I.e., lying in ambush.

^264:4 Nira, the Allium odorum.

^265:5 I.e., "my wife! "Adzuma is still used as a poetical designation of Eastern Japan. The translator doubts the correctness of the derivation of it given in the text, although it is universally accepted and certainly fits in well with the graceful legend by which it is here accounted for.

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[SECT. LXXXVI.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XI.--YAMATO-TAKE DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SAKAWORI.)]

When, forthwith crossing over from that land out into Kahi, [*1] he dwelt in the palace of Sakawori, [*2] he sang, saying:

"How many nights have I slept since passing Nihibari and Tsukuha?" [*3]

[p. 266]

Then the old man, who was the lighter of the august fire, [*4] completed the august Song, and sang, saying:

"Oh! having put the days in a row, there are of nights nine nights, and of days ten days!" [*5]

Therefore [Yamato-take] praised the old man, and forthwith bestowed [on him] the Rulership of the Eastern Land[s]. [*6]

Footnotes

^265:1 [p. 266] This name is identified by the native etymology with an homonymous Substantive signifying "a place between mountains."

^265:2 The etymology of this name is uncertain. But the most likely opinion is that it signifies "a zigzag road down a pass."

^265:3 I.e., since leaving the province of Hitachi, of which Tsukuha (in modern parlance Tsukuba, with the last syllable nigori'ed) and Nihibari (modern Nihiharu) are two districts. In the later poetry Nibari no is often used as a Pillow-Word for the name of Mount Tsukuba. The etymology of both names is uncertain, but "newly tilled "seems to be the most probable etymology of the first of the two.

^266:4 Not necessarily a fire kindled for the sake of obtaining warmth, but fire in general, including, as Motowori suggests, torches and fires lit to drive away mosquitoes. There are frequent mentions in the classical literature of this latter sort of fire, which may indeed still be met with in some districts where mosquito-nets are not yet in common use.

^266:5 The meaning is: "On counting up, I find that we have been ten days and nine nights."--Previous to Motowori the expression ka-ga nabette, "having put in a row (i.e. counted) the days" was curiously misunderstood, and subjected to various far-fetched interpretations. There can however be no doubt but that Motowori is right.--The reason why the old man is said to have "completed "the Prince's song is that the former taken alone is of incomplete rhythm.

^266:6 Or, as Motowori would prefer to it, "the Rulership of an Eastern Land," viz., one out of the twelve Eastern provinces.

[p. 267]

[SECT. LXXXVII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XII.--YAMATO-TAKE WOOES PRINCESS MIYAZU).]

Having crossed over from that land into the land of Shinanu [*1] and subdued the Deity of the Shinanu pass, [*2] he came back to the land of Wohari, and went to dwell in the house of Princess Miyazu, to whom he had before plighted his troth.

Hereupon, when presenting to him the great august food, Princess Miyazu lifted up a great liquor-cup and presented it to him. Tunc Herae Miyazu veli orae adhaeserunt menstrua. Quare [Augustus Yamato-take] ilia menstrua vidit, et auguste cecinit, dicens:

"Ego volui reclinare [caput] in fragili, molli brachiolo [tuo, quod est simile] vallo impingenti acutae falci in Monte Kagu in coelo formato quasi cucurbita;--ego desideravi dormire [tecum]. Sed in ora veli quod induis luna surrexit." [*3]

Tunc Herae Miyazu augusto cantui respondit, dicens: [216]

"Alte resplendentis solis auguste puer! Placide administrationem faciens mi magne domine! Renovatis annis venientibus et effluentibus, renovatae lunae eunt veniendo patienter expecto, luna suapte surgit in ora veli quod ego induo!" [*4]

Quare tune [ille] coivit [cum illa], after which, placing in Princess Miyazu's house his august sword "the Grass-Quelling Sabre," he went forth [*5] to take the Deity of [Mount] Ibuki. [*6]

[p. 268]

Footnotes

^267:1 [p. 267] See Sect. XXXIII, Note 26.

^267:2 Shinanu no saka, a pass between the provinces of Shinano and Mino which is no longer used.

^267:3 [p. 268] Even taken apart from its immediate context, the import of this Song is plain, notwithstanding Moribe's efforts to explain away its indelicacy. The details of the first part, however, require some comment in order to make them comprehensible to the European reader, the words in question being these which might in English be rendered "thy fragile, slender, delicate arm [which resembles] a post striking against the sharp sickle on Mount Kagu of the gourd-shaped heaven." In Japanese they run thus:

Hisa-kata no
      Ame no Kagu-yamo
 To-kama ni
      Sa-wataru kuhi:--
 Hiha-boso
      Ta-waya-gahina wo etc.

It will he remarked that the first four lines form a "Punning Preface "to the fifth. Such Punning Prefaces have not necessarily any logical connection with what follows, as has been explained by the present writer in a paper "On the Use of Pillow Words and Plays upon Words in Japanese Poetry," to be found in Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 79 et seq. of these "Transactions." In this particular case, however, there is sufficient continuity of sense to warrant the continuous translation above given. The word "post," though such a use of it is very curious, must be to denote not a dead, but a living trunk, or rather the stem of some delicate plant or grass which falls beneath the sickle of the mower on Mount Kagu in Heaven, or, as it may better be understood, on the Heavenly Mount Kagu [in Yamato]. "Gourd-shaped "is the translation of hisa-kata no or hisa-gata no, the Pillow-Word for "heaven." Its meaning is disputed, but Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words" and Motowori agree in giving to it the sense here adopted (see the above-mentioned paper "On the Use of Pillow-Words, etc.," p. 81).

^267:4 The total sense of this Song is quite plain.--In the first lines of it the Prince is addressed as if he were the reigning sovereign. The words placide administrationem faciens represent the Japanese yasumishishi, the Pillow-Word for wa ga oho-kimi, "my great lord." Elsewhere the English rendering "who tranquilly carries on the government" has been adopted. The word aratama no,

rendered by the Adjective renovatis, is the Pillow-Word for "sun," "moon" and "year," and is of not quite certain import. The interpretation here adopted has, however, for it the weight of probability and of native authority, Mabuchi in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words "deriving it from the Verb aratamaru, "to be renewed."

^267:5 [p. 269] The characters in the text might also be rendered "he made a progress," as they are those only properly applied to the movements of a reigning sovereign. Here and elsewhere, they are used in speaking of Yamato-take. (Conf. Sect. LXXX, Note 5.)

^267:6 On the frontier of Afumi (Omi) and Mince Ibuki seems to signify "blowing," in allusion, it is said, to the pestilential breath or influence of the god by whom the place was tenanted. The word rendered "Mount "is supplied by the editor of 1687.

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[p. 269]

[SECT. LXXXVIII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XIII.--YAMATO-TAKE MEETS THE DEITY OF MOUNT IBUKI).]

Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, I will simply take him empty-handed." [*1]--and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull. [*2] Then he lifted up words, [*3] and said: "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity. [*4] Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"--and [so saying.] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain [*5] to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity, [*6] but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting up of words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take. [*6]]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kuro-be [*7] and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat. [*8] So that fresh spring is called by the name of the fresh spring of Wi-same.

Footnotes

^269:1 [p. 269] I.e., without weapons, and specially without the magic sword which he had left behind in Princess Miyazu's house.

^269:2 Or "ox," or "cow," the original word not distinguishing between the sexes.

^269:3 [p. 270] The Japanese expression kota-age shite, here rendered "lifted up. words," very frequently has the signification of "lifting up a prayer" to some superhuman being. In this passage, however, it conveys no more than its proper etymological meaning.

^269:4 Viz., the god of Mount Ibuki.

^269:5 Perhaps "hail" may be intended by this expression, and so Motowori decides. But this interpretation of the term seems to agree well with the Song in Sect. CXLII.

^269:6 The commentators disagree as to whether this note should or should not be considered to form part of the original text. Motowori so considers it. He however, in the opinion of the translator, is not happy in his alteration of the kana reading given by the editor of 1687, which latter has accordingly been followed in the English version.

^269:7 The literal meaning of this name is "jewel-store-tribe;" but complete uncertainty attaches both to the etymology of the word and to the position of the place. The first printed edition has Tama-kuhi-be.

^269:8 He had been misled and dazed, but now came to himself again. Thence, according to the etymology of our author, the name of Wi-same, which signifies "dwelling (resting) and awaking," given to the spring.

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[p. 270]

The title was omitted from the printed version I was working from. I have interpolated what I believe to be a plausible title--JBH

[SECT. LXXXIX. EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XIV.--THE DEATH OF YAMATO-TAKE).]

When he departed thence and reached the moor of [218] Tagi [*1] he said: "Whereas my heart always felt like flying through the sky, my legs are now unable to walk. They have become rudder-shaped." [*2] So that place was called by the name of Tagi. Owing to his being very weary with progressing a little further beyond that place, he leant upon an august staff to walk a little. So that place is called by the name of the Tsuwetsuki pass. [*3] On arriving at the single pine-tree on Cape Wotsu, [*4] an august sword, which he had forgotten at that place before when augustly eating, [*5] was still [there] not lost. Then he augustly sang, saying:

[p. 271]

"O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree that art on Cape Wotsu which directly faces Mohari! If thou, single pine-tree! wert a person, I would gird [my] sword [upon thee], I would clothe thee with [my] garments,--O mine elder brother, the single pine-tree!" [*6]

When he departed thence and reached the village of Mihe, [*7] he again said: "My legs are like three-fold crooks, [*8] and very weary." So that place was called by [219] the name of Mihe. When he departed thence and reached the moor of Nobe, [*9] he, regretting [*10] [his native] land, [*11] sang, saying:

"As for Yamato, the most secluded of lands--Yamato, retired behind Mount Awogaki encompassing it with its folds is delightful!" [*12]

Again he sang, saying:

"Let those whose life may be complete stick [in their hair] as a head-dress the leaves of the bear-oak from Mount Heguri,--those children!"

This song is a Land-Regretting Song. [*13] Again he sang, saying:

"How sweet! ah! from the direction of home clouds are rising and coming!"

This is an Incomplete Song. [*14] At this time, his august sickness was very urgent. Then, he sang augustly, saying:

"The sabre-sword which I placed at the maiden's bed-side, alas! that sword!" [*15]

As soon as he had finished singing, he died, Then a courier was despatched [to the Heavenly Sovereign.]

[p. 272] [p. 273]

Footnotes

^270:1 [p. 272] Tagi-nu. We might, following the Chinese characters, translate thus; "and arrived on the Moor of Tagi." But the character has in this context scarcely any meaning. The real etymology of Tagi (in classical and modern parlance taki without the nigori) is "rapid "or "waterfall," the cascade formed by the river Vo-ro in Mino being alluded to. The derivation in the next sentence of the text from tagishi supposed to mean "a rudder "is a mere fancy.

^270:2 The word here fended "rudder" is tagishi, which is written phonetically and does not occur elsewhere, except in a few Proper Names of doubtful import. There is however some probability in favour of the meaning assigned to it by the native commentators.

^270:3 Tzuwe-tsuki-zaka, i.e., "the pass of leaning on a staff." It is in the province of Ise between Yokaichi and Ishi-yakushi.

^270:4 Wotsu-no-saki, in the province of Ise. The name probably signifies " degrees harbour of the mountain declivity."

^270:5 The former portion of the text tells us nothing either of the meal or of the sword here mentioned.

^271:6 This quaintly simple and apparently very ancient poem needs no elucidation.

^271:7 In Ise. Mihe signifies "three fold."

^271:8 This is the literal rendering of the text. Motowori thinks, however, that we should understand that there were various swellings on his legs, such as would be produced if the limb were tightly tied round with cord in three places.

^271:9 Nobo-un in the province of Ise. The name seems to signify "the moor of mounting."

^271:10 The Chinese character here used signifies simply "thinking of;" but in such a context its common Japanese interpretation is "loving "or "regretting," and so Motowori means us to understand it when he reads shinukashite.

^271:11 Viz., Yamato.

^271:12 This Song and the two following form but one in the pages of the "Chronicles," where they appear with several verbal differences, and are attributed, not to the Prince, but to his father the Emperor. Moribe decides that in the latter particular the text of these "Records" gives the preferable account, but that the "Chronicles" are right in making the three Songs one continuous poem. The expression "this Song is a Land-Regretting Song" strongly supports this view; for, though we might also render in the Plural "these Songs are, etc.," such a translation would be less natural, as in similar cases the numeral is used, thus [p. 273] "these two Songs are, etc." The expression "this is an Incomplete Song "points as to some mutilation of the original document, from which the compiler of the "Records" copied this passage. Taking then the three Songs as one, the entire drift is that of a paean on Yamato, the poet's native land, which he could not hope ever to see again:--Commencing by praising its still seclusion as it lies there behind its barrier of protecting mountains, he goes on to mention the rural pleasures enjoyed by those who, wandering over the hill-sides, deck their hair with garlands of leaves and flowers. For himself indeed these delights are no more; "but," says he, "do you, ye children full of health and happiness, pursue your innocent enjoyment!" In conclusion he. lovingly apostrophises the clouds which, rising up from the south-west, are, as it were, messengers from home. The word mahoroha, rendered "secluded," is a great crux to the commentators, and Motowori's "Examination of the Synonyms of

Japan," pp. 17-18. and Moribe's "Idzu no Koto Waki," Vol. III, p. 31, should be consulted by the student desirous of forming his own opinion on the point. Another apparent difficulty is the word gomoreru, whose position in the sentence Motowori seems to have misunderstood. By following Moribe, and taking it as a compound with the word Awogaki-yama into Awogaki yama-gomoreru the difficulty vanishes, and we are likewise relieved from the necessity of supposing anything so highly improbable as that the Verb komoreru when not compounded, should have commenced with a nigori'ed syllable. "Complete "signifies "healthy." Mount Heguri is preceded in the original by tatamikomo (Moribe reads tatamigomo with the nigori) a Pillow-Word whose import is disputed. In any case, being a punning one, it cannot be translated. For the "bear-oak" see Sect. LXXII, Note 19. Moribe labours, but without success, to prove that "come," the last word of the translation, signifies "go," and imagines that the prince is expressing his envy of the clouds which are rising and going off in the direction of the home which he will never revisit.

^271:13 I.e., a Song of loving regret for his native land.

^271:14 "Incomplete Song" be understood as the designation of a poem of a certain number of lines, viz, three, and was probably given by comparison with the greater length of poetical compositions in general.

^271:15 This poem is an exclamation of distress at the thought of the sword which he had left with his mistress Princess Miyazu and which, if he had had it with him, would doubtless have preserved him from the evil influences of the god of Mount Ibuki, which were the beginning of [p. 274] his end.--" Sabre-sword" (no tachi) is a curious expression, which Moribe thinks means "double-edged sword."

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[p. 274]

[SECT. XC.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XV.--YAMATO-TAKE TURNS INTO A WHITE BIRD)]

Thereupon [his] Empresses [*1] and likewise [his] august [221] children, who dwelt in Yamato, all went down [*2] and built an august mausoleum, and, forthwith crawling hither and thither in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]. sobbed out a Song, saying:

"The Dioscorea quinqueloba crawling hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum] . . ." [*3]

Thereupon [the dead prince], turning into a white dotterel [*4] eight fathoms [long], and soaring up to Heaven, flew off towards the shore. Then the Empress and likewise the august children, though they tore their feet treading on the stubble of the bamboo-grass, forgot the pain, and pursued him with lamentations. At that time they sang, saying:

"Our loins are impeded in the plain [over-grown with] short bamboo-grass. We are not going through the sky, but oh! we are on foot." [*5]

[222] Again when they entered the salt sea, [*6] and suffered as they went, they sang, saying.

"As we go through the sea, our loins are impeded,--tottering in the sea like herbs growing in a great river-bed." [*7]

[p. 275]

Again when [the bird] flew and perched on the sea-side, they sang, saying:

"The dotterel of the beach goes not on the beach, but follows the seaside." [*8]

These four Songs were all sung at [Yamato-take's] august interment. So to the present day these Songs are sung at the great interment of a Heavenly Sovereign. So [the bird] flew off from that country, [*9] and stopped at Shiki in the land of Kafuchi. [*10] So they made an august mausoleum there, and laid [Yamato-take] to rest. [*11] that august mausoleum was called by the [223] name of the "August-Mausoleum of the White-Bird." [*12] Nevertheless the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away.

[p. 276]

Footnotes

^274:1 I.e., wives. It will be remembered that the historian habitually mentions Yamato-take as if he had been Emperor.

^274:2 Q.d., to the land of Ise.

^274:3 The drift of the Song is a comparison of the; helpless wanderings of the mourners in the neighbourhood of the tomb to the convolutions of the Dioscorea quinqueloba (a creeping plant) growing among the rice in the adjacent fields. But there are evidently some lines omitted. If we were to adopt the elegant verses conjecturally supplied by Moribe, the entire translation would run thus: "The Dioscorea quinqueloba crawl hither and thither among the rice-stubble, among the rice-stubble in the rice-fields encompassing [the mausoleum]; but though like it, we crawl hither and thither, and weep and speak to thee, thou answerest not a word."--Moribe supposes this poem to be the Empress's composition, and the following three to have proceeded from the children.

^274:4 As usual when the word chidori (defined as "any kind of dotterel, plover or sandpiper") is used, it is doubtful what bird is really intended. At the end of this Section we are told that the Mausoleum was called the Mausoleum of the White Bird ()." Specifically, however, these characters are used with their Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of haku-cho as the name of the swan. But as swans are nowhere else mentioned in these "Records "and as moreover their habits are not [p. 276] such as to accord with the legend here narrated, it will perhaps be safer to retain "dotterel "in the translation. "Heron "also has been suggested.

^274:5 The signification of this Song is: "It is easy enough for thee, thou bird-spirit! to fly through the air. But remember that we are on foot, and that our feet are getting torn by the short stubble of the bamboo-grass (Bambusa shino)."

^274:6 When the bird flew over the sea, they too waded after it through the waves.

^274:7 The signification of the Song is: "As we pursue thee through the sea, we sink in the waves up to our middles, and totter like the water-plants against "which strikes the current of a great river."--The word uwe-gusa, lit. "herbs planted," is curious; but it simply means "herbs growing," as in the translation (conf. our word "plant"). The latter part of the poem is in the original highly elliptical.

^275:8 The point of the Song seems to rest on a delicate distinction between the words hama, "beach "and iso, "seaside," which does not obtain in the later Japanese language any more than it does in English. Both hama and iso, "beach" and "seaside," denote the boundary-line between sea and land; but we must suppose with the commentators that while the former was used with special reference to the land, the latter considered the idea (so to speak) from the point of view of the sea. The import of the song is therefore to upbraid the bird for flying over the waves instead of flying along the adjacent shore.

^275:9 I.e., says Motowori, from Ise.

^275:10 Not to be confounded with the Shiki in Yamato, which is written with different phonetic character.

^275:11 The Verb used in the original is shizumeru, "to repress," "to quiet," "to lay," "to establish," hence "to build a temple to a god," "to worship." The grammatical vagueness of the Japanese language helps in all this passage to preserve the connection of ideas in a manner which it is difficult to render in an English translation. Using no pronouns, it does not require to specialise in each instance whether it is the bird that is meant, or Yamato-take, but the two are confounded together in language as they were in thought.

^275:12 Shira-tori no misasaki. According to the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," it was not only this tomb in Kafuchi, but the previously mentioned tomb at Nobonu, and also another in Yamato, which were severally known by this designation.

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[SECT. XCI.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XVI.--YAMATO-TAKE'S BUTLER).]

During all the time that this [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take went about pacifying countries, Nana-tsuka-hagi, [*1a] ancestor of the Suzerains of Kuna, [*2a] always followed and respectfully served him as butler.

Footnotes

^277:1a The name signifies "seven-grasp shins," implying that the worthy here mentioned was so big and strong as to have shins seven hand-breadths in length. For the use of the word "grasp "as a measure of length, see Sect. VIII, Note 1.

^277:2a This family has already been mentioned at the end of Sect. XXXIV, as descended from Ama-tsu-kume no Mikoto, one of the companions of the Emperor Jim-mu's grandfather on the occasion of his descent from Heaven. But see Note 7 to that Sect. for the probable mistake with regard to the origin of the name.

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[SECT. XCII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XVII.--YAMATO-TAKE'S DESCENDANTS).]

This [Prince] His Augustness Yamato-take wedded Her Augustness Princess Futaji-no-iri, [*1b] daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ikume, and begot an august child: His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [*2b] (one Deity). Again, wedding Her Augustness Princess Oto-tachibana [*3] who [afterwards] entered the sea, [*4] he begot an august child: King Waka-take [*5] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess [224] Futaji, [*6] daughter of Oho-tamu-wake, [*7] ancestor of the Rulers of the Land of Yasu in Chika-tsu-Afumi, [*8] he begot an august child: King Ine-yori-wake [*9] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess Oho-kibi-take, [*10] younger sister of Take-hiko [ancestor of the] Grandees of Kiki, [*11] he begot an

august child: King Take-kahiko [*12] (one Deity). Again, wedding Princess

Kukuma-mori of Yamashiro, [*13] he begot an august child, King Ashi-kagami-wake [*14] (one Deity). A child by another wife was King Okinaga-ta-wake. [*15] Altogether the entire [number] of the august children of His Augustness Yamato-take was six Deities. So His Augustness Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. The next, King Ine-yori-wake (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Inukami [*16] and of the Dukes of Takebe.) [*17] [225] The next, King Take-kahiko (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Aya in Sanugi, [*18] the Dukes of Wake in Iyo, [*19] the Lords of Towo, [*20] the Headmen of Masa [*21] and the Lords of Miyaji.) [*22] King Ashi-kagami-wake (was the ancestor of the Lords of Kamakura, [*23] the Dukes of Wodzu, [*24] the Lords of Ihashiro [*25] and the Lords of Fukita.) [*26] The child of the next, King Okinaga-ta-wake was King Kuhi-mata-naga-hiko. [*27] This King's children were: Her Augustness Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, [*28] next Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hime, [*29] next Oto-hime [*30] (three Deities). So the above mentioned King Waka-take wedded Princess Ihinu-ma-guro, [226] and begot King Sume-iro-oho-naka-tsu-hiko. [*31] This King wedded Princess Shibanu, [*32] daughter of Shibanu-iri-ki [*33] of Afumi, and begot a child, Her Augustness Princess Kaguro. [*34] So the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-tarashi-hiko wedded this [lady] Her Augustness Princess Kaguro, and begot King Oho-ye [*35] (one Deity). This King wedded his younger half-sister Queen Shiro-kane, [*36] and begot children: King Oho-na-gata, [*37] and next Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime [*38] (two Deities). So this [Lady] Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime was the august mother [*39] of King Kagosaka [*40] and King Oshikuma. [*41]

[p. 279] [p. 280]

Footnotes

^277:1b [p. 278] For this name see Sect. LXIX, Note 24.

^277:2b I.e., "the perfect middle prince," a name which is justified by [p. 279] the genealogy as given in the "Chronicles," where he is mentioned as the second of three sons borne by this princess.

^277:3 Oto-tachibana-hime no mikoto. Oto signifies "younger [sister]," and Oto-tachibana is the name of the orange.

^277:4 See the story in Sect. LXXXIV.

^277:5 Waka-tate no miko. This name signifies "young brave."

^277:6 Futaji-hime. Signification obscure. Futaji may be the name of a place.

^277:7 If Tamu is, as Motowori surmises, the name of a place, this personal name signifies "Great Lord of Tamu."

^277:8 Chika-tsu-Afumi no Yasu no kuni no miyatsuko. For Yasu see Sect. LXII, Note 62.

^277:9 Ine-yori-wake no miko. This name probably signifies "rice-good-lord."

^277:10 Oho-kibi-take-hime. Oho signifies "great." For the other two elements of the compound see next Note.

^277:11 The text has Kibi no omi Take-hiko, as if this worthy had been himself the "Grandee of Kibi." Motowori however compares the commencement of Sect. LXXXII (Notes 2 and 3), and supplies the words "ancestor of." Kibi is of course the province of that name (the modern, Bizen, Bitchiu, and Bingo), and take signifies "brave."

^278:12 Take-kahiko no miko. Take signifies "brave," kahiko is either "egg "or "cocoon," or else perhaps a corruption of some other word.

^278:13 Yamashiro no Kukuma mori-hime. This name is obscure. Motowori identifies

Kukuma with a place called Kurihuma, and mori is probably the Verb "to guard."

^278:14 Ashi-kagami-wake no miko. This name is written with characters signifying "foot-mirror-[lord]."

^278:15 Okinaga-ta-wake no miko. This name is obscure. Motowori believes Okinaga to be the name of a place in Afumi, but has no explanation to offer of ta.

^278:16 Inukami no kimi. Inukami is the name of a district in Afumi, Its signification is not clear.

^278:17 Takebi no kimi. Takebe became the name of a place in Idzumo, but it originally signified "brave tribe," the family having, as in so many other cases, given its name to the place of its residence, instead of being called after the latter. See the origin of the name, given in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXIV, pp. 35-36.

^278:18 Sanugi no Aya no kimi. For Sanugi see Sect. V, Note 6. Aya is a district in the province; the name is of doubtful origin.

^278:19 [p. 280] Iyo no wake no kani. For Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4. (The text here has Ise for Iyo, and the word wake is missing, but Motowori's emendation may be accepted). Wake is the name of a district in Iyo.

^278:20 Towo no wake. Of Towo nothing is known.

^278:21 Masa no obito. Of Masa nothing is known.

^278:22 Miyagi () no wake. This is Motowori's ingenious emendation of the characters in the text, , out of which it is impossible to make a name. Miyagi is the name of a place in the province of Mikaha, and signifies "temple road."

^278:23 Kamakura no wake. Kamakura is the name of a district in the province of Sagami, which became famous during the Middle Ages as the site of an immense town,--the capital of the Shogun, and the centre of the feudalism which then ruled Japan. The import of the name (literally "sickle-store") is not clear, though it has been fancifully explained by native etymologists.

^278:24 Wodzu no kimi. The words no kimi are supplied by Motowori, this name and the next being in the text run into one. Wodzu seems to be the name of a place in Afumi, and signifies "little mart."

^278:25 Ihashiro no wake. Motowori says that this Ihashiro is not the province of that name, but a place in Kishiu. The meaning of the name is obscure.

^278:26 Fukita no wake. This is but Motowori's conjectural restoration (founded on a statement in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages") of the name as given in the text, .

^278:27 Kuhimata-naga-hiko no miko. Kuhimata (modern Kumata) is the name of a place in Settsu. The signification is obscure. Naga-hiko means "long prince."

^278:28 Ihinu-ma-guro-hime, i.e., "quite black princess of Ihinu," the blackness being doubtless predicated of her hair. Ihinu is the name of a district in Ise, and is written with characters signifying "boiled-rice-moor."

^278:29 For Okinaga see Note 15. Ma-waka means "truly young." Naka-tsu-hime means "middle princess," referring to her being the second of three.

^278:30 I.e., "younger princess."

^278:31 See Sect. LXXVI, Note 29.

^278:32 Shibanu-hime. This name is obscure.

^278:33 Shibunu iri-ko. This name is obscure.

^278:34 Ka-gara hime, see Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

^278:35 [p. 281] For the confusion in this portion of the genealogy see Sect. LXXVI, Note 30.

^278:36 Shiro-kane no miko. Shiro-kane means "silver," but Motowori suspects corruption in the text.

^278:37 Oho-nagata no miko, i.e., "great prince of Nagata," the latter being the name of a place in Settsu, signifying "long rice-field."

^278:38 I.e., "great middle princess."

^278:39 Literally, "ancestress."

^278:40 Or, "the King of Kagosaka," for it is' uncertain whether Kagosaka should or should not be regarded as the name of a place. The etymology of the name may be kago, "a stag" and saka, "an ascent." The original form of the name and title is Kagosaka no miko.

^278:41 Or, "the King of Oshikuma," Oshikuma no miko. Oshikuma is a word of doubtful etymology.

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[p. 281]

[SECT. XCIII.--EMPEROR KEI-KO (PART XVIII. HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

This Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and thirty-seven, and his august mausoleum is above the Yamanobe road. [*1a]

Footnotes

^281:1a See Sect. LXVIII, Note 1.

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[SECT. XCIV.--EMPEROR SEI-MU.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Wata-tarashi-hiko dwelt at the palace of Taka-anaho at Shiga [*1b] in Chika-tsu-Afumi and ruled the empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded [227] the Lady Oho-takara, [*2] daughter of Take-oshiyama-tari-ne, [*3] ancestor of the Grandees of Hodzumi, [*4] and begot an august child: King Wata-nuke [*5] (one Deity). So [the

[p. 282]

[paragraph continues] Heavenly Sovereign] raised the Noble Take-uchi [*6] [to the office of] Prince Minister, [*7] deigned to settle the Rulers of the Great Countries and Small Countries, [*8] and likewise deigned to settle the boundaries of the various countries, as also the Department Lords of the Great Departments and Small Departments. [*9] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were ninety-five, and his august mausoleum is at Tatanami near Saki. [*10]

Footnotes

^281:1b Shiga no Taka-anaho. Shiga is the name of a well known district, and is of uncertain, signification, as is also Taka-anaho. For Chika-tsu-Afumi see Sect. XXIX, Note 20.

^281:2 Oto-takara no iratsume. Oto signifies "younger [sister]," and takara is "treasure."

^281:3 Oshiyama is the name of a place in Ise, take signifies "brave" and tari and ne are Honorifics of frequent occurrence.

^281:4 Hodzumi no omi. See Sect. LXI, Note 4.

^281:5 Waka-nuke no miko. This name is of doubtful signification, and Motowori suspects that it is corrupt, and that the true reading would be Waka-take, "young-brave."

^282:6 See Sect. LXI, Note 25.

^282:7 . Motowori tries to prove that in the earliest times this official title was simply an Honorific surname formed by prefixing the Adjective "great" to , a surname read "Omi" (the character signifies properly "attendant," "subject.") Probably like other "gentile names" it combined both characters, and had a tendency to become hereditary.

^282:8 Oho-kuni wo-kuni no kuni no miyatsuko.

^282:9 Oho-agata wo-agata no agata nushi (). Their duties are supposed to have consisted in supervising the government farms.

^282:10 For Saki see Sect. LXXV, Note 5. Tatanami may perhaps signify "putting shields in a row."

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[p. 283]

[SECT. XCV.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART I.--GENEALOGIES).]

The Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko dwelt at the palace of Toyora at Anado, [*1] and likewise at the palace of Kashihi [*2] in Tsukushi, and ruled the Empire. [328] This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Oho-naka-tsu-hime, [*3] daughter of King Oho-ye, and begot august children: King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma (two Deities). Again he wedded Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. This Empress [*4] gave birth to august children: His Augustness Homu-ya-wake, [*5] and next His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake, [*6] another name for whom was His Augustness Homuda-wake. [*7] The reason why this Heir Apparent [*8] was given the august name of His Augustness Oho-tomo-wake was that when first [*9] born, he had on his august arm [a protuberance of] flesh resembling an elbow-pad, [*10] whence the august name bestowed on him. By this it was known while he was in the womb that he would rule countries. [*11] In this august reign the granaries of Ahaji were established.

Footnotes

^283:1 [p. 283] For Anado see Sect. LXXX (Note 22). Toyora (for Toyo-ura) signifies "fertile shore."

^283:2 This name seems to be derived from that of the evergreen oak. It will be noticed that both these capitals are in the South-Western Island of Kiushiu,

whereas, from Jim-mu downwards, the capitals of all the Emperors previously mentioned are either in Yamato or in one of the adjacent central provinces.

^283:3 For this and the three following names see Sect. XCII, and for Okinaga tarashi Sect. LXII, Note 72.

^283:4 Written . It is she who is celebrated in Japanese history under the name of Jin-go Kogo, and in the "Chronicles" her reign is counted separately. In these "Records," however, the period of her rule is forming part of the reign of her son O-jin.

^283:5 The signification of this name is obscure.

^283:6 [p. 284] I.e., "great lord," tomo signifying "elbow pad." The next sentence of the text gives the traditional origin of this curious name.

^283:7 I.e., lord of Homuda. Homuda is supposed by Motowori and Moribe to be the name of a place, they (apparently with reason) rejecting as a late addition a note to the "Chronicles," which states that homuda was synonymous with tomo "elbow-pad."

^283:8 For "heir apparent "see Sect. XXXIII, Note 2.

^283:9 This word, says Motowori, is redundant.

^283:10 For the use of elbow-pads in war see Sect XIII, Note 7.

^283:11 The word rendered "rule" (shiru,) is supplied by the editor of 1687. Motowori supplies the evident lacuna in the text by the word "establish" (sadamaru); but this seems less good. Motowori's reasons for taking the word kuni ("country") in the Plural are, however, convincing,--the three countries into which Korea was anciently divided, and which are appropriately designated by the title of San Kan (), being evidently designated by the expression in the text, as may be seen both by reference to the parallel passage in the "Chronicles," and also by considering that in this manner that warlike implement the elbow-pad, with the semblance of which the young Emperor was born, obtains its proper significance. This Emperor (for it is he who is known as O-jin Ten-no) is sometimes designated by the name of the "Emperor in the Womb" ().

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[p. 284] [229]

[SECT. XCVI. EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART II.--THE POSSESSION OF KOREA DIVINELY PROMISED).]

This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time, [*1] divinely possessed. So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso, [*2] the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court, [*3] requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward,

[p. 285]

and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. [*4] I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea;" and saying, [*5] "They are lying Deities," [*6] he pushed away his august lute, did not play

on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!" [*7] Hereupon the Prince Minister the Noble Take-uchi said; "[I am filled with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign! [*8] Continue playing thy great [230] august lute." Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead.

Footnotes

^284:1 At what time, we are not told.

^284:2 See Sect. V, Note 17.

^284:3 This is Motowori's interpretation of the obscure original word sa-niha, which is written phonetically. He supposes it to have so called as being a place used for enquiring the will of the gods, and therefore kept clean and held in reverence. "Place" would perhaps represent the Japanese word niha as well as "court," though "court" has been its usual acceptation in later times.

^285:4 Literally, "making gold and silver the origin."

^285:5 Motowori tells us to understand "saying "in the sense of "thinking."

^285:6 As already frequently remarked, the Japanese mind does not occupy itself much with the distinction (to us all-important) of Singular and Plural. The reason why the translator renders the word kami by the Plural "Deities" throughout this passage is because we learn later on that four divine personages were intended by the author.

^285:7 [p. 286] With the commentators we must accept this as an alternative name of Hades, without being able satisfactorily to explain it. The expression "eighty road-windings" (yaso kumado) in Sect. XXXII (Note 27) may be compared with this one.

^285:8 I.e., "I tremble Sire, for the consequences of thine impiety."

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[p. 286]

[SECT. XCVII.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART III. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF KOREA).]

Then, astonished and alarmed, they set him in a mortuary palace, [*1] and again taking the country's great offerings, [*2] seeking out all sorts of crimes, such as flaying alive and flaying backwards, [*3] breaking down the divisions of rice-fields, filling up ditches, evacuating excrements and urine, marriages between superiors and inferiors, [*4] marriages with horses, marriages with cattle, marriages with fowls, and marriages with dogs, and having made a great purification of the land, [*5] the Noble Takeuchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: "Altogether this land is a land to be ruled over by the august child in Thine august womb." [*6] Then the Noble Take-uchi said, "[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities] The august child in this Deity's [231] womb, [*7] what [sort of] child may it be?" [The Deities] replied, saying: "It is a male child." Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: "I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose words have now thus instructed us." Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing [*8] of

[p. 287]

the Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing Male and Surface-Possessing-Male. [*9] (At this time the august names of these three great Deities were revealed. [*10]) If now thou truly thinkest to seek that land, thou must, after presenting the offerings [*11] to every one of the Heavenly Deities and Earthly Deities, [*12] and likewise of the Deities of the mountains and also of all the Deities of the river and of the sea, and setting our august spirits [*13] on the top of thy vessel, put into gourds [*14] the ashes of the podocarpus macrophylla tree, [*15] and likewise make a quantity of chopsticks and also of leaf platters, [*16] and must scatter [232] them all on the waves of the great sea, that thou mayest cross over." So when [she] punctually fulfilled these instructions, equipped an army, marshalled [her vessels, and crossed over, the fishes of the sea-plain, both great and small, all bore the august vessels [*17] across their backs, and a strong favourable wind arose, and the august vessel followed the billows.

[p. 288]

Footnotes

^286:1 [p. 287] A temporary resting-place for the corpse before interment. (See Sect. XXXI, Note 20.)

^286:2 Or, if, with Motowori, we take country in the Plural, "the great offerings of the countries," i.e., of the various countries or provinces of Japan or of Kiushiu. These "offerings" (nusa) are the same as those mentioned in Sect. XVI (Notes 24 and 25) under the names nigi-te and mitegura. They consisted of cloth, for which in later times paper has been substituted.

^286:3 There are different views as to the exact bearing of this curious expression. Conf. Sect. XV, Note 10.

^286:4 I.e., incest between parents and children.

^286:5 I.e., a general purification.

^286:6 The Deities now speak to, as well as through, the Empress. Before the quotation marks announcing their words we must understand some such clause as and they added this divine charge." It would [p. 288] also be possible to translate the whole passage thus: "Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel. was '[Things] being exactly as on the former day, altogether this land,'" etc., etc.

^286:7 I.e., in the Empress's womb. Motowori supposes that she is thus spoken of as a Deity on account of her being at that moment divinely possessed.

^286:8 Literally, "heart."

^287:9 Soko-dzu-tsu-no-wo, Naka-dzu-tsu-no wo, and Uha-dzu-tsu-no-wo three of the deities born at the time of the purification of Izanagi (the "Male-Who-Invites") on his return from Hades, and known collectively as the Deities of the Inlet of Sumi. (See Sect. X, Notes 18 and 22). The grammar of this sentence is, as Motowori remarks, not lucid. One would expect the author to say that it was "the august doing" of all the four deities mentioned.

^287:10 I.e., says Motowori, they then first informed Take-uchi who they were. Up in that time, it had not been known by what Deities the Empress was possessed. Mabuchi, however, rejected this gloss as a later additions.

^287:11 I.e., the sacred offerings of white and blue cloth.

^287:12 Here the Chinese locution , by some rendered "the Spirit of Heaven and Earth." Conf. Sect. I. Note II.

^287:13 Here, as before, the Singular would be at least as natural an interpretation as the Plural. The three ocean-deities are supposed to be specially referred to, and in that case, the three being easily conceived as one (like the deified peaches mentioned in Sect. IX, Note 19) owing to the want of discrimination in Japanese between Singular and Plural, we might retain the Singular in English. Altogether the Sun-goddess seems out of place in this passage, and it would be satisfactory to have some authority for expunging from it the mention of her name.

^287:14 Or, "into a gourd."

^287:15 In the original maki (). In modern ma-ki signifies the P. macrophylla, as in the translation. It is however uncertain whether that or the Chamaecyparis obtusa (both being conifers), or simply any "true" (i.e., good) tree is here intended by the author.

^287:16 I.e., broad shallow platters made of the oak-tree, and used for placing food on.

^287:17 Viz., that in which the Empress herself took passage.

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[p. 289]

[SECT. XCVIII.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART IV.--THE EMPRESS JIN-GO CONQUERS KOREA)]

So the wave [*1] of the august vessel pushed up onto the land of Shiragi [*2] reaching to the middle of the country. Thereupon the chieftain [*3] of the country, alarmed and trembling. petitioned [*4] [the Empress], saying: "From this time forward obedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I will feed his august horses and will marshal vessels every year, nor ever let the vessels' keels [*5] dry or their poles and oars dry, and will respectfully serve him without drawing back while heaven and earth shall last." [*6] So therefore the Land of [*7] was constituted the feeder of the august horses, and the Land of Kudara [133] was constituted the crossing store. [*8] Then the Empress stuck her august staff on the gate of the chieftain of Shiragi, and having made the Rough August Spirits [*9] of the Great Deities of the Inlet of Sumi [*10] the guardian Deities of the land, she laid them to rest, [*11] and crossed back. So while this business [*12] was yet unconcluded, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born. Forthwith, in order to restrain her august womb, she took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august skirt, [*13] and the august child was born after she had crossed [back] to the Land of Tsukushi. [*14] So the name by which the place was called where the [234] august child was born was Umi. [*15] Again the stone which she wound round her august skirt is at the village of Ito [*16] in the Land of Tsukushi.

[p. 290]

Footnotes

^289:1 [p. 289] I.e., "the wave on which the august vessel was riding."

^289:2 In Sinico-Japanese Shin ra (), one of the three states into which Korea was anciently divided, the other two being known in pure [p. 290] Japanese as Kudara and Koma (in Sinico-Japanese Hiyaku-sai and Korai). Shiragi is evidently a mere corruption of the Sinico-Japanese form, which closely resembles the native Korean Shin-la. The origin of the pure Japanese forms of the other

two names is obscure.

^289:3 The editions previous to Motowori's have "King" (instead of); but as the latter character is used in all parallel passages of this work, we must attribute the occurrence of the former in this single place to a copyist's error, and accuse the author rather than his commentator of the ill-natured degradation of the Korean King into a mere chieftain (more literally a "master").

^289:4 The character , which is here used, is that employed in speaking of a subject's addressing his sovereign.

^289:5 Literally "bellies."

^289:6 Literally, "with heaven and earth."

^289:7 See Note 2.

^289:8 I.e., the sea-store." The author means to say that from the Land of Kudara tribute was to be paid with the regularity implied by the King's asseveration to the effect that the keels, poles, and oars of the [tribute-bearing] vessels should never remain dry.

^289:9 Ara-mi-tama, the antithetical term to which is Nigi-mi-tama, '' Gentle August Spirit." We also find Saki-mi-tama and Kushi-mi-tama, which signify respectively "August Luck-Spirit "and "Wondrous August Spirit." In this passage it must be understood that the spirits which floated above the Imperial junk to protect it were the "Gentle August Spirits," while the "Rough August Spirits" presided at the Empress's feats of arms and kept the enemy in subjection. Motowori warns us not to fall into the mistake of supposing that the Rough and Gentle Spirits of a god were separate individualities, they being only, according to him, various manifestations of the same individuality. The student is advised to consult his beautifully written note on the subject of these spirits in Vol. XXX, pp. 72-76 of his Commentary.

^289:10 See Sect. X Note 22.

^289:11 Literally "established and worshipped." Motowori says that this mention of their being laid to rest is made with an implied reference to the journey on which the deities in question had accompanied the Imperial army. He also tries to prove that this laying to rest of the deities must have occurred after the return of the Empress to Japan, as it is not possible to suppose that the gods could find a home in a foreign land (!). But the wording of the text is against him

^289:12 [p. 291] Literally "government"

^289:13 I.e., as Motowori suggests, "she wrapped the stone up, and tied it into the waist of her skirt in something resembling a sash."

^289:14 In South-Western Japan.

^289:15 I.e., "bearing." The word, however, also signifies "sea." According to the "Chronicles" the original name of the village was Kada.

^289:16 This word signifies "thread," and would therefore, one might think, find a more appropriate place in I the legend next narrated, where the "threads "of the Empress's garment are specially mentioned.

[SECT. XCIX.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART V.--THE EMPRESS JIN-GO FISHES IN TSUKUSHI).]

Again when, having reached the village of Tamashima [*1] in the Department of Matsura [*2] in Tsukushi, she partook of an august meal on the bank of the river, it being then the first decade of the fourth moon, she then sat on a shoal [*3] in the middle of the river, picked out threads from her august skirt, used grains of rice as bait, and hooked the trout [*4] in the river. (The name by which the river is called is the Wo-gaha; [*5] again the name by which the shoal is called is Kachi-do-hime. [*6]) So down to the present time it is an uninterrupted [custom] for women in the first decade of the fourth moon to pick out threads from their skirts, use grains as bait, and hook trout.

Footnotes

^291:1 [p. 291] I.e.. "jewel-island."

^291:2 Matsura-gata. The "Chronicles" give an absurd derivation of Matsura from the Adjective medzurashi, "astonishing," which the Empress is supposed to have ejaculated on finding a trout hooked to her line! The obvious etymology is matsu-ura, "pine-beach."

^291:3 The character in the original is (for), in Japanese iso, which may or may not be connected with the word ishi, "stone." In any case Motowori is not justified in saying that it must be understood to mean [p. 292] "stone "in this place, as iso means rather a sandy than a stony place, rising above the water level.

^291:4 In Japanese ayu, a small species of the salmon family (Plecoglossus altivelis).

^291:5 I.e., "little river."

^291:6 I.e., "princess of the gate of victory." But though the words lend themselves to this interpretation, it can hardly be supposed that such is their real etymology, and indeed the editor of 1687 draws attention in a Note to the difficulty of accepting the statement in the text.

[SECT. C.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART VI.--THE EMPRESS JIN-GO SUBDUES YAMATO).]

Hereupon, when Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi was returning up to Yamato, she, owing to doubts concerning the disposition [*1] of the people, prepared a mourning-vessel, [*2] set the august child in that mourning-vessel, and let a report ooze out that the august child was already dead. While she went up thus, King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma, [*3] having heard [of the circumstance], thought to waylay [*4] her, went forth to the moor of Toga, [*5] and hunted for an omen. Then King Kagosaka climbed up an oak-tree, [*6] and then [*7] a large and angry boar came forth, dug up the oak-tree, and forthwith devoured King Kagosaka. His younger brother, King Oshikuma, undaunted by this circumstance, raised an army and lay in wait [for the Empress], to close with the mourning-vessel as being an empty [*8] vessel. Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel, [*9] and joined in combat [with the opposing forces]. At this time King Oshikuma made the Noble Isahi, [*10] ancestor of [236] the Kishi Clan of Naniha, [*11] his generalissimo; [*12] and on

the august side of the Heir Apparent His Augustness Naniha-ne-ko-take-furu-kuma, [*13] ancestor of the Grandees of Wani, [*14] was made generalissimo. So when [the Empress's troops] had driven [King Oshikuma's troops] as far as Yamashiro, [the latter] turned and made a stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating. Then His Augustness Take-furu-kuma planned, and caused it to be said that, as Her Augustness Okinaga-tarashi was already dead, there was no need for further fighting,--forthwith snapping his bowstrings and feigning submission. Therefore King Oshikuma's generalissimo, believing the falsehood, unbent his bows and put away his arms. Then [the Empress's troops] picked out of their topknots some prepared bowstrings (one name [of the bowstrings] was usa-yu-dzuru; [*15]) stretched [their bows] again, and pursued and smote [the enemy]. So [these] fled away to Afusaka, [*16] rallied, and fought again. Then [the Empress's troops] pursued on, and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami. [*17] Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea, and sang, saying:

"Come on, my lord! rather than be stricken [237] by Furu-kuma's hurtful hand, I will plunge like the grebe into the Sea of Afumi,--I will!" [*18]

Forthwith they plunged into the sea, and died together.

[p. 294]

Footnotes

^292:1 [p. 293] Literally, "the hearts."

^292:2 I.e., a boat or junk containing a coffin. We might also (adopting the interpretation given by the older editors to the character in this passage) translate by "specially prepared a mourning-vessel."

^292:3 These two princes, who are first mentioned at the end of Sect. [p. 294] XCII (Notes 40 and 41), were. according to the story, elder sons of the late monarch Chiu-ai, and therefore step-sons of the Empress Jingo and half-brothers to the young Emperor O-jin.

^292:4 Literally, "wait for and catch." This "catch" is always taken by Motowori to mean "slay."

^292:5 Taga-nu. It was in the province of Settsu. The etymology of the name is obscure.

^292:6 The species mentioned in the text the Quercus serrata.

^292:7 Motowori's conjecture that the character , "then," is a copyist's error for , "saw "or "looked," seems hardly called for, and the translator has therefore not departed from the traditional reading.

^292:8 I.e., defenceless, not filled with troops.

^292:9 Which of course was in reality no mourning-vessel, but full of the soldiers who had just returned from conquering Korea.

^292:10 Isahi no Sakune. Isahi or Isachi is supposed to mean "leading elder."

^292:11 Naniha no Kishi be. Naniha is the old name of the sea and river-shore on which I now stands the town of Ohosaka. The name Kishi is said by Motowori to be properly a Korean official designation (), but it is one whose origin is to be sought in China.

^292:12 , Shogun. This is the earliest mention of this office, which, passing from the military to the political sphere, played such a great part in the

mediaeval and modern history of Japan.

^293:13 The signification of all the elements of this compound name is not clear, but it is partly Honorific and descriptive of the bravery of its bearer.

^293:14 Wani no omi (see Sect. LXII, Note 11).

^293:15 The text is here somewhat obscure, and the note in small print is of doubtful authenticity. If we retain it, we must understand it to mean that usa-yu-dzuru, a term whose derivation is by no means clear, was an alternative name of the make dzuru, i.e., "prepared bowstrings," such as they had brought them concealed in their top-knots.

^293:16 I.e., "the pass [or hill] of meeting." It was on the boundaries of the provinces of Yamashiro and Afumi. The modern pronunciation is Osaka (not to be confounded with the like-sounding name of a well-known town in Central Japan).

^293:17 I.e., in Afumi. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," explains this name to mean "bamboo-grass bending." Motowori, following the Shim-puku-ji MS., alters the character before the word Sasanami to , but without sufficient warrant.

^293:18 [p. 295] The meaning of the poem is. "Rather than fall beneath the attacks of the enemy, let us drown ourselves in the Sea of Afumi'' (Lake Biwa).--For the expression "stricken by a hurtful hand "see Sect. XLIV, Note 33.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 295]

[SECT. CI.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART VIII.--THE HEIR APPARENT EXCHANGES NAMES WITH THE GREAT DEITY IZASA-WAKE).]

So when His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, taking with him the Heir Apparent for the purpose of purification, [*1] passed through the lands of Afumi and Wakasa, [*2] he built a temporary palace at Tsunuga [*3] at the mouth of the Road of Koshi [*4] [for the Heir Apparent] to dwell in. Then His Augustness the Great Deity Izasa-wake, [*5] who dwelt in that place, appeared at night in a dream, [*6] and said: "I wish to exchange my name for the august name of the august child." Then [the dreamer of the dream] prayed, saying: "[I] am filled with awe! [*7] The name shall be respectfully exchanged according to thy command." Again the Deity charged [him, saying]: "To-morrow morning [the Heir Apparent] must go out on the beach; I will present my [thank] offering for the name [given me] in exchange." So when [the Heir Apparent] went out in the morning to the beach, the [238] whole shore was lined with broken-nosed dolphin-fishes. [*8] Thereupon the august child caused the Deity to be addressed, saying: "Thou bestowest on me fish of thine august food." [*9] So again his august name was by his being called the Great Deity of August Food. [*10]" So he is now styled the Food-Wondrous-Great-Deity. [*11]

[p. 296]

[paragraph continues] Again the blood from the noses of the dolphin-fishes stank. So the strand was called by the name of Chiura. [*12] it is now styled Tsunuga.

Footnotes

^295:1 Viz., by water, as described in Sect. X.

^295:2 Etymology obscure.

^295:3 The marvellous etymology of this name which the author seems to adopt will be found at the end of the Section (Note 12). The compiler of the "Chronicles "is probably nearer the truth when he derives it from tsunu-ga, "horned stag."

^295:4 For the meaning of this curious expression see Sect. LX, Note 20.

^295:5 The commentators give no explanation of this one of the three names of the deity in question. It would appear to be made up of a word expressive of solicitation and of a portion of the Heir Apparent 's name, thus signifying perhaps "Come on, Wake, [give me thy name] "with reference to the legend here narrated.

^295:6 To which of the two personages of the legend is not clear. Motowori, however, prefers to suppose that it was to Take-uchi, as, if the prince himself were intended, the word "dream "would probably receive the Honorific .

^295:7 Or, "I reverence [thy commands]."

^295:8 Motowori supposes that they were caught by being speared in the nose.

^295:9 I.e., "fish that would naturally have formed part of thine august food," is less good to translate by "fish for mine august food." As usual, the original Japanese text has no Personal Pronouns to guide the reader; but, though Emperors are sometimes made to use the Honorific in speaking of themselves, this is not the custom in the case of princes' and O-jin is supposed to have not yet assumed the Imperial dignity.

^295:10 Mi-ke-tsu-oho-kami. Motowori mentions several Deities of this name, who were, according to him, separate beings.

^295:11 Kehi no oho-kami. The meaning of the syllable hi, rendered by "wondrous "in accordance with Motowori's suggestion, is not certain.

^296:12 I.e., "the strand of blood." From chi-ura Motowori is obliged to derive Tsunuga as well as he can in order not to throw discredit on the implied assertion of the author: that the latter is but a mispronunciation of the former. The true derivation of Tsunuga is probably from tsunuga "horned stag," as already stated in Note 3.

[SECT. CII.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART VIII.--THE EMPRESS JIN-GO PRESENTS LIQUOR TO THE HEIR APPARENT).]

Hereupon, when the [Heir Apparent] returned up [to the Capital], his august parent, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi. distilled some waiting-liquor, [*1] and presented it to him. Then his august parent sang augustly, saying:

"This august liquor is not my august liquor;--oh! it is august liquor respectfully brought as a divine congratulation, a repeated congratulation, a bountiful congratulation, a reiterated congratulation by the Small August Deity, who dwells eternally, [239] firmly standing. Partake not shallowly! Go on! go on!" [*2]

Having thus sung, she presented to him the great august liquor. Then His Augustness the Noble Takeuchi replied for the august child and sang, saying:

"Whatever person distilled this august liquor must surely have distilled it singing the while with that drum on the mortar,--must surely have distilled it dancing the while, for this august liquor, august liquor, to be ever more and more joyful. Go on! go on!" [*3]

These are Drinking Songs. [*4]

Footnotes

^297:1 [p. 297] Machi-sake. This expression, which recurs in the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves," signifies liquor distilled for an absent friend by those who are awaiting his return.

^297:2 The General signification of the Song is: "Think not that this liquor was made by me. 'Tis a present from the small August Deity (Suku-na-biko-no), who dwells forever in unshaken power and who sends [p. 298] it to thee with endless congratulation. Come on! come on! drink deeply!"--Some of the expressions in this Song are a subject of debate among the commentators. Excepting the clause "partake not shallowly," in which the translator has adopted the opinion of the author of the "Explanation of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," Moribe's interpretation has been followed throughout. The latter critic would identify asazu ("not slowly") with amasazu ("without leaving anything"). But there seems no warrant for supposing such an elision of the syllable sa. The use of the expression karuhoshi and motohoshi to express reiteration is worthy of notice. It will be remembered that the Deity mentioned was the microscopic personage who came riding over the waves to share the sovereignty of Idzumo with the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (see Sect. XXVII).

^297:3 This Song signifies; "Such a joyful feast must surely have been preceded by a joyful distilling of the liquor for it. Continue to drink, oh Prince!"--The commentators disagree on the subject of one or two of the words of this Song, in which the translator has followed Motowori's interpretation throughout. The words "that drum" are the chief difficulty. Motowori supposes that drums, being originally unknown in Japan, were first seen by the Japanese on the occasion of the conquest of Korea in this very reign, and he thinks that the drum would be placed by the side of the mortar during the pounding of the rice out of which the liquor was to be made. "That drum" means the drum belonging to the pounder of the rice. The original words so no, "that," might also be rendered by "his."

^297:4 Literally, "liquor-rejoicing songs."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 298] [240]

[SECT. CIII.--EMPEROR CHIU-AI (PART IX.--HIS DEATH AND THAT OF THE EMPRESS JIN-GO).]

Altogether the august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Tarashi-naka-tsu-hiko [*1] were fifty-two. His august mausoleum is at Nagaye, [*2] near Wega, [*3] in Kafuchi. (The Empress died at the august age of one hundred. She was buried in the mausoleum of Tatanami in Saki. [*4])

Footnotes

^298:1 [p. 298] The Emperor Chiu-ai. The author of these "Records "not recognizing, [p. 299] as does the author of the "Chronicles," the time during which the Empress Jin-go held sway as a separate reign, Chiu-ai is by fiction supposed to have reigned down to the moment his posthumous son O-jin mounted the throne after the conquest of Korea and of Yamato.

^298:2 I.e. "long branch," or perhaps "long inlet.

^298:3 Etymology obscure.

^298:4 Mabuchi and Motowori seem right in supposing the sentence in small type to be an addition to the text, copied from the "Chronicles." But as all the MSS. and printed editions previous to Motowori's contain it, it has been retained in the translation.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 299]

[SECT. CIV.--EMPEROR O-JIN [*1] (PART 1.--GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Homuda-wake dwelt at the palace of Akira at Karushima, [*2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded three [*3] queens, daughters of King Homuda-no-Ma-waka, [*4] the name of one of whom was Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri; [*5] of the next, Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime; [*6] and of the next, Her Augustness Oto-hime. [*7] (The father of these Queens, King Homuda-no-ma-Waka, was the son of His Augustness Prince Iho-ki-noiri, [*8] by his [241] wife Shiritsuki-tome, [*9] daughter of the Noble Take-inada, [*10] ancestor of the Chiefs of Wohari.) [*11] So the august children of Her Augustness Princess Takagi-no-iri were: His Augustness Nakuta-no-oho-waka-tsu-hiko; [*12] next His Augustness Oho-yama-mori; [*13] next His Augustness Iza-no-ma-waka; [*14] next his younger sister the Lady of Ohohara; [*15] next the Lady of Komuku. [*16] (Five Deities). The august children of Her Augustness Naka-tsu-hime were: the Lady of Arata in Ki; [*17] next His Augustness Oho-sazaki; [*18] next His Augustness Netori. [*19] (Three Deities). The august [242] children of Her Augustness Oto-hime were: the Lady Abe; [*20] next the Lady of Mihara in Ahaji; [*21] next

[p. 300]

the Lady of Unu in Ki; [*22] next the Lady of Minu [*23] (five Deities). [*24] Again he wedded the Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye, [*25]daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, and begot august children: Uji-no-waki-iratsuko; [*26] next his younger sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume; [*27] next Queen Medori. [*28] (Three). Again he wedded Wo-nabe-no-iratsume, [*29] younger sister of Yakaha-ye-hime, and begot an august child: Uji-no-iratsume. [*30] (one Deity). Again he wedded Okinaga-ma-waka-naka-tsu-hima," [*31] daughter of King Kuhimata-naga-hiko, [*32] and begot an august child: King Waka-nuke-futa-mata [*33] (one Deity). Again he wedded the Princess of Itowi, [*34] daughter of Shima-tari-ne, [*35] ancestor [243] of the Agricultural Chiefs of Sakurawi, [*36] and begot an august child; His Augustness Hayabusa-wake [*37] (one Deity). Again, he wedded Naga-hime of Idzumi in Himuka, [*38] and begot august children: King Oho-haye, [*39] next King Wo-haye; [*40] next Hata-bi-no-waki-iratsume [*41] (three Deities). Again he wedded Princess Ka-guro, [*42] and begot august children: Kaha-rada-no-iratsume; [*43] next, Tama-no-iratsume, [*44] next, Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime; [*45] next, Toho-hi-no-iratsume; [*46] next, King Kataji [*47] (five Deities). Again, he wedded Nu-iro-me of Kadzuraki, [*48] and begot an august [244] child: King Iza-no-ma-waka, [*49] (one Deity). The august children of this Heavenly Sovereign [numbered] altogether twenty-six (eleven Kings and fifteen Queens). Of these His Augustness Oho-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

[p. 301] [p. 302]

Footnotes

^299:1 Son of the Emperor Chiu-ai and the Empress Jin-go.

^299:2 In Yamato. Akira Signifies "brilliant." seems to mean "the neighbourhood of Karu, Karu being the often mentioned place of that name in Yamato.

^299:3 The Auxiliary Numeral for deities is here used.

^299:4 [p. 301] Homuda-no-ma-waka no miko. Homuda has already been met with as the came of a place in Kahachi. Ma-waka signifies "truly young." The name might therefore be rendered "truly young king of Homuda."

^299:5 Takagi no iri-bime no mikoto. Motowori identifies this princess with the Takaki-hime of Sect. LXXVI, Note 21.

^299:6 I.e., "middle princess," she being the second of three sisters.

^299:7 I.e., "younger princess," she being the youngest of the sisters.

^299:8 I-ho-ki-no-iri-biko no mikoto. See Sect. LXXVI, Note 12.

^299:9 I.e., probably "old woman of Shiritsuki." But it is not certain that Shiritsuki is the name of a place.

^299:10 Take-inada no sukune. In the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages" the name is written Take-ina-dane, and it may therefore mean "brave-rice-seed."

^299:11 Wohari no murazhi.

^299:12 I.e., "great middle Prince of Nukata," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. It is of uncertain signification.

^299:13 I.e., "great mountain-warden." For the appropriateness of this name conf. Sect. CV.

^299:14 The same name has appeared in Sect. LXIII, Note 13.

^299:15 Ohohara no iratsume. is the name of a place in Yamato It signifies "great moor."

^299:16 Komuku no iratsume. This name is written and its reading as Komuku is somewhat . It is the name of a place in Kahachi, and probably signifies "an overflowing pool of water."

^299:17 Ki no Arata no iratsume. Ki is the of that name, and Arata is a place in it. The latter name probably means "uncultivated fields."

^299:18 This name signifies "Great Wren," and is thus accounted for by the author of the "Chronicles": "On the day when the Emperor [this Prince became the Emperor Nin-toku] was born, an owl flew into the parturition-hall. Next morning early, the Heavenly Sovereign Homuda [i.e., the Emperor O-jin] sent for the Prime Minister, the Noble Takeuchi, and asked him whereof this might be a sign. The Prime Minister replied, saying: 'It is a good omen. Moreover yesterday, when thy servant's wife was delivered of a child, a wren flew into the parturition-house, likewise a strange thing.' Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: 'It is a portent from heaven that my child and thine should be born on the same day, and both be attended by a good omen. So let the names of the birds be taken,' and each used for the name of the other [i.e., [p. 302] the name of the owl for him into whose parturition-house the wren flew, and vice-versa], as a covenant for the future.' So the wren's name was bestowed on the Heir Apparent, who was called Great-Wren Prince, and the owl's name was give Ito the Prime Minister's child. who was called the Noble Owl."

^299:19 This name is obscure.

^299:20 Abe no iratsume. Abe is the name of several places in different provinces, and is of obscure derivation and import.

^299:21 Ahaji no Mikara no iratsume. The text properly has Ayuchi, but Motowori emends this to Ahaji on the authority of the "Chronicles."' Mihara is the name of a district in the island of Ahaji, and probably signifies "three moors."

^300:22 Ki no Unu iratsume. Ki is the province of that name, and Unu a place in it. The latter name is of uncertain import.

^300:23 Minu no iratsume. Minu (Mino) is the province of that name.

^300:24 "Five" must here be a mistake for "four."

^300:25 For this name and the next see Sect. CVI, Notes 5 and 4.

^300:26 I.e., "the young lord of Uji." Uji is the name of a district in Yamashiro, famous in classical and modern times for its tea. The etymology is obscure.

^300:27 I.e., "the young lady of Yata." Yata is the name of a place in Yamato. The etymology is obscure.

^300:28 Medori no miko. Medori signifies "hen-bird:" but the reason for the application of so strange a name to this princess, whose fortunes are related at some length in Sect. CXXVI and CXXVII, does not appear. A similar remark applies to the next name.

^300:29 I.e., probably "the lady of the little kettle."

^300:30 I.e., "the young lady of Uji."

^300:31 I.e., "the truly young middle princess of Okinaga."

^300:32 See Sect. XCII, Note 27.

^300:33 Waka-muke-futa-mata no miko. This name is obscure.

^300:34 Itowi-hime. Itowi is the name of a place in Yamato, and is of uncertain origin.

^300:35 Shima is probably the name of a place, while tari and ne are the frequently recurring Honorifics rendered respectively "perfect" and "lord "in former parts of this translation.

^300:36 Sakurawi no ta-be no murazhi. Ta-be, rendered "agricultural," is literally "rice-field tribe." Sakurawi ("cherry well") is the name of a place in Kahachi.

^300:37 I.e., falcon-lord.

^300:38 [p. 303] Himuka no Idzumi no Naga-hime. Himuka is the name of a province, and Idzumi that of a district now comprised within .the limits of Satsuma. Nagahime, literally "long princess," probably signifies "elder princess."

^300:39 Oho-haye no miko. Signification obscure.

^300:40 Wo-haye no miko. Signification obscure. The antithesis of the Adjectives oho and wo ("great" and "small") shows however that the names partly served to distinguish the elder from the younger brother.

^300:41 Waki-iratsume is "younger lady." Hata-bi is incomprehensible.

^300:42 See Sect. LXXVI, Note 28.

^300:43 I.e., probably "the lady of Kaharada." The latter name (literally "rice-field on the border of a river") is often met with.

^300:44 I.e., "the jewel lady."

^300:45 I.e., "the great middle lady of Osaka," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato (see Sect. XLVIII, Note 1).

^300:46 Motowori identifies this name with that Koto-fushi no iratsume in Sect. CXVII, q.v., and thinks that both this and the preceding name have only crept into this Section by mistake.

^300:47 Kataji no miko, Signification obscure,

^300:48 Kadzuraki no Nu-iro-me. All the elements of this name have already been met with several times.

^300:49 This child has already appeared early in this Section, and the name is here doubtless only repeated through some copyist's error.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 303]

[SECT. CV.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART II.--HE DIVIDES THE INHERITANCE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS)]

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign asked His Augustness Oho-yama-mori and His Augustness Oho-sazaki, saying: "Which think ye the dearer, an elder child or a younger child?" (The reason why the Heavenly Sovereign propounded this question was because it was his intention [*1] to make Uji-no-waki-iratsuko rule the Empire). Then His Augustness Oho-yama-mori said: "The elder child is the dearer." Next His Augustness Oho-sazaki, knowing the august

[p. 304]

feeling which made the Heavenly Sovereign deign to ask [the question], said: "The elder child, having already become a man, gives no trouble; but the younger child, not being yet a man, is the dearer." Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "My lord Sazaki's words agree with my thoughts," and forthwith ordained the division [of the inheritance] thus: His Augustness Oho-yama-mori to administer the government of the mountains and the sea, [*2a] His Augustness Oho-sazaki to take and deign to report on the government of the realm, [*3] and Uji-no waki-iratsuko to rule the succession of Heaven's sun. [*4] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki was not disobedient to the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. [*5]

Footnotes

^303:1 [p. 304] Literally, "heart."

^304:2a I.e., Motowori thinks, to have control over the guilds of foresters and fishermen.

^304:3 I.e., to act as regent or minister.

^304:4 I.e., to inherit the empire.--It will be remembered that the Japanese Emperors claim to descend from the Sun-Goddess.

^304:5 This statement refers proleptically to the contrary course which was taken by the elder Oho-yama-mori.

SECT. CVI.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART III.--HE WOOES PRINCESS MIYA-NUSHI-YA-KAHA-YE).]

One day [*1] the Heavenly Sovereign, when he had crossed over into the land of Afumi, augustly stood on the moor of Uji, gazed on the moor of Kadzu, and sang, saying: [245]

"As I look on the Moor of Kadzu in Chiba. both the hundred thousand-fold abundant house-places are visible, and the land's acme is visible." [*2b]

[p. 305]

So when he reached the village of Kohara, [*3] a beautiful maiden met him at a fork in the road, Then the Heavenly Sovereign asked the maiden, saying: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "I am the daughter of the Grandee Wani-no-Hifure, [*4] and my name is Princess Miya-nushi-ya-kaha-ye." [*5] The Heavenly Sovereign forthwith said to the maiden: "When I return on my progress to-morrow, I will enter into thy house." So Princess Ya-kaha-ye told her father all that [had happened]. Thereupon her father replied, saying: "Ah! it was the Heavenly Sovereign! [His commands are] to be respected. My child, respectfully serve him!"--and so saying he grandly decorated the house, and awaited [the Heaven ly Sovereign's return], whereupon he came in on the next day. [*6] So when [the father] served [the Heavenly Sovereign] a great august feast, he made his daughter Her Augustness [*7] Princess Ya-kaha take the great august [246] liquor-cup and present it. Thereupon, while taking the great liquor-cup, the Heavenly Sovereign augustly sang, saying:

"Oh this crab! whence this crab? [It is] a crab from far-distant Tsunuga. Whither reaches its sideward motion? [It has] come towards Ichiji-shima and Mi-shima. It must be because, plunging and breathless like the grebe, I went without stopping along the up and down road by the wavelets, that the maiden I met on the Kohata road has a back oh! like a small shield, a row of teeth like acorns. Oh! the earth of the Wani pass at Ichihiwi! Owing to the skin of the first earth being ruddy, to the last [p. 306] earth being of a reddish black, she, without exposing to the actual sun that makes one bend one's head the middle earth like three chestnuts, draws thickly down her drawn eye-brows;--the women I met, the child I saw and wanted in this way, the child I saw and wanted in that way, oh! she is opposite to me at the height of the feast! oh! she is at my side!" [*8]

[247] Ita auguste coivit [cum illa], et procreavit filium Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.

[p. 307]

Footnotes

^304:1 Literally, "one time."

^304:2b According to Moribe, whose interpretation has been followed throughout, this Song signifies: "As I gaze across from Uji to the Moor of Toba, I see the numerous and prosperous homesteads of the people, I see the most fertile portion of the country."--On this view Chiba is identified with Toba, the name of a district; and the word ho, rendered "acme," is taken to mean the best, highest, most showy part of anything. For Motowori's opinion, which is that of the older commentators as well, that chi-ba is a Pillow-Word, there is much to be said, and if we followed it, we should have to render the first two lines thus: "As I look on the thousand-leafed pueraria-moor," etc. (kadzu signifying "pueraria.") Motowori's explanation of momo-chi-dare (here rendered by "hundred thousand-fold abundant") as referring to the soot of the peasant's roofs, and of ho as signifying "a plain surrounded by mountains "seems much less good than Moribe's

interpretation of those difficult expressions.

^305:3 In the district of Uji in the province of Yamashiro. The characters with which the name is written signify "tree-flag."

^305:4 Wani no Hifure no omi. For Wani no omi see Sect. LXII, Note 11. The meaning of Hifure is obscure.

^305:5 Miya-nushi ya-kata-hime. Miya-nushi is "priestess," or more literally "temple-guardian." For the rest of the name see Sect. XXVI, Note 14, though the personages are of course meant to be different.

^305:6 I.e., that day having passed by, the Emperor came on the next day according to his promise.

^305:7 Motowori supposes with apparent reason that the character , [p. 307] "Augustness," has only crept into the text through the attraction of the following character , "made," which it resembles in appearance.

^306:8 It must be understood that in this Song the Imperial singer commences by referring to what doubtless formed part of the feast,--a crab,--and thence passes on by an imperceptible transition to allude to his own adventure with the maiden. As the crab when alive walked sideways, so was the Emperor zigzagging up and down the road that lines the shore of Lake Biwa, pursuing his breathless course like that of the busy grebe that perpetually plunges into the water, when the maiden met him near Kohata. Beautiful indeed was she: her back straight as a shield, her teeth like a row of acorns, and the artificial eye-brows painted a dark colour on her forehead drawn low down in a perfect crescent-shape. She had been careful in selecting the clay to make the paint, rejecting the upper layer of earth, for that was of too bright a red, rejecting likewise the lower layer, for that was too dark, but taking the middle, which was of the correct blue tint, and drying it, not in the fierce, but in a mildly tempered, sun-light. And now this maiden, for whom his heart had been panting and turning this way and that ever since the previous day, is actually seated opposite to him, nay! at his very side, and he is feasting in her sweet company.--Tsunuga is the name of a place in the province of Echizen. "Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt at rendering the force of the Pillow-Word momo-dzutafu, which implies that the traveller must pass through a hundred other places before reaching his destination. "Whither reaches its sideward motion?" signifies "whither is it going with its sideward motion? "Ichiji-shima and Mishima are places of which nothing is known, so that the allusion to them is obscure. At this point Motowori's interpretation diverges from that of Moribe, which has been followed throughout. Sasanami, here rendered "wavelets," is taken by him, as by the older commentators, as the name of a place, and the description of the maiden's teeth is misunderstood to signify that she had a beak filled with a row of teeth like the water-caltrop! Motowori also would here divide the Song in two, a proceeding for which there is not sufficient warrant. On other minor points, too, his decisions do not seem so happy as Moribe's. The view of both commentators will be found at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXII, pp. 33.51, and in Moribe's "Idzu no Kato-Waki," in loco. Three chestnuts" (mitsu-guri no) is a common Pillow-Word for naka, "middle," founded on the fact, real or supposed, that one burr always contains three nuts, whereof one of course is in the middle, between the other two.

[p. 308]

[SECT. CVII.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART IV.--HE GRANTS PRINCESS KAMINAGA TO HIS SON OHO-SAZAKI).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the beauty of Princess Kaminaga, [*1] daughter of the Duke of Muragata [*2] in the land of Himuka, and thinking to employ her [*3] sent down for her, [*4] whereupon the Heir Apparent [*5] His Augustness Oho-sazaki, having seen the maiden land at [248] the port of Naniha, and being charmed with the grace of her appearance, forthwith directed the Prince Minister the Noble Taka-uchi, to intercede for him in the august presence of the Heavenly Sovereign, and make [the latter] grant to him Princess Kami-naga, whom he had sent down for. Then on the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi requesting the great commands, [*6] the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith granted Princess Kami-naga to his august child. The way he granted her was this:--the Heavenly Sovereign, on a day when he partook of a copious feast, [*7] gave Princess Kami-naga the great august liquor oak-[leaf [*8]] to present to the Heir Apparent. Then he augustly sang, saying:

"Come on, children! oh! the fragrant flowering orange-tree on my way as I go to pluck the wild garlic,--to pluck the garlic,--has its uppermost branches withered by birds perching on them, and its lowest branches withered through people plucking from them. But the budding fruit on the middle branch, like three chestnuts,--the ruddy maiden, oh! if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good, oh!' [*9]

[249] Again he augustly sang, saying:

"Driving the dyke-piles into Lake Yosami [p. 309] where the water collects, my heart (ignorant of the pricking of the stumps of the water-caltrop, ignorant of the creeping of the roots of the Brasenia peltata), being more and more laughable, is now indeed repentant." [*10]

Having thus sung, he bestowed [her on the Heir Apparent]. So after having been granted the maiden, the Heir Apparent sang, saying:

"Oh! the maiden of Kohada in the back of the road! though I heard of her like the thunder, we mutually intertwine [our arms] as pillows." [*11]

Again he sang saying":

"I think lovingly ah! of how the maiden [250] of Kohada in the back of the road sleeps [with me] without disputing" [*12]

[p. 310]

Footnotes

^308:1 Kami-naga-hime. The name signifies "the long-haired princess."

^308:2 Murakata no kami. Murakata seems to signify "many towns."

^308:3 I.e., wed her.

^308:4 Literally, "summoned her up." The same phrase occurs immediately below.

^308:5 . Mabuchi thinks that , "august child," should be substituted for the reading in the text. But Motowori insists that the title translated Heir Apparent was anciently borne by all the sons of an Emperor, and that consequently no emendation is called for.

^308:6 I.e., the Emperor's orders.

^308:7 The native term translated "copious feast" is toyo no akari, variously written with the characters , , , etc., etc. It literally signifies "copious brightness," in allusion to the ruddy glow which wine gives to the faces of the revellers, and henceforward perpetually recurs in this history. In later times

it specifically denoted the festival of, the tasting of the first rice, but anciently its meaning was not thus limited. Motowori's note on the subject, in Vol. XXXII, pp. 57-59 of his Commentary, may be consulted with advantage.

^308:8 I.e., an oak-leaf which was used as a cup to sip out of. Leaf-platters [p. 310] for food have already been mentioned. Motowori says that the word kashika (properly the name of a deciduous oak, the Quercus dentata) was employed to denote any kind of leaf thus used.

^308:9 The whole gist of this Song is contained in the last three lines. "The ruddy maiden, oh if thou lead her off with thee, it will be good,"--i.e. "thou and the maiden, will form a fitting couple." All that goes before is what is technically called a "Preface," though its bearing is so clear as to admit of translation, and even in English to form an appropriate introduction to the Song:--It is not the stinking garlic, but the fragrant orange that the singer has met by the way, and it is the choicest young fruit in the very middle of the tree that forms a suitable comparison for the lovely young girl.--With the favourite allusion to upper, middle, and lower the reader is already familiar, and the Pillow-Word "three chestnuts" was explained in the note on the Song (Sect. CVI, Note 8).

^309:10 The gist of the Song is: "I knew not that thou, my son, hadst conceived a secret passion for the maiden; but I am now conscious of my own mistake, and my foolish old heart is ashamed of itself." With this explanation the elaborate comparison between the state of the monarch's mind and the condition of the peasant driving piles for the foundation of a dyke, and having his feet either lacerated by the stumps of the water-caltrop, or made slimy by brushing against the roots of the Brasenia peltata at the bottom of the water, becomes intelligible and appropriate.--The word kuri, rendered "roots," perplexed Motowori, who suggests that it may be but a second name of the Brasenia, appended to the first; but Moribe's suggestion that it is to be identified with kori, and taken in the signification of "roots" though not quite convincing, is at least more plausible. The text of this Song is corrupt in these "Records" and has to be corrected by a comparison with that of the "Chronicles." Moribe goes into an amusing ecstasy over the picture of ancient manners which it presents, and lauds the simplicity of days when a father and son could so peacefully woo the same maiden without mutual concealment or disastrous consequences!

^309:11 The meaning of this Song is: "At first I heard of the maiden of Kohada in the furthest parts of Himuka as one hears the distant thunder; but now she is mine, and we sleep locked in each other's arms."--This Kohada in Himuka must not be confounded with the Kohata in Yamashiro mentioned in the preceding Section. The "back of the road" means the remotest portion (conf. Sect. LX, Note 20). The thunder must be understood to refer to a very faint and distant [p. 311] sound: the Prince had first heard of the maiden vaguely, but now she is his and has been his for some time; for this Song must be supposed to have been composed after the occasion of the feast with the story of which it is here connected.

^309:12 The meaning of this Song is: "I love this maiden of Kohada in Himuka, who disputed not my desire and my father's grant, but willingly became my wife."--It is hard to render into English the force of the string of Particles wo shi zo mo in the penultimate line.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 311]

[SECT. CVIII.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART V.--SONGS OF THE TERRITORIAL OWNERS OF YESHINU).]

Again, the Territorial Owners of Yeshinu, [*1] seeing the august sword which was

girded on His Augustness Oho sazaki, sang, saying:

"Sharp is the beginning, freezing is the end of the sword girded on Oho-sazaki, Oho, sazaki, the solar august child of Homuda,--[it is] chilly, chilly like the trees beneath the trunks of the winter trees." [*2]

Again, having made a cross-mortar [*3] at Kashifu [*4] in [251] Yeshinu, and having in that cross-mortar distilled [*5] some great august liquor, they, when they presented the great august liquor [to the Heavenly Sovereign], sang as follows, drumming with their mouths:

"We have made a side-mortar at Kashinofu, and in the side-mortar we have distilled some great august liquor, which do thou sweetly partake of, oh our lord!" [*6]

This Song is one which it is the custom to chant down to the present day when, from time to time, the Territorial Owners present a great feast [to the Sovereign].

Footnotes

^311:1 [p. 312] Yeshinu is the modern Yoshino, in the province of Yamato (see Sect. XLVI, Note 3). For the title of kudzu see Sect. XLVI, Note 13, where it also occurs in connection with Yeshinu.

^311:2 According to Moribe, whose interpretation seems best to the translator. the signification of this difficult poem is: "The sword worn by Prince Oho-sazaki, son of the Emperor Homuda (O-jin) is double-edged at its upper part, and like glistening ice towards its point;--oh! 'tis like the icicles on the plants that cluster about the trunks of the dead trees in winter!" Almost every line, however (excepting those giving the name and title of the Prince), is a subject of controversy, and the "Go-Gan Sho" in loco and Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 2-5, should be consulted for Keichiu's, Mabuchi's and Motowori's views on the disputed point.--The expression "solar august child" signifies "sun-descended prince," in allusion to the supposed descent of the Japanese monarchs from the Sun-Goddess.

^311:3 Yoko-usu or yokusu (). It is not plain what sort of mortar the author intended to designate by this term. Motowori supposes it to mean a broad flat mortar in contradistinction to a high and narrow one. view, which he quotes, to the effect that it was a mortar that had been carved out of the, block against the grain of the wood, seems an equally good guess, where all is guess-work.

^311:4 In the Song this same name is read Kashinofu; but the commentators tell us that the Genitive Particle no ("of") is simply inserted for the sake of rhythm, and it is not unlikely that they are right. The name seems to signify "[a place where] oak-trees grow."

^311:5 See Sect. XVIII, Note 16. The character , rendered by "distil" or "brew," according to the view which one may take of the resulting liquor, would seem to be here used in the sense of "to pound."

^311:6 In this simple Song the Territorial Owners of Yoshino beg the Monarch to deign to partake of the sake which they have made.

[p. 312]

[SECT. CIX.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART VI.--VARIOUS DEEDS)]

In this august reign were graciously established the Fisher Tribe, [*1] the Mountain Tribe, [*2] the Mountain Warden Tribe, [*3] and the Ise Tribe. [*4] Again the Pool of Tsurugi was made. Again there came over [to Japan] some

[p. 313]

people from Shiragi. Therefore His Augustness the Noble Take-uchi, having taken them with him and set them to labour on pools and embankments, made the Pool of Kudara. [*5a]

Footnotes

^312:1 [p. 313] Ama-be (written and read Una-be in the Old Printed Edition and in the edition of 1687, and perhaps better rendered "Sea-Tribe.") The name of this guild or clan does not seem to have remained, like the two mentioned together with it, as a "gentile name."

^312:2 Yama-be. Motowori thinks that this word has crept into the text erroneously through the influence of that next mentioned, as the functions of the tribes or guilds thus separately named were identical The differentiation may have taken place after the terms had come to be used as "gentile names."

^312:3 Yama-moribe.

^312:4 Ise-be. Nothing is known of this tribe or guild.

^313:5a Doubtless so named after the Korean labourers employed upon it,--Kudara and Shiragi, as different parts of the same peninsula, being confounded in thought.

[SECT. CX.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART VIII.--TRIBUTE FROM KOREA).]

Again King Sho-ko, [*1] the Chieftain of the land of Kudara, sent as tribute by Achi-kishi [*2] one stallion and one mare. (This Achi-kishi was the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes. [*3]) Again he sent as tribute a cross-sword, [*4] and likewise a large mirror. Again he was graciously bidden [*5b] to send as tribute a wise man, if there were any such in the land of Kudara. Therefore receiving the [Imperial] commands, he sent as tribute a man named Wani-kishi, [*6] and likewise by this man he sent as tribute the Confucian Analects [*7] in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay [*8] in one volume,--altogether eleven volumes.

[p. 314]

[paragraph continues] [253] (This Wani-kishi was the ancestor of the Fumi Grandees.) [*9] Again he sent as tribute two artisans,--a smith from Kara named Taku-so [*10] and a weaver from Go [*11] named Sai-so. [*12]

Footnotes

^313:1 [p. 314] , according to the Japanese kana spelling, Sen-ko.

^313:2 . Other forms of the name are Ajiki and Atogi, and all three are but attempts at transcribing phonetically into Japanese a Korean name, the proper characters for which are not given. is not properly part of the name, but is simply an official title (here stands for).

^313:3 Achiki no fumi-bito, Pumi-bito (abbreviated to Fubito) became a "gentile name."

^313:4 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

^313:5b Q.d., by the Japanese Emperor.

^313:6 Here written phonetically , but properly, , i.e. "the Official Wang In." He is generally spoken of simply as Wani.

^313:7 . ("Lun Yu," or to the Japanese pronunciation "Rongo.")

^313:8 . ("Chien Tzu Wen," or according to the Japanese pronunciation "Sen ji-mun.") See the translator's remarks on this subject in the Introduction, <page xliii>. The "Chronicles" more prudently mention only "various classics."

^314:9 Fumi no obito. Fumi signifies "any written document," so that this "gentile name "is equivalent to our word "scribe."

^314:10 The transliteration of this, as of all other such names here occurring, is the Sinico-Japanese transliteration. Kara (Korea) is written .

^314:11 (Wu, Jap. Go), one of the states into which China was divided during the third century of our era. A draper's shop is still called go-fuku-ya, i.e., "Wu-garment-house "in memory of the introduction of wearing apparel from that country.

^314:12 .

[SECT. CXI.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART VIII.--THE EMPEROR INTOXICATED).]

Again there came over [to Japan] the ancestor of the Hada Rulers, [*1] the ancestor of the Aya Suzerains, [*2] and likewise a man who knew how to distil liquor, and whose name was Nim-pan, [*3] while another name for him was Susukori. [*4] So this [man] Susukori distilled some great august liquor, and presented it to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, excited with the great august liquor that had been presented to him augustly sang, saying:

"I have become intoxicated with the august liquor distilled by Susukori. I have become intoxicated with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor." [*5]

On his walking out singing thus, he hit with his [254] august staff a large stone in the middle of the Ohosaka [*6] road, upon which the stone ran away. So the proverb says: "Hard stones get out of a drunkard's way."

Footnotes

^315:1 [p. 315] Hada na miyatsuko, , a "gentile name." Hada is the native Japanese word used as the equivalent of the Chinese name , Ch'in. Its origin is uncertain.

^315:2 Aya no ataha , a "gentile name." The use of Aya to represent the Chinese name , Han, is as difficult to account for as is that of Hada mentioned in the preceding Note.

^315:3 . Another and more Japanese-like reading, Niho, is invented by Motowori; but the older editors read Nim-pan according to the usual Sinico-Japanese sound

of the characters. The modern Korean reading would be In-pon.

^315:4 Written phonetically .

^315:5 Thus translated, this Song is too clear to need any explanation. The lines, however, which are rendered by "with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor."--in Japanese koto nagu shi we-guzhi-ni,--are in reality extremely obscure, and Moribe understands them to signify, "Oh! [p. 316] how difficult it is for me to speak! Oh! how ill at ease I am!" In order to do so he has, however, to change and add to the text; and the translator, though not sure of being in the right path, has preferred to follow Motowori, whose interpretation, without requiring any such extreme measures, yet gives a very plausible sense.

^315:6 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25.

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[p. 316]

[SECT. CXII.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART IX.--TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED HIS DECEASE)]

So after the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, His Augustness Ohosazaki, in conformity with the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, ceded the Empire to Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. Thereupon His Augustness Ohoyama-mori, disobeying the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, and anxious in spite thereof to obtain the Empire, had the design to slay the Prince [*1] his younger brother, secretly raised an army, and prepared to attack him. Then His Augustness Oho-sazaki, hearing that his elder brother had prepared an army, forthwith despatched a messenger to apprise Uji-no-waki-iratsuko. So, startled at the news, [the latter] set troops in ambush by the river-bank, and likewise, after having drawn a fence of curtains and raised a tent on the top of the hill, placed there publicly on a throne [*2] one of his retainers to pretend that he was the King, [*3] the manner in which all the officials [*4] reverentially went and came being just like that [usual] in the King's presence. And moreover, preparing for the time [255] when the King his elder brother [*5] should cross the river, he arranged and decorated a boat and oars, and moreover [*6] ground [in a mortar] the root of the Kadzura japonica, and having taken the slime of its juice, rubbed

[p. 317]

therewith the grating [*7] inside the boat, so as to make any who should tread on it fall down, and then himself [*8] put on a cloth coat and trowsers, and having assumed the appearance of a common fellow, stood in the boat holding the oar. Hereupon, when the King his elder brother, having hid his troops in ambush and put on armour beneath his clothes, reached the river-bank and was about to get into the boat, he gazed at the grandly decorated place [on the hill], thought the King his younger brother was sitting on the throne, being altogether ignorant [of the fact] that he was standing in the boat holding the oar, and forthwith asked the fellow who was holding the oar, saying: "It has been reported to me that on this mountain there is a large and angry boar. I wish to take that boar. Shall I peradventure get that boar? "Then the fellow holding the oar replied, saying: "Thou canst not." Again he asked, saying: "For what reason?" [The boat-man] answered, saying: "He is not to be got, however often and in however many places he be chased. Wherefore I say that thou canst not [catch him either]. "When they had crossed as far as the middle of the river, [Prince Uji-no-waki-iratsuko] caused the boat to be tilted over, and [his elder brother] to fall into the water. [*9] Then forthwith he rose to the surface, and floated down with the current. Forthwith, as he floated, he sang, saying:

"Whoever is swiftest among the boatmen of the Uji ferry will come to me."' [*10]

Thereupon the troops that had been hidden on the [256] river-bank rose up simultaneously on this side and on that side, and fixing their arrows [in their bows], let him go floating down. So he sank on reaching Kawara

[p. 318]

[paragraph continues] Point. [*11] So on their searching with hooks [*12] the place where he had sunk, [the hooks] struck on the armour inside his clothes, and made a rattling sound. [*13] So the place was called by the name of Kawara Point. Then when they hooked up [*14] his bones, the younger King, sang saying:

"Catalpa bow, Evonymus standing by the ferry-bank of Uji! My heart had thought to cut [you], my heart had thought to take [you]; but at the base methought of the lord, at the extremity methought of the younger sister; grievously methought of this, sorrowfully methought of, that; and I came [back] without cutting it,--the Catalpa bow, the Evonymus." [*15]

[257] So the bones of His Augustness Oho-yama-mori were buried on the Nara [*16] mountain. His Augustness Oho-yama-mori (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Hijikata, [*17] the Dukes of Heki, [*18] and the Dukes of Harihara. [*19])

[p. 319]

Footnotes

^316:1 [p. 318] . This is the only passage in the work where this expression occurs. Uji-no-waki-iratsuko is the personage thus designated.

^316:2 The same expression has been in Sect. XXXI (near Note 16) rendered "couch." The characters in the original are or .

^316:3 I.e., Uji-na-maki-iratsuko.

^316:4 The Chinese phrase , "the hundred officials," is here used.

^316:5 Q.d., his Augustness Oho-yama-mori.

^316:6 The text has the character , which, in combination with the preceding words "oars" gives the sense of "oarsman," "boatman." But Motowori reasonably suggests that it is an error for , the grass hand forms of the two characters closely resembling each other, and making much better sense; for who would talk of "decorating an oarsman"?

^317:7 A bamboo grating.

^317:8 Literally "that king's son."

^317:9 It must be understood that Uji-no-waki-iratsuko and his men. [p. 319] having planned to act thus, were on their guard, and did not fall into the water as did Oho-yama-mori, who was taken unawares.

^317:10 This is Motowori's view of the meaning of the Song, which he interprets as a request for help to some friendly boatman. Moribe adopts quite a different view, and thinks that the drowning prince is rather giving vent to sentiments of pride and defiance. He says (speaking in the Prince's name): "It is not that I have been capsized out of the boat into the river. but that I am swimming off after a pole which has fallen into the water. If there be any strong and willing fellows among my partizans, let them swim after me." It must be explained that the word rendered "boatmen" in the translation is literally "pole-takers" (or, according to Moribe's view, "to take a pole.") Motowori's interpretation seems to do less violence to the wording of the original, and Moribe's has not even the merit of accounting for the use of the Future komu where the Imperative kone would be what we should naturally expect.--Uji is preceded by the, in this

context, untranslatable Pillow-Word chihayaburu (see "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," s.v.).

^318:11 Kawara no saki. The author, in the next sentence, derives this name from the rattling sound made by the books as they struck on the armour. But there seems a great deal to be said in favour of Arawi Hakuseki's view that kawara is an old word itself signifying "armour."

^318:12 The word kagi here used occurs elsewhere to denote the hooks employed for fastening doors, and in later times took the specific meaning of "key."

^318:13 Literally, "sounded kawara."

^318:14 The text has the characters . But Motowori says that stands for , and that we must interpret the passage to mean that they scratched [about to find] and take out [his corpse].

^318:15 The signification of this Song is: "I came here meaning to kill thee as I might cut down and kill that Catalpa tree, that Evonymus, growing on the river-bank. But the thought of our father and of thy sister (or wife) touched me with pity, and I return without having drawn my bow at thee."--Uji is preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word chihayahito (see Dictionary of Pillow-Words" s.v.;--Motowori reads it chihaya-hito without the nigori).--The words adzusa-yumi ma-yumi, here respectively rendered "Catalpa bow "and "Evonymus," are difficult, and the doubt as to whether we should understand the prince to be speaking simply of the trees, or to intend likewise to allude to his bow which was made of the wood of one of those trees, is probably not to be settled, as the in question have always oscillated between the two [p. 320] meanings, and here evidently contain a double allusion. Motowori thinks that the first of the two forms only a sort of Pillow-Word for the second.--The word rendered "bank," in accordance with Moribe's suggestion, is literally "reach."--No special importance must be attached to the expressions "base" (or "main part") and "extremity," though they may doubtless be thought to allude to the father and sister, the recollection of whom softened the victorious younger brother's heart. The word iranakeku, rendered "grievously," is of not quite certain interpretation.--It must be understood that though, by overturning the boat, Uji-no-waki-iratsuko did constructively cause Oho-yama-mori's death, he did not actually shoot at and slay him when in the water, but followed down the river-side lamenting over what had happened.--This Song is singled out by Moribe for special praise.

^318:16 See Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

^318:17 Tohotafumi (Totomi). In the original Hijikata no kimi.

^318:18 Heki na kimi. Of Heki nothing is known,

^318:19 Harihara no kimi. In Tohotafumi. Harihara signifies "alder plantation."

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[p. 320]

[SECT. CXIII.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART X.--PRINCES OHO-SAZAKI AND UJI-NO-WAKI-IRATSUKO CEDE THE EMPIRE TO EACH OTHER)]

Thereupon while the two Deities [*1] His Augustness Oho-sazaki and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko were, each of them, ceding the Empire to the other, [*2] a fisherman [*3] came with a great feast as tribute. [*4] So they each resigned it to the other. So the elder brother refused it, and caused [258] it to be offered to the younger brother, and the younger brother refused it, and caused it to be offered

to the elder brother, during which mutual cedings many days elapsed. As such mutual ceding took place not [only] once or twice, the fisherman wept from the fatigue of going backwards and forwards. So the proverb says:

[p. 321]

[paragraph continues] "Ah! the fisherman weeps on account of his own things." [*5a] Meanwhile Uji-no-waki-iratsuko died early. [*6] So His Augustness Oho-sazaki did rule the Empire.

Footnotes

^320:1 It is not actually the word kami, "deity," that is here used in the original, but hashira, which is the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

^320:2 Neither being willing to accept the Imperial dignity.

^320:3 Or, "some fishermen," and similarly in the Plural throughout.

^320:4 I.e., came to present fish to His Majesty.

^321:5a Motowori is probably right in saying that the point of this proverb lies in the consideration that, whereas people in general weep for that which they have not, this fisherman wept on account of the trouble which was caused to him by the fish which he had.

^321:6 Or, "died first," The use in this place of the character , properly confined to the meaning of the "death of an Emperor," is remarkable. See Motowori's observations on the point in Vol. XXXIII, pp. 78-80.

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[SECT. CXIV.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART XI.--AMA-NO-HI-BOKO CROSSES OVER TO JAPAN)]

Moreover of old there had been [a man] called by the name of Ama-no-hi-boko, [*1] child of the ruler of the land of Shiragi. This person crossed over here [to Japan]. The reason of his crossing over here was [this]: In the land of Shiragi there was a certain lagoon, [*2] called by the name of the Agu Lagoon. [*3] On the bank of this lagoon [*4] a certain poor girl was [taking her] midday sleep. Tunc solis radii, coelesti arcui similes, in privatas partes impegerunt. Again there was a certain poor man, [259] who, thinking this occurrence [*5b] strange, constantly watched the woman's behaviour. So the woman, having conceived from the time of that midday sleep, gave birth to

[p. 322]

a red jewel. Then the poor man who had watched her begged [to be allowed] to take the jewel, and kept it constantly wrapped up by his side. [*6] This person, having planted a rice-field in a valley, [*7] had loaded a cow [*8] with food for the labourers, and was getting into the middle of the valley, when he met the ruler's son, Ama-no-hi-boko, who thereupon asked him, saying: "Why enterest thou the valley with a load of food upon a cow? Thou wilt surely kill this cow and eat her." Forthwith he seized the man and was about to put him into prison, when the man replied, saying: "I was not going to kill the cow. I was simply taking food to the people in the fields." But still [the ruler's child] would not let him go. 'Then he undid the jewel [which hung] at his side, and [therewith] bribed [the ruler's child]. So [the latter] let the poor man go, brought the jewel [home], and placed it beside his couch. Forthwith it was trans-formed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded, and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child [grew] proud in his

heart, and reviled his wife. But the woman said: "I am not a woman who ought to be the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my ancestors;"--and forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat, and fled away across here [to Japan], and landed [*9] at Naniha. [*10] (This is the deity called Princess Akaru, [*11] who dwells in the shrine of Hime-goso [*12] at Naniha.) Thereupon Ame-no-hi-boko, hearing [260] of his wife's flight, forthwith pursued her across hither, and was about to arrive at Naniha, when the Deity of the passage [*13] prevented his entrance. So he went back again, and landed in the country of Tajima. [*14]

Footnotes

^321:1 [p. 323] Or, according to Motowori's reading, Ame no-hi boko. The characters in the next, signify "heavenly sun-spear." But the homonymous characters , with which the name is written in the "Gleanings from Ancient Story," and which are approved of both by Motowori and by Tanigaha Shisei. signify "fisherman's chamaecyparis spear."

^321:2 Apparently nothing more is meant than that there was "a lagoon;" but still the one () in this context is curious, and Motowori retains it as hito-tsu no in the Japanese reading. "A certain" seems best to render its force in English, as again in the following sentences, where Motowori interprets it by the character . It is of strangely frequent recurrence in the opening sentences of this Section, which are altogether peculiar in style.

^321:3 Agu-numa. The meaning of this name is unknown.

^321:4 The Old Printed Edition has the word "mud" instead of "lagoon."

^321:5b Literally, "this appearance."

^322:6 Literally, "attached to his loins."

^322:7 The words rendered "in a valley "are in the text , of which the commentators find it difficult to make proper Japanese. The translator has followed them in neglecting the character , "mountain."

^322:8 Or bull, or bullock; for Japanese does not distinguish Genders.

^322:9 Literally, "stopped."

^322:10 See Sect. XLIV, Note 26.

^322:11 Akaru-hime, i.e., "Brilliant Princess."

^322:12 The signification of this name is obscure. Motowori identifies the place with the modern Kodzu ().

^322:13 I.e., the water-god of the sea near Naniha.

^322:14 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

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[p. 323]

[SECT. CXV.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART XII.--DESCENDANTS OF AMA-NO-HI-BOKO, AND TREASURES BROUGHT BY HIM.)]

Forthwith staying in that country, he wedded Saki-tsu-mi, [*1] daughter of Tajima-no-matawo, [*2] and begot a child: Tajima-morosuku. [*3] The latter's child was Tajima-hi-ne. [*4] The latter's child was Tajima-hinaraki. [*5] The

[p. 324]

latter's children were Tajima-mori, [*6] next Tajima-hitaka, [*7] next Kiyo-hiko [*8] (three Deities). [*9] This Kiyo-hiko wedded Tagima-no-mehi, [*10] and begot children: Suga-no-morowo, [*11] next his younger sister Suga-kama-yura-domi. [*12] So the above mentioned Tajima-hitaka wedded his niece Yura-domi, and begot a child: Her Augustness Princess Takanuka of Kadzuraki. [*13] (This was the august parent [*14] of Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi.) So the things which Ama-no-hi-boko brought over here, and which were called the "precious treasures," [*15] were: two strings of pearls: [*16] likewise a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, and a wind-cutting scarf; [*17] likewise a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore, [*18]--eight articles in all. (These are the Eight Great Deities of Idzushi.) [*19]

[p. 325]

Footnotes

^323:1 [p. 324] This name may mean "lucky ears," or "possessor of luck;" but it is obscure, and is moreover in the ''Chronicles" (where it is given as the name, not of the daughter, but of the father) read Mahe-tsu-mi,--a reading which, will not bear either of these interpretations.

^323:2 Matawo seems to signify "complete (i.e., healthy or vigorous) male." Observe that the word Tajima enters into the designations of most of his descendants.

^323:3 In the "Chronicles" Morosuke, and elsewhere Morosugi. The etymology of these names is obscure except that of the last-mentioned, which signifies "many cryptomerias."

^323:4 Hi-ne may perhaps signify "wondrous lord."

^323:5 The meaning of this name is obscure, but that of Hina-rashi-hime in Sect. XXVI (Note 19) may be compared.

^324:6 See Sect. LXXIV, Note 1.

^324:7 Hi-taka may either "sun-height" or "wondrous height."

^324:8 This name signifies "pure prince."

^324:9 As usual, it is not the actual word Deity that is used, but the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities.

^324:10 Tagima is the name of a place, not to be confounded with the province of Tajima. The signification of mehi is quite obscure.

^324:11 Suga may either be the name of place in Tajima, as proposed[p. 325] by Motowori, or identical with the Suga of Sect. XIX. The meaning of Morowo is obscure.

^324:12 The signification of this name is obscure. But Suga, Kama, and Yura are apparently the names of places.

^324:13 Kadzuraki no Taka-nuka-hime. Kadzuraki is the name of a department, and Takanuka that of a place in that department, in the province of Yamato.

^324:14 Literally, "ancestress." But see Sect. XXII, Note 4. It will be remembered that Okinaga-tarashi-hime was the Empress Jin-go.

^324:15 Literally, "treasures of jewels."

^324:16 Or, "beads."

^324:17 I.e., a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind. Conf. the magic scarfs mentioned hear the beginning of Sect. XXIII, by waving which the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (Oho-kuni-nushi) kept off the snakes, the wasps and the centipedes.

^324:18 This seems to be the signification of the original terms oki tsu kagami and hi tsu kagami, but we are not hereby helped to a very clear understanding of the nature of the articles which the author to describe. The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" tells us of a "sun, mirror." Indeed it enumerates the "eight precious treasures" in a manner that diverges a great deal from the account given in these "Records."

^324:19 Or, the "Eight-fold Great Deity." As has already frequently been remarked, the distinction which we so rigorously draw between Singular and Plural does not occupy the Japanese mind, and "eight "and "eight-fold" are taken to mean much the same thing, In the following sentence we find these eight deities (or this eight-fold deity) spoken of in such a manner as to necessitate the use of the Singular Number in the translation. Motowori supposes that they (or he) took the form of a young man (as in several other legends) to become the father of the Goddess mentioned in the text. . . . Idzushi seems to signify "wonderful stone."

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[SECT. CXVI.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART XIII.--THE YOUTH-OF-THE-GLOW-ON-THE-AUTUMN-MOUNTAINS AND THE YOUTH-OF-THE-HAZE-ON-THE-SPRING-MOUNTAINS).]

So this Deity had a daughter whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi. [*1] So eighty Deities wished to [262] obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. [*2] Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, [*3] and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains. [*4] So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for [*5] the Maiden of Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou [be able] to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height, [*6] and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers [*7] [and give them to thee] in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trowsers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trowsers, [263] etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them [home, the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains]

followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to a child. [*8] Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Mayden-of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when [the younger brother] complained to his mother, his august parent

replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well imitated; moreover it must be because he imitates mortal men [*9] that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a jointed bamboo [*10] from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes, [*11] and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine, wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo [*12] and caused this curse to be spoken: [*13] "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, [do thou] become green and wither! [264] Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine [*14] [do thou] flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, [do thou] sink and be prostrate! "Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed [the basket] over the smoke. [*15] Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate [*16] for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and fears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. [*17] Thereupon his body became sound [*18] as it had been before. (This is the origin of the term "a divine wager payment.") [*19]

[p. 328]

Footnotes

^326:1 [p. 327] Idzushi-wotome no kami.

^326:2 Literally "eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden of Idzushi, but none could wed (her)." But the sense is that given in the translation.

^326:3 [p. 328] Ahi yama no shita-bi-wotoko. The explanation of the name is that given by Motowori (following Mabuchi), who sees in it a reference to the ruddy brilliance of the leaves, which is so marked a feature of the Japanese woods in autumn. The Chinese characters used have, indeed, the signification of the lower ice of the autumn mountains; but "lower ice "may well be simply phonetic in this case.

^326:4 Haru-yamu no kasumi-wotoko.

^326:5 In Japanese kohedomo, written with the characters . Perhaps Motowori is right in supposing this Verb to have been originally identical with kofuru, "to love" () whose corresponding form is kofuredomo. If so, the author may have meant to make his hero say, "though I love the maiden, etc." But it is better to be guided by the characters, and to suppose that he referred to the request made to her mother to grant her to him.

^326:6 Literally, "compute the height of my person and distil liquor in a jar."

^326:7 I.e., all the valuable produce of the chase and of the fisheries, such as are perpetually mentioned in the Shinto "Rituals" as being presented to the gods, Thus in the "Service of the Goddess of Food" (see Mr. Satow's translation in Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 414 of these "Transactions,") we read that the worshipper offered: "as to things which dwell in the mountains--things soft of hair and things rough of hair; as to things which grow in the great-field-plain sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue-sea-plain--things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore."

^327:8 Literally, "one child."

^327:9 The Japanese original of the words here unavoidably rendered by "mortal men" in order to mark the antithesis to the word "Deities, has been more literally translated by "living people" in an earlier passage of the work (see Sect. IX, Note 17). The signification of the entire sentence is: "During my lifetime, thy brother should be careful to imitate the upright conduct of the gods. For if, instead of doing so, he be dishonest and untruthful as are the sons of men, it will be at his own peril."

^327:10 Or, according to the more usual reading, "a one-jointed bamboo;" but in either case the meaning is obscure. Motowori, who adopts the reading that has been followed in the translation, suggests that the expression may simply be a periphrasis for the bamboo in general.

^327:11 . Motowori remarks that the word "eight" in this [p. 329] place (where, to indicate a considerable number we should rather expect "eighty") is curious, and he surmises that may be an error for , "large." The word "coarse" itself is sufficient to show that the apertures left in the plaiting of the basket were large.

^327:12 Scil. of which the basket was woven.

^327:13 Scil. by her younger son.

^327:14 In this case, as Motowori remarks, it is the sea-water that is intended to be spoken of, whereas the allusion in the previous sentence is to hard salt. But the Japanese language uses the same word for both, and the same Chinese character is here also used in both contexts. For this curse conf. Sect. XL (Note 18 et. seq.) and Sect. XLI.

^327:15 Scil. of the furnace (kitchen) in the younger brother's house, as Motowori suggests.

^327:16 The text has the character , which signifies "to wither" or "dry up" (spoken of trees). But the translator agrees with Motowori in considering it to be in all probability an error for , "to be prostrate; and in any case it could not here be rendered by either of the verbs "dry up" or "wither "without introducing into the English version a tautology which does not exist in the Japanese original.

^327:17 Such seems to be the meaning of the obscure original sono tokohi-do wo kahesashimeki (), Motowori would understand it in a rather more specialized sense to signify that "she caused the implement of the curse (i.e., the basket) to be taken away,"

^327:18 Literally, "was pacified."

^327:19 Or, if we take in the text as equivalent to , "this is the origin of "divine water-payments."

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[p. 329]

[SECT. CXVII.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART XVI.--GENEALOGIES).]

Again this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda's [*1] august child King Wake-nuke-futa-mata wedded his mother's younger sister Momo-shiki-iro-be, [*2] another name for whom was Her Augustness Oto-hime-ma-wake-hime, [*3] and begot children: Oho-iratsuko, [*4] another name for whom [265] was King Ohohodo; [*5] next her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime: [*6]

[p. 330]

next Tawi-no-naka-tsu-hime; [*7] next Tamiya-no-naka-tsu-hime; [*8] next Fujihara-no-koto-fushi-no-ira-tsume; [*9] next Queen Torime; [*10] next King Sane. [*11] (Seven Kings (and Queens). [*12]) So King Oho-hodo (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Mikuni, [*13] the Dukes of Hata, [*14] the Dukes of Okinaga, [*15] the Dukes of Sakahito of Sakata, [*16] the Dukes of Yamaji, [*17] the Dukes of [266] Meta in Tsukushi, [*18] and the Dukes of Fuse.) [*19] Again King

Netori wedded his younger half-sister the Lady Mihara, and begot children: King Naka-tsu-hiko; [*20] next King Iwa-shiha [*21] (Two Kings.) Again the child of King Kata-shiha [*22] was King Kuni. [*23]

[p. 331]

Footnotes

^329:1 [p. 330] I.e., the Emperor O-jin's.

^329:2 The import of this compound is not clear.

^329:3 I.e., "the younger princess, the truly young princess."

^329:4 i.e., "the great lord."

^329:5 Oho-hodo no miko. The signification of Oho-hodo is obscure. Motowori surmises it to have been originally the name of a place.

^329:6 I.e., "the great middle princess of Osaka. Osaka is the name of a place in Yamato. The word "middle "should by the analogy of other such genealogies indicate the fact that this princess was the fourth child out of seven. Here however she is mentioned second, and the same designation is applied to the two next daughters. There is evidently some confusion in the tradition.

^330:7 I.e., "the middle princess of Tawi,"--a place in Kahachi.

^330:8 I.e., the middle princess of Tamiya.

^330:9 I.e., "the lady Koto-fushi of Fuji-hara." But the meaning of Kato fushi is obscure, and Motowori surmises it to be an alternative or corrupt form of Sotohoshi. (For the celebrated princess of the latter name see Sect. CXXXVII, Note 9.) Fujihara is the name of a place in Yamato, and signifies "wistaria-moor."

^330:10 Torime no miko. This name is obscure.

^330:11 Sane no miko. Motowori believes sane to stand erroneously for sami; but both forms are obscure.

^330:12 The Japanese word includes both genders.

^330:13 [p. 331] Mikuni no kimi. Mikuni is the name of a well-known place in the province of Echizen. It signifies "three countries."

^330:14 Hata no kimi. There are several places called Hata, and it is not known which of them is here intended. The signification of the name is also uncertain.

^330:15 Okinaga no kimi. See Sect. LXII, Note 31.

^330:16 Sakata no Saka-bito no kimi. This is Motowori's restoration of an apparently corrupt text. Sakata and Sakabito are both taken to be names of places, the first of a district in Afumi, the second of a place in Settsu. Sakabito () seems a very curious compound for the name of a place. Moreover the double title is unusual, and it may be thought that the word "Dukes" has fallen out of the text, and that in reality two families were intended to be spoken of.

^330:17 Yamaji no kimi. Yamaji ("mountain road") is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place,--perhaps in the province of Higo.

^330:18 Tsukushi no Meta no kimi. Tsukushi is the old name of the whole of the South-Western island of the Japanese archipelago and Meta the name of a place in the province of Hizen in that island. The etymology of Meta is uncertain.

^330:19 Fuse no kimi. Fuse is the name of uncertain import found in several provinces. It is not known which is meant to be here designated.

^330:20 Naka-tsu-hiko no miko, i.e., "the middle prince," a designation which would lead one to expect to find mention of an elder brother.

^330:21 Iwashima no miko. Iwashima seems to be the name of a place, but the signification of Iha (not to be confounded with iha "stone" or "rock") is altogether obscure.

^330:22 Katashiha no miko. This prince has not been mentioned in the previous genealogies, which is curious. Katashiha is the name of a place in Chikuzen, and signifies "hard rock."

^330:23 Kunu no miko. Kunu is altogether obscure.

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[p. 332]

[SECT. CXVIII.--EMPEROR O-JIN (PART XV.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign Homuda were altogether one hundred and thirty. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Mofusu [*1] at Wega in Kafuchi.

Footnotes

^332:1 [p. 332] Or, as Motowori reads it, Mofushi. The etymology is uncertain. Wega has already appeared in Sect. CIII (Note 3). The Old Printed Edition and some Manuscripts have at the conclusion of this volume the following note: , "It is the mausoleum of Mozu." But Mozu is in the province of Idzumi, and all the later editions discard this note as an interpolation.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 333][267]

VOL. III. [*1]

[SECT. CXIX.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART I.--GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Takatsu [*2] at Naniha, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded (the Empress [*3]) Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, [*4] daughter of Kadzuraki-no-sotsu-biko, [*5] and begot august children: His Augustness Ohoye-no-izaho-wake; [*6] next the Middle King of the Inlet of Sumi; [*7] next His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake of Tajihi; [*8] next His Augustness the Noble Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go [*9] (four Deities.) Again he wedded Princess Kami-naga, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka, as mentioned above, [*10] and begot august children: Hatabi-no-oho-iratsuko, [*11] another [268] name for whom was the King of Great Kusaka; [*12] next Hatabi-no-waki-iratsume, [*13] another name for whom was Her Augustness Princess Nagahi, [*14] and another name was Her Augustness Waka-kusaka-be [*15](Two Deities.) Again he wedded his younger half-sister Yata-no-waki-iratsume [*16] Again he wedded his younger half-sister Uji-no-waki-iratsume. These two Deities had no august children. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign Oho-

sakaki [numbered] in all six Deities, (Five Kings and one Queen). So His Augustness Izaho-wake [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tajihi-no midzu-ha-wake likewise ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness the Noble Oh-asadzuma-no-waku-go likewise ruled the Empire. [*17]

Footnotes

^333:1 [p. 333] Literally, "lower volume"(there being three in all). See Author's Preface, Note 1.

^333:2 I.e., "high port."

^333:3 [p. 334] Motowori surmises that the reason why the characters "Empress" are in all the text here written in small characters is on account of this personage not having been of Imperial birth.

^333:4 I.e., "the rock princess." Motowori supposes the name to be indicative of prosperity and long life.

^333:5 See Sect. LXI, Note 55,

^333:6 I.e., "the elder brother lord Izaho," the latter name being of uncertain import.

^333:7 Sumi-no ye-no-naka-tsu-miko. Both the phrase "middle king" and the Inlet of Sumi have been already commented on.

^333:8 Tajihi no midzu-ha-wake. Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi. The traditional origin of its application to this will be found in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV, p. 6. Midzu-ha-wake probably means "the lord with the beautiful teeth."

^333:9 Wo-asadzuma-no-waku-go no sukune. Asadzuma is the name of a place in Yamato, and wo (though written) seems to be the slightly Honorific Prefix wo () whose proper signification is "small" Waku-go means "younger child."

^333:10 See Sect. CVII.

^333:11 I.e., "the great lord of Hatabi." Hatabi is altogether obscure.

^333:12 Oha-kusaka no miko. For Kusaka see Sect. CI, Note 2.

^333:13 I.e., "the young lady of Hatabi." Conf. Note 1 I.

^333:14 Nagahi-hime. This name is obscure.

^333:15 Kusaka-be is an alternative form of Kusaka. The compound therefore signifies "young princess of Kusaka."

^333:16 This name and the following have already appeared in the genealogies of the preceding reign (Sect. CIV.)

^333:17 These were the Emperors Ri-chiu, Han-zei, and In-giyo.

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[p. 334]

[SECT. CXX: EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART II.--VARIOUS DEEDS).]

In the august reign of this Heavenly Sovereign the Kadzuraki Tribe [*1] was

established as the august proxy of the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime. Again the Mibu

[p. 335]

[paragraph continues] Tribe [*2] was established as the august proxy of the Heir Apparent, His Augustness Izaho-wake. Again the Tajihi Tribe [*3] was established as the august proxy of His Augustness Midzuna-wake. Again the Oho-kusaka Tribe [*4] was [269] established as the august proxy of King Oho-kusaka, and the Waka-kusaka Tribe [*5] was established as the august proxy of King Waga-kusake-be. Again people from Hada were set to labour, and the embankment at Mamuta [*6] and also the granaries of Manuta were made. Again the Pool of Wani [*7] and the Pool of Yosemi were made. Again the Naniha Channel [*8] was dug, and [the waters of the rivers] led to the sea. Again the Wobashi Channel [*9] was dug. Again the port of the inlet of Sumi [*10] was established.

Footnotes

^334:1 [p. 335] Kadzuraki be. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

^335:2 Mibu-be. Motowori quotes approvingly a derivation of the "gentile name" of Mibu from Bi-fuku-mon (), the name of a gate which the first bearer of the name is related to have constructed. Taking into account the letter-changes which occurred in older times in the passage of words from Chinese into Japanese, the etymology is plausible enough.

^335:3 Tajihi-be. Tajihi is the name of a place in Kahachi, and is of uncertain origin.

^335:4 Oho-kusaka-be. This tribe of course took its name simply from that of Prince Oho-kusaka.

^335:5 Waka-kusaka-be. A similar observation to that in the last applies to this name.

^335:6 See Sect. LIII, Note I.

^335:7 Wani no ike, in the province of Kahachi. Wani signifies "crocodile," and it was also the name of the Korean personage mentioned in Sect. CX (Note 6). But the reason why the Pool here spoken of was so called does net appear. The Pool of Yosami has already been mentioned in Sect. LXII (Note 85). Motowori supposes that it must have dried up during the interim.

^335:8 Naniha no hori-ye. Motowori tells us that the regularization of [p. 336] the channels of the Yodo and Yamato Rivers, whose mouths nearly meet at this point with various intersecting branches, is what is here intended to be referred to.

^335:9 Wobashi no ye. Wo-bashi ("little bridge") is the name of a village in the province of Settsu.

^335:10 Suminoye no tsu. Close of Naniha; it is the modern Sumiyoshi. Conf. Sect. X, Note 22.

[p. 336]

[SECT. CXXI.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU [PART III.--HE REMITS THE TAXES)]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, ascending a lofty mountain and looking on the

land all round, spoke, saying: "In the whole land there rises no smoke; the land is all poverty-stricken. So I remit [*1] all people's taxes and [forced labour] from now till three years [hence.]" Therefore the great palace became dilapidated, and the rain leaked in everywhere; but no repairs were made. The rain that leaked in was caught in troughs, [*2] and [the inmates] removed from [its reach] to places where there was no leakage. When later [the Heavenly Sovereign]] looked on all the land, the smoke was abundant in the land. So finding the people rich, he now exacted taxes and forced labour. Therefore the peasantry [*3] prospered, and did not suffer from forced labour. So in praise of that august reign, it was called the reign of the Emperor-Sage. [*4]

Footnotes

^336:1 Motowori's reading of this Verb in the Imperative Mood (as if containing an order addressed by the monarch to his ministers) seems less natural than the order reading in the Indicative, which accordingly the translator has followed.

^336:2 There is uncertainty as to the exact character in the original. [p. 337] But the older editions read it as the Japanese word hako, "boxes." while Motowori prefers hi, "tubes." "Troughs "seems to conciliate both views, and to be also appropriate to the use mentioned in the text.

^336:3 Or simply, "the people." But the expression is generally used in Japanese of the peasantry only.

^336:4 ; If, following most texts, we omitted the final character , "reign," the English translation would be "in praise of that august reign, (the Heavenly Sovereign) was called the Emperor-Sage."

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[p. 337]

[SECT. .--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IV.--HE LOVES PRINCESS KURO).]

His Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, was exceedingly jealous. So the concubines employed by the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep inside the palace; and if anything happened, [*1] [the Empress] stamped with jealousy. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, hearing of the regular beauty of Princess Kuro, [*2] daughter of the Suzerain of Ama in Kibi, [*3] and having sent for her, employed her. But she, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, fled down to her native land, The Heavenly [271] Sovereign, gazing from an upper story upon Princess Kuro's departure by boat upon the sea, sang saying:

"In the offing there are rows of small boats. My wife Masadzuko of Kurozaki goes down towards her [native] land." [*4]

So the Empress was very angry on hearing this august Song, and sent people to the great strand [*5] to drive Princess Kuro ashore, and chase her away on foot. [*6] Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, for love of Princess Kuro, deceived the Empress, saying that he wanted to see the Island of Ahaji. [*7] And when he made his progress

[p. 338]

and was in the Island of Ahaji, he, gazing afar, sang saying:

"When, having departed from the point of wave-beaten Naniha, I look at the country,--the Island of Aha, the Is-land of Onogoro, and also the Island of Ajimasa are visible. The Island of Saketsu is visible." [*8]

Forthwith passing on from that island, he made a progress to the land of Kibi. Then Her Augustness Princess Kuro- made him grandly reside at a place among the mountain-fields, [*9] and presented to him great august food, When for this [purpose] she plucked cabbage in that place to boil into great august soup, the Heavenly Sovereign went to the place where the maiden was plucking the cabbage, and sang, saying:

"Oh! how delightful it is to pluck with a person of Kibi the cabbage sown in the mountain fields!" [*10]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress up, [*11]

Princess Kuro presented an august [*12] Song saying:

"Even though the west wind blow up towards Yamato, and the clouds part, and we be separated, shall I forget [thee]?" [*13]

[273] Again she sang, saying:

"Whose spouse is it that goes towards Yamato? Whose spouse is it that creeps from beneath like hidden water?" [*14]

[p. 339]

Footnotes

^337:1 Motowori shows by collating various passages in other ancient works that this is the probable signification of the curious expression in [p. 339] the original, kotodateba (for). The reference of course is to the occurrence of anything noteworthy among the concubines, such as the birth of a son, etc.

^337:2 Kuro-hime, i.e., "black princess" probably meaning "black-haired princess."

^337:3 Kibi no Ama no atahe. Of this family nothing is known. Ama signifies "fisherman." Kibi is the name of a province.

^337:4 Thus interpreted (according to Moribe), the general sense of the Song is quite clear. The word Masadzuko, considered by Moribe to be one of the names of Princess Kuro, is however not so understood by Motowori, who is inclined to see in it rather an Honorific description of her. Kurozaki likewise (i.e., "black cape," the word kuro seemingly containing an allusion to the name of the Princess) is but the best of many emendations of the name as it stands in the text, viz., Furozaya. See Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXV. p. 33, for all the possible emendations proposed by him or his predecessors.

^337:5 Scil, of the neighbourhood of Naniha. Or possible Oho-ura ("Great Strand") should be taken as the name of a place, though Motowori does not suggest such a view.

^337:6 I.e., to make her perform the journey on foot.

^337:7 See Sect. V, Note 3.

^338:8 Moribe, commenting on the import of this Song, says: Though the alleged reason was a tour of inspection, it was truly out of love for Princess Kuro that the Monarch had undertaken the journey. When her vessel could no longer be descried, he could still alas! see the islands that remained behind,--the Island of Aha and the Island of Ajimasa; he could still, alas! see the Islands of Onogoro and Saketsu. Alas for him left alone, parted from his love! Though he spoke not openly, those around him understood the under-current of his "words."--"Wave-beaten "is the accepted interpretation of oshiteru ya (or

oshiteru), the Pillow-Word for Naniha. For the Islands of Aha and Onogoro see respectively Sect. IV, Note 5 and Sect. iii, Note 5. Of the Islands of Ajimasa and Saketsu nothing is known. Ajimasa is the name of a species of palm, the Livistona sinensis, and Motowori supposes that one of the islands in that neighbourhood may anciently have received its name from the palm-trees growing on it. Palms of any kind are, however, not very common in Japan, and seem only to grow when specially cultivated.

^338:9 Motowori thinks we should in this place understand the word yamagata (for yama-agata) as the name of a place. But in the Song [p. 340] which immediately follows, it must certainly be taken in its etymological sense of "mountain-fields," and it seems therefore quite inconsistent to translate it differently here. Moreover it is allowed that no such place as Yamagata in Kibi is anywhere made mention of.

^338:10 The import of this Song is perfectly clear, "the person of Kibi "being of course the Imperial poet's lady-love.

^338:11 I.e., was about to start back to the capital, which was in the province of Settsu.

^338:12 This Honorific seems so out of place (seeing that it is not applied to the Emperor's own Songs given in this Section), that it is supposed by the commentators to be an erroneous addition to the text.

^338:13 We might also translate thus: "Even though we be separated, as the clouds that part owing to the west wind blowing up towards Yamato, etc.;"--for the initial lines of the poem which contain the allusion to the wind and to the clouds are simply a Preface, and their import may therefore at will be either considered separately, or else made continuous with that of the rest of the poem.

^338:14 The meaning of this Song l is: "Whose spouse is it that returns to Yamato? Whose spouse is it that comes thus secretly to make love to me, like a stream flowing underground?"--The allusion contained in the twice repeated words "whose spouse "is of course to the Empress. The poetess, full of tenderness or the Emperor, regrets for his sake, as well as for her own, that he should be the husband of so jealous' a wife. "Hidden water is the accepted interpretation of the Pillow-Word kontoridzu no, which is with apparent reason supposed to be a contraction of komori-midzu no.

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[p. 340]

[SECT. CXXIII. EMPEROR NIN-TOKU PART V.--THE EMPRESS RETIRES TO YAMASHIRO).]

After this time the Empress made a progress to the land of Ki in order to pluck aralia-leaves for a copious feast; [*1] and in the mean while the Heavenly Sovereign wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume. Hereupon, when the Empress was returning in her august vessel loaded full

[p. 341]

of aralia-leaves, a coolie from Kozhima [*2] in the land of Kibi, who was in the service of the Superintendent of the Water-Directors, [*3] being on his way off to his own country, met at the great passage [*4] of Naniha the vessel of a lady of the train [*5] who had got behind, and forthwith told her, saying: "The Heavenly Sovereign has [274] recently [*6] wedded Yata-no-waki-iratsume, and plays with her day and night. It must probably be because the Empress has not heard of this thing, that she quietly makes progress for pleasure." Then the

lady of the train, having heard this narrative, forthwith pursued and reached the august vessel, and reported everything exactly as the coolie had told it. Hereupon the Empress, greatly vexed and angry, threw away into the sea all the aralia-leaves which she had put on board the august vessel. So the place,[where she did so] is called by the name of Cape Mitsu. [*7] Forthwith without entering the palace, but taking her august vessel [from it] [*8] and ascending the channel [*9] against the current, she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the river; [*10] At this time she sang, saying:

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend the river, oh! on the bank of the river [there] stands growing a sashibu!--a sashibu-tree; below it stands growing a broad-foliaged five hundred[-fold branching] true camellia-tree; oh! he who is brilliant like its blossoms, widely powerful like its foliage, is the great lord." [*11]

Forthwith going round by Yamashiro, [*12] and arriving at [275] the entrance of the Mountain, [*13] she sang, saying:

[p. 342]

"Oh! the river of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession! As I ascend, ascend to Miya, I pass Nara, I pass Yamato with its shield of mountains; and the country I fain would see is Takamiya in Kadzuraki, the neighbourhood of my home." [*14]

[276] Having sung thus, she returned and entered for some time into the house of a person from Kara [*15] named Nurinomi [*16] at Tsutsuki. [*17]

[p. 343]

Footnotes

^340:1 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

^341:2 I.e., "small island." It is first mentioned in Sect V (Note 29).

^341:3 See Sect. XLVII, Note 18.

^341:4 Oho watari. The mouth of the River Yedo is meant to be designated by this name.

^341:5 The original, expression kuru-bito-me () is obscure, being met with nowhere else in Japanese literature. Motowori conjectures that the function exercised by this lady. was one connected with the Emperor's privy purse.

^341:6 The text has the character , "all," which make no sense; and Motowori (following Mabuchi) reasonably emends it to , "recently," "just now."

^341:7 Mitsu no saki. Mitsu, signifying "three," is supposed by the author to refer to the three-cornered leaves of the aralia (the name of the latter being mitsuna gashiha); but a more likely opinion is that which would have us take mitzu as two words, in the sense of "august harbour." In the parallel passage of the "Chronicles," we are told that the place was called Kashiha no watari, i.e., "Oak passage."

^341:8 I.e., going on up the river without stopping at Naniha where the palace was.

^341:9 Jr., ,the artificial bed of the river mentioned in Sect. CXX, Note, 8.

^341:10 I.e., the river Yodo.

^341:11 The meaning of this Song is: "As I make my way up the river by boat, I see a sashibu (the name of a tree which cannot now be identified), below

which,--that is to say nearer to the water,--there grows a [p. 343] camellia-tree, wide-spreading and full of blossoms. Ah! how the sight of the sturdy brilliant beauty of this camellia-tree brings back my lord and master to my mind!"--It must be remembered that in Japan the camellia-trees grow to a size far superior to that reached by their representatives in Europe. Tsuginefu, rendered according to the view taken by Motowori and Moribe by the phrase "where the seedlings grow in succession," is the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, and its import is disputed. The interpretation here adopted considers it to refer to the regular succession of young trees planted on a mountain's side when a tract of older timber has been cut down. Mabuchi, in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," sees in it, on the contrary, a reference to the rising of peak upon peak in a mountainous district (tsugi-ne fu--). Both interpretations rest on the connection between this term and yama, the first half of the name of the province of Yamashiro, which it qualifies. "Five [-fold-branching]"and "true" are ornamental epithets applied by the poetess to the camellia-tree. Moribe would take the syllable ma, "true," in the sense of ha, "leaf but this seems less good.

^341:12 For the straight road from Naniha in Settsu-to Nara in Yamato would have taken her through the province of Kafuchi. and not through Yamashiro.

^341:13 I.e., the pass or hill leading from the district of Sagara in Yamashiro to Nara in Yamato. For Nara see Sect. LXXII, Note 23.

^342:14 This Song expresses the Empress's desire to return to her parental house at Takamiya in the district of Kadzuraki,--a desire which, however, her restless frame of mind did not allow her to fulfil.--The Pillow-Word for Yamashiro, which here recurs, has already been discussed in Note 11. There are two other Pillow-Words in this Song,--awoniyoshi, which is prefixed to Nara, and wo-date (or wo-date-yama according to the old reading, or wo-date tatsu according to another reading), which is prefixed to Yamato. The former of these is so obscure that, rather than attempt to render it into English, the translator prefers to refer the student to the remarks of the various commentators,--Mabuchi s.v. in his "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," Motowori in his Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 22-24, and Moribe in loco. Wodate [-yama] seems to refer undoubtedly to the circle of mountains that guard the approach to the province of Yamato, and it has been rendered accordingly. The great difficulty of the Song lies in the line rendered "ascend to Miya," and the commentators from Keichiu downwards make all sorts of efforts to explain it. Moribe's view, according to which the word should be regarded [p. 344] as a familiar abbreviation of Takamiya, naturally used by one whose native place it was, seems the most acceptable. Motowori takes the line to signify: "When I ascend past the palace [of Naniha]."

^342:15 , i.e., Korea.

^342:16 For Nuri no omi, i.e., "the Grandee of Nuri." Nuri is probably a corrupt form of some Korean name.

^342:17 Or Tsudzuki, in Yamashiro. Etymology obscure.

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[p. 344]

[SECT. CXXIV.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VI.--HE FOLLOWS THE EMPRESS INTO YAMASHIRO).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, having heard that the Empress had made a progress up by Yamashiro, made a person,--a retainer called by the name of Toriyama, [*1]--give an august Song, [*2] which said:

"Reach [her] in Yamashiro, Toriyama! Reach [her]! reach [her]! Ah! wilt thou reach and meet my beloved spouse?" [*3]

Again he continued by despatching Kuchiko, Grandee of Wani, [*4] and sang, saying: [277]

"Wilt thou be without thinking even of the Heart that is in the moor of Ohowiko, the moor of Ohowiko, that is by Takaki at Mimoro?" [*5]

Again he sang, saying:

"If indeed I had pillowed [my head] on the white arm like the whiteness of the roots, the great roots, that were beaten with wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedlings grow in succession, [then] mightest thou say, 'I know [thee] not'." [*6]

[p. 345]

So when the Grandee of Kuchiko was repeating this [278] august Song [to the Empress,] it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace, [*7] she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water [*8] reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed [*9] green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red colour. Now the Grandee of Kuchiko's younger sister Princess Kuchi [*10] was in the service of the Empress. [*11] So Princess Kuchi sang saying:

"Oh! how tearful is my lord-elder brother, saying things in the palace of Tsutsuki in Yamashiro!" [*12]

Then when the Empress asked the reason, [*13] she replied, saying: "He is my brother the Grandee of Kuchiko." Thereupon the Grandee of Kuchiko and also his younger sister Princess Kuchi and likewise Nurinomi [all] three took counsel [together,] and sent to report to the Heavenly [279] Sovereign, saying: "The reason of the Empress's progress is that there are [some] insects reared by Nurinomi,--strange insects changing in three ways, [*14] once becoming creeping insects, once becoming cocoons, [*15] and once becoming flying birds [*16]--and it is only to go and look at them that she has entered into [Nurinomi's house.] She has no strange intentions." [*17] When they had thus reported, the Heavenly Sovereign said: "That being so, I want to go and see [these insects,] as

[p. 346]

[paragraph continues] I think [they must be] strange; [and with these words] he made a progress up from the great palace. When he entered into Nurinomi's house, Nurinomi, had already presented to the Empress the three-fold insects reared by him. Then the Heavenly Sovereign augustly stood at the door of the palace where the Empress-dwelt, and sang, saying:

"Pure as the great roots that were beaten with their wooden hoes by the women of Yamashiro where the seedings grow in succession:--it is because thou spokest tumultuously that I come in here [with my retainers numerous] as the more and more flourishing trees that I look across at." [*18]

[280] These six Songs by the Heavenly Sovereign and by the Empress are Changing Songs which are Quiet Songs. [*19]

[p. 347] [p. 348]

Footnotes

^344:1 [p. 346] This name signifies "bird-mountain." The commentators presume that it contains an allusion to the fact of its bearer being an Imperial courier.

^344:2 This is the actual sense conveyed by the original , and we naturally infer that Toriyama was made the bearer to the Empress of the following Song. The Song itself, however, is addressed not to her, but to Toriyama on his departure. On the other hand, the two poems which follow are evidently for the Empress, and it is impossible to suppose that the first messenger was not likewise intended to convey to her some poetic missive. All that we can do is to render the text as it stands, and to suppose it corrupt.

^344:3 The meaning of this Song is: "O Toriyama! pursue her into Yamashiro! I tremble at the thought of the possibility of thy not finding her."

^344:4 Wani no omi Kuchiko (further on he is mentioned as Kuchiko no omi, i.e., "the Grandee (of) Kuchiko.") Kuchi-ko may be interpreted [p. 347] to mean "mouth child" and Moribe thinks that this personage was so called on account of the verbal messages of which he was made the bearer. The translator would prefer to consider ko as an abbreviation of hiko, "prince," especially as the sister's name is Kuchi-hime, where the word hime must mean "princess."

^344:5 This Song is so obscure that Motowori and Moribe differ completely as to its interpretation. The translator has followed Moribe, though by no means persuaded that the latter has hit on the proper signification. According to this view, the Emperor makes a pun on the word "heart," which is supposed to have been the name of a pool situated on the moor of Ohowiko near Takaki at Mimoro,--all names of places with which the Empress was familiar,--and reproaches her for having no thought of his heart which beats so lovingly for her. Motowori, on the other hand, thinks that the poem proper consists only of its last two lines (in the English translation they necessarily I come first): "Wilt thou be without thinking even of the heart?"--and that all the rest is a "Preface "to the Pillow-Word kimo-mukafu by which the word kokoro, "heart," is preceded. As for oho-wi-ko and takaki, they are taken, not as names of places, but as common Nouns. According to this view of the structure of the Song, it ceases (with the exception of its last two lines) to have any rational signification, and it is needless to attempt to translate it for the English reader. Persons familiar with Japanese are therefore referred to Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 34-36.

^344:6 The meaning of this Song is: "If thou and I had not so long been spouses, then indeed mightest thou break with me, and declare that thou knowest me not. But how canst thou so far forget our wedded life as to desert me now?"-"The "great root," oho-ne, is the modern dai-kon (Raphanus sativus), a kind of radish which is a favourite vegetable with the Japanese and is distinguished by its brilliantly white appearance. "Beaten" here signifies "dug up." The use of the Past Tense is curious. Ko-guha, here in accordance with Motowori's view rendered "wooden hoes," is interpreted by Moribe to mean "little hoes." "Where the seedlings grow in succession "is the English rendering of tsugi-ne fu, the Pillow-Word for Yamashiro (see Sect. CXXIII Note 11).

^345:7 The Empress was lodging with a private individual, but her presence warrants the application of the term "palace "to his house.

^345:8 It was raining too hard for the water to stop on the surface in the shape of puddles, so it streamed off in little rivulets.

^345:9 Literally, "rubbed." See Introduction <page xxx>. Instead of "'green," [p. 348] we might equally well translate by "blue." The garment intended must be the upper garment or coat.

^345:10 Kuchi-hime.

^345:11 Literally, "respectfully served the Empress."

^345:12 The meaning of these lines, which can only be called poetry because they are in metre, is plain: in them the speaker draws the Empress's attention to the pitiful condition of the messenger who is doing his best to deliver to her the Emperor's message. Probably the reading in our text has been corrupted; for that in the "Chronicles," which may be translated thus; "Oh! how tearful am I when I see my lord elder brother," etc. is much preferable.

^345:13 Scil. of her attendant thus taking the messenger's part.

^345:14 Literally, "colours."

^345:15 This is Motowori's conjectural restoration of the reading of this word, which in all the texts is hopelessly corrupt.

^345:16 According to another reading, "flying insects."

^345:17 I.e., "she is not meditating any evil conduct."

^346:18 The Song consists of two divisions, the first of which is but a Preface for the second, the pivot being formed by the word sawa-sawa-ni, which has the meaning of "pure" "cool," or "refreshing," with reference to what precedes it, and the meaning of "tumultuously" (sawasawa ni--sawagaskiku) when taken together with what follows. The difficulties which present themselves in the first division have all been explained in Note 11 to the last Note 6 to the present Section. The general sense of the second division is plain enough; but the precise application of the comparison to the "more and more flourishing tree" is obscure. Motowori's view has been adopted by the translator, and the words in brackets supplemented accordingly. Moribe prefers to consider that the reference is to the repeated visits first of the Emperor's messengers and afterwards of the Emperor himself The words "look across at" must be explained by supposing that the trees were in the neighbourhood of Nurinomi's house; they were shoots springing up from roots that had been cut down close to the ground.

^346:19 The commentators thus explain these obscure expressions: "A Quiet Song is one which is sung to a tranquil tune. A Changing Song is one temporarily sung while the tone (mode?) is changing." The six Songs in question must be supposed to have combined both characteristics.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CXXV.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.--HE LOVES YATA-NO-WAKI-IRATSUME).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, loving Yata-no-waki-iratsume, deigned to send her an august Song. That Song said:

"Will the one sedge-stem of Yata, having no children, wither as it stands? Poor sedge-moor! Sedge-moor indeed is what I may say--poor pure girl!" [*1]

Then Yata-no-waki-iratsume replied in a Song, saying:

"Even though the one sedge stem of Yata be alone, if the Great Lord say it is right even though it be alone [it is right.]" [*2]

So the Yata Tribe [*3] was established as the august proxy of Yata-no-waki-iratsume.

Footnotes

^349:1 In this Song the Emperor condoles with his mistress on her childlessness: "Will the single sedge on the moor of Yata die without leaving any offspring? Sedge, indeed! Yes, sedge is the term I use for my metaphor, but what is in my thoughts is the girl I love."--There is in the original a jeu-de-mots, not capable of translation into English, between suge or suga, "sedge, and sugashi pure."

^349:2 The girl replies: "Even though I be childless. I care not if my lord cares not."

^349:3 Yata-be.

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[SECT. CXXVI.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.--DEATH OF KING HAYABUSA-WAKE AND QUEEN MEDORI).]

Again the Heavenly Sovereign begged for his younger half-sister Queen Medori, using as middle-man his younger brother King Haya-busa-wake. Then Queen Medori [281] spoke to King Hayabusa-wake, saying: "Owing to the

[p. 350]

violence of the Empress, [the Heavenly Sovereign] has not deigned to take Yata-no-waki-iratsume [into the Palace.] So I will not respectfully serve him. I will become the wife of Thine Augustness." Forthwith they wedded each other, wherefore King Hayabusa-wake made no report [to the Heavenly Sovereign. [*1]] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, going straight to the place where Queen Medori dwelt, stood on the door-sill of the palace. Hereupon, Queen Medori being at her loom, was weaving garments. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang saying:

"Oh! for whom may be the garments that my Great Lady Medori weaves?" [*2]

Queen Medori replied in a Song saying:

"For an august veil for the high-going Falcon-Lord." [*3]

So the Heavenly Sovereign, perceiving her feelings, returned into the palace. At this time [*4] when her husband King Hayabusa-wake came, his wife Queen Medori sang, saying:

"The lark flies to heaven. Oh! high-going Falcon-Lord, catch the wren." [*5]

[282] The Heavenly Sovereign, hearing this Song, [*6] forthwith raised an army, wishing to slay King Hayabusa and Queen Medori, who then fled away together, and ascended Mount Kurahashi. [*7] Thereupon King Hayabusa-wake sang, saying:

"Owing to the steepness of ladder-like Mount Kurahashi, being unable to clamber [up] the rocks, oh! she takes my hand! [*8]

Again he sang, saying:

"Though ladder-like Mount Kurahashi be [p. 351] steep, it is not steep when I ascend it with my younger sister."

So when they fled thence, and reached Soni in Uda, [*9] the Imperials [*10] army pursued, overtook, and slew them.

Footnotes

^350:1 [p. 351] Scil. of the success of his mediation.

^350:2 Or, "for whom is the loom [employed], with which my Great Lady Medori weaves?"--The word hata in Archaic Japanese signifies both "garment" and the instrument which is used to weave a garment, i.e. a "loom" (and). In later times the second meaning has prevailed to the exclusion of the first.

^350:3 There is here a play on the name of the Queen's paramour Hayabusa-wake, which signifies "Falcon-Lord" as in the translation--The parallel passage of the "Chronicles" gives these two Songs as a single one which is put into the mouth of Queen Medori's handmaidens,--is a more acceptable version of the incident.

^350:4 Motowori suspects that there is here an error in the text, which should, according to him, read: "After this."

^350:5 The gist of this Song is an instigation to murder the Emperor (whose name was Oho-sazaki, i.e., "Great Wren." Conf. Sect. CIV, Note 18), addressed to the singer's husband (whose name was Hayabusa-wake, i.e., "Falcon Lord"). But the allusion to the lake remains obscure. Keichiu suggests that it is simply mentioned as a term of comparison for the falcon's power of flight, while Motowori opines that the meaning rather is: "The lark flies so high up to heaven that it would be hard to catch it; but the wren is an easy prey."

^350:6 Viz., as may be supposed, repeated by some fourth person.

^350:7 Kurahashi-yama, in Yamato.

^350:8 The Song, like the next, is too clear to stand in need of explanation. "Ladder-like" is an attempt to render the force of the Pillow-Word hashi-tate. See Mabuchi's "Dictionary of Pillow-Words," s.v., for the exact force attributed to it by Mabuchi.

^351:9 For Uda see Sect. XLVI, Note, 14. The etymology of Soni is equally obscure.

^351:10 The character , though read by the commentators with the usual Japanese Honorific mi, "august," has here its proper Chinese signification of "Imperial."

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[SECT. CXXVII.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART VIII.--QUEEN MEDORI'S ARMLET).]

Chief Ohotate of Yamabe, [*1] who was the generalissimo of that army, took the jewelled armlet which was wound round Queen Medori's august arm, and gave it to his own wife. After this time, when a copious feast [*2] was to be held, the women of the various families all went to court. Then the wife of Chief Ohotate came with that Queen's jewelled armlet wound round her own arm. [283] Thereupon the Empress, Her Augustness Iha-no-hime, herself took the oak-leaves [*3] [full] of great august liquor and graciously gave them to the women of the various families. Then the Empress, recognizing the jewelled armlet, gave [the wearer] no oak-leaf[-full] of great august liquor, but forthwith sent her away; [*4] and sending. for the husband, Chief Ohotate, said: "Owing to that King and Queen's impropriety, [the Emperor] deigned to send them away. This was nothing strange. And a slave such as thou despoils of the jewelled armlet that was wound round her august arm the body of his lady [that was still] warm, and gives it to his own wife!"--and forthwith he was condemned to death. [*5]

Footnotes

^352:1 [p. 352] Yamabe no Ohotate no murazhi. The "gentile name" was Yamabe no

murazhi, and the personal name Ohotate, though the confused wording of this passage does not make it appear so. Yama-be signifies mountain (i.e., hunters') tribe. Oho-tate is "big shield."

^352:2 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

^352:3 Or, perhaps rather "aralia-leaves" (Con/. Sect. CXXIII).

^352:4 Or, "had her dragged away."

^352:5 Literally, "was granted the punishment of death," or "(the Emperor) deigned to condemn him to death.

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[p. 353]

[SECT. CXXVIII.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART IX.--A WILD-GOOSE LAYS AN EGG).]

Another time, the Heavenly Sovereign, when about to hold a copious feast, [*1] made a progress to the Island of Hime, [*2] just when a wild-goose had laid an egg on that island. Then, sending for His Augustness the Noble Takeuchi, he asked him in a Song about the laying of an egg by a wild goose. This Song said:

"Court Noble of Uchi! thou indeed art a long-lived person. Hast thou [ever] heard of a wild-goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato?" [*3]

Hereupon the Noble Take-uchi spoke in a song, saying: [284]

"August Child of the high-shining Sun, it is indeed natural that thou shouldest deign to ask, it is indeed right that thou shouldest ask. I indeed am a long-lived person, [but] have not yet heard of a wild goose laying an egg in the land of Yamato." [*4]

Having thus spoken, he was granted the august [*5] lute and sang saying:

"Oh thou prince! the wild goose must have laid the egg because thou wilt at last rule." [*6]

This is a Congratulatory Incomplete Song. [*7]

[p. 354]

Footnotes

^353:1 [p. 353] See Sect. CVII, 7.

^353:2 Hime-shima, i.e., "Princess Island." The name is supposed to be connected with that of the goddess of Himegoso mentioned near the end of Sect. CXIV, and first occurs in Sect. V (Note 33).

^353:3 The wild-goose goes far north at the approach of spring, and the translator is informed by Capt. Blakiston that the latter has not known [p. 354] of any breeding even on the island of Yezo. The Emperor was therefore naturally astonished at so strange an occurrence as that of a wild-goose laying an egg in Yamato, and asks the Noble Take-uchi whether he had ever heard of the like of it before, Take-uchi being at that time more than two hundred years old (!) according to the chronology of the "Chronicles," and therefore the oldest and most experienced man in the Empire.--"Court Noble" represents the Japanese word Aso (for Asomi, believed by Motowori and Moribe to be derived from a se omi , lit, "my elder brother minister" but used simply as a title), The words Uchi and

Yamato are preceded in the original by their respective Pillow-Words tamaki-haru and soramitsu, whose force it is impossible to render in English, and whose origin indeed is obscure. The words rendered "laying an egg "are literally "giving birth to a child."

^353:4 This Song is too clear to need explanation. As in the preceding one, Yamato is accompanied by the Pillow-Word sora-mitsu.

^353:5 Or, "Imperial."

^353:6 I.e., say Motowori and Moribe, who refer this episode to a time previous to Nin-toku's accession, "The wild-goose has laid an egg in token of the future accession to the throne." The translator prefers the view expressed by Keichiu in his Ko-Gan Sho, and adopted in the " of the Songs in the Chronicles of Japan," that the words tsuki na "at last," must here be taken in the sense of "long," and the Song interpreted to mean "The wild-goose lays an egg as an omen that thy reign will be a long one." This view is supported by the story in the "Chronicles," which places the Song in the Emperor's fiftieth year and gives him thirty-six years of subsequent existence, thus making the prophecy amply fulfil itself, as one would expect that it should do in the pages of such a work. According to the other view, the text of the "Chronicles" calls for emendation.

^353:7 Hogi-uta no kata-uta. For "Incomplete Song" see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 14.

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[p. 355]

[SECT. CXXIX:--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART X.--A VESSEL IS MADE INTO A LUTE)]

In this august reign there was a tall tree on the west of the river Tsuki. [*1] The shadow of this tree, on its being struck by the morning sun, reached to the Island of Ahaji: [*2] and on its being struck by the evening sun, it crossed Mount Takayasu. [*3] So the tree was cut down and made into a vessel, and a very swift-going vessel it was. At the time, this vessel was called by the name of Karanu. [*4] So with this vessel the water of the Island of Ahaji was drawn morning and evening, and presented as the great august water. [*5] The broken [pieces] of this vessel were used [as fuel] to burn salt and the pieces of wood that remained over from the burning were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles [*6] [off]. So [some one [*7]] sang, saying:

"Karanu was burnt [as fuel] for salt; the remainder was made into a lute; oh! when struck, it sounds like the wet plants standing rocked on the reefs in the middle of the harbour, the harbour of Yura." [*8]

This is a Changing Song which is a Quiet song. [*9] [285]

Footnotes

^355:1 [p. 355] This is Moribe's reading (given without any comment) of the original characters . Motowori pronounces them corrupt; but, having no emendation to propose, simply leaves them without any kana reading.

^355:2 See Sect. V, Note 3.

^355:3 Takayasu no yama, in the province of Kahachi. The characters with which the name is written signify "high and easy."

^355:4 The significance of this name, written , remains obscure notwithstanding the efforts of the commentators to explain it.

^355:5 I.e., this vessel was used to bring over every morning and evening [p. 356] the water for the Imperial household, which was drawn on the Island of Ahaji.

^355:6 , the Chinese li Japanese ri. The length of the ri has varied greatly at different times and in different parts of the country. The modern standard Japanese ri is equivalent to about 2.44 English statute miles: but Motowori supposes the ri of the epoch mentioned in our text to have been less than one-seventh of that distance.

^355:7 In the "Chronicles" this story is placed in the reign of the Emperor O-jin, and the Song is attributed to that monarch.

^355:8 In this Song the sound of the twanging of the lute that had been made from the remnant of the boat Karanu is compared to the rustling of the plants standing half out of water on the reefs in the harbour of Yura.--The compound word kaki-hiku, rendered by "struck," signifies literally "scratched and struck," the lute being struck with the nail. The onomatopoetic word saya-saya, of which "sound" is but a colourless equivalent, represents both the delightful ring of the lute and the rustling of the sea-plants. What plants are intended by the expression "wet plants" (nadzu no ki) is a point that has been much disputed. Moribe even thinks that the term is meant for the name of a particular species of (apparently) coral now found in the island of Hachijo. Yura is in the Island of Ahaji.

^355:9 See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

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[p. 356]

[SECT. CXXX.--EMPEROR NIN-TOKU (PART XI.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The august years of this Heavenly Sovereign were eighty-three. His august mausoleum is on the Ear-Moor of Mozu. [*1]

Footnotes

^356:1 [p. 356] Mozu no mimi-hara. The origin of this singular name is thus explained in the "Chronicle" (Emperor Nin-toku, 67th year, Winter, 10th Moon): "(The Emperor made a progress to the moor of Ishidzu in Kafuchi to fix the site of his mausoleum. On the day when the construction of his mausoleum was begun, a deer suddenly ran out from the middle of the moor, rushed into the midst of the coolies, fell down, and [p. 357] died. The suddenness of its death causing astonishment, its wound was looked for, whereupon a shrike came out of its ear, and flew away. So on looking into the ear, it was found to be all eaten away. So that is the reason why the place is called Mozu no mimi-hare (the 'Shrike's Ear-Moor.')"

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[p. 357]

[SECT. CXXXI.--EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART I.--GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Iza-ho-wake dwelt in the palace of Wakasakura at Ihare, [*1] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Princess Kuro, [*2] daughter of the Noble of Ashida, [*3] child of So-tsu-biko [287] of

Kadzuraki, [*4] and begot august children: King Oshiha of Ichinobe; [*5] next King Mima: [*6] next his younger sister Awomi-no-iratsume, [*7] another name for whom was Ichi-toyo-no-iratsume. [*8]

Footnotes

^357:1 [p. 357] For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. Waka-sakura signifies "young cherry-tree." The origin of the name is traced, rightly or wrongly, to an incident mentioned in the "Chronicles" under the reign of this Emperor, 3rd year.

^357:2 Kuro-hime i.e., "black princess." The same name occurs several times, and has reference to the black hair of the person so designated.

^357:3 Ashida no sukune. Ashida signifies "reed-moor." It is the name of a place in Yamato.

^357:4 Kadzuraki no So-tsu-biko. For this name, which is here abbreviated, see Sect. LXI, Note 55.

^357:5 Ichinobe no Oshiha no miko. Ichinobe is in the province of Yamashiro, and the name seems to mean "near the market." The name of Oshiha refers to the "uneven teeth" of this personage which are mentioned in Sect. CLXVII (near Note 5).

^357:6 Mima no miko. The signification of this name is quite obscure.

^357:7 Awomi no iratsume. Awomi is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a place.

^357:8 Ihitoyo no iratsume. Ihitoyo is supposed by Motowori to be the name of a bird, perhaps a kind of owl.

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[p. 358]

[SECT. CXXXII.--EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART II.--HE IS TAKEN TO ISO-NO-KAMI).]

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting, [*1] was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. Thereupon the Suzerain of Achi, [*2] ancestor of the Suzerains of Aya [*3] in Yamato, having taken him away by stealth, set him on an august horse, and caused him to make a progress into Yamato. So [the Heavenly Sovereign] awoke on reaching the moor of Tajihi, [*4] and said: "What place is this?" Then the Suzerain of Achi said: "King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu set fire to the great palace; so I am fleeing with thee into Yamato." Then the Sovereign sang, saying: [257]

"Had I known that I should sleep on the Moor of Tajihi, oh! I would have brought my dividing matting, had I known that I should sleep!" [*5]

On reaching the Pass of Hanifu [*6] and gazing at the palace of Naniha, the fire was still bright. Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang again, saying:

"The group of houses sparklingly burning, as I stand and look from the Pass of Hanifu, is in the direction of the house of my spouse." [*7]

So when they reached the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, [*8] they met one

woman. This woman said: "A number of men bearing weapons are barring [the

[p. 359]

way across] the mountain. Thou shouldst cross it going round by way of Tagima. [*9] Then the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying:

"Oh! on asking the way of the maiden we met at Ohosaka, she tells not [the] direct [way], but tells of the Tagima way." [*10]

So making his progress up, he dwelt in the temple of [289] the Deity of Isonokami. [*11]

Footnotes

^358:1 [p. 359] I.e., on the occasion of his performing the religious ceremony of tasting the first rice of the season.

^358:2 Achi no atahe, supposed to be of Korean origin, and to be a descendant of , great grandson of the Chinese Emperor .

^358:3 Aya no atahe. This family was of continental origin, Aya being the Japanese reading of the character ; see Sect. CXI, Note 2.

^358:4 Tajihi no nu, in the provinces of Kahachi. The signification of the name is obscure.

^358:5 This Song expresses the Monarch's regret at not having brought his mats with him.--From the expression used in the text (tatsu-gomo), the, commentators suppose that such mats were used as a sort of screen to avert draughts. One proposal is to consider tatsu as the Verb tatsuru, "to set up," because these mats must have been "set up" round the room. But it agrees better with grammatical usage to take it in its other sense of "cutting," or "dividing," and to suppose that the mats were so called because they "cut off" the draught from the person sitting behind them.

^358:6 Or "Hill of Hanifu," Hanifu-zaka, in the province of Kahachi.

^358:7 The meaning of this Song is perfectly clear.

^358:8 See Sect. LXIV, Note 25. The word rendered "entrance here and below in the same context is literally "mouth."

^359:9 See Sect. LXII, Note 49.

^359:10 Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "If the maiden whom I met at Ohosaka and whom I sought direction of had been a common mortal, she would have simply told me the shortest road. But now I see why it was that she bid me go round by way of Tagima: it was to preserve me from danger. Ah! she must have been a Goddess."--The [p. 360] words tada ni generally have the sense of "directly," "immediately," and are indeed here so understood by Motowori. Moribe's interpretation, which has been followed by the translator, does but little violence to the text, and suits the general meaning better.

^359:11 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

[p. 360]

[SECT. CXXXIII.--EMPEROR.--RI-CHIU (PART III.--HIS REBELLIOUS BROTHER AND THE

LATTER'S RETAINER SOBAKARI ARE SLAIN)]

Thereupon his younger brother His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake came, sent [to ask for] an audience. [*1] Then the Heavenly Sovereign caused him to be told [these words]: As I am in doubt whether perhaps Thine Augustness may [not] be of like mind [*2] with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, I will not meet and speak with thee." [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. I am not of like mind with King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu." [The Heavenly Sovereign] again caused him to be told [these words]: "If that be so, [do thou] now return down, and slay King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, and come up [again hither]. At that time I will surely meet and speak with thee." So he forthwith returned down to Naniha, and deceived [a man] named Sobakari, [*3] a man-at-arms [*4] in the personal service of [*5] King Sumi-no-ye-no-naka-tsu, saying: "If thou wilt obey my words, I shall become Heavenly Sovereign, and will make thee prime Minister, to rule the Empire. [*6] How [would this be]?" Sobakari replied, saying "" [I [290] will do] according to thy command." Then plenteously endowing that man-at-arms, he said: "If that be so,

[p. 361]

slay the King." Thereupon Sobakari watched for the time when his King went into the privy, and thrust him to death with a spear. So when [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] was making his progress to Yamato taking Sobakari with him, he, on reaching the entrance of the Ohosaka mountain, thought [thus]: "Although Sobakari deserves very well of me, he has truly [*7] slain his lord. This is unrighteous. Nevertheless if I reward not his deed, I may be called untruthful; and if I quite carry out my promise, his intentions are on the contrary to be feared. So, though recompensing his deed, I will destroy his actual person." Therefore he said to Sobakari: "I will halt here to-day and bestow on thee the rank of Prime Minister, and to-morrow will [continue my] progress up." So a halt was made at the entrance to the mountain, a temporary palace forthwith built, a copious feast [*8] suddenly held, the rank of Prime Minister forthwith bestowed on the man-at-arms, and all the officials [*9] made to do obeisance [to him]. The man-at-arms, delighted, thought that he had accomplished his design. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] said to the man-at-arms: "To-day I will drink liquor from the same cup as the Prime Minister." And when they drank together, a bowls large [enough] to hide the face was filled with the liquor presented. [*10] Hereupon the King's child drank first, and the man-at-arms drank afterwards. So when the man-at-arms was drinking, the great cup covered his face. Then [His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake] drew forth a sabre which he had laid under the matting, and cut off the head of the man-at-arms. Forthwith on the morrow he made his progress up. So the place was called by the name of Chika-tsu-Asuka. [*11]

[p. 362]

[paragraph continues] [291] Going up and reaching Yamato, he said: "I will halt here to-day and, having purified myself, will go forth to-morrow and worship at the temple of the Deity." [*12] So that place is called by the name of Toho-tsu-Asuka. [*13] So going forth to the temple of the Deity of Iso-no-kami [*14], he sent to report to the Heavenly Sovereign that he had come up to serve him after accomplishing the work [with which he had been entrusted]. [*15] So [the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for, and met, and spoke with him.

Footnotes

^360:1 [p. 362] The original of this clause is very elliptical, consisting only of the two characters . The old reading joins thereto the characters , which according to Motowori form the commencement of the next sentence. The meaning is not affected by the change.

^360:2 Literally, "heart." Similarly below, where the word "intent" is used in the translation.

^360:3 The signification of this name is quite obscure.

^360:4 Hayabito. The reader should compare Section XXXVIII. Note 11.

^360:5 Literally, "closely accustomed to."

^360:6 The original leaves it uncertain whether the words "to rule the Empire "should be applied to the speaker, to Sobakari, or to both; and the ambiguous application has therefore been preserved in the translation.

^361:7 Literally, "already."

^361:8 See Sect. CVII, Note 7.

^361:9 Literally, "the hundred officials," a Chinese phrase, which has been met with before.

^361:10 The character used in the text implies by its radical that the bowl was of metal. It is an unauthorized form of or .

^361:11 Scil. by the prince to the man-at-arms.

^362:12 I.e., Nearer Asuka. The name is written . The student should consult Motowori's note on this passage in Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 38-39 of his Commentary, to see what can be done towards reconciling the name, the characters it is written with, and the origin ascribed to it, all of which are so apparently incongruous.

^362:13 [p. 363] , i.e., Further Asuka. Conf. Note.

^362:14 Scil. of Isonokami. This deity was the sword forming the subject of the legend narrated in Sect. XLV.

^362:15 This is the gist of the original phrase, which will not bear literal translation into English: .

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[p. 363]

[SECT. CXXXIV.--EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART IV.--VARIOUS DEEDS).]

The Heavenly Sovereign thereupon first appointed the Suzerain of Achi to the office of Treasurer, [*1] and likewise bestowed on him domains. [*2] Again in this august reign the name of Waka-sakura Tribe [*3] was granted to the Grandees of the Waka-sakura Tribe. [*4] Again the gentile name [*5] of Dukes of Himeda [*6] was granted to the Dukes of Himeda. Again the Ihare Clan [*7] was established.

Footnotes

^363:1 [p. 363] In Japanese the same word is used for a "store-house" and for the "treasury." But the appointment here mentioned would seem really to correspond to what we should call Lord of the Treasury or Minister of Finance. The characters in the original are .

^363:2 Literally, "ration grounds."

^363:3 Waka-sakura-be.

^363:4 Waka-sakura-be no omi. Conf. Sect. CXXXI, Note 1.

^363:5 All the editors agree in here reading as kabane ("gentile name," see Sect. XIV, Note 5) the character , which signifies properly "family name."

^363:6 Himeda no kimi. Nothing is known of this family.

^363:7 Ihare-be. For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 6. It will be remembered that the Emperor of whose reign the present Section forms part held his court at Ihare.

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[p. 364][292]

[SECT. CXXXV.--EMPEROR RI-CHIU (PART V.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty-four. His august mausoleum is at Mozu. [*1a]

Footnotes

^364:1a See Sect. CXXX, Note 1.

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[SECT. CXXXV.--EMPEROR HAN-ZEI.]

His Augustness Midzu-ha-wake dwelt in the palace of Shibakaki at Tajihi, [*1] and ruled the Empire. The length of this Heavenly sovereign's august person was nine feet two inches and a half. [*2] The length of his august teeth was one inch, and their breadth two lines, and the upper and lower [row] corresponded exactly, [like jewels strung together]. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Lady of Tsunu, [*3] daughter of Kogoto, Grandee of Wani, [*4] and begot august children: the Lady of Kahi; [*5] next the Lady of Tsubura [*6] (two Deities). Again he wedded Oto-hime, [*7] daughter of the same Grandee, and begot august children: King Takara; [*8] next the Lady of Takabe. [*9]---altogether four Kings [and Queens]. [*10] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were sixty. His august mausoleum is on the Moor of Mozu. [*11]

Footnotes

^364:1 [p. 364] For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. Shiba-kaki (or Shiba-gaki) signifies "a fence of brushwood."

^364:2 As to the ancient Japanese measures we have no accurate information, and the English equivalents used in this passage correspond but approximately to the modern Japanese standards. The character rendered "line" is , which denotes the tenth part of a or "inch." Motowori remarks that the dimensions of the teeth are not anything extraordinary [p. 365] judged by the present standard, and suppose that anciently the measures of length must have been smaller than at present.

^364:3 Tsunu no iratsume. The signification of this name is obscure.

^364:4 Wani no kogoto no omi. The meaning of Kogoto is obscure, Wani has already often appeared.

^364:5 Kahi no iratsume. Kahi is the name of a province, but it cannot be said for certain that it is from it that this Princess derived her name.

^364:6 Tsubura no iratsume. The meaning of Tsubura is obscure.

^364:7 I.e., "the younger princess."

^364:8 Takara no miko. Takara signifies "treasure."

^364:9 Takabe no iratsume. Takabe seems to be the name of a place unless it be considered to be connected with the word taka, "hawk."

^364:10 Remember that the single character includes both sexes.

^364:11 See Sect. CXXX. Note 1.

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[p. 365] [293]

[SECT. CXXXVII.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO [*1] (PART I--GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Wo-asa-dzu-ma-waku-go-no-sukune dwelt in the Palace of Toho-tsu-Asuka, [*2] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign wedded Her Augustness Osaka-no-oho-naka-tsu-hime, [*3] younger sister of King Oho-hodo, and begot august children: King Karu of Kinashi; [*4] next Nagata-no-oho-iratsume; [*5] next King Kurohiko of Sakahi; [*6] next His Augustness Anaho; [*7] next Karu-no-oho-iratsume [*8] another name for whom is Sotohoshi-no-iratsume. [*9] (the reason for her being given the august name of Queen So-tohoshi was that the refulgence of her person passed through her garments); next King Shiro-biko of Yatsuri; [*10] next His Augustness [294] Oho-hatsuse: [*11] (nine Deities). Altogether the Heavenly Sovereign's august children [numbered] nine Deities--(five Kings and four Queens). Of these nine Kings and

[p. 366]

[paragraph continues] Queens, His Augustness Anaho [*12] [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next his Augustness Oho-hatsuse [*13] ruled the Empire.

Footnotes

^365:1 [p. 366] Also pronounced In-kiyo.

^365:2 See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 13.

^365:3 This name and the next have already appeared in Sect. CXVII.

^365:4 Kinashi no Karu no miko. Karu is properly the name of a place in Yamato which has already often appeared in the text. It is uncertain whether kinashi is likewise the name of a place or of a particular kind of pear; but Motowori inclines to the former view.

^365:5 I.e., "the great lord of Negate." There are many places of this name (lit. "long rice-field"), and it is not known which is here intended.

^365:6 I.e., "the black prince of Sakahi." The latter word signifies "frontier." It is not known where Sakahi is, neither is the reason for the name of "black prince" applied to this personage known (Conf. the "white prince" mentioned a little further on).

^365:7 Or, "of Anaho," for Anaho is properly the name of a place in Yamato. Its import is not clear.

^365:8 I.e., "the great lady of Karu."

^365:9 Written , i.e., "the garment-passing lady." So-tohoshi is Motowori's reading of the characters, the usual reading being So-tohori (the Intransitive instead of the Transitive form of the Verb). He likewise identifies Koto-fushi (see Sect. CXVII, Note 9) with this celebrated princess, who is commonly worshipped as Goddess of Poetry. There is much confusion in the traditions concerning her, and Motowori's notes on the subject in Vol. XXXIV, pp. 53-54 and in Vol. XXXIX of his Commentary, p. 3, should be consulted.

^365:10 Yatsuri no shiro-bike no miko, i.e., "the white prince of Yatsuri." Yatsuri is the name of a place in Yamato. It is written with characters signifying "eight melons."

^365:11 I.e., "great Hatsuse," so called from Hatsuse, a celebrated place in Yamato, which has already been mentioned.

^366:12 I.e. "the great lady of Tachibana," the latter being the name of a place in Yamato. The word signifies "orange."

^366:13 I.e., "the lady of Sakami," the latter being apparently the name of a place either in Harima or in Wohari. Its derivation is not clear.

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[p. 367]

[SECT. CXXXVIII.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO (PART II.--HIS SICKNESS IS CURED BY A KOREAN PHYSICIAN).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, when first about to rule the succession of Heaven's Sun, [*1a] declined, saying: "I have a long sickness; I cannot rule the sun's succession." Nevertheless, as from the Empress downwards all the magnates strongly urged him, he forthwith ruled the Empire. At this time the ruler of Shiragi [*2a] dutifully sent eighty-one vessels with august tribute. Then the chief envoy [*3] sent with the august tribute, whose name was Komu-ha-chimu-kamu-ki-mu, [*4] was a man deeply versed in the medical art. So he cured the Heavenly Sovereign's august sickness.

Footnotes

^367:1a [p. 367] For this expression see Sect. XXXIII, Note 27. The story of the refusal of this monarch to accept the crown which was offered to him by the magnates of the nation is told at considerable length in the parallel passage of the "Chronicles." According to the same authority he belonged to a collateral branch of the Imperial family, and was therefore not in the regular line of succession.

^367:2a See Sect. XCVIII. Note 2.

^367:3 Literally, "great messenger."

^367:4 Motowori decides that is the surname, an official title, an official designation of the kinsmen of the Korean King, and the personal name.

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[SECT. CXXXIX.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO (PART III. HE RECTIFIES THE PEOPLE'S NAMES).]

Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, lamenting the transgressions in the surnames and gentile names of the people of all the surnames and names in the Empire [*1b] placed jars [for trial by] hot water [*2b] at the Wondrous

[p. 368]

[paragraph continues] Cape of Eighty Evils in Words at Amakashi, [*3] and deigned to establish the surnames and gentile names of the eighty heads of companies. [*4] Again the Karu Tribe [*5] was established as the august proxy of King Karu of Ki-nashi; the Osaka Tribe [*6] was established as the Empress's august proxy; and the Kaha Tribe [*7] was established as the august proxy of the Empress's younger sister Ta-wi no Naka-tsu-hime. [*8]

Footnotes

^367:1b [p. 368] The original is; , which Motowori reads ame no shita no uji-uji na-na no hito domo no uji kabane.

^367:2b We learn from the "Chronicles" that he whose hand was injured in the process of dipping it into the jar of boiling water was pronounced a deceiver, while those who stood the trial unhurt were considered to be telling the truth.

^368:3 Amakashi no koio-yo-maga-tsu-hi no saki. Motowori truly observes that this does not sound like an actual geographical name, but was rather, it may be supposed, a new designation given to Cape Amakashi (see Sect. LXXII, Note 10) on account of the incident here mentioned. The name reminds us of that of one of the deities born from the purification of the person of the creator Izanagi after his return from Hades (see X, Note 14).

^368:4 Ya-sotomo-no-wo. See Sect. XXXIII, Note 19.

^368:5 Karu-be.

^368:6 Osaka-be, so called after the Empress's native place (See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 3, and Sect. CXVII, Note 6). The reading of Osaka-be is given in all the editions to the characters in the text, , where we should expect . Motowori's explanation of the reason why the name was thus written will be found in Vol. XXXIX, p. 19, of his Commentary.

^368:7 Kaha-be. Motowori supposes that there is here some corruption of the text, as no connection can be discovered between the name of this Tribe and that of the Princess whose proxy the tribe became.

^368:8 See Sect. CXVII, Note 7.

[p. 369]

[SECT. CXI.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO (PART IV.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were seventy-eight. His august mausoleum is at Naga-ye near Wega in Kafuchi. [*1a]

Footnotes

^369:1a See Sect. CIII, Note 2 and 3.

[. CXLI.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO (PART V.--PRINCE KARU LOVES HIS SISTER PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI)]

After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign, it was settled that King Karu of Ki-nashi should rule the Sun's succession. [*1b] But in the interval before his accession, he debauched his younger sister the Great Lady of Karu, and sang, saying:

"Making rice-fields on the mountain, making hidden conduits run on account of the mountain's height:--to-day indeed [my] body easily touches the younger sister whom I wooed with a hidden wooing, the spouse for whom I wept with a hidden weeping." [*2]

This is a Hind-Lifting Song. [*3] Again he sang, saying:

"The rattle-rattle of the hail against the bamboo-grass:--After I shall have certainly slept, what though I be plotted against by people! When I shall have slept delightfully, if there is the disorder of the cut Hydropyrum latifolium, let there be disorder,--when I shall have slept a good [297] sleep!" [*4]

This is a Rustic Lifting Song. [*5]

[p. 370]

Footnotes

^369:1b [p. 370] See Sect. XXXII. Note 27. The wording of this sentence would make it appear that it was only after the Emperor In-giyo's death that King Karu was chosen to succeed him. But probably King Karu had been appointed Heir Apparent () during his Father's life time, as is indeed expressly stated in the "Chronicles," and is implied in later passages of this work; and what our author meant to say was: "It was settled that King Karu should rule the "Empire after the former Sovereign's decease." etc.

^369:2 The meaning of the Song is: "The sister, the mistress, whom I wooed with such difficulty, is now easily mine."--The first phrase, down to "mountain's height," is but a "Preface "to the poem properly so called, serving to introduce by a jeu-de-mots the word shita-dohi, which means not only "hidden conduit," but "hidden wooing." At the same time the implied of the poet's secret love of one so difficult to obtain as his own sister, to the course of the water in hidden conduits which is carried up the mountain's side to irrigate a field perched in a spot almost inaccessible, is by no means devoid of aptness. The word "mountain" (yama) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word ashihiki (or askiki) no, whose signification is obscure and much disputed.

^369:3 Shirage-uta (written phonetically). The interpretation of the term here adopted is that which has the sanction of Motowori and Moribe. They explain it to signify that the voice rose gradually toward the latter part of the Song.

^369:4 As in the case of the preceding Song, the first phrase is but a Preface, which plays on the coincidence in sound between the words tashi-dashi, "rattling," and tashika, "certainly," i.e. "undisturbedly." The signification of the Song proper is: "If I shall but have gratified my passion, what care I however men may plot against me? If I can but press my beloved to my bosom, let all things go to rack and ruin, like the Hydropyrum latifolium, a grass which, when cut, falls into disorder!"--Of the sentiment of the Song, the less said the better; but viewed simply from a literary point of view, it is certainly one of the most fascinating little productions of the early Japanese muse, and the literal rendering of it into English does it woful injustice. Moribe rightly

rejects Motowori's proposal to divide the poem in two after the words hito hakayu to mo, "plotted against by people." Kari-komo no, "of the Hydropyrum latifolium," is a Pillow-Word.

^369:5 Hinaburi no ageuta. The commentators have nothing more precise to tell us concerning the expression "Lifting-Song "than that "it refers to the lifting of the voice in singing."

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[SECT. CXLII.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO (PART VI.--WAR BETWEEN PRINCE KARU AND PRINCE ANAHO).]

Therefore all the officials [*1] and likewise the people of the Empire turned against the Heir Apparent Karu, and towards the August Child Anaho. Then the Heir Apparent Karu, being alarmed, fled into the house of the Grandee the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe, [*2] and made a provision of implements of war. (The arrows made at this [298] time [*3] were provided with copper arrow-insides: [*4] so those arrows are called by the name of Karu arrows.) Prince Anaho likewise made implements of war. (The arrows made by this Prince were just the arrows of the present time: [*5] they are called Anaho arrows.) Thereupon Anaho raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the noble Oho-make Wo-mahe. Then, when he reached the gate, heavy ice-rain [*6] was falling. So he sang, saying:

"Come thus under cover of the metal gate of the Noble Oho-mahe Wo-mahe! We will stand till the rain stops." [*7]

Then the Noble Oho-mahe came singing, lifting his hands, striking his knees, dancing, and waving his arms. The Song said:

"The courtiers are tumultuous, [saying] that the small bell of the garter of the courtiers has fallen off. Country-people, too, beware!" [*8]

This Song is of a Courtier's Style. [*9] Singing thus, he [299] came near and said: "August Child of our Heavenly Sovereign! Come not with arms against the King thine elder brother. If thou shouldst come against him with arms, people will surely laugh. I [*10] will secure him and

present him to thee." [*11] The Prince Anaho disbanded his troops and went away. So the Noble Oho-make Wo-mahe secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. The captive Prince sang, saying:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! if thou cry violently, people will know. Cry quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa." [*12]

Again he sang:

"Maiden of heaven-soaring Karu! Come and sleep, and [then] pass on, oh maiden of Karu!" [*13]

Footnotes

^371:1 [p. 372] See Sect. CXII, Note 4.

^371:2 Oho-mahe Wo-make sukune no omi (according to the old reading Oho-saki Wo-saki, etc. Motowori considers this double name to denote two brothers, the words oho and wo ("great "and "small") naturally lending themselves to the interpretation of "elder" and "younger." Moribe, on the contrary, thinks that there was but one, and is supported both by the authority of the "Chronicles of Japan" and by the fact that, except in the "Chronicles of Old Matters of Former Ages." which is believed to be a forgery, no second brother is anywhere mentioned. He explains the use of the double name in the prose text as having crept in through the influence of the text of the following Song (see Note 7 below). This seems to the translator the better view.

^371:3 I.e., "on this occasion."

^371:4 There is here an evident corruption of the text, and Motowori aptly conjectures that arrow-heads, or, as they are called in Japanese, arrow-points, are intended. He adds that up till then arrow-heads had always been made of iron.

^371:5 The author's style is here rather at fault; for he apparently wishes to say that the arrows employed by Prince Anaho were those which had been used in ancient times and were still the most universally employed--that, in fact, they were the usual style of arrow in contradistinction to those of Prince Karu's invention.

^371:6 See Sect, LXXXVIII, Note 5.

^371:7 [p. 373] The prince, in this Song, bids his troops follow his example, and take refuge from the rain under cover of the gate of Oho-mahe's house. Such, at least, is the actual sense of the words used; but Motowori sees in them nothing less than a slightly veiled exhortation to his followers to attack the castle, while Moribe, on the other hand, thinks they were meant to convey to Oho-mahe a hint of his presence, and enable the beleaguered prince, for whom (as being his elder brother) Prince Anaho retained a great affection and respect, to devise some method of escape. This seems extremely far-fetched.--The word "metal" probably refers only to the fastenings of the gate, and not to its whole structure.

^371:8 The exact purport and application of this Song is disputed, but this much seems clear: that the composer of it seeks to quiet both the besieging army (out of politeness called courtiers), and the peasants who had joined the fray, by making light of the whole occurrence, which he compares to so trivial an accident as the falling of a bell from a man's "garter" or "leggings." The custom of ornamenting this article of dress with a smell bell is, however, not mentioned elsewhere. The word yume, which concludes the Song and is here rendered "beware," is identified by Motowori and Moribe with the Imperative of the Verb iwu "to avoid," "to shun," "not to do."

^371:9 Miya-hito-buri. This is one of the cases which lend support to Motowori's view that the names of the so called styles of Songs are derived from their initial words.

^371:10 Written with the humble character , "servant."

^372:11 The word used in the text, here and also in the next sentence, is that which properly denotes the presenting of tribute.

^372:12 Another reading gives this sense:

"As, if the maiden of heaven-soaring Karu cried violently, people would know, she cries quietly like the doves on Mount Hasa."

[paragraph continues] According to this reading, the poet simply explains the reason of the undemonstrativeness of his mistress's grief; according to that in

the text, he implores her not to weep too passionately.--Amadamu or amadamu ya, "heaven-soaring, "is the Pillow-Word for Karu, applied to it punningly on account of its similarity in sound to the word kari, "a wild. goose," which well deserves the epithet "heaven-soaring." Of Mount Hasa nothing is known.

^372:13 [p. 374] Rendered thus according to Moribe's exegesis, which quite approves itself to the translator's mind, this Song signifies: "Oh! maiden of Karu! come and sleep with me but once, before my impending banishment renders it hard for us to meet again." Motowori chooses to interpret nete as a crasis of nayete, "bending." and sees in the Song an invitation to the maiden to come quietly so as not to attract observation.--The final word, translated "maiden," is wotome-domo, properly a Plural, but here used in a Singular sense, as watakuski-domo, "I" (properly "we"), so constantly is in the modern Colloquial Dialect. For the Pillow-Word "heaven-soaring "see preceding Note.

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[p. 374] [300]

[SECT. CXLIII.--EMPEROR IN-GIYO (PART VII.--DEATH OF PRINCE KARU AND PRINCESS SO-TOHOSHI).]

So Prince Karu was banished to the hot waters of Iyo. [*1] Again when about to be banished, he sang saying:

"The heaven-soaring birds, too, are indeed messengers. When thou hearest the voice of the crane, ask my name." [*2]

These three songs are of a Heaven-Soaring style. [*3] Again he sang, saying:

"If they banish the Great Lord to an island, he will indeed make the remaining return voyage. Beware of my mat! Mat indeed in words,--beware of my spouse! [*4]

[301] This Song is of a Partly Lowered Rustic style. [*5] Queen So-tohoshi presented a Song [to him]. That Song said:

"Let not thy feet tread on the oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine with its summer herbs! Pass there [after] having made clear!" [*6]

[p. 375]

So when afterwards again, being unable to restrain her love, she went after him, she sang, saying:

"Thy going has become long past. I will go, oh! to meet thee. Wait! I can not wait." (What is here called yama-tadzu is [what is] now [known by the name of] tatsuge.) [*7]

So when in her pursuit she reached [the place where Prince Karu was, he, who had been] pensively waiting, sang, saying:

"Alas! beloved spouse, who settledst the [302] whereabouts of our grave, setting up flags in the great vale, setting up flags in the little vale of Hatsuse the hidden castle! Alas! beloved spouse, whom I see after [our many troubles], prostrate like a tsuki bow, standing like an adzusa bow!" [*8]

Again he sang, saying:

"Driving sacred piles in the upper reach, driving true piles in the lower reach of the river of secluded Hatsuse, and hanging on 303 the sacrificial piles a mirror, bunging on the true piles true jewels:--if they said that the younger

sister whom I love like a true jewel, that the spouse whom I love like a mirror were [there], I would go home, I would long for my country." [*9]

Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together. [*10] So these two songs are Reading Songs. [*11]

[p. 376] [p. 377]

Footnotes

^374:1 [p. 375] For Iyo see Sect. V, Note 4. Its hot springs are often mentioned in early documents. Motowori identifies them with a place now called Do-go ().

^374:2 The meaning of this Song is: "I go where perchance no messengers will reach me. But thou must ask tidings of me from the birds."

^374:3 [p. 376] Ama-da-buri. The title seems to be derived from the initial Pillow-Word of these three Songs.

^374:4 The meaning of this Song seems to the translator to be: "Even if they dare to banish me now, I shall some day return again. Respect my mat during my absence. Mat, indeed! It is my wife that must be respected." The commentators consider the concluding words to be a command addressed to the wife, and interpret the phrase to mean, "My spouse, beware! "But surely this makes less good sense, and moreover fails to suit the exactly parallel passage in the first Song of Sect. CXXV. By the words "Great Lord" the princely poet denotes himself,--perhaps with a touch of anger at the indignity to which he is subjected. The difficult expression funa-amari is here, in accordance with Moribe's view rendered by the words "remaining voyage," i.e., "the voyage homeward," which is that part of a voyage that may be said to remain over for an outward-bound vessel when she has reached her destination. Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 50-51, should be consulted for older views of the meaning of the term. The expression "beware of my mat" reminds us that in early days the entire floor of a Japanese room was not matted according to the modern custom, but that each individual had his own mat on which to sit and sleep. Great care was always taken not to defile another's mat, Conf, an elegy from the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves "translated by the writer in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese," p. 79.

^374:5 Hina-buri no kata-oroshi. Like most of the names of styles of Songs, this one is extremely obscure. The commentators suppose that one part was sung in a lower voice than the rest. But they are merely guessing.

^374:6 The actual words of the Song signify: "Lacerate not thy feet by walking on the unseen oyster-shells of the shore of Ahine that is covered with the summer herbs; but walk there after dawn." (This is Keichiu's interpretation of the word akashite, "having made clear," and is the best in the present writer's opinion; the latter commentators see in it a recommendation to the exiled prince to clear the grass away on either side.) The word Ahine calls, however, for special explanation in order that the full import of the poem may be brought out. It properly signifies "sleeping together" or "lying on each other," and is therefore applicable either to the two spouses or to the summer grass. Indeed it is doubtful if it be the name of any real place at all. The word natsu-kusa may also be taken simply as a Pillow-Word for Ahine.--The total gist of the Song is in any case a warning from the maiden to her lover to guard himself against the perils of the journey.

^375:7 [p. 377] The meaning of this Song is: "It is too long since thy departure. I can wait no longer, but will go and meet thee."--The Verb "to meet" (mukahe) is in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word yama-tadzu, which forms the subject of the note appended to the poem by the compiler. The commentators are not agreed as to the precise nature of the instrument intended; but it seems to have been some kind of axe. The cause of its use as a Pillow-Word for "meeting "is equally disputed. It only occurs written phonetically. The term

tatsu-ge, by which it is explained in the text, is there written , which does not help us much towards understanding what is meant to be designated.

^375:8 So obscure is this Song in the original, that Motowori confesses himself unable to make any sense of it. The translator has adopted Mortise's interpretation, according to which the gist of it is this: "Alas! my dear wife, who wast so willing to be for ever united to me that thou didst even fix on the spot in the funereal vale of Hatsuse where we should one day be buried together! Alas for thee, whom at last I now see again "--In order to arrive at this meaning, Moribe is obliged to prove more less satisfactorily that the thrice repeated word wo signifies "vale "or "mountain-fold "the first two times that it occurs, and "grave" the third, and that komoriku no hatsuse, usually interpreted as secluded "Hatsuse," means "the hidden castle," the "final place," i.e., "the tomb, It is also necessary to suppose, without authority, that the flags mentioned by the poet are meant for funeral flags, and that the words "prostrate like a tsuki bow," etc., which, according to the laws of Japanese construction, precede instead of following the phrase "alas! beloved spouse," etc., are but a Preface for the latter.--It will be seen that the foundation on which Moribe's interpretation rests is slight, and that Motowori was scarcely to be blamed for pronouncing the Song incomprehensible. At the same time the translator has thought it better, by following Moribe, to give some translation of it than to leave the passage blank. With this warning, the student may search for other possible meanings if he pleases.--Hatsuse is a still existent and celebrated place among the mountains of Yamato. The etymology of the name, unless we accept Moribe's mentioned above, is obscure. It is now usually pronounced Hase. The tsuki is said to be almost indistinguishable from the keyaki tree (Zelkowa keaki). The adzusa seems to be the Catalpa kaempferi, but some believe it to be the cherry tree.

^375:9 The first half of this Song down to the words "hanging on the true piles true jewels" is a Preface for what follows. The signification [p. 378] of the rest is: "If my dearly loved sister-wife were still at Hatsuse in Yamato, I would fly to her either in thought or deed; but now that she has followed me into exile, the land of exile is good enough:"--Moribe, while allowing the first half of the Song to be a Preface for the rest, contends that it also should be credited with a signification bearing on the subject-matter of the main part of the Song. He supposes, namely, the religious ceremony, whatever it was, of driving piles into the bed or bank of the river and of decorating them with beads and a mirror, to have been one really performed by Princess So-tohoshi to compass her lover's, return. In the translator's opinion, it is more elegant and more in accordance with Archaic usage to consider the Preface as having no special significance or connection (otherwise than verbal) with the rest of the poem. The word i-kuhi or i-guhi, rendered "sacred piles," occasions some difficulty; for it is not certain whether Motowori is right in giving to the initial syllable i the meaning of "sacred." It may be simply what has been termed an "Ornamental Prefix," devoid of meaning. Motowori however points out that this usage of it is restricted to Verbs, and does not occur with Substantives. Komoriku no, the Pillow-Word for Hatsuse, is rendered by "secluded" in accordance with Mabuchi's usually accepted derivation from komori-kuni, "retired land." Moribe, notwithstanding what he has said in his exegesis of the preceding poem (Note 8), is willing to allow that, though perhaps not its original, this was its common, meaning even in ancient times.

^375:10 I.e., committed suicide together.

^375:11 This expression is interpreted to mean that these Songs were recited in monotone, as one would read a book or tell a tale.

[p. 378]

[SECT. CXLIV.--EMPEROR AN-KO (PART I.--HE SLAYS KING OHO-KUSAKA).]

The august child [*1] Anaho dwelt at the palace of Anaho at Isonokami, [*2] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign sent the Grandee of Ne, [*3] ancestor of the Grandees of Sakamoto, to the residence of King Oho-kusaka, on behalf of his younger brother Prince Oho-hatsuse to command thus: "I wish Thine Augustness's younger sister

[p. 379]

[paragraph continues] Queen Waka-kusaka to wed Prince Oho-hatsuse. So do thou present her." [*4] Then King Oho-kusaka did obeisance four times, and said: "Owing to a supposition that there might be some such Great Commands, I have kept her always indoor. [*5] With reverence [*6] will I respectfully offer her according to the Great Commands." Nevertheless, thinking it disrespectful [merely] to send a message, [*7] he forthwith, as a ceremonial gift [*8] from his younger sister, made [the Grandee of Ne] take a pushwood jewel head-dress [*9] to present [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. The Grandee of Ne forthwith stole the jewel headdress meant as a ceremonial gift, and slandered King Oho-kusaka, saying: "King Oho-kusaka would not receive the Imperial Commands, but said: "An soror mea fiet ejusdem stirpis [viri] inferior storea?" [*10] and, grasping the hilt of his cross-sword, [*11] was angry." So the Heavenly Sovereign, having in his great anger slain King Oho-kusaka, took that King's chief wife Nagata-no-oho-iratsume, [*12] and made her Empress.

Footnotes

^378:1 I.e., Prince. In all other cases we find the word mikoto, "Augustness," as the title by which the Sovereign is mentioned at the commencement of his reign.

^378:2 See Sect. XLV, Note 16.

^378:3 Ne no omi. The etymology of ne is obscure.

^379:4 Literally, as "tribute."

^379:5 More literally, "I have kept her without putting her out of doors."

^379:6 Conf. Sect. IX, Note 4 and Sect. XVIII, Note 14.

^379:7 Motowori surmises that may be an error for in the original of this clause .

^379:8 . This term corresponds to the modern , the name by which the presents which are exchanged at the time of betrothal are designated.

^379:9 [p. 380] The original term oshi-ki no tam-akadzura is extremely obscure. One of Motowori s conjectures is that the "push-wood" was a kind of frame by which the jewels or beads, strung on an erect stem of same hard material, were kept firmly attached to the head. Perhaps some notion of the coiffure intended may be gathered from the plate opposite p. 354 of Part III of Vol. VIII of these "Transactions" (Mr. J. Condor's paper on "The History of Costume

^379:10 I.e., "An soror mea, cujus pater Imperator Nin-toku, fiet uxor praesentis Imperatoris? "--Hujus similitudinis rusticitas et ipsis Japonicis commentatoribus pudori est.

^379:11 See Sect. XLV, Note 5.

^379:12 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 5.

[SECT. CXLV.--EMPEROR AN-KO (PART II.--HE IS SLAIN BY KING MA-YOWA).]

After this, the Heavenly Sovereign, being on [his] divine couch, [*1] was sleeping at midday. Then he spoke to his Empress, saying: "Is there anything on thy mind?" She replied, saying: "Being the object of the Heavenly Sovereign's generous favour, what, can there be on my mind?" [*2] Hereupon the Empress's former child, [*3] King Ma-yowa, who was seven years old that year, happened to be just then playing outside the apartment. [*4] Then the Heavenly Sovereign, not Knowing that the young King was playing outside the apartment, spoke to the Empress, saying: "I have constantly something upon my mind, namely [the fear] that thy child King Ma-yowa, when he comes to man's estate, may, on learning that I slew the King his father, requite me with a foul heart." [*5] Thereupon King Ma-yowa, who had been playing outside

the apartment, and whose ear had caught these words, forthwith watched for the Heavenly Sovereign to be augustly asleep, and, taking the great sword [that lay] by his side, [*6] forthwith struck off the Heavenly Sovereign's head, and fled into the house of the Grandee Tsubura. [*7] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were fifty-six, His august is on the mound of Fushimi at Sugahara. [*8]

Footnotes

^380:1 Conf. Sect. LXIV, Note 2.

^380:2 Literally, "Hast thou anything to think about? "The same construction is used in the next sentence.

^380:3 I.e., her son by her former husband King Oho-kusaka.

^380:4 Literally, "below the palace." The same expression recurs further on. The parallel passage in the "Chronicles" has "below the upper storey," i.e., in the court or garden of a two-storeyed house. With the small proportions assumed by Japanese architecture, conversation could well be overheard under these conditions.

^380:5 I.e., "take vengeance upon me."

^381:6 Scil. by the Emperor's side.

^381:7 Tsubura omi. The etymology of Tsubura is obscure.

^381:8 For Sugahara see Sect. LXXV, Note I. The Fushimi here mentioned, which is in Yamato, must not be confounded with the better known Fushimi in Yamashiro. The popular etymology of this name (and it is to be found in many books) traces it to Fushi mi, i.e., "lying three," in connection with the story of a man who "lay on the mound for three years." Probably fuse-midzu, "water laid on," a name perhaps given on account of an aqueduct or of water-pipes, was the original designation, which has been corrupted.

[SECT. CXLVI.--EMPEROR AN-KO (PART III.--PRINCE OHO HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCES KURO-BIKO AND SHIRO-BIRO).]

Then Prince Oho-hatsuse, [*1] who at that time was a lad, was forthwith grieved and furious on hearing of this event, and went forthwith to his elder brother King Kurobiko, [*2] and said: "They have slain [*3] the Heavenly Sovereign. What shall be done?" But King Kurobiko was not startled, and was of unconcerned heart. [*4] There upon King Oho-hatsuse reviled his elder brother, saying: "For one thing it being the Heavenly Sovereign, for another thing it being thy brother, how is thy heart without concern? [*5] What! not startled, but unconcerned on hearing that they have slain thine elder brother!"--and forthwith he clutched him by the collar; dragged him out, drew his sword, and slew him. Again, going to his elder brother King Shiro-biko, he told him the circumstances as before. The unconcernedness again was like [that shown by] King Kuro-biko. [So King Oho-hatsuse,] having forthwith clutched him by the collar, pulled him along, and dug a pit on reaching Woharida, [*6] buried him as he stood, [*7] so that by the time he had been buried up to the loins, both his eyes burst out, and he died. [*8]

Footnotes

^382:1 [p. 382] See Sect. , Note 11.

^382:2 See Sect. CXXXVII, Note 6.

^382:3 Literally, "taken."

^382:4 I.e., treated the matter with indifference.

^382:5 Literally, " relying," as if the speaker meant to say that the dead man could not rely on him for vengeance.

^382:6 In Yamato. The name seems to mean "new tilled field"

^382:7 Written in the text followed by Motowori. The other reading is untenable.

^382:8 [p. 383] In order to account for such an effect from so apparently insufficient a cause, Motowori supposes that after the prince had been made to stand up to the height of his loins in the pit, the latter was filled by having stones thrown into it, whereby his feet and legs would be crushed.

[SECT. CXLVII.--EMPEROR (PART IV.--DEATH OF PRINCE MA-YOWA AND OF THE GRANDEE TSUBURA).]

Again he raised an army and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Tsubura. Then [the other side also] raised an army to resist the attack, [*1] and the arrows that were shot forth were like unto the falling down of the [ears of the] reeds. [*2] Thereupon King Oho-hatsuse, using his spear as a staff, peeped in, [*3] and said: "Is perchance the maiden, with whom I spoke, in this house?" [*4] Then the Grandee Tsubura, hearing these commands, [*5] came forth himself, and having taken off the weapons with which he was girded, did obeisance eight times, and said: "The maiden Princess Kara, whom anon thou deignedst to woo, is at thy service. Again in addition I will present to thee five granaries. (What are called the five granaries are now the gardeners of the five villages of Kadzuraki: [*6]) Meanwhile the reason why she does not come out to meet thee in person is that from of old down to the present time grandees and chiefs have

been known to hide in the palaces of Kings, but Kings have not yet been known to hide in the houses of grandees. [*7] Therefore I think that, though a vile slave of a grandees [*8] exerting his utmost in the fight can scarcely conquer, yet must he die rather than desert a Prince who, trusting in him, has entered into his house." [*9] Having thus

[p. 384]

spoken, he again took his weapons and went in again to . Then, their strength being exhausted and their arrows finished, he said to the Prince: "My [*10] hands are wounded, and our arrows likewise are finished. We cannot now fight. What shall be done? "The Prince [266] replied, saying: "If that be so, there is nothing more to do. [Do thou] now slay me. "So [the Grandee Tsubura] thrust the Prince to death with his sword, and forthwith killed himself by cutting off his own head.

Footnotes

^383:1 [p. 384] Literally, "to wait and fight."

^383:2 The character , "to come" (here in accordance with English idiom rendered by "down") is supposed to be an error. One conjectural emendation of it, viz., , would suggest the "plentiful" falling of the flowers of the reeds.

^383:3 I.e., he lifted himself on tiptoe by leaning on his spear, so as to be able to peep in.

^383:4 The maiden thus suddenly introduced into the story is Tsubura's daughter Kara, whom it must be supposed that the Prince had previously been wooing.

^383:5 Or rather, "Imperial words." The application of the characters to the words of one who was not yet actually Emperor is curious.

^383:6 I.e., the places where the five granaries originally were are now the five villages inhabited by the men who cultivate the Imperial gardens. For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1.

^383:7 Or we may, following Motowori's proposal, take the character in this clause in its slightly different acceptation of "subject," which better suits the sense. The partly phonetic wording of the next sentence shows how the writer was perplexed by the double use of the term.

^383:8 Q.d.. in comparison with a prince of the Imperial family, even a grandee was but a vile slave.

^383:9 The character in the original of this passage is corrupt. But the sense remains clear, and it is scarcely worth while looking about for a probable emendation. Motowori has no satisfactory proposal to make.

^384:10 The humble character , "servant" here used for the First [p. 385] Personal pronoun. The expression , here literally rendered "my hands are all wounded," is very curious. Motowori reads it ita-te ohinu, i.e., "I have received (or suffered from) hurtful hands," and compares two somewhat similar expressions found in Sect. XLIV (see Note 33 to that Sect). The translator may however point out that the similarity is much more apparent in Motowori's kana reading than it is in the Chinese text itself. May not the sense of the present passage rather be: "All our men are wounded?" for the word te () "hand," is frequently used in Japanese,--in compounds at least,--in the sense of "man," somewhat as it is in English naval, mining, and other technical parlance.

[SECT. CXLVIII.--EMPEROR AN-KO (PART V:--PRINCE OHO-HATSUSE SLAYS PRINCE OSHIHA).]

After this Karu-fukuro, [*1] ancestor of the Dukes of Yama of Sasaki in Afumi, [*2] said [to King Oho-hatsuse]: "At Kuta [*3] [and?] on the moor of Kaya at Wata in Afumi, boars and deer are abundant. Their legs as they stand are like a moor [covered] with wogi; [*4] the horns they point up are like withered trees." At this [King Oho-hatsuse], taking with him King Ichi-no-be-no-oshiha, made a progress to Afumi, and on reaching this moor, each of them built a separate temporary palace to lodge in. Then next morning, before the sun had risen, King Oshiha with a tranquil heart rode along on his august horse, and, reaching and standing beside King Oho-hatsuse's temporary Palace, said to King Oho-hatsuse's attendants: "Is he not awake yet? He must [309] be told quickly [that I am come]. It is already day-light. [*5] He must come to the hunting-ground,"--and forthwith urging his horse, he went forth. Then the people who served the august person of King Oho-hatsuse

[p. 386]

said: "As [King Oshiha] is a violent-spoken [*6] Prince, thou shouldst be on thy guard, and likewise it were well to arm thine august person." Forthwith he put on armour underneath his clothes, took and girded on him his bow and arrows, rode off on horseback, and in a sudden interval setting his horse by the side [of the other King's], took out an arrow, shot King Oshiha down, forthwith moreover cut his body [to pieces], put [them] into a horse's manger, and buried them level with the earth.

Footnotes

^385:1 [p. 386] This name has the curious signification of "Korean (or Chinese) bag."

^385:2 Afumi no Sasaki no yama no kiwi. Conf. Sect. LXIX, Note 46.

^385:3 This and the following names are altogether obscure, neither is it evident whether two places are meant, or only one. The present passage reads as if two were intended, but a little further down the author seems to be speaking of but one.

^385:4 The Hedysarum esculentum.

^385:5 Literally "the night has already finished dawning."

^386:6 Motowori endeavours, not every successfully, to explain the use of this epithet by Prince Oho-Hatsuse's attendants. As the sequel shows, the violence was all on the other side.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CXLIX.--EMPEROR AN-KO (PART VI.--FLIGHT OF PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE)].

Hereupon King Ichi-no-be's children [*1] King Ohoke and King Woke (two Deities), having heard of this affray, fled away. So when they reached Karibawi [*2] in Yamashiro and were eating their august provisions, an old man with a tattooed face came and seized the provisions. Then the two Kings said: "We do not grudge the provisions. But

[p. 387]

who art thou? "He replied, saying: "I am a boar-herd in Yamashiro." So they fled across the River Kusuba, [*3] reached the land of Harima, [*4] entered the house of a native of that country named Shizhimu, [*5] hid their persons, and worked as grooms and cow-herds.

Footnotes

^386:1 [p. 387] Literally "prince" (). Their names apparently signify "big basket" and "little basket."

^386:2 Known in later times as Kaniha and Kabawi. The name signifies (if the characters with which it is written may be relied on) "the well where the leaves were cut."

^387:3 See Sect. LXVI. Note 19.

^387:4 See Sect. LX, Note 19.

^387:5 Or Shizhimi. Properly the name of a village, it is here used as the name of a man. The etymology is obscure.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CL.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU, (I.--GENEALOGIES).]

His Augustness Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take dwelt in the palace of Asakura at Hatsuse, [*1] and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Queen Wake-kusaka-be, younger sister of King Oho-kusaka (no children). Again he wedded Princess Karu, daughter of the Grandee Tsubura, and begot august children: His Augustness Shiraka; next his younger sister Her Augustness Princess Waka-tarashi (two Deities).

Footnotes

^387:1 [p. 387] For Hatsuse see Sect. CXLIII, Note 8. Several Asakuras are named in the pages of these "Records." That here named is in Yamato. The name seems to mean "morning store-house."

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLI.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART II.--VARIOUS DEEDS).]

So the Shiraka Clan [*1] was established as the august proxy of Prince Shiraka. Again the Hatsuse-Clan-Retainers [*2] were established. At this time there came over people from Kure. Again the Kahase Retainers [*3] were established. These people from Kure [*4] were lodged [*5] at Kure-hara. So the place was called by the name of Kure-hara. [*6]

Footnotes

^388:1 [p. 388] Shiraka-be.

^388:2 Hatuse-be no tomire. This clan was called after the reigning Emperor.

Remember that the word "Retainers" is here a "gentile name."

^388:3 Kahase no toneri. Kaha-se signifies "river-reach," and the "Chronicles," under date of the eleventh year of this reign, tell a story of the appearance of a white cormorant, to commemorate which this family was established. Cormorants, it will be remembered, were used for catching fish in rivers; hence the appropriateness of the name bestowed on the family in question.

^388:4 The name given by the early Japanese to Wu (), an ancient state in Eastern China to the South of the Yang-tzo River. In Japanese it however, like other names of portions of China, often denotes the whole of that country in a somewhat vague manner. The derivation the word Kura is obscure. The most acceptable proposition is that which would see in it corruption of the original Chinese term Wu, of which Go is the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation. But what of the second syllable re?

^388:5 The phrase is in this place used for "lodged."

^388:6 I.e., Kure Moor. It is in Yamato. According to the "Chronicles," the former name of the place had been Himokuma-nu.

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[p. 389] [311]

[SECT CLII.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART III.--THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE OF THE GREAT DEPARTMENTAL LORD OF SHIKI).]

In the beginning, when the Empress [*1] dwelt at Kusaka, [*2] [the Heavenly Sovereign] made a progress in Kafuchi by way of the Tadagoye [*3] road at Kusaka. Then, on climbing to the top of the mountain and gazing on the interior of the country, [he perceived that] there was a house built with a raised roof-frame. [*4] The Heavenly Sovereign sent to ask [concerning] that house, saying: "Whose roof with a raised frame is that?" The answer was: "It is the house of the great Departmental Lord of Shiki." [*5] Then the Heavenly Sovereign said: "What! a slave builds his own house in imitation of the august abode of the Heavenly Sovereign!" . . . . and forthwith he sent men to burn the house [down], when the Great Departmental Lord, with trembling and dread, bowed his head, [*6] saying: "Being a slave, I like a slave did not understand, and have built overmuch. I am in great dread." [*7] So the thing that he presented as an august offering [in token] of his entreaty was a white dog [312] clothed in cloth [*8] and with a bell hung [round its neck]; and he made a kinsman of his own, named Koshihaki, [*9] lead it by a string and present it [to the Heavenly Sovereign]. So the Heavenly Sovereign ordered them to desist from burning [the house].

Footnotes

^389:1 [p. 389] I.e., Waka-kusaka-be.

^389:2 See Sect. XLIV, Note 31. The Kusaka here mentioned is that in Kafuchi.

^389:3 From tada, "straight "and koyuru "to cross," this being a short cut over the mountains.

^389:4 The original of this clause is , which is read katsuwo wo agete ya wo tsukureru ihe ari. The katsuwo (properly [p. 390] katsuwo-gi) is the name of the uppermost portion of the roof in modern Shinto temples, and apparently in ancient times also in houses that were not devoted to religious purposes. The difficulty is not with the sense, but with the derivation of the word katsuwo-gi. Following the characters with which it is here and elsewhere written, Motowori sees in it a reference to the shape of the blocks of wood resembling

"dried bonitoes," which is the modern signification of katsuwo. But Moribe, in his "Examination of Difficult Words," proposes a derivation which approves itself more to the present writer's mind, viz., kadzuku wo-gi (), "small timbers atop" (see "Examination of Difficult Words," s.v.). Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLI, pp. 11-14, should be consulted for a discussion of the whole question of the use of these frames in ancient times, and for the special force to be attributed to the word "raised" () in this passage.

^389:5 Shiki no oho-agata-nushi. For Shiki see Sect. LXIII, Note 1.

^389:6 i.e., did humble obeisance by prostrating himself on the ground.

^389:7 Or, according to the older reading, "This i.e., thy command) [is to be received with] awe."

^389:8 Or, "tied with [a string of] cloth." The translation follows Motowori's interpretation.

^389:9 The name signifies "loin-girded," i.e., as may be presumed, "wearing a sword."

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[p. 390]

[SECT. CLIII.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART IV.--HE WOOES PRINCESS WAKA-KUSAKA-BE).]

Forthwith making a progress to the residence of Queen Wakakusaka-be the Heavenly Sovereign sent the dog as a message, saying: "This thing is a strange thing which I got to day on the road. So it is a thing to woo with,"--and so saying, sent it in as a present. Thereupon Queen Waka-kusaka-be sent to say to the Heavenly Sovereign: "It is very alarming that thou shouldst make a progress with thy back to the sun. [*1] So I will come up straight [to the capital], and respectfully

[p. 391]

serve thee." [*2] When therefore he returned up and dwelt in the palace, he went and stood on the ascent [*3] of that mountain, and sang, saying:

"In the hollow between the nearer and the further mountain, this Mount Kusakabe and Mount Heguri, [is] growing the flourishing broad-leafed boar-oak; at the base grow intertwining bamboos; on the top grow luxuriant bamboos:--we sleep not [now] intertwined like the intertwining bamboos, we sleep not certainly like the luxuriant bamboos: [but] oh! my beloved [313] spouse, with whom [I] shall afterwards sleep intertwined!" [*4]

And he forthwith sent back a messenger with this Song. [*5]

Footnotes

^390:1 [p. 391] For he had come from Yamato in the East to Kafuchi in the West.

^391:2 The meaning is: "Thy Majesty must not come to woo me here, as the direction is unlucky. But I will myself come up straightway to the palace to be "thine Empress."

^391:3 The ascent or way up here mentioned is, says Motowori, the Tadagoye Road, and the mountain is Mount Kusaka. See Sect. CLII, Notes 2 and 3.

^391:4 In this Song the Emperor consoles himself for the delay in his union with

Princess Waka-kusaka-be by reflecting that after all she will soon be his.--The first half of the poem down to the colon and dash is a Preface to the rest. Most of the difficult words occurring in it have been explained in previous notes; for the "broad-leafed bear-oak "see Sect. LXXII, Note, 19; for tatami-komo, the Pillow-Word by which Heguri is preceded in the Japanese text, see Sect. LXXXIX, Note 12. Kusaka-be is curious, for whereas it properly signifies Kusaka-Tribe,--this tribe or family being called after the place where they resided,--the place itself came to be renamed after them when the fact of the posterior origin of the family designation had been forgotten. The reason (or the [p. 392] mention in the Preface of the oak-tree, which is not referred to in the main text of the poem, is difficult to ascertain. Moribe thinks, however that it is on account of the luxuriance of its foliage which, as if it were a Preface within the Preface, paves the way for the mention of the thick-growing bamboos. The punning connection between tashinu-dake, "luxuriant bamboos," and tashi ni ha wi-nezu, "we sleep not certainly," is necessarily obliterated in the English translation. "Certainly" must be taken in the sense of "undisturbedly."

^391:5 I.e., as may be conjectured, a messenger dispatched to him by his mistress. It seems best to suppose the author to represent the Emperor as not having actually gone to her house at all, but as having only communicated with her by messenger.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLIV.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART V.--STORY OF THE WOMAN AKAWI-KO).]

Again once when the Heavenly Sovereign going out for amusement, reached the River Miwa, [*1] there was a girl, whose aspect was very beautiful, washing clothes by the river-side. The Heavenly Sovereign asked the girl, [saying]: "Whose child art thou?" She replied, saying: "My name is Akawi-ko of the Hiketa Tribe." [*2] Then he caused her to be told, saying: "Do not thou [314] marry a husband. I will send for thee, "--and [with these words] he to the palace. So eighty years had already passed while she reverently awaited the Heavenly Sovereign's commands. Thereupon Akawi-ko thought: "As, while looking for the [Imperial] commands, I have already passed many years, and as my face and form are lean and withered, there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless, if I do not show [the Heavenly Sovereign] how truly I have waited, my disappointment will be unbearable;"--and [so saying] she caused merchandise

to be carried on tables holding an hundred, [*3] and came forth and presented [these gifts as] tribute. Thereat the Heavenly Sovereign, who had quite forgotten what he had formerly commanded, asked Akawi-ko, saying: "What old woman art thou, and why art thou come hither?" Then Akawiko replied, saying: "Having in such and such a month of such and such a year received the Heavenly Sovereign's commands, I have been reverently awaiting the great command until this day, and eighty years have past by. Now my appearance is quite decrepit, and there is no longer any hope. Nevertheless I have come forth in order to show and declare my faithfulness." Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign was greatly startled [and exclaimed]: "I had quite forgotten the former circumstance; and thou meanwhile, ever faithfully awaiting my commands, hast vainly let pass by the years of thy prime. This is very pitiful." In his heart he wished to marry her, but shrank from her extreme age, and could not make the marriage; but he conferred on her an august Song. That Song said:

"How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-tree of the august dwelling! Maiden of the oak-plain!" [*4]

Again he sang, saying: [315]

"The younger chestnut orchard plain of Hiketa:--o si dormivissem cum ilia in juventa! Oh! how old she has become!" [*5]

Then the tears that Akawi-ko wept quite drenched the red-dyed sleeve that she had on. [*6] In reply to the great august Song, she sang, saying:

"Left over from the piling up of the jewel-wall piled up round the august dwelling,[p. 394]--to whom shall the person of the Deity's temple go?" [*7]

[316] Again she sang, saying:

"Oh! how enviable is she who is in her bloom like the flowering lotus,--the lotus of the inlet, of the inlet of Kusaka!" [*8]

Then the old woman was sent back plentifully endowed. So these four are Quiet Songs. [*9]

Footnotes

^392:1 Miwa gawa. It is the stream which flows past Hatsuse. For Miwa see Sect. LXV, Note 8.

^392:2 Hiketa-bo no Akawi-ko. Hiketa is in Yamato. The etymology of the word is obscure. Akawi-ko signifies "red boar child;" but the appropriateness of the name to the woman in the story is not made to appear.

^393:3 See Sect. XXXVII, Note 7.

^393:4 Moribe says that, in this Song, the forgetful calls to mind the majestic and awful appearance of the sacred tree in the temple-grounds, and is moved by this religious thought to repent of his neglectful treatment as her who had so patiently waited for him through so many years. Motowori, on the contrary, sees in the words nothing more than a comparison of the old woman to some sacred tree of immemorial age, and the aversion felt by the monarch to an union with her.--The oak mentioned (the Kashi, Quercus myrsinaefolia) is an evergreen species. Both Motowori and Moribe consider that mimoro in the original Japanese of this Song should be taken, not as a proper name (see Sect. XXVIII, Notes 3 and 5), but simply as signifying "a sacred dwelling." As Miwa is mentioned in the earlier part of the story, it might seem more natural to regard mimoro as likewise being a Proper Name. But the word mimoro itself signifying "sacred spot," the difference between the two views does not amount to much, and it is best to follow native authority. "Oak-plain" (kashi-hara) means "a place planted with oak-trees." The first sentence of the Song must be looked on as a sort of preface to the second.

^393:5 The first words of this Song down to the colon and dash are a Preface to the Song proper, whose meaning stands in need of no explanation,--Moribe surmises that the word kuri, "chestnut," was formerly [p. 395] a general name for all sorts of fruits, somewhat like our word "berry."

^393:6 The drenching of the sleeve with tears is a common figure in Japanese poetry.

^394:7 Or we might (following Moribe) render thus: "Left over from the guarding of the jewel-grove guard at the august dwelling," etc. The wording of his Song is far from clear. While Motowori sees in it a reference to the construction of a wall round the ground of a temple, the overplus of the materials for which sacred wall could not, it may be presumed, be applied to any profane purpose, Moribe disputes the propriety of such an interpretation of the word kaki which, according to him, denotes the grove planted in temple-grounds, temples never having been surrounded by walls such as Motowori assumes the existence of, nor even by "hedges" or "fences," which is the more usual acceptation of the term.

He thinks, therefore, that the superficial signification of the actual words of the Song is that the priest, who has all his life been in the service of one particular shrine, cannot desert it for the adoration of some other deity. The underlying deeper significance of the little poem is in either case the same: Akawi-ko had, during her long waiting of eighty years, remained true to her first love, the Emperor. For every reason it had been impossible for her ever to give her affections to another, and she had now come up to the capital to demonstrate to him who had forgotten her the unchangeable nature of her feelings.

^394:8 This pretty little poem is too clear to need any comment. Moribe supposes that some lotuses brought from Kusaka may have been among the presents made by Akawi-ko to the Emperor. In the original Japanese the reference to the lotuses comes first, as a sort of preface to the rest of the poem. The laws of English construction necessitate its being put last in the translation.

^394:9 See Sect. CXXIV, Note 19.

[p. 395]

[SECT. CLV.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART VI.--HE MAKES A PROGRESS TO YESHINU).]

When the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to the palace of Yeshinu, [*1] there was on the bank of the Yeshinu

[p. 396]

river a girl of beautiful appearance. So having wedded this girl, he returned to the Palace. Afterwards, when he again made a progress to Yeshinu, he halted where he had met the girl, and in that place raised a great august throne, [*2a] seated himself on that august throne, played on his august lute, and made the maiden dance. Then he composed an august Song on account of the maiden's good dancing. That Song said:

"Oh! that the maiden dancing to the lute-playing, of the august hand of the Deity seated on the throne might continue for ever!" [*3]

Footnotes

^395:1 See Sect. XLVI, Note 3.

^396:2a See Sect. CXII, Note 2.

^396:3 This Song presents no difficulties. In it the Emperor speaks of himself as a Deity, and is enthusiastically praised by the commentator Moribe for so doing.

[317]

[SECT. CLVI.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART VII.--THE HORSE-FLY AND THE DRAGON-FLY).]

When forthwith he made a progress to the Moor of Akidzu, [*1] and augustly

hunted, the Heavenly Sovereign sat on an august throne. Then a horse-fly bit his august arm, and forthwith a dragon-fly came and ate up [*2b] the horse-fly, and flew [away]. Thereupon he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Who is it tells in the great presence that game is lying on the peak of Womuro at Mi-yeshinu? Our Great Lord, who tranquilly carries on the government, being [p. 397] seated on the throne to await the game, a horse-fly alights on and stings the fleshy part of his arm fully clad in a sleeve of white stuff, and a dragon-fly quickly eats up that horse-fly. That it might properly bear its name, the land of Yamato was called the Island of the Dragon-Fly." [*3]

So from that time that moor was called by the name [318] of Akidzu-nu. [*4]

Footnotes

^396:1 [p. 397] Akidzu-nu. See Note 4 to this section.

^396:2b Or, "bit."

^397:3 The signification of the greater portion of this Song is clear enough, and is sufficiently explained by the context. The word "who" however admits of two interpretations, Motowori taking it to signify some one," whereas Moribe, keeping the literal meaning of "who?" sees in it an angry exclamation of the monarch's at having been brought out to the hunt under exaggerated promises of game. Womuro means "little cave," but is here a proper name. Mi-yeshinu is a form of the word Yoshino which is frequently met with in poetry, the syllable mi being probably, as Mabuchi tells us in his "Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves," equivalent to ma, and therefore simply an '"Ornamental Prefix." The phrase "tranquilly carries on the government" represents the Japanese yasumishishi, the Pillow-Word for wa go oho-kimi, "our Great Lord," which latter phrase descriptive of the Sovereign is here put into the Sovereign's own mouth. "Of white stuff, shiro-tahe no, is another Pillow-Word. The only real difficulty in this Song meets us is the interpretation of its concluding sentence. The meaning apparently intended to be conveyed is that it was in order to prove itself worthy of its name that the dragon-fly performed the loyal deed which forms the subject of the tale. But it so, the author forgets that it was not the dragon-fly that was called after Japan, but Japan that was called after the dragon-fly (Akidzushima, "Dragon-fly-Island," from akidzu, "dragon-fly"). What should be the point of the whole poem therefore fails of application. The name "Island of the Dragon-Fly" has already appeared in Sect. V (Note 26).

^397:4 I.e., Dragon-Fly Moor. See Motowori's remarks in his "Examination of the Synonyms for Japan," p. 26.

[p. 398]

[SECT. CLVII.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART VII.--ADVENTURE WITH A WILD BOAR).]

Again once the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up to the summit of Mount Kadzuraki. [*1] Then a large [wild] boar ran out. When the Heavenly Sovereign forthwith shot the boar with a whizzing barb, [*2] the boar, furious, came towards him roaring. [*3] So the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the roaring, climbed up to the top of an alder. Then he sang, saying:

"The branch of the alder-tree on the opportune mound which I climbed in my flight on account of the terribleness of the roaring of the boar, of the wounded boar, which our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government had been pleased to shoot!" [*4]

Footnotes

^398:1 [p. 398] See Sect. LV, Note 1.

^398:2 See Sect. XXIII, Note, 7.

^398:3 This is the sense attributed by the commentators to the obscure word utaki, which seems to be only found written phonetically.

^398:4 Our author cannot be right in attributing this Song to the Emperor, and we need not hesitate to accept the different version of the story given in the parallel passage of the "Chronicle," where the Monarch, as might be expected from all the other details that have been preserved concerning him, bravely faces the boar, while it is one of his attendants who runs away and climbs a tree to be out of danger, and afterwards composes these lines. This Song is a good instance of what Mr. Aston (in his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd Edit., p. 194) has said concerning some of the short poems of a later date: "These sentences are not statements of fact; they merely picture to the mind a state of things without making any assertion respecting it." Here we, as it were, simply see the frightened courtier sitting breathless and terrified amid the branches of the alder, and the whole verse has but the meaning of an exclamation. The term ari-wo rendered "opportune mound." is the only word in the text which raises any difficulties [p. 399] of interpretation. Moribe's exegesis has here been followed. According to the older view it signifies "barren mound." For the words "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" see Sect CLVI, Note 3.

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[p. 399] [319]

[SECT. CLVIII.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART IX.--REVELATION OF THE GREAT DEITY OF KADZURAKI, LORD OF ONE WORD).]

Again once, when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress up Mount Kadzuraki, the various officials [*1] were all clothed in green-stained garments with red cords that had been granted to them. At that time there were people ascending the mountain on the opposite mountain acclivity quite similar to the order of the Heavenly Monarch's retinue. Again the style of the habiliments and likewise the people were similar and not distinguishable. [*2] Then the Heavenly Sovereign gazed, and sent to ask, saying: "There being no other King in Yamato excepting myself, what person goeth thus?" The style of the reply again was like unto the commands of a Heavenly Sovereign. Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, being very angry, fixed his arrow [in his bow], and the various officials all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. Then those people also all fixed their arrows [in their bows]. So the Heavenly Sovereign again sent to ask, saying: "Then tell thy name. Then let each of us tell his name, and [then] let fly his arrow." Thereupon [the other] replied, saying: "As I was the first to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good,--the Great Deity of Kadzuraki, Lord of One

[p. 400]

[paragraph continues] [320] Word." [*3] The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understood not that thy great person would be revealed;" [*4]--and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on, and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity]. [*5] Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands,

[*6] accepted the offering. So when the Heavenly Sovereign made his progress back, the Great Deity came down the mountain, [*7] and respectfully escorted him to the entrance [*8] of the Hatsuse mountain. So it was at that time the Great Deity Lord of One Word was revealed.

Footnotes

^399:1 [p. 400] Literally, "the hundred officials." This Chinese phrase has been met with before in the "Records," and recurs in this Section.

^399:2 The original has the character , out of which it is hard to make sense. Motowori's proposal to consider it put by error for , has therefore been adopted, though the translator feels by no means sure that it is a happy one. According to the strict Chinese sense of , it would not fit with this passage any than ; but in Japanese we may be justified in understanding to mean "not distinguishable."

^400:3 In the original: . The import of the obscure expression "dispelling with a word the good" is not rendered much more intelligible by Motowori's attempt to explain it. For Kadzuraki see LV, Note. 1.

^400:4 Literally, "that there would be a present (or manifest) great person."

^400:5 I.e., he kept nothing for himself, but from his own sword and bow and arrows down to the ceremonial garments in which his followers were clad, gave every thing to the god.

^400:6 In token of joy, says Motowori.

^400:7 The characters , rendered by "came down the mountain," are evidently the result of a copyist's carelessness. The translation follows Motowori's proposal to emend the text to .

^400:8 Literally "mouth."

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[p. 401]

[SECT CLIX.--EMPEROR (PART X.--THE MOUND OF THE METAL SPADE).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a progress to Kasuga to wed Princess Wodo, [*1a] daughter of the Grandee Satsuki of Wani, [*2a] a maiden met him by the way, and forthwith seeing the Imperial progress, ran and hid on the side of a mound. So he composed an august Song. That august Song said:

"Oh! the mound where the maiden is hiding! Oh for five hundred metal spades! then might [we] dig her out!" [*3]

So that mound was called by the name of the Mound [321] of the Metal Spade. [*4]

Footnotes

^401:1a Wodo-hime. The signification of this name is obscure.

^401:2a Wani no Satsuki no omi. For Wani see Sect. LXII, Note 11. Satsuki is the old Japanese name of the fifth moon.

^401:3 Moribe thus paraphrases this Song: "The Monarch had met a girl carrying a spade in her hand, and as she was beautiful, wished to address her; but she ran off and hid on the hill-side, leaving her spade behind her. His words express a

desire for five hundred spades like hers, with which to break down the hill-side and dig her out. . . . It is in joke that he talks of the maiden who was on the other side of the hill as being inside it." That in ancient times all digging implements were not made of metal will be seen by reference to Sect. CXXIV, Note 9.

^401:4 Kanasuki no woko.

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[SECT. CLX.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART XI.--THE LEAF IN THE CUP).]

Again when the Heavenly Sovereign made a copious feast under a hundred-branching tsuki-tree [*1b] at Hatsuse, a female attendant from Mihe [*2b] in the land of Ise lifted

[p. 402]

up the great august cup, and presented it to him. Then from the hundred-branching tsuki-tree there fell a leaf and floated in the great august cup. The female attendant, not knowing that the fallen leaf was floating in the cup, did not desist from presenting [*3] the great august liquor to the Heavenly Sovereign, who, perceiving the leaf floating in the cup, knocked the female attendant down, put his sword to her neck, and was about to cut off her head, when the female attendant spoke to the Heavenly Sovereign, saying: "Slay me not! There is something that I must say to thee:" and forthwith she sang, saying:

"The palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a palace where shines the morning sun, a palace where glistens the evening sun, a palace plentifully rooted as the root of the bamboo, a palace with spreading roots like the roots of the trees, a palace pestled with oh! eight hundred [loads of] earth, As for the branches of the hundred-fold flourishing tsuki-tree growing by the house of new licking at the august gate [made of] [322] chamaecyparis [wood], the uppermost branch has the sky above it, the middle branch has the east above it, the lowest branch has the country above it. A leaf from the tip of the uppermost branch falls against the middle branch; a leaf from the tip of the middle branch falls against the lowest branch; a leaf from the tip of the lowest branch, falling into the oil floating in the fresh jewelled goblet which the maid [p. 403] of Mihe is lifting up, all [goes] curdle-curdle. Ah! this is very awful, August Child of the High-Shining Sun! The tradition of the thing, too this!" [*4]

So on her presenting this Song, her crime was [323] pardoned. Then the Empress sang. Her Song said:

"Present the luxuriant august liquor to the august child of the high-shining sun, who is broad like the leaves, who is brilliant like the blossoms of the broad-foliaged five hundred[-fold branching] true camellia-tree that stands growing by the house of new licking in this high metropolis of Yamato, on this high-timbered mound of the metropolis The tradition of this thing, too this!" [*5]

Forthwith the Heavenly Sovereign sang, saying: [324]

"The people of the great palace, having put on scarfs like the quail-birds having put their tails together like wagtails' and congregated together like the yard-sparrows, may perhaps to-day be truly steeped in liquor,--the people of the palace of the high-shining sun. The tradition of the thing, too, this." [*6]

These three Songs are Songs of Heavenly Words. [*7] [325] So at this copious feast this female attendant from Mihe was praised and plentifully endowed.

[p. 404] [p. 405] [p. 406]

Footnotes

^401:1b [p. 403] Said to be scarcely distinguishable from the keyaki (Zelkowa keaki)

^401:2b See Sect. LXXXIX, Note 7.

^402:3 Literally "still presented."

^403:4 [p. 404] To understand the allusion at the beginning of this Song to the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, which had been the residence of the Emperor Kei-ko (See Sect. LXXVI, Note 1), it must be known that in the account of the reign of that monarch as given in the "Chronicles" there is a story which, like that in the text, turns on carelessness in dealing with a goblet,--carelessness which Kei-ko graciously pardoned. Moreover the scene of the incident here related was in the immediate neighbourhood of the old palace of Hishiro. There was therefore a double reason for referring to that place; and the under-current of insinuation is, that as Kei-ko in the olden time forgave the courtiers who forgot his goblet, will not the present Sovereign forgive the maid of Mihe for letting a leaf fall into his? The poetess, after describing the splendour and solidity of the Imperial abode, passes on to a mention of the luxuriant and many-branching tsuki-tree growing near "the house of new licking," i.e., the sacred hall where the Sovereign performed each year the ceremony of tasting the first-fruits of the harvest. The "gate" may either be taken in its literal acceptation, or else regarded as used by metonymy for the palace itself. The description of that which the middle and lowest branches "have above them" is somewhat obscure, and perhaps the words should not be too strictly pressed for a perfectly rational meaning, their chief use being as metrical parallelisms. The supposition of the commentators is however that the poetess, in speaking of this immense tree, meant to say that the middle branch (or branches) spread eastward, and the lowest branches westward. Next we are told of the fall of the fatal leaf into the oil, i.e., into the liquor, contained in the Imperial goblet; and the poetess, before acknowledging the awfulness of her misdemeanour, skilfully brings in an allusion to the Japanese account of the creation, when the drops that fell from the spear used by the creator and creatrix Izanagi and Izanami to make the brine "go curdle-curdle" did very good work indeed; for they were piled up and became the first-formed island for the Japanese archipelago (see Sect. III): for drops to fall down, or for leaves to fall into drops (of wine), must therefore surely be a good omen rather than a crime. Conformably with the hesitating nature of her allusion, the maiden leaves it quite uncertain what is conceived of as "going curdle-curdle" in the present instance. In fact, neither must the thought be pressed too far, nor the sentence searched too rigorously from a grammatical point of view. Such intentional vagueness is one of the specific characteristics of a great deal of the poetry of Japan. The words "the tradition of the thing, [p. 405] too, this!", which conclude the poem, are obscure in another and more usual sense; but, having been already treated of in Note 4 to Sect. XXIV, they need not detain us here. They do not affect the sense of the rest of the poem. Two points more remain to be noticed: one is that the word Mihe and hi no mi hado ("august gate of ") are respectively preceded by the Pillow-Words ariginu no, whose signification is disputed, and makisaku, which signifies "splitting true trees;" the other, that the original of the word "glistens" near the commencement of the poem only has that sense if, following , we identify hi-gakeru with hi-kagayakeru. As it stands, the word kakeru lends itself more naturally to the interpretation of "sets." But the logical difficulty of accepting the phrase "where the sun sets" in such a context, where on the contrary some phrase of good omen is alone appropriate, seems greater than the philological difficulty of deriving hi-gakeru by a process of contraction from hi-kagayakeru. The designation of the Emperor or Heir Apparent by the title of "august child of the high-shining sun" has been met with before, and needs no explanation when the solar ancestry claimed by the Japanese monarchs is called to mind.

^403:5 The gist of this Song, which must be supposed to be addressed to the female attendant, is simply: "Present the goblet full of liquor to the Emperor."--In accordance with the rules of Japanese construction the Imperative "present," which is the chief Verb of the sentence, comes last, and is preceded by the comparison of the Monarch to the leaves and flowers of the camellia-tree, while the comparatively unimportant words describing the position of the tree come at the beginning. Thus in a literal English translation the climax is necessarily spoilt through the reversal of the order of the words. The "broad-leafed camellia "has already appeared in Sect. CXXIII, Note 11, the "house of new licking" has been explained in the note immediately preceding the present one, and the incomprehensible concluding exclamation has been discussed in Sect. XXIV, Note 4. The "high metropolis "of Yamato is of course the then capital. There is however some doubt whether the word take-chi, which is here thus rendered, should not rather be considered as a proper name. The expression ko-dakaru, rendered "high-timbered." is also doubtful. Motowori interprets it simply as "slightly high." Moribe seems right in explaining the word tsukasa to mean "a mound."

^403:6 This Song is here out of place, and is supposed by Motowori to have been composed, not by the Emperor, but by some court-lady who was absent from the feast. The meaning simply is: "Ah yes," 'tis to-day that the court ladies are "drinking their fill of rice-liquor[.--and [p. 406] would that I were with them)!"--The picture here presented of the manners of the court is not attractive; but the comparison of the ladies' appearance with that of various birds is quaint. The commentators tell us that appropriateness of the use of the word "scarfs" as applied to the quail lies in the peculiar plumage of that bird, which makes it look as if it had a scarf on. "Having put their tails together" means "standing with their trains in a row." The epithet "yard "applied to the sparrows paints the habits of that bird. The words "great palace" are in the original preceded by the Pillow-Word momoshiki no, whose signification is disputed. After lines

Kefu mo ka mo
      Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi.

rendered "may perhaps to day be truly steeped in liquor," Moribe would like to consider the lines

Asu ma koma
      Saka-mi-dzuku-rashi,

i.e., "may perhaps to-morrow be truly steeped in liquor" to have been accidentally omitted. There is no doubt but that their insertion would add to the effect of the poem from the point of view of style.

^403:7 , read ama-koto-uta. This expression is altogether obscure, and the commentators differ in their interpretations of it. Mabuchi, following the characters, sees in them an allusion to the words "august child of the high-shining sun" which recurs in each of the three Songs thus bracketed together. Motowori thinks that ama-koto should be regarded as standing for amari-goto () "surplus words," in allusion to the meaningless refrain with which the Songs in question terminate. Other Songs, however, which end in the same manner, are not thus designated. Moribe's exegesis, though founded on Motowori's is preferable to it. Accepting ama-koto as a contraction of amari-goto, he would take the second half of the compound in the sense of "things," not "words" (not), and regard the whole as signifying that the Songs were composed or sung after the conclusion of the actual feast. Against this view must be set the fact that the Chinese characters lend it no support. The translator, has, as usual when in doubt, preferred to adhere to the sense given by the characters.

[SECT. CLXI.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART XII.--SONGS BY THE EMPEROR AND PRINCESS WODO).]

On the day of this copious feast the Heavenly Sovereign, when Princess Wodo of Kasuga [*1] presented to him the great august liquor, sang again, saying:

"Oh! the grandee's daughter holding the excellent flagon! [If] thou hold the excellent flagon, hold it firmly! Hold it quite firmly, more and more firmly, child holding the excellent flagon." [*2]

This is a Cup Song. [*3] Then Princess Wodo presented [326] a Song. That Song said:

"Would that I were [thou,] the lower board of the arm-rest whereon our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government stands leaning at morn, stands leaning at eve! Oh! mine elder brother!" [*4]

This is a Quiet Song.

Footnotes

^407:1 Kasuga no Wodo-hime. See Sect. CLIX. Note I.

^407:2 This Song is simply a reiterated, and playful injunction to the maiden to hold firmly the flagon containing the intoxicating liquor; and Motowori is, as Moribe remarks, putting more into the words than they are really meant to convey, when he says that they imply praise on the Monarch's part,--The English words "grandee's daughter" represent the Japanese omi no omina, a somewhat remarkable expression, which is interpreted by Motowori to signify "attendant maiden." The translator prefers the view propounded in Moribe's comment on this Song, and has therefore adopted it. The expression is in the original preceded by the untranslatable Pillow-Word minasossoku (Moribe reads the last syllable with the nigori,--gu), The word rendered "excellent flagon" is ho-dari, the first element of the compound being explained by the commentators in the sense of "excellent," i.e., "big," while the second is the same as the modern word taru, "a cask." In ancient times, however, the signification of tari or taru was that of a vessel to pour liquor from, not [p. 408] to store liquor in,--i.e., a flagon, not a cask. The words "quite firmly, more and more firmly" represent the Japanese shita-gataku ya-gataku according to Moribe's exegesis. Motowori's interpretation of them in the sense of "[take the] bottom firmly and the top firmly" is less acceptable.

^407:3 Thus does the editor of 1687, who is followed by Moribe, understand the original expression uki-uta. Motowori's interpretation, "Floating Song," seems less good.

^407:4 So enamoured is the maiden of the Sovereign that she fain be even the board of the arm-rest on which he leans.--The expression "lower board "is misleading, for it refers simply to the self-evident fact that the board forming the top of the little low table used as an arm-rest by one squatting on his mat is below the arm, as whose support it serves. The words "stands leaning" must probably be understood to signify "sits" or "squats leaning." The expression "our great lord who tranquilly carries on the government" is a frequently recurring periphrasis for the word "Emperor," and has been explained in Sect. LXXXVII, Note 4. The words "at morn" and "at eve" are literally in the original "at morning doors" and "at evening doors," the reference being to the fact that the doors of a house are respectively opened and closed in the early morning and at nightfall. The exclamation "Oh! mine elder brother" is addressed to the board of the arm-rest. Conf. the first Song in Sect LXXXIX, where Yamato-take apostrophizes a pine-tree in the same terms.

[SECT. CLXII.--EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU (PART XIII.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were one hundred and twenty-four. His august mausoleum is at Takawashi in Tajihi [*1] in Kafuchi,

Footnotes

^408:1 For Tajihi see Sect. CXXXII, Note 4. Takawashi signifies "high eagle."

[SECT. CLXIII.--EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART I.--SEARCH FOR A SUCCESSOR TO HIM).]

His Augustness Shiraka-no-oho-yamato-ne-ko dwelt at the palace of Mikakuri at Ihare, [*1a] and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Sovereign had no Empress, and likewise no august children. So the Shiraka-Clan [*2] was established as his august proxy. So after the Heavenly Sovereign's decease, there was no King to rule the Empire. Thereupon, on enquiry [being made] for a King who should rule the sun's succession, Oshinumi-no-iratsume, [*3] another name for whom was Princess Ihi-toyo, younger sister of Prince Ichinobe-oshiha-wake, [*4] [was found to be] residing at the palace of Tsunusashi at Takaki in Oshinumi in Kadzuraki. [*5]

Footnotes

^409:1a For Ihare see Sect. XLIII, Note 26. Mika-kuri signifies "jar-chestnut."

^409:2 Shiraka-be.

^409:3 In Sect. CXXXI (Note 7) this name appears as Awomi-no-iratsume. Both Awomi and Oshinumi are supposed to be names of places. The latter is the name of a district in Yamato. Its etymology is obscure. For Ihi-toyo see Sect. CXXXI, Note 8.

^409:4 See Sect. CXXXI (Note 5), where however the title of wake ("Lord") is omitted.

^409:5 For Kadzuraki see Sect. LV, Note 1, and for Oshinumi see Note 3 to the present Sect. Takaki seems to signify "high castle," while Tsunusashi is obscure. (See Motowori's remarks on these two names in Vol. XLIII, p. 3 of his Commentary.)

[SECT. CLXIV.--EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART II.--PRINCES OHOKE AND WOKE ARE DISCOVERED).]

Then Wodate, Chief of the Mountain Clan [*1b] when appointed governor of the land of Harima, arrived just at

[p. 410]

[paragraph continues] [328] [the time of] a rejoicing for the new cave of an inhabitant called Shizhimu. [*2] Hereupon, when the feasting and the drinking were at their height, they all danced in turn. So two young children [*3] [employed] to light the fire sat beside the furnace. [*4] These young children were made to dance. Then one of the young children said: "Do thou the elder brother dance first." The elder brother likewise said: "Do thou the younger brother dance first." When they thus yielded to each other, the people who were met together laughed at their manner of yielding to each other. [*5] So at last the elder brother danced, [and when he had] finished, the younger when about to dance chanted, saying:

"On the bamboos on the mountain-slopes, behind which are hidden as soon as they appear my warrior-mate's sword, on whose hilt red earth was daubed, for whose cord red cloth was cut, and his red flags that were set up!:--Beggarly descendants of King Ichinobe-no-oshiha, august child of the Heavenly Sovereign Izaho-wake, who ruled the Empire as it were cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities, and like playing on an eight-stringed lute!" [*6]

[329] Then forthwith Chief Wodate, starting at the sound [of these words], and rolling off his couch, [*7] drove away the people of the cave; and having set the two [*8] princes [one] on his left knee and [the other] on right and wept and lamented, he collected the people together, and having built a temporary palace, and set [the two princes]

[p. 411]

to dwell in that temporary palace, he sent a courier up [to the capital]. Thereupon their aunt, Queen Ihi-toyo, delighted to hear [the news], made them come up to the palace.

Footnotes

^409:1b Yama-be no murazhiwodate. Yama-be has already appeared. Wo-date signifies "small shield."

^410:2 For this name see Sect. CXLIX, Note 5. A similar festival at the inauguration of a new cave is mentioned in Sect. LXXX.

^410:3 Motowori's vain attempts to reconcile the dates with this statement of Princes Ohoke and Woke being "young children "at this time, after an interval of two reigns since the death of their father, will be found in Vol. XLIII, pp. 10-11, of his Commentary.

^410:4 I.e., as the commentators , a place or vessel holding a light with which to kindle other lights for the feast. The word can scarcely here have its common signification of a "kitchen-range."

^410:5 I.e., at the fact of their being so courteous to each other.

^410:6 This so-called "chant,"--it is not a Song, because not in metre, and is accordingly not transcribed syllabically,--is at first sight so difficult as to seem to defy translation, and to make the student apply to the whole of his interpretation Motowori's closing remark on his exegesis of one of phrases contained in it,--"this is mere guess-work, and the text demands further consideration." A little inspection shows, however, that the drift of the words is by no means so inscrutable as its partly ideographic and partly phonetic transcription makes it appear. The first part down to the colon and dash is a "Preface" to the second, the "Pivot" joining the two parts in the original Japanese being the word "bamboos." The laws of English construction unfortunately do not admit of the force of the , which entirely depends on the

position of the words, being rendered into our language. The appropriateness of the Preface to the body of the chant rests on the consideration that the bright articles mentioned in it, viz., the sword painted and decorated with red streamers (or perhaps tied on with a red sash) and also the red banners are easily hidden behind the thick leaves of a bamboo-grove, just as the Imperial origin of the two young Princes was hidden beneath the vile office which they filled in Shizhimu's household. The clause "cutting the [bamboos'] roots and bending down their extremities" forms the chief difficulty. Indeed the word "roots" is supplied by Motowori, and his interpretation of the phrase is merely tentative. We may, [p. 412] however, until some better explanation is offered, see in it a reference to the energetic manner in which the Empire was ruled by the young princes grandfather, the Emperor Izaho-wake (i-chiu), or else perhaps by their father Ichinobe-no-Oshiha. This latter view is preferred by Motowori, though according to the history Ichinobe-no-oshiha never actually ascended the throne. The position of the Verb "ruled" in the Japanese text permits of either interpretation. The comparison of the government of the Empire to playing on a lute is poetical and appropriate. It be noticed that in the Japanese text the construction of the sentence forming the main body of the chant is the reverse of what it is made to appear to be in the translation. The words "beggarly descendants," by which, as a climax, the singer reveals his own and his brother's illustrious descent, therefore come last of all and produce on Wodate the startling effect which we read of in the next sentence.

^410:7 Or, "seat." In ancient times each person in a room sat on a special mat, and it is that small mat which is here meant.

^410:8 The Numeral is accompanied by the Auxiliary hashira, properly used for gods and goddesses.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. 412] [330]

[SECT. CLXV.--EMPEROR SEI-NEI (.--THE GRANDEE SHIBI). [*1]]

So when the government of the Empire was about to be assumed, [*2] the Grandee Shibi, [*3] ancestor of the Grandees of Heguri [*4] mixed in the Songs, and took the hand of the beautiful person whom His Augustness Woke was about to wed. This maiden was a daughter of one of the Headmen of Uda, [*5] and her name was Ofuwo. [*6] Then His Augustness Woke likewise mixed in the Song-Hedge. [*7] Thereupon the Grandee Shibi sang, saying:

(iv) "The further fin of the roof of the great palace is bent down at the corner." [*8]

When he had thus sung, and requested the conclusion

[p. 413]

of the Song, His Augustness Woke sang, saying:

(v) "It is on account of the great carpenter's [331] awkwardness that it is bent down at the corner." [*9]

Then the Grandee Shibi sang again, saying:

(viii)"The great lord, on account of the magnanimity of his heart, does not enter and stand in the eight-fold hedge of branches of the child of a grandee." [*10]

Hereupon the Prince sang again, saying:

(i) "Looking on the breakers of the briny current, I see my spouse standing by the fin of the tunny that comes sporting."

Then the Grandee Shibi, getting more and more angry sang, saying:

(ix) "[Though] the eight-fold hedge of branches of the Prince the Great Lord be made fast at eight places, be made fast all round, 'tis a hedge that shall be cut, 'tis a hedge that shall be burnt." [*11]

Then the Prince again sang, saying:

(ii) "Oh fisherman that spearest the tunny, the great fish! He being [there], thou must be sad at heart, tunny-spearing fisherman!" [*12]

Having thus sung, the feast was concluded at dawn, [332] and they all retired. Next morning the two Deities, [*13] His Augustness Ohoke and His Augustness Woke, took counsel, saying: "All the people of the Court go to Court in the morning, and assemble at Shibi 's gate at noon. So [*14] Shibi must surely now be sleeping, and,

[p. 414]

[paragraph continues] [333] moreover there will be nobody at the gate. So unless it be now, it were hard to plot against him," [*15]--and forthwith they at once raised an army, and beleaguered the house of the Grandee Shibi, and slew him.

[p. 415]

Footnotes

^412:1 [p. 414] The student should compare the version of the story in this Sect. with that give in the "Chronicles of Japan," where it is placed some years later at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Mu-retsu, and not only do many of the details disagree, but the arrangement and number of the Songs is different. It is impossible to make a consistent whole out of the story as here given; so, while noticing the linguistic peculiarities of each of the Songs in the order in which they appear in the present text, the translator has thought it advisable, following Moribe, to give in Note 12 a consistent scheme of interpretation for the whole. The small Roman numbers placed in brackets at the commencement of each Song indicate its place in the text as restored by Moribe.

^412:2 By one or other of the two Princes Ohoke and Woke. "Each," we are afterwards told, "ceded the Empire to the other," and it therefore remained for some time uncertain which was to be the Sovereign.

^412:3 Shibi no omi. In some of the Songs that follow there is a play on the identity of this name with that of the tunny-fish (shibi). But whether that be really the derivation it is difficult to ascertain.

^412:4 Heguri no omi. Conf. Sect. LXI, Note 45.

^412:5 Uda no obito-ra. Uda is the name of a place in Yamato.

^412:6 I.e., "big fish." But see the remark on this name in Note 12.

^412:7 Uta-gaki. The derivation of this curious expression is disputed; but the meaning seems to be "strophic" or "choric song," or "a place where singing in which more than one takes part is going on."

^412:8 In this Song the "further fin" (woto tsu hata-de, explained by the characters or is supposed to signify a pent-roof, or the eaves of the roof, or else an out-house connected by a slanting roof with the main building. The "great palace" is the palace of Prince Woke.

^413:9 The "great carpenter" is the carpenter employed to build the roof above-mentioned.

^413:10 The "eight-fold hedge of branches" is simply a "hedge," and the "child of a grandee" the Grandee Shibi himself.

^413:11 [p. 415] The words "made fast" refer to the tying of the fence at certain places to give it strength. If we accepted Moribe's emendation of the final Verb yakemu, "burn," to yaremu, we should have to translate the last clause thus: "'tis a fence that shall be broken."

^413:12 "The great fish" (ofuwo yo shi) is the Pillow-Word for shibi, "tunny." The word "he" (which might also be rendered "it,"--the original being (so) must be taken to refer both to the fish itself and to the Grandee Shibi (i.e., the grandee Tunny), who bore its name.--Following Moribe's acceptable restoration of the original story, which is founded on a comparison of the text of these "Records" with that of the "Chronicles of Japan," we find that in the first Song of the series the young Prince half jokingly remarks on the fact of the Grandee Shibi appearing in public with the damsel who was to have been his (the Prince's) bride. Shibi's name, which, as already stated, signifies "tunny," furnishes the occasion for the marine metaphors borrowed from the current and the breakers. Shibi's answer (Song II,--in the "Records" wrongly ascribed to the prince), takes up the same strain, but in a more tone: the prince is likened to a fisherman who would fain make a futile attempt to spear the great tunny, and his (the tunny's, i.e., the Grandee Shibi's) presence must indeed be pain and grief to him. In a third Song. which is given in the "Chronicles," but not in the "Records," the prince retorts that he relies on his good sword to win the girl for him in the end, and in Song IV the Grandee jeers at the dilapidated condition of his palace, and by implication at the sorry state of his fortunes,--a taunt to which the prince replies in Song V by saying that if the palace is dilapidated, and the Empire in disorder, the fault belongs to none other than to the Grandee . Songs VI and VII, which are not found in the "Records," only serve to continue the growing war of words, which in Song VII (in the "" wrongly attributed to the Grandee) comes to a climax by the prince exclaiming that if he does not force his way into the Grandee's mansion to seize his lady-love, it is only on account of the magnanimity of his disposition. To this the Grandee replies in Song IX (in the "Records" erroneously attributed to the prince) by a sort of tu quoque, vowing that he will cut and burn his way into the prince's palace. This is not the end of the dispute in the pages of the "Chronicles," but it is all that need detain the reader of the "Records." It should, however, be mentioned that in the "Chronicles" the name of the girl is Kage-hime: Ofuwo "Big Fish," which is here given, would seem to be nothing more [p. 416] than a nickname, which perhaps arose from the incidents of this metrics war of words.

^413:13 The word used in the original is hashira, the Auxiliary Numeral for Deities. It recurs at the commencement of the next Section, where however it is not convenient to translate it.

^413:14 The original here has the character , "again'' or "moreover." But this must be, as Motowori points a copyist's error, Almost immediately below the same character recurs where it is equally out of place. The translator has followed Motowori in rendering it the first time by "so," and the second by "surely."

^414:15 I.e., There is no time like the present for plotting against him.

[SECT. CLXVI.--EMPEROR SEI-NEI (PART IV.--PRINCE OHOKE CEDES THE EMPIRE TO PRINCE WOKE).]

Then each of the two Princes ceded the Empire to the other, and His Augustness Ohoke [finally] ceded it to the younger brother His Woke, saying: "Had not Thine Augustness revealed our names when we dwelt in the house of Shizhimu in Harima, we should never have arrived at being the lords of the Empire. This is quite owing to Thine Augustness's deed. So, though I be the elder brother, do Thine Augustness rule the Empire first,"--and [with these words] he urgently ceded [his claim]. So, being unable to refuse, His Augustness Woke ruled the Empire first.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLXVII.--EMPEROR KEN-ZO (PART I.--THE OLD WOMAN OKI-ME).]

His Augustness Woke-no-ihasu-wake dwelt at the palace of Chika-tsu-Asuka, [*1] and ruled the Empire for

[p. 417]

eight years. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded the Queen of Naniha, [*2] daughter of the King of Ihaki. [*3] He had no children. At the time when this Heavenly Sovereign was searching for the august bones of the King his father, King Ichinobe, [*4] there came out from the land of Afumi [to the palace] a poor old woman, who said: "The place where the prince's august bones are buried is specially well known to me, [*5] and moreover [his skeleton] can be known by his august teeth." (His august teeth were teeth uneven like a lily.) Then people were set [*6] to dig the [334] ground and search for the august bones; and the bones having been forthwith obtained, an august mausoleum was made on the mountain east of the Moor of Kaya, [*7] and they were interred, and the children of Kara-fukuro [*8] were made to guard the august mausoleum. Afterwards the august bones were brought up [to the Capital]. So having returned up [to the Capital, the Heavenly Sovereign] sent for the old woman, praised her for having, without forgetting, kept the place in mind, and conferred upon her the name of the Old Woman Oki-me: [*9] thus did he send for her into the palace, and deign to treat her with deep and wide kindness. So he built a house for the old woman to dwell in dose to the palace, and always sent for her every day. So he hung a bell by the door of the great hall, and always rang it when he wished to call the old woman. So he composed an august Song. That Song said:

"Oh! the far-distant bell tinkles when she has past the moor with its low eulalias and the little valley. Oh! Oki-me must be coming!" [*10]

Hereupon the old woman said: "I am very aged, [335]

[p. 418]

and would fain depart to my native land." So when the Heavenly Sovereign let her depart according to her request, he saw her off and sang, saying:

"Ah Okime! Okime from Afumi! from to-morrow [onwards] wilt [thou] be hidden behind the deep mountains, and alas! not seen!" [*11]

[p. 418]

Footnotes

^416:1 [p. 418] See Sect. CXXXIII, Note 11.

^417:2 Naniha no miko. For Naniha see Sect. XLIV, Note 26

^417:3 Ihaki no miko.

^417:4 Who had been treacherously slain by the Emperor Yu-riyaku (see Sect. CXLVIII).

^417:5 I.e., says Motowori, "it is known to me, and to none besides."

^417:6 The character used is , which is more applicable to the raising of troops than to the setting to work of peasants. It seems however here to be used in the latter sense; or perhaps we should consider it to mean that people were got together.

^417:7 See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 3. Possibly the "mountain east" should be a Proper Name,--Eastern Mountain,--but it is not taken as such by Motowori.

^417:8 See Sect. CXLVIII, Note 1.

^417:9 I.e., "keeping an eye." q.d., on the place of burial of the Emperor's father. Grammar would lead us to expect the order of the words forming the name to be reversed thus, Mo-oki; but see Motowori's remarks in Vol. XLIII, p. 56.

^417:10 This Song is not comprehensible except by reference to the text of the "Chronicles," whose author gives a somewhat varying version of the story. He tells us that, as a support to the infirm old lady, the Emperor had a string or rope stretched as a sort of hand-rest along the way she was obliged to pass in order to reach the Imperial apartments, and that at the end of the rope was a bell whose tinkling notified the Emperor of her approach. The conjectural exclamation which the little poem has therefore an obvious sense, which would be wanting if the bell were at the other end, as in the version here given; for the Emperor would not give expression to surprise at her approach, if he had himself just rung for her to come.--"Far-distant" is an imperfect attempt to represent the Pillow-Word momo-dzutafu, which here alludes to the stages [p. 419] along which the old woman may be supposed to be travelling. The valley and the moor overgrown with short grass form an allusion to the way,--long and arduous for her,--which Oki-me had to traverse to reach the Imperial. apartments, and they contain possibly a further allusion to her journey to the capital.

^417:11 The meaning of this Song is quite clear.--The second time the name Oki-me occurs, it might, instead of being as here taken as an exclamation, be made the subject of the sentence, thus: "Oki-me from Afumi will by to-morrow, etc." The words "wilt [thou]," which represent ka of the original Japanese may be taken either as an exclamation properly so-called, or as a sort of rhetorical interrogation whose force is simply exclamatory. The meaning comes to the same in either case, and is literally rendered by the same English words; but according to the latter view, we should have to replace the point of exclamation by a point of interrogation.

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[p. 419]

[SECT. CLXVIII.--EMPEROR KEN-ZO (PART II.--HE SLAYS THE BOAR-HERD).]

The Heavenly Sovereign searched for the old boar-herd who had seized his august provisions at the time when he first met with adversity and was fleeing; [*1] and, having sought him out, sent for him up [to the Capital], beheaded him in

the bed [*2] of the River Asuka, [*3] and cut the knee-tendons of all his kindred. Wherefore down to the present time his descendants, on the day when [*4] they [285] come up to Yamato, always limp of their own accord. So the man's abode had been well seen and divined. [*5] So the place was named Shimesu. [*6]

Footnotes

^419:1 [p. 419] See Sect. CXLIX.

^419:2 Motowori would have us understand the text to mean "in the neighbourhood of the river." There is, however, no difficulty in accepting the author's statement literally, as any one who is acquainted with the broad, stony beds of Japanese rivers will readily admit.

^419:3 [p. 420] Asuki-gaka. For Asuka see Sect. CXXXIII. Note 11.

^419:4 I.e., probably "whenever."

^419:5 I.e., "discovered by augury," or else simply "found and pointed out,"--by whom does not appear.

^419:6 The real etymology of this name is obscure, but the author's intention is to connect it with the "dividing "or "pointing out" mentioned in the preceding sentence, which is given phonetically as [mi] shimeki.

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[p. 420]

[SECT. CLXIX.--EMPEROR KEN-ZO (PART III.--THE EMPEROR YU-RIYAKU'S MAUSOLEUM IS DISFIGURED).]

The Heavenly Sovereign, deeply hating the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, who had slain the King his father, wished to be revenged on his spirit. [*1] So when wishing to destroy the august mausoleum of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, he [was about to] send people [to execute this design], his elder brother, His Augustness Ohoke, addressed' him, saying: "To demolish this august mausoleum thou shouldst not send other people. None but myself shall go, and I will demolish it according to the Heavenly Sovereign's august heart. [*2] Then the Heavenly Sovereign commanded: "Make thy progress, then, according to thy decree," [*3] Wherefore His Augustness Ohoke, having proceeded down himself, slightly excavated the side of the august mausoleum, and returned up [to the capital], and reported that he had dug up and demolished it. Then the Heavenly Sovereign, astonished at the quickness of his return up, asked how he had demolished it. He replied, saying: "I slightly excavated the earth at the side of the august mausoleum." The Heavenly Sovereign said: "Wishing to be revenged on the enemy, of the King our father, I had counted on.

[p. 421]

the complete demolition of the mausoleum, Why hast thou [only] slightly excavated it? "He replied, saying: [337] "The reason why I did so was that the wish to be revenged on the spirit of the foe of the King our father is truly just. Nevertheless the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse, though he were our father's foe, was still our uncle, and moreover was an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire. So if we now, simply from the consideration of his having been our father's enemy, were completely to demolish the mausoleum of an Heavenly Sovereign who ruled the Empire, after-generations would surely revile us. Meanwhile the wrongs of the King our father must not be unrevenged. So I slightly excavated the side of the mausoleum. This insult will quite suffice as a token to future ages." On his thus addressing him, the Heavenly Sovereign

said: 'This also is very just, Be it as thou sayest."

Footnotes

^420:1 , read ni tama or tamashihi. We might also translate it by the word "ghost."

^420:2 The respectful character is used for this word, and again below we have the First Personal Pronoun represented by , "servant."

^420:3 This sentence ends in the original with the characters , which it is not necessary to render into English. They imply that the speaker will come back, and report on what he has done.

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[SECT. CLXX.--EMPEROR KEN-ZO (PART IV.--HIS AGE AND PLACE OF BURIAL).]

So the Heavenly Sovereign died, and His Augustness Ohoke ruled the succession of Heaven's sun. [*1] The Heavenly Sovereign's august years were thirty-eight

[p. 422]

years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Katawoka. [*2]

Footnotes

^421:1 [p. 422] See Sect. XXXII, Note 27.

^422:2 For Katawoka see Sect. LX, Note 29. Iha-tsuki probably means "rockplatter," and seems to have been the name of a little plateau.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLXXI.--EMPEROR NIN-KEN.] [*1]

His Augustness Ohoke dwelt at the palace of Hirataka at Isono-kami, and ruled the Empire. The Heavenly Sovereign wedded Kasuga-no-oho-iratsume, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Oho-hatsuse-no-waka-take, and begot august children: Takaki-no-iratsume; next Takara-no-iratsume; next Kasubi-no-iratsume; next Tashiraka-no-iratsume; next His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki; next Prince Ma-waka. The child born to him by his next wife Naka-no-waku-go-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee of [338] Wani, was: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered seven altogether. Of these His Augustness Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire.

Footnotes

^422:1 [p. 422] For the of explanatory foot-notes in this concluding portion of the translation see Translator's Introduction, Sect. II. near the top of page <page xv>.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLXXII--EMPEROR MU-RETSU.]

His Grandeur Wo-hatsuse-no-waka-sazaki dwelt in the palace of Namiki at Hatsuse, and ruled the Empire for eight years. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. So the Wo-hatsuse Tribe was established as

[p. 423]

his august proxy. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Ihatsuki at Karawoka. On the death of this Heavenly Monarch there was no prince to inherit the Empire, So His Augustness Ohodo, the fifth descendant of the Heavenly Monarch Homuda, was sent for down to the land of Afumi, and married to her Augustness Tashiraka, and presented with the Empire.

[SECT. CLXXIII.--EMPEROR KEI-TAI.]

His Augustness Ohodo dwelt in the Palace of Tamaho at Ihare, and ruled the Empire. The (two) august children born to this Heavenly Monarch by Waka-hime, ancestress of the Dukes of Miwo, were: Oho-iratsuko, next Idzumo-no-iratsume. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Meko-no-iratsume, sister of the Chieftain Ofushi, ancestor of the Chieftains of Wohari, were: His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-taka-kana-hi; next His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife (the Great Empress) Her Augustness Tashiraka, the august daughter of the Heavenly Monarch Ohoke, was: His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Wo-kumi-no-iratsume, daughter of Prince Okinaga-no-mate, was: Sasage-no-iratsume. The three august children born to him by his next wife Kuro-hime, daughter of Prince Sakata-no-oho-mata, were: Kamu-saki-no-iratsume; next Mamuta-no-iratsume; next Uma-tsuta-no-iratsume. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Seki-hime, daughter of Womochi Grandee of Mamuta were: Mamuta-no-oho-iratsume; next Shira-saka-no-iku-hi-no-iratsume; next Wo-nu-no-iratsume, another name for whom is Naga-me-hime. The (four) children born to him by his [339]

[p. 424]

next wife Yamato-hime, younger sister of Katabu Duke of Miwo, were: ; next Prince Maroko; next Prince Mimi; next Aka-hime-no-iratsume. The (three) children born to him by his next wife Abe-no-haye-hime, were: Waka-ya-no-iratsume; next Tsubura-no-iratsume; next Prince Adzu. The august children of this Heavenly Monarch numbered nineteen in all (seven Kings and twelve Queens). Of these His Augustness Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire; next His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi ruled the Empire; the next, Queen Sasage, presided at the temple of the Deity of Ise. In this august reign Ihawi, Lord of Tsukushi, was disobedient to the Imperial Decrees, and was exceedingly disrespectful. Soy the Great Chieftain Mononobe-no-arakawi and the Chieftain Ohotomo-no-kanamura were both sent to slay Ihawi. [*1] The august years of this Heavenly Monarch were forty-three. His august mausoleum is at Awi in Mishima.

Footnotes

^424:1 Details of this. struggle and its causes are given in the "Chronicles of Japan," and are discussed at length in Motowori's Commentary, Vol. XLIV, pp. 15-20. They are of no special interest.

[SECT. CXXXIV.--EMPEROR KAN-AN.]

His Augustness Hiro-kuni-oshi-take-kana-hi dwelt in the Palace of Kanahashi at Magari, and ruled the Empire. This Heavenly Monarch had no august children. His august grave is at the village of Takaya in Furuchi in Kafuchi.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLXXV.--EMPEROR SEN-KUWA.]

His Augustness Take-wo-hiro-kuni-oshi-tate dwelt in the Palace of Ihorinu at Hinokuma, and ruled the Empire.

[p. 425]

[paragraph continues] The august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Her Augustness Tachi-bana-no-naka-tsu-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Ohoke, were: Her Augustness Ishi-hime; next Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime; next King Kura-no-waka-ye. The august children born to him by his next wife, Kafuchi-no-waku-go-hime, were: King Honoho; next King Weha. The august children of this Heavenly [340] Sovereign numbered altogether five (three Kings and two Queens). So King Honoho (was the ancestor of the Dukes Shihida.) Prince Weha (was the ancestor of the Dukes of Wina and of the Dukes of Tajihi.)

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLXXVI.--EMPEROR KIM-MEI.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha dwelt in the Great Palace of Shikishima, and ruled the Empire. The (three) august children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, Her Augustness Ishi-hime, the august daughter of the Heavenly Sovereign Hi-no-kuma, were: King Yata; next His Augustness Nu-na-kura-tama-shiki; next King Kasanuhi. The (one) august child born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Wo-ishi-hime, younger sister [of the first one], was: King Kami. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Nukako-no-iratsume, daughter of the Grandee Hitsuma of Kasuga, were: Kasuga-no-yamada-no-iratsume; next King Maroko; next King Soga-no-kura. The (thirteen) children born to him by his next wife Kitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the Noble Inawe of Soga were: His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi; next his younger sister Queen Ihakumo; next King Atori; next

[p. 426]

[paragraph continues] Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime; next King Mata-maroko; next King Oho-yake; next King Imigako; next King [of?] Yamashiro; next his younger sister Queen Oho-tomo; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari; next King Manu; next King Tachibana-moto-no-waku-go; next King Tone. The five august children born to him by his next wife Wo-ye-hime, aunt of Her Augustness Kitashi-hime, were: King Umaki; next King Kadzuraki; next King Hashi-bito-no-ana-ho-be; next King Saki-kusa-be-no-ana-ho-be, another name for whom was Sume-irodo; next His Augustness Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki. Altogether the august children of this Heavenly Sovereign numbered twenty-five Kings and Queens. Of these His Augustness Nu-na-kura-futo-tama-shiki [was he who afterwards] ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi ruled the Empire. Next Her Augustness Toyo-mike-hashiki-ya-hime ruled the Empire. Next His Augustness Hatsusebe-no-waka-sazaki ruled the Empire. In all there were four Kings and

Queens that ruled the Empire.

[341]

[SECT. CLXXVII.--EMPEROR BI-DATSU.]

His Augustness Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki dwelt in the Palace of Wosada, and ruled the Empire for fourteen years. The (eight) children born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife, his half-sister Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime, were: King Shidzu-kahi, another name for whom was Kahi-dako; next King Takeda, another name for whom was King Wo-kahi; next King Woharita; next King Umori; next King Wohari; next

[p. 427]

[paragraph continues] King Tame; next King Sakurawi-no-yumi-hari. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife Wo-kuma ko-no-iratsume, daughter of the Headman Ohoka of Ise, were: Her Augustness Futo-hime; next Queen Takara, another name for whom was Queen Nukade-hime. The (three) august children born to him by his next wife Her Augustness Hiro-hime, daughter of King Okinaga-no-made, were: King Osako-no-hiko-hito, another name for whom was King Maroko; next King Saka-nobori; next King Uji. The (four) august children born to him by his next wife Omina-ko-no-iratsume, daughter of Kasuga-no-naka-tsu-waku-go, were: King Naniha; next King Kuhada; next King Kasuga; next King Oho-mata. Of the august children of this Heavenly Monarch,--seventeen Kings and Queens altogether,--King Hiko-hito begot by his wife his half-sister Queen Tamura, another name for whom was Her Augustness Nukade-hime, (three) august children, namely: the Heavenly Sovereign that ruled the Empire from the Palace of Wokamoto; next King Nakatsu; next King Tara. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife, Queen Ohomata, younger sister of King Aya, were: King Chinu; next his younger sister Queen Kuhada. The (two) august children born to him by his next wife his half-sister Princess Yumi-hari, were: King Yamashiro; next Queen Kasanuhi,--altogether seven Kings and Queens, The august mausoleum [of the Heavenly Sovereign Nuna-kura-futo-tama-shiki] is at Shinaga in Kafuchi.

[p. 428]

[SECT. CLXXVIII.--EMPEROR YOMEI.]

His Augustness Tachibana-no-toyo-hi dwelt in the Palace of Ikenobe, and ruled the Empire for three years. The one august child born to this Heavenly Sovereign by his wife Oho-gitashi-hime, daughter of the Prime Minister the noble name, was: King Tame. The (four) [342] august children born to him by his next wife, his half-sister Princess Hashi-bito-no-anaho-be, were: His Augustness Uhe-no-miya-no-uma-ya-dono-toyo-to-mimi; next King Kume; next King We-kuri; next King Mamuta. The august children born to him by his next wife Ihime-no-ko, daughter of Tagima-no-kura-bito-hiro, were: King Tagima; next his younger sister Sugashiroko-no-iratsume. The august mausoleum of this Heavenly Sovereign, which had been by the borders of Lake Ihare, was afterwards removed to the middle sepulchre of Shinaga.

[SECT. CLXXIX.--EMPEROR SU-JUN.]

The Heavenly Sovereign Hatsuse-be-no-waka-sazaki dwelt at the Palace of Shibabaki at Kurahashi, and ruled the Empire for four years. His august mausoleum is on the mound of Kurahashi.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[SECT. CLXXX.--EMPRESS SUI-KO.]

Her Augustness Toyo-mike-kashiki-ya-hime dwelt at the Palace of Wohorida, and ruled the Empire for thirty seven years. Her august mausoleum, which had been on the mound of Ohonu, was afterwards removed to the great sepulchre at Shinaga.

The Kojiki, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com

[p. A1] [343]

APPENDIX I.

JAPANESE TEXT OF THE SONGS PRESERVED IN THE "KO-JI-KI," OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS," TRANSLITERATED INTO ROMAN. [*1]

I. (SECT. XIX, NOTE 6.)

Ya-kumo tatsu

Idzumo ya-he-gaki

Tsuma-gomi ni

Ya-he-gaki-tsukuru

Sono ya-he-gaki wo

II. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 4.)

Ya-chi-hoko no

Kami no mikoto ha

Ya-shima-kuni

Tsuma magi-kanete

Toho-tohoshi

Koshi no kuni ni

Sakashi-me wo

Ari to kikoshite

Kuhashi-me wo

Ari to kikoshite

Sa-yobahi ni

Ari-tatashi

Yobahi, ni

Ari-kayohase

Tachi ga wo mo

Imada tokazute [p. A2]

Osuhi wo mo

Imada tokaneba

Wotome no

Nasu ya ita-to wo

Osoburahi

Wa ga tatasereba

Hikodzurahi

Wa ga tatasereba

[344] Awo-yama ni

Nuye ha naki

Sa-nu tsu tori

Kigishi ha toyomu

Niha tsu tori

Kake ha naku

Uretaku mo

Naku-naru tori ka

Kono tori mo

Uchi-yame-kosene

Ishitafu ya

Ama-hase-dzukahi

Koto no

Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

III. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 5.)

Ya-chi-hoko no

Kami no mikoto

Nuye-kusa no

Me ni shi areba

Wa ga kokoro

Ura-su no tori zo

Ima koso ha

Chi-dori ni arame

Nochi ha

Na-dori ni aramu wo

Inochi ha

Na shise-tamahi so

Ishi-tafu ya

Ama-hase-dzukahi

Koto no

Katori-gotomo

Ko wo ba

IV. (SECT. XXIV, NOTE 7.)

Awo-yama ni

Hi ga kakuraba

Nuba-tama no

Yo ha ide-namu

Asa-hi no

Wemi-sakaye-kite

Taku-dzumu no

Shiroki tadamuki

Awa-yuki no

Wakayaru mune wo

So-dataki

Tataki-managari

Ma-tama-de

Tama-de sahi-maki [p. A3]

Momo-naga ni

I ha nasamu wo

Aya ni

Na kohi-kikoshi

Ya-chi-hoko no

Kami no mikoto

Koto no

Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

V. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 2.)

Nuba-tama no

Kuroki mi keshi wo

Ma-tsubusa ni

Tori-yosohi [345]

Oki tsu tori

Muna miru toki

Ha-tatagi mo

Kore ha fusahazu

He tsu nami

So ni nugi-ute

So-ni-dori no

Awoki mi keshi wo

Ma-tsubusa ni

Tori-yosohi

Oki tsu tori

Muna miru toki

Ha-tatagi mo

Ko mo fusahazu

He tsu nami

So ni nugi-ute

Yama-gata ni

Magishi atane tsuki [*2]

Some-ki ga shiru ni

Shime-koromo wo

Ma-tsubusa ni

Tori-yosohi

Oki tsu tori

Muna miru toki

Ha-tatagi mo

Ko shi yoroshi

Itokoya no

Imo no mikoto

Mura-tori no

Wa ga mure-i-naba

Hike-tori no

Wa ga hike-i-naba

Nakazhi to ha

Na ha ifu to mo

Yamato no

Hito-moto susuki

Unakabushi

Na ga nakasamaku

Asa-ame no

Sa-giri ni tatamu zo [*3] [p. A4]

Waka-kusa no

Tsuma no mikoto.

Koto no

Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

VI. (SECT. XXV, NOTE 3.)

Ya-chi-hoko no

Kami no mikoto ya

A ga oho-kuni
Nushi koso ha

Wo ni i-maseba
Uchi-miru

Shima no saki-zaki

Kaki-miru
Iso no saki ochizu

Waka-kusa no
Tsuma motase-rame

A ha mo yo
Me ni shi areba

[346] Na wokite
Wo ha nashi

Na wokite
Tsuma ha nashi

Aya-kaki no
Fuhayaga shita ni

Mushi-busuma
Nikoya ga shita ni

Taku-busuma
Sayagu ga shita ni

Awa-yuki no
Wakayaru mune wo

Taku-dzunu no
Shiroki tadamuki

So-dataki

Tataki-managari

Ma-tama-de

Tama-de sashi-maki

Momo-naga ni

I wo shi nase

Toyo mi ki

Tate-matsurase

VII. (SECT. XXXI, NOTE 33.)

Ame naru ya

Oto-tanabata no

Unagaseru

Tama no mi sumaru

Mi sumaru ni

Ana-dama haya

Mi tani futa watarasu [*4]

Ajishiki

Taka-hiko-ne no

Kami zo ya

[p. A5]

VIII. (SECT. XLII, NOTE 18.)

Aka-dama ha

Wo sahe hikaredo

Shira-tama no

Kimi ga yosohi shi

Tafutoku ari-keri

IX. (SECT. XLII, NOTE 19.)

Oki tsu tori

Kamo-doku shima ni

Waga wi-neshi

Imo ha wasurezhi

Yo no koto-goto ni

X. (SECT. XLVII, NOTES 16 AND 17.)

Uda no taka-ki ni [*5]

Shigi-wana haru [*6]

Wa ga matsu ya

Shigi ha sayarazu

Isukuhashi

Kujira sayaru [347]

Konami ga

Na kohasaba

Tachi-soba no

Mi no nakeku wo [*7]

Kokishi hiwene

Uhanari ga

Na kohasaba

Ich-saka-ki mi no

Ohokeku wo

Kokida hiwene

Ye ye

Shi ya ko shi ya

[Wo ha igonofu zo]

Aa shi yo ko shi ya

XI. (SECT. XLVIII, NOTE 4.)

Osaka no

Oho-muro-ya ni

Hito saha ni

Ki-iri-wori

Hito saha ni

Iri-wori to mo

Mitsu-mitsushi

Kume no ko ga

Kubu-tsutsu-i

Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi

Uchite shi yamamu [p. A6]

Mitsu-mitsushi

Kume no ko-ra ga

Kubu-tsutsu-i

Ishi-tsutsu-i mochi

Ina utaba yorashi

XII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 2.)

Mitsu mitsushi

Kume no ko-ra ga

Aha-fu ni ha

Ka-mira hito-moto

So ne ga moto

So ne me tsunagite

Uchite shi yamamu

XIII. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 3.)

Mitsu-mitsushi

Kume no ko-ra ga

Kaki-moto ni

Uweshi hazhikami

Kuchi hibiku

Ware ha wasurezhi

Uchite shi yamanu

XIV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 4.)

Kamu-kaze no

Ise no umi no

[348] Ohishi

Hahi-motohorofu

Shitadami no

I-hahi-motohori

Uchite shi yamamu

XV. (SECT. XLIX, NOTE 6.)

Tata namete

Inasa no yama no

Ko no ma yo mo

I-yuki-mamorahi

Tatakaheba

Ware ba ya wenu.

Shima tsu tori

U-kahi ga tomo

Ima suke ni kone

XVI. (SECT. LI, NOTE 17.)

Yamato no

Takasazhi-nu wo

Nana-yuku

Wotome-domo

Tare wo shi makamu

[p. A7]

XVII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 19.)

Katsu-gatsu mo

Iya-saki-dateru

Ye wo shi makamu

XVIII. (SECT. LI, NOTE 21.)

A me tsu tsu

Chi dori mashi to to [?]

Nado sakeru to-me

XIX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 22.)

Wotome ni

Taka ni ahamu to

Wa ga sakeru to-me

XX. (SECT. LI, NOTE 28.)

Ashi-hara no

Shigekoki wo-ya ni

Suga-tatami

Iyasaya shikite

Wa ga futari neshi

XXI. (SECT. LII, NOTE fukanu to su

XXII. (SECT. LII, NOTE .) [349]

Unebi-yama

Hiru ha kumo to wi

Yufu sareba

Kaze fukamu to zo

Ko no ha sayageru

XXIII. (SECT. LXVI, NOTE. 7)

Ko ha ya

Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

Ono ga wo wo

Nusumi shi semu to

Shiri tsu to yo

I-yuki-tagahi

Mahe tsu to yo

I-yuki-tagahi

Ukagahaku

Shirani to

Mima-ki-iri-biko ha ya

[p. A8]

XXIV. (SECT. LXXXI, NOTE 4.)

Yatsumesasu

Idzumo-takeru ga

Hakeru tachi

Tsudzura saha maki

Sa-mi nashi ni ahare

XXV. (SECT. LXXXIV, NOTE 8.)

Sanesashi

Sogamu no wo-nu ni

Moyuru hi no

Ho-naka ni tachite

Tohishi kimi ha mo

XXVI. (SECT. LXXXVI, NOTES 3 AND 5.)

Nihibari

Tsukuha wo sugite

Iku yo ka netsuru--

Ka-ga nabete

Yo ni ha kokono-yo

Hi ni ha towo-ka wo

XXVII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 3.)

Hisa-kata no

Ame no Kagu-yama

To-kama ni

Sa-wataru kuhi

Hiha-boso

Tawaya-gahina wo

Makamu to ha

Are ha suredo

Se-nemu to ha

Are ha omohedo

Na ga keseru

Osuhi no suso ni

Tsuki tatanamu yo

XXVIII. (SECT. LXXXVII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru

Hi no mi ko

Yasumishishi

Wa ga oho-kimi

Aratama no

Toshi ga ki-fureba

Aratama no

Tsuki ha kihe-yuku

Ubena-ubena

Kimi machi-ga#a ni

Wa ga keseru

Osuhi no suso ni

Tsuki tatanamu yo

[p. A9]

XXIX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 6.)

Wohari ni

Tada ni mukaheru

Wotsu no saki naru

Hito-tsu matsu a se wo

Hito-tsu matsu

Hito ni ariseba

Tachi hake-mashi wo winu kise-mashi wo

Hito-tsu matsu a se wo

XXX. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Yamato ha

Kuni no mahoroba

Tatanatsuku

Awo-kaki yama-gomoreru

Yamato shi uruhashi [*8]

XXXI. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Inochi no

Mata-kemu hito ha

Tatami-komo

Heguri no yama no

Kuma-kashi ga ha wo

Uzu ni sase

Sono ko

XXXII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 11.)

Hashikeyashi

Wagihe no kata yo

Kumo-wi tachi-ku mo

XXXIII. (SECT. LXXXIX, NOTE 15.) [351]

Wotome no

Toko no be ni

Wa ga okishi

Tsurugi no tachi

Sono tachi ha ya

XXXIV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 3.)

Nadzuki no

Ta no ina-gara ni

Ina-gara ni

Hahi-motorofu

Tokoro-dzura [*9]

. . . . .

[p. A10]

XXXV. (SECT. XC, NOTE 5.)

Asa-zhinu-hara

Koshi nadzumu

Sora ha yukazu

Ashi yo yuku na

XXXVI. (SECT. XC, NOTE 7.)

Umi-ga yukeba

Koshi nadzumu

Oho-kahara no

Uwe-gusa

Umi-ga ha

Isayofu [*10]

XXXVII. (SECT. XC, NOTE 8.)

Hama tsu chi-dori

Hama yo ha yukazu

Iso-dzutafu

XXXVIII. (SECT. C, NOTE 18.)

Isa agi

Furu-kuma ga

Itate ohazuha

Niho-dori no

Afumi no umi ni

Kadzuki sena wa

XXXIX. (SECT. CII, NOTE 2.)

Kono mi ki ha

Wa ga mi ki narazu

[352] Kushi no kami

Toko-yo ni i-masu

Iha tatasu

Sukuna mi kami no

Kamu-hogi

Hogi-kuruhoshi

Toyo-hogi

Hogi-motohoshi

Matsuri-koshi

Mi ki zo

Asazu wose sa sa

[p. A11]

XL. (SECT. CII, NOTE 3.)

Kono mi ki wo

Kami-kemu hito ha

Sono tsudzumi

Usu ni tatete

Utahi-tsutsu

Kami-kere ka mo

Mahi-tsutsu

Kami-kere ka mo

Kono miki no

Mi ki no aya ni [*11]

Uta-danushi [ki] sa sa

XLI. (SECT. CVI, NOTE 2.)

Chiba no

Kadzu-nu wo mireba

Momo-chi-daru

Ya-niha mo miyu

Kuni no ho mo miyu

XLII. (SECT. C VI, NOTE 8.)

Kono kani ya

Idzuku no kani

Momo-dzutafu

Tsunuga no kani

Yoko-sarafu

Idzuku ni itaru

Ichiji-shima

Mi-shima ni to ki

Niho-dori no

Nadzuki iki-dzuki

Shina-dayufu

Sasa-nami-ji wo

Suku-suku to

Wa ga i-maseba ya

Kohata no michi ni

Ahashishi wotome

Ushiro-de ha

Wo-date ro ka mo

Ha-nami ha

Shihi (shi) nasu [*12]

Ichihiwi no

Wanisa no ni wo

Hatsu-ni ha

Hada akarakemi 353

Shiha-ni ha

Ni-guroki yuwe

Mi-tsu-guri no

Sono naka tsu ni wo [p. A12]

Kabu-tsuku

Ma-hi ni ha atezu

Mayo-gaki

Ko ni kaki-tare [*13]

Ahashishi womina

Ka mo ga to

Wa ga mishi ko-ra

Kaku mo ga to

A ga mishi ko ni

Utadakeni

Mukahi-woru ka mo

Iso-hi-woru ka mo

XLIII. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 9.)

Iza ko-domo

Nu-biru tsumi ni

Hiru tsumi ni

Wa ga yuku michi no

Kaguhashi

Hana-tachibana wo

Ho tsu ye ha

Tori wi-garashi

Shi dzu ye ha

Hito tori-garashi

Mi-tsu-guri no

Naka tsu ye no

Hotsumori

Akara-wotome wo

Izasasaba

Yorashi na

XLIV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 9.)

Iza ko-domo

Nu-biru ni

Hiru tsumi ni

Wa ga yuku michi no

Kaguhashi

Hana-tachibana wo

Ho tsu ye ha

Tori wi-garashi

Shi dzu ye ha

Hito tori-garashi

Mi-tsu-guri no

Naka tsu ye no

Hotsumori

Akara-wotome wo

Izasasaba

Yorashi na

XLIV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 10.)

tamaru

Yasami no ike no

Wi-guhi uchi

[Hishi] ga-[ra no] [*14] [p. A13]

Sashi-keru shirani

Nunaha-kuri

Hahe-keku shirani

Wa ga kokoro shi

Iya woko ni shite

Ima zo kuyashiki

XLV. (SECT. CVII, NOTE 11.)

Michi no shiri

Kohada-wotome wo

Kami no goto

Kikoyeshikadomo [354]

Ahi-makuramaku

XLVI. (SECT. CVII, NOTE I2.)

Michi no shiri

Kohada-wotome ha

Arasohazu

Ne-shiku wo shi zo mo.

Uruhashimi-omofu

XLVII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 2.)

Homuda no

Hi no mi ko

Oho-sazaki

Oho-sazaki

Hakaseru tachi

Moto-tsurugi

Suwe fuyu

Fuyu-ki no su

Kara ga shita-ki no

Saya-saya

XLVIII. (SECT. CVIII, NOTE 6.)

Kashinofu ni

Yokusu wo tsukuri

Yokusu ni

Kamishi oho-mi-ki

Umara ni

Kikoshi-mochi-wose

Maro ga chi

XLIX. (SECT. CXI, NOTE 5.)

Susukori ga

Kamishi mi ki ni

Ware wehi ni keri

Koto nagu shi

We-gushi ni

Ware wehi ni keri [*15]

[p. A14]

L. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 10.)

Chihayaburu

Uji no watari no

Sawo-tori ni

Haya-kemu hito shi

(Wa ga moko ni komu.)

LI. (SECT. CXII, NOTE 15.)

Chihaya-bito

Uji no watari ni

Watari-ze ni tateru

Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi

I-kiramu to

Kokoro ha mohedo

1-toramu to

Kokoro ha mohedo

Moto-he ha

Kimi wo omohi-de

Suhe-he ha

Imo wo omohi-de

Iranakeku

Soko ni omohi-de

Kanashikeku

Koko ni omohi-de

[355] I kirazu zo kuru

Adzusa-yumi ma-yumi [*16]

LII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 4.)

Oki-he ni ha

Wo-bune tsuraraku

Kuro-zaki [*17] no

Masazu-ko wagimo

Kuni he kudarasu

LIII. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 8.)

Oshi-teru ya

Naniha no sakiyo

Ide-tachite

Wa ga kuni mireba [p. A15]

Aha-shima

Onogoro-shima

Ajimasa no

Shima mo miyu

Saketsu-shima miyu

LIV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE I0.)

Yama-gata ni

Makoru awo-na mo

Kibi-hito to

Tomo ni shi tsumeba

Tanushiku mo aru ka

LV. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 13)

Yamato-he ni

Nishi fukiagete

Kumo-banare

Soki-wori to mo

Ware wasureme ya

LVI. (SECT. CXXII, NOTE 14.) [356]

Yamato-he ni

Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

Komoridzu no

Shita yo hahe-tsutsu

Yuku ha ta ga tsuma

LVII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE II.)

Tsuginefu ya

Yamashiro-gaha wo

Kaha-nobori

Wa ga noboreba

Kaha no he ni

Ohi-dateru

Sashibu wo

Sashibu no ki

Shi ga shita ni

Ohi-dateru

Ha-biro yutsu matsuba-ki [*18]

Shi ga hana no

Teri-i-mashi

Shi ga ha no

Hirori-i-masuha

Oho-kimi ro ka mo

[p. A16]

LVIII. (SECT. CXXIII, NOTE 14.)

Tsuginefu ya

Yamashiro-gaha wo

Miya-nobori

Wa ga noboreba

Awoniyoshi

Nara wo sugi

Wo-date

Yamato wo sugi

Wa ga migahoshi kuni ha

Kadzuraki Takamiya

Wagihe no atari [*19]

LIX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 3.)

Yamashiro ni

I-shike Toriyama

Ishike i-shike

A ga hashi-dzuma ni

I-shiki-ahamu ka mo

LX. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 5.)

Mimoro no

Sono Takaki naru

[357] Ohowiko ga hara

Ohowiko ga hara ni aru [*20]

Kimo-mukafu

Kokoro wo dani ka

Ahi-omohazu aramu

LXI. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 6)

Tsuginefu

Yamashiro-me no

Ko-kuha mochi

Uchishi oho-ne

Ne-zhiro no

Shiro-tadamuki

Makazukeba koso

Shirazu to mo ihame

LXXII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE I2.)

Yamashiro no

Tsutsuki no mi-ya ni

Mono mawosu

A ga se no kimi ha

Namita-gumashi mo

[p. A17]

LXIII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 18.)

Tsuginefu

Yamashiro-me no

Ko-kuha mochi

Uchishi oho-ne

Sawa-sawa ni

Na ga ihese koso

Uchi-watasu

Yagahaye-nasu

Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIII. (SECT. CXXIV, NOTE 18.)

Tsuginefu

Yamashiro-me no

Ko-kuha mochi

Uchishi oho-ne

Sawa-sawa ni

Na ga ihese koso

Uchi-watasu

Yagahaye nasu

Ki-iri-mawi-kure

LXIV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 1.)

Yata no

Hito-moto suge ha

Ko motazu

Tachi ka are-namu

Atara-suga-hara

Koto wo koso

Suge-hara to ihame

Atara-sugashi-me

LXV. (SECT. CXXV, NOTE 2.)

Yata no

Hito-moto suge ha

Hitori wori to mo

Oho-kimi shi

Yoshi to kikosaba

Hitori wori to mo

LXVI. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 2.)

Medori no

Wa ga oho-kimi no

Orosu hara

Taga dane ro ha mo [358]

LXVII. (SECT. CXXVI NOTE 3.)

Taka-yuku ya

Haya-busa-wake no

Mi osuhi-gane

[p. A18]

LXVIII. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 5.)

Hibari ha

Ame ni kakeru

Taka-yuku ya

Haya-busa-wake

Sazaki torasane

LXIX. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no

Kura hashi-yama wo

Sagashimi to

Iha kaki-kanete

Wa ga to torasu mo

LXX. (SECT. CXXVI, NOTE 8.)

Hashi-tate no

Kura-hashi-yama ha

Sagashikedo

Imo to noboreba

Sagashiku mo arazu

LXXI. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 3.)

Tamakiharu

Uchi no aso

Na koso ha

Yo no naga-hito

Sora mitsu

Yamato no kuni ni

Kari ko 'mu to

Kiku ya

LXXII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 4.)

Taka-hikaru

Hi no mi ko

Ube shi koso

Tohi-tamahe

Ma koso ni

Tohi-tamahe

Are koso ha

Yo no naga-hito

Sora-mitsu

Yamato no kuni ni

Kari ko 'mu to

Imada kikazu

LXXIII. (SECT. CXXVIII, NOTE 6.)

Na ga mi ko ya

Tsuhi ni shiramu to

Kari ha ko 'murashi

[p. A19]

LXXIV. (SECT. CXXIX, NOTE 8.)

Karanu wo

Shiho hi yaki

Shi ga amari

Koto ni tsukuri

Kaki-hiku ya
Yura no to no

To-naka no
Ikuri ni

Fure-tatsu
Nadzu no ki no [593]

Saya-saya

LXXV. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 5.)

Tajihi-nu ni
Nemu to shiriseba

Tatsu-gomo mo
Mochite

Ko-mashi mono
Nemu to shiriseba

LXXVI. (SECT. CXXXII, NOTE 7.)

Hanifu-zaka
Wa ga tachi-mireba

Kagirohi no
Moyuru ihe-mura

Tsuma ga the no asari

LXXVII. (SECT. CXXXIII, NOTE 10.)

Oho-saka ni
Afu ya wotome wo

Michi toheba
Tada ni ha norazu

Tajima-chi wo noru

LXXVIII. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 2.)

Ashiki no

Yama-da wo tsukuri

Yama-dakami

Shita-bi wo washise

Shita-dohi ni

Wa ga tofu imo wo

Shita-naki ni

Wa ga naku tsuma wo

Kofu koso ha

Yasuku hada fure

LXXIX. (SECT. CXLI, NOTE 4.)

Sasa-ba ni

Utsu ya arare no

Tashi-dashi ni

Wi-netemu nochi ha

Hito hakayu to mo [p. A20]

Uruhashi to

Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

Kari-komo no

Midareba midare

Sa-ne shi sa-neteba

[360] LXXX. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 7.)

Oho-mahe

Wo-mahe sukune ga

Kana-to kage

Kaku yori-kone

Ame tachi-yamemu

LXXXI. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 8.)

Miya-hito no

Ayuhi no ko-suzu

Ochi ni ki to

Miya-hito toyomu

Sato-bito mo yume

LXXXII. (SECT. CXLII, NOTE 12.)

Ama-damu

Karu no wotome

Ita nakaba

Hito shirinu-beshi

Hasa no yama no hoto no

Shita-naki ni naku [*21]

LXXXIII. (SECT., CXLII, NOTE 13.)

Ama-damu

Karu-wotome

Shita-ta ni mo

Yori-nete tohore

Karu-wotome-domo

LXXXIV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 2.)

Ama tobu

Tori mo tsukahi zu

Tadzu ga ne no
Kikoyemu toki ha

Wa ga na tohasane

[p. A21]

LXXXV. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 4.)

Oho-kimi wo
Shima ni haburaba

Funa-amari
I-gaheri-komu zo

Wa ga tatami yume
Koto wo koso

Tatami to ihame
Wa ga tsuma ha yume

LXXXVI. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 6.)

Natsu-kusa no
Ahine no hama no

Kaki-gahi ni
Ashi [*22] fumasu na [361]

Akashite tohore

LXXXVII. (SECT CXLIII, NOTE 7.)

Kimi ga yuki
Ke-nagaku narinu

Yama-tadzu no
Mukahe wo yukamu

Matsu ni ha matazhi

LXXXVIII. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 8.)

Komoaiku no

Hatsuse no yama no

Oho-wo ni ha

Hata hari-date

Sa-wo-wo ni he

Hata hari-date

Oho-wo ni shi

Naga sadameru

Omohi-dzuma ahare

Tsuku-yumi no

Koyaru koyari mo

Adzusa-yumi

Tateri-tateri mo

Nochi motori-miru

Omohi-dzuma ahare

(There is no footnote reference for [*23]--JBH)

LXXXIX. (SECT. CXLIII, NOTE 9.)

Komoriku no

Hatsuse no kaha no [p. A22]

Kami tsu se ni

I-kuhi wo uchi

Shimo tsu se ni

Ma-kuhi wo uchi

I-kuhi ni ha

Kagami wo kake

Ma-kuhi ni ha

Ma-tama wo kake

Ma-tama nasu

Aga mofu imo

Kagami nasu

Aga mofu tsuma

Ari to ihaba koso ni

Ihe ni mo yukame

Kuni wo mo shinubame [*24]

XC. (SECT. CLIII, NOTE 4.)

Kusa-kabe no

Kochi no yoma to

[362] Tatami-komo

Heguri no yama no

Kochi-gochi no

Yama no kahi ni

Tachi-zakayuru

Ha-biro kuma-kashi

Moto ni ha

I-kumi-dake ohi

Suwe-he ni ha

Tashimi-dake ohi

I-kumi-dake

I-kumi ha nezu

Tashimi-dake

Tashi ni ha wi-nezu

Nochi mo kumi-nemu

Sono omohi-dzuma

Ahare

XCI. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 9.)

Mimoro no

Itsu-kashi ga moto

Kashi ga moto

Yuyushiki ka mo

Kashi-hara-wotomo

XCII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE IO.)

Hiketa no

Waka-kuru-su-bara

Wakaku-he ni

Wi-nete-mashi mono

Oi ni keru ka mo

[p. A23]

XCIII. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE I2.)

Mimoro ni

Tsuku ya tama-kaki

Tsuki-amashi

Ta ni ka mo yoraumu

Kami no miya-hito

XCIV. (SECT. CLIV, NOTE 13.)

Kusaka-ye no

Iri-ye no hachisu

Hana-bachisu

Mi no sakari-bito

Tomoshiki ro ka mo

XCV. (SECT. CLV, NOTE 3.)

Agura wi no

Kami no mi to mochi

Hiku koto ni

Mahi suru womina [363]

Tokyo-yo ni mo ka mo

XCVI. (SECT. CLVI, NOTE 3.)

Mi-yeshinu no

Womuro ga take ni

Shishi fusu to

Tare zo oho-make ni mawosu [*25]

Yasumishishi

Wa ga oho-kimi no

Shishi matsu to

Agura ni i-mashi

Shiro-tahe no

Sode ki-sonafu

Ta-komura ni

Amu kaki-tsuki

So no amu wo

Akidzu haya kuhi

Kaku no goto

Na ni ohamu to

Sora-mitsu

Yamato no kuni wo

Akidzu-shima tofu

XCVII. (SECT. CLVII, NOTE 4.)

Yasumishishi

Wa ga oho-kimi no [p. A24]

Asobashishi

Shishi no yami-shishi no

Utaki kashikomi

Wa ga nige-noborishi

Ari-wo no

Hari-no-ki no yeda [*26]

XCVIII. (SECT. CLIX, NOTE 3.)

Wotome no

I-kakuru woka wo

[364] Kana-suki mo

I-hochi mo ga mo

Suki-banuru mono

XCIX. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 4.)

Makimuke no

Hishiro no mi-ya ha

Asa-hi no

Hi-deru mi-ya

Yufu-hi no

Hi-gakeru mi-ya

Take no ne no

Nedaru-mi-ya

Ko no ne no

Ne-bafu mi-ya

Yahoniyoshi

I-kidzuki no mi-ya

Ma-ki-saku

Hi no mi kado

Nihi-nahe-ya ni

Ohi-dateru

Momo-daru

Tsuki ga ye ha

Ho tsu ye ha

Ame wo oheri

Naka tsu ye ha

Adzuma wo oheri

Shi dzu ye ha

Hina wo oheri

Ho tsu ye no

Ye no ura-ba ha

Naka tsu ye ni

Ochi-furabahe

Naka tsu ye no

Ye no ura-ba ha

Shimo tsu ye ni

Ochi-furabahe

Shi dzu ye no

Ye no ura-ba ha [p. A25]

Ari-ginu no

Mihe no ko ga

Sasagaseru

Midzu-tama-uki ni

Ukishi abura

Ochi-nadzusahi

Mina koworo-koworo ni [*27]

Ko shi mo

Aya ni kashikoshi

Taka-hikaru

Hi no mi ko

Koto no

Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

C. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 5.)

Yamato no

Kono takechi ni

Ko-dakaru

Ichi no tsukasa [365]

Nihi-nahe-ya ni

Ohi-dateru

Habiro yo-tsu ma-tsubaki [*28]

So ga ha no

Hirori-i-mashi

So no hana no

Teri-i-masu

Taka-hikaru

Hi no mi ko ni

To-yo mi ki

Tate-matsurase

Koto no

Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

CI. (SECT. CLX, NOTE 6.)

Momoshiki no

Oho-miya-hito ha

Udzura-tori

Hire tori-kakete

Mana-bashira

Wo yuki-ahe

Niha-suzume

Uzu-sumari-wite

Kefu mo ka mo

Saka mi-dzuku-rashi

Taka-hikaru

Hi no miya-hito

Koto no

Katari-goto mo

Ko wo ba

[p. A26]

CII. (SECT. CLXI, NOTE 2.)

Mina-sosoku

Omi no wotome

Ho-dari torasu mo

Ho-dari tori

Kataku torase

Shita-gataku

Ya-gataku torase

Ho dari torasu ko

CIII. (SECT. CLXI, NOTE 4)

Yasumishishi

Wa ga oho-kimi no

Asa-to ni ha

I-yori-datashi

Yufu-to ni ha

I-yori-datasu

Waki-dzuki ga

Shita no

Ita ni mo ga

A se wo

366 CIV. (SECT CLXV, NOTES 8 AND 12)

Oho-miya no

Woto tsu hata-de

Sumi katabukeri

CV. (SECT. NOTES 9 AND 12)

Oho-takumi

Wojinami koso

Sumi katabukere

CVI. (SECT. CLXV, NOTES IO AND I2.)

Oho-kimi no

Kokoro wo yurami

Omi no ko no

Ya-he no shiba-kaki

Iri-tatazu ari

CVII. (SECT. CLXV. NOTE 12.)

Sh ho-se no

Na-wori wo mireba

Asobi-kuru

Shibi ga hata-de ni

Tsuma tateri-miyu

CVIII. (SECT. CLXV, NOTES I1 AND I2.)

Oho-kimi no

Mi ko no shiba-kaki [p. A27]

Ya-fu-zhimari

Shimari-motohoshi

Kiremu shiba-kaki

Yakemu shiba-kaki [*29]

CIX. (SECT. CLXV, NOTE 12.)

Ofuwo yo shi

Shibi tsuku ama yo

Shi ga areba

Ura-kohoshiki-kemu

Shibi tsuku ama [*30]

CX. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE 10.) [367]

Asa-ji-hara

Wo-dani wo sugite

Momo-dzutafu

Nute yuraku mo

Oki-me kurashi mo

CXI. (SECT. CLXVII, NOTE, 11.)

Oki-me mo ya

Afumi no Oki-me

Asu yori ha

Mi-yama-gakurite

Miyezu ka mo aramu

Footnotes

^A1:1 There are few various readings of the text of these poems. Where any occur, the translator has been guided by the decisions of Motowori and Moribe. Occasionally these two authorities differ as to the division of the words into lines, and Moribe in particular does not hesitate to propose such emendations as seem to him necessary. The translator has in almost all cases adhered to the traditional text, but gives in foot-notes such emendations as appear worthy of notice. Moribe's division of the lines being in almost every case preferable to Motowori's, it has however here been generally adopted.

^A3:2 Motowori reads Magishi Atane tsuki as two lines.

^A3:3 Motowori reads Sagiri ni Tatamu zo as two lines.

^A4:4 Motowori reads Mitani Futa watarasu as two lines.

^A5:5 Motowori reads Uda no Taka-ki ni as two lines.

^A5:6 Moribe emends haru to hari.

^A5:7 Motowori divides these lines thus: Tachi-soba no mi no Nakeku we.

^A9:8 Motowori reads gomoreru as a line by itself, and similarly uruhashi as a line by itself.

^A9:9 Moribe restores the reading of the first line of this poem to Naduzki-ta no, and both he and Motowori suggest conjectural concluding lines to supplement the evidently incomplete text. Moribe's are very elegant:

Shi ga tsura no

I-hahi motohori

Motohorite

Ne-naki tohedomo

Koto mo norasanu

^A10:10 Moribe reads Umi-ga ha isahofu as one line. It is difficult, on any method of division, to find rhythm in this Song.

^A11:11 Motowori strangely makes Mi ki no Aya ni into two lines. The syllable ki in the last line of the Song is supplied by Moribe.

^A11:12 Motowori divides these lines thus: Han ami ha shi Hishi nasu. He also proposes here to divide the poem in two.

^A12:13 Motowori divides these lines thus: Mayo-gaki ko ni. Kaki tare.

^A12:14 The defective text of this line is restored by the help of the parallel passage in the "Chronicles."

^A13:15 Moribe proposes to emend the second half of this poem to

Koto nagushi we

Kokoro-gushi we

Ware wehi ni keri.

^A14:16 Near the commencement of this Song Motowori divides the lines thus:

Watari-ze ni

Tateru

Adzusa-yumi

Mo yumi

and again at the end:

I-kirazu zo kuru

Adzusa-yumi

Ma-yumi.

^A14:17 See Sect. CXXII, Note, 4 for this doubtful word.

^A15:18 Motowori divides this line in two, thus:

Habiro

Yutsuma-tsubaki.

^A16:19 Instead of these concluding long lines Motowori divides thus:

Wa ga mikahoshi

Kumi ha

Kadzuraki

Taka-miya

Wagihe no atari.

^A16:20 Motowori reads the words Hara ni aru as a separate line.

^A20:21 Moribe, following the reading in the "Chronicles," omits the Postposition no after Karu; and Motowori reads hato no as a line by itself.

^A21:22 To the word ashi Moribe would prefix the Honorific mi which he finds in an old MS. The metre would gain by this emendation of the line.

^A21:23 This is Moribe's emendation of usual reading ka.

^A22:24 Motowori divides Ari to ihaba koso ni into two lines after the Particle to, and Moribe omits the Particle ni after koso.

^A23:25 It seems less good to divide thus with Motowori:

Tare zo oho-mahe ni

Mawosu,

or thus with Mabuchi:

Tare zo

Oho-maye ni mawosu.

^A24:26 Motowori divides the lines of this Song thus:

Yasumishishi

Wa ga oho-kimi no

Asobashishi

Shishi no

Yami-shishi no

Utaki kashikomi

Wa ga nike

Noborishi

Ari-wo no

Hari no hi no yeda.

^A25:27 Motowori divides this line in two, thus:

Mina koworo

Koworo ni

^A25:28 Motowori divides this line in two after the word ha-biro.

^A27:29 Moribe's proposal to emend yakemu to yaremu would be acceptable if it were supported by the authority of any texts.

^A27:30 Motowori's edition and most other texts have shibi as the final word, But Moribe's emendation to ama is necessary to the sense, and has at least the authority of one MS. to support it.

APPENDIX II.

THE HITHERTO ACCEPTED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY JAPANESE SOVEREIGNS MENTIONED IN THE "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS" ("KO-JI-KI") AND IN THE "CHRONICLES OF JAPAN" ("NI-HONGI").

[This "Accepted Chronology "is contained in the first three columns of figures, whereof the first two, giving the corresponding dates according to the European reckoning are transcribed from some Comparative Chronological Tables by Mr. Ernest Satow, printed for private distribution in 1874. The ages of the monarchs in the third column are from "The Digest of the Imperial Pedigree," a work published by the Imperial Japanese Government is 1877, and therefore carrying with it the weight of authority. It might perhaps be too much to say that even its decisions are universally bowed to by the native literati, but the differences between various writers are all slight, and excepting on points that affect only a very few years, the chronology contained in the first three columns may justly be styled the "Accepted Chronology" both as far as natives and as far as foreigners are concerned. It will be seen that it is founded in the main on the statements contained in the "Chronicles of Japan," though sometimes differing therefrom as well as from the "Records." The fourth column contains the ages of the monarchs according to the "Records" and the fifth their ages according to the "Chronicles." The portion printed in italics, and including a little over a thousand years, is that which has been shown in Section V of the Translator's Introduction to be undeserving of credence.

	Accession.	Death.	Age.	Age accord. to "Records."	Age accord. to "Chronicles."
Jin-mu	660 (B.C.)	585(B.C.)	127	137	127
Sui-zei	581	549	84	45	

80

An-nei

548

511

57

49

57

I-toku

510

477

77

45

77

Ko-sho

475

393

114

93

113 [p. A29]

Ko-an

392

291

137

123

reigned 102 years

Ko-rei

290

215

128

106

" 76 "

Ko-gen

214

158

116

57

" 57 "

Kai-kuwa

157

98

111

63

" 60 "

Su-jin

97

30

119

168

120

Sui-nin

29

70 (A.D.)

141

153

140

Kei-ko

71 (A.D.)

130

143

137

106

Sei-mu

131

190

108

95

107

Chiu-ai

192

200

52

52

52

Jin-go

201

269

100

100

100

O-jin

270

310

111

130

110

Nin-toku

313

399

110

83

reigned 87 years

Ri-chiu

400

405

67

64

70

Han-zei

406

411

60

60

reigned 6 years

In-giyo

412

453

80

78

" 42 "

An-ko

454

456

56

66

" 3 "

Yu-riyaku

457

479

age omitted

124

" 5 "

Sei-nei

480

484

41

not given

" 23 "

Ken-zo

485

487

age omitted

38

" 3 "

Nin-ken

488

498

50

not given

" 11 "

Mu-retsu

499

506

8 [*1]

reigned 8 years

" 8 "

Kei-tai

507

531

82

43

82

An-kan

534

535

70

not given

70

Sen-kuwa

536

539

73

"

73

Kim-mei

540

571

63

"

reigned 32 years

Bi-datsu

572

585

48

reigned 14 years

" 14 "

Yo-mei

586

587

69

" 3 "

" 2 "

Su-jun

588

592

73

" 4 "

" 5 "

Sui-ko

593

628

75

" 37 "

" 75 "

Footnotes

^A29:1 The reign of this Empress is in the "Records" not counted separately, but included in that of her son O-jin. For the mention of her age in the "Records "conf. Sect. CIII, Note 4.

The Nihon Shoki
A concise history and analysis

The Nihon Shoki is a rich source of information about the early history of Japanese religion. It describes the beliefs and practices of the ancient Japanese people, and it provides insights into the origins of Shinto, Japan's indigenous religion.

Shinto

Shinto is a polytheistic religion that emphasizes the natural world and the interconnectedness of all things. The Nihon Shoki describes the creation of the world by the deities Izanagi and Izanami, and it introduces many of the important kami (spirits) of Shinto. The book also describes the establishment of Shinto shrines and rituals, and it provides a glimpse into the early beliefs and practices of the Shinto religion.

Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced to Japan from China in the 6th century AD, and it quickly gained popularity among the ruling elite. The Nihon Shoki describes the arrival of Buddhism in Japan, and it discusses the influence of Buddhist ideas on Japanese culture and society. The book also includes stories of Buddhist monks and their powers, and it provides insights into the early development of Buddhism in Japan.

Other Religions

In addition to Shinto and Buddhism, the Nihon Shoki also describes other religions that were practiced in ancient Japan. These religions include Confucianism, Taoism, and various local cults. The book provides valuable information about the religious diversity of Japan in the early centuries of its history.

Here are some of the key religious themes found in the Nihon Shoki:

- The creation of the world by the deities Izanagi and Izanami
- The introduction of Shinto, Japan's indigenous religion
- The establishment of Shinto shrines and rituals
- The arrival of Buddhism in Japan from China
- The influence of Buddhist ideas on Japanese culture and society
- Stories of Buddhist monks and their powers
- Insights into the early development of Buddhism in Japan
- Descriptions of other religions that were practiced in ancient Japan, including Confucianism, Taoism, and various local cults
- Information about the religious diversity of Japan in the early centuries of its history

The Nihon Shoki is an invaluable resource for understanding the history of religion in Japan. It provides insights into the beliefs and practices of the ancient Japanese people, and it documents the introduction and development of Shinto and Buddhism in Japan. The book is also a fascinating introduction to the rich religious tapestry of Japan's early history.

The Nihon Shoki is a treasure trove of information about the culture of ancient Japan. It provides insights into the arts, literature, social customs, and beliefs of the Japanese people during the early centuries of their history.

Arts

The Nihon Shoki describes the development of various art forms in ancient Japan, including music, dance, and painting. The book also mentions the creation of important works of art, such as the bronze mirrors known as dōtaku and the haniwa clay figures that were placed around ancient tombs.

Literature

The Nihon Shoki is itself a work of literature, and it provides examples of the earliest forms of Japanese poetry and prose. The book also describes the development of a tradition of oral storytelling, and it includes many stories

and legends that were passed down from generation to generation.

Social Customs

The Nihon Shoki provides insights into a wide range of social customs in ancient Japan, including marriage, childbirth, death, and festivals. The book also describes the social structure of ancient Japanese society, and it provides information about the roles of men, women, and children in different social classes.

Beliefs

The Nihon Shoki reflects the beliefs of the ancient Japanese people about the world and their place in it. The book describes the importance of ancestor worship, the belief in spirits, and the concept of karma. It also provides insights into the Japanese worldview, which emphasized harmony with nature and the importance of maintaining social order.

Here are some of the key cultural themes found in the Nihon Shoki:

- The development of various art forms, including music, dance, and painting
- The creation of important works of art, such as the bronze mirrors known as dōtaku and the haniwa clay figures
- Examples of the earliest forms of Japanese poetry and prose
- The development of a tradition of oral storytelling
- Stories and legends that were passed down from generation to generation
- Insights into a wide range of social customs, including marriage, childbirth, death, and festivals
- Information about the social structure of ancient Japanese society
- The importance of ancestor worship
- The belief in spirits
- The concept of karma
- The Japanese worldview, which emphasized harmony with nature and the importance of maintaining social order.

The Nihon Shoki is an essential source of information for understanding the culture of ancient Japan. It provides a rich and detailed portrait of the lives of the Japanese people during the early centuries of their history. The book is also a fascinating introduction to the cultural heritage of Japan, which continues to shape Japanese society.

Relevance of the Nihongi today

The Nihongi is still relevant today for a number of reasons:

First, it is a valuable source of information about early Japanese history. The text contains a wealth of information about the political, social, and cultural history of Japan, from the mythical origins of the Japanese people to the establishment of the first permanent Japanese government in the 7th century.

Second, the Nihongi is an important literary work. The text is written in a beautiful and poetic style, and it has been praised for its literary merits. The Nihongi has also had a profound influence on Japanese literature, and it continues to be studied and admired today.

Third, the Nihongi is a significant historical document. The text contains a unique perspective on early Japanese history, and it provides valuable insights into the Japanese worldview. The Nihongi is also a reminder of the importance of historical research and the need to preserve our cultural heritage.

Criticisms of the Nihongi

The Nihongi has also been the subject of criticism. Some scholars have argued that the text is unreliable, as it contains many myths and legends. Others have argued that the Nihongi is a propaganda text, designed to promote the legitimacy of the Yamato dynasty.

Despite these criticisms, the Nihongi remains an important and influential text. It is a valuable source of information about early Japanese history, a

beautiful work of literature, and a significant historical document. The Nihongi continues to be studied and admired today, and it is likely to remain relevant for many years to come.

Conclusion

The Nihongi is a complex and fascinating text that has had a profound impact on Japanese culture. While it has been the subject of criticism, the Nihongi remains an important and valuable source of information about early Japanese history. The text is a beautiful work of literature and a significant historical document. The Nihongi continues to be studied and admired today, and it is likely to remain relevant for many years to come.

I recommend the following resources:

- Watson, Burton. The Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697. Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Aston, W.G. Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan. Vol. 2. Routledge, 2013.
- Brown, Delmer M., and Ichikawa, Kiyoyasu. The Cambridge History of Japan: The Early Modern Period. Cambridge University Press, 1993.